Josephus

Complete Works

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JOSEPHUS

(AD 37 – c. 100)

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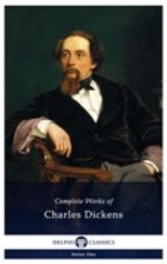

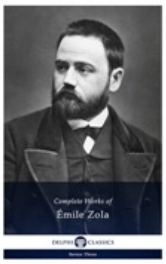

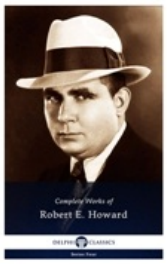

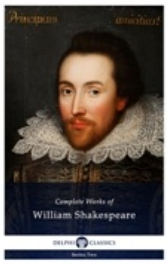

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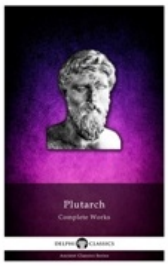

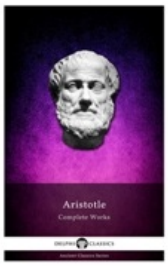

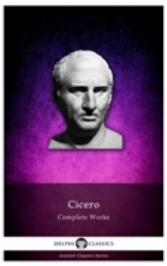

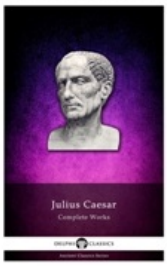

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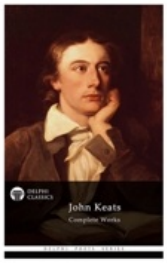

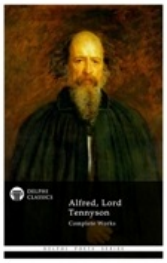

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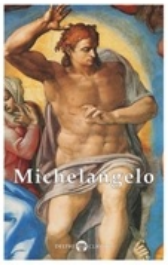

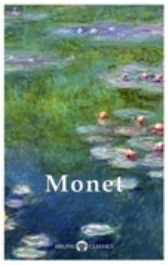

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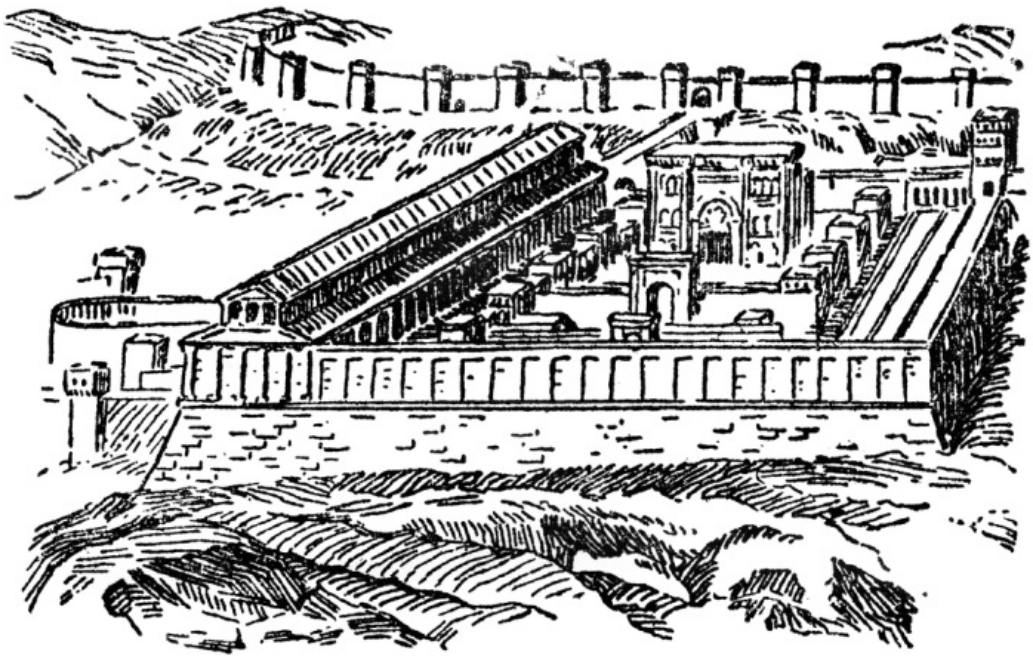


By Delphi Classics, 2014

The Translations

Jerusalem (Ancient Judaea) — Josephus' birthplace. He was the second-born son of Matthias and his mother was an aristocrat, descended from the royal and formerly ruling Hasmonean dynasty.

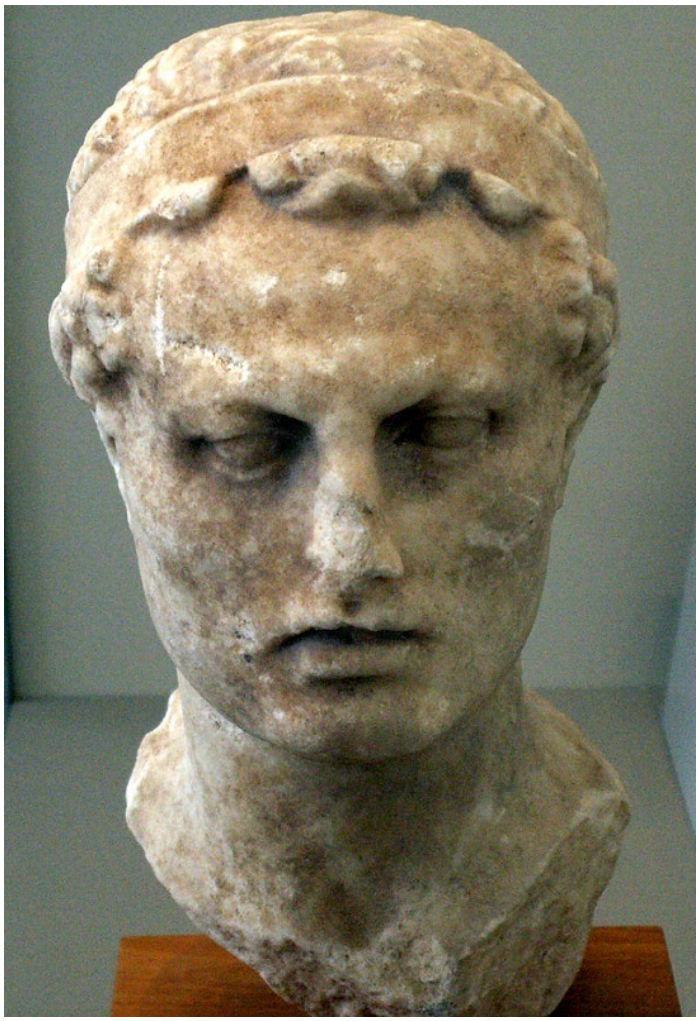
Reconstruction of what Jerusalem during the 1st century, based on archaeological findings

WAR OF THE JEWS

Translated by William Whiston

This historical work covers events from the capture of Jerusalem by the Seleucid ruler Antiochus IV Epiphanes in 164 BC to the fall and destruction of Jerusalem in the First Jewish–Roman War in AD 70. *War of the Jews* was written circa AD 75, originally in Josephus' "paternal tongue", probably Aramaic, though this version has not survived. It was later translated into Greek, probably under the supervision of Josephus himself. The text also survives in an Old Slavonic version, as well as in a Hebrew text, which contains material not found in the Greek version.

In the wake of the suppression of the Jewish revolt, Josephus would have witnessed the marches of Titus' triumphant legions leading their Jewish captives, and carrying treasures from the despoiled Temple in Jerusalem. It was against this background that Josephus wrote this historical work, aiming to counter anti-Judean views in Rome. In the text, he blames the disastrous outcomes of the Jewish War on what he calls "unrepresentative and over-zealous fanatics" among the Jews, leading the masses away from their traditional aristocratic leaders. Josephus also blames some of the Roman governors of Judea, representing them as corrupt and incompetent administrators. According to Josephus, the traditional Jew was a loyal and peace-loving citizen, who has historically accepted Rome's hegemony precisely because their faith declares that God himself grants empires their power.



Bust of Antiochus IV at the Altes Museum in Berlin — Antiochus IV Epiphanes (c. 215 BC – 164 BC) was a Greek king of the Seleucid Empire from 175 BC until his death in 164 BC.

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PREFACE

1. Whereas the war which the Jews made with the Romans hath been the greatest of all those, not only that have been in our times, but, in a manner, of those that ever were heard of; both of those wherein cities have fought against cities, or nations against nations; while some men who were not concerned in the affairs themselves have gotten together vain and contradictory stories by hearsay, and have written them down after a sophistical manner; and while those that were there present have given false accounts of things, and this either out of a humor of flattery to the Romans, or of hatred towards the Jews; and while their writings contain sometimes accusations, and sometimes encomiums, but no where the accurate truth of the facts; I have proposed to myself, for the sake of such as live under the government of the Romans, to translate those books into the Greek tongue, which I formerly composed in the language of our country, and sent to the Upper Barbarians; Joseph, the son of Matthias, by birth a Hebrew, a priest also, and one who at first fought against the Romans myself, and was forced to be present at what was done afterwards, [am the author of this work].

2. Now at the time when this great concussion of affairs happened, the affairs of the Romans were themselves in great disorder. Those Jews also who were for innovations, then arose when the times were disturbed; they were also in a flourishing condition for strength and riches, insomuch that the affairs of the East were then exceeding tumultuous, while some hoped for gain, and others were afraid of loss in such troubles; for the Jews hoped that all of their nation which were beyond Euphrates would have raised an insurrection together with them. The Gauls also, in the neighborhood of the Romans, were in motion, and the Geltin were not quiet; but all was in disorder after the death of Nero. And the opportunity now offered induced many to aim at the royal power; and the soldiery affected change, out of the hopes of getting money. I thought it therefore an absurd thing to see the truth falsified in affairs of such great consequence, and to take no notice of it; but to suffer those Greeks and Romans that were not in the wars to be ignorant of these things, and to read either flatteries or fictions, while the Parthians, and the Babylonians, and the remotest Arabians, and those of our nation beyond Euphrates, with the Adiabeni, by my means, knew accurately both whence the war begun, what miseries it brought upon us, and after what manner it ended.

3. It is true, these writers have the confidence to call their accounts histories; wherein yet they seem to me to fail of their own purpose, as well as to relate

nothing that is sound. For they have a mind to demonstrate the greatness of the Romans, while they still diminish and lessen the actions of the Jews, as not discerning how it cannot be that those must appear to be great who have only conquered those that were little. Nor are they ashamed to overlook the length of the war, the multitude of the Roman forces who so greatly suffered in it, or the might of the commanders, whose great labors about Jerusalem will be deemed inglorious, if what they achieved be reckoned but a small matter.

4. However, I will not go to the other extreme, out of opposition to those men who extol the Romans nor will I determine to raise the actions of my countrymen too high; but I will prosecute the actions of both parties with accuracy. Yet shall I suit my language to the passions I am under, as to the affairs I describe, and must be allowed to indulge some lamentations upon the miseries undergone by my own country. For that it was a seditious temper of our own that destroyed it, and that they were the tyrants among the Jews who brought the Roman power upon us, who unwillingly attacked us, and occasioned the burning of our holy temple, Titus Caesar, who destroyed it, is himself a witness, who, daring the entire war, pitied the people who were kept under by the seditious, and did often voluntarily delay the taking of the city, and allowed time to the siege, in order to let the authors have opportunity for repentance. But if any one makes an unjust accusation against us, when we speak so passionately about the tyrants, or the robbers, or sorely bewail the misfortunes of our country, let him indulge my affections herein, though it be contrary to the rules for writing history; because it had so come to pass, that our city Jerusalem had arrived at a higher degree of felicity than any other city under the Roman government, and yet at last fell into the sorest of calamities again. Accordingly, it appears to me that the misfortunes of all men, from the beginning of the world, if they be compared to these of the Jews are not so considerable as they were; while the authors of them were not foreigners neither. This makes it impossible for me to contain my lamentations. But if any one be inflexible in his censures of me, let him attribute the facts themselves to the historical part, and the lamentations to the writer himself only.

5. However, I may justly blame the learned men among the Greeks, who, when such great actions have been done in their own times, which, upon the comparison, quite eclipse the old wars, do yet sit as judges of those affairs, and pass bitter censures upon the labors of the best writers of antiquity; which moderns, although they may be superior to the old writers in eloquence, yet are they inferior to them in the execution of what they intended to do. While these also write new histories about the Assyrians and Medes, as if the ancient writers had not described their affairs as they ought to have done; although these be as

far inferior to them in abilities as they are different in their notions from them. For of old every one took upon them to write what happened in his own time; where their immediate concern in the actions made their promises of value; and where it must be reproachful to write lies, when they must be known by the readers to be such. But then, an undertaking to preserve the memory Of what hath not been before recorded, and to represent the affairs of one's own time to those that come afterwards, is really worthy of praise and commendation. Now he is to be esteemed to have taken good pains in earnest, not who does no more than change the disposition and order of other men's works, but he who not only relates what had not been related before, but composes an entire body of history of his own: accordingly, I have been at great charges, and have taken very great pains [about this history], though I be a foreigner; and do dedicate this work, as a memorial of great actions, both to the Greeks and to the Barbarians. But for some of our own principal men, their mouths are wide open, and their tongues loosed presently, for gain and law-suits, but quite muzzled up when they are to write history, where they must speak truth and gather facts together with a great deal of pains; and so they leave the writing such histories to weaker people, and to such as are not acquainted with the actions of princes. Yet shall the real truth of historical facts be preferred by us, how much soever it be neglected among the Greek historians.

6. To write concerning the Antiquities of the Jews, who they were [originally], and how they revolted from the Egyptians, and what country they traveled over, and what countries they seized upon afterward, and how they were removed out of them, I think this not to be a fit opportunity, and, on other accounts, also superfluous; and this because many Jews before me have composed the histories of our ancestors very exactly; as have some of the Greeks done it also, and have translated our histories into their own tongue, and have not much mistaken the truth in their histories. But then, where the writers of these affairs and our prophets leave off, thence shall I take my rise, and begin my history. Now as to what concerns that war which happened in my own time, I will go over it very largely, and with all the diligence I am able; but for what preceded mine own age, that I shall run over briefly.

7. [For example, I shall relate] how Antiochus, who was named Epiphanes, took Jerusalem by force, and held it three years and three months, and was then ejected out of the country by the sons of Asamoneus: after that, how their posterity quarreled about the government, and brought upon their settlement the Romans and Pompey; how Herod also, the son of Antipater, dissolved their government, and brought Sosins upon them; as also how our people made a sedition upon Herod's death, while Augustus was the Roman emperor, and

Quintilius Varus was in that country; and how the war broke out in the twelfth year of Nero, with what happened to Cestius; and what places the Jews assaulted in a hostile manner in the first sallies of the war.

8. As also [I shall relate] how they built walls about the neighboring cities; and how Nero, upon Cestius's defeat, was in fear of the entire event of the war, and thereupon made Vespasian general in this war; and how this Vespasian, with the elder of his sons made an expedition into the country of Judea; what was the number of the Roman army that he made use of; and how many of his auxiliaries were cut off in all Galilee; and how he took some of its cities entirely, and by force, and others of them by treaty, and on terms. Now, when I am come so far, I shall describe the good order of the Romans in war, and the discipline of their legions; the amplitude of both the Galilees, with its nature, and the limits of Judea. And, besides this, I shall particularly go over what is peculiar to the country, the lakes and fountains that are in them, and what miseries happened to every city as they were taken; and all this with accuracy, as I saw the things done, or suffered in them. For I shall not conceal any of the calamities I myself endured, since I shall relate them to such as know the truth of them.

9. After this, [I shall relate] how, When the Jews' affairs were become very bad, Nero died, and Vespasian, when he was going to attack Jerusalem, was called back to take the government upon him; what signs happened to him relating to his gaining that government, and what mutations of government then happened at Rome, and how he was unwillingly made emperor by his soldiers; and how, upon his departure to Egypt, to take upon him the government of the empire, the affairs of the Jews became very tumultuous; as also how the tyrants rose up against them, and fell into dissensions among themselves.

10. Moreover, [I shall relate] how Titus marched out of Egypt into Judea the second time; as also how, and where, and how many forces he got together; and in what state the city was, by the means of the seditious, at his coming; what attacks he made, and how many ramparts he cast up; of the three walls that encompassed the city, and of their measures; of the strength of the city, and the structure of the temple and holy house; and besides, the measures of those edifices, and of the altar, and all accurately determined. A description also of certain of their festivals, and seven purifications of purity, and the sacred ministrations of the priests, with the garments of the priests, and of the high priests; and of the nature of the most holy place of the temple; without concealing any thing, or adding any thing to the known truth of things.

11. After this, I shall relate the barbarity of the tyrants towards the people of their own nation, as well as the indulgence of the Romans in sparing foreigners; and how often Titus, out of his desire to preserve the city and the temple, invited

the seditious to come to terms of accommodation. I shall also distinguish the sufferings of the people, and their calamities; how far they were afflicted by the sedition, and how far by the famine, and at length were taken. Nor shall I omit to mention the misfortunes of the deserters, nor the punishments inflicted on the captives; as also how the temple was burnt, against the consent of Caesar; and how many sacred things that had been laid up in the temple were snatched out of the fire; the destruction also of the entire city, with the signs and wonders that went before it; and the taking the tyrants captives, and the multitude of those that were made slaves, and into what different misfortunes they were every one distributed. Moreover, what the Romans did to the remains of the wall; and how they demolished the strong holds that were in the country; and how Titus went over the whole country, and settled its affairs; together with his return into Italy, and his triumph.

12. I have comprehended all these things in seven books, and have left no occasion for complaint or accusation to such as have been acquainted with this war; and I have written it down for the sake of those that love truth, but not for those that please themselves [with fictitious relations]. And I will begin my account of these things with what I call my First Chapter.

BOOK I.

Containing The Interval Of One Hundred And Sixty-Seven Years.

From The Taking Of Jerusalem By Antiochus Epiphanes, To The Death Of Herod The Great.

CHAPTER 1.

How The City Jerusalem Was Taken, And The Temple Pillaged [By Antiochus Epiphanes]. As Also Concerning The Actions Of The Maccabees, Matthias And Judas; And Concerning The Death Of Judas.

1. At the same time that Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, had a quarrel with the sixth Ptolemy about his right to the whole country of Syria, a great sedition fell among the men of power in Judea, and they had a contention about obtaining the government; while each of those that were of dignity could not endure to be subject to their equals. However, Onias, one of the high priests, got the better, and cast the sons of Tobias out of the city; who fled to Antiochus, and besought him to make use of them for his leaders, and to make an expedition into Judea. The king being thereto disposed beforehand, complied with them, and came upon the Jews with a great army, and took their city by force, and slew a great multitude of those that favored Ptolemy, and sent out his soldiers to plunder them without mercy. He also spoiled the temple, and put a stop to the constant practice of offering a daily sacrifice of expiation for three years and six months. But Onias, the high priest, fled to Ptolemy, and received a place from him in the Nomus of Heliopolis, where he built a city resembling Jerusalem, and a temple that was like its temple concerning which we shall speak more in its proper place hereafter.

2. Now Antiochus was not satisfied either with his unexpected taking the city, or with its pillage, or with the great slaughter he had made there; but being overcome with his violent passions, and remembering what he had suffered during the siege, he compelled the Jews to dissolve the laws of their country, and to keep their infants uncircumcised, and to sacrifice swine's flesh upon the altar; against which they all opposed themselves, and the most approved among them were put to death. Bacchides also, who was sent to keep the fortresses, having these wicked commands, joined to his own natural barbarity, indulged all sorts of the extremest wickedness, and tormented the worthiest of the inhabitants, man by man, and threatened their city every day with open destruction, till at length he provoked the poor sufferers by the extremity of his wicked doings to avenge themselves.

3. Accordingly Matthias, the son of Asamoneus, one of the priests who lived in a village called Modin, armed himself, together with his own family, which had five sons of his in it, and slew Bacchides with daggers; and thereupon, out of

the fear of the many garrisons [of the enemy], he fled to the mountains; and so many of the people followed him, that he was encouraged to come down from the mountains, and to give battle to Antiochus's generals, when he beat them, and drove them out of Judea. So he came to the government by this his success, and became the prince of his own people by their own free consent, and then died, leaving the government to Judas, his eldest son.

4. Now Judas, supposing that Antiochus would not lie still, gathered an army out of his own countrymen, and was the first that made a league of friendship with the Romans, and drove Epiphanes out of the country when he had made a second expedition into it, and this by giving him a great defeat there; and when he was warmed by this great success, he made an assault upon the garrison that was in the city, for it had not been cut off hitherto; so he ejected them out of the upper city, and drove the soldiers into the lower, which part of the city was called the Citadel. He then got the temple under his power, and cleansed the whole place, and walled it round about, and made new vessels for sacred ministrations, and brought them into the temple, because the former vessels had been profaned. He also built another altar, and began to offer the sacrifices; and when the city had already received its sacred constitution again, Antiochus died; whose son Antiochus succeeded him in the kingdom, and in his hatred to the Jews also.

5. So this Antiochus got together fifty thousand footmen, and five thousand horsemen, and fourscore elephants, and marched through Judea into the mountainous parts. He then took Bethsura, which was a small city; but at a place called Bethzacharis, where the passage was narrow, Judas met him with his army. However, before the forces joined battle, Judas's brother Eleazar, seeing the very highest of the elephants adorned with a large tower, and with military trappings of gold to guard him, and supposing that Antiochus himself was upon him, he ran a great way before his own army, and cutting his way through the enemy's troops, he got up to the elephant; yet could he not reach him who seemed to be the king, by reason of his being so high; but still he ran his weapon into the belly of the beast, and brought him down upon himself, and was crushed to death, having done no more than attempted great things, and showed that he preferred glory before life. Now he that governed the elephant was but a private man; and had he proved to be Antiochus, Eleazar had performed nothing more by this bold stroke than that it might appear he chose to die, when he had the bare hope of thereby doing a glorious action; nay, this disappointment proved an omen to his brother [Judas] how the entire battle would end. It is true that the Jews fought it out bravely for a long time, but the king's forces, being superior in number, and having fortune on their side, obtained the victory. And when a

great many of his men were slain, Judas took the rest with him, and fled to the toparchy of Gophna. So Antiochus went to Jerusalem, and staid there but a few days, for he wanted provisions, and so he went his way. He left indeed a garrison behind him, such as he thought sufficient to keep the place, but drew the rest of his army off, to take their winter-quarters in Syria.

6. Now, after the king was departed, Judas was not idle; for as many of his own nation came to him, so did he gather those that had escaped out of the battle together, and gave battle again to Antiochus's generals at a village called Adasa; and being too hard for his enemies in the battle, and killing a great number of them, he was at last himself slain also. Nor was it many days afterward that his brother John had a plot laid against him by Antiochus's party, and was slain by them.

CHAPTER 2.

Concerning The Successors Of Judas, Who Were Jonathan And Simon, And John Hyrcanus.

1. When Jonathan, who was Judas's brother, succeeded him, he behaved himself with great circumspection in other respects, with relation to his own people; and he corroborated his authority by preserving his friendship with the Romans. He also made a league with Antiochus the son. Yet was not all this sufficient for his security; for the tyrant Trypho, who was guardian to Antiochus's son, laid a plot against him; and besides that, endeavored to take off his friends, and caught Jonathan by a wile, as he was going to Ptolemais to Antiochus, with a few persons in his company, and put him in bonds, and then made an expedition against the Jews; but when he was afterward driven away by Simon, who was Jonathan's brother, and was enraged at his defeat, he put Jonathan to death.

2. However, Simon managed the public affairs after a courageous manner, and took Gazara, and Joppa, and Jamnia, which were cities in his neighborhood. He also got the garrison under, and demolished the citadel. He was afterward an auxiliary to Antiochus, against Trypho, whom he besieged in Dora, before he went on his expedition against the Medes; yet could not he make the king ashamed of his ambition, though he had assisted him in killing Trypho; for it was not long ere Antiochus sent Cendebeus his general with an army to lay waste Judea, and to subdue Simon; yet he, though he was now in years, conducted the war as if he were a much younger man. He also sent his sons with a band of strong men against Antiochus, while he took part of the army himself with him, and fell upon him from another quarter. He also laid a great many men in ambush in many places of the mountains, and was superior in all his attacks upon them; and when he had been conqueror after so glorious a manner, he was made high priest, and also freed the Jews from the dominion of the Macedonians, after one hundred and seventy years of the empire [of Seleucus].

3. This Simon also had a plot laid against him, and was slain at a feast by his son-in-law Ptolemy, who put his wife and two sons into prison, and sent some persons to kill John, who was also called Hyrcanus. But when the young man was informed of their coming beforehand, he made haste to get to the city, as having a very great confidence in the people there, both on account of the memory of the glorious actions of his father, and of the hatred they could not but bear to the injustice of Ptolemy. Ptolemy also made an attempt to get into the

city by another gate; but was repelled by the people, who had just then admitted of Hyrcanus; so he retired presently to one of the fortresses that were about Jericho, which was called Dagon. Now when Hyrcanus had received the high priesthood, which his father had held before, and had offered sacrifice to God, he made great haste to attack Ptolemy, that he might afford relief to his mother and brethren.

4. So he laid siege to the fortress, and was superior to Ptolemy in other respects, but was overcome by him as to the just affection [he had for his relations]; for when Ptolemy was distressed, he brought forth his mother, and his brethren, and set them upon the wall, and beat them with rods in every body's sight, and threatened, that unless he would go away immediately, he would throw them down headlong; at which sight Hyrcanus's commiseration and concern were too hard for his anger. But his mother was not dismayed, neither at the stripes she received, nor at the death with which she was threatened; but stretched out her hands, and prayed her son not to be moved with the injuries that she suffered to spare the wretch; since it was to her better to die by the means of Ptolemy, than to live ever so long, provided he might be punished for the injuries he done to their family. Now John's case was this: When he considered the courage of his mother, and heard her entreaty, he set about his attacks; but when he saw her beaten, and torn to pieces with the stripes, he grew feeble, and was entirely overcome by his affections. And as the siege was delayed by this means, the year of rest came on, upon which the Jews rest every seventh year as they do on every seventh day. On this year, therefore, Ptolemy was freed from being besieged, and slew the brethren of John, with their mother, and fled to Zeno, who was also called Cotylas, who was tyrant of Philadelphia.

5. And now Antiochus was so angry at what he had suffered from Simon, that he made an expedition into Judea, and sat down before Jerusalem and besieged Hyrcanus; but Hyrcanus opened the sepulcher of David, who was the richest of all kings, and took thence about three thousand talents in money, and induced Antiochus, by the promise of three thousand talents, to raise the siege. Moreover, he was the first of the Jews that had money enough, and began to hire foreign auxiliaries also.

6. However, at another time, when Antiochus was gone upon an expedition against the Medes, and so gave Hyrcanus an opportunity of being revenged upon him, he immediately made an attack upon the cities of Syria, as thinking, what proved to be the case with them, that he should find them empty of good troops. So he took Medaba and Samea, with the towns in their neighborhood, as also Shechem, and Gerizzim; and besides these, [he subdued] the nation of the Cutheans, who dwelt round about that temple which was built in imitation of the

temple at Jerusalem; he also took a great many other cities of Idumea, with Adoreon and Marissa. 7. He also proceeded as far as Samaria, where is now the city Sebaste, which was built by Herod the king, and encompassed it all round with a wall, and set his sons, Aristobulus and Antigonus, over the siege; who pushed it on so hard, that a famine so far prevailed within the city, that they were forced to eat what never was esteemed food. They also invited Antiochus, who was called Cyzicenus, to come to their assistance; whereupon he got ready, and complied with their invitation, but was beaten by Aristobulus and Antigonus; and indeed he was pursued as far as Scythopolis by these brethren, and fled away from them. So they returned back to Samaria, and shut the multitude again within the wall; and when they had taken the city, they demolished it, and made slaves of its inhabitants. And as they had still great success in their undertakings, they did not suffer their zeal to cool, but marched with an army as far as Scythopolis, and made an incursion upon it, and laid waste all the country that lay within Mount Carmel.

8. But then these successes of John and of his sons made them be envied, and occasioned a sedition in the country; and many there were who got together, and would not be at rest till they brake out into open war, in which war they were beaten. So John lived the rest of his life very happily, and administered the government after a most extraordinary manner, and this for thirty-three entire years together. He died, leaving five sons behind him. He was certainly a very happy man, and afforded no occasion to have any complaint made of fortune on his account. He it was who alone had three of the most desirable things in the world, — the government of his nation, and the high priesthood, and the gift of prophecy. For the Deity conversed with him, and he was not ignorant of any thing that was to come afterward; insomuch that he foresaw and foretold that his two eldest sons would not continue masters of the government; and it will highly deserve our narration to describe their catastrophe, and how far inferior these men were to their father in felicity.

CHAPTER 3.

How Aristobulus Was The First That Put A Diadem About His Head; And After He Had Put His Mother And Brother To Death, Died Himself, When He Had Reigned No More Than A Year.

1. For after the death of their father, the elder of them, Aristobulus, changed the government into a kingdom, and was the first that put a diadem upon his head, four hundred seventy and one years and three months after our people came down into this country, when they were set free from the Babylonian slavery. Now, of his brethren, he appeared to have an affection for Antigonus, who was next to him, and made him his equal; but for the rest, he bound them, and put them in prison. He also put his mother in bonds, for her contesting the government with him; for John had left her to be the governess of public affairs. He also proceeded to that degree of barbarity as to cause her to be pined to death in prison.

2. But vengeance circumvented him in the affair of his brother Antigonus, whom he loved, and whom he made his partner in the kingdom; for he slew him by the means of the calumnies which ill men about the palace contrived against him. At first, indeed, Aristobulus would not believe their reports, partly out of the affection he had for his brother, and partly because he thought that a great part of these tales were owing to the envy of their relaters: however, as Antigonus came once in a splendid manner from the army to that festival, wherein our ancient custom is to make tabernacles for God, it happened, in those days, that Aristobulus was sick, and that, at the conclusion of the feast, Antigonus came up to it, with his armed men about him; and this when he was adorned in the finest manner possible; and that, in a great measure, to pray to God on the behalf of his brother. Now at this very time it was that these ill men came to the king, and told him in what a pompous manner the armed men came, and with what insolence Antigonus marched, and that such his insolence was too great for a private person, and that accordingly he was come with a great band of men to kill him; for that he could not endure this bare enjoyment of royal honor, when it was in his power to take the kingdom himself.

3. Now Aristobulus, by degrees, and unwillingly, gave credit to these accusations; and accordingly he took care not to discover his suspicion openly, though he provided to be secure against any accidents; so he placed the guards of his body in a certain dark subterranean passage; for he lay sick in a place called formerly the Citadel, though afterwards its name was changed to Antonia; and

he gave orders that if Antigonus came unarmed, they should let him alone; but if he came to him in his armor, they should kill him. He also sent some to let him know beforehand that he should come unarmed. But, upon this occasion, the queen very cunningly contrived the matter with those that plotted his ruin, for she persuaded those that were sent to conceal the king's message; but to tell Antigonus how his brother had heard he had got a very the suit of armor made with fine martial ornaments, in Galilee; and because his present sickness hindered him from coming and seeing all that finery, he very much desired to see him now in his armor; because, said he, in a little time thou art going away from me.

4. As soon as Antigonus heard this, the good temper of his brother not allowing him to suspect any harm from him, he came along with his armor on, to show it to his brother; but when he was going along that dark passage which was called Strato's Tower, he was slain by the body guards, and became an eminent instance how calumny destroys all good-will and natural affection, and how none of our good affections are strong enough to resist envy perpetually.

5. And truly any one would be surprised at Judas upon this occasion. He was of the sect of the Essens, and had never failed or deceived men in his predictions before. Now this man saw Antigonus as he was passing along by the temple, and cried out to his acquaintance, [they were not a few who attended upon him as his scholars,] "O strange!" said he, "it is good for me to die now, since truth is dead before me, and somewhat that I have foretold hath proved false; for this Antigonus is this day alive, who ought to have died this day; and the place where he ought to be slain, according to that fatal decree, was Strato's Tower, which is at the distance of six hundred furlongs from this place; and yet four hours of this day are over already; which point of time renders the prediction impossible to be fill filled." And when the old man had said this, he was dejected in his mind, and so continued. But in a little time news came that Antigonus was slain in a subterraneous place, which was itself also called Strato's Tower, by the same name with that Cesarea which lay by the sea-side; and this ambiguity it was which caused the prophet's disorder.

6. Hereupon Aristobulus repented of the great crime he had been guilty of, and this gave occasion to the increase of his distemper. He also grew worse and worse, and his soul was constantly disturbed at the thoughts of what he had done, till his very bowels being torn to pieces by the intolerable grief he was under, he threw up a great quantity of blood. And as one of those servants that attended him carried out that blood, he, by some supernatural providence, slipped and fell down in the very place where Antigonus had been slain; and so he spilt some of the murderer's blood upon the spots of the blood of him that had

been murdered, which still appeared. Hereupon a lamentable cry arose among the spectators, as if the servant had spilled the blood on purpose in that place; and as the king heard that cry, he inquired what was the cause of it; and while nobody durst tell him, he pressed them so much the more to let him know what was the matter; so at length, when he had threatened them, and forced them to speak out, they told; whereupon he burst into tears, and groaned, and said, “So I perceive I am not like to escape the all-seeing eye of God, as to the great crimes I have committed; but the vengeance of the blood of my kinsman pursues me hastily. O thou most impudent body! how long wilt thou retain a soul that ought to die on account of that punishment it ought to suffer for a mother and a brother slain! How long shall I myself spend my blood drop by drop? let them take it all at once; and let their ghosts no longer be disappointed by a few parcels of my bowels offered to them.” As soon as he had said these words, he presently died, when he had reigned no longer than a year.

CHAPTER 4.

What Actions Were Done By Alexander Janneus, Who Reigned Twenty-Seven Years.

1. And now the king's wife loosed the king's brethren, and made Alexander king, who appeared both elder in age, and more moderate in his temper than the rest; who, when he came to the government, slew one of his brethren, as affecting to govern himself; but had the other of them in great esteem, as loving a quiet life, without meddling with public affairs.

2. Now it happened that there was a battle between him and Ptolemy, who was called Lathyrus, who had taken the city Asochis. He indeed slew a great many of his enemies, but the victory rather inclined to Ptolemy. But when this Ptolemy was pursued by his mother Cleopatra, and retired into Egypt, Alexander besieged Gadara, and took it; as also he did Amathus, which was the strongest of all the fortresses that were about Jordan, and therein were the most precious of all the possessions of Theodorus, the son of Zeno. Whereupon Theodopus marched against him, and took what belonged to himself as well as the king's baggage, and slew ten thousand of the Jews. However, Alexander recovered this blow, and turned his force towards the maritime parts, and took Raphia and Gaza, with Anthedon also, which was afterwards called Agrippias by king Herod.

3. But when he had made slaves of the citizens of all these cities, the nation of the Jews made an insurrection against him at a festival; for at those feasts seditions are generally begun; and it looked as if he should not be able to escape the plot they had laid for him, had not his foreign auxiliaries, the Pisidians and Cilicians, assisted him; for as to the Syrians, he never admitted them among his mercenary troops, on account of their innate enmity against the Jewish nation. And when he had slain more than six thousand of the rebels, he made an incursion into Arabia; and when he had taken that country, together with the Gileadires and Moabites, he enjoined them to pay him tribute, and returned to Areathus; and as Theodorus was surprised at his great success, he took the fortress, and demolished it.

4. However, when he fought with Obodas, king of the Arabians, who had laid an ambush for him near Golan, and a plot against him, he lost his entire army, which was crowded together in a deep valley, and broken to pieces by the multitude of camels. And when he had made his escape to Jerusalem, he provoked the multitude, which hated him before, to make an insurrection against

him, and this on account of the greatness of the calamity that he was under. However, he was then too hard for them; and, in the several battles that were fought on both sides, he slew not fewer than fifty thousand of the Jews in the interval of six years. Yet had he no reason to rejoice in these victories, since he did but consume his own kingdom; till at length he left off fighting, and endeavored to come to a composition with them, by talking with his subjects. But this mutability and irregularity of his conduct made them hate him still more. And when he asked them why they so hated him, and what he should do in order to appease them, they said, by killing himself; for that it would be then all they could do to be reconciled to him, who had done such tragical things to them, even when he was dead. At the same time they invited Demetrius, who was called Eucerus, to assist them; and as he readily complied with their requests, in hopes of great advantages, and came with his army, the Jews joined with those their auxiliaries about Shechem.

5. Yet did Alexander meet both these forces with one thousand horsemen, and eight thousand mercenaries that were on foot. He had also with him that part of the Jews which favored him, to the number of ten thousand; while the adverse party had three thousand horsemen, and fourteen thousand footmen. Now, before they joined battle, the kings made proclamation, and endeavored to draw off each other's soldiers, and make them revolt; while Demetrius hoped to induce Alexander's mercenaries to leave him, and Alexander hoped to induce the Jews that were with Demetrius to leave him. But since neither the Jews would leave off their rage, nor the Greeks prove unfaithful, they came to an engagement, and to a close fight with their weapons. In which battle Demetrius was the conqueror, although Alexander's mercenaries showed the greatest exploits, both in soul and body. Yet did the upshot of this battle prove different from what was expected, as to both of them; for neither did those that invited Demetrius to come to them continue firm to him, though he was conqueror; and six thousand Jews, out of pity to the change of Alexander's condition, when he was fled to the mountains, came over to him. Yet could not Demetrius bear this turn of affairs; but supposing that Alexander was already become a match for him again, and that all the nation would [at length] run to him, he left the country, and went his way.

6. However, the rest of the [Jewish] multitude did not lay aside their quarrels with him, when the [foreign] auxiliaries were gone; but they had a perpetual war with Alexander, until he had slain the greatest part of them, and driven the rest into the city Berneselis; and when he had demolished that city, he carried the captives to Jerusalem. Nay, his rage was grown so extravagant, that his barbarity proceeded to the degree of impiety; for when he had ordered eight hundred to be

hung upon crosses in the midst of the city, he had the throats of their wives and children cut before their eyes; and these executions he saw as he was drinking and lying down with his concubines. Upon which so deep a surprise seized on the people, that eight thousand of his opposers fled away the very next night, out of all Judea, whose flight was only terminated by Alexander's death; so at last, though not till late, and with great difficulty, he, by such actions, procured quiet to his kingdom, and left off fighting any more.

7. Yet did that Antiochus, who was also called Dionysius, become an origin of troubles again. This man was the brother of Demetrius, and the last of the race of the Seleucidae. Alexander was afraid of him, when he was marching against the Arabians; so he cut a deep trench between Antipatris, which was near the mountains, and the shores of Joppa; he also erected a high wall before the trench, and built wooden towers, in order to hinder any sudden approaches. But still he was not able to exclude Antiochus, for he burnt the towers, and filled up the trenches, and marched on with his army. And as he looked upon taking his revenge on Alexander, for endeavoring to stop him, as a thing of less consequence, he marched directly against the Arabians, whose king retired into such parts of the country as were fittest for engaging the enemy, and then on the sudden made his horse turn back, which were in number ten thousand, and fell upon Antiochus's army while they were in disorder, and a terrible battle ensued. Antiochus's troops, so long as he was alive, fought it out, although a mighty slaughter was made among them by the Arabians; but when he fell, for he was in the forefront, in the utmost danger, in rallying his troops, they all gave ground, and the greatest part of his army were destroyed, either in the action or the flight; and for the rest, who fled to the village of Cana, it happened that they were all consumed by want of necessaries, a few only excepted.

8. About this time it was that the people of Damascus, out of their hatred to Ptolemy, the son of Menhens, invited Aretas [to take the government], and made him king of Celesyria. This man also made an expedition against Judea, and beat Alexander in battle; but afterwards retired by mutual agreement. But Alexander, when he had taken Pella, marched to Gerasa again, out of the covetous desire he had of Theodorus's possessions; and when he had built a triple wall about the garrison, he took the place by force. He also demolished Golan, and Seleucia, and what was called the Valley of Antiochus; besides which, he took the strong fortress of Gamala, and stripped Demetrius, who was governor therein, of what he had, on account of the many crimes laid to his charge, and then returned into Judea, after he had been three whole years in this expedition. And now he was kindly received of the nation, because of the good success he had. So when he was at rest from war, he fell into a distemper; for he was afflicted with a quartan

ague, and supposed that, by exercising himself again in martial affairs, he should get rid of this distemper; but by making such expeditions at unseasonable times, and forcing his body to undergo greater hardships than it was able to bear, he brought himself to his end. He died, therefore, in the midst of his troubles, after he had reigned seven and twenty years.

CHAPTER 5.

Alexandra Reigns Nine Years, During Which Time The Pharisees Were The Real Rulers Of The Nation.

1. Now Alexander left the kingdom to Alexandra his wife, and depended upon it that the Jews would now very readily submit to her, because she had been very averse to such cruelty as he had treated them with, and had opposed his violation of their laws, and had thereby got the good-will of the people. Nor was he mistaken as to his expectations; for this woman kept the dominion, by the opinion that the people had of her piety; for she chiefly studied the ancient customs of her country, and cast those men out of the government that offended against their holy laws. And as she had two sons by Alexander, she made Hyrcanus the elder high priest, on account of his age, as also, besides that, on account of his inactive temper, no way disposing him to disturb the public. But she retained the younger, Aristobulus, with her as a private person, by reason of the warmth of his temper.

2. And now the Pharisees joined themselves to her, to assist her in the government. These are a certain sect of the Jews that appear more religious than others, and seem to interpret the laws more accurately. low Alexandra hearkened to them to an extraordinary degree, as being herself a woman of great piety towards God. But these Pharisees artfully insinuated themselves into her favor by little and little, and became themselves the real administrators of the public affairs: they banished and reduced whom they pleased; they bound and loosed [men] at their pleasure; and, to say all at once, they had the enjoyment of the royal authority, whilst the expenses and the difficulties of it belonged to Alexandra. She was a sagacious woman in the management of great affairs, and intent always upon gathering soldiers together; so that she increased the army the one half, and procured a great body of foreign troops, till her own nation became not only very powerful at home, but terrible also to foreign potentates, while she governed other people, and the Pharisees governed her.

3. Accordingly, they themselves slew Diogenes, a person of figure, and one that had been a friend to Alexander; and accused him as having assisted the king with his advice, for crucifying the eight hundred men [before mentioned.] They also prevailed with Alexandra to put to death the rest of those who had irritated him against them. Now she was so superstitious as to comply with their desires, and accordingly they slew whom they pleased themselves. But the principal of those that were in danger fled to Aristobulus, who persuaded his mother to spare

the men on account of their dignity, but to expel them out of the city, unless she took them to be innocent; so they were suffered to go unpunished, and were dispersed all over the country. But when Alexandra sent out her army to Damascus, under pretense that Ptolemy was always oppressing that city, she got possession of it; nor did it make any considerable resistance. She also prevailed with Tigranes, king of Armenia, who lay with his troops about Ptolemais, and besieged Cleopatra, by agreements and presents, to go away. Accordingly, Tigranes soon arose from the siege, by reason of those domestic tumults which happened upon Lucullus's expedition into Armenia.

4. In the mean time, Alexandra fell sick, and Aristobulus, her younger son, took hold of this opportunity, with his domestics, of which he had a great many, who were all of them his friends, on account of the warmth of their youth, and got possession of all the fortresses. He also used the sums of money he found in them to get together a number of mercenary soldiers, and made himself king; and besides this, upon Hyrcanus's complaint to his mother, she compassionated his case, and put Aristobulus's wife and sons under restraint in Antonia, which was a fortress that joined to the north part of the temple. It was, as I have already said, of old called the Citadel; but afterwards got the name of Antonia, when Antony was [lord of the East], just as the other cities, Sebaste and Agrippias, had their names changed, and these given them from Sebastus and Agrippa. But Alexandra died before she could punish Aristobulus for his disinheriting his brother, after she had reigned nine years.

CHAPTER 6.

When Hyrcanus Who Was Alexander's Heir, Receded From His Claim To The Crown Aristobulus Is Made King; And Afterward The Same Hyrcanus By The Means Of Antipater, Is Brought Back By Abetas. At Last Pompey Is Made The Arbitrator Of The Dispute Between The Brothers.

1. Now Hyrcanus was heir to the kingdom, and to him did his mother commit it before she died; but Aristobulus was superior to him in power and magnanimity; and when there was a battle between them, to decide the dispute about the kingdom, near Jericho, the greatest part deserted Hyrcanus, and went over to Aristobulus; but Hyrcanus, with those of his party who staid with him, fled to Antonia, and got into his power the hostages that might be for his preservation [which were Aristobulus's wife, with her children]; but they came to an agreement before things should come to extremities, that Aristobulus should be king, and Hyrcanus should resign that up, but retain all the rest of his dignities, as being the king's brother. Hereupon they were reconciled to each other in the temple, and embraced one another in a very kind manner, while the people stood round about them; they also changed their houses, while Aristobulus went to the royal palace, and Hyrcanus retired to the house of Aristobulus.

2. Now those other people which were at variance with Aristobulus were afraid upon his unexpected obtaining the government; and especially this concerned Antipater whom Aristobulus hated of old. He was by birth an Idumean, and one of the principal of that nation, on account of his ancestors and riches, and other authority to him belonging: he also persuaded Hyrcanus to fly to Aretas, the king of Arabia, and to lay claim to the kingdom; as also he persuaded Aretas to receive Hyrcanus, and to bring him back to his kingdom: he also cast great reproaches upon Aristobulus, as to his morals, and gave great commendations to Hyrcanus, and exhorted Aretas to receive him, and told him how becoming a filing it would be for him, who ruled so great a kingdom, to afford his assistance to such as are injured; alleging that Hyrcanus was treated unjustly, by being deprived of that dominion which belonged to him by the prerogative of his birth. And when he had predisposed them both to do what he would have them, he took Hyrcanus by night, and ran away from the city, and, continuing his flight with great swiftness, he escaped to the place called Petra, which is the royal seat of the king of Arabia, where he put Hyrcanus into

Aretas's hand; and by discoursing much with him, and gaining upon him with many presents, he prevailed with him to give him an army that might restore him to his kingdom. This army consisted of fifty thousand footmen and horsemen, against which Aristobulus was not able to make resistance, but was deserted in his first onset, and was driven to Jerusalem; he also had been taken at first by force, if Scaurus, the Roman general, had not come and seasonably interposed himself, and raised the siege. This Scaurus was sent into Syria from Armenia by Pompey the Great, when he fought against Tigranes; so Scaurus came to Damascus, which had been lately taken by Metellus and Lollius, and caused them to leave the place; and, upon his hearing how the affairs of Judea stood, he made haste thither as to a certain booty.

3. As soon, therefore, as he was come into the country, there came ambassadors from both the brothers, each of them desiring his assistance; but Aristobulus's three hundred talents had more weight with him than the justice of the cause; which sum, when Scaurus had received, he sent a herald to Hyrcanus and the Arabians, and threatened them with the resentment of the Romans and of Pompey, unless they would raise the siege. So Aretas was terrified, and retired out of Judea to Philadelphia, as did Scaurus return to Damascus again; nor was Aristobulus satisfied with escaping [out of his brother's hands,] but gathered all his forces together, and pursued his enemies, and fought them at a place called Papyron, and slew about six thousand of them, and, together with them Antipater's brother Phalion.

4. When Hyrcanus and Antipater were thus deprived of their hopes from the Arabians, they transferred the same to their adversaries; and because Pompey had passed through Syria, and was come to Damascus, they fled to him for assistance; and, without any bribes, they made the same equitable pleas that they had used to Aretas, and besought him to hate the violent behavior of Aristobulus, and to bestow the kingdom on him to whom it justly belonged, both on account of his good character and on account of his superiority in age. However, neither was Aristobulus wanting to himself in this case, as relying on the bribes that Scaurus had received: he was also there himself, and adorned himself after a manner the most agreeable to royalty that he was able. But he soon thought it beneath him to come in such a servile manner, and could not endure to serve his own ends in a way so much more abject than he was used to; so he departed from Diospolis.

5. At this his behavior Pompey had great indignation; Hyrcanus also and his friends made great intercessions to Pompey; so he took not only his Roman forces, but many of his Syrian auxiliaries, and marched against Aristobulus. But when he had passed by Pella and Scythopolis, and was come to Corea, where

you enter into the country of Judea, when you go up to it through the Mediterranean parts, he heard that Aristobulus was fled to Alexandrium, which is a strong hold fortified with the utmost magnificence, and situated upon a high mountain; and he sent to him, and commanded him to come down. Now his inclination was to try his fortune in a battle, since he was called in such an imperious manner, rather than to comply with that call. However, he saw the multitude were in great fear, and his friends exhorted him to consider what the power of the Romans was, and how it was irresistible; so he complied with their advice, and came down to Pompey; and when he had made a long apology for himself, and for the justness of his cause in taking the government, he returned to the fortress. And when his brother invited him again [to plead his cause], he came down and spake about the justice of it, and then went away without any hinderance from Pompey; so he was between hope and fear. And when he came down, it was to prevail with Pompey to allow him the government entirely; and when he went up to the citadel, it was that he might not appear to debase himself too low. However, Pompey commanded him to give up his fortified places, and forced him to write to every one of their governors to yield them up; they having had this charge given them, to obey no letters but what were of his own hand-writing. Accordingly he did what he was ordered to do; but had still an indignation at what was done, and retired to Jerusalem, and prepared to fight with Pompey.

6. But Pompey did not give him time to make any preparations [for a siege], but followed him at his heels; he was also obliged to make haste in his attempt, by the death of Mithridates, of which he was informed about Jericho. Now here is the most fruitful country of Judea, which bears a vast number of palm trees besides the balsam tree, whose sprouts they cut with sharp stones, and at the incisions they gather the juice, which drops down like tears. So Pompey pitched his camp in that place one night, and then hasted away the next morning to Jerusalem; but Aristobulus was so affrighted at his approach, that he came and met him by way of supplication. He also promised him money, and that he would deliver up both himself and the city into his disposal, and thereby mitigated the anger of Pompey. Yet did not he perform any of the conditions he had agreed to; for Aristobulus's party would not so much as admit Gabinius into the city, who was sent to receive the money that he had promised.

CHAPTER 7.

How Pompey Had The City Of Jerusalem Delivered Up To Him But Took The Temple By Force. How He Went Into The Holy Of Holies; As Also What Were His Other Exploits In Judea.

1. At this treatment Pompey was very angry, and took Aristobulus into custody. And when he was come to the city, he looked about where he might make his attack; for he saw the walls were so firm, that it would be hard to overcome them; and that the valley before the walls was terrible; and that the temple, which was within that valley, was itself encompassed with a very strong wall, insomuch that if the city were taken, that temple would be a second place of refuge for the enemy to retire to.

2. Now as he was long in deliberating about this matter, a sedition arose among the people within the city; Aristobulus's party being willing to fight, and to set their king at liberty, while the party of Hyrcanus were for opening the gates to Pompey; and the dread people were in occasioned these last to be a very numerous party, when they looked upon the excellent order the Roman soldiers were in. So Aristobulus's party was worsted, and retired into the temple, and cut off the communication between the temple and the city, by breaking down the bridge that joined them together, and prepared to make an opposition to the utmost; but as the others had received the Romans into the city, and had delivered up the palace to him, Pompey sent Piso, one of his great officers, into that palace with an army, who distributed a garrison about the city, because he could not persuade any one of those that had fled to the temple to come to terms of accommodation; he then disposed all things that were round about them so as might favor their attacks, as having Hyrcanus's party very ready to afford them both counsel and assistance.

3. But Pompey himself filled up the ditch that was oil the north side of the temple, and the entire valley also, the army itself being obliged to carry the materials for that purpose. And indeed it was a hard thing to fill up that valley, by reason of its immense depth, especially as the Jews used all the means possible to repel them from their superior situation; nor had the Romans succeeded in their endeavors, had not Pompey taken notice of the seventh days, on which the Jews abstain from all sorts of work on a religious account, and raised his bank, but restrained his soldiers from fighting on those days; for the Jews only acted defensively on sabbath days. But as soon as Pompey had filled up the valley, he erected high towers upon the bank, and brought those engines

which they had fetched from Tyre near to the wall, and tried to batter it down; and the slingers of stones beat off those that stood above them, and drove them away; but the towers on this side of the city made very great resistance, and were indeed extraordinary both for largeness and magnificence.

4. Now here it was that, upon the many hardships which the Romans underwent, Pompey could not but admire not only at the other instances of the Jews' fortitude, but especially that they did not at all intermit their religious services, even when they were encompassed with darts on all sides; for, as if the city were in full peace, their daily sacrifices and purifications, and every branch of their religious worship, was still performed to God with the utmost exactness. Nor indeed when the temple was actually taken, and they were every day slain about the altar, did they leave off the instances of their Divine worship that were appointed by their law; for it was in the third month of the siege before the Romans could even with great difficulty overthrow one of the towers, and get into the temple. Now he that first of all ventured to get over the wall, was Faustus Cornelius the son of Sylla; and next after him were two centurions, Furius and Fabius; and every one of these was followed by a cohort of his own, who encompassed the Jews on all sides, and slew them, some of them as they were running for shelter to the temple, and others as they, for a while, fought in their own defense.

5. And now did many of the priests, even when they saw their enemies assailing them with swords in their hands, without any disturbance, go on with their Divine worship, and were slain while they were offering their drink-offerings, and burning their incense, as preferring the duties about their worship to God before their own preservation. The greatest part of them were slain by their own countrymen, of the adverse faction, and an innumerable multitude threw themselves down precipices; nay, some there were who were so distracted among the insuperable difficulties they were under, that they set fire to the buildings that were near to the wall, and were burnt together with them. Now of the Jews were slain twelve thousand; but of the Romans very few were slain, but a greater number was wounded.

6. But there was nothing that affected the nation so much, in the calamities they were then under, as that their holy place, which had been hitherto seen by none, should be laid open to strangers; for Pompey, and those that were about him, went into the temple itself whither it was not lawful for any to enter but the high priest, and saw what was reposited therein, the candlestick with its lamps, and the table, and the pouring vessels, and the censers, all made entirely of gold, as also a great quantity of spices heaped together, with two thousand talents of sacred money. Yet did not he touch that money, nor any thing else that was there

reposited; but he commanded the ministers about the temple, the very next day after he had taken it, to cleanse it, and to perform their accustomed sacrifices. Moreover, he made Hyrcanus high priest, as one that not only in other respects had showed great alacrity, on his side, during the siege, but as he had been the means of hindering the multitude that was in the country from fighting for Aristobulus, which they were otherwise very ready to have done; by which means he acted the part of a good general, and reconciled the people to him more by benevolence than by terror. Now, among the Captives, Aristobulus's father-in-law was taken, who was also his uncle: so those that were the most guilty he punished with decollatlon; but rewarded Faustus, and those with him that had fought so bravely, with glorious presents, and laid a tribute upon the country, and upon Jerusalem itself.

7. He also took away from the nation all those cities that they had formerly taken, and that belonged to Celesyria, and made them subject to him that was at that time appointed to be the Roman president there; and reduced Judea within its proper bounds. He also rebuilt Gadara, that had been demolished by the Jews, in order to gratify one Demetrius, who was of Gadara, and was one of his own freed-men. He also made other cities free from their dominion, that lay in the midst of the country, such, I mean, as they had not demolished before that time; Hippos, and Scythopolis, as also Pella, and Samaria, and Marissa; and besides these Ashdod, and Jamnia, and Arethusa; and in like manner dealt he with the maritime cities, Gaza, and Joppa, and Dora, and that which was anciently called Strato's Tower, but was afterward rebuilt with the most magnificent edifices, and had its name changed to Cesarea, by king Herod. All which he restored to their own citizens, and put them under the province of Syria; which province, together with Judea, and the countries as far as Egypt and Euphrates, he committed to Scaurus as their governor, and gave him two legions to support him; while he made all the haste he could himself to go through Cilicia, in his way to Rome, having Aristobulus and his children along with him as his captives. They were two daughters and two sons; the one of which sons, Alexander, ran away as he was going; but the younger, Antigonus, with his sisters, were carried to Rome.

CHAPTER 8.

Alexander, The Son Of Aristobulus, Who Ran Away From Pompey, Makes An Expedition Against Hyrcanus; But Being Overcome By Gabinius He Delivers Up The Fortresses To Him. After This Aristobulus Escapes From Rome And Gathers An Army Together; But Being Beaten By The Romans, He Is Brought Back To Rome; With Other Things Relating To Gabinius, Crassus And Cassius.

1. In the mean time, Scaurus made an expedition into Arabia, but was stopped by the difficulty of the places about Petra. However, he laid waste the country about Pella, though even there he was under great hardship; for his army was afflicted with famine. In order to supply which want, Hyrcanus afforded him some assistance, and sent him provisions by the means of Antipater; whom also Scaurus sent to Aretas, as one well acquainted with him, to induce him to pay him money to buy his peace. The king of Arabia complied with the proposal, and gave him three hundred talents; upon which Scaurus drew his army out of Arabia

2. But as for Alexander, that son of Aristobulus who ran away from Pompey, in some time he got a considerable band of men together, and lay heavy upon Hyrcanus, and overran Judea, and was likely to overturn him quickly; and indeed he had come to Jerusalem, and had ventured to rebuild its wall that was thrown down by Pompey, had not Gabinius, who was sent as successor to Scaurus into Syria, showed his bravery, as in many other points, so in making an expedition against Alexander; who, as he was afraid that he would attack him, so he got together a large army, composed of ten thousand armed footmen, and fifteen hundred horsemen. He also built walls about proper places; Alexandrium, and Hyrcanium, and Machaerus, that lay upon the mountains of Arabia.

3. However, Gabinius sent before him Marcus Antonius, and followed himself with his whole army; but for the select body of soldiers that were about Antipater, and another body of Jews under the command of Malichus and Pitholaus, these joined themselves to those captains that were about Marcus Antonius, and met Alexander; to which body came Gabinius with his main army soon afterward; and as Alexander was not able to sustain the charge of the enemies' forces, now they were joined, he retired. But when he was come near to Jerusalem, he was forced to fight, and lost six thousand men in the battle; three thousand of which fell down dead, and three thousand were taken alive; so he fled with the remainder to Alexandrium.

4. Now when Gabinius was come to Alexandrium, because he found a great many there en-camped, he tried, by promising them pardon for their former offenses, to induce them to come over to him before it came to a fight; but when they would hearken to no terms of accommodation, he slew a great number of them, and shut up a great number of them in the citadel. Now Marcus Antonius, their leader, signalized himself in this battle, who, as he always showed great courage, so did he never show it so much as now; but Gabinius, leaving forces to take the citadel, went away himself, and settled the cities that had not been demolished, and rebuilt those that had been destroyed. Accordingly, upon his injunctions, the following cities were restored: Scythopolis, and Samaria, and Anthedon, and Apollonia, and Jamnia, and Raphia, and Mariassa, and Adoreus, and Gamala, and Ashdod, and many others; while a great number of men readily ran to each of them, and became their inhabitants.

5. When Gabinius had taken care of these cities, he returned to Alexandrium, and pressed on the siege. So when Alexander despaired of ever obtaining the government, he sent ambassadors to him, and prayed him to forgive what he had offended him in, and gave up to him the remaining fortresses, Hyrcanium and Machaerus, as he put Alexandrium into his hands afterwards; all which Gabinius demolished, at the persuasion of Alexander's mother, that they might not be receptacles of men in a second war. She was now there in order to mollify Gabinius, out of her concern for her relations that were captives at Rome, which were her husband and her other children. After this Gabinius brought Hyrcanus to Jerusalem, and committed the care of the temple to him; but ordained the other political government to be by an aristocracy. He also parted the whole nation into five conventions, assigning one portion to Jerusalem, another to Gadara, that another should belong to Amathus, a fourth to Jericho, and to the fifth division was allotted Sepphoris, a city of Galilee. So the people were glad to be thus freed from monarchical government, and were governed for the future by all aristocracy.

6. Yet did Aristobulus afford another foundation for new disturbances. He fled away from Rome, and got together again many of the Jews that were desirous of a change, such as had borne an affection to him of old; and when he had taken Alexandrium in the first place, he attempted to build a wall about it; but as soon as Gabinius had sent an army against him under Siscuria, and Antonius, and Servilius, he was aware of it, and retreated to Machaerus. And as for the unprofitable multitude, he dismissed them, and only marched on with those that were armed, being to the number of eight thousand, among whom was Pitholaus, who had been the lieutenant at Jerusalem, but deserted to Aristobulus with a thousand of his men; so the Romans followed him, and when it came to a battle,

Aristobulus's party for a long time fought courageously; but at length they were overborne by the Romans, and of them five thousand fell down dead, and about two thousand fled to a certain little hill, but the thousand that remained with Aristobulus brake through the Roman army, and marched together to Machaerus; and when the king had lodged the first night upon its ruins, he was in hopes of raising another army, if the war would but cease a while; accordingly, he fortified that strong hold, though it was done after a poor manner. But the Romans falling upon him, he resisted, even beyond his abilities, for two days, and then was taken, and brought a prisoner to Gabinius, with Antigonus his son, who had fled away together with him from Rome; and from Gabinius he was carried to Rome again. Wherefore the senate put him under confinement, but returned his children back to Judea, because Gabinius informed them by letters that he had promised Aristobulus's mother to do so, for her delivering the fortresses up to him.

7. But now as Gabinius was marching to the war against the Parthians, he was hindered by Ptolemy, whom, upon his return from Euphrates, he brought back into Egypt, making use of Hyrcanus and Antipater to provide every thing that was necessary for this expedition; for Antipater furnished him with money, and weapons, and corn, and auxiliaries; he also prevailed with the Jews that were there, and guarded the avenues at Pelusium, to let them pass. But now, upon Gabinius's absence, the other part of Syria was in motion, and Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, brought the Jews to revolt again. Accordingly, he got together a very great army, and set about killing all the Romans that were in the country; hereupon Gabinius was afraid, [for he was come back already out of Egypt, and obliged to come back quickly by these tumults,] and sent Antipater, who prevailed with some of the revolters to be quiet. However, thirty thousand still continued with Alexander, who was himself eager to fight also; accordingly, Gabinius went out to fight, when the Jews met him; and as the battle was fought near Mount Tabor, ten thousand of them were slain, and the rest of the multitude dispersed themselves, and fled away. So Gabinius came to Jerusalem, and settled the government as Antipater would have it; thence he marched, and fought and beat the Nabateans: as for Mithridates and Orsanes, who fled out of Parthin, he sent them away privately, but gave it out among the soldiers that they had run away.

8. In the mean time, Crassus came as successor to Gabinius in Syria. He took away all the rest of the gold belonging to the temple of Jerusalem, in order to furnish himself for his expedition against the Parthians. He also took away the two thousand talents which Pompey had not touched; but when he had passed

over Euphrates, he perished himself, and his army with him; concerning which affairs this is not a proper time to speak [more largely].

9. But now Cassius, after Crassus, put a stop to the Parthians, who were marching in order to enter Syria. Cassius had fled into that province, and when he had taken possession of the same, he made a hasty march into Judea; and, upon his taking Taricheae, he carried thirty thousand Jews into slavery. He also slew Pitholaus, who had supported the seditious followers of Aristobulus; and it was Antipater who advised him so to do. Now this Antipater married a wife of an eminent family among the Arabisus, whose name was Cypros, and had four sons born to him by her, Phasaelus and Herod, who was afterwards king, and, besides these, Joseph and Pheroras; and he had a daughter whose name was Salome. Now as he made himself friends among the men of power every where, by the kind offices he did them, and the hospitable manner that he treated them; so did he contract the greatest friendship with the king of Arabia, by marrying his relation; insomuch that when he made war with Aristobulus, he sent and intrusted his children with him. So when Cassius had forced Alexander to come to terms and to be quiet, he returned to Euphrates, in order to prevent the Parthians from repassing it; concerning which matter we shall speak elsewhere.

CHAPTER 9.

Aristobulus Is Taken Off By Pompey's Friends, As Is His Son Alexander By Scipio. Antipater Cultivates A Friendship With Caesar, After Pompey's Death; He Also Performs Great Actions In That War, Wherein He Assisted Mithridates.

1. Now, upon the flight of Pompey and of the senate beyond the Ionian Sea, Caesar got Rome and the empire under his power, and released Aristobulus from his bonds. He also committed two legions to him, and sent him in haste into Syria, as hoping that by his means he should easily conquer that country, and the parts adjoining to Judea. But envy prevented any effect of Aristobulus's alacrity, and the hopes of Caesar; for he was taken off by poison given him by those of Pompey's party; and, for a long while, he had not so much as a burial vouchsafed him in his own country; but his dead body lay [above ground], preserved in honey, until it was sent to the Jews by Antony, in order to be buried in the royal sepulchers.

2. His son Alexander also was beheaded by Sci-pio at Antioch, and that by the command of Pompey, and upon an accusation laid against him before his tribunal, for the mischiefs he had done to the Romans. But Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, who was then ruler of Chalcis, under Libanus, took his brethren to him by sending his son Philippio for them to Ascalon, who took Antigonus, as well as his sisters, away from Aristobulus's wife, and brought them to his father; and falling in love with the younger daughter, he married her, and was afterwards slain by his father on her account; for Ptolemy himself, after he had slain his son, married her, whose name was Alexandra; on the account of which marriage he took the greater care of her brother and sister.

3. Now, after Pompey was dead, Antipater changed sides, and cultivated a friendship with Caesar. And since Mithridates of Pergamus, with the forces he led against Egypt, was excluded from the avenues about Pelusium, and was forced to stay at Asealon, he persuaded the Arabians, among whom he had lived, to assist him, and came himself to him, at the head of three thousand armed men. He also encouraged the men of power in Syria to come to his assistance, as also of the inhabitants of Libanus, Ptolemy, and Jamblicus, and another Ptolemy; by which means the cities of that country came readily into this war; insomuch that Mithridates ventured now, in dependence upon the additional strength that he had gotten by Antipater, to march forward to Pelusium; and when they refused him a passage through it, he besieged the city; in the attack of which place Antipater principally signalized himself, for he brought down that part of the

wall which was over against him, and leaped first of all into the city, with the men that were about him.

4. Thus was Pelusium taken. But still, as they were marching on, those Egyptian Jews that inhabited the country called the country of Onias stopped them. Then did Antipater not only persuade them not to stop them, but to afford provisions for their army; on which account even the people about Memphis would not fight against them, but of their own accord joined Mithridates. Whereupon he went round about Delta, and fought the rest of the Egyptians at a place called the Jews' Camp; nay, when he was in danger in the battle with all his right wing, Antipater wheeled about, and came along the bank of the river to him; for he had beaten those that opposed him as he led the left wing. After which success he fell upon those that pursued Mithridates, and slew a great many of them, and pursued the remainder so far that he took their camp, while he lost no more than fourscore of his own men; as Mithridates lost, during the pursuit that was made after him, about eight hundred. He was also himself saved unexpectedly, and became an unreproachable witness to Caesar of the great actions of Antipater.

5. Whereupon Caesar encouraged Antipater to undertake other hazardous enterprises for him, and that by giving him great commendations and hopes of reward. In all which enterprises he readily exposed himself to many dangers, and became a most courageous warrior; and had many wounds almost all over his body, as demonstrations of his valor. And when Caesar had settled the affairs of Egypt, and was returning into Syria again, he gave him the privilege of a Roman citizen, and freedom from taxes, and rendered him an object of admiration by the honors and marks of friendship he bestowed upon him. On this account it was that he also confirmed Hyrcanus in the high priesthood.

CHAPTER 10.

Caesar Makes Antipater Procurator Of Judea; As Does Antipater Appoint Phasaelus To Be Governor Of Jerusalem, And Herod Governor Of Galilee; Who, In Some Time, Was Called To Answer For Himself [Before The Sanhedrim], Where He Is Acquitted. Sextus Caesar Is Treacherously Killed By Bassus And Is Succeeded By Marcus.

1. About this time it was that Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, came to Caesar, and became, in a surprising manner, the occasion of Antipater's further advancement; for whereas he ought to have lamented that his father appeared to have been poisoned on account of his quarrels with Pompey, and to have complained of Scipio's barbarity towards his brother, and not to mix any invidious passion when he was suing for mercy; besides those things, he came before Caesar, and accused Hyrcanus and Antipater, how they had driven him and his brethren entirely out of their native country, and had acted in a great many instances unjustly and extravagantly with relation to their nation; and that as to the assistance they had sent him into Egypt, it was not done out of good-will to him, but out of the fear they were in from former quarrels, and in order to gain pardon for their friendship to [his enemy] Pompey.

2. Hereupon Antipater threw away his garments, and showed the multitude of the wounds he had, and said, that as to his good-will to Caesar, he had no occasion to say a word, because his body cried aloud, though he said nothing himself; that he wondered at Antigonus's boldness, while he was himself no other than the son of an enemy to the Romans, and of a fugitive, and had it by inheritance from his father to be fond of innovations and seditions, that he should undertake to accuse other men before the Roman governor, and endeavor to gain some advantages to himself, when he ought to be contented that he was suffered to live; for that the reason of his desire of governing public affairs was not so much because he was in want of it, but because, if he could once obtain the same, he might stir up a sedition among the Jews, and use what he should gain from the Romans to the disservice of those that gave it him.

3. When Caesar heard this, he declared Hyrcanus to be the most worthy of the high priesthood, and gave leave to Antipater to choose what authority he pleased; but he left the determination of such dignity to him that bestowed the dignity upon him; so he was constituted procurator of all Judea, and obtained leave, moreover, to rebuild those walls of his country that had been thrown

down. These honorary grants Caesar sent orders to have engraved in the Capitol, that they might stand there as indications of his own justice, and of the virtue of Antipater.

4. But as soon as Antipater had conducted Caesar out of Syria he returned to Judea, and the first thing he did was to rebuild that wall of his own country [Jerusalem] which Pompey had overthrown, and then to go over the country, and to quiet the tumults that were therein; where he partly threatened, and partly advised, every one, and told them that in case they would submit to Hyrcanus, they would live happily and peaceably, and enjoy what they possessed, and that with universal peace and quietness; but that in case they hearkened to such as had some frigid hopes by raising new troubles to get themselves some gain, they should then find him to be their lord instead of their procurator; and find Hyrcanus to be a tyrant instead of a king; and both the Romans and Caesar to be their enemies, instead of rulers; for that they would not suffer him to be removed from the government, whom they had made their governor. And, at the same time that he said this, he settled the affairs of the country by himself, because he saw that Hyrcanus was inactive, and not fit to manage the affairs of the kingdom. So he constituted his eldest son, Phasaelus, governor of Jerusalem, and of the parts about it; he also sent his next son, Herod, who was very young, with equal authority into Galilee.

5. Now Herod was an active man, and soon found proper materials for his active spirit to work upon. As therefore he found that Hezekias, the head of the robbers, ran over the neighboring parts of Syria with a great band of men, he caught him and slew him, and many more of the robbers with him; which exploit was chiefly grateful to the Syrians, insomuch that hymns were sung in Herod's commendation, both in the villages and in the cities, as having procured their quietness, and having preserved what they possessed to them; on which occasion he became acquainted with Sextus Caesar, a kinsman of the great Caesar, and president of Syria. A just emulation of his glorious actions excited Phasaelus also to imitate him. Accordingly, he procured the good-will of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, by his own management of the city affairs, and did not abuse his power in any disagreeable manner; whence it came to pass that the nation paid Antipater the respects that were due only to a king, and the honors they all yielded him were equal to the honors due to an absolute lord; yet did he not abate any part of that good-will or fidelity which he owed to Hyrcanus.

6. However, he found it impossible to escape envy in such his prosperity; for the glory of these young men affected even Hyrcanus himself already privately, though he said nothing of it to any body; but what he principally was grieved at was the great actions of Herod, and that so many messengers came one before

another, and informed him of the great reputation he got in all his undertakings. There were also many people in the royal palace itself who inflamed his envy at him; those, I mean, who were obstructed in their designs by the prudence either of the young men, or of Antipater. These men said, that by committing the public affairs to the management of Antipater and of his sons, he sat down with nothing but the bare name of a king, without any of its authority; and they asked him how long he would so far mistake himself, as to breed up kings against his own interest; for that they did not now conceal their government of affairs any longer, but were plainly lords of the nation, and had thrust him out of his authority; that this was the case when Herod slew so many men without his giving him any command to do it, either by word of mouth, or by his letter, and this in contradiction to the law of the Jews; who therefore, in case he be not a king, but a private man, still ought to come to his trial, and answer it to him, and to the laws of his country, which do not permit any one to be killed till he hath been condemned in judgment.

7. Now Hyrcanus was, by degrees, inflamed with these discourses, and at length could bear no longer, but he summoned Herod to take his trial. Accordingly, by his father's advice, and as soon as the affairs of Galilee would give him leave, he came up to [Jerusalem], when he had first placed garrisons in Galilee; however, he came with a sufficient body of soldiers, so many indeed that he might not appear to have with him an army able to overthrow Hyrcanus's government, nor yet so few as to expose him to the insults of those that envied him. However, Sextus Caesar was in fear for the young man, lest he should be taken by his enemies, and brought to punishment; so he sent some to denounce expressly to Hyrcanus that he should acquit Herod of the capital charge against him; who acquitted him accordingly, as being otherwise inclined also so to do, for he loved Herod.

8. But Herod, supposing that he had escaped punishment without the consent of the king, retired to Sextus, to Damascus, and got every thing ready, in order not to obey him if he should summon him again; whereupon those that were evil-disposed irritated Hyrcanus, and told him that Herod was gone away in anger, and was prepared to make war upon him; and as the king believed what they said, he knew not what to do, since he saw his antagonist was stronger than he was himself. And now, since Herod was made general of Coelesyria and Samaria by Sextus Caesar, he was formidable, not only from the good-will which the nation bore him, but by the power he himself had; insomuch that Hyrcanus fell into the utmost degree of terror, and expected he would presently march against him with his army.

9. Nor was he mistaken in the conjecture he made; for Herod got his army together, out of the anger he bare him for his threatening him with the accusation in a public court, and led it to Jerusalem, in order to throw Hyrcanus down from his kingdom; and this he had soon done, unless his father and brother had gone out together and broken the force of his fury, and this by exhorting him to carry his revenge no further than to threatening and affrighting, but to spare the king, under whom he had been advanced to such a degree of power; and that he ought not to be so much provoked at his being tried, as to forget to be thankful that he was acquitted; nor so long to think upon what was of a melancholy nature, as to be ungrateful for his deliverance; and if we ought to reckon that God is the arbitrator of success in war, an unjust cause is of more disadvantage than an army can be of advantage; and that therefore he ought not to be entirely confident of success in a case where he is to fight against his king, his supporter, and one that had often been his benefactor, and that had never been severe to him, any otherwise than as he had hearkened to evil counselors, and this no further than by bringing a shadow of injustice upon him. So Herod was prevailed upon by these arguments, and supposed that what he had already done was sufficient for his future hopes, and that he had enough shown his power to the nation.

10. In the mean time, there was a disturbance among the Romans about Apamia, and a civil war occasioned by the treacherous slaughter of Sextus Caesar, by Cecilius Bassus, which he perpetrated out of his good-will to Pompey; he also took the authority over his forces; but as the rest of Caesar's commanders attacked Bassus with their whole army, in order to punish him for the murder of Caesar, Antipater also sent them assistance by his sons, both on account of him that was murdered, and on account of that Caesar who was still alive, both of which were their friends; and as this war grew to be of a considerable length, Marcus came out of Italy as successor to Sextus.

CHAPTER 11.

Herod Is Made Procurator Of All Syria; Malichus Is Afraid Of Him, And Takes Antipater Off By Poison; Whereupon The Tribunes Of The Soldiers Are Prevailed With To Kill Him.

1. There, was at this time a mighty war raised among the Romans upon the sudden and treacherous slaughter of Caesar by Cassius and Brutus, after he had held the government for three years and seven months. Upon this murder there were very great agitations, and the great men were mightily at difference one with another, and every one betook himself to that party where they had the greatest hopes of their own, of advancing themselves. Accordingly, Cassius came into Syria, in order to receive the forces that were at Apamia, where he procured a reconciliation between Bassus and Marcus, and the legions which were at difference with him; so he raised the siege of Apamia, and took upon him the command of the army, and went about exacting tribute of the cities, and demanding their money to such a degree as they were not able to bear.

2. So he gave command that the Jews should bring in seven hundred talents; whereupon Antipater, out of his dread of Cassius's threats, parted the raising of this sum among his sons, and among others of his acquaintance, and to be done immediately; and among them he required one Malichus, who was at enmity with him, to do his part also, which necessity forced him to do. Now Herod, in the first place, mitigated the passion of Cassius, by bringing his share out of Galilee, which was a hundred talents, on which account he was in the highest favor with him; and when he reproached the rest for being tardy, he was angry at the cities themselves; so he made slaves of Gophna and Emmaus, and two others of less note; nay, he proceeded as if he would kill Malichus, because he had not made greater haste in exacting his tribute; but Antipater prevented the ruin of this man, and of the other cities, and got into Cassius's favor by bringing in a hundred talents immediately.

3. However, when Cassius was gone Malichus forgot the kindness that Antipater had done him, and laid frequent plots against him that had saved him, as making haste to get him out of the way, who was an obstacle to his wicked practices; but Antipater was so much afraid of the power and cunning of the man, that he went beyond Jordan, in order to get an army to guard himself against his treacherous designs; but when Malichus was caught in his plot, he put upon Antipater's sons by his impudence, for he thoroughly deluded Phasaelus, who was the guardian of Jerusalem, and Herod who was intrusted with the

weapons of war, and this by a great many excuses and oaths, and persuaded them to procure his reconciliation to his father. Thus was he preserved again by Antipater, who dissuaded Marcus, the then president of Syria, from his resolution of killing Malichus, on account of his attempts for innovation.

4. Upon the war between Cassius and Brutus on one side, against the younger Caesar [Augustus] and Antony on the other, Cassius and Marcus got together an army out of Syria; and because Herod was likely to have a great share in providing necessaries, they then made him procurator of all Syria, and gave him an army of foot and horse. Cassius promised him also, that after the war was over, he would make him king of Judea. But it so happened that the power and hopes of his son became the cause of his perdition; for as Malichus was afraid of this, he corrupted one of the king's cup-bearers with money to give a poisoned potion to Antipater; so he became a sacrifice to Malichus's wickedness, and died at a feast. He was a man in other respects active in the management of affairs, and one that recovered the government to Hyrcanus, and preserved it in his hands.

5. However, Malichus, when he was suspected of poisoning Antipater, and when the multitude was angry with him for it, denied it, and made the people believe he was not guilty. He also prepared to make a greater figure, and raised soldiers; for he did not suppose that Herod would be quiet, who indeed came upon him with an army presently, in order to revenge his father's death; but, upon hearing the advice of his brother Phasaelus, not to punish him in an open manner, lest the multitude should fall into a sedition, he admitted of Malichus's apology, and professed that he cleared him of that suspicion; he also made a pompous funeral for his father.

6. So Herod went to Samaria, which was then in a tumult, and settled the city in peace; after which at the [Pentecost] festival, he returned to Jerusalem, having his armed men with him: hereupon Hyrcanus, at the request of Malichus, who feared his reproach, forbade them to introduce foreigners to mix themselves with the people of the country while they were purifying themselves; but Herod despised the pretense, and him that gave that command, and came in by night. Upon which Malithus came to him, and bewailed Antipater; Herod also made him believe [he admitted of his lamentations as real], although he had much ado to restrain his passion at him; however, he did himself bewail the murder of his father in his letters to Cassius, who, on other accounts, also hated Malichus. Cassius sent him word back that he should avenge his father's death upon him, and privately gave order to the tribunes that were under him, that they should assist Herod in a righteous action he was about.

7. And because, upon the taking of Laodicea by Cassius, the men of power were gotten together from all quarters, with presents and crowns in their hands, Herod allotted this time for the punishment of Malichus. When Malichus suspected that, and was at Tyre, he resolved to withdraw his son privately from among the Tyrians, who was a hostage there, while he got ready to fly away into Judea; the despair he was in of escaping excited him to think of greater things; for he hoped that he should raise the nation to a revolt from the Romans, while Cassius was busy about the war against Antony, and that he should easily depose Hyrcanus, and get the crown for himself.

8. But fate laughed at the hopes he had; for Herod foresaw what he was so zealous about, and invited both Hyrcanus and him to supper; but calling one of the principal servants that stood by him to him, he sent him out, as though it were to get things ready for supper, but in reality to give notice beforehand about the plot that was laid against him; accordingly they called to mind what orders Cassius had given them, and went out of the city with their swords in their hands upon the sea-shore, where they encompassed Malichus round about, and killed him with many wounds. Upon which Hyrcanus was immediately affrighted, till he swooned away and fell down at the surprise he was in; and it was with difficulty that he was recovered, when he asked who it was that had killed Malichus. And when one of the tribunes replied that it was done by the command of Cassius, “Then,” said he, “Cassius hath saved both me and my country, by cutting off one that was laying plots against them both.” Whether he spake according to his own sentiments, or whether his fear was such that he was obliged to commend the action by saying so, is uncertain; however, by this method Herod inflicted punishment upon Malichus.

CHAPTER 12.

Phasaelus Is Too Hard For Felix; Herod Also Overcomes Antigonus In Rattle; And The Jews Accuse Both Herod And Phasaelus But Antonius Acquits Them, And Makes Them Tetrarchs.

1. When Cassius was gone out of Syria, another sedition arose at Jerusalem, wherein Felix assaulted Phasaelus with an army, that he might revenge the death of Malichus upon Herod, by falling upon his brother. Now Herod happened then to be with Fabius, the governor of Damascus, and as he was going to his brother's assistance, he was detained by sickness; in the mean time, Phasaelus was by himself too hard for Felix, and reproached Hyrcanus on account of his ingratitude, both for what assistance he had afforded Malichus, and for overlooking Malichus's brother, when he possessed himself of the fortresses; for he had gotten a great many of them already, and among them the strongest of them all, Masada.

2. However, nothing could be sufficient for him against the force of Herod, who, as soon as he was recovered, took the other fortresses again, and drove him out of Masada in the posture of a supplicant; he also drove away Marion, the tyrant of the Tyrians, out of Galilee, when he had already possessed himself of three fortified places; but as to those Tyrians whom he had caught, he preserved them all alive; nay, some of them he gave presents to, and so sent them away, and thereby procured good-will to himself from the city, and hatred to the tyrant. Marion had indeed obtained that tyrannical power of Cassius, who set tyrants over all Syria and out of hatred to Herod it was that he assisted Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, and principally on Fabius's account, whom Antigonus had made his assistant by money, and had him accordingly on his side when he made his descent; but it was Ptolemy, the kinsman of Antigonus, that supplied all that he wanted.

3. When Herod had fought against these in the avenues of Judea, he was conqueror in the battle, and drove away Antigonus, and returned to Jerusalem, beloved by every body for the glorious action he had done; for those who did not before favor him did join themselves to him now, because of his marriage into the family of Hyrcanus; for as he had formerly married a wife out of his own country of no ignoble blood, who was called Doris, of whom he begat Antipater; so did he now marry Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander, the son of

Aristobulus, and the granddaughter of Hyrcanus, and was become thereby a relation of the king.

4. But when Caesar and Antony had slain Cassius near Philippi, and Caesar was gone to Italy, and Antony to Asia, amongst the rest of the cities which sent ambassadors to Antony unto Bithynia, the great men of the Jews came also, and accused Phasaelus and Herod, that they kept the government by force, and that Hyrcanus had no more than an honorable name. Herod appeared ready to answer this accusation; and having made Antony his friend by the large sums of money which he gave him, he brought him to such a temper as not to hear the others speak against him; and thus did they part at this time.

5. However, after this, there came a hundred of the principal men among the Jews to Daphne by Antioch to Antony, who was already in love with Cleopatra to the degree of slavery; these Jews put those men that were the most potent, both in dignity and eloquence, foremost, and accused the brethren. But Messala opposed them, and defended the brethren, and that while Hyrcanus stood by him, on account of his relation to them. When Antony had heard both sides, he asked Hyrcanus which party was the fittest to govern, who replied that Herod and his party were the fittest. Antony was glad of that answer, for he had been formerly treated in an hospitable and obliging manner by his father Antipater, when he marched into Judea with Gabinius; so he constituted the brethren tetrarchs, and committed to them the government of Judea.

6. But when the ambassadors had indignation at this procedure, Antony took fifteen of them, and put them into custody, whom he was also going to kill presently, and the rest he drove away with disgrace; on which occasion a still greater tumult arose at Jerusalem; so they sent again a thousand ambassadors to Tyre, where Antony now abode, as he was marching to Jerusalem; upon these men who made a clamor he sent out the governor of Tyre, and ordered him to punish all that he could catch of them, and to settle those in the administration whom he had made tetrarchs.

7. But before this, Herod and Hyrcanus went out upon the sea-shore, and earnestly desired of these ambassadors that they would neither bring ruin upon themselves, nor war upon their native country, by their rash contentions; and when they grew still more outrageous, Antony sent out armed men, and slew a great many, and wounded more of them; of whom those that were slain were buried by Hyrcanus, as were the wounded put under the care of physicians by him; yet would not those that had escaped be quiet still, but put the affairs of the city into such disorder, and so provoked Antony, that he slew those whom he had in bonds also.

CHAPTER 13.

The Parthians Bring Antigonus Back Into Judea, And Cast Hyrcanus And Phasaelus Into Prison. The Flight Of Herod, And The Taking Of Jerusalem And What Hyrcanus And Phasaelus Suffered.

1. Now two years afterward, when Barzapharnes, a governor among the Parthians, and Paeorus, the king's son, had possessed themselves of Syria, and when Lysanias had already succeeded upon the death of his father Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, in the government [of Chalcis], he prevailed with the governor, by a promise of a thousand talents, and five hundred women, to bring back Antigonus to his kingdom, and to turn Hyrcanus out of it. Pacorus was by these means induced so to do, and marched along the sea-coast, while he ordered Barzapharnes to fall upon the Jews as he went along the Mediterranean part of the country; but of the maritime people, the Tyrians would not receive Pacorus, although those of Ptolemais and Sidon had received him; so he committed a troop of his horse to a certain cup-bearer belonging to the royal family, of his own name [Pacorus], and gave him orders to march into Judea, in order to learn the state of affairs among their enemies, and to help Antigonus when he should want his assistance.

2. Now as these men were ravaging Carmel, many of the Jews ran together to Antigonus, and showed themselves ready to make an incursion into the country; so he sent them before into that place called Drymus, [the woodland] to seize upon the place; whereupon a battle was fought between them, and they drove the enemy away, and pursued them, and ran after them as far as Jerusalem, and as their numbers increased, they proceeded as far as the king's palace; but as Hyrcanus and Phasaelus received them with a strong body of men, there happened a battle in the market-place, in which Herod's party beat the enemy, and shut them up in the temple, and set sixty men in the houses adjoining as a guard to them. But the people that were tumultuous against the brethren came in, and burnt those men; while Herod, in his rage for killing them, attacked and slew many of the people, till one party made incursions on the other by turns, day by day, in the way of ambushes, and slaughters were made continually among them.

3. Now when that festival which we call Pentecost was at hand, all the places about the temple, and the whole city, was full of a multitude of people that were come out of the country, and which were the greatest part of them armed also, at which time Phasaelus guarded the wall, and Herod, with a few, guarded the royal

palace; and when he made an assault upon his enemies, as they were out of their ranks, on the north quarter of the city, he slew a very great number of them, and put them all to flight; and some of them he shut up within the city, and others within the outward rampart. In the mean time, Antigonus desired that Pacorus might be admitted to be a reconciler between them; and Phasaelus was prevailed upon to admit the Parthian into the city with five hundred horse, and to treat him in an hospitable manner, who pretended that he came to quell the tumult, but in reality he came to assist Antigonus; however, he laid a plot for Phasaelus, and persuaded him to go as an ambassador to Barzapharnes, in order to put an end to the war, although Herod was very earnest with him to the contrary, and exhorted him to kill the plotter, but not expose himself to the snares he had laid for him, because the barbarians are naturally perfidious. However, Pacorus went out and took Hyrcanus with him, that he might be the less suspected; he also left some of the horsemen, called the Freemen, with Herod, and conducted Phasaelus with the rest.

4. But now, when they were come to Galilee, they found that the people of that country had revolted, and were in arms, who came very cunningly to their leader, and besought him to conceal his treacherous intentions by an obliging behavior to them; accordingly, he at first made them presents; and afterward, as they went away, laid ambushes for them; and when they were come to one of the maritime cities called Ecdippon, they perceived that a plot was laid for them; for they were there informed of the promise of a thousand talents, and how Antigonus had devoted the greatest number of the women that were there with them, among the five hundred, to the Parthians; they also perceived that an ambush was always laid for them by the barbarians in the night time; they had also been seized on before this, unless they had waited for the seizure of Herod first at Jerusalem, because if he were once informed of this treachery of theirs, he would take care of himself; nor was this a mere report, but they saw the guards already not far off them.

5. Nor would Phasaelus think of forsaking Hyrcanus and flying away, although Ophellius earnestly persuaded him to it; for this man had learned the whole scheme of the plot from Saramalla, the richest of all the Syrians. But Phasaelus went up to the Parfilian governor, and reproached him to his face for laying this treacherous plot against them, and chiefly because he had done it for money; and he promised him that he would give him more money for their preservation, than Antigonus had promised to give for the kingdom. But the sly Parthian endeavored to remove all this suspicion by apologies and by oaths, and then went [to the other] Pacorus; immediately after which those Parthians who

were left, and had it in charge, seized upon Phasaelus and Hyrcanus, who could do no more than curse their perfidiousness and their perjury.

6. In the mean time, the cup-bearer was sent [back], and laid a plot how to seize upon Herod, by deluding him, and getting him out of the city, as he was commanded to do. But Herod suspected the barbarians from the beginning; and having then received intelligence that a messenger, who was to bring him the letters that informed him of the treachery intended, had fallen among the enemy, he would not go out of the city; though Pacorus said very positively that he ought to go out, and meet the messengers that brought the letters, for that the enemy had not taken them, and that the contents of them were not accounts of any plots upon them, but of what Phasaelus had done; yet had he heard from others that his brother was seized; and Alexandra the shrewdest woman in the world, Hyrcanus's daughter, begged of him that he would not go out, nor trust himself to those barbarians, who now were come to make an attempt upon him openly.

7. Now as Pacorus and his friends were considering how they might bring their plot to bear privately, because it was not possible to circumvent a man of so great prudence by openly attacking him, Herod prevented them, and went off with the persons that were the most nearly related to him by night, and this without their enemies being apprized of it. But as soon as the Parthians perceived it, they pursued after them; and as he gave orders for his mother, and sister, and the young woman who was betrothed to him, with her mother, and his youngest brother, to make the best of their way, he himself, with his servants, took all the care they could to keep off the barbarians; and when at every assault he had slain a great many of them, he came to the strong hold of Masada.

8. Nay, he found by experience that the Jews fell more heavily upon him than did the Parthians, and created him troubles perpetually, and this ever since he was gotten sixty furlongs from the city; these sometimes brought it to a sort of a regular battle. Now in the place where Herod beat them, and killed a great number of them, there he afterward built a citadel, in memory of the great actions he did there, and adorned it with the most costly palaces, and erected very strong fortifications, and called it, from his own name, Herodium. Now as they were in their flight, many joined themselves to him every day; and at a place called Thressa of Idumea his brother Joseph met him, and advised him to ease himself of a great number of his followers, because Masada would not contain so great a multitude, which were above nine thousand. Herod complied with this advice, and sent away the most cumbersome part of his retinue, that they might go into Idumea, and gave them provisions for their journey; but he got safe to the fortress with his nearest relations, and retained with him only the

stoutest of his followers; and there it was that he left eight hundred of his men as a guard for the women, and provisions sufficient for a siege; but he made haste himself to Petra of Arabia.

9. As for the Parthians in Jerusalem, they betook themselves to plundering, and fell upon the houses of those that were fled, and upon the king's palace, and spared nothing but Hyrcanus's money, which was not above three hundred talents. They lighted on other men's money also, but not so much as they hoped for; for Herod having a long while had a suspicion of the perfidiousness of the barbarians, had taken care to have what was most splendid among his treasures conveyed into Idumea, as every one belonging to him had in like manner done also. But the Parthians proceeded to that degree of injustice, as to fill all the country with war without denouncing it, and to demolish the city Marissa, and not only to set up Antigonus for king, but to deliver Phasaelus and Hyrcanus bound into his hands, in order to their being tormented by him. Antigonus himself also bit off Hyrcanus's ears with his own teeth, as he fell down upon his knees to him, that so he might never be able upon any mutation of affairs to take the high priesthood again, for the high priests that officiated were to be complete, and without blemish.

10. However, he failed in his purpose of abusing Phasaelus, by reason of his courage; for though he neither had the command of his sword nor of his hands, he prevented all abuses by dashing his head against a stone; so he demonstrated himself to be Herod's own brother, and Hyrcanus a most degenerate relation, and died with great bravery, and made the end of his life agreeable to the actions of it. There is also another report about his end, *viz.* that he recovered of that stroke, and that a surgeon, who was sent by Antigonus to heal him, filled the wound with poisonous ingredients, and so killed him; whichsoever of these deaths he came to, the beginning of it was glorious. It is also reported that before he expired he was informed by a certain poor woman how Herod had escaped out of their hands, and that he said thereupon, "I now die with comfort, since I leave behind me one alive that will avenge me of mine enemies."

11. This was the death of Phasaelus; but the Parthians, although they had failed of the women they chiefly desired, yet did they put the government of Jerusalem into the hands of Antigonus, and took away Hyrcanus, and bound him, and carried him to Parthia.

CHAPTER 14.

When Herod Is Rejected In Arabia, He Makes Haste To Rome
Where Antony And Caesar Join Their Interest To Make Him King

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1. Now Herod did the more zealously pursue his journey into Arabia, as making haste to get money of the king, while his brother was yet alive; by which money alone it was that he hoped to prevail upon the covetous temper of the barbarians to spare Phasaelus; for he reasoned thus with himself: — that if the Arabian king was too forgetful of his father's friendship with him, and was too covetous to make him a free gift, he would however borrow of him as much as might redeem his brother, and put into his hands, as a pledge, the son of him that was to be redeemed. Accordingly he led his brother's son along with him, who was of the age of seven years. Now he was ready to give three hundred talents for his brother, and intended to desire the intercession of the Tyrians, to get them accepted; however, fate had been too quick for his diligence; and since Phasaelus was dead, Herod's brotherly love was now in vain. Moreover, he was not able to find any lasting friendship among the Arabians; for their king, Malichus, sent to him immediately, and commanded him to return back out of his country, and used the name of the Parthians as a pretense for so doing, as though these had denounced to him by their ambassadors to cast Herod out of Arabia; while in reality they had a mind to keep back what they owed to Antipater, and not be obliged to make requitals to his sons for the free gifts the father had made them. He also took the impudent advice of those who, equally with himself, were willing to deprive Herod of what Antipater had deposited among them; and these men were the most potent of all whom he had in his kingdom.

2. So when Herod had found that the Arabians were his enemies, and this for those very reasons whence he hoped they would have been the most friendly, and had given them such an answer as his passion suggested, he returned back, and went for Egypt. Now he lodged the first evening at one of the temples of that country, in order to meet with those whom he left behind; but on the next day word was brought him, as he was going to Rhinocurura, that his brother was dead, and how he came by his death; and when he had lamented him as much as his present circumstances could bear, he soon laid aside such cares, and proceeded on his journey. But now, after some time, the king of Arabia repented of what he had done, and sent presently away messengers to call him back:

Herod had prevented them, and was come to Pelusium, where he could not obtain a passage from those that lay with the fleet, so he besought their captains to let him go by them; accordingly, out of the reverence they bore to the fame and dignity of the man, they conducted him to Alexandria; and when he came into the city, he was received by Cleopatra with great splendor, who hoped he might be persuaded to be commander of her forces in the expedition she was now about; but he rejected the queen's solicitations, and being neither afrighted at the height of that storm which then happened, nor at the tumults that were now in Italy, he sailed for Rome.

3. But as he was in peril about Pamphylia, and obliged to cast out the greatest part of the ship's lading, he with difficulty got safe to Rhodes, a place which had been grievously harassed in the war with Cassius. He was there received by his friends, Ptolemy and Sappinius; and although he was then in want of money, he fitted up a three-decked ship of very great magnitude, wherein he and his friends sailed to Brundusium, and went thence to Rome with all speed; where he first of all went to Antony, on account of the friendship his father had with him, and laid before him the calamities of himself and his family; and that he had left his nearest relations besieged in a fortress, and had sailed to him through a storm, to make supplication to him for assistance.

4. Hereupon Antony was moved to compassion at the change that had been made in Herod's affairs, and this both upon his calling to mind how hospitably he had been treated by Antipater, but more especially on account of Herod's own virtue; so he then resolved to get him made king of the Jews, whom he had himself formerly made tetrarch. The contest also that he had with Antigonus was another inducement, and that of no less weight than the great regard he had for Herod; for he looked upon Antigonus as a seditious person, and an enemy of the Romans; and as for Caesar, Herod found him better prepared than Antony, as remembering very fresh the wars he had gone through together with his father, the hospitable treatment he had met with from him, and the entire good-will he had showed to him; besides the activity which he saw in Herod himself. So he called the senate together, wherein Messalas, and after him Atratinus, produced Herod before them, and gave a full account of the merits of his father, and his own good-will to the Romans. At the same time they demonstrated that Antigonus was their enemy, not only because he soon quarreled with them, but because he now overlooked the Romans, and took the government by the means of the Parthians. These reasons greatly moved the senate; at which juncture Antony came in, and told them that it was for their advantage in the Parthian war that Herod should be king; so they all gave their votes for it. And when the senate was separated, Antony and Caesar went out, with Herod between them;

while the consul and the rest of the magistrates went before them, in order to offer sacrifices, and to lay the decree in the Capitol. Antony also made a feast for Herod on the first day of his reign.

CHAPTER 15.

Antigonus Besieges Those That Were In Masada, Whom Herod Frees From Confinement When He Came Back From Rome, And Presently Marches To Jerusalem Where He Finds Silo Corrupted By Bribes.

1. Now during this time Antigonus besieged those that were in Masada, who had all other necessaries in sufficient quantity, but were in want of water; on which account Joseph, Herod's brother, was disposed to run away to the Arabians, with two hundred of his own friends, because he had heard that Malichus repented of his offenses with regard to Herod; and he had been so quick as to have been gone out of the fortress already, unless, on that very night when he was going away, there had fallen a great deal of rain, insomuch that his reservoirs were full of water, and so he was under no necessity of running away. After which, therefore, they made an irruption upon Antigonus's party, and slew a great many of them, some in open battles, and some in private ambush; nor had they always success in their attempts, for sometimes they were beaten, and ran away.

2. In the mean time Ventidius, the Roman general, was sent out of Syria, to restrain the incursions of the Parthians; and after he had done that, he came into Judea, in pretense indeed to assist Joseph and his party, but in reality to get money of Antigonus; and when he had pitched his camp very near to Jerusalem, as soon as he had got money enough, he went away with the greatest part of his forces; yet still did he leave Silo with some part of them, lest if he had taken them all away, his taking of bribes might have been too openly discovered. Now Antigonus hoped that the Parthians would come again to his assistance, and therefore cultivated a good understanding with Silo in the mean time, lest any interruption should be given to his hopes.

3. Now by this time Herod had sailed out of Italy, and was come to Ptolemais; and as soon as he had gotten together no small army of foreigners, and of his own countrymen, he marched through Galilee against Antigonus, wherein he was assisted by Ventidius and Silo, both whom Dellius, a person sent by Antony, persuaded to bring Herod [into his kingdom]. Now Ventidius was at this time among the cities, and composing the disturbances which had happened by means of the Parthians, as was Silo in Judea corrupted by the bribes that Antigonus had given him; yet was not Herod himself destitute of power, but the number of his forces increased every day as he went along, and all Galilee, with few

exceptions, joined themselves to him. So he proposed to himself to set about his most necessary enterprise, and that was Masada, in order to deliver his relations from the siege they endured. But still Joppa stood in his way, and hindered his going thither; for it was necessary to take that city first, which was in the enemies' hands, that when he should go to Jerusalem, no fortress might be left in the enemies' power behind him. Silo also willingly joined him, as having now a plausible occasion of drawing off his forces [from Jerusalem]; and when the Jews pursued him, and pressed upon him, [in his retreat,] Herod made all excursion upon them with a small body of his men, and soon put them to flight, and saved Silo when he was in distress.

4. After this Herod took Joppa, and then made haste to Masada to free his relations. Now, as he was marching, many came in to him, induced by their friendship to his father, some by the reputation he had already gained himself, and some in order to repay the benefits they had received from them both; but still what engaged the greatest number on his side, was the hopes from him when he should be established in his kingdom; so that he had gotten together already an army hard to be conquered. But Antigonus laid an ambush for him as he marched out, in which he did little or no harm to his enemies. However, he easily recovered his relations again that were in Masada, as well as the fortress Ressa, and then marched to Jerusalem, where the soldiers that were with Silo joined themselves to his own, as did many out of the city, from a dread of his power.

5. Now when he had pitched his camp on the west side of the city, the guards that were there shot their arrows and threw their darts at them, while others ran out in companies, and attacked those in the forefront; but Herod commanded proclamation to be made at the wall, that he was come for the good of the people and the preservation of the city, without any design to be revenged on his open enemies, but to grant oblivion to them, though they had been the most obstinate against him. Now the soldiers that were for Antigonus made a contrary clamor, and did neither permit any body to hear that proclamation, nor to change their party; so Antigonus gave order to his forces to beat the enemy from the walls; accordingly, they soon threw their darts at them from the towers, and put them to flight.

6. And here it was that Silo discovered he had taken bribes; for he set many of the soldiers to clamor about their want of necessaries, and to require their pay, in order to buy themselves food, and to demand that he would lead them into places convenient for their winter quarters; because all the parts about the city were laid waste by the means of Antigonus's army, which had taken all things away. By this he moved the army, and attempted to get them off the siege; but Herod went

to the captains that were under Silo, and to a great many of the soldiers, and begged of them not to leave him, who was sent thither by Caesar, and Antony, and the senate; for that he would take care to have their wants supplied that very day. After the making of which entreaty, he went hastily into the country, and brought thither so great an abundance of necessaries, that he cut off all Silo's pretenses; and in order to provide that for the following days they should not want supplies, he sent to the people that were about Samaria [which city had joined itself to him] to bring corn, and wine, and oil, and cattle to Jericho. When Antigonus heard of this, he sent some of his party with orders to hinder, and lay ambushes for these collectors of corn. This command was obeyed, and a great multitude of armed men were gathered together about Jericho, and lay upon the mountains, to watch those that brought the provisions. Yet was Herod not idle, but took with him ten cohorts, five of them were Romans, and five were Jewish cohorts, together with some mercenary troops intermixed among them, and besides those a few horsemen, and came to Jericho; and when he came, he found the city deserted, but that there were five hundred men, with their wives and children, who had taken possession of the tops of the mountains; these he took, and dismissed them, while the Romans fell upon the rest of the city, and plundered it, having found the houses full of all sorts of good things. So the king left a garrison at Jericho, and came back, and sent the Roman army into those cities which were come over to him, to take their winter quarters there, *viz.* into Judea, [or Idumea,] and Galilee, and Samaria. Antigonus also by bribes obtained of Silo to let a part of his army be received at Lydda, as a compliment to Antonius.

CHAPTER 16.

Herod Takes Sepphoris And Subdues The Robbers That Were In The Caves; He After That Avenges Himself Upon Machaerus, As Upon An Enemy Of His And Goes To Antony As He Was Besieging Samosata.

1. So the Romans lived in plenty of all things, and rested from war. However, Herod did not lie at rest, but seized upon Idumea, and kept it, with two thousand footmen, and four hundred horsemen; and this he did by sending his brother Joseph thither, that no innovation might be made by Antigonus. He also removed his mother, and all his relations, who had been in Masada, to Samaria; and when he had settled them securely, he marched to take the remaining parts of Galilee, and to drive away the garrisons placed there by Antigonus.

2. But when Herod had reached Sepphoris, in a very great snow, he took the city without any difficulty; the guards that should have kept it flying away before it was assaulted; where he gave an opportunity to his followers that had been in distress to refresh themselves, there being in that city a great abundance of necessaries. After which he hasted away to the robbers that were in the caves, who overran a great part of the country, and did as great mischief to its inhabitants as a war itself could have done. Accordingly, he sent beforehand three cohorts of footmen, and one troop of horsemen, to the village Arbela, and came himself forty days afterwards with the rest of his forces Yet were not the enemy affrighted at his assault but met him in arms; for their skill was that of warriors, but their boldness was the boldness of robbers: when therefore it came to a pitched battle, they put to flight Herod's left wing with their right one; but Herod, wheeling about on the sudden from his own right wing, came to their assistance, and both made his own left wing return back from its flight, and fell upon the pursuers, and cooled their courage, till they could not bear the attempts that were made directly upon them, and so turned back and ran away. 3. But Herod followed them, and slew them as he followed them, and destroyed a great part of them, till those that remained were scattered beyond the river [Jordan;] and Galilee was freed from the terrors they had been under, excepting from those that remained, and lay concealed in caves, which required longer time ere they could be conquered. In order to which Herod, in the first place, distributed the fruits of their former labors to the soldiers, and gave every one of them a hundred and fifty drachmae of silver, and a great deal more to their commanders, and sent them into their winter quarters. He also sent to his youngest brother

Pheroas, to take care of a good market for them, where they might buy themselves provisions, and to build a wall about Alexandrium; who took care of both those injunctions accordingly.

4. In the mean time Antony abode at Athens, while Ventidius called for Silo and Herod to come to the war against the Parthians, but ordered them first to settle the affairs of Judea; so Herod willingly dismissed Silo to go to Ventidius, but he made an expedition himself against those that lay in the caves. Now these caves were in the precipices of craggy mountains, and could not be come at from any side, since they had only some winding pathways, very narrow, by which they got up to them; but the rock that lay on their front had beneath it valleys of a vast depth, and of an almost perpendicular declivity; insomuch that the king was doubtful for a long time what to do, by reason of a kind of impossibility there was of attacking the place. Yet did he at length make use of a contrivance that was subject to the utmost hazard; for he let down the most hardy of his men in chests, and set them at the mouths of the dens. Now these men slew the robbers and their families, and when they made resistance, they sent in fire upon them [and burnt them]; and as Herod was desirous of saving some of them, he had proclamation made, that they should come and deliver themselves up to him; but not one of them came willingly to him; and of those that were compelled to come, many preferred death to captivity. And here a certain old man, the father of seven children, whose children, together with their mother, desired him to give them leave to go out, upon the assurance and right hand that was offered them, slew them after the following manner: He ordered every one of them to go out, while he stood himself at the cave's mouth, and slew that son of his perpetually who went out. Herod was near enough to see this sight, and his bowels of compassion were moved at it, and he stretched out his right hand to the old man, and besought him to spare his children; yet did not he relent at all upon what he said, but over and above reproached Herod on the lowness of his descent, and slew his wife as well as his children; and when he had thrown their dead bodies down the precipice, he at last threw himself down after them.

5. By this means Herod subdued these caves, and the robbers that were in them. He then left there a part of his army, as many as he thought sufficient to prevent any sedition, and made Ptolemy their general, and returned to Samaria; he led also with him three thousand armed footmen, and six hundred horsemen, against Antigonus. Now here those that used to raise tumults in Galilee, having liberty so to do upon his departure, fell unexpectedly upon Ptolemy, the general of his forces, and slew him; they also laid the country waste, and then retired to the bogs, and to places not easily to be found. But when Herod was informed of this insurrection, he came to the assistance of the country immediately, and

destroyed a great number of the seditions, and raised the sieges of all those fortresses they had besieged; he also exacted the tribute of a hundred talents of his enemies, as a penalty for the mutations they had made in the country.

6. By this time [the Parthians being already driven out of the country, and Pacorus slain] Ventidius, by Antony's command, sent a thousand horsemen, and two legions, as auxiliaries to Herod, against Antigonus. Now Antigonus besought Machaerus, who was their general, by letter, to come to his assistance, and made a great many mournful complaints about Herod's violence, and about the injuries he did to the kingdom; and promised to give him money for such his assistance; but he complied not with his invitation to betray his trust, for he did not contemn him that sent him, especially while Herod gave him more money [than the other offered]. So he pretended friendship to Antigonus, but came as a spy to discover his affairs; although he did not herein comply with Herod, who dissuaded him from so doing. But Antigonus perceived what his intentions were beforehand, and excluded him out of the city, and defended himself against him as against an enemy, from the walls; till Machaerus was ashamed of what he had done, and retired to Emmaus to Herod; and as he was in a rage at his disappointment, he slew all the Jews whom he met with, without sparing those that were for Herod, but using them all as if they were for Antigonus.

7. Hereupon Herod was very angry at him, and was going to fight against Machaerus as his enemy; but he restrained his indignation, and marched to Antony to accuse Machaerus of maladministration. But Machaerus was made sensible of his offenses, and followed after the king immediately, and earnestly begged and obtained that he would be reconciled to him. However, Herod did not desist from his resolution of going to Antony; but when he heard that he was besieging Samosata with a great army, which is a strong city near to Euphrates, he made the greater haste; as observing that this was a proper opportunity for showing at once his courage, and for doing what would greatly oblige Antony. Indeed, when he came, he soon made an end of that siege, and slew a great number of the barbarians, and took from them a large prey; insomuch that Antony, who admired his courage formerly, did now admire it still more. Accordingly, he heaped many more honors upon him, and gave him more assured hopes that he should gain his kingdom; and now king Antiochus was forced to deliver up Samosata.

CHAPTER 17.

The Death Of Joseph [Herod's Brother] Which Had Been Signified To Herod In Dreams. How Herod Was Preserved Twice After A Wonderful Manner. He Cuts Off The Head Of Pappus, Who Was The Murderer Of His Brother And Sends That Head To [His Other Brother] Pheroras, And In No Long Time He Besieges Jerusalem And Marries Mariamne.

1. In the mean time, Herod's affairs in Judea were in an ill state. He had left his brother Joseph with full power, but had charged him to make no attempts against Antigonus till his return; for that Machaerus would not be such an assistant as he could depend on, as it appeared by what he had done already; but as soon as Joseph heard that his brother was at a very great distance, he neglected the charge he had received, and marched towards Jericho with five cohorts, which Machaerus sent with him. This movement was intended for seizing on the corn, as it was now in the midst of summer; but when his enemies attacked him in the mountains, and in places which were difficult to pass, he was both killed himself, as he was very bravely fighting in the battle, and the entire Roman cohorts were destroyed; for these cohorts were new-raised men, gathered out of Syria, and here was no mixture of those called veteran soldiers among them, who might have supported those that were unskillful in war.

2. This victory was not sufficient for Antigonus; but he proceeded to that degree of rage, as to treat the dead body of Joseph barbarously; for when he had got possession of the bodies of those that were slain, he cut off his head, although his brother Pheroras would have given fifty talents as a price of redemption for it. And now the affairs of Galilee were put in such disorder after this victory of Antigonus's, that those of Antigonus's party brought the principal men that were on Herod's side to the lake, and there drowned them. There was a great change made also in Idumea, where Machaerus was building a wall about one of the fortresses, which was called Gittha. But Herod had not yet been informed of these things; for after the taking of Samosata, and when Antony had set Sosius over the affairs of Syria, and had given him orders to assist Herod against Antigonus, he departed into Egypt; but Sosius sent two legions before him into Judea to assist Herod, and followed himself soon after with the rest of his army.

3. Now when Herod was at Daphne, by Antioch, he had some dreams which clearly foreboded his brother's death; and as he leaped out of his bed in a

disturbed manner, there came messengers that acquainted him with that calamity. So when he had lamented this misfortune for a while, he put off the main part of his mourning, and made haste to march against his enemies; and when he had performed a march that was above his strength, and was gone as far as Libanus, he got him eight hundred men of those that lived near to that mountain as his assistants, and joined with them one Roman legion, with which, before it was day, he made an irruption into Galilee, and met his enemies, and drove them back to the place which they had left. He also made an immediate and continual attack upon the fortress. Yet was he forced by a most terrible storm to pitch his camp in the neighboring villages before he could take it. But when, after a few days' time, the second legion, that came from Antony, joined themselves to him, the enemy were affrighted at his power, and left their fortifications in the night time.

4. After this he marched through Jericho, as making what haste he could to be avenged on his brother's murderers; where happened to him a providential sign, out of which, when he had unexpectedly escaped, he had the reputation of being very dear to God; for that evening there feasted with him many of the principal men; and after that feast was over, and all the guests were gone out, the house fell down immediately. And as he judged this to be a common signal of what dangers he should undergo, and how he should escape them in the war that he was going about, he, in the morning, set forward with his army, when about six thousand of his enemies came running down from the mountains, and began to fight with those in his forefront; yet durst they not be so very bold as to engage the Romans hand to hand, but threw stones and darts at them at a distance; by which means they wounded a considerable number; in which action Herod's own side was wounded with a dart.

5. Now as Antigonus had a mind to appear to exceed Herod, not only in the courage, but in the number of his men, he sent Pappus, one of his companions, with an army against Samaria, whose fortune it was to oppose Machaerus; but Herod overran the enemy's country, and demolished five little cities, and destroyed two thousand men that were in them, and burned their houses, and then returned to his camp; but his head-quarters were at the village called Cana.

6. Now a great multitude of Jews resorted to him every day, both out of Jericho and the other parts of the country. Some were moved so to do out of their hatred to Antigonus, and some out of regard to the glorious actions Herod had done; but others were led on by an unreasonable desire of change; so he fell upon them immediately. As for Pappus and his party, they were not terrified either at their number or at their zeal, but marched out with great alacrity to fight them; and it came to a close fight. Now other parts of their army made resistance

for a while; but Herod, running the utmost hazard, out of the rage he was in at the murder of his brother, that he might be avenged on those that had been the authors of it, soon beat those that opposed him; and after he had beaten them, he always turned his force against those that stood to it still, and pursued them all; so that a great slaughter was made, while some were forced back into that village whence they came out; he also pressed hard upon the hindermost, and slew a vast number of them; he also fell into the village with the enemy, where every house was filled with armed men, and the upper rooms were crowded above with soldiers for their defense; and when he had beaten those that were on the outside, he pulled the houses to pieces, and plucked out those that were within; upon many he had the roofs shaken down, whereby they perished by heaps; and as for those that fled out of the ruins, the soldiers received them with their swords in their hands; and the multitude of those slain and lying on heaps was so great, that the conquerors could not pass along the roads. Now the enemy could not bear this blow, so that when the multitude of them which was gathered together saw that those in the village were slain, they dispersed themselves, and fled away; upon the confidence of which victory, Herod had marched immediately to Jerusalem, unless he tad been hindered by the depth of winter's [coming on]. This was the impediment that lay in the way of this his entire glorious progress, and was what hindered Antigonus from being now conquered, who was already disposed to forsake the city.

7. Now when at the evening Herod had already dismissed his friends to refresh themselves after their fatigue, and when he was gone himself, while he was still hot in his armor, like a common soldier, to bathe himself, and had but one servant that attended him, and before he was gotten into the bath, one of the enemies met him in the face with a sword in his hand, and then a second, and then a third, and after that more of them; these were men who had run away out of the battle into the bath in their armor, and they had lain there for some time in, great terror, and in privacy; and when they saw the king, they trembled for fear, and ran by him in a flight, although he was naked, and endeavored to get off into the public road. Now there was by chance nobody else at hand that might seize upon these men; and for Herod, he was contented to have come to no harm himself, so that they all got away in safety.

8. But on the next day Herod had Pappus's head cut off, who was the general for Antigonus, and was slain in the battle, and sent it to his brother Pheroras, by way of punishment for their slain brother; for he was the man that slew Joseph. Now as winter was going off, Herod marched to Jerusalem, and brought his army to the wall of it; this was the third year since he had been made king at Rome; so he pitched his camp before the temple, for on that side it might be

besieged, and there it was that Pompey took the city. So he parted the work among the army, and demolished the suburbs, end raised three banks, and gave orders to have towers built upon those banks, and left the most laborious of his acquaintance at the works. But he went himself to Samaria, to take the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, to wife, who had been betrothed to him before, as we have already said; and thus he accomplished this by the by, during the siege of the city, for he had his enemies in great contempt already.

9. When he had thus married Mariamne, he came back to Jerusalem with a greater army. Sosius also joined him with a large army, both of horsemen and footmen, which he sent before him through the midland parts, while he marched himself along Phoenicia; and when the whole army was gotten together, which were eleven regiments of footmen, and six thousand horsemen, besides the Syrian auxiliaries, which were no small part of the army, they pitched their camp near to the north wall. Herod's dependence was upon the decree of the senate, by which he was made king; and Sosius relied upon Antony, who sent the army that was under him to Herod's assistance.

CHAPTER 18.

How Herod And Sosius Took Jerusalem By Force; And What Death Antigonus Came To. Also Concerning Cleopatra's Avaricious Temper.

1. Now the multitude of the Jews that were in the city were divided into several factions; for the people that crowded about the temple, being the weaker part of them, gave it out that, as the times were, he was the happiest and most religious man who should die first. But as to the more bold and hardy men, they got together in bodies, and fell a robbing others after various manners, and these particularly plundered the places that were about the city, and this because there was no food left either for the horses or the men; yet some of the warlike men, who were used to fight regularly, were appointed to defend the city during the siege, and these drove those that raised the banks away from the wall; and these were always inventing some engine or another to be a hinderance to the engines of the enemy; nor had they so much success any way as in the mines under ground.

2. Now as for the robberies which were committed, the king contrived that ambushes should be so laid, that they might restrain their excursions; and as for the want of provisions, he provided that they should be brought to them from great distances. He was also too hard for the Jews, by the Romans' skill in the art of war; although they were bold to the utmost degree, now they durst not come to a plain battle with the Romans, which was certain death; but through their mines under ground they would appear in the midst of them on the sudden, and before they could batter down one wall, they built them another in its stead; and to sum up all at once, they did not show any want either of painstaking or of contrivances, as having resolved to hold out to the very last. Indeed, though they had so great an army lying round about them, they bore a siege of five months, till some of Herod's chosen men ventured to get upon the wall, and fell into the city, as did Sosius's centurions after them; and now they first of all seized upon what was about the temple; and upon the pouring in of the army, there was slaughter of vast multitudes every where, by reason of the rage the Romans were in at the length of this siege, and by reason that the Jews who were about Herod earnestly endeavored that none of their adversaries might remain; so they were cut to pieces by great multitudes, as they were crowded together in narrow streets, and in houses, or were running away to the temple; nor was there any mercy showed either to infants, or to the aged, or to the weaker sex; insomuch

that although the king sent about and desired them to spare the people, nobody could be persuaded to withhold their right hand from slaughter, but they slew people of all ages, like madmen. Then it was that Antigonus, without any regard to his former or to his present fortune, came down from the citadel, and fell at Sosius's feet, who without pitying him at all, upon the change of his condition, laughed at him beyond measure, and called him Antigona. Yet did he not treat him like a woman, or let him go free, but put him into bonds, and kept him in custody.

3. But Herod's concern at present, now he had gotten his enemies under his power, was to restrain the zeal of his foreign auxiliaries; for the multitude of the strange people were very eager to see the temple, and what was sacred in the holy house itself; but the king endeavored to restrain them, partly by his exhortations, partly by his threatenings, nay, partly by force, as thinking the victory worse than a defeat to him, if any thing that ought not to be seen were seen by them. He also forbade, at the same time, the spoiling of the city, asking Sosius in the most earnest manner, whether the Romans, by thus emptying the city of money and men, had a mind to leave him king of a desert, — and told him that he judged the dominion of the habitable earth too small a compensation for the slaughter of so many citizens. And when Sosius said that it was but just to allow the soldiers this plunder as a reward for what they suffered during the siege, Herod made answer, that he would give every one of the soldiers a reward out of his own money. So he purchased the deliverance of his country, and performed his promises to them, and made presents after a magnificent manner to each soldier, and proportionably to their commanders, and with a most royal bounty to Sosius himself, whereby nobody went away but in a wealthy condition. Hereupon Sosius dedicated a crown of gold to God, and then went away from Jerusalem, leading Antigonus away in bonds to Antony; then did the axe bring him to his end, who still had a fond desire of life, and some frigid hopes of it to the last, but by his cowardly behavior well deserved to die by it.

4. Hereupon king Herod distinguished the multitude that was in the city; and for those that were of his side, he made them still more his friends by the honors he conferred on them; but for those of Antigonus's party, he slew them; and as his money ran low, he turned all the ornaments he had into money, and sent it to Antony, and to those about him. Yet could he not hereby purchase an exemption from all sufferings; for Antony was now bewitched by his love to Cleopatra, and was entirely conquered by her charms. Now Cleopatra had put to death all her kindred, till no one near her in blood remained alive, and after that she fell a slaying those no way related to her. So she calumniated the principal men among the Syrians to Antony, and persuaded him to have them slain, that so she might

easily gain to be mistress of what they had; nay, she extended her avaricious humor to the Jews and Arabians, and secretly labored to have Herod and Malichus, the kings of both those nations, slain by his order.

5. Now is to these her injunctions to Antony, he complied in part; for though he esteemed it too abominable a thing to kill such good and great kings, yet was he thereby alienated from the friendship he had for them. He also took away a great deal of their country; nay, even the plantation of palm trees at Jericho, where also grows the balsam tree, and bestowed them upon her; as also all the cities on this side the river Eleutherus, Tyre and Sidon excepted. And when she was become mistress of these, and had conducted Antony in his expedition against the Parthians as far as Euphrates, she came by Apamia and Damascus into Judea and there did Herod pacify her indignation at him by large presents. He also hired of her those places that had been torn away from his kingdom, at the yearly rent of two hundred talents. He conducted her also as far as Pelusium, and paid her all the respects possible. Now it was not long after this that Antony was come back from Parthia, and led with him Artabazes, Tigranes's son, captive, as a present for Cleopatra; for this Parthian was presently given her, with his money, and all the prey that was taken with him.

CHAPTER 19.

How Antony At The Persuasion Of Cleopatra Sent Herod To Fight Against The Arabians; And Now After Several Battles, He At Length Got The Victory. As Also Concerning A Great Earthquake.

1. Now when the war about Actium was begun, Herod prepared to come to the assistance of Antony, as being already freed from his troubles in Judea, and having gained Hyrcania, which was a place that was held by Antigonus's sister. However, he was cunningly hindered from partaking of the hazards that Antony went through by Cleopatra; for since, as we have already noted, she had laid a plot against the kings [of Judea and Arabia], she prevailed with Antony to commit the war against the Arabians to Herod; that so, if he got the better, she might become mistress of Arabia, or, if he were worsted, of Judea; and that she might destroy one of those kings by the other.

2. However, this contrivance tended to the advantage of Herod; for at the very first he took hostages from the enemy, and got together a great body of horse, and ordered them to march against them about Diespous; and he conquered that army, although it fought resolutely against him. After which defeat, the Arabians were in great motion, and assembled themselves together at Kanatha, a city of Celesyria, in vast multitudes, and waited for the Jews. And when Herod was come thither, he tried to manage this war with particular prudence, and gave orders that they should build a wall about their camp; yet did not the multitude comply with those orders, but were so emboldened by their foregoing victory, that they presently attacked the Arabians, and beat them at the first onset, and then pursued them; yet were there snares laid for Herod in that pursuit; while Athenio, who was one of Cleopatra's generals, and always an antagonist to Herod, sent out of Kanatha the men of that country against him; for, upon this fresh onset, the Arabians took courage, and returned back, and both joined their numerous forces about stony places, that were hard to be gone over, and there put Herod's men to the rout, and made a great slaughter of them; but those that escaped out of the battle fled to Ormiza, where the Arabians surrounded their camp, and took it, with all the men in it. 3. In a little time after this calamity, Herod came to bring them succors; but he came too late. Now the occasion of that blow was this, that the officers would not obey orders; for had not the fight begun so suddenly, Athenio had not found a proper season for the snares he laid for Herod: however, he was even with the Arabians afterward, and overran their country, and did them more harm than their single victory could compensate.

But as he was avenging himself on his enemies, there fell upon him another providential calamity; for in the seventh year of his reign, when the war about Actium was at the height, at the beginning of the spring, the earth was shaken, and destroyed an immense number of cattle, with thirty thousand men; but the army received no harm, because it lay in the open air. In the mean time, the fame of this earthquake elevated the Arabians to greater courage, and this by augmenting it to a fabulous height, as is constantly the case in melancholy accidents, and pretending that all Judea was overthrown. Upon this supposal, therefore, that they should easily get a land that was destitute of inhabitants into their power, they first sacrificed those ambassadors who were come to them from the Jews, and then marched into Judea immediately. Now the Jewish nation were affrighted at this invasion, and quite dispirited at the greatness of their calamities one after another; whom yet Herod got together, and endeavored to encourage to defend themselves by the following speech which he made to them:
4. "The present dread you are under seems to me to have seized upon you very unreasonably. It is true, you might justly be dismayed at that providential chastisement which hath befallen you; but to suffer yourselves to be equally terrified at the invasion of men is unmanly. As for myself, I am so far from being affrighted at our enemies after this earthquake, that I imagine that God hath thereby laid a bait for the Arabians, that we may be avenged on them; for their present invasion proceeds more from our accidental misfortunes, than that they have any great dependence on their weapons, or their own fitness for action. Now that hope which depends not on men's own power, but on others' ill success, is a very ticklish thing; for there is no certainty among men, either in their bad or good fortunes; but we may easily observe that fortune is mutable, and goes from one side to another; and this you may readily learn from examples among yourselves; for when you were once victors in the former fight, your enemies overcame you at last; and very likely it will now happen so, that these who think themselves sure of beating you will themselves be beaten. For when men are very confident, they are not upon their guard, while fear teaches men to act with caution; insomuch that I venture to prove from your very timorousness that you ought to take courage; for when you were more bold than you ought to have been, and than I would have had you, and marched on, Athenio's treachery took place; but your present slowness and seeming dejection of mind is to me a pledge and assurance of victory. And indeed it is proper beforehand to be thus provident; but when we come to action, we ought to erect our minds, and to make our enemies, be they ever so wicked, believe that neither any human, no, nor any providential misfortune, can ever depress the courage of Jews while they are alive; nor will any of them ever overlook an Arabian, or suffer such a one to

become lord of his good things, whom he has in a manner taken captive, and that many times also. And do not you disturb yourselves at the quaking of inanimate creatures, nor do you imagine that this earthquake is a sign of another calamity; for such affections of the elements are according to the course of nature, nor does it import any thing further to men, than what mischief it does immediately of itself. Perhaps there may come some short sign beforehand in the case of pestilences, and famines, and earthquakes; but these calamities themselves have their force limited by themselves [without foreboding any other calamity]. And indeed what greater mischief can the war, though it should be a violent one, do to us than the earthquake hath done? Nay, there is a signal of our enemies' destruction visible, and that a very great one also; and this is not a natural one, nor derived from the hand of foreigners neither, but it is this, that they have barbarously murdered our ambassadors, contrary to the common law of mankind; and they have destroyed so many, as if they esteemed them sacrifices for God, in relation to this war. But they will not avoid his great eye, nor his invincible right hand; and we shall be revenged of them presently, in case we still retain any of the courage of our forefathers, and rise up boldly to punish these covenant-breakers. Let every one therefore go on and fight, not so much for his wife or his children, or for the danger his country is in, as for these ambassadors of ours; those dead ambassadors will conduct this war of ours better than we ourselves who are alive. And if you will be ruled by me, I will myself go before you into danger; for you know this well enough, that your courage is irresistible, unless you hurt yourselves by acting rashly."

5. When Herod had encouraged them by this speech, and he saw with what alacrity they went, he offered sacrifice to God; and after that sacrifice, he passed over the river Jordan with his army, and pitched his camp about Philadelphia, near the enemy, and about a fortification that lay between them. He then shot at them at a distance, and was desirous to come to an engagement presently; for some of them had been sent beforehand to seize upon that fortification: but the king sent some who immediately beat them out of the fortification, while he himself went in the forefront of the army, which he put in battle-array every day, and invited the Arabians to fight. But as none of them came out of their camp, for they were in a terrible fright, and their general, Elthemus, was not able to say a word for fear, — so Herod came upon them, and pulled their fortification to pieces, by which means they were compelled to come out to fight, which they did in disorder, and so that the horsemen and foot-men were mixed together. They were indeed superior to the Jews in number, but inferior in their alacrity, although they were obliged to expose themselves to danger by their very despair of victory.

6. Now while they made opposition, they had not a great number slain; but as soon as they turned their backs, a great many were trodden to pieces by the Jews, and a great many by themselves, and so perished, till five thousand were fallen down dead in their flight, while the rest of the multitude prevented their immediate death, by crowding into the fortification. Herod encompassed these around, and besieged them; and while they were ready to be taken by their enemies in arms, they had another additional distress upon them, which was thirst and want of water; for the king was above hearkening to their ambassadors; and when they offered five hundred talents, as the price of their redemption, he pressed still harder upon them. And as they were burnt up by their thirst, they came out and voluntarily delivered themselves up by multitudes to the Jews, till in five days' time four thousand of them were put into bonds; and on the sixth day the multitude that were left despaired of saving themselves, and came out to fight: with these Herod fought, and slew again about seven thousand, insomuch that he punished Arabia so severely, and so far extinguished the spirits of the men, that he was chosen by the nation for their ruler.

CHAPTER 20.

Herod Is Confirmed In His Kingdom By Caesar, And Cultivates A Friendship With The Emperor By Magnificent Presents; While Caesar Returns His Kindness By Bestowing On Him That Part Of His Kingdom Which Had Been Taken Away From It By Cleopatra With The Addition Of Zenodoruss Country Also.

1. But now Herod was under immediate concern about a most important affair, on account of his friendship with Antony, who was already overcome at Actium by Caesar; yet he was more afraid than hurt; for Caesar did not think he had quite undone Antony, while Herod continued his assistance to him. However, the king resolved to expose himself to dangers: accordingly he sailed to Rhodes, where Caesar then abode, and came to him without his diadem, and in the habit and appearance of a private person, but in his behavior as a king. So he concealed nothing of the truth, but spoke thus before his face: "O Caesar, as I was made king of the Jews by Antony, so do I profess that I have used my royal authority in the best manner, and entirely for his advantage; nor will I conceal this further, that thou hadst certainly found me in arms, and an inseparable companion of his, had not the Arabians hindered me. However, I sent him as many auxiliaries as I was able, and many ten thousand [cori] of corn. Nay, indeed, I did not desert my benefactor after the bow that was given him at Actium; but I gave him the best advice I was able, when I was no longer able to assist him in the war; and I told him that there was but one way of recovering his affairs, and that was to kill Cleopatra; and I promised him that, if she were once dead, I would afford him money and walls for his security, with an army and myself to assist him in his war against thee: but his affections for Cleopatra stopped his ears, as did God himself also who hath bestowed the government on thee. I own myself also to be overcome together with him; and with his last fortune I have laid aside my diadem, and am come hither to thee, having my hopes of safety in thy virtue; and I desire that thou wilt first consider how faithful a friend, and not whose friend, I have been."

2. Caesar replied to him thus: "Nay, thou shalt not only be in safety, but thou shalt be a king; and that more firmly than thou wast before; for thou art worthy to reign over a great many subjects, by reason of the fastness of thy friendship; and do thou endeavor to be equally constant in thy friendship to me, upon my good success, which is what I depend upon from the generosity of thy disposition. However, Antony hath done well in preferring Cleopatra to thee; for

by this means we have gained thee by her madness, and thus thou hast begun to be my friend before I began to be thine; on which account Quintus Didius hath written to me that thou sentest him assistance against the gladiators. I do therefore assure thee that I will confirm the kingdom to thee by decree: I shall also endeavor to do thee some further kindness hereafter, that thou mayst find no loss in the want of Antony."

3. When Caesar had spoken such obliging things to the king, and had put the diadem again about his head, he proclaimed what he had bestowed on him by a decree, in which he enlarged in the commendation of the man after a magnificent manner. Whereupon Herod obliged him to be kind to him by the presents he gave him, and he desired him to forgive Alexander, one of Antony's friends, who was become a supplicant to him. But Caesar's anger against him prevailed, and he complained of the many and very great offenses the man whom he petitioned for had been guilty of; and by that means he rejected his petition. After this Caesar went for Egypt through Syria, when Herod received him with royal and rich entertainments; and then did he first of all ride along with Caesar, as he was reviewing his army about Ptolemais, and feasted him with all his friends, and then distributed among the rest of the army what was necessary to feast them withal. He also made a plentiful provision of water for them, when they were to march as far as Pelusium, through a dry country, which he did also in like manner at their return thence; nor were there any necessaries wanting to that army. It was therefore the opinion, both of Caesar and of his soldiers, that Herod's kingdom was too small for those generous presents he made them; for which reason, when Caesar was come into Egypt, and Cleopatra and Antony were dead, he did not only bestow other marks of honor upon him, but made an addition to his kingdom, by giving him not only the country which had been taken from him by Cleopatra, but besides that, Gadara, and Hippos, and Samaria; and moreover, of the maritime cities, Gaza and Anthedon, and Joppa, and Strato's Tower. He also made him a present of four hundred Galls [Galatians] as a guard for his body, which they had been to Cleopatra before. Nor did any thing so strongly induce Caesar to make these presents as the generosity of him that received them.

4. Moreover, after the first games at Actium, he added to his kingdom both the region called Trachonitis, and what lay in its neighborhood, Batanea, and the country of Auranitis; and that on the following occasion: Zenodorus, who had hired the house of Lysanias, had all along sent robbers out of Trachonitis among the Damascenes; who thereupon had recourse to Varro, the president of Syria, and desired of him that he would represent the calamity they were in to Caesar. When Caesar was acquainted with it, he sent back orders that this nest of robbers

should be destroyed. Varro therefore made an expedition against them, and cleared the land of those men, and took it away from Zenodorus. Caesar did also afterward bestow it on Herod, that it might not again become a receptacle for those robbers that had come against Damascus. He also made him a procurator of all Syria, and this on the tenth year afterward, when he came again into that province; and this was so established, that the other procurators could not do any thing in the administration without his advice: but when Zenodorus was dead, Caesar bestowed on him all that land which lay between Trachonitis and Galilee. Yet, what was still of more consequence to Herod, he was beloved by Caesar next after Agrippa, and by Agrippa next after Caesar; whence he arrived at a very great degree of felicity. Yet did the greatness of his soul exceed it, and the main part of his magnanimity was extended to the promotion of piety.

CHAPTER 21.

Of The [Temple And] Cities That Were Built By Herod And Erected From The Very Foundations; As Also Of Those Other Edifices That Were Erected By Him; And What Magnificence He Showed To Foreigners; And How Fortune Was In All Things Favorable To Him.

1. Accordingly, in the fifteenth year of his reign, Herod rebuilt the temple, and encompassed a piece of land about it with a wall, which land was twice as large as that before enclosed. The expenses he laid out upon it were vastly large also, and the riches about it were unspeakable. A sign of which you have in the great cloisters that were erected about the temple, and the citadel which was on its north side. The cloisters he built from the foundation, but the citadel he repaired at a vast expense; nor was it other than a royal palace, which he called Antonia, in honor of Antony. He also built himself a palace in the Upper city, containing two very large and most beautiful apartments; to which the holy house itself could not be compared [in largeness]. The one apartment he named Caesareum, and the other Agrippium, from his [two great] friends.

2. Yet did he not preserve their memory by particular buildings only, with their names given them, but his generosity went as far as entire cities; for when he had built a most beautiful wall round a country in Samaria, twenty furlongs long, and had brought six thousand inhabitants into it, and had allotted to it a most fruitful piece of land, and in the midst of this city, thus built, had erected a very large temple to Caesar, and had laid round about it a portion of sacred land of three furlongs and a half, he called the city Sebaste, from Sebastus, or Augustus, and settled the affairs of the city after a most regular manner.

3. And when Caesar had further bestowed upon him another additional country, he built there also a temple of white marble, hard by the fountains of Jordan: the place is called Panium, where is a top of a mountain that is raised to an immense height, and at its side, beneath, or at its bottom, a dark cave opens itself; within which there is a horrible precipice, that descends abruptly to a vast depth; it contains a mighty quantity of water, which is immovable; and when any body lets down any thing to measure the depth of the earth beneath the water, no length of cord is sufficient to reach it. Now the fountains of Jordan rise at the roots of this cavity outwardly; and, as some think, this is the utmost origin of Jordan: but we shall speak of that matter more accurately in our following history.

4. But the king erected other places at Jericho also, between the citadel Cypros and the former palace, such as were better and more useful than the former for travelers, and named them from the same friends of his. To say all at once, there was not any place of his kingdom fit for the purpose that was permitted to be without somewhat that was for Caesar's honor; and when he had filled his own country with temples, he poured out the like plentiful marks of his esteem into his province, and built many cities which he called Cesareas.

5. And when he observed that there was a city by the sea-side that was much decayed, [its name was Strato's Tower,] but that the place, by the happiness of its situation, was capable of great improvements from his liberality, he rebuilt it all with white stone, and adorned it with several most splendid palaces, wherein he especially demonstrated his magnanimity; for the case was this, that all the sea-shore between Dora and Joppa, in the middle, between which this city is situated, had no good haven, insomuch that every one that sailed from Phoenicia for Egypt was obliged to lie in the stormy sea, by reason of the south winds that threatened them; which wind, if it blew but a little fresh, such vast waves are raised, and dash upon the rocks, that upon their retreat the sea is in a great ferment for a long way. But the king, by the expenses he was at, and the liberal disposal of them, overcame nature, and built a haven larger than was the Pyrecum [at Athens]; and in the inner retirements of the water he built other deep stations [for the ships also].

6. Now although the place where he built was greatly opposite to his purposes, yet did he so fully struggle with that difficulty, that the firmness of his building could not easily be conquered by the sea; and the beauty and ornament of the works were such, as though he had not had any difficulty in the operation; for when he had measured out as large a space as we have before mentioned, he let down stones into twenty fathom water, the greatest part of which were fifty feet in length, and nine in depth, and ten in breadth, and some still larger. But when the haven was filled up to that depth, he enlarged that wall which was thus already extant above the sea, till it was two hundred feet wide; one hundred of which had buildings before it, in order to break the force of the waves, whence it was called Procumatia, or the first breaker of the waves; but the rest of the space was under a stone wall that ran round it. On this wall were very large towers, the principal and most beautiful of which was called Drusium, from Drusus, who was son-in-law to Caesar.

7. There were also a great number of arches, where the mariners dwelt; and all the places before them round about was a large valley, or walk, for a quay [or landing-place] to those that came on shore; but the entrance was on the north, because the north wind was there the most gentle of all the winds. At the mouth

of the haven were on each side three great Colossi, supported by pillars, where those Colossi that are on your left hand as you sail into the port are supported by a solid tower; but those on the right hand are supported by two upright stones joined together, which stones were larger than that tower which was on the other side of the entrance. Now there were continual edifices joined to the haven, which were also themselves of white stone; and to this haven did the narrow streets of the city lead, and were built at equal distances one from another. And over against the mouth of the haven, upon an elevation, there was a temple for Caesar, which was excellent both in beauty and largeness; and therein was a Colossus of Caesar, not less than that of Jupiter Olympius, which it was made to resemble. The other Colossus of Rome was equal to that of Juno at Argos. So he dedicated the city to the province, and the haven to the sailors there; but the honor of the building he ascribed to Caesar, and named it Cesarea accordingly.

8. He also built the other edifices, the amphitheater, and theater, and market-place, in a manner agreeable to that denomination; and appointed games every fifth year, and called them, in like manner, Caesar's Games; and he first himself proposed the largest prizes upon the hundred ninety-second olympiad; in which not only the victors themselves, but those that came next to them, and even those that came in the third place, were partakers of his royal bounty. He also rebuilt Anthedon, a city that lay on the coast, and had been demolished in the wars, and named it Agrippeum. Moreover, he had so very great a kindness for his friend Agrippa, that he had his name engraved upon that gate which he had himself erected in the temple.

9. Herod was also a lover of his father, if any other person ever was so; for he made a monument for his father, even that city which he built in the finest plain that was in his kingdom, and which had rivers and trees in abundance, and named it Antipatris. He also built a wall about a citadel that lay above Jericho, and was a very strong and very fine building, and dedicated it to his mother, and called it Cypros. Moreover, he dedicated a tower that was at Jerusalem, and called it by the name of his brother Phasaelus, whose structure, largeness, and magnificence we shall describe hereafter. He also built another city in the valley that leads northward from Jericho, and named it Phasaelis.

10. And as he transmitted to eternity his family and friends, so did he not neglect a memorial for himself, but built a fortress upon a mountain towards Arabia, and named it from himself, Herodium and he called that hill that was of the shape of a woman's breast, and was sixty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, by the same name. He also bestowed much curious art upon it, with great ambition, and built round towers all about the top of it, and filled up the remaining space with the most costly palaces round about, insomuch that not only the sight of the

inner apartments was splendid, but great wealth was laid out on the outward walls, and partitions, and roofs also. Besides this, he brought a mighty quantity of water from a great distance, and at vast charges, and raised an ascent to it of two hundred steps of the whitest marble, for the hill was itself moderately high, and entirely factitious. He also built other palaces about the roots of the hill, sufficient to receive the furniture that was put into them, with his friends also, insomuch that, on account of its containing all necessaries, the fortress might seem to be a city, but, by the bounds it had, a palace only.

11. And when he had built so much, he showed the greatness of his soul to no small number of foreign cities. He built palaces for exercise at Tripoli, and Damascus, and Ptolemais; he built a wall about Byblus, as also large rooms, and cloisters, and temples, and market-places at Berytus and Tyre, with theatres at Sidon and Damascus. He also built aqueducts for those Laodiceans who lived by the sea-side; and for those of Ascalon he built baths and costly fountains, as also cloisters round a court, that were admirable both for their workmanship and largeness. Moreover, he dedicated groves and meadows to some people; nay, not a few cities there were who had lands of his donation, as if they were parts of his own kingdom. He also bestowed annual revenues, and those for ever also, on the settlements for exercises, and appointed for them, as well as for the people of Cos, that such rewards should never be wanting. He also gave corn to all such as wanted it, and conferred upon Rhodes large sums of money for building ships; and this he did in many places, and frequently also. And when Apollo's temple had been burnt down, he rebuilt it at his own charges, after a better manner than it was before. What need I speak of the presents he made to the Lycians and Samnians? or of his great liberality through all Ionia? and that according to every body's wants of them. And are not the Athenians, and Lacedemonians, and Nicopolitans, and that Pergamus which is in Mysia, full of donations that Herod presented them withal? And as for that large open place belonging to Antioch in Syria, did not he pave it with polished marble, though it were twenty furlongs long? and this when it was shunned by all men before, because it was full of dirt and filthiness, when he besides adorned the same place with a cloister of the same length.

12. It is true, a man may say, these were favors peculiar to those particular places on which he bestowed his benefits; but then what favors he bestowed on the Eleans was a donation not only in common to all Greece, but to all the habitable earth, as far as the glory of the Olympic games reached. For when he perceived that they were come to nothing, for want of money, and that the only remains of ancient Greece were in a manner gone, he not only became one of the combatants in that return of the fifth-year games, which in his sailing to Rome

he happened to be present at, but he settled upon them revenues of money for perpetuity, insomuch that his memorial as a combatant there can never fail. It would be an infinite task if I should go over his payments of people's debts, or tributes, for them, as he eased the people of Phasaelis, of Batanea, and of the small cities about Cilicia, of those annual pensions they before paid. However, the fear he was in much disturbed the greatness of his soul, lest he should be exposed to envy, or seem to hunt after greater filings than he ought, while he bestowed more liberal gifts upon these cities than did their owners themselves.

13. Now Herod had a body suited to his soul, and was ever a most excellent hunter, where he generally had good success, by the means of his great skill in riding horses; for in one day he caught forty wild beasts: that country breeds also bears, and the greatest part of it is replenished with stags and wild asses. He was also such a warrior as could not be withstood: many men, therefore, there are who have stood amazed at his readiness in his exercises, when they saw him throw the javelin directly forward, and shoot the arrow upon the mark. And then, besides these performances of his depending on his own strength of mind and body, fortune was also very favorable to him; for he seldom failed of success in his wars; and when he failed, he was not himself the occasion of such failings, but he either was betrayed by some, or the rashness of his own soldiers procured his defeat.

CHAPTER 22.

The Murder Of Aristobulus And Hyrcanus, The High Priests, As Also Of Mariamne The Queen.

1. However, fortune was avenged on Herod in his external great successes, by raising him up domestical troubles; and he began to have wild disorders in his family, on account of his wife, of whom he was so very fond. For when he came to the government, he sent away her whom he had before married when he was a private person, and who was born at Jerusalem, whose name was Doris, and married Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus; on whose account disturbances arose in his family, and that in part very soon, but chiefly after his return from Rome. For, first of all, he expelled Antipater the son of Doris, for the sake of his sons by Mariamne, out of the city, and permitted him to come thither at no other times than at the festivals. After this he slew his wife's grandfather, Hyrcanus, when he was returned out of Parthin to him, under this pretense, that he suspected him of plotting against him. Now this Hyrcanus had been carried captive to Barzapharnes, when he overran Syria; but those of his own country beyond Euphrates were desirous he would stay with them, and this out of the commiseration they had for his condition; and had he complied with their desires, when they exhorted him not to go over the river to Herod, he had not perished: but the marriage of his granddaughter [to Herod] was his temptation; for as he relied upon him, and was over-fond of his own country, he came back to it. Herod's provocation was this, — not that Hyrcanus made any attempt to gain the kingdom, but that it was fitter for him to be their king than for Herod.

2. Now of the five children which Herod had by Mariamne, two of them were daughters, and three were sons; and the youngest of these sons was educated at Rome, and there died; but the two eldest he treated as those of royal blood, on account of the nobility of their mother, and because they were not born till he was king. But then what was stronger than all this was the love that he bare to Mariamne, and which inflamed him every day to a great degree, and so far conspired with the other motives, that he felt no other troubles, on account of her he loved so entirely. But Mariamne's hatred to him was not inferior to his love to her. She had indeed but too just a cause of indignation from what he had done, while her boldness proceeded from his affection to her; so she openly reproached him with what he had done to her grandfather Hyrcanus, and to her brother Aristobulus; for he had not spared this Aristobulus, though he were but a child;

for when he had given him the high priesthood at the age of seventeen, he slew him quickly after he had conferred that dignity upon him; but when Aristobulus had put on the holy vestments, and had approached to the altar at a festival, the multitude, in great crowds, fell into tears; whereupon the child was sent by night to Jericho, and was there dipped by the Galls, at Herod's command, in a pool till he was drowned.

3. For these reasons Mariamne reproached Herod, and his sister and mother, after a most contumelious manner, while he was dumb on account of his affection for her; yet had the women great indignation at her, and raised a calumny against her, that she was false to his bed; which thing they thought most likely to move Herod to anger. They also contrived to have many other circumstances believed, in order to make the thing more credible, and accused her of having sent her picture into Egypt to Antony, and that her lust was so extravagant, as to have thus showed herself, though she was absent, to a man that ran mad after women, and to a man that had it in his power to use violence to her. This charge fell like a thunderbolt upon Herod, and put him into disorder; and that especially, because his love to her occasioned him to be jealous, and because he considered with himself that Cleopatra was a shrewd woman, and that on her account Lysanias the king was taken off, as well as Malichus the Arabian; for his fear did not only extend to the dissolving of his marriage, but to the danger of his life.

4. When therefore he was about to take a journey abroad, he committed his wife to Joseph, his sister Salome's husband, as to one who would be faithful to him, and bare him good-will on account of their kindred; he also gave him a secret injunction, that if Antony slew him, he should slay her. But Joseph, without any ill design, and only in order to demonstrate the king's love to his wife, how he could not bear to think of being separated from her, even by death itself, discovered this grand secret to her; upon which, when Herod was come back, and as they talked together, and he confirmed his love to her by many oaths, and assured her that he had never such an affection for any other woman as he had for her— "Yes," says she, "thou didst, to be sure, demonstrate thy love to me by the injunctions thou gavest Joseph, when thou commandedst him to kill me."

5. When he heard that this grand secret was discovered, he was like a distracted man, and said that Joseph would never have disclosed that injunction of his, unless he had debauched her. His passion also made him stark mad, and leaping out of his bed, he ran about the palace after a wild manner; at which time his sister Salome took the opportunity also to blast her reputation, and confirmed his suspicion about Joseph; whereupon, out of his ungovernable jealousy and

rage, he commanded both of them to be slain immediately; but as soon as ever his passion was over, he repented of what he had done, and as soon as his anger was worn off, his affections were kindled again. And indeed the flame of his desires for her was so ardent, that he could not think she was dead, but would appear, under his disorders, to speak to her as if she were still alive, till he were better instructed by time, when his grief and trouble, now she was dead, appeared as great as his affection had been for her while she was living.

CHAPTER 23.

Calumnies Against The Sons Of Mariamne. Antipateris Preferred Before Them. They Are Accused Before Caesar, And Herod Is Reconciled To Them.

1. Now Mariamne's sons were heirs to that hatred which had been borne their mother; and when they considered the greatness of Herod's crime towards her, they were suspicious of him as of an enemy of theirs; and this first while they were educated at Rome, but still more when they were returned to Judea. This temper of theirs increased upon them as they grew up to be men; and when they were Come to an age fit for marriage, the one of them married their aunt Salome's daughter, which Salome had been the accuser of their mother; the other married the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. And now they used boldness in speaking, as well as bore hatred in their minds. Now those that calumniated them took a handle from such their boldness, and certain of them spake now more plainly to the king that there were treacherous designs laid against him by both his sons; and he that was son-in-law to Archelaus, relying upon his father-in-law, was preparing to fly away, in order to accuse Herod before Caesar; and when Herod's head had been long enough filled with these calumnies, he brought Antipater, whom he had by Doris, into favor again, as a defense to him against his other sons, and began all the ways he possibly could to prefer him before them.

2. But these sons were not able to bear this change in their affairs; but when they saw him that was born of a mother of no family, the nobility of their birth made them unable to contain their indignation; but whensoever they were uneasy, they showed the anger they had at it. And as these sons did day after day improve in that their anger, Antipater already exercised all his own abilities, which were very great, in flattering his father, and in contriving many sorts of calumnies against his brethren, while he told some stories of them himself, and put it upon other proper persons to raise other stories against them, till at length he entirely cut his brethren off from all hopes of succeeding to the kingdom; for he was already publicly put into his father's will as his successor. Accordingly, he was sent with royal ornaments, and other marks of royalty, to Caesar, excepting the diadem. He was also able in time to introduce his mother again into Mariamne's bed. The two sorts of weapons he made use of against his brethren were flattery and calumny, whereby he brought matters privately to such a pass, that the king had thoughts of putting his sons to death.

3. So the father drew Alexander as far as Rome, and charged him with an attempt of poisoning him before Caesar. Alexander could hardly speak for lamentation; but having a judge that was more skillful than Antipater, and more wise than Herod, he modestly avoided laying any imputation upon his father, but with great strength of reason confuted the calumnies laid against him; and when he had demonstrated the innocency of his brother, who was in the like danger with himself, he at last bewailed the craftiness of Antipater, and the disgrace they were under. He was enabled also to justify himself, not only by a clear conscience, which he carried within him, but by his eloquence; for he was a shrewd man in making speeches. And upon his saying at last, that if his father objected this crime to them, it was in his power to put them to death, he made all the audience weep; and he brought Caesar to that pass, as to reject the accusations, and to reconcile their father to them immediately. But the conditions of this reconciliation were these, that they should in all things be obedient to their father, and that he should have power to leave the kingdom to which of them he pleased.

4. After this the king came back from Rome, and seemed to have forgiven his sons upon these accusations; but still so that he was not without his suspicions of them. They were followed by Antipater, who was the fountain-head of those accusations; yet did not he openly discover his hatred to them, as revering him that had reconciled them. But as Herod sailed by Cilicia, he touched at Eleusa, where Archelaus treated them in the most obliging manner, and gave him thanks for the deliverance of his son-in-law, and was much pleased at their reconciliation; and this the more, because he had formerly written to his friends at Rome that they should be assisting to Alexander at his trial. So he conducted Herod as far as Zephyrium, and made him presents to the value of thirty talents.

5. Now when Herod was come to Jerusalem, he gathered the people together, and presented to them his three sons, and gave them an apologetic account of his absence, and thanked God greatly, and thanked Caesar greatly also, for settling his house when it was under disturbances, and had procured concord among his sons, which was of greater consequence than the kingdom itself,— “and which I will render still more firm; for Caesar hath put into my power to dispose of the government, and to appoint my successor. Accordingly, in way of requital for his kindness, and in order to provide for mine own advantage, I do declare that these three sons of mine shall be kings. And, in the first place, I pray for the approbation of God to what I am about; and, in the next place, I desire your approbation also. The age of one of them, and the nobility of the other two, shall procure them the succession. Nay, indeed, my kingdom is so large that it may be sufficient for more kings. Now do you keep those in their places whom Caesar

hath joined, and their father hath appointed; and do not you pay undue or unequal respects to them, but to every one according to the prerogative of their births; for he that pays such respects unduly, will thereby not make him that is honored beyond what his age requires so joyful, as he will make him that is dishonored sorrowful. As for the kindred and friends that are to converse with them, I will appoint them to each of them, and will so constitute them, that they may be securities for their concord; as well knowing that the ill tempers of those with whom they converse will produce quarrels and contentions among them; but that if these with whom they converse be of good tempers, they will preserve their natural affections for one another. But still I desire that not these only, but all the captains of my army, have for the present their hopes placed on me alone; for I do not give away my kingdom to these my sons, but give them royal honors only; whereby it will come to pass that they will enjoy the sweet parts of government as rulers themselves, but that the burden of administration will rest upon myself whether I will or not. And let every one consider what age I am of, how I have conducted my life, and what piety I have exercised; for my age is not so great that men may soon expect the end of my life; nor have I indulged such a luxurious way of living as cuts men off when they are young; and we have been so religious towards God, that we [have reason to hope we] may arrive at a very great age. But for such as cultivate a friendship with my sons, so as to aim at my destruction, they shall be punished by me on their account. I am not one who envy my own children, and therefore forbid men to pay them great respect; but I know that such [extravagant] respects are the way to make them insolent. And if every one that comes near them does but revolve this in his mind, that if he prove a good man, he shall receive a reward from me, but that if he prove seditious, his ill-intended complaisance shall get him nothing from him to whom it is shown, I suppose they will all be of my side, that is, of my sons' side; for it will be for their advantage that I reign, and that I be at concord with them. But do you, O my good children, reflect upon the holiness of nature itself, by whose means natural affection is preserved, even among wild beasts; in the next place, reflect upon Caesar, who hath made this reconciliation among us; and in the third place, reflect upon me, who entreat you to do what I have power to command you, — continue brethren. I give you royal garments, and royal honors; and I pray to God to preserve what I have determined, in case you be at concord one with another." When the king had thus spoken, and had saluted every one of his sons after an obliging manner, he dismissed the multitude; some of which gave their assent to what he had said, and wished it might take effect accordingly; but for those who wished for a change of affairs, they pretended they did not so much as hear what he said.

CHAPTER 24.

The Malice Of Antipater And Doris. Alexander Is Very Uneasy On Glaphyras Account. Herod Pardons Pheroras, Whom He Suspected, And Salome Whom He Knew To Make Mischief Among Them. Herod's Eunuchs Are Tortured And Alexander Is Bound.

1. But now the quarrel that was between them still accompanied these brethren when they parted, and the suspicions they had one of the other grew worse. Alexander and Aristobulus were much grieved that the privilege of the first-born was confirmed to Antipater; as was Antipater very angry at his brethren that they were to succeed him. But then this last being of a disposition that was mutable and politic, he knew how to hold his tongue, and used a great deal of cunning, and thereby concealed the hatred he bore to them; while the former, depending on the nobility of their births, had every thing upon their tongues which was in their minds. Many also there were who provoked them further, and many of their [seeming] friends insinuated themselves into their acquaintance, to spy out what they did. Now every thing that was said by Alexander was presently brought to Antipater, and from Antipater it was brought to Herod with additions. Nor could the young man say any thing in the simplicity of his heart, without giving offense, but what he said was still turned to calumny against him. And if he had been at any time a little free in his conversation, great imputations were forged from the smallest occasions. Antipater also was perpetually setting some to provoke him to speak, that the lies he raised of him might seem to have some foundation of truth; and if, among the many stories that were given out, but one of them could be proved true, that was supposed to imply the rest to be true also. And as to Antipater's friends, they were all either naturally so cautious in speaking, or had been so far bribed to conceal their thoughts, that nothing of these grand secrets got abroad by their means. Nor should one be mistaken if he called the life of Antipater a mystery of wickedness; for he either corrupted Alexander's acquaintance with money, or got into their favor by flatteries; by which two means he gained all his designs, and brought them to betray their master, and to steal away, and reveal what he either did or said. Thus did he act a part very cunningly in all points, and wrought himself a passage by his calumnies with the greatest shrewdness; while he put on a face as if he were a kind brother to Alexander and Aristobulus, but suborned other men to inform of what they did to Herod. And when any thing was told against Alexander, he would come in, and pretend [to be of his side], and would begin to contradict

what was said; but would afterward contrive matters so privately, that the king should have an indignation at him. His general aim was this, — to lay a plot, and to make it believed that Alexander lay in wait to kill his father; for nothing afforded so great a confirmation to these calumnies as did Antipater's apologies for him.

2. By these methods Herod was inflamed, and as much as his natural affection to the young men did every day diminish, so much did it increase towards Antipater. The courtiers also inclined to the same conduct, some of their own accord, and others by the king's injunction, as particularly did Ptolemy, the king's dearest friend, as also the king's brethren, and all his children; for Antipater was all in all; and what was the bitterest part of all to Alexander, Antipater's mother was also all in all; she was one that gave counsel against them, and was more harsh than a step-mother, and one that hated the queen's sons more than is usual to hate sons-in-law. All men did therefore already pay their respects to Antipater, in hopes of advantage; and it was the king's command which alienated every body [from the brethren], he having given this charge to his most intimate friends, that they should not come near, nor pay any regard, to Alexander, or to his friends. Herod was also become terrible, not only to his domestics about the court, but to his friends abroad; for Caesar had given such a privilege to no other king as he had given to him, which was this, — that he might fetch back any one that fled from him, even out of a city that was not under his own jurisdiction. Now the young men were not acquainted with the calumnies raised against them; for which reason they could not guard themselves against them, but fell under them; for their father did not make any public complaints against either of them; though in a little time they perceived how things were by his coldness to them, and by the great uneasiness he showed upon any thing that troubled him. Antipater had also made their uncle Pheroras to be their enemy, as well as their aunt Salome, while he was always talking with her, as with a wife, and irritating her against them. Moreover, Alexander's wife, Glaphyra, augmented this hatred against them, by deriving her nobility and genealogy [from great persons], and pretending that she was a lady superior to all others in that kingdom, as being derived by her father's side from Temenus, and by her mother's side from Darius, the son of Hystaspes. She also frequently reproached Herod's sister and wives with the ignobility of their descent; and that they were every one chosen by him for their beauty, but not for their family. Now those wives of his were not a few; it being of old permitted to the Jews to marry many wives, and this king delighting in many; all which hated Alexander, on account of Glaphyra's boasting and reproaches.

3. Nay, Aristobulus had raised a quarrel between himself and Salome, who was his mother-in-law, besides the anger he had conceived at Glaphyra's reproaches; for he perpetually upbraided his wife with the meanness of her family, and complained, that as he had married a woman of a low family, so had his brother Alexander married one of royal blood. At this Salome's daughter wept, and told it her with this addition, that Alexander threatened the mothers of his other brethren, that when he should come to the crown, he would make them weave with their maidens, and would make those brothers of his country schoolmasters; and brake this jest upon them, that they had been very carefully instructed, to fit them for such an employment. Hereupon Salome could not contain her anger, but told all to Herod; nor could her testimony be suspected, since it was against her own son-in-law There was also another calumny that ran abroad and inflamed the king's mind; for he heard that these sons of his were perpetually speaking of their mother, and, among their lamentations for her, did not abstain from cursing him; and that when he made presents of any of Mariamne's garments to his later wives, these threatened that in a little time, instead of royal garments, they would clothe theft in no better than hair-cloth.

4. Now upon these accounts, though Herod was somewhat afraid of the young men's high spirit, yet did he not despair of reducing them to a better mind; but before he went to Rome, whither he was now going by sea, he called them to him, and partly threatened them a little, as a king; but for the main, he admonished them as a father, and exhorted them to love their brethren, and told them that he would pardon their former offenses, if they would amend for the time to come. But they refuted the calumnies that had been raised of them, and said they were false, and alleged that their actions were sufficient for their vindication; and said withal, that he himself ought to shut his ears against such tales, and not be too easy in believing them, for that there would never be wanting those that would tell lies to their disadvantage, as long as any would give ear to them.

5. When they had thus soon pacified him, as being their father, they got clear of the present fear they were in. Yet did they see occasion for sorrow in some time afterward; for they knew that Salome, as well as their uncle Pheroras, were their enemies; who were both of them heavy and severe persons, and especially Pheroras, who was a partner with Herod in all the affairs of the kingdom, excepting his diadem. He had also a hundred talents of his own revenue, and enjoyed the advantage of all the land beyond Jordan, which he had received as a gift from his brother, who had asked of Caesar to make him a tetrarch, as he was made accordingly. Herod had also given him a wife out of the royal family, who was no other than his own wife's sister, and after her death had solemnly

espoused to him his own eldest daughter, with a dowry of three hundred talents; but Pheroras refused to consummate this royal marriage, out of his affection to a maidservant of his. Upon which account Herod was very angry, and gave that daughter in marriage to a brother's son of his, [Joseph,] who was slain afterward by the Parthians; but in some time he laid aside his anger against Pheroras, and pardoned him, as one not able to overcome his foolish passion for the maidservant.

6. Nay, Pheroras had been accused long before, while the queen [Mariamne] was alive, as if he were in a plot to poison Herod; and there came then so great a number of informers, that Herod himself, though he was an exceeding lover of his brethren, was brought to believe what was said, and to be afraid of it also. And when he had brought many of those that were under suspicion to the torture, he came at last to Pheroras's own friends; none of which did openly confess the crime, but they owned that he had made preparation to take her whom he loved, and run away to the Parthians. Costobarus also, the husband of Salome, to whom the king had given her in marriage, after her former husband had been put to death for adultery, was instrumental in bringing about this contrivance and flight of his. Nor did Salome escape all calumny upon herself; for her brother Pheroras accused her that she had made an agreement to marry Silleus, the procurator of Obodas, king of Arabia, who was at bitter enmity with Herod; but when she was convicted of this, and of all that Pheroras had accused her of, she obtained her pardon. The king also pardoned Pheroras himself the crimes he had been accused of.

7. But the storm of the whole family was removed to Alexander, and all of it rested upon his head. There were three eunuchs who were in the highest esteem with the king, as was plain by the offices they were in about him; for one of them was appointed to be his butler, another of them got his supper ready for him, and the third put him into bed, and lay down by him. Now Alexander had prevailed with these men, by large gifts, to let him use them after an obscene manner; which, when it was told to the king, they were tortured, and found guilty, and presently confessed the criminal conversation he had with them. They also discovered the promises by which they were induced so to do, and how they were deluded by Alexander, who had told them that they ought not to fix their hopes upon Herod, an old man, and one so shameless as to color his hair, unless they thought that would make him young again; but that they ought to fix their attention to him who was to be his successor in the kingdom, whether he would or not; and who in no long time would avenge himself on his enemies, and make his friends happy and blessed, and themselves in the first place; that

the men of power did already pay respects to Alexander privately, and that the captains of the soldiery, and the officers, did secretly come to him.

8. These confessions did so terrify Herod, that he durst not immediately publish them; but he sent spies abroad privately, by night and by day, who should make a close inquiry after all that was done and said; and when any were but suspected [of treason], he put them to death, insomuch that the palace was full of horribly unjust proceedings; for every body forged calumnies, as they were themselves in a state of enmity or hatred against others; and many there were who abused the king's bloody passion to the disadvantage of those with whom they had quarrels, and lies were easily believed, and punishments were inflicted sooner than the calumnies were forged. He who had just then been accusing another was accused himself, and was led away to execution together with him whom he had convicted; for the danger the king was in of his life made examinations be very short. He also proceeded to such a degree of bitterness, that he could not look on any of those that were not accused with a pleasant countenance, but was in the most barbarous disposition towards his own friends. Accordingly, he forbade a great many of them to come to court, and to those whom he had not power to punish actually he spake harshly. But for Antipater, he insulted Alexander, now he was under his misfortunes, and got a stout company of his kindred together, and raised all sorts of calumny against him; and for the king, he was brought to such a degree of terror by those prodigious slanders and contrivances, that he fancied he saw Alexander coming to him with a drawn sword in his hand. So he caused him to be seized upon immediately, and bound, and fell to examining his friends by torture, many of whom died [under the torture], but would discover nothing, nor say any thing against their consciences; but some of them, being forced to speak falsely by the pains they endured, said that Alexander, and his brother Aristobulus, plotted against him, and waited for an opportunity to kill him as he was hunting, and then fly away to Rome. These accusations though they were of an incredible nature, and only framed upon the great distress they were in, were readily believed by the king, who thought it some comfort to him, after he had bound his son, that it might appear he had not done it unjustly.

CHAPTER 25.

Archelaus Procures A Reconciliation Between Alexander Pheroras, And Herod.

1. Now as to Alexander, since he perceived it impossible to persuade his father [that he was innocent], he resolved to meet his calamities, how severe soever they were; so he composed four books against his enemies, and confessed that he had been in a plot; but declared withal that the greatest part [of the courtiers] were in a plot with him, and chiefly Pheroras and Salome; nay, that Salome once came and forced him to lie with her in the night time, whether he would or no. These books were put into Herod's hands, and made a great clamor against the men in power. And now it was that Archelaus came hastily into Judea, as being affrighted for his son-in-law and his daughter; and he came as a proper assistant, and in a very prudent manner, and by a stratagem he obliged the king not to execute what he had threatened; for when he was come to him, he cried out, "Where in the world is this wretched son-in-law of mine? Where shall I see the head of him which contrived to murder his father, which I will tear to pieces with my own hands? I will do the same also to my daughter, who hath such a fine husband; for although she be not a partner in the plot, yet, by being the wife of such a creature, she is polluted. And I cannot but admire at thy patience, against whom this plot is laid, if Alexander be still alive; for as I came with what haste I could from Cappadocia, I expected to find him put to death for his crimes long ago; but still, in order to make an examination with thee about my daughter, whom, out of regard to thee and by dignity, I had espoused to him in marriage; but now we must take counsel about them both; and if thy paternal affection be so great, that thou canst not punish thy son, who hath plotted against thee, let us change our right hands, and let us succeed one to the other in expressing our rage upon this occasion."

2. When he had made this pompous declaration, he got Herod to remit of his anger, though he were in disorder, who thereupon gave him the books which Alexander had composed to be read by him; and as he came to every head, he considered of it, together with Herod. So Archelaus took hence the occasion for that stratagem which he made use of, and by degrees he laid the blame on those men whose names were in these books, and especially upon Pheroras; and when he saw that the king believed him [to be in earnest], he said, "We must consider whether the young man be not himself plotted against by such a number of wicked wretches, and not thou plotted against by the young man; for I cannot see

any occasion for his falling into so horrid a crime, since he enjoys the advantages of royalty already, and has the expectation of being one of thy successors; I mean this, unless there were some persons that persuade him to it, and such persons as make an ill use of the facility they know there is to persuade young men; for by such persons, not only young men are sometimes imposed upon, but old men also, and by them sometimes are the most illustrious families and kingdoms overturned."

3. Herod assented to what he had said, and, by degrees, abated of his anger against Alexander, but was more angry at Pheroras; for the principal subject of the four books was Pheroras; who perceiving that the king's inclinations changed on a sudden, and that Archelaus's friendship could do every thing with him, and that he had no honorable method of preserving himself, he procured his safety by his impudence. So he left Alexander, and had recourse to Archelaus, who told him that he did not see how he could get him excused, now he was directly caught in so many crimes, whereby it was evidently demonstrated that he had plotted against the king, and had been the cause of those misfortunes which the young man was now under, unless he would moreover leave off his cunning knavery, and his denials of what he was charged withal, and confess the charge, and implore pardon of his brother, who still had a kindness for him; but that if he would do so, he would afford him all the assistance he was able.

4. With this advice Pheroras complied, and putting himself into such a habit as might most move compassion, he came with black cloth upon his body, and tears in his eyes, and threw himself down at Herod's feet, and begged his pardon for what he had done, and confessed that he had acted very wickedly, and was guilty of every thing that he had been accused of, and lamented that disorder of his mind, and distraction which his love to a woman, he said, had brought him to. So when Archelaus had brought Pheroras to accuse and bear witness against himself, he then made an excuse for him, and mitigated Herod's anger towards him, and this by using certain domestical examples; for that when he had suffered much greater mischiefs from a brother of his own, he prefered the obligations of nature before the passion of revenge; because it is in kingdoms as it is in gross bodies, where some member or other is ever swelled by the body's weight, in which case it is not proper to cut off such member, but to heal it by a gentle method of cure.

5. Upon Arehelaus's saying this, and much more to the same purpose, Herod's displeasure against Pheroras was mollified; yet did he persevere in his own indignation against Alexander, and said he would have his daughter divorced, and taken away from him, and this till he had brought Herod to that pass, that, contrary to his former behavior to him, he petitioned Archelaus for the young

man, and that he would let his daughter continue espoused to him: but Archelaus made him strongly believe that he would permit her to be married to any one else, but not to Alexander, because he looked upon it as a very valuable advantage, that the relation they had contracted by that affinity, and the privileges that went along with it, might be preserved. And when the king said that his son would take it for a great favor to him, if he would not dissolve that marriage, especially since they had already children between the young man and her, and since that wife of his was so well beloved by him, and that as while she remains his wife she would be a great preservative to him, and keep him from offending, as he had formerly done; so if she should be once torn away from him, she would be the cause of his falling into despair, because such young men's attempts are best mollified when they are diverted from them by settling their affections at home. So Arehelaus complied with what Herod desired, but not without difficulty, and was both himself reconciled to the young man, and reconciled his father to him also. However, he said he must, by all means, be sent to Rome to discourse with Caesar, because he had already written a full account to him of this whole matter.

6. Thus a period was put to Archelaus's stratagem, whereby he delivered his son-in-law out of the dangers he was in; but when these reconciliations were over, they spent their time in feastings and agreeable entertainments. And when Archelaus was going away, Herod made him a present of seventy talents, with a golden throne set with precious stones, and some eunuchs, and a concubine who was called Pannychis. He also paid due honors to every one of his friends according to their dignity. In like manner did all the king's kindred, by his command, make glorious presents to Archelaus; and so he was conducted on his way by Herod and his nobility as far as Antioch.

CHAPTER 26.

How Eurycles Calumniated The Sons Of Mariamne; And How Euaratus Of Cos's Apology For Them Had No Effect.

1. Now a little afterward there came into Judea a man that was much superior to Arehelaus's stratagems, who did not only overturn that reconciliation that had been so wisely made with Alexander, but proved the occasion of his ruin. He was a Lacedemonian, and his name was Eurycles. He was so corrupt a man, that out of the desire of getting money, he chose to live under a king, for Greece could not suffice his luxury. He presented Herod with splendid gifts, as a bait which he laid in order to compass his ends, and quickly received them back again manifold; yet did he esteem bare gifts as nothing, unless he imbrued the kingdom in blood by his purchases. Accordingly, he imposed upon the king by flattering him, and by talking subtlely to him, as also by the lying encomiums which he made upon him; for as he soon perceived Herod's blind side, so he said and did every thing that might please him, and thereby became one of his most intimate friends; for both the king and all that were about him had a great regard for this Spartan, on account of his country.

2. Now as soon as this fellow perceived the rotten parts of the family, and what quarrels the brothers had one with another, and in what disposition the father was towards each of them, he chose to take his lodging at the first in the house of Antipater, but deluded Alexander with a pretense of friendship to him, and falsely claimed to be an old acquaintance of Archelaus; for which reason he was presently admitted into Alexander's familiarity as a faithful friend. He also soon recommended himself to his brother Aristobulus. And when he had thus made trial of these several persons, he imposed upon one of them by one method, and upon another by another. But he was principally hired by Antipater, and so betrayed Alexander, and this by reproaching Antipater, because, while he was the eldest son he overlooked the intrigues of those who stood in the way of his expectations; and by reproaching Alexander, because he who was born of a queen, and was married to a king's daughter, permitted one that was born of a mean woman to lay claim to the succession, and this when he had Archelaus to support him in the most complete manner. Nor was his advice thought to be other than faithful by the young man, because of his pretended friendship with Archelaus; on which account it was that Alexander lamented to him Antipater's behavior with regard to himself, and this without concealing any thing from him; and how it was no wonder if Herod, after he had killed their mother, should

deprive them of her kingdom. Upon this Eurycles pretended to commiserate his condition, and to grieve with him. He also, by a bait that he laid for him, procured Aristobulus to say the same things. Thus did he inveigle both the brothers to make complaints of their father, and then went to Antipater, and carried these grand secrets to him. He also added a fiction of his own, as if his brothers had laid a plot against him, and were almost ready to come upon him with their drawn swords. For this intelligence he received a great sum of money, and on that account he commended Antipater before his father, and at length undertook the work of bringing Alexander and Aristobulus to their graves, and accused them before their father. So he came to Herod, and told him that he would save his life, as a requital for the favors he had received from him, and would preserve his light [of life] by way of retribution for his kind entertainment; for that a sword had been long whetted, and Alexander's right hand had been long stretched out against him; but that he had laid impediments in his way, prevented his speed, and that by pretending to assist him in his design: how Alexander said that Herod was not contented to reign in a kingdom that belonged to others, and to make dilapidations in their mother's government after he had killed her; but besides all this, that he introduced a spurious successor, and proposed to give the kingdom of their ancestors to that pestilent fellow Antipater: — that he would now appease the ghosts of Hyrcanus and Mariamne, by taking vengeance on him; for that it was not fit for him to take the succession to the government from such a father without bloodshed: that many things happen every day to provoke him so to do, insomuch that he can say nothing at all, but it affords occasion for calumny against him; for that if any mention be made of nobility of birth, even in other cases, he is abused unjustly, while his father would say that nobody, to be sure, is of noble birth but Alexander, and that his father was inglorious for want of such nobility. If they be at any time hunting, and he says nothing, he gives offense; and if he commends any body, they take it in way of jest. That they always find their father unmercifully severe, and have no natural affection for any of them but for Antipater; on which accounts, if this plot does not take, he is very willing to die; but that in case he kill his father, he hath sufficient opportunities for saving himself. In the first place, he hath Archelaus his father-in-law to whom he can easily fly; and in the next place, he hath Caesar, who had never known Herod's character to this day; for that he shall not appear then before him with that dread he used to do when his father was there to terrify him; and that he will not then produce the accusations that concerned himself alone, but would, in the first place, openly insist on the calamities of their nation, and how they are taxed to death, and in what ways of luxury and wicked practices that wealth is spent

which was gotten by bloodshed; what sort of persons they are that get our riches, and to whom those cities belong upon whom he bestows his favors; that he would have inquiry made what became of his grandfather [Hyrcanus], and his mother [Mariamne], and would openly proclaim the gross wickedness that was in the kingdom; on which accounts he should not be deemed a parricide.

3. When Eurycles had made this portentous speech, he greatly commended Antipater, as the only child that had an affection for his father, and on that account was an impediment to the other's plot against him. Hereupon the king, who had hardly repressed his anger upon the former accusations, was exasperated to an incurable degree. At which time Antipater took another occasion to send in other persons to his father to accuse his brethren, and to tell him that they had privately discoursed with Jucundus and Tyrannus, who had once been masters of the horse to the king, but for some offenses had been put out of that honorable employment. Herod was in a very great rage at these informations, and presently ordered those men to be tortured; yet did not they confess any thing of what the king had been informed; but a certain letter was produced, as written by Alexander to the governor of a castle, to desire him to receive him and Aristobulus into the castle when he had killed his father, and to give them weapons, and what other assistance he could, upon that occasion. Alexander said that this letter was a forgery of Diophantus. This Diophantus was the king's secretary, a bold man, and cunning in counterfeiting any one's hand; and after he had counterfeited a great number, he was at last put to death for it. Herod did also order the governor of the castle to be tortured, but got nothing out of him of what the accusations suggested.

4. However, although Herod found the proofs too weak, he gave order to have his sons kept in custody; for till now they had been at liberty. He also called that pest of his family, and forger of all this vile accusation, Eurycles, his savior and benefactor, and gave him a reward of fifty talents. Upon which he prevented any accurate accounts that could come of what he had done, by going immediately into Cappadocia, and there he got money of Archelaus, having the impudence to pretend that he had reconciled Herod to Alexander. He thence passed over into Greece, and used what he had thus wickedly gotten to the like wicked purposes. Accordingly, he was twice accused before Caesar, that he had filled Achaia with sedition, and had plundered its cities; and so he was sent into banishment. And thus was he punished for what wicked actions he had been guilty of about Aristobulus and Alexander.

5. But it will now be worth while to put Euaratus of Cos in opposition to this Spartan; for as he was one of Alexander's most intimate friends, and came to him in his travels at the same time that Eurycles came; so the king put the

question to him, whether those things of which Alexander was accused were true? He assured him upon oath that he had never heard any such things from the young men; yet did this testimony avail nothing for the clearing those miserable creatures; for Herod was only disposed and most ready to hearken to what made against them, and every one was most agreeable to him that would believe they were guilty, and showed their indignation at them.

CHAPTER 27.

Herod By Caesars Direction Accuses His Sons At Eurytus. They Are Not Produced Before The Courts But Yet Are Condemned; And In A Little Time They Are Sent To Sebaste, And Strangled There.

1. Moreover, Salome exasperated Herod's cruelty against his sons; for Aristobulus was desirous to bring her, who was his mother-in-law and his aunt, into the like dangers with themselves; so he sent to her to take care of her own safety, and told her that the king was preparing to put her to death, on account of the accusation that was laid against her, as if when she formerly endeavored to marry herself to Sylleus the Arabian, she had discovered the king's grand secrets to him, who was the king's enemy; and this it was that came as the last storm, and entirely sunk the young men when they were in great danger before. For Salome came running to the king, and informed him of what admonition had been given her; whereupon he could bear no longer, but commanded both the young men to be bound, and kept the one asunder from the other. He also sent Volumnius, the general of his army, to Caesar immediately, as also his friend Olympus with him, who carried the informations in writing along with them. Now as soon as they had sailed to Rome, and delivered the king's letters to Caesar, Caesar was mightily troubled at the case of the young men; yet did not he think he ought to take the power from the father of condemning his sons; so he wrote back to him, and appointed him to have the power over his sons; but said withal, that he would do well to make an examination into this matter of the plot against him in a public court, and to take for his assessors his own kindred, and the governors of the province. And if those sons be found guilty, to put them to death; but if they appear to have thought of no more than flying away from him, that he should moderate their punishment.

2. With these directions Herod complied, and came to Berytus, where Caesar had ordered the court to be assembled, and got the judicature together. The presidents sat first, as Caesar's letters had appointed, who were Saturninus and Pedanius, and their lieutenants that were with them, with whom was the procurator Volumnius also; next to them sat the king's kinsmen and friends, with Salome also, and Pheroras; after whom sat the principal men of all Syria, excepting Archelaus; for Herod had a suspicion of him, because he was Alexander's father-in-law. Yet did not he produce his sons in open court; and this was done very cunningly, for he knew well enough that had they but

appeared only, they would certainly have been pitied; and if withal they had been suffered to speak, Alexander would easily have answered what they were accused of; but they were in custody at Platane, a village of the Sidontans.

3. So the king got up, and inveighed against his sons, as if they were present; and as for that part of the accusation that they had plotted against him, he urged it but faintly, because he was destitute of proofs; but he insisted before the assessors on the reproaches, and jests, and injurious carriage, and ten thousand the like offenses against him, which were heavier than death itself; and when nobody contradicted him, he moved them to pity his case, as though he had been condemned himself, now he had gained a bitter victory against his sons. So he asked every one's sentence, which sentence was first of all given by Saturninus, and was this: That he condemned the young men, but not to death; for that it was not fit for him, who had three sons of his own now present, to give his vote for the destruction of the sons of another. The two lieutenants also gave the like vote; some others there were also who followed their example; but Volumnius began to vote on the more melancholy side, and all those that came after him condemned the young men to die, some out of flattery, and some out of hatred to Herod; but none out of indignation at their crimes. And now all Syria and Judea was in great expectation, and waited for the last act of this tragedy; yet did nobody, suppose that Herod would be so barbarous as to murder his children: however, he carried them away to Tyre, and thence sailed to Cesarea, and deliberated with himself what sort of death the young men should suffer.

4. Now there was a certain old soldier of the king's, whose name was Tero, who had a son that was very familiar with and a friend to Alexander, and who himself particularly loved the young men. This soldier was in a manner distracted, out of the excess of the indignation he had at what was doing; and at first he cried out aloud, as he went about, that justice was trampled under foot; that truth was perished, and nature confounded; and that the life of man was full of iniquity, and every thing else that passion could suggest to a man who spared not his own life; and at last he ventured to go to the king, and said, "Truly I think thou art a most miserable man, when thou hearkenest to most wicked wretches, against those that ought to be dearest to thee; since thou hast frequently resolved that Pheroras and Salome should be put to death, and yet believest them against thy sons; while these, by cutting off the succession of thine own sons, leave all wholly to Antipater, and thereby choose to have thee such a king as may be thoroughly in their own power. However, consider whether this death of Antipater's brethren will not make him hated by the soldiers; for there is nobody but commiserates the young men; and of the captains, a great many show their indignation at it openly." Upon his saying this, he named those that had such

indignation; but the king ordered those men, with Tero himself and his son, to be seized upon immediately.

5. At which time there was a certain barber, whose name was Trypho. This man leaped out from among the people in a kind of madness, and accused himself, and said, "This Tero endeavored to persuade me also to cut thy throat with my razor, when I trimmed thee, and promised that Alexander should give me large presents for so doing." When Herod heard this, he examined Tero, with his son and the barber, by the torture; but as the others denied the accusation, and he said nothing further, Herod gave order that Tero should be racked more severely; but his son, out of pity to his father, promised to discover the whole to the king, if he would grant [that his father should be no longer tortured]. When he had agreed to this, he said that his father, at the persuasion of Alexander, had an intention to kill him. Now some said this was forged, in order to free his father from his torments; and some said it was true.

6. And now Herod accused the captains and Tero in an assembly of the people, and brought the people together in a body against them; and accordingly there were they put to death, together with [Trypho] the barber; they were killed by the pieces of wood and the stones that were thrown at them. He also sent his sons to Sebaste, a city not far from Cesarea, and ordered them to be there strangled; and as what he had ordered was executed immediately, so he commanded that their dead bodies should be brought to the fortress Alexandrium, to be buried with Alexander, their grandfather by the mother's side. And this was the end of Alexander and Aristobulus.

CHAPTER 28.

How Antipater Is Hated Of All Men; And How The King Espouses The Sons Of Those That Had Been Slain To His Kindred; But That Antipater Made Him Change Them For Other Women. Of Herod's Marriages, And Children.

1. But an intolerable hatred fell upon Antipater from the nation, though he had now an indisputable title to the succession, because they all knew that he was the person who contrived all the calumnies against his brethren. However, he began to be in a terrible fear, as he saw the posterity of those that had been slain growing up; for Alexander had two sons by Glaphyra, Tigranes and Alexander; and Aristobulus had Herod, and Agrippa, and Aristobulus, his sons, with Herodias and Mariamne, his daughters, and all by Bernice, Salome's daughter. As for Glaphyra, Herod, as soon as he had killed Alexander, sent her back, together with her portion, to Cappadocia. He married Bernice, Aristobulus's daughter, to Antipater's uncle by his mother, and it was Antipater who, in order to reconcile her to him, when she had been at variance with him, contrived this match; he also got into Pheroras's favor, and into the favor of Caesar's friends, by presents, and other ways of obsequiousness, and sent no small sums of money to Rome; Saturninus also, and his friends in Syria, were all well replenished with the presents he made them; yet the more he gave, the more he was hated, as not making these presents out of generosity, but spending his money out of fear. Accordingly, it so fell out that the receivers bore him no more good-will than before, but that those to whom he gave nothing were his more bitter enemies. However, he bestowed his money every day more and more profusely, on observing that, contrary to his expectations, the king was taking care about the orphans, and discovering at the same time his repentance for killing their fathers, by his commiseration of those that sprang from them.

2. Accordingly, Herod got together his kindred and friends, and set before them the children, and, with his eyes full of tears, said thus to them: "It was an unlucky fate that took away from me these children's fathers, which children are recommended to me by that natural commiseration which their orphan condition requires; however, I will endeavor, though I have been a most unfortunate father, to appear a better grandfather, and to leave these children such curators after myself as are dearest to me. I therefore betroth thy daughter, Pheroras, to the elder of these brethren, the children of Alexander, that thou mayst be obliged to take care of them. I also betroth to thy son, Antipater, the daughter of

Aristobulus; be thou therefore a father to that orphan; and my son Herod [Philip] shall have her sister, whose grandfather, by the mother's side, was high priest. And let every one that loves me be of my sentiments in these dispositions, which none that hath an affection for me will abrogate. And I pray God that he will join these children together in marriage, to the advantage of my kingdom, and of my posterity; and may he look down with eyes more serene upon them than he looked upon their fathers."

3. While he spake these words he wept, and joined the children's right hands together; after which he embraced them every one after an affectionate manner, and dismissed the assembly. Upon this, Antipater was in great disorder immediately, and lamented publicly at what was done; for he supposed that this dignity which was conferred on these orphans was for his own destruction, even in his father's lifetime, and that he should run another risk of losing the government, if Alexander's sons should have both Archelaus [a king], and Pheroras a tetrarch, to support them. He also considered how he was himself hated by the nation, and how they pitied these orphans; how great affection the Jews bare to those brethren of his when they were alive, and how gladly they remembered them now they had perished by his means. So he resolved by all the ways possible to get these espousals dissolved.

4. Now he was afraid of going subtlely about this matter with his father, who was hard to be pleased, and was presently moved upon the least suspicion: so he ventured to go to him directly, and to beg of him before his face not to deprive him of that dignity which he had been pleased to bestow upon him; and that he might not have the bare name of a king, while the power was in other persons; for that he should never be able to keep the government, if Alexander's son was to have both his grandfather Archelaus and Pheroras for his curators; and he besought him earnestly, since there were so many of the royal family alive, that he would change those [intended] marriages. Now the king had nine wives, and children by seven of them; Antipater was himself born of Doris, and Herod Philip of Mariamne, the high priest's daughter; Antipas also and Archelaus were by Malthace, the Samaritan, as was his daughter Olympias, which his brother Joseph's son had married. By Cleopatra of Jerusalem he had Herod and Philip; and by Pallas, Phasaelus; he had also two daughters, Roxana and Salome, the one by Phedra, and the other by Elpis; he had also two wives that had no children, the one his first cousin, and the other his niece; and besides these he had two daughters, the sisters of Alexander and Aristobulus, by Mariamne. Since, therefore, the royal family was so numerous, Antipater prayed him to change these intended marriages.

5. When the king perceived what disposition he was in towards these orphans, he was angry at it, and a suspicion came into his mind as to those sons whom he had put to death, whether that had not been brought about by the false tales of Antipater; so that at that time he made Antipater a long and a peevish answer, and bid him begone. Yet was he afterwards prevailed upon cunningly by his flatteries, and changed the marriages; he married Aristobulus's daughter to him, and his son to Pheroras's daughter.

6. Now one may learn, in this instance, how very much this flattering Antipater could do, — even what Salome in the like circumstances could not do; for when she, who was his sister, and who, by the means of Julia, Caesar's wife, earnestly desired leave to be married to Sylleus the Arabian, Herod swore he would esteem her his bitter enemy, unless she would leave off that project: he also caused her, against her own consent, to be married to Alexas, a friend of his, and that one of her daughters should be married to Alexas's son, and the other to Antipater's uncle by the mother's side. And for the daughters the king had by Mariamne, the one was married to Antipater, his sister's son, and the other to his brother's son, Phasaelus.

CHAPTER 29.

Antipater Becomes Intolerable. He Is Sent To Rome, And Carries Herod's Testament With Him; Pheroras Leaves His Brother, That He May Keep His Wife. He Dies At Home.

1. Now when Antipater had cut off the hopes of the orphans, and had contracted such affinities as would be most for his own advantage, he proceeded briskly, as having a certain expectation of the kingdom; and as he had now assurance added to his wickedness, he became intolerable; for not being able to avoid the hatred of all people, he built his security upon the terror he struck into them. Pheroras also assisted him in his designs, looking upon him as already fixed in the kingdom. There was also a company of women in the court, which excited new disturbances; for Pheroras's wife, together with her mother and sister, as also Antipater's mother, grew very impudent in the palace. She also was so insolent as to affront the king's two daughters, on which account the king hated her to a great degree; yet although these women were hated by him, they domineered over others: there was only Salome who opposed their good agreement, and informed the king of their meetings, as not being for the advantage of his affairs. And when those women knew what calumnies she had raised against them, and how much Herod was displeased, they left off their public meetings, and friendly entertainments of one another; nay, on the contrary, they pretended to quarrel one with another when the king was within hearing. The like dissimulation did Antipater make use of; and when matters were public, he opposed Pheroras; but still they had private cabals and merry meetings in the night time; nor did the observation of others do any more than confirm their mutual agreement. However, Salome knew every thing they did, and told every thing to Herod.

2. But he was inflamed with anger at them, and chiefly at Pheroras's wife; for Salome had principally accused her. So he got an assembly of his friends and kindred together, and there accused this woman of many things, and particularly of the affronts she had offered his daughters; and that she had supplied the Pharisees with money, by way of rewards for what they had done against him, and had procured his brother to become his enemy, by giving him love potions. At length he turned his speech to Pheroras, and told him that he would give him his choice of these two things: Whether he would keep in with his brother, or with his wife? And when Pheroras said that he would die rather than forsake his wife, Herod, not knowing what to do further in that matter, turned his speech to

Antipater, and charged him to have no intercourse either with Pheroras's wife, or with Pheroras himself, or with any one belonging to her. Now though Antipater did not transgress that his injunction publicly, yet did he in secret come to their night meetings; and because he was afraid that Salome observed what he did, he procured, by the means of his Italian friends, that he might go and live at Rome; for when they wrote that it was proper for Antipater to be sent to Caesar for some time, Herod made no delay, but sent him, and that with a splendid attendance, and a great deal of money, and gave him his testament to carry with him, — wherein Antipater had the kingdom bequeathed to him, and wherein Herod was named for Antipater's successor; that Herod, I mean, who was the son of Mariamne, the high priest's daughter.

3. Sylleus also, the Arabian, sailed to Rome, without any regard to Caesar's injunctions, and this in order to oppose Antipater with all his might, as to that law-suit which Nicolaus had with him before. This Sylleus had also a great contest with Aretas his own king; for he had slain many others of Aretas's friends, and particularly Sohemus, the most potent man in the city Petra. Moreover, he had prevailed with Phabatus, who was Herod's steward, by giving him a great sum of money, to assist him against Herod; but when Herod gave him more, he induced him to leave Sylleus, and by this means he demanded of him all that Caesar had required of him to pay. But when Sylleus paid nothing of what he was to pay, and did also accuse Phabatus to Caesar, and said that he was not a steward for Caesar's advantage, but for Herod's, Phabatus was angry at him on that account, but was still in very great esteem with Herod, and discovered Sylleus's grand secrets, and told the king that Sylleus had corrupted Corinthus, one of the guards of his body, by bribing him, and of whom he must therefore have a care. Accordingly, the king complied; for this Corinthus, though he was brought up in Herod's kingdom, yet was he by birth an Arabian; so the king ordered him to be taken up immediately, and not only him, but two other Arabians, who were caught with him; the one of them was Sylleus's friend, the other the head of a tribe. These last, being put to the torture, confessed that they had prevailed with Corinthus, for a large sum of money, to kill Herod; and when they had been further examined before Saturninus, the president of Syria, they were sent to Rome.

4. However, Herod did not leave off importuning Pheroras, but proceeded to force him to put away his wife; yet could he not devise any way by which he could bring the woman herself to punishment, although he had many causes of hatred to her; till at length he was in such great uneasiness at her, that he cast both her and his brother out of his kingdom. Pheroras took this injury very patiently, and went away into his own tetrarchy, [Perea beyond Jordan,] and

sware that there should be but one end put to his flight, and that should be Herod's death; and that he would never return while he was alive. Nor indeed would he return when his brother was sick, although he earnestly sent for him to come to him, because he had a mind to leave some injunctions with him before he died; but Herod unexpectedly recovered. A little afterward Pheroras himself fell sick, when Herod showed great moderation; for he came to him, and pitied his case, and took care of him; but his affection for him did him no good, for Pheroras died a little afterward. Now though Herod had so great an affection for him to the last day of his life, yet was a report spread abroad that he had killed him by poison. However, he took care to have his dead body carried to Jerusalem, and appointed a very great mourning to the whole nation for him, and bestowed a most pompous funeral upon him. And this was the end that one of Alexander's and Aristobulus's murderers came to.

CHAPTER 30.

When Herod Made Inquiry About Pheroras's Death A Discovery Was Made That Antipater Had Prepared A Poisonous Draught For Him. Herod Casts Doris And Her Accomplices, As Also Mariamne, Out Of The Palace And Blots Her Son Herod Out Of His Testament.

1. But now the punishment was transferred unto the original author, Antipater, and took its rise from the death of Pheroras; for certain of his freed-men came with a sad countenance to the king, and told him that his brother had been destroyed by poison, and that his wife had brought him somewhat that was prepared after an unusual manner, and that, upon his eating it, he presently fell into his distemper; that Antipater's mother and sister, two days before, brought a woman out of Arabia that was skillful in mixing such drugs, that she might prepare a love potion for Pheroras; and that instead of a love potion, she had given him deadly poison; and that this was done by the management of Sylleus, who was acquainted with that woman.

2. The king was deeply affected with so many suspicions, and had the maidservants and some of the free women also tortured; one of which cried out in her agonies, "May that God that governs the earth and the heaven punish this author of all these our miseries, Antipater's mother!" The king took a handle from this confession, and proceeded to inquire further into the truth of the matter. So this woman discovered the friendship of Antipater's mother to Pheroras, and Antipater's women, as also their secret meetings, and that Pheroras and Antipater had drunk with them for a whole night together as they returned from the king, and would not suffer any body, either man-servant or maidservant, to be there; while one of the free women discovered the matter.

3. Upon this Herod tortured the maidservants every one by themselves separately, who all unanimously agreed in the foregoing discoveries, and that accordingly by agreement they went away, Antipater to Rome, and Pheroras to Perea; for that they oftentimes talked to one another thus: That after Herod had slain Alexander and Aristobulus, he would fall upon them, and upon their wives, because, after he Mariamne and her children he would spare nobody; and that for this reason it was best to get as far off the wild beast as they were able: — and that Antipater oftentimes lamented his own case before his mother, and said to her, that he had already gray hairs upon his head, and that his father grew younger again every day, and that perhaps death would overtake him before he

should begin to be a king in earnest; and that in case Herod should die, which yet nobody knew when it would be, the enjoyment of the succession could certainly be but for a little time; for that these heads of Hydra, the sons of Alexander and Aristobulus, were growing up: that he was deprived by his father of the hopes of being succeeded by his children, for that his successor after his death was not to be any one of his own sons, but Herod the son of Mariamne: that in this point Herod was plainly distracted, to think that his testament should therein take place; for he would take care that not one of his posterity should remain, because he was of all fathers the greatest hater of his children. Yet does he hate his brother still worse; whence it was that he a while ago gave himself a hundred talents, that he should not have any intercourse with Pheroras. And when Pheroras said, Wherein have we done him any harm? Antipater replied, "I wish he would but deprive us of all we have, and leave us naked and alive only; but it is indeed impossible to escape this wild beast, who is thus given to murder, who will not permit us to love any person openly, although we be together privately; yet may we be so openly too, if we have but the courage and the hands of men."

4. These things were said by the women upon the torture; as also that Pheroras resolved to fly with them to Perea. Now Herod gave credit to all they said, on account of the affair of the hundred talents; for he had no discourse with any body about them, but only with Antipater. So he vented his anger first of all against Antipater's mother, and took away from her all the ornaments which he had given her, which cost a great many talents, and cast her out of the palace a second time. He also took care of Pheroras's women after their tortures, as being now reconciled to them; but he was in great consternation himself, and inflamed upon every suspicion, and had many innocent persons led to the torture, out of his fear lest he should leave any guilty person untortured.

5. And now it was that he betook himself to examine Antipater of Samaria, who was the steward of [his son] Antipater; and upon torturing him, he learned that Antipater had sent for a potion of deadly poison for him out of Egypt, by Antiphilus, a companion of his; that Theudio, the uncle of Antipater, had it from him, and delivered it to Pheroras; for that Antipater had charged him to take his father off while he was at Rome, and so free him from the suspicion of doing it himself: that Pheroras also committed this potion to his wife. Then did the king send for her, and bid her bring to him what she had received immediately. So she came out of her house as if she would bring it with her, but threw herself down from the top of the house, in order to prevent any examination and torture from the king. However, it came to pass, as it seems by the providence of God, when he intended to bring Antipater to punishment, that she fell not upon her head, but upon other parts of her body, and escaped. The king, when she was brought to

him, took care of her, [for she was at first quite senseless upon her fall,] and asked her why she had thrown herself down; and gave her his oath, that if she would speak the real truth, he would excuse her from punishment; but that if she concealed any thing, he would have her body torn to pieces by torments, and leave no part of it to be buried.

6. Upon this the woman paused a little, and then said, "Why do I spare to speak of these grand secrets, now Pheroras is dead? that would only tend to save Antipater, who is all our destruction. Hear then, O king, and be thou, and God himself, who cannot be deceived, witnesses to the truth of what I am going to say. When thou didst sit weeping by Pheroras as he was dying," then it was that he called me to him, and said, "My dear wife, I have been greatly mistaken as to the disposition of my brother towards me, and have hated him that is so affectionate to me, and have contrived to kill him who is in such disorder for me before I am dead. As for myself, I receive the recompence of my impiety; but do thou bring what poison was left with us by Antipater, and which thou keepest in order to destroy him, and consume it immediately in the fire in my sight, that I may not be liable to the avenger in the invisible world." This I brought as he bid me, and emptied the greatest part of it into the fire, but reserved a little of it for my own use against uncertain futurity, and out of my fear of thee.

7. When she had said this, she brought the box, which had a small quantity of this potion in it: but the king let her alone, and transferred the tortures to Antiphilus's mother and brother; who both confessed that Antiphilus brought the box out of Egypt, and that they had received the potion from a brother of his, who was a physician at Alexandria. Then did the ghosts of Alexander and Aristobulus go round all the palace, and became the inquisitors and discoverers of what could not otherwise have been found out and brought such as were the freest from suspicion to be examined; whereby it was discovered that Mariamne, the high priest's daughter, was conscious of this plot; and her very brothers, when they were tortured, declared it so to be. Whereupon the king avenged this insolent attempt of the mother upon her son, and blotted Herod, whom he had by her, out of his tretament, who had been before named therein as successor to Antipater.

CHAPTER 31.

Antipater Is Convicted By Bathyllus; But He Still Returns From Rome Without Knowing It. Herod Brings Him To His Trial.

1. After these things were over, Bathyllus came under examination, in order to convict Antipater, who proved the concluding attestation to Antipater's designs; for indeed he was no other than his freed-man. This man came, and brought another deadly potion, the poison of asps, and the juices of other serpents, that if the first potion did not do the business, Pheroras and his wife might be armed with this also to destroy the king. He brought also an addition to Antipater's insolent attempt against his father, which was the letters which he wrote against his brethren, Archelaus and Philip, which were the king's sons, and educated at Rome, being yet youths, but of generous dispositions. Antipater set himself to get rid of these as soon as he could, that they might not be prejudicial to his hopes; and to that end he forged letters against them in the name of his friends at Rome. Some of these he corrupted by bribes to write how they grossly reproached their father, and did openly bewail Alexander and Aristobulus, and were uneasy at their being recalled; for their father had already sent for them, which was the very thing that troubled Antipater.

2. Nay, indeed, while Antipater was in Judea, and before he was upon his journey to Rome, he gave money to have the like letters against them sent from Rome, and then came to his father, who as yet had no suspicion of him, and apologized for his brethren, and alleged on their behalf that some of the things contained in those letters were false, and others of them were only youthful errors. Yet at the same time that he expended a great deal of his money, by making presents to such as wrote against his brethren, did he aim to bring his accounts into confusion, by buying costly garments, and carpets of various contextures, with silver and gold cups, and a great many more curious things, that so, among the view great expenses laid out upon such furniture, he might conceal the money he had used in hiring men [to write the letters]; for he brought in an account of his expenses, amounting to two hundred talents, his main pretense for which was file law-suit he had been in with Sylleus. So while all his rogueries, even those of a lesser sort also, were covered by his greater villainy, while all the examinations by torture proclaimed his attempt to murder his father, and the letters proclaimed his second attempt to murder his brethren; yet did no one of those that came to Rome inform him of his misfortunes in Judea, although seven months had intervened between his conviction and his

return, so great was the hatred which they all bore to him. And perhaps they were the ghosts of those brethren of his that had been murdered that stopped the mouths of those that intended to have told him. He then wrote from Rome, and informed his [friends] that he would soon come to them, and how he was dismissed with honor by Caesar.

3. Now the king, being desirous to get this plotter against him into his hands, and being also afraid lest he should some way come to the knowledge how his affairs stood, and be upon his guard, he dissembled his anger in his epistle to him, as in other points he wrote kindly to him, and desired him to make haste, because if he came quickly, he would then lay aside the complaints he had against his mother; for Antipater was not ignorant that his mother had been expelled out of the palace. However, he had before received a letter, which contained an account of the death of Pheroras, at Tarentum, and made great lamentations at it; for which some commended him, as being for his own uncle; though probably this confusion arose on account of his having thereby failed in his plot [on his father's life]; and his tears were more for the loss of him that was to have been subservient therein, than for [an uncle] Pheroras: moreover, a sort of fear came upon him as to his designs, lest the poison should have been discovered. However, when he was in Cilicia, he received the forementioned epistle from his father, and made great haste accordingly. But when he had sailed to Celenderis, a suspicion came into his mind relating to his mother's misfortunes; as if his soul foreboded some mischief to itself. Those therefore of his friends which were the most considerate advised him not rashly to go to his father, till he had learned what were the occasions why his mother had been ejected, because they were afraid that he might be involved in the calumnies that had been cast upon his mother: but those that were less considerate, and had more regard to their own desires of seeing their native country, than to Antipater's safety, persuaded him to make haste home, and not, by delaying his journey, afford his father ground for an ill suspicion, and give a handle to those that raised stories against him; for that in case any thing had been moved to his disadvantage, it was owing to his absence, which durst not have been done had he been present. And they said it was absurd to deprive himself of certain happiness, for the sake of an uncertain suspicion, and not rather to return to his father, and take the royal authority upon him, which was in a state of fluctuation on his account only. Antipater complied with this last advice, for Providence hurried him on [to his destruction]. So he passed over the sea, and landed at Sebastus, the haven of Cesarea.

4. And here he found a perfect and unexpected solitude, while ever body avoided him, and nobody durst come at him; for he was equally hated by all

men; and now that hatred had liberty to show itself, and the dread men were in at the king's anger made men keep from him; for the whole city [of Jerusalem] was filled with the rumors about Antipater, and Antipater himself was the only person who was ignorant of them; for as no man was dismissed more magnificently when he began his voyage to Rome so was no man now received back with greater ignominy. And indeed he began already to suspect what misfortunes there were in Herod's family; yet did he cunningly conceal his suspicion; and while he was inwardly ready to die for fear, he put on a forced boldness of countenance. Nor could he now fly any whither, nor had he any way of emerging out of the difficulties which encompassed him; nor indeed had he even there any certain intelligence of the affairs of the royal family, by reason of the threats the king had given out: yet had he some small hopes of better tidings; for perhaps nothing had been discovered; or if any discovery had been made, perhaps he should be able to clear himself by impudence and artful tricks, which were the only things he relied upon for his deliverance.

5. And with these hopes did he screen himself, till he came to the palace, without any friends with him; for these were affronted, and shut out at the first gate. Now Varus, the president of Syria, happened to be in the palace [at this juncture]; so Antipater went in to his father, and, putting on a bold face, he came near to salute him. But Herod Stretched out his hands, and turned his head away from him, and cried out, "Even this is an indication of a parricide, to be desirous to get me into his arms, when he is under such heinous accusations. God confound thee, thou vile wretch; do not thou touch me, till thou hast cleared thyself of these crimes that are charged upon thee. I appoint thee a court where thou art to be judged, and this Varus, who is very seasonably here, to be thy judge; and get thou thy defense ready against tomorrow, for I give thee so much time to prepare suitable excuses for thyself." And as Antipater was so confounded, that he was able to make no answer to this charge, he went away; but his mother and wife came to him, and told him of all the evidence they had gotten against him. Hereupon he recollected himself, and considered what defense he should make against the accusations.

CHAPTER 32.

Antipater Is Accused Before Varus, And Is Convicted Of Laying A Plot [Against His Father] By The Strongest Evidence. Herod Puts Off His Punishment Till He Should Be Recovered, And In The Mean Time Alters His Testament.

1. Now the day following the king assembled a court of his kinsmen and friends, and called in Antipater's friends also. Herod himself, with Varus, were the presidents; and Herod called for all the witnesses, and ordered them to be brought in; among whom some of the domestic servants of Antipater's mother were brought in also, who had but a little while before been caught, as they were carrying the following letter from her to her son: "Since all those things have been already discovered to thy father, do not thou come to him, unless thou canst procure some assistance from Caesar." When this and the other witnesses were introduced, Antipater came in, and falling on his face before his father's feet, he said, "Father, I beseech thee, do not condemn me beforehand, but let thy ears be unbiassed, and attend to my defense; for if thou wilt give me leave, I will demonstrate that I am innocent."

2. Hereupon Herod cried out to him to hold his peace, and spake thus to Varus: "I cannot but think that thou, Varus, and every other upright judge, will determine that Antipater is a vile wretch. I am also afraid that thou wilt abhor my ill fortune, and judge me also myself worthy of all sorts of calamity for begetting such children; while yet I ought rather to be pitied, who have been so affectionate a father to such wretched sons; for when I had settled the kingdom on my former sons, even when they were young, and when, besides the charges of their education at Rome, I had made them the friends of Caesar, and made them envied by other kings, I found them plotting against me. These have been put to death, and that, in great measure, for the sake of Antipater; for as he was then young, and appointed to be my successor, I took care chiefly to secure him from danger: but this profligate wild beast, when he had been over and above satiated with that patience which I showed him, he made use of that abundance I had given him against myself; for I seemed to him to live too long, and he was very uneasy at the old age I was arrived at; nor could he stay any longer, but would be a king by parricide. And justly I am served by him for bringing him back out of the country to court, when he was of no esteem before, and for thrusting out those sons of mine that were born of the queen, and for making him a successor to my dominions. I confess to thee, O Varus, the great folly I was

guilty for I provoked those sons of mine to act against me, and cut off their just expectations for the sake of Antipater; and indeed what kindness did I do them; that could equal what I have done to Antipater? to I have, in a manner, yielded up my royal while I am alive, and whom I have openly named for the successor to my dominions in my testament, and given him a yearly revenue of his own of fifty talents, and supplied him with money to an extravagant degree out of my own revenue; and' when he was about to sail to Rome, I gave him three talents, and recommended him, and him alone of all my children, to Caesar, as his father's deliverer. Now what crimes were those other sons of mine guilty of like these of Antipater? and what evidence was there brought against them so strong as there is to demonstrate this son to have plotted against me? Yet does this parricide presume to speak for himself, and hopes to obscure the truth by his cunning tricks. Thou, O Varus, must guard thyself against him; for I know the wild beast, and I foresee how plausibly he will talk, and his counterfeit lamentation. This was he who exhorted me to have a care of Alexander when he was alive, and not to intrust my body with all men! This was he who came to my very bed, and looked about lest any one should lay snares for me! This was he who took care of my sleep, and secured me from fear of danger, who comforted me under the trouble I was in upon the slaughter of my sons, and looked to see what affection my surviving brethren bore me! This was my protector, and the guardian of my body! And when I call to mind, O Varus, his craftiness upon every occasion, and his art of dissembling, I can hardly believe that I am still alive, and I wonder how I have escaped such a deep plotter of mischief. However, since some fate or other makes my house desolate, and perpetually raises up those that are dearest to me against me, I will, with tears, lament my hard fortune, and privately groan under my lonesome condition; yet am I resolved that no one who thirsts after my blood shall escape punishment, although the evidence should extend itself to all my sons."

3. Upon Herod's saying this, he was interrupted by the confusion he was in; but ordered Nicolaus, one of his friends, to produce the evidence against Antipater. But in the mean time Antipater lifted up his head, [for he lay on the ground before his father's feet,] and cried out aloud, "Thou, O father, hast made my apology for me; for how can I be a parricide, whom thou thyself confessest to have always had for thy guardian? Thou callest my filial affection prodigious lies and hypocrisy! how then could it be that I, who was so subtle in other matters, should here be so mad as not to understand that it was not easy that he who committed so horrid a crime should be concealed from men, but impossible that he should be concealed from the Judge of heaven, who sees all things, and is present every where? or did not I know what end my brethren came to, on whom

God inflicted so great a punishment for their evil designs against thee? And indeed what was there that could possibly provoke me against thee? Could the hope of being king do it? I was a king already. Could I suspect hatred from thee? No. Was not I beloved by thee? And what other fear could I have? Nay, by preserving thee safe, I was a terror to others. Did I want money? No; for who was able to expend so much as myself? Indeed, father, had I been the most execrable of all mankind, and had I had the soul of the most cruel wild beast, must I not have been overcome with the benefits thou hadst bestowed upon me? whom, as thou thyself sayest, thou broughtest [into the palace]; whom thou didst prefer before so many of thy sons; whom thou madest a king in thine own lifetime, and, by the vast magnitude of the other advantages thou bestowedst on me, thou madest me an object of envy. O miserable man! that thou shouldst undergo this bitter absence, and thereby afford a great opportunity for envy to arise against thee, and a long space for such as were laying designs against thee! Yet was I absent, father, on thy affairs, that Sylleus might not treat thee with contempt in thine old age. Rome is a witness to my filial affection, and so is Caesar, the ruler of the habitable earth, who oftentimes called me Philopater. Take here the letters he hath sent thee, they are more to be believed than the calumnies raised here; these letters are my only apology; these I use as the demonstration of that natural affection I have to thee. Remember that it was against my own choice that I sailed [to Rome], as knowing the latent hatred that was in the kingdom against me. It was thou, O father, however unwillingly, who hast been my ruin, by forcing me to allow time for calumnies against me, and envy at me. However, I am come hither, and am ready to hear the evidence there is against me. If I be a parricide, I have passed by land and by sea, without suffering any misfortune on either of them: but this method of trial is no advantage to me; for it seems, O father, that I am already condemned, both before God and before thee; and as I am already condemned, I beg that thou wilt not believe the others that have been tortured, but let fire be brought to torment me; let the racks march through my bowels; have no regard to any lamentations that this polluted body can make; for if I be a parricide, I ought not to die without torture." Thus did Antipater cry out with lamentation and weeping, and moved all the rest, and Varus in particular, to commiserate his case. Herod was the only person whose passion was too strong to permit him to weep, as knowing that the testimonies against him were true.

4. And now it was that, at the king's command, Nicolaus, when he had premised a great deal about the craftiness of Antipater, and had prevented the effects of their commiseration to him, afterwards brought in a bitter and large accusation against him, ascribing all the wickedness that had been in the

kingdom to him, and especially the murder of his brethren; and demonstrated that they had perished by the calumnies he had raised against them. He also said that he had laid designs against them that were still alive, as if they were laying plots for the succession; and [said he] how can it be supposed that he who prepared poison for his father should abstain from mischief as to his brethren? He then proceeded to convict him of the attempt to poison Herod, and gave an account in order of the several discoveries that had been made; and had great indignation as to the affair of Pheroras, because Antipater had been for making him murder his brother, and had corrupted those that were dearest to the king, and filled the whole palace with wickedness; and when he had insisted on many other accusations, and the proofs for them, he left off.

5. Then Varus bid Antipater make his defense; but he lay along in silence, and said no more but this, "God is my witness that I am entirely innocent." So Varus asked for the potion, and gave it to be drunk by a condemned malefactor, who was then in prison, who died upon the spot. So Varus, when he had had a very private discourse with Herod, and had written an account of this assembly to Caesar, went away, after a day's stay. The king also bound Antipater, and sent away to inform Caesar of his misfortunes.

6. Now after this it was discovered that Antipater had laid a plot against Salome also; for one of Antiphilus's domestic servants came, and brought letters from Rome, from a maid-servant of Julia, [Caesar's wife,] whose name was Acme. By her a message was sent to the king, that she had found a letter written by Salome, among Julia's papers, and had sent it to him privately, out of her good-will to him. This letter of Salome contained the most bitter reproaches of the king, and the highest accusations against him. Antipater had forged this letter, and had corrupted Acme, and persuaded her to send it to Herod. This was proved by her letter to Antipater, for thus did this woman write to him: "As thou desirest, I have written a letter to thy father, and have sent that letter, and am persuaded that the king will not spare his sister when he reads it. Thou wilt do well to remember what thou hast promised when all is accomplished."

7. When this epistle was discovered, and what the epistle forged against Salome contained, a suspicion came into the king's mind, that perhaps the letters against Alexander were also forged: he was moreover greatly disturbed, and in a passion, because he had almost slain his sister on Antipater's account. He did no longer delay therefore to bring him to punishment for all his crimes; yet when he was eagerly pursuing Antipater, he was restrained by a severe distemper he fell into. However, he sent all account to Caesar about Acme, and the contrivances against Salome; he sent also for his testament, and altered it, and therein made Antipas king, as taking no care of Archelaus and Philip, because Antipater had

blasted their reputations with him; but he bequeathed to Caesar, besides other presents that he gave him, a thousand talents; as also to his wife, and children, and friends, and freed-men about five hundred: he also bequeathed to all others a great quantity of land, and of money, and showed his respects to Salome his sister, by giving her most splendid gifts. And this was what was contained in his testament, as it was now altered.

CHAPTER 33.

The Golden Eagle Is Cut To Pieces. Herod's Barbarity When He Was Ready To Die. He Attempts To Kill Himself. He Commands Antipater To Be Slain. He Survives Him Five Days And Then Dies.

1. Now Herod's distemper became more and more severe to him, and this because these his disorders fell upon him in his old age, and when he was in a melancholy condition; for he was already seventy years of age, and had been brought by the calamities that happened to him about his children, whereby he had no pleasure in life, even when he was in health; the grief also that Antipater was still alive aggravated his disease, whom he resolved to put to death now not at random, but as soon as he should be well again, and resolved to have him slain [in a public manner].

2. There also now happened to him, among his other calamities, a certain popular sedition. There were two men of learning in the city [Jerusalem,] who were thought the most skillful in the laws of their country, and were on that account had in very great esteem all over the nation; they were, the one Judas, the son of Sepphoris, and the other Matthias, the son of Margalus. There was a great concourse of the young men to these men when they expounded the laws, and there got together every day a kind of an army of such as were growing up to be men. Now when these men were informed that the king was wearing away with melancholy, and with a distemper, they dropped words to their acquaintance, how it was now a very proper time to defend the cause of God, and to pull down what had been erected contrary to the laws of their country; for it was unlawful there should be any such thing in the temple as images, or faces, or the like representation of any animal whatsoever. Now the king had put up a golden eagle over the great gate of the temple, which these learned men exhorted them to cut down; and told them, that if there should any danger arise, it was a glorious thing to die for the laws of their country; because that the soul was immortal, and that an eternal enjoyment of happiness did await such as died on that account; while the mean-spirited, and those that were not wise enough to show a right love of their souls, preferred a death by a disease, before that which is the result of a virtuous behavior.

3. At the same time that these men made this speech to their disciples, a rumor was spread abroad that the king was dying, which made the young men set about the work with greater boldness; they therefore let themselves down from the top

of the temple with thick cords, and this at midday, and while a great number of people were in the temple, and cut down that golden eagle with axes. This was presently told to the king's captain of the temple, who came running with a great body of soldiers, and caught about forty of the young men, and brought them to the king. And when he asked them, first of all, whether they had been so hardy as to cut down the golden eagle, they confessed they had done so; and when he asked them by whose command they had done it, they replied, at the command of the law of their country; and when he further asked them how they could be so joyful when they were to be put to death, they replied, because they should enjoy greater happiness after they were dead.

4. At this the king was in such an extravagant passion, that he overcame his disease [for the time,] and went out, and spake to the people; wherein he made a terrible accusation against those men, as being guilty of sacrilege, and as making greater attempts under pretense of their law, and he thought they deserved to be punished as impious persons. Whereupon the people were afraid lest a great number should be found guilty and desired that when he had first punished those that put them upon this work, and then those that were caught in it, he would leave off his anger as to the rest. With this the king complied, though not without difficulty, and ordered those that had let themselves down, together with their Rabbins, to be burnt alive, but delivered the rest that were caught to the proper officers, to be put to death by them.

5. After this, the distemper seized upon his whole body, and greatly disordered all its parts with various symptoms; for there was a gentle fever upon him, and an intolerable itching over all the surface of his body, and continual pains in his colon, and dropsical turnouts about his feet, and an inflammation of the abdomen, and a putrefaction of his privy member, that produced worms. Besides which he had a difficulty of breathing upon him, and could not breathe but when he sat upright, and had a convulsion of all his members, insomuch that the diviners said those diseases were a punishment upon him for what he had done to the Rabbins. Yet did he struggle with his numerous disorders, and still had a desire to live, and hoped for recovery, and considered of several methods of cure. Accordingly, he went over Jordan, and made use of those hot baths at Callirrhoe, which ran into the lake Asphaltites, but are themselves sweet enough to be drunk. And here the physicians thought proper to bathe his whole body in warm oil, by letting it down into a large vessel full of oil; whereupon his eyes failed him, and he came and went as if he was dying; and as a tumult was then made by his servants, at their voice he revived again. Yet did he after this despair of recovery, and gave orders that each soldier should have fifty

drachmae a-piece, and that his commanders and friends should have great sums of money given them.

6. He then returned back and came to Jericho, in such a melancholy state of body as almost threatened him with present death, when he proceeded to attempt a horrid wickedness; for he got together the most illustrious men of the whole Jewish nation, out of every village, into a place called the Hippodrome, and there shut them in. He then called for his sister Salome, and her husband Alexas, and made this speech to them: "I know well enough that the Jews will keep a festival upon my death however, it is in my power to be mourned for on other accounts, and to have a splendid funeral, if you will but be subservient to my commands. Do you but take care to send soldiers to encompass these men that are now in custody, and slay them immediately upon my death, and then all Judea, and every family of them, will weep at it, whether they will or no."

7. These were the commands he gave them; when there came letters from his ambassadors at Rome, whereby information was given that Acme was put to death at Caesar's command, and that Antipater was condemned to die; however, they wrote withal, that if Herod had a mind rather to banish him, Caesar permitted him so to do. So he for a little while revived, and had a desire to live; but presently after he was overborne by his pains, and was disordered by want of food, and by a convulsive cough, and endeavored to prevent a natural, death; so he took an apple, and asked for a knife for he used to pare apples and eat them; he then looked round about to see that there was nobody to hinder him, and lift up his right hand as if he would stab himself; but Achiabus, his first cousin, came running to him, and held his hand, and hindered him from so doing; on which occasion a very great lamentation was made in the palace, as if the king were expiring. As soon as ever Antipater heard that, he took courage, and with joy in his looks, besought his keepers, for a sum of money, to loose him and let him go; but the principal keeper of the prison did not only obstruct him in that his intention, but ran and told the king what his design was; hereupon the king cried out louder than his distemper would well bear, and immediately sent some of his guards and slew Antipater; he also gave order to have him buried at Hyrcanium, and altered his testament again, and therein made Archelaus, his eldest son, and the brother of Antipas, his successor, and made Antipas tetrarch.

8. So Herod, having survived the slaughter of his son five days, died, having reigned thirty-four years since he had caused Antigonus to be slain, and obtained his kingdom; but thirty-seven years since he had been made king by the Romans. Now as for his fortune, it was prosperous in all other respects, if ever any other man could be so, since, from a private man, he obtained the kingdom, and kept it so long, and left it to his own sons; but still in his domestic affairs he was a most

unfortunate man. Now, before the soldiers knew of his death, Salome and her husband came out and dismissed those that were in bonds, whom the king had commanded to be slain, and told them that he had altered his mind, and would have every one of them sent to their own homes. When these men were gone, Salome, told the soldiers [the king was dead], and got them and the rest of the multitude together to an assembly, in the amphitheater at Jericho, where Ptolemy, who was intrusted by the king with his signet ring, came before them, and spake of the happiness the king had attained, and comforted the multitude, and read the epistle which had been left for the soldiers, wherein he earnestly exhorted them to bear good-will to his successor; and after he had read the epistle, he opened and read his testament, wherein Philip was to inherit Trachonitis, and the neighboring countries, and Antipas was to be tetrarch, as we said before, and Archelaus was made king. He had also been commanded to carry Herod's ring to Caesar, and the settlements he had made, sealed up, because Caesar was to be lord of all the settlements he had made, and was to confirm his testament; and he ordered that the dispositions he had made were to be kept as they were in his former testament.

9. So there was an acclamation made to Archelaus, to congratulate him upon his advancement; and the soldiers, with the multitude, went round about in troops, and promised him their good-will, and besides, prayed God to bless his government. After this, they betook themselves to prepare for the king's funeral; and Archelaus omitted nothing of magnificence therein, but brought out all the royal ornaments to augment the pomp of the deceased. There was a bier all of gold, embroidered with precious stones, and a purple bed of various contexture, with the dead body upon it, covered with purple; and a diadem was put upon his head, and a crown of gold above it, and a sceptre in his right hand; and near to the bier were Herod's sons, and a multitude of his kindred; next to which came his guards, and the regiment of Thracians, the Germans also and Gauls, all accounted as if they were going to war; but the rest of the army went foremost, armed, and following their captains and officers in a regular manner; after whom five hundred of his domestic servants and freed-men followed, with sweet spices in their hands: and the body was carried two hundred furlongs, to Herodium, where he had given order to be buried. And this shall suffice for the conclusion of the life of Herod.

BOOK II.

Containing The Interval Of Sixty-Nine Years.

From The Death Of Herod Till Vespasian Was Sent To Subdue The Jews By Nero.

CHAPTER 1.

Archelaus Makes A Funeral Feast For The People, On The Account Of Herod. After Which A Great Tumult Is Raised By The Multitude And He Sends The Soldiers Out Upon Them, Who Destroy About Three Thousand Of Them.

1. Now the necessity which Archelaus was under of taking a journey to Rome was the occasion of new disturbances; for when he had mourned for his father seven days, and had given a very expensive funeral feast to the multitude, [which custom is the occasion of poverty to many of the Jews, because they are forced to feast the multitude; for if any one omits it, he is not esteemed a holy person,] he put on a white garment, and went up to the temple, where the people accosted him with various acclamations. He also spake kindly to the multitude from an elevated seat and a throne of gold, and returned them thanks for the zeal they had shown about his father's funeral, and the submission they had made to him, as if he were already settled in the kingdom; but he told them withal, that he would not at present take upon him either the authority of a king, or the names thereto belonging, until Caesar, who is made lord of this whole affair by the testament, confirm the succession; for that when the soldiers would have set the diadem on his head at Jericho, he would not accept of it; but that he would make abundant requitals, not to the soldiers only, but to the people, for their alacrity and good-will to him, when the superior lords [the Romans] should have given him a complete title to the kingdom; for that it should be his study to appear in all things better than his father.

2. Upon this the multitude were pleased, and presently made a trial of what he intended, by asking great things of him; for some made a clamor that he would ease them in their taxes; others, that he would take off the duties upon commodities; and some, that he would loose those that were in prison; in all which cases he answered readily to their satisfaction, in order to get the good-will of the multitude; after which he offered [the proper] sacrifices, and feasted with his friends. And here it was that a great many of those that desired innovations came in crowds towards the evening, and began then to mourn on their own account, when the public mourning for the king was over. These lamented those that were put to death by Herod, because they had cut down the golden eagle that had been over the gate of the temple. Nor was this mourning of a private nature, but the lamentations were very great, the mourning solemn, and the weeping such as was loudly heard all over the city, as being for those men who had perished for the laws of their country, and for the temple. They cried

out that a punishment ought to be inflicted for these men upon those that were honored by Herod; and that, in the first place, the man whom he had made high priest should be deprived; and that it was fit to choose a person of greater piety and purity than he was.

3. At these clamors Archelaus was provoked, but restrained himself from taking vengeance on the authors, on account of the haste he was in of going to Rome, as fearing lest, upon his making war on the multitude, such an action might detain him at home. Accordingly, he made trial to quiet the innovators by persuasion, rather than by force, and sent his general in a private way to them, and by him exhorted them to be quiet. But the seditious threw stones at him, and drove him away, as he came into the temple, and before he could say any thing to them. The like treatment they showed to others, who came to them after him, many of which were sent by Archelaus, in order to reduce them to sobriety, and these answered still on all occasions after a passionate manner; and it openly appeared that they would not be quiet, if their numbers were but considerable. And indeed, at the feast of unleavened bread, which was now at hand, and is by the Jews called the Passover, and used to be celebrated with a great number of sacrifices, an innumerable multitude of the people came out of the country to worship; some of these stood in the temple bewailing the Rabbins [that had been put to death], and procured their sustenance by begging, in order to support their sedition. At this Archelaus was affrighted, and privately sent a tribune, with his cohort of soldiers, upon them, before the disease should spread over the whole multitude, and gave orders that they should constrain those that began the tumult, by force, to be quiet. At these the whole multitude were irritated, and threw stones at many of the soldiers, and killed them; but the tribune fled away wounded, and had much ado to escape so. After which they betook themselves to their sacrifices, as if they had done no mischief; nor did it appear to Archelaus that the multitude could be restrained without bloodshed; so he sent his whole army upon them, the footmen in great multitudes, by the way of the city, and the horsemen by the way of the plain, who, falling upon them on the sudden, as they were offering their sacrifices, destroyed about three thousand of them; but the rest of the multitude were dispersed upon the adjoining mountains: these were followed by Archelaus's heralds, who commanded every one to retire to their own homes, whither they all went, and left the festival.

CHAPTER 2.

Archelaus Goes To Rome With A Great Number Of His Kindred. He Is There Accused Before Caesar By Antipater; But Is Superior To His Accusers In Judgment By The Means Of That Defense Which Nicolaus Made For Him.

1. Archelaus went down now to the sea-side, with his mother and his friends, Poplas, and Ptolemy, and Nicolaus, and left behind him Philip, to be his steward in the palace, and to take care of his domestic affairs. Salome went also along with him with her sons, as did also the king's brethren and sons-in-law. These, in appearance, went to give him all the assistance they were able, in order to secure his succession, but in reality to accuse him for his breach of the laws by what he had done at the temple.

2. But as they were come to Cesarea, Sabinus, the procurator of Syria, met them; he was going up to Judea, to secure Herod's effects; but Varus, [president of Syria,] who was come thither, restrained him from going any farther. This Varus Archelaus had sent for, by the earnest entreaty of Ptolemy. At this time, indeed, Sabinus, to gratify Varus, neither went to the citadels, nor did he shut up the treasuries where his father's money was laid up, but promised that he would lie still, until Caesar should have taken cognizance of the affair. So he abode at Cesarea; but as soon as those that were his hinderance were gone, when Varus was gone to Antioch, and Archelaus was sailed to Rome, he immediately went on to Jerusalem, and seized upon the palace. And when he had called for the governors of the citadels, and the stewards [of the king's private affairs], he tried to sift out the accounts of the money, and to take possession of the citadels. But the governors of those citadels were not unmindful of the commands laid upon them by Archelaus, and continued to guard them, and said the custody of them rather belonged to Caesar than to Archelaus.

3. In the mean time, Antipas went also to Rome, to strive for the kingdom, and to insist that the former testament, wherein he was named to be king, was valid before the latter testament. Salome had also promised to assist him, as had many of Archelaus's kindred, who sailed along with Archelaus himself also. He also carried along with him his mother, and Ptolemy, the brother of Nicolaus, who seemed one of great weight, on account of the great trust Herod put in him, he having been one of his most honored friends. However, Antipas depended chiefly upon Ireneus, the orator; upon whose authority he had rejected such as advised him to yield to Archelaus, because he was his elder brother, and because

the second testament gave the kingdom to him. The inclinations also of all Archelaus's kindred, who hated him, were removed to Antipas, when they came to Rome; although in the first place every one rather desired to live under their own laws [without a king], and to be under a Roman governor; but if they should fail in that point, these desired that Antipas might be their king.

4. Sabinus did also afford these his assistance to the same purpose by letters he sent, wherein he accused Archelaus before Caesar, and highly commended Antipas. Salome also, and those with her, put the crimes which they accused Archelaus of in order, and put them into Caesar's hands; and after they had done that, Archelaus wrote down the reasons of his claim, and, by Ptolemy, sent in his father's ring, and his father's accounts. And when Caesar had maturely weighed by himself what both had to allege for themselves, as also had considered of the great burden of the kingdom, and largeness of the revenues, and withal the number of the children Herod had left behind him, and had moreover read the letters he had received from Varus and Sabinus on this occasion, he assembled the principal persons among the Romans together, [in which assembly Caius, the son of Agrippa, and his daughter Julias, but by himself adopted for his own son, sat in the first seat,] and gave the pleaders leave to speak.

5. Then stood up Salome's son, Antipater, [who of all Archelaus's antagonists was the shrewdest pleader,] and accused him in the following speech: That Archelaus did in words contend for the kingdom, but that in deeds he had long exercised royal authority, and so did but insult Caesar in desiring to be now heard on that account, since he had not staid for his determination about the succession, and since he had suborned certain persons, after Herod's death, to move for putting the diadem upon his head; since he had set himself down in the throne, and given answers as a king, and altered the disposition of the army, and granted to some higher dignities; that he had also complied in all things with the people in the requests they had made to him as to their king, and had also dismissed those that had been put into bonds by his father for most important reasons. Now, after all this, he desires the shadow of that royal authority, whose substance he had already seized to himself, and so hath made Caesar lord, not of things, but of words. He also reproached him further, that his mourning for his father was only pretended, while he put on a sad countenance in the day time, but drank to great excess in the night; from which behavior, he said, the late disturbance among the multitude came, while they had an indignation thereat. And indeed the purport of his whole discourse was to aggravate Archelaus's crime in slaying such a multitude about the temple, which multitude came to the festival, but were barbarously slain in the midst of their own sacrifices; and he said there was such a vast number of dead bodies heaped together in the temple,

as even a foreign war, that should come upon them [suddenly], before it was denounced, could not have heaped together. And he added, that it was the foresight his father had of that his barbarity which made him never give him any hopes of the kingdom, but when his mind was more infirm than his body, and he was not able to reason soundly, and did not well know what was the character of that son, whom in his second testament he made his successor; and this was done by him at a time when he had no complaints to make of him whom he had named before, when he was sound in body, and when his mind was free from all passion. That, however, if any one should suppose Herod's judgment, when he was sick, was superior to that at another time, yet had Archelaus forfeited his kingdom by his own behavior, and those his actions, which were contrary to the law, and to its disadvantage. Or what sort of a king will this man be, when he hath obtained the government from Caesar, who hath slain so many before he hath obtained it!

6. When Antipater had spoken largely to this purpose, and had produced a great number of Archelaus's kindred as witnesses, to prove every part of the accusation, he ended his discourse. Then stood up Nicolaus to plead for Archelaus. He alleged that the slaughter in the temple could not be avoided; that those that were slain were become enemies not to Archelaus's kingdom, only, but to Caesar, who was to determine about him. He also demonstrated that Archelaus's accusers had advised him to perpetrate other things of which he might have been accused. But he insisted that the latter testament should, for this reason, above all others, be esteemed valid, because Herod had therein appointed Caesar to be the person who should confirm the succession; for he who showed such prudence as to recede from his own power, and yield it up to the lord of the world, cannot be supposed mistaken in his judgment about him that was to be his heir; and he that so well knew whom to choose for arbitrator of the succession could not be unacquainted with him whom he chose for his successor.

7. When Nicolaus had gone through all he had to say, Archelaus came, and fell down before Caesar's knees, without any noise; — upon which he raised him up, after a very obliging manner, and declared that truly he was worthy to succeed his father. However, he still made no firm determination in his case; but when he had dismissed those assessors that had been with him that day, he deliberated by himself about the allegations which he had heard, whether it were fit to constitute any of those named in the testaments for Herod's successor, or whether the government should be parted among all his posterity, and this because of the number of those that seemed to stand in need of support therefrom.

CHAPTER 3.

The Jews Fight A Great Battle With Sabinus's Soldiers, And A Great Destruction Is Made At Jerusalem.

1. Now before Caesar had determined any thing about these affairs, Malthace, Arehelaus's mother, fell sick and died. Letters also were brought out of Syria from Varus, about a revolt of the Jews. This was foreseen by Varus, who accordingly, after Archelaus was sailed, went up to Jerusalem to restrain the promoters of the sedition, since it was manifest that the nation would not be at rest; so he left one of those legions which he brought with him out of Syria in the city, and went himself to Antioch. But Sabinus came, after he was gone, and gave them an occasion of making innovations; for he compelled the keepers of the citadels to deliver them up to him, and made a bitter search after the king's money, as depending not only on the soldiers which were left by Varus, but on the multitude of his own servants, all which he armed and used as the instruments of his covetousness. Now when that feast, which was observed after seven weeks, and which the Jews called Pentecost, [i. e. the 50th day,] was at hand, its name being taken from the number of the days [after the passover], the people got together, but not on account of the accustomed Divine worship, but of the indignation they had ['at the present state of affairs']. Wherefore an immense multitude ran together, out of Galilee, and Idumea, and Jericho, and Perea, that was beyond Jordan; but the people that naturally belonged to Judea itself were above the rest, both in number, and in the alacrity of the men. So they distributed themselves into three parts, and pitched their camps in three places; one at the north side of the temple, another at the south side, by the Hippodrome, and the third part were at the palace on the west. So they lay round about the Romans on every side, and besieged them.

2. Now Sabinus was affrighted, both at their multitude, and at their courage, and sent messengers to Varus continually, and besought him to come to his succor quickly; for that if he delayed, his legion would be cut to pieces. As for Sabinus himself, he got up to the highest tower of the fortress, which was called Phasaelus; it is of the same name with Herod's brother, who was destroyed by the Parthians; and then he made signs to the soldiers of that legion to attack the enemy; for his astonishment was so great, that he durst not go down to his own men. Hereupon the soldiers were prevailed upon, and leaped out into the temple, and fought a terrible battle with the Jews; in which, while there were none over their heads to distress them, they were too hard for them, by their skill, and the

others' want of skill, in war; but when once many of the Jews had gotten up to the top of the cloisters, and threw their darts downwards, upon the heads of the Romans, there were a great many of them destroyed. Nor was it easy to avenge themselves upon those that threw their weapons from on high, nor was it more easy for them to sustain those who came to fight them hand to hand.

3. Since therefore the Romans were sorely afflicted by both these circumstances, they set fire to the cloisters, which were works to be admired, both on account of their magnitude and costliness. Whereupon those that were above them were presently encompassed with the flame, and many of them perished therein; as many of them also were destroyed by the enemy, who came suddenly upon them; some of them also threw themselves down from the walls backward, and some there were who, from the desperate condition they were in, prevented the fire, by killing themselves with their own swords; but so many of them as crept out from the walls, and came upon the Romans, were easily mastered by them, by reason of the astonishment they were under; until at last some of the Jews being destroyed, and others dispersed by the terror they were in, the soldiers fell upon the treasure of God, which w now deserted, and plundered about four hundred talents, Of which sum Sabinus got together all that was not carried away by the soldiers.

4. However, this destruction of the works [about the temple], and of the men, occasioned a much greater number, and those of a more warlike sort, to get together, to oppose the Romans. These encompassed the palace round, and threatened to deploy all that were in it, unless they went their ways quickly; for they promised that Sabinus should come to no harm, if he would go out with his legion. There were also a great many of the king's party who deserted the Romans, and assisted the Jews; yet did the most warlike body of them all, who were three thousand of the men of Sebaste, go over to the Romans. Rufus also, and Gratus, their captains, did the same, [Gratus having the foot of the king's party under him, and Rufus the horse,] each of whom, even without the forces under them, were of great weight, on account of their strength and wisdom, which turn the scales in war. Now the Jews in the siege, and tried to break down walls of the fortress, and cried out to Sabinus and his party, that they should go their ways, and not prove a hinderance to them, now they hoped, after a long time, to recover that ancient liberty which their forefathers had enjoyed. Sabinus indeed was well contented to get out of the danger he was in, but he distrusted the assurances the Jews gave him, and suspected such gentle treatment was but a bait laid as a snare for them: this consideration, together with the hopes he had of succor from Varus, made him bear the siege still longer.

CHAPTER 4.

Herod's Veteran Soldiers Become Tumultuous. The Robberies Of Judas. Simon And Athronoeus Take The Name Of King Upon Them.

1. At this time there were great disturbances in the country, and that in many places; and the opportunity that now offered itself induced a great many to set up for kings. And indeed in Idumea two thousand of Herod's veteran soldiers got together, and armed and fought against those of the king's party; against whom Achiabus, the king's first cousin, fought, and that out of some of the places that were the most strongly fortified; but so as to avoid a direct conflict with them in the plains. In Sepphoris also, a city of Galilee, there was one Judas [the son of that arch-robber Hezekias, who formerly overran the country, and had been subdued by king Herod]; this man got no small multitude together, and brake open the place where the royal armor was laid up, and armed those about him, and attacked those that were so earnest to gain the dominion.

2. In Perea also, Simon, one of the servants to the king, relying upon the handsome appearance and tallness of his body, put a diadem upon his own head also; he also went about with a company of robbers that he had gotten together, and burnt down the royal palace that was at Jericho, and many other costly edifices besides, and procured himself very easily spoils by rapine, as snatching them out of the fire. And he had soon burnt down all the fine edifices, if Gratus, the captain of the foot of the king's party, had not taken the Trachonite archers, and the most warlike of Sebaste, and met the man. His footmen were slain in the battle in abundance; Gratus also cut to pieces Simon himself, as he was flying along a strait valley, when he gave him an oblique stroke upon his neck, as he ran away, and brake it. The royal palaces that were near Jordan at Betharamptha were also burnt down by some other of the seditious that came out of Perea.

3. At this time it was that a certain shepherd ventured to set himself up for a king; he was called Athrongeus. It was his strength of body that made him expect such a dignity, as well as his soul, which despised death; and besides these qualifications, he had four brethren like himself. He put a troop of armed men under each of these his brethren, and made use of them as his generals and commanders, when he made his incursions, while he did himself act like a king, and meddled only with the more important affairs; and at this time he put a diadem about his head, and continued after that to overrun the country for no little time with his brethren, and became their leader in killing both the Romans and those of the king's party; nor did any Jew escape him, if any gain could

accrue to him thereby. He once ventured to encompass a whole troop of Romans at Emmaus, who were carrying corn and weapons to their legion; his men therefore shot their arrows and darts, and thereby slew their centurion Arius, and forty of the stoutest of his men, while the rest of them, who were in danger of the same fate, upon the coming of Gratus, with those of Sebaste, to their assistance, escaped. And when these men had thus served both their own countrymen and foreigners, and that through this whole war, three of them were, after some time, subdued; the eldest by Archelaus, the two next by falling into the hands of Gratus and Ptolemeus; but the fourth delivered himself up to Archelaus, upon his giving him his right hand for his security. However, this their end was not till afterward, while at present they filled all Judea with a piratic war.

CHAPTER 5.

Varus Composes The Tumults In Judea And Crucifies About Two Thousand Of The Seditious.

1. Upon Varus's reception of the letters that were written by Sabinus and the captains, he could not avoid being afraid for the whole legion [he had left there]. So he made haste to their relief, and took with him the other two legions, with the four troops of horsemen to them belonging, and marched to Ptolenlais; having given orders for the auxiliaries that were sent by the kings and governors of cities to meet him there. Moreover, he received from the people of Berytus, as he passed through their city, fifteen hundred armed men. Now as soon as the other body of auxiliaries were come to Ptolemais, as well as Aretas the Arabian, [who, out of the hatred he bore to Herod, brought a great army of horse and foot,] Varus sent a part of his army presently to Galilee, which lay near to Ptolemais, and Caius, one of his friends, for their captain. This Caius put those that met him to flight, and took the city Sepphoris, and burnt it, and made slaves of its inhabitants; but as for Varus himself, he marched to Samaria with his whole army, where he did not meddle with the city itself, because he found that it had made no commotion during these troubles, but pitched his camp about a certain village which was called Aras. It belonged to Ptolemy, and on that account was plundered by the Arabians, who were very angry even at Herod's friends also. He thence marched on to the village Sampho, another fortified place, which they plundered, as they had done the other. As they carried off all the money they lighted upon belonging to the public revenues, all was now full of fire and blood-shed, and nothing could resist the plunders of the Arabians. Emnaus was also burnt, upon the flight of its inhabitants, and this at the command of Varus, out of his rage at the slaughter of those that were about Arias.

2. Thence he marched on to Jerusalem, and as soon as he was but seen by the Jews, he made their camps disperse themselves; they also went away, and fled up and down the country. But the citizens received him, and cleared themselves of having any hand in this revolt, and said that they had raised no commotions, but had only been forced to admit the multitude, because of the festival, and that they were rather besieged together with the Romans, than assisted those that had revolted. There had before this met him Joseph, the first cousin of Archelaus, and Gratus, together with Rufus, who led those of Sebaste, as well as the king's army: there also met him those of the Roman legion, armed after their

accustomed manner; for as to Sabinus, he durst not come into Varus's sight, but was gone out of the city before this, to the sea-side. But Varus sent a part of his army into the country, against those that had been the authors of this commotion, and as they caught great numbers of them, those that appeared to have been the least concerned in these tumults he put into custody, but such as were the most guilty he crucified; these were in number about two thousand.

3. He was also informed that there continued in Idumea ten thousand men still in arms; but when he found that the Arabians did not act like auxiliaries, but managed the war according to their own passions, and did mischief to the country otherwise than he intended, and this out of their hatred to Herod, he sent them away, but made haste, with his own legions, to march against those that had revolted; but these, by the advice of Achiabus, delivered themselves up to him before it came to a battle. Then did Varus forgive the multitude their offenses, but sent their captains to Caesar to be examined by him. Now Caesar forgave the rest, but gave orders that certain of the king's relations [for some of those that were among them were Herod's kinsmen] should be put to death, because they had engaged in a war against a king of their own family. When therefore Varus had settled matters at Jerusalem after this manner, and had left the former legion there as a garrison, he returned to Antioch.

CHAPTER 6.

The Jews Greatly Complain Of Archelaus And Desire That They May Be Made Subject To Roman Governors. But When Caesar Had Heard What They Had To Say, He Distributed Herod's Dominions Among His Sons According To His Own Pleasure.

1. But now came another accusation from the Jews against Archelaus at Rome, which he was to answer to. It was made by those ambassadors who, before the revolt, had come, by Varus's permission, to plead for the liberty of their country; those that came were fifty in number, but there were more than eight thousand of the Jews at Rome who supported them. And when Caesar had assembled a council of the principal Romans in Apollo's temple, that was in the palace, [this was what he had himself built and adorned, at a vast expense,] the multitude of the Jews stood with the ambassadors, and on the other side stood Archelaus, with his friends; but as for the kindred of Archelaus, they stood on neither side; for to stand on Archelaus's side, their hatred to him, and envy at him, would not give them leave, while yet they were afraid to be seen by Caesar with his accusers. Besides these, there were present Archelaus's brother Philip, being sent thither beforehand, out of kindness by Varus, for two reasons: the one was this, that he might be assisting to Archelaus; and the other was this, that in case Caesar should make a distribution of what Herod possessed among his posterity, he might obtain some share of it.

2. And now, upon the permission that was given the accusers to speak, they, in the first place, went over Herod's breaches of their law, and said that he was not a king, but the most barbarous of all tyrants, and that they had found him to be such by the sufferings they underwent from him; that when a very great number had been slain by him, those that were left had endured such miseries, that they called those that were dead happy men; that he had not only tortured the bodies of his subjects, but entire cities, and had done much harm to the cities of his own country, while he adorned those that belonged to foreigners; and he shed the blood of Jews, in order to do kindnesses to those people that were out of their bounds; that he had filled the nation full of poverty, and of the greatest iniquity, instead of that happiness and those laws which they had anciently enjoyed; that, in short, the Jews had borne more calamities from Herod, in a few years, than had their forefathers during all that interval of time that had passed since they had come out of Babylon, and returned home, in the reign of Xerxes that, however, the nation was come to so low a condition, by being inured to

hardships, that they submitted to his successor of their own accord, though he brought them into bitter slavery; that accordingly they readily called Archelaus, though he was the son of so great a tyrant, king, after the decease of his father, and joined with him in mourning for the death of Herod, and in wishing him good success in that his succession; while yet this Archelaus, lest he should be in danger of not being thought the genuine son of Herod, began his reign with the murder of three thousand citizens; as if he had a mind to offer so many bloody sacrifices to God for his government, and to fill the temple with the like number of dead bodies at that festival: that, however, those that were left after so many miseries, had just reason to consider now at last the calamities they had undergone, and to oppose themselves, like soldiers in war, to receive those stripes upon their faces [but not upon their backs, as hitherto]. Whereupon they prayed that the Romans would have compassion upon the [poor] remains of Judea, and not expose what was left of them to such as barbarously tore them to pieces, and that they would join their country to Syria, and administer the government by their own commanders, whereby it would [soon] be demonstrated that those who are now under the calumny of seditious persons, and lovers of war, know how to bear governors that are set over them, if they be but tolerable ones. So the Jews concluded their accusation with this request. Then rose up Nicolaus, and confuted the accusations which were brought against the kings, and himself accused the Jewish nation, as hard to be ruled, and as naturally disobedient to kings. He also reproached all those kinsmen of Archelaus who had left him, and were gone over to his accusers.

3. So Caesar, after he had heard both sides, dissolved the assembly for that time; but a few days afterward, he gave the one half of Herod's kingdom to Archelaus, by the name of Ethnarch, and promised to make him king also afterward, if he rendered himself worthy of that dignity. But as to the other half, he divided it into two tetrarchies, and gave them to two other sons of Herod, the one of them to Philip, and the other to that Antipas who contested the kingdom with Archelaus. Under this last was Perea and Galilee, with a revenue of two hundred talents; but Batanea, and Trachonitis, and Auranitis, and certain parts of Zeno's house about Jamnia, with a revenue of a hundred talents, were made subject to Philip; while Idumea, and all Judea, and Samaria were parts of the ethnarchy of Archelaus, although Samaria was eased of one quarter of its taxes, out of regard to their not having revolted with the rest of the nation. He also made subject to him the following cities, *viz.* Strato's Tower, and Sebaste, and Joppa, and Jerusalem; but as to the Grecian cities, Gaza, and Gadara, and Hippos, he cut them off from the kingdom, and added them to Syria. Now the revenue of the country that was given to Archelaus was four hundred talents.

Salome also, besides what the king had left her in his testaments, was now made mistress of Jamnia, and Ashdod, and Phasaelis. Caesar did moreover bestow upon her the royal palace of Ascalon; by all which she got together a revenue of sixty talents; but he put her house under the ethnarchy of Archelaus. And for the rest of Herod's offspring, they received what was bequeathed to them in his testaments; but, besides that, Caesar granted to Herod's two virgin daughters five hundred thousand [drachmae] of silver, and gave them in marriage to the sons of Pheroras: but after this family distribution, he gave between them what had been bequeathed to him by Herod, which was a thousand talents, reserving to himself only some inconsiderable presents, in honor of the deceased.

CHAPTER 7.

The History Of The Spurious Alexander. Archelaus Is Banished And Glaphyra Dies, After What Was To Happen To Both Of Them Had Been Showed Them In Dreams.

1. In the meantime, there was a man, who was by birth a Jew, but brought up at Sidon with one of the Roman freed-men, who falsely pretended, on account of the resemblance of their countenances, that he was that Alexander who was slain by Herod. This man came to Rome, in hopes of not being detected. He had one who was his assistant, of his own nation, and who knew all the affairs of the kingdom, and instructed him to say how those that were sent to kill him and Aristobulus had pity upon them, and stole them away, by putting bodies that were like theirs in their places. This man deceived the Jews that were at Crete, and got a great deal of money of them for traveling in splendor; and thence sailed to Melos, where he was thought so certainly genuine, that he got a great deal more money, and prevailed with those that had treated him to sail along with him to Rome. So he landed at Dicearchia, [Puteoli,] and got very large presents from the Jews who dwelt there, and was conducted by his father's friends as if he were a king; nay, the resemblance in his countenance procured him so much credit, that those who had seen Alexander, and had known him very well, would take their oaths that he was the very same person. Accordingly, the whole body of the Jews that were at Rome ran out in crowds to see him, and an innumerable multitude there was which stood in the narrow places through which he was carried; for those of Melos were so far distracted, that they carried him in a sedan, and maintained a royal attendance for him at their own proper charges.

2. But Caesar, who knew perfectly well the lineaments of Alexander's face, because he had been accused by Herod before him, discerned the fallacy in his countenance, even before he saw the man. However, he suffered the agreeable fame that went of him to have some weight with him, and sent Celadus, one who well knew Alexander, and ordered him to bring the young man to him. But when Caesar saw him, he immediately discerned a difference in his countenance; and when he had discovered that his whole body was of a more robust texture, and like that of a slave, he understood the whole was a contrivance. But the impudence of what he said greatly provoked him to be angry at him; for when he was asked about Aristobulus, he said that he was also preserved alive, and was left on purpose in Cyprus, for fear of treachery, because it would be harder for

plotters to get them both into their power while they were separate. Then did Caesar take him by himself privately, and said to him, “I will give thee thy life, if thou wilt discover who it was that persuaded thee to forge such stories.” So he said that he would discover him, and followed Caesar, and pointed to that Jew who abused the resemblance of his face to get money; for that he had received more presents in every city than ever Alexander did when he was alive. Caesar laughed at the contrivance, and put this spurious Alexander among his rowers, on account of the strength of his body, but ordered him that persuaded him to be put to death. But for the people of Melos, they had been sufficiently punished for their folly, by the expenses they had been at on his account.

3. And now Archelaus took possession of his ethnarchy, and used not the Jews only, but the Samaritans also, barbarously; and this out of his resentment of their old quarrels with him. Whereupon they both of them sent ambassadors against him to Caesar; and in the ninth year of his government he was banished to Vienna, a city of Gaul, and his effects were put into Caesar’s treasury. But the report goes, that before he was sent for by Caesar, he seemed to see nine ears of corn, full and large, but devoured by oxen. When, therefore, he had sent for the diviners, and some of the Chaldeans, and inquired of them what they thought it portended; and when one of them had one interpretation, and another had another, Simon, one of the sect of Essens, said that he thought the ears of corn denoted years, and the oxen denoted a mutation of things, because by their ploughing they made an alteration of the country. That therefore he should reign as many years as there were ears of corn; and after he had passed through various alterations of fortune, should die. Now five days after Archelaus had heard this interpretation he was called to his trial.

4. I cannot also but think it worthy to be recorded what dream Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, had, who had at first been wife to Alexander, who was the brother of Archelaus, concerning whom we have been discoursing. This Alexander was the son of Herod the king, by whom he was put to death, as we have already related. This Glaphyra was married, after his death, to Juba, king of Libya; and, after his death, was returned home, and lived a widow with her father. Then it was that Archelaus, the ethnarch, saw her, and fell so deeply in love with her, that he divorced Mariamne, who was then his wife, and married her. When, therefore, she was come into Judea, and had been there for a little while, she thought she saw Alexander stand by her, and that he said to her; “Thy marriage with the king of Libya might have been sufficient for thee; but thou wast not contented with him, but art returned again to my family, to a third husband; and him, thou impudent woman, hast thou chosen for thine husband, who is my brother. However, I shall not overlook the injury thou hast

offered me; I shall [soon] have thee again, whether thou wilt or no." Now Glaphyra hardly survived the narration of this dream of hers two days.

CHAPTER 8.

Archelaus's Ethnarchy Is Reduced Into A [Roman] Province.
The Sedition Of Judas Of Galilee. The Three Sects.

1. And now Archelaus's part of Judea was reduced into a province, and Coponius, one of the equestrian order among the Romans, was sent as a procurator, having the power of [life and] death put into his hands by Caesar. Under his administration it was that a certain Galilean, whose name was Judas, prevailed with his countrymen to revolt, and said they were cowards if they would endure to pay a tax to the Romans and would after God submit to mortal men as their lords. This man was a teacher of a peculiar sect of his own, and was not at all like the rest of those their leaders.

2. For there are three philosophical sects among the Jews. The followers of the first of which are the Pharisees; of the second, the Sadducees; and the third sect, which pretends to a severer discipline, are called Essens. These last are Jews by birth, and seem to have a greater affection for one another than the other sects have. These Essens reject pleasures as an evil, but esteem continence, and the conquest over our passions, to be virtue. They neglect wedlock, but choose out other persons children, while they are pliable, and fit for learning, and esteem them to be of their kindred, and form them according to their own manners. They do not absolutely deny the fitness of marriage, and the succession of mankind thereby continued; but they guard against the lascivious behavior of women, and are persuaded that none of them preserve their fidelity to one man.

3. These men are despisers of riches, and so very communicative as raises our admiration. Nor is there any one to be found among them who hath more than another; for it is a law among them, that those who come to them must let what they have be common to the whole order, — insomuch that among them all there is no appearance of poverty, or excess of riches, but every one's possessions are intermingled with every other's possessions; and so there is, as it were, one patrimony among all the brethren. They think that oil is a defilement; and if any one of them be anointed without his own approbation, it is wiped off his body; for they think to be sweaty is a good thing, as they do also to be clothed in white garments. They also have stewards appointed to take care of their common affairs, who every one of them have no separate business for any, but what is for the uses of them all.

4. They have no one certain city, but many of them dwell in every city; and if any of their sect come from other places, what they have lies open for them, just

as if it were their own; and they go in to such as they never knew before, as if they had been ever so long acquainted with them. For which reason they carry nothing at all with them when they travel into remote parts, though still they take their weapons with them, for fear of thieves. Accordingly, there is, in every city where they live, one appointed particularly to take care of strangers, and to provide garments and other necessaries for them. But the habit and management of their bodies is such as children use who are in fear of their masters. Nor do they allow of the change of garments or of shoes till be first torn to pieces, or worn out by time. Nor do they either buy or sell any thing to one another; but every one of them gives what he hath to him that wanteth it, and receives from him again in lieu of it what may be convenient for himself; and although there be no requital made, they are fully allowed to take what they want of whomsoever they please.

5. And as for their piety towards God, it is very extraordinary; for before sun-rising they speak not a word about profane matters, but put up certain prayers which they have received from their forefathers, as if they made a supplication for its rising. After this every one of them are sent away by their curators, to exercise some of those arts wherein they are skilled, in which they labor with great diligence till the fifth hour. After which they assemble themselves together again into one place; and when they have clothed themselves in white veils, they then bathe their bodies in cold water. And after this purification is over, they every one meet together in an apartment of their own, into which it is not permitted to any of another sect to enter; while they go, after a pure manner, into the dining-room, as into a certain holy temple, and quietly set themselves down; upon which the baker lays them loaves in order; the cook also brings a single plate of one sort of food, and sets it before every one of them; but a priest says grace before meat; and it is unlawful for any one to taste of the food before grace be said. The same priest, when he hath dined, says grace again after meat; and when they begin, and when they end, they praise God, as he that bestows their food upon them; after which they lay aside their [white] garments, and betake themselves to their labors again till the evening; then they return home to supper, after the same manner; and if there be any strangers there, they sit down with them. Nor is there ever any clamor or disturbance to pollute their house, but they give every one leave to speak in their turn; which silence thus kept in their house appears to foreigners like some tremendous mystery; the cause of which is that perpetual sobriety they exercise, and the same settled measure of meat and drink that is allotted them, and that such as is abundantly sufficient for them.

6. And truly, as for other things, they do nothing but according to the injunctions of their curators; only these two things are done among them at

everyone's own free-will, which are to assist those that want it, and to show mercy; for they are permitted of their own accord to afford succor to such as deserve it, when they stand in need of it, and to bestow food on those that are in distress; but they cannot give any thing to their kindred without the curators. They dispense their anger after a just manner, and restrain their passion. They are eminent for fidelity, and are the ministers of peace; whatsoever they say also is firmer than an oath; but swearing is avoided by them, and they esteem it worse than perjury for they say that he who cannot be believed without [swearing by] God is already condemned. They also take great pains in studying the writings of the ancients, and choose out of them what is most for the advantage of their soul and body; and they inquire after such roots and medicinal stones as may cure their distempers.

7. But now if any one hath a mind to come over to their sect, he is not immediately admitted, but he is prescribed the same method of living which they use for a year, while he continues excluded'; and they give him also a small hatchet, and the fore-mentioned girdle, and the white garment. And when he hath given evidence, during that time, that he can observe their continence, he approaches nearer to their way of living, and is made a partaker of the waters of purification; yet is he not even now admitted to live with them; for after this demonstration of his fortitude, his temper is tried two more years; and if he appear to be worthy, they then admit him into their society. And before he is allowed to touch their common food, he is obliged to take tremendous oaths, that, in the first place, he will exercise piety towards God, and then that he will observe justice towards men, and that he will do no harm to any one, either of his own accord, or by the command of others; that he will always hate the wicked, and be assistant to the righteous; that he will ever show fidelity to all men, and especially to those in authority, because no one obtains the government without God's assistance; and that if he be in authority, he will at no time whatever abuse his authority, nor endeavor to outshine his subjects either in his garments, or any other finery; that he will be perpetually a lover of truth, and propose to himself to reprove those that tell lies; that he will keep his hands clear from theft, and his soul from unlawful gains; and that he will neither conceal any thing from those of his own sect, nor discover any of their doctrines to others, no, not though anyone should compel him so to do at the hazard of his life. Moreover, he swears to communicate their doctrines to no one any otherwise than as he received them himself; that he will abstain from robbery, and will equally preserve the books belonging to their sect, and the names of the angels [or messengers]. These are the oaths by which they secure their proselytes to themselves.

8. But for those that are caught in any heinous sins, they cast them out of their society; and he who is thus separated from them does often die after a miserable manner; for as he is bound by the oath he hath taken, and by the customs he hath been engaged in, he is not at liberty to partake of that food that he meets with elsewhere, but is forced to eat grass, and to famish his body with hunger, till he perish; for which reason they receive many of them again when they are at their last gasp, out of compassion to them, as thinking the miseries they have endured till they came to the very brink of death to be a sufficient punishment for the sins they had been guilty of.

9. But in the judgments they exercise they are most accurate and just, nor do they pass sentence by the votes of a court that is fewer than a hundred. And as to what is once determined by that number, it is unalterable. What they most of all honor, after God himself, is the name of their legislator [Moses], whom if any one blaspheme he is punished capitally. They also think it a good thing to obey their elders, and the major part. Accordingly, if ten of them be sitting together, no one of them will speak while the other nine are against it. They also avoid spitting in the midst of them, or on the right side. Moreover, they are stricter than any other of the Jews in resting from their labors on the seventh day; for they not only get their food ready the day before, that they may not be obliged to kindle a fire on that day, but they will not remove any vessel out of its place, nor go to stool thereon. Nay, on other days they dig a small pit, a foot deep, with a paddle [which kind of hatchet is given them when they are first admitted among them]; and covering themselves round with their garment, that they may not affront the Divine rays of light, they ease themselves into that pit, after which they put the earth that was dug out again into the pit; and even this they do only in the more lonely places, which they choose out for this purpose; and although this easement of the body be natural, yet it is a rule with them to wash themselves after it, as if it were a defilement to them.

10. Now after the time of their preparatory trial is over, they are parted into four classes; and so far are the juniors inferior to the seniors, that if the seniors should be touched by the juniors, they must wash themselves, as if they had intermixed themselves with the company of a foreigner. They are long-lived also, insomuch that many of them live above a hundred years, by means of the simplicity of their diet; nay, as I think, by means of the regular course of life they observe also. They contemn the miseries of life, and are above pain, by the generosity of their mind. And as for death, if it will be for their glory, they esteem it better than living always; and indeed our war with the Romans gave abundant evidence what great souls they had in their trials, wherein, although they were tortured and distorted, burnt and torn to pieces, and went through all

kinds of instruments of torment, that they might be forced either to blaspheme their legislator, or to eat what was forbidden them, yet could they not be made to do either of them, no, nor once to flatter their tormentors, or to shed a tear; but they smiled in their very pains, and laughed those to scorn who inflicted the torments upon them, and resigned up their souls with great alacrity, as expecting to receive them again.

11. For their doctrine is this: That bodies are corruptible, and that the matter they are made of is not permanent; but that the souls are immortal, and continue for ever; and that they come out of the most subtile air, and are united to their bodies as to prisons, into which they are drawn by a certain natural enticement; but that when they are set free from the bonds of the flesh, they then, as released from a long bondage, rejoice and mount upward. And this is like the opinions of the Greeks, that good souls have their habitations beyond the ocean, in a region that is neither oppressed with storms of rain or snow, or with intense heat, but that this place is such as is refreshed by the gentle breathing of a west wind, that is perpetually blowing from the ocean; while they allot to bad souls a dark and tempestuous den, full of never-ceasing punishments. And indeed the Greeks seem to me to have followed the same notion, when they allot the islands of the blessed to their brave men, whom they call heroes and demi-gods; and to the souls of the wicked, the region of the ungodly, in Hades, where their fables relate that certain persons, such as Sisyphus, and Tantalus, and Ixion, and Tityus, are punished; which is built on this first supposition, that souls are immortal; and thence are those exhortations to virtue and dehortations from wickedness collected; whereby good men are bettered in the conduct of their life by the hope they have of reward after their death; and whereby the vehement inclinations of bad men to vice are restrained, by the fear and expectation they are in, that although they should lie concealed in this life, they should suffer immortal punishment after their death. These are the Divine doctrines of the Essens about the soul, which lay an unavoidable bait for such as have once had a taste of their philosophy.

12. There are also those among them who undertake to foretell things to come, by reading the holy books, and using several sorts of purifications, and being perpetually conversant in the discourses of the prophets; and it is but seldom that they miss in their predictions.

13. Moreover, there is another order of Essens, who agree with the rest as to their way of living, and customs, and laws, but differ from them in the point of marriage, as thinking that by not marrying they cut off the principal part of human life, which is the prospect of succession; nay, rather, that if all men should be of the same opinion, the whole race of mankind would fail. However,

they try their spouses for three years; and if they find that they have their natural purgations thrice, as trials that they are likely to be fruitful, they then actually marry them. But they do not use to accompany with their wives when they are with child, as a demonstration that they do not many out of regard to pleasure, but for the sake of posterity. Now the women go into the baths with some of their garments on, as the men do with somewhat girded about them. And these are the customs of this order of Essens.

14. But then as to the two other orders at first mentioned, the Pharisees are those who are esteemed most skillful in the exact explication of their laws, and introduce the first sect. These ascribe all to fate [or providence], and to God, and yet allow, that to act what is right, or the contrary, is principally in the power of men, although fate does co-operate in every action. They say that all souls are incorruptible, but that the souls of good men only are removed into other bodies, — but that the souls of bad men are subject to eternal punishment. But the Sadducees are those that compose the second order, and take away fate entirely, and suppose that God is not concerned in our doing or not doing what is evil; and they say, that to act what is good, or what is evil, is at men's own choice, and that the one or the other belongs so to every one, that they may act as they please. They also take away the belief of the immortal duration of the soul, and the punishments and rewards in Hades. Moreover, the Pharisees are friendly to one another, and are for the exercise of concord, and regard for the public; but the behavior of the Sadducees one towards another is in some degree wild, and their conversation with those that are of their own party is as barbarous as if they were strangers to them. And this is what I had to say concerning the philosophic sects among the Jews.

CHAPTER 9.

The Death Of Salome. The Cities Which Herod And Philip Built. Pilate Occasions Disturbances. Tiberius Puts Agrippa Into Bonds But Caius Frees Him From Them, And Makes Him King. Herod Antipas Is Banished.

1. And now as the ethnarchy of Archelaus was fallen into a Roman province, the other sons of Herod, Philip, and that Herod who was called Antipas, each of them took upon them the administration of their own tetrarchies; for when Salome died, she bequeathed to Julia, the wife of Augustus, both her toparchy, and Jamriga, as also her plantation of palm trees that were in Phasaelis. But when the Roman empire was translated to Tiberius, the son of Julia, upon the death of Augustus, who had reigned fifty-seven years, six months, and two days, both Herod and Philip continued in their tetrarchies; and the latter of them built the city Cesarea, at the fountains of Jordan, and in the region of Paneas; as also the city Julias, in the lower Gaulonitis. Herod also built the city Tiberius in Galilee, and in Perea [beyond Jordan] another that was also called Julias.

2. Now Pilate, who was sent as procurator into Judea by Tiberius, sent by night those images of Caesar that are called ensigns into Jerusalem. This excited a very among great tumult among the Jews when it was day; for those that were near them were astonished at the sight of them, as indications that their laws were trodden under foot; for those laws do not permit any sort of image to be brought into the city. Nay, besides the indignation which the citizens had themselves at this procedure, a vast number of people came running out of the country. These came zealously to Pilate to Cesarea, and besought him to carry those ensigns out of Jerusalem, and to preserve them their ancient laws inviolable; but upon Pilate's denial of their request, they fell down prostrate upon the ground, and continued immovable in that posture for five days and as many nights.

3. On the next day Pilate sat upon his tribunal, in the open market-place, and called to him the multitude, as desirous to give them an answer; and then gave a signal to the soldiers, that they should all by agreement at once encompass the Jews with their weapons; so the band of soldiers stood round about the Jews in three ranks. The Jews were under the utmost consternation at that unexpected sight. Pilate also said to them that they should be cut in pieces, unless they would admit of Caesar's images, and gave intimation to the soldiers to draw their naked swords. Hereupon the Jews, as it were at one signal, fell down in vast

numbers together, and exposed their necks bare, and cried out that they were sooner ready to be slain, than that their law should be transgressed. Hereupon Pilate was greatly surprised at their prodigious superstition, and gave order that the ensigns should be presently carried out of Jerusalem.

4. After this he raised another disturbance, by expending that sacred treasure which is called Corban upon aqueducts, whereby he brought water from the distance of four hundred furlongs. At this the multitude had indignation; and when Pilate was come to Jerusalem, they came about his tribunal, and made a clamor at it. Now when he was apprized aforehand of this disturbance, he mixed his own soldiers in their armor with the multitude, and ordered them to conceal themselves under the habits of private men, and not indeed to use their swords, but with their staves to beat those that made the clamor. He then gave the signal from his tribunal [to do as he had bidden them]. Now the Jews were so sadly beaten, that many of them perished by the stripes they received, and many of them perished as trodden to death by themselves; by which means the multitude was astonished at the calamity of those that were slain, and held their peace.

5. In the mean time Agrippa, the son of that Aristobulus who had been slain by his father Herod, came to Tiberius, to accuse Herod the tetrarch; who not admitting of his accusation, he staid at Rome, and cultivated a friendship with others of the men of note, but principally with Caius the son of Germanicus, who was then but a private person. Now this Agrippa, at a certain time, feasted Caius; and as he was very complaisant to him on several other accounts, he at length stretched out his hands, and openly wished that Tiberius might die, and that he might quickly see him emperor of the world. This was told to Tiberius by one of Agrippa's domestics, who thereupon was very angry, and ordered Agrippa to be bound, and had him very ill-treated in the prison for six months, until Tiberius died, after he had reigned twenty-two years, six months, and three days.

6. But when Caius was made Caesar, he released Agrippa from his bonds, and made him king of Philip's tetrarchy, who was now dead; but when Agrippa had arrived at that degree of dignity, he inflamed the ambitious desires of Herod the tetrarch, who was chiefly induced to hope for the royal authority by his wife Herodias, who reproached him for his sloth, and told him that it was only because he would not sail to Caesar that he was destitute of that great dignity; for since Caesar had made Agrippa a king, from a private person, much mole would he advance him from a tetrarch to that dignity. These arguments prevailed with Herod, so that he came to Caius, by whom he was punished for his ambition, by being banished into Spain; for Agrippa followed him, in order to accuse him; to whom also Caius gave his tetrarchy, by way of addition. So Herod died in Spain, whither his wife had followed him.

CHAPTER 10.

Caius Commands That His Statue Should Be Set Up In The Temple Itself; And What Petronius Did Thereupon.

1. Now Caius Caesar did so grossly abuse the fortune he had arrived at, as to take himself to be a god, and to desire to be so called also, and to cut off those of the greatest nobility out of his country. He also extended his impiety as far as the Jews. Accordingly, he sent Petronius with an army to Jerusalem, to place his statues in the temple, and commanded him that, in case the Jews would not admit of them, he should slay those that opposed it, and carry all the rest of the nation into captivity: but God concerned himself with these his commands. However, Petronius marched out of Antioch into Judea, with three legions, and many Syrian auxiliaries. Now as to the Jews, some of them could not believe the stories that spake of a war; but those that did believe them were in the utmost distress how to defend themselves, and the terror diffused itself presently through them all; for the army was already come to Ptolemais.

2. This Ptolemais is a maritime city of Galilee, built in the great plain. It is encompassed with mountains: that on the east side, sixty furlongs off, belongs to Galilee; but that on the south belongs to Carmel, which is distant from it a hundred and twenty furlongs; and that on the north is the highest of them all, and is called by the people of the country, The Ladder of the Tyrians, which is at the distance of a hundred furlongs. The very small river Belus runs by it, at the distance of two furlongs; near which there is Menmon's monument, and hath near it a place no larger than a hundred cubits, which deserves admiration; for the place is round and hollow, and affords such sand as glass is made of; which place, when it hath been emptied by the many ships there loaded, it is filled again by the winds, which bring into it, as it were on purpose, that sand which lay remote, and was no more than bare common sand, while this mine presently turns it into glassy sand. And what is to me still more wonderful, that glassy sand which is superfluous, and is once removed out of the place, becomes bare common sand again. And this is the nature of the place we are speaking of.

3. But now the Jews got together in great numbers with their wives and children into that plain that was by Ptolemais, and made supplication to Petronius, first for their laws, and, in the next place, for themselves. So he was prevailed upon by the multitude of the supplicants, and by their supplications, and left his army and the statues at Ptolemais, and then went forward into Galilee, and called together the multitude and all the men of note to Tiberias, and

showed them the power of the Romans, and the threatenings of Caesar; and, besides this, proved that their petition was unreasonable, because while all the nations in subjection to them had placed the images of Caesar in their several cities, among the rest of their gods, for them alone to oppose it, was almost like the behavior of revolters, and was injurious to Caesar.

4. And when they insisted on their law, and the custom of their country, and how it was not only not permitted them to make either an image of God, or indeed of a man, and to put it in any despicable part of their country, much less in the temple itself, Petronius replied, "And am not I also," said he, "bound to keep the law of my own lord? For if I transgress it, and spare you, it is but just that I perish; while he that sent me, and not I, will commence a war against you; for I am under command as well as you." Hereupon the whole multitude cried out that they were ready to suffer for their law. Petronius then quieted them, and said to them, "Will you then make war against Caesar?" The Jews said, "We offer sacrifices twice every day for Caesar, and for the Roman people;" but that if he would place the images among them, he must first sacrifice the whole Jewish nation; and that they were ready to expose themselves, together with their children and wives, to be slain. At this Petronius was astonished, and pitied them, on account of the inexpressible sense of religion the men were under, and that courage of theirs which made them ready to die for it; so they were dismissed without success.

5. But on the following days he got together the men of power privately, and the multitude publicly, and sometimes he used persuasions to them, and sometimes he gave them his advice; but he chiefly made use of threatenings to them, and insisted upon the power of the Romans, and the anger of Caius; and besides, upon the necessity he was himself under [to do as he was enjoined]. But as they could be no way prevailed upon, and he saw that the country was in danger of lying without tillage; [for it was about seed time that the multitude continued for fifty days together idle;] so he at last got them together, and told them that it was best for him to run some hazard himself; "for either, by the Divine assistance, I shall prevail with Caesar, and shall myself escape the danger as well as you, which will be matter of joy to us both; or, in case Caesar continue in his rage, I will be ready to expose my own life for such a great number as you are." Whereupon he dismissed the multitude, who prayed greatly for his prosperity; and he took the army out of Ptolemais, and returned to Antioch; from whence he presently sent an epistle to Caesar, and informed him of the irruption he had made into Judea, and of the supplications of the nation; and that unless he had a mind to lose both the country and the men in it, he must permit them to keep their law, and must countermand his former injunction. Caius answered

that epistle in a violent-way, and threatened to have Petronius put to death for his being so tardy in the execution of what he had commanded. But it happened that those who brought Caius's epistle were tossed by a storm, and were detained on the sea for three months, while others that brought the news of Caius's death had a good voyage. Accordingly, Petronins received the epistle concerning Caius seven and twenty days before he received that which was against himself.

CHAPTER 11.

Concerning The Government Of Claudius, And The Reign Of Agrippa. Concerning The Deaths Of Agrippa And Of Herod And What Children They Both Left Behind Them.

1. Now when Caius had reigned three years and eight months, and had been slain by treachery, Claudius was hurried away by the armies that were at Rome to take the government upon him; but the senate, upon the reference of the consuls, Sentis Saturninus, and Pomponius Secundus, gave orders to the three regiments of soldiers that staid with them to keep the city quiet, and went up into the capitol in great numbers, and resolved to oppose Claudius by force, on account of the barbarous treatment they had met with from Caius; and they determined either to settle the nation under an aristocracy, as they had of old been governed, or at least to choose by vote such a one for emperor as might be worthy of it.

2. Now it happened that at this time Agrippa sojourned at Rome, and that both the senate called him to consult with them, and at the same time Claudius sent for him out of the camp, that he might be serviceable to him, as he should have occasion for his service. So he, perceiving that Claudius was in effect made Caesar already, went to him, who sent him as an ambassador to the senate, to let them know what his intentions were: that, in the first place, it was without his seeking that he was hurried away by the soldiers; moreover, that he thought it was not just to desert those soldiers in such their zeal for him, and that if he should do so, his own fortune would be in uncertainty; for that it was a dangerous case to have been once called to the empire. He added further, that he would administer the government as a good prince, and not like a tyrant; for that he would be satisfied with the honor of being called emperor, but would, in every one of his actions, permit them all to give him their advice; for that although he had not been by nature for moderation, yet would the death of Caius afford him a sufficient demonstration how soberly he ought to act in that station.

3. This message was delivered by Agrippa; to which the senate replied, that since they had an army, and the wisest counsels on their side, they would not endure a voluntary slavery. And when Claudius heard what answer the senate had made, he sent Agrippa to them again, with the following message: That he could not bear the thoughts of betraying them that had given their oaths to be true to him; and that he saw he must fight, though unwillingly, against such as he had no mind to fight; that, however, [if it must come to that,] it was proper to

choose a place without the city for the war, because it was not agreeable to piety to pollute the temples of their own city with the blood of their own countrymen, and this only on occasion of their imprudent conduct. And when Agrippa had heard this message, he delivered it to the senators.

4. In the mean time, one of the soldiers belonging to the senate drew his sword, and cried out, "O my fellow soldiers, what is the meaning of this choice of ours, to kill our brethren, and to use violence to our kindred that are with Claudius? while we may have him for our emperor whom no one can blame, and who hath so many just reasons [to lay claim to the government]; and this with regard to those against whom we are going to fight." When he had said this, he marched through the whole senate, and carried all the soldiers along with him. Upon which all the patricians were immediately in a great fright at their being thus deserted. But still, because there appeared no other way whither they could turn themselves for deliverance, they made haste the same way with the soldiers, and went to Claudius. But those that had the greatest luck in flattering the good fortune of Claudius betimes met them before the walls with their naked swords, and there was reason to fear that those that came first might have been in danger, before Claudius could know what violence the soldiers were going to offer them, had not Agrippa ran before, and told him what a dangerous thing they were going about, and that unless he restrained the violence of these men, who were in a fit of madness against the patricians, he would lose those on whose account it was most desirable to rule, and would be emperor over a desert.

5. When Claudius heard this, he restrained the violence of the soldiery, and received the senate into the camp, and treated them after an obliging manner, and went out with them presently to offer their thank-offerings to God, which were proper upon, his first coming to the empire. Moreover, he bestowed on Agrippa his whole paternal kingdom immediately, and added to it, besides those countries that had been given by Augustus to Herod, Trachonitis and Auranitis, and still besides these, that kingdom which was called the kingdom of Lysanius. This gift he declared to the people by a decree, but ordered the magistrates to have the donation engraved on tables of brass, and to be set up in the capitol. He bestowed on his brother Herod, who was also his son-in-law, by marrying [his daughter] Bernice, the kingdom of Chalcis.

6. So now riches flowed in to Agrippa by his enjoyment of so large a dominion; nor did he abuse the money he had on small matters, but he began to encompass Jerusalem with such a wall, which, had it been brought to perfection, had made it impracticable for the Romans to take it by siege; but his death, which happened at Cesarea, before he had raised the walls to their due height, prevented him. He had then reigned three years, as he had governed his

tetrarchies three other years. He left behind him three daughters, born to him by Cypros, Bernice, Mariamne, and Drusilla, and a son born of the same mother, whose name was Agrippa: he was left a very young child, so that Claudius made the country a Roman province, and sent Cuspius Fadus to be its procurator, and after him Tiberius Alexander, who, making no alterations of the ancient laws, kept the nation in tranquillity. Now after this, Herod the king of Chalcis died, and left behind him two sons, born to him of his brother's daughter Bernice; their names were Bernie Janus and Hyrcanus. [He also left behind him] Aristobulus, whom he had by his former wife Mariamne. There was besides another brother of his that died a private person, his name was also Aristobulus, who left behind him a daughter, whose name was Jotape: and these, as I have formerly said, were the children of Aristobulus the son of Herod, which Aristobulus and Alexander were born to Herod by Mariamne, and were slain by him. But as for Alexander's posterity, they reigned in Armenia.

CHAPTER 12.

Many Tumults Under Cumanus, Which Were Composed By Quadratus. Felix Is Procurator Of Judea. Agrippa Is Advanced From Chalcis To A Greater Kingdom.

1 Now after the death of Herod, king of Chalcis, Claudius set Agrippa, the son of Agrippa, over his uncle's kingdom, while Cumanus took upon him the office of procurator of the rest, which was a Roman province, and therein he succeeded Alexander; under which Cumanus began the troubles, and the Jews' ruin came on; for when the multitude were come together to Jerusalem, to the feast of unleavened bread, and a Roman cohort stood over the cloisters of the temple, [for they always were armed, and kept guard at the festivals, to prevent any innovation which the multitude thus gathered together might make,] one of the soldiers pulled back his garment, and cowering down after an indecent manner, turned his breech to the Jews, and spake such words as you might expect upon such a posture. At this the whole multitude had indignation, and made a clamor to Cumanus, that he would punish the soldier; while the rasher part of the youth, and such as were naturally the most tumultuous, fell to fighting, and caught up stones, and threw them at the soldiers. Upon which Cumanus was afraid lest all the people should make an assault upon him, and sent to call for more armed men, who, when they came in great numbers into the cloisters, the Jews were in a very great consternation; and being beaten out of the temple, they ran into the city; and the violence with which they crowded to get out was so great, that they trod upon each other, and squeezed one another, till ten thousand of them were killed, insomuch that this feast became the cause of mourning to the whole nation, and every family lamented their own relations.

2. Now there followed after this another calamity, which arose from a tumult made by robbers; for at the public road at Beth-boron, one Stephen, a servant of Caesar, carried some furniture, which the robbers fell upon and seized. Upon this Cumanus sent men to go round about to the neighboring villages, and to bring their inhabitants to him bound, as laying it to their charge that they had not pursued after the thieves, and caught them. Now here it was that a certain soldier, finding the sacred book of the law, tore it to pieces, and threw it into the fire. Hereupon the Jews were in great disorder, as if their whole country were in a flame, and assembled themselves so many of them by their zeal for their religion, as by an engine, and ran together with united clamor to Cesarea, to Cumanus, and made supplication to him that he would not overlook this man,

who had offered such an affront to God, and to his law; but punish him for what he had done. Accordingly, he, perceiving that the multitude would not be quiet unless they had a comfortable answer from him, gave order that the soldier should be brought, and drawn through those that required to have him punished, to execution, which being done, the Jews went their ways.

3. After this there happened a fight between the Galileans and the Samaritans; it happened at a village called Geman, which is situate in the great plain of Samaria; where, as a great number of Jews were going up to Jerusalem to the feast [of tabernacles,] a certain Galilean was slain; and besides, a vast number of people ran together out of Galilee, in order to fight with the Samaritans. But the principal men among them came to Cumanus, and besought him that, before the evil became incurable, he would come into Galilee, and bring the authors of this murder to punishment; for that there was no other way to make the multitude separate without coming to blows. However, Cumanus postponed their supplications to the other affairs he was then about, and sent the petitioners away without success.

4. But when the affair of this murder came to be told at Jerusalem, it put the multitude into disorder, and they left the feast; and without any generals to conduct them, they marched with great violence to Samaria; nor would they be ruled by any of the magistrates that were set over them, but they were managed by one Eleazar, the son of Dineus, and by Alexander, in these their thievish and seditious attempts. These men fell upon those that were in the neighborhood of the Acrabatene toparchy, and slew them, without sparing any age, and set the villages on fire.

5. But Cumanus took one troop of horsemen, called the troop of Sebaste, out of Cesarea, and came to the assistance of those that were spoiled; he also seized upon a great number of those that followed Eleazar, and slew more of them. And as for the rest of the multitude of those that went so zealously to fight with the Samaritans, the rulers of Jerusalem ran out clothed with sackcloth, and having ashes on their head, and begged of them to go their ways, lest by their attempt to revenge themselves upon the Samaritans they should provoke the Romans to come against Jerusalem; to have compassion upon their country and temple, their children and their wives, and not bring the utmost dangers of destruction upon them, in order to avenge themselves upon one Galilean only. The Jews complied with these persuasions of theirs, and dispersed themselves; but still there were a great number who betook themselves to robbing, in hopes of impunity; and rapines and insurrections of the bolder sort happened over the whole country. And the men of power among the Samaritans came to Tyre, to Ummidius Quadratus, the president of Syria, and desired that they that had laid

waste the country might be punished: the great men also of the Jews, and Jonathan the son of Ananus the high priest, came thither, and said that the Samaritans were the beginners of the disturbance, on account of that murder they had committed; and that Cumanus had given occasion to what had happened, by his unwillingness to punish the original authors of that murder.

6. But Quadratus put both parties off for that time, and told them, that when he should come to those places, he would make a diligent inquiry after every circumstance. After which he went to Cesarea, and crucified all those whom Cumanus had taken alive; and when from thence he was come to the city Lydda, he heard the affair of the Samaritans, and sent for eighteen of the Jews, whom he had learned to have been concerned in that fight, and beheaded them; but he sent two others of those that were of the greatest power among them, and both Jonathan and Ananias, the high priests, as also Artanus the son of this Ananias, and certain others that were eminent among the Jews, to Caesar; as he did in like manner by the most illustrious of the Samaritans. He also ordered that Cumanus [the procurator] and Celer the tribune should sail to Rome, in order to give an account of what had been done to Caesar. When he had finished these matters, he went up from Lydda to Jerusalem, and finding the multitude celebrating their feast of unleavened bread without any tumult, he returned to Antioch.

7. Now when Caesar at Rome had heard what Cumanus and the Samaritans had to say, [where it was done in the hearing of Agrippa, who zealously espoused the cause of the Jews, as in like manner many of the great men stood by Cumanus,] he condemned the Samaritans, and commanded that three of the most powerful men among them should be put to death; he banished Cumanus, and sent Celer bound to Jerusalem, to be delivered over to the Jews to be tormented; that he should be drawn round the city, and then beheaded.

8. After this Caesar sent Felix, the brother of Pallas, to be procurator of Galilee, and Samaria, and Perea, and removed Agrippa from Chalcis unto a greater kingdom; for he gave him the tetrarchy which had belonged to Philip, which contained Batanae, Trachonitis, and Gaulonitis: he added to it the kingdom of Lysanias, and that province [Abilene] which Varus had governed. But Claudius himself, when he had administered the government thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days, died, and left Nero to be his successor in the empire, whom he had adopted by his Wife Agrippina’s delusions, in order to be his successor, although he had a son of his own, whose name was Britannicus, by Messalina his former wife, and a daughter whose name was Octavia, whom he had married to Nero; he had also another daughter by Petina, whose name was Antonia.

CHAPTER 13.

Nero Adds Four Cities To Agrippas Kingdom; But The Other Parts Of Judea Were Under Felix. The Disturbances Which Were Raised By The Sicarii The Magicians And An Egyptian False Prophet. The Jews And Syrians Have A Contest At Cesarea.

1. Now as to the many things in which Nero acted like a madman, out of the extravagant degree of the felicity and riches which he enjoyed, and by that means used his good fortune to the injury of others; and after what manner he slew his brother, and wife, and mother, from whom his barbarity spread itself to others that were most nearly related to him; and how, at last, he was so distracted that he became an actor in the scenes, and upon the theater, — I omit to say any more about them, because there are writers enough upon those subjects every where; but I shall turn myself to those actions of his time in which the Jews were concerned.

2. Nero therefore bestowed the kingdom of the Lesser Armenia upon Aristobulus, Herod's son, and he added to Agrippa's kingdom four cities, with the toparchies to them belonging; I mean Abila, and that Julias which is in Perea, Tarichea also, and Tiberias of Galilee; but over the rest of Judea he made Felix procurator. This Felix took Eleazar the arch-robber, and many that were with him, alive, when they had ravaged the country for twenty years together, and sent them to Rome; but as to the number of the robbers whom he caused to be crucified, and of those who were caught among them, and whom he brought to punishment, they were a multitude not to be enumerated.

3. When the country was purged of these, there sprang up another sort of robbers in Jerusalem, which were called Sicarii, who slew men in the day time, and in the midst of the city; this they did chiefly at the festivals, when they mingled themselves among the multitude, and concealed daggers under their garments, with which they stabbed those that were their enemies; and when any fell down dead, the murderers became a part of those that had indignation against them; by which means they appeared persons of such reputation, that they could by no means be discovered. The first man who was slain by them was Jonathan the high priest, after whose death many were slain every day, while the fear men were in of being so served was more afflicting than the calamity itself; and while every body expected death every hour, as men do in war, so men were obliged to look before them, and to take notice of their enemies at a great distance; nor, if their friends were coming to them, durst they trust them any

longer; but, in the midst of their suspicions and guarding of themselves, they were slain. Such was the celerity of the plotters against them, and so cunning was their contrivance.

4. There was also another body of wicked men gotten together, not so impure in their actions, but more wicked in their intentions, which laid waste the happy state of the city no less than did these murderers. These were such men as deceived and deluded the people under pretense of Divine inspiration, but were for procuring innovations and changes of the government; and these prevailed with the multitude to act like madmen, and went before them into the wilderness, as pretending that God would there show them the signals of liberty. But Felix thought this procedure was to be the beginning of a revolt; so he sent some horsemen and footmen both armed, who destroyed a great number of them.

5. But there was an Egyptian false prophet that did the Jews more mischief than the former; for he was a cheat, and pretended to be a prophet also, and got together thirty thousand men that were deluded by him; these he led round about from the wilderness to the mount which was called the Mount of Olives, and was ready to break into Jerusalem by force from that place; and if he could but once conquer the Roman garrison and the people, he intended to domineer over them by the assistance of those guards of his that were to break into the city with him. But Felix prevented his attempt, and met him with his Roman soldiers, while all the people assisted him in his attack upon them, insomuch that when it came to a battle, the Egyptian ran away, with a few others, while the greatest part of those that were with him were either destroyed or taken alive; but the rest of the multitude were dispersed every one to their own homes, and there concealed themselves.

6. Now when these were quieted, it happened, as it does in a diseased body, that another part was subject to an inflammation; for a company of deceivers and robbers got together, and persuaded the Jews to revolt, and exhorted them to assert their liberty, inflicting death on those that continued in obedience to the Roman government, and saying, that such as willingly chose slavery ought to be forced from such their desired inclinations; for they parted themselves into different bodies, and lay in wait up and down the country, and plundered the houses of the great men, and slew the men themselves, and set the villages on fire; and this till all Judea was filled with the effects of their madness. And thus the flame was every day more and more blown up, till it came to a direct war.

7. There was also another disturbance at Cesarea, — those Jews who were mixed with the Syrians that lived there rising a tumult against them. The Jews pretended that the city was theirs, and said that he who built it was a Jew, meaning king Herod. The Syrians confessed also that its builder was a Jew; but

they still said, however, that the city was a Grecian city; for that he who set up statues and temples in it could not design it for Jews. On which account both parties had a contest with one another; and this contest increased so much, that it came at last to arms, and the bolder sort of them marched out to fight; for the elders of the Jews were not able to put a stop to their own people that were disposed to be tumultuous, and the Greeks thought it a shame for them to be overcome by the Jews. Now these Jews exceeded the others in riches and strength of body; but the Grecian part had the advantage of assistance from the soldiery; for the greatest part of the Roman garrison was raised out of Syria; and being thus related to the Syrian part, they were ready to assist it. However, the governors of the city were concerned to keep all quiet, and whenever they caught those that were most for fighting on either side, they punished them with stripes and bands. Yet did not the sufferings of those that were caught affright the remainder, or make them desist; but they were still more and more exasperated, and deeper engaged in the sedition. And as Felix came once into the market-place, and commanded the Jews, when they had beaten the Syrians, to go their ways, and threatened them if they would not, and they would not obey him, he sent his soldiers out upon them, and slew a great many of them, upon which it fell out that what they had was plundered. And as the sedition still continued, he chose out the most eminent men on both sides as ambassadors to Nero, to argue about their several privileges.

CHAPTER 14.

Festus Succeeds Felix Who Is Succeeded By Albinus As He Is By Florus; Who By The Barbarity Of His Government Forces The Jews Into The War.

1. Now it was that Festus succeeded Felix as procurator, and made it his business to correct those that made disturbances in the country. So he caught the greatest part of the robbers, and destroyed a great many of them. But then Albinus, who succeeded Festus, did not execute his office as the other had done; nor was there any sort of wickedness that could be named but he had a hand in it. Accordingly, he did not only, in his political capacity, steal and plunder every one's substance, nor did he only burden the whole nation with taxes, but he permitted the relations of such as were in prison for robbery, and had been laid there, either by the senate of every city, or by the former procurators, to redeem them for money; and no body remained in the prisons as a malefactor but he who gave him nothing. At this time it was that the enterprises of the seditious at Jerusalem were very formidable; the principal men among them purchasing leave of Albinus to go on with their seditious practices; while that part of the people who delighted in disturbances joined themselves to such as had fellowship with Albinus; and every one of these wicked wretches were encompassed with his own band of robbers, while he himself, like an arch-robber, or a tyrant, made a figure among his company, and abused his authority over those about him, in order to plunder those that lived quietly. The effect of which was this, that those who lost their goods were forced to hold their peace, when they had reason to show great indignation at what they had suffered; but those who had escaped were forced to flatter him that deserved to be punished, out of the fear they were in of suffering equally with the others. Upon the Whole, nobody durst speak their minds, but tyranny was generally tolerated; and at this time were those seeds sown which brought the city to destruction.

2. And although such was the character of Albinus, yet did Gessius Florus who succeeded him, demonstrate him to have been a most excellent person, upon the comparison; for the former did the greatest part of his rogueries in private, and with a sort of dissimulation; but Gessius did his unjust actions to the harm of the nation after a pompous manner; and as though he had been sent as an executioner to punish condemned malefactors, he omitted no sort of rapine, or of vexation; where the case was really pitiable, he was most barbarous, and in things of the greatest turpitude he was most impudent. Nor could any one outdo

him in disguising the truth; nor could any one contrive more subtle ways of deceit than he did. He indeed thought it but a petty offense to get money out of single persons; so he spoiled whole cities, and ruined entire bodies of men at once, and did almost publicly proclaim it all the country over, that they had liberty given them to turn robbers, upon this condition, that he might go shares with them in the spoils they got. Accordingly, this his greediness of gain was the occasion that entire toparchies were brought to desolation, and a great many of the people left their own country, and fled into foreign provinces.

3. And truly, while Cestius Gallus was president of the province of Syria, nobody durst do so much as send an embassage to him against Florus; but when he was come to Jerusalem, upon the approach of the feast of unleavened bread, the people came about him not fewer in number than three millions these besought him to commiserate the calamities of their nation, and cried out upon Florus as the bane of their country. But as he was present, and stood by Cestius, he laughed at their words. However, Cestius, when he had quieted the multitude, and had assured them that he would take care that Florus should hereafter treat them in a more gentle manner, returned to Antioch. Florus also conducted him as far as Cesarea, and deluded him, though he had at that very time the purpose of showing his anger at the nation, and procuring a war upon them, by which means alone it was that he supposed he might conceal his enormities; for he expected that if the peace continued, he should have the Jews for his accusers before Caesar; but that if he could procure them to make a revolt, he should divert their laying lesser crimes to his charge, by a misery that was so much greater; he therefore did every day augment their calamities, in order to induce them to a rebellion.

4. Now at this time it happened that the Grecians at Cesarea had been too hard for the Jews, and had obtained of Nero the government of the city, and had brought the judicial determination: at the same time began the war, in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, and the seventeenth of the reign of Agrippa, in the month of Artemisius [Jyar.] Now the occasion of this war was by no means proportionable to those heavy calamities which it brought upon us. For the Jews that dwelt at Cesarea had a synagogue near the place, whose owner was a certain Cesarean Greek: the Jews had endeavored frequently to have purchased the possession of the place, and had offered many times its value for its price; but as the owner overlooked their offers, so did he raise other buildings upon the place, in way of affront to them, and made working-shops of them, and left them but a narrow passage, and such as was very troublesome for them to go along to their synagogue. Whereupon the warmer part of the Jewish youth went hastily to the workmen, and forbade them to build there; but as Florus would not permit them

to use force, the great men of the Jews, with John the publican, being in the utmost distress what to do, persuaded Florus, with the offer of eight talents, to hinder the work. He then, being intent upon nothing but getting money, promised he would do for them all they desired of him, and then went away from Cesarea to Sebaste, and left the sedition to take its full course, as if he had sold a license to the Jews to fight it out.

5. Now on the next day, which was the seventh day of the week, when the Jews were crowding apace to their synagogue, a certain man of Cesarea, of a seditious temper, got an earthen vessel, and set it with the bottom upward, at the entrance of that synagogue, and sacrificed birds. This thing provoked the Jews to an incurable degree, because their laws were affronted, and the place was polluted. Whereupon the sober and moderate part of the Jews thought it proper to have recourse to their governors again, while the seditious part, and such as were in the fervor of their youth, were vehemently inflamed to fight. The seditions also among the Gentiles of Cesarea stood ready for the same purpose; for they had, by agreement, sent the man to sacrifice beforehand [as ready to support him;] so that it soon came to blows. Hereupon Jucundus, the master of the horse, who was ordered to prevent the fight, came thither, and took away the earthen vessel, and endeavored to put a stop to the sedition; but when he was overcome by the violence of the people of Cesarea, the Jews caught up their books of the law, and retired to Narbata, which was a place to them belonging, distant from Cesarea sixty furlongs. But John, and twelve of the principal men with him, went to Florus, to Sebaste, and made a lamentable complaint of their case, and besought him to help them; and with all possible decency, put him in mind of the eight talents they had given him; but he had the men seized upon, and put in prison, and accused them for carrying the books of the law out of Cesarea.

6. Moreover, as to the citizens of Jerusalem, although they took this matter very ill, yet did they restrain their passion; but Florus acted herein as if he had been hired, and blew up the war into a flame, and sent some to take seventeen talents out of the sacred treasure, and pretended that Caesar wanted them. At this the people were in confusion immediately, and ran together to the temple, with prodigious clamors, and called upon Caesar by name, and besought him to free them from the tyranny of Florus. Some also of the seditious cried out upon Florus, and cast the greatest reproaches upon him, and carried a basket about, and begged some spills of money for him, as for one that was destitute of possessions, and in a miserable condition. Yet was not he made ashamed hereby of his love of money, but was more enraged, and provoked to get still more; and instead of coming to Cesarea, as he ought to have done, and quenching the flame

of war, which was beginning thence, and so taking away the occasion of any disturbances, on which account it was that he had received a reward [of eight talents], he marched hastily with an army of horsemen and footmen against Jerusalem, that he might gain his will by the arms of the Romans, and might, by his terror, and by his threatenings, bring the city into subjection.

7. But the people were desirous of making Florus ashamed of his attempt, and met his soldiers with acclamations, and put themselves in order to receive him very submissively. But he sent Capito, a centurion, beforehand, with fifty soldiers, to bid them go back, and not now make a show of receiving him in an obliging manner, whom they had so foully reproached before; and said that it was incumbent on them, in case they had generous souls, and were free speakers, to jest upon him to his face, and appear to be lovers of liberty, not only in words, but with their weapons also. With this message was the multitude amazed; and upon the coming of Capito's horsemen into the midst of them, they were dispersed before they could salute Florus, or manifest their submissive behavior to him. Accordingly, they retired to their own houses, and spent that night in fear and confusion of face.

8. Now at this time Florus took up his quarters at the palace; and on the next day he had his tribunal set before it, and sat upon it, when the high priests, and the men of power, and those of the greatest eminence in the city, came all before that tribunal; upon which Florus commanded them to deliver up to him those that had reproached him, and told them that they should themselves partake of the vengeance to them belonging, if they did not produce the criminals; but these demonstrated that the people were peaceably disposed, and they begged forgiveness for those that had spoken amiss; for that it was no wonder at all that in so great a multitude there should be some more daring than they ought to be, and, by reason of their younger age, foolish also; and that it was impossible to distinguish those that offended from the rest, while every one was sorry for what he had done, and denied it out of fear of what would follow: that he ought, however, to provide for the peace of the nation, and to take such counsels as might preserve the city for the Romans, and rather for the sake of a great number of innocent people to forgive a few that were guilty, than for the sake of a few of the wicked to put so large and good a body of men into disorder.

9. Florus was more provoked at this, and called out aloud to the soldiers to plunder that which was called the Upper Market-place, and to slay such as they met with. So the soldiers, taking this exhortation of their commander in a sense agreeable to their desire of gain, did not only plunder the place they were sent to, but forcing themselves into every house, they slew its inhabitants; so the citizens fled along the narrow lanes, and the soldiers slew those that they caught, and no

method of plunder was omitted; they also caught many of the quiet people, and brought them before Florus, whom he first chastised with stripes, and then crucified. Accordingly, the whole number of those that were destroyed that day, with their wives and children, [for they did not spare even the infants themselves,] was about three thousand and six hundred. And what made this calamity the heavier was this new method of Roman barbarity; for Florus ventured then to do what no one had done before, that is, to have men of the equestrian order whipped and nailed to the cross before his tribunal; who, although they were by birth Jews, yet were they of Roman dignity notwithstanding.

CHAPTER 15.

Concerning Bernice's Petition To Florus, To Spare The Jews, But In Vain; As Also How, After The Seditious Flame Was Quenched, It Was Kindled Again By Florus.

1. About this very time king Agrippa was going to Alexandria, to congratulate Alexander upon his having obtained the government of Egypt from Nero; but as his sister Bernice was come to Jerusalem, and saw the wicked practices of the soldiers, she was sorely affected at it, and frequently sent the masters of her horse and her guards to Florus, and begged of him to leave off these slaughters; but he would not comply with her request, nor have any regard either to the multitude of those already slain, or to the nobility of her that interceded, but only to the advantage he should make by this plundering; nay, this violence of the soldiers brake out to such a degree of madness, that it spent itself on the queen herself; for they did not only torment and destroy those whom they had caught under her very eyes, but indeed had killed herself also, unless she had prevented them by flying to the palace, and had staid there all night with her guards, which she had about her for fear of an insult from the soldiers. Now she dwelt then at Jerusalem, in order to perform a vow which she had made to God; for it is usual with those that had been either afflicted with a distemper, or with any other distresses, to make vows; and for thirty days before they are to offer their sacrifices, to abstain from wine, and to shave the hair of their head. Which things Bernice was now performing, and stood barefoot before Florus's tribunal, and besought him [to spare the Jews]. Yet could she neither have any reverence paid to her, nor could she escape without some danger of being slain herself.

2. This happened upon the sixteenth day of the month Artemisius [Jyar]. Now, on the next day, the multitude, who were in a great agony, ran together to the Upper Market-place, and made the loudest lamentations for those that had perished; and the greatest part of the cries were such as reflected on Florus; at which the men of power were affrighted, together with the high priests, and rent their garments, and fell down before each of them, and besought them to leave off, and not to provoke Florus to some incurable procedure, besides what they had already suffered. Accordingly, the multitude complied immediately, out of reverence to those that had desired it of them, and out of the hope they had that Florus would do them no more injuries.

3. So Florus was troubled that the disturbances were over, and endeavored to kindle that flame again, and sent for the high priests, with the other eminent

persons, and said the only demonstration that the people would not make any other innovations should be this, that they must go out and meet the soldiers that were ascending from Cesarea, whence two cohorts were coming; and while these men were exhorting the multitude so to do, he sent beforehand, and gave directions to the centurions of the cohorts, that they should give notice to those that were under them not to return the Jews' salutations; and that if they made any reply to his disadvantage, they should make use of their weapons. Now the high priests assembled the multitude in the temple, and desired them to go and meet the Romans, and to salute the cohorts very civilly, before their miserable case should become incurable. Now the seditious part would not comply with these persuasions; but the consideration of those that had been destroyed made them incline to those that were the boldest for action.

4. At this time it was that every priest, and every servant of God, brought out the holy vessels, and the ornamental garments wherein they used to minister in sacred things. The harpers also, and the singers of hymns, came out with their instruments of music, and fell down before the multitude, and begged of them that they would preserve those holy ornaments to them, and not provoke the Romans to carry off those sacred treasures. You might also see then the high priests themselves, with dust sprinkled in great plenty upon their heads, with bosoms deprived of any covering but what was rent; these besought every one of the eminent men by name, and the multitude in common, that they would not for a small offense betray their country to those that were desirous to have it laid waste; saying, "What benefit will it bring to the soldiers to have a salutation from the Jews? or what amendment of your affairs will it bring you, if you do not now go out to meet them? and that if they saluted them civilly, all handle would be cut off from Florus to begin a war; that they should thereby gain their country, and freedom from all further sufferings; and that, besides, it would be a sign of great want of command of themselves, if they should yield to a few seditious persons, while it was fitter for them who were so great a people to force the others to act soberly."

5. By these persuasions, which they used to the multitude and to the seditious, they restrained some by threatenings, and others by the reverence that was paid them. After this they led them out, and they met the soldiers quietly, and after a composed manner, and when they were come up with them, they saluted them; but when they made no answer, the seditious exclaimed against Florus, which was the signal given for falling upon them. The soldiers therefore encompassed them presently, and struck them with their clubs; and as they fled away, the horsemen trampled them down, so that a great many fell down dead by the strokes of the Romans, and more by their own violence in crushing one another.

Now there was a terrible crowding about the gates, and while every body was making haste to get before another, the flight of them all was retarded, and a terrible destruction there was among those that fell down, for they were suffocated, and broken to pieces by the multitude of those that were uppermost; nor could any of them be distinguished by his relations in order to the care of his funeral; the soldiers also who beat them, fell upon those whom they overtook, without showing them any mercy, and thrust the multitude through the place called Bezetha, as they forced their way, in order to get in and seize upon the temple, and the tower Antonia. Florus also being desirous to get those places into his possession, brought such as were with him out of the king's palace, and would have compelled them to get as far as the citadel [Antonia;] but his attempt failed, for the people immediately turned back upon him, and stopped the violence of his attempt; and as they stood upon the tops of their houses, they threw their darts at the Romans, who, as they were sorely galled thereby, because those weapons came from above, and they were not able to make a passage through the multitude, which stopped up the narrow passages, they retired to the camp which was at the palace.

6. But for the seditious, they were afraid lest Florus should come again, and get possession of the temple, through Antonia; so they got immediately upon those cloisters of the temple that joined to Antonia, and cut them down. This cooled the avarice of Florus; for whereas he was eager to obtain the treasures of God [in the temple], and on that account was desirous of getting into Antonia, as soon as the cloisters were broken down, he left off his attempt; he then sent for the high priests and the sanhedrim, and told them that he was indeed himself going out of the city, but that he would leave them as large a garrison as they should desire. Hereupon they promised that they would make no innovations, in case he would leave them one band; but not that which had fought with the Jews, because the multitude bore ill-will against that band on account of what they had suffered from it; so he changed the band as they desired, and, with the rest of his forces, returned to Cesarea.

CHAPTER 16.

Cestius Sends Neopolitanus The Tribune To See In What Condition The Affairs Of The Jews Were. Agrippa Makes A Speech To The People Of The Jews That He May Divert Them From Their Intentions Of Making War With The Romans.

1. However, Florus contrived another way to oblige the Jews to begin the war, and sent to Cestius, and accused the Jews falsely of revolting [from the Roman government], and imputed the beginning of the former fight to them, and pretended they had been the authors of that disturbance, wherein they were only the sufferers. Yet were not the governors of Jerusalem silent upon this occasion, but did themselves write to Cestius, as did Bernice also, about the illegal practices of which Florus had been guilty against the city; who, upon reading both accounts, consulted with his captains [what he should do]. Now some of them thought it best for Cestius to go up with his army, either to punish the revolt, if it was real, or to settle the Roman affairs on a surer foundation, if the Jews continued quiet under them; but he thought it best himself to send one of his intimate friends beforehand, to see the state of affairs, and to give him a faithful account of the intentions of the Jews. Accordingly, he sent one of his tribunes, whose name was Neopolitanus, who met with king Agrippa as he was returning from Alexandria, at Jamnia, and told him who it was that sent him, and on what errands he was sent.

2. And here it was that the high priests, and men of power among the Jews, as well as the sanhedrim, came to congratulate the king [upon his safe return]; and after they had paid him their respects, they lamented their own calamities, and related to him what barbarous treatment they had met with from Florus. At which barbarity Agrippa had great indignation, but transferred, after a subtle manner, his anger towards those Jews whom he really pitied, that he might beat down their high thoughts of themselves, and would have them believe that they had not been so unjustly treated, in order to dissuade them from avenging themselves. So these great men, as of better understanding than the rest, and desirous of peace, because of the possessions they had, understood that this rebuke which the king gave them was intended for their good; but as to the people, they came sixty furlongs out of Jerusalem, and congratulated both Agrippa and Neopolitanus; but the wives of those that had been slain came running first of all and lamenting. The people also, when they heard their mourning, fell into lamentations also, and besought Agrippa to assist them: they

also cried out to Neopolitanus, and complained of the many miseries they had endured under Florus; and they showed them, when they were come into the city, how the market-place was made desolate, and the houses plundered. They then persuaded Neopolitanus, by the means of Agrippa, that he would walk round the city, with one only servant, as far as Siloam, that he might inform himself that the Jews submitted to all the rest of the Romans, and were only displeased at Florus, by reason of his exceeding barbarity to them. So he walked round, and had sufficient experience of the good temper the people were in, and then went up to the temple, where he called the multitude together, and highly commended them for their fidelity to the Romans, and earnestly exhorted them to keep the peace; and having performed such parts of Divine worship at the temple as he was allowed to do, he returned to Cestius.

3. But as for the multitude of the Jews, they addressed themselves to the king, and to the high priests, and desired they might have leave to send ambassadors to Nero against Florus, and not by their silence afford a suspicion that they had been the occasions of such great slaughters as had been made, and were disposed to revolt, alleging that they should seem to have been the first beginners of the war, if they did not prevent the report by showing who it was that began it; and it appeared openly that they would not be quiet, if any body should hinder them from sending such an embassage. But Agrippa, although he thought it too dangerous a thing for them to appoint men to go as the accusers of Florus, yet did he not think it fit for him to overlook them, as they were in a disposition for war. He therefore called the multitude together into a large gallery, and placed his sister Bernice in the house of the Asamoneans, that she might be seen by them, [which house was over the gallery, at the passage to the upper city, where the bridge joined the temple to the gallery,] and spake to them as follows: 4. "Had I perceived that you were all zealously disposed to go to war with the Romans, and that the purer and more sincere part of the people did not propose to live in peace, I had not come out to you, nor been so bold as to give you counsel; for all discourses that tend to persuade men to do what they ought to do are superfluous, when the hearers are agreed to do the contrary. But because some are earnest to go to war because they are young, and without experience of the miseries it brings, and because some are for it out of an unreasonable expectation of regaining their liberty, and because others hope to get by it, and are therefore earnestly bent upon it, that in the confusion of your affairs they may gain what belongs to those that are too weak to resist them, I have thought proper to get you all together, and to say to you what I think to be for your advantage; that so the former may grow wiser, and change their minds, and that the best men may come to no harm by the ill conduct of some others. And let not

any one be tumultuous against me, in case what they hear me say do not please them; for as to those that admit of no cure, but are resolved upon a revolt, it will still be in their power to retain the same sentiments after my exhortation is over; but still my discourse will fall to the ground, even with a relation to those that have a mind to hear me, unless you will all keep silence. I am well aware that many make a tragical exclamation concerning the injuries that have been offered you by your procurators, and concerning the glorious advantages of liberty; but before I begin the inquiry, who you are that must go to war, and who they are against whom you must fight, I shall first separate those pretenses that are by some connected together; for if you aim at avenging yourselves on those that have done you injury, why do you pretend this to be a war for recovering your liberty? but if you think all servitude intolerable, to what purpose serve your complaint against your particular governors? for if they treated you with moderation, it would still be equally an unworthy thing to be in servitude. Consider now the several cases that may be supposed, how little occasion there is for your going to war. Your first occasion is the accusations you have to make against your procurators; now here you ought to be submissive to those in authority, and not give them any provocation; but when you reproach men greatly for small offenses, you excite those whom you reproach to be your adversaries; for this will only make them leave off hurting you privately, and with some degree of modesty, and to lay what you have waste openly. Now nothing so much damps the force of strokes as bearing them with patience; and the quietness of those who are injured diverts the injurious persons from afflicting. But let us take it for granted that the Roman ministers are injurious to you, and are incurably severe; yet are they not all the Romans who thus injure you; nor hath Caesar, against whom you are going to make war, injured you: it is not by their command that any wicked governor is sent to you; for they who are in the west cannot see those that are in the east; nor indeed is it easy for them there even to hear what is done in these parts. Now it is absurd to make war with a great many for the sake of one, to do so with such mighty people for a small cause; and this when these people are not able to know of what you complain: nay, such crimes as we complain of may soon be corrected, for the same procurator will not continue for ever; and probable it is that the successors will come with more moderate inclinations. But as for war, if it be once begun, it is not easily laid down again, nor borne without calamities coming therewith. However, as to the desire of recovering your liberty, it is unseasonable to indulge it so late; whereas you ought to have labored earnestly in old time that you might never have lost it; for the first experience of slavery was hard to be endured, and the struggle that you might never have been subject to it would

have been just; but that slave who hath been once brought into subjection, and then runs away, is rather a refractory slave than a lover of liberty; for it was then the proper time for doing all that was possible, that you might never have admitted the Romans [into your city], when Pompey came first into the country. But so it was, that our ancestors and their kings, who were in much better circumstances than we are, both as to money, and strong bodies, and [valiant] souls, did not bear the onset of a small body of the Roman army. And yet you, who have now accustomed yourselves to obedience from one generation to another, and who are so much inferior to those who first submitted, in your circumstances will venture to oppose the entire empire of the Romans. While those Athenians, who, in order to preserve the liberty of Greece, did once set fire to their own city; who pursued Xerxes, that proud prince, when he sailed upon the land, and walked upon the sea, and could not be contained by the seas, but conducted such an army as was too broad for Europe; and made him run away like a fugitive in a single ship, and brake so great a part of Asia at the Lesser Salamis; are yet at this time servants to the Romans; and those injunctions which are sent from Italy become laws to the principal governing city of Greece. Those Lacedemonians also who got the great victories at Thermopylae and Platea, and had Agesilaus [for their king], and searched every corner of Asia, are contented to admit the same lords. Those Macedonians also, who still fancy what great men their Philip and Alexander were, and see that the latter had promised them the empire over the world, these bear so great a change, and pay their obedience to those whom fortune hath advanced in their stead. Moreover, ten thousand ether nations there are who had greater reason than we to claim their entire liberty, and yet do submit. You are the only people who think it a disgrace to be servants to those to whom all the world hath submitted. What sort of an army do you rely on? What are the arms you depend on? Where is your fleet, that may seize upon the Roman seas? and where are those treasures which may be sufficient for your undertakings? Do you suppose, I pray you, that you are to make war with the Egyptians, and with the Arabians? Will you not carefully reflect upon the Roman empire? Will you not estimate your own weakness? Hath not your army been often beaten even by your neighboring nations, while the power of the Romans is invincible in all parts of the habitable earth? nay, rather they seek for somewhat still beyond that; for all Euphrates is not a sufficient boundary for them on the east side, nor the Danube on the north; and for their southern limit, Libya hath been searched over by them, as far as countries uninhabited, as is Cadiz their limit on the west; nay, indeed, they have sought for another habitable earth beyond the ocean, and have carried their arms as far as such British islands as were never known before. What therefore do you

pretend to? Are you richer than the Gauls, stronger than the Germans, wiser than the Greeks, more numerous than all men upon the habitable earth? What confidence is it that elevates you to oppose the Romans? Perhaps it will be said, It is hard to endure slavery. Yes; but how much harder is this to the Greeks, who were esteemed the noblest of all people under the sun! These, though they inhabit in a large country, are in subjection to six bundles of Roman rods. It is the same case with the Macedonians, who have juster reason to claim their liberty than you have. What is the case of five hundred cities of Asia? Do they not submit to a single governor, and to the consular bundle of rods? What need I speak of the Henlochi, and Colchi and the nation of Tauri, those that inhabit the Bosphorus, and the nations about Pontus, and Meotis, who formerly knew not so much as a lord of their own, but are now subject to three thousand armed men, and where forty long ships keep the sea in peace, which before was not navigable, and very tempestuous? How strong a plea may Bithynia, and Cappadocia, and the people of Pamphylia, the Lycians, and Cilicians, put in for liberty! But they are made tributary without an army. What are the circumstances of the Thracians, whose country extends in breadth five days' journey, and in length seven, and is of a much more harsh constitution, and much more defensible, than yours, and by the rigor of its cold sufficient to keep off armies from attacking them? do not they submit to two thousand men of the Roman garrisons? Are not the Illyrlans, who inhabit the country adjoining, as far as Dalmatia and the Danube, governed by barely two legions? by which also they put a stop to the incursions of the Daeians. And for the Dalmatians, who have made such frequent insurrections in order to regain their liberty, and who could never before be so thoroughly subdued, but that they always gathered their forces together again, revolted, yet are they now very quiet under one Roman legion. Moreover, if eat advantages might provoke any people to revolt, the Gauls might do it best of all, as being so thoroughly walled round by nature; on the east side by the Alps, on the north by the river Rhine, on the south by the Pyrenean mountains, and on the west by the ocean. Now although these Gauls have such obstacles before them to prevent any attack upon them, and have no fewer than three hundred and five nations among them, nay have, as one may say, the fountains of domestic happiness within themselves, and send out plentiful streams of happiness over almost the whole world, these bear to be tributary to the Romans, and derive their prosperous condition from them; and they undergo this, not because they are of effeminate minds, or because they are of an ignoble stock, as having borne a war of eighty years in order to preserve their liberty; but by reason of the great regard they have to the power of the Romans, and their good fortune, which is of greater efficacy than their arms.

These Gauls, therefore, are kept in servitude by twelve hundred soldiers, which are hardly so many as are their cities; nor hath the gold dug out of the mines of Spain been sufficient for the support of a war to preserve their liberty, nor could their vast distance from the Romans by land and by sea do it; nor could the martial tribes of the Lusitanians and Spaniards escape; no more could the ocean, with its tide, which yet was terrible to the ancient inhabitants. Nay, the Romans have extended their arms beyond the pillars of Hercules, and have walked among the clouds, upon the Pyrenean mountains, and have subdued these nations. And one legion is a sufficient guard for these people, although they were so hard to be conquered, and at a distance so remote from Rome. Who is there among you that hath not heard of the great number of the Germans? You have, to be sure, yourselves seen them to be strong and tall, and that frequently, since the Romans have them among their captives every where; yet these Germans, who dwell in an immense country, who have minds greater than their bodies, and a soul that despises death, and who are in rage more fierce than wild beasts, have the Rhine for the boundary of their enterprises, and are tamed by eight Roman legions. Such of them as were taken captive became their servants; and the rest of the entire nation were obliged to save themselves by flight. Do you also, who depend on the walls of Jerusalem, consider what a wall the Britons had; for the Romans sailed away to them, an subdued them while they were encompassed by the ocean, and inhabited an island that is not less than the [continent of this] habitable earth; and four legions are a sufficient guard to so large all island And why should I speak much more about this matter, while the Parthians, that most warlike body of men, and lords of so many nations, and encompassed with such mighty forces, send hostages to the Romans? whereby you may see, if you please, even in Italy, the noblest nation of the East, under the notion of peace, submitting to serve them. Now when almost all people under the sun submit to the Roman arms, will you be the only people that make war against them? and this without regarding the fate of the Carthaginians, who, in the midst of their brags of the great Hannibal, and the nobility of their Phoenician original, fell by the hand of Scipio. Nor indeed have the Cyrenians, derived from the Lacedemonians, nor the Marmaridite, a nation extended as far as the regions uninhabitable for want of water, nor have the Syrtes, a place terrible to such as barely hear it described, the Nasamons and Moors, and the immense multitude of the Numidians, been able to put a stop to the Roman valor. And as for the third part of the habitable earth, [Akica,] whose nations are so many that it is not easy to number them, and which is bounded by the Atlantic Sea and the pillars of Hercules, and feeds an innumerable multitude of Ethiopians, as far as the Red Sea, these have the Romans subdued entirely. And

besides the annual fruits of the earth, which maintain the multitude of the Romans for eight months in the year, this, over and above, pays all sorts of tribute, and affords revenues suitable to the necessities of the government. Nor do they, like you, esteem such injunctions a disgrace to them, although they have but one Roman legion that abides among them. And indeed what occasion is there for showing you the power of the Romans over remote countries, when it is so easy to learn it from Egypt, in your neighborhood? This country is extended as far as the Ethiopians, and Arabia the Happy, and borders upon India; it hath seven millions five hundred thousand men, besides the inhabitants of Alexandria, as may be learned from the revenue of the poll tax; yet it is not ashamed to submit to the Roman government, although it hath Alexandria as a grand temptation to a revolt, by reason it is so full of people and of riches, and is besides exceeding large, its length being thirty furlongs, and its breadth no less than ten; and it pays more tribute to the Romans in one month than you do in a year; nay, besides what it pays in money, it sends corn to Rome that supports it for four months [in the year]: it is also walled round on all sides, either by almost impassable deserts, or seas that have no havens, or by rivers, or by lakes; yet have none of these things been found too strong for the Roman good fortune; however, two legions that lie in that city are a bridle both for the remoter parts of Egypt, and for the parts inhabited by the more noble Macedonians. Where then are those people whom you are to have for your auxiliaries? Must they come from the parts of the world that are uninhabited? for all that are in the habitable earth are [under the] Romans. Unless any of you extend his hopes as far as beyond the Euphrates, and suppose that those of your own nation that dwell in Adiabene will come to your assistance; but certainly these will not embarrass themselves with an unjustifiable war, nor, if they should follow such ill advice, will the Parthians permit them so to do; for it is their concern to maintain the truce that is between them and the Romans, and they will be supposed to break the covenants between them, if any under their government march against the Romans. What remains, therefore, is this, that you have recourse to Divine assistance; but this is already on the side of the Romans; for it is impossible that so vast an empire should be settled without God’s providence. Reflect upon it, how impossible it is for your zealous observations of your religious customs to be here preserved, which are hard to be observed even when you fight with those whom you are able to conquer; and how can you then most of all hope for God’s assistance, when, by being forced to transgress his law, you will make him turn his face from you? and if you do observe the custom of the sabbath days, and will not be revealed on to do any thing thereon, you will easily be taken, as were your forefathers by Pompey, who was the busiest in his siege on those days on

which the besieged rested. But if in time of war you transgress the law of your country, I cannot tell on whose account you will afterward go to war; for your concern is but one, that you do nothing against any of your forefathers; and how will you call upon God to assist you, when you are voluntarily transgressing against his religion? Now all men that go to war do it either as depending on Divine or on human assistance; but since your going to war will cut off both those assistances, those that are for going to war choose evident destruction. What hinders you from slaying your children and wives with your own hands, and burning this most excellent native city of yours? for by this mad prank you will, however, escape the reproach of being beaten. But it were best, O my friends, it were best, while the vessel is still in the haven, to foresee the impending storm, and not to set sail out of the port into the middle of the hurricanes; for we justly pity those who fall into great misfortunes without foreseeing them; but for him who rushes into manifest ruin, he gains reproaches [instead of commiseration]. But certainly no one can imagine that you can enter into a war as by agreement, or that when the Romans have got you under their power, they will use you with moderation, or will not rather, for an example to other nations, burn your holy city, and utterly destroy your whole nation; for those of you who shall survive the war will not be able to find a place whither to flee, since all men have the Romans for their lords already, or are afraid they shall have hereafter. Nay, indeed, the danger concerns not those Jews that dwell here only, but those of them which dwell in other cities also; for there is no people upon the habitable earth which have not some portion of you among them, whom your enemies will slay, in case you go to war, and on that account also; and so every city which hath Jews in it will be filled with slaughter for the sake of a few men, and they who slay them will be pardoned; but if that slaughter be not made by them, consider how wicked a thing it is to take arms against those that are so kind to you. Have pity, therefore, if not on your children and wives, yet upon this your metropolis, and its sacred walls; spare the temple, and preserve the holy house, with its holy furniture, for yourselves; for if the Romans get you under their power, they will no longer abstain from them, when their former abstinence shall have been so ungratefully requited. I call to witness your sanctuary, and the holy angels of God, and this country common to us all, that I have not kept back any thing that is for your preservation; and if you will follow that advice which you ought to do, you will have that peace which will be common to you and to me; but if you indulge four passions, you will run those hazards which I shall be free from."

5. When Agrippa had spoken thus, both he and his sister wept, and by their tears repressed a great deal of the violence of the people; but still they cried out,

that they would not fight against the Romans, but against Florus, on account of what they had suffered by his means. To which Agrippa replied, that what they had already done was like such as make war against the Romans; “for you have not paid the tribute which is due to Caesar and you have cut off the cloisters [of the temple] from joining to the tower Antonia. You will therefore prevent any occasion of revolt if you will but join these together again, and if you will but pay your tribute; for the citadel does not now belong to Florus, nor are you to pay the tribute money to Florus.”

CHAPTER 17.

How The War Of The Jews With The Romans Began, And Concerning Manahem.

1. This advice the people hearkened to, and went up into the temple with the king and Bernice, and began to rebuild the cloisters; the rulers also and senators divided themselves into the villages, and collected the tributes, and soon got together forty talents, which was the sum that was deficient. And thus did Agrippa then put a stop to that war which was threatened. Moreover, he attempted to persuade the multitude to obey Florus, until Caesar should send one to succeed him; but they were hereby more provoked, and cast reproaches upon the king, and got him excluded out of the city; nay, some of the seditious had the impudence to throw stones at him. So when the king saw that the violence of those that were for innovations was not to be restrained, and being very angry at the contumelies he had received, he sent their rulers, together with their men of power, to Florus, to Cesarea, that he might appoint whom he thought fit to collect the tribute in the country, while he retired into his own kingdom.

2. And at this time it was that some of those that principally excited the people to go to war made an assault upon a certain fortress called Masada. They took it by treachery, and slew the Romans that were there, and put others of their own party to keep it. At the same time Eleazar, the son of Ananias the high priest, a very bold youth, who was at that time governor of the temple, persuaded those that officiated in the Divine service to receive no gift or sacrifice for any foreigner. And this was the true beginning of our war with the Romans; for they rejected the sacrifice of Caesar on this account; and when many of the high priests and principal men besought them not to omit the sacrifice, which it was customary for them to offer for their princes, they would not be prevailed upon. These relied much upon their multitude, for the most flourishing part of the innovators assisted them; but they had the chief regard to Eleazar, the governor of the temple.

3. Hereupon the men of power got together, and conferred with the high priests, as did also the principal of the Pharisees; and thinking all was at stake, and that their calamities were becoming incurable, took counsel what was to be done. Accordingly, they determined to try what they could do with the seditious by words, and assembled the people before the brazen gate, which was that gate of the inner temple [court of the priests] which looked toward the sun-rising. And, in the first place, they showed the great indignation they had at this attempt

for a revolt, and for their bringing so great a war upon their country; after which they confuted their pretense as unjustifiable, and told them that their forefathers had adorned their temple in great part with donations bestowed on them by foreigners, and had always received what had been presented to them from foreign nations; and that they had been so far from rejecting any person's sacrifice [which would be the highest instance of impiety,] that they had themselves placed those donation about the temple which were still visible, and had remained there so long a time; that they did now irritate the Romans to take arms against them, and invited them to make war upon them, and brought up novel rules of a strange Divine worship, and determined to run the hazard of having their city condemned for impiety, while they would not allow any foreigner, but Jews only, either to sacrifice or to worship therein. And if such a law should be introduced in the case of a single private person only, he would have indignation at it, as an instance of inhumanity determined against him; while they have no regard to the Romans or to Caesar, and forbid even their oblations to be received also; that however they cannot but fear, lest, by thus rejecting their sacrifices, they shall not be allowed to offer their own; and that this city will lose its principality, unless they grow wiser quickly, and restore the sacrifices as formerly, and indeed amend the injury [they have offered foreigners] before the report of it comes to the ears of those that have been injured.

4. And as they said these things, they produced those priests that were skillful in the customs of their country, who made the report that all their forefathers had received the sacrifices from foreign nations. But still not one of the innovators would hearken to what was said; nay, those that ministered about the temple would not attend their Divine service, but were preparing matters for beginning the war. So the men of power perceiving that the sedition was too hard for them to subdue, and that the danger which would arise from the Romans would come upon them first of all, endeavored to save themselves, and sent ambassadors, some to Florus, the chief of which was Simon the son of Ananias; and others to Agrippa, among whom the most eminent were Saul, and Antipas, and Costobarus, who were of the king's kindred; and they desired of them both that they would come with an army to the city, and cut off the seditious before it should be too hard to be subdued. Now this terrible message was good news to Florus; and because his design was to have a war kindled, he gave the ambassadors no answer at all. But Agrippa was equally solicitous for those that were revolting, and for those against whom the war was to be made, and was desirous to preserve the Jews for the Romans, and the temple and metropolis for the Jews; he was also sensible that it was not for his own advantage that the

disturbances should proceed; so he sent three thousand horsemen to the assistance of the people out of Auranitis, and Batanea, and Trachonitis, and these under Darius, the master of his horse, and Philip the son of Jacimus, the general of his army.

5. Upon this the men of power, with the high priests, as also all the part of the multitude that were desirous of peace, took courage, and seized upon the upper city [Mount Sion;] for the seditious part had the lower city and the temple in their power; so they made use of stones and slings perpetually against one another, and threw darts continually on both sides; and sometimes it happened that they made incursions by troops, and fought it out hand to hand, while the seditious were superior in boldness, but the king's soldiers in skill. These last strove chiefly to gain the temple, and to drive those out of it who profaned it; as did the seditious, with Eleazar, besides what they had already, labor to gain the upper city. Thus were there perpetual slaughters on both sides for seven days' time; but neither side would yield up the parts they had seized on.

6. Now the next day was the festival of Xylophory; upon which the custom was for every one to bring wood for the altar [that there might never be a want of fuel for that fire which was unquenchable and always burning]. Upon that day they excluded the opposite party from the observation of this part of religion. And when they had joined to themselves many of the Sicarii, who crowded in among the weaker people, [that was the name for such robbers as had under their bosoms swords called Sicae,] they grew bolder, and carried their undertaking further; insomuch that the king's soldiers were overpowered by their multitude and boldness; and so they gave way, and were driven out of the upper city by force. The others then set fire to the house of Ananias the high priest, and to the palaces of Agrippa and Bernice; after which they carried the fire to the place where the archives were reposited, and made haste to burn the contracts belonging to their creditors, and thereby to dissolve their obligations for paying their debts; and this was done in order to gain the multitude of those who had been debtors, and that they might persuade the poorer sort to join in their insurrection with safety against the more wealthy; so the keepers of the records fled away, and the rest set fire to them. And when they had thus burnt down the nerves of the city, they fell upon their enemies; at which time some of the men of power, and of the high priests, went into the vaults under ground, and concealed themselves, while others fled with the king's soldiers to the upper palace, and shut the gates immediately; among whom were Ananias the high priest, and the ambassadors that had been sent to Agrippa. And now the seditious were contented with the victory they had gotten, and the buildings they had burnt down, and proceeded no further.

7. But on the next day, which was the fifteenth of the month Lous, [Ab,] they made an assault upon Antonia, and besieged the garrison which was in it two days, and then took the garrison, and slew them, and set the citadel on fire; after which they marched to the palace, whither the king's soldiers were fled, and parted themselves into four bodies, and made an attack upon the walls. As for those that were within it, no one had the courage to sally out, because those that assaulted them were so numerous; but they distributed themselves into the breast-works and turrets, and shot at the besiegers, whereby many of the robbers fell under the walls; nor did they cease to fight one with another either by night or by day, while the seditious supposed that those within would grow weary for want of food, and those without supposed the others would do the like by the tediousness of the siege.

8. In the mean time, one Manahem, the son of Judas, that was called the Galilean, [who was a very cunning sophister, and had formerly reproached the Jews under Cyrenius, that after God they were subject to the Romans,] took some of the men of note with him, and retired to Masada, where he broke open king Herod's armory, and gave arms not only to his own people, but to other robbers also. These he made use of for a guard, and returned in the state of a king to Jerusalem; he became the leader of the sedition, and gave orders for continuing the siege; but they wanted proper instruments, and it was not practicable to undermine the wall, because the darts came down upon them from above. But still they dug a mine from a great distance under one of the towers, and made it totter; and having done that, they set on fire what was combustible, and left it; and when the foundations were burnt below, the tower fell down suddenly. Yet did they then meet with another wall that had been built within, for the besieged were sensible beforehand of what they were doing, and probably the tower shook as it was undermining; so they provided themselves of another fortification; which when the besiegers unexpectedly saw, while they thought they had already gained the place, they were under some consternation. However, those that were within sent to Manahem, and to the other leaders of the sedition, and desired they might go out upon a capitulation: this was granted to the king's soldiers and their own countrymen only, who went out accordingly; but the Romans that were left alone were greatly dejected, for they were not able to force their way through such a multitude; and to desire them to give them their right hand for their security, they thought it would be a reproach to them; and besides, if they should give it them, they durst not depend upon it; so they deserted their camp, as easily taken, and ran away to the royal towers, — that called Hippicus, that called Phasaelus, and that called Mariamne. But Manahem and his party fell upon the place whence the soldiers were fled, and slew as

many of them as they could catch, before they got up to the towers, and plundered what they left behind them, and set fire to their camp. This was executed on the sixth day of the month Gorpieus [Elul].

9. But on the next day the high priest was caught where he had concealed himself in an aqueduct; he was slain, together with Hezekiah his brother, by the robbers: hereupon the seditious besieged the towers, and kept them guarded, lest any one of the soldiers should escape. Now the overthrow of the places of strength, and the death of the high priest Ananias, so puffed up Manahem, that he became barbarously cruel; and as he thought he had no antagonist to dispute the management of affairs with him, he was no better than an insupportable tyrant; but Eleazar and his party, when words had passed between them, how it was not proper when they revolted from the Romans, out of the desire of liberty, to betray that liberty to any of their own people, and to bear a lord, who, though he should be guilty of no violence, was yet meaner than themselves; as also, that in case they were obliged to set some one over their public affairs, it was fitter they should give that privilege to any one rather than to him; they made an assault upon him in the temple; for he went up thither to worship in a pompous manner, and adorned with royal garments, and had his followers with him in their armor. But Eleazar and his party fell violently upon him, as did also the rest of the people; and taking up stones to attack him withal, they threw them at the sophister, and thought, that if he were once ruined, the entire sedition would fall to the ground. Now Manahem and his party made resistance for a while; but when they perceived that the whole multitude were falling upon them, they fled which way every one was able; those that were caught were slain, and those that hid themselves were searched for. A few there were of them who privately escaped to Masada, among whom was Eleazar, the son of Jairus, who was of kin to Manahem, and acted the part of a tyrant at Masada afterward. As for Manahem himself, he ran away to the place called Ophla, and there lay skulking in private; but they took him alive, and drew him out before them all; they then tortured him with many sorts of torments, and after all slew him, as they did by those that were captains under him also, and particularly by the principal instrument of his tyranny, whose name was Apsalom.

10. And, as I said, so far truly the people assisted them, while they hoped this might afford some amendment to the seditious practices; but the others were not in haste to put an end to the war, but hoped to prosecute it with less danger, now they had slain Manahem. It is true, that when the people earnestly desired that they would leave off besieging the soldiers, they were the more earnest in pressing it forward, and this till Metilius, who was the Roman general, sent to Eleazar, and desired that they would give them security to spare their lives only;

but agreed to deliver up their arms, and what else they had with them. The others readily complied with their petition, sent to them Gorion, the son of Nicodemus, and Ananias, the son of Sadduk, and Judas, the son of Jonathan, that they might give them the security Of their right hands, and of their oaths; after which Metilius brought down his soldiers; which soldiers, while they were in arms, were not meddled with by any of the seditious, nor was there any appearance of treachery; but as soon as, according to the articles of capitulation, they had all laid down their shields and their swords, and were under no further suspicion of any harm, but were going away, Eleazar's men attacked them after a violent manner, and encompassed them round, and slew them, while they neither defended themselves, nor entreated for mercy, but only cried out upon the breach of their articles of capitulation and their oaths. And thus were all these men barbarously murdered, excepting Metilius; for when he entreated for mercy, and promised that he would turn Jew, and be circumcised, they saved him alive, but none else. This loss to the Romans was but light, there being no more than a few slain out of an immense army; but still it appeared to be a prelude to the Jews' own destruction, while men made public lamentation when they saw that such occasions were afforded for a war as were incurable; that the city was all over polluted with such abominations, from which it was but reasonable to expect some vengeance, even though they should escape revenge from the Romans; so that the city was filled with sadness, and every one of the moderate men in it were under great disturbance, as likely themselves to undergo punishment for the wickedness of the seditious; for indeed it so happened that this murder was perpetrated on the sabbath day, on which day the Jews have a respite from their works on account of Divine worship.

CHAPTER 18.

The Calamities And Slaughters That Came Upon The Jews.

1. Now the people of Cesarea had slain the Jews that were among them on the very same day and hour [when the soldiers were slain], which one would think must have come to pass by the direction of Providence; insomuch that in one hour's time above twenty thousand Jews were killed, and all Cesarea was emptied of its Jewish inhabitants; for Florus caught such as ran away, and sent them in bonds to the galleys. Upon which stroke that the Jews received at Cesarea, the whole nation was greatly enraged; so they divided themselves into several parties, and laid waste the villages of the Syrians, and their neighboring cities, Philadelphia, and Sebonitis, and Gerasa, and Pella, and Scythopolis, and after them Gadara, and Hippos; and falling upon Gaulonitis, some cities they destroyed there, and some they set on fire, and then went to Kedasa, belonging to the Tyrians, and to Ptolemais, and to Gaba, and to Cesarea; nor was either Sebaste [Samaria] or Askelon able to oppose the violence with which they were attacked; and when they had burnt these to the ground; they entirely demolished Anthedon and Gaza; many also of the villages that were about every one of those cities were plundered, and an immense slaughter was made of the men who were caught in them.

2. However, the Syrians were even with the Jews in the multitude of the men whom they slew; for they killed those whom they caught in their cities, and that not only out of the hatred they bare them, as formerly, but to prevent the danger under which they were from them; so that the disorders in all Syria were terrible, and every city was divided into two armies, encamped one against another, and the preservation of the one party was in the destruction of the other; so the day time was spent in shedding of blood, and the night in fear, which was of the two the more terrible; for when the Syrians thought they had ruined the Jews, they had the Judaizers in suspicion also; and as each side did not care to slay those whom they only suspected on the other, so did they greatly fear them when they were mingled with the other, as if they were certainly foreigners. Moreover, greediness of gain was a provocation to kill the opposite party, even to such as had of old appeared very mild and gentle towards them; for they without fear plundered the effects of the slain, and carried off the spoils of those whom they slew to their own houses, as if they had been gained in a set battle; and he was esteemed a man of honor who got the greatest share, as having prevailed over the greatest number of his enemies. It was then common to see cities filled with

dead bodies, still lying unburied, and those of old men, mixed with infants, all dead, and scattered about together; women also lay amongst them, without any covering for their nakedness: you might then see the whole province full of inexpressible calamities, while the dread of still more barbarous practices which were threatened was every where greater than what had been already perpetrated.

3. And thus far the conflict had been between Jews and foreigners; but when they made excursions to Scythopolis, they found Jew that acted as enemies; for as they stood in battle-array with those of Scythopolis, and preferred their own safety before their relation to us, they fought against their own countrymen; nay, their alacrity was so very great, that those of Scythopolis suspected them. These were afraid, therefore, lest they should make an assault upon the city in the night time, and, to their great misfortune, should thereby make an apology for themselves to their own people for their revolt from them. So they commanded them, that in case they would confirm their agreement and demonstrate their fidelity to them, who were of a different nation, they should go out of the city, with their families to a neighboring grove; and when they had done as they were commanded, without suspecting any thing, the people of Scythopolis lay still for the interval of two days, to tempt them to be secure; but on the third night they watched their opportunity, and cut all their throats, some as they lay unguarded, and some as they lay asleep. The number that was slain was above thirteen thousand, and then they plundered them of all that they had.

4. It will deserve our relation what befell Simon; he was the son of one Saul, a man of reputation among the Jews. This man was distinguished from the rest by the strength of his body, and the boldness of his conduct, although he abused them both to the mischieving of his countrymen; for he came every day and slew a great many of the Jews of Scythopolis, and he frequently put them to flight, and became himself alone the cause of his army's conquering. But a just punishment overtook him for the murders he had committed upon those of the same nation with him; for when the people of Scythopolis threw their darts at them in the grove, he drew his sword, but did not attack any of the enemy; for he saw that he could do nothing against such a multitude; but he cried out after a very moving manner, and said, "O you people of Scythopolis, I deservedly suffer for what I have done with relation to you, when I gave you such security of my fidelity to you, by slaying so many of those that were related to me. Wherefore we very justly experience the perfidiousness of foreigners, while we acted after a most wicked manner against our own nation. I will therefore die, polluted wretch as I am, by mine own hands; for it is not fit I should die by the hand of our enemies; and let the same action be to me both a punishment for my

great crimes, and a testimony of my courage to my commendation, that so no one of our enemies may have it to brag of, that he it was that slew me, and no one may insult upon me as I fall." Now when he had said this, he looked round about him upon his family with eyes of commiseration and of rage [that family consisted of a wife and children, and his aged parents]; so, in the first place, he caught his father by his grey hairs, and ran his sword through him, and after him he did the same to his mother, who willingly received it; and after them he did the like to his wife and children, every one almost offering themselves to his sword, as desirous to prevent being slain by their enemies; so when he had gone over all his family, he stood upon their bodies to be seen by all, and stretching out his right hand, that his action might be observed by all, he sheathed his entire sword into his own bowels. This young man was to be pitied, on account of the strength of his body and the courage of his soul; but since he had assured foreigners of his fidelity [against his own countrymen], he suffered deservedly.

5. Besides this murder at Scythopolis, the other cities rose up against the Jews that were among them; those of Askelon slew two thousand five hundred, and those of Ptolemais two thousand, and put not a few into bonds; those of Tyre also put a great number to death, but kept a greater number in prison; moreover, those of Hippos, and those of Gadara, did the like while they put to death the boldest of the Jews, but kept those of whom they were afraid in custody; as did the rest of the cities of Syria, according as they every one either hated them or were afraid of them; only the Antiochtans the Sidontans, and Apamians spared those that dwelt with them, and would not endure either to kill any of the Jews, or to put them in bonds. And perhaps they spared them, because their own number was so great that they despised their attempts. But I think the greatest part of this favor was owing to their commiseration of those whom they saw to make no innovations. As for the Gerasans, they did no harm to those that abode with them; and for those who had a mind to go away, they conducted them as far as their borders reached.

6. There was also a plot laid against the Jews in Agrippa's kingdom; for he was himself gone to Cestius Gallus, to Antioch, but had left one of his companions, whose name was Noarus, to take care of the public affairs; which Noarus was of kin to king Sohemus. Now there came certain men seventy in number, out of Batanea, who were the most considerable for their families and prudence of the rest of the people; these desired to have an army put into their hands, that if any tumult should happen, they might have about them a guard sufficient to restrain such as might rise up against them. This Noarus sent out some of the king's armed men by night, and slew all those [seventy] men; which bold action he ventured upon without the consent of Agrippa, and was such a

lover of money, that he chose to be so wicked to his own countrymen, though he brought ruin on the kingdom thereby; and thus cruelly did he treat that nation, and this contrary to the laws also, until Agrippa was informed of it, who did not indeed dare to put him to death, out of regard to Sohemus; but still he put an end to his procuratorship immediately. But as to the seditious, they took the citadel which was called Cypros, and was above Jericho, and cut the throats of the garrison, and utterly demolished the fortifications. This was about the same time that the multitude of the Jews that were at Machaerus persuaded the Romans who were in garrison to leave the place, and deliver it up to them. These Romans being in great fear, lest the place should be taken by force, made an agreement with them to depart upon certain conditions; and when they had obtained the security they desired, they delivered up the citadel, into which the people of Machaerus put a garrison for their own security, and held it in their own power.

7. But for Alexandria, the sedition of the people of the place against the Jews was perpetual, and this from that very time when Alexander [the Great], upon finding the readiness of the Jews in assisting him against the Egyptians, and as a reward for such their assistance, gave them equal privileges in this city with the Grecians themselves; which honorary reward Continued among them under his successors, who also set apart for them a particular place, that they might live without being polluted [by the Gentiles], and were thereby not so much intermixed with foreigners as before; they also gave them this further privilege, that they should be called Macedonians. Nay, when the Romans got possession of Egypt, neither the first Caesar, nor any one that came after him, thought of diminishing the honors which Alexander had bestowed on the Jews. But still conflicts perpetually arose with the Grecians; and although the governors did every day punish many of them, yet did the sedition grow worse; but at this time especially, when there were tumults in other places also, the disorders among them were put into a greater flame; for when the Alexandrians had once a public assembly, to deliberate about an embassage they were sending to Nero, a great number of Jews came flocking to the theater; but when their adversaries saw them, they immediately cried out, and called them their enemies, and said they came as spies upon them; upon which they rushed out, and laid violent hands upon them; and as for the rest, they were slain as they ran away; but there were three men whom they caught, and hauled them along, in order to have them burnt alive; but all the Jews came in a body to defend them, who at first threw stones at the Grecians, but after that they took lamps, and rushed with violence into the theater, and threatened that they would burn the people to a man; and this they had soon done, unless Tiberius Alexander, the governor of the city, had restrained their passions. However, this man did not begin to teach them wisdom

by arms, but sent among them privately some of the principal men, and thereby entreated them to be quiet, and not provoke the Roman army against them; but the seditious made a jest of the entreaties of Tiberius, and reproached him for so doing.

8. Now when he perceived that those who were for innovations would not be pacified till some great calamity should overtake them, he sent out upon them those two Roman legions that were in the city, and together with them five thousand other soldiers, who, by chance, were come together out of Libya, to the ruin of the Jews. They were also permitted not only to kill them, but to plunder them of what they had, and to set fire to their houses. These soldiers rushed violently into that part of the city that was called Delta, where the Jewish people lived together, and did as they were bidden, though not without bloodshed on their own side also; for the Jews got together, and set those that were the best armed among them in the forefront, and made a resistance for a great while; but when once they gave back, they were destroyed unmercifully; and this their destruction was complete, some being caught in the open field, and others forced into their houses, which houses were first plundered of what was in them, and then set on fire by the Romans; wherein no mercy was shown to the infants, and no regard had to the aged; but they went on in the slaughter of persons of every age, till all the place was overflowed with blood, and fifty thousand of them lay dead upon heaps; nor had the remainder been preserved, had they not be-taken themselves to supplication. So Alexander commiserated their condition, and gave orders to the Romans to retire; accordingly, these being accustomed to obey orders, left off killing at the first intimation; but the populace of Alexandria bare so very great hatred to the Jews, that it was difficult to recall them, and it was a hard thing to make them leave their dead bodies.

9. And this was the miserable calamity which at this time befell the Jews at Alexandria. Hereupon Cestius thought fit no longer to lie still, while the Jews were everywhere up in arms; so he took out of Antioch the twelfth legion entire, and out of each of the rest he selected two thousand, with six cohorts of footmen, and four troops of horsemen, besides those auxiliaries which were sent by the kings; of which Antiochus sent two thousand horsemen, and three thousand footmen, with as many archers; and Agrippa sent the same number of footmen, and one thousand horsemen; Sohemus also followed with four thousand, a third part whereof were horsemen, but most part were archers, and thus did he march to Ptolemais. There were also great numbers of auxiliaries gathered together from the [free] cities, who indeed had not the same skill in martial affairs, but made up in their alacrity and in their hatred to the Jews what they wanted in skill. There came also along with Cestius Agrippa himself, both as a guide in his

march over the country, and a director what was fit to be done; so Cestius took part of his forces, and marched hastily to Zabulon, a strong city of Galilee, which was called the City of Men, and divides the country of Ptolemais from our nation; this he found deserted by its men, the multitude having fled to the mountains, but full of all sorts of good things; those he gave leave to the soldiers to plunder, and set fire to the city, although it was of admirable beauty, and had its houses built like those in Tyre, and Sidon, and Berytus. After this he overran all the country, and seized upon whatsoever came in his way, and set fire to the villages that were round about them, and then returned to Ptolemais. But when the Syrians, and especially those of Berytus, were busy in plundering, the Jews pulled up their courage again, for they knew that Cestius was retired, and fell upon those that were left behind unexpectedly, and destroyed about two thousand of them.

10. And now Cestius himself marched from Ptolemais, and came to Cesarea; but he sent part of his army before him to Joppa, and gave order, that if they could take that city [by surprise] they should keep it; but that in case the citizens should perceive they were coming to attack them, that they then should stay for him, and for the rest of the army. So some of them made a brisk march by the sea-side, and some by land, and so coming upon them on both sides, they took the city with ease; and as the inhabitants had made no provision beforehand for a flight, nor had gotten any thing ready for fighting, the soldiers fell upon them, and slew them all, with their families, and then plundered and burnt the city. The number of the slain was eight thousand four hundred. In like manner, Cestius sent also a considerable body of horsemen to the toparchy of Narbatene, that adjoined to Cesarea, who destroyed the country, and slew a great multitude of its people; they also plundered what they had, and burnt their villages.

11. But Cestius sent Gallus, the commander of the twelfth legion, into Galilee, and delivered to him as many of his forces as he supposed sufficient to subdue that nation. He was received by the strongest city of Galilee, which was Sepphoris, with acclamations of joy; which wise conduct of that city occasioned the rest of the cities to be in quiet; while the seditious part and the robbers ran away to that mountain which lies in the very middle of Galilee, and is situated over against Sepphoris; it is called Asamon. So Gallus brought his forces against them; but while those men were in the superior parts above the Romans, they easily threw their darts upon the Romans, as they made their approaches, and slew about two hundred of them. But when the Romans had gone round the mountains, and were gotten into the parts above their enemies, the others were soon beaten; nor could they who had only light armor on sustain the force of them that fought them armed all over; nor when they were beaten could they

escape the enemies' horsemen; insomuch that only some few concealed themselves in certain places hard to be come at, among the mountains, while the rest, above two thousand in number, were slain.

CHAPTER 19.

What Cestius Did Against The Jews; And How, Upon His Besieging Jerusalem, He Retreated From The City Without Any Just Occasion In The World. As Also What Severe Calamities He Under Went From The Jews In His Retreat.

1. And now Gallus, seeing nothing more that looked towards an innovation in Galilee, returned with his army to Cesarea: but Cestius removed with his whole army, and marched to Antipatris; and when he was informed that there was a great body of Jewish forces gotten together in a certain tower called Aphek, he sent a party before to fight them; but this party dispersed the Jews by affrighting them before it came to a battle: so they came, and finding their camp deserted, they burnt it, as well as the villages that lay about it. But when Cestius had marched from Antipatris to Lydda, he found the city empty of its men, for the whole multitude were gone up to Jerusalem to the feast of tabernacles; yet did he destroy fifty of those that showed themselves, and burnt the city, and so marched forwards; and ascending by Betboron, he pitched his camp at a certain place called Gabao, fifty furlongs distant from Jerusalem.

2. But as for the Jews, when they saw the war approaching to their metropolis, they left the feast, and betook themselves to their arms; and taking courage greatly from their multitude, went in a sudden and disorderly manner to the fight, with a great noise, and without any consideration had of the rest of the seventh day, although the Sabbath was the day to which they had the greatest regard; but that rage which made them forget the religious observation [of the sabbath] made them too hard for their enemies in the fight: with such violence therefore did they fall upon the Romans, as to break into their ranks, and to march through the midst of them, making a great slaughter as they went, insomuch that unless the horsemen, and such part of the footmen as were not yet tired in the action, had wheeled round, and succored that part of the army which was not yet broken, Cestius, with his whole army, had been in danger: however, five hundred and fifteen of the Romans were slain, of which number four hundred were footmen, and the rest horsemen, while the Jews lost only twenty-two, of whom the most valiant were the kinsmen of Monobazus, king of Adiabene, and their names were Monobazus and Kenedeus; and next to them were Niger of Perea, and Silas of Babylon, who had deserted from king Agrippa to the Jews; for he had formerly served in his army. When the front of the Jewish army had been cut off, the Jews retired into the city; but still Simon, the son of

Giora, fell upon the backs of the Romans, as they were ascending up Bethoron, and put the hindmost of the army into disorder, and carried off many of the beasts that carried the weapons of war, and led Shem into the city. But as Cestius tarried there three days, the Jews seized upon the elevated parts of the city, and set watches at the entrances into the city, and appeared openly resolved not to rest when once the Romans should begin to march.

3. And now when Agrippa observed that even the affairs of the Romans were likely to be in danger, while such an immense multitude of their enemies had seized upon the mountains round about, he determined to try what the Jews would agree to by words, as thinking that he should either persuade them all to desist from fighting, or, however, that he should cause the sober part of them to separate themselves from the opposite party. So he sent Borceus and Phebus, the persons of his party that were the best known to them, and promised them that Cestius should give them his right hand, to secure them of the Romans' entire forgiveness of what they had done amiss, if they would throw away their arms, and come over to them; but the seditious, fearing lest the whole multitude, in hopes of security to themselves, should go over to Agrippa, resolved immediately to fall upon and kill the ambassadors; accordingly they slew Phebus before he said a word, but Borceus was only wounded, and so prevented his fate by flying away. And when the people were very angry at this, they had the seditious beaten with stones and clubs, and drove them before them into the city.

4. But now Cestius, observing that the disturbances that were begun among the Jews afforded him a proper opportunity to attack them, took his whole army along with him, and put the Jews to flight, and pursued them to Jerusalem. He then pitched his camp upon the elevation called Scopus, [or watch-tower,] which was distant seven furlongs from the city; yet did not he assault them in three days' time, out of expectation that those within might perhaps yield a little; and in the mean time he sent out a great many of his soldiers into neighboring villages, to seize upon their corn. And on the fourth day, which was the thirtieth of the month Hyperbereteus, [Tisri,] when he had put his army in array, he brought it into the city. Now for the people, they were kept under by the seditious; but the seditious themselves were greatly affrighted at the good order of the Romans, and retired from the suburbs, and retreated into the inner part of the city, and into the temple. But when Cestius was come into the city, he set the part called Bezetha, which is called Cenopolis, [or the new city,] on fire; as he did also to the timber market; after which he came into the upper city, and pitched his camp over against the royal palace; and had he but at this very time attempted to get within the walls by force, he had won the city presently, and the war had been put an end to at once; but Tyrannius Priseus, the muster-master of

the army, and a great number of the officers of the horse, had been corrupted by Florus, and diverted him from that his attempt; and that was the occasion that this war lasted so very long, and thereby the Jews were involved in such incurable calamities.

5. In the mean time, many of the principal men of the city were persuaded by Ananus, the son of Jonathan, and invited Cestius into the city, and were about to open the gates for him; but he overlooked this offer, partly out of his anger at the Jews, and partly because he did not thoroughly believe they were in earnest; whence it was that he delayed the matter so long, that the seditious perceived the treachery, and threw Ananus and those of his party down from the wall, and, pelting them with stones, drove them into their houses; but they stood themselves at proper distances in the towers, and threw their darts at those that were getting over the wall. Thus did the Romans make their attack against the wall for five days, but to no purpose. But on the next day Cestius took a great many of his choicest men, and with them the archers, and attempted to break into the temple at the northern quarter of it; but the Jews beat them off from the cloisters, and repulsed them several times when they were gotten near to the wall, till at length the multitude of the darts cut them off, and made them retire; but the first rank of the Romans rested their shields upon the wall, and so did those that were behind them, and the like did those that were still more backward, and guarded themselves with what they call Testudo, [the back of] a tortoise, upon which the darts that were thrown fell, and slided off without doing them any harm; so the soldiers undermined the wall, without being themselves hurt, and got all things ready for setting fire to the gate of the temple.

6. And now it was that a horrible fear seized upon the seditious, insomuch that many of them ran out of the city, as though it were to be taken immediately; but the people upon this took courage, and where the wicked part of the city gave ground, thither did they come, in order to set open the gates, and to admit Cestius as their benefactor, who, had he but continued the siege a little longer, had certainly taken the city; but it was, I suppose, owing to the aversion God had already at the city and the sanctuary, that he was hindered from putting an end to the war that very day.

7. It then happened that Cestius was not conscious either how the besieged despaired of success, nor how courageous the people were for him; and so he recalled his soldiers from the place, and by despairing of any expectation of taking it, without having received any disgrace, he retired from the city, without any reason in the world. But when the robbers perceived this unexpected retreat of his, they resumed their courage, and ran after the hinder parts of his army, and destroyed a considerable number of both their horsemen and footmen; and now

Cestius lay all night at the camp which was at Scopus; and as he went off farther next day, he thereby invited the enemy to follow him, who still fell upon the hindmost, and destroyed them; they also fell upon the flank on each side of the army, and threw darts upon them obliquely, nor durst those that were hindmost turn back upon those who wounded them behind, as imagining that the multitude of those that pursued them was immense; nor did they venture to drive away those that pressed upon them on each side, because they were heavy with their arms, and were afraid of breaking their ranks to pieces, and because they saw the Jews were light, and ready for making incursions upon them. And this was the reason why the Romans suffered greatly, without being able to revenge themselves upon their enemies; so they were galled all the way, and their ranks were put into disorder, and those that were thus put out of their ranks were slain; among whom were Priscus, the commander of the sixth legion, and Longinus, the tribune, and Emilius Secundus, the commander of a troop of horsemen. So it was not without difficulty that they got to Gabao, their former camp, and that not without the loss of a great part of their baggage. There it was that Cestius staid two days, and was in great distress to know what he should do in these circumstances; but when on the third day he saw a still much greater number of enemies, and all the parts round about him full of Jews, he understood that his delay was to his own detriment, and that if he staid any longer there, he should have still more enemies upon him.

8. That therefore he might fly the faster, he gave orders to cast away what might hinder his army's march; so they killed the mules and other creatures, excepting those that carried their darts and machines, which they retained for their own use, and this principally because they were afraid lest the Jews should seize upon them. He then made his army march on as far as Bethoron. Now the Jews did not so much press upon them when they were in large open places; but when they were penned up in their descent through narrow passages, then did some of them get before, and hindered them from getting out of them; and others of them thrust the hinder-most down into the lower places; and the whole multitude extended themselves over against the neck of the passage, and covered the Roman army with their darts. In which circumstances, as the footmen knew not how to defend themselves, so the danger pressed the horsemen still more, for they were so pelted, that they could not march along the road in their ranks, and the ascents were so high, that the cavalry were not able to march against the enemy; the precipices also and valleys into which they frequently fell, and tumbled down, were such on each side of them, that there was neither place for their flight, nor any contrivance could be thought of for their defense; till the distress they were at last in was so great, that they betook themselves to

lamentations, and to such mournful cries as men use in the utmost despair: the joyful acclamations of the Jews also, as they encouraged one another, echoed the sounds back again, these last composing a noise of those that at once rejoiced and were in a rage. Indeed, things were come to such a pass, that the Jews had almost taken Cestius's entire army prisoners, had not the night come on, when the Romans fled to Bethoron, and the Jews seized upon all the places round about them, and watched for their coming out [in the morning].

9. And then it was that Cestius, despairing of obtaining room for a public march, contrived how he might best run away; and when he had selected four hundred of the most courageous of his soldiers, he placed them at the strongest of their fortifications, and gave order, that when they went up to the morning guard, they should erect their ensigns, that the Jews might be made to believe that the entire army was there still, while he himself took the rest of his forces with him, and marched, without any noise, thirty furlongs. But when the Jews perceived, in the morning, that the camp was empty, they ran upon those four hundred who had deluded them, and immediately threw their darts at them, and slew them; and then pursued after Cestius. But he had already made use of a great part of the night in his flight, and still marched quicker when it was day; insomuch that the soldiers, through the astonishment and fear they were in, left behind them their engines for sieges, and for throwing of stones, and a great part of the instruments of war. So the Jews went on pursuing the Romans as far as Antipatris; after which, seeing they could not overtake them, they came back, and took the engines, and spoiled the dead bodies, and gathered the prey together which the Romans had left behind them, and came back running and singing to their metropolis; while they had themselves lost a few only, but had slain of the Romans five thousand and three hundred footmen, and three hundred and eighty horsemen. This defeat happened on the eighth day of the month Dius, [Marchesvan,] in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero.

CHAPTER 20.

Cestius Sends Ambassadors To Nero. The People Of Damascus Slay Those Jews That Lived With Them. The People Of

Jerusalem After They Had [Left Off] Pursuing Cestius, Return To The City And Get Things Ready For Its Defense And Make A Great Many Generals For Their Armies And Particularly

Josephus The Writer Of These Books. Some Account Of His

Administration.

1. After this calamity had befallen Cestius, many of the most eminent of the Jews swam away from the city, as from a ship when it was going to sink; Costobarus, therefore, and Saul, who were brethren, together with Philip, the son of Jacimus, who was the commander of king Agrippa's forces, ran away from the city, and went to Cestius. But then how Antipas, who had been besieged with them in the king's palace, but would not fly away with them, was afterward slain by the seditious, we shall relate hereafter. However, Cestius sent Saul and his friends, at their own desire, to Achaia, to Nero, to inform him of the great distress they were in, and to lay the blame of their kindling the war upon Florus, as hoping to alleviate his own danger, by provoking his indignation against Florus.

2. In the mean time, the people of Damascus, when they were informed of the destruction of the Romans, set about the slaughter of those Jews that were among them; and as they had them already cooped up together in the place of public exercises, which they had done out of the suspicion they had of them, they thought they should meet with no difficulty in the attempt; yet did they distrust their own wives, which were almost all of them addicted to the Jewish religion; on which account it was that their greatest concern was, how they might conceal these things from them; so they came upon the Jews, and cut their throats, as being in a narrow place, in number ten thousand, and all of them unarmed, and this in one hour's time, without any body to disturb them.

3. But as to those who had pursued after Cestius, when they were returned back to Jerusalem, they overbore some of those that favored the Romans by violence, and some them persuaded [by en-treaties] to join with them, and got together in great numbers in the temple, and appointed a great many generals for the war. Joseph also, the son of Gorion, and Ananus the high priest, were chosen as governors of all affairs within the city, and with a particular charge to repair the walls of the city; for they did not ordain Eleazar the son of Simon to that

office, although he had gotten into his possession the prey they had taken from the Romans, and the money they had taken from Cestius, together with a great part of the public treasures, because they saw he was of a tyrannical temper, and that his followers were, in their behavior, like guards about him. However, the want they were in of Eleazar's money, and the subtle tricks used by him, brought all so about, that the people were circumvented, and submitted themselves to his authority in all public affairs.

4. They also chose other generals for Idumea; Jesus, the son of Sapphias, one of the high priests; and Eleazar, the son of Ananias, the high priest; they also enjoined Niger, the then governor of Idumea, who was of a family that belonged to Perea, beyond Jordan, and was thence called the Peraite, that he should be obedient to those fore-named commanders. Nor did they neglect the care of other parts of the country; but Joseph the son of Simon was sent as general to Jericho, as was Manasseh to Perea, and John, the Esscue, to the toparchy of Thamna; Lydda was also added to his portion, and Joppa, and Emmaus. But John, the son of Matthias, was made governor of the toparchies of Gophnitica and Acrabattene; as was Josephus, the son of Matthias, of both the Galilees. Gamala also, which was the strongest city in those parts, was put under his command.

5. So every one of the other commanders administered the affairs of his portion with that alacrity and prudence they were masters of; but as to Josephus, when he came into Galilee, his first care was to gain the good-will of the people of that country, as sensible that he should thereby have in general good success, although he should fail in other points. And being conscious to himself that if he communicated part of his power to the great men, he should make them his fast friends; and that he should gain the same favor from the multitude, if he executed his commands by persons of their own country, and with whom they were well acquainted; he chose out seventy of the most prudent men, and those elders in age, and appointed them to be rulers of all Galilee, as he chose seven judges in every city to hear the lesser quarrels; for as to the greater causes, and those wherein life and death were concerned, he enjoined they should be brought to him and the seventy elders.

6. Josephus also, when he had settled these rules for determining causes by the law, with regard to the people's dealings one with another, betook himself to make provisions for their safety against external violence; and as he knew the Romans would fall upon Galilee, he built walls in proper places about Jotapata, and Bersabee, and Selamis; and besides these, about Capharecchо, and Japha, and Sigo, and what they call Mount Tabor, and Taricheae, and Tiberias. Moreover, he built walls about the caves near the lake of Gennesar, which places

lay in the Lower Galilee; the same he did to the places of Upper Galilee, as well as to the rock called the Rock of the Achabari, and to Seph, and Jamnith, and Meroth; and in Gaulonitis he fortified Seleucia, and Sogane, and Gamala; but as to those of Sepphoris, they were the only people to whom he gave leave to build their own walls, and this because he perceived they were rich and wealthy, and ready to go to war, without standing in need of any injunctions for that purpose. The case was the same with Gischala, which had a wall built about it by John the son of Levi himself, but with the consent of Josephus; but for the building of the rest of the fortresses, he labored together with all the other builders, and was present to give all the necessary orders for that purpose. He also got together an army out of Galilee, of more than a hundred thousand young men, all of which he armed with the old weapons which he had collected together and prepared for them.

7. And when he had considered that the Roman power became invincible, chiefly by their readiness in obeying orders, and the constant exercise of their arms, he despaired of teaching these his men the use of their arms, which was to be obtained by experience; but observing that their readiness in obeying orders was owing to the multitude of their officers, he made his partitions in his army more after the Roman manner, and appointed a great many subalterns. He also distributed the soldiers into various classes, whom he put under captains of tens, and captains of hundreds, and then under captains of thousands; and besides these, he had commanders of larger bodies of men. He also taught them to give the signals one to another, and to call and recall the soldiers by the trumpets, how to expand the wings of an army, and make them wheel about; and when one wing hath had success, to turn again and assist those that were hard set, and to join in the defense of what had most suffered. He also continually instructed them in what concerned the courage of the soul, and the hardiness of the body; and, above all, he exercised them for war, by declaring to them distinctly the good order of the Romans, and that they were to fight with men who, both by the strength of their bodies and courage of their souls, had conquered in a manner the whole habitable earth. He told them that he should make trial of the good order they would observe in war, even before it came to any battle, in case they would abstain from the crimes they used to indulge themselves in, such as theft, and robbery, and rapine, and from defrauding their own countrymen, and never to esteem the harm done to those that were so near of kin to them to be any advantage to themselves; for that wars are then managed the best when the warriors preserve a good conscience; but that such as are ill men in private life will not only have those for enemies which attack them, but God himself also for their antagonist.

8. And thus did he continue to admonish them. Now he chose for the war such an army as was sufficient, *i.e.* sixty thousand footmen, and two hundred and fifty horsemen; and besides these, on which he put the greatest trust, there were about four thousand five hundred mercenaries; he had also six hundred men as guards of his body. Now the cities easily maintained the rest of his army, excepting the mercenaries, for every one of the cities enumerated above sent out half their men to the army, and retained the other half at home, in order to get provisions for them; insomuch that the one part went to the war, and the other part to their work, and so those that sent out their corn were paid for it by those that were in arms, by that security which they enjoyed from them.

CHAPTER 21.

Concerning John Of Gichala. Josephus Uses Stratagems Against The Plots John Laid Against Him And Recovers Certain Cities Which Had Revolted From Him.

1. Now as Josephus was thus engaged in the administration of the affairs of Galilee, there arose a treacherous person, a man of Gischala, the son of Levi, whose name was John. His character was that of a very cunning and very knavish person, beyond the ordinary rate of the other men of eminence there, and for wicked practices he had not his fellow any where. Poor he was at first, and for a long time his wants were a hinderance to him in his wicked designs. He was a ready liar, and yet very sharp in gaining credit to his fictions: he thought it a point of virtue to delude people, and would delude even such as were the dearest to him. He was a hypocritical pretender to humanity, but where he had hopes of gain, he spared not the shedding of blood: his desires were ever carried to great things, and he encouraged his hopes from those mean wicked tricks which he was the author of. He had a peculiar knack at thieving; but in some time he got certain companions in his impudent practices; at first they were but few, but as he proceeded on in his evil course, they became still more and more numerous. He took care that none of his partners should be easily caught in their rogueries, but chose such out of the rest as had the strongest constitutions of body, and the greatest courage of soul, together with great skill in martial affairs; as he got together a band of four hundred men, who came principally out of the country of Tyre, and were vagabonds that had run away from its villages; and by the means of these he laid waste all Galilee, and irritated a considerable number, who were in great expectation of a war then suddenly to arise among them.

2. However, John's want of money had hitherto restrained him in his ambition after command, and in his attempts to advance himself. But when he saw that Josephus was highly pleased with the activity of his temper, he persuaded him, in the first place, to intrust him with the repairing of the walls of his native city, [Gischala,] in which work he got a great deal of money from the rich citizens. He after that contrived a very shrewd trick, and pretending that the Jews who dwelt in Syria were obliged to make use of oil that was made by others than those of their own nation, he desired leave of Josephus to send oil to their borders; so he bought four amphorae with such Tyrian money as was of the value of four Attic drachmae, and sold every half-amphora at the same price. And as Galilee was very fruitful in oil, and was peculiarly so at that time, by

sending away great quantities, and having the sole privilege so to do, he gathered an immense sum of money together, which money he immediately used to the disadvantage of him who gave him that privilege; and, as he supposed, that if he could once overthrow Josephus, he should himself obtain the government of Galilee; so he gave orders to the robbers that were under his command to be more zealous in their thievish expeditions, that by the rise of many that desired innovations in the country, he might either catch their general in his snares, as he came to the country's assistance, and then kill him; or if he should overlook the robbers, he might accuse him for his negligence to the people of the country. He also spread abroad a report far and near that Josephus was delivering up the administration of affairs to the Romans; and many such plots did he lay, in order to ruin him.

3. Now at the same time that certain young men of the village Dabaritta, who kept guard in the Great Plain laid snares for Ptolemy, who was Agrippa's and Bernice's steward, and took from him all that he had with him; among which things there were a great many costly garments, and no small number of silver cups, and six hundred pieces of gold; yet were they not able to conceal what they had stolen, but brought it all to Josephus, to Taricheae. Hereupon he blamed them for the violence they had offered to the king and queen, and deposited what they brought to him with Eneas, the most potent man of Taricheae, with an intention of sending the things back to the owners at a proper time; which act of Josephus brought him into the greatest danger; for those that had stolen the things had an indignation at him, both because they gained no share of it for themselves, and because they perceived beforehand what was Josephus's intention, and that he would freely deliver up what had cost them so much pains to the king and queen. These ran away by night to their several villages, and declared to all men that Josephus was going to betray them: they also raised great disorders in all the neighboring cities, insomuch that in the morning a hundred thousand armed men came running together; which multitude was crowded together in the hippodrome at Taricheae, and made a very peevish clamor against him; while some cried out, that they should depose the traitor; and others, that they should burn him. Now John irritated a great many, as did also one Jesus, the son of Sapphias, who was then governor of Tiberias. Then it was that Josephus's friends, and the guards of his body, were so affrighted at this violent assault of the multitude, that they all fled away but four; and as he was asleep, they awaked him, as the people were going to set fire to the house. And although those four that remained with him persuaded him to run away, he was neither surprised at his being himself deserted, nor at the great multitude that came against him, but leaped out to them with his clothes rent, and ashes

sprinkled on his head, with his hands behind him, and his sword hanging at his neck. At this sight his friends, especially those of Taricheae, commiserated his condition; but those that came out of the country, and those in their neighborhood, to whom his government seemed burdensome, reproached him, and bid him produce the money which belonged to them all immediately, and to confess the agreement he had made to betray them; for they imagined, from the habit in which he appeared, that he would deny nothing of what they suspected concerning him, and that it was in order to obtain pardon that he had put himself entirely into so pitiable a posture. But this humble appearance was only designed as preparatory to a stratagem of his, who thereby contrived to set those that were so angry at him at variance one with another about the things they were angry at. However, he promised he would confess all: hereupon he was permitted to speak, when he said, "I did neither intend to send this money back to Agrippa, nor to gain it myself; for I did never esteem one that was your enemy to be my friend, nor did I look upon what would tend to your disadvantage to be my advantage. But, O you people of Tarieheae, I saw that your city stood in more need than others of fortifications for your security, and that it wanted money in order for the building it a wall. I was also afraid lest the people of Tiberias and other cities should lay a plot to seize upon these spoils, and therefore it was that I intended to retain this money privately, that I might encompass you with a wall. But if this does not please you, I will produce what was brought me, and leave it to you to plunder it; but if I have conducted myself so well as to please you, you may if you please punish your benefactor."

4. Hereupon the people of Taricheae loudly commended him; but those of Tiberias, with the rest of the company, gave him hard names, and threatened what they would do to him; so both sides left off quarrelling with Josephus, and fell on quarrelling with one another. So he grew bold upon the dependence he had on his friends, which were the people of Taricheae, and about forty thousand in number, and spake more freely to the whole multitude, and reproached them greatly for their rashness; and told them, that with this money he would build walls about Taricheae, and would put the other cities in a state of security also; for that they should not want money, if they would but agree for whose benefit it was to be procured, and would not suffer themselves to be irritated against him who procured it for them.

5. Hereupon the rest of the multitude that had been deluded retired; but yet so that they went away angry, and two thousand of them made an assault upon him in their armor; and as he was already gone to his own house, they stood without and threatened him. On which occasion Josephus again used a second stratagem to escape them; for he got upon the top of his house, and with his right hand

desired them to be silent, and said to them, “I cannot tell what you would have, nor can hear what you say, for the confused noise you make;” but he said that he would comply with all their demands, in case they would but send some of their number in to him that might talk with him about it. And when the principal of them, with their leaders, heard this, they came into the house. He then drew them to the most retired part of the house, and shut the door of that hall where he put them, and then had them whipped till every one of their inward parts appeared naked. In the mean time the multitude stood round the house, and supposed that he had a long discourse with those that were gone in about what they claimed of him. He had then the doors set open immediately, and sent the men out all bloody, which so terribly affrighted those that had before threatened him, that they threw away their arms and ran away.

6. But as for John, his envy grew greater [upon this escape of Josephus], and he framed a new plot against him; he pretended to be sick, and by a letter desired that Josephus would give him leave to use the hot baths that were at Tiberias, for the recovery of his health. Hereupon Josephus, who hitherto suspected nothing of John’s plots against him, wrote to the governors of the city, that they would provide a lodging and necessaries for John; which favors, when he had made use of, in two days’ time he did what he came about; some he corrupted with delusive frauds, and others with money, and so persuaded them to revolt from Josephus. This Silas, who was appointed guardian of the city by Josephus, wrote to him immediately, and informed him of the plot against him; which epistle when Josephus had received, he marched with great diligence all night, and came early in the morning to Tiberias; at which time the rest of the multitude met him. But John, who suspected that his coming was not for his advantage, sent however one of his friends, and pretended that he was sick, and that being confined to his bed, he could not come to pay him his respects. But as soon as Josephus had got the people of Tiberias together in the stadium, and tried to discourse with them about the letters that he had received, John privately sent some armed men, and gave them orders to slay him. But when the people saw that the armed men were about to draw their swords, they cried out; at which cry Josephus turned himself about, and when he saw that the swords were just at his throat, he marched away in great haste to the sea-shore, and left off that speech which he was going to make to the people, upon an elevation of six cubits high. He then seized on a ship which lay in the haven, and leaped into it, with two of his guards, and fled away into the midst of the lake.

7. But now the soldiers he had with him took up their arms immediately, and marched against the plotters; but Josephus was afraid lest a civil war should be raised by the envy of a few men, and bring the city to ruin; so he sent some of

his party to tell them, that they should do no more than provide for their own safety; that they should not kill any body, nor accuse any for the occasion they had afforded [of disorder]. Accordingly, these men obeyed his orders, and were quiet; but the people of the neighboring country, when they were informed of this plot, and of the plotter, they got together in great multitudes to oppose John. But he prevented their attempt, and fled away to Gischala, his native city, while the Galileans came running out of their several cities to Josephus; and as they were now become many ten thousands of armed men, they cried out, that they were come against John the common plotter against their interest, and would at the same time burn him, and that city which had received him. Hereupon Josephus told them that he took their good-will to him kindly, but still he restrained their fury, and intended to subdue his enemies by prudent conduct, rather than by slaying them; so he excepted those of every city which had joined in this revolt with John, by name, who had readily been shown him by these that came from every city, and caused public proclamation to be made, that he would seize upon the effects of those that did not forsake John within five days' time, and would burn both their houses and their families with fire. Whereupon three thousand of John's party left him immediately, who came to Josephus, and threw their arms down at his feet. John then betook himself, together with his two thousand Syrian runagates, from open attempts, to more secret ways of treachery. Accordingly, he privately sent messengers to Jerusalem, to accuse Josephus, as having to great power, and to let them know that he would soon come as a tyrant to their metropolis, unless they prevented him. This accusation the people were aware of beforehand, but had no regard to it. However, some of the grandees, out of envy, and some of the rulers also, sent money to John privately, that he might be able to get together mercenary soldiers, in order to fight Josephus; they also made a decree of themselves, and this for recalling him from his government, yet did they not think that decree sufficient; so they sent withal two thousand five hundred armed men, and four persons of the highest rank amongst them; Joazar the son of Nomicus, and Ananias the son of Sadduk, as also Simon and Judas the sons of Jonathan, all very able men in speaking, that these persons might withdraw the good-will of the people from Josephus. These had it in charge, that if he would voluntarily come away, they should permit him to [come and] give an account of his conduct; but if he obstinately insisted upon continuing in his government, they should treat him as an enemy. Now Josephus's friends had sent him word that an army was coming against him, but they gave him no notice beforehand what the reason of their coming was, that being only known among some secret councils of his enemies; and by this means it was that four cities revolted from him immediately, Sepphoris, and Gamala,

and Gischala, and Tiberias. Yet did he recover these cities without war; and when he had routed those four commanders by stratagems, and had taken the most potent of their warriors, he sent them to Jerusalem; and the people [of Galilee] had great indignation at them, and were in a zealous disposition to slay, not only these forces, but those that sent them also, had not these forces prevented it by running away.

8. Now John was detained afterward within the walls of Gischala, by the fear he was in of Josephus; but within a few days Tiberias revolted again, the people within it inviting king Agrippa [to return to the exercise of his authority there]. And when he did not come at the time appointed, and when a few Roman horsemen appeared that day, they expelled Josephus out of the city. Now this revolt of theirs was presently known at Taricheae; and as Josephus had sent out all the soldiers that were with him to gather corn, he knew not how either to march out alone against the revolters, or to stay where he was, because he was afraid the king's soldiers might prevent him if he tarried, and might get into the city; for he did not intend to do any thing on the next day, because it was the sabbath day, and would hinder his proceeding. So he contrived to circumvent the revolters by a stratagem; and in the first place he ordered the gates of Taricheae to be shut, that nobody might go out and inform [those of Tiberias], for whom it was intended, what stratagem he was about; he then got together all the ships that were upon the lake, which were found to be two hundred and thirty, and in each of them he put no more than four mariners. So he sailed to Tiberias with haste, and kept at such a distance from the city, that it was not easy for the people to see the vessels, and ordered that the empty vessels should float up and down there, while himself, who had but seven of his guards with him, and those unarmed also, went so near as to be seen; but when his adversaries, who were still reproaching him, saw him from the walls, they were so astonished that they supposed all the ships were full of armed men, and threw down their arms, and by signals of intercession they besought him to spare the city.

9. Upon this Josephus threatened them terribly, and reproached them, that when they were the first that took up arms against the Romans, they should spend their force beforehand in civil dissensions, and do what their enemies desired above all things; and that besides they should endeavor so hastily to seize upon him, who took care of their safety, and had not been ashamed to shut the gates of their city against him that built their walls; that, however, he would admit of any intercessors from them that might make some excuse for them, and with whom he would make such agreements as might be for the city's security. Hereupon ten of the most potent men of Tiberias came down to him presently; and when he had taken them into one of his vessels, he ordered them to be

carried a great way off from the city. He then commanded that fifty others of their senate, such as were men of the greatest eminence, should come to him, that they also might give him some security on their behalf. After which, under one new pretense or another, he called forth others, one after another, to make the leagues between them. He then gave order to the masters of those vessels which he had thus filled to sail away immediately for Taricheae, and to confine those men in the prison there; till at length he took all their senate, consisting of six hundred persons, and about two thousand of the populace, and carried them away to Taricheae.

10. And when the rest of the people cried out, that it was one Clitus that was the chief author of this revolt, they desired him to spend his anger upon him [only]; but Josephus, whose intention it was to slay nobody, commanded one Levius, belonging to his guards, to go out of the vessel, in order to cut off both Clitus's hands; yet was Levius afraid to go out by himself alone to such a large body of enemies, and refused to go. Now Clitus saw that Josephus was in a great passion in the ship, and ready to leap out of it, in order to execute the punishment himself; he begged therefore from the shore, that he would leave him one of his hands; which Josephus agreed to, upon condition that he would himself cutoff the other hand; accordingly he drew his sword, and with his right hand cut off his left, so great was the fear he was in of Josephus himself. And thus he took the people of Tiberias prisoners, and recovered the city again with empty ships and seven of his guard. Moreover, a few days afterward he retook Gischala, which had revolted with the people of Sepphoris, and gave his soldiers leave to plunder it; yet did he get all the plunder together, and restored it to the inhabitants; and the like he did to the inhabitants of Sepphoris and Tiberias. For when he had subdued those cities, he had a mind, by letting them be plundered, to give them some good instruction, while at the same time he regained their good-will by restoring them their money again.

CHAPTER 22.

The Jews Make All Ready For The War; And Simon, The Son Of Gioras, Falls To Plundering.

1. And thus were the disturbances of Galilee quieted, when, upon their ceasing to prosecute their civil dissensions, they betook themselves to make preparations for the war with the Romans. Now in Jerusalem the high priest Artanus, and as many of the men of power as were not in the interest of the Romans, both repaired the walls, and made a great many warlike instruments, insomuch that in all parts of the city darts and all sorts of armor were upon the anvil. Although the multitude of the young men were engaged in exercises, without any regularity, and all places were full of tumultuous doings; yet the moderate sort were exceedingly sad; and a great many there were who, out of the prospect they had of the calamities that were coming upon them, made great lamentations. There were also such omens observed as were understood to be forerunners of evils by such as loved peace, but were by those that kindled the war interpreted so as to suit their own inclinations; and the very state of the city, even before the Romans came against it, was that of a place doomed to destruction. However, Ananus's concern was this, to lay aside, for a while, the preparations for the war, and to persuade the seditious to consult their own interest, and to restrain the madness of those that had the name of zealots; but their violence was too hard for him; and what end he came to we shall relate hereafter.

2. But as for the Acrabbene toparchy, Simon, the son of Gioras, got a great number of those that were fond of innovations together, and betook himself to ravage the country; nor did he only harass the rich men's houses, but tormented their bodies, and appeared openly and beforehand to affect tyranny in his government. And when an army was sent against him by Artanus, and the other rulers, he and his band retired to the robbers that were at Masada, and staid there, and plundered the country of Idumea with them, till both Ananus and his other adversaries were slain; and until the rulers of that country were so afflicted with the multitude of those that were slain, and with the continual ravage of what they had, that they raised an army, and put garrisons into the villages, to secure them from those insults. And in this state were the affairs of Judea at that time.

BOOK III.

Containing The Interval Of About One Year.

From Vespasian's Coming To Subdue The Jews To The Taking Of Gamala.

CHAPTER 1.

Vespasian Is Sent Into Syria By Nero In Order To Make War With The Jews.

1. When Nero was informed of the Romans' ill success in Judea, a concealed consternation and terror, as is usual in such cases, fell upon him; although he openly looked very big, and was very angry, and said that what had happened was rather owing to the negligence of the commander, than to any valor of the enemy: and as he thought it fit for him, who bare the burden of the whole empire, to despise such misfortunes, he now pretended so to do, and to have a soul superior to all such sad accidents whatsoever. Yet did the disturbance that was in his soul plainly appear by the solicitude he was in [how to recover his affairs again].

2. And as he was deliberating to whom he should commit the care of the East, now it was in so great a commotion, and who might be best able to punish the Jews for their rebellion, and might prevent the same distemper from seizing upon the neighboring nations also, — he found no one but Vespasian equal to the task, and able to undergo the great burden of so mighty a war, seeing he was growing an old man already in the camp, and from his youth had been exercised in warlike exploits: he was also a man that had long ago pacified the west, and made it subject to the Romans, when it had been put into disorder by the Germans; he had also recovered to them Britain by his arms, which had been little known before whereby he procured to his father Claudius to have a triumph bestowed on him without any sweat or labor of his own.

3. So Nero esteemed these circumstances as favorable omens, and saw that Vespasian's age gave him sure experience, and great skill, and that he had his sons as hostages for his fidelity to himself, and that the flourishing age they were in would make them fit instruments under their father's prudence. Perhaps also there was some interposition of Providence, which was paving the way for Vespasian's being himself emperor afterwards. Upon the whole, he sent this man to take upon him the command of the armies that were in Syria; but this not without great encomiums and flattering compellations, such as necessity required, and such as might mollify him into complaisance. So Vespasian sent his son Titus from Achaia, where he had been with Nero, to Alexandria, to bring back with him from thence the fifth and the tenth legions, while he himself, when he had passed over the Hellespont, came by land into Syria, where he gathered together the Roman forces, with a considerable number of auxiliaries from the kings in that neighborhood.

CHAPTER 2.

A Great Slaughter About Ascalon. Vespasian Comes To Ptolemais.

1. Now the Jews, after they had beaten Cestius, were so much elevated with their unexpected success, that they could not govern their zeal, but, like people blown up into a flame by their good fortune, carried the war to remoter places. Accordingly, they presently got together a great multitude of all their most hardy soldiers, and marched away for Ascalon. This is an ancient city that is distant from Jerusalem five hundred and twenty furlongs, and was always an enemy to the Jews; on which account they determined to make their first effort against it, and to make their approaches to it as near as possible. This excursion was led on by three men, who were the chief of them all, both for strength and sagacity; Niger, called the Persite, Silas of Babylon, and besides them John the Essene. Now Ascalon was strongly walled about, but had almost no assistance to be relied on [near them], for the garrison consisted of one cohort of footmen, and one troop of horsemen, whose captain was Antonius.

2. These Jews, therefore, out of their anger, marched faster than ordinary, and, as if they had come but a little way, approached very near the city, and were come even to it; but Antonius, who was not unapprized of the attack they were going to make upon the city, drew out his horsemen beforehand, and being neither daunted at the multitude, nor at the courage of the enemy, received their first attacks with great bravery; and when they crowded to the very walls, he beat them off. Now the Jews were unskillful in war, but were to fight with those who were skillful therein; they were footmen to fight with horsemen; they were in disorder, to fight those that were united together; they were poorly armed, to fight those that were completely so; they were to fight more by their rage than by sober counsel, and were exposed to soldiers that were exactly obedient; and did every thing they were bidden upon the least intimation. So they were easily beaten; for as soon as ever their first ranks were once in disorder, they were put to flight by the enemy's cavalry, and those of them that came behind such as crowded to the wall fell upon their own party's weapons, and became one another's enemies; and this so long till they were all forced to give way to the attacks of the horsemen, and were dispersed all the plain over, which plain was wide, and all fit for the horsemen; which circumstance was very commodious for the Romans, and occasioned the slaughter of the greatest number of the Jews; for such as ran away, they could overrun them, and make them turn back; and when

they had brought them back after their flight, and driven them together, they ran them through, and slew a vast number of them, insomuch that others encompassed others of them, and drove them before them whithersoever they turned themselves, and slew them easily with their arrows; and the great number there were of the Jews seemed a solitude to themselves, by reason of the distress they were in, while the Romans had such good success with their small number, that they seemed to themselves to be the greater multitude. And as the former strove zealously under their misfortunes, out of the shame of a sudden flight, and hopes of the change in their success, so did the latter feel no weariness by reason of their good fortune; insomuch that the fight lasted till the evening, till ten thousand men of the Jews' side lay dead, with two of their generals, John and Silas, and the greater part of the remainder were wounded, with Niger, their remaining general, who fled away together to a small city of Idumea, called Sallis. Some few also of the Romans were wounded in this battle.

3. Yet were not the spirits of the Jews broken by so great a calamity, but the losses they had sustained rather quickened their resolution for other attempts; for, overlooking the dead bodies which lay under their feet, they were enticed by their former glorious actions to venture on a second destruction; so when they had lain still so little a while that their wounds were not yet thoroughly cured, they got together all their forces, and came with greater fury, and in much greater numbers, to Ascalon. But their former ill fortune followed them, as the consequence of their unskilfulness, and other deficiencies in war; for Antonius laid ambushes for them in the passages they were to go through, where they fell into snares unexpectedly, and where they were encompassed about with horsemen, before they could form themselves into a regular body for fighting, and were above eight thousand of them slain; so all the rest of them ran away, and with them Niger, who still did a great many bold exploits in his flight. However, they were driven along together by the enemy, who pressed hard upon them, into a certain strong tower belonging to a village called Bezedeh However, Antonius and his party, that they might neither spend any considerable time about this tower, which was hard to be taken, nor suffer their commander, and the most courageous man of them all, to escape from them, they set the wall on fire; and as the tower was burning, the Romans went away rejoicing, as taking it for granted that Niger was destroyed; but he leaped out of the tower into a subterraneous cave, in the innermost part of it, and was preserved; and on the third day afterward he spake out of the ground to those that with great lamentation were searching for him, in order to give him a decent funeral; and when he was come out, he filled all the Jews with an unexpected joy, as though

he were preserved by God's providence to be their commander for the time to come.

4. And now Vespasian took along with him his army from Antioch, [which is the metropolis of Syria, and without dispute deserves the place of the third city in the habitable earth that was under the Roman empire, both in magnitude, and other marks of prosperity,] where he found king Agrippa, with all his forces, waiting for his coming, and marched to Ptolemais. At this city also the inhabitants of Sepphoris of Galilee met him, who were for peace with the Romans. These citizens had beforehand taken care of their own safety, and being sensible of the power of the Romans, they had been with Cestius Gallus before Vespasian came, and had given their faith to him, and received the security of his right hand, and had received a Roman garrison; and at this time withal they received Vespasian, the Roman general, very kindly, and readily promised that they would assist him against their own countrymen. Now the general delivered them, at their desire, as many horsemen and footmen as he thought sufficient to oppose the incursions of the Jews, if they should come against them. And indeed the danger of losing Sepphoris would be no small one, in this war that was now beginning, seeing it was the largest city of Galilee, and built in a place by nature very strong, and might be a security of the whole nation's [fidelity to the Romans].

CHAPTER 3.

A Description Of Galilee, Samaria, And Judea.

1. Now Phoenicia and Syria encompass about the Galilees, which are two, and called the Upper Galilee and the Lower. They are bounded toward the sun-setting, with the borders of the territory belonging to Ptolemais, and by Carmel; which mountain had formerly belonged to the Galileans, but now belonged to the Tyrians; to which mountain adjoins Gaba, which is called the City of Horsemen, because those horsemen that were dismissed by Herod the king dwelt therein; they are bounded on the south with Samaria and Scythopolis, as far as the river Jordan; on the east with Hippeae and Gadaris, and also with Ganlonitis, and the borders of the kingdom of Agrippa; its northern parts are hounded by Tyre, and the country of the Tyrians. As for that Galilee which is called the Lower, it, extends in length from Tiberias to Zabulon, and of the maritime places Ptolemais is its neighbor; its breadth is from the village called Xaloth, which lies in the great plain, as far as Bersabe, from which beginning also is taken the breadth of the Upper Galilee, as far as the village Baca, which divides the land of the Tyrians from it; its length is also from Meloth to Thella, a village near to Jordan.

2. These two Galilees, of so great largeness, and encompassed with so many nations of foreigners, have been always able to make a strong resistance on all occasions of war; for the Galileans are inured to war from their infancy, and have been always very numerous; nor hath the country been ever destitute of men of courage, or wanted a numerous set of them; for their soil is universally rich and fruitful, and full of the plantations of trees of all sorts, insomuch that it invites the most slothful to take pains in its cultivation, by its fruitfulness; accordingly, it is all cultivated by its inhabitants, and no part of it lies idle. Moreover, the cities lie here very thick, and the very many villages there are here are every where so full of people, by the richness of their soil, that the very least of them contain above fifteen thousand inhabitants.

3. In short, if any one will suppose that Galilee is inferior to Perea in magnitude, he will be obliged to prefer it before it in its strength; for this is all capable of cultivation, and is every where fruitful; but for Perea, which is indeed much larger in extent, the greater part of it is desert and rough, and much less disposed for the production of the milder kinds of fruits; yet hath it a moist soil [in other parts], and produces all kinds of fruits, and its plains are planted with trees of all sorts, while yet the olive tree, the vine, and the palm tree are chiefly

cultivated there. It is also sufficiently watered with torrents, which issue out of the mountains, and with springs that never fail to run, even when the torrents fail them, as they do in the dog-days. Now the length of Perea is from Machaerus to Pella, and its breadth from Philadelphia to Jordan; its northern parts are bounded by Pella, as we have already said, as well as its Western with Jordan; the land of Moab is its southern border, and its eastern limits reach to Arabia, and Silbonitis, and besides to Philadelphene and Gerasa.

4. Now as to the country of Samaria, it lies between Judea and Galilee; it begins at a village that is in the great plain called Ginea, and ends at the Acrabbene toparchy, and is entirely of the same nature with Judea; for both countries are made up of hills and valleys, and are moist enough for agriculture, and are very fruitful. They have abundance of trees, and are full of autumnal fruit, both that which grows wild, and that which is the effect of cultivation. They are not naturally watered by many rivers, but derive their chief moisture from rain-water, of which they have no want; and for those rivers which they have, all their waters are exceeding sweet: by reason also of the excellent grass they have, their cattle yield more milk than do those in other places; and, what is the greatest sign of excellency and of abundance, they each of them are very full of people.

5. In the limits of Samaria and Judea lies the village Anuath, which is also named Borceos. This is the northern boundary of Judea. The southern parts of Judea, if they be measured lengthways, are bounded by a Village adjoining to the confines of Arabia; the Jews that dwell there call it Jordan. However, its breadth is extended from the river Jordan to Joppa. The city Jerusalem is situated in the very middle; on which account some have, with sagacity enough, called that city the Navel of the country. Nor indeed is Judea destitute of such delights as come from the sea, since its maritime places extend as far as Ptolemais: it was parted into eleven portions, of which the royal city Jerusalem was the supreme, and presided over all the neighboring country, as the head does over the body. As to the other cities that were inferior to it, they presided over their several toparchies; Gophna was the second of those cities, and next to that Acrabatta, after them Thamna, and Lydda, and Emmaus, and Pella, and Idumea, and Engaddi, and Herodium, and Jericho; and after them came Jamnia and Joppa, as presiding over the neighboring people; and besides these there was the region of Gamala, and Gaulonitis, and Batanea, and Trachonitis, which are also parts of the kingdom of Agrippa. This [last] country begins at Mount Libanus, and the fountains of Jordan, and reaches breadthways to the lake of Tiberias; and in length is extended from a village called Arpha, as far as Julias. Its inhabitants are

a mixture of Jews and Syrians. And thus have I, with all possible brevity, described the country of Judea, and those that lie round about it.

CHAPTER 4.

Josephus Makes An Attempt Upon Sepphoris But Is Repelled.
Titus Comes With A Great Army To Ptolemais.

1. Now the auxiliaries which were sent to assist the people of Sepphoris, being a thousand horsemen, and six thousand footmen, under Placidus the tribune, pitched their camp in two bodies in the great plain. The foot were put into the city to be a guard to it, but the horse lodged abroad in the camp. These last, by marching continually one way or other, and overrunning the parts of the adjoining country, were very troublesome to Josephus and his men; they also plundered all the places that were out of the city's liberty, and intercepted such as durst go abroad. On this account it was that Josephus marched against the city, as hoping to take what he had lately encompassed with so strong a wall, before they revolted from the rest of the Galileans, that the Romans would have much ado to take it; by which means he proved too weak, and failed of his hopes, both as to the forcing the place, and as to his prevailing with the people of Sepphoris to deliver it up to him. By this means he provoked the Romans to treat the country according to the law of war; nor did the Romans, out of the anger they bore at this attempt, leave off, either by night or by day, burning the places in the plain, and stealing away the cattle that were in the country, and killing whatsoever appeared capable of fighting perpetually, and leading the weaker people as slaves into captivity; so that Galilee was all over filled with fire and blood; nor was it exempted from any kind of misery or calamity, for the only refuge they had was this, that when they were pursued, they could retire to the cities which had walls built them by Josephus.

2. But as to Titus, he sailed over from Achaia to Alexandria, and that sooner than the winter season did usually permit; so he took with him those forces he was sent for, and marching with great expedition, he came suddenly to Ptolemais, and there finding his father, together with the two legions, the fifth and the tenth, which were the most eminent legions of all, he joined them to that fifteenth legion which was with his father; eighteen cohorts followed these legions; there came also five cohorts from Cesarea, with one troop of horsemen, and five other troops of horsemen from Syria. Now these ten cohorts had severally a thousand footmen, but the other thirteen cohorts had no more than six hundred footmen apiece, with a hundred and twenty horsemen. There were also a considerable number of auxiliaries got together, that came from the kings Antiochus, and Agrippa, and Sohemus, each of them contributing one thousand

footmen that were archers, and a thousand horsemen. Malchus also, the king of Arabia, sent a thousand horsemen, besides five thousand footmen, the greatest part of which were archers; so that the whole army, including the auxiliaries sent by the kings, as well horsemen as footmen, when all were united together, amounted to sixty thousand, besides the servants, who, as they followed in vast numbers, so because they had been trained up in war with the rest, ought not to be distinguished from the fighting men; for as they were in their masters' service in times of peace, so did they undergo the like dangers with them in times of war, insomuch that they were inferior to none, either in skill or in strength, only they were subject to their masters.

CHAPTER 5.

A Description Of The Roman Armies And Roman Camps And Of Other Particulars For Which The Romans Are Commended.

1. Now here one cannot but admire at the precaution of the Romans, in providing themselves of such household servants, as might not only serve at other times for the common offices of life, but might also be of advantage to them in their wars. And, indeed, if any one does but attend to the other parts of their military discipline, he will be forced to confess that their obtaining so large a dominion hath been the acquisition of their valor, and not the bare gift of fortune; for they do not begin to use their weapons first in time of war, nor do they then put their hands first into motion, while they avoided so to do in times of peace; but, as if their weapons did always cling to them, they have never any truce from warlike exercises; nor do they stay till times of war admonish them to use them; for their military exercises differ not at all from the real use of their arms, but every soldier is every day exercised, and that with great diligence, as if it were in time of war, which is the reason why they bear the fatigue of battles so easily; for neither can any disorder remove them from their usual regularity, nor can fear affright them out of it, nor can labor tire them; which firmness of conduct makes them always to overcome those that have not the same firmness; nor would he be mistaken that should call those their exercises unbloody battles, and their battles bloody exercises. Nor can their enemies easily surprise them with the suddenness of their incursions; for as soon as they have marched into an enemy's land, they do not begin to fight till they have walled their camp about; nor is the fence they raise rashly made, or uneven; nor do they all abide in it, nor do those that are in it take their places at random; but if it happens that the ground is uneven, it is first leveled: their camp is also four-square by measure, and carpenters are ready, in great numbers, with their tools, to erect their buildings for them.

2. As for what is within the camp, it is set apart for tents, but the outward circumference hath the resemblance to a wall, and is adorned with towers at equal distances, where between the towers stand the engines for throwing arrows and darts, and for slinging stones, and where they lay all other engines that can annoy the enemy, all ready for their several operations. They also erect four gates, one at every side of the circumference, and those large enough for the entrance of the beasts, and wide enough for making excursions, if occasion should require. They divide the camp within into streets, very conveniently, and

place the tents of the commanders in the middle; but in the very midst of all is the general's own tent, in the nature of a temple, insomuch, that it appears to be a city built on the sudden, with its market-place, and place for handicraft trades, and with seats for the officers superior and inferior, where, if any differences arise, their causes are heard and determined. The camp, and all that is in it, is encompassed with a wall round about, and that sooner than one would imagine, and this by the multitude and the skill of the laborers; and, if occasion require, a trench is drawn round the whole, whose depth is four cubits, and its breadth equal.

3. When they have thus secured themselves, they live together by companies, with quietness and decency, as are all their other affairs managed with good order and security. Each company hath also their wood, and their corn, and their water brought them, when they stand in need of them; for they neither sup nor dine as they please themselves singly, but all together. Their times also for sleeping, and watching, and rising are notified beforehand by the sound of trumpets, nor is any thing done without such a signal; and in the morning the soldiery go every one to their centurions, and these centurions to their tribunes, to salute them; with whom all the superior officers go to the general of the whole army, who then gives them of course the watchword and other orders, to be by them carried to all that are under their command; which is also observed when they go to fight, and thereby they turn themselves about on the sudden, when there is occasion for making sallies, as they come back when they are recalled in crowds also.

4. Now when they are to go out of their camp, the trumpet gives a sound, at which time nobody lies still, but at the first intimation they take down their tents, and all is made ready for their going out; then do the trumpets sound again, to order them to get ready for the march; then do they lay their baggage suddenly upon their mules, and other beasts of burden, and stand, as at the place of starting, ready to march; when also they set fire to their camp, and this they do because it will be easy for them to erect another camp, and that it may not ever be of use to their enemies. Then do the trumpets give a sound the third time, that they are to go out, in order to excite those that on any account are a little tardy, that so no one may be out of his rank when the army marches. Then does the crier stand at the general's right hand, and asks them thrice, in their own tongue, whether they be now ready to go out to war or not? To which they reply as often, with a loud and cheerful voice, saying, "We are ready." And this they do almost before the question is asked them: they do this as filled with a kind of martial fury, and at the same time that they so cry out, they lift up their right hands also.

5. When, after this, they are gone out of their camp, they all march without noise, and in a decent manner, and every one keeps his own rank, as if they were going to war. The footmen are armed with breastplates and head-pieces, and have swords on each side; but the sword which is upon their left side is much longer than the other, for that on the right side is not longer than a span. Those footmen also that are chosen out from the rest to be about the general himself have a lance and a buckler, but the rest of the foot soldiers have a spear and a long buckler, besides a saw and a basket, a pick-axe and an axe, a thong of leather and a hook, with provisions for three days, so that a footman hath no great need of a mule to carry his burdens. The horsemen have a long sword on their right sides, axed a long pole in their hand; a shield also lies by them obliquely on one side of their horses, with three or more darts that are borne in their quiver, having broad points, and not smaller than spears. They have also head-pieces and breastplates, in like manner as have all the footmen. And for those that are chosen to be about the general, their armor no way differs from that of the horsemen belonging to other troops; and he always leads the legions forth to whom the lot assigns that employment.

6. This is the manner of the marching and resting of the Romans, as also these are the several sorts of weapons they use. But when they are to fight, they leave nothing without forecast, nor to be done off-hand, but counsel is ever first taken before any work is begun, and what hath been there resolved upon is put in execution presently; for which reason they seldom commit any errors; and if they have been mistaken at any time, they easily correct those mistakes. They also esteem any errors they commit upon taking counsel beforehand to be better than such rash success as is owing to fortune only; because such a fortuitous advantage tempts them to be inconsiderate, while consultation, though it may sometimes fail of success, hath this good in it, that it makes men more careful hereafter; but for the advantages that arise from chance, they are not owing to him that gains them; and as to what melancholy accidents happen unexpectedly, there is this comfort in them, that they had however taken the best consultations they could to prevent them.

7. Now they so manage their preparatory exercises of their weapons, that not the bodies of the soldiers only, but their souls may also become stronger: they are moreover hardened for war by fear; for their laws inflict capital punishments, not only for soldiers running away from the ranks, but for slothfulness and inactivity, though it be but in a lesser degree; as are their generals more severe than their laws, for they prevent any imputation of cruelty toward those under condemnation, by the great rewards they bestow on the valiant soldiers; and the readiness of obeying their commanders is so great, that it is very ornamental in

peace; but when they come to a battle, the whole army is but one body, so well coupled together are their ranks, so sudden are their turnings about, so sharp their hearing as to what orders are given them, so quick their sight of the ensigns, and so nimble are their hands when they set to work; whereby it comes to pass that what they do is done quickly, and what they suffer they bear with the greatest patience. Nor can we find any examples where they have been conquered in battle, when they came to a close fight, either by the multitude of the enemies, or by their stratagems, or by the difficulties in the places they were in; no, nor by fortune neither, for their victories have been surer to them than fortune could have granted them. In a case, therefore, where counsel still goes before action, and where, after taking the best advice, that advice is followed by so active an army, what wonder is it that Euphrates on the east, the ocean on the west, the most fertile regions of Libya on the south, and the Danube and the Rhine on the north, are the limits of this empire? One might well say that the Roman possessions are not inferior to the Romans themselves.

8. This account I have given the reader, not so much with the intention of commending the Romans, as of comforting those that have been conquered by them, and for the deterring others from attempting innovations under their government. This discourse of the Roman military conduct may also perhaps be of use to such of the curious as are ignorant of it, and yet have a mind to know it. I return now from this digression.

CHAPTER 6.

Placidus Attempts To Take Jotapata And Is Beaten Off.
Vespasian Marches Into Galilee.

1. And now Vespasian, with his son Titus, had tarried some time at Ptolemais, and had put his army in order. But when Placidus, who had overrun Galilee, and had besides slain a number of those whom he had caught, [which were only the weaker part of the Galileans, and such as were of timorous souls,] saw that the warriors ran always to those cities whose walls had been built by Josephus, he marched furiously against Jotapata, which was of them all the strongest, as supposing he should easily take it by a sudden surprise, and that he should thereby obtain great honor to himself among the commanders, and bring a great advantage to them in their future campaign; because if this strongest place of them all were once taken, the rest would be so affrighted as to surrender themselves. But he was mightily mistaken in his undertaking; for the men of Jotapata were apprized of his coming to attack them, and came out of the city, and expected him there. So they fought the Romans briskly when they least expected it, being both many in number, and prepared for fighting, and of great alacrity, as esteeming their country, their wives, and their children to be in danger, and easily put the Romans to flight, and wounded many of them, and slew seven of them; because their retreat was not made in a disorderly manner, because the strokes only touched the surface of their bodies, which were covered with their armor in all parts, and because the Jews did rather throw their weapons upon them from a great distance, than venture to come hand to hand with them, and had only light armor on, while the others were completely armed. However, three men of the Jews' side were slain, and a few wounded; so Placidus, finding himself unable to assault the city, ran away.

2. But as Vespasian had a great mind to fall upon Galilee, he marched out of Ptolemais, having put his army into that order wherein the Romans used to march. He ordered those auxiliaries which were lightly armed, and the archers, to march first, that they might prevent any sudden insults from the enemy, and might search out the woods that looked suspiciously, and were capable of ambuscades. Next to these followed that part of the Romans which was completely armed, both footmen and horsemen. Next to these followed ten out of every hundred, carrying along with them their arms, and what was necessary to measure out a camp withal; and after them, such as were to make the road even and straight, and if it were any where rough and hard to be passed over, to

plane it, and to cut down the woods that hindered their march, that the army might not be in distress, or tired with their march. Behind these he set such carriages of the army as belonged both to himself and to the other commanders, with a considerable number of their horsemen for their security. After these he marched himself, having with him a select body of footmen, and horsemen, and pikemen. After these came the peculiar cavalry of his own legion, for there were a hundred and twenty horsemen that peculiarly belonged to every legion. Next to these came the mules that carried the engines for sieges, and the other warlike machines of that nature. After these came the commanders of the cohorts and tribunes, having about them soldiers chosen out of the rest. Then came the ensigns encompassing the eagle, which is at the head of every Roman legion, the king, and the strongest of all birds, which seems to them a signal of dominion, and an omen that they shall conquer all against whom they march; these sacred ensigns are followed by the trumpeters. Then came the main army in their squadrons and battalions, with six men in depth, which were followed at last by a centurion, who, according to custom, observed the rest. As for the servants of every legion, they all followed the footmen, and led the baggage of the soldiers, which was borne by the mules and other beasts of burden. But behind all the legions came the whole multitude of the mercenaries; and those that brought up the rear came last of all for the security of the whole army, being both footmen, and those in their armor also, with a great number of horsemen.

3. And thus did Vespasian march with his army, and came to the bounds of Galilee, where he pitched his camp and restrained his soldiers, who were eager for war; he also showed his army to the enemy, in order to affright them, and to afford them a season for repentance, to see whether they would change their minds before it came to a battle, and at the same time he got things ready for besieging their strong minds. And indeed this sight of the general brought many to repent of their revolt, and put them all into a consternation; for those that were in Josephus's camp, which was at the city called Garis, not far from Sepphoris, when they heard that the war was come near them, and that the Romans would suddenly fight them hand to hand, dispersed themselves and fled, not only before they came to a battle, but before the enemy ever came in sight, while Josephus and a few others were left behind; and as he saw that he had not an army sufficient to engage the enemy, that the spirits of the Jews were sunk, and that the greater part would willingly come to terms, if they might be credited, he already despaired of the success of the whole war, and determined to get as far as he possibly could out of danger; so he took those that staid along with him, and fled to Tiberias.

CHAPTER 7.

Vespasian, When He Had Taken The City Gadaea Marches To Jotapata. After A Long Siege The City Is Betrayed By A Deserter, And Taken By Vespasian.

1. So Vespasian marched to the city Gadara, and took it upon the first onset, because he found it destitute of any considerable number of men grown up and fit for war. He came then into it, and slew all the youth, the Romans having no mercy on any age whatsoever; and this was done out of the hatred they bore the nation, and because of the iniquity they had been guilty of in the affair of Cestius. He also set fire not only to the city itself, but to all the villas and small cities that were round about it; some of them were quite destitute of inhabitants, and out of some of them he carried the inhabitants as slaves into captivity.

2. As to Josephus, his retiring to that city which he chose as the most fit for his security, put it into great fear; for the people of Tiberias did not imagine that he would have run away, unless he had entirely despaired of the success of the war. And indeed, as to that point, they were not mistaken about his opinion; for he saw whither the affairs of the Jews would tend at last, and was sensible that they had but one way of escaping, and that was by repentance. However, although he expected that the Romans would forgive him, yet did he choose to die many times over, rather than to betray his country, and to dishonor that supreme command of the army which had been intrusted with him, or to live happily under those against whom he was sent to fight. He determined, therefore, to give an exact account of affairs to the principal men at Jerusalem by a letter, that he might not, by too much aggrandizing the power of the enemy, make them too timorous; nor, by relating that their power beneath the truth, might encourage them to stand out when they were perhaps disposed to repentance. He also sent them word, that if they thought of coming to terms, they must suddenly write him an answer; or if they resolved upon war, they must send him an army sufficient to fight the Romans. Accordingly, he wrote these things, and sent messengers immediately to carry his letter to Jerusalem.

3. Now Vespasian was very desirous of demolishing Jotapata, for he had gotten intelligence that the greatest part of the enemy had retired thither, and that it was, on other accounts, a place of great security to them. Accordingly, he sent both footmen and horsemen to level the road, which was mountainous and rocky, not without difficulty to be traveled over by footmen, but absolutely impracticable for horsemen. Now these workmen accomplished what they were

about in four days' time, and opened a broad way for the army. On the fifth day, which was the twenty-first of the month Artemisius, [Jyar,] Josephus prevented him, and came from Tiberias, and went into Jotapata, and raised the drooping spirits of the Jews. And a certain deserter told this good news to Vespasian, that Josephus had removed himself thither, which made him make haste to the city, as supposing that with taking that he should take all Judea, in case he could but withal get Josephus under his power. So he took this news to be of the vastest advantage to him, and believed it to be brought about by the providence of God, that he who appeared to be the most prudent man of all their enemies, had, of his own accord, shut himself up in a place of sure custody. Accordingly, he sent Placidus with a thousand horsemen, and Ebutius a decurion, a person that was of eminency both in council and in action, to encompass the city round, that Josephus might not escape away privately.

4. Vespasian also, the very next day, took his whole army and followed them, and by marching till late in the evening, arrived then at Jotapata; and bringing his army to the northern side of the city, he pitched his camp on a certain small hill which was seven furlongs from the city, and still greatly endeavored to be well seen by the enemy, to put them into a consternation; which was indeed so terrible to the Jews immediately, that no one of them durst go out beyond the wall. Yet did the Romans put off the attack at that time, because they had marched all the day, although they placed a double row of battalions round the city, with a third row beyond them round the whole, which consisted of cavalry, in order to stop up every way for an exit; which thing making the Jews despair of escaping, excited them to act more boldly; for nothing makes men fight so desperately in war as necessity.

5. Now when the next day an assault was made by the Romans, the Jews at first staid out of the walls and opposed them, and met them, as having formed themselves a camp before the city walls. But when Vespasian had set against them the archers and slingers, and the whole multitude that could throw to a great distance, he permitted them to go to work, while he himself, with the footmen, got upon an acclivity, whence the city might easily be taken. Josephus was then in fear for the city, and leaped out, and all the Jewish multitude with him; these fell together upon the Romans in great numbers, and drove them away from the wall, and performed a great many glorious and bold actions. Yet did they suffer as much as they made the enemy suffer; for as despair of deliverance encouraged the Jews, so did a sense of shame equally encourage the Romans. These last had skill as well as strength; the other had only courage, which armed them, and made them fight furiously. And when the fight had lasted all day, it was put an end to by the coming on of the night. They had

wounded a great many of the Romans, and killed of them thirteen men; of the Jews' side seventeen were slain, and six hundred wounded.

6. On the next day the Jews made another attack upon the Romans, and went out of the walls and fought a much more desperate battle with them than before. For they were now become more courageous than formerly, and that on account of the unexpected good opposition they had made the day before, as they found the Romans also to fight more desperately; for a sense of shame inflamed these into a passion, as esteeming their failure of a sudden victory to be a kind of defeat. Thus did the Romans try to make an impression upon the Jews till the fifth day continually, while the people of Jotapata made sallies out, and fought at the walls most desperately; nor were the Jews affrighted at the strength of the enemy, nor were the Romans discouraged at the difficulties they met with in taking the city.

7. Now Jotapata is almost all of it built on a precipice, having on all the other sides of it every way valleys immensely deep and steep, insomuch that those who would look down would have their sight fail them before it reaches to the bottom. It is only to be come at on the north side, where the utmost part of the city is built on the mountain, as it ends obliquely at a plain. This mountain Josephus had encompassed with a wall when he fortified the city, that its top might not be capable of being seized upon by the enemies. The city is covered all round with other mountains, and can no way be seen till a man comes just upon it. And this was the strong situation of Jotapata.

8. Vespasian, therefore, in order to try how he might overcome the natural strength of the place, as well as the bold defense of the Jews, made a resolution to prosecute the siege with vigor. To that end he called the commanders that were under him to a council of war, and consulted with them which way the assault might be managed to the best advantage. And when the resolution was there taken to raise a bank against that part of the wall which was practicable, he sent his whole army abroad to get the materials together. So when they had cut down all the trees on the mountains that adjoined to the city, and had gotten together a vast heap of stones, besides the wood they had cut down, some of them brought hurdles, in order to avoid the effects of the darts that were shot from above them. These hurdles they spread over their banks, under cover whereof they formed their bank, and so were little or nothing hurt by the darts that were thrown upon them from the wall, while others pulled the neighboring hillocks to pieces, and perpetually brought earth to them; so that while they were busy three sorts of ways, nobody was idle. However, the Jews cast great stones from the walls upon the hurdles which protected the men, with all sorts of darts

also; and the noise of what could not reach them was yet so terrible, that it was some impediment to the workmen.

9. Vespasian then set the engines for throwing stones and darts round about the city. The number of the engines was in all a hundred and sixty, and bid them fall to work, and dislodge those that were upon the wall. At the same time such engines as were intended for that purpose threw at once lances upon them with a great noise, and stones of the weight of a talent were thrown by the engines that were prepared for that purpose, together with fire, and a vast multitude of arrows, which made the wall so dangerous, that the Jews durst not only not come upon it, but durst not come to those parts within the walls which were reached by the engines; for the multitude of the Arabian archers, as well also as all those that threw darts and slung stones, fell to work at the same time with the engines. Yet did not the others lie still, when they could not throw at the Romans from a higher place; for they then made sallies out of the city, like private robbers, by parties, and pulled away the hurdles that covered the workmen, and killed them when they were thus naked; and when those workmen gave way, these cast away the earth that composed the bank, and burnt the wooden parts of it, together with the hurdles, till at length Vespasian perceived that the intervals there were between the works were of disadvantage to him; for those spaces of ground afforded the Jews a place for assaulting the Romans. So he united the hurdles, and at the same time joined one part of the army to the other, which prevented the private excursions of the Jews.

10. And when the bank was now raised, and brought nearer than ever to the battlements that belonged to the walls, Josephus thought it would be entirely wrong in him if he could make no contrivances in opposition to theirs, and that might be for the city's preservation; so he got together his workmen, and ordered them to build the wall higher; and while they said that this was impossible to be done while so many darts were thrown at them, he invented this sort of cover for them: He bid them fix piles, and expand before them the raw hides of oxen newly killed, that these hides by yielding and hollowing themselves when the stones were thrown at them might receive them, for that the other darts would slide off them, and the fire that was thrown would be quenched by the moisture that was in them. And these he set before the workmen, and under them these workmen went on with their works in safety, and raised the wall higher, and that both by day and by night, till it was twenty cubits high. He also built a good number of towers upon the wall, and fitted it to strong battlements. This greatly discouraged the Romans, who in their own opinions were already gotten within the walls, while they were now at once astonished at Josephus's contrivance, and at the fortitude of the citizens that were in the city.

11. And now Vespasian was plainly irritated at the great subtlety of this stratagem, and at the boldness of the citizens of Jotapata; for taking heart again upon the building of this wall, they made fresh sallies upon the Romans, and had every day conflicts with them by parties, together with all such contrivances, as robbers make use of, and with the plundering of all that came to hand, as also with the setting fire to all the other works; and this till Vespasian made his army leave off fighting them, and resolved to lie round the city, and to starve them into a surrender, as supposing that either they would be forced to petition him for mercy by want of provisions, or if they should have the courage to hold out till the last, they should perish by famine: and he concluded he should conquer them the more easily in fighting, if he gave them an interval, and then fell upon them when they were weakened by famine; but still he gave orders that they should guard against their coming out of the city.

12. Now the besieged had plenty of corn within the city, and indeed of all necessaries, but they wanted water, because there was no fountain in the city, the people being there usually satisfied with rain water; yet is it a rare thing in that country to have rain in summer, and at this season, during the siege, they were in great distress for some contrivance to satisfy their thirst; and they were very sad at this time particularly, as if they were already in want of water entirely, for Josephus seeing that the city abounded with other necessaries, and that the men were of good courage, and being desirous to protract the siege to the Romans longer than they expected, ordered their drink to be given them by measure; but this scanty distribution of water by measure was deemed by them as a thing more hard upon them than the want of it; and their not being able to drink as much as they would made them more desirous of drinking than they otherwise had been; nay, they were as much disheartened hereby as if they were come to the last degree of thirst. Nor were the Romans unacquainted with the state they were in, for when they stood over against them, beyond the wall, they could see them running together, and taking their water by measure, which made them throw their javelins thither the place being within their reach, and kill a great many of them.

13. Hereupon Vespasian hoped that their receptacles of water would in no long time be emptied, and that they would be forced to deliver up the city to him; but Josephus being minded to break such his hope, gave command that they should wet a great many of their clothes, and hang them out about the battlements, till the entire wall was of a sudden all wet with the running down of the water. At this sight the Romans were discouraged, and under consternation, when they saw them able to throw away in sport so much water, when they supposed them not to have enough to drink themselves. This made the Roman general despair of

taking the city by their want of necessaries, and to betake himself again to arms, and to try to force them to surrender, which was what the Jews greatly desired; for as they despaired of either themselves or their city being able to escape, they preferred a death in battle before one by hunger and thirst.

14. However, Josephus contrived another stratagem besides the foregoing, to get plenty of what they wanted. There was a certain rough and uneven place that could hardly be ascended, and on that account was not guarded by the soldiers; so Josephus sent out certain persons along the western parts of the valley, and by them sent letters to whom he pleased of the Jews that were out of the city, and procured from them what necessaries soever they wanted in the city in abundance; he enjoined them also to creep generally along by the watch as they came into the city, and to cover their backs with such sheep-skins as had their wool upon them, that if any one should spy them out in the night time, they might be believed to be dogs. This was done till the watch perceived their contrivance, and encompassed that rough place about themselves.

15. And now it was that Josephus perceived that the city could not hold out long, and that his own life would be in doubt if he continued in it; so he consulted how he and the most potent men of the city might fly out of it. When the multitude understood this, they came all round about him, and begged of him not to overlook them while they entirely depended on him, and him alone; for that there was still hope of the city's deliverance, if he would stay with them, because every body would undertake any pains with great cheerfulness on his account, and in that case there would be some comfort for them also, though they should be taken: that it became him neither to fly from his enemies, nor to desert his friends, nor to leap out of that city, as out of a ship that was sinking in a storm, into which he came when it was quiet and in a calm; for that by going away he would be the cause of drowning the city, because nobody would then venture to oppose the enemy when he was once gone, upon whom they wholly confided. 16. Hereupon Josephus avoided letting them know that he was to go away to provide for his own safety, but told them that he would go out of the city for their sakes; for that if he staid with them, he should be able to do them little good while they were in a safe condition; and that if they were once taken, he should only perish with them to no purpose; but that if he were once gotten free from this siege, he should be able to bring them very great relief; for that he would then immediately get the Galileans together, out of the country, in great multitudes, and draw the Romans off their city by another war. That he did not see what advantage he could bring to them now, by staying among them, but only provoke the Romans to besiege them more closely, as esteeming it a most valuable thing to take him; but that if they were once informed that he was fled

out of the city, they would greatly remit of their eagerness against it. Yet did not this plea move the people, but inflamed them the more to hang about him. Accordingly, both the children and the old men, and the women with their infants, came mourning to him, and fell down before him, and all of them caught hold of his feet, and held him fast, and besought him, with great lamentations, that he would take his share with them in their fortune; and I think they did this, not that they envied his deliverance, but that they hoped for their own; for they could not think they should suffer any great misfortune, provided Josephus would but stay with them.

17. Now Josephus thought, that if he resolved to stay, it would be ascribed to their entreaties; and if he resolved to go away by force, he should be put into custody. His commiseration also of the people under their lamentations had much broken that his eagerness to leave them; so he resolved to stay, and arming himself with the common despair of the citizens, he said to them, "Now is the time to begin to fight in earnest, when there is no hope of deliverance left. It is a brave thing to prefer glory before life, and to set about some such noble undertaking as may be remembered by late posterity." Having said this, he fell to work immediately, and made a sally, and dispersed the enemies' out-guards, and ran as far as the Roman camp itself, and pulled the coverings of their tents to pieces, that were upon their banks, and set fire to their works. And this was the manner in which he never left off fighting, neither the next day, nor the day after it, but went on with it for a considerable number of both days and nights.

18. Upon this, Vespasian, when he saw the Romans distressed by these sallies, [though they were ashamed to be made to run away by the Jews; and when at any time they made the Jews run away, their heavy armor would not let them pursue them far; while the Jews, when they had performed any action, and before they could be hurt themselves, still retired into the city,] ordered his armed men to avoid their onset, and not fight it out with men under desperation, while nothing is more courageous than despair; but that their violence would be quenched when they saw they failed of their purposes, as fire is quenched when it wants fuel; and that it was proper for the Romans to gain their victories as cheap as they could, since they are not forced to fight, but only to enlarge their own dominions. So he repelled the Jews in great measure by the Arabian archers, and the Syrian slingers, and by those that threw stones at them, nor was there any intermission of the great number of their offensive engines. Now the Jews suffered greatly by these engines, without being able to escape from them; and when these engines threw their stones or javelins a great way, and the Jews were within their reach, they pressed hard upon the Romans, and fought

desperately, without sparing either soul or body, one part succoring another by turns, when it was tired down.

19. When, therefore, Vespasian looked upon himself as in a manner besieged by these sallies of the Jews, and when his banks were now not far from the walls, he determined to make use of his battering ram. This battering ram is a vast beam of wood like the mast of a ship, its forepart is armed with a thick piece of iron at the head of it, which is so carved as to be like the head of a ram, whence its name is taken. This ram is slung in the air by ropes passing over its middle, and is hung like the balance in a pair of scales from another beam, and braced by strong beams that pass on both sides of it, in the nature of a cross. When this ram is pulled backward by a great number of men with united force, and then thrust forward by the same men, with a mighty noise, it batters the walls with that iron part which is prominent. Nor is there any tower so strong, or walls so broad, that can resist any more than its first batteries, but all are forced to yield to it at last. This was the experiment which the Roman general betook himself to, when he was eagerly bent upon taking the city; but found lying in the field so long to be to his disadvantage, because the Jews would never let him be quiet. So these Romans brought the several engines for galling an enemy nearer to the walls, that they might reach such as were upon the wall, and endeavored to frustrate their attempts; these threw stones and javelins at them; in the like manner did the archers and slingers come both together closer to the wall. This brought matters to such a pass that none of the Jews durst mount the walls, and then it was that the other Romans brought the battering ram that was cased with hurdles all over, and in the tipper part was secured by skins that covered it, and this both for the security of themselves and of the engine. Now, at the very first stroke of this engine, the wall was shaken, and a terrible clamor was raised by the people within the city, as if they were already taken.

20. And now, when Josephus saw this ram still battering the same place, and that the wall would quickly be thrown down by it, he resolved to elude for a while the force of the engine. With this design he gave orders to fill sacks with chaff, and to hang them down before that place where they saw the ram always battering, that the stroke might be turned aside, or that the place might feel less of the strokes by the yielding nature of the chaff. This contrivance very much delayed the attempts of the Romans, because, let them remove their engine to what part they pleased, those that were above it removed their sacks, and placed them over against the strokes it made, insomuch that the wall was no way hurt, and this by diversion of the strokes, till the Romans made an opposite contrivance of long poles, and by tying hooks at their ends, cut off the sacks. Now when the battering ram thus recovered its force, and the wall having been

but newly built, was giving way, Josephus and those about him had afterward immediate recourse to fire, to defend themselves withal; whereupon they took what materials soever they had that were but dry, and made a sally three ways, and set fire to the machines, and the hurdles, and the banks of the Romans themselves; nor did the Romans well know how to come to their assistance, being at once under a consternation at the Jews' boldness, and being prevented by the flames from coming to their assistance; for the materials being dry with the bitumen and pitch that were among them, as was brimstone also, the fire caught hold of every thing immediately, and what cost the Romans a great deal of pains was in one hour consumed.

21. And here a certain Jew appeared worthy of our relation and commendation; he was the son of Sameas, and was called Eleazar, and was born at Saab, in Galilee. This man took up a stone of a vast bigness, and threw it down from the wall upon the ram, and this with so great a force, that it broke off the head of the engine. He also leaped down, and took up the head of the ram from the midst of them, and without any concern carried it to the top of the wall, and this while he stood as a fit mark to be pelted by all his enemies. Accordingly, he received the strokes upon his naked body, and was wounded with five darts; nor did he mind any of them while he went up to the top of the wall, where he stood in the sight of them all, as an instance of the greatest boldness; after which he drew himself on a heap with his wounds upon him, and fell down together with the head of the ram. Next to him, two brothers showed their courage; their names were Netir and Philip, both of them of the village Ruma, and both of them Galileans also; these men leaped upon the soldiers of the tenth legion, and fell upon the Romans with such a noise and force as to disorder their ranks, and to put to flight all upon whomsoever they made their assaults.

22. After these men's performances, Josephus, and the rest of the multitude with him, took a great deal of fire, and burnt both the machines and their coverings, with the works belonging to the fifth and to the tenth legion, which they put to flight; when others followed them immediately, and buried those instruments and all their materials under ground. However, about the evening, the Romans erected the battering ram again, against that part of the wall which had suffered before; where a certain Jew that defended the city from the Romans hit Vespasian with a dart in his foot, and wounded him a little, the distance being so great, that no mighty impression could be made by the dart thrown so far off. However, this caused the greatest disorder among the Romans; for when those who stood near him saw his blood, they were disturbed at it, and a report went abroad, through the whole army, that the general was wounded, while the

greatest part left the siege, and came running together with surprise and fear to the general; and before them all came Titus, out of the concern he had for his father, insomuch that the multitude were in great confusion, and this out of the regard they had for their general, and by reason of the agony that the son was in. Yet did the father soon put an end to the son's fear, and to the disorder the army was under, for being superior to his pains, and endeavoring soon to be seen by all that had been in a fright about him, he excited them to fight the Jews more briskly; for now every body was willing to expose himself to danger immediately, in order to avenge their general; and then they encouraged one another with loud voices, and ran hastily to the walls.

23. But still Josephus and those with him, although they fell down dead one upon another by the darts and stones which the engines threw upon them, yet did not they desert the wall, but fell upon those who managed the ram, under the protection of the hurdles, with fire, and iron weapons, and stones; and these could do little or nothing, but fell themselves perpetually, while they were seen by those whom they could not see, for the light of their own flame shone about them, and made them a most visible mark to the enemy, as they were in the day time, while the engines could not be seen at a great distance, and so what was thrown at them was hard to be avoided; for the force with which these engines threw stones and darts made them hurt several at a time, and the violent noise of the stones that were cast by the engines was so great, that they carried away the pinnacles of the wall, and broke off the corners of the towers; for no body of men could be so strong as not to be overthrown to the last rank by the largeness of the stones. And any one may learn the force of the engines by what happened this very night; for as one of those that stood round about Josephus was near the wall, his head was carried away by such a stone, and his skull was flung as far as three furlongs. In the day time also, a woman with child had her belly so violently struck, as she was just come out of her house, that the infant was carried to the distance of half a furlong, so great was the force of that engine. The noise of the instruments themselves was very terrible, the sound of the darts and stones that were thrown by them was so also; of the same sort was that noise the dead bodies made, when they were dashed against the wall; and indeed dreadful was the clamor which these things raised in the women within the city, which was echoed back at the same time by the cries of such as were slain; while the whole space of ground whereon they fought ran with blood, and the wall might have been ascended over by the bodies of the dead carcasses; the mountains also contributed to increase the noise by their echoes; nor was there on that night any thing of terror wanting that could either affect the hearing or the sight: yet did a great part of those that fought so hard for Jotapata fall

manfully, as were a great part of them wounded. However, the morning watch was come ere the wall yielded to the machines employed against it, though it had been battered without intermission. However, those within covered their bodies with their armor, and raised works over against that part which was thrown down, before those machines were laid by which the Romans were to ascend into the city.

24. In the morning Vespasian got his army together, in order to take the city [by storm], after a little recreation upon the hard pains they had been at the night before; and as he was desirous to draw off those that opposed him from the places where the wall had been thrown down, he made the most courageous of the horsemen get off their horses, and placed them in three ranks over against those ruins of the wall, but covered with their armor on every side, and with poles in their hands, that so these might begin their ascent as soon as the instruments for such ascent were laid; behind them he placed the flower of the footmen; but for the rest of the horse, he ordered them to extend themselves over against the wall, upon the whole hilly country, in order to prevent any from escaping out of the city when it should be taken; and behind these he placed the archers round about, and commanded them to have their darts ready to shoot. The same command he gave to the slingers, and to those that managed the engines, and bid them to take up other ladders, and have them ready to lay upon those parts of the wall which were yet untouched, that the besieged might be engaged in trying to hinder their ascent by them, and leave the guard of the parts that were thrown down, while the rest of them should be overborne by the darts cast at them, and might afford his men an entrance into the city.

25. But Josephus, understanding the meaning of Vespasian's contrivance, set the old men, together with those that were tired out, at the sound parts of the wall, as expecting no harm from those quarters, but set the strongest of his men at the place where the wall was broken down, and before them all six men by themselves, among whom he took his share of the first and greatest danger. He also gave orders, that when the legions made a shout, they should stop their ears, that they might not be affrighted at it, and that, to avoid the multitude of the enemy's darts, they should bend down on their knees, and cover themselves with their shields, and that they should retreat a little backward for a while, till the archers should have emptied their quivers; but that When the Romans should lay their instruments for ascending the walls, they should leap out on the sudden, and with their own instruments should meet the enemy, and that every one should strive to do his best, in order not to defend his own city, as if it were possible to be preserved, but in order to revenge it, when it was already destroyed; and that they should set before their eyes how their old men were to

be slain, and their children and wives were to be killed immediately by the enemy; and that they would beforehand spend all their fury, on account of the calamities just coming upon them, and pour it out on the actors.

26. And thus did Josephus dispose of both his bodies of men; but then for the useless part of the citizens, the women and children, when they saw their city encompassed by a threefold army, [for none of the usual guards that had been fighting before were removed,] when they also saw, not only the walls thrown down, but their enemies with swords in their hands, as also the hilly country above them shining with their weapons, and the darts in the hands of the Arabian archers, they made a final and lamentable outcry of the destruction, as if the misery were not only threatened, but actually come upon them already. But Josephus ordered the women to be shut up in their houses, lest they should render the warlike actions of the men too effeminate, by making them commiserate their condition, and commanded them to hold their peace, and threatened them if they did not, while he came himself before the breach, where his allotment was; for all those who brought ladders to the other places, he took no notice of them, but earnestly waited for the shower of arrows that was coming.

27. And now the trumpeters of the several Roman legions sounded together, and the army made a terrible shout; and the darts, as by order, flew so last, that they intercepted the light. However, Josephus's men remembered the charges he had given them, they stopped their ears at the sounds, and covered their bodies against the darts; and as to the engines that were set ready to go to work, the Jews ran out upon them, before those that should have used them were gotten upon them. And now, on the ascending of the soldiers, there was a great conflict, and many actions of the hands and of the soul were exhibited; while the Jews did earnestly endeavor, in the extreme danger they were in, not to show less courage than those who, without being in danger, fought so stoutly against them; nor did they leave struggling with the Romans till they either fell down dead themselves, or killed their antagonists. But the Jews grew weary with defending themselves continually, and had not enough to come in their places, and succor them; while, on the side of the Romans, fresh men still succeeded those that were tired; and still new men soon got upon the machines for ascent, in the room of those that were thrust down; those encouraging one another, and joining side to side with their shields, which were a protection to them, they became a body of men not to be broken; and as this band thrust away the Jews, as though they were themselves but one body, they began already to get upon the wall.

28. Then did Josephus take necessity for his counselor in this utmost distress, [which necessity is very sagacious in invention when it is irritated by despair,]

and gave orders to pour scalding oil upon those whose shields protected them. Whereupon they soon got it ready, being many that brought it, and what they brought being a great quantity also, and poured it on all sides upon the Romans, and threw down upon them their vessels as they were still hissing from the heat of the fire: this so burnt the Romans, that it dispersed that united band, who now tumbled clown from the wall with horrid pains, for the oil did easily run down the whole body from head to foot, under their entire armor, and fed upon their flesh like flame itself, its fat and unctuous nature rendering it soon heated and slowly cooled; and as the men were cooped up in their head-pieces and breastplates, they could no way get free from this burning oil; they could only leap and roll about in their pains, as they fell down from the bridges they had laid. And as they thus were beaten back, and retired to their own party, who still pressed them forward, they were easily wounded by those that were behind them.

29. However, in this ill success of the Romans, their courage did not fail them, nor did the Jews want prudence to oppose them; for the Romans, although they saw their own men thrown down, and in a miserable condition, yet were they vehemently bent against those that poured the oil upon them; while every one reproached the man before him as a coward, and one that hindered him from exerting himself; and while the Jews made use of another stratagem to prevent their ascent, and poured boiling fenugreek upon the boards, in order to make them slip and fall down; by which means neither could those that were coming up, nor those that were going down, stand on their feet; but some of them fell backward upon the machines on which they ascended, and were trodden upon; many of them fell down upon the bank they had raised, and when they were fallen upon it were slain by the Jews; for when the Romans could not keep their feet, the Jews being freed from fighting hand to hand, had leisure to throw their darts at them. So the general called off those soldiers in the evening that had suffered so sorely, of whom the number of the slain was not a few, while that of the wounded was still greater; but of the people of Jotapata no more than six men were killed, although more than three hundred were carried off wounded. This fight happened on the twentieth day of the month Desius [Sivan]. 30. Hereupon Vespasian comforted his army on occasion of what happened, and as he found them angry indeed, but rather wanting somewhat to do than any further exhortations, he gave orders to raise the banks still higher, and to erect three towers, each fifty feet high, and that they should cover them with plates of iron on every side, that they might be both firm by their weight, and not easily liable to be set on fire. These towers he set upon the banks, and placed upon them such as could shoot darts and arrows, with the lighter engines for throwing stones and

darts also; and besides these, he set upon them the stoutest men among the slingers, who not being to be seen by reason of the height they stood upon, and the battlements that protected them, might throw their weapons at those that were upon the wall, and were easily seen by them. Hereupon the Jews, not being easily able to escape those darts that were thrown down upon their heads, nor to avenge themselves on those whom they could not see, and perceiving that the height of the towers was so great, that a dart which they threw with their hand could hardly reach it, and that the iron plates about them made it very hard to come at them by fire, they ran away from the walls, and fled hastily out of the city, and fell upon those that shot at them. And thus did the people of Jotapata resist the Romans, while a great number of them were every day killed, without their being able to retort the evil upon their enemies; nor could they keep them out of the city without danger to themselves.

31. About this time it was that Vespasian sent out Trajan against a city called Japha, that lay near to Jotapata, and that desired innovations, and was puffed up with the unexpected length of the opposition of Jotapata. This Trajan was the commander of the tenth legion, and to him Vespasian committed one thousand horsemen, and two thousand footmen. When Trajan came to the city, he found it hard to be taken, for besides the natural strength of its situation, it was also secured by a double wall; but when he saw the people of this city coming out of it, and ready to fight him, he joined battle with them, and after a short resistance which they made, he pursued after them; and as they fled to their first wall, the Romans followed them so closely, that they fell in together with them: but when the Jews were endeavoring to get again within their second wall, their fellow citizens shut them out, as being afraid that the Romans would force themselves in with them. It was certainly God therefore who brought the Romans to punish the Galileans, and did then expose the people of the city every one of them manifestly to be destroyed by their bloody enemies; for they fell upon the gates in great crowds, and earnestly calling to those that kept them, and that by their names also, yet had they their throats cut in the very midst of their supplications; for the enemy shut the gates of the first wall, and their own citizens shut the gates of the second, so they were enclosed between two walls, and were slain in great numbers together; many of them were run through by swords of their own men, and many by their own swords, besides an immense number that were slain by the Romans. Nor had they any courage to revenge themselves; for there was added to the consternation they were in from the enemy, their being betrayed by their own friends, which quite broke their spirits; and at last they died, cursing not the Romans, but their own citizens, till they were all destroyed, being in number twelve thousand. So Trajan gathered that the city was empty of people

that could fight, and although there should a few of them be therein, he supposed that they would be too timorous to venture upon any opposition; so he reserved the taking of the city to the general. Accordingly, he sent messengers to Vespasian, and desired him to send his son Titus to finish the victory he had gained. Vespasian hereupon imagining there might be some pains still necessary, sent his son with an army of five hundred horsemen, and one thousand footmen. So he came quickly to the city, and put his army in order, and set Trajan over the left wing, while he had the right himself, and led them to the siege: and when the soldiers brought ladders to be laid against the wall on every side, the Galileans opposed them from above for a while; but soon afterward they left the walls. Then did Titus's men leap into the city, and seized upon it presently; but when those that were in it were gotten together, there was a fierce battle between them; for the men of power fell upon the Romans in the narrow streets, and the women threw whatsoever came next to hand at them, and sustained a fight with them for six hours' time; but when the fighting men were spent, the rest of the multitude had their throats cut, partly in the open air, and partly in their own houses, both young and old together. So there were no males now remaining, besides infants, which, with the women, were carried as slaves into captivity; so that the number of the slain, both now in the city and at the former fight, was fifteen thousand, and the captives were two thousand one hundred and thirty. This calamity befell the Galileans on the twenty-fifth day of the month Desius [Sivan.] 32. Nor did the Samaritans escape their share of misfortunes at this time; for they assembled themselves together upon the mountain called Gerizzim, which is with them a holy mountain, and there they remained; which collection of theirs, as well as the courageous minds they showed, could not but threaten somewhat of war; nor were they rendered wiser by the miseries that had come upon their neighboring cities. They also, notwithstanding the great success the Romans had, marched on in an unreasonable manner, depending on their own weakness, and were disposed for any tumult upon its first appearance. Vespasian therefore thought it best to prevent their motions, and to cut off the foundation of their attempts. For although all Samaria had ever garrisons settled among them, yet did the number of those that were come to Mount Gerizzim, and their conspiracy together, give ground for fear what they would be at; he therefore sent thither Cerealis, the commander of the fifth legion, with six hundred horsemen, and three thousand footmen, who did not think it safe to go up to the mountain, and give them battle, because many of the enemy were on the higher part of the ground; so he encompassed all the lower part of the mountain with his army, and watched them all that day. Now it happened that the Samaritans, who were now destitute of water, were inflamed with a violent heat, [for it was summer time, and the

multitude had not provided themselves with necessaries,] insomuch that some of them died that very day with heat, while others of them preferred slavery before such a death as that was, and fled to the Romans; by whom Cerealis understood that those which still staid there were very much broken by their misfortunes. So he went up to the mountain, and having placed his forces round about the enemy, he, in the first place, exhorted them to take the security of his right hand, and come to terms with him, and thereby save themselves; and assured them, that if they would lay down their arms, he would secure them from any harm; but when he could not prevail with them, he fell upon them and slew them all, being in number eleven thousand and six hundred. This was done on the twenty-seventh day of the month Desius [Sivan]. And these were the calamities that befell the Samaritans at this time.

33. But as the people of Jotapata still held out manfully, and bore up under their miseries beyond all that could be hoped for, on the forty-seventh day [of the siege] the banks cast up by the Romans were become higher than the wall; on which day a certain deserter went to Vespasian, and told him how few were left in the city, and how weak they were, and that they had been so worn out with perpetual watching, and as perpetual fighting, that they could not now oppose any force that came against them, and that they might be taken by stratagem, if any one would attack them; for that about the last watch of the night, when they thought they might have some rest from the hardships they were under, and when a morning sleep used to come upon them, as they were thoroughly weary, he said the watch used to fall asleep; accordingly his advice was, that they should make their attack at that hour. But Vespasian had a suspicion about this deserter, as knowing how faithful the Jews were to one another, and how much they despised any punishments that could be inflicted on them; this last because one of the people of Jotapata had undergone all sorts of torments, and though they made him pass through a fiery trial of his enemies in his examination, yet would he inform them nothing of the affairs within the city, and as he was crucified, smiled at them. However, the probability there was in the relation itself did partly confirm the truth of what the deserter told them, and they thought he might probably speak truth. However, Vespasian thought they should be no great sufferers if the report was a sham; so he commanded them to keep the man in custody, and prepared the army for taking the city.

34. According to which resolution they marched without noise, at the hour that had been told them, to the wall; and it was Titus himself that first got upon it, with one of his tribunes, Domitius Sabinus, and had a few of the fifteenth legion along with him. So they cut the throats of the watch, and entered the city very quietly. After these came Cerealis the tribune, and Placidus, and led on those that

were tinder them. Now when the citadel was taken, and the enemy were in the very midst of the city, and when it was already day, yet was not the taking of the city known by those that held it; for a great many of them were fast asleep, and a great mist, which then by chance fell upon the city, hindered those that got up from distinctly seeing the case they were in, till the whole Roman army was gotten in, and they were raised up only to find the miseries they were under; and as they were slaying, they perceived the city was taken. And for the Romans, they so well remembered what they had suffered during the siege, that they spared none, nor pitied any, but drove the people down the precipice from the citadel, and slew them as they drove them down; at which time the difficulties of the place hindered those that were still able to fight from defending themselves; for as they were distressed in the narrow streets, and could not keep their feet sure along the precipice, they were overpowered with the crowd of those that came fighting them down from the citadel. This provoked a great many, even of those chosen men that were about Josephus, to kill themselves with their own hands; for when they saw that they could kill none of the Romans, they resolved to prevent being killed by the Romans, and got together in great numbers in the utmost parts of the city, and killed themselves.

35. However, such of the watch as at the first perceived they were taken, and ran away as fast as they could, went up into one of the towers on the north side of the city, and for a while defended themselves there; but as they were encompassed with a multitude of enemies, they tried to use their right hands when it was too late, and at length they cheerfully offered their necks to be cut off by those that stood over them. And the Romans might have boasted that the conclusion of that siege was without blood [on their side] if there had not been a centurion, Antonius, who was slain at the taking of the city. His death was occasioned by the following treachery; for there was one of those that were fled into the caverns, which were a great number, who desired that this Antonius would reach him his right hand for his security, and would assure him that he would preserve him, and give him his assistance in getting up out of the cavern; accordingly, he incautiously reached him his right hand, when the other man prevented him, and stabbed him under his loins with a spear, and killed him immediately.

36. And on this day it was that the Romans slew all the multitude that appeared openly; but on the following days they searched the hiding-places, and fell upon those that were under ground, and in the caverns, and went thus through every age, excepting the infants and the women, and of these there were gathered together as captives twelve hundred; and as for those that were slain at the taking of the city, and in the former fights, they were numbered to be forty

thousand. So Vespasian gave order that the city should be entirely demolished, and all the fortifications burnt down. And thus was Jotapata taken, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero, on the first day of the month Panemus [Tamuz].

CHAPTER 8.

How Josephus Was Discovered By A Woman, And Was Willing To Deliver Himself Up To The Romans; And What Discourse He Had With His Own Men, When They Endeavored To Hinder Him; And What He Said To Vespasian, When He Was Brought To Him; And After What Manner Vespasian Used Him Afterward.

1. And now the Romans searched for Josephus, both out of the hatred they bore him, and because their general was very desirous to have him taken; for he reckoned that if he were once taken, the greatest part of the war would be over. They then searched among the dead, and looked into the most concealed recesses of the city; but as the city was first taken, he was assisted by a certain supernatural providence; for he withdrew himself from the enemy when he was in the midst of them, and leaped into a certain deep pit, whereto there adjoined a large den at one side of it, which den could not be seen by those that were above ground; and there he met with forty persons of eminency that had concealed themselves, and with provisions enough to satisfy them for not a few days. So in the day time he hid himself from the enemy, who had seized upon all places, and in the night time he got up out of the den and looked about for some way of escaping, and took exact notice of the watch; but as all places were guarded every where on his account, that there was no way of getting off unseen, he went down again into the den. Thus he concealed himself two days; but on the third day, when they had taken a woman who had been with them, he was discovered. Whereupon Vespasian sent immediately and zealously two tribunes, Paulinus and Gallicanus, and ordered them to give Josephus their right hands as a security for his life, and to exhort him to come up.

2. So they came and invited the man to come up, and gave him assurances that his life should be preserved: but they did not prevail with him; for he gathered suspicions from the probability there was that one who had done so many things against the Romans must suffer for it, though not from the mild temper of those that invited him. However, he was afraid that he was invited to come up in order to be punished, until Vespasian sent besides these a third tribune, Nicanor, to him; he was one that was well known to Josephus, and had been his familiar acquaintance in old time. When he was come, he enlarged upon the natural mildness of the Romans towards those they have once conquered; and told him that he had behaved himself so valiantly, that the commanders rather admired than hated him; that the general was very desirous to have him brought to him,

not in order to punish him, for that he could do though he should not come voluntarily, but that he was determined to preserve a man of his courage. He moreover added this, that Vespasian, had he been resolved to impose upon him, would not have sent to him a friend of his own, nor put the fairest color upon the vilest action, by pretending friendship and meaning perfidiousness; nor would he have himself acquiesced, or come to him, had it been to deceive him.

3. Now as Josephus began to hesitate with himself about Nicanor's proposal, the soldiery were so angry, that they ran hastily to set fire to the den; but the tribune would not permit them so to do, as being very desirous to take the man alive. And now, as Nicanor lay hard at Josephus to comply, and he understood how the multitude of the enemies threatened him, he called to mind the dreams which he had dreamed in the night time, whereby God had signified to him beforehand both the future calamities of the Jews, and the events that concerned the Roman emperors. Now Josephus was able to give shrewd conjectures about the interpretation of such dreams as have been ambiguously delivered by God. Moreover, he was not unacquainted with the prophecies contained in the sacred books, as being a priest himself, and of the posterity of priests: and just then was he in an ecstasy; and setting before him the tremendous images of the dreams he had lately had, he put up a secret prayer to God, and said, "Since it pleaseth thee, who hast created the Jewish nation, to depress the same, and since all their good fortune is gone over to the Romans, and since thou hast made choice of this soul of mine to foretell what is to come to pass hereafter, I willingly give them my hands, and am content to live. And I protest openly that I do not go over to the Romans as a deserter of the Jews, but as a minister from thee."

4. When he had said this, he complied with Nicanor's invitation. But when those Jews who had fled with him understood that he yielded to those that invited him to come up, they came about him in a body, and cried out, "Nay, indeed, now may the laws of our forefathers, which God ordained himself, well groan to purpose; that God we mean who hath created the souls of the Jews of such a temper, that they despise death. O Josephus! art thou still fond of life? and canst thou bear to see the light in a state of slavery? How soon hast thou forgotten thyself! How many hast thou persuaded to lose their lives for liberty! Thou hast therefore had a false reputation for manhood, and a like false reputation for wisdom, if thou canst hope for preservation from those against whom thou hast fought so zealously, and art however willing to be preserved by them, if they be in earnest. But although the good fortune of the Romans hath made thee forget thyself, we ought to take care that the glory of our forefathers may not be tarnished. We will lend thee our right hand and a sword; and if thou wilt die willingly, thou wilt die as general of the Jews; but if unwillingly, thou

wilt die as a traitor to them." As soon as they said this, they began to thrust their swords at him, and threatened they would kill him, if he thought of yielding himself to the Romans.

5. Upon this Josephus was afraid of their attacking him, and yet thought he should be a betrayer of the commands of God, if he died before they were delivered. So he began to talk like a philosopher to them in the distress he was then in, when he said thus to them: "O my friends, why are we so earnest to kill ourselves? and why do we set our soul and body, which are such dear companions, at such variance? Can any one pretend that I am not the man I was formerly? Nay, the Romans are sensible how that matter stands well enough. It is a brave thing to die in war; but so that it be according to the law of war, by the hand of conquerors. If, therefore, I avoid death from the sword of the Romans, I am truly worthy to be killed by my own sword, and my own hand; but if they admit of mercy, and would spare their enemy, how much more ought we to have mercy upon ourselves, and to spare ourselves? For it is certainly a foolish thing to do that to ourselves which we quarrel with them for doing to us. I confess freely that it is a brave thing to die for liberty; but still so that it be in war, and done by those who take that liberty from us; but in the present case our enemies do neither meet us in battle, nor do they kill us. Now he is equally a coward who will not die when he is obliged to die, and he who will die when he is not obliged so to do. What are we afraid of, when we will not go up to the Romans? Is it death? If so, what we are afraid of, when we but suspect our enemies will inflict it on us, shall we inflict it on ourselves for certain? But it may be said we must be slaves. And are we then in a clear state of liberty at present? It may also be said that it is a manly act for one to kill himself. No, certainly, but a most unmanly one; as I should esteem that pilot to be an arrant coward, who, out of fear of a storm, should sink his ship of his own accord. Now self-murder is a crime most remote from the common nature of all animals, and an instance of impiety against God our Creator; nor indeed is there any animal that dies by its own contrivance, or by its own means, for the desire of life is a law engraven in them all; on which account we deem those that openly take it away from us to be our enemies, and those that do it by treachery are punished for so doing. And do not you think that God is very angry when a man does injury to what he hath bestowed on him? For from him it is that we have received our being, and we ought to leave it to his disposal to take that being away from us. The bodies of all men are indeed mortal, and are created out of corruptible matter; but the soul is ever immortal, and is a portion of the divinity that inhabits our bodies. Besides, if any one destroys or abuses a depositum he hath received from a mere man, he is esteemed a wicked and perfidious person; but then if any one cast out

of his body this Divine depositum, can we imagine that he who is thereby affronted does not know of it? Moreover, our law justly ordains that slaves which run away from their master shall be punished, though the masters they run away from may have been wicked masters to them. And shall we endeavor to run away from God, who is the best of all masters, and not guilty of impeity? Do not you know that those who depart out of this life according to the law of nature, and pay that debt which was received from God, when he that lent it us is pleased to require it back again, enjoy eternal fame; that their houses and their posterity are sure, that their souls are pure and obedient, and obtain a most holy place in heaven, from whence, in the revolutions of ages, they are again sent into pure bodies; while the souls of those whose hands have acted madly against themselves are received by the darkest place in Hades, and while God, who is their Father, punishes those that offend against either of them in their posterity? for which reason God hates such doings, and the crime is punished by our most wise legislator. Accordingly, our laws determine that the bodies of such as kill themselves should be exposed till the sun be set, without burial, although at the same time it be allowed by them to be lawful to bury our enemies [sooner]. The laws of other nations also enjoin such men's hands to be cut off when they are dead, which had been made use of in destroying themselves when alive, while they reckoned that as the body is alien from the soul, so is the hand alien from the body. It is therefore, my friends, a right thing to reason justly, and not add to the calamities which men bring upon us impiety towards our Creator. If we have a mind to preserve ourselves, let us do it; for to be preserved by those our enemies, to whom we have given so many demonstrations of our courage, is no way inglorious; but if we have a mind to die, it is good to die by the hand of those that have conquered us. For my part, I will not run over to our enemies' quarters, in order to be a traitor to myself; for certainly I should then be much more foolish than those that deserted to the enemy, since they did it in order to save themselves, and I should do it for destruction, for my own destruction. However, I heartily wish the Romans may prove treacherous in this matter; for if, after their offer of their right hand for security, I be slain by them, I shall die cheerfully, and carry away with me the sense of their perfidiousness, as a consolation greater than victory itself."

6. Now these and many the like motives did Josephus use to these men to prevent their murdering themselves; but desperation had shut their ears, as having long ago devoted themselves to die, and they were irritated at Josephus. They then ran upon him with their swords in their hands, one from one quarter, and another from another, and called him a coward, and everyone of them appeared openly as if he were ready to smite him; but he calling to one of them

by name, and looking like a general to another, and taking a third by the hand, and making a fourth ashamed of himself, by praying him to forbear, and being in this condition distracted with various passions, [as he well might in the great distress he was then in,] he kept off every one of their swords from killing him, and was forced to do like such wild beasts as are encompassed about on every side, who always turn themselves against those that last touched them. Nay, some of their right hands were debilitated by the reverence they bare to their general in these his fatal calamities, and their swords dropped out of their hands; and not a few of them there were, who, when they aimed to smite him with their swords, they were not thoroughly either willing or able to do it.

7. However, in this extreme distress, he was not destitute of his usual sagacity; but trusting himself to the providence of God, he put his life into hazard [in the manner following]: "And now," said he, "since it is resolved among you that you will die, come on, let us commit our mutual deaths to determination by lot. He whom the lot falls to first, let him be killed by him that hath the second lot, and thus fortune shall make its progress through us all; nor shall any of us perish by his own right hand, for it would be unfair if, when the rest are gone, somebody should repent and save himself." This proposal appeared to them to be very just; and when he had prevailed with them to determine this matter by lots, he drew one of the lots for himself also. He who had the first lot laid his neck bare to him that had the next, as supposing that the general would die among them immediately; for they thought death, if Josephus might but die with them, was sweeter than life; yet was he with another left to the last, whether we must say it happened so by chance, or whether by the providence of God. And as he was very desirous neither to be condemned by the lot, nor, if he had been left to the last, to imbrue his right hand in the blood of his countrymen, he persuaded him to trust his fidelity to him, and to live as well as himself.

8. Thus Josephus escaped in the war with the Romans, and in this his own war with his friends, and was led by Nicanor to Vespasian. But now all the Romans ran together to see him; and as the multitude pressed one upon another about their general, there was a tumult of a various kind; while some rejoiced that Josephus was taken, and some threatened him, and some crowded to see him very near; but those that were more remote cried out to have this their enemy put to death, while those that were near called to mind the actions he had done, and a deep concern appeared at the change of his fortune. Nor were there any of the Roman commanders, how much soever they had been enraged at him before, but relented when they came to the sight of him. Above all the rest, Titus's own valor, and Josephus's own patience under his afflictions, made him pity him, as did also the commiseration of his age, when he recalled to mind that but a little

while ago he was fighting, but lay now in the hands of his enemies, which made him consider the power of fortune, and how quick is the turn of affairs in war, and how no state of men is sure; for which reason he then made a great many more to be of the same pitiful temper with himself, and induced them to commiserate Josephus. He was also of great weight in persuading his father to preserve him. However, Vespasian gave strict orders that he should be kept with great caution, as though he would in a very little time send him to Nero.

9. When Josephus heard him give those orders, he said that he had somewhat in his mind that he would willingly say to himself alone. When therefore they were all ordered to withdraw, excepting Titus and two of their friends, he said, "Thou, O Vespasian, thinkest no more than that thou hast taken Josephus himself captive; but I come to thee as a messenger of greater tidings; for had not I been sent by God to thee, I knew what was the law of the Jews in this case? and how it becomes generals to die. Dost thou send me to Nero? For why? Are Nero's successors till they come to thee still alive? Thou, O Vespasian, art Caesar and emperor, thou, and this thy son. Bind me now still faster, and keep me for thyself, for thou, O Caesar, are not only lord over me, but over the land and the sea, and all mankind; and certainly I deserve to be kept in closer custody than I now am in, in order to be punished, if I rashly affirm any thing of God." When he had said this, Vespasian at present did not believe him, but supposed that Josephus said this as a cunning trick, in order to his own preservation; but in a little time he was convinced, and believed what he said to be true, God himself erecting his expectations, so as to think of obtaining the empire, and by other signs fore-showing his advancement. He also found Josephus to have spoken truth on other occasions; for one of those friends that were present at that secret conference said to Josephus, "I cannot but wonder how thou couldst not foretell to the people of Jotapata that they should be taken, nor couldst foretell this captivity which hath happened to thyself, unless what thou now sayest be a vain thing, in order to avoid the rage that is risen against thyself." To which Josephus replied, "I did foretell to the people of Jotapata that they would be taken on the forty-seventh day, and that I should be caught alive by the Romans." Now when Vespasian had inquired of the captives privately about these predictions, he found them to be true, and then he began to believe those that concerned himself. Yet did he not set Josephus at liberty from his hands, but bestowed on him suits of clothes, and other precious gifts; he treated him also in a very obliging manner, and continued so to do, Titus still joining his interest in the honors that were done him.

CHAPTER 9.

How Joppa Was Taken, And Tiberias Delivered Up.

1. Now Vespasian returned to Ptolemais on the fourth day of the month Panemus, [Tamus] and from thence he came to Cesarea, which lay by the sea-side. This was a very great city of Judea, and for the greatest part inhabited by Greeks: the citizens here received both the Roman army and its general, with all sorts of acclamations and rejoicings, and this partly out of the good-will they bore to the Romans, but principally out of the hatred they bore to those that were conquered by them; on which account they came clamoring against Josephus in crowds, and desired he might be put to death. But Vespasian passed over this petition concerning him, as offered by the injudicious multitude, with a bare silence. Two of the legions also he placed at Cesarea, that they might there take their winter-quarters, as perceiving the city very fit for such a purpose; but he placed the tenth and the fifth at Scythopolis, that he might not distress Cesarea with the entire army. This place was warm even in winter, as it was suffocating hot in the summer time, by reason of its situation in a plain, and near to the sea [of Galilee].

2. In the mean time, there were gathered together as well such as had seditiously got out from among their enemies, as those that had escaped out of the demolished cities, which were in all a great number, and repaired Joppa, which had been left desolate by Cestius, that it might serve them for a place of refuge; and because the adjoining region had been laid waste in the war, and was not capable of supporting them, they determined to go off to sea. They also built themselves a great many piratical ships, and turned pirates upon the seas near to Syria, and Phoenicia, and Egypt, and made those seas unnavigable to all men. Now as soon as Vespasian knew of their conspiracy, he sent both footmen and horsemen to Joppa, which was unguarded in the night time; however, those that were in it perceived that they should be attacked, and were afraid of it; yet did they not endeavor to keep the Romans out, but fled to their ships, and lay at sea all night, out of the reach of their darts.

3. Now Joppa is not naturally a haven, for it ends in a rough shore, where all the rest of it is straight, but the two ends bend towards each other, where there are deep precipices, and great stones that jut out into the sea, and where the chains wherewith Andromeda was bound have left their footsteps, which attest to the antiquity of that fable. But the north wind opposes and beats upon the shore, and dashes mighty waves against the rocks which receive them, and

renders the haven more dangerous than the country they had deserted. Now as those people of Joppa were floating about in this sea, in the morning there fell a violent wind upon them; it is called by those that sail there "the black north wind," and there dashed their ships one against another, and dashed some of them against the rocks, and carried many of them by force, while they strove against the opposite waves, into the main sea; for the shore was so rocky, and had so many of the enemy upon it, that they were afraid to come to land; nay, the waves rose so very high, that they drowned them; nor was there any place whither they could fly, nor any way to save themselves; while they were thrust out of the sea, by the violence of the wind, if they staid where they were, and out of the city by the violence of the Romans. And much lamentation there was when the ships were dashed against one another, and a terrible noise when they were broken to pieces; and some of the multitude that were in them were covered with waves, and so perished, and a great many were embarrassed with shipwrecks. But some of them thought that to die by their own swords was lighter than by the sea, and so they killed themselves before they were drowned; although the greatest part of them were carried by the waves, and dashed to pieces against the abrupt parts of the rocks, insomuch that the sea was bloody a long way, and the maritime parts were full of dead bodies; for the Romans came upon those that were carried to the shore, and destroyed them; and the number of the bodies that were thus thrown out of the sea was four thousand and two hundred. The Romans also took the city without opposition, and utterly demolished it.

4. And thus was Joppa taken twice by the Romans in a little time; but Vespasian, in order to prevent these pirates from coming thither any more, erected a camp there, where the citadel of Joppa had been, and left a body of horse in it, with a few footmen, that these last might stay there and guard the camp, and the horsemen might spoil the country that lay round it, and might destroy the neighboring villages and smaller cities. So these troops overran the country, as they were ordered to do, and every day cut to pieces and laid desolate the whole region.

5. But now, when the fate of Jotapata was related at Jerusalem, a great many at the first disbelieved it, on account of the vastness of the calamity, and because they had no eye-witness to attest the truth of what was related about it; for not one person was saved to be a messenger of that news, but a fame was spread abroad at random that the city was taken, as such fame usually spreads bad news about. However, the truth was known by degrees, from the places near Jotapata, and appeared to all to be too true. Yet were there fictitious stories added to what was really done; for it was reported that Josephus was slain at the taking of the

city, which piece of news filled Jerusalem full of sorrow. In every house also, and among all to whom any of the slain were allied, there was a lamentation for them; but the mourning for the commander was a public one; and some mourned for those that had lived with them, others for their kindred, others for their friends, and others for their brethren, but all mourned for Josephus; insomuch that the lamentation did not cease in the city before the thirtieth day; and a great many hired mourners, with their pipes, who should begin the melancholy ditties for them.

6. But as the truth came out in time, it appeared how the affairs of Jotapata really stood; yet was it found that the death of Josephus was a fiction; and when they understood that he was alive, and was among the Romans, and that the commanders treated him at another rate than they treated captives, they were as vehemently angry at him now as they had showed their good-will before, when he appeared to have been dead. He was also abused by some as having been a coward, and by others as a deserter; and the city was full of indignation at him, and of reproaches cast upon him; their rage was also aggravated by their afflictions, and more inflamed by their ill success; and what usually becomes an occasion of caution to wise men, I mean affliction, became a spur to them to venture on further calamities, and the end of one misery became still the beginning of another; they therefore resolved to fall on the Romans the more vehemently, as resolving to be revenged on him in revenging themselves on the Romans. And this was the state of Jerusalem as to the troubles which now came upon it.

7. But Vespasian, in order to see the kingdom of Agrippa, while the king persuaded himself so to do, [partly in order to his treating the general and his army in the best and most splendid manner his private affairs would enable him to do, and partly that he might, by their means, correct such things as were amiss in his government,] he removed from that Cesarea which was by the sea-side, and went to that which is called Cesarea Philippi and there he refreshed his army for twenty days, and was himself feasted by king Agrippa, where he also returned public thanks to God for the good success he had had in his undertakings. But as soon as he was informed that Tiberias was fond of innovations, and that Taricheae had revolted, both which cities were parts of the kingdom of Agrippa, and was satisfied within himself that the Jews were every where perverted [from their obedience to their governors], he thought it seasonable to make an expedition against these cities, and that for the sake of Agrippa, and in order to bring his cities to reason. So he sent away his son Titus to [the other] Cesarea, that he might bring the army that lay there to Seythopous, which is the largest city of Decapolis, and in the neighborhood of Tiberias,

whither he came, and where he waited for his son. He then came with three legions, and pitched his camp thirty furlongs off Tiberias, at a certain station easily seen by the innovators; it is named Sennabris. He also sent Valerian, a decurion, with fifty horsemen, to speak peaceably to those that were in the city, and to exhort them to give him assurances of their fidelity; for he had heard that the people were desirous of peace, but were obliged by some of the seditious part to join with them, and so were forced to fight for them. When Valerian had marched up to the place, and was near the wall, he alighted off his horse, and made those that were with him to do the same, that they might not be thought to come to skirmish with them; but before they could come to a discourse one with another, the most potent men among the seditious made a sally upon them armed; their leader was one whose name was Jesus, the son of Shaphat, the principal head of a band of robbers. Now Valerian, neither thinking it safe to fight contrary to the commands of the general, though he were secure of a victory, and knowing that it was a very hazardous undertaking for a few to fight with many, for those that were unprovided to fight those that were ready, and being on other accounts surprised at this unexpected onset of the Jews, he ran away on foot, as did five of the rest in like manner, and left their horses behind them; which horses Jesus led away into the city, and rejoiced as if they had taken them in battle, and not by treachery.

8. Now the seniors of the people, and such as were of principal authority among them, fearing what would be the issue of this matter, fled to the camp of the Romans; they then took their king along with them, and fell down before Vespasian, to supplicate his favor, and besought him not to overlook them, nor to impute the madness of a few to the whole city, to spare a people that have been ever civil and obliging to the Romans; but to bring the authors of this revolt to due punishment, who had hitherto so watched them, that though they were zealous to give them the security of their right hands of a long time, yet could they not accomplish the same. With these supplications the general complied, although he were very angry at the whole city about the carrying off his horses, and this because he saw that Agrippa was under a great concern for them. So when Vespasian and Agrippa had accepted of their right hands by way of security, Jesus and his party thought it not safe for them to continue at Tiberias, so they ran away to Taricheae. The next day Vespasian sent Trajan before with some horsemen to the citadel, to make trial of the multitude, whether they were all disposed for peace; and as soon as he knew that the people were of the same mind with the petitioner, he took his army, and went to the city; upon which the citizens opened to him their gates, and met him with acclamations of joy, and called him their savior and benefactor. But as the army was a great while in

getting in at the gates, they were so narrow, Vespasian commanded the south wall to be broken down, and so made a broad passage for their entrance. However, he charged them to abstain from rapine and injustice, in order to gratify the king; and on his account spared the rest of the wall, while the king undertook for them that they should continue [faithful to the Romans] for the time to come. And thus did he restore this city to a quiet state, after it had been grievously afflicted by the sedition.

CHAPTER 10.

How Taricheae Was Taken. A Description Of The River Jordan,
And Of The Country Of Gennesareth.

1. And now Vespasian pitched his camp between this city and Taricheae, but fortified his camp more strongly, as suspecting that he should be forced to stay there, and have a long war; for all the innovators had gotten together at Taricheae, as relying upon the strength of the city, and on the lake that lay by it. This lake is called by the people of the country the Lake of Gennesareth. The city itself is situated like Tiberias, at the bottom of a mountain, and on those sides which are not washed by the sea, had been strongly fortified by Josephus, though not so strongly as Tiberias; for the wall of Tiberias had been built at the beginning of the Jews' revolt, when he had great plenty of money, and great power, but Taricheae partook only the remains of that liberality, Yet had they a great number of ships gotten ready upon the lake, that, in case they were beaten at land, they might retire to them; and they were so fitted up, that they might undertake a Sea-fight also. But as the Romans were building a wall about their camp, Jesu and his party were neither affrighted at their number, nor at the good order they were in, but made a sally upon them; and at the very first onset the builders of the wall were dispersed; and these pulled what little they had before built to pieces; but as soon as they saw the armed men getting together, and before they had suffered any thing themselves, they retired to their own men. But then the Romans pursued them, and drove them into their ships, where they launched out as far as might give them the opportunity of reaching the Romans with what they threw at them, and then cast anchor, and brought their ships close, as in a line of battle, and thence fought the enemy from the sea, who were themselves at land. But Vespasian hearing that a great multitude of them were gotten together in the plain that was before the city, he thereupon sent his son, with six hundred chosen horsemen, to disperse them.

2. But when Titus perceived that the enemy was very numerous, he sent to his father, and informed him that he should want more forces. But as he saw a great many of the horsemen eager to fight, and that before any succors could come to them, and that yet some of them were privately under a sort of consternation at the multitude of the Jews, he stood in a place whence he might be heard, and said to them, "My brave Romans! for it is right for me to put you in mind of what nation you are, in the beginning of my speech, that so you may not be ignorant who you are, and who they are against whom we are going to fight. For

as to us, Romans, no part of the habitable earth hath been able to escape our hands hitherto; but as for the Jews, that I may speak of them too, though they have been already beaten, yet do they not give up the cause; and a sad thing it would be for us to grow wealthy under good success, when they bear up under their misfortunes. As to the alacrity which you show publicly, I see it, and rejoice at it; yet am I afraid lest the multitude of the enemy should bring a concealed fright upon some of you: let such a one consider again, who we are that are to fight, and who those are against whom we are to fight. Now these Jews, though they be very bold and great despisers of death, are but a disorderly body, and unskillful in war, and may rather be called a rout than an army; while I need say nothing of our skill and our good order; for this is the reason why we Romans alone are exercised for war in time of peace, that we may not think of number for number when we come to fight with our enemies: for what advantage should we reap by our continual sort of warfare, if we must still be equal in number to such as have not been used to war. Consider further, that you are to have a conflict with men in effect unarmed, while you are well armed; with footmen, while you are horsemen; with those that have no good general, while you have one; and as these advantages make you in effect manifold more than you are, so do their disadvantages mightily diminish their number. Now it is not the multitude of men, though they be soldiers, that manages wars with success, but it is their bravery that does it, though they be but a few; for a few are easily set in battle-array, and can easily assist one another, while over-numerous armies are more hurt by themselves than by their enemies. It is boldness and rashness, the effects of madness, that conduct the Jews. Those passions indeed make a great figure when they succeed, but are quite extinguished upon the least ill success; but we are led on by courage, and obedience, and fortitude, which shows itself indeed in our good fortune, but still does not for ever desert us in our ill fortune. Nay, indeed, your fighting is to be on greater motives than those of the Jews; for although they run the hazard of war for liberty, and for their country, yet what can be a greater motive to us than glory? and that it may never be said, that after we have got dominion of the habitable earth, the Jews are able to confront us. We must also reflect upon this, that there is no fear of our suffering any incurable disaster in the present case; for those that are ready to assist us are many, and at hand also; yet it is in our power to seize upon this victory ourselves; and I think we ought to prevent the coming of those my father is sending to us for our assistance, that our success may be peculiar to ourselves, and of greater reputation to us. And I cannot but think this an opportunity wherein my father, and I, and you shall be all put to the trial, whether he be worthy of his former glorious performances, whether I be his

son in reality, and whether you be really my soldiers; for it is usual for my father to conquer; and for myself, I should not bear the thoughts of returning to him if I were once taken by the enemy. And how will you be able to avoid being ashamed, if you do not show equal courage with your commander, when he goes before you into danger? For you know very well that I shall go into the danger first, and make the first attack upon the enemy. Do not you therefore desert me, but persuade yourselves that God will be assisting to my onset. Know this also before we begin, that we shall now have better success than we should have, if we were to fight at a distance."

3. As Titus was saying this, an extraordinary fury fell upon the men; and as Trajan was already come before the fight began, with four hundred horsemen, they were uneasy at it, because the reputation of the victory would be diminished by being common to so many. Vespasian had also sent both Antonius and Silo, with two thousand archers, and had given it them in charge to seize upon the mountain that was over against the city, and repel those that were upon the wall; which archers did as they were commanded, and prevented those that attempted to assist them that way; And now Titus made his own horse march first against the enemy, as did the others with a great noise after him, and extended themselves upon the plain as wide as the enemy which confronted them; by which means they appeared much more numerous than they really were. Now the Jews, although they were surprised at their onset, and at their good order, made resistance against their attacks for a little while; but when they were pricked with their long poles, and overborne by the violent noise of the horsemen, they came to be trampled under their feet; many also of them were slain on every side, which made them disperse themselves, and run to the city, as fast as every one of them were able. So Titus pressed upon the hindmost, and slew them; and of the rest, some he fell upon as they stood on heaps, and some he prevented, and met them in the mouth, and run them through; many also he leaped upon as they fell one upon another, and trod them down, and cut off all the retreat they had to the wall, and turned them back into the plain, till at last they forced a passage by their multitude, and got away, and ran into the city.

4. But now there fell out a terrible sedition among them within the city; for the inhabitants themselves, who had possessions there, and to whom the city belonged, were not disposed to fight from the very beginning; and now the less so, because they had been beaten; but the foreigners, which were very numerous, would force them to fight so much the more, insomuch that there was a clamor and a tumult among them, as all mutually angry one at another. And when Titus heard this tumult, for he was not far from the wall, he cried out, "Fellow soldiers, now is the time; and why do we make any delay, when God is giving up

the Jews to us? Take the victory which is given you: do not you hear what a noise they make? Those that have escaped our hands are in an uproar against one another. We have the city if we make haste; but besides haste, we must undergo some labor, and use some courage; for no great thing uses to be accomplished without danger: accordingly, we must not only prevent their uniting again, which necessity will soon compel them to do, but we must also prevent the coming of our own men to our assistance, that, as few as we are, we may conquer so great a multitude, and may ourselves alone take the city."

5. As soon as ever Titus had said this, he leaped upon his horse, and rode apace down to the lake; by which lake he marched, and entered into the city the first of them all, as did the others soon after him. Hereupon those that were upon the walls were seized with a terror at the boldness of the attempt, nor durst any one venture to fight with him, or to hinder him; so they left guarding the city, and some of those that were about Jesus fled over the country, while others of them ran down to the lake, and met the enemy in the teeth, and some were slain as they were getting up into the ships, but others of them as they attempted to overtake those that were already gone aboard. There was also a great slaughter made in the city, while those foreigners that had not fled away already made opposition; but the natural inhabitants were killed without fighting: for in hopes of Titus's giving them his right hand for their security, and out of a consciousness that they had not given any consent to the war, they avoided fighting, till Titus had slain the authors of this revolt, and then put a stop to any further slaughters, out of commiseration of these inhabitants of the place. But for those that had fled to the lake, upon seeing the city taken, they sailed as far as they possibly could from the enemy.

6. Hereupon Titus sent one of his horsemen to his father, and let him know the good news of what he had done; at which, as was natural, he was very joyful, both on account of the courage and glorious actions of his son; for he thought that now the greatest part of the war was over. He then came thither himself, and set men to guard the city, and gave them command to take care that nobody got privately out of it, but to kill such as attempted so to do. And on the next day he went down to the lake, and commanded that vessels should be fitted up, in order to pursue those that had escaped in the ships. These vessels were quickly gotten ready accordingly, because there was great plenty of materials, and a great number of artificers also.

7. Now this lake of Gennesareth is so called from the country adjoining to it. Its breadth is forty furlongs, and its length one hundred and forty; its waters are sweet, and very agreeable for drinking, for they are finer than the thick waters of other fens; the lake is also pure, and on every side ends directly at the shores,

and at the sand; it is also of a temperate nature when you draw it up, and of a more gentle nature than river or fountain water, and yet always cooler than one could expect in so diffuse a place as this is. Now when this water is kept in the open air, it is as cold as that snow which the country people are accustomed to make by night in summer. There are several kinds of fish in it, different both to the taste and the sight from those elsewhere. It is divided into two parts by the river Jordan. Now Panium is thought to be the fountain of Jordan, but in reality it is carried thither after an occult manner from the place called Phiala: this place lies as you go up to Trachonitis, and is a hundred and twenty furlongs from Cesarea, and is not far out of the road on the right hand; and indeed it hath its name of Phiala [vial or bowl] very justly, from the roundness of its circumference, as being round like a wheel; its water continues always up to its edges, without either sinking or running over. And as this origin of Jordan was formerly not known, it was discovered so to be when Philip was tetrarch of Trachonitis; for he had chaff thrown into Phiala, and it was found at Paninto, where the ancients thought the fountain-head of the river was, whither it had been therefore carried [by the waters]. As for Panium itself, its natural beauty had been improved by the royal liberality of Agrippa, and adorned at his expenses. Now Jordan's visible stream arises from this cavern, and divides the marshes and fens of the lake Semechonitis; when it hath run another hundred and twenty furlongs, it first passes by the city Julias, and then passes through the middle of the lake Gennesareth; after which it runs a long way over a desert, and then makes its exit into the lake Asphaltites.

8. The country also that lies over against this lake hath the same name of Gennesareth; its nature is wonderful as well as its beauty; its soil is so fruitful that all sorts of trees can grow upon it, and the inhabitants accordingly plant all sorts of trees there; for the temper of the air is so well mixed, that it agrees very well with those several sorts, particularly walnuts, which require the coldest air, flourish there in vast plenty; there are palm trees also, which grow best in hot air; fig trees also and olives grow near them, which yet require an air that is more temperate. One may call this place the ambition of nature, where it forces those plants that are naturally enemies to one another to agree together; it is a happy contention of the seasons, as if every one of them laid claim to this country; for it not only nourishes different sorts of autumnal fruit beyond men's expectation, but preserves them a great while; it supplies men with the principal fruits, with grapes and figs continually, during ten months of the year and the rest of the fruits as they become ripe together through the whole year; for besides the good temperature of the air, it is also watered from a most fertile fountain. The people of the country call it Capharnaum. Some have thought it to be a vein of the Nile,

because it produces the Coracin fish as well as that lake does which is near to Alexandria. The length of this country extends itself along the banks of this lake that bears the same name for thirty furlongs, and is in breadth twenty, And this is the nature of that place.

9. But now, when the vessels were gotten ready, Vespasian put upon ship-board as many of his forces as he thought sufficient to be too hard for those that were upon the lake, and set sail after them. Now these which were driven into the lake could neither fly to the land, where all was in their enemies' hand, and in war against them; nor could they fight upon the level by sea, for their ships were small and fitted only for piracy; they were too weak to fight with Vespasian's vessels, and the mariners that were in them were so few, that they were afraid to come near the Romans, who attacked them in great numbers. However, as they sailed round about the vessels, and sometimes as they came near them, they threw stones at the Romans when they were a good way off, or came closer and fought them; yet did they receive the greatest harm themselves in both cases. As for the stones they threw at the Romans, they only made a sound one after another, for they threw them against such as were in their armor, while the Roman darts could reach the Jews themselves; and when they ventured to come near the Romans, they became sufferers themselves before they could do any harm to the ether, and were drowned, they and their ships together. As for those that endeavored to come to an actual fight, the Romans ran many of them through with their long poles. Sometimes the Romans leaped into their ships, with swords in their hands, and slew them; but when some of them met the vessels, the Romans caught them by the middle, and destroyed at once their ships and themselves who were taken in them. And for such as were drowning in the sea, if they lifted their heads up above the water, they were either killed by darts, or caught by the vessels; but if, in the desperate case they were in, they attempted to swim to their enemies, the Romans cut off either their heads or their hands; and indeed they were destroyed after various manners every where, till the rest being put to flight, were forced to get upon the land, while the vessels encompassed them about [on the sea]: but as many of these were repulsed when they were getting ashore, they were killed by the darts upon the lake; and the Romans leaped out of their vessels, and destroyed a great many more upon the land: one might then see the lake all bloody, and full of dead bodies, for not one of them escaped. And a terrible stink, and a very sad sight there was on the following days over that country; for as for the shores, they were full of shipwrecks, and of dead bodies all swelled; and as the dead bodies were inflamed by the sun, and putrefied, they corrupted the air, insomuch that the misery was not only the object of commiseration to the Jews, but to those that

hated them, and had been the authors of that misery. This was the upshot of the sea-fight. The number of the slain, including those that were killed in the city before, was six thousand and five hundred.

10. After this fight was over, Vespasian sat upon his tribunal at Taricheae, in order to distinguish the foreigners from the old inhabitants; for those foreigners appear to have begun the war. So he deliberated with the other commanders, whether he ought to save those old inhabitants or not. And when those commanders alleged that the dismission of them would be to his own disadvantage, because, when they were once set at liberty, they would not be at rest, since they would be people destitute of proper habitations, and would be able to compel such as they fled to fight against us, Vespasian acknowledged that they did not deserve to be saved, and that if they had leave given them to fly away, they would make use of it against those that gave them that leave. But still he considered with himself after what manner they should be slain for if he had them slain there, he suspected the people of the country would thereby become his enemies; for that to be sure they would never bear it, that so many that had been supplicants to him should be killed; and to offer violence to them, after he had given them assurances of their lives, he could not himself bear to do it. However, his friends were too hard for him, and pretended that nothing against Jews could be any impiety, and that he ought to prefer what was profitable before what was fit to be done, where both could not be made consistent. So he gave them an ambiguous liberty to do as they advised, and permitted the prisoners to go along no other road than that which led to Tiberias only. So they readily believed what they desired to be true, and went along securely, with their effects, the way which was allowed them, while the Romans seized upon all the road that led to Tiberias, that none of them might go out of it, and shut them up in the city. Then came Vespasian, and ordered them all to stand in the stadium, and commanded them to kill the old men, together with the others that were useless, which were in number a thousand and two hundred. Out of the young men he chose six thousand of the strongest, and sent them to Nero, to dig through the Isthmus, and sold the remainder for slaves, being thirty thousand and four hundred, besides such as he made a present of to Agrippa; for as to those that belonged to his kingdom, he gave him leave to do what he pleased with them; however, the king sold these also for slaves; but for the rest of the multitude, who were Trachonites, and Gaulanites, and of Hippos, and some of Gadara, the greatest part of them were seditious persons and fugitives, who were of such shameful characters, that they preferred war before peace. These prisoners were taken on the eighth day of the month Gorpieus [Elul].

BOOK IV.

Containing The Interval Of About One Year.
From The Siege Of Gamala To The Coming Of Titus To Besiege Jerusalem.

CHAPTER 1.

The Siege And Taking Of Gamala.

1. Now all those Galileans who, after the taking of Jotapata, had revolted from the Romans, did, upon the conquest of Taricheae, deliver themselves up to them again. And the Romans received all the fortresses and the cities, excepting Gischala and those that had seized upon Mount Tabor; Gamala also, which is a city ever against Taricheae, but on the other side of the lake, conspired with them. This city lay upon the borders of Agrippa's kingdom, as also did Sogana and Seleucia. And these were both parts of Gaulanitis; for Sogana was a part of that called the Upper Gaulanitis, as was Gamala of the Lower; while Seleucia was situated at the lake Semechouitis, which lake is thirty furlongs in breadth, and sixty in length; its marshes reach as far as the place Daphne, which in other respects is a delicious place, and hath such fountains as supply water to what is called Little Jordan, under the temple of the golden calf, where it is sent into Great Jordan. Now Agrippa had united Sogana and Seleucia by leagues to himself, at the very beginning of the revolt from the Romans; yet did not Gamala accede to them, but relied upon the difficulty of the place, which was greater than that of Jotapata, for it was situated upon a rough ridge of a high mountain, with a kind of neck in the middle: where it begins to ascend, it lengthens itself, and declines as much downward before as behind, insomuch that it is like a camel in figure, from whence it is so named, although the people of the country do not pronounce it accurately. Both on the side and the face there are abrupt parts divided from the rest, and ending in vast deep valleys; yet are the parts behind, where they are joined to the mountain, somewhat easier of ascent than the other; but then the people belonging to the place have cut an oblique ditch there, and made that hard to be ascended also. On its acclivity, which is straight, houses are built, and those very thick and close to one another. The city also hangs so strangely, that it looks as if it would fall down upon itself, so sharp is it at the top. It is exposed to the south, and its southern mount, which reaches to an immense height, was in the nature of a citadel to the city; and above that was a precipice, not walled about, but extending itself to an immense depth. There was also a spring of water within the wall, at the utmost limits of the city.

2. As this city was naturally hard to be taken, so had Josephus, by building a wall about it, made it still stronger, as also by ditches and mines under ground. The people that were in it were made more bold by the nature of the place than the people of Jotapata had been, but it had much fewer fighting men in it; and

they had such a confidence in the situation of the place, that they thought the enemy could not be too many for them; for the city had been filled with those that had fled to it for safety, on account of its strength; on which account they had been able to resist those whom Agrippa sent to besiege it for seven months together.

3. But Vespasian removed from Emmaus, where he had last pitched his camp before the city Tiberias, [now Emmaus, if it be interpreted, may be rendered "a warm bath," for therein is a spring of warm water, useful for healing,] and came to Gamala; yet was its situation such that he was not able to encompass it all round with soldiers to watch it; but where the places were practicable, he set men to watch it, and seized upon the mountain which was over it. And as the legions, according to their usual custom, were fortifying their camp upon that mountain, he began to cast up banks at the bottom, at the part towards the east, where the highest tower of the whole city was, and where the fifteenth legion pitched their camp; while the fifth legion did duty over against the midst of the city, and whilst the tenth legion filled up the ditches and the valleys. Now at this time it was that as king Agrippa was come nigh the walls, and was endeavoring to speak to those that were on the walls about a surrender, he was hit with a stone on his right elbow by one of the slingers; he was then immediately surrounded with his own men. But the Romans were excited to set about the siege, by their indignation on the king's account, and by their fear on their own account, as concluding that those men would omit no kinds of barbarity against foreigners and enemies, who where so enraged against one of their own nation, and one that advised them to nothing but what was for their own advantage.

4. Now when the banks were finished, which was done on the sudden, both by the multitude of hands, and by their being accustomed to such work, they brought the machines; but Chares and Joseph, who were the most potent men in the city, set their armed men in order, though already in a fright, because they did not suppose that the city could hold out long, since they had not a sufficient quantity either of water, or of other necessaries. However, these their leaders encouraged them, and brought them out upon the wall, and for a while indeed they drove away those that were bringing the machines; but when those machines threw darts and stones at them, they retired into the city; then did the Romans bring battering rams to three several places, and made the wall shake [and fall]. They then poured in over the parts of the wall that were thrown down, with a mighty sound of trumpets and noise of armor, and with a shout of the soldiers, and brake in by force upon those that were in the city; but these men fell upon the Romans for some time, at their first entrance, and prevented their going any further, and with great courage beat them back; and the Romans were

so overpowered by the greater multitude of the people, who beat them on every side, that they were obliged to run into the upper parts of the city. Whereupon the people turned about, and fell upon their enemies, who had attacked them, and thrust them down to the lower parts, and as they were distressed by the narrowness and difficulty of the place, slew them; and as these Romans could neither beat those back that were above them, nor escape the force of their own men that were forcing their way forward, they were compelled to fly into their enemies' houses, which were low; but these houses being thus full, of soldiers, whose weight they could not bear, fell down suddenly; and when one house fell, it shook down a great many of those that were under it, as did those do to such as were under them. By this means a vast number of the Romans perished; for they were so terribly distressed, that although they saw the houses subsiding, they were compelled to leap upon the tops of them; so that a great many were ground to powder by these ruins, and a great many of those that got from under them lost some of their limbs, but still a greater number were suffocated by the dust that arose from those ruins. The people of Gamala supposed this to be an assistance afforded them by God, and without regarding what damage they suffered themselves, they pressed forward, and thrust the enemy upon the tops of their houses; and when they stumbled in the sharp and narrow streets, and were perpetually falling down, they threw their stones or darts at them, and slew them. Now the very ruins afforded them stones enow; and for iron weapons, the dead men of the enemies' side afforded them what they wanted; for drawing the swords of those that were dead, they made use of them to despatch such as were only half dead; nay, there were a great number who, upon their falling down from the tops of the houses, stabbed themselves, and died after that manner; nor indeed was it easy for those that were beaten back to fly away; for they were so unacquainted with the ways, and the dust was so thick, that they wandered about without knowing one another, and fell down dead among the crowd.

5. Those therefore that were able to find the ways out of the city retired. But now Vespasian always staid among those that were hard set; for he was deeply affected with seeing the ruins of the city falling upon his army, and forgot to take care of his own preservation. He went up gradually towards the highest parts of the city before he was aware, and was left in the midst of dangers, having only a very few with him; for even his son Titus was not with him at that time, having been then sent into Syria to Mucianus. However, he thought it not safe to fly, nor did he esteem it a fit thing for him to do; but calling to mind the actions he had done from his youth, and recollecting his courage, as if he had been excited by a divine fury, he covered himself and those that were with him with their shields, and formed a testudo over both their bodies and their armor, and bore up against

the enemy's attacks, who came running down from the top of the city; and without showing any dread at the multitude of the men or of their darts, he endured all, until the enemy took notice of that divine courage that was within him, and remitted of their attacks; and when they pressed less zealously upon him, he retired, though without showing his back to them till he was gotten out of the walls of the city. Now a great number of the Romans fell in this battle, among whom was Ebutius, the decurion, a man who appeared not only in this engagement, wherein he fell, but every where, and in former engagements, to be of the truest courage, and one that had done very great mischief to the Jews. But there was a centurion whose name was Gallus, who, during this disorder, being encompassed about, he and ten other soldiers privately crept into the house of a certain person, where he heard them talking at supper, what the people intended to do against the Romans, or about themselves [for both the man himself and those with him were Syrians]. So he got up in the night time, and cut all their throats, and escaped, together with his soldiers, to the Romans.

6. And now Vespasian comforted his army, which was much dejected by reflecting on their ill success, and because they had never before fallen into such a calamity, and besides this, because they were greatly ashamed that they had left their general alone in great dangers. As to what concerned himself, he avoided to say any thing, that he might by no means seem to complain of it; but he said that "we ought to bear manfully what usually falls out in war, and this, by considering what the nature of war is, and how it can never be that we must conquer without bloodshed on our own side; for there stands about us that fortune which is of its own nature mutable; that while they had killed so many ten thousands of the Jews, they had now paid their small share of the reckoning to fate; and as it is the part of weak people to be too much puffed up with good success, so is it the part of cowards to be too much affrighted at that which is ill; for the change from the one to the other is sudden on both sides; and he is the best warrior who is of a sober mind under misfortunes, that he may continue in that temper, and cheerfully recover what had been lost formerly; and as for what had now happened, it was neither owing to their own effeminacy, nor to the valor of the Jews, but the difficulty of the place was the occasion of their advantage, and of our disappointment. Upon reflecting on which matter one might blame your zeal as perfectly ungovernable; for when the enemy had retired to their highest fastnesses, you ought to have restrained yourselves, and not, by presenting yourselves at the top of the city, to be exposed to dangers; but upon your having obtained the lower parts of the city, you ought to have provoked those that had retired thither to a safe and settled battle; whereas, in rushing so hastily upon victory, you took no care of your safety. But this

incautiousness in war, and this madness of zeal, is not a Roman maxim. While we perform all that we attempt by skill and good order, that procedure is the part of barbarians, and is what the Jews chiefly support themselves by. We ought therefore to return to our own virtue, and to be rather angry than any longer dejected at this unlucky misfortune, and let every one seek for his own consolation from his own hand; for by this means he will avenge those that have been destroyed, and punish those that have killed them. For myself, I will endeavor, as I have now done, to go first before you against your enemies in every engagement, and to be the last that retires from it."

7. So Vespasian encouraged his army by this speech; but for the people of Gamala, it happened that they took courage for a little while, upon such great and unaccountable success as they had had. But when they considered with themselves that they had now no hopes of any terms of accommodation, and reflecting upon it that they could not get away, and that their provisions began already to be short, they were exceedingly cast down, and their courage failed them; yet did they not neglect what might be for their preservation, so far as they were able, but the most courageous among them guarded those parts of the wall that were beaten down, while the more infirm did the same to the rest of the wall that still remained round the city. And as the Romans raised their banks, and attempted to get into the city a second time, a great many of them fled out of the city through impracticable valleys, where no guards were placed, as also through subterraneous caverns; while those that were afraid of being caught, and for that reason staid in the city, perished for want of food; for what food they had was brought together from all quarters, and reserved for the fighting men.

8. And these were the hard circumstances that the people of Gamala were in. But now Vespasian went about other work by the by, during this siege, and that was to subdue those that had seized upon Mount Tabor, a place that lies in the middle between the great plain and Scythopolis, whose top is elevated as high as thirty furlongs and is hardly to be ascended on its north side; its top is a plain of twenty-six furlongs, and all encompassed with a wall. Now Josephus erected this so long a wall in forty days' time, and furnished it with other materials, and with water from below, for the inhabitants only made use of rain water. As therefore there was a great multitude of people gotten together upon this mountain, Vespasian sent Placidus with six hundred horsemen thither. Now, as it was impossible for him to ascend the mountain, he invited many of them to peace, by the offer of his right hand for their security, and of his intercession for them. Accordingly they came down, but with a treacherous design, as well as he had the like treacherous design upon them on the other side; for Placidus spoke mildly to them, as aiming to take them, when he got them into the plain; they

also came down, as complying with his proposals, but it was in order to fall upon him when he was not aware of it: however, Placidus's stratagem was too hard for theirs; for when the Jews began to fight, he pretended to run away, and when they were in pursuit of the Romans, he enticed them a great way along the plain, and then made his horsemen turn back; whereupon he beat them, and slew a great number of them, and cut off the retreat of the rest of the multitude, and hindered their return. So they left Tabor, and fled to Jerusalem, while the people of the country came to terms with him, for their water failed them, and so they delivered up the mountain and themselves to Placidus.

9. But of the people of Gamala, those that were of the bolder sort fled away and hid themselves, while the more infirm perished by famine; but the men of war sustained the siege till the two and twentieth day of the month Hyperbereteus, [Tisri,] when three soldiers of the fifteenth legion, about the morning watch, got under a high tower that was near them, and undermined it, without making any noise; nor when they either came to it, which was in the night time, nor when they were under it, did those that guarded it perceive them. These soldiers then upon their coming avoided making a noise, and when they had rolled away five of its strongest stones, they went away hastily; whereupon the tower fell down on a sudden, with a very great noise, and its guard fell headlong with it; so that those that kept guard at other places were under such disturbance, that they ran away; the Romans also slew many of those that ventured to oppose them, among whom was Joseph, who was slain by a dart, as he was running away over that part of the wall that was broken down: but as those that were in the city were greatly affrighted at the noise, they ran hither and thither, and a great consternation fell upon them, as though all the enemy had fallen in at once upon them. Then it was that Chares, who was ill, and under the physician's hands, gave up the ghost, the fear he was in greatly contributing to make his distemper fatal to him. But the Romans so well remembered their former ill success, that they did not enter the city till the three and twentieth day of the forementioned month.

10. At which time Titus, who was now returned, out of the indignation he had at the destruction the Romans had undergone while he was absent, took two hundred chosen horsemen and some footmen with him, and entered without noise into the city. Now as the watch perceived that he was coming, they made a noise, and betook themselves to their arms; and as that his entrance was presently known to those that were in the city, some of them caught hold of their children and their wives, and drew them after them, and fled away to the citadel, with lamentations and cries, while others of them went to meet Titus, and were killed perpetually; but so many of them as were hindered from running up to the

citadel, not knowing what in the world to do, fell among the Roman guards, while the groans of those that were killed were prodigiously great every where, and blood ran down over all the lower parts of the city, from the upper. But then Vespasian himself came to his assistance against those that had fled to the citadel, and brought his whole army with him; now this upper part of the city was every way rocky, and difficult of ascent, and elevated to a vast altitude, and very full of people on all sides, and encompassed with precipices, whereby the Jews cut off those that came up to them, and did much mischief to others by their darts, and the large stones which they rolled down upon them, while they were themselves so high that the enemy's darts could hardly reach them. However, there arose such a Divine storm against them as was instrumental to their destruction; this carried the Roman darts upon them, and made those which they threw return back, and drove them obliquely away from them; nor could the Jews indeed stand upon their precipices, by reason of the violence of the wind, having nothing that was stable to stand upon, nor could they see those that were ascending up to them; so the Romans got up and surrounded them, and some they slew before they could defend themselves, and others as they were delivering up themselves; and the remembrance of those that were slain at their former entrance into the city increased their rage against them now; a great number also of those that were surrounded on every side, and despaired of escaping, threw their children and their wives, and themselves also, down the precipices, into the valley beneath, which, near the citadel, had been dug hollow to a vast depth; but so it happened, that the anger of the Romans appeared not to be so extravagant as was the madness of those that were now taken, while the Romans slew but four thousand, whereas the number of those that had thrown themselves down was found to be five thousand: nor did any one escape except two women, who were the daughters of Philip, and Philip himself was the son of a certain eminent man called Jacimus, who had been general of king Agrippa's army; and these did therefore escape, because they lay concealed from the rage of the Romans when the city was taken; for otherwise they spared not so much as the infants, of which many were flung down by them from the citadel. And thus was Gamala taken on the three and twentieth day of the month Hyperbereteus, [Tisri,] whereas the city had first revolted on the four and twentieth day of the month Gorpieus [Elul].

CHAPTER 2.

The Surrender Of Gischala; While John Flies Away From It To Jerusalem.

1. Now no place of Galilee remained to be taken but the small city of Gischala, whose multitude yet were desirous of peace; for they were generally husbandmen, and always applied themselves to cultivate the fruits of the earth. However, there were a great number that belonged to a band of robbers, that were already corrupted, and had crept in among them, and some of the governing part of the citizens were sick of the same distemper. It was John, the son of a certain man whose name was Levi, that drew them into this rebellion, and encouraged them in it. He was a cunning knave, and of a temper that could put on various shapes; very rash in expecting great things, and very sagacious in bringing about what he hoped for. It was known to every body that he was fond of war, in order to thrust himself into authority; and the seditious part of the people of Gischala were under his management, by whose means the populace, who seemed ready to send ambassadors in order to surrender, waited for the coming of the Romans in battle-array. Vespasian sent against them Titus, with a thousand horsemen, but withdrew the tenth legion to Scythopolis, while he returned to Cesarea with the two other legions, that he might allow them to refresh themselves after their long and hard campaign, thinking withal that the plenty which was in those cities would improve their bodies and their spirits, against the difficulties they were to go through afterwards; for he saw there would be occasion for great pains about Jerusalem, which was not yet taken, because it was the royal city, and the principal city of the whole nation, and because those that had run away from the war in other places got all together thither. It was also naturally strong, and the walls that were built round it made him not a little concerned about it. Moreover, he esteemed the men that were in it to be so courageous and bold, that even without the consideration of the walls, it would be hard to subdue them; for which reason he took care of and exercised his soldiers beforehand for the work, as they do wrestlers before they begin their undertaking.

2. Now Titus, as he rode out to Gischala, found it would be easy for him to take the city upon the first onset; but knew withal, that if he took it by force, the multitude would be destroyed by the soldiers without mercy. [Now he was already satiated with the shedding of blood, and pitied the major part, who would then perish, without distinction, together with the guilty.] So he was

rather desirous the city might be surrendered up to him on terms. Accordingly, when he saw the wall full of those men that were of the corrupted party, he said to them, That he could not but wonder what it was they depended on, when they alone staid to fight the Romans, after every other city was taken by them, especially when they have seen cities much better fortified than theirs is overthrown by a single attack upon them; while as many as have intrusted themselves to the security of the Romans' right hands, which he now offers to them, without regarding their former insolence, do enjoy their own possessions in safety; for that while they had hopes of recovering their liberty, they might be pardoned; but that their continuance still in their opposition, when they saw that to be impossible, was inexcusable; for that if they will not comply with such humane offers, and right hands for security, they should have experience of such a war as would spare nobody, and should soon be made sensible that their wall would be but a trifle, when battered by the Roman machines; in depending on which they demonstrate themselves to be the only Galileans that were no better than arrogant slaves and captives.

3. Now none of the populace durst not only make a reply, but durst not so much as get upon the wall, for it was all taken up by the robbers, who were also the guard at the gates, in order to prevent any of the rest from going out, in order to propose terms of submission, and from receiving any of the horsemen into the city. But John returned Titus this answer: That for himself he was content to hearken to his proposals, and that he would either persuade or force those that refused them. Yet he said that Titus ought to have such regard to the Jewish law, as to grant them leave to celebrate that day, which was the seventh day of the week, on which it was unlawful not only to remove their arms, but even to treat of peace also; and that even the Romans were not ignorant how the period of the seventh day was among them a cessation from all labors; and that he who should compel them to transgress the law about that day would be equally guilty with those that were compelled to transgress it: and that this delay could be of no disadvantage to him; for why should any body think of doing any thing in the night, unless it was to fly away? which he might prevent by placing his camp round about them; and that they should think it a great point gained, if they might not be obliged to transgress the laws of their country; and that it would be a right thing for him, who designed to grant them peace, without their expectation of such a favor, to preserve the laws of those they saved inviolable. Thus did this man put a trick upon Titus, not so much out of regard to the seventh day as to his own preservation, for he was afraid lest he should be quite deserted if the city should be taken, and had his hopes of life in that night, and in his flight therein. Now this was the work of God, who therefore preserved this

John, that he might bring on the destruction of Jerusalem; as also it was his work that Titus was prevailed with by this pretense for a delay, and that he pitched his camp further off the city at Cydessa. This Cydessa was a strong Mediterranean village of the Tyrians, which always hated and made war against the Jews; it had also a great number of inhabitants, and was well fortified, which made it a proper place for such as were enemies to the Jewish nation.

4. Now, in the night time, when John saw that there was no Roman guard about the city, he seized the opportunity directly, and, taking with him not only the armed men that were about him, but a considerable number of those that had little to do, together with their families, he fled to Jerusalem. And indeed, though the man was making haste to get away, and was tormented with fears of being a captive, or of losing his life, yet did he prevail with himself to take out of the city along with him a multitude of women and children, as far as twenty furlongs; but there he left them as he proceeded further on his journey, where those that were left behind made sad lamentations; for the farther every one of them was come from his own people, the nearer they thought themselves to be to their enemies. They also affrighted themselves with this thought, that those who would carry them into captivity were just at hand, and still turned themselves back at the mere noise they made themselves in this their hasty flight, as if those from whom they fled were just upon them. Many also of them missed their ways, and the earnestness of such as aimed to outgo the rest threw down many of them. And indeed there was a miserable destruction made of the women and children; while some of them took courage to call their husbands and kinsmen back, and to beseech them, with the bitterest lamentations, to stay for them; but John's exhortation, who cried out to them to save themselves, and fly away, prevailed. He said also, that if the Romans should seize upon those whom they left behind, they would be revenged on them for it. So this multitude that run thus away was dispersed abroad, according as each of them was able to run, one faster or slower than another.

5. Now on the next day Titus came to the wall, to make the agreement; whereupon the people opened their gates to him, and came out to him, with their children and wives, and made acclamations of joy to him, as to one that had been their benefactor, and had delivered the city out of custody; they also informed him of John's flight, and besought him to spare them, and to come in, and bring the rest of those that were for innovations to punishment. But Titus, not so much regarding the supplications of the people, sent part of his horsemen to pursue after John, but they could not overtake him, for he was gotten to Jerusalem before; they also slew six thousand of the women and children who went out with him, but returned back, and brought with them almost three thousand.

However, Titus was greatly displeased that he had not been able to bring this John, who had deluded him, to punishment; yet he had captives enough, as well as the corrupted part of the city, to satisfy his anger, when it missed of John. So he entered the city in the midst of acclamations of joy; and when he had given orders to the soldiers to pull down a small part of the wall, as of a city taken in war, he repressed those that had disturbed the city rather by threatenings than by executions; for he thought that many would accuse innocent persons, out of their own private animosities and quarrels, if he should attempt to distinguish those that were worthy of punishment from the rest; and that it was better to let a guilty person alone in his fears, that to destroy with him any one that did not deserve it; for that probably such a one might be taught prudence, by the fear of the punishment he had deserved, and have a shame upon him for his former offenses, when he had been forgiven; but that the punishment of such as have been once put to death could never be retrieved. However, he placed a garrison in the city for its security, by which means he should restrain those that were for innovations, and should leave those that were peaceably disposed in greater security. And thus was all Galilee taken, but this not till after it had cost the Romans much pains before it could be taken by them.

CHAPTER 3.

Concerning John Of Gischala. Concerning The Zealots And The High Priest Ananus; As Also How The Jews Raise Seditions One Against Another [In Jerusalem].

1. Now upon John's entry into Jerusalem, the whole body of the people were in an uproar, and ten thousand of them crowded about every one of the fugitives that were come to them, and inquired of them what miseries had happened abroad, when their breath was so short, and hot, and quick, that of itself it declared the great distress they were in; yet did they talk big under their misfortunes, and pretended to say that they had not fled away from the Romans, but came thither in order to fight them with less hazard; for that it would be an unreasonable and a fruitless thing for them to expose themselves to desperate hazards about Gischala, and such weak cities, whereas they ought to lay up their weapons and their zeal, and reserve it for their metropolis. But when they related to them the taking of Gischala, and their decent departure, as they pretended, from that place, many of the people understood it to be no better than a flight; and especially when the people were told of those that were made captives, they were in great confusion, and guessed those things to be plain indications that they should be taken also. But for John, he was very little concerned for those whom he had left behind him, but went about among all the people, and persuaded them to go to war, by the hopes he gave them. He affirmed that the affairs of the Romans were in a weak condition, and extolled his own power. He also jested upon the ignorance of the unskillful, as if those Romans, although they should take to themselves wings, could never fly over the wall of Jerusalem, who found such great difficulties in taking the villages of Galilee, and had broken their engines of war against their walls.

2. These harangues of John's corrupted a great part of the young men, and puffed them up for the war; but as to the more prudent part, and those in years, there was not a man of them but foresaw what was coming, and made lamentation on that account, as if the city was already undone; and in this confusion were the people. But then it must be observed, that the multitude that came out of the country were at discord before the Jerusalem sedition began; for Titus went from Gischala to Cesates, and Vespasian from Cesarea to Jamnia and Azotus, and took them both; and when he had put garrisons into them, he came back with a great number of the people, who were come over to him, upon his giving them his right hand for their preservation. There were besides disorders

and civil wars in every city; and all those that were at quiet from the Romans turned their hands one against another. There was also a bitter contest between those that were fond of war, and those that were desirous for peace. At the first this quarrelsome temper caught hold of private families, who could not agree among themselves; after which those people that were the dearest to one another brake through all restraints with regard to each other, and every one associated with those of his own opinion, and began already to stand in opposition one to another; so that seditions arose every where, while those that were for innovations, and were desirous of war, by their youth and boldness, were too hard for the aged and prudent men. And, in the first place, all the people of every place betook themselves to rapine; after which they got together in bodies, in order to rob the people of the country, insomuch that for barbarity and iniquity those of the same nation did no way differ from the Romans; nay, it seemed to be a much lighter thing to be ruined by the Romans than by themselves.

3. Now the Roman garrisons, which guarded the cities, partly out of their uneasiness to take such trouble upon them, and partly out of the hatred they bare to the Jewish nation, did little or nothing towards relieving the miserable, till the captains of these troops of robbers, being satiated with rapines in the country, got all together from all parts, and became a band of wickedness, and all together crept into Jerusalem, which was now become a city without a governor, and, as the ancient custom was, received without distinction all that belonged to their nation; and these they then received, because all men supposed that those who came so fast into the city came out of kindness, and for their assistance, although these very men, besides the seditions they raised, were otherwise the direct cause of the city's destruction also; for as they were an unprofitable and a useless multitude, they spent those provisions beforehand which might otherwise have been sufficient for the fighting men. Moreover, besides the bringing on of the war, they were the occasions of sedition and famine therein.

4. There were besides these other robbers that came out of the country, and came into the city, and joining to them those that were worse than themselves, omitted no kind of barbarity; for they did not measure their courage by their rapines and plunderings only, but preceded as far as murdering men; and this not in the night time or privately, or with regard to ordinary men, but did it openly in the day time, and began with the most eminent persons in the city; for the first man they meddled with was Antipas, one of the royal lineage, and the most potent man in the whole city, insomuch that the public treasures were committed to his care; him they took and confined; as they did in the next place to Levias, a person of great note, with Sophas, the son of Raguel, both which were of royal lineage also. And besides these, they did the same to the principal men of the

country. This caused a terrible consternation among the people, and everyone contented himself with taking care of his own safety, as they would do if the city had been taken in war.

5. But these were not satisfied with the bonds into which they had put the men forementioned; nor did they think it safe for them to keep them thus in custody long, since they were men very powerful, and had numerous families of their own that were able to avenge them. Nay, they thought the very people would perhaps be so moved at these unjust proceedings, as to rise in a body against them; it was therefore resolved to have them slain accordingly, they sent one John, who was the most bloody-minded of them all, to do that execution: this man was also called "the son of Dorcas," in the language of our country. Ten more men went along with him into the prison, with their swords drawn, and so they cut the throats of those that were in custody there. The grand lying pretence these men made for so flagrant an enormity was this, that these men had had conferences with the Romans for a surrender of Jerusalem to them; and so they said they had slain only such as were traitors to their common liberty. Upon the whole, they grew the more insolent upon this bold prank of theirs, as though they had been the benefactors and saviors of the city.

6. Now the people were come to that degree of meanness and fear, and these robbers to that degree of madness, that these last took upon them to appoint high priests. So when they had disannulled the succession, according to those families out of which the high priests used to be made, they ordained certain unknown and ignoble persons for that office, that they might have their assistance in their wicked undertakings; for such as obtained this highest of all honors, without any desert, were forced to comply with those that bestowed it on them. They also set the principal men at variance one with another, by several sorts of contrivances and tricks, and gained the opportunity of doing what they pleased, by the mutual quarrels of those who might have obstructed their measures; till at length, when they were satiated with the unjust actions they had done towards men, they transferred their contumelious behavior to God himself, and came into the sanctuary with polluted feet.

7. And now the multitude were going to rise against them already; for Ananus, the ancientest of the high priests, persuaded them to it. He was a very prudent man, and had perhaps saved the city if he could but have escaped the hands of those that plotted against him. These men made the temple of God a strong hold for them, and a place whither they might resort, in order to avoid the troubles they feared from the people; the sanctuary was now become a refuge, and a shop of tyranny. They also mixed jesting among the miseries they introduced, which was more intolerable than what they did; for in order to try what surprise the

people would be under, and how far their own power extended, they undertook to dispose of the high priesthood by casting lots for it, whereas, as we have said already, it was to descend by succession in a family. The pretense they made for this strange attempt was an ancient practice, while they said that of old it was determined by lot; but in truth, it was no better than a dissolution of an undeniable law, and a cunning contrivance to seize upon the government, derived from those that presumed to appoint governors as they themselves pleased.

8. Hereupon they sent for one of the pontifical tribes, which is called Eniachim, and cast lots which of it should be the high priest. By fortune the lot so fell as to demonstrate their iniquity after the plainest manner, for it fell upon one whose name was Phannias, the son of Samuel, of the village Aphtha. He was a man not only unworthy of the high priesthood, but that did not well know what the high priesthood was, such a mere rustic was he! yet did they hail this man, without his own consent, out of the country, as if they were acting a play upon the stage, and adorned him with a counterfeit tree; they also put upon him the sacred garments, and upon every occasion instructed him what he was to do. This horrid piece of wickedness was sport and pastime with them, but occasioned the other priests, who at a distance saw their law made a jest of, to shed tears, and sorely lament the dissolution of such a sacred dignity.

9. And now the people could no longer bear the insolence of this procedure, but did all together run zealously, in order to overthrow that tyranny; and indeed they were Gorion the son of Josephus, and Symeon the son of Gamaliel, who encouraged them, by going up and down when they were assembled together in crowds, and as they saw them alone, to bear no longer, but to inflict punishment upon these pests and plagues of their freedom, and to purge the temple of these bloody polluters of it. The best esteemed also of the high priests, Jesus the son of Gamalas, and Ananus the son of Ananus when they were at their assemblies, bitterly reproached the people for their sloth, and excited them against the zealots; for that was the name they went by, as if they were zealous in good undertakings, and were not rather zealous in the worst actions, and extravagant in them beyond the example of others.

10. And now, when the multitude were gotten together to an assembly, and every one was in indignation at these men's seizing upon the sanctuary, at their rapine and murders, but had not yet begun their attacks upon them, [the reason of which was this, that they imagined it to be a difficult thing to suppress these zealots, as indeed the case was,] Ananus stood in the midst of them, and casting his eyes frequently at the temple, and having a flood of tears in his eyes, he said, "Certainly it had been good for me to die before I had seen the house of God full

of so many abominations, or these sacred places, that ought not to be trodden upon at random, filled with the feet of these blood-shedding villains; yet do I, who am clothed with the vestments of the high priesthood, and am called by that most venerable name [of high priest], still live, and am but too fond of living, and cannot endure to undergo a death which would be the glory of my old age; and if I were the only person concerned, and as it were in a desert, I would give up my life, and that alone for God's sake; for to what purpose is it to live among a people insensible of their calamities, and where there is no notion remaining of any remedy for the miseries that are upon them? for when you are seized upon, you bear it! and when you are beaten, you are silent! and when the people are murdered, nobody dare so much as send out a groan openly! O bitter tyranny that we are under! But why do I complain of the tyrants? Was it not you, and your sufferance of them, that have nourished them? Was it not you that overlooked those that first of all got together, for they were then but a few, and by your silence made them grow to be many; and by conniving at them when they took arms, in effect armed them against yourselves? You ought to have then prevented their first attempts, when they fell a reproaching your relations; but by neglecting that care in time, you have encouraged these wretches to plunder men. When houses were pillaged, nobody said a word, which was the occasion why they carried off the owners of those houses; and when they were drawn through the midst of the city, nobody came to their assistance. They then proceeded to put those whom you have betrayed into their hands into bonds. I do not say how many and of what characters those men were whom they thus served; but certainly they were such as were accused by none, and condemned by none; and since nobody succored them when they were put into bonds, the consequence was, that you saw the same persons slain. We have seen this also; so that still the best of the herd of brute animals, as it were, have been still led to be sacrificed, when yet nobody said one word, or moved his right hand for their preservation. Will you bear, therefore, will you bear to see your sanctuary trampled on? and will you lay steps for these profane wretches, upon which they may mount to higher degrees of insolence? Will not you pluck them down from their exaltation? for even by this time they had proceeded to higher enormities, if they had been able to overthrow any thing greater than the sanctuary. They have seized upon the strongest place of the whole city; you may call it the temple, if you please, though it be like a citadel or fortress. Now, while you have tyranny in so great a degree walled in, and see your enemies over your heads, to what purpose is it to take counsel? and what have you to support your minds withal? Perhaps you wait for the Romans, that they may protect our holy places: are our matters then brought to that pass? and are we come to that degree of misery, that

our enemies themselves are expected to pity us? O wretched creatures! will not you rise up and turn upon those that strike you? which you may observe in wild beasts themselves, that they will avenge themselves on those that strike them. Will you not call to mind, every one of you, the calamities you yourselves have suffered? nor lay before your eyes what afflictions you yourselves have undergone? and will not such things sharpen your souls to revenge? Is therefore that most honorable and most natural of our passions utterly lost, I mean the desire of liberty? Truly we are in love with slavery, and in love with those that lord it over us, as if we had received that principle of subjection from our ancestors; yet did they undergo many and great wars for the sake of liberty, nor were they so far overcome by the power of the Egyptians, or the Medes, but that still they did what they thought fit, notwithstanding their commands to the contrary. And what occasion is there now for a war with the Romans? [I meddle not with determining whether it be an advantageous and profitable war or not.] What pretense is there for it? Is it not that we may enjoy our liberty? Besides, shall we not bear the lords of the habitable earth to be lords over us, and yet bear tyrants of our own country? Although I must say that submission to foreigners may be borne, because fortune hath already doomed us to it, while submission to wicked people of our own nation is too unmanly, and brought upon us by our own consent. However, since I have had occasion to mention the Romans, I will not conceal a thing that, as I am speaking, comes into my mind, and affects me considerably; it is this, that though we should be taken by them, [God forbid the event should be so!] yet can we undergo nothing that will be harder to be borne than what these men have already brought upon us. How then can we avoid shedding of tears, when we see the Roman donations in our temple, while we withal see those of our own nation taking our spoils, and plundering our glorious metropolis, and slaughtering our men, from which enormities those Romans themselves would have abstained? to see those Romans never going beyond the bounds allotted to profane persons, nor venturing to break in upon any of our sacred customs; nay, having a horror on their minds when they view at a distance those sacred walls; while some that have been born in this very country, and brought up in our customs, and called Jews, do walk about in the midst of the holy places, at the very time when their hands are still warm with the slaughter of their own countrymen. Besides, can any one be afraid of a war abroad, and that with such as will have comparatively much greater moderation than our own people have? For truly, if we may suit our words to the things they represent, it is probable one may hereafter find the Romans to be the supporters of our laws, and those within ourselves the subverters of them. And now I am persuaded that every one of you here comes satisfied before I speak that these

overthrowers of our liberties deserve to be destroyed, and that nobody can so much as devise a punishment that they have not deserved by what they have done, and that you are all provoked against them by those their wicked actions, whence you have suffered so greatly. But perhaps many of you are affrighted at the multitude of those zealots, and at their audaciousness, as well as at the advantage they have over us in their being higher in place than we are; for these circumstances, as they have been occasioned by your negligence, so will they become still greater by being still longer neglected; for their multitude is every day augmented, by every ill man's running away to those that are like to themselves, and their audaciousness is therefore inflamed, because they meet with no obstruction to their designs. And for their higher place, they will make use of it for engines also, if we give them time to do so; but be assured of this, that if we go up to fight them, they will be made tamer by their own consciences, and what advantages they have in the height of their situation they will lose by the opposition of their reason; perhaps also God himself, who hath been affronted by them, will make what they throw at us return against themselves, and these impious wretches will be killed by their own darts: let us but make our appearance before them, and they will come to nothing. However, it is a right thing, if there should be any danger in the attempt, to die before these holy gates, and to spend our very lives, if not for the sake of our children and wives, yet for God's sake, and for the sake of his sanctuary. I will assist you both with my counsel and with my hand; nor shall any sagacity of ours be wanting for your support; nor shall you see that I will be sparing of my body neither."

11. By these motives Ananus encouraged the multitude to go against the zealots, although he knew how difficult it would be to disperse them, because of their multitude, and their youth, and the courage of their souls; but chiefly because of their consciousness of what they had done, since they would not yield, as not so much as hoping for pardon at the last for those their enormities. However, Ananus resolved to undergo whatever sufferings might come upon him, rather than overlook things, now they were in such great confusion. So the multitude cried out to him, to lead them on against those whom he had described in his exhortation to them, and every one of them was most readily disposed to run any hazard whatsoever on that account.

12. Now while Ananus was choosing out his men, and putting those that were proper for his purpose in array for fighting, the zealots got information of his undertaking, [for there were some who went to them, and told them all that the people were doing,] and were irritated at it, and leaping out of the temple in crowds, and by parties, spared none whom they met with. Upon this Ananus got the populace together on the sudden, who were more numerous indeed than the

zealots, but inferior to them in arms, because they had not been regularly put into array for fighting; but the alacrity that every body showed supplied all their defects on both sides, the citizens taking up so great a passion as was stronger than arms, and deriving a degree of courage from the temple more forcible than any multitude whatsoever; and indeed these citizens thought it was not possible for them to dwell in the city, unless they could cut off the robbers that were in it. The zealots also thought that unless they prevailed, there would be no punishment so bad but it would be inflicted on them. So their conflicts were conducted by their passions; and at the first they only cast stones at each other in the city, and before the temple, and threw their javelins at a distance; but when either of them were too hard for the other, they made use of their swords; and great slaughter was made on both sides, and a great number were wounded. As for the dead bodies of the people, their relations carried them out to their own houses; but when any of the zealots were wounded, he went up into the temple, and defiled that sacred floor with his blood, insomuch that one may say it was their blood alone that polluted our sanctuary. Now in these conflicts the robbers always sallied out of the temple, and were too hard for their enemies; but the populace grew very angry, and became more and more numerous, and reproached those that gave back, and those behind would not afford room to those that were going off, but forced them on again, till at length they made their whole body to turn against their adversaries, and the robbers could no longer oppose them, but were forced gradually to retire into the temple; when Ananus and his party fell into it at the same time together with them. This horribly affrighted the robbers, because it deprived them of the first court; so they fled into the inner court immediately, and shut the gates. Now Ananus did not think fit to make any attack against the holy gates, although the other threw their stones and darts at them from above. He also deemed it unlawful to introduce the multitude into that court before they were purified; he therefore chose out of them all by lot six thousand armed men, and placed them as guards in the cloisters; so there was a succession of such guards one after another, and every one was forced to attend in his course; although many of the chief of the city were dismissed by those that then took on them the government, upon their hiring some of the poorer sort, and sending them to keep the guard in their stead.

13. Now it was John who, as we told you, ran away from Gischala, and was the occasion of all these being destroyed. He was a man of great craft, and bore about him in his soul a strong passion after tyranny, and at a distance was the adviser in these actions; and indeed at this time he pretended to be of the people's opinion, and went all about with Ananus when he consulted the great men every day, and in the night time also when he went round the watch; but he

divulged their secrets to the zealots, and every thing that the people deliberated about was by his means known to their enemies, even before it had been well agreed upon by themselves. And by way of contrivance how he might not be brought into suspicion, he cultivated the greatest friendship possible with Ananus, and with the chief of the people; yet did this overdoing of his turn against him, for he flattered them so extravagantly, that he was but the more suspected; and his constant attendance every where, even when he was not invited to be present, made him strongly suspected of betraying their secrets to the enemy; for they plainly perceived that they understood all the resolutions taken against them at their consultations. Nor was there any one whom they had so much reason to suspect of that discovery as this John; yet was it not easy to get quit of him, so potent was he grown by his wicked practices. He was also supported by many of those eminent men, who were to be consulted upon all considerable affairs; it was therefore thought reasonable to oblige him to give them assurance of his good-will upon oath; accordingly John took such an oath readily, that he would be on the people's side, and would not betray any of their counsels or practices to their enemies, and would assist them in overthrowing those that attacked them, and that both by his hand and his advice. So Ananus and his party believed his oath, and did now receive him to their consultations without further suspicion; nay, so far did they believe him, that they sent him as their ambassador into the temple to the zealots, with proposals of accommodation; for they were very desirous to avoid the pollution of the temple as much as they possibly could, and that no one of their nation should be slain therein.

14. But now this John, as if his oath had been made to the zealots, and for confirmation of his good-will to them, and not against them, went into the temple, and stood in the midst of them, and spake as follows: That he had run many hazards on their accounts, and in order to let them know of every thing that was secretly contrived against them by Ananus and his party; but that both he and they should be cast into the most imminent danger, unless some providential assistance were afforded them; for that Ananus made no longer delay, but had prevailed with the people to send ambassadors to Vespasian, to invite him to come presently and take the city; and that he had appointed a fast for the next day against them, that they might obtain admission into the temple on a religious account, or gain it by force, and fight with them there; that he did not see how long they could either endure a siege, or how they could fight against so many enemies. He added further, that it was by the providence of God he was himself sent as an ambassador to them for an accommodation; for that Artanus did therefore offer them such proposals, that he might come upon them

when they were unarmed; that they ought to choose one of these two methods, either to intercede with those that guarded them, to save their lives, or to provide some foreign assistance for themselves; that if they fostered themselves with the hopes of pardon, in case they were subdued, they had forgotten what desperate things they had done, or could suppose, that as soon as the actors repented, those that had suffered by them must be presently reconciled to them; while those that have done injuries, though they pretend to repent of them, are frequently hated by the others for that sort of repentance; and that the sufferers, when they get the power into their hands, are usually still more severe upon the actors; that the friends and kindred of those that had been destroyed would always be laying plots against them; and that a large body of people were very angry on account of their gross breaches of their laws, and [illegal] judicatures, insomuch that although some part might commiserate them, those would be quite overborne by the majority.

CHAPTER 4.

The Idumeans Being Sent For By The Zealots, Came Immediately To Jerusalem; And When They Were Excluded Out Of The City, They Lay All Night There. Jesus One Of The High Priests Makes A Speech To Them; And Simon The Idumean Makes A Reply To It.

1. Now, by this crafty speech, John made the zealots afraid; yet durst he not directly name what foreign assistance he meant, but in a covert way only intimated at the Idumeans. But now, that he might particularly irritate the leaders of the zealots, he calumniated Ananus, that he was about a piece of barbarity, and did in a special manner threaten them. These leaders were Eleazar, the son of Simon, who seemed the most plausible man of them all, both in considering what was fit to be done, and in the execution of what he had determined upon, and Zacharias, the son of Phalek; both of whom derived their families from the priests. Now when these two men had heard, not only the common threatenings which belonged to them all, but those peculiarly leveled against themselves; and besides, how Artanus and his party, in order to secure their own dominion, had invited the Romans to come to them, for that also was part of John's lie; they hesitated a great while what they should do, considering the shortness of the time by which they were straitened; because the people were prepared to attack them very soon, and because the suddenness of the plot laid against them had almost cut off all their hopes of getting any foreign assistance; for they might be under the height of their afflictions before any of their confederates could be informed of it. However, it was resolved to call in the Idumeans; so they wrote a short letter to this effect: That Ananus had imposed on the people, and was betraying their metropolis to the Romans; that they themselves had revolted from the rest, and were in custody in the temple, on account of the preservation of their liberty; that there was but a small time left wherein they might hope for their deliverance; and that unless they would come immediately to their assistance, they should themselves be soon in the power of Artanus, and the city would be in the power of the Romans. They also charged the messengers to tell many more circumstances to the rulers of the Idumeans. Now there were two active men proposed for the carrying this message, and such as were able to speak, and to persuade them that things were in this posture, and, what was a qualification still more necessary than the former, they were very swift of foot; for they knew well enough that these would immediately comply with their desires, as being

ever a tumultuous and disorderly nation, always on the watch upon every motion, delighting in mutations; and upon your flattering them ever so little, and petitioning them, they soon take their arms, and put themselves into motion, and make haste to a battle, as if it were to a feast. There was indeed occasion for quick despatch in the carrying of this message, in which point the messengers were no way defective. Both their names were Ananias; and they soon came to the rulers of the Idumeans.

2. Now these rulers were greatly surprised at the contents of the letter, and at what those that came with it further told them; whereupon they ran about the nation like madmen, and made proclamation that the people should come to war; so a multitude was suddenly got together, sooner indeed than the time appointed in the proclamation, and every body caught up their arms, in order to maintain the liberty of their metropolis; and twenty thousand of them were put into battle-array, and came to Jerusalem, under four commanders, John, and Jacob the son of Sosas; and besides these were Simon, the son of Cathlas, and Phineas, the son of Clusothus.

3. Now this exit of the messengers was not known either to Ananus or to the guards, but the approach of the Idumeans was known to him; for as he knew of it before they came, he ordered the gates to be shut against them, and that the walls should be guarded. Yet did not he by any means think of fighting against them, but, before they came to blows, to try what persuasions would do. Accordingly, Jesus, the eldest of the high priests next to Artanus, stood upon the tower that was over against them, and said thus: "Many troubles indeed, and those of various kinds, have fallen upon this city, yet in none of them have I so much wondered at her fortune as now, when you are come to assist wicked men, and this after a manner very extraordinary; for I see that you are come to support the vilest of men against us, and this with so great alacrity, as you could hardly put on the like, in case our metropolis had called you to her assistance against barbarians. And if I had perceived that your army was composed of men like unto those who invited them, I had not deemed your attempt so absurd; for nothing does so much cement the minds of men together as the alliance there is between their manners. But now for these men who have invited you, if you were to examine them one by one, every one of them would be found to have deserved ten thousand deaths; for the very rascality and offscouring of the whole country, who have spent in debauchery their own substance, and, by way of trial beforehand, have madly plundered the neighboring villages and cities, in the upshot of all, have privately run together into this holy city. They are robbers, who by their prodigious wickedness have profaned this most sacred floor, and who are to be now seen drinking themselves drunk in the sanctuary, and

expending the spoils of those whom they have slaughtered upon their unsatiable bellies. As for the multitude that is with you, one may see them so decently adorned in their armor, as it would become them to be had their metropolis called them to her assistance against foreigners. What can a man call this procedure of yours but the sport of fortune, when he sees a whole nation coming to protect a sink of wicked wretches? I have for a good while been in doubt what it could possibly be that should move you to do this so suddenly; because certainly you would not take on your armor on the behalf of robbers, and against a people of kin to you, without some very great cause for your so doing. But we have an item that the Romans are pretended, and that we are supposed to be going to betray this city to them; for some of your men have lately made a clamor about those matters, and have said they are come to set their metropolis free. Now we cannot but admire at these wretches in their devising such a lie as this against us; for they knew there was no other way to irritate against us men that were naturally desirous of liberty, and on that account the best disposed to fight against foreign enemies, but by framing a tale as if we were going to betray that most desirable thing, liberty. But you ought to consider what sort of people they are that raise this calumny, and against what sort of people that calumny is raised, and to gather the truth of things, not by fictitious speeches, but out of the actions of both parties; for what occasion is there for us to sell ourselves to the Romans, while it was in our power not to have revolted from them at the first, or when we had once revolted, to have returned under their dominion again, and this while the neighboring countries were not yet laid waste? whereas it is not an easy thing to be reconciled to the Romans, if we were desirous of it, now they have subdued Galilee, and are thereby become proud and insolent; and to endeavor to please them at the time when they are so near us, would bring such a reproach upon us as were worse than death. As for myself, indeed, I should have preferred peace with them before death; but now we have once made war upon them, and fought with them, I prefer death, with reputation, before living in captivity under them. But further, whether do they pretend that we, who are the rulers of the people, have sent thus privately to the Romans, or hath it been done by the common suffrages of the people? If it be ourselves only that have done it, let them name those friends of ours that have been sent, as our servants, to manage this treachery. Hath any one been caught as he went out on this errand, or seized upon as he came back? Are they in possession of our letters? How could we be concealed from such a vast number of our fellow citizens, among whom we are conversant every hour, while what is done privately in the country is, it seems, known by the zealots, who are but few in number, and under confinement also, and are not able to come out of the temple into the city. Is this

the first time that they are become sensible how they ought to be punished for their insolent actions? For while these men were free from the fear they are now under, there was no suspicion raised that any of us were traitors. But if they lay this charge against the people, this must have been done at a public consultation, and not one of the people must have dissented from the rest of the assembly; in which case the public fame of this matter would have come to you sooner than any particular indication. But how could that be? Must there not then have been ambassadors sent to confirm the agreements? And let them tell us who this ambassador was that was ordained for that purpose. But this is no other than a pretense of such men as are loath to die, and are laboring to escape those punishments that hang over them; for if fate had determined that this city was to be betrayed into its enemies' hands, no other than these men that accuse us falsely could have the impudence to do it, there being no wickedness wanting to complete their impudent practices but this only, that they become traitors. And now you Idumeans are come hither already with your arms, it is your duty, in the first place, to be assisting to your metropolis, and to join with us in cutting off those tyrants that have infringed the rules of our regular tribunals, that have trampled upon our laws, and made their swords the arbitrators of right and wrong; for they have seized upon men of great eminence, and under no accusation, as they stood in the midst of the market-place, and tortured them with putting them into bonds, and, without bearing to hear what they had to say, or what supplications they made, they destroyed them. You may, if you please, come into the city, though not in the way of war, and take a view of the marks still remaining of what I now say, and may see the houses that have been depopulated by their rapacious hands, with those wives and families that are in black, mourning for their slaughtered relations; as also you may hear their groans and lamentations all the city over; for there is nobody but hath tasted of the incursions of these profane wretches, who have proceeded to that degree of madness, as not only to have transferred their impudent robberies out of the country, and the remote cities, into this city, the very face and head of the whole nation, but out of the city into the temple also; for that is now made their receptacle and refuge, and the fountain-head whence their preparations are made against us. And this place, which is adored by the habitable world, and honored by such as only know it by report, as far as the ends of the earth, is trampled upon by these wild beasts born among ourselves. They now triumph in the desperate condition they are already in, when they hear that one people is going to fight against another people, and one city against another city, and that your nation hath gotten an army together against its own bowels. Instead of which procedure, it were highly fit and reasonable, as I said before, for you to join with

us in cutting off these wretches, and in particular to be revenged on them for putting this very cheat upon you; I mean, for having the impudence to invite you to assist them, of whom they ought to have stood in fear, as ready to punish them. But if you have some regard to these men's invitation of you, yet may you lay aside your arms, and come into the city under the notion of our kindred, and take upon you a middle name between that of auxiliaries and of enemies, and so become judges in this case. However, consider what these men will gain by being called into judgment before you, for such undeniable and such flagrant crimes, who would not vouchsafe to hear such as had no accusations laid against them to speak a word for themselves. However, let them gain this advantage by your coming. But still, if you will neither take our part in that indignation we have at these men, nor judge between us, the third thing I have to propose is this, that you let us both alone, and neither insult upon our calamities, nor abide with these plotters against their metropolis; for though you should have ever so great a suspicion that some of us have discoursed with the Romans, it is in your power to watch the passages into the city; and in case any thing that we have been accused of is brought to light, then to come and defend your metropolis, and to inflict punishment on those that are found guilty; for the enemy cannot prevent you who are so near to the city. But if, after all, none of these proposals seem acceptable and moderate, do not you wonder that the gates are shut against you, while you bear your arms about you."

4. Thus spake Jesus; yet did not the multitude of the Idumeans give any attention to what he said, but were in a rage, because they did not meet with a ready entrance into the city. The generals also had indignation at the offer of laying down their arms, and looked upon it as equal to a captivity, to throw them away at any man's injunction whomsoever. But Simon, the son of Cathlas, one of their commanders, with much ado quieted the tumult of his own men, and stood so that the high priests might hear him, and said as follows: "I can no longer wonder that the patrons of liberty are under custody in the temple, since there are those that shut the gates of our common city to their own nation, and at the same time are prepared to admit the Romans into it; nay, perhaps are disposed to crown the gates with garlands at their coming, while they speak to the Idumeans from their own towers, and enjoin them to throw down their arms which they have taken up for the preservation of its liberty. And while they will not intrust the guard of our metropolis to their kindred, profess to make them judges of the differences that are among them; nay, while they accuse some men of having slain others without a legal trial, they do themselves condemn a whole nation after an ignominious manner, and have now walled up that city from their own nation, which used to be open to even all foreigners that came to worship

there. We have indeed come in great haste to you, and to a war against our own countrymen; and the reason why we have made such haste is this, that we may preserve that freedom which you are so unhappy as to betray. You have probably been guilty of the like crimes against those whom you keep in custody, and have, I suppose, collected together the like plausible pretenses against them also that you make use of against us; after which you have gotten the mastery of those within the temple, and keep them in custody, while they are only taking care of the public affairs. You have also shut the gates of the city in general against nations that are the most nearly related to you; and while you give such injurious commands to others, you complain that you have been tyrannized over by them, and fix the name of unjust governors upon such as are tyrannized over by yourselves. Who can bear this your abuse of words, while they have a regard to the contrariety of your actions, unless you mean this, that those Idumeans do now exclude you out of your metropolis, whom you exclude from the sacred offices of your own country? One may indeed justly complain of those that are besieged in the temple, that when they had courage enough to punish those tyrants whom you call eminent men, and free from any accusations, because of their being your companions in wickedness, they did not begin with you, and thereby cut off beforehand the most dangerous parts of this treason. But if these men have been more merciful than the public necessity required, we that are Idumeans will preserve this house of God, and will fight for our common country, and will oppose by war as well those that attack them from abroad, as those that betray them from within. Here will we abide before the walls in our armor, until either the Romans grow weary in waiting for you, or you become friends to liberty, and repent of what you have done against it."

5. And now did the Idumeans make an acclamation to what Simon had said; but Jesus went away sorrowful, as seeing that the Idumeans were against all moderate counsels, and that the city was besieged on both sides. Nor indeed were the minds of the Idumeans at rest; for they were in a rage at the injury that had been offered them by their exclusion out of the city; and when they thought the zealots had been strong, but saw nothing of theirs to support them, they were in doubt about the matter, and many of them repented that they had come thither. But the shame that would attend them in case they returned without doing any thing at all, so far overcame that their repentance, that they lay all night before the wall, though in a very bad encampment; for there broke out a prodigious storm in the night, with the utmost violence, and very strong winds, with the largest showers of rain, with continued lightnings, terrible thunderings, and amazing concussions and bellowings of the earth, that was in an earthquake. These things were a manifest indication that some destruction was coming upon

men, when the system of the world was put into this disorder; and any one would guess that these wonders foreshowed some grand calamities that were coming.

6. Now the opinion of the Idumeans and of the citizens was one and the same. The Idumeans thought that God was angry at their taking arms, and that they would not escape punishment for their making war upon their metropolis. Ananus and his party thought that they had conquered without fighting, and that God acted as a general for them; but truly they proved both ill conjectures at what was to come, and made those events to be ominous to their enemies, while they were themselves to undergo the ill effects of them; for the Idumeans fenced one another by uniting their bodies into one band, and thereby kept themselves warm, and connecting their shields over their heads, were not so much hurt by the rain. But the zealots were more deeply concerned for the danger these men were in than they were for themselves, and got together, and looked about them to see whether they could devise any means of assisting them. The hotter sort of them thought it best to force their guards with their arms, and after that to fall into the midst of the city, and publicly open the gates to those that came to their assistance; as supposing the guards would be in disorder, and give way at such an unexpected attempt of theirs, especially as the greater part of them were unarmed and unskilled in the affairs of war; and that besides the multitude of the citizens would not be easily gathered together, but confined to their houses by the storm: and that if there were any hazard in their undertaking, it became them to suffer any thing whatsoever themselves, rather than to overlook so great a multitude as were miserably perishing on their account. But the more prudent part of them disapproved of this forcible method, because they saw not only the guards about them very numerous, but the walls of the city itself carefully watched, by reason of the Idumeans. They also supposed that Ananus would be every where, and visit the guards every hour; which indeed was done upon other nights, but was omitted that night, not by reason of any slothfulness of Ananus, but by the overbearing appointment of fate, that so both he might himself perish, and the multitude of the guards might perish with him; for truly, as the night was far gone, and the storm very terrible, Ananus gave the guards in the cloisters leave to go to sleep; while it came into the heads of the zealots to make use of the saws belonging to the temple, and to cut the bars of the gates to pieces. The noise of the wind, and that not inferior sound of the thunder, did here also conspire with their designs, that the noise of the saws was not heard by the others.

7. So they secretly went out of the temple to the wall of the city, and made use of their saws, and opened that gate which was over against the Idumeans. Now at first there came a fear upon the Idumeans themselves, which disturbed them, as

imagining that Ananus and his party were coming to attack them, so that every one of them had his right hand upon his sword, in order to defend himself; but they soon came to know who they were that came to them, and were entered the city. And had the Idumeans then fallen upon the city, nothing could have hindered them from destroying the people every man of them, such was the rage they were in at that time; but as they first of all made haste to get the zealots out of custody, which those that brought them in earnestly desired them to do, and not to overlook those for whose sakes they were come, in the midst of their distresses, nor to bring them into a still greater danger; for that when they had once seized upon the guards, it would be easy for them to fall upon the city; but that if the city were once alarmed, they would not then be able to overcome those guards, because as soon as they should perceive they were there, they would put themselves in order to fight them, and would hinder their coming into the temple.

CHAPTER V.

The Cruelty Of The Idumeans When They Were Gotten Into The Temple During The Storm; And Of The Zealots. Concerning The Slaughter Of Ananus, And Jesus, And Zacharias; And How The Idumeans Retired Home.

1. This advice pleased the Idumeans, and they ascended through the city to the temple. The zealots were also in great expectation of their coming, and earnestly waited for them. When therefore these were entering, they also came boldly out of the inner temple, and mixing themselves among the Idumeans, they attacked the guards; and some of those that were upon the watch, but were fallen asleep, they killed as they were asleep; but as those that were now awakened made a cry, the whole multitude arose, and in the amazement they were in caught hold of their arms immediately, and betook themselves to their own defense; and so long as they thought they were only the zealots who attacked them, they went on boldly, as hoping to overpower them by their numbers; but when they saw others pressing in upon them also, they perceived the Idumeans were got in; and the greatest part of them laid aside their arms, together with their courage, and betook themselves to lamentations. But some few of the younger sort covered themselves with their armor, and valiantly received the Idumeans, and for a while protected the multitude of old men. Others, indeed, gave a signal to those that were in the city of the calamities they were in; but when these were also made sensible that the Idumeans were come in, none of them durst come to their assistance, only they returned the terrible echo of wailing, and lamented their misfortunes. A great howling of the women was excited also, and every one of the guards were in danger of being killed. The zealots also joined in the shouts raised by the Idumeans; and the storm itself rendered the cry more terrible; nor did the Idumeans spare any body; for as they are naturally a most barbarous and bloody nation, and had been distressed by the tempest, they made use of their weapons against those that had shut the gates against them, and acted in the same manner as to those that supplicated for their lives, and to those that fought them, insomuch that they ran through those with their swords who desired them to remember the relation there was between them, and begged of them to have regard to their common temple. Now there was at present neither any place for flight, nor any hope of preservation; but as they were driven one upon another in heaps, so were they slain. Thus the greater part were driven together by force, as there was now no place of retirement, and the murderers were upon them; and, having no other way, threw themselves down headlong into the city; whereby, in

my opinion, they underwent a more miserable destruction than that which they avoided, because that was a voluntary one. And now the outer temple was all of it overflowed with blood; and that day, as it came on, they saw eight thousand five hundred dead bodies there.

2. But the rage of the Idumeans was not satiated by these slaughters; but they now betook themselves to the city, and plundered every house, and slew every one they met; and for the other multitude, they esteemed it needless to go on with killing them, but they sought for the high priests, and the generality went with the greatest zeal against them; and as soon as they caught them they slew them, and then standing upon their dead bodies, in way of jest, upbraided Ananus with his kindness to the people, and Jesus with his speech made to them from the wall. Nay, they proceeded to that degree of impiety, as to cast away their dead bodies without burial, although the Jews used to take so much care of the burial of men, that they took down those that were condemned and crucified, and buried them before the going down of the sun. I should not mistake if I said that the death of Ananus was the beginning of the destruction of the city, and that from this very day may be dated the overthrow of her wall, and the ruin of her affairs, whereon they saw their high priest, and the procurer of their preservation, slain in the midst of their city. He was on other accounts also a venerable, and a very just man; and besides the grandeur of that nobility, and dignity, and honor of which he was possessed, he had been a lover of a kind of parity, even with regard to the meanest of the people; he was a prodigious lover of liberty, and an admirer of a democracy in government; and did ever prefer the public welfare before his own advantage, and preferred peace above all things; for he was thoroughly sensible that the Romans were not to be conquered. He also foresaw that of necessity a war would follow, and that unless the Jews made up matters with them very dexterously, they would be destroyed; to say all in a word, if Ananus had survived, they had certainly compounded matters; for he was a shrewd man in speaking and persuading the people, and had already gotten the mastery of those that opposed his designs, or were for the war. And the Jews had then put abundance of delays in the way of the Romans, if they had had such a general as he was. Jesus was also joined with him; and although he was inferior to him upon the comparison, he was superior to the rest; and I cannot but think that it was because God had doomed this city to destruction, as a polluted city, and was resolved to purge his sanctuary by fire, that he cut off these their great defenders and well-wishers, while those that a little before had worn the sacred garments, and had presided over the public worship; and had been esteemed venerable by those that dwelt on the whole habitable earth when they came into our city, were cast out naked, and seen to be the food of dogs and wild

beasts. And I cannot but imagine that virtue itself groaned at these men's case, and lamented that she was here so terribly conquered by wickedness. And this at last was the end of Ananus and Jesus.

3. Now after these were slain, the zealots and the multitude of the Idumeans fell upon the people as upon a flock of profane animals, and cut their throats; and for the ordinary sort, they were destroyed in what place soever they caught them. But for the noblemen and the youth, they first caught them and bound them, and shut them up in prison, and put off their slaughter, in hopes that some of them would turn over to their party; but not one of them would comply with their desires, but all of them preferred death before being enrolled among such wicked wretches as acted against their own country. But this refusal of theirs brought upon them terrible torments; for they were so scourged and tortured, that their bodies were not able to sustain their torments, till at length, and with difficulty, they had the favor to be slain. Those whom they caught in the day time were slain in the night, and then their bodies were carried out and thrown away, that there might be room for other prisoners; and the terror that was upon the people was so great, that no one had courage enough either to weep openly for the dead man that was related to him, or to bury him; but those that were shut up in their own houses could only shed tears in secret, and durst not even groan without great caution, lest any of their enemies should hear them; for if they did, those that mourned for others soon underwent the same death with those whom they mourned for. Only in the night time they would take up a little dust, and throw it upon their bodies; and even some that were the most ready to expose themselves to danger would do it in the day time: and there were twelve thousand of the better sort who perished in this manner.

4. And now these zealots and Idumeans were quite weary of barely killing men, so they had the impudence of setting up fictitious tribunals and judicatures for that purpose; and as they intended to have Zacharias the son of Baruch, one of the most eminent of the citizens, slain, so what provoked them against him was, that hatred of wickedness and love of liberty which were so eminent in him: he was also a rich man, so that by taking him off, they did not only hope to seize his effects, but also to get rid of a mall that had great power to destroy them. So they called together, by a public proclamation, seventy of the principal men of the populace, for a show, as if they were real judges, while they had no proper authority. Before these was Zacharias accused of a design to betray their polity to the Romans, and having traitorously sent to Vespasian for that purpose. Now there appeared no proof or sign of what he was accused; but they affirmed themselves that they were well persuaded that so it was, and desired that such their affirmation might be taken for sufficient evidence. Now when Zacharias

clearly saw that there was no way remaining for his escape from them, as having been treacherously called before them, and then put in prison, but not with any intention of a legal trial, he took great liberty of speech in that despair of his life he was under. Accordingly he stood up, and laughed at their pretended accusation, and in a few words confuted the crimes laid to his charge; after which he turned his speech to his accusers, and went over distinctly all their transgressions of the law, and made heavy lamentation upon the confusion they had brought public affairs to: in the mean time, the zealots grew tumultuous, and had much ado to abstain from drawing their swords, although they designed to preserve the appearance and show of judicature to the end. They were also desirous, on other accounts, to try the judges, whether they would be mindful of what was just at their own peril. Now the seventy judges brought in their verdict that the person accused was not guilty, as choosing rather to die themselves with him, than to have his death laid at their doors; hereupon there arose a great clamor of the zealots upon his acquittal, and they all had indignation at the judges for not understanding that the authority that was given them was but in jest. So two of the boldest of them fell upon Zacharias in the middle of the temple, and slew him; and as he fell down dead, they bantered him, and said, "Thou hast also our verdict, and this will prove a more sure acquittal to thee than the other." They also threw him down from the temple immediately into the valley beneath it. Moreover, they struck the judges with the backs of their swords, by way of abuse, and thrust them out of the court of the temple, and spared their lives with no other design than that, when they were dispersed among the people in the city, they might become their messengers, to let them know they were no better than slaves.

5. But by this time the Idumeans repented of their coming, and were displeased at what had been done; and when they were assembled together by one of the zealots, who had come privately to them, he declared to them what a number of wicked pranks they had themselves done in conjunction with those that invited them, and gave a particular account of what mischiefs had been done against their metropolis. He said that they had taken arms, as though the high priests were betraying their metropolis to the Romans, but had found no indication of any such treachery; but that they had succored those that had pretended to believe such a thing, while they did themselves the works of war and tyranny, after an insolent manner. It had been indeed their business to have hindered them from such their proceedings at the first, but seeing they had once been partners with them in shedding the blood of their own countrymen, it was high time to put a stop to such crimes, and not continue to afford any more assistance to such as are subverting the laws of their forefathers; for that if any

had taken it ill that the gates had been shut against them, and they had not been permitted to come into the city, yet that those who had excluded them have been punished, and Ananus is dead, and that almost all those people had been destroyed in one night's time. That one may perceive many of themselves now repenting for what they had done, and might see the horrid barbarity of those that had invited them, and that they had no regard to such as had saved them; that they were so impudent as to perpetrate the vilest things, under the eyes of those that had supported them, and that their wicked actions would be laid to the charge of the Idumeans, and would be so laid to their charge till somebody obstructs their proceedings, or separates himself from the same wicked action; that they therefore ought to retire home, since the imputation of treason appears to be a Calumny, and that there was no expectation of the coming of the Romans at this time, and that the government of the city was secured by such walls as cannot easily be thrown down; and, by avoiding any further fellowship with these bad men, to make some excuse for themselves, as to what they had been so far deluded, as to have been partners with them hitherto.

CHAPTER 6.

How The Zealots When They Were Freed From The Idumeans, Slew A Great Many More Of The Citizens; And How Vespasian Dissuaded The Romans When They Were Very Earnest To March Against The Jews From Proceeding In The War At That Time.

1. The Idumeans complied with these persuasions; and, in the first place, they set those that were in the prisons at liberty, being about two thousand of the populace, who thereupon fled away immediately to Simon, one whom we shall speak of presently. After which these Idumeans retired from Jerusalem, and went home; which departure of theirs was a great surprise to both parties; for the people, not knowing of their repentance, pulled up their courage for a while, as eased of so many of their enemies, while the zealots grew more insolent not as deserted by their confederates, but as freed from such men as might hinder their designs, and plot some stop to their wickedness. Accordingly, they made no longer any delay, nor took any deliberation in their enormous practices, but made use of the shortest methods for all their executions and what they had once resolved upon, they put in practice sooner than any one could imagine. But their thirst was chiefly after the blood of valiant men, and men of good families; the one sort of which they destroyed out of envy, the other out of fear; for they thought their whole security lay in leaving no potent men alive; on which account they slew Gorion, a person eminent in dignity, and on account of his family also; he was also for democracy, and of as great boldness and freedom of spirit as were any of the Jews whosoever; the principal thing that ruined him, added to his other advantages, was his free speaking. Nor did Niger of Peres escape their hands; he had been a man of great valor in their war with the Romans, but was now drawn through the middle of the city, and, as he went, he frequently cried out, and showed the scars of his wounds; and when he was drawn out of the gates, and despaired of his preservation, he besought them to grant him a burial; but as they had threatened him beforehand not to grant him any spot of earth for a grave, which he chiefly desired of them, so did they slay him [without permitting him to be buried]. Now when they were slaying him, he made this imprecation upon them, that they might undergo both famine and pestilence in this war, and besides all that, they might come to the mutual slaughter of one another; all which imprecations God confirmed against these impious men, and was what came most justly upon them, when not long afterward they tasted of their own madness in their mutual seditions one against

another. So when this Niger was killed, their fears of being overturned were diminished; and indeed there was no part of the people but they found out some pretense to destroy them; for some were therefore slain, because they had had differences with some of them; and as to those that had not opposed them in times of peace, they watched seasonable opportunities to gain some accusation against them; and if any one did not come near them at all, he was under their suspicion as a proud man; if any one came with boldness, he was esteemed a contemner of them; and if any one came as aiming to oblige them, he was supposed to have some treacherous plot against them; while the only punishment of crimes, whether they were of the greatest or smallest sort, was death. Nor could any one escape, unless he were very inconsiderable, either on account of the meanness of his birth, or on account of his fortune.

2. And now all the rest of the commanders of the Romans deemed this sedition among their enemies to be of great advantage to them, and were very earnest to march to the city, and they urged Vespasian, as their lord and general in all cases, to make haste, and said to him, that "the providence of God is on our side, by setting our enemies at variance against one another; that still the change in such cases may be sudden, and the Jews may quickly be at one again, either because they may be tired out with their civil miseries, or repent them of such doings." But Vespasian replied, that they were greatly mistaken in what they thought fit to be done, as those that, upon the theater, love to make a show of their hands, and of their weapons, but do it at their own hazard, without considering, what was for their advantage, and for their security; for that if they now go and attack the city immediately, "they shall but occasion their enemies to unite together, and shall convert their force, now it is in its height, against themselves. But if they stay a while, they shall have fewer enemies, because they will be consumed in this sedition: that God acts as a general of the Romans better than he can do, and is giving the Jews up to them without any pains of their own, and granting their army a victory without any danger; that therefore it is their best way, while their enemies are destroying each other with their own hands, and falling into the greatest of misfortunes, which is that of sedition, to sit still as spectators of the dangers they run into, rather than to fight hand to hand with men that love murdering, and are mad one against another. But if any one imagines that the glory of victory, when it is gotten without fighting, will be more insipid, let him know this much, that a glorious success, quietly obtained, is more profitable than the dangers of a battle; for we ought to esteem these that do what is agreeable to temperance and prudence no less glorious than those that have gained great reputation by their actions in war: that he shall lead on his army with greater force when their enemies are diminished, and his own army

refreshed after the continual labors they had undergone. However, that this is not a proper time to propose to ourselves the glory of victory; for that the Jews are not now employed in making of armor or building of walls, nor indeed in getting together auxiliaries, while the advantage will be on their side who give them such opportunity of delay; but that the Jews are vexed to pieces every day by their civil wars and dissensions, and are under greater miseries than, if they were once taken, could be inflicted on them by us. Whether therefore any one hath regard to what is for our safety, he ought to suffer these Jews to destroy one another; or whether he hath regard to the greater glory of the action, we ought by no means to meddle with those men, now they are afflicted with a distemper at home; for should we now conquer them, it would be said the conquest was not owing to our bravery, but to their sedition."

3. And now the commanders joined in their approbation of what Vespasian had said, and it was soon discovered how wise an opinion he had given. And indeed many there were of the Jews that deserted every day, and fled away from the zealots, although their flight was very difficult, since they had guarded every passage out of the city, and slew every one that was caught at them, as taking it for granted they were going over to the Romans; yet did he who gave them money get clear off, while he only that gave them none was voted a traitor. So the upshot was this, that the rich purchased their flight by money, while none but the poor were slain. Along all the roads also vast numbers of dead bodies lay in heaps, and even many of those that were so zealous in deserting at length chose rather to perish within the city; for the hopes of burial made death in their own city appear of the two less terrible to them. But these zealots came at last to that degree of barbarity, as not to bestow a burial either on those slain in the city, or on those that lay along the roads; but as if they had made an agreement to cancel both the laws of their country and the laws of nature, and, at the same time that they defiled men with their wicked actions, they would pollute the Divinity itself also, they left the dead bodies to putrefy under the sun; and the same punishment was allotted to such as buried any as to those that deserted, which was no other than death; while he that granted the favor of a grave to another would presently stand in need of a grave himself. To say all in a word, no other gentle passion was so entirely lost among them as mercy; for what were the greatest objects of pity did most of all irritate these wretches, and they transferred their rage from the living to those that had been slain, and from the dead to the living. Nay, the terror was so very great, that he who survived called them that were first dead happy, as being at rest already; as did those that were under torture in the prisons, declare, that, upon this comparison, those that lay unburied were the happiest. These men, therefore, trampled upon all the laws of men, and laughed

at the laws of God; and for the oracles of the prophets, they ridiculed them as the tricks of jugglers; yet did these prophets foretell many things concerning [the rewards of] virtue, and [punishments of] vice, which when these zealots violated, they occasioned the fulfilling of those very prophecies belonging to their own country; for there was a certain ancient oracle of those men, that the city should then be taken and the sanctuary burnt, by right of war, when a sedition should invade the Jews, and their own hand should pollute the temple of God. Now while these zealots did not [quite] disbelieve these predictions, they made themselves the instruments of their accomplishment.

CHAPTER 7.

How John Tyrannized Over The Rest; And What Mischiefs The Zealots Did At Masada. How Also Vespasian Took Gadara; And What Actions Were Performed By Placidus.

1. By this time John was beginning to tyrannize, and thought it beneath him to accept of barely the same honors that others had; and joining to himself by degrees a party of the wickedest of them all, he broke off from the rest of the faction. This was brought about by his still disagreeing with the opinions of others, and giving out injunctions of his own, in a very imperious manner; so that it was evident he was setting up a monarchical power. Now some submitted to him out of their fear of him, and others out of their good-will to him; for he was a shrewd man to entice men to him, both by deluding them and putting cheats upon them. Nay, many there were that thought they should be safer themselves, if the causes of their past insolent actions should now be reduced to one head, and not to a great many. His activity was so great, and that both in action and in counsel, that he had not a few guards about him; yet was there a great party of his antagonists that left him; among whom envy at him weighed a great deal, while they thought it a very heavy thing to be in subjection to one that was formerly their equal. But the main reason that moved men against him was the dread of monarchy, for they could not hope easily to put an end to his power, if he had once obtained it; and yet they knew that he would have this pretense always against them, that they had opposed him when he was first advanced; while every one chose rather to suffer any thing whatsoever in war, than that, when they had been in a voluntary slavery for some time, they should afterward perish. So the sedition was divided into two parts, and John reigned in opposition to his adversaries over one of them: but for their leaders, they watched one another, nor did they at all, or at least very little, meddle with arms in their quarrels; but they fought earnestly against the people, and contended one with another which of them should bring home the greatest prey. But because the city had to struggle with three of the greatest misfortunes, war, and tyranny, and sedition, it appeared, upon the comparison, that the war was the least troublesome to the populace of them all. Accordingly, they ran away from their own houses to foreigners, and obtained that preservation from the Romans which they despaired to obtain among their own people.

2. And now a fourth misfortune arose, in order to bring our nation to destruction. There was a fortress of very great strength not far from Jerusalem,

which had been built by our ancient kings, both as a repository for their effects in the hazards of war, and for the preservation of their bodies at the same time. It was called Masada. Those that were called Sicarii had taken possession of it formerly, but at this time they overran the neighboring countries, aiming only to procure to themselves necessaries; for the fear they were then in prevented their further ravages. But when once they were informed that the Roman army lay still, and that the Jews were divided between sedition and tyranny, they boldly undertook greater matters; and at the feast of unleavened bread, which the Jews celebrate in memory of their deliverance from the Egyptian bondage, when they were sent back into the country of their forefathers, they came down by night, without being discovered by those that could have prevented them, and overran a certain small city called Engaddi: — in which expedition they prevented those citizens that could have stopped them, before they could arm themselves, and fight them. They also dispersed them, and cast them out of the city. As for such as could not run away, being women and children, they slew of them above seven hundred. Afterward, when they had carried every thing out of their houses, and had seized upon all the fruits that were in a flourishing condition, they brought them into Masada. And indeed these men laid all the villages that were about the fortress waste, and made the whole country desolate; while there came to them every day, from all parts, not a few men as corrupt as themselves. At that time all the other regions of Judea that had hitherto been at rest were in motion, by means of the robbers. Now as it is in a human body, if the principal part be inflamed, all the members are subject to the same distemper; so, by means of the sedition and disorder that was in the metropolis,. had the wicked men that were in the country opportunity to ravage the same. Accordingly, when every one of them had plundered their own villages, they then retired into the desert; yet were these men that now got together, and joined in the conspiracy by parties, too small for an army, and too many for a gang of thieves: and thus did they fall upon the holy places and the cities; yet did it now so happen that they were sometimes very ill treated by those upon whom they fell with such violence, and were taken by them as men are taken in war: but still they prevented any further punishment as do robbers, who, as soon as their ravages [are discovered], run their way. Nor was there now any part of Judea that was not in a miserable condition, as well as its most eminent city also.

3. These things were told Vespasian by deserters; for although the seditious watched all the passages out of the city, and destroyed all, whosoever they were, that came thither, yet were there some that had concealed themselves, and when they had fled to the Romans, persuaded their general to come to their city's assistance, and save the remainder of the people; informing him withal, that it

was upon account of the people's good-will to the Romans that many of them were already slain, and the survivors in danger of the same treatment. Vespasian did indeed already pity the calamities these men were in, and arose, in appearance, as though he was going to besiege Jerusalem, but in reality to deliver them from a [worse] siege they were already under. However, he was obliged first to overthrow what remained elsewhere, and to leave nothing out of Jerusalem behind him that might interrupt him in that siege. Accordingly, he marched against Gadara, the metropolis of Perea, which was a place of strength, and entered that city on the fourth day of the month Dystrus [Adar]; for the men of power had sent an embassage to him, without the knowledge of the seditious, to treat about a surrender; which they did out of the desire they had of peace, and for saving their effects, because many of the citizens of Gadara were rich men. This embassy the opposite party knew nothing of, but discovered it as Vespasian was approaching near the city. However, they despaired of keeping possession of the city, as being inferior in number to their enemies who were within the city, and seeing the Romans very near to the city; so they resolved to fly, but thought it dishonorable to do it without shedding some blood, and revenging themselves on the authors of this surrender; so they seized upon Dolesus, [a person not only the first in rank and family in that city, but one that seemed the occasion of sending such an embassy,] and slew him, and treated his dead body after a barbarous manner, so very violent was their anger at him, and then ran out of the city. And as now the Roman army was just upon them, the people of Gadara admitted Vespasian with joyful acclamations, and received from him the security of his right hand, as also a garrison of horsemen and footmen, to guard them against the excursions of the runagates; for as to their wall, they had pulled it down before the Romans desired them so to do, that they might thereby give them assurance that they were lovers of peace, and that, if they had a mind, they could not now make war against them.

4. And now Vespasian sent Placidus against those that had fled from Gadara, with five hundred horsemen, and three thousand footmen, while he returned himself to Cesarea, with the rest of the army. But as soon as these fugitives saw the horsemen that pursued them just upon their backs, and before they came to a close fight, they ran together to a certain village, which was called Bethennabris, where finding a great multitude of young men, and arming them, partly by their own consent, partly by force, they rashly and suddenly assaulted Placidus and the troops that were with him. These horsemen at the first onset gave way a little, as contriving to entice them further off the wall; and when they had drawn them into a place fit for their purpose, they made their horse encompass them round, and threw their darts at them. So the horsemen cut off the flight of the

fugitives, while the foot terribly destroyed those that fought against them; for those Jews did no more than show their courage, and then were destroyed; for as they fell upon the Romans when they were joined close together, and, as it were, walled about with their entire armor, they were not able to find any place where the darts could enter, nor were they any way able to break their ranks, while they were themselves run through by the Roman darts, and, like the wildest of wild beasts, rushed upon the point of others' swords; so some of them were destroyed, as cut with their enemies' swords upon their faces, and others were dispersed by the horsemen.

5. Now Placidus's concern was to exclude them in their flight from getting into the village; and causing his horse to march continually on that side of them, he then turned short upon them, and at the same time his men made use of their darts, and easily took their aim at those that were the nearest to them, as they made those that were further off turn back by the terror they were in, till at last the most courageous of them brake through those horsemen and fled to the wall of the village. And now those that guarded the wall were in great doubt what to do; for they could not bear the thoughts of excluding those that came from Gadara, because of their own people that were among them; and yet, if they should admit them, they expected to perish with them, which came to pass accordingly; for as they were crowding together at the wall, the Roman horsemen were just ready to fall in with them. However, the guards prevented them, and shut the gates, when Placidus made an assault upon them, and fighting courageously till it was dark, he got possession of the wall, and of the people that were in the city, when the useless multitude were destroyed; but those that were more potent ran away, and the soldiers plundered the houses, and set the village on fire. As for those that ran out of the village, they stirred up such as were in the country, and exaggerating their own calamities, and telling them that the whole army of the Romans were upon them, they put them into great fear on every side; so they got in great numbers together, and fled to Jericho, for they knew no other place that could afford them any hope of escaping, it being a city that had a strong wall, and a great multitude of inhabitants. But Placidus, relying much upon his horsemen, and his former good success, followed them, and slew all that he overtook, as far as Jordan; and when he had driven the whole multitude to the river-side, where they were stopped by the current, [for it had been augmented lately by rains, and was not fordable,] he put his soldiers in array over against them; so the necessity the others were in provoked them to hazard a battle, because there was no place whither they could flee. They then extended themselves a very great way along the banks of the river, and sustained the darts that were thrown at them, as well as the attacks of the horsemen, who

beat many of them, and pushed them into the current. At which fight, hand to hand, fifteen thousand of them were slain, while the number of those that were unwillingly forced to leap into Jordan was prodigious. There were besides two thousand and two hundred taken prisoners. A mighty prey was taken also, consisting of asses, and sheep, and camels, and oxen.

6. Now this destruction that fell upon the Jews, as it was not inferior to any of the rest in itself, so did it still appear greater than it really was; and this, because not only the whole country through which they fled was filled with slaughter, and Jordan could not be passed over, by reason of the dead bodies that were in it, but because the lake Asphaltites was also full of dead bodies, that were carried down into it by the river. And now Placidus, after this good success that he had, fell violently upon the neighboring smaller cities and villages; when he took Abila, and Julias, and Bezemoth, and all those that lay as far as the lake Asphaltites, and put such of the deserters into each of them as he thought proper. He then put his soldiers on board the ships, and slew such as had fled to the lake, insomuch that all Perea had either surrendered themselves, or were taken by the Romans, as far as Machaerus.

CHAPTER 8.

How Vespasian Upon Hearing Of Some Commotions In Gall, Made Haste To Finish The Jewish War. A Description Of Jericho, And Of The Great Plain; With An Account Besides Of The Lake Asphaltites.

1. In the mean time, an account came that there were commotions in Gall, and that Vindex, together with the men of power in that country, had revolted from Nero; which affair is more accurately described elsewhere. This report, thus related to Vespasian, excited him to go on briskly with the war; for he foresaw already the civil wars which were coming upon them, nay, that the very government was in danger; and he thought, if he could first reduce the eastern parts of the empire to peace, he should make the fears for Italy the lighter; while therefore the winter was his hinderance [from going into the field], he put garrisons into the villages and smaller cities for their security; he put decurions also into the villages, and centurions into the cities: he besides this rebuilt many of the cities that had been laid waste; but at the beginning of the spring he took the greatest part of his army, and led it from Cesarea to Antipatris, where he spent two days in settling the affairs of that city, and then, on the third day, he marched on, laying waste and burning all the neighboring villages. And when he had laid waste all the places about the toparchy of Thamnas, he passed on to Lydda and Jamnia; and when both these cities had come over to him, he placed a great many of those that had come over to him [from other places] as inhabitants therein, and then came to Emmaus, where he seized upon the passage which led thence to their metropolis, and fortified his camp, and leaving the fifth legion therein, he came to the toparchy of Bethletephon. He then destroyed that place, and the neighboring places, by fire, and fortified, at proper places, the strong holds all about Idumea; and when he had seized upon two villages, which were in the very midst of Idumea, Betaris and Caphartobas, he slew above ten thousand of the people, and carried into captivity above a thousand, and drove away the rest of the multitude, and placed no small part of his own forces in them, who overran and laid waste the whole mountainous country; while he, with the rest of his forces, returned to Emmaus, whence he came down through the country of Samaria, and hard by the city, by others called Neapolis, [or Sichem,] but by the people of that country Mabortha, to Corea, where he pitched his camp, on the second day of the month Desius [Sivan]; and on the day following he came to Jericho; on which day Trajan, one of his commanders,

joined him with the forces he brought out of Perea, all the places beyond Jordan being subdued already.

2. Hereupon a great multitude prevented their approach, and came out of Jericho, and fled to those mountainous parts that lay over against Jerusalem, while that part which was left behind was in a great measure destroyed; they also found the city desolate. It is situated in a plain; but a naked and barren mountain, of a very great length, hangs over it, which extends itself to the land about Scythopolis northward, but as far as the country of Sodom, and the utmost limits of the lake Asphaltites, southward. This mountain is all of it very uneven and uninhabited, by reason of its barrenness: there is an opposite mountain that is situated over against it, on the other side of Jordan; this last begins at Julias, and the northern quarters, and extends itself southward as far as Somorrhon, which is the bounds of Petra, in Arabia. In this ridge of mountains there is one called the Iron Mountain, that runs in length as far as Moab. Now the region that lies in the middle between these ridges of mountains is called the Great Plain; it reaches from the village Ginnabris, as far as the lake Asphaltites; its length is two hundred and thirty furlongs, and its breadth a hundred and twenty, and it is divided in the midst by Jordan. It hath two lakes in it, that of Asphaltites, and that of Tiberias, whose natures are opposite to each other; for the former is salt and unfruitful, but that of Tiberias is sweet and fruitful. This plain is much burnt up in summer time, and, by reason of the extraordinary heat, contains a very unwholesome air; it is all destitute of water excepting the river Jordan, which water of Jordan is the occasion why those plantations of palm trees that are near its banks are more flourishing, and much more fruitful, as are those that are remote from it not so flourishing, or fruitful.

3. Notwithstanding which, there is a fountain by Jericho, that runs plentifully, and is very fit for watering the ground; it arises near the old city, which Joshua, the son of Naue, the general of the Hebrews, took the first of all the cities of the land of Canaan, by right of war. The report is, that this fountain, at the beginning, caused not only the blasting of the earth and the trees, but of the children born of women, and that it was entirely of a sickly and corruptive nature to all things whatsoever; but that it was made gentle, and very wholesome and fruitful, by the prophet Elisha. This prophet was familiar with Elijah, and was his successor, who, when he once was the guest of the people at Jericho, and the men of the place had treated him very kindly, he both made them amends as well as the country, by a lasting favor; for he went out of the city to this fountain, and threw into the current an earthen vessel full of salt; after which he stretched out his righteous hand unto heaven, and, pouring out a mild drink-offering, he made this supplication, That the current might be mollified, and that the veins of fresh

water might be opened; that God also would bring into the place a more temperate and fertile air for the current, and would bestow upon the people of that country plenty of the fruits of the earth, and a succession of children; and that this prolific water might never fail them, while they continued to be righteous. To these prayers Elisha joined proper operations of his hands, after a skillful manner, and changed the fountain; and that water, which had been the occasion of barrenness and famine before, from that time did supply a numerous posterity, and afforded great abundance to the country. Accordingly, the power of it is so great in watering the ground, that if it do but once touch a country, it affords a sweeter nourishment than other waters do, when they lie so long upon them, till they are satiated with them. For which reason, the advantage gained from other waters, when they flow in great plenty, is but small, while that of this water is great when it flows even in little quantities. Accordingly, it waters a larger space of ground than any other waters do, and passes along a plain of seventy furlongs long, and twenty broad; wherein it affords nourishment to those most excellent gardens that are thick set with trees. There are in it many sorts of palm trees that are watered by it, different from each other in taste and name; the better sort of them, when they are pressed, yield an excellent kind of honey, not much inferior in sweetness to other honey. This country withal produces honey from bees; it also bears that balsam which is the most precious of all the fruits in that place, cypress trees also, and those that bear myrobalanum; so that he who should pronounce this place to be divine would not be mistaken, wherein is such plenty of trees produced as are very rare, and of the must excellent sort. And indeed, if we speak of those other fruits, it will not be easy to light on any climate in the habitable earth that can well be compared to it, what is here sown comes up in such clusters; the cause of which seems to me to be the warmth of the air, and the fertility of the waters; the warmth calling forth the sprouts, and making them spread, and the moisture making every one of them take root firmly, and supplying that virtue which it stands in need of in summer time. Now this country is then so sadly burnt up, that nobody cares to come at it; and if the water be drawn up before sun-rising, and after that exposed to the air, it becomes exceeding cold, and becomes of a nature quite contrary to the ambient air; as in winter again it becomes warm; and if you go into it, it appears very gentle. The ambient air is here also of so good a temperature, that the people of the country are clothed in linen-only, even when snow covers the rest of Judea. This place is one hundred and fifty furlongs from Jerusalem, and sixty from Jordan. The country, as far as Jerusalem, is desert and stony; but that as far as Jordan and the lake Asphaltites lies lower indeed, though it be equally desert and barren. But so

much shall suffice to have said about Jericho, and of the great happiness of its situation.

4. The nature of the lake Asphaltites is also worth describing. It is, as I have said already, bitter and unfruitful. It is so light [or thick] that it bears up the heaviest things that are thrown into it; nor is it easy for any one to make things sink therein to the bottom, if he had a mind so to do. Accordingly, when Vespasian went to see it, he commanded that some who could not swim should have their hands tied behind them, and be thrown into the deep, when it so happened that they all swam as if a wind had forced them upwards. Moreover, the change of the color of this lake is wonderful, for it changes its appearance thrice every day; and as the rays of the sun fall differently upon it, the light is variously reflected. However, it casts up black clods of bitumen in many parts of it; these swim at the top of the water, and resemble both in shape and bigness headless bulls; and when the laborers that belong to the lake come to it, and catch hold of it as it hangs together, they draw it into their ships; but when the ship is full, it is not easy to cut off the rest, for it is so tenacious as to make the ship hang upon its clods till they set it loose with the menstrual blood of women, and with urine, to which alone it yields. This bitumen is not only useful for the caulking of ships, but for the cure of men's bodies; accordingly, it is mixed in a great many medicines. The length of this lake is five hundred and eighty furlongs, where it is extended as far as Zoar in Arabia; and its breadth is a hundred and fifty. The country of Sodom borders upon it. It was of old a most happy land, both for the fruits it bore and the riches of its cities, although it be now all burnt up. It is related how, for the impiety of its inhabitants, it was burnt by lightning; in consequence of which there are still the remainders of that Divine fire, and the traces [or shadows] of the five cities are still to be seen, as well as the ashes growing in their fruits; which fruits have a color as if they were fit to be eaten, but if you pluck them with your hands, they dissolve into smoke and ashes. And thus what is related of this land of Sodom hath these marks of credibility which our very sight affords us.

CHAPTER 9.

That Vespasian, After He Had Taken Gadara Made Preparation For The Siege Of Jerusalem; But That, Upon His Hearing Of The Death Of Nero, He Changed His Intentions. As Also Concerning Simon Of Geras.

1. And now Vespasian had fortified all the places round about Jerusalem, and erected citadels at Jericho and Adida, and placed garrisons in them both, partly out of his own Romans, and partly out of the body of his auxiliaries. He also sent Lucius Annius to Gerasa, and delivered to him a body of horsemen, and a considerable number of footmen. So when he had taken the city, which he did at the first onset, he slew a thousand of those young men who had not prevented him by flying away; but he took their families captive, and permitted his soldiers to plunder them of their effects; after which he set fire to their houses, and went away to the adjoining villages, while the men of power fled away, and the weaker part were destroyed, and what was remaining was all burnt down. And now the war having gone through all the mountainous country, and all the plain country also, those that were at Jerusalem were deprived of the liberty of going out of the city; for as to such as had a mind to desert, they were watched by the zealots; and as to such as were not yet on the side of the Romans, their army kept them in, by encompassing the city round about on all sides.

2. Now as Vespasian was returned to Cesarea, and was getting ready with all his army to march directly to Jerusalem, he was informed that Nero was dead, after he had reigned thirteen years and eight days. But as to any narration after what manner he abused his power in the government, and committed the management of affairs to those vile wretches, Nymphidius and Tigellinus, his unworthy freed-men; and how he had a plot laid against him by them, and was deserted by all his guards, and ran away with four of his most trusty freed-men, and slew himself in the suburbs of Rome; and how those that occasioned his death were in no long time brought themselves to punishment; how also the war in Gall ended; and how Galba was made emperor and returned out of Spain to Rome; and how he was accused by the soldiers as a pusillanimous person, and slain by treachery in the middle of the market-place at Rome, and Otho was made emperor; with his expedition against the commanders of Vitellius, and his destruction thereupon; and besides what troubles there were under Vitellius, and the fight that was about the capitol; as also how Antonius Primus and Mucianus slew Vitellius, and his German legions, and thereby put an end to that civil war;

I have omitted to give an exact account of them, because they are well known by all, and they are described by a great number of Greek and Roman authors; yet for the sake of the connexion of matters, and that my history may not be incoherent, I have just touched upon every thing briefly. Wherefore Vespasian put off at first his expedition against Jerusalem, and stood waiting whither the empire would be transferred after the death of Nero. Moreover, when he heard that Galba was made emperor, he attempted nothing till he also should send him some directions about the war: however, he sent his son Titus to him, to salute him, and to receive his commands about the Jews. Upon the very same errand did king Agrippa sail along with Titus to Galba; but as they were sailing in their long ships by the coasts of Achaia, for it was winter time, they heard that Galba was slain, before they could get to him, after he had reigned seven months and as many days. After whom Otho took the government, and undertook the management of public affairs. So Agrippa resolved to go on to Rome without any terror; on account of the change in the government; but Titus, by a Divine impulse, sailed back from Greece to Syria, and came in great haste to Cesarea, to his father. And now they were both in suspense about the public affairs, the Roman empire being then in a fluctuating condition, and did not go on with their expedition against the Jews, but thought that to make any attack upon foreigners was now unseasonable, on account of the solicitude they were in for their own country.

3. And now there arose another war at Jerusalem. There was a son of Giora, one Simon, by birth of Gerasa, a young man, not so cunning indeed as John [of Gisehala], who had already seized upon the city, but superior in strength of body and courage; on which account, when he had been driven away from that Acrabattene toparchy, which he once had, by Ananus the high priest, he came to those robbers who had seized upon Masada. At the first they suspected him, and only permitted him to come with the women he brought with him into the lower part of the fortress, while they dwelt in the upper part of it themselves. However, his manner so well agreed with theirs, and he seemed so trusty a man, that he went out with them, and ravaged and destroyed the country with them about Masada; yet when he persuaded them to undertake greater things, he could not prevail with them so to do; for as they were accustomed to dwell in that citadel, they were afraid of going far from that which was their hiding-place; but he affecting to tyrannize, and being fond of greatness, when he had heard of the death of Ananus, he left them, and went into the mountainous part of the country. So he proclaimed liberty to those in slavery, and a reward to those already free, and got together a set of wicked men from all quarters.

4. And as he had now a strong body of men about him, he overran the villages that lay in the mountainous country, and when there were still more and more that came to him, he ventured to go down into the lower parts of the country, and since he was now become formidable to the cities, many of the men of power were corrupted by him; so that his army was no longer composed of slaves and robbers, but a great many of the populace were obedient to him as to their king. He then overran the Acrabattene toparchy, and the places that reached as far as the Great Idumea; for he built a wall at a certain village called Nain, and made use of that as a fortress for his own party's security; and at the valley called Paran, he enlarged many of the caves, and many others he found ready for his purpose; these he made use of as repositories for his treasures, and receptacles for his prey, and therein he laid up the fruits that he had got by rapine; and many of his partizans had their dwelling in them; and he made no secret of it that he was exercising his men beforehand, and making preparations for the assault of Jerusalem.

5. Whereupon the zealots, out of the dread they were in of his attacking them, and being willing to prevent one that was growing up to oppose them, went out against him with their weapons. Simon met them, and joining battle with them, slew a considerable number of them, and drove the rest before him into the city, but durst not trust so much upon his forces as to make an assault upon the walls; but he resolved first to subdue Idumea, and as he had now twenty thousand armed men, he marched to the borders of their country. Hereupon the rulers of the Idumeans got together on the sudden the most warlike part of their people, about twenty-five thousand in number, and permitted the rest to be a guard to their own country, by reason of the incursions that were made by the Sicarii that were at Masada. Thus they received Simon at their borders, where they fought him, and continued the battle all that day; and the dispute lay whether they had conquered him, or been conquered by him. So he went back to Nain, as did the Idumeans return home. Nor was it long ere Simon came violently again upon their country; when he pitched his camp at a certain village called Thecoe, and sent Eleazar, one of his companions, to those that kept garrison at Herodium, and in order to persuade them to surrender that fortress to him. The garrison received this man readily, while they knew nothing of what he came about; but as soon as he talked of the surrender of the place, they fell upon him with their drawn swords, till he found that he had no place for flight, when he threw himself down from the wall into the valley beneath; so he died immediately: but the Idumeans, who were already much afraid of Simon's power, thought fit to take a view of the enemy's army before they hazarded a battle with them.

6. Now there was one of their commanders named Jacob, who offered to serve them readily upon that occasion, but had it in his mind to betray them. He went therefore from the village Alurus, wherein the army of the Idumeans were gotten together, and came to Simon, and at the very first he agreed to betray his country to him, and took assurances upon oath from him that he should always have him in esteem, and then promised him that he would assist him in subduing all Idumea under him; upon which account he was feasted after an obliging manner by Simon, and elevated by his mighty promises; and when he was returned to his own men, he at first belied the army of Simon, and said it was manifold more in number than what it was; after which, he dexterously persuaded the commanders, and by degrees the whole multitude, to receive Simon, and to surrender the whole government up to him without fighting. And as he was doing this, he invited Simon by his messengers, and promised him to disperse the Idumeans, which he performed also; for as soon as their army was nigh them, he first of all got upon his horse, and fled, together with those whom he had corrupted; hereupon a terror fell upon the whole multitude; and before it came to a close fight, they broke their ranks, and every one retired to his own home.

7. Thus did Simon unexpectedly march into Idumea, without bloodshed, and made a sudden attack upon the city Hebron, and took it; wherein he got possession of a great deal of prey, and plundered it of a vast quantity of fruit. Now the people of the country say that it is an ancienter city, not only than any in that country, but than Memphis in Egypt, and accordingly its age is reckoned at two thousand and three hundred years. They also relate that it had been the habitation of Abram, the progenitor of the Jews, after he had removed out of Mesopotamia; and they say that his posterity descended from thence into Egypt, whose monuments are to this very time showed in that small city; the fabric of which monuments are of the most excellent marble, and wrought after the most elegant manner. There is also there showed, at the distance of six furlongs from the city, a very large turpentine tree and the report goes, that this tree has continued ever since the creation of the world. Thence did Simon make his progress over all Idumea, and did not only ravage the cities and villages, but lay waste the whole country; for, besides those that were completely armed, he had forty thousand men that followed him, insomuch that he had not provisions enough to suffice such a multitude. Now, besides this want of provisions that he was in, he was of a barbarous disposition, and bore great anger at this nation, by which means it came to pass that Idumea was greatly depopulated; and as one may see all the woods behind despoiled of their leaves by locusts, after they have been there, so was there nothing left behind Simon's army but a desert. Some places they burnt down, some they utterly demolished, and whatsoever

grew in the country, they either trod it down or fed upon it, and by their marches they made the ground that was cultivated harder and more untractable than that which was barren. In short, there was no sign remaining of those places that had been laid waste, that ever they had had a being.

8. This success of Simon excited the zealots afresh; and though they were afraid to fight him openly in a fair battle, yet did they lay ambushes in the passes, and seized upon his wife, with a considerable number of her attendants; whereupon they came back to the city rejoicing, as if they had taken Simon himself captive, and were in present expectation that he would lay down his arms, and make supplication to them for his wife; but instead of indulging any merciful affection, he grew very angry at them for seizing his beloved wife; so he came to the wall of Jerusalem, and, like wild beasts when they are wounded, and cannot overtake those that wounded them, he vented his spleen upon all persons that he met with. Accordingly, he caught all those that were come out of the city gates, either to gather herbs or sticks, who were unarmed and in years; he then tormented them and destroyed them, out of the immense rage he was in, and was almost ready to taste the very flesh of their dead bodies. He also cut off the hands of a great many, and sent them into the city to astonish his enemies, and in order to make the people fall into a sedition, and desert those that had been the authors of his wife's seizure. He also enjoined them to tell the people that Simon swore by the God of the universe, who sees all things, that unless they will restore him his wife, he will break down their wall, and inflict the like punishment upon all the citizens, without sparing any age, and without making any distinction between the guilty and the innocent. These threatenings so greatly affrighted, not the people only, but the zealots themselves also, that they sent his wife back to him; when he became a little milder, and left off his perpetual blood-shedding.

9. But now sedition and civil war prevailed, not only over Judea, but in Italy also; for now Galba was slain in the midst of the Roman market-place; then was Otho made emperor, and fought against Vitellius, who set up for emperor also; for the legions in Germany had chosen him. But when he gave battle to Valens and Cecinna, who were Vitellius's generals, at Betriacum, in Gaul, Otho gained the advantage on the first day, but on the second day Vitellius's soldiers had the victory; and after much slaughter Otho slew himself, when he had heard of this defeat at Brixia, and after he had managed the public affairs three months and two days. Otho's army also came over to Vitellius's generals, and he came himself down to Rome with his army. But in the mean time Vespasian removed from Cesarea, on the fifth day of the month Desius, [Sivan,] and marched against those places of Judea which were not yet overthrown. So he went up to the

mountainous country, and took those two toparchies that were called the Gophnitick and Acrabattene toparchies. After which he took Bethel and Ephraim, two small cities; and when he had put garrisons into them, he rode as far as Jerusalem, in which march he took many prisoners, and many captives; but Cerealis, one of his commanders, took a body of horsemen and footmen, and laid waste that part of Idumea which was called the Upper Idumea, and attacked Caphethra, which pretended to be a small city, and took it at the first onset, and burnt it down. He also attacked Caphatabira, and laid siege to it, for it had a very strong wall; and when he expected to spend a long time in that siege, those that were within opened their gates on the sudden, and came to beg pardon, and surrendered themselves up to him. When Cerealis had conquered them, he went to Hebron, another very ancient city. I have told you already that this city is situated in a mountainous country not far off Jerusalem; and when he had broken into the city by force, what multitude and young men were left therein he slew, and burnt down the city; so that as now all the places were taken, excepting Herodlum, and Masada, and Machaerus, which were in the possession of the robbers, so Jerusalem was what the Romans at present aimed at.

10. And now, as soon as Simon had set his wife free, and recovered her from the zealots, he returned back to the remainders of Idumea, and driving the nation all before him from all quarters, he compelled a great number of them to retire to Jerusalem; he followed them himself also to the city, and encompassed the wall all round again; and when he lighted upon any laborers that were coming thither out of the country, he slew them. Now this Simon, who was without the wall, was a greater terror to the people than the Romans themselves, as were the zealots who were within it more heavy upon them than both of the other; and during this time did the mischievous contrivances and courage [of John] corrupt the body of the Galileans; for these Galileans had advanced this John, and made him very potent, who made them suitable requital from the authority he had obtained by their means; for he permitted them to do all things that any of them desired to do, while their inclination to plunder was insatiable, as was their zeal in searching the houses of the rich; and for the murdering of the men, and abusing of the women, it was sport to them. They also devoured what spoils they had taken, together with their blood, and indulged themselves in feminine wantonness, without any disturbance, till they were satiated therewith; while they decked their hair, and put on women's garments, and were besmeared over with ointments; and that they might appear very comely, they had paints under their eyes, and imitated not only the ornaments, but also the lusts of women, and were guilty of such intolerable uncleanness, that they invented unlawful pleasures of that sort. And thus did they roll themselves up and down the city, as

in a brothel-house, and defiled it entirely with their impure actions; nay, while their faces looked like the faces of women, they killed with their right hands; and when their gait was effeminate, they presently attacked men, and became warriors, and drew their swords from under their finely dyed cloaks, and ran every body through whom they alighted upon. However, Simon waited for such as ran away from John, and was the more bloody of the two; and he who had escaped the tyrant within the wall was destroyed by the other that lay before the gates, so that all attempts of flying and deserting to the Romans were cut off, as to those that had a mind so to do.

11. Yet did the army that was under John raise a sedition against him, and all the Idumeans separated themselves from the tyrant, and attempted to destroy him, and this out of their envy at his power, and hatred of his cruelty; so they got together, and slew many of the zealots, and drove the rest before them into that royal palace that was built by Grapte, who was a relation of Izates, the king of Adiabene; the Idumeans fell in with them, and drove the zealots out thence into the temple, and betook themselves to plunder John's effects; for both he himself was in that palace, and therein had he laid up the spoils he had acquired by his tyranny. In the mean time, the multitude of those zealots that were dispersed over the city ran together to the temple unto those that fled thither, and John prepared to bring them down against the people and the Idumeans, who were not so much afraid of being attacked by them [because they were themselves better soldiers than they] as at their madness, lest they should privately sally out of the temple and get among them, and not only destroy them, but set the city on fire also. So they assembled themselves together, and the high priests with them, and took counsel after what manner they should avoid their assault. Now it was God who turned their opinions to the worst advice, and thence they devised such a remedy to get themselves free as was worse than the disease itself. Accordingly, in order to overthrow John, they determined to admit Simon, and earnestly to desire the introduction of a second tyrant into the city; which resolution they brought to perfection, and sent Matthias, the high priest, to beseech this Simon to come in to them, of whom they had so often been afraid. Those also that had fled from the zealots in Jerusalem joined in this request to him, out of the desire they had of preserving their houses and their effects. Accordingly he, in an arrogant manner, granted them his lordly protection, and came into the city, in order to deliver it from the zealots. The people also made joyful acclamations to him, as their savior and their preserver; but when he was come in, with his army, he took care to secure his own authority, and looked upon those that had invited him in to be no less his enemies than those against whom the invitation was intended.

12. And thus did Simon get possession of Jerusalem, in the third year of the war, in the month Xanthicus [Nisan]; whereupon John, with his multitude of zealots, as being both prohibited from coming out of the temple, and having lost their power in the city, [for Simon and his party had plundered them of what they had,] were in despair of deliverance. Simon also made an assault upon the temple, with the assistance of the people, while the others stood upon the cloisters and the battlements, and defended themselves from their assaults. However, a considerable number of Simon's party fell, and many were carried off wounded; for the zealots threw their darts easily from a superior place, and seldom failed of hitting their enemies; but having the advantage of situation, and having withal erected four very large towers aforehand, that their darts might come from higher places, one at the north-east corner of the court, one above the Xystus, the third at another corner over against the lower city, and the last was erected above the top of the Pastophoria, where one of the priests stood of course, and gave a signal beforehand, with a trumpet at the beginning of every seventh day, in the evening twilight, as also at the evening when that day was finished, as giving notice to the people when they were to leave off work, and when they were to go to work again. These men also set their engines to cast darts and stones withal, upon those towers, with their archers and slingers. And now Simon made his assault upon the temple more faintly, by reason that the greatest part of his men grew weary of that work; yet did he not leave off his opposition, because his army was superior to the others, although the darts which were thrown by the engines were carried a great way, and slew many of those that fought for him.

CHAPTER 10.

How The Soldiers, Both In Judea And Egypt, Proclaimed Vespasian Emperor; And How Vespasian Released Josephus From His Bonds.

1. Now about this very time it was that heavy calamities came about Rome on all sides; for Vitellius was come from Germany with his soldiery, and drew along with him a great multitude of other men besides. And when the spaces allotted for soldiers could not contain them, he made all Rome itself his camp, and filled all the houses with his armed men; which men, when they saw the riches of Rome with those eyes which had never seen such riches before, and found themselves shone round about on all sides with silver and gold, they had much ado to contain their covetous desires, and were ready to betake themselves to plunder, and to the slaughter of such as should stand in their way. And this was the state of affairs in Italy at that time.

2. But when Vespasian had overthrown all the places that were near to Jerusalem, he returned to Cesarea, and heard of the troubles that were at Rome, and that Vitellius was emperor. This produced indignation in him, although he well knew how to be governed as well as to govern, and could not, with any satisfaction, own him for his lord who acted so madly, and seized upon the government as if it were absolutely destitute of a governor. And as this sorrow of his was violent, he was not able to support the torments he was under, nor to apply himself further in other wars, when his native country was laid waste; but then, as much as his passion excited him to avenge his country, so much was he restrained by the consideration of his distance therefrom; because fortune might prevent him, and do a world of mischief before he could himself sail over the sea to Italy, especially as it was still the winter season; so he restrained his anger, how vehement soever it was at this time.

3. But now his commanders and soldiers met in several companies, and consulted openly about changing the public affairs; and, out of their indignation, cried out, how "at Rome there are soldiers that live delicately, and when they have not ventured so much as to hear the fame of war, they ordain whom they please for our governors, and in hopes of gain make them emperors; while you, who have gone through so many labors, and are grown into years under your helmets, give leave to others to use such a power, when yet you have among yourselves one more worthy to rule than any whom they have set up. Now what juster opportunity shall they ever have of requiting their generals, if they do not

make use of this that is now before them? while there is so much juster reasons for Vespasian's being emperor than for Vitellius; as they are themselves more deserving than those that made the other emperors; for that they have undergone as great wars as have the troops that come from Germany; nor are they inferior in war to those that have brought that tyrant to Rome, nor have they undergone smaller labors than they; for that neither will the Roman senate, nor people, bear such a lascivious emperor as Vitellius, if he be compared with their chaste Vespasian; nor will they endure a most barbarous tyrant, instead of a good governor, nor choose one that hath no child to preside over them, instead of him that is a father; because the advancement of men's own children to dignities is certainly the greatest security kings can have for themselves. Whether, therefore, we estimate the capacity of governing from the skill of a person in years, we ought to have Vespasian, or whether from the strength of a young man, we ought to have Titus; for by this means we shall have the advantage of both their ages, for that they will afford strength to those that shall be made emperors, they having already three legions, besides other auxiliaries from the neighboring kings, and will have further all the armies in the east to support them, as also those in Europe, so they as they are out of the distance and dread of Vitellius, besides such auxiliaries as they may have in Italy itself; that is, Vespasian's brother, and his other son [Domitian]; the one of whom will bring in a great many of those young men that are of dignity, while the other is intrusted with the government of the city, which office of his will be no small means of Vespasian's obtaining the government. Upon the whole, the case may be such, that if we ourselves make further delays, the senate may choose an emperor, whom the soldiers, who are the saviors of the empire, will have in contempt."

4. These were the discourses the soldiers had in their several companies; after which they got together in a great body, and, encouraging one another, they declared Vespasian emperor, and exhorted him to save the government, which was now in danger. Now Vespasian's concern had been for a considerable time about the public, yet did he not intend to set up for governor himself, though his actions showed him to deserve it, while he preferred that safety which is in a private life before the dangers in a state of such dignity; but when he refused the empire, the commanders insisted the more earnestly upon his acceptance; and the soldiers came about him, with their drawn swords in their hands, and threatened to kill him, unless he would now live according to his dignity. And when he had shown his reluctance a great while, and had endeavored to thrust away this dominion from him, he at length, being not able to persuade them, yielded to their solicitations that would salute him emperor.

5. So upon the exhortations of Mucianus, and the other commanders, that he would accept of the empire, and upon that of the rest of the army, who cried out that they were willing to be led against all his opposers, he was in the first place intent upon gaining the dominion over Alexandria, as knowing that Egypt was of the greatest consequence, in order to obtain the entire government, because of its supplying of corn [to Rome]; which corn, if he could be master of, he hoped to dethrone Vitellius, supposing he should aim to keep the empire by force [for he would not be able to support himself, if the multitude at Rome should once be in want of food]; and because he was desirous to join the two legions that were at Alexandria to the other legions that were with him. He also considered with himself, that he should then have that country for a defense to himself against the uncertainty of fortune; for Egypt is hard to be entered by land, and hath no good havens by sea. It hath on the west the dry deserts of Libya; and on the south Siene, that divides it from Ethiopia, as well as the cataracts of the Nile, that cannot be sailed over; and on the east the Red Sea extended as far as Coptus; and it is fortified on the north by the land that reaches to Syria, together with that called the Egyptian Sea, having no havens in it for ships. And thus is Egypt walled about on every side. Its length between Pelusium and Siene is two thousand furlongs, and the passage by sea from Plinthine to Pelusium is three thousand six hundred furlongs. Its river Nile is navigable as far as the city called Elephantine, the forenamed cataracts hindering ships from going any farther, The haven also of Alexandria is not entered by the mariners without difficulty, even in times of peace; for the passage inward is narrow, and full of rocks that lie under the water, which oblige the mariners to turn from a straight direction: its left side is blocked up by works made by men's hands on both sides; on its right side lies the island called Pharus, which is situated just before the entrance, and supports a very great tower, that affords the sight of a fire to such as sail within three hundred furlongs of it, that ships may cast anchor a great way off in the night time, by reason of the difficulty of sailing nearer. About this island are built very great piers, the handiwork of men, against which, when the sea dashes itself, and its waves are broken against those boundaries, the navigation becomes very troublesome, and the entrance through so narrow a passage is rendered dangerous; yet is the haven itself, when you are got into it, a very safe one, and of thirty furlongs in largeness; into which is brought what the country wants in order to its happiness, as also what abundance the country affords more than it wants itself is hence distributed into all the habitable earth.

6. Justly, therefore, did Vespasian desire to obtain that government, in order to corroborate his attempts upon the whole empire; so he immediately sent to Tiberius Alexander, who was then governor of Egypt and of Alexandria, and

informed him what the army had put upon him, and how he, being forced to accept of the burden of the government, was desirous to have him for his confederate and supporter. Now as soon as ever Alexander had read this letter, he readily obliged the legions and the multitude to take the oath of fidelity to Vespasian, both which willingly complied with him, as already acquainted with the courage of the man, from that his conduct in their neighborhood. Accordingly Vespasian, looking upon himself as already intrusted with the government, got all things ready for his journey [to Rome]. Now fame carried this news abroad more suddenly than one could have thought, that he was emperor over the east, upon which every city kept festivals, and celebrated sacrifices and oblations for such good news; the legions also that were in Mysia and Pannonia, who had been in commotion a little before, on account of this insolent attempt of Vitellius, were very glad to take the oath of fidelity to Vespasian, upon his coming to the empire. Vespasian then removed from Cesarea to Berytus, where many embassages came to him from Syria, and many from other provinces, bringing with them from every city crowns, and the congratulations of the people. Mucianus came also, who was the president of the province, and told him with what alacrity the people [received the news of his advancement], and how the people of every city had taken the oath of fidelity to him.

7. So Vespasian's good fortune succeeded to his wishes every where, and the public affairs were, for the greatest part, already in his hands; upon which he considered that he had not arrived at the government without Divine Providence, but that a righteous kind of fate had brought the empire under his power; for as he called to mind the other signals, which had been a great many every where, that foretold he should obtain the government, so did he remember what Josephus had said to him when he ventured to foretell his coming to the empire while Nero was alive; so he was much concerned that this man was still in bonds with him. He then called for Mucianus, together with his other commanders and friends, and, in the first place, he informed them what a valiant man Josephus had been, and what great hardships he had made him undergo in the siege of Jotapata. After that he related those predictions of his which he had then suspected as fictions, suggested out of the fear he was in, but which had by time been demonstrated to be Divine. "It is a shameful thing [said he] that this man, who hath foretold my coming to the empire beforehand, and been the minister of a Divine message to me, should still be retained in the condition of a captive or prisoner." So he called for Josephus, and commanded that he should be set at liberty; whereupon the commanders promised themselves glorious things, froth this requital Vespasian made to a stranger. Titus was then present with his father,

and said, “O father, it is but just that the scandal [of a prisoner] should be taken off Josephus, together with his iron chain. For if we do not barely loose his bonds, but cut them to pieces, he will be like a man that had never been bound at all.” For that is the usual method as to such as have been bound without a cause. This advice was agreed to by Vespasian also; so there came a man in, and cut the chain to pieces; while Josephus received this testimony of his integrity for a reward, and was moreover esteemed a person of credit as to futurities also.

CHAPTER 11.

That Upon The Conquest And Slaughter Of Vitellius Vespasian Hastened His Journey To Rome; But Titus His Son Returned To Jerusalem.

1. And now, when Vespasian had given answers to the embassages, and had disposed of the places of power justly, and according to every one's deserts, he came to Antioch, and consulting which way he had best take, he preferred to go for Rome, rather than to march to Alexandria, because he saw that Alexandria was sure to him already, but that the affairs at Rome were put into disorder by Vitellius; so he sent Mucianus to Italy, and committed a considerable army both of horsemen and footmen to him; yet was Mucianus afraid of going by sea, because it was the middle of winter, and so he led his army on foot through Cappadocia and Phrygia.

2. In the mean time, Antonius Primus took the third of the legions that were in Mysia, for he was president of that province, and made haste, in order to fight Vitellius; whereupon Vitellius sent away Cecinna, with a great army, having a mighty confidence in him, because of his having beaten Otho. This Cecinna marched out of Rome in great haste, and found Antonius about Cremona in Gall, which city is in the borders of Italy; but when he saw there that the enemy were numerous and in good order, he durst not fight them; and as he thought a retreat dangerous, so he began to think of betraying his army to Antonius. Accordingly, he assembled the centurions and tribunes that were under his command, and persuaded them to go over to Antonius, and this by diminishing the reputation of Vitellius, and by exaggerating the power of Vespasian. He also told them that with the one there was no more than the bare name of dominion, but with the other was the power of it; and that it was better for them to prevent necessity, and gain favor, and, while they were likely to be overcome in battle, to avoid the danger beforehand, and go over to Antonius willingly; that Vespasian was able of himself to subdue what had not yet submitted without their assistance, while Vitellius could not preserve what he had already with it.

3. Cecinna said this, and much more to the same purpose, and persuaded them to comply with him; and both he and his army deserted; but still the very same night the soldiers repented of what they had done, and a fear seized on them, lest perhaps Vitellius who sent them should get the better; and drawing their swords, they assaulted Cecinna, in order to kill him; and the thing had been done by them, if the tribunes had not fallen upon their knees, and besought them not to

do it; so the soldiers did not kill him, but put him in bonds, as a traitor, and were about to send him to Vitellius. When [Antonius] Primus heard of this, he raised up his men immediately, and made them put on their armor, and led them against those that had revolted; hereupon they put themselves in order of battle, and made a resistance for a while, but were soon beaten, and fled to Cremona; then did Primus take his horsemen, and cut off their entrance into the city, and encompassed and destroyed a great multitude of them before the city, and fell into the city together with the rest, and gave leave to his soldiers to plunder it. And here it was that many strangers, who were merchants, as well as many of the people of that country, perished, and among them Vitellius's whole army, being thirty thousand and two hundred, while Antonius lost no more of those that came with him from Mysia than four thousand and five hundred: he then loosed Cecinna, and sent him to Vespasian to tell him the good news. So he came, and was received by him, and covered the scandal of his treachery by the unexpected honors he received from Vespasian.

4. And now, upon the news that Antonius was approaching, Sabinus took courage at Rome, and assembled those cohorts of soldiers that kept watch by night, and in the night time seized upon the capitol; and, as the day came on, many men of character came over to him, with Domitian, his brother's son, whose encouragement was of very great weight for the compassing the government. Now Vitellius was not much concerned at this Primus, but was very angry with those that had revolted with Sabinus; and thirsting, out of his own natural barbarity, after noble blood, he sent out that part of the army which came along with him to fight against the capitol; and many bold actions were done on this side, and on the side of those that held the temple. But at last, the soldiers that came from Germany, being too numerous for the others, got the hill into their possession, where Domitian, with many other of the principal Romans, providentially escaped, while the rest of the multitude were entirely cut to pieces, and Sabinus himself was brought to Vitellius, and then slain; the soldiers also plundered the temple of its ornaments, and set it on fire. But now within a day's time came Antonius, with his army, and were met by Vitellius and his army; and having had a battle in three several places, the last were all destroyed. Then did Vitellius come out of the palace, in his cups, and satiated with an extravagant and luxurious meal, as in the last extremity, and being drawn along through the multitude, and abused with all sorts of torments, had his head cut off in the midst of Rome, having retained the government eight months and five days and had he lived much longer, I cannot but think the empire would not have been sufficient for his lust. Of the others that were slain, were numbered above fifty thousand. This battle was fought on the third day of the month Apelleus

[Casleu]; on the next day Mucianus came into the city with his army, and ordered Antonius and his men to leave off killing; for they were still searching the houses, and killed many of Vitellius's soldiers, and many of the populace, as supposing them to be of his party, preventing by their rage any accurate distinction between them and others. He then produced Domitian, and recommended him to the multitude, until his father should come himself; so the people being now freed from their fears, made acclamations of joy for Vespasian, as for their emperor, and kept festival days for his confirmation, and for the destruction of Vitellius.

5. And now, as Vespasian was come to Alexandria, this good news came from Rome, and at the same time came embassies from all his own habitable earth, to congratulate him upon his advancement; and though this Alexandria was the greatest of all cities next to Rome, it proved too narrow to contain the multitude that then came to it. So upon this confirmation of Vespasian's entire government, which was now settled, and upon the unexpected deliverance of the public affairs of the Romans from ruin, Vespasian turned his thoughts to what remained unsubdued in Judea. However, he himself made haste to go to Rome, as the winter was now almost over, and soon set the affairs of Alexandria in order, but sent his son Titus, with a select part of his army, to destroy Jerusalem. So Titus marched on foot as far as Nicopolis, which is distant twenty furlongs from Alexandria; there he put his army on board some long ships, and sailed upon the river along the Mendesian Nomus, as far as the city Tumuis; there he got out of the ships, and walked on foot, and lodged all night at a small city called Tanis. His second station was Heracleopolis, and his third Pelusium; he then refreshed his army at that place for two days, and on the third passed over the mouths of the Nile at Pelusium; he then proceeded one station over the desert, and pitched his camp at the temple of the Casian Jupiter, and on the next day at Ostracine. This station had no water, but the people of the country make use of water brought from other places. After this he rested at Rhinocolura, and from thence he went to Raphia, which was his fourth station. This city is the beginning of Syria. For his fifth station he pitched his camp at Gaza; after which he came to Ascalon, and thence to Jamnia, and after that to Joppa, and from Joppa to Cesarea, having taken a resolution to gather all his other forces together at that place.

BOOK V.

Containing The Interval Of Near Six Months.
From The Coming Of Titus To Besiege Jerusalem, To The Great Extremity To Which The Jews Were Reduced.

CHAPTER 1.

Concerning The Seditions At Jerusalem And What Terrible Miseries Afflicted The City By Their Means.

1. When therefore Titus had marched over that desert which lies between Egypt and Syria, in the manner forementioned, he came to Cesarea, having resolved to set his forces in order at that place, before he began the war. Nay, indeed, while he was assisting his father at Alexandria, in settling that government which had been newly conferred upon them by God, it so happened that the sedition at Jerusalem was revived, and parted into three factions, and that one faction fought against the other; which partition in such evil cases may be said to be a good thing, and the effect of Divine justice. Now as to the attack the zealots made upon the people, and which I esteem the beginning of the city's destruction, it hath been already explained after an accurate manner; as also whence it arose, and to how great a mischief it was increased. But for the present sedition, one should not mistake if he called it a sedition begotten by another sedition, and to be like a wild beast grown mad, which, for want of food from abroad, fell now upon eating its own flesh.

2. For Eleazar, the son of Simon, who made the first separation of the zealots from the people, and made them retire into the temple, appeared very angry at John's insolent attempts, which he made everyday upon the people; for this man never left off murdering; but the truth was, that he could not bear to submit to a tyrant who set up after him. So he being desirous of gaining the entire power and dominion to himself, revolted from John, and took to his assistance Judas the son of Chelcias, and Simon the son of Ezron, who were among the men of greatest power. There was also with him Hezekiah, the son of Chobar, a person of eminence. Each of these were followed by a great many of the zealots; these seized upon the inner court of the temple and laid their arms upon the holy gates, and over the holy fronts of that court. And because they had plenty of provisions, they were of good courage, for there was a great abundance of what was consecrated to sacred uses, and they scrupled not the making use of them; yet were they afraid, on account of their small number; and when they had laid up their arms there, they did not stir from the place they were in. Now as to John, what advantage he had above Eleazar in the multitude of his followers, the like disadvantage he had in the situation he was in, since he had his enemies over his head; and as he could not make any assault upon them without some terror, so was his anger too great to let them be at rest; nay, although he suffered more

mischief from Eleazar and his party than he could inflict upon them, yet would he not leave off assaulting them, insomuch that there were continual sallies made one against another, as well as darts thrown at one another, and the temple was defiled every where with murders.

3. But now the tyrant Simon, the son of Gioras, whom the people had invited in, out of the hopes they had of his assistance in the great distresses they were in, having in his power the upper city, and a great part of the lower, did now make more vehement assaults upon John and his party, because they were fought against from above also; yet was he beneath their situation when he attacked them, as they were beneath the attacks of the others above them. Whereby it came to pass that John did both receive and inflict great damage, and that easily, as he was fought against on both sides; and the same advantage that Eleazar and his party had over him, since he was beneath them, the same advantage had he, by his higher situation, over Simon. On which account he easily repelled the attacks that were made from beneath, by the weapons thrown from their hands only; but was obliged to repel those that threw their darts from the temple above him, by his engines of war; for he had such engines as threw darts, and javelins, and stones, and that in no small number, by which he did not only defend himself from such as fought against him, but slew moreover many of the priests, as they were about their sacred ministrations. For notwithstanding these men were mad with all sorts of impiety, yet did they still admit those that desired to offer their sacrifices, although they took care to search the people of their own country beforehand, and both suspected and watched them; while they were not so much afraid of strangers, who, although they had gotten leave of them, how cruel soever they were, to come into that court, were yet often destroyed by this sedition; for those darts that were thrown by the engines came with that force, that they went over all the buildings, and reached as far as the altar, and the temple itself, and fell upon the priests, and those that were about the sacred offices; insomuch that many persons who came thither with great zeal from the ends of the earth, to offer sacrifices at this celebrated place, which was esteemed holy by all mankind, fell down before their own sacrifices themselves, and sprinkled that altar which was venerable among all men, both Greeks and Barbarians, with their own blood; till the dead bodies of strangers were mingled together with those of their own country, and those of profane persons with those of the priests, and the blood of all sorts of dead carcasses stood in lakes in the holy courts themselves. And now, “O most wretched city, what misery so great as this didst thou suffer from the Romans, when they came to purify thee from thy intestine hatred! ‘For thou couldst be no longer a place fit for God, nor couldst thou long continue in being, after thou hadst been a sepulcher for the

bodies of thy own people, and hadst made the holy house itself a burying-place in this civil war of thine. Yet mayst thou again grow better, if perchance thou wilt hereafter appease the anger of that God who is the author of thy destruction." But I must restrain myself from these passions by the rules of history, since this is not a proper time for domestical lamentations, but for historical narrations; I therefore return to the operations that follow in this sedition.

4. And now there were three treacherous factions in the city, the one parted from the other. Eleazar and his party, that kept the sacred first-fruits, came against John in their cups. Those that were with John plundered the populace, and went out with zeal against Simon. This Simon had his supply of provisions from the city, in opposition to the seditious. When, therefore, John was assaulted on both sides, he made his men turn about, throwing his darts upon those citizens that came up against him, from the cloisters he had in his possession, while he opposed those that attacked him from the temple by his engines of war. And if at any time he was freed from those that were above him, which happened frequently, from their being drunk and tired, he sallied out with a great number upon Simon and his party; and this he did always in such parts of the city as he could come at, till he set on fire those houses that were full of corn, and of all other provisions. The same thing was done by Simon, when, upon the other's retreat, he attacked the city also; as if they had, on purpose, done it to serve the Romans, by destroying what the city had laid up against the siege, and by thus cutting off the nerves of their own power. Accordingly, it so came to pass, that all the places that were about the temple were burnt down, and were become an intermediate desert space, ready for fighting on both sides of it; and that almost all that corn was burnt, which would have been sufficient for a siege of many years. So they were taken by the means of the famine, which it was impossible they should have been, unless they had thus prepared the way for it by this procedure.

5. And now, as the city was engaged in a war on all sides, from these treacherous crowds of wicked men, the people of the city, between them, were like a great body torn in pieces. The aged men and the women were in such distress by their internal calamities, that they wished for the Romans, and earnestly hoped for an external war, in order to their delivery from their domestical miseries. The citizens themselves were under a terrible consternation and fear; nor had they any opportunity of taking counsel, and of changing their conduct; nor were there any hopes of coming to an agreement with their enemies; nor could such as had a mind flee away; for guards were set at all places, and the heads of the robbers, although they were seditious one against

another in other respects, yet did they agree in killing those that were for peace with the Romans, or were suspected of an inclination to desert them, as their common enemies. They agreed in nothing but this, to kill those that were innocent. The noise also of those that were fighting was incessant, both by day and by night; but the lamentations of those that mourned exceeded the other; nor was there ever any occasion for them to leave off their lamentations, because their calamities came perpetually one upon another, although the deep consternation they were in prevented their outward wailing; but being constrained by their fear to conceal their inward passions, they were inwardly tormented, without daring to open their lips in groans. Nor was any regard paid to those that were still alive, by their relations; nor was there any care taken of burial for those that were dead; the occasion of both which was this, that every one despaired of himself; for those that were not among the seditious had no great desires of any thing, as expecting for certain that they should very soon be destroyed; but for the seditious themselves, they fought against each other, while they trod upon the dead bodies as they lay heaped one upon another, and taking up a mad rage from those dead bodies that were under their feet, became the fiercer thereupon. They, moreover, were still inventing somewhat or other that was pernicious against themselves; and when they had resolved upon any thing, they executed it without mercy, and omitted no method of torment or of barbarity. Nay, John abused the sacred materials, and employed them in the construction of his engines of war; for the people and the priests had formerly determined to support the temple, and raise the holy house twenty cubits higher; for king Agrippa had at a very great expense, and with very great pains, brought thither such materials as were proper for that purpose, being pieces of timber very well worth seeing, both for their straightness and their largeness; but the war coming on, and interrupting the work, John had them cut, and prepared for the building him towers, he finding them long enough to oppose from them those his adversaries that thought him from the temple that was above him. He also had them brought and erected behind the inner court over against the west end of the cloisters, where alone he could erect them; whereas the other sides of that court had so many steps as would not let them come nigh enough the cloisters.

6. Thus did John hope to be too hard for his enemies by these engines constructed by his impiety; but God himself demonstrated that his pains would prove of no use to him, by bringing the Romans upon him, before he had reared any of his towers; for Titus, when he had gotten together part of his forces about him, and had ordered the rest to meet him at Jerusalem, marched out of Cesarea. He had with him those three legions that had accompanied his father when he laid Judea waste, together with that twelfth legion which had been formerly

beaten with Cestius; which legion, as it was otherwise remarkable for its valor, so did it march on now with greater alacrity to avenge themselves on the Jews, as remembering what they had formerly suffered from them. Of these legions he ordered the fifth to meet him, by going through Emmaus, and the tenth to go up by Jericho; he also moved himself, together with the rest; besides whom, marched those auxiliaries that came from the kings, being now more in number than before, together with a considerable number that came to his assistance from Syria. Those also that had been selected out of these four legions, and sent with Mucianus to Italy, had their places filled up out of these soldiers that came out of Egypt with Titus; who were two thousand men, chosen out of the armies at Alexandria. There followed him also three thousand drawn from those that guarded the river Euphrates; as also there came Tiberius Alexander, who was a friend of his, most valuable, both for his good-will to him, and for his prudence. He had formerly been governor of Alexandria, but was now thought worthy to be general of the army [under Titus]. The reason of this was, that he had been the first who encouraged Vespasian very lately to accept this his new dominion, and joined himself to him with great fidelity, when things were uncertain, and fortune had not yet declared for him. He also followed Titus as a counselor, very useful to him in this war, both by his age and skill in such affairs.

CHAPTER 2.

How Titus Marched To Jerusalem, And How He Was In Danger As He Was Taking A View Of The City Of The Place Also Where He Pitched His Camp

1. Now, as Titus was upon his march into the enemy's country, the auxiliaries that were sent by the kings marched first, having all the other auxiliaries with them; after whom followed those that were to prepare the roads and measure out the camp; then came the commander's baggage, and after that the other soldiers, who were completely armed to support them; then came Titus himself, having with him another select body; and then came the pikemen; after whom came the horse belonging to that legion. All these came before the engines; and after these engines came the tribunes and the leaders of the cohorts, with their select bodies; after these came the ensigns, with the eagle; and before those ensigns came the trumpeters belonging to them; next these came the main body of the army in their ranks, every rank being six deep; the servants belonging to every legion came after these; and before these last their baggage; the mercenaries came last, and those that guarded them brought up the rear. Now Titus, according to the Roman usage, went in the front of the army after a decent manner, and marched through Samaria to Gophna, a city that had been formerly taken by his father, and was then garrisoned by Roman soldiers; and when he had lodged there one night, he marched on in the morning; and when he had gone as far as a day's march, he pitched his camp at that valley which the Jews, in their own tongue, call "the Valley of Thorns," near a certain village called Gabaothsath, which signifies "the Hill of Saul," being distant from Jerusalem about thirty furlongs. There it was that he chose out six hundred select horsemen, and went to take a view of the city, to observe what strength it was of, and how courageous the Jews were; whether, when they saw him, and before they came to a direct battle, they would be affrighted and submit; for he had been informed what was really true, that the people who were fallen under the power of the seditious and the robbers were greatly desirous of peace; but being too weak to rise up against the rest, they lay still.

2. Now, so long as he rode along the straight road which led to the wall of the city, nobody appeared out of the gates; but when he went out of that road, and declined towards the tower Psephinus, and led the band of horsemen obliquely, an immense number of the Jews leaped out suddenly at the towers called the "Women's Towers," through that gate which was over against the monuments of

queen Helena, and intercepted his horse; and standing directly opposite to those that still ran along the road, hindered them from joining those that had declined out of it. They intercepted Titus also, with a few other. Now it was here impossible for him to go forward, because all the places had trenches dug in them from the wall, to preserve the gardens round about, and were full of gardens obliquely situated, and of many hedges; and to return back to his own men, he saw it was also impossible, by reason of the multitude of the enemies that lay between them; many of whom did not so much as know that the king was in any danger, but supposed him still among them. So he perceived that his preservation must be wholly owing to his own courage, and turned his horse about, and cried out aloud to those that were about him to follow him, and ran with violence into the midst of his enemies, in order to force his way through them to his own men. And hence we may principally learn, that both the success of wars, and the dangers that kings are in, are under the providence of God; for while such a number of darts were thrown at Titus, when he had neither his head-piece on, nor his breastplate, [for, as I told you, he went out not to fight, but to view the city,] none of them touched his body, but went aside without hurting him; as if all of them missed him on purpose, and only made a noise as they passed by him. So he diverted those perpetually with his sword that came on his side, and overturned many of those that directly met him, and made his horse ride over those that were overthrown. The enemy indeed made a shout at the boldness of Caesar, and exhorted one another to rush upon him. Yet did these against whom he marched fly away, and go off from him in great numbers; while those that were in the same danger with him kept up close to him, though they were wounded both on their backs and on their sides; for they had each of them but this one hope of escaping, if they could assist Titus in opening himself a way, that he might not be encompassed round by his enemies before he got away from them. Now there were two of those that were with him, but at some distance; the one of which the enemy compassed round, and slew him with their darts, and his horse also; but the other they slew as he leaped down from his horse, and carried off his horse with them. But Titus escaped with the rest, and came safe to the camp. So this success of the Jews' first attack raised their minds, and gave them an ill-grounded hope; and this short inclination of fortune, on their side, made them very courageous for the future.

3. But now, as soon as that legion that had been at Emmaus was joined to Caesar at night, he removed thence, when it was day, and came to a place called Seopus; from whence the city began already to be seen, and a plain view might be taken of the great temple. Accordingly, this place, on the north quarter of the city, and joining thereto, was a plain, and very properly named Scopus, [the

prospect,] and was no more than seven furlongs distant from it. And here it was that Titus ordered a camp to be fortified for two legions that were to be together; but ordered another camp to be fortified, at three furlongs farther distance behind them, for the fifth legion; for he thought that, by marching in the night, they might be tired, and might deserve to be covered from the enemy, and with less fear might fortify themselves; and as these were now beginning to build, the tenth legion, who came through Jericho, was already come to the place, where a certain party of armed men had formerly lain, to guard that pass into the city, and had been taken before by Vespasian. These legions had orders to encamp at the distance of six furlongs from Jerusalem, at the mount called the Mount of Olives which lies over against the city on the east side, and is parted from it by a deep valley, interposed between them, which is named Cedron.

4. Now when hitherto the several parties in the city had been dashing one against another perpetually, this foreign war, now suddenly come upon them after a violent manner, put the first stop to their contentions one against another; and as the seditious now saw with astonishment the Romans pitching three several camps, they began to think of an awkward sort of concord, and said one to another, "What do we here, and what do we mean, when we suffer three fortified walls to be built to coop us in, that we shall not be able to breathe freely? while the enemy is securely building a kind of city in opposition to us, and while we sit still within our own walls, and become spectators only of what they are doing, with our hands idle, and our armor laid by, as if they were about somewhat that was for our good and advantage. We are, it seems, [so did they cry out,] only courageous against ourselves, while the Romans are likely to gain the city without bloodshed by our sedition." Thus did they encourage one another when they were gotten together, and took their armor immediately, and ran out upon the tenth legion, and fell upon the Romans with great eagerness, and with a prodigious shout, as they were fortifying their camp. These Romans were caught in different parties, and this in order to perform their several works, and on that account had in great measure laid aside their arms; for they thought the Jews would not have ventured to make a sally upon them; and had they been disposed so to do, they supposed their sedition would have distracted them. So they were put into disorder unexpectedly; when some of them left their works they were about, and immediately marched off, while many ran to their arms, but were smitten and slain before they could turn back upon the enemy. The Jews became still more and more in number, as encouraged by the good success of those that first made the attack; and while they had such good fortune, they seemed both to themselves and to the enemy to be many more than they really were. The disorderly way of their fighting at first put the Romans also to a stand,

who had been constantly used to fight skillfully in good order, and with keeping their ranks, and obeying the orders that were given them; for which reason the Romans were caught unexpectedly, and were obliged to give way to the assaults that were made upon them. Now when these Romans were overtaken, and turned back upon the Jews, they put a stop to their career; yet when they did not take care enough of themselves through the vehemency of their pursuit, they were wounded by them; but as still more and more Jews sallied out of the city, the Romans were at length brought into confusion, and put to flight, and ran away from their camp. Nay, things looked as though the entire legion would have been in danger, unless Titus had been informed of the case they were in, and had sent them succors immediately. So he reproached them for their cowardice, and brought those back that were running away, and fell himself upon the Jews on their flank, with those select troops that were with him, and slew a considerable number, and wounded more of them, and put them all to flight, and made them run away hastily down the valley. Now as these Jews suffered greatly in the declivity of the valley, so when they were gotten over it, they turned about, and stood over against the Romans, having the valley between them, and there fought with them. Thus did they continue the fight till noon; but when it was already a little after noon, Titus set those that came to the assistance of the Romans with him, and those that belonged to the cohorts, to prevent the Jews from making any more sallies, and then sent the rest of the legion to the upper part of the mountain, to fortify their camp.

5. This march of the Romans seemed to the Jews to be a flight; and as the watchman who was placed upon the wall gave a signal by shaking his garment, there came out a fresh multitude of Jews, and that with such mighty violence, that one might compare it to the running of the most terrible wild beasts. To say the truth, none of those that opposed them could sustain the fury with which they made their attacks; but, as if they had been cast out of an engine, they brake the enemies' ranks to pieces, who were put to flight, and ran away to the mountain; none but Titus himself, and a few others with him, being left in the midst of the acclivity. Now these others, who were his friends, despised the danger they were in, and were ashamed to leave their general, earnestly exhorting him to give way to these Jews that are fond of dying, and not to run into such dangers before those that ought to stay before him; to consider what his fortune was, and not, by supplying the place of a common soldier, to venture to turn back upon the enemy so suddenly; and this because he was general in the war, and lord of the habitable earth, on whose preservation the public affairs do all depend. These persuasions Titus seemed not so much as to hear, but opposed those that ran upon him, and smote them on the face; and when he had forced them to go back,

he slew them: he also fell upon great numbers as they marched down the hill, and thrust them forward; while those men were so amazed at his courage and his strength, that they could not fly directly to the city, but declined from him on both sides, and pressed after those that fled up the hill; yet did he still fall upon their flank, and put a stop to their fury. In the mean time, a disorder and a terror fell again upon those that were fortifying their camp at the top of the hill, upon their seeing those beneath them running away; insomuch that the whole legion was dispersed, while they thought that the sallies of the Jews upon them were plainly insupportable, and that Titus was himself put to flight; because they took it for granted, that, if he had staid, the rest would never have fled for it. Thus were they encompassed on every side by a kind of panic fear, and some dispersed themselves one way, and some another, till certain of them saw their general in the very midst of an action, and being under great concern for him, they loudly proclaimed the danger he was in to the entire legion; and now shame made them turn back, and they reproached one another that they did worse than run away, by deserting Caesar. So they used their utmost force against the Jews, and declining from the straight declivity, they drove them on heaps into the bottom of the valley. Then did the Jews turn about and fight them; but as they were themselves retiring, and now, because the Romans had the advantage of the ground, and were above the Jews, they drove them all into the valley. Titus also pressed upon those that were near him, and sent the legion again to fortify their camp; while he, and those that were with him before, opposed the enemy, and kept them from doing further mischief; insomuch that, if I may be allowed neither to add any thing out of flattery, nor to diminish any thing out of envy, but to speak the plain truth, Caesar did twice deliver that entire legion when it was in jeopardy, and gave them a quiet opportunity of fortifying their camp.

CHAPTER 3.

How The Sedition Was Again Revived Within Jerusalem And Yet The Jews Contrived Snares For The Romans. How Titus Also Threatened His Soldiers For Their Ungovernable Rashness.

1. As now the war abroad ceased for a while, the sedition within was revived; and on the feast of unleavened bread, which was now come, it being the fourteenth day of the month Xanthicus, [Nisan,] when it is believed the Jews were first freed from the Egyptians, Eleazar and his party opened the gates of this [inmost court of the] temple, and admitted such of the people as were desirous to worship God into it. But John made use of this festival as a cloak for his treacherous designs, and armed the most inconsiderable of his own party, the greater part of whom were not purified, with weapons concealed under their garments, and sent them with great zeal into the temple, in order to seize upon it; which armed men, when they were gotten in, threw their garments away, and presently appeared in their armor. Upon which there was a very great disorder and disturbance about the holy house; while the people, who had no concern in the sedition, supposed that this assault was made against all without distinction, as the zealots thought it was made against themselves only. So these left off guarding the gates any longer, and leaped down from their battlements before they came to an engagement, and fled away into the subterranean caverns of the temple; while the people that stood trembling at the altar, and about the holy house, were rolled on heaps together, and trampled upon, and were beaten both with wooden and with iron weapons without mercy. Such also as had differences with others slew many persons that were quiet, out of their own private enmity and hatred, as if they were opposite to the seditious; and all those that had formerly offended any of these plotters were now known, and were now led away to the slaughter; and when they had done abundance of horrid mischief to the guiltless, they granted a truce to the guilty, and let those go off that came out of the caverns. These followers of John also did now seize upon this inner temple, and upon all the warlike engines therein, and then ventured to oppose Simon. And thus that sedition, which had been divided into three factions, was now reduced to two.

2. But Titus, intending to pitch his camp nearer to the city than Scopus, placed as many of his choice horsemen and footmen as he thought sufficient opposite to the Jews, to prevent their sallying out upon them, while he gave orders for the whole army to level the distance, as far as the wall of the city. So they threw

down all the hedges and walls which the inhabitants had made about their gardens and groves of trees, and cut down all the fruit trees that lay between them and the wall of the city, and filled up all the hollow places and the chasms, and demolished the rocky precipices with iron instruments; and thereby made all the place level from Scopus to Herod's monuments, which adjoined to the pool called the Serpent's Pool.

3. Now at this very time the Jews contrived the following stratagem against the Romans. The bolder sort of the seditious went out at the towers, called the Women's Towers, as if they had been ejected out of the city by those who were for peace, and rambled about as if they were afraid of being assaulted by the Romans, and were in fear of one another; while those that stood upon the wall, and seemed to be of the people's side, cried out aloud for peace, and entreated they might have security for their lives given them, and called for the Romans, promising to open the gates to them; and as they cried out after that manner, they threw stones at their own people, as though they would drive them away from the gates. These also pretended that they were excluded by force, and that they petitioned those that were within to let them in; and rushing upon the Romans perpetually, with violence, they then came back, and seemed to be in great disorder. Now the Roman soldiers thought this cunning stratagem of theirs was to be believed real, and thinking they had the one party under their power, and could punish them as they pleased, and hoping that the other party would open their gates to them, set to the execution of their designs accordingly. But for Titus himself, he had this surprising conduct of the Jews in suspicion; for whereas he had invited them to come to terms of accommodation, by Josephus, but one day before, he could then receive no civil answer from them; so he ordered the soldiers to stay where they were. However, some of them that were set in the front of the works prevented him, and catching up their arms ran to the gates; whereupon those that seemed to have been ejected at the first retired; but as soon as the soldiers were gotten between the towers on each side of the gate, the Jews ran out and encompassed them round, and fell upon them behind, while that multitude which stood upon the wall threw a heap of stones and darts of all kinds at them, insomuch that they slew a considerable number, and wounded many more; for it was not easy for the Romans to escape, by reason those behind them pressed them forward; besides which, the shame they were under for being mistaken, and the fear they were in of their commanders, engaged them to persevere in their mistake; wherefore they fought with their spears a great while, and received many blows from the Jews, though indeed they gave them as many blows again, and at last repelled those that had encompassed them about, while

the Jews pursued them as they retired, and followed them, and threw darts at them as far as the monuments of queen Helena.

4. After this these Jews, without keeping any decorum, grew insolent upon their good fortune, and jested upon the Romans for being deluded by the trick they had put upon them, and making a noise with beating their shields, leaped for gladness, and made joyful exclamations; while these soldiers were received with threatenings by their officers, and with indignation by Caesar himself, [who spake to them thus]: These Jews, who are only conducted by their madness, do every thing with care and circumspection; they contrive stratagems, and lay ambushes, and fortune gives success to their stratagems, because they are obedient, and preserve their goodwill and fidelity to one another; while the Romans, to whom fortune uses to be ever subservient, by reason of their good order, and ready submission to their commanders, have now had ill success by their contrary behavior, and by not being able to restrain their hands from action, they have been caught; and that which is the most to their reproach, they have gone on without their commanders, in the very presence of Caesar. "Truly," says Titus, "the laws of war cannot but groan heavily, as will my father also himself, when he shall be informed of this wound that hath been given us, since he who is grown old in wars did never make so great a mistake. Our laws of war do also ever inflict capital punishment on those that in the least break into good order, while at this time they have seen an entire army run into disorder. However, those that have been so insolent shall be made immediately sensible, that even they who conquer among the Romans without orders for fighting are to be under disgrace." When Titus had enlarged upon this matter before the commanders, it appeared evident that he would execute the law against all those that were concerned; so these soldiers' minds sunk down in despair, as expecting to be put to death, and that justly and quickly. However, the other legions came round about Titus, and entreated his favor to these their fellow soldiers, and made supplication to him, that he would pardon the rashness of a few, on account of the better obedience of all the rest; and promised for them that they should make amends for their present fault, by their more virtuous behavior for the time to come.

5. So Caesar complied with their desires, and with what prudence dictated to him also; for he esteemed it fit to punish single persons by real executions, but that the punishment of great multitudes should proceed no further than reproofs; so he was reconciled to the soldiers, but gave them a special charge to act more wisely for the future; and he considered with himself how he might be even with the Jews for their stratagem. And now when the space between the Romans and the wall had been leveled, which was done in four days, and as he was desirous

to bring the baggage of the army, with the rest of the multitude that followed him, safely to the camp, he set the strongest part of his army over against that wall which lay on the north quarter of the city, and over against the western part of it, and made his army seven deep, with the footmen placed before them, and the horsemen behind them, each of the last in three ranks, whilst the archers stood in the midst in seven ranks. And now as the Jews were prohibited, by so great a body of men, from making sallies upon the Romans, both the beasts that bare the burdens, and belonged to the three legions, and the rest of the multitude, marched on without any fear. But as for Titus himself, he was but about two furlongs distant from the wall, at that part of it where was the corner and over against that tower which was called Psephinus, at which tower the compass of the wall belonging to the north bended, and extended itself over against the west; but the other part of the army fortified itself at the tower called Hippicus, and was distant, in like manner, by two furlongs from the city. However, the tenth legion continued in its own place, upon the Mount of Olives.

CHAPTER 4.

The Description Of Jerusalem.

1. The city of Jerusalem was fortified with three walls, on such parts as were not encompassed with unpassable valleys; for in such places it had but one wall. The city was built upon two hills, which are opposite to one another, and have a valley to divide them asunder; at which valley the corresponding rows of houses on both hills end. Of these hills, that which contains the upper city is much higher, and in length more direct. Accordingly, it was called the "Citadel," by king David; he was the father of that Solomon who built this temple at the first; but it is by us called the "Upper Market-place." But the other hill, which was called "Acra," and sustains the lower city, is of the shape of a moon when she is horned; over against this there was a third hill, but naturally lower than Acra, and parted formerly from the other by a broad valley. However, in those times when the Asamoneans reigned, they filled up that valley with earth, and had a mind to join the city to the temple. They then took off part of the height of Acra, and reduced it to be of less elevation than it was before, that the temple might be superior to it. Now the Valley of the Cheesemongers, as it was called, and was that which we told you before distinguished the hill of the upper city from that of the lower, extended as far as Siloam; for that is the name of a fountain which hath sweet water in it, and this in great plenty also. But on the outsides, these hills are surrounded by deep valleys, and by reason of the precipices to them belonging on both sides they are every where unpassable.

2. Now, of these three walls, the old one was hard to be taken, both by reason of the valleys, and of that hill on which it was built, and which was above them. But besides that great advantage, as to the place where they were situated, it was also built very strong; because David and Solomon, and the following kings, were very zealous about this work. Now that wall began on the north, at the tower called "Hippicus," and extended as far as the "Xistus," a place so called, and then, joining to the council-house, ended at the west cloister of the temple. But if we go the other way westward, it began at the same place, and extended through a place called "Bethso," to the gate of the Essens; and after that it went southward, having its bending above the fountain Siloam, where it also bends again towards the east at Solomon's pool, and reaches as far as a certain place which they called "Ophlas," where it was joined to the eastern cloister of the temple. The second wall took its beginning from that gate which they called "Gennath," which belonged to the first wall; it only encompassed the northern

quarter of the city, and reached as far as the tower Antonia. The beginning of the third wall was at the tower Hippicus, whence it reached as far as the north quarter of the city, and the tower Psephinus, and then was so far extended till it came over against the monuments of Helena, which Helena was queen of Adiabene, the daughter of Izates; it then extended further to a great length, and passed by the sepulchral caverns of the kings, and bent again at the tower of the corner, at the monument which is called the "Monument of the Fuller," and joined to the old wall at the valley called the "Valley of Cedron." It was Agrippa who encompassed the parts added to the old city with this wall, which had been all naked before; for as the city grew more populous, it gradually crept beyond its old limits, and those parts of it that stood northward of the temple, and joined that hill to the city, made it considerably larger, and occasioned that hill, which is in number the fourth, and is called "Bezetha," to be inhabited also. It lies over against the tower Antonia, but is divided from it by a deep valley, which was dug on purpose, and that in order to hinder the foundations of the tower of Antonia from joining to this hill, and thereby affording an opportunity for getting to it with ease, and hindering the security that arose from its superior elevation; for which reason also that depth of the ditch made the elevation of the towers more remarkable. This new-built part of the city was called "Bezetha," in our language, which, if interpreted in the Grecian language, may be called "the New City." Since, therefore, its inhabitants stood in need of a covering, the father of the present king, and of the same name with him, Agrippa, began that wall we spoke of; but he left off building it when he had only laid the foundations, out of the fear he was in of Claudius Caesar, lest he should suspect that so strong a wall was built in order to make some innovation in public affairs; for the city could no way have been taken if that wall had been finished in the manner it was begun; as its parts were connected together by stones twenty cubits long, and ten cubits broad, which could never have been either easily undermined by any iron tools, or shaken by any engines. The wall was, however, ten cubits wide, and it would probably have had a height greater than that, had not his zeal who began it been hindered from exerting itself. After this, it was erected with great diligence by the Jews, as high as twenty cubits, above which it had battlements of two cubits, and turrets of three cubits altitude, insomuch that the entire altitude extended as far as twenty-five cubits.

3. Now the towers that were upon it were twenty cubits in breadth, and twenty cubits in height; they were square and solid, as was the wall itself, wherein the niceness of the joints, and the beauty of the stones, were no way inferior to those of the holy house itself. Above this solid altitude of the towers, which was twenty cubits, there were rooms of great magnificence, and over them upper

rooms, and cisterns to receive rain-water. They were many in number, and the steps by which you ascended up to them were every one broad: of these towers then the third wall had ninety, and the spaces between them were each two hundred cubits; but in the middle wall were forty towers, and the old wall was parted into sixty, while the whole compass of the city was thirty-three furlongs. Now the third wall was all of it wonderful; yet was the tower Psephinus elevated above it at the north-west corner, and there Titus pitched his own tent; for being seventy cubits high it both afforded a prospect of Arabia at sun-rising, as well as it did of the utmost limits of the Hebrew possessions at the sea westward. Moreover, it was an octagon, and over against it was the tower Hipplicus, and hard by two others were erected by king Herod, in the old wall. These were for largeness, beauty, and strength beyond all that were in the habitable earth; for besides the magnanimity of his nature, and his magnificence towards the city on other occasions, he built these after such an extraordinary manner, to gratify his own private affections, and dedicated these towers to the memory of those three persons who had been the dearest to him, and from whom he named them. They were his brother, his friend, and his wife. This wife he had slain, out of his love [and jealousy], as we have already related; the other two he lost in war, as they were courageously fighting. Hippicus, so named from his friend, was square; its length and breadth were each twenty-five cubits, and its height thirty, and it had no vacuity in it. Over this solid building, which was composed of great stones united together, there was a reservoir twenty cubits deep, over which there was a house of two stories, whose height was twenty-five cubits, and divided into several parts; over which were battlements of two cubits, and turrets all round of three cubits high, insomuch that the entire height added together amounted to fourscore cubits. The second tower, which he named from his brother Phasaelus, had its breadth and its height equal, each of them forty cubits; over which was its solid height of forty cubits; over which a cloister went round about, whose height was ten cubits, and it was covered from enemies by breast-works and bulwarks. There was also built over that cloister another tower, parted into magnificent rooms, and a place for bathing; so that this tower wanted nothing that might make it appear to be a royal palace. It was also adorned with battlements and turrets, more than was the foregoing, and the entire altitude was about ninety cubits; the appearance of it resembled the tower of Pharus, which exhibited a fire to such as sailed to Alexandria, but was much larger than it in compass. This was now converted to a house, wherein Simon exercised his tyrannical authority. The third tower was Mariamne, for that was his queen’s name; it was solid as high as twenty cubits; its breadth and its length were twenty cubits, and were equal to each other; its upper buildings were more

magnificent, and had greater variety, than the other towers had; for the king thought it most proper for him to adorn that which was denominated from his wife, better than those denominated from men, as those were built stronger than this that bore his wife's name. The entire height of this tower was fifty cubits.

4. Now as these towers were so very tall, they appeared much taller by the place on which they stood; for that very old wall wherein they were was built on a high hill, and was itself a kind of elevation that was still thirty cubits taller; over which were the towers situated, and thereby were made much higher to appearance. The largeness also of the stones was wonderful; for they were not made of common small stones, nor of such large ones only as men could carry, but they were of white marble, cut out of the rock; each stone was twenty cubits in length, and ten in breadth, and five in depth. They were so exactly united to one another, that each tower looked like one entire rock of stone, so growing naturally, and afterward cut by the hand of the artificers into their present shape and corners; so little, or not at all, did their joints or connexion appear low as these towers were themselves on the north side of the wall, the king had a palace inwardly thereto adjoined, which exceeds all my ability to describe it; for it was so very curious as to want no cost nor skill in its construction, but was entirely walled about to the height of thirty cubits, and was adorned with towers at equal distances, and with large bed-chambers, that would contain beds for a hundred guests a-piece, in which the variety of the stones is not to be expressed; for a large quantity of those that were rare of that kind was collected together. Their roofs were also wonderful, both for the length of the beams, and the splendor of their ornaments. The number of the rooms was also very great, and the variety of the figures that were about them was prodigious; their furniture was complete, and the greatest part of the vessels that were put in them was of silver and gold. There were besides many porticoes, one beyond another, round about, and in each of those porticoes curious pillars; yet were all the courts that were exposed to the air every where green. There were, moreover, several groves of trees, and long walks through them, with deep canals, and cisterns, that in several parts were filled with brazen statues, through which the water ran out. There were withal many dove-courts of tame pigeons about the canals. But indeed it is not possible to give a complete description of these palaces; and the very remembrance of them is a torment to one, as putting one in mind what vastly rich buildings that fire which was kindled by the robbers hath consumed; for these were not burnt by the Romans, but by these internal plotters, as we have already related, in the beginning of their rebellion. That fire began at the tower of Antonia, and went on to the palaces, and consumed the upper parts of the three towers themselves.

CHAPTER 5.

A Description Of The Temple.

1. Now this temple, as I have already said, was built upon a strong hill. At first the plain at the top was hardly sufficient for the holy house and the altar, for the ground about it was very uneven, and like a precipice; but when king Solomon, who was the person that built the temple, had built a wall to it on its east side, there was then added one cloister founded on a bank cast up for it, and on the other parts the holy house stood naked. But in future ages the people added new banks, and the hill became a larger plain. They then broke down the wall on the north side, and took in as much as sufficed afterward for the compass of the entire temple. And when they had built walls on three sides of the temple round about, from the bottom of the hill, and had performed a work that was greater than could be hoped for, [in which work long ages were spent by them, as well as all their sacred treasures were exhausted, which were still replenished by those tributes which were sent to God from the whole habitable earth,] they then encompassed their upper courts with cloisters, as well as they [afterward] did the lowest [court of the] temple. The lowest part of this was erected to the height of three hundred cubits, and in some places more; yet did not the entire depth of the foundations appear, for they brought earth, and filled up the valleys, as being desirous to make them on a level with the narrow streets of the city; wherein they made use of stones of forty cubits in magnitude; for the great plenty of money they then had, and the liberality of the people, made this attempt of theirs to succeed to an incredible degree; and what could not be so much as hoped for as ever to be accomplished, was, by perseverance and length of time, brought to perfection.

2. Now for the works that were above these foundations, these were not unworthy of such foundations; for all the cloisters were double, and the pillars to them belonging were twenty-five cubits in height, and supported the cloisters. These pillars were of one entire stone each of them, and that stone was white marble; and the roofs were adorned with cedar, curiously graven. The natural magnificence, and excellent polish, and the harmony of the joints in these cloisters, afforded a prospect that was very remarkable; nor was it on the outside adorned with any work of the painter or engraver. The cloisters [of the outmost court] were in breadth thirty cubits, while the entire compass of it was by measure six furlongs, including the tower of Antonia; those entire courts that were exposed to the air were laid with stones of all sorts. When you go through

these [first] cloisters, unto the second [court of the] temple, there was a partition made of stone all round, whose height was three cubits: its construction was very elegant; upon it stood pillars, at equal distances from one another, declaring the law of purity, some in Greek, and some in Roman letters, that "no foreigner should go within that sanctuary" for that second [court of the] temple was called "the Sanctuary," and was ascended to by fourteen steps from the first court. This court was four-square, and had a wall about it peculiar to itself; the height of its buildings, although it were on the outside forty cubits, was hidden by the steps, and on the inside that height was but twenty-five cubits; for it being built over against a higher part of the hill with steps, it was no further to be entirely discerned within, being covered by the hill itself. Beyond these thirteen steps there was the distance of ten cubits; this was all plain; whence there were other steps, each of five cubits a-piece, that led to the gates, which gates on the north and south sides were eight, on each of those sides four, and of necessity two on the east. For since there was a partition built for the women on that side, as the proper place wherein they were to worship, there was a necessity for a second gate for them: this gate was cut out of its wall, over against the first gate. There was also on the other sides one southern and one northern gate, through which was a passage into the court of the women; for as to the other gates, the women were not allowed to pass through them; nor when they went through their own gate could they go beyond their own wall. This place was allotted to the women of our own country, and of other countries, provided they were of the same nation, and that equally. The western part of this court had no gate at all, but the wall was built entire on that side. But then the cloisters which were betwixt the gates extended from the wall inward, before the chambers; for they were supported by very fine and large pillars. These cloisters were single, and, excepting their magnitude, were no way inferior to those of the lower court.

3. Now nine of these gates were on every side covered over with gold and silver, as were the jambs of their doors and their lintels; but there was one gate that was without the [inward court of the] holy house, which was of Corinthian brass, and greatly excelled those that were only covered over with silver and gold. Each gate had two doors, whose height was severally thirty cubits, and their breadth fifteen. However, they had large spaces within of thirty cubits, and had on each side rooms, and those, both in breadth and in length, built like towers, and their height was above forty cubits. Two pillars did also support these rooms, and were in circumference twelve cubits. Now the magnitudes of the other gates were equal one to another; but that over the Corinthian gate, which opened on the east over against the gate of the holy house itself, was much larger; for its height was fifty cubits; and its doors were forty cubits; and it

was adorned after a most costly manner, as having much richer and thicker plates of silver and gold upon them than the other. These nine gates had that silver and gold poured upon them by Alexander, the father of Tiberius. Now there were fifteen steps, which led away from the wall of the court of the women to this greater gate; whereas those that led thither from the other gates were five steps shorter.

4. As to the holy house itself, which was placed in the midst [of the inmost court], that most sacred part of the temple, it was ascended to by twelve steps; and in front its height and its breadth were equal, and each a hundred cubits, though it was behind forty cubits narrower; for on its front it had what may be styled shoulders on each side, that passed twenty cubits further. Its first gate was seventy cubits high, and twenty-five cubits broad; but this gate had no doors; for it represented the universal visibility of heaven, and that it cannot be excluded from any place. Its front was covered with gold all over, and through it the first part of the house, that was more inward, did all of it appear; which, as it was very large, so did all the parts about the more inward gate appear to shine to those that saw them; but then, as the entire house was divided into two parts within, it was only the first part of it that was open to our view. Its height extended all along to ninety cubits in height, and its length was fifty cubits, and its breadth twenty. But that gate which was at this end of the first part of the house was, as we have already observed, all over covered with gold, as was its whole wall about it; it had also golden vines above it, from which clusters of grapes hung as tall as a man's height. But then this house, as it was divided into two parts, the inner part was lower than the appearance of the outer, and had golden doors of fifty-five cubits altitude, and sixteen in breadth; but before these doors there was a veil of equal largeness with the doors. It was a Babylonian curtain, embroidered with blue, and fine linen, and scarlet, and purple, and of a contexture that was truly wonderful. Nor was this mixture of colors without its mystical interpretation, but was a kind of image of the universe; for by the scarlet there seemed to be enigmatically signified fire, by the fine flax the earth, by the blue the air, and by the purple the sea; two of them having their colors the foundation of this resemblance; but the fine flax and the purple have their own origin for that foundation, the earth producing the one, and the sea the other. This curtain had also embroidered upon it all that was mystical in the heavens, excepting that of the [twelve] signs, representing living creatures.

5. When any persons entered into the temple, its floor received them. This part of the temple therefore was in height sixty cubits, and its length the same; whereas its breadth was but twenty cubits: but still that sixty cubits in length was divided again, and the first part of it was cut off at forty cubits, and had in it

three things that were very wonderful and famous among all mankind, the candlestick, the table [of shew-bread], and the altar of incense. Now the seven lamps signified the seven planets; for so many there were springing out of the candlestick. Now the twelve loaves that were upon the table signified the circle of the zodiac and the year; but the altar of incense, by its thirteen kinds of sweet-smelling spices with which the sea replenished it, signified that God is the possessor of all things that are both in the uninhabitable and habitable parts of the earth, and that they are all to be dedicated to his use. But the inmost part of the temple of all was of twenty cubits. This was also separated from the outer part by a veil. In this there was nothing at all. It was inaccessible and inviolable, and not to be seen by any; and was called the Holy of Holies. Now, about the sides of the lower part of the temple, there were little houses, with passages out of one into another; there were a great many of them, and they were of three stories high; there were also entrances on each side into them from the gate of the temple. But the superior part of the temple had no such little houses any further, because the temple was there narrower, and forty cubits higher, and of a smaller body than the lower parts of it. Thus we collect that the whole height, including the sixty cubits from the floor, amounted to a hundred cubits.

6. Now the outward face of the temple in its front wanted nothing that was likely to surprise either men's minds or their eyes; for it was covered all over with plates of gold of great weight, and, at the first rising of the sun, reflected back a very fiery splendor, and made those who forced themselves to look upon it to turn their eyes away, just as they would have done at the sun's own rays. But this temple appeared to strangers, when they were coming to it at a distance, like a mountain covered with snow; for as to those parts of it that were not gilt, they were exceeding white. On its top it had spikes with sharp points, to prevent any pollution of it by birds sitting upon it. Of its stones, some of them were forty-five cubits in length, five in height, and six in breadth. Before this temple stood the altar, fifteen cubits high, and equal both in length and breadth; each of which dimensions was fifty cubits. The figure it was built in was a square, and it had corners like horns; and the passage up to it was by an insensible acclivity. It was formed without any iron tool, nor did any such iron tool so much as touch it at any time. There was also a wall of partition, about a cubit in height, made of fine stones, and so as to be grateful to the sight; this encompassed the holy house and the altar, and kept the people that were on the outside off from the priests. Moreover, those that had the gonorrhea and the leprosy were excluded out of the city entirely; women also, when their courses were upon them, were shut out of the temple; nor when they were free from that impurity, were they allowed to go beyond the limit before-mentioned; men also, that were not thoroughly pure,

were prohibited to come into the inner [court of the] temple; nay, the priests themselves that were not pure were prohibited to come into it also.

7. Now all those of the stock of the priests that could not minister by reason of some defect in their bodies, came within the partition, together with those that had no such imperfection, and had their share with them by reason of their stock, but still made use of none except their own private garments; for nobody but he that officiated had on his sacred garments; but then those priests that were without any blemish upon them went up to the altar clothed in fine linen. They abstained chiefly from wine, out of this fear, lest otherwise they should transgress some rules of their ministration. The high priest did also go up with them; not always indeed, but on the seventh days and new moons, and if any festivals belonging to our nation, which we celebrate every year, happened. When he officiated, he had on a pair of breeches that reached beneath his privy parts to his thighs, and had on an inner garment of linen, together with a blue garment, round, without seam, with fringe work, and reaching to the feet. There were also golden bells that hung upon the fringes, and pomegranates intermixed among them. The bells signified thunder, and the pomegranates lightning. But that girdle that tied the garment to the breast was embroidered with five rows of various colors, of gold, and purple, and scarlet, as also of fine linen and blue, with which colors we told you before the veils of the temple were embroidered also. The like embroidery was upon the ephod; but the quantity of gold therein was greater. Its figure was that of a stomacher for the breast. There were upon it two golden buttons like small shields, which buttoned the ephod to the garment; in these buttons were enclosed two very large and very excellent sardonyxes, having the names of the tribes of that nation engraved upon them: on the other part there hung twelve stones, three in a row one way, and four in the other; a sardius, a topaz, and an emerald; a carbuncle, a jasper, and a sapphire; an agate, an amethyst, and a ligure; an onyx, a beryl, and a chrysolite; upon every one of which was again engraved one of the forementioned names of the tribes. A mitre also of fine linen encompassed his head, which was tied by a blue ribbon, about which there was another golden crown, in which was engraven the sacred name [of God]: it consists of four vowels. However, the high priest did not wear these garments at other times, but a more plain habit; he only did it when he went into the most sacred part of the temple, which he did but once in a year, on that day when our custom is for all of us to keep a fast to God. And thus much concerning the city and the temple; but for the customs and laws hereto relating, we shall speak more accurately another time; for there remain a great many things thereto relating which have not been here touched upon.

8. Now as to the tower of Antonia, it was situated at the corner of two cloisters of the court of the temple; of that on the west, and that on the north; it was erected upon a rock of fifty cubits in height, and was on a great precipice; it was the work of king Herod, wherein he demonstrated his natural magnanimity. In the first place, the rock itself was covered over with smooth pieces of stone, from its foundation, both for ornament, and that any one who would either try to get up or to go down it might not be able to hold his feet upon it. Next to this, and before you come to the edifice of the tower itself, there was a wall three cubits high; but within that wall all the space of the tower of Antonia itself was built upon, to the height of forty cubits. The inward parts had the largeness and form of a palace, it being parted into all kinds of rooms and other conveniences, such as courts, and places for bathing, and broad spaces for camps; insomuch that, by having all conveniences that cities wanted, it might seem to be composed of several cities, but by its magnificence it seemed a palace. And as the entire structure resembled that of a tower, it contained also four other distinct towers at its four corners; whereof the others were but fifty cubits high; whereas that which lay upon the southeast corner was seventy cubits high, that from thence the whole temple might be viewed; but on the corner where it joined to the two cloisters of the temple, it had passages down to them both, through which the guard [for there always lay in this tower a Roman legion] went several ways among the cloisters, with their arms, on the Jewish festivals, in order to watch the people, that they might not there attempt to make any innovations; for the temple was a fortress that guarded the city, as was the tower of Antonia a guard to the temple; and in that tower were the guards of those three . There was also a peculiar fortress belonging to the upper city, which was Herod's palace; but for the hill Bezetha, it was divided from the tower Antonia, as we have already told you; and as that hill on which the tower of Antonia stood was the highest of these three, so did it adjoin to the new city, and was the only place that hindered the sight of the temple on the north. And this shall suffice at present to have spoken about the city and the walls about it, because I have proposed to myself to make a more accurate description of it elsewhere.

CHAPTER 6.

Concerning The Tyrants Simon And John. How Also As Titus Was Going Round The Wall Of This City Nicanor Was Wounded By A Dart; Which Accident Provoked Titus To Press On The Siege.

1. Now the warlike men that were in the city, and the multitude of the seditious that were with Simon, were ten thousand, besides the Idumeans. Those ten thousand had fifty commanders, over whom this Simon was supreme. The Idumeans that paid him homage were five thousand, and had eight commanders, among whom those of greatest fame were Jacob the son of Sosas, and Simon the son of Cathlas. Jotre, who had seized upon the temple, had six thousand armed men under twenty commanders; the zealots also that had come over to him, and left off their opposition, were two thousand four hundred, and had the same commander that they had formerly, Eleazar, together with Simon the son of Arinus. Now, while these factions fought one against another, the people were their prey on both sides, as we have said already; and that part of the people who would not join with them in their wicked practices were plundered by both factions. Simon held the upper city, and the great wall as far as Cedron, and as much of the old wall as bent from Siloam to the east, and which went down to the palace of Monobazus, who was king of the Adiabeni, beyond Euphrates; he also held that fountain, and the Acra, which was no other than the lower city; he also held all that reached to the palace of queen Helena, the mother of Monobazus. But John held the temple, and the parts thereto adjoining, for a great way, as also Ophla, and the valley called "the Valley of Cedron;" and when the parts that were interposed between their possessions were burnt by them, they left a space wherein they might fight with each other; for this internal sedition did not cease even when the Romans were encamped near their very wall. But although they had grown wiser at the first onset the Romans made upon them, this lasted but a while; for they returned to their former madness, and separated one from another, and fought it out, and did everything that the besiegers could desire them to do; for they never suffered any thing that was worse from the Romans than they made each other suffer; nor was there any misery endured by the city after these men's actions that could be esteemed new. But it was most of all unhappy before it was overthrown, while those that took it did it a greater kindness for I venture to affirm that the sedition destroyed the city, and the Romans destroyed the sedition, which it was a much harder thing to do than to destroy the walls; so that we may justly ascribe our misfortunes to our own

people, and the just vengeance taken on them to the Romans; as to which matter let every one determine by the actions on both sides.

2. Now when affairs within the city were in this posture, Titus went round the city on the outside with some chosen horsemen, and looked about for a proper place where he might make an impression upon the walls; but as he was in doubt where he could possibly make an attack on any side, [for the place was no way accessible where the valleys were, and on the other side the first wall appeared too strong to be shaken by the engines,] he thereupon thought it best to make his assault upon the monument of John the high priest; for there it was that the first fortification was lower, and the second was not joined to it, the builders neglecting to build strong where the new city was not much inhabited; here also was an easy passage to the third wall, through which he thought to take the upper city, and, through the tower of Antonia, the temple itself But at this time, as he was going round about the city, one of his friends, whose name was Nicanor, was wounded with a dart on his left shoulder, as he approached, together with Josephus, too near the wall, and attempted to discourse to those that were upon the wall, about terms of peace; for he was a person known by them. On this account it was that Caesar, as soon as he knew their vehemence, that they would not hear even such as approached them to persuade them to what tended to their own preservation, was provoked to press on the siege. He also at the same time gave his soldiers leave to set the suburbs on fire, and ordered that they should bring timber together, and raise banks against the city; and when he had parted his army into three parts, in order to set about those works, he placed those that shot darts and the archers in the midst of the banks that were then raising; before whom he placed those engines that threw javelins, and darts, and stones, that he might prevent the enemy from sallying out upon their works, and might hinder those that were upon the wall from being able to obstruct them. So the trees were now cut down immediately, and the suburbs left naked. But now while the timber was carrying to raise the banks, and the whole army was earnestly engaged in their works, the Jews were not, however, quiet; and it happened that the people of Jerusalem, who had been hitherto plundered and murdered, were now of good courage, and supposed they should have a breathing time, while the others were very busy in opposing their enemies without the city, and that they should now be avenged on those that had been the authors of their miseries, in case the Romans did but get the victory.

3. However, John staid behind, out of his fear of Simon, even while his own men were earnest in making a sally upon their enemies without. Yet did not Simon lie still, for he lay near the place of the siege; he brought his engines of war, and disposed of them at due distances upon the wall, both those which they

took from Cestius formerly, and those which they got when they seized the garrison that lay in the tower Antonia. But though they had these engines in their possession, they had so little skill in using them, that they were in great measure useless to them; but a few there were who had been taught by deserters how to use them, which they did use, though after an awkward manner. So they cast stones and arrows at those that were making the banks; they also ran out upon them by companies, and fought with them. Now those that were at work covered themselves with hurdles spread over their banks, and their engines were opposed to them when they made their excursions. The engines, that all the legions had ready prepared for them, were admirably contrived; but still more extraordinary ones belonged to the tenth legion: those that threw darts and those that threw stones were more forcible and larger than the rest, by which they not only repelled the excursions of the Jews, but drove those away that were upon the walls also. Now the stones that were cast were of the weight of a talent, and were carried two furlongs and further. The blow they gave was no way to be sustained, not only by those that stood first in the way, but by those that were beyond them for a great space. As for the Jews, they at first watched the coming of the stone, for it was of a white color, and could therefore not only be perceived by the great noise it made, but could be seen also before it came by its brightness; accordingly the watchmen that sat upon the towers gave them notice when the engine was let go, and the stone came from it, and cried out aloud, in their own country language, The Stone Cometh so those that were in its way stood off, and threw themselves down upon the ground; by which means, and by their thus guarding themselves, the stone fell down and did them no harm. But the Romans contrived how to prevent that by blacking the stone, who then could aim at them with success, when the stone was not discerned beforehand, as it had been till then; and so they destroyed many of them at one blow. Yet did not the Jews, under all this distress, permit the Romans to raise their banks in quiet; but they shrewdly and boldly exerted themselves, and repelled them both by night and by day.

4. And now, upon the finishing the Roman works, the workmen measured the distance there was from the wall, and this by lead and a line, which they threw to it from their banks; for they could not measure it any otherwise, because the Jews would shoot at them, if they came to measure it themselves; and when they found that the engines could reach the wall, they brought them thither. Then did Titus set his engines at proper distances, so much nearer to the wall, that the Jews might not be able to repel them, and gave orders they should go to work; and when thereupon a prodigious noise echoed round about from three places, and that on the sudden there was a great noise made by the citizens that were

within the city, and no less a terror fell upon the seditious themselves; whereupon both sorts, seeing the common danger they were in, contrived to make a like defense. So those of different factions cried out one to another, that they acted entirely as in concert with their enemies; whereas they ought however, notwithstanding God did not grant them a lasting concord, in their present circumstances, to lay aside their enmities one against another, and to unite together against the Romans. Accordingly, Simon gave those that came from the temple leave, by proclamation, to go upon the wall; John also himself, though he could not believe Simon was in earnest, gave them the same leave. So on both sides they laid aside their hatred and their peculiar quarrels, and formed themselves into one body; they then ran round the walls, and having a vast number of torches with them, they threw them at the machines, and shot darts perpetually upon those that impelled those engines which battered the wall; nay, the bolder sort leaped out by troops upon the hurdles that covered the machines, and pulled them to pieces, and fell upon those that belonged to them, and beat them, not so much by any skill they had, as principally by the boldness of their attacks. However, Titus himself still sent assistance to those that were the hardest set, and placed both horsemen and archers on the several sides of the engines, and thereby beat off those that brought the fire to them; he also thereby repelled those that shot stones or darts from the towers, and then set the engines to work in good earnest; yet did not the wall yield to these blows, excepting where the battering ram of the fifteenth legion moved the corner of a tower, while the wall itself continued unhurt; for the wall was not presently in the same danger with the tower, which was extant far above it; nor could the fall of that part of the tower easily break down any part of the wall itself together with it.

5. And now the Jews intermitted their sallies for a while; but when they observed the Romans dispersed all abroad at their works, and in their several camps, [for they thought the Jews had retired out of weariness and fear,] they all at once made a sally at the tower Hippicus, through an obscure gate, and at the same time brought fire to burn the works, and went boldly up to the Romans, and to their very fortifications themselves, where, at the cry they made, those that were near them came presently to their assistance, and those farther off came running after them; and here the boldness of the Jews was too hard for the good order of the Romans; and as they beat those whom they first fell upon, so they pressed upon those that were now gotten together. So this fight about the machines was very hot, while the one side tried hard to set them on fire, and the other side to prevent it; on both sides there was a confused cry made, and many of those in the forefront of the battle were slain. However, the Jews were now too hard for the Romans, by the furious assaults they made like madmen; and the

fire caught hold of the works, and both all those works, and the engines themselves, had been in danger of being burnt, had not many of these select soldiers that came from Alexandria opposed themselves to prevent it, and had they not behaved themselves with greater courage than they themselves supposed they could have done; for they outdid those in this fight that had greater reputation than themselves before. This was the state of things till Caesar took the stoutest of his horsemen, and attacked the enemy, while he himself slew twelve of those that were in the forefront of the Jews; which death of these men, when the rest of the multitude saw, they gave way, and he pursued them, and drove them all into the city, and saved the works from the fire. Now it happened at this fight that a certain Jew was taken alive, who, by Titus's order, was crucified before the wall, to see whether the rest of them would be affrighted, and abate of their obstinacy. But after the Jews were retired, John, who was commander of the Idumeans, and was talking to a certain soldier of his acquaintance before the wall, was wounded by a dart shot at him by an Arabian, and died immediately, leaving the greatest lamentation to the Jews, and sorrow to the seditious. For he was a man of great eminence, both for his actions and his conduct also.

CHAPTER 7.

How One Of The Towers Erected By The Romans Fell Down Of Its Own Accord; And How The Romans After Great Slaughter Had Been Made Got Possession Of The First Wall. How Also Titus Made His Assaults Upon The Second Wall; As Also Concerning Longinus The Roman, And Castor The Jew.

1. Now, on the next night, a surprising disturbance fell upon the Romans; for whereas Titus had given orders for the erection of three towers of fifty cubits high, that by setting men upon them at every bank, he might from thence drive those away who were upon the wall, it so happened that one of these towers fell down about midnight; and as its fall made a very great noise, fear fell upon the army, and they, supposing that the enemy was coming to attack them, ran all to their arms. Whereupon a disturbance and a tumult arose among the legions, and as nobody could tell what had happened, they went on after a disconsolate manner; and seeing no enemy appear, they were afraid one of another, and every one demanded of his neighbor the watchword with great earnestness, as though the Jews had invaded their camp. And now were they like people under a panic fear, till Titus was informed of what had happened, and gave orders that all should be acquainted with it; and then, though with some difficulty, they got clear of the disturbance they had been under.

2. Now these towers were very troublesome to the Jews, who otherwise opposed the Romans very courageously; for they shot at them out of their lighter engines from those towers, as they did also by those that threw darts, and the archers, and those that flung stones. For neither could the Jews reach those that were over them, by reason of their height; and it was not practicable to take them, nor to overturn them, they were so heavy, nor to set them on fire, because they were covered with plates of iron. So they retired out of the reach of the darts, and did no longer endeavor to hinder the impression of their rams, which, by continually beating upon the wall, did gradually prevail against it; so that the wall already gave way to the Nico, for by that name did the Jews themselves call the greatest of their engines, because it conquered all things. And now they were for a long while grown weary of fighting, and of keeping guards, and were retired to lodge in the night time at a distance from the wall. It was on other accounts also thought by them to be superfluous to guard the wall, there being besides that two other fortifications still remaining, and they being slothful, and their counsels having been ill concerted on all occasions; so a great many grew lazy and retired. Then the Romans mounted the breach, where Nico had made

one, and all the Jews left the guarding that wall, and retreated to the second wall; so those that had gotten over that wall opened the gates, and received all the army within it. And thus did the Romans get possession of this first wall, on the fifteenth day of the siege, which was the seventh day of the month Artemisius, [Jyar,] when they demolished a great part of it, as well as they did of the northern parts of the city, which had been demolished also by Cestius formerly.

3. And now Titus pitched his camp within the city, at that place which was called "the Camp of the Assyrians," having seized upon all that lay as far as Cedron, but took care to be out of the reach of the Jews' darts. He then presently began his attacks, upon which the Jews divided themselves into several bodies, and courageously defended that wall; while John and his faction did it from the tower of Antonia, and from the northern cloister of the temple, and fought the Romans before the monuments of king Alexander; and Sireoh's army also took for their share the spot of ground that was near John's monument, and fortified it as far as to that gate where water was brought in to the tower Hippicus. However, the Jews made violent sallies, and that frequently also, and in bodies together out of the gates, and there fought the Romans; and when they were pursued all together to the wall, they were beaten in those fights, as wanting the skill of the Romans. But when they fought them from the walls, they were too hard for them; the Romans being encouraged by their power, joined to their skill, as were the Jews by their boldness, which was nourished by the fear they were in, and that hardiness which is natural to our nation under calamities; they were also encouraged still by the hope of deliverance, as were the Romans by their hopes of subduing them in a little time. Nor did either side grow weary; but attacks and rightings upon the wall, and perpetual sallies out in bodies, were there all the day long; nor were there any sort of warlike engagements that were not then put in use. And the night itself had much ado to part them, when they began to fight in the morning; nay, the night itself was passed without sleep on both sides, and was more uneasy than the day to them, while the one was afraid lest the wall should be taken, and the other lest the Jews should make sallies upon their camps; both sides also lay in their armor during the night time, and thereby were ready at the first appearance of light to go to the battle. Now among the Jews the ambition was who should undergo the first dangers, and thereby gratify their commanders. Above all, they had a great veneration and dread of Simon; and to that degree was he regarded by every one of those that were under him, that at his command they were very ready to kill themselves with their own hands. What made the Romans so courageous was their usual custom of conquering and disuse of being defeated, their constant wars, and perpetual warlike exercises, and the grandeur of their dominion; and what was

now their chief encouragement — Titus who was present every where with them all; for it appeared a terrible thing to grow weary while Caesar was there, and fought bravely as well as they did, and was himself at once an eye-witness of such as behaved themselves valiantly, and he who was to reward them also. It was, besides, esteemed an advantage at present to have any one's valor known by Caesar; on which account many of them appeared to have more alacrity than strength to answer it. And now, as the Jews were about this time standing in array before the wall, and that in a strong body, and while both parties were throwing their darts at each other, Longinus, one of the equestrian order, leaped out of the army of the Romans, and leaped into the very midst of the army of the Jews; and as they dispersed themselves upon the attack, he slew two of their men of the greatest courage; one of them he struck in his mouth as he was coming to meet him, the other was slain by him by that very dart which he drew out of the body of the other, with which he ran this man through his side as he was running away from him; and when he had done this, he first of all ran out of the midst of his enemies to his own side. So this man signalized himself for his valor, and many there were who were ambitious of gaining the like reputation. And now the Jews were unconcerned at what they suffered themselves from the Romans, and were only solicitous about what mischief they could do them; and death itself seemed a small matter to them, if at the same time they could but kill any one of their enemies. But Titus took care to secure his own soldiers from harm, as well as to have them overcome their enemies. He also said that inconsiderate violence was madness, and that this alone was the true courage that was joined with good conduct. He therefore commanded his men to take care, when they fought their enemies, that they received no harm from them at the same time, and thereby show themselves to be truly valiant men.

4. And now Titus brought one of his engines to the middle tower of the north part of the wall, in which a certain crafty Jew, whose name was Castor, lay in ambush, with ten others like himself, the rest being fled away by reason of the archers. These men lay still for a while, as in great fear, under their breastplates; but when the tower was shaken, they arose, and Castor did then stretch out his hand, as a petitioner, and called for Caesar, and by his voice moved his compassion, and begged of him to have mercy upon them; and Titus, in the innocency of his heart, believing him to be in earnest, and hoping that the Jews did now repent, stopped the working of the battering ram, and forbade them to shoot at the petitioners, and bid Castor say what he had a mind to say to him. He said that he would come down, if he would give him his right hand for his security. To which Titus replied, that he was well pleased with such his agreeable conduct, and would be well pleased if all the Jews would be of his

mind, and that he was ready to give the like security to the city. Now five of the ten dissembled with him, and pretended to beg for mercy, while the rest cried out aloud that they would never be slaves to the Romans, while it was in their power to die in a state of freedom. Now while these men were quarrelling for a long while, the attack was delayed; Castor also sent to Simon, and told him that they might take some time for consultation about what was to be done, because he would elude the power of the Romans for a considerable time. And at the same time that he sent thus to him, he appeared openly to exhort those that were obstinate to accept of Titus's hand for their security; but they seemed very angry at it, and brandished their naked swords upon the breast-works, and struck themselves upon their breast, and fell down as if they had been slain. Hereupon Titus, and those with him, were amazed at the courage of the men; and as they were not able to see exactly what was done, they admired at their great fortitude, and pitied their calamity. During this interval, a certain person shot a dart at Castor, and wounded him in his nose; whereupon he presently pulled out the dart, and showed it to Titus, and complained that this was unfair treatment; so Caesar reproved him that shot the dart, and sent Josephus, who then stood by him, to give his right hand to Castor. But Josephus said that he would not go to him, because these pretended petitioners meant nothing that was good; he also restrained those friends of his who were zealous to go to him. But still there was one Eneas, a deserter, who said he would go to him. Castor also called to them, that somebody should come and receive the money which he had with him; this made Eneas the more earnestly to run to him with his bosom open. Then did Castor take up a great stone, and threw it at him, which missed him, because he guarded himself against it; but still it wounded another soldier that was coming to him. When Caesar understood that this was a delusion, he perceived that mercy in war is a pernicious thing, because such cunning tricks have less place under the exercise of greater severity. So he caused the engine to work more strongly than before, on account of his anger at the deceit put upon him. But Castor and his companions set the tower on fire when it began to give way, and leaped through the flame into a hidden vault that was under it, which made the Romans further suppose that they were men of great courage, as having cast themselves into the fire.

CHAPTER 8.

How The Romans Took The Second Wall Twice, And Got All Ready For Taking The Third Wall.

1. Now Caesar took this wall there on the fifth day after he had taken the first; and when the Jews had fled from him, he entered into it with a thousand armed men, and those of his choice troops, and this at a place where were the merchants of wool, the braziers, and the market for cloth, and where the narrow streets led obliquely to the wall. Wherefore, if Titus had either demolished a larger part of the wall immediately, or had come in, and, according to the law of war, had laid waste what was left, his victory would not, I suppose, have been mixed with any loss to himself. But now, out of the hope he had that he should make the Jews ashamed of their obstinacy, by not being willing, when he was able, to afflict them more than he needed to do, he did not widen the breach of the wall, in order to make a safer retreat upon occasion; for he did not think they would lay snares for him that did them such a kindness. When therefore he came in, he did not permit his soldiers to kill any of those they caught, nor to set fire to their houses neither; nay, he gave leave to the seditious, if they had a mind, to fight without any harm to the people, and promised to restore the people's effects to them; for he was very desirous to preserve the city for his own sake, and the temple for the sake of the city. As to the people, he had them of a long time ready to comply with his proposals; but as to the fighting men, this humanity of his seemed a mark of his weakness, and they imagined that he made these proposals because he was not able to take the rest of the city. They also threatened death to the people, if they should any one of them say a word about a surrender. They moreover cut the throats of such as talked of a peace, and then attacked those Romans that were come within the wall. Some of them they met in the narrow streets, and some they fought against from their houses, while they made a sudden sally out at the upper gates, and assaulted such Romans as were beyond the wall, till those that guarded the wall were so affrighted, that they leaped down from their towers, and retired to their several camps: upon which a great noise was made by the Romans that were within, because they were encompassed round on every side by their enemies; as also by them that were without, because they were in fear for those that were left in the city. Thus did the Jews grow more numerous perpetually, and had great advantages over the Romans, by their full knowledge of those narrow lanes; and they wounded a great many of them, and fell upon them, and drove them out of the city. Now

these Romans were at present forced to make the best resistance they could; for they were not able, in great numbers, to get out at the breach in the wall, it was so narrow. It is also probable that all those that were gotten within had been cut to pieces, if Titus had not sent them succors; for he ordered the archers to stand at the upper ends of these narrow lanes, and he stood himself where was the greatest multitude of his enemies, and with his darts he put a stop to them; as with him did Domitius Sabinus also, a valiant man, and one that in this battle appeared so to be. Thus did Caesar continue to shoot darts at the Jews continually, and to hinder them from coming upon his men, and this until all his soldiers had retreated out of the city.

2. And thus were the Romans driven out, after they had possessed themselves of the second wall. Whereupon the fighting men that were in the city were lifted up in their minds, and were elevated upon this their good success, and began to think that the Romans would never venture to come into the city any more; and that if they kept within it themselves, they should not be any more conquered. For God had blinded their minds for the transgressions they had been guilty of, nor could they see how much greater forces the Romans had than those that were now expelled, no more than they could discern how a famine was creeping upon them; for hitherto they had fed themselves out of the public miseries, and drank the blood of the city. But now poverty had for a long time seized upon the better part, and a great many had died already for want of necessaries; although the seditious indeed supposed the destruction of the people to be an easement to themselves; for they desired that none others might be preserved but such as were against a peace with the Romans, and were resolved to live in opposition to them, and they were pleased when the multitude of those of a contrary opinion were consumed, as being then freed from a heavy burden. And this was their disposition of mind with regard to those that were within the city, while they covered themselves with their armor, and prevented the Romans, when they were trying to get into the city again, and made a wall of their own bodies over against that part of the wall that was cast down. Thus did they valiantly defend themselves for three days; but on the fourth day they could not support themselves against the vehement assaults of Titus but were compelled by force to fly whither they had fled before; so he quietly possessed himself again of that wall, and demolished it entirely. And when he had put a garrison into the towers that were on the south parts of the city, he contrived how he might assault the third wall.

CHAPTER 9.

Titus When The Jews Were Not At All Mollified By His Leaving Off The Siege For A While, Set Himself Again To Prosecute The Same; But Soon Sent Josephus To Discourse With His Own Countrymen About Peace.

1. A Resolution was now taken by Titus to relax the siege for a little while, and to afford the seditious an interval for consideration, and to see whether the demolishing of their second wall would not make them a little more compliant, or whether they were not somewhat afraid of a famine, because the spoils they had gotten by rapine would not be sufficient for them long; so he made use of this relaxation in order to compass his own designs. Accordingly, as the usual appointed time when he must distribute subsistence money to the soldiers was now come, he gave orders that the commanders should put the army into battle-array, in the face of the enemy, and then give every one of the soldiers their pay. So the soldiers, according to custom, opened the cases wherein their arms before lay covered, and marched with their breastplates on, as did the horsemen lead their horses in their fine trappings. Then did the places that were before the city shine very splendidly for a great way; nor was there any thing so grateful to Titus's own men, or so terrible to the enemy, as that sight. For the whole old wall, and the north side of the temple, were full of spectators, and one might see the houses full of such as looked at them; nor was there any part of the city which was not covered over with their multitudes; nay, a very great consternation seized upon the hardiest of the Jews themselves, when they saw all the army in the same place, together with the fineness of their arms, and the good order of their men. And I cannot but think that the seditious would have changed their minds at that sight, unless the crimes they had committed against the people had been so horrid, that they despaired of forgiveness from the Romans; but as they believed death with torments must be their punishment, if they did not go on in the defense of the city, they thought it much better to die in war. Fate also prevailed so far over them, that the innocent were to perish with the guilty, and the city was to be destroyed with the seditious that were in it.

2. Thus did the Romans spend four days in bringing this subsistence-money to the several legions. But on the fifth day, when no signs of peace appeared to come from the Jews, Titus divided his legions, and began to raise banks, both at the tower of Antonia and at John's monument. Now his designs were to take the upper city at that monument, and the temple at the tower of Antonia; for if the temple were not taken, it would be dangerous to keep the city itself; so at each of

these parts he raised him banks, each legion raising one. As for those that wrought at John's monument, the Idumeans, and those that were in arms with Simon, made sallies upon them, and put some stop to them; while John's party, and the multitude of zealots with them, did the like to those that were before the tower of Antonia. These Jews were now too hard for the Romans, not only in direct fighting, because they stood upon the higher ground, but because they had now learned to use their own engines; for their continual use of them one day after another did by degrees improve their skill about them; for of one sort of engines for darts they had three hundred, and forty for stones; by the means of which they made it more tedious for the Romans to raise their banks. But then Titus, knowing that the city would be either saved or destroyed for himself, did not only proceed earnestly in the siege, but did not omit to have the Jews exhorted to repentance; so he mixed good counsel with his works for the siege. And being sensible that exhortations are frequently more effectual than arms, he persuaded them to surrender the city, now in a manner already taken, and thereby to save themselves, and sent Josephus to speak to them in their own language; for he imagined they might yield to the persuasion of a countryman of their own.

3. So Josephus went round about the wall, and tried to find a place that was out of the reach of their darts, and yet within their hearing, and besought them, in many words, to spare themselves, to spare their country and their temple, and not to be more obdurate in these cases than foreigners themselves; for that the Romans, who had no relation to those things, had a reverence for their sacred rites and places, although they belonged to their enemies, and had till now kept their hands off from meddling with them; while such as were brought up under them, and, if they be preserved, will be the only people that will reap the benefit of them, hurry on to have them destroyed. That certainly they have seen their strongest walls demolished, and that the wall still remaining was weaker than those that were already taken. That they must know the Roman power was invincible, and that they had been used to serve them; for, that in case it be allowed a right thing to fight for liberty, that ought to have been done at first; but for them that have once fallen under the power of the Romans, and have now submitted to them for so many long years, to pretend to shake off that yoke afterward, was the work of such as had a mind to die miserably, not of such as were lovers of liberty. Besides, men may well enough grudge at the dishonor of owning ignoble masters over them, but ought not to do so to those who have all things under their command; for what part of the world is there that hath escaped the Romans, unless it be such as are of no use for violent heat, or for violent cold? And evident it is that fortune is on all hands gone over to them; and that

God, when he had gone round the nations with this dominion, is now settled in Italy. That, moreover, it is a strong and fixed law, even among brute beasts, as well as among men, to yield to those that are too strong for them; and to suffer those to have the dominion who are too hard for the rest in war; for which reason it was that their forefathers, who were far superior to them, both in their souls and bodies, and other advantages, did yet submit to the Romans, which they would not have suffered, had they not known that God was with them. As for themselves, what can they depend on in this their opposition, when the greatest part of their city is already taken? and when those that are within it are under greater miseries than if they were taken, although their walls be still standing? For that the Romans are not unacquainted with that famine which is in the city, whereby the people are already consumed, and the fighting men will in a little time be so too; for although the Romans should leave off the siege, and not fall upon the city with their swords in their hands, yet was there an insuperable war that beset them within, and was augmented every hour, unless they were able to wage war with famine, and fight against it, or could alone conquer their natural appetites. He added this further, how right a thing it was to change their conduct before their calamities were become incurable, and to have recourse to such advice as might preserve them, while opportunity was offered them for so doing; for that the Romans would not be mindful of their past actions to their disadvantage, unless they persevered in their insolent behavior to the end; because they were naturally mild in their conquests, and preferred what was profitable, before what their passions dictated to them; which profit of theirs lay not in leaving the city empty of inhabitants, nor the country a desert; on which account Caesar did now offer them his right hand for their security. Whereas, if he took the city by force, he would not save any of them, and this especially, if they rejected his offers in these their utmost distresses; for the walls that were already taken could not but assure them that the third wall would quickly be taken also. And though their fortifications should prove too strong for the Romans to break through them, yet would the famine fight for the Romans against them.

4. While Josephus was making this exhortation to the Jews, many of them jested upon him from the wall, and many reproached him; nay, some threw their darts at him: but when he could not himself persuade them by such open good advice, he betook himself to the histories belonging to their own nation, and cried out aloud, “O miserable creatures! are you so unmindful of those that used to assist you, that you will fight by your weapons and by your hands against the Romans? When did we ever conquer any other nation by such means? and when was it that God, who is the Creator of the Jewish people, did not avenge them

when they had been injured? Will not you turn again, and look back, and consider whence it is that you fight with such violence, and how great a Supporter you have profanely abused? Will not you recall to mind the prodigious things done for your forefathers and this holy place, and how great enemies of yours were by him subdued under you? I even tremble myself in declaring the works of God before your ears, that are unworthy to hear them; however, hearken to me, that you may be informed how you fight not only against the Romans, but against God himself. In old times there was one Necao, king of Egypt, who was also called Pharaoh; he came with a prodigious army of soldiers, and seized queen Sarah, the mother of our nation. What did Abraham our progenitor then do? Did he defend himself from this injurious person by war, although he had three hundred and eighteen captains under him, and an immense army under each of them? Indeed he deemed them to be no number at all without God's assistance, and only spread out his hands towards this holy place, which you have now polluted, and reckoned upon him as upon his invincible supporter, instead of his own army. Was not our queen sent back, without any defilement, to her husband, the very next evening? — while the king of Egypt fled away, adoring this place which you have defiled by shedding thereon the blood of your own countrymen; and he also trembled at those visions which he saw in the night season, and bestowed both silver and gold on the Hebrews, as on a people beloved by God. Shall I say nothing, or shall I mention the removal of our fathers into Egypt, who, when they were used tyrannically, and were fallen under the power of foreign kings for four hundred years together, and might have defended themselves by war and by fighting, did yet do nothing but commit themselves to God! Who is there that does not know that Egypt was overrun with all sorts of wild beasts, and consumed by all sorts of distempers? how their land did not bring forth its fruit? how the Nile failed of water? how the ten plagues of Egypt followed one upon another? and how by those means our fathers were sent away under a guard, without any bloodshed, and without running any dangers, because God conducted them as his peculiar servants? Moreover, did not Palestine groan under the ravage the Assyrians made, when they carried away our sacred ark? as did their idol Dagon, and as also did that entire nation of those that carried it away, how they were smitten with a loathsome distemper in the secret parts of their bodies, when their very bowels came down together with what they had eaten, till those hands that stole it away were obliged to bring it back again, and that with the sound of cymbals and timbrels, and other oblations, in order to appease the anger of God for their violation of his holy ark. It was God who then became our General, and accomplished these great things for our fathers, and this because they did not

meddle with war and fighting, but committed it to him to judge about their affairs. When Sennacherib, king of Assyria, brought along with him all Asia, and encompassed this city round with his army, did he fall by the hands of men? were not those hands lifted up to God in prayers, without meddling with their arms, when an angel of God destroyed that prodigious army in one night? when the Assyrian king, as he rose the next day, found a hundred fourscore and five thousand dead bodies, and when he, with the remainder of his army, fled away from the Hebrews, though they were unarmed, and did not pursue them. You are also acquainted with the slavery we were under at Babylon, where the people were captives for seventy years; yet were they not delivered into freedom again before God made Cyrus his gracious instrument in bringing it about; accordingly they were set free by him, and did again restore the worship of their Deliverer at his temple. And, to speak in general, we can produce no example wherein our fathers got any success by war, or failed of success when without war they committed themselves to God. When they staid at home, they conquered, as pleased their Judge; but when they went out to fight, they were always disappointed: for example, when the king of Babylon besieged this very city, and our king Zedekiah fought against him, contrary to what predictions were made to him by Jeremiah the prophet, he was at once taken prisoner, and saw the city and the temple demolished. Yet how much greater was the moderation of that king, than is that of your present governors, and that of the people then under him, than is that of you at this time! for when Jeremiah cried out aloud, how very angry God was at them, because of their transgressions, and told them they should be taken prisoners, unless they would surrender up their city, neither did the king nor the people put him to death; but for you, [to pass over what you have done within the city, which I am not able to describe as your wickedness deserves,] you abuse me, and throw darts at me, who only exhort you to save yourselves, as being provoked when you are put in mind of your sins, and cannot bear the very mention of those crimes which you every day perpetrate. For another example, when Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, lay before this city, and had been guilty of many indignities against God, and our forefathers met him in arms, they then were slain in the battle, this city was plundered by our enemies, and our sanctuary made desolate for three years and six months. And what need I bring any more examples? Indeed what can it be that hath stirred up an army of the Romans against our nation? Is it not the impiety of the inhabitants? Whence did our servitude commence? Was it not derived from the seditions that were among our forefathers, when the madness of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, and our mutual quarrels, brought Pompey upon this city, and when God reduced those under subjection to the Romans who were unworthy of the

liberty they had enjoyed? After a siege, therefore, of three months, they were forced to surrender themselves, although they had not been guilty of such offenses, with regard to our sanctuary and our laws, as you have; and this while they had much greater advantages to go to war than you have. Do not we know what end Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, came to, under whose reign God provided that this city should be taken again upon account of the people's offenses? When Herod, the son of Antipater, brought upon us Sosius, and Sosius brought upon us the Roman army, they were then encompassed and besieged for six months, till, as a punishment for their sins, they were taken, and the city was plundered by the enemy. Thus it appears that arms were never given to our nation, but that we are always given up to be fought against, and to be taken; for I suppose that such as inhabit this holy place ought to commit the disposal of all things to God, and then only to disregard the assistance of men when they resign themselves up to their Arbitrator, who is above. As for you, what have you done of those things that are recommended by our legislator? and what have you not done of those things that he hath condemned? How much more impious are you than those who were so quickly taken! You have not avoided so much as those sins that are usually done in secret; I mean thefts, and treacherous plots against men, and adulteries. You are quarrelling about rapines and murders, and invent strange ways of wickedness. Nay, the temple itself is become the receptacle of all, and this Divine place is polluted by the hands of those of our own country; which place hath yet been reverenced by the Romans when it was at a distance from them, when they have suffered many of their own customs to give place to our law. And, after all this, do you expect Him whom you have so impiously abused to be your supporter? To be sure then you have a right to be petitioners, and to call upon Him to assist you, so pure are your hands! Did your king [Hezekiah] lift up such hands in prayer to God against the king of Assyria, when he destroyed that great army in one night? And do the Romans commit such wickedness as did the king of Assyria, that you may have reason to hope for the like vengeance upon them? Did not that king accept of money from our king on this condition, that he should not destroy the city, and yet, contrary to the oath he had taken, he came down to burn the temple? while the Romans do demand no more than that accustomed tribute which our fathers paid to their fathers; and if they may but once obtain that, they neither aim to destroy this city, nor to touch this sanctuary; nay, they will grant you besides, that your posterity shall be free, and your possessions secured to you, and will preserve our holy laws inviolate to you. And it is plain madness to expect that God should appear as well disposed towards the wicked as towards the righteous, since he knows when it is proper to punish men for their sins immediately; accordingly he brake the power of the

Assyrians the very first night that they pitched their camp. Wherefore, had he judged that our nation was worthy of freedom, or the Romans of punishment, he had immediately inflicted punishment upon those Romans, as he did upon the Assyrians, when Pompey began to meddle with our nation, or when after him Sosius came up against us, or when Vespasian laid waste Galilee, or, lastly, when Titus came first of all near to this city; although Magnus and Sosius did not only suffer nothing, but took the city by force; as did Vespasian go from the war he made against you to receive the empire; and as for Titus, those springs that were formerly almost dried up when they were under your power since he is come, run more plentifully than they did before; accordingly, you know that Siloam, as well as all the other springs that were without the city, did so far fail, that water was sold by distinct measures; whereas they now have such a great quantity of water for your enemies, as is sufficient not only for drink both for themselves and their cattle, but for watering their gardens also. The same wonderful sign you had also experience of formerly, when the forementioned king of Babylon made war against us, and when he took the city, and burnt the temple; while yet I believe the Jews of that age were not so impious as you are. Wherefore I cannot but suppose that God is fled out of his sanctuary, and stands on the side of those against whom you fight. Now even a man, if he be but a good man, will fly from an impure house, and will hate those that are in it; and do you persuade yourselves that God will abide with you in your iniquities, who sees all secret things, and hears what is kept most private? Now what crime is there, I pray you, that is so much as kept secret among you, or is concealed by you? nay, what is there that is not open to your very enemies? for you show your transgressions after a pompous manner, and contend one with another which of you shall be more wicked than another; and you make a public demonstration of your injustice, as if it were virtue. However, there is a place left for your preservation, if you be willing to accept of it; and God is easily reconciled to those that confess their faults, and repent of them. O hard-hearted wretches as you are! cast away all your arms, and take pity of your country already going to ruin; return from your wicked ways, and have regard to the excellency of that city which you are going to betray, to that excellent temple with the donations of so many countries in it. Who could bear to be the first that should set that temple on fire? who could be willing that these things should be no more? and what is there that can better deserve to be preserved? O insensible creatures, and more stupid than are the stones themselves! And if you cannot look at these things with discerning eyes, yet, however, have pity upon your families, and set before every one of your eyes your children, and wives, and parents, who will be gradually consumed either by famine or by war. I am sensible that this danger

will extend to my mother, and wife, and to that family of mine who have been by no means ignoble, and indeed to one that hath been very eminent in old time; and perhaps you may imagine that it is on their account only that I give you this advice; if that be all, kill them; nay, take my own blood as a reward, if it may but procure your preservation; for I am ready to die, in case you will but return to a sound mind after my death."

CHAPTER 10.

How A Great Many Of The People Earnestly Endeavored To Desert To The Romans; As Also What Intolerable Things Those That Staid Behind Suffered By Famine, And The Sad

Consequences Thereof.

1. As Josephus was speaking thus with a loud voice, the seditious would neither yield to what he said, nor did they deem it safe for them to alter their conduct; but as for the people, they had a great inclination to desert to the Romans; accordingly, some of them sold what they had, and even the most precious things that had been laid up as treasures by them, for every small matter, and swallowed down pieces of gold, that they might not be found out by the robbers; and when they had escaped to the Romans, went to stool, and had wherewithal to provide plentifully for themselves; for Titus let a great number of them go away into the country, whither they pleased. And the main reasons why they were so ready to desert were these: That now they should be freed from those miseries which they had endured in that city, and yet should not be in slavery to the Romans: however, John and Simon, with their factions, did more carefully watch these men's going out than they did the coming in of the Romans; and if any one did but afford the least shadow of suspicion of such an intention, his throat was cut immediately.

2. But as for the richer sort, it proved all one to them whether they staid in the city, or attempted to get out of it; for they were equally destroyed in both cases; for every such person was put to death under this pretense, that they were going to desert, but in reality that the robbers might get what they had. The madness of the seditious did also increase together with their famine, and both those miseries were every day inflamed more and more; for there was no corn which any where appeared publicly, but the robbers came running into, and searched men's private houses; and then, if they found any, they tormented them, because they had denied they had any; and if they found none, they tormented them worse, because they supposed they had more carefully concealed it. The indication they made use of whether they had any or not was taken from the bodies of these miserable wretches; which, if they were in good case, they supposed they were in no want at all of food; but if they were wasted away, they walked off without searching any further; nor did they think it proper to kill such as these, because they saw they would very soon die of themselves for want of food. Many there were indeed who sold what they had for one measure; it was of

wheat, if they were of the richer sort; but of barley, if they were poorer. When these had so done, they shut themselves up in the inmost rooms of their houses, and ate the corn they had gotten; some did it without grinding it, by reason of the extremity of the want they were in, and others baked bread of it, according as necessity and fear dictated to them: a table was no where laid for a distinct meal, but they snatched the bread out of the fire, half-baked, and ate it very hastily.

3. It was now a miserable case, and a sight that would justly bring tears into our eyes, how men stood as to their food, while the more powerful had more than enough, and the weaker were lamenting [for want of it.] But the famine was too hard for all other passions, and it is destructive to nothing so much as to modesty; for what was otherwise worthy of reverence was in this case despised; insomuch that children pulled the very morsels that their fathers were eating out of their very mouths, and what was still more to be pitied, so did the mothers do as to their infants; and when those that were most dear were perishing under their hands, they were not ashamed to take from them the very last drops that might preserve their lives: and while they ate after this manner, yet were they not concealed in so doing; but the seditious every where came upon them immediately, and snatched away from them what they had gotten from others; for when they saw any house shut up, this was to them a signal that the people within had gotten some food; whereupon they broke open the doors, and ran in, and took pieces of what they were eating almost up out of their very throats, and this by force: the old men, who held their food fast, were beaten; and if the women hid what they had within their hands, their hair was torn for so doing; nor was there any commiseration shown either to the aged or to the infants, but they lifted up children from the ground as they hung upon the morsels they had gotten, and shook them down upon the floor. But still they were more barbarously cruel to those that had prevented their coming in, and had actually swallowed down what they were going to seize upon, as if they had been unjustly defrauded of their right. They also invented terrible methods of torments to discover where any food was, and they were these to stop up the passages of the privy parts of the miserable wretches, and to drive sharp stakes up their fundaments; and a man was forced to bear what it is terrible even to hear, in order to make him confess that he had but one loaf of bread, or that he might discover a handful of barley-meal that was concealed; and this was done when these tormentors were not themselves hungry; for the thing had been less barbarous had necessity forced them to it; but this was done to keep their madness in exercise, and as making preparation of provisions for themselves for the following days. These men went also to meet those that had crept out of the city by night, as far as the Roman guards, to gather some plants and herbs that

grew wild; and when those people thought they had got clear of the enemy, they snatched from them what they had brought with them, even while they had frequently entreated them, and that by calling upon the tremendous name of God, to give them back some part of what they had brought; though these would not give them the least crumb, and they were to be well contented that they were only spoiled, and not slain at the same time.

4. These were the afflictions which the lower sort of people suffered from these tyrants' guards; but for the men that were in dignity, and withal were rich, they were carried before the tyrants themselves; some of whom were falsely accused of laying treacherous plots, and so were destroyed; others of them were charged with designs of betraying the city to the Romans; but the readiest way of all was this, to suborn somebody to affirm that they were resolved to desert to the enemy. And he who was utterly despoiled of what he had by Simon was sent back again to John, as of those who had been already plundered by Jotre, Simon got what remained; insomuch that they drank the blood of the populace to one another, and divided the dead bodies of the poor creatures between them; so that although, on account of their ambition after dominion, they contended with each other, yet did they very well agree in their wicked practices; for he that did not communicate what he got by the miseries of others to the other tyrant seemed to be too little guilty, and in one respect only; and he that did not partake of what was so communicated to him grieved at this, as at the loss of what was a valuable thing, that he had no share in such barbarity.

5. It is therefore impossible to go distinctly over every instance of these men's iniquity. I shall therefore speak my mind here at once briefly: — That neither did any other city ever suffer such miseries, nor did any age ever breed a generation more fruitful in wickedness than this was, from the beginning of the world. Finally, they brought the Hebrew nation into contempt, that they might themselves appear comparatively less impious with regard to strangers. They confessed what was true, that they were the slaves, the scum, and the spurious and abortive offspring of our nation, while they overthrew the city themselves, and forced the Romans, whether they would or no, to gain a melancholy reputation, by acting gloriously against them, and did almost draw that fire upon the temple, which they seemed to think came too slowly; and indeed when they saw that temple burning from the upper city, they were neither troubled at it, nor did they shed any tears on that account, while yet these passions were discovered among the Romans themselves; which circumstances we shall speak of hereafter in their proper place, when we come to treat of such matters.

CHAPTER 11.

How The Jews Were Crucified Before The Walls Of The City Concerning Antiochus Epiphanes; And How The Jews Overthrew The Banks That Had Been Raised By The Romans.

1. So now Titus's banks were advanced a great way, notwithstanding his soldiers had been very much distressed from the wall. He then sent a party of horsemen, and ordered they should lay ambushes for those that went out into the valleys to gather food. Some of these were indeed fighting men, who were not contented with what they got by rapine; but the greater part of them were poor people, who were deterred from deserting by the concern they were under for their own relations; for they could not hope to escape away, together with their wives and children, without the knowledge of the seditious; nor could they think of leaving these relations to be slain by the robbers on their account; nay, the severity of the famine made them bold in thus going out; so nothing remained but that, when they were concealed from the robbers, they should be taken by the enemy; and when they were going to be taken, they were forced to defend themselves for fear of being punished; as after they had fought, they thought it too late to make any supplications for mercy; so they were first whipped, and then tormented with all sorts of tortures, before they died, and were then crucified before the wall of the city. This miserable procedure made Titus greatly to pity them, while they caught every day five hundred Jews; nay, some days they caught more: yet it did not appear to be safe for him to let those that were taken by force go their way, and to set a guard over so many he saw would be to make such as great deal them useless to him. The main reason why he did not forbid that cruelty was this, that he hoped the Jews might perhaps yield at that sight, out of fear lest they might themselves afterwards be liable to the same cruel treatment. So the soldiers, out of the wrath and hatred they bore the Jews, nailed those they caught, one after one way, and another after another, to the crosses, by way of jest, when their multitude was so great, that room was wanting for the crosses, and crosses wanting for the bodies.

2. But so far were the seditious from repenting at this sad sight, that, on the contrary, they made the rest of the multitude believe otherwise; for they brought the relations of those that had deserted upon the wall, with such of the populace as were very eager to go over upon the security offered them, and showed them what miseries those underwent who fled to the Romans; and told them that those who were caught were supplicants to them, and not such as were taken prisoners.

This sight kept many of those within the city who were so eager to desert, till the truth was known; yet did some of them run away immediately as unto certain punishment, esteeming death from their enemies to be a quiet departure, if compared with that by famine. So Titus commanded that the hands of many of those that were caught should be cut off, that they might not be thought deserters, and might be credited on account of the calamity they were under, and sent them in to John and Simon, with this exhortation, that they would now at length leave off [their madness], and not force him to destroy the city, whereby they would have those advantages of repentance, even in their utmost distress, that they would preserve their own lives, and so find a city of their own, and that temple which was their peculiar. He then went round about the banks that were cast up, and hastened them, in order to show that his words should in no long time be followed by his deeds. In answer to which the seditious cast reproaches upon Caesar himself, and upon his father also, and cried out, with a loud voice, that they contemned death, and did well in preferring it before slavery; that they would do all the mischief to the Romans they could while they had breath in them; and that for their own city, since they were, as he said, to be destroyed, they had no concern about it, and that the world itself was a better temple to God than this. That yet this temple would be preserved by him that inhabited therein, whom they still had for their assistant in this war, and did therefore laugh at all his threatenings, which would come to nothing, because the conclusion of the whole depended upon God only. These words were mixed with reproaches, and with them they made a mighty clamor.

3. In the mean time Antiochus Epiphanes came to the city, having with him a considerable number of other armed men, and a band called the Macedonian band about him, all of the same age, tall, and just past their childhood, armed, and instructed after the Macedonian manner, whence it was that they took that name. Yet were many of them unworthy of so famous a nation; for it had so happened, that the king of Commagene had flourished more than any other kings that were under the power of the Romans, till a change happened in his condition; and when he was become an old man, he declared plainly that we ought not to call any man happy before he is dead. But this son of his, who was then come thither before his father was decaying, said that he could not but wonder what made the Romans so tardy in making their attacks upon the wall. Now he was a warlike man, and naturally bold in exposing himself to dangers; he was also so strong a man, that his boldness seldom failed of having success. Upon this Titus smiled, and said he would share the pains of an attack with him. However, Antiochus went as he then was, and with his Macedonians made a sudden assault upon the wall; and, indeed, for his own part, his strength and skill

were so great, that he guarded himself from the Jewish darts, and yet shot his darts at them, while yet the young men with him were almost all sorely galled; for they had so great a regard to the promises that had been made of their courage, that they would needs persevere in their fighting, and at length many of them retired, but not till they were wounded; and then they perceived that true Macedonians, if they were to be conquerors, must have Alexander's good fortune also.

4. Now as the Romans began to raise their banks on the twelfth day of the month Artemisius, [Jyar,] so had they much ado to finish them by the twenty-ninth day of the same month, after they had labored hard for seventeen days continually. For there were now four great banks raised, one of which was at the tower Antonia; this was raised by the fifth legion, over against the middle of that pool which was called Struthius. Another was cast up by the twelfth legion, at the distance of about twenty cubits from the other. But the labors of the tenth legion, which lay a great way off these, were on the north quarter, and at the pool called Amygdalon; as was that of the fifteenth legion about thirty cubits from it, and at the high priest's monument. And now, when the engines were brought, John had from within undermined the space that was over against the tower of Antonia, as far as the banks themselves, and had supported the ground over the mine with beams laid across one another, whereby the Roman works stood upon an uncertain foundation. Then did he order such materials to be brought in as were daubed over with pitch and bitumen, and set them on fire; and as the cross beams that supported the banks were burning, the ditch yielded on the sudden, and the banks were shaken down, and fell into the ditch with a prodigious noise. Now at the first there arose a very thick smoke and dust, as the fire was choked with the fall of the bank; but as the suffocated materials were now gradually consumed, a plain flame brake out; on which sudden appearance of the flame a consternation fell upon the Romans, and the shrewdness of the contrivance discouraged them; and indeed this accident coming upon them at a time when they thought they had already gained their point, cooled their hopes for the time to come. They also thought it would be to no purpose to take the pains to extinguish the fire, since if it were extinguished, the banks were swallowed up already [and become useless to them].

5. Two days after this, Simon and his party made an attempt to destroy the other banks; for the Romans had brought their engines to bear there, and began already to make the wall shake. And here one Tephtheus, of Garsis, a city of Galilee, and Megassarus, one who was derived from some of queen Mariamne's servants, and with them one from Adiabene, he was the son of Nabateus, and called by the name of Chagiras, from the ill fortune he had, the word signifying

“a lame man,” snatched some torches, and ran suddenly upon the engines. Nor were there during this war any men that ever sallied out of the city who were their superiors, either in their boldness, or in the terror they struck into their enemies. For they ran out upon the Romans, not as if they were enemies, but friends, without fear or delay; nor did they leave their enemies till they had rushed violently through the midst of them, and set their machines on fire. And though they had darts thrown at them on every side, and were on every side assaulted with their enemies’ swords, yet did they not withdraw themselves out of the dangers they were in, till the fire had caught hold of the instruments; but when the flame went up, the Romans came running from their camp to save their engines. Then did the Jews hinder their succors from the wall, and fought with those that endeavored to quench the fire, without any regard to the danger their bodies were in. So the Romans pulled the engines out of the fire, while the hurdles that covered them were on fire; but the Jews caught hold of the battering rams through the flame itself, and held them fast, although the iron upon them was become red hot; and now the fire spread itself from the engines to the banks, and prevented those that came to defend them; and all this while the Romans were encompassed round about with the flame; and, despairing of saving their works from it, they retired to their camp. Then did the Jews become still more and more in number by the coming of those that were within the city to their assistance; and as they were very bold upon the good success they had had, their violent assaults were almost irresistible; nay, they proceeded as far as the fortifications of the enemies’ camp, and fought with their guards. Now there stood a body of soldiers in array before that camp, which succeeded one another by turns in their armor; and as to those, the law of the Romans was terrible, that he who left his post there, let the occasion be whatsoever it might be, he was to die for it; so that body of soldiers, preferring rather to die in fighting courageously, than as a punishment for their cowardice, stood firm; and at the necessity these men were in of standing to it, many of the others that had run away, out of shame, turned back again; and when they had set the engines against the wall, they put the multitude from coming more of them out of the city, [which they could the more easily do] because they had made no provision for preserving or guarding their bodies at this time; for the Jews fought now hand to hand with all that came in their way, and, without any caution, fell against the points of their enemies’ spears, and attacked them bodies against bodies; for they were now too hard for the Romans, not so much by their other warlike actions, as by these courageous assaults they made upon them; and the Romans gave way more to their boldness than they did to the sense of the harm they had received from them.

6. And now Titus was come from the tower of Antonia, whither he was gone to look out for a place for raising other banks, and reproached the soldiers greatly for permitting their own walls to be in danger, when they had taken the wails of their enemies, and sustained the fortune of men besieged, while the Jews were allowed to sally out against them, though they were already in a sort of prison. He then went round about the enemy with some chosen troops, and fell upon their flank himself; so the Jews, who had been before assaulted in their faces, wheeled about to Titus, and continued the fight. The armies also were now mixed one among another, and the dust that was raised so far hindered them from seeing one another, and the noise that was made so far hindered them from hearing one another, that neither side could discern an enemy from a friend. However, the Jews did not flinch, though not so much from their real strength, as from their despair of deliverance. The Romans also would not yield, by reason of the regard they had to glory, and to their reputation in war, and because Caesar himself went into the danger before them; insomuch that I cannot but think the Romans would in the conclusion have now taken even the whole multitude of the Jews, so very angry were they at them, had these not prevented the upshot of the battle, and retired into the city. However, seeing the banks of the Romans were demolished, these Romans were very much cast down upon the loss of what had cost them so long pains, and this in one hour’s time. And many indeed despaired of taking the city with their usual engines of war only.

CHAPTER 12.

Titus Thought Fit To Encompass The City Round With A Wall; After Which The Famine Consumed The People By Whole Houses And Families Together.

1. And now did Titus consult with his commanders what was to be done. Those that were of the warmest tempers thought he should bring the whole army against the city and storm the wall; for that hitherto no more than a part of their army had fought with the Jews; but that in case the entire army was to come at once, they would not be able to sustain their attacks, but would be overwhelmed by their darts. But of those that were for a more cautious management, some were for raising their banks again; and others advised to let the banks alone, but to lie still before the city, to guard against the coming out of the Jews, and against their carrying provisions into the city, and so to leave the enemy to the famine, and this without direct fighting with them; for that despair was not to be conquered, especially as to those who are desirous to die by the sword, while a more terrible misery than that is reserved for them. However, Titus did not think it fit for so great an army to lie entirely idle, and that yet it was in vain to fight with those that would be destroyed one by another; he also showed them how impracticable it was to cast up any more banks, for want of materials, and to guard against the Jews coming out still more impracticable; as also, that to encompass the whole city round with his army was not very easy, by reason of its magnitude, and the difficulty of the situation, and on other accounts dangerous, upon the sallies the Jews might make out of the city. For although they might guard the known passages out of the place, yet would they, when they found themselves under the greatest distress, contrive secret passages out, as being well acquainted with all such places; and if any provisions were carried in by stealth, the siege would thereby be longer delayed. He also owned that he was afraid that the length of time thus to be spent would diminish the glory of his success; for though it be true that length of time will perfect every thing, yet that to do what we do in a little time is still necessary to the gaining reputation. That therefore his opinion was, that if they aimed at quickness joined with security, they must build a wall round about the whole city; which was, he thought, the only way to prevent the Jews from coming out any way, and that then they would either entirely despair of saving the city, and so would surrender it up to him, or be still the more easily conquered when the famine had further weakened them; for that besides this wall, he would not lie entirely at rest afterward, but would take care then to have banks raised again, when those that

would oppose them were become weaker. But that if any one should think such a work to be too great, and not to be finished without much difficulty, he ought to consider that it is not fit for Romans to undertake any small work, and that none but God himself could with ease accomplish any great thing whatsoever.

2. These arguments prevailed with the commanders. So Titus gave orders that the army should be distributed to their several shares of this work; and indeed there now came upon the soldiers a certain divine fury, so that they did not only part the whole wall that was to be built among them, nor did only one legion strive with another, but the lesser divisions of the army did the same; insomuch that each soldier was ambitious to please his decurion, each decurion his centurion, each centurion his tribune, and the ambition of the tribunes was to please their superior commanders, while Caesar himself took notice of and rewarded the like contention in those commanders; for he went round about the works many times every day, and took a view of what was done. Titus began the wall from the camp of the Assyrians, where his own camp was pitched, and drew it down to the lower parts of Cenopolis; thence it went along the valley of Cedron, to the Mount of Olives; it then bent towards the south, and encompassed the mountain as far as the rock called Peristereon, and that other hill which lies next it, and is over the valley which reaches to Siloam; whence it bended again to the west, and went down to the valley of the Fountain, beyond which it went up again at the monument of Ananus the high priest, and encompassing that mountain where Pompey had formerly pitched his camp, it returned back to the north side of the city, and was carried on as far as a certain village called "The House of the Erebinthi;" after which it encompassed Herod's monument, and there, on the east, was joined to Titus's own camp, where it began. Now the length of this wall was forty furlongs, one only abated. Now at this wall without were erected thirteen places to keep garrison in, whose circumferences, put together, amounted to ten furlongs; the whole was completed in three days; so that what would naturally have required some months was done in so short an interval as is incredible. When Titus had therefore encompassed the city with this wall, and put garrisons into proper places, he went round the wall, at the first watch of the night, and observed how the guard was kept; the second watch he allotted to Alexander; the commanders of legions took the third watch. They also cast lots among themselves who should be upon the watch in the night time, and who should go all night long round the spaces that were interposed between the garrisons.

3. So all hope of escaping was now cut off from the Jews, together with their liberty of going out of the city. Then did the famine widen its progress, and devoured the people by whole houses and families; the upper rooms were full of

women and children that were dying by famine, and the lanes of the city were full of the dead bodies of the aged; the children also and the young men wandered about the market-places like shadows, all swelled with the famine, and fell down dead, wheresoever their misery seized them. As for burying them, those that were sick themselves were not able to do it; and those that were hearty and well were deterred from doing it by the great multitude of those dead bodies, and by the uncertainty there was how soon they should die themselves; for many died as they were burying others, and many went to their coffins before that fatal hour was come. Nor was there any lamentations made under these calamities, nor were heard any mournful complaints; but the famine confounded all natural passions; for those who were just going to die looked upon those that were gone to rest before them with dry eyes and open mouths. A deep silence also, and a kind of deadly night, had seized upon the city; while yet the robbers were still more terrible than these miseries were themselves; for they brake open those houses which were no other than graves of dead bodies, and plundered them of what they had; and carrying off the coverings of their bodies, went out laughing, and tried the points of their swords in their dead bodies; and, in order to prove what metal they were made of they thrust some of those through that still lay alive upon the ground; but for those that entreated them to lend them their right hand and their sword to despatch them, they were too proud to grant their requests, and left them to be consumed by the famine. Now every one of these died with their eyes fixed upon the temple, and left the seditious alive behind them. Now the seditious at first gave orders that the dead should be buried out of the public treasury, as not enduring the stench of their dead bodies. But afterwards, when they could not do that, they had them cast down from the walls into the valleys beneath.

4. However, when Titus, in going his rounds along those valleys, saw them full of dead bodies, and the thick putrefaction running about them, he gave a groan; and, spreading out his hands to heaven, called God to witness that this was not his doing; and such was the sad case of the city itself. But the Romans were very joyful, since none of the seditious could now make sallies out of the city, because they were themselves disconsolate, and the famine already touched them also. These Romans besides had great plenty of corn and other necessaries out of Syria, and out of the neighboring provinces; many of whom would stand near to the wall of the city, and show the people what great quantities of provisions they had, and so make the enemy more sensible of their famine, by the great plenty, even to satiety, which they had themselves. However, when the seditious still showed no inclinations of yielding, Titus, out of his commiseration of the people that remained, and out of his earnest desire of rescuing what was

still left out of these miseries, began to raise his banks again, although materials for them were hard to be come at; for all the trees that were about the city had been already cut down for the making of the former banks. Yet did the soldiers bring with them other materials from the distance of ninety furlongs, and thereby raised banks in four parts, much greater than the former, though this was done only at the tower of Antonia. So Caesar went his rounds through the legions, and hastened on the works, and showed the robbers that they were now in his hands. But these men, and these only, were incapable of repenting of the wickednesses they had been guilty of; and separating their souls from their bodies, they used them both as if they belonged to other folks, and not to themselves. For no gentle affection could touch their souls, nor could any pain affect their bodies, since they could still tear the dead bodies of the people as dogs do, and fill the prisons with those that were sick.

CHAPTER 13.

The Great Slaughters And Sacrilege That Were In Jerusalem.

1. Accordingly Simon would not suffer Matthias, by whose means he got possession of the city, to go off without torment. This Matthias was the son of Boethus, and was one of the high priests, one that had been very faithful to the people, and in great esteem with them; he, when the multitude were distressed by the zealots, among whom John was numbered, persuaded the people to admit this Simon to come in to assist them, while he had made no terms with him, nor expected any thing that was evil from him. But when Simon was come in, and had gotten the city under his power, he esteemed him that had advised them to admit him as his enemy equally with the rest, as looking upon that advice as a piece of his simplicity only; so he had him then brought before him, and condemned to die for being on the side of the Romans, without giving him leave to make his defense. He condemned also his three sons to die with him; for as to the fourth, he prevented him by running away to Titus before. And when he begged for this, that he might be slain before his sons, and that as a favor, on account that he had procured the gates of the city to be opened to him, he gave order that he should be slain the last of them all; so he was not slain till he had seen his sons slain before his eyes, and that by being produced over against the Romans; for such a charge had Simon given to Artanus, the son of Bamadus, who was the most barbarous of all his guards. He also jested upon him, and told him that he might now see whether those to whom he intended to go over would send him any succors or not; but still he forbade their dead bodies should be buried. After the slaughter of these, a certain priest, Ananias, the son of Masambalus, a person of eminency, as also Aristens, the scribe of the sanhedrim, and born at Emmaus, and with them fifteen men of figure among the people, were slain. They also kept Josephus's father in prison, and made public proclamation, that no citizen whosoever should either speak to him himself, or go into his company among others, for fear he should betray them. They also slew such as joined in lamenting these men, without any further examination.

2. Now when Judas, the son of Judas, who was one of Simon's under officers, and a person intrusted by him to keep one of the towers, saw this procedure of Simon, he called together ten of those under him, that were most faithful to him, [perhaps this was done partly out of pity to those that had so barbarously been put to death, but principally in order to provide for his own safety,] and spoke thus to them: "How long shall we bear these miseries? or what hopes have we of

deliverance by thus continuing faithful to such wicked wretches? Is not the famine already come against us? Are not the Romans in a manner gotten within the city? Is not Simon become unfaithful to his benefactors? and is there not reason to fear he will very soon bring us to the like punishment, while the security the Romans offer us is sure? Come on, let us surrender up this wall, and save ourselves and the city. Nor will Simon be very much hurt, if, now he despairs of deliverance, he be brought to justice a little sooner than he thinks on." Now these ten were prevailed upon by those arguments; so he sent the rest of those that were under him, some one way, and some another, that no discovery might be made of what they had resolved upon. Accordingly, he called to the Romans from the tower about the third hour; but they, some of them out of pride, despised what he said, and others of them did not believe him to be in earnest, though the greatest number delayed the matter, as believing they should get possession of the city in a little time, without any hazard. But when Titus was just coming thither with his armed men, Simon was acquainted with the matter before he came, and presently took the tower into his own custody, before it was surrendered, and seized upon these men, and put them to death in the sight of the Romans themselves; and when he had mangled their dead bodies, he threw them down before the wall of the city.

3. In the mean time, Josephus, as he was going round the city, had his head wounded by a stone that was thrown at him; upon which he fell down as giddy. Upon which fall of his the Jews made a sally, and he had been hurried away into the city, if Caesar had not sent men to protect him immediately; and as these men were fighting, Josephus was taken up, though he heard little of what was done. So the seditious supposed they had now slain that man whom they were the most desirous of killing, and made thereupon a great noise, in way of rejoicing. This accident was told in the city, and the multitude that remained became very disconsolate at the news, as being persuaded that he was really dead, on whose account alone they could venture to desert to the Romans. But when Josephus's mother heard in prison that her son was dead, she said to those that watched about her, That she had always been of opinion, since the siege of Jotapata, [that he would be slain,] and she should never enjoy him alive any more. She also made great lamentation privately to the maid-servants that were about her, and said, That this was all the advantage she had of bringing so extraordinary a person as this son into the world; that she should not be able even to bury that son of hers, by whom she expected to have been buried herself. However, this false report did not put his mother to pain, nor afford merriment to the robbers, long; for Josephus soon recovered of his wound, and came out, and cried out aloud, That it would not be long ere they should be punished for this

wound they had given him. He also made a fresh exhortation to the people to come out upon the security that would be given them. This sight of Josephus encouraged the people greatly, and brought a great consternation upon the seditious.

4. Hereupon some of the deserters, having no other way, leaped down from the wall immediately, while others of them went out of the city with stones, as if they would fight them; but thereupon they fled away to the Romans. But here a worse fate accompanied these than what they had found within the city; and they met with a quicker despatch from the too great abundance they had among the Romans, than they could have done from the famine among the Jews; for when they came first to the Romans, they were puffed up by the famine, and swelled like men in a dropsy; after which they all on the sudden overfilled those bodies that were before empty, and so burst asunder, excepting such only as were skillful enough to restrain their appetites, and by degrees took in their food into bodies unaccustomed thereto. Yet did another plague seize upon those that were thus preserved; for there was found among the Syrian deserters a certain person who was caught gathering pieces of gold out of the excrements of the Jews' bellies; for the deserters used to swallow such pieces of gold, as we told you before, when they came out, and for these did the seditious search them all; for there was a great quantity of gold in the city, insomuch that as much was now sold [in the Roman camp] for twelve Attic [drams], as was sold before for twenty-five. But when this contrivance was discovered in one instance, the fame of it filled their several camps, that the deserters came to them full of gold. So the multitude of the Arabians, with the Syrians, cut up those that came as supplicants, and searched their bellies. Nor does it seem to me that any misery befell the Jews that was more terrible than this, since in one night's time about two thousand of these deserters were thus dissected.

5. When Titus came to the knowledge of this wicked practice, he had like to have surrounded those that had been guilty of it with his horse, and have shot them dead; and he had done it, had not their number been so very great, and those that were liable to this punishment would have been manifold more than those whom they had slain. However, he called together the commanders of the auxiliary troops he had with him, as well as the commanders of the Roman legions, [for some of his own soldiers had been also guilty herein, as he had been informed,] and had great indignation against both sorts of them, and said to them, "What! have any of my own soldiers done such things as this out of the uncertain hope of gain, without regarding their own weapons, which are made of silver and gold? Moreover, do the Arabians and Syrians now first of all begin to govern themselves as they please, and to indulge their appetites in a foreign war,

and then, out of their barbarity in murdering men, and out of their hatred to the Jews, get it ascribed to the Romans?" for this infamous practice was said to be spread among some of his own soldiers also. Titus then threatened that he would put such men to death, if any of them were discovered to be so insolent as to do so again; moreover, he gave it in charge to the legions, that they should make a search after such as were suspected, and should bring them to him. But it appeared that the love of money was too hard for all their dread of punishment, and a vehement desire of gain is natural to men, and no passion is so venturesome as covetousness; otherwise such passions have certain bounds, and are subordinate to fear. But in reality it was God who condemned the whole nation, and turned every course that was taken for their preservation to their destruction. This, therefore, which was forbidden by Caesar under such a threatening, was ventured upon privately against the deserters, and these barbarians would go out still, and meet those that ran away before any saw them, and looking about them to see that no Roman spied them, they dissected them, and pulled this polluted money out of their bowels; which money was still found in a few of them, while yet a great many were destroyed by the bare hope there was of thus getting by them, which miserable treatment made many that were deserting to return back again into the city.

6. But as for John, when he could no longer plunder the people, he betook himself to sacrilege, and melted down many of the sacred utensils, which had been given to the temple; as also many of those vessels which were necessary for such as ministered about holy things, the caldrons, the dishes, and the tables; nay, he did not abstain from those pouring vessels that were sent them by Augustus and his wife; for the Roman emperors did ever both honor and adorn this temple; whereas this man, who was a Jew, seized upon what were the donations of foreigners, and said to those that were with him, that it was proper for them to use Divine things, while they were fighting for the Divinity, without fear, and that such whose warfare is for the temple should live of the temple; on which account he emptied the vessels of that sacred wine and oil, which the priests kept to be poured on the burnt-offerings, and which lay in the inner court of the temple, and distributed it among the multitude, who, in their anointing themselves and drinking, used [each of them] above an hin of them. And here I cannot but speak my mind, and what the concern I am under dictates to me, and it is this: I suppose, that had the Romans made any longer delay in coming against these villains, that the city would either have been swallowed up by the ground opening upon them, or been overflowed by water, or else been destroyed by such thunder as the country of Sodom perished by, for it had brought forth a generation of men much more atheistical than were those that suffered such

punishments; for by their madness it was that all the people came to be destroyed.

7. And, indeed, why do I relate these particular calamities? while Manneus, the son of Lazarus, came running to Titus at this very time, and told him that there had been carried out through that one gate, which was intrusted to his care, no fewer than a hundred and fifteen thousand eight hundred and eighty dead bodies, in the interval between the fourteenth day of the month Xanthicus, [Nisan,] when the Romans pitched their camp by the city, and the first day of the month Panemus [Tamuz]. This was itself a prodigious multitude; and though this man was not himself set as a governor at that gate, yet was he appointed to pay the public stipend for carrying these bodies out, and so was obliged of necessity to number them, while the rest were buried by their relations; though all their burial was but this, to bring them away, and cast them out of the city. After this man there ran away to Titus many of the eminent citizens, and told him the entire number of the poor that were dead, and that no fewer than six hundred thousand were thrown out at the gates, though still the number of the rest could not be discovered; and they told him further, that when they were no longer able to carry out the dead bodies of the poor, they laid their corpses on heaps in very large houses, and shut them up therein; as also that a medimnus of wheat was sold for a talent; and that when, a while afterward, it was not possible to gather herbs, by reason the city was all walled about, some persons were driven to that terrible distress as to search the common sewers and old dunghills of cattle, and to eat the dung which they got there; and what they of old could not endure so much as to see they now used for food. When the Romans barely heard all this, they commiserated their case; while the seditious, who saw it also, did not repent, but suffered the same distress to come upon themselves; for they were blinded by that fate which was already coming upon the city, and upon themselves also.

BOOK VI.

Containing The Interval Of About One Month.

From The Great Extremity To Which The Jews Were Reduced To The Taking Of Jerusalem By Titus.

CHAPTER 1.

That The Miseries Still Grew Worse; And How The Romans Made An Assault Upon The Tower Of Antonia.

1. Thus did the miseries of Jerusalem grow worse and worse every day, and the seditious were still more irritated by the calamities they were under, even while the famine preyed upon themselves, after it had preyed upon the people. And indeed the multitude of carcasses that lay in heaps one upon another was a horrible sight, and produced a pestilential stench, which was a hinderance to those that would make sallies out of the city, and fight the enemy: but as those were to go in battle-array, who had been already used to ten thousand murders, and must tread upon those dead bodies as they marched along, so were not they terrified, nor did they pity men as they marched over them; nor did they deem this affront offered to the deceased to be any ill omen to themselves; but as they had their right hands already polluted with the murders of their own countrymen, and in that condition ran out to fight with foreigners, they seem to me to have cast a reproach upon God himself, as if he were too slow in punishing them; for the war was not now gone on with as if they had any hope of victory; for they gloried after a brutish manner in that despair of deliverance they were already in. And now the Romans, although they were greatly distressed in getting together their materials, raised their banks in one and twenty days, after they had cut down all the trees that were in the country that adjoined to the city, and that for ninety furlongs round about, as I have already related. And truly the very view itself of the country was a melancholy thing; for those places which were before adorned with trees and pleasant gardens were now become a desolate country every way, and its trees were all cut down: nor could any foreigner that had formerly seen Judea and the most beautiful suburbs of the city, and now saw it as a desert, but lament and mourn sadly at so great a change: for the war had laid all the signs of beauty quite waste: nor if any one that had known the place before, had come on a sudden to it now, would he have known it again; but though he were at the city itself, yet would he have inquired for it notwithstanding.

2. And now the banks were finished, they afforded a foundation for fear both to the Romans and to the Jews; for the Jews expected that the city would be taken, unless they could burn those banks, as did the Romans expect that, if these were once burnt down, they should never be able to take it; for there was a mighty scarcity of materials, and the bodies of the soldiers began to fail with such hard labors, as did their souls faint with so many instances of ill success;

nay, the very calamities themselves that were in the city proved a greater discouragement to the Romans than those within the city; for they found the fighting men of the Jews to be not at all mollified among such their sore afflictions, while they had themselves perpetually less and less hopes of success, and their banks were forced to yield to the stratagems of the enemy, their engines to the firmness of their wall, and their closest fights to the boldness of their attack; and, what was their greatest discouragement of all, they found the Jews' courageous souls to be superior to the multitude of the miseries they were under, by their sedition, their famine, and the war itself; insomuch that they were ready to imagine that the violence of their attacks was invincible, and that the alacrity they showed would not be discouraged by their calamities; for what would not those be able to bear if they should be fortunate, who turned their very misfortunes to the improvement of their valor! These considerations made the Romans to keep a stronger guard about their banks than they formerly had done.

3. But now John and his party took care for securing themselves afterward, even in case this wall should be thrown down, and fell to their work before the battering rams were brought against them. Yet did they not compass what they endeavored to do, but as they were gone out with their torches, they came back under great discouragement before they came near to the banks; and the reasons were these: that, in the first place, their conduct did not seem to be unanimous, but they went out in distinct parties, and at distinct intervals, and after a slow manner, and timorously, and, to say all in a word, without a Jewish courage; for they were now defective in what is peculiar to our nation, that is, in boldness, in violence of assault, and in running upon the enemy all together, and in persevering in what they go about, though they do not at first succeed in it; but they now went out in a more languid manner than usual, and at the same time found the Romans set in array, and more courageous than ordinary, and that they guarded their banks both with their bodies and their entire armor, and this to such a degree on all sides, that they left no room for the fire to get among them, and that every one of their souls was in such good courage, that they would sooner die than desert their ranks; for besides their notion that all their hopes were cut off, in case these their works were once burnt, the soldiers were greatly ashamed that subtlety should quite be too hard for courage, madness for armor, multitude for skill, and Jews for Romans. The Romans had now also another advantage, in that their engines for sieges co-operated with them in throwing darts and stones as far as the Jews, when they were coming out of the city; whereby the man that fell became an impediment to him that was next to him, as did the danger of going farther make them less zealous in their attempts; and for those that had run under the darts, some of them were terrified by the good order

and closeness of the enemies' ranks before they came to a close fight, and others were pricked with their spears, and turned back again; at length they reproached one another for their cowardice, and retired without doing any thing. This attack was made upon the first day of the month Panemus [Tamuz.] So when the Jews were retreated, the Romans brought their engines, although they had all the while stones thrown at them from the tower of Antonia, and were assaulted by fire and sword, and by all sorts of darts, which necessity afforded the Jews to make use of; for although these had great dependence on their own wall, and a contempt of the Roman engines, yet did they endeavor to hinder the Romans from bringing them. Now these Romans struggled hard, on the contrary, to bring them, as deeming that this zeal of the Jews was in order to avoid any impression to be made on the tower of Antonia, because its wall was but weak, and its foundations rotten. However, that tower did not yield to the blows given it from the engines; yet did the Romans bear the impressions made by the enemies' darts which were perpetually cast at them, and did not give way to any of those dangers that came upon them from above, and so they brought their engines to bear. But then, as they were beneath the other, and were sadly wounded by the stones thrown down upon them, some of them threw their shields over their bodies, and partly with their hands, and partly with their bodies, and partly with crows, they undermined its foundations, and with great pains they removed four of its stones. Then night came upon both sides, and put an end to this struggle for the present; however, that night the wall was so shaken by the battering rams in that place where John had used his stratagem before, and had undermined their banks, that the ground then gave way, and the wall fell down suddenly.

4. When this accident had unexpectedly happened, the minds of both parties were variously affected; for though one would expect that the Jews would be discouraged, because this fall of their wall was unexpected by them, and they had made no provision in that case, yet did they pull up their courage, because the tower of Antonia itself was still standing; as was the unexpected joy of the Romans at this fall of the wall soon quenched by the sight they had of another wall, which John and his party had built within it. However, the attack of this second wall appeared to be easier than that of the former, because it seemed a thing of greater facility to get up to it through the parts of the former wall that were now thrown down. This new wall appeared also to be much weaker than the tower of Antonia, and accordingly the Romans imagined that it had been erected so much on the sudden, that they should soon overthrow it: yet did not any body venture now to go up to this wall; for that such as first ventured so to do must certainly be killed.

5. And now Titus, upon consideration that the alacrity of soldiers in war is chiefly excited by hopes and by good words, and that exhortations and promises do frequently make men to forget the hazards they run, nay, sometimes to despise death itself, got together the most courageous part of his army, and tried what he could do with his men by these methods. “O fellow soldiers,” said he, “to make an exhortation to men to do what hath no peril in it, is on that very account inglorious to such to whom that exhortation is made; and indeed so it is in him that makes the exhortation, an argument of his own cowardice also. I therefore think that such exhortations ought then only to be made use of when affairs are in a dangerous condition, and yet are worthy of being attempted by every one themselves; accordingly, I am fully of the same opinion with you, that it is a difficult task to go up this wall; but that it is proper for those that desire reputation for their valor to struggle with difficulties in such cases as will then appear, when I have particularly shown that it is a brave thing to die with glory, and that the courage here necessary shall not go unrewarded in those that first begin the attempt. And let my first argument to move you to it be taken from what probably some would think reasonable to dissuade you, I mean the constancy and patience of these Jews, even under their ill successes; for it is unbecoming you, who are Romans and my soldiers, who have in peace been taught how to make wars, and who have also been used to conquer in those wars, to be inferior to Jews, either in action of the hand, or in courage of the soul, and this especially when you are at the conclusion of your victory, and are assisted by God himself; for as to our misfortunes, they have been owing to the madness of the Jews, while their sufferings have been owing to your valor, and to the assistance God hath afforded you; for as to the seditions they have been in, and the famine they are under, and the siege they now endure, and the fall of their walls without our engines, what can they all be but demonstrations of God’s anger against them, and of his assistance afforded us? It will not therefore be proper for you, either to show yourselves inferior to those to whom you are really superior, or to betray that Divine assistance which is afforded you. And, indeed, how can it be esteemed otherwise than a base and unworthy thing, that while the Jews, who need not be much ashamed if they be deserted, because they have long learned to be slaves to others, do yet despise death, that they may be so no longer; and do make sallies into the very midst of us frequently, not in hopes of conquering us, but merely for a demonstration of their courage; we, who have gotten possession of almost all the world that belongs to either land or sea, to whom it will be a great shame if we do not conquer them, do not once undertake any attempt against our enemies wherein there is much danger, but sit still idle, with such brave arms as we have, and only wait till the famine and

fortune do our business themselves, and this when we have it in our power, with some small hazard, to gain all that we desire! For if we go up to this tower of Antonia, we gain the city; for if there should be any more occasion for fighting against those within the city, which I do not suppose there will, since we shall then be upon the top of the hill and be upon our enemies before they can have taken breath, these advantages promise us no less than a certain and sudden victory. As for myself, I shall at present wave any commendation of those who die in war, and omit to speak of the immortality of those men who are slain in the midst of their martial bravery; yet cannot I forbear to imprecate upon those who are of a contrary disposition, that they may die in time of peace, by some distemper or other, since their souls are condemned to the grave, together with their bodies. For what man of virtue is there who does not know, that those souls which are severed from their fleshly bodies in battles by the sword are received by the ether, that purest of elements, and joined to that company which are placed among the stars; that they become good demons, and propitious heroes, and show themselves as such to their posterity afterwards? while upon those souls that wear away in and with their distempered bodies comes a subterranean night to dissolve them to nothing, and a deep oblivion to take away all the remembrance of them, and this notwithstanding they be clean from all spots and defilements of this world; so that, in this ease, the soul at the same time comes to the utmost bounds of its life, and of its body, and of its memorial also. But since he hath determined that death is to come of necessity upon all men, a sword is a better instrument for that purpose than any disease whatsoever. Why is it not then a very mean thing for us not to yield up that to the public benefit which we must yield up to fate? And this discourse have I made, upon the supposition that those who at first attempt to go upon this wall must needs be killed in the attempt, though still men of true courage have a chance to escape even in the most hazardous undertakings. For, in the first place, that part of the former wall that is thrown down is easily to be ascended; and for the new-built wall, it is easily destroyed. Do you, therefore, many of you, pull up your courage, and set about this work, and do you mutually encourage and assist one another; and this your bravery will soon break the hearts of your enemies; and perhaps such a glorious undertaking as yours is may be accomplished without bloodshed. For although it be justly to be supposed that the Jews will try to hinder you at your first beginning to go up to them; yet when you have once concealed yourselves from them, and driven them away by force, they will not be able to sustain your efforts against them any longer, though but a few of you prevent them, and get over the wall. As for that person who first mounts the wall, I should blush for shame if I did not make him to be envied of others, by those rewards I would

bestow upon him. If such a one escape with his life, he shall have the command of others that are now but his equals; although it be true also that the greatest rewards will accrue to such as die in the attempt."

6. Upon this speech of Titus, the rest of the multitude were afrighted at so great a danger. But there was one, whose name was Sabinus, a soldier that served among the cohorts, and a Syrian by birth, who appeared to be of very great fortitude, both in the actions he had done, and the courage of his soul he had shown; although any body would have thought, before he came to his work, that he was of such a weak constitution of body, that he was not fit to be a soldier; for his color was black, his flesh was lean and thin, and lay close together; but there was a certain heroic soul that dwelt in this small body, which body was indeed much too narrow for that peculiar courage which was in him. Accordingly he was the first that rose up, when he thus spake: "I readily surrender up myself to thee, O Caesar; I first ascend the wall, and I heartily wish that my fortune may follow my courage and my resolution And if some ill fortune grudge me the success of my undertaking, take notice that my ill success will not be unexpected, but that I choose death voluntarily for thy sake." When he had said this, and had spread out his shield over his head with his left hand, and had, with his right hand, drawn his sword, he marched up to the wall, just about the sixth hour of the day. There followed him eleven others, and no more, that resolved to imitate his bravery; but still this was the principal person of them all, and went first, as excited by a divine fury. Now those that guarded the wall shot at them from thence, and cast innumerable darts upon them from every side; they also rolled very large stones upon them, which overthrew some of those eleven that were with him. But as for Sabinus himself, he met the darts that were cast at him and though he was overwhelmed with them, yet did he not leave off the violence of his attack before he had gotten up on the top of the wall, and had put the enemy to flight. For as the Jews were astonished at his great strength, and the bravery of his soul, and as, withal, they imagined more of them had got upon the wall than really had, they were put to flight. And now one cannot but complain here of fortune, as still envious at virtue, and always hindering the performance of glorious achievements: this was the case of the man before us, when he had just obtained his purpose; for he then stumbled at a certain large stone, and fell down upon it headlong, with a very great noise. Upon which the Jews turned back, and when they saw him to be alone, and fallen down also, they threw darts at him from every side. However, he got upon his knee, and covered himself with his shield, and at the first defended himself against them, and wounded many of those that came near him; but he was soon forced to relax his right hand, by the multitude of the wounds that had been given him, till at length

he was quite covered over with darts before he gave up the ghost. He was one who deserved a better fate, by reason of his bravery; but, as might be expected, he fell under so vast an attempt. As for the rest of his partners, the Jews dashed three of them to pieces with stones, and slew them as they were gotten up to the top of the wall; the other eight being wounded, were pulled down, and carried back to the camp. These things were done upon the third day of the month Panemus [Tamuz].

7. Now two days afterward twelve of those men that were on the forefront, and kept watch upon the banks, got together, and called to them the standard-bearer of the fifth legion, and two others of a troop of horsemen, and one trumpeter; these went without noise, about the ninth hour of the night, through the ruins, to the tower of Antonia; and when they had cut the throats of the first guards of the place, as they were asleep, they got possession of the wall, and ordered the trumpeter to sound his trumpet. Upon which the rest of the guard got up on the sudden, and ran away, before any body could see how many they were that were gotten up; for, partly from the fear they were in, and partly from the sound of the trumpet which they heard, they imagined a great number of the enemy were gotten up. But as soon as Caesar heard the signal, he ordered the army to put on their armor immediately, and came thither with his commanders, and first of all ascended, as did the chosen men that were with him. And as the Jews were flying away to the temple, they fell into that mine which John had dug under the Roman banks. Then did the seditious of both the bodies of the Jewish army, as well that belonging to John as that belonging to Simon, drive them away; and indeed were no way wanting as to the highest degree of force and alacrity; for they esteemed themselves entirely ruined if once the Romans got into the temple, as did the Romans look upon the same thing as the beginning of their entire conquest. So a terrible battle was fought at the entrance of the temple, while the Romans were forcing their way, in order to get possession of that temple, and the Jews were driving them back to the tower of Antonia; in which battle the darts were on both sides useless, as well as the spears, and both sides drew their swords, and fought it out hand to hand. Now during this struggle the positions of the men were undistinguished on both sides, and they fought at random, the men being intermixed one with another, and confounded, by reason of the narrowness of the place; while the noise that was made fell on the ear after an indistinct manner, because it was so very loud. Great slaughter was now made on both sides, and the combatants trod upon the bodies and the armor of those that were dead, and dashed them to pieces. Accordingly, to which side soever the battle inclined, those that had the advantage exhorted one another to go on, as did those that were beaten make great lamentation. But still there was no room

for flight, nor for pursuit, but disorderly revolutions and retreats, while the armies were intermixed one with another; but those that were in the first ranks were under the necessity of killing or being killed, without any way for escaping; for those on both sides that came behind forced those before them to go on, without leaving any space between the armies. At length the Jews' violent zeal was too hard for the Romans' skill, and the battle already inclined entirely that way; for the fight had lasted from the ninth hour of the night till the seventh hour of the day, While the Jews came on in crowds, and had the danger the temple was in for their motive; the Romans having no more here than a part of their army; for those legions, on which the soldiers on that side depended, were not come up to them. So it was at present thought sufficient by the Romans to take possession of the tower of Antonia.

8. But there was one Julian, a centurion, that came from Bithynia, a man he was of great reputation, whom I had formerly seen in that war, and one of the highest fame, both for his skill in war, his strength of body, and the courage of his soul. This man, seeing the Romans giving ground, and in a sad condition, [for he stood by Titus at the tower of Antonia,] leaped out, and of himself alone put the Jews to flight, when they were already conquerors, and made them retire as far as the corner of the inner court of the temple; from him the multitude fled away in crowds, as supposing that neither his strength nor his violent attacks could be those of a mere man. Accordingly, he rushed through the midst of the Jews, as they were dispersed all abroad, and killed those that he caught. Nor, indeed, was there any sight that appeared more wonderful in the eyes of Caesar, or more terrible to others, than this. However, he was himself pursued by fate, which it was not possible that he, who was but a mortal man, should escape; for as he had shoes all full of thick and sharp nails as had every one of the other soldiers, so when he ran on the pavement of the temple, he slipped, and fell down upon his back with a very great noise, which was made by his armor. This made those that were running away to turn back; whereupon those Romans that were in the tower of Antonia set up a great shout, as they were in fear for the man. But the Jews got about him in crowds, and struck at him with their spears and with their swords on all sides. Now he received a great many of the strokes of these iron weapons upon his shield, and often attempted to get up again, but was thrown down by those that struck at him; yet did he, as he lay along, stab many of them with his sword. Nor was he soon killed, as being covered with his helmet and his breastplate in all those parts of his body where he might be mortally wounded; he also pulled his neck close to his body, till all his other limbs were shattered, and nobody durst come to defend him, and then he yielded to his fate. Now Caesar was deeply affected on account of this man of so great

fortitude, and especially as he was killed in the sight of so many people; he was desirous himself to come to his assistance, but the place would not give him leave, while such as could have done it were too much terrified to attempt it. Thus when Julian had struggled with death a great while, and had let but few of those that had given him his mortal wound go off unhurt, he had at last his throat cut, though not without some difficulty, and left behind him a very great fame, not only among the Romans, and with Caesar himself, but among his enemies also; then did the Jews catch up his dead body, and put the Romans to flight again, and shut them up in the tower of Antonia. Now those that most signalized themselves, and fought most zealously in this battle of the Jewish side, were one Alexas and Gyphtheus, of John's party, and of Simon's party were Malachias, and Judas the son of Merto, and James the son of Sosas, the commander of the Idumeans; and of the zealots, two brethren, Simon and Judas, the sons of Jairus.

CHAPTER 2.

How Titus Gave Orders To Demolish The Tower Of Antonia And Then Persuaded Josephus To Exhort The Jews Again [To A Surrender].

1. And now Titus gave orders to his soldiers that were with him to dig up the foundations of the tower of Antonia, and make him a ready passage for his army to come up; while he himself had Josephus brought to him, [for he had been informed that on that very day, which was the seventeenth day of Panemus, [Tamuz,] the sacrifice called "the Daily Sacrifice" had failed, and had not been offered to God, for want of men to offer it, and that the people were grievously troubled at it,] and commanded him to say the same things to John that he had said before, that if he had any malicious inclination for fighting, he might come out with as many of his men as he pleased, in order to fight, without the danger of destroying either his city or temple; but that he desired he would not defile the temple, nor thereby offend against God. That he might, if he pleased, offer the sacrifices which were now discontinued by any of the Jews whom he should pitch upon. Upon this Josephus stood in such a place where he might be heard, not by John only, but by many more, and then declared to them what Caesar had given him in charge, and this in the Hebrew language. So he earnestly prayed them to spare their own city, and to prevent that fire which was just ready to seize upon the temple, and to offer their usual sacrifices to God therein. At these words of his a great sadness and silence were observed among the people. But the tyrant himself cast many reproaches upon Josephus, with imprecations besides; and at last added this withal, that he did never fear the taking of the city, because it was God's own city. In answer to which Josephus said thus with a loud voice: "To be sure thou hast kept this city wonderfully pure for God's sake; the temple also continues entirely unpolluted! Nor hast thou been guilty of any impiety against him for whose assistance thou hopest! He still receives his accustomed sacrifices! Vile wretch that thou art! if any one should deprive thee of thy daily food, thou wouldst esteem him to be an enemy to thee; but thou hopest to have that God for thy supporter in this war whom thou hast deprived of his everlasting worship; and thou imputest those sins to the Romans, who to this very time take care to have our laws observed, and almost compel these sacrifices to be still offered to God, which have by thy means been intermitted! Who is there that can avoid groans and lamentations at the amazing change that is made in this city? since very foreigners and enemies do now correct that

impiety which thou hast occasioned; while thou, who art a Jew, and wast educated in our laws, art become a greater enemy to them than the others. But still, John, it is never dishonorable to repent, and amend what hath been done amiss, even at the last extremity. Thou hast an instance before thee in Jechoniah, the king of the Jews, if thou hast a mind to save the city, who, when the king of Babylon made war against him, did of his own accord go out of this city before it was taken, and did undergo a voluntary captivity with his family, that the sanctuary might not be delivered up to the enemy, and that he might not see the house of God set on fire; on which account he is celebrated among all the Jews, in their sacred memorials, and his memory is become immortal, and will be conveyed fresh down to our posterity through all ages. This, John, is an excellent example in such a time of danger, and I dare venture to promise that the Romans shall still forgive thee. And take notice that I, who make this exhortation to thee, am one of thine own nation; I, who am a Jew, do make this promise to thee. And it will become thee to consider who I am that give thee this counsel, and whence I am derived; for while I am alive I shall never be in such slavery, as to forego my own kindred, or forget the laws of our forefathers. Thou hast indignation at me again, and makest a clamor at me, and reproachest me; indeed I cannot deny but I am worthy of worse treatment than all this amounts to, because, in opposition to fate, I make this kind invitation to thee, and endeavor to force deliverance upon those whom God hath condemned. And who is there that does not know what the writings of the ancient prophets contain in them, — and particularly that oracle which is just now going to be fulfilled upon this miserable city? For they foretold that this city should be then taken when somebody shall begin the slaughter of his own countrymen. And are not both the city and the entire temple now full of the dead bodies of your countrymen? It is God, therefore, it is God himself who is bringing on this fire, to purge that city and temple by means of the Romans, and is going to pluck up this city, which is full of your pollutions."

2. As Josephus spoke these words, with groans and tears in his eyes, his voice was intercepted by sobs. However, the Romans could not but pity the affliction he was under, and wonder at his conduct. But for John, and those that were with him, they were but the more exasperated against the Romans on this account, and were desirous to get Josephus also into their power: yet did that discourse influence a great many of the better sort; and truly some of them were so afraid of the guards set by the seditious, that they tarried where they were, but still were satisfied that both they and the city were doomed to destruction. Some also there were who, watching a proper opportunity when they might quietly get away, fled to the Romans, of whom were the high priests Joseph and Jesus, and

of the sons of high priests three, whose father was Ishmael, who was beheaded in Cyrene, and four sons of Matthias, as also one son of the other Matthias, who ran away after his father's death, and whose father was slain by Simon the son of Gioras, with three of his sons, as I have already related; many also of the other nobility went over to the Romans, together with the high priests. Now Caesar not only received these men very kindly in other respects, but, knowing they would not willingly live after the customs of other nations, he sent them to Gophna, and desired them to remain there for the present, and told them, that when he was gotten clear of this war, he would restore each of them to their possessions again; so they cheerfully retired to that small city which was allotted them, without fear of any danger. But as they did not appear, the seditious gave out again that these deserters were slain by the Romans, which was done in order to deter the rest from running away, by fear of the like treatment. This trick of theirs succeeded now for a while, as did the like trick before; for the rest were hereby deterred from deserting, by fear of the like treatment.

3. However, when Titus had recalled those men from Gophna, he gave orders that they should go round the wall, together with Josephus, and show themselves to the people; upon which a great many fled to the Romans. These men also got in a great number together, and stood before the Romans, and besought the seditious, with groans and tears in their eyes, in the first place to receive the Romans entirely into the city, and save that their own place of residence again; but that, if they would not agree to such a proposal, they would at least depart out of the temple, and save the holy house for their own use; for that the Romans would not venture to set the sanctuary on fire but under the most pressing necessity. Yet did the seditious still more and more contradict them; and while they cast loud and bitter reproaches upon these deserters, they also set their engines for throwing of darts, and javelins, and stones upon the sacred gates of the temple, at due distances from one another, insomuch that all the space round about within the temple might be compared to a burying-ground, so great was the number of the dead bodies therein; as might the holy house itself be compared to a citadel. Accordingly, these men rushed upon these holy places in their armor, that were otherwise unapproachable, and that while their hands were yet warm with the blood of their own people which they had shed; nay, they proceeded to such great transgressions, that the very same indignation which Jews would naturally have against Romans, had they been guilty of such abuses against them, the Romans now had against Jews, for their impiety in regard to their own religious customs. Nay, indeed, there were none of the Roman soldiers who did not look with a sacred horror upon the holy house, and adored it, and wished that the robbers would repent before their miseries became incurable.

4. Now Titus was deeply affected with this state of things, and reproached John and his party, and said to them, “Have not you, vile wretches that you are, by our permission, put up this partition-wall before your sanctuary? Have not you been allowed to put up the pillars thereto belonging, at due distances, and on it to engrave in Greek, and in your own letters, this prohibition, that no foreigner should go beyond that wall. Have not we given you leave to kill such as go beyond it, though he were a Roman? And what do you do now, you pernicious villains? Why do you trample upon dead bodies in this temple? and why do you pollute this holy house with the blood of both foreigners and Jews themselves? I appeal to the gods of my own country, and to every god that ever had any regard to this place; [for I do not suppose it to be now regarded by any of them;] I also appeal to my own army, and to those Jews that are now with me, and even to yourselves, that I do not force you to defile this your sanctuary; and if you will but change the place whereon you will fight, no Roman shall either come near your sanctuary, or offer any affront to it; nay, I will endeavor to preserve you your holy house, whether you will or not.”

5. As Josephus explained these things from the mouth of Caesar, both the robbers and the tyrant thought that these exhortations proceeded from Titus’s fear, and not from his good-will to them, and grew insolent upon it. But when Titus saw that these men were neither to be moved by commiseration towards themselves, nor had any concern upon them to have the holy house spared, he proceeded unwillingly to go on again with the war against them. He could not indeed bring all his army against them, the place was so narrow; but choosing thirty soldiers of the most valiant out of every hundred, and committing a thousand to each tribune, and making Cerealis their commander-in-chief, he gave orders that they should attack the guards of the temple about the ninth hour of that night. But as he was now in his armor, and preparing to go down with them, his friends would not let him go, by reason of the greatness of the danger, and what the commanders suggested to them; for they said that he would do more by sitting above in the tower of Antonia, as a dispenser of rewards to those soldiers that signalized themselves in the fight, than by coming down and hazarding his own person in the forefront of them; for that they would all fight stoutly while Caesar looked upon them. With this advice Caesar complied, and said that the only reason he had for such compliance with the soldiers was this, that he might be able to judge of their courageous actions, and that no valiant soldier might lie concealed, and miss of his reward, and no cowardly soldier might go unpunished; but that he might himself be an eye-witness, and able to give evidence of all that was done, who was to be the disposer of punishments and rewards to them. So he sent the soldiers about their work at the hour

forementioned, while he went out himself to a higher place in the tower of Antonia, whence he might see what was done, and there waited with impatience to see the event.

6. However, the soldiers that were sent did not find the guards of the temple asleep, as they hoped to have done; but were obliged to fight with them immediately hand to hand, as they rushed with violence upon them with a great shout. Now as soon as the rest within the temple heard that shout of those that were upon the watch, they ran out in troops upon them. Then did the Romans receive the onset of those that came first upon them; but those that followed them fell upon their own troops, and many of them treated their own soldiers as if they had been enemies; for the great confused noise that was made on both sides hindered them from distinguishing one another's voices, as did the darkness of the night hinder them from the like distinction by the sight, besides that blindness which arose otherwise also from the passion and the fear they were in at the same time; for which reason it was all one to the soldiers who it was they struck at. However, this ignorance did less harm to the Romans than to the Jews, because they were joined together under their shields, and made their sallies more regularly than the others did, and each of them remembered their watch-word; while the Jews were perpetually dispersed abroad, and made their attacks and retreats at random, and so did frequently seem to one another to be enemies; for every one of them received those of their own men that came back in the dark as Romans, and made an assault upon them; so that more of them were wounded by their own men than by the enemy, till, upon the coming on of the day, the nature of the right was discerned by the eye afterward. Then did they stand in battle-array in distinct bodies, and cast their darts regularly, and regularly defended themselves; nor did either side yield or grow weary. The Romans contended with each other who should fight the most strenuously, both single men and entire regiments, as being under the eye of Titus; and every one concluded that this day would begin his promotion if he fought bravely. What were the great encouragements of the Jews to act vigorously were, their fear for themselves and for the temple, and the presence of their tyrant, who exhorted some, and beat and threatened others, to act courageously. Now, it so happened, that this fight was for the most part a stationary one, wherein the soldiers went on and came back in a short time, and suddenly; for there was no long space of ground for either of their flights or pursuits. But still there was a tumultuous noise among the Romans from the tower of Antonia, who loudly cried out upon all occasions to their own men to press on courageously, when they were too hard for the Jews, and to stay when they were retiring backward; so that here was a kind of theater of war; for what was done in this fight could not be

concealed either from Titus, or from those that were about him. At length it appeared that this fight, which began at the ninth hour of the night, was not over till past the fifth hour of the day; and that, in the same place where the battle began, neither party could say they had made the other to retire; but both the armies left the victory almost in uncertainty between them; wherein those that signalized themselves on the Roman side were a great many, but on the Jewish side, and of those that were with Simon, Judas the son of Merto, and Simon the son of Josas; of the Idumeans, James and Simon, the latter of whom was the son of Cathlas, and James was the son of Sosas; of those that were with John, Gyphtheus and Alexas; and of the zealots, Simon the son of Jairus.

7. In the mean time, the rest of the Roman army had, in seven days' time, overthrown [some] foundations of the tower of Antonia, and had made a ready and broad way to the temple. Then did the legions come near the first court, and began to raise their banks. The one bank was over against the north-west corner of the inner temple another was at that northern edifice which was between the two gates; and of the other two, one was at the western cloister of the outer court of the temple; the other against its northern cloister. However, these works were thus far advanced by the Romans, not without great pains and difficulty, and particularly by being obliged to bring their materials from the distance of a hundred furlongs. They had further difficulties also upon them; sometimes by their over-great security they were in that they should overcome the Jewish snares laid for them, and by that boldness of the Jews which their despair of escaping had inspired them withal; for some of their horsemen, when they went out to gather wood or hay, let their horses feed without having their bridles on during the time of foraging; upon which horses the Jews sallied out in whole bodies, and seized them. And when this was continually done, and Caesar believed what the truth was, that the horses were stolen more by the negligence of his own men than by the valor of the Jews, he determined to use greater severity to oblige the rest to take care of their horses; so he commanded that one of those soldiers who had lost their horses should be capitally punished; whereby he so terrified the rest, that they preserved their horses for the time to come; for they did not any longer let them go from them to feed by themselves, but, as if they had grown to them, they went always along with them when they wanted necessaries. Thus did the Romans still continue to make war against the temple, and to raise their banks against it.

8. Now after one day had been interposed since the Romans ascended the breach, many of the seditious were so pressed by the famine, upon the present failure of their ravages, that they got together, and made an attack on those Roman guards that were upon the Mount of Olives, and this about the eleventh

hour of the day, as supposing, first, that they would not expect such an onset, and, in the next place, that they were then taking care of their bodies, and that therefore they should easily beat them. But the Romans were apprized of their coming to attack them beforehand, and, running together from the neighboring camps on the sudden, prevented them from getting over their fortification, or forcing the wall that was built about them. Upon this came on a sharp fight, and here many great actions were performed on both sides; while the Romans showed both their courage and their skill in war, as did the Jews come on them with immoderate violence and intolerable passion. The one part were urged on by shame, and the other by necessity; for it seemed a very shameful thing to the Romans to let the Jews go, now they were taken in a kind of net; while the Jews had but one hope of saving themselves, and that was in case they could by violence break through the Roman wall; and one whose name was Pedanius, belonging to a party of horsemen, when the Jews were already beaten and forced down into the valley together, spurred his horse on their flank with great vehemence, and caught up a certain young man belonging to the enemy by his ankle, as he was running away; the man was, however, of a robust body, and in his armor; so low did Pedanius bend himself downward from his horse, even as he was galloping away, and so great was the strength of his right hand, and of the rest of his body, as also such skill had he in horsemanship. So this man seized upon that his prey, as upon a precious treasure, and carried him as his captive to Caesar; whereupon Titus admired the man that had seized the other for his great strength, and ordered the man that was caught to be punished [with death] for his attempt against the Roman wall, but betook himself to the siege of the temple, and to pressing on the raising of the banks.

9. In the mean time, the Jews were so distressed by the fights they had been in, as the war advanced higher and higher, and creeping up to the holy house itself, that they, as it were, cut off those limbs of their body which were infected, in order to prevent the distemper's spreading further; for they set the north-west cloister, which was joined to the tower of Antonia, on fire, and after that brake off about twenty cubits of that cloister, and thereby made a beginning in burning the sanctuary; two days after which, or on the twenty-fourth day of the forenamed month, [Panemus or Tamuz,] the Romans set fire to the cloister that joined to the other, when the fire went fifteen cubits farther. The Jews, in like manner, cut off its roof; nor did they entirely leave off what they were about till the tower of Antonia was parted from the temple, even when it was in their power to have stopped the fire; nay, they lay still while the temple was first set on fire, and deemed this spreading of the fire to be for their own advantage. However, the armies were still fighting one against another about the temple,

and the war was managed by continual sallies of particular parties against one another.

10. Now there was at this time a man among the Jews, low of stature he was, and of a despicable appearance; of no character either as to his family, or in other respects: his name was Jonathan. He went out at the high priest John's monument, and uttered many other insolent things to the Romans, and challenged the best of them all to a single combat. But many of those that stood there in the army huffed him, and many of them [as they might well be] were afraid of him. Some of them also reasoned thus, and that justly enough: that it was not fit to fight with a man that desired to die, because those that utterly despaired of deliverance had, besides other passions, a violence in attacking men that could not be opposed, and had no regard to God himself; and that to hazard oneself with a person, whom, if you overcome, you do no great matter, and by whom it is hazardous that you may be taken prisoner, would be an instance, not of manly courage, but of unmanly rashness. So there being nobody that came out to accept the man's challenge, and the Jew cutting them with a great number of reproaches, as cowards, [for he was a very haughty man in himself, and a great despiser of the Romans,] one whose name was Pudens, of the body of horsemen, out of his abomination of the other's words, and of his impudence withal, and perhaps out of an inconsiderate arrogance, on account of the other's lowness of stature, ran out to him, and was too hard for him in other respects, but was betrayed by his ill fortune; for he fell down, and as he was down, Jonathan came running to him, and cut his throat, and then, standing upon his dead body, he brandished his sword, bloody as it was, and shook his shield with his left hand, and made many acclamations to the Roman army, and exulted over the dead man, and jested upon the Romans; till at length one Priscus, a centurion, shot a dart at him as he was leaping and playing the fool with himself, and thereby pierced him through; upon which a shout was set up both by the Jews and the Romans, though on different accounts. So Jonathan grew giddy by the pain of his wounds, and fell down upon the body of his adversary, as a plain instance how suddenly vengeance may come upon men that have success in war, without any just deserving the same.

CHAPTER 3.

Concerning A Stratagem That Was Devised By The Jews, By Which They Burnt Many Of The Romans; With Another Description Of The Terrible Famine That Was In The City.

1. But now the seditious that were in the temple did every day openly endeavor to beat off the soldiers that were upon the banks, and on the twenty-seventh day of the forenamed month [Panemus or Tamuz] contrived such a stratagem as this: They filled that part of the western cloister which was between the beams, and the roof under them, with dry materials, as also with bitumen and pitch, and then retired from that place, as though they were tired with the pains they had taken; at which procedure of theirs, many of the most inconsiderate among the Romans, who were carried away with violent passions, followed hard after them as they were retiring, and applied ladders to the cloister, and got up to it suddenly; but the prudent part of them, when they understood this unaccountable retreat of the Jews, stood still where they were before. However, the cloister was full of those that were gone up the ladders; at which time the Jews set it all on fire; and as the flame burst out every where on the sudden, the Romans that were out of the danger were seized with a very great consternation, as were those that were in the midst of the danger in the utmost distress. So when they perceived themselves surrounded with the flames, some of them threw themselves down backwards into the city, and some among their enemies [in the temple]; as did many leap down to their own men, and broke their limbs to pieces; but a great number of those that were going to take these violent methods were prevented by the fire; though some prevented the fire by their own swords. However, the fire was on the sudden carried so far as to surround those who would have otherwise perished. As for Caesar himself, he could not, however, but commiserate those that thus perished, although they got up thither without any order for so doing, since there was no way of giving the many relief. Yet was this some comfort to those that were destroyed, that every body might see that person grieve, for whose sake they came to their end; for he cried out openly to them, and leaped up, and exhorted those that were about him to do their utmost to relieve them; So every one of them died cheerfully, as carrying along with him these words and this intention of Caesar as a sepulchral monument. Some there were indeed who retired into the wall of the cloister, which was broad, and were preserved out of the fire, but were then surrounded

by the Jews; and although they made resistance against the Jews for a long time, yet were they wounded by them, and at length they all fell down dead.

2. At the last a young man among them, whose name was Longus, became a decoration to this sad affair, and while every one of them that perished were worthy of a memorial, this man appeared to deserve it beyond all the rest. Now the Jews admired this man for his courage, and were further desirous of having him slain; so they persuaded him to come down to them, upon security given him for his life. But Cornelius his brother persuaded him on the contrary, not to tarnish his own glory, nor that of the Roman army. He complied with this last advice, and lifting up his sword before both armies, he slew himself. Yet there was one Artorius among those surrounded by the fire who escaped by his subtlety; for when he had with a loud voice called to him Lucius, one of his fellow soldiers that lay with him in the same tent, and said to him, "I do leave thee heir of all I have, if thou wilt come and receive me." Upon this he came running to receive him readily; Artorius then threw himself down upon him, and saved his own life, while he that received him was dashed so vehemently against the stone pavement by the other's weight, that he died immediately. This melancholy accident made the Romans sad for a while, but still it made them more upon their guard for the future, and was of advantage to them against the delusions of the Jews, by which they were greatly damaged through their unacquaintedness with the places, and with the nature of the inhabitants. Now this cloister was burnt down as far as John's tower, which he built in the war he made against Simon over the gates that led to the Xystus. The Jews also cut off the rest of that cloister from the temple, after they had destroyed those that got up to it. But the next day the Romans burnt down the northern cloister entirely, as far as the east cloister, whose common angle joined to the valley that was called Cedron, and was built over it; on which account the depth was frightful. And this was the state of the temple at that time.

3. Now of those that perished by famine in the city, the number was prodigious, and the miseries they underwent were unspeakable; for if so much as the shadow of any kind of food did any where appear, a war was commenced presently, and the dearest friends fell a fighting one with another about it, snatching from each other the most miserable supports of life. Nor would men believe that those who were dying had no food, but the robbers would search them when they were expiring, lest any one should have concealed food in their bosoms, and counterfeited dying; nay, these robbers gaped for want, and ran about stumbling and staggering along like mad dogs, and reeling against the doors of the houses like drunken men; they would also, in the great distress they were in, rush into the very same houses two or three times in one and the same

day. Moreover, their hunger was so intolerable, that it obliged them to chew every thing, while they gathered such things as the most sordid animals would not touch, and endured to eat them; nor did they at length abstain from girdles and shoes; and the very leather which belonged to their shields they pulled off and gnawed: the very wisps of old hay became food to some; and some gathered up fibres, and sold a very small weight of them for four Attic [drachmae]. But why do I describe the shameless impudence that the famine brought on men in their eating inanimate things, while I am going to relate a matter of fact, the like to which no history relates, either among the Greeks or Barbarians? It is horrible to speak of it, and incredible when heard. I had indeed willingly omitted this calamity of ours, that I might not seem to deliver what is so portentous to posterity, but that I have innumerable witnesses to it in my own age; and besides, my country would have had little reason to thank me for suppressing the miseries that she underwent at this time.

4. There was a certain woman that dwelt beyond Jordan, her name was Mary; her father was Eleazar, of the village Bethezob, which signifies the house of Hyssop. She was eminent for her family and her wealth, and had fled away to Jerusalem with the rest of the multitude, and was with them besieged therein at this time. The other effects of this woman had been already seized upon, such I mean as she had brought with her out of Perea, and removed to the city. What she had treasured up besides, as also what food she had contrived to save, had been also carried off by the rapacious guards, who came every day running into her house for that purpose. This put the poor woman into a very great passion, and by the frequent reproaches and imprecations she cast at these rapacious villains, she had provoked them to anger against her; but none of them, either out of the indignation she had raised against herself, or out of commiseration of her case, would take away her life; and if she found any food, she perceived her labors were for others, and not for herself; and it was now become impossible for her any way to find any more food, while the famine pierced through her very bowels and marrow, when also her passion was fired to a degree beyond the famine itself; nor did she consult with any thing but with her passion and the necessity she was in. She then attempted a most unnatural thing; and snatching up her son, who was a child sucking at her breast, she said, “O thou miserable infant! for whom shall I preserve thee in this war, this famine, and this sedition? As to the war with the Romans, if they preserve our lives, we must be slaves. This famine also will destroy us, even before that slavery comes upon us. Yet are these seditious rogues more terrible than both the other. Come on; be thou my food, and be thou a fury to these seditious varlets, and a by-word to the world, which is all that is now wanting to complete the calamities of us Jews.” As soon

as she had said this, she slew her son, and then roasted him, and eat the one half of him, and kept the other half by her concealed. Upon this the seditious came in presently, and smelling the horrid scent of this food, they threatened her that they would cut her throat immediately if she did not show them what food she had gotten ready. She replied that she had saved a very fine portion of it for them, and withal uncovered what was left of her son. Hereupon they were seized with a horror and amazement of mind, and stood astonished at the sight, when she said to them, "This is mine own son, and what hath been done was mine own doing! Come, eat of this food; for I have eaten of it myself! Do not you pretend to be either more tender than a woman, or more compassionate than a mother; but if you be so scrupulous, and do abominate this my sacrifice, as I have eaten the one half, let the rest be reserved for me also." After which those men went out trembling, being never so much affrighted at any thing as they were at this, and with some difficulty they left the rest of that meat to the mother. Upon which the whole city was full of this horrid action immediately; and while every body laid this miserable case before their own eyes, they trembled, as if this unheard of action had been done by themselves. So those that were thus distressed by the famine were very desirous to die, and those already dead were esteemed happy, because they had not lived long enough either to hear or to see such miseries.

5. This sad instance was quickly told to the Romans, some of whom could not believe it, and others pitied the distress which the Jews were under; but there were many of them who were hereby induced to a more bitter hatred than ordinary against our nation. But for Caesar, he excused himself before God as to this matter, and said that he had proposed peace and liberty to the Jews, as well as an oblivion of all their former insolent practices; but that they, instead of concord, had chosen sedition; instead of peace, war; and before satiety and abundance, a famine. That they had begun with their own hands to burn down that temple which we have preserved hitherto; and that therefore they deserved to eat such food as this was. That, however, this horrid action of eating an own child ought to be covered with the overthrow of their very country itself, and men ought not to leave such a city upon the habitable earth to be seen by the sun, wherein mothers are thus fed, although such food be fitter for the fathers than for the mothers to eat of, since it is they that continue still in a state of war against us, after they have undergone such miseries as these. And at the same time that he said this, he reflected on the desperate condition these men must be in; nor could he expect that such men could be recovered to sobriety of mind, after they had endured those very sufferings, for the avoiding whereof it only was probable they might have repented.

CHAPTER 4.

When The Banks Were Completed And The Battering Rams Brought, And Could Do Nothing, Titus Gave Orders To Set Fire To The Gates Of The Temple; In No Long Time After Which The Holy House Itself Was Burnt Down, Even Against His Consent.

1. And now two of the legions had completed their banks on the eighth day of the month Lous [Ab]. Whereupon Titus gave orders that the battering rams should be brought, and set over against the western edifice of the inner temple; for before these were brought, the firmest of all the other engines had battered the wall for six days together without ceasing, without making any impression upon it; but the vast largeness and strong connexion of the stones were superior to that engine, and to the other battering rams also. Other Romans did indeed undermine the foundations of the northern gate, and after a world of pains removed the outermost stones, yet was the gate still upheld by the inner stones, and stood still unhurt; till the workmen, despairing of all such attempts by engines and crows, brought their ladders to the cloisters. Now the Jews did not interrupt them in so doing; but when they were gotten up, they fell upon them, and fought with them; some of them they thrust down, and threw them backwards headlong; others of them they met and slew; they also beat many of those that went down the ladders again, and slew them with their swords before they could bring their shields to protect them; nay, some of the ladders they threw down from above when they were full of armed men; a great slaughter was made of the Jews also at the same time, while those that bare the ensigns fought hard for them, as deeming it a terrible thing, and what would tend to their great shame, if they permitted them to be stolen away. Yet did the Jews at length get possession of these engines, and destroyed those that had gone up the ladders, while the rest were so intimidated by what those suffered who were slain, that they retired; although none of the Romans died without having done good service before his death. Of the seditious, those that had fought bravely in the former battles did the like now, as besides them did Eleazar, the brother's son of Simon the tyrant. But when Titus perceived that his endeavors to spare a foreign temple turned to the damage of his soldiers, and then be killed, he gave order to set the gates on fire.

2. In the mean time, there deserted to him Ananus, who came from Emmaus, the most bloody of all Simon's guards, and Archelaus, the son of Magadatus, they hoping to be still forgiven, because they left the Jews at a time when they

were the conquerors. Titus objected this to these men, as a cunning trick of theirs; and as he had been informed of their other barbarities towards the Jews, he was going in all haste to have them both slain. He told them that they were only driven to this desertion because of the utmost distress they were in, and did not come away of their own good disposition; and that those did not deserve to be preserved, by whom their own city was already set on fire, out of which fire they now hurried themselves away. However, the security he had promised deserters overcame his resentments, and he dismissed them accordingly, though he did not give them the same privileges that he had afforded to others. And now the soldiers had already put fire to the gates, and the silver that was over them quickly carried the flames to the wood that was within it, whence it spread itself all on the sudden, and caught hold on the cloisters. Upon the Jews seeing this fire all about them, their spirits sunk together with their bodies, and they were under such astonishment, that not one of them made any haste, either to defend himself or to quench the fire, but they stood as mute spectators of it only. However, they did not so grieve at the loss of what was now burning, as to grow wiser thereby for the time to come; but as though the holy house itself had been on fire already, they whetted their passions against the Romans. This fire prevailed during that day and the next also; for the soldiers were not able to burn all the cloisters that were round about together at one time, but only by pieces.

3. But then, on the next day, Titus commanded part of his army to quench the fire, and to make a road for the more easy marching up of the legions, while he himself gathered the commanders together. Of those there were assembled the six principal persons: Tiberius Alexander, the commander [under the general] of the whole army; with Sextus Cerealis, the commander of the fifth legion; and Larcius Lepidus, the commander of the tenth legion; and Titus Frigius, the commander of the fifteenth legion: there was also with them Eternius, the leader of the two legions that came from Alexandria; and Marcus Antonius Julianus, procurator of Judea: after these came together all the rest of the procurators and tribunes. Titus proposed to these that they should give him their advice what should be done about the holy house. Now some of these thought it would be the best way to act according to the rules of war, [and demolish it,] because the Jews would never leave off rebelling while that house was standing; at which house it was that they used to get all together. Others of them were of opinion, that in case the Jews would leave it, and none of them would lay their arms up in it, he might save it; but that in case they got upon it, and fought any more, he might burn it; because it must then be looked upon not as a holy house, but as a citadel; and that the impiety of burning it would then belong to those that forced this to be done, and not to them. But Titus said, that “although the Jews should get upon

that holy house, and fight us thence, yet ought we not to revenge ourselves on things that are inanimate, instead of the men themselves;" and that he was not in any case for burning down so vast a work as that was, because this would be a mischief to the Romans themselves, as it would be an ornament to their government while it continued. So Fronto, and Alexander, and Cerealis grew bold upon that declaration, and agreed to the opinion of Titus. Then was this assembly dissolved, when Titus had given orders to the commanders that the rest of their forces should lie still; but that they should make use of such as were most courageous in this attack. So he commanded that the chosen men that were taken out of the cohorts should make their way through the ruins, and quench the fire.

4. Now it is true that on this day the Jews were so weary, and under such consternation, that they refrained from any attacks. But on the next day they gathered their whole force together, and ran upon those that guarded the outward court of the temple very boldly, through the east gate, and this about the second hour of the day. These guards received that their attack with great bravery, and by covering themselves with their shields before, as if it were with a wall, they drew their squadron close together; yet was it evident that they could not abide there very long, but would be overborne by the multitude of those that sallied out upon them, and by the heat of their passion. However, Caesar seeing, from the tower of Antonia, that this squadron was likely to give way, he sent some chosen horsemen to support them. Hereupon the Jews found themselves not able to sustain their onset, and upon the slaughter of those in the forefront, many of the rest were put to flight. But as the Romans were going off, the Jews turned upon them, and fought them; and as those Romans came back upon them, they retreated again, until about the fifth hour of the day they were overborne, and shut themselves up in the inner [court of the] temple.

5. So Titus retired into the tower of Antonia, and resolved to storm the temple the next day, early in the morning, with his whole army, and to encamp round about the holy house. But as for that house, God had, for certain, long ago doomed it to the fire; and now that fatal day was come, according to the revolution of ages; it was the tenth day of the month Lous, [Ab,] upon which it was formerly burnt by the king of Babylon; although these flames took their rise from the Jews themselves, and were occasioned by them; for upon Titus's retiring, the seditious lay still for a little while, and then attacked the Romans again, when those that guarded the holy house fought with those that quenched the fire that was burning the inner [court of the] temple; but these Romans put the Jews to flight, and proceeded as far as the holy house itself. At which time one of the soldiers, without staying for any orders, and without any concern or

dread upon him at so great an undertaking, and being hurried on by a certain divine fury, snatched somewhat out of the materials that were on fire, and being lifted up by another soldier, he set fire to a golden window, through which there was a passage to the rooms that were round about the holy house, on the north side of it. As the flames went upward, the Jews made a great clamor, such as so mighty an affliction required, and ran together to prevent it; and now they spared not their lives any longer, nor suffered any thing to restrain their force, since that holy house was perishing, for whose sake it was that they kept such a guard about it.

6. And now a certain person came running to Titus, and told him of this fire, as he was resting himself in his tent after the last battle; whereupon he rose up in great haste, and, as he was, ran to the holy house, in order to have a stop put to the fire; after him followed all his commanders, and after them followed the several legions, in great astonishment; so there was a great clamor and tumult raised, as was natural upon the disorderly motion of so great an army. Then did Caesar, both by calling to the soldiers that were fighting, with a loud voice, and by giving a signal to them with his right hand, order them to quench the fire. But they did not hear what he said, though he spake so loud, having their ears already dimmed by a greater noise another way; nor did they attend to the signal he made with his hand neither, as still some of them were distracted with fighting, and others with passion. But as for the legions that came running thither, neither any persuasions nor any threatenings could restrain their violence, but each one's own passion was his commander at this time; and as they were crowding into the temple together, many of them were trampled on by one another, while a great number fell among the ruins of the cloisters, which were still hot and smoking, and were destroyed in the same miserable way with those whom they had conquered; and when they were come near the holy house, they made as if they did not so much as hear Caesar's orders to the contrary; but they encouraged those that were before them to set it on fire. As for the seditious, they were in too great distress already to afford their assistance [towards quenching the fire]; they were every where slain, and every where beaten; and as for a great part of the people, they were weak and without arms, and had their throats cut wherever they were caught. Now round about the altar lay dead bodies heaped one upon another, as at the steps going up to it ran a great quantity of their blood, whither also the dead bodies that were slain above [on the altar] fell down.

7. And now, since Caesar was no way able to restrain the enthusiastic fury of the soldiers, and the fire proceeded on more and more, he went into the holy place of the temple, with his commanders, and saw it, with what was in it, which

he found to be far superior to what the relations of foreigners contained, and not inferior to what we ourselves boasted of and believed about it. But as the flame had not as yet reached to its inward parts, but was still consuming the rooms that were about the holy house, and Titus supposing what the fact was, that the house itself might yet be saved, he came in haste and endeavored to persuade the soldiers to quench the fire, and gave order to Liberalius the centurion, and one of those spearmen that were about him, to beat the soldiers that were refractory with their staves, and to restrain them; yet were their passions too hard for the regards they had for Caesar, and the dread they had of him who forbade them, as was their hatred of the Jews, and a certain vehement inclination to fight them, too hard for them also. Moreover, the hope of plunder induced many to go on, as having this opinion, that all the places within were full of money, and as seeing that all round about it was made of gold. And besides, one of those that went into the place prevented Caesar, when he ran so hastily out to restrain the soldiers, and threw the fire upon the hinges of the gate, in the dark; whereby the flame burst out from within the holy house itself immediately, when the commanders retired, and Caesar with them, and when nobody any longer forbade those that were without to set fire to it. And thus was the holy house burnt down, without Caesar's approbation.

8. Now although any one would justly lament the destruction of such a work as this was, since it was the most admirable of all the works that we have seen or heard of, both for its curious structure and its magnitude, and also for the vast wealth bestowed upon it, as well as for the glorious reputation it had for its holiness; yet might such a one comfort himself with this thought, that it was fate that decreed it so to be, which is inevitable, both as to living creatures, and as to works and places also. However, one cannot but wonder at the accuracy of this period thereto relating; for the same month and day were now observed, as I said before, wherein the holy house was burnt formerly by the Babylonians. Now the number of years that passed from its first foundation, which was laid by king Solomon, till this its destruction, which happened in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, are collected to be one thousand one hundred and thirty, besides seven months and fifteen days; and from the second building of it, which was done by Haggai, in the second year of Cyrus the king, till its destruction under Vespasian, there were six hundred and thirty-nine years and forty-five days.

CHAPTER 5.

The Great Distress The Jews Were In Upon The Conflagration Of The Holy House. Concerning A False Prophet, And The Signs That Preceded This Destruction.

1. While the holy house was on fire, every thing was plundered that came to hand, and ten thousand of those that were caught were slain; nor was there a commiseration of any age, or any reverence of gravity, but children, and old men, and profane persons, and priests were all slain in the same manner; so that this war went round all sorts of men, and brought them to destruction, and as well those that made supplication for their lives, as those that defended themselves by fighting. The flame was also carried a long way, and made an echo, together with the groans of those that were slain; and because this hill was high, and the works at the temple were very great, one would have thought the whole city had been on fire. Nor can one imagine any thing either greater or more terrible than this noise; for there was at once a shout of the Roman legions, who were marching all together, and a sad clamor of the seditious, who were now surrounded with fire and sword. The people also that were left above were beaten back upon the enemy, and under a great consternation, and made sad moans at the calamity they were under; the multitude also that was in the city joined in this outcry with those that were upon the hill. And besides, many of those that were worn away by the famine, and their mouths almost closed, when they saw the fire of the holy house, they exerted their utmost strength, and brake out into groans and outcries again: Perea did also return the echo, as well as the mountains round about [the city,] and augmented the force of the entire noise. Yet was the misery itself more terrible than this disorder; for one would have thought that the hill itself, on which the temple stood, was seething hot, as full of fire on every part of it, that the blood was larger in quantity than the fire, and those that were slain more in number than those that slew them; for the ground did no where appear visible, for the dead bodies that lay on it; but the soldiers went over heaps of those bodies, as they ran upon such as fled from them. And now it was that the multitude of the robbers were thrust out [of the inner court of the temple by the Romans,] and had much ado to get into the outward court, and from thence into the city, while the remainder of the populace fled into the cloister of that outer court. As for the priests, some of them plucked up from the holy house the spikes that were upon it, with their bases, which were made of lead, and shot them at the Romans instead of darts. But then as they gained

nothing by so doing, and as the fire burst out upon them, they retired to the wall that was eight cubits broad, and there they tarried; yet did two of these of eminence among them, who might have saved themselves by going over to the Romans, or have borne up with courage, and taken their fortune with the others, throw themselves into the fire, and were burnt together with the holy house; their names were Meirus the son of Belgas, and Joseph the son of Daleus.

2. And now the Romans, judging that it was in vain to spare what was round about the holy house, burnt all those places, as also the remains of the cloisters and the gates, two excepted; the one on the east side, and the other on the south; both which, however, they burnt afterward. They also burnt down the treasury chambers, in which was an immense quantity of money, and an immense number of garments, and other precious goods there reposited; and, to speak all in a few words, there it was that the entire riches of the Jews were heaped up together, while the rich people had there built themselves chambers [to contain such furniture]. The soldiers also came to the rest of the cloisters that were in the outer [court of the] temple, whither the women and children, and a great mixed multitude of the people, fled, in number about six thousand. But before Caesar had determined any thing about these people, or given the commanders any orders relating to them, the soldiers were in such a rage, that they set that cloister on fire; by which means it came to pass that some of these were destroyed by throwing themselves down headlong, and some were burnt in the cloisters themselves. Nor did any one of them escape with his life. A false prophet was the occasion of these people's destruction, who had made a public proclamation in the city that very day, that God commanded them to get upon the temple, and that there they should receive miraculous signs of their deliverance. Now there was then a great number of false prophets suborned by the tyrants to impose on the people, who denounced this to them, that they should wait for deliverance from God; and this was in order to keep them from deserting, and that they might be buoyed up above fear and care by such hopes. Now a man that is in adversity does easily comply with such promises; for when such a seducer makes him believe that he shall be delivered from those miseries which oppress him, then it is that the patient is full of hopes of such his deliverance.

3. Thus were the miserable people persuaded by these deceivers, and such as belied God himself; while they did not attend nor give credit to the signs that were so evident, and did so plainly foretell their future desolation, but, like men infatuated, without either eyes to see or minds to consider, did not regard the denunciations that God made to them. Thus there was a star resembling a sword, which stood over the city, and a comet, that continued a whole year. Thus also before the Jews' rebellion, and before those commotions which preceded the

war, when the people were come in great crowds to the feast of unleavened bread, on the eighth day of the month Xanthicus, [Nisan,] and at the ninth hour of the night, so great a light shone round the altar and the holy house, that it appeared to be bright day time; which lasted for half an hour. This light seemed to be a good sign to the unskillful, but was so interpreted by the sacred scribes, as to portend those events that followed immediately upon it. At the same festival also, a heifer, as she was led by the high priest to be sacrificed, brought forth a lamb in the midst of the temple. Moreover, the eastern gate of the inner [court of the] temple, which was of brass, and vastly heavy, and had been with difficulty shut by twenty men, and rested upon a basis armed with iron, and had bolts fastened very deep into the firm floor, which was there made of one entire stone, was seen to be opened of its own accord about the sixth hour of the night. Now those that kept watch in the temple came hereupon running to the captain of the temple, and told him of it; who then came up thither, and not without great difficulty was able to shut the gate again. This also appeared to the vulgar to be a very happy prodigy, as if God did thereby open them the gate of happiness. But the men of learning understood it, that the security of their holy house was dissolved of its own accord, and that the gate was opened for the advantage of their enemies. So these publicly declared that the signal foreshowed the desolation that was coming upon them. Besides these, a few days after that feast, on the one and twentieth day of the month Artemisius, [Jyar,] a certain prodigious and incredible phenomenon appeared: I suppose the account of it would seem to be a fable, were it not related by those that saw it, and were not the events that followed it of so considerable a nature as to deserve such signals; for, before sun-setting, chariots and troops of soldiers in their armor were seen running about among the clouds, and surrounding of cities. Moreover, at that feast which we call Pentecost, as the priests were going by night into the inner [court of the temple,] as their custom was, to perform their sacred ministrations, they said that, in the first place, they felt a quaking, and heard a great noise, and after that they heard a sound as of a great multitude, saying, “Let us remove hence.” But, what is still more terrible, there was one Jesus, the son of Ananus, a plebeian and a husbandman, who, four years before the war began, and at a time when the city was in very great peace and prosperity, came to that feast whereon it is our custom for every one to make tabernacles to God in the temple, began on a sudden to cry aloud, “A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice against Jerusalem and the holy house, a voice against the bridegrooms and the brides, and a voice against this whole people!” This was his cry, as he went about by day and by night, in all the lanes of the city. However, certain of the most eminent among the populace had great

indignation at this dire cry of his, and took up the man, and gave him a great number of severe stripes; yet did not he either say any thing for himself, or any thing peculiar to those that chastised him, but still went on with the same words which he cried before. Hereupon our rulers, supposing, as the case proved to be, that this was a sort of divine fury in the man, brought him to the Roman procurator, where he was whipped till his bones were laid bare; yet he did not make any supplication for himself, nor shed any tears, but turning his voice to the most lamentable tone possible, at every stroke of the whip his answer was, "Woe, woe to Jerusalem!" And when Albinus [for he was then our procurator] asked him, Who he was? and whence he came? and why he uttered such words? he made no manner of reply to what he said, but still did not leave off his melancholy ditty, till Albinus took him to be a madman, and dismissed him. Now, during all the time that passed before the war began, this man did not go near any of the citizens, nor was seen by them while he said so; but he every day uttered these lamentable words, as if it were his premeditated vow, "Woe, woe to Jerusalem!" Nor did he give ill words to any of those that beat him every day, nor good words to those that gave him food; but this was his reply to all men, and indeed no other than a melancholy presage of what was to come. This cry of his was the loudest at the festivals; and he continued this ditty for seven years and five months, without growing hoarse, or being tired therewith, until the very time that he saw his presage in earnest fulfilled in our siege, when it ceased; for as he was going round upon the wall, he cried out with his utmost force, "Woe, woe to the city again, and to the people, and to the holy house!" And just as he added at the last, "Woe, woe to myself also!" there came a stone out of one of the engines, and smote him, and killed him immediately; and as he was uttering the very same presages he gave up the ghost.

4. Now if any one consider these things, he will find that God takes care of mankind, and by all ways possible foreshows to our race what is for their preservation; but that men perish by those miseries which they madly and voluntarily bring upon themselves; for the Jews, by demolishing the tower of Antonia, had made their temple four-square, while at the same time they had it written in their sacred oracles, "That then should their city be taken, as well as their holy house, when once their temple should become four-square." But now, what did the most elevate them in undertaking this war, was an ambiguous oracle that was also found in their sacred writings, how, "about that time, one from their country should become governor of the habitable earth." The Jews took this prediction to belong to themselves in particular, and many of the wise men were thereby deceived in their determination. Now this oracle certainly denoted the government of Vespasian, who was appointed emperor in Judea.

However, it is not possible for men to avoid fate, although they see it beforehand. But these men interpreted some of these signals according to their own pleasure, and some of them they utterly despised, until their madness was demonstrated, both by the taking of their city and their own destruction.

CHAPTER 6.

How The Romans Carried Their Ensigns To The Temple, And Made Joyful Acclamations To Titus. The Speech That Titus Made To The Jews When They Made Supplication For Mercy. What Reply They Made Thereto; And How That Reply Moved Titus's

Indignation Against Them.

1. And now the Romans, upon the flight of the seditious into the city, and upon the burning of the holy house itself, and of all the buildings round about it, brought their ensigns to the temple and set them over against its eastern gate; and there did they offer sacrifices to them, and there did they make Titus imperator with the greatest acclamations of joy. And now all the soldiers had such vast quantities of the spoils which they had gotten by plunder, that in Syria a pound weight of gold was sold for half its former value. But as for those priests that kept themselves still upon the wall of the holy house, there was a boy that, out of the thirst he was in, desired some of the Roman guards to give him their right hands as a security for his life, and confessed he was very thirsty. These guards commiserated his age, and the distress he was in, and gave him their right hands accordingly. So he came down himself, and drank some water, and filled the vessel he had with him when he came to them with water, and then went off, and fled away to his own friends; nor could any of those guards overtake him; but still they reproached him for his perfidiousness. To which he made this answer: "I have not broken the agreement; for the security I had given me was not in order to my staying with you, but only in order to my coming down safely, and taking up some water; both which things I have performed, and thereupon think myself to have been faithful to my engagement." Hereupon those whom the child had imposed upon admired at his cunning, and that on account of his age. On the fifth day afterward, the priests that were pined with the famine came down, and when they were brought to Titus by the guards, they begged for their lives; but he replied, that the time of pardon was over as to them, and that this very holy house, on whose account only they could justly hope to be preserved, was destroyed; and that it was agreeable to their office that priests should perish with the house itself to which they belonged. So he ordered them to be put to death.

2. But as for the tyrants themselves, and those that were with them, when they found that they were encompassed on every side, and, as it were, walled round, without any method of escaping, they desired to treat with Titus by word of

mouth. Accordingly, such was the kindness of his nature, and his desire of preserving the city from destruction, joined to the advice of his friends, who now thought the robbers were come to a temper, that he placed himself on the western side of the outer [court of the] temple; for there were gates on that side above the Xystus, and a bridge that connected the upper city to the temple. This bridge it was that lay between the tyrants and Caesar, and parted them; while the multitude stood on each side; those of the Jewish nation about Sinran and John, with great hopes of pardon; and the Romans about Caesar, in great expectation how Titus would receive their supplication. So Titus charged his soldiers to restrain their rage, and to let their darts alone, and appointed an interpreter between them, which was a sign that he was the conqueror, and first began the discourse, and said, "I hope you, sirs, are now satiated with the miseries of your country, who have not had any just notions, either of our great power, or of your own great weakness, but have, like madmen, after a violent and inconsiderate manner, made such attempts, as have brought your people, your city, and your holy house to destruction. You have been the men that have never left off rebelling since Pompey first conquered you, and have, since that time, made open war with the Romans. Have you depended on your multitude, while a very small part of the Roman soldiery have been strong enough for you? Have you relied on the fidelity of your confederates? And what nations are there, out of the limits of our dominion, that would choose to assist the Jews before the Romans? Are your bodies stronger than ours? nay, you know that the [strong] Germans themselves are our servants. Have you stronger walls than we have? Pray, what greater obstacle is there than the wall of the ocean, with which the Britons are encompassed, and yet do adore the arms of the Romans. Do you exceed us in courage of soul, and in the sagacity of your commanders? Nay, indeed, you cannot but know that the very Carthaginians have been conquered by us. It can therefore be nothing certainly but the kindness of us Romans which hath excited you against us; who, in the first place, have given you this land to possess; and, in the next place, have set over you kings of your own nation; and, in the third place, have preserved the laws of your forefathers to you, and have withal permitted you to live, either by yourselves, or among others, as it should please you: and, what is our chief favor of all we have given you leave to gather up that tribute which is paid to God with such other gifts that are dedicated to him; nor have we called those that carried these donations to account, nor prohibited them; till at length you became richer than we ourselves, even when you were our enemies; and you made preparations for war against us with our own money; nay, after all, when you were in the enjoyment of all these advantages, you turned your too great plenty against those that gave it you, and, like merciless

serpents, have thrown out your poison against those that treated you kindly. I suppose, therefore, that you might despise the slothfulness of Nero, and, like limbs of the body that are broken or dislocated, you did then lie quiet, waiting for some other time, though still with a malicious intention, and have now showed your distemper to be greater than ever, and have extended your desires as far as your impudent and immense hopes would enable you to do it. At this time my father came into this country, not with a design to punish you for what you had done under Cestius, but to admonish you; for had he come to overthrow your nation, he had run directly to your fountain-head, and had immediately laid this city waste; whereas he went and burnt Galilee and the neighboring parts, and thereby gave you time for repentance; which instance of humanity you took for an argument of his weakness, and nourished up your impudence by our mildness. When Nero was gone out of the world, you did as the wickedest wretches would have done, and encouraged yourselves to act against us by our civil dissensions, and abused that time, when both I and my father were gone away to Egypt, to make preparations for this war. Nor were you ashamed to raise disturbances against us when we were made emperors, and this while you had experienced how mild we had been, when we were no more than generals of the army. But when the government was devolved upon us, and all other people did thereupon lie quiet, and even foreign nations sent embassies, and congratulated our access to the government, then did you Jews show yourselves to be our enemies. You sent embassies to those of your nation that are beyond Euphrates to assist you in your raising disturbances; new walls were built by you round your city, seditions arose, and one tyrant contended against another, and a civil war broke out among you; such indeed as became none but so wicked a people as you are. I then came to this city, as unwillingly sent by my father, and received melancholy injunctions from him. When I heard that the people were disposed to peace, I rejoiced at it; I exhorted you to leave off these proceedings before I began this war; I spared you even when you had fought against me a great while; I gave my right hand as security to the deserters; I observed what I had promised faithfully. When they fled to me, I had compassion on many of those that I had taken captive; I tortured those that were eager for war, in order to restrain them. It was unwillingly that I brought my engines of war against your walls; I always prohibited my soldiers, when they were set upon your slaughter, from their severity against you. After every victory I persuaded you to peace, as though I had been myself conquered. When I came near your temple, I again departed from the laws of war, and exhorted you to spare your own sanctuary, and to preserve your holy house to yourselves. I allowed you a quiet exit out of it, and security for your preservation; nay, if you had a mind, I gave

you leave to fight in another place. Yet have you still despised every one of my proposals, and have set fire to your holy house with your own hands. And now, vile wretches, do you desire to treat with me by word of mouth? To what purpose is it that you would save such a holy house as this was, which is now destroyed? What preservation can you now desire after the destruction of your temple? Yet do you stand still at this very time in your armor; nor can you bring yourselves so much as to pretend to be supplicants even in this your utmost extremity. O miserable creatures! what is it you depend on? Are not your people dead? is not your holy house gone? is not your city in my power? and are not your own very lives in my hands? And do you still deem it a part of valor to die? However, I will not imitate your madness. If you throw down your arms, and deliver up your bodies to me, I grant you your lives; and I will act like a mild master of a family; what cannot be healed shall be punished, and the rest I will preserve for my own use."

3. To that offer of Titus they made this reply: That they could not accept of it, because they had sworn never to do so; but they desired they might have leave to go through the wall that had been made about them, with their wives and children; for that they would go into the desert, and leave the city to him. At this Titus had great indignation, that when they were in the case of men already taken captives, they should pretend to make their own terms with him, as if they had been conquerors. So he ordered this proclamation to be made to them, That they should no more come out to him as deserters, nor hope for any further security; for that he would henceforth spare nobody, but fight them with his whole army; and that they must save themselves as well as they could; for that he would from henceforth treat them according to the laws of war. So he gave orders to the soldiers both to burn and to plunder the city; who did nothing indeed that day; but on the next day they set fire to the repository of the archives, to Acra, to the council-house, and to the place called Ophlas; at which time the fire proceeded as far as the palace of queen Helena, which was in the middle of Acra; the lanes also were burnt down, as were also those houses that were full of the dead bodies of such as were destroyed by famine.

4. On the same day it was that the sons and brethren of Izates the king, together with many others of the eminent men of the populace, got together there, and besought Caesar to give them his right hand for their security; upon which, though he was very angry at all that were now remaining, yet did he not lay aside his old moderation, but received these men. At that time, indeed, he kept them all in custody, but still bound the king's sons and kinsmen, and led them with him to Rome, in order to make them hostages for their country's fidelity to the Romans.

CHAPTER 7.

What Afterward Befell The Seditious When They Had Done A Great Deal Of Mischief, And Suffered Many Misfortunes; As Also How Caesar Became Master Of The Upper City.

1. And now the seditious rushed into the royal palace, into which many had put their effects, because it was so strong, and drove the Romans away from it. They also slew all the people that had crowded into it, who were in number about eight thousand four hundred, and plundered them of what they had. They also took two of the Romans alive; the one was a horseman, and the other a footman. They then cut the throat of the footman, and immediately had him drawn through the whole city, as revenging themselves upon the whole body of the Romans by this one instance. But the horseman said he had somewhat to suggest to them in order to their preservation; whereupon he was brought before Simon; but he having nothing to say when he was there, he was delivered to Ardalas, one of his commanders, to be punished, who bound his hands behind him, and put a riband over his eyes, and then brought him out over against the Romans, as intending to cut off his head. But the man prevented that execution, and ran away to the Romans, and this while the Jewish executioner was drawing out his sword. Now when he was gotten away from the enemy, Titus could not think of putting him to death; but because he deemed him unworthy of being a Roman soldier any longer, on account that he had been taken alive by the enemy, he took away his arms, and ejected him out of the legion whereto he had belonged; which, to one that had a sense of shame, was a penalty severer than death itself.

2. On the next day the Romans drove the robbers out of the lower city, and set all on fire as far as Siloam. These soldiers were indeed glad to see the city destroyed. But they missed the plunder, because the seditious had carried off all their effects, and were retired into the upper city; for they did not yet at all repent of the mischiefs they had done, but were insolent, as if they had done well; for, as they saw the city on fire, they appeared cheerful, and put on joyful countenances, in expectation, as they said, of death to end their miseries. Accordingly, as the people were now slain, the holy house was burnt down, and the city was on fire, there was nothing further left for the enemy to do. Yet did not Josephus grow weary, even in this utmost extremity, to beg of them to spare what was left of the city; he spake largely to them about their barbarity and impiety, and gave them his advice in order to their escape; though he gained

nothing thereby more than to be laughed at by them; and as they could not think of surrendering themselves up, because of the oath they had taken, nor were strong enough to fight with the Romans any longer upon the square, as being surrounded on all sides, and a kind of prisoners already, yet were they so accustomed to kill people, that they could not restrain their right hands from acting accordingly. So they dispersed themselves before the city, and laid themselves in ambush among its ruins, to catch those that attempted to desert to the Romans; accordingly many such deserters were caught by them, and were all slain; for these were too weak, by reason of their want of food, to fly away from them; so their dead bodies were thrown to the dogs. Now every other sort of death was thought more tolerable than the famine, insomuch that, though the Jews despaired now of mercy, yet would they fly to the Romans, and would themselves, even of their own accord, fall among the murderous rebels also. Nor was there any place in the city that had no dead bodies in it, but what was entirely covered with those that were killed either by the famine or the rebellion; and all was full of the dead bodies of such as had perished, either by that sedition or by that famine.

3. So now the last hope which supported the tyrants, and that crew of robbers who were with them, was in the caves and caverns under ground; whither, if they could once fly, they did not expect to be searched for; but endeavored, that after the whole city should be destroyed, and the Romans gone away, they might come out again, and escape from them. This was no better than a dream of theirs; for they were not able to lie hid either from God or from the Romans. However, they depended on these under-ground subterfuges, and set more places on fire than did the Romans themselves; and those that fled out of their houses thus set on fire into the ditches, they killed without mercy, and pillaged them also; and if they discovered food belonging to any one, they seized upon it and swallowed it down, together with their blood also; nay, they were now come to fight one with another about their plunder; and I cannot but think that, had not their destruction prevented it, their barbarity would have made them taste of even the dead bodies themselves.

CHAPTER 8.

How Caesar Raised Banks Round About The Upper City [Mount Zion] And When They Were Completed, Gave Orders That The Machines Should Be Brought. He Then Possessed Himself Of The Whole City.

1. Now when Caesar perceived that the upper city was so steep that it could not possibly be taken without raising banks against it, he distributed the several parts of that work among his army, and this on the twentieth day of the month Lous [Ab]. Now the carriage of the materials was a difficult task, since all the trees, as I have already told you, that were about the city, within the distance of a hundred furlongs, had their branches cut off already, in order to make the former banks. The works that belonged to the four legions were erected on the west side of the city, over against the royal palace; but the whole body of the auxiliary troops, with the rest of the multitude that were with them, [erected their banks] at the Xystus, whence they reached to the bridge, and that tower of Simon which he had built as a citadel for himself against John, when they were at war one with another.

2. It was at this time that the commanders of the Idumeans got together privately, and took counsel about surrendering up themselves to the Romans. Accordingly, they sent five men to Titus, and entreated him to give them his right hand for their security. So Titus thinking that the tyrants would yield, if the Idumeans, upon whom a great part of the war depended, were once withdrawn from them, after some reluctancy and delay, complied with them, and gave them security for their lives, and sent the five men back. But as these Idumeans were preparing to march out, Simon perceived it, and immediately slew the five men that had gone to Titus, and took their commanders, and put them in prison, of whom the most eminent was Jacob, the son of Sosas; but as for the multitude of the Idumeans, who did not at all know what to do, now their commanders were taken from them, he had them watched, and secured the walls by a more numerous garrison, Yet could not that garrison resist those that were deserting; for although a great number of them were slain, yet were the deserters many more in number. They were all received by the Romans, because Titus himself grew negligent as to his former orders for killing them, and because the very soldiers grew weary of killing them, and because they hoped to get some money by sparing them; for they left only the populace, and sold the rest of the multitude, with their wives and children, and every one of them at a very low price, and that because such as were sold were very many, and the buyers were

few: and although Titus had made proclamation beforehand, that no deserter should come alone by himself, that so they might bring out their families with them, yet did he receive such as these also. However, he set over them such as were to distinguish some from others, in order to see if any of them deserved to be punished. And indeed the number of those that were sold was immense; but of the populace above forty thousand were saved, whom Caesar let go whither every one of them pleased.

3. But now at this time it was that one of the priests, the son of Thebuthus, whose name was Jesus, upon his having security given him, by the oath of Caesar, that he should be preserved, upon condition that he should deliver to him certain of the precious things that had been reposited in the temple came out of it, and delivered him from the wall of the holy house two candlesticks, like to those that lay in the holy house, with tables, and cisterns, and vials, all made of solid gold, and very heavy. He also delivered to him the veils and the garments, with the precious stones, and a great number of other precious vessels that belonged to their sacred worship. The treasurer of the temple also, whose name was Phineas, was seized on, and showed Titus the coats and girdles of the priests, with a great quantity of purple and scarlet, which were there reposited for the uses of the veil, as also a great deal of cinnamon and cassia, with a large quantity of other sweet spices, which used to be mixed together, and offered as incense to God every day. A great many other treasures were also delivered to him, with sacred ornaments of the temple not a few; which things thus delivered to Titus obtained of him for this man the same pardon that he had allowed to such as deserted of their own accord.

4. And now were the banks finished on the seventh day of the month Gorpieus, [Elul,] in eighteen days' time, when the Romans brought their machines against the wall. But for the seditious, some of them, as despairing of saving the city, retired from the wall to the citadel; others of them went down into the subterranean vaults, though still a great many of them defended themselves against those that brought the engines for the battery; yet did the Romans overcome them by their number and by their strength; and, what was the principal thing of all, by going cheerfully about their work, while the Jews were quite dejected, and become weak. Now as soon as a part of the wall was battered down, and certain of the towers yielded to the impression of the battering rams, those that opposed themselves fled away, and such a terror fell upon the tyrants, as was much greater than the occasion required; for before the enemy got over the breach they were quite stunned, and were immediately for flying away. And now one might see these men, who had hitherto been so insolent and arrogant in their wicked practices, to be cast down and to tremble,

insomuch that it would pity one's heart to observe the change that was made in those vile persons. Accordingly, they ran with great violence upon the Roman wall that encompassed them, in order to force away those that guarded it, and to break through it, and get away. But when they saw that those who had formerly been faithful to them had gone away, [as indeed they were fled whithersoever the great distress they were in persuaded them to flee,] as also when those that came running before the rest told them that the western wall was entirely overthrown, while others said the Romans were gotten in, and others that they were near, and looking out for them, which were only the dictates of their fear, which imposed upon their sight, they fell upon their face, and greatly lamented their own mad conduct; and their nerves were so terribly loosed, that they could not flee away. And here one may chiefly reflect on the power of God exercised upon these wicked wretches, and on the good fortune of the Romans; for these tyrants did now wholly deprive themselves of the security they had in their own power, and came down from those very towers of their own accord, wherein they could have never been taken by force, nor indeed by any other way than by famine. And thus did the Romans, when they had taken such great pains about weaker walls, get by good fortune what they could never have gotten by their engines; for three of these towers were too strong for all mechanical engines whatsoever, concerning which we have treated above.

5. So they now left these towers of themselves, or rather they were ejected out of them by God himself, and fled immediately to that valley which was under Siloam, where they again recovered themselves out of the dread they were in for a while, and ran violently against that part of the Roman wall which lay on that side; but as their courage was too much depressed to make their attacks with sufficient force, and their power was now broken with fear and affliction, they were repulsed by the guards, and dispersing themselves at distances from each other, went down into the subterranean caverns. So the Romans being now become masters of the walls, they both placed their ensigns upon the towers, and made joyful acclamations for the victory they had gained, as having found the end of this war much lighter than its beginning; for when they had gotten upon the last wall, without any bloodshed, they could hardly believe what they found to be true; but seeing nobody to oppose them, they stood in doubt what such an unusual solitude could mean. But when they went in numbers into the lanes of the city with their swords drawn, they slew those whom they overtook without and set fire to the houses whither the Jews were fled, and burnt every soul in them, and laid waste a great many of the rest; and when they were come to the houses to plunder them, they found in them entire families of dead men, and the upper rooms full of dead corpses, that is, of such as died by the famine; they then

stood in a horror at this sight, and went out without touching any thing. But although they had this commiseration for such as were destroyed in that manner, yet had they not the same for those that were still alive, but they ran every one through whom they met with, and obstructed the very lanes with their dead bodies, and made the whole city run down with blood, to such a degree indeed that the fire of many of the houses was quenched with these men's blood. And truly so it happened, that though the slayers left off at the evening, yet did the fire greatly prevail in the night; and as all was burning, came that eighth day of the month Gorpieus [Elul] upon Jerusalem, a city that had been liable to so many miseries during this siege, that, had it always enjoyed as much happiness from its first foundation, it would certainly have been the envy of the world. Nor did it on any other account so much deserve these sore misfortunes, as by producing such a generation of men as were the occasions of this its overthrow.

CHAPTER 9.

What Injunctions Caesar Gave When He Was Come Within The City. The Number Of The Captives And Of Those That Perished In The Siege; As Also Concerning Those That Had Escaped Into The Subterranean Caverns, Among Whom Were The Tyrants Simon And John Themselves.

1. Now when Titus was come into this [upper] city, he admired not only some other places of strength in it, but particularly those strong towers which the tyrants in their mad conduct had relinquished; for when he saw their solid altitude, and the largeness of their several stones, and the exactness of their joints, as also how great was their breadth, and how extensive their length, he expressed himself after the manner following: "We have certainly had God for our assistant in this war, and it was no other than God who ejected the Jews out of these fortifications; for what could the hands of men or any machines do towards overthrowing these towers?" At which time he had many such discourses to his friends; he also let such go free as had been bound by the tyrants, and were left in the prisons. To conclude, when he entirely demolished the rest of the city, and overthrew its walls, he left these towers as a monument of his good fortune, which had proved his auxiliaries, and enabled him to take what could not otherwise have been taken by him.

2. And now, since his soldiers were already quite tired with killing men, and yet there appeared to be a vast multitude still remaining alive, Caesar gave orders that they should kill none but those that were in arms, and opposed them, but should take the rest alive. But, together with those whom they had orders to slay, they slew the aged and the infirm; but for those that were in their flourishing age, and who might be useful to them, they drove them together into the temple, and shut them up within the walls of the court of the women; over which Caesar set one of his freed-men, as also Fronto, one of his own friends; which last was to determine every one's fate, according to his merits. So this Fronto slew all those that had been seditious and robbers, who were impeached one by another; but of the young men he chose out the tallest and most beautiful, and reserved them for the triumph; and as for the rest of the multitude that were above seventeen years old, he put them into bonds, and sent them to the Egyptian mines. Titus also sent a great number into the provinces, as a present to them, that they might be destroyed upon their theatres, by the sword and by the wild beasts; but those that were under seventeen years of age were sold for slaves. Now during the days wherein Fronto was distinguishing these men, there

perished, for want of food, eleven thousand; some of whom did not taste any food, through the hatred their guards bore to them; and others would not take in any when it was given them. The multitude also was so very great, that they were in want even of corn for their sustenance.

3. Now the number of those that were carried captive during this whole war was collected to be ninety-seven thousand; as was the number of those that perished during the whole siege eleven hundred thousand, the greater part of whom were indeed of the same nation [with the citizens of Jerusalem], but not belonging to the city itself; for they were come up from all the country to the feast of unleavened bread, and were on a sudden shut up by an army, which, at the very first, occasioned so great a straitness among them, that there came a pestilential destruction upon them, and soon afterward such a famine, as destroyed them more suddenly. And that this city could contain so many people in it, is manifest by that number of them which was taken under Cestius, who being desirous of informing Nero of the power of the city, who otherwise was disposed to contemn that nation, entreated the high priests, if the thing were possible, to take the number of their whole multitude. So these high priests, upon the coming of that feast which is called the Passover, when they slay their sacrifices, from the ninth hour till the eleventh, but so that a company not less than ten belong to every sacrifice, [for it is not lawful for them to feast singly by themselves,] and many of us are twenty in a company, found the number of sacrifices was two hundred and fifty-six thousand five hundred; which, upon the allowance of no more than ten that feast together, amounts to two millions seven hundred thousand and two hundred persons that were pure and holy; for as to those that have the leprosy, or the gonorrhea, or women that have their monthly courses, or such as are otherwise polluted, it is not lawful for them to be partakers of this sacrifice; nor indeed for any foreigners neither, who come hither to worship.

4. Now this vast multitude is indeed collected out of remote places, but the entire nation was now shut up by fate as in prison, and the Roman army encompassed the city when it was crowded with inhabitants. Accordingly, the multitude of those that therein perished exceeded all the destructions that either men or God ever brought upon the world; for, to speak only of what was publicly known, the Romans slew some of them, some they carried captives, and others they made a search for under ground, and when they found where they were, they broke up the ground and slew all they met with. There were also found slain there above two thousand persons, partly by their own hands, and partly by one another, but chiefly destroyed by the famine; but then the ill savor of the dead bodies was most offensive to those that lighted upon them, insomuch

that some were obliged to get away immediately, while others were so greedy of gain, that they would go in among the dead bodies that lay on heaps, and tread upon them; for a great deal of treasure was found in these caverns, and the hope of gain made every way of getting it to be esteemed lawful. Many also of those that had been put in prison by the tyrants were now brought out; for they did not leave off their barbarous cruelty at the very last: yet did God avenge himself upon them both, in a manner agreeable to justice. As for John, he wanted food, together with his brethren, in these caverns, and begged that the Romans would now give him their right hand for his security, which he had often proudly rejected before; but for Simon, he struggled hard with the distress he was in, still he was forced to surrender himself, as we shall relate hereafter; so he was reserved for the triumph, and to be then slain; as was John condemned to perpetual imprisonment. And now the Romans set fire to the extreme parts of the city, and burnt them down, and entirely demolished its walls.

CHAPTER 10.

That Whereas The City Of Jerusalem Had Been Five Times Taken Formerly, This Was The Second Time Of Its Desolation. A Brief Account Of Its History.

1. And thus was Jerusalem taken, in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, on the eighth day of the month Gorpeius [Elul]. It had been taken five times before, though this was the second time of its desolation; for Shishak, the king of Egypt, and after him Antiochus, and after him Pompey, and after them Sosius and Herod, took the city, but still preserved it; but before all these, the king of Babylon conquered it, and made it desolate, one thousand four hundred and sixty-eight years and six months after it was built. But he who first built it was a potent man among the Canaanites, and is in our own tongue called [Melchisedek], the Righteous King, for such he really was; on which account he was [there] the first priest of God, and first built a temple [there], and called the city Jerusalem, which was formerly called Salem. However, David, the king of the Jews, ejected the Canaanites, and settled his own people therein. It was demolished entirely by the Babylonians, four hundred and seventy-seven years and six months after him. And from king David, who was the first of the Jews who reigned therein, to this destruction under Titus, were one thousand one hundred and seventy-nine years; but from its first building, till this last destruction, were two thousand one hundred and seventy-seven years; yet hath not its great antiquity, nor its vast riches, nor the diffusion of its nation over all the habitable earth, nor the greatness of the veneration paid to it on a religious account, been sufficient to preserve it from being destroyed. And thus ended the siege of Jerusalem.

BOOK VII.

Containing The Interval Of About Three Years.

From The Taking Of Jerusalem By Titus To The Sedition At Cyrene

CHAPTER 1.

How The Entire City Of Jerusalem Was Demolished, Excepting Three Towers; And How Titus Commended His Soldiers In A Speech Made To Them, And Distributed Rewards To Them And Then Dismissed Many Of Them.

1. Now as soon as the army had no more people to slay or to plunder, because there remained none to be the objects of their fury, [for they would not have spared any, had there remained any other work to be done,] Caesar gave orders that they should now demolish the entire city and temple, but should leave as many of the towers standing as were of the greatest eminency; that is, Phasaelus, and Hippicus, and Mariamne; and so much of the wall as enclosed the city on the west side. This wall was spared, in order to afford a camp for such as were to lie in garrison, as were the towers also spared, in order to demonstrate to posterity what kind of city it was, and how well fortified, which the Roman valor had subdued; but for all the rest of the wall, it was so thoroughly laid even with the ground by those that dug it up to the foundation, that there was left nothing to make those that came thither believe it had ever been inhabited. This was the end which Jerusalem came to by the madness of those that were for innovations; a city otherwise of great magnificence, and of mighty fame among all mankind.

2. But Caesar resolved to leave there, as a guard, the tenth legion, with certain troops of horsemen, and companies of footmen. So, having entirely completed this war, he was desirous to commend his whole army, on account of the great exploits they had performed, and to bestow proper rewards on such as had signalized themselves therein. He had therefore a great tribunal made for him in the midst of the place where he had formerly encamped, and stood upon it with his principal commanders about him, and spake so as to be heard by the whole army in the manner following: That he returned them abundance of thanks for their good-will which they had showed to him: he commended them for that ready obedience they had exhibited in this whole war, which obedience had appeared in the many and great dangers which they had courageously undergone; as also for that courage they had shown, and had thereby augmented of themselves their country’s power, and had made it evident to all men, that neither the multitude of their enemies, nor the strength of their places, nor the largeness of their cities, nor the rash boldness and brutish rage of their antagonists, were sufficient at any time to get clear of the Roman valor, although some of them may have fortune in many respects on their side. He said further, that it was but reasonable for them to put an end to this war, now it had lasted so

long, for that they had nothing better to wish for when they entered into it; and that this happened more favorably for them, and more for their glory, that all the Romans had willingly accepted of those for their governors, and the curators of their dominions, whom they had chosen for them, and had sent into their own country for that purpose, which still continued under the management of those whom they had pitched on, and were thankful to them for pitching upon them. That accordingly, although he did both admire and tenderly regard them all, because he knew that every one of them had gone as cheerfully about their work as their abilities and opportunities would give them leave; yet, he said, that he would immediately bestow rewards and dignities on those that had fought the most bravely, and with greater force, and had signalized their conduct in the most glorious manner, and had made his army more famous by their noble exploits; and that no one who had been willing to take more pains than another should miss of a just retribution for the same; for that he had been exceeding careful about this matter, and that the more, because he had much rather reward the virtues of his fellow soldiers than punish such as had offended.

3. Hereupon Titus ordered those whose business it was to read the list of all that had performed great exploits in this war, whom he called to him by their names, and commended them before the company, and rejoiced in them in the same manner as a man would have rejoiced in his own exploits. He also put on their heads crowns of gold, and golden ornaments about their necks, and gave them long spears of gold, and ensigns that were made of silver, and removed every one of them to a higher rank; and besides this, he plentifully distributed among them, out of the spoils, and the other prey they had taken, silver, and gold, and garments. So when they had all these honors bestowed on them, according to his own appointment made to every one, and he had wished all sorts of happiness to the whole army, he came down, among the great acclamations which were made to him, and then betook himself to offer thank-offerings [to the gods], and at once sacrificed a vast number of oxen, that stood ready at the altars, and distributed them among the army to feast on. And when he had staid three days among the principal commanders, and so long feasted with them, he sent away the rest of his army to the several places where they would be every one best situated; but permitted the tenth legion to stay, as a guard at Jerusalem, and did not send them away beyond Euphrates, where they had been before. And as he remembered that the twelfth legion had given way to the Jews, under Cestius their general, he expelled them out of all Syria, for they had lain formerly at Raphanea, and sent them away to a place called Meletine, near Euphrates, which is in the limits of Armenia and Cappadocia; he also thought fit that two of the legions should stay with him till he should go to

Egypt. He then went down with his army to that Cesarea which lay by the sea-side, and there laid up the rest of his spoils in great quantities, and gave order that the captives should be kept there; for the winter season hindered him then from sailing into Italy.

CHAPTER 2.

How Titus Exhibited All Sorts Of Shows At Cesarea Philippi.

Concerning Simon The Tyrant How He Was Taken, And Reserved For The Triumph.

1. Now at the same time that Titus Caesar lay at the siege of Jerusalem, did Vespasian go on board a merchantship and sailed from Alexandria to Rhodes; whence he sailed away in ships with three rows of oars; and as he touched at several cities that lay in his road, he was joyfully received by them all, and so passed over from Ionia into Greece; whence he set sail from Corcyra to the promontory of Iapyx, whence he took his journey by land. But as for Titus, he marched from that Cesarea which lay by the seaside, and came to that which is named Cesarea Philippi, and staid there a considerable time, and exhibited all sorts of shows there. And here a great number of the captives were destroyed, some being thrown to wild beasts, and others in multitudes forced to kill one another, as if they were their enemies. And here it was that Titus was informed of the seizure of Simon the son of Gioras, which was made after the manner following: This Simon, during the siege of Jerusalem, was in the upper city; but when the Roman army was gotten within the walls, and were laying the city waste, he then took the most faithful of his friends with him, and among them some that were stone-cutters, with those iron tools which belonged to their occupation, and as great a quantity of provisions as would suffice them for a long time, and let himself and all them down into a certain subterraneous cavern that was not visible above ground. Now, so far as had been digged of old, they went onward along it without disturbance; but where they met with solid earth, they dug a mine under ground, and this in hopes that they should be able to proceed so far as to rise from under ground in a safe place, and by that means escape. But when they came to make the experiment, they were disappointed of their hope; for the miners could make but small progress, and that with difficulty also; insomuch that their provisions, though they distributed them by measure, began to fail them. And now Simon, thinking he might be able to astonish and elude the Romans, put on a white frock, and buttoned upon him a purple cloak, and appeared out of the ground in the place where the temple had formerly been. At the first, indeed, those that saw him were greatly astonished, and stood still where they were; but afterward they came nearer to him, and asked him who he was. Now Simon would not tell them, but bid them call for their captain; and when they ran to call him, Terentius Rufus who was left to command the army

there, came to Simon, and learned of him the whole truth, and kept him in bonds, and let Caesar know that he was taken. Thus did God bring this man to be punished for what bitter and savage tyranny he had exercised against his countrymen by those who were his worst enemies; and this while he was not subdued by violence, but voluntarily delivered himself up to them to be punished, and that on the very same account that he had laid false accusations against many Jews, as if they were falling away to the Romans, and had barbarously slain them; for wicked actions do not escape the Divine anger, nor is justice too weak to punish offenders, but in time overtakes those that transgress its laws, and inflicts its punishments upon the wicked in a manner, so much more severe, as they expected to escape it on account of their not being punished immediately. Simon was made sensible of this by falling under the indignation of the Romans. This rise of his out of the ground did also occasion the discovery of a great number of others of the seditious at that time, who had hidden themselves under ground. But for Simon, he was brought to Caesar in bonds, when he was come back to that Cesarea which was on the seaside, who gave orders that he should be kept against that triumph which he was to celebrate at Rome upon this occasion.

CHAPTER 3.

How Titus Upon The Celebration Of His Brothers And Fathers Birthdays Had Many Of The Jews Slain. Concerning The Danger The Jews Were In At Antioch, By Means Of The Transgression And Impiety Of One Antiochus, A Jew.

1. While Titus was at Cesarea, he solemnized the birthday of his brother [Domitian] after a splendid manner, and inflicted a great deal of the punishment intended for the Jews in honor of him; for the number of those that were now slain in fighting with the beasts, and were burnt, and fought with one another, exceeded two thousand five hundred. Yet did all this seem to the Romans, when they were thus destroyed ten thousand several ways, to be a punishment beneath their deserts. After this Caesar came to Berytus, which is a city of Phoenicia, and a Roman colony, and staid there a longer time, and exhibited a still more pompous solemnity about his father's birthday, both in the magnificence of the shows, and in the other vast expenses he was at in his devices thereto belonging; so that a great multitude of the captives were here destroyed after the same manner as before.

2. It happened also about this time, that the Jews who remained at Antioch were under accusations, and in danger of perishing, from the disturbances that were raised against them by the Antiochians; and this both on account of the slanders spread abroad at this time against them, and on account of what pranks they had played not long before; which I am obliged to describe without fail, though briefly, that I may the better connect my narration of future actions with those that went before.

3. For as the Jewish nation is widely dispersed over all the habitable earth among its inhabitants, so it is very much intermingled with Syria by reason of its neighborhood, and had the greatest multitudes in Antioch by reason of the largeness of the city, wherein the kings, after Antiochus, had afforded them a habitation with the most undisturbed tranquillity; for though Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, laid Jerusalem waste, and spoiled the temple, yet did those that succeeded him in the kingdom restore all the donations that were made of brass to the Jews of Antioch, and dedicated them to their synagogue, and granted them the enjoyment of equal privileges of citizens with the Greeks themselves; and as the succeeding kings treated them after the same manner, they both multiplied to a great number, and adorned their temple gloriously by fine ornaments, and with great magnificence, in the use of what had been given them. They also made

proselytes of a great many of the Greeks perpetually, and thereby after a sort brought them to be a portion of their own body. But about this time when the present war began, and Vespasian was newly sailed to Syria, and all men had taken up a great hatred against the Jews, then it was that a certain person, whose name was Antiochus, being one of the Jewish nation, and greatly respected on account of his father, who was governor of the Jews at Antioch came upon the theater at a time when the people of Antioch were assembled together, and became an informer against his father, and accused both him and others that they had resolved to burn the whole city in one night; he also delivered up to them some Jews that were foreigners, as partners in their resolutions. When the people heard this, they could not refrain their passion, but commanded that those who were delivered up to them should have fire brought to burn them, who were accordingly all burnt upon the theater immediately. They did also fall violently upon the multitude of the Jews, as supposing that by punishing them suddenly they should save their own city. As for Antiochus, he aggravated the rage they were in, and thought to give them a demonstration of his own conversion, arm of his hatred of the Jewish customs, by sacrificing after the manner of the Greeks; he persuaded the rest also to compel them to do the same, because they would by that means discover who they were that had plotted against them, since they would not do so; and when the people of Antioch tried the experiment, some few complied, but those that would not do so were slain. As for Antiochus himself, he obtained soldiers from the Roman commander, and became a severe master over his own citizens, not permitting them to rest on the seventh day, but forcing them to do all that they usually did on other days; and to that degree of distress did he reduce them in this matter, that the rest of the seventh day was dissolved not only at Antioch, but the same thing which took thence its rise was done in other cities also, in like manner, for some small time.

4. Now, after these misfortunes had happened to the Jews at Antioch, a second calamity befell them, the description of which when we were going about we premised the account foregoing; for upon this accident, whereby the four-square market-place was burnt down, as well as the archives, and the place where the public records were preserved, and the royal palaces, [and it was not without difficulty that the fire was then put a stop to, which was likely, by the fury wherewith it was carried along, to have gone over the whole city,] Antiochus accused the Jews as the occasion of all the mischief that was done. Now this induced the people of Antioch, who were now under the immediate persuasion, by reason of the disorder they were in, that this calumny was true, and would have been under the same persuasion, even though they had not borne an ill-will at the Jews before, to believe this man’s accusation, especially when they

considered what had been done before, and this to such a degree, that they all fell violently upon those that were accused, and this, like madmen, in a very furious rage also, even as if they had seen the Jews in a manner setting fire themselves to the city; nor was it without difficulty that one Cneius Collegas, the legate, could prevail with them to permit the affairs to be laid before Caesar; for as to Cesennius Petus, the president of Syria, Vespasian had already sent him away; and so it happened that he was not yet come back thither. But when Collegas had made a careful inquiry into the matter, he found out the truth, and that not one of those Jews that were accused by Antiochus had any hand in it, but that all was done by some vile persons greatly in debt, who supposed that if they could once set fire to the market-place, and burn the public records, they should have no further demands made upon them. So the Jews were under great disorder and terror, in the uncertain expectations of what would be the upshot of these accusations against them.

CHAPTER 4.

How Vespasian Was Received At Rome; As Also How The Germans Revolted From The Romans, But Were Subdued. That The Sarmatians Overran Mysia, But Were Compelled To Retire To Their Own Country Again.

1. And now Titus Caesar, upon the news that was brought him concerning his father, that his coming was much desired by all the Italian cities, and that Rome especially received him with great alacrity and splendor, betook himself to rejoicing and pleasures to a great degree, as now freed from the solicitude he had been under, after the most agreeable manner. For all men that were in Italy showed their respects to him in their minds before he came thither, as if he were already come, as esteeming the very expectation they had of him to be his real presence, on account of the great desires they had to see him, and because the good-will they bore him was entirely free and unconstrained; for it was, desirable thing to the senate, who well remembered the calamities they had undergone in the late changes of their governors, to receive a governor who was adorned with the gravity of old age, and with the highest skill in the actions of war, whose advancement would be, as they knew, for nothing else but for the preservation of those that were to be governed. Moreover, the people had been so harassed by their civil miseries, that they were still more earnest for his coming immediately, as supposing they should then be firmly delivered from their calamities, and believed they should then recover their secure tranquillity and prosperity; and for the soldiery, they had the principal regard to him, for they were chiefly apprized of his great exploits in war; and since they had experienced the want of skill and want of courage in other commanders, they were very desirous to be free from that great shame they had undergone by their means, and heartily wished to receive such a prince as might be a security and an ornament to them. And as this good-will to Vespasian was universal, those that enjoyed any remarkable dignities could not have patience enough to stay in Rome, but made haste to meet him at a very great distance from it; nay, indeed, none of the rest could endure the delay of seeing him, but did all pour out of the city in such crowds, and were so universally possessed with the opinion that it was easier and better for them to go out than to stay there, that this was the very first time that the city joyfully perceived itself almost empty of its citizens; for those that staid within were fewer than those that went out. But as soon as the news was come that he was hard by, and those that had met him at first related with what good humor he received every one that came to him, then it was that

the whole multitude that had remained in the city, with their wives and children, came into the road, and waited for him there; and for those whom he passed by, they made all sorts of acclamations, on account of the joy they had to see him, and the pleasantness of his countenance, and styled him their Benefactor and Savior, and the only person who was worthy to be ruler of the city of Rome. And now the city was like a temple, full of garlands and sweet odors; nor was it easy for him to come to the royal palace, for the multitude of the people that stood about him, where yet at last he performed his sacrifices of thanksgiving to his household gods for his safe return to the city. The multitude did also betake themselves to feasting; which feasts and drink-offerings they celebrated by their tribes, and their families, and their neighborhoods, and still prayed God to grant that Vespasian, his sons, and all their posterity, might continue in the Roman government for a very long time, and that his dominion might be preserved from all opposition. And this was the manner in which Rome so joyfully received Vespasian, and thence grew immediately into a state of great prosperity.

2. But before this time, and while Vespasian was about Alexandria, and Titus was lying at the siege of Jerusalem, a great multitude of the Germans were in commotion, and tended to rebellion; and as the Gauls in their neighborhood joined with them, they conspired together, and had thereby great hopes of success, and that they should free themselves from the dominion of the Romans. The motives that induced the Germans to this attempt for a revolt, and for beginning the war, were these: In the first place, the nature [of the people], which was destitute of just reasonings, and ready to throw themselves rashly into danger, upon small hopes; in the next place, the hatred they bore to those that were their governors, while their nation had never been conscious of subjection to any but to the Romans, and that by compulsion only. Besides these motives, it was the opportunity that now offered itself, which above all the rest prevailed with them so to do; for when they saw the Roman government in a great internal disorder, by the continual changes of its rulers, and understood that every part of the habitable earth under them was in an unsettled and tottering condition, they thought this was the best opportunity that could afford itself for themselves to make a sedition, when the state of the Romans was so ill. Classicus also, and Vitellius, two of their commanders, puffed them up with such hopes. These had for a long time been openly desirous of such an innovation, and were induced by the present opportunity to venture upon the declaration of their sentiments; the multitude was also ready; and when these men told them of what they intended to attempt, that news was gladly received by them. So when a great part of the Germans had agreed to rebel, and the rest were no better disposed, Vespasian, as guided by Divine Providence, sent letters to Petilius Cerealis, who had formerly

had the command of Germany, whereby he declared him to have the dignity of consul, and commanded him to take upon him the government of Britain; so he went whither he was ordered to go, and when he was informed of the revolt of the Germans, he fell upon them as soon as they were gotten together, and put his army in battle-array, and slew a great number of them in the fight, and forced them to leave off their madness, and to grow wiser; nay, had he not fallen thus suddenly upon them on the place, it had not been long ere they would however have been brought to punishment; for as soon as ever the news of their revolt was come to Rome, and Caesar Domitian was made acquainted with it, he made no delay, even at that his age, when he was exceeding young, but undertook this weighty affair. He had a courageous mind from his father, and had made greater improvements than belonged to such an age: accordingly he marched against the barbarians immediately; whereupon their hearts failed them at the very rumor of his approach, and they submitted themselves to him with fear, and thought it a happy thing that they were brought under their old yoke again without suffering any further mischiefs. When therefore Domitian had settled all the affairs of Gaul in such good order, that it would not be easily put into disorder any more, he returned to Rome with honor and glory, as having performed such exploits as were above his own age, but worthy of so great a father.

3. At the very same time with the forementioned revolt of the Germans did the bold attempt of the Scythians against the Romans occur; for those Scythians who are called Sarmatians, being a very numerous people, transported themselves over the Danube into Mysia, without being perceived; after which, by their violence, and entirely unexpected assault, they slew a great many of the Romans that guarded the frontiers; and as the consular legate Fonteius Agrippa came to meet them, and fought courageously against them, he was slain by them. They then overran all the region that had been subject to him, tearing and rending every thing that fell in their way. But when Vespasian was informed of what had happened, and how Mysia was laid waste, he sent away Rubrius Gallus to punish these Sarmatians; by whose means many of them perished in the battles he fought against them, and that part which escaped fled with fear to their own country. So when this general had put an end to the war, he provided for the future security of the country also; for he placed more and more numerous garrisons in the place, till he made it altogether impossible for the barbarians to pass over the river any more. And thus had this war in Mysia a sudden conclusion.

CHAPTER V.

Concerning The Sabbatic River Which Titus Saw As He Was Journeying Through Syria; And How The People Of Antioch Came With A Petition To Titus Against The Jews But Were Rejected By Him; As Also Concerning Titus's And Vespasian's Triumph.

1. Now Titus Caesar tarried some time at Berytus, as we told you before. He thence removed, and exhibited magnificent shows in all those cities of Syria through which he went, and made use of the captive Jews as public instances of the destruction of that nation. He then saw a river as he went along, of such a nature as deserves to be recorded in history; it runs in the middle between Arcea, belonging to Agrippa's kingdom, and Raphanea. It hath somewhat very peculiar in it; for when it runs, its current is strong, and has plenty of water; after which its springs fail for six days together, and leave its channel dry, as any one may see; after which days it runs on the seventh day as it did before, and as though it had undergone no change at all; it hath also been observed to keep this order perpetually and exactly; whence it is that they call it the Sabbatic River that name being taken from the sacred seventh day among the Jews.

2. But when the people of Antioch were informed that Titus was approaching, they were so glad at it, that they could not keep within their walls, but hasted away to give him the meeting; nay, they proceeded as far as thirty furlongs, and more, with that intention. These were not the men only, but a multitude of women also with their children did the same; and when they saw him coming up to them, they stood on both sides of the way, and stretched out their right hands, saluting him, and making all sorts of acclamations to him, and turned back together with him. They also, among all the acclamations they made to him, besought him all the way they went to eject the Jews out of their city; yet did not Titus at all yield to this their petition, but gave them the bare hearing of it quietly. However, the Jews were in a great deal of terrible fear, under the uncertainty they were in what his opinion was, and what he would do to them. For Titus did not stay at Antioch, but continued his progress immediately to Zeugma, which lies upon the Euphrates, whither came to him messengers from Vologeses king of Parthia, and brought him a crown of gold upon the victory he had gained over the Jews; which he accepted of, and feasted the king's messengers, and then came back to Antioch. And when the senate and people of Antioch earnestly entreated him to come upon their theater, where their whole multitude was assembled, and expected him, he complied with great humanity;

but when they pressed him with much earnestness, and continually begged of him that he would eject the Jews out of their city, he gave them this very pertinent answer: “How can this be done, since that country of theirs, whither the Jews must be obliged then to retire, is destroyed, and no place will receive them besides?” Whereupon the people of Antioch, when they had failed of success in this their first request, made him a second; for they desired that he would order those tables of brass to be removed on which the Jews’ privileges were engraven. However, Titus would not grant that neither, but permitted the Jews of Antioch to continue to enjoy the very same privileges in that city which they had before, and then departed for Egypt; and as he came to Jerusalem in his progress, and compared the melancholy condition he saw it then in, with the ancient glory of the city, and called to mind the greatness of its present ruins, as well as its ancient splendor, he could not but pity the destruction of the city, so far was he from boasting that so great and goodly a city as that was had been by him taken by force; nay, he frequently cursed those that had been the authors of their revolt, and had brought such a punishment upon the city; insomuch that it openly appeared that he did not desire that such a calamity as this punishment of theirs amounted to should be a demonstration of his courage. Yet was there no small quantity of the riches that had been in that city still found among its ruins, a great deal of which the Romans dug up; but the greatest part was discovered by those who were captives, and so they carried it away; I mean the gold and the silver, and the rest of that most precious furniture which the Jews had, and which the owners had treasured up under ground, against the uncertain fortunes of war.

3. So Titus took the journey he intended into Egypt, and passed over the desert very suddenly, and came to Alexandria, and took up a resolution to go to Rome by sea. And as he was accompanied by two legions, he sent each of them again to the places whence they had before come; the fifth he sent to Mysia, and the fifteenth to Pannonia: as for the leaders of the captives, Simon and John, with the other seven hundred men, whom he had selected out of the rest as being eminently tall and handsome of body, he gave order that they should be soon carried to Italy, as resolving to produce them in his triumph. So when he had had a prosperous voyage to his mind, the city of Rome behaved itself in his reception, and their meeting him at a distance, as it did in the case of his father. But what made the most splendid appearance in Titus’s opinion was, when his father met him, and received him; but still the multitude of the citizens conceived the greatest joy when they saw them all three together, as they did at this time; nor were many days overpast when they determined to have but one triumph, that should be common to both of them, on account of the glorious exploits they had performed, although the senate had decreed each of them a

separate triumph by himself. So when notice had been given beforehand of the day appointed for this pompous solemnity to be made, on account of their victories, not one of the immense multitude was left in the city, but every body went out so far as to gain only a station where they might stand, and left only such a passage as was necessary for those that were to be seen to go along it.

4. Now all the soldiery marched out beforehand by companies, and in their several ranks, under their several commanders, in the night time, and were about the gates, not of the upper palaces, but those near the temple of Isis; for there it was that the emperors had rested the foregoing night. And as soon as ever it was day, Vespasian and Titus came out crowned with laurel, and clothed in those ancient purple habits which were proper to their family, and then went as far as Octavian's Walks; for there it was that the senate, and the principal rulers, and those that had been recorded as of the equestrian order, waited for them. Now a tribunal had been erected before the cloisters, and ivory chairs had been set upon it, when they came and sat down upon them. Whereupon the soldiery made an acclamation of joy to them immediately, and all gave them attestations of their valor; while they were themselves without their arms, and only in their silken garments, and crowned with laurel: then Vespasian accepted of these shouts of theirs; but while they were still disposed to go on in such acclamations, he gave them a signal of silence. And when every body entirely held their peace, he stood up, and covering the greatest part of his head with his cloak, he put up the accustomed solemn prayers; the like prayers did Titus put up also; after which prayers Vespasian made a short speech to all the people, and then sent away the soldiers to a dinner prepared for them by the emperors. Then did he retire to that gate which was called the Gate of the Pomp, because pompous shows do always go through that gate; there it was that they tasted some food, and when they had put on their triumphal garments, and had offered sacrifices to the gods that were placed at the gate, they sent the triumph forward, and marched through the theatres, that they might be the more easily seen by the multitudes.

5. Now it is impossible to describe the multitude of the shows as they deserve, and the magnificence of them all; such indeed as a man could not easily think of as performed, either by the labor of workmen, or the variety of riches, or the rarities of nature; for almost all such curiosities as the most happy men ever get by piece-meal were here one heaped on another, and those both admirable and costly in their nature; and all brought together on that day demonstrated the vastness of the dominions of the Romans; for there was here to be seen a mighty quantity of silver, and gold, and ivory, contrived into all sorts of things, and did not appear as carried along in pompous show only, but, as a man may say, running along like a river. Some parts were composed of the rarest purple

hangings, and so carried along; and others accurately represented to the life what was embroidered by the arts of the Babylonians. There were also precious stones that were transparent, some set in crowns of gold, and some in other places, as the workmen pleased; and of these such a vast number were brought, that we could not but thence learn how vainly we imagined any of them to be rarities. The images of the gods were also carried, being as well wonderful for their largeness, as made very artificially, and with great skill of the workmen; nor were any of these images of any other than very costly materials; and many species of animals were brought, every one in their own natural ornaments. The men also who brought every one of these shows were great multitudes, and adorned with purple garments, all over interwoven with gold; those that were chosen for carrying these pompous shows having also about them such magnificent ornaments as were both extraordinary and surprising. Besides these, one might see that even the great number of the captives was not unadorned, while the variety that was in their garments, and their fine texture, concealed from the sight the deformity of their bodies. But what afforded the greatest surprise of all was the structure of the pageants that were borne along; for indeed he that met them could not but be afraid that the bearers would not be able firmly enough to support them, such was their magnitude; for many of them were so made, that they were on three or even four stories, one above another. The magnificence also of their structure afforded one both pleasure and surprise; for upon many of them were laid carpets of gold. There was also wrought gold and ivory fastened about them all; and many resemblances of the war, and those in several ways, and variety of contrivances, affording a most lively portraiture of itself. For there was to be seen a happy country laid waste, and entire squadrons of enemies slain; while some of them ran away, and some were carried into captivity; with walls of great altitude and magnitude overthrown and ruined by machines; with the strongest fortifications taken, and the walls of most populous cities upon the tops of hills seized on, and an army pouring itself within the walls; as also every place full of slaughter, and supplications of the enemies, when they were no longer able to lift up their hands in way of opposition. Fire also sent upon temples was here represented, and houses overthrown, and falling upon their owners: rivers also, after they came out of a large and melancholy desert, ran down, not into a land cultivated, nor as drink for men, or for cattle, but through a land still on fire upon every side; for the Jews related that such a thing they had undergone during this war. Now the workmanship of these representations was so magnificent and lively in the construction of the things, that it exhibited what had been done to such as did not see it, as if they had been there really present. On the top of every one of these pageants was placed the

commander of the city that was taken, and the manner wherein he was taken. Moreover, there followed those pageants a great number of ships; and for the other spoils, they were carried in great plenty. But for those that were taken in the temple of Jerusalem, they made the greatest figure of them all; that is, the golden table, of the weight of many talents; the candlestick also, that was made of gold, though its construction were now changed from that which we made use of; for its middle shaft was fixed upon a basis, and the small branches were produced out of it to a great length, having the likeness of a trident in their position, and had every one a socket made of brass for a lamp at the tops of them. These lamps were in number seven, and represented the dignity of the number seven among the Jews; and the last of all the spoils, was carried the Law of the Jews. After these spoils passed by a great many men, carrying the images of Victory, whose structure was entirely either of ivory or of gold. After which Vespasian marched in the first place, and Titus followed him; Domitian also rode along with them, and made a glorious appearance, and rode on a horse that was worthy of admiration.

6. Now the last part of this pompous show was at the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, whither when they were come, they stood still; for it was the Romans' ancient custom to stay till somebody brought the news that the general of the enemy was slain. This general was Simon, the son of Gioras, who had then been led in this triumph among the captives; a rope had also been put upon his head, and he had been drawn into a proper place in the forum, and had withal been tormented by those that drew him along; and the law of the Romans required that malefactors condemned to die should be slain there. Accordingly, when it was related that there was an end of him, and all the people had set up a shout for joy, they then began to offer those sacrifices which they had consecrated, in the prayers used in such solemnities; which when they had finished, they went away to the palace. And as for some of the spectators, the emperors entertained them at their own feast; and for all the rest there were noble preparations made for feasting at home; for this was a festival day to the city of Rome, as celebrated for the victory obtained by their army over their enemies, for the end that was now put to their civil miseries, and for the commencement of their hopes of future prosperity and happiness.

7. After these triumphs were over, and after the affairs of the Romans were settled on the surest foundations, Vespasian resolved to build a temple to Peace, which was finished in so short a time, and in so glorious a manner, as was beyond all human expectation and opinion: for he having now by Providence a vast quantity of wealth, besides what he had formerly gained in his other exploits, he had this temple adorned with pictures and statues; for in this temple

were collected and deposited all such rarities as men aforetime used to wander all over the habitable world to see, when they had a desire to see one of them after another; he also laid up therein those golden vessels and instruments that were taken out of the Jewish temple, as ensigns of his glory. But still he gave order that they should lay up their Law, and the purple veils of the holy place, in the royal palace itself, and keep them there.

CHAPTER 6.

Concerning Machaerus, And How Lucilius Bassus Took That Citadel, And Other Places.

1. Now Lucilius Bassus was sent as legate into Judea, and there he received the army from Cerealis Vitellianus, and took that citadel which was in Herodium, together with the garrison that was in it; after which he got together all the soldiery that was there, [which was a large body, but dispersed into several parties,] with the tenth legion, and resolved to make war upon Machaerus; for it was highly necessary that this citadel should be demolished, lest it might be a means of drawing away many into a rebellion, by reason of its strength; for the nature of the place was very capable of affording the surest hopes of safety to those that possessed it, as well as delay and fear to those that should attack it; for what was walled in was itself a very rocky hill, elevated to a very great height; which circumstance alone made it very hard to be subdued. It was also so contrived by nature, that it could not be easily ascended; for it is, as it were, ditched about with such valleys on all sides, and to such a depth, that the eye cannot reach their bottoms, and such as are not easily to be passed over, and even such as it is impossible to fill up with earth. For that valley which cuts it on the west extends to threescore furlongs, and did not end till it came to the lake Asphaltites; on the same side it was also that Machaerus had the tallest top of its hill elevated above the rest. But then for the valleys that lay on the north and south sides, although they be not so large as that already described, yet it is in like manner an impracticable thing to think of getting over them; and for the valley that lies on the east side, its depth is found to be no less than a hundred cubits. It extends as far as a mountain that lies over against Machaerus, with which it is bounded.

2. Now when Alexander [Janneus], the king of the Jews, observed the nature of this place, he was the first who built a citadel here, which afterwards was demolished by Gabinius, when he made war against Aristobulus. But when Herod came to be king, he thought the place to be worthy of the utmost regard, and of being built upon in the firmest manner, and this especially because it lay so near to Arabia; for it is seated in a convenient place on that account, and hath a prospect toward that country; he therefore surrounded a large space of ground with walls and towers, and built a city there, out of which city there was a way that led up to the very citadel itself on the top of the mountain; nay, more than this, he built a wall round that top of the hill, and erected towers at the corners,

of a hundred and sixty cubits high; in the middle of which place he built a palace, after a magnificent manner, wherein were large and beautiful edifices. He also made a great many reservoirs for the reception of water, that there might be plenty of it ready for all uses, and those in the properest places that were afforded him there. Thus did he, as it were, contend with the nature of the place, that he might exceed its natural strength and security [which yet itself rendered it hard to be taken] by those fortifications which were made by the hands of men. Moreover, he put a large quantity of darts and other machines of war into it, and contrived to get every thing thither that might any way contribute to its inhabitants' security, under the longest siege possible.

3. Now within this place there grew a sort of rue that deserves our wonder on account of its largeness, for it was no way inferior to any fig tree whatsoever, either in height or in thickness; and the report is, that it had lasted ever since the times of Herod, and would probably have lasted much longer, had it not been cut down by those Jews who took possession of the place afterward. But still in that valley which encompasses the city on the north side there is a certain place called Baaras, which produces a root of the same name with itself its color is like to that of flame, and towards the evenings it sends out a certain ray like lightning. It is not easily taken by such as would do it, but recedes from their hands, nor will yield itself to be taken quietly, until either the urine of a woman, or her menstrual blood, be poured upon it; nay, even then it is certain death to those that touch it, unless any one take and hang the root itself down from his hand, and so carry it away. It may also be taken another way, without danger, which is this: they dig a trench quite round about it, till the hidden part of the root be very small, they then tie a dog to it, and when the dog tries hard to follow him that tied him, this root is easily plucked up, but the dog dies immediately, as if it were instead of the man that would take the plant away; nor after this need any one be afraid of taking it into their hands. Yet, after all this pains in getting, it is only valuable on account of one virtue it hath, that if it be only brought to sick persons, it quickly drives away those called demons, which are no other than the spirits of the wicked, that enter into men that are alive and kill them, unless they can obtain some help against them. Here are also fountains of hot water, that flow out of this place, which have a very different taste one from the other; for some of them are bitter, and others of them are plainly sweet. Here are also many eruptions of cold waters, and this not only in the places that lie lower, and have their fountains near one another, but, what is still more wonderful, here is to be seen a certain cave hard by, whose cavity is not deep, but it is covered over by a rock that is prominent; above this rock there stand up two [hills or] breasts, as it were, but a little distant one from another, the one of which sends

out a fountain that is very cold, and the other sends out one that is very hot; which waters, when they are mingled together, compose a most pleasant bath; they are medicinal indeed for other maladies, but especially good for strengthening the nerves. This place has in it also mines of sulfur and alum.

4. Now when Bassus had taken a full view of this place, he resolved to besiege it, by filling up the valley that lay on the east side; so he fell hard to work, and took great pains to raise his banks as soon as possible, and by that means to render the siege easy. As for the Jews that were caught in this place, they separated themselves from the strangers that were with them, and they forced those strangers, as an otherwise useless multitude, to stay in the lower part of the city, and undergo the principal dangers, while they themselves seized on the upper citadel, and held it, and this both on account of its strength, and to provide for their own safety. They also supposed they might obtain their pardon, in case they should [at last] surrender the citadel. However, they were willing to make trial, in the first place, whether the hopes they had of avoiding a siege would come to any thing; with which intention they made sallies every day, and fought with those that met them; in which conflicts they were many of them slain, as they therein slew many of the Romans. But still it was the opportunities that presented themselves which chiefly gained both sides their victories; these were gained by the Jews, when they fell upon the Romans as they were off their guard; but by the Romans, when, upon the others' sallies against their banks, they foresaw their coming, and were upon their guard when they received them. But the conclusion of this siege did not depend upon these bickerings; but a certain surprising accident, relating to what was done in this siege, forced the Jews to surrender the citadel. There was a certain young man among the besieged, of great boldness, and very active of his hand, his name was Eleazar; he greatly signalized himself in those sallies, and encouraged the Jews to go out in great numbers, in order to hinder the raising of the banks, and did the Romans a vast deal of mischief when they came to fighting; he so managed matters, that those who sallied out made their attacks easily, and returned back without danger, and this by still bringing up the rear himself. Now it happened that, on a certain time, when the fight was over, and both sides were parted, and retired home, he, in way of contempt of the enemy, and thinking that none of them would begin the fight again at that time, staid without the gates, and talked with those that were upon the wall, and his mind was wholly intent upon what they said. Now a certain person belonging to the Roman camp, whose name was Rufus, by birth an Egyptian, ran upon him suddenly, when nobody expected such a thing, and carried him off, with his armor itself; while, in the mean time, those that saw it from the wall were under such an amazement, that Rufus

prevented their assistance, and carried Eleazar to the Roman camp. So the general of the Romans ordered that he should be taken up naked, set before the city to be seen, and sorely whipped before their eyes. Upon this sad accident that befell the young man, the Jews were terribly confounded, and the city, with one voice, sorely lamented him, and the mourning proved greater than could well be supposed upon the calamity of a single person. When Bassus perceived that, he began to think of using a stratagem against the enemy, and was desirous to aggravate their grief, in order to prevail with them to surrender the city for the preservation of that man. Nor did he fail of his hope; for he commanded them to set up a cross, as if he were just going to hang Eleazar upon it immediately; the sight of this occasioned a sore grief among those that were in the citadel, and they groaned vehemently, and cried out that they could not bear to see him thus destroyed. Whereupon Eleazar besought them not to disregard him, now he was going to suffer a most miserable death, and exhorted them to save themselves, by yielding to the Roman power and good fortune, since all other people were now conquered by them. These men were greatly moved with what he said, there being also many within the city that interceded for him, because he was of an eminent and very numerous family; so they now yielded to their passion of commiseration, contrary to their usual custom. Accordingly, they sent out immediately certain messengers, and treated with the Romans, in order to a surrender of the citadel to them, and desired that they might be permitted to go away, and take Eleazar along with them. Then did the Romans and their general accept of these terms; while the multitude of strangers that were in the lower part of the city, hearing of the agreement that was made by the Jews for themselves alone, were resolved to fly away privately in the night time; but as soon as they had opened their gates, those that had come to terms with Bassus told him of it; whether it were that they envied the others' deliverance, or whether it were done out of fear, lest an occasion should be taken against them upon their escape, is uncertain. The most courageous, therefore, of those men that went out prevented the enemy, and got away, and fled for it; but for those men that were caught within they were slain to the number of one thousand seven hundred, as were the women and children made slaves. But as Bassus thought he must perform the covenant he had made with those that surrendered the citadel, he let them go, and restored Eleazar to them.

5. When Bassus had settled these affairs, he marched hastily to the forest of Jarden, as it is called; for he had heard that a great many of those that had fled from Jerusalem and Machaerus formerly were there gotten together. When he was therefore come to the place, and understood that the former news was no mistake, he, in the first place, surrounded the whole place with his horsemen,

that such of the Jews as had boldness enough to try to break through might have no way possible for escaping, by reason of the situation of these horsemen; and for the footmen, he ordered them to cut down the trees that were in the wood whither they were fled. So the Jews were under a necessity of performing some glorious exploit, and of greatly exposing themselves in a battle, since they might perhaps thereby escape. So they made a general attack, and with a great shout fell upon those that surrounded them, who received them with great courage; and so while the one side fought desperately, and the others would not yield, the fight was prolonged on that account. But the event of the battle did not answer the expectation of the assailants; for so it happened, that no more than twelve fell on the Roman side, with a few that were wounded; but not one of the Jews escaped out of this battle, but they were all killed, being in the whole not fewer in number than three thousand, together with Judas, the son of Jairus, their general, concerning whom we have before spoken, that he had been a captain of a certain band at the siege of Jerusalem, and by going down into a certain vault under ground, had privately made his escape.

6. About the same time it was that Caesar sent a letter to Bassus, and to Liberius Maximus, who was the procurator [of Judea], and gave order that all Judea should be exposed to sale for he did not found any city there, but reserved the country for himself. However, he assigned a place for eight hundred men only, whom he had dismissed from his army, which he gave them for their habitation; it is called Emmaus, and is distant from Jerusalem threescore furlongs. He also laid a tribute upon the Jews wheresoever they were, and enjoined every one of them to bring two drachmae every year into the Capitol, as they used to pay the same to the temple at Jerusalem. And this was the state of the Jewish affairs at this time.

CHAPTER 7.

Concerning The Calamity That Befell Antiochus, King Of Commagene. As Also Concerning The Alans And What Great Mischiefs They Did To The Medes And Armenians.

1. And now, in the fourth year of the reign of Vespasian, it came to pass that Antiochus, the king of Commagene, with all his family, fell into very great calamities. The occasion was this: Cesennius Petus, who was president of Syria at this time, whether it were done out of regard to truth, or whether out of hatred to Antiochus, [for which was the real motive was never thoroughly discovered,] sent an epistle to Caesar, and therein told him that Antiochus, with his son Epiphanes, had resolved to rebel against the Romans, and had made a league with the king of Parthia to that purpose; that it was therefore fit to prevent them, lest they prevent us, and begin such a war as may cause a general disturbance in the Roman empire. Now Caesar was disposed to take some care about the matter, since this discovery was made; for the neighborhood of the kingdoms made this affair worthy of greater regard; for Samoseta, the capital of Commagene, lies upon Euphrates, and upon any such design could afford an easy passage over it to the Parthians, and could also afford them a secure reception. Petus was accordingly believed, and had authority given him of doing what he should think proper in the case; so he set about it without delay, and fell upon Commagene before Antiochus and his people had the least expectation of his coming: he had with him the tenth legion, as also some cohorts and troops of horsemen. These kings also came to his assistance: Aristobulus, king of the country called Chalcidene, and Sohemus, who was called king of Emesa. Nor was there any opposition made to his forces when they entered the kingdom; for no one of that country would so much as lift up his hand against them. When Antiochus heard this unexpected news, he could not think in the least of making war with the Romans, but determined to leave his whole kingdom in the state wherein it now was, and to retire privately, with his wife and children, as thinking thereby to demonstrate himself to the Romans to be innocent as to the accusation laid against him. So he went away from that city as far as a hundred and twenty furlongs, into a plain, and there pitched his tents.

2. Petus then sent some of his men to seize upon Samosate, and by their means took possession of that city, while he went himself to attack Antiochus with the rest of his army. However, the king was not prevailed upon by the distress he was in to do any thing in the way of war against the Romans, but bemoaned his

own hard fate, and endured with patience what he was not able to prevent. But his sons, who were young, and unexperienced in war, but of strong bodies, were not easily induced to bear this calamity without fighting. Epiphanes, therefore, and Callinicus, betook themselves to military force; and as the battle was a sore one, and lasted all the day long, they showed their own valor in a remarkable manner, and nothing but the approach of night put a period thereto, and that without any diminution of their forces; yet would not Antiochus, upon this conclusion of the fight, continue there by any means, but took his wife and his daughters, and fled away with them to Cilicia, and by so doing quite discouraged the minds of his own soldiers. Accordingly, they revolted, and went over to the Romans, out of the despair they were in of his keeping the kingdom; and his case was looked upon by all as quite desperate. It was therefore necessary that Epiphanes and his soldiers should get clear of their enemies before they became entirely destitute of any confederates; nor were there any more than ten horsemen with him, who passed with him over Euphrates, whence they went undisturbed to Vologeses, the king of Parthia, where they were not disregarded as fugitives, but had the same respect paid them as if they had retained their ancient prosperity.

3. Now when Antiochus was come to Tarsus in Cilicia, Petus ordered a centurion to go to him, and send him in bonds to Rome. However, Vespasian could not endure to have a king brought to him in that manner, but thought it fit rather to have a regard to the ancient friendship that had been between them, than to preserve an inexorable anger upon pretense of this war. Accordingly, he gave orders that they should take off his bonds, while he was still upon the road, and that he should not come to Rome, but should now go and live at Lacedemon; he also gave him large revenues, that he might not only live in plenty, but like a king also. When Epiphanes, who before was in great fear for his father, was informed of this, their minds were freed from that great and almost incurable concern they had been under. He also hoped that Caesar would be reconciled to them, upon the intercession of Vologeses; for although he lived in plenty, he knew not how to bear living out of the Roman empire. So Caesar gave him leave, after an obliging manner, and he came to Rome; and as his father came quickly to him from Lacedemon, he had all sorts of respect paid him there, and there he remained.

4. Now there was a nation of the Alans, which we have formerly mentioned some where as being Scythians and inhabiting at the lake Meotis. This nation about this time laid a design of falling upon Media, and the parts beyond it, in order to plunder them; with which intention they treated with the king of Hyrcania; for he was master of that passage which king Alexander [the Great]

shut up with iron gates. This king gave them leave to come through them; so they came in great multitudes, and fell upon the Medes unexpectedly, and plundered their country, which they found full of people, and replenished with abundance of cattle, while nobody durst make any resistance against them; for Paeorus, the king of the country, had fled away for fear into places where they could not easily come at him, and had yielded up every thing he had to them, and had only saved his wife and his concubines from them, and that with difficulty also, after they had been made captives, by giving them a hundred talents for their ransom. These Alans therefore plundered the country without opposition, and with great ease, and proceeded as far as Armenia, laying all waste before them. Now Tiridates was king of that country, who met them, and fought them, but had like to have been taken alive in the battle; for a certain man threw a net over him from a great distance, and had soon drawn him to him, unless he had immediately cut the cord with his sword, and ran away, and prevented it. So the Alans, being still more provoked by this sight, laid waste the country, and drove a great multitude of the men, and a great quantity of the other prey they had gotten out of both kingdoms, along with them, and then retreated back to their own country.

CHAPTER 8.

Concerning Masada And Those Sicarii Who Kept It; And How Silva Betook Himself To Form The Siege Of That Citadel. Eleazar's Speeches To The Besieged.

1. When Bassus was dead in Judea, Flavius Silva succeeded him as procurator there; who, when he saw that all the rest of the country was subdued in this war, and that there was but one only strong hold that was still in rebellion, he got all his army together that lay in different places, and made an expedition against it. This fortress was called Masada. It was one Eleazar, a potent man, and the commander of these Sicarii, that had seized upon it. He was a descendant from that Judas who had persuaded abundance of the Jews, as we have formerly related, not to submit to the taxation when Cyrenius was sent into Judea to make one; for then it was that the Sicarii got together against those that were willing to submit to the Romans, and treated them in all respects as if they had been their enemies, both by plundering them of what they had, by driving away their cattle, and by setting fire to their houses; for they said that they differed not at all from foreigners, by betraying, in so cowardly a manner, that freedom which Jews thought worthy to be contended for to the utmost, and by owning that they preferred slavery under the Romans before such a contention. Now this was in reality no better than a pretense and a cloak for the barbarity which was made use of by them, and to color over their own avarice, which they afterwards made evident by their own actions; for those that were partners with them in their rebellion joined also with them in the war against the Romans, and went further lengths with them in their impudent undertakings against them; and when they were again convicted of dissembling in such their pretenses, they still more abused those that justly reproached them for their wickedness. And indeed that was a time most fertile in all manner of wicked practices, insomuch that no kind of evil deeds were then left undone; nor could any one so much as devise any bad thing that was new, so deeply were they all infected, and strove with one another in their single capacity, and in their communities, who should run the greatest lengths in impiety towards God, and in unjust actions towards their neighbors; the men of power oppressing the multitude, and the multitude earnestly laboring to destroy the men of power. The one part were desirous of tyrannizing over others, and the rest of offering violence to others, and of plundering such as were richer than themselves. They were the Sicarii who first began these transgressions, and first became barbarous towards those allied to

them, and left no words of reproach unsaid, and no works of perdition untried, in order to destroy those whom their contrivances affected. Yet did John demonstrate by his actions that these Sicarii were more moderate than he was himself, for he not only slew all such as gave him good counsel to do what was right, but treated them worst of all, as the most bitter enemies that he had among all the Citizens; nay, he filled his entire country with ten thousand instances of wickedness, such as a man who was already hardened sufficiently in his impiety towards God would naturally do; for the food was unlawful that was set upon his table, and he rejected those purifications that the law of his country had ordained; so that it was no longer a wonder if he, who was so mad in his impiety towards God, did not observe any rules of gentleness and common affection towards men. Again, therefore, what mischief was there which Simon the son of Gioras did not do? or what kind of abuses did he abstain from as to those very free-men who had set him up for a tyrant? What friendship or kindred were there that did not make him more bold in his daily murders? for they looked upon the doing of mischief to strangers only as a work beneath their courage, but thought their barbarity towards their nearest relations would be a glorious demonstration thereof. The Idumeans also strove with these men who should be guilty of the greatest madness! for they [all], vile wretches as they were, cut the throats of the high priests, that so no part of a religious regard to God might be preserved; they thence proceeded to destroy utterly the least remains of a political government, and introduced the most complete scene of iniquity in all instances that were practicable; under which scene that sort of people that were called zealots grew up, and who indeed corresponded to the name; for they imitated every wicked work; nor, if their memory suggested any evil thing that had formerly been done, did they avoid zealously to pursue the same; and although they gave themselves that name from their zeal for what was good, yet did it agree to them only by way of irony, on account of those they had unjustly treated by their wild and brutish disposition, or as thinking the greatest mischiefs to be the greatest good. Accordingly, they all met with such ends as God deservedly brought upon them in way of punishment; for all such miseries have been sent upon them as man's nature is capable of undergoing, till the utmost period of their lives, and till death came upon them in various ways of torment; yet might one say justly that they suffered less than they had done, because it was impossible they could be punished according to their deserving. But to make a lamentation according to the deserts of those who fell under these men's barbarity, this is not a proper place for it; — I therefore now return again to the remaining part of the present narration.

2. For now it was that the Roman general came, and led his army against Eleazar and those Sicarii who held the fortress Masada together with him; and for the whole country adjoining, he presently gained it, and put garrisons into the most proper places of it; he also built a wall quite round the entire fortress, that none of the besieged might easily escape; he also set his men to guard the several parts of it; he also pitched his camp in such an agreeable place as he had chosen for the siege, and at which place the rock belonging to the fortress did make the nearest approach to the neighboring mountain, which yet was a place of difficulty for getting plenty of provisions; for it was not only food that was to be brought from a great distance [to the army], and this with a great deal of pain to those Jews who were appointed for that purpose, but water was also to be brought to the camp, because the place afforded no fountain that was near it. When therefore Silva had ordered these affairs beforehand, he fell to besieging the place; which siege was likely to stand in need of a great deal of skill and pains, by reason of the strength of the fortress, the nature of which I will now describe.

3. There was a rock, not small in circumference, and very high. It was encompassed with valleys of such vast depth downward, that the eye could not reach their bottoms; they were abrupt, and such as no animal could walk upon, excepting at two places of the rock, where it subsides, in order to afford a passage for ascent, though not without difficulty. Now, of the ways that lead to it, one is that from the lake Asphaltites, towards the sun-rising, and another on the west, where the ascent is easier: the one of these ways is called the Serpent, as resembling that animal in its narrowness and its perpetual windings; for it is broken off at the prominent precipices of the rock, and returns frequently into itself, and lengthening again by little and little, hath much ado to proceed forward; and he that would walk along it must first go on one leg, and then on the other; there is also nothing but destruction, in case your feet slip; for on each side there is a vastly deep chasm and precipice, sufficient to quell the courage of every body by the terror it infuses into the mind. When, therefore, a man hath gone along this way for thirty furlongs, the rest is the top of the hill — not ending at a small point, but is no other than a plain upon the highest part of the mountain. Upon this top of the hill, Jonathan the high priest first of all built a fortress, and called it Masada: after which the rebuilding of this place employed the care of king Herod to a great degree; he also built a wall round about the entire top of the hill, seven furlongs long; it was composed of white stone; its height was twelve, and its breadth eight cubits; there were also erected upon that wall thirty-eight towers, each of them fifty cubits high; out of which you might pass into lesser edifices, which were built on the inside, round the entire wall; for

the king reserved the top of the hill, which was of a fat soil, and better mould than any valley for agriculture, that such as committed themselves to this fortress for their preservation might not even there be quite destitute of food, in case they should ever be in want of it from abroad. Moreover, he built a palace therein at the western ascent; it was within and beneath the walls of the citadel, but inclined to its north side. Now the wall of this palace was very high and strong, and had at its four corners towers sixty cubits high. The furniture also of the edifices, and of the cloisters, and of the baths, was of great variety, and very costly; and these buildings were supported by pillars of single stones on every side; the walls and also the floors of the edifices were paved with stones of several colors. He also had cut many and great pits, as reservoirs for water, out of the rocks, at every one of the places that were inhabited, both above and round about the palace, and before the wall; and by this contrivance he endeavored to have water for several uses, as if there had been fountains there. Here was also a road digged from the palace, and leading to the very top of the mountain, which yet could not be seen by such as were without [the walls]; nor indeed could enemies easily make use of the plain roads; for the road on the east side, as we have already taken notice, could not be walked upon, by reason of its nature; and for the western road, he built a large tower at its narrowest place, at no less a distance from the top of the hill than a thousand cubits; which tower could not possibly be passed by, nor could it be easily taken; nor indeed could those that walked along it without any fear [such was its contrivance] easily get to the end of it; and after such a manner was this citadel fortified, both by nature and by the hands of men, in order to frustrate the attacks of enemies.

4. As for the furniture that was within this fortress, it was still more wonderful on account of its splendor and long continuance; for here was laid up corn in large quantities, and such as would subsist men for a long time; here was also wine and oil in abundance, with all kinds of pulse and dates heaped up together; all which Eleazar found there, when he and his Sicarii got possession of the fortress by treachery. These fruits were also fresh and full ripe, and no way inferior to such fruits newly laid in, although they were little short of a hundred years from the laying in these provisions [by Herod], till the place was taken by the Romans; nay, indeed, when the Romans got possession of those fruits that were left, they found them not corrupted all that while; nor should we be mistaken, if we supposed that the air was here the cause of their enduring so long; this fortress being so high, and so free from the mixture of all terrain and muddy particles of matter. There was also found here a large quantity of all sorts of weapons of war, which had been treasured up by that king, and were sufficient for ten thousand men; there was cast iron, and brass, and tin, which

show that he had taken much pains to have all things here ready for the greatest occasions; for the report goes how Herod thus prepared this fortress on his own account, as a refuge against two kinds of danger; the one for fear of the multitude of the Jews, lest they should depose him, and restore their former kings to the government; the other danger was greater and more terrible, which arose from Cleopatra queen of Egypt, who did not conceal her intentions, but spoke often to Antony, and desired him to cut off Herod, and entreated him to bestow the kingdom of Judea upon her. And certainly it is a great wonder that Antony did never comply with her commands in this point, as he was so miserably enslaved to his passion for her; nor should any one have been surprised if she had been gratified in such her request. So the fear of these dangers made Herod rebuild Masada, and thereby leave it for the finishing stroke of the Romans in this Jewish war.

5. Since therefore the Roman commander Silva had now built a wall on the outside, round about this whole place, as we have said already, and had thereby made a most accurate provision to prevent any one of the besieged running away, he undertook the siege itself, though he found but one single place that would admit of the banks he was to raise; for behind that tower which secured the road that led to the palace, and to the top of the hill from the west; there was a certain eminency of the rock, very broad and very prominent, but three hundred cubits beneath the highest part of Masada; it was called the White Promontory. Accordingly, he got upon that part of the rock, and ordered the army to bring earth; and when they fell to that work with alacrity, and abundance of them together, the bank was raised, and became solid for two hundred cubits in height. Yet was not this bank thought sufficiently high for the use of the engines that were to be set upon it; but still another elevated work of great stones compacted together was raised upon that bank; this was fifty cubits, both in breadth and height. The other machines that were now got ready were like to those that had been first devised by Vespasian, and afterwards by Titus, for sieges. There was also a tower made of the height of sixty cubits, and all over plated with iron, out of which the Romans threw darts and stones from the engines, and soon made those that fought from the walls of the place to retire, and would not let them lift up their heads above the works. At the same time Silva ordered that great battering ram which he had made to be brought thither, and to be set against the wall, and to make frequent batteries against it, which with some difficulty broke down a part of the wall, and quite overthrew it. However, the Sicarii made haste, and presently built another wall within that, which should not be liable to the same misfortune from the machines with the other; it was made soft and yielding, and so was capable of avoiding the terrible

blows that affected the other. It was framed after the following manner: They laid together great beams of wood lengthways, one close to the end of another, and the same way in which they were cut: there were two of these rows parallel to one another, and laid at such a distance from each other as the breadth of the wall required, and earth was put into the space between those rows. Now, that the earth might not fall away upon the elevation of this bank to a greater height, they further laid other beams over cross them, and thereby bound those beams together that lay lengthways. This work of theirs was like a real edifice; and when the machines were applied, the blows were weakened by its yielding; and as the materials by such concussion were shaken closer together, the pile by that means became firmer than before. When Silva saw this, he thought it best to endeavor the taking of this wall by setting fire to it; so he gave order that the soldiers should throw a great number of burning torches upon it: accordingly, as it was chiefly made of wood, it soon took fire; and when it was once set on fire, its hollowness made that fire spread to a mighty flame. Now, at the very beginning of this fire, a north wind that then blew proved terrible to the Romans; for by bringing the flame downward, it drove it upon them, and they were almost in despair of success, as fearing their machines would be burnt: but after this, on a sudden the wind changed into the south, as if it were done by Divine Providence, and blew strongly the contrary way, and carried the flame, and drove it against the wall, which was now on fire through its entire thickness. So the Romans, having now assistance from God, returned to their camp with joy, and resolved to attack their enemies the very next day; on which occasion they set their watch more carefully that night, lest any of the Jews should run away from them without being discovered.

6. However, neither did Eleazar once think of flying away, nor would he permit any one else to do so; but when he saw their wall burned down by the fire, and could devise no other way of escaping, or room for their further courage, and setting before their eyes what the Romans would do to them, their children, and their wives, if they got them into their power, he consulted about having them all slain. Now as he judged this to be the best thing they could do in their present circumstances, he gathered the most courageous of his companions together, and encouraged them to take that course by a speech which he made to them in the manner following: “Since we, long ago, my generous friends, resolved never to be servants to the Romans, nor to any other than to God himself, who alone is the true and just Lord of mankind, the time is now come that obliges us to make that resolution true in practice. And let us not at this time bring a reproach upon ourselves for self-contradiction, while we formerly would not undergo slavery, though it were then without danger, but must now, together

with slavery, choose such punishments also as are intolerable; I mean this, upon the supposition that the Romans once reduce us under their power while we are alive. We were the very first that revolted from them, and we are the last that fight against them; and I cannot but esteem it as a favor that God hath granted us, that it is still in our power to die bravely, and in a state of freedom, which hath not been the case of others, who were conquered unexpectedly. It is very plain that we shall be taken within a day's time; but it is still an eligible thing to die after a glorious manner, together with our dearest friends. This is what our enemies themselves cannot by any means hinder, although they be very desirous to take us alive. Nor can we propose to ourselves any more to fight them, and beat them. It had been proper indeed for us to have conjectured at the purpose of God much sooner, and at the very first, when we were so desirous of defending our liberty, and when we received such sore treatment from one another, and worse treatment from our enemies, and to have been sensible that the same God, who had of old taken the Jewish nation into his favor, had now condemned them to destruction; for had he either continued favorable, or been but in a lesser degree displeased with us, he had not overlooked the destruction of so many men, or delivered his most holy city to be burnt and demolished by our enemies. To be sure we weakly hoped to have preserved ourselves, and ourselves alone, still in a state of freedom, as if we had been guilty of no sins ourselves against God, nor been partners with those of others; we also taught other men to preserve their liberty. Wherefore, consider how God hath convinced us that our hopes were in vain, by bringing such distress upon us in the desperate state we are now in, and which is beyond all our expectations; for the nature of this fortress which was in itself unconquerable, hath not proved a means of our deliverance; and even while we have still great abundance of food, and a great quantity of arms, and other necessaries more than we want, we are openly deprived by God himself of all hope of deliverance; for that fire which was driven upon our enemies did not of its own accord turn back upon the wall which we had built; this was the effect of God's anger against us for our manifold sins, which we have been guilty of in a most insolent and extravagant manner with regard to our own countrymen; the punishments of which let us not receive from the Romans, but from God himself, as executed by our own hands; for these will be more moderate than the other. Let our wives die before they are abused, and our children before they have tasted of slavery; and after we have slain them, let us bestow that glorious benefit upon one another mutually, and preserve ourselves in freedom, as an excellent funeral monument for us. But first let us destroy our money and the fortress by fire; for I am well assured that this will be a great grief to the Romans, that they shall not be able to seize upon our

bodies, and shall fail of our wealth also; and let us spare nothing but our provisions; for they will be a testimonial when we are dead that we were not subdued for want of necessaries, but that, according to our original resolution, we have preferred death before slavery."

7. This was Eleazar's speech to them. Yet did not the opinions of all the auditors acquiesce therein; but although some of them were very zealous to put his advice in practice, and were in a manner filled with pleasure at it, and thought death to be a good thing, yet had those that were most effeminate a commiseration for their wives and families; and when these men were especially moved by the prospect of their own certain death, they looked wistfully at one another, and by the tears that were in their eyes declared their dissent from his opinion. When Eleazar saw these people in such fear, and that their souls were dejected at so prodigious a proposal, he was afraid lest perhaps these effeminate persons should, by their lamentations and tears, enfeeble those that heard what he had said courageously; so he did not leave off exhorting them, but stirred up himself, and recollecting proper arguments for raising their courage, he undertook to speak more briskly and fully to them, and that concerning the immortality of the soul. So he made a lamentable groan, and fixing his eyes intently on those that wept, he spake thus: "Truly, I was greatly mistaken when I thought to be assisting to brave men who struggled hard for their liberty, and to such as were resolved either to live with honor, or else to die; but I find that you are such people as are no better than others, either in virtue or in courage, and are afraid of dying, though you be delivered thereby from the greatest miseries, while you ought to make no delay in this matter, nor to await any one to give you good advice; for the laws of our country, and of God himself, have from ancient times, and as soon as ever we could use our reason, continually taught us, and our forefathers have corroborated the same doctrine by their actions, and by their bravery of mind, that it is life that is a calamity to men, and not death; for this last affords our souls their liberty, and sends them by a removal into their own place of purity, where they are to be insensible of all sorts of misery; for while souls are tied down to a mortal body, they are partakers of its miseries; and really, to speak the truth, they are themselves dead; for the union of what is divine to what is mortal is disagreeable. It is true, the power of the soul is great, even when it is imprisoned in a mortal body; for by moving it after a way that is invisible, it makes the body a sensible instrument, and causes it to advance further in its actions than mortal nature could otherwise do. However, when it is freed from that weight which draws it down to the earth and is connected with it, it obtains its own proper place, and does then become a partaker of that blessed power, and those abilities, which are then every way incapable of being hindered

in their operations. It continues invisible, indeed, to the eyes of men, as does God himself; for certainly it is not itself seen while it is in the body; for it is there after an invisible manner, and when it is freed from it, it is still not seen. It is this soul which hath one nature, and that an incorruptible one also; but yet it is the cause of the change that is made in the body; for whatsoever it be which the soul touches, that lives and flourishes; and from whatsoever it is removed, that withers away and dies; such a degree is there in it of immortality. Let me produce the state of sleep as a most evident demonstration of the truth of what I say; wherein souls, when the body does not distract them, have the sweetest rest depending on themselves, and conversing with God, by their alliance to him; they then go every where, and foretell many futurities beforehand. And why are we afraid of death, while we are pleased with the rest that we have in sleep? And how absurd a thing is it to pursue after liberty while we are alive, and yet to envy it to ourselves where it will be eternal! We, therefore, who have been brought up in a discipline of our own, ought to become an example to others of our readiness to die. Yet, if we do stand in need of foreigners to support us in this matter, let us regard those Indians who profess the exercise of philosophy; for these good men do but unwillingly undergo the time of life, and look upon it as a necessary servitude, and make haste to let their souls loose from their bodies; nay, when no misfortune presses them to it, nor drives them upon it, these have such a desire of a life of immortality, that they tell other men beforehand that they are about to depart; and nobody hinders them, but every one thinks them happy men, and gives them letters to be carried to their familiar friends [that are dead], so firmly and certainly do they believe that souls converse with one another [in the other world]. So when these men have heard all such commands that were to be given them, they deliver their body to the fire; and, in order to their getting their soul a separation from the body in the greatest purity, they die in the midst of hymns of commendations made to them; for their dearest friends conduct them to their death more readily than do any of the rest of mankind conduct their fellow-citizens when they are going a very long journey, who at the same time weep on their own account, but look upon the others as happy persons, as so soon to be made partakers of the immortal order of beings. Are not we, therefore, ashamed to have lower notions than the Indians? and by our own cowardice to lay a base reproach upon the laws of our country, which are so much desired and imitated by all mankind? But put the case that we had been brought up under another persuasion, and taught that life is the greatest good which men are capable of, and that death is a calamity; however, the circumstances we are now in ought to be an inducement to us to bear such calamity courageously, since it is by the will of God, and by necessity, that we

are to die; for it now appears that God hath made such a decree against the whole Jewish nation, that we are to be deprived of this life which [he knew] we would not make a due use of. For do not you ascribe the occasion of our present condition to yourselves, nor think the Romans are the true occasion that this war we have had with them is become so destructive to us all: these things have not come to pass by their power, but a more powerful cause hath intervened, and made us afford them an occasion of their appearing to be conquerors over us. What Roman weapons, I pray you, were those by which the Jews at Cesarea were slain? On the contrary, when they were no way disposed to rebel, but were all the while keeping their seventh day festival, and did not so much as lift up their hands against the citizens of Cesarea, yet did those citizens run upon them in great crowds, and cut their throats, and the throats of their wives and children, and this without any regard to the Romans themselves, who never took us for their enemies till we revolted from them. But some may be ready to say, that truly the people of Cesarea had always a quarrel against those that lived among them, and that when an opportunity offered itself, they only satisfied the old rancor they had against them. What then shall we say to those of Scythopolis, who ventured to wage war with us on account of the Greeks? Nor did they do it by way of revenge upon the Romans, when they acted in concert with our countrymen. Wherefore you see how little our good-will and fidelity to them profited us, while they were slain, they and their whole families, after the most inhuman manner, which was all the requital that was made them for the assistance they had afforded the others; for that very same destruction which they had prevented from falling upon the others did they suffer themselves from them, as if they had been ready to be the actors against them. It would be too long for me to speak at this time of every destruction brought upon us; for you cannot but know that there was not any one Syrian city which did not slay their Jewish inhabitants, and were not more bitter enemies to us than were the Romans themselves; nay, even those of Damascus, when they were able to allege no tolerable pretense against us, filled their city with the most barbarous slaughters of our people, and cut the throats of eighteen thousand Jews, with their wives and children. And as to the multitude of those that were slain in Egypt, and that with torments also, we have been informed they were more than sixty thousand; those indeed being in a foreign country, and so naturally meeting with nothing to oppose against their enemies, were killed in the manner forementioned. As for all those of us who have waged war against the Romans in our own country, had we not sufficient reason to have sure hopes of victory? For we had arms, and walls, and fortresses so prepared as not to be easily taken, and courage not to be moved by any dangers in the cause of liberty, which

encouraged us all to revolt from the Romans. But then these advantages sufficed us but for a short time, and only raised our hopes, while they really appeared to be the origin of our miseries; for all we had hath been taken from us, and all hath fallen under our enemies, as if these advantages were only to render their victory over us the more glorious, and were not disposed for the preservation of those by whom these preparations were made. And as for those that are already dead in the war, it is reasonable we should esteem them blessed, for they are dead in defending, and not in betraying their liberty; but as to the multitude of those that are now under the Romans, who would not pity their condition? and who would not make haste to die, before he would suffer the same miseries with them? Some of them have been put upon the rack, and tortured with fire and whippings, and so died. Some have been half devoured by wild beasts, and yet have been reserved alive to be devoured by them a second time, in order to afford laughter and sport to our enemies; and such of those as are alive still are to be looked on as the most miserable, who, being so desirous of death, could not come at it. And where is now that great city, the metropolis of the Jewish nation, which was fortified by so many walls round about, which had so many fortresses and large towers to defend it, which could hardly contain the instruments prepared for the war, and which had so many ten thousands of men to fight for it? Where is this city that was believed to have God himself inhabiting therein? It is now demolished to the very foundations, and hath nothing but that monument of it preserved, I mean the camp of those that hath destroyed it, which still dwells upon its ruins; some unfortunate old men also lie upon the ashes of the temple, and a few women are there preserved alive by the enemy, for our bitter shame and reproach. Now who is there that revolves these things in his mind, and yet is able to bear the sight of the sun, though he might live out of danger? Who is there so much his country's enemy, or so unmanly, and so desirous of living, as not to repent that he is still alive? And I cannot but wish that we had all died before we had seen that holy city demolished by the hands of our enemies, or the foundations of our holy temple dug up after so profane a manner. But since we had a generous hope that deluded us, as if we might perhaps have been able to avenge ourselves on our enemies on that account, though it be now become vanity, and hath left us alone in this distress, let us make haste to die bravely. Let us pity ourselves, our children, and our wives while it is in our own power to show pity to them; for we were born to die, as well as those were whom we have begotten; nor is it in the power of the most happy of our race to avoid it. But for abuses, and slavery, and the sight of our wives led away after an ignominious manner, with their children, these are not such evils as are natural and necessary among men; although such as do not prefer death before those miseries, when it

is in their power so to do, must undergo even them, on account of their own cowardice. We revolted from the Romans with great pretensions to courage; and when, at the very last, they invited us to preserve ourselves, we would not comply with them. Who will not, therefore, believe that they will certainly be in a rage at us, in case they can take us alive? Miserable will then be the young men who will be strong enough in their bodies to sustain many torments! miserable also will be those of elder years, who will not be able to bear those calamities which young men might sustain! One man will be obliged to hear the voice of his son implore help of his father, when his hands are bound. But certainly our hands are still at liberty, and have a sword in them; let them then be subservient to us in our glorious design; let us die before we become slaves under our enemies, and let us go out of the world, together with our children and our wives, in a state of freedom. This it is that our laws command us to do; this it is that our wives and children crave at our hands; nay, God himself hath brought this necessity upon us; while the Romans desire the contrary, and are afraid lest any of us should die before we are taken. Let us therefore make haste, and instead of affording them so much pleasure, as they hope for in getting us under their power, let us leave them an example which shall at once cause their astonishment at our death, and their admiration of our hardiness therein."

CHAPTER 9.

How The People That Were In The Fortress Were Prevailed On By The Words Of Eleazar, Two Women And Five Children Only Excepted And All Submitted To Be Killed By One Another.

1. Now as Eleazar was proceeding on in this exhortation, they all cut him off short, and made haste to do the work, as full of an unconquerable ardor of mind, and moved with a demoniacal fury. So they went their ways, as one still endeavoring to be before another, and as thinking that this eagerness would be a demonstration of their courage and good conduct, if they could avoid appearing in the last class; so great was the zeal they were in to slay their wives and children, and themselves also! Nor indeed, when they came to the work itself, did their courage fail them, as one might imagine it would have done, but they then held fast the same resolution, without wavering, which they had upon the hearing of Eleazar's speech, while yet every one of them still retained the natural passion of love to themselves and their families, because the reasoning they went upon appeared to them to be very just, even with regard to those that were dearest to them; for the husbands tenderly embraced their wives, and took their children into their arms, and gave the longest parting kisses to them, with tears in their eyes. Yet at the same time did they complete what they had resolved on, as if they had been executed by the hands of strangers; and they had nothing else for their comfort but the necessity they were in of doing this execution, to avoid that prospect they had of the miseries they were to suffer from their enemies. Nor was there at length any one of these men found that scrupled to act their part in this terrible execution, but every one of them despatched his dearest relations. Miserable men indeed were they! whose distress forced them to slay their own wives and children with their own hands, as the lightest of those evils that were before them. So they being not able to bear the grief they were under for what they had done any longer, and esteeming it an injury to those they had slain, to live even the shortest space of time after them, they presently laid all they had upon a heap, and set fire to it. They then chose ten men by lot out of them to slay all the rest; every one of whom laid himself down by his wife and children on the ground, and threw his arms about them, and they offered their necks to the stroke of those who by lot executed that melancholy office; and when these ten had, without fear, slain them all, they made the same rule for casting lots for themselves, that he whose lot it was should first kill the other nine, and after all should kill himself. Accordingly, all these had courage sufficient to be no way

behind one another in doing or suffering; so, for a conclusion, the nine offered their necks to the executioner, and he who was the last of all took a view of all the other bodies, lest perchance some or other among so many that were slain should want his assistance to be quite despatched, and when he perceived that they were all slain, he set fire to the palace, and with the great force of his hand ran his sword entirely through himself, and fell down dead near to his own relations. So these people died with this intention, that they would not leave so much as one soul among them all alive to be subject to the Romans. Yet was there an ancient woman, and another who was of kin to Eleazar, and superior to most women in prudence and learning, with five children, who had concealed themselves in caverns under ground, and had carried water thither for their drink, and were hidden there when the rest were intent upon the slaughter of one another. Those others were nine hundred and sixty in number, the women and children being withal included in that computation. This calamitous slaughter was made on the fifteenth day of the month Xanthicus [Nisan].

2. Now for the Romans, they expected that they should be fought in the morning, when, accordingly, they put on their armor, and laid bridges of planks upon their ladders from their banks, to make an assault upon the fortress, which they did; but saw nobody as an enemy, but a terrible solitude on every side, with a fire within the place, as well as a perfect silence. So they were at a loss to guess at what had happened. At length they made a shout, as if it had been at a blow given by the battering ram, to try whether they could bring any one out that was within; the women heard this noise, and came out of their under-ground cavern, and informed the Romans what had been done, as it was done; and the second of them clearly described all both what was said and what was done, and this manner of it; yet did they not easily give their attention to such a desperate undertaking, and did not believe it could be as they said; they also attempted to put the fire out, and quickly cutting themselves a way through it, they came within the palace, and so met with the multitude of the slain, but could take no pleasure in the fact, though it were done to their enemies. Nor could they do other than wonder at the courage of their resolution, and the immovable contempt of death which so great a number of them had shown, when they went through with such an action as that was.

CHAPTER 10.

That Many Of The Sicarii Fled To Alexandria Also And What Dangers They Were In There; On Which Account That Temple Which Had Formerly Been Built By Onias The High Priest Was Destroyed.

1. When Masada was thus taken, the general left a garrison in the fortress to keep it, and he himself went away to Cesarea; for there were now no enemies left in the country, but it was all overthrown by so long a war. Yet did this war afford disturbances and dangerous disorders even in places very far remote from Judea; for still it came to pass that many Jews were slain at Alexandria in Egypt; for as many of the Sicarii as were able to fly thither, out of the seditious wars in Judea, were not content to have saved themselves, but must needs be undertaking to make new disturbances, and persuaded many of those that entertained them to assert their liberty, to esteem the Romans to be no better than themselves, and to look upon God as their only Lord and Master. But when part of the Jews of reputation opposed them, they slew some of them, and with the others they were very pressing in their exhortations to revolt from the Romans; but when the principal men of the senate saw what madness they were come to, they thought it no longer safe for themselves to overlook them. So they got all the Jews together to an assembly, and accused the madness of the Sicarii, and demonstrated that they had been the authors of all the evils that had come upon them. They said also that "these men, now they were run away from Judea, having no sure hope of escaping, because as soon as ever they shall be known, they will be soon destroyed by the Romans, they come hither and fill us full of those calamities which belong to them, while we have not been partakers with them in any of their sins." Accordingly, they exhorted the multitude to have a care, lest they should be brought to destruction by their means, and to make their apology to the Romans for what had been done, by delivering these men up to them; who being thus apprized of the greatness of the danger they were in, complied with what was proposed, and ran with great violence upon the Sicarii, and seized upon them; and indeed six hundred of them were caught immediately: but as to all those that fled into Egypt and to the Egyptian Thebes, it was not long ere they were caught also, and brought back, whose courage, or whether we ought to call it madness, or hardiness in their opinions, every body was amazed at. For when all sorts of torments and vexations of their bodies that could be devised were made use of to them, they could not get any one of them to comply so far as to confess, or seem to confess, that Caesar was their lord; but they

preserved their own opinion, in spite of all the distress they were brought to, as if they received these torments and the fire itself with bodies insensible of pain, and with a soul that in a manner rejoiced under them. But what was most of all astonishing to the beholders was the courage of the children; for not one of these children was so far overcome by these torments, as to name Caesar for their lord. So far does the strength of the courage [of the soul] prevail over the weakness of the body.

2. Now Lupus did then govern Alexandria, who presently sent Caesar word of this commotion; who having in suspicion the restless temper of the Jews for innovation, and being afraid lest they should get together again, and persuade some others to join with them, gave orders to Lupus to demolish that Jewish temple which was in the region called Onion, and was in Egypt, which was built and had its denomination from the occasion following: Onias, the son of Simon, one of the Jewish high priests fled from Antiochus the king of Syria, when he made war with the Jews, and came to Alexandria; and as Ptolemy received him very kindly, on account of hatred to Antiochus, he assured him, that if he would comply with his proposal, he would bring all the Jews to his assistance; and when the king agreed to do it so far as he was able, he desired him to give him leave to build a temple some where in Egypt, and to worship God according to the customs of his own country; for that the Jews would then be so much readier to fight against Antiochus who had laid waste the temple at Jerusalem, and that they would then come to him with greater good-will; and that, by granting them liberty of conscience, very many of them would come over to him.

3. So Ptolemy complied with his proposals, and gave him a place one hundred and eighty furlongs distant from Memphis. That Nomos was called the Nomos of Hellopolis, where Onias built a fortress and a temple, not like to that at Jerusalem, but such as resembled a tower. He built it of large stones to the height of sixty cubits; he made the structure of the altar in imitation of that in our own country, and in like manner adorned with gifts, excepting the make of the candlestick, for he did not make a candlestick, but had a [single] lamp hammered out of a piece of gold, which illuminated the place with its rays, and which he hung by a chain of gold; but the entire temple was encompassed with a wall of burnt brick, though it had gates of stone. The king also gave him a large country for a revenue in money, that both the priests might have a plentiful provision made for them, and that God might have great abundance of what things were necessary for his worship. Yet did not Onias do this out of a sober disposition, but he had a mind to contend with the Jews at Jerusalem, and could not forget the indignation he had for being banished thence. Accordingly, he thought that by building this temple he should draw away a great number from them to

himself. There had been also a certain ancient prediction made by [a prophet] whose name was Isaiah, about six hundred years before, that this temple should be built by a man that was a Jew in Egypt. And this is the history of the building of that temple.

4. And now Lupus, the governor of Alexandria, upon the receipt of Caesar's letter, came to the temple, and carried out of it some of the donations dedicated thereto, and shut up the temple itself. And as Lupus died a little afterward, Paulinus succeeded him. This man left none of those donations there, and threatened the priests severely if they did not bring them all out; nor did he permit any who were desirous of worshipping God there so much as to come near the whole sacred place; but when he had shut up the gates, he made it entirely inaccessible, insomuch that there remained no longer the least footsteps of any Divine worship that had been in that place. Now the duration of the time from the building of this temple till it was shut up again was three hundred and forty-three years.

CHAPTER 11.

Concerning Jonathan, One Of The Sicarii, That Stirred Up A Sedition In Cyrene, And Was A False Accuser [Of The Innocent].

1. And now did the madness of the Sicarii, like a disease, reach as far as the cities of Cyrene; for one Jonathan, a vile person, and by trade a weaver, came thither and prevailed with no small number of the poorer sort to give ear to him; he also led them into the desert, upon promising them that he would show them signs and apparitions. And as for the other Jews of Cyrene, he concealed his knavery from them, and put tricks upon them; but those of the greatest dignity among them informed Catullus, the governor of the Libyan Pentapolis, of his march into the desert, and of the preparations he had made for it. So he sent out after him both horsemen and footmen, and easily overcame them, because they were unarmed men; of these many were slain in the fight, but some were taken alive, and brought to Catullus. As for Jonathan, the head of this plot, he fled away at that time; but upon a great and very diligent search, which was made all the country over for him, he was at last taken. And when he was brought to Catullus, he devised a way whereby he both escaped punishment himself, and afforded an occasion to Catullus of doing much mischief; for he falsely accused the richest men among the Jews, and said that they had put him upon what he did.

2. Now Catullus easily admitted of these his calumnies, and aggravated matters greatly, and made tragical exclamations, that he might also be supposed to have had a hand in the finishing of the Jewish war. But what was still harder, he did not only give a too easy belief to his stories, but he taught the Sicarii to accuse men falsely. He bid this Jonathan, therefore, to name one Alexander, a Jew [with whom he had formerly had a quarrel, and openly professed that he hated him]; he also got him to name his wife Bernice, as concerned with him. These two Catullus ordered to be slain in the first place; nay, after them he caused all the rich and wealthy Jews to be slain, being no fewer in all than three thousand. This he thought he might do safely, because he confiscated their effects, and added them to Caesar's revenues.

3. Nay, indeed, lest any Jews that lived elsewhere should convict him of his villainy, he extended his false accusations further, and persuaded Jonathan, and certain others that were caught with him, to bring an accusation of attempts for innovation against the Jews that were of the best character both at Alexandria

and at Rome. One of these, against whom this treacherous accusation was laid, was Josephus, the writer of these books. However, this plot, thus contrived by Catullus, did not succeed according to his hopes; for though he came himself to Rome, and brought Jonathan and his companions along with him in bonds, and thought he should have had no further inquisition made as to those lies that were forged under his government, or by his means; yet did Vespasian suspect the matter and made an inquiry how far it was true. And when he understood that the accusation laid against the Jews was an unjust one, he cleared them of the crimes charged upon them, and this on account of Titus's concern about the matter, and brought a deserved punishment upon Jonathan; for he was first tormented, and then burnt alive.

4. But as to Catullus, the emperors were so gentle to him, that he underwent no severe condemnation at this time; yet was it not long before he fell into a complicated and almost incurable distemper, and died miserably. He was not only afflicted in body, but the distemper in his mind was more heavy upon him than the other; for he was terribly disturbed, and continually cried out that he saw the ghosts of those whom he had slain standing before him. Where upon he was not able to contain himself, but leaped out of his bed, as if both torments and fire were brought to him. This his distemper grew still a great deal worse and worse continually, and his very entrails were so corroded, that they fell out of his body, and in that condition he died. Thus he became as great an instance of Divine Providence as ever was, and demonstrated that God punishes wicked men.

5. And here we shall put an end to this our history; wherein we formerly promised to deliver the same with all accuracy, to such as should be desirous of understanding after what manner this war of the Romans with the Jews was managed. Of which history, how good the style is, must be left to the determination of the readers; but as for its agreement with the facts, I shall not scruple to say, and that boldly, that truth hath been what I have alone aimed at through its entire composition.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS

Translated by William Whiston

The Ἰουδαϊκὴ ἀρχαιολογία is a twenty-volume historiographical work, composed in the thirteenth year of the reign of Flavius Domitian in AD 93 or 94. The work provides a detailed account of the history of the Jewish people, written in Greek for Josephus' gentile patrons. In the first ten volumes, Josephus follows the events of the historical books of the Hebrew Bible, beginning with the creation of Adam and Eve. The second half of the work continues the history of the Jewish people beyond the biblical text and up to the Jewish War.

In the preface, Josephus provides his motivation for composing such a large work, explaining, "Now I have undertaken the present work, as thinking it will appear to all the Greeks worthy of their study; for it will contain all our antiquities, and the constitution of our government, as interpreted out of the Hebrew Scriptures." At that time, the Jews were mistakenly thought to lack great historical figures and to be without a credible history of their people. They were also accused of harbouring hostility toward non-Jews and were thought to be generally lacking in loyalty, respect for authority and charity. With these harsh accusations against the Jews infiltrating the Roman Empire, Josephus set out to produce a Hellenised adaptation of Jewish history, acting as a literary "apologia", pleading the case of a group of people or set of beliefs to a larger audience.

Interestingly, the extant copies of the *Antiquities of the Jews*, which all derive from Christian sources, contain two disputed passages concerning Jesus. The long account has come to be known as the *Testimonium Flavianum*. If genuine, it is an early extrabiblical record of Jesus and as such is sometimes cited as independent evidence for the historical existence of this person.

A leaf from the 1466 manuscript of the Antiquitates Iudaice

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PREFACE.

1. Those who undertake to write histories, do not, I perceive, take that trouble on one and the same account, but for many reasons, and those such as are very different one from another. For some of them apply themselves to this part of learning to show their skill in composition, and that they may therein acquire a reputation for speaking finely: others of them there are, who write histories in order to gratify those that happen to be concerned in them, and on that account have spared no pains, but rather gone beyond their own abilities in the performance: but others there are, who, of necessity and by force, are driven to write history, because they are concerned in the facts, and so cannot excuse themselves from committing them to writing, for the advantage of posterity; nay, there are not a few who are induced to draw their historical facts out of darkness into light, and to produce them for the benefit of the public, on account of the great importance of the facts themselves with which they have been concerned. Now of these several reasons for writing history, I must profess the two last were my own reasons also; for since I was myself interested in that war which we Jews had with the Romans, and knew myself its particular actions, and what conclusion it had, I was forced to give the history of it, because I saw that others perverted the truth of those actions in their writings.

2. Now I have undertaken the present work, as thinking it will appear to all the Greeks worthy of their study; for it will contain all our antiquities, and the constitution of our government, as interpreted out of the Hebrew Scriptures. And indeed I did formerly intend, when I wrote of the war, to explain who the Jews originally were, — what fortunes they had been subject to, — and by what legislature they had been instructed in piety, and the exercise of other virtues, — what wars also they had made in remote ages, till they were unwillingly engaged in this last with the Romans: but because this work would take up a great compass, I separated it into a set treatise by itself, with a beginning of its own, and its own conclusion; but in process of time, as usually happens to such as undertake great things, I grew weary and went on slowly, it being a large subject, and a difficult thing to translate our history into a foreign, and to us unaccustomed language. However, some persons there were who desired to know our history, and so exhorted me to go on with it; and, above all the rest, Epaphroditus, a man who is a lover of all kind of learning, but is principally delighted with the knowledge of history, and this on account of his having been himself concerned in great affairs, and many turns of fortune, and having shown

a wonderful rigor of an excellent nature, and an immovable virtuous resolution in them all. I yielded to this man's persuasions, who always excites such as have abilities in what is useful and acceptable, to join their endeavors with his. I was also ashamed myself to permit any laziness of disposition to have a greater influence upon me, than the delight of taking pains in such studies as were very useful: I thereupon stirred up myself, and went on with my work more cheerfully. Besides the foregoing motives, I had others which I greatly reflected on; and these were, that our forefathers were willing to communicate such things to others; and that some of the Greeks took considerable pains to know the affairs of our nation.

3. I found, therefore, that the second of the Ptolemies was a king who was extraordinarily diligent in what concerned learning, and the collection of books; that he was also peculiarly ambitious to procure a translation of our law, and of the constitution of our government therein contained, into the Greek tongue. Now Eleazar the high priest, one not inferior to any other of that dignity among us, did not envy the forenamed king the participation of that advantage, which otherwise he would for certain have denied him, but that he knew the custom of our nation was, to hinder nothing of what we esteemed ourselves from being communicated to others. Accordingly, I thought it became me both to imitate the generosity of our high priest, and to suppose there might even now be many lovers of learning like the king; for he did not obtain all our writings at that time; but those who were sent to Alexandria as interpreters, gave him only the books of the law, while there were a vast number of other matters in our sacred books. They, indeed, contain in them the history of five thousand years; in which time happened many strange accidents, many chances of war, and great actions of the commanders, and mutations of the form of our government. Upon the whole, a man that will peruse this history, may principally learn from it, that all events succeed well, even to an incredible degree, and the reward of felicity is proposed by God; but then it is to those that follow his will, and do not venture to break his excellent laws: and that so far as men any way apostatize from the accurate observation of them, what was practical before becomes impracticable and whatsoever they set about as a good thing, is converted into an incurable calamity. And now I exhort all those that peruse these books, to apply their minds to God; and to examine the mind of our legislator, whether he hath not understood his nature in a manner worthy of him; and hath not ever ascribed to him such operations as become his power, and hath not preserved his writings from those indecent fables which others have framed, although, by the great distance of time when he lived, he might have securely forged such lies; for he lived two thousand years ago; at which vast distance of ages the poets

themselves have not been so hardy as to fix even the generations of their gods, much less the actions of their men, or their own laws. As I proceed, therefore, I shall accurately describe what is contained in our records, in the order of time that belongs to them; for I have already promised so to do throughout this undertaking; and this without adding any thing to what is therein contained, or taking away any thing therefrom.

4. But because almost all our constitution depends on the wisdom of Moses, our legislator, I cannot avoid saying somewhat concerning him beforehand, though I shall do it briefly; I mean, because otherwise those that read my book may wonder how it comes to pass, that my discourse, which promises an account of laws and historical facts, contains so much of philosophy. The reader is therefore to know, that Moses deemed it exceeding necessary, that he who would conduct his own life well, and give laws to others, in the first place should consider the Divine nature; and, upon the contemplation of God's operations, should thereby imitate the best of all patterns, so far as it is possible for human nature to do, and to endeavor to follow after it: neither could the legislator himself have a right mind without such a contemplation; nor would any thing he should write tend to the promotion of virtue in his readers; I mean, unless they be taught first of all, that God is the Father and Lord of all things, and sees all things, and that thence he bestows a happy life upon those that follow him; but plunges such as do not walk in the paths of virtue into inevitable miseries. Now when Moses was desirous to teach this lesson to his countrymen, he did not begin the establishment of his laws after the same manner that other legislators did; I mean, upon contracts and other rights between one man and another, but by raising their minds upwards to regard God, and his creation of the world; and by persuading them, that we men are the most excellent of the creatures of God upon earth. Now when once he had brought them to submit to religion, he easily persuaded them to submit in all other things: for as to other legislators, they followed fables, and by their discourses transferred the most reproachful of human vices unto the gods, and afforded wicked men the most plausible excuses for their crimes; but as for our legislator, when he had once demonstrated that God was possessed of perfect virtue, he supposed that men also ought to strive after the participation of it; and on those who did not so think, and so believe, he inflicted the severest punishments. I exhort, therefore, my readers to examine this whole undertaking in that view; for thereby it will appear to them, that there is nothing therein disagreeable either to the majesty of God, or to his love to mankind; for all things have here a reference to the nature of the universe; while our legislator speaks some things wisely, but enigmatically, and others under a decent allegory, but still explains such things as required a direct explication

plainly and expressly. However, those that have a mind to know the reasons of every thing, may find here a very curious philosophical theory, which I now indeed shall wave the explication of; but if God afford me time for it, I will set about writing it after I have finished the present work. I shall now betake myself to the history before me, after I have first mentioned what Moses says of the creation of the world, which I find described in the sacred books after the manner following.

BOOK I. Containing The Interval Of Three Thousand Eight Hundred And Thirty-Three Years. — From The Creation To The Death Of Isaac.

CHAPTER 1. The Constitution Of The World And The Disposition Of The Elements.

1. In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. But when the earth did not come into sight, but was covered with thick darkness, and a wind moved upon its surface, God commanded that there should be light: and when that was made, he considered the whole mass, and separated the light and the darkness; and the name he gave to one was Night, and the other he called Day: and he named the beginning of light, and the time of rest, The Evening and The Morning, and this was indeed the first day. But Moses said it was one day; the cause of which I am able to give even now; but because I have promised to give such reasons for all things in a treatise by itself, I shall put off its exposition till that time. After this, on the second day, he placed the heaven over the whole world, and separated it from the other parts, and he determined it should stand by itself. He also placed a crystalline [firmament] round it, and put it together in a manner agreeable to the earth, and fitted it for giving moisture and rain, and for affording the advantage of dews. On the third day he appointed the dry land to appear, with the sea itself round about it; and on the very same day he made the plants and the seeds to spring out of the earth. On the fourth day he adorned the heaven with the sun, the moon, and the other stars, and appointed them their motions and courses, that the vicissitudes of the seasons might be clearly signified. And on the fifth day he produced the living creatures, both those that swim, and those that fly; the former in the sea, the latter in the air: he also sorted them as to society and mixture, for procreation, and that their kinds might increase and multiply. On the sixth day he created the four-footed beasts, and made them male and female: on the same day he also formed man. Accordingly Moses says, That in just six days the world, and all that is therein, was made. And that the seventh day was a rest, and a release from the labor of such operations; whence it is that we Celebrate a rest from our labors on that day, and call it the Sabbath, which word denotes rest in the Hebrew tongue.

2. Moreover, Moses, after the seventh day was over begins to talk philosophically; and concerning the formation of man, says thus: That God took dust from the ground, and formed man, and inserted in him a spirit and a soul. This man was called Adam, which in the Hebrew tongue signifies one that is red, because he was formed out of red earth, compounded together; for of that kind is virgin and true earth. God also presented the living creatures, when he had made them, according to their kinds, both male and female, to Adam, who gave them

those names by which they are still called. But when he saw that Adam had no female companion, no society, for there was no such created, and that he wondered at the other animals which were male and female, he laid him asleep, and took away one of his ribs, and out of it formed the woman; whereupon Adam knew her when she was brought to him, and acknowledged that she was made out of himself. Now a woman is called in the Hebrew tongue Issa; but the name of this woman was Eve, which signifies the mother of all living.

3. Moses says further, that God planted a paradise in the east, flourishing with all sorts of trees; and that among them was the tree of life, and another of knowledge, whereby was to be known what was good and evil; and that when he brought Adam and his wife into this garden, he commanded them to take care of the plants. Now the garden was watered by one river, which ran round about the whole earth, and was parted into four parts. And Phison, which denotes a multitude, running into India, makes its exit into the sea, and is by the Greeks called Ganges. Euphrates also, as well as Tigris, goes down into the Red Sea. Now the name Euphrates, or Phrath, denotes either a dispersion, or a flower: by Tiris, or Diglath, is signified what is swift, with narrowness; and Geon runs through Egypt, and denotes what arises from the east, which the Greeks call Nile.

4. God therefore commanded that Adam and his wife should eat of all the rest of the plants, but to abstain from the tree of knowledge; and foretold to them, that if they touched it, it would prove their destruction. But while all the living creatures had one language, at that time the serpent, which then lived together with Adam and his wife, shewed an envious disposition, at his supposal of their living happily, and in obedience to the commands of God; and imagining, that when they disobeyed them, they would fall into calamities, he persuaded the woman, out of a malicious intention, to taste of the tree of knowledge, telling them, that in that tree was the knowledge of good and evil; which knowledge, when they should obtain, they would lead a happy life; nay, a life not inferior to that of a god: by which means he overcame the woman, and persuaded her to despise the command of God. Now when she had tasted of that tree, and was pleased with its fruit, she persuaded Adam to make use of it also. Upon this they perceived that they were become naked to one another; and being ashamed thus to appear abroad, they invented somewhat to cover them; for the tree sharpened their understanding; and they covered themselves with fig-leaves; and tying these before them, out of modesty, they thought they were happier than they were before, as they had discovered what they were in want of. But when God came into the garden, Adam, who was wont before to come and converse with him, being conscious of his wicked behavior, went out of the way. This behavior

surprised God; and he asked what was the cause of this his procedure; and why he, that before delighted in that conversation, did now fly from it, and avoid it. When he made no reply, as conscious to himself that he had transgressed the command of God, God said, “I had before determined about you both, how you might lead a happy life, without any affliction, and care, and vexation of soul; and that all things which might contribute to your enjoyment and pleasure should grow up by my providence, of their own accord, without your own labor and pains-taking; which state of labor and pains-taking would soon bring on old age, and death would not be at any remote distance: but now thou hast abused this my good-will, and hast disobeyed my commands; for thy silence is not the sign of thy virtue, but of thy evil conscience.” However, Adam excused his sin, and entreated God not to be angry at him, and laid the blame of what was done upon his wife; and said that he was deceived by her, and thence became an offender; while she again accused the serpent. But God allotted him punishment, because he weakly submitted to the counsel of his wife; and said the ground should not henceforth yield its fruits of its own accord, but that when it should be harassed by their labor, it should bring forth some of its fruits, and refuse to bring forth others. He also made Eve liable to the inconveniency of breeding, and the sharp pains of bringing forth children; and this because she persuaded Adam with the same arguments wherewith the serpent had persuaded her, and had thereby brought him into a calamitous condition. He also deprived the serpent of speech, out of indignation at his malicious disposition towards Adam. Besides this, he inserted poison under his tongue, and made him an enemy to men; and suggested to them, that they should direct their strokes against his head, that being the place wherein lay his mischievous designs towards men, and it being easiest to take vengeance on him, that way. And when he had deprived him of the use of his feet, he made him to go rolling all along, and dragging himself upon the ground. And when God had appointed these penalties for them, he removed Adam and Eve out of the garden into another place.

CHAPTER 2. Concerning The Posterity Of Adam, And The Ten Generations From Him To The Deluge.

1. Adam and Eve had two sons: the elder of them was named Cain; which name, when it is interpreted, signifies a possession: the younger was Abel, which signifies sorrow. They had also daughters. Now the two brethren were pleased with different courses of life: for Abel, the younger, was a lover of righteousness; and believing that God was present at all his actions, he excelled in virtue; and his employment was that of a shepherd. But Cain was not only very wicked in other respects, but was wholly intent upon getting; and he first contrived to plough the ground. He slew his brother on the occasion following: — They had resolved to sacrifice to God. Now Cain brought the fruits of the earth, and of his husbandry; but Abel brought milk, and the first-fruits of his flocks: but God was more delighted with the latter oblation, when he was honored with what grew naturally of its own accord, than he was with what was the invention of a covetous man, and gotten by forcing the ground; whence it was that Cain was very angry that Abel was preferred by God before him; and he slew his brother, and hid his dead body, thinking to escape discovery. But God, knowing what had been done, came to Cain, and asked him what was become of his brother, because he had not seen him of many days; whereas he used to observe them conversing together at other times. But Cain was in doubt with himself, and knew not what answer to give to God. At first he said that he was himself at a loss about his brother's disappearing; but when he was provoked by God, who pressed him vehemently, as resolving to know what the matter was, he replied, he was not his brother's guardian or keeper, nor was he an observer of what he did. But, in return, God convicted Cain, as having been the murderer of his brother; and said, "I wonder at thee, that thou knowest not what is become of a man whom thou thyself hast destroyed." God therefore did not inflict the punishment [of death] upon him, on account of his offering sacrifice, and thereby making supplication to him not to be extreme in his wrath to him; but he made him accursed, and threatened his posterity in the seventh generation. He also cast him, together with his wife, out of that land. And when he was afraid that in wandering about he should fall among Wild beasts, and by that means perish, God bid him not to entertain such a melancholy suspicion, and to go over all the earth without fear of what mischief he might suffer from wild beasts; and setting a mark upon him, that he might be known, he commanded him to depart.

2. And when Cain had traveled over many countries, he, with his wife, built a city, named Nod, which is a place so called, and there he settled his abode; where also he had children. However, he did not accept of his punishment in order to amendment, but to increase his wickedness; for he only aimed to procure every thing that was for his own bodily pleasure, though it obliged him to be injurious to his neighbors. He augmented his household substance with much wealth, by rapine and violence; he excited his acquaintance to procure pleasures and spoils by robbery, and became a great leader of men into wicked courses. He also introduced a change in that way of simplicity wherein men lived before; and was the author of measures and weights. And whereas they lived innocently and generously while they knew nothing of such arts, he changed the world into cunning craftiness. He first of all set boundaries about lands: he built a city, and fortified it with walls, and he compelled his family to come together to it; and called that city Enoch, after the name of his eldest son Enoch. Now Jared was the son of Enoch; whose son was Malaliel; whose son was Mathusela; whose son was Lamech; who had seventy-seven children by two wives, Silla and Ada. Of those children by Ada, one was Jabal: he erected tents, and loved the life of a shepherd. But Jubal, who was born of the same mother with him, exercised himself in music; and invented the psaltery and the harp. But Tubal, one of his children by the other wife, exceeded all men in strength, and was very expert and famous in martial performances. He procured what tended to the pleasures of the body by that method; and first of all invented the art of making brass. Lamech was also the father of a daughter, whose name was Naamah. And because he was so skillful in matters of divine revelation, that he knew he was to be punished for Cain's murder of his brother, he made that known to his wives. Nay, even while Adam was alive, it came to pass that the posterity of Cain became exceeding wicked, every one successively dying, one after another, more wicked than the former. They were intolerable in war, and vehement in robberies; and if any one were slow to murder people, yet was he bold in his profligate behavior, in acting unjustly, and doing injuries for gain.

3. Now Adam, who was the first man, and made out of the earth, [for our discourse must now be about him,] after Abel was slain, and Cain fled away, on account of his murder, was solicitous for posterity, and had a vehement desire of children, he being two hundred and thirty years old; after which time he lived other seven hundred, and then died. He had indeed many other children, but Seth in particular. As for the rest, it would be tedious to name them; I will therefore only endeavor to give an account of those that proceeded from Seth. Now this Seth, when he was brought up, and came to those years in which he could discern what was good, became a virtuous man; and as he was himself of an

excellent character, so did he leave children behind him who imitated his virtues. All these proved to be of good dispositions. They also inhabited the same country without dissensions, and in a happy condition, without any misfortunes falling upon them, till they died. They also were the inventors of that peculiar sort of wisdom which is concerned with the heavenly bodies, and their order. And that their inventions might not be lost before they were sufficiently known, upon Adam's prediction that the world was to be destroyed at one time by the force of fire, and at another time by the violence and quantity of water, they made two pillars, the one of brick, the other of stone: they inscribed their discoveries on them both, that in case the pillar of brick should be destroyed by the flood, the pillar of stone might remain, and exhibit those discoveries to mankind; and also inform them that there was another pillar of brick erected by them. Now this remains in the land of Siriad to this day.

CHAPTER 3. Concerning The Flood; And After What Manner Noah Was Saved In An Ark, With His Kindred, And Afterwards Dwelt In The Plain Of Shinar.

1. Now this posterity of Seth continued to esteem God as the Lord of the universe, and to have an entire regard to virtue, for seven generations; but in process of time they were perverted, and forsook the practices of their forefathers; and did neither pay those honors to God which were appointed them, nor had they any concern to do justice towards men. But for what degree of zeal they had formerly shown for virtue, they now showed by their actions a double degree of wickedness, whereby they made God to be their enemy. For many angels of God accompanied with women, and begat sons that proved unjust, and despisers of all that was good, on account of the confidence they had in their own strength; for the tradition is, that these men did what resembled the acts of those whom the Grecians call giants. But Noah was very uneasy at what they did; and being displeased at their conduct, persuaded them to change their dispositions and their acts for the better: but seeing they did not yield to him, but were slaves to their wicked pleasures, he was afraid they would kill him, together with his wife and children, and those they had married; so he departed out of that land.

2. Now God loved this man for his righteousness: yet he not only condemned those other men for their wickedness, but determined to destroy the whole race of mankind, and to make another race that should be pure from wickedness; and cutting short their lives, and making their years not so many as they formerly lived, but one hundred and twenty only, he turned the dry land into sea; and thus were all these men destroyed: but Noah alone was saved; for God suggested to him the following contrivance and way of escape: — That he should make an ark of four stories high, three hundred cubits long, fifty cubits broad, and thirty cubits high. Accordingly he entered into that ark, and his wife, and sons, and their wives, and put into it not only other provisions, to support their wants there, but also sent in with the rest all sorts of living creatures, the male and his female, for the preservation of their kinds; and others of them by sevens. Now this ark had firm walls, and a roof, and was braced with cross beams, so that it could not be any way drowned or overborne by the violence of the water. And thus was Noah, with his family, preserved. Now he was the tenth from Adam, as being the

son of Lamech, whose father was Mathusela; he was the son of Enoch, the son of Jared; and Jared was the son of Malaleel, who, with many of his sisters, were the children of Cainan, the son of Enos. Now Enos was the son of Seth, the son of Adam.

3. This calamity happened in the six hundredth year of Noah's government, [age,] in the second month, called by the Macedonians Dius, but by the Hebrews Marchesuan: for so did they order their year in Egypt. But Moses appointed that ú Nisan, which is the same with Xanthicus, should be the first month for their festivals, because he brought them out of Egypt in that month: so that this month began the year as to all the solemnities they observed to the honor of God, although he preserved the original order of the months as to selling and buying, and other ordinary affairs. Now he says that this flood began on the twenty-seventh [seventeenth] day of the forementioned month; and this was two thousand six hundred and fifty-six [one thousand six hundred and fifty-six] years from Adam, the first man; and the time is written down in our sacred books, those who then lived having noted down, with great accuracy, both the births and deaths of illustrious men.

4. For indeed Seth was born when Adam was in his two hundred and thirtieth year, who lived nine hundred and thirty years. Seth begat Enos in his two hundred and fifth year; who, when he had lived nine hundred and twelve years, delivered the government to Cainan his son, whom he had in his hundred and ninetieth year. He lived nine hundred and five years. Cainan, when he had lived nine hundred and ten years, had his son Malaleel, who was born in his hundred and seventieth year. This Malaleel, having lived eight hundred and ninety-five years, died, leaving his son Jared, whom he begat when he was in his hundred and sixty-fifth year. He lived nine hundred and sixty-two years; and then his son Enoch succeeded him, who was born when his father was one hundred and sixty-two years old. Now he, when he had lived three hundred and sixty-five years, departed and went to God; whence it is that they have not written down his death. Now Mathusela, the son of Enoch, who was born to him when he was one hundred and sixty-five years old, had Lamech for his son when he was one hundred and eighty-seven years of age; to whom he delivered the government, when he had retained it nine hundred and sixty-nine years. Now Lamech, when he had governed seven hundred and seventy-seven years, appointed Noah, his son, to be ruler of the people, who was born to Lamech when he was one hundred and eighty-two years old, and retained the government nine hundred and fifty years. These years collected together make up the sum before set down. But let no one inquire into the deaths of these men; for they extended their lives

along together with their children and grandchildren; but let him have regard to their births only.

5. When God gave the signal, and it began to rain, the water poured down forty entire days, till it became fifteen cubits higher than the earth; which was the reason why there was no greater number preserved, since they had no place to fly to. When the rain ceased, the water did but just begin to abate after one hundred and fifty days, [that is, on the seventeenth day of the seventh month,] it then ceasing to subside for a little while. After this, the ark rested on the top of a certain mountain in Armenia; which, when Noah understood, he opened it; and seeing a small piece of land about it, he continued quiet, and conceived some cheerful hopes of deliverance. But a few days afterward, when the water was decreased to a greater degree, he sent out a raven, as desirous to learn whether any other part of the earth were left dry by the water, and whether he might go out of the ark with safety; but the raven, finding all the land still overflowed, returned to Noah again. And after seven days he sent out a dove, to know the state of the ground; which came back to him covered with mud, and bringing an olive branch: hereby Noah learned that the earth was become clear of the flood. So after he had staid seven more days, he sent the living creatures out of the ark; and both he and his family went out, when he also sacrificed to God, and feasted with his companions. However, the Armenians call this place, [GREEK] The Place of Descent; for the ark being saved in that place, its remains are shown there by the inhabitants to this day.

6. Now all the writers of barbarian histories make mention of this flood, and of this ark; among whom is Berosus the Chaldean. For when he is describing the circumstances of the flood, he goes on thus: “It is said there is still some part of this ship in Armenia, at the mountain of the Cordyaeans; and that some people carry off pieces of the bitumen, which they take away, and use chiefly as amulets for the averting of mischiefs.” Hieronymus the Egyptian also, who wrote the Phoenician Antiquities, and Mnaseas, and a great many more, make mention of the same. Nay, Nicolaus of Damascus, in his ninety-sixth book, hath a particular relation about them; where he speaks thus: “There is a great mountain in Armenia, over Minyas, called Baris, upon which it is reported that many who fled at the time of the Deluge were saved; and that one who was carried in an ark came on shore upon the top of it; and that the remains of the timber were a great while preserved. This might be the man about whom Moses the legislator of the Jews wrote.”

7. But as for Noah, he was afraid, since God had determined to destroy mankind, lest he should drown the earth every year; so he offered burnt-offerings, and besought God that nature might hereafter go on in its former

orderly course, and that he would not bring on so great a judgment any more, by which the whole race of creatures might be in danger of destruction: but that, having now punished the wicked, he would of his goodness spare the remainder, and such as he had hitherto judged fit to be delivered from so severe a calamity; for that otherwise these last must be more miserable than the first, and that they must be condemned to a worse condition than the others, unless they be suffered to escape entirely; that is, if they be reserved for another deluge; while they must be afflicted with the terror and sight of the first deluge, and must also be destroyed by a second. He also entreated God to accept of his sacrifice, and to grant that the earth might never again undergo the like effects of 'his wrath; that men might be permitted to go on cheerfully in cultivating the same; to build cities, and live happily in them; and that they might not be deprived of any of those good things which they enjoyed before the Flood; but might attain to the like length of days, and old age, which the ancient people had arrived at before.

8. When Noah had made these supplications, God, who loved the man for his righteousness, granted entire success to his prayers, and said, that it was not he who brought the destruction on a polluted world, but that they underwent that vengeance on account of their own wickedness; and that he had not brought men into the world if he had himself determined to destroy them, it being an instance of greater wisdom not to have granted them life at all, than, after it was granted, to procure their destruction; "But the injuries," said he, "they offered to my holiness and virtue, forced me to bring this punishment upon them. But I will leave off for the time to come to require such punishments, the effects of so great wrath, for their future wicked actions, and especially on account of thy prayers. But if I shall at any time send tempests of rain, in an extraordinary manner, be not affrighted at the largeness of the showers; for the water shall no more overspread the earth. However, I require you to abstain from shedding the blood of men, and to keep yourselves pure from murder; and to punish those that commit any such thing. I permit you to make use of all the other living creatures at your pleasure, and as your appetites lead you; for I have made you lords of them all, both of those that walk on the land, and those that swim in the waters, and of those that fly in the regions of the air on high, excepting their blood, for therein is the life. But I will give you a sign that I have left off my anger by my bow." [whereby is meant the rainbow, for they determined that the rainbow was the bow of God]. And when God had said and promised thus, he went away.

9. Now when Noah had lived three hundred and fifty years after the Flood, and that all that time happily, he died, having lived the number of nine hundred and fifty years. But let no one, upon comparing the lives of the ancients with our lives, and with the few years which we now live, think that what we have said of

them is false; or make the shortness of our lives at present an argument, that neither did they attain to so long a duration of life, for those ancients were beloved of God, and [lately] made by God himself; and because their food was then fitter for the prolongation of life, might well live so great a number of years: and besides, God afforded them a longer time of life on account of their virtue, and the good use they made of it in astronomical and geometrical discoveries, which would not have afforded the time of foretelling [the periods of the stars] unless they had lived six hundred years; for the great year is completed in that interval. Now I have for witnesses to what I have said, all those that have written Antiquities, both among the Greeks and barbarians; for even Manetho, who wrote the Egyptian History, and Berosus, who collected the Chaldean Monuments, and Mochus, and Hestieus, and, besides these, Hieronymus the Egyptian, and those who composed the Phoenician History, agree to what I here say: Hesiod also, and Hecatseus, Hellanicus, and Acusilaus; and, besides these, Ephorus and Nicolaus relate that the ancients lived a thousand years. But as to these matters, let every one look upon them as he thinks fit.

CHAPTER 4. Concerning The Tower Of Babylon, And The Confusion Of Tongues.

1. Now the sons of Noah were three, — Shem, Japhet, and Ham, born one hundred years before the Deluge. These first of all descended from the mountains into the plains, and fixed their habitation there; and persuaded others who were greatly afraid of the lower grounds on account of the flood, and so were very loath to come down from the higher places, to venture to follow their examples. Now the plain in which they first dwelt was called Shinar. God also commanded them to send colonies abroad, for the thorough peopling of the earth, that they might not raise seditions among themselves, but might cultivate a great part of the earth, and enjoy its fruits after a plentiful manner. But they were so ill instructed that they did not obey God; for which reason they fell into calamities, and were made sensible, by experience, of what sin they had been guilty: for when they flourished with a numerous youth, God admonished them again to send out colonies; but they, imagining the prosperity they enjoyed was not derived from the favor of God, but supposing that their own power was the proper cause of the plentiful condition they were in, did not obey him. Nay, they added to this their disobedience to the Divine will, the suspicion that they were therefore ordered to send out separate colonies, that, being divided asunder, they might the more easily be Oppressed.

2. Now it was Nimrod who excited them to such an affront and contempt of God. He was the grandson of Ham, the son of Noah, a bold man, and of great strength of hand. He persuaded them not to ascribe it to God, as if it was through his means they were happy, but to believe that it was their own courage which procured that happiness. He also gradually changed the government into tyranny, seeing no other way of turning men from the fear of God, but to bring them into a constant dependence on his power. He also said he would be revenged on God, if he should have a mind to drown the world again; for that he would build a tower too high for the waters to be able to reach! and that he would avenge himself on God for destroying their forefathers!

3. Now the multitude were very ready to follow the determination of Nimrod, and to esteem it a piece of cowardice to submit to God; and they built a tower, neither sparing any pains, nor being in any degree negligent about the work: and, by reason of the multitude of hands employed in it, it grew very high, sooner than any one could expect; but the thickness of it was so great, and it was so strongly built, that thereby its great height seemed, upon the view, to be less than

it really was. It was built of burnt brick, cemented together with mortar, made of bitumen, that it might not be liable to admit water. When God saw that they acted so madly, he did not resolve to destroy them utterly, since they were not grown wiser by the destruction of the former sinners; but he caused a tumult among them, by producing in them divers languages, and causing that, through the multitude of those languages, they should not be able to understand one another. The place wherein they built the tower is now called Babylon, because of the confusion of that language which they readily understood before; for the Hebrews mean by the word Babel, confusion. The Sibyl also makes mention of this tower, and of the confusion of the language, when she says thus: "When all men were of one language, some of them built a high tower, as if they would thereby ascend up to heaven, but the gods sent storms of wind and overthrew the tower, and gave every one his peculiar language; and for this reason it was that the city was called Babylon." But as to the plan of Shinar, in the country of Babylonia, Hestiaeus mentions it, when he says thus: "Such of the priests as were saved, took the sacred vessels of Jupiter Enyalius, and came to Shinar of Babylonia."

CHAPTER 5. After What Manner The Posterity Of Noah Sent Out Colonies, And Inhabited The Whole Earth.

1. After this they were dispersed abroad, on account of their languages, and went out by colonies every where; and each colony took possession of that land which they light upon, and unto which God led them; so that the whole continent was filled with them, both the inland and the maritime countries. There were some also who passed over the sea in ships, and inhabited the islands: and some of those nations do still retain the denominations which were given them by their first founders; but some have lost them also, and some have only admitted certain changes in them, that they might be the more intelligible to the inhabitants. And they were the Greeks who became the authors of such mutations. For when in after-ages they grew potent, they claimed to themselves the glory of antiquity; giving names to the nations that sounded well [in Greek] that they might be better understood among themselves; and setting agreeable forms of government over them, as if they were a people derived from themselves.

CHAPTER 6. How Every Nation Was Denominated From Their First Inhabitants.

1. Now they were the grandchildren of Noah, in honor of whom names were imposed on the nations by those that first seized upon them. Japhet, the son of Noah, had seven sons: they inhabited so, that, beginning at the mountains Taurus and Amanus, they proceeded along Asia, as far as the river Tansis, and along Europe to Cadiz; and settling themselves on the lands which they light upon, which none had inhabited before, they called the nations by their own names. For Gomer founded those whom the Greeks now call Galatians, [Galls,] but were then called Gomerites. Magog founded those that from him were named Magogites, but who are by the Greeks called Scythians. Now as to Javan and Madai, the sons of Japhet; from Madai came the Madeans, who are called Medes, by the Greeks; but from Javan, Ionia, and all the Grecians, are derived. Thobel founded the Thobelites, who are now called Iberes; and the Mosocheni were founded by Mosoch; now they are Cappadocians. There is also a mark of their ancient denomination still to be shown; for there is even now among them a city called Mazaca, which may inform those that are able to understand, that so was the entire nation once called. Thiras also called those whom he ruled over Thirasians; but the Greeks changed the name into Thracians. And so many were the countries that had the children of Japhet for their inhabitants. Of the three sons of Gomer, Aschanax founded the Aschanaxians, who are now called by the Greeks Rheginians. So did Riphath found the Ripheans, now called Paphlagonians; and Thrugramma the Thrugrammeans, who, as the Greeks resolved, were named Phrygians. Of the three sons of Javan also, the son of Japhet, Elisa gave name to the Eliseans, who were his subjects; they are now the Aeolians. Tharsus to the Tharsians, for so was Cilicia of old called; the sign of which is this, that the noblest city they have, and a metropolis also, is Tarsus, the tau being by change put for the theta. Cethimus possessed the island Cethima: it is now called Cyprus; and from that it is that all islands, and the greatest part of the sea-coasts, are named Cethim by the Hebrews: and one city there is in Cyprus that has been able to preserve its denomination; it has been called Citius by those who use the language of the Greeks, and has not, by the use of that dialect, escaped the name of Cethim. And so many nations have the children and grandchildren of Japhet possessed. Now when I have premised somewhat, which perhaps the Greeks do not know, I will return and explain what I have omitted; for such names are pronounced here after the manner of the Greeks, to please my

readers; for our own country language does not so pronounce them: but the names in all cases are of one and the same ending; for the name we here pronounce Noeas, is there Noah, and in every case retains the same termination.

2. The children of Ham possessed the land from Syria and Amanus, and the mountains of Libanus; seizing upon all that was on its sea-coasts, and as far as the ocean, and keeping it as their own. Some indeed of its names are utterly vanished away; others of them being changed, and another sound given them, are hardly to be discovered; yet a few there are which have kept their denominations entire. For of the four sons of Ham, time has not at all hurt the name of Chus; for the Ethiopians, over whom he reigned, are even at this day, both by themselves and by all men in Asia, called Chusites. The memory also of the Mesraites is preserved in their name; for all we who inhabit this country [of Judea] called Egypt Mestre, and the Egyptians Mestreans. Phut also was the founder of Libya, and called the inhabitants Phutites, from himself: there is also a river in the country of Moors which bears that name; whence it is that we may see the greatest part of the Grecian historiographers mention that river and the adjoining country by the appellation of Phut: but the name it has now has been by change given it from one of the sons of Mesraim, who was called Lybyos. We will inform you presently what has been the occasion why it has been called Africa also. Canaan, the fourth son of Ham, inhabited the country now called Judea, and called it from his own name Canaan. The children of these [four] were these: Sabas, who founded the Sabeans; Evilas, who founded the Evileans, who are called Getuli; Sabathes founded the Sabathens, they are now called by the Greeks Astaborans; Sabactas settled the Sabactens; and Ragmus the Ragmeans; and he had two sons, the one of whom, Judadas, settled the Judadeans, a nation of the western Ethiopians, and left them his name; as did Sabas to the Sabeans: but Nimrod, the son of Chus, staid and tyrannized at Babylon, as we have already informed you. Now all the children of Mesraim, being eight in number, possessed the country from Gaza to Egypt, though it retained the name of one only, the Philistim; for the Greeks call part of that country Palestine. As for the rest, Ludieim, and Enemim, and Labim, who alone inhabited in Libya, and called the country from himself, Nedim, and Phethrosim, and Chesloim, and Cephthorim, we know nothing of them besides their names; for the Ethiopic war which we shall describe hereafter, was the cause that those cities were overthrown. The sons of Canaan were these: Sidonius, who also built a city of the same name; it is called by the Greeks Sidon Amathus inhabited in Amathine, which is even now called Amathe by the inhabitants, although the Macedonians named it Epiphania, from one of his posterity: Arudeus possessed the island Aradus: Arucas possessed Arce, which is in Libanus. But for the seven

others, [Eueus,] Chetteus, Jebuseus, Amorreus, Gergesus, Eudeus, Sineus, Samareus, we have nothing in the sacred books but their names, for the Hebrews overthrew their cities; and their calamities came upon them on the occasion following.

3. Noah, when, after the deluge, the earth was resettled in its former condition, set about its cultivation; and when he had planted it with vines, and when the fruit was ripe, and he had gathered the grapes in their season, and the wine was ready for use, he offered sacrifice, and feasted, and, being drunk, he fell asleep, and lay naked in an unseemly manner. When his youngest son saw this, he came laughing, and showed him to his brethren; but they covered their father's nakedness. And when Noah was made sensible of what had been done, he prayed for prosperity to his other sons; but for Ham, he did not curse him, by reason of his nearness in blood, but cursed his prosperity: and when the rest of them escaped that curse, God inflicted it on the children of Canaan. But as to these matters, we shall speak more hereafter.

4. Shem, the third son of Noah, had five sons, who inhabited the land that began at Euphrates, and reached to the Indian Ocean. For Elam left behind him the Elamites, the ancestors of the Persians. Ashur lived at the city Nineve; and named his subjects Assyrians, who became the most fortunate nation, beyond others. Arphaxad named the Arphaxadites, who are now called Chaldeans. Aram had the Aramites, which the Greeks called Syrians; as Laud founded the Laudites, which are now called Lydians. Of the four sons of Aram, Uz founded Trachonitis and Damascus: this country lies between Palestine and Celesyria. Ul founded Armenia; and Gather the Bactrians; and Mesa the Mesaneans; it is now called Charax Spasini. Sala was the son of Arphaxad; and his son was Heber, from whom they originally called the Jews Hebrews. Heber begat Joetan and Phaleg: he was called Phaleg, because he was born at the dispersion of the nations to their several countries; for Phaleg among the Hebrews signifies division. Now Joctan, one of the sons of Heber, had these sons, Elmodad, Saleph, Asermoth, Jera, Adoram, Aizel, Decla, Ebal, Abimael, Sabeus, Ophir, Euilat, and Jobab. These inhabited from Cophen, an Indian river, and in part of Asia adjoining to it. And this shall suffice concerning the sons of Shem.

5. I will now treat of the Hebrews. The son of Phaleg, whose father Was Heber, was Ragau; whose son was Serug, to whom was born Nahor; his son was Terah, who was the father of Abraham, who accordingly was the tenth from Noah, and was born in the two hundred and ninety-second year after the deluge; for Terah begat Abram in his seventieth year. Nahor begat Haran when he was one hundred and twenty years old; Nahor was born to Serug in his hundred and thirty-second year; Ragau had Serug at one hundred and thirty; at the same age

also Phaleg had Ragau; Heber begat Phaleg in his hundred and thirty-fourth year; he himself being begotten by Sala when he was a hundred and thirty years old, whom Arphaxad had for his son at the hundred and thirty-fifth year of his age. Arphaxad was the son of Shem, and born twelve years after the deluge. Now Abram had two brethren, Nahor and Haran: of these Haran left a son, Lot; as also Sarai and Milcha his daughters; and died among the Chaldeans, in a city of the Chaldeans, called Ur; and his monument is shown to this day. These married their nieces. Nabor married Milcha, and Abram married Sarai. Now Terah hating Chaldea, on account of his mourning for Ilaran, they all removed to Haran of Mesopotamia, where Terah died, and was buried, when he had lived to be two hundred and five years old; for the life of man was already, by degrees, diminished, and became shorter than before, till the birth of Moses; after whom the term of human life was one hundred and twenty years, God determining it to the length that Moses happened to live. Now Nahor had eight sons by Milcha; Uz and Buz, Kemuel, Chesed, Azau, Pheldas, Jadelph, and Bethuel. These were all the genuine sons of Nahor; for Teba, and Gaam, and Tachas, and Maaca, were born of Reuma his concubine: but Bethuel had a daughter, Rebecca, and a son, Laban.

CHAPTER 7. How Abram Our Forefather Went Out Of The Land Of The Chaldeans, And Lived In The Land Then Called Canaan But Now Judea.

1. Now Abram, having no son of his own, adopted Lot, his brother Haran's son, and his wife Sarai's brother; and he left the land of Chaldea when he was seventy-five years old, and at the command of God went into Canaan, and therein he dwelt himself, and left it to his posterity. He was a person of great sagacity, both for understanding all things and persuading his hearers, and not mistaken in his opinions; for which reason he began to have higher notions of virtue than others had, and he determined to renew and to change the opinion all men happened then to have concerning God; for he was the first that ventured to publish this notion, That there was but one God, the Creator of the universe; and that, as to other [gods], if they contributed any thing to the happiness of men, that each of them afforded it only according to his appointment, and not by their own power. This his opinion was derived from the irregular phenomena that were visible both at land and sea, as well as those that happen to the sun, and moon, and all the heavenly bodies, thus:— "If [said he] these bodies had power of their own, they would certainly take care of their own regular motions; but since they do not preserve such regularity, they make it plain, that in so far as they co-operate to our advantage, they do it not of their own abilities, but as they are subservient to Him that commands them, to whom alone we ought justly to offer our honor and thanksgiving." For which doctrines, when the Chaldeans, and other people of Mesopotamia, raised a tumult against him, he thought fit to leave that country; and at the command and by the assistance of God, he came and lived in the land of Canaan. And when he was there settled, he built an altar, and performed a sacrifice to God.

2. Berosus mentions our father Abram without naming him, when he says thus: "In the tenth generation after the Flood, there was among the Chaldeans a man righteous and great, and skillful in the celestial science." But Hecatseus does more than barely mention him; for he composed, and left behind him, a book concerning him. And Nicolaus of Damascus, in the fourth book of his History, says thus: "Abram reigned at Damascus, being a foreigner, who came with an army out of the land above Babylon, called the land of the Chaldeans: but, after a long time, he got him up, and removed from that country also, with his people, and went into the land then called the land of Canaan, but now the land of Judea, and this when his posterity were become a multitude; as to which

posterity of his, we relate their history in another work. Now the name of Abram is even still famous in the country of Damascus; and there is shown a village named from him, The Habitation of Abram.”

CHAPTER 8. That When There Was A Famine In Canaan, Abram Went Thence Into Egypt; And After He Had Continued There A While He Returned Back Again.

1. Now, after this, when a famine had invaded the land of Canaan, and Abram had discovered that the Egyptians were in a flourishing condition, he was disposed to go down to them, both to partake of the plenty they enjoyed, and to become an auditor of their priests, and to know what they said concerning the gods; designing either to follow them, if they had better notions than he, or to convert them into a better way, if his own notions proved the truest. Now, seeing he was to take Sarai with him, and was afraid of the madness of the Egyptians with regard to women, lest the king should kill him on occasion of his wife's great beauty, he contrived this device: — he pretended to be her brother, and directed her in a dissembling way to pretend the same, for he said it would be for their benefit. Now, as soon as he came into Egypt, it happened to Abram as he supposed it would; for the fame of his wife's beauty was greatly talked of; for which reason Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, would not be satisfied with what was reported of her, but would needs see her himself, and was preparing to enjoy her; but God put a stop to his unjust inclinations, by sending upon him a distemper, and a sedition against his government. And when he inquired of the priests how he might be freed from these calamities, they told him that this his miserable condition was derived from the wrath of God, upon account of his inclinations to abuse the stranger's wife. He then, out of fear, asked Sarai who she was, and who it was that she brought along with her. And when he had found out the truth, he excused himself to Abram, that supposing the woman to be his sister, and not his wife, he set his affections on her, as desiring an affinity with him by marrying her, but not as incited by lust to abuse her. He also made him a large present in money, and gave him leave to enter into conversation with the most learned among the Egyptians; from which conversation his virtue and his reputation became more conspicuous than they had been before.

2. For whereas the Egyptians were formerly addicted to different customs, and despised one another's sacred and accustomed rites, and were very angry one with another on that account, Abram conferred with each of them, and, confuting the reasonings they made use of, every one for their own practices, demonstrated that such reasonings were vain and void of truth: whereupon he

was admired by them in those conferences as a very wise man, and one of great sagacity, when he discoursed on any subject he undertook; and this not only in understanding it, but in persuading other men also to assent to him. He communicated to them arithmetic, and delivered to them the science of astronomy; for before Abram came into Egypt they were unacquainted with those parts of learning; for that science came from the Chaldeans into Egypt, and from thence to the Greeks also.

3. As soon as Abram was come back into Canaan, he parted the land between him and Lot, upon account of the tumultuous behavior of their shepherds, concerning the pastures wherein they should feed their flocks. However, he gave Lot his option, or leave, to choose which lands he would take; and he took himself what the other left, which were the lower grounds at the foot of the mountains; and he himself dwelt in Hebron, which is a city seven years more ancient than Tunis of Egypt. But Lot possessed the land of the plain, and the river Jordan, not far from the city of Sodom, which was then a fine city, but is now destroyed, by the will and wrath of God, the cause of which I shall show in its proper place hereafter.

CHAPTER 9. The Destruction Of The Sodomites By The Assyrian War.

At this time, when the Assyrians had the dominion over Asia, the people of Sodom were in a flourishing condition, both as to riches and the number of their youth. There were five kings that managed the affairs of this county: Ballas, Barsas, Senabar, and Sumobor, with the king of Bela; and each king led on his own troops: and the Assyrians made war upon them; and, dividing their army into four parts, fought against them. Now every part of the army had its own commander; and when the battle was joined, the Assyrians were conquerors, and imposed a tribute on the kings of the Sodomites, who submitted to this slavery twelve years; and so long they continued to pay their tribute: but on the thirteenth year they rebelled, and then the army of the Assyrians came upon them, under their commanders Amraphel, Arioch, Chodorlaomer, and Tidal. These kings had laid waste all Syria, and overthrown the offspring of the giants. And when they were come over against Sodom, they pitched their camp at the vale called the Slime Pits, for at that time there were pits in that place; but now, upon the destruction of the city of Sodom, that vale became the Lake Asphaltites, as it is called. However, concerning this lake we shall speak more presently. Now when the Sodomites joined battle with the Assyrians, and the fight was very obstinate, many of them were killed, and the rest were carried captive; among which captives was Lot, who had come to assist the Sodomites.

CHAPTER 10. How Abram Fought With The Assyrians, And Overcame Them, And Saved The Sodomite Prisoners, And Took From The Assyrians The Prey They Had Gotten.

1. When, Abram heard of their calamity, he was at once afraid for Lot his kinsman, and pitied the Sodomites, his friends and neighbors; and thinking it proper to afford them assistance, he did not delay it, but marched hastily, and the fifth night fell upon the Assyrians, near Dan, for that is the name of the other spring of Jordan; and before they could arm themselves, he slew some as they were in their beds, before they could suspect any harm; and others, who were not yet gone to sleep, but were so drunk they could not fight, ran away. Abram pursued after them, till, on the second day, he drove them in a body unto Hoba, a place belonging to Damascus; and thereby demonstrated that victory does not depend on multitude and the number of hands, but the alacrity and courage of soldiers overcome the most numerous bodies of men, while he got the victory over so great an army with no more than three hundred and eighteen of his servants, and three of his friends: but all those that fled returned home ingloriously.

2. So Abram, when he had saved the captive Sodomites, who had been taken by the Assyrians, and Lot also, his kinsman, returned home in peace. Now the king of Sodom met him at a certain place, which they called The King's Dale, where Melchisedec, king of the city Salem, received him. That name signifies, the righteous king: and such he was, without dispute, insomuch that, on this account, he was made the priest of God: however, they afterward called Salem Jerusalem. Now this Melchisedec supplied Abram's army in an hospitable manner, and gave them provisions in abundance; and as they were feasting, he began to praise him, and to bless God for subduing his enemies under him. And when Abram gave him the tenth part of his prey, he accepted of the gift: but the king of Sodom desired Abram to take the prey, but entreated that he might have those men restored to him whom Abram had saved from the Assyrians, because they belonged to him. But Abram would not do so; nor would make any other advantage of that prey than what his servants had eaten; but still insisted that he should afford a part to his friends that had assisted him in the battle. The first of them was called Eschol, and then Enner, and Mambre.

3. And God commended his virtue, and said, Thou shalt not however lose the rewards thou hast deserved to receive by such thy glorious actions. He answered, And what advantage will it be to me to have such rewards, when I have none to enjoy them after me? — for he was hitherto childless. And God promised that he should have a son, and that his posterity should be very numerous; insomuch that their number should be like the stars. When he heard that, he offered a sacrifice to God, as he commanded him. The manner of the sacrifice was this: — He took an heifer of three years old, and a she-goat of three years old, and a ram in like manner of three years old, and a turtle-dove, and a pigeon and as he was enjoined, he divided the three former, but the birds he did not divide. After which, before he built his altar, where the birds of prey flew about, as desirous of blood, a Divine voice came to him, declaring that their neighbors would be grievous to his posterity, when they should be in Egypt, for four hundred years; during which time they should be afflicted, but afterwards should overcome their enemies, should conquer the Canaanites in war, and possess themselves of their land, and of their cities.

4. Now Abram dwelt near the oak called Ogyges, — the place belongs to Canaan, not far from the city of Hebron. But being uneasy at his wife's barrenness, he entreated God to grant that he might have male issue; and God required of him to be of good courage, and said that he would add to all the rest of the benefits that he had bestowed upon him, ever since he led him out of Mesopotamia, the gift of children. Accordingly Sarai, at God's command, brought to his bed one of her handmaidens, a woman of Egyptian descent, in order to obtain children by her; and when this handmaid was with child, she triumphed, and ventured to affront Sarai, as if the dominion were to come to a son to be born of her. But when Abram resigned her into the hand of Sarai, to punish her, she contrived to fly away, as not able to bear the instances of Sarai's severity to her; and she entreated God to have compassion on her. Now a Divine Angel met her, as she was going forward in the wilderness, and bid her return to her master and mistress, for if she would submit to that wise advice, she would live better hereafter; for that the reason of her being in such a miserable case was this, that she had been ungrateful and arrogant towards her mistress. He also told her, that if she disobeyed God, and went on still in her way, she should perish; but if she would return back, she should become the mother of a son who should reign over that country. These admonitions she obeyed, and returned to her master and mistress, and obtained forgiveness. A little while afterwards, she bare Ismael; which may be interpreted Heard of God, because God had heard his mother's prayer.

5. The forementioned son was born to Abram when he was eighty-six years old: but when he was ninety-nine, God appeared to him, and promised him that he Should have a son by Sarai, and commanded that his name should be Isaac; and showed him, that from this son should spring great nations and kings, and that they should obtain all the land of Canaan by war, from Sidon to Egypt. But he charged him, in order to keep his posterity unmixed with others, that they should be circumcised in the flesh of their foreskin, and that this should be done on the eighth day after they were born: the reason of which circumcision I will explain in another place. And Abram inquiring also concerning Ismael, whether he should live or not, God signified to him that he should live to be very old, and should be the father of great nations. Abram therefore gave thanks to God for these blessings; and then he, and all his family, and his son Ismael, were circumcised immediately; the son being that day thirteen years of age, and he ninety-nine.

CHAPTER 11. How God Overthrew The Nation Of The Sodomites, Out Of His Wrath Against Them For Their Sins.

1. About this time the Sodomites grew proud, on account of their riches and great wealth; they became unjust towards men, and impious towards God, insomuch that they did not call to mind the advantages they received from him: they hated strangers, and abused themselves with Sodomitical practices. God was therefore much displeased at them, and determined to punish them for their pride, and to overthrow their city, and to lay waste their country, until there should neither plant nor fruit grow out of it.

2. When God had thus resolved concerning the Sodomites, Abraham, as he sat by the oak of Mambre, at the door of his tent, saw three angels; and thinking them to be strangers, he rose up, and saluted them, and desired they would accept of an entertainment, and abide with him; to which, when they agreed, he ordered cakes of meal to be made presently; and when he had slain a calf, he roasted it, and brought it to them, as they sat under the oak. Now they made a show of eating; and besides, they asked him about his wife Sarah, where she was; and when he said she was within, they said they would come again hereafter, and find her become a mother. Upon which the woman laughed, and said that it was impossible she should bear children, since she was ninety years of age, and her husband was a hundred. Then they concealed themselves no longer, but declared that they were angels of God; and that one of them was sent to inform them about the child, and two of the overthrow of Sodom.

3. When Abraham heard this, he was grieved for the Sodomites; and he rose up, and besought God for them, and entreated him that he would not destroy the righteous with the wicked. And when God had replied that there was no good man among the Sodomites; for if there were but ten such man among them, he would not punish any of them for their sins, Abraham held his peace. And the angels came to the city of the Sodomites, and Lot entreated them to accept of a lodging with him; for he was a very generous and hospitable man, and one that had learned to imitate the goodness of Abraham. Now when the Sodomites saw the young men to be of beautiful countenances, and this to an extraordinary degree, and that they took up their lodgings with Lot, they resolved themselves to enjoy these beautiful boys by force and violence; and when Lot exhorted them to sobriety, and not to offer any thing immodest to the strangers, but to have regard to their lodging in his house; and promised that if their inclinations could

not be governed, he would expose his daughters to their lust, instead of these strangers; neither thus were they made ashamed.

4. But God was much displeased at their impudent behavior, so that he both smote those men with blindness, and condemned the Sodomites to universal destruction. But Lot, upon God's informing him of the future destruction of the Sodomites, went away, taking with him his wife and daughters, who were two, and still virgins; for those that were betrothed to them were above the thoughts of going, and deemed that Lot's words were trifling. God then cast a thunderbolt upon the city, and set it on fire, with its inhabitants; and laid waste the country with the like burning, as I formerly said when I wrote the Jewish War. But Lot's wife continually turning back to view the city as she went from it, and being too nicely inquisitive what would become of it, although God had forbidden her so to do, was changed into a pillar of salt; for I have seen it, and it remains at this day. Now he and his daughters fled to a certain small place, encompassed with the fire, and settled in it: it is to this day called Zoar, for that is the word which the Hebrews use for a small thing. There it was that he lived a miserable life, on account of his having no company, and his want of provisions.

5. But his daughters, thinking that all mankind were destroyed, approached to their father, though taking care not to be perceived. This they did, that human kind might not utterly fail: and they bare sons; the son of the elder was named Moab, Which denotes one derived from his father; the younger bare Ammon, which name denotes one derived from a kinsman. The former of whom was the father of the Moabites, which is even still a great nation; the latter was the father of the Ammonites; and both of them are inhabitants of Celesyria. And such was the departure of Lot from among the Sodomites.

CHAPTER 12. Concerning Abimelech; And Concerning Ismael The Son Of Abraham; And Concerning The Arabians, Who Were His Posterity.

1. Abraham now removed to Gerar of Palestine, leading Sarah along with him, under the notion of his sister, using the like dissimulation that he had used before, and this out of fear: for he was afraid of Abimelech, the king of that country, who did also himself fall in love with Sarah, and was disposed to corrupt her; but he was restrained from satisfying his lust by a dangerous distemper which befell him from God. Now when his physicians despaired of curing him, he fell asleep, and saw a dream, warning him not to abuse the stranger's wife; and when he recovered, he told his friends that God had inflicted that disease upon him, by way of punishment, for his injury to the stranger; and in order to preserve the chastity of his wife, for that she did not accompany him as his sister, but as his legitimate wife; and that God had promised to be gracious to him for the time to come, if this person be once secure of his wife's chastity. When he had said this, by the advice of his friends, he sent for Abraham, and bid him not to be concerned about his wife, or fear the corruption of her chastity; for that God took care of him, and that it was by his providence that he received his wife again, without her suffering any abuse. And he appealed to God, and to his wife's conscience; and said that he had not any inclination at first to enjoy her, if he had known she was his wife; but since, said he, thou leddest her about as thy sister, I was guilty of no offense. He also entreated him to be at peace with him, and to make God propitious to him; and that if he thought fit to continue with him, he should have what he wanted in abundance; but that if he designed to go away, he should be honorably conducted, and have whatsoever supply he wanted when he came thither. Upon his saying this, Abraham told him that his pretense of kindred to his wife was no lie, because she was his brother's daughter; and that he did not think himself safe in his travels abroad, without this sort of dissimulation; and that he was not the cause of his distemper, but was only solicitous for his own safety: he said also, that he was ready to stay with him. Whereupon Abimelech assigned him land and money; and they coventanted to live together without guile, and took an oath at a certain well called Beersheba, which may be interpreted, The Well of the Oath: and so it is named by the people of the country unto this day.

2. Now in a little time Abraham had a son by Sarah, as God had foretold to him, whom he named Isaac, which signifies Laughter. And indeed they so called

him, because Sarah laughed when God said that she should bear a son, she not expecting such a thing, as being past the age of child-bearing, for she was ninety years old, and Abraham a hundred; so that this son was born to them both in the last year of each of those decimal numbers. And they circumcised him upon the eighth day and from that time the Jews continue the custom of circumcising their sons within that number of days. But as for the Arabians, they circumcise after the thirteenth year, because Ismael, the founder of their nation, who was born to Abraham of the concubine, was circumcised at that age; concerning whom I will presently give a particular account, with great exactness.

3. As for Sarah, she at first loved Ismael, who was born of her own handmaid Hagar, with an affection not inferior to that of her own son, for he was brought up in order to succeed in the government; but when she herself had borne Isaac, she was not willing that Ismael should be brought up with him, as being too old for him, and able to do him injuries when their father should be dead; she therefore persuaded Abraham to send him and his mother to some distant country. Now, at the first, he did not agree to what Sarah was so zealous for, and thought it an instance of the greatest barbarity, to send away a young child and a woman unprovided of necessaries; but at length he agreed to it, because God was pleased with what Sarah had determined: so he delivered Ismael to his mother, as not yet able to go by himself; and commanded her to take a bottle of water, and a loaf of bread, and so to depart, and to take Necessity for her guide. But as soon as her necessary provisions failed, she found herself in an evil case; and when the water was almost spent, she laid the young child, who was ready to expire, under a fig-tree, and went on further, that so he might die while she was absent. But a Divine Angel came to her, and told her of a fountain hard by, and bid her take care, and bring up the child, because she should be very happy by the preservation of Ismael. She then took courage, upon the prospect of what was promised her, and, meeting with some shepherds, by their care she got clear of the distresses she had been in.

4. When the lad was grown up, he married a wife, by birth an Egyptian, from whence the mother was herself derived originally. Of this wife were born to Ismael twelve sons; Nabaioth, Kedar, Abdeel, Mabsam, Idumas, Masmaos, Masaos, Chodad, Theman, Jetur, Naphesus, Cadmas. These inhabited all the country from Euphrates to the Red Sea, and called it Nabatene. They are an Arabian nation, and name their tribes from these, both because of their own virtue, and because of the dignity of Abraham their father.

CHAPTER 13. Concerning Isaac The Legitimate Son Of Abraham.

1. Now Abraham greatly loved Isaac, as being his only begotten and given to him at the borders of old age, by the favor of God. The child also endeared himself to his parents still more, by the exercise of every virtue, and adhering to his duty to his parents, and being zealous in the worship of God. Abraham also placed his own happiness in this prospect, that, when he should die, he should leave this his son in a safe and secure condition; which accordingly he obtained by the will of God: who being desirous to make an experiment of Abraham's religious disposition towards himself, appeared to him, and enumerated all the blessings he had bestowed on him; how he had made him superior to his enemies; and that his son Isaac, who was the principal part of his present happiness, was derived from him; and he said that he required this son of his as a sacrifice and holy oblation. Accordingly he commanded him to carry him to the mountain Moriah, and to build an altar, and offer him for a burnt-offering upon it for that this would best manifest his religious disposition towards him, if he preferred what was pleasing to God, before the preservation of his own son.

2. Now Abraham thought that it was not right to disobey God in any thing, but that he was obliged to serve him in every circumstance of life, since all creatures that live enjoy their life by his providence, and the kindness he bestows on them. Accordingly he concealed this command of God, and his own intentions about the slaughter of his son, from his wife, as also from every one of his servants, otherwise he should have been hindered from his obedience to God; and he took Isaac, together with two of his servants, and laying what things were necessary for a sacrifice upon an ass, he went away to the mountain. Now the two servants went along with him two days; but on the third day, as soon as he saw the mountain, he left those servants that were with him till then in the plain, and, having his son alone with him, he came to the mountain. It was that mountain upon which king David afterwards built the temple. Now they had brought with them every thing necessary for a sacrifice, excepting the animal that was to be offered only. Now Isaac was twenty-five years old. And as he was building the altar, he asked his father what he was about to offer, since there was no animal there for an oblation: — to which it was answered, "That God would provide himself an oblation, he being able to make a plentiful provision for men out of what they have not, and to deprive others of what they already have, when

they put too much trust therein; that therefore, if God pleased to be present and propitious at this sacrifice, he would provide himself an oblation."

3. As soon as the altar was prepared, and Abraham had laid on the wood, and all things were entirely ready, he said to his son, "O son, I poured out a vast number of prayers that I might have thee for my son; when thou wast come into the world, there was nothing that could contribute to thy support for which I was not greatly solicitous, nor any thing wherein I thought myself happier than to see thee grown up to man's estate, and that I might leave thee at my death the successor to my dominion; but since it was by God's will that I became thy father, and it is now his will that I relinquish thee, bear this consecration to God with a generous mind; for I resign thee up to God who has thought fit now to require this testimony of honor to himself, on account of the favors he hath conferred on me, in being to me a supporter and defender. Accordingly thou, my son, wilt now die, not in any common way of going out of the world, but sent to God, the Father of all men, beforehand, by thy own father, in the nature of a sacrifice. I suppose he thinks thee worthy to get clear of this world neither by disease, neither by war, nor by any other severe way, by which death usually comes upon men, but so that he will receive thy soul with prayers and holy offices of religion, and will place thee near to himself, and thou wilt there be to me a succorer and supporter in my old age; on which account I principally brought thee up, and thou wilt thereby procure me God for my Comforter instead of thyself."

4. Now Isaac was of such a generous disposition as became the son of such a father, and was pleased with this discourse; and said, "That he was not worthy to be born at first, if he should reject the determination of God and of his father, and should not resign himself up readily to both their pleasures; since it would have been unjust if he had not obeyed, even if his father alone had so resolved." So he went immediately to the altar to be sacrificed. And the deed had been done if God had not opposed it; for he called loudly to Abraham by his name, and forbade him to slay his son; and said, "It was not out of a desire of human blood that he was commanded to slay his son, nor was he willing that he should be taken away from him whom he had made his father, but to try the temper of his mind, whether he would be obedient to such a command. Since therefore he now was satisfied as to that his alacrity, and the surprising readiness he showed in this his piety, he was delighted in having bestowed such blessings upon him; and that he would not be wanting in all sort of concern about him, and in bestowing other children upon him; and that his son should live to a very great age; that he should live a happy life, and bequeath a large principality to his children, who should be good and legitimate." He foretold also, that his family should increase

into many nations and that those patriarchs should leave behind them an everlasting name; that they should obtain the possession of the land of Canaan, and be envied by all men. When God had said this, he produced to them a ram, which did not appear before, for the sacrifice. So Abraham and Isaac receiving each other unexpectedly, and having obtained the promises of such great blessings, embraced one another; and when they had sacrificed, they returned to Sarah, and lived happily together, God affording them his assistance in all things they desired.

CHAPTER 14. Concerning Sarah Abraham's Wife; And How She Ended Her Days.

Now Sarah died a little while after, having lived one hundred and twenty-seven years. They buried her in Hebron; the Canaanites publicly allowing them a burying-place; which piece of ground Abraham bought for four hundred shekels, of Ephron, an inhabitant of Hebron. And both Abraham and his descendants built themselves sepulchers in that place.

CHAPTER 15. How The Nation Of The Troglodytes Were Derived From Abraham By Keturah.

Abraham after this married Keturah, by whom six sons were born to him, men of courage, and of sagacious minds: Zambran, and Jazar, and Madan, and Madian, and Josabak, and Sous. Now the sons of Sous were Sabathan and Dadan. The sons of Dadan were Latusim, and Assur, and Luom. The sons of Madiau were Ephas, and Ophren, and Anoch, and Ebidas, and Eldas. Now, for all these sons and grandsons, Abraham contrived to settle them in colonies; and they took possession of Troglodytis, and the country of Arabia the Happy, as far as it reaches to the Red Sea. It is related of this Ophren, that he made war against Libya, and took it, and that his grandchildren, when they inhabited it, called it [from his name] Africa. And indeed Alexander Polyhistor gives his attestation to what I here say; who speaks thus: “Cleodemus the prophet, who was also called Malchus, who wrote a History of the Jews, in agreement with the History of Moses, their legislator, relates, that there were many sons born to Abraham by Keturah: nay, he names three of them, Apher, and Surim, and Japhran. That from Surim was the land of Assyria denominated; and that from the other two [Apher and Japbran] the country of Africa took its name, because these men were auxiliaries to Hercules, when he fought against Libya and Antaeus; and that Hercules married Aphra’s daughter, and of her he begat a son, Diodorus; and that Sophon was his son, from whom that barbarous people called Sophacians were denominated.”

CHAPTER 16. How Isaac Took Rebeka To Wife.

1. Now when Abraham, the father of Isaac, had resolved to take Rebeka, who was grand-daughter to his brother Nahor, for a wife to his son Isaac, who was then about forty years old, he sent the ancientest of his servants to betroth her, after he had obliged him to give him the strongest assurances of his fidelity; which assurances were given after the manner following: — They put each other's hands under each other's thighs; then they called upon God as the witness of what was to be done. He also sent such presents to those that were there as were in esteem, on account that that they either rarely or never were seen in that country, The servant got thither not under a considerable time; for it requires much time to pass through Meopotamia, in which it is tedious traveling, both in the winter for the depth of the clay, and in summer for want of water; and, besides this, for the robberies there committed, which are not to be avoided by travelers but by caution beforehand. However, the servant came to Haran; and when he was in the suburbs, he met a considerable number of maidens going to the water; he therefore prayed to God that Rebeka might be found among them, or her whom Abraham sent him as his servant to espouse to his son, in case his will were that this marriage should be consummated, and that she might be made known to him by the sign, That while others denied him water to drink, she might give it him.

2. With this intention he went to the well, and desired the maidens to give him some water to drink: but while the others refused, on pretense that they wanted it all at home, and could spare none for him, one only of the company rebuked them for their peevish behavior towards the stranger; and said, What is there that you will ever communicate to anybody, who have not so much as given the man some water? She then offered him water in an obliging manner. And now he began to hope that his grand affair would succeed; but desiring still to know the truth, he commended her for her generosity and good nature, that she did not scruple to afford a sufficiency of water to those that wanted it, though it cost her some pains to draw it; and asked who were her parents, and wished them joy of such a daughter. "And mayst thou be espoused," said he, "to their satisfaction, into the family of an agreeable husband, and bring him legitimate children." Nor did she disdain to satisfy his inquiries, but told him her family. "They," says she, "call me Rebeka; my father was Bethuel, but he is dead; and Laban is my brother; and, together with my mother, takes care of all our family affairs, and is the guardian of my virginity." When the servant heard this, he was very glad at

what had happened, and at what was told him, as perceiving that God had thus plainly directed his journey; and producing his bracelets, and some other ornaments which it was esteemed decent for virgins to wear, he gave them to the damsel, by way of acknowledgment, and as a reward for her kindness in giving him water to drink; saying, it was but just that she should have them, because she was so much more obliging than any of the rest. She desired also that he would come and lodge with them, since the approach of the night gave him not time to proceed farther. And producing his precious ornaments for women, he said he desired to trust them to none more safely than to such as she had shown herself to be; and that he believed he might guess at the humanity of her mother and brother, that they would not be displeased, from the virtue he found in her; for he would not be burdensome, but would pay the hire for his entertainment, and spend his own money. To which she replied, that he guessed right as to the humanity of her parents; but complained that he should think them so parsimonious as to take money, for that he should have all on free cost. But she said she would first inform her brother Laban, and, if he gave her leave, she would conduct him in.

3. As soon then as this was over, she introduced the stranger; and for the camels, the servants of Laban brought them in, and took care of them; and he was himself brought in to supper by Laban. And, after supper, he says to him, and to the mother of the damsel, addressing himself to her, "Abraham is the son of Terah, and a kinsman of yours; for Nahor, the grandfather of these children, was the brother of Abraham, by both father and mother; upon which account he hath sent me to you, being desirous to take this damsel for his son to wife. He is his legitimate son, and is brought up as his only heir. He could indeed have had the most happy of all the women in that country for him, but he would not have his son marry any of them; but, out of regard to his own relations, he desired him to match here, whose affection and inclination I would not have you despise; for it was by the good pleasure of God that other accidents fell out in my journey, and that thereby I lighted upon your daughter and your house; for when I was near to the city, I saw a great many maidens coming to a well, and I prayed that I might meet with this damsel, which has come to pass accordingly. Do you therefore confirm that marriage, whose espousals have been already made by a Divine appearance; and show the respect you have for Abraham, who hath sent me with so much solicitude, in giving your consent to the marriage of this damsel." Upon this they understood it to be the will of God, and greatly approved of the offer, and sent their daughter, as was desired. Accordingly Isaac married her, the inheritance being now come to him; for the children by Keturah were gone to their own remote habitations.

CHAPTER 17. Concerning The Death Of Abraham.

A Little while after this Abraham died. He was a man of incomparable virtue, and honored by God in a manner agreeable to his piety towards him. The whole time of his life was one hundred seventy and five years, and he was buried in Hebron, with his wife Sarah, by their sons Isaac and Ismael.

CHAPTER 18. Concerning The Sons Of Isaac, Esau And Jacob; Of Their Nativity And Education.

1. Now Isaac's wife proved with child, after the death of Abraham; and when her belly was greatly burdened, Isaac was very anxious, and inquired of God; who answered, that Rebeka should bear twins; and that two nations should take the names of those sons; and that he who appeared the second should excel the elder. Accordingly she, in a little time, as God had foretold, bare twins; the elder of whom, from his head to his feet, was very rough and hairy; but the younger took hold of his heel as they were in the birth. Now the father loved the elder, who was called Esau, a name agreeable to his roughness, for the Hebrews call such a hairy roughness [Esau, or] Seir; but Jacob the younger was best beloved by his mother.

2. When there was a famine in the land, Isaac resolved to go into Egypt, the land there being good; but he went to Gerar, as God commanded him. Here Abimelech the king received him, because Abraham had formerly lived with him, and had been his friend. And as in the beginning he treated him exceeding kindly, so he was hindered from continuing in the same disposition to the end, by his envy at him; for when he saw that God was with Isaac, and took such great care of him, he drove him away from him. But Isaac, when he saw how envy had changed the temper of Abimelech retired to a place called the Valley, not far from Gerar: and as he was digging a well, the shepherds fell upon him, and began to fight, in order to hinder the work; and because he did not desire to contend, the shepherds seemed to get the him, so he still retired, and dug another and when certain other shepherds of Abimelech began to offer him violence, he left that also, still retired, thus purchasing security to himself a rational and prudent conduct. At length the gave him leave to dig a well without disturbance. He named this well Rehoboth, which denotes a large space; but of the former wells, one was called Escon, which denotes strife, the other Sitenna, name signifies enmity.

3. It was now that Isaac's affairs increased, and in a flourishing condition; and this his great riches. But Abimelech, thinking in opposition to him, while their living made them suspicious of each other, and retiring showing a secret enmity also, he afraid that his former friendship with Isaac would not secure him, if Isaac should endeavor the injuries he had formerly offered him; he therefore renewed his friendship with him, Philoc, one of his generals. And when he had obtained every thing he desired, by reason of Isaac's good nature, who preferred

the earlier friendship Abimelech had shown to himself and his father to his later wrath against him, he returned home.

4. Now when Esau, one of the sons of Isaac, whom the father principally loved, was now come to the age of forty years, he married Adah, the daughter of Helon, and Aholibamah, the daughter of Esebeon; which Helon and Esebeon were great lords among the Canaanites: thereby taking upon himself the authority, and pretending to have dominion over his own marriages, without so much as asking the advice of his father; for had Isaac been the arbitrator, he had not given him leave to marry thus, for he was not pleased with contracting any alliance with the people of that country; but not caring to be uneasy to his son by commanding him to put away these wives, he resolved to be silent.

5. But when he was old, and could not see at all, he called Esau to him, and told him, that besides his blindness, and the disorder of his eyes, his very old age hindered him from his worship of God [by sacrifice]; he bid him therefore to go out a hunting, and when he had caught as much venison as he could, to prepare him a supper that after this he might make supplication to God, to be to him a supporter and an assister during the whole time of his life; saying, that it was uncertain when he should die, and that he was desirous, by prayers for him, to procure, beforehand, God to be merciful to him.

6. Accordingly, Esau went out a hunting. But Rebeka thinking it proper to have the supplication made for obtaining the favor of God to Jacob, and that without the consent of Isaac, bid him kill kids of the goats, and prepare a supper. So Jacob obeyed his mother, according to all her instructions. Now when the supper was got ready, he took a goat's skin, and put it about his arm, that by reason of its hairy roughness, he might by his father be believed to be Esau; for they being twins, and in all things else alike, differed only in this thing. This was done out of his fear, that before his father had made his supplications, he should be caught in his evil practice, and lest he should, on the contrary, provoke his father to curse him. So he brought in the supper to his father. Isaac perceivest to be Esau. So suspecting no deceit, he ate the supper, and betook himself to his prayers and intercessions with God; and said, "O Lord of all ages, and Creator of all substance; for it was thou that didst propose to my father great plenty of good things, and hast vouchsafed to bestow on me what I have; and hast promised to my posterity to be their kind supporter, and to bestow on them still greater blessings; do thou therefore confirm these thy promises, and do not overlook me, because of my present weak condition, on account of which I most earnestly pray to thee. Be gracious to this my son; and preserve him and keep him from every thing that is evil. Give him a happy life, and the possession of as many

good things as thy power is able to bestow. Make him terrible to his enemies, and honorable and beloved among his friends."

7. Thus did Isaac pray to God, thinking his prayers had been made for Esau. He had but just finished them, when Esau came in from hunting. And when Isaac perceived his mistake, he was silent: but Esau required that he might be made partaker of the like blessing from his father that his brother had partook of; but his father refused it, because all his prayers had been spent upon Jacob: so Esau lamented the mistake. However, his father being grieved at his weeping, said, that "he should excel in hunting and strength of body, in arms, and all such sorts of work; and should obtain glory for ever on those accounts, he and his posterity after him; but still should serve his brother."

8. Now the mother delivered Jacob, when she was afraid that his brother would inflict some punishment upon him because of the mistake about the prayers of Isaac; for she persuaded her husband to take a wife for Jacob out of Mesopotamia, of her own kindred, Esau having married already Basemmath, the daughter of Ismael, without his father's consent; for Isaac did not like the Canaanites, so that he disapproved of Esau's former marriages, which made him take Basemmath to wife, in order to please him; and indeed he had a great affection for her.

CHAPTER 19. Concerning Jacob's Flight Into Mesopotamia, By Reason Of The Fear He Was In Of His Brother.

1. Now Jacob was sent by his mother to Mesopotamia, in order to marry Laban her brother's daughter [which marriage was permitted by Isaac, on account of his obsequiousness to the desires of his wife]; and he accordingly journeyed through the land of Canaan; and because he hated the people of that country, he would not lodge with any of them, but took up his lodging in the open air, and laid his head on a heap of stones that he had gathered together. At which time he saw in his sleep such a vision standing by him: — he seemed to see a ladder that reached from the earth unto heaven, and persons descending upon the ladder that seemed more excellent than human; and at last God himself stood above it, and was plainly visible to him, who, calling him by his name, spake to him in these words: —

2. "O Jacob, it is not fit for thee, who art the son of a good father, and grandson of one who had obtained a great reputation for his eminent virtue, to be dejected at thy present circumstances, but to hope for better times, for thou shalt have great abundance of all good things, by my assistance: for I brought Abraham hither, out of Mesopotamia, when he was driven away by his kinsmen, and I made thy father a happy man, nor will I bestow a lesser degree of happiness on thyself: be of good courage, therefore, and under my conduct proceed on this thy journey, for the marriage thou goest so zealously about shall be consummated. And thou shalt have children of good characters, but their multitude shall be innumerable; and they shall leave what they have to a still more numerous posterity, to whom, and to whose posterity, I give the dominion of all the land, and their posterity shall fill the entire earth and sea, so far as the sun beholds them: but do not thou fear any danger, nor be afraid of the many labors thou must undergo, for by my providence I will direct thee what thou art to do in the time present, and still much more in the time to come."

3. Such were the predictions which God made to Jacob; whereupon he became very joyful at what he had seen and heard; and he poured oil on the stones, because on them the prediction of such great benefits was made. He also vowed a vow, that he would offer sacrifices upon them, if he lived and returned safe; and if he came again in such a condition, he would give the tithe of what he had gotten to God. He also judged the place to be honorable and gave it the name of Bethel, which, in the Greek, is interpreted, The House of God.

4. So he proceeded on his journey to Mesopotamia, and at length came to Haran; and meeting with shepherds in the suburbs, with boys grown up, and maidens sitting about a certain well, he staid with them, as wanting water to drink; and beginning to discourse with them, he asked them whether they knew such a one as Laban, and whether he was still alive. Now they all said they knew him, for he was not so inconsiderable a person as to be unknown to any of them; and that his daughter fed her father's flock together with them; and that indeed they wondered that she was not yet come, for by her means thou mightest learn more exactly whatever thou desirest to know about that family. While they were saying this the damsel came, and the other shepherds that came down along with her. Then they showed her Jacob, and told her that he was a stranger, who came to inquire about her father's affairs. But she, as pleased, after the custom of children, with Jacob's coming, asked him who he was, and whence he came to them, and what it was he lacked that he came thither. She also wished it might be in their power to supply the wants he came about.

5. But Jacob was quite overcome, not so much by their kindred, nor by that affection which might arise thence, as by his love to the damsel, and his surprise at her beauty, which was so flourishing, as few of the women of that age could vie with. He said then, "There is a relation between thee and me, elder than either thy or my birth, if thou be the daughter of Laban; for Abraham was the son of Terah, as well as Haran and Nahor. Of the last of whom [Nahor] Bethuel thy grandfather was the son. Isaac my father was the son of Abraham and of Sarah, who was the daughter of Haran. But there is a nearer and later cement of mutual kindred which we bear to one another, for my mother Rebeka was sister to Laban thy father, both by the same father and mother; I therefore and thou are cousin-germans. And I am now come to salute you, and to renew that affinity which is proper between us." Upon this the damsel, at the mention of Rebeka, as usually happens to young persons, wept, and that out of the kindness she had for her father, and embraced Jacob, she having learned an account of Rebeka from her father, and knew that her parents loved to hear her named; and when she had saluted him, she said that "he brought the most desirable and greatest pleasures to her father, with all their family, who was always mentioning his mother, and always thinking of her, and her alone; and that this will make thee equal in his eyes to any advantageous circumstances whatsoever." Then she bid him go to her father, and follow her while she conducted him to him; and not to deprive him of such a pleasure, by staying any longer away from him.

6. When she had said thus, she brought him to Laban; and being owned by his uncle, he was secure himself, as being among his friends; and he brought a great deal of pleasure to them by his unexpected coning. But a little while afterward,

Laban told him that he could not express in words the joy he had at his coming; but still he inquired of him the occasion of his coming, and why he left his aged mother and father, when they wanted to be taken care of by him; and that he would afford him all the assistance he wanted. Then Jacob gave him an account of the whole occasion of his journey, and told him, "that Isaac had two sons that were twins, himself and Esau; who, because he failed of his father's prayers, which by his mother's wisdom were put up for him, sought to kill him, as deprived of the kingdom which was to be given him of God, and of the blessings for which their father prayed; and that this was the occasion of his coming hither, as his mother had commanded him to do: for we are all [says he] brethren one to another; but our mother esteems an alliance with your family more than she does one with the families of the country; so I look upon yourself and God to be the supporters of my travels, and think myself safe in my present circumstances."

7. Now Laban promised to treat him with great humanity, both on account of his ancestors, and particularly for the sake of his mother, towards whom, he said, he would show his kindness, even though she were absent, by taking care of him; for he assured him he would make him the head shepherd of his flock, and give him authority sufficient for that purpose; and when he should have a mind to return to his parents, he would send him back with presents, and this in as honorable a manner as the nearness of their relation should require. This Jacob heard gladly; and said he would willingly, and with pleasure, undergo any sort of pains while he tarried with him, but desired Rachel to wife, as the reward of those pains, who was not only on other accounts esteemed by him, but also because she was the means of his coming to him; for he said he was forced by the love of the damsel to make this proposal. Laban was well pleased with this agreement, and consented to give the damsel to him, as not desirous to meet with any better son-in-law; and said he would do this, if he would stay with him some time, for he was not willing to send his daughter to be among the Canaanites, for he repented of the alliance he had made already by marrying his sister there. And when Jacob had given his consent to this, he agreed to stay seven years; for so many years he had resolved to serve his father-in-law, that, having given a specimen of his virtue, it might be better known what sort of a man he was. And Jacob, accepting of his terms, after the time was over, he made the wedding-feast; and when it was night, without Jacob's perceiving it, he put his other daughter into bed to him, who was both elder than Rachel, and of no comely countenance: Jacob lay with her that night, as being both in drink and in the dark. However, when it was day, he knew what had been done to him; and he reproached Laban for his unfair proceeding with him; who asked pardon for that

necessity which forced him to do what he did; for he did not give him Lea out of any ill design, but as overcome by another greater necessity: that, notwithstanding this, nothing should hinder him from marrying Rachel; but that when he had served another seven years, he would give him her whom he loved. Jacob submitted to this condition, for his love to the damsel did not permit him to do otherwise; and when another seven years were gone, he took Rachel to wife.

8. Now each of these had handmaids, by their father's donation. Zilpha was handmaid to Lea, and Bilha to Rachel; by no means slaves, but however subject to their mistresses. Now Lea was sorely troubled at her husband's love to her sister; and she expected she should be better esteemed if she bare him children: so she entreated God perpetually; and when she had borne a son, and her husband was on that account better reconciled to her, she named her son Reubel, because God had had mercy upon her, in giving her a son, for that is the signification of this name. After some time she bare three more sons; Simeon, which name signifies that God had hearkened to her prayer. Then she bare Levi, the confirmer of their friendship. After him was born Judah, which denotes thanksgiving. But Rachel, fearing lest the fruitfulness of her sister should make herself enjoy a lesser share of Jacob's affections, put to bed to him her handmaid Bilha; by whom Jacob had Dan: one may interpret that name into the Greek tongue, a divine judgment. And after him Nephthalim, as it were, unconquerable in stratagems, since Rachel tried to conquer the fruitfulness of her sister by this stratagem. Accordingly, Lea took the same method, and used a counter-stratagem to that of her sister; for she put to bed to him her own handmaid. Jacob therefore had by Zilpha a son, whose name was Gad, which may be interpreted fortune; and after him Asher, which may be called a happy man, because he added glory to Lea. Now Reubel, the eldest son of Lea, brought apples of mandrakes to his mother. When Rachel saw them, she desired that she would give her the apples, for she longed to eat them; but when she refused, and bid her be content that she had deprived her of the benevolence she ought to have had from her husband, Rachel, in order to mitigate her sister's anger, said she would yield her husband to her; and he should lie with her that evening. She accepted of the favor, and Jacob slept with Lea, by the favor of Rachel. She bare then these sons: Issachar, denoting one born by hire: and Zabulon, one born as a pledge of benevolence towards her; and a daughter, Dina. After some time Rachel had a son, named Joseph, which signified there should be another added to him.

9. Now Jacob fed the flocks of Laban his father-in-law all this time, being twenty years, after which he desired leave of his father-in-law to take his wives

and go home; but when his father-in-law would not give him leave, he contrived to do it secretly. He made trial therefore of the disposition of his wives what they thought of this journey; — when they appeared glad, and approved of it. Rachel took along with her the images of the gods, which, according to their laws, they used to worship in their own country, and ran away together with her sister. The children also of them both, and the handmaids, and what possessions they had, went along with them. Jacob also drove away half the cattle, without letting Laban know of it beforehand But the reason why Rachel took the images of the gods, although Jacob had taught her to despise such worship of those gods, was this, That in case they were pursued, and taken by her father, she might have recourse to these images, in order obtain his pardon.

10. But Laban, after one day's time, being acquainted with Jacob's and his daughters' departure, was much troubled, and pursued after them, leading a band of men with him; and on the seventh day overtook them, and found them resting on a certain hill; and then indeed he did not meddle with them, for it was even-tide; but God stood by him in a dream, and warned him to receive his son-in-law and his daughters in a peaceable manner; and not to venture upon any thing rashly, or in wrath to but to make a league with Jacob. And he him, that if he despised their small number, attacked them in a hostile manner, he would assist them. When Laban had been thus forewarned by God, he called Jacob to him the next day, in order to treat with him, and showed him what dream he had; in dependence whereupon he came confidently to him, and began to accuse him, alleging that he had entertained him when he was poor, and in want of all things, and had given him plenty of all things which he had. "For," said he, "I have joined my daughters to thee in marriage, and supposed that thy kindness to me be greater than before; but thou hast had no regard to either thy mother's relations to me, nor to the affinity now newly contracted between us; nor to those wives whom thou hast married; nor to those children, of whom I am the grandfather. Thou hast treated me as an enemy, driving away my cattle, and by persuading my daughters to run away from their father; and by carrying home those sacred paternal images which were worshipped by my forefathers, and have been honored with the like worship which they paid them by myself. In short, thou hast done this whilst thou art my kinsman, and my sister's son, and the husband of my daughters, and was hospitably treated by me, and didst eat at my table." When Laban had said this, Jacob made his defense — That he was not the only person in whom God had implanted the love of his native country, but that he had made it natural to all men; and that therefore it was but reasonable that, after so long time, he should go back to it. "But as to the prey, of whose driving away thou accusest me, if any other person were the arbitrator,

thou wouldst be found in the wrong; for instead of those thanks I ought to have had from thee, for both keeping thy cattle, and increasing them, how is it that thou art unjustly angry at me because I have taken, and have with me, a small portion of them? But then, as to thy daughters, take notice, that it is not through any evil practices of mine that they follow me in my return home, but from that just affection which wives naturally have to their husbands. They follow therefore not so properly myself as their own children." And thus far of his apology was made, in order to clear himself of having acted unjustly. To which he added his own complaint and accusation of Laban; saying, "While I was thy sister's son, and thou hadst given me thy daughters in marriage, thou hast worn me out with thy harsh commands, and detained me twenty years under them. That indeed which was required in order to my marrying thy daughters, hard as it was, I own to have been tolerable; but as to those that were put upon me after those marriages, they were worse, and such indeed as an enemy would have avoided." For certainly Laban had used Jacob very ill; for when he saw that God was assisting to Jacob in all that he desired, he promised him, that of the young cattle which should be born, he should have sometimes what was of a white color, and sometimes what should be of a black color; but when those that came to Jacob's share proved numerous, he did not keep his faith with him, but said he would give them to him the next year, because of his envying him the multitude of his possessions. He promised him as before, because he thought such an increase was not to be expected; but when it appeared to be fact, he deceived him.

11. But then, as to the sacred images, he bid him search for them; and when Laban accepted of the offer, Rachel, being informed of it, put those images into that camel's saddle on which she rode, and sat upon it; and said, that her natural purgation hindered her rising up: so Laban left off searching any further, not supposing that his daughter in such circumstances would approach to those images. So he made a league with Jacob, and bound it by oaths, that he would not bear him any malice on account of what had happened; and Jacob made the like league, and promised to love Laban's daughters. And these leagues they confirmed with oaths also, which the made upon certain as whereon they erected a pillar, in the form of an altar: whence that hill is called Gilead; and from thence they call that land the Land of Gilead at this day. Now when they had feasted, after the making of the league, Laban returned home.

CHAPTER 20. Concerning The Meeting Of Jacob And Esau.

1. Now as Jacob was proceeding on his journey to the land of Canaan, angels appeared to him, and suggested to him good hope of his future condition; and that place he named the Camp of God. And being desirous of knowing what his brother's intentions were to him, he sent messengers, to give him an exact account of every thing, as being afraid, on account of the enmities between them. He charged those that were sent, to say to Esau, "Jacob had thought it wrong to live together with him while he was in anger against him, and so had gone out of the country; and that he now, thinking the length of time of his absence must have made up their differences, was returning; that he brought with him his wives, and his children, with what possessions he had gotten; and delivered himself, with what was most dear to him, into his hands; and should think it his greatest happiness to partake together with his brother of what God had bestowed upon him." So these messengers told him this message. Upon which Esau was very glad, and met his brother with four hundred men. And Jacob, when he heard that he was coming to meet him with such a number of men, was greatly afraid: however, he committed his hope of deliverance to God; and considered how, in his present circumstances, he might preserve himself and those that were with him, and overcome his enemies if they attacked him injuriously. He therefore distributed his company into parts; some he sent before the rest, and the others he ordered to come close behind, that so, if the first were overpowered when his brother attacked them, they might have those that followed as a refuge to fly unto. And when he had put his company in this order, he sent some of them to carry presents to his brother. The presents were made up of cattle, and a great number of four-footed beasts, of many kinds, such as would be very acceptable to those that received them, on account of their rarity. Those who were sent went at certain intervals of space asunder, that, by following thick, one after another, they might appear to be more numerous, that Esau might remit of his anger on account of these presents, if he were still in a passion. Instructions were also given to those that were sent to speak gently to him.

2. When Jacob had made these appointments all the day, and night came on, he moved on with his company; and, as they were gone over a certain river called Jabboc, Jacob was left behind; and meeting with an angel, he wrestled with him, the angel beginning the struggle: but he prevailed over the angel, who used a voice, and spake to him in words, exhorting him to be pleased with what

had happened to him, and not to suppose that his victory was a small one, but that he had overcome a divine angel, and to esteem the victory as a sign of great blessings that should come to him, and that his offspring should never fall, and that no man should be too hard for his power. He also commanded him to be called Israel, which in the Hebrew tongue signifies one that struggled with the divine angel. These promises were made at the prayer of Jacob; for when he perceived him to be the angel of God, he desired he would signify to him what should befall him hereafter. And when the angel had said what is before related, he disappeared; but Jacob was pleased with these things, and named the place Phanuel, which signifies, the face of God. Now when he felt pain, by this struggling, upon his broad sinew, he abstained from eating that sinew himself afterward; and for his sake it is still not eaten by us.

3. When Jacob understood that his brother was near, he ordered his wives to go before, each by herself, with the handmaids, that they might see the actions of the men as they were fighting, if Esau were so disposed. He then went up to his brother Esau, and bowed down to him, who had no evil design upon him, but saluted him; and asked him about the company of the children and of the women; and desired, when he had understood all he wanted to know about them, that he would go along with him to their father; but Jacob pretending that the cattle were weary, Esau returned to Seir, for there was his place of habitation, he having named the place Roughness, from his own hairy roughness.

CHAPTER 21. Concerning The Violation Of Dina's Chastity.

1. Hereupon Jacob came to the place, till this day called Tents [Succoth]; from whence he went to Shechem, which is a city of the Canaanites. Now as the Shechemites were keeping a festival Dina, who was the only daughter of Jacob, went into the city to see the finery of the women of that country. But when Shechem, the son of Hamor the king, saw her, he defiled her by violence; and being greatly in love with her, desired of his father that he would procure the damsel to him for a wife. To which desire he condescended, and came to Jacob, desiring him to give leave that his son Shechem might, according to law, marry Dina. But Jacob, not knowing how to deny the desire of one of such great dignity, and yet not thinking it lawful to marry his daughter to a stranger, entreated him to give him leave to have a consultation about what he desired him to do. So the king went away, in hopes that Jacob would grant him this marriage. But Jacob informed his sons of the defilement of their sister, and of the address of Hamor; and desired them to give their advice what they should do. Upon fills, the greatest part said nothing, not knowing what advice to give. But Simeon and Levi, the brethren of the damsel by the same mother, agreed between themselves upon the action following: It being now the time of a festival, when the Shechemites were employed in ease and feasting, they fell upon the watch when they were asleep, and, coming into the city, slew all the males as also the king, and his son, with them; but spared the women. And when they had done this without their father's consent, they brought away their sister.

2. Now while Jacob was astonished at the greatness of this act, and was severely blaming his sons for it, God stood by him, and bid him be of good courage; but to purify his tents, and to offer those sacrifices which he had vowed to offer when he went first into Mesopotamia, and saw his vision. As he was therefore purifying his followers, he lighted upon the gods of Laban; [for he did not before know they were stolen by Rachel;] and he hid them in the earth, under an oak, in Shechem. And departing thence, he offered sacrifice at Bethel, the place where he saw his dream, when he went first into Mesopotamia.

3. And when he was gone thence, and was come over against Ephrata, he there buried Rachel, who died in child-bed: she was the only one of Jacob's kindred that had not the honor of burial at Hebron. And when he had mourned for her a great while, he called the son that was born of her Benjamin, because of the sorrow the mother had with him. These are all the children of Jacob, twelve

males and one female. — Of them eight were legitimate, — *viz.* six of Lea, and two of Rachel; and four were of the handmaids, two of each; all whose names have been set down already.

CHAPTER 22. How Isaac Died, And Was Buried In Hebron.

From thence Jacob came to Hebron, a city situate among the Canaanites; and there it was that Isaac lived: and so they lived together for a little while; for as to Rebeka, Jacob did not find her alive. Isaac also died not long after the coming of his son; and was buried by his sons, with his wife, in Hebron, where they had a monument belonging to them from their forefathers. Now Isaac was a man who was beloved of God, and was vouchsafed great instances of providence by God, after Abraham his father, and lived to be exceeding old; for when he had lived virtuously one hundred and eighty-five years, he then died.

BOOK II. Containing The Interval Of Two Hundred And Twenty Years. — From The Death Of Isaac To The Exodus Out Of Egypt.

CHAPTER 1. How Esau And Jacob, Isaac's Sons Divided Their Habitation; And Esau Possessed Idumea And Jacob Canaan.

1. After the death of Isaac, his sons divided their habitations respectively; nor did they retain what they had before; but Esau departed from the city of Hebron, and left it to his brother, and dwelt in Seir, and ruled over Idumea. He called the country by that name from himself, for he was named Adom; which appellation he got on the following occasion: — One day returning from the toil of hunting very hungry, [it was when he was a child in age,] he lighted on his brother when he was getting ready lentile-pottage for his dinner, which was of a very red color; on which account he the more earnestly longed for it, and desired him to give him some of it to eat: but he made advantage of his brother's hunger, and forced him to resign up to him his birthright; and he, being pinched with famine, resigned it up to him, under an oath. Whence it came, that, on account of the redness of this pottage, he was, in way of jest, by his contemporaries, called Adom, for the Hebrews call what is red Adom; and this was the name given to the country; but the Greeks gave it a more agreeable pronunciation, and named it Idumea.

2. He became the father of five sons; of whom Jaus, and Jalomus, and Coreus, were by one wife, whose name was Alibama; but of the rest, Aliphaz was born to him by Ada, and Raguel by Basemmath: and these were the sons of Esau. Aliphaz had five legitimate sons; Theman, Omer, Saphus, Gotham, and Kanaz; for Amalek was not legitimate, but by a concubine, whose name was Thamna. These dwelt in that part of Idumea which is called Gebalitis, and that denominated from Amalek, Amalekitis; for Idumea was a large country, and did then preserve the name of the whole, while in its several parts it kept the names of its peculiar inhabitants.

CHAPTER 2. How Joseph, The Youngest Of Jacob's Sons, Was Envied By His Brethren, When Certain Dreams Had Foreshown His Future Happiness.

1. It happened that Jacob came to so great happiness as rarely any other person had arrived at. He was richer than the rest of the inhabitants of that country; and was at once envied and admired for such virtuous sons, for they were deficient in nothing, but were of great souls, both for laboring with their hands and enduring of toil; and shrewd also in understanding. And God exercised such a providence over him, and such a care of his happiness, as to bring him the greatest blessings, even out of what appeared to be the most sorrowful condition; and to make him the cause of our forefathers' departure out of Egypt, him and his posterity. The occasion was this: — When Jacob had his son Joseph born to him by Rachel, his father loved him above the rest of his sons, both because of the beauty of his body, and the virtues of his mind, for he excelled the rest in prudence. This affection of his father excited the envy and the hatred of his brethren; as did also his dreams which he saw, and related to his father, and to them, which foretold his future happiness, it being usual with mankind to envy their very nearest relations such their prosperity. Now the visions which Joseph saw in his sleep were these: —

2. When they were in the middle of harvest, and Joseph was sent by his father, with his brethren, to gather the fruits of the earth, he saw a vision in a dream, but greatly exceeding the customary appearances that come when we are asleep; which, when he was got up, he told his brethren, that they might judge what it portended. He said, he saw the last night, that his wheat-sheaf stood still in the place where he set it, but that their sheaves ran to bow down to it, as servants bow down to their masters. But as soon as they perceived the vision foretold that he should obtain power and great wealth, and that his power should be in opposition to them, they gave no interpretation of it to Joseph, as if the dream were not by them understood: but they prayed that no part of what they suspected to be its meaning might come to pass; and they bare a still greater hatred to him on that account.

3. But God, in opposition to their envy, sent a second vision to Joseph, which was much more wonderful than the former; for it seemed to him that the sun took with him the moon, and the rest of the stars, and came down to the earth, and bowed down to him. He told the vision to his father, and that, as suspecting nothing of ill-will from his brethren, when they were there also, and desired him

to interpret what it should signify. Now Jacob was pleased with the dream: for, considering the prediction in his mind, and shrewdly and wisely guessing at its meaning, he rejoiced at the great things thereby signified, because it declared the future happiness of his son; and that, by the blessing of God, the time would come when he should be honored, and thought worthy of worship by his parents and brethren, as guessing that the moon and sun were like his mother and father; the former, as she that gave increase and nourishment to all things; and the latter, he that gave form and other powers to them; and that the stars were like his brethren, since they were eleven in number, as were the stars that receive their power from the sun and moon.

4. And thus did Jacob make a judgment of this vision, and that a shrewd one also. But these interpretations caused very great grief to Joseph's brethren; and they were affected to him hereupon as if he were a certain stranger, that was to those good things which were signified by the dreams and not as one that was a brother, with whom it was probable they should be joint-partakers; and as they had been partners in the same parentage, so should they be of the same happiness. They also resolved to kill the lad; and having fully ratified that intention of theirs, as soon as their collection of the fruits was over, they went to Shechem, which is a country good for feeding of cattle, and for pasturage; there they fed their flocks, without acquainting their father with their removal thither; whereupon he had melancholy suspicions about them, as being ignorant of his sons' condition, and receiving no messenger from the flocks that could inform him of the true state they were in; so, because he was in great fear about them, he sent Joseph to the flocks, to learn the circumstances his brethren were in, and to bring him word how they did.

CHAPTER 3. How Joseph Was Thus Sold By His Brethren Into Egypt, By Reason Of Their Hatred To Him; And How He There Grew Famous And Illustrious And Had His Brethren Under His Power.

1. Now these brethren rejoiced as soon as they saw their brother coming to them, not indeed as at the presence of a near relation, or as at the presence of one sent by their father, but as at the presence of an enemy, and one that by Divine Providence was delivered into their hands; and they already resolved to kill him, and not let slip the opportunity that lay before them. But when Reubel, the eldest of them, saw them thus disposed, and that they had agreed together to execute their purpose, he tried to restrain them, showing them the heinous enterprise they were going about, and the horrid nature of it; that this action would appear wicked in the sight of God, and impious before men, even though they should kill one not related to them; but much more flagitious and detestable to appear to have slain their own brother, by which act the father must be treated unjustly in the son's slaughter, and the mother also be in perplexity while she laments that her son is taken away from her, and this not in a natural way neither. So he entreated them to have a regard to their own consciences, and wisely to consider what mischief would betide them upon the death of so good a child, and their youngest brother; that they would also fear God, who was already both a spectator and a witness of the designs they had against their brother; that he would love them if they abstained from this act, and yielded to repentance and amendment; but in case they proceeded to do the fact, all sorts of punishments would overtake them from God for this murder of their brother, since they polluted his providence, which was every where present, and which did not overlook what was done, either in deserts or in cities; for wheresoever a man is, there ought he to suppose that God is also. He told them further, that their consciences would be their enemies, if they attempted to go through so wicked an enterprise, which they can never avoid, whether it be a good conscience; or whether it be such a one as they will have within them when once they have killed their brother. He also added this besides to what he had before said, that it was not a righteous thing to kill a brother, though he had injured them; that it is a good thing to forget the actions of such near friends, even in things wherein they might seem to have offended; but that they were going to kill Joseph, who had been guilty of nothing that was ill towards them, in whose case the infirmity of

his small age should rather procure him mercy, and move them to unite together in the care of his preservation. That the cause of killing him made the act itself much worse, while they determined to take him off out of envy at his future prosperity, an equal share of which they would naturally partake while he enjoyed it, since they were to him not strangers, but the nearest relations, for they might reckon upon what God bestowed upon Joseph as their own; and that it was fit for them to believe, that the anger of God would for this cause be more severe upon them, if they slew him who was judged by God to be worthy of that prosperity which was to be hoped for; and while, by murdering him, they made it impossible for God to bestow it upon him.

2. Reubel said these and many other things, and used entreaties to them, and thereby endeavored to divert them from the murder of their brother. But when he saw that his discourse had not mollified them at all, and that they made haste to do the fact, he advised them to alleviate the wickedness they were going about, in the manner of taking Joseph off; for as he had exhorted them first, when they were going to revenge themselves, to be dissuaded from doing it; so, since the sentence for killing their brother had prevailed, he said that they would not, however, be so grossly guilty, if they would be persuaded to follow his present advice, which would include what they were so eager about, but was not so very bad, but, in the distress they were in, of a lighter nature. He begged of them, therefore, not to kill their brother with their own hands, but to cast him into the pit that was hard by, and so to let him die; by which they would gain so much, that they would not defile their own hands with his blood. To this the young men readily agreed; so Reubel took the lad and tied him to a cord, and let him down gently into the pit, for it had no water at all in it; who, when he had done this, went his way to seek for such pasturage as was fit for feeding his flocks.

3. But Judas, being one of Jacob's sons also, seeing some Arabians, of the posterity of Ismael, carrying spices and Syrian wares out of the land of Gilead to the Egyptians, after Rubel was gone, advised his brethren to draw Joseph out of the pit, and sell him to the Arabians; for if he should die among strangers a great way off, they should be freed from this barbarous action. This, therefore, was resolved on; so they drew Joseph up out of the pit, and sold him to the merchants for twenty pounds He was now seventeen years old. But Reubel, coming in the night-time to the pit, resolved to save Joseph, without the privity of his brethren; and when, upon his calling to him, he made no answer, he was afraid that they had destroyed him after he was gone; of which he complained to his brethren; but when they had told him what they had done, Reubel left off his mourning.

4. When Joseph's brethren had done thus to him, they considered what they should do to escape the suspicions of their father. Now they had taken away

from Joseph the coat which he had on when he came to them at the time they let him down into the pit; so they thought proper to tear that coat to pieces, and to dip it into goats' blood, and then to carry it and show it to their father, that he might believe he was destroyed by wild beasts. And when they had so done, they came to the old man, but this not till what had happened to his son had already come to his knowledge. Then they said that they had not seen Joseph, nor knew what mishap had befallen him; but that they had found his coat bloody and torn to pieces, whence they had a suspicion that he had fallen among wild beasts, and so perished, if that was the coat he had on when he came from home. Now Jacob had before some better hopes that his son was only made a captive; but now he laid aside that notion, and supposed that this coat was an evident argument that he was dead, for he well remembered that this was the coat he had on when he sent him to his brethren; so he hereafter lamented the lad as now dead, and as if he had been the father of no more than one, without taking any comfort in the rest; and so he was also affected with his misfortune before he met with Joseph's brethren, when he also conjectured that Joseph was destroyed by wild beasts. He sat down also clothed in sackcloth and in heavy affliction, insomuch that he found no ease when his sons comforted him, neither did his pains remit by length of time.

CHAPTER 4. Concerning The Signal Chastity Of Joseph.

1. Now Potiphar, an Egyptian, who was chief cook to king Pharaoh, bought Joseph of the merchants, who sold him to him. He had him in the greatest honor, and taught him the learning that became a free man, and gave him leave to make use of a diet better than was allotted to slaves. He intrusted also the care of his house to him. So he enjoyed these advantages, yet did not he leave that virtue which he had before, upon such a change of his condition; but he demonstrated that wisdom was able to govern the uneasy passions of life, in such as have it in reality, and do not only put it on for a show, under a present state of prosperity.

2. For when his master's wife was fallen in love with him, both on account of his beauty of body, and his dexterous management of affairs; and supposed, that if she should make it known to him, she could easily persuade him to come and lie with her, and that he would look upon it as a piece of happy fortune that his mistress should entreat him, as regarding that state of slavery he was in, and not his moral character, which continued after his condition was changed. So she made known her naughty inclinations, and spake to him about lying with her. However, he rejected her entreaties, not thinking it agreeable to religion to yield so far to her, as to do what would tend to the affront and injury of him that purchased him, and had vouchsafed him so great honors. He, on the contrary, exhorted her to govern that passion; and laid before her the impossibility of her obtaining her desires, which he thought might be conquered, if she had no hope of succeeding; and he said, that as to himself, he would endure any thing whatever before he would be persuaded to it; for although it was fit for a slave, as he was, to do nothing contrary to his mistress, he might well be excused in a case where the contradiction was to such sort of commands only. But this opposition of Joseph, when she did not expect it, made her still more violent in her love to him; and as she was sorely beset with this naughty passion, so she resolved to compass her design by a second attempt.

3. When, therefore, there was a public festival coming on, in which it was the custom for women to come to the public solemnity; she pretended to her husband that she was sick, as contriving an opportunity for solitude and leisure, that she might entreat Joseph again. Which opportunity being obtained, she used more kind words to him than before; and said that it had been good for him to have yielded to her first solicitation, and to have given her no repulse, both because of the reverence he ought to bear to her dignity who solicited him, and

because of the vehemence of her passion, by which she was forced though she were his mistress to condescend beneath her dignity; but that he may now, by taking more prudent advice, wipe off the imputation of his former folly; for whether it were that he expected the repetition of her solicitations she had now made, and that with greater earnestness than before, for that she had pretended sickness on this very account, and had preferred his conversation before the festival and its solemnity; or whether he opposed her former discourses, as not believing she could be in earnest; she now gave him sufficient security, by thus repeating her application, that she meant not in the least by fraud to impose upon him; and assured him, that if he complied with her affections, he might expect the enjoyment of the advantages he already had; and if he were submissive to her, he should have still greater advantages; but that he must look for revenge and hatred from her, in case he rejected her desires, and preferred the reputation of chastity before his mistress; for that he would gain nothing by such procedure, because she would then become his accuser, and would falsely pretend to her husband, that he had attempted her chastity; and that Potiphar would hearken to her words rather than to his, let his be ever so agreeable to the truth.

4. When the woman had said thus, and even with tears in her eyes, neither did pity dissuade Joseph from his chastity, nor did fear compel him to a compliance with her; but he opposed her solicitations, and did not yield to her threatenings, and was afraid to do an ill thing, and chose to undergo the sharpest punishment rather than to enjoy his present advantages, by doing what his own conscience knew would justly deserve that he should die for it. He also put her in mind that she was a married woman, and that she ought to cohabit with her husband only; and desired her to suffer these considerations to have more weight with her than the short pleasure of lustful dalliance, which would bring her to repentance afterwards, would cause trouble to her, and yet would not amend what had been done amiss. He also suggested to her the fear she would be in lest they should be caught; and that the advantage of concealment was uncertain, and that only while the wickedness was not known [would there be any quiet for them]; but that she might have the enjoyment of her husband's company without any danger. And he told her, that in the company of her husband she might have great boldness from a good conscience, both before God and before men. Nay, that she would act better like his mistress, and make use of her authority over him better while she persisted in her chastity, than when they were both ashamed for what wickedness they had been guilty of; and that it is much better to a life, well and known to have been so, than upon the hopes of the concealment of evil practices.

5. Joseph, by saying this, and more, tried to restrain the violent passion of the woman, and to reduce her affections within the rules of reason; but she grew more ungovernable and earnest in the matter; and since she despaired of persuading him, she laid her hands upon him, and had a mind to force him. But as soon as Joseph had got away from her anger, leaving also his garment with her, for he left that to her, and leaped out of her chamber, she was greatly afraid lest he should discover her lewdness to her husband, and greatly troubled at the affront he had offered her; so she resolved to be beforehand with him, and to accuse Joseph falsely to Potiphar, and by that means to revenge herself on him for his pride and contempt of her; and she thought it a wise thing in itself, and also becoming a woman, thus to prevent his accusation. Accordingly she sat sorrowful and in confusion, framing herself so hypocritically and angrily, that the sorrow, which was really for her being disappointed of her lust, might appear to be for the attempt upon her chastity; so that when her husband came home, and was disturbed at the sight of her and inquired what was the cause of the disorder she was in, she began to accuse Joseph: and, "O husband," said she, "mayst thou not live a day longer if thou dost not punish the wicked slave who has desired to defile thy bed; who has neither minded who he was when he came to our house, so as to behave himself with modesty; nor has he been mindful of what favors he had received from thy bounty [as he must be an ungrateful man indeed, unless he, in every respect, carry himself in a manner agreeable to us]: this man, I say, laid a private design to abuse thy wife, and this at the time of a festival, observing when thou wouldst be absent. So that it now is clear that his modesty, as it appeared to be formerly, was only because of the restraint he was in out of fear of thee, but that he was not really of a good disposition. This has been occasioned by his being advanced to honor beyond what he deserved, and what he hoped for; insomuch that he concluded, that he who was deemed fit to be trusted with thy estate and the government of thy family, and was preferred above thy eldest servants, might be allowed to touch thy wife also." Thus when she had ended her discourse, she showed him his garment, as if he then left it with her when he attempted to force her. But Potiphar not being able to disbelieve what his wife's tears showed, and what his wife said, and what he saw himself, and being seduced by his love to his wife, did not set himself about the examination of the truth; but taking it for granted that his wife was a modest woman, and condemning Joseph as a wicked man, he threw him into the malefactors' prison; and had a still higher opinion of his wife, and bare her witness that she was a woman of a becoming modesty and chastity.

CHAPTER 5. What Things Befell Joseph In Prison.

1. Now Joseph, commending all his affairs to God, did not betake himself to make his defense, nor to give an account of the exact circumstances of the fact, but silently underwent the bonds and the distress he was in, firmly believing that God, who knew the cause of his affliction, and the truth of the fact, would be more powerful than those that inflicted the punishments upon him: — a proof of whose providence he quickly received; for the keeper of the prison taking notice of his care and fidelity in the affairs he had set him about, and the dignity of his countenance, relaxed his bonds, and thereby made his heavy calamity lighter, and more supportable to him. He also permitted him to make use of a diet better than that of the rest of the prisoners. Now, as his fellow prisoners, when their hard labors were over, fell to discoursing one among another, as is usual in such as are equal sufferers, and to inquire one of another what were the occasions of their being condemned to a prison: among them the king's cupbearer, and one that had been respected by him, was put in bonds, upon the king's anger at him. This man was under the same bonds with Joseph, and grew more familiar with him; and upon his observing that Joseph had a better understanding than the rest had, he told him of a dream he had, and desired he would interpret its meaning, complaining that, besides the afflictions he underwent from the king, God did also add to him trouble from his dreams.

2. He therefore said, that in his sleep he saw three clusters of grapes hanging upon three branches of a vine, large already, and ripe for gathering; and that he squeezed them into a cup which the king held in his hand; and when he had strained the wine, he gave it to the king to drink, and that he received it from him with a pleasant countenance. This, he said, was what he saw; and he desired Joseph, that if he had any portion of understanding in such matters, he would tell him what this vision foretold. Who bid him be of good cheer, and expect to be loosed from his bonds in three days' time, because the king desired his service, and was about to restore him to it again; for he let him know that God bestows the fruit of the vine upon men for good; which wine is poured out to him, and is the pledge of fidelity and mutual confidence among men; and puts an end to their quarrels, takes away passion and grief out of the minds of them that use it, and makes them cheerful. "Thou sayest that thou didst squeeze this wine from three clusters of grapes with thine hands, and that the king received it: know, therefore, that this vision is for thy good, and foretells a release from thy present distress within the same number of days as the branches had whence thou

gatheredst thy grapes in thy sleep. However, remember what prosperity I have foretold thee when thou hast found it true by experience; and when thou art in authority, do not overlook us in this prison, wherein thou wilt leave us when thou art gone to the place we have foretold; for we are not in prison for any crime; but for the sake of our virtue and sobriety are we condemned to suffer the penalty of malefactors, and because we are not willing to injure him that has thus distressed us, though it were for our own pleasure." The cupbearer, therefore, as was natural to do, rejoiced to hear such an interpretation of his dream, and waited the completion of what had been thus shown him beforehand.

3. But another servant there was of the king, who had been chief baker, and was now bound in prison with the cupbearer; he also was in good hope, upon Joseph's interpretation of the other's vision, for he had seen a dream also; so he desired that Joseph would tell him what the visions he had seen the night before might mean. They were these that follow:— "Methought," says he, "I carried three baskets upon my head; two were full of loaves, and the third full of sweetmeats and other eatables, such as are prepared for kings; but that the fowls came flying, and eat them all up, and had no regard to my attempt to drive them away." And he expected a prediction like to that of the cupbearer. But Joseph, considering and reasoning about the dream, said to him, that he would willingly be an interpreter of good events to him, and not of such as his dream denounced to him; but he told him that he had only three days in all to live, for that the [three] baskets signify, that on the third day he should be crucified, and devoured by fowls, while he was not able to help himself. Now both these dreams had the same several events that Joseph foretold they should have, and this to both the parties; for on the third day before mentioned, when the king solemnized his birth-day, he crucified the chief baker, but set the butler free from his bonds, and restored him to his former ministration.

4. But God freed Joseph from his confinement, after he had endured his bonds two years, and had received no assistance from the cupbearer, who did not remember what he had said to him formerly; and God contrived this method of deliverance for him. Pharaoh the king had seen in his sleep the same evening two visions; and after them had the interpretations of them both given him. He had forgotten the latter, but retained the dreams themselves. Being therefore troubled at what he had seen, for it seemed to him to be all of a melancholy nature, the next day he called together the wisest men among the Egyptians, desiring to learn from them the interpretation of his dreams. But when they hesitated about them, the king was so much the more disturbed. And now it was that the memory of Joseph, and his skill in dreams, came into the mind of the king's cupbearer, when he saw the confusion that Pharaoh was in; so he came

and mentioned Joseph to him, as also the vision he had seen in prison, and how the event proved as he had said; as also that the chief baker was crucified on the very same day; and that this also happened to him according to the interpretation of Joseph. That Joseph himself was laid in bonds by Potiphar, who was his head cook, as a slave; but, he said, he was one of the noblest of the stock of the Hebrews; and said further, his father lived in great splendor. "If, therefore, thou wilt send for him, and not despise him on the score of his misfortunes, thou wilt learn what thy dreams signify." So the king commanded that they should bring Joseph into his presence; and those who received the command came and brought him with them, having taken care of his habit, that it might be decent, as the king had enjoined them to do.

5. But the king took him by the hand; and, "O young man," says he, "for my servant bears witness that thou art at present the best and most skillful person I can consult with; vouchsafe me the same favors which thou bestowedst on this servant of mine, and tell me what events they are which the visions of my dreams foreshow; and I desire thee to suppress nothing out of fear, nor to flatter me with lying words, or with what may please me, although the truth should be of a melancholy nature. For it seemed to me that, as I walked by the river, I saw kine fat and very large, seven in number, going from the river to the marshes; and other kine of the same number like them, met them out of the marshes, exceeding lean and ill-favored, which ate up the fat and the large kine, and yet were no better than before, and not less miserably pinched with famine. After I had seen this vision, I awaked out of my sleep; and being in disorder, and considering with myself what this appearance should be, I fell asleep again, and saw another dream, much more wonderful than the foregoing, which still did more affright and disturb me: — I saw seven ears of corn growing out of one root, having their heads borne down by the weight of the grains, and bending down with the fruit, which was now ripe and fit for reaping; and near these I saw seven other ears of corn, meager and weak, for want of rain, which fell to eating and consuming those that were fit for reaping, and put me into great astonishment."

6. To which Joseph replied:— "This dream," said he, "O king, although seen under two forms, signifies one and the same event of things; for when thou sawest the fat kine, which is an animal made for the plough and for labor, devoured by the worser kine, and the ears of corn eaten up by the smaller ears, they foretell a famine, and want of the fruits of the earth for the same number of years, and equal with those when Egypt was in a happy state; and this so far, that the plenty of these years will be spent in the same number of years of scarcity, and that scarcity of necessary provisions will be very difficult to be corrected; as

a sign whereof, the ill-favored kine, when they had devoured the better sort, could not be satisfied. But still God foreshows what is to come upon men, not to grieve them, but that, when they know it beforehand, they may by prudence make the actual experience of what is foretold the more tolerable. If thou, therefore, carefully dispose of the plentiful crops which will come in the former years, thou wilt procure that the future calamity will not be felt by the Egyptians."

7. Hereupon the king wondered at the discretion and wisdom of Joseph; and asked him by what means he might so dispense the foregoing plentiful crops in the happy years, as to make the miserable crops more tolerable. Joseph then added this his advice: To spare the good crops, and not permit the Egyptians to spend them luxuriously, but to reserve what they would have spent in luxury beyond their necessity against the time of want. He also exhorted him to take the corn of the husbandmen, and give them only so much as will be sufficient for their food. Accordingly Pharaoh being surprised at Joseph, not only for his interpretation of the dream, but for the counsel he had given him, intrusted him with dispensing the corn; with power to do what he thought would be for the benefit of the people of Egypt, and for the benefit of the king, as believing that he who first discovered this method of acting, would prove the best overseer of it. But Joseph having this power given him by the king, with leave to make use of his seal, and to wear purple, drove in his chariot through all the land of Egypt, and took the corn of the husbandmen, allotting as much to every one as would be sufficient for seed, and for food, but without discovering to any one the reason why he did so.

CHAPTER 6. How Joseph When He Was Become Famous In Egypt, Had His Brethren In Subjection.

1. Joseph was now grown up to thirty years of age, and enjoyed great honors from the king, who called him Psothom Phanech, out of regard to his prodigious degree of wisdom; for that name denotes the revealer of secrets. He also married a wife of very high quality; for he married the daughter of Petephres, one of the priests of Heliopolis; she was a virgin, and her name was Asenath. By her he had children before the scarcity came on; Manasseh, the elder, which signifies forgetful, because his present happiness made him forget his former misfortunes; and Ephraim, the younger, which signifies restored, because he was restored to the freedom of his forefathers. Now after Egypt had happily passed over seven years, according to Joseph's interpretation of the dreams, the famine came upon them in the eighth year; and because this misfortune fell upon them when they had no sense of it beforehand, they were all sorely afflicted by it, and came running to the king's gates; and he called upon Joseph, who sold the corn to them, being become confessedly a savior to the whole multitude of the Egyptians. Nor did he open this market of corn for the people of that country only, but strangers had liberty to buy also; Joseph being willing that all men, who are naturally akin to one another, should have assistance from those that lived in happiness.

2. Now Jacob also, when he understood that foreigners might come, sent all his sons into Egypt to buy corn, for the land of Canaan was grievously afflicted with the famine; and this great misery touched the whole continent. He only retained Benjamin, who was born to him by Rachel, and was of the same mother with Joseph. These sons of Jacob then came into Egypt, and applied themselves to Joseph, wanting to buy corn; for nothing of this kind was done without his approbation, since even then only was the honor that was paid the king himself advantageous to the persons that paid it, when they took care to honor Joseph also. Now when he well knew his brethren, they thought nothing of him; for he was but a youth when he left them, and was now come to an age so much greater, that the lineaments of his face were changed, and he was not known by them: besides this, the greatness of the dignity wherein he appeared, suffered them not so much as to suspect it was he. He now made trial what sentiments they had about affairs of the greatest consequence; for he refused to sell them corn, and said they were come as spies of the king's affairs; and that they came from several countries, and joined themselves together, and pretended that they

were of kin, it not being possible that a private man should breed up so many sons, and those of so great beauty of countenance as they were, such an education of so many children being not easily obtained by kings themselves. Now this he did in order to discover what concerned his father, and what happened to him after his own departure from him, and as desiring to know what was become of Benjamin his brother; for he was afraid that they had ventured on the like wicked enterprise against him that they had done to himself, and had taken him off also.

3. Now these brethren of his were under distraction and terror, and thought that very great danger hung over them; yet not at all reflecting upon their brother Joseph, and standing firm under the accusations laid against them, they made their defense by Reubel, the eldest of them, who now became their spokesman: "We come not hither," said he, "with any unjust design, nor in order to bring any harm to the king's affairs; we only want to be preserved, as supposing your humanity might be a refuge for us from the miseries which our country labors under, we having heard that you proposed to sell corn, not only to your own countrymen, but to strangers also, and that you determined to allow that corn, in order to preserve all that want it; but that we are brethren, and of the same common blood, the peculiar lineaments of our faces, and those not so much different from one another, plainly show. Our father's name is Jacob, an Hebrew man, who had twelve of us for his sons by four wives; which twelve of us, while we were all alive, were a happy family; but when one of our brethren, whose name was Joseph, died, our affairs changed for the worse, for our father could not forbear to make a long lamentation for him; and we are in affliction, both by the calamity of the death of our brother, and the miserable state of our aged father. We are now, therefore, come to buy corn, having intrusted the care of our father, and the provision for our family, to Benjamin, our youngest brother; and if thou sendest to our house, thou mayst learn whether we are guilty of the least falsehood in what we say."

4. And thus did Reubel endeavor to persuade Joseph to have a better opinion of them. But when he had learned from them that Jacob was alive, and that his brother was not destroyed by them, he for the present put them in prison, as intending to examine more into their affairs when he should be at leisure. But on the third day he brought them out, and said to them, "Since you constantly affirm that you are not come to do any harm to the king's affairs; that you are brethren, and the sons of the father whom you named; you will satisfy me of the truth of what you say, if you leave one of your company with me, who shall suffer no injury here; and if, when ye have carried corn to your father, you will come to me again, and bring your brother, whom you say you left there, along with you,

for this shall be by me esteemed an assurance of the truth of what you have told me." Hereupon they were in greater grief than before; they wept, and perpetually deplored one among another the calamity of Joseph; and said, "They were fallen into this misery as a punishment inflicted by God for what evil contrivances they had against him." And Reubel was large in his reproaches of them for their too late repentance, whence no profit arose to Joseph; and earnestly exhorted them to bear with patience whatever they suffered, since it was done by God in way of punishment, on his account. Thus they spake to one another, not imagining that Joseph understood their language. A general sadness also seized on them at Reubel's words, and a repentance for what they had done; and they condemned the wickedness they had perpetrated, for which they judged they were justly punished by God. Now when Joseph saw that they were in this distress, he was so affected at it that he fell into tears, and not being willing that they should take notice of him, he retired; and after a while came to them again, and taking Symeon in order to his being a pledge for his brethren's return, he bid them take the corn they had bought, and go their way. He also commanded his steward privily to put the money which they had brought with them for the purchase of corn into their sacks, and to dismiss them therewith; who did what he was commanded to do.

5. Now when Jacob's sons were come into the land of Canaan, they told their father what had happened to them in Egypt, and that they were taken to have come thither as spies upon the king; and how they said they were brethren, and had left their eleventh brother with their father, but were not believed; and how they had left Symeon with the governor, until Benjamin should go thither, and be a testimonial of the truth of what they had said: and they begged of their father to fear nothing, but to send the lad along with them. But Jacob was not pleased with any thing his sons had done; and he took the detention of Symeon heinously, and thence thought it a foolish thing to give up Benjamin also. Neither did he yield to Reubel's persuasion, though he begged it of him, and gave leave that the grandfather might, in way of requital, kill his own sons, in case any harm came to Benjamin in the journey. So they were distressed, and knew not what to do; nay, there was another accident that still disturbed them more, — the money that was found hidden in their sacks of corn. Yet when the corn they had brought failed them, and when the famine still afflicted them, and necessity forced them, Jacob did [not] still resolve to send Benjamin with his brethren, although there was no returning into Egypt unless they came with what they had promised. Now the misery growing every day worse, and his sons begging it of him, he had no other course to take in his present circumstances. And Judas, who was of a bold temper on other occasions, spake his mind very

freely to him: “That it did not become him to be afraid on account of his son, nor to suspect the worst, as he did; for nothing could be done to his son but by the appointment of God, which must also for certain come to pass, though he were at home with him; that he ought not to condemn them to such manifest destruction; nor deprive them of that plenty of food they might have from Pharaoh, by his unreasonable fear about his son Benjamin, but ought to take care of the preservation of Symeon, lest, by attempting to hinder Benjamin’s journey, Symeon should perish. He exhorted him to trust God for him; and said he would either bring his son back to him safe, or, together with his, lose his own life.” So that Jacob was at length persuaded, and delivered Benjamin to them, with the price of the corn doubled; he also sent presents to Joseph of the fruits of the land of Canaan, balsam and rosin, as also turpentine and honey. Now their father shed many tears at the departure of his sons, as well as themselves. His concern was, that he might receive them back again safe after their journey; and their concern was, that they might find their father well, and no way afflicted with grief for them. And this lamentation lasted a whole day; so that the old man was at last tired with grief, and staid behind; but they went on their way for Egypt, endeavoring to mitigate their grief for their present misfortunes, with the hopes of better success hereafter.

6. As soon as they came into Egypt, they were brought down to Joseph: but here no small fear disturbed them, lest they should be accused about the price of the corn, as if they had cheated Joseph. They then made a long apology to Joseph’s steward; and told him, that when they came home they found the money in their sacks, and that they had now brought it along with them. He said he did not know what they meant: so they were delivered from that fear. And when he had loosed Symeon, and put him into a handsome habit, he suffered him to be with his brethren; at which time Joseph came from his attendance on the king. So they offered him their presents; and upon his putting the question to them about their father, they answered that they found him well. He also, upon his discovery that Benjamin was alive, asked whether this was their younger brother; for he had seen him. Whereupon they said he was: he replied, that the God over all was his protector. But when his affection to him made him shed tears, he retired, desiring he might not be seen in that plight by his brethren. Then Joseph took them to supper, and they were set down in the same order as they used to sit at their father’s table. And although Joseph treated them all kindly, yet did he send a mess to Benjamin that was double to what the rest of the guests had for their shares.

7. Now when after supper they had composed themselves to sleep, Joseph commanded his steward both to give them their measures of corn, and to hide its

price again in their sacks; and that withal they should put into Benjamin's sack the golden cup, out of which he loved himself to drink. — which things he did, in order to make trial of his brethren, whether they would stand by Benjamin when he should be accused of having stolen the cup, and should appear to be in danger; or whether they would leave him, and, depending on their own innocency, go to their father without him. When the servant had done as he was bidden, the sons of Jacob, knowing nothing of all this, went their way, and took Symeon along with them, and had a double cause of joy, both because they had received him again, and because they took back Benjamin to their father, as they had promised. But presently a troop of horsemen encompassed them, and brought with them Joseph's servant, who had put the cup into Benjamin's sack. Upon which unexpected attack of the horsemen they were much disturbed, and asked what the reason was that they came thus upon men, who a little before had been by their lord thought worthy of an honorable and hospitable reception? They replied, by calling them wicked wretches, who had forgot that very hospitable and kind treatment which Joseph had given them, and did not scruple to be injurious to him, and to carry off that cup out of which he had, in so friendly a manner, drank to them, and not regarding their friendship with Joseph, no more than the danger they should be in if they were taken, in comparison of the unjust gain. Hereupon he threatened that they should be punished; for though they had escaped the knowledge of him who was but a servant, yet had they not escaped the knowledge of God, nor had gone off with what they had stolen; and, after all, asked why we come upon them, as if they knew nothing of the matter: and he told them that they should immediately know it by their punishment. This, and more of the same nature, did the servant say, in way of reproach to them: but they being wholly ignorant of any thing here that concerned them, laughed at what he said, and wondered at the abusive language which the servant gave them, when he was so hardy as to accuse those who did not before so much as retain the price of their corn, which was found in their sacks, but brought it again, though nobody else knew of any such thing, — so far were they from offering any injury to Joseph voluntarily. But still, supposing that a search would be a more sure justification of themselves than their own denial of the fact, they bid him search them, and that if any of them had been guilty of the theft, to punish them all; for being no way conscious to themselves of any crime, they spake with assurance, and, as they thought, without any danger to themselves also. The servants desired there might be a search made; but they said the punishment should extend to him alone who should be found guilty of the theft. So they made the search; and, having searched all the rest, they came last of all to Benjamin, as knowing it was Benjamin's sack in which they had hidden the

cup, they having indeed searched the rest only for a show of accuracy: so the rest were out of fear for themselves, and were now only concerned about Benjamin, but still were well assured that he would also be found innocent; and they reproached those that came after them for their hindering them, while they might, in the mean while, have gotten a good way on their journey. But as soon as they had searched Benjamin's sack, they found the cup, and took it from him; and all was changed into mourning and lamentation. They rent their garments, and wept for the punishment which their brother was to undergo for his theft, and for the delusion they had put on their father, when they promised they would bring Benjamin safe to him. What added to their misery was, that this melancholy accident came unfortunately at a time when they thought they had been gotten off clear; but they confessed that this misfortune of their brother, as well as the grief of their father for him, was owing to themselves, since it was they that forced their father to send him with them, when he was averse to it.

8. The horsemen therefore took Benjamin and brought him to Joseph, his brethren also following him; who, when he saw him in custody, and them in the habit of mourners, said, "How came you, vile wretches as you are, to have such a strange notion of my kindness to you, and of God's providence, as impudently to do thus to your benefactor, who in such an hospitable manner had entertained you?" Whereupon they gave up themselves to be punished, in order to save Benjamin; and called to mind what a wicked enterprise they had been guilty of against Joseph. They also pronounced him more happy than themselves, if he were dead, in being freed from the miseries of this life; and if he were alive, that he enjoyed the pleasure of seeing God's vengeance upon them. They said further; that they were the plague of their father, since they should now add to his former affliction for Joseph, this other affliction for Benjamin. Reubel also was large in cutting them upon this occasion. But Joseph dismissed them; for he said they had been guilty of no offense, and that he would content himself with the lad's punishment; for he said it was not a fit thing to let him go free, for the sake of those who had not offended; nor was it a fit thing to punish them together with him who had been guilty of stealing. And when he promised to give them leave to go away in safety, the rest of them were under great consternation, and were able to say nothing on this sad occasion. But Judas, who had persuaded their father to send the lad from him, being otherwise also a very bold and active man, determined to hazard himself for the preservation of his brother. "It is true," said he, "O governor, that we have been very wicked with regard to thee, and on that account deserved punishment; even all of us may justly be punished, although the theft were not committed by all, but only by one of us, and he the youngest also; but yet there remains some hope for us, who

otherwise must be under despair on his account, and this from thy goodness, which promises us a deliverance out of our present danger. And now I beg thou wilt not look at us, or at that great crime we have been guilty of, but at thy own excellent nature, and take advice of thine own virtue, instead of that wrath thou hast against us; which passion those that otherwise are of lower character indulge, as they do their strength, and that not only on great, but also on very trifling occasions. Overcome, sir, that passion, and be not subdued by it, nor suffer it to slay those that do not otherwise presume upon their own safety, but are desirous to accept of it from thee; for this is not the first time that thou wilt bestow it on us, but before, when we came to buy corn, thou affordedst us great plenty of food, and gavest us leave to carry so much home to our family as has preserved them from perishing by famine. Nor is there any difference between not overlooking men that were perishing for want of necessaries, and not punishing those that seem to be offenders, and have been so unfortunate as to lose the advantage of that glorious benefaction which they received from thee. This will be an instance of equal favor, though bestowed after a different manner; for thou wilt save those this way whom thou didst feed the other; and thou wilt hereby preserve alive, by thy own bounty, those souls which thou didst not suffer to be distressed by famine, it being indeed at once a wonderful and a great thing to sustain our lives by corn, and to bestow on us that pardon, whereby, now we are distressed, we may continue those lives. And I am ready to suppose that God is willing to afford thee this opportunity of showing thy virtuous disposition, by bringing us into this calamity, that it may appear thou canst forgive the injuries that are done to thyself, and mayst be esteemed kind to others, besides those who, on other accounts, stand in need of thy assistance; since it is indeed a right thing to do well to those who are in distress for want of food, but still a more glorious thing to save those who deserve to be punished, when it is on account of heinous offenses against thyself; for if it be a thing deserving commendation to forgive such as have been guilty of small offenses, that tend to a person's loss, and this be praiseworthy in him that overlooks such offenses, to restrain a man's passion as to crimes which are capital to the guilty, is to be like the most excellent nature of God himself. And truly, as for myself, had it not been that we had a father, who had discovered, on occasion of the death of Joseph, how miserably he is always afflicted at the loss of his sons, I had not made any words on account of the saving of our own lives; I mean, any further than as that would be an excellent character for thyself, to preserve even those that would have nobody to lament them when they were dead, but we would have yielded ourselves up to suffer whatsoever thou pleasedst; but now [for we do not plead for mercy to ourselves, though indeed, if we die, it will be

while we are young, and before we have had the enjoyment of life] have regard to our father, and take pity of his old age, on whose account it is that we make these supplications to thee. We beg thou wilt give us those lives which this wickedness of ours has rendered obnoxious to thy punishment; and this for his sake who is not himself wicked, nor does his being our father make us wicked. He is a good man, and not worthy to have such trials of his patience; and now, we are absent, he is afflicted with care for us. But if he hear of our deaths, and what was the cause of it, he will on that account die an immature death; and the reproachful manner of our ruin will hasten his end, and will directly kill him; nay, will bring him to a miserable death, while he will make haste to rid himself out of the world, and bring himself to a state of insensibility, before the sad story of our end come abroad into the rest of the world. Consider these things in this manner, although our wickedness does now provoke thee with a just desire of punishing that wickedness, and forgive it for our father's sake; and let thy commiseration of him weigh more with thee than our wickedness. Have regard to the old age of our father, who, if we perish, will be very lonely while he lives, and will soon die himself also. Grant this boon to the name of fathers, for thereby thou wilt honor him that begat thee, and will grant it to thyself also, who enjoyest already that denomination; thou wilt then, by that denomination, be preserved of God, the Father of all, — by showing a pious regard to which, in the case of our father, thou wilt appear to honor him who is styled by the same name; I mean, if thou wilt have this pity on our father, upon this consideration, how miserable he will be if he be deprived of his sons! It is thy part therefore to bestow on us what God has given us, when it is in thy power to take it away, and so to resemble him entirely in charity; for it is good to use that power, which can either give or take away, on the merciful side; and when it is in thy power to destroy, to forget that thou ever hadst that power, and to look on thyself as only allowed power for preservation; and that the more any one extends this power, the greater reputation does he gain to himself. Now, by forgiving our brother what he has unhappily committed, thou wilt preserve us all; for we cannot think of living if he be put to death, since we dare not show ourselves alive to our father without our brother, but here must we partake of one and the same catastrophe of his life. And so far we beg of thee, O governor, that if thou condemnest our brother to die, thou wilt punish us together with him, as partners of his crime, — for we shall not think it reasonable to be reserved to kill ourselves for grief of our brother's death, but so to die rather as equally guilty with him of this crime. I will only leave with thee this one consideration, and then will say no more, *viz.* that our brother committed this fault when he was young, and not yet of confirmed wisdom in his conduct; and that men naturally

forgive such young persons. I end here, without adding what more I have to say, that in case thou condemnest us, that omission may be supposed to have hurt us, and permitted thee to take the severer side. But in case thou settest us free, that this may be ascribed to thy own goodness, of which thou art inwardly conscious, that thou freest us from condemnation; and that not by barely preserving us, but by granting us such a favor as will make us appear more righteous than we really are, and by representing to thyself more motives for our deliverance than we are able to produce ourselves. If, therefore, thou resolvest to slay him, I desire thou wilt slay me in his stead, and send him back to his father; or if thou pleasest to retain him with thee as a slave, I am fitter to labor for thy advantage in that capacity, and, as thou seest, am better prepared for either of those sufferings." So Judas, being very willing to undergo any thing whatever for the deliverance of his brother, cast himself down at Joseph's feet, and earnestly labored to assuage and pacify his anger. All his brethren also fell down before him, weeping and delivering themselves up to destruction for the preservation of the life of Benjamin.

10. But Joseph, as overcome now with his affections, and no longer able to personate an angry man, commanded all that were present to depart, that he might make himself known to his brethren when they were alone; and when the rest were gone out, he made himself known to his brethren; and said, "I commend you for your virtue, and your kindness to our brother: I find you better men than I could have expected from what you contrived about me. Indeed, I did all this to try your love to your brother; so I believe you were not wicked by nature in what you did in my case, but that all has happened according to God's will, who has hereby procured our enjoyment of what good things we have; and, if he continue in a favorable disposition, of what we hope for hereafter. Since, therefore, I know that our father is safe and well, beyond expectation, and I see you so well disposed to your brother, I will no longer remember what guilt you seem to have had about me, but will leave off to hate you for that your wickedness; and do rather return you my thanks, that you have concurred with the intentions of God to bring things to their present state. I would have you also rather to forget the same, since that imprudence of yours is come to such a happy conclusion, than to be uneasy and blush at those your offenses. Do not, therefore, let your evil intentions, when you condemned me, and that bitter remorse which might follow, be a grief to you now, because those intentions were frustrated. Go, therefore, your way, rejoicing in what has happened by the Divine Providence, and inform your father of it, lest he should be spent with cares for you, and deprive me of the most agreeable part of my felicity; I mean, lest he should die before he comes into my sight, and enjoys the good things that

we now have. Bring, therefore, with you our father, and your wives and children, and all your kindred, and remove your habitations hither; for it is not proper that the persons dearest to me should live remote from me, now my affairs are so prosperous, especially when they must endure five more years of famine." When Joseph had said this, he embraced his brethren, who were in tears and sorrow; but the generous kindness of their brother seemed to leave among them no room for fear, lest they should be punished on account of what they had consulted and acted against him; and they were then feasting. Now the king, as soon as he heard that Joseph's brethren were come to him, was exceeding glad of it, as if it had been a part of his own good fortune; and gave them wagons full of corn and gold and silver, to be conveyed to his father. Now when they had received more of their brother part to be carried to their father, and part as free gifts to every one of themselves, Benjamin having still more than the rest, they departed.

CHAPTER 7. The Removal Of Joseph's Father With All His Family, To Him, On Account Of The Famine.

1. As soon as Jacob came to know, by his sons returning home, in what state Joseph was, that he had not only escaped death, for which yet he lived all along in mourning, but that he lived in splendor and happiness, and ruled over Egypt, jointly with the king, and had intrusted to his care almost all his affairs, he did not think any thing he was told to be incredible, considering the greatness of the works of God, and his kindness to him, although that kindness had, for some late times, been intermitted; so he immediately and zealously set out upon his journey to him.

2. When he came to the Well of the Oath, [Beersheba,] he offered sacrifice to God; and being afraid that the happiness there was in Egypt might tempt his posterity to fall in love with it, and settle in it, and no more think of removing into the land of Canaan, and possessing it, as God had promised them; as also being afraid, lest, if this descent into Egypt were made without the will of God, his family might be destroyed there; out of fear, withal, lest he should depart this life before he came to the sight of Joseph; he fell asleep, revolving these doubts in his mind.

3. But God stood by him, and called him twice by his name; and when he asked who he was, God said, "No, sure; it is not just that thou, Jacob, shouldst be unacquainted with that God who has been ever a protector and a helper to thy forefathers, and after them to thyself: for when thy father would have deprived thee of the dominion, I gave it thee; and by my kindness it was that, when thou wast sent into Mesopotamia all alone, thou obtainedst good wives, and returnedst with many children, and much wealth. Thy whole family also has been preserved by my providence; and it was I who conducted Joseph, thy son, whom thou gavest up for lost, to the enjoyment of great prosperity. I also made him lord of Egypt, so that he differs but little from a king. Accordingly, I come now as a guide to thee in this journey; and foretell to thee, that thou shalt die in the arms of Joseph: and I inform thee, that thy posterity shall be many ages in authority and glory, and that I will settle them in the land which I have promised them."

4. Jacob, encouraged by this dream, went on more cheerfully for Egypt with his sons, and all belonging to them. Now they were in all seventy. I once, indeed, thought it best not to set down the names of this family, especially because of their difficult pronunciation [by the Greeks]; but, upon the whole, I think it

necessary to mention those names, that I may disprove such as believe that we came not originally from Mesopotamia, but are Egyptians. Now Jacob had twelve sons; of these Joseph was come thither before. We will therefore set down the names of Jacob's children and grandchildren. Reuben had four sons — Anoch, Phallu, Assaron, Charmi. Simeon had six — Jamuel, Jamin, Avod, Jachin, Soar, Saul. Levi had three sons — Gersom, Caath, Merari. Judas had three sons — Sala, Phares, Zerah; and by Phares two grandchildren, Esrom and Amar. Issachar had four sons — Thola, Phua, Jasob, Samaron. Zabulon had with him three sons — Sarad, Helon, Jalel. So far is the posterity of Lea; with whom went her daughter Dinah. These are thirty-three. Rachel had two sons, the one of whom, Joseph, had two sons also, Manasses and Ephraim. The other, Benjamin, had ten sons — Bolau, Bacchar, Asabel, Geras, Naaman, Jes, Ros, Momphis, Opphis, Arad. These fourteen added to the thirty-three before enumerated, amount to the number forty-seven. And this was the legitimate posterity of Jacob. He had besides by Bilhah, the handmaid of Rachel, Dan and Nephtliali; which last had four sons that followed him — Jesel, Guni, Issari, and Sellim. Dan had an only begotten son, Usi. If these be added to those before mentioned, they complete the number fifty-four. Gad and Aser were the sons of Zilpha, who was the handmaid of Lea. These had with them, Gad seven — Saphoniah, Augis, Sunis, Azabon, Aerin, Erocd, Ariel. Aser had a daughter, Sarah, and six male children, whose names were Jomne, Isus, Isoui, Baris, Abar and Melchiel. If we add these, which are sixteen, to the fifty-four, the forementioned number 70 is completed Jacob not being himself included in that number.

5. When Joseph understood that his father was coming, for Judas his brother was come before him, and informed him of his approach, he went out to meet him; and they met together at Heroopolis. But Jacob almost fainted away at this unexpected and great joy; however, Joseph revived him, being yet not himself able to contain from being affected in the same manner, at the pleasure he now had; yet was he not wholly overcome with his passion, as his father was. After this, he desired Jacob to travel on slowly; but he himself took five of his brethren with him, and made haste to the king, to tell him that Jacob and his family were come; which was a joyful hearing to him. He also bid Joseph tell him what sort of life his brethren loved to lead, that he might give them leave to follow the same, who told him they were good shepherds, and had been used to follow no other employment but this alone. Whereby he provided for them, that they should not be separated, but live in the same place, and take care of their father; as also hereby he provided, that they might be acceptable to the Egyptians, by doing nothing that would be common to them with the Egyptians; for the Egyptians are prohibited to meddle with feeding of sheep.

6. When Jacob was come to the king, and saluted him, and wished all prosperity to his government, Pharaoh asked him how old he now was; upon whose answer, that he was a hundred and thirty years old, he admired Jacob on account of the length of his life. And when he had added, that still he had not lived so long as his forefathers, he gave him leave to live with his children in Heliopolis; for in that city the king's shepherds had their pasturage.

7. However, the famine increased among the Egyptians, and this heavy judgment grew more oppressive to them, because neither did the river overflow the ground, for it did not rise to its former height, nor did God send rain upon it; nor did they indeed make the least provision for themselves, so ignorant were they what was to be done; but Joseph sold them corn for their money. But when their money failed them, they bought corn with their cattle and their slaves; and if any of them had a small piece of land, they gave up that to purchase them food, by which means the king became the owner of all their substance; and they were removed, some to one place, and some to another, that so the possession of their country might be firmly assured to the king, excepting the lands of the priests, for their country continued still in their own possession. And indeed this sore famine made their minds, as well as their bodies, slaves; and at length compelled them to procure a sufficiency of food by such dishonorable means. But when this misery ceased, and the river overflowed the ground, and the ground brought forth its fruits plentifully, Joseph came to every city, and gathered the people thereto belonging together, and gave them back entirely the land which, by their own consent, the king might have possessed alone, and alone enjoyed the fruits of it. He also exhorted them to look on it as every one's own possession, and to fall to their husbandry with cheerfulness, and to pay as a tribute to the king, the fifth part of the fruits for the land which the king, when it was his own, restored to them. These men rejoiced upon their becoming unexpectedly owners of their lands, and diligently observed what was enjoined them; and by this means Joseph procured to himself a greater authority among the Egyptians, and greater love to the king from them. Now this law, that they should pay the fifth part of their fruits as tribute, continued until their later kings.

CHAPTER 8. Of The Death Of Jacob And Joseph.

1. Now when Jacob had lived seventeen years in Egypt, he fell into a disease, and died in the presence of his sons; but not till he made his prayers for their enjoying prosperity, and till he had foretold to them prophetically how every one of them was to dwell in the land of Canaan. But this happened many years afterward. He also enlarged upon the praises of Joseph how he had not remembered the evil doings of his brethren to their disadvantage; nay, on the contrary, was kind to them, bestowing upon them so many benefits, as seldom are bestowed on men's own benefactors. He then commanded his own sons that they should admit Joseph's sons, Ephraim and Manasses, into their number, and divide the land of Canaan in common with them; concerning whom we shall treat hereafter. However, he made it his request that he might be buried at Hebron. So he died, when he had lived full a hundred and fifty years, three only abated, having not been behind any of his ancestors in piety towards God, and having such a recompense for it, as it was fit those should have who were so good as these were. But Joseph, by the king's permission, carried his father's dead body to Hebron, and there buried it, at a great expense. Now his brethren were at first unwilling to return back with him, because they were afraid lest, now their father was dead, he should punish them for their secret practices against him; since he was now gone, for whose sake he had been so gracious to them. But he persuaded them to fear no harm, and to entertain no suspicions of him: so he brought them along with him, and gave them great possessions, and never left off his particular concern for them.

2. Joseph also died when he had lived a hundred and ten years; having been a man of admirable virtue, and conducting all his affairs by the rules of reason; and used his authority with moderation, which was the cause of his so great felicity among the Egyptians, even when he came from another country, and that in such ill circumstances also, as we have already described. At length his brethren died, after they had lived happily in Egypt. Now the posterity and sons of these men, after some time, carried their bodies, and buried them at Hebron: but as to the bones of Joseph, they carried them into the land of Canaan afterward, when the Hebrews went out of Egypt, for so had Joseph made them promise him upon oath. But what became of every one of these men, and by what toils they got the possession of the land of Canaan, shall be shown hereafter, when I have first explained upon what account it was that they left Egypt.

CHAPTER 9. Concerning The Afflictions That Befell The Hebrews In Egypt, During Four Hundred Years.

1. Now it happened that the Egyptians grew delicate and lazy, as to pains-taking, and gave themselves up to other pleasures, and in particular to the love of gain. They also became very ill-affected towards the Hebrews, as touched with envy at their prosperity; for when they saw how the nation of the Israelites flourished, and were become eminent already in plenty of wealth, which they had acquired by their virtue and natural love of labor, they thought their increase was to their own detriment. And having, in length of time, forgotten the benefits they had received from Joseph, particularly the crown being now come into another family, they became very abusive to the Israelites, and contrived many ways of afflicting them; for they enjoined them to cut a great number of channels for the river, and to build walls for their cities and ramparts, that they might restrain the river, and hinder its waters from stagnating, upon its running over its own banks: they set them also to build pyramids, and by all this wore them out; and forced them to learn all sorts of mechanical arts, and to accustom themselves to hard labor. And four hundred years did they spend under these afflictions; for they strove one against the other which should get the mastery, the Egyptians desiring to destroy the Israelites by these labors, and the Israelites desiring to hold out to the end under them.

2. While the affairs of the Hebrews were in this condition, there was this occasion offered itself to the Egyptians, which made them more solicitous for the extinction of our nation. One of those sacred scribes, who are very sagacious in foretelling future events truly, told the king, that about this time there would a child be born to the Israelites, who, if he were reared, would bring the Egyptian dominion low, and would raise the Israelites; that he would excel all men in virtue, and obtain a glory that would be remembered through all ages. Which thing was so feared by the king, that, according to this man’s opinion, he commanded that they should cast every male child, which was born to the Israelites, into the river, and destroy it; that besides this, the Egyptian midwives should watch the labors of the Hebrew women, and observe what is born, for those were the women who were enjoined to do the office of midwives to them; and by reason of their relation to the king, would not transgress his commands. He enjoined also, that if any parents should disobey him, and venture to save their male children alive, they and their families should be destroyed. This was a severe affliction indeed to those that suffered it, not only as they were deprived

of their sons, and while they were the parents themselves, they were obliged to be subservient to the destruction of their own children, but as it was to be supposed to tend to the extirpation of their nation, while upon the destruction of their children, and their own gradual dissolution, the calamity would become very hard and inconsolable to them. And this was the ill state they were in. But no one can be too hard for the purpose of God, though he contrive ten thousand subtle devices for that end; for this child, whom the sacred scribe foretold, was brought up and concealed from the observers appointed by the king; and he that foretold him did not mistake in the consequences of his preservation, which were brought to pass after the manner following: —

3. A man whose name was Amram, one of the nobler sort of the Hebrews, was afraid for his whole nation, lest it should fail, by the want of young men to be brought up hereafter, and was very uneasy at it, his wife being then with child, and he knew not what to do. Hereupon he betook himself to prayer to God; and entreated him to have compassion on those men who had nowise transgressed the laws of his worship, and to afford them deliverance from the miseries they at that time endured, and to render abortive their enemies' hopes of the destruction of their nation. Accordingly God had mercy on him, and was moved by his supplication. He stood by him in his sleep, and exhorted him not to despair of his future favors. He said further, that he did not forget their piety towards him, and would always reward them for it, as he had formerly granted his favor to their forefathers, and made them increase from a few to so great a multitude. He put him in mind, that when Abraham was come alone out of Mesopotamia into Canaan, he had been made happy, not only in other respects, but that when his wife was at first barren, she was afterwards by him enabled to conceive seed, and bare him sons. That he left to Ismael and to his posterity the country of Arabia; as also to his sons by Ketura, Troglodytis; and to Isaac, Canaan. That by my assistance, said he, he did great exploits in war, which, unless you be yourselves impious, you must still remember. As for Jacob, he became well known to strangers also, by the greatness of that prosperity in which he lived, and left to his sons, who came into Egypt with no more than seventy souls, while you are now become above six hundred thousand. Know therefore that I shall provide for you all in common what is for your good, and particularly for thyself what shall make thee famous; for that child, out of dread of whose nativity the Egyptians have doomed the Israelite children to destruction, shall be this child of thine, and shall be concealed from those who watch to destroy him: and when he is brought up in a surprising way, he shall deliver the Hebrew nation from the distress they are under from the Egyptians. His memory shall be famous while the world lasts; and this not only among the

Hebrews, but foreigners also: — all which shall be the effect of my favor to thee, and to thy posterity. He shall also have such a brother, that he shall himself obtain my priesthood, and his posterity shall have it after him to the end of the world.

4. When the vision had informed him of these things, Amram awaked and told it to Jochebed who was his wife. And now the fear increased upon them on account of the prediction in Amram's dream; for they were under concern, not only for the child, but on account of the great happiness that was to come to him also. However, the mother's labor was such as afforded a confirmation to what was foretold by God; for it was not known to those that watched her, by the easiness of her pains, and because the throes of her delivery did not fall upon her with violence. And now they nourished the child at home privately for three months; but after that time Amram, fearing he should be discovered, and, by falling under the king's displeasure, both he and his child should perish, and so he should make the promise of God of none effect, he determined rather to trust the safety and care of the child to God, than to depend on his own concealment of him, which he looked upon as a thing uncertain, and whereby both the child, so privately to be nourished, and himself should be in imminent danger; but he believed that God would some way for certain procure the safety of the child, in order to secure the truth of his own predictions. When they had thus determined, they made an ark of bulrushes, after the manner of a cradle, and of a bigness sufficient for an infant to be laid in, without being too straitened: they then daubed it over with slime, which would naturally keep out the water from entering between the bulrushes, and put the infant into it, and setting it afloat upon the river, they left its preservation to God; so the river received the child, and carried him along. But Miriam, the child's sister, passed along upon the bank over against him, as her mother had bid her, to see whither the ark would be carried, where God demonstrated that human wisdom was nothing, but that the Supreme Being is able to do whatsoever he pleases: that those who, in order to their own security, condemn others to destruction, and use great endeavors about it, fail of their purpose; but that others are in a surprising manner preserved, and obtain a prosperous condition almost from the very midst of their calamities; those, I mean, whose dangers arise by the appointment of God. And, indeed, such a providence was exercised in the case of this child, as showed the power of God.

5. Thermuthis was the king's daughter. She was now diverting herself by the banks of the river; and seeing a cradle borne along by the current, she sent some that could swim, and bid them bring the cradle to her. When those that were sent on this errand came to her with the cradle, and she saw the little child, she was

greatly in love with it, on account of its largeness and beauty; for God had taken such great care in the formation of Moses, that he caused him to be thought worthy of bringing up, and providing for, by all those that had taken the most fatal resolutions, on account of the dread of his nativity, for the destruction of the rest of the Hebrew nation. Thermuthis bid them bring her a woman that might afford her breast to the child; yet would not the child admit of her breast, but turned away from it, and did the like to many other women. Now Miriam was by when this happened, not to appear to be there on purpose, but only as staying to see the child; and she said, "It is in vain that thou, O queen, callest for these women for the nourishing of the child, who are no way of kin to it; but still, if thou wilt order one of the Hebrew women to be brought, perhaps it may admit the breast of one of its own nation." Now since she seemed to speak well, Thermuthis bid her procure such a one, and to bring one of those Hebrew women that gave suck. So when she had such authority given her, she came back and brought the mother, who was known to nobody there. And now the child gladly admitted the breast, and seemed to stick close to it; and so it was, that, at the queen's desire, the nursing of the child was entirely intrusted to the mother.

6. Hereupon it was that Thermuthis imposed this name Mouses upon him, from what had happened when he was put into the river; for the Egyptians call water by the name of Mo, and such as are saved out of it, by the name of Uses: so by putting these two words together, they imposed this name upon him. And he was, by the confession of all, according to God's prediction, as well for his greatness of mind as for his contempt of difficulties, the best of all the Hebrews, for Abraham was his ancestor of the seventh generation. For Moses was the son of Amram, who was the son of Caath, whose father Levi was the son of Jacob, who was the son of Isaac, who was the son of Abraham. Now Moses's understanding became superior to his age, nay, far beyond that standard; and when he was taught, he discovered greater quickness of apprehension than was usual at his age, and his actions at that time promised greater, when he should come to the age of a man. God did also give him that tallness, when he was but three years old, as was wonderful. And as for his beauty, there was nobody so unpolite as, when they saw Moses, they were not greatly surprised at the beauty of his countenance; nay, it happened frequently, that those that met him as he was carried along the road, were obliged to turn again upon seeing the child; that they left what they were about, and stood still a great while to look on him; for the beauty of the child was so remarkable and natural to him on many accounts, that it detained the spectators, and made them stay longer to look upon him.

7. Thermuthis therefore perceiving him to be so remarkable a child, adopted him for her son, having no child of her own. And when one time had carried

Moses to her father, she showed him to him, and said she thought to make him her successor, if it should please God she should have no legitimate child of her own; and to him, "I have brought up a child who is of a divine form, and of a generous mind; and as I have received him from the bounty of the river, in, I thought proper to adopt him my son, and the heir of thy kingdom." And she had said this, she put the infant into her father's hands: so he took him, and hugged him to his breast; and on his daughter's account, in a pleasant way, put his diadem upon his head; but Moses threw it down to the ground, and, in a puerile mood, he wreathed it round, and trod upon his feet, which seemed to bring along with evil presage concerning the kingdom of Egypt. But when the sacred scribe saw this, [he was the person who foretold that his nativity would the dominion of that kingdom low,] he made a violent attempt to kill him; and crying out in a frightful manner, he said, "This, O king! this child is he of whom God foretold, that if we kill him we shall be in no danger; he himself affords an attestation to the prediction of the same thing, by his trampling upon thy government, and treading upon thy diadem. Take him, therefore, out of the way, and deliver the Egyptians from the fear they are in about him; and deprive the Hebrews of the hope they have of being encouraged by him." But Thermuthis prevented him, and snatched the child away. And the king was not hasty to slay him, God himself, whose providence protected Moses, inclining the king to spare him. He was, therefore, educated with great care. So the Hebrews depended on him, and were of good hopes great things would be done by him; but the Egyptians were suspicious of what would follow such his education. Yet because, if Moses had been slain, there was no one, either akin or adopted, that had any oracle on his side for pretending to the crown of Egypt, and likely to be of greater advantage to them, they abstained from killing him.

CHAPTER 10. How Moses Made War With The Ethiopians.

1. Moses, therefore, when he was born, and brought up in the foregoing manner, and came to the age of maturity, made his virtue manifest to the Egyptians; and showed that he was born for the bringing them down, and raising the Israelites. And the occasion he laid hold of was this: — The Ethiopians, who are next neighbors to the Egyptians, made an inroad into their country, which they seized upon, and carried off the effects of the Egyptians, who, in their rage, fought against them, and revenged the affronts they had received from them; but being overcome in battle, some of them were slain, and the rest ran away in a shameful manner, and by that means saved themselves; whereupon the Ethiopians followed after them in the pursuit, and thinking that it would be a mark of cowardice if they did not subdue all Egypt, they went on to subdue the rest with greater vehemence; and when they had tasted the sweets of the country, they never left off the prosecution of the war: and as the nearest parts had not courage enough at first to fight with them, they proceeded as far as Memphis, and the sea itself, while not one of the cities was able to oppose them. The Egyptians, under this sad oppression, betook themselves to their oracles and prophecies; and when God had given them this counsel, to make use of Moses the Hebrew, and take his assistance, the king commanded his daughter to produce him, that he might be the general of their army. Upon which, when she had made him swear he would do him no harm, she delivered him to the king, and supposed his assistance would be of great advantage to them. She withal reproached the priest, who, when they had before admonished the Egyptians to kill him, was not ashamed now to own their want of his help.

2. So Moses, at the persuasion both of Thermuthis and the king himself, cheerfully undertook the business: and the sacred scribes of both nations were glad; those of the Egyptians, that they should at once overcome their enemies by his valor, and that by the same piece of management Moses would be slain; but those of the Hebrews, that they should escape from the Egyptians, because Moses was to be their general. But Moses prevented the enemies, and took and led his army before those enemies were apprized of his attacking them; for he did not march by the river, but by land, where he gave a wonderful demonstration of his sagacity; for when the ground was difficult to be passed over, because of the multitude of serpents, [which it produces in vast numbers, and, indeed, is singular in some of those productions, which other countries do

not breed, and yet such as are worse than others in power and mischief, and an unusual fierceness of sight, some of which ascend out of the ground unseen, and also fly in the air, and so come upon men at unawares, and do them a mischief,] Moses invented a wonderful stratagem to preserve the army safe, and without hurt; for he made baskets, like unto arks, of sedge, and filled them with ibes, and carried them along with them; which animal is the greatest enemy to serpents imaginable, for they fly from them when they come near them; and as they fly they are caught and devoured by them, as if it were done by the harts; but the ibes are tame creatures, and only enemies to the serpentine kind: but about these ibes I say no more at present, since the Greeks themselves are not unacquainted with this sort of bird. As soon, therefore, as Moses was come to the land which was the breeder of these serpents, he let loose the ibes, and by their means repelled the serpentine kind, and used them for his assistants before the army came upon that ground. When he had therefore proceeded thus on his journey, he came upon the Ethiopians before they expected him; and, joining battle with them, he beat them, and deprived them of the hopes they had of success against the Egyptians, and went on in overthrowing their cities, and indeed made a great slaughter of these Ethiopians. Now when the Egyptian army had once tasted of this prosperous success, by the means of Moses, they did not slacken their diligence, insomuch that the Ethiopians were in danger of being reduced to slavery, and all sorts of destruction; and at length they retired to Saba, which was a royal city of Ethiopia, which Cambyses afterwards named Mero, after the name of his own sister. The place was to be besieged with very great difficulty, since it was both encompassed by the Nile quite round, and the other rivers, Astapus and Astaboras, made it a very difficult thing for such as attempted to pass over them; for the city was situate in a retired place, and was inhabited after the manner of an island, being encompassed with a strong wall, and having the rivers to guard them from their enemies, and having great ramparts between the wall and the rivers, insomuch, that when the waters come with the greatest violence, it can never be drowned; which ramparts make it next to impossible for even such as are gotten over the rivers to take the city. However, while Moses was uneasy at the army's lying idle, [for the enemies durst not come to a battle,] this accident happened: — Tharbis was the daughter of the king of the Ethiopians: she happened to see Moses as he led the army near the walls, and fought with great courage; and admiring the subtilty of his undertakings, and believing him to be the author of the Egyptians' success, when they had before despaired of recovering their liberty, and to be the occasion of the great danger the Ethiopians were in, when they had before boasted of their great achievements, she fell deeply in love with him; and upon the prevalancy of that

passion, sent to him the most faithful of all her servants to discourse with him about their marriage. He thereupon accepted the offer, on condition she would procure the delivering up of the city; and gave her the assurance of an oath to take her to his wife; and that when he had once taken possession of the city, he would not break his oath to her. No sooner was the agreement made, but it took effect immediately; and when Moses had cut off the Ethiopians, he gave thanks to God, and consummated his marriage, and led the Egyptians back to their own land.

CHAPTER 11. How Moses Fled Out Of Egypt Into Midian.

1. Now the Egyptians, after they had been preserved by Moses, entertained a hatred to him, and were very eager in compassing their designs against him, as suspecting that he would take occasion, from his good success, to raise a sedition, and bring innovations into Egypt; and told the king he ought to be slain. The king had also some intentions of himself to the same purpose, and this as well out of envy at his glorious expedition at the head of his army, as out of fear of being brought low by him and being instigated by the sacred scribes, he was ready to undertake to kill Moses: but when he had learned beforehand what plots there were against him, he went away privately; and because the public roads were watched, he took his flight through the deserts, and where his enemies could not suspect he would travel; and, though he was destitute of food, he went on, and despised that difficulty courageously; and when he came to the city Midian, which lay upon the Red Sea, and was so denominated from one of Abraham's sons by Keturah, he sat upon a certain well, and rested himself there after his laborious journey, and the affliction he had been in. It was not far from the city, and the time of the day was noon, where he had an occasion offered him by the custom of the country of doing what recommended his virtue, and afforded him an opportunity of bettering his circumstances.

2. For that country having but little water, the shepherds used to seize on the wells before others came, lest their flocks should want water, and lest it should be spent by others before they came. There were now come, therefore, to this well seven sisters that were virgins, the daughters of Raguel, a priest, and one thought worthy by the people of the country of great honor. These virgins, who took care of their father's flocks, which sort of work it was customary and very familiar for women to do in the country of the Troglodytes, they came first of all, and drew water out of the well in a quantity sufficient for their flocks, into troughs, which were made for the reception of that water; but when the shepherds came upon the maidens, and drove them away, that they might have the command of the water themselves, Moses, thinking it would be a terrible reproach upon him if he overlooked the young women under unjust oppression, and should suffer the violence of the men to prevail over the right of the maidens, he drove away the men, who had a mind to more than their share, and afforded a proper assistance to the women; who, when they had received such a benefit from him, came to their father, and told him how they had been affronted

by the shepherds, and assisted by a stranger, and entreated that he would not let this generous action be done in vain, nor go without a reward. Now the father took it well from his daughters that they were so desirous to reward their benefactor; and bid them bring Moses into his presence, that he might be rewarded as he deserved. And when Moses came, he told him what testimony his daughters bare to him, that he had assisted them; and that, as he admired him for his virtue, he said that Moses had bestowed such his assistance on persons not insensible of benefits, but where they were both able and willing to return the kindness, and even to exceed the measure of his generosity. So he made him his son, and gave him one of his daughters in marriage; and appointed him to be the guardian and superintendent over his cattle; for of old, all the wealth of the barbarians was in those cattle.

CHAPTER 12. Concerning The Burning Bush And The Rod Of Moses.

1. Now Moses, when he had obtained the favor of Jethro, for that was one of the names of Raguel, staid there and fed his flock; but some time afterward, taking his station at the mountain called Sinai, he drove his flocks thither to feed them. Now this is the highest of all the mountains thereabout, and the best for pasturage, the herbage being there good; and it had not been before fed upon, because of the opinion men had that God dwelt there, the shepherds not daring to ascend up to it; and here it was that a wonderful prodigy happened to Moses; for a fire fed upon a thorn bush, yet did the green leaves and the flowers continue untouched, and the fire did not at all consume the fruit branches, although the flame was great and fierce. Moses was aftrighted at this strange sight, as it was to him; but he was still more astonished when the fire uttered a voice, and called to him by name, and spake words to him, by which it signified how bold he had been in venturing to come into a place whither no man had ever come before, because the place was divine; and advised him to remove a great way off from the flame, and to be contented with what he had seen; and though he were himself a good man, and the offspring of great men, yet that he should not pry any further; and he foretold to him, that he should have glory and honor among men, by the blessing of God upon him. He also commanded him to go away thence with confidence to Egypt, in order to his being the commander and conductor of the body of the Hebrews, and to his delivering his own people from the injuries they suffered there: "For," said God, "they shall inhabit this happy land which your forefather Abraham inhabited, and shall have the enjoyment of all good things." But still he enjoined them, when he brought the Hebrews out of the land of Egypt, to come to that place, and to offer sacrifices of thanksgiving there, Such were the divine oracles which were delivered out of the fire.

2. But Moses was astonished at what he saw, and much more at what he heard; and he said, "I think it would be an instance of too great madness, O Lord, for one of that regard I bear to thee, to distrust thy power, since I myself adore it, and know that it has been made manifest to my progenitors: but I am still in doubt how I, who am a private man, and one of no abilities, should either persuade my own countrymen to leave the country they now inhabit, and to follow me to a land whither I lead them; or, if they should be persuaded, how can I force Pharaoh to permit them to depart, since they augment their own wealth and prosperity by the labors and works they put upon them?"

3. But God persuaded him to be courageous on all occasions, and promised to be with him, and to assist him in his words, when he was to persuade men; and in his deeds, when he was to perform wonders. He bid him also to take a signal of the truth of what he said, by throwing his rod upon the ground, which, when he had done, it crept along, and was become a serpent, and rolled itself round in its folds, and erected its head, as ready to revenge itself on such as should assault it; after which it become a rod again as it was before. After this God bid Moses to put his right hand into his bosom: he obeyed, and when he took it out it was white, and in color like to chalk, but afterward it returned to its wonted color again. He also, upon God's command, took some of the water that was near him, and poured it upon the ground, and saw the color was that of blood. Upon the wonder that Moses showed at these signs, God exhorted him to be of good courage, and to be assured that he would be the greatest support to him; and bid him make use of those signs, in order to obtain belief among all men, that "thou art sent by me, and dost all things according to my commands. Accordingly I enjoin thee to make no more delays, but to make haste to Egypt, and to travel night and day, and not to draw out the time, and so make the slavery of the Hebrews and their sufferings to last the longer."

4. Moses having now seen and heard these wonders that assured him of the truth of these promises of God, had no room left him to disbelieve them: he entreated him to grant him that power when he should be in Egypt; and besought him to vouchsafe him the knowledge of his own name; and since he had heard and seen him, that he would also tell him his name, that when he offered sacrifice he might invoke him by such his name in his oblations. Whereupon God declared to him his holy name, which had never been discovered to men before; concerning which it is not lawful for me to say any more Now these signs accompanied Moses, not then only, but always when he prayed for them: of all which signs he attributed the firmest assent to the fire in the bush; and believing that God would be a gracious supporter to him, he hoped he should be able to deliver his own nation, and bring calamities on the Egyptians.

CHAPTER 13. How Moses And Aaron Returned Into Egypt To Pharaoh.

1. So Moses, when he understood that the Pharaoh, in whose reign he fled away, was dead, asked leave of Raguel to go to Egypt, for the benefit of his own people. And he took with him Zipporah, the daughter of Raguel, whom he had married, and the children he had by her, Gersom and Eleazer, and made haste into Egypt. Now the former of those names, Gersom, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies that he was in a strange land; and Eleazer, that, by the assistance of the God of his fathers, he had escaped from the Egyptians. Now when they were near the borders, Aaron his brother, by the command of God, met him, to whom he declared what had befallen him at the mountain, and the commands that God had given him. But as they were going forward, the chief men among the Hebrews, having learned that they were coming, met them: to whom Moses declared the signs he had seen; and while they could not believe them, he made them see them, So they took courage at these surprising and unexpected sights, and hoped well of their entire deliverance, as believing now that God took care of their preservation.

2. Since then Moses found that the Hebrews would be obedient to whatsoever he should direct, as they promised to be, and were in love with liberty, he came to the king, who had indeed but lately received the government, and told him how much he had done for the good of the Egyptians, when they were despised by the Ethiopians, and their country laid waste by them; and how he had been the commander of their forces, and had labored for them, as if they had been his own people and he informed him in what danger he had been during that expedition, without having any proper returns made him as he had deserved. He also informed him distinctly what things happened to him at Mount Sinai; and what God said to him; and the signs that were done by God, in order to assure him of the authority of those commands which he had given him. He also exhorted him not to disbelieve what he told him, nor to oppose the will of God.

3. But when the king derided Moses; he made him in earnest see the signs that were done at Mount Sinai. Yet was the king very angry with him and called him an ill man, who had formerly run away from his Egyptian slavery, and came now back with deceitful tricks, and wonders, and magical arts, to astonish him. And when he had said this, he commanded the priests to let him see the same wonderful sights; as knowing that the Egyptians were skillful in this kind of learning, and that he was not the only person who knew them, and pretended

them to be divine; as also he told him, that when he brought such wonderful sights before him, he would only be believed by the unlearned. Now when the priests threw down their rods, they became serpents. But Moses was not daunted at it; and said, "O king, I do not myself despise the wisdom of the Egyptians, but I say that what I do is so much superior to what these do by magic arts and tricks, as Divine power exceeds the power of man: but I will demonstrate that what I do is not done by craft, or counterfeiting what is not really true, but that they appear by the providence and power of God." And when he had said this, he cast his rod down upon the ground, and commanded it to turn itself into a serpent. It obeyed him, and went all round, and devoured the rods of the Egyptians, which seemed to be dragons, until it had consumed them all. It then returned to its own form, and Moses took it into his hand again.

4. However, the king was no more moved when was done than before; and being very angry, he said that he should gain nothing by this his cunning and shrewdness against the Egyptians; — and he commanded him that was the chief taskmaster over the Hebrews, to give them no relaxation from their labors, but to compel them to submit to greater oppressions than before; and though he allowed them chaff before for making their bricks, he would allow it them no longer, but he made them to work hard at brick-making in the day-time, and to gather chaff in the night. Now when their labor was thus doubled upon them, they laid the blame upon Moses, because their labor and their misery were on his account become more severe to them. But Moses did not let his courage sink for the king's threatenings; nor did he abate of his zeal on account of the Hebrews' complaints; but he supported himself, and set his soul resolutely against them both, and used his own utmost diligence to procure liberty to his countrymen. So he went to the king, and persuaded him to let the Hebrews go to Mount Sinai, and there to sacrifice to God, because God had enjoined them so to do. He persuaded him also not to counterwork the designs of God, but to esteem his favor above all things, and to permit them to depart, lest, before he be aware, he lay an obstruction in the way of the Divine commands, and so occasion his own suffering such punishments as it was probable any one that counterworked the Divine commands should undergo, since the severest afflictions arise from every object to those that provoke the Divine wrath against them; for such as these have neither the earth nor the air for their friends; nor are the fruits of the womb according to nature, but every thing is unfriendly and adverse towards them. He said further, that the Egyptians should know this by sad experience; and that besides, the Hebrew people should go out of their country without their consent.

CHAPTER 14. Concerning The Ten Plagues Which Came Upon The Egyptians.

1. But when the king despised the words of Moses, and had no regard at all to them, grievous plagues seized the Egyptians; every one of which I will describe, both because no such plagues did ever happen to any other nation as the Egyptians now felt, and because I would demonstrate that Moses did not fail in any one thing that he foretold them; and because it is for the good of mankind, that they may learn this caution — Not to do anything that may displease God, lest he be provoked to wrath, and avenge their iniquities upon them. For the Egyptian river ran with bloody water at the command of God, insomuch that it could not be drunk, and they had no other spring of water neither; for the water was not only of the color of blood, but it brought upon those that ventured to drink of it, great pains and bitter torment. Such was the river to the Egyptians; but it was sweet and fit for drinking to the Hebrews, and no way different from what it naturally used to be. As the king therefore knew not what to do in these surprising circumstances, and was in fear for the Egyptians, he gave the Hebrews leave to go away; but when the plague ceased, he changed his mind again, end would not suffer them to go.

2. But when God saw that he was ungrateful, and upon the ceasing of this calamity would not grow wiser, he sent another plague upon the Egyptians: — An innumerable multitude of frogs consumed the fruit of the ground; the river was also full of them, insomuch that those who drew water had it spoiled by the blood of these animals, as they died in, and were destroyed by, the water; and the country was full of filthy slime, as they were born, and as they died: they also spoiled their vessels in their houses which they used, and were found among what they eat and what they drank, and came in great numbers upon their beds. There was also an ungrateful smell, and a stink arose from them, as they were born, and as they died therein. Now, when the Egyptians were under the oppression of these miseries, the king ordered Moses to take the Hebrews with him, and be gone. Upon which the whole multitude of the frogs vanished away; and both the land and the river returned to their former natures. But as soon as Pharaoh saw the land freed from this plague, he forgot the cause of it, and retained the Hebrews; and, as though he had a mind to try the nature of more such judgments, he would not yet suffer Moses and his people to depart, having granted that liberty rather out of fear than out of any good consideration.

3. Accordingly, God punished his falseness with another plague, added to the former; for there arose out of the bodies of the Egyptians an innumerable quantity of lice, by which, wicked as they were, they miserably perished, as not able to destroy this sort of vermin either with washes or with ointments. At which terrible judgment the king of Egypt was in disorder, upon the fear into which he reasoned himself, lest his people should be destroyed, and that the manner of this death was also reproachful, so that he was forced in part to recover himself from his wicked temper to a sounder mind, for he gave leave for the Hebrews themselves to depart. But when the plague thereupon ceased, he thought it proper to require that they should leave their children and wives behind them, as pledges of their return; whereby he provoked God to be more vehemently angry at him, as if he thought to impose on his providence, and as if it were only Moses, and not God, who punished the Egyptians for the sake of the Hebrews: for he filled that country full of various sorts of pestilential creatures, with their various properties, such indeed as had never come into the sight of men before, by whose means the men perished themselves, and the land was destitute of husbandmen for its cultivation; but if any thing escaped destruction from them, it was killed by a distemper which the men underwent also.

4. But when Pharaoh did not even then yield to the will of God, but, while he gave leave to the husbands to take their wives with them, yet insisted that the children should be left behind, God presently resolved to punish his wickedness with several sorts of calamities, and those worse than the foregoing, which yet had so generally afflicted them; for their bodies had terrible boils, breaking forth with blains, while they were already inwardly consumed; and a great part of the Egyptians perished in this manner. But when the king was not brought to reason by this plague, hail was sent down from heaven; and such hail it was, as the climate of Egypt had never suffered before, nor was it like to that which falls in other climates in winter time, but was larger than that which falls in the middle of spring to those that dwell in the northern and north-western regions. This hail broke down their boughs laden with fruit. After this a tribe of locusts consumed the seed which was not hurt by the hail; so that to the Egyptians all hopes of the future fruits of the ground were entirely lost.

5. One would think the forementioned calamities might have been sufficient for one that was only foolish, without wickedness, to make him wise, and to make him Sensible what was for his advantage. But Pharaoh, led not so much by his folly as by his wickedness, even when he saw the cause of his miseries, he still contested with God, and willfully deserted the cause of virtue; so he bid Moses take the Hebrews away, with their wives and children, to leave their cattle behind, since their own cattle were destroyed. But when Moses said that what he

desired was unjust, since they were obliged to offer sacrifices to God of those cattle, and the time being prolonged on this account, a thick darkness, without the least light, spread itself over the Egyptians, whereby their sight being obstructed, and their breathing hindered by the thickness of the air, they died miserably, and under a terror lest they should be swallowed up by the dark cloud. Besides this, when the darkness, after three days and as many nights, was dissipated, and when Pharaoh did not still repent and let the Hebrews go, Moses came to him and said, "How long wilt thou be disobedient to the command of God? for he enjoins thee to let the Hebrews go; nor is there any other way of being freed from the calamities are under, unless you do so." But the king angry at what he said, and threatened to cut off his head if he came any more to trouble him these matters. Hereupon Moses said he not speak to him any more about them, for he himself, together with the principal men among the Egyptians, should desire the Hebrews away. So when Moses had said this, he his way.

6. But when God had signified, that with one plague he would compel the Egyptians to let Hebrews go, he commanded Moses to tell the people that they should have a sacrifice ready, and they should prepare themselves on the tenth day of the month Xanthicus, against the fourteenth, [which month is called by the Egyptians Pharmuth, Nisan by the Hebrews; but the Macedonians call it Xanthicus,] and that he should carry the Hebrews with all they had. Accordingly, he having got the Hebrews ready for their departure, and having sorted the people into tribes, he kept them together in one place: but when the fourteenth day was come, and all were ready to depart they offered the sacrifice, and purified their houses with the blood, using bunches of hyssop for that purpose; and when they had supped, they burnt the remainder of the flesh, as just ready to depart. Whence it is that we do still offer this sacrifice in like manner to this day, and call this festival Pascha which signifies the feast of the passover; because on that day God passed us over, and sent the plague upon the Egyptians; for the destruction of the first-born came upon the Egyptians that night, so that many of the Egyptians who lived near the king's palace, persuaded Pharaoh to let the Hebrews go. Accordingly he called for Moses, and bid them be gone; as supposing, that if once the Hebrews were gone out of the country, Egypt should be freed from its miseries. They also honored the Hebrews with gifts; some, in order to get them to depart quickly, and others on account of their neighborhood, and the friendship they had with them.

CHAPTER 15. How The Hebrews Under The Conduct Of Moses Left Egypt.

1. So the Hebrews went out of Egypt, while the Egyptians wept, and repented that they had treated them so hardly. — Now they took their journey by Letopolis, a place at that time deserted, but where Babylon was built afterwards, when Cambyses laid Egypt waste: but as they went away hastily, on the third day they came to a place called Beelzephon, on the Red Sea; and when they had no food out of the land, because it was a desert, they eat of loaves kneaded of flour, only warmed by a gentle heat; and this food they made use of for thirty days; for what they brought with them out of Egypt would not suffice them any longer time; and this only while they dispensed it to each person, to use so much only as would serve for necessity, but not for satiety. Whence it is that, in memory of the want we were then in, we keep a feast for eight days, which is called the feast of unleavened bread. Now the entire multitude of those that went out, including the women and children, was not easy to be numbered, but those that were of an age fit for war, were six hundred thousand.

2. They left Egypt in the month Xanthicus, on the fifteenth day of the lunar month; four hundred and thirty years after our forefather Abraham came into Canaan, but two hundred and fifteen years only after Jacob removed into Egypt. It was the eightieth year of the age of Moses, and of that of Aaron three more. They also carried out the bones of Joesph with them, as he had charged his sons to do.

3. But the Egyptians soon repented that the Hebrews were gone; and the king also was mightily concerned that this had been procured by the magic arts of Moses; so they resolved to go after them. Accordingly they took their weapons, and other warlike furniture, and pursued after them, in order to bring them back, if once they overtook them, because they would now have no pretense to pray to God against them, since they had already been permitted to go out; and they thought they should easily overcome them, as they had no armor, and would be weary with their journey; so they made haste in their pursuit, and asked of every one they met which way they were gone. And indeed that land was difficult to be traveled over, not only by armies, but by single persons. Now Moses led the Hebrews this way, that in case the Egyptians should repent and be desirous to pursue after them, they might undergo the punishment of their wickedness, and of the breach of those promises they had made to them. As also he led them this way on account of the Philistines, who had quarreled with them, and hated them

of old, that by all means they might not know of their departure, for their country is near to that of Egypt; and thence it was that Moses led them not along the road that tended to the land of the Philistines, but he was desirous that they should go through the desert, that so after a long journey, and after many afflictions, they might enter upon the land of Canaan. Another reason of this was, that God commanded him to bring the people to Mount Sinai, that there they might offer him sacrifices. Now when the Egyptians had overtaken the Hebrews, they prepared to fight them, and by their multitude they drove them into a narrow place; for the number that pursued after them was six hundred chariots, with fifty thousand horsemen, and two hundred thousand foot-men, all armed. They also seized on the passages by which they imagined the Hebrews might fly, shutting them up between inaccessible precipices and the sea; for there was [on each side] a [ridge of] mountains that terminated at the sea, which were impassable by reason of their roughness, and obstructed their flight; wherefore they there pressed upon the Hebrews with their army, where [the ridges of] the mountains were closed with the sea; which army they placed at the chops of the mountains, that so they might deprive them of any passage into the plain.

4. When the Hebrews, therefore, were neither able to bear up, being thus, as it were, besieged, because they wanted provisions, nor saw any possible way of escaping; and if they should have thought of fighting, they had no weapons; they expected a universal destruction, unless they delivered themselves up to the Egyptians. So they laid the blame on Moses, and forgot all the signs that had been wrought by God for the recovery of their freedom; and this so far, that their incredulity prompted them to throw stones at the prophet, while he encouraged them and promised them deliverance; and they resolved that they would deliver themselves up to the Egyptians. So there was sorrow and lamentation among the women and children, who had nothing but destruction before their eyes, while they were encompassed with mountains, the sea, and their enemies, and discerned no way of flying from them.

5. But Moses, though the multitude looked fiercely at him, did not, however, give over the care of them, but despised all dangers, out of his trust in God, who, as he had afforded them the several steps already taken for the recovery of their liberty, which he had foretold them, would not now suffer them to be subdued by their enemies, to be either made slaves or be slain by them; and, standing in midst of them, he said, “It is not just of us to distrust even men, when they have hitherto well managed our affairs, as if they would not be the same hereafter; but it is no better than madness, at this time to despair of the providence of God, by whose power all those things have been performed he promised, when you expected no such things: I mean all that I have been concerned in for deliverance

and escape from slavery. Nay, when we are in the utmost distress, as you see we ought rather to hope that God will succor us, by whose operation it is that we are now this narrow place, that he may out of such difficulties as are otherwise insurmountable and out of which neither you nor your enemies expect you can be delivered, and may at once demonstrate his own power and his providence over us. Nor does God use to give his help in small difficulties to those whom he favors, but in such cases where no one can see how any hope in man can better their condition. Depend, therefore, upon such a Protector as is able to make small things great, and to show that this mighty force against you is nothing but weakness, and be not affrighted at the Egyptian army, nor do you despair of being preserved, because the sea before, and the mountains behind, afford you no opportunity for flying, for even these mountains, if God so please, may be made plain ground for you, and the sea become dry land."

CHAPTER 16. How The Sea Was Divided Asunder For The Hebrews, When They Were Pursued By The Egyptians, And So Gave Them An Opportunity Of Escaping From Them.

1. When Moses had said this, he led them to the sea, while the Egyptians looked on; for they were within sight. Now these were so distressed by the toil of their pursuit, that they thought proper to put off fighting till the next day. But when Moses was come to the sea-shore, he took his rod, and made supplication to God, and called upon him to be their helper and assistant; and said "Thou art not ignorant, O Lord, that it is beyond human strength and human contrivance to avoid the difficulties we are now under; but it must be thy work altogether to procure deliverance to this army, which has left Egypt at thy appointment. We despair of any other assistance or contrivance, and have recourse only to that hope we have in thee; and if there be any method that can promise us an escape by thy providence, we look up to thee for it. And let it come quickly, and manifest thy power to us; and do thou raise up this people unto good courage and hope of deliverance, who are deeply sunk into a disconsolate state of mind. We are in a helpless place, but still it is a place that thou possessest; still the sea is thine, the mountains also that enclose us are thine; so that these mountains will open themselves if thou commandest them, and the sea also, if thou commandest it, will become dry land. Nay, we might escape by a flight through the air, if thou shouldst determine we should have that way of salvation."

2. When Moses had thus addressed himself to God, he smote the sea with his rod, which parted asunder at the stroke, and receiving those waters into itself, left the ground dry, as a road and a place of flight for the Hebrews. Now when Moses saw this appearance of God, and that the sea went out of its own place, and left dry land, he went first of all into it, and bid the Hebrews to follow him along that divine road, and to rejoice at the danger their enemies that followed them were in; and gave thanks to God for this so surprising a deliverance which appeared from him.

3. Now, while these Hebrews made no stay, but went on earnestly, as led by God's presence with them, the Egyptians supposed first that they were distracted, and were going rashly upon manifest destruction. But when they saw that they were going a great way without any harm, and that no obstacle or difficulty fell in their journey, they made haste to pursue them, hoping that the

sea would be calm for them also. They put their horse foremost, and went down themselves into the sea. Now the Hebrews, while these were putting on their armor, and therein spending their time, were beforehand with them, and escaped them, and got first over to the land on the other side without any hurt. Whence the others were encouraged, and more courageously pursued them, as hoping no harm would come to them neither: but the Egyptians were not aware that they went into a road made for the Hebrews, and not for others; that this road was made for the deliverance of those in danger, but not for those that were earnest to make use of it for the others' destruction. As soon, therefore, as ever the whole Egyptian army was within it, the sea flowed to its own place, and came down with a torrent raised by storms of wind, and encompassed the Egyptians. Showers of rain also came down from the sky, and dreadful thunders and lightning, with flashes of fire. Thunderbolts also were darted upon them. Nor was there any thing which used to be sent by God upon men, as indications of his wrath, which did not happen at this time, for a dark and dismal night oppressed them. And thus did all these men perish, so that there was not one man left to be a messenger of this calamity to the rest of the Egyptians.

4. But the Hebrews were not able to contain themselves for joy at their wonderful deliverance, and destruction of their enemies; now indeed supposing themselves firmly delivered, when those that would have forced them into slavery were destroyed, and when they found they had God so evidently for their protector. And now these Hebrews having escaped the danger they were in, after this manner, and besides that, seeing their enemies punished in such a way as is never recorded of any other men whomsoever, were all the night employed in singing of hymns, and in mirth. Moses also composed a song unto God, containing his praises, and a thanksgiving for his kindness, in hexameter verse.

5. As for myself, I have delivered every part of this history as I found it in the sacred books; nor let any one wonder at the strangeness of the narration if a way were discovered to those men of old time, who were free from the wickedness of the modern ages, whether it happened by the will of God or whether it happened of its own accord; — while, for the sake of those that accompanied Alexander, king of Macedonia, who yet lived, comparatively but a little while ago, the Pamphylian Sea retired and afforded them a passage through itself, had no other way to go; I mean, when it was the will of God to destroy the monarchy of the Persians: and this is confessed to be true by all that have written about the actions of Alexander. But as to these events, let every one determine as he pleases.

6. On the next day Moses gathered together the weapons of the Egyptians, which were brought to the camp of the Hebrews by the current of the sea, and

the force of the winds resisting it; and he conjectured that this also happened by Divine Providence, that so they might not be destitute of weapons. So when he had ordered the Hebrews to arm themselves with them, he led them to Mount Sinai, in order to offer sacrifice to God, and to render oblations for the salvation of the multitude, as he was charged to do beforehand.

BOOK III. Containing The Interval Of Two Years. — From The Exodus Out Of Egypt, To The Rejection Of That Generation.

CHAPTER 1. How Moses When He Had Brought The People Out Of Egypt Led Them To Mount Sinai; But Not Till They Had Suffered Much In Their Journey.

1. When the Hebrews had obtained such a wonderful deliverance, the country was a great trouble to them, for it was entirely a desert, and without sustenance for them; and also had exceeding little water, so that it not only was not at all sufficient for the men, but not enough to feed any of the cattle, for it was parched up, and had no moisture that might afford nutriment to the vegetables; so they were forced to travel over this country, as having no other country but this to travel in. They had indeed carried water along with them from the land over which they had traveled before, as their conductor had bidden them; but when that was spent, they were obliged to draw water out of wells, with pain, by reason of the hardness of the soil. Moreover, what water they found was bitter, and not fit for drinking, and this in small quantities also; and as they thus traveled, they came late in the evening to a place called Marah, which had that name from the badness of its water, for Mar denotes bitterness. Thither they came afflicted both by the tediousness of their journey, and by their want of food, for it entirely failed them at that time. Now here was a well, which made them choose to stay in the place, which, although it were not sufficient to satisfy so great an army, did yet afford them some comfort, as found in such desert places; for they heard from those who had been to search, that there was nothing to be found, if they traveled on farther. Yet was this water bitter, and not fit for men to drink; and not only so, but it was intolerable even to the cattle themselves.

2. When Moses saw how much the people were cast down, and that the occasion of it could not be contradicted, for the people were not in the nature of a complete army of men, who might oppose a manly fortitude to the necessity that distressed them; the multitude of the children, and of the women also, being of too weak capacities to be persuaded by reason, blunted the courage of the men themselves, — he was therefore in great difficulties, and made everybody's calamity his own; for they ran all of them to him, and begged of him; the women begged for their infants, and the men for the women, that he would not overlook them, but procure some way or other for their deliverance. He therefore betook himself to prayer to God, that he would change the water from its present badness, and make it fit for drinking. And when God had granted him that favor, he took the top of a stick that lay down at his feet, and divided it in the middle,

and made the section lengthways. He then let it down into the well, and persuaded the Hebrews that God had hearkened to his prayers, and had promised to render the water such as they desired it to be, in case they would be subservient to him in what he should enjoin them to do, and this not after a remiss or negligent manner. And when they asked what they were to do in order to have the water changed for the better, he bid the strongest men among them that stood there, to draw up water and told them, that when the greatest part was drawn up, the remainder would be fit to drink. So they labored at it till the water was so agitated and purged as to be fit to drink.

3. And now removing from thence they came to Elim; which place looked well at a distance, for there was a grove of palm-trees; but when they came near to it, it appeared to be a bad place, for the palm-trees were no more than seventy; and they were ill-grown and creeping trees, by the want of water, for the country about was all parched, and no moisture sufficient to water them, and make them hopeful and useful, was derived to them from the fountains, which were in number twelve: they were rather a few moist places than springs, which not breaking out of the ground, nor running over, could not sufficiently water the trees. And when they dug into the sand, they met with no water; and if they took a few drops of it into their hands, they found it to be useless, on account of its mud. The trees were too weak to bear fruit, for want of being sufficiently cherished and enlivened by the water. So they laid the blame on their conductor, and made heavy complaints against him; and said that this their miserable state, and the experience they had of adversity, were owing to him; for that they had then journeyed an entire thirty days, and had spent all the provisions they had brought with them; and meeting with no relief, they were in a very desponding condition. And by fixing their attention upon nothing but their present misfortunes, they were hindered from remembering what deliverances they had received from God, and those by the virtue and wisdom of Moses also; so they were very angry at their conductor, and were zealous in their attempt to stone him, as the direct occasion of their present miseries.

4. But as for Moses himself, while the multitude were irritated and bitterly set against him, he cheerfully relied upon God, and upon his consciousness of the care he had taken of these his own people; and he came into the midst of them, even while they clamored against him, and had stones in their hands in order to despatch him. Now he was of an agreeable presence, and very able to persuade the people by his speeches; accordingly he began to mitigate their anger, and exhorted them not to be over-mindful of their present adversities, lest they should thereby suffer the benefits that had formerly been bestowed on them to slip out of their memories; and he desired them by no means, on account of their

present uneasiness, to cast those great and wonderful favors and gifts, which they had obtained of God, out of their minds, but to expect deliverance out of those their present troubles which they could not free themselves from, and this by the means of that Divine Providence which watched over them. Seeing it is probable that God tries their virtue, and exercises their patience by these adversities, that it may appear what fortitude they have, and what memory they retain of his former wonderful works in their favor, and whether they will not think of them upon occasion of the miseries they now feel. He told them, it appeared they were not really good men, either in patience, or in remembering what had been successfully done for them, sometimes by contemning God and his commands, when by those commands they left the land of Egypt; and sometimes by behaving themselves ill towards him who was the servant of God, and this when he had never deceived them, either in what he said, or had ordered them to do by God's command. He also put them in mind of all that had passed; how the Egyptians were destroyed when they attempted to detain them, contrary to the command of God; and after what manner the very same river was to the others bloody, and not fit for drinking, but was to them sweet, and fit for drinking; and how they went a new road through the sea, which fled a long way from them, by which very means they were themselves preserved, but saw their enemies destroyed; and that when they were in want of weapons, God gave them plenty of them;-and so he recounted all the particular instances, how when they were, in appearance, just going to be destroyed, God had saved them in a surprising manner; and that he had still the same power; and that they ought not even now to despair of his providence over them; and accordingly he exhorted them to continue quiet, and to consider that help would not come too late, though it come not immediately, if it be present with them before they suffer any great misfortune; that they ought to reason thus: that God delays to assist them, not because he has no regard to them, but because he will first try their fortitude, and the pleasure they take in their freedom, that he may learn whether you have souls great enough to bear want of food, and scarcity of water, on its account; or whether you rather love to be slaves, as cattle are slaves to such as own them, and feed them liberally, but only in order to make them more useful in their service. That as for himself, he shall not be so much concerned for his own preservation; for if he die unjustly, he shall not reckon it any affliction, but that he is concerned for them, lest, by casting stones at him, they should be thought to condemn God himself.

5. By this means Moses pacified the people, and restrained them from stoning him, and brought them to repent of what they were going to do. And because he thought the necessity they were under made their passion less unjustifiable, he

thought he ought to apply himself to God by prayer and supplication; and going up to an eminence, he requested of God for some succor for the people, and some way of deliverance from the want they were in, because in him, and in him alone, was their hope of salvation; and he desired that he would forgive what necessity had forced the people to do, since such was the nature of mankind, hard to please, and very complaining under adversities. Accordingly God promised he would take care of them, and afford them the succor they were desirous of. Now when Moses had heard this from God, he came down to the multitude. But as soon as they saw him joyful at the promises he had received from God, they changed their sad countenances into gladness. So he placed himself in the midst of them, and told them he came to bring them from God a deliverance from their present distresses. Accordingly a little after came a vast number of quails, which is a bird more plentiful in this Arabian Gulf than any where else, flying over the sea, and hovered over them, till wearied with their laborious flight, and, indeed, as usual, flying very near to the earth, they fell down upon the Hebrews, who caught them, and satisfied their hunger with them, and supposed that this was the method whereby God meant to supply them with food. Upon which Moses returned thanks to God for affording them his assistance so suddenly, and sooner than he had promised them.

6. But presently after this first supply of food, he sent them a second; for as Moses was lifting up his hands in prayer, a dew fell down; and Moses, when he found it stick to his hands, supposed this was also come for food from God to them. He tasted it; and perceiving that the people knew not what it was, and thought it snowed, and that it was what usually fell at that time of the year, he informed them that this dew did not fall from heaven after the manner they imagined, but came for their preservation and sustenance. So he tasted it, and gave them some of it, that they might be satisfied about what he told them. They also imitated their conductor, and were pleased with the food, for it was like honey in sweetness and pleasant taste, but like in its body to bdellium, one of the sweet spices, and in bigness equal to coriander seed. And very earnest they were in gathering it; but they were enjoined to gather it equally — the measure of an omer for each one every day, because this food should not come in too small a quantity, lest the weaker might not be able to get their share, by reason of the overbearing of the strong in collecting it. However, these strong men, when they had gathered more than the measure appointed for them, had no more than others, but only tired themselves more in gathering it, for they found no more than an omer apiece; and the advantage they got by what was superfluous was none at all, it corrupting, both by the worms breeding in it, and by its bitterness. So divine and wonderful a food was this! It also supplied the want of other sorts

of food to those that fed on it. And even now, in all that place, this manna comes down in rain, according to what Moses then obtained of God, to send it to the people for their sustenance. Now the Hebrews call this food manna: for the particle man, in our language, is the asking of a question. What is this? So the Hebrews were very joyful at what was sent them from heaven. Now they made use of this food for forty years, or as long as they were in the wilderness.

7. As soon as they were removed thence, they came to Rephidim, being distressed to the last degree by thirst; and while in the foregoing days they had lit on a few small fountains, but now found the earth entirely destitute of water, they were in an evil case. They again turned their anger against Moses; but he at first avoided the fury of the multitude, and then betook himself to prayer to God, beseeching him, that as he had given them food when they were in the greatest want of it, so he would give them drink, since the favor of giving them food was of no value to them while they had nothing to drink. And God did not long delay to give it them, but promised Moses that he would procure them a fountain, and plenty of water, from a place they did not expect any. So he commanded him to smite the rock which they saw lying there, with his rod, and out of it to receive plenty of what they wanted; for he had taken care that drink should come to them without any labor or pains-taking. When Moses had received this command from God, he came to the people, who waited for him, and looked upon him, for they saw already that he was coming apace from his eminence. As soon as he was come, he told them that God would deliver them from their present distress, and had granted them an unexpected favor; and informed them, that a river should run for their sakes out of the rock. But they were amazed at that hearing, supposing they were of necessity to cut the rock in pieces, now they were distressed by their thirst and by their journey; while Moses only smiting the rock with his rod, opened a passage, and out of it burst water, and that in great abundance, and very clear. But they were astonished at this wonderful effect; and, as it were, quenched their thirst by the very sight of it. So they drank this pleasant, this sweet water; and such it seemed to be, as might well be expected where God was the donor. They were also in admiration how Moses was honored by God; and they made grateful returns of sacrifices to God for his providence towards them. Now that Scripture, which is laid up in the temple, informs us, how God foretold to Moses, that water timid in this manner be derived out of the rock.’

CHAPTER 2. How The Amalekites And The Neighbouring Nations, Made War With The Hebrews And Were Beaten And Lost A Great Part Of Their Army.

1. The name of the Hebrews began already to be every where renowned, and rumors about them ran abroad. This made the inhabitants of those countries to be in no small fear. Accordingly they sent ambassadors to one another, and exhorted one another to defend themselves, and to endeavor to destroy these men. Those that induced the rest to do so, were such as inhabited Gobolitis and Petra. They were called Amalekites, and were the most warlike of the nations that lived thereabout; and whose kings exhorted one another, and their neighbors, to go to this war against the Hebrews; telling them that an army of strangers, and such a one as had run away from slavery under the Egyptians, lay in wait to ruin them; which army they were not, in common prudence and regard to their own safety, to overlook, but to crush them before they gather strength, and come to be in prosperity: and perhaps attack them first in a hostile manner, as presuming upon our indolence in not attacking them before; and that we ought to avenge ourselves of them for what they have done in the wilderness, but that this cannot be so well done when they have once laid their hands on our cities and our goods: that those who endeavor to crush a power in its first rise, are wiser than those that endeavor to put a stop to its progress when it is become formidable; for these last seem to be angry only at the flourishing of others, but the former do not leave any room for their enemies to become troublesome to them. After they had sent such embassages to the neighboring nations, and among one another, they resolved to attack the Hebrews in battle.

2. These proceedings of the people of those countries occasioned perplexity and trouble to Moses, who expected no such warlike preparations. And when these nations were ready to fight, and the multitude of the Hebrews were obliged to try the fortune of war, they were in a mighty disorder, and in want of all necessaries, and yet were to make war with men who were thoroughly well prepared for it. Then therefore it was that Moses began to encourage them, and to exhort them to have a good heart, and rely on God’s assistance by which they had been state of freedom and to hope for victory over those who were ready to fight with them, in order to deprive them of that blessing: that they were to suppose their own army to be numerous, wanting nothing, neither weapons, nor

money, nor provisions, nor such other conveniences as, when men are in possession of, they fight undauntedly; and that they are to judge themselves to have all these advantages in the Divine assistance. They are also to suppose the enemy's army to be small, unarmed, weak, and such as want those conveniences which they know must be wanted, when it is God's will that they shall be beaten; and how valuable God's assistance is, they had experienced in abundance of trials; and those such as were more terrible than war, for that is only against men; but these were against famine and thirst, things indeed that are in their own nature insuperable; as also against mountains, and that sea which afforded them no way for escaping; yet had all these difficulties been conquered by God's gracious kindness to them. So he exhorted them to be courageous at this time, and to look upon their entire prosperity to depend on the present conquest of their enemies.

3. And with these words did Moses encourage the multitude, who then called together the princes of their tribes, and their chief men, both separately and conjointly. The young men he charged to obey their elders, and the elders to hearken to their leader. So the people were elevated in their minds, and ready to try their fortune in battle, and hoped to be thereby at length delivered from all their miseries: nay, they desired that Moses would immediately lead them against their enemies without the least delay, that no backwardness might be a hindrance to their present resolution. So Moses sorted all that were fit for war into different troops, and set Joshua, the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, over them; one that was of great courage, and patient to undergo labors; of great abilities to understand, and to speak what was proper; and very serious in the worship of God; and indeed made like another Moses, a teacher of piety towards God. He also appointed a small party of the armed men to be near the water, and to take care of the children, and the women, and of the entire camp. So that whole night they prepared themselves for the battle; they took their weapons, if any of them had such as were well made, and attended to their commanders as ready to rush forth to the battle as soon as Moses should give the word of command. Moses also kept awake, teaching Joshua after what manner he should order his camp. But when the day began, Moses called for Joshua again, and exhorted him to approve himself in deeds such a one as a his reputation made men expect from him; and to gain glory by the present expedition, in the opinion of those under him, for his exploits in this battle. He also gave a particular exhortation to the principal men of the Hebrews, and encouraged the whole army as it stood armed before him. And when he had thus animated the army, both by his words and works, and prepared every thing, he retired to a mountain, and committed the army to God and to Joshua.

4. So the armies joined battle; and it came to a close fight, hand to hand, both sides showing great alacrity, and encouraging one another. And indeed while Moses stretched out his hand towards heaven the Hebrews were too hard for the Amalekites: but Moses not being able to sustain his hands thus stretched out, [for as often as he let down his hands, so often were his own people worsted,] he bade his brother Aaron, and Hur their sister Miriam's husband, to stand on each side of him, and take hold of his hands, and not permit his weariness to prevent it, but to assist him in the extension of his hands. When this was done, the Hebrews conquered the Amalekites by main force; and indeed they had all perished, unless the approach of the night had obliged the Hebrews to desist from killing any more. So our forefathers obtained a most signal and most seasonable victory; for they not only overcame those that fought against them, but terrified also the neighboring nations, and got great and splendid advantages, which they obtained of their enemies by their hard pains in this battle: for when they had taken the enemy's camp, they got ready booty for the public, and for their own private families, whereas till then they had not any sort of plenty, of even necessary food. The forementioned battle, when they had once got it, was also the occasion of their prosperity, not only for the present, but for the future ages also; for they not only made slaves of the bodies of their enemies, but subdued their minds also, and after this battle, became terrible to all that dwelt round about them. Moreover, they acquired a vast quantity of riches; for a great deal of silver and gold was left in the enemy's camp; as also brazen vessels, which they made common use of in their families; many utensils also that were embroidered there were of both sorts, that is, of what were weaved, and what were the ornaments of their armor, and other things that served for use in the family, and for the furniture of their rooms; they got also the prey of their cattle, and of whatsoever uses to follow camps, when they remove from one place to another. So the Hebrews now valued themselves upon their courage, and claimed great merit for their valor; and they perpetually inured themselves to take pains, by which they deemed every difficulty might be surmounted. Such were the consequences of this battle.

5. On the next day, Moses stripped the dead bodies of their enemies, and gathered together the armor of those that were fled, and gave rewards to such as had signalized themselves in the action; and highly commended Joshua, their general, who was attested to by all the army, on account of the great actions he had done. Nor was any one of the Hebrews slain; but the slain of the enemy's army were too many to be enumerated. So Moses offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to God, and built an altar, which he named The Lord the Conqueror. He also foretold that the Amalekites should utterly be destroyed; and

that hereafter none of them should remain, because they fought against the Hebrews, and this when they were in the wilderness, and in their distress also. Moreover, he refreshed the army with feasting. And thus did they fight this first battle with those that ventured to oppose them, after they were gone out of Egypt. But when Moses had celebrated this festival for the victory, he permitted the Hebrews to rest for a few days, and then he brought them out after the fight, in order of battle; for they had now many soldiers in light armor. And going gradually on, he came to Mount Sinai, in three months' time after they were removed out of Egypt; at which mountain, as we have before related, the vision of the bush, and the other wonderful appearances, had happened.

CHAPTER 3. That Moses Kindly Received-His Father-In-Law, Jethro, When He Came To Him To Mount Sinai.

Now when Raguel, Moses's father-in-law, understood in what a prosperous condition his affairs were, he willingly came to meet him. And Moses and his children, and pleased himself with his coming. And when he had offered sacrifice, he made a feast for the multitude, near the Bush he had formerly seen; which multitude, every one according to their families, partook of the feast. But Aaron and his family took Raguel, and sung hymns to God, as to Him who had been the author procurer of their deliverance and their freedom. They also praised their conductor, as him by whose virtue it was that all things had succeeded with them. Raguel also, in his eucharistical oration to Moses, made great encomiums upon the whole multitude; and he could not but admire Moses for his fortitude, and that humanity he had shewn in the delivery of his friends.

CHAPTER 4. How Raguel Suggested To Moses To Set His People In Order, Under Their Rulers Of Thousands, And Rulers Of Hundreds, Who Lived Without Order Before; And How Moses Complied In All Things With His Father-In-Law's Admonition.

1. The next day, as Raguel saw Moses in the of a crowd of business for he determined the differences of those that referred them to him, every one still going to him, and supposing that they should then only obtain justice, if he were the arbitrator; and those that lost their causes thought it no harm, while they thought they lost them justly, and not by partiality. Raguel however said nothing to him at that time, as not desirous to be any hinderance to such as had a mind to make use of the virtue of their conductor. But afterward he took him to himself, and when he had him alone, he instructed him in what he ought to do; and advised him to leave the trouble of lesser causes to others, but himself to take care of the greater, and of the people's safety, for that certain others of the Hebrews might be found that were fit to determine causes, but that nobody but a Moses could take of the safety of so many ten thousands. "Be therefore," says he, "insensible of thine own virtue, and what thou hast done by ministering under God to the people's preservation. Permit, therefore, the determination of common causes to be done by others, but do thou reserve thyself to the attendance on God only, and look out for methods of preserving the multitude from their present distress. Make use of the method I suggest to you, as to human affairs; and take a review of the army, and appoint chosen rulers over tens of thousands, and then over thousands; then divide them into five hundreds, and again into hundreds, and into fifties; and set rulers over each of them, who may distinguish them into thirties, and keep them in order; and at last number them by twenties and by tens: and let there be one commander over each number, to be denominated from the number of those over whom they are rulers, but such as the whole multitude have tried, and do approve of, as being good and righteous men; and let those rulers decide the controversies they have one with another. But if any great cause arise, let them bring the cognizance of it before the rulers of a higher dignity; but if any great difficulty arise that is too hard for even their determination, let them send it to thee. By these means two advantages will be gained; the Hebrews will have justice done them, and thou

wilt be able to attend constantly on God, and procure him to be more favorable to the people."

2. This was the admonition of Raguel; and Moses received his advice very kindly, and acted according to his suggestion. Nor did he conceal the invention of this method, nor pretend to it himself, but informed the multitude who it was that invented it: nay, he has named Raguel in the books he wrote, as the person who invented this ordering of the people, as thinking it right to give a true testimony to worthy persons, although he might have gotten reputation by ascribing to himself the inventions of other men; whence we may learn the virtuous disposition of Moses: but of such his disposition, we shall have proper occasion to speak in other places of these books.

CHAPTER 5. How Moses Ascended Up To Mount Sinai, And Received Laws From God, And Delivered Them To The Hebrews.

1. Now Moses called the multitude together, and told them that he was going from them unto mount Sinai to converse with God; to receive from him, and to bring back with him, a certain oracle; but he enjoined them to pitch their tents near the mountain, and prefer the habitation that was nearest to God, before one more remote. When he had said this, he ascended up to Mount Sinai, which is the highest of all the mountains that are in that country and is not only very difficult to be ascended by men, on account of its vast altitude, but because of the sharpness of its precipices also; nay, indeed, it cannot be looked at without pain of the eyes: and besides this, it was terrible and inaccessible, on account of the rumor that passed about, that God dwelt there. But the Hebrews removed their tents as Moses had bidden them, and took possession of the lowest parts of the mountain; and were elevated in their minds, in expectation that Moses would return from God with promises of the good things he had proposed to them. So they feasted and waited for their conductor, and kept themselves pure as in other respects, and not accompanying with their wives for three days, as he had before ordered them to do. And they prayed to God that he would favorably receive Moses in his conversing with him, and bestow some such gift upon them by which they might live well. They also lived more plentifully as to their diet; and put on their wives and children more ornamental and decent clothing than they usually wore.

2. So they passed two days in this way of feasting; but on the third day, before the sun was up, a cloud spread itself over the whole camp of the Hebrews, such a one as none had before seen, and encompassed the place where they had pitched their tents; and while all the rest of the air was clear, there came strong winds, that raised up large showers of rain, which became a mighty tempest. There was also such lightning, as was terrible to those that saw it; and thunder, with its thunderbolts, were sent down, and declared God to be there present in a gracious way to such as Moses desired he should be gracious. Now, as to these matters, every one of my readers may think as he pleases; but I am under a necessity of relating this history as it is described in the sacred books. This sight, and the amazing sound that came to their ears, disturbed the Hebrews to a prodigious degree, for they were not such as they were accustomed to; and then the rumor that was spread abroad, how God frequented that mountain, greatly

astonished their minds, so they sorrowfully contained themselves within their tents, as both supposing Moses to be destroyed by the Divine wrath, and expecting the like destruction for themselves.

3. When they were under these apprehensions, Moses appeared as joyful and greatly exalted. When they saw him, they were freed from their fear, and admitted of more comfortable hopes as to what was to come. The air also was become clear and pure of its former disorders, upon the appearance of Moses; whereupon he called together the people to a congregation, in order to their hearing what God would say to them: and when they were gathered together, he stood on an eminence whence they might all hear him, and said, "God has received me graciously, O Hebrews, as he has formerly done; and has suggested a happy method of living for you, and an order of political government, and is now present in the camp: I therefore charge you, for his sake and the sake of his works, and what we have done by his means, that you do not put a low value on what I am going to say, because the commands have been given by me that now deliver them to you, nor because it is the tongue of a man that delivers them to you; but if you have a due regard to the great importance of the things themselves, you will understand the greatness of Him whose institutions they are, and who has not disdained to communicate them to me for our common advantage; for it is not to be supposed that the author of these institutions is barely Moses, the son of Amram and Jochebed, but He who obliged the Nile to run bloody for your sakes, and tamed the haughtiness of the Egyptians by various sorts of judgments; he who provided a way through the sea for us; he who contrived a method of sending us food from heaven, when we were distressed for want of it; he who made the water to issue out of a rock, when we had very little of it before; he by whose means Adam was made to partake of the fruits both of the land and of the sea; he by whose means Noah escaped the deluge; he by whose means our forefather Abraham, of a wandering pilgrim, was made the heir of the land of Canaan; he by whose means Isaac was born of parents that were very old; he by whose means Jacob was adorned with twelve virtuous sons; he by whose means Joseph became a potent lord over the Egyptians; he it is who conveys these instructions to you by me as his interpreter. And let them be to you venerable, and contended for more earnestly by you than your own children and your own wives; for if you will follow them, you will lead a happy life you will enjoy the land fruitful, the sea calm, and the fruit of the womb born complete, as nature requires; you will be also terrible to your enemies for I have been admitted into the presence of God and been made a hearer of his incorruptible voice so great is his concern for your nation, and its duration."

4. When he had said this, he brought the people, with their wives and children, so near the mountain, that they might hear God himself speaking to them about the precepts which they were to practice; that the energy of what should be spoken might not be hurt by its utterance by that tongue of a man, which could but imperfectly deliver it to their understanding. And they all heard a voice that came to all of them from above, insomuch that no one of these words escaped them, which Moses wrote on two tables; which it is not lawful for us to set down directly, but their import we will declare

5. The first commandment teaches us that there is but one God, and that we ought to worship him only. The second commands us not to make the image of any living creature to worship it. The third, that we must not swear by God in a false matter. The fourth, that we must keep the seventh day, by resting from all sorts of work. The fifth, that we must honor our parents. The sixth that we must abstain from murder. The seventh that we must not commit adultery. The eighth, that we must not be guilty of theft. The ninth, that we must not bear false witness. The tenth, that we must not admit of the desire of any thing that is another's.

6. Now when the multitude had heard God himself giving those precepts which Moses had discoursed of, they rejoiced at what was said; and the congregation was dissolved: but on the following days they came to his tent, and desired him to bring them, besides, other laws from God. Accordingly he appointed such laws, and afterwards informed them in what manner they should act in all cases; which laws I shall make mention of in their proper time; but I shall reserve most of those laws for another work, and make there a distinct explication of them.

7. When matters were brought to this state, Moses went up again to Mount Sinai, of which he had told them beforehand. He made his ascent in their sight; and while he staid there so long a time, [for he was absent from them forty days,] fear seized upon the Hebrews, lest Moses should have come to any harm; nor was there any thing else so sad, and that so much troubled them, as this supposal that Moses was perished. Now there was a variety in their sentiments about it; some saying that he was fallen among wild beasts; and those that were of this opinion were chiefly such as were ill-disposed to him; but others said that he was departed, and gone to God; but the wiser sort were led by their reason to embrace neither of those opinions with any satisfaction, thinking, that as it was a thing that sometimes happens to men to fall among wild beasts and perish that way, so it was probable enough that he might depart and go to God, on account of his virtue; they therefore were quiet, and expected the event: yet were they exceeding sorry upon the supposal that they were deprived of a governor and a

protector, such a one indeed as they could never recover again; nor would this suspicion give them leave to expect any comfortable event about this man, nor could they prevent their trouble and melancholy upon this occasion. However, the camp durst not remove all this while, because Moses had bidden them afore to stay there.

8. But when the forty days, and as many nights, were over, Moses came down, having tasted nothing of food usually appointed for the nourishment of men. His appearance filled the army with gladness, and he declared to them what care God had of them, and by what manner of conduct of their lives they might live happily; telling them, that during these days of his absence he had suggested to him also that he would have a tabernacle built for him, into which he would descend when he came to them, and how we should carry it about with us when we remove from this place; and that there would be no longer any occasion for going up to Mount Sinai, but that he would himself come and pitch his tabernacle amongst us, and be present at our prayers; as also, that the tabernacle should be of such measures and construction as he had shown him, and that you are to fall to the work, and prosecute it diligently. When he had said this, he showed them the two tables, with the ten commandments engraven upon them, five upon each table; and the writing was by the hand of God.

CHAPTER 6. Concerning The Tabernacle Which Moses Built In The Wilderness For The Honor Of God And Which Seemed To Be A Temple.

1. Hereupon the Israelites rejoiced at what they had seen and heard of their conductor, and were not wanting in diligence according to their ability; for they brought silver, and gold, and brass, and of the best sorts of wood, and such as would not at all decay by putrefaction; camels' hair also, and sheep-skins, some of them dyed of a blue color, and some of a scarlet; some brought the flower for the purple color, and others for white, with wool dyed by the flowers aforementioned; and fine linen and precious stones, which those that use costly ornaments set in ouches of gold; they brought also a great quantity of spices; for of these materials did Moses build the tabernacle, which did not at all differ from a movable and ambulatory temple. Now when these things were brought together with great diligence, [for every one was ambitious to further the work even beyond their ability,] he set architects over the works, and this by the command of God; and indeed the very same which the people themselves would have chosen, had the election been allowed to them. Now their names are set down in writing in the sacred books; and they were these: Besaleel, the son of Uri, of the tribe of Judah, the grandson of Miriam, the sister of their conductor and Aholiab, file son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan. Now the people went on with what they had undertaken with so great alacrity, that Moses was obliged to restrain them, by making proclamation, that what had been brought was sufficient, as the artificers had informed him; so they fell to work upon the building of the tabernacle. Moses also informed them, according to the direction of God, both what the measures were to be, and its largeness; and how many vessels it ought to contain for the use of the sacrifices. The women also were ambitious to do their parts, about the garments of the priests, and about other things that would be wanted in this work, both for ornament and for the divine service itself.

2. Now when all things were prepared, the gold, and the silver, and the brass, and what was woven, Moses, when he had appointed beforehand that there should be a festival, and that sacrifices should be offered according to every one's ability, reared up the tabernacle and when he had measured the open court, fifty cubits broad and a hundred long, he set up brazen pillars, five cubits high, twenty on each of the longer sides, and ten pillars for the breadth behind; every one of the pillars also had a ring. Their chapiters were of silver, but their bases

were of brass: they resembled the sharp ends of spears, and were of brass, fixed into the ground. Cords were also put through the rings, and were tied at their farther ends to brass nails of a cubit long, which, at every pillar, were driven into the floor, and would keep the tabernacle from being shaken by the violence of winds; but a curtain of fine soft linen went round all the pillars, and hung down in a flowing and loose manner from their chapiters, and enclosed the whole space, and seemed not at all unlike to a wall about it. And this was the structure of three of the sides of this enclosure; but as for the fourth side, which was fifty cubits in extent, and was the front of the whole, twenty cubits of it were for the opening of the gates, wherein stood two pillars on each side, after the resemblance of open gates. These were made wholly of silver, and polished, and that all over, excepting the bases, which were of brass. Now on each side of the gates there stood three pillars, which were inserted into the concave bases of the gates, and were suited to them; and round them was drawn a curtain of fine linen; but to the gates themselves, which were twenty cubits in extent, and five in height, the curtain was composed of purple, and scarlet, and blue, and fine linen, and embroidered with many and divers sorts of figures, excepting the figures of animals. Within these gates was the brazen laver for purification, having a basin beneath of the like matter, whence the priests might wash their hands and sprinkle their feet; and this was the ornamental construction of the enclosure about the court of the tabernacle, which was exposed to the open air.

3. As to the tabernacle itself, Moses placed it in the middle of that court, with its front to the east, that, when the sun arose, it might send its first rays upon it. Its length, when it was set up, was thirty cubits, and its breadth was twelve [ten] cubits. The one of its walls was on the south, and the other was exposed to the north, and on the back part of it remained the west. It was necessary that its height should be equal to its breadth [ten cubits]. There were also pillars made of wood, twenty on each side; they were wrought into a quadrangular figure, in breadth a cubit and a half, but the thickness was four fingers: they had thin plates of gold affixed to them on both sides, inwardly and outwardly: they had each of them two tenons belonging to them, inserted into their bases, and these were of silver, in each of which bases there was a socket to receive the tenon; but the pillars on the west wall were six. Now all these tenons and sockets accurately fitted one another, insomuch that the joints were invisible, and both seemed to be one entire and united wall. It was also covered with gold, both within and without. The number of pillars was equal on the opposite sides, and there were on each part twenty, and every one of them had the third part of a span in thickness; so that the number of thirty cubits were fully made up between them; but as to the wall behind, where the six pillars made up together only nine cubits,

they made two other pillars, and cut them out of one cubit, which they placed in the corners, and made them equally fine with the other. Now every one of the pillars had rings of gold affixed to their fronts outward, as if they had taken root in the pillars, and stood one row over against another round about, through which were inserted bars gilt over with gold, each of them five cubits long, and these bound together the pillars, the head of one bar running into another, after the nature of one tenon inserted into another; but for the wall behind, there was but one row of bars that went through all the pillars, into which row ran the ends of the bars on each side of the longer walls; the male with its female being so fastened in their joints, that they held the whole firmly together; and for this reason was all this joined so fast together, that the tabernacle might not be shaken, either by the winds, or by any other means, but that it might preserve itself quiet and immovable continually.

4. As for the inside, Moses parted its length into three partitions. At the distance of ten cubits from the most secret end, Moses placed four pillars, the workmanship of which was the very same with that of the rest; and they stood upon the like bases with them, each a small matter distant from his fellow. Now the room within those pillars was the most holy place; but the rest of the room was the tabernacle, which was open for the priests. However, this proportion of the measures of the tabernacle proved to be an imitation of the system of the world; for that third part thereof which was within the four pillars, to which the priests were not admitted, is, as it were, a heaven peculiar to God. But the space of the twenty cubits, is, as it were, sea and land, on which men live, and so this part is peculiar to the priests only. But at the front, where the entrance was made, they placed pillars of gold, that stood on bases of brass, in number seven; but then they spread over the tabernacle veils of fine linen and purple, and blue, and scarlet colors, embroidered. The first veil was ten cubits every way, and this they spread over the pillars which parted the temple, and kept the most holy place concealed within; and this veil was that which made this part not visible to any. Now the whole temple was called The Holy Place: but that part which was within the four pillars, and to which none were admitted, was called The Holy of Holies. This veil was very ornamental, and embroidered with all sorts of flowers which the earth produces; and there were interwoven into it all sorts of variety that might be an ornament, excepting the forms of animals. Another veil there was which covered the five pillars that were at the entrance. It was like the former in its magnitude, and texture, and color; and at the corner of every pillar a ring retained it from the top downwards half the depth of the pillars, the other half affording an entrance for the priests, who crept under it. Over this there was a veil of linen, of the same largeness with the former: it was to be drawn this

way or that way by cords, the rings of which, fixed to the texture of the veil, and to the cords also, were subservient to the drawing and undrawing of the veil, and to the fastening it at the corner, that then it might be no hinderance to the view of the sanctuary, especially on solemn days; but that on other days, and especially when the weather was inclined to snow, it might be expanded, and afford a covering to the veil of divers colors. Whence that custom of ours is derived, of having a fine linen veil, after the temple has been built, to be drawn over the entrances. But the ten other curtains were four cubits in breadth, and twenty-eight in length; and had golden clasps, in order to join the one curtain to the other, which was done so exactly that they seemed to be one entire curtain. These were spread over the temple, and covered all the top and parts of the walls, on the sides and behind, so far as within one cubit of the ground. There were other curtains of the same breadth with these, but one more in number, and longer, for they were thirty cubits long; but these were woven of hair, with the like subtilty as those of wool were made, and were extended loosely down to the ground, appearing like a triangular front and elevation at the gates, the eleventh curtain being used for this very purpose. There were also other curtains made of skins above these, which afforded covering and protection to those that were woven both in hot weather and when it rained. And great was the surprise of those who viewed these curtains at a distance, for they seemed not at all to differ from the color of the sky. But those that were made of hair and of skins, reached down in the same manner as did the veil at the gates, and kept off the heat of the sun, and what injury the rains might do. And after this manner was the tabernacle reared.

5. There was also an ark made, sacred to God, of wood that was naturally strong, and could not be corrupted. This was called Eron in our own language. Its construction was thus: its length was five spans, but its breadth and height was each of them three spans. It was covered all over with gold, both within and without, so that the wooden part was not seen. It had also a cover united to it, by golden hinges, after a wonderful manner; which cover was every way evenly fitted to it, and had no eminences to hinder its exact conjunction. There were also two golden rings belonging to each of the longer boards, and passing through the entire wood, and through them gilt bars passed along each board, that it might thereby be moved and carried about, as occasion should require; for it was not drawn in a cart by beasts of burden, but borne on the shoulders of the priests. Upon this its cover were two images, which the Hebrews call Cherubims; they are flying creatures, but their form is not like to that of any of the creatures which men have seen, though Moses said he had seen such beings near the throne of God. In this ark he put the two tables whereon the ten

commandments were written, five upon each table, and two and a half upon each side of them; and this ark he placed in the most holy place.

6. But in the holy place he placed a table, like those at Delphi. Its length was two cubits, and its breadth one cubit, and its height three spans. It had feet also, the lower half of which were complete feet, resembling those which the Dorians put to their bedsteads; but the upper parts towards the table were wrought into a square form. The table had a hollow towards every side, having a ledge of four fingers' depth, that went round about like a spiral, both on the upper and lower part of the body of the work. Upon every one of the feet was there also inserted a ring, not far from the cover, through which went bars of wood beneath, but gilded, to be taken out upon occasion, there being a cavity where it was joined to the rings; for they were not entire rings; but before they came quite round they ended in acute points, the one of which was inserted into the prominent part of the table, and the other into the foot; and by these it was carried when they journeyed: Upon this table, which was placed on the north side of the temple, not far from the most holy place, were laid twelve unleavened loaves of bread, six upon each heap, one above another: they were made of two tenth-deals of the purest flour, which tenth-deal [an omer] is a measure of the Hebrews, containing seven Athenian cotyloe; and above those loaves were put two vials full of frankincense. Now after seven days other loaves were brought in their stead, on the day which is by us called the Sabbath; for we call the seventh day the Sabbath. But for the occasion of this intention of placing loaves here, we will speak to it in another place.

7. Over against this table, near the southern wall, was set a candlestick of cast gold, hollow within, being of the weight of one hundred pounds, which the Hebrews call Chinchares, if it be turned into the Greek language, it denotes a talent. It was made with its knops, and lilies, and pomegranates, and bowls [which ornaments amounted to seventy in all]; by which means the shaft elevated itself on high from a single base, and spread itself into as many branches as there are planets, including the sun among them. It terminated in seven heads, in one row, all standing parallel to one another; and these branches carried seven lamps, one by one, in imitation of the number of the planets. These lamps looked to the east and to the south, the candlestick being situate obliquely.

8. Now between this candlestick and the table, which, as we said, were within the sanctuary, was the altar of incense, made of wood indeed, but of the same wood of which the foregoing vessels were made, such as was not liable to corruption; it was entirely crusted over with a golden plate. Its breadth on each side was a cubit, but the altitude double. Upon it was a grate of gold, that was extant above the altar, which had a golden crown encompassing it round about,

whereto belonged rings and bars, by which the priests carried it when they journeyed. Before this tabernacle there was reared a brazen altar, but it was within made of wood, five cubits by measure on each side, but its height was but three, in like manner adorned with brass plates as bright as gold. It had also a brazen hearth of network; for the ground underneath received the fire from the hearth, because it had no basis to receive it. Hard by this altar lay the basins, and the vials, and the censers, and the caldrons, made of gold; but the other vessels, made for the use of the sacrifices, were all of brass. And such was the construction of the tabernacle; and these were the vessels thereto belonging.

CHAPTER 7. Concerning The Garments Of The Priests, And Of The High Priest.

1. There were peculiar garments appointed for the priests, and for all the rest, which they call Cohanoeoe [-priestly] garments, as also for the high priests, which they call Cahanoeoe Rabbae, and denote the high priest's garments. Such was therefore the habit of the rest. But when the priest approaches the sacrifices, he purifies himself with the purification which the law prescribes; and, in the first place, he puts on that which is called Machanase, which means somewhat that is fast tied. It is a girdle, composed of fine twined linen, and is put about the privy parts, the feet being to be inserted into them in the nature of breeches, but above half of it is cut off, and it ends at the thighs, and is there tied fast.

2. Over this he wore a linen vestment, made of fine flax doubled: it is called Chethone, and denotes linen, for we call linen by the name of Chethone. This vestment reaches down to the feet, and sits close to the body; and has sleeves that are tied fast to the arms: it is girded to the breast a little above the elbows, by a girdle often going round, four fingers broad, but so loosely woven, that you would think it were the skin of a serpent. It is embroidered with flowers of scarlet, and purple, and blue, and fine twined linen, but the warp was nothing but fine linen. The beginning of its circumvolution is at the breast; and when it has gone often round, it is there tied, and hangs loosely there down to the ankles: I mean this, all the time the priest is not about any laborious service, for in this position it appears in the most agreeable manner to the spectators; but when he is obliged to assist at the offering sacrifices, and to do the appointed service, that he may not be hindered in his operations by its motion, he throws it to the left, and bears it on his shoulder. Moses indeed calls this belt Albaneth; but we have learned from the Babylonians to call it Emia, for so it is by them called. This vestment has no loose or hollow parts any where in it, but only a narrow aperture about the neck; and it is tied with certain strings hanging down from the edge over the breast and back, and is fastened above each shoulder: it is called Massabazanes.

3. Upon his head he wears a cap, not brought to a conic form nor encircling the whole head, but still covering more than the half of it, which is called Masnaemphthes; and its make is such that it seems to be a crown, being made of thick swathes, but the contexture is of linen; and it is doubled round many times, and sewed together; besides which, a piece of fine linen covers the whole cap from the upper part, and reaches down to the forehead, and hides the seams of

the swathes, which would otherwise appear indecently: this adheres closely upon the solid part of the head, and is thereto so firmly fixed, that it may not fall off during the sacred service about the sacrifices. So we have now shown you what is the habit of the generality of the priests.

4. The high priest is indeed adorned with the same garments that we have described, without abating one; only over these he puts on a vestment of a blue color. This also is a long robe, reaching to his feet, [in our language it is called Meeir,] and is tied round with a girdle, embroidered with the same colors and flowers as the former, with a mixture of gold interwoven. To the bottom of which garment are hung fringes, in color like pomegranates, with golden bells by a curious and beautiful contrivance; so that between two bells hangs a pomegranate, and between two pomegranates a bell. Now this vesture was not composed of two pieces, nor was it sewed together upon the shoulders and the sides, but it was one long vestment so woven as to have an aperture for the neck; not an oblique one, but parted all along the breast and the back. A border also was sewed to it, lest the aperture should look too indecently: it was also parted where the hands were to come out.

5. Besides these, the high priest put on a third garment, which was called the Ephod, which resembles the Epomis of the Greeks. Its make was after this manner: it was woven to the depth of a cubit, of several colors, with gold intermixed, and embroidered, but it left the middle of the breast uncovered: it was made with sleeves also; nor did it appear to be at all differently made from a short coat. But in the void place of this garment there was inserted a piece of the bigness of a span, embroidered with gold, and the other colors of the ephod, and was called Essen, [the breastplate,] which in the Greek language signifies the Oracle. This piece exactly filled up the void space in the ephod. It was united to it by golden rings at every corner, the like rings being annexed to the ephod, and a blue riband was made use of to tie them together by those rings; and that the space between the rings might not appear empty, they contrived to fill it up with stitches of blue ribands. There were also two sardonyxes upon the ephod, at the shoulders, to fasten it in the nature of buttons, having each end running to the sardonyxes of gold, that they might be buttoned by them. On these were engraven the names of the sons of Jacob, in our own country letters, and in our own tongue, six on each of the stones, on either side; and the elder sons' names were on the right shoulder. Twelve stones also there were upon the breastplate, extraordinary in largeness and beauty; and they were an ornament not to be purchased by men, because of their immense value. These stones, however, stood in three rows, by four in a row, and were inserted into the breastplate itself, and they were set in ouches of gold, that were themselves inserted in the

breastplate, and were so made that they might not fall out low the first three stones were a sardonyx, a topaz, and an emerald. The second row contained a carbuncle, a jasper, and a sapphire. The first of the third row was a ligure, then an amethyst, and the third an agate, being the ninth of the whole number. The first of the fourth row was a chrysolite, the next was an onyx, and then a beryl, which was the last of all. Now the names of all those sons of Jacob were engraven in these stones, whom we esteem the heads of our tribes, each stone having the honor of a name, in the order according to which they were born. And whereas the rings were too weak of themselves to bear the weight of the stones, they made two other rings of a larger size, at the edge of that part of the breastplate which reached to the neck, and inserted into the very texture of the breastplate, to receive chains finely wrought, which connected them with golden bands to the tops of the shoulders, whose extremity turned backwards, and went into the ring, on the prominent back part of the ephod; and this was for the security of the breastplate, that it might not fall out of its place. There was also a girdle sewed to the breastplate, which was of the forementioned colors, with gold intermixed, which, when it had gone once round, was tied again upon the seam, and hung down. There were also golden loops that admitted its fringes at each extremity of the girdle, and included them entirely.

6. The high priest's mitre was the same that we described before, and was wrought like that of all the other priests; above which there was another, with swathes of blue embroidered, and round it was a golden crown polished, of three rows, one above another; out of which arose a cup of gold, which resembled the herb which we call Saccharus; but those Greeks that are skillful in botany call it Hyoscyamus. Now, lest any one that has seen this herb, but has not been taught its name, and is unacquainted with its nature, or, having known its name, knows not the herb when he sees it, I shall give such as these are a description of it. This herb is oftentimes in tallness above three spans, but its root is like that of a turnip [for he that should compare it thereto would not be mistaken]; but its leaves are like the leaves of mint. Out of its branches it sends out a calyx, cleaving to the branch; and a coat encompasses it, which it naturally puts off when it is changing, in order to produce its fruit. This calyx is of the bigness of the bone of the little finger, but in the compass of its aperture is like a cup. This I will further describe, for the use of those that are unacquainted with it. Suppose a sphere be divided into two parts, round at the bottom, but having another segment that grows up to a circumference from that bottom; suppose it become narrower by degrees, and that the cavity of that part grow decently smaller, and then gradually grow wider again at the brim, such as we see in the navel of a pomegranate, with its notches. And indeed such a coat grows over this plant as

renders it a hemisphere, and that, as one may say, turned accurately in a lathe, and having its notches extant above it, which, as I said, grow like a pomegranate, only that they are sharp, and end in nothing but prickles. Now the fruit is preserved by this coat of the calyx, which fruit is like the seed of the herb Sideritis: it sends out a flower that may seem to resemble that of poppy. Of this was a crown made, as far from the hinder part of the head to each of the temples; but this Ephielis, for so this calyx may be called, did not cover the forehead, but it was covered with a golden plate, which had inscribed upon it the name of God in sacred characters. And such were the ornaments of the high priest.

7. Now here one may wonder at the ill-will which men bear to us, and which they profess to bear on account of our despising that Deity which they pretend to honor; for if any one do but consider the fabric of the tabernacle, and take a view of the garments of the high priest, and of those vessels which we make use of in our sacred ministration, he will find that our legislator was a divine man, and that we are unjustly reproached by others; for if any one do without prejudice, and with judgment, look upon these things, he will find they were every one made in way of imitation and representation of the universe. When Moses distinguished the tabernacle into three parts, and allowed two of them to the priests, as a place accessible and common, he denoted the land and the sea, these being of general access to all; but he set apart the third division for God, because heaven is inaccessible to men. And when he ordered twelve loaves to be set on the table, he denoted the year, as distinguished into so many months. By branching out the candlestick into seventy parts, he secretly intimated the Decani, or seventy divisions of the planets; and as to the seven lamps upon the candlesticks, they referred to the course of the planets, of which that is the number. The veils, too, which were composed of four things, they declared the four elements; for the fine linen was proper to signify the earth, because the flax grows out of the earth; the purple signified the sea, because that color is dyed by the blood of a sea shell-fish; the blue is fit to signify the air; and the scarlet will naturally be an indication of fire. Now the vestment of the high priest being made of linen, signified the earth; the blue denoted the sky, being like lightning in its pomegranates, and in the noise of the bells resembling thunder. And for the ephod, it showed that God had made the universe of four elements; and as for the gold interwoven, I suppose it related to the splendor by which all things are enlightened. He also appointed the breastplate to be placed in the middle of the ephod, to resemble the earth, for that has the very middle place of the world. And the girdle which encompassed the high priest round, signified the ocean, for that goes round about and includes the universe. Each of the sardonyxes declares to us the sun and the moon; those, I mean, that were in the nature of buttons on

the high priest's shoulders. And for the twelve stones, whether we understand by them the months, or whether we understand the like number of the signs of that circle which the Greeks call the Zodiac, we shall not be mistaken in their meaning. And for the mitre, which was of a blue color, it seems to me to mean heaven; for how otherwise could the name of God be inscribed upon it? That it was also illustrated with a crown, and that of gold also, is because of that splendor with which God is pleased. Let this explication suffice at present, since the course of my narration will often, and on many occasions, afford me the opportunity of enlarging upon the virtue of our legislator.

CHAPTER 8. Of The Priesthood Of Aaron.

1. When what has been described was brought to a conclusion, gifts not being yet presented, God appeared to Moses, and enjoined him to bestow the high priesthood upon Aaron his brother, as upon him that best of them all deserved to obtain that honor, on account of his virtue. And when he had gathered the multitude together, he gave them an account of Aaron's virtue, and of his good-will to them, and of the dangers he had undergone for their sakes. Upon which, when they had given testimony to him in all respects, and showed their readiness to receive him, Moses said to them, "O you Israelites, this work is already brought to a conclusion, in a manner most acceptable to God, and according to our abilities. And now since you see that he is received into this tabernacle, we shall first of all stand in need of one that may officiate for us, and may minister to the sacrifices, and to the prayers that are to be put up for us. And indeed had the inquiry after such a person been left to me, I should have thought myself worthy of this honor, both because all men are naturally fond of themselves, and because I am conscious to myself that I have taken a great deal of pains for your deliverance; but now God himself has determined that Aaron is worthy of this honor, and has chosen him for his priest, as knowing him to be the most righteous person among you. So that he is to put on the vestments which are consecrated to God; he is to have the care of the altars, and to make provision for the sacrifices; and he it is that must put up prayers for you to God, who will readily hear them, not only because he is himself solicitous for your nation, but also because he will receive them as offered by one that he hath himself chosen to this office." The Hebrews were pleased with what was said, and they gave their approbation to him whom God had ordained; for Aaron was of them all the most deserving of this honor, on account of his own stock and gift of prophecy, and his brother's virtue. He had at that time four sons, Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar.

2. Now Moses commanded them to make use of all the utensils which were more than were necessary to the structure of the tabernacle, for covering the tabernacle itself, the candlestick, and altar of incense, and the other vessels, that they might not be at all hurt when they journeyed, either by the rain, or by the rising of the dust. And when he had gathered the multitude together again, he ordained that they should offer half a shekel for every man, as an oblation to God; which shekel is a piece among the Hebrews, and is equal to four Athenian drachmae. Whereupon they readily obeyed what Moses had commanded; and

the number of the offerers was six hundred and five thousand five hundred and fifty. Now this money that was brought by the men that were free, was given by such as were about twenty years old, but under fifty; and what was collected was spent in the uses of the tabernacle.

3. Moses now purified the tabernacle and the priests; which purification was performed after the following manner: — He commanded them to take five hundred shekels of choice myrrh, an equal quantity of cassia, and half the foregoing weight of cinnamon and calamus [this last is a sort of sweet spice]; to beat them small, and wet them with an bin of oil of olives [an hin is our own country measure, and contains two Athenian choas, or congiuses]; then mix them together, and boil them, and prepare them after the art of the apothecary, and make them into a very sweet ointment; and afterward to take it to anoint and to purify the priests themselves, and all the tabernacle, as also the sacrifices. There were also many, and those of various kinds, of sweet spices, that belonged to the tabernacle, and such as were of very great price, and were brought to the golden altar of incense; the nature of which I do not now describe, lest it should be troublesome to my readers; but incense was to be offered twice a-day, both before sun-rising and at sun-setting. They were also to keep oil already purified for the lamps; three of which were to give light all day long, upon the sacred candlestick, before God, and the rest were to be lighted at the evening.

4. Now all was finished. Besaleel and Aholiab appeared to be the most skillful of the workmen; for they invented finer works than what others had done before them, and were of great abilities to gain notions of what they were formerly ignorant of; and of these, Besaleel was judged to be the best. Now the whole time they were about this work was the interval of seven months; and after this it was that was ended the first year since their departure out of Egypt. But at the beginning of the second year, on the month Xanthicus, as the Macedonians call it, but on the month Nisan, as the Hebrews call it, on the new moon, they consecrated the tabernacle, and all its vessels, which I have already described.

5. Now God showed himself pleased with the work of the Hebrews, and did not permit their labors to be in vain; nor did he disdain to make use of what they had made, but he came and sojourned with them, and pitched his tabernacle in the holy house. And in the following manner did he come to it: — The sky was clear, but there was a mist over the tabernacle only, encompassing it, but not with such a very deep and thick cloud as is seen in the winter season, nor yet in so thin a one as men might be able to discern any thing through it, but from it there dropped a sweet dew, and such a one as showed the presence of God to those that desired and believed it.

6. Now when Moses had bestowed such honorary presents on the workmen, as it was fit they should receive, who had wrought so well, he offered sacrifices in the open court of the tabernacle, as God commanded him; a bull, a ram, and a kid of the goats, for a sin-offering. Now I shall speak of what we do in our sacred offices in my discourse about sacrifices; and therein shall inform men in what cases Moses bid us offer a whole burnt-offering, and in what cases the law permits us to partake of them as of food. And when Moses had sprinkled Aaron's vestments, himself, and his sons, with the blood of the beasts that were slain, and had purified them with spring waters and ointment, they became God's priests. After this manner did he consecrate them and their garments for seven days together. The same he did to the tabernacle, and the vessels thereto belonging, both with oil first incensed, as I said, and with the blood of bulls and of rams, slain day by day one, according to its kind. But on the eighth day he appointed a feast for the people, and commanded them to offer sacrifice according to their ability. Accordingly they contended one with another, and were ambitious to exceed each other in the sacrifices which they brought, and so fulfilled Moses's injunctions. But as the sacrifices lay upon the altar, a sudden fire was kindled from among them of its own accord, and appeared to the sight like fire from a flash of lightning, and consumed whatsoever was upon the altar.

7. Hereupon an affliction befell Aaron, considered as a man and a father, but was undergone by him with true fortitude; for he had indeed a firmness of soul in such accidents, and he thought this calamity came upon him according to God's will: for whereas he had four sons, as I said before, the two elder of them, Nadab and Abihu, did not bring those sacrifices which Moses bade them bring, but which they used to offer formerly, and were burnt to death. Now when the fire rushed upon them, and began to burn them, nobody could quench it. Accordingly they died in this manner. And Moses bid their father and their brethren to take up their bodies, to carry them out of the camp, and to bury them magnificently. Now the multitude lamented them, and were deeply affected at this their death, which so unexpectedly befell them. But Moses entreated their brethren and their father not to be troubled for them, and to prefer the honor of God before their grief about them; for Aaron had already put on his sacred garments.

8. But Moses refused all that honor which he saw the multitude ready to bestow upon him, and attended to nothing else but the service of God. He went no more up to Mount Sinai; but he went into the tabernacle, and brought back answers from God for what he prayed for. His habit was also that of a private man, and in all other circumstances he behaved himself like one of the common people, and was desirous to appear without distinguishing himself from the

multitude, but would have it known that he did nothing else but take care of them. He also set down in writing the form of their government, and those laws by obedience whereto they would lead their lives so as to please God, and so as to have no quarrels one among another. However, the laws he ordained were such as God suggested to him; so I shall now discourse concerning that form of government, and those laws.

9. I will now treat of what I before omitted, the garment of the high priest: for he [Moses] left no room for the evil practices of [false] prophets; but if some of that sort should attempt to abuse the Divine authority, he left it to God to be present at his sacrifices when he pleased, and when he pleased to be absent. And he was willing this should be known, not to the Hebrews only, but to those foreigners also who were there. For as to those stones, which we told you before, the high priest bare on his shoulders, which were sardonyxes, [and I think it needless to describe their nature, they being known to every body,] the one of them shined out when God was present at their sacrifices; I mean that which was in the nature of a button on his right shoulder, bright rays darting out thence, and being seen even by those that were most remote; which splendor yet was not before natural to the stone. This has appeared a wonderful thing to such as have not so far indulged themselves in philosophy, as to despise Divine revelation. Yet will I mention what is still more wonderful than this: for God declared beforehand, by those twelve stones which the high priest bare on his breast, and which were inserted into his breastplate, when they should be victorious in battle; for so great a splendor shone forth from them before the army began to march, that all the people were sensible of God's being present for their assistance. Whence it came to pass that those Greeks, who had a veneration for our laws, because they could not possibly contradict this, called that breastplate the Oracle. Now this breastplate, and this sardonyx, left off shining two hundred years before I composed this book, God having been displeased at the transgressions of his laws. Of which things we shall further discourse on a fitter opportunity; but I will now go on with my proposed narration.

10. The tabernacle being now consecrated, and a regular order being settled for the priests, the multitude judged that God now dwelt among them, and betook themselves to sacrifices and praises to God as being now delivered from all expectation of evils and as entertaining a hopeful prospect of better times hereafter. They offered also gifts to God some as common to the whole nation, and others as peculiar to themselves, and these tribe by tribe; for the heads of the tribes combined together, two by two, and brought a waggon and a yoke of oxen. These amounted to six, and they carried the tabernacle when they journeyed. Besides which, each head of a tribe brought a bowl, and a charger, and a spoon,

of ten darics, full of incense. Now the charger and the bowl were of silver, and together they weighed two hundred shekels, but the bowl cost no more than seventy shekels; and these were full of fine flour mingled with oil, such as they used on the altar about the sacrifices. They brought also a young bullock, and a ram, with a lamb of a year old, for a whole burnt-offering, as also a goat for the forgiveness of sins. Every one of the heads of the tribes brought also other sacrifices, called peace-offerings, for every day two bulls, and five rams, with lambs of a year old, and kids of the goats. These heads of tribes were twelve days in sacrificing, one sacrificing every day. Now Moses went no longer up to Mount Sinai, but went into the tabernacle, and learned of God what they were to do, and what laws should be made; which laws were preferable to what have been devised by human understanding, and proved to be firmly observed for all time to come, as being believed to be the gift of God, insomuch that the Hebrews did not transgress any of those laws, either as tempted in times of peace by luxury, or in times of war by distress of affairs. But I say no more here concerning them, because I have resolved to compose another work concerning our laws.

CHAPTER 9. The Manner Of Our Offering Sacrifices.

1. I Will now, however, make mention of a few of our laws which belong to purifications, and the like sacred offices, since I am accidentally come to this matter of sacrifices. These sacrifices were of two sorts; of those sorts one was offered for private persons, and the other for the people in general; and they are done in two different ways. In the one case, what is slain is burnt, as a whole burnt-offering, whence that name is given to it; but the other is a thank-offering, and is designed for feasting those that sacrifice. I will speak of the former. Suppose a private man offer a burnt-offering, he must slay either a bull, a lamb, or a kid of the goats, and the two latter of the first year, though of bulls he is permitted to sacrifice those of a greater age; but all burnt-offerings are to be of males. When they are slain, the priests sprinkle the blood round about the altar; they then cleanse the bodies, and divide them into parts, and salt them with salt, and lay them upon the altar, while the pieces of wood are piled one upon another, and the fire is burning; they next cleanse the feet of the sacrifices, and the inwards, in an accurate manner and so lay them to the rest to be purged by the fire, while the priests receive the hides. This is the way of offering a burnt-offering.

2. But those that offer thank-offerings do indeed sacrifice the same creatures, but such as are unblemished, and above a year old; however, they may take either males or females. They also sprinkle the altar with their blood; but they lay upon the altar the kidneys and the caul, and all the fat, and the lobe of the liver, together with the rump of the lamb; then, giving the breast and the right shoulder to the priests, the offerers feast upon the remainder of the flesh for two days; and what remains they burn.

3. The sacrifices for sins are offered in the same manner as is the thank-offering. But those who are unable to purchase complete sacrifices, offer two pigeons, or turtle doves; the one of which is made a burnt-offering to God, the other they give as food to the priests. But we shall treat more accurately about the oblation of these creatures in our discourse concerning sacrifices. But if a person fall into sin by ignorance, he offers an ewe lamb, or a female kid of the goats, of the same age; and the priests sprinkle the blood at the altar, not after the former manner, but at the corners of it. They also bring the kidneys and the rest of the fat, together with the lobe of the liver, to the altar, while the priests bear away the hides and the flesh, and spend it in the holy place, on the same day; for

the law does not permit them to leave of it until the morning. But if any one sin, and is conscious of it himself, but hath nobody that can prove it upon him, he offers a ram, the law enjoining him so to do; the flesh of which the priests eat, as before, in the holy place, on the same day. And if the rulers offer sacrifices for their sins, they bring the same oblations that private men do; only they so far differ, that they are to bring for sacrifices a bull or a kid of the goats, both males.

4. Now the law requires, both in private and public sacrifices, that the finest flour be also brought; for a lamb the measure of one tenth deal, — for a ram two, — and for a bull three. This they consecrate upon the altar, when it is mingled with oil; for oil is also brought by those that sacrifice; for a bull the half of an hin, and for a ram the third part of the same measure, and one quarter of it for a lamb. This hin is an ancient Hebrew measure, and is equivalent to two Athenian choas [or congiuses]. They bring the same quantity of oil which they do of wine, and they pour the wine about the altar; but if any one does not offer a complete sacrifice of animals, but brings fine flour only for a vow, he throws a handful upon the altar as its first-fruits, while the priests take the rest for their food, either boiled or mingled with oil, but made into cakes of bread. But whatsoever it be that a priest himself offers, it must of necessity be all burnt. Now the law forbids us to sacrifice any animal at the same time with its dam; and, in other cases, not till the eighth day after its birth. Other sacrifices there are also appointed for escaping distempers, or for other occasions, in which meat-offerings are consumed, together with the animals that are sacrificed; of which it is not lawful to leave any part till the next day, only the priests are to take their own share.

CHAPTER 10. Concerning The Festivals; And How Each Day Of Such Festival Is To Be Observed.

1. The law requires, that out of the public expenses a lamb of the first year be killed every day, at the beginning and at the ending of the day; but on the seventh day, which is called the Sabbath, they kill two, and sacrifice them in the same manner. At the new moon, they both perform the daily sacrifices, and slay two bulls, with seven lambs of the first year, and a kid of the goats also, for the expiation of sins; that is, if they have sinned through ignorance.

2. But on the seventh month, which the Macedonians call Hyperberetaeus, they make an addition to those already mentioned, and sacrifice a bull, a ram, and seven lambs, and a kid of the goats, for sins.

3. On the tenth day of the same lunar month, they fast till the evening; and this day they sacrifice a bull, and two rams, and seven lambs, and a kid of the goats, for sins. And, besides these, they bring two kids of the goats; the one of which is sent alive out of the limits of the camp into the wilderness for the scapegoat, and to be an expiation for the sins of the whole multitude; but the other is brought into a place of great cleanness, within the limits of the camp, and is there burnt, with its skin, without any sort of cleansing. With this goat was burnt a bull, not brought by the people, but by the high priest, at his own charges; which, when it was slain, he brought of the blood into the holy place, together with the blood of the kid of the goats, and sprinkled the ceiling with his finger seven times, as also its pavement, and again as often toward the most holy place, and about the golden altar: he also at last brings it into the open court, and sprinkles it about the great altar. Besides this, they set the extremities, and the kidneys, and the fat, with the lobe of the liver, upon the altar. The high priest likewise presents a ram to God as a burnt-offering.

4. Upon the fifteenth day of the same month, when the season of the year is changing for winter, the law enjoins us to pitch tabernacles in every one of our houses, so that we preserve ourselves from the cold of that time of the year; as also that when we should arrive at our own country, and come to that city which we should have then for our metropolis, because of the temple therein to be built, and keep a festival for eight days, and offer burnt-offerings, and sacrifice thank-offerings, that we should then carry in our hands a branch of myrtle, and willow, and a bough of the palm-tree, with the addition of the pome citron: That the burnt-offering on the first of those days was to be a sacrifice of thirteen bulls, and fourteen lambs, and fifteen rams, with the addition of a kid of the goats, as

an expiation for sins; and on the following days the same number of lambs, and of rams, with the kids of the goats; but abating one of the bulls every day till they amounted to seven only. On the eighth day all work was laid aside, and then, as we said before, they sacrificed to God a bullock, a ram, and seven lambs, with a kid of the goats, for an expiation of sins. And this is the accustomed solemnity of the Hebrews, when they pitch their tabernacles.

5. In the month of Xanthicus, which is by us called Nisan, and is the beginning of our year, on the fourteenth day of the lunar month, when the sun is in Aries, [for in this month it was that we were delivered from bondage under the Egyptians,] the law ordained that we should every year slay that sacrifice which I before told you we slew when we came out of Egypt, and which was called the Passover; and so we do celebrate this passover in companies, leaving nothing of what we sacrifice till the day following. The feast of unleavened bread succeeds that of the passover, and falls on the fifteenth day of the month, and continues seven days, wherein they feed on unleavened bread; on every one of which days two bulls are killed, and one ram, and seven lambs. Now these lambs are entirely burnt, besides the kid of the goats which is added to all the rest, for sins; for it is intended as a feast for the priest on every one of those days. But on the second day of unleavened bread, which is the sixteenth day of the month, they first partake of the fruits of the earth, for before that day they do not touch them. And while they suppose it proper to honor God, from whom they obtain this plentiful provision, in the first place, they offer the first-fruits of their barley, and that in the manner following: They take a handful of the ears, and dry them, then beat them small, and purge the barley from the bran; they then bring one tenth deal to the altar, to God; and, casting one handful of it upon the fire, they leave the rest for the use of the priest. And after this it is that they may publicly or privately reap their harvest. They also at this participation of the first-fruits of the earth, sacrifice a lamb, as a burnt-offering to God.

6. When a week of weeks has passed over after this sacrifice, [which weeks contain forty and nine days,] on the fiftieth day, which is Pentecost, but is called by the Hebrews Asartha, which signifies Pentecost, they bring to God a loaf, made of wheat flour, of two tenth deals, with leaven; and for sacrifices they bring two lambs; and when they have only presented them to God, they are made ready for supper for the priests; nor is it permitted to leave any thing of them till the day following. They also slay three bullocks for a burnt-offering, and two rams; and fourteen lambs, with two kids of the goats, for sins; nor is there anyone of the festivals but in it they offer burnt-offerings; they also allow themselves to rest on every one of them. Accordingly, the law prescribes in them

all what kinds they are to sacrifice, and how they are to rest entirely, and must slay sacrifices, in order to feast upon them.

7. However, out of the common charges, baked bread [was set on the table of shew-bread], without leaven, of twenty-four tenth deals of flour, for so much is spent upon this bread; two heaps of these were baked, they were baked the day before the sabbath, but were brought into the holy place on the morning of the sabbath, and set upon the holy table, six on a heap, one loaf still standing over against another; where two golden cups full of frankincense were also set upon them, and there they remained till another sabbath, and then other loaves were brought in their stead, while the loaves were given to the priests for their food, and the frankincense was burnt in that sacred fire wherein all their offerings were burnt also; and so other frankincense was set upon the loaves instead of what was there before. The high priest also, of his own charges, offered a sacrifice, and that twice every day. It was made of flour mingled with oil, and gently baked by the fire; the quantity was one tenth deal of flour; he brought the half of it to the fire in the morning, and the other half at night. The account of these sacrifices I shall give more accurately hereafter; but I think I have premised what for the present may be sufficient concerning them.

CHAPTER 11. Of The Purifications.

1. Moses took out the tribe of Levi from communicating with the rest of the people, and set them apart to be a holy tribe; and purified them by water taken from perpetual springs, and with such sacrifices as were usually offered to God on the like occasions. He delivered to them also the tabernacle, and the sacred vessels, and the other curtains, which were made for covering the tabernacle, that they might minister under the conduct of the priests, who had been already consecrated to God.

2. He also determined concerning animals; which of them might be used for food, and which they were obliged to abstain from; which matters, when this work shall give me occasion, shall be further explained; and the causes shall be added by which he was moved to allot some of them to be our food, and enjoined us to abstain from others. However, he entirely forbade us the use of blood for food, and esteemed it to contain the soul and spirit. He also forbade us to eat the flesh of an animal that died of itself, as also the caul, and the fat of goats, and sheep, and bulls.

3. He also ordered that those whose bodies were afflicted with leprosy, and that had a gonorrhea, should not come into the city; nay, he removed the women, when they had their natural purgations, till the seventh day; after which he looked on them as pure, and permitted them to come in again. The law permits those also who have taken care of funerals to come in after the same manner, when this number of days is over; but if any continued longer than that number of days in a state of pollution, the law appointed the offering two lambs for a sacrifice; the one of which they are to purge by fire, and for the other, the priests take it for themselves. In the same manner do those sacrifice who have had the gonorrhea. But he that sheds his seed in his sleep, if he go down into cold water, has the same privilege with those that have lawfully accompanied with their wives. And for the lepers, he suffered them not to come into the city at all, nor to live with any others, as if they were in effect dead persons; but if any one had obtained by prayer to God, the recovery from that distemper, and had gained a healthful complexion again, such a one returned thanks to God, with several sorts of sacrifices; concerning which we will speak hereafter.

4. Whence one cannot but smile at those who say that Moses was himself afflicted with the leprosy when he fled out of Egypt, and that he became the conductor of those who on that account left that country, and led them into the land of Canaan; for had this been true, Moses would not have made these laws to

his own dishonor, which indeed it was more likely he would have opposed, if others had endeavored to introduce them; and this the rather, because there are lepers in many nations, who yet are in honor, and not only free from reproach and avoidance, but who have been great captains of armies, and been intrusted with high offices in the commonwealth, and have had the privilege of entering into holy places and temples; so that nothing hindered, but if either Moses himself, or the multitude that was with him, had been liable to such a misfortune in the color of his skin, he might have made laws about them for their credit and advantage, and have laid no manner of difficulty upon them. Accordingly, it is a plain case, that it is out of violent prejudice only that they report these things about us. But Moses was pure from any such distemper, and lived with countrymen who were pure of it also, and thence made the laws which concerned others that had the distemper. He did this for the honor of God. But as to these matters, let every one consider them after what manner he pleases.

5. As to the women, when they have born a child, Moses forbade them to come into the temple, or touch the sacrifices, before forty days were over, supposing it to be a boy; but if she hath born a girl, the law is that she cannot be admitted before twice that number of days be over. And when after the before-mentioned time appointed for them, they perform their sacrifices, the priests distribute them before God.

6. But if any one suspect that his wife has been guilty of adultery, he was to bring a tenth deal of barley flour; they then cast one handful to God and gave the rest of it to the priests for food. One of the priests set the woman at the gates that are turned towards the temple, and took the veil from her head, and wrote the name of God on parchment, and enjoined her to swear that she had not at all injured her husband; and to wish that, if she had violated her chastity, her right thigh might be put out of joint; that her belly might swell; and that she might die thus: but that if her husband, by the violence of his affection, and of the jealousy which arose from it, had been rashly moved to this suspicion, that she might bear a male child in the tenth month. Now when these oaths were over, the priest wiped the name of God out of the parchment, and wrung the water into a vial. He also took some dust out of the temple, if any happened to be there, and put a little of it into the vial, and gave it her to drink; whereupon the woman, if she were unjustly accused, conceived with child, and brought it to perfection in her womb: but if she had broken her faith of wedlock to her husband, and had sworn falsely before God, she died in a reproachful manner; her thigh fell off from her, and her belly swelled with a dropsy. And these are the ceremonies about sacrifices, and about the purifications thereto belonging, which Moses provided for his countrymen. He also prescribed the following laws to them: —

CHAPTER 12. Several Laws.

1. As for adultery, Moses forbade it entirely, as esteeming it a happy thing that men should be wise in the affairs of wedlock; and that it was profitable both to cities and families that children should be known to be genuine. He also abhorred men's lying with their mothers, as one of the greatest crimes; and the like for lying with the father's wife, and with aunts, and sisters, and sons' wives, as all instances of abominable wickedness. He also forbade a man to lie with his wife when she was defiled by her natural purgation: and not to come near brute beasts; nor to approve of the lying with a male, which was to hunt after unlawful pleasures on account of beauty. To those who were guilty of such insolent behavior, he ordained death for their punishment.

2. As for the priests, he prescribed to them a double degree of purity for he restrained them in the instances above, and moreover forbade them to marry harlots. He also forbade them to marry a slave, or a captive, and such as got their living by cheating trades, and by keeping inns; as also a woman parted from her husband, on any account whatsoever. Nay, he did not think it proper for the high priest to marry even the widow of one that was dead, though he allowed that to the priests; but he permitted him only to marry a virgin, and to retain her. Whence it is that the high priest is not to come near to one that is dead, although the rest are not prohibited from coming near to their brethren, or parents, or children, when they are dead; but they are to be unblemished in all respects. He ordered that the priest who had any blemish, should have his portion indeed among the priests, but he forbade him to ascend the altar, or to enter into the holy house. He also enjoined them, not only to observe purity in their sacred ministrations, but in their daily conversation, that it might be unblamable also. And on this account it is that those who wear the sacerdotal garments are without spot, and eminent for their purity and sobriety: nor are they permitted to drink wine so long as they wear those garments. Moreover, they offer sacrifices that are entire, and have no defect whatsoever.

3. And truly Moses gave them all these precepts, being such as were observed during his own lifetime; but though he lived now in the wilderness, yet did he make provision how they might observe the same laws when they should have taken the land of Canaan. He gave them rest to the land from ploughing and planting every seventh year, as he had prescribed to them to rest from working every seventh day; and ordered, that then what grew of its own accord out of the earth should in common belong to all that pleased to use it, making no

distinction in that respect between their own countrymen and foreigners: and he ordained, that they should do the same after seven times seven years, which in all are fifty years; and that fiftieth year is called by the Hebrews The Jubilee, wherein debtors are freed from their debts, and slaves are set at liberty; which slaves became such, though they were of the same stock, by transgressing some of those laws the punishment of which was not capital, but they were punished by this method of slavery. This year also restores the land to its former possessors in the manner following: — When the Jubilee is come, which name denotes liberty, he that sold the land, and he that bought it, meet together, and make an estimate, on one hand, of the fruits gathered; and, on the other hand, of the expenses laid out upon it. If the fruits gathered come to more than the expenses laid out, he that sold it takes the land again; but if the expenses prove more than the fruits, the present possessor receives of the former owner the difference that was wanting, and leaves the land to him; and if the fruits received, and the expenses laid out, prove equal to one another, the present possessor relinquishes it to the former owners. Moses would have the same law obtain as to those houses also which were sold in villages; but he made a different law for such as were sold in a city; for if he that sold it tendered the purchaser his money again within a year, he was forced to restore it; but in case a whole year had intervened, the purchaser was to enjoy what he had bought. This was the constitution of the laws which Moses learned of God when the camp lay under Mount Sinai, and this he delivered in writing to the Hebrews.

4. Now when this settlement of laws seemed to be well over, Moses thought fit at length to take a review of the host, as thinking it proper to settle the affairs of war. So he charged the heads of the tribes, excepting the tribe of Levi, to take an exact account of the number of those that were able to go to war; for as to the Levites, they were holy, and free from all such burdens. Now when the people had been numbered, there were found six hundred thousand that were able to go to war, from twenty to fifty years of age, besides three thousand six hundred and fifty. Instead of Levi, Moses took Manasseh, the son of Joseph, among the heads of tribes; and Ephraim instead of Joseph. It was indeed the desire of Jacob himself to Joseph, that he would give him his sons to be his own by adoption, as I have before related.

5. When they set up the tabernacle, they received it into the midst of their camp, three of the tribes pitching their tents on each side of it; and roads were cut through the midst of these tents. It was like a well-appointed market; and every thing was there ready for sale in due order; and all sorts of artificers were in the shops; and it resembled nothing so much as a city that sometimes was movable, and sometimes fixed. The priests had the first places about the

tabernacle; then the Levites, who, because their whole multitude was reckoned from thirty days old, were twenty-three thousand eight hundred and eighty males; and during the time that the cloud stood over the tabernacle, they thought proper to stay in the same place, as supposing that God there inhabited among them; but when that removed, they journeyed also.

6. Moreover, Moses was the inventor of the form of their trumpet, which was made of silver. Its description is this: — In length it was little less than a cubit. It was composed of a narrow tube, somewhat thicker than a flute, but with so much breadth as was sufficient for admission of the breath of a man's mouth: it ended in the form of a bell, like common trumpets. Its sound was called in the Hebrew tongue Asosra. Two of these being made, one of them was sounded when they required the multitude to come together to congregations. When the first of them gave a signal, the heads of the tribes were to assemble, and consult about the affairs to them properly belonging; but when they gave the signal by both of them, they called the multitude together. Whenever the tabernacle was removed, it was done in this solemn order: — At the first alarm of the trumpet, those whose tents were on the east quarter prepared to remove; when the second signal was given, those that were on the south quarter did the like; in the next place, the tabernacle was taken to pieces, and was carried in the midst of six tribes that went before, and of six that followed, all the Levites assisting about the tabernacle; when the third signal was given, that part which had their tents towards the west put themselves in motion; and at the fourth signal those on the north did so likewise. They also made use of these trumpets in their sacred ministrations, when they were bringing their sacrifices to the altar as well on the Sabbaths as on the rest of the [festival] days; and now it was that Moses offered that sacrifice which was called the Passover in the Wilderness, as the first he had offered after the departure out of Egypt.

CHAPTER 13. Moses Removed From Mount Sinai, And Conducted The People To The Borders Of The Canaanites.

A Little while afterwards he rose up, and went from Mount Sinai; and, having passed through several mansions, of which we will speak he came to a place called Hazeroth, where the multitude began again to be mutinous, and to Moses for the misfortunes they had suffered their travels; and that when he had persuaded to leave a good land, they at once had lost land, and instead of that happy state he had them, they were still wandering in their miserable condition, being already in want water; and if the manna should happen to fail, must then utterly perish. Yet while they spake many and sore things against the there was one of them who exhorted them to be unmindful of Moses, and of what great pains he had been at about their common safety; not to despair of assistance from God. The multitude thereupon became still more unruly, and mutinous against Moses than before. Hereupon Moses, although he was so basely abused by them encouraged them in their despairing conditioned and promised that he would procure them a quantity of flesh-meat, and that not for a few days only, but for many days. This they were not to believe; and when one of them asked, whence he could obtain such vast plenty of what he promised, he replied, “Neither God nor I, we hear such opprobrious language from will leave off our labors for you; and this soon appear also.” As soon as ever he had this, the whole camp was filled with quails, they stood round about them, and gathered great numbers. However, it was not long ere God punished the Hebrews for their insolence, those reproaches they had used towards him, no small number of them died; and still to this day the place retains the memory of this destruction and is named Kibrothhattaavah, which is, Graves of Lust.

CHAPTER 14. How Moses Sent Some Persons To Search Out The Land Of The Canaanites, And The Largeness Of Their Cities; And Further That When Those Who Were Sent Were Returned, After Forty Days And Reported That They Should Not Be A Match For Them, And Extolled The Strength Of The Canaanites The Multitude Were Disturbed And Fell Into Despair; And Were Resolved To Stone Moses, And To Return Back Again Into Egypt, And Serve The Egyptians.

1. When Moses had led the Hebrews away from thence to a place called Paran, which was near to the borders of the Canaanites, and a place difficult to be continued in, he gathered the multitude together to a congregation; and standing in the midst of them, he said, "Of the two things that God determined to bestow upon us, liberty, and the possession of a Happy Country, the one of them ye already are partakers of, by the gift of God, and the other you will quickly obtain; for we now have our abode near the borders of the Canaanites, and nothing can hinder the acquisition of it, when we now at last are fallen upon it: I say, not only no king nor city, but neither the whole race of mankind, if they were all gathered together, could do it. Let us therefore prepare ourselves for the work, for the Canaanites will not resign up their land to us without fighting, but it must be wrested from them by great struggles in war. Let us then send spies, who may take a view of the goodness of the land, and what strength it is of; but, above all things, let us be of one mind, and let us honor God, who above all is our helper and assister."

2. When Moses had said thus, the multitude requited him with marks of respect; and chose twelve spies, of the most eminent men, one out of each tribe, who, passing over all the land of Canaan, from the borders of Egypt, came to the city Hamath, and to Mount Lebanon; and having learned the nature of the land, and of its inhabitants, they came home, having spent forty days in the whole work. They also brought with them of the fruits which the land bare; they also showed them the excellency of those fruits, and gave an account of the great quantity of the good things that land afforded, which were motives to the

multitude to go to war. But then they terrified them again with the great difficulty there was in obtaining it; that the rivers were so large and deep that they could not be passed over; and that the hills were so high that they could not travel along for them; that the cities were strong with walls, and their firm fortifications round about them. They told them also, that they found at Hebron the posterity of the giants. Accordingly these spies, who had seen the land of Canaan, when they perceived that all these difficulties were greater there than they had met with since they came out of Egypt, they were aftrighted at them themselves, and endeavored to affright the multitude also.

3. So they supposed, from what they had heard, that it was impossible to get the possession of the country. And when the congregation was dissolved, they, their wives and children, continued their lamentation, as if God would not indeed assist them, but only promised them fair. They also again blamed Moses, and made a clamor against him and his brother Aaron, the high priest. Accordingly they passed that night very ill, and with contumelious language against them; but in the morning they ran to a congregation, intending to stone Moses and Aaron, and so to return back into Egypt.

4. But of the spies, there were Joshua the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, and Caleb of the tribe of Judah, that were afraid of the consequence, and came into the midst of them, and stilled the multitude, and desired them to be of good courage; and neither to condemn God, as having told them lies, nor to hearken to those who had aftrighted them, by telling them what was not true concerning the Canaanites, but to those that encouraged them to hope for good success; and that they should gain possession of the happiness promised them, because neither the height of mountains, nor the depth of rivers, could hinder men of true courage from attempting them, especially while God would take care of them beforehand, and be assistant to them. "Let us then go," said they, "against our enemies, and have no suspicion of ill success, trusting in God to conduct us, and following those that are to be our leaders." Thus did these two exhort them, and endeavor to pacify the rage they were in. But Moses and Aaron fell on the ground, and besought God, not for their own deliverance, but that he would put a stop to what the people were unwarily doing, and would bring their minds to a quiet temper, which were now disordered by their present passion. The cloud also did now appear, and stood over the tabernacle, and declared to them the presence of God to be there.

CHAPTER 15. How Moses Was Displeased At This, And Foretold That God Was Angry And That They Should Continue In The Wilderness For Forty Years And Not, During That Time, Either Return Into Egypt Or Take Possession Of Canaan.

1. Moses came now boldly to the multitude, and informed them that God was moved at their abuse of him, and would inflict punishment upon them, not indeed such as they deserved for their sins, but such as parents inflict on their children, in order to their correction. For, he said, that when he was in the tabernacle, and was bewailing with ears that destruction which was coming upon them God put him in mind what things he had done for them, and what benefits they had received from him, and yet how ungrateful they had been to him that just now they had been induced, through the timorousness of the spies, to think that their words were truer than his own promise to them; and that on this account, though he would not indeed destroy them all, nor utterly exterminate their nation, which he had honored more than any other part of mankind, yet he would not permit them to take possession of the land of Canaan, nor enjoy its happiness; but would make them wander in the wilderness, and live without a fixed habitation, and without a city, for forty years together, as a punishment for this their transgression; but that he had promised to give that land to our children, and that he would make them the possessors of those good things which, by your ungoverned passions, you have deprived yourselves of.

2. When Moses had discoursed thus to them according to the direction of God, the multitude, grieved, and were in affliction; and entreated Most to procure their reconciliation to God, and to permit them no longer to wander in the wilderness, but bestow cities upon them. But he replied, that God would not admit of any such trial, for that God was not moved to this determination from any human levity or anger, but that he had judicially condemned them to that punishment. Now we are not to disbelieve that Moses, who was but a single person, pacified so many ten thousands when they were in anger, and converted them to a mildness temper; for God was with him, and prepared way to his persuasions of the multitude; and as they had often been disobedient, they were now sensible that such disobedience was disadvantageous to them and that they had still thereby fallen into calamities.

3. But this man was admirable for his virtue, and powerful in making men give credit to what he delivered, not only during the time of his natural life, but even there is still no one of the Hebrews who does not act even now as if Moses were present, and ready to punish him if he should do any thing that is indecent; nay, there is no one but is obedient to what laws he ordained, although they might be concealed in their transgressions. There are also many other demonstrations that his power was more than human, for still some there have been, who have come from the parts beyond Euphrates, a journey of four months, through many dangers, and at great expenses, in honor of our temple; and yet, when they had offered their oblations, could not partake of their own sacrifices, because Moses had forbidden it, by somewhat in the law that did not permit them, or somewhat that had befallen them, which our ancient customs made inconsistent therewith; some of these did not sacrifice at all, and others left their sacrifices in an imperfect condition; many were not able, even at first, so much as to enter the temple, but went their ways in this as preferring a submission to the laws of Moses before the fulfilling of their own inclinations, they had no fear upon them that anybody could convict them, but only out of a reverence to their own conscience. Thus this legislation, which appeared to be divine, made this man to be esteemed as one superior to his own nature. Nay, further, a little before the beginning of this war, when Claudius was emperor of the Romans, and Ismael was our high priest, and when so great a famine was come upon us, that one tenth deal [of wheat] was sold for four drachmae, and when no less than seventy cori of flour were brought into the temple, at the feast of unleavened bread, [these cori are thirty-one Sicilian, but forty-one Athenian medimni,] not one of the priests was so hardy as to eat one crumb of it, even while so great a distress was upon the land; and this out of a dread of the law, and of that wrath which God retains against acts of wickedness, even when no one can accuse the actors. Whence we are not to wonder at what was then done, while to this very day the writings left by Moses have so great a force, that even those that hate us do confess, that he who established this settlement was God, and that it was by the means of Moses, and of his virtue; but as to these matters, let every one take them as he thinks fit.

BOOK IV. Containing The Interval Of Thirty-Eight Years. — From The Rejection Of That Generation To The Death Of Moses.

CHAPTER 1. Fight Of The Hebrews With The Canaanites Without The Consent Of Moses; And Their Defeat.

1. Now this life of the Hebrews in the wilderness was so disagreeable and troublesome to them, and they were so uneasy at it, that although God had forbidden them to meddle with the Canaanites, yet could they not be persuaded to be obedient to the words of Moses, and to be quiet; but supposing they should be able to beat their enemies, without his approbation, they accused him, and suspected that he made it his business to keep in a distressed condition, that they might always stand in need of his assistance. Accordingly they resolved to fight with the Canaanites, and said that God gave them his assistance, not out of regard to Moses's intercessions, but because he took care of their entire nation, on account of their forefathers, whose affairs he took under his own conduct; as also, that it was on account of their own virtue that he had formerly procured them their liberty, and would be assisting to them, now they were willing to take pains for it. They also said that they were possessed of abilities sufficient for the conquest of their enemies, although Moses should have a mind to alienate God from them; that, however, it was for their advantage to be their own masters, and not so far to rejoice in their deliverance from the indignities they endured under the Egyptians, as to bear the tyranny of Moses over them, and to suffer themselves to be deluded, and live according to his pleasure, as though God did only foretell what concerns us out of his kindness to him, as if they were not all the posterity of Abraham; that God made him alone the author of all the knowledge we have, and we must still learn it from him; that it would be a piece of prudence to oppose his arrogant pretenses, and to put their confidence in God, and to resolve to take possession of that land which he had promised them, and not to give ear to him, who on this account, and under the pretense of Divine authority, forbade them so to do. Considering, therefore, the distressed state they were in at present, and that in those desert places they were still to expect things would be worse with them, they resolved to fight with the Canaanites, as submitting only to God, their supreme Commander, and not waiting for any assistance from their legislator.

2. When, therefore, they had come to this resolution, as being best for them, they went against their enemies; but those enemies were not dismayed either at the attack itself, or at the great multitude that made it, and received them with great courage. Many of the Hebrews were slain; and the remainder of the army,

upon the disorder of their troops, were pursued, and fled, after a shameful manner, to their camp. Whereupon this unexpected misfortune made them quite despond; and they hoped for nothing that was good; as gathering from it, that this affliction came from the wrath of God, because they rashly went out to war without his approbation.

3. But when Moses saw how deeply they were affected with this defeat, and being afraid lest the enemies should grow insolent upon this victory, and should be desirous of gaining still greater glory, and should attack them, he resolved that it was proper to withdraw the army into the wilderness to a further distance from the Canaanites: so the multitude gave themselves up again to his conduct, for they were sensible that, without his care for them, their affairs could not be in a good condition; and he caused the host to remove, and he went further into the wilderness, as intending there to let them rest, and not to permit them to fight the Canaanites before God should afford them a more favorable opportunity.

CHAPTER 2. The Sedition Of Corah And Of The Multitude Against Moses, And Against His Brother, Concerning The Priesthood.

1. That which is usually the case of great armies, and especially upon ill success, to be hard to be pleased, and governed with difficulty, did now befall the Jews; for they being in number six hundred thousand, and by reason of their great multitude not readily subject to their governors, even in prosperity, they at this time were more than usually angry, both against one another and against their leader, because of the distress they were in, and the calamities they then endured. Such a sedition overtook them, as we have not the like example either among the Greeks or the Barbarians, by which they were in danger of being all destroyed, but were notwithstanding saved by Moses, who would not remember that he had been almost stoned to death by them. Nor did God neglect to prevent their ruin; but, notwithstanding the indignities they had offered their legislator and the laws, and disobedience to the commandments which he had sent them by Moses, he delivered them from those terrible calamities which, without his providential care, had been brought upon them by this sedition. So I will first explain the cause whence this sedition arose, and then will give an account of the sedition itself; as also of what settlements made for their government after it was over.

2. Corah, a Hebrew of principal account, both by his family and by his wealth, one that was also able to speak well, and one that could easily persuade the people by his speeches, saw that Moses was in an exceeding great dignity, and was at it, and envied him on that account, [he of the same tribe with Moses, and of kin to him,] was particularly grieved, because he thought he better deserved that honorable post on account of great riches, and not inferior to him in his birth. So he raised a clamor against him among the Levites, who were of the same tribe, and among his kindred, saying, “That it was a very sad thing that they should overlook Moses, while hunted after and paved the way to glory for himself, and by ill arts should obtain it, under the pretense of God’s command, while, contrary to laws, he had given the priesthood to Aaron, the common suffrage of the multitude, but by his own vote, as bestowing dignities in a way on whom he pleased.” He added, “That this concealed way of imposing on them was harder to be borne than if it had been done by an open force upon them, because he did now not only their power without their consent, but even they were unapprised of his contrivances against them; for whosoever is conscious to himself that he deserves any dignity, aims to get it by persuasion, and not by an

arrogant method of violence; those that believe it impossible to obtain honors justly, make a show of goodness, and do not introduce force, but by cunning tricks grow wickedly powerful. That it was proper for the multitude to punish such men, even while they think themselves concealed in their designs, and not suffer them to gain strength till they have them for their open enemies. For what account," added he, "is Moses able to give, why he has bestowed the priesthood on Aaron and his sons? for if God had determined to bestow that honor on one of the tribe of Levi, I am more worthy of it than he is; I myself being equal to Moses by my family, and superior to him both in riches and in age: but if God had determined to bestow it on the eldest be, that of Reuben might have it most justly; and then Dathan, and Abiram, and [On, the son of] Peleth, would have it; for these are the oldest men of that tribe, and potent on account of their great wealth also."

3. Now Corah, when he said this, had a mind to appear to take care of the public welfare, but in reality he was endeavoring to procure to have that dignity transferred by the multitude to himself. Thus did he, out of a malignant design, but with plausible words, discourse to those of his own tribe; when these words did gradually spread to more people, and when the hearers still added to what tended to the scandals that were cast upon Aaron, the whole army was full of them. Now of those that conspired with Corah, there were two hundred and fifty, and those of the principal men also, who were eager to have the priesthood taken away from Moses's brother, and to bring him into disgrace: nay, the multitude themselves were provoked to be seditious, and attempted to stone Moses, and gathered themselves together after an indecent manner, with confusion and disorder. And now all were, in a tumultuous manner, raising a clamour before the tabernacle of God, to prosecute the tyrant, and to relieve the multitude from their slavery under him who, under color of the Divine laid violent injunctions upon them; for had it been God who chose one that was to perform the office of a priest, he would have raised person to that dignity, and would not produced such a one as was inferior to many others nor have given him that office; and that in he had judged it fit to bestow it on Aaron, he would have permitted it to the multitude to bestow it, and not have left it to be bestowed by his own brother.

4. Now although Moses had a great while ago foreseen this calumny of Corah, and had seen the people were irritated, yet was he not affrighted at it; but being of good courage, because given them right advice about their affairs, and knowing that his brother had been made partaker of the priesthood at the command of God, and not by his own favor to him, he came to the assembly; and as for the multitude, he said not a word to them, but spake as loud to Corah as he could; and being very skillful in making speeches, and having this natural

talent, among others, that he could greatly move the multitude with his discourses, he said, “O Corah, both thou and all these with thee [pointing to the two hundred and fifty men] seem to be worthy of this honor; nor do I pretend but that this whole company may be worthy of the like dignity, although they may not be so rich or so great as you are: nor have I taken and given this office to my brother because he excelled others in riches, for thou exceedest us both in the greatness of thy wealth; nor indeed because he was of an eminent family, for God, by giving us the same common ancestor, has made our families equal: nay, nor was it out of brotherly affection, which another might yet have justly done; for certainly, unless I had bestowed this honor out of regard to God, and to his laws, I had not passed by myself, and given it to another, as being nearer of kin to myself than to my brother, and having a closer intimacy with myself than I have with him; for surely it would not be a wise thing for me to expose myself to the dangers of offending, and to bestow the happy employment on this account upon another. But I am above such base practices: nor would God have overlooked this matter, and seen himself thus despised; nor would he have suffered you to be ignorant of what you were to do, in order to please him; but he hath himself chosen one that is to perform that sacred office to him, and thereby freed us from that care. So that it was not a thing that I pretend to give, but only according to the determination of God; I therefore propose it still to be contended for by such as please to put in for it, only desiring that he who has been already preferred, and has already obtained it, may be allowed now also to offer himself for a candidate. He prefers your peace, and your living without sedition, to this honorable employment, although in truth it was with your approbation that he obtained it; for though God were the donor, yet do we not offend when we think fit to accept it with your good-will; yet would it have been an instance of impiety not to have taken that honorable employment when he offered it; nay, it had been exceedingly unreasonable, when God had thought fit any one should have it for all time to come, and had made it secure and firm to him, to have refused it. However, he himself will judge again who it shall be whom he would have to offer sacrifices to him, and to have the direction of matters of religion; for it is absurd that Corah, who is ambitious of this honor, should deprive God of the power of giving it to whom he pleases. Put an end, therefore, to your sedition and disturbance on this account; and tomorrow morning do every one of you that desire the priesthood bring a censer from home, and come hither with incense and fire: and do thou, O Corah, leave the judgment to God, and await to see on which side he will give his determination upon this occasion, but do not thou make thyself greater than God. Do thou also come, that this contest about this honorable employment may receive

determination. And I suppose we may admit Aaron without offense, to offer himself to this scrutiny, since he is of the same lineage with thyself, and has done nothing in his priesthood that can be liable to exception. Come ye therefore together, and offer your incense in public before all the people; and when you offer it, he whose sacrifice God shall accept shall be ordained to the priesthood, and shall be clear of the present calumny on Aaron, as if I had granted him that favor because he was my brother."

CHAPTER 3. How Those That Stirred Up This Sedition Were Destroyed, According To The Will Of God; And How Aaron, Moses's Brother Both He And His Posterity, Retained The Priesthood.

1. When Moses had said this, the multitude left off the turbulent behavior they had indulged, and the suspicion they had of Moses, and commended what he had said; for those proposals were good, and were so esteemed of the people. At that time therefore they dissolved the assembly. But on the next day they came to the congregation, in order to be present at the sacrifice, and at the determination that was to be made between the candidates for the priesthood. Now this congregation proved a turbulent one, and the multitude were in great suspense in expectation of what was to be done; for some of them would have been pleased if Moses had been convicted of evil practices, but the wiser sort desired that they might be delivered from the present disorder and disturbance; for they were afraid, that if this sedition went on, the good order of their settlement would rather be destroyed; but the whole body of the people do naturally delight in clamors against their governors, and, by changing their opinions upon the harangues of every speaker, disturb the public tranquillity. And now Moses sent messengers for Abiram and Dathan, and ordered them to come to the assembly, and wait there for the holy offices that were to be performed. But they answered the messenger, that they would not obey his summons; nay, would not overlook Moses's behavior, who was growing too great for them by evil practices. Now when Moses heard of this their answer, he desired the heads of the people to follow him, and he went to the faction of Dathan, not thinking it any frightful thing at all to go to these insolent people; so they made no opposition, but went along with him. But Dathan, and his associates, when they understood that Moses and the principal of the people were coming to them, came out, with their wives and children, and stood before their tents, and looked to see what Moses would do. They had also their servants about them to defend themselves, in case Moses should use force against them.

2. But he came near, and lifted up his hands to heaven, and cried out with a loud voice, in order to be heard by the whole multitude, and said, "O Lord of the creatures that are in the heaven, in the earth, and in the sea; for thou art the most authentic witness to what I have done, that it has all been done by thy appointment, and that it was thou that affordedst us assistance when we

attempted any thing, and showedst mercy on the Hebrews in all their distresses; do thou come now, and hear all that I say, for no action or thought escapes thy knowledge; so that thou wilt not disdain to speak what is true, for my vindication, without any regard to the ungrateful imputations of these men. As for what was done before I was born, thou knowest best, as not learning them by report, but seeing them, and being present with them when they were done; but for what has been done of late, and which these men, although they know them well enough, unjustly pretend to suspect, be thou my witness. When I lived a private quiet life, I left those good things which, by my own diligence, and by thy counsel, I enjoyed with Raguel my father-in-law; and I gave myself up to this people, and underwent many miseries on their account. I also bore great labors at first, in order to obtain liberty for them, and now in order to their preservation; and have always showed myself ready to assist them in every distress of theirs. Now, therefore, since I am suspected by those very men whose being is owing to my labors, come thou, as it is reasonable to hope thou wilt; thou, I say, who showedst me that fire at mount Sinai, and madest me to hear its voice, and to see the several wonders which that place afforded thou who commandedst me to go to Egypt, and declare thy will to this people; thou who disturbest the happy estate of the Egyptians, and gavest us the opportunity of flying away from our under them, and madest the dominion of Pharaoh inferior to my dominion; thou who didst make the sea dry land for us, when we knew not whither to go, and didst overwhelm the Egyptians with those destructive waves which had been divided for us; thou who didst bestow upon us the security of weapons when we were naked; thou who didst make the fountains that were corrupted to flow, so as to be fit for drinking, and didst furnish us with water that came out of the rocks, when we were in want of it; thou who didst preserve our lives with [quails, which was] food from the sea, when the fruits of the ground failed us; thou didst send us such food from heaven as had never been seen before; thou who didst suggest to us the knowledge of thy laws, and appoint to us a of government, — come thou, I say, O Lord of the whole world, and that as such a Judge and a Witness to me as cannot be bribed, and show how I never admitted of any gift against justice from any of the Hebrews; and have never condemned a man that ought to have been acquitted, on account of one that was rich; and have never attempted to hurt this commonwealth. I am now and am suspected of a thing the remotest from my intentions, as if I had given the preisthood to Aaron, not at thy command, but out own favor to him; do thou at this time demonstrate that all things are administered by thy providence and that nothing happens by chance, but is governed by thy will, and thereby attains its end: as also demonstrate that thou takest care that have done good to the

Hebrews; demonstrate this, I say, by the punishment of Abiram and Dathan, who condemn thee as an insensible Being, and one overcome by my contrivances. This thou do by inflicting such an open punishment on these men who so madly fly in the face of thy glory, as will take them out of the world, not in an manner, but so that it may appear they do die after the manner of other men: let that ground which they tread upon open about them and consume them, with their families and goods. This will be a demonstration of thy power to all and this method of their sufferings will be an instruction of wisdom for those that entertain profane sentiments of thee. By this means I shall be a good servant, in the precepts thou hast given by me. But if the calumnies they have raised against me be true, mayst thou preserve these men from every evil accident, and bring all that destruction on me which I have imprecated upon them. And when thou hast inflicted punishment on those that have endeavored to deal unjustly with this people, bestow upon them concord and peace. Save this multitude that follow thy commandments, and preserve them free from harm, and let them not partake of the punishment of those that have sinned; for thou knowest thyself it is not just, that for the wickedness of those men the whole body of the Israelites should suffer punishment."

3. When Moses had said this, with tears in his eyes, the ground was moved on a sudden; and the agitation that set it in motion was like that which the wind produces in waves of the sea. The people were all aftrighted; and the ground that was about their tents sunk down at the great noise, with a terrible sound, and carried whatsoever was dear to the seditious into itself, who so entirely perished, that there was not the least appearance that any man had ever been seen there, the earth that had opened itself about them, closing again, and becoming entire as it was before, insomuch that such as saw it afterward did not perceive that any such accident had happened to it. Thus did these men perish, and become a demonstration of the power of God. And truly, any one would lament them, not only on account of this calamity that befell them, which yet deserves our commiseration, but also because their kindred were pleased with their sufferings; for they forgot the relation they bare to them, and at the sight of this sad accident approved of the judgment given against them; and because they looked upon the people about Dathan as pestilent men, they thought they perished as such, and did not grieve for them.

4. And now Moses called for those that contended about the priesthood, that trial might be made who should be priest, and that he whose sacrifice God was best pleased with might be ordained to that function. There attended two hundred and fifty men, who indeed were honored by the people, not only on account of the power of their ancestors, but also on account of their own, in

which they excelled the others: Aaron also and Corah came forth, and they all offered incense, in those censers of theirs which they brought with them, before the tabernacle. Hereupon so great a fire shone out as no one ever saw in any that is made by the hand of man, neither in those eruptions out of the earth that are caused by subterraneous burn-rags, nor in such fires as arise of their own accord in the woods, when the agitation is caused by the trees rubbing one against another: but this fire was very bright, and had a terrible flame, such as is kindled at the command of God; by whose irruption on them, all the company, and Corah himself, were destroyed, and this so entirely, that their very bodies left no remains behind them. Aaron alone was preserved, and not at all hurt by the fire, because it was God that sent the fire to burn those only who ought to be burned. Hereupon Moses, after these men were destroyed, was desirous that the memory of this judgment might be delivered down to posterity, and that future ages might be acquainted with it; and so he commanded Eleazar, the son of Aaron, to put their censers near the brazen altar, that they might be a memorial to posterity of what these men suffered, for supposing that the power of God might be eluded. And thus Aaron was now no longer esteemed to have the priesthood by the favor of Moses, but by the public judgment of God; and thus he and his children peaceably enjoyed that honor afterward.

CHAPTER 4. What Happened To The Hebrews During Thirty-Eight Years In The Wilderness.

1. However, this sedition was so far from ceasing upon this destruction, that it grew much stronger, and became more intolerable. And the occasion of its growing worse was of that nature, as made it likely the calamity would never cease, but last for a long time; for the men, believing already that nothing is done without the providence of God, would have it that these things came thus to pass not without God's favor to Moses; they therefore laid the blame upon him that God was so angry, and that this happened not so much because of the wickedness of those that were punished, as because Moses procured the punishment; and that these men had been destroyed without any sin of theirs, only because they were zealous about the Divine worship; as also, that he who had been the cause of this diminution of the people, by destroying so many men, and those the most excellent of them all, besides his escaping any punishment himself, had now given the priesthood to his brother so firmly, that nobody could any longer dispute it with him; for no one else, to be sure, could now put in for it, since he must have seen those that first did so to have miserably perished. Nay, besides this, the kindred of those that were destroyed made great entreaties to the multitude to abate the arrogance of Moses, because it would be safest for them so to do.

2. Now Moses, upon his hearing for a good while that the people were tumultuous, was afraid that they would attempt some other innovation, and that some great and sad calamity would be the consequence. He called the multitude to a congregation, and patiently heard what apology they had to make for themselves, without opposing them, and this lest he should imbitter the multitude: he only desired the heads of the tribes to bring their rods, with the names of their tribes inscribed upon them, and that he should receive the priesthood in whose rod God should give a sign. This was agreed to. So the rest brought their rods, as did Aaron also, who had written the tribe of Levi on his rod. These rods Moses laid up in the tabernacle of God. On the next day he brought out the rods, which were known from one another by those who brought them, they having distinctly noted them, as had the multitude also; and as to the rest, in the same form Moses had received them, in that they saw them still; but they also saw buds and branches grown out of Aaron's rod, with ripe fruits upon them; they were almonds, the rod having been cut out of that tree. The people were so amazed at this strange sight, that though Moses and Aaron were before

under some degree of hatred, they now laid that hatred aside, and began to admire the judgment of God concerning them; so that hereafter they applauded what God had decreed, and permitted Aaron to enjoy the priesthood peaceably. And thus God ordained him priest three several times, and he retained that honor without further disturbance. And hereby this sedition of the Hebrews, which had been a great one, and had lasted a great while, was at last composed.

3. And now Moses, because the tribe of Levi was made free from war and warlike expeditions, and was set apart for the Divine worship, lest they should want and seek after the necessaries of life, and so neglect the temple, commanded the Hebrews, according to the will of God, that when they should gain the possession of the land of Canaan, they should assign forty-eight good and fair cities to the Levites; and permit them to enjoy their suburbs, as far as the limit of two thousand cubits would extend from the walls of the city. And besides this, he appointed that the people should pay the tithe of their annual fruits of the earth, both to the Levites and to the priests. And this is what that tribe receives of the multitude; but I think it necessary to set down what is paid by all, peculiarly to the priests.

4. Accordingly he commanded the Levites to yield up to the priests thirteen of their forty-eight cities, and to set apart for them the tenth part of the tithes which they every year receive of the people; as also, that it was but just to offer to God the first-fruits of the entire product of the ground; and that they should offer the first-born of those four-footed beasts that are appointed for sacrifices, if it be a male, to the priests, to be slain, that they and their entire families may eat them in the holy city; but that the owners of those first-born which are not appointed for sacrifices in the laws of our country, should bring a shekel and a half in their stead: but for the first-born of a man, five shekels: that they should also have the first-fruits out of the shearing of the sheep; and that when any baked bread corn, and made loaves of it, they should give somewhat of what they had baked to them. Moreover, when any have made a sacred vow, I mean those that are called Nazarites, that suffer their hair to grow long, and use no wine, when they consecrate their hair, and offer it for a sacrifice, they are to allot that hair for the priests [to be thrown into the fire]. Such also as dedicate themselves to God, as a corban, which denotes what the Greeks call a gift, when they are desirous of being freed from that ministration, are to lay down money for the priests; thirty shekels if it be a woman, and fifty if it be a man; but if any be too poor to pay the appointed sum, it shall be lawful for the priests to determine that sum as they think fit. And if any slay beasts at home for a private festival, but not for a religious one, they are obliged to bring the maw and the cheek, [or breast,] and the right shoulder of the sacrifice, to the priests. With these Moses contrived that

the priests should be plentifully maintained, besides what they had out of those offerings for sins which the people gave them, as I have set it down in the foregoing book. He also ordered, that out of every thing allotted for the priests, their servants, [their sons,] their daughters, and their wives, should partake, as well as themselves, excepting what came to them out of the sacrifices that were offered for sins; for of those none but the males of the family of the priests might eat, and this in the temple also, and that the same day they were offered.

5. When Moses had made these constitutions, after the sedition was over, he removed, together with the whole army, and came to the borders of Idumea. He then sent ambassadors to the king of the Idumeans, and desired him to give him a passage through his country; and agreed to send him what hostages he should desire, to secure him from an injury. He desired him also, that he would allow his army liberty to buy provisions; and, if he insisted upon it, he would pay down a price for the very water they should drink. But the king was not pleased with this embassage from Moses: nor did he allow a passage for the army, but brought his people armed to meet Moses, and to hinder them, in case they should endeavor to force their passage. Upon which Moses consulted God by the oracle, who would not have him begin the war first; and so he withdrew his forces, and traveled round about through the wilderness.

6. Then it was that Miriam, the sister of Moses, came to her end, having completed her fortieth year since she left Egypt, on the first day of the lunar month Xanthicus. They then made a public funeral for her, at a great expense. She was buried upon a certain mountain, which they call Sin: and when they had mourned for her thirty days, Moses purified the people after this manner: He brought a heifer that had never been used to the plough or to husbandry, that was complete in all its parts, and entirely of a red color, at a little distance from the camp, into a place perfectly clean. This heifer was slain by the high priest, and her blood sprinkled with his finger seven times before the tabernacle of God; after this, the entire heifer was burnt in that state, together with its skin and entrails; and they threw cedar-wood, and hyssop, and scarlet wool, into the midst of the fire; then a clean man gathered all her ashes together, and laid them in a place perfectly clean. When therefore any persons were defiled by a dead body, they put a little of these ashes into spring water, with hyssop, and, dipping part of these ashes in it, they sprinkled them with it, both on the third day, and on the seventh, and after that they were clean. This he enjoined them to do also when the tribes should come into their own land.

7. Now when this purification, which their leader made upon the mourning for his sister, as it has been now described, was over, he caused the army to remove and to march through the wilderness and through Arabia; and when he

came to a place which the Arabians esteem their metropolis, which was formerly called Arce, but has now the name of Petra, at this place, which was encompassed with high mountains, Aaron went up one of them in the sight of the whole army, Moses having before told him that he was to die, for this place was over against them. He put off his pontifical garments, and delivered them to Eleazar his son, to whom the high priesthood belonged, because he was the elder brother; and died while the multitude looked upon him. He died in the same year wherein he lost his sister, having lived in all a hundred twenty and three years. He died on the first day of that lunar month which is called by the Athenians Hecatombaeon, by the Macedonians Lous, but by the Hebrews Abba.

CHAPTER 5. How Moses Conquered Sihon And Og Kings Of The Amorites, And Destroyed Their Whole Army And Then Divided Their Land By Lot To Two Tribes And A Half Of The Hebrews.

1. The people mourned for Aaron thirty days, and when this mourning was over, Moses removed the army from that place, and came to the river Arnon, which, issuing out of the mountains of Arabia, and running through all that wilderness, falls into the lake Asphaltitis, and becomes the limit between the land of the Moabites and the land of the Amorites. This land is fruitful, and sufficient to maintain a great number of men, with the good things it produces. Moses therefore sent messengers to Sihon, the king of this country, desiring that he would grant his army a passage, upon what security he should please to require; he promised that he should be no way injured, neither as to that country which Sihon governed, nor as to its inhabitants; and that he would buy his provisions at such a price as should be to their advantage, even though he should desire to sell them their very water. But Sihon refused his offer, and put his army into battle array, and was preparing every thing in order to hinder their passing over Arnon.

2. When Moses saw that the Amorite king was disposed to enter upon hostilities with them, he thought he ought not to bear that insult; and, determining to wean the Hebrews from their indolent temper, and prevent the disorders which arose thence, which had been the occasion of their former sedition, [nor indeed were they now thoroughly easy in their minds,] he inquired of God, whether he would give him leave to fight? which when he had done, and God also promised him the victory, he was himself very courageous, and ready to proceed to fighting. Accordingly he encouraged the soldiers; and he desired of them that they would take the pleasure of fighting, now God gave them leave so to do. They then, upon the receipt of this permission, which they so much longed for, put on their whole armor, and set about the work without delay. But the Amorite king was not now like to himself when the Hebrews were ready to attack him; but both he himself was affrighted at the Hebrews, and his army, which before had showed themselves to be of good courage, were then found to be timorous: so they could not sustain the first onset, nor bear up against the Hebrews, but fled away, as thinking this would afford them a more likely way for their escape than fighting, for they depended upon their cities, which were strong, from which yet they reaped no advantage when they were forced to fly to

them; for as soon as the Hebrews saw them giving ground, they immediately pursued them close; and when they had broken their ranks, they greatly terrified them, and some of them broke off from the rest, and ran away to the cities. Now the Hebrews pursued them briskly, and obstinately persevered in the labors they had already undergone; and being very skillful in slinging, and very dexterous in throwing of darts, or any thing else of that kind, and also having nothing but light armor, which made them quick in the pursuit, they overtook their enemies; and for those that were most remote, and could not be overtaken, they reached them by their slings and their bows, so that many were slain; and those that escaped the slaughter were sorely wounded, and these were more distressed with thirst than with any of those that fought against them, for it was the summer season; and when the greatest number of them were brought down to the river out of a desire to drink, as also when others fled away by troops, the Hebrews came round them, and shot at them; so that, what with darts and what with arrows, they made a slaughter of them all. Sihon their king was also slain. So the Hebrews spoiled the dead bodies, and took their prey. The land also which they took was full of abundance of fruits, and the army went all over it without fear, and fed their cattle upon it; and they took the enemies prisoners, for they could no way put a stop to them, since all the fighting men were destroyed. Such was the destruction which overtook the Amorites, who were neither sagacious in counsel, nor courageous in action. Hereupon the Hebrews took possession of their land, which is a country situate between three rivers, and naturally resembled an island: the river Arnon being its southern; the river Jabbok determining its northern side, which running into Jordan loses its own name, and takes the other; while Jordan itself runs along by it, on its western coast.

3. When matters were come to this state, Og, the king of Gilead and Gaulanitis, fell upon the Israelites. He brought an army with him, and in haste to the assistance of his friend Sihon: but though he found him already slain, yet did he resolve still to come and fight the Hebrews, supposing he should be too hard for them, and being desirous to try their valor; but failing of his hope, he was both himself slain in the battle, and all his army was destroyed. So Moses passed over the river Jabbok, and overran the kingdom of Og. He overthrew their cities, and slew all their inhabitants, who yet exceeded in riches all the men in that part of the continent, on account of the goodness of the soil, and the great quantity of their wealth. Now Og had very few equals, either in the largeness of his body, or handsomeness of his appearance. He was also a man of great activity in the use of his hands, so that his actions were not unequal to the vast largeness and handsome appearance of his body. And men could easily guess at his strength and magnitude when they took his bed at Rabbath, the royal city of the

Ammonites; its structure was of iron, its breadth four cubits, and its length a cubit more than double thereto. However, his fall did not only improve the circumstances of the Hebrews for the present, but by his death he was the occasion of further good success to them; for they presently took those sixty cities, which were encompassed with excellent walls, and had been subject to him, and all got both in general and in particular a great prey.

CHAPTER 6. Concerning Balaam The Prophet And What Kind Of Man He Was.

1. Now Moses, when he had brought his army to Jordan; pitched his camp in the great plain over against Jericho. This city is a very happy situation, and very fit for producing palm-trees and balsam. And now the Israelites began to be very proud of themselves, and were very eager for fighting. Moses then, after he had offered for a few days sacrifices of thanksgiving to God, and feasted the people, sent a party of armed men to lay waste the country of the Midianites, and to take their cities. Now the occasion which he took for making war upon them was this that follows: —

2. When Balak, the king of the Moabites, who had from his ancestors a friendship and league with the Midianites, saw how great the Israelites were grown, he was much affrighted on account of his own and his kingdom's danger; for he was not acquainted with this, that the Hebrews would not meddle with any other country, but were to be contented with the possession of the land of Canaan, God having forbidden them to go any farther So he, with more haste than wisdom, resolved to make an attempt upon them by words; but he did not judge it prudent to fight against them, after they had such prosperous successes, and even became out of ill successes more happy than before, but he thought to hinder them, if he could, from growing greater, and so he resolved to send ambassadors to the Midianites about them. Now these Midianites knowing there was one Balaam, who lived by Euphrates, and was the greatest of the prophets at that time, and one that was in friendship with them, sent some of their honorable princes along with the ambassadors of Balak, to entreat the prophet to come to them, that he might imprecate curses to the destruction of the Israelites. So Balsam received the ambassadors, and treated them very kindly; and when he had supped, he inquired what was God's will, and what this matter was for which the Midianites entreated him to come to them. But when God opposed his going, he came to the ambassadors, and told them that he was himself very willing and desirous to comply with their request, but informed them that God was opposite to his intentions, even that God who had raised him to great reputation on account of the truth of his predictions; for that this army, which they entreated him to come and curse, was in the favor of God; on which account he advised them to go home again, and not to persist in their enmity against the Israelites; and when he had given them that answer, he dismissed the ambassadors.

3. Now the Midianites, at the earnest request and fervent entreaties of Balak, sent other ambassadors to Balaam, who, desiring to gratify the men, inquired again of God; but he was displeased at [second] trial and bid him by no means to contradict the ambassadors. Now Balsam did not imagine that God gave this injunction in order to deceive him, so he went along with the ambassadors; but when the divine angel met him in the way, when he was in a narrow passage, and hedged in with a wall on both sides, the ass on which Balaam rode understood that it was a divine spirit that met him, and thrust Balaam to one of the walls, without regard to the stripes which Balaam, when he was hurt by the wall, gave her; but when the ass, upon the angel's continuing to distress her, and upon the stripes which were given her, fell down, by the will of God, she made use of the voice of a man, and complained of Balaam as acting unjustly to her; that whereas he had no fault find with her in her former service to him, he now inflicted stripes upon her, as not understanding that she was hindered from serving him in what he was now going about, by the providence of God. And when he was disturbed by reason of the voice of the ass, which was that of a man, the angel plainly appeared to him, and blamed him for the stripes he had given his ass; and informed him that the brute creature was not in fault, but that he was himself come to obstruct his journey, as being contrary to the will of God. Upon which Balaam was afraid, and was preparing to return back again: yet did God excite him to go on his intended journey, but added this injunction, that he should declare nothing but what he himself should suggest to his mind.

4. When God had given him this charge, he came to Balak; and when the king had entertained him in a magnificent manner, he desired him to go to one of the mountains to take a view of the state of the camp of the Hebrews. Balak himself also came to the mountain, and brought the prophet along with him, with a royal attendance. This mountain lay over their heads, and was distant sixty furlongs from the camp. Now when he saw them, he desired the king to build him seven altars, and to bring him as many bulls and rams; to which desire the king did presently conform. He then slew the sacrifices, and offered them as burnt-offerings, that he might observe some signal of the flight of the Hebrews. Then said he, "Happy is this people, on whom God bestows the possession of innumerable good things, and grants them his own providence to be their assistant and their guide; so that there is not any nation among mankind but you will be esteemed superior to them in virtue, and in the earnest prosecution of the best rules of life, and of such as are pure from wickedness, and will leave those rules to your excellent children; and this out of the regard that God bears to you, and the provision of such things for you as may render you happier than any other people under the sun. You shall retain that land to which he hath sent you,

and it shall ever be under the command of your children; and both all the earth, as well as the seas, shall be filled with your glory: and you shall be sufficiently numerous to supply the world in general, and every region of it in particular, with inhabitants out of your stock. However, O blessed army! wonder that you are become so many from one father: and truly, the land of Canaan can now hold you, as being yet comparatively few; but know ye that the whole world is proposed to be your place of habitation for ever. The multitude of your posterity also shall live as well in the islands as on the continent, and that more in number than are the stars of heaven. And when you are become so many, God will not relinquish the care of you, but will afford you an abundance of all good things in times of peace, with victory and dominion in times of war. May the children of your enemies have an inclination to fight against you; and may they be so hardy as to come to arms, and to assault you in battle, for they will not return with victory, nor will their return be agreeable to their children and wives. To so great a degree of valor will you be raised by the providence of God, who is able to diminish the affluence of some, and to supply the wants of others."

5. Thus did Balaam speak by inspiration, as not being in his own power, but moved to say what he did by the Divine Spirit. But then Balak was displeased, and said he had broken the contract he had made, whereby he was to come, as he and his confederates had invited him, by the promise of great presents: for whereas he came to curse their enemies, he had made an encomium upon them, and had declared that they were the happiest of men. To which Balaam replied, "O Balak, if thou rightly considerest this whole matter, canst thou suppose that it is in our power to be silent, or to say any thing, when the Spirit of God seizes upon us? — for he puts such words as he pleases in our mouths, and such discourses as we are not ourselves conscious of. I well remember by what entreaties both you and the Midianites so joyfully brought me hither, and on that account I took this journey. It was my prayer, that I might not put any affront upon you, as to what you desired of me; but God is more powerful than the purposes I had made to serve you; for those that take upon them to foretell the affairs of mankind, as from their own abilities, are entirely unable to do it, or to forbear to utter what God suggests to them, or to offer violence to his will; for when he prevents us and enters into us, nothing that we say is our own. I then did not intend to praise this army, nor to go over the several good things which God intended to do to their race; but since he was so favorable to them, and so ready to bestow upon them a happy life and eternal glory, he suggested the declaration of those things to me: but now, because it is my desire to oblige thee thyself, as well as the Midianites, whose entreaties it is not decent for me to reject, go to, let us again rear other altars, and offer the like sacrifices that we did

before, that I may see whether I can persuade God to permit me to bind these men with curses." Which, when Balak had agreed to, God would not, even upon second sacrifices, consent to his cursing the Israelites. Then fell Balaam upon his face, and foretold what calamities would befall the several kings of the nations, and the most eminent cities, some of which of old were not so much as inhabited; which events have come to pass among the several people concerned, both in the foregoing ages, and in this, till my own memory, both by sea and by land. From which completion of all these predictions that he made, one may easily guess that the rest will have their completion in time to come.

6. But Balak being very angry that the Israelites were not cursed, sent away Balaam without thinking him worthy of any honor. Whereupon, when he was just upon his journey, in order to pass the Euphrates, he sent for Balak, and for the princes of the Midianites, and spake thus to them:— "O Balak, and you Midianites that are here present, [for I am obliged even without the will of God to gratify you,] it is true no entire destruction can seize upon the nation of the Hebrews, neither by war, nor by plague, nor by scarcity of the fruits of the earth, nor can any other unexpected accident be their entire ruin; for the providence of God is concerned to preserve them from such a misfortune; nor will it permit any such calamity to come upon them whereby they may all perish; but some small misfortunes, and those for a short time, whereby they may appear to be brought low, may still befall them; but after that they will flourish again, to the terror of those that brought those mischiefs upon them. So that if you have a mind to gain a victory over them for a short space of time, you will obtain it by following my directions: — Do you therefore set out the handsomest of such of your daughters as are most eminent for beauty, and proper to force and conquer the modesty of those that behold them, and these decked and trimmed to the highest degree able. Then do you send them to be near camp, and give them in charge, that the young men of the Hebrews desire their allow it them; and when they see they are enamored of them, let them take leaves; and if they entreat them to stay, let give their consent till they have persuaded leave off their obedience to their own laws, the worship of that God who established them to worship the gods of the Midianites and for by this means God will be angry at them ." Accordingly, when Balaam had suggested counsel to them, he went his way.

7. So when the Midianites had sent their daughters, as Balaam had exhorted them, the Hebrew men were allured by their beauty, and came with them, and besought them not to grudge them the enjoyment of their beauty, nor to deny them their conversation. These daughters of Midianites received their words gladly, and consented to it, and staid with them; but when they brought them to be enamored of them, and their inclinations to them were grown to ripeness, they

began to think of departing from them: then it was that these men became greatly disconsolate at the women's departure, and they were urgent with them not to leave them, but begged they would continue there, and become their wives; and they promised them they should be owned as mistresses all they had. This they said with an oath, and called God for the arbitrator of what they promised; and this with tears in their eyes, and all such marks of concern, as might shew how miserable they thought themselves without them, and so might move their compassion for them. So the women, as soon as they perceived they had made their slaves, and had caught them with their conservation began to speak thus to them: —

8. "O you illustrious young men! we have of our own at home, and great plenty of good things there, together with the natural, affectionate parents and friends; nor is it out of our want of any such things that we came to discourse with you; nor did we admit of your invitation with design to prostitute the beauty of our bodies for gain; but taking you for brave and worthy men, we agreed to your request, that we might treat you with such honors as hospitality required: and now seeing you say that you have a great affection for us, and are troubled when you think we are departing, we are not averse to your entreaties; and if we may receive such assurance of your good-will as we think can be alone sufficient, we will be glad to lead our lives with you as your wives; but we are afraid that you will in time be weary of our company, and will then abuse us, and send us back to our parents, after an ignominious manner." And they desired that they would excuse them in their guarding against that danger. But the young men professed they would give them any assurance they should desire; nor did they at all contradict what they requested, so great was the passion they had for them. "If then," said they, "this be your resolution, since you make use of such customs and conduct of life as are entirely different from all other men, insomuch that your kinds of food are peculiar to yourselves, and your kinds of drink not common to others, it will be absolutely necessary, if you would have us for your wives, that you do withal worship our gods. Nor can there be any other demonstration of the kindness which you say you already have, and promise to have hereafter to us, than this, that you worship the same gods that we do. For has any one reason to complain, that now you are come into this country, you should worship the proper gods of the same country? especially while our gods are common to all men, and yours such as belong to nobody else but yourselves." So they said they must either come into such methods of divine worship as all others came into, or else they must look out for another world, wherein they may live by themselves, according to their own laws.

9. Now the young men were induced by the fondness they had for these women to think they spake very well; so they gave themselves up to what they persuaded them, and transgressed their own laws, and supposing there were many gods, and resolving that they would sacrifice to them according to the laws of that country which ordained them, they both were delighted with their strange food, and went on to do every thing that the women would have them do, though in contradiction to their own laws; so far indeed that this transgression was already gone through the whole army of the young men, and they fell into a sedition that was much worse than the former, and into danger of the entire abolition of their own institutions; for when once the youth had tasted of these strange customs, they went with insatiable inclinations into them; and even where some of the principal men were illustrious on account of the virtues of their fathers, they also were corrupted together with the rest.

10. Even Zimri, the head of the tribe of Simeon accompanied with Cozbi, a Midianitish women, who was the daughter of Sur, a man of authority in that country; and being desired by his wife to disregard the laws of Moses, and to follow those she was used to, he complied with her, and this both by sacrificing after a manner different from his own, and by taking a stranger to wife. When things were thus, Moses was afraid that matters should grow worse, and called the people to a congregation, but then accused nobody by name, as unwilling to drive those into despair who, by lying concealed, might come to repentance; but he said that they did not do what was either worthy of themselves, or of their fathers, by preferring pleasure to God, and to the living according to his will; that it was fit they should change their courses while their affairs were still in a good state, and think that to be true fortitude which offers not violence to their laws, but that which resists their lusts. And besides that, he said it was not a reasonable thing, when they had lived soberly in the wilderness, to act madly now when they were in prosperity; and that they ought not to lose, now they have abundance, what they had gained when they had little: — and so did he endeavor, by saying this, to correct the young inert, and to bring them to repentance for what they had done.

11. But Zimri arose up after him, and said, “Yes, indeed, Moses, thou art at liberty to make use of such laws as thou art so fond of, and hast, by accustoming thyself to them, made them firm; otherwise, if things had not been thus, thou hadst often been punished before now, and hadst known that the Hebrews are not easily put upon; but thou shalt not have me one of thy followers in thy tyrannical commands, for thou dost nothing else hitherto, but, under pretense of laws, and of God, wickedly impose on us slavery, and gain dominion to thyself, while thou deprivest us of the sweetness of life, which consists in acting according to our

own wills, and is the right of free-men, and of those that have no lord over them. Nay, indeed, this man is harder upon the Hebrews then were the Egyptians themselves, as pretending to punish, according to his laws, every one's acting what is most agreeable to himself; but thou thyself better deservest to suffer punishment, who presumest to abolish what every one acknowledges to be what is good for him, and aimest to make thy single opinion to have more force than that of all the rest; and what I now do, and think to be right, I shall not hereafter deny to be according to my own sentiments. I have married, as thou sayest rightly, a strange woman, and thou hearest what I do from myself as from one that is free, for truly I did not intend to conceal myself. I also own that I sacrificed to those gods to whom you do not think it fit to sacrifice; and I think it right to come at truth by inquiring of many people, and not like one that lives under tyranny, to suffer the whole hope of my life to depend upon one man; nor shall any one find cause to rejoice who declares himself to have more authority over my actions than myself."

12. Now when Zimri had said these things, about what he and some others had wickedly done, the people held their peace, both out of fear of what might come upon them, and because they saw that their legislator was not willing to bring his insolence before the public any further, or openly to contend with him; for he avoided that, lest many should imitate the impudence of his language, and thereby disturb the multitude. Upon this the assembly was dissolved. However, the mischievous attempt had proceeded further, if Zimri had not been first slain, which came to pass on the following occasion: — Phineas, a man in other respects better than the rest of the young men, and also one that surpassed his contemporaries in the dignity of his father, [for he was the son of Eleazar the high priest, and the grandson of [Aaron] Moses's brother,] who was greatly troubled at what was done by Zimri, he resolved in earnest to inflict punishment on him, before his unworthy behavior should grow stronger by impunity, and in order to prevent this transgression from proceeding further, which would happen if the ringleaders were not punished. He was of so great magnanimity, both in strength of mind and body, that when he undertook any very dangerous attempt, he did not leave it off till he overcame it, and got an entire victory. So he came into Zimri's tent, and slew him with his javelin, and with it he slew Cozbi also, Upon which all those young men that had a regard to virtue, and aimed to do a glorious action, imitated Phineas's boldness, and slew those that were found to be guilty of the same crime with Zimri. Accordingly many of those that had transgressed perished by the magnanimous valor of these young men; and the rest all perished by a plague, which distemper God himself inflicted upon them; so that all those their kindred, who, instead of hindering them from such wicked

actions, as they ought to have done, had persuaded them to go on, were esteemed by God as partners in their wickedness, and died. Accordingly there perished out of the army no fewer than fourteen [twenty-four] thousand at this time.

13. This was the cause why Moses was provoked to send an army to destroy the Midianites, concerning which expedition we shall speak presently, when we have first related what we have omitted; for it is but just not to pass over our legislator's due encomium, on account of his conduct here, because, although this Balaam, who was sent for by the Midianites to curse the Hebrews, and when he was hindered from doing it by Divine Providence, did still suggest that advice to them, by making use of which our enemies had well nigh corrupted the whole multitude of the Hebrews with their wiles, till some of them were deeply infected with their opinions; yet did he do him great honor, by setting down his prophecies in writing. And while it was in his power to claim this glory to himself, and make men believe they were his own predictions, there being no one that could be a witness against him, and accuse him for so doing, he still gave his attestation to him, and did him the honor to make mention of him on this account. But let every one think of these matters as he pleases.

CHAPTER 7. How The Hebrews Fought With The Midianites, And Overcame Them.

1. Now Moses sent an army against the land of Midian, for the causes forementioned, in all twelve thousand, taking an equal number out of every tribe, and appointed Phineas for their commander; of which Phineas we made mention a little before, as he that had guarded the laws of the Hebrews, and had inflicted punishment on Zimri when he had transgressed them. Now the Midianites perceived beforehand how the Hebrews were coming, and would suddenly be upon them: so they assembled their army together, and fortified the entrances into their country, and there awaited the enemy's coming. When they were come, and they had joined battle with them, an immense multitude of the Midianites fell; nor could they be numbered, they were so very many: and among them fell all their kings, five in number, *viz.* Evi, Zur, Reba, Hur, and Rekem, who was of the same name with a city, the chief and capital of all Arabia, which is still now so called by the whole Arabian nation, Arecem, from the name of the king that built it; but is by the Greeks called — Petra. Now when the enemies were discomfited, the Hebrews spoiled their country, and took a great prey, and destroyed the men that were its inhabitants, together with the women; only they let the virgins alone, as Moses had commanded Phineas to do, who indeed came back, bringing with him an army that had received no harm, and a great deal of prey; fifty-two thousand beeves, seventy-five thousand six hundred sheep, sixty thousand asses, with an immense quantity of gold and silver furniture, which the Midianites made use of in their houses; for they were so wealthy, that they were very luxurious. There were also led captive about thirty-two thousand virgins. So Moses parted the prey into parts, and gave one fiftieth part to Eleazar and the two priests, and another fiftieth part to the Levites; and distributed the rest of the prey among the people. After which they lived happily, as having obtained an abundance of good things by their valor, and there being no misfortune that attended them, or hindered their enjoyment of that happiness.

2. But Moses was now grown old, and appointed Joshua for his successor, both to receive directions from God as a prophet, and for a commander of the army, if they should at any time stand in need of such a one; and this was done by the command of God, that to him the care of the public should be committed. Now Joshua had been instructed in all those kinds of learning which concerned the laws and God himself, and Moses had been his instructor.

3. At this time it was that the two tribes of Gad and Reuben, and the half tribe of Manasseh, abounded in a multitude of cattle, as well as in all other kinds of prosperity; whence they had a meeting, and in a body came and besought Moses to give them, as their peculiar portion, that land of the Amorites which they had taken by right of war, because it was fruitful, and good for feeding of cattle; but Moses, supposing that they were afraid of fighting with the Canaanites, and invented this provision for their cattle as a handsome excuse for avoiding that war, he called them arrant cowards, and said they had only contrived a decent excuse for that cowardice; and that they had a mind to live in luxury and ease, while all the rest were laboring with great pains to obtain the land they were desirous to have; and that they were not willing to march along, and undergo the remaining hard service, whereby they were, under the Divine promise, to pass over Jordan, and overcome those our enemies which God had shown them, and so obtain their land. But these tribes, when they saw that Moses was angry with them, and when they could not deny but he had a just cause to be displeased at their petition, made an apology for themselves; and said, that it was not on account of their fear of dangers, nor on account of their laziness, that they made this request to him, but that they might leave the prey they had gotten in places of safety, and thereby might be more expedite, and ready to undergo difficulties, and to fight battles. They added this also, that when they had built cities, wherein they might preserve their children, and wives, and possessions, if he would bestow them upon them, they would go along with the rest of the army. Hereupon Moses was pleased with what they said; so he called for Eleazar the high priest, and Joshua, and the chief of the tribes, and permitted these tribes to possess the land of the Amorites; but upon this condition, that they should join with their kinsmen in the war until all things were settled. Upon which condition they took possession of the country, and built them strong cities, and put into them their children and their wives, and whatsoever else they had that might be an impediment to the labors of their future marches.

4. Moses also now built those ten cities which were to be of the number of the forty-eight [for the Levites;]; three of which he allotted to those that slew any person involuntarily, and fled to them; and he assigned the same time for their banishment with that of the life of that high priest under whom the slaughter and flight happened; after which death of the high priest he permitted the slayer to return home. During the time of his exile, the relations of him that was slain may, by this law, kill the manslayer, if they caught him without the bounds of the city to which he fled, though this permission was not granted to any other person. Now the cities which were set apart for this flight were these: Bezer, at the borders of Arabia; Ramoth, of the land of Gilead; and Golan, in the land of

Bashan. There were to be also, by Moses's command, three other cities allotted for the habitation of these fugitives out of the cities of the Levites, but not till after they should be in possession of the land of Canaan.

5. At this time the chief men of the tribe of Manasseh came to Moses, and informed him that there was an eminent man of their tribe dead, whose name was Zelophehad, who left no male children, but left daughters; and asked him whether these daughters might inherit his land or not. He made this answer, That if they shall marry into their own tribe, they shall carry their estate along with them; but if they dispose of themselves in marriage to men of another tribe, they shall leave their inheritance in their father's tribe. And then it was that Moses ordained, that every one's inheritance should continue in his own tribe.

CHAPTER 8. The Polity Settled By Moses; And How He Disappeared From Among Mankind.

1. When forty years were completed, within thirty days, Moses gathered the congregation together near Jordan, where the city Abila now stands, a place full of palm-trees; and all the people being come together, he spake thus to them: —

2. “O you Israelites and fellow soldiers, who have been partners with me in this long and uneasy journey; since it is now the will of God, and the course of old age, at a hundred and twenty, requires it that I should depart out of this life; and since God has forbidden me to be a patron or an assistant to you in what remains to be done beyond Jordan; I thought it reasonable not to leave off my endeavors even now for your happiness, but to do my utmost to procure for you the eternal enjoyment of good things, and a memorial for myself, when you shall be in the fruition of great plenty and prosperity. Come, therefore, let me suggest to you by what means you may be happy, and may leave an eternal prosperous possession thereof to your children after you, and then let me thus go out of the world; and I cannot but deserve to be believed by you, both on account of the great things I have already done for you, and because, when souls are about to leave the body, they speak with the sincerest freedom. O children of Israel! there is but one source of happiness for all mankind, the favor of God for he alone is able to give good things to those that deserve them, and to deprive those of them that sin against him; towards whom, if you behave yourselves according to his will, and according to what I, who well understand his mind, do exhort you to, you will both be esteemed blessed, and will be admired by all men; and will never come into misfortunes, nor cease to be happy: you will then preserve the possession of the good things you already have, and will quickly obtain those that you are at present in want of, — only do you be obedient to those whom God would have you to follow. Nor do you prefer any other constitution of government before the laws now given you; neither do you disregard that way of Divine worship which you now have, nor change it for any other form: and if you do this, you will be the most courageous of all men, in undergoing the fatigues of war, and will not be easily conquered by any of your enemies; for while God is present with you to assist you, it is to be expected that you will be able to despise the opposition of all mankind; and great rewards of virtue are proposed for you, if you preserve that virtue through your whole lives. Virtue itself is indeed the principal and the first reward, and after that it bestows abundance of others; so that your exercise of virtue towards other men will make

your own lives happy, and render you more glorious than foreigners can be, and procure you an undisputed reputation with posterity. These blessings you will be able to obtain, in case you hearken to and observe those laws which, by Divine revelation, I have ordained for you; that is, in case you withal meditate upon the wisdom that is in them. I am going from you myself, rejoicing in the good things you enjoy; and I recommend you to the wise conduct of your law, to the becoming order of your polity, and to the virtues of your commanders, who will take care of what is for your advantage. And that God, who has been till now your Leader, and by whose goodwill I have myself been useful to you, will not put a period now to his providence over you, but as long as you desire to have him your Protector in your pursuits after virtue, so long will you enjoy his care over you. Your high priest also Eleazar, as well as Joshua, with the senate, and chief of your tribes, will go before you, and suggest the best advices to you; by following which advices you will continue to be happy: to whom do you give ear without reluctance, as sensible that all such as know well how to be governed, will also know how to govern, if they be promoted to that authority themselves. And do not you esteem liberty to consist in opposing such directions as your governors think fit to give you for your practice, — as at present indeed you place your liberty in nothing else but abusing your benefactors; which error if you can avoid for the time to come, your affairs will be in a better condition than they have hitherto been. Nor do you ever indulge such a degree of passion in these matters, as you have oftentimes done when you have been very angry at me; for you know that I have been oftener in danger of death from you than from our enemies. What I now put you in mind of, is not done in order to reproach you; for I do not think it proper, now I am going out of the world, to bring this to your remembrance, in order to leave you offended at me, since, at the time when I underwent those hardships from you, I was not angry at you; but I do it in order to make you wiser hereafter, and to teach you that this will be for your security; I mean, that you never be injurious to those that preside over you, even when you are become rich, as you will be to a great degree when you have passed over Jordan, and are in possession of the land of Canaan. Since, when you shall have once proceeded so far by your wealth, as to a contempt and disregard of virtue, you will also forfeit the favor of God; and when you have made him your enemy, you will be beaten in war, and will have the land which you possess taken away again from you by your enemies, and this with great reproaches upon your conduct. You will be scattered over the whole world, and will, as slaves, entirely fill both sea and land; and when once you have had the experience of what I now say, you will repent, and remember the laws you have broken, when it is too late. Whence I would advise you, if you intend to preserve these laws, to

leave none of your enemies alive when you have conquered them, but to look upon it as for your advantage to destroy them all, lest, if you permit them to live, you taste of their manners, and thereby corrupt your own proper institutions. I also do further exhort you, to overthrow their altars, and their groves, and whatsoever temples they have among them, and to burn all such, their nation, and their very memory with fire; for by this means alone the safety of your own happy constitution can be firmly secured to you. And in order to prevent your ignorance of virtue, and the degeneracy of your nature into vice, I have also ordained you laws, by Divine suggestion, and a form of government, which are so good, that if you regularly observe them, you will be esteemed of all men the most happy."

3. When he had spoken thus, he gave them the laws and the constitution of government written in a book. Upon which the people fell into tears, and appeared already touched with the sense that they should have a great want of their conductor, because they remembered what a number of dangers he had passed through, and what care he had taken of their preservation: they desponded about what would come upon them after he was dead, and thought they should never have another governor like him; and feared that God would then take less care of them when Moses was gone, who used to intercede for them. They also repented of what they had said to him in the wilderness when they were angry, and were in grief on those accounts, insomuch that the whole body of the people fell into tears with such bitterness, that it was past the power of words to comfort them in their affliction. However, Moses gave them some consolation; and by calling them off the thought how worthy he was of their weeping for him, he exhorted them to keep to that form of government he had given them; and then the congregation was dissolved at that time.

4. Accordingly, I shall now first describe this form of government which was agreeable to the dignity and virtue of Moses; and shall thereby inform those that read these Antiquities, what our original settlements were, and shall then proceed to the remaining histories. Now those settlements are all still in writing, as he left them; and we shall add nothing by way of ornament, nor any thing besides what Moses left us; only we shall so far innovate, as to digest the several kinds of laws into a regular system; for they were by him left in writing as they were accidentally scattered in their delivery, and as he upon inquiry had learned them of God. On which account I have thought it necessary to premise this observation beforehand, lest any of my own countrymen should blame me, as having been guilty of an offense herein. Now part of our constitution will include the laws that belong to our political state. As for those laws which Moses left concerning our common conversation and intercourse one with another, I

have reserved that for a discourse concerning our manner of life, and the occasions of those laws; which I propose to myself, with God's assistance, to write, after I have finished the work I am now upon.

5. When you have possessed yourselves of the land of Canaan, and have leisure to enjoy the good things of it, and when you have afterward determined to build cities, if you will do what is pleasing to God, you will have a secure state of happiness. Let there be then one city of the land of Canaan, and this situate in the most agreeable place for its goodness, and very eminent in itself, and let it be that which God shall choose for himself by prophetic revelation. Let there also be one temple therein, and one altar, not reared of hewn stones, but of such as you gather together at random; which stones, when they are whited over with mortar, will have a handsome appearance, and be beautiful to the sight. Let the ascent to it be not by steps but by an acclivity of raised earth. And let there be neither an altar nor a temple in any other city; for God is but one, and the nation of the Hebrews is but one.

6. He that blasphemeth God, let him be stoned; and let him hang upon a tree all that day, and then let him be buried in an ignominious and obscure manner.

7. Let those that live as remote as the bounds of the land which the Hebrews shall possess, come to that city where the temple shall be, and this three times in a year, that they may give thanks to God for his former benefits, and may entreat him for those they shall want hereafter; and let them, by this means, maintain a friendly correspondence with one another by such meetings and feastings together, for it is a good thing for those that are of the same stock, and under the same institution of laws, not to be unacquainted with each other; which acquaintance will be maintained by thus conversing together, and by seeing and talking with one another, and so renewing the memorials of this union; for if they do not thus converse together continually, they will appear like mere strangers to one another.

8. Let there be taken out of your fruits a tenth, besides that which you have allotted to give to the priests and Levites. This you may indeed sell in the country, but it is to be used in those feasts and sacrifices that are to be celebrated in the holy city; for it is fit that you should enjoy those fruits of the earth which God gives you to possess, so as may be to the honor of the donor.

9. You are not to offer sacrifices out of the hire of a woman who is a harlot for the Deity is not pleased with any thing that arises from such abuses of nature; of which sort none can be worse than this prostitution of the body. In like manner no one may take the price of the covering of a bitch, either of one that is used in hunting, or in keeping of sheep, and thence sacrifice to God.

10. Let no one blaspheme those gods which other cities esteem such; nor may any one steal what belongs to strange temples, nor take away the gifts that are dedicated to any god.

11. Let not any one of you wear a garment made of woolen and linen, for that is appointed to be for the priests alone.

12. When the multitude are assembled together unto the holy city for sacrificing every seventh year, at the feast of tabernacles, let the high priest stand upon a high desk, whence he may be heard, and let him read the laws to all the people; and let neither the women nor the children be hindered from hearing, no, nor the servants neither; for it is a good thing that those laws should be engraven in their souls, and preserved in their memories, that so it may not be possible to blot them out; for by this means they will not be guilty of sin, when they cannot plead ignorance of what the laws have enjoined them. The laws also will have a greater authority among them, as foretelling what they will suffer if they break them; and imprinting in their souls by this hearing what they command them to do, that so there may always be within their minds that intention of the laws which they have despised and broken, and have thereby been the causes of their own mischief. Let the children also learn the laws, as the first thing they are taught, which will be the best thing they can be taught, and will be the cause of their future felicity.

13. Let every one commemorate before God the benefits which he bestowed upon them at their deliverance out of the land of Egypt, and this twice every day, both when the day begins and when the hour of sleep comes on, gratitude being in its own nature a just thing, and serving not only by way of return for past, but also by way of invitation of future favors. They are also to inscribe the principal blessings they have received from God upon their doors, and show the same remembrance of them upon their arms; as also they are to bear on their forehead and their arm those wonders which declare the power of God, and his goodwill towards them, that God's readiness to bless them may appear every where conspicuous about them.

14. Let there be seven men to judge in every city, and these such as have been before most zealous in the exercise of virtue and righteousness. Let every judge have two officers allotted him out of the tribe of Levi. Let those that are chosen to judge in the several cities be had in great honor; and let none be permitted to revile any others when these are present, nor to carry themselves in an insolent manner to them; it being natural that reverence towards those in high offices among men should procure men's fear and reverence towards God. Let those that judge be permitted to determine according as they think to be right, unless any one can show that they have taken bribes, to the perversion of justice, or can

allege any other accusation against them, whereby it may appear that they have passed an unjust sentence; for it is not fit that causes should be openly determined out of regard to gain, or to the dignity of the suitors, but that the judges should esteem what is right before all other things, otherwise God will by that means be despised, and esteemed inferior to those, the dread of whose power has occasioned the unjust sentence; for justice is the power of God. He therefore that gratifies those in great dignity, supposes them more potent than God himself. But if these judges be unable to give a just sentence about the causes that come before them, [which case is not unfrequent in human affairs,] let them send the cause undetermined to the holy city, and there let the high priest, the prophet, and the sanhedrim, determine as it shall seem good to them.

15. But let not a single witness be credited, but three, or two at the least, and those such whose testimony is confirmed by their good lives. But let not the testimony of women be admitted, on account of the levity and boldness of their sex Nor let servants be admitted to give testimony, on account of the ignobility of their soul; since it is probable that they may not speak truth, either out of hope of gain, or fear of punishment. But if any one be believed to have borne false witness, let him, when he is convicted, suffer all the very same punishments which he against whom he bore witness was to have suffered.

16. If a murder be committed in any place, and he that did it be not found, nor is there any suspicion upon one as if he had hated the man, and so had killed him, let there be a very diligent inquiry made after the man, and rewards proposed to any one who will discover him; but if still no information can be procured, let the magistrates and senate of those cities that lie near the place in which the murder was committed, assemble together, and measure the distance from the place where the dead body lies; then let the magistrates of the nearest city thereto purchase a heifer, and bring it to a valley, and to a place therein where there is no land ploughed or trees planted, and let them cut the sinews of the heifer; then the priests and Levites, and the senate of that city, shall take water and wash their hands over the head of the heifer; and they shall openly declare that their hands are innocent of this murder, and that they have neither done it themselves, nor been assisting to any that did it. They shall also beseech God to be merciful to them, that no such horrid act may any more be done in that land.

17. Aristocracy, and the way of living under it, is the best constitution: and may you never have any inclination to any other form of government; and may you always love that form, and have the laws for your governors, and govern all your actions according to them; for you need no supreme governor but God. But if you shall desire a king, let him be one of your own nation; let him be always

careful of justice and other virtues perpetually; let him submit to the laws, and esteem God's commands to be his highest wisdom; but let him do nothing without the high priest and the votes of the senators: let him not have a great number of wives, nor pursue after abundance of riches, nor a multitude of horses, whereby he may grow too proud to submit to the laws. And if he affect any such things, let him be restrained, lest he become so potent that his state be inconsistent with your welfare.

18. Let it not be esteemed lawful to remove boundaries, neither our own, nor of those with whom we are at peace. Have a care you do not take those landmarks away which are, as it were, a divine and unshaken limitation of rights made by God himself, to last for ever; since this going beyond limits, and gaining ground upon others, is the occasion of wars and seditions; for those that remove boundaries are not far off an attempt to subvert the laws.

19. He that plants a piece of land, the trees of which produce fruits before the fourth year, is not to bring thence any first-fruits to God, nor is he to make use of that fruit himself, for it is not produced in its proper season; for when nature has a force put upon her at an unseasonable time, the fruit is not proper for God, nor for the master's use; but let the owner gather all that is grown on the fourth year, for then it is in its proper season. And let him that has gathered it carry it to the holy city, and spend that, together with the tithe of his other fruits, in feasting with his friends, with the orphans, and the widows. But on the fifth year the fruit is his own, and he may use it as he pleases.

20. You are not to sow with seed a piece of land which is planted with vines, for it is enough that it supply nourishment to that plant, and be not harassed by ploughing also. You are to plough your land with oxen, and not to oblige other animals to come under the same yoke with them; but to till your land with those beasts that are of the same kind with each other. The seeds are also to be pure, and without mixture, and not to be compounded of two or three sorts, since nature does not rejoice in the union of things that are not in their own nature alike; nor are you to permit beasts of different kinds to gender together, for there is reason to fear that this unnatural abuse may extend from beasts of different kinds to men, though it takes its first rise from evil practices about such smaller things. Nor is any thing to be allowed, by imitation whereof any degree of subversion may creep into the constitution. Nor do the laws neglect small matters, but provide that even those may be managed after an unblamable manner.

21. Let not those that reap, and gather in the corn that is reaped, gather in the gleanings also; but let them rather leave some handfuls for those that are in want of the necessaries of life, that it may be a support and a supply to them, in order

to their subsistence. In like manner when they gather their grapes, let them leave some smaller bunches for the poor, and let them pass over some of the fruits of the olive-trees, when they gather them, and leave them to be partaken of by those that have none of their own; for the advantage arising from the exact collection of all, will not be so considerable to the owners as will arise from the gratitude of the poor. And God will provide that the land shall more willingly produce what shall be for the nourishment of its fruits, in case you do not merely take care of your own advantage, but have regard to the support of others also. Nor are you to muzzle the mouths of the oxen when they tread the ears of corn in the thrashing-floor; for it is not just to restrain our fellow-laboring animals, and those that work in order to its production, of this fruit of their labors. Nor are you to prohibit those that pass by at the time when your fruits are ripe to touch them, but to give them leave to fill themselves full of what you have; and this whether they be of your own country or strangers, — as being glad of the opportunity of giving them some part of your fruits when they are ripe; but let it not be esteemed lawful for them to carry any away. Nor let those that gather the grapes, and carry them to the wine-presses, restrain those whom they meet from eating of them; for it is unjust, out of envy, to hinder those that desire it, to partake of the good things that come into the world according to God's will, and this while the season is at the height, and is hastening away as it pleases God. Nay, if some, out of bashfulness, are unwilling to touch these fruits, let them be encouraged to take of them [I mean, those that are Israelites] as if they were themselves the owners and lords, on account of the kindred there is between them. Nay, let them desire men that come from other countries, to partake of these tokens of friendship which God has given in their proper season; for that is not to be deemed as idly spent, which any one out of kindness communicates to another, since God bestows plenty of good things on men, not only for themselves to reap the advantage, but also to give to others in a way of generosity; and he is desirous, by this means, to make known to others his peculiar kindness to the people of Israel, and how freely he communicates happiness to them, while they abundantly communicate out of their great superfluities to even these foreigners also. But for him that acts contrary to this law, let him be beaten with forty stripes save one by the public executioner; let him undergo this punishment, which is a most ignominious one for a free-man, and this because he was such a slave to gain as to lay a blot upon his dignity; for it is proper for you who have had the experience of the afflictions in Egypt, and of those in the wilderness, to make provision for those that are in the like circumstances; and while you have now obtained plenty yourselves, through the mercy and providence of God, to distribute of the same plenty, by the like sympathy, to such as stand in need of it.

22. Besides those two tithes, which I have already said you are to pay every year, the one for the Levites, the other for the festivals, you are to bring every third year a third tithe to be distributed to those that want; to women also that are widows, and to children that are orphans. But as to the ripe fruits, let them carry that which is ripe first of all into the temple; and when they have blessed God for that land which bare them, and which he had given them for a possession, when they have also offered those sacrifices which the law has commanded them to bring, let them give the first-fruits to the priests. But when any one hath done this, and hath brought the tithe of all that he hath, together with those first-fruits that are for the Levites, and for the festivals, and when he is about to go home, let him stand before the holy house, and return thanks to God, that he hath delivered them from the injurious treatment they had in Egypt, and hath given them a good land, and a large, and lets them enjoy the fruits thereof; and when he hath openly testified that he hath fully paid the tithes [and other dues] according to the laws of Moses, let him entreat God that he will be ever merciful and gracious to him, and continue so to be to all the Hebrews, both by preserving the good things which he hath already given them, and by adding what it is still in his power to bestow upon them.

23. Let the Hebrews marry, at the age fit for it, virgins that are free, and born of good parents. And he that does not marry a virgin, let him not corrupt another man's wife, and marry her, nor grieve her former husband. Nor let free men marry slaves, although their affections should strongly bias any of them so to do; for it is decent, and for the dignity of the persons themselves, to govern those their affections. And further, no one ought to marry a harlot, whose matrimonial oblations, arising from the prostitution of her body, God will not receive; for by these means the dispositions of the children will be liberal and virtuous; I mean, when they are not born of base parents, and of the lustful conjunction of such as marry women that are not free. If any one has been espoused to a woman as to a virgin, and does not afterward find her so to be, let him bring his action, and accuse her, and let him make use of such indications to prove his accusation as he is furnished withal; and let the father or the brother of the damsel, or some one that is after them nearest of kin to her, defend her If the damsel obtain a sentence in her favor, that she had not been guilty, let her live with her husband that accused her; and let him not have any further power at all to put her away, unless she give him very great occasions of suspicion, and such as can be no way contradicted. But for him that brings an accusation and calumny against his wife in an impudent and rash manner, let him be punished by receiving forty stripes save one, and let him pay fifty shekels to her father: but if the damsel be convicted, as having been corrupted, and is one of the common people, let her be

stoned, because she did not preserve her virginity till she were lawfully married; but if she were the daughter of a priest, let her be burnt alive. If any one has two wives, and if he greatly respect and be kind to one of them, either out of his affection to her, or for her beauty, or for some other reason, while the other is of less esteem with him; and if the son of her that is beloved be the younger by birth than another born of the other wife, but endeavors to obtain the right of primogeniture from his father's kindness to his mother, and would thereby obtain a double portion of his father's substance, for that double portion is what I have allotted him in the laws, — let not this be permitted; for it is unjust that he who is the elder by birth should be deprived of what is due to him, on the father's disposition of his estate, because his mother was not equally regarded by him. He that hath corrupted a damsel espoused to another man, in case he had her consent, let both him and her be put to death, for they are both equally guilty; the man, because he persuaded the woman willingly to submit to a most impure action, and to prefer it to lawful wedlock; the woman, because she was persuaded to yield herself to be corrupted, either for pleasure or for gain. However, if a man light on a woman when she is alone, and forces her, where nobody was present to come to her assistance, let him only be put to death. Let him that hath corrupted a virgin not yet espoused marry her; but if the father of the damsel be not willing that she should be his wife, let him pay fifty shekels as the price of her prostitution. He that desires to be divorced from his wife for any cause whatsoever, [and many such causes happen among men,] let him in writing give assurance that he will never use her as his wife any more; for by this means she may be at liberty to marry another husband, although before this bill of divorce be given, she is not to be permitted so to do: but if she be misused by him also, or if, when he is dead, her first husband would marry her again, it shall not be lawful for her to return to him. If a woman's husband die, and leave her without children, let his brother marry her, and let him call the son that is born to him by his brother's name, and educate him as the heir of his inheritance, for this procedure will be for the benefit of the public, because thereby families will not fail, and the estate will continue among the kindred; and this will be for the solace of wives under their affliction, that they are to be married to the next relation of their former husbands. But if the brother will not marry her, let the woman come before the senate, and protest openly that this brother will not admit her for his wife, but will injure the memory of his deceased brother, while she is willing to continue in the family, and to hear him children. And when the senate have inquired of him for what reason it is that he is averse to this marriage, whether he gives a bad or a good reason, the matter must come to this issue, That the woman shall loose the sandals of the brother, and shall spit in his

face, and say, He deserves this reproachful treatment from her, as having injured the memory of the deceased. And then let him go away out of the senate, and bear this reproach upon him all his life long; and let her marry to whom she pleases, of such as seek her in marriage. But now, if any man take captive, either a virgin, or one that hath been married, and has a mind to marry her, let him not be allowed to bring her to bed to him, or to live with her as his wife, before she hath her head shaven, and hath put on her mourning habit, and lamented her relations and friends that were slain in the battle, that by this means she may give vent to her sorrow for them, and after that may betake herself to feasting and matrimony; for it is good for him that takes a woman, in order to have children by her, to be complaisant to her inclinations, and not merely to pursue his own pleasure, while he hath no regard to what is agreeable to her. But when thirty days are past, as the time of mourning, for so many are sufficient to prudent persons for lamenting the dearest friends, then let them proceed to the marriage; but in case when he hath satisfied his lust, he be too proud to retain her for his wife, let him not have it in his power to make her a slave, but let her go away whither she pleases, and have that privilege of a free woman.

24. As to those young men that despise their parents, and do not pay them honor, but offer them affronts, either because they are ashamed of them or think themselves wiser than they, — in the first place, let their parents admonish them in words, [for they are by nature of authority sufficient for becoming their judges,] and let them say thus to them: — That they cohabited together, not for the sake of pleasure, nor for the augmentation of their riches, by joining both their stocks together, but that they might have children to take care of them in their old age, and might by them have what they then should want. And say further to him, "That when thou wast born, we took thee up with gladness, and gave God the greatest thanks for thee, and brought time up with great care, and spared for nothing that appeared useful for thy preservation, and for thy instruction in what was most excellent. And now, since it is reasonable to forgive the sins of those that are young, let it suffice thee to have given so many indications Of thy contempt of us; reform thyself, and act more wisely for the time to come; considering that God is displeased with those that are insolent towards their parents, because he is himself the Father of the whole race of mankind, and seems to bear part of that dishonor which falls upon those that have the same name, when they do not meet with dire returns from their children. And on such the law inflicts inexorable punishment; of which punishment mayst thou never have the experience." Now if the insolence of young men be thus cured, let them escape the reproach which their former errors deserved; for by this means the lawgiver will appear to be good, and parents

happy, while they never behold either a son or a daughter brought to punishment. But if it happen that these words and instructions, conveyed by them in order to reclaim the man, appear to be useless, then the offender renders the laws implacable enemies to the insolence he has offered his parents; let him therefore be brought forth by these very parents out of the city, with a multitude following him, and there let him be stoned; and when he has continued there for one whole day, that all the people may see him, let him be buried in the night. And thus it is that we bury all whom the laws condemn to die, upon any account whatsoever. Let our enemies that fall in battle be also buried; nor let any one dead body lie above the ground, or suffer a punishment beyond what justice requires.

25. Let no one lend to any one of the Hebrews upon usury, neither usury of what is eaten or what is drunken, for it is not just to make advantage of the misfortunes of one of thy own countrymen; but when thou hast been assistant to his necessities, think it thy gain if thou obtainest their gratitude to thee; and withal that reward which will come to thee from God, for thy humanity towards him.

26. Those who have borrowed either silver or any sort of fruits, whether dry or wet, [I mean this, when the Jewish affairs shall, by the blessing of God, be to their own mind,] let the borrowers bring them again, and restore them with pleasure to those who lent them, laying them up, as it were, in their own treasuries, and justly expecting to receive them thence, if they shall want them again. But if they be without shame, and do not restore it, let not the lender go to the borrower's house, and take a pledge himself, before judgment be given concerning it; but let him require the pledge, and let the debtor bring it of himself, without the least opposition to him that comes upon him under the protection of the law. And if he that gave the pledge be rich, let the creditor retain it till what he lent be paid him again; but if he be poor, let him that takes it return it before the going down of the sun, especially if the pledge be a garment, that the debtor may have it for a covering in his sleep, God himself naturally showing mercy to the poor. It is also not lawful to take a millstone, nor any utensil thereto belonging, for a pledge, that the debtor, may not be deprived of instruments to get their food withal, and lest they be undone by their necessity.

27. Let death be the punishment for stealing a man; but he that hath purloined gold or silver, let him pay double. If any one kill a man that is stealing something out of his house, let him be esteemed guiltless, although the man were only breaking in at the wall. Let him that hath stolen cattle pay fourfold what is lost, excepting the case of an ox, for which let the thief pay fivefold. Let him that

is so poor that he cannot pay what mulet is laid upon him, be his servant to whom he was adjudged to pay it.

28. If any one be sold to one of his own nation, let him serve him six years, and on the seventh let him go free. But if he have a son by a woman servant in his purchaser's house, and if, on account of his goodwill to his master, and his natural affection to his wife and children, he will be his servant still, let him be set free only at the coming of the year of jubilee, which is the fiftieth year, and let him then take away with him his children and wife, and let them be free also.

29. If any one find gold or silver on the road, let him inquire after him that lost it, and make proclamation of the place where he found it, and then restore it to him again, as not thinking it right to make his own profit by the loss of another. And the same rule is to be observed in cattle found to have wandered away into a lonely place. If the owner be not presently discovered, let him that is the finder keep it with himself, and appeal to God that he has not purloined what belongs to another.

30. It is not lawful to pass by any beast that is in distress, when in a storm it is fallen down in the mire, but to endeavor to preserve it, as having a sympathy with it in its pain.

31. It is also a duty to show the roads to those who do not know them, and not to esteem it a matter for sport, when we hinder others' advantages, by setting them in a wrong way.

32. In like manner, let no one revile a person blind or dumb.

33. If men strive together, and there be no instrument of iron, let him that is smitten be avenged immediately, by inflicting the same punishment on him that smote him: but if when he is carried home he lie sick many days, and then die, let him that smote him not escape punishment; but if he that is smitten escape death, and yet be at great expense for his cure, the smiter shall pay for all that has been expended during the time of his sickness, and for all that he has paid the physician. He that kicks a woman with child, so that the woman miscarry, let him pay a fine in money, as the judges shall determine, as having diminished the multitude by the destruction of what was in her womb; and let money also be given the woman's husband by him that kicked her; but if she die of the stroke, let him also be put to death, the law judging it equitable that life should go for life.

34. Let no one of the Israelites keep any poison that may cause death, or any other harm; but if he be caught with it, let him be put to death, and suffer the very same mischief that he would have brought upon them for whom the poison was prepared.

35. He that maimeth any one, let him undergo the like himself, and be deprived of the same member of which he hath deprived the other, unless he that is maimed will accept of money instead of it for the law makes the sufferer the judge of the value of what he hath suffered, and permits him to estimate it, unless he will be more severe.

36. Let him that is the owner of an ox which pusheth with his horn, kill him: but if he pushes and gores any one in the thrashing-floor, let him be put to death by stoning, and let him not be thought fit for food: but if his owner be convicted as having known what his nature was, and hath not kept him up, let him also be put to death, as being the occasion of the ox's having killed a man. But if the ox have killed a man-servant, or a maid-servant, let him be stoned; and let the owner of the ox pay thirty shekels to the master of him that was slain; but if it be an ox that is thus smitten and killed, let both the oxen, that which smote the other and that which was killed, be sold, and let the owners of them divide their price between them.

37. Let those that dig a well or a pit be careful to lay planks over them, and so keep them shut up, not in order to hinder any persons from drawing water, but that there may be no danger of falling into them. But if any one's beast fall into such a well or pit thus digged, and not shut up, and perish, let the owner pay its price to the owner of the beast. Let there be a battlement round the tops of your houses instead of a wall, that may prevent any persons from rolling down and perishing.

38. Let him that has received any thing in trust for another, take care to keep it as a sacred and divine thing; and let no one invent any contrivance whereby to deprive him that hath intrusted it with him of the same, and this whether he be a man or a woman; no, not although he or she were to gain an immense sum of gold, and this where he cannot be convicted of it by any body; for it is fit that a man's own conscience, which knows what he hath, should in all cases oblige him to do well. Let this conscience be his witness, and make him always act so as may procure him commendation from others; but let him chiefly have regard to God, from whom no wicked man can lie concealed: but if he in whom the trust was reposed, without any deceit of his own, lose what he was intrusted withal, let him come before the seven judges, and swear by God that nothing hath been lost willingly, or with a wicked intention, and that he hath not made use of any part thereof, and so let him depart without blame; but if he hath made use of the least part of what was committed to him, and it be lost, let him be condemned to repay all that he had received. After the same manner as in these trusts it is to be, if any one defraud those that undergo bodily labor for him. And let it be always remembered, that we are not to defraud a poor man of his wages,

as being sensible that God has allotted these wages to him instead of land and other possessions; nay, this payment is not at all to be delayed, but to be made that very day, since God is not willing to deprive the laborer of the immediate use of what he hath labored for.

39. You are not to punish children for the faults of their parents, but on account of their own virtue rather to vouchsafe them commiseration, because they were born of wicked parents, than hatred, because they were born of bad ones. Nor indeed ought we to impute the sin of children to their fathers, while young persons indulge themselves in many practices different from what they have been instructed in, and this by their proud refusal of such instruction.

40. Let those that have made themselves eunuchs be had in detestation; and do you avoid any conversation with them who have deprived themselves of their manhood, and of that fruit of generation which God has given to men for the increase of their kind: let such be driven away, as if they had killed their children, since they beforehand have lost what should procure them; for evident it is, that while their soul is become effeminate, they have withal transfused that effeminacy to their body also. In like manner do you treat all that is of a monstrous nature when it is looked on; nor is it lawful to geld men or any other animals.

41. Let this be the constitution of your political laws in time of peace, and God will be so merciful as to preserve this excellent settlement free from disturbance: and may that time never come which may innovate any thing, and change it for the contrary. But since it must needs happen that mankind fall into troubles and dangers, either undesignedly or intentionally, come let us make a few constitutions concerning them, that so being apprised beforehand what ought to be done, you may have salutary counsels ready when you want them, and may not then be obliged to go to seek what is to be done, and so be unprovided, and fall into dangerous circumstances. May you be a laborious people, and exercise your souls in virtuous actions, and thereby possess and inherit the land without wars; while neither any foreigners make war upon it, and so afflict you, nor any internal sedition seize upon it, whereby you may do things that are contrary to your fathers, and so lose the laws which they have established. And may you continue in the observation of those laws which God hath approved of, and hath delivered to you. Let all sort of warlike operations, whether they befall you now in your own time, or hereafter in the times of your posterity, be done out of your own borders: but when you are about to go to war, send embassages and heralds to those who are your voluntary enemies, for it is a right thing to make use of words to them before you come to your weapons of war; and assure them thereby, that although you have a numerous army, with

horses and weapons, and, above these, a God merciful to you, and ready to assist you, you do however desire them not to compel you to fight against them, nor to take from them what they have, which will indeed be our gain, but what they will have no reason to wish we should take to ourselves. And if they hearken to you, it will be proper for you to keep peace with them; but if they trust in their own strength, as superior to yours, and will not do you justice, lead your army against them, making use of God as your supreme Commander, but ordaining for a lieutenant under him one that is of the greatest courage among you; for these different commanders, besides their being an obstacle to actions that are to be done on the sudden, are a disadvantage to those that make use of them. Lead an army pure, and of chosen men, composed of all such as have extraordinary strength of body and hardiness of soul; but do you send away the timorous part, lest they run away in the time of action, and so afford an advantage to your enemies. Do you also give leave to those that have lately built them houses, and have not yet lived in them a year's time; and to those that have planted them vineyards, and have not yet been partakers of their fruits, — to continue in their own country; as well as those also who have betrothed, or lately married them wives, lest they have such an affection for these things that they be too sparing of their lives, and, by reserving themselves for these enjoyments, they become voluntary cowards, on account of their wives.

42. When you have pitched your camp, take care that you do nothing that is cruel. And when you are engaged in a siege; and want timber for the making of warlike engines, do not you render the land naked by cutting down trees that bear fruit, but spare them, as considering that they were made for the benefit of men; and that if they could speak, they would have a just plea against you, because, though they are not occasions of the war, they are unjustly treated, and suffer in it, and would, if they were able, remove themselves into another land. When you have beaten your enemies in battle, slay those that have fought against you; but preserve the others alive, that they may pay you tribute, excepting the nation of the Canaanites; for as to that people, you must entirely destroy them.

43, Take care, especially in your battles, that no woman use the habit of a man, nor man the garment of a woman.

44. This was the form of political government which was left us by Moses. Moreover, he had already delivered laws in writing in the fortieth year [after they came out of Egypt], concerning which we will discourse in another book. But now on the following days [for he called them to assemble continually] he delivered blessings to them, and curses upon those that should not live according to the laws, but should transgress the duties that were determined for them to

observe. After this, he read to them a poetic song, which was composed in hexameter verse, and left it to them in the holy book: it contained a prediction of what was to come to pass afterward; agreeably whereto all things have happened all along, and do still happen to us; and wherein he has not at all deviated from the truth. Accordingly, he delivered these books to the priest, with the ark; into which he also put the ten commandments, written on two tables. He delivered to them the tabernacle also, and exhorted the people, that when they had conquered the land, and were settled in it, they should not forget the injuries of the Amalekites, but make war against them, and inflict punishment upon them for what mischief they did them when they were in the wilderness; and that when they had got possession of the land of the Canaanites, and when they had destroyed the whole multitude of its inhabitants, as they ought to do, they should erect an altar that should face the rising sun, not far from the city of Shechem, between the two mountains, that of Gerizzim, situate on the right hand, and that called Ebal, on the left; and that the army should be so divided, that six tribes should stand upon each of the two mountains, and with them the Levites and the priests. And that first, those that were upon Mount Gerizzim should pray for the best blessings upon those who were diligent about the worship of God, and the observation of his laws, and who did not reject what Moses had said to them; while the other wished them all manner of happiness also; and when these last put up the like prayers, the former praised them. After this, curses were denounced upon those that should transgress those laws, they, answering one another alternately, by way of confirmation of what had been said. Moses also wrote their blessings and their curses, that they might learn them so thoroughly, that they might never be forgotten by length of time. And when he was ready to die, he wrote these blessings and curses upon the altar, on each side of it; where he says also the people stood, and then sacrificed and offered burnt-offerings, though after that day they never offered upon it any other sacrifice, for it was not lawful so to do. These are the constitutions of Moses; and the Hebrew nation still live according to them.

45. On the next day, Moses called the people together, with the women and children, to a congregation, so as the very slaves were present also, that they might engage themselves to the observation of these laws by oath; and that, duly considering the meaning of God in them, they might not, either for favor of their kindred, or out of fear of any one, or indeed for any motive whatsoever, think any thing ought to be preferred to these laws, and so might transgress them. That in case any one of their own blood, or any city, should attempt to confound or dissolve their constitution of government, they should take vengeance upon them, both all in general, and each person in particular; and when they had

conquered them, should overturn their city to the very foundations, and, if possible, should not leave the least footsteps of such madness: but that if they were not able to take such vengeance, they should still demonstrate that what was done was contrary to their wills. So the multitude bound themselves by oath so to do.

46. Moses taught them also by what means their sacrifices might be the most acceptable to God; and how they should go forth to war, making use of the stones [in the high priest's breastplate] for their direction, as I have before signified. Joshua also prophesied while Moses was present. And when Moses had recapitulated whatsoever he had done for the preservation of the people, both in their wars and in peace, and had composed them a body of laws, and procured them an excellent form of government, he foretold, as God had declared to him that if they transgressed that institution for the worship of God, they should experience the following miseries: — Their land should be full of weapons of war from their enemies, and their cities should be overthrown, and their temple should be burnt that they should be sold for slaves, to such men as would have no pity on them in their afflictions; that they would then repent, when that repentance would no way profit them under their sufferings. "Yet," said he, "will that God who founded your nation, restore your cities to your citizens, with their temple also; and you shall lose these advantages not once only, but often."

47. Now when Moses had encouraged Joshua to lead out the army against the Canaanites, by telling him that God would assist him in all his undertakings, and had blessed the whole multitude, he said, "Since I am going to my forefathers, and God has determined that this should be the day of my departure to them, I return him thanks while I am still alive and present with you, for that providence he hath exercised over you, which hath not only delivered us from the miseries we lay under, but hath bestowed a state of prosperity upon us; as also, that he hath assisted me in the pains I took, and in all the contrivances I had in my care about you, in order to better your condition, and hath on all occasions showed himself favorable to us; or rather he it was who first conducted our affairs, and brought them to a happy conclusion, by making use of me as a vicarious general under him, and as a minister in those matters wherein he was willing to do you good: on which account I think it proper to bless that Divine Power which will take care of you for the time to come, and this in order to repay that debt which I owe him, and to leave behind me a memorial that we are obliged to worship and honor him, and to keep those laws which are the most excellent gift of all those he hath already bestowed upon us, or which, if he continue favorable to us, he will bestow upon us hereafter. Certainly a human legislator is a terrible enemy

when his laws are affronted, and are made to no purpose. And may you never experience that displeasure of God which will be the consequence of the neglect of these his laws, which he, who is your Creator, hath given you."

48. When Moses had spoken thus at the end of his life, and had foretold what would befall to every one of their tribes afterward, with the addition of a blessing to them, the multitude fell into tears, insomuch that even the women, by beating their breasts, made manifest the deep concern they had when he was about to die. The children also lamented still more, as not able to contain their grief; and thereby declared, that even at their age they were sensible of his virtue and mighty deeds; and truly there seemed to be a strife betwixt the young and the old who should most grieve for him. The old grieved because they knew what a careful protector they were to be deprived of, and so lamented their future state; but the young grieved, not only for that, but also because it so happened that they were to be left by him before they had well tasted of his virtue. Now one may make a guess at the excess of this sorrow and lamentation of the multitude, from what happened to the legislator himself; for although he was always persuaded that he ought not to be cast down at the approach of death, since the undergoing it was agreeable to the will of God and the law of nature, yet what the people did so overbore him, that he wept himself. Now as he went thence to the place where he was to vanish out of their sight, they all followed after him weeping; but Moses beckoned with his hand to those that were remote from him, and bade them stay behind in quiet, while he exhorted those that were near to him that they would not render his departure so lamentable. Whereupon they thought they ought to grant him that favor, to let him depart according as he himself desired; so they restrained themselves, though weeping still towards one another. All those who accompanied him were the senate, and Eleazar the high priest, and Joshua their commander. Now as soon as they were come to the mountain called Abarim, [which is a very high mountain, situate over against Jericho, and one that affords, to such as are upon it, a prospect of the greatest part of the excellent land of Canaan,] he dismissed the senate; and as he was going to embrace Eleazar and Joshua, and was still discoursing with them, a cloud stood over him on the sudden, and he disappeared in a certain valley, although he wrote in the holy books that he died, which was done out of fear, lest they should venture to say that, because of his extraordinary virtue, he went to God.

49. Now Moses lived in all one hundred and twenty years; a third part of which time, abating one month, he was the people's ruler; and he died on the last month of the year, which is called by the Macedonians Dystrus, but by us Adar, on the first day of the month. He was one that exceeded all men that ever were in

understanding, and made the best use of what that understanding suggested to him. He had a very graceful way of speaking and addressing himself to the multitude; and as to his other qualifications, he had such a full command of his passions, as if he hardly had any such in his soul, and only knew them by their names, as rather perceiving them in other men than in himself. He was also such a general of an army as is seldom seen, as well as such a prophet as was never known, and this to such a degree, that whatsoever he pronounced, you would think you heard the voice of God himself. So the people mourned for him thirty days: nor did ever any grief so deeply affect the Hebrews as did this upon the death of Moses: nor were those that had experienced his conduct the only persons that desired him, but those also that perused the laws he left behind him had a strong desire after him, and by them gathered the extraordinary virtue he was master of. And this shall suffice for the declaration of the manner of the death of Moses.

BOOK V. Containing The Interval Of Four Hundred And Seventy-Six Years. — From The Death Of Moses To The Death Of Eli.

CHAPTER 1. How Joshua, The Commander Of The Hebrews, Made War With The Canaanites, And Overcame Them, And Destroyed Them, And Divided Their Land By Lot To The Tribes Of Israel.

1. When Moses was taken away from among men, in the manner already described, and when all the solemnities belonging to the mourning for him were finished, and the sorrow for him was over, Joshua commanded the multitude to get themselves ready for an expedition. He also sent spies to Jericho to discover what forces they had, and what were their intentions; but he put his camp in order, as intending soon to pass over Jordan at a proper season. And calling to him the rulers of the tribe of Reuben, and the governors of the tribe of Gad, and [the half tribe of] Manasseh, for half of this tribe had been permitted to have their habitation in the country of the Amorites, which was the seventh part of the land of Canaan, he put them in mind what they had promised Moses; and he exhorted them that, for the sake of the care that Moses had taken of them who had never been weary of taking pains for them no, not when he was dying, and for the sake of the public welfare, they would prepare themselves, and readily perform what they had promised; so he took fifty thousand of them who followed him, and he marched from Abila to Jordan, sixty furlongs.

2. Now when he had pitched his camp, the spies came to him immediately, well acquainted with the whole state of the Canaanites; for at first, before they were at all discovered, they took a full view of the city of Jericho without disturbance, and saw which parts of the walls were strong, and which parts were otherwise, and indeed insecure, and which of the gates were so weak as might afford an entrance to their army. Now those that met them took no notice of them when they saw them, and supposed they were only strangers, who used to be very curious in observing everything in the city, and did not take them for enemies; but at even they retired to a certain inn that was near to the wall, whither they went to eat their supper; which supper when they had done, and were considering how to get away, information was given to the king as he was at supper, that there were some persons come from the Hebrews' camp to view the city as spies, and that they were in the inn kept by Rahab, and were very solicitous that they might not be discovered. So he sent immediately some to them, and commanded to catch them, and bring them to him, that he might examine them by torture, and learn what their business was there. As soon as

Rahab understood that these messengers were coming, she hid the spies under stalks of flax, which were laid to dry on the top of her house; and said to the messengers that were sent by the king, that certain unknown strangers had supped with her a little before sun-setting, and were gone away, who might easily be taken, if they were any terror to the city, or likely to bring any danger to the king. So these messengers being thus deluded by the woman, and suspecting no imposition, went their ways, without so much as searching the inn; but they immediately pursued them along those roads which they most probably supposed them to have gone, and those particularly which led to the river, but could hear no tidings of them; so they left off the pains of any further pursuit. But when the tumult was over, Rahab brought the men down, and desired them as soon as they should have obtained possession of the land of Canaan, when it would be in their power to make her amends for her preservation of them, to remember what danger she had undergone for their sakes; for that if she had been caught concealing them, she could not have escaped a terrible destruction, she and all her family with her, and so bid them go home; and desired them to swear to her to preserve her and her family when they should take the city, and destroy all its inhabitants, as they had decreed to do; for so far she said she had been assured by those Divine miracles of which she had been informed. So these spies acknowledged that they owed her thanks for what she had done already, and withal swore to requite her kindness, not only in words, but in deeds. But they gave her this advice, That when she should perceive that the city was about to be taken, she should put her goods, and all her family, by way of security, in her inn, and to hang out scarlet threads before her doors, [or windows,] that the commander of the Hebrews might know her house, and take care to do her no harm; for, said they, we will inform him of this matter, because of the concern thou hast had to preserve us: but if any one of thy family fall in the battle, do not thou blame us; and we beseech that God, by whom we have sworn, not then to be displeased with us, as though we had broken our oaths. So these men, when they had made this agreement, went away, letting themselves down by a rope from the wall, and escaped, and came and told their own people whatsoever they had done in their journey to this city. Joshua also told Eleazar the high priest, and the senate, what the spies had sworn to Rahab, who continued what had been sworn.

3. Now while Joshua, the commander, was in fear about their passing over Jordan, for the river ran with a strong current, and could not be passed over with bridges, for there never had been bridges laid over it hitherto; and while he suspected, that if he should attempt to make a bridge, that their enemies would not afford him thee to perfect it, and for ferry-boats they had none,-God

promised so to dispose of the river, that they might pass over it, and that by taking away the main part of its waters. So Joshua, after two days, caused the army and the whole multitude to pass over in the manner following: — The priests went first of all, having the ark with them; then went the Levites bearing the tabernacle and the vessels which belonged to the sacrifices; after which the entire multitude followed, according to their tribes, having their children and their wives in the midst of them, as being afraid for them, lest they should be borne away by the stream. But as soon as the priests had entered the river first, it appeared fordable, the depth of the water being restrained and the sand appearing at the bottom, because the current was neither so strong nor so swift as to carry it away by its force; so they all passed over the river without fear, finding it to be in the very same state as God had foretold he would put it in; but the priests stood still in the midst of the river till the multitude should be passed over, and should get to the shore in safety; and when all were gone over, the priests came out also, and permitted the current to run freely as it used to do before. Accordingly the river, as soon as the Hebrews were come out of it, arose again presently, and came to its own proper magnitude as before.

4. So the Hebrews went on farther fifty furlongs, and pitched their camp at the distance of ten furlongs from Jericho; but Joshua built an altar of those stones which all the heads of the tribes, at the command of the prophets, had taken out of the deep, to be afterwards a memorial of the division of the stream of this river, and upon it offered sacrifice to God; and in that place celebrated the passover, and had great plenty of all the things which they wanted hitherto; for they reaped the corn of the Canaanites, which was now ripe, and took other things as prey; for then it was that their former food, which was manna, and of which they had eaten forty years, failed them.

5. Now while the Israelites did this, and the Canaanites did not attack them, but kept themselves quiet within their own walls, Joshua resolved to besiege them; so on the first day of the feast [of the passover], the priests carried the ark round about, with some part of the armed men to be a guard to it. These priests went forward, blowing with their seven trumpets; and exhorted the army to be of good courage, and went round about the city, with the senate following them; and when the priests had only blown with the trumpets, for they did nothing more at all, they returned to the camp. And when they had done this for six days, on the seventh Joshua gathered the armed men and all the people together, and told them these good tidings, That the city should now be taken, since God would on that day give it them, by the falling down of the walls, and this of their own accord, and without their labor. However, he charged them to kill every one they should take, and not to abstain from the slaughter of their enemies, either

for weariness or for pity, and not to fall on the spoil, and be thereby diverted from pursuing their enemies as they ran away; but to destroy all the animals, and to take nothing for their own peculiar advantage. He commanded them also to bring together all the silver and gold, that it might be set apart as first-fruits unto God out of this glorious exploit, as having gotten them from the city they first took; only that they should save Rahab and her kindred alive, because of the oath which the spies had sworn to her.

6. When he had said this, and had set his army in order, he brought it against the city: so they went round the city again, the ark going before them, and the priests encouraging the people to be zealous in the work; and when they had gone round it seven times, and had stood still a little, the wall fell down, while no instruments of war, nor any other force, was applied to it by the Hebrews.

7. So they entered into Jericho, and slew all the men that were therein, while they were aftrighted at the surprising overthrow of the walls, and their courage was become useless, and they were not able to defend themselves; so they were slain, and their throats cut, some in the ways, and others as caught in their houses; nothing afforded them assistance, but they all perished, even to the women and the children; and the city was filled with dead bodies, and not one person escaped. They also burnt the whole city, and the country about it; but they saved alive Rahab, with her family, who had fled to her inn. And when she was brought to him, Joshua owned to her that they owed her thanks for her preservation of the spies: so he said he would not appear to be behind her in his benefaction to her; whereupon he gave her certain lands immediately, and had her in great esteem ever afterwards.

8. And if any part of the city escaped the fire, he overthrew it from the foundation; and he denounced a curse against its inhabitants, if any should desire to rebuild it; how, upon his laying the foundation of the walls, he should be deprived of his eldest son; and upon finishing it, he should lose his youngest son. But what happened hereupon we shall speak of hereafter.

9. Now there was an immense quantity of silver and gold, and besides those of brass also, that was heaped together out of the city when it was taken, no one transgressing the decree, nor purloining for their own peculiar advantage; which spoils Joshua delivered to the priests, to be laid up among their treasures. And thus did Jericho perish.

10. But there was one Achar, the son [of Charmi, the son] of Zebedias, of the tribe of Judah, who finding a royal garment woven entirely of gold, and a piece of gold that weighed two hundred shekels; and thinking it a very hard case, that what spoils he, by running some hazard, had found, he must give away, and offer it to God, who stood in no need of it, while he that wanted it must go without it,

— made a deep ditch in his own tent, and laid them up therein, as supposing he should not only be concealed from his fellow soldiers, but from God himself also.

11. Now the place where Joshua pitched his camp was called Gilgal, which denotes liberty; for since now they had passed over Jordan, they looked on themselves as freed from the miseries which they had undergone from the Egyptians, and in the wilderness.

12. Now, a few days after the calamity that befell Jericho, Joshua sent three thousand armed men to take Ai, a city situate above Jericho; but, upon the sight of the people of Ai, with them they were driven back, and lost thirty-six of their men. When this was told the Israelites, it made them very sad, and exceeding disconsolate, not so much because of the relation the men that were destroyed bare to them, though those that were destroyed were all good men, and deserved their esteem, as by the despair it occasioned; for while they believed that they were already, in effect, in possession of the land, and should bring back the army out of the battles without loss, as God had promised beforehand, they now saw unexpectedly their enemies bold with success; so they put sackcloth over their garments, and continued in tears and lamentation all the day, without the least inquiry after food, but laid what had happened greatly to heart.

13. When Joshua saw the army so much afflicted, and possessed with forebodings of evil as to their whole expedition, he used freedom with God, and said, “We are not come thus far out of any rashness of our own, as though we thought ourselves able to subdue this land with our own weapons, but at the instigation of Moses thy servant for this purpose, because thou hast promised us, by many signs, that thou wouldst give us this land for a possession, and that thou wouldst make our army always superior in war to our enemies, and accordingly some success has already attended upon us agreeably to thy promises; but because we have now unexpectedly been foiled, and have lost some men out of our army, we are grieved at it, as fearing what thou hast promised us, and what Moses foretold us, cannot be depended on by us; and our future expectation troubles us the more, because we have met with such a disaster in this our first attempt. But do thou, O Lord, free us from these suspicions, for thou art able to find a cure for these disorders, by giving us victory, which will both take away the grief we are in at present, and prevent our distrust as to what is to come.”

14. These intercessions Joshua put up to God, as he lay prostrate on his face: whereupon God answered him, That he should rise up, and purify his host from the pollution that had got into it; that “things consecrated to me have been impudently stolen from me,” and that “this has been the occasion why this defeat had happened to them;” and that when they should search out and punish the

offender, he would ever take care they should have the victory over their enemies. This Joshua told the people; and calling for Eleazar the high priest, and the men in authority, he cast lots, tribe by tribe; and when the lot showed that this wicked action was done by one of the tribe of Judah, he then again proposed the lot to the several families thereto belonging; so the truth of this wicked action was found to belong to the family of Zachar; and when the inquiry was made man by man, they took Achar, who, upon God's reducing him to a terrible extremity, could not deny the fact: so he confessed the theft, and produced what he had taken in the midst of them, whereupon he was immediately put to death; and attained no more than to be buried in the night in a disgraceful manner, and such as was suitable to a condemned malefactor.

15. When Joshua had thus purified the host, he led them against Ai: and having by night laid an ambush round about the city, he attacked the enemies as soon as it was day; but as they advanced boldly against the Israelites, because of their former victory, he made them believe he retired, and by that means drew them a great way from the city, they still supposing that they were pursuing their enemies, and despised them, as though the case had been the same with that in the former battle; after which Joshua ordered his forces to turn about, and placed them against their front. He then made the signals agreed upon to those that lay in ambush, and so excited them to fight; so they ran suddenly into the city, the inhabitants being upon the walls, nay, others of them being in perplexity, and coming to see those that were without the gates. Accordingly, these men took the city, and slew all that they met with; but Joshua forced those that came against him to come to a close fight, and discomfited them, and made them run away; and when they were driven towards the city, and thought it had not been touched, as soon as they saw it was taken, and perceived it was burnt, with their wives and children, they wandered about in the fields in a scattered condition, and were no way able to defend themselves, because they had none to support them. Now when this calamity was come upon the men of Ai, there were a great number of children, and women, and servants, and an immense quantity of other furniture. The Hebrews also took herds of cattle, and a great deal of money, for this was a rich country. So when Joshua came to Gilgal, he divided all these spoils among the soldiers.

16. But the Gibeonites, who inhabited very near to Jerusalem, when they saw what miseries had happened to the inhabitants of Jericho; and to those of Ai, and suspected that the like sore calamity would come as far as themselves, they did not think fit to ask for mercy of Joshua; for they supposed they should find little mercy from him, who made war that he might entirely destroy the nation of the Canaanites; but they invited the people of Cephirah and Kiriathjearim, who were

their neighbors, to join in league with them; and told them that neither could they themselves avoid the danger they were all in, if the Israelites should prevent them, and seize upon them: so when they had persuaded them, they resolved to endeavor to escape the forces of the Israelites. Accordingly, upon their agreement to what they proposed, they sent ambassadors to Joshua to make a league of friendship with him, and those such of the citizens as were best approved of, and most capable of doing what was most advantageous to the multitude. Now these ambassadors thought it dangerous to confess themselves to be Canaanites, but thought they might by this contrivance avoid the danger, namely, by saying that they bare no relation to the Canaanites at all, but dwelt at a very great distance from them: and they said further, that they came a long way, on account of the reputation he had gained for his virtue; and as a mark of the truth of what they said, they showed him the habit they were in, for that their clothes were new when they came out, but were greatly worn by the length of thee they had been on their journey; for indeed they took torn garments, on purpose that they might make him believe so. So they stood in the midst of the people, and said that they were sent by the people of Gibeon, and of the circumjacent cities, which were very remote from the land where they now were, to make such a league of friendship with them, and this on such conditions as were customary among their forefathers; for when they understood that, by the favor of God, and his gift to them, they were to have the possession of the land of Canaan bestowed upon them, they said that they were very glad to hear it, and desired to be admitted into the number of their citizens. Thus did these ambassadors speak; and showing them the marks of their long journey, they entreated the Hebrews to make a league of friendship with them. Accordingly Joshua, believing what they said, that they were not of the nation of the Canaanites, entered into friendship with them; and Eleazar the high priest, with the senate, sware to them that they would esteem them their friends and associates, and would attempt nothing that should be unfair against them, the multitude also assenting to the oaths that were made to them. So these men, having obtained what they desired, by deceiving the Israelites, went home: but when Joshua led his army to the country at the bottom of the mountains of this part of Canaan, he understood that the Gibeonites dwelt not far from Jerusalem, and that they were of the stock of the Canaanites; so he sent for their governors, and reproached them with the cheat they had put upon him; but they alleged, on their own behalf, that they had no other way to save themselves but that, and were therefore forced to have recourse to it. So he called for Eleazar the high priest, and for the senate, who thought it right to make them public servants, that they might not break the oath they had made to them; and they ordained them to

be so. And this was the method by which these men found safety and security under the calamity that was ready to overtake them.

17. But the king of Jerusalem took it to heart that the Gibeonites had gone over to Joshua; so he called upon the kings of the neighboring nations to join together, and make war against them. Now when the Gibeonites saw these kings, which were four, besides the king of Jerusalem, and perceived that they had pitched their camp at a certain fountain not far from their city, and were getting ready for the siege of it, they called upon Joshua to assist them; for such was their case, as to expect to be destroyed by these Canaanites, but to suppose they should be saved by those that came for the destruction of the Canaanites, because of the league of friendship that was between them. Accordingly, Joshua made haste with his whole army to assist them, and marching day and night, in the morning he fell upon the enemies as they were going up to the siege; and when he had discomfited them, he followed them, and pursued them down the descent of the hills. The place is called Bethhoron; where he also understood that God assisted him, which he declared by thunder and thunderbolts, as also by the falling of hail larger than usual. Moreover, it happened that the day was lengthened that the night might not come on too soon, and be an obstruction to the zeal of the Hebrews in pursuing their enemies; insomuch that Joshua took the kings, who were hidden in a certain cave at Makkedah, and put them to death. Now, that the day was lengthened at this thee, and was longer than ordinary, is expressed in the books laid up in the temple.

18. These kings which made war with, and were ready to fight the Gibeonites, being thus overthrown, Joshua returned again to the mountainous parts of Canaan; and when he had made a great slaughter of the people there, and took their prey, he came to the camp at Gilgal. And now there went a great fame abroad among the neighboring people of the courage of the Hebrews; and those that heard what a number of men were destroyed, were greatly aftrighted at it: so the kings that lived about Mount Libanus, who were Canaanites, and those Canaanites that dwelt in the plain country, with auxiliaries out of the land of the Philistines, pitched their camp at Beroth, a city of the Upper Galilee, not far from Cadesh, which is itself also a place in Galilee. Now the number of the whole army was three hundred thousand armed footmen, and ten thousand horsemen, and twenty thousand chariots; so that the multitude of the enemies aftrighted both Joshua himself and the Israelites; and they, instead of being full of hopes of good success, were superstitiously timorous, with the great terror with which they were stricken. Whereupon God upbraided them with the fear they were in, and asked them whether they desired a greater help than he could afford them; and promised them that they should overcome their enemies; and

withal charged them to make their enemies' horses useless, and to burn their chariots. So Joshua became full of courage upon these promises of God, and went out suddenly against the enemies; and after five days' march he came upon them, and joined battle with them, and there was a terrible fight, and such a number were slain as could not be believed by those that heard it. He also went on in the pursuit a great way, and destroyed the entire army of the enemies, few only excepted, and all the kings fell in the battle; insomuch, that when there wanted men to be killed, Joshua slew their horses, and burnt their chariots and passed all over their country without opposition, no one daring to meet him in battle; but he still went on, taking their cities by siege, and again killing whatever he took.

19. The fifth year was now past, and there was not one of the Canaanites remained any longer, excepting some that had retired to places of great strength. So Joshua removed his camp to the mountainous country, and placed the tabernacle in the city of Shiloh, for that seemed a fit place for it, because of the beauty of its situation, until such thee as their affairs would permit them to build a temple; and from thence he went to Shechem, together with all the people, and raised an altar where Moses had beforehand directed; then did he divide the army, and placed one half of them on Mount Gerizzim, and the other half on Mount Ebal, on which mountain the altar was; he also placed there the tribe of Levi, and the priests. And when they had sacrificed, and denounced the [blessings and the] curses, and had left them engraven upon the altar, they returned to Shiloh.

20. And now Joshua was old, and saw that the cities of the Canaanites were not easily to be taken, not only because they were situate in such strong places, but because of the strength of the walls themselves, which being built round about, the natural strength of the places on which the cities stood, seemed capable of repelling their enemies from besieging them, and of making those enemies despair of taking them; for when the Canaanites had learned that the Israelites came out of Egypt in order to destroy them, they were busy all that time in making their cities strong. So he gathered the people together to a congregation at Shiloh; and when they, with great zeal and haste, were come thither, he observed to them what prosperous successes they had already had, and what glorious things had been done, and those such as were worthy of that God who enabled them to do those things, and worthy of the virtue of those laws which they followed. He took notice also, that thirty-one of those kings that ventured to give them battle were overcome, and every army, how great soever it were, that confided in their own power, and fought with them, was utterly destroyed; so that not so much as any of their posterity remained. And as for the

cities, since some of them were taken, but the others must be taken in length of thee, by long sieges, both on account of the strength of their walls, and of the confidence the inhabitants had in them thereby, he thought it reasonable that those tribes that came along with them from beyond Jordan, and had partaken of the dangers they had undergone, being their own kindred, should now be dismissed and sent home, and should have thanks for the pains they had taken together with them. As also, he thought it reasonable that they should send one man out of every tribe, and he such as had the testimony of extraordinary virtue, who should measure the land faithfully, and without any fallacy or deceit should inform them of its real magnitude.

21. Now Joshua, when he had thus spoken to them, found that the multitude approved of his proposal. So he sent men to measure their country, and sent with them some geometricians, who could not easily fail of knowing the truth, on account of their skill in that art. He also gave them a charge to estimate the measure of that part of the land that was most fruitful, and what was not so good: for such is the nature of the land of Canaan, that one may see large plains, and such as are exceeding fit to produce fruit, which yet, if they were compared to other parts of the country, might be reckoned exceedingly fruitful; yet, if it be compared with the fields about Jericho, and to those that belong to Jerusalem, will appear to be of no account at all; and although it so falls out that these people have but a very little of this sort of land, and that it is, for the main, mountainous also, yet does it not come behind other parts, on account of its exceeding goodness and beauty; for which reason Joshua thought the land for the tribes should be divided by estimation of its goodness, rather than the largeness of its measure, it often happening that one acre of some sort of land was equivalent to a thousand other acres. Now the men that were sent, which were in number ten, traveled all about, and made an estimation of the land, and in the seventh month came to him to the city of Shiloh, where they had set up the tabernacle.

22. So Joshua took both Eleazar and the senate, and with them the heads of the tribes, and distributed the land to the nine tribes, and to the half-tribe of Manasseh, appointing the dimensions to be according to the largeness of each tribe. So when he had cast lots, Judah had assigned him by lot the upper part of Judea, reaching as far as Jerusalem, and its breadth extended to the Lake of Sodom. Now in the lot of this tribe there were the cities of Askelon and Gaza. The lot of Simeon, which was the second, included that part of Idumea which bordered upon Egypt and Arabia. As to the Benjamites, their lot fell so, that its length reached from the river Jordan to the sea, but in breadth it was bounded by Jerusalem and Bethel; and this lot was the narrowest of all, by reason of the

goodness of the land, for it included Jericho and the city of Jerusalem. The tribe of Ephraim had by lot the land that extended in length from the river Jordan to Gezer; but in breadth as far as from Bethel, till it ended at the Great Plain. The half-tribe of Manasseh had the land from Jordan to the city of Dora; but its breadth was at Bethsham, which is now called Scythopolis. And after these was Issachar, which had its limits in length, Mount Carmel and the river, but its limit in breadth was Mount Tabor. The tribe of Zebulon's lot included the land which lay as far as the Lake of Genesareth, and that which belonged to Carmel and the sea. The tribe of Aser had that part which was called the Valley, for such it was, and all that part which lay over-against Sidon. The city Arce belonged to their share, which is also named Actipus. The Naphthalites received the eastern parts, as far as the city of Damascus and the Upper Galilee, unto Mount Libanus, and the Fountains of Jordan, which rise out of that mountain; that is, out of that part of it whose limits belong to the neighboring city of Arce. The Danites' lot included all that part of the valley which respects the sun-setting, and were bounded by Azotus and Dora; as also they had all Jamnia and Gath, from Ekron to that mountain where the tribe of Judah begins.

23. After this manner did Joshua divide the six nations that bear the name of the sons of Canaan, with their land, to be possessed by the nine tribes and a half; for Moses had prevented him, and had already distributed the land of the Amorites, which itself was so called also from one of the sons of Canaan, to the two tribes and a half, as we have shown already. But the parts about Sidon, as also those that belonged to the Arkites, and the Amathites, and the Aradians, were not yet regularly disposed of.

24. But now was Joshua hindered by his age from executing what he intended to do [as did those that succeeded him in the government, take little care of what was for the advantage of the public]; so he gave it in charge to every tribe to leave no remainder of the race of the Canaanites in the land that had been divided to them by lot; that Moses had assured them beforehand, and they might rest fully satisfied about it, that their own security and their observation of their own laws depended wholly upon it. Moreover, he enjoined them to give thirty-eight cities to the Levites, for they had already received ten in the country of the Amorites; and three of these he assigned to those that fled from the man-slayers, who were to inhabit there; for he was very solicitous that nothing should be neglected which Moses had ordained. These cities were, of the tribe of Judah, Hebron; of that of Ephraim, Shechem; and of that of Naphthali, Cadesh, which is a place of the Upper Galilee. He also distributed among them the rest of the prey not yet distributed, which was very great; whereby they had an affluence of great riches, both all in general, and every one in particular; and this of gold and of

vestments, and of other furniture, besides a multitude of cattle, whose number could not be told.

25. After this was over, he gathered the army together to a congregation, and spake thus to those tribes that had their settlement in the land of the Amorites beyond Jordan, — for fifty thousand of them had armed themselves, and had gone to the war along with them:— "Since that God, who is the Father and Lord of the Hebrew nation, has now given us this land for a possession, and promised to preserve us in the enjoyment of it as our own for ever; and since you have with alacrity offered yourselves to assist us when we wanted that assistance on all occasions, according to his command; it is but just, now all our difficulties are over, that you should be permitted to enjoy rest, and that we should trespass on your alacrity to help us no longer; that so, if we should again stand in need of it, we may readily have it on any future emergency, and not tire you out so much now as may make you slower in assisting us another thee. We, therefore, return you our thanks for the dangers you have undergone with us, and we do it not at this thee only, but we shall always be thus disposed; and be so good as to remember our friends, and to preserve in mind what advantages we have had from them; and how you have put off the enjoyments of your own happiness for our sakes, and have labored for what we have now, by the goodwill of God, obtained, and resolved not to enjoy your own prosperity till you had afforded us that assistance. However, you have, by joining your labor with ours, gotten great plenty of riches, and will carry home with you much prey, with gold and silver, and, what is more than all these, our goodwill towards you, and a mind willingly disposed to make a requital of your kindness to us, in what case soever you shall desire it, for you have not omitted any thing which Moses beforehand required of you, nor have you despised him because he was dead and gone from you, so that there is nothing to diminish that gratitude which we owe to you. We therefore dismiss you joyful to your own inheritances; and we entreat you to suppose, that there is no limit to be set to the intimate relation that is between us; and that you will not imagine, because this river is interposed between us, that you are of a different race from us, and not Hebrews; for we are all the posterity of Abraham, both we that inhabit here, and you that inhabit there; and it is the same God that brought our forefathers and yours into the world, whose worship and form of government we are to take care of, which he has ordained, and are most carefully to observe; because while you continue in those laws, God will also show himself merciful and assisting to you; but if you imitate the other nations, and forsake those laws, he will reject your nation." When Joshua had spoken thus, and saluted them all, both those in authority one by one, and the whole multitude in common, he himself staid where he was; but the people

conducted those tribes on their journey, and that not without tears in their eyes; and indeed they hardly knew how to part one from the other.

26. Now when the tribe of Reuben, and that of Gad, and as many of the Manassites as followed them, were passed over the river, they built an altar on the banks of Jordan, as a monument to posterity, and a sign of their relation to those that should inhabit on the other side. But when those on the other side heard that those who had been dismissed had built an altar, but did not hear with what intention they built it, but supposed it to be by way of innovation, and for the introduction of strange gods, they did not incline to disbelieve it; but thinking this defamatory report, as if it were built for divine worship, was credible, they appeared in arms, as though they would avenge themselves on those that built the altar; and they were about to pass over the river, and to punish them for their subversion of the laws of their country; for they did not think it fit to regard them on account of their kindred or the dignity of those that had given the occasion, but to regard the will of God, and the manner wherein he desired to be worshipped; so these men put themselves in array for war. But Joshua, and Eleazar the high priest, and the senate, restrained them; and persuaded them first to make trial by words of their intention, and afterwards, if they found that their intention was evil, then only to proceed to make war upon them. Accordingly, they sent as ambassadors to them Phineas the son of Eleazar, and ten more persons that were in esteem among the Hebrews, to learn of them what was in their mind, when, upon passing over the river, they had built an altar upon its banks. And as soon as these ambassadors were passed over, and were come to them, and a congregation was assembled, Phineas stood up and said, That the offense they had been guilty of was of too heinous a nature to be punished by words alone, or by them only to be amended for the future; yet that they did not so look at the heinousness of their transgression as to have recourse to arms, and to a battle for their punishment immediately, but that, on account of their kindred, and the probability there was that they might be reclaimed, they took this method of sending an ambassage to them: “That when we have learned the true reasons by which you have been moved to build this altar, we may neither seem to have been too rash in assaulting you by our weapons of war, if it prove that you made the altar for justifiable reasons, and may then justly punish you if the accusation prove true; for we can hardly hardly suppose that you, have been acquainted with the will of God and have been hearers of those laws which he himself hath given us, now you are separated from us, and gone to that patrimony of yours, which you, through the grace of God, and that providence which he exercises over you, have obtained by lot, can forget him, and can leave that ark and that altar which is peculiar to us, and can introduce strange gods,

and imitate the wicked practices of the Canaanites. Now this will appear to have been a small crime if you repent now, and proceed no further in your madness, but pay a due reverence to, and keep in mind the laws of your country; but if you persist in your sins, we will not grudge our pains to preserve our laws; but we will pass over Jordan and defend them, and defend God also, and shall esteem of you as of men no way differing from the Canaanites, but shall destroy you in the like manner as we destroyed them; for do not you imagine that, because you are got over the river, you are got out of the reach of God's power; you are every where in places that belong to him, and impossible it is to overrun his power, and the punishment he will bring on men thereby: but if you think that your settlement here will be any obstruction to your conversion to what is good, nothing need hinder us from dividing the land anew, and leaving this old land to be for the feeding of sheep; but you will do well to return to your duty, and to leave off these new crimes; and we beseech you, by your children and wives, not to force us to punish you. Take therefore such measures in this assembly, as supposing that your own safety, and the safety of those that are dearest to you, is therein concerned, and believe that it is better for you to be conquered by words, than to continue in your purpose, and to experience deeds and war therefore."

27. When Phineas had discoursed thus, the governors of the assembly, and the whole multitude, began to make an apology for themselves, concerning what they were accused of; and they said, That they neither would depart from the relation they bare to them, nor had they built the altar by way of innovation; that they owned one and the same common God with all the Hebrews, and that brazen altar which was before the tabernacle, on which they would offer their sacrifices; that as to the altar they had raised, on account of which they were thus suspected, it was not built for worship, "but that it might be a sign and a monument of our relation to you for ever, and a necessary caution to us to act wisely, and to continue in the laws of our country, but not a handle for transgressing them, as you suspect: and let God be our authentic witness, that this was the occasion of our building this altar: whence we beg you will have a better opinion of us, and do not impute such a thing to us as would render any of the posterity of Abraham well worthy of perdition, in case they attempt to bring in new rites, and such as are different from our usual practices."

28. When they had made this answer, and Phineas had commended them for it, he came to Joshua, and explained before the people what answer they had received. Now Joshua was glad that he was under no necessity of setting them in array, or of leading them to shed blood, and make war against men of their own kindred; and accordingly he offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to God for the same. So Joshua after that dissolved this great assembly of the people, and sent

them to their own inheritances, while he himself lived in Shechem. But in the twentieth year after this, when he was very old, he sent for those of the greatest dignity in the several cities, with those in authority, and the senate, and as many of the common people as could be present; and when they were come, he put them in mind of all the benefits God had bestowed on them, which could not but be a great many, since from a low estate they were advanced to so great a degree of glory and plenty; and exhorted them to take notice of the intentions of God, which had been so gracious towards them; and told them that the Deity would continue their friend by nothing else but their piety; and that it was proper for him, now that he was about to depart out of this life, to leave such an admonition to them; and he desired that they would keep in memory this his exhortation to them.

29. So Joshua, when he had thus discoursed to them, died, having lived a hundred and ten years; forty of which he lived with Moses, in order to learn what might be for his advantage afterwards. He also became their commander after his death for twenty-five years. He was a man that wanted not wisdom nor eloquence to declare his intentions to the people, but very eminent on both accounts. He was of great courage and magnanimity in action and in dangers, and very sagacious in procuring the peace of the people, and of great virtue at all proper seasons. He was buried in the city of Timnab, of the tribe of Ephraim About the same time died Eleazar the high priest, leaving the high priesthood to his son Phineas. His monument also, and sepulcher, are in the city of Gabatha.

CHAPTER 2. How, After The Death Of Joshua Their Commander, The Israelites Transgressed The Laws Of Their Country, And Experienced Great Afflictions; And When There Was A Sedition Arisen, The Tribe Of Benjamin Was Destroyed Excepting Only Six Hundred Men.

1. After the death of Joshua and Eleazar, Phineas prophesied, that according to God's will they should commit the government to the tribe of Judah, and that this tribe should destroy the race of the Canaanites; for then the people were concerned to learn what was the will of God. They also took to their assistance the tribe of Simeon; but upon this condition, that when those that had been tributary to the tribe of Judah should be slain, they should do the like for the tribe of Simeon.

2. But the affairs of the Canaanites were at this thee in a flourishing condition, and they expected the Israelites with a great army at the city Bezek, having put the government into the hands of Adonibezek, which name denotes the Lord of Bezek, for Adoni in the Hebrew tongue signifies Lord. Now they hoped to have been too hard for the Israelites, because Joshua was dead; but when the Israelites had joined battle with them, I mean the two tribes before mentioned, they fought gloriously, and slew above ten thousand of them, and put the rest to flight; and in the pursuit they took Adonibezek, who, when his fingers and toes were cut off by them, said, "Nay, indeed, I was not always to lie concealed from God, as I find by what I now endure, while I have not been ashamed to do the same to seventy-two kings." So they carried him alive as far as Jerusalem; and when he was dead, they buried him in the earth, and went on still in taking the cities: and when they had taken the greatest part of them, they besieged Jerusalem; and when they had taken the lower city, which was not under a considerable time, they slew all the inhabitants; but the upper city was not to be taken without great difficulty, through the strength of its walls, and the nature of the place.

3. For which reason they removed their camp to Hebron; and when they had taken it, they slew all the inhabitants. There were till then left the race of giants, who had bodies so large, and countenances so entirely different from other men, that they were surprising to the sight, and terrible to the hearing. The bones of

these men are still shown to this very day, unlike to any credible relations of other men. Now they gave this city to the Levites as an extraordinary reward, with the suburbs of two thousand cities; but the land thereto belonging they gave as a free gift to Caleb, according to the injunctions of Moses. This Caleb was one of the spies which Moses sent into the land of Canaan. They also gave land for habitation to the posterity of Jethro, the Midianite, who was the father-in-law to Moses; for they had left their own country, and followed them, and accompanied them in the wilderness.

4. Now the tribes of Judah and Simeon took the cities which were in the mountainous part of Canaan, as also Askelon and Ashdod, of those that lay near the sea; but Gaza and Ekron escaped them, for they, lying in a flat country, and having a great number of chariots, sorely galled those that attacked them. So these tribes, when they were grown very rich by this war, retired to their own cities, and laid aside their weapons of war.

5. But the Benjamites, to whom belonged Jerusalem, permitted its inhabitants to pay tribute. So they all left off, the one to kill, and the other to expose themselves to danger, and had time to cultivate the ground. The rest of the tribes imitated that of Benjamin, and did the same; and, contenting themselves with the tributes that were paid them, permitted the Canaanites to live in peace.

6. However, the tribe of Ephraim, when they besieged Bethel, made no advance, nor performed any thing worthy of the time they spent, and of the pains they took about that siege; yet did they persist in it, still sitting down before the city, though they endured great trouble thereby: but, after some time, they caught one of the citizens that came to them to get necessaries, and they gave him some assurances that, if he would deliver up the city to them, they would preserve him and his kindred; so he aware that, upon those terms, he would put the city into their hands. Accordingly, he that, thus betrayed the city was preserved with his family; and the Israelites slew all the inhabitants, and retained the city for themselves.

7. After this, the Israelites grew effeminate as to fighting any more against their enemies, but applied themselves to the cultivation of the land, which producing them great plenty and riches, they neglected the regular disposition of their settlement, and indulged themselves in luxury and pleasures; nor were they any longer careful to hear the laws that belonged to their political government: whereupon God was provoked to anger, and put them in mind, first, how, contrary to his directions, they had spared the Canaanites; and, after that, how those Canaanites, as opportunity served, used them very barbarously. But the Israelites, though they were in heaviness at these admonitions from God, yet were they still very unwilling to go to war; and since they got large tributes from

the Canaanites, and were indisposed for taking pains by their luxury, they suffered their aristocracy to be corrupted also, and did not ordain themselves a senate, nor any other such magistrates as their laws had formerly required, but they were very much given to cultivating their fields, in order to get wealth; which great indolence of theirs brought a terrible sedition upon them, and they proceeded so far as to fight one against another, from the following occasion: —

8. There was a Levite a man of a vulgar family, that belonged to the tribe of Ephraim, and dwelt therein: this man married a wife from Bethlehem, which is a place belonging to the tribe of Judah. Now he was very fond of his wife, and overcome with her beauty; but he was unhappy in this, that he did not meet with the like return of affection from her, for she was averse to him, which did more inflame his passion for her, so that they quarreled one with another perpetually; and at last the woman was so disgusted at these quarrels, that she left her husband, and went to her parents in the fourth month. The husband being very uneasy at this her departure, and that out of his fondness for her, came to his father and mother-in-law, and made up their quarrels, and was reconciled to her, and lived with them there four days, as being kindly treated by her parents. On the fifth day he resolved to go home, and went away in the evening; for his wife's parents were loath to part with their daughter, and delayed the time till the day was gone. Now they had one servant that followed them, and an ass on which the woman rode; and when they were near Jerusalem, having gone already thirty furlongs, the servant advised them to take up their lodgings some where, lest some misfortune should befall them if they traveled in the night, especially since they were not far off enemies, that season often giving reason for suspicion of dangers from even such as are friends; but the husband was not pleased with this advice, nor was he willing to take up his lodging among strangers, for the city belonged to the Canaanites, but desired rather to go twenty furlongs farther, and so to take their lodgings in some Israelite city. Accordingly, he obtained his purpose, and came to Gibeah, a city of the tribe of Benjamin, when it was just dark; and while no one that lived in the market-place invited him to lodge with him, there came an old man out of the field, one that was indeed of the tribe of Ephraim, but resided in Gibeah, and met him, and asked him who he was, and for what reason he came thither so late, and why he was looking out for provisions for supper when it was dark? To which he replied, that he was a Levite, and was bringing his wife from her parents, and was going home; but he told him his habitation was in the tribe of Ephraim: so the old man, as well because of their kindred as because they lived in the same tribe, and also because they had thus accidentally met together, took him in to lodge with him. Now certain young men of the inhabitants of Gibeah, having seen the woman in

the market-place, and admiring her beauty, when they understood that she lodged with the old man, came to the doors, as contemning the weakness and fewness of the old man's family; and when the old man desired them to go away, and not to offer any violence or abuse there, they desired him to yield them up the strange woman, and then he should have no harm done to him: and when the old man alleged that the Levite was of his kindred, and that they would be guilty of horrid wickedness if they suffered themselves to be overcome by their pleasures, and so offend against their laws, they despised his righteous admonition, and laughed him to scorn. They also threatened to kill him if he became an obstacle to their inclinations; whereupon, when he found himself in great distress, and yet was not willing to overlook his guests, and see them abused, he produced his own daughter to them; and told them that it was a smaller breach of the law to satisfy their lust upon her, than to abuse his guests, supposing that he himself should by this means prevent any injury to be done to those guests. When they no way abated of their earnestness for the strange woman, but insisted absolutely on their desires to have her, he entreated them not to perpetrate any such act of injustice; but they proceeded to take her away by force, and indulging still more the violence of their inclinations, they took the woman away to their house, and when they had satisfied their lust upon her the whole night, they let her go about daybreak. So she came to the place where she had been entertained, under great affliction at what had happened; and was very sorrowful upon occasion of what she had suffered, and durst not look her husband in the face for shame, for she concluded that he would never forgive her for what she had done; so she fell down, and gave up the ghost: but her husband supposed that his wife was only fast asleep, and, thinking nothing of a more melancholy nature had happened, endeavored to raise her up, resolving to speak comfortably to her, since she did not voluntarily expose herself to these men's lust, but was forced away to their house; but as soon as he perceived she was dead, he acted as prudently as the greatness of his misfortunes would admit, and laid his dead wife upon the beast, and carried her home; and cutting her, limb by limb, into twelve pieces, he sent them to every tribe, and gave it in charge to those that carried them, to inform the tribes of those that were the causes of his wife's death, and of the violence they had offered to her.

9. Upon this the people were greatly disturbed at what they saw, and at what they heard, as never having had the experience of such a thing before; so they gathered themselves to Shiloh, out of a prodigious and a just anger, and assembling in a great congregation before the tabernacle, they immediately resolved to take arms, and to treat the inhabitants of Gibeah as enemies; but the senate restrained them from doing so, and persuaded them, that they ought not so

hastily to make war upon people of the same nation with them, before they discoursed them by words concerning the accusation laid against them; it being part of their law, that they should not bring an army against foreigners themselves, when they appear to have been injurious, without sending an ambassage first, and trying thereby whether they will repent or not: and accordingly they exhorted them to do what they ought to do in obedience to their laws, that is, to send to the inhabitants of Gibeah, to know whether they would deliver up the offenders to them, and if they deliver them up, to rest satisfied with the punishment of those offenders; but if they despised the message that was sent them, to punish them by taking, up arms against them. Accordingly they sent to the inhabitants of Gibeah, and accused the young men of the crimes committed in the affair of the Levite's wife, and required of them those that had done what was contrary to the law, that they might be punished, as having justly deserved to die for what they had done; but the inhabitants of Gibeah would not deliver up the young men, and thought it too reproachful to them, out of fear of war, to submit to other men's demands upon them; vaunting themselves to be no way inferior to any in war, neither in their number nor in courage. The rest of their tribe were also making great preparation for war, for they were so insolently mad as also to resolve to repel force by force.

10. When it was related to the Israelites what the inhabitants of Gibeah had resolved upon, they took their oath that no one of them would give his daughter in marriage to a Benjamite, but make war with greater fury against them than we have learned our forefathers made war against the Canaanites; and sent out presently an army of four hundred thousand against them, while the Benjamites' army-was twenty-five thousand and six hundred; five hundred of whom were excellent at slinging stones with their left hands, insomuch that when the battle was joined at Gibeah the Benjamites beat the Israelites, and of them there fell two thousand men; and probably more had been destroyed had not the night came on and prevented it, and broken off the fight; so the Benjamites returned to the city with joy, and the Israelites returned to their camp in a great fright at what had happened. On the next day, when they fought again, the Benjamites beat them; and eighteen thousand of the Israelites were slain, and the rest deserted their camp out of fear of a greater slaughter. So they came to Bethel, a city that was near their camp, and fasted on the next day; and besought God, by Phineas the high priest, that his wrath against them might cease, and that he would be satisfied with these two defeats, and give them the victory and power over their enemies. Accordingly God promised them so to do, by the prophesying of Phineas.

11. When therefore they had divided the army into two parts, they laid the one half of them in ambush about the city Gibeah by night, while the other half attacked the Benjamites, who retiring upon the assault, the Benjamites pursued them, while the Hebrews retired by slow degrees, as very desirous to draw them entirely from the city; and the other followed them as they retired, till both the old men and the young men that were left in the city, as too weak to fight, came running out together with them, as willing to bring their enemies under. However, when they were a great way from the city the Hebrews ran away no longer, but turned back to fight them, and lifted up the signal they had agreed on to those that lay in ambush, who rose up, and with a great noise fell upon the enemy. Now, as soon as ever they perceived themselves to be deceived, they knew not what to do; and when they were driven into a certain hollow place which was in a valley, they were shot at by those that encompassed them, till they were all destroyed, excepting six hundred, which formed themselves into a close body of men, and forced their passage through the midst of their enemies, and fled to the neighboring mountains, and, seizing upon them, remained there; but the rest of them, being about twenty-five thousand, were slain. Then did the Israelites burn Gibeah, and slew the women, and the males that were under age; and did the same also to the other cities of the Benjamites; and, indeed, they were enraged to that degree, that they sent twelve thousand men out of the army, and gave them orders to destroy Jabesh Gilead, because it did not join with them in fighting against the Benjamites. Accordingly, those that were sent slew the men of war, with their children and wives, excepting four hundred virgins. To such a degree had they proceeded in their anger, because they not only had the suffering of the Levite's wife to avenge, but the slaughter of their own soldiers.

12. However, they afterward were sorry for the calamity they had brought upon the Benjamites, and appointed a fast on that account, although they supposed those men had suffered justly for their offense against the laws; so they recalled by their ambassadors those six hundred which had escaped. These had seated themselves on a certain rock called Rimmon, which was in the wilderness. So the ambassadors lamented not only the disaster that had befallen the Benjamites, but themselves also, by this destruction of their kindred; and persuaded them to take it patiently; and to come and unite with them, and not, so far as in them lay, to give their suffrage to the utter destruction of the tribe of Benjamin; and said to them, "We give you leave to take the whole land of Benjamin to yourselves, and as much prey as you are able to carry away with you." So these men with sorrow confessed, that what had been done was according to the decree of God, and had happened for their own wickedness; and assented to those that invited them, and came down to their own tribe. The

Israelites also gave them the four hundred virgins of Jabesh Gilead for wives; but as to the remaining two hundred, they deliberated about it how they might compass wives enough for them, and that they might have children by them; and whereas they had, before the war began, taken an oath, that no one would give his daughter to wife to a Benjamite, some advised them to have no regard to what they had sworn, because the oath had not been taken advisedly and judiciously, but in a passion, and thought that they should do nothing against God, if they were able to save a whole tribe which was in danger of perishing; and that perjury was then a sad and dangerous thing, not when it is done out of necessity, but when it is done with a wicked intention. But when the senate were affrighted at the very name of perjury, a certain person told them that he could show them a way whereby they might procure the Benjamites wives enough, and yet keep their oath. They asked him what his proposal was. He said, "That three times in a year, when we meet in Shiloh, our wives and our daughters accompany us: let then the Benjamites be allowed to steal away, and marry such women as they can catch, while we will neither incite them nor forbid them; and when their parents take it ill, and desire us to inflict punishment upon them, we will tell them, that they were themselves the cause of what had happened, by neglecting to guard their daughters, and that they ought not to be over angry at the Benjamites, since that anger was permitted to rise too high already." So the Israelites were persuaded to follow this advice, and decreed, That the Benjamites should be allowed thus to steal themselves wives. So when the festival was coming on, these two hundred Benjamites lay in ambush before the city, by two and three together, and waited for the coming of the virgins, in the vineyards and other places where they could lie concealed. Accordingly the virgins came along playing, and suspected nothing of what was coming upon them, and walked after an unguarded manner, so those that laid scattered in the road, rose up, and caught hold of them: by this means these Benjamites got them wives, and fell to agriculture, and took good care to recover their former happy state. And thus was this tribe of the Benjamites, after they had been in danger of entirely perishing, saved in the manner forementioned, by the wisdom of the Israelites; and accordingly it presently flourished, and soon increased to be a multitude, and came to enjoy all other degrees of happiness. And such was the conclusion of this war.

CHAPTER 3. How The Israelites After This Misfortune Grew Wicked And Served The Assyrians; And How God Delivered Them By Othniel, Who Ruled Over The Forty Years.

1. Now it happened that the tribe of Dan suffered in like manner with the tribe of Benjamin; and it came to do so on the occasion following: — When the Israelites had already left off the exercise of their arms for war, and were intent upon their husbandry, the Canaanites despised them, and brought together an army, not because they expected to suffer by them, but because they had a mind to have a sure prospect of treating the Hebrews ill when they pleased, and might thereby for the time to come dwell in their own cities the more securely; they prepared therefore their chariots, and gathered their soldiery together, their cities also combined together, and drew over to them Askelon and Ekron, which were within the tribe of Judah, and many more of those that lay in the plain. They also forced the Danites to fly into the mountainous country, and left them not the least portion of the plain country to set their foot on. Since then these Danites were not able to fight them, and had not land enough to sustain them, they sent five of their men into the midland country, to seek for a land to which they might remove their habitation. So these men went as far as the neighborhood of Mount Libanus, and the fountains of the Lesser Jordan, at the great plain of Sidon, a day's journey from the city; and when they had taken a view of the land, and found it to be good and exceeding fruitful, they acquainted their tribe with it, whereupon they made an expedition with the army, and built there the city Dan, of the same name with the son of Jacob, and of the same name with their own tribe.

2. The Israelites grew so indolent, and unready of taking pains, that misfortunes came heavier upon them, which also proceeded in part from their contempt of the Divine worship; for when they had once fallen off from the regularity of their political government, they indulged themselves further in living according to their own pleasure, and according to their own will, till they were full of the evil doings that were common among the Canaanites. God therefore was angry with them, and they lost that their happy state which they had obtained by innumerable labors, by their luxury; for when Chushan, king of the Assyrians, had made war against them, they lost many of their soldiers in the battle, and when they were besieged, they were taken by force; nay, there were

some who, out of fear, voluntarily submitted to him, and though the tribute laid upon them was more than they could bear, yet did they pay it, and underwent all sort of oppression for eight years; after which thee they were freed from them in the following manner: —

3. There was one whose name was Othniel, the son of Kenaz, of the tribe of Judah, an active man and of great courage. He had an admonition from God not to overlook the Israelites in such a distress as they were now in, but to endeavor boldly to gain them their liberty; so when he had procured some to assist him in this dangerous undertaking, [and few they were, who, either out of shame at their present circumstances, or out of a desire of changing them, could be prevailed on to assist him,] he first of all destroyed that garrison which Chushan had set over them; but when it was perceived that he had not failed in his first attempt, more of the people came to his assistance; so they joined battle with the Assyrians, and drove them entirely before them, and compelled them to pass over Euphrates. Hereupon Othniel, who had given such proofs of his valor, received from the multitude authority to judge the people; and when he had ruled over them forty years, he died.

CHAPTER 4. How Our People Served The Moabites Eighteen Years, And Were Then Delivered From Slavery By One Ehud Who Retained The Dominion Eighty Years.

1. When Othniel was dead, the affairs of the Israelites fell again into disorder: and while they neither paid to God the honor due to him, nor were obedient to the laws, their afflictions increased, till Eglon, king of the Moabites, did so greatly despise them on account of the disorders of their political government, that he made war upon them, and overcame them in several battles, and made the most courageous to submit, and entirely subdued their army, and ordered them to pay him tribute. And when he had built him a royal palace at Jericho, he omitted no method whereby he might distress them; and indeed he reduced them to poverty for eighteen years. But when God had once taken pity of the Israelites, on account of their afflictions, and was moved to compassion by their supplications put up to him, he freed them from the hard usage they had met with under the Moabites. This liberty he procured for them in the following manner; —

2. There was a young man of the tribe of Benjamin, whose name was Ehud, the son of Gera, a man of very great courage in bold undertakings, and of a very strong body, fit for hard labor, but best skilled in using his left hand, in which was his whole strength; and he also dwelt at Jericho. Now this man became familiar with Eglon, and that by means of presents, with which he obtained his favor, and insinuated himself into his good opinion; whereby he was also beloved of those that were about the king. Now, when on a time he was bringing presents to the king, and had two servants with him, he put a dagger on his right thigh secretly, and went in to him: it was then summer thee, and the middle of the day, when the guards were not strictly on their watch, both because of the heat, and because they were gone to dinner. So the young man, when he had offered his presents to the king, who then resided in a small parlor that stood conveniently to avoid the heat, fell into discourse with him, for they were now alone, the king having bid his servants that attended him to go their ways, because he had a mind to talk with Ehud. He was now sitting on his throne; and fear seized upon Ehud lest he should miss his stroke, and not give him a deadly wound; so he raised himself up, and said he had a dream to impart to him by the command of God; upon which the king leaped out of his throne for joy of the

dream; so Ehud smote him to the heart, and leaving his dagger in his body, he went out and shut the door after him. Now the king's servants were very still, as supposing that the king had composed himself to sleep.

3. Hereupon Ehud informed the people of Jericho privately of what he had done, and exhorted them to recover their liberty; who heard him gladly, and went to their arms, and sent messengers over the country, that should sound trumpets of rams' horns; for it was our custom to call the people together by them. Now the attendants of Eglon were ignorant of what misfortune had befallen him for a great while; but, towards the evening, fearing some uncommon accident had happened, they entered into his parlor, and when they found him dead, they were in great disorder, and knew not what to do; and before the guards could be got together, the multitude of the Israelites came upon them, so that some of them were slain immediately, and some were put to flight, and ran away toward the country of Moab, in order to save themselves. Their number was above ten thousand. The Israelites seized upon the ford of Jordan, and pursued them, and slew them, and many of them they killed at the ford, nor did one of them escape out of their hands; and by this means it was that the Hebrews freed themselves from slavery under the Moabites. Ehud also was on this account dignified with the government over all the multitude, and died after he had held the government eighty years He was a man worthy of commendation, even besides what he deserved for the forementioned act of his. After him Shamgat, the son of Anath, was elected for their governor, but died in the first year of his government.

CHAPTER 5. How The Canaanites Brought The Israelites Under Slavery For Twenty Years; After Which They Were Delivered By Barak And Deborah, Who Ruled Over Them For Forty Years.

1. And now it was that the Israelites, taking no warning by their former misfortunes to amend their manners, and neither worshipping God nor submitting to the laws, were brought under slavery by Jabin, the king of the Canaanites, and that before they had a short breathing time after the slavery under the Moabites; for this Jabin out of Hazor, a city that was situate over the Semechonitis, and had in pay three hundred footmen, and ten thousand horsemen, with fewer than three thousand chariots. Sisera was commander of all his army, and was the principal person in the king's favor. He so sorely beat the Israelites when they fought with him, that he ordered them to pay tribute.

2. So they continued to that hardship for twenty years, as not good enough of themselves to grow wise by their misfortunes. God was willing also hereby the more to subdue their obstinacy and ingratitude towards himself: so when at length they were become penitent, and were so wise as to learn that their calamities arose from their contempt of the laws, they besought Deborah, a certain prophetess among them, [which name in the Hebrew tongue signifies a Bee,] to pray to God to take pity on them, and not to overlook them, now they were ruined by the Canaanites. So God granted them deliverance, and chose them a general, Barak, one that was of the tribe of Naphtali. Now Barak, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies Lightning.

3. So Deborah sent for Barak, and bade him choose out ten thousand young men to go against the enemy, because God had said that that number was sufficient, and promised them victory. But when Barak said that he would not be the general unless she would also go as a general with him, she had indignation at what he said "Thou, O Barak, deliverest up meanly that authority which God hath given thee into the hand of a woman, and I do not reject it!" So they collected ten thousand men, and pitched their camp at Mount Tabor, where, at the king's command, Sisera met them, and pitched his camp not far from the enemy; whereupon the Israelites, and Barak himself, were so aftrighted at the multitude of those enemies, that they were resolved to march off, had not Deborah retained them, and commanded them to fight the enemy that very day, for that they should conquer them, and God would be their assistance.

4. So the battle began; and when they were come to a close fight, there came down from heaven a great storm, with a vast quantity of rain and hail, and the wind blew the rain in the face of the Canaanites, and so darkened their eyes, that their arrows and slings were of no advantage to them, nor would the coldness of the air permit the soldiers to make use of their swords; while this storm did not so much incommode the Israelites, because it came in their backs. They also took such courage, upon the apprehension that God was assisting them, that they fell upon the very midst of their enemies, and slew a great number of them; so that some of them fell by the Israelites, some fell by their own horses, which were put into disorder, and not a few were killed by their own chariots. At last Sisera, as soon as he saw himself beaten, fled away, and came to a woman whose name was Jael, a Kenite, who received him, when he desired to be concealed; and when he asked for somewhat to drink, she gave him sour milk, of which he drank so unmeasurably that he fell asleep; but when he was asleep, Jael took an iron nail, and with a hammer drove it through his temples into the floor; and when Barak came a little afterward, she showed Sisera nailed to the ground: and thus was this victory gained by a woman, as Deborah had foretold. Barak also fought with Jabin at Hazor; and when he met with him, he slew him: and when the general was fallen, Barak overthrew the city to the foundation, and was the commander of the Israelites for forty years.

CHAPTER 6. How The Midianites And Other Nations Fought Against The Israelites And Beat Them, And Afflicted Their Country For Seven Years, How They Were Delivered By Gideon, Who Ruled Over The Multitude For Forty Years.

1. Now when Barak and Deborah were dead, whose deaths happened about the same time, afterwards the Midianites called the Amalekites and Arabians to their assistance, and made war against the Israelites, and were too hard for those that fought against them; and when they had burnt the fruits of the earth, they carried off the prey. Now when they had done this for three years, the multitude of the Israelites retired to the mountains, and forsook the plain country. They also made themselves hollows under ground, and caverns, and preserved therein whatsoever had escaped their enemies; for the Midianites made expeditions in harvest-time, but permitted them to plough the land in winter, that so, when the others had taken the pains, they might have fruits for them to carry away. Indeed, there ensued a famine and a scarcity of food; upon which they betook themselves to their supplications to God, and besought him to save them.

2. Gideon also, the son of Joash, one of the principal persons of the tribe of Manasseh, brought his sheaves of corn privately, and thrashed them at the wine-press; for he was too fearful of their enemies to thrash them openly in the thrashing-floor. At this time somewhat appeared to him in the shape of a young man, and told him that he was a happy man, and beloved of God. To which he immediately replied, “A mighty indication of God’s favor to me, that I am forced to use this wine-press instead of a thrashing-floor!” But the appearance exhorted him to be of good courage, and to make an attempt for the recovery of their liberty. He answered, that it was impossible for him to recover it, because the tribe to which he belonged was by no means numerous; and because he was but young himself, and too inconsiderable to think of such great actions. But the other promised him, that God would supply what he was defective in, and would afford the Israelites victory under his conduct.

3. Now, therefore, as Gideon was relating this to some young men, they believed him, and immediately there was an army of ten thousand men got ready for fighting. But God stood by Gideon in his sleep, and told him that mankind were too fond of themselves, and were enemies to such as excelled in virtue. Now that they might not pass God over, but ascribe the victory to him, and

might not fancy it obtained by their own power, because they were a great many, and able of themselves to fight their enemies, but might confess that it was owing to his assistance, he advised him to bring his army about noon, in the violence of the heat, to the river, and to esteem those that bent down on their knees, and so drank, to be men of courage; but for all those that drank tumultuously, that he should esteem them to do it out of fear, and as in dread of their enemies. And when Gideon had done as God had suggested to him, there were found three hundred men that took water with their hands tumultuously; so God bid him take these men, and attack the enemy. Accordingly they pitched their camp at the river Jordan, as ready the next day to pass over it.

4. But Gideon was in great fear, for God had told him beforehand that he should set upon his enemies in the night-time; but God, being willing to free him from his fear, bid him take one of his soldiers, and go near to the Midianites' tents, for that he should from that very place have his courage raised, and grow bold. So he obeyed, and went and took his servant Phurah with him; and as he came near to one of the tents, he discovered that those that were in it were awake, and that one of them was telling to his fellow soldier a dream of his own, and that so plainly that Gideon could hear him. The dream was this: — He thought he saw a barley-cake, such a one as could hardly be eaten by men, it was so vile, rolling through the camp, and overthrowing the royal tent, and the tents of all the soldiers. Now the other soldier explained this vision to mean the destruction of the army; and told them what his reason was which made him so conjecture, *viz.* That the seed called barley was all of it allowed to be of the vilest sort of seed, and that the Israelites were known to be the vilest of all the people of Asia, agreeably to the seed of barley, and that what seemed to look big among the Israelites was this Gideon and the army that was with him; "and since thou sayest thou didst see the cake overturning our tents, I am afraid lest God hath granted the victory over us to Gideon."

5. When Gideon had heard this dream, good hope and courage came upon him; and he commanded his soldiers to arm themselves, and told them of this vision of their enemies. They also took courage at what was told them, and were ready to perform what he should enjoin them. So Gideon divided his army into three parts, and brought it out about the fourth watch of the night, each part containing a hundred men: they all bare empty pitchers and lighted lamps in their hands, that their onset might not be discovered by their enemies. They had also each of them a ram's horn in his right hand, which he used instead of a trumpet. The enemy's camp took up a large space of ground, for it happened that they had a great many camels; and as they were divided into different nations, so they were all contained in one circle. Now when the Hebrews did as they were

ordered beforehand, upon their approach to their enemies, and, on the signal given, sounded with their rams' horns, and brake their pitchers, and set upon their enemies with their lamps, and a great shout, and cried, "Victory to Gideon, by God's assistance," a disorder and a fright seized upon the other men while they were half asleep, for it was night-time, as God would have it; so that a few of them were slain by their enemies, but the greatest part by their own soldiers, on account of the diversity of their language; and when they were once put into disorder, they killed all that they met with, as thinking them to be enemies also. Thus there was a great slaughter made. And as the report of Gideon's victory came to the Israelites, they took their weapons and pursued their enemies, and overtook them in a certain valley encompassed with torrents, a place which these could not get over; so they encompassed them, and slew them all, with their kings, Oreb and Zeeb. But the remaining captains led those soldiers that were left, which were about eighteen thousand, and pitched their camp a great way off the Israelites. However, Gideon did not grudge his pains, but pursued them with all his army, and joining battle with them, cut off the whole enemies' army, and took the other leaders, Zeba and Zalmuna, and made them captives. Now there were slain in this battle of the Midianites, and of their auxiliaries the Arabians, about a hundred and twenty thousand; and the Hebrews took a great prey, gold, and silver, and garments, and camels, and asses. And when Gideon was come to his own country of Ophrah, he slew the kings of the Midianites.

6. However, the tribe of Ephraim was so displeased at the good success of Gideon, that they resolved to make war against him, accusing him because he did not tell them of his expedition against their enemies. But Gideon, as a man of temper, and that excelled in every virtue, pleaded, that it was not the result of his own authority or reasoning, that made him attack the enemy without them; but that it was the command of God, and still the victory belonged to them as well as those in the army. And by this method of cooling their passions, he brought more advantage to the Hebrews, than by the success he had against these enemies, for he thereby delivered them from a sedition which was arising among them; yet did this tribe afterwards suffer the punishment of this their injurious treatment of Gideon, of which we will give an account in due time.

7. Hereupon Gideon would have laid down the government, but was over-persuaded to take it, which he enjoyed forty years, and distributed justice to them, as the people came to him in their differences; and what he determined was esteemed valid by all. And when he died, he was buried in his own country of Ophrah.

CHAPTER 7. That The Judges Who Succeeded Gideon Made War With The Adjoining Nations For A Long Time.

1. Now Gideon had seventy sons that were legitimate, for he had many wives; but he had also one that was spurious, by his concubine Drumah, whose name was Abimelech, who, after his father's death, retired to Shechem to his mother's relations, for they were of that place: and when he had got money of such of them as were eminent for many instances of injustice, he came with them to his father's house, and slew all his brethren, except Jotham, for he had the good fortune to escape and be preserved; but Abimelech made the government tyrannical, and constituted himself a lord, to do what he pleased, instead of obeying the laws; and he acted most rigidly against those that were the patrons of justice.

2. Now when, on a certain time, there was a public festival at Shechem, and all the multitude was there gathered together, Jotham his brother, whose escape we before related, went up to Mount Gerizzim, which hangs over the city Shechem, and cried out so as to be heard by the multitude, who were attentive to him. He desired they would consider what he was going to say to them: so when silence was made, he said, That when the trees had a human voice, and there was an assembly of them gathered together, they desired that the fig-tree would rule over them; but when that tree refused so to do, because it was contented to enjoy that honor which belonged peculiarly to the fruit it bare, and not that which should be derived to it from abroad, the trees did not leave off their intentions to have a ruler, so they thought proper to make the offer of that honor to the vine; but when the vine was chosen, it made use of the same words which the fig-tree had used before, and excused itself from accepting the government: and when the olive-tree had done the same, the brier, whom the trees had desired to take the kingdom, [it is a sort of wood good for firing,] it promised to take the government, and to be zealous in the exercise of it; but that then they must sit down under its shadow, and if they should plot against it to destroy it, the principle of fire that was in it should destroy them. He told them, that what he had said was no laughing matter; for that when they had experienced many blessings from Gideon, they overlooked Abimelech, when he overruled all, and had joined with him in slaying his brethren; and that he was no better than a fire himself. So when he had said this, he went away, and lived privately in the mountains for three years, out of fear of Abimelech.

3. A little while after this festival, the Shechemites, who had now repented themselves of having slain the sons of Gideon, drove Abimelech away, both from their city and their tribe; whereupon he contrived how he might distress their city. Now at the season of vintage, the people were afraid to go out and gather their fruits, for fear Abimelech should do them some mischief. Now it happened that there had come to them a man of authority, one Gaal, that sojourned with them, having his armed men and his kinsmen with him; so the Shechemites desired that he would allow them a guard during their vintage; whereupon he accepted of their desires, and so the people went out, and Gaal with them at the head of his soldiery. So they gathered their fruit with safety; and when they were at supper in several companies, they then ventured to curse Abimelech openly; and the magistrates laid ambushes in places about the city, and caught many of Abimelech's followers, and destroyed them.

4. Now there was one Zebul, a magistrate of the Shechemites, that had entertained Abimelech. He sent messengers, and informed him how much Gaal had irritated the people against him, and excited him to lay ambushes before the city, for that he would persuade Gaal to go out against him, which would leave it in his power to be revenged on him; and when that was once done, he would bring him to be reconciled to the city. So Abimelech laid ambushes, and himself lay with them. Now Gaal abode in the suburbs, taking little care of himself; and Zebul was with him. Now as Gaal saw the armed men coming on, he said to Zebul, That some armed men were coming; but the other replied, They were only shadows of huge stones: and when they were come nearer, Gaal perceived what was the reality, and said, They were not shadows, but men lying in ambush. Then said Zebul, "Didst not thou reproach Abimelech for cowardice? why dost thou not then show how very courageous thou art thyself, and go and fight him?" So Gaal, being in disorder, joined battle with Abimelech, and some of his men fell; whereupon he fled into the city, and took his men with him. But Zebul managed his matters so in the city, that he procured them to expel Gaal out of the city, and this by accusing him of cowardice in this action with the soldiers of Ahimelech. But Abimelech, when he had learned that the Shechemites were again coming out to gather their grapes, placed ambushes before the city, and when they were coming out, the third part of his army took possession of the gates, to hinder the citizens from returning in again, while the rest pursued those that were scattered abroad, and so there was slaughter every where; and when he had overthrown the city to the very foundations, for it was not able to bear a siege, and had sown its ruins with salt, he proceeded on with his army till all the Shechemites were slain. As for those that were scattered about the country, and so escaped the danger, they were gathered together unto a certain strong rock,

and settled themselves upon it, and prepared to build a wall about it: and when Abimelech knew their intentions, he prevented them, and came upon them with his forces, and laid faggots of dry wood round the place, he himself bringing some of them, and by his example encouraging the soldiers to do the same. And when the rock was encompassed round about with these faggots, they set them on fire, and threw in whatsoever by nature caught fire the most easily: so a mighty flame was raised, and nobody could fly away from the rock, but every man perished, with their wives and children, in all about fifteen hundred men, and the rest were a great number also. And such was the calamity which fell upon the Shechemites; and men's grief on their account had been greater than it was, had they not brought so much mischief on a person who had so well deserved of them, and had they not themselves esteemed this as a punishment for the same.

5. Now Abimelech, when he had aftrighted the Israelites with the miseries he had brought upon the Shechemites, seemed openly to affect greater authority than he now had, and appeared to set no bounds to his violence, unless it were with the destruction of all. Accordingly he marched to Thebes, and took the city on the sudden; and there being a great tower therein, whereunto the whole multitude fled, he made preparation to besiege it. Now as he was rushing with violence near the gates, a woman threw a piece of a millstone upon his head, upon which Abimelech fell down, and desired his armor-bearer to kill him lest his death should be thought to be the work of a woman: — who did what he was bid to do. So he underwent this death as a punishment for the wickedness he had perpetrated against his brethren, and his insolent barbarity to the Shechemites. Now the calamity that happened to those Shechemites was according to the prediction of Jotham, However, the army that was with Abimelech, upon his fall, was scattered abroad, and went to their own homes.

6. Now it was that Jair the Gileadite, of the tribe of Manasseh, took the government. He was a man happy in other respects also, but particularly in his children, who were of a good character. They were thirty in number, and very skillful in riding on horses, and were intrusted with the government of the cities of Gilead. He kept the government twenty-two years, and died an old man; and he was buried in Camon, a city of Gilead.

7. And now all the affairs of the Hebrews were managed uncertainly, and tended to disorder, and to the contempt of God and of the laws. So the Ammonites and Philistines had them in contempt, and laid waste the country with a great army; and when they had taken all Perea, they were so insolent as to attempt to gain the possession of all the rest. But the Hebrews, being now amended by the calamities they had undergone, betook themselves to

supplications to God; and brought sacrifices to him, beseeching him not to be too severe upon them, but to be moved by their prayers to leave off his anger against them. So God became more merciful to them, and was ready to assist them.

8. When the Ammonites had made an expedition into the land of Gilead, the inhabitants of the country met them at a certain mountain, but wanted a commander. Now there was one whose name was Jephtha, who, both on account of his father's virtue, and on account of that army which he maintained at his own expenses, was a potent man: the Israelites therefore sent to him, and entreated him to come to their assistance, and promised him the dominion over them all his lifetime. But he did not admit of their entreaty; and accused them, that they did not come to his assistance when he was unjustly treated, and this in an open manner by his brethren; for they cast him off, as not having the same mother with the rest, but born of a strange mother, that was introduced among them by his father's fondness; and this they did out of a contempt of his inability [to vindicate himself]. So he dwelt in the country of Gilead, as it is called, and received all that came to him, let them come from what place soever, and paid them wages. However, when they pressed him to accept the dominion, and sware they would grant him the government over them all his life, he led them to the war.

9. And when Jephtha had taken immediate care of their affairs, he placed his army at the city Mizpeh, and sent a message to the Ammonite [king], complaining of his unjust possession of their land. But that king sent a contrary message; and complained of the exodus of the Israelites out of Egypt, and desired him to go out of the land of the Amorites, and yield it up to him, as at first his paternal inheritance. But Jephtha returned this answer: That he did not justly complain of his ancestors about the land of the Amorites, and ought rather to thank them that they left the land of the Ammonites to them, since Moses could have taken it also; and that neither would he recede from that land of their own, which God had obtained for them, and they had now inhabited [above] three hundred years, but would fight with them about it.

10. And when he had given them this answer, he sent the ambassadors away. And when he had prayed for victory, and had vowed to perform sacred offices, and if he came home in safety, to offer in sacrifice what living creature soever should first meet him, he joined battle with the enemy, and gained a great victory, and in his pursuit slew the enemies all along as far as the city of Minnith. He then passed over to the land of the Ammonites, and overthrew many of their cities, and took their prey, and freed his own people from that slavery which they had undergone for eighteen years. But as he came back, he fell into a calamity no way correspondent to the great actions he had done; for it was his

daughter that came to meet him; she was also an only child and a virgin: upon this Jephtha heavily lamented the greatness of his affliction, and blamed his daughter for being so forward in meeting him, for he had vowed to sacrifice her to God. However, this action that was to befall her was not ungrateful to her, since she should die upon occasion of her father's victory, and the liberty of her fellow citizens: she only desired her father to give her leave, for two months, to bewail her youth with her fellow citizens; and then she agreed, that at the forementioned thee he might do with her according to his vow. Accordingly, when that time was over, he sacrificed his daughter as a burnt-offering, offering such an oblation as was neither conformable to the law nor acceptable to God, not weighing with himself what opinion the hearers would have of such a practice.

11. Now the tribe of Ephraim fought against him, because he did not take them along with him in his expedition against the Ammonites, but because he alone had the prey, and the glory of what was done to himself. As to which he said, first, that they were not ignorant how his kindred had fought against him, and that when they were invited, they did not come to his assistance, whereas they ought to have come quickly, even before they were invited. And in the next place, that they were going to act unjustly; for while they had not courage enough to fight their enemies, they came hastily against their own kindred: and he threatened them that, with God's assistance, he would inflict a punishment upon them, unless they would grow wiser. But when he could not persuade them, he fought with them with those forces which he sent for out of Gilead, and he made a great slaughter among them; and when they were beaten, he pursued them, and seized on the passages of Jordan by a part of his army which he had sent before, and slew about forty-two thousand of them.

12. So when Jephtha had ruled six years, he died, and was buried in his own country, Sebee, which is a place in the land of Gilead.

13. Now when Jephtha was dead, Ibzan took the government, being of the tribe of Judah, and of the city of Bethlehem. He had sixty children, thirty of them sons, and the rest daughters; all whom he left alive behind him, giving the daughters in marriage to husbands, and taking wives for his sons. He did nothing in the seven years of his administration that was worth recording, or deserved a memorial. So he died an old man, and was buried in his own country.

14. When Ibzan was dead after this manner, neither did Helon, who succeeded him in the government, and kept it ten years, do any thing remarkable: he was of the tribe of Zebulon.

15. Abdon also, the son of Hilel, of the tribe of Ephraim, and born at the city Pyrathon, was ordained their supreme governor after Helon. He is only recorded

to have been happy in his children; for the public affairs were then so peaceable, and in such security, that neither did he perform any glorious action. He had forty sons, and by them left thirty grandchildren; and he marched in state with these seventy, who were all very skillful in riding horses; and he left them all alive after him. He died an old man, and obtained a magnificent burial in Pyrathon.

CHAPTER 8. Concerning The Fortitude Of Samson, And What Mischiefs He Brought Upon The Philistines.

1. After Abdon was dead, the Philistines overcame the Israelites, and received tribute of them for forty years; from which distress they were delivered after this manner: —

2. There was one Manoah, a person of such great virtue, that he had few men his equals, and without dispute the principal person of his country. He had a wife celebrated for her beauty, and excelling her contemporaries. He had no children; and, being uneasy at his want of posterity, he entreated God to give them seed of their own bodies to succeed them; and with that intent he came constantly into the suburbs together with his wife; which suburbs were in the Great Plain. Now he was fond of his wife to a degree of madness, and on that account was unmeasurably jealous of her. Now, when his wife was once alone, an apparition was seen by her: it was an angel of God, and resembled a young man beautiful and tall, and brought her the good news that she should have a son, born by God's providence, that should be a goodly child, of great strength; by whom, when he was grown up to man's estate, the Philistines should be afflicted. He exhorted her also not to poll his hair, and that he should avoid all other kinds of drink, [for so had God commanded,] and be entirely contented with water. So the angel, when he had delivered that message, went his way, his coming having been by the will of God.

3. Now the wife informed her husband when he came home of what the angel had said, who showed so great an admiration of the beauty and tallness of the young man that had appeared to her, that her husband was astonished, and out of himself for jealousy, and such suspicions as are excited by that passion: but she was desirous of having her husband's unreasonable sorrow taken away; accordingly she entreated God to send the angel again, that he might be seen by her husband. So the angel came again by the favor of God, while they were in the suburbs, and appeared to her when she was alone without her husband. She desired the angel to stay so long till she might bring her husband; and that request being granted, she goes to call Manoah. When he saw the angel he was not yet free from suspicion, and he desired him to inform him of all that he had told his wife; but when he said it was sufficient that she alone knew what he had said, he then requested of him to tell who he was, that when the child was born they might return him thanks, and give him a present. He replied that he did not

want any present, for that he did not bring them the good news of the birth of a son out of the want of any thing. And when Manoah had entreated him to stay, and partake of his hospitality, he did not give his consent. However he was persuaded, at the earnest request of Manoah to stay so long as while he brought him one mark of his hospitality; so he slew a kid of the goats, and bid his wife boil it. When all was ready, the angel enjoined him to set the loaves and the flesh, but without the vessels, upon the rock; which when they had done, he touched the flesh with the rod which he had in his hand, which, upon the breaking out of a flame, was consumed, together with the loaves; and the angel ascended openly, in their sight, up to heaven, by means of the smoke, as by a vehicle. Now Manoah was afraid that some danger would come to them from this sight of God; but his wife bade him be of good courage, for that God appeared to them for their benefit.

4. So the woman proved with child, and was careful to observe the injunctions that were given her; and they called the child, when he was born, Samson, which name signifies one that is strong. So the child grew apace; and it appeared evidently that he would be a prophet, both by the moderation of his diet, and the permission of his hair to grow.

5. Now when he once came with his parents to Timhath, a city of the Philistines, when there was a great festival, he fell in love with a maid of that country, and he desired of his parents that they would procure him the damsel for his wife: but they refused so to do, because she was not of the stock of Israel; yet because this marriage was of God, who intended to convert it to the benefit of the Hebrews, he over-persuaded them to procure her to be espoused to him. And as he was continually coming to her parents, he met a lion, and though he was naked, he received his onset, and strangled him with his hands, and cast the wild beast into a woody piece of ground on the inside of the road.

6. And when he was going another time to the damsel, he lit upon a swarm of bees making their combs in the breast of that lion; and taking three honey-combs away, he gave them, together with the rest of his presents, to the damsel. Now the people of Timhath, out of a dread of the young man's strength, gave him during the time of the wedding-feast [for he then feasted them all] thirty of the most stout of their youth, in pretense to be his companions, but in reality to be a guard upon him, that he might not attempt to give them any disturbance. Now as they were drinking merrily and playing, Samson said, as was usual at such times, "Come, if I propose you a riddle, and you can expound it in these seven days' thee, I will give you every one a linen shirt and a garment, as the reward of your wisdom." So they being very ambitious to obtain the glory of wisdom, together with the gains, desired him to propose his riddle. He, "That a devourer produced

sweet food out of itself, though itself were very disagreeable." And when they were not able, in three days' time, to find out the meaning of the riddle, they desired the damsel to discover it by the means of her husband, and tell it them; and they threatened to burn her if she did not tell it them. So when the damsel entreated Samson to tell it her, he at first refused to do it; but when she lay hard at him, and fell into tears, and made his refusal to tell it a sign of his unkindness to her, he informed her of his slaughter of a lion, and how he found bees in his breast, and carried away three honey-combs, and brought them to her. Thus he, suspecting nothing of deceit, informed her of all, and she revealed it to those that desired to know it. Then on the seventh day, whereon they were to expound the riddle proposed to them, they met together before sun-setting, and said, "Nothing is more disagreeable than a lion to those that light on it, and nothing is sweeter than honey to those that make use of it." To which Samson made this rejoinder: "Nothing is more deceitful than a woman for such was the person that discovered my interpretation to you." Accordingly he gave them the presents he had promised them, making such Askelonites as met him upon the road his prey, who were themselves Philistines also. But he divorced this his wife; and the girl despised his anger, and was married to his companion, who made the former match between them.

7. At this injurious treatment Samson was so provoked, that he resolved to punish all the Philistines, as well as her: so it being then summer-time, and the fruits of the land being almost ripe enough for reaping, he caught three hundred foxes, and joining lighted torches to their tails, he sent them into the fields of the Philistines, by which means the fruits of the fields perished. Now when the Philistines knew that this was Samson's doing, and knew also for what cause he did it, they sent their rulers to Timhath, and burnt his former wife, and her relations, who had been the occasion of their misfortunes.

8. Now when Samson had slain many of the Philistines in the plain country, he dwelt at Etam, which is a strong rock of the tribe of Judah; for the Philistines at that time made an expedition against that tribe: but the people of Judah said that they did not act justly with them, in inflicting punishments upon them while they paid their tribute, and this only on account of Samson's offenses. They answered, that in case they would not be blamed themselves, they must deliver up Samson, and put him into their power. So they being desirous not to be blamed themselves, came to the rock with three thousand armed men, and complained to Samson of the bold insults he had made upon the Philistines, who were men able to bring calamity upon the whole nation of the Hebrews; and they told him they were come to take him, and to deliver him up to them, and put him into their power; so they desired him to bear this willingly. Accordingly, when

he had received assurance from them upon oath, that they would do him no other harm than only to deliver him into his enemies' hands, he came down from the rock, and put himself into the power of his countrymen. Then did they bind him with two cords, and lead him on, in order to deliver him to the Philistines; and when they came to a certain place, which is now called the Jaw-bone, on account of the great action there performed by Samson, though of old it had no particular name at all, the Philistines, who had pitched their camp not far off, came to meet them with joy and shouting, as having done a great thing, and gained what they desired; but Samson broke his bonds asunder, and catching up the jaw-bone of an ass that lay down at his feet, fell upon his enemies, and smiting them with his jaw-bone, slew a thousand of them, and put the rest to flight and into great disorder.

9. Upon this slaughter Samson was too proud of what he had performed, and said that this did not come to pass by the assistance of God, but that his success was to be ascribed to his own courage; and vaunted himself, that it was out of a dread of him that some of his enemies fell and the rest ran away upon his use of the jaw-bone; but when a great thirst came upon him, he considered that human courage is nothing, and bare his testimony that all is to be ascribed to God, and besought him that he would not be angry at any thing he had said, nor give him up into the hands of his enemies, but afford him help under his affliction, and deliver him from the misfortune he was under. Accordingly God was moved with his entreaties, and raised him up a plentiful fountain of sweet water at a certain rock whence it was that Samson called the place the Jaw-bone, and so it is called to this day.

10. After this fight Samson held the Philistines in contempt, and came to Gaza, and took up his lodgings in a certain inn. When the rulers of Gaza were informed of his coming thither, they seized upon the gates, and placed men in ambush about them, that he might not escape without being perceived; but Samson, who was acquainted with their contrivances against him, arose about midnight, and ran by force upon the gates, with their posts and beams, and the rest of their wooden furniture, and carried them away on his shoulders, and bare them to the mountain that is over Hebron, and there laid them down.

11. However, he at length transgressed the laws of his country, and altered his own regular way of living, and imitated the strange customs of foreigners, which thing was the beginning of his miseries; for he fell in love with a woman that was a harlot among the Philistines: her name was Delilah, and he lived with her. So those that administered the public affairs of the Philistines came to her, and, with promises, induced her to get out of Samson what was the cause of that his strength, by which he became unconquerable to his enemies. Accordingly, when

they were drinking, and had the like conversation together, she pretended to admire the actions he had done, and contrived to get out of him by subtlety, by what means he so much excelled others in strength. Samson, in order to delude Delilah, for he had not yet lost his senses, replied, that if he were bound with seven such green withs of a vine as might still be wreathed, he should be weaker than any other man. The woman said no more then, but told this to the rulers of the Philistines, and hid certain of the soldiers in ambush within the house; and when he was disordered in drink and asleep, she bound him as fast as possible with the withs; and then upon her awakening him, she told him some of the people were upon him; but he broke the withs, and endeavored to defend himself, as though some of the people were upon him. Now this woman, in the constant conversation Samson had with her, pretended that she took it very ill that he had such little confidence in her affections to him, that he would not tell her what she desired, as if she would not conceal what she knew it was for his interest to have concealed. However, he deluded her again, and told her, that if they bound him with seven cords, he should lose his strength. And when, upon doing this, she gained nothing, he told her the third thee, that his hair should be woven into a web; but when, upon doing this, the truth was not yet discovered, at length Samson, upon Delilah's prayer, [for he was doomed to fall into some affliction,] was desirous to please her, and told her that God took care of him, and that he was born by his providence, and that "thence it is that I suffer my hair to grow, God having charged me never to poll my head, and thence my strength is according to the increase and continuance of my hair." When she had learned thus much, and had deprived him of his hair, she delivered him up to his enemies, when he was not strong enough to defend himself from their attempts upon him; so they put out his eyes, and bound him, and had him led about among them.

12. But in process of time Samson's hair grew again. And there was a public festival among the Philistines, when the rulers, and those of the most eminent character, were feasting together; [now the room wherein they were had its roof supported by two pillars;] so they sent for Samson, and he was brought to their feast, that they might insult him in their cups. Hereupon he, thinking it one of the greatest misfortunes, if he should not be able to revenge himself when he was thus insulted, persuaded the boy that led him by the hand, that he was weary and wanted to rest himself, and desired he would bring him near the pillars; and as soon as he came to them, he rushed with force against them, and overthrew the house, by overthrowing its pillars, with three thousand men in it, who were all slain, and Samson with them. And such was the end of this man, when he had ruled over the Israelites twenty years. And indeed this man deserves to be

admired for his courage and strength, and magnanimity at his death, and that his wrath against his enemies went so far as to die himself with them. But as for his being ensnared by a woman, that is to be ascribed to human nature, which is too weak to resist the temptations to that sin; but we ought to bear him witness, that in all other respects he was one of extraordinary virtue. But his kindred took away his body, and buried it in Sarasat his own country, with the rest of his family.

CHAPTER 9. How Under Eli's Government Of The Israelites Booz Married Ruth, From Whom Came Obed The Grandfather Of David.

1. Now after the death of Samson, Eli the high priest was governor of the Israelites. Under him, when the country was afflicted with a famine, Elimelech of Bethlehem, which is a city of the tribe of Judah, being not able to support his family under so sore a distress, took with him Naomi his wife, and the children that were born to him by her, Chillon and Mahlon, and removed his habitation into the land of Moab; and upon the happy prosperity of his affairs there, he took for his sons wives of the Moabites, Orpah for Chillon, and Ruth for Mahlon. But in the compass of ten years, both Elimelech, and a little while after him, the sons, died; and Naomi being very uneasy at these accidents, and not being able to bear her lonesome condition, now those that were dearest to her were dead, on whose account it was that she had gone away from her own country, she returned to it again, for she had been informed it was now in a flourishing condition. However, her daughters-in-law were not able to think of parting with her; and when they had a mind to go out of the country with her, she could not dissuade them from it; but when they insisted upon it, she wished them a more happy wedlock than they had with her sons, and that they might have prosperity in other respects also; and seeing her own affairs were so low, she exhorted them to stay where they were, and not to think of leaving their own country, and partaking with her of that uncertainty under which she must return. Accordingly Orpah staid behind; but she took Ruth along with her, as not to be persuaded to stay behind her, but would take her fortune with her, whatsoever it should prove.

2. When Ruth was come with her mother-in-law to Bethlehem, Booz, who was near of kin to Elimelech, entertained her; and when Naomi was so called by her fellow citizens, according to her true name, she said, "You might more truly call me Mara." Now Naomi signifies in the Hebrew tongue happiness, and Mara, sorrow. It was now reaping thee; and Ruth, by the leave of her mother-in-law, went out to glean, that they might get a stock of corn for their food. Now it happened that she came into Booz's field; and after some thee Booz came thither, and when he saw the damsel, he inquired of his servant that was set over the reapers concerning the girl. The servant had a little before inquired about all her circumstances, and told them to his master, who kindly embraced her, both on account of her affection to her mother-in-law, and her remembrance of that son of hers to whom she had been married, and wished that she might experience

a prosperous condition; so he desired her not to glean, but to reap what she was able, and gave her leave to carry it home. He also gave it in charge to that servant who was over the reapers, not to hinder her when she took it away, and bade him give her her dinner, and make her drink when he did the like to the reapers. Now what corn Ruth received of him she kept for her mother-in-law, and came to her in the evening, and brought the ears of corn with her; and Naomi had kept for her a part of such food as her neighbors had plentifully bestowed upon her. Ruth also told her mother-in-law what Booz had said to her; and when the other had informed her that he was near of kin to them, and perhaps was so pious a man as to make some provision for them, she went out again on the days following, to gather the gleanings with Booz's maidservants.

3. It was not many days before Booz, after the barley was winnowed, slept in his thrashing-floor. When Naomi was informed of this circumstance she contrived it so that Ruth should lie down by him, for she thought it might be for their advantage that he should discourse with the girl. Accordingly she sent the damsel to sleep at his feet; who went as she bade her, for she did not think it consistent with her duty to contradict any command of her mother-in-law. And at first she lay concealed from Booz, as he was fast asleep; but when he awaked about midnight, and perceived a woman lying by him, he asked who she was; — and when she told him her name, and desired that he whom she owned for her lord would excuse her, he then said no more; but in the morning, before the servants began to set about their work, he awaked her, and bid her take as much barley as she was able to carry, and go to her mother-in-law before any body there should see that she had lain down by him, because it was but prudent to avoid any reproach that might arise on that account, especially when there had been nothing done that was ill. But as to the main point she aimed at, the matter should rest here,— "He that is nearer of kin than I am, shall be asked whether he wants to take thee to wife: if he says he does, thou shalt follow him; but if he refuse it, I will marry thee, according to the law."

4. When she had informed her mother-in-law of this, they were very glad of it, out of the hope they had that Booz would make provision for them. Now about noon Booz went down into the city, and gathered the senate together, and when he had sent for Ruth, he called for her kinsman also; and when he was come, he said, "Dost not thou retain the inheritance of Elimelech and his sons?" He confessed that he did retain it, and that he did as he was permitted to do by the laws, because he was their nearest kinsman. Then said Booz, "Thou must not remember the laws by halves, but do every thing according to them; for the wife of Mahlon is come hither, whom thou must marry, according to the law, in case thou wilt retain their fields." So the man yielded up both the field and the wife to

Booz, who was himself of kin to those that were dead, as alleging that he had a wife already, and children also; so Booz called the senate to witness, and bid the woman to loose his shoe, and spit in his face, according to the law; and when this was done, Booz married Ruth, and they had a son within a year's time. Naomi was herself a nurse to this child; and by the advice of the women, called him Obed, as being to be brought up in order to be subservient to her in her old age, for Obed in the Hebrew dialect signifies a servant. The son of Obed was Jesse, and David was his son, who was king, and left his dominions to his sons for one and twenty generations. I was therefore obliged to relate this history of Ruth, because I had a mind to demonstrate the power of God, who, without difficulty, can raise those that are of ordinary parentage to dignity and splendor, to which he advanced David, though he were born of such mean parents.

CHAPTER 10. Concerning The Birth Of Samuel; And How He Foretold The Calamity That Befell The Sons Of Eli.

1. And now upon the ill state of the affairs of the Hebrews, they made war again upon the Philistines. The occasion was this: Eli, the high priest, had two sons, Hophni and Phineas. These sons of Eli were guilty of injustice towards men, and of impiety towards God, and abstained from no sort of wickedness. Some of their gifts they carried off, as belonging to the honorable employment they had; others of them they took away by violence. They also were guilty of impurity with the women that came to worship God at the tabernacle, obliging some to submit to their lust by force, and enticing others by bribes; nay, the whole course of their lives was no better than tyranny. Their father therefore was angry at them for such their wickedness, and expected that God would suddenly inflict his punishments upon them for what they had done. The multitude took it heinously also. And as soon as God had foretold what calamity would befall Eli's sons, which he did both to Eli himself and to Samuel the prophet, who was yet but a child, he openly showed his sorrow for his sons' destruction.

2. I will first despatch what I have to say about the prophet Samuel, and after that will proceed to speak of the sons of Eli, and the miseries they brought on the whole people of the Hebrews. Elcanah, a Levite, one of a middle condition among his fellow citizens, and one that dwelt at Ramathaim, a city of the tribe of Ephraim, married two wives, Hannah and Peninnah. He had children by the latter; but he loved the other best, although she was barren. Now Elcanah came with his wives to the city Shiloh to sacrifice, for there it was that the tabernacle of God was fixed, as we have formerly said. Now when, after he had sacrificed, he distributed at that festival portions of the flesh to his wives and children, and when Hannah saw the other wife's children sitting round about their mother, she fell into tears, and lamented herself on account of her barrenness and lonesomeness; and suffering her grief to prevail over her husband's consolations to her, she went to the tabernacle to beseech God to give her seed, and to make her a mother; and to vow to consecrate the first son she should bear to the service of God, and this in such a way, that his manner of living should not be like that of ordinary men. And as she continued at her prayers a long time, Eli, the high priest, for he sat there before the tabernacle, bid her go away, thinking she had been disordered with wine; but when she said she had drank water, but

was in sorrow for want of children, and was beseeching God for them, he bid her be of good cheer, and told her that God would send her children.

3. So she came to her husband full of hope, and ate her meal with gladness. And when they had returned to their own country she found herself with child, and they had a son born to them, to whom they gave the name of Samuel, which may be styled one that was asked of God. They therefore came to the tabernacle to offer sacrifice for the birth of the child, and brought their tithes with them; but the woman remembered the vows she had made concerning her son, and delivered him to Eli, dedicating him to God, that he might become a prophet. Accordingly his hair was suffered to grow long, and his drink was water. So Samuel dwelt and was brought up in the temple. But Elcanah had other sons by Hannah, and three daughters.

4. Now when Samuel was twelve years old, he began to prophesy: and once when he was asleep, God called to him by his name; and he, supposing he had been called by the high priest, came to him: but when the high priest said he did not call him, God did so thrice. Eli was then so far illuminated, that he said to him, "Indeed, Samuel, I was silent now as well as before: it is God that calls thee; do thou therefore signify it to him, and say, I am here ready." So when he heard God speak again, he desired him to speak, and to deliver what oracles he pleased to him, for he would not fail to perform any ministration whatsoever he should make use of him in; — to which God replied, "Since thou art here ready, learn what miseries are coming upon the Israelites, — such indeed as words cannot declare, nor faith believe; for the sons of Eli shall die on one day, and the priesthood shall be transferred into the family of Eleazar; for Eli hath loved his sons more than he hath loved my worship, and to such a degree as is not for their advantage." Which message Eli obliged the prophet by oath to tell him, for otherwise he had no inclination to afflict him by telling it. And now Eli had a far more sure expectation of the perdition of his sons; but the glory of Samuel increased more and more, it being found by experience that whatsoever he prophesied came to pass accordingly.

CHAPTER 11. Herein Is Declared What Befell The Sons Of Eli, The Ark, And The People And How Eli Himself Died Miserably.

1. About this time it was that the Philistines made war against the Israelites, and pitched their camp at the city Aphek. Now when the Israelites had expected them a little while, the very next day they joined battle, and the Philistines were conquerors, and slew above four thousand of the Hebrews, and pursued the rest of their multitude to their camp.

2. So the Hebrews being afraid of the worst, sent to the senate, and to the high priest, and desired that they would bring the ark of God, that by putting themselves in array, when it was present with them, they might be too hard for their enemies, as not reflecting that he who had condemned them to endure these calamities was greater than the ark, and for whose sake it was that this ark came to be honored. So the ark came, and the sons of the high priest with it, having received a charge from their father, that if they pretended to survive the taking of the ark, they should come no more into his presence, for Phineas officiated already as high priest, his father having resigned his office to him, by reason of his great age. So the Hebrews were full of courage, as supposing that, by the coming of the ark, they should be too hard for their enemies: their enemies also were greatly concerned, and were afraid of the ark's coming to the Israelites: however, the upshot did not prove agreeable to the expectation of both sides, but when the battle was joined, that victory which the Hebrews expected was gained by the Philistines, and that defeat the Philistines were afraid of fell to the lot of the Israelites, and thereby they found that they had put their trust in the ark in vain, for they were presently beaten as soon as they came to a close fight with their enemies, and lost about thirty thousand men, among whom were the sons of the high priest; but the ark was carried away by the enemies.

3. When the news of this defeat came to Shiloh, with that of the captivity of the ark, [for a certain young man, a Benjamite, who was in the action, came as a messenger thither,] the whole city was full of lamentations. And Eli, the high priest, who sat upon a high throne at one of the gates, heard their mournful cries, and supposed that some strange thing had befallen his family. So he sent for the young man; and when he understood what had happened in the battle, he was not much uneasy as to his sons, or what was told him withal about the army, as having beforehand known by Divine revelation that those things would happen, and having himself declared them beforehand, — for what sad things come

unexpectedly they distress men the most; but as soon as [he heard] the ark was carried captive by their enemies, he was very much grieved at it, because it fell out quite differently from what he expected; so he fell down from his throne and died, having in all lived ninety-eight years, and of them retained the government forty.

4. On the same day his son Phineas's wife died also, as not able to survive the misfortune of her husband; for they told her of her husband's death as she was in labor. However, she bare a son at seven months, who lived, and to whom they gave the name of Icabod, which name signifies disgrace, — and this because the army received a disgrace at this thee.

5. Now Eli was the first of the family of Ithamar, the other son of Aaron, that had the government; for the family of Eleazar officiated as high priest at first, the son still receiving that honor from the father which Eleazar bequeathed to his son Phineas; after whom Abiezer his son took the honor, and delivered it to his son, whose name was Bukki, from whom his son Ozi received it; after whom Eli, of whom we have been speaking, had the priesthood, and so he and his posterity until the thee of Solomon's reign; but then the posterity of Eleazar reassumed it.

BOOK VI. Containing The Interval Of Thirty-Two Years. — From The Death Of Eli To The Death Of Saul.

CHAPTER 1. The Destruction That Came Upon The Philistines, And Upon Their Land, By The Wrath Of Go On Account Of Their Having Carried The Ark Away Captive; And After What Manner They Sent It Back To The Hebrews.

1. When the Philistines had taken the ark of the Hebrews captive, as I said a little before, they carried it to the city of Ashdod, and put it by their own god, who was called Dagon, as one of their spoils; but when they went into his temple the next morning to worship their god, they found him paying the same worship to the ark, for he lay along, as having fallen down from the basis whereon he had stood: so they took him up, and set him on his basis again, and were much troubled at what had happened; and as they frequently came to Dagon and found him still lying along, in a posture of adoration to the ark, they were in very great distress and confusion. At length God sent a very destructive disease upon the city and country of Ashdod, for they died of the dysentery or flux, a sore distemper, that brought death upon them very suddenly; for before the soul could, as usual in easy deaths, be well loosed from the body, they brought up their entrails, and vomited up what they had eaten, and what was entirely corrupted by the disease. And as to the fruits of their country, a great multitude of mice arose out of the earth and hurt them, and spared neither the plants nor the fruits. Now while the people of Ashdod were under these misfortunes, and were not able to support themselves under their calamities, they perceived that they suffered thus because of the ark, and that the victory they had gotten, and their having taken the ark captive, had not happened for their good; they therefore sent to the people of Askelon, and desired that they would receive the ark among them. This desire of the people of Ashdod was not disagreeable to those of Askelon, so they granted them that favor. But when they had gotten the ark, they were in the same miserable condition; for the ark carried along with it the disasters that the people of Ashdod had suffered, to those who received it from them. Those of Askelon also sent it away from themselves to others: nor did it stay among those others neither; for since they were pursued by the same disasters, they still sent it to the neighboring cities; so that the ark went round, after this manner, to the five cities of the Philistines, as though it exacted these disasters as a tribute to be paid it for its coming among them.

2. When those that had experienced these miseries were tired out with them, and when those that heard of them were taught thereby not to admit the ark among them, since they paid so dear a tribute for it, at length they sought for some contrivance and method how they might get free from it: so the governors of the five cities, Gath, and Ekron, and Askelon, as also of Gaza, and Ashclod, met together, and considered what was fit to be done; and at first they thought proper to send the ark back to its own people, as allowing that God had avenged its cause; that the miseries they had undergone came along with it, and that these were sent on their cities upon its account, and together with it. However, there were those that said they should not do so, nor suffer themselves to be deluded, as ascribing the cause of their miseries to it, because it could not have such power and force upon them; for, had God had such a regard to it, it would not have been delivered into the hands of men. So they exhorted them to be quiet, and to take patiently what had befallen them, and to suppose there was no other cause of it but nature, which, at certain revolutions of time, produces such mutations in the bodies of men, in the earth, in plants, and in all things that grow out of the earth. But the counsel that prevailed over those already described, was that of certain men, who were believed to have distinguished themselves in former times for their understanding and prudence, and who, in their present circumstances, seemed above all the rest to speak properly. These men said it was not right either to send the ark away, or to retain it, but to dedicate five golden images, one for every city, as a thank-offering to God, on account of his having taken care of their preservation, and having kept them alive when their lives were likely to be taken away by such distempers as they were not able to bear up against. They also would have them make five golden mice like to those that devoured and destroyed their country to put them in a bag, and lay them upon the ark; to make them a new cart also for it, and to yoke milch kine to it but to shut up their calves, and keep them from them, lest, by following after them, they should prove a hinderance to their dams, and that the dams might return the faster out of a desire of those calves; then to drive these milch kine that carried the ark, and leave it at a place where three ways met, and So leave it to the kine to go along which of those ways they pleased; that in case they went the way to the Hebrews, and ascended to their country, they should suppose that the ark was the cause of their misfortunes; but if they turned into another road, they said, “We will pursue after it, and conclude that it has no such force in it.”

3. So they determined that these men spake well; and they immediately confirmed their opinion by doing accordingly. And when they had done as has been already described, they brought the cart to a place where three ways met, and left it there and went their ways; but the kine went the right way, and as if

some persons had driven them, while the rulers of the Philistines followed after them, as desirous to know where they would stand still, and to whom they would go. Now there was a certain village of the tribe of Judah, the name of which was Bethshemesh, and to that village did the kine go; and though there was a great and good plain before them to proceed in, they went no farther, but stopped the cart there. This was a sight to those of that village, and they were very glad; for it being then summer-time, and all the inhabitants being then in the fields gathering in their fruits, they left off the labors of their hands for joy, as soon as they saw the ark, and ran to the cart, and taking the ark down, and the vessel that had the images in it, and the mice, they set them upon a certain rock which was in the plain; and when they had offered a splendid sacrifice to God, and feasted, they offered the cart and the kine as a burnt-offering: and when the lords of the Philistines saw this, they returned back.

4. But now it was that the wrath of God overtook them, and struck seventy persons of the village of Bethshemesh dead, who, not being priests, and so not worthy to touch the ark, had approached to it. Those of that village wept for these that had thus suffered, and made such a lamentation as was naturally to be expected on so great a misfortune that was sent from God; and every one mourned for his own relation. And since they acknowledged themselves unworthy of the ark's abode with them, they sent to the public senate of the Israelites, and informed them that the ark was restored by the Philistines; which when they knew, they brought it away to Kirjathjearim, a city in the neighborhood of Bethshemesh. In this city lived one Abinadab, by birth a Levite, and who was greatly commended for his righteous and religious course of life; so they brought the ark to his house, as to a place fit for God himself to abide in, since therein did inhabit a righteous man. His sons also ministered to the Divine service at the ark, and were the principal curators of it for twenty years; for so many years it continued in Kirjathjearim, having been but four months with the Philistines.

CHAPTER 2. The Expedition Of The Philistines Against The Hebrews And The Hebrews' Victory Under The Conduct Of Samuel The Prophet, Who Was Their General.

1. Now while the city of Kirjathjearim had the ark with them, the whole body of the people betook themselves all that time to offer prayers and sacrifices to God, and appeared greatly concerned and zealous about his worship. So Samuel the prophet, seeing how ready they were to do their duty, thought this a proper time to speak to them, while they were in this good disposition, about the recovery of their liberty, and of the blessings that accompanied the same. Accordingly he used such words to them as he thought were most likely to excite that inclination, and to persuade them to attempt it: "O you Israelites," said he, "to whom the Philistines are still grievous enemies, but to whom God begins to be gracious, it behooves you not only to be desirous of liberty, but to take the proper methods to obtain it. Nor are you to be contented with an inclination to get clear of your lords and masters, while you still do what will procure your continuance under them. Be righteous then, and cast wickedness out of your souls, and by your worship supplicate the Divine Majesty with all your hearts, and persevere in the honor you pay to him; for if you act thus, you will enjoy prosperity; you will be freed from your slavery, and will get the victory over your enemies: which blessings it is not possible you should attain, either by weapons of war, or by the strength of your bodies, or by the multitude of your assistants; for God has not promised to grant these blessings by those means, but by being good and righteous men; and if you will be such, I will be security to you for the performance of God's promises." When Samuel had said thus, the multitude applauded his discourse, and were pleased with his exhortation to them, and gave their consent to resign themselves up to do what was pleasing to God. So Samuel gathered them together to a certain city called Mizpeh, which, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies a watch-tower; there they drew water, and poured it out to God, and fasted all day, and betook themselves to their prayers.

2. This their assembly did not escape the notice of the Philistines: so when they had learned that so large a company had met together, they fell upon the Hebrews with a great army and mighty forces, as hoping to assault them when they did not expect it, nor were prepared for it. This thing affrighted the Hebrews, and put them into disorder and terror; so they came running to Samuel,

and said that their souls were sunk by their fears, and by the former defeat they had received, and "that thence it was that we lay still, lest we should excite the power of our enemies against us. Now while thou hast brought us hither to offer up our prayers and sacrifices, and take oaths [to be obedient], our enemies are making an expedition against us, while we are naked and unarmed; wherefore we have no other hope of deliverance but that by thy means, and by the assistance God shall afford us upon thy prayers to him, we shall obtain deliverance from the Philistines." Hereupon Samuel bade them be of good cheer, and promised them that God would assist them; and taking a sucking lamb, he sacrificed it for the multitude, and besought God to hold his protecting hand over them when they should fight with the Philistines, and not to overlook them, nor suffer them to come under a second misfortune. Accordingly God hearkened to his prayers, and accepting their sacrifice with a gracious intention, and such as was disposed to assist them, he granted them victory and power over their enemies. Now while the altar had the sacrifice of God upon it, and had not yet consumed it wholly by its sacred fire, the enemy's army marched out of their camp, and was put in order of battle, and this in hope that they should be conquerors, since the Jews were caught in distressed circumstances, as neither having their weapons with them, nor being assembled there in order to fight. But things so fell out, that they would hardly have been credited though they had been foretold by anybody: for, in the first place, God disturbed their enemies with an earthquake, and moved the ground under them to such a degree, that he caused it to tremble, and made them to shake, insomuch that by its trembling, he made some unable to keep their feet, and made them fall down, and by opening its chasms, he caused that others should be hurried down into them; after which he caused such a noise of thunder to come among them, and made fiery lightning shine so terribly round about them, that it was ready to burn their faces; and he so suddenly shook their weapons out of their hands, that he made them fly and return home naked. So Samuel with the multitude pursued them to Bethcar, a place so called; and there he set up a stone as a boundary of their victory and their enemies' flight, and called it the Stone of Power, as a signal of that power God had given them against their enemies.

3. So the Philistines, after this stroke, made no more expeditions against the Israelites, but lay still out of fear, and out of remembrance of what had befallen them; and what courage the Philistines had formerly against the Hebrews, that, after this victory, was transferred to the Hebrews. Samuel also made an expedition against the Philistines, and slew many of them, and entirely humbled their proud hearts, and took from them that country, which, when they were formerly conquerors in battle, they had cut off from the Jews, which was the

country that extended from the borders of Gath to the city of Ekron: but the remains of the Canaanites were at this time in friendship with the Israelites.

CHAPTER 3. How Samuel When He Was So Infirm With Old Age That He Could Not Take Care Of The Public Affairs Intrusted Them To His Sons; And How Upon The Evil Administration Of The Government By Them The Multitude Were So Angry, That They Required To Have A King To Govern Them, Although Samuel Was Much Displeased Thereat.

1. But Samuel the prophet, when he had ordered the affairs of the people after a convenient manner, and had appointed a city for every district of them, he commanded them to come to such cities, to have the controversies that they had one with another determined in them, he himself going over those cities twice in a year, and doing them justice; and by that means he kept them in very good order for a long time.

2. But afterwards he found himself oppressed with old age, and not able to do what he used to do, so he committed the government and the care of the multitude to his sons, — the elder of whom was called Joel, and the name of the younger was Abiah. He also enjoined them to reside and judge the people, the one at the city of Bethel, and the other at Beersheba, and divided the people into districts that should be under the jurisdiction of each of them. Now these men afford us an evident example and demonstration how some children are not of the like dispositions with their parents; but sometimes perhaps good and moderate, though born of wicked parents; and sometimes showing themselves to be wicked, though born of good parents: for these men turning aside from their father's good courses, and taking a course that was contrary to them, perverted justice for the 'filthy lucre of gifts and bribes, and made their determinations not according to truth, but according to bribery, and turned aside to luxury, and a costly way of living; so that as, in the first place, they practiced what was contrary to the will of God, so did they, in the second place, what was contrary to the will of the prophet their father, who had taken a great deal of care, and made a very careful provision that the multitude should be righteous.

3. But the people, upon these injuries offered to their former constitution and government by the prophet's sons, were very uneasy at their actions, and came running to the prophet, who then lived at the city Ramah, and informed him of the transgressions of his sons; and said, That as he was himself old already, and

too infirm by that age of his to oversee their affairs in the manner he used to do, so they begged of him, and entreated him, to appoint some person to be king over them, who might rule over the nation, and avenge them of the Philistines, who ought to be punished for their former oppressions. These words greatly afflicted Samuel, on account of his innate love of justice, and his hatred to kingly government, for he was very fond of an aristocracy, as what made the men that used it of a divine and happy disposition; nor could he either think of eating or sleeping, out of his concern and torment of mind at what they had said, but all the night long did he continue awake and revolved these notions in his mind.

4. While he was thus disposed, God appeared to him, and comforted him, saying, That he ought not to be uneasy at what the multitude desired, because it was not he, but Himself whom they so insolently despised, and would not have to be alone their king; that they had been contriving these things from the very day that they came out of Egypt; that however in no long time they would sorely repent of what they did, which repentance yet could not undo what was thus done for futurity; that they would be sufficiently rebuked for their contempt, and the ungrateful conduct they have used towards me, and towards thy prophetic office. "So I command thee to ordain them such a one as I shall name beforehand to be their king, when thou hast first described what mischiefs kingly government will bring upon them, and openly testified before them into what a great change of affairs they are hasting."

5. When Samuel had heard this, he called the Jews early in the morning, and confessed to them that he was to ordain them a king; but he said that he was first to describe to them what would follow, what treatment they would receive from their kings, and with how many mischiefs they must struggle. "For know ye," said he, "that, in the first place, they will take your sons away from you, and they will command some of them to be drivers of their chariots, and some to be their horsemen, and the guards of their body, and others of them to be runners before them, and captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds; they will also make them their artificers, makers of armor, and of chariots, and of instruments; they will make them their husbandmen also, and the curators of their own fields, and the diggers of their own vineyards; nor will there be any thing which they will not do at their commands, as if they were slaves bought with money. They will also appoint your daughters to be confectioners, and cooks, and bakers; and these will be obliged to do all sorts of work which women slaves, that are in fear of stripes and torments, submit to. They will, besides this, take away your possessions, and bestow them upon their eunuchs, and the guards of their bodies, and will give the herds of your cattle to their own servants: and to say briefly all at once, you, and all that is yours, will be servants to your king, and will become

no way superior to his slaves; and when you suffer thus, you will thereby be put in mind of what I now say. And when you repent of what you have done, you will beseech God to have mercy upon you, and to grant you a quick deliverance from your kings; but he will not accept your prayers, but will neglect you, and permit you to suffer the punishment your evil conduct has deserved."

6. But the multitude was still so foolish as to be deaf to these predictions of what would befall them; and too peevish to suffer a determination which they had injudiciously once made, to be taken out of their mind; for they could not be turned from their purpose, nor did they regard the words of Samuel, but peremptorily insisted on their resolution, and desired him to ordain them a king immediately, and not trouble himself with fears of what would happen hereafter, for that it was necessary they should have with them one to fight their battles, and to avenge them of their enemies, and that it was no way absurd, when their neighbors were under kingly government, that they should have the same form of government also. So when Samuel saw that what he had said had not diverted them from their purpose, but that they continued resolute, he said, "Go you every one home for the present; when it is fit I will send for you, as soon as I shall have learned from God who it is that he will give you for your king."

CHAPTER 4. The Appointment Of A King Over The Israelites, Whose Name Was Saul; And This By The Command Of God.

1. Ther was one of the tribe of Benjamin, a man of a good family, and of a virtuous disposition; his name was Kish. He had a son, a young man of a comely countenance, and of a tall body, but his understanding and his mind were preferable to what was visible in him: they called him Saul. Now this Kish had some fine she-asses that were wandered out of the pasture wherein they fed, for he was more delighted with these than with any other cattle he had; so he sent out his son, and one servant with him, to search for the beasts; but when he had gone over his own tribe in search after the asses, he went to other tribes, and when he found them not there neither, he determined to go his way home, lest he should occasion any concern to his father about himself. But when his servant that followed him told him as they were near the city of Ramah, that there was a true prophet in that city, and advised him to go to him, for that by him they should know the upshot of the affair of their asses, he replied, That if they should go to him, they had nothing to give him as a reward for his prophecy, for their subsistence money was spent. The servant answered, that he had still the fourth part of a shekel, and he would present him with that; for they were mistaken out of ignorance, as not knowing that the prophet received no such reward So they went to him; and when they were before the gates, they lit upon certain maidens that were going to fetch water, and they asked them which was the prophet's house. They showed them which it was; and bid them make haste before he sat down to supper, for he had invited many guests to a feast, and that he used to sit down before those that were invited. Now Samuel had then gathered many together to feast with him on this very account; for while he every day prayed to God to tell him beforehand whom he would make king, he had informed him of this man the day before, for that he would send him a certain young man out of the tribe of Benjamin about this hour of the day; and he sat on the top of the house in expectation of that time's being come. And when the time was completed, he came down and went to supper; so he met with Saul, and God discovered to him that this was he who should rule over them. Then Saul went up to Samuel and saluted him, and desired him to inform him which was the prophet's house; for he said he was a stranger and did not know it. When Samuel had told him that he himself was the person, he led him in to supper, and assured him that the asses were found which he had been to seek, and that the

greatest of good things were assured to him: he replied, “I am too inconsiderable to hope for any such thing, and of a tribe to small to have kings made out of it, and of a family smaller than several other families; but thou tellest me this in jest, and makest me an object of laughter, when thou discoursest with me of greater matters than what I stand in need of.” However, the prophet led him in to the feast, and made him sit down, him and his servant that followed him, above the other guests that were invited, which were seventy in number and he gave orders to the servants to set the royal portion before Saul. And when the time of going to bed was come, the rest rose up, and every one of them went home; but Saul staid with the prophet, he and his servant, and slept with him.

2. Now as soon as it was day, Samuel raised up Saul out of his bed, and conducted him homeward; and when he was out of the city, he desired him to cause his servant to go before, but to stay behind himself, for that he had somewhat to say to him when nobody else was present. Accordingly, Saul sent away his servant that followed him; then did the prophet take a vessel of oil, and poured it upon the head of the young man, and kissed him, and said, “Be thou a king, by the ordination of God, against the Philistines, and for avenging the Hebrews for what they have suffered by them; of this thou shalt have a sign, which I would have thee take notice of: — As soon as thou art departed hence, thou will find three men upon the road, going to worship God at Bethel; the first of whom thou wilt see carrying three loaves of bread, the second carrying a kid of the goats, and the third will follow them carrying a bottle of wine. These three men will salute thee, and speak kindly to thee, and will give thee two of their loaves, which thou shalt accept of. And thence thou shalt come to a place called Rachel’s Monument, where thou shalt meet with those that will tell thee thy asses are found; after this, when thou comest to Gabatha, thou shalt overtake a company of prophets, and thou shalt be seized with the Divine Spirit, and prophesy along with them, till every one that sees thee shall be astonished, and wonder, and say, Whence is it that the son of Kish has arrived at this degree of happiness? And when these signs have happened to thee, know that God is with thee; then do thou salute thy father and thy kindred. Thou shalt also come when I send for thee to Gilgal, that we may offer thank-offerings to God for these blessings.” When Samuel had said this, and foretold these things, he sent the young man away. Now all things fell out to Saul according to the prophecy of Samuel.

3. But as soon as Saul came into the house of his kinsman Abner, whom indeed he loved better than the rest of his relations, he was asked by him concerning his journey, and what accidents happened to him therein; and he concealed none of the other things from him, no, not his coming to Samuel the

prophet, nor how he told him the asses were found; but he said nothing to him about the kingdom, and what belonged thereto, which he thought would procure him envy, and when such things are heard, they are not easily believed; nor did he think it prudent to tell those things to him, although he appeared very friendly to him, and one whom he loved above the rest of his relations, considering, I suppose, what human nature really is, that no one is a firm friend, neither among our intimates, nor of our kindred; nor do they preserve that kind disposition when God advances men to great prosperity, but they are still ill-natured and envious at those that are in eminent stations.

4. Then Samuel called the people together to the city Mizpeh, and spake to them in the words following, which he said he was to speak by the command of God: — That when he had granted them a state of liberty, and brought their enemies into subjection, they were become unmindful of his benefits, and rejected God that he should not be their King, as not considering that it would be most for their advantage to be presided over by the best of beings, for God is the best of beings, and they chose to have a man for their king; while kings will use their subjects as beasts, according to the violence of their own wills and inclinations, and other passions, as wholly carried away with the lust of power, but will not endeavor so to preserve the race of mankind as his own workmanship and creation, which, for that very reason, God would take cake of. "But since you have come to a fixed resolution, and this injurious treatment of God has quite prevailed over you, dispose yourselves by your tribes and scepters, and cast lots."

5. When the Hebrews had so done, the lot fell upon the tribe of Benjamin; and when the lot was cast for the families of this tribe, that which was called Matri was taken; and when the lot was cast for the single persons of that family, Saul, the son of Kish, was taken for their king. When the young man knew this, he prevented [their sending for him], and immediately went away and hid himself. I suppose that it was because he would not have it thought that he willingly took the government upon him; nay, he showed such a degree of command over himself, and of modesty, that while the greatest part are not able to contain their joy, even in the gaining of small advantages, but presently show themselves publicly to all men, this man did not only show nothing of that nature, when he was appointed to be the lord of so many and so great tribes, but crept away and concealed himself out of the sight of those he was to reign over, and made them seek him, and that with a good deal of trouble. So when the people were at a loss, and solicitous, because Saul disappeared, the prophet besought God to show where the young man was, and to produce him before them. So when they had learned of God the place where Saul was hidden, they sent men to bring

him; and when he was come, they set him in the midst of the multitude. Now he was taller than any of them, and his stature was very majestic.

6. Then said the prophet, “God gives you this man to be your king: see how he is higher than any of the people, and worthy of this dominion.” So as soon as the people had made acclamation, God save the king, the prophet wrote down what would come to pass in a book, and read it in the hearing of the king, and laid up the book in the tabernacle of God, to be a witness to future generations of what he had foretold. So when Samuel had finished this matter, he dismissed the multitude, and came himself to the city Rainah, for it was his own country. Saul also went away to Gibeah, where he was born; and many good men there were who paid him the respect that was due to him; but the greater part were ill men, who despised him and derided the others, who neither did bring him presents, nor did they in affection, or even in words, regard to please him.

CHAPTER 5. Saul's Expedition Against The Nation Of The Ammonites And Victory Over Them And The Spoils He Took From Them.

1. After one month, the war which Saul had with Nahash, the king of the Ammonites, obtained him respect from all the people; for this Nahash had done a great deal of mischief to the Jews that lived beyond Jordan by the expedition he had made against them with a great and warlike army. He also reduced their cities into slavery, and that not only by subduing them for the present, which he did by force and violence, but by weakening them by subtlety and cunning, that they might not be able afterward to get clear of the slavery they were under to him; for he put out the right eyes of those that either delivered themselves to him upon terms, or were taken by him in war; and this he did, that when their left eyes were covered by their shields, they might be wholly useless in war. Now when the king of the Ammonites had served those beyond Jordan in this manner, he led his army against those that were called Gileadites, and having pitched his camp at the metropolis of his enemies, which was the city of Jabesh, he sent ambassadors to them, commanding them either to deliver themselves up, on condition to have their right eyes plucked out, or to undergo a siege, and to have their cities overthrown. He gave them their choice, whether they would cut off a small member of their body, or universally perish. However, the Gileadites were so affrighted at these offers, that they had not courage to say any thing to either of them, neither that they would deliver themselves up, nor that they would fight him. But they desired that he would give them seven days' respite, that they might send ambassadors to their countrymen, and entreat their assistance; and if they came to assist them, they would fight; but if that assistance were impossible to be obtained from them, they said they would deliver themselves up to suffer whatever he pleased to inflict upon them.

2. So Nabash, contemning the multitude of the Gileadites and the answer they gave, allowed them a respite, and gave them leave to send to whomsoever they pleased for assistance. So they immediately sent to the Israelites, city by city, and informed them what Nabash had threatened to do to them, and what great distress they were in. Now the people fell into tears and grief at the hearing of what the ambassadors from Jabesh said; and the terror they were in permitted them to do nothing more. But when the messengers were come to the city of king Saul, and declared the dangers in which the inhabitants of Jabesh were, the people were in the same affliction as those in the other cities, for they lamented

the calamity of those related to them. And when Saul was returned from his husbandry into the city, he found his fellow citizens weeping; and when, upon inquiry, he had learned the cause of the confusion and sadness they were in, he was seized with a divine fury, and sent away the ambassadors from the inhabitants of Jabesh, and promised them to come to their assistance on the third day, and to beat their enemies before sun-rising, that the sun upon its rising might see that they had already conquered, and were freed from the fears they were under: but he bid some of them stay to conduct them the right way to Jabesh.

3. So being desirous to turn the people to this war against the Ammonites by fear of the losses they should otherwise undergo, and that they might the more suddenly be gathered together, he cut the sinews of his oxen, and threatened to do the same to all such as did not come with their armor to Jordan the next day, and follow him and Samuel the prophet whithersoever they should lead them. So they came together, out of fear of the losses they were threatened with, at the appointed time. And the multitude were numbered at the city Bezek. And he found the number of those that were gathered together, besides that of the tribe of Judah, to be seven hundred thousand, while those of that tribe were seventy thousand. So he passed over Jordan, and proceeded in marching all that night, thirty furlongs, and came to Jabesh before sun-rising. So he divided the army into three companies; and fell upon their enemies on every side on the sudden, and when they expected no such thing; and joining battle with them, they slew a great many of the Ammonites, as also their king Nabash. This glorious action was done by Saul, and was related with great commendation of him to all the Hebrews; and he thence gained a wonderful reputation for his valor: for although there were some of them that contemned him before, they now changed their minds, and honored him, and esteemed him as the best of men: for he did not content himself with having saved the inhabitants of Jabesh only, but he made an expedition into the country of the Ammonites, and laid it all waste, and took a large prey, and so returned to his own country most gloriously. So the people were greatly pleased at these excellent performances of Saul, and rejoiced that they had constituted him their king. They also made a clamor against those that pretended he would be of no advantage to their affairs; and they said, Where now are these men? — let them be brought to punishment, with all the like things that multitudes usually say when they are elevated with prosperity, against those that lately had despised the authors of it. But Saul, although he took the good-will and the affection of these men very kindly, yet did he swear that he would not see any of his countrymen slain that day, since it was absurd to mix this victory, which God had given them, with the blood and slaughter of those

that were of the same lineage with themselves; and that it was more agreeable to be men of a friendly disposition, and so to betake themselves to feasting.

4. And when Samuel had told them that he ought to confirm the kingdom to Saul by a second ordination of him, they all came together to the city of Gilgal, for thither did he command them to come. So the prophet anointed Saul with the holy oil in the sight of the multitude, and declared him to be king the second time. And so the government of the Hebrews was changed into a regal government; for in the days of Moses, and his disciple Joshua, who was their general, they continued under an aristocracy; but after the death of Joshua, for eighteen years in all, the multitude had no settled form of government, but were in an anarchy; after which they returned to their former government, they then permitting themselves to be judged by him who appeared to be the best warrior and most courageous, whence it was that they called this interval of their government the Judges.

5. Then did Samuel the prophet call another assembly also, and said to them, "I solemnly adjure you by God Almighty, who brought those excellent brethren, I mean Moses and Aaron, into the world, and delivered our fathers from the Egyptians, and from the slavery they endured under them, that you will not speak what you say to gratify me, nor suppress any thing out of fear of me, nor be overborne by any other passion, but say, What have I ever done that was cruel or unjust? or what have I done out of lucre or covetousness, or to gratify others? Bear witness against me, if I have taken an ox or a sheep, or any such thing, which yet when they are taken to support men, it is esteemed blameless; or have I taken an ass for mine own use of any one to his grief? — lay some one such crime to my charge, now we are in your king's presence." But they cried out, that no such thing had been done by him, but that he had presided over the nation after a holy and righteous manner.

6. Hereupon Samuel, when such a testimony had been given him by them all, said, "Since you grant that you are not able to lay any ill thing to my charge hitherto, come on now, and do you hearken while I speak with great freedom to you. You have been guilty of great impiety against God, in asking you a king. It behoves you to remember that our grandfather Jacob came down into Egypt, by reason of a famine, with seventy souls only of our family, and that their posterity multiplied there to many ten thousands, whom the Egyptians brought into slavery and hard oppression; that God himself, upon the prayers of our fathers, sent Moses and Aaron, who were brethren, and gave them power to deliver the multitude out of their distress, and this without a king. These brought us into this very land which you now possess: and when you enjoyed these advantages from God, you betrayed his worship and religion; nay, moreover, when you were

brought under the hands of your enemies, he delivered you, first by rendering you superior to the Assyrians and their forces, he then made you to overcome the Ammonites and the Moabites, and last of all the Philistines; and these things have been achieved under the conduct of Jephtha and Gideon. What madness therefore possessed you to fly from God, and to desire to be under a king? — yet have I ordained him for king whom he chose for you. However, that I may make it plain to you that God is angry and displeased at your choice of kingly government, I will so dispose him that he shall declare this very plainly to you by strange signals; for what none of you ever saw here before, I mean a winter storm in the midst of harvest, I will entreat of God, and will make it visible to you." Now, as soon as he had said this, God gave such great signals by thunder and lightning, and the descent of hail, as attested the truth of all that the prophet had said, insomuch that they were amazed and terrified, and confessed they had sinned, and had fallen into that sin through ignorance; and besought the prophet, as one that was a tender and gentle father to them, to render God so merciful as to forgive this their sin, which they had added to those other offenses whereby they had affronted him and transgressed against him. So he promised them that he would beseech God, and persuade him to forgive them these their sins. However, he advised them to be righteous, and to be good, and ever to remember the miseries that had befallen them on account of their departure from virtue: as also to remember the strange signs God had shown them, and the body of laws that Moses had given them, if they had any desire of being preserved and made happy with their king. But he said, that if they should grow careless of these things, great judgments would come from God upon them, and upon their king. And when Samuel had thus prophesied to the Hebrews, he dismissed them to their own homes, having confirmed the kingdom to Saul the second time.

CHAPTER 6. How The Philistines Made Another Expedition Against The Hebrews And Were Beaten.

1. Now Saul chose out of the multitude about three thousand men, and he took two thousand of them to be the guards of his own body, and abode in the city Bethel, but he gave the rest of them to Jonathan his son, to be the guards of his body; and sent him to Gibeah, where he besieged and took a certain garrison of the Philistines, not far from Gilgal; for the Philistines of Gibeah had beaten the Jews, and taken their weapons away, and had put garrisons into the strongest places of the country, and had forbidden them to carry any instrument of iron, or at all to make use of any iron in any case whatsoever. And on account of this prohibition it was that the husbandmen, if they had occasion to sharpen any of their tools, whether it were the coulter or the spade, or any instrument of husbandry, they came to the Philistines to do it. Now as soon as the Philistines heard of this slaughter of their garrison, they were in a rage about it, and, looking on this contempt as a terrible affront offered them, they made war against the Jews, with three hundred thousand footmen, and thirty thousand chariots, and six thousand horses; and they pitched their camp at the city Michmash. When Saul, the king of the Hebrews, was informed of this, he went down to the city Gilgal, and made proclamation over all the country, that they should try to regain their liberty; and called them to the war against the Philistines, diminishing their forces, and despising them as not very considerable, and as not so great but they might hazard a battle with them. But when the people about Saul observed how numerous the Philistines were, they were under a great consternation; and some of them hid themselves in caves and in dens under ground, but the greater part fled into the land beyond Jordan, which belonged to Gad and Reuben.

2. But Saul sent to the prophet, and called him to consult with him about the war and the public affairs; so he commanded him to stay there for him, and to prepare sacrifices, for he would come to him within seven days, that they might offer sacrifices on the seventh day, and might then join battle with their enemies. So he waited as the prophet sent to him to do; yet did not he, however, observe the command that was given him, but when he saw that the prophet tarried longer than he expected, and that he was deserted by the soldiers, he took the sacrifices and offered them; and when he heard that Samuel was come, he went out to meet him. But the prophet said he had not done well in disobeying the injunctions he had sent to him, and had not staid till his coming, which being appointed according to the will of God, he had prevented him in offering up

those prayers and those sacrifices that he should have made for the multitude, and that he therefore had performed Divine offices in an ill manner, and had been rash in performing them. Hereupon Saul made an apology for himself, and said that he had waited as many days as Samuel had appointed him; that he had been so quick in offering his sacrifices, upon account of the necessity he was in, and because his soldiers were departing from him, out of their fear of the enemy's camp at Michmash, the report being gone abroad that they were coming down upon him of Gilgal. To which Samuel replied, "Nay, certainly, if thou hadst been a righteous man, and hadst not disobeyed me, nor slighted the commands which God suggested to me concerning the present state of affairs, and hadst not acted more hastily than the present circumstances required, thou wouldst have been permitted to reign a long time, and thy posterity after thee." So Samuel, being grieved at what happened, returned home; but Saul came to the city Gibeah, with his son Jonathan, having only six hundred men with him; and of these the greater part had no weapons, because of the scarcity of iron in that country, as well as of those that could make such weapons; for, as we showed a little before, the Philistines had not suffered them to have such iron or such workmen. Now the Philistines divided their army into three companies, and took as many roads, and laid waste the country of the Hebrews, while king Saul and his son Jonathan saw what was done, but were not able to defend the land, having no more than six hundred men with them. But as he, and his son, and Abiah the high priest, who was of the posterity of Eli the high priest, were sitting upon a pretty high hill, and seeing the land laid waste, they were mightily disturbed at it. Now Saul's son agreed with his armor-bearer, that they would go privately to the enemy's camp, and make a tumult and a disturbance among them. And when the armor-bearer had readily promised to follow him whithersoever he should lead him, though he should be obliged to die in the attempt, Jonathan made use of the young man's assistance, and descended from the hill, and went to their enemies. Now the enemy's camp was upon a precipice which had three tops, that ended in a small but sharp and long extremity, while there was a rock that surrounded them, like lines made to prevent the attacks of an enemy. There it so happened, that the out-guards of the camp were neglected, because of the security that here arose from the situation of the place, and because they thought it altogether impossible, not only to ascend up to the camp on that quarter, but so much as to come near it. As soon, therefore, as they came to the camp, Jonathan encouraged his armor-bearer, and said to him, "Let us attack our enemies; and if, when they see us, they bid us come up to them, take that for a signal of victory; but if they say nothing, as not intending to invite us to come up, let us return back again." So when they were approaching to the

enemy's camp, just after break of day, and the Philistines saw them, they said one to another, "The Hebrews come out of their dens and caves:" and they said to Jonathan and to his armor-bearer, "Come on, ascend up to us, that we may inflict a just punishment upon you, for your rash attempt upon us." So Saul's son accepted of that invitation, as what signified to him victory, and he immediately came out of the place whence they were seen by their enemies: so he changed his place, and came to the rock, which had none to guard it, because of its own strength; from thence they crept up with great labor and difficulty, and so far overcame by force the nature of the place, till they were able to fight with their enemies. So they fell upon them as they were asleep, and slew about twenty of them, and thereby filled them with disorder and surprise, insomuch that some of them threw away their entire armor and fled; but the greatest part, not knowing one another, because they were of different nations, suspected one another to be enemies, [for they did not imagine there were only two of the Hebrews that came up,] and so they fought one against another; and some of them died in the battle, and some, as they were flying away, were thrown down from the rock headlong.

3. Now Saul's watchmen told the king that the camp of the Philistines was in confusion; then he inquired whether any body was gone away from the army; and when he heard that his son, and with him his armor-bearer, were absent, he bade the high priest take the garments of his high priesthood, and prophesy to him what success they should have; who said that they should get the victory, and prevail against their enemies. So he went out after the Philistines, and set upon them as they were slaying one another. Those also who had fled to dens and caves, upon hearing that Saul was gaining a victory, came running to him. When, therefore, the number of the Hebrews that came to Saul amounted to about ten thousand, he pursued the enemy, who were scattered all over the country; but then he fell into an action, which was a very unhappy one, and liable to be very much blamed; for, whether out of ignorance or whether out of joy for a victory gained so strangely, [for it frequently happens that persons so fortunate are not then able to use their reason consistently,] as he was desirous to avenge himself, and to exact a due punishment of the Philistines, he denounced a curse upon the Hebrews: That if any one put a stop to his slaughter of the enemy, and fell on eating, and left off the slaughter or the pursuit before the night came on, and obliged them so to do, he should be accursed. Now after Saul had denounced this curse, since they were now in a wood belonging to the tribe of Ephraim, which was thick and full of bees, Saul's son, who did not hear his father denounce that curse, nor hear of the approbation the multitude gave to it, broke off a piece of a honey-comb, and ate part of it. But, in the mean time, he was informed with what a curse his father had forbidden them to taste any thing

before sun-setting: so he left off eating, and said his father had not done well in this prohibition, because, had they taken some food, they had pursued the enemy with greater rigor and alacrity, and had both taken and slain many more of their enemies.

4. When, therefore, they had slain many ten thousands of the Philistines, they fell upon spoiling the camp of the Philistines, but not till late in the evening. They also took a great deal of prey and cattle, and killed them, and ate them with their blood. This was told to the king by the scribes, that the multitude were sinning against God as they sacrificed, and were eating before the blood was well washed away, and the flesh was made clean. Then did Saul give order that a great stone should be rolled into the midst of them, and he made proclamation that they should kill their sacrifices upon it, and not feed upon the flesh with the blood, for that was not acceptable to God. And when all the people did as the king commanded them, Saul erected an altar there, and offered burnt-offerings upon it to God This was the first altar that Saul built.

5. So when Saul was desirous of leading his men to the enemy's camp before it was day, in order to plunder it, and when the soldiers were not unwilling to follow him, but indeed showed great readiness to do as he commanded them, the king called Ahitub the high priest, and enjoined him to know of God whether he would grant them the favor and permission to go against the enemy's camp, in order to destroy those that were in it. And when the priest said that God did not give any answer, Saul replied, "And not without some cause does God refuse to answer what we inquire of him, while yet a little while ago he declared to us all that we desired beforehand, and even prevented us in his answer. To be sure there is some sin against him that is concealed from us, which is the occasion of his silence. Now I swear by him himself, that though he that hath committed this sin should prove to be my own son Jonathan, I will slay him, and by that means will appease the anger of God against us, and that in the very same manner as if I were to punish a stranger, and one not at all related to me, for the same offense." So when the multitude cried out to him so to do, he presently set all the rest on one side, and he and his son stood on the other side, and he sought to discover the offender by lot. Now the lot appeared to fall upon Jonathan himself. So when he was asked by his father what sin he had been guilty of, and what he was conscious of in the course of his life that might be esteemed instances of guilt or profaneness, his answer was this, "O father, I have done nothing more than that yesterday, without knowing of the curse and oath thou hadst denounced, while I was in pursuit of the enemy, I tasted of a honey-comb." But Saul sware that he would slay him, and prefer the observation of his oath before all the ties of birth and of nature. And Jonathan was not dismayed at this threatening of death, but,

offering himself to it generously and undauntedly, he said, “Nor do I desire you, father, to spare me: death will be to me very acceptable, when it proceeds from thy piety, and after a glorious victory; for it is the greatest consolation to me that I leave the Hebrews victorious over the Philistines.” Hereupon all the people were very sorry, and greatly afflicted for Jonathan; and they sware that they would not overlook Jonathan, and see him die, who was the author of their victory. By which means they snatched him out of the danger he was in from his father’s curse, while they made their prayers to God also for the young man, that he would remit his sin.

6. So Saul, having slain about sixty thousand of the enemy, returned home to his own city, and reigned happily: and he also fought against the neighboring nations, and subdued the Ammonites, and Moabites, and Philistines, and Edomites, and Amalekites, as also the king of Zobah. He had three male children, Jonathan, and Isui, and Melchishua; with Merab and Michal his daughters. He had also Abner, his uncle’s son, for the captain of his host: that uncle’s name was Ner. Now Ner, and Kish the father of Saul, were brothers. Saul had also a great many chariots and horsemen, and against whomsoever he made war he returned conqueror, and advanced the affairs of the Hebrews to a great degree of success and prosperity, and made them superior to other nations; and he made such of the young men as were remarkable for tallness and comeliness the guards of his body.

CHAPTER 7. Saul's War With The Amalekites, And Conquest Of Them.

1. Now Samuel came unto Saul, and said to him, that he was sent by God to put him in mind that God had preferred him before all others, and ordained him king; that he therefore ought to be obedient to him, and to submit to his authority, as considering, that though he had the dominion over the other tribes, yet that God had the dominion over him, and over all things. That accordingly God said to him, that "because the Amalekites did the Hebrews a great deal of mischief while they were in the wilderness, and when, upon their coming out of Egypt, they were making their way to that country which is now their own, I enjoin thee to punish the Amalekites, by making war upon them; and when thou hast subdued them, to leave none of them alive, but to pursue them through every age, and to slay them, beginning with the women and the infants, and to require this as a punishment to be inflicted upon them for the mischief they did to our forefathers; to spare nothing, neither asses nor other beasts, nor to reserve any of them for your own advantage and possession, but to devote them universally to God, and, in obedience to the commands of Moses, to blot out the name of Amalek entirely."

2. So Saul promised to do what he was commanded; and supposing that his obedience to God would be shown, not only in making war against the Amalekites, but more fully in the readiness and quickness of his proceedings, he made no delay, but immediately gathered together all his forces; and when he had numbered them in Gilgal, he found them to be about four hundred thousand of the Israelites, besides the tribe of Judah, for that tribe contained by itself thirty thousand. Accordingly, Saul made an irruption into the country of the Amalekites, and set many men in several parties in ambush at the river, that so he might not only do them a mischief by open fighting, but might fall upon them unexpectedly in the ways, and might thereby compass them round about, and kill them. And when he had joined battle with the enemy, he beat them; and pursuing them as they fled, he destroyed them all. And when that undertaking had succeeded, according as God had foretold, he set upon the cities of the Amalekites; he besieged them, and took them by force, partly by warlike machines, partly by mines dug under ground, and partly by building walls on the outsides. Some they starved out with famine, and some they gained by other methods; and after all, he betook himself to slay the women and the children, and thought he did not act therein either barbarously or inhumanly; first, because

they were enemies whom he thus treated, and, in the next place, because it was done by the command of God, whom it was dangerous not to obey. He also took Agag, the enemies' king, captive, — the beauty and tallness of whose body he admired so much, that he thought him worthy of preservation. Yet was not this done however according to the will of God, but by giving way to human passions, and suffering himself to be moved with an unseasonable commiseration, in a point where it was not safe for him to indulge it; for God hated the nation of the Amalekites to such a degree, that he commanded Saul to have no pity on even those infants which we by nature chiefly compassionate; but Saul preserved their king and governor from the miseries which the Hebrews brought on the people, as if he preferred the fine appearance of the enemy to the memory of what God had sent him about. The multitude were also guilty, together with Saul; for they spared the herds and the flocks, and took them for a prey, when God had commanded they should not spare them. They also carried off with them the rest of their wealth and riches; but if there were any thing that was not worthy of regard, that they destroyed.

3. But when Saul had conquered all these Amalekites that reached from Pelusium of Egypt to the Red Sea, he laid waste all the rest of the enemy's country: but for the nation of the Shechemites, he did not touch them, although they dwelt in the very middle of the country of Midian; for before the battle, Saul had sent to them, and charged them to depart thence, lest they should be partakers of the miseries of the Amalekites; for he had a just occasion for saving them, since they were of the kindred of Raguel, Moses's father-in-law.

4. Hereupon Saul returned home with joy, for the glorious things he had done, and for the conquest of his enemies, as though he had not neglected any thing which the prophet had enjoined him to do when he was going to make war with the Amalekites, and as though he had exactly observed all that he ought to have done. But God was grieved that the king of the Amalekites was preserved alive, and that the multitude had seized on the cattle for a prey, because these things were done without his permission; for he thought it an intolerable thing that they should conquer and overcome their enemies by that power which he gave them, and then that he himself should be so grossly despised and disobeyed by them, that a mere man that was a king would not bear it. He therefore told Samuel the prophet, that he repented that he had made Saul king, while he did nothing that he had commanded him, but indulged his own inclinations. When Samuel heard that, he was in confusion, and began to beseech God all that night to be reconciled to Saul, and not to be angry with him; but he did not grant that forgiveness to Saul which the prophet asked for, as not deeming it a fit thing to grant forgiveness of [such] sins at his entreaties, since injuries do not otherwise

grow so great as by the easy tempers of those that are injured; or while they hunt after the glory of being thought gentle and good-natured, before they are aware they produce other sins. As soon therefore as God had rejected the intercession of the prophet, and it plainly appeared he would not change his mind, at break of day Samuel came to Saul at Gilgal. When the king saw him, he ran to him, and embraced him, and said, "I return thanks to God, who hath given me the victory, for I have performed every thing that he hath commanded me." To which Samuel replied, "How is it then that I hear the bleating of the sheep and the lowing of the greater cattle in the camp?" Saul made answer, That the people had reserved them for sacrifices; but that, as to the nation of the Amalekites, it was entirely destroyed, as he had received it in command to see done, and that no one man was left; but that he had saved alive the king alone, and brought him to him, concerning whom, he said, they would advise together what should be done with him. But the prophet said, "God is not delighted with sacrifices, but with good and with righteous men, who are such as follow his will and his laws, and never think that any thing is well done by them but when they do it as God had commanded them; that he then looks upon himself as affronted, not when any one does not sacrifice, but when any one appears to be disobedient to him. But that from those who do not obey him, nor pay him that duty which is the alone true and acceptable worship, he will not kindly accept their oblations, be those they offer ever so many and so fat, and be the presents they make him ever so ornamental, nay, though they were made of gold and silver themselves, but he will reject them, and esteem them instances of wickedness, and not of piety. And that he is delighted with those that still bear in mind this one thing, and this only, how to do that, whatsoever it be, which God pronounces or commands for them to do, and to choose rather to die than to transgress any of those commands; nor does he require so much as a sacrifice from them. And when these do sacrifice, though it be a mean oblation, he better accepts of it as the honor of poverty, than such oblations as come from the richest men that offer them to him. Wherefore take notice, that thou art under the wrath of God, for thou hast despised and neglected what he commanded thee. How dost thou then suppose that he will respect a sacrifice out of such things as he hath doomed to destruction? unless perhaps thou dost imagine that it is almost all one to offer it in sacrifice to God as to destroy it. Do thou therefore expect that thy kingdom will be taken from thee, and that authority which thou hast abused by such insolent behavior, as to neglect that God who bestowed it upon thee." Then did Saul confess that he had acted unjustly, and did not deny that he had sinned, because he had transgressed the injunctions of the prophet; but he said that it was out of a dread and fear of the soldiers, that he did not prohibit and restrain them when they seized on the

prey. “But forgive me,” said he, “and be merciful to me, for I will be cautious how I offend for the time to come.” He also entreated the prophet to go back with him, that he might offer his thank-offerings to God; but Samuel went home, because he saw that God would not be reconciled to him.

5. But then Saul was so desirous to retain Samuel, that he took hold of his cloak, and because the vehemence of Samuel’s departure made the motion to be violent, the cloak was rent. Upon which the prophet said, that after the same manner should the kingdom be rent from him, and that a good and a just man should take it; that God persevered in what he had decreed about him; that to be mutable and changeable in what is determined, is agreeable to human passions only, but is not agreeable to the Divine Power. Hereupon Saul said that he had been wicked, but that what was done could not be undone: he therefore desired him to honor him so far, that the multitude might see that he would accompany him in worshipping God. So Samuel granted him that favor, and went with him and worshipped God. Agag also, the king of the Amalekites, was brought to him; and when the king asked, How bitter death was? Samuel said, “As thou hast made many of the Hebrew mothers to lament and bewail the loss of their children, so shalt thou, by thy death, cause thy mother to lament thee also.” Accordingly, he gave order to slay him immediately at Gilgal, and then went away to the city Ramah.

CHAPTER 8. How, Upon Saul's Transgression Of The Prophet's Commands, Samuel Ordained Another Person To Be King Privately, Whose Name Was David, As God Commanded Him.

1. Now Saul being sensible of the miserable condition he had brought himself into, and that he had made God to be his enemy, he went up to his royal palace at Gibeah, which name denotes a hill, and after that day he came no more into the presence of the prophet. And when Samuel mourned for him, God bid him leave off his concern for him, and to take the holy oil, and go to Bethlehem, to Jesse the son of Obed, and to anoint such of his sons as he should show him for their future king. But Samuel said, he was afraid lest Saul, when he came to know of it, should kill him, either by some private method or even openly. But upon God's suggesting to him a safe way of going thither, he came to the forementioned city; and when they all saluted him, and asked what was the occasion of his coming, he told them he came to sacrifice to God. When, therefore, he had gotten the sacrifice ready, he called Jesse and his sons to partake of those sacrifices; and when he saw his eldest son to be a tall and handsome man, he guessed by his comeliness that he was the person who was to be their future king. But he was mistaken in judging about God's providence; for when Samuel inquired of God whether he should anoint this youth, whom he so admired, and esteemed worthy of the kingdom, God said, "Men do not see as God seeth. Thou indeed hast respect to the fine appearance of this youth, and thence esteemest him worthy of the kingdom, while I propose the kingdom as a reward, not of the beauty of bodies, but of the virtue of souls, and I inquire after one that is perfectly comely in that respect; I mean one who is beautiful in piety, and righteousness, and fortitude, and obedience, for in them consists the comeliness of the soul." When God had said this, Samuel bade Jesse to show him all his sons. So he made five others of his sons to come to him; of all of whom Eliab was the eldest, Aminadab the second, Shammall the third, Nathaniel the fourth, Rael the fifth, and Asam the sixth. And when the prophet saw that these were no way inferior to the eldest in their countenances, he inquired of God which of them it was whom he chose for their king. And when God said it was none of them, he asked Jesse whether he had not some other sons besides these; and when he said that he had one more, named David, but that he was a shepherd, and took care of the flocks, Samuel bade them call him immediately,

for that till he was come they could not possibly sit down to the feast. Now, as soon as his father had sent for David, and he was come, he appeared to be of a yellow complexion, of a sharp sight, and a comely person in other respects also. This is he, said Samuel privately to himself, whom it pleases God to make our king. So he sat down to the feast, and placed the youth under him, and Jesse also, with his other sons; after which he took oil in the presence of David, and anointed him, and whispered him in the ear, and acquainted him that God chose him to be their king; and exhorted him to be righteous, and obedient to his commands, for that by this means his kingdom would continue for a long time, and that his house should be of great splendor, and celebrated in the world; that he should overthrow the Philistines; and that against what nations soever he should make war, he should be the conqueror, and survive the fight; and that while he lived he should enjoy a glorious name, and leave such a name to his posterity also.

2. So Samuel, when he had given him these admonitions, went away. But the Divine Power departed from Saul, and removed to David; who, upon this removal of the Divine Spirit to him, began to prophesy. But as for Saul, some strange and demoniacal disorders came upon him, and brought upon him such suffocations as were ready to choke him; for which the physicians could find no other remedy but this, That if any person could charm those passions by singing, and playing upon the harp, they advised them to inquire for such a one, and to observe when these demons came upon him and disturbed him, and to take care that such a person might stand over him, and play upon the harp, and recite hymns to him. Accordingly Saul did not delay, but commanded them to seek out such a man. And when a certain stander-by said that he had seen in the city of Bethlehem a son of Jesse, who was yet no more than a child in age, but comely and beautiful, and in other respects one that was deserving of great regard, who was skillful in playing on the harp, and in singing of hymns, [and an excellent soldier in war,] he sent to Jesse, and desired him to take David away from the flocks, and send him to him, for he had a mind to see him, as having heard an advantageous character of his comeliness and his valor. So Jesse sent his son, and gave him presents to carry to Saul. And when he was come, Saul was pleased with him, and made him his armor-bearer, and had him in very great esteem; for he charmed his passion, and was the only physician against the trouble he had from the demons, whensoever it was that it came upon him, and this by reciting of hymns, and playing upon the harp, and bringing Saul to his right mind again. However, he sent to Jesse, the father of the child, and desired him to permit David to stay with him, for that he was delighted with his sight and company; which stay, that he might not contradict Saul, he granted.

CHAPTER 9. How The Philistines Made Another Expedition Against The Hebrews Under The Reign Of Saul; And How They Were Overcome By David's Slaying Goliath In Single Combat.

1. Now the Philistines gathered themselves together again no very long time afterward; and having gotten together a great army, they made war against the Israelites; and having seized a place between Shochoh and Azekah, they there pitched their camp. Saul also drew out his army to oppose them; and by pitching his own camp on a certain hill, he forced the Philistines to leave their former camp, and to encamp themselves upon such another hill, over-against that on which Saul's army lay, so that a valley, which was between the two hills on which they lay, divided their camps asunder. Now there came down a man out of the camp of the Philistines, whose name was Goliath, of the city of Gath, a man of vast bulk, for he was of four cubits and a span in tallness, and had about him weapons suitable to the largeness of his body, for he had a breastplate on that weighed five thousand shekels: he had also a helmet and greaves of brass, as large as you would naturally suppose might cover the limbs of so vast a body. His spear was also such as was not carried like a light thing in his right hand, but he carried it as lying on his shoulders. He had also a lance of six hundred shekels; and many followed him to carry his armor. Wherefore this Goliath stood between the two armies, as they were in battle array, and sent out aloud voice, and said to Saul and the Hebrews, "I will free you from fighting and from dangers; for what necessity is there that your army should fall and be afflicted? Give me a man of you that will fight with me, and he that conquers shall have the reward of the conqueror and determine the war; for these shall serve those others to whom the conqueror shall belong; and certainly it is much better, and more prudent, to gain what you desire by the hazard of one man than of all." When he had said this, he retired to his own camp; but the next day he came again, and used the same words, and did not leave off for forty days together, to challenge the enemy in the same words, till Saul and his army were therewith terrified, while they put themselves in array as if they would fight, but did not come to a close battle.

2. Now while this war between the Hebrews and the Philistines was going on, Saul sent away David to his father Jesse, and contented himself with those three sons of his whom he had sent to his assistance, and to be partners in the dangers

of the war: and at first David returned to feed his sheep and his flocks; but after no long time he came to the camp of the Hebrews, as sent by his father, to carry provisions to his brethren, and to know what they were doing. While Goliath came again, and challenged them, and reproached them, that they had no man of valor among them that durst come down to fight him; and as David was talking with his brethren about the business for which his father had sent him, he heard the Philistine reproaching and abusing the army, and had indignation at it, and said to his brethren, "I am ready to fight a single combat with this adversary." Whereupon Eliab, his eldest brother, reproved him, and said that he spoke too rashly and improperly for one of his age, and bid him go to his flocks, and to his father. So he was abashed at his brother's words, and went away, but still he spake to some of the soldiers that he was willing to fight with him that challenged them. And when they had informed Saul what was the resolution of the young man, the king sent for him to come to him: and when the king asked what he had to say, he replied, "O king, be not cast down, nor afraid, for I will depress the insolence of this adversary, and will go down and fight with him, and will bring him under me, as tall and as great as he is, till he shall be sufficiently laughed at, and thy army shall get great glory, when he shall be slain by one that is not yet of man's estate, neither fit for fighting, nor capable of being intrusted with the marshalling an army, or ordering a battle, but by one that looks like a child, and is really no elder in age than a child."

3. Now Saul wondered at the boldness and alacrity of David, but durst not presume on his ability, by reason of his age; but said he must on that account be too weak to fight with one that was skilled in the art of war. "I undertake this enterprise," said David, "in dependence on God's being with me, for I have had experience already of his assistance; for I once pursued after and caught a lion that assaulted my flocks, and took away a lamb from them; and I snatched the lamb out of the wild beast's mouth, and when he leaped upon me with violence, I took him by the tail, and dashed him against the ground. In the same manner did I avenge myself on a bear also; and let this adversary of ours be esteemed like one of these wild beasts, since he has a long while reproached our army, and blasphemed our God, who yet will reduce him under my power."

4. However, Saul prayed that the end might be, by God's assistance, not disagreeable to the alacrity and boldness of the child; and said, "Go thy way to the fight." So he put about him his breastplate, and girded on his sword, and fitted the helmet to his head, and sent him away. But David was burdened with his armor, for he had not been exercised to it, nor had he learned to walk with it; so he said, "Let this armor be thine, O king, who art able to bear it; but give me leave to fight as thy servant, and as I myself desire." Accordingly he laid by the

armor, and taking his staff with him, and putting five stones out of the brook into a shepherd's bag, and having a sling in his right hand, he went towards Goliath. But the adversary seeing him come in such a manner, disdained him, and jested upon him, as if he had not such weapons with him as are usual when one man fights against another, but such as are used in driving away and avoiding of dogs; and said, "Dost thou take me not for a man, but a dog?" To which he replied, "No, not for a dog, but for a creature worse than a dog." This provoked Goliath to anger, who thereupon cursed him by the name of God, and threatened to give his flesh to the beasts of the earth, and to the fowls of the air, to be torn in pieces by them. To whom David answered, "Thou comest to me with a sword, and with a spear, and with a breastplate; but I have God for my armor in coming against thee, who will destroy thee and all thy army by my hands for I will this day cut off thy head, and cast the other parts of thy body to the dogs, and all men shall learn that God is the protector of the Hebrews, and that our armor and our strength is in his providence; and that without God's assistance, all other warlike preparations and power are useless." So the Philistine being retarded by the weight of his armor, when he attempted to meet David in haste, came on but slowly, as despising him, and depending upon it that he should slay him, who was both unarmed and a child also, without any trouble at all.

5. But the youth met his antagonist, being accompanied with an invisible assistant, who was no other than God himself. And taking one of the stones that he had out of the brook, and had put into his shepherd's bag, and fitting it to his sling, he slang it against the Philistine. This stone fell upon his forehead, and sank into his brain, insomuch that Goliath was stunned, and fell upon his face. So David ran, and stood upon his adversary as he lay down, and cut off his head with his own sword; for he had no sword himself. And upon the fall of Goliath the Philistines were beaten, and fled; for when they saw their champion prostrate on the ground, they were afraid of the entire issue of their affairs, and resolved not to stay any longer, but committed themselves to an ignominious and indecent flight, and thereby endeavored to save themselves from the dangers they were in. But Saul and the entire army of the Hebrews made a shout, and rushed upon them, and slew a great number of them, and pursued the rest to the borders of Garb, and to the gates of Ekron; so that there were slain of the Philistines thirty thousand, and twice as many wounded. But Saul returned to their camp, and pulled their fortification to pieces, and burnt it; but David carried the head of Goliath into his own tent, but dedicated his sword to God [at the tabernacle].

CHAPTER 10. Saul Envies David For His Glorious Success, And Takes An Occasion Of Entrapping Him, From The Promise He Made Him Of Giving Him His Daughter In Marriage; But This Upon Condition Of His Bringing Him Six Hundred Heads Of The Philistines.

1. Now the women were an occasion of Saul's envy and hatred to David; for they came to meet their victorious army with cymbals, and drums, and all demonstrations of joy, and sang thus: The wives said, that "Saul had slain his many thousands of the Philistines." The virgins replied, that "David had slain his ten thousands." Now, when the king heard them singing thus, and that he had himself the smallest share in their commendations, and the greater number, the ten thousands, were ascribed to the young man; and when he considered with himself that there was nothing more wanting to David, after such a mighty applause, but the kingdom; he began to be afraid and suspicious of David. Accordingly he removed him from the station he was in before, for he was his armor-bearer, which, out of fear, seemed to him much too near a station for him; and so he made him captain over a thousand, and bestowed on him a post better indeed in itself, but, as he thought, more for his own security; for he had a mind to send him against the enemy, and into battles, as hoping he would be slain in such dangerous conflicts.

2. But David had God going along with him whithersoever he went, and accordingly he greatly prospered in his undertakings, and it was visible that he had mighty success, insomuch that Saul's daughter, who was still a virgin, fell in love with him; and her affection so far prevailed over her, that it could not be concealed, and her father became acquainted with it. Now Saul heard this gladly, as intending to make use of it for a snare against David, and he hoped that it would prove the cause of destruction and of hazard to him; so he told those that informed him of his daughter's affection, that he would willingly give David the virgin in marriage, and said, "I engage myself to marry my daughter to him if he will bring me six hundred heads of my enemies supposing that when a reward so ample was proposed to him, and when he should aim to get him great glory, by undertaking a thing so dangerous and incredible, he would immediately set about it, and so perish by the Philistines; and my designs about him will succeed finely

to my mind, for I shall be freed from him, and get him slain, not by myself, but by another man." So he gave order to his servants to try how David would relish this proposal of marrying the damsel. Accordingly, they began to speak thus to him: That king Saul loved him, as well as did all the people, and that he was desirous of his affinity by the marriage of this damsel. To which he gave this answer:— "Seemeth it to you a light thing to be made the king's son-in-law? It does not seem so to me, especially when I am one of a family that is low, and without any glory or honor." Now when Saul was informed by his servants what answer David had made, he said,— "Tell him that I do not want any money nor dowry from him, which would be rather to set my daughter to sale than to give her in marriage; but I desire only such a son-in-law as hath in him fortitude, and all other kinds of virtue," of which he saw David was possessed, and that his desire was to receive of him, on account of his marrying his daughter, neither gold nor silver, nor that he should bring such wealth out of his father's house, but only some revenge on the Philistines, and indeed six hundred of their heads, than which a more desirable or a more glorious present could not be brought him, and that he had much rather obtain this, than any of the accustomed dowries for his daughter, *viz.* that she should be married to a man of that character, and to one who had a testimony as having conquered his enemies.

3. When these words of Saul were brought to David, he was pleased with them, and supposed that Saul was really desirous of this affinity with him; so that without bearing to deliberate any longer, or casting about in his mind whether what was proposed was possible, or was difficult or not, he and his companions immediately set upon the enemy, and went about doing what was proposed as the condition of the marriage. Accordingly, because it was God who made all things easy and possible to David, he slew many [of the Philistines], and cut off the heads of six hundred of them, and came to the king, and by showing him these heads of the Philistines, required that he might have his daughter in marriage. Accordingly, Saul having no way of getting off his engagements, as thinking it a base thing either to seem a liar when he promised him this marriage, or to appear to have acted treacherously by him, in putting him upon what was in a manner impossible, in order to have him slain, he gave him his daughter in marriage: her name was Michal.

CHAPTER 11. How David, Upon Saul's Laying Snares For Him, Did Yet Escape The Dangers He Was In By The Affection And Care Of Jonathan And The Contrivances Of His Wife Michal: And How He Came To Samuel The Prophet.

1. However, Saul was not disposed to persevere long in the state wherein he was, for when he saw that David was in great esteem, both with God and with the multitude, he was afraid; and being not able to conceal his fear as concerning great things, his kingdom and his life, to be deprived of either of which was a very great calamity, he resolved to have David slain, and commanded his son Jonathan and his most faithful servants to kill him: but Jonathan wondered at his father's change with relation to David, that it should be made to so great a degree, from showing him no small good-will, to contrive how to have him killed. Now, because he loved the young man, and reverenced him for his virtue, he informed him of the secret charge his father had given, and what his intentions were concerning him. However, he advised him to take care and be absent the next day, for that he would salute his father, and, if he met with a favorable opportunity, he would discourse with him about him, and learn the cause of his disgust, and show how little ground there was for it, and that for it he ought not to kill a man that had done so many good things to the multitude, and had been a benefactor to himself, on account of which he ought in reason to obtain pardon, had he been guilty of the greatest crimes; and "I will then inform thee of my father's resolution." Accordingly David complied with such an advantageous advice, and kept himself then out of the king's sight.

2. On the next day Jonathan came to Saul, as soon as he saw him in a cheerful and joyful disposition, and began to introduce a discourse about David: "What unjust action, O father, either little or great, hast thou found so exceptionable in David, as to induce thee to order us to slay a man who hath been of great advantage to thy own preservation, and of still greater to the punishment of the Philistines? A man who hath delivered the people of the Hebrews from reproach and derision, which they underwent for forty days together, when he alone had courage enough to sustain the challenge of the adversary, and after that brought as many heads of our enemies as he was appointed to bring, and had, as a reward for the same, my sister in marriage; insomuch that his death would be very sorrowful to us, not only on account of his virtue, but on account of the nearness

of our relation; for thy daughter must be injured at the same time that he is slain, and must be obliged to experience widowhood, before she can come to enjoy any advantage from their mutual conversation. Consider these things, and change your mind to a more merciful temper, and do no mischief to a man, who, in the first place, hath done us the greatest kindness of preserving thee; for when an evil spirit and demons had seized upon thee, he cast them out, and procured rest to thy soul from their incursions: and, in the second place, hath avenged us of our enemies; for it is a base thing to forget such benefits." So Saul was pacified with these words, and sware to his son that he would do David no harm, for a righteous discourse proved too hard for the king's anger and fear. So Jonathan sent for David, and brought him good news from his father, that he was to be preserved. He also brought him to his father; and David continued with the king as formerly.

3. About this time it was that, upon the Philistines making a new expedition against the Hebrews, Saul sent David with an army to fight with them; and joining battle with them he slew many of them, and after his victory he returned to the king. But his reception by Saul was not as he expected upon such success, for he was grieved at his prosperity, because he thought he would be more dangerous to him by having acted so gloriously: but when the demoniacal spirit came upon him, and put him into disorder, and disturbed him, he called for David into his bed-chamber wherein he lay, and having a spear in his hand, he ordered him to charm him with playing on his harp, and with singing hymns; which when David did at his command, he with great force threw the spear at him; but David was aware of it before it came, and avoided it, and fled to his own house, and abode there all that day.

4. But at night the king sent officers, and commanded that he should be watched till the morning, lest he should get quite away, that he might come into the judgment-hall, and so might be delivered up, and condemned and slain. But when Michal, David's wife, the king's daughter, understood what her father designed, she came to her husband, as having small hopes of his deliverance, and as greatly concerned about her own life also, for she could not bear to live in case she were deprived of him; and she said, "Let not the sun find thee here when it rises, for if it do, that will be the last time it will see thee: fly away then while the night may afford thee opportunity, and may God lengthen it for thy sake; for know this, that if my father find thee, thou art a dead man." So she let him down by a cord out of the window, and saved him: and after she had done so, she fitted up a bed for him as if he were sick, and put under the bed-clothes a goat's liver and when her father, as soon as it was day, sent to seize David, she said to those that were there, That he had not been well that night, and showed

them the bed covered, and made them believe, by the leaping of the liver, which caused the bed-clothes to move also, that David breathed like one that was asthmatic. So when those that were sent told Saul that David had not been well in the night he ordered him to be brought in that condition, for he intended to kill him. Now when they came and uncovered the bed, and found out the woman's contrivance, they told it to the king; and when her father complained of her that she had saved his enemy, and had put a trick upon himself, she invented this plausible defense for herself, and said, That when he had threatened to kill her, she lent him her assistance for his preservation, out of fear; for which her assistance she ought to be forgiven, because it was not done of her own free choice, but out of necessity: "For," said she, "I do not suppose that thou wast so zealous to kill thy enemy, as thou wast that I should be saved." Accordingly Saul forgave the damsel; but David, when he had escaped this danger, came to the prophet Samuel to Ramah, and told him what snares the king had laid for him, and how he was very near to death by Saul's throwing a spear at him, although he had been no way guilty with relation to him, nor had he been cowardly in his battles with his enemies, but had succeeded well in them all, by God's assistance; which thing was indeed the cause of Saul's hatred to David.

5. When the prophet was made acquainted with the unjust proceedings of the king, he left the city Ramah, and took David with him, to a certain place called Naioth, and there he abode with him. But when it was told Saul that David was with the prophet, he sent soldiers to him, and ordered them to take him, and bring him to him: and when they came to Samuel, and found there a congregation of prophets, they became partakers of the Divine Spirit, and began to prophesy; which when Saul heard of, he sent others to David, who prophesying in like manner as did the first, he again sent others; which third sort prophesying also, at last he was angry, and went thither in great haste himself; and when he was just by the place, Samuel, before he saw him, made him prophesy also. And when Saul came to him, he was disordered in mind and under the vehement agitation of a spirit; and, putting off his garments, he fell down, and lay on the ground all that day and night, in the presence of Samuel and David.

6. And David went thence, and came to Jonathan, the son of Saul, and lamented to him what snares were laid for him by his father; and said, that though he had been guilty of no evil, nor had offended against him, yet he was very zealous to get him killed. Hereupon Jonathan exhorted him not to give credit to such his own suspicions, nor to the calumnies of those that raised those reports, if there were any that did so, but to depend on him, and take courage; for that his father had no such intention, since he would have acquainted him with

that matter, and have taken his advice, had it been so, as he used to consult with him in common when he acted in other affairs. But David sware to him that so it was; and he desired him rather to believe him, and to provide for his safety, than to despise what he, with great sincerity, told him: that he would believe what he said, when he should either see him killed himself, or learn it upon inquiry from others: and that the reason why his father did not tell him of these things, was this, that he knew of the friendship and affection that he bore towards him.

7. Hereupon, when Jonathan found that this intention of Saul was so well attested, he asked him what he would have him do for him. To which David replied, "I am sensible that thou art willing to gratify me in every thing, and procure me what I desire. Now tomorrow is the new moon, and I was accustomed to sit down then with the king at supper: now, if it seem good to thee, I will go out of the city, and conceal myself privately there; and if Saul inquire why I am absent, tell him that I am gone to my own city Bethlehem, to keep a festival with my own tribe; and add this also, that thou gavest me leave so to do. And if he say, as is usually said in the case of friends that are gone abroad, It is well that he went, then assure thyself that no latent mischief or enmity may be feared at his hand; but if he answer otherwise, that will be a sure sign that he hath some designs against me, Accordingly thou shalt inform me of thy father's inclinations; and that out of pity to my case and out of thy friendship for me, as instances of which friendship thou hast vouchsafed to accept of the assurances of my love to thee, and to give the like assurances to me, that is, those of a master to his servant; but if thou discoverest any wickedness in me, do thou prevent thy father, and kill me thyself."

8. But Jonathan heard these last words with indignation, and promised to do what he desired of him, and to inform him if his father's answers implied any thing of a melancholy nature, and any enmity against him. And that he might the more firmly depend upon him, he took him out into the open field, into the pure air, and sware that he would neglect nothing that might tend to the preservation of David; and he said, "I appeal to that God, who, as thou seest, is diffused every where, and knoweth this intention of mine, before I explain it in words, as the witness of this my covenant with thee, that I will not leave off to make frequent trims of the purpose of my father till I learn whether there be any lurking distemper in the most secret parts of his soul; and when I have learnt it, I will not conceal it from thee, but will discover it to thee, whether he be gently or peevishly disposed; for this God himself knows, that I pray he may always be with thee, for he is with thee now, and will not forsake thee, and will make thee superior to thine enemies, whether my father be one of them, or whether I myself be such. Do thou only remember what we now do; and if it fall out that I die,

preserve my children alive, and requite what kindness thou hast now received to them." When he had thus sworn, he dismissed David, bidding him go to a certain place of that plain wherein he used to perform his exercises; for that, as soon as he knew the mind of his father, he would come thither to him, with one servant only; "and if," says he, "I shoot three darts at the mark, and then bid my servant to carry these three darts away, for they are before him, know thou that there is no mischief to be feared from my father; but if thou hearest me say the contrary, expect the contrary from the king. However, thou shalt gain security by my means, and shalt by no means suffer any harm; but see thou dost not forget what I have desired of thee in the time of thy prosperity, and be serviceable to my children." Now David, when he had received these assurances from Jonathan, went his way to the place appointed.

9. But on the next day, which was the new moon, the king, when he had purified himself, as the custom was, came to supper; and when there sat by him his son Jonathan on his right hand, and Abner, the captain of his host, on the other hand, he saw David's seat was empty, but said nothing, supposing that he had not purified himself since he had accompanied with his wife, and so could not be present; but when he saw that he was not there the second day of the month neither, he inquired of his son Jonathan why the son of Jesse did not come to the supper and the feast, neither the day before nor that day. So Jonathan said, That he was gone, according to the agreement between them, to his own city, where his tribe kept a festival, and that by his permission: that he also invited him to come to their sacrifice; "and," says Jonathan, "if thou wilt give me leave, I Will go thither, for thou knowest the good-will that I bear him." And then it was that Jonathan understood his father's hatred to David, and plainly saw his entire disposition; for Saul could not restrain his anger, but reproached Jonathan, and called him the son of a runagate, and an enemy; and said he was a partner with David, and his assistant, and that by his behavior he showed he had no regard to himself, or to his mother, and would not be persuaded of this, — that while David is alive, their kingdom was not secure to them; yet did he bid him send for him, that he might be punished. And when Jonathan said, in answer, "What hath he done that thou wilt punish him?" Saul no longer contented himself to express his anger in bare words, but snatched up his spear, and leaped upon him, and was desirous to kill him. He did not indeed do what he intended, because he was hindered by his friends; but it appeared plainly to his son that he hated David, and greatly desired to despatch him, insomuch that he had almost slain his son with his own hands on his account.

10. And then it was that the king's son rose hastily from supper; and being unable to admit any thing into his mouth for grief, he wept all night, both

because he had himself been near destruction, and because the death of David was determined: but as soon as it was day, he went out into the plain that was before the city, as going to perform his exercises, but in reality to inform his friend what disposition his father was in towards him, as he had agreed with him to do; and when Jonathan had done what had been thus agreed, he dismissed his servant that followed him, to return to the city; but he himself went into the desert, and came into his presence, and communed with him. So David appeared and fell at Jonathan's feet, and bowed down to him, and called him the preserver of his soul; but he lifted him up from the earth, and they mutually embraced one another, and made a long greeting, and that not without tears. They also lamented their age, and that familiarity which envy would deprive them of, and that separation which must now be expected, which seemed to them no better than death itself. So recollecting themselves at length from their lamentation, and exhorting one another to be mindful of the oaths they had sworn to each other, they parted asunder.

CHAPTER 12. How David Fled To Ahimelech And Afterwards To The Kings Of The Philistines And Of The Moabites, And How Saul Slew Ahimelech And His Family.

1. But David fled from the king, and that death he was in danger of by him, and came to the city Nob, to Ahimelech the priest, who, when he saw him coming all alone, and neither a friend nor a servant with him, he wondered at it, and desired to learn of him the cause why there was nobody with him. To which David answered, That the king had commanded him to do a certain thing that was to be kept secret, to which, if he had a mind to know so much, he had no occasion for any one to accompany him; "however, I have ordered my servants to meet me at such and such a place." So he desired him to let him have somewhat to eat; and that in case he would supply him, he would act the part of a friend, and be assisting to the business he was now about: and when he had obtained what he desired, he also asked him whether he had any weapons with him, either sword or spear. Now there was at Nob a servant of Saul, by birth a Syrian, whose name was Doeg, one that kept the king's mules. The high priest said that he had no such weapons; but, he added, "Here is the sword of Goliath, which, when thou hadst slain the Philistine, thou didst dedicate to God."

2. When David had received the sword, he fled out of the country of the Hebrews into that of the Philistines, over which Achish reigned; and when the king's servants knew him, and he was made known to the king himself, the servants informing him that he was that David who had killed many ten thousands of the Philistines, David was afraid lest the king should put him to death, and that he should experience that danger from him which he had escaped from Saul; so he pretended to be distracted and mad, so that his spittle ran out of his mouth; and he did other the like actions before the king of Gath, which might make him believe that they proceeded from such a distemper. Accordingly the king was very angry at his servants that they had brought him a madman, and he gave orders that they should eject David immediately [out of the city].

3. So when David had escaped in this manner out of Gath, he came to the tribe of Judah, and abode in a cave by the city of Adullam. Then it was that he sent to his brethren, and informed them where he was, who then came to him with all their kindred, and as many others as were either in want or in fear of king Saul, came and made a body together, and told him they were ready to obey

his orders; they were in all about four hundred. Whereupon he took courage, now such a force and assistance was come to him; so he removed thence and came to the king of the Moabites, and desired him to entertain his parents in his country, while the issue of his affairs were in such an uncertain condition. The king granted him this favor, and paid great respect to David's parents all the time they were with him.

4. As for himself, upon the prophet's commanding him to leave the desert, and to go into the portion of the tribe of Judah, and abide there, he complied therewith; and coming to the city Hareth, which was in that tribe, he remained there. Now when Saul heard that David had been seen with a multitude about him, he fell into no small disturbance and trouble; but as he knew that David was a bold and courageous man, he suspected that somewhat extraordinary would appear from him, and that openly also, which would make him weep and put him into distress; so he called together to him his friends, and his commanders, and the tribe from which he was himself derived, to the hill where his palace was; and sitting upon a place called Aroura, his courtiers that were in dignities, and the guards of his body, being with him, he spake thus to them:— "You that are men of my own tribe, I conclude that you remember the benefits that I have bestowed upon you, and that I have made some of you owners of land, and made you commanders, and bestowed posts of honor upon you, and set some of you over the common people, and others over the soldiers; I ask you, therefore, whether you expect greater and more donations from the son of Jesse? for I know that you are all inclinable to him; [even my own son Jonathan himself is of that opinion, and persuades you to be of the same]; for I am not unacquainted with the oaths and the covenants that are between him and David, and that Jonathan is a counselor and an assistant to those that conspire against me, and none of you are concerned about these things, but you keep silence and watch, to see what will be the upshot of these things." When the king had made this speech, not one of the rest of those that were present made any answer; but Doeg the Syrian, who fed his mules, said, that he saw David when he came to the city Nob to Ahimelech the high priest, and that he learned future events by his prophesying; that he received food from him, and the sword of Goliath, and was conducted by him with security to such as he desired to go to.

5. Saul therefore sent for the high priest, and for all his kindred; and said to them, "What terrible or ungrateful tiring hast thou suffered from me, that thou hast received the son of Jesse, and hast bestowed on him both food and weapons, when he was contriving to get the kingdom? And further, why didst thou deliver oracles to him concerning futurities? For thou couldst not be unacquainted that he was fled away from me, and that he hated my family." But the high priest did

not betake himself to deny what he had done, but confessed boldly that he had supplied him with these things, not to gratify David, but Saul himself: and he said, “I did not know that he was thy adversary, but a servant of thine, who was very faithful to thee, and a captain over a thousand of thy soldiers, and, what is more than these, thy son-in-law, and kinsman. Men do not choose to confer such favors on their adversaries, but on those who are esteemed to bear the highest good-will and respect to them. Nor is this the first time that I prophesied for him, but I have done it often, and at other times as well as now. And when he told me that he was sent by thee in great haste to do somewhat, if I had furnished him with nothing that he desired I should have thought that it was rather in contradiction to thee than to him; wherefore do not thou entertain any ill opinion of me, nor do thou have a suspicion of what I then thought an act of humanity, from what is now told thee of David’s attempts against thee, for I did then to him as to thy friend and son-in-law, and captain of a thousand, and not as to thine adversary.”

6. When the high priest had spoken thus, he did not persuade Saul, his fear was so prevalent, that he could not give credit to an apology that was very just. So he commanded his armed men that stood about him to kill him, and all his kindred; but as they durst not touch the high priest, but were more afraid of disobeying God than the king, he ordered Doeg the Syrian to kill them. Accordingly, he took to his assistance such wicked men as were like himself, and slew Ahimelech and all his family, who were in all three hundred and eighty-five. Saul also sent to Nob, the city of the priests, and slew all that were there, without sparing either women or children, or any other age, and burnt it; only there was one son of Ahimelech, whose name was Abiathar, who escaped. However, these things came to pass as God had foretold to Eli the high priest, when he said that his posterity should be destroyed, on account of the transgression of his two sons.

7. Now this king Saul, by perpetrating so barbarous a crime, and murdering the whole family of the high-priestly dignity, by having no pity of the infants, nor reverence for the aged, and by overthrowing the city which God had chosen for the property, and for the support of the priests and prophets which were there, and had ordained as the only city allotted for the education of such men, gives all to understand and consider the disposition of men, that while they are private persons, and in a low condition, because it is not in their power to indulge nature, nor to venture upon what they wish for, they are equitable and moderate, and pursue nothing but what is just, and bend their whole minds and labors that way; then it is that they have this belief about God, that he is present to all the actions of their lives, and that he does not only see the actions that are

done, but clearly knows those their thoughts also, whence those actions do arise. But when once they are advanced into power and authority, then they put off all such notions, and, as if they were no other than actors upon a theater, they lay aside their disguised parts and manners, and take up boldness, insolence, and a contempt of both human and Divine laws, and this at a time when they especially stand in need of piety and righteousness, because they are then most of all exposed to envy, and all they think, and all they say, are in the view of all men; then it is that they become so insolent in their actions, as though God saw them no longer, or were afraid of them because of their power: and whatsoever it is that they either are afraid of by the rumors they hear, or they hate by inclination, or they love without reason, these seem to them to be authentic, and firm, and true, and pleasing both to men and to God; but as to what will come hereafter, they have not the least regard to it. They raise those to honor indeed who have been at a great deal of pains for them, and after that honor they envy them; and when they have brought them into high dignity, they do not only deprive them of what they had obtained, but also, on that very account, of their lives also, and that on wicked accusations, and such as on account of their extravagant nature, are incredible. They also punish men for their actions, not such as deserve condemnation, but from calumnies and accusations without examination; and this extends not only to such as deserve to be punished, but to as many as they are able to kill. This reflection is openly confirmed to us from the example of Saul, the son of Kish, who was the first king who reigned after our aristocracy and government under the judges were over; and that by his slaughter of three hundred priests and prophets, on occasion of his suspicion about Ahimelech, and by the additional wickedness of the overthrow of their city, and this is as he were endeavoring in some sort to render the temple [tabernacle] destitute both of priests and prophets, which endeavor he showed by slaying so many of them, and not suffering the very city belonging to them to remain, that so others might succeed them.

8. But Abiathar, the son of Ahimelech, who alone could be saved out of the family of priests slain by Saul, fled to David, and informed him of the calamity that had befallen their family, and of the slaughter of his father; who hereupon said, He was not unapprised of what would follow with relation to them when he saw Doeg there; for he had then a suspicion that the high priest would be falsely accused by him to the king, and he blamed himself as having been the cause of this misfortune. But he desired him to stay there, and abide with him, as in a place where he might be better concealed than any where else.

CHAPTER 13. How David, When He Had Twice The Opportunity Of Killing Saul Did Not Kill Him. Also Concerning The Death Of Samuel And Nabal.

1. About this time it was that David heard how the Philistines had made an inroad into the country of Keilah, and robbed it; so he offered himself to fight against them, if God, when he should be consulted by the prophet, would grant him the victory. And when the prophet said that God gave a signal of victory, he made a sudden onset upon the Philistines with his companions, and he shed a great deal of their blood, and carried off their prey, and staid with the inhabitants of Keilah till they had securely gathered in their corn and their fruits. However, it was told Saul the king that David was with the men of Keilah; for what had been done and the great success that had attended him, were not confined among the people where the things were done, but the fame of it went all abroad, and came to the hearing of others, and both the fact as it stood, and the author of the fact, were carried to the king's ears. Then was Saul glad when he heard David was in Keilah; and he said, "God hath now put him into my hands, since he hath obliged him to come into a city that hath walls, and gates, and bars." So he commanded all the people suddenly, and when they had besieged and taken it to kill David. But when David perceived this, and learned of God that if he staid there the men of Keilah would deliver him up to Saul, he took his four hundred men and retired into a desert that was over against a city called Engedi. So that when the king heard he was fled away from the men of Keilah, he left off his expedition against him.

2. Then David removed thence, and came to a certain place called the New Place, belonging to Ziph; where Jonathan, the son of Saul, came to him, and saluted him, and exhorted him to be of good courage, and to hope well as to his condition hereafter, and not to despond at his present circumstances, for that he should be king, and have all the forces of the Hebrews under him: he told him that such happiness uses to come with great labor and pains: they also took oaths, that they would, all their lives long, continue in good-will and fidelity one to another; and he called God to witness, as to what execrations he had made upon himself if he should transgress his covenant, and should change to a contrary behavior. So Jonathan left him there, having rendered his cares and fears somewhat lighter, and returned home. Now the men of Ziph, to gratify Saul, informed him that David abode with them, and [assured him] that if he would come to them, they would deliver him up, for that if the king would seize

on the Straits of Ziph, David would not escape to any other people. So the king commended them, and confessed that he had reason to thank them, because they had given him information of his enemy; and he promised them, that it should not be long ere he would requite their kindness. He also sent men to seek for David, and to search the wilderness wherein he was; and he promised that he himself would follow them. Accordingly they went before the king, to hunt for and to catch David, and used endeavors, not only to show their good-will to Saul, by informing him where his enemy was, but to evidence the same more plainly by delivering him up into his power. But these men failed of those their unjust and wicked desires, who, while they underwent no hazard by not discovering such an ambition of revealing this to Saul, yet did they falsely accuse and promise to deliver up a man beloved of God, and one that was unjustly sought after to be put to death, and one that might otherwise have lain concealed, and this out of flattery, and expectation of gain from the king; for when David was apprized of the malignant intentions of the men of Ziph, and the approach of Saul, he left the Straits of that country, and fled to the great rock that was in the wilderness of Maon.

3. Hereupon Saul made haste to pursue him thither; for, as he was marching, he learned that David was gone away from the Straits of Ziph, and Saul removed to the other side of the rock. But the report that the Philistines had again made an incursion into the country of the Hebrews, called Saul another way from the pursuit of David, when he was ready to be caught; for he returned back again to oppose those Philistines, who were naturally their enemies, as judging it more necessary to avenge himself of them, than to take a great deal of pains to catch an enemy of his own, and to overlook the ravage that was made in the land.

4. And by this means David unexpectedly escaped out of the danger he was in, and came to the Straits of Engedi; and when Saul had driven the Philistines out of the land, there came some messengers, who told him that David abode within the bounds of Engedi: so he took three thousand chosen men that were armed, and made haste to him; and when he was not far from those places, he saw a deep and hollow cave by the way-side; it was open to a great length and breadth, and there it was that David with his four hundred men were concealed. When therefore he had occasion to ease nature, he entered into it by himself alone; and being seen by one of David's companions, and he that saw him saying to him, that he had now, by God's providence, an opportunity of avenging himself of his adversary; and advising him to cut off his head, and so deliver himself out of that tedious, wandering condition, and the distress he was in; he rose up, and only cut off the skirt of that garment which Saul had on: but he soon repented of what he had done; and said it was not right to kill him that

was his master, and one whom God had thought worthy of the kingdom; “for that although he were wickedly disposed towards us, yet does it not behoove me to be so disposed towards him.” But when Saul had left the cave, David came near and cried out aloud, and desired Saul to hear him; whereupon the king turned his face back, and David, according to custom, fell down on his face before the king, and bowed to him; and said, “O king, thou oughtest not to hearken to wicked men, nor to such as forge calumnies, nor to gratify them so far as to believe what they say, nor to entertain suspicions of such as are your best friends, but to judge of the dispositions of all men by their actions; for calumny deludes men, but men’s own actions are a clear demonstration of their kindness. Words indeed, in their own nature, may be either true or false, but men’s actions expose their intentions nakedly to our view. By these, therefore it will be well for thee to believe me, as to my regard to thee and to thy house, and not to believe those that frame such accusations against me as never came into my mind, nor are possible to be executed, and do this further by pursuing after my life, and have no concern either day or night, but how to compass my life and to murder me, which thing I think thou dost unjustly prosecute; for how comes it about, that thou hast embraced this false opinion about me, as if I had a desire to kill thee? Or how canst thou escape the crime of impiety towards God, when thou wishest thou couldst kill, and deemest thine adversary, a man who had it in his power this day to avenge himself, and to punish thee, but would not do it? nor make use of such an opportunity, which, if it had fallen out to thee against me, thou hadst not let it slip, for when I cut off the skirt of thy garment, I could have done the same to thy head.” So he showed him the piece of his garment, and thereby made him agree to what he said to be true; and added, “I, for certain, have abstained from taking a just revenge upon thee, yet art thou not ashamed to prosecute me with unjust hatred. May God do justice, and determine about each of our dispositions.” — But Saul was amazed at the strange delivery he had received; and being greatly affected with the moderation and the disposition of the young man, he groaned; and when David had done the same, the king answered that he had the justest occasion to groan, “for thou hast been the author of good to me, as I have been the author of calamity to thee; and thou hast demonstrated this day, that thou possessest the righteousness of the ancients, who determined that men ought to save their enemies, though they caught them in a desert place. I am now persuaded that God reserves the kingdom for thee, and that thou wilt obtain the dominion over all the Hebrews. Give me then assurances upon oath, That thou wilt not root out my family, nor, out of remembrance of what evil I have done thee, destroy my posterity, but save and preserve my house.” So David sware as he desired, and sent back Saul to his

own kingdom; but he, and those that were with him, went up the Straits of Mastheroth.

5. About this time Samuel the prophet died. He was a man whom the Hebrews honored in an extraordinary degree: for that lamentation which the people made for him, and this during a long time, manifested his virtue, and the affection which the people bore for him; as also did the solemnity and concern that appeared about his funeral, and about the complete observation of all his funeral rites. They buried him in his own city of Ramah; and wept for him a very great number of days, not looking on it as a sorrow for the death of another man, but as that in which they were every one themselves concerned. He was a righteous man, and gentle in his nature; and on that account he was very dear to God. Now he governed and presided over the people alone, after the death of Eli the high priest, twelve years, and eighteen years together with Saul the king. And thus we have finished the history of Samuel.

6. There was a man that was a Ziphite, of the city of Maon, who was rich, and had a vast number of cattle; for he fed a flock of three thousand sheep, and another flock of a thousand goats. Now David had charged his associates to keep these flocks without hurt and without damage, and to do them no mischief, neither out of covetousness, nor because they were in want, nor because they were in the wilderness, and so could not easily be discovered, but to esteem freedom from injustice above all other motives, and to look upon the touching of what belonged to another man as a horrible crime, and contrary to the will of God. These were the instructions he gave, thinking that the favors he granted this man were granted to a good man, and one that deserved to have such care taken of his affairs. This man was Nabal, for that was his name, — a harsh man, and of a very wicked life, being like a cynic in the course of his behavior, but still had obtained for his wife a woman of a good character, wise and handsome. To this Nabal, therefore, David sent ten men of his attendants at the time when he sheared his sheep, and by them saluted him; and also wished he might do what he now did for many years to come, but desired him to make him a present of what he was able to give him, since he had, to be sure, learned from his shepherds that we had done them no injury, but had been their guardians a long time together, while we continued in the wilderness; and he assured him he should never repent of giving any thing to David. When the messengers had carried this message to Nabal, he accosted them after an inhuman and rough manner; for he asked them who David was? and when he heard that he was the son of Jesse, he said, “Now is the time that fugitives grow insolent, and make a figure, and leave their masters.” When they told David this, he was wroth, and commanded four hundred armed men to follow him, and left two hundred to take

care of the stuff, [for he had already six hundred,] and went against Nabal: he also swore that he would that night utterly destroy the whole house and possessions of Nabal; for that he was grieved, not only that he had proved ungrateful to them, without making any return for the humanity they had shown him, but that he had also reproached them, and used ill language to them, when he had received no cause of disgust from them.

7. Hereupon one of those that kept the flocks of Nabal, said to his mistress, Nabal's wife, that when David sent to her husband he had received no civil answer at all from him; but that her husband had moreover added very reproachful language, while yet David had taken extraordinary care to keep his flocks from harm, and that what had passed would prove very pernicious to his master. When the servant had said this, Abigail, for that was his wife's name, saddled her asses, and loaded them with all sorts of presents; and, without telling her husband any thing of what she was about, [for he was not sensible on account of his drunkenness,] she went to David. She was then met by David as she was descending a hill, who was coming against Nabal with four hundred men. When the woman saw David, she leaped down from her ass, and fell on her face, and bowed down to the ground; and entreated him not to bear in mind the words of Nabal, since he knew that he resembled his name. Now Nabal, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies folly. So she made her apology, that she did not see the messengers whom he sent. "Forgive me, therefore," said she, "and thank God, who hath hindered thee from shedding human blood; for so long as thou keepest thyself innocent, he will avenge thee of wicked men, for what miseries await Nabal, they will fall upon the heads of thine enemies. Be thou gracious to me, and think me so far worthy as to accept of these presents from me; and, out of regard to me, remit that wrath and that anger which thou hast against my husband and his house, for mildness and humanity become thee, especially as thou art to be our king." Accordingly, David accepted her presents, and said, "Nay, but, O woman, it was no other than God's mercy which brought thee to us today, for, otherwise, thou hadst never seen another day, I having sworn to destroy Nabal's house this very night, and to leave alive not one of you who belonged to a man that was wicked and ungrateful to me and my companions; but now hast thou prevented me, and seasonably mollified my anger, as being thyself under the care of God's providence: but as for Nabal, although for thy sake he now escape punishment, he will not always avoid justice; for his evil conduct, on some other occasion, will be his ruin."

8. When David had said this, he dismissed the woman. But when she came home and found her husband feasting with a great company, and oppressed with wine, she said nothing to him then about what had happened; but on the next

day, when he was sober, she told him all the particulars, and made his whole body to appear like that of a dead man by her words, and by that grief which arose from them; so Nabal survived ten days, and no more, and then died. And when David heard of his death, he said that God had justly avenged him of this man, for that Nabal had died by his own wickedness, and had suffered punishment on his account, while he had kept his own hands clean. At which time he understood that the wicked are prosecuted by God; that he does not overlook any man, but bestows on the good what is suitable to them, and inflicts a deserved punishment on the wicked. So he sent to Nabal's wife, and invited her to come to him, to live with him, and to be his wife. Whereupon she replied to those that came, that she was not worthy to touch his feet; however, she came, with all her servants, and became his wife, having received that honor on account of her wise and righteous course of life. She also obtained the same honor partly on account of her beauty. Now David had a wife before, whom he married from the city Abesar; for as to Michal, the daughter of king Saul, who had been David's wife, her father had given her in marriage to Phalti, the son of Laish, who was of the city of Gallim.

9. After this came certain of the Ziphites, and told Saul that David was come again into their country, and if he would afford them his assistance, they could catch him. So he came to them with three thousand armed men; and upon the approach of night, he pitched his camp at a certain place called Hachilah. But when David heard that Saul was coming against him, he sent spies, and bid them let him know to what place of the country Saul was already come; and when they told him that he was at Hachilah, he concealed his going away from his companions, and came to Saul's camp, having taken with him Abishai, his sister Zeruiah's son, and Ahimelech the Hittite. Now Saul was asleep, and the armed men, with Abner their commander, lay round about him in a circle. Hereupon David entered into the king's tent; but he did neither kill Saul, though he knew where he lay, by the spear that was stuck down by him, nor did he give leave to Abishai, who would have killed him, and was earnestly bent upon it so to do; for he said it was a horrid crime to kill one that was ordained king by God, although he was a wicked man; for that he who gave him the dominion would in time inflict punishment upon him. So he restrained his eagerness; but that it might appear to have been in his power to have killed him when he refrained from it, he took his spear, and the cruse of water which stood by Saul as he lay asleep, without being perceived by any in the camp, who were all asleep, and went securely away, having performed every thing among the king's attendants that the opportunity afforded, and his boldness encouraged him to do. So when he had passed over a brook, and was gotten up to the top of a hill, whence he might

be sufficiently heard, he cried aloud to Saul's soldiers, and to Abner their commander, and awaked them out of their sleep, and called both to him and to the people. Hereupon the commander heard him, and asked who it was that called him. To whom David replied, "It is I, the son of Jesse, whom you make a vagabond. But what is the matter? Dost thou, that art a man of so great dignity, and of the first rank in the king's court, take so little care of thy master's body? and is sleep of more consequence to thee than his preservation, and thy care of him? This negligence of yours deserves death, and punishment to be inflicted on you, who never perceived when, a little while ago, some of us entered into your camp, nay, as far as to the king himself, and to all the rest of you. If thou look for the king's spear and his cruse of water, thou wilt learn what a mighty misfortune was ready to overtake you in your very camp without your knowing it." Now when Saul knew David's voice, and understood that when he had him in his power while he was asleep, and his guards took no care of him, yet did not he kill him, but spared him, when he might justly have cut him off, he said that he owed him thanks for his preservation; and exhorted him to be of good courage, and not be afraid of suffering any mischief from him any more, and to return to his own home, for he was now persuaded that he did not love himself so well as he was loved by him: that he had driven away him that could guard him, and had given many demonstrations of his good-will to him: that he had forced him to live so long in a state of banishment, and in great fears of his life, destitute of his friends and his kindred, while still he was often saved by him, and frequently received his life again when it was evidently in danger of perishing. So David bade them send for the spear and the cruse of water, and take them back; adding this withal, That God would be the judge of both their dispositions, and of the actions that flowed from the same, "who knows that then it was this day in my power to have killed thee I abstained from it."

10. Thus Saul having escaped the hands of David twice, he went his way to his royal palace, and his own city: but David was afraid, that if he staid there he should be caught by Saul; so he thought it better to go up into the land of the Philistines, and abide there. Accordingly, he came with the six hundred men that were with him to Achish, the king of Gath, which was one of their five cities. Now the king received both him and his men, and gave them a place to inhabit in. He had with him also his two wives, Ahinoam and Abigail, and he dwelt in Gath. But when Saul heard this, he took no further care about sending to him, or going after him, because he had been twice, in a manner, caught by him, while he was himself endeavoring to catch him. However, David had no mind to continue in the city of Gath, but desired the king, that since he had received him with such humanity, that he would grant him another favor, and bestow upon

him some place of that country for his habitation, for he was ashamed, by living in the city, to be grievous and burdensome to him. So Achish gave him a certain village called Ziklag; which place David and his sons were fond of when he was king, and reckoned it to be their peculiar inheritance. But about those matters we shall give the reader further information elsewhere. Now the time that David dwelt in Ziklag, in the land of the Philistines, was four months and twenty days. And now he privately attacked those Geshurites and Amalekites that were neighbors to the Philistines, and laid waste their country, and took much prey of their beasts and camels, and then returned home; but David abstained from the men, as fearing they should discover him to king Achish; yet did he send part of the prey to him as a free gift. And when the king inquired whom they had attacked when they brought away the prey, he said, those that lay to the south of the Jews, and inhabited in the plain; whereby he persuaded Achish to approve of what he had done, for he hoped that David had fought against his own nation, and that now he should have him for his servant all his life long, and that he would stay in his country.

CHAPTER 14. Now Saul Upon God's Not Answering Him Concerning The Fight With The Philistines Desired A Necromantic Woman To Raise Up The Soul Of Samuel To Him; And How He Died, With His Sons Upon The Overthrow Of The Hebrews In Battle.

1. About the same time the Philistines resolved to make war against the Israelites, and sent to all their confederates that they would go along with them to the war to Reggan, [near the city Shunem,] whence they might gather themselves together, and suddenly attack the Hebrews. Then did Achish, the king of Gath, desire David to assist them with his armed men against the Hebrews. This he readily promised; and said that the time was now come wherein he might requite him for his kindness and hospitality. So the king promised to make him the keeper of his body, after the victory, supposing that the battle with the enemy succeeded to their mind; which promise of honor and confidence he made on purpose to increase his zeal for his service.

2. Now Saul, the king of the Hebrews, had cast out of the country the fortune-tellers, and the necromancers, and all such as exercised the like arts, excepting the prophets. But when he heard that the Philistines were already come, and had pitched their camp near the city Shunem, situate in the plain, he made haste to oppose them with his forces; and when he was come to a certain mountain called Gilboa, he pitched his camp over-against the enemy; but when he saw the enemy's army he was greatly troubled, because it appeared to him to be numerous, and superior to his own; and he inquired of God by the prophets concerning the battle, that he might know beforehand what would be the event of it. And when God did not answer him, Saul was under a still greater dread, and his courage fell, foreseeing, as was but reasonable to suppose, that mischief would befall him, now God was not there to assist him; yet did he bid his servants to inquire out for him some woman that was a necromancer and called up the souls of the dead, that So he might know whether his affairs would succeed to his mind; for this sort of necromantic women that bring up the souls of the dead, do by them foretell future events to such as desire them. And one of his servants told him that there was such a woman in the city Endor, but was known to nobody in the camp; hereupon Saul put off his royal apparel, and took two of those his servants with him, whom he knew to be most faithful to him, and came to Endor to the woman, and entreated her to act the part of a fortune-

teller, and to bring up such a soul to him as he should name to her. But when the woman opposed his motion, and said she did not despise the king, who had banished this sort of fortune-tellers, and that he did not do well himself, when she had done him no harm, to endeavor to lay a snare for her, and to discover that she exercised a forbidden art, in order to procure her to be punished, he sware that nobody should know what she did; and that he would not tell any one else what she foretold, but that she should incur no danger. As soon as he had induced her by this oath to fear no harm, he bid her bring up to him the soul of Samuel. She, not knowing who Samuel was, called him out of Hades. When he appeared, and the woman saw one that was venerable, and of a divine form, she was in disorder; and being astonished at the sight, she said, "Art not thou king Saul?" for Samuel had informed her who he was. When he had owned that to be true, and had asked her whence her disorder arose, she said that she saw a certain person ascend, who in his form was like to a god. And when he bid her tell him what he resembled, in what habit he appeared, and of what age he was, she told him he was an old man already, and of a glorious personage, and had on a sacerdotal mantle. So the king discovered by these signs that he was Samuel; and he fell down upon the ground, and saluted and worshipped him. And when the soul of Samuel asked him why he had disturbed him, and caused him to be brought up, he lamented the necessity he was under; for he said, that his enemies pressed heavily upon him; that he was in distress what to do in his present circumstances; that he was forsaken of God, and could obtain no prediction of what was coming, neither by prophets nor by dreams; and that "these were the reasons why I have recourse to time, who always took great care of me." But Samuel, seeing that the end of Saul's life was come, said, "It is in vain for thee to desire to learn of me any thing future, when God hath forsaken thee: however, hear what I say, that David is to be king, and to finish this war with good success; and thou art to lose thy dominion and thy life, because thou didst not obey God in the war with the Amalekites, and hast not kept his commandments, as I foretold thee while I was alive. Know, therefore, that the people shall be made subject to their enemies, and that thou, with thy sons, shall fall in the battle tomorrow, and thou shalt then be with me [in Hades]."

3. When Saul heard this, he could not speak for grief, and fell down on the floor, whether it were from the sorrow that arose upon what Samuel had said, or from his emptiness, for he had taken no food the foregoing day nor night, he easily fell quite down: and when with difficulty he had recovered himself, the woman would force him to eat, begging this of him as a favor on account of her concern in that dangerous instance of fortune-telling, which it was not lawful for her to have done, because of the fear she was under of the king, while she knew

not who he was, yet did she undertake it, and go through with it; on which account she entreated him to admit that a table and food might be set before him, that he might recover his strength, and so get safe to his own camp. And when he opposed her motion, and entirely rejected it, by reason of his anxiety, she forced him, and at last persuaded him to it. Now she had one calf that she was very fond of, and one that she took a great deal of care of, and fed it herself; for she was a woman that got her living by the labor of her own hands, and had no other possession but that one calf; this she killed, and made ready its flesh, and set it before his servants and himself. So Saul came to the camp while it was yet night.

4. Now it is but just to recommend the generosity of this woman, because when the king had forbidden her to use that art whence her circumstances were bettered and improved, and when she had never seen the king before, she still did not remember to his disadvantage that he had condemned her sort of learning, and did not refuse him as a stranger, and one that she had had no acquaintance with; but she had compassion upon him, and comforted him, and exhorted him to do what he was greatly averse to, and offered him the only creature she had, as a poor woman, and that earnestly, and with great humanity, while she had no requital made her for her kindness, nor hunted after any future favor from him, for she knew he was to die; whereas men are naturally either ambitious to please those that bestow benefits upon them, or are very ready to serve those from whom they may receive some advantage. It would be well therefore to imitate the example and to do kindnesses to all such as are in want and to think that nothing is better, nor more becoming mankind, than such a general beneficence, nor what will sooner render God favorable, and ready to bestow good things upon us. And so far may suffice to have spoken concerning this woman. But I shall speak further upon another subject, which will afford me all opportunity of discoursing on what is for the advantage of cities, and people, and nations, and suited to the taste of good men, and will encourage them all in the prosecution of virtue; and is capable of showing them the of acquiring glory, and an everlasting fame; and of imprinting in the kings of nations, and the rulers of cities, great inclination and diligence of doing well; as also of encouraging them to undergo dangers, and to die for their countries, and of instructing them how to despise all the most terrible adversities: and I have a fair occasion offered me to enter on such a discourse by Saul the king of the Hebrews; for although he knew what was coming upon him, and that he was to die immediately, by the prediction of the prophet, he did not resolve to fly from death, nor so far to indulge the love of life as to betray his own people to the enemy, or to bring a disgrace on his royal dignity; but exposing himself, as well as all his family and children, to dangers, he thought it a brave thing to fall together with them, as he

was fighting for his subjects, and that it was better his sons should die thus, showing their courage, than to leave them to their uncertain conduct afterward, while, instead of succession and posterity, they gained commendation and a lasting name. Such a one alone seems to me to be a just, a courageous, and a prudent man; and when any one has arrived at these dispositions, or shall hereafter arrive at them, he is the man that ought to be by all honored with the testimony of a virtuous or courageous man: for as to those that go out to war with hopes of success, and that they shall return safe, supposing they should have performed some glorious action, I think those do not do well who call these valiant men, as so many historians and other writers who treat of them are wont to do, although I confess those do justly deserve some commendation also; but those only may be styled courageous and bold in great undertakings, and despisers of adversities, who imitate Saul: for as for those that do not know what the event of war will be as to themselves, and though they do not faint in it, but deliver themselves up to uncertain futurity, and are tossed this way and that way, this is not so very eminent an instance of a generous mind, although they happen to perform many great exploits; but when men's minds expect no good event, but they know beforehand they must die, and that they must undergo that death in the battle also, after this neither to be aftrighted, nor to be astonished at the terrible fate that is coming, but to go directly upon it, when they know it beforehand, this it is that I esteem the character of a man truly courageous. Accordingly this Saul did, and thereby demonstrated that all men who desire fame after they are dead are so to act as they may obtain the same: this especially concerns kings, who ought not to think it enough in their high stations that they are not wicked in the government of their subjects, but to be no more than moderately good to them. I could say more than this about Saul and his courage, the subject affording matter sufficient; but that I may not appear to run out improperly in his commendation, I return again to that history from which I made this digression.

5. Now when the Philistines, as I said before, had pitched their camp, and had taken an account of their forces, according to their nations, and kingdoms, and governments, king Achish came last of all with his own army; after whom came David with his six hundred armed men. And when the commanders of the Philistines saw him, they asked the king whence these Hebrews came, and at whose invitation. He answered that it was David, who was fled away from his master Saul, and that he had entertained him when he came to him, and that now he was willing to make him this requital for his favors, and to avenge himself upon Saul, and so was become his confederate. The commanders complained of this, that he had taken him for a confederate who was an enemy; and gave him

counsel to send him away, lest he should unawares do his friends a great deal of mischief by entertaining him, for that he afforded him an opportunity of being reconciled to his master by doing a mischief to our army. They thereupon desired him, out of a prudent foresight of this, to send him away, with his six hundred armed men, to the place he had given him for his habitation; for that this was that David whom the virgins celebrated in their hymns, as having destroyed many ten thousands of the Philistines. When the king of Gath heard this, he thought they spake well; so he called David, and said to him, "As for myself, I can bear witness that thou hast shown great diligence and kindness about me, and on that account it was that I took thee for my confederate; however, what I have done does not please the commanders of the Philistines; go therefore within a day's time to the place I have given thee, without suspecting any harm, and there keep my country, lest any of our enemies should make an incursion upon it, which will be one part of that assistance which I expect from thee." So David came to Ziklag, as the king of Gath bade him; but it happened, that while he was gone to the assistance of the Philistines, the Amalekites had made an incursion, and taken Ziklag before, and had burnt it; and when they had taken a great deal of other prey out of that place, and out of the other parts of the Philistines' country, they departed.

6. Now when David found that Ziklag was laid waste, and that it was all spoiled, and that as well his own wives, who were two, as the wives of his companions, with their children, were made captives, he presently rent his clothes, weeping and lamenting, together with his friends; and indeed he was so cast down with these misfortunes, that at length tears themselves failed him. He was also in danger of being stoned to death by his companions, who were greatly afflicted at the captivity of their wives and children, for they laid the blame upon him of what had happened. But when he had recovered himself out of his grief, and had raised up his mind to God, he desired the high priest Abiathar to put on his sacerdotal garments, and to inquire of God, and to prophesy to him, whether God would grant; that if he pursued after the Amalekites, he should overtake them, and save their wives and their children, and avenge himself on the enemies. And when the high priest bade him to pursue after them, he marched apace, with his four hundred men, after the enemy; and when he was come to a certain brook called Besor, and had lighted upon one that was wandering about, an Egyptian by birth, who was almost dead with want and famine, [for he had continued wandering about without food in the wilderness three days,] he first of all gave him sustenance, both meat and drink, and thereby refreshed him. He then asked him to whom he belonged, and whence he came. Whereupon the man told him he was an Egyptian by birth, and was left behind by his master, because

he was so sick and weak that he could not follow him. He also informed him that he was one of those who had burnt and plundered, not only other parts of Judea, but Ziklag itself also. So David made use of him as a guide to find oat the Amalekites; and when he had overtaken them, as they lay scattered about on the ground, some at dinner, some disordered, and entirely drunk with wine, and in the fruition of their spoils and their prey, he fell upon them on the sudden, and made a great slaughter among them; for they were naked, and expected no such thing, but had betaken themselves to drinking and feasting; and so they were all easily destroyed. Now some of them that were overtaken as they lay at the table were slain in that posture, and their blood brought up with it their meat and their drink. They slew others of them as they were drinking to one another in their cups, and some of them when their full bellies had made them fall asleep; and for so many as had time to put on their armor, they slew them with the sword, with no less case than they did those that were naked; and for the partisans of David, they continued also the slaughter from the first hour of the day to the evening, so that there were, not above four hundred of the Amalekites left; and they only escaped by getting upon their dromedaries and camels. Accordingly David recovered not only all the other spoils which the enemy had carried away, but his wives also, and the wives of his companions. But when they were come to the place where they had left the two hundred men, which were not able to follow them, but were left to take care of the stuff, the four hundred men did not think fit to divide among them any other parts of what they had gotten, or of the prey, since they did not accompany them, but pretended to be feeble, and did not follow them in pursuit of the enemy, but said they should be contented to have safely recovered their wives; yet did David pronounce that this opinion of theirs was evil and unjust, and that when God had granted them such a favor, that they had avenged themselves on their enemies, and had recovered all that belonged to themselves, they should make an equal distribution of what they had gotten to all, because the rest had tarried behind to guard their stuff; and from that time this law obtained among them, that those who guarded the stuff, should receive an equal share with those that fought in the battle. Now when David was come to Ziklag, he sent portions of the spoils to all that had been familiar with him, and to his friends in the tribe of Judah. And thus ended the affairs of the plundering of Ziklag, and of the slaughter of the Amalekites.

7. Now upon the Philistines joining battle, there followed a sharp engagement, and the Philistine, became the conquerors, and slew a great number of their enemies; but Saul the king of Israel, and his sons, fought courageously, and with the utmost alacrity, as knowing that their entire glory lay in nothing else but dying honorably, and exposing themselves to the utmost danger from

the enemy [for they had nothing else to hope for]; so they brought upon themselves the whole power of the enemy, till they were encompassed round and slain, but not before they had killed many of the Philistines Now the sons of Saul were Jonathan, and Abinadab, and Malchisua; and when these were slain the multitude of the Hebrews were put to flight, and all was disorder, and confusion, and slaughter, upon the Philistines pressing in upon them. But Saul himself fled, having a strong body of soldiers about him; and upon the Philistines sending after them those that threw javelins and shot arrows, he lost all his company except a few. As for himself, he fought with great bravery; and when he had received so many wounds, that he was not able to bear up nor to oppose any longer, and yet was not able to kill himself, he bade his armor-bearer draw his sword, and run him through, before the enemy should take him alive. But his armor-bearer not daring to kill his master, he drew his own sword, and placing himself over against its point, he threw himself upon it; and when he could neither run it through him, nor, by leaning against it, make the sword pass through him, he turned him round, and asked a certain young man that stood by who he was; and when he understood that he was an Amalekite, he desired him to force the sword through him, because he was not able to do it with his own hands, and thereby to procure him such a death as he desired. This the young man did accordingly; and he took the golden bracelet that was on Saul's arm, and his royal crown that was on his head, and ran away. And when Saul's armor-bearer saw that he was slain, he killed himself; nor did any of the king's guards escape, but they all fell upon the mountain called Gilboa. But when those Hebrews that dwelt in the valley beyond Jordan, and those who had their cities in the plain, heard that Saul and his sons were fallen, and that the multitude about them were destroyed, they left their own cities, and fled to such as were the best fortified and fenced; and the Philistines, finding those cities deserted, came and dwelt in them.

8. On the next day, when the Philistines came to strip their enemies that were slain, they got the bodies of Saul and of his sons, and stripped them, and cut off their heads; and they sent messengers all about their country, to acquaint them that their enemies were fallen; and they dedicated their armor in the temple of Astarte, but hung their bodies on crosses at the walls of the city Bethshun, which is now called Scythepolls. But when the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead heard that they had dismembered the dead bodies of Saul and of his sons, they deemed it so horrid a thing to overlook this barbarity, and to suffer them to be without funeral rites, that the most courageous and hardy among them [and indeed that city had in it men that were very stout both in body and mind] journeyed all night, and came to Bethshun, and approached to the enemy's wall, and taking down the

bodies of Saul and of his sons, they carried them to Jabesh, while the enemy were not able enough nor bold enough to hinder them, because of their great courage. So the people of Jabesh wept all in general, and buried their bodies in the best place of their country, which was named Areurn; and they observed a public mourning for them seven days, with their wives and children, beating their breasts, and lamenting the king and his sons, without either tasting meat or drink [till the evening.]

9. To this his end did Saul come, according to the prophecy of Samuel, because he disobeyed the commands of God about the Amalekites, and on the account of his destroying the family of Ahimelech the high priest, with Ahimelech himself, and the city of the high priests. Now Saul, when he had reigned eighteen years while Samuel was alive, and after his death two [and twenty], ended his life in this manner.

BOOK VII. Containing The Interval Of Forty Years. — From The Death Of Saul To The Death Of David.

CHAPTER 1. How David Reigned Over One Tribe At Hebron While The Son Of Saul Reigned Over The Rest Of The Multitude; And How, In The Civil War Which Then Arose Asahel And Abner Were Slain.

1. This fight proved to be on the same day whereon David was come back to Ziklag, after he had overcome the Amalekites. Now when he had been already two days at Ziklag, there came to him the man who slew Saul, which was the third day after the fight. He had escaped out of the battle which the Israelites had with the Philistines, and had his clothes rent, and ashes upon his head. And when he made his obeisance to David, he inquired of him whence he came. He replied, from the battle of the Israelites; and he informed him that the end of it was unfortunate, many ten thousands of the Israelites having been cut off, and Saul, together with his sons, slain. He also said that he could well give him this information, because he was present at the victory gained over the Hebrews, and was with the king when he fled. Nor did he deny that he had himself slain the king, when he was ready to be taken by the enemy, and he himself exhorted him to do it, because, when he was fallen on his sword, his great wounds had made him so weak that he was not able to kill himself. He also produced demonstrations that the king was slain, which were the golden bracelets that had been on the king's arms, and his crown, which he had taken away from Saul's dead body, and had brought them to him. So David having no longer any room to call in question the truth of what he said, but seeing most evident marks that Saul was dead, he rent his garments, and continued all that day with his companions in weeping and lamentation. This grief was augmented by the consideration of Jonathan; the son of Saul, who had been his most faithful friend, and the occasion of his own deliverance. He also demonstrated himself to have such great virtue, and such great kindness for Saul, as not only to take his death to heart, though he had been frequently in danger of losing his life by his means, but to punish him that slew him; for when David had said to him that he was become his own accuser, as the very man who had slain the king, and when he had understood that he was the son of an Amalekite, he commanded him to be slain. He also committed to writing some lamentations and funeral commendations of Saul and Jonathan, which have continued to my own age.

2. Now when David had paid these honors to the king, he left off his mourning, and inquired of God by the prophet which of the cities of the tribe of

Judah he would bestow upon him to dwell in; who answered that he bestowed upon him Hebron. So he left Ziklag, and came to Hebron, and took with him his wives, who were in number two, and his armed men; whereupon all the people of the forementioned tribe came to him, and ordained him their king. But when he heard that the inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead had buried Saul and his sons [honorably], he sent to them and commended them, and took what they had done kindly, and promised to make them amends for their care of those that were dead; and at the same time he informed them that the tribe of Judah had chosen him for their king.

3. But as soon as Abner, the son of Ner, who was general of Saul's army, and a very active man, and good-natured, knew that the king, and Jonathan, and his two other sons, were fallen in the battle, he made haste into the camp; and taking away with him the remaining son of Saul, whose name was Ishbosheth, he passed over to the land beyond Jordan, and ordained him the king of the whole multitude, excepting the tribe of Judah; and made his royal seat in a place called in our own language Mahanaim, but in the language of the Grecians, The Camps; from whence Abner made haste with a select body of soldiers, to fight with such of the tribe of Judah as were disposed to it, for he was angry that this tribe had set up David for their king. But Joab, whose father was Suri, and his mother Zeruiah, David's sister, who was general of David's army, met him, according to David's appointment. He had with him his brethren, Abistiai and Asahel, as also all David's armed men. Now when he met Abner at a certain fountain, in the city of Gibeon, he prepared to fight. And when Abner said to him, that he had a mind to know which of them had the more valiant soldiers, it was agreed between them that twelve soldiers of each side should fight together. So those that were chosen out by both the generals for this fight came between the two armies, and throwing their lances one against the other, they drew their swords, and catching one another by the head, they held one another fast, and ran each other's swords into their sides and groins, until they all, as it were by mutual agreement, perished together. When these were fallen down dead, the rest of the army came to a sore battle, and Abner's men were beaten; and when they were beaten, Joab did not leave off pursuing them, but he pressed upon them, and excited the soldiers to follow them close, and not to grow weary of killing them. His brethren also pursued them with great alacrity, especially the younger, Asahel, who was the most eminent of them. He was very famous for his swiftness of foot, for he could not only be too hard for men, but is reported to have overrun a horse, when they had a race together. This Asahel ran violently after Abner, and would not turn in the least out of the straight way, either to the one side or to the other. Hereupon Abner turned back, and attempted artfully to

avoid his violence. Sometimes he bade him leave off the pursuit, and take the armor of one of his soldiers; and sometimes, when he could not persuade him so to do, he exhorted him to restrain himself, and not to pursue him any longer, lest he should force him to kill him, and he should then not be able to look his brother in the face: but when Asahel would not admit of any persuasions, but still continued to pursue him, Abner smote him with his spear, as he held it in his flight, and that by a back-stroke, and gave him a deadly wound, so that he died immediately; but those that were with him pursuing Abner, when they came to the place where Asahel lay, they stood round about the dead body, and left off the pursuit of the enemy. However, both Joab himself, and his brother Abishai, ran past the dead corpse, and making their anger at the death of Asahel an occasion of greater zeal against Abner, they went on with incredible haste and alacrity, and pursued Abner to a certain place called Ammah: it was about sun-set. Then did Joab ascend a certain hill, as he stood at that place, having the tribe of Benjamin with him, whence he took a view of them, and of Abner also. Hereupon Abner cried aloud, and said that it was not fit that they should irritate men of the same nation to fight so bitterly one against another; that as for Asahel his brother, he was himself in the wrong, when he would not be advised by him not to pursue him any farther, which was the occasion of his wounding and death. So Joab consented to what he said, and accepted these his words as an excuse [about Asahel], and called the soldiers back with the sound of the trumpet, as a signal for their retreat, and thereby put a stop to any further pursuit. After which Joab pitched his camp there that night; but Abner marched all that night, and passed over the river Jordan, and came to Ishbosheth, Saul's son, to Mahanaim. On the next day Joab counted the dead men, and took care of all their funerals. Now there were slain of Abner's soldiers about three hundred and sixty; but of those of David nineteen, and Asahel, whose body Joab and Abishai carried to Bethlehem; and when they had buried him in the sepulcher of their fathers, they came to David to Hebron. From this time therefore there began an intestine war, which lasted a great while, in which the followers of David grew stronger in the dangers they underwent, and the servants and subjects of Saul's sons did almost every day become weaker.

4. About this time David was become the father of six sons, born of as many mothers. The eldest was by Ahinoam, and he was called Arenon; the second was Daniel, by his wife Abigail; the name of the third was Absalom, by Maacah, the daughter of Talmai, king of Geshur; the fourth he named Adonijah, by his wife Haggith; the fifth was Shephatiah, by Abital; the sixth he called Ithream, by Eglah. Now while this intestine war went on, and the subjects of the two kings came frequently to action and to fighting, it was Abner, the general of the host of

Saul's son, who, by his prudence, and the great interest he had among the multitude, made them all continue with Ishbosheth; and indeed it was a considerable time that they continued of his party; but afterwards Abner was blamed, and an accusation was laid against him, that he went in unto Saul's concubine: her name was Rispah, the daughter of Aiah. So when he was complained of by Ishbosheth, he was very uneasy and angry at it, because he had not justice done him by Ishbosheth, to whom he had shown the greatest kindness; whereupon he threatened to transfer the kingdom to David, and demonstrate that he did not rule over the people beyond Jordan by his own abilities and wisdom, but by his warlike conduct and fidelity in leading his army. So he sent ambassadors to Hebron to David, and desired that he would give him security upon oath that he would esteem him his companion and his friend, upon condition that he should persuade the people to leave Saul's son, and choose him king of the whole country; and when David had made that league with Abner, for he was pleased with his message to him, he desired that he would give this as the first mark of performance of the present league, that he might have his wife Michal restored to him, as her whom he had purchased with great hazards, and with those six hundred heads of the Philistines which he had brought to Saul her father. So Abner took Michal from Phaltiel, who was then her husband, and sent her to David, Ishbosheth himself affording him his assistance, for David had written to him that of right he ought to have this his wife restored to him. Abner also called together the elders of the multitude, the commanders and captains of thousands, and spake thus to them: That he had formerly dissuaded them from their own resolution, when they were ready to forsake Ishbosheth, and to join themselves to David; that, however, he now gave them leave so to do, if they had a mind to it, for they knew that God had appointed David to be king of all the Hebrews by Samuel the prophet; and had foretold that he should punish the Philistines, and overcome them, and bring them under. Now when the elders and rulers heard this, and understood that Abner was come over to those sentiments about the public affairs which they were of before, they changed their measures, and came in to David. When these men had agreed to Abner's proposal, he called together the tribe of Benjamin, for all of that tribe were the guards of Ishbosheth's body, and he spake to them to the same purpose. And when he saw that they did not in the least oppose what he said, but resigned themselves up to his opinion, he took about twenty of his friends and came to David, in order to receive himself security upon oath from him; for we may justly esteem those things to be firmer which every one of us do by ourselves, than those which we do by another. He also gave him an account of what he had said to the rulers, and to the whole tribe of Benjamin; and when David had received him in a

courteous manner, and had treated him with great hospitality for many days, Abner, when he was dismissed, desired him to bring the multitude with him, that he might deliver up the government to him, when David himself was present, and a spectator of what was done.

5. When David had sent Abner away, Joab, the of his army, came immediately to Hebron; he had understood that Abner had been with David, and had parted with him a little before under leagues and agreements that the government should be delivered up to David, he feared lest David should place Abner, who had assisted him to gain the kingdom, in the first rank of dignity, especially since he was a shrewd man in other respects, in understanding affairs, and in managing them artfully, as proper seasons should require, and that he should himself be put lower, and be deprived of the command of the army; so he took a knavish and a wicked course. In the first place, he endeavored to calumniate Abner to the king, exhorting him to have a care of him, and not to give attention to what he had engaged to do for him, because all he did tended to confirm the government to Saul's son; that he came to him deceitfully and with guile, and was gone away in hopes of gaining his purpose by this management: but when he could not thus persuade David, nor saw him at all exasperated, he betook himself to a project bolder than the former: — he determined to kill Abner; and in order thereto, he sent some messengers after him, to whom he gave in charge, that when they should overtake him they should recall him in David's name, and tell him that he had somewhat to say to him about his affairs, which he had not remembered to speak of when he was with him. Now when Abner heard what the messengers said, [for they overtook him in a certain place called Besira, which was distant from Hebron twenty furlongs,] he suspected none of the mischief which was befalling him, and came back. Hereupon Joab met him in the gate, and received him in the kindest manner, as if he were Abner's most benevolent acquaintance and friend; for such as undertake the vilest actions, in order to prevent the suspicion of any private mischief intended, do frequently make the greatest pretenses to what really good men sincerely do. So he took him aside from his own followers, as if he would speak with him in private, and brought him into a void place of the gate, having himself nobody with him but his brother Abishai; then he drew his sword, and smote him in the groin; upon which Abner died by this treachery of Joab, which, as he said himself, was in the way of punishment for his brother Asahel, whom Abner smote and slew as he was pursuing after him in the battle of Hebron, but as the truth was, out of his fear of losing his command of the army, and his dignity with the king, and lest he should be deprived of those advantages, and Abner should obtain the first rank in David's court. By these examples any one may learn how

many and how great instances of wickedness men will venture upon for the sake of getting money and authority, and that they may not fail of either of them; for as when they are desirous of obtaining the same, they acquire them by ten thousand evil practices; so when they are afraid of losing them, they get them confirmed to them by practices much worse than the former, as if no other calamity so terrible could befall them as the failure of acquiring so exalted an authority; and when they have acquired it, and by long custom found the sweetness of it, the losing it again: and since this last would be the heaviest of all afflictions they all of them contrive and venture upon the most difficult actions, out of the fear of losing the same. But let it suffice that I have made these short reflections upon that subject.

6. When David heard that Abner was slain, it grieved his soul; and he called all men to witness, with stretching out his hands to God, and crying out that he was not a partaker in the murder of Abner, and that his death was not procured by his command or approbation. He also wished the heaviest curses might light upon him that slew him and upon his whole house; and he devoted those that had assisted him in this murder to the same penalties on its account; for he took care not to appear to have had any hand in this murder, contrary to the assurances he had given and the oaths he had taken to Abner. However, he commanded all the people to weep and lament this man, and to honor his dead body with the usual solemnities; that is, by rending their garments, and putting on sackcloth, and that things should be the habit in which they should go before the bier; after which he followed it himself, with the elders and those that were rulers, lamenting Abner, and by his tears demonstrating his good-will to him while he was alive, and his sorrow for him now he was dead, and that he was not taken off with his consent. So he buried him at Hebron in a magnificent manner, and indited funeral elegies for him; he also stood first over the monument weeping, and caused others to do the same; nay, so deeply did the death of Abner disorder him, that his companions could by no means force him to take any food, but he affirmed with an oath that he would taste nothing till the sun was set. This procedure gained him the good-will of the multitude; for such as had an affection for Abner were mightily satisfied with the respect he paid him when he was dead, and the observation of that faith he had plighted to him, which was shown in his vouchsafing him all the usual ceremonies, as if he had been his kinsman and his friend, and not suffering him to be neglected and injured with a dishonorable burial, as if he had been his enemy; insomuch that the entire nation rejoiced at the king's gentleness and mildness of disposition, every one being ready to suppose that the king would have taken the same care of them in the like circumstances, which they saw be showed in the burial of the dead body of

Abner. And indeed David principally intended to gain a good reputation, and therefore he took care to do what was proper in this case, whence none had any suspicion that he was the author of Abner's death. He also said this to the multitude, that he was greatly troubled at the death of so good a man; and that the affairs of the Hebrews had suffered great detriment by being deprived of him, who was of so great abilities to preserve them by his excellent advice, and by the strength of his hands in war. But he added, that "God, who hath a regard to all men's actions, will not suffer this man [Joab] to go off unrevenged; but know ye, that I am not able to do any thing to these sons of Zeruiah, Joab and Abishai, who have more power than I have; but God will requite their insolent attempts upon their own heads." And this was the fatal conclusion of the life of Abner.

CHAPTER 2. That Upon The Slaughter Of Ishbosheth By The Treachery Of His Friends, David Received The Whole Kingdom.

1. When Ishbosheth, the son of Saul, had heard of the death of Abner, he took it to heart to be deprived of a man that was of his kindred, and had indeed given him the kingdom, but was greatly afflicted, and Abner's death very much troubled him; nor did he himself outlive any long time, but was treacherously set upon by the sons of Rimmon, [Baanah and Rechab were their names,] and was slain by them; for these being of a family of the Benjamites, and of the first rank among them, thought that if they should slay Ishbosheth, they should obtain large presents from David, and be made commanders by him, or, however, should have some other trust committed to them. So when they once found him alone, and asleep at noon, in an upper room, when none of his guards were there, and when the woman that kept the door was not watching, but was fallen asleep also, partly on account of the labor she had undergone, and partly on account of the heat of the day, these men went into the room in which Ishbosheth, Saul's son, lay asleep, and slew him; they also cut off his head, and took their journey all that night, and the next day, as supposing themselves flying away from those they had injured, to one that would accept of this action as a favor, and would afford them security. So they came to Hebron, and showed David the head of Ishbosheth, and presented themselves to him as his well-wishers, and such as had killed one that was his enemy and antagonist. Yet David did not relish what they had done as they expected, but said to them, "You vile wretches, you shall immediately receive the punishment you deserve. Did not you know what vengeance I executed on him that murdered Saul, and brought me his crown of gold, and this while he who made this slaughter did it as a favor to him, that he might not be caught by his enemies? Or do you imagine that I am altered in my disposition, and suppose that I am not the same man I then was, but am pleased with men that are wicked doers, and esteem your vile actions, when you are become murderers of your master, as grateful to me, when you have slain a righteous man upon his bed, who never did evil to any body, and treated you with great good-will and respect? Wherefore you shall suffer the punishment due on his account, and the vengeance I ought to inflict upon you for killing Ishbosheth, and for supposing that I should take his death kindly at your hands; for you could not lay a greater blot on my honor, than by making such a supposal." When David had said this, he tormented them with all sorts of

torments, and then put them to death; and he bestowed all accustomed rites on the burial of the head of Ishbosheth, and laid it in the grave of Abner.

2. When these things were brought to this conclusion, all the principal men of the Hebrew people came to David to Hebron, with the heads of thousands, and other rulers, and delivered themselves up to him, putting him in mind of the good-will they had borne to him in Saul's lifetime, and the respect they then had not ceased to pay him when he was captain of a thousand, as also that he was chosen of God by Samuel the prophet, he and his sons; and declaring besides, how God had given him power to save the land of the Hebrews, and to overcome the Philistines. Whereupon he received kindly this their alacrity on his account; and exhorted them to continue in it, for that they should have no reason to repent of being thus disposed to him. So when he had feasted them, and treated them kindly, he sent them out to bring all the people to him; upon which came to him about six thousand and eight hundred armed men of the tribe of Judah, who bare shields and spears for their weapons, for these had [till now] continued with Saul's son, when the rest of the tribe of Judah had ordained David for their king. There came also seven thousand and one hundred out of the tribe of Simeon. Out of the tribe of Levi came four thousand and seven hundred, having Jehoiada for their leader. After these came Zadok the high priest, with twenty-two captains of his kindred. Out of the tribe of Benjamin the armed men were four thousand; but the rest of the tribe continued, still expecting that some one of the house of Saul should reign over them. Those of the tribe of Ephraim were twenty thousand and eight hundred, and these mighty men of valor, and eminent for their strength. Out of the half tribe of Manasseh came eighteen thousand, of the most potent men. Out of the tribe of Issachar came two hundred, who foreknew what was to come hereafter, but of armed men twenty thousand. Of the tribe of Zebulon fifty thousand chosen men. This was the only tribe that came universally in to David, and all these had the same weapons with the tribe of Gad. Out of the tribe of Naphtali the eminent men and rulers were one thousand, whose weapons were shields and spears, and the tribe itself followed after, being [in a manner] innumerable [thirty-seven thousand]. Out of the tribe of Dan there were of chosen men twenty-seven thousand and six hundred. Out of the tribe of Asher were forty thousand. Out of the two tribes that were beyond Jordan, and the rest of the tribe of Manasseh, such as used shields, and spears, and head-pieces, and swords, were a hundred and twenty thousand. The rest of the tribes also made use of swords. This multitude came together to Hebron to David, with a great quantity of corn, and wine, and all other sorts of food, and established David in his kingdom with one consent. And when the people had rejoiced for three days in Hebron, David and all the people removed and came to Jerusalem.

CHAPTER 3. How David Laid Siege To Jerusalem; And When He Had Taken The City, He Cast The Canaanites Out Of It, And Brought In The Jews To Inhabit Therein.

1. Now the Jebusites, who were the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and were by extraction Canaanites, shut their gates, and placed the blind, and the lame, and all their maimed persons, upon the wall, in way of derision of the king, and said that the very lame themselves would hinder his entrance into it. This they did out of contempt of his power, and as depending on the strength of their walls. David was hereby enraged, and began the siege of Jerusalem, and employed his utmost diligence and alacrity therein, as intending by the taking of this place to demonstrate his power, and to intimidate all others that might be of the like [evil] disposition towards him. So he took the lower city by force, but the citadel held out still; whence it was that the king, knowing that the proposal of dignities and rewards would encourage the soldiers to greater actions, promised that he who should first go over the ditches that were beneath the citadel, and should ascend to the citadel itself and take it, should have the command of the entire people conferred upon him. So they all were ambitious to ascend, and thought no pains too great in order to ascend thither, out of their desire of the chief command. However, Joab, the son of Zeruiah, prevented the rest; and as soon as he was got up to the citadel, cried out to the king, and claimed the chief command.

2. When David had cast the Jebusites out of the citadel, he also rebuilt Jerusalem, and named it The City of David, and abode there all the time of his reign; but for the time that he reigned over the tribe of Judah only in Hebron, it was seven years and six months. Now when he had chosen Jerusalem to be his royal city, his affairs did more and more prosper, by the providence of God, who took care that they should improve and be augmented. Hiram also, the king of the Tyrians, sent ambassadors to him, and made a league of mutual friendship and assistance with him. He also sent him presents, cedar-trees, and mechanics, and men skillful in building and architecture, that they might build him a royal palace at Jerusalem. Now David made buildings round about the lower city: he also joined the citadel to it, and made it one body; and when he had encompassed all with walls, he appointed Joab to take care of them. It was David, therefore, who first cast the Jebusites out of Jerusalem, and called it by

his own name, The City of David: for under our forefather Abraham it was called [Salem, or] Solyma; but after that time, some say that Homer mentions it by that name of Solyma, [for he named the temple Solyma, according to the Hebrew language, which denotes security.] Now the whole time from the warfare under Joshua our general against the Canaanites, and from that war in which he overcame them, and distributed the land among the Hebrews, [nor could the Israelites ever cast the Canaanites out of Jerusalem until this time, when David took it by siege,] this whole time was five hundred and fifteen years.

3. I shall now make mention of Araunah, who was a wealthy man among the Jebusites, but was not slain by David in the siege of Jerusalem, because of the good-will he bore to the Hebrews, and a particular benignity and affection which he had to the king himself; which I shall take a more seasonable opportunity to speak of a little afterwards. Now David married other wives over and above those which he had before: he had also concubines. The sons whom he had were in number eleven, whose names were Amnon, Emnos, Eban, Nathan, Solomon, Jeban, Elien, Phalna, Ennaphen, Jenae, Eliphale; and a daughter, Tamar. Nine of these were born of legitimate wives, but the two last-named of concubines; and Tamar had the same mother with Absalom.

CHAPTER 4. That When David Had Conquered The Philistines Who Made War Against Him At Jerusalem, He Removed The Ark To Jerusalem And Had A Mind To Build A Temple.

1. When the Philistines understood that David was made king of the Hebrews, they made war against him at Jerusalem; and when they had seized upon that valley which is called The Valley of the Giants, and is a place not far from the city, they pitched their camp therein; but the king of the Jews, who never permitted himself to do any thing without prophecy, and the command of God and without depending on him as a security for the time to come, bade the high priest to foretell to him what was the will of God, and what would be the event of this battle. And when he foretold that he should gain the victory and the dominion, he led out his army against the Philistines; and when the battle was joined, he came himself behind, and fell upon the enemy on the sudden, and slew some of them, and put the rest to flight. And let no one suppose that it was a small army of the Philistines that came against the Hebrews, as guessing so from the suddenness of their defeat, and from their having performed no great action, or that was worth recording, from the slowness of their march, and want of courage; but let him know that all Syria and Phoenicia, with many other nations besides them, and those warlike nations also, came to their assistance, and had a share in this war, which thing was the only cause why, when they had been so often conquered, and had lost so many ten thousands of their men, they still came upon the Hebrews with greater armies; nay, indeed, when they had so often failed of their purpose in these battles, they came upon David with an army three times as numerous as before, and pitched their camp on the same spot of ground as before. The king of Israel therefore inquired of God again concerning the event of the battle; and the high priest prophesied to him, that he should keep his army in the groves, called the Groves of Weeping, which were not far from the enemy's camp, and that he should not move, nor begin to fight, till the trees of the grove should be in motion without the wind's blowing; but as soon as these trees moved, and the time foretold to him by God was come, he should, without delay, go out to gain what was an already prepared and evident victory; for the several ranks of the enemy's army did not sustain him, but retreated at the first onset, whom he closely followed, and slew them as he went along, and

pursued them to the city Gaza [which is the limit of their country]: after this he spoiled their camp, in which he found great riches; and he destroyed their gods.

2. When this had proved the event of the battle, David thought it proper, upon a consultation with the elders, and rulers, and captains of thousands, to send for those that were in the flower of their age out of all his countrymen, and out of the whole land, and withal for the priests and the Levites, in order to their going to Kirjathjearim, to bring up the ark of God out of that city, and to carry it to Jerusalem, and there to keep it, and offer before it those sacrifices and those other honors with which God used to be well-pleased; for had they done thus in the reign of Saul, they had not undergone any great misfortunes at all. So when the whole body of the people were come together, as they had resolved to do, the king came to the ark, which the priest brought out of the house of Aminadab, and laid it upon a new cart, and permitted their brethren and their children to draw it, together with the oxen. Before it went the king, and the whole multitude of the people with him, singing hymns to God, and making use of all sorts of songs usual among them, with variety of the sounds of musical instruments, and with dancing and singing of psalms, as also with the sounds of trumpets and of cymbals, and so brought the ark to Jerusalem. But as they were come to the threshing-floor of Chidon, a place so called, Uzzah was slain by the anger of God; for as the oxen shook the ark, he stretched out his hand, and would needs take hold of it. Now, because he was not a priest and yet touched the ark, God struck him dead. Hereupon both the king and the people were displeased at the death of Uzzah; and the place where he died is still called the Breach of Uzzah unto this day. So David was afraid; and supposing that if he received the ark to himself into the city, he might suffer in the like manner as Uzzah had suffered, who, upon his bare putting out his hand to the ark, died in the manner already mentioned, he did not receive it to himself into the city, but he took it aside unto a certain place belonging to a righteous man, whose name was Obededom, who was by his family a Levite, and deposited the ark with him; and it remained there three entire months. This augmented the house of Obededom, and conferred many blessings upon it. And when the king heard what had befallen Obededom, how he was become, of a poor man in a low estate, exceeding happy, and the object of envy to all those that saw or inquired after his house, he took courage, and, hoping that he should meet with no misfortune thereby, he transferred the ark to his own house; the priests carrying it, while seven companies of singers, who were set in that order by the king, went before it, and while he himself played upon the harp, and joined in the music, insomuch, that when his wife Michel, the daughter of Saul, who was our first king, saw him so doing, she laughed at him. But when they had brought in the ark, they placed it under the

tabernacle which David had pitched for it, and he offered costly sacrifices and peace-offerings, and treated the whole multitude, and dealt both to the women, and the men, and the infants a loaf of bread and a cake, and another cake baked in a pan, with the portion of the sacrifice. So when he had thus feasted the people, he sent them away, and he himself returned to his own house.

3. But when Michal his wife, the daughter of Saul, came and stood by him, she wished him all other happiness, and entreated that whatsoever he should further desire, to the utmost possibility, might be given him by God, and that he might be favorable to him; yet did she blame him, that so great a king as he was should dance after an unseemly manner, and in his dancing, uncover himself among the servants and the handmaidens. But he replied, that he was not ashamed to do what was acceptable to God, who had preferred him before her father, and before all others; that he would play frequently, and dance, without any regard to what the handmaidens and she herself thought of it. So this Michal, who was David's wife, had no children; however, when she was afterward married to him to whom Saul her father had given her, [for at this time David had taken her away from him, and had her himself,] she bare five children. But concerning those matters I shall discourse in a proper place.

4. Now when the king saw that his affairs grew better almost every day, by the will of God, he thought he should offend him, if, while he himself continued in houses made of cedar, such as were of a great height, and had the most curious works of architecture in them, he should overlook the ark while it was laid in a tabernacle, and was desirous to build a temple to God, as Moses had predicted such a temple should be built. And when he had discoursed with Nathan the prophet about these things, and had been encouraged by him to do whatsoever he had a mind to do, as having God with him, and his helper in all things, he was thereupon the more ready to set about that building. But God appeared to Nathan that very night, and commanded him to say to David, that he took his purpose and his desires kindly, since nobody had before now taken it into their head to build him a temple, although upon his having such a notion he would not permit him to build him that temple, because he had made many wars, and was defiled with the slaughter of his enemies; that, however, after his death, in his old age, and when he had lived a long life, there should be a temple built by a son of his, who should take the kingdom after him, and should be called Solomon, whom he promised to provide for, as a father provides for his son, by preserving the kingdom for his son's posterity, and delivering it to them; but that he would still punish him, if he sinned, with diseases and barrenness of land. When David understood this from the prophet, and was overjoyful at this knowledge of the sure continuance of the dominion to his posterity, and that his

house should be splendid, and very famous, he came to the ark, and fell down on his face, and began to adore God, and to return thanks to him for all his benefits, as well for those that he had already bestowed upon him in raising him from a low state, and from the employment of a shepherd, to so great dignity of dominion and glory; as for those also which he had promised to his posterity; and besides, for that providence which he had exercised over the Hebrews in procuring them the liberty they enjoyed. And when he had said thus, and had sung a hymn of praise to God, he went his way.

CHAPTER 5. How David Brought Under The Philistines, And The Moabites, And The Kings Of Sophene And Of Damascus, And Of The Syrians As Also The Idumeans, In War; And How He Made A League With The King Of Hamath; And Was Mindful Of The Friendship That Jonathan, The Son Of Saul, Had Borne Him.

1. A Litlle while after this, he considered that he ought to make war against the Philistines, and not to see any idleness or laziness permitted in his management, that so it might prove, as God had foretold to him, that when he had overthrown his enemies, he should leave his posterity to reign in peace afterward: so he called together his army again, and when he had charged them to be ready and prepared for war, and when he thought that all things in his army were in a good state, he removed from Jerusalem, and came against the Philistines; and when he had overcome them in battle, and had cut off a great part of their country, and adjoined it to the country of the Hebrews, he transferred the war to the Moabites; and when he had overcome two parts of their army in battle, he took the remaining part captive, and imposed tribute upon them, to be paid annually. He then made war against Iadadezer, the son of Rehob, king of Sophene; and when he had joined battle with him at ‘the river Euphrates, he destroyed twenty thousand of his footmen, and about seven thousand of his horsemen. He also took a thousand of his chariots, and destroyed the greatest part of them, and ordered that no more than one hundred should be kept.

2. Now when Hadad, king of Damascus and of Syria, heard that David fought against Hadadezer, who was his friend, he came to his assistance with a powerful army, in hopes to rescue him; and when he had joined battle with David at the river Euphrates, he failed of his purpose, and lost in the battle a great number of his soldiers; for there were slain of the army of Hadad twenty thousand, and all the rest fled. Nicelens also [of Damascus] makes mention of this king in the fourth book of his histories; where he speaks thus: “A great while after these things had happened, there was one of that country whose name was Hadad, who was become very potent; he reigned over Damascus, and, the other parts of Syria, excepting Phoenicia. He made war against David, the king of Judea, and tried his fortune in many battles, and particularly in the last battle at

Euphrates, wherein he was beaten. He seemed to have been the most excellent of all their kings in strength and manhood," Nay, besides this, he says of his posterity, that "they succeeded one another in his kingdom, and in his name;" where he thus speaks: "When Hadad was dead, his posterity reigned for ten generations, each of his successors receiving from his father that his dominion, and this his name; as did the Ptolemies in Egypt. But the third was the most powerful of them all, and was willing to avenge the defeat his forefather had received; so he made an expedition against the Jews, and laid waste the city which is now called Samaria." Nor did he err from the truth; for this is that Hadad who made the expedition against Samaria, in the reign of Ahab, king of Israel, concerning whom we shall speak in due place hereafter.

3. Now when David had made an expedition against Damascus, and the other parts of Syria, and had brought it all into subjection, and had placed garrisons in the country, and appointed that they should pay tribute, he returned home. He also dedicated to God at Jerusalem the golden quivers, the entire armor which the guards of Hadad used to wear; which Shishak, the king of Egypt, took away when he fought with David's grandson, Rehoboam, with a great deal of other wealth which he carried out of Jerusalem. However, these things will come to be explained in their proper places hereafter. Now as for the king of the Hebrews, he was assisted by God, who gave him great success in his wars, and he made all expedition against the best cities of Hadadezer, Betah and Machen; so he took them by force, and laid them waste. Therein was found a very great quantity of gold and silver, besides that sort of brass which is said to be more valuable than gold; of which brass Solomon made that large vessel which was called The [Brazen] Sea, and those most curious lavers, when he built the temple for God.

4. But when the king of Hamath was informed of the ill success of Hadadezer, and had heard of the ruin of his army, he was afraid on his own account, and resolved to make a league of friendship and fidelity with David before he should come against him; so he sent to him his son Joram, and professed that he owed him thanks for fighting against Hadadezer, who was his enemy, and made a league with him of mutual assistance and friendship. He also sent him presents, vessels of ancient workmanship, both of gold, of silver, and of brass. So when David had made this league of mutual assistance with Toi, [for that was the name of the king of Hamath,] and had received the presents he sent him, he dismissed his son with that respect which was due on both sides; but then David brought those presents that were sent by him, as also the rest of the gold and silver which he had taken of the cities whom he had conquered, and dedicated them to God. Nor did God give victory and success to him only when he went to the battle himself, and led his own army, but he gave victory to

Abishai, the brother of Joab, general of his forces, over the Idumeans, and by him to David, when he sent him with an army into Idumea: for Abishai destroyed eighteen thousand of them in the battle; whereupon the king [of Israel] placed garrisons through all Idumea, and received the tribute of the country, and of every head among them. Now David was in his nature just, and made his determination with regard to truth. He had for the general of his whole army Joab; and he made Jehoshaphat, the son of Ahilud, recorder. He also appointed Zadok, of the family of Phinehas, to be high priest, together with Abiathar, for he was his friend. He also made Seisan the scribe, and committed the command over the guards of his body to Benaiah; the son of Jehoiada. His elder sons were near his body, and had the care of it also.

5. He also called to mind the covenants and the oaths he had made with Jonathan, the son of Saul, and the friendship and affection Jonathan had for him; for besides all the rest of his excellent qualities with which he was endowed, he was also exceeding mindful of such as had at other times bestowed benefits upon him. He therefore gave order that inquiry should be made, whether any of Jonathan's lineage were living, to whom he might make return of that familiar acquaintance which Jonathan had had with him, and for which he was still debtor. And when one of Saul's freed men was brought to him, who was acquainted with those of his family that were still living, he asked him whether he could tell him of any one belonging to Jonathan that was now alive, and capable of a requital of the benefits which he had received from Jonathan. And he said, that a son of his was remaining, whose name was Mephibosheth, but that he was lame of his feet; for that when his nurse heard that the father and grandfather of the child were fallen in the battle, she snatched him up, and fled away, and let him fall from her shoulders, and his feet were lamed. So when he had learned where and by whom he was brought up, he sent messengers to Machir, to the city of Lodebar, for with him was the son of Jonathan brought up, and sent for him to come to him. So when Mephibosheth came to the king, he fell on his face and worshipped him; but David encouraged him, bade him be of good cheer, and expect better times. So he gave him his father's house, and all the estate which his grandfather Saul was in possession of, and bade him come and diet with him at his own table, and never to be absent one day from that table. And when the youth had worshipped him on account of his words and gifts given to him, he called for Ziba, and told him that he had given the youth his father's house, and all Saul's estate. He also ordered that Ziba should cultivate his land, and take care of it, and bring him the profits of all to Jerusalem. Accordingly, David brought him to his table every day, and bestowed upon the youth, Ziba and his sons, who were in number fifteen, and his servants,

who were in number twenty. When the king had made these appointments, and Ziba had worshipped him, and promised to do all that he had bidden him, he went his way; so that this son of Jonathan dwelt at Jerusalem, and dieted at the king's table, and had the same care that a son could claim taken of him. He also had himself a son, whom he named Micha.

CHAPTER 6. How The War Was Waged Against The Ammonites And Happily Concluded.

1. This were the honors that such as were left of Saul's and Jonathan's lineage received from David. About this time died Nahash, the king of the Ammonites, who was a friend of David's; and when his son had succeeded his father in the kingdom, David sent ambassadors to him to comfort him; and exhorted him to take his father's death patiently, and to expect that he would continue the same kindness to himself which he had shown to his father. But the princes of the Ammonites took this message in evil part, and not as David's kind dispositions gave reason to take it; and they excited the king to resent it; and said that David had sent men to spy out the country, and what strength it had, under the pretense of humanity and kindness. They further advised him to have a care, and not to give heed to David's words, lest he should be deluded by him, and so fall into an inconsolable calamity. Accordingly Nahash's [son], the king of the Ammonites, thought these princes spake what was more probable than the truth would admit, and so abused the ambassadors after a very harsh manner; for he shaved the one half of their beards, and cut off one half of their garments, and sent his answer, not in words, but in deeds. When the king of Israel saw this, he had indignation at it, and showed openly that he would not overlook this injurious and contumelious treatment, but would make war with the Ammonites, and would avenge this wicked treatment of his ambassadors on their king. So that king's intimate friends and commanders, understanding that they had violated their league, and were liable to be punished for the same, made preparations for war; they also sent a thousand talents to the Syrian king of Mesopotamia, and endeavored to prevail with him to assist them for that pay, and Shobach. Now these kings had twenty thousand footmen. They also hired the king of the country called Maacah, and a fourth king, by name Ishtob; which last had twelve thousand armed men.

2. But David was under no consternation at this confederacy, nor at the forces of the Ammonites; and putting his trust in God, because he was going to war in a just cause, on account of the injurious treatment he had met with, he immediately sent Joab, the captain of his host, against them, and gave him the flower of his army, who pitched his camp by Rabbah, the metropolis of the Ammonites; whereupon the enemy came out, and set themselves in array, not all of them together, but in two bodies; for the auxiliaries were set in array in the plain by themselves, but the army of the Ammonites at the gates over against the

Hebrews. When Joab saw this, he opposed one stratagem against another, and chose out the most hardy part of his men, and set them in opposition to the king of Syria, and the kings that were with him, and gave the other part to his brother Abishai, and bid him set them in opposition to the Ammonites; and said to him, that in case he should see that the Syrians distressed him, and were too hard for him, he should order his troops to turn about and assist him; and he said that he himself would do the same to him, if he saw him in the like distress from the Ammonites. So he sent his brother before, and encouraged him to do every thing courageously and with alacrity, which would teach them to be afraid of disgrace, and to fight manfully; and so he dismissed him to fight with the Ammonites, while he fell upon the Syrians. And though they made a strong opposition for a while, Joab slew many of them, but compelled the rest to betake themselves to flight; which, when the Ammonites saw, and were withal afraid of Abishai and his army, they staid no longer, but imitated their auxiliaries, and fled to the city. So Joab, when he had thus overcome the enemy, returned with great joy to Jerusalem to the king.

3. This defeat did not still induce the Ammonites to be quiet, nor to own those that were superior to them to be so, and be still, but they sent to Chalaman, the king of the Syrians, beyond Euphrates, and hired him for an auxiliary. He had Shobach for the captain of his host, with eighty thousand footmen, and ten thousand horsemen. Now when the king of the Hebrews understood that the Ammonites had again gathered so great an army together, he determined to make war with them no longer by his generals, but he passed over the river Jordan himself with all his army; and when he met them he joined battle with them, and overcame them, and slew forty thousand of their footmen, and seven thousand of their horsemen. He also wounded Shobach, the general of Chalaman's forces, who died of that stroke; but the people of Mesopotamia, upon such a conclusion of the battle, delivered themselves up to David, and sent him presents, who at winter time returned to Jerusalem. But at the beginning of the spring he sent Joab, the captain of his host, to fight against the Ammonites, who overran all their country, and laid it waste, and shut them up in their metropolis Rabbah, and besieged them therein.

CHAPTER 7. How David Fell In Love With Bathsheba, And Slew Her Husband Uriah, For Which He Is Reproved By Nathan.

1. But David fell now into a very grievous sin, though he were otherwise naturally a righteous and a religious man, and one that firmly observed the laws of our fathers; for when late in an evening he took a view round him from the roof of his royal palace, where he used to walk at that hour, he saw a woman washing herself in her own house: she was one of extraordinary beauty, and therein surpassed all other women; her name was Bathsheba. So he was overcome by that woman's beauty, and was not able to restrain his desires, but sent for her, and lay with her. Hereupon she conceived with child, and sent to the king, that he should contrive some way for concealing her sin [for, according to the laws of their fathers, she who had been guilty of adultery ought to be put to death]. So the king sent for Joab's armor-bearer from the siege, who was the woman's husband, and his name was Uriah. And when he was come, the king inquired of him about the army, and about the siege; and when he had made answer that all their affairs went according to their wishes, the king took some portions of meat from his supper, and gave them to him, and bade him go home to his wife, and take his rest with her. Uriah did not do so, but slept near the king with the rest of his armor-bearers. When the king was informed of this, he asked him why he did not go home to his house, and to his wife, after so long an absence; which is the natural custom of all men, when they come from a long journey. He replied, that it was not right, while his fellow soldiers, and the general of the army, slept upon the ground, in the camp, and in an enemy's country, that he should go and take his rest, and solace himself with his wife. So when he had thus replied, the king ordered him to stay there that night, that he might dismiss him the next day to the general. So the king invited Uriah to supper, and after a cunning and dexterous manlier plied him with drink at supper, till he was thereby disordered; yet did he nevertheless sleep at the king's gates without any inclination to go to his wife. Upon this the king was very angry at him; and wrote to Joab, and commanded him to punish Uriah, for he told him that he had offended him; and he suggested to him the manner in which he would have him punished, that it might not be discovered that he was himself the author of this his punishment; for he charged him to set him over against that part of the enemy's army where the attack would be most hazardous, and where he might be deserted, and be in the greatest jeopardy, for he bade him order his

fellow soldiers to retire out of the fight. When he had written thus to him, and sealed the letter with his own seal, he gave it to Uriah to carry to Joab. When Joab had received it, and upon reading it understood the king's purpose, he set Uriah in that place where he knew the enemy would be most troublesome to them; and gave him for his partners some of the best soldiers in the army; and said that he would also come to their assistance with the whole army, that if possible they might break down some part of the wall, and enter the city. And he desired him to be glad of the opportunity of exposing himself to such great pains, and not to be displeased at it, since he was a valiant soldier, and had a great reputation for his valor, both with the king and with his countrymen. And when Uriah undertook the work he was set upon with alacrity, he gave private orders to those who were to be his companions, that when they saw the enemy make a sally, they should leave him. When, therefore, the Hebrews made an attack upon the city, the Ammonites were afraid that the enemy might prevent them, and get up into the city, and this at the very place whither Uriah was ordered; so they exposed their best soldiers to be in the forefront, and opened their gates suddenly, and fell upon the enemy with great vehemence, and ran violently upon them. When those that were with Uriah saw this, they all retreated backward, as Joab had directed them beforehand; but Uriah, as ashamed to run away and leave his post, sustained the enemy, and receiving the violence of their onset, he slew many of them; but being encompassed round, and caught in the midst of them, he was slain, and some other of his companions were slain with him.

2. When this was done, Joab sent messengers to the king, and ordered them to tell him that he did what he could to take the city soon; but that, as they made an assault on the wall, they had been forced to retire with great loss; and bade them, if they saw the king was angry at it, to add this, that Uriah was slain also. When the king had heard this of the messengers, he took it heinously, and said that they did wrong when they assaulted the wall, whereas they ought, by undermining and other stratagems of war, to endeavor the taking of rite city, especially when they had before their eyes the example of Abimelech, the son of Gideon, who would needs take the tower in Thebes by force, and was killed by a large stone thrown at him by an old woman; and although he was a man of great prowess, he died ignominiously by the dangerous manner of his assault: that they should remember this accident, and not come near the enemy's wall, for that the best method of making war with success was to call to mind the accidents of former wars, and what good or bad success had attended them in the like dangerous cases, that so they might imitate the one, and avoid the other. But when the king was in this disposition, the messenger told him that Uriah was slain also;

whereupon he was pacified. So he bade the messenger go back to Joab and tell him that this misfortune is no other than what is common among mankind, and that such is the nature, and such the accidents of war, insomuch that sometimes the enemy will have success therein, and sometimes others; but that he ordered him to go on still in his care about the siege, that no ill accident might befall him in it hereafter; that they should raise bulwarks and use machines in besieging the city; and when they have gotten it, to overturn its very foundations, and to destroy all those that are in it. Accordingly the messenger carried the king's message with which he was charged, and made haste to Joab. But Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah, when she was informed of the death of her husband, mourned for his death many days; and when her mourning was over, and the tears which she shed for Uriah were dried up, the king took her to wife presently; and a son was born to him by her.

3. With this marriage God was not well pleased, but was thereupon angry at David; and he appeared to Nathan the prophet in his sleep, and complained of the king. Now Nathan was a fair and prudent man; and considering that kings, when they fall into a passion, are guided more by that passion than they are by justice, he resolved to conceal the threatenings that proceeded from God, and made a good-natured discourse to him, and this after the manner following: — He desired that the king would give him his opinion in the following case:— "There were," said he, "two men inhabiting the same city, the one of them was rich, and [the other poor]. The rich man had a great many flocks of cattle, of sheep, and of kine; but the poor man had but one ewe lamb. This he brought up with his children, and let her eat her food with them; and he had the same natural affection for her which any one might have for a daughter. Now upon the coming of a stranger to the rich man, he would not vouchsafe to kill any of his own flocks, and thence feast his friend; but he sent for the poor man's lamb, and took her away from him, and made her ready for food, and thence feasted the stranger." This discourse troubled the king exceedingly; and he denounced to Nathan, that "this man was a wicked man who could dare to do such a thing; and that it was but just that he should restore the lamb fourfold, and be punished with death for it also." Upon this Nathan immediately said that he was himself the man who ought to suffer those punishments, and that by his own sentence; and that it was he who had perpetrated this 'great and horrid crime.' He also revealed to him, and laid before him, the anger of God against him, who had made him king over the army of the Hebrews, and lord of all the nations, and those many and great nations round about him; who had formerly delivered him out of the hands of Saul, and had given him such wives as he had justly and legally married; and now this God was despised by him, and affronted by his impiety,

when he had married, and now had, another man's wife; and by exposing her husband to the enemy, had really slain him; that God would inflict punishments upon him on account of those instances of wickedness; that his own wives should be forced by one of his sons; and that he should be treacherously supplanted by the same son; and that although he had perpetrated his wickedness secretly, yet should that punishment which he was to undergo be inflicted publicly upon him; "that, moreover," said he, "the child which was born to thee of her shall soon die." When the king was troubled at these messages, and sufficiently confounded, and said with tears and sorrow that he had sinned, [for he was without controversy a pious man, and guilty of no sin at all in his whole life, excepting those in the matter of Uriah,] God had compassion on him, and was reconciled to him, and promised that he would preserve to him both his life and his kingdom; for he said that, seeing he repented of the things he had done, he was no longer displeased with him. So Nathan, when he had delivered this prophecy to the king, returned home.

4. However, God sent a dangerous distemper upon the child that was born to David of the wife of Uriah, at which the king was troubled, and did not take any food for seven days, although his servants almost forced him to take it; but he clothed himself in a black garment, and fell down, and lay upon the ground in sackcloth, entrusting God for the recovery of the child, for he vehemently loved the child's mother; but when, on the seventh day, the child was dead, the king's servants durst not tell him of it, as supposing that when he knew it, he would still less admit of food, and other care of himself, by reason of his grief at the death of his son, since when the child was only sick, he so greatly afflicted himself, and grieved for him: but when the king perceived that his servants were in disorder, and seemed to be affected, as those who are very desirous to conceal something, he understood that the child was dead; and when he had called one of his servants to him, and discovered that so it was, he arose up and washed himself, and took a white garment, and came into the tabernacle of God. He also commanded them to set supper before him, and thereby greatly surprised his kindred and servants, while he did nothing of this when the child was sick, but did it all when he was dead. Whereupon having first begged leave to ask him a question, they besought him to tell them the reason of this his conduct; he then called them unskillful people, and instructed them how he had hopes of the recovery of the child while it was alive, and accordingly did all that was proper for him to do, as thinking by such means to render God propitious to him; but that when the child was dead, there was no longer any occasion for grief, which was then to no purpose. When he had said this, they commended the king's wisdom and understanding. He then went in unto Bathsheba his wife, and she

conceived and bare a son; and by the command of Nathan the prophet called his name Solomon.

5. But Joab sorely distressed the Ammonites in the siege, by cutting off their waters, and depriving them of other means of subsistence, till they were in the greatest want of meat and drink, for they depended only on one small well of water, and this they durst not drink of too freely, lest the fountain should entirely fail them. So he wrote to the king, and informed him thereof; and persuaded him to come himself to take the city, that he might have the honor of the victory. Upon this letter of Joab's, the king accepted of his good-will and fidelity, and took with him his army, and came to the destruction of Rabbah; and when he had taken it by force, he gave it to his soldiers to plunder it; but he himself took the king of the Ammonites' crown, whose weight was a talent of gold; and it had in its middle a precious stone called a sardonyx; which crown David ever after wore on his own head. He also found many other vessels in the city, and those both splendid and of great price; but as for the men, he tormented them, and then destroyed them; and when he had taken the other cities of the Ammonites by force, he treated them after the same manner.

CHAPTER 8. How Absalom Murdered Amnon, Who Had Forced His Own Sister; And How He Was Banished And Afterwards Recalled By David.

1. When the king was returned to Jerusalem, a sad misfortune befell his house, on the occasion following: He had a daughter, who was yet a virgin, and very handsome, insomuch that she surpassed all the most beautiful women; her name was Tamar; she had the same mother with Absalom. Now Amnon, David's eldest son, fell in love with her, and being not able to obtain his desires, on account of her virginity, and the custody she was under, was so much out of order, nay, his grief so eat up his body, that he grew lean, and his color was changed. Now there was one Jenadab, a kinsman and friend of his, who discovered this his passion, for he was an extraordinary wise man, and of great sagacity of mind. When, therefore, he saw that every morning Amnon was not in body as he ought to be, he came to him, and desired him to tell him what was the cause of it: however, he said that he guessed that it arose from the passion of love. Amnon confessed his passion, that he was in love with a sister of his, who had the same father with himself. So Jenadab suggested to him by what method and contrivance he might obtain his desires; for he persuaded him to pretend sickness, and bade him, when his father should come to him, to beg of him that his sister might come and minister to him; for if that were done, he should be better, and should quickly recover from his distemper. So Amnon lay down on his bed, and pretended to be sick, as Jonadab had suggested. When his father came, and inquired how he did, he begged of him to send his sister to him. Accordingly, he presently ordered her to be brought to him; and when she was come, Amnon bade her make cakes for him, and fry them in a pan, and do it all with her own hands, because he should take them better from her hand [than from any one's else]. So she kneaded the flour in the sight of her brother, and made him cakes, and baked them in a pan, and brought them to him; but at that time he would not taste them, but gave order to his servants to send all that were there out of his chamber, because he had a mind to repose himself, free from tumult and disturbance. As soon as what he had commanded was done, he desired his sister to bring his supper to him into the inner parlor; which, when the damsel had done, he took hold of her, and endeavored to persuade her to lie with him. Whereupon the damsel cried out, and said, "Nay, brother, do not force me, nor be so wicked as to transgress the laws, and bring upon thyself the utmost confusion. Curb this thy unrighteous and impure lust, from which our house will

get nothing but reproach and disgrace." She also advised him to speak to his father about this affair; for he would permit him [to marry her]. This she said, as desirous to avoid her brother's violent passion at present. But he would not yield to her; but, inflamed with love and blinded with the vehemency of his passion, he forced his sister: but as soon as Amnon had satisfied his lust, he hated her immediately, and giving her reproachful words, bade her rise up and be gone. And when she said that this was a more injurious treatment than the former, if, now he had forced her, he would not let her stay with him till the evening, but bid her go away in the day-time, and while it was light, that she might meet with people that would be witnesses of her shame, — he commanded his servant to turn her out of his house. Whereupon she was sorely grieved at the injury and violence that had been offered to her, and rent her loose coat, [for the virgins of old time wore such loose coats tied at the hands, and let down to the ankles, that the inner coats might not be seen,] and sprinkled ashes on her head; and went up the middle of the city, crying out and lamenting for the violence that had been offered her. Now Absalom, her brother, happened to meet her, and asked her what sad thing had befallen her, that she was in that plight; and when she had told him what injury had been offered her, he comforted her, and desired her to be quiet, and take all patiently, and not to esteem her being corrupted by her brother as an injury. So she yielded to his advice, and left off her crying out, and discovering the force offered her to the multitude; and she continued as a widow with her brother Absalom a long time.

2. When David his father knew this, he was grieved at the actions of Amnon; but because he had an extraordinary affection for him, for he was his eldest son, he was compelled not to afflict him; but Absalom watched for a fit opportunity of revenging this crime upon him, for he thoroughly hated him. Now the second year after this wicked affair about his sister was over, and Absalom was about to go to shear his own sheep at Baalhazor, which is a city in the portion of Ephraim, he besought his father, as well as his brethren, to come and feast with him: but when David excused himself, as not being willing to be burdensome to him, Absalom desired he would however send his brethren; whom he did send accordingly. Then Absalom charged his own servants, that when they should see Amnon disordered and drowsy with wine, and he should give them a signal, they should fear nobody, but kill him.

3. When they had done as they were commanded, the rest of his brethren were astonished and disturbed, and were afraid for themselves, so they immediately got on horseback, and rode away to their father; but somebody there was who prevented them, and told their father they were all slain by Absalom; whereupon he was overcome with sorrow, as for so many of his sons

that were destroyed at once, and that by their brother also; and by this consideration, that it was their brother that appeared to have slain them, he aggravated his sorrow for them. So he neither inquired what was the cause of this slaughter, nor staid to hear any thing else, which yet it was but reasonable to have done, when so very great, and by that greatness so incredible, a misfortune was related to him: he rent his clothes and threw himself upon the ground, and there lay lamenting the loss of all his sons, both those who, as he was informed, were slain, and of him who slew them. But Jonadab, the son of his brother Shemeah, entreated him not to indulge his sorrow so far, for as to the rest of his sons he did not believe that they were slain, for he found no cause for such a suspicion; but he said it might deserve inquiry as to Amnon, for it was not unlikely that Absalom might venture to kill him on account of the injury he had offered to Tamar. In the mean time, a great noise of horses, and a tumult of some people that were coming, turned their attention to them; they were the king's sons, who were fled away from the feast. So their father met them as they were in their grief, and he himself grieved with them; but it was more than he expected to see those his sons again, whom he had a little before heard to have perished. However, their were tears on both sides; they lamenting their brother who was killed, and the king lamenting his son, who was killed also; but Absalom fled to Geshur, to his grandfather by his mother's side, who was king of that country, and he remained with him three whole years.

4. Now David had a design to send to Absalom, not that he should come to be punished, but that he might be with him, for the effects of his anger were abated by length of time. It was Joab, the captain of his host, that chiefly persuaded him so to do; for he suborned an ordinary woman, that was stricken in age, to go to the king in mourning apparel, who said thus to him: — That two of her sons, in a coarse way, had some difference between them, and that in the progress of that difference they came to an open quarrel, and that one was smitten by the other, and was dead; and she desired him to interpose in this case, and to do her the favor to save this her son from her kindred, who were very zealous to have him that had slain his brother put to death, that so she might not be further deprived of the hopes she had of being taken care of in her old age by him; and that if he would hinder this slaughter of her son by those that wished for it, he would do her a great favor, because the kindred would not be restrained from their purpose by any thing else than by the fear of him. And when the king had given his consent to what the woman had begged of him, she made this reply to him:— "I owe thee thanks for thy benignity to me in pitying my old age, and preventing the loss of my only remaining child; but in order to assure me of this thy kindness, be first reconciled to thine own son, and cease to be angry with him;

for how shall I persuade myself that thou hast really bestowed this favor upon me, while thou thyself continuest after the like manner in thy wrath to thine own son? for it is a foolish thing to add willfully another to thy dead son, while the death of the other was brought about without thy consent." And now the king perceived that this pretended story was a subornation derived from Joab, and was of his contrivance; and when, upon inquiry of the old woman, he understood it to be so in reality, he called for Joab, and told him he had obtained what he requested according to his own mind; and he bid him bring Absalom back, for he was not now displeased, but had already ceased to be angry with him. So Joab bowed himself down to the king, and took his words kindly, and went immediately to Geshur, and took Absalom with him, and came to Jerusalem.

5. However, the king sent a message to his son beforehand, as he was coming, and commanded him to retire to his own house, for he was not yet in such a disposition as to think fit at present to see him. Accordingly, upon the father's command, he avoided coming into his presence, and contented himself with the respects paid him by his own family only. Now his beauty was not impaired, either by the grief he had been under, or by the want of such care as was proper to be taken of a king's son, for he still surpassed and excelled all men in the tallness of his body, and was more eminent [in a fine appearance] than those that dieted the most luxuriously; and indeed such was the thickness of the hair of his head, that it was with difficulty that he was polled every eighth day; and his hair weighed two hundred shekels which are five pounds. However, he dwelt in Jerusalem two years, and became the father of three sons, and one daughter; which daughter was of very great beauty, and which Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, took to wife afterward, and had by her a son named Abijah. But Absalom sent to Joab, and desired him to pacify his father entirely towards him; and to beseech him to give him leave to come to him to see him, and speak with him. But when Joab neglected so to do, he sent some of his own servants, and set fire to the field adjoining to him; which, when Joab understood, he came to Absalom, and accused him of what he had done; and asked him the reason why he did so. To which Absalom replied, that "I have found out this stratagem that might bring thee to us, while thou hast taken no care to perform the injunction I laid upon thee, which was this, to reconcile my father to me; and I really beg it of thee, now thou art here, to pacify my father as to me, since I esteem my coming hither to be more grievous than my banishment, while my father's wrath against me continues." Hereby Joab was persuaded, and pitied the distress that Absalom was in, and became an intercessor with the king for him. And when he had discoursed with his father, he soon brought him to that amicable disposition towards Absalom, that he presently sent for him to come to him; and when he

had cast himself down upon the ground, and had begged for the forgiveness of his offenses, the king raised him up, and promised him to forget what he had formerly done.

CHAPTER 9. Concerning The Insurrection Of Absalom Against David And Concerning Ahithophel And Hushai; And Concerning Ziba And Shimei; And How Ahithophel Hanged Himself.

1. Now Absalom, upon this his success with the king, procured to himself a great many horses, and many chariots, and that in a little time also. He had moreover fifty armor-bearers that were about him; and he came early every day to the king's palace, and spake what was agreeable to such as came for justice and lost their causes, as if that happened for want of good counselors about the king, or perhaps because the judges mistook in that unjust sentence they gave; whereby he gained the good-will of them all. He told them, that had he but such authority committed to him, he would distribute justice to them in a most equitable manner. When he had made himself so popular among the multitude, he thought he had already the good-will of the people secured to him; but when four years had passed since his father's reconciliation to him, he came to him, and besought him to give him leave to go to Hebron, and pay a sacrifice to God, because he vowed it to him when he fled out of the country. So when David had granted his request, he went thither, and great multitudes came running together to him, for he had sent to a great number so to do.

2. Among them came Ahithophel the Gilonite, a counsellor of David's, and two hundred men out of Jerusalem itself, who knew not his intentions, but were sent for as to a sacrifice. So he was appointed king by all of them, which he obtained by this stratagem. As soon as this news was brought to David, and he was informed of what he did not expect from his son, he was aftrighted at this his impious and bold undertaking, and wondered that he was so far from remembering how his offense had been so lately forgiven him, that he undertook much worse and more wicked enterprises; first, to deprive him of that kingdom which was given him of God; and secondly, to take away his own father's life. He therefore resolved to fly to the parts beyond Jordan: so he called his most intimate friends together, and communicated to them all that he had heard of his son's madness. He committed himself to God, to judge between them about all their actions; and left the care of his royal palace to his ten concubines, and went away from Jerusalem, being willingly accompanied by the rest of the multitude, who went hastily away with him, and particularly by those six hundred armed men, who had been with him from his first flight in the days of Saul. But he

persuaded Abiathar and Zadok, the high priests, who had determined to go away with him, as also all the Levites, who were with the ark, to stay behind, as hoping that God would deliver him without its removal; but he charged them to let him know privately how all things went on; and he had their sons, Ahimmaz the son of Zadok, and Jonathan the son of Abiathar, for faithful ministers in all things; but Ittai the Gitrite went out with him whether David would let him or not, for he would have persuaded him to stay, and on that account he appeared the more friendly to him. But as he was ascending the Mount of Olives barefooted, and all his company were in tears, it was told him that Ahithophel was with Absalom, and was of his side. This hearing augmented his grief; and he besought God earnestly to alienate the mind of Absalom from Ahithophel, for he was afraid that he should persuade him to follow his pernicious counsel, for he was a prudent man, and very sharp in seeing what was advantageous. When David was gotten upon the top of the mountain, he took a view of the city; and prayed to God with abundance of tears, as having already lost his kingdom; and here it was that a faithful friend of his, whose name was Hushai, met him. When David saw him with his clothes rent, and having ashes all over his head, and in lamentation for the great change of affairs, he comforted him, and exhorted him to leave off grieving; nay, at length he besought him to go back to Absalom, and appear as one of his party, and to fish out the secretest counsels of his mind, and to contradict the counsels of Ahithophel, for that he could not do him so much good by being with him as he might by being with Absalom. So he was prevailed on by David, and left him, and came to Jerusalem, whither Absalom himself came also a little while afterward.

3. When David was gone a little farther, there met him Ziba, the servant of Mephibosheth, [whom he had sent to take care of the possessions which had been given him, as the son of Jonathan, the son of Saul,] with a couple of asses, loaden with provisions, and desired him to take as much of them as he and his followers stood in need of. And when the king asked him where he had left Mephibosheth, he said he had left him in Jerusalem, expecting to be chosen king in the present confusions, in remembrance of the benefits Saul had conferred upon them. At this the king had great indignation, and gave to Ziba all that he had formerly bestowed on Mephibosheth; for he determined that it was much fitter that he should have them than the other; at which Ziba greatly rejoiced.

4. When David was at Bahurim, a place so called, there came out a kinsman of Saul's, whose name was Shimei, and threw stones at him, and gave him reproachful words; and as his friends stood about the king and protected him, he persevered still more in his reproaches, and called him a bloody man, and the author of all sorts of mischief. He bade him also go out of the land as an impure

and accursed wretch; and he thanked God for depriving him of his kingdom, and causing him to be punished for what injuries he had done to his master [Saul], and this by the means of his own son. Now when they were all provoked against him, and angry at him, and particularly Abishai, who had a mind to kill Shimei, David restrained his anger. "Let us not," said he, "bring upon ourselves another fresh misfortune to those we have already, for truly I have not the least regard nor concern for this dog that raves at me: I submit myself to God, by whose permission this man treats me in such a wild manner; nor is it any wonder that I am obliged to undergo these abuses from him, while I experience the like from an impious son of my own; but perhaps God will have some commiseration upon us; if it be his will we shall overcome them." So he went on his way without troubling himself with Shimei, who ran along the other side of the mountain, and threw out his abusive language plentifully. But when David was come to Jordan, he allowed those that were with him to refresh themselves; for they were weary.

5. But when Absalom, and Ahithophel his counselor, were come to Jerusalem, with all the people, David's friend, Hushai, came to them; and when he had worshipped Absalom, he withal wished that his kingdom might last a long time, and continue for all ages. But when Absalom said to him, "How comes this, that he who was so intimate a friend of my father's, and appeared faithful to him in all things, is not with him now, but hath left him, and is come over to me?" Hushai's answer was very pertinent and prudent; for he said, "We ought to follow God and the multitude of the people; while these, therefore, my lord and master, are with thee, it is fit that I should follow them, for thou hast received the kingdom from God. I will therefore, if thou believest me to be thy friend, show the same fidelity and kindness to thee, which thou knowest I have shown to thy father; nor is there any reason to be in the least dissatisfied with the present state of affairs, for the kingdom is not transferred into another, but remains still in the same family, by the son's receiving it after his father." This speech persuaded Absalom, who before suspected Hushai. And now he called Ahithophel, and consulted with him what he ought to do: he persuaded him to go in unto his father's concubines; for he said that "by this action the people would believe that thy difference with thy father is irreconcilable, and will thence fight with great alacrity against thy father, for hitherto they are afraid of taking up open enmity against him, out of an expectation that you will be reconciled again." Accordingly, Absalom was prevailed on by this advice, and commanded his servants to pitch him a tent upon the top of the royal palace, in the sight of the multitude; and he went in and lay with his father's concubines. Now this

came to pass according to the prediction of Nathan, when he prophesied and signified to him that his son would rise up in rebellion against him.

6. And when Absalom had done what he was advised to by Ahithophel, he desired his advice, in the second place, about the war against his father. Now Ahithophel only asked him to let him have ten thousand chosen men, and he promised he would slay his father, and bring the soldiers back again in safety; and he said that then the kingdom would be firm to him when David was dead [but not otherwise]. Absalom was pleased with this advice, and called for Hushai, David's friend [for so did he style him]; and informing him of the opinion of Ahithophel, he asked, further, what was his opinion concerning that matter. Now he was sensible that if Ahithophel's counsel were followed, David would be in danger of being seized on, and slain; so he attempted to introduce a contrary opinion, and said, "Thou art not unacquainted, O king, with the valor of thy father, and of those that are now with him; that he hath made many wars, and hath always come off with victory, though probably he now abides in the camp, for he is very skillful in stratagems, and in foreseeing the deceitful tricks of his enemies; yet will he leave his own soldiers in the evening, and will either hide himself in some valley, or will place an ambush at some rock; so that when our army joins battle with him, his soldiers will retire for a little while, but will come upon us again, as encouraged by the king's being near them; and in the mean time your father will show himself suddenly in the time of the battle, and will infuse courage into his own people when they are in danger, but bring consternation to thine. Consider, therefore, my advice, and reason upon it, and if thou canst not but acknowledge it to be the best, reject the opinion of Ahithophel. Send to the entire country of the Hebrews, and order them to come and fight with thy father; and do thou thyself take the army, and be thine own general in this war, and do not trust its management to another; then expect to conquer him with ease, when thou overtakest him openly with his few partisans, but hast thyself many ten thousands, who will be desirous to demonstrate to thee their diligence and alacrity. And if thy father shall shut himself up in some city, and bear a siege, we will overthrow that city with machines of war, and by undermining it." When Hushai had said this, he obtained his point against Ahithophel, for his opinion was preferred by Absalom before the other's: however, it was no other than God who made the counsel of Hushai appear best to the mind of Absalom.

7. So Hushai made haste to the high priests, Zadok and Abiathar, and told them the opinion of Ahithophel, and his own, and that the resolution was taken to follow this latter advice. He therefore bade them send to David, and tell him of it, and to inform him of the counsels that had been taken; and to desire him

further to pass quickly over Jordan, lest his son should change his mind, and make haste to pursue him, and so prevent him, and seize upon him before he be in safety. Now the high priests had their sons concealed in a proper place out of the city, that they might carry news to David of what was transacted. Accordingly, they sent a maid-servant, whom they could trust, to them, to carry the news of Absalom's counsels, and ordered them to signify the same to David with all speed. So they made no excuse nor delay, but taking along with them their fathers' injunctions, because pious and faithful ministers, and judging that quickness and suddenness was the best mark of faithful service, they made haste to meet with David. But certain horsemen saw them when they were two furlongs from the city, and informed Absalom of them, who immediately sent some to take them; but when the sons of the high priest perceived this, they went out of the road, and betook themselves to a certain village; that village was called Bahurim; there they desired a certain woman to hide them, and afford them security. Accordingly she let the young men down by a rope into a well, and laid fleeces of wool over them; and when those that pursued them came to her, and asked her whether she saw them, she did not deny that she had seen them, for that they staid with her some time, but she said they then went their ways; and she foretold that, however, if they would follow them directly, they would catch them; but when after a long pursuit they could not catch them, they came back again; and when the woman saw those men were returned, and that there was no longer any fear of the young men's being caught by them, she drew them up by the rope, and bade them go on their journey accordingly, they used great diligence in the prosecution of that journey, and came to David, and informed him accurately of all the counsels of Absalom. So he commanded those that were with him to pass over Jordan while it was night, and not to delay at all on that account.

8. But Ahithophel, on rejection of his advice, got upon his ass, and rode away to his own country, Gilon; and, calling his family together, he told them distinctly what advice he had given Absalom; and since he had not been persuaded by it, he said he would evidently perish, and this in no long time, and that David would overcome him, and return to his kingdom again; so he said it was better that he should take his own life away with freedom and magnanimity, than expose himself to be punished by David, in opposition to whom he had acted entirely for Absalom. When he had discoursed thus to them, he went into the inmost room of his house, and hanged himself; and thus was the death of Ahithophel, who was self-condemned; and when his relations had taken him down from the halter, they took care of his funeral. Now, as for David, he passed over Jordan, as we have said already, and came to Mahanaim, every fine and

very strong city; and all the chief men of the country received him with great pleasure, both out of the shame they had that he should be forced to flee away [from Jerusalem], and out of the respect they bare him while he was in his former prosperity. These were Barzillai the Gileadite, and Siphar the ruler among the Ammonites, and Machir the principal man of Gilead; and these furnished him with plentiful provisions for himself and his followers, insomuch that they wanted no beds nor blankets for them, nor loaves of bread, nor wine; nay, they brought them a great many cattle for slaughter, and afforded them what furniture they wanted for their refreshment when they were weary, and for food, with plenty of other necessaries.

CHAPTER 10. How, When Absalom Was Beaten, He Was Caught In A Tree By His Hair And Was Slain

1. And this was the state of David and his followers: but Absalom got together a vast army of the Hebrews to oppose his father, and passed therewith over the river Jordan, and sat down not far off Mahanaim, in the country of Gilead. He appointed Amasa to be captain of all his host, instead of Joab his kinsman: his father was Ithra and his mother Abigail: now she and Zeruiah, the mother of Joab, were David's sisters. But when David had numbered his followers, and found them to be about four thousand, he resolved not to tarry till Absalom attacked him, but set over his men captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds, and divided his army into three parts; the one part he committed to Joab, the next to Abishai, Joab's brother, and the third to Ittai, David's companion and friend, but one that came from the city Gath; and when he was desirous of fighting himself among them, his friends would not let him: and this refusal of theirs was founded upon very wise reasons: "For," said they, "if we be conquered when he is with us, we have lost all good hopes of recovering ourselves; but if we should be beaten in one part of our army, the other parts may retire to him, and may thereby prepare a greater force, while the enemy will naturally suppose that he hath another army with him." So David was pleased with this their advice, and resolved himself to tarry at Mahanaim; and as he sent his friends and commanders to the battle, he desired them to show all possible alacrity and fidelity, and to bear in mind what advantages they had received from him, which, though they had not been very great, yet had they not been quite inconsiderable; and he begged of them to spare the young man Absalom, lest some mischief should befall himself, if he should be killed; and thus did he send out his army to the battle, and wished them victory therein.

2. Then did Joab put his army in battle-array over against the enemy in the Great Plain, where he had a wood behind him. Absalom also brought his army into the field to oppose him. Upon the joining of the battle, both sides showed great actions with their hands and their boldness; the one side exposing themselves to the greatest hazards, and using their utmost alacrity, that David might recover his kingdom; and the other being no way deficient, either in doing or suffering, that Absalom might not be deprived of that kingdom, and be brought to punishment by his father for his impudent attempt against him. Those also that were the most numerous were solicitous that they might not be conquered by those few that were with Joab, and with the other commanders,

because that would be the greater disgrace to them; while David's soldiers strove greatly to overcome so many ten thousands as the enemy had with them. Now David's men were conquerors, as superior in strength and skill in war; so they followed the others as they fled away through the forests and valleys; some they took prisoners, and many they slew, and more in the flight than in the battle for there fell about twenty thousand that day. But all David's men ran violently upon Absalom, for he was easily known by his beauty and tallness. He was himself also afraid lest his enemies should seize on him, so he got upon the king's mule, and fled; but as he was carried with violence, and noise, and a great motion, as being himself light, he entangled his hair greatly in the large boughs of a knotty tree that spread a great way, and there he hung, after a surprising manner; and as for the beast, it went on farther, and that swiftly, as if his master had been still upon his back; but he, hanging in the air upon the boughs, was taken by his enemies. Now when one of David's soldiers saw this, he informed Joab of it; and when the general said, that if he had shot at and killed Absalom, he would have given him fifty shekels, — he replied, "I would not have killed my master's son if thou wouldst have given me a thousand shekels, especially when he desired that the young man might be spared in the hearing of us all." But Joab bade him show him where it was that he saw Absalom hang; whereupon he shot him to the heart, and slew him, and Joab's armor-bearers stood round the tree, and pulled down his dead body, and cast it into a great chasm that was out of sight, and laid a heap of stones upon him, till the cavity was filled up, and had both the appearance and the bigness of a grave. Then Joab sounded a retreat, and recalled his own soldiers from pursuing the enemy's army, in order to spare their countrymen.

3. Now Absalom had erected for himself a marble pillar in the king's dale, two furlongs distant from Jerusalem, which he named Absalom's Hand, saying, that if his children were killed, his name would remain by that pillar; for he had three sons and one daughter, named Tamar, as we said before, who when she was married to David's grandson, Rehoboam, bare a son, Abijah by name, who succeeded his father in the kingdom; but of these we shall speak in a part of our history which will be more proper. After the death of Absalom, they returned every one to their own homes respectively.

4. But now Ahimaaz, the son of Zadok the high priest, went to Joab, and desired he would permit him to go and tell David of this victory, and to bring him the good news that God had afforded his assistance and his providence to him. However, he did not grant his request, but said to him, "Wilt thou, who hast always been the messenger of good news, now go and acquaint the king that his son is dead?" So he desired him to desist. He then called Cushi, and committed

the business to him, that he should tell the king what he had seen. But when Ahimaaz again desired him to let him go as a messenger, and assured him that he would only relate what concerned the victory, but not concerning the death of Absalom, he gave him leave to go to David. Now he took a nearer road than the former did, for nobody knew it but himself, and he came before Cushi. Now as David was sitting between the gates, and waiting to see when somebody would come to him from the battle, and tell him how it went, one of the watchmen saw Ahimaaz running, and before he could discern who he was, he told David that he saw somebody coming to him, who said he was a good messenger. A little while after, he informed him that another messenger followed him; whereupon the king said that he also was a good messenger: but when the watchman saw Ahimaaz, and that he was already very near, he gave the king notice that it was the son of Zadok the high priest who came running. So David was very glad, and said he was a messenger of good tidings, and brought him some such news from the battle as he desired to hear.

5. While the king was saying thus, Ahimaaz appeared, and worshipped the king. And when the king inquired of him about the battle, he said he brought him the good news of victory and dominion. And when he inquired what he had to say concerning his son, he said that he came away on the sudden as soon as the enemy was defeated, but that he heard a great noise of those that pursued Absalom, and that he could learn no more, because of the haste he made when Joab sent him to inform him of the victory. But when Cushi was come, and had worshipped him, and informed him of the victory, he asked him about his son, who replied, "May the like misfortune befall thine enemies as hath befallen Absalom." That word did not permit either himself or his soldiers to rejoice for the victory, though it was a very great one; but David went up to the highest part of the city, and wept for his son, and beat his breast, tearing [the hair of] his head, tormenting himself all manner of ways, and crying out, "O my son! I wish that I had died myself, and ended my days with thee!" for he was of a tender natural affection, and had extraordinary compassion for this son in particular. But when the army and Joab heard that the king mourned for his son, they were ashamed to enter the city in the habit of conquerors, but they all came in as cast down, and in tears, as if they had been beaten. Now while the king covered himself, and grievously lamented his son, Joab went in to him, and comforted him, and said, "O my lord the king, thou art not aware that thou layest a blot on thyself by what thou now doest; for thou seemest to hate those that love thee, and undergo dangers for thee nay, to hate thyself and thy family, and to love those that are thy bitter enemies, and to desire the company of those that are no more, and who have been justly slain; for had Absalom gotten the victory, and

firmly settled himself in the kingdom, there had been none of us left alive, but all of us, beginning with thyself and thy children, had miserably perished, while our enemies had not wept for his, but rejoiced over us, and punished even those that pitied us in our misfortunes; and thou art not ashamed to do this in the case of one that has been thy bitter enemy, who, while he was thine own son hath proved so wicked to thee. Leave off, therefore, thy unreasonable grief, and come abroad and be seen of thy soldiers, and return them thanks for the alacrity they showed in the fight; for I myself will this day persuade the people to leave thee, and to give the kingdom to another, if thou continuest to do thus; and then I shall make thee to grieve bitterly and in earnest." Upon Joab's speaking thus to him, he made the king leave off his sorrow, and brought him to the consideration of his affairs. So David changed his habit, and exposed himself in a manner fit to be seen by the multitude, and sat at the gates; whereupon all the people heard of it, and ran together to him, and saluted him. And this was the present state of David's affairs.

CHAPTER 11. How David, When He Had Recovered His Kingdom, Was Reconciled To Shimei, And To Ziba; And Showed A Great Affection To Barzillai; And How, Upon The Rise Of A Sedition, He Made Amasa Captain Of His Host, In Order To Pursue Seba; Which Amasa Was Slain By Joab.

1. Now those Hebrews that had been With Absalom, and had retired out of the battle, when they were all returned home, sent messengers to every city to put them in mind of what benefits David had bestowed upon them, and of that liberty which he had procured them, by delivering them from many and great wars. But they complained, that whereas they had ejected him out of his kingdom, and committed it to another governor, which other governor, whom they had set up, was already dead, they did not now beseech David to leave off his anger at them, and to become friends with them, and, as he used to do, to resume the care of their affairs, and take the kingdom again. This was often told to David. And, this notwithstanding, David sent to Zadok and Abiathar the high priests, that they should speak to the rulers of the tribe of Judah after the manner following: That it would be a reproach upon them to permit the other tribes to choose David for their king before their tribe, “and this,” said he, “while you are akin to him, and of the same common blood.” He commanded them also to say the same to Amasa the captain of their forces, That whereas he was his sister’s son, he had not persuaded the multitude to restore the kingdom to David; that he might expect from him not only a reconciliation, for that was already granted, but that supreme command of the army also which Absalom had bestowed upon him. Accordingly the high priests, when they had discoursed with the rulers of the tribe, and said what the king had ordered them, persuaded Amasa to undertake the care of his affairs. So he persuaded that tribe to send immediately ambassadors to him, to beseech him to return to his own kingdom. The same did all the Israelites, at the like persuasion of Amasa.

2. When the ambassadors came to him, he came to Jerusalem; and the tribe of Judah was the first that came to meet the king at the river Jordan. And Shimei, the son of Gera, came with a thousand men, which he brought with him out of the tribe of Benjamin; and Ziba, the freed-man of Saul, with his sons, fifteen in number, and with his twenty servants. All these, as well as the tribe of Judah,

laid a bridge [of boats] over the river, that the king, and those that were with him, might with ease pass over it. Now as soon as he was come to Jordan, the tribe of Judah saluted him. Shimei also came upon the bridge, and took hold of his feet, and prayed him to forgive him what he had offended, and not to be too bitter against him, nor to think fit to make him the first example of severity under his new authority; but to consider that he had repented of his failure of duty, and had taken care to come first of all to him. While he was thus entreating the king, and moving him to compassion, Abishai, Joab's brother, said, "And shall not this man die for this, that he hath cursed that king whom God hath appointed to reign over us?" But David turned himself to him, and said, "Will you never leave off, ye sons of Zeruiah? Do not you, I pray, raise new troubles and seditions among us, now the former are over; for I would not have you ignorant that I this day begin my reign, and therefore swear to remit to all offenders their punishments, and not to animadvert on any one that has sinned. Be thou, therefore," said he, "O Shimei, of good courage, and do not at all fear being put to death." So he worshipped him, and went on before him.

3. Mephibosheth also, Saul's grandson, met David, clothed in a sordid garment, and having his hair thick and neglected; for after David was fled away, he was in such grief that he had not polled his head, nor had he washed his clothes, as dooming himself to undergo such hardships upon occasion of the change-of the king's affairs. Now he had been unjustly calumniated to the king by Ziba, his steward. When he had saluted the king, and worshipped him, the king began to ask him why he did not go out of Jerusalem with him, and accompany him during his flight. He replied, that this piece of injustice was owing to Ziba; because, when he was ordered to get things ready for his going out with him, he took no care of it, but regarded him no more than if he had been a slave; "and, indeed, had I had my feet sound and strong, I had not deserted thee, for I could then have made use of them in my flight: but this is not all the injury that Ziba has done me, as to my duty to thee, my lord and master, but he hath calumniated me besides, and told lies about me of his own invention; but I know thy mind will not admit of such calumnies, but is righteously disposed, and a lover of truth, which it is also the will of God should prevail. For when thou wast in the greatest danger of suffering by my grandfather, and when, on that account, our whole family might justly have been destroyed, thou wast moderate and merciful, and didst then especially forget all those injuries, when, if thou hadst remembered them, thou hadst the power of punishing us for them; but thou hast judged me to be thy friend, and hast set me every day at thine own table; nor have I wanted any thing which one of thine own kinsmen, of greatest esteem with thee, could have expected." When he had said this, David resolved

neither to punish Mephibosheth, nor to condemn Ziba, as having belied his master; but said to him, that as he had [before] granted all his estate to Ziba, because he did not come along with him, so he [now] promised to forgive him, and ordered that the one half of his estate should be restored to him. Whereupon Mephibosheth said, "Nay, let Ziba take all; it suffices me that thou hast recovered thy kingdom."

4. But David desired Barzillai the Gileadite, that great and good man, and one that had made a plentiful provision for him at Mahanaim, and had conducted him as far as Jordan, to accompany him to Jerusalem, for he promised to treat him in his old age with all manner of respect — to take care of him, and provide for him. But Barzillai was so desirous to live at home, that he entreated him to excuse him from attendance on him; and said that his age was too great to enjoy the pleasures [of a court,] since he was fourscore years old, and was therefore making provision for his death and burial: so he desired him to gratify him in this request, and dismiss him; for he had no relish of his meat, or his drink, by reason of his age; and that his ears were too much shut up to hear the sound of pipes, or the melody of other musical instruments, such as all those that live with kings delight in. When he entreated for this so earnestly, the king said, "I dismiss thee, but thou shalt grant me thy son Chimham, and upon him I will bestow all sorts of good things." So Barzillai left his son with him, and worshipped the king, and wished him a prosperous conclusion of all his affairs according to his own mind, and then returned home; but David came to Gilgal, having about him half the people [of Israel], and the [whole] tribe of Judah.

5. Now the principal men of the country came to Gilgal to him with a great multitude, and complained of the tribe of Judah, that they had come to him in a private manner; whereas they ought all conjointly, and with one and the same intention, to have given him the meeting. But the rulers of the tribe of Judah desired them not to be displeased, if they had been prevented by them; for, said they, "We are David's kinsmen, and on that account we the rather took care of him, and loved him, and so came first to him;" yet had they not, by their early coming, received any gifts from him, which might give them who came last any uneasiness. When the rulers of the tribe of Judah had said this, the rulers of the other tribes were not quiet, but said further, "O brethren, we cannot but wonder at you when you call the king your kinsman alone, whereas he that hath received from God the power over all of us in common ought to be esteemed a kinsman to us all; for which reason the whole people have eleven parts in him, and you but one part we are also elder than you; wherefore you have not done justly in coming to the king in this private and concealed manner."

6. While these rulers were thus disputing one with another, a certain wicked man, who took a pleasure in seditious practices, [his name was Sheba, the son of Bichri, of the tribe of Benjamin,] stood up in the midst of the multitude, and cried aloud, and spake thus to them: "We have no part in David, nor inheritance in the son of Jesse." And when he had used those words, he blew with a trumpet, and declared war against the king; and they all left David, and followed him; the tribe of Judah alone staid with him, and settled him in his royal palace at Jerusalem. But as for his concubines, with whom Absalom his son had accompanied, truly he removed them to another house, and ordered those that had the care of them to make a plentiful provision for them, but he came not near them any more. He also appointed Amass for the captain of his forces, and gave him the same high office which Joab before had; and he commanded him to gather together, out of the tribe of Judah, as great an army as he could, and come to him within three days, that he might deliver to him his entire army, and might send him to fight against [Sheba] the son of Bichri. Now while Amass was gone out, and made some delay in gathering the army together, and so was not yet returned, on the third day the king said to Joab, "It is not fit we should make any delay in this affair of Sheba, lest he get a numerous army about him, and be the occasion of greater mischief, and hurt our affairs more than did Absalom himself; do not thou therefore wait any longer, but take such forces as thou hast at hand, and that [old] body of six hundred men, and thy brother Abishai, with thee, and pursue after our enemy, and endeavor to fight him wheresoever thou canst overtake him. Make haste to prevent him, lest he seize upon some fenced cities, and cause us great labor and pains before we take him."

7. So Joab resolved to make no delay, but taking with him his brother, and those six hundred men, and giving orders that the rest of the army which was at Jerusalem should follow him, he marched with great speed against Sheba; and when he was come to Gibeon, which is a village forty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, Amasa brought a great army with him, and met Joab. Now Joab was girded with a sword, and his breastplate on; and when Amasa came near him to salute him, he took particular care that his sword should fall out, as it were, of its own accord: so he took it up from the ground, and while he approached Amasa, who was then near him, as though he would kiss him, he took hold of Amasa's beard with his other hand, and he smote him in his belly when he did not foresee it, and slew him. This impious and altogether profane action Joab did to a good young man, and his kinsman, and one that had done him no injury, and this out of jealousy that he would obtain the chief command of the army, and be in equal dignity with himself about the king; and for the same cause it was that he killed Abner. But as to that former wicked action, the death of his brother Asahel,

which he seemed to revenge, afforded him a decent pretense, and made that crime a pardonable one; but in this murder of Amasa there was no such covering for it. Now when Joab had killed this general, he pursued after Sheba, having left a man with the dead body, who was ordered to proclaim aloud to the army, that Amasa was justly slain, and deservedly punished. “But,” said he, “if you be for the king, follow Joab his general, and Abishai, Joab’s brother:” but because the body lay on the road, and all the multitude came running to it, and, as is usual with the multitude, stood wondering a great while at it, he that guarded it removed it thence, and carried it to a certain place that was very remote from the road, and there laid it, and covered it with his garment. When this was done, all the people followed Joab. Now as he pursued Sheba through all the country of Israel, one told him that he was in a strong city, called Abelbeth-maachah. Hereupon Joab went thither, and set about it with his army, and cast up a bank round it, and ordered his soldiers to undermine the walls, and to overthrow them; and since the people in the city did not admit him, he was greatly displeased at them.

8. Now there was a woman of small account, and yet both wise and intelligent, who seeing her native city lying at the last extremity, ascended upon the wall, and, by means of the armed men, called for Joab; and when he came to her, she began to say, That “God ordained kings and generals of armies, that they might cut off the enemies of the Hebrews, and introduce a universal peace among them; but thou art endeavoring to overthrow and depopulate a metropolis of the Israelites, which hath been guilty of no offense.” But he replied, “God continue to be merciful unto me: I am disposed to avoid killing any one of the people, much less would I destroy such a city as this; and if they will deliver me up Sheba, the son of Bichri, who hath rebelled against the king, I will leave off the siege, and withdraw the army from the place.” Now as soon as the woman heard what Joab said, she desired him to intermit the siege for a little while, for that he should have the head of his enemy thrown out to him presently. So she went down to the citizens, and said to them, “Will you be so wicked as to perish miserably, with your children and wives, for the sake of a vile fellow, and one whom nobody knows who he is? And will you have him for your king instead of David, who hath been so great a benefactor to you, and oppose your city alone to such a mighty and strong army?” So she prevailed with them, and they cut off the head of Sheba, and threw it into Joab’s army. When this was done, the king’s general sounded a retreat, and raised the siege. And when he was come to Jerusalem, he was again appointed to be general of all the people. The king also constituted Benaiah captain of the guards, and of the six hundred men. He also

set Adoram over the tribute, and Sabathes and Achilaus over the records. He made Sheva the scribe, and appointed Zadok and Abiathar the high priests.

CHAPTER 12. How The Hebrews Were Delivered From A Famine When The Gibeonites Had Caused Punishment To Be Inflicted For Those Of Them That Had Been Slain: As Also, What Great Actions Were Performed Against The Philistines By David, And The Men Of Valor About Him.

1. After this, when the country was greatly afflicted with a famine, David besought God to have mercy on the people, and to discover to him what was the cause of it, and how a remedy might be found for that distemper. And when the prophets answered, that God would have the Gibeonites avenged whom Saul the king was so wicked as to betray to slaughter, and had not observed the oath which Joshua the general and the senate had sworn to them: If, therefore, said God, the king would permit such vengeance to be taken for those that were slain as the Gibeonites should desire, he promised that he would be reconciled to them, and free the multitude from their miseries. As soon therefore as the king understood that this it was which God sought, he sent for the Gibeonites, and asked them what it was they should have; and when they desired to have seven sons of Saul delivered to them to be punished, he delivered them up, but spared Mephibosheth the son of Jonathan. So when the Gibeonites had received the men, they punished them as they pleased; upon which God began to send rain, and to recover the earth to bring forth its fruits as usual, and to free it from the foregoing drought, so that the country of the Hebrews flourished again. A little afterward the king made war against the Philistines; and when he had joined battle with them, and put them to flight, he was left alone, as he was in pursuit of them; and when he was quite tired down, he was seen by one of the enemy, his name was Achmon, the son of Araph, he was one of the sons of the giants. He had a spear, the handle of which weighed three hundred shekels, and a breastplate of chain-work, and a sword. He turned back, and ran violently to slay [David] their enemy's king, for he was quite tired out with labor; but Abishai, Joab's brother, appeared on the sudden, and protected the king with his shield, as he lay down, and slew the enemy. Now the multitude were very uneasy at these dangers of the king, and that he was very near to be slain; and the rulers made him swear that he would no more go out with them to battle, lest he should come to some great misfortune by his courage and boldness, and thereby deprive the

people of the benefits they now enjoyed by his means, and of those that they might hereafter enjoy by his living a long time among them.

2. When the king heard that the Philistines were gathered together at the city Gazara, he sent an army against them, when Sibbechai the Hittite, one of David's most courageous men, behaved himself so as to deserve great commendation, for he slew many of those that bragged they were the posterity of the giants, and vaunted themselves highly on that account, and thereby was the occasion of victory to the Hebrews. After which defeat, the Philistines made war again; and when David had sent an army against them, Nephan his kinsman fought in a single combat with the stoutest of all the Philistines, and slew him, and put the rest to flight. Many of them also were slain in the fight. Now a little while after this, the Philistines pitched their camp at a city which lay not far off the bounds of the country of the Hebrews. They had a man who was six cubits tall, and had on each of his feet and hands one more toe and finger than men naturally have. Now the person who was sent against them by David out of his army was Jonathan, the son of Shimea, who fought this man in a single combat, and slew him; and as he was the person who gave the turn to the battle, he gained the greatest reputation for courage therein. This man also vaunted himself to be of the sons of the giants. But after this fight the Philistines made war no more against the Israelites.

3. And now David being freed from wars and dangers, and enjoying for the future a profound peace, composed songs and hymns to God of several sorts of metre; some of those which he made were trimeters, and some were pentameters. He also made instruments of music, and taught the Levites to sing hymns to God, both on that called the sabbath day, and on other festivals. Now the construction of the instruments was thus: The viol was an instrument of ten strings, it was played upon with a bow; the psaltery had twelve musical notes, and was played upon by the fingers; the cymbals were broad and large instruments, and were made of brass. And so much shall suffice to be spoken by us about these instruments, that the readers may not be wholly unacquainted with their nature.

4. Now all the men that were about David were men of courage. Those that were most illustrious and famous of them for their actions were thirty-eight; of five of whom I will only relate the performances, for these will suffice to make manifest the virtues of the others also; for these were powerful enough to subdue countries, and conquer great nations. First, therefore, was Jessai, the son of Achimaas, who frequently leaped upon the troops of the enemy, and did not leave off fighting till he overthrew nine hundred of them. After him was Eleazar, the son of Dodo, who was with the king at Arasam. This man, when once the

Israelites were under a consternation at the multitude of the Philistines, and were running away, stood alone, and fell upon the enemy, and slew many of them, till his sword clung to his hand by the blood he had shed, and till the Israelites, seeing the Philistines retire by his means, came down from the mountains and pursued them, and at that time won a surprising and a famous victory, while Eleazar slew the men, and the multitude followed and spoiled their dead bodies. The third was Sheba, the son of Ilus. Now this man, when, in the wars against the Philistines, they pitched their camp at a place called Lehi, and when the Hebrews were again afraid of their army, and did not stay, he stood still alone, as an army and a body of men; and some of them he overthrew, and some who were not able to abide his strength and force he pursued. These are the works of the hands, and of fighting, which these three performed. Now at the time when the king was once at Jerusalem, and the army of the Philistines came upon him to fight him, David went up to the top of the citadel, as we have already said, to inquire of God concerning the battle, while the enemy's camp lay in the valley that extends to the city Bethlehem, which is twenty furlongs distant from Jerusalem. Now David said to his companions, "We have excellent water in my own city, especially that which is in the pit near the gate," wondering if any one would bring him some of it to drink; but he said that he would rather have it than a great deal of money. When these three men heard what he said, they ran away immediately, and burst through the midst of their enemy's camp, and came to Bethlehem; and when they had drawn the water, they returned again through the enemy's camp to the king, insomuch that the Philistines were so surprised at their boldness and alacrity, that they were quiet, and did nothing against them, as if they despised their small number. But when the water was brought to the king, he would not drink it, saying, that it was brought by the danger and the blood of men, and that it was not proper on that account to drink it. But he poured it out to God, and gave him thanks for the salvation of the men. Next to these was Abishai, Joab's brother; for he in one day slew six hundred. The fifth of these was Benaiah, by lineage a priest; for being challenged by [two] eminent men in the country of Moab, he overcame them by his valor, Moreover, there was a man, by nation an Egyptian, who was of a vast bulk, and challenged him, yet did he, when he was unarmed, kill him with his own spear, which he threw at him; for he caught him by force, and took away his weapons while he was alive and fighting, and slew him with his own weapons. One may also add this to the forementioned actions of the same man, either as the principal of them in alacrity, or as resembling the rest. When God sent a snow, there was a lion who slipped and fell into a certain pit, and because the pit's mouth was narrow it was evident he would perish, being enclosed with the snow; so when he saw no way

to get out and save himself, he roared. When Benaiah heard the wild beast, he went towards him, and coming at the noise he made, he went down into the mouth of the pit and smote him, as he struggled, with a stake that lay there, and immediately slew him. The other thirty-three were like these in valor also.

CHAPTER 13. That When David Had Numbered the People, They Were Punished; and How the Divine Compassion Restrained That Punishment.

1. Now king David was desirous to know how many ten thousands there were of the people, but forgot the commands of Moses, who told them beforehand, that if the multitude were numbered, they should pay half a shekel to God for every head. Accordingly the king commanded Joab, the captain of his host, to go and number the whole multitude; but when he said there was no necessity for such a numeration, he was not persuaded [to countermand it], but he enjoined him to make no delay, but to go about the numbering of the Hebrews immediately. So Joab took with him the heads of the tribes, and the scribes, and went over the country of the Israelites, and took notice how numerous the multitude were, and returned to Jerusalem to the king, after nine months and twenty days; and he gave in to the king the number of the people, without the tribe of Benjamin, for he had not yet numbered that tribe, no more than the tribe of Levi, for the king repented of his having sinned against God. Now the number of the rest of the Israelites was nine hundred thousand men, who were able to bear arms and go to war; but the tribe of Judah, by itself, was four hundred thousand men.

2. Now when the prophets had signified to David that God was angry at him, he began to entreat him, and to desire he would be merciful to him, and forgive his sin. But God sent Nathan the prophet to him, to propose to him the election of three things, that he might choose which he liked best: Whether he would have famine come upon the country for seven years, or would have a war, and be subdued three months by his enemies? or, whether God should send a pestilence and a distemper upon the Hebrews for three days? But as he was fallen to a fatal choice of great miseries, he was in trouble, and sorely confounded; and when the prophet had said that he must of necessity make his choice, and had ordered him to answer quickly, that he might declare what he had chosen to God, the king reasoned with himself, that in case he should ask for famine, he would appear to do it for others, and without danger to himself, since he had a great deal of corn hoarded up, but to the harm of others; that in case he should choose to be overcome [by his enemies] for three months, he would appear to have chosen war, because he had valiant men about him, and strong holds, and that therefore he feared nothing therefrom: so he chose that affliction which is common to kings and to their subjects, and in which the fear was equal on all sides; and said

this beforehand, that it was much better to fall into the hands of God, than into those of his enemies.

3. When the prophet had heard this, he declared it to God; who thereupon sent a pestilence and a mortality upon the Hebrews; nor did they die after one and the same manner, nor so that it was easy to know what the distemper was. Now the miserable disease was one indeed, but it carried them off by ten thousand causes and occasions, which those that were afflicted could not understand; for one died upon the neck of another, and the terrible malady seized them before they were aware, and brought them to their end suddenly, some giving up the ghost immediately with very great pains and bitter grief, and some were worn away by their distempers, and had nothing remaining to be buried, but as soon as ever they fell were entirely macerated; some were choked, and greatly lamented their case, as being also stricken with a sudden darkness; some there were who, as they were burying a relation, fell down dead, without finishing the rites of the funeral. Now there perished of this disease, which began with the morning, and lasted till the hour of dinner, seventy thousand. Nay, the angel stretched out his hand over Jerusalem, as sending this terrible judgment upon it. But David had put on sackcloth, and lay upon the ground, entreating God, and begging that the distemper might now cease, and that he would be satisfied with those that had already perished. And when the king looked up into the air, and saw the angel carried along thereby into Jerusalem, with his sword drawn, he said to God, that he might justly be punished, who was their shepherd, but that the sheep ought to be preserved, as not having sinned at all; and he implored God that he would send his wrath upon him, and upon all his family, but spare the people.

4. When God heard his supplication, he caused the pestilence to cease, and sent Gad the prophet to him, and commanded him to go up immediately to the thrashing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, and build an altar there to God, and offer sacrifices. When David heard that, he did not neglect his duty, but made haste to the place appointed him. Now Araunah was thrashing wheat; and when he saw the king and all his servants coming to him, he ran before, and came to him and worshipped him: he was by his lineage a Jebusite, but a particular friend of David's; and for that cause it was that, when he overthrew the city, he did him no harm, as we informed the reader a little before. Now Araunah inquired, "Wherefore is my lord come to his servant?" He answered, to buy of him the thrashing-floor, that he might therein build an altar to God, and offer a sacrifice. He replied, that he freely gave him both the thrashing-floor and the ploughs and the oxen for a burnt-offering; and he besought God graciously to accept his sacrifice. But the king made answer, that he took his generosity and magnanimity loudly, and accepted his good-will, but he desired him to take the

price of them all, for that it was not just to offer a sacrifice that cost nothing. And when Araunah said he would do as he pleased, he bought the thrashing-floor of him for fifty shekels. And when he had built an altar, he performed Divine service, and brought a burnt-offering, and offered peace-offerings also. With these God was pacified, and became gracious to them again. Now it happened that Abraham came and offered his son Isaac for a burnt-offering at that very place; and when the youth was ready to have his throat cut, a ram appeared on a sudden, standing by the altar, which Abraham sacrificed in the stead of his son, as we have before related. Now when king David saw that God had heard his prayer, and had graciously accepted of his sacrifice, he resolved to call that entire place The Altar of all the People, and to build a temple to God there; which words he uttered very appositely to what was to be done afterward; for God sent the prophet to him, and told him that there should his son build him an altar, that son who was to take the kingdom after him.

CHAPTER 14. That David Made Great Preparations For The House Of God; And That, Upon Adonijah's Attempt To Gain The Kingdom, He Appointed Solomon To Reign.

1. After the delivery of this prophecy, the king commanded the strangers to be numbered; and they were found to be one hundred and eighty thousand; of these he appointed fourscore thousand to be hewers of stone, and the rest of the multitude to carry the stones, and of them he set over the workmen three thousand and five hundred. He also prepared a great quantity of iron and brass for the work, with many [and those exceeding large] cedar trees; the Tyrians and Sidonians sending them to him, for he had sent to them for a supply of those trees. And he told his friends that these things were now prepared, that he might leave materials ready for the building of the temple to his son, who was to reign after him, and that he might not have them to seek then, when he was very young, and by reason of his age unskillful in such matters, but might have them lying by him, and so might the more readily complete the work.

2. So David called his son Solomon, and charged him, when he had received the kingdom, to build a temple to God, and said, "I was willing to build God a temple myself, but he prohibited me, because I was polluted with blood and wars; but he hath foretold that Solomon, my youngest son, should build him a temple, and should be called by that name; over whom he hath promised to take the like care as a father takes over his son; and that he would make the country of the Hebrews happy under him, and that, not only in other respects, but by giving it peace and freedom from wars, and from internal seditions, which are the greatest of all blessings. Since, therefore," says he, "thou wast ordained king by God himself before thou wast born, endeavor to render thyself worthy of this his providence, as in other instances, so particularly in being religious, and righteous, and courageous. Keep thou also his commands and his laws, which he hath given us by Moses, and do not permit others to break them. Be zealous also to dedicate to God a temple, which he hath chosen to be built under thy reign; nor be thou aftrighted by the vastness of the work, nor set about it timorously, for I will make all things ready before I die: and take notice, that there are already ten thousand talents of gold, and a hundred thousand talents of silver collected together. I have also laid together brass and iron without number, and an immense quantity of timber and of stones. Moreover, thou hast many ten

thousand stone-cutters and carpenters; and if thou shalt want any thing further, do thou add somewhat of thine own. Wherefore, if thou performest this work, thou wilt be acceptable to God, and have him for thy patron." David also further exhorted the rulers of the people to assist his son in this building, and to attend to the Divine service, when they should be free from all their misfortunes, for that they by this means should enjoy, instead of them, peace and a happy settlement, with which blessings God rewards such men as are religious and righteous. He also gave orders, that when the temple should be once built, they should put the ark therein, with the holy vessels; and he assured them that they ought to have had a temple long ago, if their fathers had not been negligent of God's commands, who had given it in charge, that when they had got the possession of this land, they should build him a temple. Thus did David discourse to the governors, and to his son.

3. David was now in years, and his body, by length of time, was become cold, and benumbed, insomuch that he could get no heat by covering himself with many clothes; and when the physicians came together, they agreed to this advice, that a beautiful virgin, chosen out of the whole country, should sleep by the king's side, and that this damsel would communicate heat to him, and be a remedy against his numbness. Now there was found in the city one woman, of a superior beauty to all other women, [her name was Abishag,] who, sleeping with the king, did no more than communicate warmth to him, for he was so old that he could not know her as a husband knows his wife. But of this woman we shall speak more presently.

4. Now the fourth son of David was a beautiful young man, and tall, born to him of Haggith his wife. He was named Adonijah, and was in his disposition like to Absalom; and exalted himself as hoping to be king, and told his friends that he ought to take the government upon him. He also prepared many chariots and horses, and fifty men to run before him. When his father saw this, he did not reprove him, nor restrain him from his purpose, nor did he go so far as to ask wherefore he did so. Now Adonijah had for his assistants Joab the captain of the army, and Abiathar the high priest; and the only persons that opposed him were Zadok the high priest, and the prophet Nathan, and Benaiah, who was captain of the guards, and Shimei, David's friend, with all the other most mighty men. Now Adonijah had prepared a supper out of the city, near the fountain that was in the king's paradise, and had invited all his brethren except Solomon, and had taken with him Joab the captain of the army, and: Abiathar, and the rulers of the tribe of Judah, but had not invited to this feast either Zadok the high priest, or Nathan the prophet, or Benaiah the captain of the guards, nor any of those of the contrary party. This matter was told by Nathan the prophet to Bathsheba,

Solomon's mother, that Adonijah was king, and that David knew nothing of it; and he advised her to save herself and her son Solomon, and to go by herself to David, and say to him, that he had indeed sworn that Solomon should reign after him, but that in the mean time Adonijah had already taken the kingdom. He said that he, the prophet himself, would come after her, and when she had spoken thus to the king, would confirm what she had said. Accordingly Bathsheba agreed with Nathan, and went in to the king and worshipped him, and when she had desired leave to speak with him, she told him all things in the manner that Nathan had suggested to her; and related what a supper Adonijah had made, and who they were whom he had invited; Abiathar the and Joab the general, and David's sons, excepting Solomon and his intimate friends. She also said that all the people had their eyes upon him, to know whom he would choose for their king. She desired him also to consider how, after his departure, Adonijah, if he were king, would slay her and her son Solomon.

5. Now, as Bathsheba was speaking, the keeper of the king's chambers told him that Nathan desired to see him. And when the king had commanded that he should be admitted, he came in, and asked him whether he had ordained Adonijah to be king, and delivered the government to him, or not; for that he had made a splendid supper, and invited all his sons, except Solomon; as also that he had invited Joab, the captain of his host, [and Abiathar the high priest,] who are feasting with applauses, and many joyful sounds of instruments, and wish that his kingdom may last for ever; but he hath not invited me, nor Zadok the high priest, nor Benaiah the captain of the guards; and it is but fit that all should know whether this be done by thy approbation or not. When Nathan had said thus, the king commanded that they should call Bathsheba to him, for she had gone out of the room when the prophet came. And when Bathsheba was come, David said, "I swear by Almighty God, that thy son Solomon shall certainly he king, as I formerly swore; and that he shall sit upon my throne, and that this very day also." So Bathsheba worshipped him, and wished him a long life; and the king sent for Zadok the high priest, and Benaiah the captain of the guards; and when they were come, he ordered them to take with them Nathan the prophet, and all the armed men about the palace, and to set his son Solomon upon the king's mule, and to carry him out of the city to the fountain called Gihon, and to anoint him there with the holy oil, and to make him king. This he charged Zadok the high priest, and Nathan the prophet, to do, and commanded them to follow Solomon through the midst of the city, and to sound the trumpets, and wish aloud that Solomon the king may sit upon the royal throne for ever, that so all the people may know that he is ordained king by his father. He also gave Solomon a charge concerning his government, to rule the whole nation of the

Hebrews, and particularly the tribe of Judah, religiously and righteously. And when Benaiah had prayed to God to be favorable to Solomon, without any delay they set Solomon upon the mule, and brought him out of the city to the fountain, and anointed him with oil, and brought him into the city again, with acclamations and wishes that his kingdom might continue a long time: and when they had introduced him into the king's house, they set him upon the throne; whereupon all the people betook themselves to make merry, and to celebrate a festival, dancing and delighting themselves with musical pipes, till both the earth and the air echoed with the multitude of the instruments of music.

6. Now when Adonijah and his guests perceived this noise, they were in disorder; and Joab the captain of the host said he was not pleased with these echoes, and the sound of these trumpets. And when supper was set before them, nobody tasted of it, but they were all very thoughtful what would be the matter. Then Jonathan, the son of Abiathar the high priest, came running to them; and when Adonijah saw the young man gladly, and said to him that he was a good messenger, he declared to them the whole matter about Solomon, and the determination of king David: hereupon both Adonijah and all the guests rose hastily from the feast, and every one fled to their own homes. Adonijah also, as afraid of the king for what he had done, became a supplicant to God, and took hold of the horns of the altar, which were prominent. It was also told Solomon that he had so done; and that he desired to receive assurances from him that he would not remember the injury he had done, and not inflict any severe punishment for it. Solomon answered very mildly and prudently, that he forgave him this his offense; but said withal, that if he were found out in any attempt for new innovations, that he would be the author of his own punishment. So he sent to him, and raised him up from the place of his supplication. And when he was come to the king, and had worshipped him, the king bid him go away to his own house, and have no suspicion of any harm; and desired him to show himself a worthy man, as what would tend to his own advantage.

7. But David, being desirous of ordaining his son king of all the people, called together their rulers to Jerusalem, with the priests and the Levites; and having first numbered the Levites, he found them to be thirty-eight thousand, from thirty years old to fifty; out of which he appointed twenty-three thousand to take care of the building of the temple, and out of the same, six thousand to be judges of the people and scribes, four thousand for porters to the house of God, and as many for singers, to sing to the instruments which David had prepared, as we have said already. He divided them also into courses: and when he had separated the priests from them, he found of these priests twenty-four courses, sixteen of the house of Eleazar, and eight of that of Ithamar; and he ordained that one

course should minister to God eight days, from sabbath to sabbath. And thus were the courses distributed by lot, in the presence of David, and Zadok and Abiathar the high priests, and of all the rulers; and that course which came up first was written down as the first, and accordingly the second, and so on to the twenty-fourth; and this partition hath remained to this day. He also made twenty-four parts of the tribe of Levi; and when they cast lots, they came up in the same manner for their courses of eight days. He also honored the posterity of Moses, and made them the keepers of the treasures of God, and of the donations which the kings dedicated. He also ordained that all the tribe of Levi, as well as the priests, should serve God night and day, as Moses had enjoined them.

8. After this he parted the entire army into twelve parts, with their leaders [and captains of hundreds] and commanders. Now every part had twenty-four thousand, which were ordered to wait on Solomon, by thirty days at a time, from the first day till the last, with the captains of thousands and captains of hundreds. He also set rulers over every part, such as he knew to be good and righteous men. He set others also to take charge of the treasures, and of the villages, and of the fields, and of the beasts, whose names I do not think it necessary to mention. When David had ordered all these officers after the manner before mentioned, he called the rulers of the Hebrews, and their heads of tribes, and the officers over the several divisions, and those that were appointed over every work, and every possession; and standing upon a high pulpit, he said to the multitude as follows: "My brethren and my people, I would have you know that I intended to build a house for God, and prepared a large quantity of gold, and a hundred thousand talents of silver; but God prohibited me by the prophet Nathan, because of the wars I had on your account, and because my right hand was polluted with the slaughter of our enemies; but he commanded that my son, who was to succeed me in the kingdom, should build a temple for him. Now therefore, since you know that of the twelve sons whom Jacob our forefather had Judah was appointed to be king, and that I was preferred before my six brethren, and received the government from God, and that none of them were uneasy at it, so do I also desire that my sons be not seditious one against another, now Solomon has received the kingdom, but to bear him cheerfully for their lord, as knowing that God hath chosen him; for it is not a grievous thing to obey even a foreigner as a ruler, if it be God's will, but it is fit to rejoice when a brother hath obtained that dignity, since the rest partake of it with him. And I pray that the promises of God may be fulfilled; and that this happiness which he hath promised to bestow upon king Solomon, over all the country, may continue therein for all time to come. And these promises O son, will be firm, and come to a happy end, if thou

showest thyself to be a religious and a righteous man, and an observer of the laws of thy country; but if not, expect adversity upon thy disobedience to them."

9. Now when the king had said this, he left off; but gave the description and pattern of the building of the temple in the sight of them all to Solomon: of the foundations and of the chambers, inferior and superior; how many they were to be, and how large in height and in breadth; as also he determined the weight of the golden and silver vessels: moreover, he earnestly excited them with his words to use the utmost alacrity about the work; he exhorted the rulers also, and particularly the tribe of Levi, to assist him, both because of his youth, and because God had chosen him to take care of the building of the temple, and of the government of the kingdom. He also declared to them that the work would be easy, and not very laborious to them, because he had prepared for it many talents of gold, and more of silver, with timber, and a great many carpenters and stone-cutters, and a large quantity of emeralds, and all sorts of precious stones; and he said, that even now he would give of the proper goods of his own dominion two hundred talents, and three hundred other talents of pure gold, for the most holy place, and for the chariot of God, the cherubim, which are to stand over and cover the ark. Now when David had done speaking, there appeared great alacrity among the rulers, and the priests, and the Levites, who now contributed and made great and splendid promises for a future Contribution; for they undertook to bring of gold five thousand talents, and ten thousand drams, and of silver ten thousand talents, and many ten thousand talents of iron; and if any one had a precious stone he brought it, and bequeathed it to be put among the treasures; of which Jachiel, one of the posterity of Moses, had the care.

10. Upon this occasion all the people rejoiced, as in particular did David, when he saw the zeal and forward ambition of the rulers, and the priests, and of all the rest; and he began to bless God with a loud voice, calling him the Father and Parent of the universe, and the Author of human and divine things, with which he had adorned Solomon, the patron and guardian of the Hebrew nation, and of its happiness, and of that kingdom which he hath given his son. Besides this, he prayed for happiness to all the people; and to Solomon his son, a sound and a righteous mind, and confirmed in all sorts of virtue; and then he commanded the multitude to bless God; upon which they all fell down upon the ground and worshipped him. They also gave thanks to David, on account of all the blessings which they had received ever since he had taken the kingdom. On the next day he presented sacrifices to God, a thousand bullocks, and as many lambs, which they offered for burnt-offerings. They also offered peace-offerings, and slew many ten thousand sacrifices; and the king feasted all day, together with all the people; and they anointed Solomon a second time with the oil, and

appointed him to be king, and Zadok to be the high priest of the whole multitude. And when they had brought Solomon to the royal palace, and had set him upon his father's throne, they were obedient to him from that day.

CHAPTER 15. What Charge David Gave Tohis Son Solomon At The Approach Of His Death, And How Many Things He Left Him For The Building Of The Temple.

1. A Little afterward David also fell into a distemper, by reason of his age; and perceiving that he was near to death, he called his son Solomon, and discoursed to him thus: “I am now, O my son, going to my grave, and to my fathers, which is the common way which all men that now are, or shall be hereafter, must go; from which way it is no longer possible to return, and to know any thing that is done in this world. On which account I exhort thee, while I am still alive, though already very near to death, in the same manner as I have formerly said in my advice to thee, to be righteous towards thy subjects, and religious towards God, that hath given thee thy kingdom; to observe his commands and his laws, which he hath sent us by Moses; and neither do thou out of favor nor flattery allow any lust or other passion to weigh with thee to disregard them; for if thou transgressest his laws, thou wilt lose the favor of God, and thou wilt turn away his providence from thee in all things; but if thou behave thyself so as it behooves thee, and as I exhort thee, thou wilt preserve our kingdom to our family, and no other house will bear rule over the Hebrews but we ourselves for all ages. Be thou also mindful of the transgressions of Joab, the captain of the host, who hath slain two generals out of envy, and those righteous and good men, Abner the son of Ner, and Amasa the son of Jether; whose death do thou avenge as shall seem good to thee, since Joab hath been too hard for me, and more potent than myself, and so hath escaped punishment hitherto. I also commit to thee the son of Barzillai the Gileadite, whom, in order to gratify me, thou shalt have in great honor, and take great care of; for we have not done good to him first, but we only repay that debt which we owe to his father for what he did to me in my flight. There is also Shimei the son of Gera, of the tribe of Benjamin, who, after he had cast many reproaches upon me, when, in my flight, I was going to Mahanaim, met me at Jordan, and received assurances that he should then suffer nothing. Do thou now seek out for some just occasion, and punish him.”

2. When David had given these admonitions to his son about public affairs, and about his friends, and about those whom he knew to deserve punishment, he died, having lived seventy years, and reigned seven years and six months in

Hebron over the tribe of Judah, and thirty-three years in Jerusalem over all the country. This man was of an excellent character, and was endowed with all virtues that were desirable in a king, and in one that had the preservation of so many tribes committed to him; for he was a man of valor in a very extraordinary degree, and went readily and first of all into dangers, when he was to fight for his subjects, as exciting the soldiers to action by his own labors, and fighting for them, and not by commanding them in a despotic way. He was also of very great abilities in understanding, and apprehension of present and future circumstances, when he was to manage any affairs. He was prudent and moderate, and kind to such as were under any calamities; he was righteous and humane, which are good qualities, peculiarly fit for kings; nor was he guilty of any offense in the exercise of so great an authority, but in the business of the wife of Uriah. He also left behind him greater wealth than any other king, either of the Hebrews or, of other nations, ever did.

3. He was buried by his son Solomon, in Jerusalem, with great magnificence, and with all the other funeral pomp which kings used to be buried with; moreover, he had great and immense wealth buried with him, the vastness of which may be easily conjectured at by what I shall now say; for a thousand and three hundred years afterward Hyrcanus the high priest, when he was besieged by Antiochus, that was called the Pious, the son of Demetrius, and was desirous of giving him money to get him to raise the siege and draw off his army, and having no other method of compassing the money, opened one room of David's sepulcher, and took out three thousand talents, and gave part of that sum to Antiochus; and by this means caused the siege to be raised, as we have informed the reader elsewhere. Nay, after him, and that many years, Herod the king opened another room, and took away a great deal of money, and yet neither of them came at the coffins of the kings themselves, for their bodies were buried under the earth so artfully, that they did not appear to even those that entered into their monuments. But so much shall suffice us to have said concerning these matters.

BOOK VIII. Containing The Interval Of One Hundred And Sixty-Three Years. — From The Death Of David To The Death Of Ahab.

CHAPTER 1. How Solomon, When He Had Received The Kingdom Took Off His Enemies.

1. We have already treated of David, and his virtue, and of the benefits he was the author of to his countrymen; of his wars also and battles, which he managed with success, and then died an old man, in the foregoing book. And when Solomon his son, who was but a youth in age, had taken the kingdom, and whom David had declared, while he was alive, the lord of that people, according to God's will; when he sat upon the throne, the whole body of the people made joyful acclamations to him, as is usual at the beginning of a reign; and wished that all his affairs might come to a blessed conclusion; and that he might arrive at a great age, and at the most happy state of affairs possible.

2. But Adonijah, who, while his father was living, attempted to gain possession of the government, came to the king's mother Bathsheba, and saluted her with great civility; and when she asked him, whether he came to her as desiring her assistance in any thing or not, and bade him tell her if that were the case, for that she would cheerfully afford it him; he began to say, that she knew herself that the kingdom was his, both on account of his elder age, and of the disposition of the multitude, and that yet it was transferred to Solomon her son, according to the will of God. He also said that he was contented to be a servant under him, and was pleased with the present settlement; but he desired her to be a means of obtaining a favor from his brother to him, and to persuade him to bestow on him in marriage Abishag, who had indeed slept by his father, but, because his father was too old, he did not lie with her, and she was still a virgin. So Bathsheba promised him to afford him her assistance very earnestly, and to bring this marriage about, because the king would be willing to gratify him in such a thing, and because she would press it to him very earnestly. Accordingly he went away in hopes of succeeding in this match. So Solomon's mother went presently to her son, to speak to him about what she had promised, upon Adonijah's supplication to her. And when her son came forward to meet her, and embraced her, and when he had brought her into the house where his royal throne was set, he sat thereon, and bid them set another throne on the right hand for his mother. When Bathsheba was set down, she said, "O my son, grant me one request that I desire of thee, and do not any thing to me that is disagreeable or ungrateful, which thou wilt do if thou deniest me." And when Solomon bid her to lay her commands upon him, because it was agreeable to his duty to grant her every thing she should ask, and complained that she did not at first begin her

discourse with a firm expectation of obtaining what she desired, but had some suspicion of a denial, she entreated him to grant that his brother Adonijah might marry Abishag.

3. But the king was greatly offended at these words, and sent away his mother, and said that Adonijah aimed at great things; and that he wondered that she did not desire him to yield up the kingdom to him, as to his elder brother, since she desired that he might marry Abishag; and that he had potent friends, Joab the captain of the host, and Abiathar the priest. So he called for Benaiah, the captain of the guards, and ordered him to slay his brother Adonijah. He also called for Abiathar the priest, and said to him, "I will not put thee to death because of those other hardships which thou hast endured with my father, and because of the ark which thou hast borne along with him; but I inflict this following punishment upon thee, because thou wast among Adonijah's followers, and wast of his party. Do not thou continue here, nor come any more into my sight, but go to thine own town, and live on thy own fields, and there abide all thy life; for thou hast offended so greatly, that it is not just that thou shouldst retain thy dignity any longer." For the forementioned cause, therefore, it was that the house of Ithamar was deprived of the sacerdotal dignity, as God had foretold to Eli, the grandfather of Abiathar. So it was transferred to the family of Phineas, to Zadok. Now those that were of the family of Phineas, but lived privately during the time that the high priesthood was transferred to the house of Ithamar, [of which family Eli was the first that received it,]were these that follow: Bukki, the son of Abishua the high priest; his son was Joatham; Joatham's son was Meraioth; Meraioth's son was Arophseus; Aropheus's son was Ahitub; and Ahitub's son was Zadok, who was first made high priest in the reign of David.

4. Now when Joab the captain of the host heard of the slaughter of Adonijah, he was greatly afraid, for he was a greater friend to him than to Solomon; and suspecting, not without reason, that he was in danger, on account of his favor to Adonijah, he fled to the altar, and supposed he might procure safety thereby to himself, because of the king's piety towards God. But when some told the king what Joab's supposal was, he sent Benaiah, and commanded him to raise him up from the altar, and bring him to the judgment-seat, in order to make his defense. However, Joab said he would not leave the altar, but would die there rather than in another place. And when Benaiah had reported his answer to the king, Solomon commanded him to cut off his head there and let him take that as a punishment for those two captains of the host whom he had wickedly slain, and to bury his body, that his sins might never leave his family, but that himself and his father, by Joab's death, might be guiltless. And when Benaiah had done what

he was commanded to do, he was himself appointed to be captain of the whole army. The king also made Zadok to be alone the high priest, in the room of Abiathar, whom he had removed.

5. But as to Shimei, Solomon commanded that he should build him a house, and stay at Jerusalem, and attend upon him, and should not have authority to go over the brook Cedron; and that if he disobeyed that command, death should be his punishment. He also threatened him so terribly, that he compelled him to take all oath that he would obey. Accordingly Shimei said that he had reason to thank Solomon for giving him such an injunction; and added an oath, that he would do as he bade him; and leaving his own country, he made his abode in Jerusalem. But three years afterwards, when he heard that two of his servants were run away from him, and were in Gath, he went for his servants in haste; and when he was come back with them, the king perceived it, and was much displeased that he had contemned his commands, and, what was more, had no regard to the oaths he had sworn to God; so he called him, and said to him, "Didst not thou swear never to leave me, nor to go out of this city to another? Thou shalt not therefore escape punishment for thy perjury, but I will punish thee, thou wicked wretch, both for this crime, and for those wherewith thou didst abuse my father when he was in his flight, that thou mayst know that wicked men gain nothing at last, although they be not punished immediately upon their unjust practices; but that in all the time wherein they think themselves secure, because they have yet suffered nothing, their punishment increases, and is heavier upon them, and that to a greater degree than if they had been punished immediately upon the commission of their crimes." So Benaiah, on the king's command, slew Shimei.

CHAPTER 2. Concerning The Wife Of Solomon; Concerning His Wisdom And Riches; And Concerning What He Obtained Of Hiram For The Building Of The Temple.

1. Solomon having already settled himself firmly in his kingdom, and having brought his enemies to punishment, he married the daughter of Pharaoh king of Egypt, and built the walls of Jerusalem much larger and stronger than those that had been before, and thenceforward he managed public affairs very peaceably. Nor was his youth any hinderance in the exercise of justice, or in the observation of the laws, or in the remembrance of what charges his father had given him at his death; but he discharged every duty with great accuracy, that might have been expected from such as are aged, and of the greatest prudence. He now resolved to go to Hebron, and sacrifice to God upon the brazen altar that was built by Moses. Accordingly he offered there burnt-offerings, in number a thousand; and when he had done this, he thought he had paid great honor to God; for as he was asleep that very night God appeared to him, and commanded him to ask of him some gifts which he was ready to give him as a reward for his piety. So Solomon asked of God what was most excellent, and of the greatest worth in itself, what God would bestow with the greatest joy, and what it was most profitable for man to receive; for he did not desire to have bestowed upon him either gold or silver, or any other riches, as a man and a youth might naturally have done, for these are the things that generally are esteemed by most men, as alone of the greatest worth, and the best gifts of God; but, said he, “Give me, O Lord, a sound mind, and a good understanding, whereby I may speak and judge the people according to truth and righteousness.” With these petitions God was well pleased; and promised to give him all those things that he had not mentioned in his option, riches, glory, victory over his enemies; and, in the first place, understanding and wisdom, and this in such a degree as no other mortal man, neither kings nor ordinary persons, ever had. He also promised to preserve the kingdom to his posterity for a very long time, if he continued righteous and obedient to him, and imitated his father in those things wherein he excelled. When Solomon heard this from God, he presently leaped out of his bed; and when he had worshipped him, he returned to Jerusalem; and after he had offered great sacrifices before the tabernacle, he feasted all his own family.

2. In these days a hard cause came before him in judgment, which it was very difficult to find any end of; and I think it necessary to explain the fact about which the contest was, that such as light upon my writings may know what a difficult cause Solomon was to determine, and those that are concerned in such matters may take this sagacity of the king for a pattern, that they may the more easily give sentence about such questions. There were two women, who were harlots in the course of their lives, that came to him; of whom she that seemed to be injured began to speak first, and said, "O king, I and this other woman dwell together in one room. Now it came to pass that we both bore a son at the same hour of the same day; and on the third day this woman overlaid her son, and killed it, and then took my son out of my bosom, and removed him to herself, and as I was asleep she laid her dead son in my arms. Now, when in the morning I was desirous to give the breast to the child, I did not find my own, but saw the woman's dead child lying by me; for I considered it exactly, and found it so to be. Hence it was that I demanded my son, and when I could not obtain him, I have recourse, my lord, to thy assistance; for since we were alone, and there was nobody there that could convict her, she cares for nothing, but perseveres in the stout denial of the fact." When this woman had told this her story, the king asked the other woman what she had to say in contradiction to that story. But when she denied that she had done what was charged upon her, and said that it was her child that was living, and that it was her antagonist's child that was dead, and when no one could devise what judgment could be given, and the whole court were blind in their understanding, and could not tell how to find out this riddle, the king alone invented the following way how to discover it. He bade them bring in both the dead child and the living child; and sent one of his guards, and commanded him to fetch a sword, and draw it, and to cut both the children into two pieces, that each of the women might have half the living and half the dead child. Hereupon all the people privately laughed at the king, as no more than a youth. But, in the mean time, she that was the real mother of the living child cried out that he should not do so, but deliver that child to the other woman as her own, for she would be satisfied with the life of the child, and with the sight of it, although it were esteemed the other's child; but the other woman was ready to see the child divided, and was desirous, moreover, that the first woman should be tormented. When the king understood that both their words proceeded from the truth of their passions, he adjudged the child to her that cried out to save it, for that she was the real mother of it; and he condemned the other as a wicked woman, who had not only killed her own child, but was endeavoring to see her friend's child destroyed also. Now the multitude looked on this determination as

a great sign and demonstration of the king's sagacity and wisdom, and after that day attended to him as to one that had a divine mind.

3. Now the captains of his armies, and officers appointed over the whole country, were these: over the lot of Ephraim was Ures; over the toparchy of Bethlehem was Dioclerus; Abinadab, who married Solomon's daughter, had the region of Dora and the seacoast under him; the Great Plain was under Benaiah, the son of Achilus; he also governed all the country as far as Jordan; Gabaris ruled over Gilead and Gaulanitis, and had under him the sixty great and fenced cities [of Og]; Achinadab managed the affairs of all Galilee as far as Sidon, and had himself also married a daughter of Solomon's, whose name was Basima; Banacates had the seacoast about Arce; as had Shaphat Mount Tabor, and Carmel, and [the Lower] Galilee, as far as the river Jordan; one man was appointed over all this country; Shimei was intrusted with the lot of Benjamin; and Gabares had the country beyond Jordan, over whom there was again one governor appointed. Now the people of the Hebrews, and particularly the tribe of Judah, received a wonderful increase when they betook themselves to husbandry, and the cultivation of their grounds; for as they enjoyed peace, and were not distracted with wars and troubles, and having, besides, an abundant fruition of the most desirable liberty, every one was busy in augmenting the product of their own lands, and making them worth more than they had formerly been.

4. The king had also other rulers, who were over the land of Syria and of the Philistines, which reached from the river Euphrates to Egypt, and these collected his tributes of the nations. Now these contributed to the king's table, and to his supper every day thirty cori of fine flour, and sixty of meal; as also ten fat oxen, and twenty oxen out of the pastures, and a hundred fat lambs; all these were besides what were taken by hunting harts and buffaloes, and birds and fishes, which were brought to the king by foreigners day by day. Solomon had also so great a number of chariots, that the stalls of his horses for those chariots were forty thousand; and besides these he had twelve thousand horsemen, the one half of which waited upon the king in Jerusalem, and the rest were dispersed abroad, and dwelt in the royal villages; but the same officer who provided for the king's expenses supplied also the fodder for the horses, and still carried it to the place where the king abode at that time.

5. Now the sagacity and wisdom which God had bestowed on Solomon was so great, that he exceeded the ancients; insomuch that he was no way inferior to the Egyptians, who are said to have been beyond all men in understanding; nay, indeed, it is evident that their sagacity was very much inferior to that of the king's. He also excelled and distinguished himself in wisdom above those who

were most eminent among the Hebrews at that time for shrewdness; those I mean were Ethan, and Heman, and Chalcol, and Darda, the sons of Mahol. He also composed books of odes and songs a thousand and five, of parables and similitudes three thousand; for he spake a parable upon every sort of tree, from the hyssop to the cedar; and in like manner also about beasts, about all sorts of living creatures, whether upon the earth, or in the seas, or in the air; for he was not unacquainted with any of their natures, nor omitted inquiries about them, but described them all like a philosopher, and demonstrated his exquisite knowledge of their several properties. God also enabled him to learn that skill which expels demons, which is a science useful and sanative to men. He composed such incantations also by which distempers are alleviated. And he left behind him the manner of using exorcisms, by which they drive away demons, so that they never return; and this method of cure is of great force unto this day; for I have seen a certain man of my own country, whose name was Eleazar, releasing people that were demoniacal in the presence of Vespasian, and his sons, and his captains, and the whole multitude of his soldiers. The manner of the cure was this: He put a ring that had a Foot of one of those sorts mentioned by Solomon to the nostrils of the demoniac, after which he drew out the demon through his nostrils; and when the man fell down immediately, he abjured him to return into him no more, making still mention of Solomon, and reciting the incantations which he composed. And when Eleazar would persuade and demonstrate to the spectators that he had such a power, he set a little way off a cup or basin full of water, and commanded the demon, as he went out of the man, to overturn it, and thereby to let the spectators know that he had left the man; and when this was done, the skill and wisdom of Solomon was shown very manifestly: for which reason it is, that all men may know the vastness of Solomon's abilities, and how he was beloved of God, and that the extraordinary virtues of every kind with which this king was endowed may not be unknown to any people under the sun for this reason, I say, it is that we have proceeded to speak so largely of these matters.

6. Moreover Hiram, king of Tyre, when he had heard that Solonion succeeded to his father's kingdom, was very glad of it, for he was a friend of David's. So he sent ambassadors to him, and saluted him, and congratulated him on the present happy state of his affairs. Upon which Solomon sent him an epistle, the contents of which here follow:

Solomon To King Hiram.

" Know thou that my father would have built a temple to God, but was hindered by wars, and continual expeditions; for he did not leave off to overthrow his enemies till he made them all subject to tribute. But I give thanks

to God for the peace I at present enjoy, and on that account I am at leisure, and design to build a house to God, for God foretold to my father that such a house should be built by me; wherefore I desire thee to send some of thy subjects with mine to Mount Lebanon to cut down timber, for the Sidonians are more skillful than our people in cutting of wood. As for wages to the hewers of wood, I will pay whatsoever price thou shalt determine."

7. When Hiram had read this epistle, he was pleased with it; and wrote back this answer to Solomon.

Hiram To King Solomon.

"It is fit to bless God that he hath committed thy father's government to thee, who art a wise man, and endowed with all virtues. As for myself, I rejoice at the condition thou art in, and will be subservient to thee in all that thou sendest to me about; for when by my subjects I have cut down many and large trees of cedar and cypress wood, I will send them to sea, and will order my subjects to make floats of them, and to sail to what place soever of thy country thou shalt desire, and leave them there, after which thy subjects may carry them to Jerusalem. But do thou take care to procure us corn for this timber, which we stand in need of, because we inhabit in an island."

8. The copies of these epistles remain at this day, and are preserved not only in our books, but among the Tyrians also; insomuch that if any one would know the certainty about them, he may desire of the keepers of the public records of Tyre to show him them, and he will find what is there set down to agree with what we have said. I have said so much out of a desire that my readers may know that we speak nothing but the truth, and do not compose a history out of some plausible relations, which deceive men and please them at the same time, nor attempt to avoid examination, nor desire men to believe us immediately; nor are we at liberty to depart from speaking truth, which is the proper commendation of an historian, and yet be blameless: but we insist upon no admission of what we say, unless we be able to manifest its truth by demonstration, and the strongest vouchers.

9. Now king Solomon, as soon as this epistle of the king of Tyre was brought him, commended the readiness and good-will he declared therein, and repaid him in what he desired, and sent him yearly twenty thousand cori of wheat, and as many baths of oil: now the bath is able to contain seventy-two sextaries. He also sent him the same measure of wine. So the friendship between Hiram and Solomon hereby increased more and more; and they swore to continue it for ever. And the king appointed a tribute to be laid on all the people, of thirty thousand laborers, whose work he rendered easy to them by prudently dividing it among them; for he made ten thousand cut timber in Mount Lebanon for one

month; and then to come home, and rest two months, until the time when the other twenty thousand had finished their task at the appointed time; and so afterward it came to pass that the first ten thousand returned to their work every fourth month: and it was Adoram who was over this tribute. There were also of the strangers who were left by David, who were to carry the stones and other materials, seventy thousand; and of those that cut the stones, eighty thousand. Of these three thousand and three hundred were rulers over the rest. He also enjoined them to cut out large stones for the foundations of the temple, and that they should fit them and unite them together in the mountain, and so bring them to the city. This was done not only by our own country workmen, but by those workmen whom Hiram sent also.

CHAPTER 3. Of The Building Of This Temple

1. Solomon began to build the temple in the fourth year of his reign, on the second month, which the Macedonians call Artemisius, and the Hebrews Jur, five hundred and ninety-two years after the Exodus out of Egypt; but one thousand and twenty years from Abraham's coming out of Mesopotamia into Canaan, and after the deluge one thousand four hundred and forty years; and from Adam, the first man who was created, until Solomon built the temple, there had passed in all three thousand one hundred and two years. Now that year on which the temple began to be built was already the eleventh year of the reign of Hiram; but from the building of Tyre to the building of the temple, there had passed two hundred and forty years.

2. Now, therefore, the king laid the foundations of the temple very deep in the ground, and the materials were strong stones, and such as would resist the force of time; these were to unite themselves with the earth, and become a basis and a sure foundation for that superstructure which was to be erected over it; they were to be so strong, in order to sustain with ease those vast superstructures and precious ornaments, whose own weight was to be not less than the weight of those other high and heavy buildings which the king designed to be very ornamental and magnificent. They erected its entire body, quite up to the roof, of white stone; its height was sixty cubits, and its length was the same, and its breadth twenty. There was another building erected over it, equal to it in its measures; so that the entire altitude of the temple was a hundred and twenty cubits. Its front was to the east. As to the porch, they built it before the temple; its length was twenty cubits, and it was so ordered that it might agree with the breadth of the house; and it had twelve cubits in latitude, and its height was raised as high as a hundred and twenty cubits. He also built round about the temple thirty small rooms, which might include the whole temple, by their closeness one to another, and by their number and outward position round it. He also made passages through them, that they might come into on through another. Every one of these rooms had five cubits in breadth, and the same in length, but in height twenty. Above these there were other rooms, and others above them, equal, both in their measures and number; so that these reached to a height equal to the lower part of the house; for the upper part had no buildings about it. The roof that was over the house was of cedar; and truly every one of these rooms had a roof of their own, that was not connected with the other rooms; but for the other parts, there was a covered roof common to them all, and built with very

long beams, that passed through the rest, and rough the whole building, that so the middle walls, being strengthened by the same beams of timber, might be thereby made firmer: but as for that part of the roof that was under the beams, it was made of the same materials, and was all made smooth, and had ornaments proper for roofs, and plates of gold nailed upon them. And as he enclosed the walls with boards of cedar, so he fixed on them plates of gold, which had sculptures upon them; so that the whole temple shined, and dazzled the eyes of such as entered, by the splendor of the gold that was on every side of them, Now the whole structure of the temple was made with great skill of polished stones, and those laid together so very harmoniously and smoothly, that there appeared to the spectators no sign of any hammer, or other instrument of architecture; but as if, without any use of them, the entire materials had naturally united themselves together, that the agreement of one part with another seemed rather to have been natural, than to have arisen from the force of tools upon them. The king also had a fine contrivance for an ascent to the upper room over the temple, and that was by steps in the thickness of its wall; for it had no large door on the east end, as the lower house had, but the entrances were by the sides, through very small doors. He also overlaid the temple, both within and without, with boards of cedar, that were kept close together by thick chains, so that this contrivance was in the nature of a support and a strength to the building.

3. Now when the king had divided the temple into two parts, he made the inner house of twenty cubits [every way], to be the most secret chamber, but he appointed that of forty cubits to be the sanctuary; and when he had cut a door-place out of the wall, he put therein doors of Cedar, and overlaid them with a great deal of gold, that had sculptures upon it. He also had veils of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and the brightest and softest linen, with the most curious flowers wrought upon them, which were to be drawn before those doors. He also dedicated for the most secret place, whose breadth was twenty cubits, and length the same, two cherubims of solid gold; the height of each of them was five cubits they had each of them two wings stretched out as far as five cubits; wherefore Solomon set them up not far from each other, that with one wing they might touch the southern wall of the secret place, and with another the northern: their other wings, which joined to each other, were a covering to the ark, which was set between them; but nobody can tell, or even conjecture, what was the shape of these cherubims. He also laid the floor of the temple with plates of gold; and he added doors to the gate of the temple, agreeable to the measure of the height of the wall, but in breadth twenty cubits, and on them he glued gold plates. And, to say all in one word, he left no part of the temple, neither internal nor external, but what was covered with gold. He also had curtains drawn over these doors in

like manner as they were drawn over the inner doors of the most holy place; but the porch of the temple had nothing of that sort.

4. Now Solomon sent for an artificer out of Tyre, whose name was Hiram; he was by birth of the tribe of Naphtali, on the mother's side, [for she was of that tribe,] but his father was Ur, of the stock of the Israelites. This man was skillful in all sorts of work; but his chief skill lay in working in gold, and silver, and brass; by whom were made all the mechanical works about the temple, according to the will of Solomon. Moreover, this Hiram made two [hollow] pillars, whose outsides were of brass, and the thickness of the brass was four fingers' breadth, and the height of the pillars was eighteen cubits and their circumference twelve cubits; but there was cast with each of their chapiters lily-work that stood upon the pillar, and it was elevated five cubits, round about which there was net-work interwoven with small palms, made of brass, and covered the lily-work. To this also were hung two hundred pomegranates, in two rows. The one of these pillars he set at the entrance of the porch on the right hand, and called it Jachin and the other at the left hand, and called it Booz.

5. Solomon also cast a brazen sea, whose figure was that of a hemisphere. This brazen vessel was called a sea for its largeness, for the laver was ten feet in diameter, and cast of the thickness of a palm. Its middle part rested on a short pillar that had ten spirals round it, and that pillar was ten cubits in diameter. There stood round about it twelve oxen, that looked to the four winds of heaven, three to each wind, having their hinder parts depressed, that so the hemispherical vessel might rest upon them, which itself was also depressed round about inwardly. Now this sea contained three thousand baths.

6. He also made ten brazen bases for so many quadrangular lavers; the length of every one of these bases was five cubits, and the breadth four cubits, and the height six cubits. This vessel was partly turned, and was thus contrived: There were four small quadrangular pillars that stood one at each corner; these had the sides of the base fitted to them on each quarter; they were parted into three parts; every interval had a border fitted to support [the laver]; upon which was engraven, in one place a lion, and in another place a bull, and an eagle. The small pillars had the same animals engraven that were engraven on the sides. The whole work was elevated, and stood upon four wheels, which were also cast, which had also naves and felloes, and were a foot and a half in diameter. Any one who saw the spokes of the wheels, how exactly they were turned, and united to the sides of the bases, and with what harmony they agreed to the felloes, would wonder at them. However, their structure was this: Certain shoulders of hands stretched out held the corners above, upon which rested a short spiral pillar, that lay under the hollow part of the laver, resting upon the

fore part of the eagle and the lion, which were adapted to them, insomuch that those who viewed them would think they were of one piece: between these were engravings of palm trees. This was the construction of the ten bases. He also made ten large round brass vessels, which were the lavers themselves, each of which contained forty baths; for it had its height four cubits, and its edges were as much distant from each other. He also placed these lavers upon the ten bases that were called Mechonoth; and he set five of the lavers on the left side of the temple which was that side towards the north wind, and as many on the right side, towards the south, but looking towards the east; the same [eastern] way he also set the sea Now he appointed the sea to be for washing the hands and the feet of the priests, when they entered into the temple and were to ascend the altar, but the lavers to cleanse the entrails of the beasts that were to be burnt-offerings, with their feet also.

7. He also made a brazen altar, whose length was twenty cubits, and its breadth the same, and its height ten, for the burnt-offerings. He also made all its vessels of brass, the pots, and the shovels, and the basons; and besides these, the snuffers and the tongs, and all its other vessels, he made of brass, and such brass as was in splendor and beauty like gold. The king also dedicated a great number of tables, but one that was large and made of gold, upon which they set the loaves of God; and he made ten thousand more that resembled them, but were done after another manner, upon which lay the vials and the cups; those of gold were twenty thousand, those of silver were forty thousand. He also made ten thousand candlesticks, according to the command of Moses, one of which he dedicated for the temple, that it might burn in the day time, according to the law; and one table with loaves upon it, on the north side of the temple, over against the candlestick; for this he set on the south side, but the golden altar stood between them. All these vessels were contained in that part of the holy house, which was forty cubits long, and were before the veil of that most secret place wherein the ark was to be set.

8. The king also made pouring vessels, in number eighty thousand, and a hundred thousand golden vials, and twice as many silver vials: of golden dishes, in order therein to offer kneaded fine flour at the altar, there were eighty thousand, and twice as many of silver. Of large basons also, wherein they mixed fine flour with oil, sixty thousand of gold, and twice as many of silver. Of the measures like those which Moses called the Hin and the Assaron, [a tenth deal,] there were twenty thousand of gold, and twice as many of silver. The golden censers, in which they carried the incense to the altar, were twenty thousand; the other censers, in which they carried fire from the great altar to the little altar, within the temple, were fifty thousand. The sacerdotal garments which belonged

to the high priest, with the long robes, and the oracle, and the precious stones, were a thousand. But the crown upon which Moses wrote [the name of God],]was only one, and hath remained to this very day. He also made ten thousand sacerdotal garments of fine linen, with purple girdles for every priest; and two hundred thousand trumpets, according to the command of Moses; also two hundred thousand garments of fine linen for the singers, that were Levites. And he made musical instruments, and such as were invented for singing of hymns, called Nablee and Cindree, [psalteries and harps,] which were made of electrum, [the finest brass,] forty thousand.

9. Solomon made all these things for the honor of God, with great variety and magnificence, sparing no cost, but using all possible liberality in adorning the temple; and these things he dedicated to the treasures of God. He also placed a partition round about the temple, which in our tongue we call Gison, but it is called Thrigcos by the Greeks, and he raised it up to the height of three cubits; and it was for the exclusion of the multitude from coming into the temple, and showing that it was a place that was free and open only for the priests. He also built beyond this court a temple, whose figure was that of a quadrangle, and erected for it great and broad cloisters; this was entered into by very high gates, each of which had its front exposed to one of the [four] winds, and were shut by golden doors. Into this temple all the people entered that were distinguished from the rest by being pure and observant of the laws. But he made that temple which was beyond this a wonderful one indeed, and such as exceeds all description in words; nay, if I may so say, is hardly believed upon sight; for when he had filled up great valleys with earth, which, on account of their immense depth, could not be looked on, when you bended down to see them, without pain, and had elevated the ground four hundred cubits, he made it to be on a level with the top of the mountain, on which the temple was built, and by this means the outmost temple, which was exposed to the air, was even with the temple itself. He encompassed this also with a building of a double row of cloisters, which stood on high upon pillars of native stone, while the roofs were of cedar, and were polished in a manner proper for such high roofs; but he made all the doors of this temple of silver.

CHAPTER 4. How Solomon Removed The Ark Into The Temple How He Made Supplication To God, And Offered Public Sacrifices To Him.

1. When king Solomon had finished these works, these large and beautiful buildings, and had laid up his donations in the temple, and all this in the interval of seven years, and had given a demonstration of his riches and alacrity therein, insomuch that any one who saw it would have thought it must have been an immense time ere it could have been finished; and would be surprised that so much should be finished in so short a time; short, I mean, if compared with the greatness of the work: he also wrote to the rulers and elders of the Hebrews, and ordered all the people to gather themselves together to Jerusalem, both to see the temple which he had built, and to remove the ark of God into it; and when this invitation of the whole body of the people to come to Jerusalem was every where carried abroad, it was the seventh month before they came together; which month is by our countrymen called Thisri, but by the Macedonians Hyperberetoets. The feast of tabernacles happened to fall at the same time, which was celebrated by the Hebrews as a most holy and most eminent feast. So they carried the ark and the tabernacle which Moses had pitched, and all the vessels that were for ministration, to the sacrifices of God, and removed them to the temple. The king himself, and all the people and the Levites, went before, rendering the ground moist with sacrifices, and drink-offerings, and the blood of a great number of oblations, and burning an immense quantity of incense, and this till the very air itself every where round about was so full of these odors, that it met, in a most agreeable manner, persons at a great distance, and was an indication of God’s presence; and, as men’s opinion was, of his habitation with them in this newly built and consecrated place, for they did not grow weary, either of singing hymns or of dancing, until they came to the temple; and in this manner did they carry the ark. But when they should transfer it into the most secret place, the rest of the multitude went away, and only those priests that carried it set it between the two cherubims, which embracing it with their wings, [for so were they framed by the artificer,] they covered it, as under a tent, or a cupola. Now the ark contained nothing else but those two tables of stone that preserved the ten commandments, which God spake to Moses in Mount Sinai, and which were engraved upon them; but they set the candlestick, and the table, and the golden altar in the temple, before the most secret place, in the very same places wherein they stood till that time in the tabernacle. So they offered up the

daily sacrifices; but for the brazen altar, Solomon set it before the temple, over against the door, that when the door was opened, it might be exposed to sight, and the sacred solemnities, and the richness of the sacrifices, might be thence seen; and all the rest of the vessels they gathered together, and put them within the temple.

2. Now as soon as the priests had put all things in order about the ark, and were gone out, there cane down a thick cloud, and stood there, and spread itself, after a gentle manner, into the temple; such a cloud it was as was diffused and temperate, not such a rough one as we see full of rain in the winter season. This cloud so darkened the place, that one priest could not discern another, but it afforded to the minds of all a visible image and glorious appearance of God's having descended into this temple, and of his having gladly pitched his tabernacle therein. So these men were intent upon this thought. But Solomon rose up, [for he was sitting before,] and used such words to God as he thought agreeable to the Divine nature to receive, and fit for him to give; for he said, "Thou hast an eternal house, O Lord, and such a one as thou hast created for thyself out of thine own works; we know it to be the heaven, and the air, and the earth, and the sea, which thou pervadest, nor art thou contained within their limits. I have indeed built this temple to thee, and thy name, that from thence, when we sacrifice, and perform sacred operations, we may send our prayers up into the air, and may constantly believe that thou art present, and art not remote from what is thine own; for neither when thou seest all things, and hearest all things, nor now, when it pleases thee to dwell here, dost thou leave the care of all men, but rather thou art very near to them all, but especially thou art present to those that address themselves to thee, whether by night or by day." When he had thus solemnly addressed himself to God, he converted his discourse to the multitude, and strongly represented the power and providence of God to them; — how he had shown all things that were come to pass to David his father, as many of those things had already come to pass, and the rest would certainly come to pass hereafter; and how he had given him his name, and told to David what he should be called before he was born; and foretold, that when he should be king after his father's death, he should build him a temple, which since they saw accomplished, according to his prediction, he required them to bless God, and by believing him, from the sight of what they had seen accomplished, never to despair of any thing that he had promised for the future, in order to their happiness, or suspect that it would not come to pass.

3. When the king had thus discoursed to the multitude, he looked again towards the temple, and lifting up his right hand to the multitude, he said, "It is not possible by what men can do to return sufficient thanks to God for his

benefits bestowed upon them, for the Deity stands in need of nothing, and is above any such requital; but so far as we have been made superior, O Lord, to other animals by thee, it becomes us to bless thy Majesty, and it is necessary for us to return thee thanks for what thou hast bestowed upon our house, and on the Hebrew people; for with what other instrument can we better appease thee when thou art angry at us, or more properly preserve thy favor, than with our voice? which, as we have it from the air, so do we know that by that air it ascends upwards [towards thee]. I therefore ought myself to return thee thanks thereby, in the first place, concerning my father, whom thou hast raised from obscurity unto so great joy; and, in the next place, concerning myself, since thou hast performed all that thou hast promised unto this very day. And I beseech thee for the time to come to afford us whatsoever thou, O God, hast power to bestow on such as thou dost esteem; and to augment our house for all ages, as thou hast promised to David my father to do, both in his lifetime and at his death, that our kingdom shall continue, and that his posterity should successively receive it to ten thousand generations. Do not thou therefore fail to give us these blessings, and to bestow on my children that virtue in which thou delightest. And besides all this, I humbly beseech thee that thou wilt let some portion of thy Spirit come down and inhabit in this temple, that thou mayst appear to be with us upon earth. As to thyself, the entire heavens, and the immensity of the things that are therein, are but a small habitation for thee, much more is this poor temple so; but I entreat thee to keep it as thine own house, from being destroyed by our enemies for ever, and to take care of it as thine own possession: but if this people be found to have sinned, and be thereupon afflicted by thee with any plague, because of their sin, as with dearth or pestilence, or any other affliction which thou usest to inflict on those that transgress any of thy holy laws, and if they fly all of them to this temple, beseeching thee, and begging of time to deliver them, then do thou hear their prayers, as being within thine house, and have mercy upon them, and deliver them from their afflictions. Nay, moreover, this help is what I implore of thee, not for the Hebrews only, when they are in distress, but when any shall come hither from any ends of the world whatsoever, and shall return from their sins and implore thy pardon, do thou then pardon them, and hear their prayer. For hereby all shall learn that thou thyself wast pleased with the building of this house for thee; and that we are not ourselves of an unsociable nature, nor behave ourselves like enemies to such as are not of our own people; but are willing that thy assistance should be communicated by thee to all men in common, and that they may have the enjoyment of thy benefits bestowed upon them.”

4. When Solomon had said this, and had cast himself upon the ground, and worshipped a long time, he rose up, and brought sacrifices to the altar; and when he had filled it with unblemished victims, he most evidently discovered that God had with pleasure accepted of all that he had sacrificed to him, for there came a fire running out of the air, and rushed with violence upon the altar, in the sight of all, and caught hold of and consumed the sacrifices. Now when this Divine appearance was seen, the people supposed it to be a demonstration of God's abode in the temple, and were pleased with it, and fell down upon the ground and worshipped. Upon which the king began to bless God, and exhorted the multitude to do the same, as now having sufficient indications of God's favorable disposition to them; and to pray that they might always have the like indications from him, and that he would preserve in them a mind pure from all wickedness, in righteousness and religious worship, and that they might continue in the observation of those precepts which God had given them by Moses, because by that means the Hebrew nation would be happy, and indeed the most blessed of all nations among all mankind. He exhorted them also to be mindful, that by what methods they had attained their present good things, by the same they must preserve them sure to themselves, and make them greater and more than they were at present; for that it was not sufficient for them to suppose they had received them on account of their piety and righteousness, but that they had no other way of preserving them for the time to come; for that it is not so great a thing for men to acquire somewhat which they want, as to preserve what they have acquired, and to be guilty of no sin whereby it may be hurt.

5. So when the king had spoken thus to the multitude, he dissolved the congregation, but not till he had completed his oblations, both for himself and for the Hebrews, insomuch that he sacrificed twenty and two thousand oxen, and a hundred and twenty thousand sheep; for then it was that the temple did first of all taste of the victims, and all the Hebrews, with their wives and children, feasted therein: nay, besides this, the king then observed splendidly and magnificently the feast which is called the Feast of Tabernacles, before the temple, for twice seven days; and he then feasted together with all the people.

6. When all these solemnities were abundantly satisfied, and nothing was omitted that concerned the Divine worship, the king dismissed them; and they every one went to their own homes, giving thanks to the king for the care he had taken of them, and the works he had done for them; and praying to God to preserve Solomon to be their king for a long time. They also took their journey home with rejoicing, and making merry, and singing hymns to God. And indeed the pleasure they enjoyed took away the sense of the pains they all underwent in their journey home. So when they had brought the ark into the temple, and had

seen its greatness, and how fine it was, and had been partakers of the many sacrifices that had been offered, and of the festivals that had been solemnized, they every one returned to their own cities. But a dream that appeared to the king in his sleep informed him that God had heard his prayers; and that he would not only preserve the temple, but would always abide in it; that is, in case his posterity and the whole multitude would be righteous. And for himself, it said, that if he continued according to the admonitions of his father, he would advance him to an immense degree of dignity and happiness, and that then his posterity should be kings of that country, of the tribe of Judah, for ever; but that still, if he should be found a betrayer of the ordinances of the law, and forget them, and turn away to the worship of strange gods, he would cut him off by the roots, and would neither suffer any remainder of his family to continue, nor would overlook the people of Israel, or preserve them any longer from afflictions, but would utterly destroy them with ten thousand wars and misfortunes; would cast them out of the land which he had given their fathers, and make them sojourners in strange lands; and deliver that temple which was now built to be burnt and spoiled by their enemies, and that city to be utterly overthrown by the hands of their enemies; and make their miseries deserve to be a proverb, and such as should very hardly be credited for their stupendous magnitude, till their neighbors, when they should hear of them, should wonder at their calamities, and very earnestly inquire for the occasion, why the Hebrews, who had been so far advanced by God to such glory and wealth, should be then so hated by him? and that the answer that should be made by the remainder of the people should be, by confessing their sins, and their transgression of the laws of their country. Accordingly we have it transmitted to us in writing, that thus did God speak to Solomon in his sleep.

CHAPTER 5. How Solomon Built Himself A Royal Palace, Very Costly And Splendid; And How He Solved The Riddles Which Were Sent Him By Hiram.

1. After the building of the temple, which, as we have before said, was finished in seven years, the king laid the foundation of his palace, which he did not finish under thirteen years, for he was not equally zealous in the building of this palace as he had been about the temple; for as to that, though it was a great work, and required wonderful and surprising application, yet God, for whom it was made, so far co-operated therewith, that it was finished in the forementioned number of years: but the palace, which was a building much inferior in dignity to the temple, both on account that its materials had not been so long beforehand gotten ready, nor had been so zealously prepared, and on account that this was only a habitation for kings, and not for God, it was longer in finishing. However, this building was raised so magnificently, as suited the happy state of the Hebrews, and of the king thereof. But it is necessary that I describe the entire structure and disposition of the parts, that so those that light upon this book may thereby make a conjecture, and, as it were, have a prospect of its magnitude.

2. This house was a large and curious building, and was supported by many pillars, which Solomon built to contain a multitnde for hearing causes, and taking cognizance of suits. It was sufficiently capacious to contain a great body of men, who would come together to have their causes determined. It was a hundred cubits long, and fifty broad, and thirty high, supported by quadrangular pillars, which were all of cedar; but its roof was according to the Corinthian order, with folding doors, and their adjoining pillars of equal magnitude, each fluted with three cavities; which building as at once firm, and very ornamental. There was also another house so ordered, that its entire breadth was placed in the middle; it was quadrangular, and its breadth was thirty cubits, having a temple over against it, raised upon massy pillars; in which temple there was a large and very glorious room, wherein the king sat in judgment. To this was joined another house that was built for his queen. There were other smaller edifices for diet, and for sleep, after public matters were over; and these were all floored with boards of cedar. Some of these Solomon built with stones of ten cubits, and wainscoted the walls with other stones that were sawed, and were of great value, such as are dug out of the earth for the ornaments of temples, and to make fine prospects in royal palaces, and which make the mines whence they are dug famous. Now the contexture of the curious workmanship of these stones was in three rows, but the

fourth row would make one admire its sculptures, whereby were represented trees, and all sorts of plants; with the shades that arose from their branches, and leaves that hung down from them. Those trees anti plants covered the stone that was beneath them, and their leaves were wrought so prodigious thin and subtile, that you would think they were in motion; but the other part up to the roof, was plastered over, and, as it were, embroidered with colors and pictures. He, moreover, built other edifices for pleasure; as also very long cloisters, and those situate in an agreeable place of the palace; and among them a most glorious dining room, for feastings and compotations, and full of gold, and such other furniture as so fine a room ought to have for the conveniency of the guests, and where all the vessels were made of gold. Now it is very hard to reckon up the magnitude and the variety of the royal apartments; how many rooms there were of the largest sort, how many of a bigness inferior to those, and how many that were subterraneous and invisible; the curiosity of those that enjoyed the fresh air; and the groves for the most delightful prospect, for the avoiding the heat, and covering of their bodies. And, to say all in brief, Solomon made the whole building entirely of white stone, and cedar wood, and gold, and silver. He also adorned the roofs and walls with stones set in gold, and beautified them thereby in the same manner as he had beautified the temple of God with the like stones. He also made himself a throne of prodigious bigness, of ivory, constructed as a seat of justice, and having six steps to it; on every one of which stood, on each end of the step two lions, two other lions standing above also; but at the sitting place of the throne hands came out and received the king; and when he sat backward, he rested on half a bullock, that looked towards his back; but still all was fastened together with gold.

3. When Solomon had completed all this in twenty years' time, because Hiram king of Tyre had contributed a great deal of gold, and more silver to these buildings, as also cedar wood and pine wood, he also rewarded Hiram with rich presents; corn he sent him also year by year, and wine and oil, which were the principal things that he stood in need of, because he inhabited an island, as we have already said. And besides these, he granted him certain cities of Galilee, twenty in number, that lay not far from Tyre; which, when Hiram went to, and viewed, and did not like the gift, he sent word to Solomon that he did not want such cities as they were; and after that time these cities were called the land of Cabul; which name, if it be interpreted according to the language of the Phoenicians, denotes what does not please. Moreover, the king of Tyre sent sophisms and enigmatical sayings to Solomon, and desired he would solve them, and free them from the ambiguity that was in them. Now so sagacious and understanding was Solomon, that none of these problems were too hard for him;

but he conquered them all by his reasonings, and discovered their hidden meaning, and brought it to light. Menander also, one who translated the Tyrian archives out of the dialect of the Phoenicians into the Greek language, makes mention of these two kings, where he says thus: “When Abibalus was dead, his son Hiram received the kingdom from him, who, when he had lived fifty-three years, reigned thirty-four. He raised a bank in the large place, and dedicated the golden pillar which is in Jupiter’s temple. He also went and cut down materials of timber out of the mountain called Libanus, for the roof of temples; and when he had pulled down the ancient temples, he both built the temple of Hercules and that of Astarte; and he first set up the temple of Hercules in the month Peritius; he also made an expedition against the Euchii, or Titii, who did not pay their tribute, and when he had subdued them to himself he returned. Under this king there was Abdemon, a very youth in age, who always conquered the difficult problems which Solomon, king of Jerusalem, commanded him to explain. Dius also makes mention of him, where he says thus: ‘When Abibalus was dead, his son Hiram reigned. He raised the eastern parts of the city higher, and made the city itself larger. He also joined the temple of Jupiter, which before stood by itself, to the city, by raising a bank in the middle between them; and he adorned it with donations of gold. Moreover, he went up to Mount Libanus, and cut down materials of wood for the building of the temples.’ He says also, that Solomon, who was then king of Jerusalem, sent riddles to Hiram, and desired to receive the like from him, but that he who could not solve them should pay money to them that did solve them, and that Hiram accepted the conditions; and when he was not able to solve the riddles proposed by Solomon, he paid a great deal of money for his fine; but that he afterward did solve the proposed riddles by means of Abdemon, a man of Tyre; and that Hiram proposed other riddles, which, when Solomon could not solve, he paid back a great deal of money to Hiram.” This it is which Dius wrote.

CHAPTER 6. How Solomon Fortified The City Of Jerusalem, And Built Great Cities; And How He Brought Some Of The Canaanites Into Subjection, And Entertained The Queen Of Egypt And Of Ethiopia.

1. Now when the king saw that the walls of Jerusalem stood in need of being better secured, and made stronger, [for he thought the wails that encompassed Jerusalem ought to correspond to the dignity of the city,] he both repaired them, and made them higher, with great towers upon them; he also built cities which might be counted among the strongest, Hazor and Megiddo, and the third Gezer, which had indeed belonged to the Philistines; but Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, had made an expedition against it, and besieged it, and taken it by force; and when he had slain all its inhabitants, he utterly overthrew it, and gave it as a present to his daughter, who had been married to Solomon; for which reason the king rebuilt it, as a city that was naturally strong, and might be useful in wars, and the mutations of affairs that sometimes happen. Moreover, he built two other cities not far from it, Beth-horon was the name of one of them, and Baalath of the other. He also built other cities that lay conveniently for these, in order to the enjoyment of pleasures and delicacies in them, such as were naturally of a good temperature of the air, and agreeable for fruits ripe in their proper seasons, and well watered with springs. Nay, Solomon went as far as the desert above Syria, and possessed himself of it, and built there a very great city, which was distant two days' journey from Upper Syria, and one day's journey from Euphrates, and six long days' journey from Babylon the Great. Now the reason why this city lay so remote from the parts of Syria that are inhabited is this, that below there is no water to be had, and that it is in that place only that there are springs and pits of water. When he had therefore built this city, and encompassed it with very strong walls, he gave it the name of Tadmor, and that is the name it is still called by at this day among the Syrians, but the Greeks name it Palmyra.

2. Now Solomon the king was at this time engaged in building these cities. But if any inquire why all the kings of Egypt from Menes, who built Memphis, and was many years earlier than our forefather Abraham, until Solomon, where the interval was more than one thousand three hundred years, were called Pharaohs, and took it from one Pharaoh that lived after the kings of that interval, I think it necessary to inform them of it, and this in order to cure their ignorance,

and to make the occasion of that name manifest. Pharaoh, in the Egyptian tongue, signifies a king but I suppose they made use of other names from their childhood; but when they were made kings, they changed them into the name which in their own tongue denoted their authority; for thus it was also that the kings of Alexandria, who were called formerly by other names, when they took the kingdom, were named Ptolemies, from their first king. The Roman emperors also were from their nativity called by other names, but are styled Caesars, their empire and their dignity imposing that name upon them, and not suffering them to continue in those names which their fathers gave them. I suppose also that Herodotus of Halicarnassus, when he said there were three hundred and thirty kings of Egypt after Menes, who built Memphis, did therefore not tell us their names, because they were in common called Pharaohs; for when after their death there was a queen reigned, he calls her by her name Nicaule, as thereby declaring, that while the kings were of the male line, and so admitted of the same nature, while a woman did not admit the same, he did therefore set down that her name, which she could not naturally have. As for myself, I have discovered from our own books, that after Pharaoh, the father-in-law of Solomon, no other king of Egypt did any longer use that name; and that it was after that time when the forenamed queen of Egypt and Ethiopia came to Solomon, concerning whom we shall inform the reader presently; but I have now made mention of these things, that I may prove that our books and those of the Egyptians agree together in many things.

3. But king Solomon subdued to himself the remnant of the Canaanites that had not before submitted to him; those I mean that dwelt in Mount Lebanon, and as far as the city Hamath; and ordered them to pay tribute. He also chose out of them every year such as were to serve him in the meanest offices, and to do his domestic works, and to follow husbandry; for none of the Hebrews were servants [in such low employments]: nor was it reasonable, that when God had brought so many nations under their power, they should depress their own people to such mean offices of life, rather than those nations; while all the Israelites were concerned in warlike affairs, and were in armor; and were set over the chariots and the horses, rather than leading the life of slaves. He appointed also five hundred and fifty rulers over those Canaanites who were reduced to such domestic slavery, who received the entire care of them from the king, and instructed them in those labors and operations wherein he wanted their assistance.

4. Moreover, the king built many ships in the Egyptian Bay of the Red Sea, in a certain place called Ezion-geber: it is now called Berenice, and is not far from the city Eloth. This country belonged formerly to the Jews, and became useful

for shipping from the donations of Hiram king of Tyre; for he sent a sufficient number of men thither for pilots, and such as were skillful in navigation, to whom Solomon gave this command: That they should go along with his own stewards to the land that was of old called Ophir, but now the Aurea Chersonesus, which belongs to India, to fetch him gold. And when they had gathered four hundred talents together, they returned to the king again.

5. There was then a woman queen of Egypt and Ethiopia; she was inquisitive into philosophy, and one that on other accounts also was to be admired. When this queen heard of the virtue and prudence of Solomon, she had a great mind to see him; and the reports that went every day abroad induced her to come to him, she being desirous to be satisfied by her own experience, and not by a bare hearing; [for reports thus heard are likely enough to comply with a false opinion, while they wholly depend on the credit of the relators;] so she resolved to come to him, and that especially in order to have a trial of his wisdom, while she proposed questions of very great difficulty, and entreated that he would solve their hidden meaning. Accordingly she came to Jerusalem with great splendor and rich furniture; for she brought with her camels laden with gold, with several sorts of sweet spices, and with precious stones. Now, upon the king's kind reception of her, he both showed a great desire to please her, and easily comprehending in his mind the meaning of the curious questions she propounded to him, he resolved them sooner than any body could have expected. So she was amazed at the wisdom of Solomon, and discovered that it was more excellent upon trial than what she had heard by report beforehand; and especially she was surprised at the fineness and largeness of his royal palace, and not less so at the good order of the apartments, for she observed that the king had therein shown great wisdom; but she was beyond measure astonished at the house which was called the Forest of Lebanon, as also at the magnificence of his daily table, and the circumstances of its preparation and ministration, with the apparel of his servants that waited, and the skillful and decent management of their attendance: nor was she less affected with those daily sacrifices which were offered to God, and the careful management which the priests and Levites used about them. When she saw this done every day, she was in the greatest admiration imaginable, insomuch that she was not able to contain the surprise she was in, but openly confessed how wonderfully she was affected; for she proceeded to discourse with the king, and thereby owned that she was overcome with admiration at the things before related; and said, "All things indeed, O king, that came to our knowledge by report, came with uncertainty as to our belief of them; but as to those good things that to thee appertain, both such as thou thyself possessest, I mean wisdom and prudence, and the happiness thou hast from thy

kingdom, certainly the same that came to us was no falsity; it was not only a true report, but it related thy happiness after a much lower manner than I now see it to be before my eyes. For as for the report, it only attempted to persuade our hearing, but did not so make known the dignity of the things themselves as does the sight of them, and being present among them. I indeed, who did not believe what was reported, by reason of the multitude and grandeur of the things I inquired about, do see them to be much more numerous than they were reported to be. Accordingly I esteem the Hebrew people, as well as thy servants and friends, to be happy, who enjoy thy presence and hear thy wisdom every day continually. One would therefore bless God, who hath so loved this country, and those that inhabit therein, as to make thee king over them."

6. Now when the queen had thus demonstrated in words how deeply the king had affected her, her disposition was known by certain presents, for she gave him twenty talents of gold, and an immense quantity of spices and precious stones. (They say also that we possess the root of that balsam which our country still bears by this woman's gift.) Solomon also repaid her with many good things, and principally by bestowing upon her what she chose of her own inclination, for there was nothing that she desired which he denied her; and as he was very generous and liberal in his own temper, so did he show the greatness of his soul in bestowing on her what she herself desired of him. So when this queen of Ethiopia had obtained what we have already given an account of, and had again communicated to the king what she brought with her, she returned to her own kingdom.

CHAPTER 7. How Solomon Grew Rich, And Fell Desperately In Love With Women And How God, Being Incensed At It, Raised Up Ader And Jeroboam Against Him. Concerning The Death Of Solomon.

1. About the same time there were brought to the king from the Aurea Chersonesus, a country so called, precious stones, and pine trees, and these trees he made use of for supporting the temple and the palace, as also for the materials of musical instruments, the harps and the psalteries, that the Levites might make use of them in their hymns to God. The wood which was brought to him at this time was larger and finer than any that had ever been brought before; but let no one imagine that these pine trees were like those which are now so named, and which take that their denomination from the merchants, who so call them, that they may procure them to be admired by those that purchase them; for those we speak of were to the sight like the wood of the fig tree, but were whiter, and more shining. Now we have said thus much, that nobody may be ignorant of the difference between these sorts of wood, nor unacquainted with the nature of the genuine pine tree; and we thought it both a seasonable and humane thing, when we mentioned it, and the uses the king made of it, to explain this difference so far as we have done.

2. Now the weight of gold that was brought him was six hundred and sixty-six talents, not including in that sum what was brought by the merchants, nor what the toparchs and kings of Arabia gave him in presents. He also cast two hundred targets of gold, each of them weighing six hundred shekels. He also made three hundred shields, every one weighing three pounds of gold, and he had them carried and put into that house which was called The Forest of Lebanon. He also made cups of gold, and of [precious] stones, for the entertainment of his guests, and had them adorned in the most artificial manner; and he contrived that all his other furniture of vessels should be of gold, for there was nothing then to be sold or bought for silver; for the king had many ships which lay upon the sea of Tarsus, these he commanded to carry out all sorts of merchandise unto the remotest nations, by the sale of which silver and gold were brought to the king, and a great quantity of ivory, and Ethiopians, and apes; and they finished their voyage, going and returning, in three years' time.

3. Accordingly there went a great fame all around the neighboring countries, which proclaimed the virtue and wisdom of Solomon, insomuch that all the

kings every where were desirous to see him, as not giving credit to what was reported, on account of its being almost incredible: they also demonstrated the regard they had for him by the presents they made him; for they sent him vessels of gold, and silver, and purple garments, and many sorts of spices, and horses, and chariots, and as many mules for his carriages as they could find proper to please the king's eyes, by their strength and beauty. This addition that he made to those chariots and horses which he had before from those that were sent him, augmented the number of his chariots by above four hundred, for he had a thousand before, and augmented the number of his horses by two thousand, for he had twenty thousand before. These horses also were so much exercised, in order to their making a fine appearance, and running swiftly, that no others could, upon the comparison, appear either finer or swifter; but they were at once the most beautiful of all others, and their swiftness was incomparable also. Their riders also were a further ornament to them, being, in the first place, young men in the most delightful flower of their age, and being eminent for their largeness, and far taller than other men. They had also very long heads of hair hanging down, and were clothed in garments of Tyrian purple. They had also dust of gold every day sprinkled on their hair, so that their heads sparkled with the reflection of the sun-beams from the gold. The king himself rode upon a chariot in the midst of these men, who were still in armor, and had their bows fitted to them. He had on a white garment, and used to take his progress out of the city in the morning. There was a certain place about fifty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, which is called Etham, very pleasant it is in fine gardens, and abounding in rivulets of water; thither did he use to go out in the morning, sitting on high [in his chariot.]

4. Now Solomon had a divine sagacity in all things, and was very diligent and studious to have things done after an elegant manner; so he did not neglect the care of the ways, but he laid a causeway of black stone along the roads that led to Jerusalem, which was the royal city, both to render them easy for travelers, and to manifest the grandeur of his riches and government. He also parted his chariots, and set them in a regular order, that a certain number of them should be in every city, still keeping a few about him; and those cities he called the cities of his chariots. And the king made silver as plentiful in Jerusalem as stones in the street; and so multiplied cedar trees in the plains of Judea, which did not grow there before, that they were like the multitude of common sycamore trees. He also ordained the Egyptian merchants that brought him their merchandise to sell him a chariot, with a pair of horses, for six hundred drachmae of silver, and he sent them to the kings of Syria, and to those kings that were beyond Euphrates.

5. But although Solomon was become the most glorious of kings, and the best beloved by God, and had exceeded in wisdom and riches those that had been rulers of the Hebrews before him, yet did not he persevere in this happy state till he died. Nay, he forsook the observation of the laws of his fathers, and came to an end no way suitable to our foregoing history of him. He grew mad in his love of women, and laid no restraint on himself in his lusts; nor was he satisfied with the women of his country alone, but he married many wives out of foreign nations; Sidontans, and Tyrians, and Ammonites, and Edomites; and he transgressed the laws of Moses, which forbade Jews to marry any but those that were of their own people. He also began to worship their gods, which he did in order to the gratification of his wives, and out of his affection for them. This very thing our legislator suspected, and so admonished us beforehand, that we should not marry women of other countries, lest we should be entangled with foreign customs, and apostatize from our own; lest we should leave off to honor our own God, and should worship their gods. But Solomon was Gllen headlong into unreasonable pleasures, and regarded not those admonitions; for when he had married seven hundred wives, the daughters of princes and of eminent persons, and three hundred concubines, and those besides the king of Egypt's daughter, he soon was governed by them, till he came to imitate their practices. He was forced to give them this demonstration of his kindness and affection to them, to live according to the laws of their countries. And as he grew into years, and his reason became weaker by length of time, it was not sufficient to recall to his mind the institutions of his own country; so he still more and more contemned his own God, and continued to regard the gods that his marriages had introduced nay, before this happened, he sinned, and fell into an error about the observation of the laws, when he made the images of brazen oxen that supported the brazen sea, and the images of lions about his own throne; for these he made, although it was not agreeable to piety so to do; and this he did, notwithstanding that he had his father as a most excellent and domestic pattern of virtue, and knew what a glorious character he had left behind him, because of his piety towards God. Nor did he imitate David, although God had twice appeared to him in his sleep, and exhorted him to imitate his father. So he died ingloriously. There came therefore a prophet to him, who was sent by God, and told him that his wicked actions were not concealed from God; and threatened him that he should not long rejoice in what he had done; that, indeed, the kingdom should not be taken from him while he was alive, because God had promised to his father David that he would make him his successor, but that he would take care that this should befall his son when he was dead; not that he would withdraw all the people from him, but that he would give ten tribes to a servant of his, and

leave only two tribes to David's grandson for his sake, because he loved God, and for the sake of the city of Jerusalem, wherein he should have a temple.

6. When Solomon heard this he was grieved, and greatly confounded, upon this change of almost all that happiness which had made him to be admired, into so bad a state; nor had there much time passed after the prophet had foretold what was coming before God raised up an enemy against him, whose name was Ader, who took the following occasion of his enmity to him. He was a child of the stock of the Edomites, and of the blood royal; and when Joab, the captain of David's host, laid waste the land of Edom, and destroyed all that were men grown, and able to bear arms, for six months' time, this Hadad fled away, and came to Pharaoh the king of Egypt, who received him kindly, and assigned him a house to dwell in, and a country to supply him with food; and when he was grown up he loved him exceedingly, insomuch that he gave him his wife's sister, whose name was Tahpenes, to wife, by whom he had a son; who was brought up with the king's children. When Hadad heard in Egypt that both David and Joab were dead, he came to Pharaoh, and desired that he would permit him to go to his own country; upon which the king asked what it was that he wanted, and what hardship he had met with, that he was so desirous to leave him. And when he was often troublesome to him, and entreated him to dismiss him, he did not then do it; but at the time when Solomon's affairs began to grow worse, on account of his forementioned transgressions and God's anger against him for the same, Hadad, by Pharaoh's permission, came to Edom; and when he was not able to make the people forsake Solomon, for it was kept under by many garrisons, and an innovation was not to be made with safety, he removed thence, and came into Syria; there he lighted upon one Rezon, who had run away from Hadadezer, king of Zobah, his master, and was become a robber in that country, and joined friendship with him, who had already a band of robbers about him. So he went up, and seized upon that part of Syria, and was made king thereof. He also made incursions into the land of Israel, and did it no small mischief, and spoiled it, and that in the lifetime of Solomon. And this was the calamity which the Hebrews suffered by Hadad.

7. There was also one of Solomon's own nation that made an attempt against him, Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who had an expectation of rising, from a prophecy that had been made to him long before. He was left a child by his father, and brought up by his mother; and when Solomon saw that he was of an active and bold disposition, he made him the curator of the walls which he built round about Jerusalem; and he took such care of those works, that the king approved of his behavior, and gave him, as a reward for the same, the charge of the tribe of Joseph. And when about that time Jeroboam was once going out of

Jerusalem, a prophet of the city Shilo, whose name was Ahijah, met him and saluted him; and when he had taken him a little aside to a place out of the way, where there was not one other person present, he rent the garment he had on into twelve pieces, and bid Jeroboam take ten of them; and told him beforehand, that "this is the will of God; he will part the dominion of Solomon, and give one tribe, with that which is next it, to his son, because of the promise made to David for his succession, and will have ten tribes to thee, because Solomon hath sinned against him, and delivered up himself to women, and to their gods. Seeing therefore thou knowest the cause for which God hath changed his mind, and is alienated from Solomon, be thou...."

8. So Jeroboam was elevated by these words of the prophet; and being a young man, of a warm temper, and ambitious of greatness, he could not be quiet; and when he had so great a charge in the government, and called to mind what had been revealed to him by Ahijah, he endeavored to persuade the people to forsake Solomon, to make a disturbance, and to bring the government over to himself. But when Solomon understood his intention and treachery, he sought to catch him and kill him; but Jeroboam was informed of it beforehand, and fled to Shishak, the king of Egypt, and there abode till the death of Solomon; by which means he gained these two advantages to suffer no harm from Solomon, and to be preserved for the kingdom. So Solomon died when he was already an old man, having reigned eighty years, and lived ninety-four. He was buried in Jerusalem, having been superior to all other kings in happiness, and riches, and wisdom, excepting that when he was growing into years he was deluded by women, and transgressed the law; concerning which transgressions, and the miseries which befell the Hebrews thereby, I think proper to discourse at another opportunity.

CHAPTER 8. How, Upon The Death Of Solomon The People Forsook His Son Rehoboam, And Ordained Jeroboam King Over The Ten Tribes.

1. Now when Solomon was dead, and his son Rehoboam [who was born of an Amntonite wife; whose name was Naamah] had succeeded him in the kingdom, the rulers of the multitude sent immediately into Egypt, and called back Jeroboam; and when he was come to them, to the city Shethem, Rehoboam came to it also, for he had resolved to declare himself king to the Israelites while they were there gathered together. So the rulers of the people, as well as Jeroboam, came to him, and besought him, and said that he ought to relax, and to be gentler than his father, in the servitude he had imposed on them, because they had borne a heavy yoke, and that then they should be better affected to him, and be well contented to serve him under his moderate government, and should do it more out of love than fear. But Rehoboam told them they should come to him again in three days' time, when he would give an answer to their request. This delay gave occasion to a present suspicion, since he had not given them a favorable answer to their mind immediately; for they thought that he should have given them a humane answer off-hand, especially since he was but young. However, they thought that this consultation about it, and that he did not presently give them a denial, afforded them some good hope of success.

2. Rehoboam now called his father's friends, and advised with them what sort of answer he ought to give to the multitude; upon which they gave him the advice which became friends, and those that knew the temper of such a multitude. They advised him to speak in a way more popular than suited the grandeur of a king, because he would thereby oblige them to submit to him with goodwill, it being most agreeable to subjects that their kings should be almost upon the level with them. But Rehoboam rejected this so good, and in general so profitable, advice, [it was such, at least, at that time when he was to be made king,] God himself, I suppose, causing what was most advantageous to be condemned by him. So he called for the young men who were brought up with him, and told them what advice the elders had given him, and bade them speak what they thought he ought to do. They advised him to give the following answer to the people [for neither their youth nor God himself suffered them to discern what was best]: That his little finger should be thicker than his father's loins; and if they had met with hard usage from his father, they should experience much rougher treatment from him; and if his father had chastised

them with whips, they must expect that he would do it with scorpions. The king was pleased with this advice, and thought it agreeable to the dignity of his government to give them such an answer. Accordingly, when the multitude was come together to hear his answer on the third day, all the people were in great expectation, and very intent to hear what the king would say to them, and supposed they should hear somewhat of a kind nature; but he passed by his friends, and answered as the young men had given him counsel. Now this was done according to the will of God, that what Ahijah had foretold might come to pass.

3. By these words the people were struck as it were by all iron hammer, and were so grieved at the words, as if they had already felt the effects of them; and they had great indignation at the king; and all cried out aloud, and said, "We will have no longer any relation to David or his posterity after this day." And they said further, "We only leave to Rehoboam the temple which his father built;" and they threatened to forsake him. Nay, they were so bitter, and retained their wrath so long, that when he sent Adoram, which was over the tribute, that he might pacify them, and render them milder, and persuade them to forgive him, if he had said any thing that was rash or grievous to them in his youth, they would not hear it, but threw stones at him, and killed him. When Rehoboam saw this, he thought himself aimed at by those stones with which they had killed his servant, and feared lest he should undergo the last of punishments in earnest; so he got immediately into his chariot, and fled to Jerusalem, where the tribe of Judah and that of Benjamin ordained him king; but the rest of the multitude forsook the sons of David from that day, and appointed Jeroboam to be the ruler of their public affairs. Upon this Rehoboam, Solomon's son, assembled a great congregation of those two tribes that submitted to him, and was ready to take a hundred and eighty thousand chosen men out of the army, to make an expedition against Jeroboam and his people, that he might force them by war to be his servants; but he was forbidden of God by the prophet [Shemaiah] to go to war, for that it was not just that brethren of the same country should fight one against another. He also said that this defection of the multitude was according to the purpose of God. So he did not proceed in this expedition. And now I will relate first the actions of Jeroboam the king of Israel, after which we will relate what are therewith connected, the actions of Rehoboam, the king of the two tribes; by this means we shall preserve the good order of the history entire.

4. When therefore Jeroboam had built him a palace in the city Shechem, he dwelt there. He also built him another at Penuel, a city so called. And now the feast of tabernacles was approaching in a little time, Jeroboam considered, that if he should permit the multitude to go to worship God at Jerusalem, and there to

celebrate the festival, they would probably repent of what they had done, and be enticed by the temple, and by the worship of God there performed, and would leave him, and return to their first kings; and if so, he should run the risk of losing his own life; so he invented this contrivance; He made two golden heifers, and built two little temples for them, the one in the city Bethel, and the other in Dan, which last was at the fountains of the Lesser Jordan and he put the heifers into both the little temples, in the forementioned cities. And when he had called those ten tribes together over whom he ruled, he made a speech to the people in these words: "I suppose, my countrymen, that you know this, that every place hath God in it; nor is there any one determinate place in which he is, but he every where hears and sees those that worship him; on which account I do not think it right for you to go so long a journey to Jerusalem, which is an enemy's city, to worship him. It was a man that built the temple: I have also made two golden heifers, dedicated to the same God; and the one of them I have consecrated in the city Bethel, and the other in Dan, to the end that those of you that dwell nearest those cities may go to them, and worship God there; and I will ordain for you certain priests and Levites from among yourselves, that you may have no want of the tribe of Levi, or of the sons of Aaron; but let him that is desirous among you of being a priest, bring to God a bullock and a ram, which they say Aaron the first priest brought also." When Jeroboam had said this, he deluded the people, and made them to revolt from the worship of their forefathers, and to transgress their laws. This was the beginning of miseries to the Hebrews, and the cause why they were overcome in war by foreigners, and so fell into captivity. But we shall relate those things in their proper places hereafter.

5. When the feast [of tabernacles] was just approaching, Jeroboam was desirous to celebrate it himself in Bethel, as did the two tribes celebrate it in Jerusalem. Accordingly he built an altar before the heifer, and undertook to be high priest himself. So he went up to the altar, with his own priests about him; but when he was going to offer the sacrifices and the burnt-offerings, in the sight of all the people, a prophet, whose name was Jadon, was sent by God, and came to him from Jerusalem, who stood in the midst of the multitude, and in the 'hearing of' the king, and directing his discourse to the altar, said thus: "God foretells that there shall be a certain man of the family of David, Josiah by name, who shall slay upon thee those false priests that shall live at that time, and upon thee shall burn the bones of those deceivers of the people, those impostors' and wicked wretches. However, that this people may believe that these things shall so come to pass, I foretell a sign to them that shall also come to pass. This altar shall be broken to pieces immediately, and all the fat of the sacrifices that is

upon it shall be poured upon the ground." When the prophet had said this, Jeroboam fell into a passion, and stretched out his hand, and bid them lay hold of him; but that hand which he stretched out was enfeebled, and he was not able to pull it in again to him, for it was become withered, and hung down, as if it were a dead hand. The altar also was broken to pieces, and all that was upon it was poured out, as the prophet had foretold should come to pass. So the king understood that he was a man of veracity, and had a Divine foreknowledge; and entreated him to pray to God that he would restore his right hand. Accordingly the prophet did pray to God to grant him that request. So the king, having his hand recovered to its natural state, rejoiced at it, and invited the prophet to sup with him; but Jadon said that he could not endure to come into his house, nor to taste of bread or water in this city, for that was a thing God had forbidden him to do; as also to go back by the same way which he came, but he said he was to return by another way. So the king wondered at the abstinence of the man, but was himself in fear, as suspecting a change of his affairs for the worse, from what had been said to him.

CHAPTER 9. How Jadon The Prophet Was Persuaded By Another Lying Prophet And Returned [To Bethel,] And Was Afterwards Slain By A Lion. As Also What Words The Wicked Prophet Made Use Of To Persuade The King, And Thereby Alienated His Mind From God.

1. Now there was a certain wicked man in that city, who was a false prophet, whom Jeroboam had in great esteem, but was deceived by him and his flattering words. This man was bedrid, by reason or the infirmities of old age: however, he was informed by his sons concerning the prophet that was come from Jerusalem, and concerning the signs done by him; and how, when Jeroboam's right hand had been enfeebled, at the prophet's prayer he had it revived again. Whereupon he was afraid that this stranger and prophet should be in better esteem with the king than himself, and obtain greater honor from him: and he gave orders to his sons to saddle his ass presently, and make all ready that he might go out. Accordingly they made haste to do what they were commanded, and he got upon the ass and followed after the prophet; and when he had overtaken him, as he was resting himself under a very large oak tree that was thick and shady, he at first saluted him, but presently he complained of him, because he had not come into his house, and partaken of his hospitality. And when the other said that God had forbidden him to taste of any one's provision in that city, he replied, that "for certain God had not forbidden that I should set food before thee, for I am a prophet as thou art, and worship God in the same manner that thou dost; and I am now come as sent by him, in order to bring thee into my house, and make thee my guest." Now Jadon gave credit to this lying prophet, and returned back with him. But when they were at dinner, and merry together, God appeared to Jadon, and said that he should suffer punishment for transgressing his commands, — and he told him what that punishment should be for he said that he should meet with a lion as he was going on his way, by which lion he should be torn in pieces, and be deprived of burial in the sepulchers of his fathers; which things came to pass, as I suppose, according to the will of God, that so Jeroboam might not give heed to the words of Jadon as of one that had been convicted of lying. However, as Jadon was again going to Jerusalem, a lion assaulted him, and pulled him off the beast he rode on, and slew him; yet did he

not at all hurt the ass, but sat by him, and kept him, as also the prophet's body. This continued till some travelers that saw it came and told it in the city to the false prophet, who sent his sons, and brought the body unto the city, and made a funeral for him at great expense. He also charged his sons to bury himself with him and said that all which he had foretold against that city, and the altar, and priests, and false prophets, would prove true; and that if he were buried with him, he should receive no injurious treatment after his death, the bones not being then to be distinguished asunder. But now, when he had performed those funeral rites to the prophet, and had given that charge to his sons, as he was a wicked and an impious man, he goes to Jeroboam, and says to him, "And wherefore is it now that thou art disturbed at the words of this silly fellow?" And when the king had related to him what had happened about the altar, and about his own hand, and gave him the names of divine man, and an excellent prophet, he endeavored by a wicked trick to weaken that his opinion; and by using plausible words concerning what had happened, he aimed to injure the truth that was in them; for he attempted to persuade him that his hand was enfeebled by the labor it had undergone in supporting the sacrifices, and that upon its resting awhile it returned to its former nature again; and that as to the altar, it was but new, and had borne abundance of sacrifices, and those large ones too, and was accordingly broken to pieces, and fallen down by the weight of what had been laid upon it. He also informed him of the death of him that had foretold those things, and how he perished; [whence he concluded that] he had not any thing in him of a prophet, nor spake any thing like one. When he had thus spoken, he persuaded the king, and entirely alienated his mind from God, and from doing works that were righteous and holy, and encouraged him to go on in his impious practices and accordingly he was to that degree injurious to God, and so great a transgressor, that he sought for nothing else every day but how he might be guilty of some new instances of wickedness, and such as should be more detestable than what he had been so insolent as to do before. And so much shall at present suffice to have said concerning Jeroboam.

CHAPTER 10. Concerning Rehoboam, And How God Inflicted Punishment Upon Him For His Impiety By Shishak [King Of Egypt].

1. Now Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, who, as we said before, was king of the two tribes, built strong and large cities, Bethlehem, and Etare, and Tekoa, and Bethzur, and Shoco, and Adullam, and Ipan, and Maresha, and Ziph, and Adorlam, and Lachlsh, and Azekah, and Zorah, and Aijalon, and Hebron; these he built first of all in the tribe of Judah. He also built other large cities in the tribe of Benjamin, and walled them about, and put garrisons in them all, and captains, and a great deal of corn, and wine, and oil, and he furnished every one of them plentifully with other provisions that were necessary for sustenance; moreover, he put therein shields and spears for many ten thousand men. The priests also that were in all Israel, and the Levites, and if there were any of the multitude that were good and righteous men, they gathered themselves together to him, having left their own cities, that they might worship God in Jerusalem; for they were not willing to be forced to worship the heifers which Jeroboam had made; and they augmented the kingdom of Rehoboam for three years. And after he had married a woman of his own kindred, and had by her three children born to him, he married also another of his own kindred, who was daughter of Absalom by Tamar, whose name was Maachah, and by her he had a son, whom he named Abijah. He had moreover many other children by other wives, but he loved Maachah above them all. Now he had eighteen legitimate wives, and thirty concubines; and he had born to him twenty-eight sons and threescore daughters; but he appointed Abijah, whom he had by Maachah, to be his successor in the kingdom, and intrusted him already with the treasures and the strongest cities.

2. Now I cannot but think that the greatness of a kingdom, and its change into prosperity, often become the occasion of mischief and of transgression to men; for when Rehoboam saw that his kingdom was so much increased, he went out of the right way unto unrighteous and irreligious practices, and he despised the worship of God, till the people themselves imitated his wicked actions: for so it usually happens, that the manners of subjects are corrupted at the same time with those of their governors, which subjects then lay aside their own sober way of living, as a reproof of their governors' intemperate courses, and follow their wickedness as if it were virtue; for it is not possible to show that men approve of the actions of their kings, unless they do the same actions with them. Agreeable whereto it now happened to the subjects of Rehoboam; for when he was grown

impious, and a transgressor himself, they endeavored not to offend him by resolving still to be righteous. But God sent Shishak, king of Egypt, to punish them for their unjust behavior towards him, concerning whom Herodotus was mistaken, and applied his actions to Sesostris; for this Shishak, in the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam, made an expedition [into Judea] with many ten thousand men; for he had one thousand two hundred chariots in number that followed him, and threescore thousand horsemen, and four hundred thousand footmen. These he brought with him, and they were the greatest part of them Libyans and Ethiopians. Now therefore when he fell upon the country of the Hebrews, he took the strongest cities of Rehoboam's kingdom without fighting; and when he had put garrisons in them, he came last of all to Jerusalem.

3. Now when Rehoboam, and the multitude with him, were shut up in Jerusalem by the means of the army of Shishak, and when they besought God to give them victory and deliverance, they could not persuade God to be on their side. But Shemaiah the prophet told them, that God threatened to forsake them, as they had themselves forsaken his worship. When they heard this, they were immediately in a consternation of mind; and seeing no way of deliverance, they all earnestly set themselves to confess that God might justly overlook them, since they had been guilty of impiety towards him, and had let his laws lie in confusion. So when God saw them in that disposition, and that they acknowledge their sins, he told the prophet that he would not destroy them, but that he would, however, make them servants to the Egyptians, that they may learn whether they will suffer less by serving men or God. So when Shishak had taken the city without fighting, because Rehoboam was afraid, and received him into it, yet did not Shishak stand to the covenants he had made, but he spoiled the temple, and emptied the treasures of God, and those of the king, and carried off innumerable ten thousands of gold and silver, and left nothing at all behind him. He also took away the bucklers of gold, and the shields, which Solomon the king had made; nay, he did not leave the golden quivers which David had taken from the king of Zobah, and had dedicated to God; and when he had thus done, he returned to his own kingdom. Now Herodotus of Halicarnassus mentions this expedition, having only mistaken the king's name; and [in saying that] he made war upon many other nations also, and brought Syria of Palestine into subjection, and took the men that were therein prisoners without fighting. Now it is manifest that he intended to declare that our nation was subdued by him; for he saith that he left behind him pillars in the land of those that delivered themselves up to him without fighting, and engraved upon them the secret parts of women. Now our king Rehoboam delivered up our city without fighting. He says withal that the Ethiopians learned to circumcise their privy parts from the

Egyptians, with this addition, that the Phoenicians and Syrians that live in Palestine confess that they learned it of the Egyptians. Yet it is evident that no other of the Syrians that live in Palestine, besides us alone, are circumcised. But as to such matters, let every one speak what is agreeable to his own opinion.

4. When Shishak was gone away, king Rehoboam made bucklers and shields of brass, instead of those of gold, and delivered the same number of them to the keepers of the king's palace. So, instead of warlike expeditions, and that glory which results from those public actions, he reigned in great quietness, though not without fear, as being always an enemy to Jeroboam, and he died when he had lived fifty-seven years, and reigned seventeen. He was in his disposition a proud and a foolish man, and lost [part of his] dominions by not hearkening to his father's friends. He was buried in Jerusalem, in the sepulchers of the kings; and his son Abijah succeeded him in the kingdom, and this in the eighteenth year of Jeroboam's reign over the ten tribes; and this was the conclusion of these affairs. It must be now our business to relate the affairs of Jeroboam, and how he ended his life; for he ceased not nor rested to be injurious to God, but every day raised up altars upon high mountains, and went on making priests out of the multitude.

CHAPTER 11. Concerning The Death Of A Son Of Jeroboam. How Jeroboam Was Beaten By Abijah Who Died A Little Afterward And Was Succeeded In His Kingdom By Asa. And Also How, After The Death Of Jeroboam Baasha Destroyed His Son Nadab And All The House Of Jeroboam.

1. However, God was in no long time ready to return Jeroboam's wicked actions, and the punishment they deserved, upon his own head, and upon the heads of all his house. And whereas a soil of his lay sick at that time, who was called Abijah, he enjoined his wife to lay aside her robes, and to take the garments belonging to a private person, and to go to Ahijah the prophet, for that he was a wonderful man in foretelling futurities, it having been he who told me that I should be king. He also enjoined her, when she came to him, to inquire concerning the child, as if she were a stranger, whether he should escape this distemper. So she did as her husband bade her, and changed her habit, and came to the city Shiloh, for there did Ahijah live. And as she was going into his house, his eyes being then dim with age, God appeared to him, and informed him of two things; that the wife of Jeroboam was come to him, and what answer he should make to her inquiry. Accordingly, as the woman was coming into the house like a private person and a stranger, he cried out, "Come in, O thou wife of Jeroboam! Why concealest thou thyself? Thou art not concealed from God, who hath appeared to me, and informed me that thou wast coming, and hath given me in command what I shall say to thee." So he said that she should go away to her husband, and speak to him thus: "Since I made thee a great man when thou wast little, or rather wast nothing, and rent the kingdom from the house of David, and gave it to thee, and thou hast been unmindful of these benefits, hast left off my worship, hast made thee molten gods and honored them, I will in like manner cast thee down again, and will destroy all thy house, and make them food for the dogs and the fowls; for a certain king is rising up, by appointment, over all this people, who shall leave none of the family of Jeroboam remaining. The multitude also shall themselves partake of the same punishment, and shall be cast out of this good land, and shall be scattered into the places beyond Euphrates, because they have followed the wicked practices of their king, and have worshipped the gods that he made, and forsaken my

sacrifices. But do thou, O woman, make haste back to thy husband, and tell him this message; but thou shalt then find thy son dead, for as thou enterest the city he shall depart this life; yet shall he be buried with the lamentation of all the multitude, and honored with a general mourning, for he was the only person of goodness of Jeroboam's family." When the prophet had foretold these events, the woman went hastily away with a disordered mind, and greatly grieved at the death of the forenamed child. So she was in lamentation as she went along the road, and mourned for the death of her son, that was just at hand. She was indeed in a miserable condition at the unavoidable misery of his death, and went apace, but in circumstances very unfortunate, because of her son: for the greater haste she made, she would the sooner see her son dead, yet was she forced to make such haste on account of her husband. Accordingly, when she was come back, she found that the child had given up the ghost, as the prophet had said; and she related all the circumstances to the king.

2. Yet did not Jeroboam lay any of these things to heart, but he brought together a very numerous army, and made a warlike expedition against Abijah, the son of Rehoboam, who had succeeded his father in the kingdom of the two tribes; for he despised him because of his age. But when he heard of the expedition of Jeroboam, he was not affrighted at it, but proved of a courageous temper of mind, superior both to his youth and to the hopes of his enemy; so he chose him an army out of the two tribes, and met Jeroboam at a place called Mount Zemaraim, and pitched his camp near the other, and prepared everything necessary for the fight. His army consisted of four hundred thousand, but the army of Jeroboam was double to it. Now as the armies stood in array, ready for action and dangers, and were just going to fight, Abijah stood upon an elevated place, and beckoning with his hand, he desired the multitude and Jeroboam himself to hear first with silence what he had to say. And when silence was made, he began to speak, and told them,— "God had consented that David and his posterity should be their rulers for all time to come, and this you yourselves are not unacquainted with; but I cannot but wonder how you should forsake my father, and join yourselves to his servant Jeroboam, and are now here with him to fight against those who, by God's own determination, are to reign, and to deprive them of that dominion which they have still retained; for as to the greater part of it, Jeroboam is unjustly in possession of it. However, I do not suppose he will enjoy it any longer; but when he hath suffered that punishment which God thinks due to him for what is past, he will leave off the transgressions he hath been guilty of, and the injuries he hath offered to him, and which he hath still continued to offer and hath persuaded you to do the same: yet when you were not any further unjustly treated by my father, than that he did not speak to you so

as to please you, and this only in compliance with the advice of wicked men, you in anger forsook him, as you pretended, but, in reality, you withdrew yourselves from God, and from his laws, although it had been right for you to have forgiven a man that was young in age, and not used to govern people, not only some disagreeable words, but if his youth and unskilfulness in affairs had led him into some unfortunate actions, and that for the sake of his father Solomon, and the benefits you received from him; for men ought to excuse the sins of posterity on account of the benefactions of parent; but you considered nothing of all this then, neither do you consider it now, but come with so great an army against us. And what is it you depend upon for victory? Is it upon these golden heifers, and the altars that you have on high places, which are demonstrations of your impiety, and not of religious worship? Or is it the exceeding multitude of your army which gives you such good hopes? Yet certainly there is no strength at all in an army of many ten thousands, when the war is unjust; for we ought to place our surest hopes of success against our enemies in righteousness alone, and in piety towards God; which hope we justly have, since we have kept the laws from the beginning, and have worshipped our own God, who was not made by hands out of corruptible matter; nor was he formed by a wicked king, in order to deceive the multitude; but who is his own workmanship, and the beginning and end of all things. I therefore give you counsel even now to repent, and to take better advice, and to leave off the prosecution of the war; to call to mind the laws of your country, and to reflect what it hath been that hath advanced you to so happy a state as you are now in."

3. This was the speech which Abijah made to the multitude. But while he was still speaking Jeroboam sent some of his soldiers privately to encompass Abijab round about, on certain parts of the camp that were not taken notice of; and when he was thus within the compass of the enemy, his army was affrighted, and their courage failed them; but Abijah encouraged them, and exhorted them to place their hopes on God, for that he was not encompassed by the enemy. So they all at once implored the Divine assistance, while the priests sounded with the trumpet, and they made a shout, and fell upon their enemies, and God brake the courage and cast down the force of their enemies, and made Ahijah's army superior to them; for God vouchsafed to grant them a wonderful and very famous victory; and such a slaughter was now made of Jeroboam's army as is never recorded to have happened in any other war, whether it were of the Greeks or of the Barbarians, for they overthrew [and slew] five hundred thousand of their enemies, and they took their strongest cities by force, and spoiled them; and besides those, they did the same to Bethel and her towns, and Jeshanah and her towns. And after this defeat Jeroboam never recovered himself during the life of

Abijah, who yet did not long survive, for he reigned but three years, and was buried in Jerusalem in the sepulchers of his forefathers. He left behind him twenty-two sons, and sixteen daughters; and he had also those children by fourteen wives; and Asa his son succeeded in the kingdom; and the young man's mother was Michaiah. Under his reign the country of the Israelites enjoyed peace for ten years.

4. And so far concerning Abijah, the son of Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, as his history hath come down to us. But Jeroboam, the king of the ten tribes, died when he had governed them two and twenty years; whose son Nadab succeeded him, in the second year of the reign of Asa. Now Jeroboam's son governed two years, and resembled his father in impiety and wickedness. In these two years he made an expedition against Gibbethon, a city of the Philistines, and continued the siege in order to take it; but he was conspired against while he was there by a friend of his, whose name was Baasha, the son of Ahijah, and was slain; which Baasha took the kingdom after the other's death, and destroyed the whole house of Jeroboam. It also came to pass, according as God had foretold, that some of Jeroboam's kindred that died in the city were torn to pieces and devoured by dogs, and that others of them that died in the fields were torn and devoured by the fowls. So the house of Jeroboam suffered the just punishment of his impiety, and of his wicked actions.

CHAPTER 12. How Zerah, King Of The Ethiopians, Was Beaten By Asa; And How Asa, Upon Baasha's Making War Against Him, Invited The King Of The Damascens To Assist Him; And How, On The Destruction Of The House Of Baasha Zimri Got The Kingdom As Did His Son Ahab After Him.

1. Now Asa, the king of Jerusalem, was of an excellent character, and had a regard to God, and neither did nor designed any thing but what had relation to the observation of the laws. He made a reformation of his kingdom, and cut off whatsoever was wicked therein, and purified it from every impurity. Now he had an army of chosen men that were armed with targets and spears; out of the tribe of Judah three hundred thousand; and out of the tribe of Benjamin, that bore shields and drew bows, two hundred and fifty thousand. But when he had already reigned ten years, Zerah, king of Ethiopia, made an expedition against him, with a great army, of nine hundred thousand footmen, and one hundred thousand horsemen, and three hundred chariots, and came as far as Mareshah, a city that belonged to the tribe of Judah. Now when Zerah had passed so far with his own army, Asa met him, and put his army in array over against him, in a valley called Zephathah, not far from the city; and when he saw the multitude of the Ethiopians, he cried out, and besought God to give him the victory, and that he might kill many ten thousands of the enemy: "For," said he, "I depend on nothing else but that assistance which I expect from thee, which is able to make the fewer superior to the more numerous, and the weaker to the stronger; and thence it is alone that I venture to meet Zerah, and fight him."

2. While Asa was saying this, God gave him a signal of victory, and joining battle cheerfully on account of what God had foretold about it, he slew a great many of the Ethiopians; and when he had put them to flight, he pursued them to the country of Gerar; and when they left off killing their enemies, they betook themselves to spoiling them, [for the city Gerar was already taken,] and to spoiling their camp, so that they carried off much gold, and much silver, and a great deal of [other] prey, and camels, and great cattle, and flocks of sheep. Accordingly, when Asa and his army had obtained such a victory, and such wealth from God, they returned to Jerusalem. Now as they were coming, a prophet, whose name was Azariah, met them on the road, and bade them stop

their journey a little; and began to say to them thus: That the reason why they had obtained this victory from God was this, that they had showed themselves righteous and religious men, and had done every thing according to the will of God; that therefore, he said, if they persevered therein, God would grant that they should always overcome their enemies, and live happily; but that if they left off his worship, all things shall fall out on the contrary; and a time should come, wherein no true prophet shall be left in your whole multitude, nor a priest who shall deliver you a true answer from the oracle; but your cities shall be overthrown, and your nation scattered over the whole earth, and live the life of strangers and wanderers. So he advised them, while they had time, to be good, and not to deprive themselves of the favor of God. When the king and the people heard this, they rejoiced; and all in common, and every one in particular, took great care to behave themselves righteously. The king also sent some to take care that those in the country should observe the laws also.

3. And this was the state of Asa, king of the two tribes. I now return to Baasha, the king of the multitude of the Israelites, who slew Nadab, the son of Jeroboam, and retained the government. He dwelt in the city Tirzah, having made that his habitation, and reigned twenty-four years. He became more wicked and impious than Jeroboam or his son. He did a great deal of mischief to the multitude, and was injurious to God, who sent the prophet Jehu, and told him beforehand that his whole family should be destroyed, and that he would bring the same miseries on his house which had brought that of Jeroboam to ruin; because when he had been made king by him, he had not requited his kindness, by governing the multitude righteously and religiously; which things, in the first place, tended to their own happiness, and, in the next place, were pleasing to God: that he had imitated this very wicked king Jeroboam; and although that man's soul had perished, yet did he express to the life his wickedness; and he said that he should therefore justly experience the like calamity with him, since he had been guilty of the like wickedness. But Baasha, though he heard beforehand what miseries would befall him and his whole family for their insolent behavior, yet did not he leave off his wicked practices for the time to come, nor did he care to appear other than worse and worse till he died; nor did he then repent of his past actions, nor endeavor to obtain pardon of God for them, but did as those do who have rewards proposed to them, when they have once in earnest set about their work, they do not leave off their labors; for thus did Baasha, when the prophet foretold to him what would come to pass, grow worse, as if what were threatened, the perdition of his family, and the destruction of his house, [which are really among the greatest of evils,] were good things; and, as if he were a combatant for wickedness, he every day took more and more

pains for it: and at last he took his army and assaulted a certain considerable city called Ramah, which was forty furlongs distant from Jerusalem; and when he had taken it, he fortified it, having determined beforehand to leave a garrison in it, that they might thence make excursions, and do mischief to the kingdom of Asa.

4. Whereupon Asa was afraid of the attempts the enemy might make upon him; and considering with himself how many mischiefs this army that was left in Ramah might do to the country over which he reigned, he sent ambassadors to the king of the Damascenes, with gold and silver, desiring his assistance, and putting him in mind that we have had a friendship together from the times of our forefathers. So he gladly received that sum of money, and made a league with him, and broke the friendship he had with Baasha, and sent the commanders of his own forces unto the cities that were under Baasha's dominion, and ordered them to do them mischief. So they went and burnt some of them, and spoiled others; Ijon, and Dan, and Abelmain and many others. Now when the king of Israel heard this, he left off building and fortifying Ramah, and returned presently to assist his own people under the distresses they were in; but Asa made use of the materials that were prepared for building that city, for building in the same place two strong cities, the one of which was called Geba, and the other Mizpah; so that after this Baasha had no leisure to make expeditions against Asa, for he was prevented by death, and was buried in the city Tirzah; and Elah his son took the kingdom, who, when he had reigned two years, died, being treacherously slain by Zimri, the captain of half his army; for when he was at Arza, his steward's house, he persuaded some of the horsemen that were under him to assault Elah, and by that means he slew him when he was without his armed men and his captains, for they were all busied in the siege of Gibbethon, a city of the Philistines.

5. When Zimri, the captain of the army, had killed Elah, he took the kingdom himself, and, according to Jehu's prophecy, slew all the house of Baasha; for it came to pass that Baasha's house utterly perished, on account of his impiety, in the same manner as we have already described the destruction of the house of Jeroboam. But the army that was besieging. Gibbethon, when they heard what had befallen the king, and that when Zimri had killed him, he had gained the kingdom, they made Omri their general king, who drew off his army from Gibbethon, and came to Tirzah, where the royal palace was, and assaulted the city, and took it by force. But when Zimri saw that the city had none to defend it, he fled into the inmost part of the palace, and set it on fire, and burnt himself with it, when he had reigned only seven days. Upon which the people of Israel were presently divided, and part of them would have Tibni to be king, and part

Omri; but when those that were for Omri's ruling had beaten Tibni, Omri reigned over all the multitude. Now it was in the thirtieth year of the reign of Asa that Omri reigned for twelve years; six of these years he reigned in the city Tirzah, and the rest in the city called Semareon, but named by the Greeks Samaria; but he himself called it Semareon, from Semer, who sold him the mountain whereon he built it. Now Omri was no way different from those kings that reigned before him, but that he grew worse than they, for they all sought how they might turn the people away from God by their daily wicked practices; and oil that account it was that God made one of them to be slain by another, and that no one person of their families should remain. This Omri also died in Samaria and Ahab his son succeeded him.

6. Now by these events we may learn what concern God hath for the affairs of mankind, and how he loves good men, and hates the wicked, and destroys them root and branch; for many of these kings of Israel, they and their families, were miserably destroyed, and taken away one by another, in a short time, for their transgression and wickedness; but Asa, who was king of Jerusalem, and of the two tribes, attained, by God's blessing, a long and a blessed old age, for his piety and righteousness, and died happily, when he had reigned forty and one years; and when he was dead, his son Jehoshaphat succeeded him in the government. He was born of Asa's wife Azubah. And all men allowed that he followed the works of David his forefather, and this both in courage and piety; but we are not obliged now to speak any more of the affairs of this king.

CHAPTER 13. How Ahab When He Had Taken Jezebel To Wife Became More Wicked Than All The Kings That Had Been Before Him; Of The Actions Of The Prophet Elijah, And What Befell Naboth.

1. Now Ahab the king of Israel dwelt in Samaria, and held the government for twenty-two years; and made no alteration in the conduct of the kings that were his predecessors, but only in such things as were of his own invention for the worse, and in his most gross wickedness. He imitated them in their wicked courses, and in their injurious behavior towards God, and more especially he imitated the transgression of Jeroboam; for he worshipped the heifers that he had made; and he contrived other absurd objects of worship besides those heifers: he also took to wife the daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Tyrians and Sidonians, whose name was Jezebel, of whom he learned to worship her own gods. This woman was active and bold, and fell into so great a degree of impurity and madness, that she built a temple to the god of the Tyrians, Which they call Belus, and planted a grove of all sorts of trees; she also appointed priests and false prophets to this god. The king also himself had many such about him, and so exceeded in madness and wickedness all [the kings] that went before him.

2. There was now a prophet of God Almighty, of Thesbon, a country in Gilead, that came to Ahab, and said to him, that God foretold he would not send rain nor dew in those years upon the country but when he should appear. And when he had confirmed this by an oath, he departed into the southern parts, and made his abode by a brook, out of which he had water to drink; for as for his food, ravens brought it to him every day: but when that river was dried up for want of rain, he came to Zarephath, a city not far from Sidon and Tyre, for it lay between them, and this at the command of God, for [God told him] that he should there find a woman who was a widow that should give him sustenance. So when he was not far off the city, he saw a woman that labored with her own hands, gathering of sticks: so God informed him that this was the woman who was to give him sustenance. So he came and saluted her, and desired her to bring him some water to drink; but as she was going so to do, he called to her, and would have her to bring him a loaf of bread also; whereupon she affirmed upon oath that she had at home nothing more than one handful of meal, and a little oil, and that she was going to gather some sticks, that she might knead it, and make bread for herself and her son; after which, she said, they must perish, and be

consumed by the famine, for they had nothing for themselves any longer. Hereupon he said, “Go on with good courage, and hope for better things; and first of all make me a little cake, and bring it to me, for I foretell to thee that this vessel of meal and this cruse of oil shall not fail until God send rain.” When the prophet had said this, she came to him, and made him the before-named cake; of which she had part for herself, and gave the rest to her son, and to the prophet also; nor did any thing of this fall until the drought ceased. Now Menander mentions this drought in his account of the acts of Ethbaal, king of the Tyrians; where he says thus: “Under him there was a want of rain from the month Hyperberetmus till the month Hyperberetmus of the year following; but when he made supplications, there came great thunders. This Ethbaal built the city Botrys in Phoenicia, and the city Auza in Libya.” By these words he designed the want of rain that was in the days of Ahab, for at that time it was that Ethbaal also reigned over the Tyrians, as Menander informs us.

3. Now this woman, of whom we spake before, that sustained the prophet, when her son was fallen into a distemper till he gave up the ghost, and appeared to be dead, came to the prophet weeping, and beating her breasts with her hands, and sending out such expressions as her passions dictated to her, and complained to him that he had come to her to reproach her for her sins, and that on this account it was that her son was dead. But he bid her be of good cheer, and deliver her son to him, for that he would deliver him again to her alive. So when she had delivered her son up to him, he carried him into an upper room, where he himself lodged, and laid him down upon the bed, and cried unto God, and said, that God had not done well, in rewarding the woman who had entertained him and sustained him, by taking away her son; and he prayed that he would send again the soul of the child into him, and bring him to life again. Accordingly God took pity on the mother, and was willing to gratify the prophet, that he might not seem to have come to her to do her a mischief, and the child, beyond all expectation, came to life again. So the mother returned the prophet thanks, and said she was then clearly satisfied that God did converse with him.

4. After a little while Elijah came to king Ahab, according to God’s will, to inform him that rain was coming. Now the famine had seized upon the whole country, and there was a great want of what was necessary for sustenance, insomuch that it was after the recovery of the widow’s son of Sarepta, God sent not only men that wanted it, but the earth itself also, which did not produce enough for the horse and the other beasts of what was useful for them to feed on, by reason of the drought. So the king called for Obadiah, who was steward over his cattle, and said to him, that he would have him go to the fountains of water, and to the brooks, that if any herbs could be found for them, they might mow it

down, and reserve it for the beasts. And when he had sent persons all over the habitable earth to discover the prophet Elijah, and they could not find him, he bade Obadiah accompany him. So it was resolved they should make a progress, and divide the ways between them; and Obadiah took one road, and the king another. Now it happened that the same time when queen Jezebel slew the prophets, that this Obadiah had hidden a hundred prophets, and had fed them with nothing but bread and water. But when Obadiah was alone, and absent from the king, the prophet Elijah met him; and Obadiah asked him who he was; and when he had learned it from him, he worshipped him. Elijah then bid him go to the king, and tell him that I am here ready to wait on him. But Obadiah replied, "What evil have I done to thee, that thou sendest me to one who seeketh to kill thee, and hath sought over all the earth for thee? Or was he so ignorant as not to know that the king had left no place untouched unto which he had not sent persons to bring him back, in order, if they could take him, to have him put to death?" For he told him he was afraid lest God should appear to him again, and he should go away into another place; and that when the king should send him for Elijah, and he should miss of him, and not be able to find him any where upon earth, he should be put to death. He desired him therefore to take care of his preservation; and told him how diligently he had provided for those of his own profession, and had saved a hundred prophets, when Jezebel slew the rest of them, and had kept them concealed, and that they had been sustained by him. But Elijah bade him fear nothing, but go to the king; and he assured him upon oath that he would certainly show himself to Ahab that very day.

5. So when Obadiah had informed the king that Elijah was there, Ahab met him, and asked him, in anger, if he were the man that afflicted the people of the Hebrews, and was the occasion of the drought they lay under? But Elijah, without any flattery, said that he was himself the man, he and his house, which brought such sad afflictions upon them, and that by introducing strange gods into their country, and worshipping them, and by leaving their own, who was the only true God, and having no manner of regard to him. However, he bade him go his way, and gather together all the people to him to Mount Carmel, with his own prophets, and those of his wife, telling him how many there were of them, as also the prophets of the groves, about four hundred in number. And as all the men whom Ahab sent for ran away to the forenamed mountain, the prophet Elijah stood in the midst of them, and said, "How long will you live thus in uncertainty of mind and opinion?" He also exhorted them, that in case they esteemed their own country God to be the true and the only God, they would follow him and his commandments; but in case they esteemed him to be nothing, but had an opinion of the strange gods, and that they ought to worship them, his

counsel was, that they should follow them. And when the multitude made no answer to what he said, Elijah desired that, for a trial of the power of the strange gods, and of their own God, he, who was his only prophet, while they had four hundred, might take a heifer and kill it as a sacrifice, and lay it upon pieces of wood, and not kindle any fire, and that they should do the same things, and call upon their own gods to set the wood on fire; for if that were done, they would thence learn the nature of the true God. This proposal pleased the people. So Elijah bade the prophets to choose out a heifer first, and kill it, and to call on their gods. But when there appeared no effect of the prayer or invocation of the prophets upon their sacrifice, Elijah derided them, and bade them call upon their gods with a loud voice, for they might either be on a journey, or asleep; and when these prophets had done so from morning till noon, and cut themselves with swords and lances, according to the customs of their country, and he was about to offer his sacrifice, he bade [the prophets] go away, but bade [the people] come near and observe what he did, lest he should privately hide fire among the pieces of wood. So, upon the approach of the multitude, he took twelve stones, one for each tribe of the people of the Hebrews, and built an altar with them, and dug a very deep trench; and when he had laid the pieces of wood upon the altar, and upon them had laid the pieces of the sacrifices, he ordered them to fill four barrels with the water of the fountain, and to pour it upon the altar, till it ran over it, and till the trench was filled with the water poured into it. When he had done this, he began to pray to God, and to invocate him to make manifest his power to a people that had already been in an error a long time; upon which words a fire came on a sudden from heaven in the sight of the multitude, and fell upon the altar, and consumed the sacrifice, till the very water was set on fire, and the place was become dry.

6. Now when the Israelites saw this, they fell down upon the ground, and worshipped one God, and called him The great and the only true God; but they called the others mere names, framed by the evil and vile opinions of men. So they caught their prophets, and, at the command of Elijah, slew them. Elijah also said to the king, that he should go to dinner without any further concern, for that in a little time he would see God send them rain. Accordingly Ahab went his way. But Elijah went up to the highest top of Mount Carmel, and sat down upon the ground, and leaned his head upon his knees, and bade his servant go up to a certain elevated place, and look towards the sea, and when he should see a cloud rising any where, he should give him notice of it, for till that time the air had been clear. When the Servant had gone up, and had said many times that he saw nothing, at the seventh time of his going up, he said that he saw a small black thing in the sky, not larger than a man’s foot. When Elijah heard that, he sent to

Ahab, and desired him to go away to the city before the rain came down. So he came to the city Jezreel; and in a little time the air was all obscured, and covered with clouds, and a vehement storm of wind came upon the earth, and with it a great deal of rain; and the prophet was under a Divine fury, and ran along with the king's chariot unto Jezreel a city of Izar [Issaachar].

7. When Jezebel, the wife of Ahab, understood what signs Elijah had wrought, and how he had slain her prophets, she was angry, and sent messengers to him, and by them threatened to kill him, as he had destroyed her prophets. At this Elijah was affrighted, and fled to the city called Beersheba, which is situate at the utmost limits of the country belonging to the tribe of Judah, towards the land of Edom; and there he left his servant, and went away into the desert. He prayed also that he might die, for that he was not better than his fathers, nor need he be very desirous to live, when they were dead; and he lay and slept under a certain tree; and when somebody awakened him, and he was risen up, he found food set by him and water: so when he had eaten, and recovered his strength by that his food, he came to that mountain which is called Sinai, where it is related that Moses received his laws from God; and finding there a certain hollow cave, he entered into it, and continued to make his abode in it. But when a certain voice came to him, but from whence he knew not, and asked him, why he was come thither, and had left the city? he said, that because he had slain the prophets of the foreign gods, and had persuaded the people that he alone whom they had worshipped from the beginning was God, he was sought for by the king's wife to be punished for so doing. And when he had heard another voice, telling him that he should come out the next day into the open air, and should thereby know what he was to do, he came out of the cave the next day accordingly, When he both heard an earthquake, and saw the bright splendor of a fire; and after a silence made, a Divine voice exhorted him not to be disturbed with the circumstances he was in, for that none of his enemies should have power over him. The voice also commanded him to return home, and to ordain Jehu, the son of Nimshi, to be king over their own multitude; and Hazael, of Damascus, to be over the Syrians; and Elisha, of the city Abel, to be a prophet in his stead; and that of the impious multitude, some should be slain by Hazael, and others by Jehu. So Elijah, upon hearing this charge, returned into the land of the Hebrews. And when he found Elisha, the son of Shaphat, ploughing, and certain others with him, driving twelve yoke of oxen, he came to him, and cast his own garment upon him; upon which Elisha began to prophesy presently, and leaving his oxen, he followed Elijah. And when he desired leave to salute his parents, Elijah gave him leave so to do; and when he had taken his leave of them, he followed him, and became the disciple and the servant of Elijah all the days of

his life. And thus have I despatched the affairs in which this prophet was concerned.

8. Now there was one Naboth, of the city Izar, [Jezreel,] who had a field adjoining to that of the king: the king would have persuaded him to sell him that his field, which lay so near to his own lands, at what price he pleased, that he might join them together, and make them one farm; and if he would not accept of money for it, he gave him leave to choose any of his other fields in its stead. But Naboth said he would not do so, but would keep the possession of that land of his own, which he had by inheritance from his father. Upon this the king was grieved, as if he had received an injury, when he could not get another man's possession, and he would neither wash himself, nor take any food: and when Jezebel asked him what it was that troubled him, and why he would neither wash himself, nor eat either dinner or supper, he related to her the perverseness of Naboth, and how, when he had made use of gentle words to him, and such as were beneath the royal authority, he had been affronted, and had not obtained what he desired. However, she persuaded him not to be cast down at this accident, but to leave off his grief, and return to the usual care of his body, for that she would take care to have Naboth punished; and she immediately sent letters to the rulers of the Israelites [Jezreelites] in Ahab's name, and commanded them to fast and to assemble a congregation, and to set Naboth at the head of them, because he was of an illustrious family, and to have three bold men ready to bear witness that he had blasphemed God and the king, and then to stone him, and slay him in that manner. Accordingly, when Naboth had been thus testified against, as the queen had written to them, that he had blasphemed against God and Ahab the king, she desired him to take possession of Naboth's vineyard on free cost. So Ahab was glad at what had been done, and rose up immediately from the bed whereon he lay to go to see Naboth's vineyard; but God had great indignation at it, and sent Elijah the prophet to the field of Naboth, to speak to Ahab, and to say to him, that he had slain the true owner of that field unjustly. And as soon as he came to him, and the king had said that he might do with him what he pleased, [for he thought it a reproach to him to be thus caught in his sin,] Elijah said, that in that very place in which the dead body of Naboth was eaten by dogs both his own blood and that of his wife's should be shed, and that all his family should perish, because he had been so insolently wicked, and had slain a citizen unjustly, and contrary to the laws of his country. Hereupon Ahab began to be sorry for the things he had done, and to repent of them; and he put on sackcloth, and went barefoot and would not touch any food; he also confessed his sins, and endeavored thus to appease God. But God said to the prophet, that while Ahab was living he would put off the punishment of his

family, because he repented of those insolent crimes he had been guilty of, but that still he would fulfill his threatening under Ahab's son; which message the prophet delivered to the king.

CHAPTER 14. How Hadad King Of Damascus And Of Syria, Made Two Expeditions Against Ahab And Was Beaten.

1. When the affairs of Ahab were thus, at that very time the son of Hadad, [Benhadad,] who was king of the Syrians and of Damascus, got together an army out of all his country, and procured thirty-two kings beyond Euphrates to be his auxiliaries: so he made an expedition against Ahab; but because Ahab's army was not like that of Benhadad, he did not set it in array to fight him, but having shut up every thing that was in the country in the strongest cities he had, he abode in Samaria himself, for the walls about it were very strong, and it appeared to be not easily to be taken in other respects also. So the king of Syria took his army with him, and came to Samaria, and placed his army round about the city, and besieged it. He also sent a herald to Ahab, and desired he would admit the ambassadors he would send him, by whom he would let him know his pleasure. So, upon the king of Israel's permission for him to send, those ambassador's came, and by their king's command spake thus: That Ahab's riches, and his children, and his wives were Benhadad's, and if he would make an agreement, and give him leave to take as much of what he had as he pleased, he would withdraw his army, and leave off the siege. Upon this Ahab bade the ambassadors to go back, and tell their king, that both he himself and all that he hath are his possessions. And when these ambassadors had told this to Berthadad, he sent to him again, and desired, since he confessed that all he had was his, that he would admit those servants of his which he should send the next day; and he commanded him to deliver to those whom he should send whatsoever, upon their searching his palace, and the houses of his friends and kindred, they should find to be excellent in its kind, but that what did not please them they should leave to him. At this second embassage of the king of Syria, Ahab was surprised, and gathered together the multitude to a congregation, and told them that, for himself, he was ready, for their safety and peace, to give up his own wives and children to the enemy, and to yield to him all his own possessions, for that was what the Syrian king required at his first embassage; but that now he desires to send his servants to search all their houses, and in them to leave nothing that is excellent in its kind, seeking an occasion of fighting against him, "as knowing that I would not spare what is mine own for your sakes, but taking a handle from the disagreeable terms he offers concerning you to bring a war upon us; however, I will do what you shall resolve is fit to be

done." But the multitude advised him to hearken to none of his proposals, but to despise him, and be in readiness to fight him. Accordingly, when he had given the ambassadors this answer to be reported, that he still continued in the mind to comply with what terms he at first desired, for the safety of the citizens; but as for his second desires, he cannot submit to them, — he dismissed them.

2. Now when Benhadad heard this, he had indignation, and sent ambassadors to Ahab the third time, and threatened that his army would raise a bank higher than those walls, in confidence of whose strength he despised him, and that by only each man of his army taking a handful of earth; hereby making a show of the great number of his army, and aiming to affright him. Ahab answered, that he ought not to vaunt himself when he had only put on his armor, but when he should have conquered his enemies in the battle. So the ambassadors came back, and found the king at supper with his thirty-two kings, and informed him of Ahab's answer; who then immediately gave order for proceeding thus: To make lines round the city, and raise a bulwark, and to prosecute the siege all manner of ways. Now, as this was doing, Ahab was in a great agony, and all his people with him; but he took courage, and was freed from his fears, upon a certain prophet coming to him, and saying to him, that God had promised to subdue so many ten thousands of his enemies under him. And when he inquired by whose means the victory was to be obtained, he said, "By the sons of the princes; but under thy conduct as their leader, by reason of their unskilfulness [in war]." Upon which he called for the sons of the princes, and found them to be two hundred and thirty-two persons. So when he was informed that the king of Syria had betaken himself to feasting and repose, he opened the gates, and sent out the princes' sons. Now when the sentinels told Benhadad of it, he sent some to meet them, and commanded them, that if these men were come out for fighting, they should bind them, and bring them to him; and that if they came out peaceably, they should do the same. Now Ahab had another army ready within the walls, but the sons of the princes fell upon the out-guard, and slew many of them, and pursued the rest of them to the camp; and when the king of Israel saw that these had the upper hand, he sent out all the rest of his army, which, falling suddenly upon the Syrians, beat them, for they did not think they would have come out; on which account it was that they assaulted them when they were naked and drunk, insomuch that they left all their armor behind them when they fled out of the camp, and the king himself escaped with difficulty, by fleeing away on horseback. But Ahab went a great way in pursuit of the Syrians; and when he had spoiled their camp, which contained a great deal of wealth, and moreover a large quantity of gold and silver, he took Benhadad's chariots and horses, and returned to the city; but as the prophet told him he ought to have his army ready,

because the Syrian king would make another expedition against him the next year, Ahab was busy in making provision for it accordingly.

3. Now Benhadad, when he had saved himself, and as much of his army as he could, out of the battle, he consulted with his friends how he might make another expedition against the Israelites. Now those friends advised him not to fight with them on the hills, because their God was potent in such places, and thence it had come to pass that they had very lately been beaten; but they said, that if they joined battle with them in the plain, they should beat them. They also gave him this further advice, to send home those kings whom he had brought as his auxiliaries, but to retain their army, and to set captains over it instead of the kings, and to raise an army out of their country, and let them be in the place of the former who perished in the battle, together with horses and chariots. So he judged their counsel to be good, and acted according to it in the management of the army.

4. At the beginning of the spring, Benhadad took his army with him, and led it against the Hebrews; and when he was come to a certain city which was called Aphek, he pitched his camp in the great plain. Ahab also went to meet him with his army, and pitched his camp over against him, although his army was a very small one, if it were compared with the enemy's; but the prophet came again to him, and told him, that God would give him the victory, that he might demonstrate his own power to be, not only on the mountains, but on the plains also; which it seems was contrary to the opinion of the Syrians. So they lay quiet in their camp seven days; but on the last of those days, when the enemies came out of their camp, and put themselves in array in order to fight, Ahab also brought out his own army; and when the battle was joined, and they fought valiantly, he put the enemy to flight, and pursued them, and pressed upon them, and slew them; nay, they were destroyed by their own chariots, and by one another; nor could any more than a few of them escape to their own city Aphek, who were also killed by the walls falling upon them, being in number twenty-seven thousand. Now there were slain in this battle a hundred thousand more; but Benhadad, the king of the Syrians, fled away, with certain others of his most faithful servants, and hid himself in a cellar under ground; and when these told him that the kings of Israel were humane and merciful men, and that they might make use of the usual manner of supplication, and obtain deliverance from Ahab, in case he would give them leave to go to him, he gave them leave accordingly. So they came to Ahab, clothed in sackcloth, with ropes about their heads, (for this was the ancient manner of supplication among the Syrians,) and said, that Benhadad desired he would save him, and that he would ever be a servant to him for that favor. Ahab replied he was glad that he was alive, and not

hurt in the battle; and he further promised him the same honor and kindness that a man would show to his brother. So they received assurances upon oath from him, that when he came to him he should receive no harm from him, and then went and brought him out of the cellar wherein he was hid, and brought him to Ahab as he sat in his chariot. So Benhadad worshipped him; and Ahab gave him his hand, and made him come up to him into his chariot, and kissed him, and bid him be of good cheer, and not to expect that any mischief should be done to him. So Berthadad returned him thanks, and professed that he would remember his kindness to him all the days of his life; and promised he would restore those cities of the Israelites which the former kings had taken from them, and grant that he should have leave to come to Damascus, as his forefathers had to come to Samaria. So they confirmed their covenant by oaths, and Ahab made him many presents, and sent him back to his own kingdom. And this was the conclusion of the war that Benhadad made against Ahab and the Israelites.

5. But a certain prophet, whose name was Micaiah, came to one of the Israelites, and bid him smite him on the head, for by so doing he would please God; but when he would not do so, he foretold to him, that since he disobeyed the commands of God, he should meet with a lion, and be destroyed by him. When that sad accident had befallen the man, the prophet came again to another, and gave him the same injunction; so he smote him, and wounded his skull; upon which he bound up his head, and came to the king, and told him that he had been a soldier of his, and had the custody of one of the prisoners committed to him by an officer, and that the prisoner being run away, he was in danger of losing his own life by the means of that officer, who had threatened him, that if the prisoner escaped he would kill him. And when Ahab had said that he would justly die, he took off the binding about his head, and was known by the king to be Micaiah the prophet, who made use of this artifice as a prelude to his following words; for he said that God would punish him who had suffered Benhadad, a blasphemer against him, to escape punishment; and that he would so bring it about, that he should die by the other's means and his people by the other's army. Upon which Ahab was very angry at the prophet, and gave commandment that he should be put in prison, and there kept; but for himself, he was in confusion at the words of Micaiah, and returned to his own house.

CHAPTER 15. Concerning Jehoshaphat The King Of Jerusalem And How Ahab Made An Expedition Against The Syrians And Was Assisted Therein By Jehoshaphat, But Was Himself Overcome In Battle And Perished Therein.

1. And these were the circumstances in which Ahab was. But I now return to Jehoshaphat, the king of Jerusalem, who, when he had augmented his kingdom, had set garrisons in the cities of the countries belonging to his subjects, and had put such garrisons no less into those cities which were taken out of the tribe of Ephraim by his grandfather Abijah, when Jeroboam reigned over the ten tribes [than he did into the other]. But then he had God favorable and assisting to him, as being both righteous and religious, and seeking to do somewhat every day that should be agreeable and acceptable to God. The kings also that were round about him honored him with the presents they made him, till the riches that he had acquired were immensely great, and the glory he had gained was of a most exalted nature.

2. Now, in the third year of this reign, he called together the rulers of the country, and the priests, and commanded them to go round the land, and teach all the people that were under him, city by city, the laws of Moses, and to keep them, and to be diligent in the worship of God. With this the whole multitude was so pleased, that they were not so eagerly set upon or affected with any thing so much as the observation of the laws. The neighboring nations also continued to love Jehoshaphat, and to be at peace with him. The Philistines paid their appointed tribute, and the Arabians supplied him every year with three hundred and sixty lambs, and as many kids of the goats. He also fortified the great cities, which were many in number, and of great consequence. He prepared also a mighty army of soldiers and weapons against their enemies. Now the army of men that wore their armor, was three hundred thousand of the tribe of Judah, of whom Adnah was the chief; but John was chief of two hundred thousand. The same man was chief of the tribe of Benjamin, and had two hundred thousand archers under him. There was another chief, whose name was Jehozabad, who had a hundred and fourscore thousand armed men. This multitude was distributed to be ready for the king’s service, besides those whom he sent to the best fortified cities.

3. Jehoshaphat took for his son Jehoram to wife the daughter of Ahab, the king of the ten tribes, whose name was Athaliah. And when, after some time, he went to Samaria, Ahab received him courteously, and treated the army that followed him in a splendid manner, with great plenty of corn and wine, and of slain beasts; and desired that he would join with him in his war against the king of Syria, that he might recover from him the city Ramoth, in Gilead; for though it had belonged to his father, yet had the king of Syria's father taken it away from him; and upon Jehoshaphat's promise to afford him his assistance, [for indeed his army was not inferior to the other,] and his sending for his army from Jerusalem to Samaria, the two kings went out of the city, and each of them sat on his own throne, and each gave their orders to their several armies. Now Jehoshaphat bid them call some of the prophets, if there were any there, and inquire of them concerning this expedition against the king of Syria, whether they would give them counsel to make that expedition at this time, for there was peace at that time between Ahab and the king of Syria, which had lasted three years, from the time he had taken him captive till that day.

4. So Ahab called his own prophets, being in number about four hundred, and bid them inquire of God whether he would grant him the victory, if he made an expedition against Benhadad, and enable him to overthrow that city, for whose sake it was that he was going to war. Now these prophets gave their counsel for making this expedition, and said that he would beat the king of Syria, and, as formerly, would reduce him under his power. But Jehoshaphat, understanding by their words that they were false prophets, asked Ahab whether there were not some other prophet, and he belonging to the true God, that we may have surer information concerning futurities. Hereupon Ahab said there was indeed such a one, but that he hated him, as having prophesied evil to him, and having foretold that he should be overcome and slain by the king of Syria, and that for this cause he had him now in prison, and that his name was Micaiah, the son of Imlah. But upon Jehoshaphat's desire that he might be produced, Ahab sent a eunuch, who brought Micaiah to him. Now the eunuch had informed him by the way, that all the other prophets had foretold that the king should gain the victory; but he said, that it was not lawful for him to lie against God, but that he must speak what he should say to him about the king, whatsoever it were. When he came to Ahab, and he had adjured him upon oath to speak the truth to him, he said that God had shown to him the Israelites running away, and pursued by the Syrians, and dispersed upon the mountains by them, as flocks of sheep are dispersed when their shepherd is slain. He said further, that God signified to him, that those Israelites should return in peace to their own home, and that he only should fall in the battle. When Micalab had thus spoken, Ahab said to Jehoshaphat, "I told

thee a little while ago the disposition of the man with regard to me, and that he uses to prophesy evil to me." Upon which Micaiah replied, that he ought to hear all, whatsoever it be, that God foretells; and that in particular, they were false prophets that encouraged him to make this war in hope of victory, whereas he must fight and be killed. Whereupon the king was in suspense with himself: but Zedekiah, one of those false prophets, came near, and exhorted him not to hearken to Micaiah, for he did not at all speak truth; as a demonstration of which he instanced in what Elijah had said, who was a better prophet in foretelling futurities than Micaiah for he foretold that the dogs should lick his blood in the city of Jezreel, in the field of Naboth, as they licked the blood of Naboth, who by his means was there stoned to death by the multitude; that therefore it was plain that this Micalab was a liar, as contradicting a greater prophet than himself, and saying that he should be slain at three days' journey distance: "and [said he] you shall soon know whether he be a true prophet, and hath the power of the Divine Spirit; for I will smite him, and let him then hurt my hand, as Jadon caused the hand of Jeroboam the king to wither when he would have caught him; for I suppose thou hast certainly heard of that accident." So when, upon his smiting Micaiah, no harm happened to him, Ahab took courage, and readily led his army against the king of Syria; for, as I suppose, fate was too hard for him, and made him believe that the false prophets spake truer than the true one, that it might take an occasion of bringing him to his end. However, Zedekiah made horns of iron, and said to Ahab, that God made those horns signals, that by them he should overthrow all Syria. But Micaiah replied, that Zedekiah, in a few days, should go from one secret chamber to another to hide himself, that he might escape the punishment of his lying. Then did the king give orders that they should take Micaiah away, and guard him to Amon, the governor of the city, and to give him nothing but bread and water.

5. Then did Ahab, and Jehoshaphat the king of Jerusalem, take their forces, and marched to Ramoth a city of Gilead; and when the king of Syria heard of this expedition, he brought out his army to oppose them, and pitched his camp not far from Ramoth. Now Ahalx and Jehoshaphat had agreed that Ahab should lay aside his royal robes, but that the king of Jerusalem should put on his [Ahab's] proper habit, and stand before the army, in order to disprove, by this artifice, what Micaiah had foretold. But Ahab's fate found him out without his robes; for Benhadad, the king of Assyria, had charged his army, by the means of their commanders, to kill nobody else but only the king of Israel. So when the Syrians, upon their joining battle with the Israelites, saw Jehoshaphat stand before the army, and conjectured that he was Ahab, they fell violently upon him, and encompassed him round; but when they were near, and knew that it was not

he, they all returned back; and while the fight lasted from the morning till late in the evening, and the Syrians were conquerors, they killed nobody, as their king had commanded them. And when they sought to kill Ahab alone, but could not find him, there was a young nobleman belonging to king Benhadad, whose name was Naaman; he drew his bow against the enemy, and wounded the king through his breastplate, in his lungs. Upon this Ahab resolved not to make his mischance known to his army, lest they should run away; but he bid the driver of his chariot to turn it back, and carry him out of the battle, because he was sorely and mortally wounded. However, he sat in his chariot and endured the pain till sunset, and then he fainted away and died.

6. And now the Syrian army, upon the coming on of the night, retired to their camp; and when the herald belonging to the camp gave notice that Ahab was dead, they returned home; and they took the dead body of Ahab to Samaria, and buried it there; but when they had washed his chariot in the fountain of Jezreel, which was bloody with the dead body of the king, they acknowledged that the prophecy of Elijah was true, for the dogs licked his blood, and the harlots continued afterwards to wash themselves in that fountain; but still he died at Ramoth, as Micaiah had foretold. And as what things were foretold should happen to Ahab by the two prophets came to pass, we ought thence to have high notions of God, and every where to honor and worship him, and never to suppose that what is pleasant and agreeable is worthy of belief before what is true, and to esteem nothing more advantageous than the gift of prophecy and that foreknowledge of future events which is derived from it, since God shows men thereby what we ought to avoid. We may also guess, from what happened to this king, and have reason to consider the power of fate; that there is no way of avoiding it, even when we know it. It creeps upon human souls, and flatters them with pleasing hopes, till it leads them about to the place where it will be too hard for them. Accordingly Ahab appears to have been deceived thereby, till he disbelieved those that foretold his defeat; but, by giving credit to such as foretold what was grateful to him, was slain; and his son Ahaziah succeeded him.

BOOK IX. Containing The Interval Of One Hundred And Fifty-Seven Years. — From The Death Of Ahab To The Captivity Of The Ten Tribes.

CHAPTER 1. Concerning Jehoshaphat Again; How He Constituted Judges And, By God's Assistance Overcame His Enemies.

1. When Jehoshaphat the king was come to Jerusalem, from the assistance he had afforded Ahab, the king of Israel, when he fought with Benhadad, king of Syria, the prophet Jehu met him, and accused him for assisting Ahab, a man both impious and wicked; and said to him, that God was displeased with him for so doing, but that he delivered him from the enemy, notwithstanding he had sinned, because of his own proper disposition, which was good. Whereupon the king betook himself to thanksgivings and sacrifices to God; after which he presently went over all that country which he ruled round about, and taught the people, as well the laws which God gave them by Moses, as that religious worship that was due to him. He also constituted judges in every one of the cities of his kingdom; and charged them to have regard to nothing so much in judging the multitude as to do justice, and not to be moved by bribes, nor by the dignity of men eminent for either their riches or their high birth, but to distribute justice equally to all, as knowing that God is conscious of every secret action of theirs. When he had himself instructed them thus, and gone over every city of the two tribes, he returned to Jerusalem. He there also constituted judges out of the priests and the Levites, and principal persons of the multitude, and admonished them to pass all their sentences with care and justice And that if any of the people of his country had differences of great consequence, they should send them out of the other cities to these judges, who would be obliged to give righteous sentences concerning such causes; and this with the greater care, because it is proper that the sentences which are given in that city wherein the temple of God is, and wherein the king dwells, be given with great care and the utmost justice. Now he set over them Amariah the priest, and Zebadiah, [both] of the tribe of Judah; and after this manner it was that the king ordered these affairs.

2. About the same time the Moabites and Ammonites made an expedition against Jehoshaphat, and took with them a great body of Arabians, and pitched their camp at Engedi, a city that is situate at the lake Asphaltiris, and distant three hundred furlongs from Jerusalem. In that place grows the best kind of palm trees, and the opobalsamum. Now Jehoshaphat heard that the enemies had passed over the lake, and had made an irruption into that country which belonged to his kingdom; at which news he was aftrighted, and called the people of Jerusalem to a congregation in the temple, and standing over against the

temple itself, he called upon God to afford him power and strength, so as to inflict punishment on those that made this expedition against them [for that those who built this his temple had prayed, that he would protect that city, and take vengeance on those that were so bold as to come against it]; for they are come to take from us that land which thou hast given us for a possession. When he had prayed thus, he fell into tears; and the whole multitude, together with their wives and children, made their supplications also: upon which a certain prophet, Jahaziel by name, came into the midst of the assembly, and cried out, and spake both to the multitude and to the king, that God heard their prayers, and promised to fight against their enemies. He also gave order that the king should draw his forces out the next day, for that he should find them between Jerusalem and the ascent of Engedi, at a place called The Eminence, and that he should not fight against them, but only stand still, and see how God would fight against them. When the prophet had said this, both the king and the multitude fell upon their faces, and gave thanks to God, and worshipped him; and the Levites continued singing hymns to God with their instruments of music.

3. As soon as it was day, and the king was come into that wilderness which is under the city of Tekoa, he said to the multitude, "that they ought to give credit to what the prophet had said, and not to set themselves in array for fighting; but to set the priests with their trumpets, and the Levites with the singers of hymns, to give thanks to God, as having already delivered our country from our enemies." This opinion of the king pleased [the people], and they did what he advised them to do. So God caused a terror and a commotion to arise among the Ammonites, who thought one another to be enemies, and slew one another, insomuch that not one man out of so great an army escaped; and when Jehoshaphat looked upon that valley wherein their enemies had been encamped, and saw it full of dead men, he rejoiced at so surprising an event, as was this assistance of God, while he himself by his own power, and without their labor, had given them the victory. He also gave his army leave to take the prey of the enemy's camp, and to spoil their dead bodies; and indeed so they did for three days together, till they were weary, so great was the number of the slain; and on the fourth day, all the people were gathered together unto a certain hollow place or valley, and blessed God for his power and assistance, from which the place had this name given it, the Valley of [Berachah, or] Blessing.

4. And when the king had brought his army back to Jerusalem, he betook himself to celebrate festivals, and offer sacrifices, and this for many days. And indeed, after this destruction of their enemies, and when it came to the ears of the foreign nations, they were all greatly aftrighted, as supposing that God would openly fight for him hereafter. So Jehoshaphat from that time lived in great glory

and splendor, on account of his righteousness and his piety towards God. He was also in friendship with Ahab's son, who was king of Israel; and he joined with him in the building of ships that were to sail to Pontus, and the traffic cities of Thrace but he failed of his gains, for the ships were destroyed by being so great [and unwieldy]; on which account he was no longer concerned about shipping. And this is the history of Jehoshaphat, the king of Jerusalem.

CHAPTER 2. Concerning Ahaziah; The King Of Israel; And Again Concerning The Prophet Elijah.

1. And now Ahaziah, the son of Ahab, reigned over Israel, and made his abode in Samaria. He was a wicked man, and in all respects like to both his parents and to Jeroboam, who first of all transgressed, and began to deceive the people. In the second year of his reign, the king of Moab fell off from his obedience, and left off paying those tributes which he before paid to his father Ahab. Now it happened that Ahaziah, as he was coming down from the top of his house, fell down from it, and in his sickness sent to the Fly, which was the god of Ekron, for that was this god's name, to inquire about his recovery but the God of the Hebrews appeared to Elijah the prophet, and commanded him to go and meet the messengers that were sent, and to ask them, whether the people of Israel had pot a God of their own, that the king sent to a foreign god to inquire about his recovery? and to bid them return and tell the king that he would not escape this disease. And when Elijah had performed what God had commanded him, and the messengers had heard what he said, they returned to the king immediately; and when the king wondered how they could return so soon, and asked them the reason of it, they said that a certain man met them, and forbade them to go on any farther; but to return and tell thee, from the command of the God of Israel, that this disease will have a bad end. And when the king bid them describe the man that said this to them, they replied that he was a hairy man, and was girt about with a girdle of leather. So the king understood by this that the man who was described by the messengers was Elijah; whereupon he sent a captain to him, with fifty soldiers, and commanded them to bring Elijah to him; and when the captain that was sent found Elijah sitting upon the top of a hill, he commanded him to come down, and to come to the king, for so had he enjoined; but that in case he refused, they would carry him by force. Elijah said to him, "That you may have a trial whether I be a true prophet, I will pray that fire may fall from heaven, and destroy both the soldiers and yourself." So he prayed, and a whirlwind of fire fell [from heaven], and destroyed the captain, and those that were with him. And when the king was informed of the destruction of these men, he was very angry, and sent another captain with the like number of armed men that were sent before. And when this captain also threatened the prophet, that unless he came down of his own accord, he would take him and carry him away, upon his prayer against him, the fire [from heaven] slew this captain as well the other. And when, upon inquiry, the king was informed of what happened to him,

he sent out a third captain. But when this captain, who was a wise man, and of a mild disposition, came to the place where Elijah happened to be, and spake civilly to him; and said that he knew that it was without his own consent, and only in submission to the king's command that he came to him; and that those that came before did not come willingly, but on the same account; — he therefore desired him to have pity on those armed men that were with him, and that he would come down and follow him to the king. So Elijah accepted of his discreet words and courteous behavior, and came down and followed him. And when he came to the king, he prophesied to him and told him that God said, "Since thou hast despised him as not being God, and so unable to foretell the truth about thy distemper, but hast sent to the god of Ekron to inquire of him what will be the end of this thy distemper, know this, that thou shalt die."

2. Accordingly the king in a very little time died, as Elijah had foretold; but Jehoram his brother succeeded him in the kingdom, for he died without children: but for this Jehoram, he was like his father Ahab in wickedness, and reigned twelve years, indulging himself in all sorts of wickedness and impiety towards God, for, leaving off his worship, he worshipped foreign gods; but in other respects he was an active man. Now at this time it was that Elijah disappeared from among men, and no one knows of his death to this very day; but he left behind him his disciple Elisha, as we have formerly declared. And indeed, as to Elijah, and as to Enoch, who was before the deluge, it is written in the sacred books that they disappeared, but so that nobody knew that they died.

CHAPTER 3. How Joram And Jehoshaphat Made An Expedition Against The Moabites; As Also Concerning The Wonders Of Elisha; And The Death Of Jehoshaphat.

1. When Joram had taken upon him the kingdom, he determined to make an expedition against the king of Moab, whose name was Mesha; for, as we told you before, he was departed from his obedience to his brother [Ahaziah], while he paid to his father Ahab two hundred thousand sheep, with their fleeces of wool. When therefore he had gathered his own army together, he sent also to Jehoshaphat, and entreated him, that since he had from the beginning been a friend to his father, he would assist him in the war that he was entering into against the Moabites, who had departed from their obedience, who not only himself promised to assist him, but would also oblige the king of Edom, who was under his authority, to make the same expedition also. When Joram had received these assurances of assistance from Jehoshaphat, he took his army with him, and came to Jerusalem; and when he had been sumptuously entertained by the king of Jerusalem, it was resolved upon by them to take their march against their enemies through the wilderness of Edom. And when they had taken a compass of seven days' journey, they were in distress for want of water for the cattle, and for the army, from the mistake of their roads by the guides that conducted them, insomuch that they were all in an agony, especially Joram; and cried to God, by reason of their sorrow, and [desired to know] what wickedness had been committed by them that induced him to deliver three kings together, without fighting, unto the king of Moab. But Jehoshaphat, who was a righteous man, encouraged him, and bade him send to the camp, and know whether any prophet of God was come along with them, that we might by him learn from God what we should do. And when one of the servants of Joram said that he had seen there Elisha, the son of Shaphat, the disciple of Elijah, the three kings went to him, at the entreaty of Jehoshaphat; and when they were come at the prophet's tent, which tent was pitched out of the camp, they asked him what would become of the army? and Joram was particularly very pressing with him about it. And when he replied to him, that he should not trouble him, but go to his father's and mother's prophets, for they [to be sure] were true prophets, he still desired him to prophesy, and to save them. So he swore by God that he would not answer him, unless it were on account of Jehoshaphat, who was a holy and

righteous man; and when, at his desire, they brought him a man that could play on the psaltery, the Divine Spirit came upon him as the music played, and he commanded them to dig many trenches in the valley; for, said he, "though there appear neither cloud, nor wind, nor storm of rain, ye shall see this river full of water, till the army and the cattle be saved for you by drinking of it. Nor will this be all the favor that you shall receive from God, but you shall also overcome your enemies, and take the best and strongest cities of the Moabites, and you shall cut down their fruit trees, and lay waste their country, and stop up their fountains and rivers."

2. When the prophet had said this, the next day, before the sun-rising, a great torrent ran strongly; for God had caused it to rain very plentifully at the distance of three days' journey into Edom, so that the army and the cattle found water to drink in abundance. But when the Moabites heard that the three kings were coming upon them, and made their approach through the wilderness, the king of Moab gathered his army together presently, and commanded them to pitch their camp upon the mountains, that when the enemies should attempt to enter their country, they might not be concealed from them. But when at the rising of the sun they saw the water in the torrent, for it was not far from the land of Moab, and that it was of the color of blood, for at such a time the water especially looks red, by the shining of the sun upon it, they formed a false notion of the state of their enemies, as if they had slain one another for thirst; and that the river ran with their blood. However, supposing that this was the case, they desired their king would send them out to spoil their enemies; whereupon they all went in haste, as to an advantage already gained, and came to the enemy's camp, as supposing them destroyed already. But their hope deceived them; for as their enemies stood round about them, some of them were cut to pieces, and others of them were dispersed, and fled to their own country. And when the kings fell into the land of Moab, they overthrew the cities that were in it, and spoiled their fields, and marred them, filling them with stones out of the brooks, and cut down the best of their trees, and stopped up their fountains of water, and overthrew their walls to their foundations. But the king of Moab, when he was pursued, endured a siege; and seeing his city in danger of being overthrown by force, made a sally, and went out with seven hundred men, in order to break through the enemy's camp with his horsemen, on that side where the watch seemed to be kept most negligently; and when, upon trial, he could not get away, for he lighted upon a place that was carefully watched, he returned into the city, and did a thing that showed despair and the utmost distress; for he took his eldest son, who was to reign after him, and lifting him up upon the wall, that he might be visible to all the enemies, he offered him as a whole burnt-offering to God,

whom, when the kings saw, they commiserated the distress that was the occasion of it, and were so affected, in way of humanity and pity, that they raised the siege, and every one returned to his own house. So Jehoshaphat came to Jerusalem, and continued in peace there, and outlived this expedition but a little time, and then died, having lived in all sixty years, and of them reigned twenty-five. He was buried in a magnificent manner in Jerusalem, for he had imitated the actions of David.

CHAPTER 4. Jehoram Succeeds Jehoshaphat; How Joram, His Namesake, King Of Israel, Fought With The Syrians; And What Wonders Were Done By The Prophet Elisha.

1. Jehoshapat had a good number of children; but he appointed his eldest son Jehoram to be his successor, who had the same name with his mother's brother, that was king of Israel, and the son of Ahab. Now when the king of Israel was come out of the land of Moab to Samaria, he had with him Elisha the prophet, whose acts I have a mind to go over particularly, for they were illustrious, and worthy to be related, as we have them set down in the sacred books.

2. For they say that the widow of Obadiah Ahab's steward, came to him, and said, that he was not ignorant how her husband had preserved the prophets that were to be slain by Jezebel, the wife of Ahab; for she said that he hid a hundred of them, and had borrowed money for their maintenance, and that, after her husband's death, she and her children were carried away to be made slaves by the creditors; and she desired of him to have mercy upon her on account of what her husband did, and afford her some assistance. And when he asked her what she had in the house, she said, "Nothing but a very small quantity of oil in a cruse." So the prophet bid her go away, and borrow a great many empty vessels of her neighbors, and when she had shut her chamber door, to pour the oil into them all; for that God would fill them full. And when the woman had done what she was commanded to do, and bade her children bring every one of the vessels, and all were filled, and not one left empty, she came to the prophet, and told him that they were all full; upon which he advised her to go away, and sell the oil, and pay the creditors what was owing them, for that there would be some surplus of the price of the oil, which she might make use of for the maintenance of her children. And thus did Elisha discharge the woman's debts, and free her from the vexation of her creditors.

3. Elisha also sent a hasty message to Joram, and exhorted him to take care of that place, for that therein were some Syrians lying in ambush to kill him. So the king did as the prophet exhorted him, and avoided his going a hunting. And when Benhadad missed of the success of his lying in ambush, he was wroth with his own servants, as if they had betrayed his ambushment to Joram; and he sent for them, and said they were the betrayers of his secret counsels; and he threatened that he would put them to death, since such their practice was evident,

because he had intrusted this secret to none but them, and yet it was made known to his enemy. And one that was present said that he should not mistake himself, nor suspect that they had discovered to his enemy his sending men to kill him, but that he ought to know that it was Elisha the prophet who discovered all to him, and laid open all his counsels. So he gave order that they should send some to learn in what city Elisha dwelt. Accordingly those that were sent brought word that he was in Dothan; wherefore Benhadad sent to that city a great army, with horses and chariots, to take Elisha: so they encompassed the city round about by night, and kept him therein confined; but when the prophet's servant in the morning perceived this, and that his enemies sought to take Elisha, he came running, and crying out after a disordered manner to him, and told him of it; but he encouraged him, and bid him not be afraid, and to despise the enemy, and trust in the assistance of God, and was himself without fear; and he besought God to make manifest to his servant his power and presence, so far as was possible, in order to the inspiring him with hope and courage. Accordingly God heard the prayer of the prophet, and made the servant see a multitude of chariots and horses encompassing Elisha, till he laid aside his fear, and his courage revived at the sight of what he supposed was come to their assistance. After this Elisha did further entreat God, that he would dim the eyes of their enemies, and cast a mist before them, whereby they might not discern him. When this was done, he went into the midst of his enemies, and asked them who it was that they came to seek; and when they replied, "The prophet Elisha," he promised he would deliver him to them, if they would follow him to the city where he was. So these men were so darkened by God in their sight and in their mind, that they followed him very diligently; and when Elisha had brought them to Samaria, he ordered Joram the king to shut the gates, and to place his own army round about them; and prayed to God to clear the eyes of these their enemies, and take the mist from before them. Accordingly, when they were freed from the obscurity they had been in, they saw themselves in the midst of their enemies; and as the Syrians were strangely amazed and distressed, as was but reasonable, at an action so Divine and surprising, and as king Joram asked the prophet if he would give him leave to shoot at them, Elisha forbade him so to do; and said, that "it is just to kill those that are taken in battle, but that these men had done the country no harm, but, without knowing it, were come thither by the Divine Power:" — so that his counsel was to treat them in a hospitable manner at his table, and then send them away without hurting them. Wherefore Joram obeyed the prophet; and when he had feasted the Syrians in a splendid and magnificent manner, he let them go to Benhadad their king.

4. Now when these men were come back, and had showed Benhadad how strange an accident had befallen them, and what an appearance and power they had experienced of the God of Israel, he wondered at it, as also at that prophet with whom God was so evidently present; so he determined to make no more secret attempts upon the king of Israel, out of fear of Elisha, but resolved to make open war with them, as supposing he could be too hard for his enemies by the multitude of his army and power. So he made an expedition with a great army against Joram, who, not thinking himself a match for him, shut himself up in Samaria, and depended on the strength of its walls; but Benhadad supposed he should take the city, if not by his engines of war, yet that he should overcome the Samaritans by famine, and the want of necessaries, and brought his army upon them, and besieged the city; and the plenty of necessaries was brought so low with Joram, that from the extremity of want an ass's head was sold in Samaria for fourscore pieces of silver, and the Hebrews bought a sextary of dore's dung, instead of salt, for five pieces of silver. Now Joram was in fear lest somebody should betray the city to the enemy, by reason of the famine, and went every day round the walls and the guards to see whether any such were concealed among them; and by being thus seen, and taking such care, he deprived them of the opportunity of contriving any such thing; and if they had a mind to do it, he, by this means, prevented them: but upon a certain woman's crying out, "Have pity on me, my lord," while he thought that she was about to ask for somewhat to eat, he imprecated God's curse upon her, and said he had neither thrashing-floor nor wine-press, whence he might give her any thing at her petition. Upon which she said she did not desire his aid in any such thing, nor trouble him about food, but desired that he would do her justice as to another woman. And when he bade her say on, and let him know what she desired, she said she had made an agreement with the other woman who was her neighbor and her friend, that because the famine and want was intolerable, they should kill their children, each of them having a son of their own, "and we will live upon them ourselves for two days, the one day upon one son, and the other day upon the other; and," said she, "I have killed my son the first day, and we lived upon my son yesterday; but this other woman will not do the same thing, but hath broken her agreement, and hath hid her son." This story mightily grieved Joram when he heard it; so he rent his garment, and cried out with a loud voice, and conceived great wrath against Elisha the prophet, and set himself eagerly to have him slain, because he did not pray to God to provide them some exit and way of escape out of the miseries with which they were surrounded; and sent one away immediately to cut off his head, who made haste to kill the prophet. But Elisha was not unacquainted with the wrath of the king against him; for as he sat in his house by himself, with

none but his disciples about him, he told them that Joram, who was the son of a murderer, had sent one to take away his head; “but,” said he, “when he that is commanded to do this comes, take care that you do not let him come in, but press the door against him, and hold him fast there, for the king himself will follow him, and come to me, having altered his mind.” Accordingly, they did as they were bidden, when he that was sent by the king to kill Elisha came. But Joram repented of his wrath against the prophet; and for fear he that was commanded to kill him should have done it before he came, he made haste to hinder his slaughter, and to save the prophet: and when he came to him, he accused him that he did not pray to God for their deliverance from the miseries they now lay under, but saw them so sadly destroyed by them. Hereupon Elisha promised, that the very next day, at the very same hour in which the king came to him, they should have great plenty of food, and that two seahs of barley should be sold in the market for a shekel, and a seah of fine flour should be sold for a shekel. This prediction made Joram, and those that were present, very joyful, for they did not scruple believing what the prophet said, on account of the experience they had of the truth of his former predictions; and the expectation of plenty made the want they were in that day, with the uneasiness that accompanied it, appear a light thing to them: but the captain of the third band, who was a friend of the king, and on whose hand the king leaned, said, “Thou talkest of incredible things, O prophet! for as it is impossible for God to pour down torrents of barley, or fine flour, out of heaven, so is it impossible that what thou sayest should come to pass.” To which the prophet made this reply,” Thou shalt see these things come to pass, but thou shalt not be in the least a partaker of them.”

5. Now what Elisha had thus foretold came to pass in the manner following: There was a law at Samaria that those that had the leprosy, and whose bodies were not cleansed from it, should abide without the city: and there were four men that on this account abode before the gates, while nobody gave them any food, by reason of the extremity of the famine; and as they were prohibited from entering into the city by the law, and they considered that if they were permitted to enter, they should miserably perish by the famine; as also, that if they staid where they were, they should suffer in the same manner, — they resolved to deliver themselves up to the enemy, that in case they should spare them, they should live; but if they should be killed, that would be an easy death. So when they had confirmed this their resolution, they came by night to the enemy’s camp. Now God had begun to affright and disturb the Syrians, and to bring the noise of chariots and armor to their ears, as though an army were coming upon them, and had made them suspect that it was coming nearer and nearer to them

In short, they were in such a dread of this army, that they left their tents, and ran together to Benhadad, and said that Joram the king of Israel had hired for auxiliaries both the king of Egypt and the king of the Islands, and led them against them for they heard the noise of them as they were coming. And Benhadad believed what they said [for there came the same noise to his ears as well as it did to theirs]; so they fell into a mighty disorder and tumult, and left their horses and beasts in their camp, with immense riches also, and betook themselves to flight. And those lepers who had departed from Samaria, and were gone to the camp of the Syrians, of whom we made mention a little before, when they were in the camp, saw nothing but great quietness and silence: accordingly they entered into it, and went hastily into one of their tents; and when they saw nobody there, they eat and drank, and carried garments, and a great quantity of gold, and hid it out of the camp; after which they went into another tent, and carried off what was in it, as they did at the former, and this did they for several times, without the least interruption from any body. So they gathered thereby that the enemies were departed; whereupon they reproached themselves that they did not inform Joram and the citizens of it. So they came to the walls of Samaria, and called aloud to the watchmen, and told them in what state the enemies were, as did these tell the king's guards, by whose means Joram came to know of it; who then sent for his friends, and the captains of his host, and said to them, that he suspected that this departure of the king of Syria was by way of ambush and treachery, and that, "out of despair of ruining you by famine, when you imagine them to be fled away, you may come out of the city to spoil their camp, and he may then fall upon you on a sudden, and may both kill you, and take the city without fighting; whence it is that I exhort you to guard the city carefully, and by no means to go out of it, or proudly to despise your enemies, as though they were really gone away." And when a certain person said that he did very well and wisely to admit such a suspicion, but that he still advised him to send a couple of horsemen to search all the country as far as Jordan, that "if they were seized by an ambush of the enemy, they might be a security to your army, that they may not go out as if they suspected nothing, nor undergo the like misfortune; and," said he, "those horsemen may be numbered among those that have died by the famine, supposing they be caught and destroyed by the enemy." So the king was pleased with this opinion, and sent such as might search out the truth, who performed their journey over a road that was without any enemies, but found it full of provisions, and of weapons, that they had therefore thrown away, and left behind them, in order to their being light and expeditious in their flight. When the king heard this, he sent out the multitude to take the spoils of the camp; which gains of theirs were not of things of small value, but they took a

great quantity of gold, and a great quantity of silver, and flocks of all kinds of cattle. They also possessed themselves of [so many] ten thousand measures of wheat and barley, as they never in the least dreamed of; and were not only freed from their former miseries, but had such plenty, that two seahs of barley were bought for a shekel, and a seah of fine flour for a shekel, according to the prophecy of Elisha. Now a seah is equal to an Italian modius and a half. The captain of the third band was the only man that received no benefit by this plenty; for as he was appointed by the king to oversee the gate, that lm might prevent the too great crowd of the multitude, and they might not endanger one another to perish, by treading on one another in the press, he suffered himself in that very way, and died in that very manner, as Elisha had foretold such his death, when he alone of them all disbelieved what he said concerning that plenty of provisions which they should soon have.

6. Hereupon, when Benhadad, the king of Syria, had escaped to Damascus, and understood that it was God himself that cast all his army into this fear and disorder, and that it did not arise from the invasion of enemies, he was mightily cast down at his having God so greatly for his enemy, and fell into a distemper. Now it happened that Elisha the prophet, at that time, was gone out of his own country to Damascus, of which Berthadad was informed: he sent Hazael, the most faithful of all his servants, to meet him, and to carry him presents, and bade him inquire of him about his distemper, and whether he should escape the danger that it threatened. So Hazael came to Elisha with forty camels, that carried the best and most precious fruits that the country of Damascus afforded, as well as those which the king's palace supplied. He saluted him kindly, and said that he was sent to him by king Berthadad, and brought presents with him, in order to inquire concerning his distemper, whether he should recover from it or not. Whereupon the prophet bid him tell the king no melancholy news; but still he said he would die. So the king's servant was troubled to hear it; and Elisha wept also, and his tears ran down plenteously at his foresight of what miseries his people would undergo after the death of Berthadad. And when Hazael asked him what was the occasion of this confusion he was in, he said that he wept out of his commiseration for the multitude of the Israelites, and what terrible miseries they will suffer by thee; "for thou wilt slay the strongest of them, and wilt burn their strongest cities, and wilt destroy their children, and dash them against the stones, and wilt rip up their women with child." And when Hazael said, "How can it be that I should have power enough to do such things?" the prophet replied, that God had informed him that he should be king of Syria. So when Hazael was come to Benhadad, he told him good news concerning his distemper but on the next day he spread a wet cloth, in the nature of a net, over him, and strangled

him, and took his dominion. He was an active man, and had the good-will of the Syrians, and of the people of Damascus, to a great degree; by whom both Benhadad himself, and Hazael, who ruled after him, are honored to this day as gods, by reason of their benefactions, and their building them temples by which they adorned the city of the Damascenes. They also every day do with great pomp pay their worship to these kings, and value themselves upon their antiquity; nor do they know that these kings are much later than they imagine, and that they are not yet eleven hundred years old. Now when Joram, the king of Israel, heard that Berthadad was dead, he recovered out of the terror and dread he had been in on his account, and was very glad to live in peace.

CHAPTER 5. Concerning The Wickedness Of Jehoram King O Jerusalem; His Defeat And Death.

1. Now Jehoram the king of Jerusalem, for we have said before that he had the same name with the king of Israel, as soon as he had taken the government upon him, betook himself to the slaughter of his brethren, and his father's friends, who were governors under him, and thence made a beginning and a demonstration of his wickedness; nor was he at all better than those kings of Israel who at first transgressed against the laws of their country, and of the Hebrews, and against God's worship. And it was Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab, whom he had married, who taught him to be a bad man in other respects, and also to worship foreign gods. Now God would not quite root out this family, because of the promise he had made to David. However, Jehoram did not leave off the introduction of new sorts of customs to the propagation of impiety, and to the ruin of the customs of his own country. And when the Edomites about that time had revolted from him, and slain their former king, who was in subjection to his father, and had set up one of their own choosing, Jehoram fell upon the land of Edom, with the horsemen that were about him, and the chariots, by night, and destroyed those that lay near to his own kingdom, but did not proceed further. However, this expedition did him no service, for they all revolted from him, with those that dwelt in the country of Libnah. He was indeed so mad as to compel the people to go up to the high places of the mountains, and worship foreign gods.

2. As he was doing this, and had entirely cast his own country laws out of his mind, there was brought him an epistle from Elijah the prophet which declared that God would execute great judgments upon him, because he had not imitated his own fathers, but had followed the wicked courses of the kings of Israel; and had compelled the tribe of Judah, and the citizens of Jerusalem, to leave the holy worship of their own God, and to worship idols, as Ahab had compelled the Israelites to do, and because he had slain his brethren, and the men that were good and righteous. And the prophet gave him notice in this epistle what punishment he should undergo for these crimes, namely, the destruction of his people, with the corruption of the king's own wives and children; and that he should himself die of a distemper in his bowels, with long torments, those his bowels falling out by the violence of the inward rottenness of the parts, insomuch that, though he see his own misery, he shall not be able at all to help

himself, but shall die in that manner. This it was which Elijah denounced to him in that epistle.

3. It was not long after this that an army of those Arabians that lived near to Ethiopia, and of the Philistines, fell upon the kingdom of Jehoram, and spoiled the country and the king's house. Moreover, they slew his sons and his wives: one only of his sons was left him, who escaped the enemy; his name was Ahaziah; after which calamity, he himself fell into that disease which was foretold by the prophet, and lasted a great while, [for God inflicted this punishment upon him in his belly, out of his wrath against him,] and so he died miserably, and saw his own bowels fall out. The people also abused his dead body; I suppose it was because they thought that such his death came upon him by the wrath of God, and that therefore he was not worthy to partake of such a funeral as became kings. Accordingly, they neither buried him in the sepulchers of his fathers, nor vouchsafed him any honors, but buried him like a private man, and this when he had lived forty years, and reigned eight. And the people of Jerusalem delivered the government to his son Ahaziah.

CHAPTER 6. How Jehu Was Anointed King, And Slew Both Joram And Ahaziah; As Also What He Did For The Punishment Of The Wicked.

1. Now Joram, the king of Israel, after the death of Benhadad, hoped that he might now take Ramoth, a city of Gilead, from the Syrians. Accordingly he made an expedition against it, with a great army; but as he was besieging it, an arrow was shot at him by one of the Syrians, but the wound was not mortal. So he returned to have his wound healed in Jezreel, but left his whole army in Ramorb, and Jehu, the son of Nimshi, for their general; for he had already taken the city by force; and he proposed, after he was healed, to make war with the Syrians; but Elisha the prophet sent one of his disciples to Ramoth, and gave him holy oil to anoint Jehu, and to tell him that God had chosen him to be their king. He also sent him to say other things to him, and bid him to take his journey as if he fled, that when he came away he might escape the knowledge of all men. So when he was come to the city, he found Jehu sitting in the midst of the captains of the army, as Elisha had foretold he should find him. So he came up to him, and said that he desired to speak with him about certain matters; and when he was arisen, and had followed him into an inward chamber, the young man took the oil, and poured it on his head, and said that God ordained him to be king, in order to his destroying the house of Ahab, and that he might revenge the blood of the prophets that were unjustly slain by Jezebel, that so their house might utterly perish, as those of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, and of Baasha, had perished for their wickedness, and no seed might remain of Ahab's family. So when he had said this, he went away hastily out of the chamber, and endeavored not to be seen by any of the army.

2. But Jehu came out, and went to the place where he before sat with the captains; and when they asked him, and desired him to tell them, wherefore it was that this young man came to him, and added withal that he was mad, he replied,— "You guess right, for the words he spake were the words of a madman;" and when they were eager about the matter, and desired he would tell them, he answered, that God had said he had chosen him to be king over the multitude. When he had said this, every one of them put off his garment, and strewed it under him, and blew with trumpets, and gave notice that Jehu was king. So when he had gotten the army together, he was preparing to set out immediately against Joram, at the city Jezreel, in which city, as we said before, he was healing of the wound which he had received in the siege of Ramoth. It

happened also that Ahaziah, king of Jerusalem, was now come to Joram, for he was his sister's son, as we have said already, to see how he did after his wound, and this upon account of their kindred; but as Jehu was desirous to fall upon Joram, and those with him, on the sudden, he desired that none of the soldiers might run away and tell to Joram what had happened, for that this would be an evident demonstration of their kindness to him, and would show that their real inclinations were to make him king.

3. So they were pleased with what he did, and guarded the roads, lest somebody should privately tell the thing to those that were at Jezreel. Now Jehu took his choice horsemen, and sat upon his chariot, and went on for Jezreel; and when he was come near, the watchman whom Joram had set there to spy out such as came to the city, saw Jehu marching on, and told Joram that he saw a troop of horsemen marching on. Upon which he immediately gave orders, that one of his horsemen should be sent out to meet them, and to know who it was that was coming. So when the horseman came up to Jehu, he asked him in what condition the army was, for that the king wanted to know it; but Jehu bid him not at all to meddle with such matters, but to follow him. When the watchman saw this, he told Joram that the horseman had mingled himself among the company, and came along with them. And when the king had sent a second messenger, Jehu commanded him to do as the former did; and as soon as the watchman told this also to Joram, he at last got upon his chariot himself, together with Ahaziah, the king of Jerusalem; for, as we said before, he was there to see how Joram did, after he had been wounded, as being his relation. So he went out to meet Jehu, who marched slowly, and in good order; and when Joram met him in the field of Naboth, he asked him if all things were well in the camp; but Jehu reproached him bitterly, and ventured to call his mother a witch and a harlot. Upon this the king, fearing what he intended, and suspecting he had no good meaning, turned his chariot about as soon as he could, and said to Ahaziah, "We are fought against by deceit and treachery." But Jehu drew his bow, and smote him, the arrow going through his heart: so Joram fell down immediately on his knee, and gave up the ghost. Jehu also gave orders to Bidkar, the captain of the third part of his army, to cast the dead body of Joram into the field of Naboth, putting him in mind of the prophecy which Elijah prophesied to Ahab his father, when he had slain Naboth, that both he and his family should perish in that place; for that as they sat behind Ahab's chariot, they heard the prophet say so, and that it was now come to pass according to his prophecy. Upon the fall of Joram, Ahaziah was afraid of his own life, and turned his chariot into another road, supposing he should not be seen by Jehu; but he followed after him, and overtook him at a certain acclivity, and drew his bow, and wounded him; so he left his chariot, and

got upon his horse, and fled from Jehu to Megiddo; and though he was under cure, in a little time he died of that wound, and was carried to Jerusalem, and buried there, after he had reigned one year, and had proved a wicked man, and worse than his father.

4. Now when Jehu was come to Jezreel, Jezebel adorned herself and stood upon a tower, and said, he was a fine servant that had killed his master! And when he looked up to her, he asked who she was, and commanded her to come down to him. At last he ordered the eunuchs to throw her down from the tower; and being thrown down, she be-sprinkled the wall with her blood, and was trodden upon by the horses, and so died. When this was done, Jehu came to the palace with his friends, and took some refreshment after his journey, both with other things, and by eating a meal. He also bid his servants to take up Jezebel and bury her, because of the nobility of her blood, for she was descended from kings; but those that were appointed to bury her found nothing else remaining but the extreme parts of her body, for all the rest were eaten by dogs. When Jehu heard this, he admired the prophecy of Elijah, for he foretold that she should perish in this manner at Jezreel.

5. Now Ahab had seventy sons brought up in Samaria. So Jehu sent two epistles, the one to them that brought up the children, the other to the rulers of Samaria, which said, that they should set up the most valiant of Ahab's sons for king, for that they had abundance of chariots, and horses, and armor, and a great army, and fenced cities, and that by so doing they might avenge the murder of Ahab. This he wrote to try the intentions of those of Samaria. Now when the rulers, and those that had brought up the children, had read the letter, they were afraid; and considering that they were not at all able to oppose him, who had already subdued two very great kings, they returned him this answer: That they owned him for their lord, and would do whatsoever he bade them. So he wrote back to them such a reply as enjoined them to obey what he gave order for, and to cut off the heads of Ahab's sons, and send them to him. Accordingly the rulers sent for those that brought up the sons of Ahab, and commanded them to slay them, to cut off their heads, and send them to Jehu. So they did whatsoever they were commanded, without omitting any thing at all, and put them up in wicker baskets, and sent them to Jezreel. And when Jehu, as he was at supper with his friends, was informed that the heads of Ahab's' sons were brought, he ordered them to make two heaps of them, one before each of the gates; and in the morning he went out to take a view of them, and when he saw them, he began to say to the people that were present, that he did himself make an expedition against his master [Joram], and slew him, but that it was not he that slew all these; and he desired them to take notice, that as to Ahab's family, all

things had come to pass according to God's prophecy, and his house was perished, according as Elijah had foretold. And when he had further destroyed all the kindred of Ahab that were found in Jezreel, he went to Samaria; and as he was upon the road, he met the relations of Ahaziah king of Jerusalem, and asked them whither they were going? they replied, that they came to salute Joram, and their own king Ahaziah, for they knew not that he had slain them both. So Jehu gave orders that they should catch these, and kill them, being in number forty-two persons.

6. After these, there met him a good and a righteous man, whose name was Jehonadab, and who had been his friend of old. He saluted Jehu, and began to commend him, because he had done every thing according to the will of God, in extirpating the house of Ahab. So Jehu desired him to come up into his chariot, and make his entry with him into Samaria; and told him that he would not spare one wicked man, but would punish the false prophets, and false priests, and those that deceived the multitude, and persuaded them to leave the worship of God Almighty, and to worship foreign gods; and that it was a most excellent and most pleasing sight to a good and a righteous man to see the wicked punished. So Jehonadab was persuaded by these arguments, and came up into Jehu's chariot, and came to Samaria. And Jehu sought out for all Ahab's kindred, and slew them. And being desirous that none of the false prophets, nor the priests of Ahab's god, might escape punishment, he caught them deceitfully by this wile; for he gathered all the people together, and said that he would worship twice as many gods as Ahab worshipped, and desired that his priests, and prophets, and servants might be present, because he would offer costly and great sacrifices to Ahab's god; and that if any of his priests were wanting, they should be punished with death. Now Ahab's god was called Baal; and when he had appointed a day on which he would offer those sacrifices, he sent messengers through all the country of the Israelites, that they might bring the priests of Baal to him. So Jehu commanded to give all the priests vestments; and when they had received them, he went into the house [of Baal], with his friend Jehonadab, and gave orders to make search whether there were not any foreigner or stranger among them, for he would have no one of a different religion to mix among their sacred offices. And when they said that there was no stranger there, and they were beginning their sacrifices, he set fourscore men without, they being such of his soldiers as he knew to be most faithful to him, and bid them slay the prophets, and now vindicate the laws of their country, which had been a long time in disesteem. He also threatened, that if any one of them escaped, their own lives should go for them. So they slew them all with the sword, and burnt the house of Baal, and by that means purged Samaria of foreign customs [idolatrous worship]. Now this

Baal was the god of the Tyrians; and Ahab, in order to gratify his father-in-law, Ethbaal, who was the king of Tyre and Sidon, built a temple for him in Samaria, and appointed him prophets, and worshipped him with all sorts of worship, although, when this god was demolished, Jehu permitted the Israelites to worship the golden heifers. However, because he had done thus, and taken care to punish the wicked, God foretold by his prophet that his sons should reign over Israel for four generations. And in this condition was Jehu at this time.

CHAPTER 7. How Athaliah Reigned Over Jerusalem For Five [Six] Years When Jehoiada The High Priest Slew Her And Made Jehoash, The Son Of Ahaziah, King.

1. Now when Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab, heard of the death of her brother Joram, and of her son Ahaziah, and of the royal family, she endeavored that none of the house of David might be left alive, but that the whole family might be exterminated, that no king might arise out of it afterward; and, as she thought, she had actually done it; but one of Ahaziah's sons was preserved, who escaped death after the manner following: Ahaziah had a sister by the same father, whose name was Jehosheba, and she was married to the high priest Jehoiada. She went into the king's palace, and found Jehoash, for that was the little child's name, who was not above a year old, among those that were slain, but concealed with his nurse; so she took him with her into a secret bed-chamber, and shut him up there, and she and her husband Jehoiada brought him up privately in the temple six years, during which time Athaliah reigned over Jerusalem and the two tribes.

2. Now, on the Seventh year, Jehoiada communicated the matter to certain of the captains of hundreds, five in number, and persuaded them to be assisting to what attempts he was making against Athaliah, and to join with him in asserting the kingdom to the child. He also received such oaths from them as are proper to secure those that assist one another from the fear of discovery; and he was then of good hope that they should depose Athaliah. Now those men whom Jehoiada the priest had taken to be his partners went into all the country, and gathered together the priests and the Levites, and the heads of the tribes out of it, and came and brought them to Jerusalem to the high priest. So he demanded the security of an oath of them, to keep private whatsoever he should discover to them, which required both their silence and their assistance. So when they had taken the oath, and had thereby made it safe for him to speak, he produced the child that he had brought up of the family of David, and said to them, "This is your king, of that house which you know God hath foretold should reign over you for all time to come. I exhort you therefore that one-third part of you guard him in the temple, and that a fourth part keep watch at all the gates of the temple, and that the next part of you keep guard at the gate which opens and leads to the king's palace, and let the rest of the multitude be unarmed in the temple, and let no armed person go into the temple, but the priest only." He also gave them this

order besides, “That a part of the priests and the Levites should be about the king himself, and be a guard to him, with their drawn swords, and to kill that man immediately, whoever he be, that should be so bold as to enter armed into the temple; and bid them be afraid of nobody, but persevere in guarding the king.” So these men obeyed what the high priest advised them to, and declared the reality of their resolution by their actions. Jehoiada also opened that armory which David had made in the temple, and distributed to the captains of hundreds, as also to the priests and Levites, all the spears and quivers, and what kind of weapons soever it contained, and set them armed in a circle round about the temple, so as to touch one another’s hands, and by that means excluding those from entering that ought not to enter. So they brought the child into the midst of them, and put on him the royal crown, and Jehoiada anointed him with the oil, and made him king; and the multitude rejoiced, and made a noise, and cried, “God save the king!”

3. When Athaliah unexpectedly heard the tumult and the acclamations, she was greatly disturbed in her mind, and suddenly issued out of the royal palace with her own army; and when she was come to the temple, the priests received her; but as for those that stood round about the temple, as they were ordered by the high priest to do, they hindered the armed inert that followed her from going in. But when Athaliah saw the child standing upon a pillar, with the royal crown upon his head, she rent her clothes, and cried out vehemently, and commanded [her guards] to kill him that had laid snares for her, and endeavored to deprive her of the government. But Jehoiada called for the captains of hundreds, and commanded them to bring Athaliah to the valley of Cedron, and slay her there, for he would not have the temple defiled with the punishments of this pernicious woman; and he gave order, that if any one came near to help her, he should be slain also; wherefore those that had the charge of her slaughter took hold of her, and led her to the gate of the king’s mules, and slew her there.

4. Now as soon as what concerned Athaliah was by this stratagem, after this manner, despatched, Jehoiada called together the people and the armed men into the temple, and made them take an oath that they would be obedient to the king, and take care of his safety, and of the safety of his government; after which he obliged the king to give security [upon oath] that he would worship God, and not transgress the laws of Moses. They then ran to the house of Baal, which Athaliah and her husband Jehoram had built, to the dishonor of the God of their fathers, and to the honor of Ahab, and demolished it, and slew Mattan, that had his priesthood. But Jehoiada intrusted the care and custody of the temple to the priests and Levites, according to the appointment of king David, and enjoined them to bring their regular burnt-offerings twice a day, and to offer incense

according to the law. He also ordained some of the Levites, with the porters, to be a guard to the temple, that no one that was defiled might come there.

5. And when Jehoiada had set these things in order, he, with the captains of hundreds, and the rulers, and all the people, took Jehoash out of the temple into the king's palace; and when he had set him upon the king's throne, the people shouted for joy, and betook themselves to feasting, and kept a festival for many days; but the city was quiet upon the death of Athaliah. Now Jehoash was seven years old when he took the kingdom. His mother's name was Zibiah, of the city Beersheba. And all the time that Jehoiada lived Jehoash was careful that the laws should be kept, and very zealous in the worship of God; and when he was of age, he married two wives, who were given to him by the high priest, by whom were born to him both sons and daughters. And thus much shall suffice to have related concerning king Jehoash, how he escaped the treachery of Athaliah, and how he received the kingdom.

CHAPTER 8. Hazael Makes An Expedition Against The People Of Israel And The Inhabitants Of Jerusalem. Jehu Dies, And Jehoahaz Succeeds In The Government. Jehoash The King Of Jerusalem At First Is Careful About The Worship Of God But Afterwards Becomes Impious And Commands Zechariah To Be Stoned. When Jehoash [King Of Judah] Was Dead, Amaziah Succeeds Him In The Kingdom.

1. Now Hazael, king of Syria, fought against the Israelites and their king Jehu, and spoiled the eastern parts of the country beyond Jordan, which belonged to the Reubenites and Gadites, and to [the half tribe of] Manassites; as also Gilead and Bashan, burning, and spoiling, and offering violence to all that he laid his hands on, and this without impeachment from Jehu, who made no haste to defend the country when it was under this distress; nay, he was become a contemner of religion, and a despiser of holiness, and of the laws, and died when he had reigned over the Israelites twenty-seven years. He was buried in Samaria, and left Jehoahaz his son his successor in the government.

2. Now Jehoash, king of Jerusalem, had an inclination to repair the temple of God; so he called Jehoiada, and bid him send the Levites and priests through all the country, to require half a shekel of silver for every head, towards the rebuilding and repairing of the temple, which was brought to decay by Jehoram, and Athaliah and her sons. But the high priest did not do this, as concluding that no one would willingly pay that money; but in the twenty-third year of Jehoash's reign, when the king sent for him and the Levites, and complained that they had not obeyed what he enjoined them, and still commanded them to take care of the rebuilding the temple, he used this stratagem for collecting the money, with which the multitude was pleased. He made a wooden chest, and closed it up fast on all sides, but opened one hole in it; he then set it in the temple beside the altar, and desired every one to cast into it, through the hole, what he pleased, for the repair of the temple. This contrivance was acceptable to the people, and they strove one with another, and brought in jointly large quantities of silver and gold; and when the scribe and the priest that were over the treasuries had

emptied the chest, and counted the money in the king's presence, they then set it in its former place, and thus did they every day. But when the multitude appeared to have cast in as much as was wanted, the high priest Jehoiada, and king Joash, sent to hire masons and carpenters, and to buy large pieces of timber, and of the most curious sort; and when they had repaired the temple, they made use of the remaining gold and silver, which was not a little, for bowls, and basons, and cups, and other vessels, and they went on to make the altar every day fat with sacrifices of great value. And these things were taken suitable care of as long as Jehoiada lived.

3. But as soon as he was dead [which was when he had lived one hundred and thirty years, having been a righteous, and in every respect a very good man, and was buried in the king's sepulchers at Jerusalem, because he had recovered the kingdom to the family of David] king Jehoash betrayed his [want of] care about God. The principal men of the people were corrupted also together with him, and offended against their duty, and what their constitution determined to be most for their good. Hereupon God was displeased with the change that was made on the king, and on the rest of the people, and sent prophets to testify to them what their actions were, and to bring them to leave off their wickedness; but they had gotten such a strong affection and so violent an inclination to it, that neither could the examples of those that had offered affronts to the laws, and had been so severely punished, they and their entire families, nor could the fear of what the prophets now foretold, bring them to repentance, and turn them back from their course of transgression to their former duty. But the king commanded that Zechariah, the son of the high priest Jehoiada, should be stoned to death in the temple, and forgot the kindnesses he had received from his father; for when God had appointed him to prophesy, he stood in the midst of the multitude, and gave this counsel to them and to the king: That they should act righteously; and foretold to them, that if they would not hearken to his admonitions, they should suffer a heavy punishment. But as Zechariah was ready to die, he appealed to God as a witness of what he suffered for the good counsel he had given them, and how he perished after a most severe and violent manner for the good deeds his father had done to Jehoash.

4. However, it was not long before the king suffered punishment for his transgression; for when Hazael, king of Syria, made an irruption into his country, and when he had overthrown Gath, and spoiled it, he made an expedition against Jerusalem; upon which Jehoash was afraid, and emptied all the treasures of God and of the kings [before him], and took down the gifts that had been dedicated [in the temple], and sent them to the king of Syria, and procured so much by them, that he was not besieged, nor his kingdom quite

endangered; but Hazael was induced by the greatness of the sum of money not to bring his army against Jerusalem; yet Jehoash fell into a severe distemper, and was set upon by his friends, in order to revenge the death of Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada. These laid snares for the king, and slew him. He was indeed buried in Jerusalem, but not in the royal sepulchers of his forefathers, because of his impiety. He lived forty-seven years, and Amaziah his son succeeded him in the kingdom.

5. In the one and twentieth year of the reign of Jehoash, Jehoahaz, the son of Jehu, took the government of the Israelites in Samaria, and held it seventeen years. He did not [properly] imitate his father, but was guilty of as wicked practices as hose that first had God in contempt: but the king of Syria brought him low, and by an expedition against him did so greatly reduce his forces, that there remained no more of so great an army than ten thousand armed men, and fifty horsemen. He also took away from him his great cities, and many of them also, and destroyed his army. And these were the things that the people of Israel suffered, according to the prophecy of Elisha, when he foretold that Hazael should kill his master, and reign over the Syrians and Damcenes. But when Jehoahaz was under such unavoidable miseries, he had recourse to prayer and supplication to God, and besought him to deliver him out of the hands of Hazael, and not overlook him, and give him up into his hands. Accordingly God accepted of his repentance instead of virtue; and being desirous rather to admonish those that might repent, and not to determine that they should be utterly destroyed, he granted him deliverance from war and dangers. So the country having obtained peace, returned again to its former condition, and flourished as before.

6. Now after the death of Jehoahaz, his son Joash took the kingdom, in the thirty-seventh year of Jehoash, the king of the tribe of Judah. This Joash then took the kingdom of Israel in Samaria, for he had the same name with the king of Jerusalem, and he retained the kingdom sixteen years. He was a good man, and in his disposition was not at all like his father. Now at this time it was that when Elisha the prophet, who was already very old, and was now fallen into a disease, the king of Israel came to visit him; and when he found him very near death, he began to weep in his sight, and lament, to call him his father, and his weapons, because it was by his means that he never made use of his weapons against his enemies, but that he overcame his own adversaries by his prophecies, without fighting; and that he was now departing this life, and leaving him to the Syrians, that were already armed, and to other enemies of his that were under their power; so he said it was not safe for him to live any longer, but that it would be well for him to hasten to his end, and depart out of this life with him.

As the king was thus bemoaning himself, Elisha comforted him, and bid the king bend a bow that was brought him; and when the king had fitted the bow for shooting, Elisha took hold of his hands and bid him shoot; and when he had shot three arrows, and then left off, Elisha said, “If thou hadst shot more arrows, thou hadst cut the kingdom of Syria up by the roots; but since thou hast been satisfied with shooting three times only, thou shalt fight and beat the Syrians no more times than three, that thou mayst recover that country which they cut off from thy kingdom in the reign of thy father.” So when the king had heard that, he departed; and a little while after the prophet died. He was a man celebrated for righteousness, and in eminent favor with God. He also performed wonderful and surprising works by prophecy, and such as were gloriously preserved in memory by the Hebrews. He also obtained a magnificent funeral, such a one indeed as it was fit a person so beloved of God should have. It also happened, that at that time certain robbers cast a man whom they had slain into Elisha’s grave, and upon his dead body coming close to Elisha’s body, it revived again. And thus far have we enlarged about the actions of Elisha the prophet, both such as he did while he was alive, and how he had a Divine power after his death also.

7. Now, upon the death of Hazael, the king of Syria, that kingdom came to Adad his son, with whom Joash, king of Israel, made war; and when he had beaten him in three battles, he took from him all that country, and all those cities and villages, which his father Hazael had taken from the kingdom of Israel, which came to pass, however, according to the prophecy of Elisha. But when Joash happened to die, he was buried in Samaria, and the government devolved on his son Jeroboam.

CHAPTER 9. How Amaziah Made An Expedition Against The Edomites And Amalekites And Conquered Them; But When He Afterwards Made War Against Joash, He Was Beaten And Not Long After Was Slain, And Uzziah Succeeded In The Government.

1. Now, in the second year of the reign of Joash over Israel, Amaziah reigned over the tribe of Judah in Jerusalem. His mother's name was Jehoaddan, who was born at Jerusalem. He was exceeding careful of doing what was right, and this when he was very young; but when he came to the management of affairs, and to the government, he resolved that he ought first of all to avenge his father Je-hoash, and to punish those his friends that had laid violent hands upon him: so he seized upon them all, and put them to death; yet did he execute no severity on their children, but acted therein according to the laws of Moses, who did not think it just to punish children for the sins of their fathers. After this he chose him an army out of the tribe of Judah and Benjamin, of such as were in the flower of their age, and about twenty years old; and when he had collected about three hundred thousand of them together, he set captains of hundreds over them. He also sent to the king of Israel, and hired a hundred thousand of his soldiers for a hundred talents of silver, for he had resolved to make an expedition against the nations of the Amatekites, and Edomites, and Gebalites: but as he was preparing for his expedition, and ready to go out to the war, a prophet gave him counsel to dismiss the army of the Israelites, because they were bad men, and because God foretold that he should be beaten, if he made use of them as auxiliaries; but that he should overcome his enemies, though he had but a few soldiers, when it so pleased God. And when the king grudged at his having already paid the hire of the Israelites, the prophet exhorted him to do what God would have him, because he should thereby obtain much wealth from God. So he dismissed them, and said that he still freely gave them their pay, and went himself with his own army, and made war with the nations before mentioned; and when he had beaten them in battle, he slew of them ten thousand, and took as many prisoners alive, whom he brought to the great rock which is in Arabia, and threw them down from it headlong. He also brought away a great deal of prey and vast riches from those nations. But while Amaziah was engaged in this

expedition, those Israelites whom he had hired, and then dismissed, were very uneasy at it, and taking their dismission for an affront, [as supposing that this would not have been done to them but out of contempt,] they fell upon his kingdom, and proceeded to spoil the country as far as Beth-horon, and took much cattle, and slew three thousand men.

2. Now upon the victory which Amaziah had gotten, and the great acts he had done, he was puffed up, and began to overlook God, who had given him the victory, and proceeded to worship the gods he had brought out of the country of the Amalekites. So a prophet came to him, and said, that he wondered how he could esteem these to be gods, who had been of no advantage to their own people who paid them honors, nor had delivered them from his hands, but had overlooked the destruction of many of them, and had suffered themselves to be carried captive, for that they had been carried to Jerusalem in the same manner as any one might have taken some of the enemy alive, and led them thither. This reproof provoked the king to anger, and he commanded the prophet to hold his peace, and threatened to punish him if he meddled with his conduct. So he replied, that he should indeed hold his peace; but foretold withal, that God would not overlook his attempts for innovation. But Amaziah was not able to contain himself under that prosperity which God had given him, although he had affronted God thereupon; but in a vein of insolence he wrote to Joash, the king of Israel, and commanded that he and all his people should be obedient to him, as they had formerly been obedient to his progenitors, David and Solomon; and he let him know, that if he would not be so wise as to do what he commanded him, he must fight for his dominion. To which message Joash returned this answer in writing: “King Joash to king Amaziah. There was a vastly tall cypress tree in Mount Lebanon, as also a thistle; this thistle sent to the cypress tree to give the cypress tree’s daughter in marriage to the thistle’s son; but as the thistle was saying this, there came a wild beast, and trod down the thistle: and this may be a lesson to thee, not to be so ambitious, and to have a care, lest upon thy good success in the fight against the Amalekites thou growest so proud, as to bring dangers upon thyself and upon thy kingdom.”

3. When Amaziah had read this letter, he was more eager upon this expedition, which, I suppose, was by the impulse of God, that he might be punished for his offense against him. But as soon as he led out his army against Joash, and they were going to join battle with him, there came such a fear and consternation upon the army of Amaziah, as God, when he is displeased, sends upon men, and discomfited them, even before they came to a close fight. Now it happened, that as they were scattered about by the terror that was upon them, Amaziah was left alone, and was taken prisoner by the enemy; whereupon Joash

threatened to kill him, unless he would persuade the people of Jerusalem to open their gates to him, and receive him and his army into the city. Accordingly Amaziah was so distressed, and in such fear of his life, that he made his enemy to be received into the city. So Joash over threw a part of the wall, of the length of four hundred cubits, and drove his chariot through the breach into Jerusalem, and led Amaziah captive along with him; by which means he became master of Jerusalem, and took away the treasures of God, and carried off all the gold and silver that was in the king's palace, and then freed the king from captivity, and returned to Samaria. Now these things happened to the people of Jerusalem in the fourteenth year of the reign of Amaziah, who after this had a conspiracy made against him by his friends, and fled to the city Lachish, and was there slain by the conspirators, who sent men thither to kill him. So they took up his dead body, and carried it to Jerusalem, and made a royal funeral for him. This was the end of the life of Amaziah, because of his innovations in religion, and his contempt of God, when he had lived fifty-four years, and had reigned twenty-nine. He was succeeded by his son, whose name was Uzziah.

CHAPTER 10. Concerning Jeroboam King Of Israel And Jonah The Prophet; And How After The Death Of Jeroboam His Son Zachariah Took The Government. How Uzziah, King Of Jerusalem, Subdued The Nations That Were Round About Him; And What Befell Him When He Attempted To Offer Incense To God.

1. In the fifteenth year of the reign of Amaziah, Jeroboam the son of Joash reigned over Israel in Samaria forty years. This king was guilty of contumely against God, and became very wicked in worshipping of idols, and in many undertakings that were absurd and foreign. He was also the cause of ten thousand misfortunes to the people of Israel. Now one Jonah, a prophet, foretold to him that he should make war with the Syrians, and conquer their army, and enlarge the bounds of his kingdom on the northern parts to the city Hamath, and on the southern to the lake Asphaltitis; for the bounds of the Canaanites originally were these, as Joshua their general had determined them. So Jeroboam made an expedition against the Syrians, and overran all their country, as Jonah had foretold.

2. Now I cannot but think it necessary for me, who have promised to give an accurate account of our affairs, to describe the actions of this prophet, so far as I have found them written down in the Hebrew books. Jonah had been commanded by God to go to the kingdom of Nineveh; and when he was there, to publish it in that city, how it should lose the dominion it had over the nations. But he went not, out of fear; nay, he ran away from God to the city of Joppa, and finding a ship there, he went into it, and sailed to Tarsus, in Cilicia and upon the rise of a most terrible storm, which was so great that the ship was in danger of sinking, the mariners, the master, and the pilot himself, made prayers and vows, in case they escaped the sea: but Jonah lay still and covered [in the ship,] without imitating any thing that the others did; but as the waves grew greater, and the sea became more violent by the winds, they suspected, as is usual in such cases, that some one of the persons that sailed with them was the occasion of this storm, and agreed to discover by lot which of them it was. When they had cast lots, the lot fell upon the prophet; and when they asked him whence he came, and what he had done? he replied, that he was a Hebrew by nation, and a prophet of

Almighty God; and he persuaded them to cast him into the sea, if they would escape the danger they were in, for that he was the occasion of the storm which was upon them. Now at the first they durst not do so, as esteeming it a wicked thing to cast a man who was a stranger, and who had committed his life to them, into such manifest perdition; but at last, when their misfortune overbore them, and the ship was just going to be drowned, and when they were animated to do it by the prophet himself, and by the fear concerning their own safety, they cast him into the sea; upon which the sea became calm. It is also reported that Jonah was swallowed down by a whale, and that when he had been there three days, and as many nights, he was vomited out upon the Euxine Sea, and this alive, and without any hurt upon his body; and there, on his prayer to God, he obtained pardon for his sins, and went to the city Nineveh, where he stood so as to be heard, and preached, that in a very little time they should lose the dominion of Asia. And when he had published this, he returned. Now I have given this account about him as I found it written [in our books.]

3. When Jeroboam the king had passed his life in great happiness, and had ruled forty years, he died, and was buried in Samaria, and his son Zachariah took the kingdom. After the same manner did Uzziah, the son of Amaziah, begin to reign over the two tribes in Jerusalem, in the fourteenth year of the reign of Jeroboam. He was born of Jecoliah, his mother, who was a citizen of Jerusalem. He was a good man, and by nature righteous and magnanimous, and very laborious in taking care of the affairs of his kingdom. He made an expedition also against the Philistines, and overcame them in battle, and took the cities of Gath and Jabneh, and brake down their walls; after which expedition he assaulted those Arabs that adjoined to Egypt. He also built a city upon the Red Sea, and put a garrison into it. He, after this, overthrew the Ammonites, and appointed that they should pay tribute. He also overcame all the countries as far as the bounds of Egypt, and then began to take care of Jerusalem itself for the rest of his life; for he rebuilt and repaired all those parts of the wall which had either fallen down by length of time, or by the carelessness of the kings, his predecessors, as well as all that part which had been thrown down by the king of Israel, when he took his father Amaziah prisoner, and entered with him into the city. Moreover, he built a great many towers, of one hundred and fifty cubits high, and built walled towns in desert places, and put garrisons into them, and dug many channels for conveyance of water. He had also many beasts for labor, and an immense number of cattle; for his country was fit for pasturage. He was also given to husbandry, and took care to cultivate the ground, and planted it with all sorts of plants, and sowed it with all sorts of seeds. He had also about him an army composed of chosen men, in number three hundred and seventy

thousand, who were governed by general officers and captains of thousands, who were men of valor, and of unconquerable strength, in number two thousand. He also divided his whole army into bands, and armed them, giving every one a sword, with brazen bucklers and breastplates, with bows and slings; and besides these, he made for them many engines of war for besieging of cities, such as cast stones and darts, with grapplers, and other instruments of that sort.

4. While Uzziah was in this state, and making preparation [for futurity], he was corrupted in his mind by pride, and became insolent, and this on account of that abundance which he had of things that will soon perish, and despised that power which is of eternal duration [which consisted in piety towards God, and in the observation of the laws]; so he fell by occasion of the good success of his affairs, and was carried headlong into those sins of his father, which the splendor of that prosperity he enjoyed, and the glorious actions he had done, led him into, while he was not able to govern himself well about them. Accordingly, when a remarkable day was come, and a general festival was to be celebrated, he put on the holy garment, and went into the temple to offer incense to God upon the golden altar, which he was prohibited to do by Azariah the high priest, who had fourscore priests with him, and who told him that it was not lawful for him to offer sacrifice, and that "none besides the posterity of Aaron were permitted so to do." And when they cried out that he must go out of the temple, and not transgress against God, he was wroth at them, and threatened to kill them, unless they would hold their peace. In the mean time a great earthquake shook the ground and a rent was made in the temple, and the bright rays of the sun shone through it, and fell upon the king's face, insomuch that the leprosy seized upon him immediately. And before the city, at a place called Eroge, half the mountain broke off from the rest on the west, and rolled itself four furlongs, and stood still at the east mountain, till the roads, as well as the king's gardens, were spoiled by the obstruction. Now, as soon as the priests saw that the king's face was infected with the leprosy, they told him of the calamity he was under, and commanded that he should go out of the city as a polluted person. Hereupon he was so confounded at the sad distemper, and sensible that he was not at liberty to contradict, that he did as he was commanded, and underwent this miserable and terrible punishment for an intention beyond what befitted a man to have, and for that impiety against God which was implied therein. So he abode out of the city for some time, and lived a private life, while his son Jotham took the government; after which he died with grief and anxiety at what had happened to him, when he had lived sixty-eight years, and reigned of them fifty-two; and was buried by himself in his own gardens.

CHAPTER 11. How Zachariah Shallum, Menahem Pekahiah And Pekah Took The Government Over The Israelites; And How Pul And Tiglath-Pileser Made An Expedition Against The Israelites. How Jotham, The Son Of Uzziah Reigned Over The Tribe Of Judah; And What Things Nahum Prophesied Against The Assyrians.

1. Now when Zachariah, the son of Jeroboam, had reigned six months over Israel, he was slain by the treachery of a certain friend of his, whose name was Shallum, the son of Jabesh, who took the kingdom afterward, but kept it no longer than thirty days; for Menahem, the general of his army, who was at that time in the city Tirzah, and heard of what had befallen Zachariah, removed thereupon with all his forces to Samaria, and joining battle with Shallum, slew him; and when he had made himself king, he went thence, and came to the city Tiphsah; but the citizens that were in it shut their gates, and barred them against the king, and would not admit him: but in order to be avenged on them, he burnt the country round about it, and took the city by force, upon a siege; and being very much displeased at what the inhabitants of Tiphsah had done, he slew them all, and spared not so much as the infants, without omitting the utmost instances of cruelty and barbarity; for he used such severity upon his own countrymen, as would not be pardonable with regard to strangers who had been conquered by him. And after this manner it was that this Menahem continued to reign with cruelty and barbarity for ten years. But when Pul, king of Assyria, had made an expedition against him, he did not think meet to fight or engage in battle with the Assyrians, but he persuaded him to accept of a thousand talents of silver, and to go away, and so put an end to the war. This sum the multitude collected for Menahem, by exacting fifty drachme as poll-money for every head; after which he died, and was buried in Samaria, and left his son Pekahiah his successor in the kingdom, who followed the barbarity of his father, and so ruled but two years only, after which he was slain with his friends at a feast, by the treachery of one Pekah, the general of his horse, and the son of Remaliah, who laid snares for him. Now this Pekah held the government twenty years, and proved a wicked man and a transgressor. But the king of Assyria, whose name was Tiglath-Pileser, when he had made an expedition against the Israelites, and had overrun

all the land of Gilead, and the region beyond Jordan, and the adjoining country, which is called Galilee, and Kadesh, and Hazor, he made the inhabitants prisoners, and transplanted them into his own kingdom. And so much shall suffice to have related here concerning the king of Assyria.

2. Now Jotham the son of Uzziah reigned over the tribe of Judah in Jerusalem, being a citizen thereof by his mother, whose name was Jerusha. This king was not defective in any virtue, but was religious towards God, and righteous towards men, and careful of the good of the city [for what part soever wanted to be repaired or adorned he magnificently repaired and adorned them]. He also took care of the foundations of the cloisters in the temple, and repaired the walls that were fallen down, and built very great towers, and such as were almost impregnable; and if any thing else in his kingdom had been neglected, he took great care of it. He also made an expedition against the Ammonites, and overcame them in battle, and ordered them to pay tribute, a hundred talents, and ten thousand cori of wheat, and as many of barley, every year, and so augmented his kingdom, that his enemies could not despise it, and his own people lived happily.

3. Now there was at that time a prophet, whose name was Nahum, who spake after this manner concerning the overthrow of the Assyrians and of Nineveh: "Nineveh shall be a pool of water in motion so shall all her people be troubled, and tossed, and go away by flight, while they say one to another, Stand, stand still, seize their gold and silver, for there shall be no one to wish them well, for they will rather save their lives than their money; for a terrible contention shall possess them one with another, and lamentation, and loosing of the members, and their countenances shall be perfectly black with fear. And there will be the den of the lions, and the mother of the young lions! God says to thee, Nineveh, that they shall deface thee, and the lion shall no longer go out from thee to give laws to the world." And indeed this prophet prophesied many other things besides these concerning Nineveh, which I do not think necessary to repeat, and I here omit them, that I may not appear troublesome to my readers; all which thing happened about Nineveh a hundred and fifteen years afterward: so this may suffice to have spoken of these matters.

CHAPTER 12. How Upon The Death Of Jotham, Ahaz Reigned In His Stead; Against Whom Rezin, King Of Syria And Pekah King Of Israel, Made War; And How Tiglath-Pileser, King Of Assyria Came To The Assistance Of Ahaz, And Laid Syria Waste And Removing The Damascenes Into Media Placed Other Nations In Their Room.

1. Now Jotham died when he had lived forty-one years, and of them reigned sixteen, and was buried in the sepulchers of the kings; and the kingdom came to his son Ahaz, who proved most impious towards God, and a transgressor of the laws of his country. He imitated the kings of Israel, and reared altars in Jerusalem, and offered sacrifices upon them to idols; to which also he offered his own son as a burnt-offering, according to the practices of the Canaanites. His other actions were also of the same sort. Now as he was going on in this mad course, Rezin, the king of Syria and Damascus, and Pekah, the king of Israel, who were now at amity one with another, made war with him; and when they had driven him into Jerusalem, they besieged that city a long while, making but a small progress, on account of the strength of its walls; and when the king of Syria had taken the city Elath, upon the Red Sea, and had slain the inhabitants, he peopled it with Syrians; and when he had slain those in the [other] garrisons, and the Jews in their neighborhood, and had driven away much prey, he returned with his army back to Damascus. Now when the king of Jerusalem knew that the Syrians were returned home, he, supposing himself a match for the king of Israel, drew out his army against him, and joining battle with him was beaten; and this happened because God was angry with him, on account of his many and great enormities. Accordingly there were slain by the Israelites one hundred and twenty thousand of his men that day, whose general, Amaziah by name, slew Zechariah the king's son, in his conflict with Ahaz, as well as the governor of the kingdom, whose name was Azricam. He also carried Elkanah, the general of the troops of the tribe of Judah, into captivity. They also carried the women and children of the tribe of Benjamin captives; and when they had gotten a great deal of prey, they returned to Samaria.

2. Now there was one Obed, who was a prophet at that time in Samaria; he met the army before the city walls, and with a loud voice told them that they had

gotten the victory not by their own strength, but by reason of the anger God had against king Ahaz. And he complained that they were not satisfied with the good success they had had against him, but were so bold as to make captives out of their kinsmen the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. He also gave them counsel to let them go home without doing them any harm, for that if they did not obey God herein, they should be punished. So the people of Israel came together to their assembly, and considered of these matters, when a man whose name was Berechiah, and who was one of chief reputation in the government, stood up, and the others with him, and said, "We will not suffer the citizens to bring these prisoners into the city, lest we be all destroyed by God; we have sins enough of our own that we have committed against him, as the prophets assure us; nor ought we therefore to introduce the practice of new crimes." When the soldiers heard that, they permitted them to do what they thought best. So the forenamed men took the captives, and let them go, and took care of them, and gave them provisions, and sent them to their own country, without doing them any harm. However, these four went along with them, and conducted them as far as Jericho, which is not far from Jerusalem, and returned to Samaria.

3. Hereupon king Ahaz, having been so thoroughly beaten by the Israelites, sent to Tiglath-Pileser, king of the Assyrians, and sued for assistance from him in his war against the Israelites, and Syrians, and Damascenes, with a promise to send him much money; he sent him also great presents at the same time. Now this king, upon the reception of those ambassadors, came to assist Ahaz, and made war upon the Syrians, and laid their country waste, and took Damascus by force, and slew Rezin their king, and transplanted the people of Damascus into the Upper Media, and brought a colony of Assyrians, and planted them in Damascus. He also afflicted the land of Israel, and took many captives out of it. While he was doing thus with the Syrians, king Ahaz took all the gold that was in the king's treasures, and the silver, and what was in the temple of God, and what precious gifts were there, and he carried them with him, and came to Damascus, and gave it to the king of Assyria, according to his agreement. So he confessed that he owed him thanks for all he had done for him, and returned to Jerusalem. Now this king was so sottish and thoughtless of what was for his own good, that he would not leave off worshipping the Syrian gods when he was beaten by them, but he went on in worshipping them, as though they would procure him the victory; and when he was beaten again, he began to honor the gods of the Assyrians; and he seemed more desirous to honor any other gods than his own paternal and true God, whose anger was the cause of his defeat; nay, he proceeded to such a degree of despite and contempt [of God's worship], that he shut up the temple entirely, and forbade them to bring in the appointed

sacrifices, and took away the gifts that had been given to it. And when he had offered these indignities to God, he died, having lived thirty-six years, and of them reigned sixteen; and he left his son Hezekiah for his successor.

CHAPTER 13. How Pekah Died By The Treachery Of Hoshea Who Was A Little After Subdued By Shalmaneser; And How Hezekiah Reigned Instead Of Ahaz; And What Actions Of Piety And Justice He Did.

1. About the same time Pekah, the king of Israel, died by the treachery of a friend of his, whose name was Hoshea, who retained the kingdom nine years' time, but was a wicked man, and a despiser of the Divine worship; and Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria, made an expedition against him, and overcame him, [which must have been because he had not God favorable nor assistant to him,] and brought him to submission, and ordered him to pay an appointed tribute. Now, in the fourth year of the reign of Hoshea, Hezekiah, the son of Ahaz, began to reign in Jerusalem; and his mother's name was Abijah, a citizen of Jerusalem. His nature was good, and righteous, and religious; for when he came to the kingdom, he thought that nothing was prior, or more necessary, or more advantageous to himself, and to his subjects, than to worship God. Accordingly, he called the people together, and the priests, and the Levites, and made a speech to them, and said, "You are not ignorant how, by the sins of my father, who transgressed that sacred honor which was due to God, you have had experience of many and great miseries, while you were corrupted in your mind by him, and were induced to worship those which he supposed to be gods; I exhort you, therefore, who have learned by sad experience how dangerous a thing impiety is, to put that immediately out of your memory, and to purify yourselves from your former pollutions, and to open the temple to these priests and Levites who are here convened, and to cleanse it with the accustomed sacrifices, and to recover all to the ancient honor which our fathers paid to it; for by this means we may render God favorable, and he will remit the anger he hath had to us."

2. When the king had said this, the priests opened the temple; and when they had set in order the vessels of God, and east out what was impure, they laid the accustomed sacrifices upon the altar. The king also sent to the country that was under him, and called the people to Jerusalem to celebrate the feast of unleavened bread, for it had been intermitted a long time, on account of the wickedness of the forementioned kings. He also sent to the Israelites, and exhorted them to leave off their present way of living, and return to their ancient

practices, and to worship God, for that he gave them leave to come to Jerusalem, and to celebrate, all in one body, the feast of unleavened bread; and this he said was by way of invitation only, and to be done of their own good-will, and for their own advantage, and not out of obedience to him, because it would make them happy. But the Israelites, upon the coming of the ambassadors, and upon their laying before them what they had in charge from their own king, were so far from complying therewith, that they laughed the ambassadors to scorn, and mocked them as fools: as also they affronted the prophets, which gave them the same exhortations, and foretold what they would suffer if they did not return to the worship of God, insomuch that at length they caught them, and slew them; nor did this degree of transgressing suffice them, but they had more wicked contrivances than what have been described: nor did they leave off, before God, as a punishment for their impiety, brought them under their enemies: but of that more hereafter. However, many there were of the tribe of Manasseh, and of Zebulon, and of Issachar, who were obedient to what the prophets exhorted them to do, and returned to the worship of God. Now all these came running to Jerusalem, to Hezekiah, that they might worship God [there].

3. When these men were come, king Hezekiah went up into the temple, with the rulers and all the people, and offered for himself seven bulls, and as many rams, with seven lambs, and as many kids of the goats. The king also himself, and the rulers, laid their hands on the heads of the sacrifices, and permitted the priests to complete the sacred offices about them. So they both slew the sacrifices, and burnt the burnt-offerings, while the Levites stood round about them, with their musical instruments, and sang hymns to God, and played on their psalteries, as they were instructed by David to do, and this while the rest of the priests returned the music, and sounded the trumpets which they had in their hands; and when this was done, the king and the multitude threw themselves down upon their face, and worshipped God. He also sacrificed seventy bulls, one hundred rams, and two hundred lambs. He also granted the multitude sacrifices to feast upon, six hundred oxen, and three thousand other cattle; and the priests performed all things according to the law. Now the king was so pleased herewith, that he feasted with the people, and returned thanks to God; but as the feast of unleavened bread was now come, when they had offered that sacrifice which is called the passover, they after that offered other sacrifices for seven days. When the king had bestowed on the multitude, besides what they sanctified of themselves, two thousand bulls, and seven thousand other cattle, the same thing was done by the rulers; for they gave them a thousand bulls, and a thousand and forty other cattle. Nor had this festival been so well observed from the days of king Solomon, as it was now first observed with great splendor and

magnificence; and when the festival was ended, they went out into the country and purged it, and cleansed the city of all the pollution of the idols. The king also gave order that the daily sacrifices should be offered, at his own charges, and according to the law; and appointed that the tithes and the first-fruits should be given by the multitude to the priests and Levites, that they might constantly attend upon Divine service, and never be taken off from the worship of God. Accordingly, the multitude brought together all sorts of their fruits to the priests and the Levites. The king also made garners and receptacles for these fruits, and distributed them to every one of the priests and Levites, and to their children and wives; and thus did they return to their old form of Divine worship. Now when the king had settled these matters after the manner already described, he made war upon the Philistines, and beat them, and possessed himself of all the enemy's cities, from Gaza to Gath; but the king of Assyria sent to him, and threatened to overturn all his dominions, unless he would pay him the tribute which his father paid him formerly; but king Hezekiah was not concerned at his threatenings, but depended on his piety towards God, and upon Isaiah the prophet, by whom he inquired and accurately knew all future events. And thus much shall suffice for the present concerning this king Hezekiah.

CHAPTER 14. How Shalmaneser Took Samaria By Force And How He Transplanted The Ten Tribes Into Media, And Brought The Nation Of The Cutheans Into Their Country [In Their Room].

1. When Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria, had it told him, that [Hoshea] the king of Israel had sent privately to So, the king of Egypt, desiring his assistance against him, he was very angry, and made an expedition against Samaria, in the seventh year of the reign of Hoshea; but when he was not admitted [into the city] by the king, he besieged Samaria three years, and took it by force in the ninth year of the reign of Hoshea, and in the seventh year of Hezekiah, king of Jerusalem, and quite demolished the government of the Israelites, and transplanted all the people into Media and Persia among whom he took king Hoshea alive; and when he had removed these people out of this their land he transplanted other nations out of Cuthah, a place so called, [for there is [still] a river of that name in Persia,] into Samaria, and into the country of the Israelites. So the ten tribes of the Israelites were removed out of Judea nine hundred and forty-seven years after their forefathers were come out of the land of Egypt, and possessed themselves of the country, but eight hundred years after Joshua had been their leader, and, as I have already observed, two hundred and forty years, seven months, and seven days after they had revolted from Rehoboam, the grandson of David, and had given the kingdom to Jeroboam. And such a conclusion overtook the Israelites, when they had transgressed the laws, and would not hearken to the prophets, who foretold that this calamity would come upon them, if they would not leave off their evil doings. What gave birth to these evil doings, was that sedition which they raised against Rehoboam, the grandson of David, when they set up Jeroboam his servant to be their king, when, by sinning against God, and bringing them to imitate his bad example, made God to be their enemy, while Jeroboam underwent that punishment which he justly deserved.

2. And now the king of Assyria invaded all Syria and Phoenicia in a hostile manner. The name of this king is also set down in the archives of Tyre, for he made an expedition against Tyre in the reign of Eluleus; and Menander attests to it, who, when he wrote his Chronology, and translated the archives of Tyre into the Greek language, gives us the following history: “One whose name was Eluleus reigned thirty-six years; this king, upon the revolt of the Citteans, sailed

to them, and reduced them again to a submission. Against these did the king of Assyria send an army, and in a hostile manner overrun all Phoenicia, but soon made peace with them all, and returned back; but Sidon, and Ace, and Palsetyrus revolted; and many other cities there were which delivered themselves up to the king of Assyria. Accordingly, when the Tyrians would not submit to him, the king returned, and fell upon them again, while the Phoenicians had furnished him with threescore ships, and eight hundred men to row them; and when the Tyrians had come upon them in twelve ships, and the enemy's ships were dispersed, they took five hundred men prisoners, and the reputation of all the citizens of Tyre was thereby increased; but the king of Assyria returned, and placed guards at their rivers and aqueducts, who should hinder the Tyrians from drawing water. This continued for five years; and still the Tyrians bore the siege, and drank of the water they had out of the wells they dug." And this is what is written in the Tyrian archives concerning Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria.

3. But now the Cutheans, who removed into Samaria, [for that is the name they have been called by to this time, because they were brought out of the country called Cuthah, which is a country of Persia, and there is a river of the same name in it,] each of them, according to their nations, which were in number five, brought their own gods into Samaria, and by worshipping them, as was the custom of their own countries, they provoked Almighty God to be angry and displeased at them, for a plague seized upon them, by which they were destroyed; and when they found no cure for their miseries, they learned by the oracle that they ought to worship Almighty God, as the method for their deliverance. So they sent ambassadors to the king of Assyria, and desired him to send them some of those priests of the Israelites whom he had taken captive. And when he thereupon sent them, and the people were by them taught the laws, and the holy worship of God, they worshipped him in a respectful manner, and the plague ceased immediately; and indeed they continue to make use of the very same customs to this very time, and are called in the Hebrew tongue Cutlans, but in the Greek tongue Samaritans. And when they see the Jews in prosperity, they pretend that they are changed, and allied to them, and call them kinsmen, as though they were derived from Joseph, and had by that means an original alliance with them; but when they see them falling into a low condition, they say they are no way related to them, and that the Jews have no right to expect any kindness or marks of kindred from them, but they declare that they are sojourners, that come from other countries. But of these we shall have a more seasonable opportunity to discourse hereafter.

BOOK X. Containing The Interval Of One Hundred And Eighty-Two Years And A Half. — From The Captivity Of The Ten Tribes To The First Year Of Cyrus.

CHAPTER 1. How Sennacherib Made An Expedition Against Hezekiah; What Threatenings Rabshakeh Made To Hezekiah When Sennacherib Was Gone Against The Egyptians; How Isaiah The Prophet Encouraged Him; How Sennacherib Having Failed Of Success In Egypt, Returned Thence To Jerusalem; And How Upon His Finding His Army Destroyed, He Returned Home; And What Befell Him A Little Afterward.

1. It was now the fourteenth year of the government of Hezekiah, king of the two tribes, when the king of Assyria, whose name was Sennacherib, made an expedition against him with a great army, and took all the cities of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin by force; and when he was ready to bring his army against Jerusalem, Hezekiah sent ambassadors to him beforehand, and promised to submit, and pay what tribute he should appoint. Hereupon Sennacherib, when he heard of what offers the ambassadors made, resolved not to proceed in the war, but to accept of the proposals that were made him; and if he might receive three hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold, he promised that he would depart in a friendly manner; and he gave security upon oath to the ambassadors that he would then do him no harm, but go away as he came. So Hezekiah submitted, and emptied his treasures, and sent the money, as supposing he should be freed from his enemy, and from any further distress about his kingdom. Accordingly, the Assyrian king took it, and yet had no regard to what he had promised; but while he himself went to the war against the Egyptians and Ethiopians, he left his general Rabshakeh, and two other of his principal commanders, with great forces, to destroy Jerusalem. The names of the two other commanders were Tartan and Rabsaris.

2. Now as soon as they were come before the walls, they pitched their camp, and sent messengers to Hezekiah, and desired that they might speak with him; but he did not himself come out to them for fear, but he sent three of his most intimate friends; the name of one was Eliakim, who was over the kingdom, and Shebna, and Joah the recorder. So these men came out, and stood over against the commanders of the Assyrian army; and when Rabshakeh saw them, he bid

them go and speak to Hezekiah in the manner following: That Sennacherib, the great king, desires to know of him, on whom it is that he relies and depends, in flying from his lord, and will not hear him, nor admit his army into the city? Is it on account of the Egyptians, and in hopes that his army would be beaten by them? Whereupon he lets him know, that if this be what he expects, he is a foolish man, and like one who leans on a broken reed; while such a one will not only fall down, but will have his hand pierced and hurt by it. That he ought to know he makes this expedition against him by the will of God, who hath granted this favor to him, that he shall overthrow the kingdom of Israel, and that in the very same manner he shall destroy those that are his subjects also. When Rabshakeh had made this speech in the Hebrew tongue, for he was skillful in that language, Eliakim was afraid lest the multitude that heard him should be disturbed; so he desired him to speak in the Syrian tongue. But the general, understanding what he meant, and perceiving the fear that he was in, he made his answer with a greater and a louder voice, but in the Hebrew tongue; and said, that "since they all heard what were the king's commands, they would consult their own advantage in delivering up themselves to us; for it is plain the both you and your king dissuade the people from submitting by vain hopes, and so induce them to resist; but if you be courageous, and think to drive our forces away, I am ready to deliver to you two thousand of these horses that are with me for your use, if you can set as many horsemen on their backs, and show your strength; but what you have not you cannot produce. Why therefore do you delay to deliver up yourselves to a superior force, who can take you without your consent? although it will be safer for you to deliver yourselves up voluntarily, while a forcible capture, when you are beaten, must appear more dangerous, and will bring further calamities upon you."

3. When the people, as well as the ambassadors, heard what the Assyrian commander said, they related it to Hezekiah, who thereupon put off his royal apparel, and clothed himself with sackcloth, and took the habit of a mourner, and, after the manner of his country, he fell upon his face, and besought God, and entreated him to assist them, now they had no other hope of relief. He also sent some of his friends, and some of the priests, to the prophet Isaiah, and desired that he would pray to God, and offer sacrifices for their common deliverance, and so put up supplications to him, that he would have indignation at the expectations of their enemies, and have mercy upon his people. And when the prophet had done accordingly, an oracle came from God to him, and encouraged the king and his friends that were about him; and foretold that their enemies should be beaten without fighting, and should go away in an ignominious manner, and not with that insolence which they now show, for that

God would take care that they should be destroyed. He also foretold that Sennacherib, the king of Assyria, should fail of his purpose against Egypt, and that when he came home he should perish by the sword.

4. About the same time also the king of Assyria wrote an epistle to Hezekiah, in which he said he was a foolish man, in supposing that he should escape from being his servant, since he had already brought under many and great nations; and he threatened, that when he took him, he would utterly destroy him, unless he now opened the gates, and willingly received his army into Jerusalem. When he read this epistle, he despised it, on account of the trust that he had in God; but he rolled up the epistle, and laid it up within the temple. And as he made his further prayers to God for the city, and for the preservation of all the people, the prophet Isaiah said that God had heard his prayer, and that he should not be besieged at this time by the king of Assyria that for the future he might be secure of not being at all disturbed by him; and that the people might go on peaceably, and without fear, with their husbandry and other affairs. But after a little while the king of Assyria, when he had failed of his treacherous designs against the Egyptians, returned home without success, on the following occasion: He spent a long time in the siege of Pelusium; and when the banks that he had raised over against the walls were of a great height, and when he was ready to make an immediate assault upon them, but heard that Tirhaka, king of the Ethiopians, was coming and bringing great forces to aid the Egyptians, and was resolved to march through the desert, and so to fall directly upon the Assyrians, this king Sennacherib was disturbed at the news, and, as I said before, left Pelusium, and returned back without success. Now concerning this Sennacherib, Herodotus also says, in the second book of his histories, how "this king came against the Egyptian king, who was the priest of Vulcan; and that as he was besieging Pelusium, he broke up the siege on the following occasion: This Egyptian priest prayed to God, and God heard his prayer, and sent a judgment upon the Arabian king." But in this Herodotus was mistaken, when he called this king not king of the Assyrians, but of the Arabians; for he saith that "a multitude of mice gnawed to pieces in one night both the bows and the rest of the armor of the Assyrians, and that it was on that account that the king, when he had no bows left, drew off his army from Pelusium." And Herodotus does indeed give us this history; nay, and Berosus, who wrote of the affairs of Chaldea, makes mention of this king Sennacherib, and that he ruled over the Assyrians, and that he made an expedition against all Asia and Egypt; and says thus:

5. "Now when Sennacherib was returning from his Egyptian war to Jerusalem, he found his army under Rabshakeh his general in danger [by a plague], for God had sent a pestilential distemper upon his army; and on the very

first night of the siege, a hundred fourscore and five thousand, with their captains and generals, were destroyed. So the king was in a great dread and in a terrible agony at this calamity; and being in great fear for his whole army, he fled with the rest of his forces to his own kingdom, and to his city Nineveh; and when he had abode there a little while, he was treacherously assaulted, and died by the hands of his elder sons, Adrammelech and Seraser, and was slain in his own temple, which was called Araske. Now these sons of his were driven away on account of the murder of their father by the citizens, and went into Armenia, while Assarachoddas took the kingdom of Sennacherib." And this proved to be the conclusion of this Assyrian expedition against the people of Jerusalem.

CHAPTER 2. How Hezekiah Was Sick, And Ready To Die; And How God Bestowed Upon Him Fifteen Years Longer Life, [And Secured That Promise] By The Going Back Of The Shadow Ten Degrees.

1. Now king Hezekiah being thus delivered, after a surprising manner, from the dread he was in, offered thank-offerings to God, with all his people, because nothing else had destroyed some of their enemies, and made the rest so fearful of undergoing the same fate that they departed from Jerusalem, but that Divine assistance. Yet, while he was very zealous and diligent about the worship of God, did he soon afterwards fall into a severe distemper, insomuch that the physicians despaired of him, and expected no good issue of his sickness, as neither did his friends: and besides the distemper itself, there was a very melancholy circumstance that disordered the king, which was the consideration that he was childless, and was going to die, and leave his house and his government without a successor of his own body; so he was troubled at the thoughts of this his condition, and lamented himself, and entreated of God that he would prolong his life for a little while till he had some children, and not suffer him to depart this life before he was become a father. Hereupon God had mercy upon him, and accepted of his supplication, because the trouble he was under at his supposed death was not because he was soon to leave the advantages he enjoyed in the kingdom, nor did he on that account pray that he might have a longer life afforded him, but in order to have sons, that might receive the government after him. And God sent Isaiah the prophet, and commanded him to inform Hezekiah, that within three days' time he should get clear of his distemper, and should survive it fifteen years, and that he should have children also. Now, upon the prophet's saying this, as God had commanded him, he could hardly believe it, both on account of the distemper he was under, which was very sore, and by reason of the surprising nature of what was told him; so he desired that Isaiah would give him some sign or wonder, that he might believe him in what he had said, and be sensible that he came from God; for things that are beyond expectation, and greater than our hopes, are made credible by actions of the like nature. And when Isaiah had asked him what sign he desired to be exhibited, he desired that he would make the shadow of the sun, which he had already made to go down ten steps [or degrees] in his house, to return again to the same place, and to make it as it was before. And when the prophet prayed to

God to exhibit this sign to the king, he saw what he desired to see, and was freed from his distemper, and went up to the temple, where he worshipped God, and made vows to him.

2. At this time it was that the dominion of the Assyrians was overthrown by the Medes; but of these things I shall treat elsewhere. But the king of Babylon, whose name was Baladan, sent ambassadors to Hezekiah, with presents, and desired he would be his ally and his friend. So he received the ambassadors gladly, and made them a feast, and showed them his treasures, and his armory, and the other wealth he was possessed of, in precious stones and in gold, and gave them presents to be carried to Baladan, and sent them back to him. Upon which the prophet Isaiah came to him, and inquired of him whence those ambassadors came; to which he replied, that they came from Babylon, from the king; and that he had showed them all he had, that by the sight of his riches and forces he might thereby guess at [the plenty he was in], and be able to inform the king of it. But the prophet rejoined, and said, "Know thou, that, after a little while, these riches of thine shall be carried away to Babylon, and thy posterity shall be made eunuchs there, and lose their manhood, and be servants to the king of Babylon; for that God foretold such things would come to pass." Upon which words Hezekiah was troubled, and said that he was himself unwilling that his nation should fall into such calamities; yet since it is not possible to alter what God had determined, he prayed that there might be peace while he lived. Berosus also makes mention of this Baladan, king of Babylon. Now as to this prophet [Isaiah], he was by the confession of all, a divine and wonderful man in speaking truth; and out of the assurance that he had never written what was false, he wrote down all his prophecies, and left them behind him in books, that their accomplishment might be judged of from the events by posterity: nor did this prophet do so alone, but the others, which were twelve in number, did the same. And whatsoever is done among us, Whether it be good, or whether it be bad, comes to pass according to their prophecies; but of every one of these we shall speak hereafter.

CHAPTER 3. How Manasseh Reigned After Hezekiah; And How When He Was In Captivity He Returned To God And Was Restored To His Kingdom And Left It To [His Son] Amon.

1. When king Hezekiah had survived the interval of time already mentioned, and had dwelt all that time in peace, he died, having completed fifty-four years of his life, and reigned twenty-nine. But when his son Manasseh, whose mother's name was Hephzibah, of Jerusalem, had taken the kingdom, he departed from the conduct of his father, and fell into a course of life quite contrary thereto, and showed himself in his manners most wicked in all respects, and omitted no sort of impiety, but imitated those transgressions of the Israelites, by the commission of which against God they had been destroyed; for he was so hardy as to defile the temple of God, and the city, and the whole country; for, by setting out from a contempt of God, he barbarously slew all the righteous men that were among the Hebrews; nor would he spare the prophets, for he every day slew some of them, till Jerusalem was overflown with blood. So God was angry at these proceedings, and sent prophets to the king, and to the multitude, by whom he threatened the very same calamities to them which their brethren the Israelites, upon the like affronts offered to God, were now under. But these men would not believe their words, by which belief they might have reaped the advantage of escaping all those miseries; yet did they in earnest learn that what the prophets had told them was true.

2. And when they persevered in the same course of life, God raised up war against them from the king of Babylon and Chaldea, who sent an army against Judea, and laid waste the country; and caught king Manasseh by treachery, and ordered him to be brought to him, and had him under his power to inflict what punishment he pleased upon him. But then it was that Manasseh perceived what a miserable condition he was in, and esteeming himself the cause of all, he besought God to render his enemy humane and merciful to him. Accordingly, God heard his prayer, and granted him what he prayed for. So Manasseh was released by the king of Babylon, and escaped the danger he was in; and when he was come to Jerusalem, he endeavored, if it were possible, to cast out of his memory those his former sins against God, of which he now repented, and to apply himself to a very religious life. He sanctified the temple, and purged the city, and for the remainder of his days he was intent on nothing but to return his

thanks to God for his deliverance, and to preserve him propitious to him all his life long. He also instructed the multitude to do the same, as having very nearly experienced what a calamity he was fallen into by a contrary conduct. He also rebuilt the altar, and offered the legal sacrifices, as Moses commanded. And when he had re-established what concerned the Divine worship, as it ought to be, he took care of the security of Jerusalem: he did not only repair the old walls with great diligence, but added another wall to the former. He also built very lofty towers, and the garrisoned places before the city he strengthened, not only in other respects, but with provisions of all sorts that they wanted. And indeed, when he had changed his former course, he so led his life for the time to come, that from the time of his return to piety towards God he was deemed a happy man, and a pattern for imitation. When therefore he had lived sixty-seven years, he departed this life, having reigned fifty-five years, and was buried in his own garden; and the kingdom came to his son Amon, whose mother's name was Meshulemeth, of the city of Jotbath.

CHAPTER 4. How Amon Reigned Instead Of Manasseh; And After Amon Reigned Josiah; He Was Both Righteous And Religious. As Also Concerning Huldah The Prophetess.

1. This Amon imitated those works of his father which he insolently did when he was young: so he had a conspiracy made against him by his own servants, and was slain in his own house, when he had lived twenty-four years, and of them had reigned two. But the multitude punished those that slew Amon, and buried him with his father, and gave the kingdom to his son Josiah, who was eight years old. His mother was of the city of Boscath, and her name was Jedidah. He was of a most excellent disposition, and naturally virtuous, and followed the actions of king David, as a pattern and a rule to him in the whole conduct of his life. And when he was twelve years old, he gave demonstrations of his religious and righteous behavior; for he brought the people to a sober way of living, and exhorted them to leave off the opinion they had of their idols, because they were not gods, but to worship their own God. And by repeating on the actions of his progenitors, he prudently corrected what they did wrong, like a very elderly man, and like one abundantly able to understand what was fit to be done; and what he found they had well done, he observed all the country over, and imitated the same. And thus he acted in following the wisdom and sagacity of his own nature, and in compliance with the advice and instruction of the elders; for by following the laws it was that he succeeded so well in the order of his government, and in piety with regard to the Divine worship. And this happened because the transgressions of the former kings were seen no more, but quite vanished away; for the king went about the city, and the whole country, and cut down the groves which were devoted to strange gods, and overthrew their altars; and if there were any gifts dedicated to them by his forefathers, he made them ignominious, and plucked them down; and by this means he brought the people back from their opinion about them to the worship of God. He also offered his accustomed sacrifices and burnt-offerings upon the altar. Moreover, he ordained certain judges and overseers, that they might order the matters to them severally belonging, and have regard to justice above all things, and distribute it with the same concern they would have about their own soul. He also sent over all the country, and desired such as pleased to bring gold and silver for the repairs of the temple, according to every one’s inclinations and abilities. And when the

money was brought in, he made one Maaseiah the governor of the city, and Shaphan the scribe, and Joab the recorder, and Eliakim the high priest, curators of the temple, and of the charges contributed thereto; who made no delay, nor put the work off at all, but prepared architects, and whatsoever was proper for those repairs, and set closely about the work. So the temple was repaired by this means, and became a public demonstration of the king's piety.

2. But when he was now in the eighteenth year of his reign, he sent to Eliakim the high priest, and gave order, that out of what money was overplus, he should cast cups, and dishes, and vials, for ministration [in the temple]; and besides, that they should bring all the gold or silver which was among the treasures, and expend that also in making cups and the like vessels. But as the high priest was bringing out the gold, he lighted upon the holy books of Moses that were laid up in the temple; and when he had brought them out, he gave them to Shaphan the scribe, who, when he had read them, came to the king, and informed him that all was finished which he had ordered to be done. He also read over the books to him, who, when he had heard them read, rent his garment, and called for Eliakim the high priest, and for [Shaphan] the scribe, and for certain [other] of his most particular friends, and sent them to Huldah the prophetess, the wife of Shallum, [which Shallum was a man of dignity, and of an eminent family,] and bid them go to her, and say that [he desired] she would appease God, and endeavor to render him propitious to them, for that there was cause to fear, lest, upon the transgression of the laws of Moses by their forefathers, they should be in peril of going into captivity, and of being cast out of their own country; lest they should be in want of all things, and so end their days miserably. When the prophetess had heard this from the messengers that were sent to her by the king, she bid them go back to the king, and say that "God had already given sentence against them, to destroy the people, and cast them out of their country, and deprive them of all the happiness they enjoyed;" which sentence none could set aside by any prayers of theirs, since it was passed on account of their transgressions of the laws, and of their not having repented in so long a time, while the prophets had exhorted them to amend, and had foretold the punishment that would ensue on their impious practices; which threatening God would certainly execute upon them, that they might be persuaded that he is God, and had not deceived them in any respect as to what he had denounced by his prophets; that yet, because Josiah was a righteous man, he would at present delay those calamities, but that after his death he would send on the multitude what miseries he had determined for them.

3. So these messengers, upon this prophecy of the woman, came and told it to the king; whereupon he sent to the people every where, and ordered that the

priests and the Levites should come together to Jerusalem; and commanded that those of every age should be present also. And when they had gathered together, he first read to them the holy books; after which he stood upon a pulpit, in the midst of the multitude, and obliged them to make a covenant, with an oath, that they would worship God, and keep the laws of Moses. Accordingly, they gave their assent willingly, and undertook to do what the king had recommended to them. So they immediately offered sacrifices, and that after an acceptable manner, and besought God to be gracious and merciful to them. He also enjoined the high priest, that if there remained in the temple any vessel that was dedicated to idols, or to foreign gods, they should cast it out. So when a great number of such vessels were got together, he burnt them, and scattered their ashes abroad, and slew the priests of the idols that were not of the family of Aaron.

4. And when he had done thus in Jerusalem, he came into the country, and utterly destroyed what buildings had been made therein by king Jeroboam, in honor of strange gods; and he burnt the bones of the false prophets upon that altar which Jeroboam first built; and, as the prophet [Jadon], who came to Jeroboam when he was offering sacrifice, and when all the people heard him, foretold what would come to pass, *viz.* that a certain man of the house of David, Josiah by name, should do what is here mentioned. And it happened that those predictions took effect after three hundred and sixty-one years.

5. After these things, Josiah went also to such other Israelites as had escaped captivity and slavery under the Assyrians, and persuaded them to desist from their impious practices, and to leave off the honors they paid to strange gods, but to worship rightly their own Almighty God, and adhere to him. He also searched the houses, and the villages, and the cities, out of a suspicion that somebody might have one idol or other in private; nay, indeed, he took away the chariots [of the sun] that were set up in his royal palace, which his predecessors had framed, and what thing soever there was besides which they worshipped as a god. And when he had thus purged all the country, he called the people to Jerusalem, and there celebrated the feast of unleavened bread, and that called the passover. He also gave the people for paschal sacrifices, young kids of the goats, and lambs, thirty thousand, and three thousand oxen for burnt-offerings. The principal of the priests also gave to the priests against the passover two thousand and six hundred lambs; the principal of the Levites also gave to the Levites five thousand lambs, and five hundred oxen, by which means there was great plenty of sacrifices; and they offered those sacrifices according to the laws of Moses, while every priest explained the matter, and ministered to the multitude. And indeed there had been no other festival thus celebrated by the Hebrews from the times of Samuel the prophet; and the plenty of sacrifices now was the occasion

that all things were performed according to the laws, and according to the custom of their forefathers. So when Josiah had after this lived in peace, nay, in riches and reputation also, among all men, he ended his life in the manner following.

CHAPTER 5. How Josiah Fought With Neco [King Of Egypt.] And Was Wounded And Died In A Little Time Afterward; As Also How Neco Carried Jehoahaz, Who Had Been Made King Into Egypt And Delivered The Kingdom To Jehoiakim; And [Lastly] Concerning Jeremiah And Ezekiel.

1. Now Neco, king of Egypt, raised an army, and marched to the river Euphrates, in order to fight with the Medes and Babylonians, who had overthrown the dominion of the Assyrians, for he had a desire to reign over Asia. Now when he was come to the city Mendes, which belonged to the kingdom of Josiah, he brought an army to hinder him from passing through his own country, in his expedition against the Medes. Now Neco sent a herald to Josiah, and told him that he did not make this expedition against him, but was making haste to Euphrates; and desired that he would not provoke him to fight against him, because he obstructed his march to the place whither he had resolved to go. But Josiah did not admit of this advice of Neco, but put himself into a posture to hinder him from his intended march. I suppose it was fate that pushed him on this conduct, that it might take an occasion against him; for as he was setting his army in array, and rode about in his chariot, from one wing of his army to another, one of the Egyptians shot an arrow at him, and put an end to his eagerness of fighting; for being sorely wounded, he command a retreat to be sounded for his army, and returned to Jerusalem, and died of that wound; and was magnificently buried in the sepulcher of his fathers, when he had lived thirty-nine years, and of them had reigned thirty-one. But all the people mourned greatly for him, lamenting and grieving on his account many days; and Jeremiah the prophet composed an elegy to lament him, which is extant till tills time also. Moreover, this prophet denounced beforehand the sad calamities that were coming upon the city. He also left behind him in writing a description of that destruction of our nation which has lately happened in our days, and the taking of Babylon; nor was he the only prophet who delivered such predictions beforehand to the multitude, but so did Ezekiel also, who was the first person that wrote, and left behind him in writing two books concerning these events. Now these two prophets were priests by birth, but of them Jeremiah dwelt in Jerusalem, from the thirteenth year of the reign of Josiah, until the city and

temple were utterly destroyed. However, as to what befell this prophet, we will relate it in its proper place.

2. Upon the death of Josiah, which we have already mentioned, his son, Jehoahaz by name, took the kingdom, being about twenty-three years old. He reigned in Jerusalem; and his mother was Hamutal, of the city Libhah. He was an impious man, and impure in his course of life; but as the king of Egypt returned from the battle, he sent for Jehoahaz to come to him, to the city called Hamath which belongs to Syria; and when he was come, he put him in bands, and delivered the kingdom to a brother of his, by the father's side, whose name was Eliakim, and changed his name to Jehoiakim and laid a tribute upon the land of a hundred talents of silver, and a talent of gold; and this sum of money Jehoiakim paid by way of tribute; but Neco carried away Jehoahaz into Egypt, where he died when he had reigned three months and ten days. Now Jehoiakim's mother was called Zebudah, of the city Rumah. He was of a wicked disposition, and ready to do mischief; nor was he either religions towards God, or good-natured towards men.

CHAPTER 6. How Nebuchadnezzar, When He Had Conquered The King Of Egypt Made An Expedition Against The Jews, And Slew Jehoiakim, And Made Jeholachin His Son King.

1. Now in the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim, one whose name was Nebuchadnezzar took the government over the Babylonians, who at the same time went up with a great army to the city Carchemish, which was at Euphrates, upon a resolution he had taken to fight with Neco king of Egypt, under whom all Syria then was. And when Neco understood the intention of the king of Babylon, and that this expedition was made against him, he did not despise his attempt, but made haste with a great band of men to Euphrates to defend himself from Nebuchadnezzar; and when they had joined battle, he was beaten, and lost many ten thousands [of his soldiers] in the battle. So the king of Babylon passed over Euphrates, and took all Syria, as far as Pelusium, excepting Judea. But when Nebuchadnezzar had already reigned four years, which was the eighth of Jehoiakim's government over the Hebrews, the king of Babylon made an expedition with mighty forces against the Jews, and required tribute of Jehoiakim, and threatened upon his refusal to make war against him. He was aftrighted at his threatening, and bought his peace with money, and brought the tribute he was ordered to bring for three years.

2. But on the third year, upon hearing that the king of the Babylonians made an expedition against the Egyptians, he did not pay his tribute; yet was he disappointed of his hope, for the Egyptians durst not fight at this time. And indeed the prophet Jeremiah foretold every day, how vainly they relied on their hopes from Egypt, and how the city would be overthrown by the king of Babylon, and Jehoiakim the king would be subdued by him. But what he thus spake proved to be of no advantage to them, because there were none that should escape; for both the multitude and the rulers, when they heard him, had no concern about what they heard; but being displeased at what was said, as if the prophet were a diviner against the king, they accused Jeremiah, and bringing him before the court, they required that a sentence and a punishment might be given against him. Now all the rest gave their votes for his condemnation, but the elders refused, who prudently sent away the prophet from the court of [the prison], and persuaded the rest to do Jeremiah no harm; for they said that he was not the only person who foretold what would come to the city, but that Micah

signified the same before him, as well as many others, none of which suffered any thing of the kings that then reigned, but were honored as the prophets of God. So they mollified the multitude with these words, and delivered Jeremiah from the punishment to which he was condemned. Now when this prophet had written all his prophecies, and the people were fasting, and assembled at the temple, on the ninth month of the fifth year of Jehoiakim, he read the book he had composed of his predictions of what was to befall the city, and the temple, and the multitude. And when the rulers heard of it, they took the book from him, and bid him and Baruch the scribe to go their ways, lest they should be discovered by one or other; but they carried the book, and gave it to the king; so he gave order, in the presence of his friends, that his scribe should take it, and read it. When the king heard what it contained, he was angry, and tore it, and cast it into the fire, where it was consumed. He also commanded that they should seek for Jeremiah, and Baruch the scribe, and bring them to him, that they might be punished. However, they escaped his anger.

3. Now, a little time afterwards, the king of Babylon made an expedition against Jehoiakim, whom he received [into the city], and this out of fear of the foregoing predictions of this prophet, as supposing he should suffer nothing that was terrible, because he neither shut the gates, nor fought against him; yet when he was come into the city, he did not observe the covenants he had made, but he slew such as were in the flower of their age, and such as were of the greatest dignity, together with their king Jehoiakim, whom he commanded to be thrown before the walls, without any burial; and made his son Jehoiachin king of the country, and of the city: he also took the principal persons in dignity for captives, three thousand in number, and led them away to Babylon; among which was the prophet Ezekiel, who was then but young. And this was the end of king Jehoiakim, when he had lived thirty-six years, and of them reigned eleven. But Jehoiachin succeeded him in the kingdom, whose mother’s name was Nehushta; she was a citizen of Jerusalem. He reigned three months and ten days.

CHAPTER 7. That The King Of Babylon Repented Of Making Jehoiachin King, And Took Him Away To Babylon And Delivered The Kingdom To Zedekiah. This King Would Not Believe What Was Predicted By Jeremiah And Ezekiel But Joined Himself To The Egyptians; Who When They Came Into Judea, Were Vanquished By The King Of Babylon; As Also What Befell Jeremiah.

1. But a terror seized on the king of Babylon, who had given the kingdom to Jehoiachin, and that immediately; he was afraid that he should bear him a grudge, because of his killing his father, and thereupon should make the country revolt from him; wherefore he sent an army, and besieged Jehoiachin in Jerusalem; but because he was of a gentle and just disposition, he did not desire to see the city endangered on his account, but he took his mother and kindred, and delivered them to the commanders sent by the king of Babylon, and accepted of their oaths, that neither should they suffer any harm, nor the city; which agreement they did not observe for a single year, for the king of Babylon did not keep it, but gave orders to his generals to take all that were in the city captives, both the youth and the handicraftsmen, and bring them bound to him; their number was ten thousand eight hundred and thirty-two; as also Jehoiachin, and his mother and friends. And when these were brought to him, he kept them in custody, and appointed Jehoiachin's uncle, Zedekiah, to be king; and made him take an oath, that he would certainly keep the kingdom for him, and make no innovation, nor have any league of friendship with the Egyptians.

2. Now Zedekiah was twenty and one year's old when he took the government; and had the same mother with his brother Jehoiakim, but was a despiser of justice and of his duty, for truly those of the same age with him were wicked about him, and the whole multitude did what unjust and insolent things they pleased; for which reason the prophet Jeremiah came often to him, and protested to him, and insisted, that he must leave off his impieties and transgressions, and take care of what was right, and neither give ear to the rulers, [among whom were wicked men,] nor give credit to their false prophets, who deluded them, as if the king of Babylon would make no more war against them,

and as if the Egyptians would make war against him, and conquer him, since what they said was not true, and the events would not prove such [as they expected]. Now as to Zedekiah himself, while he heard the prophet speak, he believed him, and agreed to every thing as true, and supposed it was for his advantage; but then his friends perverted him, and dissuaded him from what the prophet advised, and obliged him to do what they pleased. Ezekiel also foretold in Babylon what calamities were coming upon the people, which when he heard, he sent accounts of them unto Jerusalem. But Zedekiah did not believe their prophecies, for the reason following: It happened that the two prophets agreed with one another in what they said as in all other things, that the city should be taken, and Zedekiah himself should be taken captive; but Ezekiel disagreed with him, and said that Zedekiah should not see Babylon, while Jeremiah said to him, that the king of Babylon should carry him away thither in bonds....

3. Now when Zedekiah had preserved the league of mutual assistance he had made with the Babylonians for eight years, he brake it, and revolted to the Egyptians, in hopes, by their assistance, of overcoming the Babylonians. When the king of Babylon knew this, he made war against him: he laid his country waste, and took his fortified towns, and came to the city Jerusalem itself to besiege it. But when the king of Egypt heard what circumstances Zedekiah his ally was in, he took a great army with him, and came into Judea, as if he would raise the siege; upon which the king of Babylon departed from Jerusalem, and met the Egyptians, and joined battle with them, and beat them; and when he had put them to flight, he pursued them, and drove them out of all Syria. Now as soon as the king of Babylon was departed from Jerusalem, the false prophets deceived Zedekiah, and said that the king of Babylon would not any more make war against him or his people, nor remove them out of their own country into Babylon; and that those then in captivity would return, with all those vessels of the temple of which the king of Babylon had despoiled that temple. But Jeremiah came among them, and prophesied what contradicted those predictions, and what proved to be true, that they did ill, and deluded the king; that the Egyptians would be of no advantage to them, but that the king of Babylon would renew the war against Jerusalem, and besiege it again, and would destroy the people by famine, and carry away those that remained into captivity, and would take away what they had as spoils, and would carry off those riches that were in the temple; nay, that, besides this, he would burn it, and utterly overthrow the city, and that they should serve him and his posterity seventy years; that then the Persians and the Medes should put an end to their servitude, and overthrow the Babylonians; “and that we shall be dismissed, and return to this land, and rebuild the temple, and restore Jerusalem.” When Jeremiah said this, the greater part believed him;

but the rulers, and those that were wicked, despised him, as one disordered in his senses. Now he had resolved to go elsewhere, to his own country, which was called Anathoth, and was twenty furlongs distant from Jerusalem; and as he was going, one of the rulers met him, and seized upon him, and accused him falsely, as though he were going as a deserter to the Babylonians; but Jeremiah said that he accused him falsely, and added, that he was only going to his own country; but the other would not believe him, but seized upon him, and led him away to the rulers, and laid an accusation against him, under whom he endured all sorts of torments and tortures, and was reserved to be punished; and this was the condition he was in for some time, while he suffered what I have already described unjustly.

4. Now in the ninth year of the reign of Zedekiah, on the tenth day of the tenth month, the king of Babylon made a second expedition against Jerusalem, and lay before it eighteen months, and besieged it with the utmost application. There came upon them also two of the greatest calamities at the same time that Jerusalem was besieged, a famine and a pestilential distemper, and made great havoc of them. And though the prophet Jeremiah was in prison, he did not rest, but cried out, and proclaimed aloud, and exhorted the multitude to open their gates, and admit the king of Babylon, for that if they did so, they should be preserved, and their whole families; but if they did not so, they should be destroyed; and he foretold, that if any one staid in the city, he should certainly perish by one of these ways, — either be consumed by the famine, or slain by the enemy's sword; but that if he would flee to the enemy, he should escape death. Yet did not these rulers who heard believe him, even when they were in the midst of their sore calamities; but they came to the king, and in their anger informed him what Jeremiah had said, and accused him, and complained of the prophet as of a madman, and one that disheartened their minds, and by the denunciation of miseries weakened the alacrity of the multitude, who were otherwise ready to expose themselves to dangers for him, and for their country, while he, in a way of threatening, warned them to flee to the enemy, and told them that the city should certainly be taken, and be utterly destroyed.

5. But for the king himself, he was not at all irritated against Jeremiah, such was his gentle and righteous disposition; yet, that he might not be engaged in a quarrel with those rulers at such a time, by opposing what they intended, he let them do with the prophet whatsoever they would; whereupon, when the king had granted them such a permission, they presently came into the prison, and took him, and let him down with a cord into a pit full of mire, that he might be suffocated, and die of himself. So he stood up to the neck in the mire which was all about him, and so continued; but there was one of the king's servants, who

was in esteem with him, an Ethiopian by descent, who told the king what a state the prophet was in, and said that his friends and his rulers had done evil in putting the prophet into the mire, and by that means contriving against him that he should suffer a death more bitter than that by his bonds only. When the king heard this, he repented of his having delivered up the prophet to the rulers, and bid the Ethiopian take thirty men of the king's guards, and cords with them, and whatsoever else they understood to be necessary for the prophet's preservation, and to draw him up immediately. So the Ethiopian took the men he was ordered to take, and drew up the prophet out of the mire, and left him at liberty [in the prison].

6. But when the king had sent to call him privately, and inquired what he could say to him from God, which might be suitable to his present circumstances, and desired him to inform him of it, Jeremiah replied, that he had somewhat to say; but he said withal, he should not be believed, nor, if he admonished them, should be hearkened to; "for," said he, "thy friends have determined to destroy me, as though I had been guilty of some wickedness; and where are now those men who deceived us, and said that the king of Babylon would not come and fight against us any more? but I am afraid now to speak the truth, lest thou shouldst condemn me to die." And when the king had assured him upon oath, that he would neither himself put him to death, nor deliver him up to the rulers, he became bold upon that assurance that was given him, and gave him this advice: That he should deliver the city up to the Babylonians; and he said that it was God who prophesied this by him, that [he must do so] if he would be preserved, and escape out of the danger he was in, and that then neither should the city fall to the ground, nor should the temple be burned; but that [if he disobeyed] he would be the cause of these miseries coming upon the citizens, and of the calamity that would befall his whole house. When the king heard this, he said that he would willingly do what he persuaded him to, and what he declared would be to his advantage, but that he was afraid of those of his own country that had fallen away to the Babylonians, lest he should be accused by them to the king of Babylon, and be punished. But the prophet encouraged him, and said he had no cause to fear such punishment, for that he should not have the experience of any misfortune, if he would deliver all up to the Babylonians, neither himself, nor his children, nor his wives, and that the temple should then continue unhurt. So when Jeremiah had said this, the king let him go, and charged him to betray what they had resolved on to none of the citizens, nor to tell any of these matters to any of the rulers, if they should have learned that he had been sent for, and should inquire of him what it was that he was sent for, and what he had said to him; but to pretend to them that he besought him that he

might not be kept in bonds and in prison. And indeed he said so to them; for they came to the prophet, and asked him what advice it was that he came to give the king relating to them. And thus I have finished what concerns this matter.

CHAPTER 8. How The King Of Babylon Took Jerusalem And Burnt The Temple And Removed The People Of Jerusalem And Zedekiah To Babylon. As Also, Who They Were That Had Succeeded In The High Priesthood Under The Kings.

1. Now the king of Babylon was very intent and earnest upon the siege of Jerusalem; and he erected towers upon great banks of earth, and from them repelled those that stood upon the walls; he also made a great number of such banks round about the whole city, whose height was equal to those walls. However, those that were within bore the siege with courage and alacrity, for they were not discouraged, either by the famine, or by the pestilential distemper, but were of cheerful minds in the prosecution of the war, although those miseries within oppressed them also, and they did not suffer themselves to be terrified, either by the contrivances of the enemy, or by their engines of war, but contrived still different engines to oppose all the other withal, till indeed there seemed to be an entire struggle between the Babylonians and the people of Jerusalem, which had the greater sagacity and skill; the former party supposing they should be thereby too hard for the other, for the destruction of the city; the latter placing their hopes of deliverance in nothing else but in persevering in such inventions in opposition to the other, as might demonstrate the enemy's engines were useless to them. And this siege they endured for eighteen months, until they were destroyed by the famine, and by the darts which the enemy threw at them from the towers.

2. Now the city was taken on the ninth day of the fourth month, in the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah. They were indeed only generals of the king of Babylon, to whom Nebuchadnezzar committed the care of the siege, for he abode himself in the city of Riblah. The names of these generals who ravaged and subdued Jerusalem, if any one desire to know them, were these: Nergal Sharezer, Samgar Nebo, Rabsaris, Sorsechim, and Rabmag. And when the city was taken about midnight, and the enemy's generals were entered into the temple, and when Zedekiah was sensible of it, he took his wives, and his children, and his captains, and his friends, and with them fled out of the city, through the fortified ditch, and through the desert; and when certain of the deserters had informed the Babylonians of this, at break of day, they made haste to pursue after Zedekiah, and overtook him not far from Jericho, and

encompassed him about. But for those friends and captains of Zedekiah who had fled out of the city with him, when they saw their enemies near them, they left him, and dispersed themselves, some one way, and some another, and every one resolved to save himself; so the enemy took Zedekiah alive, when he was deserted by all but a few, with his children and his wives, and brought him to the king. When he was come, Nebuchadnezzar began to call him a wicked wretch, and a covenant-breaker, and one that had forgotten his former words, when he promised to keep the country for him. He also reproached him for his ingratitude, that when he had received the kingdom from him, who had taken it from Jehoiachin, and given it to him, he had made use of the power he gave him against him that gave it; "but," said he, "God is great, who hated that conduct of thine, and hath brought thee under us." And when he had used these words to Zedekiah, he commanded his sons and his friends to be slain, while Zedekiah and the rest of the captains looked on; after which he put out the eyes of Zedekiah, and bound him, and carried him to Babylon. And these things happened to him, as Jeremiah and Ezekiel had foretold to him, that he should be caught, and brought before the king of Babylon, and should speak to him face to face, and should see his eyes with his own eyes; and thus far did Jeremiah prophesy. But he was also made blind, and brought to Babylon, but did not see it, according to the prediction of Ezekiel.

3. We have said thus much, because it was sufficient to show the nature of God to such as are ignorant of it, that it is various, and acts many different ways, and that all events happen after a regular manner, in their proper season, and that it foretells what must come to pass. It is also sufficient to show the ignorance and incredulity of men, whereby they are not permitted to foresee any thing that is future, and are, without any guard, exposed to calamities, so that it is impossible for them to avoid the experience of those calamities.

4. And after this manner have the kings of David's race ended their lives, being in number twenty-one, until the last king, who all together reigned five hundred and fourteen years, and six months, and ten days; of whom Saul, who was their first king, retained the government twenty years, though he was not of the same tribe with the rest.

5. And now it was that the king of Babylon sent Nebuzaradan, the general of his army, to Jerusalem, to pillage the temple, who had it also in command to burn it and the royal palace, and to lay the city even with the ground, and to transplant the people into Babylon. Accordingly, he came to Jerusalem in the eleventh year of king Zedekiah, and pillaged the temple, and carried out the vessels of God, both gold and silver, and particularly that large laver which Solomon dedicated, as also the pillars of brass, and their chapiters, with the

golden tables and the candlesticks; and when he had carried these off, he set fire to the temple in the fifth month, the first day of the month, in the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah, and in the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar: he also burnt the palace, and overthrew the city. Now the temple was burnt four hundred and seventy years, six months, and ten days after it was built. It was then one thousand and sixty-two years, six months, and ten days from the departure out of Egypt; and from the deluge to the destruction of the temple, the whole interval was one thousand nine hundred and fifty-seven years, six months, and ten days; but from the generation of Adam, until this befell the temple, there were three thousand five hundred and thirteen years, six months, and ten days; so great was the number of years hereto belonging. And what actions were done during these years we have particularly related. But the general of the Babylonian king now overthrew the city to the very foundations, and removed all the people, and took for prisoners the high priest Seraiah, and Zephaniah the priest that was next to him, and the rulers that guarded the temple, who were three in number, and the eunuch who was over the armed men, and seven friends of Zedekiah, and his scribe, and sixty other rulers; all which, together with the vessels which they had pillaged, he carried to the king of Babylon to Riblah, a city of Syria. So the king commanded the heads of the high priest and of the rulers to be cut off there; but he himself led all the captives and Zedekiah to Babylon. He also led Josedek the high priest away bound. He was the son of Seraiah the high priest, whom the king of Babylon had slain in Riblah, a city of Syria, as we just now related.

6. And now, because we have enumerated the succession of the kings, and who they were, and how long they reigned, I think it necessary to set down the names of the high priests, and who they were that succeeded one another in the high priesthood under the Kings. The first high priest then at the temple which Solomon built was Zadok; after him his son Achimas received that dignity; after Achimas was Azarias; his son was Joram, and Joram's son was Isus; after him was Axioramus; his son was Phidens, and Phideas's son was Sudeas, and Sudeas's son was Juelus, and Juelus's son was Jotham, and Jotham's son was Urias, and Urias's son was Nerias, and Nerias's son was Odeas, and his son was Sallumus, and Sallumus's son was Elcias, and his son [was Azarias, and his son] was Sareas, and his son was Josedec, who was carried captive to Babylon. All these received the high priesthood by succession, the sons from their father.

7. When the king was come to Babylon, he kept Zedekiah in prison until he died, and buried him magnificently, and dedicated the vessels he had pillaged out of the temple of Jerusalem to his own gods, and planted the people in the country of Babylon, but freed the high priest from his bonds.

CHAPTER 9. How Nebuzaradan Set Gedaliah Over The Jews That Were Left In Judea Which Gedaliah Was A Little Afterward Slain By Ishmael; And How Johanan After Ishmael Was Driven Away Went Down Into Egypt With The People Which People Nebuchadnezzar When He Made An Expedition Against The Egyptians Took Captive And Brought Them Away To Babylon.

1. Now the general of the army, Nebuzaradan, when he had carried the people of the Jews into captivity, left the poor, and those that had deserted, in the country, and made one, whose name was Gedaliah, the son of Ahikam, a person of a noble family, their governor; which Gedaliah was of a gentle and righteous disposition. He also commanded them that they should cultivate the ground, and pay an appointed tribute to the king. He also took Jeremiah the prophet out of prison, and would have persuaded him to go along with him to Babylon, for that he had been enjoined by the king to supply him with whatsoever he wanted; and if he did not like to do so, he desired him to inform him where he resolved to dwell, that he might signify the same to the king. But the prophet had no mind to follow him, nor to dwell any where else, but would gladly live in the ruins of his country, and in the miserable remains of it. When the general understood what his purpose was, he enjoined Gedaliah, whom he left behind, to take all possible care of him, and to supply him with whatsoever he wanted. So when he had given him rich presents, he dismissed him. Accordingly, Jeremiah abode in a city of that country, which was called Mispah; and desired of Nebuzaradan that he would set at liberty his disciple Baruch, the son of Neriah, one of a very eminent family, and exceeding skillful in the language of his country.

2. When Nebuzaradan had done thus, he made haste to Babylon. But as to those that fled away during the siege of Jerusalem, and had been scattered over the country, when they heard that the Babylonians were gone away, and had left a remnant in the land of Jerusalem, and those such as were to cultivate the same, they came together from all parts to Gedaliah to Mispah. Now the rulers that were over them were Johanan, the son of Kareah, and Jezaniah, and Seraiah, and others beside them. Now there was of the royal family one Ishmael, a wicked

man, and very crafty, who, during the siege of Jerusalem, fled to Baalis, the king of the Ammonites, and abode with him during that time; and Gedaliah persuaded them, now they were there, to stay with him, and to have no fear of the Babylonians, for that if they would cultivate the country, they should suffer no harm. This he assured them of by oath; and said that they should have him for their patron, and that if any disturbance should arise, they should find him ready to defend them. He also advised them to dwell in any city, as every one of them pleased; and that they would send men along with his own servants, and rebuild their houses upon the old foundations, and dwell there; and he admonished them beforehand, that they should make preparation, while the season lasted, of corn, and wine, and oil, that they might have whereon to feed during the winter. When he had thus discoursed to them, he dismissed them, that every one might dwell in what place of the country he pleased.

3. Now when this report was spread abroad as far as the nations that bordered on Judea, that Gedaliah kindly entertained those that came to him, after they had fled away, upon this [only] condition, that they should pay tribute to the king of Babylon, they also came readily to Gedaliah, and inhabited the country. And when Johanan, and the rulers that were with him, observed the country, and the humanity of Gedaliah, they were exceedingly in love with him, and told him that Baalis, the king of the Ammonites, had sent Ishmael to kill him by treachery, and secretly, that he might have the dominion over the Israelites, as being of the royal family; and they said that he might deliver himself from this treacherous design, if he would give them leave to slay Ishmael, and nobody should know it, for they told him they were afraid that, when he was killed by the other, the entire ruin of the remaining strength of the Israelites would ensue. But he professed that he did not believe what they said, when they told him of such a treacherous design, in a man that had been well treated by him; because it was not probable that one who, under such a want of all things, had failed of nothing that was necessary for him, should be found so wicked and ungrateful towards his benefactor, that when it would be an instance of wickedness in him not to save him, had he been treacherously assaulted by others, to endeavor, and that earnestly, to kill him with his own hands: that, however, if he ought to suppose this information to be true, it was better for himself to be slain by the other, than to destroy a man who fled to him for refuge, and intrusted his own safety to him, and committed himself to his disposal.

4. So Johanan, and the rulers that were with him, not being able to persuade Gedaliah, went away. But after the interval of thirty days was over, Ishmael came again to Gedaliah, to the city Mispah, and ten men with him; and when he had feasted Ishmael, and those that were with him, in a splendid manner at his

table, and had given them presents, he became disordered in drink, while he endeavored to be very merry with them; and when Ishmael saw him in that case, and that he was drowned in his cups to the degree of insensibility, and fallen asleep, he rose up on a sudden, with his ten friends, and slew Gedaliah, and those that were with him at the feast; and when he had slain them, he went out by night, and slew all the Jews that were in the city, and those soldiers also which were left therein by the Babylonians. But the next day fourscore men came out of the country with presents to Gedaliah, none of them knowing what had befallen him; when Ishmael saw them, he invited them in to Gedaliah, and when they were come in, he shut up the court, and slew them, and cast their dead bodies down into a certain deep pit, that they might not be seen; but of these fourscore men Ishmael spared those that entreated him not to kill them, till they had delivered up to him what riches they had concealed in the fields, consisting of their furniture, and garments, and corn: but he took captive the people that were in Mispah, with their wives and children; among whom were the daughters of king Zedekiah, whom Nebuzaradan, the general of the army of Babylon, had left with Gedaliah. And when he had done this, he came to the king of the Ammonites.

5. But when Johanan and the rulers with him heard of what was done at Mispah by Ishmael, and of the death of Gedaliah, they had indignation at it, and every one of them took his own armed men, and came suddenly to fight with Ishmael, and overtook him at the fountain in Hebron. And when those that were carried away captives by Ishmael saw Johanan and the rulers, they were very glad, and looked upon them as coming to their assistance; so they left him that had carried them captives, and came over to Johanan: then Ishmael, with eight men, fled to the king of the Ammonites; but Johanan took those whom he had rescued out of the hands of Ishmael, and the eunuchs, and their wives and children, and came to a certain place called Mandra, and there they abode that day, for they had determined to remove from thence and go into Egypt, out of fear, lest the Babylonians should slay them, in case they continued in the country, and that out of anger at the slaughter of Gedaliah, who had been by them set over it for governor.

6. Now while they were under this deliberation, Johanan, the son of Kareah, and the rulers that were with him, came to Jeremiah the prophet, and desired that he would pray to God, that because they were at an utter loss about what they ought to do, he would discover it to them, and they sware that they would do whatsoever Jeremiah should say to them. And when the prophet said he would be their intercessor with God, it came to pass, that after ten days God appeared to him, and said that he should inform Johanan, and the other rulers, and all the

people, that he would be with them while they continued in that country, and take care of them, and keep them from being hurt by the Babylonians, of whom they were afraid; but that he would desert them if they went into Egypt, and, out of this wrath against them, would inflict the same punishments upon them which they knew their brethren had already endured. So when the prophet had informed Johanan and the people that God had foretold these things, he was not believed, when he said that God commanded them to continue in the country; but they imagined that he said so to gratify Baruch, his own disciple, and belied God, and that he persuaded them to stay there, that they might be destroyed by the Babylonians. Accordingly, both the people and Johanan disobeyed the counsel of God, which he gave them by the prophet, and removed into Egypt, and carried Jeremiah and Barnch along with him.

7. And when they were there, God signified to the prophet that the king of Babylon was about making an expedition against the Egyptians, and commanded him to foretell to the people that Egypt should be taken, and the king of Babylon should slay some of them and, should take others captive, and bring them to Babylon; which things came to pass accordingly; for on the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, which was the twenty-third of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, he made an expedition against Celesyria; and when he had possessed himself of it, he made war against the Ammonites and Moabites; and when he had brought all these nations under subjection, he fell upon Egypt, in order to overthrow it; and he slew the king that then reigned and set up another; and he took those Jews that were there captives, and led them away to Babylon. And such was the end of the nation of the Hebrews, as it hath been delivered down to us, it having twice gone beyond Euphrates; for the people of the ten tribes were carried out of Samaria by the Assyrians, in the days of king Hoshea; after which the people of the two tribes that remained after Jerusalem was taken [were carried away] by Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon and Chaldea. Now as to Shalmanezer, he removed the Israelites out of their country, and placed therein the nation of the Cutheans, who had formerly belonged to the inner parts of Persia and Media, but were then called Samaritans, by taking the name of the country to which they were removed; but the king of Babylon, who brought out the two tribes, placed no other nation in their country, by which means all Judea and Jerusalem, and the temple, continued to be a desert for seventy years; but the entire interval of time which passed from the captivity of the Israelites, to the carrying away of the two tribes, proved to be a hundred and thirty years, six months, and ten days.

CHAPTER 10. Concerning Daniel And What Befell Him At Babylon.

1. But now Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, took some of the most noble of the Jews that were children, and the kinsmen of Zedekiah their king, such as were remarkable for the beauty of their bodies, and the comeliness of their countenances, and delivered them into the hands of tutors, and to the improvement to be made by them. He also made some of them to be eunuchs; which course he took also with those of other nations whom he had taken in the flower of their age, and afforded them their diet from his own table, and had them instructed in the institutes of the country, and taught the learning of the Chaldeans; and they had now exercised themselves sufficiently in that wisdom which he had ordered they should apply themselves to. Now among these there were four of the family of Zedekiah, of most excellent dispositions, one of whom was called Daniel, another was called Ananias, another Misael, and the fourth Azarias; and the king of Babylon changed their names, and commanded that they should make use of other names. Daniel he called Baltasar; Ananias, Shadrach; Misael, Meshach; and Azarias, Abednego. These the king had in esteem, and continued to love, because of the very excellent temper they were of, and because of their application to learning, and the profess they had made in wisdom.

2. Now Daniel and his kinsmen had resolved to use a severe diet, and to abstain from those kinds of food which came from the king's table, and entirely to forbear to eat of all living creatures. So he came to Ashpenaz, who was that eunuch to whom the care of them was committed, and desired him to take and spend what was brought for them from the king, but to give them pulse and dates for their food, and any thing else, besides the flesh of living creatures, that he pleased, for that their inclinations were to that sort of food, and that they despised the other. He replied, that he was ready to serve them in what they desired, but he suspected that they would be discovered by the king, from their meagre bodies, and the alteration of their countenances, because it could not be avoided but their bodies and colors must be changed with their diet, especially while they would be clearly discovered by the finer appearance of the other children, who would fare better, and thus they should bring him into danger, and occasion him to be punished; yet did they persuade Arioch, who was thus fearful, to give them what food they desired for ten days, by way of trial; and in case the habit of their bodies were not altered, to go on in the same way, as

expecting that they should not be hurt thereby afterwards; but if he saw them look meagre, and worse than the rest, he should reduce them to their former diet. Now when it appeared that they were so far from becoming worse by the use of this food, that they grew plumper and fuller in body than the rest, insomuch that he thought those who fed on what came from the king's table seemed less plump and full, while those that were with Daniel looked as if they had lived in plenty, and in all sorts of luxury. Arioch, from that time, securely took himself what the king sent every day from his supper, according to custom, to the children, but gave them the forementioned diet, while they had their souls in some measure more pure, and less burdened, and so fitter for learning, and had their bodies in better tune for hard labor; for they neither had the former oppressed and heavy with variety of meats, nor were the other effeminate on the same account; so they readily understood all the learning that was among the Hebrews, and among the Chaldeans, as especially did Daniel, who being already sufficiently skillful in wisdom, was very busy about the interpretation of dreams; and God manifested himself to him.

3. Now two years after the destruction of Egypt, king Nebuchadnezzar saw a wonderful dream, the accomplishment of which God showed him in his sleep; but when he arose out of his bed, he forgot the accomplishment. So he sent for the Chaldeans and magicians, and the prophets, and told them that he had seen a dream, and informed them that he had forgotten the accomplishment of what he had seen, and he enjoined them to tell him both what the dream was, and what was its signification; and they said that this was a thing impossible to be discovered by men; but they promised him, that if he would explain to them what dream he had seen, they would tell him its signification. Hereupon he threatened to put them to death, unless they told him his dream; and he gave command to have them all put to death, since they confessed they could not do what they were commanded to do. Now when Daniel heard that the king had given a command, that all the wise men should be put to death, and that among them himself and his three kinsmen were in danger, he went to Arioch, who was captain of the king's guards, and desired to know of him what was the reason why the king had given command that all the wise men, and Chaldeans, and magicians should be slain. So when he had learned that the king had had a dream, and had forgotten it, and that when they were enjoined to inform the king of it, they had said they could not do it, and had thereby provoked him to anger, he desired of Arioch that he would go in to the king, and desire respite for the magicians for one night, and to put off their slaughter so long, for that he hoped within that time to obtain, by prayer to God, the knowledge of the dream. Accordingly, Arioch informed the king of what Daniel desired. So the king bid

them delay the slaughter of the magicians till he knew what Daniel's promise would come to; but the young man retired to his own house, with his kinsmen, and besought God that whole night to discover the dream, and thereby deliver the magicians and Chaldeans, with whom they were themselves to perish, from the king's anger, by enabling him to declare his vision, and to make manifest what the king had seen the night before in his sleep, but had forgotten it. Accordingly, God, out of pity to those that were in danger, and out of regard to the wisdom of Daniel, made known to him the dream and its interpretation, that so the king might understand by him its signification also. When Daniel had obtained this knowledge from God, he arose very joyful, and told it his brethren, and made them glad, and to hope well that they should now preserve their lives, of which they despaired before, and had their minds full of nothing but the thoughts of dying. So when he had with them returned thanks to God, who had commiserated their youth, when it was day he came to Arioch, and desired him to bring him to the king, because he would discover to him that dream which he had seen the night before.

4. When Daniel was come in to the king, he excused himself first, that he did not pretend to be wiser than the other Chaldeans and magicians, when, upon their entire inability to discover his dream, he was undertaking to inform him of it; for this was not by his own skill, or on account of his having better cultivated his understanding than the rest; but he said, "God hath had pity upon us, when we were in danger of death, and when I prayed for the life of myself, and of those of my own nation, hath made manifest to me both the dream, and the interpretation thereof; for I was not less concerned for thy glory than for the sorrow that we were by thee condemned to die, while thou didst so unjustly command men, both good and excellent in themselves, to be put to death, when thou enjoinedst them to do what was entirely above the reach of human wisdom, and requiredst of them what was only the work of God. Wherefore, as thou in thy sleep wast solicitous concerning those that should succeed thee in the government of the whole world, God was desirous to show thee all those that should reign after thee, and to that end exhibited to thee the following dream: Thou seemedst to see a great image standing before thee, the head of which proved to be of gold, the shoulders and arms of silver, and the belly and the thighs of brass, but the legs and the feet of iron; after which thou sawest a stone broken off from a mountain, which fell upon the image, and threw it down, and brake it to pieces, and did not permit any part of it to remain whole; but the gold, the silver, the brass, and the iron, became smaller than meal, which, upon the blast of a violent wind, was by force carried away, and scattered abroad, but the stone did increase to such a degree, that the whole earth beneath it seemed to be

filled therewith. This is the dream which thou sawest, and its interpretation is as follows: The head of gold denotes thee, and the kings of Babylon that have been before thee; but the two hands and arms signify this, that your government shall be dissolved by two kings; but another king that shall come from the west, armed with brass, shall destroy that government; and another government, that shall be like unto iron, shall put an end to the power of the former, and shall have dominion over all the earth, on account of the nature of iron, which is stronger than that of gold, of silver, and of brass." Daniel did also declare the meaning of the stone to the king but I do not think proper to relate it, since I have only undertaken to describe things past or things present, but not things that are future; yet if any one be so very desirous of knowing truth, as not to wave such points of curiosity, and cannot curb his inclination for understanding the uncertainties of futurity, and whether they will happen or not, let him be diligent in reading the book of Daniel, which he will find among the sacred writings.

5. When Nebuchadnezzar heard this, and recollected his dream, he was astonished at the nature of Daniel, and fell upon his knee; and saluted Daniel in the manner that men worship God, and gave command that he should be sacrificed to as a god. And this was not all, for he also imposed the name, of his own god upon him, [Baltasar,] and made him and his kinsmen rulers of his whole kingdom; which kinsmen of his happened to fall into great danger by the envy and malice [of their enemies]; for they offended the king upon the occasion following: he made an image of gold, whose height was sixty cubits, and its breadth six cubits, and set it in the great plain of Babylon; and when he was going to dedicate the image, he invited the principal men out of all the earth that was under his dominions, and commanded them, in the first place, that when they should hear the sound of the trumpet, they should then fall down and worship the image; and he threatened, that those who did not so, should be cast into a fiery furnace. When therefore all the rest, upon the hearing of the sound of the trumpet, worshipped the image, they relate that Daniel's kinsmen did not do it, because they would not transgress the laws of their country. So these men were convicted, and cast immediately into the fire, but were saved by Divine Providence, and after a surprising manner escaped death, for the fire did not touch them; and I suppose that it touched them not, as if it reasoned with itself, that they were cast into it without any fault of theirs, and that therefore it was too weak to burn the young men when they were in it. This was done by the power of God, who made their bodies so far superior to the fire, that it could not consume them. This it was which recommended them to the king as righteous men, and men beloved of God, on which account they continued in great esteem with him.

6. A little after this the king saw in his sleep again another vision; how he should fall from his dominion, and feed among the wild beasts, and that when he halt lived in this manner in the desert for seven years, he should recover his dominion again. When he had seen this dream, he called the magicians together again, and inquired of them about it, and desired them to tell him what it signified; but when none of them could find out the meaning of the dream, nor discover it to the king, Daniel was the only person that explained it; and as he foretold, so it came to pass; for after he had continued in the wilderness the forementioned interval of time, while no one durst attempt to seize his kingdom during those seven years, he prayed to God that he might recover his kingdom, and he returned to it. But let no one blame me for writing down every thing of this nature, as I find it in our ancient books; for as to that matter, I have plainly assured those that think me defective in any such point, or complain of my management, and have told them in the beginning of this history, that I intended to do no more than translate the Hebrew books into the Greek language, and promised them to explain those facts, without adding any thing to them of my own, or taking any thing away from there.

CHAPTER 11. Concerning Nebuchadnezzar And His Successors And How Their Government Was Dissolved By The Persians; And What Things Befell Daniel In Media; And What Prophecies He Delivered There.

1. Now when king Nebuchadnezzar had reigned forty-three years, he ended his life. He was an active man, and more fortunate than the kings that were before him. Now Berosus makes mention of his actions in the third book of his Chaldaic History, where he says thus: “When his father Nebuchodonosor [Nabopollassar] heard that the governor whom he had set over Egypt, and the places about Coelesyria and Phoenicia, had revolted from him, while he was not himself able any longer to undergo the hardships [of war], he committed to his son Nebuchadnezzar, who was still but a youth, some parts of his army, and sent them against him. So when Nebuchadnezzar had given battle, and fought with the rebel, he beat him, and reduced the country from under his subjection, and made it a branch of his own kingdom; but about that time it happened that his father Nebuchodonosor [Nabopollassar] fell ill, and ended his life in the city Babylon, when he had reigned twenty-one years; and when he was made sensible, as he was in a little time, that his father Nebuchodonosor [Nabopollassar] was dead, and having settled the affairs of Egypt, and the other countries, as also those that concerned the captive Jews, and Phoenicians, and Syrians, and those of the Egyptian nations; and having committed the conveyance of them to Babylon to certain of his friends, together with the gross of his army, and the rest of their ammunition and provisions, he went himself hastily, accompanied with a few others, over the desert, and came to Babylon. So he took upon him the management of public affairs, and of the kingdom which had been kept for him by one that was the principal of the Chaldeans, and he received the entire dominions of his father, and appointed, that when the captives came, they should be placed as colonies, in the most proper places of Babylonia; but then he adorned the temple of Belus, and the rest of the temples, in a magnificent manner, with the spoils he had taken in the war. He also added another city to that which was there of old, and rebuilt it, that such as would besiege it hereafter might no more turn the course of the river, and thereby attack the city itself. He therefore built three walls round about the inner city, and three others about that which was the outer, and this he did with burnt brick. And after

he had, after a becoming manner, walled the city, and adorned its gates gloriously, he built another palace before his father's palace, but so that they joined to it; to describe whose vast height and immense riches it would perhaps be too much for me to attempt; yet as large and lofty as they were, they were completed in fifteen days. He also erected elevated places for walking, of stone, and made it resemble mountains, and built it so that it might be planted with all sorts of trees. He also erected what was called a pensile paradise, because his wife was desirous to have things like her own country, she having been bred up in the palaces of Media." Megasthenes also, in his fourth book of his Accounts of India, makes mention of these things, and thereby endeavors to show that this king [Nebuchadnezzar] exceeded Hercules in fortitude, and in the greatness of his actions; for he saith that he conquered a great part of Libya and Iberia. Diocles also, in the second book of his Accounts of Persia, mentions this king; as does Philostrates in his Accounts both of India and of Phoenicia, say, that this king besieged Tyre thirteen years, while at the same time Ethbaal reigned at Tyre. These are all the histories that I have met with concerning this king.

2. But now, after the death of Nebuchadnezzar, Evil-Merodach his son succeeded in the kingdom, who immediately set Jeconiah at liberty, and esteemed him among his most intimate friends. He also gave him many presents, and made him honorable above the rest of the kings that were in Babylon; for his father had not kept his faith with Jeconiah, when he voluntarily delivered up himself to him, with his wives and children, and his whole kindred, for the sake of his country, that it might not be taken by siege, and utterly destroyed, as we said before. When Evil-Mcrodach was dead, after a reign of eighteen years, Niglissar his son took the government, and retained it forty years, and then ended his life; and after him the succession in the kingdom came to his son Labosordacus, who continued in it in all but nine months; and when he was dead, it came to Baltasar, who by the Babylonians was called Naboandelus; against him did Cyrus, the king of Persia, and Darius, the king of Media, make war; and when he was besieged in Babylon, there happened a wonderful and prodigious vision. He was sat down at supper in a large room, and there were a great many vessels of silver, such as were made for royal entertainments, and he had with him his concubines and his friends; whereupon he came to a resolution, and commanded that those vessels of God which Nebuchadnezzar had plundered out of Jerusalem, and had not made use of, but had put them into his own temple, should be brought out of that temple. He also grew so haughty as to proceed to use them in the midst of his cups, drinking out of them, and blaspheming against God. In the mean time, he saw a hand proceed out of the wall, and writing upon the wall certain syllables; at which sight, being disturbed,

he called the magicians and Chaldeans together, and all that sort of men that are among these barbarians, and were able to interpret signs and dreams, that they might explain the writing to him. But when the magicians said they could discover nothing, nor did understand it, the king was in great disorder of mind, and under great trouble at this surprising accident; so he caused it to be proclaimed through all the country, and promised, that to him who could explain the writing, and give the signification couched therein, he would give him a golden chain for his neck, and leave to wear a purple garment, as did the kings of Chaldea, and would bestow on him the third part of his own dominions. When this proclamation was made, the magicians ran together more earnestly, and were very ambitious to find out the importance of the writing, but still hesitated about it as much as before. Now when the king's grandmother saw him cast down at this accident, she began to encourage him, and to say, that there was a certain captive who came from Judea, a Jew by birth, but brought away thence by Nebuchadnezzar when he had destroyed Jerusalem, whose name was Daniel, a wise man, and one of great sagacity in finding out what was impossible for others to discover, and what was known to God alone, who brought to light and answered such questions to Nebuchadnezzar as no one else was able to answer when they were consulted. She therefore desired that he would send for him, and inquire of him concerning the writing, and to condemn the unskilfulness of those that could not find their meaning, and this, although what God signified thereby should be of a melancholy nature.

3. When Baltasar heard this, he called for Daniel; and when he had discoursed to him what he had learned concerning him and his wisdom, and how a Divine Spirit was with him, and that he alone was fully capable of finding out what others would never have thought of, he desired him to declare to him what this writing meant; that if he did so, he would give him leave to wear purple, and to put a chain of gold about his neck, and would bestow on him the third part of his dominion, as an honorary reward for his wisdom, that thereby he might become illustrious to those who saw him, and who inquired upon what occasion he obtained such honors. But Daniel desired that he would keep his gifts to himself; for what is the effect of wisdom and of Divine revelation admits of no gifts, and bestows its advantages on petitioners freely; but that still he would explain the writing to him; which denoted that he should soon die, and this because he had not learnt to honor God, and not to admit things above human nature, by what punishments his progenitor had undergone for the injuries he had offered to God; and because he had quite forgotten how Nebuchadnezzar was removed to feed among wild beasts for his impieties, and did not recover his former life among men and his kingdom, but upon God's mercy to him, after many supplications

and prayers; who did thereupon praise God all the days of his life, as one of almighty power, and who takes care of mankind. [He also put him in mind] how he had greatly blasphemed against God, and had made use of his vessels amongst his concubines; that therefore God saw this, and was angry with him, and declared by this writing beforehand what a sad conclusion of his life he should come to. And he explained the writing thus: "MANEH. This, if it be expounded in the Greek language, may signify a Number, because God hath numbered so long a time for thy life, and for thy government, and that there remains but a small portion. THEKEL This signifies a weight, and means that God hath weighed thy kingdom in a balance, and finds it going down already. — PHARES. This also, in the Greek tongue, denotes a fragment. God will therefore break thy kingdom in pieces, and divide it among the Medes and Persians."

4. When Daniel had told the king that the writing upon the wall signified these events, Baltasar was in great sorrow and affliction, as was to be expected, when the interpretation was so heavy upon him. However, he did not refuse what he had promised Daniel, although he were become a foreteller of misfortunes to him, but bestowed it all upon him; as reasoning thus, that what he was to reward was peculiar to himself, and to fate, and did not belong to the prophet, but that it was the part of a good and a just man to give what he had promised, although the events were of a melancholy nature. Accordingly, the king determined so to do. Now, after a little while, both himself and the city were taken by Cyrus, the king of Persia, who fought against him; for it was Baltasar, under whom Babylon was taken, when he had reigned seventeen years. And this is the end of the posterity of king Nebuchadnezzar, as history informs us; but when Babylon was taken by Darius, and when he, with his kinsman Cyrus, had put an end to the dominion of the Babylonians, he was sixty-two years old. He was the son of Astyages, and had another name among the Greeks. Moreover, he took Daniel the prophet, and carried him with him into Media, and honored him very greatly, and kept him with him; for he was one of the three presidents whom he set over his three hundred and sixty provinces, for into so many did Darius part them.

5. However, while Daniel was in so great dignity, and in so great favor with Darius, and was alone intrusted with every thing by him, a having somewhat divine in him, he was envied by the rest; for those that see others in greater honor than themselves with kings envy them; and when those that were grieved at the great favor Daniel was in with Darius sought for an occasion against him, he afforded them no occasion at all, for he was above all the temptations of money, and despised bribery, and esteemed it a very base thing to take any thing by way of reward, even when it might be justly given him; he afforded those that envied him not the least handle for an accusation. So when they could find

nothing for which they might calumniate him to the king, nothing that was shameful or reproachful, and thereby deprive him of the honor he was in with him, they sought for some other method whereby they might destroy him. When therefore they saw that Daniel prayed to God three times a day, they thought they had gotten an occasion by which they might ruin him; so they came to Darius and told him that the princes and governors had thought proper to allow the multitude a relaxation for thirty days, that no one might offer a petition or prayer either to himself or to the gods, but that, "he who shall transgress this decree shall be east into the den of lions, and there perish."

6. Whereupon the king, not being acquainted with their wicked design, nor suspecting that it was a contrivance of theirs against Daniel, said he was pleased with this decree of theirs, and he promised to confirm what they desired; he also published an edict to promulgate to the people that decree which the princes had made. Accordingly, all the rest took care not to transgress those injunctions, and rested in quiet; but Daniel had no regard to them, but, as he was wont, he stood and prayed to God in the sight of them all; but the princes having met with the occasion they so earnestly sought to find against Daniel, came presently to the king, and accused him, that Daniel was the only person that transgressed the decree, while not one of the rest durst pray to their gods. This discovery they made, not because of his impiety, but because they had watched him, and observed him out of envy; for supposing that Darius did thus out of a greater kindness to him than they expected, and that he was ready to grant him pardon for this contempt of his injunctions, and envying this very pardon to Daniel, they did not become more honorable to him, but desired he might be cast into the den of lions according to the law. So Darius, hoping that God would deliver him, and that he would undergo nothing that was terrible by the wild beasts, bid him bear this accident cheerfully. And when he was cast into the den, he put his seal to the stone that lay upon the mouth of the den, and went his way, but he passed all the night without food and without sleep, being in great distress for Daniel; but when it was day, he got up, and came to the den, and found the seal entire, which he had left the stone sealed withal; he also opened the seal, and cried out, and called to Daniel, and asked him if he were alive. And as soon as he heard the king's voice, and said that he had suffered no harm, the king gave order that he should be drawn up out of the den. Now when his enemies saw that Daniel had suffered nothing which was terrible, they would not own that he was preserved by God, and by his providence; but they said that the lions had been filled full with food, and on that account it was, as they supposed, that the lions would not touch Daniel, nor come to him; and this they alleged to the king. But the king, out of an abhorrence of their wickedness, gave order that they should throw in a

great deal of flesh to the lions; and when they had filled themselves, he gave further order that Daniel's enemies should be cast into the den, that he might learn whether the lions, now they were full, would touch them or not. And it appeared plain to Darius, after the princes had been cast to the wild beasts, that it was God who preserved Daniel for the lions spared none of them, but tore them all to pieces, as if they had been very hungry, and wanted food. I suppose therefore it was not their hunger, which had been a little before satisfied with abundance of flesh, but the wickedness of these men, that provoked them [to destroy the princes]; for if it so please God, that wickedness might, by even those irrational creatures, be esteemed a plain foundation for their punishment.

7. When therefore those that had intended thus to destroy Daniel by treachery were themselves destroyed, king Darius sent [letters] over all the country, and praised that God whom Daniel worshipped, and said that he was the only true God, and had all power. He had also Daniel in very great esteem, and made him the principal of his friends. Now when Daniel was become so illustrious and famous, on account of the opinion men had that he was beloved of God, he built a tower at Ecbatana, in Media: it was a most elegant building, and wonderfully made, and it is still remaining, and preserved to this day; and to such as see it, it appears to have been lately built, and to have been no older than that very day when any one looks upon it, it is so fresh flourishing, and beautiful, and no way grown old in so long time; for buildings suffer the same as men do, they grow old as well as they, and by numbers of years their strength is dissolved, and their beauty withered. Now they bury the kings of Media, of Persia, and Parthia in this tower to this day, and he who was entrusted with the care of it was a Jewish priest; which thing is also observed to this day. But it is fit to give an account of what this man did, which is most admirable to hear, for he was so happy as to have strange revelations made to him, and those as to one of the greatest of the prophets, insomuch, that while he was alive he had the esteem and applause both of the kings and of the multitude; and now he is dead, he retains a remembrance that will never fail, for the several books that he wrote and left behind him are still read by us till this time; and from them we believe that Daniel conversed with God; for he did not only prophesy of future events, as did the other prophets, but he also determined the time of their accomplishment. And while prophets used to foretell misfortunes, and on that account were disagreeable both to the kings and to the multitude, Daniel was to them a prophet of good things, and this to such a degree, that by the agreeable nature of his predictions, he procured the goodwill of all men; and by the accomplishment of them, he procured the belief of their truth, and the opinion of [a sort of] divinity for himself, among the multitude. He also wrote and left behind him what made

manifest the accuracy and undeniable veracity of his predictions; for he saith, that when he was in Susa, the metropolis of Persia, and went out into the field with his companions, there was, on the sudden, a motion and concussion of the earth, and that he was left alone by himself, his friends fleeing away from him, and that he was disturbed, and fell on his face, and on his two hands, and that a certain person touched him, and, at the same time, bid him rise, and see what would befall his countrymen after many generations. He also related, that when he stood up, he was shown a great rain, with many horns growing out of his head, and that the last was higher than the rest: that after this he looked to the west, and saw a he-goat carried through the air from that quarter; that he rushed upon the ram with violence, and smote him twice with his horns, and overthrew him to the ground, and trampled upon him: that afterward he saw a very great horn growing out of the head of the he-goat, and that when it was broken off, four horns grew up that were exposed to each of the four winds, and he wrote that out of them arose another lesser horn, which, as he said, waxed great; and that God showed to him that it should fight against his nation, and take their city by force, and bring the temple worship to confusion, and forbid the sacrifices to be offered for one thousand two hundred and ninety-six days. Daniel wrote that he saw these visions in the Plain of Susa; and he hath informed us that God interpreted the appearance of this vision after the following manner: He said that the ram signified the kingdoms of the Medes and Persians, and the horns those kings that were to reign in them; and that the last horn signified the last king, and that he should exceed all the kings in riches and glory: that the he-goat signified that one should come and reign from the Greeks, who should twice fight with the Persian, and overcome him in battle, and should receive his entire dominion: that by the great horn which sprang out of the forehead of the he-goat was meant the first king; and that the springing up of four horns upon its falling off, and the conversion of every one of them to the four quarters of the earth, signified the successors that should arise after the death of the first king, and the partition of the kingdom among them, and that they should be neither his children, nor of his kindred, that should reign over the habitable earth for many years; and that from among them there should arise a certain king that should overcome our nation and their laws, and should take away their political government, and should spoil the temple, and forbid the sacrifices to be offered for three years' time. And indeed it so came to pass, that our nation suffered these things under Antiochus Epiphanes, according to Daniel's vision, and what he wrote many years before they came to pass. In the very same manner Daniel also wrote concerning the Roman government, and that our country should be made desolate by them. All these things did this man leave in writing, as God had showed them to him,

insomuch that such as read his prophecies, and see how they have been fulfilled, would wonder at the honor wherewith God honored Daniel; and may thence discover how the Epicureans are in an error, who cast Providence out of human life, and do not believe that God takes care of the affairs of the world, nor that the universe is governed and continued in being by that blessed and immortal nature, but say that the world is carried along of its own accord, without a ruler and a curator; which, were it destitute of a guide to conduct it, as they imagine, it would be like ships without pilots, which we see drowned by the winds, or like chariots without drivers, which are overturned; so would the world be dashed to pieces by its being carried without a Providence, and so perish, and come to nought. So that, by the forementioned predictions of Daniel, those men seem to me very much to err from the truth, who determine that God exercises no providence over human affairs; for if that were the case, that the world went on by mechanical necessity, we should not see that all things would come to pass according to his prophecy. Now as to myself, I have so described these matters as I have found them and read them; but if any one is inclined to another opinion about them, let him enjoy his different sentiments without any blame from me.

BOOK XI. Containing The Interval Of Two Hundred And Fifty-Three Years And Five Months. — From The First Of Cyrus To The Death Of Alexander The Great.

CHAPTER 1. How Cyrus, King Of The Persians, Delivered The Jews Out Of Babylon And Suffered Them To Return To Their Own Country And To Build Their Temple, For Which Work He Gave Them Money.

1. In the first year of the reign of Cyrus which was the seventieth from the day that our people were removed out of their own land into Babylon, God commiserated the captivity and calamity of these poor people, according as he had foretold to them by Jeremiah the prophet, before the destruction of the city, that after they had served Nebuchadnezzar and his posterity, and after they had undergone that servitude seventy years, he would restore them again to the land of their fathers, and they should build their temple, and enjoy their ancient prosperity. And these things God did afford them; for he stirred up the mind of Cyrus, and made him write this throughout all Asia: "Thus saith Cyrus the king: Since God Almighty hath appointed me to be king of the habitable earth, I believe that he is that God which the nation of the Israelites worship; for indeed he foretold my name by the prophets, and that I should build him a house at Jerusalem, in the country of Judea."

2. This was known to Cyrus by his reading the book which Isaiah left behind him of his prophecies; for this prophet said that God had spoken thus to him in a secret vision: "My will is, that Cyrus, whom I have appointed to be king over many and great nations, send back my people to their own land, and build my temple." This was foretold by Isaiah one hundred and forty years before the temple was demolished. Accordingly, when Cyrus read this, and admired the Divine power, an earnest desire and ambition seized upon him to fulfill what was so written; so he called for the most eminent Jews that were in Babylon, and said to them, that he gave them leave to go back to their own country, and to rebuild their city Jerusalem, and the temple of God, for that he would be their assistant, and that he would write to the rulers and governors that were in the neighborhood of their country of Judea, that they should contribute to them gold and silver for the building of the temple, and besides that, beasts for their sacrifices.

3. When Cyrus had said this to the Israelites, the rulers of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, with the Levites and priests, went in haste to Jerusalem; yet did many of them stay at Babylon, as not willing to leave their possessions; and

when they were come thither, all the king's friends assisted them, and brought in, for the building of the temple, some gold, and some silver, and some a great many cattle and horses. So they performed their vows to God, and offered the sacrifices that had been accustomed of old time; I mean this upon the rebuilding of their city, and the revival of the ancient practices relating to their worship. Cyrus also sent back to them the vessels of God which king Nebuchadnezzar had pillaged out of the temple, and had carried to Babylon. So he committed these things to Mithridates, the treasurer, to be sent away, with an order to give them to Sanabassar, that he might keep them till the temple was built; and when it was finished, he might deliver them to the priests and rulers of the multitude, in order to their being restored to the temple. Cyrus also sent an epistle to the governors that were in Syria, the contents whereof here follow:

"King Cyrus To Sisinnes And Sathrabuzanes Sendeth Greeting.

"I have given leave to as many of the Jews that dwell in my country as please to return to their own country, and to rebuild their city, and to build the temple of God at Jerusalem on the same place where it was before. I have also sent my treasurer Mithridates, and Zorobabel, the governor of the Jews, that they may lay the foundations of the temple, and may build it sixty cubits high, and of the same latitude, making three edifices of polished stones, and one of the wood of the country, and the same order extends to the altar whereon they offer sacrifices to God. I require also that the expenses for these things may be given out of my revenues. Moreover, I have also sent the vessels which king Nebuchadnezzar pillaged out of the temple, and have given them to Mithridates the treasurer, and to Zorobabel the governor of the Jews, that they may have them carried to Jerusalem, and may restore them to the temple of God. Now their number is as follows: Fifty chargers of gold, and five hundred of silver; forty Thericlean cups of gold, and five hundred of silver; fifty basons of gold, and five hundred of silver; thirty vessels for pouring [the drink-offerings], and three hundred of silver; thirty vials of gold, and two thousand four hundred of silver; with a thousand other large vessels. I permit them to have the same honor which they were used to have from their forefathers, as also for their small cattle, and for wine and oil, two hundred and five thousand and five hundred drachme; and for wheat flour, twenty thousand and five hundred artabae; and I give order that these expenses shall be given them out of the tributes due from Samaria. The priests shall also offer these sacrifices according to the laws of Moses in Jerusalem; and when they offer them, they shall pray to God for the preservation of the king and of his family, that the kingdom of Persia may continue. But my will is, that those who disobey these injunctions, and make them void, shall be hung upon a cross, and their substance brought into the king's treasury." And

such was the import of this epistle. Now the number of those that came out of captivity to Jerusalem, were forty-two thousand four hundred and sixty-two.

CHAPTER 2. How Upon The Death Of Cyrus The Jews Were Hindered In Building Of The Temple By The Cutheans, And The Neighboring Governors; And How Cambyses Entirely Forbade The Jews To Do Any Such Thing.

1. When the foundations of the temple were laying, and when the Jews were very zealous about building it, the neighboring nations, and especially the Cutheans, whom Shalmanezer, king of Assyria, had brought out of Persia and Media, and had planted in Samaria, when he carried the people of Israel captives, besought the governors, and those that had the care of such affairs, that they would interrupt the Jews, both in the rebuilding of their city, and in the building of their temple. Now as these men were corrupted by them with money, they sold the Cutheans their interest for rendering this building a slow and a careless work, for Cyrus, who was busy about other wars, knew nothing of all this; and it so happened, that when he had led his army against the Massagetae, he ended his life. But when Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, had taken the kingdom, the governors in Syria, and Phoenicia, and in the countries of Amlnon, and Moab, and Samaria, wrote an epistle to Calnbyses; whose contents were as follow: “To our lord Cambyses. We thy servants, Rathumus the historiographer, and Semellius the scribe, and the rest that are thy judges in Syria and Phoenicia, send greeting. It is fit, O king, that thou shouldst know that those Jews which were carried to Babylon are come into our country, and are building that rebellious and wicked city, and its market-places, and setting up its walls, and raising up the temple; know therefore, that when these things are finished, they will not be willing to pay tribute, nor will they submit to thy commands, but will resist kings, and will choose rather to rule over others than be ruled over themselves. We therefore thought it proper to write to thee, O king, while the works about the temple are going on so fast, and not to overlook this matter, that thou mayst search into the books of thy fathers, for thou wilt find in them that the Jews have been rebels, and enemies to kings, as hath their city been also, which, for that reason, hath been till now laid waste. We thought proper also to inform thee of this matter, because thou mayst otherwise perhaps be ignorant of it, that if this city be once inhabited and be entirely encompassed with walls, thou wilt be excluded from thy passage to Celesyria and Phoenicia.”

2. When Cambyses had read the epistle, being naturally wicked, he was irritated at what they told him, and wrote back to them as follows: “Cambyses the king, to Rathumus the historiographer, to Beeltethmus, to Semellius the scribe, and the rest that are in commission, and dwelling in Samaria and Phoenicia, after this manner: I have read the epistle that was sent from you; and I gave order that the books of my forefathers should be searched into, and it is there found that this city hath always been an enemy to kings, and its inhabitants have raised seditions and wars. We also are sensible that their kings have been powerful and tyrannical, and have exacted tribute of Celesyria and Phoenicia. Wherefore I gave order, that the Jews shall not be permitted to build that city, lest such mischief as they used to bring upon kings be greatly augmented.” When this epistle was read, Rathumus, and Semellius the scribe, and their associates, got suddenly on horseback, and made haste to Jerusalem; they also brought a great company with them, and forbade the Jews to build the city and the temple. Accordingly, these works were hindered from going on till the second year of the reign of Darius, for nine years more; for Cambyses reigned six years, and within that time overthrew Egypt, and when he was come back, he died at Damascus.

CHAPTER 3. How After The Death Of Cambyses And The Slaughter Of The Magi But Under The Reign Of Darius, Zorobabel Was Superior To The Rest In The Solution Of Problems And Thereby Obtained This Favor Of The King, That The Temple Should Be Built.

1. After the slaughter of file Magi, who, upon the death of Cambyses, attained the government of the Persians for a year, those families which were called the seven families of the Persians appointed Darius, the son of Hystaspes, to be their king. Now he, while he was a private man, had made a vow to God, that if he came to be king, he would send all the vessels of God that were in Babylon to the temple at Jerusalem. Now it so fell out, that about this time Zorobabel, who had been made governor of the Jews that had been in captivity, came to Darius, from Jerusalem; for there had been an old friendship between him and the king. He was also, with two others, thought worthy to be guard of the king's body; and obtained that honor which he hoped for.

2. Now, in the first year of the king's reign, Darius feasted those that were about him, and those born in his house, with the rulers of the Medes, and princes of the Persians, and the toparchs of India and Ethiopia, and the generals of the armies of his hundred and twenty-seven provinces. But when they had eaten and drunk to satiety, and abundantly, they every one departed to go to bed at their own houses, and Darius the king went to bed; but after he had rested a little part of the night, he awaked, and not being able to sleep any more, he fell into conversation with the three guards of his body, and promised, that to him who should make an oration about points that he should inquire of, such as should be most agreeable to truth, and to the dictates of wisdom, he would grant it as a reward of his victory, to put on a purple garment, and to drink in cups of gold, and to sleep upon gold, and to have a chariot with bridles of gold, and a head tire of fine linen, and a chain of gold about his neck, and to sit next to himself, on account of his wisdom; "and," says he, "he shall be called my cousin." Now when he had promised to give them these gifts, he asked the first of them, "Whether wine was not the strongest?" — the second, "Whether kings were not such?" — and the third, "Whether women were not such? or whether truth was not the strongest of all?" When he had proposed that they should make their

inquiries about these problems, he went to rest; but in the morning he sent for his great men, his princes, and toparchs of Persia and Media, and set himself down in the place where he used to give audience, and bid each of the guards of his body to declare what they thought proper concerning the proposed questions, in the hearing of them all.

3. Accordingly, the first of them began to speak of the strength of wine, and demonstrated it thus: "When," said he, "I am to give my opinion of wine, O you men, I find that it exceeds every thing, by the following indications: It deceives the mind of those that drink it, and reduces that of the king to the same state with that of the orphan, and he who stands in need of a tutor; and erects that of the slave to the boldness of him that is free; and that of the needy becomes like that of the rich man, for it changes and renews the souls of men when it gets into them; and it quenches the sorrow of those that are under calamities, and makes men forget the debts they owe to others, and makes them think themselves to be of all men the richest; it makes them talk of no small things, but of talents, and such other names as become wealthy men only; nay more, it makes them insensible of their commanders, and of their kings, and takes away the remembrance of their friends and companions, for it arms men even against those that are dearest to them, and makes them appear the greatest strangers to them; and when they are become sober, and they have slept out their wine in the night, they arise without knowing any thing they have done in their cups. I take these for signs of power, and by them discover that wine is the strongest and most insuperable of all things."

4. As soon as the first had given the forementioned demonstrations of the strength of wine, he left off; and the next to him began to speak about the strength of a king, and demonstrated that it was the strongest of all, and more powerful than any thing else that appears to have any force or wisdom. He began his demonstration after the following manner; and said, "They are men who govern all things; they force the earth and the sea to become profitable to them in what they desire, and over these men do kings rule, and over them they have authority. Now those who rule over that animal which is of all the strongest and most powerful, must needs deserve to be esteemed insuperable in power and force. For example, when these kings command their subjects to make wars, and undergo dangers, they are hearkened to; and when they send them against their enemies, their power is so great that they are obeyed. They command men to level mountains, and to pull down walls and towers; nay, when they are commanded to be killed and to kill, they submit to it, that they may not appear to transgress the king's commands; and when they have conquered, they bring what they have gained in the war to the king. Those also who are not soldiers, but

cultivate the ground, and plough it, and when, after they have endured the labor and all the inconveniences of such works of husbandry, they have reaped and gathered in their fruits, they bring tributes to the king; and whatsoever it is which the king says or commands, it is done of necessity, and that without any delay, while he in the mean time is satiated with all sorts of food and pleasures, and sleeps in quiet. He is guarded by such as watch, and such as are, as it were, fixed down to the place through fear; for no one dares leave him, even when he is asleep, nor does any one go away and take care of his own affairs; but he esteems this one thing the only work of necessity, to guard the king, and accordingly to this he wholly addicts himself. How then can it be otherwise, but that it must appear that the king exceeds all in strength, while so great a multitude obeys his injunctions?"

5. Now when this man had held his peace, the third of them, who was Zorobabel, began to instruct them about women, and about truth, who said thus: "Wine is strong, as is the king also, whom all men obey, but women are superior to them in power; for it was a woman that brought the king into the world; and for those that plant the vines and make the wine, they are women who bear them, and bring them up: nor indeed is there any thing which we do not receive from them; for these women weave garments for us, and our household affairs are by their means taken care of, and preserved in safety; nor can we live separate from women. And when we have gotten a great deal of gold and silver, and any other thing that is of great value, and deserving regard, and see a beautiful woman, we leave all these things, and with open mouth fix our eyes upon her countenance, and are willing to forsake what we have, that we may enjoy her beauty, and procure it to ourselves. We also leave father, and mother, and the earth that nourishes us, and frequently forget our dearest friends, for the sake of women; nay, we are so hardy as to lay down our lives for them. But what will chiefly make you take notice of the strength of women is this that follows: Do not we take pains, and endure a great deal of trouble, and that both by land and sea, and when we have procured somewhat as the fruit of our labors, do not we bring them to the women, as to our mistresses, and bestow them upon them? Nay, I once saw the king, who is lord of so many people, smitten on the face by Apame, the daughter of Rabsases Themasius, his concubine, and his diadem taken away from him, and put upon her own head, while he bore it patiently; and when she smiled he smiled, and when she was angry he was sad; and according to the change of her passions, he flattered his wife, and drew her to reconciliation by the great humiliation of himself to her, if at my time he saw her displeased at him."

6. And when the princes and rulers looked one upon another, he began to speak about truth; and he said, “I have already demonstrated how powerful women are; but both these women themselves, and the king himself, are weaker than truth; for although the earth be large, and the heaven high, and the course of the sun swift, yet are all these moved according to the will of God, who is true and righteous, for which cause we also ought to esteem truth to be the strongest of all things, and that what is unrighteous is of no force against it. Moreover, all things else that have any strength are mortal and short-lived, but truth is a thing that is immortal and eternal. It affords us not indeed such a beauty as will wither away by time, nor such riches as may be taken away by fortune, but righteous rules and laws. It distinguishes them from injustice, and puts what is unrighteous to rebuke.”

7. So when Zorobabel had left off his discourse about truth, and the multitude had cried out aloud that he had spoken the most wisely, and that it was truth alone that had immutable strength, and such as never would wax old, the king commanded that he should ask for somewhat over and above what he had promised, for that he would give it him because of his wisdom, and that prudence wherein he exceeded the rest; “and thou shalt sit with me,” said the king, “and shalt be called my cousin.” When he had said this, Zorobabel put him in mind of the vow he had made in case he should ever have the kingdom. Now this vow was, “to rebuild Jerusalem, and to build therein the temple of God; as also to restore the vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had pillaged, and carried to Babylon. And this,” said he, “is that request which thou now permittest me to make, on account that I have been judged to be wise and understanding.”

8. So the king was pleased with what he had said, and arose and kissed him; and wrote to the toparchs and governors, and enjoined them to conduct Zorobabel and those that were going with him to build the temple. He also sent letters to those rulers that were in Syria and Phoenicia to cut down and carry cedar trees from Lebanon to Jerusalem, and to assist him in building the city. He also wrote to them, that all the captives who should go to Judea should be free; and he prohibited his deputies and governors to lay any king’s taxes upon the Jews; he also permitted that they should have all that land which they could possess themselves of without tributes. He also enjoined the Idumeans and Samaritans, and the inhabitants of Celesyria, to restore those villages which they had taken from the Jews; and that, besides all this, fifty talents should be given them for the building of the temple. He also permitted them to offer their appointed sacrifices, and that whatsoever the high priest and the priests wanted, and those sacred garments wherein they used to worship God, should be made at his own charges; and that the musical instruments which the Levites used in

singing hymns to God should be given them. Moreover, he charged them, that portions of land should be given to those that guarded the city and the temple, as also a determinate sum of money every year for their maintenance; and withal he sent the vessels. And all that Cyrus intended to do before him relating to the restoration of Jerusalem, Darius also ordained should be done accordingly.

9. Now when Zorobabel had obtained these grants from the king, he went out of the palace, and looking up to heaven, he began to return thanks to God for the wisdom he had given him, and the victory he had gained thereby, even in the presence of Darius himself; for, said he, "I had not been thought worthy of these advantages, O Lord, unless thou hadst been favorable to me." When therefore he had returned these thanks to God for the present circumstances he was in, and had prayed to him to afford him the like favor for the time to come, he came to Babylon, and brought the good news to his countrymen of what grants he had procured for them from the king; who, when they heard the same, gave thanks also to God that he restored the land of their forefathers to them again. So they betook themselves to drinking and eating, and for seven days they continued feasting, and kept a festival, for the rebuilding and restoration of their country: after this they chose themselves rulers, who should go up to Jerusalem, out of the tribes of their forefathers, with their wives, and children, and cattle, who traveled to Jerusalem with joy and pleasure, under the conduct of those whom Darius sent along with them, and making a noise with songs, and pipes, and cymbals. The rest of the Jewish multitude also besides accompanied them with rejoicing.

10. And thus did these men go, a certain and determinate number out of every family, though I do not think it proper to recite particularly the names of those families, that I may not take off the mind of my readers from the connexion of the historical facts, and make it hard for them to follow the coherence of my narrations; but the sum of those that went up, above the age of twelve years, of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, was four hundred and sixty-two myriads and eight thousand the Levites were seventy-four; the number of the women and children mixed together was forty thousand seven hundred and forty-two; and besides these, there were singers of the Levites one hundred and twenty-eight, and porters one hundred and ten, and of the sacred ministers three hundred and ninety-two; there were also others besides these, who said they were of the Israelites, but were not able to show their genealogies, six hundred and sixty-two: some there were also who were expelled out of the number and honor of the priests, as having married wives whose genealogies they could not produce, nor were they found in the genealogies of the Levites and priests; they were about five hundred and twenty-five: the multitude also of servants that followed those that went up to Jerusalem were seven thousand three hundred and thirty-seven;

the singing men and singing women were two hundred and forty-five; the camels were four hundred and thirty-five; the beasts used to the yoke were five thousand five hundred and twenty-five; and the governors of all this multitude thus numbered were Zorobabel, the son of Salathiel, of the posterity of David, and of the tribe of Judah; and Jeshua, the son of Josedek the high priest; and besides these there were Mordecai and Serebeus, who were distinguished from the multitude, and were rulers, who also contributed a hundred pounds of gold, and five thousand of silver. By this means therefore the priests and the Levites, and a certain part of the entire people of the Jews that were in Babylon, came and dwelt in Jerusalem; but the rest of the multitude returned every one to their own countries.

CHAPTER 4. How The Temple Was Built While The Cutheans Endeavored In Vain To Obstruct The Work.

1. Now in the seventh month after they were departed out of Babylon, both Jeshua the high priest, and Zorobabel the governor, sent messengers every way round about, and gathered those that were in the country together to Jerusalem universally, who came very gladly thither. He then built the altar on the same place it had formerly been built, that they might offer the appointed sacrifices upon it to God, according to the laws of Moses. But while they did this, they did not please the neighboring nations, who all of them bare an ill-will to them. They also celebrated the feast of tabernacles at that time, as the legislator had ordained concerning it; and after they offered sacrifices, and what were called the daily sacrifices, and the oblations proper for the Sabbaths, and for all the holy festivals. Those also that had made vows performed them, and offered their sacrifices from the first day of the seventh month. They also began to build the temple, and gave a great deal of money to the masons and to the carpenters, and what was necessary for the maintenance of the workmen. The Sidonians also were very willing and ready to bring the cedar trees from Libanus, to bind them together, and to make a united float of them, and to bring them to the port of Joppa, for that was what Cyrus had commanded at first, and what was now done at the command of Darius.

2. In the second year of their coming to Jerusalem, as the Jews were there in the second month, the building of the temple went on apace; and when they had laid its foundations on the first day of the second month of that second year, they set, as overseers of the work, such Levites as were full twenty years old; and Jeshua and his sons and brethren, and Codmiel the brother of Judas, the son of Aminadab, with his sons; and the temple, by the great diligence of those that had the care of it, was finished sooner than any one would have expected. And when the temple was finished, the priests, adorned with their accustomed garments, stood with their trumpets, while the Levites, and the sons of Asaph, stood and sung hymns to God, according as David first of all appointed them to bless God. Now the priests and Levites, and the elder part of the families, recollecting with themselves how much greater and more sumptuous the old temple had been, seeing that now made how much inferior it was, on account of their poverty, to that which had been built of old, considered with themselves how much their happy state was sunk below what it had been of old, as well as their temple.

Hereupon they were disconsolate, and not able to contain their grief, and proceeded so far as to lament and shed tears on those accounts; but the people in general were contented with their present condition; and because they were allowed to build them a temple, they desired no more, and neither regarded nor remembered, nor indeed at all tormented themselves with the comparison of that and the former temple, as if this were below their expectations; but the wailing of the old men and of the priests, on account of the deficiency of this temple, in their opinion, if compared with that which had been demolished, overcame the sounds of the trumpets and the rejoicing of the people.

3. But when the Samaritans, who were still enemies to the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, heard the sound of the trumpets, they came running together, and desired to know what was the occasion of this tumult; and when they perceived that it was from the Jews, who had been carried captive to Babylon, and were rebuilding their temple, they came to Zorobabel and to Jeshua, and to the heads of the families, and desired that they would give them leave to build the temple with them, and to be partners with them in building it; for they said, "We worship their God, and especially pray to him, and are desirous of their religious settlement, and this ever since Shalmanezer, the king of Assyria, transplanted us out of Cuthah and Media to this place." When they said thus, Zorobabel and Jeshua the high priest, and the heads of the families of the Israelites, replied to them, that it was impossible for them to permit them to be their partners, whilst they [only] had been appointed to build that temple at first by Cyrus, and now by Darius, although it was indeed lawful for them to come and worship there if they pleased, and that they could allow them nothing but that in common with them, which was common to them with all other men, to come to their temple and worship God there.

4. When the Cuthearts heard this, for the Samaritans have that appellation, they had indignation at it, and persuaded the nations of Syria to desire of the governors, in the same manner as they had done formerly in the days of Cyrus, and again in the days of Cambyses afterwards, to put a stop to the building of the temple, and to endeavor to delay and protract the Jews in their zeal about it. Now at this time Sisinnes, the governor of Syria and Phoenicia, and Sathrabuzanes, with certain others, came up to Jerusalem, and asked the rulers of the Jews, by whose grant it was that they built the temple in this manner, since it was more like to a citadel than a temple? and for what reason it was that they built cloisters and walls, and those strong ones too, about the city? To which Zorobabel and Jeshua the high priest replied, that they were the servants of God Almighty; that this temple was built for him by a king of theirs, that lived in great prosperity, and one that exceeded all men in virtue; and that it continued a long time, but

that because of their fathers' impiety towards God, Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Babylonians and of the Chaldeans, took their city by force, and destroyed it, and pillaged the temple, and burnt it down, and transplanted the people whom he had made captives, and removed them to Babylon; that Cyrus, who, after him, was king of Babylonia and Persia, wrote to them to build the temple, and committed the gifts and vessels, and whatsoever Nebuchadnezzar had carried out of it, to Zorobabel, and Mithridates the treasurer; and gave order to have them carried to Jerusalem, and to have them restored to their own temple, when it was built; for he had sent to them to have that done speedily, and commanded Sanabassar to go up to Jerusalem, and to take care of the building of the temple; who, upon receiving that epistle from Cyrus, came, and immediately laid its foundations; "and although it hath been in building from that time to this, it hath not yet been finished, by reason of the malignity of our enemies. If therefore you have a mind, and think it proper, write this account to Darius, that when he hath consulted the records of the kings, he may find that we have told you nothing that is false about this matter."

5. When Zorobabel and the high priest had made this answer, Sisinnes, and those that were with him, did not resolve to hinder the building, until they had informed king Darius of all this. So they immediately wrote to him about these affairs; but as the Jews were now under terror, and afraid lest the king should change his resolutions as to the building of Jerusalem and of the temple, there were two prophets at that time among them, Haggai and Zechariah, who encouraged them, and bid them be of good cheer, and to suspect no discouragement from the Persians, for that God foretold this to them. So, in dependence on those prophets, they applied themselves earnestly to building, and did not intermit one day.

6. Now Darius, when the Samaritans had written to him, and in their epistle had accused the Jews, how they fortified the city, and built the temple more like to a citadel than to a temple; and said, that their doings were not expedient for the king's affairs; and besides, they showed the epistle of Cambyses, wherein he forbade them to build the temple: and when Darius thereby understood that the restoration of Jerusalem was not expedient for his affairs, and when he had read the epistle that was brought him from Sisinnes, and those that were with him, he gave order that what concerned these matters should be sought for among the royal records. Whereupon a book was found at Ecbatana, in the tower that was in Media, wherein was written as follows: "Cyrus the king, in the first year of his reign, commanded that the temple should be built in Jerusalem; and the altar in height threescore cubits, and its breadth of the same, with three edifices of polished stone, and one edifice of stone of their own country; and he ordained

that the expenses of it should be paid out of the king's revenue. He also commanded that the vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had pillaged [out of the temple], and had carried to Babylon, should be restored to the people of Jerusalem; and that the care of these things should belong to Sanabassar, the governor and president of Syria and Phoenicia, and his associates, that they may not meddle with that place, but may permit the servants of God, the Jews and their rulers, to build the temple. He also ordained that they should assist them in the work; and that they should pay to the Jews, out of the tribute of the country where they were governors, on account of the sacrifices, bulls, and rams, and lambs, and kids of the goats, and fine flour, and oil, and wine, and all other things that the priests should suggest to them; and that they should pray for the preservation of the king, and of the Persians; and that for such as transgressed any of these orders thus sent to them, he commanded that they should be caught, and hung upon a cross, and their substance confiscated to the king's use. He also prayed to God against them, that if any one attempted to hinder the building of the temple, God would strike him dead, and thereby restrain his wickedness."

7. When Darius had found this book among the records of Cyrus, he wrote an answer to Sisinnes and his associates, whose contents were these: "King Darius to Sisinnes the governor, and to Sathrabuzanes, sendeth greeting. Having found a copy of this epistle among the records of Cyrus, I have sent it you; and I will that all things be done as is therein written. Fare ye well." So when Sisinnes, and those that were with him, understood the intention of the king, they resolved to follow his directions entirely for the time to come. So they forwarded the sacred works, and assisted the elders of the Jews, and the princes of the Sanhedrim; and the structure of the temple was with great diligence brought to a conclusion, by the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah, according to God's commands, and by the injunctions of Cyrus and Darius the kings. Now the temple was built in seven years' time. And in the ninth year of the reign of Darius, on the twenty-third day of the twelfth month, which is by us called Adar, but by the Macedonians Dystrus, the priests, and Levites, and the other multitude of the Israelites, offered sacrifices, as the renovation of their former prosperity after their captivity, and because they had now the temple rebuilt, a hundred bulls, two hundred rains, four hundred lambs, and twelve kids of the goats, according to the number of their tribes, [for so many are the tribes of the Israelites,] and this last for the sins of every tribe. The priests also and the Levites set the porters at every gate, according to the laws of Moses. The Jews also built the cloisters of the inner temple that were round about the temple itself.

8. And as the feast of unleavened bread was at hand, in the first month, which, according to the Macedonians, is called Xanthicus, but according to us

Nisan, all the people ran together out of the villages to the city, and celebrated the festival, having purified themselves, with their wives and children, according to the law of their country; and they offered the sacrifice which was called the Passover, on the fourteenth day of the same month, and feasted seven days, and spared for no cost, but offered whole burnt-offerings to God, and performed sacrifices of thanksgiving, because God had led them again to the land of their fathers, and to the laws thereto belonging, and had rendered the mind of the king of Persia favorable to them. So these men offered the largest sacrifices on these accounts, and used great magnificence in the worship of God, and dwelt in Jerusalem, and made use of a form of government that was aristocratical, but mixed with an oligarchy, for the high priests were at the head of their affairs, until the posterity of the Asamoneans set up kingly government; for before their captivity, and the dissolution of their polity, they at first had kingly government from Saul and David for five hundred and thirty-two years, six months, and ten days; but before those kings, such rulers governed them as were called judges and monarchs. Under this form of government they continued for more than five hundred years after the death of Moses, and of Joshua their commander. And this is the account I had to give of the Jews who had been carried into captivity, but were delivered from it in the times of Cyrus and Darius.

9. But the Samaritans, being evil and enviously disposed to the Jews, wrought them many mischiefs, by reliance on their riches, and by their pretense that they were allied to the Persians, on account that thence they came; and whatsoever it was that they were enjoined to pay the Jews by the king's order out of their tributes for the sacrifices, they would not pay it. They had also the governors favorable to them, and assisting them for that purpose; nor did they spare to hurt them, either by themselves or by others, as far as they were able. So the Jews determined to send an embassage to king Darius, in favor of the people of Jerusalem, and in order to accuse the Samaritans. The ambassadors were Zorobabel, and four others of the rulers; and as soon as the king knew from the ambassadors the accusations and complaints they brought against the Samaritans, he gave them an epistle to be carried to the governors and council of Samaria; the contents of which epistle were these: "King Darius to Tanganas and Sambabas, the governors of the Sainaritans, to Sadraces and Bobelo, and the rest of their fellow servants that are in Samaria: Zorobabel, Ananias, and Mordecai, the ambassadors of the Jews, complain of you, that you obstruct them in the building of the temple, and do not supply them with the expenses which I commanded you to do for the offering their sacrifices. My will therefore is this, That upon the reading of this epistle, you supply them with whatsoever they want for their sacrifices, and that out of the royal treasury, of the tributes of

Samaria, as the priest shall desire, that they may not leave off offering their daily sacrifices, nor praying to God for me and the Persians." And these were the contents of that epistle.

CHAPTER 5. How Xerxes The Son Of Darius Was Well Disposed To The Jews; As Also Concerning Esdras And Nehemiah.

1. Upon the death of Darius, Xerxes his son took the kingdom, who, as he inherited his father's kingdom, so did he inherit his piety towards God, and honor of him; for he did all things suitably to his father relating to Divine worship, and he was exceeding friendly to the Jews. Now about this time a son of Jeshua, whose name was Joacim, was the high priest. Moreover, there was now in Babylon a righteous man, and one that enjoyed a great reputation among the multitude. He was the principal priest of the people, and his name was Esdras. He was very skillful in the laws of Moses, and was well acquainted with king Xerxes. He had determined to go up to Jerusalem, and to take with him some of those Jews that were in Babylon; and he desired that the king would give him an epistle to the governors of Syria, by which they might know who he was. Accordingly, the king wrote the following epistle to those governors: "Xerxes, king of kings, to Esdras the priest, and reader of the Divine law, greeting. I think it agreeable to that love which I bear to mankind, to permit those of the Jewish nation that are so disposed, as well as those of the priests and Levites that are in our kingdom, to go together to Jerusalem. Accordingly, I have given command for that purpose; and let every one that hath a mind go, according as it hath seemed good to me, and to my seven counselors, and this in order to their review of the affairs of Judea, to see whether they be agreeable to the law of God. Let them also take with them those presents which I and my friends have vowed, with all that silver and gold that is found in the country of the Babylonians, as dedicated to God, and let all this be carried to Jerusalem to God for sacrifices. Let it also be lawful for thee and thy brethren to make as many vessels of silver and gold as thou pleasest. Thou shalt also dedicate those holy vessels which have been given thee, and as many more as thou hast a mind to make, and shall take the expenses out of the king's treasury. I have, moreover, written to the treasurers of Syria and Phoenicia, that they take care of those affairs that Esdras the priest, and reader of the laws of God, is sent about. And that God may not be at all angry with me, or with my children, I grant all that is necessary for sacrifices to God, according to the law, as far as a hundred cori of wheat. And I enjoin you not to lay any treacherous imposition, or any tributes, upon their priests or Levites, or sacred singers, or porters, or sacred servants, or scribes of the temple. And do thou, O Esdras, appoint judges according to the

wisdom [given thee] of God, and those such as understand the law, that they may judge in all Syria and Phoenicia; and do thou instruct those also which are ignorant of it, that if any one of thy countrymen transgress the law of God, or that of the king, he may be punished, as not transgressing it out of ignorance, but as one that knows it indeed, but boldly despises and contemns it; and such may be punished by death, or by paying fines. Farewell."

2. When Esdras had received this epistle, he was very joyful, and began to worship God, and confessed that he had been the cause of the king's great favor to him, and that for the same reason he gave all the thanks to God. So he read the epistle at Babylon to those Jews that were there; but he kept the epistle itself, and sent a copy of it to all those of his own nation that were in Media. And when these Jews had understood what piety the king had towards God, and what kindness he had for Esdras, they were all greatly pleased; nay, many of them took their effects with them, and came to Babylon, as very desirous of going down to Jerusalem; but then the entire body of the people of Israel remained in that country; wherefore there are but two tribes in Asia and Europe subject to the Iomans, while the ten tribes are beyond Euphrates till now, and are an immense multitude, and not to be estimated by numbers. Now there came a great number of priests, and Levites, and porters, and sacred singers, and sacred servants to Esdras. So he gathered those that were in the captivity together beyond Euphrates, and staid there three days, and ordained a fast for them, that they might make their prayers to God for their preservation, that they might suffer no misfortunes by the way, either from their enemies, or from any other ill accident; for Esdras had said beforehand that he had told the king how God would preserve them, and so he had not thought fit to request that he would send horsemen to conduct them. So when they had finished their prayers, they removed from Euphrates on the twelfth day of the first month of the seventh year of the reign of Xerxes, and they came to Jerusalem on the fifth month of the same year. Now Esdras presented the sacred money to the treasurers, who were of the family of the priests, of silver six hundred and fifty talents, vessels of silver one hundred talents, vessels of gold twenty talents, vessels of brass, that was more precious than gold, twelve talents by weight; for these Presents had been made by the king and his counselors, and by all the Israelites that staid at Babylon. So when Esdras had delivered these things to the priests, he gave to God, as the appointed sacrifices of whole burnt-offerings, twelve bulls on account of the common preservation of the people, ninety rams, seventy-two lambs, and twelve kids of the goats, for the remission of sins. He also delivered the king's epistle to the king's officers, and to the governors of Celesyria and

Phoenicia; and as they were under a necessity of doing what was enjoined by him, they honored our nation, and were assistant to them in all their necessities.

3. Now these things were truly done under the conduct of Esdras; and he succeeded in them, because God esteemed him worthy of the success of his conduct, on account of his goodness and righteousness. But some time afterward there came some persons to him, and brought an accusation against certain of the multitude, and of the priests and Levites, who had transgressed their settlement, and dissolved the laws of their country, by marrying strange wives, and had brought the family of the priests into confusion. These persons desired him to support the laws, lest God should take up a general anger against them all, and reduce them to a calamitous condition again. Hereupon he rent his garment immediately, out of grief, and pulled off the hair of his head and beard, and cast himself upon the ground, because this crime had reached the principal men among the people; and considering that if he should enjoin them to cast out their wives, and the children they had by them, he should not be hearkener to, he continued lying upon the ground. However, all the better sort came running to him, who also themselves wept, and partook of the grief he was under for what had been done. So Esdras rose up from the ground, and stretched out his hands towards heaven, and said that he was ashamed to look towards it, because of the sins which the people had committed, while they had cast out of their memories what their fathers had undergone on account of their wickedness; and he besought God, who had saved a seed and a remnant out of the calamity and captivity they had been in, and had restored them again to Jerusalem, and to their own land, and had obliged the kings of Persia to have compassion on them, that he would also forgive them their sins they had now committed, which, though they deserved death, yet, was it agreeable to the mercy of God, to remit even to these the punishment due to them.

4. After Esdras had said this, he left off praying; and when all those that came to him with their wives and children were under lamentation, one whose name was Jechonias, a principal man in Jerusalem, came to him, and said that they had sinned in marrying strange wives; and he persuaded him to adjure them all to cast those wives out, and the children born of them, and that those should be punished who would not obey the law. So Esdras hearkened to this advice, and made the heads of the priests, and of the Levites, and of the Israelites, swear that they would put away those wives and children, according to the advice of Jechonias. And when he had received their oaths, he went in haste out of the temple into the chamber of Johanan, the son of Eliasib, and as he had hitherto tasted nothing at all for grief, so he abode there that day. And when proclamation was made, that all those of the captivity should gather themselves together to

Jerusalem, and those that did not meet there in two or three days should be banished from the multitude, and that their substance should b appropriated to the uses of the temple, according to the sentence of the elders, those that were of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin came together in three days, *viz.* on the twentieth day of the ninth month, which, according to the Hebrews, is called Tebeth, and according to the Macedonians, Apelleius. Now as they were sitting in the upper room of the temple, where the elders also were present, but were uneasy because of the cold, Esdras stood up and accused them, and told them that they had sinned in marrying wives that were not of their own nation; but that now they would do a thing both pleasing to God, and advantageous to themselves, if they would put those wives away. Accordingly, they all cried out that they would do so. That, however, the multitude was great, and that the season of the year was winter, and that this work would require more than one or two days. "Let their rulers, therefore, [said they,] and those that have married strange wives, come hither at a proper time, while the elders of every place, that are in common to estimate the number of those that have thus married, are to be there also." Accordingly, this was resolved on by them, and they began the inquiry after those that had married strange wives on the first day of the tenth month, and continued the inquiry to the first day of the next month, and found a great many of the posterity of Jeshua the high priest, and of the priests and Levites, and Israelites, who had a greater regard to the observation of the law than to their natural affection, and immediately cast out their wives, and the children which were born of them. And in order to appease God, they offered sacrifices, and slew rams, as oblations to him; but it does not seem to me to be necessary to set down the names of these men. So when Esdras had reformed this sin about the marriages of the forementioned persons, he reduced that practice to purity, so that it continued in that state for the time to come.

5. Now when they kept the feast of tabernacles in the seventh month and almost all the people were come together to it, they went up to the open part of the temple, to the gate which looked eastward, and desired of Esdras that the laws of Moses might be read to them. Accordingly, he stood in the midst of the multitude and read them; and this he did from morning to noon. Now, by hearing the laws read to them, they were instructed to be righteous men for the present and for the future; but as for their past offenses, they were displeased at themselves, and proceeded to shed tears on their account, as considering with themselves that if they had kept the law, they had endured none of these miseries which they had experienced. But when Esdras saw them in that disposition, he bade them go home, and not weep, for that it was a festival, and that they ought not to weep thereon, for that it was not lawful so to do. He exhorted them rather

to proceed immediately to feasting, and to do what was suitable to a feast, and what was agreeable to a day of joy; but to let their repentance and sorrow for their former sins be a security and a guard to them, that they fell no more into the like offenses. So upon Esdras's exhortation they began to feast; and when they had so done for eight days, in their tabernacles, they departed to their own homes, singing hymns to God, and returning thanks to Esdras for his reformation of what corruptions had been introduced into their settlement. So it came to pass, that after he had obtained this reputation among the people, he died an old man, and was buried in a magnificent manner at Jerusalem. About the same time it happened also that Joacim, the high priest, died; and his son Eliasib succeeded in the high priesthood. 6. Now there was one of those Jews that had been carried captive who was cup-bearer to king Xerxes; his name was Nehemiah. As this man was walking before Susa, the metropolis of the Persians, he heard some strangers that were entering the city, after a long journey, speaking to one another in the Hebrew tongue; so he went to them, and asked them whence they came. And when their answer was, that they came from Judea, he began to inquire of them again in what state the multitude was, and in what condition Jerusalem was; and when they replied that they were in a bad state for that their walls were thrown down to the ground, and that the neighboring nations did a great deal of mischief to the Jews, while in the day time they overran the country, and pillaged it, and in the night did them mischief, insomuch that not a few were led away captive out of the country, and out of Jerusalem itself, and that the roads were in the day time found full of dead men. Hereupon Nehemiah shed tears, out of commiseration of the calamities of his countrymen; and, looking up to heaven, he said, "How long, O Lord, wilt thou overlook our nation, while it suffers so great miseries, and while we are made the prey and spoil of all men?" And while he staid at the gate, and lamented thus, one told him that the king was going to sit down to supper; so he made haste, and went as he was, without wishing himself, to minister to the king in his office of cup-bearer. But as the king was very pleasant after supper, and more cheerful than usual, he cast his eyes on Nehemiah, and seeing him look sad, he asked him why he was sad. Whereupon he prayed to God to give him favor, and afford him the power of persuading by his words, and said, "How can I, O king, appear otherwise than thus, and not be in trouble, while I hear that the walls of Jerusalem, the city where are the sepulchers of my fathers, are thrown down to the ground, and that its gates are consumed by fire? But do thou grant me the favor to go and build its wall, and to finish the building of the temple." Accordingly, the king gave him a signal that he freely granted him what he asked; and told him that he should carry an epistle to the governors, that they

might pay him due honor, and afford him whatsoever assistance he wanted, and as he pleased. “Leave off thy sorrow then,” said the king, “and be cheerful in the performance of thy office hereafter.” So Nehemiah worshipped God, and gave the king thanks for his promise, and cleared up his sad and cloudy countenance, by the pleasure he had from the king’s promises. Accordingly, the king called for him the next day, and gave him an epistle to be carried to Adeus, the governor of Syria, and Phoenicia, and Samaria; wherein he sent to him to pay due honor to Nehemiah, and to supply him with what he wanted for his building.

7. Now when he was come to Babylon, and had taken with him many of his countrymen, who voluntarily followed him, he came to Jerusalem in the twenty and fifth year of the reign of Xerxes. And when he had shown the epistles to God he gave them to Adeus, and to the other governors. He also called together all the people to Jerusalem, and stood in the midst of the temple, and made the following speech to them: “You know, O Jews, that God hath kept our fathers, Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in mind continually, and for the sake of their righteousness hath not left off the care of you. Indeed he hath assisted me in gaining this authority of the king to raise up our wall, and finish what is wanting of the temple. I desire you, therefore who well know the ill-will our neighboring nations bear to us, and that when once they are made sensible that we are in earnest about building, they will come upon us, and contrive many ways of obstructing our works, that you will, in the first place, put your trust in God, as in him that will assist us against their hatred, and to intermit building neither night nor day, but to use all diligence, and to hasten on the work, now we have this especial opportunity for it.” When he had said this, he gave order that the rulers should measure the wall, and part the work of it among the people, according to their villages and cities, as every one’s ability should require. And when he had added this promise, that he himself, with his servants, would assist them, he dissolved the assembly. So the Jews prepared for the work: that is the name they are called by from the day that they came up from Babylon, which is taken from the tribe of Judah, which came first to these places, and thence both they and the country gained that appellation.

8. But now when the Ammonites, and Moabites, and Samaritans, and all that inhabited Celesyria, heard that the building went on apace, they took it heinously, and proceeded to lay snares for them, and to hinder their intentions. They also slew many of the Jews, and sought how they might destroy Nehemiah himself, by hiring some of the foreigners to kill him. They also put the Jews in fear, and disturbed them, and spread abroad rumors, as if many nations were ready to make an expedition against them, by which means they were harassed, and had almost left off the building. But none of these things could deter

Nehemiah from being diligent about the work; he only set a number of men about him as a guard to his body, and so unweariedly persevered therein, and was insensible of any trouble, out of his desire to perfect this work. And thus did he attentively, and with great forecast, take care of his own safety; not that he feared death, but of this persuasion, that if he were dead, the walls for his citizens would never be raised. He also gave orders that the builders should keep their ranks, and have their armor on while they were building. Accordingly, the mason had his sword on, as well as he that brought the materials for building. He also appointed that their shields should lie very near them; and he placed trumpeters at every five hundred feet, and charged them, that if their enemies appeared, they should give notice of it to the people, that they might fight in their armor, and their enemies might not fall upon them naked. He also went about the compass of the city by night, being never discouraged, neither about the work itself, nor about his own diet and sleep, for he made no use of those things for his pleasure, but out of necessity. And this trouble he underwent for two years and four months; for in so long a time was the wall built, in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Xerxes, in the ninth month. Now when the walls were finished, Nehemiah and the multitude offered sacrifices to God for the building of them, and they continued in feasting eight days. However, when the nations which dwelt in Syria heard that the building of the wall was finished, they had indignation at it. But when Nehemiah saw that the city was thin of people, he exhorted the priests and the Levites that they would leave the country, and remove themselves to the city, and there continue; and he built them houses at his own expenses; and he commanded that part of the people which were employed in cultivating the land to bring the tithes of their fruits to Jerusalem, that the priests and Levites having whereof they might live perpetually, might not leave the Divine worship; who willingly hearkened to the constitutions of Nehemiah, by which means the city Jerusalem came to be fuller of people than it was before. So when Nehemiah had done many other excellent things, and things worthy of commendation, in a glorious manner, he came to a great age, and then died. He was a man of a good and righteous disposition, and very ambitious to make his own nation happy; and he hath left the walls of Jerusalem as an eternal monument for himself. Now this was done in the days of Xerxes.

CHAPTER 6. Concerning Esther And Mordecai And Haman; And How In The Reign Of Artaxerxes The Whole Nation Of The Jews Was In Danger Of Perishing.

1. After the death of Xerxes, the kingdom came to be transferred to his son Cyrus, whom the Greeks called Artaxerxes. When this man had obtained the government over the Persians, the whole nation of the Jews, with their wives and children, were in danger of perishing; the occasion whereof we shall declare in a little time; for it is proper, in the first place, to explain somewhat relating to this king, and how he came to marry a Jewish wife, who was herself of the royal family also, and who is related to have saved our nation; for when Artaxerxes had taken the kingdom, and had set governors over the hundred twenty and seven provinces, from India even unto Ethiopia, in the third year of his reign, he made a costly feast for his friends, and for the nations of Persia, and for their governors, such a one as was proper for a king to make, when he had a mind to make a public demonstration of his riches, and this for a hundred and fourscore days; after which he made a feast for other nations, and for their ambassadors, at Shushan, for seven days. Now this feast was ordered after the manner following: He caused a tent to be pitched, which was supported by pillars of gold and silver, with curtains of linen and purple spread over them, that it might afford room for many ten thousands to sit down. The cups with which the waiters ministered were of gold, and adorned with precious stones, for pleasure and for sight. He also gave order to the servants that they should not force them to drink, by bringing them wine continually, as is the practice of the Persians, but to permit every one of the guests to enjoy himself according to his own inclination. Moreover, he sent messengers through the country, and gave order that they should have a remission of their labors, and should keep a festival many days, on account of his kingdom. In like manner did Vashti the queen gather her guests together, and made them a feast in the palace. Now the king was desirous to show her, who exceeded all other women in beauty, to those that feasted with him, and he sent some to command her to come to his feast. But she, out of regard to the laws of the Persians, which forbid the wives to be seen by strangers, did not go to the king and though he oftentimes sent the eunuchs to her, she did nevertheless stay away, and refused to come, till the king was so much irritated, that he brake up the entertainment, and rose up, and called for

those seven who had the interpretation of the laws committed to them, and accused his wife, and said that he had been affronted by her, because that when she was frequently called by him to his feast, she did not obey him once. He therefore gave order that they should inform him what could be done by the law against her. So one of them, whose name was Memucan, said that this affront was offered not to him alone, but to all the Persians, who were in danger of leading their lives very ill with their wives, if they must be thus despised by them; for that none of their wives would have any reverence for their husbands, if they, "had such an example of arrogance in the queen towards thee, who rulest over all." Accordingly, he exhorted him to punish her, who had been guilty of so great an affront to him, after a severe manner; and when he had so done, to publish to the nations what had been decreed about the queen. So the resolution was to put Vashti away, and to give her dignity to another woman.

2. But the king having been fond of her, did not well bear a separation, and yet by the law he could not admit of a reconciliation; so he was under trouble, as not having it in his power to do what he desired to do. But when his friends saw him so uneasy, they advised him to cast the memory of his wife, and his love for her, out of his mind, but to send abroad over all the habitable earth, and to search out for comely virgins, and to take her whom he should best like for his wife, because his passion for his former wife would be quenched by the introduction of another, and the kindness he had for Vashti would be withdrawn from her, and be placed on her that was with him. Accordingly, he was persuaded to follow this advice, and gave order to certain persons to choose out of the virgins that were in his kingdom those that were esteemed the most comely. So when a great number of these virgins were gathered together, there was found a damsel in Babylon, whose parents were both dead, and she was brought up with her uncle Mordecai, for that was her uncle's name. This uncle was of the tribe of Benjamin, and was one of the principal persons among the Jews. Now it proved that this damsel, whose name was Esther, was the most beautiful of all the rest, and that the grace of her countenance drew the eyes of the spectators principally upon her. So she was committed to one of the eunuchs to take the care of her; and she was very exactly provided with sweet odors, in great plenty, and with costly ointments, such as her body required to be anointed withal; and this was used for six months by the virgins, who were in number four hundred. And when the eunuch thought the virgins had been sufficiently purified, in the forementioned time, and were now fit to go to the king's bed, he sent one to be with the king ever day. So when he had accompanied with her, he sent her back to the eunuch; and when Esther had come to him, he was pleased with her, and fell in love with the damsel, and married her, and made her his lawful wife, and

kept a wedding feast for her on the twelfth month of the seventh year of his reign, which was called Adar. He also sent angari, as they are called, or messengers, unto every nation, and gave orders that they should keep a feast for his marriage, while he himself treated the Persians and the Medes, and the principal men of the nations, for a whole month, on account of this his marriage. Accordingly, Esther came to his royal palace, and he set a diadem on her head. And thus was Esther married, without making known to the king what nation she was derived from. Her uncle also removed from Babylon to Shushan, and dwelt there, being every day about the palace, and inquiring how the damsel did, for he loved her as though she had been his own daughter.

3. Now the king had made a law, that none of his own people should approach him unless he were called, when he sat upon his throne and men, with axes in their hands, stood round about his throne, in order to punish such as approached to him without being called. However, the king sat with a golden scepter in his hand, which he held out when he had a mind to save any one of those that approached to him without being called, and he who touched it was free from danger. But of this matter we have discoursed sufficiently.

4. Some time after this [two eunuchs], Bigthan and Teresh, plotted against the king; and Barnabazus, the servant of one of the eunuchs, being by birth a Jew, was acquainted with their conspiracy, and discovered it to the queen's uncle; and Mordecai, by the means of Esther, made the conspirators known to the king. This troubled the king; but he discovered the truth, and hanged the eunuchs upon a cross, while at that time he gave no reward to Mordecai, who had been the occasion of his preservation. He only bid the scribes to set down his name in the records, and bid him stay in the palace, as an intimate friend of the king.

5. Now there was one Haman, the son of Amedatha, by birth an Amalekite, that used to go in to the king; and the foreigners and Persians worshipped him, as Artaxerxes had commanded that such honor should be paid to him; but Mordecai was so wise, and so observant of his own country's laws, that he would not worship the man When Haman observed this, he inquired whence he came; and when he understood that he was a Jew, he had indignation at him, and said within himself, that whereas the Persians, who were free men, worshipped him, this man, who was no better than a slave, does not vouchsafe to do so. And when he desired to punish Mordecai, he thought it too small a thing to request of the king that he alone might be punished; he rather determined to abolish the whole nation, for he was naturally an enemy to the Jews, because the nation of the Amalekites, of which he was; had been destroyed by them. Accordingly he came to the king, and accused them, saying, "There is a certain wicked nation, and it is dispersed over all the habitable earth the was under his dominion; a nation

separate from others, unsociable, neither admitting the same sort of Divine worship that others do, nor using laws like to the laws of others, at enmity with thy people, and with all men, both in their manners and practices. Now, if thou wilt be a benefactor to thy subjects, thou wilt give order to destroy them utterly, and not leave the least remains of them, nor preserve any of them, either for slaves or for captives." But that the king might not be damnified by the loss of the tributes which the Jews paid him, Haman promised to give him out of his own estate forty thousand talents whensoever he pleased; and he said he would pay this money very willingly, that the kingdom might be freed from such a misfortune.

6. When Haman had made this petition, the king both forgave him the money, and granted him the men, to do what he would with them. So Haman, having gained what he desired, sent out immediately a decree, as from the king, to all nations, the contents whereof were these: "Artaxerxes, the great king, to the rulers of the hundred twenty and seven provinces, from India to Ethiopia, sends this writing. Whereas I have governed many nations, and obtained the dominions of all the habitable earth, according to my desire, and have not been obliged to do any thing that is insolent or cruel to my subjects by such my power, but have showed myself mild and gentle, by taking care of their peace and good order, and have sought how they might enjoy those blessings for all time to come. And whereas I have been kindly informed by Haman, who, on account of his prudence and justice, is the first in my esteem, and in dignity, and only second to myself, for his fidelity and constant good-will to me, that there is an ill-natured nation intermixed with all mankind, that is averse to our laws, and not subject to kings, and of a different conduct of life from others, that hateth monarchy, and of a disposition that is pernicious to our affairs, I give order that all these men, of whom Haman our second father hath informed us, be destroyed, with their wives and children, and that none of them be spared, and that none prefer pity to them before obedience to this decree. And this I will to be executed on the fourteenth day of the twelfth month of this present year, that so when all that have enmity to us are destroyed, and this in one day, we may be allowed to lead the rest of our lives in peace hereafter." Now when this decree was brought to the cities, and to the country, all were ready for the destruction and entire abolishment of the Jews, against the day before mentioned; and they were very hasty about it at Shushan, in particular. Accordingly, the king and Haman spent their time in feasting together with good cheer and wine, but the city was in disorder.

7. Now when Mordecai was informed of what was done, he rent his clothes, and put on sackcloth, and sprinkled ashes upon his head, and went about the city, crying out, that "a nation that had been injurious to no man was to be destroyed."

And he went on saying thus as far as to the king's palace, and there he stood, for it was not lawful for him to go into it in that habit. The same thing was done by all the Jews that were in the several cities wherein this decree was published, with lamentation and mourning, on account of the calamities denounced against them. But as soon as certain persons had told the queen that Mordecai stood before the court in a mourning habit, she was disturbed at this report, and sent out such as should change his garments; but when he could not be induced to put off his sackcloth, because the sad occasion that forced him to put it on was not yet ceased, she called the eunuch Acratheus, for he was then present, and sent him to Mordecai, in order to know of him what sad accident had befallen him, for which he was in mourning, and would not put off the habit he had put on at her desire. Then did Mordecai inform the eunuch of the occasion of his mourning, and of the decree which was sent by the king into all the country, and of the promise of money whereby Haman brought the destruction of their nation. He also gave him a copy of what was proclaimed at Shushan, to be carried to Esther; and he charged her to petition the king about this matter, and not to think it a dishonorable thing in her to put on a humble habit, for the safety of her nation, wherein she might deprecate the ruin of the Jews, who were in danger of it; for that Haman, whose dignity was only inferior to that of the king, had accused the Jews, and had irritated the king against them. When she was informed of this, she sent to Mordecai again, and told him that she was not called by the king, and that he who goes in to him without being called, is to be slain, unless when he is willing to save any one, he holds out his golden scepter to him; but that to whomsoever he does so, although he go in without being called, that person is so far from being slain, that he obtains pardon, and is entirely preserved. Now when the eunuch carried this message from Esther to Mordecai, he bade him also tell her that she must not only provide for her own preservation, but for the common preservation of her nation, for that if she now neglected this opportunity, there would certainly arise help to them from God some other way, but she and her father's house would be destroyed by those whom she now despised. But Esther sent the very same eunuch back to Mordecai [to desire him] to go to Shushan, and to gather the Jews that were there together to a congregation, and to fast and abstain from all sorts of food, on her account, and [to let him know that] she with her maidens would do the same: and then she promised that she would go to the king, though it were against the law, and that if she must die for it, she would not refuse it.

8. Accordingly, Mordecai did as Esther had enjoined him, and made the people fast; and he besought God, together with them, not to overlook his nation, particularly at this time, when it was going to be destroyed; but that, as he had

often before provided for them, and forgiven, when they had sinned, so he would now deliver them from that destruction which was denounced against them; for although it was not all the nation that had offended, yet must they so ingloriously be slain, and that he was himself the occasion of the wrath of Haman, "Because," said he, "I did not worship him, nor could I endure to pay that honor to him which I used to pay to thee, O Lord; for upon that his anger hath he contrived this present mischief against those that have not transgressed thy laws." The same supplications did the multitude put up, and entreated that God would provide for their deliverance, and free the Israelites that were in all the earth from this calamity which was now coming upon them, for they had it before their eyes, and expected its coming. Accordingly, Esther made supplication to God after the manner of her country, by casting herself down upon the earth, and putting on her mourning garments, and bidding farewell to meat and drink, and all delicacies, for three days' time; and she entreated God to have mercy upon her, and make her words appear persuasive to the king, and render her countenance more beautiful than it was before, that both by her words and beauty she might succeed, for the averting of the king's anger, in case he were at all irritated against her, and for the consolation of those of her own country, now they were in the utmost danger of perishing; as also that he would excite a hatred in the king against the enemies of the Jews, and those that had contrived their future destruction, if they proved to be contemned by him.

9. When Esther had used this supplication for three days, she put off those garments, and changed her habit, and adorned herself as became a queen, and took two of her handmaids with her, the one of which supported her, as she gently leaned upon her, and the other followed after, and lifted up her large train [which swept along the ground] with the extremities of her fingers. And thus she came to the king, having a blushing redness in her countenance, with a pleasant agreeableness in her behavior; yet did she go in to him with fear; and as soon as she was come over against him, as he was sitting on his throne, in his royal apparel, which was a garment interwoven with gold and precious stones, which made him seem to her more terrible, especially when he looked at her somewhat severely, and with a countenance on fire with anger, her joints failed her immediately, out of the dread she was in, and she fell down sideways in a swoon: but the king changed his mind, which happened, as I suppose, by the will of God, and was concerned for his wife, lest her fear should bring some very ill thing upon her, and he leaped from his throne, and took her in his arms, and recovered her, by embracing her, and speaking comfortably to her, and exhorting her to be of good cheer, and not to suspect any thing that was sad on account of her coming to him without being called, because that law was made for subjects,

but that she, who was a queen, as well as he a king, might be entirely secure; and as he said this, he put the scepter into her hand, and laid his rod upon her neck, on account of the law; and so freed her from her fear. And after she had recovered herself by these encouragements, she said, "My lord, it is not easy for me, on the sudden, to say what hath happened, for as soon as I saw thee to be great, and comely, and terrible, my spirit departed from me, and I had no soul left in me." And while it was with difficulty, and in a low voice, that she could say thus much, the king was in a great agony and disorder, and encouraged Esther to be of good cheer, and to expect better fortune, since he was ready, if occasion should require it, to grant her the half of his kingdom. Accordingly, Esther desired that he and his friend Haman would come to her to a banquet, for she said she had prepared a supper for him. He consented to it; and when they were there, as they were drinking, he bid Esther to let him know what she desired; for that she should not be disappointed though she should desire the half of his kingdom. But she put off the discovery of her petition till the next day, if he would come again, together with Haman, to her banquet.

10. Now when the king had promised so to do, Haman went away very glad, because he alone had the honor of supping with the king at Esther's banquet, and because no one else partook of the same honor with kings but himself; yet when he saw Mordecai in the court, he was very much displeased, for he paid him no manner of respect when he saw him. So he went home and called for his wife Zeresh, and his friends, and when they were come, he showed them what honor he enjoyed not only from the king, but from the queen also, for as he alone had that day supped with her, together with the king, so was he also invited again for the next day; "yet," said he, "am I not pleased to see Mordecai the Jew in the court." Hereupon his wife Zeresh advised him to give order that a gallows should be made fifty cubits high, and that in the morning he should ask it of the king that Mordecai might be hanged thereon. So he commended her advice, and gave order to his servants to prepare the gallows, and to place it in the court, for the punishment of Mordecai thereon, which was accordingly prepared. But God laughed to scorn the wicked expectations of Haman; and as he knew what the event would be, he was delighted at it, for that night he took away the king's sleep; and as the king was not willing to lose the time of his lying awake, but to spend it in something that might be of advantage to his kingdom, he commanded the scribe to bring him the chronicles of the former kings, and the records of his own actions; and when he had brought them, and was reading them, one was found to have received a country on account of his excellent management on a certain occasion, and the name of the country was set down; another was found to have had a present made him on account of his fidelity: then the scribe came

to Bigthan and Teresh, the eunuchs that had made a conspiracy against the king, which Mordecai had discovered; and when the scribe said no more but that, and was going on to another history, the king stopped him, and inquired "whether it was not added that Mordecai had a reward given him?" and when he said there was no such addition, he bade him leave off; and he inquired of those that were appointed for that purpose, what hour of the night it was; and when he was informed that it was already day, he gave order, that if they found any one of his friends already come, and standing before the court, they should tell him. Now it happened that Haman was found there, for he was come sooner than ordinary to petition the king to have Mordecai put to death; and when the servants said that Haman was before the court, he bid them call him in; and when he was come in, he said, "Because I know that thou art my only fast friend, I desire thee to give me advice how I may honor one that I greatly love, and that after a manner suitable to my magnificence." Now Haman reasoned with himself, that what opinion he should give it would be for himself, since it was he alone who was beloved by the king: so he gave that advice which he thought of all other the best; for he said, "If thou wouldst truly honor a man whom thou sayest thou dost love, give order that he may ride on horseback, with the same garment on which thou wearest, and with a gold chain about his neck, and let one of thy intimate friends go before him, and proclaim through the whole city, that whosoever the king honoreth obtaineth this mark of his honor." This was the advice which Haman gave, out of a supposal that such a reward would come to himself. Hereupon the king was pleased with the advice, and said, "Go thou therefore, for thou hast the horse, the garment, and the chain, ask for Mordecai the Jew, and give him those things, and go before his horse and proclaim accordingly; for thou art," said he, "my intimate friend, and hast given me good advice; be thou then the minister of what thou hast advised me to. This shall be his reward from us, for preserving my life." When he heard this order, which was entirely unexpected, he was confounded in his mind, and knew not what to do. However, he went out and led the horse, and took the purple garment, and the golden chain for the neck, and finding Mordecai before the court, clothed in sackcloth, he bid him put that garment off, and put the purple garment on. But Mordecai, not knowing the truth of the matter, but thinking that it was done in mockery, said, "O thou wretch, the vilest of all mankind, dost thou thus laugh at our calamities?" But when he was satisfied that the king bestowed this honor upon him, for the deliverance he had procured him when he convicted the eunuchs who had conspired against him, he put on that purple garment which the king always wore, and put the chain about his neck, and got on horseback, and went round the city, while Haman went before and proclaimed, "This shall be the

reward which the king will bestow on every one whom he loves, and esteems worthy of honor." And when they had gone round the city, Mordecai went in to the king; but Haman went home, out of shame, and informed his wife and friends of what had happened, and this with tears; who said, that he would never be able to be revenged of Mordecai, for that God was with him.

11. Now while these men were thus talking one to another, Esther's eunuchs hastened Haman away to come to supper; but one of the eunuchs, named Sabuchadas, saw the gallows that was fixed in Haman's house, and inquired of one of his servants for what purpose they had prepared it. So he knew that it was for the queen's uncle, because Haman was about to petition the king that he might be punished; but at present he held his peace. Now when the king, with Haman, were at the banquet, he desired the queen to tell him what gifts she desired to obtain, and assured her that she should have whatsoever she had a mind to. She then lamented the danger her people were in; and said that "she and her nation were given up to be destroyed, and that she, on that account, made this her petition; that she would not have troubled him if he had only given order that they should be sold into bitter servitude, for such a misfortune would not have been intolerable; but she desired that they might be delivered from such destruction." And when the king inquired of her whom was the author of this misery to them, she then openly accused Haman, and convicted him, that he had been the wicked instrument of this, and had formed this plot against them. When the king was hereupon in disorder, and was gone hastily out of the banquet into the gardens, Haman began to intercede with Esther, and to beseech her to forgive him, as to what he had offended, for he perceived that he was in a very bad case. And as he had fallen upon the queen's bed, and was making supplication to her, the king came in, and being still more provoked at what he saw, "O thou wretch," said he, "thou vilest of mankind, dost thou aim to force in wife?" And when Haman was astonished at this, and not able to speak one word more, Sabuchadas the eunuch came in and accused Haman, and said, He found a gallows at his house, prepared for Mordecai; for that the servant told him so much upon his inquiry, when he was sent to him to call him to supper. He said further, that the gallows was fifty cubits high: which, when the king heard, he determined that Haman should be punished after no other manner than that which had been devised by him against Mordecai; so he gave order immediately that he should be hung upon those gallows, and be put to death after that manner. And from hence I cannot forbear to admire God, and to learn hence his wisdom and his justice, not only in punishing the wickedness of Haman, but in so disposing it, that he should undergo the very same punishment which he had contrived for another; as also because thereby he teaches others this lesson, that

what mischiefs any one prepares against another, he, without knowing of it, first contrives it against himself.

12. Wherefore Haman, who had immoderately abused the honor he had from the king, was destroyed after this manner, and the king granted his estate to the queen. He also called for Mordecai, [for Esther had informed him that she was akin to him,] and gave that ring to Mordecai which he had before given to Haman. The queen also gave Haman's estate to Mordecai; and prayed the king to deliver the nation of the Jews from the fear of death, and showed him what had been written over all the country by Haman the son of Ammedatha; for that if her country were destroyed, and her countrymen were to perish, she could not bear to live herself any longer. So the king promised her that he would not do any thing that should be disagreeable to her, nor contradict what she desired; but he bid her write what she pleased about the Jews, in the king's name, and seal it with his seal, and send it to all his kingdom, for that those who read epistles whose authority is secured by having the king's seal to them, would no way contradict what was written therein. So he commanded the king's scribes to be sent for, and to write to the nations, on the Jews' behalf, and to his lieutenants and governors, that were over his hundred twenty and seven provinces, from India to Ethiopia. Now the contents of this epistle were these: "The great king Artaxerxes to our rulers, and those that are our faithful subjects, sendeth greeting. Many men there are who, on account of the greatness of the benefits bestowed on them, and because of the honor which they have obtained from the wonderful kind treatment of those that bestowed it, are not only injurious to their inferiors, but do not scruple to do evil to those that have been their benefactors, as if they would take away gratitude from among men, and by their insolent abuse of such benefits as they never expected, they turn the abundance they have against those that are the authors of it, and suppose they shall lie concealed from God in that case, and avoid that vengeance which comes from him. Some of these men, when they have had the management of affairs committed to them by their friends, and bearing private malice of their own against some others, by deceiving those that have the power, persuade them to be angry at such as have done them no harm, till they are in danger of perishing, and this by laying accusations and calumnies: nor is this state of things to be discovered by ancient examples, or such as we have learned by report only, but by some examples of such impudent attempts under our own eyes; so that it is not fit to attend any longer to calumnies and accusations, nor to the persuasions of others, but to determine what any one knows of himself to have been really done, and to punish what justly deserves it, and to grant favors to such as are innocent. This hath been the case of Haman, the son of Ammedatha, by birth an Amalekite, and

alien from the blood of the Persians, who, when he was hospitably entertained by us, and partook of that kindness which we bear to all men to so great a degree, as to be called my father, and to be all along worshipped, and to have honor paid him by all in the second rank after the royal honor due to ourselves, he could not bear his good fortune, nor govern the magnitude of his prosperity with sound reason; nay, he made a conspiracy against me and my life, who gave him his authority, by endeavoring to take away Mordecai, my benefactor, and my savior, and by basely and treacherously requiring to have Esther, the partner of my life, and of my dominion, brought to destruction; for he contrived by this means to deprive me of my faithful friends, and transfer the government to others: but since I perceived that these Jews, that were by this pernicious fellow devoted to destruction, were not wicked men, but conducted their lives after the best manner, and were men dedicated to the worship of that God who hath preserved the kingdom to me and to my ancestors, I do not only free them from the punishment which the former epistle, which was sent by Haman, ordered to be inflicted on them, to which if you refuse obedience, you shall do well; but I will that they have all honor paid to them. Accordingly, I have hanged up the man that contrived such things against them, with his family, before the gates of Shushan; that punishment being sent upon him by God, who seeth all things. And I give you in charge, that you publicly propose a copy of this epistle through all my kingdom, that the Jews may be permitted peaceably to use their own laws, and that you assist them, that at the same season whereto their miserable estate did belong, they may defend themselves the very same day from unjust violence, the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which is Adar; for God hath made that day a day of salvation instead of a day of destruction to them; and may it be a good day to those that wish us well, and a memorial of the punishment of the conspirators against us: and I will that you take notice, that every city, and every nation, that shall disobey any thing that is contained in this epistle, shall be destroyed by fire and sword. However, let this epistle be published through all the country that is under our obedience, and let all the Jews, by all means, be ready against the day before mentioned, that they may avenge themselves upon their enemies."

13. Accordingly, the horsemen who carried the epistles proceeded on the ways which they were to go with speed: but as for Mordecai, as soon as he had assumed the royal garment, and the crown of gold, and had put the chain about his neck, he went forth in a public procession; and when the Jews who were at Shushan saw him in so great honor with the king, they thought his good fortune was common to themselves also, and joy and a beam of salvation encompassed the Jews, both those that were in the cities, and those that were in the countries,

upon the publication of the king's letters, insomuch that many even of other nations circumcised their foreskin for fear of the Jews, that they might procure safety to themselves thereby; for on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which according to the Hebrews is called Adar, but according to the Macedonians, Dystrus, those that carried the king's epistle gave them notice, that the same day wherein their danger was to have been, on that very day should they destroy their enemies. But now the rulers of the provinces, and the tyrants, and the kings, and the scribes, had the Jews in esteem; for the fear they were in of Mordecai forced them to act with discretion. Now when the royal decree was come to all the country that was subject to the king, it fell out that the Jews at Shushan slew five hundred of their enemies; and when the king had told Esther the number of those that were slain in that city, but did not well know what had been done in the provinces, he asked her whether she would have any thing further done against them, for that it should be done accordingly: upon which she desired that the Jews might be permitted to treat their remaining enemies in the same manner the next day; as also that they might hang the ten sons of Haman upon the gallows. So the king permitted the Jews so to do, as desirous not to contradict Esther. So they gathered themselves together again on the fourteenth day of the month Dystrus, and slew about three hundred of their enemies, but touched nothing of what riches they had. Now there were slain by the Jews that were in the country, and in the other cities, seventy-five thousand of their enemies, and these were slain on the thirteenth day of the month, and the next day they kept as a festival. In like manner the Jews that were in Shushan gathered themselves together, and feasted on the fourteenth day, and that which followed it; whence it is that even now all the Jews that are in the habitable earth keep these days festival, and send portions to one another. Mordecai also wrote to the Jews that lived in the kingdom of Artaxerxes to observe these days, and celebrate them as festivals, and to deliver them down to posterity, that this festival might continue for all time to come, and that it might never be buried in oblivion; for since they were about to be destroyed on these days by Haman, they would do a right thing, upon escaping the danger in them, and on them inflicting punishment on their enemies, to observe those days, and give thanks to God on them; for which cause the Jews still keep the forementioned days, and call them days of Phurim (or Purim.) And Mordecai became a great and illustrious person with the king, and assisted him in the government of the people. He also lived with the queen; so that the affairs of the Jews were, by their means, better than they could ever have hoped for. And this was the state of the Jews under the reign of Artaxerxes.

CHAPTER 7. How John Slew His Brother Jesus In The Temple; And How Bagoses Offered Many Injuries To The Jews; And What Sanballat Did.

1. When Eliashib the high priest was dead, his son Judas succeeded in the high priesthood; and when he was dead, his son John took that dignity; on whose account it was also that Bagoses, the general of another Artaxerxes's army, polluted the temple, and imposed tributes on the Jews, that out of the public stock, before they offered the daily sacrifices, they should pay for every lamb fifty shekels. Now Jesus was the brother of John, and was a friend of Bagoses, who had promised to procure him the high priesthood. In confidence of whose support, Jesus quarreled with John in the temple, and so provoked his brother, that in his anger his brother slew him. Now it was a horrible thing for John, when he was high priest, to perpetrate so great a crime, and so much the more horrible, that there never was so cruel and impious a thing done, neither by the Greeks nor Barbarians. However, God did not neglect its punishment, but the people were on that very account enslaved, and the temple was polluted by the Persians. Now when Bagoses, the general of Artaxerxes's army, knew that John, the high priest of the Jews, had slain his own brother Jesus in the temple, he came upon the Jews immediately, and began in anger to say to them, "Have you had the impudence to perpetrate a murder in your temple?" And as he was aiming to go into the temple, they forbade him so to do; but he said to them, "Am not I purer than he that was slain in the temple?" And when he had said these words, he went into the temple. Accordingly, Bagoses made use of this pretense, and punished the Jews seven years for the murder of Jesus.

2. Now when John had departed this life, his son Jaddua succeeded in the high priesthood. He had a brother, whose name was Manasseh. Now there was one Sanballat, who was sent by Darius, the last king [of Persia], into Samaria. He was a Cutheam by birth; of which stock were the Samaritans also. This man knew that the city Jerusalem was a famous city, and that their kings had given a great deal of trouble to the Assyrians, and the people of Celesyria; so that he willingly gave his daughter, whose name was Nicaso, in marriage to Manasseh, as thinking this alliance by marriage would be a pledge and security that the nation of the Jews should continue their good-will to him.

CHAPTER 8. Concerning Sanballat And Manasseh, And The Temple Which They Built On Mount Gerizzim; As Also How Alexander Made His Entry Into The City Jerusalem, And What Benefits He Bestowed On The Jews.

1. About this time it was that Philip, king of Macedon, was treacherously assaulted and slain at Egae by Pausanias, the son of Cerastes, who was derived from the family of Oreste, and his son Alexander succeeded him in the kingdom; who, passing over the Hellespont, overcame the generals of Darius's army in a battle fought at Granicum. So he marched over Lydia, and subdued Ionia, and overran Caria, and fell upon the places of Pamphylia, as has been related elsewhere.

2. But the elders of Jerusalem being very uneasy that the brother of Jaddua the high priest, though married to a foreigner, should be a partner with him in the high priesthood, quarreled with him; for they esteemed this man's marriage a step to such as should be desirous of transgressing about the marriage of [strange] wives, and that this would be the beginning of a mutual society with foreigners, although the offense of some about marriages, and their having married wives that were not of their own country, had been an occasion of their former captivity, and of the miseries they then underwent; so they commanded Manasseh to divorce his wife, or not to approach the altar, the high priest himself joining with the people in their indignation against his brother, and driving him away from the altar. Whereupon Manasseh came to his father-in-law, Sanballat, and told him, that although he loved his daughter Nicaso, yet was he not willing to be deprived of his sacerdotal dignity on her account, which was the principal dignity in their nation, and always continued in the same family. And then Sanballat promised him not only to preserve to him the honor of his priesthood, but to procure for him the power and dignity of a high priest, and would make him governor of all the places he himself now ruled, if he would keep his daughter for his wife. He also told him further, that he would build him a temple like that at Jerusalem, upon Mount Gerizzini, which is the highest of all the mountains that are in Samaria; and he promised that he would do this with the approbation of Darius the king. Manasseh was elevated with these promises, and staid with Sanballat, upon a supposal that he should gain a high priesthood, as bestowed on him by Darius, for it happened that Sanballat was then in years. But

there was now a great disturbance among the people of Jerusalem, because many of those priests and Levites were entangled in such matches; for they all revolted to Manasseh, and Sanballat afforded them money, and divided among them land for tillage, and habitations also, and all this in order every way to gratify his son-in-law.

3. About this time it was that Darius heard how Alexander had passed over the Hellespont, and had beaten his lieutenants in the battle at Granicum, and was proceeding further; whereupon he gathered together an army of horse and foot, and determined that he would meet the Macedonians before they should assault and conquer all Asia. So he passed over the river Euphrates, and came over Taurus, the Cilician mountain, and at Issus of Cilicia he waited for the enemy, as ready there to give him battle. Upon which Sanballat was glad that Darius was come down; and told Manasseh that he would suddenly perform his promises to him, and this as soon as ever Darius should come back, after he had beaten his enemies; for not he only, but all those that were in Asia also, were persuaded that the Macedonians would not so much as come to a battle with the Persians, on account of their multitude. But the event proved otherwise than they expected; for the king joined battle with the Macedonians, and was beaten, and lost a great part of his army. His mother also, and his wife and children, were taken captives, and he fled into Persia. So Alexander came into Syria, and took Damascus; and when he had obtained Sidon, he besieged Tyre, when he sent all epistle to the Jewish high priest, to send him some auxiliaries, and to supply his army with provisions; and that what presents he formerly sent to Darius, he would now send to him, and choose the friendship of the Macedonians, and that he should never repent of so doing. But the high priest answered the messengers, that he had given his oath to Darius not to bear arms against him; and he said that he would not transgress this while Darius was in the land of the living. Upon hearing this answer, Alexander was very angry; and though he determined not to leave Tyre, which was just ready to be taken, yet as soon as he had taken it, he threatened that he would make an expedition against the Jewish high priest, and through him teach all men to whom they must keep their oaths. So when he had, with a good deal of pains during the siege, taken Tyre, and had settled its affairs, he came to the city of Gaza, and besieged both the city and him that was governor of the garrison, whose name was Babemeses.

4. But Sanballat thought he had now gotten a proper opportunity to make his attempt, so he renounced Darius, and taking with him seven thousand of his own subjects, he came to Alexander; and finding him beginning the siege of Tyre, he said to him, that he delivered up to him these men, who came out of places under his dominion, and did gladly accept of him for his lord instead of Darius. So

when Alexander had received him kindly, Sanballat thereupon took courage, and spake to him about his present affair. He told him that he had a son-in-law, Manasseh, who was brother to the high priest Jaddua; and that there were many others of his own nation, now with him, that were desirous to have a temple in the places subject to him; that it would be for the king's advantage to have the strength of the Jews divided into two parts, lest when the nation is of one mind, and united, upon any attempt for innovation, it prove troublesome to kings, as it had formerly proved to the kings of Assyria. Whereupon Alexander gave Sanballat leave so to do, who used the utmost diligence, and built the temple, and made Manasseh the priest, and deemed it a great reward that his daughter's children should have that dignity; but when the seven months of the siege of Tyre were over, and the two months of the siege of Gaza, Sanballat died. Now Alexander, when he had taken Gaza, made haste to go up to Jerusalem; and Jaddua the high priest, when he heard that, was in an agony, and under terror, as not knowing how he should meet the Macedonians, since the king was displeased at his foregoing disobedience. He therefore ordained that the people should make supplications, and should join with him in offering sacrifice to God, whom he besought to protect that nation, and to deliver them from the perils that were coming upon them; whereupon God warned him in a dream, which came upon him after he had offered sacrifice, that he should take courage, and adorn the city, and open the gates; that the rest should appear in white garments, but that he and the priests should meet the king in the habits proper to their order, without the dread of any ill consequences, which the providence of God would prevent. Upon which, when he rose from his sleep, he greatly rejoiced, and declared to all the warning he had received from God. According to which dream he acted entirely, and so waited for the coming of the king.

5. And when he understood that he was not far from the city, he went out in procession, with the priests and the multitude of the citizens. The procession was venerable, and the manner of it different from that of other nations. It reached to a place called Sapha, which name, translated into Greek, signifies a prospect, for you have thence a prospect both of Jerusalem and of the temple. And when the Phoenicians and the Chaldeans that followed him thought they should have liberty to plunder the city, and torment the high priest to death, which the king's displeasure fairly promised them, the very reverse of it happened; for Alexander, when he saw the multitude at a distance, in white garments, while the priests stood clothed with fine linen, and the high priest in purple and scarlet clothing, with his mitre on his head, having the golden plate whereon the name of God was engraved, he approached by himself, and adored that name, and first saluted the high priest. The Jews also did all together, with one voice, salute Alexander,

and encompass him about; whereupon the kings of Syria and the rest were surprised at what Alexander had done, and supposed him disordered in his mind. However, Parmenio alone went up to him, and asked him how it came to pass that, when all others adored him, he should adore the high priest of the Jews? To whom he replied, "I did not adore him, but that God who hath honored him with his high priesthood; for I saw this very person in a dream, in this very habit, when I was at Dios in Macedonia, who, when I was considering with myself how I might obtain the dominion of Asia, exhorted me to make no delay, but boldly to pass over the sea thither, for that he would conduct my army, and would give me the dominion over the Persians; whence it is that, having seen no other in that habit, and now seeing this person in it, and remembering that vision, and the exhortation which I had in my dream, I believe that I bring this army under the Divine conduct, and shall therewith conquer Darius, and destroy the power of the Persians, and that all things will succeed according to what is in my own mind." And when he had said this to Parmenio, and had given the high priest his right hand, the priests ran along by him, and he came into the city. And when he went up into the temple, he offered sacrifice to God, according to the high priest's direction, and magnificently treated both the high priest and the priests. And when the Book of Daniel was showed him wherein Daniel declared that one of the Greeks should destroy the empire of the Persians, he supposed that himself was the person intended. And as he was then glad, he dismissed the multitude for the present; but the next day he called them to him, and bid them ask what favors they pleased of him; whereupon the high priest desired that they might enjoy the laws of their forefathers, and might pay no tribute on the seventh year. He granted all they desired. And when they entreated him that he would permit the Jews in Babylon and Media to enjoy their own laws also, he willingly promised to do hereafter what they desired. And when he said to the multitude, that if any of them would enlist themselves in his army, on this condition, that they should continue under the laws of their forefathers, and live according to them, he was willing to take them with him, many were ready to accompany him in his wars.

6. So when Alexander had thus settled matters at Jerusalem, he led his army into the neighboring cities; and when all the inhabitants to whom he came received him with great kindness, the Samaritans, who had then Shechem for their metropolis, [a city situate at Mount Gerizzim, and inhabited by apostates of the Jewish nation,] seeing that Alexander had so greatly honored the Jews, determined to profess themselves Jews; for such is the disposition of the Samaritans, as we have already elsewhere declared, that when the Jews are in adversity, they deny that they are of kin to them, and then they confess the truth;

but when they perceive that some good fortune hath befallen them, they immediately pretend to have communion with them, saying that they belong to them, and derive their genealogy from the posterity of Joseph, Ephraim, and Manasseh. Accordingly, they made their address to the king with splendor, and showed great alacrity in meeting him at a little distance from Jerusalem. And when Alexander had commended them, the Shechemites approached to him, taking with them the troops that Sanballat had sent him, and they desired that he would come to their city, and do honor to their temple also; to whom he promised, that when he returned he would come to them. And when they petitioned that he would remit the tribute of the seventh year to them, because they did but sow thereon, he asked who they were that made such a petition; and when they said that they were Hebrews, but had the name of Sidonians, living at Shechem, he asked them again whether they were Jews; and when they said they were not Jews, "It was to the Jews," said he, "that I granted that privilege; however, when I return, and am thoroughly informed by you of this matter, I will do what I shall think proper." And in this manner he took leave of the Shechenlites; but ordered that the troops of Sanballat should follow him into Egypt, because there he designed to give them lands, which he did a little after in Thebais, when he ordered them to guard that country.

7. Now when Alexander was dead, the government was parted among his successors, but the temple upon Mount Gerizzim remained. And if any one were accused by those of Jerusalem of having eaten things common or of having broken the sabbath, or of any other crime of the like nature, he fled away to the Shechemites, and said that he was accused unjustly. About this time it was that Jaddua the high priest died, and Onias his son took the high priesthood. This was the state of the affairs of the people of Jerusalem at this time.

BOOK XII. Containing The Interval Of A Hundred And Seventy Years. — From The Death Of Alexander The Great To The Death Of Judas Maccabeus.

CHAPTER 1. How Ptolemy The Son Of Lagus Took Jerusalem And Judea By Deceit And Treachery, And Carried Many Thence, And Planted Them In Egypt.

1. Now when Alexander, king of Macedon, had put an end to the dominion of the Persians, and had settled the affairs in Judea after the forementioned manner, he ended his life. And as his government fell among many, Antigonus obtained Asia, Seleucus Babylon; and of the other nations which were there, Lysimachus governed the Hellespont, and Cassander possessed Macedonia; as did Ptolemy the son of Lagus seize upon Egypt. And while these princes ambitiously strove one against another, every one for his own principality, it came to pass that there were continual wars, and those lasting wars too; and the cities were sufferers, and lost a great many of their inhabitants in these times of distress, insomuch that all Syria, by the means of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, underwent the reverse of that denomination of Savior, which he then had. He also seized upon Jerusalem, and for that end made use of deceit and treachery; for as he came into the city on a sabbath day, as if he would offer sacrifices he, without any trouble, gained the city, while the Jews did not oppose him, for they did not suspect him to be their enemy; and he gained it thus, because they were free from suspicion of him, and because on that day they were at rest and quietness; and when he had gained it, he ruled over it in a cruel manner. Nay, Agatharchides of Cnidus, who wrote the acts of Alexander's successors, reproaches us with superstition, as if we, by it, had lost our liberty; where he says thus: "There is a nation called the nation of the Jews, who inhabit a city strong and great, named Jerusalem. These men took no care, but let it come into the hands of Ptolemy, as not willing to take arms, and thereby they submitted to be under a hard master, by reason of their unseasonable superstition." This is what Agatharchides relates of our nation. But when Ptolemy had taken a great many captives, both from the mountainous parts of Judea, and from the places about Jerusalem and Samaria, and the places near Mount Gerizzim, he led them all into Egypt, and settled them there. And as he knew that the people of Jerusalem were most faithful in the observation of oaths and covenants; and this from the answer they made to Alexander, when he sent an embassage to them, after he had beaten Darius in battle; so he distributed many of them into garrisons, and at Alexandria gave them equal privileges of citizens with the Macedonians themselves; and required of them to take their oaths, that they would keep their fidelity to the posterity of those who committed these places to their care. Nay, there were not a few other

Jews who, of their own accord, went into Egypt, as invited by the goodness of the soil, and by the liberality of Ptolemy. However, there were disorders among their posterity, with relation to the Samaritans, on account of their resolution to preserve that conduct of life which was delivered to them by their forefathers, and they thereupon contended one with another, while those of Jerusalem said that their temple was holy, and resolved to send their sacrifices thither; but the Samaritans were resolved that they should be sent to Mount Gerizzim.

CHAPTER 2. How Ptolemy Philadelphus Procured The Laws Of The Jews To Be Translated Into The Greek Tongue And Set Many Captives Free, And Dedicated Many Gifts To God.

1. When Alexander had reigned twelve years, and after him Ptolemy Soter forty years, Philadelphus then took the kingdom of Egypt, and held it forty years within one. He procured the law to be interpreted, and set free those that were come from Jerusalem into Egypt, and were in slavery there, who were a hundred and twenty thousand. The occasion was this: Demetrius Phalerius, who was library keeper to the king, was now endeavoring, if it were possible, to gather together all the books that were in the habitable earth, and buying whatsoever was any where valuable, or agreeable to the king's inclination, [who was very earnestly set upon collecting of books,] to which inclination of his Demetrius was zealously subservient. And when once Ptolemy asked him how many ten thousands of books he had collected, he replied, that he had already about twenty times ten thousand; but that, in a little time, he should have fifty times ten thousand. But he said he had been informed that there were many books of laws among the Jews worthy of inquiring after, and worthy of the king's library, but which, being written in characters and in a dialect of their own, will cause no small pains in getting them translated into the Greek tongue; that the character in which they are written seems to be like to that which is the proper character of the Syrians, and that its sound, when pronounced, is like theirs also; and that this sound appears to be peculiar to themselves. Wherefore he said that nothing hindered why they might not get those books to be translated also; for while nothing is wanting that is necessary for that purpose, we may have their books also in this library. So the king thought that Demetrius was very zealous to procure him abundance of books, and that he suggested what was exceeding proper for him to do; and therefore he wrote to the Jewish high priest, that he should act accordingly.

2. Now there was one Aristeus, who was among the king's most intimate friends, and on account of his modesty very acceptable to him. This Aristeus resolved frequently, and that before now, to petition the king that he would set all the captive Jews in his kingdom free; and he thought this to be a convenient opportunity for the making that petition. So he discoursed, in the first place, with the captains of the king's guards, Sosibius of Tarentum, and Andreas, and

persuaded them to assist him in what he was going to intercede with the king for. Accordingly Aristeus embraced the same opinion with those that have been before mentioned, and went to the king, and made the following speech to him: "It is not fit for us, O king, to overlook things hastily, or to deceive ourselves, but to lay the truth open. For since we have determined not only to get the laws of the Jews transcribed, but interpreted also, for thy satisfaction, by what means can we do this, while so many of the Jews are now slaves in thy kingdom? Do thou then what will be agreeable to thy magnanimity, and to thy good nature: free them from the miserable condition they are in, because that God, who supporteth thy kingdom, was the author of their laws as I have learned by particular inquiry; for both these people, and we also, worship the same God the framer of all things. We call him, and that truly, by the name of GREEK, [or life, or Jupiter,] because he breathes life into all men. Wherefore do thou restore these men to their own country, and this do to the honor of God, because these men pay a peculiarly excellent worship to him. And know this further, that though I be not of kin to them by birth, nor one of the same country with them, yet do I desire these favors to be done them, since all men are the workmanship of God; and I am sensible that he is well-pleased with those that do good. I do therefore put up this petition to thee, to do good to them."

3. When Aristeus was saying thus, the king looked upon him with a cheerful and joyful countenance, and said, "How many ten thousands dost thou suppose there are of such as want to be made free?" To which Andreas replied, as he stood by, and said, "A few more than ten times ten thousand." The king made answer, "And is this a small gift that thou askest, Aristeus?" But Sosibius, and the rest that stood by, said that he ought to offer such a thank-offering as was worthy of his greatness of soul, to that God who had given him his kingdom. With this answer he was much pleased; and gave order, that when they paid the soldiers their wages, they should lay down [a hundred and] twenty drachmas for every one of the slaves? And he promised to publish a magnificent decree, about what they requested, which should confirm what Aristeus had proposed, and especially what God willed should be done; whereby he said he would not only set those free who had been led away captive by his father and his army, but those who were in this kingdom before, and those also, if any such there were, who had been brought away since. And when they said that their redemption money would amount to above four hundred talents, he granted it. A copy of which decree I have determined to preserve, that the magnanimity of this king may be made known. Its contents were as follows: "Let all those who were soldiers under our father, and who, when they overran Syria and Phoenicia, and laid waste Judea, took the Jews captives, and made them slaves, and brought

them into our cities, and into this country, and then sold them; as also all those that were in my kingdom before them, and if there be any that have been lately brought thither, — be made free by those that possess them; and let them accept of [a hundred and] twenty drachmas for every slave. And let the soldiers receive this redemption money with their pay, but the rest out of the king's treasury: for I suppose that they were made captives without our father's consent, and against equity; and that their country was harassed by the insolence of the soldiers, and that, by removing them into Egypt, the soldiers have made a great profit by them. Out of regard therefore to justice, and out of pity to those that have been tyrannized over, contrary to equity, I enjoin those that have such Jews in their service to set them at liberty, upon the receipt of the before-mentioned sum; and that no one use any deceit about them, but obey what is here commanded. And I will that they give in their names within three days after the publication of this edict, to such as are appointed to execute the same, and to produce the slaves before them also, for I think it will be for the advantage of my affairs. And let every one that will inform against those that do not obey this decree, and I will that their estates be confiscated into the king's treasury." When this decree was read to the king, it at first contained the rest that is here inserted, and omitted only those Jews that had formerly been brought, and those brought afterwards, which had not been distinctly mentioned; so he added these clauses out of his humanity, and with great generosity. He also gave order that the payment, which was likely to be done in a hurry, should be divided among the king's ministers, and among the officers of his treasury. When this was over, what the king had decreed was quickly brought to a conclusion; and this in no more than seven days' time, the number of the talents paid for the captives being above four hundred and sixty, and this, because their masters required the [hundred and] twenty drachmas for the children also, the king having, in effect, commanded that these should be paid for, when he said in his decree, that they should receive the forementioned sum for every slave.

4. Now when this had been done after so magnificent a manner, according to the king's inclinations, he gave order to Demetrius to give him in writing his sentiments concerning the transcribing of the Jewish books; for no part of the administration is done rashly by these kings, but all things are managed with great circumspection. On which account I have subjoined a copy of these epistles, and set down the multitude of the vessels sent as gifts [to Jerusalem], and the construction of every one, that the exactness of the artificers' workmanship, as it appeared to those that saw them, and which workman made every vessel, may be made manifest, and this on account of the excellency of the vessels themselves. Now the copy of the epistle was to this purpose: "Demetrius

to the great king. When thou, O king, gavest me a charge concerning the collection of books that were wanting to fill your library, and concerning the care that ought to be taken about such as are imperfect, I have used the utmost diligence about those matters. And I let you know, that we want the books of the Jewish legislation, with some others; for they are written in the Hebrew characters, and being in the language of that nation, are to us unknown. It hath also happened to them, that they have been transcribed more carelessly than they ought to have been, because they have not had hitherto royal care taken about them. Now it is necessary that thou shouldst have accurate copies of them. And indeed this legislation is full of hidden wisdom, and entirely blameless, as being the legislation of God; for which cause it is, as Hecateus of Abdera says, that the poets and historians make no mention of it, nor of those men who lead their lives according to it, since it is a holy law, and ought not to be published by profane mouths. If then it please thee, O king, thou mayst write to the high priest of the Jews, to send six of the elders out of every tribe, and those such as are most skillful of the laws, that by their means we may learn the clear and agreeing sense of these books, and may obtain an accurate interpretation of their contents, and so may have such a collection of these as may be suitable to thy desire."

5. When this epistle was sent to the king, he commanded that an epistle should be drawn up for Eleazar, the Jewish high priest, concerning these matters; and that they should inform him of the release of the Jews that had been in slavery among them. He also sent fifty talents of gold for the making of large basons, and vials, and cups, and an immense quantity of precious stones. He also gave order to those who had the custody of the chest that contained those stones, to give the artificers leave to choose out what sorts of them they pleased. He withal appointed, that a hundred talents in money should be sent to the temple for sacrifices, and for other uses. Now I will give a description of these vessels, and the manner of their construction, but not till after I have set down a copy of the epistle which was written to Eleazar the high priest, who had obtained that dignity on the occasion following: When Onias the high priest was dead, his son Simon became his successor. He was called Simon the Just because of both his piety towards God, and his kind disposition to those of his own nation. When he was dead, and had left a young son, who was called Onias, Simon's brother Eleazar, of whom we are speaking, took the high priesthood; and he it was to whom Ptolemy wrote, and that in the manner following: "King Ptolemy to Eleazar the high priest, sendeth greeting. There are many Jews who now dwell in my kingdom, whom the Persians, when they were in power, carried captives. These were honored by my father; some of them he placed in the army, and gave them greater pay than ordinary; to others of them, when they came with him into

Egypt, he committed his garrisons, and the guarding of them, that they might be a terror to the Egyptians. And when I had taken the government, I treated all men with humanity, and especially those that are thy fellow citizens, of whom I have set free above a hundred thousand that were slaves, and paid the price of their redemption to their masters out of my own revenues; and those that are of a fit age, I have admitted into them number of my soldiers. And for such as are capable of being faithful to me, and proper for my court, I have put them in such a post, as thinking this [kindness done to them] to be a very great and an acceptable gift, which I devote to God for his providence over me. And as I am desirous to do what will be grateful to these, and to all the other Jews in the habitable earth, I have determined to procure an interpretation of your law, and to have it translated out of Hebrew into Greek, and to be deposited in my library. Thou wilt therefore do well to choose out and send to me men of a good character, who are now elders in age, and six in number out of every tribe. These, by their age, must be skillful in the laws, and of abilities to make an accurate interpretation of them; and when this shall be finished, I shall think that I have done a work glorious to myself. And I have sent to thee Andreas, the captain of my guard, and Aristeus, men whom I have in very great esteem; by whom I have sent those first-fruits which I have dedicated to the temple, and to the sacrifices, and to other uses, to the value of a hundred talents. And if thou wilt send to us, to let us know what thou wouldst have further, thou wilt do a thing acceptable to me."

6. When this epistle of the king was brought to Eleazar, he wrote an answer to it with all the respect possible: "Eleazar the high priest to king Ptolemy, sendeth greeting. If thou and thy queen Arsinoe, and thy children, be well, we are entirely satisfied. When we received thy epistle, we greatly rejoiced at thy intentions; and when the multitude were gathered together, we read it to them, and thereby made them sensible of the piety thou hast towards God. We also showed them the twenty vials of gold, and thirty of silver, and the five large basons, and the table for the shew-bread; as also the hundred talents for the sacrifices, and for the making what shall be needful at the temple; which things Andreas and Aristeus, those most honored friends of thine, have brought us; and truly they are persons of an excellent character, and of great learning, and worthy of thy virtue. Know then that we will gratify thee in what is for thy advantage, though we do what we used not to do before; for we ought to make a return for the numerous acts of kindness which thou hast done to our countrymen. We immediately, therefore, offered sacrifices for thee and thy sister, with thy children and friends; and the multitude made prayers, that thy affairs may be to thy mind, and that thy kingdom may be preserved in peace, and

that the translation of our law may come to the conclusion thou desirest, and be for thy advantage. We have also chosen six elders out of every tribe, whom we have sent, and the law with them. It will be thy part, out of thy piety and justice, to send back the law, when it hath been translated, and to return those to us that bring it in safety. Farewell."

7. This was the reply which the high priest made. But it does not seem to me to be necessary to set down the names of the seventy [two] elders who were sent by Eleazar, and carried the law, which yet were subjoined at the end of the epistle. However, I thought it not improper to give an account of those very valuable and artificially contrived vessels which the king sent to God, that all may see how great a regard the king had for God; for the king allowed a vast deal of expenses for these vessels, and came often to the workmen, and viewed their works, and suffered nothing of carelessness or negligence to be any damage to their operations. And I will relate how rich they were as well as I am able, although perhaps the nature of this history may not require such a description; but I imagine I shall thereby recommend the elegant taste and magnanimity of this king to those that read this history.

8. And first I will describe what belongs to the table. It was indeed in the king's mind to make this table vastly large in its dimensions; but then he gave orders that they should learn what was the magnitude of the table which was already at Jerusalem, and how large it was, and whether there was a possibility of making one larger than it. And when he was informed how large that was which was already there, and that nothing hindered but a larger might be made, he said that he was willing to have one made that should be five times as large as the present table; but his fear was, that it might be then useless in their sacred ministrations by its too great largeness; for he desired that the gifts he presented them should not only be there for show, but should be useful also in their sacred ministrations. According to which reasoning, that the former table was made of so moderate a size for use, and not for want of gold, he resolved that he would not exceed the former table in largeness; but would make it exceed it in the variety and elegancy of its materials. And as he was sagacious in observing the nature of all things, and in having a just notion of what was new and surprising, and where there was no sculptures, he would invent such as were proper by his own skill, and would show them to the workmen, he commanded that such sculptures should now be made, and that those which were delineated should be most accurately formed by a constant regard to their delineation.

9. When therefore the workmen had undertaken to make the table, they framed it in length two cubits [and a half], in breadth one cubit, and in height one cubit and a half; and the entire structure of the work was of gold. They

withal made a crown of a hand-breadth round it, with wave-work wreathed about it, and with an engraving which imitated a cord, and was admirably turned on its three parts; for as they were of a triangular figure, every angle had the same disposition of its sculptures, that when you turned them about, the very same form of them was turned about without any variation. Now that part of the crown-work that was enclosed under the table had its sculptures very beautiful; but that part which went round on the outside was more elaborately adorned with most beautiful ornaments, because it was exposed to sight, and to the view of the spectators; for which reason it was that both those sides which were extant above the rest were acute, and none of the angles, which we before told you were three, appeared less than another, when the table was turned about. Now into the cordwork thus turned were precious stones inserted, in rows parallel one to the other, enclosed in golden buttons, which had ouches in them; but the parts which were on the side of the crown, and were exposed to the sight, were adorned with a row of oval figures obliquely placed, of the most excellent sort of precious stones, which imitated rods laid close, and encompassed the table round about. But under these oval figures, thus engraven, the workmen had put a crown all round it, where the nature of all sorts of fruit was represented, insomuch that the bunches of grapes hung up. And when they had made the stones to represent all the kinds of fruit before mentioned, and that each in its proper color, they made them fast with gold round the whole table. The like disposition of the oval figures, and of the engraved rods, was framed under the crown, that the table might on each side show the same appearance of variety and elegancy of its ornaments; so that neither the position of the wave-work nor of the crown might be different, although the table were turned on the other side, but that the prospect of the same artificial contrivances might be extended as far as the feet; for there was made a plate of gold four fingers broad, through the entire breadth of the table, into which they inserted the feet, and then fastened them to the table by buttons and button-holes, at the place where the crown was situate, that so on what side soever of the table one should stand, it might exhibit the very same view of the exquisite workmanship, and of the vast expenses bestowed upon it: but upon the table itself they engraved a meander, inserting into it very valuable stones in the middle like stars, of various colors; the carbuncle and the emerald, each of which sent out agreeable rays of light to the spectators; with such stones of other sorts also as were most curious and best esteemed, as being most precious in their kind. Hard by this meander a texture of net-work ran round it, the middle of which appeared like a rhombus, into which were inserted rock-crystal and amber, which, by the great resemblance of the appearance they made, gave wonderful delight to those that saw them. The chapiters of the feet imitated

the first buddings of lilies, while their leaves were bent and laid under the table, but so that the chives were seen standing upright within them. Their bases were made of a carbuncle; and the place at the bottom, which rested on that carbuncle, was one palm deep, and eight fingers in breadth. Now they had engraven upon it with a very fine tool, and with a great deal of pains, a branch of ivy and tendrils of the vine, sending forth clusters of grapes, that you would guess they were nowise different from real tendrils; for they were so very thin, and so very far extended at their extremities, that they were moved with the wind, and made one believe that they were the product of nature, and not the representation of art. They also made the entire workmanship of the table appear to be threefold, while the joints of the several parts were so united together as to be invisible, and the places where they joined could not be distinguished. Now the thickness of the table was not less than half a cubit. So that this gift, by the king's great generosity, by the great value of the materials, and the variety of its exquisite structure, and the artificer's skill in imitating nature with graying tools, was at length brought to perfection, while the king was very desirous, that though in largeness it were not to be different from that which was already dedicated to God, yet that in exquisite workmanship, and the novelty of the contrivances, and in the splendor of its construction, it should far exceed it, and be more illustrious than that was.

10. Now of the cisterns of gold there were two, whose sculpture was of scale-work, from its basis to its belt-like circle, with various sorts of stones enchased in the spiral circles. Next to which there was upon it a meander of a cubit in height; it was composed of stones of all sorts of colors. And next to this was the rod-work engraven; and next to that was a rhombus in a texture of net-work, drawn out to the brim of the basin, while small shields, made of stones, beautiful in their kind, and of four fingers' depth, filled up the middle parts. About the top of the basin were wreathed the leaves of lilies, and of the convolvulus, and the tendrils of vines in a circular manner. And this was the construction of the two cisterns of gold, each containing two firkins. But those which were of silver were much more bright and splendid than looking-glasses, and you might in them see the images that fell upon them more plainly than in the other. The king also ordered thirty vials; those of which the parts that were of gold, and filled up with precious stones, were shadowed over with the leaves of ivy and of vines, artificially engraven. And these were the vessels that were after an extraordinary manner brought to this perfection, partly by the skill of the workmen, who were admirable in such fine work, but much more by the diligence and generosity of the king, who not only supplied the artificers abundantly, and with great generosity, with what they wanted, but he forbade public audiences for the time,

and came and stood by the workmen, and saw the whole operation. And this was the cause why the workmen were so accurate in their performance, because they had regard to the king, and to his great concern about the vessels, and so the more indefatigably kept close to the work.

11. And these were what gifts were sent by Ptolemy to Jerusalem, and dedicated to God there. But when Eleazar the high priest had devoted them to God, and had paid due respect to those that brought them, and had given them presents to be carried to the king, he dismissed them. And when they were come to Alexandria, and Ptolemy heard that they were come, and that the seventy elders were come also, he presently sent for Andreas and Aristens, his ambassadors, who came to him, and delivered him the epistle which they brought him from the high priest, and made answer to all the questions he put to them by word of mouth. He then made haste to meet the elders that came from Jerusalem for the interpretation of the laws; and he gave command, that every body who came on other occasions should be sent away, which was a thing surprising, and what he did not use to do; for those that were drawn thither upon such occasions used to come to him on the fifth day, but ambassadors at the month's end. But when he had sent those away, he waited for these that were sent by Eleazar; but as the old men came in with the presents, which the high priest had given them to bring to the king, and with the membranes, upon which they had their laws written in golden letters he put questions to them concerning those books; and when they had taken off the covers wherein they were wrapt up, they showed him the membranes. So the king stood admiring the thinness of those membranes, and the exactness of the junctures, which could not be perceived; [so exactly were they connected one with another;] and this he did for a considerable time. He then said that he returned them thanks for coming to him, and still greater thanks to him that sent them; and, above all, to that God whose laws they appeared to be. Then did the elders, and those that were present with them, cry out with one voice, and wished all happiness to the king. Upon which he fell into tears by the violence of the pleasure he had, it being natural to men to afford the same indications in great joy that they do under sorrows. And when he had bid them deliver the books to those that were appointed to receive them, he saluted the men, and said that it was but just to discourse, in the first place, of the errand they were sent about, and then to address himself to themselves. He promised, however, that he would make this day on which they came to him remarkable and eminent every year through the whole course of his life; for their coming to him, and the victory which he gained over Antigonus by sea, proved to be on the very same day. He also gave orders that they should sup

with him; and gave it in charge that they should have excellent lodgings provided for them in the upper part of the city.

12. Now he that was appointed to take care of the reception of strangers, Nicanor by name, called for Dorotheus, whose duty it was to make provision for them, and bid him prepare for every one of them what should be requisite for their diet and way of living; which thing was ordered by the king after this manner: he took care that those that belonged to every city, which did not use the same way of living, that all things should be prepared for them according to the custom of those that came to him, that, being feasted according to the usual method of their own way of living, they might be the better pleased, and might not be uneasy at any thing done to them from which they were naturally averse. And this was now done in the case of these men by Dorotheus, who was put into this office because of his great skill in such matters belonging to common life; for he took care of all such matters as concerned the reception of strangers, and appointed them double seats for them to sit on, according as the king had commanded him to do; for he had commanded that half of their seats should be set at his right hand, and the other half behind his table, and took care that no respect should be omitted that could be shown them. And when they were thus set down, he bid Dorotheus to minister to all those that were come to him from Judea, after the manner they used to be ministered to; for which cause he sent away their sacred heralds, and those that slew the sacrifices, and the rest that used to say grace; but called to one of those that were come to him, whose name was Eleazar, who w a priest, and desired him to say grace; who then stood in the midst of them, and prayed, that all prosperity might attend the king, and those that were his subjects. Upon which an acclamation was made by the whole company, with joy and a great noise; and when that was over, they fell to eating their supper, and to the enjoyment of what was set before them. And at a little interval afterward, when the king thought a sufficient time had been interposed, he began to talk philosophically to them, and he asked every one of them a philosophical question and such a one as might give light in those inquiries; and when they had explained all the problems that had been proposed by the king about every point, he was well-pleased with their answers. This took up the twelve days in which they were treated; and he that pleases may learn the particular questions in that book of Aristeus, which he wrote on this very occasion.

13. And while not the king only, but the philosopher Menedemus also, admired them, and said that all things were governed by Providence, and that it was probable that thence it was that such force or beauty was discovered in these men’s words, they then left off asking any more such questions. But the king

said that he had gained very great advantages by their coming, for that he had received this profit from them, that he had learned how he ought to rule his subjects. And he gave order that they should have every one three talents given them, and that those that were to conduct them to their lodging should do it. Accordingly, when three days were over, Demetrius took them, and went over the causeway seven furlongs long: it was a bank in the sea to an island. And when they had gone over the bridge, he proceeded to the northern parts, and showed them where they should meet, which was in a house that was built near the shore, and was a quiet place, and fit for their discoursing together about their work. When he had brought them thither, he entreated them [now they had all things about them which they wanted for the interpretation of their law] that they would suffer nothing to interrupt them in their work. Accordingly, they made an accurate interpretation, with great zeal and great pains, and this they continued to do till the ninth hour of the day; after which time they relaxed, and took care of their body, while their food was provided for them in great plenty: besides, Dorotheus, at the king's command, brought them a great deal of what was provided for the king himself. But in the morning they came to the court and saluted Ptolemy, and then went away to their former place, where, when they had washed their hands, and purified themselves, they betook themselves to the interpretation of the laws. Now when the law was transcribed, and the labor of interpretation was over, which came to its conclusion in seventy-two days, Demetrius gathered all the Jews together to the place where the laws were translated, and where the interpreters were, and read them over. The multitude did also approve of those elders that were the interpreters of the law. They withal commended Demetrius for his proposal, as the inventor of what was greatly for their happiness; and they desired that he would give leave to their rulers also to read the law. Moreover, they all, both the priest and the ancientest of the elders, and the principal men of their commonwealth, made it their request, that since the interpretation was happily finished, it might continue in the state it now was, and might not be altered. And when they all commended that determination of theirs, they enjoined, that if any one observed either any thing superfluous, or any thing omitted, that he would take a view of it again, and have it laid before them, and corrected; which was a wise action of theirs, that when the thing was judged to have been well done, it might continue for ever.

14. So the king rejoiced when he saw that his design of this nature was brought to perfection, to so great advantage; and he was chiefly delighted with hearing the Laws read to him; and was astonished at the deep meaning and wisdom of the legislator. And he began to discourse with Demetrius, "How it came to pass, that when this legislation was so wonderful, no one, either of the

poets or of the historians, had made mention of it." Demetrius made answer, "that no one durst be so bold as to touch upon the description of these laws, because they were Divine and venerable, and because some that had attempted it were afflicted by God." He also told him, that "Theopompus was desirous of writing somewhat about them, but was thereupon disturbed in his mind for above thirty days' time; and upon some intermission of his distemper, he appeased God [by prayer], as suspecting that his madness proceeded from that cause." Nay, indeed, he further saw in a dream, that his distemper befell him while he indulged too great a curiosity about Divine matters, and was desirous of publishing them among common men; but when he left off that attempt, he recovered his understanding again. Moreover, he informed him of Theodectes, the tragic poet, concerning whom it was reported, that when in a certain dramatic representation he was desirous to make mention of things that were contained in the sacred books, he was afflicted with a darkness in his eyes; and that upon his being conscious of the occasion of his distemper, and appeasing God [by prayer], he was freed from that affliction.

15. And when the king had received these books from Demetrius, as we have said already, he adored them, and gave order that great care should be taken of them, that they might remain uncorrupted. He also desired that the interpreters would come often to him out of Judea, and that both on account of the respects that he would pay them, and on account of the presents he would make them; for he said it was now but just to send them away, although if, of their own accord, they would come to him hereafter, they should obtain all that their own wisdom might justly require, and what his generosity was able to give them. So he then sent them away, and gave to every one of them three garments of the best sort, and two talents of gold, and a cup of the value of one talent, and the furniture of the room wherein they were feasted. And these were the things he presented to them. But by them he sent to Eleazar the high priest ten beds, with feet of silver, and the furniture to them belonging, and a cup of the value of thirty talents; and besides these, ten garments, and purple, and a very beautiful crown, and a hundred pieces of the finest woven linen; as also vials and dishes, and vessels for pouring, and two golden cisterns to be dedicated to God. He also desired him, by an epistle, that he would give these interpreters leave, if any of them were desirous of coming to him, because he highly valued a conversation with men of such learning, and should be very willing to lay out his wealth upon such men. And this was what came to the Jews, and was much to their glory and honor, from Ptolemy Philadelphus.

CHAPTER 3. How The Kings Of Asia Honored The Nation Of The Jews And Made Them Citizens Of Those Cities Which They Built.

1. The Jews also obtained honors from the kings of Asia when they became their auxiliaries; for Seleucus Nicator made them citizens in those cities which he built in Asia, and in the lower Syria, and in the metropolis itself, Antioch; and gave them privileges equal to those of the Macedonians and Greeks, who were the inhabitants, insomuch that these privileges continue to this very day: an argument for which you have in this, that whereas the Jews do not make use of oil prepared by foreigners, they receive a certain sum of money from the proper officers belonging to their exercises as the value of that oil; which money, when the people of Antioch would have deprived them of, in the last war, Mucianus, who was then president of Syria, preserved it to them. And when the people of Alexandria and of Antioch did after that, at the time that Vespasian and Titus his son governed the habitable earth, pray that these privileges of citizens might be taken away, they did not obtain their request in which behavior any one may discern the equity and generosity of the Romans, especially of Vespasian and Titus, who, although they had been at a great deal of pains in the war against the Jews, and were exasperated against them, because they did not deliver up their weapons to them, but continued the war to the very last, yet did not they take away any of their forementioned privileges belonging to them as citizens, but restrained their anger, and overcame the prayers of the Alexandrians and Antiochians, who were a very powerful people, insomuch that they did not yield to them, neither out of their favor to these people, nor out of their old grudge at those whose wicked opposition they had subdued in the war; nor would they alter any of the ancient favors granted to the Jews, but said, that those who had borne arms against them, and fought them, had suffered punishment already, and that it was not just to deprive those that had not offended of the privileges they enjoyed.

2. We also know that Marcus Agrippa was of the like disposition towards the Jews: for when the people of Ionia were very angry at them, and besought Agrippa that they, and they only, might have those privileges of citizens which Antiochus, the grandson of Seleucus, [who by the Greeks was called The God,] had bestowed on them, and desired that, if the Jews were to be joint-partakers with them, they might be obliged to worship the gods they themselves worshipped: but when these matters were brought to the trial, the Jews prevailed,

and obtained leave to make use of their own customs, and this under the patronage of Nicolaus of Damascus; for Agrippa gave sentence that he could not innovate. And if any one hath a mind to know this matter accurately, let him peruse the hundred and twenty-third and hundred and twenty-fourth books of the history of this Nicolaus. Now as to this determination of Agrippa, it is not so much to be admired, for at that time our nation had not made war against the Romans. But one may well be astonished at the generosity of Vespasian and Titus, that after so great wars and contests which they had from us, they should use such moderation. But I will now return to that part of my history whence I made the present digression.

3. Now it happened that in the reign of Antiochus the Great, who ruled over all Asia, that the Jews, as well as the inhabitants of Celesyria, suffered greatly, and their land was sorely harassed; for while he was at war with Ptolemy Philopater, and with his son, who was called Epiphanes, it fell out that these nations were equally sufferers, both when he was beaten, and when he beat the others: so that they were very like to a ship in a storm, which is tossed by the waves on both sides; and just thus were they in their situation in the middle between Antiochus's prosperity and its change to adversity. But at length, when Antiochus had beaten Ptolemy, he seized upon Judea; and when Philopater was dead, his son sent out a great army under Scopas, the general of his forces, against the inhabitants of Celesyria, who took many of their cities, and in particular our nation; which when he fell upon them, went over to him. Yet was it not long afterward when Antiochus overcame Scopas, in a battle fought at the fountains of Jordan, and destroyed a great part of his army. But afterward, when Antiochus subdued those cities of Celesyria which Scopas had gotten into his possession, and Samaria with them, the Jews, of their own accord, went over to him, and received him into the city [Jerusalem], and gave plentiful provision to all his army, and to his elephants, and readily assisted him when he besieged the garrison which was in the citadel of Jerusalem. Wherefore Antiochus thought it but just to requite the Jews' diligence and zeal in his service. So he wrote to the generals of his armies, and to his friends, and gave testimony to the good behavior of the Jews towards him, and informed them what rewards he had resolved to bestow on them for that their behavior. I will set down presently the epistles themselves which he wrote to the generals concerning them, but will first produce the testimony of Polybius of Megalopolis; for thus does he speak, in the sixteenth book of his history: "Now Scopas, the general of Ptolemy's army, went in haste to the superior parts of the country, and in the winter time overthrew the nation of the Jews?" He also saith, in the same book, that "when Seopas was conquered by Antiochus, Antiochus received Batanea, and Samaria,

and Abila, and Gadara; and that, a while afterwards, there came in to him those Jews that inhabited near that temple which was called Jerusalem; concerning which, although I have more to say, and particularly concerning the presence of God about that temple, yet do I put off that history till another opportunity." This it is which Polybius relates. But we will return to the series of the history, when we have first produced the epistles of king Antiochus.

King Antiochus To Ptolemy, Sendeth Greeting.

"Since the Jews, upon our first entrance on their country, demonstrated their friendship towards us, and when we came to their city [Jerusalem], received us in a splendid manner, and came to meet us with their senate, and gave abundance of provisions to our soldiers, and to the elephants, and joined with us in ejecting the garrison of the Egyptians that were in the citadel, we have thought fit to reward them, and to retrieve the condition of their city, which hath been greatly depopulated by such accidents as have befallen its inhabitants, and to bring those that have been scattered abroad back to the city. And, in the first place, we have determined, on account of their piety towards God, to bestow on them, as a pension, for their sacrifices of animals that are fit for sacrifice, for wine, and oil, and frankincense, the value of twenty thousand pieces of silver, and [six] sacred artabrae of fine flour, with one thousand four hundred and sixty medimni of wheat, and three hundred and seventy-five medimni of salt. And these payments I would have fully paid them, as I have sent orders to you. I would also have the work about the temple finished, and the cloisters, and if there be any thing else that ought to be rebuilt. And for the materials of wood, let it be brought them out of Judea itself and out of the other countries, and out of Libanus tax free; and the same I would have observed as to those other materials which will be necessary, in order to render the temple more glorious; and let all of that nation live according to the laws of their own country; and let the senate, and the priests, and the scribes of the temple, and the sacred singers, be discharged from poll-money and the crown tax and other taxes also. And that the city may the sooner recover its inhabitants, I grant a discharge from taxes for three years to its present inhabitants, and to such as shall come to it, until the month Hyperheretus. We also discharge them for the future from a third part of their taxes, that the losses they have sustained may be repaired. And all those citizens that have been carried away, and are become slaves, we grant them and their children their freedom, and give order that their substance be restored to them."

4. And these were the contents of this epistle. He also published a decree through all his kingdom in honor of the temple, which contained what follows: "It shall be lawful for no foreigner to come within the limits of the temple round about; which thing is forbidden also to the Jews, unless to those who, according

to their own custom, have purified themselves. Nor let any flesh of horses, or of mules, or of asses, he brought into the city, whether they be wild or tame; nor that of leopards, or foxes, or hares; and, in general, that of any animal which is forbidden for the Jews to eat. Nor let their skins be brought into it; nor let any such animal be bred up in the city. Let them only be permitted to use the sacrifices derived from their forefathers, with which they have been obliged to make acceptable atonements to God. And he that transgresseth any of these orders, let him pay to the priests three thousand drachmae of silver." Moreover, this Antiochus bare testimony to our piety and fidelity, in an epistle of his, written when he was informed of a sedition in Phrygia and Lydia, at which time he was in the superior provinces, wherein he commanded Zenxis, the general of his forces, and his most intimate friend, to send some of our nation out of Babylon into Phrygia. The epistle was this:

King Antiochus To Zeuxis His Father, Sendeth Greeting.

"If you are in health, it is well. I also am in health. Having been informed that a sedition is arisen in Lydia and Phrygia, I thought that matter required great care; and upon advising with my friends what was fit to be done, it hath been thought proper to remove two thousand families of Jews, with their effects, out of Mesopotamia and Babylon, unto the castles and places that lie most convenient; for I am persuaded that they will be well-disposed guardians of our possessions, because of their piety towards God, and because I know that my predecessors have borne witness to them, that they are faithful, and with alacrity do what they are desired to do. I will, therefore, though it be a laborious work, that thou remove these Jews, under a promise, that they shall be permitted to use their own laws. And when thou shalt have brought them to the places forementioned, thou shalt give everyone of their families a place for building their houses, and a portion of the land for their husbandry, and for the plantation of their vines; and thou shalt discharge them from paying taxes of the fruits of the earth for ten years; and let them have a proper quantity of wheat for the maintenance of their servants, until they receive bread corn out of the earth; also let a sufficient share be given to such as minister to them in the necessaries of life, that by enjoying the effects of our humanity, they may show themselves the more willing and ready about our affairs. Take care likewise of that nation, as far as thou art able, that they may not have any disturbance given them by any one." Now these testimonials which I have produced are sufficient to declare the friendship that Antiochus the Great bare to the Jews.

CHAPTER 4. How Antiochus Made A League With Ptolemy And How Onias Provoked Ptolemy Euergetes To Anger; And How Joseph Brought All Things Right Again, And Entered Into Friendship With Him; And What Other Things Were Done By Joseph, And His Son Hyrcanus.

1. After this Antiochus made a friendship and league with Ptolemy, and gave him his daughter Cleopatra to wife, and yielded up to him Celesyria, and Samaria, and Judea, and Phoenicia, by way of dowry. And upon the division of the taxes between the two kings, all the principal men framed the taxes of their several countries, and collecting the sum that was settled for them, paid the same to the [two] kings. Now at this time the Samaritans were in a flourishing condition, and much distressed the Jews, cutting off parts of their land, and carrying off slaves. This happened when Onias was high priest; for after Eleazar's death, his uncle Manasseh took the priesthood, and after he had ended his life, Onias received that dignity. He was the son of Simon, who was called The Just: which Simon was the brother of Eleazar, as I said before. This Onias was one of a little soul, and a great lover of money; and for that reason, because he did not pay that tax of twenty talents of silver, which his forefathers paid to these things out of their own estates, he provoked king Ptolemy Euergetes to anger, who was the father of Philopater. Euergetes sent an ambassador to Jerusalem, and complained that Onias did not pay his taxes, and threatened, that if he did not receive them, he would seize upon their land, and send soldiers to live upon it. When the Jews heard this message of the king, they were confounded; but so sordidly covetous was Onias, that nothing of things nature made him ashamed.

2. There was now one Joseph, young in age, but of great reputation among the people of Jerusalem, for gravity, prudence, and justice. His father's name was Tobias; and his mother was the sister of Onias the high priest, who informed him of the coming of the ambassador; for he was then sojourning at a village named Phicol, where he was born. Hereupon he came to the city [Jerusalem], and reproved Onias for not taking care of the preservation of his countrymen, but bringing the nation into dangers, by not paying this money. For which preservation of them, he told him he had received the authority over them, and

had been made high priest; but that, in case he was so great a lover of money, as to endure to see his country in danger on that account, and his countrymen suffer the greatest damages, he advised him to go to the king, and petition him to remit either the whole or a part of the sum demanded. Onias's answer was this: That he did not care for his authority, and that he was ready, if the thing were practicable, to lay down his high priesthood; and that he would not go to the king, because he troubled not himself at all about such matters. Joseph then asked him if he would not give him leave to go ambassador on behalf of the nation. He replied, that he would give him leave. Upon which Joseph went up into the temple, and called the multitude together to a congregation, and exhorted them not to be disturbed nor aftrighted, because of his uncle Onias's carelessness, but desired them to be at rest, and not terrify themselves with fear about it; for he promised them that he would be their ambassador to the king, and persuade him that they had done him no wrong. And when the multitude heard this, they returned thanks to Joseph. So he went down from the temple, and treated Ptolemy's ambassador in a hospitable manner. He also presented him with rich gifts, and feasted him magnificently for many days, and then sent him to the king before him, and told him that he would soon follow him; for he was now more willing to go to the king, by the encouragement of the ambassador, who earnestly persuaded him to come into Egypt, and promised him that he would take care that he should obtain every thing that he desired of Ptolemy; for he was highly pleased with his frank and liberal temper, and with the gravity of his deportment.

3. When Ptolemy's ambassador was come into Egypt, he told the king of the thoughtless temper of Onias; and informed him of the goodness of the disposition of Joseph; and that he was coming to him to excuse the multitude, as not having done him any harm, for that he was their patron. In short, he was so very large in his encomiums upon the young man, that he disposed both the king and his wife Cleopatra to have a kindness for him before he came. So Joseph sent to his friends at Samaria, and borrowed money of them, and got ready what was necessary for his journey, garments and cups, and beasts for burden, which amounted to about twenty thousand drachmae, and went to Alexandria. Now it happened that at this time all the principal men and rulers went up out of the cities of Syria and Phoenicia, to bid for their taxes; for every year the king sold them to the men of the greatest power in every city. So these men saw Joseph journeying on the way, and laughed at him for his poverty and meanness. But when he came to Alexandria, and heard that king Ptolemy was at Memphis, he went up thither to meet with him; which happened as the king was sitting in his chariot, with his wife, and with his friend Athenion, who was the very person

who had been ambassador at Jerusalem, and had been entertained by Joseph. As soon therefore as Athenion saw him, he presently made him known to the king, how good and generous a young man he was. So Ptolemy saluted him first, and desired him to come up into his chariot; and as Joseph sat there, he began to complain of the management of Onias: to which he answered, "Forgive him, on account of his age; for thou canst not certainly be unacquainted with this, that old men and infants have their minds exactly alike; but thou shalt have from us, who are young men, every thing thou desirest, and shalt have no cause to complain." With this good humor and pleasantry of the young man, the king was so delighted, that he began already, as though he had had long experience of him, to have a still greater affection for him, insomuch that he bade him take his diet in the king's palace, and be a guest at his own table every day. But when the king was come to Alexandria, the principal men of Syria saw him sitting with the king, and were much offended at it.

4. And when the day came on which the king was to let the taxes of the cities to farm, and those that were the principal men of dignity in their several countries were to bid for them, the sum of the taxes together, of Celesyria, and Phoenicia, and Judea, with Samaria, [as they were bidden for,] came to eight thousand talents. Hereupon Joseph accused the bidders, as having agreed together to estimate the value of the taxes at too low a rate; and he promised that he would himself give twice as much for them: but for those who did not pay, he would send the king home their whole substance; for this privilege was sold together with the taxes themselves. The king was pleased to hear that offer; and because it augmented his revenues, he said he would confirm the sale of the taxes to him. But when he asked him this question, Whether he had any sureties that would be bound for the payment of the money? he answered very pleasantly, "I will give such security, and those of persons good and responsible, and which you shall have no reason to distrust." And when he bid him name them who they were, he replied, "I give thee no other persons, O king, for my sureties, than thyself, and this thy wife; and you shall be security for both parties." So Ptolemy laughed at the proposal, and granted him the farming of the taxes without any sureties. This procedure was a sore grief to those that came from the cities into Egypt, who were utterly disappointed; and they returned every one to their own country with shame.

5. But Joseph took with him two thousand foot soldiers from the king, for he desired he might have some assistance, in order to force such as were refractory in the cities to pay. And borrowing of the king's friends at Alexandria five hundred talents, he made haste back into Syria. And when he was at Askelon, and demanded the taxes of the people of Askelon, they refused to pay any thing,

and affronted him also; upon which he seized upon about twenty of the principal men, and slew them, and gathered what they had together, and sent it all to the king, and informed him what he had done. Ptolemy admired the prudent conduct of the man, and commended him for what he had done, and gave him leave to do as he pleased. When the Syrians heard of this, they were astonished; and having before them a sad example in the men of Askelon that were slain, they opened their gates, and willingly admitted Joseph, and paid their taxes. And when the inhabitants of Scythopolis attempted to affront him, and would not pay him those taxes which they formerly used to pay, without disputing about them, he slew also the principal men of that city, and sent their effects to the king. By this means he gathered great wealth together, and made vast gains by this farming of the taxes; and he made use of what estate he had thus gotten, in order to support his authority, as thinking it a piece of prudence to keep what had been the occasion and foundation of his present good fortune; and this he did by the assistance of what he was already possessed of, for he privately sent many presents to the king, and to Cleopatra, and to their friends, and to all that were powerful about the court, and thereby purchased their good-will to himself.

6. This good fortune he enjoyed for twenty-two years, and was become the father of seven sons by one wife; he had also another son, whose name was Hyrcanus, by his brother Solymius's daughter, whom he married on the following occasion. He once came to Alexandria with his brother, who had along with him a daughter already marriageable, in order to give her in wedlock to some of the Jews of chief dignity there. He then supped with the king, and falling in love with an actress that was of great beauty, and came into the room where they feasted, he told his brother of it, and entreated him, because a Jew is forbidden by their law to come near to a foreigner, to conceal his offense; and to be kind and subservient to him, and to give him an opportunity of fulfilling his desires. Upon which his brother willingly entertained the proposal of serving him, and adorned his own daughter, and brought her to him by night, and put her into his bed. And Joseph, being disordered with drink, knew not who she was, and so lay with his brother's daughter; and this did he many times, and loved her exceedingly; and said to his brother, that he loved this actress so well, that he should run the hazard of his life [if he must part with her], and yet probably the king would not give him leave [to take her with him]. But his brother bid him be in no concern about that matter, and told him he might enjoy her whom he loved without any danger, and might have her for his wife; and opened the truth of the matter to him, and assured him that he chose rather to have his own daughter abused, than to overlook him, and see him come to [public] disgrace. So Joseph commended him for this his brotherly love, and married his daughter; and by her

begat a son, whose name was Hyrcanus, as we said before. And when this his youngest son showed, at thirteen years old, a mind that was both courageous and wise, and was greatly envied by his brethren, as being of a genius much above them, and such a one as they might well envy, Joseph had once a mind to know which of his sons had the best disposition to virtue; and when he sent them severally to those that had then the best reputation for instructing youth, the rest of his children, by reason of their sloth and unwillingness to take pains, returned to him foolish and unlearned. After them he sent out the youngest, Hyrcanus, and gave him three hundred yoke of oxen, and bid him go two days' journey into the wilderness, and sow the land there, and yet kept back privately the yokes of the oxen that coupled them together. When Hyrcanus came to the place, and found he had no yokes with him, he condemned the drivers of the oxen, who advised him to send some to his father, to bring them some yokes; but he thinking that he ought not to lose his time while they should be sent to bring him the yokes, he invented a kind of stratagem, and what suited an age older than his own; for he slew ten yoke of the oxen, and distributed their flesh among the laborers, and cut their hides into several pieces, and made him yokes, and yoked the oxen together with them; by which means he sowed as much land as his father had appointed him to sow, and returned to him. And when he was come back, his father was mightily pleased with his sagacity, and commended the sharpness of his understanding, and his boldness in what he did. And he still loved him the more, as if he were his only genuine son, while his brethren were much troubled at it.

7. But when one told him that Ptolemy had a son just born, and that all the principal men of Syria, and the other countries subject to him, were to keep a festival, on account of the child's birthday, and went away in haste with great retinues to Alexandria, he was himself indeed hindered from going by old age; but he made trial of his sons, whether any of them would be willing to go to the king. And when the elder sons excused themselves from going, and said they were not courtiers good enough for such conversation, and advised him to send their brother Hyrcanus, he gladly hearkened to that advice, and called Hyrcanus, and asked him whether he would go to the king, and whether it was agreeable to him to go or not. And upon his promise that he would go, and his saying that he should not want much money for his journey, because he would live moderately, and that ten thousand drachmas would be sufficient, he was pleased with his son's prudence. After a little while, the son advised his father not to send his presents to the king from thence, but to give him a letter to his steward at Alexandria, that he might furnish him with money, for purchasing what should be most excellent and most precious. So he thinking that the expense of ten

talents would be enough for presents to be made the king, and commending his son, as giving him good advice, wrote to Arion his steward, that managed all his money matters at Alexandria; which money was not less than three thousand talents on his account, for Joseph sent the money he received in Syria to Alexandria. And when the day appointed for the payment of the taxes to the king came, he wrote to Arion to pay them. So when the son had asked his father for a letter to the steward, and had received it, he made haste to Alexandria. And when he was gone, his brethren wrote to all the king's friends, that they should destroy him.

8. But when he was come to Alexandria, he delivered his letter to Arion, who asked him how many talents he would have [hoping he would ask for no more than ten, or a little more]; he said he wanted a thousand talents. At which the steward was angry, and rebuked him, as one that intended to live extravagantly; and he let him know how his father had gathered together his estate by painstaking, and resisting his inclinations, and wished him to imitate the example of his father: he assured him withal, that he would give him but ten talents, and that for a present to the king also. The son was irritated at this, and threw Arion into prison. But when Arion's wife had informed Cleopatra of this, with her entreaty, that she would rebuke the child for what he had done, [for Arion was in great esteem with her,] Cleopatra informed the king of it. And Ptolemy sent for Hyrcanus, and told him that he wondered, when he was sent to him by his father, that he had not yet come into his presence, but had laid the steward in prison. And he gave order, therefore, that he should come to him, and give an account of the reason of what he had done. And they report that the answer he made to the king's messenger was this: That "there was a law of his that forbade a child that was born to taste of the sacrifice, before he had been at the temple and sacrificed to God. According to which way of reasoning he did not himself come to him in expectation of the present he was to make to him, as to one who had been his father's benefactor; and that he had punished the slave for disobeying his commands, for that it mattered not Whether a master was little or great: so that unless we punish such as these, thou thyself mayst also expect to be despised by thy subjects." Upon hearing this his answer he fell a laughing, and wondered at the great soul of the child.

9. When Arion was apprized that this was the king's disposition, and that he had no way to help himself, he gave the child a thousand talents, and was let out of prison. So after three days were over, Hyrcanus came and saluted the king and queen. They saw him with pleasure, and feasted him in an obliging manner, out of the respect they bare to his father. So he came to the merchants privately, and bought a hundred boys, that had learning, and were in the flower of their ages,

each at a talent apiece; as also he bought a hundred maidens, each at the same price as the other. And when he was invited to feast with the king among the principal men in the country, he sat down the lowest of them all, because he was little regarded, as a child in age still; and this by those who placed every one according to their dignity. Now when all those that sat with him had laid the bones Of the several parts on a heap before Hyrcanus, [for they had themselves taken away the flesh belonging to them,] till the table where he sat was filled full with them, Trypho, who was the king's jester, and was appointed for jokes and laughter at festivals, was now asked by the guests that sat at the table [to expose him to laughter]. So he stood by the king, and said, "Dost thou not see, my lord, the bones that lie by Hyrcanus? by this similitude thou mayst conjecture that his father made all Syria as bare as he hath made these bones." And the king laughing at what Trypho said, and asking of Hyrcanus, How he came to have so many bones before him? he replied, "Very rightfully, my lord; for they are dogs that eat the flesh and the bones together, as these thy guests have done, [looking in the mean time at those guests,] for there is nothing before them; but they are men that eat the flesh, and cast away the hones, as I, who am also a man, have now done." Upon which the king admired at his answer, which was so wisely made; and bid them all make an acclamation, as a mark of their approbation of his jest, which was truly a facetious one. On the next day Hyrcanus went to every one of the king's friends, and of the men powerful at court, and saluted them; but still inquired of the servants what present they would make the king on his son's birthday; and when some said that they would give twelve talents, and that others of greater dignity would every one give according to the quantity of their riches, he pretended to every one of them to be grieved that he was not able to bring so large a present; for that he had no more than five talents. And when the servants heard what he said, they told their masters; and they rejoiced in the prospect that Joseph would be disapproved, and would make the king angry, by the smallness of his present. When the day came, the others, even those that brought the most, offered the king not above twenty talents; but Hyrcanus gave to every one of the hundred boys and hundred maidens that he had bought a talent apiece, for them to carry, and introduced them, the boys to the king, and the maidens to Cleopatra; every body wondering at the unexpected richness of the presents, even the king and queen themselves. He also presented those that attended about the king with gifts to the value of a great number of talents, that he might escape the danger he was in from them; for to these it was that Hyrcanus's brethren had written to destroy him. Now Ptolemy admired at the young man's magnanimity, and commanded him to ask what gift he pleased. But he desired nothing else to be done for him by the king than to write to his father

and brethren about him. So when the king had paid him very great respects, and had given him very large gifts, and had written to his father and his brethren, and all his commanders and officers, about him, he sent him away. But when his brethren heard that Hyrcanus had received such favors from the king, and was returning home with great honor, they went out to meet him, and to destroy him, and that with the privity of their father; for he was angry at him for the [large] sum of money that he bestowed for presents, and so had no concern for his preservation. However, Joseph concealed the anger he had at his son, out of fear of the king. And when Hyrcanus's brethren came to fight him, he slew many others of those that were with them, as also two of his brethren themselves; but the rest of them escaped to Jerusalem to their father. But when Hyrcanus came to the city, where nobody would receive him, he was afraid for himself, and retired beyond the river Jordan, and there abode, but obliging the barbarians to pay their taxes.

10. At this time Seleucus, who was called Soter, reigned over Asia, being the son of Antiochus the Great. And [now] Hyrcanus's father, Joseph, died. He was a good man, and of great magnanimity; and brought the Jews out of a state of poverty and meanness, to one that was more splendid. He retained the farm of the taxes of Syria, and Phoenicia, and Samaria twenty-two years. His uncle also, Onias, died [about this time], and left the high priesthood to his son Simeon. And when he was dead, Onias his son succeeded him in that dignity. To him it was that Areus, king of the Lacedemonians, sent an embassage, with an epistle; the copy whereof here follows:

"Areus, King Of The Lacedemonians, To Onias, Sendeth Greeting.

"We have met with a certain writing, whereby we have discovered that both the Jews and the Lacedemonians are of one stock, and are derived from the kindred of Abraham It is but just therefore that you, who are our brethren, should send to us about any of your concerns as you please. We will also do the same thing, and esteem your concerns as our own, and will look upon our concerns as in common with yours. Demoteles, who brings you this letter, will bring your answer back to us. This letter is four-square; and the seal is an eagle, with a dragon in his claws."

11. And these were the contents of the epistle which was sent from the king of the Lacedemonians. But, upon the death of Joseph, the people grew seditious, on account of his sons. For whereas the elders made war against Hyrcanus, who was the youngest of Joseph's sons, the multitude was divided, but the greater part joined with the elders in this war; as did Simon the high priest, by reason he was of kin to them. However, Hyrcanus determined not to return to Jerusalem any more, but seated himself beyond Jordan, and was at perpetual war with the

Arabians, and slew many of them, and took many of them captives. He also erected a strong castle, and built it entirely of white stone to the very roof, and had animals of a prodigious magnitude engraven upon it. He also drew round it a great and deep canal of water. He also made caves of many furlongs in length, by hollowing a rock that was over against him; and then he made large rooms in it, some for feasting, and some for sleeping and living in. He introduced also a vast quantity of waters which ran along it, and which were very delightful and ornamental in the court. But still he made the entrances at the mouth of the caves so narrow, that no more than one person could enter by them at once. And the reason why he built them after that manner was a good one; it was for his own preservation, lest he should be besieged by his brethren, and run the hazard of being caught by them. Moreover, he built courts of greater magnitude than ordinary, which he adorned with vastly large gardens. And when he had brought the place to this state, he named it Tyre. This place is between Arabia and Judea, beyond Jordan, not far from the country of Heshbon. And he ruled over those parts for seven years, even all the time that Seleucus was king of Syria. But when he was dead, his brother Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, took the kingdom. Ptolemy also, the king of Egypt, died, who was besides called Epiphanes. He left two sons, and both young in age; the elder of which was called Philometer, and the youngest Physcon. As for Hyrcanus, when he saw that Antiochus had a great army, and feared lest he should be caught by him, and brought to punishment for what he had done to the Arabians, he ended his life, and slew himself with his own hand; while Antiochus seized upon all his substance.

CHAPTER 5. How, Upon The Quarrels One Against Another About The High Priesthood Antiochus Made An Expedition Against Jerusalem, Took The City And Pillaged The Temples. And Distressed The Jews' As Also How Many Of The Jews Forsook The Laws Of Their Country; And How The Samaritans Followed The Customs Of The Greeks And Named Their Temple At Mount Gerizzim The Temple Of Jupiter Hellenius.

1. About this time, upon the death of Onias the high priest, they gave the high priesthood to Jesus his brother; for that son which Onias left [or Onias IV.] was yet but an infant; and, in its proper place, we will inform the reader of all the circumstances that befell this child. But this Jesus, who was the brother of Onias, was deprived of the high priesthood by the king, who was angry with him, and gave it to his younger brother, whose name also was Onias; for Simon had these three sons, to each of which the priesthood came, as we have already informed the reader. This Jesus changed his name to Jason, but Onias was called Menelaus. Now as the former high priest, Jesus, raised a sedition against Menelaus, who was ordained after him, the multitude were divided between them both. And the sons of Tobias took the part of Menelaus, but the greater part of the people assisted Jason; and by that means Menelaus and the sons of Tobias were distressed, and retired to Antiochus, and informed him that they were desirous to leave the laws of their country, and the Jewish way of living according to them, and to follow the king's laws, and the Grecian way of living. Wherefore they desired his permission to build them a Gymnasium at Jerusalem. And when he had given them leave, they also hid the circumcision of their genitals, that even when they were naked they might appear to be Greeks. Accordingly, they left off all the customs that belonged to their own country, and imitated the practices of the other nations.

2. Now Antiochus, upon the agreeable situation of the affairs of his kingdom, resolved to make an expedition against Egypt, both because he had a desire to gain it, and because he contemned the son of Ptolemy, as now weak, and not yet of abilities to manage affairs of such consequence; so he came with great forces

to Pelusium, and circumvented Ptolemy Philometor by treachery, and seized upon Egypt. He then came to the places about Memphis; and when he had taken them, he made haste to Alexandria, in hopes of taking it by siege, and of subduing Ptolemy, who reigned there. But he was driven not only from Alexandria, but out of all Egypt, by the declaration of the Romans, who charged him to let that country alone; according as I have elsewhere formerly declared. I will now give a particular account of what concerns this king, how he subdued Judea and the temple; for in my former work I mentioned those things very briefly, and have therefore now thought it necessary to go over that history again, and that with great accuracy.

3. King Antiochus returning out of Egypt for fear of the Romans, made an expedition against the city Jerusalem; and when he was there, in the hundred and forty-third year of the kingdom of the Seleucidse, he took the city without fighting, those of his own party opening the gates to him. And when he had gotten possession of Jerusalem, he slew many of the opposite party; and when he had plundered it of a great deal of money, he returned to Antioch.

4. Now it came to pass, after two years, in the hundred forty and fifth year, on the twenty-fifth day of that month which is by us called Chasleu, and by the Macedonians Apelleus, in the hundred and fifty-third olympiad, that the king came up to Jerusalem, and, pretending peace, he got possession of the city by treachery; at which time he spared not so much as those that admitted him into it, on account of the riches that lay in the temple; but, led by his covetous inclination, [for he saw there was in it a great deal of gold, and many ornaments that had been dedicated to it of very great value,] and in order to plunder its wealth, he ventured to break the league he had made. So he left the temple bare, and took away the golden candlesticks, and the golden altar [of incense], and table [of shew-bread], and the altar [of burnt-offering]; and did not abstain from even the veils, which were made of fine linen and scarlet. He also emptied it of its secret treasures, and left nothing at all remaining; and by this means cast the Jews into great lamentation, for he forbade them to offer those daily sacrifices which they used to offer to God, according to the law. And when he had pillaged the whole city, some of the inhabitants he slew, and some he carried captive, together with their wives and children, so that the multitude of those captives that were taken alive amounted to about ten thousand. He also burnt down the finest buildings; and when he had overthrown the city walls, he built a citadel in the lower part of the city, for the place was high, and overlooked the temple; on which account he fortified it with high walls and towers, and put into it a garrison of Macedonians. However, in that citadel dwelt the impious and wicked part of the [Jewish] multitude, from whom it proved that the citizens suffered

many and sore calamities. And when the king had built an idol altar upon God's altar, he slew swine upon it, and so offered a sacrifice neither according to the law, nor the Jewish religious worship in that country. He also compelled them to forsake the worship which they paid their own God, and to adore those whom he took to be gods; and made them build temples, and raise idol altars in every city and village, and offer swine upon them every day. He also commanded them not to circumcise their sons, and threatened to punish any that should be found to have transgressed his injunction. He also appointed overseers, who should compel them to do what he commanded. And indeed many Jews there were who complied with the king's commands, either voluntarily, or out of fear of the penalty that was denounced. But the best men, and those of the noblest souls, did not regard him, but did pay a greater respect to the customs of their country than concern as to the punishment which he threatened to the disobedient; on which account they every day underwent great miseries and bitter torments; for they were whipped with rods, and their bodies were torn to pieces, and were crucified, while they were still alive, and breathed. They also strangled those women and their sons whom they had circumcised, as the king had appointed, hanging their sons about their necks as they were upon the crosses. And if there were any sacred book of the law found, it was destroyed, and those with whom they were found miserably perished also.

5. When the Samaritans saw the Jews under these sufferings, they no longer confessed that they were of their kindred, nor that the temple on Mount Gerizzim belonged to Almighty God. This was according to their nature, as we have already shown. And they now said that they were a colony of Medes and Persians; and indeed they were a colony of theirs. So they sent ambassadors to Antiochus, and an epistle, whose contents are these: "To king Antiochus the god, Epiphanes, a memorial from the Sidonians, who live at Shechem. Our forefathers, upon certain frequent plagues, and as following a certain ancient superstition, had a custom of observing that day which by the Jews is called the Sabbath. And when they had erected a temple at the mountain called Gerrizzim, though without a name, they offered upon it the proper sacrifices. Now, upon the just treatment of these wicked Jews, those that manage their affairs, supposing that we were of kin to them, and practiced as they do, make us liable to the same accusations, although we be originally Sidonians, as is evident from the public records. We therefore beseech thee, our benefactor and Savior, to give order to Apollonius, the governor of this part of the country, and to Nicanor, the procurator of thy affairs, to give us no disturbance, nor to lay to our charge what the Jews are accused for, since we are aliens from their nation, and from their customs; but let our temple, which at present hath no name at all be named the

Temple of Jupiter Hellenius. If this were once done, we should be no longer disturbed, but should be more intent on our own occupation with quietness, and so bring in a greater revenue to thee." When the Samaritans had petitioned for this, the king sent them back the following answer, in an epistle: "King Antiochus to Nicanor. The Sidonians, who live at Shechem, have sent me the memorial enclosed. When therefore we were advising with our friends about it, the messengers sent by them represented to us that they are no way concerned with accusations which belong to the Jews, but choose to live after the customs of the Greeks. Accordingly, we declare them free from such accusations, and order that, agreeable to their petition, their temple be named the Temple of Jupiter Hellenius." He also sent the like epistle to Apollonius, the governor of that part of the country, in the forty-sixth year, and the eighteenth day of the month Hecatorabeom.

CHAPTER 6. How, Upon Antiochus's Prohibition To The Jews To Make Use Of The Laws Of Their Country Mattathias, The Son Of Asamoneus, Alone Despised The King, And Overcame The Generals Of Antiochus's Army; As Also Concerning The Death Of Mattathias, And The Succession Of Judas.

1. Now at this time there was one whose name was Mattathias, who dwelt at Modin, the son of John, the son of Simeon, the son of Asamoneus, a priest of the order of Joarib, and a citizen of Jerusalem. He had five sons; John, who was called Gaddis, and Simon, who was called Matthes, and Judas, who was called Maccabeus, and Eleazar, who was called Auran, and Jonathan, who was called Apphus. Now this Mattathias lamented to his children the sad state of their affairs, and the ravage made in the city, and the plundering of the temple, and the calamities the multitude were under; and he told them that it was better for them to die for the laws of their country, than to live so ingloriously as they then did.

2. But when those that were appointed by the king were come to Modin, that they might compel the Jews to do what they were commanded, and to enjoin those that were there to offer sacrifice, as the king had commanded, they desired that Mattathias, a person of the greatest character among them, both on other accounts, and particularly on account of such a numerous and so deserving a family of children, would begin the sacrifice, because his fellow citizens would follow his example, and because such a procedure would make him honored by the king. But Mattathias said he would not do it; and that if all the other nations would obey the commands of Antiochus, either out of fear, or to please him, yet would not he nor his sons leave the religious worship of their country. But as soon as he had ended his speech, there came one of the Jews into the midst of them, and sacrificed, as Antiochus had commanded. At which Mattathias had great indignation, and ran upon him violently, with his sons, who had swords with them, and slew both the man himself that sacrificed, and Apelles the king's general, who compelled them to sacrifice, with a few of his soldiers. He also overthrew the idol altar, and cried out, "If," said he, "any one be zealous for the laws of his country, and for the worship of God, let him follow me." And when he had said this, he made haste into the desert with his sons, and left all his substance in the village. Many others did the same also, and fled with their

children and wives into the desert, and dwelt in caves. But when the king's generals heard this, they took all the forces they then had in the citadel at Jerusalem, and pursued the Jews into the desert; and when they had overtaken them, they in the first place endeavored to persuade them to repent, and to choose what was most for their advantage, and not put them to the necessity of using them according to the law of war. But when they would not comply with their persuasions, but continued to be of a different mind, they fought against them on the sabbath day, and they burnt them as they were in the caves, without resistance, and without so much as stopping up the entrances of the caves. And they avoided to defend themselves on that day, because they were not willing to break in upon the honor they owed the sabbath, even in such distresses; for our law requires that we rest upon that day. There were about a thousand, with their wives and children, who were smothered and died in these caves; but many of those that escaped joined themselves to Mattathias, and appointed him to be their ruler, who taught them to fight, even on the sabbath day; and told them that unless they would do so, they would become their own enemies, by observing the law [so rigorously], while their adversaries would still assault them on this day, and they would not then defend themselves, and that nothing could then hinder but they must all perish without fighting. This speech persuaded them. And this rule continues among us to this day, that if there be a necessity, we may fight on sabbath days. So Mattathias got a great army about him, and overthrew their idol altars, and slew those that broke the laws, even all that he could get under his power; for many of them were dispersed among the nations round about them for fear of him. He also commanded that those boys which were not yet circumcised should be circumcised now; and he drove those away that were appointed to hinder such their circumcision.

3. But when he had ruled one year, and was fallen into a distemper, he called for his sons, and set them round about him, and said, "O my sons, I am going the way of all the earth; and I recommend to you my resolution, and beseech you not to be negligent in keeping it, but to be mindful of the desires of him who begat you, and brought you up, and to preserve the customs of your country, and to recover your ancient form of government, which is in danger of being overturned, and not to be carried away with those that, either by their own inclination, or out of necessity, betray it, but to become such sons as are worthy of me; to be above all force and necessity, and so to dispose your souls, as to be ready, when it shall be necessary, to die for your laws; as sensible of this, by just reasoning, that if God see that you are so disposed he will not overlook you, but will have a great value for your virtue, and will restore to you again what you have lost, and will return to you that freedom in which you shall live quietly, and

enjoy your own customs. Your bodies are mortal, and subject to fate; but they receive a sort of immortality, by the remembrance of what actions they have done. And I would have you so in love with this immortality, that you may pursue after glory, and that, when you have undergone the greatest difficulties, you may not scruple, for such things, to lose your lives. I exhort you, especially, to agree one with another; and in what excellency any one of you exceeds another, to yield to him so far, and by that means to reap the advantage of every one's own virtues. Do you then esteem Simon as your father, because he is a man of extraordinary prudence, and be governed by him in what counsels be gives you. Take Maccabeus for the general of your army, because of his courage and strength, for he will avenge your nation, and will bring vengeance on your enemies. Admit among you the righteous and religious, and augment their power."

4. When Mattathias had thus discoursed to his sons, and had prayed to God to be their assistant, and to recover to the people their former constitution, he died a little afterward, and was buried at Modin; all the people making great lamentation for him. Whereupon his son Judas took upon him the administration of public affairs, in the hundred forty and sixth year; and thus, by the ready assistance of his brethren, and of others, Judas cast their enemies out of the country, and put those of their own country to death who had transgressed its laws, and purified the land of all the pollutions that were in it.

CHAPTER 7. How Judas Overthrew The Forces Of Apollonius And Seron And Killed The Generals Of Their Armies Themselves; And How When, A Little While Afterwards Lysias And Gorgias Were Beaten He Went Up To Jerusalem And Purified The Temple.

1. When Apollonius, the general of the Samaritan forces, heard this, he took his army, and made haste to go against Judas, who met him, and joined battle with him, and beat him, and slew many of his men, and among them Apollonius himself, their general, whose sword being that which he happened then to wear, he seized upon, and kept for himself; but he wounded more than he slew, and took a great deal of prey from the enemy's camp, and went his way. But when Seron, who was general of the army of Celesyria, heard that many had joined themselves to Judas, and that he had about him an army sufficient for fighting, and for making war, he determined to make an expedition against him, as thinking it became him to endeavor to punish those that transgressed the king's injunctions. He then got together an army, as large as he was able, and joined to it the runagate and wicked Jews, and came against Judas. He came as far as Bethhoron, a village of Judea, and there pitched his camp; upon which Judas met him; and when he intended to give him battle, he saw that his soldiers were backward to fight, because their number was small, and because they wanted food, for they were fasting, he encouraged them, and said to them, that victory and conquest of enemies are not derived from the multitude in armies, but in the exercise of piety towards God; and that they had the plainest instances in their forefathers, who, by their righteousness, exerting themselves on behalf of their own laws, and their own children, had frequently conquered many ten thousands, — for innocence is the strongest army. By this speech he induced his men to condemn the multitude of the enemy, and to fall upon Seron. And upon joining battle with him, he beat the Syrians; and when their general fell among the rest, they all ran away with speed, as thinking that to be their best way of escaping. So he pursued them unto the plain, and slew about eight hundred of the enemy; but the rest escaped to the region which lay near to the sea.

2. When king Antiochus heard of these things, he was very angry at what had happened; so he got together all his own army, with many mercenaries, whom he had hired from the islands, and took them with him, and prepared to break into Judea about the beginning of the spring. But when, upon his mustering his

soldiers, he perceived that his treasures were deficient, and there was a want of money in them, for all the taxes were not paid, by reason of the seditions there had been among the nations he having been so magnanimous and so liberal, that what he had was not sufficient for him, he therefore resolved first to go into Persia, and collect the taxes of that country. Hereupon he left one whose name was Lysias, who was in great repute with him governor of the kingdom, as far as the bounds of Egypt, and of the Lower Asia, and reaching from the river Euphrates, and committed to him a certain part of his forces, and of his elephants, and charged him to bring up his son Antiochus with all possible care, until he came back; and that he should conquer Judea, and take its inhabitants for slaves, and utterly destroy Jerusalem, and abolish the whole nation. And when king Antiochus had given these things in charge to Lysias, he went into Persia; and in the hundred and forty-seventh year he passed over Euphrates, and went to the superior provinces.

3. Upon this Lysias chose Ptolemy, the son of Dorymenes, and Nicanor, and Gorgias, very potent men among the king's friends, and delivered to them forty thousand foot soldiers, and seven thousand horsemen, and sent them against Judea, who came as far as the city Emmaus, and pitched their camp in the plain country. There came also to them auxiliaries out of Syria, and the country round about; as also many of the runagate Jews. And besides these came some merchants to buy those that should be carried captives, [having bonds with them to bind those that should be made prisoners,] with that silver and gold which they were to pay for their price. And when Judas saw their camp, and how numerous their enemies were, he persuaded his own soldiers to be of good courage, and exhorted them to place their hopes of victory in God, and to make supplication to him, according to the custom of their country, clothed in sackcloth; and to show what was their usual habit of supplication in the greatest dangers, and thereby to prevail with God to grant you the victory over your enemies. So he set them in their ancient order of battle used by their forefathers, under their captains of thousands, and other officers, and dismissed such as were newly married, as well as those that had newly gained possessions, that they might not fight in a cowardly manner, out of an inordinate love of life, in order to enjoy those blessings. When he had thus disposed his soldiers, he encouraged them to fight by the following speech, which he made to them: "O my fellow soldiers, no other time remains more opportune than the present for courage and contempt of dangers; for if you now fight manfully, you may recover your liberty, which, as it is a thing of itself agreeable to all men, so it proves to be to us much more desirable, by its affording us the liberty of worshipping God. Since therefore you are in such circumstances at present, you must either recover

that liberty, and so regain a happy and blessed way of living, which is that according to our laws, and the customs of our country, or to submit to the most opprobrious sufferings; nor will any seed of your nation remain if you be beat in this battle. Fight therefore manfully; and suppose that you must die, though you do not fight; but believe, that besides such glorious rewards as those of the liberty of your country, of your laws, of your religion, you shall then obtain everlasting glory. Prepare yourselves, therefore, and put yourselves into such an agreeable posture, that you may be ready to fight with the enemy as soon as it is day tomorrow morning."

4. And this was the speech which Judas made to encourage them. But when the enemy sent Gorgias, with five thousand foot and one thousand horse, that he might fall upon Judas by night, and had for that purpose certain of the runagate Jews as guides, the son of Mattathias perceived it, and resolved to fall upon those enemies that were in their camp, now their forces were divided. When they had therefore supped in good time, and had left many fires in their camp, he marched all night to those enemies that were at Emmaus. So that when Gorgias found no enemy in their camp, but suspected that they were retired, and had hidden themselves among the mountains, he resolved to go and seek them wheresoever they were. But about break of day Judas appeared to those enemies that were at Emmaus, with only three thousand men, and those ill armed, by reason of their poverty; and when he saw the enemy very well and skillfully fortified in their camp, he encouraged the Jews, and told them that they ought to fight, though it were with their naked bodies, for that God had sometimes of old given such men strength, and that against such as were more in number, and were armed also, out of regard to their great courage. So he commanded the trumpeters to sound for the battle; and by thus falling upon the enemies when they did not expect it, and thereby astonishing and disturbing their minds, he slew many of those that resisted him, and went on pursuing the rest as far as Gadara, and the plains of Idumea, and Ashdod, and Jamnia; and of these there fell about three thousand. Yet did Judas exhort his soldiers not to be too desirous of the spoils, for that still they must have a contest and battle with Gorgias, and the forces that were with him; but that when they had once overcome them, then they might securely plunder the camp, because they were the only enemies remaining, and they expected no others. And just as he was speaking to his soldiers, Gorgias's men looked down into that army which they left in their camp, and saw that it was overthrown, and the camp burnt; for the smoke that arose from it showed them, even when they were a great way off, what had happened. When therefore those that were with Gorgias understood that things were in this posture, and perceived that those that were with Judas were ready to

fight them, they also were affrighted, and put to flight; but then Judas, as though he had already beaten Gorgias's soldiers without fighting, returned and seized on the spoils. He took a great quantity of gold, and silver, and purple, and blue, and then returned home with joy, and singing hymns to God for their good success; for this victory greatly contributed to the recovery of their liberty.

5. Hereupon Lysias was confounded at the defeat of the army which he had sent, and the next year he got together sixty thousand chosen men. He also took five thousand horsemen, and fell upon Judea; and he went up to the hill country of Bethsur, a village of Judea, and pitched his camp there, where Judas met him with ten thousand men; and when he saw the great number of his enemies, he prayed to God that he would assist him, and joined battle with the first of the enemy that appeared, and beat them, and slew about five thousand of them, and thereby became terrible to the rest of them. Nay, indeed, Lysias observing the great spirit of the Jews, how they were prepared to die rather than lose their liberty, and being afraid of their desperate way of fighting, as if it were real strength, he took the rest of the army back with him, and returned to Antioch, where he listed foreigners into the service, and prepared to fall upon Judea with a greater army.

6. When therefore the generals of Antiochus's armies had been beaten so often, Judas assembled the people together, and told them, that after these many victories which God had given them, they ought to go up to Jerusalem, and purify the temple, and offer the appointed sacrifices. But as soon as he, with the whole multitude, was come to Jerusalem, and found the temple deserted, and its gates burnt down, and plants growing in the temple of their own accord, on account of its desertion, he and those that were with him began to lament, and were quite confounded at the sight of the temple; so he chose out some of his soldiers, and gave them order to fight against those guards that were in the citadel, until he should have purified the temple. When therefore he had carefully purged it, and had brought in new vessels, the candlestick, the table [of shew-bread], and the altar [of incense], which were made of gold, he hung up the veils at the gates, and added doors to them. He also took down the altar [of burnt-offering], and built a new one of stones that he gathered together, and not of such as were hewn with iron tools. So on the five and twentieth day of the month Casleu, which the Macedonians call Apeliens, they lighted the lamps that were on the candlestick, and offered incense upon the altar [of incense], and laid the loaves upon the table [of shew-bread], and offered burnt-offerings upon the new altar [of burnt-offering]. Now it so fell out, that these things were done on the very same day on which their Divine worship had fallen off, and was reduced to a profane and common use, after three years' time; for so it was, that

the temple was made desolate by Antiochus, and so continued for three years. This desolation happened to the temple in the hundred forty and fifth year, on the twenty-fifth day of the month Apeliens, and on the hundred fifty and third olympiad: but it was dedicated anew, on the same day, the twenty-fifth of the month Apeliens, on the hundred and forty-eighth year, and on the hundred and fifty-fourth olympiad. And this desolation came to pass according to the prophecy of Daniel, which was given four hundred and eight years before; for he declared that the Macedonians would dissolve that worship [for some time].

7. Now Judas celebrated the festival of the restoration of the sacrifices of the temple for eight days, and omitted no sort of pleasures thereon; but he feasted them upon very rich and splendid sacrifices; and he honored God, and delighted them by hymns and psalms. Nay, they were so very glad at the revival of their customs, when, after a long time of intermission, they unexpectedly had regained the freedom of their worship, that they made it a law for their posterity, that they should keep a festival, on account of the restoration of their temple worship, for eight days. And from that time to this we celebrate this festival, and call it Lights. I suppose the reason was, because this liberty beyond our hopes appeared to us; and that thence was the name given to that festival. Judas also rebuilt the walls round about the city, and reared towers of great height against the incursions of enemies, and set guards therein. He also fortified the city Bethsura, that it might serve as a citadel against any distresses that might come from our enemies.

CHAPTER 8. How Judas Subdued The Nations Round About; And How Simon Beat The People Of Tyre And Ptolemais; And How Judas Overcame Timotheus, And Forced Him To Fly Away, And Did Many Other Things After Joseph And Azarias Had Been Beaten.

1. When these things were over, the nations round about the Jews were very uneasy at the revival of their power, and rose up together, and destroyed many of them, as gaining advantage over them by laying snares for them, and making secret conspiracies against them. Judas made perpetual expeditions against these men, and endeavored to restrain them from those incursions, and to prevent the mischiefs they did to the Jews. So he fell upon the Idumeans, the posterity of Esau, at Acrabattene, and slew a great many of them, and took their spoils. He also shut up the sons of Bean, that laid wait for the Jews; and he sat down about them, and besieged them, and burnt their towers, and destroyed the men [that were in them]. After this he went thence in haste against the Ammonites, who had a great and a numerous army, of which Timotheus was the commander. And when he had subdued them, he seized on the city Jazer, and took their wives and their children captives, and burnt the city, and then returned into Judea. But when the neighboring nations understood that he was returned, they got together in great numbers in the land of Gilead, and came against those Jews that were at their borders, who then fled to the garrison of Dathema; and sent to Judas, to inform him that Timotheus was endeavoring to take the place whither they were fled. And as these epistles were reading, there came other messengers out of Galilee, who informed him that the inhabitants of Ptolemais, and of Tyre and Sidon, and strangers of Galilee, were gotten together.

2. Accordingly Judas, upon considering what was fit to be done, with relation to the necessity both these cases required, gave order that Simon his brother should take three thousand chosen men, and go to the assistance of the Jews in Galilee, while he and another of his brothers, Jonathan, made haste into the land of Gilead, with eight thousand soldiers. And he left Joseph, the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, to be over the rest of the forces; and charged them to keep Judea very carefully, and to fight no battles with any persons whomsoever until his return. Accordingly, Simon-went into Galilee, and fought the enemy, and put

them to flight, and pursued them to the very gates of Ptolemais, and slew about three thousand of them, and took the spoils of those that were slain, and those Jews whom they had made captives, with their baggage, and then returned home.

3. Now as for Judas Maccabeus, and his brother Jonathan, they passed over the river Jordan; and when they had gone three days journey, they lighted upon the Nabateans, who came to meet them peaceably, and who told them how the affairs of those in the land of Gilead stood; and how many of them were in distress, and driven into garrisons, and into the cities of Galilee; and exhorted him to make haste to go against the foreigners, and to endeavor to save his own countrymen out of their hands. To this exhortation Judas hearkened, and returned to the wilderness; and in the first place fell upon the inhabitants of Bosor, and took the city, and beat the inhabitants, and destroyed all the males, and all that were able to fight, and burnt the city. Nor did he stop even when night came on, but he journeyed in it to the garrison where the Jews happened to be then shut up, and where Timotheus lay round the place with his army. And Judas came upon the city in the morning; and when he found that the enemy were making an assault upon the walls, and that some of them brought ladders, on which they might get upon those walls, and that others brought engines [to batter them], he bid the trumpeter to sound his trumpet, and he encouraged his soldiers cheerfully to undergo dangers for the sake of their brethren and kindred; he also parted his army into three bodies, and fell upon the backs of their enemies. But when Timotheus's men perceived that it was Maccabeus that was upon them, of both whose courage and good success in war they had formerly had sufficient experience, they were put to flight; but Judas followed them with his army, and slew about eight thousand of them. He then turned aside to a city of the foreigners called Malle, and took it, and slew all the males, and burnt the city itself. He then removed from thence, and overthrew Casphom and Bosor, and many other cities of the land of Gilead.

4. But not long after this, Timotheus prepared a great army, and took many others as auxiliaries; and induced some of the Arabians, by the promise of rewards, to go with him in this expedition, and came with his army beyond the brook, over against the city Raphon; and he encouraged his soldiers, if it came to a battle with the Jews, to fight courageously, and to hinder their passing over the brook; for he said to them beforehand, that "if they come over it, we shall be beaten." And when Judas heard that Timotheus prepared himself to fight, he took all his own army, and went in haste against Timotheus his enemy; and when he had passed over the brook, he fell upon his enemies, and some of them met him, whom he slew, and others of them he so terrified, that he compelled them to throw down their arms and fly; and some of them escaped, but some of

them fled to what was called the Temple of Camaim, and hoped thereby to preserve themselves; but Judas took the city, and slew them, and burnt the temple, and so used several ways of destroying his enemies.

5. When he had done this, he gathered the Jews together, with their children and wives, and the substance that belonged to them, and was going to bring them back into Judea; but as soon as he was come to a certain city, whose name was Ephron, that lay upon the road, [and it was not possible for him to go any other way, so he was not willing to go back again,] he then sent to the inhabitants, and desired that they would open their gates, and permit them to go on their way through the city; for they had stopped up the gates with stones, and cut off their passage through it. And when the inhabitants of Ephron would not agree to this proposal, he encouraged those that were with him, and encompassed the city round, and besieged it, and, lying round it by day and night, took the city, and slew every male in it, and burnt it all down, and so obtained a way through it; and the multitude of those that were slain was so great, that they went over the dead bodies. So they came over Jordan, and arrived at the great plain, over against which is situate the city Bethshah, which is called by the Greeks Scythopolis. And going away hastily from thence, they came into Judea, singing psalms and hymns as they went, and indulging such tokens of mirth as are usual in triumphs upon victory. They also offered thank-offerings, both for their good success, and for the preservation of their army, for not one of the Jews was slain in these battles.

6. But as to Joseph, the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, whom Judas left generals [of the rest of his forces] at the same time when Simon was in Galilee, fighting against the people of Ptolemais, and Judas himself, and his brother Jonathan, were in the land of Gilead, did these men also affect the glory of being courageous generals in war, in order whereto they took the army that was under their command, and came to Jamnia. There Gorgias, the general of the forces of Jamnia, met them; and upon joining battle with him, they lost two thousand of their army, and fled away, and were pursued to the very borders of Judea. And this misfortune befell them by their disobedience to what injunctions Judas had given them, not to fight with any one before his return. For besides the rest of Judas's sagacious counsels, one may well wonder at this concerning the misfortune that befell the forces commanded by Joseph and Azarias, which he understood would happen, if they broke any of the injunctions he had given them. But Judas and his brethren did not leave off fighting with the Idumeans, but pressed upon them on all sides, and took from them the city of Hebron, and demolished all its fortifications, and set all its towers on fire, and burnt the country of the foreigners, and the city Marissa. They came also to Ashdod, and

took it, and laid it waste, and took away a great deal of the spoils and prey that were in it, and returned to Judea.

CHAPTER 9. Concerning The Death Of Antiochus Epiphane. How Antiochus Eupator Fought Against Juda And Besieged Him In The Temple And Afterwards Made Peace With Him And Departed; Of Alcimus And Onias.

1. About this time it was that king Antiochus, as he was going over the upper countries, heard that there was a very rich city in Persia, called Elymais; and therein a very rich temple of Diana, and that it was full of all sorts of donations dedicated to it; as also weapons and breastplates, which, upon inquiry, he found had been left there by Alexander, the son of Philip, king of Macedonia. And being incited by these motives, he went in haste to Elymais, and assaulted it, and besieged it. But as those that were in it were not terrified at his assault, nor at his siege, but opposed him very courageously, he was beaten off his hopes; for they drove him away from the city, and went out and pursued after him, insomuch that he fled away as far as Babylon, and lost a great many of his army. And when he was grieving for this disappointment, some persons told him of the defeat of his commanders whom he had left behind him to fight against Judea, and what strength the Jews had already gotten. When this concern about these affairs was added to the former, he was confounded, and by the anxiety he was in fell into a distemper, which, as it lasted a great while, and as his pains increased upon him, so he at length perceived he should die in a little time; so he called his friends to him, and told them that his distemper was severe upon him; and confessed withal, that this calamity was sent upon him for the miseries he had brought upon the Jewish nation, while he plundered their temple, and contemned their God; and when he had said this, he gave up the ghost. Whence one may wonder at Polybius of Megalopolis, who, though otherwise a good man, yet saith that "Antiochus died because he had a purpose to plunder the temple of Diana in Persia;" for the purposing to do a thing, but not actually doing it, is not worthy of punishment. But if Polybius could think that Antiochus thus lost his life on that account, it is much more probable that this king died on account of his sacrilegious plundering of the temple at Jerusalem. But we will not contend about this matter with those who may think that the cause assigned by this Polybius of Megalopolis is nearer the truth than that assigned by us.

2. However, Antiochus, before he died, called for Philip, who was one of his companions, and made him the guardian of his kingdom; and gave him his

diadem, and his garment, and his ring, and charged him to carry them, and deliver them to his son Antiochus; and desired him to take care of his education, and to preserve the kingdom for him. This Antiochus died in the hundred forty and ninth year; but it was Lysias that declared his death to the multitude, and appointed his son Antiochus to be king, [of whom at present he had the care,] and called him Eupator.

3. At this time it was that the garrison in the citadel of Jerusalem, with the Jewish runagates, did a great deal of harm to the Jews; for the soldiers that were in that garrison rushed out upon the sudden, and destroyed such as were going up to the temple in order to offer their sacrifices, for this citadel adjoined to and overlooked the temple. When these misfortunes had often happened to them, Judas resolved to destroy that garrison; whereupon he got all the people together, and vigorously besieged those that were in the citadel. This was in the hundred and fiftieth year of the dominion of the Seleucidse. So he made engines of war, and erected bulwarks, and very zealously pressed on to take the citadel. But there were not a few of the runagates who were in the place that went out by night into the country, and got together some other wicked men like themselves, and went to Antiochus the king, and desired of him that he would not suffer them to be neglected, under the great hardships that lay upon them from those of their own nation; and this because their sufferings were occasioned on his father's account, while they left the religious worship of their fathers, and preferred that which he had commanded them to follow: that there was danger lest the citadel, and those appointed to garrison it by the king, should be taken by Judas, and those that were with him, unless he would send them succors. When Antiochus, who was but a child, heard this, he was angry, and sent for his captains and his friends, and gave order that they should get an army of mercenaries together, with such men also of his own kingdom as were of an age fit for war. Accordingly, an army was collected of about a hundred thousand footmen, and twenty thousand horsemen, and thirty-two elephants.

4. So the king took this army, and marched hastily out of Antioch, with Lysias, who had the command of the whole, and came to Idumea, and thence went up to the city Bethsnra, a city that was strong, and not to be taken without great difficulty. He set about this city, and besieged it. And while the inhabitants of Bethsura courageously opposed him, and sallied out upon him, and burnt his engines of war, a great deal of time was spent in the siege. But when Judas heard of the king's coming, he raised the siege of the citadel, and met the king, and pitched his camp in certain straits, at a place called Bethzachriah, at the distance of seventy furlongs from the enemy; but the king soon drew his forces from Bethsura, and brought them to those straits. And as soon as it was day, he put his

men in battle-array, and made his elephants follow one another through the narrow passes, because they could not be set sideways by one another. Now round about every elephant there were a thousand footmen, and five hundred horsemen. The elephants also had high towers [upon their backs], and archers [in them]. And he also made the rest of his army to go up the mountains, and put his friends before the rest; and gave orders for the army to shout aloud, and so he attacked the enemy. He also exposed to sight their golden and brazen shields, so that a glorious splendor was sent from them; and when they shouted the mountains echoed again. When Judas saw this, he was not terrified, but received the enemy with great courage, and slew about six hundred of the first ranks. But when his brother Eleazar, whom they called Auran, saw the tallest of all the elephants armed with royal breastplates, and supposed that the king was upon him, he attacked him with great quickness and bravery. He also slew many of those that were about the elephant, and scattered the rest, and then went under the belly of the elephant, and smote him, and slew him; so the elephant fell upon Eleazar, and by his weight crushed him to death. And thus did this man come to his end, when he had first courageously destroyed many of his enemies.

5. But Judas, seeing the strength of the enemy, retired to Jerusalem, and prepared to endure a siege. As for Antiochus, he sent part of his army to Bethsura, to besiege it, and with the rest of his army he came against Jerusalem; but the inhabitants of Bethsura were terrified at his strength; and seeing that their provisions grew scarce, they delivered themselves up on the security of oaths that they should suffer no hard treatment from the king. And when Antiochus had thus taken the city, he did them no other harm than sending them out naked. He also placed a garrison of his own in the city. But as for the temple of Jerusalem, he lay at its siege a long time, while they within bravely defended it; for what engines soever the king set against them, they set other engines again to oppose them. But then their provisions failed them; what fruits of the ground they had laid up were spent and the land being not ploughed that year, continued unsowed, because it was the seventh year, on which, by our laws, we are obliged to let it lay uncultivated. And withal, so many of the besieged ran away for want of necessaries, that but a few only were left in the temple.

6. And these happened to be the circumstances of such as were besieged in the temple. But then, because Lysias, the general of the army, and Antiochus the king, were informed that Philip was coming upon them out of Persia, and was endeavoring to get the management of public affairs to himself, they came into these sentiments, to leave the siege, and to make haste to go against Philip; yet did they resolve not to let this be known to the soldiers or to the officers: but the king commanded Lysias to speak openly to the soldiers and the officers, without

saying a word about the business of Philip; and to intimate to them that the siege would be very long; that the place was very strong; that they were already in want of provisions; that many affairs of the kingdom wanted regulation; and that it was much better to make a league with the besieged, and to become friends to their whole nation, by permitting them to observe the laws of their fathers, while they broke out into this war only because they were deprived of them, and so to depart home. When Lysias had discoursed thus to them, both the army and the officers were pleased with this resolution.

7. Accordingly the king sent to Judas, and to those that were besieged with them, and promised to give them peace, and to permit them to make use of, and live according to, the laws of their fathers; and they gladly received his proposals; and when they had gained security upon oath for their performance, they went out of the temple. But when Antiochus came into it, and saw how strong the place was, he broke his oaths, and ordered his army that was there to pluck down the walls to the ground; and when he had so done, he returned to Antioch. He also carried with him Onias the high priest, who was also called Menelaus; for Lysias advised the king to slay Menelaus, if he would have the Jews be quiet, and cause him no further disturbance, for that this man was the origin of all the mischief the Jews had done them, by persuading his father to compel the Jews to leave the religion of their fathers. So the king sent Menelaus to Berea, a city of Syria, and there had him put to death, when he had been high priest ten years. He had been a wicked and an impious man; and, in order to get the government to himself, had compelled his nation to transgress their own laws. After the death of Menelaus, Alcimus, who was also called Jacimus, was made high priest. But when king Antiochus found that Philip had already possessed himself of the government, he made war against him, and subdued him, and took him, and slew him. Now as to Onias, the son of the high priest, who, as we before informed you, was left a child when his father died, when he saw that the king had slain his uncle Menelaus, and given the high priesthood to Alcimus, who was not of the high priest stock, but was induced by Lysias to translate that dignity from his family to another house, he fled to Ptolemy, king of Egypt; and when he found he was in great esteem with him, and with his wife Cleopatra, he desired and obtained a place in the Nomus of Heliopolis, wherein he built a temple like to that at Jerusalem; of which therefore we shall hereafter give an account, in a place more proper for it.

CHAPTER 10. How Bacchides, The General Of Demetrius's Army, Made An Expedition Against Judea, And Returned Without Success; And How Nicanor Was Sent A Little Afterward Against Judas And Perished, Together With His Army; As Also Concerning The Death Of Alcimus And The Succession Of Judas.

1. About the same time Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, fled away from Rome, and took Tripoli, a city of Syria, and set the diadem on his own head. He also gathered certain mercenary soldiers together, and entered into his kingdom, and was joyfully received by all, who delivered themselves up to him. And when they had taken Autiochus the king, and Lysias, they brought them to him alive; both which were immediately put to death by the command of Demetrius, when Antiochus had reigned two years, as we have already elsewhere related. But there were now many of the wicked Jewish runagates that came together to him, and with them Alcimus the high priest, who accused the whole nation, and particularly Judas and his brethren; and said that they had slain all his friends, and that those in his kingdom that were of his party, and waited for his return, were by them put to death; that these men had ejected them out of their own country, and caused them to be sojourners in a foreign land; and they desired that he would send some one of his own friends, and know from him what mischief Judas's party had done.

2. At this Demetrius was very angry, and sent Bacchides, a friend of Antiochus Epiphanes, a good man, and one that had been intrusted with all Mesopotamia, and gave him an army, and committed Alcimus the high priest to his care; and gave him charge to slay Judas, and those that were with him. So Bacchides made haste, and went out of Antioch with his army; and when he was come into Judea, he sent to Judas and his brethren, to discourse with them about a league of friendship and peace, for he had a mind to take him by treachery. But Judas did not give credit to him, for he saw that he came with so great an army as men do not bring when they come to make peace, but to make war. However, some of the people acquiesced in what Bacchides caused to be proclaimed; and supposing they should undergo no considerable harm from Alcimus, who was their countryman, they went over to them; and when they had received oaths

from both of them, that neither they themselves, nor those of the same sentiments, should come to any harm, they intrusted themselves with them. But Bacchides troubled not himself about the oaths he had taken, but slew threescore of them, although, by not keeping his faith with those that first went over, he deterred all the rest, who had intentions to go over to him, from doing it. But as he was gone out of Jerusalem, and was at the village called Bethzetho, he sent out, and caught many of the deserters, and some of the people also, and slew them all; and enjoined all that lived in the country to submit to Alcimus. So he left him there, with some part of the army, that he might have wherewith to keep the country in obedience and returned to Antioch to king Demetrius.

3. But Alcimus was desirous to have the dominion more firmly assured to him; and understanding that, if he could bring it about that the multitude should be his friends, he should govern with greater security, he spake kind words to them all, and discoursed to each of them after an agreeable and pleasant manner; by which means he quickly had a great body of men and an army about him, although the greater part of them were of the wicked, and the deserters. With these, whom he used as his servants and soldiers, he went all over the country, and slew all that he could find of Judas's party. But when Judas saw that Alcimus was already become great, and had destroyed many of the good and holy men of the country, he also went all over the country, and destroyed those that were of the other party. But when Alcimus saw that he was not able to oppose Judas, nor was equal to him in strength, he resolved to apply himself to king Demetrius for his assistance; so he came to Antioch, and irritated him against Judas, and accused him, alleging that he had undergone a great many miseries by his means, and that he would do more mischief unless he were prevented, and brought to punishment, which must be done by sending a powerful force against him.

4. So Demetrius, being already of opinion that it would be a thing pernicious to his own affairs to overlook Judas, now he was becoming so great, sent against him Nicanor, the most kind and most faithful of all his friends; for he it was who fled away with him from the city of Rome. He also gave him as many forces as he thought sufficient for him to conquer Judas withal, and bid him not to spare the nation at all. When Nicanor was come to Jerusalem, he did not resolve to fight Judas immediately, but judged it better to get him into his power by treachery; so he sent him a message of peace, and said there was no manner of necessity for them to fight and hazard themselves; and that he would give him his oath that he would do him no harm, for that he only came with some friends, in order to let him know what king Demetrius's intentions were, and what opinion he had of their nation. When Nicanor had delivered this message, Judas

and his brethren complied with him, and suspecting no deceit, they gave him assurances of friendship, and received Nicanor and his army; but while he was saluting Judas, and they were talking together, he gave a certain signal to his own soldiers, upon which they were to seize upon Judas; but he perceived the treachery, and ran back to his own soldiers, and fled away with them. So upon this discovery of his purpose, and of the snares laid for Judas, Nicanor determined to make open war with him, and gathered his army together, and prepared for fighting him; and upon joining battle with him at a certain village called Capharsalama, he beat Judas, and forced him to fly to that citadel which was at Jerusalem.

5. And when Nicanor came down from the citadel unto the temple, some of the priests and elders met him, and saluted him; and showed him the sacrifices which they offered to God for the king: upon which he blasphemed, and threatened them, that unless the people would deliver up Judas to him, upon his return he would pull down their temple. And when he had thus threatened them, he departed from Jerusalem. But the priests fell into tears out of grief at what he had said, and besought God to deliver them from their enemies But now for Nicanor, when he was gone out of Jerusalem, and was at a certain village called Bethoron, he there pitched his camp, another army out of Syria having joined him. And Judas pitched his camp at Adasa, another village, which was thirty furlongs distant from Bethoron, having no more than one thousand soldiers. And when he had encouraged them not to be dismayed at the multitude of their enemies, nor to regard how many they were against whom they were going to fight, but to consider who they themselves were, and for what great rewards they hazarded themselves, and to attack the enemy courageously, he led them out to fight, and joining battle with Nicanor, which proved to be a severe one, he overcame the enemy, and slew many of them; and at last Nicanor himself, as he was fighting gloriously, fell: — upon whose fall the army did not stay; but when they had lost their general, they were put to flight, and threw down their arms. Judas also pursued them and slew them, and gave notice by the sound of the trumpets to the neighboring villages that he had conquered the enemy; which, when the inhabitants heard, they put on their armor hastily, and met their enemies in the face as they were running away, and slew them, insomuch that not one of them escaped out of this battle, who were in number nine thousand This victory happened to fall on the thirteenth day of that month which by the Jews is called Adar and by the Macedonians Dystrus; and the Jews thereon celebrate this victory every year, and esteem it as a festival day. After which the Jewish nation were, for a while, free from wars, and enjoyed peace; but afterward they returned into their former state of wars and hazards.

6. But now as the high priest Alcimus, was resolving to pull down the wall of the sanctuary, which had been there of old time, and had been built by the holy prophets, he was smitten suddenly by God, and fell down. This stroke made him fall down speechless upon the ground; and undergoing torments for many days, he at length died, when he had been high priest four years. And when he was dead, the people bestowed the high priesthood on Judas; who hearing of the power of the Romans, and that they had conquered in war Galatia, and Iberia, and Carthage, and Libya; and that, besides these, they had subdued Greece, and their kings, Perseus, and Philip, and Antiochus the Great also; he resolved to enter into a league of friendship with them. He therefore sent to Rome some of his friends, Eupolemus the son of John, and Jason the son of Eleazar, and by them desired the Romans that they would assist them, and be their friends, and would write to Demetrius that he would not fight against the Jews. So the senate received the ambassadors that came from Judas to Rome, and discoursed with them about the errand on which they came, and then granted them a league of assistance. They also made a decree concerning it, and sent a copy of it into Judea. It was also laid up in the capitol, and engraven in brass. The decree itself was this: “The decree of the senate concerning a league of assistance and friendship with the nation of the Jews. It shall not be lawful for any that are subject to the Romans to make war with the nation of the Jews, nor to assist those that do so, either by sending them corn, or ships, or money; and if any attack be made upon the Jews, the Romans shall assist them, as far as they are able; and again, if any attack be made upon the Romans, the Jews shall assist them. And if the Jews have a mind to add to, or to take away any thing from, this league of assistance, that shall be done with the common consent of the Romans. And whatsoever addition shall thus be made, it shall be of force.” This decree was written by Eupolemus the son of John, and by Jason the son of Eleazar, when Judas was high priest of the nation, and Simon his brother was general of the army. And this was the first league that the Romans made with the Jews, and was managed after this manner.

CHAPTER 11. That Bacchides Was Again Sent Out Against Judas; And How Judas Fell As He Was Courageously Fighting.

1. But when Demetrius was informed of the death of Nicanor, and of the destruction of the army that was with him, he sent Bacchides again with an army into Judea, who marched out of Antioch, and came into Judea, and pitched his camp at Arbela, a city of Galilee; and having besieged and taken those that were there in caves, [for many of the people fled into such places,] he removed, and made all the haste he could to Jerusalem. And when he had learned that Judas had pitched his camp at a certain village whose name was Bethzetho, he led his army against him: they were twenty thousand foot-men, and two thousand horsemen. Now Judas had no more soldiers than one thousand. When these saw the multitude of Bacchides's men, they were afraid, and left their camp, and fled all away, excepting eight hundred. Now when Judas was deserted by his own soldiers, and the enemy pressed upon him, and gave him no time to gather his army together, he was disposed to fight with Bacchides's army, though he had but eight hundred men with him; so he exhorted these men to undergo the danger courageously, and encouraged them to attack the enemy. And when they said they were not a body sufficient to fight so great an army, and advised that they should retire now, and save themselves and that when he had gathered his own men together, then he should fall upon the enemy afterwards, his answer was this: "Let not the sun ever see such a thing, that I should show my back to the enemy and although this be the time that will bring me to my end, and I must die in this battle, I will rather stand to it courageously, and bear whatsoever comes upon me, than by now running away bring reproach upon my former great actions, or tarnish their glory." This was the speech he made to those that remained with him, whereby he encouraged them to attack the enemy.

2. But Bacchldes drew his army out of their camp, and put them in array for the battle. He set the horsemen on both the wings, and the light soldiers and the archers he placed before the whole army, but he was himself on the right wing. And when he had thus put his army in order of battle, and was going to join battle with the enemy, he commanded the trumpeter to give a signal of battle, and the army to make a shout, and to fall on the enemy. And when Judas had done the same, he joined battle with them; and as both sides fought valiantly, and the battle continued till sun-set, Judas saw that Bacehides and the strongest part of the army was in the right wing, and thereupon took the most courageous

men with him, and ran upon that part of the army, and fell upon those that were there, and broke their ranks, and drove them into the middle, and forced them to run away, and pursued them as far as to a mountain called Aza: but when those of the left wing saw that the right wing was put to flight, they encompassed Judas, and pursued him, and came behind him, and took him into the middle of their army; so being not able to fly, but encompassed round about with enemies, he stood still, and he and those that were with him fought; and when he had slain a great many of those that came against him, he at last was himself wounded, and fell and gave up the ghost, and died in a way like to his former famous actions. When Judas was dead, those that were with him had no one whom they could regard [as their commander]; but when they saw themselves deprived of such a general, they fled. But Simon and Jonathan, Judas's brethren, received his dead body by a treaty from the enemy, and carried it to the village of Modin, where their father had been buried, and there buried him; while the multitude lamented him many days, and performed the usual solemn rites of a funeral to him. And this was the end that Judas came to. He had been a man of valor and a great warrior, and mindful of the commands of their father Matrathins; and had undergone all difficulties, both in doing and suffering, for the liberty of his countrymen. And when his character was so excellent [while he was alive], he left behind him a glorious reputation and memorial, by gaining freedom for his nation, and delivering them from slavery under the Macedonians. And when he had retained the high priesthood three years, he died.

BOOK XIII. Containing The Interval Of Eighty-Two Years. — From The Death Of Judas Maccabeus To The Death Of Queen Alexandra.

CHAPTER 1. How Jonathan Took The Government After His Brother Judas; And How He, Together With His Brother Simon, Waged War Against Bacchides.

1. By what means the nation of the Jews recovered their freedom when they had been brought into slavery by the Macedonians, and what struggles, and how great battles, Judas, the general of their army, ran through, till he was slain as he was fighting for them, hath been related in the foregoing book; but after he was dead, all the wicked, and those that transgressed the laws of their forefathers, sprang up again in Judea, and grew upon them, and distressed them on every side. A famine also assisted their wickedness, and afflicted the country, till not a few, who by reason of their want of necessaries, and because they were not able to bear up against the miseries that both the famine and their enemies brought upon them, deserted their country, and went to the Macedonians. And now Bacchides gathered those Jews together who had apostatized from the accustomed way of living of their forefathers, and chose to live like their neighbors, and committed the care of the country to them, who also caught the friends of Judas, and those of his party, and delivered them up to Bacchides, who when he had, in the first place, tortured and tormented them at his pleasure, he, by that means, at length killed them. And when this calamity of the Jews was become so great, as they had never had experience of the like since their return out of Babylon, those that remained of the companions of Judas, seeing that the nation was ready to be destroyed after a miserable manner, came to his brother Jonathan, and desired him that he would imitate his brother, and that care which he took of his countrymen, for whose liberty in general he died also; and that he would not permit the nation to be without a governor, especially in those destructive circumstances wherein it now was. And where Jonathan said that he was ready to die for them, and esteemed no inferior to his brother, he was appointed to be the general of the Jewish army.

2. When Bacchides heard this, and was afraid that Jonathan might be very troublesome to the king and the Macedonians, as Judas had been before him, he sought how he might slay him by treachery. But this intention of his was not unknown to Jonathan, nor to his brother Simon; but when these two were apprized of it, they took all their companions, and presently fled into that wilderness which was nearest to the city; and when they were come to a lake

called Asphar, they abode there. But when Bacchides was sensible that they were in a low state, and were in that place, he hasted to fall upon them with all his forces, and pitching his camp beyond Jordan, he recruited his army. But when Jonathan knew that Bacchides Was coming upon him, he sent his brother John, who was also called Gaddis, to the Nabatean Arabs, that he might lodge his baggage with them until the battle with Bacchides should be over, for they were the Jews' friends. And the sons of Ambri laid an ambush for John from the city Medaba, and seized upon him, and upon those that were with him, and plundered all that they had with them. They also slew John, and all his companions. However, they were sufficiently punished for what they now did by John's brethren, as we shall relate presently.

3. But when Bacchides knew that Jonathan had pitched his camp among the lakes of Jordan, he observed when their sabbath day came, and then assaulted him, [as supposing that he would not fight because of the law for resting on that day]: but he exhorted his companions [to fight]; and told them that their lives were at stake, since they were encompassed by the river, and by their enemies, and had no way to escape, for that their enemies pressed upon them from before, and the river was behind them. So after he had prayed to God to give them the victory, he joined battle with the enemy, of whom he overthrew many; and as he saw Bacchides coming up boldly to him, he stretched out his right hand to smite him; but the other foreseeing and avoiding the stroke, Jonathan with his companions leaped into the river, and swam over it, and by that means escaped beyond Jordan while the enemies did not pass over that river; but Bacchides returned presently to the citadel at Jerusalem, having lost about two thousand of his army. He also fortified many cities of Judea, whose walls had been demolished; Jericho, and Emmaus, and Betboron, and Bethel, and Tinma, and Pharatho, and Tecoa, and Gazara, and built towers in every one of these cities, and encompassed them with strong walls, that were very large also, and put garrisons into them, that they might issue out of them, and do mischief to the Jews. He also fortified the citadel at Jerusalem more than all the rest. Moreover, he took the sons of the principal Jews as pledges, and shut them up in the citadel, and in that manner guarded it.

4. About the same time one came to Jonathan, and to his brother Simon, and told them that the sons of Ambri were celebrating a marriage, and bringing the bride from the city Gabatha, who was the daughter of one of the illustrious men among the Arabians, and that the damsel was to be conducted with pomp, and splendor, and much riches: so Jonathan and Simon thinking this appeared to be the fittest time for them to avenge the death of their brother, and that they had forces sufficient for receiving satisfaction from them for his death, they made

haste to Medaba, and lay in wait among the mountains for the coming of their enemies; and as soon as they saw them conducting the virgin, and her bridegroom, and such a great company of their friends with them as was to be expected at this wedding, they sallied out of their ambush, and slew them all, and took their ornaments, and all the prey that then followed them, and so returned, and received this satisfaction for their brother John from the sons of Ambri; for as well those sons themselves, as their friends, and wives, and children that followed them, perished, being in number about four hundred.

5. However, Simon and Jonathan returned to the lakes of the river, and abode there. But Bacchides, when he had secured all Judea with his garrisons, returned to the king; and then it was that the affairs of Judea were quiet for two years. But when the deserters and the wicked saw that Jonathan and those that were with him lived in the country very quietly, by reason of the peace, they sent to king Demetrius, and excited him to send Bacchides to seize upon Jonathan, which they said was to be done without any trouble, and in one night's time; and that if they fell upon them before they were aware, they might slay them all. So the king sent Bacchides, who, when he was come into Judea, wrote to all his friends, both Jews and auxiliaries, that they should seize upon Jonathan, and bring him to him; and when, upon all their endeavors, they were not able to seize upon Jonathan, for he was sensible of the snares they laid for him, and very carefully guarded against them, Bacchides was angry at these deserters, as having imposed upon him, and upon the king, and slew fifty of their leaders: whereupon Jonathan, with his brother, and those that were with him, retired to Bethagla, a village that lay in the wilderness, out of his fear of Bacchides. He also built towers in it, and encompassed it with walls, and took care that it should be safely guarded. Upon the hearing of which Bacchides led his own army along with him, and besides took his Jewish auxiliaries, and came against Jonathan, and made an assault upon his fortifications, and besieged him many days; but Jonathan did not abate of his courage at the zeal Bacchides used in the siege, but courageously opposed him. And while he left his brother Simon in the city to fight with Bacchides, he went privately out himself into the country, and got a great body of men together of his own party, and fell upon Bacchides's camp in the night time, and destroyed a great many of them. His brother Simon knew also of this his falling upon them, because he perceived that the enemies were slain by him; so he sallied out upon them, and burnt the engines which the Macedonians used, and made a great slaughter of them. And when Bacchides saw himself encompassed with enemies, and some of them before and some behind him, he fell into despair and trouble of mind, as confounded at the unexpected ill success of this siege. However, he vented his displeasure at these

misfortunes upon those deserters who sent for him from the king, as having deluded him. So he had a mind to finish this siege after a decent manner, if it were possible for him so to do, and then to return home.

6. When Jonathan understood these his intentions, he sent ambassadors to him about a league of friendship and mutual assistance, and that they might restore those they had taken captive on both sides. So Bacchides thought this a pretty decent way of retiring home, and made a league of friendship with Jonathan, when they sware that they would not any more make war one against another. Accordingly, he restored the captives, and took his own men with him, and returned to the king at Antioch; and after this his departure, he never came into Judea again. Then did Jonathan take the opportunity of this quiet state of things, and went and lived in the city Michmash; and there governed the multitude, and punished the wicked and ungodly, and by that means purged the nation of them.

CHAPTER 2. How Alexander [Bala] In His War With Demetrius, Granted Jonathan Many Advantages And Appointed Him To Be High Priest And Persuaded Him To Assist Him Although Demetrius Promised Him Greater Advantages On The Other Side. Concerning The Death

Of Demetrius.

1. Now in the hundred and sixtieth year, it fell out that Alexander, the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, came up into Syria, and took Ptolemais the soldiers within having betrayed it to him; for they were at enmity with Demetrius, on account of his insolence and difficulty of access; for he shut himself up in a palace of his that had four towers which he had built himself, not far from Antioch and admitted nobody. He was withal slothful and negligent about the public affairs, whereby the hatred of his subjects was the more kindled against him, as we have elsewhere already related. When therefore Demetrius heard that Alexander was in Ptolemais, he took his whole army, and led it against him; he also sent ambassadors to Jonathan about a league of mutual assistance and friendship, for he resolved to be beforehand with Alexander, lest the other should treat with him first, and gain assistance from him; and this he did out of the fear he had lest Jonathan should remember how ill Demetrius had formerly treated him, and should join with him in this war against him. He therefore gave orders that Jonathan should be allowed to raise an army, and should get armor made, and should receive back those hostages of the Jewish nation whom Baechides had shut up in the citadel of Jerusalem. When this good fortune had befallen Jonathan, by the concession of Demetrius, he came to Jerusalem, and read the king's letter in the audience of the people, and of those that kept the citadel. When these were read, these wicked men and deserters, who were in the citadel, were greatly afraid, upon the king's permission to Jonathan to raise an army, and to receive back the hostages. So he delivered every one of them to his own parents. And thus did Jonathan make his abode at Jerusalem, renewing the city to a better state, and reforming the buildings as he pleased; for he gave orders that the walls of the city should be rebuilt with square stones, that it might be more secure from their enemies. And when those that kept the garrisons that were in Judea saw this, they all left them, and fled to Antioch, excepting those

that were in the city Bethsura, and those that were in the citadel of Jerusalem, for the greater part of these was of the wicked Jews and deserters, and on that account these did not deliver up their garrisons.

2. When Alexander knew what promises Demetrius had made Jonathan, and withal knew his courage, and what great things he had done when he fought the Macedonians, and besides what hardships he had undergone by the means of Demetrius, and of Bacchides, the general of Demetrius's army, he told his friends that he could not at present find any one else that might afford him better assistance than Jonathan, who was both courageous against his enemies, and had a particular hatred against Demetrius, as having both suffered many hard things from him, and acted many hard things against him. If therefore they were of opinion that they should make him their friend against Demetrius, it was more for their advantage to invite him to assist them now than at another time. It being therefore determined by him and his friends to send to Jonathan, he wrote to him this epistle: "King Alexander to his brother Jonathan, sendeth greeting. We have long ago heard of thy courage and thy fidelity, and for that reason have sent to thee, to make with thee a league of friendship and mutual assistance. We therefore do ordain thee this day the high priest of the Jews, and that thou beest called my friend. I have also sent thee, as presents, a purple robe and a golden crown, and desire that, now thou art by us honored, thou wilt in like manner respect us also."

3. When Jonathan had received this letter, he put on the pontifical robe at the time of the feast of tabernacles, four years after the death of his brother Judas, for at that time no high priest had been made. So he raised great forces, and had abundance of armor got ready. This greatly grieved Demetrius when he heard of it, and made him blame himself for his slowness, that he had not prevented Alexander, and got the good-will of Jonathan, but had given him time so to do. However, he also himself wrote a letter to Jonathan, and to the people, the contents whereof are these: "King Demetrius to Jonathan, and to the nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting. Since you have preserved your friendship for us, and when you have been tempted by our enemies, you have not joined yourselves to them, I both commend you for this your fidelity, and exhort you to continue in the same disposition, for which you shall be repaid, and receive rewards from us; for I will free you from the greatest part of the tributes and taxes which you formerly paid to the kings my predecessors, and to myself; and I do now set you free from those tributes which you have ever paid; and besides, I forgive you the tax upon salt, and the value of the crowns which you used to offer to me and instead of the third part of the fruits [of the field], and the half of the fruits of the trees, I relinquish my part of them from this day: and as to the poll-money,

which ought to be given me for every head of the inhabitants of Judea, and of the three toparchies that adjoin to Judea, Samaria, and Galilee, and Peres, that I relinquish to you for this time, and for all time to come. I will also that the city of Jerusalem be holy and inviolable, and free from the tithe, and from the taxes, unto its utmost bounds. And I so far recede from my title to the citadel, as to permit Jonathan your high priest to possess it, that he may place such a garrison in it as he approves of for fidelity and good-will to himself, that they may keep it for us. I also make free all those Jews who have been made captives and slaves in my kingdom. I also give order that the beasts of the Jews be not pressed for our service; and let their sabbaths, and all their festivals, and three days before each of them, be free from any imposition. In the same manner, I set free the Jews that are inhabitants of my kingdom, and order that no injury be done them. I also give leave to such of them as are willing to list themselves in my army, that they may do it, and those as far as thirty thousand; which Jewish soldiers, wheresoever they go, shall have the same pay that my own army hath; and some of them I will place in my garrisons, and some as guards about mine own body, and as rulers over those that are in my court. I give them leave also to use the laws of their forefathers, and to observe them; and I will that they have power over the three toparchies that are added to Judea; and it shall be in the power of the high priest to take care that no one Jew shall have any other temple for worship but only that at Jerusalem. I bequeath also, out of my own revenues, yearly, for the expenses about the sacrifices, one hundred and fifty thousand [drachmae]; and what money is to spare, I will that it shall be your own. I also release to you those ten thousand drachmae which the kings received from the temple, because they appertain to the priests that minister in that temple. And whosoever shall fly to the temple at Jerusalem, or to the places thereto belonging, or who owe the king money, or are there on any other account, let them be set free, and let their goods be in safety. I also give you leave to repair and rebuild your temple, and that all be done at my expenses. I also allow you to build the walls of your city, and to erect high towers, and that they be erected at my charge. And if there be any fortified town that would be convenient for the Jewish country to have very strong, let it be so built at my expenses."

4. This was what Demetrius promised and granted to the Jews by this letter. But king Alexander raised a great army of mercenary soldiers, and of those that deserted to him out of Syria, and made an expedition against Demetrius. And when it was come to a battle, the left wing of Demetrius put those who opposed them to flight, and pursued them a great way, and slew many of them, and spoiled their camp; but the right wing, where Demetrius happened to be, was beaten; and as for all the rest, they ran away. But Demetrius fought

courageously, and slew a great many of the enemy; but as he was in the pursuit of the rest, his horse carried him into a deep bog, where it was hard to get out, and there it happened, that upon his horse's falling down, he could not escape being killed; for when his enemies saw what had befallen him, they returned back, and encompassed Demetrius round, and they all threw their darts at him; but he, being now on foot, fought bravely. But at length he received so many wounds, that he was not able to bear up any longer, but fell. And this is the end that Demetrius came to, when he had reigned eleven years, as we have elsewhere related.

CHAPTER 3. The Friendship That Was Between Onias And Ptolemy Philometor; And How Onias Built A Temple In Egypt Like To That At Jerusalem.

1. But then the son of Onias the high priest, who was of the same name with his father, and who fled to king Ptolemy, who was called Philometor, lived now at Alexandria, as we have said already. When this Onias saw that Judea was oppressed by the Macedonians and their kings, out of a desire to purchase to himself a memorial and eternal fame he resolved to send to king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra, to ask leave of them that he might build a temple in Egypt like to that at Jerusalem, and might ordain Levites and priests out of their own stock. The chief reason why he was desirous so to do, was, that he relied upon the prophet Isaiah, who lived above six hundred years before, and foretold that there certainly was to be a temple built to Almighty God in Egypt by a man that was a Jew. Onias was elevated with this prediction, and wrote the following epistle to Ptolemy and Cleopatra: "Having done many and great things for you in the affairs of the war, by the assistance of God, and that in Celesyria and Phoenicia, I came at length with the Jews to Leontopolis, and to other places of your nation, where I found that the greatest part of your people had temples in an improper manner, and that on this account they bare ill-will one against another, which happens to the Egyptians by reason of the multitude of their temples, and the difference of opinions about Divine worship. Now I found a very fit place in a castle that hath its name from the country Diana; this place is full of materials of several sorts, and replenished with sacred animals; I desire therefore that you will grant me leave to purge this holy place, which belongs to no master, and is fallen down, and to build there a temple to Almighty God, after the pattern of that in Jerusalem, and of the same dimensions, that may be for the benefit of thyself, and thy wife and children, that those Jews which dwell in Egypt may have a place whither they may come and meet together in mutual harmony one with another, and he subservient to thy advantages; for the prophet Isaiah foretold that, 'there should be an altar in Egypt to the Lord God;'" and many other such things did he prophesy relating to that place.

2. And this was what Onias wrote to king Ptolemy. Now any one may observe his piety, and that of his sister and wife Cleopatra, by that epistle which they wrote in answer to it; for they laid the blame and the transgression of the law upon the head of Onias. And this was their reply: "King Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra to Onias, send greeting. We have read thy petition, wherein thou

desirest leave to be given thee to purge that temple which is fallen down at Leontopolis, in the Nomus of Heliopolis, and which is named from the country Bubastis; on which account we cannot but wonder that it should be pleasing to God to have a temple erected in a place so unclean, and so full of sacred animals. But since thou sayest that Isaiah the prophet foretold this long ago, we give thee leave to do it, if it may be done according to your law, and so that we may not appear to have at all offended God herein."

3. So Onias took the place, and built a temple, and an altar to God, like indeed to that in Jerusalem, but smaller and poorer. I do not think it proper for me now to describe its dimensions or its vessels, which have been already described in my seventh book of the Wars of the Jews. However, Onias found other Jews like to himself, together with priests and Levites, that there performed Divine service. But we have said enough about this temple.

4. Now it came to pass that the Alexandrian Jews, and those Samaritans who paid their worship to the temple that was built in the days of Alexander at Mount Gerizzim, did now make a sedition one against another, and disputed about their temples before Ptolemy himself; the Jews saying that, according to the laws of Moses, the temple was to be built at Jerusalem; and the Samaritans saying that it was to be built at Gerizzim. They desired therefore the king to sit with his friends, and hear the debates about these matters, and punish those with death who were baffled. Now Sabbeus and Theodosius managed the argument for the Samaritans, and Andronicus, the son of Messalamus, for the people of Jerusalem; and they took an oath by God and the king to make their demonstrations according to the law; and they desired of Ptolemy, that whomsoever he should find that transgressed what they had sworn to, he would put him to death. Accordingly, the king took several of his friends into the council, and sat down, in order to hear what the pleaders said. Now the Jews that were at Alexandria were in great concern for those men, whose lot it was to contend for the temple at Jerusalem; for they took it very ill that any should take away the reputation of that temple, which was so ancient and so celebrated all over the habitable earth. Now when Sabbeus and Tlteodosius had given leave to Andronicus to speak first, he began to demonstrate out of the law, and out of the successions of the high priests, how they every one in succession from his father had received that dignity, and ruled over the temple; and how all the kings of Asia had honored that temple with their donations, and with the most splendid gifts dedicated thereto. But as for that at Gerizzm, he made no account of it, and regarded it as if it had never had a being. By this speech, and other arguments, Andronicus persuaded the king to determine that the temple at Jerusalem was built according to the laws of Moses, and to put Sabbeus and Theodosius to

death. And these were the events that befell the Jews at Alexandria in the days of Ptolemy Philometor.

CHAPTER 4. How Alexander Honored Jonathan After An Extraordinary Manner; And How Demetrius, The Son Of Demetrius, Overcame Alexander And Made A League Of Friendship With Jonathan.

1. Demetrius being thus slain in battle, as we have above related, Alexander took the kingdom of Syria; and wrote to Ptolemy Philometor, and desired his daughter in marriage; and said it was but just that he should be joined an affinity to one that had now received the principality of his forefathers, and had been promoted to it by God's providence, and had conquered Demetrius, and that was on other accounts not unworthy of being related to him. Ptolemy received this proposal of marriage gladly; and wrote him an answer, saluting him on account of his having received the principality of his forefathers; and promising him that he would give him his daughter in marriage; and assured him that he was coming to meet him at Ptolemais, and desired that he would there meet him, for that he would accompany her from Egypt so far, and would there marry his child to him. When Ptolemy had written thus, he came suddenly to Ptolemais, and brought his daughter Cleopatra along with him; and as he found Alexander there before him, as he desired him to come, he gave him his child in marriage, and for her portion gave her as much silver and gold as became such a king to give.

2. When the wedding was over, Alexander wrote to Jonathan the high priest, and desired him to come to Ptolemais. So when he came to these kings, and had made them magnificent presents, he was honored by them both. Alexander compelled him also to put off his own garment, and to take a purple garment, and made him sit with him in his throne; and commanded his captains that they should go with him into the middle of the city, and proclaim, that it was not permitted to any one to speak against him, or to give him any disturbance. And when the captains had thus done, those that were prepared to accuse Jonathan, and who bore him ill-will, when they saw the honor that was done him by proclamation, and that by the king's order, ran away, and were afraid lest some mischief should befall them. Nay, king Alexander was so very kind to Jonathan, that he set him down as the principal of his friends.

3. But then, upon the hundred and sixty-fifth year, Demetrius, the son of Demetrius, came from Crete with a great number of mercenary soldiers, which Lasthenes, the Cretian, brought him, and sailed to Cilicia. This thing cast

Alexander into great concern and disorder when he heard it; so he made haste immediately out of Phoenicia, and came to Antioch, that he might put matters in a safe posture there before Demetrius should come. He also left Apollonius Daus governor of Celesyria, who coming to Jamnia with a great army, sent to Jonathan the high priest, and told him that it was not right that he alone should live at rest, and with authority, and not be subject to the king; that this thing had made him a reproach among all men, that he had not yet made him subject to the king. "Do not thou therefore deceive thyself, and sit still among the mountains, and pretend to have forces with thee; but if thou hast any dependence on thy strength, come down into the plain, and let our armies be compared together, and the event of the battle will demonstrate which of us is the most courageous. However, take notice, that the most valiant men of every city are in my army, and that these are the very men who have always beaten thy progenitors; but let us have the battle in such a place of the country where we may fight with weapons, and not with stones, and where there may be no place whither those that are beaten may fly."

4. With this Jonathan was irritated; and choosing himself out ten thousand of his soldiers, he went out of Jerusalem in haste, with his brother Simon, and came to Joppa, and pitched his camp on the outside of the city, because the people of Joppa had shut their gates against him, for they had a garrison in the city put there by Apollonius. But when Jonathan was preparing to besiege them, they were afraid he would take them by force, and so they opened the gates to him. But Apollonius, when he heard that Joppa was taken by Jonathan, took three thousand horsemen, and eight thousand footmen and came to Ashdod; and removing thence, he made his journey silently and slowly, and going up to Joppa, he made as if he was retiring from the place, and so drew Jonathan into the plain, as valuing himself highly upon his horsemen, and having his hopes of victory principally in them. However, Jonathan sallied out, and pursued Apollonius to Ashdod; but as soon as Apollonius perceived that his enemy was in the plain, he came back and gave him battle. But Apollonius had laid a thousand horsemen in ambush in a valley, that they might be seen by their enemies as behind them; which when Jonathan perceived, he was under no consternation, but ordering his army to stand in a square battle-array, he gave them a charge to fall on the enemy on both sides, and set them to face those that attacked them both before and behind; and while the fight lasted till the evening, he gave part of his forces to his brother Simon, and ordered him to attack the enemies; but for himself, he charged those that were with him to cover themselves with their armor, and receive the darts of the horsemen, who did as they were commanded; so that the enemy's horsemen, while they threw their

darts till they had no more left, did them no harm, for the darts that were thrown did not enter into their bodies, being thrown upon the shields that were united and conjoined together, the closeness of which easily overcame the force of the darts, and they flew about without any effect. But when the enemy grew remiss in throwing their darts from morning till late at night, Simon perceived their weariness, and fell upon the body of men before him; and because his soldiers showed great alacrity, he put the enemy to flight. And when the horsemen saw that the footmen ran away, neither did they stay themselves, but they being very weary, by the duration of the fight till the evening, and their hope from the footmen being quite gone, they basely ran away, and in great confusion also, till they were separated one from another, and scattered over all the plain. Upon which Jonathan pursued them as far as Ashdod, and slew a great many of them, and compelled the rest, in despair of escaping, to fly to the temple of Dagon, which was at Ashdod; but Jonathan took the city on the first onset, and burnt it, and the villages about it; nor did he abstain from the temple of Dagon itself, but burnt it also, and destroyed those that had fled to it. Now the entire multitude of the enemies that fell in the battle, and were consumed in the temple, were eight thousand. When Jonathan therefore had overcome so great an army, he removed from Ashdod, and came to Askelon; and when he had pitched his camp without the city, the people of Askelon came out and met him, bringing him hospitable presents, and honoring him; so he accepted of their kind intentions, and returned thence to Jerusalem with a great deal of prey, which he brought thence when he conquered his enemies. But when Alexander heard that Apollonius, the general of his army, was beaten, he pretended to be glad of it, because he had fought with Jonathan his friend and ally against his directions. Accordingly, he sent to Jonathan, and gave testimony to his worth; and gave him honorary rewards, as a golden button, which it is the custom to give the king’s kinsmen, and allowed him Ekron and its toparchy for his own inheritance.

5. About this time it was that king Ptolemy, who was called Philometor, led an army, part by the sea, and part by land, and came to Syria, to the assistance of Alexander, who was his son-in-law; and accordingly all the cities received him willingly, as Alexander had commanded them to do, and conducted him as far as Ashdod; where they all made loud complaints about the temple of Dagon, which was burnt, and accused Jonathan of having laid it waste, and destroyed the country adjoining with fire, and slain a great number of them. Ptolemy heard these accusations, but said nothing. Jonathan also went to meet Ptolemy as far as Joppa, and obtained from him hospitable presents, and those glorious in their kinds, with all the marks of honor; and when he had conducted him as far as the river called Eleutherus, he returned again to Jerusalem.

6. But as Ptolemy was at Ptolemais, he was very near to a most unexpected destruction; for a treacherous design was laid for his life by Alexander, by the means of Ammonius, who was his friend; and as the treachery was very plain, Ptolemy wrote to Alexander, and required of him that he should bring Ammonius to condign punishment, informing him what snares had been laid for him by Ammonius, and desiring that he might be accordingly punished for it. But when Alexander did not comply with his demands, he perceived that it was he himself who laid the design, and was very angry at him. Alexander had also formerly been on very ill terms with the people of Antioch, for they had suffered very much by his means; yet did Ammonius at length undergo the punishment his insolent crimes had deserved, for he was killed in an opprobrious manner, like a woman, while he endeavored to conceal himself in a feminine habit, as we have elsewhere related.

7. Hereupon Ptolemy blamed himself for having given his daughter in marriage to Alexander, and for the league he had made with him to assist him against Demetrius; so he dissolved his relation to him, and took his daughter away from him, and immediately sent to Demetrius, and offered to make a league of mutual assistance and friendship with him, and agreed with him to give him his daughter in marriage, and to restore him to the principality of his fathers. Demetrius was well pleased with this embassage, and accepted of his assistance, and of the marriage of his daughter. But Ptolemy had still one more hard task to do, and that was to persuade the people of Antioch to receive Demetrius, because they were greatly displeased at him, on account of the injuries his father Demetrius had done them; yet did he bring this about; for as the people of Antioch hated Alexander on Ammonius's account, as we have shown already, they were easily prevailed with to cast him out of Antioch; who, thus expelled out of Antioch, came into Cilicia. Ptolemy came then to Antioch, and was made king by its inhabitants, and by the army; so that he was forced to put on two diadems, the one of Asia, the other of Egypt: but being naturally a good and a righteous man, and not desirous of what belonged to others, and besides these dispositions, being also a wise man in reasoning about futurities, he determined to avoid the envy of the Romans; so he called the people of Antioch together to an assembly, and persuaded them to receive Demetrius; and assured them that he would not be mindful of what they did to his father in case he should be now obliged by them; and he undertook that he would himself be a good monitor and governor to him, and promised that he would not permit him to attempt any bad actions; but that, for his own part, he was contented with the kingdom of Egypt. By which discourse he persuaded the people of Antioch to receive Demetrius.

8. But now Alexander made haste with a numerous and great army, and came out of Cilicia into Syria, and burnt the country belonging to Antioch, and pillaged it; whereupon Ptolemy, and his son-in-law Demetrius, brought their army against him, [for he had already given him his daughter in marriage,] and beat Alexander, and put him to flight; and accordingly he fled into Arabia. Now it happened in the time of the battle that Ptolemy' horse, upon hearing the noise of an elephant, cast him off his back, and threw him on the ground; upon the sight of which accident, his enemies fell upon him, and gave him many wounds upon his head, and brought him into danger of death; for when his guards caught him up, he was so very ill, that for four days' time he was not able either to understand or to speak. However, Zabdiel, a prince among the Arabians, cut off Alexander's head, and sent it to Ptolemy, who recovering of his wounds, and returning to his understanding, on the fifth day, heard at once a most agreeable hearing, and saw a most agreeable sight, which were the death and the head of Alexander; yet a little after this his joy for the death of Alexander, with which he was so greatly satisfied, he also departed this life. Now Alexander, who was called Balas, reigned over Asia five years, as we have elsewhere related.

9. But when Demetrius, who was styled Nicator, had taken the kingdom, he was so wicked as to treat Ptolemy's soldiers very hardly, neither remembering the league of mutual assistance that was between them, nor that he was his son-in-law and kinsman, by Cleopatra's marriage to him; so the soldiers fled from his wicked treatment to Alexandria; but Demetrius kept his elephants. But Jonathan the high priest levied an army out of all Judea, and attacked the citadel at Jerusalem, and besieged it. It was held by a garrison of Macedonians, and by some of those wicked men who had deserted the customs of their forefathers. These men at first despised the attempts of Jonathan for taking the place, as depending on its strength; but some of those wicked men went out by night, and came to Demetrius, and informed him that the citadel was besieged; who was irritated with what he heard, and took his army, and came from Antioch, against Jonathan. And when he was at Antioch, he wrote to him, and commanded him to come to him quickly to Ptolemais: upon which Jonathan did not intermit the siege of the citadel, but took with him the elders of the people, and the priests, and carried with him gold, and silver, and garments, and a great number of presents of friendship, and came to Demetrius, and presented him with them, and thereby pacified the king's anger. So he was honored by him, and received from him the confirmation of his high priesthood, as he had possessed it by the grants of the kings his predecessors. And when the Jewish deserters accused him, Demetrius was so far from giving credit to them, that when he petitioned him that he would demand no more than three hundred talents for the tribute of all

Judea, and the three toparchies of Samaria, and Perea, and Galilee, he complied with the proposal, and gave him a letter confirming all those grants; whose contents were as follows: “King Demetrius to Jonathan his brother, and to the nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting. We have sent you a copy of that epistle which we have written to Lasthones our kinsman, that you may know its contents. ‘King Demetrus to Lasthenes our father, sendeth greeting. I have determined to return thanks, and to show favor to the nation of the Jews, which hath observed the rules of justice in our concerns. Accordingly, I remit to them the three prefectures, Apherims, and Lydda, and Ramatha, which have been added to Judea out of Samaria, with their appurtenances; as also what the kings my predecessors received from those that offered sacrifices in Jerusalem, and what are due from the fruits of the earth, and of the trees, and what else belongs to us; with the salt-pits, and the crowns that used to be presented to us. Nor shall they be compelled to pay any of those taxes from this time to all futurity. Take care therefore that a copy of this epistle be taken, and given to Jonathan, and be set up in an eminent place of their holy temple.’” And these were the contents of this writing. And now when Demetrius saw that there was peace every where, and that there was no danger, nor fear of war, he disbanded the greatest part of his army, and diminished their pay, and even retained in pay no others than such foreigners as came up with him from Crete, and from the other islands. However, this procured him ill-will and hatred from the soldiers; on whom he bestowed nothing from this time, while the kings before him used to pay them in time of peace as they did before, that they might have their good-will, and that they might be very ready to undergo the difficulties of war, if any occasion should require it.

CHAPTER 5. How Trypho After He Had Beaten Demetrius Delivered The Kingdom To Antiochus The Son Of Alexander, And Gained Jonathan For His Assistant; And Concerning The Actions And Embassies Of Jonathan.

1. Now there was a certain commander of Alexander's forces, an Apanemian by birth, whose name was Diodotus, and was also called Trypho, took notice the ill-will of the soldiers bare to Demetrius, and went to Malchus the Arabian, who brought up Antiochus, the son of Alexander, and told him what ill-will the army bare Demetrius, and persuaded him to give him Antiochus, because he would make him king, and recover to him the kingdom of his father. Malchus at the first opposed him in this attempt, because he could not believe him; but when Trypho lay hard at him for a long time, he over-persuaded him to comply with Trypho's intentions and entreaties. And this was the state Trypho was now in.

2. But Jonathan the high priest, being desirous to get clear of those that were in the citadel of Jerusalem, and of the Jewish deserters, and wicked men, as well as of those in all the garrisons in the country, sent presents and ambassadors to Demetrius, and entreated him to take away his soldiers out of the strong holds of Judea. Demetrius made answer, that after the war, which he was now deeply engaged in, was over, he would not only grant him that, but greater things than that also; and he desired he would send him some assistance, and informed him that his army had deserted him. So Jonathan chose out three thousand of his soldiers, and sent them to Demetrius.

3. Now the people of Antioch hated Demetrius, both on account of what mischief he had himself done them, and because they were his enemies also on account of his father Demetrius, who had greatly abused them; so they watched some opportunity which they might lay hold on to fall upon him. And when they were informed of the assistance that was coming to Demetrius from Jonathan, and considered at the same time that he would raise a numerous army, unless they prevented him, and seized upon him, they took their weapons immediately, and encompassed his palace in the way of a siege, and seizing upon all the ways of getting out, they sought to subdue their king. And when he saw that the people of Antioch were become his bitter enemies and that they were thus in arms, he took the mercenary soldiers which he had with them, and those Jews who were sent by Jonathan, and assaulted the Antiochians; but he was

overpowered by them, for they were many ten thousands, and was beaten. But when the Jews saw that the Antiochians were superior, they went up to the top of the palace, and shot at them from thence; and because they were so remote from them by their height, that they suffered nothing on their side, but did great execution on the others, as fighting from such an elevation, they drove them out of the adjoining houses, and immediately set them on fire, whereupon the flame spread itself over the whole city, and burnt it all down. This happened by reason of the closeness of the houses, and because they were generally built of wood. So the Antioehians, when they were not able to help themselves, nor to stop the fire, were put to flight. And as the Jews leaped from the top of one house to the top of another, and pursued them after that manner, it thence happened that the pursuit was so very surprising. But when the king saw that the Antiochians were were busy in saving their children and their wives, and so did not fight any longer, he fell upon them in the narrow passages, and fought them, and slew a great many of them, till at last they were forced to throw down their arms, and to deliver themselves up to Demetrius. So he forgave them this their insolent behavior, and put an end to the sedition; and when he had given rewards to the Jews out of the rich spoils he had gotten, and had returned them thanks, as the cause of his victory, he sent them away to Jerusalem to Jonathan, with an ample testimony of the assistance they had afforded him. Yet did he prove an ill man to Jonathan afterward, and broke the promises he had made; and he threatened that he would make war upon him, unless he would pay all that tribute which the Jewish nation owed to the first kings [of Syria]. And this he had done, if Trypho had not hindered him, and diverted his preparations against Jonathan to a concern for his own preservation; for he now returned out of Arabia into Syria, with the child Antiochus, for he was yet in age but a youth, and put the diadem on his head; and as the whole forces that had left Demetrius, because they had no pay, came to his assistance, he made war upon Demetrius, and joining battle with him, overcame him in the fight, and took from him both his elephants and the city Antioch.

4. Demetrius, upon this defeat, retired into Cilicia; but the child Antiochus sent ambassadors and an epistle to Jonathan, and made him his friend and confederate, and confirmed to him the high priesthood, and yielded up to him the four prefectures which had been added to Judea. Moreover, he sent him vessels and cups of gold, and a purple garment, and gave him leave to use them. He also presented him with a golden button, and styled him one of his principal friends, and appointed his brother Simon to be the general over the forces, from the Ladder of Tyre unto Egypt. So Jonathan was so pleased with these grants made him by Antiochus, that he sent ambassadors to him and to Trypho, and professed

himself to be their friend and confederate, and said he would join with him in a war against Demetrius, informing him that he had made no proper returns for the kindness he had done him; for that when he had received many marks of kindness from him, when he stood in great need of them, he, for such good turns, had requited him with further injuries.

5. So Antiochus gave Jonathan leave to raise himself a numerous army out of Syria and Phoenicia and to make war against Demetrius's generals; whereupon he went in haste to the several cities which received him splendidly indeed, but put no forces into his hands. And when he was come from thence to Askelon, the inhabitants of Askelon came and brought him presents, and met him in a splendid manner. He exhorted them, and every one of the cities of Celesyria, to forsake Demetrius, and to join with Antiochus; and, in assisting him, to endeavor to punish Demetrius for what offenses he had been guilty of against themselves; and told them there were many reasons for that their procedure, if they had a mind so to do. And when he had persuaded those cities to promise their assistance to Antiochus, he came to Gaza, in order to induce them also to be friends to Antiochus; but he found the inhabitants of Gaza much more alienated from him than he expected, for they had shut their gates against him; and although they had deserted Demetrius, they had not resolved to join themselves to Antiochus. This provoked Jonathan to besiege them, and to harass their country; for as he set a part of his army round about Gaza itself, so with the rest he overran their land, and spoiled it, and burnt what was in it. When the of Gaza saw themselves in this state of affliction, and that no assistance came to them from Demetrius, that what distressed them was at hand, but what should profit them was still at a great distance, and it was uncertain whether it would come at all or not, they thought it would be prudent conduct to leave off any longer continuance with them, and to cultivate friendship with the other; so they sent to Jonathan, and professed they would be his friends, and afford him assistance: for such is the temper of men, that before they have had the trial of great afflictions, they do not understand what is for their advantage; but when they find themselves under such afflictions, they then change their minds, and what it had been better for them to have done before they had been at all damaged, they choose to do, but not till after they have suffered such damages. However, he made a league of friendship with them, and took from them hostages for their performance of it, and sent these hostages to Jerusalem, while he went himself over all the country, as far as Damascus.

6. But when he heard that the generals of Demetrius's forces were come to the city Cadesh with a numerous army, [the place lies between the land of the Tyrians and Galilee,]for they supposed they should hereby draw him out of

Syria, in order to preserve Galilee, and that he would not overlook the Galileans, who were his own people, when war was made upon them, he went to meet them, having left Simon in Judea, who raised as great an army as he was able out of the country, and then sat down before Bethsura, and besieged it, that being the strongest place in all Judea; and a garrison of Demetrius's kept it, as we have already related. But as Simon was raising banks, and bringing his engines of war against Bethsura, and was very earnest about the siege of it, the garrison was afraid lest the place should be taken of Simon by force, and they put to the sword; so they sent to Simon, and desired the security of his oath, that they should come to no harm from him, and that they would leave the place, and go away to Demetrius. Accordingly he gave them his oath, and ejected them out of the city, and he put therein a garrison of his own.

7. But Jonathan removed out of Galilee, and from the waters which are called Gennesar, for there he was before encamped, and came into the plain that is called Asor, without knowing that the enemy was there. When therefore Demetrius's men knew a day beforehand that Jonathan was coming against them, they laid an ambush in the mountain, who were to assault him on the sudden, while they themselves met him with an army in the plain; which army, when Jonathan saw ready to engage him, he also got ready his own soldiers for the battle as well as he was able; but those that were laid in ambush by Demetrius's generals being behind them, the Jews were afraid lest they should be caught in the midst between two bodies, and perish; so they ran away in haste, and indeed all the rest left Jonathan; but a few there were, in number about fifty, who staid with him, and with them Mattathias, the son of Absalom, and Judas, the son of Chapseus, who were commanders of the whole army. These marched boldly, and like men desperate, against the enemy, and so pushed them, that by their courage they daunted them, and with their weapons in their hands they put them to flight. And when those soldiers of Jonathan that had retired saw the enemy giving way, they got together after their flight, and pursued them with great violence; and this did they as far as Cadesh, where the camp of the enemy lay.

8. Jonathan having thus gotten a glorious victory, and slain two thousand of the enemy, returned to Jerusalem. So when he saw that all his affairs prospered according to his mind, by the providence of God, he sent ambassadors to the Romans, being desirous of renewing that friendship which their nation had with them formerly. He enjoined the same ambassadors, that, as they came back, they should go to the Spartans, and put them in mind of their friendship and kindred. So when the ambassadors came to Rome, they went into their senate, and said what they were commanded by Jonathan the high priest to say, how he had sent

them to confirm their friendship. The senate then confirmed what had been formerly decreed concerning their friendship with the Jews, and gave them letters to carry to all the kings of Asia and Europe, and to the governors of the cities, that they might safely conduct them to their own country. Accordingly, as they returned, they came to Sparta, and delivered the epistle which they had received of Jonathan to them; a copy of which here follows: "Jonathan the high priest of the Jewish nation, and the senate, and body of the people of the Jews, to the ephori, and senate, and people of the Lacedemonians, send greeting. If you be well, and both your public and private affairs be agreeable to your mind, it is according to our wishes. We are well also. When in former times an epistle was brought to Onias, who was then our high priest, from Areus, who at that time was your king, by Demoteles, concerning the kindred that was between us and you, a copy of which is here subjoined, we both joyfully received the epistle, and were well pleased with Demoteles and Areus, although we did not need such a demonstration, because we were satisfied about it from the sacred writings yet did not we think fit first to begin the claim of this relation to you, lest we should seem too early in taking to ourselves the glory which is now given us by you. It is a long time since this relation of ours to you hath been renewed; and when we, upon holy and festival days, offer sacrifices to God, we pray to him for your preservation and victory. As to ourselves, although we have had many wars that have compassed us around, by reason of the covetousness of our neighbors, yet did not we determine to be troublesome either to you, or to others that were related to us; but since we have now overcome our enemies, and have occasion to send Numenius the son of Antiochus, and Antipater the son of Jason, who are both honorable men belonging to our senate, to the Romans, we gave them this epistle to you also, that they might renew that friendship which is between us. You will therefore do well yourselves to write to us, and send us an account of what you stand in need of from us, since we are in all things disposed to act according to your desires." So the Lacedemonians received the ambassadors kindly, and made a decree for friendship and mutual assistance, and sent it to them.

9. At this time there were three sects among the Jews, who had different opinions concerning human actions; the one was called the sect of the Pharisees, another the sect of the Sadducees, and the other the sect of the Essens. Now for the Pharisees, they say that some actions, but not all, are the work of fate, and some of them are in our own power, and that they are liable to fate, but are not caused by fate. But the sect of the Essens affirm, that fate governs all things, and that nothing befalls men but what is according to its determination. And for the Sadducees, they take away fate, and say there is no such thing, and that the

events of human affairs are not at its disposal; but they suppose that all our actions are in our own power, so that we are ourselves the causes of what is good, and receive what is evil from our own folly. However, I have given a more exact account of these opinions in the second book of the Jewish War.

10. But now the generals of Demetrius being willing to recover the defeat they had had, gathered a greater army together than they had before, and came against Jonathan; but as soon as he was informed of their coming, he went suddenly to meet them, to the country of Hamoth, for he resolved to give them no opportunity of coming into Judea; so he pitched his camp at fifty furlongs' distance from the enemy, and sent out spies to take a view of their camp, and after what manner they were encamped. When his spies had given him full information, and had seized upon some of them by night, who told him the enemy would soon attack him, he, thus apprized beforehand, provided for his security, and placed watchmen beyond his camp, and kept all his forces armed all night; and he gave them a charge to be of good courage, and to have their minds prepared to fight in the night time, if they should be obliged so to do, lest their enemy's designs should seem concealed from them. But when Demetrius's commanders were informed that Jonathan knew what they intended, their counsels were disordered, and it alarmed them to find that the enemy had discovered those their intentions; nor did they expect to overcome them any other way, now they had failed in the snares they had laid for them; for should they hazard an open battle, they did not think they should be a match for Jonathan's army, so they resolved to fly; and having lighted many fires, that when the enemy saw them they might suppose they were there still, they retired. When Jonathan came to give them battle in the morning in their camp, and found it deserted, and understood they were fled, he pursued them; yet he could not overtake them, for they had already passed over the river Eleutherus, and were out of danger. So when Jonathan was returned thence, he went into Arabia, and fought against the Nabateans, and drove away a great deal of their prey, and took [many] captives, and came to Damascus, and there sold off what he had taken. About the same time it was that Simon his brother went over all Judea and Palestine, as far as Askelon, and fortified the strong holds; and when he had made them very strong, both in the edifices erected, and in the garrisons placed in them, he came to Joppa; and when he had taken it, he brought a great garrison into it, for he heard that the people of Joppa were disposed to deliver up the city to Demetrius's generals.

11. When Simon and Jonathan had finished these affairs, they returned to Jerusalem, where Jonathan gathered all the people together, and took counsel to restore the walls of Jerusalem, and to rebuild the wall that encompassed the

temple, which had been thrown down, and to make the places adjoining stronger by very high towers; and besides that, to build another wall in the midst of the city, in order to exclude the market-place from the garrison, which was in the citadel, and by that means to hinder them from any plenty of provisions; and moreover, to make the fortresses that were in the country much stronger and more defensible than they were before. And when these things were approved of by the multitude, as rightly proposed, Jonathan himself took care of the building that belonged to the city, and sent Simon away to make the fortresses in the country more secure than formerly. But Demetrius passed over [Euphrates], and came into Mesopotamia, as desirous to retain that country still, as well as Babylon; and when he should have obtained the dominion of the upper provinces, to lay a foundation for recovering his entire kingdom; for those Greeks and Macedonians who dwelt there frequently sent ambassadors to him, and promised, that if he would come to them, they would deliver themselves up to him, and assist him in fighting against Arsaces, the king of the Parthians. So he was elevated with these hopes, and came hastily to them, as having resolved, that if he had once overthrown the Parthians, and gotten an army of his own, he would make war against Trypho, and eject him out of Syria; and the people of that country received him with great alacrity. So he raised forces, with which he fought against Arsaces, and lost all his army, and was himself taken alive, as we have elsewhere related.

CHAPTER 6. How Jonathan Was Slain By Treachery; And How Thereupon The Jews Made Simon Their General And High Priest: What Courageous Actions He Also Performed Especially Against Trypho.

1. Now when Trypho knew what had befallen Demetrius, he was no longer firm to Antiochus, but contrived by subtlety to kill him, and then take possession of his kingdom; but the fear that he was in of Jonathan was an obstacle to this his design, for Jonathan was a friend to Antiochus, for which cause he resolved first to take Jonathan out of the way, and then to set about his design relating to Antiochus; but he judging it best to take him off by deceit and treachery, came from Antioch to Bethshan, which by the Greeks is called Scythopolis, at which place Jonathan met him with forty thousand chosen men, for he thought that he came to fight him; but when he perceived that Jonathan was ready to fight, he attempted to gain him by presents and kind treatment, and gave order to his captains to obey him, and by these means was desirous to give assurance of his good-will, and to take away all suspicions out of his mind, that so he might make him careless and inconsiderate, and might take him when he was unguarded. He also advised him to dismiss his army, because there was no occasion for bringing it with him when there was no war, but all was in peace. However, he desired him to retain a few about him, and go with him to Ptolemais, for that he would deliver the city up to him, and would bring all the fortresses that were in the country under his dominion; and he told him that he came with those very designs.

2. Yet did not Jonathan suspect any thing at all by this his management, but believed that Trypho gave him this advice out of kindness, and with a sincere design. Accordingly, he dismissed his army, and retained no more than three thousand of them with him, and left two thousand in Galilee; and he himself, with one thousand, came with Trypho to Ptolemais. But when the people of Ptolemais had shut their gates, as it had been commanded by Trypho to do, he took Jonathan alive, and slew all that were with him. He also sent soldiers against those two thousand that were left in Galilee, in order to destroy them; but those men having heard the report of what had happened to Jonathan, they prevented the execution; and before those that were sent by Trypho came, they covered themselves with their armor, and went away out of the country. Now

when those that were sent against them saw that they were ready to fight for their lives, they gave them no disturbance, but returned back to Trypho.

3. But when the people of Jerusalem heard that Jonathan was taken, and that the soldiers who were with him were destroyed, they deplored his sad fate; and there was earnest inquiry made about him by every body, and a great and just fear fell upon them, and made them sad, lest, now they were deprived of the courage and conduct of Jonathan, the nations about them should bear them ill-will; and as they were before quiet on account of Jonathan they should now rise up against them, and by making war with them, should force them into the utmost dangers. And indeed what they suspected really befell them; for when those nations heard of the death of Jonathan, they began to make war with the Jews as now destitute of a governor and Trypho himself got an army together, and had intention to go up to Judea, and make war against its inhabitants. But when Simon saw that the people of Jerusalem were terrified at the circumstances they were in, he desired to make a speech to them, and thereby to render them more resolute in opposing Trypho when he should come against them. He then called the people together into the temple, and thence began thus to encourage them: "O my countrymen, you are not ignorant that our father, myself, and my brethren, have ventured to hazard our lives, and that willingly, for the recovery of your liberty; since I have therefore such plenty of examples before me, and we of our family have determined with ourselves to die for our laws, and our Divine worship, there shall no terror be so great as to banish this resolution from our souls, nor to introduce in its place a love of life, and a contempt of glory. Do you therefore follow me with alacrity whithersoever I shall lead you, as not destitute of such a captain as is willing to suffer, and to do the greatest things for you; for neither am I better than my brethren that I should be sparing of my own life, nor so far worse than they as to avoid and refuse what they thought the most honorable of all things, — I mean, to undergo death for your laws, and for that worship of God which is peculiar to you; I will therefore give such proper demonstrations as will show that I am their own brother; and I am so bold as to expect that I shall avenge their blood upon our enemies, and deliver you all with your wives and children from the injuries they intend against you, and, with God's assistance, to preserve your temple from destruction by them; for I see that these nations have you in contempt, as being without a governor, and that they thence are encouraged to make war against you."

4. By this speech of Simon he inspired the multitude with courage; and as they had been before dispirited through fear, they were now raised to a good hope of better things, insomuch that the whole multitude of the people cried out all at once that Simon should be their leader; and that instead of Judas and

Jonathan his brethren, he should have the government over them; and they promised that they would readily obey him in whatsoever he should command them. So he got together immediately all his own soldiers that were fit for war, and made haste in rebuilding the walls of the city, and strengthening them by very high and strong towers, and sent a friend of his, one Jonathan, the son of Absalom, to Joppa, and gave him order to eject the inhabitants out of the city, for he was afraid lest they should deliver up the city to Trypho; but he himself staid to secure Jerusalem.

5. But Trypho removed from Ptoeinais with a great army, and came into Judea, and brought Jonathan with him in bonds. Simon also met him with his army at the city Adida, which is upon a hill, and beneath it lie the plains of Judea. And when Trypho knew that Simon was by the Jews made their governor, he sent to him, and would have imposed upon him by deceit and trencher, and desired, if he would have his brother Jonathan released, that he would send him a hundred talents of silver, and two of Jonathan's sons as hostages, that when he shall be released, he may not make Judea revolt from the king; for that at present he was kept in bonds on account of the money he had borrowed of the king, and now owed it to him. But Simon was aware of the craft of Trypho; and although he knew that if he gave him the money he should lose it, and that Trypho would not set his brother free and withal should deliver the sons of Jonathan to the enemy, yet because he was afraid that he should have a calumny raised against him among the multitude as the cause of his brother's death, if he neither gave the money, nor sent Jonathan's sons, he gathered his army together, and told them what offers Trypho had made; and added this, that the offers were ensnaring and treacherous, and yet that it was more eligible to send the money and Jonathan's sons, than to be liable to the imputation of not complying with Trypho's offers, and thereby refusing to save his brother. Accordingly, Simon sent the sons of Jonathan and the money; but when Trypho had received them, he did not keep his promise, nor set Jonathan free, but took his army, and went about all the country, and resolved to go afterward to Jerusalem by the way of Idumea, while Simon went over against him with his army, and all along pitched his own camp over against his.

6. But when those that were in the citadel had sent to Trypho, and besought him to make haste and come to them, and to send them provisions, he prepared his cavalry as though he would be at Jerusalem that very night; but so great a quantity of snow fell in the night, that it covered the roads, and made them so deep, that there was no passing, especially for the cavalry. This hindered him from coming to Jerusalem; whereupon Trypho removed thence, and came into Celesyria, and falling vehemently upon the land of Gilead, he slew Jonathan

there; and when he had given order for his burial, he returned himself to Antioch. However, Simon sent some to the city Basca to bring away his brother's bones, and buried them in their own city Modin; and all the people made great lamentation over him. Simon also erected a very large monument for his father and his brethren, of white and polished stone, and raised it a great height, and so as to be seen a long way off, and made cloisters about it, and set up pillars, which were of one stone apiece; a work it was wonderful to see. Moreover, he built seven pyramids also for his parents and his brethren, one for each of them, which were made very surprising, both for their largeness and beauty, and which have been preserved to this day; and we know that it was Simon who bestowed so much zeal about the burial of Jonathan, and the building of these monuments for his relations. Now Jonathan died when he had been high priest four years and had been also the governor of his nation. And these were the circumstances that concerned his death.

7. But Simon, who was made high priest by the multitude, on the very first year of his high priesthood set his people free from their slavery under the Macedonians, and permitted them to pay tribute to them no longer; which liberty and freedom from tribute they obtained after a hundred and seventy years of the kingdom of the Assyrians, which was after Seleucus, who was called Nicator, got the dominion over Syria. Now the affection of the multitude towards Simon was so great, that in their contracts one with another, and in their public records, they wrote, "in the first year of Simon the benefactor and ethnarch of the Jews;" for under him they were very happy, and overcame the enemies that were round about them; for Simon overthrew the city Gazara, and Joppa, and Jamhis. He also took the citadel of Jerusalem by siege, and cast it down to the ground, that it might not be any more a place of refuge to their enemies when they took it, to do them a mischief, as it had been till now. And when he had done this, he thought it their best way, and most for their advantage, to level the very mountain itself upon which the citadel happened to stand, that so the temple might be higher than it. And indeed, when he had called the multitude to an assembly, he persuaded them to have it so demolished, and this by putting them in mind what miseries they had suffered by its garrison and the Jewish deserters, and what miseries they might hereafter suffer in case any foreigner should obtain the kingdom, and put a garrison into that citadel. This speech induced the multitude to a compliance, because he exhorted them to do nothing but what was for their own good: so they all set themselves to the work, and leveled the mountain, and in that work spent both day and night without any intermission, which cost them three whole years before it was removed, and brought to an entire level with the plain of the rest of the city. After which the temple was the highest of all the

buildings, now the citadel, as well as the mountain whereon it stood, were demolished. And these actions were thus performed under Simon.

CHAPTER 7. How Simon Confederated Himself With Antiochus Pius, And Made War Against Trypho, And A Little Afterward, Against Cendebeus, The General Of Antiochus's Army; As Also How Simon Was Murdered By His Son-In-Law Ptolemy, And That By Treachery.

1. Now a little while after Demetrius had been carried into captivity, Trypho his governor destroyed Antiochus, the son of Alexander, who was also called The God, and this when he had reigned four years, though he gave it out that he died under the hands of the surgeons. He then sent his friends, and those that were most intimate with him, to the soldiers, and promised that he would give them a great deal of money if they would make him king. He intimated to them that Demetrius was made a captive by the Parthians; and that Demetrius's brother Atitiochus, if he came to be king, would do them a great deal of mischief, in way of revenge for their revolting from his brother. So the soldiers, in expectation of the wealth they should get by bestowing the kingdom on Trypho, made him their ruler. However, when Trypho had gained the management of affairs, he demonstrated his disposition to be wicked; for while he was a private person, he cultivated familiarity with the multitude, and pretended to great moderation, and so drew them on artfully to whatsoever he pleased; but when he had once taken the kingdom, he laid aside any further dissimulation, and was the true Trypho; which behavior made his enemies superior to him; for the soldiery hated him, and revolted from him to Cleopatra, the wife of Demetrius, who was then shut up in Seleucia with her children. But as Antiochus, the brother of Demetrius who was called Soter, was not admitted by any of the cities on account of Trypho, Cleopatra sent to him, and invited him to marry her, and to take the kingdom. The reasons why she made this invitation were these: That her friends persuaded her to it, and that she was afraid for herself, in case some of the people of Seleucia should deliver up the city to Trypho.

2. As Antlochuswas now come to Seleucia, and his forces increased every day, he marched to fight Trypho; and having beaten him in the battle, he ejected him out of the Upper Syria into Phoenicia, and pursued him thither, and besieged him in Dora which was a fortress hard to be taken, whither he had fled. He also sent ambassadors to Simon the Jewish high priest, about a league of friendship

and mutual assistance; who readily accepted of the invitation, and sent to Antiochus great sums of money and provisions for those that besieged Dora, and thereby supplied them very plentifully, so that for a little while he was looked upon as one of his most intimate friends; but still Trypho fled from Dora to Apamia, where he was taken during the siege, and put to death, when he had reigned three years.

3. However, Antiochus forgot the kind assistance that Simon had afforded him in his necessity, by reason of his covetous and wicked disposition, and committed an army of soldiers to his friend Cendebeus, and sent him at once to ravage Judea, and to seize Simon. When Simon heard of Antiochus's breaking his league with him, although he were now in years, yet, provoked with the unjust treatment he had met with from Antiochus, and taking a resolution brisker than his age could well bear, he went like a young man to act as general of his army. He also sent his sons before among the most hardy of his soldiers, and he himself marched on with his army another way, and laid many of his men in ambushes in the narrow valleys between the mountains; nor did he fail of success in any one of his attempts, but was too hard for his enemies in every one of them. So he led the rest of his life in peace, and did also himself make a league with the Romans.

4. Now he was the ruler of the Jews in all eight years; but at a feast came to his end. It was caused by the treachery of his son-in-law Ptolemy, who caught also his wife, and two of his sons, and kept them in bonds. He also sent some to kill John the third son, whose name was Hyrcanus; but the young man perceiving them coming, he avoided the danger he was in from them, and made haste into the city [Jerusalem], as relying on the good-will of the multitude, because of the benefits they had received from his father, and because of the hatred the same multitude bare to Ptolemy; so that when Ptolemy was endeavoring to enter the city by another gate, they drove him away, as having already admitted Hyrcanus.

CHAPTER 8. Hyrcanus Receives The High Priesthood, And Ejects Ptolemy Out Of The Country. Antiochus Makes War Against Hyrcanus And Afterwards Makes A League With Him.

1. So Ptolemy retired to one of the fortresses that was above Jericho, which was called Dagon. But Hyrcanus having taken the high priesthood that had been his father's before, and in the first place propitiated God by sacrifices, he then made an expedition against Ptolemy; and when he made his attacks upon the place, in other points he was too hard for him, but was rendered weaker than he, by the commiseration he had for his mother and brethren, and by that only; for Ptolemy brought them upon the wall, and tormented them in the sight of all, and threatened that he would throw them down headlong, unless Hyrcanus would leave off the siege. And as he thought that so far as he relaxed as to the siege and taking of the place, so much favor did he show to those that were dearest to him by preventing their misery, his zeal about it was cooled. However, his mother spread out her hands, and begged of him that he would not grow remiss on her account, but indulge his indignation so much the more, and that he would do his utmost to take the place quickly, in order to get their enemy under his power, and then to avenge upon him what he had done to those that were dearest to himself; for that death would be to her sweet, though with torment, if that enemy of theirs might but be brought to punishment for his wicked dealings to them. Now when his mother said so, he resolved to take the fortress immediately; but when he saw her beaten, and torn to pieces, his courage failed him, and he could not but sympathize with what his mother suffered, and was thereby overcome. And as the siege was drawn out into length by this means, that year on which the Jews used to rest came on; for the Jews observe this rest every seventh year, as they do every seventh day; so that Ptolemy being for this cause released from the war, he slew the brethren of Hyrcanus, and his mother; and when he had so done, he fled to Zeno, who was called Cotylas, who was then the tyrant of the city Philadelphia.

2. But Antiochus, being very uneasy at the miseries that Simon had brought upon him, he invaded Judea in the fourth years' of his reign, and the first year of the principality of Hyrcanus, in the hundred and sixty-second olympiad. And when he had burnt the country, he shut up Hyrcanus in the city, which he encompassed round with seven encampments; but did just nothing at the first,

because of the strength of the walls, and because of the valor of the besieged, although they were once in want of water, which yet they were delivered from by a large shower of rain, which fell at the setting of the Pleiades However, about the north part of the wall, where it happened the city was upon a level with the outward ground, the king raised a hundred towers of three stories high, and placed bodies of soldiers upon them; and as he made his attacks every day, he cut a double ditch, deep and broad, and confined the inhabitants within it as within a wall; but the besieged contrived to make frequent sallies out; and if the enemy were not any where upon their guard, they fell upon them, and did them a great deal of mischief; and if they perceived them, they then retired into the city with ease. But because Hyrcanus discerned the inconvenience of so great a number of men in the city, while the provisions were the sooner spent by them, and yet, as is natural to suppose, those great numbers did nothing, he separated the useless part, and excluded them out of the city, and retained that part only which were in the flower of their age, and fit for war. However, Antiochus would not let those that were excluded go away, who therefore wandering about between the wails, and consuming away by famine, died miserably; but when the feast of tabernacles was at hand, those that were within commiserated their condition, and received them in again. And when Hyrcanus sent to Antiochus, and desired there might be a truce for seven days, because of the festival, he gave way to this piety towards God, and made that truce accordingly. And besides that, he sent in a magnificent sacrifice, bulls with their horns gilded, with all sorts of sweet spices, and with cups of gold and silver. So those that were at the gates received the sacrifices from those that brought them, and led them to the temple, Antiochus the mean while feasting his army, which was a quite different conduct from Antiochus Epiphanes, who, when he had taken the city, offered swine upon the altar, and sprinkled the temple with the broth of their flesh, in order to violate the laws of the Jews, and the religion they derived from their forefathers; for which reason our nation made war with him, and would never be reconciled to him; but for this Antiochus, all men called him Antiochus the Pious, for the great zeal he had about religion.

3. Accordingly, Hyrcanus took this moderation of his kindly; and when he understood how religious he was towards the Deity, he sent an embassage to him, and desired that he would restore the settlements they received from their forefathers. So he rejected the counsel of those that would have him utterly destroy the nation, by reason of their way of living, which was to others unsociable, and did not regard what they said. But being persuaded that all they did was out of a religious mind, he answered the ambassadors, that if the besieged would deliver up their arms, and pay tribute for Joppa, and the other

cities which bordered upon Judea, and admit a garrison of his, on these terms he would make war against them no longer. But the Jews, although they were content with the other conditions, did not agree to admit the garrison, because they could not associate with other people, nor converse with them; yet were they willing, instead of the admission of the garrison, to give him hostages, and five hundred talents of silver; of which they paid down three hundred, and sent the hostages immediately, which king Antiochus accepted. One of those hostages was Hyrcanus's brother. But still he broke down the fortifications that encompassed the city. And upon these conditions Antiochus broke up the siege, and departed.

4. But Hyrcanus opened the sepulcher of David, who excelled all other kings in riches, and took out of it three thousand talents. He was also the first of the Jews that, relying on this wealth, maintained foreign troops. There was also a league of friendship and mutual assistance made between them; upon which Hyrcanus admitted him into the city, and furnished him with whatsoever his army wanted in great plenty, and with great generosity, and marched along with him when he made an expedition against the Parthians; of which Nicolaus of Damascus is a witness for us; who in his history writes thus: "When Antiochus had erected a trophy at the river Lycus, upon his conquest of Indates, the general of the Parthians, he staid there two days. It was at the desire of Lyrcanus the Jew, because it was such a festival derived to them from their forefathers, whereon the law of the Jews did not allow them to travel." And truly he did not speak falsely in saying so; for that festival, which we call Pentecost, did then fall out to be the next day to the Sabbath. Nor is it lawful for us to journey, either on the Sabbath day, or on a festival day But when Antiochus joined battle with Arsaces, the king of Parthin, he lost a great part of his army, and was himself slain; and his brother Demetrius succeeded in the kingdom of Syria, by the permission of Arsaces, who freed him from his captivity at the same time that Antiochus attacked Parthin, as we have formerly related elsewhere.

CHAPTER 9. How, After The Death Of Antiochus, Hyrcanus Made An Expedition Against Syria, And Made A League With The Romans. Concerning The Death Of King Demetrius And Alexander.

1. But when Hyrcanus heard of the death of Antiochus, he presently made an expedition against the cities of Syria, hoping to find them destitute of fighting men, and of such as were able to defend them. However, it was not till the sixth month that he took Medaba, and that not without the greatest distress of his army. After this he took Samega, and the neighboring places; and besides these, Shechem and Gerizzim, and the nation of the Cutheans, who dwelt at the temple which resembled that temple which was at Jerusalem, and which Alexander permitted Sanballat, the general of his army, to build for the sake of Manasseh, who was son-in-law to Jaddua the high priest, as we have formerly related; which temple was now deserted two hundred years after it was built. Hyrcanus took also Dora and Marissa, cities of Idumea, and subdued all the Idumeans; and permitted them to stay in that country, if they would circumcise their genitals, and make use of the laws of the Jews; and they were so desirous of living in the country of their forefathers, that they submitted to the use of circumcision, and of the rest of the Jewish ways of living; at which time therefore this befell them, that they were hereafter no other than Jews.

2. But Hyrcanus the high priest was desirous to renew that league of friendship they had with the Romans. Accordingly, he sent an embassage to them; and when the senate had received their epistle, they made a league of friendship with them, after the manner following: “Fanius, the son of Marcus, the praetor, gathered the senate together on the eighth day before the Ides of February, in the senate-house, when Lucius Manlius, the son of Lucius, of the Mentine tribe, and Caius Sempronius, the son of Caius, of the Falernian tribe, were present. The occasion was, that the ambassadors sent by the people of the Jews Simon, the son of Dositheus, and Apollonius, the son of Alexander, and Diodorus, the son of Jason, who were good and virtuous men, had somewhat to propose about that league of friendship and mutual assistance which subsisted between them and the Romans, and about other public affairs, who desired that Joppa, and the havens, and Gazara, and the springs [of Jordan], and the several other cities and countries of theirs, which Antiochus had taken from them in the war, contrary to the decree of the senate, might be restored to them; and that it

might not be lawful for the king's troops to pass through their country, and the countries of those that are subject to them; and that what attempts Antiochus had made during that war, without the decree of the senate, might be made void; and that they would send ambassadors, who should take care that restitution be made them of what Antiochus had taken from them, and that they should make an estimate of the country that had been laid waste in the war; and that they would grant them letters of protection to the kings and free people, in order to their quiet return home. It was therefore decreed, as to these points, to renew their league of friendship and mutual assistance with these good men, and who were sent by a good and a friendly people." But as to the letters desired, their answer was, that the senate would consult about that matter when their own affairs would give them leave; and that they would endeavor, for the time to come, that no like injury should be done to them; and that their praetor Fanius should give them money out of the public treasury to bear their expenses home. And thus did Fanius dismiss the Jewish ambassadors, and gave them money out of the public treasury; and gave the decree of the senate to those that were to conduct them, and to take care that they should return home in safety.

3. And thus stood the affairs of Hyrcanus the high priest. But as for king Demetrius, who had a mind to make war against Hyrcanus, there was no opportunity nor room for it, while both the Syrians and the soldiers bare ill-will to him, because he was an ill man. But when they had sent ambassadors to Ptolemy, who was called Physcon, that he would send them one of the family at Seleueus, in order to take the kingdom, and he had sent them Alexander, who was called Zebina, with an army, and there had been a battle between them, Demetrius was beaten in the fight, and fled to Cleopatra his wife, to Ptolemais; but his wife would not receive him. He went thence to Tyre, and was there caught; and when he had suffered much from his enemies before his death, he was slain by them. So Alexander took the kingdom, and made a league with Hyrcanus, who yet, when he afterward fought with Antiochus the son of Demetrius, who was called Grypus, was also beaten in the fight, and slain.

CHAPTER 10. How Upon The Quarrel Between Antiochus Grypus And Antiochus Cyzicenus About The Kingdom Hyrcanus Tooksamaria, And Utterly Demolished It; And How Hyrcaus Joined Himself To The Sect Of The Sadducees, And Left That Of The Pharisees.

1. When Antiochus had taken the kingdom, he was afraid to make war against Judea, because he heard that his brother by the same mother, who was also called Antiochus, was raising an army against him out of Cyzicum; so he staid in his own land, and resolved to prepare himself for the attack he expected from his brother, who was called Cyzicenus, because he had been brought up in that city. He was the son of Antiochus that was called Soter, who died in Parthia. He was the brother of Demetrius, the father of Grypus; for it had so happened, that one and the same Cleopatra was married to two who were brethren, as we have related elsewhere. But Antiochus Cyzicenus coming into Syria, continued many years at war with his brother. Now Hyrcanus lived all this while in peace; for after the death of Antlochus, he revolted from the Macedonians, nor did he any longer pay them the least regard, either as their subject or their friend; but his affairs were in a very improving and flourishing condition in the times of Alexander Zebina, and especially under these brethren, for the war which they had with one another gave Hyrcanus the opportunity of enjoying himself in Judea quietly, insomuch that he got an immense quantity of money. How ever, when Antiochus Cyzicenus distressed his land, he then openly showed what he meant. And when he saw that Antiochus was destitute of Egyptian auxiliaries, and that both he and his brother were in an ill condition in the struggles they had one with another, he despised them both.

2. So he made an expedition against Samaria which was a very strong city; of whose present name Sebaste, and its rebuilding by Herod, we shall speak at a proper time; but he made his attack against it, and besieged it with a great deal of pains; for he was greatly displeased with the Samaritans for the injuries they had done to the people of Merissa, a colony of the Jews, and confederate with them, and this in compliance to the kings of Syria. When he had therefore drawn a ditch, and built a double wall round the city, which was fourscore furlongs long, he set his sons Antigonus and Arisrobulna over the siege; which brought the

Samaritans to that great distress by famine, that they were forced to eat what used not to be eaten, and to call for Antiochus Cyzicenus to help them, who came readily to their assistance, but was beaten by Aristobulus; and when he was pursued as far as Scythopolis by the two brethren, he got away. So they returned to Samaria, and shut them again within the wall, till they were forced to send for the same Antiochus a second time to help them, who procured about six thousand men from Ptolemy Lathyrus, which were sent them without his mother's consent, who had then in a manner turned him out of his government. With these Egyptians Antiochus did at first overrun and ravage the country of Hyrcanus after the manner of a robber, for he durst not meet him in the face to fight with him, as not having an army sufficient for that purpose, but only from this supposal, that by thus harassing his land he should force Hyrcanus to raise the siege of Samaria; but because he fell into snares, and lost many of his soldiers therein, he went away to Tripoli, and committed the prosecution of the war against the Jews to Callimander and Epicrates.

3. But as to Callimander, he attacked the enemy too rashly, and was put to flight, and destroyed immediately; and as to Epicrates, he was such a lover of money, that he openly betrayed Scythopolis, and other places near it, to the Jews, but was not able to make them raise the siege of Samaria. And when Hyrcanus had taken that city, which was not done till after a year's siege, he was not contented with doing that only, but he demolished it entirely, and brought rivulets to it to drown it, for he dug such hollows as might let the water run under it; nay, he took away the very marks that there had ever been such a city there. Now a very surprising thing is related of this high priest Hyrcanus, how God came to discourse with him; for they say that on the very same day on which his sons fought with Antiochus Cyzicenus, he was alone in the temple, as high priest, offering incense, and heard a voice, that his sons had just then overcome Antiochus. And this he openly declared before all the multitude upon his coming out of the temple; and it accordingly proved true; and in this posture were the affairs of Hyrcanus.

4. Now it happened at this time, that not only those Jews who were at Jerusalem and in Judea were in prosperity, but also those of them that were at Alexandria, and in Egypt and Cyprus; for Cleopatra the queen was at variance with her son Ptolemy, who was called Lathyrus, and appointed for her generals Chelcias and Ananias, the sons of that Onias who built the temple in the prefecture of Heliopolis, like to that at Jerusalem, as we have elsewhere related. Cleopatra intrusted these men with her army, and did nothing without their advice, as Strabo of Cappadocia attests, when he saith thus, "Now the greater part, both those that came to Cyprus with us, and those that were sent afterward

thither, revolted to Ptolemy immediately; only those that were called Onias's party, being Jews, continued faithful, because their countrymen Chelcias and Ananias were in chief favor with the queen." These are the words of Strabo.

5. However, this prosperous state of affairs moved the Jews to envy Hyrcanus; but they that were the worst disposed to him were the Pharisees, who were one of the sects of the Jews, as we have informed you already. These have so great a power over the multitude, that when they say any thing against the king, or against the high priest, they are presently believed. Now Hyrcanus was a disciple of theirs, and greatly beloved by them. And when he once invited them to a feast, and entertained them very kindly, when he saw them in a good humor, he began to say to them, that they knew he was desirous to be a righteous man, and to do all things whereby he might please God, which was the profession of the Pharisees also. However, he desired, that if they observed him offending in any point, and going out of the right way, they would call him back and correct him. On which occasion they attested to his being entirely virtuous; with which commendation he was well pleased. But still there was one of his guests there, whose name was Eleazar, a man of an ill temper, and delighting in seditious practices. This man said, "Since thou desirest to know the truth, if thou wilt be righteous in earnest, lay down the high priesthood, and content thyself with the civil government of the people," And when he desired to know for what cause he ought to lay down the high priesthood, the other replied, "We have heard it from old men, that thy mother had been a captive under the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. " This story was false, and Hyrcanus was provoked against him; and all the Pharisees had a very great indignation against him.

6. Now there was one Jonathan, a very great friend of Hyrcanus's, but of the sect of the Sadducees, whose notions are quite contrary to those of the Pharisees. He told Hyrcanus that Eleazar had cast such a reproach upon him, according to the common sentiments of all the Pharisees, and that this would be made manifest if he would but ask them the question, What punishment they thought this man deserved? for that he might depend upon it, that the reproach was not laid on him with their approbation, if they were for punishing him as his crime deserved. So the Pharisees made answer, that he deserved stripes and bonds, but that it did not seem right to punish reproaches with death. And indeed the Pharisees, even upon other occasions, are not apt to be severe in punishments. At this gentle sentence, Hyrcanus was very angry, and thought that this man reproached him by their approbation. It was this Jonathan who chiefly irritated him, and influenced him so far, that he made him leave the party of the Pharisees, and abolish the decrees they had imposed on the people, and to punish those that observed them. From this source arose that hatred which he and his

sons met with from the multitude: but of these matters we shall speak hereafter. What I would now explain is this, that the Pharisees have delivered to the people a great many observances by succession from their fathers, which are not written in the laws of Moses; and for that reason it is that the Sadducees reject them, and say that we are to esteem those observances to be obligatory which are in the written word, but are not to observe what are derived from the tradition of our forefathers. And concerning these things it is that great disputes and differences have arisen among them, while the Sadducees are able to persuade none but the rich, and have not the populace obsequious to them, but the Pharisees have the multitude on their side. But about these two sects, and that of the Essens, I have treated accurately in the second book of Jewish affairs.

7. But when Hyrcanus had put an end to this sedition, he after that lived happily, and administered the government in the best manner for thirty-one years, and then died, leaving behind him five sons. He was esteemed by God worthy of three of the greatest privileges, — the government of his nation, the dignity of the high priesthood, and prophecy; for God was with him, and enabled him to know futurities; and to foretell this in particular, that, as to his two eldest sons, he foretold that they would not long continue in the government of public affairs; whose unhappy catastrophe will be worth our description, that we may thence learn how very much they were inferior to their father’s happiness.

CHAPTER 11. How Aristobulus, When He Had Taken The Government First Of All Put A Diadem On His Head, And Was Most Barbarously Cruel To His Mother And His Brethren; And How, After He Had Slain Antigonus, He Himself Died.

1. Now when their father Hyrcanus was dead, the eldest son Aristobulus, intending to change the government into a kingdom, for so he resolved to do, first of all put a diadem on his head, four hundred eighty and one years and three months after the people had been delivered from the Babylonish slavery, and were returned to their own country again. This Aristobulus loved his next brother Antigonus, and treated him as his equal; but the others he held in bonds. He also cast his mother into prison, because she disputed the government with him; for Hyrcanus had left her to be mistress of all. He also proceeded to that degree of barbarity, as to kill her in prison with hunger; nay, he was alienated from his brother Antigonus by calumnies, and added him to the rest whom he slew; yet he seemed to have an affection for him, and made him above the rest a partner with him in the kingdom. Those calumnies he at first did not give credit to, partly because he loved him, and so did not give heed to what was said against him, and partly because he thought the reproaches were derived from the envy of the relaters. But when Antigonus was once returned from the army, and that feast was then at hand when they make tabernacles to [the honor of God,] it happened that Arlstobulus was fallen sick, and that Antigonus went up most splendidly adorned, and with his soldiers about him in their armor, to the temple to celebrate the feast, and to put up many prayers for the recovery of his brother, when some wicked persons, who had a great mind to raise a difference between the brethren, made use of this opportunity of the pompous appearance of Antigonus, and of the great actions which he had done, and went to the king, and spitefully aggravated the pompous show of his at the feast, and pretended that all these circumstances were not like those of a private person; that these actions were indications of an affectation of royal authority; and that his coming with a strong body of men must be with an intention to kill him; and that his way of reasoning was this: That it was a silly thing in him, while it was in his power to reign himself, to look upon it as a great favor that he was honored with a lower dignity by his brother.

2. Aristobulus yielded to these imputations, but took care both that his brother should not suspect him, and that he himself might not run the hazard of his own safety; so he ordered his guards to lie in a certain place that was under ground, and dark; [he himself then lying sick in the tower which was called Antonia;] and he commanded them, that in case Antigonus came in to him unarmed, they should not touch any body, but if armed, they should kill him; yet did he send to Antigonus, and desired that he would come unarmed; but the queen, and those that joined with her in the plot against Antigonus, persuaded the messenger to tell him the direct contrary: how his brother had heard that he had made himself a fine suit of armor for war, and desired him to come to him in that armor, that he might see how fine it was. So Antigonus suspecting no treachery, but depending on the good-will of his brother, came to Aristobulus armed, as he used to be, with his entire armor, in order to show it to him; but when he was come to a place which was called Strato's Tower, where the passage happened to be exceeding dark, the guards slew him; which death of his demonstrates that nothing is stronger than envy and calumny, and that nothing does more certainly divide the good-will and natural affections of men than those passions. But here one may take occasion to wonder at one Judas, who was of the sect of the Essens, and who never missed the truth in his predictions; for this man, when he saw Antigonus passing by the temple, cried out to his companions and friends, who abode with him as his scholars, in order to learn the art of foretelling things to come? "That it was good for him to die now, since he had spoken falsely about Antigonus, who is still alive, and I see him passing by, although he had foretold he should die at the place called Strato's Tower that very day, while yet the place is six hundred furlongs off, where he had foretold he should be slain; and still this day is a great part of it already past, so that he was in danger of proving a false prophet." As he was saying this, and that in a melancholy mood, the news came that Antigonus was slain in a place under ground, which itself was called also Strato's Tower, or of the same name with that Cesarea which is seated at the sea. This event put the prophet into a great disorder.

3. But Aristobulus repented immediately of this slaughter of his brother; on which account his disease increased upon him, and he was disturbed in his mind, upon the guilt of such wickedness, insomuch that his entrails were corrupted by his intolerable pain, and he vomited blood: at which time one of the servants that attended upon him, and was carrying his blood away, did, by Divine Providence, as I cannot but suppose, slip down, and shed part of his blood at the very place where there were spots of Antigonus's blood, there slain, still remaining; and when there was a cry made by the spectators, as if the servant had on purpose shed the blood on that place, Aristobulus heard it, and inquired what the matter

was; and as they did not answer him, he was the more earnest to know what it was, it being natural to men to suspect that what is thus concealed is very bad: so upon his threatening, and forcing them by terrors to speak, they at length told him the truth; whereupon he shed many tears, in that disorder of mind which arose from his consciousness of what he had done, and gave a deep groan, and said, “I am not therefore, I perceive, to be concealed from God, in the impious and horrid crimes I have been guilty of; but a sudden punishment is coming upon me for the shedding the blood of my relations. And now, O thou most impudent body of mine, how long wilt thou retain a soul that ought to die, in order to appease the ghosts of my brother and my mother? Why dost thou not give it all up at once? And why do I deliver up my blood drop by drop to those whom I have so wickedly murdered?” In saying which last words he died, having reigned a year. He was called a lover of the Grecians; and had conferred many benefits on his own country, and made war against Iturea, and added a great part of it to Judea, and compelled the inhabitants, if they would continue in that country, to be circumcised, and to live according to the Jewish laws. He was naturally a man of candor, and of great modesty, as Strabo bears witness, in the name of Timagenes; who says thus: “This man was a person of candor, and very serviceable to the Jews; for he added a country to them, and obtained a part of the nation of the Itureans for them, and bound them to them by the bond of the circumcision of their genitals.”

CHAPTER 12. How Alexander When He Had Taken The Government Made An Expedition Against Ptolemais, And Then Raised The Siege Out Of Fear Of Ptolemy Lathyrus; And How Ptolemy Made War Against Him, Because He Had Sent To Cleopatra To Persuade Her To Make War Against Ptolemy, And Yet Pretended To Be In Friendship With Him, When He Beat The Jews In The Battle.

1. When Aristobulus was dead, his wife Salome, who, by the Greeks, was called Alexandra, let his brethren out of prison, [for Aristobulus had kept them in bonds, as we have said already,] and made Alexander Janneus king, who was the superior in age and in moderation. This child happened to be hated by his father as soon as he was born, and could never be permitted to come into his father's sight till he died. The occasion of which hatred is thus reported: when Hyrcanus chiefly loved the two eldest of his sons, Antigonus and Aristobutus, God appeared to him in his sleep, of whom he inquired which of his sons should be his successor. Upon God's representing to him the countenance of Alexander, he was grieved that he was to be the heir of all his goods, and suffered him to be brought up in Galilee However, God did not deceive Hyrcanus; for after the death of Aristobulus, he certainly took the kingdom; and one of his brethren, who affected the kingdom, he slew; and the other, who chose to live a private and quiet life, he had in esteem.

2. When Alexander Janneus had settled the government in the manner that he judged best, he made an expedition against Ptolemais; and having overcome the men in battle, he shut them up in the city, and sat round about it, and besieged it; for of the maritime cities there remained only Ptolemais and Gaza to be conquered, besides Strato's Tower and Dora, which were held by the tyrant Zoilus. Now while Antiochus Philometor, and Antiochus who was called Cyzicenus, were making war one against another, and destroying one another's armies, the people of Ptolemais could have no assistance from them; but when they were distressed with this siege, Zoilus, who possessed Strato's Tower and Dora, and maintained a legion of soldiers, and, on occasion of the contest between the kings, affected tyranny himself, came and brought some small

assistance to the people of Ptolemais; nor indeed had the kings such a friendship for them, as that they should hope for any advantage from them. Both those kings were in the case of wrestlers, who finding themselves deficient in strength, and yet being ashamed to yield, put off the fight by laziness, and by lying still as long as they can. The only hope they had remaining was from the kings of Egypt, and from Ptolemy Lathyrus, who now held Cyprus, and who came to Cyprus when he was driven from the government of Egypt by Cleopatra his mother. So the people of Ptolemais sent to this Ptolemy Lathyrus, and desired him to come as a confederate, to deliver them, now they were in such danger, out of the hands of Alexander. And as the ambassadors gave him hopes, that if he would pass over into Syria, he would have the people of Gaza on the side of those of Ptolemais; as also they said, that Zoilus, and besides these the Sidonians, and many others, would assist them; so he was elevated at this, and got his fleet ready as soon as possible.

3. But in this interval Demenetus, one that was of abilities to persuade men to do as he would have them, and a leader of the populace, made those of Ptolemais change their opinions; and said to them, that it was better to run the hazard of being subject to the Jews, than to admit of evident slavery by delivering themselves up to a master; and besides that, to have not only a war at present, but to expect a much greater war from Egypt; for that Cleopatra would not overlook an army raised by Ptolemy for himself out of the neighborhood, but would come against them with a great army of her own, and this because she was laboring to eject her son out of Cyprus also; that as for Ptolemy, if he fail of his hopes, he can still retire to Cyprus, but that they will be left in the greatest danger possible. Now Ptolemy, although he had heard of the change that was made in the people of Ptolemais, yet did he still go on with his voyage, and came to the country called Sycamine, and there set his army on shore. This army of his, in the whole horse and foot together, were about thirty thousand, with which he marched near to Ptolemais, and there pitched his camp. But when the people of Ptolemais neither received his ambassadors, nor would hear what they had to say, he was under a very great concern.

4. But when Zoilus and the people of Gaza came to him, and desired his assistance, because their country was laid waste by the Jews, and by Alexander, Alexander raised the siege, for fear of Ptolemy: and when he had drawn off his army into his own country, he used a stratagem afterwards, by privately inviting Cleopatra to come against Ptolemy, but publicly pretending to desire a league of friendship and mutual assistance with him; and promising to give him four hundred talents of silver, he desired that, by way of requital, he would take off Zoilus the tyrant, and give his country to the Jews. And then indeed Ptolemy,

with pleasure, made such a league of friendship with Alexander, and subdued Zoilus; but when he afterwards heard that he had privily sent to Cleopatra his mother, he broke the league with him, which yet he had confirmed with an oath, and fell upon him, and besieged Ptolemais, because it would not receive him. However, leaving his generals, with some part of his forces, to go on with the siege, he went himself immediately with the rest to lay Judea waste; and when Alexander understood this to be Ptolemy's intention, he also got together about fifty thousand soldiers out of his own country; nay, as some writers have said, eighty thousand He then took his army, and went to meet Ptolemy; but Ptolemy fell upon Asochis, a city of Galilee, and took it by force on the sabbath day, and there he took about ten thousand slaves, and a great deal of other prey.

5. He then tried to take Sepphoris, which was a city not far from that which was destroyed, but lost many of his men; yet did he then go to fight with Alexander; which Alexander met him at the river Jordan, near a certain place called Saphoth, [not far from the river Jordan,] and pitched his camp near to the enemy. He had however eight thousand in the first rank, which he styled Hecatontomachi, having shields of brass. Those in the first rank of Ptolemy's soldiers also had shields covered with brass. But Ptolemy's soldiers in other respects were inferior to those of Alexander, and therefore were more fearful of running hazards; but Philostephanus, the camp-master, put great courage into them, and ordered them to pass the river, which was between their camps. Nor did Alexander think fit to hinder their passage over it; for he thought, that if the enemy had once gotten the river on their back, that he should the easier take them prisoners, when they could not flee out of the battle: in the beginning of which, the acts on both sides, with their hands, and with their alacrity, were alike, and a great slaughter was made by both the armies; but Alexander was superior, till Philostephanus opportunely brought up the auxiliaries, to help those that were giving way; but as there were no auxiliaries to afford help to that part of the Jews that gave way, it fell out that they fled, and those near them did no assist them, but fled along with them. However, Ptolemy's soldiers acted quite otherwise; for they followed the Jews, and killed them, till at length those that slew them pursued after them when they had made them all run away, and slew them so long, that their weapons of iron were blunted, and their hands quite tired with the slaughter; for the report was, that thirty thousand men were then slain. Timagenes says they were fifty thousand. As for the rest, they were part of them taken captives, and the other part ran away to their own country.

6. After this victory, Ptolemy overran all the country; and when night came on, he abode in certain villages of Judea, which when he found full of women and children, he commanded his soldiers to strangle them, and to cut them in

pieces, and then to cast them into boiling caldrons, and then to devour their limbs as sacrifices. This commandment was given, that such as fled from the battle, and came to them, might suppose their enemies were cannibals, and eat men's flesh, and might on that account be still more terrified at them upon such a sight. And both Strabo and Nicholaus [of Damascus] affirm, that they used these people after this manner, as I have already related. Ptolemy also took Ptolemais by force, as we have declared elsewhere.

CHAPTER 13. How Alexander, upon the League of Mutual Defense Which Cleopatra Had Agreed with Him, Made an Expedition Against Coelesyria, and Utterly Overthrew the City of Gaza; and How He Slew Many Ten Thousands of Jews That Rebelled Against Him.

Also Concerning Antiochus Grypus, Seleucus Antiochus Cyziceius, and Antiochus Pius, and Others.

1. When Cleopatra saw that her son was grown great, and laid Judea waste, without disturbance, and had gotten the city of Gaza under his power, she resolved no longer to overlook what he did, when he was almost at her gates; and she concluded, that now he was so much stronger than before, he would be very desirous of the dominion over the Egyptians; but she immediately marched against him, with a fleet at sea and an army of foot on land, and made Chelcias and Ananias the Jews generals of her whole army, while she sent the greatest part of her riches, her grandchildren, and her testament, to the people of Cos Cleopatra also ordered her son Alexander to sail with a great fleet to Phoenicia; and when that country had revolted, she came to Ptolemais; and because the people of Ptolemais did not receive her, she besieged the city; but Ptolemy went out of Syria, and made haste unto Egypt, supposing that he should find it destitute of an army, and soon take it, though he failed of his hopes. At this time Chelcias, one of Cleopatra's generals, happened to die in Celesyria, as he was in pursuit of Ptolemy.

2. When Cleopatra heard of her son's attempt, and that his Egyptian expedition did not succeed according to his expectations, she sent thither part of her army, and drove him out of that country; so when he was returned out of Egypt again, he abode during the winter at Gaza, in which time Cleopatra took the garrison that was in Ptolemais by siege, as well as the city; and when Alexander came to her, he gave her presents, and such marks of respect as were but proper, since under the miseries he endured by Ptolemy he had no other refuge but her. Now there were some of her friends who persuaded her to seize Alexander, and to overrun and take possession of the country, and not to sit still and see such a multitude of brave Jews subject to one man. But Ananias's counsel was contrary to theirs, who said that she would do an unjust action if she

deprived a man that was her ally of that authority which belonged to him, and this a man who is related to us; “for [said he] I would not have thee ignorant of this, that what in justice thou dost to him will make all us that are Jews to be thy enemies.” This desire of Ananias Cleopatra complied with, and did no injury to Alexander, but made a league of mutual assistance with him at Scythopolis, a city of Celesyria.

3. So when Alexander was delivered from the fear he was in of Ptolemy, he presently made an expedition against Coelesyria. He also took Gadara, after a siege of ten months. He took also Areathus, a very strong fortress belonging to the inhabitants above Jordan, where Theodorus, the son of Zeno, had his chief treasure, and what he esteemed most precious. This Zeno fell unexpectedly upon the Jews, and slew ten thousand of them, and seized upon Alexander’s baggage. Yet did not this misfortune terrify Alexander; but he made an expedition upon the maritime parts of the country, Raphia and Anthedon, [the name of which king Herod afterwards changed to Agrippias,] and took even that by force. But when Alexander saw that Ptolemy was retired from Gaza to Cyprus, and his mother Cleopatra was returned to Egypt, he grew angry at the people of Gaza, because they had invited Ptolemy to assist them, and besieged their city, and ravaged their country. But as Apollodotus, the general of the army of Gaza, fell upon the camp of the Jews by night, with two thousand foreign and ten thousand of his own forces, while the night lasted, those of Gaza prevailed, because the enemy was made to believe that it was Ptolemy who attacked them; but when day was come on, and that mistake was corrected, and the Jews knew the truth of the matter, they came back again, and fell upon those of Gaza, and slew of them about a thousand. But as those of Gaza stoutly resisted them, and would not yield for either their want of any thing, nor for the great multitude that were slain, [for they would rather suffer any hardship whatever than come under the power of their enemies,] Aretas, king of the Arabians, a person then very illustrious, encouraged them to go on with alacrity, and promised them that he would come to their assistance; but it happened that before he came Apollodotus was slain; for his brother Lysimachus envying him for the great reputation he had gained among the citizens, slew him, and got the army together, and delivered up the city to Alexander, who, when he came in at first, lay quiet, but afterward set his army upon the inhabitants of Gaza, and gave them leave to punish them; so some went one way, and some went another, and slew the inhabitants of Gaza; yet were not they of cowardly hearts, but opposed those that came to slay them, and slew as many of the Jews; and some of them, when they saw themselves deserted, burnt their own houses, that the enemy might get none of their spoils; nay, some of them, with their own hands, slew their children and

their wives, having no other way but this of avoiding slavery for them; but the senators, who were in all five hundred, fled to Apollo's temple, [for this attack happened to be made as they were sitting,] whom Alexander slew; and when he had utterly overthrown their city, he returned to Jerusalem, having spent a year in that siege.

4. About this very time Antiochus, who was called Grypus, died His death was caused by Heracleon's treachery, when he had lived forty-five years, and had reigned twenty-nine. His son Seleucus succeeded him in the kingdom, and made war with Antiochus, his father's brother, who was called Antiochus Cyzicenus, and beat him, and took him prisoner, and slew him. But after a while Antiochus, the son of Cyzicenus, who was called Pius, came to Aradus, and put the diadem on his own head, and made war with Seleucus, and beat him, and drove him out of all Syria. But when he fled out of Syria, he came to Mopsuestia again, and levied money upon them; but the people of Mopsuestin had indignation at what he did, and burnt down his palace, and slew him, together with his friends. But when Antiochus, the son of Cyzicenus, was king of Syria, Antiochus, the brother of Seleucus, made war upon him, and was overcome, and destroyed, he and his army. After him, his brother Philip put on the diadem, and reigned over some part of Syria; but Ptolemy Lathyrus sent for his fourth brother Demetrius, who was called Eucerus, from Cnidus, and made him king of Damascus. Both these brothers did Antiochus vehemently oppose, but presently died; for when he was come as an auxiliary to Laodice, queen of the Gileadites, when she was making war against the Parthians, and he was fighting courageously, he fell, while Demetrius and Philip governed Syria, as hath been elsewhere related.

5. As to Alexander, his own people were seditious against him; for at a festival which was then celebrated, when he stood upon the altar, and was going to sacrifice, the nation rose upon him, and pelted him with citrons [which they then had in their hands, because] the law of the Jews required that at the feast of tabernacles every one should have branches of the palm tree and citron tree; which thing we have elsewhere related. They also reviled him, as derived from a captive, and so unworthy of his dignity and of sacrificing. At this he was in a rage, and slew of them about six thousand. He also built a partition-wall of wood round the altar and the temple, as far as that partition within which it was only lawful for the priests to enter; and by this means he obstructed the multitude from coming at him. He also maintained foreigners of Pisidie and Cilicia; for as to the Syrians, he was at war with them, and so made no use of them. He also overcame the Arabians, such as the Moabites and Gileadites, and made them bring tribute. Moreover, he demolished Amathus, while Theodorus durst not

fight with him; but as he had joined battle with Obedas, king of the Arabians, and fell into an ambush in the places that were rugged and difficult to be traveled over, he was thrown down into a deep valley, by the multitude of the camels at Gadurn, a village of Gilead, and hardly escaped with his life. From thence he fled to Jerusalem, where, besides his other ill success, the nation insulted him, and he fought against them for six years, and slew no fewer than fifty thousand of them. And when he desired that they would desist from their ill-will to him, they hated him so much the more, on account of what had already happened; and when he had asked them what he ought to do, they all cried out, that he ought to kill himself. They also sent to Demetrius Eucerus, and desired him to make a league of mutual defense with them.

CHAPTER 14. How Demetrius Eucerus Overcame Alexander And Yet In A Little Time Retired Out Of The Country For Fear; As Also How Alexander Slew Many Of The Jews And Thereby Got Clear Of His Troubles. Concerning The Death Of Demetrius.

1. So Demetrius came with an army, and took those that invited him, and pitched his camp near the city Shechem; upon which Alexander, with his six thousand two hundred mercenaries, and about twenty thousand Jews, who were of his party, went against Demetrius, who had three thousand horsemen, and forty thousand footmen. Now there were great endeavors used on both sides, — Demetrius trying to bring off the mercenaries that were with Alexander, because they were Greeks, and Alexander trying to bring off the Jews that were with Demetrius. However, when neither of them could persuade them so to do, they came to a battle, and Demetrius was the conqueror; in which all Alexander's mercenaries were killed, when they had given demonstration of their fidelity and courage. A great number of Demetrius's soldiers were slain also.

2. Now as Alexander fled to the mountains, six thousand of the Jews hereupon came together [from Demetrius] to him out of pity at the change of his fortune; upon which Demetrius was afraid, and retired out of the country; after which the Jews fought against Alexander, and being beaten, were slain in great numbers in the several battles which they had; and when he had shut up the most powerful of them in the city Bethome, he besieged them therein; and when he had taken the city, and gotten the men into his power, he brought them to Jerusalem, and did one of the most barbarous actions in the world to them; for as he was feasting with his concubines, in the sight of all the city, he ordered about eight hundred of them to be crucified; and while they were living, he ordered the throats of their children and wives to be cut before their eyes. This was indeed by way of revenge for the injuries they had done him; which punishment yet was of an inhuman nature, though we suppose that he had been never so much distressed, as indeed he had been, by his wars with them, for he had by their means come to the last degree of hazard, both of his life and of his kingdom, while they were not satisfied by themselves only to fight against him, but introduced foreigners also for the same purpose; nay, at length they reduced him to that degree of necessity, that he was forced to deliver back to the king of Arabia the land of Moab and Gilead, which he had subdued, and the places that

were in them, that they might not join with them in the war against him, as they had done ten thousand other things that tended to affront and reproach him. However, this barbarity seems to have been without any necessity, on which account he bare the name of a Thracian among the Jews whereupon the soldiers that had fought against him, being about eight thousand in number, ran away by night, and continued fugitives all the time that Alexander lived; who being now freed from any further disturbance from them, reigned the rest of his time in the utmost tranquillity.

3. But when Demetrius was departed out of Judea, he went to Berea, and besieged his brother Philip, having with him ten thousand footmen, and a thousand horsemen. However Strato, the tyrant of Berea, the confederate of Philip, called in Zizon, the ruler of the Arabian tribes, and Mithridates Sinax, the ruler of the Parthians, who coming with a great number of forces, and besieging Demetrius in his encampment, into which they had driven them with their arrows, they compelled those that were with him by thirst to deliver up themselves. So they took a great many spoils out of that country, and Demetrius himself, whom they sent to Mithridates, who was then king of Parthis; but as to those whom they took captives of the people of Antioch, they restored them to the Antiochinus without any reward. Now Mithridates, the king of Parthis, had Demetrius in great honor, till Demetrius ended his life by sickness. So Philip, presently after the fight was over, came to Antioch, and took it, and reigned over Syria.

CHAPTER 15. How Antiochus, Who Was Called Dionysus, And After Him Aretas Made Expeditions Into Judea; As Also How Alexander Took Many Cities And Then Returned To Jerusalem, And After A Sickness Of Three Years Died; And What Counsel He Gave To Alexandra.

1. After this, Antiochus, who was called Dionysus, and was Philip's brother, aspired to the dominion, and came to Damascus, and got the power into his hands, and there he reigned; but as he was making war against the Arabians, his brother Philip heard of it, and came to Damascus, where Milesius, who had been left governor of the citadel, and the Damascens themselves, delivered up the city to him; yet because Philip was become ungrateful to him, and had bestowed upon him nothing of that in hopes whereof he had received him into the city, but had a mind to have it believed that it was rather delivered up out of fear than by the kindness of Milesius, and because he had not rewarded him as he ought to have done, he became suspected by him, and so he was obliged to leave Damascus again; for Milesius caught him marching out into the Hippodrome, and shut him up in it, and kept Damascus for Antiochus [Eucerus], who hearing how Philip's affairs stood, came back out of Arabia. He also came immediately, and made an expedition against Judea, with eight thousand armed footmen, and eight hundred horsemen. So Alexander, out of fear of his coming, dug a deep ditch, beginning at Chabarzaba, which is now called Antipatris, to the sea of Joppa, on which part only his army could be brought against him. He also raised a wall, and erected wooden towers, and intermediate redoubts, for one hundred and fifty furlongs in length, and there expected the coming of Antiochus; but he soon burnt them all, and made his army pass by that way into Arabia. The Arabian king [Aretas] at first retreated, but afterward appeared on the sudden with ten thousand horsemen. Antiochus gave them the meeting, and fought desperately; and indeed when he had gotten the victory, and was bringing some auxiliaries to that part of his army that was in distress, he was slain. When Antiochus was fallen, his army fled to the village Cana, where the greatest part of them perished by famine.

2. After him Arems reigned over Celesyria, being called to the government by those that held Damascus, by reason of the hatred they bare to Ptolemy

Menneus. He also made thence an expedition against Judea, and beat Alexander in battle, near a place called Adida; yet did he, upon certain conditions agreed on between them, retire out of Judea.

3. But Alexander marched again to the city Dios, and took it; and then made an expedition against Essa, where was the best part of Zeno's treasures, and there he encompassed the place with three walls; and when he had taken the city by fighting, he marched to Golan and Seleucia; and when he had taken these cities, he, besides them, took that valley which is called The Valley of Antiochus, as also the fortress of Gamala. He also accused Demetrius, who was governor of those places, of many crimes, and turned him out; and after he had spent three years in this war, he returned to his own country, when the Jews joyfully received him upon this his good success.

4. Now at this time the Jews were in possession of the following cities that had belonged to the Syrians, and Idumeans, and Phoenicians: At the sea-side, Strato's Tower, Apollonia, Joppa, Jamhis, Ashdod, Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia, and Rhinocolura; in the middle of the country, near to Idumea, Adorn, and Marissa; near the country of Samaria, Mount Carmel, and Mount Tabor, Scythopolis, and Gadara; of the country of Gaulonitis, Seleucia and Gabala; in the country of Moab, Heshbon, and Medaba, Lemba, and Oronas, Gelithon, Zorn, the valley of the Cilices, and Pollo; which last they utterly destroyed, because its inhabitants would not bear to change their religious rites for those peculiar to the Jews. The Jews also possessed others of the principal cities of Syria, which had been destroyed.

5. After this, king Alexander, although he fell into a distemper by hard drinking, and had a quartan ague, which held him three years, yet would not leave off going out with his army, till he was quite spent with the labors he had undergone, and died in the bounds of Ragaba, a fortress beyond Jordan. But when his queen saw that he was ready to die, and had no longer any hopes of surviving, she came to him weeping and lamenting, and bewailed herself and her sons on the desolate condition they should be left in; and said to him, "To whom dost thou thus leave me and my children, who are destitute of all other supports, and this when thou knowest how much ill-will thy nation bears thee?" But he gave her the following advice: That she need but follow what he would suggest to her, in order to retain the kingdom securely, with her children: that she should conceal his death from the soldiers till she should have taken that place; after this she should go in triumph, as upon a victory, to Jerusalem, and put some of her authority into the hands of the Pharisees; for that they would commend her for the honor she had done them, and would reconcile the nation to her for he told her they had great authority among the Jews, both to do hurt to such as they

hated, and to bring advantages to those to whom they were friendly disposed; for that they are then believed best of all by the multitude when they speak any severe thing against others, though it be only out of envy at them. And he said that it was by their means that he had incurred the displeasure of the nation, whom indeed he had injured. “Do thou, therefore,” said he, “when thou art come to Jerusalem, send for the leading men among them, and show them my body, and with great appearance of sincerity, give them leave to use it as they themselves please, whether they will dishonor the dead body by refusing it burial, as having severely suffered by my means, or whether in their anger they will offer any other injury to that body. Promise them also that thou wilt do nothing without them in the affairs of the kingdom. If thou dost but say this to them, I shall have the honor of a more glorious Funeral from them than thou couldst have made for me; and when it is in their power to abuse my dead body, they will do it no injury at all, and thou wilt rule in safety.” So when he had given his wife this advice, he died, after he had reigned twenty-seven years, and lived fifty years within one.

CHAPTER 16. How Alexandra By Gaining The GoodWill Of The Pharisees, Retained The Kingdom Nine Years, And Then, Having Done Many Glorious Actions Died.

1. So Alexandra, when she had taken the fortress, acted as her husband had suggested to her, and spake to the Pharisees, and put all things into their power, both as to the dead body, and as to the affairs of the kingdom, and thereby pacified their anger against Alexander, and made them bear goodwill and friendship to him; who then came among the multitude, and made speeches to them, and laid before them the actions of Alexander, and told them that they had lost a righteous king; and by the commendation they gave him, they brought them to grieve, and to be in heaviness for him, so that he had a funeral more splendid than had any of the kings before him. Alexander left behind him two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, but committed the kingdom to Alexandra. Now, as to these two sons, Hyrcanus was indeed unable to manage public affairs, and delighted rather in a quiet life; but the younger, Aristobulus, was an active and a bold man; and for this woman herself, Alexandra, she was loved by the multitude, because she seemed displeased at the offenses her husband had been guilty of.

2. So she made Hyrcanus high priest, because he was the elder, but much more because he cared not to meddle with politics, and permitted the Pharisees to do every thing; to whom also she ordered the multitude to be obedient. She also restored again those practices which the Pharisees had introduced, according to the traditions of their forefathers, and which her father-in-law, Hyrcanus, had abrogated. So she had indeed the name of the regent, but the Pharisees had the authority; for it was they who restored such as had been banished, and set such as were prisoners at liberty, and, to say all at once, they differed in nothing from lords. However, the queen also took care of the affairs of the kingdom, and got together a great body of mercenary soldiers, and increased her own army to such a degree, that she became terrible to the neighboring tyrants, and took hostages of them: and the country was entirely at peace, excepting the Pharisees; for they disturbed the queen, and desired that she would kill those who persuaded Alexander to slay the eight hundred men; after which they cut the throat of one of them, Diogenes; and after him they did the same to several, one after another, till the men that were the most potent came

into the palace, and Aristobulus with them, for he seemed to be displeased at what was done; and it appeared openly, that if he had an opportunity, he would not permit his mother to go on so. These put the queen in mind what great dangers they had gone through, and great things they had done, whereby they had demonstrated the firmness of their fidelity to their master, insomuch that they had received the greatest marks of favor from him; and they begged of her, that she would not utterly blast their hopes, as it now happened, that when they had escaped the hazards that arose from their [open] enemies, they were to be cut off at home by their [private] enemies, like brute beasts, without any help whatsoever. They said also, that if their adversaries would be satisfied with those that had been slain already, they would take what had been done patiently, on account of their natural love to their governors; but if they must expect the same for the future also, they implored of her a dismission from her service; for they could not bear to think of attempting any method for their deliverance without her, but would rather die willingly before the palace gate, in case she would not forgive them. And that it was a great shame, both for themselves and for the queen, that when they were neglected by her, they should come under the lash of her husband's enemies; for that Aretas, the Arabian king, and the monarchs, would give any reward, if they could get such men as foreign auxiliaries, to whom their very names, before their voices be heard, may perhaps be terrible; but if they could not obtain this their second request, and if she had determined to prefer the Pharisees before them, they still insisted that she would place them every one in her fortresses; for if some fatal demon hath a constant spite against Alexander's house, they would be willing to bear their part, and to live in a private station there.

3. As these men said thus, and called upon Alexander's ghost for commiseration of those already slain, and those in danger of it, all the bystanders brake out into tears. But Aristobulus chiefly made manifest what were his sentiments, and used many reproachful expressions to his mother, [saying,] "Nay, indeed, the case is this, that they have been themselves the authors of their own calamities, who have permitted a woman who, against reason, was mad with ambition, to reign over them, when there were sons in the flower of their age fitter for it." So Alexandra, not knowing what to do with any decency, committed the fortresses to them, all but Hyrcania, and Alexandrium, and Macherus, where her principal treasures were. After a little while also, she sent her son Aristobulus with an army to Damascus against Ptolemy, who was called Menneus, who was such a bad neighbor to the city; but he did nothing considerable there, and so returned home.

4. About this time news was brought that Tigranes, the king of Armenia, had made an irruption into Syria with five hundred thousand soldiers, and was coming against Judea. This news, as may well be supposed, terrified the queen and the nation. Accordingly, they sent him many and very valuable presents, as also ambassadors, and that as he was besieging Ptolemais; for Selene the queen, the same that was also called Cleopatra, ruled then over Syria, who had persuaded the inhabitants to exclude Tigranes. So the Jewish ambassadors interceded with him, and entreated him that he would determine nothing that was severe about their queen or nation. He commended them for the respects they paid him at so great a distance, and gave them good hopes of his favor. But as soon as Ptolemais was taken, news came to Tigranes, that Lucullus, in his pursuit of Mithridates, could not light upon him, who was fled into Iberia, but was laying waste Armenia, and besieging its cities. Now when Tigranes knew this, he returned home.

5. After this, when the queen was fallen into a dangerous distemper, Aristobulus resolved to attempt the seizing of the government; so he stole away secretly by night, with only one of his servants, and went to the fortresses, wherein his friends, that were such from the days of his father, were settled; for as he had been a great while displeased at his mother's conduct, so he was now much more afraid, lest, upon her death, their whole family should be under the power of the Pharisees; for he saw the inability of his brother, who was to succeed in the government; nor was any one conscious of what he was doing but only his wife, whom he left at Jerusalem with their children. He first of all came to Agaba, where was Galestes, one of the potent men before mentioned, and was received by him. When it was day, the queen perceived that Aristobulus was fled; and for some time she supposed that his departure was not in order to make any innovation; but when messengers came one after another with the news that he had secured the first place, the second place, and all the places, for as soon as one had begun they all submitted to his disposal, then it was that the queen and the nation were in the greatest disorder, for they were aware that it would not be long ere Aristobulus would be able to settle himself firmly in the government. What they were principally afraid of was this, that he would inflict punishment upon them for the mad treatment his house had had from them. So they resolved to take his wife and children into custody, and keep them in the fortress that was over the temple. Now there was a mighty conflux of people that came to Aristobulus from all parts, insomuch that he had a kind of royal attendants about him; for in a little more than fifteen days he got twenty-two strong places, which gave him the opportunity of raising an army from Libanus and Trachonitis, and the monarchs; for men are easily led by the greater number, and easily submit to

them. And besides this, that by affording him their assistance, when he could not expect it, they, as well as he, should have the advantages that would come by his being king, because they had been the occasion of his gaining the kingdom. Now the eiders of the Jews, and Hyrcanus with them, went in unto the queen, and desired that she would give them her sentiments about the present posture of affairs, for that Aristobulus was in effect lord of almost all the kingdom, by possessing of so many strong holds, and that it was absurd for them to take any counsel by themselves, how ill soever she were, whilst she was alive, and that the danger would be upon them in no long time. But she bid them do what they thought proper to be done; that they had many circumstances in their favor still remaining, a nation in good heart, an army, and money in their several treasuries; for that she had small concern about public affairs now, when the strength of her body already failed her.

6. Now a little while after she had said this to them, she died, when she had reigned nine years, and had in all lived seventy-three. A woman she was who showed no signs of the weakness of her sex, for she was sagacious to the greatest degree in her ambition of governing; and demonstrated by her doings at once, that her mind was fit for action, and that sometimes men themselves show the little understanding they have by the frequent mistakes they make in point of government; for she always preferred the present to futurity, and preferred the power of an imperious dominion above all things, and in comparison of that had no regard to what was good, or what was right. However, she brought the affairs of her house to such an unfortunate condition, that she was the occasion of the taking away that authority from it, and that in no long time afterward, which she had obtained by a vast number of hazards and misfortunes, and this out of a desire of what does not belong to a woman, and all by a compliance in her sentiments with those that bare ill-will to their family, and by leaving the administration destitute of a proper support of great men; and, indeed, her management during her administration while she was alive, was such as filled the palace after her death with calamities and disturbance. However, although this had been her way of governing, she preserved the nation in peace. And this is the conclusion of the affairs of, Alexandra.

BOOK XIV. Containing The Interval Of Thirty-Two Years. — From The Death Of Queen Alexandra To The Death Of Antigonus.

CHAPTER 1. The War Between Aristobulus And Hyrcanus About The Kingdom; And How They Made Anagreement That Aristobulus Should Be King, And Hyrcanus Live A Private Life; As Also How Hyrcanus A Little Afterward Was Persuaded By Antipater To Fly To Aretas.

1. We have related the affairs of queen Alexandra, and her death, in the foregoing book and will now speak of what followed, and was connected with those histories; declaring, before we proceed, that we have nothing so much at heart as this, that we may omit no facts, either through ignorance or laziness; for we are upon the history and explication of such things as the greatest part are unacquainted withal, because of their distance from our times; and we aim to do it with a proper beauty of style, so far as that is derived from proper words harmonically disposed, and from such ornaments of speech also as may contribute to the pleasure of our readers, that they may entertain the knowledge of what we write with some agreeable satisfaction and pleasure. But the principal scope that authors ought to aim at above all the rest, is to speak accurately, and to speak truly, for the satisfaction of those that are otherwise unacquainted with such transactions, and obliged to believe what these writers inform them of.

2. Hyrcanus then began his high priesthood on the third year of the hundred and seventy-seventh olympiad, when Quintus Hortensius and Quintus Metellus, who was called Metellus of Crete, were consuls at Rome; when presently Aristobulus began to make war against him; and as it came to a battle with Hyrcanus at Jericho, many of his soldiers deserted him, and went over to his brother; upon which Hyrcanus fled into the citadel, where Aristobulus's wife and children were imprisoned by their mother, as we have said already, and attacked and overcame those his adversaries that had fled thither, and lay within the walls of the temple. So when he had sent a message to his brother about agreeing the matters between them, he laid aside his enmity to him on these conditions, that Aristobulus should be king, that he should live without intermeddling with public affairs, and quietly enjoy the estate he had acquired. When they had agreed upon these terms in the temple, and had confirmed the agreement with oaths, and the giving one another their right hands, and embracing one another in

the sight of the whole multitude, they departed; the one, Aristobulus, to the palace; and Hyrcanus, as a private man, to the former house of Aristobulus.

3. But there was a certain friend of Hyrcanus, an Idumean, called Antipater, who was very rich, and in his nature an active and a seditious man; who was at enmity with Aristobulus, and had differences with him on account of his good-will to Hyrcanus. It is true that Nicolatls of Damascus says, that Antipater was of the stock of the principal Jews who came out of Babylon into Judea; but that assertion of his was to gratify Herod, who was his son, and who, by certain revolutions of fortune, came afterward to be king of the Jews, whose history we shall give you in its proper place hereafter. However, this Antipater was at first called Antipas, and that was his father's name also; of whom they relate this: That king Alexander and his wife made him general of all Idumea, and that he made a league of friendship with those Arabians, and Gazites, and Ascalonites, that were of his own party, and had, by many and large presents, made them his fast friends. But now this younger Antipater was suspicious of the power of Aristobulus, and was afraid of some mischief he might do him, because of his hatred to him; so he stirred up the most powerful of the Jews, and talked against him to them privately; and said that it was unjust to overlook the conduct of Aristobulus, who had gotten the government unrighteously, and ejected his brother out of it, who was the elder, and ought to retain what belonged to him by prerogative of his birth. And the same speeches he perpetually made to Hyrcanus; and told him that his own life would be in danger, unless he guarded himself, and got shut of Aristobulus; for he said that the friends of Aristobulus omitted no opportunity of advising him to kill him, as being then, and not before, sure to retain his principality. Hyrcanus gave no credit to these words of his, as being of a gentle disposition, and one that did not easily admit of calumnies against other men. This temper of his not disposing him to meddle with public affairs, and want of spirit, occasioned him to appear to spectators to be degenerous and unmanly; while. Aristobulus was of a contrary temper, an active man, and one of a great and generous soul.

4. Since therefore Antipater saw that Hyrcanus did not attend to what he said, he never ceased, day by day, to charge reigned crimes upon Aristobulus, and to calumniate him before him, as if he had a mind to kill him; and so, by urging him perpetually, he advised him, and persuaded him to fly to Aretas, the king of Arabia; and promised, that if he would comply with his advice, he would also himself assist him and go with him. When Hyrcanus heard this, he said that it was for his advantage to fly away to Aretas. Now Arabia is a country that borders upon Judea. However, Hyrcanus sent Antipater first to the king of Arabia, in order to receive assurances from him, that when he should come in the

manner of a supplicant to him, he would not deliver him up to his enemies. So Antipater having received such assurances, returned to Hyrcanus to Jerusalem. A while afterward he took Hyrcanus, and stole out of the city by night, and went a great journey, and came and brought him to the city called Petra, where the palace of Aretas was; and as he was a very familiar friend of that king, he persuaded him to bring back Hyrcanus into Judea, and this persuasion he continued every day without any intermission. He also proposed to make him presents on that account. At length he prevailed with Aretas in his suit. Moreover, Hyrcanus promised him, that when he had been brought thither, and had received his kingdom, he would restore that country, and those twelve cities which his father Alexander had taken from the Arabians, which were these, Medaba, Naballo, Libias, Tharabasa, Agala, Athone, Zoar, Orone, Marissa, Rudda, Lussa, and Oruba.

CHAPTER 2. How Aretas And Hyrcanus Made An Expedition Against Aristobulus And Besieged Jerusalem; And How Scaurus The Roman General Raised The Siege. Concerning The Death Of Onias.

1. After these promises had been given to Aretas, he made an expedition against Aristobulus with an army of fifty thousand horse and foot, and beat him in the battle. And when after that victory many went over to Hyrcanus as deserters, Aristobulus was left desolate, and fled to Jerusalem; upon which the king of Arabia took all his army, and made an assault upon the temple, and besieged Aristobulus therein, the people still supporting Hyreanus, and assisting him in the siege, while none but the priests continued with Aristobulus. So Aretas united the forces of the Arabians and of the Jews together, and pressed on the siege vigorously. As this happened at the time when the feast of unleavened bread was celebrated, which we call the passover, the principal men among the Jews left the country, and fled into Egypt. Now there was one, whose name was Onias, a righteous man he was, and beloved of God, who, in a certain drought, had prayed to God to put an end to the intense heat, and whose prayers God had heard, and had sent them rain. This man had hid himself, because he saw that this sedition would last a great while. However, they brought him to the Jewish camp, and desired, that as by his prayers he had once put an end to the drought, so he would in like manner make imprecations on Aristobulus and those of his faction. And when, upon his refusal, and the excuses that he made, he was still by the multitude compelled to speak, he stood up in the midst of them, and said, "O God, the King of the whole world! since those that stand now with me are thy people, and those that are besieged are also thy priests, I beseech thee, that thou wilt neither hearken to the prayers of those against these, nor bring to effect what these pray against those." Whereupon such wicked Jews as stood about him, as soon as he had made this prayer, stoned him to death.

2. But God punished them immediately for this their barbarity, and took vengeance of them for the murder of Onias, in the manner following: While the priests and Aristobulus were besieged, it happened that the feast called the passover was come, at which it is our custom to offer a great number of sacrifices to God; but those that were with Aristobulus wanted sacrifices, and desired that their countrymen without would furnish them with such sacrifices, and assured them they should have as much money for them as they should

desire; and when they required them to pay a thousand drachmae for each head of cattle, Aristobulus and the priests willingly undertook to pay for them accordingly, and those within let down the money over the walls, and gave it them. But when the others had received it, they did not deliver the sacrifices, but arrived at that height of wickedness as to break the assurances they had given, and to be guilty of impiety towards God, by not furnishing those that wanted them with sacrifices. And when the priests found they had been cheated, and that the agreements they had made were violated, they prayed to God that he would avenge them on their countrymen. Nor did he delay that their punishment, but sent a strong and vehement storm of wind, that destroyed the fruits of the whole country, till a modius of wheat was then bought for eleven drachmae.

3. In the mean time Pompey sent Scaurus into Syria, while he was himself in Armenia, and making war with Tigranes; but when Scaurus was come to Damascus, and found that Lollins and Metellus had newly taken the city, he came himself hastily into Judea. And when he was come thither, ambassadors came to him, both from Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, and both desired he would assist them. And when both of them promised to give him money, Aristobulus four hundred talents, and Hyrcanus no less, he accepted of Aristobulus's promise, for he was rich, and had a great soul, and desired to obtain nothing but what was moderate; whereas the other was poor, and tenacious, and made incredible promises in hopes of greater advantages; for it was not the same thing to take a city that was exceeding strong and powerful, as it was to eject out of the country some fugitives, with a greater number of Mabateans, who were no very warlike people. He therefore made an agreement with Aristobulus, for the reasons before mentioned, and took his money, and raised the siege, and ordered Aretas to depart, or else he should be declared an enemy to the Romans. So Scaurus returned to Damascus again; and Aristobulus, with a great army, made war with Aretas and Hyrcanus, and fought them at a place called Papyron, and beat them in the battle, and slew about six thousand of the enemy, with whom fell Phalion also, the brother of Antipater.

CHAPTER 3. How Aristobulus And Hyrcanus Came To Pompey In Order To Argue Who Ought To Have The Kingdom; And How Upon The Plight Of Aristobulus To The Fortress Alexandrium Pompey Led His Army Against Him And Ordered Him To Deliver Up The Fortresses Whereof He Was Possessed.

1. A Little afterward Pompey came to Damascus, and marched over Celesyria; at which time there came ambassadors to him from all Syria, and Egypt, and out of Judea also, for Aristobulus had sent him a great present, which was a golden vine of the value of five hundred talents. Now Strabo of Cappadocia mentions this present in these words: “There came also an embassage out of Egypt, and a crown of the value of four thousand pieces of gold; and out of Judea there came another, whether you call it a vine or a garden; they call the thing Terpole, the Delight. However, we ourselves saw that present reposited at Rome, in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, with this inscription, ‘The gift of Alexander, the king of the Jews.’ It was valued at five hundred talents; and the report is, that Aristobulus, the governor of the Jews, sent it.”

2. In a little time afterward came ambassadors again to him, Antipater from Hyrcanus, and Nicodemus from Aristobulus; which last also accused such as had taken bribes; first Gabinius, and then Scaurus, — the one three hundred talents, and the other four hundred; by which procedure he made these two his enemies, besides those he had before. And when Pompey had ordered those that had controversies one with another to come to him in the beginning of the spring, he brought his army out of their winter quarters, and marched into the country of Damascus; and as he went along he demolished the citadel that was at Apamia, which Antiochus Cyzicenus had built, and took cognizance of the country of Ptolemy Menneus, a wicked man, and not less so than Dionysius of Tripoli, who had been beheaded, who was also his relation by marriage; yet did he buy off the punishment of his crimes for a thousand talents, with which money Pompey paid the soldiers their wages. He also conquered the place called Lysias, of which Silas a Jew was tyrant. And when he had passed over the cities of Heliopolis and Chalcis, and got over the mountain which is on the limit of Colesyria, he came from Pella to Damascus; and there it was that he heard the causes of the Jews,

and of their governors Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who were at difference one with another, as also of the nation against them both, which did not desire to be under kingly' government, because the form of government they received from their forefathers was that of subjection to the priests of that God whom they worshipped; and [they complained], that though these two were the posterity of priests, yet did they seek to change the government of their nation to another form, in order to enslave them. Hyrcanus complained, that although he were the elder brother, he was deprived of the prerogative of his birth by Aristobulus, and that he had but a small part of the country under him, Aristobulus having taken away the rest from him by force. He also accused him, that the incursions which had been made into their neighbors' countries, and the piracies that had been at sea, were owing to him; and that the nation would not have revolted, unless Aristobulus had been a man given to violence and disorder; and there were no fewer than a thousand Jews, of the best esteem among them, who confirmed this accusation; which confirmation was procured by Antipater. But Aristobulus alleged against him, that it was Hyrcanus's own temper, which was inactive, and on that account contemptible, which caused him to be deprived of the government; and that for himself, he was necessitated to take it upon him, for fear lest it should be transferred to others. And that as to his title [of king], it was no other than what his father had taken [before him]. He also called for witnesses of what he said some persons who were both young and insolent; whose purple garments, fine heads of hair, and other ornaments, were detested [by the court], and which they appeared in, not as though they were to plead their cause in a court of justice, but as if they were marching in a pompous procession.

3. When Pompey had heard the causes of these two, and had condemned Aristobulus for his violent procedure, he then spake civilly to them, and sent them away; and told them, that when he came again into their country, he would settle all their affairs, after he had first taken a view of the affairs of the Nabateans. In the mean time, he ordered them to be quiet; and treated Aristobulus civilly, lest he should make the nation revolt, and hinder his return; which yet Aristobulus did; for without expecting any further determination, which Pompey had promised them, he went to the city Delius, and thence marched into Judea.

4. At this behavior Pompey was angry; and taking with him that army which he was leading against the Nabateans, and the auxiliaries that came from Damascus, and the other parts of Syria, with the other Roman legions which he had with him, he made an expedition against Aristobulus; but as he passed by Pella and Scythopolis, he came to Corem, which is the first entrance into Judea

when one passes over the midland countries, where he came to a most beautiful fortress that was built on the top of a mountain called Alexandrium, whither Aristobulus had fled; and thence Pompey sent his commands to him, that he should come to him. Accordingly, at the persuasions of many that he would not make war with the Romans, he came down; and when he had disputed with his brother about the right to the government, he went up again to the citadel, as Pompey gave him leave to do; and this he did two or three times, as flattering himself with the hopes of having the kingdom granted him; so that he still pretended he would obey Pompey in whatsoever he commanded, although at the same time he retired to his fortress, that he might not depress himself too low, and that he might be prepared for a war, in case it should prove as he feared, that Pompey would transfer the government to Hyrcanus. But when Pompey enjoined Aristobulus to deliver up the fortresses he held, and to send an injunction to their governors under his own hand for that purpose, for they had been forbidden to deliver them up upon any other commands, he submitted indeed to do so; but still he retired in displeasure to Jerusalem, and made preparation for war. A little after this, certain persons came out of Pontus, and informed Pompey, as he was on the way, and conducting his army against Aristobulus, that Mithridates was dead, and was slain by his son Pharmaces.

CHAPTER 4. How Pompey When The Citizens Of Jerusalem Shut Their Gates Against Him Besieged The City And Took It By Force; As Also What Other Things He Did In Judea.

1. Now when Pompey had pitched his camp at Jericho, [where the palm tree grows, and that balsam which is an ointment of all the most precious, which upon any incision made in the wood with a sharp stone, distills out thence like a juice,] he marched in the morning to Jerusalem. Hereupon Aristobulus repented of what he was doing, and came to Pompey, had [promised to] give him money, and received him into Jerusalem, and desired that he would leave off the war, and do what he pleased peaceably. So Pompey, upon his entreaty, forgave him, and sent Gabinius, and soldiers with him, to receive the money and the city: yet was no part of this performed; but Gabinius came back, being both excluded out of the city, and receiving none of the money promised, because Aristobulus's soldiers would not permit the agreements to be executed. At this Pompey was very angry, and put Aristobulus into prison, and came himself to the city, which was strong on every side, excepting the north, which was not so well fortified, for there was a broad and deep ditch that encompassed the city and included within it the temple, which was itself encompassed about with a very strong stone wall.

2. Now there was a sedition of the men that were within the city, who did not agree what was to be done in their present circumstances, while some thought it best to deliver up the city to Pompey; but Aristobulus's party exhorted them to shut the gates, because he was kept in prison. Now these prevented the others, and seized upon the temple, and cut off the bridge which reached from it to the city, and prepared themselves to abide a siege; but the others admitted Pompey's army in, and delivered up both the city and the king's palace to him. So Pompey sent his lieutenant Piso with an army, and placed garrisons both in the city and in the palace, to secure them, and fortified the houses that joined to the temple, and all those which were more distant and without it. And in the first place, he offered terms of accommodation to those within; but when they would not comply with what was desired, he encompassed all the places thereabout with a wall, wherein Hyrcanus did gladly assist him on all occasions; but Pompey pitched his camp within [the wall], on the north part of the temple, where it was most practicable; but even on that side there were great towers, and a ditch had

been dug, and a deep valley begirt it round about, for on the parts towards the city were precipices, and the bridge on which Pompey had gotten in was broken down. However, a bank was raised, day by day, with a great deal of labor, while the Romans cut down materials for it from the places round about. And when this bank was sufficiently raised, and the ditch filled up, though but poorly, by reason of its immense depth, he brought his mechanical engines and battering-rams from Tyre, and placing them on the bank, he battered the temple with the stones that were thrown against it. And had it not been our practice, from the days of our forefathers, to rest on the seventh day, this bank could never have been perfected, by reason of the opposition the Jews would have made; for though our law gives us leave then to defend ourselves against those that begin to fight with us and assault us, yet does it not permit us to meddle with our enemies while they do any thing else.

3. Which thing when the Romans understood, on those days which we call Sabbaths they threw nothing at the Jews, nor came to any pitched battle with them; but raised up their earthen banks, and brought their engines into such forwardness, that they might do execution the next day. And any one may hence learn how very great piety we exercise towards God, and the observance of his laws, since the priests were not at all hindered from their sacred ministrations by their fear during this siege, but did still twice a-day, in the morning and about the ninth hour, offer their sacrifices on the altar; nor did they omit those sacrifices, if any melancholy accident happened by the stones that were thrown among them; for although the city was taken on the third month, on the day of the fast, upon the hundred and seventy-ninth olympiad, when Caius Antonius and Marcus Tullius Cicero were consuls, and the enemy then fell upon them, and cut the throats of those that were in the temple; yet could not those that offered the sacrifices be compelled to run away, neither by the fear they were in of their own lives, nor by the number that were already slain, as thinking it better to suffer whatever came upon them, at their very altars, than to omit any thing that their laws required of them. And that this is not a mere brag, or an encomium to manifest a degree of our piety that was false, but is the real truth, I appeal to those that have written of the acts of Pompey; and, among them, to Strabo and Nicolaus [of Damascus]; and besides these two, Titus Livius, the writer of the Roman History, who will bear witness to this thing.

4. But when the battering-engine was brought near, the greatest of the towers was shaken by it, and fell down, and broke down a part of the fortifications, so the enemy poured in apace; and Cornelius Faustus, the son of Sylla, with his soldiers, first of all ascended the wall, and next to him Furius the centurion, with those that followed on the other part, while Fabius, who was also a centurion,

ascended it in the middle, with a great body of men after him. But now all was full of slaughter; some of the Jews being slain by the Romans, and some by one another; nay, some there were who threw themselves down the precipices, or put fire to their houses, and burnt them, as not able to bear the miseries they were under. Of the Jews there fell twelve thousand, but of the Romans very few. Absalom, who was at once both uncle and father-in-law to Aristobulus, was taken captive; and no small enormities were committed about the temple itself, which, in former ages, had been inaccessible, and seen by none; for Pompey went into it, and not a few of those that were with him also, and saw all that which it was unlawful for any other men to see but only for the high priests. There were in that temple the golden table, the holy candlestick, and the pouring vessels, and a great quantity of spices; and besides these there were among the treasures two thousand talents of sacred money: yet did Pompey touch nothing of all this, on account of his regard to religion; and in this point also he acted in a manner that was worthy of his virtue. The next day he gave order to those that had the charge of the temple to cleanse it, and to bring what offerings the law required to God; and restored the high priesthood to Hyrcanus, both because he had been useful to him in other respects, and because he hindered the Jews in the country from giving Aristobulus any assistance in his war against him. He also cut off those that had been the authors of that war; and bestowed proper rewards on Faustus, and those others that mounted the wall with such alacrity; and he made Jerusalem tributary to the Romans, and took away those cities of Celesyria which the inhabitants of Judea had subdued, and put them under the government of the Roman president, and confined the whole nation, which had elevated itself so high before, within its own bounds. Moreover, he rebuilt Gadara, which had been demolished a little before, to gratify Demetrius of Gadara, who was his freedman, and restored the rest of the cities, Hippos, and Scythopolis, and Pella, and Dios, and Samaria, as also Marissa, and Ashdod, and Jamnia, and Arethusa, to their own inhabitants: these were in the inland parts. Besides those that had been demolished, and also of the maritime cities, Gaza, and Joppa, and Dora, and Strato's Tower; which last Herod rebuilt after a glorious manner, and adorned with havens and temples, and changed its name to Caesarea. All these Pompey left in a state of freedom, and joined them to the province of Syria.

5. Now the occasions of this misery which came upon Jerusalem were Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, by raising a sedition one against the other; for now we lost our liberty, and became subject to the Romans, and were deprived of that country which we had gained by our arms from the Syrians, and were compelled to restore it to the Syrians. Moreover, the Romans exacted of us, in a little time, above ten thousand talents; and the royal authority, which was a dignity formerly

bestowed on those that were high priests, by the right of their family, became the property of private men. But of these matters we shall treat in their proper places. Now Pompey committed Celesyria, as far as the river Euphrates and Egypt, to Scaurus, with two Roman legions, and then went away to Cilicia, and made haste to Rome. He also carried bound along with him Aristobulus and his children; for he had two daughters, and as many sons; the one of which ran away, but the younger, Antigonus, was carried to Rome, together with his sisters.

CHAPTER 5. How Scaurus Made A League Of Mutual Assistance With Aretas; And What Gabinius Did In Judea, After He Had Conquered Alexander, The Son Of Aristobulus.

1. Scaurus made now an expedition against Petrea, in Arabia, and set on fire all the places round about it, because of the great difficulty of access to it. And as his army was pinched by famine, Antipater furnished him with corn out of Judea, and with whatever else he wanted, and this at the command of Hyrcanus. And when he was sent to Aretas, as an ambassador by Scaurus, because he had lived with him formerly, he persuaded Aretas to give Scaurus a sum of money, to prevent the burning of his country, and undertook to be his surety for three hundred talents. So Scaurus, upon these terms, ceased to make war any longer; which was done as much at Scaurus's desire, as at the desire of Aretas.

2. Some time after this, when Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, made an incursion into Judea, Gabinius came from Rome into Syria, as commander of the Roman forces. He did many considerable actions; and particularly made war with Alexander, since Hyrcanus was not yet able to oppose his power, but was already attempting to rebuild the wall of Jerusalem, which Pompey had overthrown, although the Romans which were there restrained him from that his design. However, Alexander went over all the country round about, and armed many of the Jews, and suddenly got together ten thousand armed footmen, and fifteen hundred horsemen, and fortified Alexandrium, a fortress near to Corem, and Macherus, near the mountains of Arabia. Gabinius therefore came upon him, having sent Marcus Antonius, with other commanders, before. These armed such Romans as followed them; and, together with them, such Jews as were subject to them, whose leaders were Pitholaus and Malichus; and they took with them also their friends that were with Antipater, and met Alexander, while Gabinius himself followed with his legion. Hereupon Alexander retired to the neighborhood of Jerusalem, where they fell upon one another, and it came to a pitched battle, in which the Romans slew of their enemies about three thousand, and took a like number alive.

3. At which time Gabinius came to Alexandrium, and invited those that were in it to deliver it up on certain conditions, and promised that then their former offenses should be forgiven. But as a great number of the enemy had pitched their camp before the fortress, whom the Romans attacked, Marcus Antonius

fought bravely, and slew a great number, and seemed to come off with the greatest honor. So Gabinius left part of his army there, in order to take the place, and he himself went into other parts of Judea, and gave order to rebuild all the cities that he met with that had been demolished; at which time were rebuilt Samaria, Ashdod, Scythopolis, Anthedon, Raphia, and Dora; Marissa also, and Gaza, and not a few others besides. And as the men acted according to Gabinius's command, it came to pass, that at this time these cities were securely inhabited, which had been desolate for a long time.

4. When Gabinius had done thus in the country, he returned to Alexandrium; and when he urged on the siege of the place, Alexander sent an embassage to him, desiring that he would pardon his former offenses; he also delivered up the fortresses, Hyrcania and Macherus, and at last Alexandrium itself which fortresses Gabinius demolished. But when Alexander's mother, who was of the side of the Romans, as having her husband and other children at Rome, came to him, he granted her whatsoever she asked; and when he had settled matters with her, he brought Hyrcanus to Jerusalem, and committed the care of the temple to him. And when he had ordained five councils, he distributed the nation into the same number of parts. So these councils governed the people; the first was at Jerusalem, the second at Gadara, the third at Amathus, the fourth at Jericho, and the fifth at Sepphoris in Galilee. So the Jews were now freed from monarchic authority, and were governed by an aristocracy.

CHAPTER 6. How Gabinius Caught Aristobulus After He Had Fled From Rome, And Sent Him Back To Rome Again; And Now The Same Gabinius As He Returned Out Of Egypt Overcame Alexander And The Nabateans In Battle.

1. Now Aristobulus ran away from Rome to Judea, and set about the rebuilding of Alexandrium, which had been newly demolished. Hereupon Gabinius sent soldiers against him, add for their commanders Sisenna, and Antonius, and Servilius, in order to hinder him from getting possession of the country, and to take him again. And indeed many of the Jews ran to Aristobulus, on account of his former glory, as also because they should be glad of an innovation. Now there was one Pitholaus, a lieutenant at Jerusalem, who deserted to him with a thousand men, although a great number of those that came to him were unarmed; and when Aristobulus had resolved to go to Macherus, he dismissed those people, because they were unarmed; for they could not be useful to him in what actions he was going about; but he took with him eight thousand that were armed, and marched on; and as the Romans fell upon them severely, the Jews fought valiantly, but were beaten in the battle; and when they had fought with alacrity, but were overborne by the enemy, they were put to flight; of whom were slain about five thousand, and the rest being dispersed, tried, as well as they were able, to save themselves. However, Aristobulus had with him still above a thousand, and with them he fled to Macherus, and fortified the place; and though he had had ill success, he still had good hope of his affairs; but when he had struggled against the siege for two days' time, and had received many wounds, he was brought as a captive to Gabinius, with his son Antigonus, who also fled with him from Rome. And this was the fortune of Aristobulus, who was sent back again to Rome, and was there retained in bonds, having been both king and high priest for three years and six months; and was indeed an eminent person, and one of a great soul. However, the senate let his children go, upon Gabinius's writing to them that he had promised their mother so much when she delivered up the fortresses to him; and accordingly they then returned into Judea.

2. Now when Gabinius was making an expedition against the Parthians, and had already passed over Euphrates, he changed his mind, and resolved to return into Egypt, in order to restore Ptolemy to his kingdom. This hath also been related elsewhere. However, Antipater supplied his army, which he sent against

Archelaus, with corn, and weapons, and money. He also made those Jews who were above Pelusium his friends and confederates, and had been the guardians of the passes that led into Egypt. But when he came back out of Egypt, he found Syria in disorder, with seditions and troubles; for Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, having seized on the government a second time by force, made many of the Jews revolt to him; and so he marched over the country with a great army, and slew all the Romans he could light upon, and proceeded to besiege the mountain called Gerizzim, whither they had retreated.

3. But when Gabinius found Syria in such a state, he sent Antipater, who was a prudent man, to those that were seditious, to try whether he could cure them of their madness, and persuade them to return to a better mind; and when he came to them, he brought many of them to a sound mind, and induced them to do what they ought to do; but he could not restrain Alexander, for he had an army of thirty thousand Jews, and met Gabinius, and joining battle with him, was beaten, and lost ten thousand of his men about Mount Tabor.

4. So Gabinius settled the affairs which belonged to the city Jerusalem, as was agreeable to Antipater's inclination, and went against the Nabateans, and overcame them in battle. He also sent away in a friendly manner Mithridates and Orsanes, who were Parthian deserters, and came to him, though the report went abroad that they had run away from him. And when Gabinius had performed great and glorious actions, in his management of the affairs of war, he returned to Rome, and delivered the government to Crassus. Now Nicolaus of Damascus, and Strabo of Cappadocia, both describe the expeditions of Pompey and Gabinius against the Jews, while neither of them say anything new which is not in the other.

CHAPTER 7. How Crassus Came Into Judea, And Pillaged The Temple; And Then Marched Against The Parthians And Perished, With His Army. Also How Cassius Obtained Syria, And Put A Stop To The Parthians And Then Went Up To Judea.

1. Now Crassus, as he was going upon his expedition against the Parthians, came into Judea, and carried off the money that was in the temple, which Pompey had left, being two thousand talents, and was disposed to spoil it of all the gold belonging to it, which was eight thousand talents. He also took a beam, which was made of solid beaten gold, of the weight of three hundred minae, each of which weighed two pounds and a half. It was the priest who was guardian of the sacred treasures, and whose name was Eleazar, that gave him this beam, not out of a wicked design, for he was a good and a righteous man; but being intrusted with the custody of the veils belonging to the temple, which were of admirable beauty, and of very costly workmanship, and hung down from this beam, when he saw that Crassus was busy in gathering money, and was in fear for the entire ornaments of the temple, he gave him this beam of gold as a ransom for the whole, but this not till he had given his oath that he would remove nothing else out of the temple, but be satisfied with this only, which he should give him, being worth many ten thousand [shekels]. Now this beam was contained in a wooden beam that was hollow, but was known to no others; but Eleazar alone knew it; yet did Crassus take away this beam, upon the condition of touching nothing else that belonged to the temple, and then brake his oath, and carried away all the gold that was in the temple.

2. And let no one wonder that there was so much wealth in our temple, since all the Jews throughout the habitable earth, and those that worshipped God, nay, even those of Asia and Europe, sent their contributions to it, and this from very ancient times. Nor is the largeness of these sums without its attestation; nor is that greatness owing to our vanity, as raising it without ground to so great a height; but there are many witnesses to it, and particularly Strabo of Cappadocia, who says thus: “Mithridates sent to Cos, and took the money which queen Cleopatra had deposited there, as also eight hundred talents belonging to the Jews.” Now we have no public money but only what appertains to God; and it is evident that the Asian Jews removed this money out of fear of Mithridates; for it is not probable that those of Judea, who had a strong city and temple, should

send their money to Cos; nor is it likely that the Jews who are inhabitants of Alexandria should do so neither, since they were ill no fear of Mithridates. And Strabo himself bears witness to the same thing in another place, that at the same time that Sylla passed over into Greece, in order to fight against Mithridates, he sent Lucullus to put an end to a sedition that our nation, of whom the habitable earth is full, had raised in Cyrene; where he speaks thus: "There were four classes of men among those of Cyrene; that of citizens, that of husbandmen, the third of strangers, and the fourth of Jews. Now these Jews are already gotten into all cities; and it is hard to find a place in the habitable earth that hath not admitted this tribe of men, and is not possessed by them; and it hath come to pass that Egypt and Cyrene, as having the same governors, and a great number of other nations, imitate their way of living, and maintain great bodies of these Jews in a peculiar manner, and grow up to greater prosperity with them, and make use of the same laws with that nation also. Accordingly, the Jews have places assigned them in Egypt, wherein they inhabit, besides what is peculiarly allotted to this nation at Alexandria, which is a large part of that city. There is also an ethnarch allowed them, who governs the nation, and distributes justice to them, and takes care of their contracts, and of the laws to them belonging, as if he were the ruler of a free republic. In Egypt, therefore, this nation is powerful, because the Jews were originally Egyptians, and because the land wherein they inhabit, since they went thence, is near to Egypt. They also removed into Cyrene, because that this land adjoined to the government of Egypt, as well as does Judea, or rather was formerly under the same government." And this is what Strabo says.

3. So when Crassus had settled all things as he himself pleased, he marched into Parthia, where both he himself and all his army perished, as hath been related elsewhere. But Cassius, as he fled from Rome to Syria, took possession of it, and was an impediment to the Parthians, who by reason of their victory over Crassus made incursions upon it. And as he came back to Tyre, he went up into Judea also, and fell upon Tarichee, and presently took it, and carried about thirty thousand Jews captives; and slew Pitholaus, who succeeded Aristobulus in his seditious practices, and that by the persuasion of Antipater, who proved to have great interest in him, and was at that time in great repute with the Idumeans also: out of which nation he married a wife, who was the daughter of one of their eminent men, and her name was Cypros, by whom he had four sons, Phasael, and Herod, who was afterwards made king, and Joseph, and Pheroras; and a daughter, named Salome. This Antipater cultivated also a friendship and mutual kindness with other potentates, but especially with the king of Arabia, to whom he committed his children, while he fought against Aristobulus. So Cassius

removed his camp, and marched to Euphrates, to meet those that were coming to attack him, as hath been related by others.

4. But some time afterward Cesar, when he had taken Rome, and after Pompey and the senate were fled beyond the Ionian Sea, freed Aristobulus from his bonds, and resolved to send him into Syria, and delivered two legions to him, that he might set matters right, as being a potent man in that country. But Aristobulus had no enjoyment of what he hoped for from the power that was given him by Cesar; for those of Pompey's party prevented it, and destroyed him by poison; and those of Caesar's party buried him. His dead body also lay, for a good while, embalmed in honey, till Antony afterward sent it to Judea, and caused him to be buried in the royal sepulcher. But Scipio, upon Pompey's sending to him to slay Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, because the young man was accused of what offenses he had been guilty of at first against the Romans, cut off his head; and thus did he die at Antioch. But Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, who was the ruler of Chalcis, under Mount Libanus, took his brethren to him, and sent his son Philippion to Askelon to Aristobulus's wife, and desired her to send back with him her son Antigonus, and her daughters; the one of which, whose name was Alexandra, Philippion fell in love with, and married her, though afterward his father Ptolemy slew him, and married Alexandra, and continued to take care of her brethren.

CHAPTER 8. The Jews Become Confederates With Caesar When He Fought Against Egypt. The Glorious Actions Of Antipater, And His Friendship With Caesar. The Honors Which The Jews Received From The Romans And Athenians.

1. Now after Pompey was dead, and after that victory Caesar had gained over him, Antipater, who managed the Jewish affairs, became very useful to Caesar when he made war against Egypt, and that by the order of Hyrcanus; for when Mithridates of Pergainus was bringing his auxiliaries, and was not able to continue his march through Pelusium, but obliged to stay at Askelon, Antipater came to him, conducting three thousand of the Jews, armed men. He had also taken care the principal men of the Arabians should come to his assistance; and on his account it was that all the Syrians assisted him also, as not willing to appear behindhand in their alacrity for Cesar, *viz.* Jamblicus the ruler, and Ptolemy his son, and Tholomy the son of Sohemus, who dwelt at Mount Libanus, and almost all the cities. So Mithridates marched out of Syria, and came to Pelusium; and when its inhabitants would not admit him, he besieged the city. Now Antipater signalized himself here, and was the first who plucked down a part of the wall, and so opened a way to the rest, whereby they might enter the city, and by this means Pelusium was taken. But it happened that the Egyptian Jews, who dwelt in the country called Onion, would not let Antipater and Mithridates, with their soldiers, pass to Caesar; but Antipater persuaded them to come over with their party, because he was of the same people with them, and that chiefly by showing them the epistles of Hyrcanus the high priest, wherein he exhorted them to cultivate friendship with Caesar, and to supply his army with money, and all sorts of provisions which they wanted; and accordingly, when they saw Antipater and the high priest of the same sentiments, they did as they were desired. And when the Jews about Memphis heard that these Jews were come over to Caesar, they also invited Mithridates to come to them; so he came and received them also into his army.

2. And when Mithridates had gone over all Delta, as the place is called, he came to a pitched battle with the enemy, near the place called the Jewish Camp. Now Mithridates had the right wing, and Antipater the left; and when it came to a fight, that wing where Mithridates was gave way, and was likely to suffer extremely, unless Antipater had come running to him with his own soldiers

along the shore, when he had already beaten the enemy that opposed him; so he delivered Mithridates, and put those Egyptians who had been too hard for him to flight. He also took their camp, and continued in the pursuit of them. He also recalled Mithridates, who had been worsted, and was retired a great way off; of whose soldiers eight hundred fell, but of Antipater's fifty. So Mithridates sent an account of this battle to Caesar, and openly declared that Antipater was the author of this victory, and of his own preservation, insomuch that Caesar commended Antipater then, and made use of him all the rest of that war in the most hazardous undertakings; he happened also to be wounded in one of those engagements.

3. However, when Caesar, after some time, had finished that war, and was sailed away for Syria, he honored Antipater greatly, and confirmed Hyrcanus in the high priesthood; and bestowed on Antipater the privilege of a citizen of Rome, and a freedom from taxes every where; and it is reported by many, that Hyrcanus went along with Antipater in this expedition, and came himself into Egypt. And Strabo of Cappadocia bears witness to this, when he says thus, in the name of Aslnius: "After Mithridates had invaded Egypt, and with him Hyrcanus the high priest of the Jews." Nay, the same Strabo says thus again, in another place, in the name of Hypsicrates, that "Mithridates at first went out alone; but that Antipater, who had the care of the Jewish affairs, was called by him to Askelon, and that he had gotten ready three thousand soldiers to go along with him, and encouraged other governors of the country to go along with him also; and that Hyrcanus the high priest was also present in this expedition." This is what Strabo says.

4. But Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, came at this time to Caesar, and lamented his father's fate; and complained, that it was by Antipater's means that Aristobulus was taken off by poison, and his brother was beheaded by Scipio, and desired that he would take pity of him who had been ejected out of that principality which was due to him. He also accused Hyrcanus and Antipater as governing the nation by violence, and offering injuries to himself. Antipater was present, and made his defense as to the accusations that were laid against him. He demonstrated that Antigonus and his party were given to innovation, and were seditious persons. He also put Caesar in mind what difficult services he had undergone when he assisted him in his wars, and discoursed about what he was a witness of himself. He added, that Aristobulus was justly carried away to Rome, as one that was an enemy to the Romans, and could never be brought to be a friend to them, and that his brother had no more than he deserved from Scipio, as being seized in committing robberies; and that this punishment was not inflicted on him in a way of violence or injustice by him that did it.

5. When Antipater had made this speech, Caesar appointed Hyrcauus to be high priest, and gave Antipater what principality he himself should choose, leaving the determination to himself; so he made him procurator of Judea. He also gave Hyrcanus leave to raise up the walls of his own city, upon his asking that favor of him, for they had been demolished by Pompey. And this grant he sent to the consuls to Rome, to be engraven in the capitol. The decree of the senate was this that follows: "Lucius Valerius, the son of Lucius the praetor, referred this to the senate, upon the Ides of December, in the temple of Concord. There were present at the writing of this decree Lucius Coponius, the son of Lucius of the Colline tribe, and Papirius of the Quirine tribe, concerning the affairs which Alexander, the son of Jason, and Numenius, the son of Antiochus, and Alexander, the son of Dositheus, ambassadors of the Jews, good and worthy men, proposed, who came to renew that league of goodwill and friendship with the Romans which was in being before. They also brought a shield of gold, as a mark of confederacy, valued at fifty thousand pieces of gold; and desired that letters might be given them, directed both to the free cities and to the kings, that their country and their havens might be at peace, and that no one among them might receive any injury. It therefore pleased [the senate] to make a league of friendship and goodwill with them, and to bestow on them whatsoever they stood in need of, and to accept of the shield which was brought by them. This was done in the ninth year of Hyrcanus the high priest and ethnarch, in the month Panemus." Hyreanus also received honors from the people of Athens, as having been useful to them on many occasions. And when they wrote to him, they sent him this decree, as it here follows "Under the prutaneia and priesthood of Dionysius, the son of Esculapius, on the fifth day of the latter part of the month Panemus, this decree of the Athenians was given to their commanders, when Agathocles was archon, and Eucles, the son of Menander of Alimusia, was the scribe. In the month Munychion, on the eleventh day of the prutaneia, a council of the presidents was held in the theater. Dorotheus the high priest, and the fellow presidents with him, put it to the vote of the people. Dionysius, the son of Dionysius, gave the sentence. Since Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnareh of the Jews, continues to bear goodwill to our people in general, and to every one of our citizens in particular, and treats them with all sorts of kindness; and when any of the Athenians come to him, either as ambassadors, or on any occasion of their own, he receives them in an obliging manner, and sees that they are conducted back in safety, of which we have had several former testimonies; it is now also decreed, at the report of Theodosius, the son of Theodorus, and upon his putting the people in mind of the virtue of this man, and that his purpose is to do us all the good that is in his power, to

honor him with a crown of gold, the usual reward according to the law, and to erect his statue in brass in the temple of Demus and of the Graces; and that this present of a crown shall be proclaimed publicly in the theater, in the Dionysian shows, while the new tragedies are acting; and in the Panathenean, and Eleusinian, and Gymnical shows also; and that the commanders shall take care, while he continues in his friendship, and preserves his goodwill to us, to return all possible honor and favor to the man for his affection and generosity; that by this treatment it may appear how our people receive the good kindly, and repay them a suitable reward; and he may be induced to proceed in his affection towards us, by the honors we have already paid him. That ambassadors be also chosen out of all the Athenians, who shall carry this decree to him, and desire him to accept of the honors we do him, and to endeavor always to be doing some good to our city." And this shall suffice us to have spoken as to the honors that were paid by the Romans and the people of Athens to Hyrcanus.

CHAPTER 9. How Antipater Committed The Care Of Galilee To Herod, And That Of Jerusalem To Phasaelus; As Also How Herod Upon The Jews' Envy At Antipater Was Accused Before Hyrcanus.

1. Now when Caesar had settled the affairs of Syria, he sailed away. And as soon as Antipater had conducted Caesar out of Syria, he returned to Judea. He then immediately raised up the wall which had been thrown down by Pompey; and, by coming thither, he pacified that tumult which had been in the country, and this by both threatening and advising them to be quiet; for that if they would be of Hyrcanus's side, they would live happily, and lead their lives without disturbance, and in the enjoyment of their own possessions; but if they were addicted to the hopes of what might come by innovation, and aimed to get wealth thereby, they should have him a severe master instead of a gentle governor, and Hyrcanus a tyrant instead of a king, and the Romans, together with Caesar, their bitter enemies instead of rulers, for that they would never bear him to be set aside whom they had appointed to govern. And when Antipater had said this to them, he himself settled the affairs of this country.

2. And seeing that Hyrcanus was of a slow and slothful temper, he made Phasaelus, his eldest son, governor of Jerusalem, and of the places that were about it, but committed Galilee to Herod, his next son, who was then a very young man, for he was but fifteen years of age But that youth of his was no impediment to him; but as he was a youth of great mind, he presently met with an opportunity of signalizing his courage; for finding that there was one Hezekiah, a captain of a band of robbers, who overran the neighboring parts of Syria with a great troop of them, he seized him and slew him, as well as a great number of the other robbers that were with him; for which action he was greatly beloved by the Syrians; for when they were very desirous to have their country freed from this nest of robbers, he purged it of them. So they sung songs in his commendation in their villages and cities, as having procured them peace, and the secure enjoyment of their possessions; and on this account it was that he became known to Sextus Caesar, who was a relation of the great Caesar, and was now president of Syria. Now Phasaetus, Herod's brother, was moved with emulation at his actions, and envied the fame he had thereby gotten, and became ambitious not to be behindhand with him in deserving it. So he made the inhabitants of Jerusalem bear him the greatest good-will while he held the city

himself, but did neither manage its affairs improperly, nor abuse his authority therein. This conduct procured from the nation to Antipater such respect as is due to kings, and such honors as he might partake of if he were an absolute lord of the country. Yet did not this splendor of his, as frequently happens, in the least diminish in him that kindness and fidelity which he owed to Hyrcanus.

3. But now the principal men among the Jews, when they saw Antipater and his sons to grow so much in the good-will the nation bare to them, and in the revenues which they received out of Judea, and out of Hyrcanus's own wealth, they became ill-disposed to him; for indeed Antipater had contracted a friendship with the Roman emperors; and when he had prevailed with Hyrcanus to send them money, he took it to himself, and purloined the present intended, and sent it as if it were his own, and not Hyrcanus's gift to them. Hyrcanus heard of this his management, but took no care about it; nay, he rather was very glad of it. But the chief men of the Jews were therefore in fear, because they saw that Herod was a violent and bold man, and very desirous of acting tyrannically; so they came to Hyrcanus, and now accused Antipater openly, and said to him, "How long wilt thou be quiet under such actions as are now done? Or dost thou not see that Antipater and his sons have already seized upon the government, and that it is only the name of a king which is given thee? But do not thou suffer these things to be hidden from thee, nor do thou think to escape danger by being so careless of thyself and of thy kingdom; for Antipater and his sons are not now stewards of thine affairs: do not thou deceive thyself with such a notion; they are evidently absolute lords; for Herod, Antipater's son, hath slain Hezekiah, and those that were with him, and hath thereby transgressed our law, which hath forbidden to slay any man, even though he were a wicked man, unless he had been first condemned to suffer death by the Sanhedrim yet hath he been so insolent as to do this, and that without any authority from thee."

4. Upon Hyrcanus hearing this, he complied with them. The mothers also of those that had been slain by Herod raised his indignation; for those women continued every day in the temple, persuading the king and the people that Herod might undergo a trial before the Sanhedrim for what he had done. Hyrcanus was so moved by these complaints, that he summoned Herod to come to his trial for what was charged upon him. Accordingly he came; but his father had persuaded him to come not like a private man, but with a guard, for the security of his person; and that when he had settled the affairs of Galilee in the best manner he could for his own advantage, he should come to his trial, but still with a body of men sufficient for his security on his journey, yet so that he should not come with so great a force as might look like terrifying Hyrcanus, but still such a one as might not expose him naked and unguarded [to his enemies.]

However, Sextus Caesar, president of Syria, wrote to Hyrcanus, and desired him to clear Herod, and dismiss him at his trial, and threatened him beforehand if he did not do it. Which epistle of his was the occasion of Hyrcanus delivering Herod from suffering any harm from the Sanhedrim, for he loved him as his own son. But when Herod stood before the Sanhedrim, with his body of men about him, he aftrighted them all, and no one of his former accusers durst after that bring any charge against him, but there was a deep silence, and nobody knew what was to be done. When affairs stood thus, one whose name was Sameas, a righteous man he was, and for that reason above all fear, rose up, and said, "O you that are assessors with me, and O thou that art our king, I neither have ever myself known such a case, nor do I suppose that any one of you can name its parallel, that one who is called to take his trial by us ever stood in such a manner before us; but every one, whosoever he be, that comes to be tried by this Sanhedrim, presents himself in a submissive manner, and like one that is in fear of himself, and that endeavors to move us to compassion, with his hair dishevelled, and in a black and mourning garment: but this admirable man Herod, who is accused of murder, and called to answer so heavy an accusation, stands here clothed in purple, and with the hair of his head finely trimmed, and with his armed men about him, that if we shall condemn him by our law, he may slay us, and by overbearing justice may himself escape death. Yet do not I make this complaint against Herod himself; he is to be sure more concerned for himself than for the laws; but my complaint is against yourselves, and your king, who gave him a license so to do. However, take you notice, that God is great, and that this very man, whom you are going to absolve and dismiss, for the sake of Hyrcanus, will one day punish both you and your king himself also." Nor did Sameas mistake in any part of this prediction; for when Herod had received the kingdom, he slew all the members of this Sanhedrim, and Hyrcanus himself also, excepting Sameas, for he had a great honor for him on account of his righteousness, and because, when the city was afterward besieged by Herod and Sosius, he persuaded the people to admit Herod into it; and told them that for their sins they would not be able to escape his hands: — which things will be related by us in their proper places.

5. But when Hyrcanus saw that the members of the Sanhedrim were ready to pronounce the sentence of death upon Herod, he put off the trial to another day, and sent privately to Herod, and advised him to fly out of the city, for that by this means he might escape. So he retired to Damascus, as though he fled from the king; and when he had been with Sextus Caesar, and had put his own affairs in a sure posture, he resolved to do thus; that in case he were again summoned before the Sanhedrim to take his trial, he would not obey that summons.

Hereupon the members of the Sanhedrim had great indignation at this posture of affairs, and endeavored to persuade Hyrcanus that all these things were against him; which state of matters he was not ignorant of; but his temper was so unmanly, and so foolish, that he was able to do nothing at all. But when Sextus had made Herod general of the army of Celesyria, for he sold him that post for money, Hyrcanus was in fear lest Herod should make war upon him; nor was the effect of what he feared long in coming upon him; for Herod came and brought an army along with him to fight with Hyrcanus, as being angry at the trial he had been summoned to undergo before the Sanhedrim; but his father Antipater, and his brother [Phasaelus], met him, and hindered him from assaulting Jerusalem. They also pacified his vehement temper, and persuaded him to do no overt action, but only to affright them with threatenings, and to proceed no further against one who had given him the dignity he had: they also desired him not only to be angry that he was summoned, and obliged to come to his trial, but to remember withal how he was dismissed without condemnation, and how he ought to give Hyrcanus thanks for the same; and that he was not to regard only what was disagreeable to him, and be unthankful for his deliverance. So they desired him to consider, that since it is God that turns the scales of war, there is great uncertainty in the issue of battles, and that therefore he ought of to expect the victory when he should fight with his king, and him that had supported him, and bestowed many benefits upon him, and had done nothing itself very severe to him; for that his accusation, which was derived from evil counselors, and not from himself, had rather the suspicion of some severity, than any thing really severe in it. Herod was persuaded by these arguments, and believed that it was sufficient for his future hopes to have made a show of his strength before the nation, and done no more to it — and in this state were the affairs of Judea at this time.

CHAPTER 10. The Honors That Were Paid The Jews; And The Leagues That Were Made By The Romans And Other Nations, With Them.

1. Now when Caesar was come to Rome, he was ready to sail into Africa to fight against Scipio and Cato, when Hyrcanus sent ambassadors to him, and by them desired that he would ratify that league of friendship and mutual alliance which was between them, And it seems to me to be necessary here to give an account of all the honors that the Romans and their emperor paid to our nation, and of the leagues of mutual assistance they have made with it, that all the rest of mankind may know what regard the kings of Asia and Europe have had to us, and that they have been abundantly satisfied of our courage and fidelity; for whereas many will not believe what hath been written about us by the Persians and Macedonians, because those writings are not every where to be met with, nor do lie in public places, but among us ourselves, and certain other barbarous nations, while there is no contradiction to be made against the decrees of the Romans, for they are laid up in the public places of the cities, and are extant still in the capitol, and engraven upon pillars of brass; nay, besides this, Julius Caesar made a pillar of brass for the Jews at Alexandria, and declared publicly that they were citizens of Alexandria. Out of these evidences will I demonstrate what I say; and will now set down the decrees made both by the senate and by Julius Caesar, which relate to Hyrcanus and to our nation.

2. “Caius Julius Caesar, imperator and high priest, and dictator the second time, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Sidon, sendeth greeting. If you be in health, it is well. I also and the army are well. I have sent you a copy of that decree, registered on the tables, which concerns Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, that it may be laid up among the public records; and I will that it be openly proposed in a table of brass, both in Greek and in Latin. It is as follows: I Julius Caesar, imperator the second time, and high priest, have made this decree, with the approbation of the senate. Whereas Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander the Jew, hath demonstrated his fidelity and diligence about our affairs, and this both now and in former times, both in peace and in war, as many of our generals have borne witness, and came to our assistance in the last Alexandrian war, with fifteen hundred soldiers; and when he was sent by me to Mithridates, showed himself superior in valor to all the rest of that army; — for these reasons I will that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, and his children, be ethnarchs of the Jews, and have the high priesthood of the Jews

for ever, according to the customs of their forefathers, and that he and his sons be our confederates; and that besides this, everyone of them be reckoned among our particular friends. I also ordain that he and his children retain whatsoever privileges belong to the office of high priest, or whatsoever favors have been hitherto granted them; and if at any time hereafter there arise any questions about the Jewish customs, I will that he determine the same. And I think it not proper that they should be obliged to find us winter quarters, or that any money should be required of them."

3. "The decrees of Caius Caesar, consul, containing what hath been granted and determined, are as follows: That Hyrcanus and his children bear rule over the nation of the Jews, and have the profits of the places to them bequeathed; and that he, as himself the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, defend those that are injured; and that ambassadors be sent to Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest of the Jews, that may discourse with him about a league of friendship and mutual assistance; and that a table of brass, containing the premises, be openly proposed in the capitol, and at Sidon, and Tyre, and Askelon, and in the temple, engraven in Roman and Greek letters: that this decree may also be communicated to the quaestors and praetors of the several cities, and to the friends of the Jews; and that the ambassadors may have presents made them; and that these decrees be sent every where."

4. "Caius Caesar, imperator, dictator, consul, hath granted, That out of regard to the honor, and virtue, and kindness of the man, and for the advantage of the senate, and of the people of Rome, Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, both he and his children, be high priests and priests of Jerusalem, and of the Jewish nation, by the same right, and according to the same laws, by which their progenitors have held the priesthood."

5. "Caius Caesar, consul the fifth time, hath decreed, That the Jews shall possess Jerusalem, and may encompass that city with walls; and that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, retain it in the manner he himself pleases; and that the Jews be allowed to deduct out of their tribute, every second year the land is let [in the Sabbatic period], a corus of that tribute; and that the tribute they pay be not let to farm, nor that they pay always the same tribute."

6. "Caius Caesar, imperator the second time, hath ordained, That all the country of the Jews, excepting Joppa, do pay a tribute yearly for the city Jerusalem, excepting the seventh, which they call the sabbatical year, because thereon they neither receive the fruits of their trees, nor do they sow their land; and that they pay their tribute in Sidon on the second year [of that sabbatical period], the fourth part of what was sown: and besides this, they are to pay the

same tithes to Hyrcanus and his sons which they paid to their forefathers. And that no one, neither president, nor lieutenant, nor ambassador, raise auxiliaries within the bounds of Judea; nor may soldiers exact money of them for winter quarters, or under any other pretense; but that they be free from all sorts of injuries; and that whatsoever they shall hereafter have, and are in possession of, or have bought, they shall retain them all. It is also our pleasure that the city Joppa, which the Jews had originally, when they made a league of friendship with the Romans, shall belong to them, as it formerly did; and that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, and his sons, have as tribute of that city from those that occupy the land for the country, and for what they export every year to Sidon, twenty thousand six hundred and seventy-five modii every year, the seventh year, which they call the Sabbatic year, excepted, whereon they neither plough, nor receive the product of their trees. It is also the pleasure of the senate, that as to the villages which are in the great plain, which Hyrcanus and his forefathers formerly possessed, Hyrcanus and the Jews have them with the same privileges with which they formerly had them also; and that the same original ordinances remain still in force which concern the Jews with regard to their high priests; and that they enjoy the same benefits which they have had formerly by the concession of the people, and of the senate; and let them enjoy the like privileges in Lydda. It is the pleasure also of the senate that Hyrcanus the ethnarch, and the Jews, retain those places, countries, and villages which belonged to the kings of Syria and Phoenicia, the confederates of the Romans, and which they had bestowed on them as their free gifts. It is also granted to Hyrcanus, and to his sons, and to the ambassadors by them sent to us, that in the fights between single gladiators, and in those with beasts, they shall sit among the senators to see those shows; and that when they desire an audience, they shall be introduced into the senate by the dictator, or by the general of the horse; and when they have introduced them, their answers shall be returned them in ten days at the furthest, after the decree of the senate is made about their affairs."

7. "Caius Caesar, imperator, dictator the fourth time, and consul the fifth time, declared to be perpetual dictator, made this speech concerning the rights and privileges of Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews. Since those imperators that have been in the provinces before me have borne witness to Hyrcanus, the high priest of the Jews, and to the Jews themselves, and this before the senate and people of Rome, when the people and senate returned their thanks to them, it is good that we now also remember the same, and provide that a requital be made to Hyrcanus, to the nation of the Jews, and to the sons of Hyrcanus, by the senate and people of Rome, and that suitably

to what good-will they have shown us, and to the benefits they have bestowed upon us."

8. "Julius Caius, praetor [consul] of Rome, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Parians, sendeth greeting. The Jews of Delos, and some other Jews that sojourn there, in the presence of your ambassadors, signified to us, that, by a decree of yours, you forbid them to make use of the customs of their forefathers, and their way of sacred worship. Now it does not please me that such decrees should be made against our friends and confederates, whereby they are forbidden to live according to their own customs, or to bring in contributions for common suppers and holy festivals, while they are not forbidden so to do even at Rome itself; for even Caius Caesar, our imperator and consul, in that decree wherein he forbade the Bacchanal rioters to meet in the city, did yet permit these Jews, and these only, both to bring in their contributions, and to make their common suppers. Accordingly, when I forbid other Bacchanal rioters, I permit these Jews to gather themselves together, according to the customs and laws of their forefathers, and to persist therein. It will be therefore good for you, that if you have made any decree against these our friends and confederates, to abrogate the same, by reason of their virtue and kind disposition towards us."

9. Now after Caius was slain, when Marcus Antonius and Publius Dolabella were consuls, they both assembled the senate, and introduced Hyrcanus's ambassadors into it, and discoursed of what they desired, and made a league of friendship with them. The senate also decreed to grant them all they desired. I add the decree itself, that those who read the present work may have ready by them a demonstration of the truth of what we say. The decree was this:

10. "The decree of the senate, copied out of the treasury, from the public tables belonging to the quaestors, when Quintus Rutilius and Caius Cornelius were quaestors, and taken out of the second table of the first class, on the third day before the Ides of April, in the temple of Concord. There were present at the writing of this decree, Lucius Calpurnius Piso of the Menenian tribe, Servius Papinins Potitus of the Lemonian tribe, Caius Caninius Rebilius of the Terentine tribe, Publius Tidetius, Lucius Apulinus, the son of Lucius, of the Sergian tribe, Flavius, the son of Lucius, of the Lemonian tribe, Publius Platins, the son of Publius, of the Papyrian tribe, Marcus Acilius, the son of Marcus, of the Mecian tribe, Lucius Erucius, the son of Lucius, of the Stellatine tribe, Mareils Quintus Plancillus, the son of Marcus, of the Pollian tribe, and Publius Serius. Publius Dolabella and Marcus Antonius, the consuls, made this reference to the senate, that as to those things which, by the decree of the senate, Caius Caesar had adjudged about the Jews, and yet had not hitherto that decree been brought into the treasury, it is our will, as it is also the desire of Publius Dolabella and Marcus

Antonius, our consuls, to have these decrees put into the public tables, and brought to the city quaestors, that they may take care to have them put upon the double tables. This was done before the fifth of the Ides of February, in the temple of Concord. Now the ambassadors from Hyrcanus the high priest were these: Lysimachus, the son of Pausanias, Alexander, the son of Theodorus, Patroclus, the son of Chereas, and Jonathan the son of Onias."

11. Hyrcanus sent also one of these ambassadors to Dolabella, who was then the prefect of Asia, and desired him to dismiss the Jews from military services, and to preserve to them the customs of their forefathers, and to permit them to live according to them. And when Dolabella had received Hyrcanus's letter, without any further deliberation, he sent an epistle to all the Asiatics, and particularly to the city of the Ephesians, the metropolis of Asia, about the Jews; a copy of which epistle here follows:

12. "When Artermon was prytanis, on the first day of the month Leneon, Dolabella, imperator, to the senate, and magistrates, and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting. Alexander, the son of Theodorus, the ambassador of Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, appeared before me, to show that his countrymen could not go into their armies, because they are not allowed to bear arms or to travel on the sabbath days, nor there to procure themselves those sorts of food which they have been used to eat from the times of their forefathers; — I do therefore grant them a freedom from going into the army, as the former prefects have done, and permit them to use the customs of their forefathers, in assembling together for sacred and religious purposes, as their law requires, and for collecting oblations necessary for sacrifices; and my will is, that you write this to the several cities under your jurisdiction."

13. And these were the concessions that Dolabella made to our nation when Hyrcanus sent an embassage to him. But Lucius the consul's decree ran thus: "I have at my tribunal set these Jews, who are citizens of Rome, and follow the Jewish religious rites, and yet live at Ephesus, free from going into the army, on account of the superstition they are under. This was done before the twelfth of the calends of October, when Lucius Lentulus and Caius Marcellus were consuls, in the presence of Titus Appius Balgus, the son of Titus, and lieutenant of the Horatian tribe; of Titus Tongins, the son of Titus, of the Crustumine tribe; of Quintus Resius, the son of Quintus; of Titus Pompeius Longinus, the son of Titus; of Catus Servilius, the son of Caius, of the Terentine tribe; of Bracchus the military tribune; of Publius Lucius Gallus, the son of Publius, of the Veturian tribe; of Caius Sentins, the son of Caius, of the Sabbatine tribe; of Titus Atilius Bulbus, the son of Titus, lieutenant and vice-praetor to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting. Lucius Lentulus the consul freed

the Jews that are in Asia from going into the armies, at my intercession for them; and when I had made the same petition some time afterward to Phanius the imperator, and to Lucius Antonius the vice-quaestor, I obtained that privilege of them also; and my will is, that you take care that no one give them any disturbance."

14. The decree of the Delians. "The answer of the praetors, when Beotus was archon, on the twentieth day of the month Thargeleon. While Marcus Piso the lieutenant lived in our city, who was also appointed over the choice of the soldiers, he called us, and many other of the citizens, and gave order, that if there be here any Jews who are Roman citizens, no one is to give them any disturbance about going into the army, because Cornelius Lentulus, the consul, freed the Jews from going into the army, on account of the superstition they are under; — you are therefore obliged to submit to the praetor." And the like decree was made by the Sardians about us also.

15. "Caius Phanius, the son of Caius, imperator and consul, to the magistrates of Cos, sendeth greeting. I would have you know that the ambassadors of the Jews have been with me, and desired they might have those decrees which the senate had made about them; which decrees are here subjoined. My will is, that you have a regard to and take care of these men, according to the senate's decree, that they may be safely conveyed home through your country."

16. The declaration of Lucius Lentulus the consul: "I have dismissed those Jews who are Roman citizens, and who appear to me to have their religious rites, and to observe the laws of the Jews at Ephesus, on account of the superstition they are under. This act was done before the thirteenth of the calends of October."

17. "Lucius Antonius, the son of Marcus, vice-quaestor, and vice-praetor, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Sardians, sendeth greeting. Those Jews that are our fellow citizens of Rome came to me, and demonstrated that they had an assembly of their own, according to the laws of their forefathers, and this from the beginning, as also a place of their own, wherein they determined their suits and controversies with one another. Upon their petition therefore to me, that these might be lawful for them, I gave order that these their privileges be preserved, and they be permitted to do accordingly."

18. The declaration of Marcus Publius, the son of Spurius, and of Marcus, the son of Marcus, and of Lucius, the son of Publius: "We went to the proconsul, and informed him of what Dositheus, the son of Cleopatrida of Alexandria, desired, that, if he thought good, he would dismiss those Jews who were Roman citizens, and were wont to observe the rites of the Jewish religion, on account of

the superstition they were under. Accordingly, he did dismiss them. This was done before the thirteenth of the calends of October."

19. "In the month Quntius, when Lucius Lentulus and Caius Mercellus were consuls; and there were present Titus Appius Balbus, the son of Titus, lieutenant of the Horatian tribe, Titus Tongius of the Crustumine tribe, Quintus Resius, the son of Quintus, Titus Pompeius, the son of Titus, Cornelius Longinus, Caius Servilius Bracchus, the son of Caius, a military tribune, of the Terentine tribe, Publius Clusius Gallus, the son of Publius, of the Veturian tribe, Caius Teutius, the son of Caius, a milital tribune, of the EmilJan tribe, Sextus Atilius Serranus, the son of Sextus, of the Esquiline tribe, Caius Pompeius, the son of Caius, of the Sabbatine tribe, Titus Appius Menander, the son of Titus, Publius Servilius Strabo, the son of Publius, Lucius Paccius Capito, the son of Lucius, of the Colline tribe, Aulus Furius Tertius, the son of Aulus, and Appius Menus. In the presence of these it was that Lentulus pronounced this decree: I have before the tribunal dismissed those Jews that are Roman citizens, and are accustomed to observe the sacred rites of the Jews at Ephesus, on account of the superstition they are under."

20. "The magistrates of the Laodiceans to Caius Rubilius, the son of Caius, the consul, sendeth greeting. Sopater, the ambassador of Hyrcanus the high priest, hath delivered us an epistle from thee, whereby he lets us know that certain ambassadors were come from Hyrcanus, the high priest of the Jews, and brought an epistle written concerning their nation, wherein they desire that the Jews may be allowed to observe their Sabbaths, and other sacred rites, according to the laws of their forefathers, and that they may be under no command, because they are our friends and confederates, and that nobody may injure them in our provinces. Now although the Trallians there present contradicted them, and were not pleased with these decrees, yet didst thou give order that they should be observed, and informedst us that thou hadst been desired to write this to us about them. We therefore, in obedience to the injunctions we have received from thee, have received the epistle which thou sentest us, and have laid it up by itself among our public records. And as to the other things about which thou didst send to us, we will take care that no complaint be made against us."

21. "Publius Servilius, the son of Publius, of the Galban tribe, the proconsul, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Mileslans, sendeth greeting. Prytanes, the son of Hermes, a citizen of yours, came to me when I was at Tralles, and held a court there, and informed me that you used the Jews in a way different from my opinion, and forbade them to celebrate their Sabbaths, and to perform the Sacred rites received from their forefathers, and to manage the fruits of the land, according to their ancient custom; and that he had himself been the

promulger of your decree, according as your laws require: I would therefore have you know, that upon hearing the pleadings on both sides, I gave sentence that the Jews should not be prohibited to make use of their own customs."

22. The decree of those of Pergamus. "When Cratippus was prytanis, on the first day of the month Desius, the decree of the praetors was this: Since the Romans, following the conduct of their ancestors, undertake dangers for the common safety of all mankind, and are ambitious to settle their confederates and friends in happiness, and in firm peace, and since the nation of the Jews, and their high priest Hyrcanus, sent as ambassadors to them, Strato, the son of Theodatus, and Apollonius, the son of Alexander, and Eneas, the son of Antipater, and Aristobulus, the son of Amyntas, and Sosipater, the son of Philip, worthy and good men, who gave a particular account of their affairs, the senate thereupon made a decree about what they had desired of them, that Antiochus the king, the son of Antiochus, should do no injury to the Jews, the confederates of the Romans; and that the fortresses, and the havens, and the country, and whatsoever else he had taken from them, should be restored to them; and that it may be lawful for them to export their goods out of their own havens; and that no king nor people may have leave to export any goods, either out of the country of Judea, or out of their havens, without paying customs, but only Ptolemy, the king of Alexandria, because he is our confederate and friend; and that, according to their desire, the garrison that is in Joppa may be ejected. Now Lucius Pettius, one of our senators, a worthy and good man, gave order that we should take care that these things should be done according to the senate's decree; and that we should take care also that their ambassadors might return home in safety. Accordingly, we admitted Theodorus into our senate and assembly, and took the epistle out his hands, as well as the decree of the senate. And as he discoursed with great zeal about the Jews, and described Hyrcanus's virtue and generosity, and how he was a benefactor to all men in common, and particularly to every body that comes to him, we laid up the epistle in our public records; and made a decree ourselves, that since we also are in confederacy with the Romans, we would do every thing we could for the Jews, according to the senate's decree. Theodorus also, who brought the epistle, desired of our praetors, that they would send Hyrcanus a copy of that decree, as also ambassadors to signify to him the affection of our people to him, and to exhort them to preserve and augment their friendship for us, and be ready to bestow other benefits upon us, as justly expecting to receive proper requitals from us; and desiring them to remember that our ancestors were friendly to the Jews even in the days of Abraham, who was the father of all the Hebrews, as we have [also] found it set down in our public records."

23. The decree of those of Halicarnassus. “When Memnon, the son of Orestidas by descent, but by adoption of Euonymus, was priest, on the —— day of the month Aristerion, the decree of the people, upon the representation of Marcus Alexander, was this: Since we have ever a great regard to piety towards God, and to holiness; and since we aim to follow the people of the Romans, who are the benefactors of all men, and what they have written to us about a league of friendship and mutual assistance between the Jews and our city, and that their sacred offices and accustomed festivals and assemblies may be observed by them; we have decreed, that as many men and women of the Jews as are willing so to do, may celebrate their Sabbaths, and perform their holy offices, according to Jewish laws; and may make their proseuchae at the sea-side, according to the customs of their forefathers; and if any one, whether he be a magistrate or private person, hindereth them from so doing, he shall be liable to a fine, to be applied to the uses of the city.”

24. The decree of the Sardians. “This decree was made by the senate and people, upon the representation of the praetors: Whereas those Jews who are fellow citizens, and live with us in this city, have ever had great benefits heaped upon them by the people, and have come now into the senate, and desired of the people, that upon the restitution of their law and their liberty, by the senate and people of Rome, they may assemble together, according to their ancient legal custom, and that we will not bring any suit against them about it; and that a place may be given them where they may have their congregations, with their wives and children, and may offer, as did their forefathers, their prayers and sacrifices to God. Now the senate and people have decreed to permit them to assemble together on the days formerly appointed, and to act according to their own laws; and that such a place be set apart for them by the praetors, for the building and inhabiting the same, as they shall esteem fit for that purpose; and that those that take care of the provision for the city, shall take care that such sorts of food as they esteem fit for their eating may be imported into the city.”

25. The decree of the Ephesians. “When Menophilus was prytanis, on the first day of the month Artemisius, this decree was made by the people: Nicanor, the son of Euphemus, pronounced it, upon the representation of the praetors. Since the Jews that dwell in this city have petitioned Marcus Julius Pompeius, the son of Brutus, the proconsul, that they might be allowed to observe their Sabbaths, and to act in all things according to the customs of their forefathers, without impediment from any body, the praetor hath granted their petition. Accordingly, it was decreed by the senate and people, that in this affair that concerned the Romans, no one of them should be hindered from keeping the sabbath day, nor

be fined for so doing, but that they may be allowed to do all things according to their own laws."

26. Now there are many such decrees of the senate and imperators of the Romans and those different from these before us, which have been made in favor of Hyrcanus, and of our nation; as also, there have been more decrees of the cities, and rescripts of the praetors, to such epistles as concerned our rights and privileges; and certainly such as are not ill-disposed to what we write may believe that they are all to this purpose, and that by the specimens which we have inserted; for since we have produced evident marks that may still be seen of the friendship we have had with the Romans, and demonstrated that those marks are engraven upon columns and tables of brass in the capitol, that axe still in being, and preserved to this day, we have omitted to set them all down, as needless and disagreeable; for I cannot suppose any one so perverse as not to believe the friendship we have had with the Romans, while they have demonstrated the same by such a great number of their decrees relating to us; nor will they doubt of our fidelity as to the rest of those decrees, since we have shown the same in those we have produced, And thus have we sufficiently explained that friendship and confederacy we at those times had with the Romans.

CHAPTER 11. How Marcus, Succeeded Sextus When He Had Been Slain By Bassus's Treachery; And How, After The Death Of Caesar, Cassius Came Into Syria, And Distressed Judea; As Also How Malichus Slew Antipater And Was Himself Slain By Herod.

1. Now it so fell out, that about this very time the affairs of Syria were in great disorder, and this on the occasion following: Cecilius Bassus, one of Pompey's party, laid a treacherous design against Sextus Caesar, and slew him, and then took his army, and got the management of public affairs into his own hand; so there arose a great war about Apamia, while Caesar's generals came against him with an army of horsemen and footmen; to these Antipater also sent succors, and his sons with them, as calling to mind the kindnesses they had received from Caesar, and on that account he thought it but just to require punishment for him, and to take vengeance on the man that had murdered him. And as the war was drawn out into a great length, Marcus came from Rome to take Sextus's government upon him. But Caesar was slain by Cassius and Brutus in the senate-house, after he had retained the government three years and six months. This fact however, is related elsewhere.

2. As the war that arose upon the death of Caesar was now begun, and the principal men were all gone, some one way, and some another, to raise armies, Cassius came from Rome into Syria, in order to receive the [army that lay in the] camp at Apamia; and having raised the siege, he brought over both Bassus and Marcus to his party. He then went over the cities, and got together weapons and soldiers, and laid great taxes upon those cities; and he chiefly oppressed Judea, and exacted of it seven hundred talents: but Antipater, when he saw the state to be in so great consternation and disorder, he divided the collection of that sum, and appointed his two sons to gather it; and so that part of it was to be exacted by Malichus, who was ill-disposed to him, and part by others. And because Herod did exact what is required of him from Galilee before others, he was in the greatest favor with Cassius; for he thought it a part of prudence to cultivate a friendship with the Romans, and to gain their goodwill at the expense of others; whereas the curators of the other cities, with their citizens, were sold for slaves; and Cassius reduced four cities into a state of slavery, the two most potent of which were Gophna and Emmaus; and, besides these, Lydia and Thamna. Nay, Cassius was so very angry at Malichus, that he had killed him, [for he assaulted

him,] had not Hyrcanus, by the means of Antipater, sent him a hundred talents of his own, and thereby pacified his anger against him.

3. But after Cassius was gone out of Judea, Malichus laid snares for Antipater, as thinking that his death would-be the preservation of Hyrcanus's government; but his design was not unknown to Antipater, which when he perceived, he retired beyond Jordan, and got together an army, partly of Arabs, and partly of his own countrymen. However, Malichus, being one of great cunning, denied that he had laid any snares for him, and made his defense with an oath, both to himself and his sons; and said that while Phasaelus had a garrison in Jerusalem, and Herod had the weapons of war in his custody, he could never have a thought of any such thing. So Antipater, perceiving the distress that Malichus was in, was reconciled to him, and made an agreement with him: this was when Marcus was president of Syria; who yet perceiving that this Malichus was making a disturbance in Judea, proceeded so far that he had almost killed him; but still, at the intercession of Antipater, he saved him.

4. However, Antipater little thought that by saving Malichus he had saved his own murderer; for now Cassius and Marcus had got together an army, and intrusted the entire care of it with Herod, and made him general of the forces of Celesyria, and gave him a fleet of ships, and an army of horsemen and footmen; and promised him, that after the war was over they would make him king of Judea; for a war was already begun between Antony and the younger Caesar: but as Malichus was most afraid of Antipater, he took him out of the way; and by the offer of money, persuaded the butler of Hyrcanus, with whom they were both to feast, to kill him by poison. This being done, and he having armed men with him, settled the affairs of the city. But when Antipater's sons, Herod and Phasaelus, were acquainted with this conspiracy against their father, and had indignation at it, Malichus denied all, and utterly renounced any knowledge of the murder. And thus died Antipater, a man that had distinguished himself for piety and justice, and love to his country. And whereas one of his sons, Herod, resolved immediately to revenge their father's death, and was coming upon Malichus with an army for that purpose, the elder of his sons, Phasaelus, thought it best rather to get this man into their hands by policy, lest they should appear to begin a civil war in the country; so he accepted of Malichus's defense for himself, and pretended to believe him that he had had no hand in the violent death of Antipater his father, but erected a fine monument for him. Herod also went to Samaria; and when he found them in great distress, he revived their spirits, and composed their differences.

5. However, a little after this, Herod, upon the approach of a festival, came with his soldiers into the city; whereupon Malichus was aftrighted, and

persuaded Hyrcanus not to permit him to come into the city. Hyrcanus complied; and, for a pretense of excluding him, alleged, that a rout of strangers ought not to be admitted when the multitude were purifying themselves. But Herod had little regard to the messengers that were sent to him, and entered the city in the night time, and aftrighted Malichus; yet did he remit nothing of his former dissimulation, but wept for Antipater, and bewailed him as a friend of his with a loud voice; but Herod and his friends though, it proper not openly to contradict Malichus's hypocrisy, but to give him tokens of mutual friendship, in order to prevent his suspicion of them.

6. However, Herod sent to Cassius, and informed him of the murder of his father; who knowing what sort of man Malichus was as to his morals, sent him back word that he should revenge his father's death; and also sent privately to the commanders of his army at Tyre, with orders to assist Herod in the execution of a very just design of his. Now when Cassius had taken Laodicea, they all went together to him, and carried him garlands and money; and Herod thought that Malichus might be punished while he was there; but he was somewhat apprehensive of the thing, and designed to make some great attempt, and because his son was then a hostage at Tyre, he went to that city, and resolved to steal him away privately, and to march thence into Judea; and as Cassius was in haste to march against Antony, he thought to bring the country to revolt, and to procure the government for himself. But Providence opposed his counsels; and Herod being a shrewd man, and perceiving what his intention was, he sent thither beforehand a servant, in appearance indeed to get a supper ready, for he had said before that he would feast them all there, but in reality to the commanders of the army, whom he persuaded to go out against Malichus, with their daggers. So they went out and met the man near the city, upon the sea-shore, and there stabbed him. Whereupon Hyrcanus was so astonished at what had happened, that his speech failed him; and when, after some difficulty, he had recovered himself, he asked Herod what the matter could be, and who it was that slew Malichus; and when he said that it was done by the command of Cassius, he commended the action; for that Malichus was a very wicked man, and one that conspired against his own country. And this was the punishment that was inflicted on Malichus for what he wickedly did to Antipater.

7. But when Cassius was marched out of Syria, disturbances arose in Judea; for Felix, who was left at Jerusalem with an army, made a sudden attempt against Phasaelus, and the people themselves rose in arms; but Herod went to Fabius, the prefect of Damascus, and was desirous to run to his brother's assistance, but was hindered by a distemper that seized upon him, till Phasaelus by himself had been too hard for Felix, and had shut him up in the tower, and

there, on certain conditions, dismissed him. Phasaelus also complained of Hyrcanus, that although he had received a great many benefits from them, yet did he support their enemies; for Malichus's brother had made many places to revolt, and kept garrisons in them, and particularly Masada, the strongest fortress of them all. In the mean time, Herod was recovered of his disease, and came and took from Felix all the places he had gotten; and, upon certain conditions, dismissed him also.

CHAPTER 12. Herod Ejects Antigonus, The Son Of Aristobulus Out Of Judea, And Gains The Friendship Of Antony, Who Was Now Come Into Syria, By Sending Him Much Money; On Which Account He Would Not Admit Of Those That Would Have Accused Herod: And What It Was That Antony Wrote To The Tyrians In Behalf.

1. Now Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, brought back into Judea Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, who had already raised an army, and had, by money, made Fabius to be his friend, add this because he was of kin to him. Marion also gave him assistance. He had been left by Cassius to tyrannize over Tyre; for this Cussiris was a man that seized on Syria, and then kept it under, in the way of a tyrant. Marion also marched into Galilee, which lay in his neighborhood, and took three of his fortresses, and put garrisons into them to keep them. But when Herod came, he took all from him; but the Tyrian garrison he dismissed in a very civil manner; nay, to some of the soldiers he made presents out of the goodwill he bare to that city. When he had despatched these affairs, and was gone to meet Antigonus, he joined battle with him, and beat him, and drove him out of Judea presently, when he was just come into its borders. But when he was come to Jerusalem, Hyrcanus and the people put garlands about his head; for he had already contracted an affinity with the family of Hyrcanus by having espoused a descendant of his, and for that reason Herod took the greater care of him, as being to marry the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, add the granddaughter of Hyrcanus, by which wife he became the father of three male and two female children. He had also married before this another wife, out of a lower family of his own nation, whose name was Doris, by whom he had his eldest son Antipater.

2. Now Antonius and Caesar had beaten Cassius near Philippi, as others have related; but after the victory, Caesar went into Gaul, [Italy,] and Antony marched for Asia, who, when he was arrived at Bithynia, he had ambassadors that met him from all parts. The principal men also of the Jews came thither, to accuse Phasaelus and Herod; and they said that Hyrcanus had indeed the appearance of reigning, but that these men had all the power: but Antony paid great respect to Herod, who was come to him to make his defense against his accusers, on which

account his adversaries could not so much as obtain a hearing; which favor Herod had gained of Antony by money. But still, when Antony was come to Ephesus, Hyrcanus the high priest, and our nation, sent an embassage to him, which carried a crown of gold with them, and desired that he would write to the governors of the provinces, to set those Jews free who had been carried captive by Cassius, and this without their having fought against him, and to restore them that country, which, in the days of Cassius, had been taken from them. Antony thought the Jews' desires were just, and wrote immediately to Hyrcanus, and to the Jews. He also sent, at the same time, a decree to the Tyrians; the contents of which were to the same purpose.

3. "Marcus Antonius, imperator, to Hyrcanus the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, sendeth greeting. It you be in health, it is well; I am also in health, with the army. Lysimachus, the son of Pausanias, and Josephus, the son of Menneus, and Alexander, the son of Theodorus, your ambassadors, met me at Ephesus, and have renewed the embassage which they had formerly been upon at Rome, and have diligently acquitted themselves of the present embassage, which thou and thy nation have intrusted to them, and have fully declared the goodwill thou hast for us. I am therefore satisfied, both by your actions and your words, that you are well-disposed to us; and I understand that your conduct of life is constant and religious: so I reckon upon you as our own. But when those that were adversaries to you, and to the Roman people, abstained neither from cities nor temples, and did not observe the agreement they had confirmed by oath, it was not only on account of our contest with them, but on account of all mankind in common, that we have taken vengeance on those who have been the authors of great injustice towards men, and of great wickedness towards the gods; for the sake of which we suppose it was that the sun turned away his light from us, as unwilling to view the horrid crime they were guilty of in the case of Caesar. We have also overcome their conspiracies, which threatened the gods themselves, which Macedonia received, as it is a climate peculiarly proper for impious and insolent attempts; and we have overcome that confused rout of men, half mad with spite against us, which they got together at Philippi in Macedonia, when they seized on the places that were proper for their purpose, and, as it were, walled them round with mountains to the very sea, and where the passage was open only through a single gate. This victory we gained, because the gods had condemned those men for their wicked enterprises. Now Brutus, when he had fled as far as Philippi, was shut up by us, and became a partaker of the same perdition with Cassius; and now these have received their punishment, we suppose that we may enjoy peace for the time to come, and that Asia may be at rest from war. We therefore make that peace which God hath given us common

to our confederates also, insomuch that the body of Asia is now recovered out of that distemper it was under by the means of our victory. I, therefore, bearing in mind both thee and your nation, shall take care of what may be for your advantage. I have also sent epistles in writing to the several cities, that if any persons, whether free-men or bond-men, have been sold under the spear by Caius Cassius, or his subordinate officers, they may be set free. And I will that you kindly make use of the favors which I and Dolabella have granted you. I also forbid the Tyrians to use any violence with you; and for what places of the Jews they now possess, I order them to restore them. I have withal accepted of the crown which thou sentest me."

4. "Marcus Antonius, imperator, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Tyre, sendeth greeting. The ambassadors of Hyrcanus, the high priest and ethnarch [of the Jews], appeared before me at Ephesus, and told me that you are in possession of part of their country, which you entered upon under the government of our adversaries. Since, therefore, we have undertaken a war for the obtaining the government, and have taken care to do what was agreeable to piety and justice, and have brought to punishment those that had neither any remembrance of the kindnesses they had received, nor have kept their oaths, I will that you be at peace with those that are our confederates; as also, that what you have taken by the means of our adversaries shall not be reckoned your own, but be returned to those from whom you took them; for none of them took their provinces or their armies by the gift of the senate, but they seized them by force, and bestowed them by violence upon such as became useful to them in their unjust proceedings. Since, therefore, those men have received the punishment due to them, we desire that our confederates may retain whatsoever it was that they formerly possessed without disturbance, and that you restore all the places which belong to Hyrcanus, the ethnarch of the Jews, which you have had, though it were but one day before Caius Cassius began an unjustifiable war against us, and entered into our province; nor do you use any force against him, in order to weaken him, that he may not be able to dispose of that which is his own; but if you have any contest with him about your respective rights, it shall be lawful for you to plead your cause when we come upon the places concerned, for we shall alike preserve the rights and hear all the causes of our confederates."

5. "Marcus Antonius, imperator, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Tyre, sendeth greeting. I have sent you my decree, of which I will that ye take care that it be engraven on the public tables, in Roman and Greek letters, and that it stand engraven in the most illustrious places, that it may be read by all. Marcus Antonius, imperator, one of the triumvirate over the public affairs, made this declaration: Since Caius Cassius, in this revolt he hath made, hath pillaged

that province which belonged not to him, and was held by garrisons there encamped, while they were our confederates, and hath spoiled that nation of the Jews that was in friendship with the Roman people, as in war; and since we have overcome his madness by arms, we now correct by our decrees and judicial determinations what he hath laid waste, that those things may be restored to our confederates. And as for what hath been sold of the Jewish possessions, whether they be bodies or possessions, let them be released; the bodies into that state of freedom they were originally in, and the possessions to their former owners. I also will that he who shall not comply with this decree of mine shall be punished for his disobedience; and if such a one be caught, I will take care that the offenders suffer condign punishment."

6. The same thing did Antony write to the Sidonians, and the Antiochians, and the Aradians. We have produced these decrees, therefore, as marks for futurity of the truth of what we have said, that the Romans had a great concern about our nation.

CHAPTER 13. How Antony Made Herod And Phasaelus Tetrarchs, After They Had Been Accused To No Purpose; And How The Parthians When They Brought Antigonus Into Judea Took Hyrcanus And Phasaelus Captives. Herod's Flight; And What Afflictions Hyrcanus And Phasaelus Endured.

1. When after this Antony came into Syria, Cleopatra met him in Cilicia, and brought him to fall in love with her. And there came now also a hundred of the most potent of the Jews to accuse Herod and those about him, and set the men of the greatest eloquence among them to speak. But Messala contradicted them, on behalf of the young men, and all this in the presence of Hyrcanus, who was Herod's father-in-law already. When Antony had heard both sides at Daphne, he asked Hyrcanus who they were that governed the nation best. He replied, Herod and his friends. Hereupon Antony, by reason of the old hospitable friendship he had made with his father [Antipater], at that time when he was with Gabinius, he made both Herod and Phasaelus tetrarchs, and committed the public affairs of the Jews to them, and wrote letters to that purpose. He also bound fifteen of their adversaries, and was going to kill them, but that Herod obtained their pardon.

2. Yet did not these men continue quiet when they were come back, but a thousand of the Jews came to Tyre to meet him there, whither the report was that he would come. But Antony was corrupted by the money which Herod and his brother had given him; and so he gave order to the governor of the place to punish the Jewish ambassadors, who were for making innovations, and to settle the government upon Herod; but Herod went out hastily to them, and Hyrcanus was with him, [for they stood upon the shore before the city,] and he charged them to go their ways, because great mischief would befall them if they went on with their accusation. But they did not acquiesce; whereupon the Romans ran upon them with their daggers, and slew some, and wounded more of them, and the rest fled away and went home, and lay still in great consternation. And when the people made a clamor against Herod, Antony was so provoked at it, that he slew the prisoners.

3. Now, in the second year, Pacorus, the king of Parthia's son, and Barzapharnes, a commander of the Parthians, possessed themselves of Syria. Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, also was now dead, and Lysanias his son took his

government, and made a league of friendship with Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus; and in order to obtain it, made use of that commander, who had great interest in him. Now Antigonus had promised to give the Parthians a thousand talents, and five hundred women, upon condition they would take the government away from Hyrcanus, and bestow it upon him, and withal kill Herod. And although he did not give them what he had promised, yet did the Parthians make an expedition into Judea on that account, and carried Antigonus with them. Pacorus went along the maritime parts, but the commander Barzapharnes through the midland. Now the Tyrians excluded Pacorus, but the Sidontans and those of Ptolemais received him. However, Pacorus sent a troop of horsemen into Judea, to take a view of the state of the country, and to assist Antigonus; and sent also the king's butler, of the same name with himself. So when the Jews that dwelt about Mount Carmel came to Antigonus, and were ready to march with him into Judea, Antigonus hoped to get some part of the country by their assistance. The place is called Drymi; and when some others came and met them, the men privately fell upon Jerusalem; and when some more were come to them, they got together in great numbers, and came against the king's palace, and besieged it. But as Phasaelus's and Herod's party came to the other's assistance, and a battle happened between them in the market-place, the young men beat their enemies, and pursued them into the temple, and sent some armed men into the adjoining houses to keep them in, who yet being destitute of such as should support them, were burnt, and the houses with them, by the people who rose up against them. But Herod was revenged on these seditious adversaries of his a little afterward for this injury they had offered him, when he fought with them, and slew a great number of them.

4. But while there were daily skirmishes, the enemy waited for the coming of the multitude out of the country to Pentecost, a feast of ours so called; and when that day was come, many ten thousands of the people were gathered together about the temple, some in armor, and some without. Now those that came guarded both the temple and the city, excepting what belonged to the palace, which Herod guarded with a few of his soldiers; and Phasaelus had the charge of the wall, while Herod, with a body of his men, sallied out upon the enemy, who lay in the suburbs, and fought courageously, and put many ten thousands to flight, some flying into the city, and some into the temple, and some into the outer fortifications, for some such fortifications there were in that place. Phasaelus came also to his assistance; yet was Pacorus, the general of the Parthians, at the desire of Antigonus, admitted into the city, with a few of his horsemen, under pretence indeed as if he would still the sedition, but in reality to assist Antigonus in obtaining the government. And when Phasaelus met him, and

received him kindly, Pacorus persuaded him to go himself as ambassador to Barzapharnes, which was done fraudulently. Accordingly, Phasaelus, suspecting no harm, complied with his proposal, while Herod did not give his consent to what was done, because of the perfidiousness of these barbarians, but desired Phasaelus rather to fight those that were come into the city.

5. So both Hyrcanus and Phasaelus went on the embassage; but Pacorus left with Herod two hundred horsemen, and ten men, who were called the freemen, and conducted the others on their journey; and when they were in Galilee, the governors of the cities there met them in their arms. Barzaphanles also received them at the first with cheerfulness, and made them presents, though he afterward conspired against them; and Phasaelus, with his horsemen, were conducted to the sea-side. But when they heard that Antigonus had promised to give the Parthians a thousand talents, and five hundred women, to assist him against them, they soon had a suspicion of the barbarians. Moreover, there was one who informed them that snares were laid for them by night, while a guard came about them secretly; and they had then been seized upon, had not they waited for the seizure of Herod by the Parthians that were about Jerusalem, lest, upon the slaughter of Hyrcanus and Phasaelus, he should have an intimation of it, and escape out of their hands. And these were the circumstances they were now in; and they saw who they were that guarded them. Some persons indeed would have persuaded Phasaelus to fly away immediately on horseback, and not stay any longer; and there was one Ophellius, who, above all the rest, was earnest with him to do so; for he had heard of this treachery from Saramalla, the richest of all the Syrians at that time, who also promised to provide him ships to carry him off; for the sea was just by them. But he had no mind to desert Hyrcanus, nor bring his brother into danger; but he went to Barzapharnes, and told him he did not act justly when he made such a contrivance against them; for that if he wanted money, he would give him more than Antigonus; and besides, that it was a horrible thing to slay those that came to him upon the security of their oaths, and that when they had done them no injury. But the barbarian swore to him that there was no truth in any of his suspicions, but that he was troubled with nothing but false proposals, and then went away to Pacorus.

6. But as soon as he was gone away, some men came and bound Hyrcanus and Phasaelus, while Phasaelus greatly reproached the Parthians for their perjury; However, that butler who was sent against Herod had it in command to get him without the walls of the city, and seize upon him; but messengers had been sent by Phasaelus to inform Herod of the perfidiousness of the Parthians. And when he knew that the enemy had seized upon them, he went to Pacorus, and to the most potent of the Parthians, as to the lord of the rest, who, although

they knew the whole matter, dissembled with him in a deceitful way; and said that he ought to go out with them before the walls, and meet those which were bringing him his letters, for that they were not taken by his adversaries, but were coming to give him an account of the good success Phasaelus had had. Herod did not give credit to what they said; for he had heard that his brother was seized upon by others also; and the daughter of Hyrcanus, whose daughter he had espoused, was his monitor also [not to credit them], which made him still more suspicious of the Parthians; for although other people did not give heed to her, yet did he believe her as a woman of very great wisdom.

7. Now while the Parthians were in consultation what was fit to be done; for they did not think it proper to make an open attempt upon a person of his character; and while they put off the determination to the next day, Herod was under great disturbance of mind, and rather inclining to believe the reports he heard about his brother and the Parthians, than to give heed to what was said on the other side, he determined, that when the evening came on, he would make use of it for his flight, and not make any longer delay, as if the dangers from the enemy were not yet certain. He therefore removed with the armed men whom he had with him; and set his wives upon the beasts, as also his mother, and sister, and her whom he was about to marry, [Mariamne,] the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, with her mother, the daughter of Hyrcanus, and his youngest brother, and all their servants, and the rest of the multitude that was with him, and without the enemy's privity pursued his way to Idumea. Nor could any enemy of his who then saw him in this case be so hardhearted, but would have commiserated his fortune, while the women drew along their infant children and left their own country, and their friends in prison, with tears in their eyes, and sad lamentations, and in expectation of nothing but what was of a melancholy nature.

8. But for Herod himself, he raised his mind above the miserable state he was in, and was of good courage in the midst of his misfortunes; and as he passed along, he bid them every one to be of good cheer, and not to give themselves up to sorrow, because that would hinder them in their flight, which was now the only hope of safety that they had. Accordingly, they tried to bear with patience the calamity they were under, as he exhorted them to do; yet was he once almost going to kill himself, upon the overthrow of a waggon, and the danger his mother was then in of being killed; and this on two accounts, because of his great concern for her, and because he was afraid lest, by this delay, the enemy should overtake him in the pursuit: but as he was drawing his sword, and going to kill himself therewith, those that were present restrained him, and being so many in number, were too hard for him; and told him that he ought not to desert

them, and leave them a prey to their enemies, for that it was not the part of a brave man to free himself from the distresses he was in, and to overlook his friends that were in the same distresses also. So he was compelled to let that horrid attempt alone, partly out of shame at what they said to him, and partly out of regard to the great number of those that would not permit him to do what he intended. So he encouraged his mother, and took all the care of her the time would allow, and proceeded on the way he proposed to go with the utmost haste, and that was to the fortress of Masada. And as he had many skirmishes with such of the Parthians as attacked him and pursued him, he was conqueror in them all.

9. Nor indeed was he free from the Jews all along as he was in his flight; for by that time he was gotten sixty furlongs out of the city, and was upon the road, they fell upon him, and fought hand to hand with him, whom he also put to flight, and overcame, not like one that was in distress and in necessity, but like one that was excellently prepared for war, and had what he wanted in great plenty. And in this very place where he overcame the Jews it was that he some time afterward build a most excellent palace, and a city round about it, and called it Herodium. And when he was come to Idumea, at a place called Thressa, his brother Joseph met him, and he then held a council to take advice about all his affairs, and what was fit to be done in his circumstances, since he had a great multitude that followed him, besides his mercenary soldiers, and the place Masada, whither he proposed to fly, was too small to contain so great a multitude; so he sent away the greater part of his company, being above nine thousand, and bid them go, some one way, and some another, and so save themselves in Idumea, and gave them what would buy them provisions in their journey. But he took with him those that were the least encumbered, and were most intimate with him, and came to the fortress, and placed there his wives and his followers, being eight hundred in number, there being in the place a sufficient quantity of corn and water, and other necessaries, and went directly for Petra, in Arabia. But when it was day, the Parthians plundered all Jerusalem, and the palace, and abstained from nothing but Hyrcanus's money, which was three hundred talents. A great deal of Herod's money escaped, and principally all that the man had been so provident as to send into Idumea beforehand; nor indeed did what was in the city suffice the Parthians, but they went out into the country, and plundered it, and demolished the city Marissa.

10. And thus was Antigonus brought back into Judea by the king of the Parthians, and received Hyrcanus and Phasaelus for his prisoners; but he was greatly cast down because the women had escaped, whom he intended to have given the enemy, as having promised they should have them, with the money, for their reward: but being afraid that Hyrcanus, who was under the guard of the

Parthians, might have his kingdom restored to him by the multitude, he cut off his ears, and thereby took care that the high priesthood should never come to him any more, because he was maimed, while the law required that this dignity should belong to none but such as had all their members entire But now one cannot but here admire the fortitude of Phasaelus, who, perceiving that he was to be put to death, did not think death any terrible thing at all; but to die thus by the means of his enemy, this he thought a most pitiable and dishonorable thing; and therefore, since he had not his hands at liberty, but the bonds he was in prevented him from killing himself thereby, he dashed his head against a great stone, and thereby took away his own life, which he thought to be the best thing he could do in such a distress as he was in, and thereby put it out of the power of the enemy to bring him to any death he pleased. It is also reported, that when he had made a great wound in his head, Antigonus sent physicians to cure it, and, by ordering them to infuse poison into the wound, killed him. However, Phasaelus hearing, before he was quite dead, by a certain woman, that his brother Herod had escaped the enemy, underwent his death cheerfully, since he now left behind him one who would revenge his death, and who was able to inflict punishment on his enemies.

CHAPTER 14. How Herod Got Away From The King Of Arabia And Made Haste To Go Into Egypt And Thence Went Away In Haste Also To Rome; And How, By Promising A Great Deal Of Money To Antony He Obtained Of The Senate And Of Caesar To Be Made King Of The Jews.

1. As for Herod, the great miseries he was in did not discourage him, but made him sharp in discovering surprising undertakings; for he went to Malchus, king of Arabia, whom he had formerly been very kind to, in order to receive somewhat by way of requital, now he was in more than ordinary want of it, and desired he would let him have some money, either by way of loan, or as his free gift, on account of the many benefits he had received from him; for not knowing what was become of his brother, he was in haste to redeem him out of the hand of his enemies, as willing to give three hundred talents for the price of his redemption. He also took with him the son of Phasaelus, who was a child of but seven years of age, for this very reason, that he might be a hostage for the repayment of the money. But there came messengers from Malchus to meet him, by whom he was desired to be gone, for that the Parthians had laid a charge upon him not to entertain Herod. This was only a pretense which he made use of, that he might not be obliged to repay him what he owed him; and this he was further induced to by the principal men among the Arabians, that they might cheat him of what sums they had received from [his father] Antipater, and which he had committed to their fidelity. He made answer, that he did not intend to be troublesome to them by his coning thither, but that he desired only to discourse with them about certain affairs that were to him of the greatest importance.

2. Hereupon he resolved to go away, and did go very prudently the road to Egypt; and then it was that he lodged in a certain temple; for he had left a great many of his followers there. On the next day he came to Rhinocolura, and there it was that he heard what was befallen his brother. Though Malehus soon repented of what he had done, and came running after Herod; but with no manner of success, for he was gotten a very great way off, and made haste into the road to Pelusium; and when the stationary ships that lay there hindered him from sailing to Alexandria, he went to their captains, by whose assistance, and that out of much reverence of and great regard to him, he was conducted into the

city [Alexandria], and was retained there by Cleopatra; yet was she not able to prevail with him to stay there, because he was making haste to Rome, even though the weather was stormy, and he was informed that the affairs of Italy were very tumultuous, and in great disorder.

3. So he set sail from thence to Pamphylia, and falling into a violent storm, he had much ado to escape to Rhodes, with the loss of the ship's burden; and there it was that two of his friends, Sappinas and Ptolemeus, met with him; and as he found that city very much damaged in the war against Cassius, though he were in necessity himself, he neglected not to do it a kindness, but did what he could to recover it to its former state. He also built there a three-decked ship, and set sail thence, with his friends, for Italy, and came to the port of Brundusium; and when he was come from thence to Rome, he first related to Antony what had befallen him in Judea, and how Phasaelus his brother was seized on by the Parthians, and put to death by them, and how Hyrcanus was detained captive by them, and how they had made Antigonus king, who had promised them a sum of money, no less than a thousand talents, with five hundred women, who were to be of the principal families, and of the Jewish stock; and that he had carried off the women by night; and that, by undergoing a great many hardships, he had escaped the hands of his enemies; as also, that his own relations were in danger of being besieged and taken, and that he had sailed through a storm, and contemned all these terrible dangers of it, in order to come, as soon as possible, to him, who was his hope and only succor at this time.

4. This account made Antony commiserate the change that had happened in Herod's condition; and reasoning with himself that this was a common case among those that are placed in such great dignities, and that they are liable to the mutations that come from fortune, he was very ready to give him the assistance he desired, and this because he called to mind the friendship he had had with Antipater because Herod offered him money to make him king, as he had formerly given it him to make him tetrarch, and chiefly because of his hatred to Antigonus; for he took him to be a seditious person, and an enemy to the Romans. Caesar was also the forwarder to raise Herod's dignity, and to give him his assistance in what he desired, on account of the toils of war which he had himself undergone with Antipater his father in Egypt, and of the hospitality he had treated him withal, and the kindness he had always showed him, as also to gratify Antony, who was very zealous for Herod. So a senate was convocated; and Messala first, and then Atratinus, introduced Herod into it, and enlarged upon the benefits they had received from his father, and put them in mind of the good-will he had borne to the Romans. At the same time, they accused Antigonus, and declared him an enemy, not only because of his former

opposition to them, but that he had now overlooked the Romans, and taken the government from the Parthians. Upon this the senate was irritated; and Antony informed them further, that it was for their advantage in the Parthian war that Herod should be king. This seemed good to all the senators; and so they made a decree accordingly.

5. And this was the principal instance of Antony's affection for Herod, that he not only procured him a kingdom which he did not expect, [for he did not come with an intention to ask the kingdom for himself, which he did not suppose the Romans would grant him, who used to bestow it on some of the royal family, but intended to desire it for his wife's brother, who was grandson by his father to Aristobulus, and to Hyrcanus by his mother,] but that he procured it for him so suddenly, that he obtained what he did not expect, and departed out of Italy in so few days as seven in all. This young man [the grandson] Herod afterward took care to have slain, as we shall show in its proper place. But when the senate was dissolved, Antony and Caesar went out of the senate house with Herod between them, and with the consuls and other magistrates before them, in order to offer sacrifices, and to lay up their decrees in the capitol. Antony also feasted Herod the first day of his reign. And thus did this man receive the kingdom, having obtained it on the hundred and eighty-fourth olympiad, when Caius Domitius Calvinus was consul the second time, and Caius Asinius Pollio [the first time].

6. All this while Antigonus besieged those that were in Masada, who had plenty of all other necessaries, but were only in want of water insomuch that on this occasion Joseph, Herod's brother, was contriving to run away from it, with two hundred of his dependents, to the Arabians; for he had heard that Malchus repented of the offenses he had been guilty of with regard to Herod; but God, by sending rain in the night time, prevented his going away, for their cisterns were thereby filled, and he was under no necessity of running away on that account; but they were now of good courage, and the more so, because the sending that plenty of water which they had been in want of seemed a mark of Divine Providence; so they made a sally, and fought hand to hand with Antigonus's soldiers, [with some openly, with some privately,] and destroyed a great number of them. At the same time Ventidius, the general of the Romans, was sent out of Syria, to drive the Parthians out of it, and marched after them into Judea, in pretense indeed to succor Joseph; but in reality the whole affair was no more than a stratagem, in order to get money of Antigonus; so they pitched their camp very near to Jerusalem, and stripped Antigonus of a great deal of money, and then he retired himself with the greater part of the army; but, that the wickedness he had been guilty of might be found out, he left Silo there, with a certain part of his soldiers, with whom also Antigonus cultivated an acquaintance, that he might

cause him no disturbance, and was still in hopes that the Parthians would come again and defend him.

CHAPTER 15. How Herod Sailed Out Of Italy To Judea, And Fought With Antigonus And What Other Things Happened In Judea About That Time.

1. By this time Herod had sailed out of Italy to Ptolemais, and had gotten together no small army, both of strangers and of his own countrymen, and marched through Galilee against Antignus. Silo also, and Ventidius, came and assisted him, being persuaded by Dellius, who was sent by Antony to assist in bringing back Herod. Now for Ventidius, he was employed in composing the disturbances that had been made in the cities by the means of the Parthians; and for Silo, he was in Judea indeed, but corrupted by Antigonus. However, as Herod went along his army increased every day, and all Galilee, with some small exception, joined him; but as he was to those that were in Masada, [for he was obliged to endeavor to save those that were in that fortress now they were besieged, because they were his relations,] Joppa was a hinderance to him, for it was necessary for him to take that place first, it being a city at variance with him, that no strong hold might be left in his enemies' hands behind him when he should go to Jerusalem. And when Silo made this a pretense for rising up from Jerusalem, and was thereupon pursued by the Jews, Herod fell upon them with a small body of men, and both put the Jews to flight and saved Silo, when he was very poorly able to defend himself; but when Herod had taken Joppa, he made haste to set free those of his family that were in Masada. Now of the people of the country, some joined him because of the friendship they had had with his father, and some because of the splendid appearance he made, and others by way of requital for the benefits they had received from both of them; but the greatest number came to him in hopes of getting somewhat from him afterward, if he were once firmly settled in the kingdom.

2. Herod had now a strong army; and as he marched on, Antigonus laid snares and ambushes in the passes and places most proper for them; but in truth he thereby did little or no damage to the enemy. So Herod received those of his family out of Masada, and the fortress Ressa, and then went on for Jerusalem. The soldiery also that was with Silo accompanied him all along, as did many of the citizens, being afraid of his power; and as soon as he had pitched his camp on the west side of the city, the soldiers that were set to guard that part shot their arrows and threw their darts at him; and when some sallied out in a crowd, and came to fight hand to hand with the first ranks of Herod's army, he gave orders that they should, in the first place, make proclamation about the wall, that he

came for the good of the people, and for the preservation of the city, and not to bear any old grudge at even his most open enemies, but ready to forget the offenses which his greatest adversaries had done him. But Antigonus, by way of reply to what Herod had caused to be proclaimed, and this before the Romans, and before Silo also, said that they would not do justly, if they gave the kingdom to Herod, who was no more than a private man, and an Idumean, *i.e.* a half Jew, whereas they ought to bestow it on one of the royal family, as their custom was; for that in case they at present bear an ill-will to him, and had resolved to deprive him of the kingdom, as having received it from the Parthians, yet were there many others of his family that might by their law take it, and these such as had no way offended the Romans; and being of the sacerdotal family, it would be an unworthy thing to put them by. Now while they said thus one to another, and fell to reproaching one another on both sides, Antigonus permitted his own men that were upon the wall to defend themselves, who using their bows, and showing great alacrity against their enemies, easily drove them away from the towers.

3. And now it was that Silo discovered that he had taken bribes; for he set a good number of his soldiers to complain aloud of the want of provisions they were in, and to require money to buy them food; and that it was fit to let them go into places proper for winter quarters, since the places near the city were a desert, by reason that Antigonus's soldiers had carried all away; so he set the army upon removing, and endeavored to march away; but Herod pressed Silo not to depart, and exhorted Silo's captains and soldiers not to desert him, when Caesar, and Antony, and the senate had sent him thither, for that he would provide them plenty of all the things they wanted, and easily procure them a great abundance of what they required; after which entreaty, he immediately went out into the country, and left not the least pretense to Silo for his departure; for he brought an unexpected quantity of provisions, and sent to those friends of his who inhabited about Samaria to bring down corn, and wine, and oil, and cattle, and all other provisions, to Jericho, that those might be no want of a supply for the soldiers for the time to come. Antigonus was sensible of this, and sent presently over the country such as might restrain and lie in ambush for those that went out for provisions. So these men obeyed the orders of Antigonus, and got together a great number of armed men about Jericho, and sat upon the mountains, and watched those that brought the provisions. However, Herod was not idle in the mean time, for he took ten bands of soldiers, of whom five were of the Romans, and five of the Jews, with some mercenaries among them, and with some few horsemen, and came to Jericho; and as they found the city deserted, but that five hundred of them had settled themselves on the tops of the

hills, with their wives and children, those he took and sent away; but the Romans fell upon the city, and plundered it, and found the houses full of all sorts of good things. So the king left a garrison at Jericho, and came back again, and sent the Roman army to take their winter quarters in the countries that were come over to him, Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria. And so much did Antigonus gain of Silo for the bribes he gave him, that part of the army should be quartered at Lydda, in order to please Antony. So the Romans laid their weapons aside, and lived in plenty of all things.

4. But Herod was not pleased with lying still, but sent out his brother Joseph against Idumea with two thousand armed footmen, and four hundred horsemen, while he himself came to Samaria, and left his mother and his other relations there, for they were already gone out of Masada, and went into Galilee, to take certain places which were held by the garrisons of Antigonus; and he passed on to Sepphoris, as God sent a snow, while Antigonus's garrisons withdrew themselves, and had great plenty of provisions. He also went thence, and resolved to destroy those robbers that dwelt in the caves, and did much mischief in the country; so he sent a troop of horsemen, and three companies of armed footmen, against them. They were very near to a village called Arbela; and on the fortieth day after, he came himself with his whole army: and as the enemy sallied out boldly upon him, the left wing of his army gave way; but he appearing with a body of men, put those to flight who were already conquerors, and recalled his men that ran away. He also pressed upon his enemies, and pursued them as far as the river Jordan, though they ran away by different roads. So he brought over to him all Galilee, excepting those that dwelt in the caves, and distributed money to every one of his soldiers, giving them a hundred and fifty drachmae apiece, and much more to their captains, and sent them into winter quarters; at which time Silo came to him, and his commanders with him, because Antigonus would not give them provisions any longer, for he supplied them for no more than one month; nay, he had sent to all the country about, and ordered them to carry off the provisions that were there, and retire to the mountains, that the Romans might have no provisions to live upon, and so might perish by famine. But Herod committed the care of that matter to Pheroras, his youngest brother, and ordered him to repair Alexandrium also. Accordingly, he quickly made the soldiers abound with great plenty of provisions, and rebuilt Alexandrium, which had been before desolate.

5. About this time it was that Antony continued some time at Athens, and that Ventidius, who was now in Syria, sent for Silo, and commanded him to assist Herod, in the first place, to finish the present war, and then to send for their confederates for the war they were themselves engaged in; but as for Herod, he

went in haste against the robbers that were in the caves, and sent Silo away to Ventidius, while he marched against them. These caves were in mountains that were exceeding abrupt, and in their middle were no other than precipices, with certain entrances into the caves, and those caves were encompassed with sharp rocks, and in these did the robbers lie concealed, with all their families about them; but the king caused certain chests to be made, in order to destroy them, and to be hung down, bound about with iron chains, by an engine, from the top of the mountain, it being not possible to get up to them, by reason of the sharp ascent of the mountains, nor to creep down to them from above. Now these chests were filled with armed men, who had long hooks in their hands, by which they might pull out such as resisted them, and then tumble them down, and kill them by so doing; but the letting the chests down proved to be a matter of great danger, because of the vast depth they were to be let down, although they had their provisions in the chests themselves. But when the chests were let down, and not one of those in the mouths of the caves durst come near them, but lay still out of fear, some of the armed men girt on their armor, and by both their hands took hold of the chain by which the chests were let down, and went into the mouths of the caves, because they fretted that such delay was made by the robbers not daring to come out of the caves; and when they were at any of those mouths, they first killed many of those that were in the mouths with their darts, and afterwards pulled those to them that resisted them with their hooks, and tumbled them down the precipices, and afterwards went into the caves, and killed many more, and then went into their chests again, and lay still there; but, upon this, terror seized the rest, when they heard the lamentations that were made, and they despaired of escaping. However, when the night came on, that put an end to the whole work; and as the king proclaimed pardon by a herald to such as delivered themselves up to him, many accepted of the offer. The same method of assault was made use of the next day; and they went further, and got out in baskets to fight them, and fought them at their doors, and sent fire among them, and set their caves on fire, for there was a great deal of combustible matter within them. Now there was one old man who was caught within one of these caves, with seven children and a wife; these prayed him to give them leave to go out, and yield themselves up to the enemy; but he stood at the cave's mouth, and always slew that child of his who went out, till he had destroyed them every one, and after that he slew his wife, and cast their dead bodies down the precipice, and himself after them, and so underwent death rather than slavery: but before he did this, he greatly reproached Herod with the meanness of his family, although he was then king. Herod also saw what he was doing, and stretched out his hand,

and offered him all manner of security for his life; by which means all these caves were at length subdued entirely.

6. And when the king had set Ptolemy over these parts of the country as his general, he went to Samaria, with six hundred horsemen, and three thousand armed footmen, as intending to fight Antigonus. But still this command of the army did not succeed well with Ptolemy, but those that had been troublesome to Galilee before attacked him, and slew him; and when they had done this, they fled among the lakes and places almost inaccessible laying waste and plundering whatsoever they could come at in those places. But Herod soon returned, and punished them for what they had done; for some of these rebels he slew, and others of them, who had fled to the strong holds he besieged, and both slew them, and demolished their strong holds. And when he had thus put an end to their rebellion, he laid a fine upon the cities of a hundred talents.

7. In the mean time, Pacorus was fallen in a battle, and the Parthians were defeated, when Ventidius sent Macheras to the assistance of Herod, with two legions, and a thousand horsemen, while Antony encouraged him to make haste. But Macheras, at the instigation of Antigonus, without the approbation of Herod, as being corrupted by money, went about to take a view of his affairs; but Antigonus suspecting this intention of his coming, did not admit him into the city, but kept him at a distance, with throwing stones at him, and plainly showed what he himself meant. But when Macheras was sensible that Herod had given him good advice, and that he had made a mistake himself in not hearkening to that advice, he retired to the city Emmaus; and what Jews he met with he slew them, whether they were enemies or friends, out of the rage he was in at what hardships he had undergone. The king was provoked at this conduct of his, and went to Samaria, and resolved to go to Antony about these affairs, and to inform him that he stood in no need of such helpers, who did him more mischief than they did his enemies; and that he was able of himself to beat Antigonus. But Macheras followed him, and desired that he would not go to Antony; or if he was resolved to go, that he would join his brother Joseph with them, and let them fight against Antigonus. So he was reconciled to Macheras, upon his earnest entreaties. Accordingly, he left Joseph there with his army, but charged him to run no hazards, nor to quarrel with Macheras.

8. But for his own part, he made haste to Antony [who was then at the siege of Samosata, a place upon Euphrates] with his troops, both horsemen and footmen, to be auxiliaries to him. And when he came to Antioch, and met there a great number of men gotten together that were very desirous to go to Antony, but durst not venture to go, out of fear, because the barbarians fell upon men on the road, and slew many, so he encouraged them, and became their conductor

upon the road. Now when they were within two days' march of Samosata, the barbarians had laid an ambush there to disturb those that came to Antony, and where the woods made the passes narrow, as they led to the plains, there they laid not a few of their horsemen, who were to lie still until those passengers were gone by into the wide place. Now as soon as the first ranks were gone by, [for Herod brought on the rear,] those that lay in ambush, who were about five hundred, fell upon them on the sudden, and when they had put the foremost to flight, the king came riding hard, with the forces that were about him, and immediately drove back the enemy; by which means he made the minds of his own men courageous, and imboldened them to go on, insomuch that those who ran away before now returned back, and the barbarians were slain on all sides. The king also went on killing them, and recovered all the baggage, among which were a great number of beasts for burden, and of slaves, and proceeded on in his march; and whereas there were a great number of those in the woods that attacked them, and were near the passage that led into the plain, he made a sally upon these also with a strong body of men, and put them to flight, and slew many of them, and thereby rendered the way safe for those that came after; and these called Herod their savior and protector.

9. And when he was near to Samosata, Antony sent out his army in all their proper habiliments to meet him, in order to pay Herod this respect, and because of the assistance he had given him; for he had heard what attacks the barbarians had made upon him [in Judea]. He also was very glad to see him there, as having been made acquainted with the great actions he had performed upon the road. So he entertained him very kindly, and could not but admire his courage. Antony also embraced him as soon as he saw him, and saluted him after a most affectionate manner, and gave him the upper hand, as having himself lately made him a king; and in a little time Antiochus delivered up the fortress, and on that account this war was at an end; then Antony committed the rest to Sosius, and gave him orders to assist Herod, and went himself to Egypt. Accordingly, Sosius sent two legions before into Judea to the assistance of Herod, and he followed himself with the body of the army.

10. Now Joseph was already slain in Judea, in the manner following: He forgot what charge his brother Herod had given him when he went to Antony; and when he had pitched his camp among the mountains, for Macheras had lent him five regiments, with these he went hastily to Jericho, in order to reap the corn thereto belonging; and as the Roman regiments were but newly raised, and were unskillful in war, for they were in great part collected out of Syria, he was attacked by the enemy, and caught in those places of difficulty, and was himself slain, as he was fighting bravely, and the whole army was lost, for there were six

regiments slain. So when Antigonus had got possession of the dead bodies, he cut off Joseph's head, although Pheroras his brother would have redeemed it at the price of fifty talents. After which defeat, the Galileans revolted from their commanders, and took those of Herod's party, and drowned them in the lake, and a great part of Judea was become seditious; but Macheras fortified the place Gitta [in Samaria].

11. At this time messengers came to Herod, and informed him of what had been done; and when he was come to Daphne by Antioch, they told him of the ill fortune that had befallen his brother; which yet he expected, from certain visions that appeared to him in his dreams, which clearly foreshowed his brother's death. So he hastened his march; and when he came to Mount Libanus, he received about eight hundred of the men of that place, having already with him also one Roman legion, and with these he came to Ptolemais. He also marched thence by night with his army, and proceeded along Galilee. Here it was that the enemy met him, and fought him, and were beaten, and shut up in the same place of strength whence they had sallied out the day before. So he attacked the place in the morning; but by reason of a great storm that was then very violent, he was able to do nothing, but drew off his army into the neighboring villages; yet as soon as the other legion that Antony sent him was come to his assistance, those that were in garrison in the place were afraid, and deserted it in the night time. Then did the king march hastily to Jericho, intending to avenge himself on the enemy for the slaughter of his brother; and when he had pitched his tents, he made a feast for the principal commanders; and after this collation was over, and he had dismissed his guests, he retired to his own chamber; and here may one see what kindness God had for the king, for the upper part of the house fell down when nobody was in it, and so killed none, insomuch that all the people believed that Herod was beloved of God, since he had escaped such a great and surprising danger.

12. But the next day six thousand of the enemy came down from the tops of the mountains to fight the Romans, which greatly terrified them; and the soldiers that were in light armor came near, and pelted the king's guards that were come out with darts and stones, and one of them hit him on the side with a dart. Antigonus also sent a commander against Samaria, whose name was Pappus, with some forces, being desirous to show the enemy how potent he was, and that he had men to spare in his war with them. He sat down to oppose Macheras; but Herod, when he had taken five cities, took such as were left in them, being about two thousand, and slew them, and burnt the cities themselves, and then returned to go against Pappus, who was encamped at a village called Isanas; and there ran in to him many out of Jericho and Judea, near to which places he was, and the

enemy fell upon his men, so stout were they at this time, and joined battle with them, but he beat them in the fight; and in order to be revenged on them for the slaughter of his brother, he pursued them sharply, and killed them as they ran away; and as the houses were full of armed men, and many of them ran as far as the tops of the houses, he got them under his power, and pulled down the roofs of the houses, and saw the lower rooms full of soldiers that were caught, and lay all on a heap; so they threw stones down upon them as they lay piled one upon another, and thereby killed them; nor was there a more frightful spectacle in all the war than this, where beyond the walls an immense multitude of dead men lay heaped one upon another. This action it was which chiefly brake the spirits of the enemy, who expected now what would come; for there appeared a mighty number of people that came from places far distant, that were now about the village, but then ran away; and had it not been for the depth of winter, which then restrained them, the king's army had presently gone to Jerusalem, as being very courageous at this good success, and the whole work had been done immediately; for Antigonus was already looking about how he might fly away and leave the city.

13. At this time the king gave order that the soldiers should go to supper, for it was late at night, while he went into a chamber to use the bath, for he was very weary; and here it was that he was in the greatest danger, which yet, by God's providence, he escaped; for as he was naked, and had but one servant that followed him, to be with him while he was bathing in an inner room, certain of the enemy, who were in their armor, and had fled thither, out of fear, were then in the place; and as he was bathing, the first of them came out with his naked sword drawn, and went out at the doors, and after him a second, and a third, armed in like manner, and were under such a consternation, that they did no hurt to the king, and thought themselves to have come off very well ill suffering no harm themselves in their getting out of the house. However, on the next day, he cut off the head of Pappus, for he was already slain, and sent it to Pheroras, as a punishment of what their brother had suffered by his means, for he was the man that slew him with his own hand.

14. When the rigor of winter was over, Herod removed his army, and came near to Jerusalem, and pitched his camp hard by the city. Now this was the third year since he had been made king at Rome; and as he removed his camp, and came near that part of the wall where it could be most easily assaulted, he pitched that camp before the temple, intending to make his attacks in the same manner as did Pompey. So he encompassed the place with three bulwarks, and erected towers, and employed a great many hands about the work, and cut down the trees that were round about the city; and when he had appointed proper

persons to oversee the works, even while the army lay before the city, he himself went to Samaria, to complete his marriage, and to take to wife the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus; for he had betrothed her already, as I have before related.

CHAPTER 16. How Herod, When He Had Married Mariamne Took Jerusalem With The Assistance Of Sosius By Force; And How The Government Of The Asamoneans Was Put An End To.

1. After the wedding was over, came Sosius through Phoenicia, having sent out his army before him over the midland parts. He also, who was their commander, came himself, with a great number of horsemen and footmen. The king also came himself from Samaria, and brought with him no small army, besides that which was there before, for they were about thirty thousand; and they all met together at the walls of Jerusalem, and encamped at the north wall of the city, being now an army of eleven legions, armed men on foot, and six thousand horsemen, with other auxiliaries out of Syria. The generals were two: Sosius, sent by Antony to assist Herod, and Herod on his own account, in order to take the government from Antigonus, who was declared all enemy at Rome, and that he might himself be king, according to the decree of the Senate.

2. Now the Jews that were enclosed within the walls of the city fought against Herod with great alacrity and zeal [for the whole nation was gathered together]; they also gave out many prophecies about the temple, and many things agreeable to the people, as if God would deliver them out of the dangers they were in; they had also carried off what was out of the city, that they might not leave any thing to afford sustenance either for men or for beasts; and by private robberies they made the want of necessaries greater. When Herod understood this, he opposed ambushes in the fittest places against their private robberies, and he sent legions of armed men to bring its provisions, and that from remote places, so that in a little time they had great plenty of provisions. Now the three bulwarks were easily erected, because so many hands were continually at work upon it; for it was summer time, and there was nothing to hinder them in raising their works, neither from the air nor from the workmen; so they brought their engines to bear, and shook the walls of the city, and tried all manner of ways to get it; yet did not those within discover any fear, but they also contrived not a few engines to oppose their engines withal. They also sallied out, and burnt not only those engines that were not yet perfected, but those that were; and when they came hand to hand, their attempts were not less bold than those of the Romans, though they were behind them in skill. They also erected new works when the former were ruined, and making mines underground, they met each other, and fought

there; and making use of brutish courage rather than of prudent valor, they persisted in this war to the very last; and this they did while a mighty army lay round about them, and while they were distressed by famine and the want of necessaries, for this happened to be a Sabbatic year. The first that scaled the walls were twenty chosen men, the next were Sosius's centurions; for the first wall was taken in forty days, and the second in fifteen more, when some of the cloisters that were about the temple were burnt, which Herod gave out to have been burnt by Antigonus, in order to expose him to the hatred of the Jews. And when the outer court of the temple and the lower city were taken, the Jews fled into the inner court of the temple, and into the upper city; but now fearing lest the Romans should hinder them from offering their daily sacrifices to God, they sent an embassage, and desired that they would only permit them to bring in beasts for sacrifices, which Herod granted, hoping they were going to yield; but when he saw that they did nothing of what he supposed, but bitterly opposed him, in order to preserve the kingdom to Antigonus, he made an assault upon the city, and took it by storm; and now all parts were full of those that were slain, by the rage of the Romans at the long duration of the siege, and by the zeal of the Jews that were on Herod's side, who were not willing to leave one of their adversaries alive; so they were murdered continually in the narrow streets and in the houses by crowds, and as they were flying to the temple for shelter, and there was no pity taken of either infants or the aged, nor did they spare so much as the weaker sex; nay, although the king sent about, and besought them to spare the people, yet nobody restrained their hand from slaughter, but, as if they were a company of madmen, they fell upon persons of all ages, without distinction; and then Antigonus, without regard to either his past or present circumstances, came down from the citadel, and fell down at the feet of Sosius, who took no pity of him, in the change of his fortune, but insulted him beyond measure, and called him Antigone [i.e. a woman, and not a man;] yet did he not treat him as if he were a woman, by letting him go at liberty, but put him into bonds, and kept him in close custody.

3. And now Herod having overcome his enemies, his care was to govern those foreigners who had been his assistants, for the crowd of strangers rushed to see the temple, and the sacred things in the temple; but the king, thinking a victory to be a more severe affliction than a defeat, if any of those things which it was not lawful to see should be seen by them, used entreaties and threatenings, and even sometimes force itself, to restrain them. He also prohibited the ravage that was made in the city, and many times asked Sosius whether the Romans would empty the city both of money and men, and leave him king of a desert; and told him that he esteemed the dominion over the whole habitable earth as by

no means an equivalent satisfaction for such a murder of his citizens'; and when he said that this plunder was justly to be permitted the soldiers for the siege they had undergone, he replied, that he would give every one their reward out of his own money; and by this means be redeemed what remained of the city from destruction; and he performed what he had promised him, for he gave a noble present to every soldier, and a proportionable present to their commanders, but a most royal present to Sosius himself, till they all went away full of money.

4. This destruction befell the city of Jerusalem when Marcus Agrippa and Caninius Gallus were consuls of Rome on the hundred eighty and fifth olympiad, on the third month, on the solemnity of the fast, as if a periodical revolution of calamities had returned since that which befell the Jews under Pompey; for the Jews were taken by him on the same day, and this was after twenty-seven years' time. So when Sosius had dedicated a crown of gold to God, he marched away from Jerusalem, and carried Antigonus with him in bonds to Antony; but Herod was afraid lest Antigonus should be kept in prison [only] by Antony, and that when he was carried to Rome by him, he might get his cause to be heard by the senate, and might demonstrate, as he was himself of the royal blood, and Herod but a private man, that therefore it belonged to his sons however to have the kingdom, on account of the family they were of, in case he had himself offended the Romans by what he had done. Out of Herod's fear of this it was that he, by giving Antony a great deal of money, endeavored to persuade him to have Antigonus slain, which if it were once done, he should be free from that fear. And thus did the government of the Asamoneans cease, a hundred twenty and six years after it was first set up. This family was a splendid and an illustrious one, both on account of the nobility of their stock, and of the dignity of the high priesthood, as also for the glorious actions their ancestors had performed for our nation; but these men lost the government by their dissensions one with another, and it came to Herod, the son of Antipater, who was of no more than a vulgar family, and of no eminent extraction, but one that was subject to other kings. And this is what history tells us was the end of the Asamonean family.

BOOK XV. Containing The Interval Of Eighteen Years. — From The Death Of Antigonus To The Finishing Of The Temple By Herod.

CHAPTER 1. Concerning Pollio And Sameas. Herod Slays The Principal Of Antigonus's Friends, And Spoils The City Of Its Wealth. Antony Beheads Antigonus.

1. How Sosius and Herod took Jerusalem by force; and besides that, how they took Antigonus captive, has been related by us in the foregoing book. We will now proceed in the narration. And since Herod had now the government of all Judea put into his hands, he promoted such of the private men in the city as had been of his party, but never left off avenging and punishing every day those that had chosen to be of the party of his enemies. But Pollio the Pharisee, and Sameas, a disciple of his, were honored by him above all the rest; for when Jerusalem was besieged, they advised the citizens to receive Herod, for which advice they were well requited. But this Pollio, at the time when Herod was once upon his trial of life and death, foretold, in way of reproach, to Hyrcanus and the other judges, how this Herod, whom they suffered now to escape, would afterward inflict punishment on them all; which had its completion in time, while God fulfilled the words he had spoken.

2. At this time Herod, now he had got Jerusalem under his power, carried off all the royal ornaments, and spoiled the wealthy men of what they had gotten; and when, by these means, he had heaped together a great quantity of silver and gold, he gave it all to Antony, and his friends that were about him. He also slew forty-five of the principal men of Antigonus's party, and set guards at the gates of the city, that nothing might be carried out together with their dead bodies. They also searched the dead, and whatsoever was found, either of silver or gold, or other treasure, it was carried to the king; nor was there any end of the miseries he brought upon them; and this distress was in part occasioned by the covetousness of the prince regent, who was still in want of more, and in part by the Sabbatic year, which was still going on, and forced the country to lie still uncultivated, since we are forbidden to sow our land in that year. Now when Antony had received Antigonus as his captive, he determined to keep him against his triumph; but when he heard that the nation grew seditious, and that, out of their hatred to Herod, they continued to bear good-will to Antigonus, he resolved to behead him at Antioch, for otherwise the Jews could no way be brought to be quiet. And Strabo of Cappadocia attests to what I have said, when he thus speaks: "Antony ordered Antigonus the Jew to be brought to Antioch,

and there to be beheaded. And this Antony seems to me to have been the very first man who beheaded a king, as supposing he could no other way bend the minds of the Jews so as to receive Herod, whom he had made king in his stead; for by no torments could they he forced to call him king, so great a fondness they had for their former king; so he thought that this dishonorable death would diminish the value they had for Antigonus's memory, and at the same time would diminish the hatred they bare to Herod." Thus far Strabo.

CHAPTER 2. How Hyrcanus Was Set At Liberty By The Parthians, And Returned To Herod; And What Alexandra Did When She Heard That Ananelus Was Made High Priest.

1. Now after Herod was in possession of the kingdom, Hyrcanus the high priest, who was then a captive among the Parthians, came to him again, and was set free from his captivity, in the manner following: Barzapharnes and Pacorus, the generals of the Parthians, took Hyreanus, who was first made high priest and afterward king, and Herod's brother, Phasaelus captives, and were them away into Parthis. Phasaelus indeed could not bear the reproach of being in bonds; and thinking that death with glory was better than any life whatsoever, he became his own executioner, as I have formerly related.

2. But when Hyrcanus was brought into Parthia the king Phraates treated him after a very gentle manner, as having already learned of what an illustrious family he was; on which account he set him free from his bonds, and gave him a habitation at Babylon, where there were Jews in great numbers. These Jews honored Hyrcanus as their high priest and king, as did all the Jewish nation that dwelt as far as Euphrates; which respect was very much to his satisfaction. But when he was informed that Herod had received the kingdom, new hopes came upon him, as having been himself still of a kind disposition towards him, and expecting that Herod would bear in mind what favor he had received from him; and when he was upon his trial, and when he was in danger that a capital sentence would be pronounced against him, he delivered him from that danger, and from all punishment. Accordingly, he talked of that matter with the Jew that came often to him with great affection; but they endeavored to retain him among them, and desired that he would stay with them, putting him in mind of the kind offices and honors they did him, and that those honors they paid him were not at all inferior to what they could pay to either their high priests or their kings; and what was a greater motive to determine him, they said, was this, that he could not have those dignities [in Judea] because of that maim in his body, which had been inflicted on him by Antigonus; and that kings do not use to requite men for those kindnesses which they received when they were private persons, the height of their fortune making usually no small changes in them.

3. Now although they suggested these arguments to him for his own advantage, yet did Hyrcanus still desire to depart. Herod also wrote to him, and

persuaded him to desire of Phraates, and the Jews that were there, that they should not grudge him the royal authority, which he should have jointly with himself, for that now was the proper time for himself to make him amends for the favors he had received from him, as having been brought up by him, and saved by him also, as well as for Hyrcanus to receive it. And as he wrote thus to Hyrcanus, so did he send also Saramallas, his ambassador, to Phraates, and many presents with him, and desired him in the most obliging way that he would be no hinderance to his gratitude towards his benefactor. But this zeal of Herod's did not flow from that principle, but because he had been made governor of that country without having any just claim to it, he was afraid, and that upon reasons good enough, of a change in his condition, and so made what haste he could to get Hyrcanus into his power, or indeed to put him quite out of the way; which last thing he compassed afterward.

4. Accordingly, when Hyrcanus came, full of assurance, by the permission of the king of Parthia, and at the expense of the Jews, who supplied him with money, Herod received him with all possible respect, and gave him the upper place at public meetings, and set him above all the rest at feasts, and thereby deceived him. He called him his father, and endeavored, by all the ways possible, that he might have no suspicion of any treacherous design against him. He also did other things, in order to secure his government, which yet occasioned a sedition in his own family; for being cautious how he made any illustrious person the high priest of God, he sent for an obscure priest out of Babylon, whose name was Ananelus, and bestowed the high priesthood upon him.

5. However, Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus, and wife of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus the king, who had also brought Alexander [two] children, could not bear this indignity. Now this son was one of the greatest comeliness, and was called Aristobulus; and the daughter, Mariamne, was married to Herod, and eminent for her beauty also. This Alexandra was much disturbed, and took this indignity offered to her son exceeding ill, that while he was alive, any one else should be sent for to have the dignity of the high priesthood conferred upon him. Accordingly, she wrote to Cleopatra [a musician assisting her in taking care to have her letters carried] to desire her intercession with Antony, in order to gain the high priesthood for her son.

6. But as Antony was slow in granting this request, his friend Dellius came into Judea upon some affairs; and when he saw Aristobulus, he stood in admiration at the tallness and handsomeness of the child, and no less at Mariarune, the king's wife, and was open in his commendations of Alexandra, as the mother of most beautiful children. And when she came to discourse with

him, he persuaded her to get pictures drawn of them both, and to send them to Antony, for that when he saw them, he would deny her nothing that she should ask. Accordingly, Alexandra was elevated with these words of his, and sent the pictures to Antony. Dellius also talked extravagantly, and said that these children seemed not derived from men, but from some god or other. His design in doing so was to entice Antony into lewd pleasures with them, who was ashamed to send for the damsel, as being the wife of Herod, and avoided it, because of the reproaches he should have from Cleopatra on that account; but he sent, in the most decent manner he could, for the young man; but added this withal, unless he thought it hard upon him so to do. When this letter was brought to Herod, he did not think it safe for him to send one so handsome as was Aristobulus, in the prime of his life, for he was sixteen years of age, and of so noble a family, and particularly not to Antony, the principal man among the Romans, and one that would abuse him in his amours, and besides, one that openly indulged himself in such pleasures as his power allowed him without control. He therefore wrote back to him, that if this boy should only go out of the country, all would be in a state of war and uproar, because the Jews were in hopes of a change in the government, and to have another king over them.

7. When Herod had thus excused himself to Antony, he resolved that he would not entirely permit the child or Alexandra to be treated dishonorably; but his wife Mariamne lay vehemently at him to restore the high priesthood to her brother; and he judged it was for his advantage so to do, because if he once had that dignity, he could not go out of the country. So he called his friends together, and told them that Alexandra privately conspired against his royal authority, and endeavored, by the means of Cleopatra, so to bring it about, that he might be deprived of the government, and that by Antony's means this youth might have the management of public affairs in his stead; and that this procedure of hers was unjust, since she would at the same time deprive her daughter of the dignity she now had, and would bring disturbances upon the kingdom, for which he had taken a great deal of pains, and had gotten it with extraordinary hazards; that yet, while he well remembered her wicked practices, he would not leave off doing what was right himself, but would even now give the youth the high priesthood; and that he formerly set up Ananelus, because Aristobulus was then so very young a child. Now when he had said this, not at random, but as he thought with the best discretion he had, in order to deceive the women, and those friends whom he had taken to consult withal, Alexandra, out of the great joy she had at this unexpected promise, and out of fear from the suspicions she lay under, fell a weeping; and made the following apology for herself; and said, that as to the [high] priesthood, she was very much concerned for the disgrace her son was

under, and so did her utmost endeavors to procure it for him; but that as to the kingdom, she had made no attempts, and that if it were offered her [for her son], she would not accept it; and that now she would be satisfied with her son's dignity, while he himself held the civil government, and she had thereby the security that arose from his peculiar ability in governing to all the remainder of her family; that she was now overcome by his benefits, and thankfully accepted of this honor showed by him to her son, and that she would hereafter be entirely obedient. And she desired him to excuse her, if the nobility of her family, and that freedom of acting which she thought that allowed her, had made her act too precipitately and imprudently in this matter. So when they had spoken thus to one another, they came to an agreement, and all suspicions, so far as appeared, were vanished away.

CHAPTER 3. How Herod Upon His Making Aristobulus High Priest Took Care That He Should Be Murdered In A Little Time; And What Apology He Made To Antony About Aristobulus; As Also Concerning Joseph And Mariamne.

1. So king Herod immediately took the high priesthood away from Ananelus, who, as we said before, was not of this country, but one of those Jews that had been carried captive beyond Euphrates; for there were not a few ten thousands of this people that had been carried captives, and dwelt about Babylonia, whence Ananelus came. He was one of the stock of the high priests and had been of old a particular friend of Herod; and when he was first made king, he conferred that dignity upon him, and now put him out of it again, in order to quiet the troubles in his family, though what he did was plainly unlawful, for at no other time [of old] was any one that had once been in that dignity deprived of it. It was Antiochus Epiphanes who first brake that law, and deprived Jesus, and made his brother Onias high priest in his stead. Aristobulus was the second that did so, and took that dignity from his brother [Hyrcanus]; and this Herod was the third, who took that high office away [from Arianflus], and gave it to this young man, Aristobulus, in his stead.

2. And now Herod seemed to have healed the divisions in his family; yet was he not without suspicion, as is frequently the case, of people seeming to be reconciled to one another, but thought that, as Alexandra had already made attempts tending to innovations, so did he fear that she would go on therein, if she found a fit opportunity for so doing; so he gave a command that she should dwell in the palace, and meddle with no public affairs. Her guards also were so careful, that nothing she did in private life every day was concealed. All these hardships put her out of patience, by little and little and she began to hate Herod; for as she had the pride of a woman to the utmost degree, she had great indignation at this suspicious guard that was about her, as desirous rather to undergo any thing that could befall her, than to be deprived of her liberty of speech, and, under the notion of an honorary guard, to live in a state of slavery and terror. She therefore sent to Cleopatra, and made a long complaint of the circumstances she was in, and entreated her to do her utmost for her assistance. Cleopatra hereupon advised her to take her son with her, and come away immediately to her into Egypt. This advice pleased her; and she had this

contrivance for getting away: She got two coffins made, as if they were to carry away two dead bodies and put herself into one, and her son into the other and gave orders to such of her servants as knew of her intentions to carry them away in the night time. Now their road was to be thence to the sea-side and there was a ship ready to carry them into Egypt. Now Aesop, one of her servants, happened to fall upon Sabion, one of her friends, and spake of this matter to him, as thinking he had known of it before. When Sabion knew this, [who had formerly been an enemy of Herod, and been esteemed one of those that laid snares for and gave the poison to [his father] Antipater,] he expected that this discovery would change Herod's hatred into kindness; so he told the king of this private stratagem of Alexandra: whereupon be suffered her to proceed to the execution of her project, and caught her in the very fact; but still he passed by her offense; and though he had a great mind to do it, he durst not inflict any thing that was severe upon her, for he knew that Cleopatra would not bear that he should have her accused, on account of her hatred to him; but made a show as if it were rather the generosity of his soul, and his great moderation, that made him forgive them. However, he fully proposed to himself to put this young man out of the way, by one means or other; but he thought he might in probability be better concealed in doing it, if he did it not presently, nor immediately after what had lately happened.

3. And now, upon the approach of the feast of tabernacles, which is a festival very much observed among us, he let those days pass over, and both he and the rest of the people were therein very merry; yet did the envy which at this time arose in him cause him to make haste to do what he was about, and provoke him to it; for when this youth Aristobulus, who was now in the seventeenth year of his age, went up to the altar, according to the law, to offer the sacrifices, and this with the ornaments of his high priesthood, and when he performed the sacred offices, he seemed to be exceedingly comely, and taller than men usually were at that age, and to exhibit in his countenance a great deal of that high family he was sprung from, — a warm zeal and affection towards him appeared among the people, and the memory of the actions of his grandfather Aristobulus was fresh in their minds; and their affections got so far the mastery of them, that they could not forbear to show their inclinations to him. They at once rejoiced and were confounded, and mingled with good wishes their joyful acclamations which they made to him, till the good-will of the multitude was made too evident; and they more rashly proclaimed the happiness they had received from his family than was fit under a monarchy to have done. Upon all this, Herod resolved to complete what he had intended against the young man. When therefore the festival was over, and he was feasting at Jericho with Alexandra, who

entertained them there, he was then very pleasant with the young man, and drew him into a lonely place, and at the same time played with him in a juvenile and ludicrous manner. Now the nature of that place was hotter than ordinary; so they went out in a body, and of a sudden, and in a vein of madness; and as they stood by the fish-ponds, of which there were large ones about the house, they went to cool themselves [by bathing], because it was in the midst of a hot day. At first they were only spectators of Herod's servants and acquaintance as they were swimming; but after a while, the young man, at the instigation of Herod, went into the water among them, while such of Herod's acquaintance, as he had appointed to do it, dipped him as he was swimming, and plunged him under water, in the dark of the evening, as if it had been done in sport only; nor did they desist till he was entirely suffocated. And thus was Aristobulus murdered, having lived no more in all than eighteen years, and kept the high priesthood one year only; which high priesthood Ananelus now recovered again.

4. When this sad accident was told the women, their joy was soon changed to lamentation, at the sight of the dead body that lay before them, and their sorrow was immoderate. The city also [of Jerusalem], upon the spreading of this news, were in very great grief, every family looking on this calamity as if it had not belonged to another, but that one of themselves was slain. But Alexandra was more deeply affected, upon her knowledge that he had been destroyed [on purpose]. Her sorrow was greater than that of others, by her knowing how the murder was committed; but she was under the necessity of bearing up under it, out of her prospect of a greater mischief that might otherwise follow; and she oftentimes came to an inclination to kill herself with her own hand, but still she restrained herself, in hopes she might live long enough to revenge the unjust murder thus privately committed; nay, she further resolved to endeavor to live longer, and to give no occasion to think she suspected that her son was slain on purpose, and supposed that she might thereby be in a capacity of revenging it at a proper opportunity. Thus did she restrain herself, that she might not be noted for entertaining any such suspicion. However, Herod endeavored that none abroad should believe that the child's death was caused by any design of his; and for this purpose he did not only use the ordinary signs of sorrow, but fell into tears also, and exhibited a real confusion of soul; and perhaps his affections were overcome on this occasion, when he saw the child's countenance so young and so beautiful, although his death was supposed to tend to his own security. So far at least this grief served as to make some apology for him; and as for his funeral, that he took care should be very magnificent, by making great preparation for a sepulcher to lay his body in, and providing a great quantity of spices, and burying many ornaments together with him, till the very women, who were in

such deep sorrow, were astonished at it, and received in this way some consolation.

5. However, no such things could overcome Alexandra's grief; but the remembrance of this miserable case made her sorrow, both deep and obstinate. Accordingly, she wrote an account of this treacherous scene to Cleopatra, and how her son was murdered; but Cleopatra, as she had formerly been desirous to give her what satisfaction she could, and commiserating Alexandra's misfortunes, made the case her own, and would not let Antony be quiet, but excited him to punish the child's murder; for that it was an unworthy thing that Herod, who had been by him made king of a kingdom that no way belonged to him, should be guilty of such horrid crimes against those that were of the royal blood in reality. Antony was persuaded by these arguments; and when he came to Laodicea, he sent and commanded Herod to come and make his defense, as to what he had done to Aristobulus, for that such a treacherous design was not well done, if he had any hand in it. Herod was now in fear, both of the accusation, and of Cleopatra's ill-will to him, which was such that she was ever endeavoring to make Antony hate him. He therefore determined to obey his summons, for he had no possible way to avoid it. So he left his uncle Joseph procurator for his government, and for the public affairs, and gave him a private charge, that if Antony should kill him, he also should kill Mariamne immediately; for that he had a tender affection for this his wife, and was afraid of the injury that should be offered him, if, after his death, she, for her beauty, should be engaged to some other man: but his intimation was nothing but this at the bottom, that Antony had fallen in love with her, when he had formerly heard somewhat of her beauty. So when Herod had given Joseph this charge, and had indeed no sure hopes of escaping with his life, he went away to Antony.

6. But as Joseph was administering the public affairs of the kingdom, and for that reason was very frequently with Mariamne, both because his business required it, and because of the respects he ought to pay to the queen, he frequently let himself into discourses about Herod's kindness, and great affection towards her; and when the women, especially Alexandra, used to turn his discourses into feminine raillery, Joseph was so over-desirous to demonstrate the kings inclinations, that he proceeded so far as to mention the charge he had received, and thence drew his demonstration, that Herod was not able to live without her; and that if he should come to any ill end, he could not endure a separation from her, even after he was dead. Thus spake Joseph. But the women, as was natural, did not take this to be an instance of Herod's strong affection for them, but of his severe usage of them, that they could not escape destruction, nor

a tyrannical death, even when he was dead himself. And this saying [of Joseph] was a foundation for the women's severe suspicions about him afterwards.

7. At this time a report went about the city Jerusalem among Herod's enemies, that Antony had tortured Herod, and put him to death. This report, as is natural, disturbed those that were about the palace, but chiefly the women; upon which Alexandra endeavored to persuade Joseph to go out of the palace, and fly away with them to the ensigns of the Roman legion, which then lay encamped about the city, as a guard to the kingdom, under the command of Julius; for that by this means, if any disturbance should happen about the palace, they should be in greater security, as having the Romans favorable to them; and that besides, they hoped to obtain the highest authority, if Antony did but once see Mariamne, by whose means they should recover the kingdom, and want nothing which was reasonable for them to hope for, because of their royal extraction.

8. But as they were in the midst of these deliberations, letters were brought from Herod about all his affairs, and proved contrary to the report, and of what they before expected; for when he was come to Antony, he soon recovered his interest with him, by the presents he made him, which he had brought with him from Jerusalem; and he soon induced him, upon discoursing with him, to leave off his indignation at him, so that Cleopatra's persuasions had less force than the arguments and presents he brought to regain his friendship; for Antony said that it was not good to require an account of a king, as to the affairs of his government, for at this rate he could be no king at all, but that those who had given him that authority ought to permit him to make use of it. He also said the same things to Cleopatra, that it would be best for her not busily to meddle with the acts of the king's government. Herod wrote an account of these things, and enlarged upon the other honors which he had received from Antony; how he sat by him at his hearing causes, and took his diet with him every day, and that he enjoyed those favors from him, notwithstanding the reproaches that Cleopatra so severely laid against him, who having a great desire of his country, and earnestly entreating Antony that the kingdom might be given to her, labored with her utmost diligence to have him out of the way; but that he still found Antony just to him, and had no longer any apprehensions of hard treatment from him; and that he was soon upon his return, with a firmer additional assurance of his favor to him, in his reigning and managing public affairs; and that there was no longer any hope for Cleopatra's covetous temper, since Antony had given her Celesyria instead of what she had desired; by which means he had at once pacified her, and got clear of the entreaties which she made him to have Judea bestowed upon her.

9. When these letters were brought, the women left off their attempt for flying to the Romans, which they thought of while Herod was supposed to be dead; yet

was not that purpose of theirs a secret; but when the king had conducted Antony on his way against the Partnians, he returned to Judea, when both his sister Salome and his mother informed him of Alexandra's intentions. Salome also added somewhat further against Joseph, though it was no more than a calumny, that he had often had criminal conversation with Mariamne. The reason of her saying so was this, that she for a long time bare her ill-will; for when they had differences with one another, Mariamne took great freedoms, and reproached the rest for the meanness of their birth. But Herod, whose affection to Mariamne was always very warm, was presently disturbed at this, and could not bear the torments of jealousy, but was still restrained from doing any rash thing to her by the love he had for her; yet did his vehement affection and jealousy together make him ask Mariamne by herself about this matter of Joseph; but she denied it upon her oath, and said all that an innocent woman could possibly say in her own defense; so that by little and little the king was prevailed upon to drop the suspicion, and left off his anger at her; and being overcome with his passion for his wife, he made an apology to her for having seemed to believe what he had heard about her, and returned her a great many acknowledgments of her modest behavior, and professed the extraordinary affection and kindness he had for her, till at last, as is usual between lovers, they both fell into tears, and embraced one another with a most tender affection. But as the king gave more and more assurances of his belief of her fidelity, and endeavored to draw her to a like confidence in him, Marianme said, "Yet was not that command thou gavest, that if any harm came to thee from Antony, I, who had been no occasion of it, should perish with thee, a sign of thy love to me?" When these words were fallen from her, the king was shocked at them, and presently let her go out of his arms, and cried out, and tore his hair with his own hands, and said, that "now he had an evident demonstration that Joseph had had criminal conversation" with his wife; for that he would never have uttered what he had told him alone by himself, unless there had been such a great familiarity and firm confidence between them. And while he was in this passion he had like to have killed his wife; but being still overborne by his love to her, he restrained this his passion, though not without a lasting grief and disquietness of mind. However, he gave order to slay Joseph, without permitting him to come into his sight; and as for Alexandra, he bound her, and kept her in custody, as the cause of all this mischief.

CHAPTER 4. How Cleopatra, When She Had Gotten From Antony Some Parts Of Judea And Arabia Came Into Judea; And How Herod Gave Her Many Presents And Conducted Her On Her Way Back To Egypt.

1. Now at this time the affairs of Syria were in confusion by Cleopatra's constant persuasions to Antony to make an attempt upon every body's dominions; for she persuaded him to take those dominions away from their several princes, and bestow them upon her; and she had a mighty influence upon him, by reason of his being enslaved to her by his affections. She was also by nature very covetous, and stuck at no wickedness. She had already poisoned her brother, because she knew that he was to be king of Egypt, and this when he was but fifteen years old; and she got her sister Arsinoe to be slain, by the means of Antony, when she was a supplicant at Diana's temple at Ephesus; for if there were but any hopes of getting money, she would violate both temples and sepulchers. Nor was there any holy place that was esteemed the most inviolable, from which she would not fetch the ornaments it had in it; nor any place so profane, but was to suffer the most flagitious treatment possible from her, if it could but contribute somewhat to the covetous humor of this wicked creature: yet did not all this suffice so extravagant a woman, who was a slave to her lusts, but she still imagined that she wanted every thing she could think of, and did her utmost to gain it; for which reason she hurried Antony on perpetually to deprive others of their dominions, and give them to her. And as she went over Syria with him, she contrived to get it into her possession; so he slew Lysanias, the son of Ptolemy, accusing him of his bringing the Parthians upon those countries. She also petitioned Antony to give her Judea and Arabia; and, in order thereto, desired him to take these countries away from their present governors. As for Antony, he was so entirely overcome by this woman, that one would not think her conversation only could do it, but that he was some way or other bewitched to do whatsoever she would have him; yet did the grossest parts of her injustice make him so ashamed, that he would not always hearken to her to do those flagrant enormities she would have persuaded him to. That therefore he might not totally deny her, nor, by doing every thing which she enjoined him, appear openly to be an ill man, he took some parts of each of those countries away from their former governors, and gave them to her. Thus he gave her the cities that were within the river Eleutherus, as far as Egypt, excepting Tyre and Sidon,

which he knew to have been free cities from their ancestors, although she pressed him very often to bestow those on her also.

2. When Cleopatra had obtained thus much, and had accompanied Antony in his expedition to Armenia as far as Euphrates, she returned back, and came to Apamia and Damascus, and passed on to Judea, where Herod met her, and farmed of her parts of Arabia, and those revenues that came to her from the region about Jericho. This country bears that balsam, which is the most precious drug that is there, and grows there alone. The place bears also palm trees, both many in number, and those excellent in their kind. When she was there, and was very often with Herod, she endeavored to have criminal conversation with the king; nor did she affect secrecy in the indulgence of such sort of pleasures; and perhaps she had in some measure a passion of love to him; or rather, what is most probable, she laid a treacherous snare for him, by aiming to obtain such adulterous conversation from him: however, upon the whole, she seemed overcome with love to him. Now Herod had a great while borne no good-will to Cleopatra, as knowing that she was a woman irksome to all; and at that time he thought her particularly worthy of his hatred, if this attempt proceeded out of lust; he had also thought of preventing her intrigues, by putting her to death, if such were her endeavors. However, he refused to comply with her proposals, and called a counsel of his friends to consult with them whether he should not kill her, now he had her in his power; for that he should thereby deliver all those from a multitude of evils to whom she was already become irksome, and was expected to be still so for the time to come; and that this very thing would be much for the advantage of Antony himself, since she would certainly not be faithful to him, in case any such season or necessity should come upon him as that he should stand in need of her fidelity. But when he thought to follow this advice, his friends would not let him; and told him that, in the first place, it was not right to attempt so great a thing, and run himself thereby into the utmost danger; and they laid hard at him, and begged of him to undertake nothing rashly, for that Antony would never bear it, no, not though any one should evidently lay before his eyes that it was for his own advantage; and that the appearance of depriving him of her conversation, by this violent and treacherous method, would probably set his affections more on a flame than before. Nor did it appear that he could offer any thing of tolerable weight in his defense, this attempt being against such a woman as was of the highest dignity of any of her sex at that time in the world; and as to any advantage to be expected from such an undertaking, if any such could be supposed in this case, it would appear to deserve condemnation, on account of the insolence he must take upon him in doing it: which considerations made it very plain that in so doing he would find

his government filled with mischief, both great and lasting, both to himself and his posterity, whereas it was still in his power to reject that wickedness she would persuade him to, and to come off honorably at the same time. So by thus affrighting Herod, and representing to him the hazard he must, in all probability, run by this undertaking, they restrained him from it. So he treated Cleopatra kindly, and made her presents, and conducted her on her way to Egypt.

3. But Antony subdued Armenia, and sent Artabazes, the son of Tigranes, in bonds, with his children and procurators, to Egypt, and made a present of them, and of all the royal ornaments which he had taken out of that kingdom, to Cleopatra. And Artaxias, the eldest of his sons, who had escaped at that time, took the kingdom of Armenia; who yet was ejected by Archclaus and Nero Caesar, when they restored Tigranes, his younger brother, to that kingdom; but this happened a good while afterward.

4. But then, as to the tributes which Herod was to pay Cleopatra for that country which Antony had given her, he acted fairly with her, as deeming it not safe for him to afford any cause for Cleopatra to hate him. As for the king of Arabia, whose tribute Herod had undertaken to pay her, for some time indeed he paid him as much as came to two hundred talents; but he afterwards became very niggardly and slow in his payments, and could hardly be brought to pay some parts of it, and was not willing to pay even them without some deductions.

CHAPTER 5. How Herod Made War With The King Of Arabia, And After They Had Fought Many Battles, At Length Conquered Him, And Was Chosen By The Arabs To Be Governor Of That Nation; As Also Concerning A Great Earthquake.

1. Hereupon Herod held himself ready to go against the king of Arabia, because of his ingratitude to him, and because, after all, he would do nothing that was just to him, although Herod made the Roman war an occasion of delaying his own; for the battle at Actium was now expected, which fell into the hundred eighty and seventh olympiad, where Caesar and Antony were to fight for the supreme power of the world; but Herod having enjoyed a country that was very fruitful, and that now for a long time, and having received great taxes, and raised great armies therewith, got together a body of men, and carefully furnished them with all necessaries, and designed them as auxiliaries for Antony. But Antony said he had no want of his assistance; but he commanded him to punish the king of Arabia; for he had heard both from him, and from Cleopatra, how perfidious he was; for this was what Cleopatra desired, who thought it for her own advantage that these two kings should do one another as great mischief as possible. Upon this message from Antony, Herod returned back, but kept his army with him, in order to invade Arabia immediately. So when his army of horsemen and footmen was ready, he marched to Diospolis, whither the Arabians came also to meet them, for they were not unapprized of this war that was coming upon them; and after a great battle had been fought, the Jews had the victory. But afterward there were gotten together another numerous army of the Arabians, at Cana, which is a place of Celesyria. Herod was informed of this beforehand; so he came marching against them with the greatest part of the forces he had; and when he was come near to Cana, he resolved to encamp himself; and he cast up a bulwark, that he might take a proper season for attacking the enemy; but as he was giving those orders, the multitude of the Jews cried out that he should make no delay, but lead them against the Arabians. They went with great spirit, as believing they were in very good order; and those especially were so that had been in the former battle, and had been conquerors, and had not permitted their enemies so much as to come to a close fight with them. And when they were so tumultuous, and showed such great alacrity, the king resolved to make use of that zeal the multitude then exhibited; and when he

had assured them he would not be behindhand with them in courage, he led them on, and stood before them all in his armor, all the regiments following him in their several ranks: whereupon a consternation fell upon the Arabians; for when they perceived that the Jews were not to be conquered, and were full of spirit, the greater part of them ran away, and avoided fighting; and they had been quite destroyed, had not Anthony fallen upon the Jews, and distressed them; for this man was Cleopatra's general over the soldiers she had there, and was at enmity with Herod, and very wistfully looked on to see what the event of the battle would be. He had also resolved, that in case the Arabians did any thing that was brave and successful, he would lie still; but in case they were beaten, as it really happened, he would attack the Jews with those forces he had of his own, and with those that the country had gotten together for him. So he fell upon the Jews unexpectedly, when they were fatigued, and thought they had already vanquished the enemy, and made a great slaughter of them; for as the Jews had spent their courage upon their known enemies, and were about to enjoy themselves in quietness after their victory, they were easily beaten by these that attacked them afresh, and in particular received a great loss in places where the horses could not be of service, and which were very stony, and where those that attacked them were better acquainted with the places than themselves. And when the Jews had suffered this loss, the Arabians raised their spirits after their defeat, and returning back again, slew those that were already put to flight; and indeed all sorts of slaughter were now frequent, and of those that escaped, a few only returned into the camp. So king Herod, when he despaired of the battle, rode up to them to bring them assistance; yet did he not come time enough to do them any service, though he labored hard to do it; but the Jewish camp was taken; so that the Arabians had unexpectedly a most glorious success, having gained that victory which of themselves they were no way likely to have gained, and slaying a great part of the enemy's army: whence afterward Herod could only act like a private robber, and make excursions upon many parts of Arabia, and distress them by sudden incursions, while he encamped among the mountains, and avoided by any means to come to a pitched battle; yet did he greatly harass the enemy by his assiduity, and the hard labor he took in this matter. He also took great care of his own forces, and used all the means he could to restore his affairs to their old state.

2. At this time it was that the fight happened at Actium, between Octavius Caesar and Antony, in the seventh year of the reign of Herod and then it was also that there was an earthquake in Judea, such a one as had not happened at any other time, and which earthquake brought a great destruction upon the cattle in that country. About ten thousand men also perished by the fall of houses; but

the army, which lodged in the field, received no damage by this sad accident. When the Arabians were informed of this, and when those that hated the Jews, and pleased themselves with aggravating the reports, told them of it, they raised their spirits, as if their enemy's country was quite overthrown, and the men were utterly destroyed, and thought there now remained nothing that could oppose them. Accordingly, they took the Jewish ambassadors, who came to them after all this had happened, to make peace with them, and slew them, and came with great alacrity against their army; but the Jews durst not withstand them, and were so cast down by the calamities they were under, that they took no care of their affairs, but gave up themselves to despair; for they had no hope that they should be upon a level again with them in battles, nor obtain any assistance elsewhere, while their affairs at home were in such great distress also. When matters were in this condition, the king persuaded the commanders by his words, and tried to raise their spirits, which were quite sunk; and first he endeavored to encourage and embolden some of the better sort beforehand, and then ventured to make a speech to the multitude, which he had before avoided to do, lest he should find them uneasy thereat, because of the misfortunes which had happened; so he made a consolatory speech to the multitude, in the manner following:

3. "You are not unacquainted, my fellow soldiers, that we have had, not long since, many accidents that have put a stop to what we are about, and it is probable that even those that are most distinguished above others for their courage can hardly keep up their spirits in such circumstances; but since we cannot avoid fighting, and nothing that hath happened is of such a nature but it may by ourselves be recovered into a good state, and this by one brave action only well performed, I have proposed to myself both to give you some encouragement, and, at the same time, some information; both which parts of my design will tend to this point; that you may still continue in your own proper fortitude. I will then, in the first place, demonstrate to you that this war is a just one on our side, and that on this account it is a war of necessity, and occasioned by the injustice of our adversaries; for if you be once satisfied of this, it will be a real cause of alacrity to you; after which I will further demonstrate, that the misfortunes we are under are of no great consequence, and that we have the greatest reason to hope for victory. I shall begin with the first, and appeal to yourselves as witnesses to what I shall say. You are not ignorant certainly of the wickedness of the Arabians, which is to that degree as to appear incredible to all other men, and to include somewhat that shows the grossest barbarity and ignorance of God. The chief things wherein they have affronted us have arisen from covetousness and envy; and they have attacked us in an insidious manner, and on the sudden. And what occasion is there for me to mention many instances

of such their procedure? When they were in danger of losing their own government of themselves, and of being slaves to Cleopatra, what others were they that freed them from that fear? for it was the friendship. I had with Antony, and the kind disposition he was in towards us, that hath been the occasion that even these Arabians have not been utterly undone, Antony being unwilling to undertake any thing which might be suspected by us of unkindness: but when he had a mind to bestow some parts of each of our dominions on Cleopatra, I also managed that matter so, that by giving him presents of my own, I might obtain a security to both nations, while I undertook myself to answer for the money, and gave him two hundred talents, and became surety for those two hundred more which were imposed upon the land that was subject to this tribute; and this they have defrauded us of, although it was not reasonable that Jews should pay tribute to any man living, or allow part of their land to be taxable; but although that was to be, yet ought we not to pay tribute for these Arabians, whom we have ourselves preserved; nor is it fit that they, who have professed [and that with great integrity and sense of our kindness] that it is by our means that they keep their principality, should injure us, and deprive us of what is our due, and this while we have been still not their enemies, but their friends. And whereas observation of covenants takes place among the bitterest enemies, but among friends is absolutely necessary, this is not observed among these men, who think gain to be the best of all things, let it be by any means whatsoever, and that injustice is no harm, if they may but get money by it: is it therefore a question with you, whether the unjust are to be punished or not? when God himself hath declared his mind that so it ought to be, and hath commanded that we ever should hate injuries and injustice, which is not only just, but necessary, in wars between several nations; for these Arabians have done what both the Greeks and barbarians own to be an instance of the grossest wickedness, with regard to our ambassadors, which they have beheaded, while the Greeks declare that such ambassadors are sacred and inviolable. And for ourselves, we have learned from God the most excellent of our doctrines, and the most holy part of our law, by angels or ambassadors; for this name brings God to the knowledge of mankind, and is sufficient to reconcile enemies one to another. What wickedness then can be greater than the slaughter of ambassadors, who come to treat about doing what is right? And when such have been their actions, how is it possible they can either live securely in common life, or be successful in war? In my opinion, this is impossible; but perhaps some will say, that what is holy, and what is righteous, is indeed on our side, but that the Arabians are either more courageous or more numerous than we are. Now, as to this, in the first place, it is not fit for us to say so, for with whom is what is righteous, with them is God himself; now

where God is, there is both multitude and courage. But to examine our own circumstances a little, we were conquerors in the first battle; and when we fought again, they were not able to oppose us, but ran away, and could not endure our attacks or our courage; but when we had conquered them, then came Athenion, and made war against us without declaring it; and pray, is this an instance of their manhood? or is it not a second instance of their wickedness and treachery? Why are we therefore of less courage, on account of that which ought to inspire us with stronger hopes? and why are we terrified at these, who, when they fight upon the level, are continually beaten, and when they seem to be conquerors, they gain it by wickedness? and if we suppose that any one should deem them to be men of real courage, will not he be excited by that very consideration to do his utmost against them? for true valor is not shown by fighting against weak persons, but in being able to overcome the most hardy. But then if the distresses we are ourselves under, and the miseries that have come by the earthquake, hath aftrighted any one, let him consider, in the first place, that this very thing will deceive the Arabians, by their supposal that what hath befallen us is greater than it really is. Moreover, it is not right that the same thing that emboldens them should discourage us; for these men, you see, do not derive their alacrity from any advantageous virtue of their own, but from their hope, as to us, that we are quite cast down by our misfortunes; but when we boldly march against them, we shall soon pull down their insolent conceit of themselves, and shall gain this by attacking them, that they will not be so insolent when we come to the battle; for our distresses are not so great, nor is what hath happened all indication of the anger of God against us, as some imagine; for such things are accidental, and adversities that come in the usual course of things; and if we allow that this was done by the will of God, we must allow that it is now over by his will also, and that he is satisfied with what hath already happened; for had he been willing to afflict us still more thereby, he had not changed his mind so soon. And as for the war we are engaged in, he hath himself demonstrated that he is willing it should go on, and that he knows it to be a just war; for while some of the people in the country have perished, all you who were in arms have suffered nothing, but are all preserved alive; whereby God makes it plain to us, that if you had universally, with your children and wives, been in the army, it had come to pass that you had not undergone any thing that would have much hurt you. Consider these things, and, what is more than all the rest, that you have God at all times for your Protector; and prosecute these men with a just bravery, who, in point of friendship, are unjust, in their battles perfidious, towards ambassadors impious, and always inferior to you in valor."

4. When the Jews heard this speech, they were much raised in their minds, and more disposed to fight than before. So Herod, when he had offered the sacrifices appointed by the law made haste, and took them, and led them against the Arabians; and in order to that passed over Jordan, and pitched his camp near to that of the enemy. He also thought fit to seize upon a certain castle that lay in the midst of them, as hoping it would be for his advantage, and would the sooner produce a battle; and that if there were occasion for delay, he should by it have his camp fortified; and as the Arabians had the same intentions upon that place, a contest arose about it; at first they were but skirmishes, after which there came more soldiers, and it proved a sort of fight, and some fell on both sides, till those of the Arabian side were beaten and retreated. This was no small encouragement to the Jews immediately; and when Herod observed that the enemy's army was disposed to any thing rather than to come to an engagement, he ventured boldly to attempt the bulwark itself, and to pull it to pieces, and so to get nearer to their camp, in order to fight them; for when they were forced out of their trenches, they went out in disorder, and had not the least alacrity, or hope of victory; yet did they fight hand to hand, because they were more in number than the Jews, and because they were in such a disposition of war that they were under a necessity of coming on boldly; so they came to a terrible battle, while not a few fell on each side. However, at length the Arabians fled; and so great a slaughter was made upon their being routed, that they were not only killed by their enemies, but became the authors of their own deaths also, and were trodden down by the multitude, and the great current of people in disorder, and were destroyed by their own armor; so five thousand men lay dead upon the spot, while the rest of the multitude soon ran within the bulwark for safety, but had no firm hope of safety, by reason of their want of necessaries, and especially of water. The Jews pursued them, but could not get in with them, but sat round about the bulwark, and watched any assistance that would get in to them, and prevented any there, that had a mind to it, from running away.

5. When the Arabians were in these circumstances, they sent ambassadors to Herod, in the first place, to propose terms of accommodation, and after that to offer him, so pressing was their thirst upon them, to undergo whatsoever he pleased, if he would free them from their present distress; but he would admit of no ambassadors, of no price of redemption, nor of any other moderate terms whatever, being very desirous to revenge those unjust actions which they had been guilty of towards his nation. So they were necessitated by other motives, and particularly by their thirst, to come out, and deliver themselves up to him, to be carried away captives; and in five days' time the number of four thousand were taken prisoners, while all the rest resolved to make a sally upon their

enemies, and to fight it out with them, choosing rather, if so it must be, to die therein, than to perish gradually and ingloriously. When they had taken this resolution, they came out of their trenches, but could no way sustain the fight, being too much disabled, both in mind and body, and having not room to exert themselves, and thought it an advantage to be killed, and a misery to survive; so at the first onset there fell about seven thousand of them, after which stroke they let all the courage they had put on before fall, and stood amazed at Herod's warlike spirit under his own calamities; so for the future they yielded, and made him ruler of their nation; whereupon he was greatly elevated at so seasonable a success, and returned home, taking great authority upon him, on account of so bold and glorious an expedition as he had made.

CHAPTER 6. How Herod Slew Hyrcanus And Then Hasted Away To Caesar, And Obtained The Kingdom From Him Also; And How A Little Time Afterward, He Entertained Caesar In A Most Honorable Manner.

1. Herod's other affairs were now very prosperous, and he was not to be easily assaulted on any side. Yet did there come upon him a danger that would hazard his entire dominions, after Antony had been beaten at the battle of Actium by Caesar [Octarian]; for at that time both Herod's enemies and friends despaired of his affairs, for it was not probable that he would remain without punishment, who had showed so much friendship for Antony. So it happened that his friends despaired, and had no hopes of his escape; but for his enemies, they all outwardly appeared to be troubled at his case, but were privately very glad of it, as hoping to obtain a change for the better. As for Herod himself he saw that there was no one of royal dignity left but Hyrcanus, and therefore he thought it would be for his advantage not to suffer him to be an obstacle in his way any longer; for that in case he himself survived, and escaped the danger he was in, he thought it the safest way to put it out of the power of such a man to make any attempt against him, at such junctures of affairs, as was more worthy of the kingdom than himself; and in case he should be slain by Caesar, his envy prompted him to desire to slay him that would otherwise be king after him.

2. While Herod had these things in his mind, there was a certain occasion afforded him: for Hyrcanus was of so mild a temper, both then and at other times, that he desired not to meddle with public affairs, nor to concern himself with innovations, but left all to fortune, and contented himself with what that afforded him: but Alexandra [his daughter] was a lover of strife, and was exceeding desirous of a change of the government, and spake to her father not to bear for ever Herod's injurious treatment of their family, but to anticipate their future hopes, as he safely might; and desired him to write about these matters to Malchus, who was then governor of Arabia, to receive them, and to secure them [from Herod], for that if they went away, and Herod's affairs proved to be as it was likely they would be, by reason of Caesar's enmity to him, they should then be the only persons that could take the government; and this, both on account of the royal family they were of, and on account of the good disposition of: the multitude to them. While she used these persuasions, Hyrcanus put off her suit; but as she showed that she was a woman, and a contentious woman too, and

would not desist either night or day, but would always be speaking to him about these matters, and about Herod's treacherous designs, she at last prevailed with him to intrust Dositheus, one of his friends, with a letter, wherein his resolution was declared; and he desired the Arabian governor to send to him some horsemen, who should receive him, and conduct him to the lake Asphaltites, which is from the bounds of Jerusalem three hundred furlongs: and he did therefore trust Dositheus with this letter, because he was a careful attendant on him, and on Alexandra, and had no small occasions to bear ill-will to Herod; for he was a kinsman of one Joseph, whom he had slain, and a brother of those that were formerly slain at Tyre by Antony: yet could not these motives induce Dositheus to serve Hyrcanus in this affair; for, preferring the hopes he had from the present king to those he had from him, he gave Herod the letter. So he took his kindness in good part, and bid him besides do what he had already done, that is, go on in serving him, by rolling up the epistle and sealing it again, and delivering it to Malchus, and then to bring back his letter in answer to it; for it would be much better if he could know Malchus's intentions also. And when Dositheus was very ready to serve him in this point also, the Arabian governor returned back for answer, that he would receive Hyrcanus, and all that should come with him, and even all the Jews that were of his party; that he would, moreover, send forces sufficient to secure them in their journey; and that he should be in no want of any thing he should desire. Now as soon as Herod had received this letter, he immediately sent for Hyrcanus, and questioned him about the league he had made with Malchus; and when he denied it, he showed his letter to the Sanhedrim, and put the man to death immediately.

3. And this account we give the reader, as it is contained in the commentaries of king Herod: but other historians do not agree with them, for they suppose that Herod did not find, but rather make, this an occasion for thus putting him to death, and that by treacherously laying a snare for him; for thus do they write: That Herod and he were once at a treat, and that Herod had given no occasion to suspect [that he was displeased at him], but put this question to Hyrcanus, Whether he had received any letters from Malchus? and when he answered that he had received letters, but those of salutation only; and when he asked further, whether he had not received any presents from him? and when he had replied that he had received no more than four horses to ride on, which Malchus had sent him; they pretended that Herod charged these upon him as the crimes of bribery and treason, and gave order that he should be led away and slain. And in order to demonstrate that he had been guilty of no offense, when he was thus brought to his end, they alleged how mild his temper had been, and that even in his youth he had never given any demonstration of boldness or rashness, and that

the case was the same when he came to be king, but that he even then committed the management of the greatest part of public affairs to Antipater; and that he was now above fourscore years old, and knew that Herod's government was in a secure state. He also came over Euphrates, and left those who greatly honored him beyond that river, though he were to be entirely under Herod's government; and that it was a most incredible thing that he should enterprise any thing by way of innovation, and not at all agreeable to his temper, but that this was a plot of Herod's contrivance.

4. And this was the fate of Hyrcanus; and thus did he end his life, after he had endured various and manifold turns of fortune in his lifetime. For he was made high priest of the Jewish nation in the beginning of his mother Alexandra's reign, who held the government nine years; and when, after his mother's death, he took the kingdom himself, and held it three months, he lost it, by the means of his brother Aristobulus. He was then restored by Pompey, and received all sorts of honor from him, and enjoyed them forty years; but when he was again deprived by Antigonus, and was maimed in his body, he was made a captive by the Parthians, and thence returned home again after some time, on account of the hopes that Herod had given him; none of which came to pass according to his expectation, but he still conflicted with many misfortunes through the whole course of his life; and, what was the heaviest calamity of all, as we have related already, he came to an end which was undeserved by him. His character appeared to be that of a man of a mild and moderate disposition, and suffered the administration of affairs to be generally done by others under him. He was averse to much meddling with the public, nor had shrewdness enough to govern a kingdom. And both Antipater and Herod came to their greatness by reason of his mildness; and at last he met with such an end from them as was not agreeable either to justice or piety.

5. Now Herod, as soon as he had put Hyrcanus out of the way, made haste to Caesar; and because he could not have any hopes of kindness from him, on account of the friendship he had for Antony, he had a suspicion of Alexandra, lest she should take this opportunity to bring the multitude to a revolt, and introduce a sedition into the affairs of the kingdom; so he committed the care of every thing to his brother Pheroras, and placed his mother Cypros, and his sister [Salome], and the whole family at Masada, and gave him a charge, that if he should hear any sad news about him, he should take care of the government. But as to Mariamne his wife, because of the misunderstanding between her and his sister, and his sister's mother, which made it impossible for them to live together, he placed her at Alexandrium, with Alexandra her mother, and left his treasurer Joseph and Sohemus of Iturea to take care of that fortress. These two

had been very faithful to him from the beginning, and were now left as a guard to the women. They also had it in charge, that if they should hear any mischief had befallen him, they should kill them both, and, as far as they were able, to preserve the kingdom for his sons, and for his brother Pheroras.

6. When he had given them this charge, he made haste to Rhodes, to meet Caesar; and when he had sailed to that city, he took off his diadem, but remitted nothing else of his usual dignity. And when, upon his meeting him, he desired that he would let him speak to him, he therein exhibited a much more noble specimen of a great soul; for he did not betake himself to supplications, as men usually do upon such occasions, nor offered him any petition, as if he were an offender; but, after an undaunted manner, gave an account of what he had done; for he spake thus to Caesar: That he had the greatest friendship for Antony, and did every thing he could that he might attain the government; that he was not indeed in the army with him, because the Arabians had diverted him; but that he had sent him both money and corn, which was but too little in comparison of what he ought to have done for him; "for if a man owns himself to be another's friend, and knows him to be a benefactor, he is obliged to hazard every thing, to use every faculty of his soul, every member of his body, and all the wealth he hath, for him, in which I confess I have been too deficient. However, I am conscious to myself, that so far I have done right, that I have not deserted him upon his defeat at Actium; nor upon the evident change of his fortune have I transferred my hopes from him to another, but have preserved myself, though not as a valuable fellow soldier, yet certainly as a faithful counselor, to Antony, when I demonstrated to him that the only way that he had to save himself, and not to lose all his authority, was to slay Cleopatra; for when she was once dead, there would be room for him to retain his authority, and rather to bring thee to make a composition with him, than to continue at enmity any longer. None of which advises would he attend to, but preferred his own rash resolution before them, which have happened unprofitably for him, but profitably for thee. Now, therefore, in case thou determinest about me, and my alacrity in serving Antony, according to thy anger at him, I own there is no room for me to deny what I have done, nor will I be ashamed to own, and that publicly too, that I had a great kindness for him. But if thou wilt put him out of the case, and only examine how I behave myself to my benefactors in general, and what sort of friend I am, thou wilt find by experience that we shall do and be the same to thyself, for it is but changing the names, and the firmness of friendship that we shall bear to thee will not be disapproved by thee."

7. By this speech, and by his behavior, which showed Caesar the frankness of his mind, he greatly gained upon him, who was himself of a generous and

magnificent temper, insomuch that those very actions, which were the foundation of the accusation against him, procured him Caesar's good-will. Accordingly, he restored him his diadem again; and encouraged him to exhibit himself as great a friend to himself as he had been to Antony, and then had him in great esteem. Moreover, he added this, that Quintus Didius had written to him that Herod had very readily assisted him in the affair of the gladiators. So when he had obtained such a kind reception, and had, beyond all his hopes, procured his crown to be more entirely and firmly settled upon him than ever by Caesar's donation, as well as by that decree of the Romans, which Caesar took care to procure for his greater security, he conducted Caesar on his way to Egypt, and made presents, even beyond his ability, to both him and his friends, and in general behaved himself with great magnanimity. He also desired that Caesar would not put to death one Alexander, who had been a companion of Antony; but Caesar had sworn to put him to death, and so he could not obtain that his petition. And now he returned to Judea again with greater honor and assurance than ever, and affrighted those that had expectations to the contrary, as still acquiring from his very dangers greater splendor than before, by the favor of God to him. So he prepared for the reception of Caesar, as he was going out of Syria to invade Egypt; and when he came, he entertained him at Ptolemais with all royal magnificence. He also bestowed presents on the army, and brought them provisions in abundance. He also proved to be one of Caesar's most cordial friends, and put the army in array, and rode along with Caesar, and had a hundred and fifty men, well appointed in all respects, after a rich and sumptuous manner, for the better reception of him and his friends. He also provided them with what they should want, as they passed over the dry desert, insomuch that they lacked neither wine nor water, which last the soldiers stood in the greatest need of; and besides, he presented Caesar with eight hundred talents, and procured to himself the good-will of them all, because he was assisting to them in a much greater and more splendid degree than the kingdom he had obtained could afford; by which means he more and more demonstrated to Caesar the firmness of his friendship, and his readiness to assist him; and what was of the greatest advantage to him was this, that his liberality came at a seasonable time also. And when they returned again out of Egypt, his assistances were no way inferior to the good offices he had formerly done them.

CHAPTER 7. How Herod Slew Sohemus And Mariamne And Afterward Alexandra And Costobarus, And His Most Intimate Friends, And At Last The Sons Of Babbas Also.

1. However, when he came into his kingdom again, he found his house all in disorder, and his wife Mariamne and her mother Alexandra very uneasy; for as they supposed [what was easy to be supposed] that they were not put into that fortress [Alexandrium] for the security of their persons, but as into a garrison for their imprisonment, and that they had no power over any thing, either of others or of their own affairs, they were very uneasy; and Mariamne supposing that the king's love to her was but hypocritical, and rather pretended [as advantageous to himself] than real, she looked upon it as fallacious. She also was grieved that he would not allow her any hopes of surviving him, if he should come to any harm himself. She also recollected what commands he had formerly given to Joseph, insomuch that she endeavored to please her keepers, and especially Sohemus, as well apprized how all was in his power. And at the first Sohemus was faithful to Herod, and neglected none of the things he had given him in charge; but when the women, by kind words and liberal presents, had gained his affections over to them, he was by degrees overcome, and at length discovered to them all the king's injunctions, and this on that account principally, that he did not so much as hope he would come back with the same authority he had before; so that he thought he should both escape any danger from him, mid supposed that he did hereby much gratify the women, who were likely not to be overlooked in the settling of the government; nay, that they would be able to make him abundant recompense, since they must either reign themselves, or be very near to him that should reign. He had a further ground of hope also, that though Herod should have all the success he could wish for, and should return again, he could not contradict his wife in what she desired, for he knew that the king's fondness for his wife was inexpressible. These were the motives that drew Sohemus to discover what injunctions had been given him. So Mariamne was greatly displeased to hear that there was no end of the dangers she was under from Herod, and was greatly uneasy at it, and wished that he might obtain no favors [from Caesar], and esteemed it almost an insupportable task to live with him any longer; and this she afterward openly declared, without concealing her resentment.

2. And now Herod sailed home with joy, at the unexpected good success he had had; and went first of all, as was proper, to this his wife, and told her, and her only, the good news, as preferring her before the rest, on account of his fondness for her, and the intimacy there had been between them, and saluted her; but so it happened, that as he told her of the good success he had had, she was so far from rejoicing at it, that she rather was sorry for it; nor was she able to conceal her resentments, but, depending on her dignity, and the nobility of her birth, in return for his salutations, she gave a groan, and declared evidently that she rather grieved than rejoiced at his success, and this till Herod was disturbed at her, as affording him, not only marks of her suspicion, but evident signs of her dissatisfaction. This much troubled him, to see that this surprising hatred of his wife to him was not concealed, but open; and he took this so ill, and yet was so unable to bear it, on account of the fondness he had for her, that he could not continue long in any one mind, but sometimes was angry at her, and sometimes reconciled himself to her; but by always changing one passion for another, he was still in great uncertainty, and thus was he entangled between hatred and love, and was frequently disposed to inflict punishment on her for her insolence towards him; but being deeply in love with her in his soul, he was not able to get quit of this woman. In short, as he would gladly have her punished, so was he afraid lest, ere he were aware, he should, by putting her to death, bring a heavier punishment upon himself at the same time.

3. When Herod's sister and mother perceived that he was in this temper with regard to Mariamne they thought they had now got an excellent opportunity to exercise their hatred against her and provoked Herod to wrath by telling him, such long stories and calumnies about her, as might at once excite his hatred and his jealousy. Now, though he willingly enough heard their words, yet had not he courage enough to do any thing to her as if he believed them; but still he became worse and worse disposed to her, and these ill passions were more and more inflamed on both sides, while she did not hide her disposition towards him, and he turned his love to her into wrath against her. But when he was just going to put this matter past all remedy, he heard the news that Caesar was the victor in the war, and that Antony and Cleopatra were both dead, and that he had conquered Egypt; whereupon he made haste to go to meet Caesar, and left the affairs of his family in their present state. However, Mariamne recommended Sohemus to him, as he was setting out on his journey, and professed that she owed him thanks for the care he had taken of her, and asked of the king for him a place in the government; upon which an honorable employment was bestowed upon him accordingly. Now when Herod was come into Egypt, he was introduced to Caesar with great freedom, as already a friend of his, and received

very great favors from him; for he made him a present of those four hundred Galatians who had been Cleopatra's guards, and restored that country to him again, which, by her means, had been taken away from him. He also added to his kingdom Gadara, Hippos, and Samaria; and, besides those, the maritime cities, Gaza, and Anthedon, and Joppa, and Strato's Tower.

4. Upon these new acquisitions, he grew more magnificent, and conducted Caesar as far as Antioch; but upon his return, as much as his prosperity was augmented by the foreign additions that had been made him, so much the greater were the distresses that came upon him in his own family, and chiefly in the affair of his wife, wherein he formerly appeared to have been most of all fortunate; for the affection he had for Mariamne was no way inferior to the affections of such as are on that account celebrated in history, and this very justly. As for her, she was in other respects a chaste woman, and faithful to him; yet had she somewhat of a woman rough by nature, and treated her husband imperiously enough, because she saw he was so fond of her as to be enslaved to her. She did not also consider seasonably with herself that she lived under a monarchy, and that she was at another's disposal, and accordingly would behave herself after a saucy manner to him, which yet he usually put off in a jesting way, and bore with moderation and good temper. She would also expose his mother and his sister openly, on account of the meanness of their birth, and would speak unkindly of them, insomuch that there was before this a disagreement and unpardonable hatred among the women, and it was now come to greater reproaches of one another than formerly, which suspicions increased, and lasted a whole year after Herod returned from Caesar. However, these misfortunes, which had been kept under some decency for a great while, burst out all at once upon such an occasion as was now offered; for as the king was one day about noon lain down on his bed to rest him, he called for Mariamne, out of the great affection he had always for her. She came in accordingly, but would not lie down by him; and when he was very desirous of her company, she showed her contempt of him; and added, by way of reproach, that he had caused her father and her brother to be slain. And when he took this injury very unkindly, and was ready to use violence to her, in a precipitate manner, the king's sister Salome, observing that he was more than ordinarily disturbed, sent in to the king his cup-bearer, who had been prepared long beforehand for such a design, and bid him tell the king how Mariamne had persuaded him to give his assistance in preparing a love potion for him; and if he appeared to be greatly concerned, and to ask what that love potion was, to tell him that she had the potion, and that he was desired only to give it him; but that in case he did not appear to be much concerned at this potion, to let the thing drop; and that if he

did so, no harm should thereby come to him. When she had given him these instructions, she sent him in at this time to make such a speech. So he went in, after a composed manner, to gain credit to what he should say, and yet somewhat hastily, and said that Mariamne had given him presents, and persuaded him to give him a love potion. And when this moved the king, he said that this love potion was a composition that she had given him, whose effects he did not know, which was the reason of his resolving to give him this information, as the safest course he could take, both for himself and for the king. When Herod heard what he said, and was in an ill disposition before, his indignation grew more violent; and he ordered that eunuch of Mariamne, who was most faithful to her, to be brought to torture about this potion, as well knowing it was not possible that any thing small or great could be done without him. And when the man was under the utmost agonies, he could say nothing concerning the thing he was tortured about, but so far he knew, that Mariamne's hatred against him was occasioned by somewhat that Sohemus had said to her. Now as he was saying this, Herod cried out aloud, and said that Sohemus, who had been at all other times most faithful to him, and to his government, would not have betrayed what injunctions he had given him, unless he had had a nearer conversation than ordinary with Mariamne. So he gave order that Sohemus should be seized on and slain immediately; but he allowed his wife to take her trial; and got together those that were most faithful to him, and laid an elaborate accusation against her for this love potion and composition, which had been charged upon her by way of calumny only. However, he kept no temper in what he said, and was in too great a passion for judging well about this matter. Accordingly, when the court was at length satisfied that he was so resolved, they passed the sentence of death upon her; but when the sentence was passed upon her, this temper was suggested by himself, and by some others of the court, that she should not be thus hastily put to death, but be laid in prison in one of the fortresses belonging to the kingdom: but Salome and her party labored hard to have the woman put to death; and they prevailed with the king to do so, and advised this out of caution, lest the multitude should be tumultuous if she were suffered to live; and thus was Mariamne led to execution.

5. When Alexandra observed how things went, and that there were small hopes that she herself should escape the like treatment from Herod, she changed her behavior to quite the reverse of what might have been expected from her former boldness, and this after a very indecent manner; for out of her desire to show how entirely ignorant she was of the crimes laid against Mariamne, she leaped out of her place, and reproached her daughter in the hearing of all the people; and cried out that she had been an ill woman, and ungrateful to her

husband, and that her punishment came justly upon her for such her insolent behavior, for that she had not made proper returns to him who had been their common benefactor. And when she had for some time acted after this hypocritical manner, and been so outrageous as to tear her hair, this indecent and dissembling behavior, as was to be expected, was greatly condemned by the rest of the spectators, as it was principally by the poor woman who was to suffer; for at the first she gave her not a word, nor was discomposed at her peevishness, and only looked at her, yet did she out of a greatness of soul discover her concern for her mother's offense, and especially for her exposing herself in a manner so unbecoming her; but as for herself, she went to her death with an unshaken firmness of mind, and without changing the color of her face, and thereby evidently discovered the nobility of her descent to the spectators, even in the last moments of her life.

6. And thus died Mariamne, a woman of an excellent character, both for chastity and greatness of soul; but she wanted moderation, and had too much of contention in her nature; yet had she all that can be said in the beauty of her body, and her majestic appearance in conversation; and thence arose the greatest part of the occasions why she did not prove so agreeable to the king, nor live so pleasantly with him, as she might otherwise have done; for while she was most indulgently used by the king, out of his fondness for her, and did not expect that he could do any hard thing to her, she took too unbounded a liberty. Moreover, that which most afflicted her was, what he had done to her relations, and she ventured to speak of all they had suffered by him, and at last greatly provoked both the king's mother and sister, till they became enemies to her; and even he himself also did the same, on whom alone she depended for her expectations of escaping the last of punishments.

7. But when she was once dead, the king's affections for her were kindled in a more outrageous manner than before, whose old passion for her we have already described; for his love to her was not of a calm nature, nor such as we usually meet with among other husbands; for at its commencement it was of an enthusiastic kind, nor was it by their long cohabitation and free conversation together brought under his power to manage; but at this time his love to Mariamne seemed to seize him in such a peculiar manner, as looked like Divine vengeance upon him for the taking away her life; for he would frequently call for her, and frequently lament for her in a most indecent manner. Moreover, he bethought him of every thing he could make use of to divert his mind from thinking of her, and contrived feasts and assemblies for that purpose, but nothing would suffice; he therefore laid aside the administration of public affairs, and was so far conquered by his passion, that he would order his servants to call for

Mariamne, as if she were still alive, and could still hear them. And when he was in this way, there arose a pestilential disease, and carried off the greatest part of the multitude, and of his best and most esteemed friends, and made all men suspect that this was brought upon them by the anger of God, for the injustice that had been done to Mariamne. This circumstance affected the king still more, till at length he forced himself to go into desert places, and there, under pretense of going a hunting, bitterly afflicted himself; yet had he not borne his grief there many days before he fell into a most dangerous distemper himself: he had an inflammation upon him, and a pain in the hinder part of his head, joined with madness; and for the remedies that were used, they did him no good at all, but proved contrary to his case, and so at length brought him to despair. All the physicians also that were about him, partly because the medicines they brought for his recovery could not at all conquer the disease, and partly because his diet could be no other than what his disease inclined him to, desired him to eat whatever he had a mind to, and so left the small hopes they had of his recovery in the power of that diet, and committed him to fortune. And thus did his distemper go on, while he was at Samaria, now called Sebaste.

8. Now Alexandra abode at this time at Jerusalem; and being informed what condition Herod was in, she endeavored to get possession of the fortified places that were about the city, which were two, the one belonging to the city itself, the other belonging to the temple; and those that could get them into their hands had the whole nation under their power, for without the command of them it was not possible to offer their sacrifices; and to think of leaving on those sacrifices is to every Jew plainly impossible, who are still more ready to lose their lives than to leave off that Divine worship which they have been wont to pay unto God. Alexandra, therefore, discoursed with those that had the keeping of these strong holds, that it was proper for them to deliver the same to her, and to Herod's sons, lest, upon his death, any other person should seize upon the government; and that upon his recovery none could keep them more safely for him than those of his own family. These words were not by them at all taken in good part; and as they had been in former times faithful [to Herod], they resolved to continue so more than ever, both because they hated Alexandra, and because they thought it a sort of impiety to despair of Herod's recovery while he was yet alive, for they had been his old friends; and one of them, whose name was Achiabus, was his cousin-german. They sent messengers therefore to acquaint him with Alexandra's design; so he made no longer delay, but gave orders to have her slain; yet was it still with difficulty, and after he had endured great pain, that he got clear of his distemper. He was still sorely afflicted, both in mind and body, and made very uneasy, and readier than ever upon all occasions to inflict

punishment upon those that fell under his hand. He also slew the most intimate of his friends, Costobarus, and Lysimachus, and Cadias, who was also called Antipater; as also Dositheus, and that upon the following occasion.

9. Costobarus was an Idumean by birth, and one of principal dignity among them, and one whose ancestors had been priests to the Koze, whom the Idumeans had [formerly] esteemed as a god; but after Hyrcanus had made a change in their political government, and made them receive the Jewish customs and law, Herod made Costobarus governor of Idumea and Gaza, and gave him his sister Salome to wife; and this was upon the slaughter of [his uncle] Joseph, who had that government before, as we have related already. When Costobarus had gotten to be so highly advanced, it pleased him and was more than he hoped for, and he was more and more puffed up by his good success, and in a little while he exceeded all bounds, and did not think fit to obey what Herod, as their ruler, commanded him, or that the Idumeans should make use of the Jewish customs, or be subject to them. He therefore sent to Cleopatra, and informed her that the Idumeans had been always under his progenitors, and that for the same reason it was but just that she should desire that country for him of Antony, for that he was ready to transfer his friendship to her; and this he did, not because he was better pleased to be under Cleopatra's government, but because he thought that, upon the diminution of Herod's power, it would not be difficult for him to obtain himself the entire government over the Idumeans, and somewhat more also; for he raised his hopes still higher, as having no small pretenses, both by his birth and by these riches which he had gotten by his constant attention to filthy lucre; and accordingly it was not a small matter that he aimed at. So Cleopatra desired this country of Antony, but failed of her purpose. An account of this was brought to Herod, who was thereupon ready to kill Costobarus; yet, upon the entreaties of his sister and mother, he forgave him, and vouchsafed to pardon him entirely; though he still had a suspicion of him afterward for this his attempt.

10. But some time afterward, when Salome happened to quarrel with Costobarus, she sent him a bill of divorce and dissolved her marriage with him, though this was not according to the Jewish laws; for with us it is lawful for a husband to do so; but a wife; if she departs from her husband, cannot of herself be married to another, unless her former husband put her away. However, Salome chose to follow not the law of her country, but the law of her authority, and so renounced her wedlock; and told her brother Herod, that she left her husband out of her good-will to him, because she perceived that he, with Antipater, and Lysimachus, and Dositheus, were raising a sedition against him; as an evidence whereof, she alleged the case of the sons of Babas, that they had

been by him preserved alive already for the interval of twelve years; which proved to be true. But when Herod thus unexpectedly heard of it, he was greatly surprised at it, and was the more surprised, because the relation appeared incredible to him. As for the fact relating to these sons of Babas, Herod had formerly taken great pains to bring them to punishment, as being enemies to his government; but they were now forgotten by him, on account of the length of time [since he had ordered them to be slain]. Now the cause of his ill-will and hatred to them arose hence, that while Antigonus was king, Herod, with his army, besieged the city of Jerusalem, where the distress and miseries which the besieged endured were so pressing, that the greater number of them invited Herod into the city, and already placed their hopes on him. Now the sons of Babas were of great dignity, and had power among the multitude, and were faithful to Antigonus, and were always raising calumnies against Herod, and encouraged the people to preserve the government to that royal family which held it by inheritance. So these men acted thus politically, and, as they thought, for their own advantage; but when the city was taken, and Herod had gotten the government into his hands, and Costobarus was appointed to hinder men from passing out at the gates, and to guard the city, that those citizens that were guilty, and of the party opposite to the king, might not get out of it, Costobarus, being sensible that the sons of Babas were had in respect and honor by the whole multitude, and supposing that their preservation might be of great advantage to him in the changes of government afterward, he set them by themselves, and concealed them in his own farms; and when the thing was suspected, he assured Herod upon oath that he really knew nothing of that matter, and so overcame the suspicions that lay upon him; nay, after that, when the king had publicly proposed a reward for the discovery, and had put in practice all sorts of methods for searching out this matter, he would not confess it; but being persuaded that when he had at first denied it, if the men were found, he should not escape unpunished, he was forced to keep them secret, not only out of his good-will to them, but out of a necessary regard to his own preservation also. But when the king knew the thing, by his sister’s information, he sent men to the places where he had the intimation they were concealed, and ordered both them, and those that were accused as guilty with them, to be slain, insomuch that there were now none at all left of the kindred of Hyrcanus, and the kingdom was entirely in Herod’s own power, and there was nobody remaining of such dignity as could put a stop to what he did against the Jewish laws.

CHAPTER 8. How Ten Men Of The Citizens [Of Jerusalem] Made A Conspiracy Against Herod, For The Foreign Practices He Had Introduced, Which Was A Transgression Of The Laws Of Their Country. Concerning The Building Of Sebaste And Cesarea, And Other Edifices Of Herod.

1. On this account it was that Herod revolted from the laws of his country, and corrupted their ancient constitution, by the introduction of foreign practices, which constitution yet ought to have been preserved inviolable; by which means we became guilty of great wickedness afterward, while those religious observances which used to lead the multitude to piety were now neglected; for, in the first place, he appointed solemn games to be celebrated every fifth year, in honor of Caesar, and built a theater at Jerusalem, as also a very great amphitheater in the plain. Both of them were indeed costly works, but opposite to the Jewish customs; for we have had no such shows delivered down to us as fit to be used or exhibited by us; yet did he celebrate these games every five years, in the most solemn and splendid manner. He also made proclamation to the neighboring countries, and called men together out of every nation. The wrestlers also, and the rest of those that strove for the prizes in such games, were invited out of every land, both by the hopes of the rewards there to be bestowed, and by the glory of victory to be there gained. So the principal persons that were the most eminent in these sorts of exercises were gotten together, for there were very great rewards for victory proposed, not only to those that performed their exercises naked, but to those that played the musicians also, and were called Thymelici; and he spared no pains to induce all persons, the most famous for such exercises, to come to this contest for victory. He also proposed no small rewards to those who ran for the prizes in chariot races, when they were drawn by two, or three, or four pair of horses. He also imitated every thing, though never so costly or magnificent, in other nations, out of an ambition that he might give most public demonstration of his grandeur. Inscriptions also of the great actions of Caesar, and trophies of those nations which he had conquered in his wars, and all made of the purest gold and silver, encompassed the theater itself; nor was there any thing that could be subservient to his design, whether it were precious garments, or precious stones set in order, which was not also exposed to

sight in these games. He had also made a great preparation of wild beasts, and of lions themselves in great abundance, and of such other beasts as were either of uncommon strength, or of such a sort as were rarely seen. These were prepared either to fight with one another, or that men who were condemned to death were to fight with them. And truly foreigners were greatly surprised and delighted at the vastness of the expenses here exhibited, and at the great dangers that were here seen; but to natural Jews, this was no better than a dissolution of those customs for which they had so great a veneration. It appeared also no better than an instance of barefaced impiety, to throw men to wild beasts, for the affording delight to the spectators; and it appeared an instance of no less impiety, to change their own laws for such foreign exercises: but, above all the rest, the trophies gave most distaste to the Jews; for as they imagined them to be images, included within the armor that hung round about them, they were sorely displeased at them, because it was not the custom of their country to pay honors to such images.

2. Nor was Herod unacquainted with the disturbance they were under; and as he thought it unseasonable to use violence with them, so he spake to some of them by way of consolation, and in order to free them from that superstitious fear they were under; yet could not he satisfy them, but they cried out with one accord, out of their great uneasiness at the offenses they thought he had been guilty of, that although they should think of bearing all the rest yet would they never bear images of men in their city, meaning the trophies, because this was disagreeable to the laws of their country. Now when Herod saw them in such a disorder, and that they would not easily change their resolution unless they received satisfaction in this point, he called to him the most eminent men among them, and brought them upon the theater, and showed them the trophies, and asked them what sort of things they took these trophies to be; and when they cried out that they were the images of men, he gave order that they should be stripped of these outward ornaments which were about them, and showed them the naked pieces of wood; which pieces of wood, now without any ornament, became matter of great sport and laughter to them, because they had before always had the ornaments of images themselves in derision.

3. When therefore Herod had thus got clear of the multitude, and had dissipated the vehemency of passion under which they had been, the greatest part of the people were disposed to change their conduct, and not to be displeased at him any longer; but still some of them continued in their displeasure against him, for his introduction of new customs, and esteemed the violation of the laws of their country as likely to be the origin of very great mischiefs to them, so that they deemed it an instance of piety rather to hazard

themselves [to be put to death], than to seem as if they took no notice of Herod, who, upon the change he had made in their government, introduced such customs, and that in a violent manner, which they had never been used to before, as indeed in pretense a king, but in reality one that showed himself an enemy to their whole nation; on which account ten men that were citizens [of Jerusalem] conspired together against him, and sware to one another to undergo any dangers in the attempt, and took daggers with them under their garments [for the purpose of killing Herod]. Now there was a certain blind man among those conspirators who had thus sworn to one another, on account of the indignation he had against what he heard to have been done; he was not indeed able to afford the rest any assistance in the undertaking, but was ready to undergo any suffering with them, if so be they should come to any harm, insomuch that he became a very great encourager of the rest of the undertakers.

4. When they had taken this resolution, and that by common consent, they went into the theater, hoping that, in the first place, Herod himself could not escape them, as they should fall upon him so unexpectedly; and supposing, however, that if they missed him, they should kill a great many of those that were about him; and this resolution they took, though they should die for it, in order to suggest to the king what injuries he had done to the multitude. These conspirators, therefore, standing thus prepared beforehand, went about their design with great alacrity; but there was one of those spies of Herod, that were appointed for such purposes, to fish out and inform him of any conspiracies that should be made against him, who found out the whole affair, and told the king of it, as he was about to go into the theater. So when he reflected on the hatred which he knew the greatest part of the people bore him, and on the disturbances that arose upon every occasion, he thought this plot against him not to be improbable. Accordingly, he retired into his palace, and called those that were accused of this conspiracy before him by their several names; and as, upon the guards falling upon them, they were caught in the very fact, and knew they could not escape, they prepared themselves for their ends with all the decency they could, and so as not at all to recede from their resolute behavior, for they showed no shame for what they were about, nor denied it; but when they were seized, they showed their daggers, and professed that the conspiracy they had sworn to was a holy and pious action; that what they intended to do was not for gain, or out of any indulgence to their passions, but principally for those common customs of their country, which all the Jews were obliged to observe, or to die for them. This was what these men said, out of their undaunted courage in this conspiracy. So they were led away to execution by the king’s guards that stood about them, and patiently underwent all the torments inflicted on them till they

died. Nor was it long before that spy who had discovered them was seized on by some of the people, out of the hatred they bore to him; and was not only slain by them, but pulled to pieces, limb from limb, and given to the dogs. This execution was seen by many of the citizens, yet would not one of them discover the doers of it, till upon Herod's making a strict scrutiny after them, by bitter and severe tortures, certain women that were tortured confessed what they had seen done; the authors of which fact were so terribly punished by the king, that their entire families were destroyed for this their rash attempt; yet did not the obstinacy of the people, and that undaunted constancy they showed in the defense of their laws, make Herod any easier to them, but he still strengthened himself after a more secure manner, and resolved to encompass the multitude every way, lest such innovations should end in an open rebellion.

5. Since, therefore, he had now the city fortified by the palace in which he lived, and by the temple which had a strong fortress by it, called Antonia, and was rebuilt by himself, he contrived to make Samaria a fortress for himself also against all the people, and called it Sebaste, supposing that this place would be a strong hold against the country, not inferior to the former. So he fortified that place, which was a day's journey distant from Jerusalem, and which would be useful to him in common, to keep both the country and the city in awe. He also built another fortress for the whole nation; it was of old called Strato's Tower, but was by him named Cesarea. Moreover, he chose out some select horsemen, and placed them ill the great plain; and built [for them] a place in Galilee, called Gaba with Hesebonitis, in Perea. And these were the places which he particularly built, while he always was inventing somewhat further for his own security, and encompassing the whole nation with guards, that they might by no means get from under his power, nor fall into tumults, which they did continually upon any small commotion; and that if they did make any commotions, he might know of it, while some of his spies might be upon them from the neighborhood, and might both be able to know what they were attempting, and to prevent it. And when he went about building the wall of Samaria, he contrived to bring thither many of those that had been assisting to him in his wars, and many of the people in that neighborhood also, whom he made fellow citizens with the rest. This he did out of an ambitious desire of building a temple, and out of a desire to make the city more eminent than it had been before; but principally because he contrived that it might at once be for his own security, and a monument of his magnificence. He also changed its name, and called it Sebaste. Moreover, he parted the adjoining country, which was excellent in its kind, among the inhabitants of Samaria, that they might be in a happy condition, upon their first coming to inhabit. Besides all which, he

encompassed the city with a wall of great strength, and made use of the acclivity of the place for making its fortifications stronger; nor was the compass of the place made now so small as it had been before, but was such as rendered it not inferior to the most famous cities; for it was twenty furlongs in circumference. Now within, and about the middle of it, he built a sacred place, of a furlong and a half [in circuit], and adorned it with all sorts of decorations, and therein erected a temple, which was illustrious on account of both its largeness and beauty. And as to the several parts of the city, he adorned them with decorations of all sorts also; and as to what was necessary to provide for his own security, he made the walls very strong for that purpose, and made it for the greatest part a citadel; and as to the elegance of the building, it was taken care of also, that he might leave monuments of the fineness of his taste, and of his beneficence, to future ages.

CHAPTER 9. Concerning The Famine That Happened In Judea And Syria; And How Herod, After He Had Married Another Wife, Rebuilt Cesarea, And Other Grecian Cities.

1. Now on this very year, which was the thirteenth year of the reign of Herod, very great calamities came upon the country; whether they were derived from the anger of God, or whether this misery returns again naturally in certain periods of time for, in the first place, there were perpetual droughts, and for that reason the ground was barren, and did not bring forth the same quantity of fruits that it used to produce; and after this barrenness of the soil, that change of food which the want of corn occasioned produced distempers in the bodies of men, and a pestilential disease prevailed, one misery following upon the back of another; and these circumstances, that they were destitute both of methods of cure and of food, made the pestilential distemper, which began after a violent manner, the more lasting. The destruction of men also after such a manner deprived those that survived of all their courage, because they had no way to provide remedies sufficient for the distresses they were in. When therefore the fruits of that year were spoiled, and whatsoever they had laid up beforehand was spent, there was no foundation of hope for relief remaining, but the misery, contrary to what they expected still increased upon them; and this not only on that year, while they had nothing for themselves left [at the end of it], but what seed they had sown perished also, by reason of the ground not yielding its fruits on the second year. This distress they were in made them also, out of necessity, to eat many things that did not use to be eaten; nor was the king himself free from this distress any more than other men, as being deprived of that tribute he used to have from the fruits of the ground, and having already expended what money he had, in his liberality to those whose cities he had built; nor had he any people that were worthy of his assistance, since this miserable state of things had procured him the hatred of his subjects: for it is a constant rule, that misfortunes are still laid to the account of those that govern.

2. In these circumstances he considered with himself how to procure some seasonable help; but this was a hard thing to be done, while their neighbors had no food to sell them; and their money also was gone, had it been possible to purchase a little food at a great price. However, he thought it his best way, by all means, not to leave off his endeavors to assist his people; so he cut off the rich

furniture that was in his palace, both of silver and gold, insomuch that he did not spare the finest vessels he had, or those that were made with the most elaborate skill of the artificers, but sent the money to Petronius, who had been made prefect of Egypt by Caesar; and as not a few had already fled to him under their necessities, and as he was particularly a friend to Herod, and desirous to have his subjects preserved, he gave leave to them in the first place to export corn, and assisted them every way, both in purchasing and exporting the same; so that he was the principal, if not the only person, who afforded them what help they had. And Herod taking care the people should understand that this help came from himself, did thereby not only remove the ill opinion of those that formerly hated him, but gave them the greatest demonstration possible of his good-will to them, and care of them; for, in the first place, as for those who were able to provide their own food, he distributed to them their proportion of corn in the exactest manner; but for those many that were not able, either by reason of their old age, or any other infirmity, to provide food for themselves, he made this provision for them, the bakers should make their bread ready for them. He also took care that they might not be hurt by the dangers of winter, since they were in great want of clothing also, by reason of the utter destruction and consumption of their sheep and goats, till they had no wool to make use of, nor any thing else to cover themselves withal. And when he had procured these things for his own subjects, he went further, in order to provide necessaries for their neighbors, and gave seed to the Syrians, which thing turned greatly to his own advantage also, this charitable assistance being afforded most seasonably to their fruitful soil, so that every one had now a plentiful provision of food. Upon the whole, when the harvest of the land was approaching, he sent no fewer than fifty thousand men, whom he had sustained, into the country; by which means he both repaired the afflicted condition of his own kingdom with great generosity and diligence, and lightened the afflictions of his neighbors, who were under the same calamities; for there was nobody who had been in want that was left destitute of a suitable assistance by him; nay, further, there were neither any people, nor any cities, nor any private men, who were to make provision for the multitudes, and on that account were in want of support, and had recourse to him, but received what they stood in need of, insomuch that it appeared, upon a computation, that the number of cori of wheat, of ten attic medimni apiece, that were given to foreigners, amounted to ten thousand, and the number that was given in his own kingdom was about fourscore thousand. Now it happened that this care of his, and this seasonable benefaction, had such influence on the Jews, and was so cried up among other nations, as to wipe off that old hatred which his violation of some of their customs, during his reign, had procured him among all the

nation, and that this liberality of his assistance in this their greatest necessity was full satisfaction for all that he had done of that nature, as it also procured him great fame among foreigners; and it looked as if these calamities that afflicted his land, to a degree plainly incredible, came in order to raise his glory, and to be to his great advantage; for the greatness of his liberality in these distresses, which he now demonstrated beyond all expectation, did so change the disposition of the multitude towards him, that they were ready to suppose he had been from the beginning not such a one as they had found him to be by experience, but such a one as the care he had taken of them in supplying their necessities proved him now to be.

3. About this time it was that he sent five hundred chosen men out of the guards of his body as auxiliaries to Caesar, whom Aelius Gallus led to the Red Sea, and who were of great service to him there. When therefore his affairs were thus improved, and were again in a flourishing condition, he built himself a palace in the upper city, raising the rooms to a very great height, and adorning them with the most costly furniture of gold, and marble scats, and beds; and these were so large that they could contain very many companies of men. These apartments were also of distinct magnitudes, and had particular names given them; for one apartment was called Caesar's, another Agrippa's. He also fell in love again, and married another wife, not suffering his reason to hinder him from living as he pleased. The occasion of this his marriage was as follows: There was one Simon, a citizen of Jerusalem, the son of one Boethus, a citizen of Alexandria, and a priest of great note there; this man had a daughter, who was esteemed the most beautiful woman of that time; and when the people of Jerusalem began to speak much in her commendation, it happened that Herod was much affected with what was said of her; and when he saw the damsel, he was smitten with her beauty, yet did he entirely reject the thoughts of using his authority to abuse her, as believing, what was the truth, that by so doing he should be stigmatized for violence and tyranny; so he thought it best to take the damsel to wife. And while Simon was of a dignity too inferior to be allied to him, but still too considerable to be despised, he governed his inclinations after the most prudent manner, by augmenting the dignity of the family, and making them more honorable; so he immediately deprived Jesus, the son of Phabet, of the high priesthood, and conferred that dignity on Simon, and so joined in affinity with him [by marrying his daughter].

4. When this wedding was over, he built another citadel in that place where he had conquered file Jews when he was driven out of his government, and Antigonus enjoyed it. This citadel is distant from Jerusalem about threescore furlongs. It was strong by nature, and fit for such a building. It is a sort of a

moderate hill, raised to a further height by the hand of man, till it was of the shape of a woman's breast. It is encompassed with circular towers, and hath a strait ascent up to it, which ascent is composed of steps of polished stones, in number two hundred. Within it are royal and very rich apartments, of a structure that provided both for security and for beauty. About the bottom there are habitations of such a structure as are well worth seeing, both on other accounts, and also on account of the water which is brought thither from a great way off, and at vast expenses, for the place itself is destitute of water. The plain that is about this citadel is full of edifices, not inferior to any city in largeness, and having the hill above it in the nature of a castle.

5. And now, when all Herod's designs had succeeded according to his hopes, he had not the least suspicion that any troubles could arise in his kingdom, because he kept his people obedient, as well by the fear they stood in of him, for he was implacable in the infliction of his punishments, as by the provident care he had showed towards them, after the most magnanimous manner, when they were under their distresses. But still he took care to have external security for his government as a fortress against his subjects; for the orations he made to the cities were very fine, and full of kindness; and he cultivated a seasonable good understanding with their governors, and bestowed presents on every one of them, inducing them thereby to be more friendly to him, and using his magnificent disposition so as his kingdom might be the better secured to him, and this till all his affairs were every way more and more augmented. But then this magnificent temper of his, and that submissive behavior and liberality which he exercised towards Caesar, and the most powerful men of Rome, obliged him to transgress the customs of his nation, and to set aside many of their laws, and by building cities after an extravagant manner, and erecting temples, — not in Judea indeed, for that would not have been borne, it being forbidden for us to pay any honor to images, or representations of animals, after the manner of the Greeks; but still he did thus in the country [properly] out of our bounds, and in the cities thereof The apology which he made to the Jews for these things was this: That all was done, not out of his own inclinations, but by the commands and injunctions of others, in order to please Caesar and the Romans, as though he had not the Jewish customs so much in his eye as he had the honor of those Romans, while yet he had himself entirely in view all the while, and indeed was very ambitious to leave great monuments of his government to posterity; whence it was that he was so zealous in building such fine cities, and spent such vast sums of money upon them.

6. Now upon his observation of a place near the sea, which was very proper for containing a city, and was before called Strato's Tower, he set about getting a

plan for a magnificent city there, and erected many edifices with great diligence all over it, and this of white stone. He also adorned it with most sumptuous palaces and large edifices for containing the people; and what was the greatest and most laborious work of all, he adorned it with a haven, that was always free from the waves of the sea. Its largeness was not less than the Pyrmum [at Athens], and had towards the city a double station for the ships. It was of excellent workmanship; and this was the more remarkable for its being built in a place that of itself was not suitable to such noble structures, but was to be brought to perfection by materials from other places, and at very great expenses. This city is situate in Phoenicia, in the passage by sea to Egypt, between Joppa and Dora, which are lesser maritime cities, and not fit for havens, on account of the impetuous south winds that beat upon them, which rolling the sands that come from the sea against the shores, do not admit of ships lying in their station; but the merchants are generally there forced to ride at their anchors in the sea itself. So Herod endeavored to rectify this inconvenience, and laid out such a compass towards the land as might be sufficient for a haven, wherein the great ships might lie in safety; and this he effected by letting down vast stones of above fifty feet in length, not less than eighteen in breadth, and nine in depth, into twenty fathom deep; and as some were lesser, so were others bigger than those dimensions. This mole which he built by the sea-side was two hundred feet wide, the half of which was opposed to the current of the waves, so as to keep off those waves which were to break upon them, and so was called Procymatia, or the first breaker of the waves; but the other half had upon it a wall, with several towers, the largest of which was named Drusus, and was a work of very great excellence, and had its name from Drusus, the son-in-law of Caesar, who died young. There were also a great number of arches where the mariners dwelt. There was also before them a quay, [or landing place,] which ran round the entire haven, and was a most agreeable walk to such as had a mind to that exercise; but the entrance or mouth of the port was made on the north quarter, on which side was the stillest of the winds of all in this place: and the basis of the whole circuit on the left hand, as you enter the port, supported a round turret, which was made very strong, in order to resist the greatest waves; while on the right hand, as you enter, stood two vast stones, and those each of them larger than the turret, which were over against them; these stood upright, and were joined together. Now there were edifices all along the circular haven, made of the politest stone, with a certain elevation, whereon was erected a temple, that was seen a great way off by those that were sailing for that haven, and had in it two statues, the one of Rome, the other of Caesar. The city itself was called Cesarea, which was also itself built of fine materials, and was of a fine structure;

nay, the very subterranean vaults and cellars had no less of architecture bestowed on them than had the buildings above ground. Some of these vaults carried things at even distances to the haven and to the sea; but one of them ran obliquely, and bound all the rest together, that both the rain and the filth of the citizens were together carried off with ease, and the sea itself, upon the flux of the tide from without, came into the city, and washed it all clean. Herod also built therein a theater of stone; and on the south quarter, behind the port, an amphitheater also, capable of holding a vast number of men, and conveniently situated for a prospect to the sea. So this city was thus finished in twelve years; during which time the king did not fail to go on both with the work, and to pay the charges that were necessary.

CHAPTER 10. How Herod Sent His Sons To Rome; How Also He Was Accused By Zenodorus And The Gadarens, But Was Cleared Of What They Accused Him Of And Withal Gained To Himself The Good-Will Of Caesar. Concerning The Pharisees, The Essens And Manahem.

1. When Herod was engaged in such matters, and when he had already re-edified Sebaste, [Samaria,] he resolved to send his sons Alexander and Aristobulus to Rome, to enjoy the company of Caesar; who, when they came thither, lodged at the house of Pollio, who was very fond of Herod's friendship; and they had leave to lodge in Caesar's own palace, for he received these sons of Herod with all humanity, and gave Herod leave to give his, kingdom to which of his sons he pleased; and besides all this, he bestowed on him Trachon, and Batanea, and Auranitis, which he gave him on the occasion following: One Zenodorus had hired what was called the house of Lysanias, who, as he was not satisfied with its revenues, became a partner with the robbers that inhabited the Trachonites, and so procured himself a larger income; for the inhabitants of those places lived in a mad way, and pillaged the country of the Damascenes, while Zenodorus did not restrain them, but partook of the prey they acquired. Now as the neighboring people were hereby great sufferers, they complained to Varro, who was then president [of Syria], and entreated him to write to Caesar about this injustice of Zenodorus. When these matters were laid before Caesar, he wrote back to Varro to destroy those nests of robbers, and to give the land to Herod, that so by his care the neighboring countries might be no longer disturbed with these doings of the Trachonites; for it was not an easy firing to restrain them, since this way of robbery had been their usual practice, and they had no other way to get their living, because they had neither any city of their own, nor lands in their possession, but only some receptacles and dens in the earth, and there they and their cattle lived in common together. However, they had made contrivances to get pools of water, and laid up corn in granaries for themselves, and were able to make great resistance, by issuing out on the sudden against any that attacked them; for the entrances of their caves were narrow, in which but one could come in at a time, and the places within incredibly large, and made very wide but the ground over their habitations was not very high, but rather on a plain, while the

rocks are altogether hard and difficult to be entered upon, unless any one gets into the plain road by the guidance of another, for these roads are not straight, but have several revolutions. But when these men are hindered from their wicked preying upon their neighbors, their custom is to prey one upon another, insomuch that no sort of injustice comes amiss to them. But when Herod had received this grant from Caesar, and was come into this country, he procured skillful guides, and put a stop to their wicked robberies, and procured peace and quietness to the neighboring people.

2. Hereupon Zenodorus was grieved, in the first place, because his principality was taken away from him; and still more so, because he envied Herod, who had gotten it; So he went up to Rome to accuse him, but returned back again without success. Now Agrippa was [about this time] sent to succeed Caesar in the government of the countries beyond the Ionian Sea, upon whom Herod lighted when he was wintering about Mitylene, for he had been his particular friend and companion, and then returned into Judea again. However, some of the Gadarens came to Agrippa, and accused Herod, whom he sent back bound to the king without giving them the hearing. But still the Arabians, who of old bare ill-will to Herod's government, were nettled, and at that time attempted to raise a sedition in his dominions, and, as they thought, upon a more justifiable occasion; for Zenodorus, despairing already of success as to his own affairs, prevented [his enemies], by selling to those Arabians a part of his principality, called Auranitis, for the value of fifty talents; but as this was included in the donations of Caesar, they contested the point with Herod, as unjustly deprived of what they had bought. Sometimes they did this by making incursions upon him, and sometimes by attempting force against him, and sometimes by going to law with him. Moreover, they persuaded the poorer soldiers to help them, and were troublesome to him, out of a constant hope that they should reduce the people to raise a sedition; in which designs those that are in the most miserable circumstances of life are still the most earnest; and although Herod had been a great while apprized of these attempts, yet did not he indulge any severity to them, but by rational methods aimed to mitigate things, as not willing to give any handle for tumults.

3. Now when Herod had already reigned seventeen years, Caesar came into Syria; at which time the greatest part of the inhabitants of Gadara clamored against Herod, as one that was heavy in his injunctions, and tyrannical. These reproaches they mainly ventured upon by the encouragement of Zenodorus, who took his oath that he would never leave Herod till he had procured that they should be severed from Herod's kingdom, and joined to Caesar's province. The Gadarens were induced hereby, and made no small cry against him, and that the

more boldly, because those that had been delivered up by Agrippa were not punished by Herod, who let them go, and did them no harm; for indeed he was the principal man in the world who appeared almost inexorable in punishing crimes in his own family, but very generous in remitting the offenses that were committed elsewhere. And while they accused Herod of injuries, and plunderings, and subversions of temples, he stood unconcerned, and was ready to make his defense. However, Caesar gave him his right hand, and remitted nothing of his kindness to him, upon this disturbance by the multitude; and indeed these things were alleged the first day, but the hearing proceeded no further; for as the Gadarens saw the inclination of Caesar and of his assessors, and expected, as they had reason to do, that they should be delivered up to the king, some of them, out of a dread of the torments they might undergo, cut their own throats in the night time, and some of them threw themselves down precipices, and others of them cast themselves into the river, and destroyed themselves of their own accord; which accidents seemed a sufficient condemnation of the rashness and crimes they had been guilty of; whereupon Caesar made no longer delay, but cleared Herod from the crimes he was accused of. Another happy accident there was, which was a further great advantage to Herod at this time; for Zenodorus's belly burst, and a great quantity of blood issued from him in his sickness, and he thereby departed this life at Antioch in Syria; so Caesar bestowed his country, which was no small one, upon Herod; it lay between Trachon and Galilee, and contained Ulatha, and Paneas, and the country round about. He also made him one of the procurators of Syria, and commanded that they should do every thing with his approbation; and, in short, he arrived at that pitch of felicity, that whereas there were but two men that governed the vast Roman empire, first Caesar, and then Agrippa, who was his principal favorite, Caesar preferred no one to Herod besides Agrippa, and Agrippa made no one his greater friend than Herod besides Caesar. And when he had acquired such freedom, he begged of Caesar a tetrarchy for his brother Pheroras, while he did himself bestow upon him a revenue of a hundred talents out of his own kingdom, that in case he came to any harm himself, his brother might be in safety, and that his sons might not have dominion over him. So when he had conducted Caesar to the sea, and was returned home, he built him a most beautiful temple, of the whitest stone, in Zenodorus's country, near the place called Panlure. This is a very fine cave in a mountain, under which there is a great cavity in the earth, and the cavern is abrupt, and prodigiously deep, and frill of a still water; over it hangs a vast mountain; and under the caverns arise the springs of the river Jordan. Herod adorned this place, which was already a

very remarkable one, still further by the erection of this temple, which he dedicated to Caesar.

4. At which time Herod released to his subjects the third part of their taxes, under pretense indeed of relieving them, after the dearth they had had; but the main reason was, to recover their good-will, which he now wanted; for they were uneasy at him, because of the innovations he had introduced in their practices, of the dissolution of their religion, and of the disuse of their own customs; and the people every where talked against him, like those that were still more provoked and disturbed at his procedure; against which discontents he greatly guarded himself, and took away the opportunities they might have to disturb him, and enjoined them to be always at work; nor did he permit the citizens either to meet together, or to walk or eat together, but watched every thing they did, and when any were caught, they were severely punished; and many there were who were brought to the citadel Hyrcania, both openly and secretly, and were there put to death; and there were spies set every where, both in the city and in the roads, who watched those that met together; nay, it is reported that he did not himself neglect this part of caution, but that he would oftentimes himself take the habit of a private man, and mix among the multitude, in the night time, and make trial what opinion they had of his government: and as for those that could no way be reduced to acquiesce under his scheme of government, he prosecuted them all manner of ways; but for the rest of the multitude, he required that they should be obliged to take an oath of fidelity to him, and at the same time compelled them to swear that they would bear him good-will, and continue certainly so to do, in his management of the government; and indeed a great part of them, either to please him, or out of fear of him, yielded to what he required of them; but for such as were of a more open and generous disposition, and had indignation at the force he used to them, he by one means or other made away, with them. He endeavored also to persuade Pollio the Pharisee, and Satneas, and the greatest part of their scholars, to take the oath; but these would neither submit so to do, nor were they punished together with the rest, out of the reverence he bore to Pollio. The Essens also, as we call a sect of ours, were excused from this imposition. These men live the same kind of life as do those whom the Greeks call Pythagoreans, concerning whom I shall discourse more fully elsewhere. However, it is but fit to set down here the reasons wherefore Herod had these Essens in such honor, and thought higher of them than their mortal nature required; nor will this account be unsuitable to the nature of this history, as it will show the opinion men had of these Essens.

5. Now there was one of these Essens, whose name was Manahem, who had this testimony, that he not only conducted his life after an excellent manner, but had the foreknowledge of future events given him by God also. This man once saw Herod when he was a child, and going to school, and saluted him as king of the Jews; but he, thinking that either he did not know him, or that he was in jest, put him in mind that he was but a private man; but Manahem smiled to himself, and clapped him on his backside with his hand, and said, "However that be, thou wilt be king, and wilt begin thy reign happily, for God finds thee worthy of it. And do thou remember the blows that Manahem hath given thee, as being a signal of the change of thy fortune. And truly this will be the best reasoning for thee, that thou love justice [towards men], and piety towards God, and clemency towards thy citizens; yet do I know how thy whole conduct will be, that thou wilt not be such a one, for thou wilt excel all men in happiness, and obtain an everlasting reputation, but wilt forget piety and righteousness; and these crimes will not be concealed from God, at the conclusion of thy life, when thou wilt find that he will be mindful of them, and punish time for them." Now at that time Herod did not at all attend to what Manahem said, as having no hopes of such advancement; but a little afterward, when he was so fortunate as to be advanced to the dignity of king, and was in the height of his dominion, he sent for Manahem, and asked him how long he should reign. Manahem did not tell him the full length of his reign; wherefore, upon that silence of his, he asked him further, whether he should reign ten years or not? He replied, "Yes, twenty, nay, thirty years;" but did not assign the just determinate limit of his reign. Herod was satisfied with these replies, and gave Manahem his hand, and dismissed him; and from that time he continued to honor all the Essens. We have thought it proper to relate these facts to our readers, how strange soever they be, and to declare what hath happened among us, because many of these Essens have, by their excellent virtue, been thought worthy of this knowledge of Divine revelations.

CHAPTER 11. How Herod Rebuilt The Temple And Raised It Higher And Made It More Magnificent Than It Was Before; As Also Concerning That Tower Which He Called Antonia.

1. And now Herod, in the eighteenth year of his reign, and after the acts already mentioned, undertook a very great work, that is, to build of himself the temple of God, and make it larger in compass, and to raise it to a most magnificent altitude, as esteeming it to be the most glorious of all his actions, as it really was, to bring it to perfection; and that this would be sufficient for an everlasting memorial of him; but as he knew the multitude were not ready nor willing to assist him in so vast a design, he thought to prepare them first by making a speech to them, and then set about the work itself; so he called them together, and spake thus to them: "I think I need not speak to you, my countrymen, about such other works as I have done since I came to the kingdom, although I may say they have been performed in such a manner as to bring more security to you than glory to myself; for I have neither been negligent in the most difficult times about what tended to ease your necessities, nor have the buildings. I have made been so proper to preserve me as yourselves from injuries; and I imagine that, with God's assistance, I have advanced the nation of the Jews to a degree of happiness which they never had before; and for the particular edifices belonging to your own country, and your own cities, as also to those cities that we have lately acquired, which we have erected and greatly adorned, and thereby augmented the dignity of your nation, it seems to me a needless task to enumerate them to you, since you well know them yourselves; but as to that undertaking which I have a mind to set about at present, and which will be a work of the greatest piety and excellence that can possibly be undertaken by us, I will now declare it to you. Our fathers, indeed, when they were returned from Babylon, built this temple to God Almighty, yet does it want sixty cubits of its largeness in altitude; for so much did that first temple which Solomon built exceed this temple; nor let any one condemn our fathers for their negligence or want of piety herein, for it was not their fault that the temple was no higher; for they were Cyrus, and Darius the son of Hystaspes, who determined the measures for its rebuilding; and it hath been by reason of the subjection of those fathers of ours to them and to their posterity, and after them to the Macedonians, that they had not the opportunity to follow the original model of this pious edifice, nor

could raise it to its ancient altitude; but since I am now, by God's will, your governor, and I have had peace a long time, and have gained great riches and large revenues, and, what is the principal filing of all, I am at amity with and well regarded by the Romans, who, if I may so say, are the rulers of the whole world, I will do my endeavor to correct that imperfection, which hath arisen from the necessity of our affairs, and the slavery we have been under formerly, and to make a thankful return, after the most pious manner, to God, for what blessings I have received from him, by giving me this kingdom, and that by rendering his temple as complete as I am able."

2. And this was the speech which Herod made to them; but still this speech aftrighted many of the people, as being unexpected by them; and because it seemed incredible, it did not encourage them, but put a damp upon them, for they were afraid that he would pull down the whole edifice, and not be able to bring his intentions to perfection for its rebuilding; and this danger appeared to them to be very great, and the vastness of the undertaking to be such as could hardly be accomplished. But while they were in this disposition, the king encouraged them, and told them he would not pull down their temple till all things were gotten ready for building it up entirely again. And as he promised them this beforehand, so he did not break his word with them, but got ready a thousand waggons, that were to bring stones for the building, and chose out ten thousand of the most skillful workmen, and bought a thousand sacerdotal garments for as many of the priests, and had some of them taught the arts of stone-cutters, and others of carpenters, and then began to build; but this not till every thing was well prepared for the work.

3. So Herod took away the old foundations, and laid others, and erected the temple upon them, being in length a hundred cubits, and in height twenty additional cubits, which [twenty], upon the sinking of their foundations fell down; and this part it was that we resolved to raise again in the days of Nero. Now the temple was built of stones that were white and strong, and each of their length was twenty-five cubits, their height was eight, and their breadth about twelve; and the whole structure, as also the structure of the royal cloister, was on each side much lower, but the middle was much higher, till they were visible to those that dwelt in the country for a great many furlongs, but chiefly to such as lived over against them, and those that approached to them. The temple had doors also at the entrance, and lintels over them, of the same height with the temple itself. They were adorned with embroidered veils, with their flowers of purple, and pillars interwoven; and over these, but under the crown-work, was spread out a golden vine, with its branches hanging down from a great height, the largeness and fine workmanship of which was a surprising sight to the

spectators, to see what vast materials there were, and with what great skill the workmanship was done. He also encompassed the entire temple with very large cloisters, contriving them to be in a due proportion thereto; and he laid out larger sums of money upon them than had been done before him, till it seemed that no one else had so greatly adorned the temple as he had done. There was a large wall to both the cloisters, which wall was itself the most prodigious work that was ever heard of by man. The hill was a rocky ascent, that declined by degrees towards the east parts of the city, till it came to an elevated level. This hill it was which Solomon, who was the first of our kings, by Divine revelation, encompassed with a wall; it was of excellent workmanship upwards, and round the top of it. He also built a wall below, beginning at the bottom, which was encompassed by a deep valley; and at the south side he laid rocks together, and bound them one to another with lead, and included some of the inner parts, till it proceeded to a great height, and till both the largeness of the square edifice and its altitude were immense, and till the vastness of the stones in the front were plainly visible on the outside, yet so that the inward parts were fastened together with iron, and preserved the joints immovable for all future times. When this work [for the foundation] was done in this manner, and joined together as part of the hill itself to the very top of it, he wrought it all into one outward surface, and filled up the hollow places which were about the wall, and made it a level on the external upper surface, and a smooth level also. This hill was walled all round, and in compass four furlongs, [the distance of] each angle containing in length a furlong: but within this wall, and on the very top of all, there ran another wall of stone also, having, on the east quarter, a double cloister, of the same length with the wall; in the midst of which was the temple itself. This cloister looked to the gates of the temple; and it had been adorned by many kings in former times; and round about the entire temple were fixed the spoils taken from barbarous nations; all these had been dedicated to the temple by Herod, with the addition of those he had taken from the Arabians.

4. Now on the north side [of the temple] was built a citadel, whose walls were square, and strong, and of extraordinary firmness. This citadel was built by the kings of the Asamonean race, who were also high priests before Herod, and they called it the Tower, in which were reposited the vestments of the high priest, which the high priest only put on at the time when he was to offer sacrifice. These vestments king Herod kept in that place; and after his death they were under the power of the Romans, until the time of Tiberius Caesar; under whose reign Vitellius, the president of Syria, when he once came to Jerusalem, and had been most magnificently received by the multitude, he had a mind to make them some requital for the kindness they had shewn him; so, upon their petition to

have those holy vestments in their own power, he wrote about them to Tiberius Caesar, who granted his request: and this their power over the sacerdotal vestments continued with the Jews till the death of king Agrippa; but after that, Cassius Longinus, who was president of Syria, and Cuspius Fadus, who was procurator of Judea, enjoined the Jews to reposit those vestments in the tower of Antonia, for that they ought to have them in their power, as they formerly had. However, the Jews sent ambassadors to Claudius Caesar, to intercede with him for them; upon whose coming, king Agrippa, junior, being then at Rome, asked for and obtained the power over them from the emperor, who gave command to Vitellius, who was then commander in Syria, to give it them accordingly. Before that time they were kept under the seal of the high priest, and of the treasurers of the temple; which treasurers, the day before a festival, went up to the Roman captain of the temple guards, and viewed their own seal, and received the vestments; and again, when the festival was over, they brought it to the same place, and showed the captain of the temple guards their seal, which corresponded with his seal, and reposited them there. And that these things were so, the afflictions that happened to us afterwards [about them] are sufficient evidence. But for the tower itself, when Herod the king of the Jews had fortified it more firmly than before, in order to secure and guard the temple, he gratified Antonius, who was his friend, and the Roman ruler, and then gave it the name of the Tower of Antonia.

5. Now in the western quarters of the enclosure of the temple there were four gates; the first led to the king's palace, and went to a passage over the intermediate valley; two more led to the suburbs of the city; and the last led to the other city, where the road descended down into the valley by a great number of steps, and thence up again by the ascent for the city lay over against the temple in the manner of a theater, and was encompassed with a deep valley along the entire south quarter; but the fourth front of the temple, which was southward, had indeed itself gates in its middle, as also it had the royal cloisters, with three walks, which reached in length from the east valley unto that on the west, for it was impossible it should reach any farther: and this cloister deserves to be mentioned better than any other under the sun; for while the valley was very deep, and its bottom could not be seen, if you looked from above into the depth, this further vastly high elevation of the cloister stood upon that height, insomuch that if any one looked down from the top of the battlements, or down both those altitudes, he would be giddy, while his sight could not reach to such an immense depth. This cloister had pillars that stood in four rows one over against the other all along, for the fourth row was interwoven into the wall, which [also was built of stone]; and the thickness of each pillar was such, that

three men might, with their arms extended, fathom it round, and join their hands again, while its length was twenty-seven feet, with a double spiral at its basis; and the number of all the pillars [in that court] was a hundred and sixty-two. Their chapiters were made with sculptures after the Corinthian order, and caused an amazement [to the spectators], by reason of the grandeur of the whole. These four rows of pillars included three intervals for walking in the middle of this cloister; two of which walks were made parallel to each other, and were contrived after the same manner; the breadth of each of them was thirty feet, the length was a furlong, and the height fifty feet; but the breadth of the middle part of the cloister was one and a half of the other, and the height was double, for it was much higher than those on each side; but the roofs were adorned with deep sculptures in wood, representing many sorts of figures. The middle was much higher than the rest, and the wall of the front was adorned with beams, resting upon pillars, that were interwoven into it, and that front was all of polished stone, insomuch that its fineness, to such as had not seen it, was incredible, and to such as had seen it, was greatly amazing. Thus was the first enclosure. In the midst of which, and not far from it, was the second, to be gone up to by a few steps: this was encompassed by a stone wall for a partition, with an inscription, which forbade any foreigner to go in under pain of death. Now this inner enclosure had on its southern and northern quarters three gates [equally] distant one from another; but on the east quarter, towards the sun-rising, there was one large gate, through which such as were pure came in, together with their wives; but the temple further inward in that gate was not allowed to the women; but still more inward was there a third [court of the] temple, whereinto it was not lawful for any but the priests alone to enter. The temple itself was within this; and before that temple was the altar, upon which we offer our sacrifices and burnt-offerings to God. Into none of these three did king Herod enter, for he was forbidden, because he was not a priest. However, he took care of the cloisters and the outer enclosures, and these he built in eight years.

6. But the temple itself was built by the priests in a year and six months; upon which all the people were full of joy; and presently they returned thanks, in the first place, to God; and in the next place, for the alacrity the king had showed. They feasted and celebrated this rebuilding of the temple: and for the king, he sacrificed three hundred oxen to God, as did the rest every one according to his ability; the number of which sacrifices is not possible to set down, for it cannot be that we should truly relate it; for at the same time with this celebration for the work about the temple fell also the day of the king’s inauguration, which he kept of an old custom as a festival, and it now coincided with the other, which coincidence of them both made the festival most illustrious.

7. There was also an occult passage built for the king; it led from Antonia to the inner temple, at its eastern gate; over which he also erected for himself a tower, that he might have the opportunity of a subterraneous ascent to the temple, in order to guard against any sedition which might be made by the people against their kings. It is also reported, that during the time that the temple was building, it did not rain in the daytime, but that the showers fell in the nights, so that the work was not hindered. And this our fathers have delivered to us; nor is it incredible, if any one have regard to the manifestations of God. And thus was performed the work of the rebuilding of the temple.

BOOK XVI. Containing The Interval Of Twelve Years. — From The Finishing Of The Temple By Herod To The Death Of Alexander And Aristobulus.

CHAPTER 1. A Law Of Herod's About, Thieves. Salome And Pheroras Calumniate Alexander And Aristobulus, Upon Their Return From Rome For Whom Yet Herod Provides Wives.

1. As king Herod was very zealous in the administration of his entire government, and desirous to put a stop to particular acts of injustice which were done by criminals about the city and country, he made a law, no way like our original laws, and which he enacted of himself, to expose house-breakers to be ejected out of his kingdom; which punishment was not only grievous to be borne by the offenders, but contained in it a dissolution of the customs of our forefathers; for this slavery to foreigners, and such as did not live after the manner of Jews, and this necessity that they were under to do whatsoever such men should command, was an offense against our religious settlement, rather than a punishment to such as were found to have offended, such a punishment being avoided in our original laws; for those laws ordain, that the thief shall restore fourfold; and that if he have not so much, he shall be sold indeed, but not to foreigners, nor so that he be under perpetual slavery, for he must have been released after six years. But this law, thus enacted, in order to introduce a severe and illegal punishment, seemed to be a piece of insolence of Herod, when he did not act as a king, but as a tyrant, and thus contemptuously, and without any regard to his subjects, did he venture to introduce such a punishment. Now this penalty, thus brought into practice, was like Herod's other actions, and became a part of his accusation, and an occasion of the hatred he lay under.

2. Now at this time it was that he sailed to Italy, as very desirous to meet with Caesar, and to see his sons who lived at Rome; and Caesar was not only very obliging to him in other respects, but delivered him his sons again, that he might take them home with him, as having already completed themselves in the sciences; but as soon as the young men were come from Italy, the multitude were very desirous to see them, and they became conspicuous among them all, as adorned with great blessings of fortune, and having the countenances of persons of royal dignity. So they soon appeared to be the objects of envy to Salome, the king's sister, and to such as had raised calumnies against Mariamne; for they were suspicious, that when these came to the government, they should be punished for the wickedness they had been guilty of against their mother; so they made this very fear of theirs a motive to raise calumnies against them also.

They gave it out that they were not pleased with their father's company, because he had put their mother to death, as if it were not agreeable to piety to appear to converse with their mother's murderer. Now, by carrying these stories; that had indeed a true foundation [in the fact], but were only built on probabilities as to the present accusation, they were able to do them mischief, and to make Herod take away that kindness from his sons which he had before borne to them; for they did not say these things to him openly, but scattered abroad such words, among the rest of the multitude; from which words, when carried to Herod, he was induced [at last] to hate them, and which natural affection itself, even in length of time, was not able to overcome; yet was the king at that time in a condition to prefer the natural affection of a father before all the suspicions and calumnies his sons lay under. So he respected them as he ought to do, and married them to wives, now they were of an age suitable thereto. To Aristobulus he gave for a wife Bernice, Salome's daughter; and to Alexander, Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia.

CHAPTER 2. How Herod Twice Sailed To Agrippa; And How Upon The Complaint In Ionia Against The Greeks Agrippa Confirmed The Laws To Them.

1. When Herod had despatched these affairs, and he understood that Marcus Agrippa had sailed again out of Italy into Asia, he made haste to him, and besought him to come to him into his kingdom, and to partake of what he might justly expect from one that had been his guest, and was his friend. This request he greatly pressed, and to it Agrippa agreed, and came into Judea; whereupon Herod omitted nothing that might please him. He entertained him in his new-built cities, and showed him the edifices he had built, and provided all sorts of the best and most costly dainties for him and his friends, and that at Sebaste and Cesarea, about that port that he had built, and at the fortresses which he had erected at great expenses, Alexandrium, and Herodium, and Hyrcania. He also conducted him to the city Jerusalem, where all the people met him in their festival garments, and received him with acclamations. Agrippa also offered a hecatomb of sacrifices to God; and feasted the people, without omitting any of the greatest dainties that could be gotten. He also took so much pleasure there, that he abode many days with them, and would willingly have staid longer, but that the season of the year made him make haste away; for as winter was coming on, he thought it not safe to go to sea later, and yet he was of necessity to return again to Ionia.

2. So Agrippa went away, when Herod had bestowed on him, and on the principal of those that were with him, many presents; but king Herod, when he had passed the winter in his own dominions, made haste to get to him again in the spring, when he knew he designed to go to a campaign at the Bosptiorus. So when he had sailed by Rhodes and by Cos, he touched at Lesbos, as thinking he should have overtaken Agrippa there; but he was taken short here by a north wind, which hindered his ship from going to the shore; so he continued many days at Chius, and there he kindly treated a great many that came to him, and obliged them by giving them royal gifts. And when he saw that the portico of the city was fallen down, which as it was overthrown in the Mithridatic war, and was very large and fine building, so was it not so easy to rebuild that as it was the rest, yet did he furnish a sum not only large enough for that purpose, but what was more than sufficient to finish the building; and ordered them not to overlook that portico, but to rebuild it quickly, that so the city might recover its proper ornaments. And when the high winds were laid, he sailed to Mytilene,

and thence to Byzantium; and when he heard that Agrippa was sailed beyond the Cyanean rocks, he made all the haste possible to overtake him, and came up with him about Sinope, in Pontus. He was seen sailing by the ship-men most unexpectedly, but appeared to their great joy; and many friendly salutations there were between them, insomuch that Agrippa thought he had received the greatest marks of the king's kindness and humanity towards him possible, since the king had come so long a voyage, and at a very proper season, for his assistance, and had left the government of his own dominions, and thought it more worth his while to come to him. Accordingly, Herod was all in all to Agrippa, in the management of the war, and a great assistant in civil affairs, and in giving him counsel as to particular matters. He was also a pleasant companion for him when he relaxed himself, and a joint partaker with him in all things; ill troubles because of his kindness, and in prosperity because of the respect Agrippa had for him. Now as soon as those affairs of Pontus were finished, for whose sake Agrippa was sent thither, they did not think fit to return by sea, but passed through Paphlagonia and Cappadocia; they then traveled thence over great Phrygia, and came to Ephesus, and then they sailed from Ephesus to Samos. And indeed the king bestowed a great many benefits on every city that he came to, according as they stood in need of them; for as for those that wanted either money or kind treatment, he was not wanting to them; but he supplied the former himself out of his own expenses: he also became an intercessor with Agrippa for all such as sought after his favor, and he brought things so about, that the petitioners failed in none of their suits to him, Agrippa being himself of a good disposition, and of great generosity, and ready to grant all such requests as might be advantageous to the petitioners, provided they were not to the detriment of others. The inclination of the king was of great weight also, and still excited Agrippa, who was himself ready to do good; for he made a reconciliation between the people of Ilium, at whom he was angry, and paid what money the people of Chius owed Caesar's procurators, and discharged them of their tributes; and helped all others, according as their several necessities required.

3. But now, when Agrippa and Herod were in Ionia, a great multitude of Jews, who dwelt in their cities, came to them, and laying hold of the opportunity and the liberty now given them, laid before them the injuries which they suffered, while they were not permitted to use their own laws, but were compelled to prosecute their law-suits, by the ill usage of the judges, upon their holy days, and were deprived of the money they used to lay up at Jerusalem, and were forced into the army, and upon such other offices as obliged them to spend their sacred money; from which burdens they always used to be freed by the Romans, who had still permitted them to live according to their own laws. When

this clamor was made, the king desired of Agrippa that he would hear their cause, and assigned Nicolaus, one of his friends, to plead for those their privileges. Accordingly, when Agrippa had called the principal of the Romans, and such of the kings and rulers as were there, to be his assessors, Nicolaus stood up, and pleaded for the Jews, as follows: “It is of necessity incumbent on such as are in distress to have recourse to those that have it in their power to free them from those injuries they lie under; and for those that now are complainants, they approach you with great assurance; for as they have formerly often obtained your favor, so far as they have even wished to have it, they now only entreat that you, who have been the donors, will take care that those favors you have already granted them may not be taken away from them. We have received these favors from you, who alone have power to grant them, but have them taken from us by such as are no greater than ourselves, and by such as we know are as much subjects as we are; and certainly, if we have been vouchsafed great favors, it is to our commendation who have obtained them, as having been found deserving of such great favors; and if those favors be but small ones, it would be barbarous for the donors not to confirm them to us. And for those that are the hinderance of the Jews, and use them reproachfully, it is evident that they affront both the receivers, while they will not allow those to be worthy men to whom their excellent rulers themselves have borne their testimony, and the donors, while they desire those favors already granted may be abrogated. Now if any one should ask these Gentiles themselves, which of the two things they would choose to part with, their lives, or the customs of their forefathers, their solemnities, their sacrifices, their festivals, which they celebrated in honor of those they suppose to be gods? I know very well that they would choose to suffer any thing whatsoever rather than a dissolution of any of the customs of their forefathers; for a great many of them have rather chosen to go to war on that account, as very solicitous not to transgress in those matters. And indeed we take an estimate of that happiness which all mankind do now enjoy by your means from this very thing, that we are allowed every one to worship as our own institutions require, and yet to live [in peace]; and although they would not be thus treated themselves, yet do they endeavor to compel others to comply with them, as if it were not as great an instance of impiety profanely to dissolve the religious solemnities of any others, as to be negligent in the observation of their own towards their gods. And let us now consider the one of these practices. Is there any people, or city, or community of men, to whom your government and the Roman power does not appear to be the greatest blessing ‘. Is there any one that can desire to make void the favors they have granted? No one is certainly so mad; for there are no men but such as have been partakers of their favors, both

public and private; and indeed those that take away what you have granted, can have no assurance but every one of their own grants made them by you may be taken from them also; which grants of yours can yet never be sufficiently valued; for if they consider the old governments under kings, together with your present government, besides the great number of benefits which this government hath bestowed on them, in order to their happiness, this is instead of all the rest, that they appear to be no longer in a state of slavery, but of freedom. Now the privileges we desire, even when we are in the best circumstances, are not such as deserve to be envied, for we are indeed in a prosperous state by your means, but this is only in common with others; and it is no more than this which we desire, to preserve our religion without any prohibition; which as it appears not in itself a privilege to be envied us, so it is for the advantage of those that grant it to us; for if the Divinity delights in being honored, it must delight in those that permit them to be honored. And there are none of our customs which are inhuman, but all tending to piety, and devoted to the preservation of justice; nor do we conceal those injunctions of ours by which we govern our lives, they being memorials of piety, and of a friendly conversation among men. And the seventh day we set apart from labor; it is dedicated to the learning of our customs and laws, we thinking it proper to reflect on them, as well as on any [good] thing else, in order to our avoiding of sin. If any one therefore examine into our observances, he will find they are good in themselves, and that they are ancient also, though some think otherwise, insomuch that those who have received them cannot easily be brought to depart from them, out of that honor they pay to the length of time they have religiously enjoyed them and observed them. Now our adversaries take these our privileges away in the way of injustice; they violently seize upon that money of ours which is owed to God, and called sacred money, and this openly, after a sacrilegious manner; and they impose tributes upon us, and bring us before tribunals on holy days, and then require other like debts of us, not because the contracts require it, and for their own advantage, but because they would put an affront on our religion, of which they are conscious as well as we, and have indulged themselves in an unjust, and to them involuntary, hatred; for your government over all is one, tending to the establishing of benevolence, and abolishing of ill-will among such as are disposed to it. This is therefore what we implore from thee, most excellent Agrippa, that we may not be ill-treated; that we may not be abused; that we may not be hindered from making use of our own customs, nor be despoiled of our goods, nor be forced by these men to do what we ourselves force nobody to do; for these privileges of ours are not only according to justice, but have formerly been granted us by you. And we are able to read to you many decrees of the senate, and the tables that contain them,

which are still extant in the capitol, concerning these things, which it is evident were granted after you had experience of our fidelity towards you, which ought to be valued, though no such fidelity had been; for you have hitherto preserved what people were in possession of, not to us only, but almost to all men, and have added greater advantages than they could have hoped for, and thereby your government is become a great advantage to them. And if any one were able to enumerate the prosperity you have conferred on every nation, which they possess by your means, he could never put an end to his discourse; but that we may demonstrate that we are not unworthy of all those advantages we have obtained, it will be sufficient for us, to say nothing of other things, but to speak freely of this king who now governs us, and is now one of thy assessors; and indeed in what instance of good-will, as to your house, hath he been deficient? What mark of fidelity to it hath he omitted? What token of honor hath he not devised? What occasion for his assistance of you hath he not regarded at the very first? What hindereth; therefore, but that your kindnesses may be as numerous as his so great benefits to you have been? It may also perhaps be fit not here to pass over in silence the valor of his father Antipater, who, when Caesar made an expedition into Egypt, assisted him with two thousand armed men, and proved inferior to none, neither in the battles on land, nor in the management of the navy; and what need I say any thing of how great weight those soldiers were at that juncture? or how many and how great presents they were vouchsafed by Caesar? And truly I ought before now to have mentioned the epistles which Caesar wrote to the senate; and how Antipater had honors, and the freedom of the city of Rome, bestowed upon him; for these are demonstrations both that we have received these favors by our own deserts, and do on that account petition thee for thy confirmation of them, from whom we had reason to hope for them, though they had not been given us before, both out of regard to our king's disposition towards you, and your disposition towards him. And further, we have been informed by those Jews that were there with what kindness thou camest into our country, and how thou offeredst the most perfect sacrifices to God, and honoredst him with remarkable vows, and how thou gavest the people a feast, and acceptedst of their own hospitable presents to thee. We ought to esteem all these kind entertainments made both by our nation and to our city, to a man who is the ruler and manager of so much of the public affairs, as indications of that friendship which thou hast returned to the Jewish nation, and which hath been procured them by the family of Herod. So we put thee in mind of these things in the presence of the king, now sitting by thee, and make our request for no more but this, that what you have given us yourselves you will not see taken away by others from us."

4. When Nicolaus had made this speech, there was no opposition made to it by the Greeks, for this was not an inquiry made, as in a court of justice, but an intercession to prevent violence to be offered to the Jews any longer; nor did the Greeks make any defense of themselves, or deny what it was supposed they had done. Their pretense was no more than this, that while the Jews inhabited in their country, they were entirely unjust to them [in not joining in their worship] but they demonstrated their generosity in this, that though they worshipped according to their institutions, they did nothing that ought to grieve them. So when Agrippa perceived that they had been oppressed by violence, he made this answer: That, on account of Herod's good-will and friendship, he was ready to grant the Jews whatsoever they should ask him, and that their requests seemed to him in themselves just; and that if they requested any thing further, he should not scruple to grant it them, provided they were no way to the detriment of the Roman government; but that while their request was no more than this, that what privileges they had already given them might not be abrogated, he confirmed this to them, that they might continue in the observation of their own customs, without any one offering them the least injury. And when he had said thus, he dissolved the assembly; upon which Herod stood up and saluted him, and gave him thanks for the kind disposition he showed to them. Agrippa also took this in a very obliging manner, and saluted him again, and embraced him in his arms; after which he went away from Lesbos; but the king determined to sail from Samos to his own country; and when he had taken his leave of Agrippa, he pursued his voyage, and landed at Cesarea in a few days' time, as having favorable winds; from whence he went to Jerusalem, and there gathered all the people together to an assembly, not a few being there out of the country also. So he came to them, and gave them a particular account of all his journey, and of the affairs of all the Jews in Asia, how by his means they would live without injurious treatment for the time to come. He also told them of the entire good fortune he had met with and how he had administered the government, and had not neglected any thing which was for their advantage; and as he was very joyful, he now remitted to them the fourth part of their taxes for the last year. Accordingly, they were so pleased with his favor and speech to them, that they went their ways with great gladness, and wished the king all manner of happiness.

CHAPTER 3

How Great Disturbances Arose In Herods Family On His Preferring Antipater His Eldest Son Before The Rest, Till Alexander Took That Injury Very Heinously.

1. But now the affairs in Herod's family were in more and more disorder, and became more severe upon him, by the hatred of Salome to the young men [Alexander and Aristobulus], which descended as it were by inheritance [from their mother Mariamne]; and as she had fully succeeded against their mother, so she proceeded to that degree of madness and insolence, as to endeavor that none of her posterity might be left alive, who might have it in their power to revenge her death. The young men had also somewhat of a bold and uneasy disposition towards their father occasioned by the remembrance of what their mother had unjustly suffered, and by their own affectation of dominion. The old grudge was also renewed; and they east reproaches on Salome and Pheroras, who requited the young men with malicious designs, and actually laid treacherous snares for them. Now as for this hatred, it was equal on both sides, but the manner of exerting that hatred was different; for as for the young men, they were rash, reproaching and affronting the others openly, and were inexperienced enough to think it the most generous to declare their minds in that undaunted manner; but the others did not take that method, but made use of calumnies after a subtle and a spiteful manner, still provoking the young men, and imagining that their boldness might in time turn to the offering violence to their father; for inasmuch as they were not ashamed of the pretended crimes of their mother, nor thought she suffered justly, these supposed that might at length exceed all bounds, and induce them to think they ought to be avenged on their father, though it were by despatching him with their own hands. At length it came to this, that the whole city was full of their discourses, and, as is usual in such contests, the unskilfulness of the young men was pitied; but the contrivance of Salome was too hard for them, and what imputations she laid upon them came to be believed, by means of their own conduct; for they who were so deeply affected with the death of their mother, that while they said both she and themselves were in a miserable case, they vehemently complained of her pitiable end, which indeed was truly such, and said that they were themselves in a pitiable case also, because they were forced to live with those that had been her murderers, and to be partakers with them.

2. These disorders increased greatly, and the king's absence abroad had afforded a fit opportunity for that increase; but as soon as Herod was returned, and had made the forementioned speech to the multitude, Pheroras and Salome let fill words immediately as if he were in great danger, and as if the young men openly threatened that they would not spare him any longer, but revenge their mother's death upon him. They also added another circumstance, that their hopes were fixed on Archclaus, the king of Cappadocia, that they should be able by his means to come to Caesar, and accuse their father. Upon hearing such things, Herod was immediately disturbed; and indeed was the more astonished, because the same things were related to him by some others also. He then called to mind his former calamity, and considered that the disorders in his family had hindered him from enjoying any comfort from those that were dearest to him or from his wife whom he loved so well; and suspecting that his future troubles would soon be heavier and greater than those that were past, he was in great confusion of mind; for Divine Providence had in reality conferred upon him a great many outward advantages for his happiness, even beyond his hopes; but the troubles he had at home were such as he never expected to have met with, and rendered him unfortunate; nay, both sorts came upon him to such a degree as no one could imagine, and made it a doubtful question, whether, upon the comparison of both, he ought to have exchanged so great a success of outward good things for so great misfortunes at home, or whether he ought not to have chosen to avoid the calamities relating to his family, though he had, for a compensation, never been possessed of the admired grandeur of a kingdom.

3. As he was thus disturbed and afflicted, in order to depress these young men, he brought to court another of his sons, that was born to him when he was a private man; his name was Antipater; yet did he not then indulge him as he did afterwards, when he was quite overcome by him, and let him do every thing as he pleased, but rather with a design of depressing the insolence of the sons of Marianme, and managing this elevation of his so, that it might be for a warning to them; for this bold behavior of theirs [he thought] would not be so great, if they were once persuaded that the succession to the kingdom did not appertain to them alone, or must of necessity come to them. So he introduced Antipater as their antagonist, and imagined that he made a good provision for discouraging their pride, and that after this was done to the young men, there might be a proper season for expecting these to be of a better disposition; but the event proved otherwise than he intended, for the young men thought he did them a very great injury; and as Antipater was a shrewd man, when he had once obtained this degree of freedom, and began to expect greater things than he had before hoped for, he had but one single design in his head, and that was to

distress his brethren, and not at all to yield to them the pre-eminence, but to keep close to his father, who was already alienated from them by the calumnies he had heard about them, and ready to be wrought upon in any way his zeal against them should advise him to pursue, that he might be continually more and more severe against them. Accordingly, all the reports that were spread abroad came from him, while he avoided himself the suspicion as if those discoveries proceeded from him; but he rather chose to make use of those persons for his assistants that were unsuspected, and such as might be believed to speak truth by reason of the good-will they bore to the king; and indeed there were already not a few who cultivated a friendship with Antipater, in hopes of gaining somewhat by him, and these were the men who most of all persuaded Herod, because they appeared to speak thus out of their good-will to him: and with these joint accusations, which from various foundations supported one another's veracity, the young men themselves afforded further occasions to Antipater also; for they were observed to shed tears often, on account of the injury that was offered them, and had their mother in their mouths; and among their friends they ventured to reproach their father, as not acting justly by them; all which things were with an evil intention reserved in memory by Antipater against a proper opportunity; and when they were told to Herod, with aggravations, increased the disorder so much, that it brought a great tumult into the family; for while the king was very angry at imputations that were laid upon the sons of Mariamne, and was desirous to humble them, he still increased the honor that he had bestowed on Antipater, and was at last so overcome by his persuasions, that he brought his mother to court also. He also wrote frequently to Caesar in favor of him, and more earnestly recommended him to his care particularly. And when Agrippa was returning to Rome, after he had finished his ten years' government in Asia. Herod sailed from Judea; and when he met with him, he had none with him but Antipater, whom he delivered to Agrippa, that he might take him along with him, together with many presents, that so he might become Caesar's friend, insomuch that things already looked as if he had all his father's favor, and that the young men were already entirely rejected from any hopes of the kingdom.

CHAPTER 4. How During Antipater's Abode At Rome, Herod Brought Alexander And Aristobulus Before Caesar And Accused Them. Alexander's Defense Of Himself Before Caesar And Reconciliation To His Father.

1. And now what happened during Antipater's absence augmented the honor to which he had been promoted, and his apparent eminence above his brethren; for he had made a great figure in Rome, because Herod had sent recommendations of him to all his friends there; only he was grieved that he was not at home, nor had proper opportunities of perpetually calumniating his brethren; and his chief fear was, lest his father should alter his mind, and entertain a more favorable opinion of the sons of Mariamne; and as he had this in his mind, he did not desist from his purpose, but continually sent from Rome any such stories as he hoped might grieve and irritate his father against his brethren, under pretense indeed of a deep concern for his preservation, but in truth such as his malicious mind dictated, in order to purchase a greater hope of the succession, which yet was already great in itself: and thus he did till he had excited such a degree of anger in Herod, that he was already become very ill-disposed towards the young men; but still while he delayed to exercise so violent a disgust against them, and that he might not either be too remiss or too rash, and so offend, he thought it best to sail to Rome, and there accuse his sons before Caesar, and not indulge himself in any such crime as might be heinous enough to be suspected of impiety. But as he was going up to Rome, it happened that he made such haste as to meet with Caesar at the city Aquilei so when he came to the speech of Caesar, he asked for a time for hearing this great cause, wherein he thought himself very miserable, and presented his sons there, and accused them of their mad actions, and of their attempts against him: That they were enemies to him; and by all the means they were able, did their endeavors to show their hatred to their own father, and would take away his life, and so obtain his kingdom, after the most barbarous manner: that he had power from Caesar to dispose of it, not by necessity, but by choice, to him who shall exercise the greatest piety towards him; while these my sons are not so desirous of ruling, as they are, upon a disappointment thereof, to expose their own life, if so be they may but deprive their father of his life; so wild and polluted is their mind by time become, out of their hatred to him: that whereas he had a long time borne this his misfortune, he was now compelled to

lay it before Caesar, and to pollute his ears with such language, while he himself wants to know what severity they have ever suffered from him, or what hardships he hath ever laid upon them to make them complain of him; and how they can think it just that he should not be lord of that kingdom which he in a long time, and with great danger, had gained, and not allow him to keep it and dispose of it to him who should deserve best; and this, with other advantages, he proposes as a reward for the piety of such a one as will hereafter imitate the care he hath taken of it, and that such a one may gain so great a requital as that is: and that it is an impious thing for them to pretend to meddle with it beforehand; for he who hath ever the kingdom in his view, at the same time reckons upon procuring the death of his father, because otherwise he cannot come at the government: that as for himself, he had hitherto given them all that he was able, and what was agreeable to such as are subject to the royal authority, and the sons of a king; what ornaments they wanted, with servants and delicate fare, and had married them into the most illustrious families, the one [Aristobulus] to his sister's daughter, but Alexander to the daughter of king Archelaus; and, what was the greatest favor of all, when their crimes were so very bad, and he had authority to punish them, yet had he not made use of it against them, but had brought them before Caesar, their common benefactor, and had not used the severity which, either as a father who had been impiously abused, or as a king who had been assaulted treacherously, he might have done, but made them stand upon a level with him in judgment: that, however, it was necessary that all this should not be passed over without punishment, nor himself live in the greatest fears; nay, that it was not for their own advantage to see the light of the sun after what they have done, although they should escape at this time, since they had done the vilest things, and would certainly suffer the greatest punishments that ever were known among mankind.

2. These were the accusations which Herod laid with great vehemency against his sons before Caesar. Now the young men, both while he was speaking, and chiefly at his concluding, wept, and were in confusion. Now as to themselves, they knew in their own conscience they were innocent; but because they were accused by their father, they were sensible, as the truth was, that it was hard for them to make their apology, since though they were at liberty to speak their minds freely as the occasion required, and might with force and earnestness refute the accusation, yet was it not now decent so to do. There was therefore a difficulty how they should be able to speak; and tears, and at length a deep groan, followed, while they were afraid, that if they said nothing, they should seem to be in this difficulty from a consciousness of guilt, — nor had they any defense ready, by reason of their youth, and the disorder they were under; yet

was not Caesar unapprized, when he looked upon them in the confusion they were in, that their delay to make their defense did not arise from any consciousness of great enormities, but from their unskilfulness and modesty. They were also commiserated by those that were there in particular; and they moved their father's affections in earnest till he had much ado to conceal them.

3. But when they saw there was a kind disposition arisen both in him and in Caesar, and that every one of the rest did either shed tears, or at least did all grieve with them, the one of them, whose name was Alexander, called to his father, and attempted to answer his accusation, and said, "O father, the benevolence thou hast showed to us is evident, even in this very judicial procedure, for hadst thou had any pernicious intentions about us, thou hadst not produced us here before the common savior of all, for it was in thy power, both as a king and as a father, to punish the guilty; but by thus bringing us to Rome, and making Caesar himself a witness to what is done, thou intimatest that thou intendest to save us; for no one that hath a design to slay a man will bring him to the temples, and to the altars; yet are our circumstances still worse, for we cannot endure to live ourselves any longer, if it be believed that we have injured such a father; nay, perhaps it would be worse for us to live with this suspicion upon us, that we have injured him, than to die without such guilt. And if our open defense may be taken to be true, we shall be happy, both in pacifying thee, and in escaping the danger we are in; but if this calumny so prevails, it is more than enough for us that we have seen the sun this day; which why should we see, if this suspicion be fixed upon us? Now it is easy to say of young men, that they desire to reign; and to say further, that this evil proceeds from the case of our unhappy mother. This is abundantly sufficient to produce our present misfortune out of the former; but consider well, whether such an accusation does not suit all such young men, and may not be said of them all promiscuously; for nothing can hinder him that reigns, if he have children, and their mother be dead, but the father may have a suspicion upon all his sons, as intending some treachery to him; but a suspicion is not sufficient to prove such an impious practice. Now let any man say, whether we have actually and insolently attempted any such thing, whereby actions otherwise incredible use to be made credible? Can any body prove that poison hath been prepared? or prove a conspiracy of our equals, or the corruption of servants, or letters written against thee? though indeed there are none of those things but have sometimes been pretended by way of calumny, when they were never done; for a royal family that is at variance with itself is a terrible thing; and that which thou callest a reward of piety often becomes, among very wicked men, such a foundation of hope, as makes them leave no sort of mischief untried. Nor does any one lay any wicked practices to our charge;

but as to calumnies by hearsay, how can he put an end to them, who will not hear what we have to say? Have we talked with too great freedom? Yes; but not against thee, for that would be unjust, but against those that never conceal any thing that is spoken to them. Hath either of us lamented our mother? Yes; but not because she is dead, but because she was evil spoken of by those that had no reason so to do. Are we desirous of that dominion which we know our father is possessed of? For what reason can we do so? If we already have royal honors, as we have, should not we labor in vain? And if we have them not, yet are not we in hopes of them? Or supposing that we had killed thee, could we expect to obtain thy kingdom? while neither the earth would let us tread upon it, nor the sea let us sail upon it, after such an action as that; nay, the religion of all your subjects, and the piety of the whole nation, would have prohibited parricides from assuming the government, and from entering into that most holy temple which was built by thee But suppose we had made light of other dangers, can any murderer go off unpunished while Caesar is alive? We are thy sons, and not so impious or so thoughtless as that comes to, though perhaps more unfortunate than is convenient for thee. But in case thou neither findest any causes of complaint, nor any treacherous designs, what sufficient evidence hast thou to make such a wickedness of ours credible? Our mother is dead indeed, but then what befell her might be an instruction to us to caution, and not an incitement to wickedness. We are willing to make a larger apology for ourselves; but actions never done do not admit of discourse. Nay, we will make this agreement with thee, and that before Caesar, the lord of all, who is now a mediator between us, If thou, O father, canst bring thyself, by the evidence of truth, to have a mind free from suspicion concerning us let us live, though even then we shall live in an unhappy way, for to be accused of great acts of wickedness, though falsely, is a terrible thing; but if thou hast any fear remaining, continue thou on in thy pious life, we will give this reason for our own conduct; our life is not so desirable to us as to desire to have it, if it tend to the harm of our father who gave it us."

4. When Alexander had thus spoken, Caesar, who did not before believe so gross a calumny, was still more moved by it, and looked intently upon Herod, and perceived he was a little confounded: the persons there present were under an anxiety about the young men, and the fame that was spread abroad made the king hated, for the very incredibility of the calumny, and the commiseration of the flower of youth, the beauty of body, which were in the young men, pleaded for assistance, and the more so on this account, that Alexander had made their defense with dexterity and prudence; nay, they did not themselves any longer continue in their former countenances, which had been bedewed with tears, and cast downwards to the ground, but now there arose in them hope of the best; and

the king himself appeared not to have had foundation enough to build such an accusation upon, he having no real evidence wherewith to correct them. Indeed he wanted some apology for making the accusation; but Caesar, after some delay, said, that although the young men were thoroughly innocent of that for which they were calumniated, yet had they been so far to blame, that they had not demeaned themselves towards their father so as to prevent that suspicion which was spread abroad concerning them. He also exhorted Herod to lay all such suspicions aside, and to be reconciled to his sons; for that it was not just to give any credit to such reports concerning his own children; and that this repentance on both sides might still heal those breaches that had happened between them, and might improve that their good-will to one another, whereby those on both sides, excusing the rashness of their suspicions, might resolve to bear a greater degree of affection towards each other than they had before. After Caesar had given them this admonition, he beckoned to the young men. When therefore they were disposed to fall down to make intercession to their father, he took them up, and embraced them, as they were in tears, and took each of them distinctly in his arms, till not one of those that were present, whether free-man or slave, but was deeply affected with what they saw.

5. Then did they return thanks to Caesar, and went away together; and with them went Antipater, with an hypocritical pretense that he rejoiced at this reconciliation. And in the last days they were with Caesar, Herod made him a present of three hundred talents, as he was then exhibiting shows and largesses to the people of Rome; and Caesar made him a present of half the revenue of the copper mines in Cyprus, and committed the care of the other half to him, and honored him with other gifts and incomes; and as to his own kingdom, he left it in his own power to appoint which of his sons he pleased for his successor, or to distribute it in parts to every one, that the dignity might thereby come to them all. And when Herod was disposed to make such a settlement immediately, Caesar said he would not give him leave to deprive himself, while he was alive, of the power over his kingdom, or over his sons.

6. After this, Herod returned to Judea again. But during his absence no small part of his dominion about Trachon had revolted, whom yet the commanders he left there had vanquished, and compelled to a submission again. Now as Herod was sailing with his sons, and was come over against Cilicia, to [the island] Eleusa, which hath now changed its name for Sebaste, he met with Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, who received him kindly, as rejoicing that he was reconciled to his sons, and that the accusation against Alexander, who had married his daughter, was at an end. They also made one another such presents as it became kings to make, From thence Herod came to Judea and to the temple,

where he made a speech to the people concerning what had been done in this his journey. He also discoursed to them about Caesar's kindness to him, and about as many of the particulars he had done as he thought it for his advantage other people should be acquainted with. At last he turned his speech to the admonition of his sons; and exhorted those that lived at court, and the multitude, to concord; and informed them that his sons were to reign after him; Antipater first, and then Alexander and Aristobulus, the sons of Mariamne: but he desired that at present they should all have regard to himself, and esteem him king and lord of all, since he was not yet hindered by old age, but was in that period of life when he must be the most skillful in governing; and that he was not deficient in other arts of management that might enable him to govern the kingdom well, and to rule over his children also. He further told the rulers under him, and the soldiery, that in case they would look upon him alone, their life would be led in a peaceable manner, and they would make one another happy. And when he had said this, he dismissed the assembly. Which speech was acceptable to the greatest part of the audience, but not so to them all; for the contention among his sons, and the hopes he had given them, occasioned thoughts and desires of innovations among them.

CHAPTER 5. How Herod Celebrated The Games That Were To Return Every Fifth Year Upon The Building Of Cesarea; And How He Built And Adorned Many Other Places After A Magnificent Manner; And Did Many Other Actions Gloriously

1. About this time it was that Cesarea Sebaste, which he had built, was finished. The entire building being accomplished: in the tenth year, the solemnity of it fell into the twenty-eighth year of Herod's reign, and into the hundred and ninety-second olympiad. There was accordingly a great festival and most sumptuous preparations made presently, in order to its dedication; for he had appointed a contention in music, and games to be performed naked. He had also gotten ready a great number of those that fight single combats, and of beasts for the like purpose; horse races also, and the most chargeable of such sports and shows as used to be exhibited at Rome, and in other places. He consecrated this combat to Caesar, and ordered it to be celebrated every fifth year. He also sent all sorts of ornaments for it out of his own furniture, that it might want nothing to make it decent; nay, Julia, Caesar's wife, sent a great part of her most valuable furniture [from Rome], insomuch that he had no want of any thing. The sum of them all was estimated at five hundred talents. Now when a great multitude was come to that city to see the shows, as well as the ambassadors whom other people sent, on account of the benefits they had received from Herod, he entertained them all in the public inns, and at public tables, and with perpetual feasts; this solemnity having in the day time the diversions of the fights, and in the night time such merry meetings as cost vast sums of money, and publicly demonstrated the generosity of his soul; for in all his undertakings he was ambitious to exhibit what exceeded whatsoever had been done before of the same kind. And it is related that Caesar and Agrippa often said, that the dominions of Herod were too little for the greatness of his soul; for that he deserved to have both all the kingdom of Syria, and that of Egypt also.

2. After this solemnity and these festivals were over, Herod erected another city in the plain called Capharsaba, where he chose out a fit place, both for plenty of water and goodness of soil, and proper for the production of what was there planted, where a river encompassed the city itself, and a grove of the best trees for magnitude was round about it: this he named Antipatris, from his father Antipater. He also built upon another spot of ground above Jericho, of the same

name with his mother, a place of great security and very pleasant for habitation, and called it Cypros. He also dedicated the finest monuments to his brother Phasaelus, on account of the great natural affection there had been between them, by erecting a tower in the city itself, not less than the tower of Pharos, which he named Phasaelus, which was at once a part of the strong defenses of the city, and a memorial for him that was deceased, because it bare his name. He also built a city of the same name in the valley of Jericho, as you go from it northward, whereby he rendered the neighboring country more fruitful by the cultivation its inhabitants introduced; and this also he called Phasaelus.

3. But as for his other benefits, it is impossible to reckon them up, those which he bestowed on cities, both in Syria and in Greece, and in all the places he came to in his voyages; for he seems to have conferred, and that after a most plentiful manner, what would minister to many necessities, and the building of public works, and gave them the money that was necessary to such works as wanted it, to support them upon the failure of their other revenues: but what was the greatest and most illustrious of all his works, he erected Apollo's temple at Rhodes, at his own expenses, and gave them a great number of talents of silver for the repair of their fleet. He also built the greatest part of the public edifices for the inhabitants of Nicopolis, at Actium; and for the Antiochinus, the inhabitants of the principal city of Syria, where a broad street cuts through the place lengthways, he built cloisters along it on both sides, and laid the open road with polished stone, and was of very great advantage to the inhabitants. And as to the olympic games, which were in a very low condition, by reason of the failure of their revenues, he recovered their reputation, and appointed revenues for heir maintenance, and made that solemn meeting more venerable, as to the sacrifices and other ornaments; and by reason of this vast liberality, he was generally declared in their inscriptions to be one of the perpetual managers of those games.

4. Now some there are who stand amazed at the diversity of Herod's nature and purposes; for when we have respect to his magnificence, and the benefits which he bestowed on all mankind, there is no possibility for even those that had the least respect for him to deny, or not openly to confess, that he had a nature vastly beneficent; but when any one looks upon the punishments he inflicted, and the injuries he did, not only to his subjects, but to his nearest relations, and takes notice of his severe and unrelenting disposition there, he will be forced to allow that he was brutish, and a stranger to all humanity; insomuch that these men suppose his nature to be different, and sometimes at contradiction with itself; but I am myself of another opinion, and imagine that the occasion of both these sort of actions was one and the same; for being a man ambitious of honor,

and quite overcome by that passion, he was induced to be magnificent, wherever there appeared any hopes of a future memorial, or of reputation at present; and as his expenses were beyond his abilities, he was necessitated to be harsh to his subjects; for the persons on whom he expended his money were so many, that they made him a very bad procurer of it; and because he was conscious that he was hated by those under him, for the injuries he did them, he thought it not an easy thing to amend his offenses, for that it was inconvenient for his revenue; he therefore strove on the other side to make their ill-will an occasion of his gains. As to his own court, therefore, if any one was not very obsequious to him in his language, and would not confess himself to be his slave, or but seemed to think of any innovation in his government, he was not able to contain himself, but prosecuted his very kindred and friends, and punished them as if they were enemies and this wickedness he undertook out of a desire that he might be himself alone honored. Now for this, my assertion about that passion of his, we have the greatest evidence, by what he did to honor Caesar and Agrippa, and his other friends; for with what honors he paid his respects to them who were his superiors, the same did he desire to be paid to himself; and what he thought the most excellent present he could make another, he discovered an inclination to have the like presented to himself. But now the Jewish nation is by their law a stranger to all such things, and accustomed to prefer righteousness to glory; for which reason that nation was not agreeable to him, because it was out of their power to flatter the king’s ambition with statues or temples, or any other such performances; And this seems to me to have been at once the occasion of Herod’s crimes as to his own courtiers and counselors, and of his benefactions as to foreigners and those that had no relation to him.

CHAPTER 6. An Embassage In Cyrene And Asia To Caesar, Concerning The Complaints They Had To Make Against The Greeks; With Copies Of The Epistles Which Caesar And Agrippa Wrote To The Cities For Them.

1. Now the cities ill-treated the Jews in Asia, and all those also of the same nation which lived ill Libya, which joins to Cyrene, while the former kings had given them equal privileges with the other citizens; but the Greeks affronted them at this time, and that so far as to take away their sacred money, and to do them mischief on other particular occasions. When therefore they were thus afflicted, and found no end of their barbarous treatment they met with among the Greeks, they sent ambassadors to Caesar on those accounts, who gave them the same privileges as they had before, and sent letters to the same purpose to the governors of the provinces, copies of which I subjoin here, as testimonials of the ancient favorable disposition the Roman emperors had towards us.

2. “Caesar Augustus, high priest and tribune of the people, ordains thus: Since the nation of the Jews hath been found grateful to the Roman people, not only at this time, but in time past also, and chiefly Hyrcanus the high priest, under my father Caesar the emperor, it seemed good to me and my counselors, according to the sentence and oath of the people of Rome, that the Jews have liberty to make use of their own customs, according to the law of their forefathers, as they made use of them under Hyrcanus the high priest of the Almighty God; and that their sacred money be not touched, but be sent to Jerusalem, and that it be committed to the care of the receivers at Jerusalem; and that they be not obliged to go before any judge on the sabbath day, nor on the day of the preparation to it, after the ninth hour. But if any one be caught stealing their holy books, or their sacred money, whether it be out of the synagogue or public school, he shall be deemed a sacrilegious person, and his goods shall be brought into the public treasury of the Romans. And I give order that the testimonial which they have given me, on account of my regard to that piety which I exercise toward all mankind, and out of regard to Caius Marcus Censorinus, together with the present decree, be proposed in that most eminent place which hath been consecrated to me by the community of Asia at Ancyra. And if any one transgress any part of what is above decreed, he shall be severely punished.” This was inscribed upon a pillar in the temple of Caesar.

3. “Caesar to Norbanus Flaccus, sendeth greeting. Let those Jews, how many soever they be, who have been used, according to their ancient custom, to send their sacred money to Jerusalem, do the same freely.” These were the decrees of Caesar.

4. Agrippa also did himself write after the manner following, on behalf of the Jews: “Agrippa, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting. I will that the care and custody of the sacred money that is carried to the temple at Jerusalem be left to the Jews of Asia, to do with it according to their ancient custom; and that such as steal that sacred money of the Jews, and fly to a sanctuary, shall be taken thence and delivered to the Jews, by the same law that sacrilegious persons are taken thence. I have also written to Sylvanus the praetor, that no one compel the Jews to come before a judge on the sabbath day.”

5. “Marcus Agrippa to the magistrates, senate, and people of Cyrene, sendeth greeting. The Jews of Cyrene have interceded with me for the performance of what Augustus sent orders about to Flavius, the then praetor of Libya, and to the other procurators of that province, that the sacred money may be sent to Jerusalem freely, as hath been their custom from their forefathers, they complaining that they are abused by certain informers, and under pretense of taxes which were not due, are hindered from sending them, which I command to be restored without any diminution or disturbance given to them. And if any of that sacred money in the cities be taken from their proper receivers, I further enjoin, that the same be exactly returned to the Jews in that place.”

6. “Caius Norbanus Flaccus, proconsul, to the magistrates of the Sardians, sendeth greeting. Caesar hath written to me, and commanded me not to forbid the Jews, how many soever they be, from assembling together according to the custom of their forefathers, nor from sending their money to Jerusalem. I have therefore written to you, that you may know that both Caesar and I would have you act accordingly.”

7. Nor did Julius Antonius, the proconsul, write otherwise. “To the magistrates, senate, and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting. As I was dispensing justice at Ephesus, on the Ides of February, the Jews that dwell in Asia demonstrated to me that Augustus and Agrippa had permitted them to use their own laws and customs, and to offer those their first-fruits, which every one of them freely offers to the Deity on account of piety, and to carry them in a company together to Jerusalem without disturbance. They also petitioned me that I also would confirm what had been granted by Augustus and Agrippa by my own sanction. I would therefore have you take notice, that according to the

will of Augustus and Agrippa, I permit them to use and do according to the customs of their forefathers without disturbance."

8. I have been obliged to set down these decree because the present history of our own acts will go generally among the Greeks; and I have hereby demonstrated to them that we have formerly been in great esteem, and have not been prohibited by those governors we were under from keeping any of the laws of our forefathers; nay, that we have been supported by them, while we followed our own religion, and the worship we paid to God; and I frequently make mention of these decrees, in order to reconcile other people to us, and to take away the causes of that hatred which unreasonable men bear to us. As for our customs there is no nation which always makes use of the same, and in every city almost we meet with them different from one another; but natural justice is most agreeable to the advantage of all men equally, both Greeks and barbarians, to which our laws have the greatest regard, and thereby render us, if we abide in them after a pure manner, benevolent and friendly to all men; on which account we have reason to expect the like return from others, and to inform them that they ought not to esteem difference of positive institutions a sufficient cause of alienation, but [join with us in] the pursuit of virtue and probity, for this belongs to all men in common, and of itself alone is sufficient for the preservation of human life. I now return to the thread of my history.

CHAPTER 7. How, Upon Herod's Going Down Into David's Sepulcher, The Sedition In His Family Greatly Increased.

1. As for Herod, he had spent vast sums about the cities, both without and within his own kingdom; and as he had before heard that Hyrcanus, who had been king before him, had opened David's sepulcher, and taken out of it three thousand talents of silver, and that there was a much greater number left behind, and indeed enough to suffice all his wants, he had a great while an intention to make the attempt; and at this time he opened that sepulcher by night, and went into it, and endeavored that it should not be at all known in the city, but took only his most faithful friends with him. As for any money, he found none, as Hyrcanus had done, but that furniture of gold, and those precious goods that were laid up there; all which he took away. However, he had a great desire to make a more diligent search, and to go farther in, even as far as the very bodies of David and Solomon; where two of his guards were slain, by a flame that burst out upon those that went in, as the report was. So he was terribly aftrighted, and went out, and built a propitiatory monument of that fright he had been in; and this of white stone, at the mouth of the sepulcher, and that at great expense also. And even Nicolaus his historiographer makes mention of this monument built by Herod, though he does not mention his going down into the sepulcher, as knowing that action to be of ill repute; and many other things he treats of in the same manner in his book; for he wrote in Herod's lifetime, and under his reign, and so as to please him, and as a servant to him, touching upon nothing but what tended to his glory, and openly excusing many of his notorious crimes, and very diligently concealing them. And as he was desirous to put handsome colors on the death of Mariamne and her sons, which were barbarous actions in the king, he tells falsehoods about the incontinence of Mariamne, and the treacherous designs of his sons upon him; and thus he proceeded in his whole work, making a pompous encomium upon what just actions he had done, but earnestly apologizing for his unjust ones. Indeed, a man, as I said, may have a great deal to say by way of excuse for Nicolaus; for he did not so properly write this as a history for others, as somewhat that might be subservient to the king himself. As for ourselves, who come of a family nearly allied to the Asamonean kings, and on that account have an honorable place, which is the priesthood, we think it indecent to say any thing that is false about them, and accordingly we have described their actions after an unblemished and upright manner. And although we reverence many of

Herod's posterity, who still reign, yet do we pay a greater regard to truth than to them, and this though it sometimes happens that we incur their displeasure by so doing.

2. And indeed Herod's troubles in his family seemed to be augmented by reason of this attempt he made upon David's sepulcher; whether Divine vengeance increased the calamities he lay under, in order to render them incurable, or whether fortune made an assault upon him, in those cases wherein the seasonableness of the cause made it strongly believed that the calamities came upon him for his impiety; for the tumult was like a civil war in his palace, and their hatred towards one another was like that where each one strove to exceed another in calumnies. However, Antipater used stratagems perpetually against his brethren, and that very cunningly; while abroad he loaded them with accusations, but still took upon him frequently to apologize for them, that this apparent benevolence to them might make him be believed, and forward his attempts against them; by which means he, after various manners, circumvented his father, who believed all that he did was for his preservation. Herod also recommended Ptolemy, who was a great director of the affairs of his kingdom, to Antipater; and consulted with his mother about the public affairs also. And indeed these were all in all, and did what they pleased, and made the king angry against any other persons, as they thought it might be to their own advantage; but still the sons of Marianme were in a worse and worse condition perpetually; and while they were thrust out, and set in a more dishonorable rank, who yet by birth were the most noble, they could not bear the dishonor. And for the women, Glaphyra, Alexander's wife, the daughter of Archclaus, hated Salome, both because of her love to her husband, and because Glaphyra seemed to behave herself somewhat insolently towards Salome's daughter, who was the wife of Aristobulus, which equality of hers to herself Glaphyra took very impatiently.

3. Now, besides this second contention that had fallen among them, neither did the king's brother Pheroras keep himself out of trouble, but had a particular foundation for suspicion and hatred; for he was overcome with the charms of his wife, to such a degree of madness, that he despised the king's daughter, to whom he had been betrothed, and wholly bent his mind to the other, who had been but a servant. Herod also was grieved by the dishonor that was done him, because he had bestowed many favors upon him, and had advanced him to that height of power that he was almost a partner with him in the kingdom, and saw that he had not made him a due return for his labors, and esteemed himself unhappy on that account. So upon Pheroras's unworthy refusal, he gave the damsel to Phasaelus's son; but after some time, when he thought the heat of his brother's affections was over, he blamed him for his former conduct, and desired him to

take his second daughter, whose name was Cypros. Ptolemy also advised him to leave off affronting his brother, and to forsake her whom he had loved, for that it was a base thing to be so enamored of a servant, as to deprive himself of the king's good-will to him, and become an occasion of his trouble, and make himself hated by him. Pheroras knew that this advice would be for his own advantage, particularly because he had been accused before, and forgiven; so he put his wife away, although he already had a son by her, and engaged to the king that he would take his second daughter, and agreed that the thirtieth day after should be the day of marriage; and sware he would have no further conversation with her whom he had put away; but when the thirty days were over, he was such a slave to his affections, that he no longer performed any thing he had promised, but continued still with his former wife. This occasioned Herod to grieve openly, and made him angry, while the king dropped one word or other against Pheroras perpetually; and many made the king's anger an opportunity for raising calumnies against him. Nor had the king any longer a single quiet day or hour, but occasions of one fresh quarrel or another arose among his relations, and those that were dearest to him; for Salome was of a harsh temper, and ill-natured to Mariamne's sons; nor would she suffer her own daughter, who was the wife of Aristobulus, one of those young men, to bear a good-will to her husband, but persuaded her to tell her if he said any thing to her in private, and when any misunderstandings happened, as is common, she raised a great many suspicions out of it; by which means she learned all their concerns, and made the damsel ill-natured to the young man. And in order to gratify her mother, she often said that the young men used to mention Mariamne when they were by themselves; and that they hated their father, and were continually threatening, that if they had once got the kingdom, they would make Herod's sons by his other wives country schoolmasters, for that the present education which was given them, and their diligence in learning, fitted them for such an employment. And as for the women, whenever they saw them adorned with their mother's clothes, they threatened, that instead of their present gaudy apparel, they should be clothed in sackcloth, and confined so closely that they should not see the light of the sun. These stories were presently carried by Salome to the king, who was troubled to hear them, and endeavored to make up matters; but these suspicions afflicted him, and becoming more and more uneasy, he believed every body against every body. However, upon his rebuking his sons, and hearing the defense they made for themselves, he was easier for a while, though a little afterwards much worse accidents came upon him.

4. For Pheroras came to Alexander, the husband of Glaphyra, who was the daughter of Archelaus, as we have already told you, and said that he had heard

from Salome that Herod has enamored on Glaphyra, and that his passion for her was incurable. When Alexander heard that, he was all on fire, from his youth and jealousy; and he interpreted the instances of Herod's obliging behavior to her, which were very frequent, for the worse, which came from those suspicions he had on account of that word which fell from Pheroras; nor could he conceal his grief at the thing, but informed him what word: Pheroras had said. Upon which Herod was in a greater disorder than ever; and not bearing such a false calumny, which was to his shame, was much disturbed at it; and often did he lament the wickedness of his domestics, and how good he had been to them, and how ill requitals they had made him. So he sent for Pheroras, and reproached him, and said, "Thou vilest of all men! art thou come to that unmeasurable and extravagant degree of ingratitude, as not only to suppose such things of me, but to speak of them? I now indeed perceive what thy intentions are. It is not thy only aim to reproach me, when thou usest such words to my son, but thereby to persuade him to plot against me, and get me destroyed by poison. And who is there, if he had not a good genius at his elbow, as hath my son, but would not bear such a suspicion of his father, but would revenge himself upon him? Dost thou suppose that thou hast only dropped a word for him to think of, and not rather hast put a sword into his hand to slay his father? And what dost thou mean, when thou really hatest both him and his brother, to pretend kindness to them, only in order to raise a reproach against me, and talk of such things as no one but such an impious wretch as thou art could either devise in their mind, or declare in their words? Begone, thou art such a plague to thy benefactor and thy brother, and may that evil conscience of thine go along with thee; while I still overcome my relations by kindness, and am so far from avenging myself of them, as they deserve, that I bestow greater benefits upon them than they are worthy of."

5. Thus did the king speak. Whereupon Pheroras, who was caught in the very act of his villainy, said that "it was Salome who was the framer of this plot, and that the words came from her." But as soon as she heard that, for she was at hand, she cried out, like one that would be believed, that no such thing ever came out of her mouth; that they all earnestly endeavored to make the king hate her, and to make her away, because of the good-will she bore to Herod, and because she was always foreseeing the dangers that were coming upon him, and that at present there were more plots against him than usual; for while she was the only person who persuaded her brother to put away the wife he now had, and to take the king's daughter, it was no wonder if she were hated by him. As she said this, and often tore her hair, and often beat her breast, her countenance made her denial to be believed; but the peverseness of her manners declared at the

same time her dissimulation in these proceedings; but Pheroras was caught between them, and had nothing plausible to offer in his own defense, while he confessed that he had said what was charged upon him, but was not believed when he said he had heard it from Salome; so the confusion among them was increased, and their quarrelsome words one to another. At last the king, out of his hatred to his brother and sister, sent them both away; and when he had commended the moderation of his son, and that he had himself told him of the report, he went in the evening to refresh himself. After such a contest as this had fallen out among them, Salome's reputation suffered greatly, since she was supposed to have first raised the calumny; and the king's wives were grieved at her, as knowing she was a very ill-natured woman, and would sometimes be a friend, and sometimes an enemy, at different seasons: so they perpetually said one thing or another against her; and somewhat that now fell out made them the bolder in speaking against her.

6. There was one Obodas, king of Arabia, an inactive and slothful man in his nature; but Sylleus managed most of his affairs for him. He was a shrewd man, although he was but young, and was handsome withal. This Sylleus, upon some occasion coming to Herod, and supping with him, saw Salome, and set his heart upon her; and understanding that she was a widow, he discoursed with her. Now because Salome was at this time less in favor with her brother, she looked upon Sylleus with some passion, and was very earnest to be married to him; and on the days following there appeared many, and those very great, indications of their agreement together. Now the women carried this news to the king, and laughed at the indecency of it; whereupon Herod inquired about it further of Pheroras, and desired him to observe them at supper, how their behavior was one toward another; who told him, that by the signals which came from their heads and their eyes, they both were evidently in love. After this, Sylleus the Arabian being suspected, went away, but came again in two or three months afterwards, as it were on that very design, and spake to Herod about it, and desired that Salome might be given him to wife; for that his affinity might not be disadvantageous to his affairs, by a union with Arabia, the government of which country was already in effect under his power, and more evidently would be his hereafter. Accordingly, when Herod discoursed with his sister about it, and asked her whether she were disposed to this match, she immediately agreed to it. But when Sylleus was desired to come over to the Jewish religion, and then he should marry her, and that it was impossible to do it on any other terms, he could not bear that proposal, and went his way; for he said, that if he should do so, he should be stoned by the Arabs. Then did Pheroras reproach Salome for her incontinency, as did the women much more; and said that Sylleus had debauched

her. As for that damsel which the king had betrothed to his brother Pheroras, but he had not taken her, as I have before related, because he was enamored on his former wife, Salome desired of Herod she might be given to her son by Costobarus; which match he was very willing to, but was dissuaded from it by Pheroras, who pleaded that this young man would not be kind to her, since his father had been slain by him, and that it was more just that his son, who was to be his successor in the tetrarchy, should have her. So he begged his pardon, and persuaded him to do so. Accordingly the damsel, upon this change of her espousals, was disposal of to this young man, the son of Pheroras, the king giving for her portion a hundred talents.

CHAPTER 8. How Herod Took Up Alexander And Bound Him; Whom Yet Archelaus King Of Cappadocia Reconciled To His Father Herod Again.

1. But still the affairs of Herod's family were no better, but perpetually more troublesome. Now this accident happened, which arose from no decent occasion, but proceeded so far as to bring great difficulties upon him. There were certain eunuchs which the king had, and on account of their beauty was very fond of them; and the care of bringing him drink was intrusted to one of them; of bringing him his supper, to another; and of putting him to bed, to the third, who also managed the principal affairs of the government; and there was one told the king that these eunuchs were corrupted by Alexander the king's son with great sums of money. And when they were asked whether Alexander had had criminal conversation with them, they confessed it, but said they knew of no further mischief of his against his father; but when they were more severely tortured, and were in the utmost extremity, and the tormentors, out of compliance with Antipater, stretched the rack to the very utmost, they said that Alexander bare great ill-will and innate hatred to his father; and that he told them that Herod despaired to live much longer; and that, in order to cover his great age, he colored his hair black, and endeavored to conceal what would discover how old he was; but that if he would apply himself to him, when he should attain the kingdom, which, in spite of his father, could come to no one else, he should quickly have the first place in that kingdom under him, for that he was now ready to take the kingdom, not only as his birth-right, but by the preparations he had made for obtaining it, because a great many of the rulers, and a great many of his friends, were of his side, and those no ill men neither, ready both to do and to suffer whatsoever should come on that account.

2. When Herod heard this confession, he was all over anger and fear, some parts seeming to him reproachful, and some made him suspicious of dangers that attended him, insomuch that on both accounts he was provoked, and bitterly afraid lest some more heavy plot was laid against him than he should be then able to escape from; whereupon he did not now make an open search, but sent about spies to watch such as he suspected, for he was now overrun with suspicion and hatred against all about him; and indulging abundance of those suspicions, in order to his preservation, he continued to suspect those that were guiltless; nor did he set any bounds to himself, but supposing that those who staid with him had the most power to hurt him, they were to him very frightful;

and for those that did not use to come to him, it seemed enough to name them [to make them suspected], and he thought himself safer when they were destroyed. And at last his domestics were come to that pass, that being no way secure of escaping themselves, they fell to accusing one another, and imagining that he who first accused another was most likely to save himself; yet when any had overthrown others, they were hated; and they were thought to suffer justly who unjustly accused others, and they only thereby prevented their own accusation; nay, they now executed their own private enmities by this means, and when they were caught, they were punished in the same way. Thus these men contrived to make use of this opportunity as an instrument and a snare against their enemies; yet when they tried it, were themselves caught also in the same snare which they laid for others: and the king soon repented of what he had done, because he had no clear evidence of the guilt of those whom he had slain; and yet what was still more severe in him, he did not make use of his repentance, in order to leave off doing the like again, but in order to inflict the same punishment upon their accusers.

3. And in this state of disorder were the affairs of the palace; and he had already told many of his friends directly that they ought not to appear before him, her come into the palace; and the reason of this injunction was, that [when they were there], he had less freedom of acting, or a greater restraint on himself on their account; for at this time it was that he expelled Andromachus and Gamellus, men who had of old been his friends, and been very useful to him in the affairs of his kingdom, and been of advantage to his family, by their embassages and counsels; and had been tutors to his sons, and had in a manner the first degree of freedom with him. He expelled Andromachus, because his son Demetrius was a companion to Alexander; and Gamellus, because he knew that he wished him well, which arose from his having been with him in his youth, when he was at school, and absent at Rome. These he expelled out of his palace, and was willing enough to have done worse by them; but that he might not seem to take such liberty against men of so great reputation, he contented himself with depriving them of their dignity, and of their power to hinder his wicked proceedings.

4. Now it was Antipater who was the cause of all this; who when he knew what a mad and licentious way of acting his father was in, and had been a great while one of his counselors, he hurried him on, and then thought he should bring him to do somewhat to purpose, when every one that could oppose him was taken away. When therefore Andromachus and his friends were driven away, and had no discourse nor freedom with the king any longer, the king, in the first place, examined by torture all whom he thought to be faithful to Alexander,

Whether they knew of any of his attempts against him; but these died without having any thing to say to that matter, which made the king more zealous [after discoveries], when he could not find out what evil proceedings he suspected them of. As for Antipater, he was very sagacious to raise a calumny against those that were really innocent, as if their denial was only their constancy and fidelity [to Alexander], and thereupon provoked Herod to discover by the torture of great numbers what attempts were still concealed. Now there was a certain person among the many that were tortured, who said that he knew that the young man had often said, that when he was commended as a tall man in his body, and a skillful marksman, and that in his other commendable exercises he exceeded all men, these qualifications given him by nature, though good in themselves, were not advantageous to him, because his father was grieved at them, and envied him for them; and that when he walked along with his father, he endeavored to depress and shorten himself, that he might not appear too tall; and that when he shot at any thing as he was hunting, when his father was by, he missed his mark on purpose, for he knew how ambitious his father was of being superior in such exercises. So when the man was tormented about this saying, and had ease given his body after it, he added, that he had his brother Aristobulus for his assistance, and contrived to lie in wait for their father, as they were hunting, and kill him; and when they had done so to fly to Rome, and desire to have the kingdom given them. There were also letters of the young man found, written to his brother, wherein he complained that his father did not act justly in giving Antipater a country, whose [yearly] revenues amounted to two hundred talents. Upon these confessions Herod presently thought he had somewhat to depend on, in his own opinion, as to his suspicion about his sons; so he took up Alexander and bound him: yet did he still continue to be uneasy, and was not quite satisfied of the truth of what he had heard; and when he came to recollect himself, he found that they had only made juvenile complaints and contentions, and that it was an incredible thing, that when his son should have slain him, he should openly go to Rome [to beg the kingdom]; so he was desirous to have some surer mark of his son's wickedness, and was very solicitous about it, that he might not appear to have condemned him to be put in prison too rashly; so he tortured the principal of Alexander's friends, and put not a few of them to death, without getting any of the things out of them which he suspected. And while Herod was very busy about this matter, and the palace was full of terror and trouble, one of the younger sort, when he was in the utmost agony, confessed that Alexander had sent to his friends at Rome, and desired that he might be quickly invited thither by Caesar, and that he could discover a plot against him; that Mithridates, the king of Parthia, was joined in friendship

with his father against the Romans, and that he had a poisonous potion ready prepared at Askelori.

5. To these accusations Herod gave credit, and enjoyed hereby, in his miserable case, some sort of consolation, in excuse of his rashness, as fiattering himself with finding things in so bad a condition; but as for the poisonous potion, which he labored to find, he could find none. As for Alexander, he was very desirous to aggravate the vast misfortunes he was under, so he pretended not to deny the accusations, but punished the rashness of his father with a greater crime of his own; and perhaps he was willing to make his father ashamed of his easy belief of such calumnies: he aimed especially, if he could gain belief to his story, to plague him and his whole kingdom; for he wrote four letters, and sent them to him, that he did not need to torture any more persons, for he had plotted against him; and that he had for his partners Pheroras and the most faithful of his friends; and that Salome came in to him by night, and that she lay with him whether he would or not; and that all men were come to be of one mind, to make away with him as soon as they could, and so get clear of the continual fear they were in from him. Among these were accused Ptolemy and Sapinnius, who were the most faithful friends to the king. And what more can be said, but that those who before were the most intimate friends, were become wild beasts to one another, as if a certain madness had fallen upon them, while there was no room for defense or refutation, in order to the discovery of the truth, but all were at random doomed to destruction; so that some lamented those that were in prison, some those that were put to death, and others lamented that they were in expectation of the same miseries; and a melancholy solitude rendered the kingdom deformed, and quite the reverse to that happy state it was formerly in. Herod's own life also was entirely disturbed; and because he could trust nobody, he was sorely punished by the expectation of further misery; for he often fancied in his imagination that his son had fallen upon him, or stood by him with a sword in his hand; and thus was his mind night and day intent upon this thing, and revolved it over and over, no otherwise than if he were under a distraction. And this was the sad condition Herod was now in.

6. But when Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, heard of the state that Herod was in, and being in great distress about his daughter, and the young man [her husband], and grieving with Herod, as with a man that was his friend, on account of so great a disturbance as he was under, he came [to Jerusalem] on purpose to compose their differences; and when he found Herod in such a temper, he thought it wholly unseasonable to reprove him, or to pretend that he had done any thing rashly, for that he should thereby naturally bring him to dispute the point with him, and by still more and more apologizing for himself to be the

more irritated: he went, therefore, another way to work, in order to correct the former misfortunes, and appeared angry at the young man, and said that Herod had been so very mild a man, that he had not acted a rash part at all. He also said he would dissolve his daughter's marriage with Alexander, nor could in justice spare his own daughter, if she were conscious of any thing, and did not inform Herod of it. When Archelaus appeared to be of this temper, and otherwise than Herod expected or imagined, and, for the main, took Herod's part, and was angry on his account, the king abated of his harshness, and took occasion from his appearing to have acted justly hitherto, to come by degrees to put on the affection of a father, and was on both sides to be pitied; for when some persons refuted the calumnies that were laid on the young man, he was thrown into a passion; but when Archclaus joined in the accusation, he was dissolved into tears and sorrow after an affectionate manner. Accordingly, he desired that he would not dissolve his son's marriage, and became not so angry as before for his offenses. So when Archclaus had brought him to a more moderate temper, he transferred the calumnies upon his friends; and said it must be owing to them that so young a man, and one unacquainted with malice, was corrupted; and he supposed that there was more reason to suspect the brother than the soft. Upon which Herod was very much displeased at Pheroras, who indeed now had no one that could make a reconciliation between him and his brother. So when he saw that Archclaus had the greatest power with Herod, he betook himself to him in the habit of a mourner, and like one that had all the signs upon him of an undone man. Upon this Archclaus did not overlook the intercession he made to him, nor yet did he undertake to change the king's disposition towards him immediately; and he said that it was better for him to come himself to the king, and confess himself the occasion of all; that this would make the king's anger not to be extravagant towards him, and that then he would be present to assist him. When he had persuaded him to this, he gained his point with both of them; and the calumnies raised against the young man were, beyond all expectation, wiped off. And Archclaus, as soon as he had made the reconciliation, went then away to Cappadocia, having proved at this juncture of time the most acceptable person to Herod in the world; on which account he gave him the richest presents, as tokens of his respects to him; and being on other occasions magnanimous, he esteemed him one of his dearest friends. He also made an agreement with him that he would go to Rome, because he had written to Caesar about these affairs; so they went together as far as Antioch, and there Herod made a reconciliation between Archclaus and Titus, the president of Syria, who had been greatly at variance, and so returned back to Judea.

CHAPTER 9. Concerning The Revolt Of The Trachonites; How Sylleus Accused Herod Before Caesar; And How Herod, When Caesar Was Angry At Him, Resolved To Send Nicolaus To Rome.

1. When Herod had been at Rome, and was come back again, a war arose between him and the Arabians, on the occasion following: The inhabitants of Trachonitis, after Caesar had taken the country away from Zenodorus, and added it to Herod, had not now power to rob, but were forced to plough the land, and to live quietly, which was a thing they did not like; and when they did take that pains, the ground did not produce much fruit for them. However, at the first the king would not permit them to rob, and so they abstained from that unjust way of living upon their neighbors, which procured Herod a great reputation for his care. But when he was sailing to Rome, it was at that time when he went to accuse his son Alexander, and to commit Antipater to Caesar's protection, the Trachonites spread a report as if he were dead, and revolted from his dominion, and betook themselves again to their accustomed way of robbing their neighbors; at which time the king's commanders subdued them during his absence; but about forty of the principal robbers, being terrified by those that had been taken, left the country, and retired into Arabia, Sylleus entertaining them, after he had missed of marrying Salome, and gave them a place of strength, in which they dwelt. So they overran not only Judea, but all Celesyria also, and carried off the prey, while Sylleus afforded them places of protection and quietness during their wicked practices. But when Herod came back from Rome, he perceived that his dominions had greatly suffered by them; and since he could not reach the robbers themselves, because of the secure retreat they had in that country, and which the Arabian government afforded them, and yet being very uneasy at the injuries they had done him, he went all over Trachonitis, and slew their relations; whereupon these robbers were more angry than before, it being a law among them to be avenged on the murderers of their relations by all possible means; so they continued to tear and rend every thing under Herod's dominion with impunity. Then did he discourse about these robberies to Saturninus and Volumnius, and required that they should be punished; upon which occasion they still the more confirmed themselves in their robberies, and became more numerous, and made very great disturbances, laying waste the countries and villages that belonged to Herod's kingdom, and killing those men whom they

caught, till these unjust proceedings came to be like a real war, for the robbers were now become about a thousand; — at which Herod was sore displeased, and required the robbers, as well as the money which he had lent Obodas, by Sylleus, which was sixty talents, and since the time of payment was now past, he desired to have it paid him; but Sylleus, who had laid Obodas aside, and managed all by himself, denied that the robbers were in Arabia, and put off the payment of the money; about which there was a hearing before Saturninus and Volumnius, who were then the presidents of Syria. At last he, by their means, agreed, that within thirty days' time Herod should be paid his money, and that each of them should deliver up the other's subjects reciprocally. Now, as to Herod, there was not one of the other's subjects found in his kingdom, either as doing any injustice, or on any other account, but it was proved that the Arabians had the robbers amongst them.

2. When this day appointed for payment of the money was past, without Sylleus's performing any part of his agreement, and he was gone to Rome, Herod demanded the payment of the money, and that the robbers that were in Arabia should be delivered up; and, by the permission of Saturninus and Volumnius, executed the judgment himself upon those that were refractory. He took an army that he had, and let it into Arabia, and in three days' time marched seven mansions; and when he came to the garrison wherein the robbers were, he made an assault upon them, and took them all, and demolished the place, which was called Raepta, but did no harm to any others. But as the Arabians came to their assistance, under Naceb their captain, there ensued a battle, wherein a few of Herod's soldiers, and Naceb, the captain of the Arabians, and about twenty of his soldiers, fell, while the rest betook themselves to flight. So when he had brought these to punishment, he placed three thousand Idumeans in Trachonitis, and thereby restrained the robbers that were there. He also sent an account to the captains that were about Phoenicia, and demonstrated that he had done nothing but what he ought to do, in punishing the refractory Arabians, which, upon an exact inquiry, they found to be no more than what was true.

3. However, messengers were hasted away to Sylleus to Rome, and informed him what had been done, and, as is usual, aggravated every thing. Now Sylleus had already insinuated himself into the knowledge of Caesar, and was then about the palace; and as soon as he heard of these things, he changed his habit into black, and went in, and told Caesar that Arabia was afflicted with war, and that all his kingdom was in great confusion, upon Herod's laying it waste with his army; and he said, with tears in his eyes, that two thousand five hundred of the principal men among the Arabians had been destroyed, and that their captain Nacebus, his familiar friend and kinsman, was slain; and that the riches that were

at Raepta were carried off; and that Obodas was despised, whose infirm state of body rendered him unfit for war; on which account neither he, nor the Arabian army, were present. When Sylleus said so, and added invidiously, that he would not himself have come out of the country, unless he had believed that Caesar would have provided that they should all have peace one with another, and that, had he been there, he would have taken care that the war should not have been to Herod's advantage; Caesar was provoked when this was said, and asked no more than this one question, both of Herod's friends that were there, and of his own friends, who were come from Syria, Whether Herod had led an army thither? And when they were forced to confess so much, Caesar, without staying to hear for what reason he did it, and how it was done, grew very angry, and wrote to Herod sharply. The sum of his epistle was this, that whereas of old he had used him as his friend, he should now use him as his subject. Sylleus also wrote an account of this to the Arabians, who were so elevated with it, that they neither delivered up the robbers that had fled to them, nor paid the money that was due; they retained those pastures also which they had hired, and kept them without paying their rent, and all this because the king of the Jews was now in a low condition, by reason of Caesar's anger at him. Those of Trachonitis also made use of this opportunity, and rose up against the Idumean garrison, and followed the same way of robbing with the Arabians, who had pillaged their country, and were more rigid in their unjust proceedings, not only in order to get by it, but by way of revenge also.

4. Now Herod was forced to bear all this, that confidence of his being quite gone with which Caesar's favor used to inspire him; for Caesar would not admit so much as an embassage from him to 'make an apology for him; and when they came again, he sent them away without success. So he was cast into sadness and fear; and Sylleus's circumstances grieved him exceedingly, who was now believed by Caesar, and was present at Rome, nay, sometimes aspiring higher. Now it came to pass that Obodas was dead; and Aeneas, whose name was afterward changed to Aretas, took the government, for Sylleus endeavored by calumnies to get him turned out of his principality, that he might himself take it; with which design he gave much money to the courtiers, and promised much money to Caesar, who indeed was angry that Aretas had not sent to him first before he took the kingdom; yet did Aeneas send an epistle and presents to Caesar, and a golden crown, of the weight of many talents. Now that epistle accused Sylleus as having been a wicked servant, and having killed Obodas by poison; and that while he was alive, he had governed him as he pleased; and had also debauched the wives of the Arabians; and had borrowed money, in order to obtain the dominion for himself: yet did not Caesar give heed to these

accusations, but sent his ambassadors back, without receiving any of his presents. But in the mean time the affairs of Judea and Arabia became worse and worse, partly because of the anarchy they were under, and partly because, as bad as they were, nobody had power to govern them; for of the two kings, the one was not yet confirmed in his kingdom, and so had not authority sufficient to restrain the evil-doers; and as for Herod, Caesar was immediately angry at him for having avenged himself, and so he was compelled to bear all the injuries that were offered him. At length, when he saw no end of the mischief which surrounded him, he resolved to send ambassadors to Rome again, to see whether his friends had prevailed to mitigate Caesar, and to address themselves to Caesar himself; and the ambassador he sent thither was Nicolans of Damascus.

CHAPTER 10. How Eurycles Falsely Accused Herod's Sons; And How Their Father Bound Them, And Wrote To Caesar About Them. Of Sylleus And How He Was Accused By Nicolaus.

1. The disorders about Herod's family and children about this time grew much worse; for it now appeared certain, nor was it unforeseen beforehand, that fortune threatened the greatest and most insupportable misfortunes possible to his kingdom. Its progress and augmentation at this time arose on the occasion following: One Eurycles, a Lacedemonian, [a person of note there, but a man of a perverse mind, and so cunning in his ways of voluptuousness and flattery, as to indulge both, and yet seem to indulge neither of them,] came in his travels to Herod, and made him presents, but so that he received more presents from him. He also took such proper seasons for insinuating himself into his friendship, that he became one of the most intimate of the king's friends. He had his lodging in Antipater's house; but he had not only access, but free conversation, with Alexander, as pretending to him that he was in great favor with Archclaus, the king of Cappadocia; whence he pretended much respect to Glaphyra, and in an occult manner cultivated a friendship with them all; but always attending to what was said and done, that he might be furnished with calumnies to please them all. In short, he behaved himself so to every body in his conversation, as to appear to be his particular friend, and he made others believe that his being any where was for that person's advantage. So he won upon Alexander, who was but young; and persuaded him that he might open his grievances to him with assurance and with nobody else. So he declared his grief to him, how his father was alienated from him. He related to him also the affairs of his mother, and of Antipater; that he had driven them from their proper dignity, and had the power over every thing himself; that no part of this was tolerable, since his father was already come to hate them; and he added, that he would neither admit them to his table, nor to his conversation. Such were the complaints, as was but natural, of Alexander about the things that troubled him; and these discourses Eurycles carried to Antipater, and told him he did not inform him of this on his own account, but that being overcome by his kindness, the great importance of the thing obliged him to do it; and he warned him to have a care of Alexander, for that what he said was spoken with vehemency, and that, in consequence of what he said, he would certainly kill him with his own hand. Whereupon Antipater,

thinking him to be his friend by this advice, gave him presents upon all occasions, and at length persuaded him to inform Herod of what he had heard. So when he related to the king Alexander's ill temper, as discovered by the words he had heard him speak, he was easily believed by him; and he thereby brought the king to that pass, turning him about by his words, and irritating him, till he increased his hatred to him and made him implacable, which he showed at that very time, for he immediately gave Eurycles a present of fifty talents; who, when he had gotten them, went to Archclaus, king of Cappadocia, and commended Alexander before him, and told him that he had been many ways of advantage to him, in making a reconciliation between him and his father. So he got money from him also, and went away, before his pernicious practices were found out; but when Eurycles was returned to Lacedemon, he did not leave off doing mischief; and so, for his many acts of injustice, he was banished from his own country.

2. But as for the king of the Jews, he was not now in the temper he was in formerly towards Alexander and Aristobulus, when he had been content with the hearing their calumnies when others told him of them; but he was now come to that pass as to hate them himself, and to urge men to speak against them, though they did not do it of themselves. He also observed all that was said, and put questions, and gave ear to every one that would but speak, if they could but say any thing against them, till at length he heard that Euaratus of Cos was a conspirator with Alexander; which thing to Herod was the most agreeable and sweetest news imaginable.

3. But still a greater misfortune came upon the young men; while the calumnies against them were continually increased, and, as a man may say, one would think it was every one's endeavor to lay some grievous thing to their charge, which might appear to be for the king's preservation. There were two guards of Herod's body, who were in great esteem for their strength and tallness, Jucundus and Tyrannus; these men had been cast off by Herod, who was displeased at them; these now used to ride along with Alexander, and for their skill in their exercises were in great esteem with him, and had some gold and other gifts bestowed on them. Now the king having an immediate suspicion of those men, had them tortured, who endured the torture courageously for a long time; but at last confessed that Alexander would have persuaded them to kill Herod, when he was in pursuit of the wild beasts, that it might be said he fell from his horse, and was run through with his own spear, for that he had once such a misfortune formerly. They also showed where there was money hidden in the stable under ground; and these convicted the king's chief hunter, that he had

given the young men the royal hunting spears and weapons to Alexander's dependents, at Alexander's command.

4. After these, the commander of the garrison of Alexandrium was caught and tortured; for he was accused to have promised to receive the young men into his fortress, and to supply them with that money of the king's which was laid up in that fortress, yet did not he acknowledge any thing of it himself; but his son came ill, and said it was so, and delivered up the writing, which, so far as could be guessed, was in Alexander's hand. Its contents were these: "When we have finished, by God's help, all that we have proposed to do, we will come to you; but do your endeavors, as you have promised, to receive us into your fortress." After this writing was produced, Herod had no doubt about the treacherous designs of his sons against him. But Alexander said that Diophantus the scribe had imitated his hand, and that the paper was maliciously drawn up by Antipater; for Diophantus appeared to be very cunning in such practices; and as he was afterward convicted of forging other papers, he was put to death for it.

5. So the king produced those that had been tortured before the multitude at Jericho, in order to have them accuse the young men, which accusers many of the people stoned to death; and when they were going to kill Alexander and Aristobulus likewise, the king would not permit them to do so, but restrained the multitude, by the means of Ptolemy and Pheroras. However, the young men were put under a guard, and kept in custody, that nobody might come at them; and all that they did or said was watched, and the reproach and fear they were in was little or nothing different from those of condemned criminals: and one of them, who was Aristobulus, was so deeply affected, that he brought Salome, who was his aunt, and his mother-in-law, to lament with him for his calamities, and to hate him who had suffered things to come to that pass; when he said to her, "Art thou not in danger of destruction also, while the report goes that thou hadst disclosed beforehand all our affairs to Syllcus, when thou wast in hopes of being married to him?" But she immediately carried these words to her brother. Upon this he was out of patience, and gave command to bind him; and enjoined them both, now they were kept separate one from the other, to write down the ill things they had done against their father, and bring the writings to him, So when this was enjoined them, they wrote this, that they had laid no treacherous designs, nor made any preparations against their father, but that they had intended to fly away; and that by the distress they were in, their lives being now uncertain and tedious to them.

6. About this time there came an ambassador out of Cappadocia from Archelaus, whose name was Melas; he was one of the principal rulers under him. So Herod, being desirous to show Archelaus's ill-will to him, called for

Alexander, as he was in his bonds, and asked him again concerning his fight, whether and how they had resolved to retire Alexander replied, To Archclaus, who had promised to send them away to Rome; but that they had no wicked nor mischievous designs against their father, and that nothing of that nature which their adversaries had charged upon them was true; and that their desire was, that he might have examined Tyrannus and Jucundus more strictly, but that they had been suddenly slain by the means of Antipater, who put his own friends among the multitude [for that purpose].

7. When this was said, Herod commanded that both Alexander and Melas should be carried to Glaphyra, Archelaus's daughter, and that she should be asked, whether she did not know somewhat of Alexander's treacherous designs against Herod? Now as soon as they were come to her, and she saw Alexander in bonds, she beat her head, and in a great consternation gave a deep and moving groan. The young man also fell into tears. This was so miserable a spectacle to those present, that, for a great while, they were not able to say or to do any thing; but at length Ptolemy, who was ordered to bring Alexander, bid him say whether his wife was conscious of his actions. He replied, "How is it possible that she, whom I love better than my own soul, and by whom I have had children, should not know what I do?" Upon which she cried out that she knew of no wicked designs of his; but that yet, if her accusing herself falsely would tend to his preservation, she would confess it all. Alexander replied, "There is no such wickedness as those [who ought the least of all so to do] suspect, which either I have imagined, or thou knowest of, but this only, that we had resolved to retire to Archelaus, and from thence to Rome." Which she also confessed. Upon which Herod, supposing that Archelaus's ill-will to him was fully proved, sent a letter by Olympus and Volumnius; and bid them, as they sailed by, to touch at Eleusa of Cilicia, and give Archelaus the letter. And that when they had ex-postulated with him, that he had a hand in his son's treacherous design against him, they should from thence sail to Rome; and that, in case they found Nicolaus had gained any ground, and that Caesar was no longer displeased at him, he should give him his letters, and the proofs which he had ready to show against the young men. As to Archelaus, he made his defense for himself, that he had promised to receive the young men, because it was both for their own and their father's advantage so to do, lest some too severe procedure should be gone upon in that anger and disorder they were in on occasion of the present suspicions; but that still he had not promised to send them to Caesar; and that he had not promised any thing else to the young men that could show any ill-will to him.

8. When these ambassadors were come to Rome, they had a fit opportunity of delivering their letters to Caesar, because they found him reconciled to Herod;

for the circumstances of Nicolaus's embassage had been as follows: As soon as he was come to Rome, and was about the court, he did not first of all set about what he was come for only, but he thought fit also to accuse Sylleus. Now the Arabians, even before he came to talk with them, were quarrelling one with another; and some of them left Sylleus's party, and joining themselves to Nicolaus, informed him of all the wicked things that had been done; and produced to him evident demonstrations of the slaughter of a great number of Obodas's friends by Sylleus; for when these men left Sylleus, they had carried off with them those letters whereby they could convict him. When Nicolaus saw such an opportunity afforded him, he made use of it, in order to gain his own point afterward, and endeavored immediately to make a reconciliation between Caesar and Herod; for he was fully satisfied, that if he should desire to make a defense for Herod directly, he should not be allowed that liberty; but that if he desired to accuse Sylleus, there would an occasion present itself of speaking on Herod's behalf. So when the cause was ready for a hearing, and the day was appointed, Nicolaus, while Aretas's ambassadors were present, accused Sylleus, and said that he imputed to him the destruction of the king [Obodas], and of many others of the Arabians; that he had borrowed money for no good design; and he proved that he had been guilty of adultery, not only with the Arabian, but Reinan women also. And he added, that above all the rest he had alienated Caesar from Herod, and that all that he had said about the actions of Herod were falsities. When Nicolaus was come to this topic, Caesar stopped him from going on, and desired him only to speak to this affair of Herod, and to show that he had not led an army into Arabia, nor slain two thousand five hundred men there, nor taken prisoners, nor pillaged the country. To which Nicolaus made this answer: "I shall principally demonstrate, that either nothing at all, or but a very little, of those imputations are true, of which thou hast been informed; for had they been true, thou mightest justly have been still more angry at Herod." At this strange assertion Caesar was very attentive; and Nicolaus said that there was a debt due to Herod of five hundred talents, and a bond, wherein it was written, that if the time appointed be lapsed, it should be lawful to make a seizure out of any part of his country. "As for the pretended army," he said, "it was no army, but a party sent out to require the just payment of the money; that this was not sent immediately, nor so soon as the bond allowed, but that Sylleus had frequently come before Saturninus and Volumnius, the presidents of Syria; and that at last he had sworn at Berytus, by thy fortune, that he would certainly pay the money within thirty days, and deliver up the fugitives that were under his dominion. And that when Sylleus had performed nothing of this, Herod came again before the presidents; and upon their permission to make a seizure for his money, he,

with difficulty, went out of his country with a party of soldiers for that purpose. And this is all the war which these men so tragically describe; and this is the affair of the expedition into Arabia. And how can this be called a war, when thy presidents permitted it, the covenants allowed it, and it was not executed till thy name, O Caesar, as well as that of the other gods, had been profaned? And now I must speak in order about the captives. There were robbers that dwelt in Trachonitis; at first their number was no more than forty, but they became more afterwards, and they escaped the punishment Herod would have inflicted on them, by making Arabia their refuge. Sylleus received them, and supported them with food, that they might be mischievous to all mankind, and gave them a country to inhabit, and himself received the gains they made by robbery; yet did he promise that he would deliver up these men, and that by the same oaths and same time that he sware and fixed for payment of his debt: nor can he by any means show that any other persons have at this time been taken out of Arabia besides these, and indeed not all these neither, but only so many as could not conceal themselves. And thus does the calumny of the captives, which hath been so odiously represented, appear to be no better than a fiction and a lie, made on purpose to provoke thy indignation; for I venture to affirm that when the forces of the Arabians came upon us, and one or two of Herod's party fell, he then only defended himself, and there fell Nacebus their general, and in all about twenty-five others, and no more; whence Sylleus, by multiplying every single soldier to a hundred, he reckons the slain to have been two thousand five hundred."

9. This provoked Caesar more than ever. So he turned to Sylleus full of rage, and asked him how many of the Arabians were slain. Hereupon he hesitated, and said he had been imposed upon. The covenants also were read about the money he had borrowed, and the letters of the presidents of Syria, and the complaints of the several cities, so many as had been injured by the robbers. The conclusion was this, that Sylleus was condemned to die, and that Caesar was reconciled to Herod, and owned his repentance for what severe things he had written to him, occasioned by calumny, insomuch that he told Sylleus, that he had compelled him, by his lying account of things, to be guilty of ingratitude against a man that was his friend. At the last all came to this, Sylleus was sent away to answer Herod's suit, and to repay the debt that he owed, and after that to be punished [with death]. But still Caesar was offended with Aretas, that he had taken upon himself the government, without his consent first obtained, for he had determined to bestow Arabia upon Herod; but that the letters he had sent hindered him from so doing; for Olympus and Volumnius, perceiving that Caesar was now become favorable to Herod, thought fit immediately to deliver him the letters they were commanded by Herod to give him concerning his sons.

When Caesar had read them, he thought it would not be proper to add another government to him, now he was old, and in an ill state with relation to his sons, so he admitted Aretas's ambassadors; and after he had just reproved him for his rashness, in not tarrying till he received the kingdom from him, he accepted of his presents, and confirmed him in his government.

CHAPTER 11. How Herod, By Permission From Caesar Accused His Sons Before An Assembly Of Judges At Berytus; And What Tero Suffered For Using A Boundless And Military Liberty Of Speech. Concerning Also The Death Of The Young Men And Their Burial At

Alexandrium.

So Caesar was now reconciled to Herod, and wrote thus to him: That he was grieved for him on account of his sons; and that in case they had been guilty of any profane and insolent crimes against him, it would behoove him to punish them as parricides, for which he gave him power accordingly; but if they had only contrived to fly away, he would have him give them an admonition, and not proceed to extremity with them. He also advised him to get an assembly together, and to appoint some place near Berytus, which is a city belonging to the Romans, and to take the presidents of Syria, and Archelaus king of Cappadocia, and as many more as he thought to be illustrious for their friendship to him, and the dignities they were in, and determine what should be done by their approbation. These were the directions that Caesar gave him. Accordingly Herod, when the letter was brought to him, was immediately very glad of Caesar's reconciliation to him, and very glad also that he had a complete authority given him over his sons. And it strangely came about, that whereas before, in his adversity, though he had indeed showed himself severe, yet had he not been very rash nor hasty in procuring the destruction of his sons; he now, in his prosperity, took advantage of this change for the better, and the freedom he now had, to exercise his hatred against them after an unheard of manner; he therefore sent and called as many as he thought fit to this assembly, excepting Archclaus; for as for him, he either hated him, so that he would not invite him, or he thought he would be an obstacle to his designs.

2. When the presidents, and the rest that belonged to the cities, were come to Berytus, he kept his sons in a certain village belonging to Sidon, called Platana, but near to this city, that if they were called, he might produce them, for he did not think fit to bring them before the assembly: and when there were one hundred and fifty assessors present, Herod came by himself alone, and accused his sons, and that in such a way as if it were not a melancholy accusation, and

not made but out of necessity, and upon the misfortunes he was under; indeed, in such a way as was very indecent for a father to accuse his sons, for he was very vehement and disordered when he came to the demonstration of the crime they were accused of, and gave the greatest signs of passion and barbarity: nor would he suffer the assessors to consider of the weight of the evidence, but asserted them to be true by his own authority, after a manner most indecent in a father against his sons, and read himself what they themselves had written, wherein there was no confession of any plots or contrivances against him, but only how they had contrived to fly away, and containing withal certain reproaches against him, on account of the ill-will he bare them; and when he came to those reproaches, he cried out most of all, and exaggerated what they said, as if they had confessed the design against him, and took his oath that he had rather lose his life than hear such reproachful words. At last he said that he had sufficient authority, both by nature and by Caesar's grant to him, [to do what he thought fit]. He also added an allegation of a law of their country, which enjoined this: That if parents laid their hands on the head of him that was accused, the standers by were obliged to cast stones at him, and thereby to slay him; which though he were ready to do in his own country and kingdom, yet did he wait for their determination; and yet they came thither not so much as judges, to condemn them for such manifest designs against him, whereby he had almost perished by his sons' means, but as persons that had an opportunity of showing their detestation of such practices, and declaring how unworthy a thing it must be in any, even the most remote, to pass over such treacherous designs [without punishment].

3. When the king had said this, and the young men had not been produced to make any defense for themselves, the assessors perceived there was no room for equity and reconciliation, so they confirmed his authority. And in the first place, Saturninus, a person that had been consul, and one of great dignity, pronounced his sentence, but with great moderation and trouble; and said that he condemned Herod's sons, but did not think they should be put to death. He had sons of his own, and to put one's son to death is a greater misfortune than any other that could befall him by their means. After him Saturninus's sons, for he had three sons that followed him, and were his legates, pronounced the same sentence with their father. On the contrary, Volumnius's sentence was to inflict death on such as had been so impiously undutiful to their father; and the greatest part of the rest said the same, insomuch that the conclusion seemed to be, that the young men were condemned to die. Immediately after this Herod came away from thence, and took his sons to Tyre, where Nicolaus met him in his voyage from Rome; of whom he inquired, after he had related to him what had passed at

Berytus, what his sentiments were about his sons, and what his friends at Rome thought of that matter. His answer was, “That what they had determined to do to thee was impious, and that thou oughtest to keep them in prison; and if thou thinkest any thing further necessary, thou mayst indeed so punish them, that thou mayst not appear to indulge thy anger more than to govern thyself by judgment; but if thou inclinest to the milder side, thou mayst absolve them, lest perhaps thy misfortunes be rendered incurable; and this is the opinion of the greatest part of thy friends at Rome also.” Whereupon Herod was silent, and in great thoughtfulness, and bid Nicolaus sail along with him.

4. Now as they came to Cesarea, every body was there talking of Herod’s sons, and the kingdom was in suspense, and the people in great expectation of what would become of them; for a terrible fear seized upon all men, lest the ancient disorders of the family should come to a sad conclusion, and they were in great trouble about their sufferings; nor was it without danger to say any rash thing about this matter, nor even to hear another saying it, but men’s pity was forced to be shut up in themselves, which rendered the excess of their sorrow very irksome, but very silent yet was there an old soldier of Herod’s, whose name was Tero, who had a son of the same age with Alexander, and his friend, who was so very free as openly to speak out what others silently thought about that matter; and was forced to cry out often among the multitude, and said, in the most unguarded manner, that truth was perished, and justice taken away from men, while lies and ill-will prevailed, and brought such a mist before public affairs, that the offenders were not able to see the greatest mischiefs that can befall men. And as he was so bold, he seemed not to have kept himself out of danger, by speaking so freely; but the reasonableness of what he said moved men to regard him as having behaved himself with great manhood, and this at a proper time also, for which reason every one heard what he said with pleasure; and although they first took care of their own safety by keeping silent themselves, yet did they kindly receive the great freedom he took; for the expectation they were in of so great an affliction, put a force upon them to speak of Tero whatsoever they pleased.

5. This man had thrust himself into the king’s presence with the greatest freedom, and desired to speak with him by himself alone, which the king permitted him to do, where he said this: “Since I am not able, O king, to bear up under so great a concern as I am under, I have preferred the use of this bold liberty that I now take, which may be for thy advantage, if thou mind to get any profit by it, before my own safety. Whither is thy understanding gone, and left thy soul empty? Whither is that extraordinary sagacity of thine gone whereby thou hast performed so many and such glorious-actions? Whence comes this

solitude, and desertion of thy friends and relations? Of which I cannot but determine that they are neither thy friends nor relations, while they overlook such horrid wickedness in thy once happy kingdom. Dost not thou perceive what is doing? Wilt thou slay these two young men, born of thy queen, who are accomplished with every virtue in the highest degree, and leave thyself destitute in thy old age, but exposed to one son, who hath very ill managed the hopes thou hast given him,' and to relations, whose death thou hast so often resolved on thyself? Dost not thou take notice, that the very silence of the multitude at once sees the crime, and abhors the fact? The whole army and the officers have commiseration on the poor unhappy youths, and hatred to those that are the actors in this matter." These words the king heard, and for some time with good temper. But what can one say? When Tero plainly touched upon the bad behavior and perfidiousness of his domestics, he was moved at it; but Tero went on further, and by degrees used an unbounded military freedom of speech, nor was he so well disciplined as to accommodate himself to the time. So Herod was greatly disturbed, and seeming to be rather reproached by this speech, than to be hearing what was for his advantage, while he learned thereby that both the soldiers abhorred the thing he was about, and the officers had indignation at it, he gave order that all whom Tero had named, and Tero himself, should be bound and kept in prison.

6. When this was over, one Trypho, who was the king's barber, took the opportunity, and came and told the king, that Tero would often have persuaded him, when he trimmed him with a razor, to cut his throat, for that by this means he should be among the chief of Alexander's friends, and receive great rewards from him. When he had said this, the king gave order that Tero, and his son, and the barber should be tortured, which was done accordingly; but while Tero bore up himself, his son seeing his father already in a sad case, and had no hope of deliverance, and perceiving what would be the consequence of his terrible sufferings, said, that if the king would free him and his father from these torments for what he should say, he would tell the truth. And when the king had given his word to do so, he said that there was an agreement made, that Tero should lay violent hands on the king, because it was easy for him to come when he was alone; and that if, when he had done the thing, he should suffer death for it, as was not unlikely, it would be an act of generosity done in favor of Alexander. This was what Tero's son said, and thereby freed his father from the distress he was in; but uncertain it is whether he had been thus forced to speak what was true, or whether it were a contrivance of his, in order to procure his own and his father's deliverance from their miseries.

7. As for Herod, if he had before any doubt about the slaughter of his sons, there was now no longer any room left in his soul for it; but he had banished away whatsoever might afford him the least suggestion of reasoning better about this matter, so he already made haste to bring his purpose to a conclusion. He also brought out three hundred of the officers that were under an accusation, as also Tero and his son, and the barber that accused them before an assembly, and brought an accusation against them all; whom the multitude stoned with whatsoever came to hand, and thereby slew them. Alexander also and Aristobulus were brought to Sebaste, by their father's command, and there strangled; but their dead bodies were in the night time carried to Alexandraum, where their uncle by the mother's side, and the greatest part of their ancestors, had been deposited.

8. And now perhaps it may not seem unreasonable to some, that such an inveterate hatred might increase so much [on both sides], as to proceed further, and overcome nature; but it may justly deserve consideration, whether it be to be laid to the charge of the young men, that they gave such an occasion to their father's anger, and led him to do what he did, and by going on long in the same way put things past remedy, and brought him to use them so unmercifully; or whether it be to be laid to the father's charge, that he was so hard-hearted, and so very tender in the desire of government, and of other things that would tend to his glory, that tae would take no one into a partnership with him, that so whatsoever he would have done himself might continue immovable; or, indeed, whether fortune have not greater power than all prudent reasonings; whence we are persuaded that human actions are thereby determined beforehand by an inevitable necessity, and we call her Fate, because there is nothing which is not done by her; wherefore I suppose it will be sufficient to compare this notion with that other, which attribute somewhat to ourselves, and renders men not unaccountable for the different conducts of their lives, which notion is no other than the philosophical determination of our ancient law. Accordingly, of the two other causes of this sad event, any body may lay the blame on the young men, who acted by youthful vanity, and pride of their royal birth, that they should bear to hear the calumnies that were raised against their father, while certainly they were not equitable judges of the actions of his life, but ill-natured in suspecting, and intemperate in speaking of it, and on both accounts easily caught by those that observed them, and revealed them to gain favor; yet cannot their father be thought worthy excuse, as to that horrid impiety which he was guilty of about them, while he ventured, without any certain evidence of their treacherous designs against him, and without any proofs that they had made preparations for such attempt, to kill his own sons, who were of very comely bodies, and the

great darlings of other men, and no way deficient in their conduct, whether it were in hunting, or in warlike exercises, or in speaking upon occasional topics of discourse; for in all these they were skillful, and especially Alexander, who was the eldest; for certainly it had been sufficient, even though he had condemned them, to have kept them alive in bonds, or to let them live at a distance from his dominions in banishment, while he was surrounded by the Roman forces, which were a strong security to him, whose help would prevent his suffering any thing by a sudden onset, or by open force; but for him to kill them on the sudden, in order to gratify a passion that governed him, was a demonstration of insufferable impiety. He also was guilty of so great a crime in his older age; nor will the delays that he made, and the length of time in which the thing was done, plead at all for his excuse; for when a man is on a sudden amazed, and in commotion of mind, and then commits a wicked action, although this be a heavy crime, yet is it a thing that frequently happens; but to do it upon deliberation, and after frequent attempts, and as frequent puttings-off, to undertake it at last, and accomplish it, was the action of a murderous mind, and such as was not easily moved from that which is evil. And this temper he showed in what he did afterward, when he did not spare those that seemed to be the best beloved of his friends that were left, wherein, though the justice of the punishment caused those that perished to be the less pitied, yet was the barbarity of the man here equal, in that he did not abstain from their slaughter also. But of those persons we shall have occasion to discourse more hereafter.

BOOK XVII. Containing The Interval Of Fourteen Years. — From The Death Of Alexander And Aristobulus To The Banishment Of Archelaus.

CHAPTER 1. How Antipater Was Hated By All The Nation [Of The Jews] For The Slaughter Of His Brethren; And How, For That Reason He Got Into Peculiar Favor With His Friends At Rome, By Giving Them Many Presents; As He Did Also With Saturninus, The President Of Syria And The Governors Who Were Under Him; And Concerning Herod's Wives And Children.

1. When Antipater had thus taken off his brethren, and had brought his father into the highest degree of impiety, till he was haunted with furies for what he had done, his hopes did not succeed to his mind, as to the rest of his life; for although he was delivered from the fear of his brethren being his rivals as to the government, yet did he find it a very hard thing, and almost impracticable, to come at the kingdom, because the hatred of the nation against him on that account was become very great; and besides this very disagreeable circumstance, the affair of the soldiery grieved him still more, who were alienated from him, from which yet these kings derived all the safety which they had, whenever they found the nation desirous of innovation: and all this danger was drawn upon him by his destruction of his brethren. However, he governed the nation jointly with his father, being indeed no other than a king already; and he was for that very reason trusted, and the more firmly depended on, for the which he ought himself to have been put to death, as appearing to have betrayed his brethren out of his concern for the preservation of Herod, and not rather out of his ill-will to them, and, before them, to his father himself: and this was the accursed state he was in. Now all Antipater's contrivances tended to make his way to take off Herod, that he might have nobody to accuse him in the vile practices he was devising: and that Herod might have no refuge, nor any to afford him their assistance, since they must thereby have Antipater for their open enemy; insomuch that the very plots he had laid against his brethren were occasioned by the hatred he bore his father. But at this time he was more than ever set upon the execution of his attempts against Herod, because if he were once dead, the government would now be firmly secured to him; but if he were suffered to live any longer, he should be in danger, upon a discovery of that wickedness of which he had been

the contriver, and his father would of necessity then become his enemy. And on this account it was that he became very bountiful to his father's friends, and bestowed great sums on several of them, in order to surprise men with his good deeds, and take off their hatred against him. And he sent great presents to his friends at Rome particularly, to gain their good-will; and above all to Saturninus, the president of Syria. He also hoped to gain the favor of Saturninus's brother with the large presents he bestowed on him; as also he used the same art to [Salome] the king's sister, who had married one of Herod's chief friends. And when he counterfeited friendship to those with whom he conversed, he was very subtle in gaining their belief, and very cunning to hide his hatred against any that he really did hate. But he could not impose upon his aunt, who understood him of a long time, and was a woman not easily to be deluded, especially while she had already used all possible caution in preventing his pernicious designs. Although Antipeter's uncle by the mother's side was married to her daughter, and this by his own connivance and management, while she had before been married to Aristobulus, and while Salome's other daughter by that husband was married to the son of Calleas; yet that marriage was no obstacle to her, who knew how wicked he was, in her discovering his designs, as her former kindred to him could not prevent her hatred of him. Now Herod had compelled Salome, while she was in love with Sylleus the Arabian, and had taken a fondness for him, to marry Alexas; which match was by her submitted to at the instance of Julia, who persuaded Salome not to refuse it, lest she should herself be their open enemy, since Herod had sworn that he would never be friends with Salome, if she would not accept of Alexas for her husband; so she submitted to Julia as being Caesar's wife; and besides that, she advised her to nothing but what was very much for her own advantage. At this time also it was that Herod sent back king Archelaus's daughter, who had been Alexander's wife, to her father, returning the portion he had with her out of his own estate, that there might be no dispute between them about it.

2. Now Herod brought up his sons' children with great care; for Alexander had two sons by Glaphyra; and Aristobulus had three sons by Bernice, Salome's daughter, and two daughters; and as his friends were once with him, he presented the children before them; and deploring the hard fortune of his own sons, he prayed that no such ill fortune would befall these who were their children, but that they might improve in virtue, and obtain what they justly deserved, and might make him amends for his care of their education. He also caused them to be betrothed against they should come to the proper age of marriage; the elder of Alexander's sons to Pheroras's daughter, and Antipater's daughter to Aristobulus's eldest son. He also allotted one of Aristobulus's

daughters to Antipater's son, and Aristobulus's other daughter to Herod, a son of his own, who was born to him by the high priest's daughter; for it is the ancient practice among us to have many wives at the same time. Now the king made these espousals for the children, out of commiseration of them now they were fatherless, as endeavoring to render Antipater kind to them by these intermarriages. But Antipater did not fail to bear the same temper of mind to his brothers' children which he had borne to his brothers themselves; and his father's concern about them provoked his indignation against them upon this supposal, that they would become greater than ever his brothers had been; while Archclaus, a king, would support his daughter's sons, and Pheroras, a tetrarch, would accept of one of the daughters as a wife to his son. What provoked him also was this, that all the multitude would so commiserate these fatherless children, and so hate him [for making them fatherless], that all would come out, since they were no strangers to his vile disposition towards his brethren. He contrived, therefore, to overturn his father's settlements, as thinking it a terrible thing that they should be so related to him, and be so powerful withal. So Herod yielded to him, and changed his resolution at his entreaty; and the determination now was, that Antipater himself should marry Aristobulus's daughter, and Antipater's son should marry Pheroras's daughter. So the espousals for the marriages were changed after this manner, even without the king's real approbation.

3. Now Herod the king had at this time nine wives; one of them Antipater's mother, and another the high priest's daughter, by whom he had a son of his own name. He had also one who was his brother's daughter, and another his sister's daughter; which two had no children. One of his wives also was of the Samaritan nation, whose sons were Antipas and Archelaus, and whose daughter was Olympias; which daughter was afterward married to Joseph, the king's brother's son; but Archelaus and Antipas were brought up with a certain private man at Rome. Herod had also to wife Cleopatra of Jerusalem, and by her he had his sons Herod and Philip; which last was also brought up at Rome. Pallas also was one of his wives, which bare him his son Phasaelus. And besides these, he had for his wives Phedra and Elpis, by whom he had his daughters Roxana and Salome. As for his elder daughters by the same mother with Alexander and Aristobulus, and whom Pheroras neglected to marry, he gave the one in marriage to Antipater, the king's sister's son, and the other to Phasaelus, his brother's son. And this was the posterity of Herod.

CHAPTER 2. Concerning Zamaris, The Babylonian Jew; Concerning The Plots Laid By Antipater Against His Father; And Somewhat About The Pharisees.

1. And now it was that Herod, being desirous of securing himself on the side of the Trachonites, resolved to build a village as large as a city for the Jews, in the middle of that country, which might make his own country difficult to be assaulted, and whence he might be at hand to make sallies upon them, and do them a mischief. Accordingly, when he understood that there was a man that was a Jew come out of Babylon, with five hundred horsemen, all of whom could shoot their arrows as they rode on horde-back, and, with a hundred of his relations, had passed over Euphrates, and now abode at Antioch by Daphne of Syria, where Saturninus, who was then president, had given them a place for habitation, called Valatha, he sent for this man, with the multitude that followed him, and promised to give him land in the toparchy called Batanea, which country is bounded with Trachonitis, as desirous to make that his habitation a guard to himself. He also engaged to let him hold the country free from tribute, and that they should dwell entirely without paying such customs as used to be paid, and gave it him tax-free.

2. The Babylonian was reduced by these offers to come hither; so he took possession of the land, and built in it fortresses and a village, and named it Bathyra. Whereby this man became a safeguard to the inhabitants against the Trachonites, and preserved those Jews who came out of Babylon, to offer their sacrifices at Jerusalem, from being hurt by the Trachonite robbers; so that a great number came to him from all those parts where the ancient Jewish laws were observed, and the country became full of people, by reason of their universal freedom from taxes. This continued during the life of Herod; but when Philip, who was [tetrarch] after him, took the government, he made them pay some small taxes, and that for a little while only; and Agrippa the Great, and his son of the same name, although they harassed them greatly, yet would they not take their liberty away. From whom, when the Romans have now taken the government into their own hands, they still gave them the privilege of their freedom, but oppress them entirely with the imposition of taxes. Of which matter I shall treat more accurately in the progress of this history.

3. At length Zamaris the Babylonian, to whom Herod had given that country for a possession, died, having lived virtuously, and left children of a good character behind him; one of whom was Jacim, who was famous for his valor,

and taught his Babylonians how to ride their horses; and a troop of them were guards to the forementioned kings. And when Jacim was dead in his old age, he left a son, whose name was Philip, one of great strength in his hands, and in other respects also more eminent for his valor than any of his contemporaries; on which account there was a confidence and firm friendship between him and king Agrippa. He had also an army which he maintained as great as that of a king, which he exercised and led wheresoever he had occasion to march.

4. When the affairs of Herod were in the condition I have described, all the public affairs depended upon Antipater; and his power was such, that he could do good turns to as many as he pleased, and this by his father's concession, in hopes of his good-will and fidelity to him; and this till he ventured to use his power still further, because his wicked designs were concealed from his father, and he made him believe every thing he said. He was also formidable to all, not so much on account of the power and authority he had, as for the shrewdness of his vile attempts beforehand; but he who principally cultivated a friendship with him was Pheroras, who received the like marks of his friendship; while Antipater had cunningly encompassed him about by a company of women, whom he placed as guards about him; for Pheroras was greatly enslaved to his wife, and to her mother, and to her sister; and this notwithstanding the hatred he bare them for the indignities they had offered to his virgin daughters. Yet did he bear them, and nothing was to be done without the women, who had got this man into their circle, and continued still to assist each other in all things, insomuch that Antipater was entirely addicted to them, both by himself and by his mother; for these four women, said all one and the same thing; but the opinions of Pheroras and Antipater were different in some points of no consequence. But the king's sister [Salome] was their antagonist, who for a good while had looked about all their affairs, and was apprized that this their friendship was made in order to do Herod some mischief, and was disposed to inform the king of it. And since these people knew that their friendship was very disagreeable to Herod, as tending to do him a mischief, they contrived that their meetings should not be discovered; so they pretended to hate one another, and to abuse one another when time served, and especially when Herod was present, or when any one was there that would tell him: but still their intimacy was firmer than ever, when they were private. And this was the course they took. But they could not conceal from Salome neither their first contrivance, when they set about these their intentions, nor when they had made some progress in them; but she searched out every thing; and, aggravating the relations to her brother, declared to him, as well their secret assemblies and compotations, as their counsels taken in a clandestine manner, which if they were not in order to destroy him, they might well enough

have been open and public. But to appearance they are at variance, and speak about one another as if they intended one another a mischief, but agree so well together when they are out of the sight of the multitude; for when they are alone by themselves, they act in concert, and profess that they will never leave off their friendship, but will fight against those from whom they conceal their designs. And thus did she search out these things, and get a perfect knowledge of them, and then told her brother of them, who understood also of himself a great deal of what she said, but still durst not depend upon it, because of the suspicions he had of his sister's calumnies. For there was a certain sect of men that were Jews, who valued themselves highly upon the exact skill they had in the law of their fathers, and made men believe they were highly favored by God, by whom this set of women were inveigled. These are those that are called the sect of the Pharisees, who were in a capacity of greatly opposing kings. A cunning sect they were, and soon elevated to a pitch of open fighting and doing mischief. Accordingly, when all the people of the Jews gave assurance of their good-will to Caesar, and to the king's government, these very men did not swear, being above six thousand; and when the king imposed a fine upon them, Pheroras's wife paid their fine for them. In order to requite which kindness of hers, since they were believed to have the foreknowledge of things to come by Divine inspiration, they foretold how God had decreed that Herod's government should cease, and his posterity should be deprived of it; but that the kingdom should come to her and Pheroras, and to their children. These predictions were not concealed from Salome, but were told the king; as also how they had perverted some persons about the palace itself; so the king slew such of the Pharisees as were principally accused, and Bagoas the eunuch, and one Carus, who exceeded all men of that time in comeliness, and one that was his catamite. He slew also all those of his own family who had consented to what the Pharisees foretold; and for Bagoas, he had been puffed up by them, as though he should be named the father and the benefactor of him who, by the prediction, was foretold to be their appointed king; for that this king would have all things in his power, and would enable Bagoas to marry, and to have children of his own body begotten.

CHAPTER 3. Concerning The Enmity Between Herod And Pheroras; How Herod Sent Antipater To Caesar; And Of The Death Of Pheroras.

1. When Herod had punished those Pharisees who had been convicted of the foregoing crimes, he gathered an assembly together of his friends, and accused Pheroras's wife; and ascribing the abuses of the virgins to the impudence of that woman, brought an accusation against her for the dishonor she had brought upon them: that she had studiously introduced a quarrel between him and his brother, and, by her ill temper, had brought them into a state of war, both by her words and actions; that the fines which he had laid had not been paid, and the offenders had escaped punishment by her means; and that nothing which had of late been done had been done without her; "for which reason Pheroras would do well, if he would of his own accord, and by his own command, and not at my entreaty, or as following my opinion, put this his wife away, as one that will still be the occasion of war between thee and me. And now, Pheroras, if thou valuest thy relation to me, put this wife of thine away; for by this means thou wilt continue to be a brother to me, and wilt abide in thy love to me." Then said Pheroras, [although he was pressed hard by the former words,] that as he would not do so unjust a thing as to renounce his brotherly relation to him, so would he not leave off his affection for his wife; that he would rather choose to die than to live, and be deprived of a wife that was so dear unto him. Hereupon Herod put off his anger against Pheroras on these accounts, although he himself thereby underwent a very uneasy punishment. However, he forbade Antipater and his mother to have any conversation with Pheroras, and bid them to take care to avoid the assemblies of the women; which they promised to do, but still got together when occasion served, and both Ptieroras and Antipater had their own merry meetings. The report went also, that Antipater had criminal conversation with Pheroras's wife, and that they were brought together by Antipater's mother.

2. But Antipater had now a suspicion of his father, and was afraid that the effects of his hatred to him might increase; so he wrote to his friends at Rome, and bid them to send to Herod, that he would immediately send Antipater to Caesar; which when it was done, Herod sent Antipater thither, and sent most noble presents along with him; as also his testament, wherein Antipater was appointed to be his successor; and that if Antipater should die first, his son [Herod Philip] by the high priest's daughter should succeed. And, together with Antipater, there went to Rome Sylleus the Arabian, although he had done

nothing of all that Caesar had enjoined him. Antipater also accused him of the same crimes of which he had been formerly accused by Herod. Sylleus was also accused by Aretas, that without his consent he had slain many of the chief of the Arabians at Petra; and particularly Soemus, a man that deserved to be honored by all men; and that he had slain Fabatus, a servant of Caesar. These were the things of which Sylleus was accused, and that on the occasion following: There was one Corinthus, belonging to Herod, of the guards of the king's body, and one who was greatly trusted by him. Sylleus had persuaded this man with the offer of a great sum of money to kill Herod; and he had promised to do it. When Fabatus had been made acquainted with this, for Sylleus had himself told him of it, he informed the king of it; who caught Corinthus, and put him to the torture, and thereby got out of him the whole conspiracy. He also caught two other Arabians, who were discovered by Corinthus; the one the head of a tribe, and the other a friend to Sylleus, who both were by the king brought to the torture, and confessed that they were come to encourage Corinthus not to fail of doing what he had undertaken to do; and to assist him with their own hands in the murder, if need should require their assistance. So Saturninns, upon Herod's discovering the whole to him, sent them to Rome.

3. At this time Herod commanded Pheroras, that since he was so obstinate in his affection for his wife, he should retire into his own tetrarchy; which he did very willingly, and sware many oaths that he would not come again till he heard that Herod was dead. And indeed when, upon a sickness of the king, he was desired to come to him before he died, that he might intrust him with some of his injunctions, he had such a regard to his oath, that he would not come to him; yet did not Herod so retain his hatred to Pheroras, but remitted of his purpose [not to see him], which he before had, and that for such great causes as have been already mentioned: but as soon as he began to be ill, he came to him, and this without being sent for; and when he was dead, he took care of his funeral, and had his body brought to Jerusalem, and buried there, and appointed a solemn mourning for him. This [death of Pheroras] became the origin of Antipater's misfortunes, although he were already sailed for Rome, God now being about to punish him for the murder of his brethren, I will explain the history of this matter very distinctly, that it may be for a warning to mankind, that they take care of conducting their whole lives by the rules of virtue.

CHAPTER 4. Pheroras's Wife Is Accused By His Freedmen, As Guilty Of Poisoning Him; And How Herod, Upon Examining; Of The Matter By Torture Found The Poison; But So That It Had Been Prepared For Himself By His Son Antipater; And Upon An Inquiry By Torture He Discovered The Dangerous Designs Of Antipater.

1. As soon as Pheroras was dead, and his funeral was over, two of Pheroras's freed-men, who were much esteemed by him, came to Herod, and entreated him not to leave the murder of his brother without avenging it, but to examine into such an unreasonable and unhappy death. When he was moved with these words, for they seemed to him to be true, they said that Pheroras supped with his wife the day before he fell sick, and that a certain potion was brought him in such a sort of food as he was not used to eat; but that when he had eaten, he died of it: that this potion was brought out of Arabia by a woman, under pretense indeed as a love-potion, for that was its name, but in reality to kill Pheroras; for that the Arabian women are skillful in making such poisons: and the woman to whom they ascribe this was confessedly a most intimate friend of one of Sylleus's mistresses; and that both the mother and the sister of Pheroras's wife had been at the places where she lived, and had persuaded her to sell them this potion, and had come back and brought it with them the day before that his supper. Hereupon the king was provoked, and put the women slaves to the torture, and some that were free with them; and as the fact did not yet appear, because none of them would confess it, at length one of them, under the utmost agonies, said no more but this, that she prayed that God would send the like agonies upon Antipater's mother, who had been the occasion of these miseries to all of them. This prayer induced Herod to increase the women's tortures, till thereby all was discovered; their merry meetings, their secret assemblies, and the disclosing of what he had said to his son alone unto Pheroras's women. [Now what Herod had charged Antipater to conceal, was the gift of a hundred talents to him not to have any conversation with Pheroras.] And what hatred he bore to his father; and that he complained to his mother how very long his father lived; and that he was himself almost an old man, insomuch that if the kingdom should come to him, it would not afford him any great pleasure; and that there were a great many of his

brothers, or brothers' children, bringing up, that might have hopes of the kingdom as well as himself, all which made his own hopes of it uncertain; for that even now, if he should himself not live, Herod had ordained that the government should be conferred, not on his son, but rather on a brother. He also had accused the king of great barbarity, and of the slaughter of his sons; and that it was out of the fear he was under, lest he should do the like to him, that made him contrive this his journey to Rome, and Pheroras contrive to go to his own tetrarchy.

2. These confessions agreed with what his sister had told him, and tended greatly to corroborate her testimony, and to free her from the suspicion of her unfaithfulness to him. So the king having satisfied himself of the spite which Doris, Antipater's mother, as well as himself, bore to him, took away from her all her fine ornaments, which were worth many talents, and then sent her away, and entered into friendship with Pheroras's women. But he who most of all irritated the king against his son was one Antipater, the procurator of Antipater the king's son, who, when he was tortured, among other things, said that Antipater had prepared a deadly potion, and given it to Pheroras, with his desire that he would give it to his father during his absence, and when he was too remote to have the least suspicion cast upon him thereto relating; that Antiphilus, one of Antipater's friends, brought that potion out of Egypt; and that it was sent to Pheroras by Thendion, the brother of the mother of Antipater, the king's son, and by that means came to Pheroras's wife, her husband having given it her to keep. And when the king asked her about it, she confessed it; and as she was running to fetch it, she threw herself down from the house-top; yet did she not kill herself, because she fell upon her feet; by which means, when the king had comforted her, and had promised her and her domestics pardon, upon condition of their concealing nothing of the truth from him, but had threatened her with the utmost miseries if she proved ungrateful [and concealed any thing]: so she promised, and swore that she would speak out every thing, and tell after what manner every thing was done; and said what many took to be entirely true, that the potion was brought out of Egypt by Antiphilus; and that his brother, who was a physician, had procured it; and that "when Thendion brought it us, she kept it upon Pheroras's committing it to her; and that it was prepared by Antipater for thee. When, therefore, Pheroras was fallen sick, and thou camest to him and tookest care of him, and when he saw the kindness thou hadst for him, his mind was overborne thereby. So he called me to him, and said to me, 'O woman! Antipater hath circumvented me in this affair of his father and my brother, by persuading me to have a murderous intention to him, and procuring a potion to be subservient thereto; do thou, therefore, go and fetch my potion, [since my

brother appears to have still the same virtuous disposition towards me which he had formerly, and I do not expect to live long myself, and that I may not defile my forefathers by the murder of a brother,] and burn it before my face:' that accordingly she immediately brought it, and did as her husband bade her; and that she burnt the greatest part of the potion; but that a little of it was left, that if the king, after Pheroras's death, should treat her ill, she might poison herself, and thereby get clear of her miseries." Upon her saying thus, she brought out the potion, and the box in which it was, before them all. Nay, there was another brother of Antiphilus, and his mother also, who, by the extremity of pain and torture, confessed the same things, and owned the box [to be that which had been brought out of Egypt]. The high priest's daughter also, who was the king's wife, was accused to have been conscious of all this, and had resolved to conceal it; for which reason Herod divorced her, and blotted her son out of his testament, wherein he had been mentioned as one that was to reign after him; and he took the high priesthood away from his father-in-law, Simeon the son of Boethus, and appointed Matthias the son of Theophilus, who was born at Jerusalem, to be high priest in his room.

3. While this was doing, Bathyllus also, Antipater's freed-man, came from Rome, and, upon the torture, was found to have brought another potion, to give it into the hands of Antipater's mother, and of Pheroras, that if the former potion did not operate upon the king, this at least might carry him off. There came also letters from Herod's friends at Rome, by the approbation and at the suggestion of Antipater, to accuse Archelaus and Philip, as if they calumniated their father on account of the slaughter of Alexander and Aristobulus, and as if they commiserated their deaths, and as if, because they were sent for home, [for their father had already recalled them,] they concluded they were themselves also to be destroyed. These letters had been procured by great rewards by Antipater's friends; but Antipater himself wrote to his father about them, and laid the heaviest things to their charge; yet did he entirely excuse them of any guilt, and said they were but young men, and so imputed their words to their youth. But he said that he had himself been very busy in the affair relating to Sylleus, and in getting interest among the great men; and on that account had bought splendid ornaments to present them withal, which cost him two hundred talents. Now one may wonder how it came about, that while so many accusations were laid against him in Judea during seven months before this time, he was not made acquainted with any of them. The causes of which were, that the roads were exactly guarded, and that men hated Antipater; for there was nobody who would run any hazard himself to gain him any advantages.

CHAPTER 5. Antipater's Navigation From Rome To His Father; And How He Was Accused By Nicolaus Of Damascus And Condemned To Die By His Father, And By Quintilius Varus, Who Was Then President Of Syria; And How He Was Then Bound Till Caesar Should Be Informed Of His Cause.

1. Now Herod, upon Antipater's writing to him, that having done all that he was to do, and this in the manner he was to do it, he would suddenly come to him, concealed his anger against him, and wrote back to him, and bid him not delay his journey, lest any harm should befall himself in his absence. At the same time also he made some little complaint about his mother, but promised that he would lay those complaints aside when he should return. He withal expressed his entire affection for him, as fearing lest he should have some suspicion of him, and defer his journey to him; and lest, while he lived at Rome, he should lay plots for the kingdom, and, moreover, do somewhat against himself. This letter Antipater met with in Cilicia; but had received an account of Pheroras's death before at Tarentum. This last news affected him deeply; not out of any affection for Pheroras, but because he was dead without having murdered his father, which he had promised him to do. And when he was at Celenderis in Cilicia, he began to deliberate with himself about his sailing home, as being much grieved with the ejection of his mother. Now some of his friends advised him that he should tarry a while some where, in expectation of further information. But others advised him to sail home without delay; for that if he were once come thither, he would soon put an end to all accusations, and that nothing afforded any weight to his accusers at present but his absence. He was persuaded by these last, and sailed on, and landed at the haven called Sebastus, which Herod had built at vast expenses in honor of Caesar, and called Sebastus. And now was Antipater evidently in a miserable condition, while nobody came to him nor saluted him, as they did at his going away, with good wishes of joyful acclamations; nor was there now any thing to hinder them from entertaining him, on the contrary, with bitter curses, while they supposed he was come to receive his punishment for the murder of his brethren.

2. Now Quintilius Varus was at this time at Jerusalem, being sent to succeed Saturninus as president of Syria, and was come as an assessor to Herod, who had

desired his advice in his present affairs; and as they were sitting together, Antipater came upon them, without knowing any thing of the matter; so he came into the palace clothed in purple. The porters indeed received him in, but excluded his friends. And now he was in great disorder, and presently understood the condition he was in, while, upon his going to salute his father, he was repulsed by him, who called him a murderer of his brethren, and a plotter of destruction against himself, and told him that Varus should be his auditor and his judge the very next day; so he found that what misfortunes he now heard of were already upon him, with the greatness of which he went away in confusion; upon which his mother and his wife met him, [which wife was the daughter of Antigonus, who was king of the Jews before Herod,] from whom he learned all circumstances which concerned him, and then prepared himself for his trial.

3. On the next day Varus and the king sat together in judgment, and both their friends were also called in, as also the king's relations, with his sister Salome, and as many as could discover any thing, and such as had been tortured; and besides these, some slaves of Antipater's mother, who were taken up a little before Antipater's coming, and brought with them a written letter, the sum of which was this: That he should not come back, because all was come to his father's knowledge; and that Caesar was the only refuge he had left to prevent both his and her delivery into his father's hands. Then did Antipater fall down at his father's feet, and besought him not to prejudge his cause, but that he might be first heard by his father, and that his father would keep himself unprejudiced. So Herod ordered him to be brought into the midst, and then lamented himself about his children, from whom he had suffered such great misfortunes; and because Antipater fell upon him in his old age. He also reckoned up what maintenance and what education he had given them; and what seasonable supplies of wealth he had afforded them, according to their own desires; none of which favors had hindered them from contriving against him, and from bringing his very life into danger, in order to gain his kingdom, after an impious manner, by taking away his life before the course of nature, their father's wishes, or justice required that that kingdom should come to them; and that he wondered what hopes could elevate Antipater to such a pass as to be hardy enough to attempt such things; that he had by his testament in writing declared him his successor in the government; and while he was alive, he was in no respect inferior to him, either in his illustrious dignity, or in power and authority, he having no less than fifty talents for his yearly income, and had received for his journey to Rome no fewer than thirty talents. He also objected to him the case of his brethren whom he had accused; and if they were guilty, he had imitated their example; and if not, he had brought him groundless accusations against his near

relations; for that he had been acquainted with all those things by him, and by nobody else, and had done what was done by his approbation, and whom he now absolved from all that was criminal, by becoming the inheritor of the guilt of such their parricide.

4. When Herod had thus spoken, he fell a weeping, and was not able to say any more; but at his desire Nicolaus of Damascus, being the king's friend, and always conversant with him, and acquainted with whatsoever he did, and with the circumstances of his affairs, proceeded to what remained, and explained all that concerned the demonstrations and evidences of the facts. Upon which Antipater, in order to make his legal defense, turned himself to his father, and enlarged upon the many indications he had given of his good-will to him; and instanced in the honors that had been done him, which yet had not been done, had he not deserved them by his virtuous concern about him; for that he had made provision for every thing that was fit to be foreseen beforehand, as to giving him his wisest advice; and whenever there was occasion for the labor of his own hands, he had not grudged any such pains for him. And that it was almost impossible that he, who had delivered his father from so many treacherous contrivances laid against him, should be himself in a plot against him, and so lose all the reputation he had gained for his virtue, by his wickedness which succeeded it; and this while he had nothing to prohibit him, who was already appointed his successor, to enjoy the royal honor with his father also at present; and that there was no likelihood that a person who had the one half of that authority without any danger, and with a good character, should hunt after the whole with infamy and danger, and this when it was doubtful whether he could obtain it or not; and when he saw the sad example of his brethren before him, and was both the informer and the accuser against them, at a time when they might not otherwise have been discovered; nay, was the author of the punishment inflicted upon them, when it appeared evidently that they were guilty of a wicked attempt against their father; and that even the contentions there were in the king's family were indications that he had ever managed affairs out of the sincerest affection to his father. And as to what he had done at Rome, Caesar was a witness thereto, who yet was no more to be imposed upon than God himself; of whose opinions his letters sent hither are sufficient evidence; and that it was not reasonable to prefer the calumnies of such as proposed to raise disturbances before those letters; the greatest part of which calumnies had been raised during his absence, which gave scope to his enemies to forge them, which they had not been able to do if he had been there. Moreover he showed the weakness of the evidence obtained by torture, which was commonly false, because the distress men are in under such tortures naturally

obliges them to say many things in order to please those that govern them. He also offered himself to the torture.

5. Hereupon there was a change observed in the assembly, while they greatly pitied Antipater, who by weeping and putting on a countenance suitable to his sad case made them commiserate the same, insomuch that his very enemies were moved to compassion; and it appeared plainly that Herod himself was affected in his own mind, although he was not willing it should be taken notice of. Then did Nicolaus begin to prosecute what the king had begun, and that with great bitterness; and summed up all the evidence which arose from the tortures, or from the testimonies. He principally and largely cried up the king's virtues, which he had exhibited in the maintenance and education of his sons; while he never could gain any advantage thereby, but still fell from one misfortune to another. Although he owned that he was not so much surprised with that thoughtless behavior of his former sons, who were but young, and were besides corrupted by wicked counselors, who were the occasion of their wiping out of their minds the righteous dictates of nature, and this out of a desire of coming to the government sooner than they ought to do; yet that he could not but justly stand amazed at the horrid wickedness of Antipater, who, although he had not only had great benefits bestowed on him by his father, enough to tame his reason, yet could not be more tamed than the most envenomed serpents; whereas even those creatures admit of some mitigation, and will not bite their benefactors, while Antipater hath not let the misfortunes of his brethren be any hinderance to him, but he hath gone on to imitate their barbarity notwithstanding. "Yet wast thou, O Antipater! [as thou hast thyself confessed,] the informer as to what wicked actions they had done, and the searcher out of the evidence against them, and the author of the punishment they underwent upon their detection. Nor do we say this as accusing thee for being so zealous in thy anger against them, but are astonished at thy endeavors to imitate their profligate behavior; and we discover thereby that thou didst not act thus for the safety of thy father, but for the destruction of thy brethren, that by such outside hatred of their impiety thou mightest be believed a lover of thy father, and mightest thereby get thee power enough to do mischief with the greatest impunity; which design thy actions indeed demonstrate. It is true, thou tookest thy brethren off, because thou didst convict theft of their wicked designs; but thou didst not yield up to justice those who were their partners; and thereby didst make it evident to all men that thou madest a covenant with them against thy father, when thou chosest to be the accuser of thy brethren, as desirous to gain to thyself alone this advantage of laying plots to kill thy father, and so to enjoy double pleasure, which is truly worthy of thy evil disposition, which thou has openly showed

against thy brethren; on which account thou didst rejoice, as having done a most famous exploit, nor was that behavior unworthy of thee. But if thy intention were otherwise, thou art worse than they: while thou didst contrive to hide thy treachery against thy father, thou didst hate them, not as plotters against thy father, for in that case thou hadst not thyself fallen upon the like crime, but as successors of his dominions, and more worthy of that succession than thyself. Thou wouldst kill thy father after thy brethren, lest thy lies raised against them might be detected; and lest thou shouldst suffer what punishment thou hadst deserved, thou hadst a mind to exact that punishment of thy unhappy father, and didst devise such a sort of uncommon parricide as the world never yet saw. For thou who art his son didst not only lay a treacherous design against thy father, and didst it while he loved thee, and had been thy benefactor, had made thee in reality his partner in the kingdom, and had openly declared thee his successor, while thou wast not forbidden to taste the sweetness of authority already, and hadst the firm hope of what was future by thy father's determination, and the security of a written testament; but, for certain, thou didst not measure these things according to thy father's various disposition, but according to thy own thoughts and inclinations; and was desirous to take the part that remained away from thy too indulgent father, and soughtest to destroy him with thy deeds, whom thou in words pretendedst to preserve. Nor wast thou content to be wicked thyself, but thou filledst thy mother's head with thy devices, and raised disturbances among thy brethren, and hadst the boldness to call thy father a wild beast; while thou hadst thyself a mind more cruel than any serpent, whence thou sentest out that poison among thy nearest kindred and greatest benefactors, and invitedst them to assist thee and guard thee, and didst hedge thyself in on all sides, by the artifices of both men and women, against an old man, as though that mind of thine was not sufficient of itself to support so great a hatred as thou baredst to him. And here thou appearest, after the tortures of free-men, of domestics, of men and women, which have been examined on thy account, and after the informations of thy fellow conspirators, as making haste to contradict the truth; and hast thought on ways not only how to take thy father out of the world, but to disannul that written law which is against thee, and the virtue of Varus, and the nature of justice; nay, such is that impudence of thine on which thou confidest, that thou desirest to be put to the torture thyself, while thou allegest that the tortures of those already examined thereby have made them tell lies; that those that have been the deliverers of thy father may not be allowed to have spoken the truth; but that thy tortures may be esteemed the discoverers of truth. Wilt not thou, O Varus! deliver the king from the injuries of his kindred? Wilt not thou destroy this wicked wild beast, which hath pretended kindness to

his father, in order to destroy his brethren; while yet he is himself alone ready to carry off the kingdom immediately, and appears to be the most bloody butcher to him of them all? for thou art sensible that parricide is a general injury both to nature and to common life, and that the intention of parricide is not inferior to its perpetration; and he who does not punish it is injurious to nature itself."

6. Nicolaus added further what belonged to Antipater's mother, and whatsoever she had prattled like a woman; as also about the predictions and the sacrifices relating to the king; and whatsoever Antipater had done lasciviously in his cups and his amours among Pheroras's women; the examination upon torture; and whatsoever concerned the testimonies of the witnesses, which were many, and of various kinds; some prepared beforehand, and others were sudden answers, which further declared and confirmed the foregoing evidence. For those men who were not acquainted with Antipater's practices, but had concealed them out of fear, when they saw that he was exposed to the accusations of the former witnesses, and that his great good fortune, which had supported him hitherto, had now evidently betrayed him into the hands of his enemies, who were now insatiable in their hatred to him, told all they knew of him. And his ruin was now hastened, not so much by the enmity of those that were his accusers, as by his gross, and impudent, and wicked contrivances, and by his ill-will to his father and his brethren; while he had filled their house with disturbance, and caused them to murder one another; and was neither fair in his hatred, nor kind in his friendship, but just so far as served his own turn. Now there were a great number who for a long time beforehand had seen all this, and especially such as were naturally disposed to judge of matters by the rules of virtue, because they were used to determine about affairs without passion, but had been restrained from making any open complaints before; these, upon the leave now given them, produced all that they knew before the public. The demonstrations also of these wicked facts could no way be disproved, because the many witnesses there were did neither speak out of favor to Herod, nor were they obliged to keep what they had to say silent, out of suspicion of any danger they were in; but they spake what they knew, because they thought such actions very wicked, and that Antipater deserved the greatest punishment; and indeed not so much for Herod's safety, as on account of the man's own wickedness. Many things were also said, and those by a great number of persons, who were no way obliged to say them, insomuch that Antipater, who used generally to be very shrewd in his lies and impudence, was not able to say one word to the contrary. When Nicolaus had left off speaking, and had produced the evidence, Varus bid Antipater to betake himself to the making his defense, if he had prepared any thing whereby it might appear that he was not guilty of the crimes

he was accused of; for that, as he was himself desirous, so did he know that his father was in like manner desirous also, to have him found entirely innocent. But Antipater fell down on his face, and appealed to God and to all men for testimonials of his innocency, desiring that God would declare, by some evident signals, that he had not laid any plot against his father. This being the usual method of all men destitute of virtue, that when they set about any wicked undertakings, they fall to work according to their own inclinations, as if they believed that God was unconcerned in human affairs; but when once they are found out, and are in danger of undergoing the punishment due to their crimes, they endeavor to overthrow all the evidence against them by appealing to God; which was the very thing which Antipater now did; for whereas he had done everything as if there were no God in the world, when he was on all sides distressed by justice, and when he had no other advantage to expect from any legal proofs, by which he might disprove the accusations laid against him, he impudently abused the majesty of God, and ascribed it to his power that he had been preserved hitherto; and produced before them all what difficulties he had ever undergone in his bold acting for his father's preservation.

7. So when Varus, upon asking Antipater what he had to say for himself, found that he had nothing to say besides his appeal to God, and saw that there was no end of that, he bid them bring the potion before the court, that he might see what virtue still remained in it; and when it was brought, and one that was condemned to die had drank it by Varus's command, he died presently. Then Varus got up, and departed out of the court, and went away the day following to Antioch, where his usual residence was, because that was the palace of the Syrians; upon which Herod laid his son in bonds. But what were Varus's discourses to Herod was not known to the generality, and upon what words it was that he went away; though it was also generally supposed that whatsoever Herod did afterward about his son was done with his approbation. But when Herod had bound his son, he sent letters to Rome to Caesar about him, and such messengers withal as should, by word of mouth, inform Caesar of Antipater's wickedness. Now at this very time there was seized a letter of Antiphilus, written to Antipater out of Egypt [for he lived there]; and when it was opened by the king, it was found to contain what follows: "I have sent thee Acme's letter, and hazarded my own life; for thou knowest that I am in danger from two families, if I be discovered. I wish thee good success in thy affair." These were the contents of this letter; but the king made inquiry about the other letter also, for it did not appear; and Antiphilus's slave, who brought that letter which had been read, denied that he had received the other. But while the king was in doubt about it, one of Herod's friends seeing a seam upon the inner coat of the slave, and a

doubling of the cloth, [for he had two coats on,] he guessed that the letter might be within that doubling; which accordingly proved to be true. So they took out the letter, and its contents were these: "Acme to Antipater. I have written such a letter to thy father as thou desiredst me. I have also taken a copy and sent it, as if it came from Salome, to my lady [Livia]; which, when thou readest, I know that Herod Will punish Salome, as plotting against him?' Now this pretended letter of Salome to her lady was composed by Antipater, in the name of Salome, as to its meaning, but in the words of Acme. The letter was this: 'Acme to king Herod. I have done my endeavor that nothing that is done against thee should be concealed from thee. So, upon my finding a letter of Salome written to my lady against thee, I have written out a copy, and sent it to thee; with hazard to myself, but for thy advantage.' The reason why she wrote it was this, that she had a mind to be married to Sylleus. Do thou therefore tear this letter in pieces, that I may not come into danger of my life." Now Acme had written to Antipater himself, and informed him, that, in compliance with his command, she had both herself written to Herod, as if Salome had laid a sudden plot entirely against him, and had herself sent a copy of an epistle, as coming from Salome to her lady. Now Acme was a Jew by birth, and a servant to Julia, Caesar's wife; and did this out of her friendship for Antipater, as having been corrupted by him with a large present of money, to assist in his pernicious designs against his father and his aunt.

8. Hereupon Herod was so amazed at the prodigious wickedness of Antipater, that he was ready to have ordered him to be slain immediately, as a turbulent person in the most important concerns, and as one that had laid a plot not only against himself, but against his sister also, and even corrupted Caesar's own domestics. Salome also provoked him to it, beating her breast, and bidding him kill her, if he could produce any credible testimony that she had acted in that manner. Herod also sent for his son, and asked him about this matter, and bid him contradict if he could, and not suppress any thing he had to say for himself; and when he had not one word to say, he asked him, since he was every way caught in his villainy, that he would make no further delay, but discover his associates in these his wicked designs. So he laid all upon Antiphilus, but discovered nobody else. Hereupon Herod was in such great grief, that he was ready to send his son to Rome to Caesar, there to give an account of these his wicked contrivances. But he soon became afraid, lest he might there, by the assistance of his friends, escape the danger he was in; so he kept him bound as before, and sent more ambassadors and letters [to Rome] to accuse his son, and an account of what assistance Acme had given him in his wicked designs, with copies of the epistles before mentioned.

CHAPTER 6. Concerning The Disease That Herod Fell Into And The Sedition Which The Jews Raised Thereupon; With The Punishment Of The Seditious.

1. Now Herod's ambassadors made haste to Rome; but sent, as instructed beforehand, what answers they were to make to the questions put to them. They also carried the epistles with them. But Herod now fell into a distemper, and made his will, and bequeathed his kingdom to [Antipas], his youngest son; and this out of that hatred to Archclaus and Philip, which the calumnies of Antipater had raised against them. He also bequeathed a thousand talents to Caesar, and five hundred to Julia, Caesar's wife, to Caesar's children, and friends and freedmen. He also distributed among his sons and their sons his money, his revenues, and his lands. He also made Salome his sister very rich, because she had continued faithful to him in all his circumstances, and was never so rash as to do him any harm; and as he despaired of recovering, for he was about the seventieth year of his age, he grew fierce, and indulged the bitterest anger upon all occasions; the cause whereof was this, that he thought himself despised, and that the nation was pleased with his misfortunes; besides which, he resented a sedition which some of the lower sort of men excited against him, the occasion of which was as follows.

2. There was one Judas, the son of Saripheus, and Matthias, the son of Margalothus, two of the most eloquent men among the Jews, and the most celebrated interpreters of the Jewish laws, and men well beloved by the people, because of their education of their youth; for all those that were studious of virtue frequented their lectures every day. These men, when they found that the king's distemper was incurable, excited the young men that they would pull down all those works which the king had erected contrary to the law of their fathers, and thereby obtain the rewards which the law will confer on them for such actions of piety; for that it was truly on account of Herod's rashness in making such things as the law had forbidden, that his other misfortunes, and this distemper also, which was so unusual among mankind, and with which he was now afflicted, came upon him; for Herod had caused such things to be made which were contrary to the law, of which he was accused by Judas and Matthias; for the king had erected over the great gate of the temple a large golden eagle, of great value, and had dedicated it to the temple. Now the law forbids those that propose to live according to it, to erect images or representations of any living creature. So these wise men persuaded [their scholars] to pull down the golden

eagle; alleging, that although they should incur any danger, which might bring them to their deaths, the virtue of the action now proposed to them would appear much more advantageous to them than the pleasures of life; since they would die for the preservation and observation of the law of their fathers; since they would also acquire an everlasting fame and commendation; since they would be both commended by the present generation, and leave an example of life that would never be forgotten to posterity; since that common calamity of dying cannot be avoided by our living so as to escape any such dangers; that therefore it is a right thing for those who are in love with a virtuous conduct, to wait for that fatal hour by such behavior as may carry them out of the world with praise and honor; and that this will alleviate death to a great degree, thus to come at it by the performance of brave actions, which bring us into danger of it; and at the same time to leave that reputation behind them to their children, and to all their relations, whether they be men or women, which will be of great advantage to them afterward.

3. And with such discourses as this did these men excite the young men to this action; and a report being come to them that the king was dead, this was an addition to the wise men's persuasions; so, in the very middle of the day, they got upon the place, they pulled down the eagle, and cut it into pieces with axes, while a great number of the people were in the temple. And now the king's captain, upon hearing what the undertaking was, and supposing it was a thing of a higher nature than it proved to be, came up thither, having a great band of soldiers with him, such as was sufficient to put a stop to the multitude of those who pulled down what was dedicated to God; so he fell upon them unexpectedly, and as they were upon this bold attempt, in a foolish presumption rather than a cautious circumspection, as is usual with the multitude, and while they were in disorder, and incautious of what was for their advantage; so he caught no fewer than forty of the young men, who had the courage to stay behind when the rest ran away, together with the authors of this bold attempt, Judas and Matthiss, who thought it an ignominious thing to retire upon his approach, and led them to the king. And when they were come to the king, and he asked them if they had been so bold as to pull down what he had dedicated to God, "Yes, [said they,] what was contrived we contrived, and what hath been performed we performed it, and that with such a virtuous courage as becomes men; for we have given our assistance to those things which were dedicated to the majesty of God, and we have provided for what we have learned by hearing the law; and it ought not to be wondered at, if we esteem those laws which Moses had suggested to him, and were taught him by God, and which he wrote and left behind him, more worthy of observation than thy commands.

Accordingly we will undergo death, and all sorts of punishments which thou canst inflict upon us, with pleasure, since we are conscious to ourselves that we shall die, not for any unrighteous actions, but for our love to religion." And thus they all said, and their courage was still equal to their profession, and equal to that with which they readily set about this undertaking. And when the king had ordered them to be bound, he sent them to Jericho, and called together the principal men among the Jews; and when they were come, he made them assemble in the theater, and because he could not himself stand, he lay upon a couch, and enumerated the many labors that he had long endured on their account, and his building of the temple, and what a vast charge that was to him; while the Asamoneans, during the hundred and twenty-five years of their government, had not been able to perform any so great a work for the honor of God as that was; that he had also adorned it with very valuable donations, on which account he hoped that he had left himself a memorial, and procured himself a reputation after his death. He then cried out, that these men had not abstained from affronting him, even in his lifetime, but that in the very day time, and in the sight of the multitude, they had abused him to that degree, as to fall upon what he had dedicated, and in that way of abuse had pulled it down to the ground. They pretended, indeed, that they did it to affront him; but if any one consider the thing truly, they will find that they were guilty of sacrilege against God therein.

4. But the people, on account of Herod's barbarous temper, and for fear he should be so cruel and to inflict punishment on them, said what was done was done without their approbation, and that it seemed to them that the actors might well be punished for what they had done. But as for Herod, he dealt more mildly with others [of the assembly] but he deprived Matthias of the high priesthood, as in part an occasion of this action, and made Joazar, who was Matthias's wife's brother, high priest in his stead. Now it happened, that during the time of the high priesthood of this Matthias, there was another person made high priest for a single day, that very day which the Jews observed as a fast. The occasion was this: This Matthias the high priest, on the night before that day when the fast was to be celebrated, seemed, in a dream, to have conversation with his wife; and because he could not officiate himself on that account, Joseph, the son of Ellemus, his kinsman, assisted him in that sacred office. But Herod deprived this Matthias of the high priesthood, and burnt the other Matthias, who had raised the sedition, with his companions, alive. And that very night there was an eclipse of the moon.

5. But now Herod's distemper greatly increased upon him after a severe manner, and this by God's judgment upon him for his sins; for a fire glowed in

him slowly, which did not so much appear to the touch outwardly, as it augmented his pains inwardly; for it brought upon him a vehement appetite to eating, which he could not avoid to supply with one sort of food or other. His entrails were also ex-ulcerated, and the chief violence of his pain lay on his colon; an aqueous and transparent liquor also had settled itself about his feet, and a like matter afflicted him at the bottom of his belly. Nay, further, his privy-member was putrefied, and produced worms; and when he sat upright, he had a difficulty of breathing, which was very loathsome, on account of the stench of his breath, and the quickness of its returns; he had also convulsions in all parts of his body, which increased his strength to an insufferable degree. It was said by those who pretended to divine, and who were endued with wisdom to foretell such things, that God inflicted this punishment on the king on account of his great impiety; yet was he still in hopes of recovering, though his afflictions seemed greater than any one could bear. He also sent for physicians, and did not refuse to follow what they prescribed for his assistance, and went beyond the river Jordan, and bathed himself in the warm baths that were at Callirrhoe, which, besides their other general virtues, were also fit to drink; which water runs into the lake called Asphaltiris. And when the physicians once thought fit to have him bathed in a vessel full of oil, it was supposed that he was just dying; but upon the lamentable cries of his domestics, he revived; and having no longer the least hopes of recovering, he gave order that every soldier should be paid fifty drachmae; and he also gave a great deal to their commanders, and to his friends, and came again to Jericho, where he grew so choleric, that it brought him to do all things like a madman; and though he were near his death, he contrived the following wicked designs. He commanded that all the principal men of the entire Jewish nation, wheresoever they lived, should be called to him. Accordingly, they were a great number that came, because the whole nation was called, and all men heard of this call, and death was the penalty of such as should despise the epistles that were sent to call them. And now the king was in a wild rage against them all, the innocent as well as those that had afforded ground for accusations; and when they were come, he ordered them to be all shut up in the hyppodrome, and sent for his sister Salome, and her husband Alexas, and spake thus to them: “I shall die in a little time, so great are my pains; which death ought to be cheerfully borne, and to be welcomed by all men; but what principally troubles me is this, that I shall die without being lamented, and without such mourning as men usually expect at a king’s death.” For that he was not unacquainted with the temper of the Jews, that his death would be a thing very desirable, and exceedingly acceptable to them, because during his lifetime they were ready to revolt from him, and to abuse the donations he had dedicated

to God that it therefore was their business to resolve to afford him some alleviation of his great sorrows on this occasion; for that if they do not refuse him their consent in what he desires, he shall have a great mourning at his funeral, and such as never had any king before him; for then the whole nation would mourn from their very soul, which otherwise would be done in sport and mockery only. He desired therefore, that as soon as they see he hath given up the ghost, they shall place soldiers round the hippodrome, while they do not know that he is dead; and that they shall not declare his death to the multitude till this is done, but that they shall give orders to have those that are in custody shot with their darts; and that this slaughter of them all will cause that he shall not miss to rejoice on a double account; that as he is dying, they will make him secure that his will shall be executed in what he charges them to do; and that he shall have the honor of a memorable mourning at his funeral. So he deplored his condition, with tears in his eyes, and obtested them by the kindness due from them, as of his kindred, and by the faith they owed to God, and begged of them that they would not hinder him of this honorable mourning at his funeral. So they promised him not to transgress his commands.

6. Now any one may easily discover the temper of this man's mind, which not only took pleasure in doing what he had done formerly against his relations, out of the love of life, but by those commands of his which savored of no humanity; since he took care, when he was departing out of this life, that the whole nation should be put into mourning, and indeed made desolate of their dearest kindred, when he gave order that one out of every family should be slain, although they had done nothing that was unjust, or that was against him, nor were they accused of any other crimes; while it is usual for those who have any regard to virtue to lay aside their hatred at such a time, even with respect to those they justly esteemed their enemies.

CHAPTER 7. Herod Has Thoughts Of Killing Himself With His Own Hand; And A Little Afterwards He Orders Antipater To Be Slain.

1. As he was giving these commands to his relations, there came letters from his ambassadors, who had been sent to Rome unto Caesar, which, when they were read, their purport was this: That Acme was slain by Caesar, out of his indignation at what hand, she had in Antipater's wicked practices; and that as to Antipater himself, Caesar left it to Herod to act as became a father and a king, and either to banish him, or to take away his life, which he pleased. When Herod heard this, he was somewhat better, out of the pleasure he had from the contents of the letters, and was elevated at the death of Acme, and at the power that was given him over his son; but as his pains were become very great, he was now ready to faint for want of somewhat to eat; so he called for an apple and a knife; for it was his custom formerly to pare the apple himself, and soon afterwards to cut it, and eat it. When he had got the knife, he looked about, and had a mind to stab himself with it; and he had done it, had not his first cousin, Achiabus, prevented him, and held his hand, and cried out loudly. Whereupon a woeful lamentation echoed through the palace, and a great tumult was made, as if the king were dead. Upon which Antipater, who verily believed his father was deceased, grew bold in his discourse, as hoping to be immediately and entirely released from his bonds, and to take the kingdom into his hands without any more ado; so he discoursed with the jailer about letting him go, and in that case promised him great things, both now and hereafter, as if that were the only thing now in question. But the jailer did not only refuse to do what Antipater would have him, but informed the king of his intentions, and how many solicitations he had had from him [of that nature]. Hereupon Herod, who had formerly no affection nor good-will towards his son to restrain him, when he heard what the jailer said, he cried out, and beat his head, although he was at death's door, and raised himself upon his elbow, and sent for some of his guards, and commanded them to kill Antipater without tiny further delay, and to do it presently, and to bury him in an ignoble manner at Hyrcania.

CHAPTER 8. Concerning Herod's Death, And Testament, And Burial.

1. And now Herod altered his testament upon the alteration of his mind; for he appointed Antipas, to whom he had before left the kingdom, to be tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, and granted the kingdom to Archclaus. He also gave Gaulonitis, and Trachonitis, and Paneas to Philip, who was his son, but own brother to Archclaus by the name of a tetrarchy; and bequeathed Jarnnia, and Ashdod, and Phasaelis to Salome his sister, with five hundred thousand [drachmae] of silver that was coined. He also made provision for all the rest of his kindred, by giving them sums of money and annual revenues, and so left them all in a wealthy condition. He bequeathed also to Caesar ten millions [of drachmae] of coined money, besides both vessels of gold and silver, and garments exceeding costly, to Julia, Caesar's wife; and to certain others, five millions. When he had done these things, he died, the fifth day after he had caused Antipater to be slain; having reigned, since he had procured Antigonus to be slain, thirty-four years; but since he had been declared king by the Romans, thirty-seven. A man he was of great barbarity towards all men equally, and a slave to his passion; but above the consideration of what was right; yet was he favored by fortune as much as any man ever was, for from a private man he became a king; and though he were encompassed with ten thousand dangers, he got clear of them all, and continued his life till a very old age. But then, as to the affairs of his family and children, in which indeed, according to his own opinion, he was also very fortunate, because he was able to conquer his enemies, yet, in my opinion, he was herein very unfortunate.

2. But then Salome and Alexas, before the king's death was made known, dismissed those that were shut up in the hippodrome, and told them that the king ordered them to go away to their own lands, and take care of their own affairs, which was esteemed by the nation a great benefit. And now the king's death was made public, when Salome and Alexas gathered the soldiery together in the amphitheater at Jericho; and the first thing they did was, they read Herod's letter, written to the soldiery, thanking them for their fidelity and good-will to him, and exhorting them to afford his son Archelaus, whom he had appointed for their king, like fidelity and good-will. After which Ptolemy, who had the king's seal intrusted to him, read the king's testament, which was to be of force no otherwise than as it should stand when Caesar had inspected it; so there was presently an acclamation made to Archelaus, as king; and the soldiers came by

bands, and their commanders with them, and promised the same good-will to him, and readiness to serve him, which they had exhibited to Herod; and they prayed God to be assistant to him.

3. After this was over, they prepared for his funeral, it being Archelaus's care that the procession to his father's sepulcher should be very sumptuous. Accordingly, he brought out all his ornaments to adorn the pomp of the funeral. The body was carried upon a golden bier, embroidered with very precious stones of great variety, and it was covered over with purple, as well as the body itself; he had a diadem upon his head, and above it a crown of gold: he also had a scepter in his right hand. About the bier were his sons and his numerous relations; next to these was the soldiery, distinguished according to their several countries and denominations; and they were put into the following order: First of all went his guards, then the band of Thracians, and after them the Germans; and next the band of Galatians, every one in their habiliments of war; and behind these marched the whole army in the same manner as they used to go out to war, and as they used to be put in array by their muster-masters and centurions; these were followed by five hundred of his domestics carrying spices. So they went eight furlongs to Herodium; for there by his own command he was to be buried. And thus did Herod end his life.

4. Now Archelaus paid him so much respect, as to continue his mourning till the seventh day; for so many days are appointed for it by the law of our fathers. And when he had given a treat to the multitude, and left off his motoring, he went up into the temple; he had also acclamations and praises given him, which way soever he went, every one striving with the rest who should appear to use the loudest acclamations. So he ascended a high elevation made for him, and took his seat, in a throne made of gold, and spake kindly to the multitude, and declared with what joy he received their acclamations, and the marks of the good-will they showed to him; and returned them thanks that they did not remember the injuries his father had done them to his disadvantage; and promised them he would endeavor not to be behindhand with them in rewarding their alacrity in his service, after a suitable manner; but that he should abstain at present from the name of king, and that he should have the honor of that dignity, if Caesar should confirm and settle that testament which his father had made; and that it was on this account, that when the army would have put the diadem on him at Jericho, he would not accept of that honor, which is usually so much desired, because it was not yet evident that he who was to be principally concerned in bestowing it would give it him; although, by his acceptance of the government, he should not want the ability of rewarding their kindness to him and that it should be his endeavor, as to all things wherein they were concerned,

to prove in every respect better than his father. Whereupon the multitude, as it is usual with them, supposed that the first days of those that enter upon such governments declare the intentions of those that accept them; and so by how much Archelaus spake the more gently and civilly to them, by so much did they more highly commend him, and made application to him for the grant of what they desired. Some made a clamor that he would ease them of some of their annual payments; but others desired him to release those that were put into prison by Herod, who were many, and had been put there at several times; others of them required that he would take away those taxes which had been severely laid upon what was publicly sold and bought. So Archelaus contradicted them in nothing, since he pretended to do all things so as to get the good-will of the multitude to him, as looking upon that good-will to be a great step towards his preservation of the government. Hereupon he went and offered sacrifice to God, and then betook himself to feast with his friends.

CHAPTER 9. How The People Raised A Sedition Against Archelaus, And How He Sailed To Rome.

1. At this time also it was that some of the Jews got together out of a desire of innovation. They lamented Matthias, and those that were slain with him by Herod, who had not any respect paid them by a funeral mourning, out of the fear men were in of that man; they were those who had been condemned for pulling down the golden eagle. The people made a great clamor and lamentation hereupon, and cast out some reproaches against the king also, as if that tended to alleviate the miseries of the deceased. The people assembled together, and desired of Archelaus, that, in way of revenge on their account, he would inflict punishment on those who had been honored by Herod; and that, in the first and principal place, he would deprive that high priest whom Herod had made, and would choose one more agreeable to the law, and of greater purity, to officiate as high priest. This was granted by Archelaus, although he was mightily offended at their importunity, because he proposed to himself to go to Rome immediately to look after Caesar's determination about him. However, he sent the general of his forces to use persuasions, and to tell them that the death which was inflicted on their friends was according to the law; and to represent to them that their petitions about these things were carried to a great height of injury to him; that the time was not now proper for such petitions, but required their unanimity until such time as he should be established in the government by the consent of Caesar, and should then be come back to them; for that he would then consult with them in common concerning the purport of their petitions; but that they ought at present to be quiet, lest they should seem seditious persons.

2. So when the king had suggested these things, and instructed his general in what he was to say, he sent him away to the people; but they made a clamor, and would not give him leave to speak, and put him in danger of his life, and as many more as were desirous to venture upon saying openly any thing which might reduce them to a sober mind, and prevent their going on in their present courses, because they had more concern to have all their own wills performed than to yield obedience to their governors; thinking it to be a thing insufferable, that, while Herod was alive, they should lose those that were most dear to them, and that when he was dead, they could not get the actors to be punished. So they went on with their designs after a violent manner, and thought all to be lawful and right which tended to please them, and being unskillful in foreseeing what dangers they incurred; and when they had suspicion of such a thing, yet did the

present pleasure they took in the punishment of those they deemed their enemies overweigh all such considerations; and although Archelaus sent many to speak to them, yet they treated them not as messengers sent by him, but as persons that came of their own accord to mitigate their anger, and would not let one of them speak. The sedition also was made by such as were in a great passion; and it was evident that they were proceeding further in seditious practices, by the multitude running so fast upon them.

3. Now, upon the approach of that feast of unleavened bread, which the law of their fathers had appointed for the Jews at this time, which feast is called the Passover and is a memorial of their deliverance out of Egypt, when they offer sacrifices with great alacrity; and when they are required to slay more sacrifices in number than at any other festival; and when an innumerable multitude came thither out of the country, nay, from beyond its limits also, in order to worship God, the seditious lamented Judas and Matthias, those teachers of the laws, and kept together in the temple, and had plenty of food, because these seditious persons were not ashamed to beg it. And as Archelaus was afraid lest some terrible thing should spring up by means of these men's madness, he sent a regiment of armed men, and with them a captain of a thousand, to suppress the violent efforts of the seditious before the whole multitude should be infected with the like madness; and gave them this charge, that if they found any much more openly seditious than others, and more busy in tumultuous practices, they should bring them to him. But those that were seditious on account of those teachers of the law, irritated the people by the noise and clamors they used to encourage the people in their designs; so they made an assault upon the soldiers, and came up to them, and stoned the greatest part of them, although some of them ran away wounded, and their captain among them; and when they had thus done, they returned to the sacrifices which were already in their hands. Now Archelaus thought there was no way to preserve the entire government but by cutting off those who made this attempt upon it; so he sent out the whole army upon them, and sent the horsemen to prevent those that had their tents without the temple from assisting those that were within the temple, and to kill such as ran away from the footmen when they thought themselves out of danger; which horsemen slew three thousand men, while the rest went to the neighboring mountains. Then did Archelaus order proclamation to be made to them all, that they should retire to their own homes; so they went away, and left the festival, out of fear of somewhat worse which would follow, although they had been so bold by reason of their want of instruction. So Archelaus went down to the sea with his mother, and took with him Nicolaus and Ptolemy, and many others of his friends, and left Philip his brother as governor of all things belonging both to

his own family and to the public. There went out also with him Salome, Herod's sister who took with her, her children, and many of her kindred were with her; which kindred of hers went, as they pretended, to assist Archelaus in gaining the kingdom, but in reality to oppose him, and chiefly to make loud complaints of what he had done in the temple. But Sabinus, Caesar's steward for Syrian affairs, as he was making haste into Judea to preserve Herod's effects, met with Archclaus at Caesarea; but Varus [president of Syria] came at that time, and restrained him from meddling with them, for he was there as sent for by Archceaus, by the means of Ptolemy. And Sabinus, out of regard to Varus, did neither seize upon any of the castles that were among the Jews, nor did he seal up the treasures in them, but permitted Archelaus to have them, until Caesar should declare his resolution about them; so that, upon this his promise, he tarried still at Cesarea. But after Archelaus was sailed for Rome, and Varus was removed to Antioch, Sabinus went to Jerusalem, and seized on the king's palace. He also sent for the keepers of the garrisons, and for all those that had the charge of Herod's effects, and declared publicly that he should require them to give an account of what they had; and he disposed of the castles in the manner he pleased; but those who kept them did not neglect what Archelaus had given them in command, but continued to keep all things in the manner that had been enjoined them; and their pretense was, that they kept them all for Caesar.

4. At the same time also did Antipas, another of Herod's sons, sail to Rome, in order to gain the government; being buoyed up by Salome with promises that he should take that government; and that he was a much honester and fitter man than Archelaus for that authority, since Herod had, in his former testament, deemed him the worthiest to be made king, which ought to be esteemed more valid than his latter testament. Antipas also brought with him his mother, and Ptolemy the brother of Nicolaus, one that had been Herod's most honored friend, and was now zealous for Antipas; but it was Ireneus the orator, and one who, on account of his reputation for sagacity, was intrusted with the affairs of the kingdom, who most of all encouraged him to attempt to gain the kingdom; by whose means it was, that when some advised him to yield to Archelaus, as to his elder brother, and who had been declared king by their father's last will, he would not submit so to do. And when he was come to Rome, all his relations revolted to him; not out of their good-will to him, but out of their hatred to Archelaus; though indeed they were most of all desirous of gaining their liberty, and to be put under a Roman governor; but if there were too great an opposition made to that, they thought Antipas preferable to Archelaus, and so joined with him, in order to procure the kingdom for him. Sabinus also, by letters, accused Archelaus to Caesar.

5. Now when Archelaus had sent in his papers to Caesar, wherein he pleaded his right to the kingdom, and his father's testament, with the accounts of Herod's money, and with Ptolemy, who brought Herod's seal, he so expected the event; but when Caesar had read these papers, and Varus's and Sabinus's letters, with the accounts of the money, and what were the annual incomes of the kingdom, and understood that Antipas had also sent letters to lay claim to the kingdom, he summoned his friends together, to know their opinions, and with them Caius, the son of Agrippa, and of Julia his daughter, whom he had adopted, and took him, and made him sit first of all, and desired such as pleased to speak their minds about the affairs now before them. Now Antipater, Salome's son, a very subtle orator, and a bitter enemy to Archelaus, spake first to this purpose: That it was ridiculous in Archelaus to plead now to have the kingdom given him, since he had, in reality, taken already the power over it to himself, before Caesar had granted it to him; and appealed to those bold actions of his, in destroying so many at the Jewish festival; and if the men had acted unjustly, it was but fit the punishing of them should have been reserved to those that were out of the country, but had the power to punish them, and not been executed by a man that, if he pretended to be a king, he did an injury to Caesar, by usurping that authority before it was determined for him by Caesar; but if he owned himself to be a private person, his case was much worse, since he who was putting in for the kingdom could by no means expect to have that power granted him, of which he had already deprived Caesar [by taking it to himself]. He also touched sharply upon him, and appealed to his changing the commanders in the army, and his sitting in the royal throne beforehand, and his determination of law-suits; all done as if he were no other than a king. He appealed also to his concessions to those that petitioned him on a public account, and indeed doing such things, than which he could devise no greater if he had been already settled in the kingdom by Caesar. He also ascribed to him the releasing of the prisoners that were in the hippodrome, and many other things, that either had been certainly done by him, or were believed to be done, and easily might be believed to have been done, because they were of such a nature as to be usually done by young men, and by such as, out of a desire of ruling, seize upon the government too soon. He also charged him with his neglect of the funeral mourning for his father, and with having merry meetings the very night in which he died; and that it was thence the multitude took the handle of raising a tumult: and if Archelaus could thus requite his dead father, who had bestowed such benefits upon him, and bequeathed such great things to him, by pretending to shed tears for him in the day time, like an actor on the stage, but every night making mirth for having gotten the government, he would appear to be the same Archelaus with regard to

Caesar, if he granted him the kingdom, which he hath been to his father; since he had then dancing and singing, as though an enemy of his were fallen, and not as though a man were carried to his funeral, that was so nearly related, and had been so great a benefactor to him. But he said that the greatest crime of all was this, that he came now before Caesar to obtain the government by his grant, while he had before acted in all things as he could have acted if Caesar himself, who ruled all, had fixed him firmly in the government. And what he most aggravated in his pleading was the slaughter of those about the temple, and the impiety of it, as done at the festival; and how they were slain like sacrifices themselves, some of whom were foreigners, and others of their own country, till the temple was full of dead bodies: and all this was done, not by an alien, but by one who pretended to the lawful title of a king, that he might complete the wicked tyranny which his nature prompted him to, and which is hated by all men. On which account his father never so much as dreamed of making him his successor in the kingdom, when he was of a sound mind, because he knew his disposition; and in his former and more authentic testament, he appointed his antagonist Antipas to succeed; but that Archelaus was called by his father to that dignity when he was in a dying condition, both of body and mind; while Antipas was called when he was ripest in his judgment, and of such strength of body as made him capable of managing his own affairs: and if his father had the like notion of him formerly that he hath now showed, yet hath he given a sufficient specimen what a king he is likely to be, when he hath [in effect] deprived Caesar of that power of disposing of the kingdom, which he justly hath, and hath not abstained from making a terrible slaughter of his fellow citizens in the temple, while he was but a private person.

6. So when Antipater had made this speech, and had confirmed what he had said by producing many witnesses from among Archelaus's own relations, he made an end of his pleading. Upon which Nicolaus arose up to plead for Archelaus, and said, "That what had been done at the temple was rather to be attributed to the mind of those that had been killed, than to the authority of Archelaus; for that those who were the authors of such things are not only wicked in the injuries they do of themselves, but in forcing sober persons to avenge themselves upon them. Now it is evident that what these did in way of opposition was done under pretense, indeed, against Archelaus, but in reality against Caesar himself, for they, after an injurious manner, attacked and slew those who were sent by Archelaus, and who came only to put a stop to their doings. They had no regard, either to God or to the festival, whom Antipater yet is not ashamed to patronize, whether it be out of his indulgence of an enmity to Archelaus, or out of his hatred of virtue and justice. For as to those who begin

such tumults, and first set about such unrighteous actions, they are the men who force those that punish them to betake themselves to arms even against their will. So that Antipater in effect ascribes the rest of what was done to all those who were of counsel to the accusers; for nothing which is here accused of injustice has been done but what was derived from them as its authors; nor are those things evil in themselves, but so represented only in order to do harm to Archelaus. Such is these men's inclination to do an injury to a man that is of their kindred, their father's benefactor, and familiarity acquainted with them, and that hath ever lived in friendship with them; for that, as to this testament, it was made by the king when he was of a sound mind, and so ought to be of more authority than his former testament; and that for this reason, because Caesar is therein left to be the judge and disposer of all therein contained; and for Caesar, he will not, to be sure, at all imitate the unjust proceedings of those men, who, during Herod's whole life, had on all occasions been joint partakers of power with him, and yet do zealously endeavor to injure his determination, while they have not themselves had the same regard to their kinsman [which Archelaus had]. Caesar will not therefore disannul the testament of a man whom he had entirely supported, of his friend and confederate, and that which is committed to him in trust to ratify; nor will Caesar's virtuous and upright disposition, which is known and uncontested through all the habitable world, imitate the wickedness of these men in condemning a king as a madman, and as having lost his reason, while he hath bequeathed the succession to a good son of his, and to one who flies to Caesar's upright determination for refuge. Nor can Herod at any time have been mistaken in his judgment about a successor, while he showed so much prudence as to submit all to Caesar's determination."

7. Now when Nicolaus had laid these things before Caesar, he ended his plea; whereupon Caesar was so obliging to Archelaus, that he raised him up when he had cast himself down at his feet, and said that he well deserved the kingdom; and he soon let them know that he was so far moved in his favor, that he would not act otherwise than his father's testament directed, and than was for the advantage of Archelaus. However, while he gave this encouragement to Archelaus to depend on him securely, he made no full determination about him; and when the assembly was broken up, he considered by himself whether he should confirm the kingdom to Archelaus, or whether he should part it among all Herod's posterity; and this because they all stood in need of much assistance to support them.

CHAPTER 10. A Sedition Against Sabinus; And How Varus Brought The Authors Of It To Punishment.

1. But before these things could be brought to a settlement, Malthace, Archelaus's mother, fell into a distemper, and died of it; and letters came from Varus, the president of Syria, which informed Caesar of the revolt of the Jews; for after Archlaus was sailed, the whole nation was in a tumult. So Varus, since he was there himself, brought the authors of the disturbance to punishment; and when he had restrained them for the most part from this sedition, which was a great one, he took his journey to Antiocli, leaving one legion of his army at Jerusalem to keep the Jews quiet, who were now very fond of innovation. Yet did not this at all avail to put an end to that their sedition; for after Varus was gone away, Sabinus, Caesar's procurator, staid behind, and greatly distressed the Jews, relying on the forces that were left there that they would by their multitude protect him; for he made use of them, and armed them as his guards, thereby so oppressing the Jews, and giving them so great disturbance, that at length they rebelled; for he used force in seizing the citadels, and zealously pressed on the search after the king's money, in order to seize upon it by force, on account of his love of gain and his extraordinary covetousness.

2. But on the approach of pentecost, which is a festival of ours, so called from the days of our forefathers, a great many ten thousands of men got together; nor did they come only to celebrate the festival, but out of their indignation at the madness of Sabinus, and at the injuries he offered them. A great number there was of Galileans, and Idumeans, and many men from Jericho, and others who had passed over the river Jordan, and inhabited those parts. This whole multitude joined themselves to all the rest, and were more zealous than the others in making an assault on Sabinus, in order to be avenged on him; so they parted themselves into three bands, and encamped themselves in the places following: — some of them seized on the hippodrome and of the other two bands, one pitched themselves from the northern part of the temple to the southern, on the east quarter; but the third band held the western part of the city, where the king's palace was. Their work tended entirely to besiege the Romans, and to enclose them on all sides. Now Sabinus was afraid of these men's number, and of their resolution, who had little regard to their lives, but were very desirous not to be overcome, while they thought it a point of puissance to overcome their enemies; so he sent immediately a letter to Varus, and, as he used to do, was very pressing with him, and entreated him to come quickly to his assistance, because the forces

he had left were in imminent danger, and would probably, in no long time, be seized upon, and cut to pieces; while he did himself get up to the highest tower of the fortress Phasaelus, which had been built in honor of Phasaelus, king Herod's brother, and called so when the Parthians had brought him to his death. So Sabinus gave thence a signal to the Romans to fall upon the Jews, although he did not himself venture so much as to come down to his friends, and thought he might expect that the others should expose themselves first to die on account of his avarice. However, the Romans ventured to make a sally out of the place, and a terrible battle ensued; wherein, though it is true the Romans beat their adversaries, yet were not the Jews daunted in their resolutions, even when they had the sight of that terrible slaughter that was made of them; but they went round about, and got upon those cloisters which encompassed the outer court of the temple, where a great fight was still continued, and they cast stones at the Romans, partly with their hands, and partly with slings, as being much used to those exercises. All the archers also in array did the Romans a great deal of mischief, because they used their hands dexterously from a place superior to the others, and because the others were at an utter loss what to do; for when they tried to shoot their arrows against the Jews upwards, these arrows could not reach them, insomuch that the Jews were easily too hard for their enemies. And this sort of fight lasted a great while, till at last the Romans, who were greatly distressed by what was done, set fire to the cloisters so privately, that those that were gotten upon them did not perceive it. This fire being fed by a great deal of combustible matter, caught hold immediately on the roof of the cloisters; so the wood, which was full of pitch and wax, and whose gold was laid on it with wax, yielded to the flame presently, and those vast works, which were of the highest value and esteem, were destroyed utterly, while those that were on the roof unexpectedly perished at the same time; for as the roof tumbled down, some of these men tumbled down with it, and others of them were killed by their enemies who encompassed them. There was a great number more, who, out of despair of saving their lives, and out of astonishment at the misery that surrounded them, did either cast themselves into the fire, or threw themselves upon their swords, and so got out of their misery. But as to those that retired behind the same way by which they ascended, and thereby escaped, they were all killed by the Romans, as being unarmed men, and their courage failing them; their wild fury being now not able to help them, because they were destitute of armor, insomuch that of those that went up to the top of the roof, not one escaped. The Romans also rushed through the fire, where it gave them room so to do, and seized on that treasure where the sacred money was reposited; a great part of which was stolen by the soldiers, and Sabinus got openly four hundred talents.

3. But this calamity of the Jews' friends, who fell in this battle, grieved them, as did also this plundering of the money dedicated to God in the temple. Accordingly, that body of them which continued best together, and was the most warlike, encompassed the palace, and threatened to set fire to it, and kill all that were in it. Yet still they commanded them to go out presently, and promised, that if they would do so, they would not hurt them, nor Sabinus neither; at which time the greatest part of the king's troops deserted to them, while Rufus and Gratus, who had three thousand of the most warlike of Herod's army with them, who were men of active bodies, went over to the Romans. There was also a band of horsemen under the command of Ruffis, which itself went over to the Romans also. However, the Jews went on with the siege, and dug mines under the palace walls, and besought those that were gone over to the other side not to be their hinderance, now they had such a proper opportunity for the recovery of their country's ancient liberty; and for Sabinus, truly he was desirous of going away with his soldiers, but was not able to trust himself with the enemy, on account of what mischief he had already done them; and he took this great [pretended] lenity of theirs for an argument why he should not comply with them; and so, because he expected that Varus was coming, he still bore the siege.

4. Now at this time there were ten thousand other disorders in Judea, which were like tumults, because a great number put themselves into a warlike posture, either out of hopes of gain to themselves, or out of enmity to the Jews. In particular, two thousand of Herod's old soldiers, who had been already disbanded, got together in Judea itself, and fought against the king's troops, although Achiabus, Herod's first cousin, opposed them; but as he was driven out of the plains into the mountainous parts by the military skill of those men, he kept himself in the fastnesses that were there, and saved what he could.

5. There was also Judas, the son of that Ezekias who had been head of the robbers; which Ezekias was a very strong man, and had with great difficulty been caught by Herod. This Judas, having gotten together a multitude of men of a profligate character about Sepphoris in Galilee, made an assault upon the palace [there,] and seized upon all the weapons that were laid up in it, and with them armed every one of those that were with him, and carried away what money was left there; and he became terrible to all men, by tearing and rending those that came near him; and all this in order to raise himself, and out of an ambitious desire of the royal dignity; and he hoped to obtain that as the reward not of his virtuous skill in war, but of his extravagance in doing injuries.

6. There was also Simon, who had been a slave of Herod the king, but in other respects a comely person, of a tall and robust body; he was one that was much superior to others of his order, and had had great things committed to his

care. This man was elevated at the disorderly state of things, and was so bold as to put a diadem on his head, while a certain number of the people stood by him, and by them he was declared to be a king, and thought himself more worthy of that dignity than any one else. He burnt down the royal palace at Jericho, and plundered what was left in it. He also set fire to many other of the king's houses in several places of the country, and utterly destroyed them, and permitted those that were with him to take what was left in them for a prey; and he would have done greater things, unless care had been taken to repress him immediately; for Gratus, when he had joined himself to some Roman soldiers, took the forces he had with him, and met Simon, and after a great and a long fight, no small part of those that came from Perea, who were a disordered body of men, and fought rather in a bold than in a skillful manner, were destroyed; and although Simon had saved himself by flying away through a certain valley, yet Gratus overtook him, and cut off his head. The royal palace also at Amathus, by the river Jordan, was burnt down by a party of men that were got together, as were those belonging to Simon. And thus did a great and wild fury spread itself over the nation, because they had no king to keep the multitude in good order, and because those foreigners who came to reduce the seditious to sobriety did, on the contrary, set them more in a flame, because of the injuries they offered them, and the avaricious management of their affairs.

7. But because Athronges, a person neither eminent by the dignity of his progenitors, nor for any great wealth he was possessed of, but one that had in all respects been a shepherd only, and was not known by any body; yet because he was a tall man, and excelled others in the strength of his hands, he was so bold as to set up for king. This man thought it so sweet a thing to do more than ordinary injuries to others, that although he should be killed, he did not much care if he lost his life in so great a design. He had also four brethren, who were tall men themselves, and were believed to be superior to others in the strength of their hands, and thereby were encouraged to aim at great things, and thought that strength of theirs would support them in retaining the kingdom. Each of these ruled over a band of men of their own; for those that got together to them were very numerous. They were every one of them also commanders; but when they came to fight, they were subordinate to him, and fought for him, while he put a diadem about his head, and assembled a council to debate about what things should be done, and all things were done according to his pleasure. And this man retained his power a great while; he was also called king, and had nothing to hinder him from doing what he pleased. He also, as well as his brethren, slew a great many both of the Romans and of the king's forces, an managed matters with the like hatred to each of them. The king's forces they fell upon, because of

the licentious conduct they had been allowed under Herod's government; and they fell upon the Romans, because of the injuries they had so lately received from them. But in process of time they grew more cruel to all sorts of men, nor could any one escape from one or other of these seditions, since they slew some out of the hopes of gain, and others from a mere custom of slaying men. They once attacked a company of Romans at Emmaus, who were bringing corn and weapons to the army, and fell upon Arius, the centurion, who commanded the company, and shot forty of the best of his foot soldiers; but the rest of them were aftrighted at their slaughter, and left their dead behind them, but saved themselves by the means of Gratus, who came with the king's troops that were about him to their assistance. Now these four brethren continued the war a long while by such sort of expeditions, and much grieved the Romans; but did their own nation also a great deal of mischief. Yet were they afterwards subdued; one of them in a fight with Gratus, another with Ptolemy; Archelaus also took the eldest of them prisoner; while the last of them was so dejected at the other's misfortune, and saw so plainly that he had no way now left to save himself, his army being worn away with sickness and continual labors, that he also delivered himself up to Archclaus, upon his promise and oath to God [to preserve his life.] But these things came to pass a good while afterward.

8. And now Judea was full of robberies; and as the several companies of the seditious lighted upon any one to head them, he was created a king immediately, in order to do mischief to the public. They were in some small measure indeed, and in small matters, hurtful to the Romans; but the murders they committed upon their own people lasted a long while.

9. As soon as Varus was once informed of the state of Judea by Sabinus's writing to him, he was afraid for the legion he had left there; so he took the two other legions, [for there were three legions in all belonging to Syria,] and four troops of horsemen, with the several auxiliary forces which either the kings or certain of the tetrarchs afforded him, and made what haste he could to assist those that were then besieged in Judea. He also gave order that all that were sent out for this expedition, should make haste to Ptolemais. The citizens of Berytus also gave him fifteen hundred auxiliaries as he passed through their city. Aretas also, the king of Arabia Petrea, out of his hatred to Herod, and in order to purchase the favor of the Romans, sent him no small assistance, besides their footmen and horsemen; and when he had now collected all his forces together, he committed part of them to his son, and to a friend of his, and sent them upon an expedition into Galilee, which lies in the neighborhood of Ptolemais; who made an attack upon the enemy, and put them to flight, and took Sepphoris, and made its inhabitants slaves, and burnt the city. But Varus himself pursued his

march for Samaria with his whole army; yet did not he meddle with the city of that name, because it had not at all joined with the seditious; but pitched his camp at a certain village that belonged to Ptolemy, whose name was Arus, which the Arabians burnt, out of their hatred to Herod, and out of the enmity they bore to his friends; whence they marched to another village, whose name was Sampho, which the Arabians plundered and burnt, although it was a fortified and a strong place; and all along this march nothing escaped them, but all places were full of fire and of slaughter. Emmaus was also burnt by Varus's order, after its inhabitants had deserted it, that he might avenge those that had there been destroyed. From thence he now marched to Jerusalem; whereupon those Jews whose camp lay there, and who had besieged the Roman legion, not bearing the coming of this army, left the siege imperfect: but as to the Jerusalem Jews, when Varus reproached them bitterly for what had been done, they cleared themselves of the accusation, and alleged that the conflux of the people was occasioned by the feast; that the war was not made with their approbation, but by the rashness of the strangers, while they were on the side of the Romans, and besieged together with them, rather than having any inclination to besiege them. There also came beforehand to meet Varus, Joseph, the cousin-german of king Herod, as also Gratus and Rufus, who brought their soldiers along with them, together with those Romans who had been besieged; but Sabinus did not come into Varus's presence, but stole out of the city privately, and went to the sea-side.

10. Upon this, Varus sent a part of his army into the country, to seek out those that had been the authors of the revolt; and when they were discovered, he punished some of them that were most guilty, and some he dismissed: now the number of those that were crucified on this account were two thousand. After which he disbanded his army, which he found no way useful to him in the affairs he came about; for they behaved themselves very disorderly, and disobeyed his orders, and what Varus desired them to do, and this out of regard to that gain which they made by the mischief they did. As for himself, when he was informed that ten thousand Jews had gotten together, he made haste to catch them; but they did not proceed so far as to fight him, but, by the advice of Achiabus, they came together, and delivered themselves up to him: hereupon Varus forgave the crime of revolting to the multitude, but sent their several commanders to Caesar, many of whom Caesar dismissed; but for the several relations of Herod who had been among these men in this war, they were the only persons whom he punished, who, without the least regard to justice, fought against their own kindred.

CHAPTER 11. An Embassage To Caesar; And How Caesar Confirmed Herod's Testament.

1. So when Varus had settled these affairs, and had placed the former legion at Jerusalem, he returned back to Antioch; but as for Archelaus, he had new sources of trouble come upon him at Rome, on the occasions following: for an embassage of the Jews was come to Rome, Varus having permitted the nation to send it, that they might petition for the liberty of living by their own laws. Now the number of the ambassadors that were sent by the authority of the nation were fifty, to which they joined above eight thousand of the Jews that were at Rome already. Hereupon Caesar assembled his friends, and the chief men among the Romans, in the temple of Apollo, which he had built at a vast charge; whither the ambassadors came, and a multitude of the Jews that were there already came with them, as did also Archelaus and his friends; but as for the several kinsmen which Archelaus had, they would not join themselves with him, out of their hatred to him; and yet they thought it too gross a thing for them to assist the ambassadors [against him], as supposing it would be a disgrace to them in Caesar's opinion to think of thus acting in opposition to a man of their own kindred. Philip also was come hither out of Syria, by the persuasion of Varus, with this principal intention to assist his brother [Archelaus]; for Varus was his great friend: but still so, that if there should any change happen in the form of government, [which Varus suspected there would,] and if any distribution should be made on account of the number that desired the liberty of living by their own laws, that he might not be disappointed, but might have his share in it.

2. Now upon the liberty that was given to the Jewish ambassadors to speak, they who hoped to obtain a dissolution of kingly government betook themselves to accuse Herod of his iniquities; and they declared that he was indeed in name a king, but that he had taken to himself that uncontrollable authority which tyrants exercise over their subjects, and had made use of that authority for the destruction of the Jews, and did not abstain from making many innovations among them besides, according to his own inclinations; and that whereas there were a great many who perished by that destruction he brought upon them, so many indeed as no other history relates, they that survived were far more miserable than those that suffered under him; not only by the anxiety they were in from his looks and disposition towards them, but from the danger their estates were in of being taken away by him. That he did never leave off adorning these cities that lay in their neighborhood, but were inhabited by foreigners; but so that

the cities belonging to his own government were ruined, and utterly destroyed that whereas, when he took the kingdom, it was in an extraordinary flourishing condition, he had filled the nation with the utmost degree of poverty; and when, upon unjust pretenses, he had slain any of the nobility, he took away their estates; and when he permitted any of them to live, he condemned them to the forfeiture of what they possessed. And besides the annual impositions which he laid upon every one of them, they were to make liberal presents to himself, to his domestics and friends, and to such of his slaves as were vouchsafed the favor of being his tax-gatherers, because there was no way of obtaining a freedom from unjust violence without giving either gold or silver for it. That they would say nothing of the corruption of the chastity of their virgins, and the reproach laid on their wives for incontinency, and those things acted after an insolent and inhuman manner; because it was not a smaller pleasure to the sufferers to have such things concealed, than it would have been not to have suffered them. That Herod had put such abuses upon them as a wild beast would not have put on them, if he had power given him to rule over us; and that although their nation had passed through many subversions and alterations of government, their history gave no account of any calamity they had ever been under, that could be compared with this which Herod had brought upon their nation; that it was for this reason that they thought they might justly and gladly salute Archelaus as king, upon this supposition, that whosoever should be set over their kingdom, he would appear more mild to them than Herod had been; and that they had joined with him in the mourning for his father, in order to gratify him, and were ready to oblige him in other points also, if they could meet with any degree of moderation from him; but that he seemed to be afraid lest he should not be deemed Herod's own son; and so, without any delay, he immediately let the nation understand his meaning, and this before his dominion was well established, since the power of disposing of it belonged to Caesar, who could either give it to him or not, as he pleased. That he had given a specimen of his future virtue to his subjects, and with what kind of moderation and good administration he would govern them, by that his first action, which concerned them, his own citizens, and God himself also, when he made the slaughter of three thousand of his own countrymen at the temple. How then could they avoid the just hatred of him, who, to the rest of his barbarity, hath added this as one of our crimes, that we have opposed and contradicted him in the exercise of his authority? Now the main thing they desired was this: That they might be delivered from kingly and the like forms of government, and might be added to Syria, and be put under the authority of such presidents of theirs as should be sent to them; for that it would thereby be made evident, whether they be really a

seditious people, and generally fond of innovations, or whether they would live in an orderly manner, if they might have governors of any sort of moderation set over them.

3. Now when the Jews had said this, Nicolaus vindicated the kings from those accusations, and said, that as for Herod, since he had never been thus accused all the time of his life, it was not fit for those that might have accused him of lesser crimes than those now mentioned, and might have procured him to be punished during his lifetime, to bring an accusation against him now he is dead. He also attributed the actions of Archlaus to the Jews' injuries to him, who, affecting to govern contrary to the laws, and going about to kill those that would have hindered them from acting unjustly, when they were by him punished for what they had done, made their complaints against him; so he accused them of their attempts for innovation, and of the pleasure they took in sedition, by reason of their not having learned to submit to justice and to the laws, but still desiring to be superior in all things. This was the substance of what Nicolaus said.

4. When Caesar had heard these pleadings, he dissolved the assembly; but a few days afterwards he appointed Archelaus, not indeed to be king of the whole country, but ethnarch of the one half of that which had been subject to Herod, and promised to give him the royal dignity hereafter, if he governed his part virtuously. But as for the other half, he divided it into two parts, and gave it to two other of Herod's sons, to Philip and to Antipas, that Antipas who disputed with Archelaus for the whole kingdom. Now to him it was that Peres and Galilee paid their tribute, which amounted annually to two hundred talents, while Batanea, with Trachonitis, as well as Auranitis, with a certain part of what was called the House of Zenodorus, paid the tribute of one hundred talents to Philip; but Idumea, and Judea, and the country of Samaria paid tribute to Archelaus, but had now a fourth part of that tribute taken off by the order of Caesar, who decreed them that mitigation, because they did not join in this revolt with the rest of the multitude. There were also certain of the cities which paid tribute to Archelaus: Strato's Tower and Sebaste, with Joppa and Jerusalem; for as to Gaza, and Gadara, and Hippos, they were Grecian cities, which Caesar separated from his government, and added them to the province of Syria. Now the tribute-money that came to Archelaus every year from his own dominions amounted to six hundred talents.

5. And so much came to Herod's sons from their father's inheritance. But Salome, besides what her brother left her by his testament, which were Jamnia, and Ashdod, and Phasaelis, and five hundred thousand [drachmae] of coined silver, Caesar made her a present of a royal habitation at Askelo; in all, her revenues amounted to sixty talents by the year, and her dwelling-house was

within Archelaus's government. The rest also of the king's relations received what his testament allotted them. Moreover, Caesar made a present to each of Herod's two virgin daughters, besides what their father left them, of two hundred and fifty thousand [drachmae] of silver, and married them to Pheroras's sons: he also granted all that was bequeathed to himself to the king's sons, which was one thousand five hundred talents, excepting a few of the vessels, which he reserved for himself; and they were acceptable to him, not so much for the great value they were of, as because they were memorials of the king to him.

CHAPTER 12. Concerning A Spurious Alexander.

1. When these affairs had been thus settled by Caesar, a certain young man, by birth a Jew, but brought up by a Roman freed-man in the city Sidon, ingrafted himself into the kindred of Herod, by the resemblance of his countenance, which those that saw him attested to be that of Alexander, the son of Herod, whom he had slain; and this was an incitement to him to endeavor to obtain the government; so he took to him as an assistant a man of his own country, [one that was well acquainted with the affairs of the palace, but, on other accounts, an ill man, and one whose nature made him capable of causing great disturbances to the public, and one that became a teacher of such a mischievous contrivance to the other,] and declared himself to be Alexander, and the son of Herod, but stolen away by one of those that were sent to slay him, who, in reality, slew other men, in order to deceive the spectators, but saved both him and his brother Aristobulus. Thus was this man elated, and able to impose on those that came to him; and when he was come to Crete, he made all the Jews that came to discourse with him believe him [to be Alexander]. And when he had gotten much money which had been presented to him there, he passed over to Melos, where he got much more money than he had before, out of the belief they had that he was of the royal family, and their hopes that he would recover his father's principality, and reward his benefactors; so he made haste to Rome, and was conducted thither by those strangers who entertained him. He was also so fortunate, as, upon his landing at Dicearchia, to bring the Jews that were there into the same delusion; and not only other people, but also all those that had been great with Herod, or had a kindness for him, joined themselves to this man as to their king. The cause of it was this, that men were glad of his pretenses, which were seconded by the likeness of his countenance, which made those that had been acquainted with Alexander strongly to believe that he was no other but the very same person, which they also confirmed to others by oath; insomuch that when the report went about him that he was coming to Rome, the whole multitude of the Jews that were there went out to meet him, ascribing it to Divine Providence that he has so unexpectedly escaped, and being very joyful on account of his mother's family. And when he was come, he was carried in a royal litter through the streets; and all the ornaments about him were such as kings are adorned withal; and this was at the expense of those that entertained him. The multitude also flocked about him greatly, and made mighty

acclamations to him, and nothing was omitted which could be thought suitable to such as had been so unexpectedly preserved.

2. When this thing was told Caesar, he did not believe it, because Herod was not easily to be imposed upon in such affairs as were of great concern to him; yet, having some suspicion it might be so, he sent one Celadus, a freed-man of his, and one that had conversed with the young men themselves, and bade him bring Alexander into his presence; so he brought him, being no more accurate in judging about him than the rest of the multitude. Yet did not he deceive Caesar; for although there was a resemblance between him and Alexander, yet was it not so exact as to impose on such as were prudent in discerning; for this spurious Alexander had his hands rough, by the labors he had been put to and instead of that softness of body which the other had, and this as derived from his delicate and generous education, this man, for the contrary reason, had a rugged body. When, therefore, Caesar saw how the master and the scholar agreed in this lying story, and in a bold way of talking, he inquired about Aristobulus, and asked what became of him who [it seems] was stolen away together with him, and for what reason it was that he did not come along with him, and endeavor to recover that dominion which was due to his high birth also. And when he said that he had been left in the isle of Crete, for fear of the dangers of the sea, that, in case any accident should come to himself, the posterity of Mariamne might not utterly perish, but that Aristobulus might survive, and punish those that laid such treacherous designs against them; and when he persevered in his affirmations, and the author of the imposture agreed in supporting it, Caesar took the young man by himself, and said to him, “If thou wilt not impose upon me, thou shalt have this for thy reward, that thou shalt escape with thy life; tell me, then, who thou art, and who it was that had boldness enough to contrive such a cheat as this. For this contrivance is too considerable a piece of villainy to be undertaken by one of thy age.” Accordingly, because he had no other way to take, he told Caesar the contrivance, and after what manner and by whom it was laid together. So Caesar, upon observing the spurious Alexander to be a strong active man, and fit to work with his hands, that he might not break his promise to him, put him among those that were to row among the mariners, but slew him that induced him to do what he had done; for as for the people of Melos, he thought them sufficiently punished, in having thrown away so much of their money upon this spurious Alexander. And such was the ignominious conclusion of this bold contrivance about the spurious Alexander.

CHAPTER 13. How Archelaus Upon A Second Accusation, Was Banished To Vienna.

1. When Archelaus was entered on his ethnarchy, and was come into Judea, he accused Joazar, the son of Boethus, of assisting the seditious, and took away the high priesthood from him, and put Eleazar his brother in his place. He also magnificently rebuilt the royal palace that had been at Jericho, and he diverted half the water with which the village of Neara used to be watered, and drew off that water into the plain, to water those palm trees which he had there planted: he also built a village, and put his own name upon it, and called it Archelais. Moreover, he transgressed the law of our fathers and married Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, who had been the wife of his brother Alexander, which Alexander had three children by her, while it was a thing detestable among the Jews to marry the brother's wife. Nor did this Eleazar abide long in the high priesthood, Jesus, the son of Sie, being put in his room while he was still living.

2. But in the tenth year of Archelaus's government, both his brethren, and the principal men of Judea and Samaria, not being able to bear his barbarous and tyrannical usage of them, accused him before Caesar, and that especially because they knew he had broken the commands of Caesar, which obliged him to behave himself with moderation among them. Whereupon Caesar, when he heard it, was very angry, and called for Archelaus's steward, who took care of his affairs at Rome, and whose name was Archelaus also; and thinking it beneath him to write to Archelaus, he bid him sail away as soon as possible, and bring him to us: so the man made haste in his voyage, and when he came into Judea, he found Archelaus feasting with his friends; so he told him what Caesar had sent him about, and hastened him away. And when he was come [to Rome], Caesar, upon hearing what certain accusers of his had to say, and what reply he could make, both banished him, and appointed Vienna, a city of Gaul, to be the place of his habitation, and took his money away from him.

3. Now, before Archelaus was gone up to Rome upon this message, he related this dream to his friends: That he saw ears of corn, in number ten, full of wheat, perfectly ripe, which ears, as it seemed to him, were devoured by oxen. And when he was awake and gotten up, because the vision appeared to beof great importance to him, he sent for the diviners, whose study was employed about dreams. And while some were of one opinion, and some of another, [for all their interpretations did not agree,] Simon, a man of the sect of the Essens, desired leave to speak his mind freely, and said that the vision denoted a change in the

affairs of Archelaus, and that not for the better; that oxen, because that animal takes uneasy pains in his labors, denoted afflictions, and indeed denoted, further, a change of affairs, because that land which is ploughed by oxen cannot remain in its former state; and that the ears of corn being ten, determined the like number of years, because an ear of corn grows in one year; and that the time of Archelaus's government was over. And thus did this man expound the dream. Now on the fifth day after this dream came first to Archelaus, the other Archelaus, that was sent to Judea by Caesar to call him away, came hither also.

4. The like accident befell Glaphyra his wife, who was the daughter of king Archelaus, who, as I said before, was married, while she was a virgin, to Alexander, the son of Herod, and brother of Archelaus; but since it fell out so that Alexander was slain by his father, she was married to Juba, the king of Lybia; and when he was dead, and she lived in widowhood in Cappadocia with her father, Archclaus divorced his former wife Mariamne, and married her, so great was his affection for this Glphyra; who, during her marriage to him, saw the following dream: She thought she saw Alexander standing by her, at which she rejoiced, and embraced him with great affection; but that he complained o her, and said, O Glaphyra! thou provest that saying to be true, which assures us that women are not to be trusted. Didst not thou pledge thy faith to me? and wast not thou married to me when thou wast a virgin? and had we not children between us? Yet hast thou forgotten the affection I bare to thee, out of a desire of a second husband. Nor hast thou been satisfied with that injury thou didst me, but thou hast been so bold as to procure thee a third husband to lie by thee, and in an indecent and imprudent manner hast entered into my house, and hast been married to Archelaus, thy husband and my brother. However, I will not forget thy former kind affection for me, but will set thee free from every such reproachful action, and cause thee to be mine again, as thou once wast. When she had related this to her female companions, in a few days' time she departed this life.

5. Now I did not think these histories improper for the present discourse, both because my discourse now is concerning kings, and otherwise also on account of the advantage hence to be drawn, as well for the confirmation of the immortality of the soul, as of the providence of God over human affairs, I thought them fit to be set down; but if any one does not believe such relations, let him indeed enjoy his own opinion, but let him not hinder another that would thereby encourage himself in virtue. So Archelaus's country was laid to the province of Syria; and Cyrenius, one that had been consul, was sent by Caesar to take account of people's effects in Syria, and to sell the house of Archelaus.

BOOK XVIII. Containing The Interval Of Thirty-Two Years. — From The Banishment Of Archelus To The Departure From Babylon.

CHAPTER 1. How Cyrenius Was Sent By Caesar To Make A Taxation Of Syria And Judea; And How Coponius Was Sent To Be Procurator Of Judea; Concerning Judas Of Galilee And Concerning The Sects That Were Among The Jews.

1. Now Cyrenius, a Roman senator, and one who had gone through other magistracies, and had passed through them till he had been consul, and one who, on other accounts, was of great dignity, came at this time into Syria, with a few others, being sent by Caesar to be a judge of that nation, and to take an account of their substance. Coponius also, a man of the equestrian order, was sent together with him, to have the supreme power over the Jews. Moreover, Cyrenius came himself into Judea, which was now added to the province of Syria, to take an account of their substance, and to dispose of Archelaus's money; but the Jews, although at the beginning they took the report of a taxation heinously, yet did they leave off any further opposition to it, by the persuasion of Joazar, who was the son of Beethus, and high priest; so they, being over-persuaded by Joazar's words, gave an account of their estates, without any dispute about it. Yet was there one Judas, a Gaulonite, of a city whose name was Gamala, who, taking with him Sadduc, a Pharisee, became zealous to draw them to a revolt, who both said that this taxation was no better than an introduction to slavery, and exhorted the nation to assert their liberty; as if they could procure them happiness and security for what they possessed, and an assured enjoyment of a still greater good, which was that of the honor and glory they would thereby acquire for magnanimity. They also said that God would not otherwise be assisting to them, than upon their joining with one another in such councils as might be successful, and for their own advantage; and this especially, if they would set about great exploits, and not grow weary in executing the same; so men received what they said with pleasure, and this bold attempt proceeded to a great height. All sorts of misfortunes also sprang from these men, and the nation was infected with this doctrine to an incredible degree; one violent war came upon us after another, and we lost our friends which used to alleviate our pains; there were also very great robberies and murder of our principal men. This was done in pretense indeed for the public welfare, but in reality for the hopes of gain to themselves; whence arose seditions, and from them murders of men, which sometimes fell on those of their own people, [by the madness of these men

towards one another, while their desire was that none of the adverse party might be left,] and sometimes on their enemies; a famine also coming upon us, reduced us to the last degree of despair, as did also the taking and demolishing of cities; nay, the sedition at last increased so high, that the very temple of God was burnt down by their enemies' fire. Such were the consequences of this, that the customs of our fathers were altered, and such a change was made, as added a mighty weight toward bringing all to destruction, which these men occasioned by their thus conspiring together; for Judas and Sadduc, who excited a fourth philosophic sect among us, and had a great many followers therein, filled our civil government with tumults at present, and laid the foundations of our future miseries, by this system of philosophy, which we were before unacquainted withal, concerning which I will discourse a little, and this the rather because the infection which spread thence among the younger sort, who were zealous for it, brought the public to destruction.

2. The Jews had for a great while had three sects of philosophy peculiar to themselves; the sect of the Essens, and the sect of the Sadducees, and the third sort of opinions was that of those called Pharisees; of which sects, although I have already spoken in the second book of the Jewish War, yet will I a little touch upon them now.

3. Now, for the Pharisees, they live meanly, and despise delicacies in diet; and they follow the conduct of reason; and what that prescribes to them as good for them they do; and they think they ought earnestly to strive to observe reason's dictates for practice. They also pay a respect to such as are in years; nor are they so bold as to contradict them in any thing which they have introduced; and when they determine that all things are done by fate, they do not take away the freedom from men of acting as they think fit; since their notion is, that it hath pleased God to make a temperament, whereby what he wills is done, but so that the will of man can act virtuously or viciously. They also believe that souls have an immortal rigor in them, and that under the earth there will be rewards or punishments, according as they have lived virtuously or viciously in this life; and the latter are to be detained in an everlasting prison, but that the former shall have power to revive and live again; on account of which doctrines they are able greatly to persuade the body of the people; and whatsoever they do about Divine worship, prayers, and sacrifices, they perform them according to their direction; insomuch that the cities give great attestations to them on account of their entire virtuous conduct, both in the actions of their lives and their discourses also.

4. But the doctrine of the Sadducees is this: That souls die with the bodies; nor do they regard the observation of any thing besides what the law enjoins them; for they think it an instance of virtue to dispute with those teachers of

philosophy whom they frequent: but this doctrine is received but by a few, yet by those still of the greatest dignity. But they are able to do almost nothing of themselves; for when they become magistrates, as they are unwillingly and by force sometimes obliged to be, they addict themselves to the notions of the Pharisees, because the multitude would not otherwise bear them.

5. The doctrine of the Essens is this: That all things are best ascribed to God. They teach the immortality of souls, and esteem that the rewards of righteousness are to be earnestly striven for; and when they send what they have dedicated to God into the temple, they do not offer sacrifices because they have more pure lustrations of their own; on which account they are excluded from the common court of the temple, but offer their sacrifices themselves; yet is their course of life better than that of other men; and they entirely addict themselves to husbandry. It also deserves our admiration, how much they exceed all other men that addict themselves to virtue, and this in righteousness; and indeed to such a degree, that as it hath never appeared among any other men, neither Greeks nor barbarians, no, not for a little time, so hath it endured a long while among them. This is demonstrated by that institution of theirs, which will not suffer any thing to hinder them from having all things in common; so that a rich man enjoys no more of his own wealth than he who hath nothing at all. There are about four thousand men that live in this way, and neither marry wives, nor are desirous to keep servants; as thinking the latter tempts men to be unjust, and the former gives the handle to domestic quarrels; but as they live by themselves, they minister one to another. They also appoint certain stewards to receive the incomes of their revenues, and of the fruits of the ground; such as are good men and priests, who are to get their corn and their food ready for them. They none of them differ from others of the Essens in their way of living, but do the most resemble those Dacae who are called Polistae [dwellers in cities].

6. But of the fourth sect of Jewish philosophy, Judas the Galilean was the author. These men agree in all other things with the Pharisaic notions; but they have an inviolable attachment to liberty, and say that God is to be their only Ruler and Lord. They also do not value dying any kinds of death, nor indeed do they heed the deaths of their relations and friends, nor can any such fear make them call any man lord. And since this immovable resolution of theirs is well known to a great many, I shall speak no further about that matter; nor am I afraid that any thing I have said of them should be disbelieved, but rather fear, that what I have said is beneath the resolution they show when they undergo pain. And it was in Gessius Florus's time that the nation began to grow mad with this distemper, who was our procurator, and who occasioned the Jews to go wild

with it by the abuse of his authority, and to make them revolt from the Romans. And these are the sects of Jewish philosophy.

CHAPTER 2. Now Herod And Philip Built Several Cities In Honor Of Caesar. Concerning The Succession Of Priests And Procurators; As Also What Befell Phraates And The Parthians.

1. When Cyrenius had now disposed of Archelaus's money, and when the taxings were come to a conclusion, which were made in the thirty-seventh year of Caesar's victory over Antony at Actium, he deprived Joazar of the high priesthood, which dignity had been conferred on him by the multitude, and he appointed Ananus, the son of Seth, to be high priest; while Herod and Philip had each of them received their own tetrarchy, and settled the affairs thereof. Herod also built a wall about Sepphoris, [which is the security of all Galilee,] and made it the metropolis of the country. He also built a wall round Betharamphtha, which was itself a city also, and called it Julias, from the name of the emperor's wife. When Philip also had built Paneas, a city at the fountains of Jordan, he named it Cesarea. He also advanced the village Bethsaids, situate at the lake of Gennesareth, unto the dignity of a city, both by the number of inhabitants it contained, and its other grandeur, and called it by the name of Julias, the same name with Caesar's daughter.

2. As Coponius, who we told you was sent along with Cyrenius, was exercising his office of procurator, and governing Judea, the following accidents happened. As the Jews were celebrating the feast of unleavened bread, which we call the Passover, it was customary for the priests to open the temple-gates just after midnight. When, therefore, those gates were first opened, some of the Samaritans came privately into Jerusalem, and threw about dead men's bodies, in the cloisters; on which account the Jews afterward excluded them out of the temple, which they had not used to do at such festivals; and on other accounts also they watched the temple more carefully than they had formerly done. A little after which accident Coponius returned to Rome, and Marcus Ambivius came to be his successor in that government; under whom Salome, the sister of king Herod, died, and left to Julia, [Caesar's wife,] Jamnia, all its toparchy, and Phasaelis in the plain, and Arehelais, where is a great plantation of palm trees, and their fruit is excellent in its kind. After him came Annius Rufus, under whom died Caesar, the second emperor of the Romans, the duration of whose reign was fifty-seven years, besides six months and two days [of which time Antonius ruled together with him fourteen years; but the duration of his life was

seventy-seven years]; upon whose death Tiberius Nero, his wife Julia's son, succeeded. He was now the third emperor; and he sent Valerius Gratus to be procurator of Judea, and to succeed Annius Rufus. This man deprived Ananus of the high priesthood, and appointed Ismael, the son of Phabi, to be high priest. He also deprived him in a little time, and ordained Eleazar, the son of Ananus, who had been high priest before, to be high priest; which office, when he had held for a year, Gratus deprived him of it, and gave the high priesthood to Simon, the son of Camithus; and when he had possessed that dignity no longer than a year, Joseph Caiaphas was made his successor. When Gratus had done those things, he went back to Rome, after he had tarried in Judea eleven years, when Pontius Pilate came as his successor.

3. And now Herod the tetrarch, who was in great favor with Tiberius, built a city of the same name with him, and called it Tiberias. He built it in the best part of Galilee, at the lake of Gennesareth. There are warm baths at a little distance from it, in a village named Emmaus. Strangers came and inhabited this city; a great number of the inhabitants were Galileans also; and many were necessitated by Herod to come thither out of the country belonging to him, and were by force compelled to be its inhabitants; some of them were persons of condition. He also admitted poor people, such as those that were collected from all parts, to dwell in it. Nay, some of them were not quite free-men, and these he was benefactor to, and made them free in great numbers; but obliged them not to forsake the city, by building them very good houses at his own expenses, and by giving them land also; for he was sensible, that to make this place a habitation was to transgress the Jewish ancient laws, because many sepulchers were to be here taken away, in order to make room for the city Tiberias whereas our laws pronounce that such inhabitants are unclean for seven days.

4. About this time died Phraates, king of the Parthians, by the treachery of Phraataces his son, upon the occasion following: When Phraates had had legitimate sons of his own, he had also an Italian maid-servant, whose name was Thermusa, who had been formerly sent to him by Julius Caesar, among other presents. He first made her his concubine; but he being a great admirer of her beauty, in process of time having a son by her, whose name was Phraataces, he made her his legitimate wife, and had a great respect for her. Now she was able to persuade him to do any thing that she said, and was earnest in procuring the government of Parthia for her son; but still she saw that her endeavors would not succeed, unless she could contrive how to remove Phraates's legitimate sons [out of the kingdom;] so she persuaded him to send those his sons as pledges of his fidelity to Rome; and they were sent to Rome accordingly, because it was not easy for him to contradict her commands. Now while Phraataces was alone

brought up in order to succeed in the government, he thought it very tedious to expect that government by his father's donation [as his successor]; he therefore formed a treacherous design against his father, by his mother's assistance, with whom, as the report went, he had criminal conversation also. So he was hated for both these vices, while his subjects esteemed this [wicked] love of his mother to be no way inferior to his parricide; and he was by them, in a sedition, expelled out of the country before he grew too great, and died. But as the best sort of Parthians agreed together that it was impossible they should be governed without a king, while also it was their constant practice to choose one of the family of Arsaces, [nor did their law allow of any others; and they thought this kingdom had been sufficiently injured already by the marriage with an Italian concubine, and by her issue,] they sent ambassadors, and called Orodes [to take the crown]; for the multitude would not otherwise have borne them; and though he was accused of very great cruelty, and was of an untractable temper, and prone to wrath, yet still he was one of the family of Arsaces. However, they made a conspiracy against him, and slew him, and that, as some say, at a festival, and among their sacrifices; [for it is the universal custom there to carry their swords with them;] but, as the more general report is, they slew him when they had drawn him out a hunting. So they sent ambassadors to Rome, and desired they would send one of those that were there as pledges to be their king. Accordingly, Vonones was preferred before the rest, and sent to them [for he seemed capable of such great fortune, which two of the greatest kingdoms under the sun now offered him, his own and a foreign one]. However, the barbarians soon changed their minds, they being naturally of a mutable disposition, upon the supposal that this man was not worthy to be their governor; for they could not think of obeying the commands of one that had been a slave, [for so they called those that had been hostages,] nor could they bear the ignominy of that name; and this was the more intolerable, because then the Parthians must have such a king set over them, not by right of war, but in time of peace. So they presently invited Artabanus, king of Media, to be their king, he being also of the race of Arsaces. Artabanus complied with the offer that was made him, and came to them with an army. So Vonones met him; and at first the multitude of the Parthians stood on this side, and he put his army in array; but Artabanus was beaten, and fled to the mountains of Media. Yet did he a little after gather a great army together, and fought with Vonones, and beat him; whereupon Vonones fled away on horseback, with a few of his attendants about him, to Seleucia [upon Tigris]. So when Artabanus had slain a great number, and this after he had gotten the victory by reason of the very great dismay the barbarians were in, he retired to Ctesiphon with a great number of his people; and so he now reigned over the

Parthians. But Vonones fled away to Armenia; and as soon as he came thither, he had an inclination to have the government of the country given him, and sent ambassadors to Rome [for that purpose]. But because Tiberius refused it him, and because he wanted courage, and because the Parthian king threatened him, and sent ambassadors to him to denounce war against him if he proceeded, and because he had no way to take to regain any other kingdom, [for the people of authority among the Armenians about Niphates joined themselves to Artabanus,] he delivered up himself to Silanus, the president of Syria, who, out of regard to his education at Rome, kept him in Syria, while Artabanus gave Armenia to Orodes, one of his own sons.

5. At this time died Antiochus, the king of Commagene; whereupon the multitude contended with the nobility, and both sent ambassadors to [Rome]; for the men of power were desirous that their form of government might be changed into that of a [Roman] province; as were the multitude desirous to be under kings, as their fathers had been. So the senate made a decree that Germanicus should be sent to settle the affairs of the East, fortune hereby taking a proper opportunity for depriving him of his life; for when he had been in the East, and settled all affairs there, his life was taken away by the poison which Piso gave him, as hath been related elsewhere.

CHAPTER 3. Sedition Of The Jews Against Pontius Pilate. Concerning Christ, And What Befell Paulina And The Jews At Rome.

1. But now Pilate, the procurator of Judea, removed the army from Cesarea to Jerusalem, to take their winter quarters there, in order to abolish the Jewish laws. So he introduced Caesar's effigies, which were upon the ensigns, and brought them into the city; whereas our law forbids us the very making of images; on which account the former procurators were wont to make their entry into the city with such ensigns as had not those ornaments. Pilate was the first who brought those images to Jerusalem, and set them up there; which was done without the knowledge of the people, because it was done in the night time; but as soon as they knew it, they came in multitudes to Cesarea, and interceded with Pilate many days that he would remove the images; and when he would not grant their requests, because it would tend to the injury of Caesar, while yet they persevered in their request, on the sixth day he ordered his soldiers to have their weapons privately, while he came and sat upon his judgment-seat, which seat was so prepared in the open place of the city, that it concealed the army that lay ready to oppress them; and when the Jews petitioned him again, he gave a signal to the soldiers to encompass them routed, and threatened that their punishment should be no less than immediate death, unless they would leave off disturbing him, and go their ways home. But they threw themselves upon the ground, and laid their necks bare, and said they would take their death very willingly, rather than the wisdom of their laws should be transgressed; upon which Pilate was deeply affected with their firm resolution to keep their laws inviolable, and presently commanded the images to be carried back from Jerusalem to Cesarea.

2. But Pilate undertook to bring a current of water to Jerusalem, and did it with the sacred money, and derived the origin of the stream from the distance of two hundred furlongs. However, the Jews were not pleased with what had been done about this water; and many ten thousands of the people got together, and made a clamor against him, and insisted that he should leave off that design. Some of them also used reproaches, and abused the man, as crowds of such people usually do. So he habited a great number of his soldiers in their habit, who carried daggers under their garments, and sent them to a place where they might surround them. So he bid the Jews himself go away; but they boldly casting reproaches upon him, he gave the soldiers that signal which had been beforehand agreed on; who laid upon them much greater blows than Pilate had

commanded them, and equally punished those that were tumultuous, and those that were not; nor did they spare them in the least: and since the people were unarmed, and were caught by men prepared for what they were about, there were a great number of them slain by this means, and others of them ran away wounded. And thus an end was put to this sedition.

3. Now there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man; for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles. He was [the] Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men amongst us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at the first did not forsake him; for he appeared to them alive again the third day; as the divine prophets had foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day.

4. About the same time also another sad calamity put the Jews into disorder, and certain shameful practices happened about the temple of Isis that was at Rome. I will now first take notice of the wicked attempt about the temple of Isis, and will then give an account of the Jewish affairs. There was at Rome a woman whose name was Paulina; one who, on account of the dignity of her ancestors, and by the regular conduct of a virtuous life, had a great reputation: she was also very rich; and although she was of a beautiful countenance, and in that flower of her age wherein women are the most gay, yet did she lead a life of great modesty. She was married to Saturninus, one that was every way answerable to her in an excellent character. Decius Mundus fell in love with this woman, who was a man very high in the equestrian order; and as she was of too great dignity to be caught by presents, and had already rejected them, though they had been sent in great abundance, he was still more inflamed with love to her, insomuch that he promised to give her two hundred thousand Attic drachmae for one night's lodging; and when this would not prevail upon her, and he was not able to bear this misfortune in his amours, he thought it the best way to famish himself to death for want of food, on account of Paulina's sad refusal; and he determined with himself to die after such a manner, and he went on with his purpose accordingly. Now Mundus had a freed-woman, who had been made free by his father, whose name was Ide, one skillful in all sorts of mischief. This woman was very much grieved at the young man's resolution to kill himself, [for he did not conceal his intentions to destroy himself from others,] and came to him, and encouraged him by her discourse, and made him to hope, by some promises she gave him, that he might obtain a night's lodging with Paulina; and when he joyfully hearkened to her entreaty, she said she wanted no more than

fifty thousand drachmae for the entrapping of the woman. So when she had encouraged the young man, and gotten as much money as she required, she did not take the same methods as had been taken before, because she perceived that the woman was by no means to be tempted by money; but as she knew that she was very much given to the worship of the goddess Isis, she devised the following stratagem: She went to some of Isis's priests, and upon the strongest assurances [of concealment], she persuaded them by words, but chiefly by the offer of money, of twenty-five thousand drachmae in hand, and as much more when the thing had taken effect; and told them the passion of the young man, and persuaded them to use all means possible to beguile the woman. So they were drawn in to promise so to do, by that large sum of gold they were to have. Accordingly, the oldest of them went immediately to Paulina; and upon his admittance, he desired to speak with her by herself. When that was granted him, he told her that he was sent by the god Anubis, who was fallen in love with her, and enjoined her to come to him. Upon this she took the message very kindly, and valued herself greatly upon this condescension of Anubis, and told her husband that she had a message sent her, and was to sup and lie with Anubis; so he agreed to her acceptance of the offer, as fully satisfied with the chastity of his wife. Accordingly, she went to the temple, and after she had supped there, and it was the hour to go to sleep, the priest shut the doors of the temple, when, in the holy part of it, the lights were also put out. Then did Mundus leap out, [for he was hidden therein,] and did not fail of enjoying her, who was at his service all the night long, as supposing he was the god; and when he was gone away, which was before those priests who knew nothing of this stratagem were stirring, Paulina came early to her husband, and told him how the god Anubis had appeared to her. Among her friends, also, she declared how great a value she put upon this favor, who partly disbelieved the thing, when they reflected on its nature, and partly were amazed at it, as having no pretense for not believing it, when they considered the modesty and the dignity of the person. But now, on the third day after what had been done, Mundus met Paulina, and said, "Nay, Paulina, thou hast saved me two hundred thousand drachmae, which sum thou sightest have added to thy own family; yet hast thou not failed to be at my service in the manner I invited thee. As for the reproaches thou hast laid upon Mundus, I value not the business of names; but I rejoice in the pleasure I reaped by what I did, while I took to myself the name of Anubis." When he had said this, he went his way. But now she began to come to the sense of the grossness of what she had done, and rent her garments, and told her husband of the horrid nature of this wicked contrivance, and prayed him not to neglect to assist her in this case. So he discovered the fact to the emperor; whereupon Tiberius inquired

into the matter thoroughly by examining the priests about it, and ordered them to be crucified, as well as Ide, who was the occasion of their perdition, and who had contrived the whole matter, which was so injurious to the woman. He also demolished the temple of Isis, and gave order that her statue should be thrown into the river Tiber; while he only banished Mundus, but did no more to him, because he supposed that what crime he had committed was done out of the passion of love. And these were the circumstances which concerned the temple of Isis, and the injuries occasioned by her priests. I now return to the relation of what happened about this time to the Jews at Rome, as I formerly told you I would.

5. There was a man who was a Jew, but had been driven away from his own country by an accusation laid against him for transgressing their laws, and by the fear he was under of punishment for the same; but in all respects a wicked man. He, then living at Rome, professed to instruct men in the wisdom of the laws of Moses. He procured also three other men, entirely of the same character with himself, to be his partners. These men persuaded Fulvia, a woman of great dignity, and one that had embraced the Jewish religion, to send purple and gold to the temple at Jerusalem; and when they had gotten them, they employed them for their own uses, and spent the money themselves, on which account it was that they at first required it of her. Whereupon Tiberius, who had been informed of the thing by Saturninus, the husband of Fulvia, who desired inquiry might be made about it, ordered all the Jews to be banished out of Rome; at which time the consuls listed four thousand men out of them, and sent them to the island Sardinia; but punished a greater number of them, who were unwilling to become soldiers, on account of keeping the laws of their forefathers. Thus were these Jews banished out of the city by the wickedness of four men.

CHAPTER 4. How The Samaritans Made A Tumult And Pilate Destroyed Many Of Them; How Pilate Was Accused And What Things Were Done By Vitellius Relating To The Jews And The Parthians.

1. But the nation of the Samaritans did not escape without tumults. The man who excited them to it was one who thought lying a thing of little consequence, and who contrived every thing so that the multitude might be pleased; so he bid them to get together upon Mount Gerizzim, which is by them looked upon as the most holy of all mountains, and assured them, that when they were come thither, he would show them those sacred vessels which were laid under that place, because Moses put them there So they came thither armed, and thought the discourse of the man probable; and as they abode at a certain village, which was called Tirathaba, they got the rest together to them, and desired to go up the mountain in a great multitude together; but Pilate prevented their going up, by seizing upon file roads with a great band of horsemen and foot-men, who fell upon those that were gotten together in the village; and when it came to an action, some of them they slew, and others of them they put to flight, and took a great many alive, the principal of which, and also the most potent of those that fled away, Pilate ordered to be slain.

2. But when this tumult was appeased, the Samaritan senate sent an embassy to Vitellius, a man that had been consul, and who was now president of Syria, and accused Pilate of the murder of those that were killed; for that they did not go to Tirathaba in order to revolt from the Romans, but to escape the violence of Pilate. So Vitellius sent Marcellus, a friend of his, to take care of the affairs of Judea, and ordered Pilate to go to Rome, to answer before the emperor to the accusations of the Jews. So Pilate, when he had tarried ten years in Judea, made haste to Rome, and this in obedience to the orders of Vitellius, which he durst not contradict; but before he could get to Rome Tiberius was dead.

3. But Vitellius came into Judea, and went up to Jerusalem; it was at the time of that festival which is called the Passover. Vitellius was there magnificently received, and released the inhabitants of Jerusalem from all the taxes upon the fruits that were bought and sold, and gave them leave to have the care of the high priest’s vestments, with all their ornaments, and to have them under the custody of the priests in the temple, which power they used to have formerly, although at this time they were laid up in the tower of Antonia, the citadel so

called, and that on the occasion following: There was one of the [high] priests, named Hyrcanus; and as there were many of that name, he was the first of them; this man built a tower near the temple, and when he had so done, he generally dwelt in it, and had these vestments with him, because it was lawful for him alone to put them on, and he had them there reposited when he went down into the city, and took his ordinary garments; the same things were continued to be done by his sons, and by their sons after them. But when Herod came to be king, he rebuilt this tower, which was very conveniently situated, in a magnificent manner; and because he was a friend to Antonius, he called it by the name of Antonia. And as he found these vestments lying there, he retained them in the same place, as believing, that while he had them in his custody, the people would make no innovations against him. The like to what Herod did was done by his son Archelaus, who was made king after him; after whom the Romans, when they entered on the government, took possession of these vestments of the high priest, and had them reposited in a stone-chamber, under the seal of the priests, and of the keepers of the temple, the captain of the guard lighting a lamp there every day; and seven days before a festival they were delivered to them by the captain of the guard, when the high priest having purified them, and made use of them, laid them up again in the same chamber where they had been laid up before, and this the very next day after the feast was over. This was the practice at the three yearly festivals, and on the fast day; but Vitellius put those garments into our own power, as in the days of our forefathers, and ordered the captain of the guard not to trouble himself to inquire where they were laid, or when they were to be used; and this he did as an act of kindness, to oblige the nation to him. Besides which, he also deprived Joseph, who was also called Caiaphas, of the high priesthood, and appointed Jonathan the son of Ananus, the former high priest, to succeed him. After which, he took his journey back to Antioch.

4. Moreover, Tiberius sent a letter to Vitellius, and commanded him to make a league of friendship with Artabanus, the king of Parthia; for while he was his enemy, he terrified him, because he had taken Armenia away from him, lest he should proceed further, and told him he should no otherwise trust him than upon his giving him hostages, and especially his son Artabanus. Upon Tiberius's writing thus to Vitellius, by the offer of great presents of money, he persuaded both the king of Iberia and the king of Albania to make no delay, but to fight against Artabanus; and although they would not do it themselves, yet did they give the Scythians a passage through their country, and opened the Caspian gates to them, and brought them upon Artabanus. So Armenia was again taken from the Parthians, and the country of Parthis was filled with war, and the principal of

their men were slain, and all things were in disorder among them: the king's son also himself fell in these wars, together with many ten thousands of his army. Vitellius had also sent such great sums of money to Artabanus's father's kinsmen and friends, that he had almost procured him to be slain by the means of those bribes which they had taken. And when Artabanus perceived that the plot laid against him was not to be avoided, because it was laid by the principal men, and those a great many in number, and that it would certainly take effect, — when he had estimated the number of those that were truly faithful to him, as also of those who were already corrupted, but were deceitful in the kindness they professed to him, and were likely, upon trial, to go over to his enemies, he made his escape to the upper provinces, where he afterwards raised a great army out of the Dahae and Sacre, and fought with his enemies, and retained his principality.

5. When Tiberius had heard of these things, he desired to have a league of friendship made between him and Artabanus; and when, upon this invitation, he received the proposal kindly, Artabanus and Vitellius went to Euphrates, and as a bridge was laid over the river, they each of them came with their guards about them, and met one another on the midst of the bridge. And when they had agreed upon the terms of peace Herod, the tetrarch erected a rich tent on the midst of the passage, and made them a feast there. Artabanus also, not long afterward, sent his son Darius as an hostage, with many presents, among which there was a man seven cubits tall, a Jew he was by birth, and his name was Eleazar, who, for his tallness, was called a giant. After which Vitellius went to Antioch, and Artabanus to Babylon; but Herod [the tetrarch] being desirous to give Caesar the first information that they had obtained hostages, sent posts with letters, wherein he had accurately described all the particulars, and had left nothing for the consular Vitellius to inform him of. But when Vitellius's letters were sent, and Caesar had let him know that he was acquainted with the affairs already, because Herod had given him an account of them before, Vitellius was very much troubled at it; and supposing that he had been thereby a greater sufferer than he really was, he kept up a secret anger upon this occasion, till he could be revenged on him, which he was after Caius had taken the government.

6. About this time it was that Philip, Herod's brother, departed this life, in the twentieth year of the reign of Tiberius, after he had been tetrarch of Trachonitis and Gaulanitis, and of the nation of the Bataneans also, thirty-seven years. He had showed himself a person of moderation and quietness in the conduct of his life and government; he constantly lived in that country which was subject to him; he used to make his progress with a few chosen friends; his tribunal also, on which he sat in judgment, followed him in his progress; and when any one met him who wanted his assistance, he made no delay, but had his tribunal set

down immediately, wheresoever he happened to be, and sat down upon it, and heard his complaint: he there ordered the guilty that were convicted to be punished, and absolved those that had been accused unjustly. He died at Julias; and when he was carried to that monument which he had already erected for himself beforehand, he was buried with great pomp. His principality Tiberius took, [for he left no sons behind him,] and added it to the province of Syria, but gave order that the tributes which arose from it should be collected, and laid up in his tetrachy.

CHAPTER 5. Herod The Tetrarch Makes War With Aretas, The King Of Arabia, And Is Beaten By Him As Also Concerning The Death Of John The Baptist. How Vitellius Went Up To Jerusalem; Together With Some Account Of Agrippa And Of The Posterity Of Herod The Great.

1. About this time Aretas [the king of Arabia Petres] and Herod had a quarrel on the account following: Herod the tetrarch had, married the daughter of Aretas, and had lived with her a great while; but when he was once at Rome, he lodged with Herod, who was his brother indeed, but not by the same mother; for this Herod was the son of the high priest Sireoh's daughter. However, he fell in love with Herodias, this last Herod's wife, who was the daughter of Aristobulus their brother, and the sister of Agrippa the Great. This man ventured to talk to her about a marriage between them; which address, when she admitted, an agreement was made for her to change her habitation, and come to him as soon as he should return from Rome: one article of this marriage also was this, that he should divorce Aretas's daughter. So Antipus, when he had made this agreement, sailed to Rome; but when he had done there the business he went about, and was returned again, his wife having discovered the agreement he had made with Herodias, and having learned it before he had notice of her knowledge of the whole design, she desired him to send her to Macherus, which is a place in the borders of the dominions of Aretas and Herod, without informing him of any of her intentions. Accordingly Herod sent her thither, as thinking his wife had not perceived any thing; now she had sent a good while before to Macherus, which was subject to her father and so all things necessary for her journey were made ready for her by the general of Aretas's army; and by that means she soon came into Arabia, under the conduct of the several generals, who carried her from one to another successively; and she soon came to her father, and told him of Herod's intentions. So Aretas made this the first occasion of his enmity between him and Herod, who had also some quarrel with him about their limits at the country of Gamalitis. So they raised armies on both sides, and prepared for war, and sent their generals to fight instead of themselves; and when they had joined battle, all Herod's army was destroyed by the treachery of some fugitives, who, though they were of the tetrarchy of Philip,

joined with Aretas's army.. So Herod wrote about these affairs to Tiberius, who being very angry at the attempt made by Aretas, wrote to Vitellius to make war upon him, and either to take him alive, and bring him to him in bonds, or to kill him, and send him his head. This was the charge that Tiberius gave to the president of Syria.

2. Now some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that very justly, as a punishment of what he did against John, that was called the Baptist: for Herod slew him, who was a good man, and commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism; for that the washing [with water] would be acceptable to him, if they made use of it, not in order to the putting away [or the remission] of some sins [only], but for the purification of the body; supposing still that the soul was thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness. Now when [many] others came in crowds about him, for they were very greatly moved [or pleased] by hearing his words, Herod, who feared lest the great influence John had over the people might put it into his power and inclination to raise a rebellion, [for they seemed ready to do any thing he should advise,] thought it best, by putting him to death, to prevent any mischief he might cause, and not bring himself into difficulties, by sparing a man who might make him repent of it when it would be too late. Accordingly he was sent a prisoner, out of Herod's suspicious temper, to Macherus, the castle I before mentioned, and was there put to death. Now the Jews had an opinion that the destruction of this army was sent as a punishment upon Herod, and a mark of God's displeasure to him.

3. So Vitellius prepared to make war with Aretas, having with him two legions of armed men; he also took with him all those of light armature, and of the horsemen which belonged to them, and were drawn out of those kingdoms which were under the Romans, and made haste for Petra, and came to Ptolemais. But as he was marching very busily, and leading his army through Judea, the principal men met him, and desired that he would not thus march through their land; for that the laws of their country would not permit them to overlook those images which were brought into it, of which there were a great many in their ensigns; so he was persuaded by what they said, and changed that resolution of his which he had before taken in this matter. Whereupon he ordered the army to march along the great plain, while he himself, with Herod the tetrarch and his friends, went up to Jerusalem to offer sacrifice to God, an ancient festival of the Jews being then just approaching; and when he had been there, and been honorably entertained by the multitude of the Jews, he made a stay there for three days, within which time he deprived Jonathan of the high priesthood, and

gave it to his brother Theophilus. But when on the fourth day letters came to him, which informed him of the death of Tiberius, he obliged the multitude to take an oath of fidelity to Caius; he also recalled his army, and made them every one go home, and take their winter quarters there, since, upon the devolution of the empire upon Caius, he had not the like authority of making this war which he had before. It was also reported, that when Aretas heard of the coming of Vitellius to fight him, he said, upon his consulting the diviners, that it was impossible that this army of Vitellius's could enter Petra; for that one of the rulers would die, either he that gave orders for the war, or he that was marching at the other's desire, in order to be subservient to his will, or else he against whom this army is prepared. So Vitellius truly retired to Antioch; but Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, went up to Rome, a year before the death of Tiberius, in order to treat of some affairs with the emperor, if he might be permitted so to do. I have now a mind to describe Herod and his family, how it fared with them, partly because it is suitable to this history to speak of that matter, and partly because this thing is a demonstration of the interposition of Providence, how a multitude of children is of no advantage, no more than any other strength that mankind set their hearts upon, besides those acts of piety which are done towards God; for it happened, that, within the revolution of a hundred years, the posterity of Herod, which were a great many in number, were, excepting a few, utterly destroyed. One may well apply this for the instruction of mankind, and learn thence how unhappy they were: it will also show us the history of Agrippa, who, as he was a person most worthy of admiration, so was he from a private man, beyond all the expectation of those that knew him, advanced to great power and authority. I have said something of them formerly, but I shall now also speak accurately about them.

4. Herod the Great had two daughters by Mariamne, the [grand] daughter of Hyrcanus; the one was Salampsio, who was married to Phasaelus, her first cousin, who was himself the son of Phasaelus, Herod's brother, her father making the match; the other was Cypros, who was herself married also to her first cousin Antipater, the son of Salome, Herod's sister. Phasaelus had five children by Salampsio; Antipater, Herod, and Alexander, and two daughters, Alexandra and Cypros; which last Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, married; and Timius of Cyprus married Alexandra; he was a man of note, but had by her no children. Agrippa had by Cypros two sons and three daughters, which daughters were named Bernice, Mariarune, and Drusius; but the names of the sons were Agrippa and Drusus, of which Drusus died before he came to the years of puberty; but their father, Agrippa, was brought up with his other brethren, Herod and Aristobulus, for these were also the sons of the son of Herod the Great by

Bernice; but Bernice was the daughter of Costobarus and of Salome, who was Herod's sister. Aristobulus left these infants when he was slain by his father, together with his brother Alexander, as we have already related. But when they were arrived at years of puberty, this Herod, the brother of Agrippa, married Mariamne, the daughter of Olympias, who was the daughter of Herod the king, and of Joseph, the son of Joseph, who was brother to Herod the king, and had by her a son, Aristobulus; but Aristobulus, the third brother of Agrippa, married Jotape, the daughter of Sampsigeramus, king of Emesa; they had a daughter who was deaf, whose name also was Jotape; and these hitherto were the children of the male line. But Herodias, their sister, was married to Herod [Philip], the son of Herod the Great, who was born of Mariamne, the daughter of Simon the high priest, who had a daughter, Salome; after whose birth Herodias took upon her to confound the laws of our country, and divorced herself from her husband while he was alive, and was married to Herod [Antipas], her husband's brother by the father's side, he was tetrarch of Galilee; but her daughter Salome was married to Philip, the son of Herod, and tetrarch of Trachonitis; and as he died childless, Aristobulus, the son of Herod, the brother of Agrippa, married her; they had three sons, Herod, Agrippa, and Aristobulus; and this was the posterity of Phasaelus and Salampsio. But the daughter of Antipater by Cypros was Cypros, whom Alexas Selcias, the son of Alexas, married; they had a daughter, Cypros; but Herod and Alexander, who, as we told you, were the brothers of Antipater, died childless. As to Alexander, the son of Herod the king, who was slain by his father, he had two sons, Alexander and Tigranes, by the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. Tigranes, who was king of Armenia, was accused at Rome, and died childless; Alexander had a son of the same name with his brother Tigranes, and was sent to take possession of the kingdom of Armenia by Nero; he had a son, Alexander, who married Jotape, the daughter of Antiochus, the king of Commagena; Vespasian made him king of an island in Cilicia. But these descendants of Alexander, soon after their birth, deserted the Jewish religion, and went over to that of the Greeks. But for the rest of the daughters of Herod the king, it happened that they died childless. And as these descendants of Herod, whom we have enumerated, were in being at the same time that Agrippa the Great took the kingdom, and I have now given an account of them, it now remains that I relate the several hard fortunes which befell Agrippa, and how he got clear of them, and was advanced to the greatest height of dignity and power.

CHAPTER 6. Of The Navigation Of King Agrippa To Rome, To Tiberius Caesar; And Now Upon His Being Accused By His Own Freed-Man, He Was Bound; How Also He, Was Set At Liberty By Caius, After Tiberius's Death And Was Made King Of The Tetrarchy Of Philip.

1. A Little before the death of Herod the king, Agrippa lived at Rome, and was generally brought up and conversed with Drusus, the emperor Tiberius's son, and contracted a friendship with Antonia, the wife of Drusus the Great, who had his mother Bernice in great esteem, and was very desirous of advancing her son. Now as Agrippa was by nature magnanimous and generous in the presents he made, while his mother was alive, this inclination of his mind did not appear, that he might be able to avoid her anger for such his extravagance; but when Bernice was dead, and he was left to his own conduct, he spent a great deal extravagantly in his daily way of living, and a great deal in the immoderate presents he made, and those chiefly among Caesar's freed-men, in order to gain their assistance, insomuch that he was, in a little time, reduced to poverty, and could not live at Rome any longer. Tiberius also forbade the friends of his deceased son to come into his sight, because on seeing them he should be put in mind of his son, and his grief would thereby be revived.

2. For these reasons he went away from Rome, and sailed to Judea, but in evil circumstances, being dejected with the loss of that money which he once had, and because he had not wherewithal to pay his creditors, who were many in number, and such as gave him no room for escaping them. Whereupon he knew not what to do; so, for shame of his present condition, he retired to a certain tower, at Malatha, in Idumea, and had thoughts of killing himself; but his wife Cypros perceived his intentions, and tried all sorts of methods to divert him from his taking such a course; so she sent a letter to his sister Herodias, who was now the wife of Herod the tetrarch, and let her know Agrippa's present design, and what necessity it was which drove him thereto, and desired her, as a kinswoman of his, to give him her help, and to engage her husband to do the same, since she saw how she alleviated these her husband's troubles all she could, although she had not the like wealth to do it withal. So they sent for him, and allotted him Tiberias for his habitation, and appointed him some income of money for his

maintenance, and made him a magistrate of that city, by way of honor to him. Yet did not Herod long continue in that resolution of supporting him, though even that support was not sufficient for him; for as once they were at a feast at Tyre, and in their cups, and reproaches were cast upon one another, Agrippa thought that was not to be borne, while Herod hit him in the teeth with his poverty, and with his owing his necessary food to him. So he went to Flaccus, one that had been consul, and had been a very great friend to him at Rome formerly, and was now president of Syria.

3. Hereupon Flaccus received him kindly, and he lived with him. Flaccus had also with him there Aristobulus, who was indeed Agrippa's brother, but was at variance with him; yet did not their enmity to one another hinder the friendship of Flaccus to them both, but still they were honorably treated by him. However, Aristobulus did not abate of his ill-will to Agrippa, till at length he brought him into ill terms with Flaccus; the occasion of bringing on which estrangement was this: The Damascens were at difference with the Sidonians about their limits, and when Flaccus was about to hear the cause between them, they understood that Agrippa had a mighty influence upon him; so they desired that he would be of their side, and for that favor promised him a great deal of money; so he was zealous in assisting the Damascens as far as he was able. Now Aristobulus had gotten intelligence of this promise of money to him, and accused him to Flaccus of the same; and when, upon a thorough examination of the matter, it appeared plainly so to be, he rejected Agrippa out of the number of his friends. So he was reduced to the utmost necessity, and came to Ptolemais; and because he knew not where else to get a livelihood, he thought to sail to Italy; but as he was restrained from so doing by want of money, he desired Marsyas, who was his freed-man, to find some method for procuring him so much as he wanted for that purpose, by borrowing such a sum of some person or other. So Marsyas desired of Peter, who was the freed-man of Bernice, Agrippa's mother, and by the right of her testament was bequeathed to Antonia, to lend so much upon Agrippa's own bond and security; but he accused Agrippa of having defrauded him of certain sums of money, and so obliged Marsyas, when he made the bond of twenty thousand Attic drachmae, to accept of twenty-five hundred drachma as less than what he desired, which the other allowed of, because he could not help it. Upon the receipt of this money, Agrippa came to Anthedon, and took shipping, and was going to set sail; but Herennius Capito, who was the procurator of Jamhis, sent a band of soldiers to demand of him three hundred thousand drachmae of silver, which were by him owing to Caesar's treasury while he was at Rome, and so forced him to stay. He then pretended that he would do as he bid him; but when night came on, he cut his cables, and went off,

and sailed to Alexandria, where he desired Alexander the alabarch to lend him two hundred thousand drachmae; but he said he would not lend it to him, but would not refuse it to Cypros, as greatly astonished at her affection to her husband, and at the other instances of her virtue; so she undertook to repay it. Accordingly, Alexander paid them five talents at Alexandria, and promised to pay them the rest of that sum at Dicearchia [Puteoli]; and this he did out of the fear he was in that Agrippa would soon spend it. So this Cypros set her husband free, and dismissed him to go on with his navigation to Italy, while she and her children departed for Judea.

4. And now Agrippa was come to Puteoli, whence he wrote a letter to Tiberius Caesar, who then lived at Capreae, and told him that he was come so far in order to wait on him, and to pay him a visit; and desired that he would give him leave to come over to Caprein: so Tiberius made no difficulty, but wrote to him in an obliging way in other respects; and withal told him he was glad of his safe return, and desired him to come to Capreae; and when he was come, he did not fail to treat him as kindly as he had promised him in his letter to do. But the next day came a letter to Caesar from Herennius Capito, to inform him that Agrippa had borrowed three hundred thousand drachmae, and not pad it at the time appointed; but when it was demanded of him, he ran away like a fugitive, out of the places under his government, and put it out of his power to get the money of him. When Caesar had read this letter, he was much troubled at it, and gave order that Agrippa should be excluded from his presence until he had paid that debt: upon which he was no way daunted at Caesar's anger, but entreated Antonia, the mother of Germanicus, and of Claudius, who was afterward Caesar himself, to lend him those three hundred thousand drachmae, that he might not be deprived of Tiberius's friendship; so, out of regard to the memory of Bernice his mother, [for those two women were very familiar with one another,] and out of regard to his and Claudius's education together, she lent him the money; and, upon the payment of this debt, there was nothing to hinder Tiberius's friendship to him. After this, Tiberius Caesar recommended to him his grandson, and ordered that he should always accompany him when he went abroad. But upon Agrippa's kind reception by Antonia, he betook him to pay his respects to Caius, who was her grandson, and in very high reputation by reason of the good-will they bare his father. Now there was one Thallus, a freed-man of Caesar, of whom he borrowed a million of drachmae, and thence repaid Antonia the debt he owed her; and by sending the overplus in paying his court to Caius, became a person of great authority with him.

5. Now as the friendship which Agrippa had for Caius was come to a great height, there happened some words to pass between them, as they once were in a

chariot together, concerning Tiberius; Agrippa praying [to God] [for they two sat by themselves] that Tiberius might soon go off the stage, and leave the government to Caius, who was in every respect more worthy of it. Now Eutychus, who was Agrippa's freed-man, and drove his chariot, heard these words, and at that time said nothing of them; but when Agrippa accused him of stealing some garments of his, [which was certainly true,] he ran away from him; but when he was caught, and brought before Piso, who was governor of the city, and the man was asked why he ran away, he replied, that he had somewhat to say to Caesar, that tended to his security and preservation: so Piso bound him, and sent him to Capreae. But Tiberius, according to his usual custom, kept him still in bonds, being a delayer of affairs, if ever there was any other king or tyrant that was so; for he did not admit ambassadors quickly, and no successors were despatched away to governors or procurators of the provinces that had been formerly sent, unless they were dead; whence it was that he was so negligent in hearing the causes of prisoners; insomuch that when he was asked by his friends what was the reason of his delay in such cases, he said that he delayed to hear ambassadors, lest, upon their quick dismission, other ambassadors should be appointed, and return upon him; and so he should bring trouble upon himself in their public reception and dismission: that he permitted those governors who had been sent once to their government [to stay there a long while], out of regard to the subjects that were under them; for that all governors are naturally disposed to get as much as they can; and that those who are not to fix there, but to stay a short time, and that at an uncertainty when they shall be turned out, do the more severely hurry themselves on to fleece the people; but that if their government be long continued to them; they are at last satiated with the spoils, as having gotten a vast deal, and so become at length less sharp in their pillaging; but that if successors are sent quickly, the poor subjects, who are exposed to them as a prey, will not be able to bear the new ones, while they shall not have the same time allowed them wherein their predecessors had filled themselves, and so grew more unconcerned about getting more; and this because they are removed before they have had time [for their oppressions]. He gave them an example to show his meaning: A great number of flies came about the sore places of a man that had been wounded; upon which one of the standers-by pitied the man's misfortune, and thinking he was not able to drive those flies away himself, was going to drive them away for him; but he prayed him to let them alone: the other, by way of reply, asked him the reason of such a preposterous proceeding, in preventing relief from his present misery; to which he answered, "If thou drivest these flies away, thou wilt hurt me worse; for as these are already full of my blood, they do not crowd about me, nor pain me so much as before, but are somewhat more

remiss, while the fresh ones that come almost famished, and find me quite tired down already, will be my destruction. For this cause, therefore, it is that I am myself careful not to send such new governors perpetually to those my subjects, who are already sufficiently harassed by many oppressions, as may, like these flies, further distress them; and so, besides their natural desire of gain, may have this additional incitement to it, that they expect to be suddenly deprived of that pleasure which they take in it." And, as a further attestation to what I say of the dilatory nature of Tiberius, I appeal to this his practice itself; for although he was emperor twenty-two years, he sent in all but two procurators to govern the nation of the Jews, Gratus, and his successor in the government, Pilate. Nor was he in one way of acting with respect to the Jews, and in another with respect to the rest of his subjects. He further informed them, that even in the hearing of the causes of prisoners, he made such delays, because immediate death to those that must be condemned to die would be an alleviation of their present miseries, while those wicked wretches have not deserved any such favor; "but I do it, that, by being harassed with the present calamity, they may undergo greater misery."

6. On this account it was that Eutychus could not obtain a bearing, but was kept still in prison. However, some time afterward, Tiberius came from Capreae to Tusculanum, which is about a hundred furlongs from Rome. Agrippa then desired of Antonia that she would procure a hearing for Eutychus, let the matter whereof he accused him prove what it would. Now Antonia was greatly esteemed by Tiberius on all accounts, from the dignity of her relation to him, who had been his brother Drusus's wife, and from her eminent chastity; for though she was still a young woman, she continued in her widowhood, and refused all other matches, although Augustus had enjoined her to be married to somebody else; yet did she all along preserve her reputation free from reproach. She had also been the greatest benefactress to Tiberius, when there was a very dangerous plot laid against him by Sejanus, a man who had been her husband's friend, and wire had the greatest authority, because he was general of the army, and when many members of the senate and many of the freed-men joined with him, and the soldiery was corrupted, and the plot was come to a great height. Now Sejanus had certainly gained his point, had not Antonia's boldness been more wisely conducted than Sejanus's malice; for when she had discovered his designs against Tiberius, she wrote him an exact account of the whole, and gave the letter to Pallas, the most faithful of her servants, and sent him to Caprere to Tiberius, who, when he understood it, slew Sejanus and his confederates; so that Tiberius, who had her in great esteem before, now looked upon her with still greater respect, and depended upon her in all things. So when Tiberius was desired by this Antonia to examine Eutychus, he answered, "If indeed Eutychus

hath falsely accused Agrippa in what he hath said of him, he hath had sufficient punishment by what I have done to him already; but if, upon examination, the accusation appears to be true, let Agrippa have a care, lest, out of desire of punishing his freed-man, he do not rather bring a punishment upon himself." Now when Antonia told Agrippa of this, he was still much more pressing that the matter might be examined into; so Antonia, upon Agrippa's lying hard at her continually to beg this favor, took the following opportunity: As Tiberius lay once at his ease upon his sedan, and was carried about, and Caius, her grandson, and Agrippa, were before him after dinner she walked by the sedan, and desired him to call Eutychus, and have him examined; to which he replied, "O Antonia! the gods are my witnesses that I am induced to do what I am going to do, not by my own inclination, but because I am forced to it by thy prayers." When he had said this, he ordered Macro, who succeeded Sejanus, to bring Eutychus to him; accordingly, without any delay, he was brought. Then Tiberius asked him what he had to say against a man who had given him his liberty. Upon which he said, "O my lord! this Caius, and Agrippa with him, were once riding in a chariot, when I sat at their feet, and, among other discourses that passed, Agrippa said to Caius, Oh that the day would once come when this old fellow will dies and name thee for the governor of the habitable earth! for then this Tiberius, his grandson, would be no hinderance, but would be taken off by thee, and that earth would be happy, and I happy also." Now Tiberius took these to be truly Agrippa's words, and bearing a grudge withal at Agrippa, because, when he had commanded him to pay his respects to Tiberius, his grandson, and the son of Drusus, Agrippa had not paid him that respect, but had disobeyed his commands, and transferred all his regard to Caius; he said to Macro, "Bind this man." But Macro, not distinctly knowing which of them it was whom he bid him bind, and not expecting that he would have any such thing done to Agrippa, he forbore, and came to ask more distinctly what it was that he said. But when Caesar had gone round the hippodrome, he found Agrippa standing: "For certain," said he, "Macro, this is the man I meant to have bound;" and when he still asked, "Which of these is to be bound?" he said "Agrippa." Upon which Agrippa betook himself to make supplication for himself, putting him in mind of his son, with whom he was brought up, and of Tiberius [his grandson] whom he had educated; but all to no purpose; for they led him about bound even in his purple garments. It was also very hot weather, and they had but little wine to their meal, so that he was very thirsty; he was also in a sort of agony, and took this treatment of him heinously: as he therefore saw one of Caius's slaves, whose name was Thaumastus, carrying some water in a vessel, he desired that he would let him drink; so the servant gave him some water to drink, and he drank heartily, and said, "O thou

boy! this service of thine to me will be for thy advantage; for if I once get clear of these my bonds, I will soon procure thee thy freedom of Caius who has not been wanting to minister to me now I am in bonds, in the same manner as when I was in my former state and dignity." Nor did he deceive him in what he promised him, but made him amends for what he had now done; for when afterward Agrippa was come to the kingdom, he took particular care of Thaumastus, and got him his liberty from Caius, and made him the steward over his own estate; and when he died, he left him to Agrippa his son, and to Bernice his daughter, to minister to them in the same capacity. The man also grew old in that honorable post, and therein died. But all this happened a good while later.

7. Now Agrippa stood in his bonds before the royal palace, and leaned on a certain tree for grief, with many others, who were in bonds also; and as a certain bird sat upon the tree on which Agrippa leaned, [the Romans call this bird bubo,] [an owl,] one of those that were bound, a German by nation, saw him, and asked a soldier who that man in purple was; and when he was informed that his name was Agrippa, and that he was by nation a Jew, and one of the principal men of that nation, he asked leave of the soldier to whom he was bound, to let him come nearer to him, to speak with him; for that he had a mind to inquire of him about some things relating to his country; which liberty, when he had obtained, and as he stood near him, he said thus to him by an interpreter: "This sudden change of thy condition, O young man! is grievous to thee, as bringing on thee a manifold and very great adversity; nor wilt thou believe me, when I foretell how thou wilt get clear of this misery which thou art now under, and how Divine Providence will provide for thee. Know therefore [and I appeal to my own country gods, as well as to the gods of this place, who have awarded these bonds to us] that all I am going to say about thy concerns shall neither be said for favor nor bribery, nor out of an endeavor to make thee cheerful without cause; for such predictions, when they come to fail, make the grief at last, and in earnest, more bitter than if the party had never heard of any such thing. However, though I run the hazard of my own self, I think it fit to declare to thee the prediction of the gods. It cannot be that thou shouldst long continue in these bonds; but thou wilt soon be delivered from them, and wilt be promoted to the highest dignity and power, and thou wilt be envied by all those who now pity thy hard fortune; and thou wilt be happy till thy death, and wilt leave thine happiness to the children whom thou shalt have. But do thou remember, when thou seest this bird again, that thou wilt then live but five days longer. This event will be brought to pass by that God who hath sent this bird hither to be a sign unto thee. And I cannot but think it unjust to conceal from thee what I foreknow concerning thee, that, by thy knowing beforehand what happiness is coming upon thee, thou mayst not regard

thy present misfortunes. But when this happiness shall actually befall thee, do not forget what misery I am in myself, but endeavor to deliver me." So when the German had said this, he made Agrippa laugh at him as much as he afterwards appeared worthy of admiration. But now Antonia took Agrippa's misfortune to heart: however, to speak to Tiberius on his behalf, she took to be a very difficult thing, and indeed quite impracticable, as to any hope of success; yet did she procure of Macro, that the soldiers that kept him should be of a gentle nature, and that the centurion who was over them and was to diet with him, should be of the same disposition, and that he might have leave to bathe himself every day, and that his freed-men and friends might come to him, and that other things that tended to ease him might be indulged him. So his friend Silas came in to him, and two of his freed-men, Marsyas and Stechus, brought him such sorts of food as he was fond of, and indeed took great care of him; they also brought him garments, under pretense of selling them; and when night came on, they laid them under him; and the soldiers assisted them, as Macro had given them order to do beforehand. And this was Agrippa's condition for six months' time, and in this case were his affairs.

8. But for Tiberius, upon his return to Caprein, he fell sick. At first his distemper was but gentle; but as that distemper increased upon him, he had small or no hopes of recovery. Hereupon he bid Euodus, who was that freed-man whom he most of all respected, to bring the children to him, for that he wanted to talk to them before he died. Now he had at present no sons of his own alive for Drusus, who was his only son, was dead; but Drusus's son Tiberius was still living, whose additional name was Gemellus: there was also living Caius, the son of Germanicus, who was the son of his brother [Drusus]. He was now grown up, and had a liberal education, and was well improved by it, and was in esteem and favor with the people, on account of the excellent character of his father Germanicus, who had attained the highest honor among the multitude, by the firmness of his virtuous behavior, by the easiness and agreeableness of his conversing with the multitude, and because the dignity he was in did not hinder his familiarity with them all, as if they were his equals; by which behavior he was not only greatly esteemed by the people and the senate, but by every one of those nations that were subject to the Romans; some of which were affected when they came to him with the gracefulness of their reception by him, and others were affected in the same manner by the report of the others that had been with him; and, upon his death, there was a lamentation made by all men; not such a one as was to be made in way of flattery to their rulers, while they did but counterfeit sorrow, but such as was real; while every body grieved at his death, as if they had lost one that was near to them. And truly such had been his easy

conversation with men, that it turned greatly to the advantage of his son among all; and, among others, the soldiery were so peculiarly affected to him, that they reckoned it an eligible thing, if need were, to die themselves, if he might but attain to the government.

9. But when Tiberius had given order to Euodus to bring the children to him the next day in the morning, he prayed to his country gods to show him a manifest signal which of those children should come to the government; being very desirous to leave it to his son's son, but still depending upon what God should foreshow concerning them more than upon his own opinion and inclination; so he made this to be the omen, that the government should be left to him who should come to him first the next day. When he had thus resolved within himself, he sent to his grandson's tutor, and ordered him to bring the child to him early in the morning, as supposing that God would permit him to be made emperor. But God proved opposite to his designation; for while Tiberius was thus contriving matters, and as soon as it was at all day, he bid Euodus to call in that child which should be there ready. So he went out, and found Caius before the door, for Tiberius was not yet come, but staid waiting for his breakfast; for Euodus knew nothing of what his lord intended; so he said to Caius, "Thy father calls thee," and then brought him in. As soon as Tiberius saw Caius, and not before, he reflected on the power of God, and how the ability of bestowing the government on whom he would was entirely taken from him; and thence he was not able to establish what he had intended. So he greatly lamented that his power of establishing what he had before contrived was taken from him, and that his grandson Tiberius was not only to lose the Roman empire by his fatality, but his own safety also, because his preservation would now depend upon such as would be more potent than himself, who would think it a thing not to be borne, that a kinsman should live with them, and so his relation would not be able to protect him; but he would be feared and bated by him who had the supreme authority, partly on account of his being next to the empire, and partly on account of his perpetually contriving to get the government, both in order to preserve himself, and to be at the head of affairs also. Now Tiberius had been very much given to astrology, and the calculation of nativities, and had spent his life in the esteem of what predictions had proved true, more than those whose profession it was. Accordingly, when he once saw Galba coming in to him, he said to his most intimate friends, that there came in a man that would one day have the dignity of the Roman empire. So that this Tiberius was more addicted to all such sorts of diviners than any other of the Roman emperors, because he had found them to have told him truth in his own affairs. And indeed he was now in great distress upon this accident that had befallen him, and was very

much grieved at the destruction of his son's son, which he foresaw, and complained of himself, that he should have made use of such a method of divination beforehand, while it was in his power to have died without grief by this knowledge of futurity; whereas he was now tormented by his foreknowledge of the misfortune of such as were dearest to him, and must die under that torment. Now although he was disordered at this unexpected revolution of the government to those for whom he did not intend it, he spake thus to Caius, though unwillingly, and against his own inclination: "O child! although Tiberius be nearer related to me than thou art, I, by my own determination, and the conspiring suffrage of the gods, do give and put into thy hand the Roman empire; and I desire thee never to be unmindful when thou comest to it, either of my kindness to thee, who set thee in so high a dignity, or of thy relation to Tiberius. But as thou knowest that I am, together with and after the gods, the procurer of so great happiness to thee; so I desire that thou wilt make me a return for my readiness to assist thee, and wilt take care of Tiberius because of his near relation to thee. Besides which, thou art to know, that while Tiberius is alive, he will be a security to thee, both as to empire and as to thy own preservation; but if he die, that will be but a prelude to thy own misfortunes; for to be alone under the weight of such vast affairs is very dangerous; nor will the gods suffer those actions which are unjustly done, contrary to that law which directs men to act otherwise, to go off unpunished." This was the speech which Tiberius made, which did not persuade Caius to act accordingly, although he promised so to do; but when he was settled in the government, he took off this Tiberius, as was predicted by the other Tiberius; as he was also himself, in no long time afterward, slain by a secret plot laid against him.

10. So when Tiberius had at this time appointed Caius to be his successor, he outlived but a few days, and then died, after he had held the government twenty-two years five months and three days. Now Caius was the fourth emperor. But when the Romans understood that Tiberius was dead, they rejoiced at the good news, but had not courage to believe it; not because they were unwilling it should be true, for they would have given huge sums of money that it might be so, but because they were afraid, that if they had showed their joy when the news proved false, their joy should be openly known, and they should be accused for it, and be thereby undone. For this Tiberius had brought a vast number of miseries on the best families of the Romans, since he was easily inflamed with passion in all cases, and was of such a temper as rendered his anger irrevocable, till he had executed the same, although he had taken a hatred against men without reason; for he was by nature fierce in all the sentences he gave, and made death the penalty for the lightest offenses; insomuch that when the Romans

heard the rumor about his death gladly, they were restrained from the enjoyment of that pleasure by the dread of such miseries as they foresaw would follow, if their hopes proved ill-grounded. Now Marsyas, Agrippa's freed-man, as soon as he heard of Tiberius's death, came running to tell Agrippa the news; and finding him going out to the bath, he gave him a nod, and said, in the Hebrew tongue, "The lion is dead;" who, understanding his meaning, and being overjoyed at the news, "Nay," said he, "but all sorts of thanks and happiness attend thee for this news of thine; only I wish that what thou sayest may prove true." Now the centurion who was set to keep Agrippa, when he saw with what haste Marsyas came, and what joy Agrippa had from what he said, he had a suspicion that his words implied some great innovation of affairs, and he asked them about what was said. They at first diverted the discourse; but upon his further pressing, Agrippa, without more ado, told him, for he was already become his friend; so he joined with him in that pleasure which this news occasioned, because it would be fortunate to Agrippa, and made him a supper. But as they were feasting, and the cups went about, there came one who said that Tiberius was still alive, and would return to the city ill a few days. At which news the centurion was exceedingly troubled, because he had done what might cost him his life, to have treated so joyfully a prisoner, and this upon the news of the death of Caesar; so he thrust Agrippa from the couch whereon he lay, and said, "Dost thou think to cheat me by a lie about the emperor without punishment? and shalt not thou pay for this thy malicious report at the price of thine head?" When he had so said, he ordered Agrippa to be bound again, [for he had loosed him before,] and kept a severer guard over him than formerly, and in that evil condition was Agrippa that night; but the next day the rumor increased in the city, and confirmed the news that Tiberius was certainly dead; insomuch that men durst now openly and freely talk about it; nay, some offered sacrifices on that account. Several letters also came from Caius; one of them to the senate, which informed them of the death of Tiberius, and of his own entrance on the government; another to Piso, the governor of the city, which told him the same thing. He also gave order that Agrippa should be removed out of the camp, and go to that house where he lived before he was put in prison; so that he was now out of fear as to his own affairs; for although he was still in custody, yet it was now with ease to his own affairs. Now, as soon as Caius was come to Rome, and had brought Tiberius's dead body with him, and had made a sumptuous funeral for him, according to the laws of his country, he was much disposed to set Agrippa at liberty that very day; but Antonia hindered him, not out of any ill-will to the prisoner, but out of regard to decency in Caius, lest that should make men believe that he received the death of Tiberius with pleasure, when he loosed one whom he had bound immediately.

However, there did not many days pass ere he sent for him to his house, and had him shaved, and made him change his raiment; after which he put a diadem upon his head, and appointed him to be king of the tetrarchy of Philip. He also gave him the tetrarchy of Lysanias, and changed his iron chain for a golden one of equal weight. He also sent Marullus to be procurator of Judea.

11. Now, in the second year of the reign of Caius Caesar, Agrippa desired leave to be given him to sail home, and settle the affairs of his government; and he promised to return again, when he had put the rest in order, as it ought to be put. So, upon the emperor's permission, he came into his own country, and appeared to them all unexpectedly as asking, and thereby demonstrated to the men that saw him the power of fortune, when they compared his former poverty with his present happy affluence; so some called him a happy man, and others could not well believe that things were so much changed with him for the better.

CHAPTER 7. How Herod The Tetrarch Was Banished.

1. But Herodias, Agrippa's sister, who now lived as wife to that Herod who was tetrarch of Galilee and Peres, took this authority of her brother in an envious manner, particularly when she saw that he had a greater dignity bestowed on him than her husband had; since, when he ran away, it was because he was not able to pay his debts; and now he was come back, he was in a way of dignity, and of great good fortune. She was therefore grieved and much displeased at so great a mutation of his affairs; and chiefly when she saw him marching among the multitude with the usual ensigns of royal authority, she was not able to conceal how miserable she was, by reason of the envy she had towards him; but she excited her husband, and desired him that he would sail to Rome, to court honors equal to his; for she said that she could not bear to live any longer, while Agrippa, the son of that Aristobulus who was condemned to die by his father, one that came to her husband in such extreme poverty, that the necessaries of life were forced to be entirely supplied him day by day; and when he fled away from his creditors by sea, he now returned a king; while he was himself the son of a king, and while the near relation he bare to royal authority called upon him to gain the like dignity, he sat still, and was contented with a privater life. "But then, Herod, although thou wast formerly not concerned to be in a lower condition than thy father from whom thou wast derived had been, yet do thou now seek after the dignity which thy kinsman hath attained to; and do not thou bear this contempt, that a man who admired thy riches should be in greater honor than thyself, nor suffer his poverty to show itself able to purchase greater things than our abundance; nor do thou esteem it other than a shameful thing to be inferior to one who, the other day, lived upon thy charity. But let us go to Rome, and let us spare no pains nor expenses, either of silver or gold, since they cannot be kept for any better use than for the obtaining of a kingdom."

2. But for Herod, he opposed her request at this time, out of the love of ease, and having a suspicion of the trouble he should have at Rome; so he tried to instruct her better. But the more she saw him draw back, the more she pressed him to it, and desired him to leave no stone unturned in order to be king; and at last she left not off till she engaged him, whether he would or not, to be of her sentiments, because he could no otherwise avoid her importunity. So he got all things ready, after as sumptuous a manner as he was able, and spared for nothing, and went up to Rome, and took Herodias along with him. But Agrippa,

when he was made sensible of their intentions and preparations, he also prepared to go thither; and as soon as he heard they set sail, he sent Fortunatus, one of his freed-men, to Rome, to carry presents to the emperor, and letters against Herod, and to give Caius a particular account of those matters, if he should have any opportunity. This man followed Herod so quick, and had so prosperous a voyage, and came so little after Herod, that while Herod was with Caius, he came himself, and delivered his letters; for they both sailed to Dicearchia, and found Caius at Bairn, which is itself a little city of Campania, at the distance of about five furlongs from Dicearchia. There are in that place royal palaces, with sumptuous apartments, every emperor still endeavoring to outdo his predecessor's magnificence; the place also affords warm baths, that spring out of the ground of their own accord, which are of advantage for the recovery of the health of those that make use of them; and, besides, they minister to men's luxury also. Now Caius saluted Herod, for he first met with him, and then looked upon the letters which Agrippa had sent him, and which were written in order to accuse Herod; wherein he accused him, that he had been in confederacy with Sejanus against Tiberius's and that he was now confederate with Artabanus, the king of Parthia, in opposition to the government of Caius; as a demonstration of which he alleged, that he had armor sufficient for seventy thousand men ready in his armory. Caius was moved at this information, and asked Herod whether what was said about the armor was true; and when he confessed there was such armor there, for he could not deny the same, the truth of it being too notorious, Caius took that to be a sufficient proof of the accusation, that he intended to revolt. So he took away from him his tetrarchy, and gave it by way of addition to Agrippa's kingdom; he also gave Herod's money to Agrippa, and, by way of punishment, awarded him a perpetual banishment, and appointed Lyons, a city of Gaul, to be his place of habitation. But when he was informed that Herodias was Agrippa's sister, he made her a present of what money was her own, and told her that it was her brother who prevented her being put under the same calamity with her husband. But she made this reply: "Thou, indeed, O emperor! actest after a magnificent manner, and as becomes thyself in what thou offerest me; but the kindness which I have for my husband hinders me from partaking of the favor of thy gift; for it is not just that I, who have been made a partner in his prosperity, should forsake him in his misfortunes." Hereupon Caius was angry at her, and sent her with Herod into banishment, and gave her estate to Agrippa. And thus did God punish Herodias for her envy at her brother, and Herod also for giving ear to the vain discourses of a woman. Now Caius managed public affairs with great magnanimity during the first and second year of his reign, and behaved himself with such moderation, that he gained the good-will of the Romans

themselves, and of his other subjects. But, in process of time, he went beyond the bounds of human nature in his conceit of himself, and by reason of the vastness of his dominions made himself a god, and took upon himself to act in all things to the reproach of the Deity itself.

CHAPTER 8. Concerning The Embassage Of The Jews To Caius; And How Caius Sent Petronius Into Syria To Make War Against The Jews, Unless They Would Receive His Statue.

1. There was now a tumult arisen at Alexandria, between the Jewish inhabitants and the Greeks; and three ambassadors were chosen out of each party that were at variance, who came to Caius. Now one of these ambassadors from the people of Alexandria was Apion, who uttered many blasphemies against the Jews; and, among other things that he said, he charged them with neglecting the honors that belonged to Caesar; for that while all who were subject to the Roman empire built altars and temples to Caius, and in other regards universally received him as they received the gods, these Jews alone thought it a dishonorable thing for them to erect statues in honor of him, as well as to swear by his name. Many of these severe things were said by Apion, by which he hoped to provoke Caius to anger at the Jews, as he was likely to be. But Philo, the principal of the Jewish embassage, a man eminent on all accounts, brother to Alexander the alabarch, and one not unskillful in philosophy, was ready to betake himself to make his defense against those accusations; but Caius prohibited him, and bid him begone; he was also in such a rage, that it openly appeared he was about to do them some very great mischief. So Philo being thus affronted, went out, and said to those Jews who were about him, that they should be of good courage, since Caius's words indeed showed anger at them, but in reality had already set God against himself.

2. Hereupon Caius, taking it very heinously that he should be thus despised by the Jews alone, sent Petronius to be president of Syria, and successor in the government to Vitellius, and gave him order to make an invasion into Judea, with a great body of troops; and if they would admit of his statue willingly, to erect it in the temple of God; but if they were obstinate, to conquer them by war, and then to do it. Accordingly, Petronius took the government of Syria, and made haste to obey Caesar's epistle. He got together as great a number of auxiliaries as he possibly could, and took with him two legions of the Roman army, and came to Ptolemais, and there wintered, as intending to set about the war in the spring. He also wrote word to Caius what he had resolved to do, who commended him for his alacrity, and ordered him to go on, and to make war with them, in case they would not obey his commands. But there came many ten

thousands of the Jews to Petronius, to Ptolemais, to offer their petitions to him, that he would not compel them to transgress and violate the law of their forefathers; “but if,” said they, “thou art entirely resolved to bring this statue, and erect it, do thou first kill us, and then do what thou hast resolved on; for while we are alive we cannot permit such things as are forbidden us to be done by the authority of our legislator, and by our forefathers’ determination that such prohibitions are instances of virtue.” But Petronius was angry at them, and said, “If indeed I were myself emperor, and were at liberty to follow my own inclination, and then had designed to act thus, these your words would be justly spoken to me; but now Caesar hath sent to me, I am under the necessity of being subservient to his decrees, because a disobedience to them will bring upon me inevitable destruction.” Then the Jews replied, “Since, therefore, thou art so disposed, O Petronius! that thou wilt not disobey Caius’s epistles, neither will we transgress the commands of our law; and as we depend upon the excellency of our laws, and, by the labors of our ancestors, have continued hitherto without suffering them to be transgressed, we dare not by any means suffer ourselves to be so timorous as to transgress those laws out of the fear of death, which God hath determined are for our advantage; and if we fall into misfortunes, we will bear them, in order to preserve our laws, as knowing that those who expose themselves to dangers have good hope of escaping them, because God will stand on our side, when, out of regard to him, we undergo afflictions, and sustain the uncertain turns of fortune. But if we should submit to thee, we should be greatly reproached for our cowardice, as thereby showing ourselves ready to transgress our law; and we should incur the great anger of God also, who, even thyself being judge, is superior to Caius.”

3. When Petronius saw by their words that their determination was hard to be removed, and that, without a war, he should not be able to be subservient to Caius in the dedication of his statue, and that there must be a great deal of bloodshed, he took his friends, and the servants that were about him, and hasted to Tiberias, as wanting to know in what posture the affairs of the Jews were; and many ten thousands of the Jews met Petronius again, when he was come to Tiberias. These thought they must run a mighty hazard if they should have a war with the Romans, but judged that the transgression of the law was of much greater consequence, and made supplication to him, that he would by no means reduce them to such distresses, nor defile their city with the dedication of the statue. Then Petronius said to them, “Will you then make war with Caesar, without considering his great preparations for war, and your own weakness?” They replied, “We will not by any means make war with him, but still we will die before we see our laws transgressed.” So they threw themselves down upon

their faces, and stretched out their throats, and said they were ready to be slain; and this they did for forty days together, and in the mean time left off the tilling of their ground, and that while the season of the year required them to sow it. Thus they continued firm in their resolution, and proposed to themselves to die willingly, rather than to see the dedication of the statue.

4. When matters were in this state, Aristobulus, king Agrippa's brother, and Heleias the Great, and the other principal men of that family with them, went in unto Petronius, and besought him, that since he saw the resolution of the multitude, he would not make any alteration, and thereby drive them to despair; but would write to Caius, that the Jews had an insuperable aversion to the reception of the statue, and how they continued with him, and left of the tillage off their ground: that they were not willing to go to war with him, because they were not able to do it, but were ready to die with pleasure, rather than suffer their laws to be transgressed: and how, upon the land's continuing unsown, robberies would grow up, on the inability they would be under of paying their tributes; and that Caius might be thereby moved to pity, and not order any barbarous action to be done to them, nor think of destroying the nation: that if he continues inflexible in his former opinion to bring a war upon them, he may then set about it himself. And thus did Aristobulus, and the rest with him, supplicate Petronius. So Petronius, partly on account of the pressing instances which Aristobulus and the rest with him made, and because of the great consequence of what they desired, and the earnestness wherewith they made their supplication, — partly on account of the firmness of the opposition made by the Jews, which he saw, while he thought it a terrible thing for him to be such a slave to the madness of Caius, as to slay so many ten thousand men, only because of their religious disposition towards God, and after that to pass his life in expectation of punishment; Petronius, I say, thought it much better to send to Caius, and to let him know how intolerable it was to him to bear the anger he might have against him for not serving him sooner, in obedience to his epistle, for that perhaps he might persuade him; and that if this mad resolution continued, he might then begin the war against them; nay, that in case he should turn his hatred against himself, it was fit for virtuous persons even to die for the sake of such vast multitudes of men. Accordingly, he determined to hearken to the petitioners in this matter.

5. He then called the Jews together to Tiberias, who came many ten thousands in number; he also placed that army he now had with him opposite to them; but did not discover his own meaning, but the commands of the emperor, and told them that his wrath would, without delay, be executed on such as had the courage to disobey what he had commanded, and this immediately; and that it

was fit for him, who had obtained so great a dignity by his grant, not to contradict him in any thing:— "yet," said he, "I do not think it just to have such a regard to my own safety and honor, as to refuse to sacrifice them for your preservation, who are so many in number, and endeavor to preserve the regard that is due to your law; which as it hath come down to you from your forefathers, so do you esteem it worthy of your utmost contention to preserve it: nor, with the supreme assistance and power of God, will I be so hardy as to suffer your temple to fall into contempt by the means of the imperial authority. I will, therefore, send to Caius, and let him know what your resolutions are, and will assist your suit as far as I am able, that you may not be exposed to suffer on account of the honest designs you have proposed to yourselves; and may God be your assistant, for his authority is beyond all the contrivance and power of men; and may he procure you the preservation of your ancient laws, and may not he be deprived, though without your consent, of his accustomed honors. But if Caius be irritated, and turn the violence of his rage upon me, I will rather undergo all that danger and that affliction that may come either on my body or my soul, than see so many of you to perish, while you are acting in so excellent a manner. Do you, therefore, every one of you, go your way about your own occupations, and fall to the cultivation of your ground; I will myself send to Rome, and will not refuse to serve you in all things, both by myself and by my friends."

6. When Petronius had said this, and had dismissed rite assembly of the Jews, he desired the principal of them to take care of their husbandry, and to speak kindly to the people, and encourage them to have good hope of their affairs. Thus did he readily bring the multitude to be cheerful again. And now did God show his presence to Petronius, and signify to him that he would afford him his assistance in his whole design; for he had no sooner finished the speech that he made to the Jews, but God sent down great showers of rain, contrary to human expectation; for that day was a clear day, and gave no sign, by the appearance of the sky, of any rain; nay, the whole year had been subject to a great drought, and made men despair of any water from above, even when at any time they saw the heavens overcast with clouds; insomuch that when such a great quantity of rain came, and that in an unusual manner, and without any other expectation of it, the Jews hoped that Petronius would by no means fail in his petition for them. But as to Petronius, he was mightily surprised when he perceived that God evidently took care of the Jews, and gave very plain signs of his appearance, and this to such a degree, that those that were in earnest much inclined to the contrary had no power left to contradict it. This was also among those other particulars which he wrote to Caius, which all tended to dissuade him, and by all means to entreat

him not to make so many ten thousands of these men go distracted; whom, if he should slay, [for without war they would by no means suffer the laws of their worship to be set aside,] he would lose the revenue they paid him, and would be publicly cursed by them for all future ages. Moreover, that God, who was their Governor, had shown his power most evidently on their account, and that such a power of his as left no room for doubt about it. And this was the business that Petronius was now engaged in.

7. But king Agrippa, who now lived at Rome, was more and more in the favor of Caius; and when he had once made him a supper, and was careful to exceed all others, both in expenses and in such preparations as might contribute most to his pleasure; nay, it was so far from the ability of others, that Caius himself could never equal, much less exceed it [such care had he taken beforehand to exceed all men, and particularly to make all agreeable to Caesar]; hereupon Caius admired his understanding and magnificence, that he should force himself to do all to please him, even beyond such expenses as he could bear, and was desirous not to be behind Agrippa in that generosity which he exerted in order to please him. So Caius, when he had drank wine plentifully, and was merrier than ordinary, said thus during the feast, when Agrippa had drunk to him: "I knew before now how great a respect thou hast had for me, and how great kindness thou hast shown me, though with those hazards to thyself, which thou underwentest under Tiberius on that account; nor hast thou omitted any thing to show thy good-will towards us, even beyond thy ability; whence it would be a base thing for me to be conquered by thy affection. I am therefore desirous to make thee amends for every thing in which I have been formerly deficient; for all that I have bestowed on thee, that may be called my gifts, is but little. Everything that may contribute to thy happiness shall be at thy service, and that cheerfully, and so far as my ability will reach." And this was what Caius said to Agrippa, thinking he would ask for some large country, or the revenues of certain cities. But although he had prepared beforehand what he would ask, yet had he not discovered his intentions, but made this answer to Caius immediately: That it was not out of any expectation of gain that he formerly paid his respects to him, contrary to the commands of Tiberius, nor did he now do any thing relating to him out of regard to his own advantage, and in order to receive any thing from him; that the gifts he had already bestowed upon him were great, and beyond the hopes of even a craving man; for although they may be beneath thy power, [who art the donor,] yet are they greater than my inclination and dignity, who am the receiver. And as Caius was astonished at Agrippa's inclinations, and still the more pressed him to make his request for somewhat which he might gratify him with, Agrippa replied, "Since thou, O my lord! declarest such is thy

readiness to grant, that I am worthy of thy gifts, I will ask nothing relating to my own felicity; for what thou hast already bestowed on me has made me excel therein; but I desire somewhat which may make thee glorious for piety, and render the Divinity assistant to thy designs, and may be for an honor to me among those that inquire about it, as showing that I never once fail of obtaining what I desire of thee; for my petition is this, that thou wilt no longer think of the dedication of that statue which thou hast ordered to be set up in the Jewish temple by Petronius."

8. And thus did Agrippa venture to cast the die upon this occasion, so great was the affair in his opinion, and in reality, though he knew how dangerous a thing it was so to speak; for had not Caius approved of it, it had tended to no less than the loss of his life. So Caius, who was mightily taken with Agrippa's obliging behavior, and on other accounts thinking it a dishonorable thing to be guilty of falsehood before so many witnesses, in points wherein he had with such alacrity forced Agrippa to become a petitioner, and that it would look as if he had already repented of what he had said, and because he greatly admired Agrippa's virtue, in not desiring him at all to augment his own dominions, either with larger revenues, or other authority, but took care of the public tranquillity, of the laws, and of the Divinity itself, he granted him what he had requested. He also wrote thus to Petronius, commending him for his assembling his army, and then consulting him about these affairs. "If therefore," said' he, "thou hast already erected my statue, let it stand; but if thou hast not yet dedicated it, do not trouble thyself further about it, but dismiss thy army, go back, and take care of those affairs which I sent thee about at first, for I have now no occasion for the erection of that statue. This I have granted as a favor to Agrippa, a man whom I honor so very greatly, that I am not able to contradict what he would have, or what he desired me to do for him." And this was what Caius wrote to Petronius, which was before he received his letter, informing him that the Jews were very ready to revolt about the statue, and that they seemed resolved to threaten war against the Romans, and nothing else. When therefore Caius was much displeased that any attempt should be made against his government as he was a slave to base and vicious actions on all occasions, and had no regard to What was virtuous and honorable, and against whomsoever he resolved to show his anger, and that for any cause whatsoever, he suffered not himself to be restrained by any admonition, but thought the indulging his anger to be a real pleasure, he wrote thus to Petronius: "Seeing thou esteemest the presents made thee by the Jews to be of greater value than my commands, and art grown insolent enough to be subservient to their pleasure, I charge thee to become thy own judge, and to consider what thou art to do, now thou art under my displeasure; for I will make

thee an example to the present and to all future ages, that they. may not dare to contradict the commands of their emperor."

9. This was the epistle which Caius wrote to. Petronius; but Petronius did not receive it while Caius was alive, that ship which carried it sailing so slow, that other letters came to Petronius before this, by which he understood that Caius was dead; for God would not forget the dangers Petronius had undertaken on account of the Jews, and of his own honor. But when he had taken Caius away, out of his indignation of what he had so insolently attempted in assuming to himself divine worship, both Rome and all that dominion conspired with Petronius, especially those that were of the senatorian order, to give Caius his due reward, because he had been unmercifully severe to them; for he died not long after he had written to Petronius that epistle which threatened him with death. But as for the occasion of his death, and the nature of the plot against him, I shall relate them in the progress of this narration. Now that epistle which informed Petronius of Caius's death came first, and a little afterward came that which commanded him to kill himself with his own hands. Whereupon he rejoiced at this coincidence as to the death of Caius, and admired God's providence, who, without the least delay, and immediately, gave him a reward for the regard he had to the temple, and the assistance he afforded the Jews for avoiding the dangers they were in. And by this means Petronius escaped that danger of death, which he could not foresee.

CHAPTER 9. What Befell The Jews That Were In Babylon On Occasion Of Asineus And Anileus, Two Brethren.

1. A Very sad calamity now befell the Jews that were in Mesopotamia, and especially those that dwelt in Babylonia. Inferior it was to none of the calamities which had gone before, and came together with a great slaughter of them, and that greater than any upon record before; concerning all which I shall speak accurately, and shall explain the occasions whence these miseries came upon them. There was a city of Babylonia called Neerda; not only a ver populous one, but one that had a good and a large territory about it, and, besides its other advantages, full of men also. It was, besides, not easily to be assaulted by enemies, from the river Euphrates encompassing it all round, and from the wails that were built about it. There was also the city Nisibis, situate on the same current of the river. For which reason the Jews, depending on the natural strength of these places, deposited in them that half shekel which every one, by the custom of our country, offers unto God, as well as they did other things devoted to him; for they made use of these cities as a treasury, whence, at a proper time, they were transmitted to Jerusalem; and many ten thousand men undertook the carriage of those donations, out of fear of the ravages of the Parthians, to whom the Babylonians were then subject. Now there were two men, Asineus and Anileus, of the city Neerda by birth, and brethren to one another. They were destitute of a father, and their mother put them to learn the art of weaving curtains, it not being esteemed disgrace among them for men to be weavers of cloth. Now he that taught them that art, and was set over them, complained that they came too late to their work, and punished them with stripes; but they took this just punishment as an affront, and carried off all the weapons which were kept in that house, which were not a few, and went into a certain place where was a partition of the rivers, and was a place naturally very fit for the feeding of cattle, and for preserving such fruits as were usually laid up against winter. The poorest sort of the young men also resorted to them, whom they armed with the weapons they had gotten, and became their captains; and nothing hindered them from being their leaders into mischief; for as soon as they were become invincible, and had built them a citadel, they sent to such as fed cattle, and ordered them to pay them so much tribute out of them as might be sufficient for their maintenance, proposing also that they would be their friends, if they would submit to them, and that they would defend them from all their

other enemies on every side, but that they would kill the cattle of those that refused to obey them. So they hearkened to their proposals, [for they could do nothing else,] and sent them as many sheep as were required of them; whereby their forces grew greater, and they became lords over all they pleased, because they marched suddenly, and did them a mischief, insomuch that every body who had to do with them chose to pay them respect; and they became formidable to such as came to assault them, till the report about them came to the ears of the king of Parthia himself.

2. But when the governor of Babylonia understood this, and had a mind to put a stop to them before they grew greater, and before greater mischiefs should arise from them, he got together as great an army as he could, both of Parthians and Babylonians, and marched against them, thinking to attack them and destroy them before any one should carry them the news that he had got an army together. He then encamped at a lake, and lay still; but on the next day [it was the sabbath, which is among the Jews a day of rest from all sorts of work] he supposed that the enemy would not dare to fight him thereon, but that he would take them and carry them away prisoners, without fighting. He therefore proceeded gradually, and thought to fall upon them on the sudden. Now Asineus was sitting with the rest, and their weapons lay by them; upon which he said, "Sirs, I hear a neighing of horses; not of such as are feeding, but such as have men on their backs; I also hear such a noise of their bridles, that I am afraid that some enemies are coming upon us to encompass us round. However, let somebody go to look about, and make report of what reality there is in the present state of things; and may what I have said prove a false alarm." And when he had said this, some of them went out to spy out what was the matter; and they came again immediately, and said to him, that "neither hast thou been mistaken in telling us what our enemies were doing, nor will those enemies permit us to be injurious to people any longer. We are caught by their intrigues like brute beasts, and there is a large body of cavalry marching upon us, while we are destitute of hands to defend ourselves withal, because we are restrained from doing it by the prohibition of our law, which obliges us to rest [on this day]." But Asiueus did not by any means agree with the opinion of his spy as to what was to be done, but thought it more agreeable to the law to pluck up their spirits in this necessity they were fallen into, and break their law by avenging themselves, although they should die in the action, than by doing nothing to please their enemies in submitting to be slain by them. Accordingly, he took up his weapons, and infused courage into those that were with him to act as courageously as himself. So they fell upon their enemies, and slew a great many of them, because they despised them and came as to a certain victory, and put the rest to flight.

3. But when the news of this fight came to the king of Parthia, he was surprised at the boldness of these brethren, and was desirous to see them, and speak with them. He therefore sent the most trusty of all his guards to say thus to them: "That king Artsbanus, although he had been unjustly treated by you, who have made an attempt against his government, yet hath he more regard to your courageous behavior, than to the anger he bears to you, and hath sent me to give you his right hand and security; and he permits you to come to him safely, and without any violence upon the road; and he wants to have you address yourselves to him as friends, without meaning any guile or deceit to you. He also promises to make you presents, and to pay you those respects which will make an addition of his power to your courage, and thereby be of advantage to you." Yet did Asineus himself put off his journey thither, but sent his brother Anileus with all such presents as he could procure. So he went, and was admitted to the king's presence; and when Artabanus saw Anileus coming alone, he inquired into the reason why Asineus avoided to come along with him; and when he understood that he was afraid, and staid by the lake, he took an oath, by the gods of his country, that he would do them no harm, if they came to him upon the assurances he gave them, and gave him his right hand. This is of the greatest force there with all these barbarians, and affords a firm security to those who converse with them; for none of them will deceive you when once they have given you their right hands, nor will any one doubt of their fidelity, when that is once given, even though they were before suspected of injustice. When Artabanus had done this, he sent away Anileus to persuade his brother to come to him. Now this the king did, because he wanted to curb his own governors of provinces by the courage of these Jewish brethren, lest they should make a league with them; for they were ready for a revolt, and were disposed to rebel, had they been sent on an expedition against them. He was also afraid, lest when he was engaged in a war, in order to subdue those governors of provinces that had revolted, the party of Asineus, and those in Babylonia, should be augmented, and either make war upon him, when they should hear of that revolt, or if they should be disappointed in that case, they would not fail of doing further mischief to him.

4. When the king had these intentions, he sent away Anileus, and Anileus prevailed on his brother [to come to the king], when he had related to him the king's good-will, and the oath that he had taken. Accordingly, they made haste to go to Artsbanus, who received them when they were come with pleasure, and admired Asineus's courage in the actions he had done, and this because he was a little man to see to, and at first sight appeared contemptible also, and such as one might deem a person of no value at all. He also said to his friends, how, upon the

comparison, he showed his soul to be in all respects superior to his body; and when, as they were drinking together, he once showed Asineus to Abdagases, one of the generals of his army, and told him his name, and described the great courage he was of in war, and Abdagases had desired leave to kill him, and thereby to inflict on him a punishment for those injuries he had done to the Parthian government, the king replied, "I will never give thee leave to kill a man who hath depended on my faith, especially not after I have sent him my right hand, and endeavored to gain his belief by oaths made by the gods. But if thou be a truly warlike man, thou standest not in need of my perjury. Go thou then, and avenge the Parthian government; attack this man, when he is returned back, and conquer him by the forces that are under thy command, without my privity." Hereupon the king called for Asineus, and said to him, "It is time for thee, O thou young man! to return home, and not provoke the indignation of my generals in this place any further, lest they attempt to murder thee, and that without my approbation. I commit to thee the country of Babylonia in trust, that it may, by thy care, be preserved free from robbers, and from other mischiefs. I have kept my faith inviolable to thee, and that not in trifling affairs, but in those that concerned thy safety, and do therefore deserve thou shouldst be kind to me." When he had said this, and given Asineus some presents, he sent him away immediately; who, when he was come home, built fortresses, and became great in a little time, and managed things with such courage and success, as no other person, that had no higher a beginning, ever did before him. Those Parthian governors also, who were sent that way, paid him great respect; and the honor that was paid him by the Babylonians seemed to them too small, and beneath his deserts, although he were in no small dignity and power there; nay, indeed, all the affairs of Mesopotamia depended upon him, and he more and more flourished in this happy condition of his for fifteen years.

5. But as their affairs were in so flourishing a state, there sprang up a calamity among them on the following occasion. When once they had deviated from that course of virtue whereby they had gained so great power, they affronted and transgressed the laws of their forefathers, and fell under the dominion of their lusts and pleasures. A certain Parthian, who came as general of an army into those parts, had a wife following him, who had a vast reputation for other accomplishments, and particularly was admired above all other women for her beauty. Anileus, the brother of Asineus, either heard of that her beauty from others, or perhaps saw her himself also, and so became at once her lover and her enemy; partly because he could not hope to enjoy this woman but by obtaining power over her as a captive, and partly because he thought he could not conquer his inclinations for her. As soon therefore as her husband had been declared an

enemy to them, and was fallen in the battle, the widow of the deceased was married to this her lover. However, this woman did not come into their house without producing great misfortunes, both to Anileus himself, and to Asineus also; but brought great mischiefs upon them on the occasion following. Since she was led away captive, upon the death of her husband, she concealed the images of those gods which were their country gods, common to her husband and to herself: now it was the custom of that country for all to have the idols they worship in their own houses, and to carry them along with them when they go into a foreign land; agreeable to which custom of theirs she carried her idols with her. Now at first she performed her worship to them privately; but when she was become Anileus's married wife, she worshipped them in her accustomed manner, and with the same appointed ceremonies which she used in her former husband's days; upon which their most esteemed friends blamed him at first, that he did not act after the manner of the Hebrews, nor perform what was agreeable to their laws, in marrying a foreign wife, and one that transgressed the accurate appointments of their sacrifices and religious ceremonies; that he ought to consider, lest, by allowing himself in many pleasures of the body, he might lose his principality, on account of the beauty of a wife, and that high authority which, by God's blessing, he had arrived at. But when they prevailed not at all upon him, he slew one of them for whom he had the greatest respect, because of the liberty he took with him; who, when he was dying, out of regard to the laws, imprecated a punishment upon his murderer Anileus, and upon Asineus also, and that all their companions might come to a like end from their enemies; upon the two first as the principal actors of this wickedness, and upon the rest as those that would not assist him when he suffered in the defense of their laws. Now these latter were sorely grieved, yet did they tolerate these doings, because they remembered that they had arrived at their present happy state by no other means than their fortitude. But when they also heard of the worship of those gods whom the Parthians adore, they thought the injury that Anileus offered to their laws was to be borne no longer; and a greater number of them came to Asineus, and loudly complained of Aniteus, and told him that it had been well that he had of himself seen what was advantageous to them; but that however it was now high time to correct what had been done amiss, before the crime that had been committed proved the ruin of himself and all the rest of them. They added, that the marriage of this woman was made without their consent, and without a regard to their old laws; and that the worship which this woman paid [to her gods] was a reproach to the God whom they worshipped. Now Asineus was sensible of his brother's offense, that it had been already the cause of great mischiefs, and would be so for the time to come; yet did he tolerate the same

from the good-will he had to so near a relation, and forgiving it to him, on account that his brother was quite overborne by his wicked inclinations. But as more and more still came about him every day, and the clamors about it became greater, he at length spake to Anileus about these clamors, reproving him for his former actions, and desiring him for the future to leave them off, and send the woman back to her relations. But nothing was gained by these reproofs; for as the woman perceived what a tumult was made among the people on her account, and was afraid for Anileus, lest he should come to any harm for his love to her, she infused poison into Asineus's food, and thereby took him off, and was now secure of prevailing, when her lover was to be judge of what should be done about her.

6. So Anileus took the government upon himself alone, and led his army against the villages of Mithridates, who was a man of principal authority in Parthin, and had married king Artabanus's daughter; he also plundered them, and among that prey was found much money, and many slaves, as also a great number of sheep, and many other things, which, when gained, make men's condition happy. Now when Mithridates, who was there at this time, heard that his villages were taken, he was very much displeased to find that Anileus had first begun to injure him, and to affront him in his present dignity, when he had not offered any injury to him beforehand; and he got together the greatest body of horsemen he was able, and those out of that number which were of an age fit for war, and came to fight Anileus; and when he was arrived at a certain village of his own, he lay still there, as intending to fight him on the day following, because it was the sabbath, the day on which the Jews rest. And when Anileus was informed of this by a Syrian stranger of another village, who not only gave him an exact account of other circumstances, but told him where Mithridates would have a feast, he took his supper at a proper time, and marched by night, with an intent of falling upon the Parthians while they were unapprised what they should do; so he fell upon them about the fourth watch of the night, and some of them he slew while they were asleep, and others he put to flight, and took Mithridates alive, and set him naked upon an ass which, among the Parthians, is esteemed the greatest reproach possible. And when he had brought him into a wood with such a resolution, and his friends desired him to kill Mithridates, he soon told them his own mind to the contrary, and said that it was not right to kill a man who was of one of the principal families among the Parthians, and greatly honored with matching into the royal family; that so far as they had hitherto gone was tolerable; for although they had injured Mithridates, yet if they preserved his life, this benefit would be remembered by him to the advantage of those that gave it him; but that if he were once put to death, the

king would not be at rest till he had made a great slaughter of the Jews that dwelt at Babylon; “to whose safety we ought to have a regard, both on account of our relation to them, and because if any misfortune befall us, we have no other place to retire to, since he hath gotten the flower of their youth under him.” By this thought, and this speech of his made in council, he persuaded them to act accordingly; so Mithridates was let go. But when he was got away, his wife reproached him, that although he was son-in-law to the king, he neglected to avenge himself on those that had injured him, while he took no care about it, but was contented to have been made a captive by the Jews, and to have escaped them; and she bid him either to go back like a man of courage, or else she sware by the gods of their royal family that she would certainly dissolve her marriage with him. Upon which, partly because he could not bear the daily trouble of her taunts, and partly because he was afraid of her insolence, lest she should in earnest dissolve their marriage, he unwillingly, and against his inclinations, got together again as great an army as he could, and marched along with them, as himself thinking it a thing not to be borne any longer, that he, a Parthian, should owe his preservation to the Jews, when they had been too hard for him in the war.

7. But as soon as Anileus understood that Mithridates was marching with a great army against him, he thought it too ignominious a thing to tarry about the lakes, and not to take the first opportunity of meeting his enemies, and he hoped to have the same success, and to beat their enemies as they did before; as also he ventured boldly upon the like attempts. Accordingly, he led out his army, and a great many more joined themselves to that army, in order to betake themselves to plunder the people, and in order to terrify the enemy again by their numbers. But when they had marched ninety furlongs, while the road had been through dry [and sandy] places, and about the midst of the day, they were become very thirsty; and Mithridates appeared, and fell upon them, as they were in distress for want of water, on which account, and on account of the time of the day, they were not able to bear their weapons. So Anileus and his men were put to an ignominious rout, while men in despair were to attack those that were fresh and in good plight; so a great slaughter was made, and many ten thousand men fell. Now Anileus, and all that stood firm about him, ran away as fast as they were able into a wood, and afforded Mithridates the pleasure of having gained a great victory over them. But there now came in to Anileus a conflux of bad men, who regarded their own lives very little, if they might but gain some present ease, insomuch that they, by thus coming to him, compensated the multitude of those that perished in the fight. Yet were not these men like to those that fell, because they were rash, and unexercised in war; however, with these he came upon the

villages of the Babylonians, and a mighty devastation of all things was made there by the injuries that Anileus did them. So the Babylonians, and those that had already been in the war, sent to Neerda to the Jews there, and demanded Anileus. But although they did not agree to their demands, [for if they had been willing to deliver him up, it was not in their power so to do,] yet did they desire to make peace with them. To which the other replied, that they also wanted to settle conditions of peace with them, and sent men together with the Babylonians, who discoursed with Anileus about them. But the Babylonians, upon taking a view of his situation, and having learned where Anileus and his men lay, fell secretly upon them as they were drunk and fallen asleep, and slew all that they caught of them, without any fear, and killed Anileus himself also.

8. The Babylonians were now freed from Anileus's heavy incursions, which had been a great restraint to the effects of that hatred they bore to the Jews; for they were almost always at variance, by reason of the contrariety of their laws; and which party soever grew boldest before the other, they assaulted the other: and at this time in particular it was, that upon the ruin of Anileus's party, the Babylonians attacked the Jews, which made those Jews so, vehemently to resent the injuries they received from the Babylonians, that being neither able to fight them, nor bearing to live with them, they went to Seleucia, the principal city of those parts, which was built by Seleucus Nicator. It was inhabited by many of the Macedonians, but by more of the Grecians; not a few of the Syrians also dwelt there; and thither did the Jews fly, and lived there five years, without any misfortunes. But on the sixth year, a pestilence came upon these at Babylon, which occasioned new removals of men's habitations out of that city; and because they came to Seleucia, it happened that a still heavier calamity came upon them on that account which I am going to relate immediately.

9. Now the way of living of the people of Seleucia, which were Greeks and Syrians, was commonly quarrelsome, and full of discords, though the Greeks were too hard for the Syrians. When, therefore, the Jews were come thither, and dwelt among them, there arose a sedition, and the Syrians were too hard for the other, by the assistance of the Jews, who are men that despise dangers, and very ready to fight upon any occasion. Now when the Greeks had the worst in this sedition, and saw that they had but one way of recovering their former authority, and that was, if they could prevent the agreement between the Jews and the Syrians, they every one discoursed with such of the Syrians as were formerly their acquaintance, and promised they would be at peace and friendship with them. Accordingly, they gladly agreed so to do; and when this was done by the principal men of both nations, they soon agreed to a reconciliation; and when they were so agreed, they both knew that the great design of such their union

would be their common hatred to the Jews. Accordingly, they fell upon them, and slew about fifty thousand of them; nay, the Jews were all destroyed, excepting a few who escaped, either by the compassion which their friends or neighbors afforded them, in order to let them fly away. These retired to Ctesiphon, a Grecian city, and situate near to Seleucia, where the king [of Parthia] lives in winter every year, and where the greatest part of his riches are reposited; but the Jews had here no certain settlement, those of Seleucia having little concern for the king's honor. Now the whole nation of the Jews were in fear both of the Babylonians and of the Seleucians, because all the Syrians that live in those places agreed with the Seleucians in the war against the Jews; so the most of them gathered themselves together, and went to Neerda and Nisibis, and obtained security there by the strength of those cities; besides which their inhabitants, who were a great many, were all warlike men. And this was the state of the Jews at this time in Babylonia.

BOOK XIX. Containing The Interval Of Three Years And A Half. — From The Departure Out Of Babylon To Fadus, The Roman Procurator.

CHAPTER 1. How Caius Was Slain By Cherea.

1. Now this Caius did not demonstrate his madness in offering injuries only to the Jews at Jerusalem, or to those that dwelt in the neighborhood; but suffered it to extend itself through all the earth and sea, so far as was in subjection to the Romans, and filled it with ten thousand mischiefs; so many indeed in number as no former history relates. But Rome itself felt the most dismal effects of what he did, while he deemed that not to be any way more honorable than the rest of the cities; but he pulled and hauled its other citizens, but especially the senate, and particularly the nobility, and such as had been dignified by illustrious ancestors; he also had ten thousand devices against such of the equestrian order, as it was styled, who were esteemed by the citizens equal in dignity and wealth with the senators, because out of them the senators were themselves chosen; these he treated after all ignominious manner, and removed them out of his way, while they were at once slain, and their wealth plundered, because he slew men generally in order to seize on their riches. He also asserted his own divinity, and insisted on greater honors to be paid him by his subjects than are due to mankind. He also frequented that temple of Jupiter which they style the Capitol, which is with them the most holy of all their temples, and had boldness enough to call himself the brother of Jupiter. And other pranks he did like a madman; as when he laid a bridge from the city Dicearchia, which belongs to Campania, to Misenum, another city upon the sea-side, from one promontory to another, of the length of thirty furlongs, as measured over the sea. And this was done because he esteemed it to be a most tedious thing to row over it in a small ship, and thought withal that it became him to make that bridge, since he was lord of the sea, and might oblige it to give marks of obedience as well as the earth; so he enclosed the whole bay within his bridge, and drove his chariot over it; and thought that, as he was a god, it was fit for him to travel over such roads as this was. Nor did he abstain from the plunder of any of the Grecian temples, and gave order that all the engravings and sculptures, and the rest of the ornaments of the statues and donations therein dedicated, should be brought to him, saying that the best things ought to be set no where but in the best place, and that the city of Rome was that best place. He also adorned his own house and his gardens with the curiosities brought from those temples, together with the houses he lay at when he traveled all over Italy; whence he did not scruple to give a command that the statue of Jupiter Olympius, so called because he was honored at the Olympian games by the Greeks, which was the work of Phidias the Athenian,

should be brought to Rome. Yet did not he compass his end, because the architects told Memmius Regulus, who was commanded to remove that statue of Jupiter, that the workmanship was such as would be spoiled, and would not bear the removal. It was also reported that Memmius, both on that account, and on account of some such mighty prodigies as are of an incredible nature, put off the taking it down, and wrote to Caius those accounts, as his apology for not having done what his epistle required of him; and that when he was thence in danger of perishing, he was saved by Caius being dead himself, before he had put him to death.

2. Nay, Caius's madness came to this height, that when he had a daughter born, he carried her into the capitol, and put her upon the knees of the statue, and said that the child was common to him and to Jupiter, and determined that she had two fathers, but which of these fathers were the greatest he left undetermined; and yet mankind bore him in such his pranks. He also gave leave to slaves to accuse their masters of any crimes whatsoever they pleased; for all such accusations were terrible, because they were in great part made to please him, and at his suggestion, insomuch that Pollux, Claudius's slave, had the boldness to lay an accusation against Claudius himself; and Caius was not ashamed to be present at his trial of life and death, to hear that trial of his own uncle, in hopes of being able to take him off, although he did not succeed to his mind. But when he had filled the whole habitable world which he governed with false accusations and miseries, and had occasioned the greatest insults of slaves against their masters, who indeed in a great measure ruled them, there were many secret plots now laid against him; some in anger, and in order for men to revenge themselves, on account of the miseries they had already undergone from him; and others made attempts upon him, in order to take him off before they should fall into such great miseries, while his death came very fortunately for the preservation of the laws of all men, and had a great influence upon the public welfare; and this happened most happily for our nation in particular, which had almost utterly perished if he had not been suddenly slain. And I confess I have a mind to give a full account of this matter particularly, because it will afford great assurance of the power of God, and great comfort to those that are under afflictions, and wise caution to those who think their happiness will never end, nor bring them at length to the most lasting miseries, if they do not conduct their lives by the principles of virtue.

3. Now there were three several conspiracies made in order to take off Caius, and each of these three were conducted by excellent persons. Emilius Regulus, born at Corduba in Spain, got some men together, and was desirous to take Caius off, either by them or by himself. Another conspiracy there was laid by them,

under the conduct of Cherea Cassius, the tribune [of the Pretorian band]. Minucianus Annins was also one of great consequence among those that were prepared to oppose his tyranny. Now the several occasions of these men's several hatred and conspiracy against Caius were these: Regulus had indignation and hatred against all injustice, for he had a mind naturally angry, and bold, and free, which made him not conceal his counsels; so he communicated them to many of his friends, and to others who seemed to him persons of activity and vigor: Minucianus entered into this conspiracy, because of the injustice done to Lepidus his particular friend, and one of the best character of all the citizens, whom Caius had slain, as also because he was afraid of himself, since Caius's wrath tended to the slaughter of all alike: and for Cherea, he came in, because he thought it a deed worthy of a free ingenuous man to kill Caius, and was ashamed of the reproaches he lay under from Caius, as though he were a coward; as also because he was himself in danger every day from his friendship with him, and the observance he paid him. These men proposed this attempt to all the rest that were concerned, who saw the injuries that were offered them, and were desirous that Caius's slaughter might succeed by their mutual assistance of one another, and they might themselves escape being killed by the taking off Caius; that perhaps they should gain their point; and that it would be a happy thing, if they should gain it, to approve themselves to so many excellent persons, as earnestly wished to be partakers with them in their design for the delivery of the city and of the government, even at the hazard of their own lives. But still Cherea was the most zealous of them all, both out of a desire of getting himself the greatest name, and also by reason of his access to Caius's presence with less danger, because he was tribune, and could therefore the more easily kill him.

4. Now at this time came on the horse-races [Circensian games]; the view of which games was eagerly desired by the people of Rome, for they come with great alacrity into the hippodrome [circus] at such times, and petition their emperors, in great multitudes, for what they stand in need of; who usually did not think fit to deny them their requests, but readily and gratefully granted them. Accordingly, they most importunately desired that Caius would now ease them in their tributes, and abate somewhat of the rigor of their taxes imposed upon them; but he would not hear their petition; and when their clamors increased, he sent soldiers some one way and some another, and gave order that they should lay hold on those that made the clamors, and without any more ado bring them out, and put them to death. These were Caius's commands, and those who were commanded executed the same; and the number of those who were slain on this occasion was very great. Now the people saw this, and bore it so far, that they left off clamoring, because they saw with their own eyes that this petition to be

relieved, as to the payment of their money, brought immediate death upon them. These things made Cherea more resolute to go on with his plot, in order to put an end to this barbarity of Caius against men. He then at several times thought to fall upon Caius, even as he was feasting; yet did he restrain himself by some considerations; not that he had any doubt on him about killing him, but as watching for a proper season, that the attempt might not be frustrated, but that he might give the blow so as might certainly gain his purpose.

5. Cherea had been in the army a long time, yet was he not pleased with conversing so much with Caius. But Caius had set him to require the tributes, and other dues, which, when not paid in due time, were forfeited to Caesar's treasury; and he had made some delays in requiring them, because those burdens had been doubled, and had rather indulged his own mild disposition than performed Caius's command; nay, indeed, he provoked Caius to anger by his sparing men, and pitying the hard fortunes of those from whom he demanded the taxes; and Caius upbraided him with his sloth and effeminacy in being so long about collecting the taxes. And indeed he did not only affront him in other respects, but when he gave him the watchword of the day, to whom it was to be given by his place, he gave him feminine words, and those of a nature very reproachful; and these watchwords he gave out, as having been initiated in the secrets of certain mysteries, which he had been himself the author of. Now although he had sometimes put on women's clothes, and had been wrapt in some embroidered garments to them belonging, and done a great many other things, in order to make the company mistake him for a woman; yet did he, by way of reproach, object the like womanish behavior to Cherea. But when Cherea received the watchword from him, he had indignation at it, but had greater indignation at the delivery of it to others, as being laughed at by those that received it; insomuch that his fellow tribunes made him the subject of their drollery; for they would foretell that he would bring them some of his usual watchwords when he was about to take the watchword from Caesar, and would thereby make him ridiculous; on which accounts he took the courage of assuming certain partners to him, as having just reasons for his indignation against Caius. Now there was one Pompedius, a senator, and one who had gone through almost all posts in the government, but otherwise an Epicurean, and for that reason loved to lead an inactive life. Now Timidius, an enemy of his, had informed Caius that he had used indecent reproaches against him, and he made use of Quintilia for a witness to them; a woman she was much beloved by many that frequented the theater, and particularly by Pompedius, on account of her great beauty. Now this woman thought it a horrible thing to attest to an accusation that touched the life of her lover, which was also a lie. Timidius,

however, wanted to have her brought to the torture. Caius was irritated at this reproach upon him, and commanded Cherea, without any delay, to torture Quintilia, as he used to employ Cherea in such bloody matters, and those that required the torture, because he thought he would do it the more barbarously, in order to avoid that imputation of effeminacy which he had laid upon him. But Quintilia, when she was brought to the rack, trod upon the foot of one of her associates, and let him know that he might be of good courage, and not be afraid of the consequence of her tortures, for that she would bear them with magnanimity. Cherea tortured this woman after a cruel manner; unwillingly indeed, but because he could not help it. He then brought her, without being in the least moved at what she had suffered, into the presence of Caius, and that in such a state as was sad to behold; and Caius, being somewhat affected with the sight of Quintilia, who had her body miserably disordered by the pains she had undergone, freed both her and Pompedius of the crime laid to their charge. He also gave her money to make her an honorable amends, and comfort her for that maiming of her body which she had suffered, and for her glorious patience under such insufferable torments.

6. This matter sorely grieved Cherea, as having been the cause, as far as he could, or the instrument, of those miseries to men, which seemed worthy of consolation to Caius himself; on which account he said to Clement and to Papinius, [of whom Clement was general of the army, and Papinius was a tribune,] "To be sure, O Clement, we have no way failed in our guarding the emperor; for as to those that have made conspiracies against his government, some have been slain by our care and pains, and some have been by us tortured, and this to such a degree, that he hath himself pitied them. How great then is our virtue in submitting to conduct his armies!" Clement held his peace, but showed the shame he was under in obeying Caius's orders, both by his eyes and his blushing countenance, while he thought it by no means right to accuse the emperor in express words, lest their own safety should be endangered thereby. Upon which Cherea took courage, and spake to him without fear of the dangers that were before him, and discoursed largely of the sore calamities under which the city and the government then labored, and said, "We may indeed pretend in words that Caius is the person unto whom the cause of such miseries ought to be imputed; but, in the opinion of such as are able to judge uprightly, it is I, O Clement! and this Papinius, and before us thou thyself, who bring these tortures upon the Romans, and upon all mankind. It is not done by our being subservient to the commands of Caius, but it is done by our own consent; for whereas it is in our power to put an end to the life of this man, who hath so terribly injured the citizens and his subjects, we are his guard in mischief, and his executioners

instead of his soldiers, and are the instruments of his cruelty. We bear these weapons, not for our liberty, not for the Roman government, but only for his preservation, who hath enslaved both their bodies and their minds; and we are every day polluted with the blood that we shed, and the torments we inflict upon others; and this we do, till somebody becomes Caius's instrument in bringing the like miseries upon ourselves. Nor does he thus employ us because he hath a kindness for us, but rather because he hath a suspicion of us, as also because when abundance more have been killed, [for Caius will set no bounds to his wrath, since he aims to do all, not out of regard to justice, but to his own pleasure,] we shall also ourselves be exposed to his cruelty; whereas we ought to be the means of confirming the security and liberty of all, and at the same time to resolve to free ourselves from dangers."

7. Hereupon Clement openly commended Cherea's intentions, but bid him hold his tongue; for that in case his words should get out among many, and such things should be spread abroad as were fit to be concealed, the plot would come to be discovered before it was executed, and they should be brought to punishment; but that they should leave all to futurity, and the hope which thence arose, that some fortunate event would come to their assistance; that, as for himself, his age would not permit him to make any attempt in that case. "However, although perhaps I could suggest what may be safer than what thou, Cherea, hast contrived and said, yet trow is it possible for any one to suggest what is more for thy reputation?" So Clement went his way home, with deep reflections on what he had heard, and what he had himself said. Cherea also was under a concern, and went quickly to Cornelius Sabinus, who was himself one of the tribunes, and whom he otherwise knew to be a worthy man, and a lover of liberty, and on that account very uneasy at the present management of public affairs, he being desirous to come immediately to the execution of what had been determined, and thinking it right for him to propose it to the other, and afraid lest Clement should discover them, and besides looking upon delays and puttings off to be the next to desisting from the enterprise.

8. But as all was agreeable to Sabinus, who had himself, equally without Cherea, the same design, but had been silent for want of a person to whom he could safely communicate that design; so having now met with one, who not only promised to conceal what he heard, but who had already opened his mind to him, he was much more encouraged, and desired of Cherea that no delay might be made therein. Accordingly they went to Minucianus, who was as virtuous a man, and as zealous to do glorious actions, as themselves, and suspected by Caius on occasion of the slaughter of Lepidus; for Minucianus and Lepidus were intimate friends, and both in fear of the dangers that they were under; for Caius

was terrible to all the great men, as appearing ready to act a mad part towards each of them in particular, and towards all of: them in general; and these men were afraid of one another, while they were yet uneasy at the posture of affairs, but avoided to declare their mind and their hatred against Caius to one another, out of fear of the dangers they might be in thereby, although they perceived by other means their mutual hatred against Caius, and on that account were not averse to a mutual kindness one towards another.

9. When Minuetanus and Cherea had met together, and saluted one another, [as they had been used on former conversations to give the upper hand to Minucianus, both on account of his eminent dignity, for he was the noblest of all the citizens, and highly commended by all men, especially when he made speeches to them,] Minuetanus began first, and asked Cherea, What was the watchword he had received that day from Caius; for the affront which was offered Cherea, in giving the watchwords, was famous over the city. But Cherea made no delay so long as to reply to that question, out of the joy he had that Minueianus would have such confidence in him as to discourse with him. "But do thou," said he, "give me the watchword of liberty. And I return thee my thanks that thou hast so greatly encouraged me to exert myself after an extraordinary manner; nor do I stand in need of many words to encourage me, since both thou and I are of the same mind, and partakers of the same resolutions, and this before we have conferred together. I have indeed but one sword girt on, but this one will serve us both. Come on, therefore, let us set about the work. Do thou go first, if thou hast a mind, and bid me follow thee; or else I will go first, and thou shalt assist me, and we will assist one another, and trust one another. Nor is there a necessity for even one sword to such as have a mind disposed to such works, by which mind the sword uses to be successful. I am zealous about this action, nor am I solicitous what I may myself undergo; for I can not at leisure to consider the dangers that may come upon myself, so deeply am I troubled at the slavery our once free country is now under, and at the contempt cast upon our excellent laws, and at the destruction which hangs over all men, by the means of Caius. I wish that I may be judged by thee, and that thou mayst esteem me worthy of credit in these matters, seeing we are both of the same opinion, and there is herein no difference between us."

10. When Minucianus saw the vehemency with which Cherea delivered himself, he gladly embraced him, and encouraged him in his bold attempt, commending him, and embracing him; so he let him go with his good wishes; and some affirm that he thereby confirmed Minuclanus in the prosecution of what had been agreed among them; for as Cherea entered into the court, the report runs, that a voice came from among the multitude to encourage him,

which bid him finish what he was about, and take the opportunity that Providence afforded; and that Cherea at first suspected that some one of the conspirators had betrayed him, and he was caught, but at length perceived that it was by way of exhortation. Whether somebody that was conscious of what he was about, gave a signal for his encouragement, or whether it was God himself, who looks upon the actions of men, that encouraged him to go on boldly in his design, is uncertain. The plot was now communicated to a great many, and they were all in their armor; some of the conspirators being senators, and some of the equestrian order, and as many of the soldiery as were made acquainted with it; for there was not one of them who would not reckon it a part of his happiness to kill Caius; and on that account they were all very zealous in the affair, by what means soever any one could come at it, that he might not be behindhand in these virtuous designs, but might be ready with all his alacrity or power, both by words and actions, to complete this slaughter of a tyrant. And besides these, Callistus also, who was a freed-man of Caius, and was the only man that had arrived at the greatest degree of power under him, — such a power, indeed, as was in a manner equal to the power of the tyrant himself, by the dread that all men had of him, and by the great riches he had acquired; for he took bribes most plenteously, and committed injuries without bounds, and was more extravagant in the use of his power in unjust proceedings than any other. He also knew the disposition of Caius to be implacable, and never to be turned from what he had resolved on. He had withal many other reasons why he thought himself in danger, and the vastness of his wealth was not one of the least of them; on which account he privately ingratiated himself with Claudius, and transferred his courtship to him, out of this hope, that in case, upon the removal of Caius, the government should come to him, his interest in such changes should lay a foundation for his preserving his dignity under him, since he laid in beforehand a stock of merit, and did Claudius good offices in his promotion. He had also the boldness to pretend that he had been persuaded to make away with Claudius, by poisoning him, but had still invented ten thousand excuses for delaying to do it. But it seems probable to me that Callistus only counterfeited this, in order to ingratiate himself with Claudius; for if Caius had been in earnest resolved to take off Claudius, he would not have admitted of Callistus's excuses; nor would Callistus, if he had been enjoined to do such an act as was desired by Caius, have put it off; nor if he had disobeyed those injunctions of his master, had he escaped immediate punishment; while Claudius was preserved from the madness of Caius by a certain Divine providence, and Callistus pretended to such a piece of merit as he no way deserved.

11. However, the execution of Cherea's designs was put off from day to day, by the sloth of many therein concerned; for as to Cherea himself, he would not willingly make any delay in that execution, thinking every time a fit time for it; for frequent opportunities offered themselves; as when Caius went up to the capitol to sacrifice for his daughter, or when he stood upon his royal palace, and threw gold and silver pieces of money among the people, he might be pushed down headlong, because the top of the palace, that looks towards the market-place, was very high; and also when he celebrated the mysteries, which he had appointed at that time; for he was then no way secluded from the people, but solicitous to do every thing carefully and decently, and was free from all suspicion that he should be then assaulted by any body; and although the gods should afford him no divine assistance to enable him to take away his life, yet had he strength himself sufficient to despatch Caius, even without a sword. Thus was Chorea angry at his fellow conspirators, for fear they should suffer a proper opportunity to pass by; and they were themselves sensible that he had just cause to be angry at them, and that his eagerness was for their advantage; yet did they desire he would have a little longer patience, lest, upon any disappointment they might meet with, they should put the city into disorder, and an inquisition should be made after the conspiracy, and should render the courage of those that were to attack Caius without success, while he would then secure himself more carefully than ever against them; that it would therefore be the best to set about the work when the shows were exhibited in the palace. These shows were acted in honor of that Caesar who first of all changed the popular government, and transferred it to himself; galleries being fixed before the palace, where the Romans that were patricians became spectators, together with their children and their wives, and Caesar himself was to be also a spectator; and they reckoned, among those many ten thousands who would there be crowded into a narrow compass, they should have a favorable opportunity to make their attempt upon him as he came in, because his guards that should protect him, if any of them should have a mind to do it, would not here be able to give him any assistance.

12. Cherea consented to this delay; and when the shows were exhibited, it was resolved to do the work the first day. But fortune, which allowed a further delay to his slaughter, was too hard for their foregoing resolution; and as three days of the regular times for these shows were now over, they had much ado to get the business done on the last day. Then Cherea called the conspirators together, and spake thus to them: "So much time passed away without effort is a reproach to us, as delaying to go through such a virtuous design as we are engaged in; but more fatal will this delay prove if we be discovered, and the design be frustrated; for Caius will then become more cruel in his unjust

proceedings. Do we not see how long we deprive all our friends of their liberty, and give Caius leave still to tyrannize over them? while we ought to have procured them security for the future, and, by laying a foundation for the happiness of others, gain to ourselves great admiration and honor for all time to come." Now while the conspirators had nothing tolerable to say by way of contradiction, and yet did not quite relish what they were doing, but stood silent and astonished, he said further, "O my brave comrades! why do we make such delays? Do not you see that this is the last day of these shows, and that Caius is about to go to sea? for he is preparing to sail to Alexandria, in order to see Egypt. Is it therefore for your honor to let a man go out of your hands who is a reproach to mankind, and to permit him to go, after a pompous manner, triumphing both at land and sea? Shall not we be justly ashamed of ourselves, if we give leave to some Egyptian or other, who shall think his injuries insufferable to free-men, to kill him? As for myself, I will no longer bear your stow proceedings, but will expose myself to the dangers of the enterprise this very day, and bear cheerfully whatsoever shall be the consequence of the attempt; nor, let them be ever so great, will I put them off any longer: for, to a wise and courageous man, what can be more miserable than that, while I am alive, any one else should kill Caius, and deprive me of the honor of so virtuous an action?"

13. When Cherea had spoken thus, he zealously set about the work, and inspired courage into the rest to go on with it, and they were all eager to fall to it without further delay. So he was at the palace in the morning, with his equestrian sword girt on him; for it was the custom that the tribunes should ask for the watchword with their swords on, and this was the day on which Cherea was, by custom, to receive the watchword; and the multitude were already come to the palace, to be soon enough for seeing the shows, and that in great crowds, and one tumultuously crushing another, while Caius was delighted with this eagerness of the multitude; for which reason there was no order observed in the seating men, nor was any peculiar place appointed for the senators, or for the equestrian order; but they sat at random, men and women together, and free-men were mixed with the slaves. So Caius came out in a solemn manner, and offered sacrifice to Augustus Caesar, in whose honor indeed these shows were celebrated. Now it happened, upon the fall of a certain priest, that the garment of Asprenas, a senator, was filled with blood, which made Caius laugh, although this was an evident omen to Asprenas, for he was slain at the same time with Caius. It is also related that Caius was that day, contrary to his usual custom, so very affable and good-natured in his conversation, that every one of those that were present were astonished at it. After the sacrifice was over, Caius betook

himself to see the shows, and sat down for that purpose, as did also the principal of his friends sit near him. Now the parts of the theater were so fastened together, as it used to be every year, in the manner following: It had two doors, the one door led to the open air, the other was for going into, or going out of, the cloisters, that those within the theater might not be thereby disturbed; but out of one gallery there went an inward passage, parted into partitions also, which led into another gallery, to give room to the combatants and to the musicians to go out as occasion served. When the multitude were set down, and Cherea, with the other tribunes, were set down also, and the right corner of the theater was allotted to Caesar, one Vatinius, a senator, commander of the praetorian band, asked of Cluvius, one that sat by him, and was of consular dignity also, whether he had heard any thing of news, or not? but took care that nobody should hear what he said; and when Cluvius replied, that he had heard no news, "Know then," said Vatinius, "that the game of the slaughter of tyrants is to be played this day." But Cluvius replied "O brave comrade hold thy peace, lest some other of the Achaians hear thy tale." And as there was abundance of autumnal fruit thrown among the spectators, and a great number of birds, that were of great value to such as possessed them, on account of their rareness, Caius was pleased with the birds fighting for the fruits, and with the violence wherewith the spectators seized upon them: and here he perceived two prodigies that happened there; for an actor was introduced, by whom a leader of robbers was crucified, and the pantomime brought in a play called Cinyras, wherein he himself was to be slain, as well as his daughter Myrrha, and wherein a great deal of fictitious blood was shed, both about him that was crucified, and also about Cinyras. It was also confessed that this was the same day wherein Pausanias, a friend of Philip, the son of Amyntas, who was king of Macedonia, slew him, as he was entering into the theater. And now Caius was in doubt whether he should tarry to the end of the shows, because it was the last day, or whether he should not go first to the bath, and to dinner, and then return and sit down as before. Hereupon Minucianus, who sat over Caius, and was afraid that the opportunity should fail them, got up, because he saw Cherea was already gone out, and made haste out, to confirm him in his resolution; but Caius took hold of his garment, in an obliging way, and said to him, "O brave man! whither art thou going?" Whereupon, out of reverence to Caesar, as it seemed, he sat down again; but his fear prevailed over him, and in a little time he got up again, and then Caius did no way oppose his going out, as thinking that he went out to perform some necessities of nature. And Asprenas, who was one of the confederates, persuaded Caius to go out to the bath, and to dinner, and then to come in again, as desirous that what had been resolved on might be brought to a conclusion immediately.

14. So Cherea's associates placed themselves in order, as the time would permit them, and they were obliged to labor hard, that the place which was appointed them should not be left by them; but they had an indignation at the tediousness of the delays, and that what they were about should be put off any longer, for it was already about the ninth hour of the day; and Cherea, upon Caius's tarrying so long, had a great mind to go in, and fall upon him in his seat, although he foresaw that this could not be done without much bloodshed, both of the senators, and of those of the equestrian order that were present; and although he knew this must happen, yet had he a great mind to do so, as thinking it a right thing to procure security and freedom to all, at the expense of such as might perish at the same time. And as they were just going back into the entrance to the theater, word was brought them that Caius was arisen, whereby a tumult was made; hereupon the conspirators thrust away the crowd, under pretense as if Caius was angry at them, but in reality as desirous to have a quiet place, that should have none in it to defend him, while they set about Caius's slaughter. Now Claudius, his uncle, was gone out before, and Marcus Vinicius his sister's husband, as also Valellus of Asia; whom though they had had such a mind to put out of their places, the reverence to their dignity hindered them so to do; then followed Caius, with Paulus Arruntius: and because Caius was now gotten within the palace, he left the direct road, along which those his servants stood that were in waiting, and by which road Claudius had gone out before, Caius turned aside into a private narrow passage, in order to go to the place for bathing, as also in order to take a view of the boys that came out of Asia, who were sent thence, partly to sing hymns in these mysteries which were now celebrated, and partly to dance in the Pyrrhic way of dancing upon the theatres. So Cherea met him, and asked him for the watchword; upon Caius's giving him one of his ridiculous words, he immediately reproached him, and drew his sword, and gave him a terrible stroke with it, yet was not this stroke mortal. And although there be those that say it was so contrived on purpose by Chorea, that Caius should not be killed at one blow, but should be punished more severely by a multitude of wounds; yet does this story appear to me incredible, because the fear men are under in such actions does not allow them to use their reason. And if Cherea was of that mind, I esteem him the greatest of all fools, in pleasing himself in his spite against Caius, rather than immediately procuring safety to himself and to his confederates from the dangers they were in, because there might many things still happen for helping Caius's escape, if he had not already given up the ghost; for certainly Cherea would have regard, not so much to the punishment of Caius, as to the affliction himself and his friends were in, while it was in his power, after such success, to keep silent, and to escape the wrath of

Caius's defenders, and not to leave it to uncertainty whether he should gain the end he aimed at or not, and after an unreasonable manner to act as if he had a mind to ruin himself, and lose the opportunity that lay before him. But every body may guess as he please about this matter. However, Caius was staggered with the pain that the blow gave him; for the stroke of the sword falling in the middle, between the shoulder and the neck, was hindered by the first bone of the breast from proceeding any further. Nor did he either cry out, [in such astonishment was he,] nor did he call out for any of his friends; whether it were that he had no confidence in them, or that his mind was otherwise disordered, but he groaned under the pain he endured, and presently went forward and fled; when Cornelius Sabinus, who was already prepared in his mind so to do, thrust him down upon his knee, where many of them stood round about him, and struck him with their swords; and they cried out, and encouraged one another all at once to strike him again; but all agree that Aquila gave him the finishing stroke, which directly killed him. But one may justly ascribe this act to Cherea; for although many concurred in the act itself, yet was he the first contriver of it, and began long before all the rest to prepare for it, and was the first man that boldly spake of it to the rest; and upon their admission of what he said about it, he got the dispersed conspirators together; he prepared every thing after a prudent manner, and by suggesting good advice, showed himself far superior to the rest, and made obliging speeches to them, insomuch that he even compelled them all to go on, who otherwise had not courage enough for that purpose; and when opportunity served to use his sword in hand, he appeared first of all ready so to do, and gave the first blow in this virtuous slaughter; he also brought Caius easily into the power of the rest, and almost killed him himself, insomuch that it is but just to ascribe all that the rest did to the advice, and bravery, and labors of the hands of Cherea.

15. Thus did Caius come to his end, and lay dead, by the many wounds which had been given him. Now Cherea and his associates, upon Caius's slaughter, saw that it was impossible for them to save themselves, if they should all go the same way, partly on account of the astonishment they were under; for it was no small danger they had incurred by killing an emperor, who was honored and loved by the madness of the people, especially when the soldiers were likely to make a bloody inquiry after his murderers. The passages also were narrow wherein the work was done, which were also crowded with a great multitude of Caius's attendants, and of such of the soldiers as were of the emperor's guard that day; whence it was that they went by other ways, and came to the house of Germanicus, the father of Caius, whom they had now killed [which house adjoined to the palace; for while the edifice was one, it was built in its several

parts by those particular persons who had been emperors, and those parts bare the names of those that built them or the name of him who had begun to build its parts]. So they got away from the insults of the multitude, and then were for the present out of danger, that is, so long as the misfortune which had overtaken the emperor was not known. The Germans were the first who perceived that Caius was slain. These Germans were Caius's guard, and carried the name of the country whence they were chosen, and composed the Celtic legion. The men of that country are naturally passionate, which is commonly the temper of some other of the barbarous nations also, as being not used to consider much about what they do; they are of robust bodies and fall upon their enemies as soon as ever they are attacked by them; and which way soever they go, they perform great exploits. When, therefore, these German guards understood that Caius was slain, they were very sorry for it, because they did not use their reason in judging about public affairs, but measured all by the advantages themselves received, Caius being beloved by them because of the money he gave them, by which he had purchased their kindness to him; so they drew their swords, and Sabinus led them on. He was one of the tribunes, not by the means of the virtuous actions of his pro genitors, for he had been a gladiator, but he had obtained that post in the army by his having a robust body. So these Germans marched along the houses in quest of Caesar's murderers, and cut Asprenas to pieces, because he was the first man they fell upon, and whose garment it was that the blood of the sacrifices stained, as I have said already, and which foretold that this his meeting the soldiers would not be for his good. Then did Norbanus meet them, who was one of the principal nobility of and could show many generals of armies among his ancestors; but they paid no regard to his dignity; yet was he of such great strength, that he wrested the sword of the first of those that assaulted him out of his hands, and appeared plainly not to be willing to die without a struggle for his life, until he was surrounded by a great number of assailants, and died by the multitude of the wounds which they gave him. The third man was Anteius, a senator, and a few others with him. He did not meet with these Germans by chance, as the rest did before, but came to show his hatred to Caius, and because he loved to see Caius lie dead with his own eyes, and took a pleasure in that sight; for Caius had banished Anteius's father, who was of the same name with himself, and being not satisfied with that, he sent out his soldiers, and slew him; so he was come to rejoice at the sight of him, now he was dead. But as the house was now all in a tumult, when he was aiming to hide himself, he could not escape that accurate search which the Germans made, while they barbarously slew those that were guilty, and those that were not guilty, and this equally also. And thus were these [three] persons slain.

16. But when the rumor that Caius was slain reached the theater, they were astonished at it, and could not believe it; even some that entertained his destruction with great pleasure, and were more desirous of its happening than almost any other faction that could come to them, were under such a fear, that they could not believe it. There were also those who greatly distrusted it, because they were unwilling that any such thing should come to Caius, nor could believe it, though it were ever so true, because they thought no man could possibly so much power as to kill Caius. These were the women, and the children, and the slaves, and some of the soldiery. This last sort had taken his pay, and in a manner tyrannized with him, and had abused the best of the citizens, in being subservient to his unjust commands, in order to gain honors and advantages to themselves; but for the women and the youth, they had been inveigled with shows, and the fighting of the gladiators, and certain distributions of flesh-meat among them, which things them pretense were designed for the pleasing of multitude, but in reality to satiate the barbarous cruelty and madness of Caius. The slaves also were sorry, because they were by Caius allowed to accuse and to despise their masters, and they could have recourse to his assistance when they had unjustly affronted them; for he was very easy in believing them against their masters, even when they the city, accused them falsely; and if they would discover what money their masters had, they might soon obtain both riches and liberty, as the rewards of their accusations, because the reward of these informers was the eighth part of the criminal's substance. As to the nobles, although the report appeared credible to some of them, either because they knew of the plot beforehand, or because they wished it might be true; however, they concealed not only the joy they had at the relation of it, but that they had heard any thing at all about it. These last acted so out of the fear they had, that if the report proved false, they should be punished, for having so soon let men know their minds. But those that knew Caius was dead, because they were partners with the conspirators, they concealed all still more cautiously, as not knowing one another's minds; and fearing lest they should speak of it to some of those to whom the continuance of tyranny was advantageous; and if Caius should prove to be alive, they might be informed against, and punished. And another report went about, that although Caius had been wounded indeed, yet was not he dead, but alive still, and under the physician's hands. Nor was any one looked upon by another as faithful enough to be trusted, and to whom any one would open his mind; for he was either a friend to Caius, and therefore suspected to favor his tyranny, or he was one that hated him, who therefore might be suspected to deserve the less credit, because of his ill-will to him. Nay, it was said by some [and this indeed it was that deprived the nobility of their

hopes, and made them sad] that Caius was in a condition to despise the dangers he had been in, and took no care of healing his wounds, but was gotten away into the market-place, and, bloody as he was, was making an harangue to the people. And these were the conjectural reports of those that were so unreasonable as to endeavor to raise tumults, which they turned different ways, according to the opinions of the bearers. Yet did they not leave their seats, for fear of being accused, if they should go out before the rest; for they should not be sentenced according to the real intention with which they went out, but according to the supposals of the accusers and of the judges.

17. But now a multitude of Germans had surrounded the theater with their swords drawn: all the spectators looked for nothing but death, and at every one coming in a fear seized upon them, as if they were to be cut in pieces immediately; and in great distress they were, as neither having courage enough to go out of the theater, nor believing themselves safe from dangers if they tarried there. And when the Germans came upon them, the cry was so great, that the theater rang again with the entreaties of the spectators to the soldiers, pleading that they were entirely ignorant of every thing that related to such seditious contrivances, and that if there were any sedition raised, they knew nothing of it; they therefore begged that they would spare them, and not punish those that had not the least hand in such bold crimes as belonged to other persons, while they neglected to search after such as had really done whatsoever it be that hath been done. Thus did these people appeal to God, and deplore their infelicity with shedding of tears, and beating their faces, and said every thing that the most imminent danger and the utmost concern for their lives could dictate to them. This brake the fury of the soldiers, and made them repent of what they minded to do to the spectators, which would have been the greatest instance of cruelty. And so it appeared to even these savages, when they had once fixed the heads of those that were slain with Asprenas upon the altar; at which sight the spectators were sorely afflicted, both upon the consideration of the dignity of the persons, and out of a commiseration of their sufferings; nay, indeed, they were almost in as great disorder at the prospect of the danger themselves were in, seeing it was still uncertain whether they should entirely escape the like calamity. Whence it was that such as thoroughly and justly hated Caius could yet no way enjoy the pleasure of his death, because they were themselves in jeopardy of perishing together with him; nor had they hitherto any firm assurance of surviving.

18. There was at this time one Euaristus Arruntius, a public crier in the market, and therefore of a strong and audible voice, who vied in wealth with the richest of the Romans, and was able to do what he pleased in the city, both then

and afterward. This man put himself into the most mournful habit he could, although he had a greater hatred against Caius than any one else; his fear and his wise contrivance to gain his safety taught him so to do, and prevailed over his present pleasure; so he put on such a mournful dress as he would have done had he lost his dearest friends in the world; this man came into the theater, and informed them of the death of Caius, and by this means put an end to that state of ignorance the men had been in. Arruntius also went round about the pillars, and called out to the Germans, as did the tribunes with him, bidding them put up their swords, and telling them that Caius was dead. And this proclamation it was plainly which saved those that were collected together in the theater, and all the rest who any way met the Germans; for while they had hopes that Caius had still any breath in him, they abstained from no sort of mischief; and such an abundant kindness they still had for Caius, that they would willingly have prevented the plot against him, and procured his escape from so sad a misfortune, at the expense of their own lives. But they now left off the warm zeal they had to punish his enemies, now they were fully satisfied that Caius was dead, because it was now in vain for them to show their zeal and kindness to him, when he who should reward them was perished. They were also afraid that they should be punished by the senate, if they should go on in doing such injuries; that is, in case the authority of the supreme governor should revert to them. And thus at length a stop was put, though not without difficulty, to that rage which possessed the Germans on account of Caius's death.

19. But Cherea was so much afraid for Minucianus, lest he should light upon the Germans now they were in their fury, that he went and spike to every one of the soldiers, and prayed them to take care of his preservation, and made himself great inquiry about him, lest he should have been slain. And for Clement, he let Minucianus go when he was brought to him, and, with many other of the senators, affirmed the action was right, and commended the virtue of those that contrived it, and had courage enough to execute it; and said that "tyrants do indeed please themselves and look big for a while, upon having the power to act unjustly; but do not however go happily out of the world, because they are hated by the virtuous; and that Caius, together with all his unhappiness, was become a conspirator against himself, before these other men who attacked him did so; and by becoming intolerable, in setting aside the wise provision the laws had made, taught his dearest friends to treat him as an enemy; insomuch that although in common discourse these conspirators were those that slew Caius, yet that, in reality, he lies now dead as perishing by his own self."

20. Now by this time the people in the theatre were arisen from their seats, and those that were within made a very great disturbance; the cause of which

was this, that the spectators were too hasty in getting away. There was also one Aleyon, a physician, who hurried away, as if to cure those that were wounded, and under that pretense he sent those that were with him to fetch what things were necessary for the healing of those wounded persons, but in reality to get them clear of the present dangers they were in. Now the senate, during this interval, had met, and the people also assembled together in the accustomed form, and were both employed in searching after the murderers of Caius. The people did it very zealously, but the senate in appearance only; for there was present Valerius of Asia, one that had been consul; this man went to the people, as they were in disorder, and very uneasy that they could not yet discover who they were that had murdered the emperor; he was then earnestly asked by them all who it was that had done it. He replied, “I wish I had been the man.” The consuls also published an edict, wherein they accused Caius, and gave order to the people then got together, and to the soldiers, to go home; and gave the people hopes of the abatement of the oppressions they lay under; and promised the soldiers, if they lay quiet as they used to do, and would not go abroad to do mischief unjustly, that they would bestow rewards upon them; for there was reason to fear lest the city might suffer harm by their wild and ungovernable behavior, if they should once betake themselves to spoil the citizens, or plunder the temples. And now the whole multitude of the senators were assembled together, and especially those that had conspired to take away the life of Caius, who put on at this time an air of great assurance, and appeared with great magnanimity, as if the administration of the public affairs were already devolved upon them.

CHAPTER 2. How The Senators Determined To Restore The Democracy; But The Soldiers Were For Preserving The Monarchy, Concerning The Slaughter Of Caius's Wife And Daughter. A Character Of Caius's Morals.

1. When the public affairs were in this posture, Claudius was on the sudden hurried away out of his house; for the soldiers had a meeting together; and when they had debated about what was to be done, they saw that a democracy was incapable of managing such a vast weight of public affairs; and that if it should be set up, it would not be for their advantage; and in case any one of those already in the government should obtain the supreme power, it would in all respects be to their grief, if they were not assisting to him in this advancement; that it would therefore be right for them, while the public affairs were unsettled, to choose Claudius emperor, who was uncle to the deceased Caius, and of a superior dignity and worth to every one of those that were assembled together in the senate, both on account of the virtues of his ancestors, and of the learning he had acquired in his education; and who, if once settled in the empire, would reward them according to their deserts, and bestow largesses upon them. These were their consultations, and they executed the same immediately. Claudius was therefore seized upon suddenly by the soldiery. But Cneas Sentins Saturninns, although he understood that Claudius was seized, and that he intended to claim the government, unwillingly indeed in appearance, but in reality by his own free consent, stood up in the senate, and, without being dismayed, made an exhortatory oration to them, and such a one indeed as was fit for men of freedom and generosity, and spake thus:

2. "Although it be a thing incredible, O Romans! because of the great length of time, that so unexpected an event hath happened, yet are we now in possession of liberty. How long indeed this will last is uncertain, and lies at the disposal of the gods, whose grant it is; yet such it is as is sufficient to make us rejoice, and be happy for the present, although we may soon be deprived of it; for one hour is sufficient to those that are exercised in virtue, wherein we may live with a mind accountable only to ourselves, in our own country, now free, and governed by such laws as this country once flourished under. As for myself, I cannot remember our former time of liberty, as being born after it was gone; but I am beyond measure filled with joy at the thoughts of our present freedom. I

also esteem those that were born and bred up in that our former liberty happy men, and that those men are worthy of no less esteem than the gods themselves who have given us a taste of it in this age; and I heartily wish that this quiet enjoyment of it, which we have at present, might continue to all ages. However, this single day may suffice for our youth, as well as for us that are in years. It will seem an age to our old men, if they might die during its happy duration: it may also be for the instruction of the younger sort, what kind of virtue those men, from whose loins we are derived, were exercised in. As for ourselves, our business is, during the space of time, to live virtuously, than which nothing can be more to our advantage; which course of virtue it is alone that can preserve our liberty; for as to our ancient state, I have heard of it by the relations of others; but as to our later state, during my lifetime, I have known it by experience, and learned thereby what mischiefs tyrannies have brought upon this commonwealth, discouraging all virtue, and depriving persons of magnanimity of their liberty, and proving the teachers of flattery and slavish fear, because it leaves the public administration not to be governed by wise laws, but by the humor of those that govern. For since Julius Caesar took it into his head to dissolve our democracy, and, by overbearing the regular system of our laws, to bring disorders into our administration, and to get above right and justice, and to be a slave to his own inclinations, there is no kind of misery but what hath tended to the subversion of this city; while all those that have succeeded him have striven one with another to overthrow the ancient laws of their country, and have left it destitute of such citizens as were of generous principles, because they thought it tended to their safety to have vicious men to converse withal, and not only to break the spirits of those that were best esteemed for their virtue, but to resolve upon their utter destruction. Of all which emperors, who have been many in number, and who laid upon us insufferable hardships during the times of their government, this Caius, who hath been slain today, hath brought more terrible calamities upon us than did all the rest, not only by exercising his ungoverned rage upon his fellow citizens, but also upon his kindred and friends, and alike upon all others, and by inflicting still greater miseries upon them, as punishments, which they never deserved, he being equally furious against men and against the gods. For tyrants are not content to gain their sweet pleasure, and this by acting injuriously, and in the vexation they bring both upon men's estates and their wives; but they look upon that to be their principal advantage, when they can utterly overthrow the entire families of their enemies; while all lovers of liberty are the enemies of tyranny. Nor can those that patiently endure what miseries they bring on them gain their friendship; for as they are conscious of the abundant mischiefs they have brought on these men, and how magnanimously they have borne their hard

fortunes, they cannot but be sensible what evils they have done, and thence only depend on security from what they are suspicious of, if it may be in their power to take them quite out of the world. Since, then, we are now gotten clear of such great misfortunes, and are only accountable to one another, [which form of government affords us the best assurance of our present concord, and promises us the best security from evil designs, and will be most for our own glory in settling the city in good order,] you ought, every one of you in particular, to make provision for his own, and in general for the public utility: or, on the contrary, they may declare their dissent to such things as have been proposed, and this without any hazard of danger to come upon them, because they have now no lord set over them, who, without fear of punishment, could do mischief to the city, and had an uncontrollable power to take off those that freely declared their opinions. Nor has any thing so much contributed to this increase of tyranny of late as sloth, and a timorous forbearance of contradicting the emperor's will; while men had an over-great inclination to the sweetness of peace, and had learned to live like slaves; and as many of us as either heard of intolerable calamities that happened at a distance from us, or saw the miseries that were near us, out of the dread of dying virtuously, endured a death joined with the utmost infamy. We ought, then, in the first place, to decree the greatest honors we are able to those that have taken off the tyrant, especially to Cherea Cassius; for this one man, with the assistance of the gods, hath, by his counsel and by his actions, been the procurer of our liberty. Nor ought we to forget him now we have recovered our liberty, who, under the foregoing tyranny, took counsel beforehand, and beforehand hazarded himself for our liberties; but ought to decree him proper honors, and thereby freely declare that he from the beginning acted with our approbation. And certainly it is a very excellent thing, and what becomes free-men, to requite their benefactors, as this man hath been a benefactor to us all, though not at all like Cassius and Brutus, who slew Caius Julius [Caesar]; for those men laid the foundations of sedition and civil wars in our city; but this man, together with his slaughter of the tyrant, hath set our city free from all those sad miseries which arose from the tyranny."

3. And this was the purport of Sentius's oration, which was received with pleasure by the senators, and by as many of the equestrian order as were present. And now one Trebellius Maximus rose up hastily, and took off Sentius's finger a ring, which had a stone, with the image of Caius engraven upon it, and which, in his zeal in speaking, and his earnestness in doing what he was about, as it was supposed, he had forgotten to take off himself. This sculpture was broken immediately. But as it was now far in the night, Cherea demanded of the consuls the watchword, who gave him this word, Liberty. These facts were the subjects

of admiration to themselves, and almost incredible; for it was a hundred years since the democracy had been laid aside, when this giving the watchword returned to the consuls; for before the city was subject to tyrants, they were the commanders of the soldiers. But when Cherea had received that watchword, he delivered it to those who were on the senate's side, which were four regiments, who esteemed the government without emperors to be preferable to tyranny. So these went away with their tribunes. The people also now departed very joyful, full of hope and of courage, as having recovered their former democracy, and were no longer under an emperor; and Cherea was in very great esteem with them.

4. And now Cherea was very uneasy that Caius's daughter and wife were still alive, and that all his family did not perish with him, since whosoever was left of them must be left for the ruin of the city and of the laws. Moreover, in order to finish this matter with the utmost zeal, and in order to satisfy his hatred of Caius, he sent Julius Lupus, one of the tribunes, to kill Caius's wife and daughter. They proposed this office to Lupus as to a kinsman of Clement, that he might be so far a partaker of this murder of the tyrant, and might rejoice in the virtue of having assisted his fellow citizens, and that he might appear to have been a partaker with those that were first in their designs against him. Yet did this action appear to some of the conspirators to be too cruel, as to this using such severity to a woman, because Caius did more indulge his own ill-nature than use her advice in all that he did; from which ill-nature it was that the city was in so desperate a condition with the miseries that were brought on it, and the flower of the city was destroyed. But others accused her of giving her consent to these things; nay, they ascribed all that Caius had done to her as the cause of it, and said she had given a potion to Caius, which had made him obnoxious to her, and had tied him down to love her by such evil methods; insomuch that she, having rendered him distracted, was become the author of all the mischiefs that had befallen the Romans, and that habitable world which was subject to them. So that at length it was determined that she must die; nor could those of the contrary opinion at all prevail to have her saved; and Lupus was sent accordingly. Nor was there any delay made in executing what he went about, but he was subservient to those that sent him on the first opportunity, as desirous to be no way blameable in what might be done for the advantage of the people. So when he was come into the palace, he found Cesonia, who was Caius's wife, lying by her husband's dead body, which also lay down on the ground, and destitute of all such things as the law allows to the dead, and all over herself besmeared with the blood of her husband's wounds, and bewailing the great affliction she was under, her daughter lying by her also; and nothing else was heard in these her

circumstances but her complaint of Caius, as if he had not regarded what she had often told him of beforehand; which words of hers were taken in a different sense even at that time, and are now esteemed equally ambiguous by those that hear of them, and are still interpreted according to the different inclinations of people. Now some said that the words denoted that she had advised him to leave off his mad behavior and his barbarous cruelty to the citizens, and to govern the public with moderation and virtue, lest he should perish by the same way, upon their using him as he had used them. But some said, that as certain words had passed concerning the conspirators, she desired Caius to make no delay, but immediately to put them all to death, and this whether they were guilty or not, and that thereby he would be out of the fear of any danger; and that this was what she reproached him for, when she advised him so to do, but he was too slow and tender in the matter. And this was what Cesonia said, and what the opinions of men were about it. But when she saw Lupus approach, she showed him Caius's dead body, and persuaded him to come nearer, with lamentation and tears; and as she perceived that Lupus was in disorder, and approached her in order to execute some design disagreeable to himself, she was well aware for what purpose he came, and stretched out her naked throat, and that very cheerfully to him, bewailing her case, like one that utterly despaired of her life, and bidding him not to boggle at finishing the tragedy they had resolved upon relating to her. So she boldly received her death's wound at the hand of Lupus, as did the daughter after her. So Lupus made haste to inform Cherea of what he had done.

5. This was the end of Caius, after he had reigned four years, within four months. He was, even before he came to be emperor, ill-natured, and one that had arrived at the utmost pitch of wickedness; a slave to his pleasures, and a lover of calumny; greatly affected by every terrible accident, and on that account of a very murderous disposition where he durst show it. He enjoyed his exorbitant power to this only purpose, to injure those who least deserved it, with unreasonable insolence and got his wealth by murder and injustice. He labored to appear above regarding either what was divine or agreeable to the laws, but was a slave to the commendations of the populace; and whatsoever the laws determined to be shameful, and punished, that he esteemed more honorable than what was virtuous. He was unmindful of his friends, how intimate soever, and though they were persons of the highest character; and if he was once angry at any of them, he would inflict punishment upon them on the smallest occasions, and esteemed every man that endeavored to lead a virtuous life his enemy. And whatsoever he commanded, he would not admit of any contradiction to his inclinations; whence it was that he had criminal conversation with his own sister;

from which occasion chiefly it was also that a bitter hatred first sprang up against him among the citizens, that sort of incest not having been known of a long time; and so this provoked men to distrust him, and to hate him that was guilty of it. And for any great or royal work that he ever did, which might be for the present and for future ages, nobody can name any such, but only the haven that he made about Rhegium and Sicily, for the reception of the ships that brought corn from Egypt; which was indeed a work without dispute very great in itself, and of very great advantage to the navigation. Yet was not this work brought to perfection by him, but was the one half of it left imperfect, by reason of his want of application to it; the cause of which was this, that he employed his studies about useless matters, and that by spending his money upon such pleasures as concerned no one's benefit but his own, he could not exert his liberality in things that were undeniably of great consequence. Otherwise he was an excellent orator, and thoroughly acquainted with the Greek tongue, as well as with his own country or Roman language. He was also able, off-hand and readily, to give answers to compositions made by others, of considerable length and accuracy. He was also more skillful in persuading others to very great things than any one else, and this from a natural affability of temper, which had been improved by much exercise and pains-taking; for as he was the grandson of the brother of Tiberius, whose successor he was, this was a strong inducement to his acquiring of learning, because Tiberius aspired after the highest pitch of that sort of reputation; and Caius aspired after the like glory for eloquence, being induced thereto by the letters of his kinsman and his emperor. He was also among the first rank of his own citizens. But the advantages he received from his learning did not countervail the mischief he brought upon himself in the exercise of his authority; so difficult it is for those to obtain the virtue that is necessary for a wise man, who have the absolute power to do what they please without control. At the first he got himself such friends as were in all respects the most worthy, and was greatly beloved by them, while he imitated their zealous application to the learning and to the glorious actions of the best men; but when he became insolent towards them, they laid aside the kindness they had for him, and began to hate him; from which hatred came that plot which they raised against him, and wherein he perished.

CHAPTER 3. How Claudius Was Seized Upon And Brought Out Of His House And Brought To The Camp; And How The Senate Sent An Embassage To Him.

1. Now Claudius, as I said before, went out of that way along which Caius was gone; and as the family was in a mighty disorder upon the sad accident of the murder of Caius, he was in great distress how to save himself, and was found to have hidden himself in a certain narrow place, though he had no other occasion for suspicion of any dangers, besides the dignity of his birth; for while he was a private man, he behaved himself with moderation, and was contented with his present fortune, applying himself to learning, and especially to that of the Greeks, and keeping himself entirely clear from every thing that might bring on any disturbance. But as at this time the multitude were under a consternation, and the whole palace was full of the soldiers' madness, and the very emperor's guards seemed under the like fear and disorder with private persons, the band called pretorian, which was the purest part of the army, was in consultation what was to be done at this juncture. Now all those that were at this consultation had little regard to the punishment Caius had suffered, because he justly deserved such his fortune; but they were rather considering their own circumstances, how they might take the best care of themselves, especially while the Germans were busy in punishing the murderers of Caius; which yet was rather done to gratify their own savage temper, than for the good of the public; all which things disturbed Claudius, who was afraid of his own safety, and this particularly because he saw the heads of Asprenas and his partners carried about. His station had been on a certain elevated place, whither a few steps led him, and whither he had retired in the dark by himself. But when Gratus, who was one of the soldiers that belonged to the palace, saw him, but did not well know by his countenance who he was, because it was dark, though he could well judge that it was a man who was privately there on some design, he came nearer to him; and when Claudius desired that he would retire, he discovered who he was, and owned him to be Claudius. So he said to his followers, "This is a Germanicus; come on, let us choose him for our emperor." But when Claudius saw they were making preparations for taking him away by force, and was afraid they would kill him, as they had killed Caius, he besought them to spare him, putting them in mind how quietly he had demeaned himself, and that he was unacquainted with what

had been done. Hereupon Gratus smiled upon him, and took him by the right hand, and said, “Leave off, sir, these low thoughts of saving yourself, while you ought to have greater thoughts, even of obtaining the empire, which the gods, out of their concern for the habitable world, by taking Caius out of the way, commit to thy virtuous conduct. Go to, therefore, and accept of the throne of thy ancestors.” So they took him up and carried him, because he was not then able to go on foot, such was his dread and his joy at what was told him.

2. Now there was already gathered together about Gratus a great number of the guards; and when they saw Claudius carried off, they looked with a sad countenance, as supposing that he was carried to execution for the mischiefs that had been lately done; while yet they thought him a man who never meddled with public affairs all his life long, and one that had met with no contemptible dangers under the reign of Caius; and some of them thought it reasonable that the consuls should take cognizance of these matters; and as still more and more of the soldiery got together, the crowd about him ran away, and Claudius could hardly go on, his body was then so weak; and those who carried his sedan, upon an inquiry that was made about his being carried off, ran away and saved themselves, as despairing of their Lord’s preservation. But when they were come into the large court of the palace, [which, as the report goes about it, was inhabited first of all the parts of the city of Rome,] and had just reached the public treasury, many more soldiers came about him, as glad to see Claudius’s face, and thought it exceeding right to make him emperor, on account of their kindness for Germanicus, who was his brother, and had left behind him a vast reputation among all that were acquainted with him. They reflected also on the covetous temper of the leading men of the senate, and what great errors they had been guilty of when the senate had the government formerly; they also considered the impossibility of such an undertaking, as also what dangers they should be in, if the government should come to a single person, and that such a one should possess it as they had no hand in advancing, and not to Claudius, who would take it as their grant, and as gained by their good-will to him, and would remember the favors they had done him, and would make them a sufficient recompense for the same.

3. These were the discourses the soldiers had one with another by themselves, and they communicated them to all such as came in to them. Now those that inquired about this matter willingly embraced the invitation that was made them to join with the rest; so they carried Claudius into the camp, crowding about him as his guard, and encompassing him about, one chairman still succeeding another, that their vehement endeavors might not be hindered. But as to the populace and senators, they disagreed in their opinions. The latter were very

desirous to recover their former dignity, and were zealous to get clear of the slavery that had been brought on them by the injurious treatment of the tyrants, which the present opportunity afforded them; but for the people, who were envious against them, and knew that the emperors were capable of curbing their covetous temper, and were a refuge from them, they were very glad that Claudius had been seized upon, and brought to them, and thought that if Claudius were made emperor, he would prevent a civil war, such as there was in the days of Pompey. But when the senate knew that Claudius was brought into the camp by the soldiers, they sent to him those of their body which had the best character for their virtues, that they might inform him that he ought to do nothing by violence, in order to gain the government; that he who was a single person, one either already or hereafter to be a member of their body, ought to yield to the senate, which consisted of so great a number; that he ought to let the law take place in the disposal of all that related to the public order, and to remember how greatly the former tyrants had afflicted their city, and what dangers both he and they had escaped under Caius; and that he ought not to hate the heavy burden of tyranny, when the injury is done by others, while he did himself willfully treat his country after a mad and insolent manner; that if he would comply with them, and demonstrate that his firm resolution was to live quietly and virtuously, he would have the greatest honors decreed to him that a free people could bestow; and by subjecting himself to the law, would obtain this branch of commendation, that he acted like a man of virtue, both as a ruler and a subject; but that if he would act foolishly, and learn no wisdom by Caius's death, they would not permit him to go on; that a great part of the army was got together for them, with plenty of weapons, and a great number of slaves, which they could make use of; that good hope was a great matter in such cases, as was also good fortune; and that the gods would never assist any others but those that undertook to act with virtue and goodness, who can be no other than such as fight for the liberty of their country.

4. Now these ambassadors, Veranius and Brocchus, who were both of them tribunes of the people, made this speech to Claudius; and falling down upon their knees, they begged of him that he would not throw the city into wars and misfortunes; but when they saw what a multitude of soldiers encompassed and guarded Claudius, and that the forces that were with the consuls were, in comparison of them, perfectly inconsiderable, they added, that if he did desire the government, he should accept of it as given by the senate; that he would prosper better, and be happier, if he came to it, not by the injustice, but by the good-will of those that would bestow it upon him.

CHAPTER 4. What Things King Agrippa Did For Claudius; And How Claudius When He Had Taken The Government Commanded The Murderers Of Caius To Be Slain.

1. Now Claudius, though he was sensible after what an insolent manner the senate had sent to him yet did he, according to their advice, behave himself for the present with moderation; but not so far that he could not recover himself out of his fright; so he was encouraged [to claim the government] partly by the boldness of the soldiers, and partly by the persuasion of king Agrippa, who exhorted him not to let such a dominion slip out of his hands, when it came thus to him of its own accord. Now this Agrippa, with relation to Caius, did what became one that had been so much honored by him; for he embraced Caius's body after he was dead, and laid it upon a bed, and covered it as well as he could, and went out to the guards, and told them that Caius was still alive; but he said that they should call for physicians, since he was very ill of his wounds. But when he had learned that Claudius was carried away violently by the soldiers, he rushed through the crowd to him, and when he found that he was in disorder, and ready to resign up the government to the senate, he encouraged him, and desired him to keep the government; but when he had said this to Claudius, he retired home. And upon the senate's sending for him, he anointed his head with ointment, as if he had lately accompanied with his wife, and had dismissed her, and then came to them: he also asked of the senators what Claudius did; who told him the present state of affairs, and then asked his opinion about the settlement of the public. He told them in words that he was ready to lose his life for the honor of the senate, but desired them to consider what was for their advantage, without any regard to what was most agreeable to them; for that those who grasp at government will stand in need of weapons and soldiers to guard them, unless they will set up without any preparation for it, and so fall into danger. And when the senate replied that they would bring in weapons in abundance, and money, and that as to an army, a part of it was already collected together for them, and they would raise a larger one by giving the slaves their liberty, — Agrippa made answer, "O senators! may you be able to compass what you have a mind to; yet will I immediately tell you my thoughts, because they tend to your preservation. Take notice, then, that the army which will fight for Claudius hath been long exercised in warlike affairs; but our army will be no

better than a rude multitude of raw men, and those such as have been unexpectedly made free from slavery, and ungovernable; we must then fight against those that are skillful in war, with men who know not so much as how to draw their swords. So that my opinion is, that we should send some persons to Claudius, to persuade him to lay down the government; and I am ready to be one of your ambassadors."

2. Upon this speech of Agrippa, the senate complied with him, and he was sent among others, and privately informed Claudius of the disorder the senate was in, and gave him instructions to answer them in a somewhat commanding strain, and as one invested with dignity and authority. Accordingly, Claudius said to the ambassadors, that he did not wonder the senate had no mind to have an emperor over them, because they had been harassed by the barbarity of those that had formerly been at the head of their affairs; but that they should taste of an equitable government under him, and moderate times, while he should only be their ruler in name, but the authority should be equally common to them all; and since he had passed through many and various scenes of life before their eyes, it would be good for them not to distrust him. So the ambassadors, upon their hearing this his answer, were dismissed. But Claudius discoursed with the army which was there gathered together, who took oaths that they would persist in their fidelity to him; Upon which he gave the guards every man five thousand drachmae a-piece, and a proportionable quantity to their captains, and promised to give the same to the rest of the armies wheresoever they were.

3. And now the consuls called the senate together into the temple of Jupiter the Conqueror, while it was still night; but some of those senators concealed themselves in the city, being uncertain what to do, upon the hearing of this summons; and some of them went out of the city to their own farms, as foreseeing whither the public affairs were going, and despairing of liberty; nay, these supposed it much better for them to be slaves without danger to themselves, and to live a lazy and inactive life, than by claiming the dignity of their forefathers, to run the hazard of their own safety. However, a hundred and no more were gotten together; and as they were in consultation about the present posture of affairs, a sudden clamor was made by the soldiers that were on their side, desiring that the senate would choose them an emperor, and not bring the government into ruin by setting up a multitude of rulers. So they fully declared themselves to be for the giving the government not to all, but to one; but they gave the senate leave to look out for a person worthy to be set over them, insomuch that now the affairs of the senate were much worse than before, because they had not only failed in the recovery of their liberty, which they boasted themselves of, but were in dread of Claudius also. Yet were there those

that hankered after the government, both on account of the dignity of their families and that accruing to them by their marriages; for Marcus Minucianus was illustrious, both by his own nobility, and by his having married Julia, the sister of Caius, who accordingly was very ready to claim the government, although the consuls discouraged him, and made one delay after another in proposing it: that Minucianus also, who was one of Caius's murderers, restrained Valerius of Asia from thinking of such things; and a prodigious slaughter there had been, if leave had been given to these men to set up for themselves, and oppose Claudius. There were also a considerable number of gladiators besides, and of those soldiers who kept watch by night in the city, and rowers of ships, who all ran into the camp; insomuch that, of those who put in for the government, some left off their pretensions in order to spare the city, and others out of fear for their own persons.

4. But as soon as ever it was day, Cherea, and those that were with him, came into the senate, and attempted to make speeches to the soldiers. However, the multitude of those soldiers, when they saw that they were making signals for silence with their hands, and were ready to begin to speak to them, grew tumultuous, and would not let them speak at all, because they were all zealous to be under a monarchy; and they demanded of the senate one for their ruler, as not enduring any longer delays: but the senate hesitated about either their own governing, or how they should themselves be governed, while the soldiers would not admit them to govern, and the murderers of Caius would not permit the soldiers to dictate to them. When they were in these circumstances, Cherea was not able to contain the anger he had, and promised, that if they desired an emperor, he would give them one, if any one would bring him the watchword from Eutychus. Now this Eutychus was charioteer of the green-band faction, styled Prasine, and a great friend of Caius, who used to harass the soldiery with building stables for the horses, and spent his time in ignominious labors, which occasioned Cherea to reproach them with him, and to abuse them with much other scurrilous language; and told them he would bring them the head of Claudius; and that it was an amazing thing, that, after their former madness, they should commit their government to a fool. Yet were not they moved with his words, but drew their swords, and took up their ensigns, and went to Claudius, to join in taking the oath of fidelity to him. So the senate were left without any body to defend them, and the very consuls differed nothing from private persons. They were also under consternation and sorrow, men not knowing what would become of them, because Claudius was very angry at them; so they fell a reproaching one another, and repented of what they had done. At which juncture Sabinus, one of Caius's murderers, threatened that he would sooner come into

the midst of them and kill himself, than consent to make Claudius emperor, and see slavery returning upon them; he also abused Cherea for loving his life too well, while he who was the first in his contempt of Caius, could think it a good thin to live, when, even by all that they had done for the recovery of their liberty, they found it impossible to do it. But Cherea said he had no manner of doubt upon him about killing himself; that yet he would first sound the intentions of Claudius before he did it.

5. These were the debates [about the senate]; but in the camp every body was crowding on all sides to pay their court to Claudius; and the other consul, Quintus Pomponhis, was reproached by the soldiery, as having rather exhorted the senate to recover their liberty; whereupon they drew their swords, and were going to assault him, and they had done it, if Claudius had not hindered them, who snatched the consul out of the danger he was in, and set him by him. But he did not receive that part of the senate which was with Quintus in the like honorable manner; nay, some of them received blows, and were thrust away as they came to salute Claudius; nay, Aponius went away wounded, and they were all in danger. However, king Agrippa went up to Claudius, and desired he would treat the senators more gently; for if any mischief should come to the senate, he would have no others over whom to rule. Claudius complied with him, and called the senate together into the palace, and was carried thither himself through the city, while the soldiery conducted him, though this was to the great vexation of the multitude; for Cherea and Sabinus, two of Caius's murderers, went in the fore-front of them, in an open manner, while Pollio, whom Claudius, a little before, had made captain of his guards, had sent them an epistolary edict, to forbid them to appear in public. Then did Claudius, upon his coming to the palace, get his friends together, and desired their suffrages about Cherea. They said that the work he had done was a glorious one; but they accused him the he did it of perfidiousness, and thought it just to inflict the punishment [of death] upon him, to discountenance such actions for the time to come. So Cherea was led to his execution, and Lupus and many other Romans with him. Now it is reported that Cherea bore this calamity courageously; and this not only by the firmness of his own behavior under it, but by the reproaches he laid upon Lupus, who fell into tears; for when Lupus laid his garment aside, and complained of the cold he said, that cold was never hurtful to Lupus [i.e. a wolf] And as a great many men went along with them to see the sight, when Cherea came to the place, he asked the soldier who was to be their executioner, whether this office was what he was used to, or whether this was the first time of his using his sword in that manner, and desired him to bring him that very sword with which he himself slew Caius. So he was happily killed at one stroke. But Lupus did not

meet with such good fortune in going out of the world, since he was timorous, and had many blows leveled at his neck, because he did not stretch it out boldly [as he ought to have done].

6. Now, a few days after this, as the Parental solemnities were just at hand, the Roman multitude made their usual oblations to their several ghosts, and put portions into the fire in honor of Cherea, and besought him to be merciful to them, and not continue his anger against them for their ingratitude. And this was the end of the life that Cherea came to. But for Sabinus, although Claudius not only set him at liberty, but gave him leave to retain his former command in the army, yet did he think it would be unjust in him to fail of performing his obligations to his fellow confederates; so he fell upon his sword, and killed himself, the wound reaching up to the very hilt of the sword.

CHAPTER 5. How Claudius Restored To Agrippa His Grandfathers Kingdoms And Augmented His Dominions; And How He Published An Edict In Behalf.

1. Now when Claudius had taken out of the way all those soldiers whom he suspected, which he did immediately, he published an edict, and therein confirmed that kingdom to Agrippa which Caius had given him, and therein commended the king highly. He also made all addition to it of all that country over which Herod, who was his grandfather, had reigned, that is, Judea and Samaria; and this he restored to him as due to his family. But for Abila of Lysanias, and all that lay at Mount Libanus, he bestowed them upon him, as out of his own territories. He also made a league with this Agrippa, confirmed by oaths, in the middle of the forum, in the city of Rome: he also took away from Antiochus that kingdom which he was possessed of, but gave him a certain part of Cilicia and Commagena: he also set Alexander Lysimachus, the alabarch, at liberty, who had been his old friend, and steward to his mother Antonia, but had been imprisoned by Caius, whose son [Marcus] married Bernice, the daughter of Agrippa. But when Marcus, Alexander's son, was dead, who had married her when she was a virgin, Agrippa gave her in marriage to his brother Herod, and begged for him of Claudius the kingdom of Chalcis.

2. Now about this time there was a sedition between the Jews and the Greeks, at the city of Alexandria; for when Caius was dead, the nation of the Jews, which had been very much mortified under the reign of Caius, and reduced to very great distress by the people of Alexandria, recovered itself, and immediately took up their arms to fight for themselves. So Claudius sent an order to the president of Egypt to quiet that tumult; he also sent an edict, at the requests of king Agrippa and king Herod, both to Alexandria and to Syria, whose contents were as follows: "Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, high priest, and tribune of the people, ordains thus: Since I am assured that the Jews of Alexandria, called Alexandrians, have been joint inhabitants in the earliest times with the Alexandrians, and have obtained from their kings equal privileges with them, as is evident by the public records that are in their possession, and the edicts themselves; and that after Alexandria had been subjected to our empire by Augustus, their rights and privileges have been preserved by those presidents who have at divers times been sent thither; and that no dispute had been raised

about those rights and privileges, even when Aquila was governor of Alexandria; and that when the Jewish ethnarch was dead, Augustus did not prohibit the making such ethnarchs, as willing that all men should be so subject [to the Romans] as to continue in the observation of their own customs, and not be forced to transgress the ancient rules of their own country religion; but that, in the time of Caius, the Alexandrians became insolent towards the Jews that were among them, which Caius, out of his great madness and want of understanding, reduced the nation of the Jews very low, because they would not transgress the religious worship of their country, and call him a god: I will therefore that the nation of the Jews be not deprived of their rights and privileges, on account of the madness of Caius; but that those rights and privileges which they formerly enjoyed be preserved to them, and that they may continue in their own customs. And I charge both parties to take very great care that no troubles may arise after the promulgation of this edict."

3. And such were the contents of this edict on behalf of the Jews that was sent to Alexandria. But the edict that was sent into the other parts of the habitable earth was this which follows: "Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, high priest, tribune of the people, chosen consul the second time, ordains thus: Upon the petition of king Agrippa and king Herod, who are persons very dear to me, that I would grant the same rights and privileges should be preserved to the Jews which are in all the Roman empire, which I have granted to those of Alexandria, I very willingly comply therewith; and this grant I make not only for the sake of the petitioners, but as judging those Jews for whom I have been petitioned worthy of such a favor, on account of their fidelity and friendship to the Romans. I think it also very just that no Grecian city should be deprived of such rights and privileges, since they were preserved to them under the great Augustus. It will therefore be fit to permit the Jews, who are in all the world under us, to keep their ancient customs without being hindered so to do. And I do charge them also to use this my kindness to them with moderation, and not to show a contempt of the superstitious observances of other nations, but to keep their own laws only. And I will that this decree of mine be engraven on tables by the magistrates of the cities, and colonies, and municipal places, both those within Italy and those without it, both kings and governors, by the means of the ambassadors, and to have them exposed to the public for full thirty days, in such a place whence it may plainly be read from the ground."

CHAPTER 6. What Things Were Done By Agrippa At Jerusalem When He Was Returned Back Into Judea; And What It Was That Petronius Wrote To The Inhabitants Of Doris, In Behalf.

1. Now Claudius Caesar, by these decrees of his which were sent to Alexandria, and to all the habitable earth, made known what opinion he had of the Jews. So he soon sent Agrippa away to take his kingdom, now he was advanced to a more illustrious dignity than before, and sent letters to the presidents and procurators of the provinces that they should treat him very kindly. Accordingly, he returned in haste, as was likely he would, now he returned in much greater prosperity than he had before. He also came to Jerusalem, and offered all the sacrifices that belonged to him, and omitted nothing which the law required; on which account he ordained that many of the Nazarites should have their heads shorn. And for the golden chain which had been given him by Caius, of equal weight with that iron chain wherewith his royal hands had been bound, he hung it up within the limits of the temple, over the treasury, that it might be a memorial of the severe fate he had lain under, and a testimony of his change for the better; that it might be a demonstration how the greatest prosperity may have a fall, and that God sometimes raises up what is fallen down: for this chain thus dedicated afforded a document to all men, that king Agrippa had been once bound in a chain for a small cause, but recovered his former dignity again; and a little while afterward got out of his bonds, and was advanced to be a more illustrious king than he was before. Whence men may understand that all that partake of human nature, how great soever they are, may fall; and that those that fall may gain their former illustrious dignity again.

2. And when Agrippa had entirely finished all the duties of the Divine worship, he removed Theophilus, the son of Ananus, from the high priesthood, and bestowed that honor of his on Simon the son of Boethus, whose name was also Cantheras whose daughter king Herod married, as I have related above. Simon, therefore, had the [high] priesthood with his brethren, and with his father, in like manner as the sons of Simon, the son of Onias, who were three, had it formerly under the government of the Macedonians, as we have related in a former book.

3. When the king had settled the high priesthood after this manner, he returned the kindness which the inhabitants of Jerusalem had showed him; for he

released them from the tax upon houses, every one of which paid it before, thinking it a good thing to requite the tender affection of those that loved him. He also made Silas the general of his forces, as a man who had partaken with him in many of his troubles. But after a very little while the young men of Doris, preferring a rash attempt before piety, and being naturally bold and insolent, carried a statue of Caesar into a synagogue of the Jews, and erected it there. This procedure of theirs greatly provoked Agrippa; for it plainly tended to the dissolution of the laws of his country. So he came without delay to Publius Petronius, who was then president of Syria, and accused the people of Doris. Nor did he less resent what was done than did Agrippa; for he judged it a piece of impiety to transgress the laws that regulate the actions of men. So he wrote the following letter to the people of Doris in an angry strain: "Publius Petronius, the president under Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, to the magistrates of Doris, ordains as follows: Since some of you have had the boldness, or madness rather, after the edict of Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus was published, for permitting the Jews to observe the laws of their country, not to obey the same, but have acted in entire opposition thereto, as forbidding the Jews to assemble together in the synagogue, by removing Caesar's statue, and setting it up therein, and thereby have offended not only the Jews, but the emperor himself, whose statue is more commodiously placed in his own temple than in a foreign one, where is the place of assembling together; while it is but a part of natural justice, that every one should have the power over the place belonging peculiarly to themselves, according to the determination of Caesar, — to say nothing of my own determination, which it would be ridiculous to mention after the emperor's edict, which gives the Jews leave to make use of their own customs, as also gives order that they enjoy equally the rights of citizens with the Greeks themselves, — I therefore ordain that Proculus Vitellius, the centurion, bring those men to me, who, contrary to Augustus's edict, have been so insolent as to do this thing, at which those very men, who appear to be of principal reputation among them, have an indignation also, and allege for themselves, 'that it was not done with their consent, but by the violence of the multitude, that they may give an account of what hath been done. I also exhort the principal magistrates among them, unless they have a mind to have this action esteemed to be done with their consent, to inform the centurion of those that were guilty of it, and take care that no handle be hence taken for raising a sedition or quarrel among them; which those seem to me to treat after who encourage such doings; while both I myself, and king Agrippa, for whom I have the highest honor, have nothing more under our care, than that the nation of the Jews may have no occasion given them of getting together, under the

pretense of avenging themselves, and become tumultuous. And that it may be more publicly known what Augustus hath resolved about this whole matter, I have subjoined those edicts which he hath lately caused to be published at Alexandria, and which, although they may be well known to all, yet did king Agrippa, for whom I have the highest honor, read them at that time before my tribunal, and pleaded that the Jews ought not to be deprived of those rights which Augustus hath granted them. I therefore charge you, that you do not, for the time to come, seek for any occasion of sedition or disturbance, but that every one be allowed to follow their own religious customs."

4. Thus did Petronius take care of this matter, that such a breach of the law might be corrected, and that no such thing might be attempted afterwards against the Jews. And now king Agrippa took the [high] priesthood away from Simon Cantheras, and put Jonathan, the son of Ananus, into it again, and owned that he was more worthy of that dignity than the other. But this was not a thing acceptable to him, to recover that his former dignity. So he refused it, and said, "O king! I rejoice in the honor that thou hast for me, and take it kindly that thou wouldst give me such a dignity of thy own inclinations, although God hath judged that I am not at all worthy of the high priesthood. I am satisfied with having once put on the sacred garments; for I then put them on after a more holy manner than I should now receive them again. But if thou desirest that a person more worthy than myself should have this honorable employment, give me leave to name thee such a one. I have a brother that is pure from all sin against God, and of all offenses against thyself; I recommend him to thee, as one that is fit for this dignity." So the king was pleased with these words of his, and passed by Jonathan, and, according to his brother's desire, bestowed the high priesthood upon Matthias. Nor was it long before Marcus succeeded Petronius, as president of Syria.

CHAPTER 7. Concerning Silas And On What Account It Was That King Agrippa Was Angry At Him. How Agrippa Began To Encompass Jerusalem With A Wall; And What Benefits He Bestowed On The Inhabitants Of Berytus.

1. Now Silas, the general of the king's horse, because he had been faithful to him under all his misfortunes, and had never refused to be a partaker with him in any of his dangers, but had oftentimes undergone the most hazardous dangers for him, was full of assurance, and thought he might expect a sort of equality with the king, on account of the firmness of the friendship he had showed to him. Accordingly, he would no where let the king sit as his superior, and took the like liberty in speaking to him upon all occasions, till he became troublesome to the king, when they were merry together, extolling himself beyond measure, and oft putting the king in mind of the severity of fortune he had undergone, that he might, by way of ostentation, demonstrate What zeal he had showed in his service; and was continually harping upon this string, what pains he had taken for him, and much enlarged still upon that subject. The repetition of this so frequently seemed to reproach the king, insomuch that he took this ungovernable liberty of talking very ill at his hands. For the commemoration of times when men have been under ignominy, is by no means agreeable to them; and he is a very silly man who is perpetually relating to a person what kindness he had done him. At last, therefore, Silas had so thoroughly provoked the king's indignation, that he acted rather out of passion than good consideration, and did not only turn Silas out of his place, as general of his horse, but sent him in bonds into his own country. But the edge of his anger wore off by length of time, and made room for more just reasonings as to his judgment about this man; and he considered how many labors he had undergone for his sake. So when Agrippa was solemnizing his birth-day, and he gave festival entertainments to all his subjects, he sent for Silas on the sudden to be his guest. But as he was a very frank man, he thought he had now a just handle given him to be angry; which he could not conceal from those that came for him, but said to them, "What honor is this the king invites me to, which I conclude will soon be over? For the king hath not let me keep those original marks of the good-will I bore him, which I once had from him; but he hath plundered me, and that unjustly also. Does he think that I can leave off that liberty of speech, which, upon the consciousness of my deserts, I

shall use more loudly than before, and shall relate how many misfortunes I have been delivered from; how many labors I have undergone for him, whereby I procured him deliverance and respect; as a reward for which I have borne the hardships of bonds and a dark prison? I shall never forget this usage. Nay, perhaps, my very soul, when it is departed out of the body, will not forget the glorious actions I did on his account." This was the clamor he made, and he ordered the messengers to tell it to the king. So he perceived that Silas was incurable in his folly, and still suffered him to lie in prison.

2. As for the walls of Jerusalem, that were adjoining to the new city [Bezetha], he repaired them at the expense of the public, and built them wider in breadth, and higher in altitude; and he had made them too strong for all human power to demolish, unless Marcus, the then president of Syria, had by letter informed Claudius Caesar of what he was doing. And when Claudius had some suspicion of attempts for innovation, he sent to Agrippa to leave off the building of those walls presently. So he obeyed, as not thinking it proper to contradict Claudius.

3. Now this king was by nature very beneficent and liberal in his gifts, and very ambitious to oblige people with such large donations; and he made himself very illustrious by the many chargeable presents he made them. He took delight in giving, and rejoiced in living with good reputation. He was not at all like that Herod who reigned before him; for that Herod was ill-natured, and severe in his punishments, and had no mercy on them that he hated; and every one perceived that he was more friendly to the Greeks than to the Jews; for he adorned foreign cities with large presents in money; with building them baths and theatres besides; nay, in some of those places he erected temples, and porticoes in others; but he did not vouchsafe to raise one of the least edifices in any Jewish city, or make them any donation that was worth mentioning. But Agrippa's temper was mild, and equally liberal to all men. He was humane to foreigners, and made them sensible of his liberality. He was in like manner rather of a gentle and compassionate temper. Accordingly, he loved to live continually at Jerusalem, and was exactly careful in the observance of the laws of his country. He therefore kept himself entirely pure; nor did any day pass over his head without its appointed sacrifice.

4. However, there was a certain mall of the Jewish nation at Jerusalem, who appeared to be very accurate in the knowledge of the law. His name was Simon. This man got together an assembly, while the king was absent at Cesarea, and had the insolence to accuse him as not living holily, and that he might justly be excluded out of the temple, since it belonged only to native Jews. But the general of Agrippa's army informed him that Simon had made such a speech to the

people. So the king sent for him; and as he was sitting in the theater, he bid him sit down by him, and said to him with a low and gentle voice, “What is there done in this place that is contrary to the law?” But he had nothing to say for himself, but begged his pardon. So the king was more easily reconciled to him than one could have imagined, as esteeming mildness a better quality in a king than anger, and knowing that moderation is more becoming in great men than passion. So he made Simon a small present, and dismissed him.

5. Now as Agrippa was a great builder in many places, he paid a peculiar regard to the people of Berytus; for he erected a theater for them, superior to many others of that sort, both in Sumptuousness and elegance, as also an amphitheater, built at vast expenses; and besides these, he built them baths and porticoes, and spared for no costs in any of his edifices, to render them both handsome and large. He also spent a great deal upon their dedication, and exhibited shows upon them, and brought thither musicians of all sorts, and such as made the most delightful music of the greatest variety. He also showed his magnificence upon the theater, in his great number of gladiators; and there it was that he exhibited the several antagonists, in order to please the spectators; no fewer indeed than seven hundred men to fight with seven hundred other men and allotted all the malefactors he had for this exercise, that both the malefactors might receive their punishment, and that this operation of war might be a recreation in peace. And thus were these criminals all destroyed at once.

CHAPTER 8. What Other Acts Were Done By Agrippa Until His Death; And After What Manner He Died.

1. When Agrippa had finished what I have above related at Berytus, he removed to Tiberias, a city of Galilee. Now he was in great esteem among other kings. Accordingly there came to him Antiochus, king of Commalena, Sampsigeratnus, king of Emesa, and Cotys, who was king of the Lesser Armenia, and Polemo, who was king of Pontus, as also Herod his brother, who was king of Chalcis. All these he treated with agreeable entertainments, and after an obliging manner, and so as to exhibit the greatness of his mind, and so as to appear worthy of those respects which the kings paid to him, by coming thus to see him. However, while these kings staid with him, Marcus, the president of Syria, came thither. So the king, in order to preserve the respect that was due to the Romans, went out of the city to meet him, as far as seven furlongs. But this proved to be the beginning of a difference between him and Marcus; for he took with him in his chariot those other kings as his assessors. But Marcus had a suspicion what the meaning could be of so great a friendship of these kings one with another, and did not think so close an agreement of so many potentates to be for the interest of the Romans. He therefore sent some of his domestics to every one of them, and enjoined them to go their ways home without further delay. This was very ill taken by Agrippa, who after that became his enemy. And now he took the high priesthood away from Matthias, and made Elioneus, the son of Cantheras, high priest in his stead.

2. Now when Agrippa had reigned three years over all Judea, he came to the city Cesarea, which was formerly called Strato's Tower; and there he exhibited shows in honor of Caesar, upon his being informed that there was a certain festival celebrated to make vows for his safety. At which festival a great multitude was gotten together of the principal persons, and such as were of dignity through his province. On the second day of which shows he put on a garment made wholly of silver, and of a contexture truly wonderful, and came into the theater early in the morning; at which time the silver of his garment being illuminated by the fresh reflection of the sun's rays upon it, shone out after a surprising manner, and was so resplendent as to spread a horror over those that looked intently upon him; and presently his flatterers cried out, one from one place, and another from another, [though not for his good,] that he was a god; and they added, "Be thou merciful to us; for although we have hitherto

reverenced thee only as a man, yet shall we henceforth own thee as superior to mortal nature." Upon this the king did neither rebuke them, nor reject their impious flattery. But as he presently afterward looked up, he saw an owl sitting on a certain rope over his head, and immediately understood that this bird was the messenger of ill tidings, as it had once been the messenger of good tidings to him; and fell into the deepest sorrow. A severe pain also arose in his belly, and began in a most violent manner. He therefore looked upon his friends, and said, "I, whom you call a god, am commanded presently to depart this life; while Providence thus reproves the lying words you just now said to me; and I, who was by you called immortal, am immediately to be hurried away by death. But I am bound to accept of what Providence allots, as it pleases God; for we have by no means lived ill, but in a splendid and happy manner." When he said this, his pain was become violent. Accordingly he was carried into the palace, and the rumor went abroad every where, that he would certainly die in a little time. But the multitude presently sat in sackcloth, with their wives and children, after the law of their country, and besought God for the king's recovery. All places were also full of mourning and lamentation. Now the king rested in a high chamber, and as he saw them below lying prostrate on the ground, he could not himself forbear weeping. And when he had been quite worn out by the pain in his belly for five days, he departed this life, being in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and in the seventh year of his reign; for he reigned four years under Caius Caesar, three of them were over Philip's tetrarchy only, and on the fourth he had that of Herod added to it; and he reigned, besides those, three years under the reign of Claudius Caesar; in which time he reigned over the forementioned countries, and also had Judea added to them, as well as Samaria and Cesarea. The revenues that he received out of them were very great, no less than twelve millions of drachme. Yet did he borrow great sums from others; for he was so very liberal that his expenses exceeded his incomes, and his generosity was boundless.

3. But before the multitude were made acquainted with Agrippa's being expired, Herod the king of Chalcis, and Helcias the master of his horse, and the king's friend, sent Aristo, one of the king's most faithful servants, and slew Silas, who had been their enemy, as if it had been done by the king's own command.

CHAPTER 9. What Things Were Done After The Death Of Agrippa; And How Claudius, On Account Of The Youth And Unskilfulness Of Agrippa, Junior, Sent Cuspius Fadus To Be Procurator Of Judea, And Of The Entire Kingdom.

1. And thus did king Agrippa depart this life. But he left behind him a son, Agrippa by name, a youth in the seventeenth year of his age, and three daughters; one of which, Bernice, was married to Herod, his father's brother, and was sixteen years old; the other two, Mariamne and Drusilla, were still virgins; the former was ten years old, and Drusilla six. Now these his daughters were thus espoused by their father; Marlatone to Julius Archclaus Epiphanes, the son of Antiochus, the son of Chelcias; and Drusilla to the king of Commagena. But when it was known that Agrippa was departed this life, the inhabitants of Cesarea and of Sebaste forgot the kindnesses he had bestowed on them, and acted the part of the bitterest enemies; for they cast such reproaches upon the deceased as are not fit to be spoken of; and so many of them as were then soldiers, which were a great number, went to his house, and hastily carried off the statues of this king's daughters, and all at once carried them into the brothel-houses, and when they had set them on the tops of those houses, they abused them to the utmost of their power, and did such things to them as are too indecent to be related. They also laid themselves down in public places, and celebrated general feastings, with garlands on their heads, and with ointments and libations to Charon, and drinking to one another for joy that the king was expired. Nay, they were not only unmindful of Agrippa, who had extended his liberality to them in abundance, but of his grandfather Herod also, who had himself rebuilt their cities, and had raised them havens and temples at vast expenses.

2. Now Agrippa, the son of the deceased, was at Rome, and brought up with Claudius Caesar. And when Caesar was informed that Agrippa was dead, and that the inhabitants of Sebaste and Cesarea had abused him, he was sorry for the first news, and was displeased with the ingratitude of those cities. He was therefore disposed to send Agrippa, junior, away presently to succeed his father in the kingdom, and was willing to confirm him in it by his oath. But those freed-men and friends of his, who had the greatest authority with him, dissuaded him from it, and said that it was a dangerous experiment to permit so large a

kingdom to come under the government of so very young a man, and one hardly yet arrived at years of discretion, who would not be able to take sufficient care of its administration; while the weight of a kingdom is heavy enough to a grown man. So Caesar thought what they said to be reasonable. Accordingly he sent Cuspins Fadus to be procurator of Judea, and of the entire kingdom, and paid that respect to the eceased as not to introduce Marcus, who had been at variance with him, into his kingdom. But he determined, in the first place, to send orders to Fadus, that he should chastise the inhabitants of Caesarea and Sebaste for those abuses they had offered to him that was deceased, and their madness towards his daughters that were still alive; and that he should remove that body of soldiers that were at Cesarea and Sebaste, with the five regiments, into Pontus, that they might do their military duty there; and that he should choose an equal number of soldiers out of the Roman legions that were in Syria, to supply their place. Yet were not those that had such orders actually removed; for by sending ambassadors to Claudius, they mollified him, and got leave to abide in Judea still; and these were the very men that became the source of very great calamities to the Jews in after-times, and sowed the seeds of that war which began under Florus; whence it was that when Vespasian had subdued the country, he removed them out of his province, as we shall relate hereafter.

BOOK XX. Containing The Interval Of Twenty-Two Years. — From Fadus The Procurator To Florus.

CHAPTER 1. A Sedition Of The Philadelphians Against The Jews; And Also Concerning The Vestments Of The High Priest.

1. Upon the death of king Agrippa, which we have related in the foregoing book, Claudius Caesar sent Cassius Longinus as successor to Marcus, out of regard to the memory of king Agrippa, who had often desired of him by letters, while he was alive, that he would not suffer Marcus to be any longer president of Syria. But Fadus, as soon as he was come procurator into Judea, found quarrelsome doings between the Jews that dwelt in Perea, and the people of Philadelphia, about their borders, at a village called Mia, that was filled with men of a warlike temper; for the Jews of Perea had taken up arms without the consent of their principal men, and had destroyed many of the Philadelphians. When Fadus was informed of this procedure, it provoked him very much that they had not left the determination of the matter to him, if they thought that the Philadelphians had done them any wrong, but had rashly taken up arms against them. So he seized upon three of their principal men, who were also the causes of this sedition, and ordered them to be bound, and afterwards had one of them slain, whose name was Hannibal; and he banished the other two, Areram and Eleazar. Tholomy also, the arch robber, was, after some time, brought to him bound, and slain, but not till he had done a world of mischief to Idumea and the Arabians. And indeed, from that time, Judea was cleared of robberies by the care and providence of Fadus. He also at this time sent for the high priests and the principal citizens of Jerusalem, and this at the command of the emperor, and admonished them that they should lay up the long garment and the sacred vestment, which it is customary for nobody but the high priest to wear, in the tower of Antonia, that it might be under the power of the Romans, as it had been formerly. Now the Jews durst not contradict what he had said, but desired Fadus, however, and Longinus, [which last was come to Jerusalem, and had brought a great army with him, out of a fear that the [rigid] injunctions of Fadus should force the Jews to rebel,] that they might, in the first place, have leave to send ambassadors to Caesar, to petition him that they may have the holy vestments under their own power; and that, in the next place, they would tarry till they knew what answer Claudius would give to that their request. So they replied, that they would give them leave to send their ambassadors, provided they would give them their sons as pledges [for their peaceable behavior]. And when they had agreed so to do, and had given them the pledges they desired, the ambassadors were sent accordingly. But

when, upon their coming to Rome, Agrippa, junior, the son of the deceased, understood the reason why they came, [for he dwelt with Claudius Caesar, as we said before,] he besought Caesar to grant the Jews their request about the holy vestments, and to send a message to Fadus accordingly.

2. Hereupon Claudius called for the ambassadors; and told them that he granted their request; and bade them to return their thanks to Agrippa for this favor, which had been bestowed on them upon his entreaty. And besides these answers of his, he sent the following letter by them: "Claudius Caesar Germanicus, tribune of the people the fifth time, and designed consul the fourth time, and imperator the tenth time, the father of his country, to the magistrates, senate, and people, and the whole nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting. Upon the presentation of your ambassadors to me by Agrippa, my friend, whom I have brought up, and have now with me, and who is a person of very great piety, who are come to give me thanks for the care I have taken of your nation, and to entreat me, in an earnest and obliging manner, that they may have the holy vestments, with the crown belonging to them, under their power, — I grant their request, as that excellent person Vitellius, who is very dear to me, had done before me. And I have complied with your desire, in the first place, out of regard to that piety which I profess, and because I would have every one worship God according to the laws of their own country; and this I do also because I shall hereby highly gratify king Herod, and Agrippa, junior, whose sacred regards to me, and earnest good-will to you, I am well acquainted with, and with whom I have the greatest friendship, and whom I highly esteem, and look on as persons of the best character. Now I have written about these affairs to Cuspius Fadus, my procurator. The names of those that brought me your letter are Cornelius, the son of Cero, Trypho, the son of Theudio, Dorotheus, the son of Nathaniel, and John, the son of Jotre. This letter is dated before the fourth of the calends of July, when Ruffis and Pompeius Sylvanus are consuls."

3. Herod also, the brother of the deceased Agrippa, who was then possessed of the royal authority over Chalcis, petitioned Claudius Caesar for the authority over the temple, and the money of the sacred treasure, and the choice of the high priests, and obtained all that he petitioned for. So that after that time this authority continued among all his descendants till the end of the war Accordingly, Herod removed the last high priest, called Cimtheras, and bestowed that dignity on his successor Joseph, the son of Cantos.

CHAPTER 2. How Helena The Queen Of Adiabene And Her Son Izates, Embraced The Jewish Religion; And How Helena Supplied The Poor With Corn, When There Was A Great Famine At Jerusalem.

1. About this time it was that Helena, queen of Adiabene, and her son Izates, changed their course of life, and embraced the Jewish customs, and this on the occasion following: Monobazus, the king of Adiabene, who had also the name of Bazeus, fell in love with his sister Helena, and took her to be his wife, and begat her with child. But as he was in bed with her one night, he laid his hand upon his wife's belly, and fell asleep, and seemed to hear a voice, which bid him take his hand off his wife's belly, and not hurt the infant that was therein, which, by God's providence, would be safely born, and have a happy end. This voice put him into disorder; so he awaked immediately, and told the story to his wife; and when his son was born, he called him Izates. He had indeed Monobazus, his elder brother, by Helena also, as he had other sons by other wives besides. Yet did he openly place all his affections on this his only begotten son Izates, which was the origin of that envy which his other brethren, by the same father, bore to him; while on this account they hated him more and more, and were all under great affliction that their father should prefer Izates before them. Now although their father was very sensible of these their passions, yet did he forgive them, as not indulging those passions out of an ill disposition, but out of a desire each of them had to be beloved by their father. However, he sent Izates, with many presents, to Abennerig, the king of Charax-Spasini, and that out of the great dread he was in about him, lest he should come to some misfortune by the hatred his brethren bore him; and he committed his son's preservation to him. Upon which Abennerig gladly received the young man, and had a great affection for him, and married him to his own daughter, whose name was Samacha: he also bestowed a country upon him, from which he received large revenues.

2. But when Monobazus was grown old, and saw that he had but a little time to live, he had a mind to come to the sight of his son before he died. So he sent for him, and embraced him after the most affectionate manner, and bestowed on him the country called Carra; it was a soil that bare amomum in great plenty: there are also in it the remains of that ark, wherein it is related that Noah escaped the deluge, and where they are still shown to such as are desirous to see them. Accordingly, Izates abode in that country until his father's death. But the very

day that Monobazus died, queen Helena sent for all the grandees, and governors of the kingdom, and for those that had the armies committed to their command; and when they were come, she made the following speech to them: “I believe you are not unacquainted that my husband was desirous Izates should succeed him in the government, and thought him worthy so to do. However, I wait your determination; for happy is he who receives a kingdom, not from a single person only, but from the willing suffrages of a great many.” This she said, in order to try those that were invited, and to discover their sentiments. Upon the hearing of which, they first of all paid their homage to the queen, as their custom was, and then they said that they confirmed the king’s determination, and would submit to it; and they rejoiced that Izates’s father had preferred him before the rest of his brethren, as being agreeable to all their wishes: but that they were desirous first of all to slay his brethren and kinsmen, that so the government might come securely to Izates; because if they were once destroyed, all that fear would be over which might arise from their hatred and envy to him. Helena replied to this, that she returned them her thanks for their kindness to herself and to Izates; but desired that they would however defer the execution of this slaughter of Izates’s brethren till he should be there himself, and give his approbation to it. So since these men had not prevailed with her, when they advised her to slay them, they exhorted her at least to keep them in bonds till he should come, and that for their own security; they also gave her counsel to set up some one whom she could put the greatest trust in, as a governor of the kingdom in the mean time. So queen Helena complied with this counsel of theirs, and set up Monobazus, the eldest son, to be king, and put the diadem upon his head, and gave him his father’s ring, with its signet; as also the ornament which they call Sampser, and exhorted him to administer the affairs of the kingdom till his brother should come; who came suddenly upon hearing that his father was dead, and succeeded his brother Monobazus, who resigned up the government to him.

3. Now, during the time Izates abode at Charax-Spasini, a certain Jewish merchant, whose name was Ananias, got among the women that belonged to the king, and taught them to worship God according to the Jewish religion. He, moreover, by their means, became known to Izates, and persuaded him, in like manner, to embrace that religion; he also, at the earnest entreaty of Izates, accompanied him when he was sent for by his father to come to Adiabene; it also happened that Helena, about the same time, was instructed by a certain other Jew and went over to them. But when Izates had taken the kingdom, and was come to Adiabene, and there saw his brethren and other kinsmen in bonds, he was displeased at it; and as he thought it an instance of impiety either to slay or imprison them, but still thought it a hazardous thing for to let them have their

liberty, with the remembrance of the injuries that had been offered them, he sent some of them and their children for hostages to Rome, to Claudius Caesar, and sent the others to Artabanus, the king of Parthia, with the like intentions.

4. And when he perceived that his mother was highly pleased with the Jewish customs, he made haste to change, and to embrace them entirely; and as he supposed that he could not be thoroughly a Jew unless he were circumcised, he was ready to have it done. But when his mother understood what he was about, she endeavored to hinder him from doing it, and said to him that this thing would bring him into danger; and that, as he was a king, he would thereby bring himself into great odium among his subjects, when they should understand that he was so fond of rites that were to them strange and foreign; and that they would never bear to be ruled over by a Jew. This it was that she said to him, and for the present persuaded him to forbear. And when he had related what she had said to Ananias, he confirmed what his mother had said; and when he had also threatened to leave him, unless he complied with him, he went away from him, and said that he was afraid lest such an action being once become public to all, he should himself be in danger of punishment for having been the occasion of it, and having been the king's instructor in actions that were of ill reputation; and he said that he might worship God without being circumcised, even though he did resolve to follow the Jewish law entirely, which worship of God was of a superior nature to circumcision. He added, that God would forgive him, though he did not perform the operation, while it was omitted out of necessity, and for fear of his subjects. So the king at that time complied with these persuasions of Ananias. But afterwards, as he had not quite left off his desire of doing this thing, a certain other Jew that came out of Galilee, whose name was Eleazar, and who was esteemed very skillful in the learning of his country, persuaded him to do the thing; for as he entered into his palace to salute him, and found him reading the law of Moses, he said to him, "Thou dost not consider, O king! that thou unjustly breakest the principal of those laws, and art injurious to God himself, [by omitting to be circumcised]; for thou oughtest not only to read them, but chiefly to practice what they enjoin thee. How long wilt thou continue uncircumcised? But if thou hast not yet read the law about circumcision, and dost not know how great impiety thou art guilty of by neglecting it, read it now." When the king had heard what he said, he delayed the thing no longer, but retired to another room, and sent for a surgeon, and did what he was commanded to do. He then sent for his mother, and Ananias his tutor, and informed them that he had done the thing; upon which they were presently struck with astonishment and fear, and that to a great degree, lest the thing should be openly discovered and censured, and the king should hazard the loss of his kingdom, while his

subjects would not bear to be governed by a man who was so zealous in another religion; and lest they should themselves run some hazard, because they would be supposed the occasion of his so doing. But it was God himself who hindered what they feared from taking effect; for he preserved both Izates himself and his sons when they fell into many dangers, and procured their deliverance when it seemed to be impossible, and demonstrated thereby that the fruit of piety does not perish as to those that have regard to him, and fix their faith upon him only. But these events we shall relate hereafter.

5. But as to Helena, the king's mother, when she saw that the affairs of Izates's kingdom were in peace, and that her son was a happy man, and admired among all men, and even among foreigners, by the means of God's providence over him, she had a mind to go to the city of Jerusalem, in order to worship at that temple of God which was so very famous among all men, and to offer her thank-offerings there. So she desired her son to give her leave to go thither; upon which he gave his consent to what she desired very willingly, and made great preparations for her dismission, and gave her a great deal of money, and she went down to the city Jerusalem, her son conducting her on her journey a great way. Now her coming was of very great advantage to the people of Jerusalem; for whereas a famine did oppress them at that time, and many people died for want of what was necessary to procure food withal, queen Helena sent some of her servants to Alexandria with money to buy a great quantity of corn, and others of them to Cyprus, to bring a cargo of dried figs. And as soon as they were come back, and had brought those provisions, which was done very quickly, she distributed food to those that were in want of it, and left a most excellent memorial behind her of this benefaction, which she bestowed on our whole nation. And when her son Izates was informed of this famine, he sent great sums of money to the principal men in Jerusalem. However, what favors this queen and king conferred upon our city Jerusalem shall be further related hereafter.

CHAPTER 3. How Artabanus, the King of Parthia out of Fear of the Secret Contrivances of His Subjects Against Him, Went to Izates, and Was By Him Reinstated in His Government; as Also How Bardanes His Son Denounced War Against Izates.

1. But now Artabanus, king of the Parthians perceiving that the governors of the provinces had framed a plot against him, did not think it safe for him to continue among them; but resolved to go to Izates, in hopes of finding some way for his preservation by his means, and, if possible, for his return to his own dominions. So he came to Izates, and brought a thousand of his kindred and servants with him, and met him upon the road, while he well knew Izates, but Izates did not know him. When Artabanus stood near him, and, in the first place, worshipped him, according to the custom, he then said to him, "O king! do not thou overlook me thy servant, nor do thou proudly reject the suit I make thee; for as I am reduced to a low estate, by the change of fortune, and of a king am become a private man, I stand in need of thy assistance. Have regard, therefore, unto the uncertainty of fortune, and esteem the care thou shalt take of me to be taken of thyself also; for if I be neglected, and my subjects go off unpunished, many other subjects will become the more insolent towards other kings also." And this speech Artabanus made with tears in his eyes, and with a dejected countenance. Now as soon as Izates heard Artabanus's name, and saw him stand as a supplicant before him, he leaped down from his horse immediately, and said to him, "Take courage, O king! nor be disturbed at thy present calamity, as if it were incurable; for the change of thy sad condition shall be sudden; for thou shalt find me to be more thy friend and thy assistant than thy hopes can promise thee; for I will either re-establish thee in the kingdom of Parthia, or lose my own."

2. When he had said this, he set Artabanus upon his horse, and followed him on foot, in honor of a king whom he owned as greater than himself; which, when Artabanus saw, he was very uneasy at it, and sware by his present fortune and honor that he would get down from his horse, unless Izates would get upon his horse again, and go before him. So he complied with his desire, and leaped upon his horse; and when he had brought him to his royal palace, he showed him all sorts of respect when they sat together, and he gave him the upper place at festivals also, as regarding not his present fortune, but his former dignity, and

that upon this consideration also, that the changes of fortune are common to all men. He also wrote to the Parthians, to persuade them to receive Artabanus again; and gave them his right hand and his faith, that he should forget what was past and done, and that he would undertake for this as a mediator between them. Now the Parthians did not themselves refuse to receive him again, but pleaded that it was not now in their power so to do, because they had committed the government to another person, who had accepted of it, and whose name was Cinnamus; and that they were afraid lest a civil war should arise on this account. When Cinnamus understood their intentions, he wrote to Artabanus himself, for he had been brought up by him, and was of a nature good and gentle also, and desired him to put confidence in him, and to come and take his own dominions again. Accordingly, Artabanus trusted him, and returned home; when Cinnamus met him, worshipped him, and saluted him as a king, and took the diadem off his own head, and put it on the head of Artabanus.

3. And thus was Artahanus restored to his kingdom again by the means of Izates, when he had lost it by the means of the grandees of the kingdom. Nor was he unmindful of the benefits he had conferred upon him, but rewarded him with such honors as were of the greatest esteem among them; for he gave him leave to wear his tiara upright, and to sleep upon a golden bed, which are privileges and marks of honor peculiar to the kings of Parthia. He also cut off a large and fruitful country from the king of Armenia, and bestowed it upon him. The name of the country is Nisibis, wherein the Macedonians had formerly built that city which they called Antioch of Mygodonla. And these were the honors that were paid Izates by the king of the Parthians.

4. But in no long time Artabanus died, and left his kingdom to his son Bardanes. Now this Bardanes came to Izates, and would have persuaded him to join him with his army, and to assist him in the war he was preparing to make with the Romans; but he could not prevail with him. For Izates so well knew the strength and good fortune of the Romans, that he took Bardanes to attempt what was impossible to be done; and having besides sent his sons, five in number, and they but young also, to learn accurately the language of our nation, together with our learning, as well as he had sent his mother to worship at our temple, as I have said already, was the more backward to a compliance; and restrained Bardanes, telling him perpetually of the great armies and famous actions of the Romans, and thought thereby to terrify him, and desired thereby to hinder him from that expedition. But the Parthian king was provoked at this his behavior, and denounced war immediately against Izates. Yet did he gain no advantage by this war, because God cut off all his hopes therein; for the Parthians perceiving Bardanes's intentions, and how he had determined to make war with the

Romans, slew him, and gave his kingdom to his brother Gotarzes. He also, in no long time, perished by a plot made against him, and Vologases, his brother, succeeded him, who committed two of his provinces to two of his brothers by the same father; that of the Medes to the elder, Pacorus; and Armenia to the younger, Tiridates.

CHAPTER 4. How Izates Was Betrayed By His Own Subjects, And Fought Against By The Arabians And How Izates, By The Providence Of God, Was Delivered Out Of Their Hands.

1. Now when the king's brother, Monobazus, and his other kindred, saw how Izates, by his piety to God, was become greatly esteemed by all men, they also had a desire to leave the religion of their country, and to embrace the customs of the Jews; but that act of theirs was discovered by Izates's subjects. Whereupon the grandees were much displeased, and could not contain their anger at them; but had an intention, when they should find a proper opportunity, to inflict a punishment upon them. Accordingly, they wrote to Abia, king of the Arabians, and promised him great sums of money, if he would make an expedition against their king; and they further promised him, that, on the first onset, they would desert their king, because they were desirous to punish him, by reason of the hatred he had to their religious worship; then they obliged themselves, by oaths, to be faithful to each other, and desired that he would make haste in this design. The king of Arabia complied with their desires, and brought a great army into the field, and marched against Izates; and, in the beginning of the first onset, and before they came to a close fight, those Handees, as if they had a panic terror upon them, all deserted Izates, as they had agreed to do, and, turning their backs upon their enemies, ran away. Yet was not Izates dismayed at this; but when he understood that the grandees had betrayed him, he also retired into his camp, and made inquiry into the matter; and as soon as he knew who they were that made this conspiracy with the king of Arabia, he cut off those that were found guilty; and renewing the fight on the next day, he slew the greatest part of his enemies, and forced all the rest to betake themselves to flight. He also pursued their king, and drove him into a fortress called Arsamus, and following on the siege vigorously, he took that fortress. And when he had plundered it of all the prey that was in it, which was not small, he returned to Adiabene; yet did not he take Abia alive, because, when he found himself encompassed on every side, he slew himself.

2. But although the grandees of Adiabene had failed in their first attempt, as being delivered up by God into their king's hands, yet would they not even then be quiet, but wrote again to Vologases, who was then king of Parthia, and desired that he would kill Izates, and set over them some other potentate, who

should be of a Parthian family; for they said that they hated their own king for abrogating the laws of their forefathers, and embracing foreign customs. When the king of Parthia heard this, he boldly made war upon Izates; and as he had no just pretense for this war, he sent to him, and demanded back those honorable privileges which had been bestowed on him by his father, and threatened, on his refusal, to make war upon him. Upon hearing of this, Izates was under no small trouble of mind, as thinking it would be a reproach upon him to appear to resign those privileges that had been bestowed upon him out of cowardice; yet because he knew, that though the king of Parthia should receive back those honors, yet would he not be quiet, he resolved to commit himself to God, his Protector, in the present danger he was in of his life; and as he esteemed him to be his principal assistant, he intrusted his children and his wives to a very strong fortress, and laid up his corn in his citadels, and set the hay and the grass on fire. And when he had thus put things in order, as well as he could, he awaited the coming of the enemy. And when the king of Parthia was come, with a great army of footmen and horsemen, which he did sooner than was expected, [for he marched in great haste,] and had cast up a bank at the river that parted Adiabene from Media, — Izates also pitched his camp not far off, having with him six thousand horsemen. But there came a messenger to Izates, sent by the king of Parthia, who told him how large his dominions were, as reaching from the river Euphrates to Bactria, and enumerated that king's subjects; he also threatened him that he should be punished, as a person ungrateful to his lords; and said that the God whom he worshipped could not deliver him out of the king's hands. When the messenger had delivered this his message, Izates replied that he knew the king of Parthia's power was much greater than his own; but that he knew also that God was much more powerful than all men. And when he had returned him this answer, he betook himself to make supplication to God, and threw himself upon the ground, and put ashes upon his head, in testimony of his confusion, and fasted, together with his wives and children. Then he called upon God, and said, "O Lord and Governor, if I have not in vain committed myself to thy goodness, but have justly determined that thou only art the Lord and principal of all beings, come now to my assistance, and defend me from my enemies, not only on my own account, but on account of their insolent behavior with regard to thy power, while they have not feared to lift up their proud and arrogant tongue against thee." Thus did he lament and bemoan himself, with tears in his eyes; whereupon God heard his prayer. And immediately that very night Vologases received letters, the contents of which were these, that a great band of Dahe and Sacse, despising him, now he was gone so long a journey from home, had made an expedition, and laid Parthis waste; so that he [was forced to]

retire back, without doing any thing. And thus it was that Izates escaped the threatenings of the Parthians, by the providence of God.

3. It was not long ere Izates died, when he had completed fifty-five years of his life, and had ruled his kingdom twenty-four years. He left behind him twenty-four sons and twenty-four daughters. However, he gave order that his brother Monobazus should succeed in the government, thereby requiting him, because, while he was himself absent after their father's death, he had faithfully preserved the government for him. But when Helena, his mother, heard of her son's death, she was in great heaviness, as was but natural, upon her loss of such a most dutiful son; yet was it a comfort to her that she heard the succession came to her eldest son. Accordingly, she went to him in haste; and when she was come into Adiabene, she did not long outlive her son Izates. But Monobazus sent her bones, as well as those of Izates, his brother, to Jerusalem, and gave order that they should be buried at the pyramids which their mother had erected; they were three in number, and distant no more than three furlongs from the city Jerusalem. But for the actions of Monobazus the king, which he did during the rest of his life, we will relate them hereafter.

CHAPTER 5. Concerning Theudas And The Sons Of Judas The Galilean; As Also What Calamity Fell Upon The Jews On The Day Of The Passover.

1. Now it came to pass, while Fadus was procurator of Judea, that a certain magician, whose name was Theudas, persuaded a great part of the people to take their effects with them, and follow him to the river Jordan; for he told them he was a prophet, and that he would, by his own command, divide the river, and afford them an easy passage over it; and many were deluded by his words. However, Fadus did not permit them to make any advantage of his wild attempt, but sent a troop of horsemen out against them; who, falling upon them unexpectedly, slew many of them, and took many of them alive. They also took Theudas alive, and cut off his head, and carried it to Jerusalem. This was what befell the Jews in the time of Cuspius Fadus's government.

2. Then came Tiberius Alexander as successor to Fadus; he was the son of Alexander the alabarch of Alexandria, which Alexander was a principal person among all his contemporaries, both for his family and wealth: he was also more eminent for his piety than this his son Alexander, for he did not continue in the religion of his country. Under these procurators that great famine happened in Judea, in which queen Helena bought corn in Egypt at a great expense, and distributed it to those that were in want, as I have related already. And besides this, the sons of Judas of Galilee were now slain; I mean of that Judas who caused the people to revolt, when Cyrenius came to take an account of the estates of the Jews, as we have showed in a foregoing book. The names of those sons were James and Simon, whom Alexander commanded to be crucified. But now Herod, king of Chalcis, removed Joseph, the son of Camydus, from the high priesthood, and made Ananias, the son of Nebedeu, his successor. And now it was that Cumanus came as successor to Tiberius Alexander; as also that Herod, brother of Agrippa the great king, departed this life, in the eighth year of the reign of Claudius Caesar. He left behind him three sons; Aristobulus, whom he had by his first wife, with Bernicianus, and Hyrcanus, both whom he had by Bernice his brother's daughter. But Claudius Caesar bestowed his dominions on Agrippa, junior.

3. Now while the Jewish affairs were under the administration of Cureanus, there happened a great tumult at the city of Jerusalem, and many of the Jews perished therein. But I shall first explain the occasion whence it was derived. When that feast which is called the passover was at hand, at which time our

custom is to use unleavened bread, and a great multitude was gathered together from all parts to that feast, Cumanus was afraid lest some attempt of innovation should then be made by them; so he ordered that one regiment of the army should take their arms, and stand in the temple cloisters, to repress any attempts of innovation, if perchance any such should begin; and this was no more than what the former procurators of Judea did at such festivals. But on the fourth day of the feast, a certain soldier let down his breeches, and exposed his privy members to the multitude, which put those that saw him into a furious rage, and made them cry out that this impious action was not done to approach them, but God himself; nay, some of them reproached Cumanus, and pretended that the soldier was set on by him, which, when Cumanus heard, he was also himself not a little provoked at such reproaches laid upon him; yet did he exhort them to leave off such seditious attempts, and not to raise a tumult at the festival. But when he could not induce them to be quiet for they still went on in their reproaches to him, he gave order that the whole army should take their entire armor, and come to Antonia, which was a fortress, as we have said already, which overlooked the temple; but when the multitude saw the soldiers there, they were affrighted at them, and ran away hastily; but as the passages out were but narrow, and as they thought their enemies followed them, they were crowded together in their flight, and a great number were pressed to death in those narrow passages; nor indeed was the number fewer than twenty thousand that perished in this tumult. So instead of a festival, they had at last a mournful day of it; and they all of them forgot their prayers and sacrifices, and betook themselves to lamentation and weeping; so great an affliction did the impudent obsceneness of a single soldier bring upon them.

4. Now before this their first mourning was over, another mischief befell them also; for some of those that raised the foregoing tumult, when they were traveling along the public road, about a hundred furlongs from the city, robbed Stephanus, a servant of Caesar, as he was journeying, and plundered him of all that he had with him; which things when Cureanus heard of, he sent soldiers immediately, and ordered them to plunder the neighboring villages, and to bring the most eminent persons among them in bonds to him. Now as this devastation was making, one of the soldiers seized the laws of Moses that lay in one of those villages, and brought them out before the eyes of all present, and tore them to pieces; and this was done with reproachful language, and much scurrility; which things when the Jews heard of, they ran together, and that in great numbers, and came down to Cesarea, where Cumanus then was, and besought him that he would avenge, not themselves, but God himself, whose laws had been affronted; for that they could not bear to live any longer, if the laws of their forefathers

must be affronted after this manner. Accordingly Cumanus, out of fear lest the multitude should go into a sedition, and by the advice of his friends also, took care that the soldier who had offered the affront to the laws should be beheaded, and thereby put a stop to the sedition which was ready to be kindled a second time.

CHAPTER 6. How There Happened A Quarrel Between The Jews And The Samaritans; And How Claudius Put An End To Their Differences.

1. Now there arose a quarrel between the Samaritans and the Jews on the occasion following: It was the custom of the Galileans, when they came to the holy city at the festivals, to take their journeys through the country of the Samaritans; and at this time there lay, in the road they took, a village that was called Ginea, which was situated in the limits of Samaria and the great plain, where certain persons thereto belonging fought with the Galileans, and killed a great many of them. But when the principal of the Galileans were informed of what had been done, they came to Cumanus, and desired him to avenge the murder of those that were killed; but he was induced by the Samaritans, with money, to do nothing in the matter; upon which the Galileans were much displeased, and persuaded the multitude of the Jews to betake themselves to arms, and to regain their liberty, saying that slavery was in itself a bitter thing, but that when it was joined with direct injuries, it was perfectly intolerable, And when their principal men endeavored to pacify them, and promised to endeavor to persuade Cureanus to avenge those that were killed, they would not hearken to them, but took their weapons, and entreated the assistance of Eleazar, the son of Dineus, a robber, who had many years made his abode in the mountains, with which assistance they plundered many villages of the Samaritans. When Cumanus heard of this action of theirs, he took the band of Sebaste, with four regiments of footmen, and armed the Samaritans, and marched out against the Jews, and caught them, and slew many of them, and took a great number of them alive; whereupon those that were the most eminent persons at Jerusalem, and that both in regard to the respect that was paid them, and the families they were of, as soon as they saw to what a height things were gone, put on sackcloth, and heaped ashes upon their heads, and by all possible means besought the seditious, and persuaded them that they would set before their eyes the utter subversion of their country, the conflagration of their temple, and the slavery of themselves, their wives, and children, which would be the consequences of what they were doing; and would alter their minds, would cast away their weapons, and for the future be quiet, and return to their own homes. These persuasions of theirs prevailed upon them. So the people dispersed themselves, and the robbers went away again to their places of strength; and after this time all Judea was overrun with robberies.

2. But the principal of the Samaritans went to Ummidius Quadratus, the president of Syria, who at that time was at Tyre, and accused the Jews of setting their villages on fire, and plundering them; and said withal, that they were not so much displeased at what they had suffered, as they were at the contempt thereby showed the Romans; while if they had received any injury, they ought to have made them the judges of what had been done, and not presently to make such devastation, as if they had not the Romans for their governors; on which account they came to him, in order to obtain that vengeance they wanted. This was the accusation which the Samaritans brought against the Jews. But the Jews affirmed that the Samaritans were the authors of this tumult and fighting, and that, in the first place, Cumanus had been corrupted by their gifts, and passed over the murder of those that were slain in silence; — which allegations when Quadratus heard, he put off the hearing of the cause, and promised that he would give sentence when he should come into Judea, and should have a more exact knowledge of the truth of that matter. So these men went away without success. Yet was it not long ere Quadratus came to Samaria, where, upon hearing the cause, he supposed that the Samaritans were the authors of that disturbance. But when he was informed that certain of the Jews were making innovations, he ordered those to be crucified whom Cumanus had taken captives. From whence he came to a certain village called Lydda, which was not less than a city in largeness, and there heard the Samaritan cause a second time before his tribunal, and there learned from a certain Samaritan that one of the chief of the Jews, whose name was Dortus, and some other innovators with him, four in number, persuaded the multitude to a revolt from the Romans; whom Quadratus ordered to be put to death: but still he sent away Ananias the high priest, and Ananus the commander [of the temple], in bonds to Rome, to give an account of what they had done to Claudius Caesar. He also ordered the principal men, both of the Samaritans and of the Jews, as also Cumanus the procurator, and Ceier the tribune, to go to Italy to the emperor, that he might hear their cause, and determine their differences one with another. But he came again to the city of Jerusalem, out of his fear that the multitude of the Jews should attempt some innovations; but he found the city in a peaceable state, and celebrating one of the usual festivals of their country to God. So he believed that they would not attempt any innovations, and left them at the celebration of the festival, and returned to Antioch.

3. Now Cumanus, and the principal of the Samaritans, who were sent to Rome, had a day appointed them by the emperor whereon they were to have pleaded their cause about the quarrels they had one with another. But now Caesar’s freed-men and his friends were very zealous on the behalf of Cumanus

and the Samaritans; and they had prevailed over the Jews, unless Agrippa, junior, who was then at Rome, had seen the principal of the Jews hard set, and had earnestly entreated Agrippina, the emperor's wife, to persuade her husband to hear the cause, so as was agreeable to his justice, and to condemn those to be punished who were really the authors of this revolt from the Roman government: — whereupon Claudius was so well disposed beforehand, that when he had heard the cause, and found that the Samaritans had been the ringleaders in those mischievous doings, he gave order that those who came up to him should be slain, and that Cureanus should be banished. He also gave order that Celer the tribune should be carried back to Jerusalem, and should be drawn through the city in the sight of all the people, and then should be slain.

CHAPTER 7. Felix Is Made Procurator Of Judea; As Also Concerning Agrippa, Junior And His Sisters.

1. So Claudius sent Felix, the brother of Pallas, to take care of the affairs of Judea; and when he had already completed the twelfth year of his reign, he bestowed upon Agrippa the tetrarchy of Philip and Batanea, and added thereto Trachonites, with Abila; which last had been the tetrarchy of Lysanias; but he took from him Chalcis, when he had been governor thereof four years. And when Agrippa had received these countries as the gift of Caesar, he gave his sister Drusilla in marriage to Azizus, king of Emesa, upon his consent to be circumcised; for Epiphanes, the son of king Antiochus, had refused to marry her, because, after he had promised her father formerly to come over to the Jewish religion, he would not now perform that promise. He also gave Mariamne in marriage to Archelaus, the son of Helcias, to whom she had formerly been betrothed by Agrippa her father; from which marriage was derived a daughter, whose name was Bernice.

2. But for the marriage of Drusilla with Azizus, it was in no long time afterward dissolved upon the following occasion: While Felix was procurator of Judea, he saw this Drusilla, and fell in love with her; for she did indeed exceed all other women in beauty; and he sent to her a person whose name was Simon one of his friends; a Jew he was, and by birth a Cypriot, and one who pretended to be a magician, and endeavored to persuade her to forsake her present husband, and marry him; and promised, that if she would not refuse him, he would make her a happy woman. Accordingly she acted ill, and because she was desirous to avoid her sister Bernice's envy, for she was very ill treated by her on account of her beauty, was prevailed upon to transgress the laws of her forefathers, and to marry Felix; and when he had had a son by her, he named him Agrippa. But after what manner that young man, with his wife, perished at the conflagration of the mountain Vesuvius, in the days of Titus Caesar, shall be related hereafter.

3. But as for Bernice, she lived a widow a long while after the death of Herod [king of Chalcis], who was both her husband and her uncle; but when the report went that she had criminal conversation with her brother, [Agrippa, junior,] she persuaded Poleme, who was king of Cilicia, to be circumcised, and to marry her, as supposing that by this means she should prove those calumnies upon her to be false; and Poleme was prevailed upon, and that chiefly on account of her riches. Yet did not this matrimony endure long; but Bernice left Poleme, and, as was said, with impure intentions. So he forsook at once this matrimony, and the

Jewish religion; and, at the same time, Mariamne put away Archclaus, and was married to Demetrius, the principal man among the Alexandrian Jews, both for his family and his wealth; and indeed he was then their alabarch. So she named her son whom she had by him Agrippinus. But of all these particulars we shall hereafter treat more exactly.

CHAPTER 8. After What Manner Upon The Death Of Claudius, Nero Succeeded In The Government; As Also What Barbarous Things He Did. Concerning The Robbers, Murderers And Impostors, That Arose While Felix And Festus Were Procurators Of Judea.

1. Now Claudius Caesar died when he had reigned thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days; and a report went about that he was poisoned by his wife Agrippina. Her father was Germanicus, the brother of Caesar. Her husband was Domitius Aenobarbus, one of the most illustrious persons that was in the city of Rome; after whose death, and her long continuance in widowhood, Claudius took her to wife. She brought along with her a son, Domtitus, of the same name with his father. He had before this slain his wife Messalina, out of jealousy, by whom he had his children Britannicus and Octavia; their eldest sister was Antonia, whom he had by Pelina his first wife. He also married Octavia to Nero; for that was the name that Caesar gave him afterward, upon his adopting him for his son.

2. But now Agrippina was afraid, lest, when Britannicus should come to man's estate, he should succeed his father in the government, and desired to seize upon the principality beforehand for her own son [Nero]; upon which the report went that she thence compassed the death of Claudius. Accordingly, she sent Burrhus, the general of the army, immediately, and with him the tribunes, and such also of the freed-men as were of the greatest authority, to bring Nero away into the camp, and to salute him emperor. And when Nero had thus obtained the government, he got Britannicus to be so poisoned, that the multitude should not perceive it; although he publicly put his own mother to death not long afterward, making her this requital, not only for being born of her, but for bringing it so about by her contrivances that he obtained the Roman empire. He also slew Octavia his own wife, and many other illustrious persons, under this pretense, that they plotted against him.

3. But I omit any further discourse about these affairs; for there have been a great many who have composed the history of Nero; some of which have departed from the truth of facts out of favor, as having received benefits from him; while others, out of hatred to him, and the great ill-will which they bare him, have so impudently raved against him with their lies, that they justly deserve to be condemned. Nor do I wonder at such as have told lies of Nero,

since they have not in their writings preserved the truth of history as to those facts that were earlier than his time, even when the actors could have no way incurred their hatred, since those writers lived a long time after them. But as to those that have no regard to truth, they may write as they please; for in that they take delight: but as to ourselves, who have made truth our direct aim, we shall briefly touch upon what only belongs remotely to this undertaking, but shall relate what hath happened to us Jews with great accuracy, and shall not grudge our pains in giving an account both of the calamities we have suffered, and of the crimes we have been guilty of. I will now therefore return to the relation of our own affairs.

4. For in the first year of the reign of Nero, upon the death of Azizus, king of Emesa, Soemus, his brother, succeeded in his kingdom, and Aristobulus, the son of Herod, king of Chalcis, was intrusted by Nero with the government of the Lesser Armenia. Caesar also bestowed on Agrippa a certain part of Galilee, Tiberias, and Tarichae, and ordered them to submit to his jurisdiction. He gave him also Julias, a city of Perea, with fourteen villages that lay about it.

5. Now as for the affairs of the Jews, they grew worse and worse continually, for the country was again filled with robbers and impostors, who deluded the multitude. Yet did Felix catch and put to death many of those impostors every day, together with the robbers. He also caught Eleazar, the son of Dineas, who had gotten together a company of robbers; and this he did by treachery; for he gave him assurance that he should suffer no harm, and thereby persuaded him to come to him; but when he came, he bound him, and sent him to Rome. Felix also bore an ill-will to Jonathan, the high priest, because he frequently gave him admonitions about governing the Jewish affairs better than he did, lest he should himself have complaints made of him by the multitude, since he it was who had desired Caesar to send him as procurator of Judea. So Felix contrived a method whereby he might get rid of him, now he was become so continually troublesome to him; for such continual admonitions are grievous to those who are disposed to act unjustly. Wherefore Felix persuaded one of Jonathan's most faithful friends, a citizen of Jerusalem, whose name was Doras, to bring the robbers upon Jonathan, in order to kill him; and this he did by promising to give him a great deal of money for so doing. Doras complied with the proposal, and contrived matters so, that the robbers might murder him after the following manner: Certain of those robbers went up to the city, as if they were going to worship God, while they had daggers under their garments, and by thus mingling themselves among the multitude they slew Jonathan and as this murder was never avenged, the robbers went up with the greatest security at the festivals after this time; and having weapons concealed in like manner as before, and

mingling themselves among the multitude, they slew certain of their own enemies, and were subservient to other men for money; and slew others, not only in remote parts of the city, but in the temple itself also; for they had the boldness to murder men there, without thinking of the impiety of which they were guilty. And this seems to me to have been the reason why God, out of his hatred of these men's wickedness, rejected our city; and as for the temple, he no longer esteemed it sufficiently pure for him to inhabit therein, but brought the Romans upon us, and threw a fire upon the city to purge it; and brought upon us, our wives, and children, slavery, as desirous to make us wiser by our calamities.

6. These works, that were done by the robbers, filled the city with all sorts of impiety. And now these impostors and deceivers persuaded the multitude to follow them into the wilderness, and pretended that they would exhibit manifest wonders and signs, that should be performed by the providence of God. And many that were prevailed on by them suffered the punishments of their folly; for Felix brought them back, and then punished them. Moreover, there came out of Egypt about this time to Jerusalem one that said he was a prophet, and advised the multitude of the common people to go along with him to the Mount of Olives, as it was called, which lay over against the city, and at the distance of five furlongs. He said further, that he would show them from hence how, at his command, the walls of Jerusalem would fall down; and he promised them that he would procure them an entrance into the city through those walls, when they were fallen down. Now when Felix was informed of these things, he ordered his soldiers to take their weapons, and came against them with a great number of horsemen and footmen from Jerusalem, and attacked the Egyptian and the people that were with him. He also slew four hundred of them, and took two hundred alive. But the Egyptian himself escaped out of the fight, but did not appear any more. And again the robbers stirred up the people to make war with the Romans, and said they ought not to obey them at all; and when any persons would not comply with them, they set fire to their villages, and plundered them.

7. And now it was that a great sedition arose between the Jews that inhabited Cesarea, and the Syrians who dwelt there also, concerning their equal right to the privileges belonging to citizens; for the Jews claimed the pre-eminence, because Herod their king was the builder of Cesarea, and because he was by birth a Jew. Now the Syrians did not deny what was alleged about Herod; but they said that Cesarea was formerly called Strato's Tower, and that then there was not one Jewish inhabitant. When the presidents of that country heard of these disorders, they caught the authors of them on both sides, and tormented them with stripes, and by that means put a stop to the disturbance for a time. But the Jewish citizens depending on their wealth, and on that account despising the Syrians,

reproached them again, and hoped to provoke them by such reproaches. However, the Syrians, though they were inferior in wealth, yet valuing themselves highly on this account, that the greatest part of the Roman soldiers that were there were either of Cesarea or Sebaste, they also for some time used reproachful language to the Jews also; and thus it was, till at length they came to throwing stones at one another, and several were wounded, and fell on both sides, though still the Jews were the conquerors. But when Felix saw that this quarrel was become a kind of war, he came upon them on the sudden, and desired the Jews to desist; and when they refused so to do, he armed his soldiers, and sent them out upon them, and slew many of them, and took more of them alive, and permitted his soldiers to plunder some of the houses of the citizens, which were full of riches. Now those Jews that were more moderate, and of principal dignity among them, were afraid of themselves, and desired of Felix that he would sound a retreat to his soldiers, and spare them for the future, and afford them room for repentance for what they had done; and Felix was prevailed upon to do so.

8. About this time king Agrippa gave the high priesthood to Ismael, who was the son of Fabi. And now arose a sedition between the high priests and the principal men of the multitude of Jerusalem; each of which got them a company of the boldest sort of men, and of those that loved innovations about them, and became leaders to them; and when they struggled together, they did it by casting reproachful words against one another, and by throwing stones also. And there was nobody to reprove them; but these disorders were done after a licentious manner in the city, as if it had no government over it. And such was the impudence and boldness that had seized on the high priests, that they had the hardiness to send their servants into the threshing-floors, to take away those tithes that were due to the priests, insomuch that it so fell out that the poorest sort of the priests died for want. To this degree did the violence of the seditious prevail over all right and justice.

9. Now when Porcius Festus was sent as successor to Felix by Nero, the principal of the Jewish inhabitants of Cesarea went up to Rome to accuse Felix; and he had certainly been brought to punishment, unless Nero had yielded to the importunate solicitations of his brother Pallas, who was at that time had in the greatest honor by him. Two of the principal Syrians in Cesarea persuaded Burrhus, who was Nero’s tutor, and secretary for his Greek epistles, by giving him a great sum of money, to disannul that equality of the Jewish privileges of citizens which they hitherto enjoyed. So Burrhus, by his solicitations, obtained leave of the emperor that an epistle should be written to that purpose. This epistle became the occasion of the following miseries that befell our nation; for

when the Jews of Cesarea were informed of the contents of this epistle to the Syrians, they were more disorderly than before, till a war was kindled.

10. Upon Festus's coming into Judea, it happened that Judea was afflicted by the robbers, while all the villages were set on fire, and plundered by them. And then it was that the sicarii, as they were called, who were robbers, grew numerous. They made use of small swords, not much different in length from the Persian acinacae, but somewhat crooked, and like the Roman sicae, [or sickles,] as they were called; and from these weapons these robbers got their denomination; and with these weapons they slew a great many; for they mingled themselves among the multitude at their festivals, when they were come up in crowds from all parts to the city to worship God, as we said before, and easily slew those that they had a mind to slay. They also came frequently upon the villages belonging to their enemies, with their weapons, and plundered them, and set them on fire. So Festus sent forces, both horsemen and footmen, to fall upon those that had been seduced by a certain impostor, who promised them deliverance and freedom from the miseries they were under, if they would but follow him as far as the wilderness. Accordingly, those forces that were sent destroyed both him that had deluded them, and those that were his followers also.

11. About the same time king Agrippa built himself a very large dining-room in the royal palace at Jerusalem, near to the portico. Now this palace had been erected of old by the children of Asamoneus and was situate upon an elevation, and afforded a most delightful prospect to those that had a mind to take a view of the city, which prospect was desired by the king; and there he could lie down, and eat, and thence observe what was done in the temple; which thing, when the chief men of Jerusalem saw they were very much displeased at it; for it was not agreeable to the institutions of our country or law that what was done in the temple should be viewed by others, especially what belonged to the sacrifices. They therefore erected a wall upon the uppermost building which belonged to the inner court of the temple towards the west, which wall when it was built, did not only intercept the prospect of the dining-room in the palace, but also of the western cloisters that belonged to the outer court of the temple also, where it was that the Romans kept guards for the temple at the festivals. At these doings both king Agrippa, and principally Festus the procurator, were much displeased; and Festus ordered them to pull the wall down again: but the Jews petitioned him to give them leave to send an embassage about this matter to Nero; for they said they could not endure to live if any part of the temple should be demolished; and when Festus had given them leave so to do, they sent ten of their principal men to Nero, as also Ismael the high priest, and Helcias, the keeper of the sacred

treasure. And when Nero had heard what they had to say, he not only forgave them what they had already done, but also gave them leave to let the wall they had built stand. This was granted them in order to gratify Poppea, Nero's wife, who was a religious woman, and had requested these favors of Nero, and who gave order to the ten ambassadors to go their way home; but retained Helcias and Ismael as hostages with herself. As soon as the king heard this news, he gave the high priesthood to Joseph, who was called Cabi, the son of Simon, formerly high priest.

CHAPTER 9. Concerning Albinus Under Whose Procuratorship James Was Slain; As Also What Edifices Were Built By Agrippa.

1. And now Caesar, upon hearing the death of Festus, sent Albinus into Judea, as procurator. But the king deprived Joseph of the high priesthood, and bestowed the succession to that dignity on the son of Ananus, who was also himself called Ananus. Now the report goes that this eldest Ananus proved a most fortunate man; for he had five sons who had all performed the office of a high priest to God, and who had himself enjoyed that dignity a long time formerly, which had never happened to any other of our high priests. But this younger Ananus, who, as we have told you already, took the high priesthood, was a bold man in his temper, and very insolent; he was also of the sect of the Sadducees, who are very rigid in judging offenders, above all the rest of the Jews, as we have already observed; when, therefore, Ananus was of this disposition, he thought he had now a proper opportunity [to exercise his authority]. Festus was now dead, and Albinus was but upon the road; so he assembled the sanhedrim of judges, and brought before them the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, whose name was James, and some others, [or, some of his companions]; and when he had formed an accusation against them as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned: but as for those who seemed the most equitable of the citizens, and such as were the most uneasy at the breach of the laws, they disliked what was done; they also sent to the king [Agrippa], desiring him to send to Ananus that he should act so no more, for that what he had already done was not to be justified; nay, some of them went also to meet Albinus, as he was upon his journey from Alexandria, and informed him that it was not lawful for Ananus to assemble a sanhedrim without his consent. Whereupon Albinus complied with what they said, and wrote in anger to Ananus, and threatened that he would bring him to punishment for what he had done; on which king Agrippa took the high priesthood from him, when he had ruled but three months, and made Jesus, the son of Damneus, high priest.

2. Now as soon as Albinus was come to the city of Jerusalem, he used all his endeavors and care that the country might be kept in peace, and this by destroying many of the Sicarii. But as for the high priest, Ananias he increased in glory every day, and this to a great degree, and had obtained the favor and esteem of the citizens in a signal manner; for he was a great hoarder up of money: he therefore cultivated the friendship of Albinus, and of the high priest

[Jesus], by making them presents; he also had servants who were very wicked, who joined themselves to the boldest sort of the people, and went to the thrashing-floors, and took away the tithes that belonged to the priests by violence, and did not refrain from beating such as would not give these tithes to them. So the other high priests acted in the like manner, as did those his servants, without any one being able to prohibit them; so that [some of the] priests, that of old were wont to be supported with those tithes, died for want of food.

3. But now the Sicarii went into the city by night, just before the festival, which was now at hand, and took the scribe belonging to the governor of the temple, whose name was Eleazar, who was the son of Ananus [Ananias] the high priest, and bound him, and carried him away with them; after which they sent to Ananias, and said that they would send the scribe to him, if he would persuade Albinus to release ten of those prisoners which he had caught of their party; so Ananias was plainly forced to persuade Albinus, and gained his request of him. This was the beginning of greater calamities; for the robbers perpetually contrived to catch some of Ananias's servants; and when they had taken them alive, they would not let them go, till they thereby recovered some of their own Sicarii. And as they were again become no small number, they grew bold, and were a great affliction to the whole country.

4. About this time it was that king Agrippa built Cesarea Philippi larger than it was before, and, in honor of Nero, named it Neronlas. And when he had built a theater at Berytus, with vast expenses, he bestowed on them shows, to be exhibited every year, and spent therein many ten thousand [drachmae]; he also gave the people a largess of corn, and distributed oil among them, and adorned the entire city with statues of his own donation, and with original images made by ancient hands; nay, he almost transferred all that was most ornamental in his own kingdom thither. This made him more than ordinarily hated by his subjects, because he took those things away that belonged to them to adorn a foreign city. And now Jesus, the son of Gamaliel, became the successor of Jesus, the son of Damneus, in the high priesthood, which the king had taken from the other; on which account a sedition arose between the high priests, with regard to one another; for they got together bodies of the boldest sort of the people, and frequently came, from reproaches, to throwing of stones at each other. But Ananias was too hard for the rest, by his riches, which enabled him to gain those that were most ready to receive. Costobarus also, and Saulus, did themselves get together a multitude of wicked wretches, and this because they were of the royal family; and so they obtained favor among them, because of their kindred to Agrippa; but still they used violence with the people, and were very ready to plunder those that were weaker than themselves. And from that time it

principally came to pass that our city was greatly disordered, and that all things grew worse and worse among us.

5. But when Albinus heard that Gessius Florus was coming to succeed him, he was desirous to appear to do somewhat that might be grateful to the people of Jerusalem; so he brought out all those prisoners who seemed to him to be most plainly worthy of death, and ordered them to be put to death accordingly. But as to those who had been put into prison on some trifling occasions, he took money of them, and dismissed them; by which means the prisons were indeed emptied, but the country was filled with robbers.

6. Now as many of the Levites, which is a tribe of ours, as were singers of hymns, persuaded the king to assemble a sanhedrim, and to give them leave to wear linen garments, as well as the priests for they said that this would be a work worthy the times of his government, that he might have a memorial of such a novelty, as being his doing. Nor did they fail of obtaining their desire; for the king, with the suffrages of those that came into the sanhedrim, granted the singers of hymns this privilege, that they might lay aside their former garments, and wear such a linen one as they desired; and as a part of this tribe ministered in the temple, he also permitted them to learn those hymns as they had besought him for. Now all this was contrary to the laws of our country, which, whenever they have been transgressed, we have never been able to avoid the punishment of such transgressions.

7. And now it was that the temple was finished. So when the people saw that the workmen were unemployed, who were above eighteen thousand and that they, receiving no wages, were in want because they had earned their bread by their labors about the temple; and while they were unwilling to keep by them the treasures that were there deposited, out of fear of [their being carried away by] the Romans; and while they had a regard to the making provision for the workmen; they had a mind to expend these treasures upon them; for if any one of them did but labor for a single hour, he received his pay immediately; so they persuaded him to rebuild the eastern cloisters. These cloisters belonged to the outer court, and were situated in a deep valley, and had walls that reached four hundred cubits [in length], and were built of square and very white stones, the length of each of which stones was twenty cubits, and their height six cubits. This was the work of king Solomon, who first of all built the entire temple. But king Agrippa, who had the care of the temple committed to him by Claudius Caesar, considering that it is easy to demolish any building, but hard to build it up again, and that it was particularly hard to do it to these cloisters, which would require a considerable time, and great sums of money, he denied the petitioners their request about that matter; but he did not obstruct them when they desired

the city might be paved with white stone. He also deprived Jesus, the son of Gamaliel, of the high priesthood, and gave it to Matthias, the son of Theophilus, under whom the Jews' war with the Romans took its beginning.

CHAPTER 10. An Enumeration Of The High Priests.

1. And now I think it proper and agreeable to this history to give an account of our high priests; how they began, who those are which are capable of that dignity, and how many of them there had been at the end of the war. In the first place, therefore, history informs us that Aaron, the brother of Moses, officiated to God as a high priest, and that, after his death, his sons succeeded him immediately; and that this dignity hath been continued down from them all to their posterity. Whence it is a custom of our country, that no one should take the high priesthood of God but he who is of the blood of Aaron, while every one that is of another stock, though he were a king, can never obtain that high priesthood. Accordingly, the number of all the high priests from Aaron, of whom we have spoken already, as of the first of them, until Phanas, who was made high priest during the war by the seditious, was eighty-three; of whom thirteen officiated as high priests in the wilderness, from the days of Moses, while the tabernacle was standing, until the people came into Judea, when king Solomon erected the temple to God; for at the first they held the high priesthood till the end of their life, although afterward they had successors while they were alive. Now these thirteen, who were the descendants of two of the sons of Aaron, received this dignity by succession, one after another; for their form of government was an aristocracy, and after that a monarchy, and in the third place the government was regal Now the number of years during the rule of these thirteen, from the day when our fathers departed out of Egypt, under Moses their leader, until the building of that temple which king Solomon erected at Jerusalem, were six hundred and twelve. After those thirteen high priests, eighteen took the high priesthood at Jerusalem, one in succession to another, from the days of king Solomon, until Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, made an expedition against that city, and burnt the temple, and removed our nation into Babylon, and then took Josadek, the high priest, captive; the times of these high priests were four hundred and sixty-six years, six months, and ten days, while the Jews were still under the regal government. But after the term of seventy years' captivity under the Babylonians, Cyrus, king of Persia, sent the Jews from Babylon to their own land again, and gave them leave to rebuild their temple; at which time Jesus, the son of Josadek, took the high priesthood over the captives when they were returned home. Now he and his posterity, who were in all fifteen, until king Antiochus Eupator, were under a democratical government for four hundred and fourteen years; and then the forementioned Antiochus, and Lysias the general of

his army, deprived Onias, who was also called Menelaus, of the high priesthood, and slew him at Berea; and driving away the son [of Onias the third], put Jaeimus into the place of the high priest, one that was indeed of the stock of Aaron, but not of that family of Onias. On which account Onias, who was the nephew of Onias that was dead, and bore the same name with his father, came into Egypt, and got into the friendship of Ptolemy Philometor, and Cleopatra his wife, and persuaded them to make him the high priest of that temple which he built to God in the prefecture of Heliopolis, and this in imitation of that at Jerusalem; but as for that temple which was built in Egypt, we have spoken of it frequently already. Now when Jacimus had retained the priesthood three years, he died, and there was no one that succeeded him, but the city continued seven years without a high priest. But then the posterity of the sons of Asamoneus, who had the government of the nation conferred upon them, when they had beaten the Macedonians in war, appointed Jonathan to be their high priest, who ruled over them seven years. And when he had been slain by the treacherous contrivance of Trypho, as we have related some where, Simon his brother took the high priesthood; and when he was destroyed at a feast by the treachery of his son-in-law, his own son, whose name was Hyrcanus, succeeded him, after he had held the high priesthood one year longer than his brother. This Hyrcanus enjoyed that dignity thirty years, and died an old man, leaving the succession to Judas, who was also called Aristobulus, whose brother Alexander was his heir; which Judas died of a sore distemper, after he had kept the priesthood, together with the royal authority; for this Judas was the first that put on his head a diadem for one year. And when Alexander had been both king and high priest twenty-seven years, he departed this life, and permitted his wife Alexandra to appoint him that should be high priest; so she gave the high priesthood to Hyrcanus, but retained the kingdom herself nine years, and then departed this life. The like duration [and no longer] did her son Hyrcanus enjoy the high priesthood; for after her death his brother Aristobulus fought against him, and beat him, and deprived him of his principality; and he did himself both reign, and perform the office of high priest to God. But when he had reigned three years, and as many months, Pompey came upon him, and not only took the city of Jerusalem by force, but put him and his children in bonds, and sent them to Rome. He also restored the high priesthood to Hyrcanus, and made him governor of the nation, but forbade him to wear a diadem. This Hyrcanus ruled, besides his first nine years, twenty-four years more, when Barzapharnes and Pacorus, the generals of the Parthians, passed over Euphrates, and fought with Hyrcanus, and took him alive, and made Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, king; and when he had reigned three years and three months, Sosius and Herod besieged him, and took

him, when Antony had him brought to Antioch, and slain there. Herod was then made king by the Romans, but did no longer appoint high priests out of the family of Asamoneus; but made certain men to be so that were of no eminent families, but barely of those that were priests, excepting that he gave that dignity to Aristobulus; for when he had made this Aristobulus, the grandson of that Hyrcanus who was then taken by the Parthians, and had taken his sister Mariarmne to wife, he thereby aimed to win the good-will of the people, who had a kind remembrance of Hyrcanus [his grandfather]. Yet did he afterward, out of his fear lest they should all bend their inclinations to Aristobulus, put him to death, and that by contriving how to have him suffocated as he was swimming at Jericho, as we have already related that matter; but after this man he never intrusted the priesthood to the posterity of the sons of Asamoneus. Archelaus also, Herod's son, did like his father in the appointment of the high priests, as did the Romans also, who took the government over the Jews into their hands afterward. Accordingly, the number of the high priests, from the days of Herod until the day when Titus took the temple and the City, and burnt them, were in all twenty-eight; the time also that belonged to them was a hundred and seven years. Some of these were the political governors of the people under the reign of Herod, and under the reign of Archelaus his son, although, after their death, the government became an aristocracy, and the high priests were intrusted with a dominion over the nation. And thus much may suffice to be said concerning our high priests.

CHAPTER 11. Concerning Florus The Procurator, Who Necessitated The Jews To Take Up Arms Against The Romans. The Conclusion.

1. Now Gessius Florus, who was sent as successor to Albinus by Nero, filled Judea with abundance of miseries. He was by birth of the city of Clazomene, and brought along with him his wife Cleopatra, [by whose friendship with Poppea, Nero's wife, he obtained this government,] who was no way different from him in wickedness. This Florus was so wicked, and so violent in the use of his authority, that the Jews took Albinus to have been [comparatively] their benefactor; so excessive were the mischiefs that he brought upon them. For Albinus concealed his wickedness, and was careful that it might not be discovered to all men; but Gessius Florus, as though he had been sent on purpose to show his crimes to every body, made a pompous ostentation of them to our nation, as never omitting any sort of violence, nor any unjust sort of punishment; for he was not to be moved by pity, and never was satisfied with any degree of gain that came in his way; nor had he any more regard to great than to small acquisitions, but became a partner with the robbers themselves. For a great many fell then into that practice without fear, as having him for their security, and depending on him, that he would save them harmless in their particular robberies; so that there were no bounds set to the nation's miseries; but the unhappy Jews, when they were not able to bear the devastations which the robbers made among them, were all under a necessity of leaving their own habitations, and of flying away, as hoping to dwell more easily any where else in the world among foreigners [than in their own country]. And what need I say any more upon this head? since it was this Florus who necessitated us to take up arms against the Romans, while we thought it better to be destroyed at once, than by little and little. Now this war began in the second year of the government of Florus, and the twelfth year of the reign of Nero. But then what actions we were forced to do, or what miseries we were enabled to suffer, may be accurately known by such as will peruse those books which I have written about the Jewish war.

2. I shall now, therefore, make an end here of my Antiquities; after the conclusion of which events, I began to write that account of the war; and these Antiquities contain what hath been delivered down to us from the original creation of man, until the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, as to what hath befallen the Jews, as well in Egypt as in Syria and in Palestine, and what we

have suffered from the Assyrians and Babylonians, and what afflictions the Persians and Macedonians, and after them the Romans, have brought upon us; for I think I may say that I have composed this history with sufficient accuracy in all things. I have attempted to enumerate those high priests that we have had during the interval of two thousand years; I have also carried down the succession of our kings, and related their actions, and political administration, without [considerable] errors, as also the power of our monarchs; and all according to what is written in our sacred books; for this it was that I promised to do in the beginning of this history. And I am so bold as to say, now I have so completely perfected the work I proposed to myself to do, that no other person, whether he were a Jew or foreigner, had he ever so great an inclination to it, could so accurately deliver these accounts to the Greeks as is done in these books. For those of my own nation freely acknowledge that I far exceed them in the learning belonging to Jews; I have also taken a great deal of pains to obtain the learning of the Greeks, and understand the elements of the Greek language, although I have so long accustomed myself to speak our own tongue, that I cannot pronounce Greek with sufficient exactness; for our nation does not encourage those that learn the languages of many nations, and so adorn their discourses with the smoothness of their periods; because they look upon this sort of accomplishment as common, not only to all sorts of free-men, but to as many of the servants as please to learn them. But they give him the testimony of being a wise man who is fully acquainted with our laws, and is able to interpret their meaning; on which account, as there have been many who have done their endeavors with great patience to obtain this learning, there have yet hardly been so many as two or three that have succeeded therein, who were immediately well rewarded for their pains.

3. And now it will not be perhaps an invidious thing, if I treat briefly of my own family, and of the actions of my own life while there are still living such as can either prove what I say to be false, or can attest that it is true; with which accounts I shall put an end to these Antiquities, which are contained in twenty books, and sixty thousand verses. And if God permit me, I will briefly run over this war, and to add what befell them further to that very day, the 13th of Domitian, or A.D. 03, is not, that I have observed, taken distinct notice of by any one; nor do we ever again, with what befell us therein to this very day, which is the thirteenth year of the reign of Caesar Domitian, and the fifty-sixth year of my own life. I have also an intention to write three books concerning our Jewish opinions about God and his essence, and about our laws; why, according to them, some things are permitted us to do, and others are prohibited.

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BOOK VI. Containing The Interval Of Thirty-Two Years. — From The Death Of Eli To The Death Of Saul.

CHAPTER 1. The Destruction That Came Upon The Philistines, And Upon Their Land, By The Wrath Of Go On Account Of Their Having Carried The Ark Away Captive; And After What Manner They Sent It Back To The Hebrews.
CHAPTER 2. The Expedition Of The Philistines Against The Hebrews And The Hebrews' Victory Under The Conduct Of Samuel The Prophet, Who Was Their General.
CHAPTER 3. How Samuel When He Was So Infirm With Old Age That He Could Not Take Care Of The Public Affairs Intrusted Them To His Sons; And How Upon The Evil Administration Of The Government By Them The Multitude Were So Angry, That They Required To Have A King To Govern Them, Although Samuel Was Much Displeased Thereat.
CHAPTER 4. The Appointment Of A King Over The Israelites, Whose Name Was Saul; And This By The Command Of God.

CHAPTER 5. Saul’s Expedition Against The Nation Of The Ammonites And Victory Over Them And The Spoils He Took From Them.
CHAPTER 6. How The Philistines Made Another Expedition Against The Hebrews And Were Beaten.
CHAPTER 7. Saul’s War With The Amalekites, And Conquest Of Them.
CHAPTER 8. How, Upon Saul’s Transgression Of The Prophet’s Commands, Samuel Ordained Another Person To Be King Privately, Whose Name Was David, As God Commanded Him.
CHAPTER 9. How The Philistines Made Another Expedition Against The Hebrews Under The Reign Of Saul; And How They Were Overcome By David’s Slaying Goliath In Single Combat.
CHAPTER 10. Saul Envies David For His Glorious Success, And Takes An Occasion Of Entrapping Him, From The Promise He Made Him Of Giving Him His Daughter In Marriage; But This Upon Condition Of His Bringing Him Six Hundred Heads Of The Philistines.
CHAPTER 11. How David, Upon Saul’s Laying Snares For Him, Did Yet Escape The Dangers He Was In By The Affection And Care Of Jonathan And The Contrivances Of His Wife Michal: And How He Came To Samuel The Prophet.
CHAPTER 12. How David Fled To Ahimelech And Afterwards To The Kings Of The Philistines And Of The Moabites, And How Saul Slew Ahimelech And His Family.
CHAPTER 13. How David, When He Had Twice The Opportunity Of Killing Saul Did Not Kill Him. Also Concerning The Death Of Samuel And Nabal.
CHAPTER 14. Now Saul Upon God’s Not Answering Him Concerning The Fight With The Philistines Desired A Necromantic Woman To Raise Up The Soul Of Samuel To Him; And How He Died, With His Sons Upon The Overthrow Of The Hebrews In Battle.

BOOK VII. Containing The Interval Of Forty Years. — From The Death Of Saul To The Death Of David.

CHAPTER 1. How David Reigned Over One Tribe At Hebron While The Son Of Saul Reigned Over The Rest Of The Multitude; And How, In The Civil War Which Then Arose Asahel And Abner Were Slain.
CHAPTER 2. That Upon The Slaughter Of Ishbosheth By The Treachery Of His Friends, David Received The Whole Kingdom.

CHAPTER 3. How David Laid Siege To Jerusalem; And When He Had Taken The City, He Cast The Canaanites Out Of It, And Brought In The Jews To Inhabit Therein.
CHAPTER 4. That When David Had Conquered The Philistines Who Made War Against Him At Jerusalem, He Removed The Ark To Jerusalem And Had A Mind To Build A Temple.
CHAPTER 5. How David Brought Under The Philistines, And The Moabites, And The Kings Of Sophene And Of Damascus, And Of The Syrians As Also The Idumeans, In War; And How He Made A League With The King Of Hamath; And Was Mindful Of The Friendship That Jonathan, The Son Of Saul, Had Borne Him.
CHAPTER 6. How The War Was Waged Against The Ammonites And Happily Concluded.
CHAPTER 7. How David Fell In Love With Bathsheba, And Slew Her Husband Uriah, For Which He Is Reproved By Nathan.
CHAPTER 8. How Absalom Murdered Amnon, Who Had Forced His Own Sister; And How He Was Banished And Afterwards Recalled By David.
CHAPTER 9. Concerning The Insurrection Of Absalom Against David And Concerning Ahithophel And Hushai; And Concerning Ziba And Shimei; And How Ahithophel Hanged Himself.
CHAPTER 10. How, When Absalom Was Beaten, He Was Caught In A Tree By His Hair And Was Slain
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CHAPTER 15. What Charge David Gave Tohis Son Solomon At The Approach Of His Death, And How Many Things He Left Him For The Building Of The

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CHAPTER 1. How Solomon, When He Had Received The Kingdom Took Off His Enemies.
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CHAPTER 3. Of The Building Of This Temple
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CHAPTER 5. How Solomon Built Himself A Royal Palace, Very Costly And Splendid; And How He Solved The Riddles Which Were Sent Him By Hiram.
CHAPTER 6. How Solomon Fortified The City Of Jerusalem, And Built Great Cities; And How He Brought Some Of The Canaanites Into Subjection, And Entertained The Queen Of Egypt And Of Ethiopia.
CHAPTER 7. How Solomon Grew Rich, And Fell Desperately In Love With Women And How God, Being Incensed At It, Raised Up Ader And Jeroboam Against Him. Concerning The Death Of Solomon.
CHAPTER 8. How, Upon The Death Of Solomon The People Forsook His Son Rehoboam, And Ordained Jeroboam King Over The Ten Tribes.
CHAPTER 9. How Jadon The Prophet Was Persuaded By Another Lying Prophet And Returned [To Bethel,] And Was Afterwards Slain By A Lion. As Also What Words The Wicked Prophet Made Use Of To Persuade The King, And Thereby Alienated His Mind From God.
CHAPTER 10. Concerning Rehoboam, And How God Inflicted Punishment Upon Him For His Impiety By Shishak [King Of Egypt].
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CHAPTER 13. How Ahab When He Had Taken Jezebel To Wife Became More Wicked Than All The Kings That Had Been Before Him; Of The Actions Of The Prophet Elijah, And What Befell Naboth.
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CHAPTER 1. Concerning Jehoshaphat Again; How He Constituted Judges And, By God's Assistance Overcame His Enemies.
CHAPTER 2. Concerning Ahaziah; The King Of Israel; And Again Concerning The Prophet Elijah.
CHAPTER 3. How Joram And Jehoshaphat Made An Expedition Against The Moabites; As Also Concerning The Wonders Of Elisha; And The Death Of Jehoshaphat.
CHAPTER 4. Jehoram Succeeds Jehoshaphat; How Joram, His Namesake, King Of Israel, Fought With The Syrians; And What Wonders Were Done By The Prophet Elisha.
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CHAPTER 6. How Jehu Was Anointed King, And Slew Both Joram And Ahaziah; As Also What He Did For The Punishment Of The Wicked.
CHAPTER 7. How Athaliah Reigned Over Jerusalem For Five [Six] Years When Jehoiada The High Priest Slew Her And Made Jehoash, The Son Of Ahaziah, King.
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Left It To [His Son] Amon.
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CHAPTER 5. How Josiah Fought With Neco [King Of Egypt.] And Was Wounded And Died In A Little Time Afterward; As Also How Neco Carried Jehoahaz, Who Had Been Made King Into Egypt And Delivered The Kingdom To Jehoiakim; And [Lastly] Concerning Jeremiah And Ezekiel.
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CHAPTER 7. How John Slew His Brother Jesus In The Temple; And How Bagoses Offered Many Injuries To The Jews; And What Sanballat Did.
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CHAPTER 2. How Ptolemy Philadelphus Procured The Laws Of The Jews To Be Translated Into The Greek Tongue And Set Many Captives Free, And Dedicated Many Gifts To God.
CHAPTER 3. How The Kings Of Asia Honored The Nation Of The Jews And Made Them Citizens Of Those Cities Which They Built.
CHAPTER 4. How Antiochus Made A League With Ptolemy And How Onias Provoked Ptolemy Euergetes To Anger; And How Joseph Brought All Things Right Again, And Entered Into Friendship With Him; And What Other Things Were Done By Joseph, And His Son Hyrcanus.
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Followed The Customs Of The Greeks And Named Their Temple At Mount Gerizzim The Temple Of Jupiter Hellenius.
CHAPTER 6. How, Upon Antiochus's Prohibition To The Jews To Make Use Of The Laws Of Their Country Mattathias, The Son Of Asamoneus, Alone Despised The King, And Overcame The Generals Of Antiochus's Army; As Also Concerning The Death Of Mattathias, And The Succession Of Judas.
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CHAPTER 7. How Simon Confederated Himself With Antiochus Pius, And Made War Against Trypho, And A Little Afterward, Against Cendebeus, The General Of Antiochus's Army; As Also How Simon Was Murdered By His Son-In-Law Ptolemy, And That By Treachery.
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AGAINST APIO

Translated by William Whiston

In this polemical work, Josephus constructs a defence of Judaism as a classical religion and philosophy, stressing its antiquity against what he perceived as more recent traditions of the Greeks. *Against Apio* cites the earlier work *Antiquities of the Jews*, dating the work to after AD 94. In the second book, Josephus defends the historicity of the Jewish Bible against accusations made by Apion (30-20 BC – c. AD 45-48) a Hellenised Egyptian grammarian, sophist and commentator on Homer.

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BOOK I.

1. I Suppose that by my books of the Antiquity of the Jews, most excellent Epaphroditus, have made it evident to those who peruse them, that our Jewish nation is of very great antiquity, and had a distinct subsistence of its own originally; as also, I have therein declared how we came to inhabit this country wherein we now live. Those Antiquities contain the history of five thousand years, and are taken out of our sacred books, but are translated by me into the Greek tongue. However, since I observe a considerable number of people giving ear to the reproaches that are laid against us by those who bear ill-will to us, and will not believe what I have written concerning the antiquity of our nation, while they take it for a plain sign that our nation is of a late date, because they are not so much as vouchsafed a bare mention by the most famous historiographers among the Grecians. I therefore have thought myself under an obligation to write somewhat briefly about these subjects, in order to convict those that reproach us of spite and voluntary falsehood, and to correct the ignorance of others, and withal to instruct all those who are desirous of knowing the truth of what great antiquity we really are. As for the witnesses whom I shall produce for the proof of what I say, they shall be such as are esteemed to be of the greatest reputation for truth, and the most skillful in the knowledge of all antiquity by the Greeks themselves. I will also show, that those who have written so reproachfully and falsely about us are to be convicted by what they have written themselves to the contrary. I shall also endeavor to give an account of the reasons why it hath so happened, that there have not been a great number of Greeks who have made mention of our nation in their histories. I will, however, bring those Grecians to light who have not omitted such our history, for the sake of those that either do not know them, or pretend not to know them already.

2. And now, in the first place, I cannot but greatly wonder at those men, who suppose that we must attend to none but Grecians, when we are inquiring about the most ancient facts, and must inform ourselves of their truth from them only, while we must not believe ourselves nor other men; for I am convinced that the very reverse is the truth of the case. I mean this, — if we will not be led by vain opinions, but will make inquiry after truth from facts themselves; for they will find that almost all which concerns the Greeks happened not long ago; nay, one may say, is of yesterday only. I speak of the building of their cities, the inventions of their arts, and the description of their laws; and as for their care about the writing down of their histories, it is very near the last thing they set

about. However, they acknowledge themselves so far, that they were the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, and the Phoenicians (for I will not now reckon ourselves among them) that have preserved the memorials of the most ancient and most lasting traditions of mankind; for almost all these nations inhabit such countries as are least subject to destruction from the world about them; and these also have taken especial care to have nothing omitted of what was [remarkably] done among them; but their history was esteemed sacred, and put into public tables, as written by men of the greatest wisdom they had among them. But as for the place where the Grecians inhabit, ten thousand destructions have overtaken it, and blotted out the memory of former actions; so that they were ever beginning a new way of living, and supposed that every one of them was the origin of their new state. It was also late, and with difficulty, that they came to know the letters they now use; for those who would advance their use of these letters to the greatest antiquity pretend that they learned them from the Phoenicians and from Cadmus; yet is nobody able to demonstrate that they have any writing preserved from that time, neither in their temples, nor in any other public monuments. This appears, because the time when those lived who went to the Trojan war, so many years afterward, is in great doubt, and great inquiry is made, whether the Greeks used their letters at that time; and the most prevailing opinion, and that nearest the truth, is, that their present way of using those letters was unknown at that time. However, there is not any writing which the Greeks agree to be genuine among them ancienter than Homer's Poems, who must plainly he confessed later than the siege of Troy; nay, the report goes, that even he did not leave his poems in writing, but that their memory was preserved in songs, and they were put together afterward, and that this is the reason of such a number of variations as are found in them. As for those who set themselves about writing their histories, I mean such as Cadmus of Miletus, and Acusilaus of Argos, and any others that may be mentioned as succeeding Acusilaus, they lived but a little while before the Persian expedition into Greece. But then for those that first introduced philosophy, and the consideration of things celestial and divine among them, such as Pherceydes the Syrian, and Pythagoras, and Thales, all with one consent agree, that they learned what they knew of the Egyptians and Chaldeans, and wrote but little And these are the things which are supposed to be the oldest of all among the Greeks; and they have much ado to believe that the writings ascribed to those men are genuine.

3. How can it then be other than an absurd thing, for the Greeks to be so proud, and to vaunt themselves to be the only people that are acquainted with antiquity, and that have delivered the true accounts of those early times after an accurate manner? Nay, who is there that cannot easily gather from the Greek

writers themselves, that they knew but little on any good foundation when they set to write, but rather wrote their histories from their own conjectures? Accordingly, they confute one another in their own books to purpose, and are not ashamed. to give us the most contradictory accounts of the same things; and I should spend my time to little purpose, if I should pretend to teach the Greeks that which they know better than I already, what a great disagreement there is between Hellanicus and Acusilaus about their genealogies; in how many eases Acusilaus corrects Hesiod: or after what manner Ephorus demonstrates Hellanicus to have told lies in the greatest part of his history; as does Timeus in like manner as to Ephorus, and the succeeding writers do to Timeus, and all the later writers do to Herodotus nor could Timeus agree with Antiochus and Philistius, or with Callias, about the Sicilian History, no more than do the several writers of the Athide follow one another about the Athenian affairs; nor do the historians the like, that wrote the Argolics, about the affairs of the Argives. And now what need I say any more about particular cities and smaller places, while in the most approved writers of the expedition of the Persians, and of the actions which were therein performed, there are so great differences? Nay, Thucydides himself is accused of some as writing what is false, although he seems to have given us the exactest history of the affairs of his own time.

4. As for the occasions of so great disagreement of theirs, there may be assigned many that are very probable, if any have a mind to make an inquiry about them; but I ascribe these contradictions chiefly to two causes, which I will now mention, and still think what I shall mention in the first place to be the principal of all. For if we remember that in the beginning the Greeks had taken no care to have public records of their several transactions preserved, this must for certain have afforded those that would afterward write about those ancient transactions the opportunity of making mistakes, and the power of making lies also; for this original recording of such ancient transactions hath not only been neglected by the other states of Greece, but even among the Athenians themselves also, who pretend to be Aborigines, and to have applied themselves to learning, there are no such records extant; nay, they say themselves that the laws of Draco concerning murders, which are now extant in writing, are the most ancient of their public records; which Draco yet lived but a little before the tyrant Pisistratus. For as to the Arcadians, who make such boasts of their antiquity, what need I speak of them in particular, since it was still later before they got their letters, and learned them, and that with difficulty also.

5. There must therefore naturally arise great differences among writers, when they had no original records to lay for their foundation, which might at once inform those who had an inclination to learn, and contradict those that would tell

lies. However, we are to suppose a second occasion besides the former of these contradictions; it is this: That those who were the most zealous to write history were not solicitous for the discovery of truth, although it was very easy for them always to make such a profession; but their business was to demonstrate that they could write well, and make an impression upon mankind thereby; and in what manner of writing they thought they were able to exceed others, to that did they apply themselves, Some of them betook themselves to the writing of fabulous narrations; some of them endeavored to please the cities or the kings, by writing in their commendation; others of them fell to finding faults with transactions, or with the writers of such transactions, and thought to make a great figure by so doing. And indeed these do what is of all things the most contrary to true history; for it is the great character of true history that all concerned therein both speak and write the same things; while these men, by writing differently about the same things, think they shall be believed to write with the greatest regard to truth. We therefore [who are Jews] must yield to the Grecian writers as to language and eloquence of composition; but then we shall give them no such preference as to the verity of ancient history, and least of all as to that part which concerns the affairs of our own several countries.

6. As to the care of writing down the records from the earliest antiquity among the Egyptians and Babylonians; that the priests were intrusted therewith, and employed a philosophical concern about it; that they were the Chaldean priests that did so among the Babylonians; and that the Phoenicians, who were mingled among the Greeks, did especially make use of their letters, both for the common affairs of life, and for the delivering down the history of common transactions, I think I may omit any proof, because all men allow it so to be. But now as to our forefathers, that they took no less care about writing such records, [for I will not say they took greater care than the others I spoke of,] and that they committed that matter to their high priests and to their prophets, and that these records have been written all along down to our own times with the utmost accuracy; nay, if it be not too bold for me to say it, our history will be so written hereafter; — I shall endeavor briefly to inform you.

7. For our forefathers did not only appoint the best of these priests, and those that attended upon the Divine worship, for that design from the beginning, but made provision that the stock of the priests should continue unmixed and pure; for he who is partaker of the priesthood must propagate of a wife of the same nation, without having any regard to money, or any other dignities; but he is to make a scrutiny, and take his wife’s genealogy from the ancient tables, and procure many witnesses to it. And this is our practice not only in Judea, but wheresoever any body of men of our nation do live; and even there an exact

catalogue of our priests' marriages is kept; I mean at Egypt and at Babylon, or in any other place of the rest of the habitable earth, whithersoever our priests are scattered; for they send to Jerusalem the ancient names of their parents in writing, as well as those of their remoter ancestors, and signify who are the witnesses also. But if any war falls out, such as have fallen out a great many of them already, when Antiochus Epiphanes made an invasion upon our country, as also when Pompey the Great and Quintilius Varus did so also, and principally in the wars that have happened in our own times, those priests that survive them compose new tables of genealogy out of the old records, and examine the circumstances of the women that remain; for still they do not admit of those that have been captives, as suspecting that they had conversation with some foreigners. But what is the strongest argument of our exact management in this matter is what I am now going to say, that we have the names of our high priests from father to son set down in our records for the interval of two thousand years; and if any of these have been transgressors of these rules, they are prohibited to present themselves at the altar, or to be partakers of any other of our purifications; and this is justly, or rather necessarily done, because every one is not permitted of his own accord to be a writer, nor is there any disagreement in what is written; they being only prophets that have written the original and earliest accounts of things as they learned them of God himself by inspiration; and others have written what hath happened in their own times, and that in a very distinct manner also.

8. For we have not an innumerable multitude of books among us, disagreeing from and contradicting one another, [as the Greeks have,] but only twenty-two books, which contain the records of all the past times; which are justly believed to be divine; and of them five belong to Moses, which contain his laws and the traditions of the origin of mankind till his death. This interval of time was little short of three thousand years; but as to the time from the death of Moses till the reign of Artaxerxes king of Persia, who reigned after Xerxes, the prophets, who were after Moses, wrote down what was done in their times in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God, and precepts for the conduct of human life. It is true, our history hath been written since Artaxerxes very particularly, but hath not been esteemed of the like authority with the former by our forefathers, because there hath not been an exact succession of prophets since that time; and how firmly we have given credit to these books of our own nation is evident by what we do; for during so many ages as have already passed, no one has been so bold as either to add any thing to them, to take any thing from them, or to make any change in them; but it is become natural to all Jews immediately, and from their very birth, to esteem these books to contain Divine

doctrines, and to persist in them, and, if occasion be willingly to die for them. For it is no new thing for our captives, many of them in number, and frequently in time, to be seen to endure racks and deaths of all kinds upon the theatres, that they may not be obliged to say one word against our laws and the records that contain them; whereas there are none at all among the Greeks who would undergo the least harm on that account, no, nor in case all the writings that are among them were to be destroyed; for they take them to be such discourses as are framed agreeably to the inclinations of those that write them; and they have justly the same opinion of the ancient writers, since they see some of the present generation bold enough to write about such affairs, wherein they were not present, nor had concern enough to inform themselves about them from those that knew them; examples of which may be had in this late war of ours, where some persons have written histories, and published them, without having been in the places concerned, or having been near them when the actions were done; but these men put a few things together by hearsay, and insolently abuse the world, and call these writings by the name of Histories.

9. As for myself, I have composed a true history of that whole war, and of all the particulars that occurred therein, as having been concerned in all its transactions; for I acted as general of those among us that are named Galileans, as long as it was possible for us to make any opposition. I was then seized on by the Romans, and became a captive. Vespasian also and Titus had me kept under a guard, and forced me to attend them continually. At the first I was put into bonds, but was set at liberty afterward, and sent to accompany Titus when he came from Alexandria to the siege of Jerusalem; during which time there was nothing done which escaped my knowledge; for what happened in the Roman camp I saw, and wrote down carefully; and what informations the deserters brought [out of the city], I was the only man that understood them. Afterward I got leisure at Rome; and when all my materials were prepared for that work, I made use of some persons to assist me in learning the Greek tongue, and by these means I composed the history of those transactions. And I was so well assured of the truth of what I related, that I first of all appealed to those that had the supreme command in that war, Vespasian and Titus, as witnesses for me, for to them I presented those books first of all, and after them to many of the Romans who had been in the war. I also sold them to many of our own men who understood the Greek philosophy; among whom were Julius Archelaus, Herod [king of Chalcis], a person of great gravity, and king Agrippa himself, a person that deserved the greatest admiration. Now all these men bore their testimony to me, that I had the strictest regard to truth; who yet would not have dissembled

the matter, nor been silent, if I, out of ignorance, or out of favor to any side, either had given false colors to actions, or omitted any of them.

10. There have been indeed some bad men, who have attempted to calumniate my history, and took it to be a kind of scholastic performance for the exercise of young men. A strange sort of accusation and calumny this! since every one that undertakes to deliver the history of actions truly ought to know them accurately himself in the first place, as either having been concerned in them himself, or been informed of them by such as knew them. Now both these methods of knowledge I may very properly pretend to in the composition of both my works; for, as I said, I have translated the Antiquities out of our sacred books; which I easily could do, since I was a priest by my birth, and have studied that philosophy which is contained in those writings: and for the History of the War, I wrote it as having been an actor myself in many of its transactions, an eye-witness in the greatest part of the rest, and was not unacquainted with any thing whatsoever that was either said or done in it. How impudent then must those deserve to be esteemed that undertake to contradict me about the true state of those affairs! who, although they pretend to have made use of both the emperors' own memoirs, yet could not they he acquainted with our affairs who fought against them.

11. This digression I have been obliged to make out of necessity, as being desirous to expose the vanity of those that profess to write histories; and I suppose I have sufficiently declared that this custom of transmitting down the histories of ancient times hath been better preserved by those nations which are called Barbarians, than by the Greeks themselves. I am now willing, in the next place, to say a few things to those that endeavor to prove that our constitution is but of late time, for this reason, as they pretend, that the Greek writers have said nothing about us; after which I shall produce testimonies for our antiquity out of the writings of foreigners; I shall also demonstrate that such as cast reproaches upon our nation do it very unjustly.

12. As for ourselves, therefore, we neither inhabit a maritime country, nor do we delight in merchandise, nor in such a mixture with other men as arises from it; but the cities we dwell in are remote from the sea, and having a fruitful country for our habitation, we take pains in cultivating that only. Our principal care of all is this, to educate our children well; and we think it to be the most necessary business of our whole life to observe the laws that have been given us, and to keep those rules of piety that have been delivered down to us. Since, therefore, besides what we have already taken notice of, we have had a peculiar way of living of our own, there was no occasion offered us in ancient ages for intermixing among the Greeks, as they had for mixing among the Egyptians, by

their intercourse of exporting and importing their several goods; as they also mixed with the Phoenicians, who lived by the sea-side, by means of their love of lucre in trade and merchandise. Nor did our forefathers betake themselves, as did some others, to robbery; nor did they, in order to gain more wealth, fall into foreign wars, although our country contained many ten thousands of men of courage sufficient for that purpose. For this reason it was that the Phoenicians themselves came soon by trading and navigation to be known to the Grecians, and by their means the Egyptians became known to the Grecians also, as did all those people whence the Phoenicians in long voyages over the seas carried wares to the Grecians. The Medes also and the Persians, when they were lords of Asia, became well known to them; and this was especially true of the Persians, who led their armies as far as the other continent [Europe]. The Thracians were also known to them by the nearness of their countries, and the Scythians by the means of those that sailed to Pontus; for it was so in general that all maritime nations, and those that inhabited near the eastern or western seas, became most known to those that were desirous to be writers; but such as had their habitations further from the sea were for the most part unknown to them which things appear to have happened as to Europe also, where the city of Rome, that hath this long time been possessed of so much power, and hath performed such great actions in war, is yet never mentioned by Herodotus, nor by Thucydides, nor by any one of their contemporaries; and it was very late, and with great difficulty, that the Romans became known to the Greeks. Nay, those that were reckoned the most exact historians [and Ephorus for one] were so very ignorant of the Gauls and the Spaniards, that he supposed the Spaniards, who inhabit so great a part of the western regions of the earth, to be no more than one city. Those historians also have ventured to describe such customs as were made use of by them, which they never had either done or said; and the reason why these writers did not know the truth of their affairs was this, that they had not any commerce together; but the reason why they wrote such falsities was this, that they had a mind to appear to know things which others had not known. How can it then be any wonder, if our nation was no more known to many of the Greeks, nor had given them any occasion to mention them in their writings, while they were so remote from the sea, and had a conduct of life so peculiar to themselves?

13. Let us now put the case, therefore, that we made use of this argument concerning the Grecians, in order to prove that their nation was not ancient, because nothing is said of them in our records: would not they laugh at us all, and probably give the same reasons for our silence that I have now alleged, and would produce their neighbor nations as witnesses to their own antiquity? Now the very same thing will I endeavor to do; for I will bring the Egyptians and the

Phoenicians as my principal witnesses, because nobody can complain Of their testimony as false, on account that they are known to have borne the greatest ill-will towards us; I mean this as to the Egyptians in general all of them, while of the Phoenicians it is known the Tyrians have been most of all in the same ill disposition towards us: yet do I confess that I cannot say the same of the Chaldeans, since our first leaders and ancestors were derived from them; and they do make mention of us Jews in their records, on account of the kindred there is between us. Now when I shall have made my assertions good, so far as concerns the others, I will demonstrate that some of the Greek writers have made mention of us Jews also, that those who envy us may not have even this pretense for contradicting what I have said about our nation.

14. I shall begin with the writings of the Egyptians; not indeed of those that have written in the Egyptian language, which it is impossible for me to do. But Manetho was a man who was by birth an Egyptian, yet had he made himself master of the Greek learning, as is very evident; for he wrote the history of his own country in the Greek tongue, by translating it, as he saith himself, out of their sacred records; he also finds great fault with Herodotus for his ignorance and false relations of Egyptian affairs. Now this Manetho, in the second book of his Egyptian History, writes concerning us in the following manner. I will set down his very words, as if I were to bring the very man himself into a court for a witness: "There was a king of ours whose name was Timaus. Under him it came to pass, I know not how, that God was averse to us, and there came, after a surprising manner, men of ignoble birth out of the eastern parts, and had boldness enough to make an expedition into our country, and with ease subdued it by force, yet without our hazarding a battle with them. So when they had gotten those that governed us under their power, they afterwards burnt down our cities, and demolished the temples of the gods, and used all the inhabitants after a most barbarous manner; nay, some they slew, and led their children and their wives into slavery. At length they made one of themselves king, whose name was Salatis; he also lived at Memphis, and made both the upper and lower regions pay tribute, and left garrisons in places that were the most proper for them. He chiefly aimed to secure the eastern parts, as foreseeing that the Assyrians, who had then the greatest power, would be desirous of that kingdom, and invade them; and as he found in the Saite Nomos, [Sethroite,] a city very proper for this purpose, and which lay upon the Bubastic channel, but with regard to a certain theologic notion was called Avaris, this he rebuilt, and made very strong by the walls he built about it, and by a most numerous garrison of two hundred and forty thousand armed men whom he put into it to keep it. Thither Salatis came in summer time, partly to gather his corn, and pay his

soldiers their wages, and partly to exercise his armed men, and thereby to terrify foreigners. When this man had reigned thirteen years, after him reigned another, whose name was Beon, for forty-four years; after him reigned another, called Apachnas, thirty-six years and seven months; after him Apophis reigned sixty-one years, and then Janins fifty years and one month; after all these reigned Assis forty-nine years and two months. And these six were the first rulers among them, who were all along making war with the Egyptians, and were very desirous gradually to destroy them to the very roots. This whole nation was styled Hycsos, that is, Shepherd-kings: for the first syllable Hyc, according to the sacred dialect, denotes a king, as is Sos a shepherd; but this according to the ordinary dialect; and of these is compounded Hycsos: but some say that these people were Arabians." Now in another copy it is said that this word does not denote Kings, but, on the contrary, denotes Captive Shepherds, and this on account of the particle Hyc; for that Hyc, with the aspiration, in the Egyptian tongue again denotes Shepherds, and that expressly also; and this to me seems the more probable opinion, and more agreeable to ancient history. [But Manetho goes on]: "These people, whom we have before named kings, and called shepherds also, and their descendants," as he says, "kept possession of Egypt five hundred and eleven years." After these, he says, "That the kings of Thebais and the other parts of Egypt made an insurrection against the shepherds, and that there a terrible and long war was made between them." He says further, "That under a king, whose name was Alisphragmuthosis, the shepherds were subdued by him, and were indeed driven out of other parts of Egypt, but were shut up in a place that contained ten thousand acres; this place was named Avaris." Manetho says, "That the shepherds built a wall round all this place, which was a large and a strong wall, and this in order to keep all their possessions and their prey within a place of strength, but that Thummosis the son of Alisphragmuthosis made an attempt to take them by force and by siege, with four hundred and eighty thousand men to lie rotund about them, but that, upon his despair of taking the place by that siege, they came to a composition with them, that they should leave Egypt, and go, without any harm to be done to them, whithersoever they would; and that, after this composition was made, they went away with their whole families and effects, not fewer in number than two hundred and forty thousand, and took their journey from Egypt, through the wilderness, for Syria; but that as they were in fear of the Assyrians, who had then the dominion over Asia, they built a city in that country which is now called Judea, and that large enough to contain this great number of men, and called it Jerusalem." Now Manetho, in another book of his, says, "That this nation, thus called Shepherds, were also called Captives, in their sacred books." And this account of his is the truth; for

feeding of sheep was the employment of our forefathers in the most ancient ages and as they led such a wandering life in feeding sheep, they were called Shepherds. Nor was it without reason that they were called Captives by the Egyptians, since one of our ancestors, Joseph, told the king of Egypt that he was a captive, and afterward sent for his brethren into Egypt by the king's permission. But as for these matters, I shall make a more exact inquiry about them elsewhere.

15. But now I shall produce the Egyptians as witnesses to the antiquity of our nation. I shall therefore here bring in Manetho again, and what he writes as to the order of the times in this case; and thus he speaks: "When this people or shepherds were gone out of Egypt to Jerusalem, Tethtoosis the king of Egypt, who drove them out, reigned afterward twenty-five years and four months, and then died; after him his son Chebron took the kingdom for thirteen years; after whom came Amenophis, for twenty years and seven months; then came his sister Amesses, for twenty-one years and nine months; after her came Mephres, for twelve years and nine months; after him was Mephramuthosis, for twenty-five years and ten months; after him was Thmosis, for nine years and eight months; after him came Amenophis, for thirty years and ten months; after him came Orus, for thirty-six years and five months; then came his daughter Acenchres, for twelve years and one month; then was her brother Rathotis, for nine years; then was Acencheres, for twelve years and five months; then came another Acencheres, for twelve years and three months; after him Armais, for four years and one month; after him was Ramesses, for one year and four months; after him came Armesses Miammoun, for sixty-six years and two months; after him Amenophis, for nineteen years and six months; after him came Sethosis, and Ramesses, who had an army of horse, and a naval force. This king appointed his brother, Armais, to be his deputy over Egypt." [In another copy it stood thus: "After him came Sethosis, and Ramesses, two brethren, the former of whom had a naval force, and in a hostile manner destroyed those that met him upon the sea; but as he slew Ramesses in no long time afterward, so he appointed another of his brethren to be his deputy over Egypt.] He also gave him all the other authority of a king, but with these only injunctions, that he should not wear the diadem, nor be injurious to the queen, the mother of his children, and that he should not meddle with the other concubines of the king; while he made an expedition against Cyprus, and Phoenicia, and besides against the Assyrians and the Medes. He then subdued them all, some by his arms, some without fighting, and some by the terror of his great army; and being puffed up by the great successes he had had, he went on still the more boldly, and overthrew the cities and countries that lay in the eastern parts. But after some

considerable time, Armais, who was left in Egypt, did all those very things, by way of opposition, which his brother had forbid him to do, without fear; for he used violence to the queen, and continued to make use of the rest of the concubines, without sparing any of them; nay, at the persuasion of his friends he put on the diadem, and set up to oppose his brother. But then he who was set over the priests of Egypt wrote letters to Sethosis, and informed him of all that had happened, and how his brother had set up to oppose him: he therefore returned back to Pelusium immediately, and recovered his kingdom again. The country also was called from his name Egypt; for Manetho says, that Sethosis was himself called Egyptus, as was his brother Armais called Danaus."

16. This is Manetho's account. And evident it is from the number of years by him set down belonging to this interval, if they be summed up together, that these shepherds, as they are here called, who were no other than our forefathers, were delivered out of Egypt, and came thence, and inhabited this country, three hundred and ninety-three years before Danaus came to Argos; although the Argives look upon him as their most ancient king Manetho, therefore, hears this testimony to two points of the greatest consequence to our purpose, and those from the Egyptian records themselves. In the first place, that we came out of another country into Egypt; and that withal our deliverance out of it was so ancient in time as to have preceded the siege of Troy almost a thousand years; but then, as to those things which Manetbo adds, not from the Egyptian records, but, as he confesses himself, from some stories of an uncertain original, I will disprove them hereafter particularly, and shall demonstrate that they are no better than incredible fables.

17. I will now, therefore, pass from these records, and come to those that belong to the Phoenicians, and concern our nation, and shall produce attestations to what I have said out of them. There are then records among the Tyrians that take in the history of many years, and these are public writings, and are kept with great exactness, and include accounts of the facts done among them, and such as concern their transactions with other nations also, those I mean which were worth remembering. Therein it was recorded that the temple was built by king Solomon at Jerusalem, one hundred forty-three years and eight months before the Tyrians built Carthage; and in their annals the building of our temple is related; for Hirom, the king of Tyre, was the friend of Solomon our king, and had such friendship transmitted down to him from his forefathers. He thereupon was ambitious to contribute to the splendor of this edifice of Solomon, and made him a present of one hundred and twenty talents of gold. He also cut down the most excellent timber out of that mountain which is called Libanus, and sent it to him for adorning its roof. Solomon also not only made him many other presents,

by way of requital, but gave him a country in Galilee also, that was called Chabulon. But there was another passion, a philosophic inclination of theirs, which cemented the friendship that was betwixt them; for they sent mutual problems to one another, with a desire to have them unriddled by each other; wherein Solomon was superior to Hirom, as he was wiser than he in other respects: and many of the epistles that passed between them are still preserved among the Tyrians. Now, that this may not depend on my bare word, I will produce for a witness Dius, one that is believed to have written the Phoenician History after an accurate manner. This Dius, therefore, writes thus, in his Histories of the Phoenicians: "Upon the death of Abibalus, his son Hirom took the kingdom. This king raised banks at the eastern parts of the city, and enlarged it; he also joined the temple of Jupiter Olympius, which stood before in an island by itself, to the city, by raising a causeway between them, and adorned that temple with donations of gold. He moreover went up to Libanus, and had timber cut down for the building of temples. They say further, that Solomon, when he was king of Jerusalem, sent problems to Hirom to be solved, and desired he would send others back for him to solve, and that he who could not solve the problems proposed to him should pay money to him that solved them. And when Hirom had agreed to the proposals, but was not able to solve the problems, he was obliged to pay a great deal of money, as a penalty for the same. As also they relate, that one OEabdemon, a man of Tyre, did solve the problems, and propose others which Solomon could not solve, upon which he was obliged to repay a great deal of money to Hirom." These things are attested to by Dius, and confirm what we have said upon the same subjects before.

18. And now I shall add Menander the Ephesian, as an additional witness. This Menander wrote the Acts that were done both by the Greeks and Barbarians, under every one of the Tyrian kings, and had taken much pains to learn their history out of their own records. Now when he was writing about those kings that had reigned at Tyre, he came to Hirom, and says thus: "Upon the death of Abibalus, his son Hirom took the kingdom; he lived fifty-three years, and reigned thirty-four. He raised a bank on that called the Broad Place, and dedicated that golden pillar which is in Jupiter's temple; he also went and cut down timber from the mountain called Libanus, and got timber Of cedar for the roofs of the temples. He also pulled down the old temples, and built new ones; besides this, he consecrated the temples of Hercules and of Astarte. He first built Hercules's temple in the month Peritus, and that of Astarte when he made his expedition against the Tityans, who would not pay him their tribute; and when he had subdued them to himself, he returned home. Under this king there was a younger son of Abdemon, who mastered the problems which

Solomon king of Jerusalem had recommended to be solved." Now the time from this king to the building of Carthage is thus calculated: "Upon the death of Hirom, Baleazarus his son took the kingdom; he lived forty-three years, and reigned seven years: after him succeeded his son Abdastartus; he lived twenty-nine years, and reigned nine years. Now four sons of his nurse plotted against him and slew him, the eldest of whom reigned twelve years: after them came Astartus, the son of Deleastartus; he lived fifty-four years, and reigned twelve years: after him came his brother Aserymus; he lived fifty-four years, and reigned nine years: he was slain by his brother Pheles, who took the kingdom and reigned but eight months, though he lived fifty years: he was slain by Ithobalus, the priest of Astarte, who reigned thirty-two years, and lived sixty-eight years: he was succeeded by his son Badezorus, who lived forty-five years, and reigned six years: he was succeeded by Matgenus his son; he lived thirty-two years, and reigned nine years: Pygmalion succeeded him; he lived fifty-six years, and reigned forty-seven years. Now in the seventh year of his reign, his sister fled away from him, and built the city Carthage in Libya." So the whole time from the reign of Hirom, till the building of Carthage, amounts to the sum of one hundred fifty-five years and eight months. Since then the temple was built at Jerusalem in the twelfth year of the reign of Hirom, there were from the building of the temple, until the building of Carthage, one hundred forty-three years and eight months. Wherefore, what occasion is there for alleging any more testimonies out of the Phoenician histories [on the behalf of our nation], since what I have said is so thoroughly confirmed already? and to be sure our ancestors came into this country long before the building of the temple; for it was not till we had gotten possession of the whole land by war that we built our temple. And this is the point that I have clearly proved out of our sacred writings in my Antiquities.

19. I will now relate what hath been written concerning us in the Chaldean histories, which records have a great agreement with our books in oilier things also. Berosus shall be witness to what I say: he was by birth a Chaldean, well known by the learned, on account of his publication of the Chaldean books of astronomy and philosophy among the Greeks. This Berosus, therefore, following the most ancient records of that nation, gives us a history of the deluge of waters that then happened, and of the destruction of mankind thereby, and agrees with Moses's narration thereof. He also gives us an account of that ark wherein Noah, the origin of our race, was preserved, when it was brought to the highest part of the Armenian mountains; after which he gives us a catalogue of the posterity of Noah, and adds the years of their chronology, and at length comes down to Nabolassar, who was king of Babylon, and of the Chaldeans. And when he was

relating the acts of this king, he describes to us how he sent his son Nabuchodonosor against Egypt, and against our land, with a great army, upon his being informed that they had revolted from him; and how, by that means, he subdued them all, and set our temple that was at Jerusalem on fire; nay, and removed our people entirely out of their own country, and transferred them to Babylon; when it so happened that our city was desolate during the interval of seventy years, until the days of Cyrus king of Persia. He then says, "That this Babylonian king conquered Egypt, and Syria, and Phoenicia, and Arabia, and exceeded in his exploits all that had reigned before him in Babylon and Chaldea." A little after which Berosus subjoins what follows in his History of Ancient Times. I will set down Berosus's own accounts, which are these: "When Nabolassar, father of Nabuchodonosor, heard that the governor whom he had set over Egypt, and over the parts of Celesyria and Phoenicia, had revolted from him, he was not able to bear it any longer; but committing certain parts of his army to his son Nabuchodonosor, who was then but young, he sent him against the rebel: Nabuchodonosor joined battle with him, and conquered him, and reduced the country under his dominion again. Now it so fell out that his father Nabolassar fell into a distemper at this time, and died in the city of Babylon, after he had reigned twenty-nine years. But as he understood, in a little time, that his father Nabolassar was dead, he set the affairs of Egypt and the other countries in order, and committed the captives he had taken from the Jews, and Phoenicians, and Syrians, and of the nations belonging to Egypt, to some of his friends, that they might conduct that part of the forces that had on heavy armor, with the rest of his baggage, to Babylonia; while he went in haste, having but a few with him, over the desert to Babylon; whither, when he was come, he found the public affairs had been managed by the Chaldeans, and that the principal person among them had preserved the kingdom for him. Accordingly, he now entirely obtained all his father's dominions. He then came, and ordered the captives to be placed as colonies in the most proper places of Babylonia; but for himself, he adorned the temple of Belus, and the other temples, after an elegant manner, out of the spoils he had taken in this war. He also rebuilt the old city, and added another to it on the outside, and so far restored Babylon, that none who should besiege it afterwards might have it in their power to divert the river, so as to facilitate an entrance into it; and this he did by building three walls about the inner city, and three about the outer. Some of these walls he built of burnt brick and bitumen, and some of brick only. So when he had thus fortified the city with walls, after an excellent manner, and had adorned the gates magnificently, he added a new palace to that which his father had dwelt in, and this close by it also, and that more eminent in its height, and in its great splendor.

It would perhaps require too long a narration, if any one were to describe it. However, as prodigiously large and as magnificent as it was, it was finished in fifteen days. Now in this palace he erected very high walks, supported by stone pillars, and by planting what was called a pensile paradise, and replenishing it with all sorts of trees, he rendered the prospect an exact resemblance of a mountainous country. This he did to please his queen, because she had been brought up in Media, and was fond of a mountainous situation."

20. This is what Berosus relates concerning the forementioned king, as he relates many other things about him also in the third book of his Chaldean History; wherein he complains of the Grecian writers for supposing, without any foundation, that Babylon was built by Semiramis, queen of Assyria, and for her false pretense to those wonderful edifices thereto buildings at Babylon, do no way contradict those ancient and relating, as if they were her own workmanship; as indeed in these affairs the Chaldean History cannot but be the most credible. Moreover, we meet with a confirmation of what Berosus says in the archives of the Phoenicians, concerning this king Nabuchodonosor, that he conquered all Syria and Phoenicia; in which case Philostratus agrees with the others in that history which he composed, where he mentions the siege of Tyre; as does Megasthenes also, in the fourth book of his Indian History, wherein he pretends to prove that the forementioned king of the Babylonians was superior to Hercules in strength and the greatness of his exploits; for he says that he conquered a great part of Libya, and conquered Iberia also. Now as to what I have said before about the temple at Jerusalem, that it was fought against by the Babylonians, and burnt by them, but was opened again when Cyrus had taken the kingdom of Asia, shall now be demonstrated from what Berosus adds further upon that head; for thus he says in his third book: "Nabuchodonosor, after he had begun to build the forementioned wall, fell sick, and departed this life, when he had reigned forty-three years; whereupon his son Evilmerodach obtained the kingdom. He governed public affairs after an illegal and impure manner, and had a plot laid against him by Neriglissoor, his sister's husband, and was slain by him when he had reigned but two years. After he was slain, Neriglissoor, the person who plotted against him, succeeded him in the kingdom, and reigned four years; his son Laborosoarchod obtained the kingdom, though he was but a child, and kept it nine mouths; but by reason of the very ill temper and ill practices he exhibited to the world, a plot was laid against him also by his friends, and he was tormented to death. After his death, the conspirators got together, and by common consent put the crown upon the head of Nabonnedus, a man of Babylon, and one who belonged to that insurrection. In his reign it was that the walls of the city of Babylon were curiously built with burnt brick and bitumen;

but when he was come to the seventeenth year of his reign, Cyrus came out of Persia with a great army; and having already conquered all the rest of Asia, he came hastily to Babylonia. When Nabonnedus perceived he was coming to attack him, he met him with his forces, and joining battle with him was beaten, and fled away with a few of his troops with him, and was shut up within the city Borsippus. Hereupon Cyrus took Babylon, and gave order that the outer walls of the city should be demolished, because the city had proved very troublesome to him, and cost him a great deal of pains to take it. He then marched away to Borsippus, to besiege Nabonnedus; but as Nabonnedus did not sustain the siege, but delivered himself into his hands, he was at first kindly used by Cyrus, who gave him Carmania, as a place for him to inhabit in, but sent him out of Babylonia. Accordingly Nabonnedus spent the rest of his time in that country, and there died."

21. These accounts agree with the true histories in our books; for in them it is written that Nebuchadnezzar, in the eighteenth year of his reign, laid our temple desolate, and so it lay in that state of obscurity for fifty years; but that in the second year of the reign of Cyrus its foundations were laid, and it was finished again in the second year of Darius. I will now add the records of the Phoenicians; for it will not be superfluous to give the reader demonstrations more than enough on this occasion. In them we have this enumeration of the times of their several kings: "Nabuchodonosor besieged Tyre for thirteen years in the days of Ithobal, their king; after him reigned Baal, ten years; after him were judges appointed, who judged the people: Ecnibalus, the son of Baslacus, two months; Chelbes, the son of Abdeus, ten months; Abbar, the high priest, three months; Mitgonus and Gerastratus, the sons of Abdelemus, were judges six years; after whom Balatorus reigned one year; after his death they sent and fetched Merbalus from Babylon, who reigned four years; after his death they sent for his brother Hirom, who reigned twenty years. Under his reign Cyrus became king of Persia." So that the whole interval is fifty-four years besides three months; for in the seventh year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar he began to besiege Tyre, and Cyrus the Persian took the kingdom in the fourteenth year of Hirom. So that the records of the Chaldeans and Tyrians agree with our writings about this temple; and the testimonies here produced are an indisputable and undeniable attestation to the antiquity of our nation. And I suppose that what I have already said may be sufficient to such as are not very contentious.

22. But now it is proper to satisfy the inquiry of those that disbelieve the records of barbarians, and think none but Greeks to be worthy of credit, and to produce many of these very Greeks who were acquainted with our nation, and to set before them such as upon occasion have made mention of us in their own

writings. Pythagoras, therefore, of Samos, lived in very ancient times, and was esteemed a person superior to all philosophers in wisdom and piety towards God. Now it is plain that he did not only know our doctrines, but was in very great measure a follower and admirer of them. There is not indeed extant any writing that is owned for his but many there are who have written his history, of whom Hermippus is the most celebrated, who was a person very inquisitive into all sorts of history. Now this Hermippus, in his first book concerning Pythagoras, speaks thus: "That Pythagoras, upon the death of one of his associates, whose name was Calliphon, a Crotonlate by birth, affirmed that this man's soul conversed with him both night and day, and enjoined him not to pass over a place where an ass had fallen down; as also not to drink of such waters as caused thirst again; and to abstain from all sorts of reproaches." After which he adds thus: "This he did and said in imitation of the doctrines of the Jews and Thracians, which he transferred into his own philosophy." For it is very truly affirmed of this Pythagoras, that he took a great many of the laws of the Jews into his own philosophy. Nor was our nation unknown of old to several of the Grecian cities, and indeed was thought worthy of imitation by some of them. This is declared by Theophrastus, in his writings concerning laws; for he says that "the laws of the Tyrians forbid men to swear foreign oaths." Among which he enumerates some others, and particularly that called Corban: which oath can only be found among the Jews, and declares what a man may call "A thing devoted to God." Nor indeed was Herodotus of Halicarnassus unacquainted with our nation, but mentions it after a way of his own, when he saith thus, in the second book concerning the Colchians. His words are these: "The only people who were circumcised in their privy members originally, were the Colchians, the Egyptians, and the Ethiopians; but the Phoenicians and those Syrians that are in Palestine confess that they learned it from the Egyptians. And for those Syrians who live about the rivers Thermodon and Parthenius, and their neighbors the Macrones, they say they have lately learned it from the Colchians; for these are the only people that are circumcised among mankind, and appear to have done the very same thing with the Egyptians. But as for the Egyptians and Ethiopians themselves, I am not able to say which of them received it from the other." This therefore is what Herodotus says, that "the Syrians that are in Palestine are circumcised." But there are no inhabitants of Palestine that are circumcised excepting the Jews; and therefore it must be his knowledge of them that enabled him to speak so much concerning them. Cherilus also, a still ancienter writer, and a poet, makes mention of our nation, and informs us that it came to the assistance of king Xerxes, in his expedition against Greece. For in his enumeration of all those nations, he last of all inserts ours among the rest, when

he says, “At the last there passed over a people, wonderful to be beheld; for they spake the Phoenician tongue with their mouths; they dwelt in the Solymean mountains, near a broad lake: their heads were sooty; they had round rasures on them; their heads and faces were like nasty horse-heads also, that had been hardened in the smoke.” I think, therefore, that it is evident to every body that Cherilus means us, because the Solymean mountains are in our country, wherein we inhabit, as is also the lake called Asphaltitis; for this is a broader and larger lake than any other that is in Syria: and thus does Cherilus make mention of us. But now that not only the lowest sort of the Grecians, but those that are had in the greatest admiration for their philosophic improvements among them, did not only know the Jews, but when they lighted upon any of them, admired them also, it is easy for any one to know. For Clearchus, who was the scholar of Aristotle, and inferior to no one of the Peripatetics whomsoever, in his first book concerning sleep, says that “Aristotle his master related what follows of a Jew,” and sets down Aristotle’s own discourse with him. The account is this, as written down by him: “Now, for a great part of what this Jew said, it would be too long to recite it; but what includes in it both wonder and philosophy it may not be amiss to discourse of. Now, that I may be plain with thee, Hyperochides, I shall herein seem to thee to relate wonders, and what will resemble dreams themselves. Hereupon Hyperochides answered modestly, and said, For that very reason it is that all of us are very desirous of hearing what thou art going to say. Then replied Aristotle, For this cause it will be the best way to imitate that rule of the Rhetoricians, which requires us first to give an account of the man, and of what nation he was, that so we may not contradict our master’s directions. Then said Hyperochides, Go on, if it so pleases thee. This man then, [answered Aristotle,] was by birth a Jew, and came from Celesyria; these Jews are derived from the Indian philosophers; they are named by the Indians Calami, and by the Syrians Judaei, and took their name from the country they inhabit, which is called Judea; but for the name of their city, it is a very awkward one, for they call it Jerusalem. Now this man, when he was hospitably treated by a great many, came down from the upper country to the places near the sea, and became a Grecian, not only in his language, but in his soul also; insomuch that when we ourselves happened to be in Asia about the same places whither he came, he conversed with us, and with other philosophical persons, and made a trial of our skill in philosophy; and as he had lived with many learned men, he communicated to us more information than he received from us.” This is Aristotle’s account of the matter, as given us by Clearchus; which Aristotle discoursed also particularly of the great and wonderful fortitude of this Jew in his diet, and continent way of living, as those that please may learn more about

him from Clearchus's book itself; for I avoid setting down any more than is sufficient for my purpose. Now Clearchus said this by way of digression, for his main design was of another nature. But for Hecateus of Abdera, who was both a philosopher, and one very useful ill an active life, he was contemporary with king Alexander in his youth, and afterward was with Ptolemy, the son of Lagus; he did not write about the Jewish affairs by the by only, but composed an entire book concerning the Jews themselves; out of which book I am willing to run over a few things, of which I have been treating by way of epitome. And, in the first place, I will demonstrate the time when this Hecateus lived; for he mentions the fight that was between Ptolemy and Demetrius about Gaza, which was fought in the eleventh year after the death of Alexander, and in the hundred and seventeenth olympiad, as Castor says in his history. For when he had set down this olympiad, he says further, that "in this olympiad Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, beat in battle Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, who was named Poliorcetes, at Gaza." Now, it is agreed by all, that Alexander died in the hundred and fourteenth olympiad; it is therefore evident that our nation flourished in his time, and in the time of Alexander. Again, Hecateus says to the same purpose, as follows: "Ptolemy got possession of the places in Syria after that battle at Gaza; and many, when they heard of Ptolemy's moderation and humanity, went along with him to Egypt, and were willing to assist him in his affairs; one of whom [Hecateus says] was Hezekiah the high priest of the Jews; a man of about sixty-six years of age, and in great dignity among his own people. He was a very sensible man, and could speak very movingly, and was very skillful in the management of affairs, if any other man ever were so; although, as he says, all the priests of the Jews took tithes of the products of the earth, and managed public affairs, and were in number not above fifteen hundred at the most." Hecateus mentions this Hezekiah a second time, and says, that "as he was possessed of so great a dignity, and was become familiar with us, so did he take certain of those that were with him, and explained to them all the circumstances of their people; for he had all their habitations and polity down in writing." Moreover, Hecateus declares again, "what regard we have for our laws, and that we resolve to endure any thing rather than transgress them, because we think it right for us to do so." Whereupon he adds, that "although they are in a bad reputation among their neighbors, and among all those that come to them, and have been often treated injuriously by the kings and governors of Persia, yet can they not be dissuaded from acting what they think best; but that when they are stripped on this account, and have torments inflicted upon them, and they are brought to the most terrible kinds of death, they meet them after an extraordinary manner, beyond all other people, and will not renounce the religion of their

forefathers." Hecateus also produces demonstrations not a few of this their resolute tenaciousness of their laws, when he speaks thus: "Alexander was once at Babylon, and had an intention to rebuild the temple of Belus that was fallen to decay, and in order thereto, he commanded all his soldiers in general to bring earth thither. But the Jews, and they only, would not comply with that command; nay, they underwent stripes and great losses of what they had on this account, till the king forgave them, and permitted them to live in quiet." He adds further, that "when the Macedonians came to them into that country, and demolished the [old] temples and the altars, they assisted them in demolishing them all but [for not assisting them in rebuilding them] they either underwent losses, or sometimes obtained forgiveness." He adds further, that "these men deserve to be admired on that account." He also speaks of the mighty populousness of our nation, and says that "the Persians formerly carried away many ten thousands of our people to Babylon, as also that not a few ten thousands were removed after Alexander's death into Egypt and Phoenicia, by reason of the sedition that was arisen in Syria." The same person takes notice in his history, how large the country is which we inhabit, as well as of its excellent character, and says, that "the land in which the Jews inhabit contains three millions of arourae, and is generally of a most excellent and most fruitful soil; nor is Judea of lesser dimensions." The same man describe our city Jerusalem also itself as of a most excellent structure, and very large, and inhabited from the most ancient times. He also discourses of the multitude of men in it, and of the construction of our temple, after the following manner: "There are many strong places and villages [says he] in the country of Judea; but one strong city there is, about fifty furlongs in circumference, which is inhabited by a hundred and twenty thousand men, or thereabouts; they call it Jerusalem. There is about the middle of the city a wall of stone, whose length is five hundred feet, and the breadth a hundred cubits, with double cloisters; wherein there is a square altar, not made of hewn stone, but composed of white stones gathered together, having each side twenty cubits long, and its altitude ten cubits. Hard by it is a large edifice, wherein there is an altar and a candlestick, both of gold, and in weight two talents: upon these there is a light that is never extinguished, either by night or by day. There is no image, nor any thing, nor any donations therein; nothing at all is there planted, neither grove, nor any thing of that sort. The priests abide therein both nights and days, performing certain purifications, and drinking not the least drop of wine while they are in the temple." Moreover, he attests that we Jews went as auxiliaries along with king Alexander, and after him with his successors. I will add further what he says he learned when he was himself with the same army, concerning the actions of a man that was a Jew. His words are these: "As I was myself going

to the Red Sea, there followed us a man, whose name was Mosollam; he was one of the Jewish horsemen who conducted us; he was a person of great courage, of a strong body, and by all allowed to be the most skillful archer that was either among the Greeks or barbarians. Now this man, as people were in great numbers passing along the road, and a certain augur was observing an augury by a bird, and requiring them all to stand still, inquired what they staid for. Hereupon the augur showed him the bird from whence he took his augury, and told him that if the bird staid where he was, they ought all to stand still; but that if he got up, and flew onward, they must go forward; but that if he flew backward, they must retire again. Mosollam made no reply, but drew his bow, and shot at the bird, and hit him, and killed him; and as the augur and some others were very angry, and wished imprecations upon him, he answered them thus: Why are you so mad as to take this most unhappy bird into your hands? for how can this bird give us any true information concerning our march, who could not foresee how to save himself? for had he been able to foreknow what was future, he would not have come to this place, but would have been afraid lest Mosollam the Jew should shoot at him, and kill him." But of Hecateus's testimonies we have said enough; for as to such as desire to know more of them, they may easily obtain them from his book itself. However, I shall not think it too much for me to name Agatharchides, as having made mention of us Jews, though in way of derision at our simplicity, as he supposes it to be; for when he was discoursing of the affairs of Stratonice, "how she came out of Macedonia into Syria, and left her husband Demetrius, while yet Seleueus would not marry her as she expected, but during the time of his raising an army at Babylon, stirred up a sedition about Antioch; and how, after that, the king came back, and upon his taking of Antioch, she fled to Seleucia, and had it in her power to sail away immediately yet did she comply with a dream which forbade her so to do, and so was caught and put to death." When Agatharehides had premised this story, and had jested upon Stratonice for her superstition, he gives a like example of what was reported concerning us, and writes thus: "There are a people called Jews, and dwell in a city the strongest of all other cities, which the inhabitants call Jerusalem, and are accustomed to rest on every seventh day on which times they make no use of their arms, nor meddle with husbandry, nor take care of any affairs of life, but spread out their hands in their holy places, and pray till the evening. Now it came to pass, that when Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, came into this city with his army, that these men, in observing this mad custom of theirs, instead of guarding the city, suffered their country to submit itself to a bitter lord; and their law was openly proved to have commanded a foolish practice. This accident taught all other men but the Jews to disregard such dreams as these were, and not to follow the like

idle suggestions delivered as a law, when, in such uncertainty of human reasonings, they are at a loss what they should do." Now this our procedure seems a ridiculous thing to Agatharehides, but will appear to such as consider it without prejudice a great thing, and what deserved a great many encomiums; I mean, when certain men constantly prefer the observation of their laws, and their religion towards God, before the preservation of themselves and their country.

23. Now that some writers have omitted to mention our nation, not because they knew nothing of us, but because they envied us, or for some other unjustifiable reasons, I think I can demonstrate by particular instances; for Hieronymus, who wrote the History of Alexander's Successors, lived at the same time with Hecateus, and was a friend of king Antigonus, and president of Syria. Now it is plain that Hecateus wrote an entire book concerning us, while Hieronymus never mentions us in his history, although he was bred up very near to the places where we live. Thus different from one another are the inclinations of men; while the one thought we deserved to be carefully remembered, as some ill-disposed passion blinded the other's mind so entirely, that he could not discern the truth. And now certainly the foregoing records of the Egyptians, and Chaldeans, and Phoenicians, together with so many of the Greek writers, will be sufficient for the demonstration of our antiquity. Moreover, besides those forementioned, Theophilus, and Theodotus, and Mnaseas, and Aristophanes, and Hermogenes, Euhemerus also, and Conon, and Zopyrion, and perhaps many others, [for I have not lighted upon all the Greek books,] have made distinct mention of us. It is true, many of the men before mentioned have made great mistakes about the true accounts of our nation in the earliest times, because they had not perused our sacred books; yet have they all of them afforded their testimony to our antiquity, concerning which I am now treating. However, Demetrius Phalereus, and the elder Philo, with Eupolemus, have not greatly missed the truth about our affairs; whose lesser mistakes ought therefore to be forgiven them; for it was not in their power to understand our writings with the utmost accuracy.

24. One particular there is still remaining behind of what I at first proposed to speak to, and that is, to demonstrate that those calumnies and reproaches which some have thrown upon our nation, are lies, and to make use of those writers' own testimonies against themselves; and that in general this self-contradiction hath happened to many other authors by reason of their ill-will to some people, I conclude, is not unknown to such as have read histories with sufficient care; for some of them have endeavored to disgrace the nobility of certain nations, and of some of the most glorious cities, and have cast reproaches upon certain forms of government. Thus hath Theopompus abused the city of Athens, Polycrates that

of Lacedemon, as hath he hat wrote the Tripoliticus [for he is not Theopompus, as is supposed by some] done by the city of Thebes. Timeils also hath greatly abused the foregoing people and others also; and this ill-treatment they use chiefly when they have a contest with men of the greatest reputation; some out of envy and malice, and others as supposing that by this foolish talking of theirs they may be thought worthy of being remembered themselves; and indeed they do by no means fail of their hopes, with regard to the foolish part of mankind, but men of sober judgment still condemn them of great malignity.

25. Now the Egyptians were the first that cast reproaches upon us; in order to please which nation, some others undertook to pervert the truth, while they would neither own that our forefathers came into Egypt from another country, as the fact was, nor give a true account of our departure thence. And indeed the Egyptians took many occasions to hate us and envy us: in the first place, because our ancestors had had the dominion over their country? and when they were delivered from them, and gone to their own country again, they lived there in prosperity. In the next place, the difference of our religion from theirs hath occasioned great enmity between us, while our way of Divine worship did as much exceed that which their laws appointed, as does the nature of God exceed that of brute beasts; for so far they all agree through the whole country, to esteem such animals as gods, although they differ one from another in the peculiar worship they severally pay to them. And certainly men they are entirely of vain and foolish minds, who have thus accustomed themselves from the beginning to have such bad notions concerning their gods, and could not think of imitating that decent form of Divine worship which we made use of, though, when they saw our institutions approved of by many others, they could not but envy us on that account; for some of them have proceeded to that degree of folly and meanness in their conduct, as not to scruple to contradict their own ancient records, nay, to contradict themselves also in their writings, and yet were so blinded by their passions as not to discern it.

26. And now I will turn my discourse to one of their principal writers, whom I have a little before made use of as a witness to our antiquity; I mean Manetho. He promised to interpret the Egyptian history out of their sacred writings, and premised this: that "our people had come into Egypt, many ten thousands in number, and subdued its inhabitants;" and when he had further confessed that "we went out of that country afterward, and settled in that country which is now called Judea, and there built Jerusalem and its temple." Now thus far he followed his ancient records; but after this he permits himself, in order to appear to have written what rumors and reports passed abroad about the Jews, and introduces incredible narrations, as if he would have the Egyptian multitude, that had the

leprosy and other distempers, to have been mixed with us, as he says they were, and that they were condemned to fly out of Egypt together; for he mentions Amenophis, a fictitious king's name, though on that account he durst not set down the number of years of his reign, which yet he had accurately done as to the other kings he mentions; he then ascribes certain fabulous stories to this king, as having in a manner forgotten how he had already related that the departure of the shepherds for Jerusalem had been five hundred and eighteen years before; for Tethmosis was king when they went away. Now, from his days, the reigns of the intermediate kings, according to Manethe, amounted to three hundred and ninety-three years, as he says himself, till the two brothers Sethos and Hermeus; the one of whom, Sethos, was called by that other name of Egyptus, and the other, Hermeus, by that of Danaus. He also says that Sethos east the other out of Egypt, and reigned fifty-nine years, as did his eldest son Rhampses reign after him sixty-six years. When Manethe therefore had acknowledged that our forefathers were gone out of Egypt so many years ago, he introduces his fictitious king Amenophis, and says thus: "This king was desirous to become a spectator of the gods, as had Orus, one of his predecessors in that kingdom, desired the same before him; he also communicated that his desire to his namesake Amenophis, who was the son of Papis, and one that seemed to partake of a divine nature, both as to wisdom and the knowledge of futurities." Manethe adds, "how this namesake of his told him that he might see the gods, if he would clear the whole country of the lepers and of the other impure people; that the king was pleased with this injunction, and got together all that had any defect in their bodies out of Egypt; and that their number was eighty thousand; whom he sent to those quarries which are on the east side of the Nile, that they might work in them, and might be separated from the rest of the Egyptians." He says further, that "there were some of the learned priests that were polluted with the leprosy; but that still this Amenophis, the wise man and the prophet, was afraid that the gods would be angry at him and at the king, if there should appear to have been violence offered them; who also added this further, [out of his sagacity about futurities,] that certain people would come to the assistance of these polluted wretches, and would conquer Egypt, and keep it in their possession thirteen years; that, however, he durst not tell the king of these things, but that he left a writing behind him about all those matters, and then slew himself, which made the king disconsolate." After which he writes thus verbatim: "After those that were sent to work in the quarries had continued in that miserable state for a long while, the king was desired that he would set apart the city Avaris, which was then left desolate of the shepherds, for their habitation and protection; which desire he granted them. Now this city, according to the ancient theology, was

Typho's city. But when these men were gotten into it, and found the place fit for a revolt, they appointed themselves a ruler out of the priests of Hellopolis, whose name was Osarsiph, and they took their oaths that they would be obedient to him in all things. He then, in the first place, made this law for them, That they should neither worship the Egyptian gods, nor should abstain from any one of those sacred animals which they have in the highest esteem, but kill and destroy them all; that they should join themselves to nobody but to those that were of this confederacy. When he had made such laws as these, and many more such as were mainly opposite to the customs of the Egyptians, he gave order that they should use the multitude of the hands they had in building walls about their City, and make themselves ready for a war with king Amenophis, while he did himself take into his friendship the other priests, and those that were polluted with them, and sent ambassadors to those shepherds who had been driven out of the land by Tefilmosis to the city called Jerusalem; whereby he informed them of his own affairs, and of the state of those others that had been treated after such an ignominious manner, and desired that they would come with one consent to his assistance in this war against Egypt. He also promised that he would, in the first place, bring them back to their ancient city and country Avaris, and provide a plentiful maintenance for their multitude; that he would protect them and fight for them as occasion should require, and would easily reduce the country under their dominion. These shepherds were all very glad of this message, and came away with alacrity all together, being in number two hundred thousand men; and in a little time they came to Avaris. And now Amenophis the king of Egypt, upon his being informed of their invasion, was in great confusion, as calling to mind what Amenophis, the son of Papis, had foretold him; and, in the first place, he assembled the multitude of the Egyptians, and took counsel with their leaders, and sent for their sacred animals to him, especially for those that were principally worshipped in their temples, and gave a particular charge to the priests distinctly, that they should hide the images of their gods with the utmost care he also sent his son Sethos, who was also named Ramesses, from his father Rhampses, being but five years old, to a friend of his. He then passed on with the rest of the Egyptians, being three hundred thousand of the most warlike of them, against the enemy, who met them. Yet did he not join battle with them; but thinking that would be to fight against the gods, he returned back and came to Memphis, where he took Apis and the other sacred animals which he had sent for to him, and presently marched into Ethiopia, together with his whole army and multitude of Egyptians; for the king of Ethiopia was under an obligation to him, on which account he received him, and took care of all the multitude that was with him, while the country supplied all that was necessary for the food of

the men. He also allotted cities and villages for this exile, that was to be from its beginning during those fatally determined thirteen years. Moreover, he pitched a camp for his Ethiopian army, as a guard to king Amenophis, upon the borders of Egypt. And this was the state of things in Ethiopia. But for the people of Jerusalem, when they came down together with the polluted Egyptians, they treated the men in such a barbarous manner, that those who saw how they subdued the forementioned country, and the horrid wickedness they were guilty of, thought it a most dreadful thing; for they did not only set the cities and villages on fire but were not satisfied till they had been guilty of sacrilege, and destroyed the images of the gods, and used them in roasting those sacred animals that used to be worshipped, and forced the priests and prophets to be the executioners and murderers of those animals, and then ejected them naked out of the country. It was also reported that the priest, who ordained their polity and their laws, was by birth of Hellopolls, and his name Osarsiph, from Osyris, who was the god of Hellopolls; but that when he was gone over to these people, his name was changed, and he was called Moses."

27. This is what the Egyptians relate about the Jews, with much more, which I omit for the sake of brevity. But still Manetho goes on, that "after this, Amenophis returned back from Ethiopia with a great army, as did his son Ahampses with another army also, and that both of them joined battle with the shepherds and the polluted people, and beat them, and slew a great many of them, and pursued them to the bounds of Syria." These and the like accounts are written by Manetho. But I will demonstrate that he trifles, and tells arrant lies, after I have made a distinction which will relate to what I am going to say about him; for this Manetho had granted and confessed that this nation was not originally Egyptian, but that they had come from another country, and subdued Egypt, and then went away again out of it. But that those Egyptians who were thus diseased in their bodies were not mingled with us afterward, and that Moses who brought the people out was not one of that company, but lived many generations earlier, I shall endeavor to demonstrate from Manetho's own accounts themselves.

28. Now, for the first occasion of this fiction, Manetho supposes what is no better than a ridiculous thing; for he says that, "King Amenophis desired to see the gods." What gods, I pray, did he desire to see? If he meant the gods whom their laws ordained to be worshipped, the ox, the goat, the crocodile, and the baboon, he saw them already; but for the heavenly gods, how could he see them, and what should occasion this his desire? To be sure? it was because another king before him had already seen them. He had then been informed what sort of gods they were, and after what manner they had been seen, insomuch that he did

not stand in need of any new artifice for obtaining this sight. However, the prophet by whose means the king thought to compass his design was a wise man. If so, how came he not to know that such his desire was impossible to be accomplished? for the event did not succeed. And what pretense could there be to suppose that the gods would not be seen by reason of the people's maims in their bodies, or leprosy? for the gods are not angry at the imperfection of bodies, but at wicked practices; and as to eighty thousand lepers, and those in an ill state also, how is it possible to have them gathered together in one day? nay, how came the king not to comply with the prophet? for his injunction was, that those that were maimed should be expelled out of Egypt, while the king only sent them to work in the quarries, as if he were rather in want of laborers, than intended to purge his country. He says further, that, "this prophet slew himself, as foreseeing the anger of the gods, and those events which were to come upon Egypt afterward; and that he left this prediction for the king in writing." Besides, how came it to pass that this prophet did not foreknow his own death at the first? nay, how came he not to contradict the king in his desire to see the gods immediately? how came that unreasonable dread upon him of judgments that were not to happen in his lifetime? or what worse thing could he suffer, out of the fear of which he made haste to kill himself? But now let us see the silliest thing of all: — The king, although he had been informed of these things, and terrified with the fear of what was to come, yet did not he even then eject these maimed people out of his country, when it had been foretold him that he was to clear Egypt of them; but, as Manetho says, "he then, upon their request, gave them that city to inhabit, which had formerly belonged to the shepherds, and was called Avaris; whither when they were gone in crowds," he says, "they chose one that had formerly been priest of Hellopolls; and that this priest first ordained that they should neither worship the gods, nor abstain from those animals that were worshipped by the Egyptians, but should kill and eat them all, and should associate with nobody but those that had conspired with them; and that he bound the multitude by oaths to be sure to continue in those laws; and that when he had built a wall about Avaris, he made war against the king." Manetho adds also, that "this priest sent to Jerusalem to invite that people to come to his assistance, and promised to give them Avaris; for that it had belonged to the forefathers of those that were coming from Jerusalem, and that when they were come, they made a war immediately against the king, and got possession of all Egypt." He says also that "the Egyptians came with an army of two hundred thousand men, and that Amenophis, the king of Egypt, not thinking that he ought to fight against the gods, ran away presently into Ethiopia, and committed Apis and certain other of their sacred animals to the priests, and commanded them to take

care of preserving them." He says further, that, "the people of Jerusalem came accordingly upon the Egyptians, and overthrew their cities, and burnt their temples, and slew their horsemen, and, in short, abstained from no sort of wickedness nor barbarity; and for that priest who settled their polity and their laws," he says, "he was by birth of Hellopolis, and his name was Osarsiph, from Osyris the god of Hellopolis, but that he changed his name, and called himself Moses." He then says that "on the thirteenth year afterward, Amenophis, according to the fatal time of the duration of his misfortunes, came upon them out of Ethiopia with a great army, and joining battle with the shepherds and with the polluted people, overcame them in battle, and slew a great many of them, and pursued them as far as the bounds of Syria."

29. Now Manetho does not reflect upon the improbability of his lie; for the leprous people, and the multitude that was with them, although they might formerly have been angry at the king, and at those that had treated them so coarsely, and this according to the prediction of the prophet; yet certainly, when they were come out of the mines, and had received of the king a city, and a country, they would have grown milder towards him. However, had they ever so much hated him in particular, they might have laid a private plot against himself, but would hardly have made war against all the Egyptians; I mean this on the account of the great kindred they who were so numerous must have had among them. Nay still, if they had resolved to fight with the men, they would not have had impudence enough to fight with their gods; nor would they have ordained laws quite contrary to those of their own country, and to those in which they had been bred up themselves. Yet are we beholden to Manethe, that he does not lay the principal charge of this horrid transgression upon those that came from Jerusalem, but says that the Egyptians themselves were the most guilty, and that they were their priests that contrived these things, and made the multitude take their oaths for doing so. But still how absurd is it to suppose that none of these people's own relations or friends should be prevailed with to revolt, nor to undergo the hazards of war with them, while these polluted people were forced to send to Jerusalem, and bring their auxiliaries from thence! What friendship, I pray, or what relation was there formerly between them that required this assistance? On the contrary, these people were enemies, and greatly differed from them in their customs. He says, indeed, that they complied immediately, upon their praising them that they should conquer Egypt; as if they did not themselves very well know that country out of which they had been driven by force. Now had these men been in want, or lived miserably, perhaps they might have undertaken so hazardous an enterprise; but as they dwelt in a happy city, and had a large country, and one better than Egypt itself, how came it about that,

for the sake of those that had of old been their enemies, of those that were maimed in their bodies, and of those whom none of their own relations would endure, they should run such hazards in assisting them? For they could not foresee that the king would run away from them: on the contrary, he saith himself that "Amenophis's son had three hundred thousand men with him, and met them at Pelusium." Now, to be sure, those that came could not be ignorant of this; but for the king's repentance and flight, how could they possibly guess at it? He then says, that "those who came from Jerusalem, and made this invasion, got the granaries of Egypt into their possession, and perpetrated many of the most horrid actions there." And thence he reproaches them, as though he had not himself introduced them as enemies, or as though he might accuse such as were invited from another place for so doing, when the natural Egyptians themselves had done the same things before their coming, and had taken oaths so to do. However, "Amenophis, some time afterward, came upon them, and conquered them in battle, and slew his enemies, and drove them before him as far as Syria." As if Egypt were so easily taken by people that came from any place whatsoever, and as if those that had conquered it by war, when they were informed that Amenophis was alive, did neither fortify the avenues out of Ethiopia into it, although they had great advantages for doing it, nor did get their other forces ready for their defense! but that he followed them over the sandy desert, and slew them as far as Syria; while yet it is rot an easy thing for an army to pass over that country, even without fighting.

30. Our nation, therefore, according to Manetho, was not derived from Egypt, nor were any of the Egyptians mingled with us. For it is to be supposed that many of the leprous and distempered people were dead in the mines, since they had been there a long time, and in so ill a condition; many others must be dead in the battles that happened afterward, and more still in the last battle and flight after it.

31. It now remains that I debate with Manetho about Moses. Now the Egyptians acknowledge him to have been a wonderful and a divine person; nay, they would willingly lay claim to him themselves, though after a most abusive and incredible manner, and pretend that he was of Heliopolis, and one of the priests of that place, and was ejected out of it among the rest, on account of his leprosy; although it had been demonstrated out of their records that he lived five hundred and eighteen years earlier, and then brought our forefathers out of Egypt into the country that is now inhabited by us. But now that he was not subject in his body to any such calamity, is evident from what he himself tells us; for he forbade those that had the leprosy either to continue in a city, or to inhabit in a village, but commanded that they should go about by themselves with their

clothes rent; and declares that such as either touch them, or live under the same roof with them, should be esteemed unclean; nay, more, if any one of their disease be healed, and he recover his natural constitution again, he appointed them certain purifications, and washings with spring water, and the shaving off all their hair, and enjoins that they shall offer many sacrifices, and those of several kinds, and then at length to be admitted into the holy city; although it were to be expected that, on the contrary, if he had been under the same calamity, he should have taken care of such persons beforehand, and have had them treated after a kinder manner, as affected with a concern for those that were to be under the like misfortunes with himself. Nor was it only those leprous people for whose sake he made these laws, but also for such as should be maimed in the smallest part of their body, who yet are not permitted by him to officiate as priests; nay, although any priest, already initiated, should have such a calamity fall upon him afterward, he ordered him to be deprived of his honor of officiating. How can it then be supposed that Moses should ordain such laws against himself, to his own reproach and damage who so ordained them? Nor indeed is that other notion of Manetho at all probable, wherein he relates the change of his name, and says that "he was formerly called Osarsiph;" and this a name no way agreeable to the other, while his true name was Mosses, and signifies a person who is preserved out of the water, for the Egyptians call water Moil. I think, therefore, I have made it sufficiently evident that Manetho, while he followed his ancient records, did not much mistake the truth of the history; but that when he had recourse to fabulous stories, without any certain author, he either forged them himself, without any probability, or else gave credit to some men who spake so out of their ill-will to us.

32. And now I have done with Manetho, I will inquire into what Cheremon says. For he also, when he pretended to write the Egyptian history, sets down the same name for this king that Manetho did, Amenophis, as also of his son Ramesses, and then goes on thus: "The goddess Isis appeared to Amenophis in his sleep, and blamed him that her temple had been demolished in the war. But that Phritiphantes, the sacred scribe, said to him, that in case he would purge Egypt of the men that had pollutions upon them, he should be no longer troubled with such frightful apparitions. That Amenophis accordingly chose out two hundred and fifty thousand of those that were thus diseased, and cast them out of the country: that Moses and Joseph were scribes, and Joseph was a sacred scribe; that their names were Egyptian originally; that of Moses had been Tisithen, and that of Joseph, Peteseph: that these two came to Pelusium, and lighted upon three hundred and eighty thousand that had been left there by Amenophis, he not being willing to carry them into Egypt; that these scribes made a league of

friendship with them, and made with them an expedition against Egypt: that Amenophis could not sustain their attacks, but fled into Ethiopia, and left his wife with child behind him, who lay concealed in certain caverns, and there brought forth a son, whose name was Messene, and who, when he was grown up to man's estate, pursued the Jews into Syria, being about two hundred thousand, and then received his father Amenophis out of Ethiopia."

33. This is the account Cheremon gives us. Now I take it for granted that what I have said already hath plainly proved the falsity of both these narrations; for had there been any real truth at the bottom, it was impossible they should so greatly disagree about the particulars. But for those that invent lies, what they write will easily give us very different accounts, while they forge what they please out of their own heads. Now Manetho says that the king's desire of seeing the gods was the origin of the ejection of the polluted people; but Cheremon feigns that it was a dream of his own, sent upon him by Isis, that was the occasion of it. Manetho says that the person who foreshowed this purgation of Egypt to the king was Amenophis; but this man says it was Phritiphantes. As to the numbers of the multitude that were expelled, they agree exceedingly well the former reckoning them eighty thousand, and the latter about two hundred and fifty thousand! Now, for Manetho, he describes those polluted persons as sent first to work in the quarries, and says that the city Avaris was given them for their habitation. As also he relates that it was not till after they had made war with the rest of the Egyptians, that they invited the people of Jerusalem to come to their assistance; while Cheremon says only that they were gone out of Egypt, and lighted upon three hundred and eighty thousand men about Pelusium, who had been left there by Amenophis, and so they invaded Egypt with them again; that thereupon Amenophis fled into Ethiopia. But then this Cheremon commits a most ridiculous blunder in not informing us who this army of so many ten thousands were, or whence they came; whether they were native Egyptians, or whether they came from a foreign country. Nor indeed has this man, who forged a dream from Isis about the leprous people, assigned the reason why the king would not bring them into Egypt. Moreover, Cheremon sets down Joseph as driven away at the same time with Moses, who yet died four generations before Moses, which four generations make almost one hundred and seventy years. Besides all this, Ramesses, the son of Amenophis, by Manetho's account, was a young man, and assisted his father in his war, and left the country at the same time with him, and fled into Ethiopia. But Cheremon makes him to have been born in a certain cave, after his father was dead, and that he then overcame the Jews in battle, and drove them into Syria, being in number about two hundred thousand. O the levity of the man! for he had neither told us who these three

hundred and eighty thousand were, nor how the four hundred and thirty thousand perished; whether they fell in war, or went over to Ramesses. And, what is the strangest of all, it is not possible to learn out of him who they were whom he calls Jews, or to which of these two parties he applies that denomination, whether to the two hundred and fifty thousand leprous people, or to the three hundred and eighty thousand that were about Pelusium. But perhaps it will be looked upon as a silly thing in me to make any larger confutation of such writers as sufficiently confute themselves; for had they been only confuted by other men, it had been more tolerable.

34. I shall now add to these accounts about Manethoand Cheremon somewhat about Lysimachus, who hath taken the same topic of falsehood with those forementioned, but hath gone far beyond them in the incredible nature of his forgeries; which plainly demonstrates that he contrived them out of his virulent hatred of our nation. His words are these: "The people of the Jews being leprous and scabby, and subject to certain other kinds of distempers, in the days of Bocchoris, king of Egypt, they fled to the temples, and got their food there by begging: and as the numbers were very great that were fallen under these diseases, there arose a scarcity in Egypt. Hereupon Bocehoris, the king of Egypt, sent some to consult the oracle of [Jupiter] Hammon about his scarcity. The god's answer was this, that he must purge his temples of impure and impious men, by expelling them out of those temples into desert places; but as to the scabby and leprous people, he must drown them, and purge his temples, the sun having an indignation at these men being suffered to live; and by this means the land will bring forth its fruits. Upon Bocchoris's having received these oracles, he called for their priests, and the attendants upon their altars, and ordered them to make a collection of the impure people, and to deliver them to the soldiers, to carry them away into the desert; but to take the leprous people, and wrap them in sheets of lead, and let them down into the sea. Hereupon the scabby and leprous people were drowned, and the rest were gotten together, and sent into desert places, in order to be exposed to destruction. In this case they assembled themselves together, and took counsel what they should do, and determined that, as the night was coming on, they should kindle fires and lamps, and keep watch; that they also should fast the next night, and propitiate the gods, in order to obtain deliverance from them. That on the next day there was one Moses, who advised them that they should venture upon a journey, and go along one road till they should come to places fit for habitation: that he charged them to have no kind regards for any man, nor give good counsel to any, but always to advise them for the worst; and to overturn all those temples and altars of the gods they should meet with: that the rest commended what he had said with one consent,

and did what they had resolved on, and so traveled over the desert. But that the difficulties of the journey being over, they came to a country inhabited, and that there they abused the men, and plundered and burnt their temples; and then came into that land which is called Judea, and there they built a city, and dwelt therein, and that their city was named Hierosyla, from this their robbing of the temples; but that still, upon the success they had afterwards, they in time changed its denomination, that it might not be a reproach to them, and called the city Hierosolyma, and themselves Hierosolymites."

35. Now this man did not discover and mention the same king with the others, but feigned a newer name, and passing by the dream and the Egyptian prophet, he brings him to [Jupiter] Hammon, in order to gain oracles about the scabby and leprous people; for he says that the multitude of Jews were gathered together at the temples. Now it is uncertain whether he ascribes this name to these lepers, or to those that were subject to such diseases among the Jews only; for he describes them as a people of the Jews. What people does he mean? foreigners, or those of that country? Why then' dost thou call them Jews, if they were Egyptians? But if they were foreigners, why dost thou not tell us whence they came? And how could it be that, after the king had drowned many of them in the sea, and ejected the rest into desert places, there should be still so great a multitude remaining? Or after what manner did they pass over the desert, and get the land which we now dwell in, and build our city, and that temple which hath been so famous among all mankind? And besides, he ought to have spoken more about our legislator than by giving us his bare name; and to have informed us of what nation he was, and what parents he was derived from; and to have assigned the reasons why he undertook to make such laws concerning the gods, and concerning matters of injustice with regard to men during that journey. For in case the people were by birth Egyptians, they would not on the sudden have so easily changed the customs of their country; and in case they had been foreigners, they had for certain some laws or other which had been kept by them from long custom. It is true, that with regard to those who had ejected them, they might have sworn never to bear good-will to them, and might have had a plausible reason for so doing. But if these men resolved to wage an implacable war against all men, in case they had acted as wickedly as he relates of them, and this while they wanted the assistance of all men, this demonstrates a kind of mad conduct indeed; but not of the men themselves, but very greatly so of him that tells such lies about them. He hath also impudence enough to say that a name, implying "Robbers of the temples," was given to their city, and that this name was afterward changed. The reason of which is plain, that the former name brought reproach and hatred upon them in the times of their posterity, while, it

seems, those that built the city thought they did honor to the city by giving it such a name. So we see that this fine fellow had such an unbounded inclination to reproach us, that he did not understand that robbery of temples is not expressed By the same word and name among the Jews as it is among the Greeks. But why should a man say any more to a person who tells such impudent lies? However, since this book is arisen to a competent length, I will make another beginning, and endeavor to add what still remains to perfect my design in the following book.

BOOK II.

1. In the former book, most honored Epaphroditus, I have demonstrated our antiquity, and confirmed the truth of what I have said, from the writings of the Phoenicians, and Chaldeans, and Egyptians. I have, moreover, produced many of the Grecian writers as witnesses thereto. I have also made a refutation of Manetho and Cheremon, and of certain others of our enemies. I shall now therefore begin a confutation of the remaining authors who have written any thing against us; although I confess I have had a doubt upon me about Apion the grammarian, whether I ought to take the trouble of confuting him or not; for some of his writings contain much the same accusations which the others have laid against us, some things that he hath added are very frigid and contemptible, and for the greatest part of what he says, it is very scurrilous, and, to speak no more than the plain truth, it shows him to be a very unlearned person, and what he lays together looks like the work of a man of very bad morals, and of one no better in his whole life than a mountebank. Yet, because there are a great many men so very foolish, that they are rather caught by such orations than by what is written with care, and take pleasure in reproaching other men, and cannot abide to hear them commended, I thought it to be necessary not to let this man go off without examination, who had written such an accusation against us, as if he would bring us to make an answer in open court. For I also have observed, that many men are very much delighted when they see a man who first began to reproach another, to be himself exposed to contempt on account of the vices he hath himself been guilty of. However, it is not a very easy thing to go over this man's discourse, nor to know plainly what he means; yet does he seem, amidst a great confusion and disorder in his falsehoods, to produce, in the first place, such things as resemble what we have examined already, and relate to the departure of our forefathers out of Egypt; and, in the second place, he accuses those Jews that are inhabitants of Alexandria; as, in the third place, he mixes with those things such accusations as concern the sacred purifications, with the other legal rites used in the temple.

2. Now although I cannot but think that I have already demonstrated, and that abundantly more than was necessary, that our fathers were not originally Egyptians, nor were thence expelled, either on account of bodily diseases, or any other calamities of that sort; yet will I briefly take notice of what Apion adds upon that subject; for in his third book, which relates to the affairs of Egypt, he speaks thus: "I have heard of the ancient men of Egypt, that Moses was of

Heliopolis, and that he thought himself obliged to follow the customs of his forefathers, and offered his prayers in the open air, towards the city walls; but that he reduced them all to be directed towards sun-rising, which was agreeable to the situation of Heliopolis; that he also set up pillars instead of gnomons, under which was represented a cavity like that of a boat, and the shadow that fell from their tops fell down upon that cavity, that it might go round about the like course as the sun itself goes round in the other." This is that wonderful relation which we have given us by this grammarian. But that it is a false one is so plain, that it stands in need of few words to prove it, but is manifest from the works of Moses; for when he erected the first tabernacle to God, he did himself neither give order for any such kind of representation to be made at it, nor ordain that those that came after him should make such a one. Moreover, when in a future age Solomon built his temple in Jerusalem, he avoided all such needless decorations as Apion hath here devised. He says further, how he had "heard of the ancient men, that Moses was of Hellopolis." To be sure that was, because being a younger man himself, he believed those that by their elder age were acquainted and conversed with him. Now this grammarian, as he was, could not certainly tell which was the poet Homer's country, no more than he could which was the country of Pythagoras, who lived comparatively but a little while ago; yet does he thus easily determine the age of Moses, who preceded them such a vast number of years, as depending on his ancient men's relation, which shows how notorious a liar he was. But then as to this chronological determination of the time when he says he brought the leprous people, the blind, and the lame out of Egypt, see how well this most accurate grammarian of ours agrees with those that have written before him! Manetho says that the Jews departed out of Egypt, in the reign of Tethmosis, three hundred ninety-three years before Danaus fled to Argos; Lysimaehus says it was under king Bocchoris, that is, one thousand seven hundred years ago; Molo and some others determined it as every one pleased: but this Apion of ours, as deserving to be believed before them, hath determined it exactly to have been in the seventh olympiad, and the first year of that olympiad; the very same year in which he says that Carthage was built by the Phoenicians. The reason why he added this building of Carthage was, to be sure, in order, as he thought, to strengthen his assertion by so evident a character of chronology. But he was not aware that this character confutes his assertion; for if we may give credit to the Phoenician records as to the time of the first coming of their colony to Carthage, they relate that Hirom their king was above a hundred and fifty years earlier than the building of Carthage; concerning whom I have formerly produced testimonials out of those Phoenician records, as also that this Hirom was a friend of Solomon when he was building the temple of Jerusalem,

and gave him great assistance in his building that temple; while still Solomon himself built that temple six hundred and twelve years after the Jews came out of Egypt. As for the number of those that were expelled out of Egypt, he hath contrived to have the very same number with Lysimaehus, and says they were a hundred and ten thousand. He then assigns a certain wonderful and plausible occasion for the name of Sabbath; for he says that "when the Jews had traveled a six days' journey, they had buboes in their groins; and that on this account it was that they rested on the seventh day, as having got safely to that country which is now called Judea; that then they preserved the language of the Egyptians, and called that day the Sabbath, for that malady of buboes on their groin was named Sabbatosis by the Egyptians." And would not a man now laugh at this fellow's trifling, or rather hate his impudence in writing thus? We must, it seems, fake it for granted that all these hundred and ten thousand men must have these buboes. But, for certain, if those men had been blind and lame, and had all sorts of distempers upon them, as Apion says they had, they could not have gone one single day's journey; but if they had been all able to travel over a large desert, and, besides that, to fight and conquer those that opposed them, they had not all of them had buboes on their groins after the sixth day was over; for no such distemper comes naturally and of necessity upon those that travel; but still, when there are many ten thousands in a camp together, they constantly march a settled space [in a day]. Nor is it at all probable that such a thing should happen by chance; this would be prodigiously absurd to be supposed. However, our admirable author Apion hath before told us that "they came to Judea in six days' time;" and again, that "Moses went up to a mountain that lay between Egypt and Arabia, which was called Sinai, and was concealed there forty days, and that when he came down from thence he gave laws to the Jews." But, then, how was it possible for them to tarry forty days in a desert place where there was no water, and at the same time to pass all over the country between that and Judea in the six days? And as for this grammatical translation of the word Sabbath, it either contains an instance of his great impudence or gross ignorance; for the words Sabbo and Sabbath are widely different from one another; for the word Sabbath in the Jewish language denotes rest from all sorts of work; but the word Sabbo, as he affirms, denotes among the Egyptians the malady of a bubo in the groin.

3. This is that novel account which the Egyptian Apion gives us concerning the Jews' departure out of Egypt, and is no better than a contrivance of his own. But why should we wonder at the lies he tells about our forefathers, when he affirms them to be of Egyptian original, when he lies also about himself? for although he was born at Oasis in Egypt, he pretends to be, as a man may say, the

top man of all the Egyptians; yet does he forswear his real country and progenitors, and by falsely pretending to be born at Alexandria, cannot deny the pravity of his family; for you see how justly he calls those Egyptians whom he hates, and endeavors to reproach; for had he not deemed Egyptians to be a name of great reproach, he would not have avoided the name of an Egyptian himself; as we know that those who brag of their own countries value themselves upon the denomination they acquire thereby, and reprove such as unjustly lay claim thereto. As for the Egyptians' claim to be of our kindred, they do it on one of the following accounts; I mean, either as they value themselves upon it, and pretend to bear that relation to us; or else as they would draw us in to be partakers of their own infamy. But this fine fellow Apion seems to broach this reproachful appellation against us, [that we were originally Egyptians,] in order to bestow it on the Alexandrians, as a reward for the privilege they had given him of being a fellow citizen with them: he also is apprized of the ill-will the Alexandrians bear to those Jews who are their fellow citizens, and so proposes to himself to reproach them, although he must thereby include all the other Egyptians also; while in both cases he is no better than an impudent liar.

4. But let us now see what those heavy and wicked crimes are which Apion charges upon the Alexandrian Jews. "They came [says he] out of Syria, and inhabited near the tempestuous sea, and were in the neighborhood of the dashing of the waves." Now if the place of habitation includes any thing that is reproached, this man reproaches not his own real country, [Egypt,] but what he pretends to be his own country, Alexandria; for all are agreed in this, that the part of that city which is near the sea is the best part of all for habitation. Now if the Jews gained that part of the city by force, and have kept it hitherto without impeachment, this is a mark of their valor; but in reality it was Alexander himself that gave them that place for their habitation, when they obtained equal privileges there with the Macedonians. Nor call I devise what Apion would have said, had their habitation been at Necropolis? and not been fixed hard by the royal palace [as it is]; nor had their nation had the denomination of Macedonians given them till this very day [as they have]. Had this man now read the epistles of king Alexander, or those of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, or met with the writings of the succeeding kings, or that pillar which is still standing at Alexandria, and contains the privileges which the great [Julius] Caesar bestowed upon the Jews; had this man, I say, known these records, and yet hath the impudence to write in contradiction to them, he hath shown himself to be a wicked man; but if he knew nothing of these records, he hath shown himself to be a man very ignorant: nay, when lie appears to wonder how Jews could be called Alexandrians, this is another like instance of his ignorance; for all such as

are called out to be colonies, although they be ever so far remote from one another in their original, receive their names from those that bring them to their new habitations. And what occasion is there to speak of others, when those of us Jews that dwell at Antioch are named Antiochians, because Seleucns the founder of that city gave them the privileges belonging thereto? After the like manner do those Jews that inhabit Ephesus, and the other cities of Ionia, enjoy the same name with those that were originally born there, by the grant of the succeeding princes; nay, the kindness and humanity of the Romans hath been so great, that it hath granted leave to almost all others to take the same name of Romans upon them; I mean not particular men only, but entire and large nations themselves also; for those anciently named Iberi, and Tyrrheni, and Sabini, are now called Romani. And if Apion reject this way of obtaining the privilege of a citizen of Alexandria, let him abstain from calling himself an Alexandrian hereafter; for otherwise, how can he who was born in the very heart of Egypt be an Alexandrian, if this way of accepting such a privilege, of which he would have us deprived, be once abrogated? although indeed these Romans, who are now the lords of the habitable earth, have forbidden the Egyptians to have the privileges of any city whatsoever; while this fine fellow, who is willing to partake of such a privilege himself as he is forbidden to make use of, endeavors by calumnies to deprive those of it that have justly received it; for Alexander did not therefore get some of our nation to Alexandria, because he wanted inhabitants for this his city, on whose building he had bestowed so much pains; but this was given to our people as a reward, because he had, upon a careful trial, found them all to have been men of virtue and fidelity to him; for, as Hecateus says concerning us, "Alexander honored our nation to such a degree, that, for the equity and the fidelity which the Jews exhibited to him, he permitted them to hold the country of Samaria free from tribute. Of the same mind also was Ptolemy the son of Lagus, as to those Jews who dwelt at Alexandria." For he intrusted the fortresses of Egypt into their hands, as believing they would keep them faithfully and valiantly for him; and when he was desirous to secure the government of Cyrene, and the other cities of Libya, to himself, he sent a party of Jews to inhabit in them. And for his successor Ptolemy, who was called Philadelphus, he did not only set all those of our nation free who were captives under him, but did frequently give money [for their ransom]; and, what was his greatest work of all, he had a great desire of knowing our laws, and of obtaining the books of our sacred Scriptures; accordingly, he desired that such men might be sent him as might interpret our law to him; and, in order to have them well compiled, he committed that care to no ordinary persons, but ordained that Demetrius Phalereus, and Andreas, and Aristeas; the first, Demetrius, the most learned

person of his age, and the others, such as were intrusted with the guard of his body; should take care of this matter: nor would he certainly have been so desirous of learning our law, and the philosophy of our nation, had he despised the men that made use of it, or had he not indeed had them in great admiration.

5. Now this Apion was unacquainted with almost all the kings of those Macedonians whom he pretends to have been his progenitors, who were yet very well affected towards us; for the third of those Ptolemies, who was called Euergetes, when he had gotten possession of all Syria by force, did not offer his thank-offerings to the Egyptian gods for his victory, but came to Jerusalem, and according to our own laws offered many sacrifices to God, and dedicated to him such gifts as were suitable to such a victory: and as for Ptolemy Philometer and his wife Cleopatra, they committed their whole kingdom to the Jews, when Onias and Dositheus, both Jews, whose names are laughed at by Apion, were the generals of their whole army. But certainly, instead of reproaching them, he ought to admire their actions, and return them thanks for saving Alexandria, whose citizen he pretends to be; for when these Alexandrians were making war with Cleopatra the queen, and were in danger of being utterly ruined, these Jews brought them to terms of agreement, and freed them from the miseries of a civil war. "But then [says Apion] Onias brought a small army afterward upon the city at the time when Thorruns the Roman ambassador was there present." Yes, do I venture to say, and that he did rightly and very justly in so doing; for that Ptolemy who was called Physco, upon the death of his brother Philometer, came from Cyrene, and would have ejected Cleopatra as well as her sons out of their kingdom, that he might obtain it for himself unjustly. For this cause then it was that Onias undertook a war against him on Cleopatra's account; nor would he desert that trust the royal family had reposed in him in their distress. Accordingly, God gave a remarkable attestation to his righteous procedure; for when Ptolemy Physco had the presumption to fight against Onias's army, and had caught all the Jews that were in the city [Alexandria], with their children and wives, and exposed them naked and in bonds to his elephants, that they might be trodden upon and destroyed, and when he had made those elephants drunk for that purpose, the event proved contrary to his preparations; for these elephants left the Jews who were exposed to them, and fell violently upon Physco's friends, and slew a great number of them; nay, after this Ptolemy saw a terrible ghost, which prohibited his hurting those men; his very concubine, whom he loved so well, [some call her Ithaca, and others Irene,] making supplication to him, that he would not perpetrate so great a wickedness. So he complied with her request, and repented of what he either had already done, or was about to do; whence it is well known that the Alexandrian Jews do with good reason

celebrate this day, on the account that they had thereon been vouchsafed such an evident deliverance from God. However, Apion, the common calumniator of men, hath the presumption to accuse the Jews for making this war against Physco, when he ought to have commended them for the same. This man also makes mention of Cleopatra, the last queen of Alexandria, and abuses us, because she was ungrateful to us; whereas he ought to have reproved her, who indulged herself in all kinds of injustice and wicked practices, both with regard to her nearest relations and husbands who had loved her, and, indeed, in general with regard to all the Romans, and those emperors that were her benefactors; who also had her sister Arsinoe slain in a temple, when she had done her no harm: moreover, she had her brother slain by private treachery, and she destroyed the gods of her country and the sepulchers of her progenitors; and while she had received her kingdom from the first Caesar, she had the impudence to rebel against his son: and successor; nay, she corrupted Antony with her love-tricks, and rendered him an enemy to his country, and made him treacherous to his friends, and [by his means] despoiled some of their royal authority, and forced others in her madness to act wickedly. But what need I enlarge upon this head any further, when she left Antony in his fight at sea, though he were her husband, and the father of their common children, and compelled him to resign up his government, with the army, and to follow her [into Egypt]? nay, when last of all Caesar had taken Alexandria, she came to that pitch of cruelty, that she declared she had some hope of preserving her affairs still, in case she could kill the Jews, though it were with her own hand; to such a degree of barbarity and perfidiousness had she arrived. And doth any one think that we cannot boast ourselves of any thing, if, as Apion says, this queen did not at a time of famine distribute wheat among us? However, she at length met with the punishment she deserved. As for us Jews, we appeal to the great Caesar what assistance we brought him, and what fidelity we showed to him against the Egyptians; as also to the senate and its decrees, and the epistles of Augustus Caesar, whereby our merits [to the Romans] are justified. Apion ought to have looked upon those epistles, and in particular to have examined the testimonies given on our behalf, under Alexander and all the Ptolemies, and the decrees of the senate and of the greatest Roman emperors. And if Germanicus was not able to make a distribution of corn to all the inhabitants of Alexandria, that only shows what a barren time it was, and how great a want there was then of corn, but tends nothing to the accusation of the Jews; for what all the emperors have thought of the Alexandrian Jews is well known, for this distribution of wheat was no otherwise omitted with regard to the Jews, than it was with regard to the other inhabitants of Alexandria. But they still were desirous to preserve what the

kings had formerly intrusted to their care, I mean the custody of the river; nor did those kings think them unworthy of having the entire custody thereof, upon all occasions.

6. But besides this, Apion objects to us thus: "If the Jews [says he] be citizens of Alexandria, why do they not worship the same gods with the Alexandrians?" To which I give this answer: Since you are yourselves Egyptians, why do you fight it out one against another, and have implacable wars about your religion? At this rate we must not call you all Egyptians, nor indeed in general men, because you breed up with great care beasts of a nature quite contrary to that of men, although the nature of all men seems to be one and the same. Now if there be such differences in opinion among you Egyptians, why are you surprised that those who came to Alexandria from another country, and had original laws of their own before, should persevere in the observance of those laws? But still he charges us with being the authors of sedition; which accusation, if it be a just one, why is it not laid against us all, since we are known to be all of one mind. Moreover, those that search into such matters will soon discover that the authors of sedition have been such citizens of Alexandria as Apion is; for while they were the Grecians and Macedonians who were ill possession of this city, there was no sedition raised against us, and we were permitted to observe our ancient solemnities; but when the number of the Egyptians therein came to be considerable, the times grew confused, and then these seditions brake out still more and more, while our people continued uncorrupted. These Egyptians, therefore, were the authors of these troubles, who having not the constancy of Macedonians, nor the prudence of Grecians, indulged all of them the evil manners of the Egyptians, and continued their ancient hatred against us; for what is here so presumptuously charged upon us, is owing to the differences that are amongst themselves; while many of them have not obtained the privileges of citizens in proper times, but style those who are well known to have had that privilege extended to them all no other than foreigners: for it does not appear that any of the kings have ever formerly bestowed those privileges of citizens upon Egyptians, no more than have the emperors done it more lately; while it was Alexander who introduced us into this city at first, the kings augmented our privileges therein, and the Romans have been pleased to preserve them always inviolable. Moreover, Apion would lay a blot upon us, because we do not erect images for our emperors; as if those emperors did not know this before, or stood in need of Apion as their defender; whereas he ought rather to have admired the magnanimity and modesty of the Romans, whereby they do not compel those that are subject to them to transgress the laws of their countries, but are willing to receive the honors due to them after such a manner as those who are to pay

them esteem consistent with piety and with their own laws; for they do not thank people for conferring honors upon them, When they are compelled by violence so to do. Accordingly, since the Grecians and some other nations think it a right thing to make images, nay, when they have painted the pictures of their parents, and wives, and children, they exult for joy; and some there are who take pictures for themselves of such persons as were no way related to them; nay, some take the pictures of such servants as they were fond of; what wonder is it then if such as these appear willing to pay the same respect to their princes and lords? But then our legislator hath forbidden us to make images, not by way of denunciation beforehand, that the Roman authority was not to be honored, but as despising a thing that was neither necessary nor useful for either God or man; and he forbade them, as we shall prove hereafter, to make these images for any part of the animal creation, and much less for God himself, who is no part of such animal creation. Yet hath our legislator no where forbidden us to pay honors to worthy men, provided they be of another kind, and inferior to those we pay to God; with which honors we willingly testify our respect to our emperors, and to the people of Rome; we also offer perpetual sacrifices for them; nor do we only offer them every day at the common expenses of all the Jews, but although we offer no other such sacrifices out of our common expenses, no, not for our own children, yet do we this as a peculiar honor to the emperors, and to them alone, while we do the same to no other person whomsoever. And let this suffice for an answer in general to Apion, as to what he says with relation to the Alexandrian Jews.

7. However, I cannot but admire those other authors who furnished this man with such his materials; I mean Possidonius and Apollonius [the son of] Molo, who, while they accuse us for not worshipping the same gods whom others worship, they think themselves not guilty of impiety when they tell lies of us, and frame absurd and reproachful stories about our temple; whereas it is a most shameful thing for freemen to forge lies on any occasion, and much more so to forge them about our temple, which was so famous over all the world, and was preserved so sacred by us; for Apion hath the impudence to pretend that, "the Jews placed an ass's head in their holy place;" and he affirms that this was discovered when Antiochus Epiphanes spoiled our temple, and found that ass's head there made of gold, and worth a great deal of money. To this my first answer shall be this, that had there been any such thing among us, an Egyptian ought by no means to have thrown it in our teeth, since an ass is not a more contemptible animal than and goats, and other such creatures, which among them are gods. But besides this answer, I say further, how comes it about that Apion does not understand this to be no other than a palpable lie, and to be confuted by the thing itself as utterly incredible? For we Jews are always

governed by the same laws, in which we constantly persevere; and although many misfortunes have befallen our city, as the like have befallen others, and although Theos [Epiphanes], and Pompey the Great, and Licinius Crassus, and last of all Titus Caesar, have conquered us in war, and gotten possession of our temple; yet have they none of them found any such thing there, nor indeed any thing but what was agreeable to the strictest piety; although what they found we are not at liberty to reveal to other nations. But for Antiochus [Epiphanes], he had no just cause for that ravage in our temple that he made; he only came to it when he wanted money, without declaring himself our enemy, and attacked us while we were his associates and his friends; nor did he find any thing there that was ridiculous. This is attested by many worthy writers; Polybius of Megalopolis, Strabo of Cappadocia, Nicolaus of Damascus, Timagenes, Castor the chronotoger, and Apollodorus; who all say that it was out of Antiochus's want of money that he broke his league with the Jews, and despoiled their temple when it was full of gold and silver. Apion ought to have had a regard to these facts, unless he had himself had either an ass's heart or a dog's impudence; of such a dog I mean as they worship; for he had no other external reason for the lies he tells of us. As for us Jews, we ascribe no honor or power to asses, as do the Egyptians to crocodiles and asps, when they esteem such as are seized upon by the former, or bitten by the latter, to be happy persons, and persons worthy of God. Asses are the same with us which they are with other wise men, *viz.* creatures that bear the burdens that we lay upon them; but if they come to our thrashing-floors and eat our corn, or do not perform what we impose upon them, we beat them with a great many stripes, because it is their business to minister to us in our husbandry affairs. But this Apion of ours was either perfectly unskillful in the composition of such fallacious discourses, or however, when he begun [somewhat better], he was not able to persevere in what he had undertaken, since he hath no manner of success in those reproaches he casts upon us.

8. He adds another Grecian fable, in order to reproach us. In reply to which, it would be enough to say, that they who presume to speak about Divine worship ought not to be ignorant of this plain truth, that it is a degree of less impurity to pass through temples, than to forge wicked calumnies of its priests. Now such men as he are more zealous to justify a sacrilegious king, than to write what is just and what is true about us, and about our temple; for when they are desirous of gratifying Antiochus, and of concealing that perfidiousness and sacrilege which he was guilty of, with regard to our nation, when he wanted money, they endeavor to disgrace us, and tell lies even relating to futurities. Apion becomes other men's prophet upon this occasion, and says that "Antiochus found in our temple a bed, and a man lying upon it, with a small table before him, full of

dainties, from the [fishes of the] sea, and the fowls of the dry land; that this man was amazed at these dainties thus set before him; that he immediately adored the king, upon his coming in, as hoping that he would afford him all possible assistance; that he fell down upon his knees, and stretched out to him his right hand, and begged to be released; and that when the king bid him sit down, and tell him who he was, and why he dwelt there, and what was the meaning of those various sorts of food that were set before him the man made a lamentable complaint, and with sighs, and tears in his eyes, gave him this account of the distress he was in; and said that he was a Greek and that as he went over this province, in order to get his living, he was seized upon by foreigners, on a sudden, and brought to this temple, and shut up therein, and was seen by nobody, but was fattened by these curious provisions thus set before him; and that truly at the first such unexpected advantages seemed to him matter of great joy; that after a while, they brought a suspicion him, and at length astonishment, what their meaning should be; that at last he inquired of the servants that came to him and was by them informed that it was in order to the fulfilling a law of the Jews, which they must not tell him, that he was thus fed; and that they did the same at a set time every year: that they used to catch a Greek foreigner, and fat him thus up every year, and then lead him to a certain wood, and kill him, and sacrifice with their accustomed solemnities, and taste of his entrails, and take an oath upon this sacrificing a Greek, that they would ever be at enmity with the Greeks; and that then they threw the remaining parts of the miserable wretch into a certain pit." Apion adds further, that, "the man said there were but a few days to come ere he was to be slain, and implored of Antiochus that, out of the reverence he bore to the Grecian gods, he would disappoint the snares the Jews laid for his blood, and would deliver him from the miseries with which he was encompassed." Now this is such a most tragical fable as is full of nothing but cruelty and impudence; yet does it not excuse Antiochus of his sacrilegious attempt, as those who write it in his vindication are willing to suppose; for he could not presume beforehand that he should meet with any such thing in coming to the temple, but must have found it unexpectedly. He was therefore still an impious person, that was given to unlawful pleasures, and had no regard to God in his actions. But [as for Apion], he hath done whatever his extravagant love of lying hath dictated to him, as it is most easy to discover by a consideration of his writings; for the difference of our laws is known not to regard the Grecians only, but they are principally opposite to the Egyptians, and to some other nations also for while it so falls out that men of all countries come sometimes and sojourn among us, how comes it about that we take an oath, and conspire only against the Grecians, and that by the effusion of their blood also?

Or how is it possible that all the Jews should get together to these sacrifices, and the entrails of one man should be sufficient for so many thousands to taste of them, as Apion pretends? Or why did not the king carry this man, whosoever he was, and whatsoever was his name, [which is not set down in Apion's book,] with great pomp back into his own country? when he might thereby have been esteemed a religious person himself, and a mighty lover of the Greeks, and might thereby have procured himself great assistance from all men against that hatred the Jews bore to him. But I leave this matter; for the proper way of confuting fools is not to use bare words, but to appeal to the things themselves that make against them. Now, then, all such as ever saw the construction of our temple, of what nature it was, know well enough how the purity of it was never to be profaned; for it had four several courts encompassed with cloisters round about, every one of which had by our law a peculiar degree of separation from the rest. Into the first court every body was allowed to go, even foreigners, and none but women, during their courses, were prohibited to pass through it; all the Jews went into the second court, as well as their wives, when they were free from all uncleanness; into the third court went in the Jewish men, when they were clean and purified; into the fourth went the priests, having on their sacerdotal garments; but for the most sacred place, none went in but the high priests, clothed in their peculiar garments. Now there is so great caution used about these offices of religion, that the priests are appointed to go into the temple but at certain hours; for in the morning, at the opening of the inner temple, those that are to officiate receive the sacrifices, as they do again at noon, till the doors are shut. Lastly, it is not so much as lawful to carry any vessel into the holy house; nor is there any thing therein, but the altar [of incense], the table [of shew-bread], the censer, and the candlestick, which are all written in the law; for there is nothing further there, nor are there any mysteries performed that may not be spoken of; nor is there any feasting within the place. For what I have now said is publicly known, and supported by the testimony of the whole people, and their operations are very manifest; for although there be four courses of the priests, and every one of them have above five thousand men in them, yet do they officiate on certain days only; and when those days are over, other priests succeed in the performance of their sacrifices, and assemble together at mid-day, and receive the keys of the temple, and the vessels by tale, without any thing relating to food or drink being carried into the temple; nay, we are not allowed to offer such things at the altar, excepting what is prepared for the sacrifices.

9. What then can we say of Apion, but that he examined nothing that concerned these things, while still he uttered incredible words about them? but it is a great shame for a grammarian not to be able to write true history. Now if he

knew the purity of our temple, he hath entirely omitted to take notice of it; but he forges a story about the seizing of a Grecian, about ineffable food, and the most delicious preparation of dainties; and pretends that strangers could go into a place whereinto the noblest men among the Jews are not allowed to enter, unless they be priests. This, therefore, is the utmost degree of impiety, and a voluntary lie, in order to the delusion of those who will not examine into the truth of matters; whereas such unspeakable mischiefs as are above related have been occasioned by such calumnies that are raised upon us.

10. Nay, this miracle or piety derides us further, and adds the following pretended facts to his former fable; for he says that this man related how, "while the Jews were once in a long war with the Idumeans, there came a man out of one of the cities of the Idumeans, who there had worshipped Apollo. This man, whose name is said to have been Zabidus, came to the Jews, and promised that he would deliver Apollo, the god of Dora, into their hands, and that he would come to our temple, if they would all come up with him, and bring the whole multitude of the Jews with them; that Zabidus made him a certain wooden instrument, and put it round about him, and set three rows of lamps therein, and walked after such a manner, that he appeared to those that stood a great way off him to be a kind of star, walking upon the earth; that the Jews were terribly affrighted at so surprising an appearance, and stood very quiet at a distance; and that Zabidus, while they continued so very quiet, went into the holy house, and carried off that golden head of an ass, [for so facetiously does he write,] and then went his way back again to Dora in great haste." And say you so, sir! as I may reply; then does Apion load the ass, that is, himself, and lays on him a burden of fooleries and lies; for he writes of places that have no being, and not knowing the cities he speaks of, he changes their situation; for Idumea borders upon our country, and is near to Gaza, in which there is no such city as Dora; although there be, it is true, a city named Dora in Phoenicia, near Mount Carmel, but it is four days' journey from Idumea. Now, then, why does this man accuse us, because we have not gods in common with other nations, if our fathers were so easily prevailed upon to have Apollo come to them, and thought they saw him walking upon the earth, and the stars with him? for certainly those who have so many festivals, wherein they light lamps, must yet, at this rate, have never seen a candlestick! But still it seems that while Zabidus took his journey over the country, where were so many ten thousands of people, nobody met him. He also, it seems, even in a time of war, found the walls of Jerusalem destitute of guards. I omit the rest. Now the doors of the holy house were seventy cubits high, and twenty cubits broad; they were all plated over with gold, and almost of solid gold itself, and there were no fewer than twenty men required to shut them every

day; nor was it lawful ever to leave them open, though it seems this lamp-bearer of ours opened them easily, or thought he opened them, as he thought he had the ass's head in his hand. Whether, therefore, he returned it to us again, or whether Apion took it, and brought it into the temple again, that Antiochus might find it, and afford a handle for a second fable of Apion's, is uncertain.

11. Apion also tells a false story, when he mentions an oath of ours, as if we "swore by God, the Maker of the heaven, and earth, and sea, to bear no good will to any foreigner, and particularly to none of the Greeks." Now this liar ought to have said directly that, "we would bear no good-will to any foreigner, and particularly to none of the Egyptians." For then his story about the oath would have squared with the rest of his original forgeries, in case our forefathers had been driven away by their kinsmen, the Egyptians, not on account of any wickedness they had been guilty of, but on account of the calamities they were under; for as to the Grecians, we were rather remote from them in place, than different from them in our institutions, insomuch that we have no enmity with them, nor any jealousy of them. On the contrary, it hath so happened that many of them have come over to our laws, and some of them have continued in their observation, although others of them had not courage enough to persevere, and so departed from them again; nor did any body ever hear this oath sworn by us: Apion, it seems, was the only person that heard it, for he indeed was the first composer of it.

12. However, Apion deserves to be admired for his great prudence, as to what I am going to say, which is this, "That there is a plain mark among us, that we neither have just laws, nor worship God as we ought to do, because we are not governors, but are rather in subjection to Gentiles, sometimes to one nation, and sometimes to another; and that our city hath been liable to several calamities, while their city [Alexandria] hath been of old time an imperial city, and not used to be in subjection to the Romans." But now this man had better leave off this bragging, for every body but himself would think that Apion said what he hath said against himself; for there are very few nations that have had the good fortune to continue many generations in the principality, but still the mutations in human affairs have put them into subjection under others; and most nations have been often subdued, and brought into subjection by others. Now for the Egyptians, perhaps they are the only nation that have had this extraordinary privilege, to have never served any of those monarchs who subdued Asia and Europe, and this on account, as they pretend, that the gods fled into their country, and saved themselves by being changed into the shapes of wild beasts! Whereas these Egyptians are the very people that appear to have never, in all the past ages, had one day of freedom, no, not so much as from their own lords. For

I will not reproach them with relating the manner how the Persians used them, and this not once only, but many times, when they laid their cities waste, demolished their temples, and cut the throats of those animals whom they esteemed to be gods; for it is not reasonable to imitate the clownish ignorance of Apion, who hath no regard to the misfortunes of the Athenians, or of the Lacedemonians, the latter of whom were styled by all men the most courageous, and the former the most religious of the Grecians. I say nothing of such kings as have been famous for piety, particularly of one of them, whose name was Cresus, nor what calamities he met with in his life; I say nothing of the citadel of Athens, of the temple at Ephesus, of that at Delphi, nor of ten thousand others which have been burnt down, while nobody cast reproaches on those that were the sufferers, but on those that were the actors therein. But now we have met with Apion, an accuser of our nation, though one that still forgets the miseries of his own people, the Egyptians; but it is that Sesostris who was once so celebrated a king of Egypt that hath blinded him. Now we will not brag of our kings, David and Solomon, though they conquered many nations; accordingly we will let them alone. However, Apion is ignorant of what every body knows, that the Egyptians were servants to the Persians, and afterwards to the Macedonians, when they were lords of Asia, and were no better than slaves, while we have enjoyed liberty formerly; nay, more than that, have had the dominion of the cities that lie round about us, and this nearly for a hundred and twenty years together, until Pompeius Magnus. And when all the kings every where were conquered by the Romans, our ancestors were the only people who continued to be esteemed their confederates and friends, on account of their fidelity to them.

13. “But,” says Apion, “we Jews have not had any wonderful men amongst us, not any inventors of arts, nor any eminent for wisdom.” He then enumerates Socrates, and Zeno, and Cleanthes, and some others of the same sort; and, after all, he adds himself to them, which is the most wonderful thing of all that he says, and pronounces Alexandria to be happy, because it hath such a citizen as he is in it; for he was the fittest man to be a witness to his own deserts, although he hath appeared to all others no better than a wicked mountebank, of a corrupt life and ill discourses; on which account one may justly pity Alexandria, if it should value itself upon such a citizen as he is. But as to our own men, we have had those who have been as deserving of commendation as any other whosoever, and such as have perused our Antiquities cannot be ignorant of them.

14. As to the other things which he sets down as blameworthy, it may perhaps be the best way to let them pass without apology, that he may be allowed to be his own accuser, and the accuser of the rest of the Egyptians. However, he

accuses us for sacrificing animals, and for abstaining from swine's flesh, and laughs at us for the circumcision of our privy members. Now as for our slaughter of tame animals for sacrifices, it is common to us and to all other men; but this Apion, by making it a crime to sacrifice them, demonstrates himself to be an Egyptian; for had he been either a Grecian or a Macedonian, [as he pretends to be,] he had not shown any uneasiness at it; for those people glory in sacrificing whole hecatombs to the gods, and make use of those sacrifices for feasting; and yet is not the world thereby rendered destitute of cattle, as Apion was afraid would come to pass. Yet if all men had followed the manners of the Egyptians, the world had certainly been made desolate as to mankind, but had been filled full of the wildest sort of brute beasts, which, because they suppose them to be gods, they carefully nourish. However, if any one should ask Apion which of the Egyptians he thinks to be the most wise and most pious of them all, he would certainly acknowledge the priests to be so; for the histories say that two things were originally committed to their care by their kings' injunctions, the worship of the gods, and the support of wisdom and philosophy. Accordingly, these priests are all circumcised, and abstain from swine's flesh; nor does any one of the other Egyptians assist them in slaying those sacrifices they offer to the gods. Apion was therefore quite blinded in his mind, when, for the sake of the Egyptians, he contrived to reproach us, and to accuse such others as not only make use of that conduct of life which he so much abuses, but have also taught other men to be circumcised, as says Herodotus; which makes me think that Apion is hereby justly punished for his casting such reproaches on the laws of his own country; for he was circumcised himself of necessity, on account of an ulcer in his privy member; and when he received no benefit by such circumcision, but his member became putrid, he died in great torment. Now men of good tempers ought to observe their own laws concerning religion accurately, and to persevere therein, but not presently to abuse the laws of other nations, while this Apion deserted his own laws, and told lies about ours. And this was the end of Apion's life, and this shall be the conclusion of our discourse about him.

15. But now, since Apollonius Molo, and Lysimachus, and some others, write treatises about our lawgiver Moses, and about our laws, which are neither just nor true, and this partly out of ignorance, but chiefly out of ill-will to us, while they calumniate Moses as an impostor and deceiver, and pretend that our laws teach us wickedness, but nothing that is virtuous, I have a mind to discourse briefly, according to my ability, about our whole constitution of government, and about the particular branches of it. For I suppose it will thence become evident, that the laws we have given us are disposed after the best manner for the

advancement of piety, for mutual communion with one another, for a general love of mankind, as also for justice, and for sustaining labors with fortitude, and for a contempt of death. And I beg of those that shall peruse this writing of mine, to read it without partiality; for it is not my purpose to write an encomium upon ourselves, but I shall esteem this as a most just apology for us, and taken from those our laws, according to which we lead our lives, against the many and the lying objections that have been made against us. Moreover, since this Apollonius does not do like Apion, and lay a continued accusation against us, but does it only by starts, and up and clown his discourse, while he sometimes reproaches us as atheists, and man-haters, and sometimes hits us in the teeth with our want of courage, and yet sometimes, on the contrary, accuses us of too great boldness and madness in our conduct; nay, he says that we are the weakest of all the barbarians, and that this is the reason why we are the only people who have made no improvements in human life; now I think I shall have then sufficiently disproved all these his allegations, when it shall appear that our laws enjoin the very reverse of what he says, and that we very carefully observe those laws ourselves. And if I he compelled to make mention of the laws of other nations, that are contrary to ours, those ought deservedly to thank themselves for it, who have pretended to depreciate our laws in comparison of their own; nor will there, I think, be any room after that for them to pretend either that we have no such laws ourselves, an epitome of which I will present to the reader, or that we do not, above all men, continue in the observation of them.

16. To begin then a good way backward, I would advance this, in the first place, that those who have been admirers of good order, and of living under common laws, and who began to introduce them, may well have this testimony that they are better than other men, both for moderation and such virtue as is agreeable to nature. Indeed their endeavor was to have every thing they ordained believed to be very ancient, that they might not be thought to imitate others, but might appear to have delivered a regular way of living to others after them. Since then this is the case, the excellency of a legislator is seen in providing for the people’s living after the best manner, and in prevailing with those that are to use the laws he ordains for them, to have a good opinion of them, and in obliging the multitude to persevere in them, and to make no changes in them, neither in prosperity nor adversity. Now I venture to say, that our legislator is the most ancient of all the legislators whom we have ally where heard of; for as for the Lycurguses, and Solons, and Zaleucus Locrensis, and all those legislators who are so admired by the Greeks, they seem to be of yesterday, if compared with our legislator, insomuch as the very name of a law was not so much as known in old times among the Grecians. Homer is a witness to the truth of this

observation, who never uses that term in all his poems; for indeed there was then no such thing among them, but the multitude was governed by wise maxims, and by the injunctions of their king. It was also a long time that they continued in the use of these unwritten customs, although they were always changing them upon several occasions. But for our legislator, who was of so much greater antiquity than the rest, [as even those that speak against us upon all occasions do always confess,] he exhibited himself to the people as their best governor and counselor, and included in his legislation the entire conduct of their lives, and prevailed with them to receive it, and brought it so to pass, that those that were made acquainted with his laws did most carefully observe them.

17. But let us consider his first and greatest work; for when it was resolved on by our forefathers to leave Egypt, and return to their own country, this Moses took the many tell thousands that were of the people, and saved them out of many desperate distresses, and brought them home in safety. And certainly it was here necessary to travel over a country without water, and full of sand, to overcome their enemies, and, during these battles, to preserve their children, and their wives, and their prey; on all which occasions he became an excellent general of an army, and a most prudent counselor, and one that took the truest care of them all; he also so brought it about, that the whole multitude depended upon him. And while he had them always obedient to what he enjoined, he made no manner of use of his authority for his own private advantage, which is the usual time when governors gain great powers to themselves, and pave the way for tyranny, and accustom the multitude to live very dissolutely; whereas, when our legislator was in so great authority, he, on the contrary, thought he ought to have regard to piety, and to show his great good-will to the people; and by this means he thought he might show the great degree of virtue that was in him, and might procure the most lasting security to those who had made him their governor. When he had therefore come to such a good resolution, and had performed such wonderful exploits, we had just reason to look upon ourselves as having him for a divine governor and counselor. And when he had first persuaded himself that his actions and designs were agreeable to God's will, he thought it his duty to impress, above all things, that notion upon the multitude; for those who have once believed that God is the inspector of their lives, will not permit themselves in any sin. And this is the character of our legislator: he was no impostor, no deceiver, as his revilers say, though unjustly, but such a one as they brag Minos to have been among the Greeks, and other legislators after him; for some of them suppose that they had their laws from Jupiter, while Minos said that the revelation of his laws was to be referred to Apollo, and his oracle at Delphi, whether they really thought they were so derived, or supposed, however,

that they could persuade the people easily that so it was. But which of these it was who made the best laws, and which had the greatest reason to believe that God was their author, it will be easy, upon comparing those laws themselves together, to determine; for it is time that we come to that point. Now there are innumerable differences in the particular customs and laws that are among all mankind, which a man may briefly reduce under the following heads: Some legislators have permitted their governments to be under monarchies, others put them under oligarchies, and others under a republican form; but our legislator had no regard to any of these forms, but he ordained our government to be what, by a strained expression, may be termed a Theocracy, by ascribing the authority and the power to God, and by persuading all the people to have a regard to him, as the author of all the good things that were enjoyed either in common by all mankind, or by each one in particular, and of all that they themselves obtained by praying to him in their greatest difficulties. He informed them that it was impossible to escape God's observation, even in any of our outward actions, or in any of our inward thoughts. Moreover, he represented God as unbegotten, and immutable, through all eternity, superior to all mortal conceptions in pulchritude; and, though known to us by his power, yet unknown to us as to his essence. I do not now explain how these notions of God are the sentiments of the wisest among the Grecians, and how they were taught them upon the principles that he afforded them. However, they testify, with great assurance, that these notions are just, and agreeable to the nature of God, and to his majesty; for Pythagoras, and Anaxagoras, and Plato, and the Stoic philosophers that succeeded them, and almost all the rest, are of the same sentiments, and had the same notions of the nature of God; yet durst not these men disclose those true notions to more than a few, because the body of the people were prejudiced with other opinions beforehand. But our legislator, who made his actions agree to his laws, did not only prevail with those that were his contemporaries to agree with these his notions, but so firmly imprinted this faith in God upon all their posterity, that it never could be removed. The reason why the constitution of this legislation was ever better directed to the utility of all than other legislations were, is this, that Moses did not make religion a part of virtue, but he saw and he ordained other virtues to be parts of religion; I mean justice, and fortitude, and temperance, and a universal agreement of the members of the community with one another; for all our actions and studies, and all our words, [in Moses's settlement,] have a reference to piety towards God; for he hath left none of these in suspense, or undetermined. For there are two ways of coming at any sort of learning and a moral conduct of life; the one is by instruction in words, the other by practical exercises. Now other lawgivers have separated these two ways in their opinions,

and choosing one of those ways of instruction, or that which best pleased every one of them, neglected the other. Thus did the Lacedemonians and the Cretians teach by practical exercises, but not by words; while the Athenians, and almost all the other Grecians, made laws about what was to be done, or left undone, but had no regard to the exercising them thereto in practice.

18. But for our legislator, he very carefully joined these two methods of instruction together; for he neither left these practical exercises to go on without verbal instruction, nor did he permit the hearing of the law to proceed without the exercises for practice; but beginning immediately from the earliest infancy, and the appointment of every one's diet, he left nothing of the very smallest consequence to be done at the pleasure and disposal of the person himself. Accordingly, he made a fixed rule of law what sorts of food they should abstain from, and what sorts they should make use of; as also, what communion they should have with others what great diligence they should use in their occupations, and what times of rest should be interposed, that, by living under that law as under a father and a master, we might be guilty of no sin, neither voluntary nor out of ignorance; for he did not suffer the guilt of ignorance to go on without punishment, but demonstrated the law to be the best and the most necessary instruction of all others, permitting the people to leave off their other employments, and to assemble together for the hearing of the law, and learning it exactly, and this not once or twice, or oftener, but every week; which thing all the other legislators seem to have neglected.

19. And indeed the greatest part of mankind are so far from living according to their own laws, that they hardly know them; but when they have sinned, they learn from others that they have transgressed the law. Those also who are in the highest and principal posts of the government, confess they are not acquainted with those laws, and are obliged to take such persons for their assessors in public administrations as profess to have skill in those laws; but for our people, if any body do but ask any one of them about our laws, he will more readily tell them all than he will tell his own name, and this in consequence of our having learned them immediately as soon as ever we became sensible of any thing, and of our having them as it were engraven on our souls. Our transgressors of them are but few, and it is impossible, when any do offend, to escape punishment.

20. And this very thing it is that principally creates such a wonderful agreement of minds amongst us all; for this entire agreement of ours in all our notions concerning God, and our having no difference in our course of life and manners, procures among us the most excellent concord of these our manners that is any where among mankind; for no other people but the Jews have avoided all discourses about God that any way contradict one another, which yet are

frequent among other nations; and this is true not only among ordinary persons, according as every one is affected, but some of the philosophers have been insolent enough to indulge such contradictions, while some of them have undertaken to use such words as entirely take away the nature of God, as others of them have taken away his providence over mankind. Nor can any one perceive amongst us any difference in the conduct of our lives, but all our works are common to us all. We have one sort of discourse concerning God, which is conformable to our law, and affirms that he sees all things; as also we have but one way of speaking concerning the conduct of our lives, that all other things ought to have piety for their end; and this any body may hear from our women, and servants themselves.

21. And, indeed, hence hath arisen that accusation which some make against us, that we have not produced men that have been the inventors of new operations, or of new ways of speaking; for others think it a fine thing to persevere in nothing that has been delivered down from their forefathers, and these testify it to be an instance of the sharpest wisdom when these men venture to transgress those traditions; whereas we, on the contrary, suppose it to be our only wisdom and virtue to admit no actions nor supposals that are contrary to our original laws; which procedure of ours is a just and sure sign that our law is admirably constituted; for such laws as are not thus well made are convicted upon trial to want amendment.

22. But while we are ourselves persuaded that our law was made agreeably to the will of God, it would be impious for us not to observe the same; for what is there in it that any body would change? and what can be invented that is better? or what can we take out of other people's laws that will exceed it? Perhaps some would have the entire settlement of our government altered. And where shall we find a better or more righteous constitution than ours, while this makes us esteem God to be the Governor of the universe, and permits the priests in general to be the administrators of the principal affairs, and withal intrusts the government over the other priests to the chief high priest himself? which priests our legislator, at their first appointment, did not advance to that dignity for their riches, or any abundance of other possessions, or any plenty they had as the gifts of fortune; but he intrusted the principal management of Divine worship to those that exceeded others in an ability to persuade men, and in prudence of conduct. These men had the main care of the law and of the other parts of the people's conduct committed to them; for they were the priests who were ordained to be the inspectors of all, and the judges in doubtful cases, and the punishers of those that were condemned to suffer punishment.

23. What form of government then can be more holy than this? what more worthy kind of worship can be paid to God than we pay, where the entire body of the people are prepared for religion, where an extraordinary degree of care is required in the priests, and where the whole polity is so ordered as if it were a certain religious solemnity? For what things foreigners, when they solemnize such festivals, are not able to observe for a few days' time, and call them Mysteries and Sacred Ceremonies, we observe with great pleasure and an unshaken resolution during our whole lives. What are the things then that we are commanded or forbidden? They are simple, and easily known. The first command is concerning God, and affirms that God contains all things, and is a Being every way perfect and happy, self-sufficient, and supplying all other beings; the beginning, the middle, and the end of all things. He is manifest in his works and benefits, and more conspicuous than any other being whatsoever; but as to his form and magnitude, he is most obscure. All materials, let them be ever so costly, are unworthy to compose an image for him, and all arts are unartful to express the notion we ought to have of him. We can neither see nor think of any thing like him, nor is it agreeable to piety to form a resemblance of him. We see his works, the light, the heaven, the earth, the sun and the moon, the waters, the generations of animals, the productions of fruits. These things hath God made, not with hands, nor with labor, nor as wanting the assistance of any to cooperate with him; but as his will resolved they should be made and be good also, they were made and became good immediately. All men ought to follow this Being, and to worship him in the exercise of virtue; for this way of worship of God is the most holy of all others.

24. There ought also to be but one temple for one God; for likeness is the constant foundation of agreement. This temple ought to be common to all men, because he is the common God of all men. High priests are to be continually about his worship, over whom he that is the first by his birth is to be their ruler perpetually. His business must be to offer sacrifices to God, together with those priests that are joined with him, to see that the laws be observed, to determine controversies, and to punish those that are convicted of injustice; while he that does not submit to him shall be subject to the same punishment, as if he had been guilty of impiety towards God himself. When we offer sacrifices to him, we do it not in order to surfeit ourselves, or to be drunken; for such excesses are against the will of God, and would be an occasion of injuries and of luxury; but by keeping ourselves sober, orderly, and ready for our other occupations, and being more temperate than others. And for our duty at the sacrifices themselves, we ought, in the first place, to pray for the common welfare of all, and after that for our own; for we are made for fellowship one with another, and he who

prefers the common good before what is peculiar to himself is above all acceptable to God. And let our prayers and supplications be made humbly to God, not [so much] that he would give us what is good, [for he hath already given that of his own accord, and hath proposed the same publicly to all,] as that we may duly receive it, and when we have received it, may preserve it. Now the law has appointed several purifications at our sacrifices, whereby we are cleansed after a funeral, after what sometimes happens to us in bed, and after accompanying with our wives, and upon many other occasions, which it would be too long now to set down. And this is our doctrine concerning God and his worship, and is the same that the law appoints for our practice.

25. But, then, what are our laws about marriage? That law owns no other mixture of sexes but that which nature hath appointed, of a man with his wife, and that this be used only for the procreation of children. But it abhors the mixture of a male with a male; and if any one do that, death is its punishment. It commands us also, when we marry, not to have regard to portion, nor to take a woman by violence, nor to persuade her deceitfully and knavishly; but to demand her in marriage of him who hath power to dispose of her, and is fit to give her away by the nearness of his kindred; for, says the Scripture, "A woman is inferior to her husband in all things." Let her, therefore, be obedient to him; not so that he should abuse her, but that she may acknowledge her duty to her husband; for God hath given the authority to the husband. A husband, therefore, is to lie only with his wife whom he hath married; but to have to do with another man's wife is a wicked thing, which, if any one ventures upon, death is inevitably his punishment: no more can he avoid the same who forces a virgin betrothed to another man, or entices another man's wife. The law, moreover, enjoins us to bring up all our offspring, and forbids women to cause abortion of what is begotten, or to destroy it afterward; and if any woman appears to have so done, she will be a murderer of her child, by destroying a living creature, and diminishing human kind; if any one, therefore, proceeds to such fornication or murder, he cannot be clean. Moreover, the law enjoins, that after the man and wife have lain together in a regular way, they shall bathe themselves; for there is a defilement contracted thereby, both in soul and body, as if they had gone into another country; for indeed the soul, by being united to the body, is subject to miseries, and is not freed therefrom again but by death; on which account the law requires this purification to be entirely performed.

26. Nay, indeed, the law does not permit us to make festivals at the births of our children, and thereby afford occasion of drinking to excess; but it ordains that the very beginning of our education should be immediately directed to sobriety. It also commands us to bring those children up in learning, and to

exercise them in the laws, and make them acquainted with the acts of their predecessors, in order to their imitation of them, and that they might be nourished up in the laws from their infancy, and might neither transgress them, nor have any pretense for their ignorance of them.

27. Our law hath also taken care of the decent burial of the dead, but without any extravagant expenses for their funerals, and without the erection of any illustrious monuments for them; but hath ordered that their nearest relations should perform their obsequies; and hath showed it to be regular, that all who pass by when any one is buried should accompany the funeral, and join in the lamentation. It also ordains that the house and its inhabitants should be purified after the funeral is over, that every one may thence learn to keep at a great distance from the thoughts of being pure, if he hath been once guilty of murder.

28. The law ordains also, that parents should be honored immediately after God himself, and delivers that son who does not requite them for the benefits he hath received from them, but is deficient on any such occasion, to be stoned. It also says that the young men should pay due respect to every elder, since God is the eldest of all beings. It does not give leave to conceal any thing from our friends, because that is not true friendship which will not commit all things to their fidelity: it also forbids the revelation of secrets, even though an enmity arise between them. If any judge takes bribes, his punishment is death: he that overlooks one that offers him a petition, and this when he is able to relieve him, he is a guilty person. What is not by any one intrusted to another ought not to be required back again. No one is to touch another's goods. He that lends money must not demand usury for its loan. These, and many more of the like sort, are the rules that unite us in the bands of society one with another.

29. It will be also worth our while to see what equity our legislator would have us exercise in our intercourse with strangers; for it will thence appear that he made the best provision he possibly could, both that we should not dissolve our own constitution, nor show any envious mind towards those that would cultivate a friendship with us. Accordingly, our legislator admits all those that have a mind to observe our laws so to do; and this after a friendly manner, as esteeming that a true union which not only extends to our own stock, but to those that would live after the same manner with us; yet does he not allow those that come to us by accident only to be admitted into communion with us.

30. However, there are other things which our legislator ordained for us beforehand, which of necessity we ought to do in common to all men; as to afford fire, and water, and food to such as want it; to show them the roads; not to let any one lie unburied. He also would have us treat those that are esteemed our enemies with moderation; for he doth not allow us to set their country on fire,

nor permit us to cut down those trees that bear fruit; nay, further, he forbids us to spoil those that have been slain in war. He hath also provided for such as are taken captive, that they may not be injured, and especially that the women may not be abused. Indeed he hath taught us gentleness and humanity so effectually, that he hath not despised the care of brute beasts, by permitting no other than a regular use of them, and forbidding any other; and if any of them come to our houses, like supplicants, we are forbidden to slay them; nor may we kill the dams, together with their young ones; but we are obliged, even in an enemy's country, to spare and not kill those creatures that labor for mankind. Thus hath our lawgiver contrived to teach us an equitable conduct every way, by using us to such laws as instruct us therein; while at the same time he hath ordained that such as break these laws should be punished, without the allowance of any excuse whatsoever.

31. Now the greatest part of offenses with us are capital; as if any one be guilty of adultery; if any one force a virgin; if any one be so impudent as to attempt sodomy with a male; or if, upon another's making an attempt upon him, he submits to be so used. There is also a law for slaves of the like nature, that can never be avoided. Moreover, if any one cheats another in measures or weights, or makes a knavish bargain and sale, in order to cheat another; if any one steals what belongs to another, and takes what he never deposited; all these have punishments allotted them; not such as are met with among other nations, but more severe ones. And as for attempts of unjust behavior towards parents, or for impiety against God, though they be not actually accomplished, the offenders are destroyed immediately. However, the reward for such as live exactly according to the laws is not silver or gold; it is not a garland of olive branches or of small age, nor any such public sign of commendation; but every good man hath his own conscience bearing witness to himself, and by virtue of our legislator's prophetic spirit, and of the firm security God himself affords such a one, he believes that God hath made this grant to those that observe these laws, even though they be obliged readily to die for them, that they shall come into being again, and at a certain revolution of things shall receive a better life than they had enjoyed before. Nor would I venture to write thus at this time, were it not well known to all by our actions that many of our people have many a time bravely resolved to endure any sufferings, rather than speak one word against our law.

32. Nay, indeed, in case it had so fallen out, that our nation had not been so thoroughly known among all men as they are, and our voluntary submission to our laws had not been so open and manifest as it is, but that somebody had pretended to have written these laws himself, and had read them to the Greeks,

or had pretended that he had met with men out of the limits of the known world, that had such reverent notions of God, and had continued a long time in the firm observance of such laws as ours, I cannot but suppose that all men would admire them on a reflection upon the frequent changes they had therein been themselves subject to; and this while those that have attempted to write somewhat of the same kind for politic government, and for laws, are accused as composing monstrous things, and are said to have undertaken an impossible task upon them. And here I will say nothing of those other philosophers who have undertaken any thing of this nature in their writings. But even Plato himself, who is so admired by the Greeks on account of that gravity in his manners, and force in his words, and that ability he had to persuade men beyond all other philosophers, is little better than laughed at and exposed to ridicule on that account, by those that pretend to sagacity in political affairs; although he that shall diligently peruse his writings will find his precepts to be somewhat gentle, and pretty near to the customs of the generality of mankind. Nay, Plato himself confesseth that it is not safe to publish the true notion concerning God among the ignorant multitude. Yet do some men look upon Plato's discourses as no better than certain idle words set off with great artifice. However, they admire Lycurgus as the principal lawgiver, and all men celebrate Sparta for having continued in the firm observance of his laws for a very long time. So far then we have gained, that it is to be confessed a mark of virtue to submit to laws. But then let such as admire this in the Lacedemonians compare that duration of theirs with more than two thousand years which our political government hath continued; and let them further consider, that though the Lacedemonians did seem to observe their laws exactly while they enjoyed their liberty, yet that when they underwent a change of their fortune, they forgot almost all those laws; while we, having been under ten thousand changes in our fortune by the changes that happened among the kings of Asia, have never betrayed our laws under the most pressing distresses we have been in; nor have we neglected them either out of sloth or for a livelihood. if any one will consider it, the difficulties and labors laid upon us have been greater than what appears to have been borne by the Lacedemonian fortitude, while they neither ploughed their land, nor exercised any trades, but lived in their own city, free from all such pains-taking, in the enjoyment of plenty, and using such exercises as might improve their bodies, while they made use of other men as their servants for all the necessaries of life, and had their food prepared for them by the others; and these good and humane actions they do for no other purpose but this, that by their actions and their sufferings they may be able to conquer all those against whom they make war. I need not add this, that they have not been fully able to observe their laws; for not only a few

single persons, but multitudes of them, have in heaps neglected those laws, and have delivered themselves, together with their arms, into the hands of their enemies.

33. Now as for ourselves, I venture to say that no one can tell of so many; nay, not of more than one or two that have betrayed our laws, no, not out of fear of death itself; I do not mean such an easy death as happens in battles, but that which comes with bodily torments, and seems to be the severest kind of death of all others. Now I think those that have conquered us have put us to such deaths, not out of their hatred to us when they had subdued us, but rather out of their desire of seeing a surprising sight, which is this, whether there be such men in the world who believe that no evil is to them so great as to be compelled to do or to speak any thing contrary to their own laws. Nor ought men to wonder at us, if we are more courageous in dying for our laws than all other men are; for other men do not easily submit to the easier things in which we are instituted; I mean working with our hands, and eating but little, and being contented to eat and drink, not at random, or at every one's pleasure, or being under inviolable rules in lying with our wives, in magnificent furniture, and again in the observation of our times of rest; while those that can use their swords in war, and can put their enemies to flight when they attack them, cannot bear to submit to such laws about their way of living: whereas our being accustomed willingly to submit to laws in these instances, renders us fit to show our fortitude upon other occasions also.

34. Yet do the Lysimachi and the Molones, and some other writers, [unskillful sophists as they are, and the deceivers of young men,] reproach us as the vilest of all mankind. Now I have no mind to make an inquiry into the laws of other nations; for the custom of our country is to keep our own laws, but not to bring accusations against the laws of others. And indeed our legislator hath expressly forbidden us to laugh at and revile those that are esteemed gods by other people? on account of the very name of God ascribed to them. But since our antagonists think to run us down upon the comparison of their religion and ours, it is not possible to keep silence here, especially while what I shall say to confute these men will not be now first said, but hath been already said by many, and these of the highest reputation also; for who is there among those that have been admired among the Greeks for wisdom, who hath not greatly blamed both the most famous poets, and most celebrated legislators, for spreading such notions originally among the body of the people concerning the gods? such as these, that they may be allowed to be as numerous as they have a mind to have them; that they are begotten one by another, and that after all the kinds of generation you can imagine. They also distinguish them in their places and ways

of living as they would distinguish several sorts of animals; as some to be under the earth; as some to be in the sea; and the ancientest of them all to be bound in hell; and for those to whom they have allotted heaven, they have set over them one, who in title is their father, but in his actions a tyrant and a lord; whence it came to pass that his wife, and brother, and daughter [which daughter he brought forth from his own head] made a conspiracy against him to seize upon him and confine hint, as he had himself seized upon and confined his own father before.

35. And justly have the wisest men thought these notions deserved severe rebukes; they also laugh at them for determining that we ought to believe some of the gods to be beardless and young, and others of them to be old, and to have beards accordingly; that some are set to trades; that one god is a smith, and another goddess is a weaver; that one god is a warrior, and fights with men; that some of them are harpers, or delight in archery; and besides, that mutual seditions arise among them, and that they quarrel about men, and this so far, that they not only lay hands upon one another, but that they are wounded by men, and lament, and take on for such their afflictions. But what is the grossest of all in point of lasciviousness, are those unbounded lusts ascribed to almost all of them, and their amours; which how can it be other than a most absurd supposal, especially when it reaches to the male gods, and to the female goddesses also? Moreover, the chief of all their gods, and their first father himself, overlooks those goddesses whom he hath deluded and begotten with child, and suffers them to be kept in prison, or drowned in the sea. He is also so bound up by fate, that he cannot save his own offspring, nor can he bear their deaths without shedding of tears. These are fine things indeed! as are the rest that follow. Adulteries truly are so impudently looked on in heaven by the gods, that some of them have confessed they envied those that were found in the very act. And why should they not do so, when the eldest of them, who is their king also, hath not been able to restrain himself in the violence of his lust, from lying with his wife, so long as they might get into their bedchamber? Now some of the gods are servants to men, and will sometimes be builders for a reward, and sometimes will be shepherds; while others of them, like malefactors, are bound in a prison of brass. And what sober person is there who would not be provoked at such stories, and rebuke those that forged them, and condemn the great silliness of those that admit them for true? Nay, others there are that have advanced a certain timorousness and fear, as also madness and fraud, and any other of the vilest passions, into the nature and form of gods, and have persuaded whole cities to offer sacrifices to the better sort of them; on which account they have been absolutely forced to esteem some gods as the givers of good things, and to call others of them averters of evil. They also endeavor to move them, as they would

the vilest of men, by gifts and presents, as looking for nothing else than to receive some great mischief from them, unless they pay them such wages.

36. Wherefore it deserves our inquiry what should be the occasion of this unjust management, and of these scandals about the Deity. And truly I suppose it to be derived from the imperfect knowledge the heathen legislators had at first of the true nature of God; nor did they explain to the people even so far as they did comprehend of it: nor did they compose the other parts of their political settlements according to it, but omitted it as a thing of very little consequence, and gave leave both to the poets to introduce what gods they pleased, and those subject to all sorts of passions, and to the orators to procure political decrees from the people for the admission of such foreign gods as they thought proper. The painters also, and statuaries of Greece, had herein great power, as each of them could contrive a shape [proper for a god]; the one to be formed out of clay, and the other by making a bare picture of such a one. But those workmen that were principally admired, had the use of ivory and of gold as the constant materials for their new statues [whereby it comes to pass that some temples are quite deserted, while others are in great esteem, and adorned with all the rites of all kinds of purification]. Besides this, the first gods, who have long flourished in the honors done them, are now grown old [while those that flourished after them are come in their room as a second rank, that I may speak the most honorably of them I can]: nay, certain other gods there are who are newly introduced, and newly worshipped [as we, by way of digression, have said already, and yet have left their places of worship desolate]; and for their temples, some of them are already left desolate, and others are built anew, according to the pleasure of men; whereas they ought to have their opinion about God, and that worship which is due to him, always and immutably the same.

37. But now, this Apollonius Molo was one of these foolish and proud men. However, nothing that I have said was unknown to those that were real philosophers among the Greeks, nor were they unacquainted with those frigid pretensions of allegories [which had been alleged for such things]; on which account they justly despised them, but have still agreed with us as to the true and becoming notions of God; whence it was that Plato would not have political settlements admit to of any one of the other poets, and dismisses even Homer himself, with a garland on his head, and with ointment poured upon him, and this because he should not destroy the right notions of God with his fables. Nay, Plato principally imitated our legislator in this point, that he enjoined his citizens to have he main regard to this precept, “That every one of them should learn their laws accurately.” He also ordained, that they should not admit of foreigners intermixing with their own people at random; and provided that the

commonwealth should keep itself pure, and consist of such only as persevered in their own laws. Apollonius Molo did no way consider this, when he made it one branch of his accusation against us, that we do not admit of such as have different notions about God, nor will we have fellowship with those that choose to observe a way of living different from ourselves, yet is not this method peculiar to us, but common to all other men; not among the ordinary Grecians only, but among such of those Grecians as are of the greatest reputation among them. Moreover, the Lacedemonians continued in their way of expelling foreigners, and would not indeed give leave to their own people to travel abroad, as suspecting that those two things would introduce a dissolution of their own laws: and perhaps there may be some reason to blame the rigid severity of the Lacedemonians, for they bestowed the privilege of their city on no foreigners, nor indeed would give leave to them to stay among them; whereas we, though we do not think fit to imitate other institutions, yet do we willingly admit of those that desire to partake of ours, which, I think, I may reckon to be a plain indication of our humanity, and at the same time of our magnanimity also.

38. But I shall say no more of the Lacedemonians. As for the Athenians, who glory in having made their city to be common to all men, what their behavior was Apollonius did not know, while they punished those that did but speak one word contrary to the laws about the gods, without any mercy; for on what other account was it that Socrates was put to death by them? For certainly he neither betrayed their city to its enemies, nor was he guilty of any sacrilege with regard to any of their temples; but it was on this account, that he swore certain new oaths and that he affirmed either in earnest, or, as some say, only in jest, that a certain demon used to make signs to him [what he should not do]. For these reasons he was condemned to drink poison, and kill himself. His accuser also complained that he corrupted the young men, by inducing them to despise the political settlement and laws of their city: and thus was Socrates, the citizen of Athens, punished. There was also Anaxagoras, who, although he was of Clazomente, was within a few suffrages of being condemned to die, because he said the sun, which the Athenians thought to be a god, was a ball of fire. They also made this public proclamation, “That they would give a talent to any one who would kill Diagoras of Melos,” because it was reported of him that he laughed at their mysteries. Protagoras also, who was thought to have written somewhat that was not owned for truth by the Athenians about the gods, had been seized upon, and put to death, if he had not fled away immediately. Nor need we at all wonder that they thus treated such considerable men, when they did not spare even women also; for they very lately slew a certain priestess, because she was accused by somebody that she initiated people into the worship

of strange gods, it having been forbidden so to do by one of their laws; and a capital punishment had been decreed to such as introduced a strange god; it being manifest, that they who make use of such a law do not believe those of other nations to be really gods, otherwise they had not envied themselves the advantage of more gods than they already had. And this was the happy administration of the affairs of the Athenians! Now as to the Scythians, they take a pleasure in killing men, and differ but little from brute beasts; yet do they think it reasonable to have their institutions observed. They also slew Anacharsis, a person greatly admired for his wisdom among the Greeks, when he returned to them, because he appeared to come fraught with Grecian customs. One may also find many to have been punished among the Persians, on the very same account. And to be sure Apollonius was greatly pleased with the laws of the Persians, and was an admirer of them, because the Greeks enjoyed the advantage of their courage, and had the very same opinion about the gods which they had. This last was exemplified in the temples which they burnt, and their courage in coming, and almost entirely enslaving the Grecians. However, Apollonius has imitated all the Persian institutions, and that by his offering violence to other men's wives, and gelding his own sons. Now, with us, it is a capital crime, if any one does thus abuse even a brute beast; and as for us, neither hath the fear of our governors, nor a desire of following what other nations have in so great esteem, been able to withdraw us from our own laws; nor have we exerted our courage in raising up wars to increase our wealth, but only for the observation of our laws; and when we with patience bear other losses, yet when any persons would compel us to break our laws, then it is that we choose to go to war, though it be beyond our ability to pursue it, and bear the greatest calamities to the last with much fortitude. And, indeed, what reason can there be why we should desire to imitate the laws of other nations, while we see they are not observed by their own legislators And why do not the Lacedemonians think of abolishing that form of their government which suffers them not to associate with any others, as well as their contempt of matrimony? And why do not the Eleans and Thebans abolish that unnatural and impudent lust, which makes them lie with males? For they will not show a sufficient sign of their repentance of what they of old thought to be very excellent, and very advantageous in their practices, unless they entirely avoid all such actions for the time to come: nay, such things are inserted into the body of their laws, and had once such a power among the Greeks, that they ascribed these sodomitical practices to the gods themselves, as a part of their good character; and indeed it was according to the same manner that the gods married their own sisters. This the Greeks contrived as an apology for their own absurd and unnatural pleasures.

39. I omit to speak concerning punishments, and how many ways of escaping them the greatest part of the legislators have afforded malefactors, by ordaining that, for adulteries, fines in money should be allowed, and for corrupting [virgins] they need only marry them as also what excuses they may have in denying the facts, if any one attempts to inquire into them; for amongst most other nations it is a studied art how men may transgress their laws; but no such thing is permitted amongst us; for though we be deprived of our wealth, of our cities, or of the other advantages we have, our law continues immortal; nor can any Jew go so far from his own country, nor be so aftrighted at the severest lord, as not to be more aftrighted at the law than at him. If, therefore, this be the disposition we are under, with regard to the excellency of our laws, let our enemies make us this concession, that our laws are most excellent; and if still they imagine, that though we so firmly adhere to them, yet are they bad laws notwithstanding, what penalties then do they deserve to undergo who do not observe their own laws, which they esteem so far superior to them? Whereas, therefore, length of time is esteemed to be the truest touchstone in all cases, I would make that a testimonial of the excellency of our laws, and of that belief thereby delivered to us concerning God. For as there hath been a very long time for this comparison, if any one will but compare its duration with the duration of the laws made by other legislators, he will find our legislator to have been the ancientest of them all.

40. We have already demonstrated that our laws have been such as have always inspired admiration and imitation into all other men; nay, the earliest Grecian philosophers, though in appearance they observed the laws of their own countries, yet did they, in their actions, and their philosophic doctrines, follow our legislator, and instructed men to live sparingly, and to have friendly communication one with another. Nay, further, the multitude of mankind itself have had a great inclination of a long time to follow our religious observances; for there is not any city of the Grecians, nor any of the barbarians, nor any nation whatsoever, whither our custom of resting on the seventh day hath not come, and by which our fasts and lighting up lamps, and many of our prohibitions as to our food, are not observed; they also endeavor to imitate our mutual concord with one another, and the charitable distribution of our goods, and our diligence in our trades, and our fortitude in undergoing the distresses we are in, on account of our laws; and, what is here matter of the greatest admiration, our law hath no bait of pleasure to allure men to it, but it prevails by its own force; and as God himself pervades all the world, so hath our law passed through all the world also. So that if any one will but reflect on his own country, and his own family, he will have reason to give credit to what I say. It is therefore but just, either to

condemn all mankind of indulging a wicked disposition, when they have been so desirous of imitating laws that are to them foreign and evil in themselves, rather than following laws of their own that are of a better character, or else our accusers must leave off their spite against us. Nor are we guilty of any envious behavior towards them, when we honor our own legislator, and believe what he, by his prophetic authority, hath taught us concerning God. For though we should not be able ourselves to understand the excellency of our own laws, yet would the great multitude of those that desire to imitate them, justify us, in greatly valuing ourselves upon them.

41. But as for the [distinct] political laws by which we are governed, I have delivered them accurately in my books of Antiquities; and have only mentioned them now, so far as was necessary to my present purpose, without proposing to myself either to blame the laws of other nations, or to make an encomium upon our own; but in order to convict those that have written about us unjustly, and in an impudent affectation of disguising the truth. And now I think I have sufficiently completed what I proposed in writing these books. For whereas our accusers have pretended that our nation are a people of very late original, I have demonstrated that they are exceeding ancient; for I have produced as witnesses thereto many ancient writers, who have made mention of us in their books, while they had said that no such writer had so done. Moreover, they had said that we were sprung from the Egyptians, while I have proved that we came from another country into Egypt: while they had told lies of us, as if we were expelled thence on account of diseases on our bodies, it has appeared, on the contrary, that we returned to our country by our own choice, and with sound and strong bodies. Those accusers reproached our legislator as a vile fellow; whereas God in old time bare witness to his virtuous conduct; and since that testimony of God, time itself hath been discovered to have borne witness to the same thing.

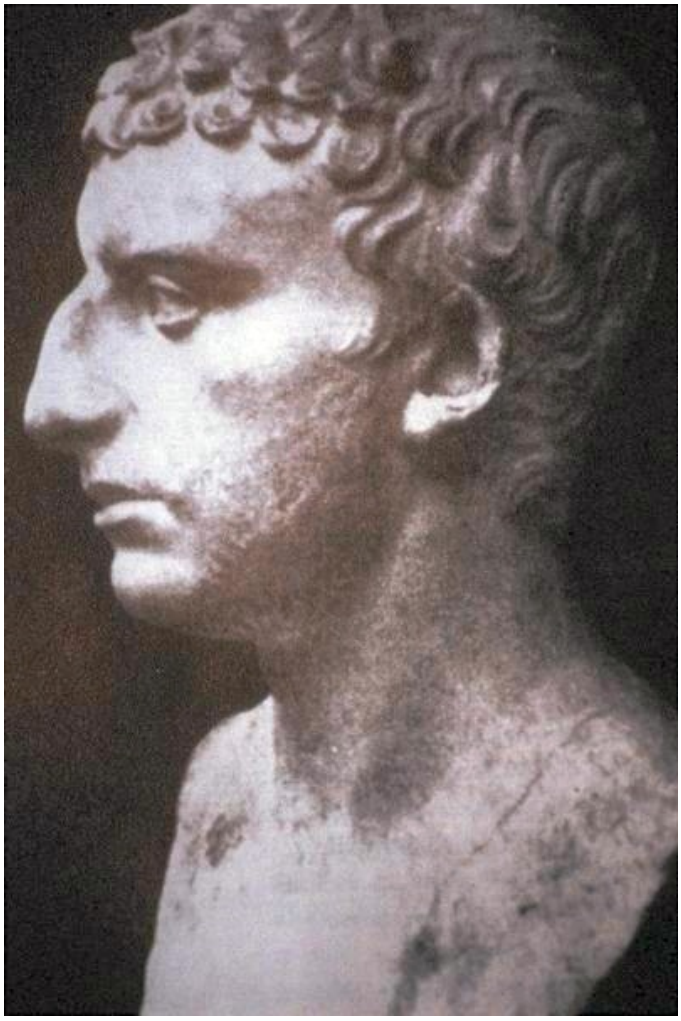
42. As to the laws themselves, more words are unnecessary, for they are visible in their own nature, and appear to teach not impiety, but the truest piety in the world. They do not make men hate one another, but encourage people to communicate what they have to one another freely; they are enemies to injustice, they take care of righteousness, they banish idleness and expensive living, and instruct men to be content with what they have, and to be laborious in their calling; they forbid men to make war from a desire of getting more, but make men courageous in defending the laws; they are inexorable in punishing malefactors; they admit no sophistry of words, but are always established by actions themselves, which actions we ever propose as surer demonstrations than what is contained in writing only: on which account I am so bold as to say that we are become the teachers of other men, in the greatest number of things, and

those of the most excellent nature only; for what is more excellent than inviolable piety? what is more just than submission to laws? and what is more advantageous than mutual love and concord? and this so far that we are to be neither divided by calamities, nor to become injurious and seditious in prosperity; but to contemn death when we are in war, and in peace to apply ourselves to our mechanical occupations, or to our tillage of the ground; while we in all things and all ways are satisfied that God is the inspector and governor of our actions. If these precepts had either been written at first, or more exactly kept by any others before us, we should have owed them thanks as disciples owe to their masters; but if it be visible that we have made use of them more than any other men, and if we have demonstrated that the original invention of them is our own, let the Apions, and the Molons, with all the rest of those that delight in lies and reproaches, stand confuted; but let this and the foregoing book be dedicated to thee, Epaphroditus, who art so great a lover of truth, and by thy means to those that have been in like manner desirous to be acquainted with the affairs of our nation.

LIFE OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

Translated by William Whiston

This autobiographical work was composed approximately between AD 94-99, possibly as an appendix to *Antiquities of the Jews*. In the text, the author re-visits the events of the War, apparently in response to allegations made against him by Justus of Tiberias.



A Roman portrait bust believed to be of Josephus

LIFE OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

1. The family from which I am derived is not an ignoble one, but hath descended all along from the priests; and as nobility among several people is of a different origin, so with us to be of the sacerdotal dignity, is an indication of the splendor of a family. Now, I am not only sprung from a sacerdotal family in general, but from the first of the twenty-four courses; and as among us there is not only a considerable difference between one family of each course and another, I am of the chief family of that first course also; nay, further, by my mother I am of the royal blood; for the children of Asamoneus, from whom that family was derived, had both the office of the high priesthood, and the dignity of a king, for a long time together. I will accordingly set down my progenitors in order. My grandfather's father was named Simon, with the addition of Psellus: he lived at the same time with that son of Simon the high priest, who first of all the high priests was named Hyrcanus. This Simon Psellus had nine sons, one of whom was Matthias, called Ephlias: he married the daughter of Jonathan the high priest, which Jonathan was the first of the sons of Asamoneus, who was high priest, and was the brother of Simon the high priest also. This Matthias had a son called Matthias Curtus, and that in the first year of the government of Hyrcanus: his son's name was Joseph, born in the ninth year of the reign of Alexandra: his son Matthias was born in the tenth year of the reign of Archclaus; as was I born to Matthias in the first year of the reign of Caius Caesar. I have three sons: Hyrcanus, the eldest, was born in the fourth year of the reign of Vespasian, as was Justus born in the seventh, and Agrippa in the ninth. Thus have I set down the genealogy of my family as I have found it described in the public records, and so bid adieu to those who calumniate me [as of a lower original].

2. Now, my father Matthias was not only eminent on account of his nobility, but had a higher commendation on account of his righteousness, and was in great reputation in Jerusalem, the greatest city we have. I was myself brought up with my brother, whose name was Matthias, for he was my own brother, by both father and mother; and I made mighty proficiency in the improvements of my learning, and appeared to have both a great memory and understanding. Moreover, when I was a child, and about fourteen years of age, I was commended by all for the love I had to learning; on which account the high priests and principal men of the city came then frequently to me together, in order to know my opinion about the accurate understanding of points of the law. And when I was about sixteen years old, I had a mind to make trim of the several sects that were among us. These sects are three: — The first is that of the

Pharisees, the second that Sadducees, and the third that of the Essens, as we have frequently told you; for I thought that by this means I might choose the best, if I were once acquainted with them all; so I contented myself with hard fare, and underwent great difficulties, and went through them all. Nor did I content myself with these trials only; but when I was informed that one, whose name was Banus, lived in the desert, and used no other clothing than grew upon trees, and had no other food than what grew of its own accord, and bathed himself in cold water frequently, both by night and by day, in order to preserve his chastity, I imitated him in those things, and continued with him three years. So when I had accomplished my desires, I returned back to the city, being now nineteen years old, and began to conduct myself according to the rules of the sect of the Pharisees, which is of kin to the sect of the Stoics, as the Greeks call them.

3. But when I was in the twenty-sixth year of my age, it happened that I took a voyage to Rome, and this on the occasion which I shall now describe. At the time when Felix was procurator of Judea there were certain priests of my acquaintance, and very excellent persons they were, whom on a small and trifling occasion he had put into bonds, and sent to Rome to plead their cause before Caesar. These I was desirous to procure deliverance for, and that especially because I was informed that they were not unmindful of piety towards God, even under their afflictions, but supported themselves with figs and nuts. Accordingly I came to Rome, though it were through a great number of hazards by sea; for as our ship was drowned in the Adriatic Sea, we that were in it, being about six hundred in number, swam for our lives all the night; when, upon the first appearance of the day, and upon our sight of a ship of Cyrene, I and some others, eighty in all, by God's providence, prevented the rest, and were taken up into the other ship. And when I had thus escaped, and was come to Dieearchia, which the Italians call Puteoli, I became acquainted with Aliturius, an actor of plays, and much beloved by Nero, but a Jew by birth; and through his interest became known to Poppea, Caesar's wife, and took care, as soon as possible, to entreat her to procure that the priests might be set at liberty. And when, besides this favor, I had obtained many presents from Poppea, I returned home again.

4. And now I perceived innovations were already begun, and that there were a great many very much elevated in hopes of a revolt from the Romans. I therefore endeavored to put a stop to these tumultuous persons, and persuaded them to change their minds; and laid before their eyes against whom it was that they were going to fight, and told them that they were inferior to the Romans not only in martial skill, but also in good fortune; and desired them not rashly, and after the most foolish manner, to bring on the dangers of the most terrible mischiefs upon their country, upon their families, and upon themselves. And this I said

with vehement exhortation, because I foresaw that the end of such a war would be most unfortunate to us. But I could not persuade them; for the madness of desperate men was quite too hard for me.

5. I was then afraid, lest, by inculcating these things so often, I should incur their hatred and their suspicions, as if I were of our enemies' party, and should run into the danger of being seized by them, and slain; since they were already possessed of Antonia, which was the citadel; so I retired into the inner court of the temple. Yet did I go out of the temple again, after Manahem and the principal of the band of robbers were put to death, when I abode among the high priests and the chief of the Pharisees. But no small fear seized upon us when we saw the people in arms, while we ourselves knew not what we should do, and were not able to restrain the seditious. However, as the danger was directly upon us, we pretended that we were of the same opinion with them, but only advised them to be quiet for the present, and to let the enemy go away, still hoping that Gessius [Florus] would not be long ere he came, and that with great forces, and so put an end to these seditious proceedings.

6. But, upon his coming and fighting, he was beaten, and a great many of those that were with him fell. And this disgrace which Gessius [with Cestius] received, became the calamity of our whole nation; for those that were fond of the war were so far elevated with this success, that they had hopes of finally conquering the Romans. Of which war another occasion was ministered; which was this: — Those that dwelt in the neighboring cities of Syria seized upon such Jews as dwelt among them, with their wives and children, and slew them, when they had not the least occasion of complaint against them; for they did neither attempt any innovation or revolt from the Romans, nor had they given any marks of hatred or treacherous designs towards the Syrians. But what was done by the inhabitants of Scythopolis was the most impious and most highly criminal of all; for when the Jews their enemies came upon them from without, they forced the Jews that were among them to bear arms against their own countrymen, which it is unlawful for us to do; and when, by their assistance, they had joined battle with those who attacked them, and had beaten them, after that victory they forgot the assurances they had given these their fellow citizens and confederates, and slew them all, being in number many ten thousands [13,000]. The like miseries were undergone by those Jews that were the inhabitants of Damascus. But we have given a more accurate account of these things in the books of the Jewish war. I only mention them now, because I would demonstrate to my readers, that the Jews' war with the Romans was not voluntary, but that, for the main, they were forced by necessity to enter into it.

7. So when Gessius had been beaten, as we have said already, the principal men of Jerusalem, seeing that the robbers and innovators had arms in great plenty, and fearing lest they, while they were unprovided of arms, should be in subjection to their enemies, which also came to be the case afterward; and, being informed that all Galilee had not yet revolted from the Romans, but that some part of it was still quiet; they sent me and two others of the priests, who were men of excellent characters, Joazar and Judas, in order to persuade the ill men there to lay down their arms, and to teach them this lesson, — That it were better to have those arms reserved for the most courageous men that the nation had [than to be kept there]; for that it had been resolved, That those our best men should always have their arms ready against futurity; but still so, that they should wait to see what the Romans would do.

8. When I had therefore received these instructions, I came into Galilee, and found the people of Sepphoris in no small agony about their country, by reason that the Galileans had resolved to plunder it, on account of the friendship they had with the Romans, and because they had given their right hand, and made a league with Cestius Gallus, the president of Syria. But I delivered them all out of the fear they were in, and persuaded the multitude to deal kindly with them, and permitted them to send to those that were their own hostages with Gessius to Dora, which is a city of Phoenicia, as often as they pleased; though I still found the inhabitants of Tiberias ready to take arms, and that on the occasion following: —

9. There were three factions in this city. The first was composed of men of worth and gravity; of these Julius Capellus was the head. Now he, as well as all his companions, Herod the son of Miarus, and Herod the son of Gamalus, and Compsus the son of Compsus; [for as to Compsus's brother Crispus, who had once been governor of the city under the great king [Agrippa] he was beyond Jordan in his own possessions;] all these persons before named gave their advice, that the city should then continue in their allegiance to the Romans and to the king. But Pistus, who was guided by his son Justus, did not acquiesce in that resolution; otherwise he was himself naturally of a good and virtuous character. But the second faction was composed of the most ignoble persons, and was determined for war. But as for Justus, the son of Pistus, who was the head of the third faction, although he pretended to be doubtful about going to war, yet was he really desirous of innovation, as supposing that he should gain power to himself by the change of affairs. He therefore came into the midst of them, and endeavored to inform the multitude that "the city Tiberius had ever been a city of Galilee, and that in the days of Herod the tetrarch, who had built it, it had obtained the principal place, and that he had ordered that the city Sepphoris

should be subordinate to the city Tiberias; that they had not lost this preeminence even under Agrippa the father, but had retained it until Felix was procurator of Judea. But he told them, that now they had been so unfortunate as to be made a present by Nero to Agrippa, junior; and that, upon Sepphoris's submission of itself to the Romans, that was become the capital city of Galilee, and that the royal library and the archives were now removed from them." When he had spoken these things, and a great many more, against king Agrippa, in order to provoke the people to a revolt, he added that "this was the time for them to take arms, and join with the Galileans as their confederates [whom they might command, and who would now willingly assist them, out of the hatred they bare to the people of Sepphoris; because they preserved their fidelity to the Romans], and to gather a great number of forces, in order to punish them." And as he said this, he exhorted the multitude, [to go to war;] for his abilities lay in making harangues to the people, and in being too hard in his speeches for such as opposed him, though they advised what was more to their advantage, and this by his craftiness and his fallacies, for he was not unskilful in the learning of the Greeks; and in dependence on that skill it was, that he undertook to write a history of these affairs, as aiming, by this way of haranguing, to disguise the truth. But as to this man, and how ill were his character and conduct of life, and how he and his brother were, in great measure, the authors of our destruction, I shall give the reader an account in the progress of my narration. So when Justus had, by his persuasions, prevailed with the citizens of Tiberias to take arms, nay, and had forced a great many so to do against their wills, he went out, and set the villages that belonged to Gadara and Hippos on fire; which villages were situated on the borders of Tiberias, and of the region of Scythopolis.

10. And this was the state Tiberias was now in. But as for Gischala, its affairs were thus: — When John, the son of Levi, saw some of the citizens much elevated upon their revolt from the Romans, he labored to restrain them, and entreated them that they would keep their allegiance to them. But he could not gain his purpose, although he did his endeavors to the utmost; for the neighboring people of Gadara, Gabara, and Sogana, with the Tyrians, got together a great army, and fell upon Gischala, and took Gischala by force, and set it on fire; and when they had entirely demolished it, they returned home. Upon which John was so enraged, that he armed all his men, and joined battle with the people forementioned; and rebuilt Gischala after a manner better than before, and fortified it with walls for its future security.

11. But Gamala persevered in its allegiance to the Romans, for the reason following: — Philip, the son of Jacimus, who was their governor under king Agrippa, had been unexpectedly preserved when the royal palace at Jerusalem

had been besieged; but, as he fled away, had fallen into another danger, and that was, of being killed by Manahem, and the robbers that were with him; but certain Babylonians, who were of his kindred, and were then in Jerusalem, hindered the robbers from executing their design. So Philip staid there four days, and fled away on the fifth, having disguised himself with fictitious hair, that he might not be discovered; and when he was come to one of the villages to him belonging, but one that was situated at the borders of the citadel of Gamala, he sent to some of those that were under him, and commanded them to come to him. But God himself hindered that his intention, and this for his own advantage also; for had it not so happened, he had certainly perished. For a fever having seized upon him immediately, he wrote to Agrippa and Bernice, and gave them to one of his freed-men to carry them to Varus, who at this time was procurator of the kingdom, which the king and his sister had intrusted him withal, while they were gone to Berytus with an intention of meeting Gessius. When Varus had received these letters of Philip, and had learned that he was preserved, he was very uneasy at it, as supposing that he should appear useless to the king and his sister, now Philip was come. He therefore produced the carrier of the letters before the multitude, and accused him of forging the same; and said that he spake falsely when he related that Philip was at Jerusalem, fighting among the Jews against the Romans. So he slew him. And when this freed-man of Philip did not return again, Philip was doubtful what should be the occasion of his stay, and sent a second messenger with letters, that he might, upon his return, inform him what had befallen the other that had been sent before, and why he tarried so long. Varus accused this messenger also, when he came, of telling a falsehood, and slew him. For he was puffed up by the Syrians that were at Caesarea, and had great expectations; for they said that Agrippa would be slain by the Romans for the crimes which the Jews had committed, and that he should himself take the government, as derived from their kings; for Varus was, by the confession of all, of the royal family, as being a descendant of Sohemus, who had enjoyed a tetrarchy about Libanus; for which reason it was that he was puffed up, and kept the letters to himself. He contrived, also, that the king should not meet with those writings, by guarding all the passes, lest any one should escape, and inform the king what had been done. He moreover slew many of the Jews, in order to gratify the Syrians of Cesarea. He had a mind also to join with the Trachonites in Batanea, and to take up arms and make an assault upon the Babylonian Jews that were at Ecbatana; for that was the name they went by. He therefore called to him twelve of the Jews of Cesarea, of the best character, and ordered them to go to Ecbatana, and inform their countrymen who dwelt there, That Varus hath heard that “you intend to march against the king; but, not believing that report, he hath

sent us to persuade you to lay down your arms, and that this compliance will be a sign that he did well not to give credit to those that raised the report concerning you." He also enjoined them to send seventy of their principal men to make a defense for them as to the accusation laid against them. So when the twelve messengers came to their countrymen at Ecbatana, and found that they had no designs of innovation at all, they persuaded them to send the seventy men also; who, not at all suspecting what would come, sent them accordingly. So these seventy went down to Caesarea, together with the twelve ambassadors; where Varus met them with the king's forces, and slew them all, together with the [twelve] ambassadors, and made an expedition against the Jews of Ecbatana. But one there was of the seventy who escaped, and made haste to inform the Jews of their coming; upon which they took their arms, with their wives and children, and retired to the citadel at Gamala, leaving their own villages full of all sorts of good things, and having many ten thousands of cattle therein. When Philip was informed of these things, he also came to the citadel of Gamala; and when he was come, the multitude cried aloud, and desired him to resume the government, and to make an expedition against Varus, and the Syrians of Cesarea; for it was reported that they had slain the king. But Philip restrained their zeal, and put them in mind of the benefits the king had bestowed upon them; and told them how powerful the Romans were, and said it was not for their advantage to make war with them; and at length he prevailed with them. But now, when the king was acquainted with Varus's design, which was to cut off the Jews of Caesarea, being many ten thousands, with their wives and children, and all in one day, he called to him Equiculus Modius, and sent him to be Varus's successor, as we have elsewhere related. But still Philip kept possession of the citadel of Gamala, and of the country adjoining to it, which thereby continued in their allegiance to the Romans.

12. Now, as soon as I was come into Galilee, and had learned this state of things by the information of such as told me of them, I wrote to the sanhedrim at Jerusalem about them, and required their direction what I should do. Their direction was, that I should continue there, and that, if my fellow legates were willing, I should join with them in the care of Galilee. But those my fellow legates, having gotten great riches from those tithes which as priests were their dues, and were given to them, determined to return to their own country. Yet when I desired them to stay so long, that we might first settle the public affairs, they complied with me. So I removed, together with them, from the city of Sepphoris, and came to a certain village called Bethmaus, four furlongs distant from Tiberius; and thence I sent messengers to the senate of Tiberius, and desired that the principal men of the city would come to me: and when they were

come, Justus himself being also with them, I told them that I was sent to them by the people of Jerusalem as a legate, together with these other priests, in order to persuade them to demolish that house which Herod the tetrarch had built there, and which had the figures of living creatures in it, although our laws have forbidden us to make any such figures; and I desired that they would give us leave so to do immediately. But for a good while Capellus and the principal men belonging to the city would not give us leave, but were at length entirely overcome by us, and were induced to be of our opinion. So Jesus the son of Sapphias, one of those whom we have already mentioned as the leader of a seditious tumult of mariners and poor people, prevented us, and took with him certain Galileans, and set the entire palace on fire, and thought he should get a great deal of money thereby, because he saw some of the roofs gilt with gold. They also plundered a great deal of the furniture, which was done without our approbation; for after we had discoursed with Capellus and the principal men of the city, we departed from Bethmaus, and went into the Upper Galilee. But Jesus and his party slew all the Greeks that were inhabitants of Tiberias, and as many others as were their enemies before the war began.

13. When I understood this state of things, I was greatly provoked, and went down to Tiberias, and took all the care I could of the royal furniture, to recover all that could be recovered from such as had plundered it. They consisted of candlesticks made of Corinthian brass, and of royal tables, and of a great quantity of uncoined silver; and I resolved to preserve whatsoever came to my hand for the king. So I sent for ten of the principal men of the senate, and for Capellus the son of Antyllus, and committed the furniture to them, with this charge, That they should part with it to nobody else but to myself. From thence I and my fellow legates went to Gichala, to John, as desirous to know his intentions, and soon saw that he was for innovations, and had a mind to the principality; for he desired me to give him authority to carry off that corn which belonged to Caesar, and lay in the villages of Upper Galilee; and he pretended that he would expend what it came to in building the walls of his own city. But when I perceived what he endeavored at, and what he had in his mind, I said I would not permit him so to do; for that I thought either to keep it for the Romans or for myself, now I was intrusted with the public affairs there by the people of Jerusalem. But, when he was not able to prevail with me, he betook himself to my fellow legates; for they had no sagacity in providing for futurity, and were very ready to take bribes. So he corrupted them with money to decree, That all that corn which was within his province should be delivered to him; while I, who was but one, was outvoted by two, and held my tongue. Then did John introduce another cunning contrivance of his; for he said that those Jews who inhabited

Cesarea Philippi, and were shut up by the order of the king's deputy there, had sent to him to desire him, that, since they had no oil that was pure for their use, he would provide a sufficient quantity of such oil for them, lest they should be forced to make use of oil that came from the Greeks, and thereby transgress their own laws. Now this was said by John, not out of his regard to religion, but out of his most flagrant desire of gain; for he knew that two sextaries were sold with them of Caesarea for one drachma, but that at Gischala fourscore sextaxies were sold for four sextaries. So he gave order that all the oil which was there should be carried away, as having my permission for so doing; which yet I did not grant him voluntarily, but only out of fear of the multitude, since, if I had forbidden him, I should have been stoned by them. When I had therefore permitted this to be done by John, he gained vast sums of money by this his knavery.

14. But when I had dismissed my fellow legates, and sent them back to Jerusalem, I took care to have arms provided, and the cities fortified. And when I had sent for the most hardy among the robbers, I saw that it was not in my power to take their arms from them; but I persuaded the multitude to allow them money as pay, and told them it was better for them to give them a little willingly, rather than to [be forced to] overlook them when they plundered their goods from them. And when I had obliged them to take an oath not to come into that country, unless they were invited to come, or else when they had not their pay given them, I dismissed them, and charged them neither to make an expedition against the Romans, nor against those their neighbors that lay round about them; for my first care was to keep Galilee in peace. So I was willing to have the principal of the Galileans, in all seventy, as hostages for their fidelity, but still under the notion of friendship. Accordingly, I made them my friends and companions as I journeyed, and set them to judge causes; and with their approbation it was that I gave my sentences, while I endeavored not to mistake what justice required, and to keep my hands clear of all bribery in those determinations.

15. I was now about the thirtieth year of my age; in which time of life it is a hard thing for any one to escape the calumnies of the envious, although he restrain himself from fulfilling any unlawful desires, especially where a person is in great authority. Yet did I preserve every woman free from injuries; and as to what presents were offered me, I despised them, as not standing in need of them. Nor indeed would I take those tithes, which were due to me as a priest, from those that brought them. Yet do I confess, that I took part of the spoils of those Syrians which inhabited the cities that adjoined to us, when I had conquered them, and that I sent them to my kindred at Jerusalem; although, when I twice took Sepphoris by force, and Tiberias four times, and Gadara once, and when I

had subdued and taken John, who often laid treacherous snares for me, I did not punish [with death] either him or any of the people forenamed, as the progress of this discourse will show. And on this account, I suppose, it was that God, who is never unacquainted with those that do as they ought to do, delivered me still out of the hands of these my enemies, and afterwards preserved me when I fell into those many dangers which I shall relate hereafter.

16. Now the multitude of the Galileans had that great kindness for me, and fidelity to me, that when their cities were taken by force, and their wives and children carried into slavery, they did not so deeply lament for their own calamities, as they were solicitous for my preservation. But when John saw this, he envied me, and wrote to me, desiring that I would give him leave to come down, and make use of the hot-baths of Tiberias for the recovery of the health of his body. Accordingly, I did not hinder him, as having no suspicion of any wicked designs of his; and I wrote to those to whom I had committed the administration of the affairs of Tiberius by name, that they should provide a lodging for John, and for such as should come with him, and should procure him what necessaries soever he should stand in need of. Now at this time my abode was in a village of Galilee, which is named Cans.

17. But when John was come to the city of Tiberias, he persuaded the men to revolt from their fidelity to me, and to adhere to him; and many of them gladly received that invitation of his, as ever fond of innovations, and by nature disposed to changes, and delighting in seditions; but they were chiefly Justus and his father Pistus, that were earnest for their revolt from me, and their adherence to John. But I came upon them, and prevented them; for a messenger had come to me from Silas, whom I had made governor of Tiberias, as I have said already, and had told me of the inclinations of the people of Tiberias, and advised me to make haste thither; for that, if I made any delay, the city would come under another's jurisdiction. Upon the receipt of this letter of Silas, I took two hundred men along with me, and traveled all night, having sent before a messenger to let the people of Tiberias know that I was coming to them. When I came near to the city, which was early in the morning, the multitude came out to meet me; and John came with them, and saluted me, but in a most disturbed manner, as being afraid that my coming was to call him to an account for what I was now sensible he was doing. So he, in great haste, went to his lodging. But when I was in the open place of the city, having dismissed the guards I had about me, excepting one, and ten armed men that were with him, I attempted to make a speech to the multitude of the people of Tiberias: and, standing on a certain elevated place, I entreated them not to be so hasty in their revolt; for that such a change in their behavior would be to their reproach, and that they would then justly be suspected

by those that should be their governors hereafter, as if they were not likely to be faithful to them neither.

18. But before I had spoken all I designed, I heard one of my own domestics bidding me come down, for that it was not a proper time to take care of retaining the good-will of the people of Tiberias, but to provide for my own safety, and escape my enemies there; for John had chosen the most trusty of those armed men that were about him out of those thousand that he had with him, and had given them orders when he sent them, to kill me, having learned that I was alone, excepting some of my domestics. So those that were sent came as they were ordered, and they had executed what they came about, had I not leaped down from the elevation I stood on, and with one of my guards, whose name was James, been carried [out of the crowd] upon the back of one Herod of Tiberias, and guided by him down to the lake, where I seized a ship, and got into it, and escaped my enemies unexpectedly, and came to Tarichese.

19. Now, as soon as the inhabitants of that city understood the perfidiousness of the people of Tiberias, they were greatly provoked at them. So they snatched up their arms, and desired me to be their leader against them; for they said they would avenge their commander's cause upon them. They also carried the report of what had been done to me to all the Galileans, and eagerly endeavored to irritate them against the people of Tiberias, and desired that vast numbers of them would get together, and come to them, that they might act in concert with their commander, what should be determined as fit to be done. Accordingly, the Galileans came to me in great numbers, from all parts, with their weapons, and besought me to assault Tiberias, to take it by force, and to demolish it, till it lay even with the ground, and then to make slaves of its inhabitants, with their wives and children. Those that were Josephus's friends also, and had escaped out of Tiberias, gave him the same advice. But I did not comply with them, thinking it a terrible thing to begin a civil war among them; for I thought that this contention ought not to proceed further than words; nay, I told them that it was not for their own advantage to do what they would have me to do, while the Romans expected no other than that we should destroy one another by our mutual seditions. And by saying this, I put a stop to the anger of the Galileans.

20. But now John was afraid for himself, since his treachery had proved unsuccessful. So he took the armed men that were about him, and removed from Tiberias to Gischala, and wrote to me to apologize for himself concerning What had been done, as if it had been done without his approbation, and desired me to have no suspicion of him to his disadvantage. He also added oaths and certain horrible curses upon himself, and supposed he should be thereby believed in the points he wrote about to me.

21. But now another great number of the Galileans came together again with their weapons, as knowing the man, how wicked and how sadly perjured he was, and desired me to lead them against him and promised me that they would utterly both him and Gischala. Hereupon I professed that I was obliged to them for their readiness to serve me, and that I would more than requite their good-will to me. However, I entreated them to restrain themselves, and begged of them to give me leave to do what I intended, which was to put an end to these troubles without bloodshed; and when I had prevailed with the multitude of the Galileans to let me do so, I came to Sepphoris.

22. But the inhabitants of this city having determined to continue in their allegiance to the Romans, were afraid of my coming to them, and tried, by putting me upon another action, to divert me, that they might be freed from the terror they were in. Accordingly, they sent to Jesus, the captain of those robbers who were in the confines of Ptolemais, and promised to give him a great deal of money, if he would come with those forces he had with him, which were in number eight hundred, and fight with us. Accordingly, he complied with what they desired, upon the promises they had made him, and was desirous to fall upon us when we were unprepared for him, and knew nothing of his coming beforehand. So he sent to me, and desired that I would give him leave to come and salute me. When I had given him that leave, which I did without the least knowledge of his treacherous intentions beforehand, he took his band of robbers, and made haste to come to me. Yet did not this his knavery succeed well at last; for as he was already nearly approaching, one of those with him deserted him, and came to me, and told me what he had undertaken to do. When I was informed of this, I went into the market-place, and pretended to know nothing of his treacherous purpose. I took with me many Galileans that were armed, as also some of those of Tiberias; and, when I had given orders that all the roads should be carefully guarded, I charged the keepers of the gates to give admittance to none but Jesus, when he came, with the principal of his men, and to exclude the rest; and in case they aimed to force themselves in, to use stripes [in order to repel them]. Accordingly, those that had received such a charge did as they were bidden, and Jesus came in with a few others; and when I had ordered him to throw down his arms immediately, and told him, that if he refused so to do, he was a dead man, he seeing armed men standing all round about him, was terrified, and complied; and as for those of his followers that were excluded, when they were informed that he was seized, they ran away. I then called Jesus to me by himself, and told him, “that I was not a stranger to that treacherous design he had against me, nor was I ignorant by whom he was sent for; that, however, I would forgive him what he had done already, if he would repent of it,

and be faithful to me hereafter." And thus, upon his promise to do all that I desired, I let him go, and gave him leave to get those whom he had formerly had with him together again. But I threatened the inhabitants of Sepphoris, that, if they would not leave off their ungrateful treatment of me, I would punish them sufficiently.

23. At this time it was that two great men, who were under the jurisdiction of the king [Agrippa] came to me out of the region of Trachonius, bringing their horses and their arms, and carrying with them their money also; and when the Jews would force them to be circumcised, if they would stay among them, I would not permit them to have any force put upon them, but said to them, "Every one ought to worship God according to his own inclinations, and not to be constrained by force; and that these men, who had fled to us for protection, ought not to be so treated as to repent of their coming hither." And when I had pacified the multitude, I provided for the men that were come to us whatsoever it was they wanted, according to their usual way of living, and that in great plenty also.

24. Now king Agrippa sent an army to make themselves masters of the citadel of Gamala, and over it Equieulus Modius; but the forces that were sent were not allow to encompass the citadel quite round, but lay before it in the open places, and besieged it. But when Ebutius the decurion, who was intrusted with the government of the great plain, heard that I was at Simonias, a village situated in the confines of Galilee, and was distant from him sixty furlongs, he took a hundred horsemen that were with him by night, and a certain number of footmen, about two hundred, and brought the inhabitants of the city Gibea along with him as auxiliaries, and marched in the night, and came to the village where I abode. Upon this I pitched my camp over against him, which had a great number of forces in it: but Ebutius tried to draw us down into the plain, as greatly depending upon his horsemen; but we would not come down; for when I was satisfied of the advantage that his horse would have if we came down into the plain, while we were all footmen, I resolved to join battle with the enemy where I was. Now Ebutius and his party made a courageous opposition for some time; but when he saw that his horse were useless to him in that place, he retired back to the city Gibea, having lost three of his men in the fight. So I followed him directly with two thousand armed men; and when I was at the city Besara, that lay in the confines of Ptolemais, but twenty furlongs from Gibea, where Ebutius abode, I placed my armed men on the outside of the village, and gave orders that they should guard the passes with great care, that the enemy might not disturb us until we should have carried off the corn, a great quantity of which lay there: it belonged to Bernice the queen, and had been gathered together out

of the neighboring villages into Besara; so I loaded my camels and asses, a great number of which I had brought along with me, and sent the corn into Galilee. When I had done this, I offered Ebutius battle; but when he would not accept of the offer, for he was terrified at our readiness and courage, I altered my route, and marched towards Neopolitanus, because I had heard that the country about Tiberias was laid waste by him. This Neopolitanus was captain of a troop of horse, and had the custody of Scythopolis intrusted to his care by the enemy; and when I had hindered him from doing any further mischief to Tiberias, I set myself to make provision for the affairs of Galilee.

25. But when John, the son of Levi, who, as we before told you, abode at Gischala, was informed how all things had succeeded to my mind, and that I was much in favor with those that were under me, as also that the enemy were greatly afraid of me, he was not pleased with it, as thinking my prosperity tended to his ruin. So he took up a bitter envy and enmity against me; and hoping, that if he could inflame those that were under me to hate me, he should put an end to the prosperity I was in, he tried to persuade the inhabitants of Tiberias and of Sepphoris, [and for those of Gabara he supposed they would be also of the same mind with the others,] which were the greatest cities of Galilee, to revolt from their subjection to me, and to be of his party; and told them that he would command them better than I did. As for the people of Sepphoris, who belonged to neither of us, because they had chosen to be in subjection to the Romans, they did not comply with his proposal; and for those of Tiberias, they did not indeed so far comply as to make a revolt from under me, but they agreed to be his friends, while the inhabitants of Gabara did go over to John; and it was Simon that persuaded them so to do, one who was both the principal man in the city, and a particular friend and companion of John. It is true, these did not openly own the making a revolt, because they were in great fear of the Galileans, and had frequent experience of the good-will they bore to me; yet did they privately watch for a proper opportunity to lay snares for me; and indeed I thereby came into the greatest danger, on the occasion following.

26. There were some bold young men of the village of Dabaritta, who observed that the wife of Ptolemy, the king's procurator, was to make a progress over the great plain with a mighty attendance, and with some horsemen that followed as a guard to them, and this out of a country that was subject to the king and queen, into the jurisdiction of the Romans; and fell upon them on a sudden, and obliged the wife of Ptolemy to fly away, and plundered all the carriages. They also came to me to Tarichese, with four mules' loading of garments, and other furniture; and the weight of the silver they brought was not small, and there were five hundred pieces of gold also. Now I had a mind to

preserve these spoils for Ptolemy, who was my countryman; and it is prohibited by our laws even to spoil our enemies; so I said to those that brought these spoils, that they ought to be kept, in order to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem with them when they came to be sold. But the young men took it very ill that they did not receive a part of those spoils for themselves, as they expected to have done; so they went among the villages in the neighborhood of Tiberias, and told the people that I was going to betray their country to the Romans, and that I used deceitful language to them, when I said, that what had been thus gotten by rapine should be kept for the rebuilding of the walls of the city of Jerusalem; although I had resolved to restore these spoils again to their former owner. And indeed they were herein not mistaken as to my intentions; for when I had gotten clear of them, I sent for two of the principal men, Dassion, and Janneus the son of Levi, persons that were among the chief friends of the king, and commanded them to take the furniture that had been plundered, and to send it to him; and I threatened that I would order them to be put to death by way of punishment, if they discovered this my command to any other person.

27. Now, when all Galilee was filled with this rumor, that their country was about to be betrayed by me to the Romans, and when all men were exasperated against me, and ready to bring me to punishment, the inhabitants of Tarichee did also themselves suppose that what the young men said was true, and persuaded my guards and armed men to leave me when I was asleep, and to come presently to the hippodrome, in order there to take counsel against me their commander. And when they had prevailed with them, and they were gotten together, they found there a great company assembled already, who all joined in one clamor, to bring the man who was so wicked to them as to betray them, to his due punishment; and it was Jesus, the son of Sapphias, who principally set them on. He was ruler in Tiberias, a wicked man, and naturally disposed to make disturbances in matters of consequence; a seditious person he was indeed, and an innovator beyond every body else. He then took the laws of Moses into his hands, and came into the midst of the people, and said, “O my fellow citizens! if you are not disposed to hate Josephus on your own account, have regard, however, to these laws of your country, which your commander-in-chief is going to betray; hate him therefore on both these accounts, and bring the man who hath acted thus insolently, to his deserved punishment.”

28. When he had said this, and the multitude had openly applauded him for what he had said, he took some of the armed men, and made haste away to the house in which I lodged, as if he would kill me immediately, while I was wholly insensible of all till this disturbance happened; and by reason of the pains I had been taking, was fallen fast asleep. But Simon, who was intrusted with the care

of my body, and was the only person that stayed with me, and saw the violent incursion the citizens made upon me, awaked me, and told me of the danger I was in, and desired me to let him kill me, that I might die bravely and like a general, before my enemies came in, and forced me [to kill myself], or killed me themselves. Thus did he discourse to me; but I committed the care of my life to God, and made haste to go out to the multitude. Accordingly, I put on a black garment, and hung my sword at my neck, and went by such a different way to the hippodrome, wherein I thought none of my adversaries would meet me; so I appeared among them on the sudden, and fell down flat on the earth, and bedewed the ground with my tears: then I seemed to them all an object of compassion. And when I perceived the change that was made in the multitude, I tried to divide their opinions before the armed men should return from my house; so I granted them that I had been as wicked as they supposed me to be; but still I entreated them to let me first inform them for what use I had kept that money which arose from the plunder, and, that they might then kill me if they pleased: and upon the multitude's ordering me to speak, the armed men came upon me, and when they saw me, they ran to kill me; but when the multitude bade them hold their hands, they complied, and expected that as soon as I should own to them that I kept the money for the king, it would be looked on as a confession of my treason, and they should then be allowed to kill me.

29. When, therefore, silence was made by the whole multitude, I spake thus to them: "O my countrymen! I refuse not to die, if justice so require. However, I am desirous to tell you the truth of this matter before I die; for as I know that this city of yours [Tarichee] was a city of great hospitality, and filled with abundance of such men as have left their own countries, and are come hither to be partakers of your fortune, whatever it be, I had a mind to build walls about it, out of this money, for which you are so angry with me, while yet it was to be expended in building your own walls." Upon my saying this, the people of Taricheae and the strangers cried out, that "they gave me thanks, and desired me to be of good courage," although the Galileans and the people of Tiberias continued in their wrath against me, insomuch that there arose a tumult among them, while some threatened to kill me, and some bade me not to regard them; but when I promised them that I would build them walls at Tiberias, and at other cities that wanted them, they gave credit to what I promised, and returned every one to his own home. So I escaped the forementioned danger, beyond all my hopes, and returned to my own house, accompanied with my friends, and twenty armed men also.

30. However, these robbers and other authors of this tumult, who were afraid, on their own account, lest I should punish them for what they had done, took six

hundred armed men, and came to the house where I abode, in order to set it on fire. When this their insult was told me, I thought it indecent for me to run away, and I resolved to expose myself to danger, and to act with some boldness; so I gave order to shut the doors, and went up into an upper room, and desired that they would send in some of their men to receive the money [from the spoils] for I told them they would then have no occasion to be angry with me; and when they had sent in one of the boldest of them all, I had him whipped severely, and I commanded that one of his hands should be cut off, and hung about his neck; and in this case was he put out to those that sent him. At which procedure of mine they were greatly affrighted, and in no small consternation, and were afraid that they should themselves be served in like manner, if they staid there; for they supposed that I had in the house more armed men than they had themselves; so they ran away immediately, while I, by the use of this stratagem, escaped this their second treacherous design against me.

31. But there were still some that irritated the multitude against me, and said that those great men that belonged to the king ought not to be suffered to live, if they would not change their religion to the religion of those to whom they fled for safety: they spake reproachfully of them also, and said that they were wizards, and such as called in the Romans upon them. So the multitude was soon deluded by such plausible pretenses as were agreeable to their own inclinations, and were prevailed on by them. But when I was informed of this, I instructed the multitude again, that those who fled to them for refuge ought not to be persecuted: I also laughed at the allegation about witchcraft, and told them that the Romans would not maintain so many ten thousand soldiers, if they could overcome their enemies by wizards. Upon my saying this, the people assented for a while; but they returned again afterwards, as irritated by some ill people against the great men; nay, they once made an assault upon the house in which they dwelt at Tarichess, in order to kill them; which, when I was informed of, I was afraid lest so horrid a crime should take effect, and nobody else would make that city their refuge any more. I therefore came myself, and some others with me, to the house where these great men lived, and locked the doors, and had a trench drawn from their house leading to the lake, and sent for a ship, and embarked therein with them, and sailed to the confines of Hippos: I also paid them the value of their horses; nor in such a flight could I have their horses brought to them. I then dismissed them, and begged of them earnestly that they would courageously bear I this distress which befell them. I was also myself I greatly displeased that I was compelled to expose those that had fled to me to go again into an enemy's country; yet did I think it more eligible that they should perish among the Romans, if it should so happen, than in the country that was

under my jurisdiction. However, they escaped at length, and king Agrippa forgave them their offenses. And this was the conclusion of what concerned these men.

32. But as for the inhabitants of the city of Tiberias, they wrote to the king, and desired him to send them forces sufficient to be a guard to their country; for that they were desirous to come over to him: this was what they wrote to him. But when I came to them, they desired me to build their walls, as I had promised them to do; for they had heard that the walls of Tarichess were already built. I agreed to their proposal accordingly; and when I had made preparation for the entire building, I gave order to the architects to go to work; but on the third day, when I was gone to Tarichess, which was thirty furlongs distant from Tiberias, it so fell out, that some Roman horsemen were discovered on their march, not far from the city, which made it to be supposed that the forces were come from the king; upon which they shouted, and lifted up their voices in commendations of the king, and in reproaches against me. Hereupon one came running to me, and told me what their dispositions were, and that they had resolved to revolt from me: upon hearing which news I was very much alarmed; for I had already sent away my armed men from Tarichess, to their own homes, because the next day was our sabbath; for I would not have the people of Tarichess disturbed [on that day] by a multitude of soldiers; and indeed, whenever I sojourned at that city, I never took any particular care for a guard about my own body, because I had had frequent instances of the fidelity its inhabitants bore to me. I had now about me no more than seven armed men, besides some friends, and was doubtful what to do; for to send to recall my own forces I did not think proper, because the present day was almost over; and had those forces been with me, I could not take up arms on the next day, because our laws forbade us so to do, even though our necessity should be very great; and if I should permit the people of Tarichess, and the strangers with them, to guard the city, I saw that they would not be sufficient for that purpose, and I perceived that I should be obliged to delay my assistance a great while; for I thought with myself that the forces that came from the king would prevent me, and that I should be driven out of the city. I considered, therefore, how to get clear of these forces by a stratagem; so I immediately placed those my friends of Tarichee, on whom I could best confide, at the gates, to watch those very carefully who went out at those gates: I also called to me the heads of families, and bade every one of them to seize upon a ship to go on board it, and to take a master with them, and follow him to the city of Tiberias. I also myself went on board one of those ships, with my friends, and the seven armed men already mentioned, and sailed for Tiberias.

33. But now, when the people of Tiberias perceived that there were no forces come from the king, and yet saw the whole lake full of ships, they were in fear what would become of their city, and were greatly terrified, as supposing that the ships were full of men on board; so they then changed their minds, and threw down their weapons, and met me with their wives and children, and made acclamations to me with great commendations; for they imagined that I did not know their former inclinations [to have been against me]; so they persuaded me to spare the city. But when I was come near enough, I gave order to the masters of the ships to cast anchor a good way off the land, that the people of Tiberias might not perceive that the ships had no men on board; but I went nearer to the people in one of the ships, and rebuked them for their folly, and that they were so fickle as, without any just occasion in the world, to revolt from their fidelity to me. However, assured them that I would entirely forgive them for the time to come, if they would send ten of the ringleaders of the multitude to me; and when they complied readily with this proposal, and sent me the men forementioned, I put them on board a ship, and sent them away to Tarichese; and ordered them to be kept in prison.

34. And by this stratagem it was that I gradually got all the senate of Tiberias into my power, and sent them to the city forementioned, with many of the principal men among the populace, and those not fewer in number than the other. But when the multitude saw into what great miseries they had brought themselves, they desired me to punish the author of this sedition: his name was Clitus, a young man, bold and rash in his undertakings. Now, since I thought it not agreeable to piety to put one of my own people to death, and yet found it necessary to punish him, I ordered Levi, one of my own guards, to go to him, and cut off one of Clitus's hands; but as he that was ordered to do this, was afraid to go out of the ship alone, among 'so great a multitude, I was not willing that the timorousness of the soldier should appear to the people of Tiberias. So I called to Clitus himself and said to him, "Since thou deservest to lose both thine hands for thy ingratitude to me, be thou thine own executioner, lest, if thou refusest so to be, thou undergo a worse punishment." And when he earnestly begged of me to spare him one of his hands, it was with difficulty that I granted it. So, in order to prevent the loss of both his hands, he willingly took his sword, and cut off his own left hand; and this put an end to the sedition.

35. Now the men of Tiberias, after I was gone to Taricheae, perceived what stratagem I had used against them, and they admired how I had put an end to their foolish sedition, without shedding of blood. But now, when I had sent for some of those multitudes of the people of Tiberias out of prison, among whom were Justus and his father Pistus, I made them to sup with me; and during our

supper time I said to them, that I knew the power of the Romans was superior to all others, but did not say so [publicly] because of the robbers. So I advised them to do as I did, and to wait for a proper opportunity, and not to be uneasy at my being their commander; for that they could not expect to have another who would use the like moderation that I had done. I also put Justus in mind how the Galileans had cut off his brother's hands before ever I came to Jerusalem, upon an accusation laid against him, as if he had been a rogue, and had forged some letters; as also how the people of Gamala, in a sedition they raised against the Babylonians, after the departure of Philip, slew Chares, who was a kinsman of Philip, and withal how they had wisely punished Jesus, his brother Justuses sister's husband [with death]. When I had said this to them during supper time, I in the morning ordered Justus, and all the rest that were in prison, to be loosed out of it, and sent away.

36. But before this, it happened that Philip, the son of Jacimus, went out of the citadel of Gamala upon the following occasion: When Philip had been informed that Varus was put out of his government by king Agrippa, and that Equieulus Modius, a man that was of old his friend and companion, was come to succeed him, he wrote to him, and related what turns of fortune he had had, and desired him to forward the letters he sent to the king and queen. Now, when Modius had received these letters, he was exceedingly glad, and sent the letters to the king and queen, who were then about Berytus. But when king Agrippa knew that the story about Philip was false, [for it had been given out, that the Jews had begun a war with the Romans, and that this Philip had been their commander in that war,] he sent some horsemen to conduct Philip to him; and when he was come, he saluted him very obligingly, and showed him to the Roman commanders, and told them that this was the man of whom the report had gone about as if he had revolted from the Romans. He also bid him to take some horsemen with him, and to go quickly to the citadel of Gamala, and to bring out thence all his domestics, and to restore the Babylonians to Batanea again. He also gave it him in charge to take all possible care that none of his subjects should be guilty of making any innovation. Accordingly, upon these directions from the king, he made haste to do what he was commanded.

37. Now there was one Joseph, the son of a female physician, who excited a great many young men to join with him. He also insolently addressed himself to the principal persons at Gamala, and persuaded them to revolt from the king; and take up arms, and gave them hopes that they should, by his means, recover their liberty. And some they forced into the service, and those that would not acquiesce in what they had resolved on, they slew. They also slew Chares, and with him Jesus, one of his kinsmen, and a brother of Justus of Tiberias, as we

have already said. Those of Gamala also wrote to me, desiring me to send them an armed force, and workmen to raise up the walls of their city; nor did I reject either of their requests. The region of Gaulanitis did also revolt from the king, as far as the village Solyma. I also built a wall about Seleucia and Soganni, which are villages naturally of ver great strength. Moreover, I, in like manner, walled several villages of Upper Galilee, though they were very rocky of themselves. Their names are Jamnia, and Meroth, and Achabare. I also fortified, in the Lower Galilee, the cities Tarichee, Tiberias, Sepphoris, and the villages, the cave of Arbela, Bersobe, Selamin, Jotapata, Capharecho, and Sigo, and Japha, and Mount Tabor. I also laid up a great quantity of corn in these places, and arms withal, that might be for their security afterward.

38. But the hatred that John, the son of Levi, bore to me, grew now more violent, while he could not bear my prosperity with patience. So he proposed to himself, by all means possible, to make away with me; and built the walls of Gischala, which was the place of his nativity. He then sent his brother Simon, and Jonathan, the son of Sisenna, and about a hundred armed men, to Jerusalem, to Simon, the son of Gamaliel, in order to persuade him to induce the commonalty of Jerusalem to take from me the government over the Galileans, and to give their suffrages for conferring that authority upon him. This Simon was of the city of Jerusalem, and of a very noble family of the sect of the Pharisees, which are supposed to excel others in the accurate knowledge of the laws of their country. He was a man of great wisdom and reason, and capable of restoring public affairs by his prudence, when they were in an ill posture. He was also an old friend and companion of John; but at that time he had a difference with me. When therefore he had received such an exhortation, he persuaded the high priests, Ananus, and Jesus the son of Gamala, and some others of the same seditious faction, to cut me down, now I was growing so great, and not to overlook me while I was aggrandizing myself to the height of glory; and he said that it would be for the advantage of the Galileans, if I were deprived of my government there. Ananus also, and his friends, desired them to make no delay about the matter, lest I should get the knowledge of what was doing too soon, and should come and make an assault upon the city with a great army. This was the counsel of Simon; but Artanus the high priest demonstrated to them that this was not an easy thing to be done, because many of the high priests and of the rulers of the people bore witness that I had acted like an excellent general, and that it was the work of ill men to accuse one against whom they had nothing to say.

39. When Simon heard Ananus say this, he desired that the messengers would conceal the thing, and not let it come among many; for that he would take care to

have Josephus removed out of Galilee very quickly. So he called for John's brother, [Simon,] and charged him that they should send presents to Ananus and his friends; for, as he said, they might probably by that means persuade them to change their minds. And indeed Simon did at length thus compass what he aimed at; for Artanus, and those with him, being corrupted by bribes, agreed to expel me out of Galilee, without making the rest of the citizens acquainted with what they were doing. Accordingly, they resolved to send men of distinction as to their families, and of distinction as to their learning also. Two of these were of the populace, Jonathan and Ananias, by sect Pharisees; while the third, Jozar, was of the stock of the priests, and a Pharisee also; and Simon, the last of them, was of the youngest of the high priests. These had it given them in charge, that, when they were come to the multitude of the Galileans, they should ask them, what was the reason of their love to me? and if they said that it was because I was born at Jerusalem, that they should reply, that they four were all born at the same place; and if they should say, it was because I was well versed in their law, they should reply, that neither were they unacquainted with the practices of their country; but if, besides these, they should say, they loved me because I was a priest, they should reply, that two of these were priests also.

40. Now, when they had given Jonathan and his companions these instructions, they gave them forty thousand [drachmae] out of the public money: but when they heard that there was a certain Galilean that then sojourned at Jerusalem, whose name was Jesus, who had about him a band of six hundred armed men, they sent for him, and gave him three months pay, and gave him orders to follow Jonathan and his companions, and be obedient to them. They also gave money to three hundred men that were citizens of Jerusalem, to maintain them all, and ordered them also to follow the ambassadors; and when they had complied, and were gotten ready for the march, Jonathan and his companions went out with them, having along with them John's brother and a hundred armed men. The charge that was given them by those that sent them was this: That if I would voluntarily lay down my arms, they should send me alive to the city of Jerusalem; but that, in case I opposed them, they should kill me, and fear nothing; for that it was their command for them so to do. They also wrote to John to make all ready for fighting me, and gave orders to the inhabitants of Sepphoris, and Gabara, and Tiberins, to send auxiliaries to John.

41. Now, as my father wrote me an account of this, [for Jesus the son of Gamala, who was present in that council, a friend and companion of mine, told him of it,] I was very much troubled, as discovering thereby that my fellow citizens proved so ungrateful to me, as, out of envy, to give order that I should be slain: my father earnestly pressed me also in his letter to come to him, for that

he longed to see his son before he died. I informed my friends of these things, and that in three days' time I should leave the country, and go home. Upon hearing this, they were all very sorry, and desired me, with tears in their eyes, not to leave them to be destroyed; for so they thought they should be, if I were deprived of the command over them: but as I did not grant their request, but was taking care of my own safety, the Galileans, out of their dread of the consequence of my departure, that they should then be at the mercy of the robbers, sent messengers over all Galilee to inform them of my resolution to leave them. Whereupon, as soon as they heard it, they got together in great numbers, from all parts, with their wives and children; and this they did, as it appeared to me, not more out of their affection to me, than out of their fear on their own account; for while I staid with them, they supposed that they should suffer no harm. So they all came into the great plain, wherein I lived, the name of which was Asochis.

42. But wonderful it was what a dream I saw that very night; for when I had betaken myself to my bed, as grieved and disturbed at the news that had been written to me, it seemed to me, that a certain person stood by me, and said, "O Josephus! leave off to afflict thy soul, and put away all fear; for what now grieves thee will render thee very considerable, and in all respects most happy; for thou shalt get over not only these difficulties, but many others, with great success. However, be not cast down, but remember that thou art to fight with the Romans." When I had seen this dream, I got up with an intention of going down to the plain. Now, when the whole multitude of the Galileans, among whom were the women and children, saw me, they threw themselves down upon their faces, and, with tears in their eyes, besought me not to leave them exposed to their enemies, nor to go away and permit their country to be injured by them. But when I did not comply, with their entreaties, they compelled me to take an oath, that I would stay with them: they also cast abundance of reproaches upon the people of Jerusalem, that they would not let their country enjoy peace.

43. When I heard this, and saw what sorrow the people were in, I was moved with compassion to them, and thought it became me to undergo the most manifest hazards for the sake of so great a multitude; so I let them know I would stay with them. And when I had given order that five thousand off them should come to me armed, and with provisions for their maintenance, I sent the rest away to their own homes; and when those five thousand were come, I took them, together with three thousand of the soldiers that were with me before, and eighty horsemen, and marched to the village of Chabolo, situated in the confines of Ptolimias, and there kept my forces together, pretending to get ready to fight with Placidus, who was come with two cohorts of footmen, and one troop of

horsemen, and was sent thither by Cestius Gallus to burn those villages of Galilee that were near Ptolemais. Upon whose casting up a bank before the city Ptolemais, I also pitched my camp at about the distance of sixty furlongs from that village. And now we frequently brought out our forces as if we would fight, but proceeded no further than skirmishes at a distance; for when Placidus perceived that I was earnest to come to a battle, he was afraid, and avoided it. Yet did he not remove from the neighborhood of Ptolemais.

44. About this time it was that Jonathan and his fellow legates came. They were sent, as we have said already, by Simon, and Ananus the high priest. And Jonathan contrived how he might catch me by treachery; for he durst not make any attempt upon me openly. So he wrote me the following epistle: "Jonathan and those that are with him, and are sent by the people of Jerusalem, to Josephus, send greeting. We are sent by the principal men of Jerusalem, who have heard that John of Gischala hath laid many snares for thee, to rebuke him, and to exhort him to be subject to thee hereafter. We are also desirous to consult with thee about our common concerns, and what is fit to be done. We therefore desire thee to come to us quickly, and to bring only a few men with thee; for this village will not contain a great number of soldiers." Thus it was that they wrote, as expecting one of these two things; either that I should come without armed men, and then they should have me wholly in their power; or, if I came with a great number, they should judge me to be a public enemy. Now it was a horseman who brought the letter, a man at other times bold, and one that had served in the army under the king. It was the second hour of the night that he came, when I was feasting with my friends, and the principal of the Galileans. This man, upon my servant's telling me that a certain horseman of the Jewish nation was come, was called in at my command, but did not so much as salute me at all, but held out a letter, and said, "This letter is sent thee by those that are come from Jerusalem; do thou write an answer to it quickly; for I am obliged to return to them very soon." Now my guests could not but wonder at the boldness of the soldier. But I desired him to sit down and sup with us; but when he refused so to do, I held the letter in my hands as I received it, and fell a talking with my guests about other matters. But a few hours afterwards, I got up, and when I had dismissed the rest to go to their beds, I bid only four of my intimate friends to stay, and ordered my servant to get some wine ready. I also opened the letter so, that nobody could perceive it; and understanding thereby presently the purportú of the writing, I sealed it up again, and appeared as if I had not yet read it, but only held it in my hands. I ordered twenty drachmae should be given the soldier for the charges of his journey; and when he took the money, and said that he thanked me for it, I perceived that he loved money, and that he was to be

caught chiefly by that means; and I said to him, "If thou wilt but drink with us, thou shalt have a drachma for every glass thou drinkest." So he gladly embraced this proposal, and drank a great deal of wine, in order to get the more money, and was so drunk, that at last he could not keep the secrets he was intrusted with, but discovered them without my putting questions to him, *viz.* That a treacherous design was contrived against me, and that I was doomed to die by those that sent him. When I heard this, I wrote back this answer: "Josephus to Jonathan, and those that are with him, sendeth greeting. Upon the information that you are come in health into Galilee, I rejoice, and this especially because I can now resign the care of public affairs here into your hands, and return into my native country, which is what I have desired to do a great while; and I confess I ought not only to come to you as far as Xaloth, but farther, and this without your commands. But I desire you to excuse me, because I cannot do it now, since I watch the motions of Placidus, who hath a mind to go up into Galilee; and this I do here at Chabolo. Do you therefore, on the receipt of this epistle, come hither to me. Fare you well."

45. When I had written thus, and given the letter to be carried by the soldier, I sent along with him thirty of the Galileans of the best characters, and gave them instructions to salute those ambassadors, but to say nothing else to them. I also gave orders to as many of those armed men, whom I esteemed most faithful to me, to go along with the others, every one with him whom he was to guard, lest some conversation might pass between those whom I sent and those who were with Jonathan. So those men went [to Jonathan]. But when Jonathan and his partners had failed in this their first attempt, they sent me another letter, the contents whereof were as follows: "Jonathan, and those with him, to Josephus, send greeting. We require thee to come to us to the village Gabaroth, on the third day, without any armed men, that we may hear what thou hast to lay to the charge of John [of Gischala]." When they had written this letter, they saluted the Galileans whom I sent, and came to Japha, which was the largest village of all Galilee, and encompassed with very strong walls, and had a great number of inhabitants in it. There the multitude of men, with their wives and children, met them, and exclaimed loudly against them; and desired them to be gone, and not to envy them the advantage of an excellent commander. With these clamors Jonathan and his partners were greatly provoked, although they durst not show their anger openly; so they made them no answer, but went to other villages. But still the same clamors met them from all the people, who said, "Nobody should persuade them to have any other commander besides Josephus." So Jonathan and his partners went away from them without success, and came to Sepphoris, the greatest city of all Galilee. Now the men of that city, who inclined to the

Romans in their sentiments, met them indeed, but neither praised nor reproached me and when they were gone down from Sepphoris to Asochis, the people of that place made a clamor against them, as those of Japha had done; whereupon they were able to contain themselves no longer, but ordered the armed men that were with them to beat those that made the clamor with their clubs. And when they came to Gabara, John met them with three thousand armed men; but, as I understood by their letter that they had resolved to fight against me, I arose from Chabolo, with three thousand armed men also; but left in my camp one of my fastest friends, and came to Jotapata, as desirous to be near them, the distance being no more than forty furlongs. Whence I wrote thus to them: "If you are very desirous that I should come to you, you know there are two hundred and forty cities and villages in Galilee; I will come to any of them which you please, excepting Gaburn and Gischala; the one of which is John's native city, and the other in confederacy and friendship with him."

46. When Jonathan and his partners had received this letter, they wrote me no more answers, but called a council of their friends together; and taking John into their consultation, they took counsel together by what means they might attack me. John's opinion was, that they should write to all the cities and villages that were in Galilee; for that there must be certainly one or two persons in every one of them that were at variance with me, and that they should be invited to come to oppose me as an enemy. He would also have them send this resolution of theirs to the city of Jerusalem, that its citizens, upon the knowledge of my being adjudged to be an enemy by the Galileans, might themselves I also confirm that determination. He said also, that when this was done, even those Galileans who were well affected to me, would desert me out of fear. When John had given them this counsel, what he had said was very agreeable to the rest of them. I was also made acquainted with these affairs about the third hour of the night, by the means of one Saccheus, who had belonged to them, but now deserted them and came over to me, and told me what they were about; so I perceived that no time was to be lost. Accordingly, I gave command to Jacob, an armed man of my guard, whom I esteemed faithful to me, to take two hundred men, and to guard the passages that led from Gahara to Galilee, and to seize upon the passengers, and send them to me, especially such as were caught with letters about them: I also sent Jeremias himself, one of my friends, with six hundred armed men, to the borders of Galilee, in order to watch the roads that led from this country to the city Jerusalem, and gave him charge to lay hold of such as traveled with letters about them, to keep the men in bonds upon the place, but to send me the letters.

47. When I had laid these commands upon them, I gave them orders, and bid them take their arms and bring three days' provision with them, and be with me the next day. I also parted those that were about me into four parts, and ordained those of them that were most faithful to me to be a guard to my body. I also set over them centurions, and commanded them to take care that not a soldier which they did not know should mingle himself among them. Now, on the fifth day following, when I was at Gabaroth, I found the entire plain that was before the village full of armed men, who were come out of Galilee to assist me: many others of the multitude, also, out of the village, ran along with me. But as soon as I had taken my place, and began to speak to them, they all made an acclamation, and called me the benefactor and savior of the country. And when I had made them my acknowledgments, and thanked them [for their affection to me], I also advised them to fight with nobody, nor to spoil the country; but to pitch their tents in the plain, and be content with their sustenance they had brought with them; for I told them that I had a mind to compose these troubles without shedding any blood. Now it came to pass, that on the very same day those who were sent by John with letters, fell among the guards whom I had appointed to watch the roads; so the men were themselves kept upon the place, as my orders were, but I got the letters, which were full of reproaches and lies; and I intended to fall upon these men, without saying a word of these matters to any body.

48. Now, as soon as Jonathan and his companions heard of my coming, they took all their own friends, and John with them, and retired to the house of Jesus, which indeed was a large castle, and no way unlike a citadel; so they privately laid a band of armed men therein, and shut all the other doors but one, which they kept open, and they expected that I should come out of the road to them, to salute them. And indeed they had given orders to the armed men, that when I came they should let nobody besides me come in, but should exclude others; as supposing that, by this means, they should easily get me under their power: but they were deceived in their expectation; for I perceived what snares they had laid for me. Now, as soon as I was got off my journey, I took up my lodgings over against them, and pretended to be asleep; so Jonathan and his party, thinking that I was really asleep and at rest, made haste to go down into the plain, to persuade the people that I was an ill governor. But the matter proved otherwise; for, upon their appearance, there was a cry made by the Galileans immediately, declaring their good opinion of me as their governor; and they made a clamor against Jonathan and his partners for coming to them when they had suffered no harm, and as though they would overturn their happy settlement; and desired them by all means to go back again, for that they would never be persuaded to have any other to rule over them but myself. When I heard of this, I did not fear to go

down into the midst of them; I went, therefore, myself down presently to hear what Jonathan and his companions said. As soon as I appeared, there was immediately an acclamation made to me by the whole multitude, and a cry in my commendation by them, who confessed their thanks was owing to me for my good government of them.

49. When Jonathan and his companions heard this, they were in fear of their own lives, and in danger lest they should be assaulted by the Galileans on nay account; so they contrived how they might run away. But as they were not able to get off, for I desired them to stay, they looked down with concern at my words to them. I ordered, therefore, the multitude to restrain entirely their acclamations, and placed the most faithful of my armed men upon the avenues, to be a guard to us, lest John should unexpected fall upon us; and I encouraged the Galileans to take their weapons, lest they should be disturbed at their enemies, if any sudden insult should be made upon them. And then, in the first place, I put Jonathan and his partners in mind of their [former] letter, and after what manner they had written to me, and declared they were sent by the common consent to the people of Jerusalem, to make up the differences I had with John, and how they had desired me to come to them; and as I spake thus, I publicly showed that letter they had written, till they could not at all deny what they had done, the letter itself convicting them. I then said, "O Jonathan! and you that are sent with him as his colleagues, if I were to be judged as to my behavior, compared with that of John's, and had brought no more than two or three witnesses, good men and true, it is plain you had been forced, upon the examination of their characters beforehand, to discharge the accusations: that therefore you may be informed that I have acted well in the affairs of Galilee, I think three witnesses too few to be brought by a man that hath done as he ought to do; so I gave you all these for witnesses. Inquire of them how I have lived, and whether I have not behaved myself with all decency, and after a virtuous manner, among them. And I further conjure you, O Galileans! to hide no part of the truth, but to speak before these men as before judges, whether I have in any thing acted otherwise than well."

50. While I was thus speaking, the united voices of all the people joined together, and called me their benefactor and savior, and attested to my former behavior, and exhorted me to continue so to do hereafter; and they all said, upon their oaths, that their wives had been preserved free from injuries, and that no one had ever been aggrieved by me. After this, I read to the Galileans two of those epistles which had been sent by Jonathan and his colleagues, and which those whom I had appointed to guard the road had taken, and sent to me. These were full of reproaches, and of lies, as if I had acted more like a tyrant than a governor against them, with many other things besides therein contained, which

were no better indeed than impudent falsities. I also informed the multitude how I came by these letters, and that those who carried them delivered them up voluntarily; for I was not willing that my enemies should know any thing of the guards I had set, lest they should be afraid, and leave off writing hereafter.

51. When the multitude heard these things, they were greatly provoked at Jonathan, and his colleagues that were with him, and were going to attack them, and kill them; and this they had certainly done, unless I had restrained the anger of the Galileans, and said, that "I forgave Jonathan and his colleagues what was past, if they would repent, and go to their own country, and tell those who sent them the truth, as to my conduct." When I had said this, I let them go, although I knew they would do nothing of what they had promised. But the multitude were very much enraged against them, and entreated me to give them leave to punish them for their insolence; yet did I try all methods to persuade them to spare the men; for I knew that every instance of sedition was pernicious to the public welfare. But the multitude was too angry with them to be dissuaded, and all of them went immediately to the house in which Jonathan and his colleagues abode. However, when I perceived that their rage could not be restrained, I got on horseback, and ordered the multitude to follow me to the village Sogane, which was twenty furlongs off Gabara; and by using this stratagem, I so managed myself, as not to appear to begin a civil war amongst them.

52. But when I was come near Sogane, I caused the multitude to make a halt, and exhorted them not to be so easily provoked to anger, and to the inflicting such punishments as could not be afterwards recalled: I also gave order, that a hundred men, who were already in years, and were principal men among them, should get themselves ready to go to the city of Jerusalem, and should make a complaint before the people of such as raised seditions in the country. And I said to them, that "in case they be moved with what you say, you shall desire the community to write to me, and to enjoin me to continue in Galilee, and to order Jonathan and his colleagues to depart out of it." When I had suggested these instructions to them, and while they were getting themselves ready as fast as they could, I sent them on this errand the third day after they had been assembled: I also sent five hundred armed men with them [as a guard]. I then wrote to my friends in Samaria, to take care that they might safely pass through the country: for Samaria was already under the Romans, and it was absolutely necessary for those that go quickly [to Jerusalem] to pass through that country; for in that road you may, in three days' time, go from Galilee to Jerusalem. I also went myself, and conducted the old men as far as the bounds of Galilee, and set guards in the roads, that it might not be easily known by any one that these men were gone. And when I had thus done, I went and abode at Japha.

53. Now Jonathan and his colleagues, having failed of accomplishing what they would have done against me, sent John back to Gischala, but went themselves to the city of Tiberias, expecting it would submit itself to them; and this was founded on a letter which Jesus, their then governor, had written them, promising that, if they came, the multitude would receive them, and choose to be under their government; so they went their ways with this expectation. But Silas, who, as I said, had been left curator of Tiberias by me, informed me of this, and desired me to make haste thither. Accordingly, I complied with his advice immediately, and came thither; but found myself in danger of my life, from the following occasion: Jonathan and his colleagues had been at Tiberias, and had persuaded a great many of such as had a quarrel with me to desert me; but when they heard of my coming, they were in fear for themselves, and came to me; and when they had saluted me, they said, that I was a happy man in having behaved myself so well in the government of Galilee; and they congratulated me upon the honors that were paid me: for they said that my glory was a credit to them, since they had been my teachers and fellow citizens; and they said further, that it was but just that they should prefer my friendship to them rather than John's, and that they would have immediately gone home, but that they staid that they might deliver up John into my power; and when they said this they took their oaths of it, and those such as are most tremendous amongst us, and such as I did not think fit to disbelieve. However, they desired me to lodge some where else, because the next day was the sabbath, and that it was not fit the city of Tiberias should be disturbed [on that day].

54. So I suspected nothing, and went away to Tarichese; yet did I withal leave some to make inquiry in the city how matters went, and whether any thing was said about me: I also set many persons all the way that led from Tarichese to Tiberias, that they might communicate from one to another, if they learned any news from those that were left in the city. On the next day, therefore, they all came into the Proseucha; it was a large edifice, and capable of receiving a great number of people; thither Jonathan went in, and though he durst not openly speak of a revolt, yet did he say that their city stood in need of a better governor than it then had. But Jesus, who was the ruler, made no scruple to speak out, and said openly, "O fellow citizens! it is better for you to be in subjection to four than to one; and those such as are of high birth, and not without reputation for their wisdom;" and pointed to Jonathan and his colleagues. Upon his saying this, Justus came in and commended him for what he had said, and persuaded some of the people to be of his mind also. But the multitude were not pleased with what was said, and had certainly gone into a tumult, unless the sixth hour, which was now come, had dissolved the assembly, at which hour our laws require us to

go to dinner on sabbath days; so Jonathan and his colleagues put off their council till the next day, and went off without success. When I was informed of these affairs, I determined to go to the city of Tiberias in the morning. Accordingly, on the next day, about the first hour of the day, I came from Tarichee, and found the multitude already assembled in the Proseucha; but on what account they were gotten together, those that were assembled did not know. But when Jonathan and his colleagues saw me there unexpectedly, they were in disorder; after which they raised a report of their own contrivance, that Roman horsemen were seen at a place called Union, in the borders of Galilee, thirty furlongs distant from the city. Upon which report, Jonathan and his colleagues cunningly exhorted me not to neglect this matter, nor to suffer the land to be spoiled by the enemy. And this they said with a design to remove me out of the city, under the pretense of the want of extraordinary assistance, while they might dispose the city to be my enemy.

55. As for myself, although I knew of their design, yet did I comply with what they proposed, lest the people of Tiberias should have occasion to suppose that I was not careful of their security. I therefore went out; but, when I was at the place, I found not the least footsteps of any enemy, so I returned as fast as ever I could, and found the whole council assembled, and the body of the people gotten together, and Jonathan and his colleagues bringing vehement accusations against me, as one who had no concern to ease them of the burdens of war, and as one that lived luxuriously. And as they were discoursing thus, they produced four letters, as written to them from some people that lived at the borders of Galilee, imploring that they would come to their assistance, for that there was an army of Romans, both horsemen and footmen, who would come and lay waste the country on the third day; they desired them also to make haste, and not to overlook them. When the people of Tiberias heard this, they thought they spake truth, and made a clamor against me, and said I ought not to sit still, but to go away to the assistance of their countrymen. Hereupon I said [for I understood the meaning of Jonathan and his colleagues] that I was ready to comply with what they proposed, and without delay to march to the war which they spake of, yet did I advise them, at the same time, that since these letters declared that the Romans would make their assault in four several places, they should part their forces into five bodies, and make Jonathan and his colleagues generals of each body of them, because it was fit for brave men, not only to give counsel, but to take the place of leaders, and assist their countrymen when such a necessity pressed them; for, said I, it is not possible for me to lead more than one party. This advice of mine greatly pleased the multitude; so they compelled them to go forth to the war. But their designs were put into very much disorder, because

they had not done what they had designed to do, on account of my stratagem, which was opposite to their undertakings.

56. Now there was one whose name was Ananias [a wicked man he was, and very mischievous]; he proposed that a general religious fast should be appointed the next day for all the people, and gave order that at the same hour they should come to the same place, without any weapons, to make it manifest before God, that while they obtained his assistance, they thought all these weapons useless. This he said, not out of piety, but that they might catch me and my friends unarmed. Now, I was hereupon forced to comply, lest I should appear to despise a proposal that tended to piety. As soon, therefore, as we were gone home, Jonathan and his colleagues wrote to John to come to them in the morning, and desiring him to come with as many soldiers as he possibly could, for that they should then be able easily to get me into their hands, and to do all they desired to do. When John had received this letter, he resolved to comply with it. As for myself, on the next day, I ordered two of the guards of my body, whom I esteemed the most courageous and most faithful, to hide daggers under their garments, and to go along with me, that we might defend ourselves, if any attack should be made upon us by our enemies. I also myself took my breastplate, and girded on my sword, so that it might be, as far as it was possible, concealed, and came into the Proseucha.

57. Now Jesus, who was the ruler, commanded that they should exclude all that came with me, for he kept the door himself, and suffered none but his friends to go in. And while we were engaged in the duties of the day, and had betaken ourselves to our prayers, Jesus got up, and inquired of me what was become of the vessels that were taken out of the king's palace, when it was burnt down [and] of that uncoined silver; and in whose possession they now were? This he said, in order to drive away time till John should come. I said that Capellus, and the ten principal men of Tiberias, had them all; and I told him that they might ask them whether I told a lie or not. And when they said they had them, he asked me, What is become of those twenty pieces of gold which thou didst receive upon the sale of a certain weight of uncoined money? I replied, that I had given them to those ambassadors of theirs, as a maintenance for them, when they were sent by them to Jerusalem. So Jonathan and his colleagues said that I had not done well to pay the ambassadors out of the public money. And when the multitude were very angry at them for this, for they perceived the wickedness of the men, I understood that a tumult was going to arise; and being desirous to provoke the people to a greater rage against the men, I said, "But if I have not done well in paying our ambassadors out of the public stock, leave off your anger at me, for I will repay the twenty pieces of gold myself."

58. When I had said this, Jonathan and his colleagues held their peace; but the people were still more irritated against them, upon their openly showing their unjust ill-will to me. When Jesus saw this change in file people, he ordered them to depart, but desired the senate to stay; for that they could not examine things of such a nature in a tumult: and as the people were crying out that they would not leave me alone, there came one and told Jesus and his friends privately, that John and his armed men were at hand: whereupon Jonathan and his colleagues, being able to contain themselves no longer, [and perhaps the providence of God hereby procuring my deliverance, for had not this been so, I had certainly been destroyed by John,] said, "O you people of Tiberias! leave off this inquiry about the twenty pieces of gold; for Josephus hath not deserved to die for them; but he hath deserved it by his desire of tyrannizing, and by cheating the multitude of the Galileans with his speeches, in order to gain the dominion over them." When he had said this, they presently laid hands upon me, and endeavored to kill me: but as soon as those that were with me saw what they did, they drew their swords, and threatened to smite them, if they offered any violence to me. The people also took up stones, and were about to throw them at Jonathan; and so they snatched me from the violence of my enemies.

59. But as I was gone out a little way, I was just upon meeting John, who was marching with his armed men. So I was afraid of him, and turned aside, and escaped by a narrow passage to the lake, and seized on a ship, and embarked in it, and sailed over to Tarichese. So, beyond my expectation, I escaped this danger. Whereupon I presently sent for the chief of the Galileans, and told them after what manner, against all faith given, I had been very near to destruction from Jonathan and his colleagues, and the people of Tiberias. Upon which the multitude of the Galileans were very angry, and encouraged me to delay no longer to make war upon them, but to permit them to go against John, and utterly to destroy him, as well as Jonathan and his colleagues. However, I restrained them, though they were in such a rage, and desired them to tarry a while, till we should be informed what orders those ambassadors, that were sent by them to the city of Jerusalem, should bring thence; for I told them that it was best for them to act according to their determination; whereupon they were prevailed on. At which time, also, John, when the snares he had laid did not take effect, returned back to Gischala.

60. Now, in a few days, those ambassadors whom he had sent, came back again and informed us, that the people were greatly provoked at Ananus, and Simon the son of Gamaliel, and their friends; that, without any public determination, they had sent to Galilee, and had done their endeavors that I might be turned out of the government. The ambassadors said further, that the

people were ready to burn their houses. They also brought letters, whereby the chief men of Jerusalem, at the earnest petition of the people, confirmed me in the government of Galilee, and enjoined Jonathan and his colleagues to return home quickly. When I had gotten these letters, I came to the village Arbela, where I procured an assembly of the Galileans to meet, and bid the ambassadors declare to them the anger of the people of Jerusalem at what had been done by Jonathan and his colleagues, and how much they hated their wicked doings, and how they had confirmed me in the government of their country, as also what related to the order they had in writing for Jonathan and his colleagues to return home. So I immediately sent them the letter, and bid him that carried it to inquire, as well as he could, how they intended to act [on this occasion.]

61. Now, when they had received that letter, and were thereby greatly disturbed, they sent for John, and for the senators of Tiberias, and for the principal men of the Gabarens, and proposed to hold a council, and desired them to consider what was to be done by them. However, the governors of Tiberias were greatly disposed to keep the government to themselves; for they said it was not fit to desert their city, now it was committed to their trust, and that otherwise I should not delay to fall upon them; for they pretended falsely that so I had threatened to do. Now John was not only of their opinion, but advised them, that two of them should go to accuse me before the multitude [at Jerusalem], that I do not manage the affairs of Galilee as I ought to do; and that they would easily persuade the people, because of their dignity, and because the whole multitude are very mutable. When, therefore, it appeared that John had suggested the wisest advice to them, they resolved that two of them, Jonathan and Ananias, should go to the people of Jerusalem, and the other two [Simon and Joazar] should be left behind to tarry at Tiberins. They also took along with them a hundred soldiers for their guard.

62. However, the governors of Tiberias took care to have their city secured with walls, and commanded their inhabitants to take their arms. They also sent for a great many soldiers from John, to assist them against me, if there should be occasion for them. Now John was at Gischala. Jonathan, therefore, and those that were with him, when they were departed from Tiberias, and as soon as they were come to Dabaritta, a village that lay in the utmost parts of Galilee, in the great plain, they, about midnight, fell among the guards I had set, who both commanded them to lay aside their weapons, and kept them in bonds upon the place, as I had charged them to do. This news was written to me by Levi, who had the command of that guard committed to him by me. Hereupon I said nothing of it for two days; and, pretending to know nothing about it, I sent a message to the people of Tiberias, and advised them to lay their arms aside, and

to dismiss their men, that they might go home. But, supposing that Jonathan, and those that were with him, were already arrived at Jerusalem, they made reproachful answers to me; yet was I not terrified thereby, but contrived another stratagem against them, for I did not think it agreeable with piety to kindle the fire of war against the citizens. As I was desirous to draw those men away from Tiberias, I chose out ten thousand of the best of my armed men, and divided them into three bodies, and ordered them to go privately, and lie still as an ambush, in the villages. I also led a thousand into another village, which lay indeed in the mountains, as did the others, but only four furlongs distant from Tiberias; and gave orders, that when they saw my signal, they should come down immediately, while I myself lay with my soldiers in the sight of every body. Hereupon the people of Tiberias, at the sight of me, came running out of the city perpetually, and abused me greatly. Nay, their madness was come to that height, that they made a decent bier for me, and, standing about it, they mourned over me in the way of jest and sport; and I could not but be myself in a pleasant humor upon the sight of this madness of theirs.

63. And now being desirous to catch Simon by a wile, and Joazar with him, I sent a message to them, and desired them to come a little way out of the city, and many of their friends to guard them; for I said I would come down to them, and make a league with them, and divide the government of Galilee with them. Accordingly, Simon was deluded on account of his imprudence, and out of the hopes of gain, and did not delay to come; but Joazar, suspecting snares were laid for him, staid behind. So when Simon was come out, and his friends with him, for his guard, I met him, and saluted him with great civility, and professed that I was obliged to him for his coming up to me; but a little while afterward I walked along with him as though I would say something to him by myself; and when I had drawn him a good way from his friends, I took him about the middle, and gave him to my friends that were with me, to carry him into a village; and, commanding my armed men to come down, I with them made an assault upon Tiberias. Now, as the fight grew hot on both sides, and the soldiers belonging to Tiberias were in a fair way to conquer me, [for my armed men were already fled away,] I saw the posture of my affairs; and encouraging those that were with me, I pursued those of Tiberias, even when they were already conquerors, into the city. I also sent another band of soldiers into the city by the lake, and gave them orders to set on fire the first house they could seize upon. When this was done, the people of Tiberinas thought that their city was taken by force, and so threw down their arms for fear, and implored, they, their wives, and children, that I would spare their city. So I was over-persuaded by their entreaties, and restrained the soldiers from the vehemency with which they pursued them; while

I myself, upon the coming on of the evening, returned back with my soldiers, and went to refresh myself. I also invited Simon to sup with me, and comforted him on occasion of what had happened; and I promised that I would send him safe and secure to Jerusalem, and withal would give him provisions for his journey thither.

64. But on the next day, I brought ten thousand armed men with me, and came to Tiberias. I then sent for the principal men of the multitude into the public place, and enjoined them to tell me who were the authors of the revolt; and when they told me who the men were, I sent them bound to the city Jotapata. But as to Jonathan and Ananias, I freed them from their bonds, and gave them provisions for their journey, together with Simon and Joazar, and five hundred armed men who should guard them; and so I sent them to Jerusalem. The people of Tiberias also came to me again, and desired that I would forgive them for what they had done; and they said they would amend what they had done amiss with regard to me, by their fidelity for the time to come; and they besought me to preserve what spoils remained upon the plunder of the city, for those that had lost them. Accordingly, I enjoined those that had got them, to bring them all before us; and when they did not comply for a great while, and I saw one of the soldiers that were about me with a garment on that was more splendid than ordinary, I asked him whence he had it; and when he replied that he had it out of the plunder of the city, I had him punished with stripes; and I threatened all the rest to inflict a severer punishment upon them, unless they produced before us whatsoever they had plundered; and when a great many spoils were brought together, I restored to every one of Tiberias what they claimed to be their own.

65. And now I am come to this part of my narration, I have a mind to say a few things to Justus, who hath himself written a history concerning these affairs, as also to others who profess to write history, but have little regard to truth, and are not afraid, either out of ill-will or good-will to some persons, to relate falsehoods. These men do like those who compose forged deeds and conveyances; and because they are not brought to the like punishment with them, they have no regard to truth. When, therefore, Justus undertook to write about these facts, and about the Jewish war, that he might appear to have been an industrious man, he falsified in what he related about me, and could not speak truth even about his own country; whence it is that, being belied by him, I am under a necessity to make my defense; and so I shall say what I have concealed till now. And let no one wonder that I have not told the world these things a great while ago. For although it be necessary for an historian to write the truth, yet is such a one not bound severely to animadvert on the wickedness of certain men; not out of any favor to them, but out of an author’s own moderation. How

then comes it to pass, O Justus! thou most sagacious of writers, [that I may address myself to him as if he were here present,] for so thou boastest of thyself, that I and the Galileans have been the authors of that sedition which thy country engaged in, both against the Romans and against the king [Agrippa, junior] For before ever I was appointed governor of Galilee by the community of Jerusalem, both thou and all the people of Tiberias had not only taken up arms, but had made war with Decapolis of Syria. Accordingly, thou hadst ordered their villages to be burnt, and a domestic servant of thine fell in the battle. Nor is it I only who say this; but so it is written in the Commentaries of Vespasian, the emperor; as also how the inhabitants of Decapolis came clamoring to Vespasian at Ptolemais, and desired that thou, who wast the author [of that war], mightest be brought to punishment. And thou hadst certainly been punished at the command of Vespasian, had not king Agrippa, who had power given him to have thee put to death, at the earnest entreaty of his sister Bernice, changed the punishment from death into a long imprisonment. Thy political administration of affairs afterward doth also clearly discover both thy other behavior in life, and that thou wast the occasion of thy country's revolt from the Romans; plain signs of which I shall produce presently. I have also a mind to say a few things to the rest of the people of Tiberias on thy account, and to demonstrate to those that light upon this history, that you bare no good-will, neither to the Romans, nor to the king. To be sure, the greatest cities of Galilee, O Justus! were Sepphoris, and thy country Tiberias. But Sepphoris, situated in the very midst of Galilee, and having many villages about it, and able with ease to have been bold and troublesome to the Romans, if they had so pleased, yet did it resolve to continue faithful to those their masters, and at the same time excluded me out of their city, and prohibited all their citizens from joining with the Jews in the war; and, that they might be out of danger from me, they, by a wile, got leave of me to fortify their city with walls: they also, of their own accord, admitted of a garrison of Roman legions, sent them by Cestlus Gallus, who was then president of Syria, and so had me in contempt, though I was then very powerful, and all were greatly afraid of me; and at the same time that the greatest of our cities, Jerusalem, was besieged, and that temple of ours, which belonged to us all, was in danger of falling under the enemy's power, they sent no assistance thither, as not willing to have it thought they would bear arms against the Romans. But as for thy country, O Justus: situated upon the lake of Gennesareth, and distance from Hippos thirty furlongs, from Gadara sixty, and from Scythopolis, which was under the king's jurisdiction, a hundred and twenty; when there was no Jewish city near, it might easily have preserved its fidelity [to the Romans,] if it had so pleased them to do, for the city and its people had plenty of weapons.

But, as thou sayest, I was then the author [of their revolts]. And pray, O Justus! who was that author afterwards? For thou knowest that I was in the power of the Romans before Jerusalem was besieged, and before the same time Jotapata was taker by force, as well as many other fortresses, and a great many of the Galileans fell in the war. It was therefore then a proper time, when you were certainly freed from any fear on my account, to throw away your weapons, and to demonstrate to the king and to the Romans, that it was not of choice, but as forced by necessity, that you fell into the war against them; but you staid till Vespasian came himself as far as your walls, with his whole army; and then you did indeed lay aside your weapons out of fear, and your city had for certain been taken by force, unless Vespasian had complied with the king's supplication for you, and had excused your madness. It was not I, therefore, who was the author of this, but your own inclinations to war. Do not you remember how often I got you under my power, and yet put none of you to death? Nay, you once fell into a tumult one against another, and slew one hundred and eighty-five of your citizens, not on account of your good-will to the king and to the Romans, but on account of your own wickedness, and this while I was besieged by the Romans in Jotapata. Nay, indeed, were there not reckoned up two thousand of the people of Tiberias during the siege of Jerusalem, some of whom were slain, and the rest caught and carried captives? But thou wilt pretend that thou didst not engage in the war, since thou didst flee to the king. Yes, indeed, thou didst flee to him; but I say it was out of fear of me. Thou sayest, indeed, that it is I who am a wicked man. But then, for what reason was it that king Agrippa, who procured thee thy life when thou wast condemned to die by Vespian, and who bestowed so much riches upon thee, did twice afterward put thee in bonds, and as often obliged thee to run away from thy country, and, when he had once ordered thee to be put to death, he granted thee a pardon at the earnest desire of Bernice? And when [after so many of thy wicked pranks] he made thee his secretary, he caught thee falsifying his epistles, and drove thee away from his sight. But I shall not inquire accurately into these matters of scandal against thee. Yet cannot I but wonder at thy impudence, when thou hast the assurance to say, that thou hast better related these affairs [of the war] than have all the others that have written about them, whilst thou didst not know what was done in Galilee; for thou wast then at Berytus with the king; nor didst thou know how much the Romans suffered at the siege of Jotapata, or what miseries they brought upon us; nor couldst thou learn by inquiry what I did during that siege myself; for all those that might afford such information were quite destroyed in that siege. But perhaps thou wilt say, thou hast written of what was done against the people of Jerusalem exactly. But how should that be? for neither wast thou concerned in that war, nor hast

thou read the commentaries of Caesar; of which we have evident proof, because thou hast contradicted those commentaries of Caesar in thy history. But if thou art so hardy as to affirm, that thou hast written that history better than all the rest, why didst thou not publish thy history while the emperors Vespasian and Titus, the generals in that war, as well as king Agrippa and his family, who were men very well skilled in the learning of the Greeks, were all alive? for thou hast had it written these twenty years, and then mightest thou have had the testimony of thy accuracy. But now when these men are no longer with us, and thou thinkest thou canst not be contradicted, thou venturest to publish it. But then I was not in like manner afraid of my own writing, but I offered my books to the emperors themselves, when the facts were almost under men's eyes; for I was conscious to myself, that I had observed the truth of the facts; and as I expected to have their attestation to them, so I was not deceived in such expectation. Moreover, I immediately presented my history to many other persons, some of whom were concerned in the war, as was king Agrippa and some of his kindred. Now the emperor Titus was so desirous that the knowledge of these affairs should be taken from these books alone, that he subscribed his own hand to them, and ordered that they should be published; and for king Agrippa, he wrote me sixty-two letters, and attested to the truth of what I had therein delivered; two of which letters I have here subjoined, and thou mayst thereby know their contents:— "King Agrippa to Josephus, however, when thou comest to me, I will inform thee of a great many things which thou dost not know." So when this history was perfected, Agrippa, neither by way of flattery, which was not agreeable to him, nor by way of irony, as thou wilt say, [for he was entirely a stranger to such an evil disposition of mind,] but he wrote this by way of attestation to what was true, as all that read histories may do. And so much shall be said concerning Justus which I am obliged to add by way of digression.

66. Now, when I had settled the affairs of Tiberias, and had assembled my friends as a sanhedrim, I consulted what I should do as to John. Whereupon it appeared to be the opinion of all the Galileans, that I should arm them all, and march against John, and punish him as the author of all the disorders that had happened. Yet was not I pleased with their determination; as purposing to compose these troubles without bloodshed. Upon this I exhorted them to use the utmost care to learn the names of all that were under John; which when they had done, and I thereby was apprized who the men were, I published an edict, wherein I offered security and my right hand to such of John's party as had a mind to repent; and I allowed twenty days' time to such as would take this most advantageous course for themselves. I also threatened, that unless they threw down their arms, I would burn their houses, and expose their goods to public sale. When the men heard of this, they were in no small disorder, and deserted John; and to the number of four thousand threw down their arms, and came to me. So that no others staid with John but his own citizens, and about fifteen hundred strangers that came from the metropolis of Tyre; and when John saw that he had been outwitted by my stratagem, he continued afterward in his own country, and was in great fear of me.

67. But about this time it was that the people of Sepphoris grew insolent, and took up arms, out of a confidence they had in the strength of their walls, and because they saw me engaged in other affairs also. So they sent to Cestius Gallus, who was president of Syria, and desired that he would either come quickly to them, and take their city under his protection, or send them a garrison. Accordingly, Gallus promised them to come, but did not send word when he would come: and when I had learned so much, I took the soldiers that were with me, and made an assault upon the people of Sepphoris, and took the city by force. The Galileans took this opportunity, as thinking they had now a proper time for showing their hatred to them, since they bore ill-will to that city also. They then exerted themselves, as if they would destroy them all utterly, with those that sojourned there also. So they ran upon them, and set their houses on fire, as finding them without inhabitants; for the men, out of fear, ran together to the citadel. So the Galileans carried off every thing, and omitted no kind of desolation which they could bring upon their countrymen. When I saw this, I was exceedingly troubled at it, and commanded them to leave off, and put them in mind that it was not agreeable to piety to do such things to their countrymen: but since they neither would hearken to what I exhorted, nor to what I commanded them to do, [for the hatred they bore to the people there was too hard for my exhortations to them,] I bade those my friends, who were most faithful to me, and were about me, to give on reports, as if the Romans were

falling upon the other part of the city with a great army; and this I did, that, by such a report being spread abroad, I might restrain the violence of the Galileans, and preserve the city of Sepphoris. And at length this stratagem had its effect; for, upon hearing this report, they were in fear for themselves, and so they left off plundering and ran away; and this more especially, because they saw me, their general, do the same also; for, that I might cause this report to be believed, I pretended to be in fear as well as they. Thus were the inhabitants of Sepphoris unexpectedly preserved by this contrivance of mine.

68. Nay, indeed, Tiberias had like to have been plundered by the Galileans also upon the following occasion: — The chief men of the senate wrote to the king, and desired that he would come to them, and take possession of their city. The king promised to come, and wrote a letter in answer to theirs, and gave it to one of his bed-chamber, whose name was Crispus, and who was by birth a Jew, to carry it to Tiberias. When the Galileans knew that this man carried such a letter, they caught him, and brought him to me; but as soon as the whole multitude heard of it, they were enraged, and betook themselves to their arms. So a great many of them together from all quarters the next day, and came to the city Asochis, where I then lodged, and made heavy clamors, and called the city of Tiberias a traitor to them, and a friend to the king; and desired leave of me to go down and utterly destroy it; for they bore the like ill-will to the people of Tiberias, as they did to those of Sepphoris.

69. When I heard this, I was in doubt what to do, and hesitated by what means I might deliver Tiberias from the rage of the Galileans; for I could not deny that those of Tiborias had written to the king, and invited him to come to them; for his letters to them, in answer thereto, would fully prove the truth of that. So I sat a long time musing with myself, and then said to them, “I know well enough that the people of Tiberias have offended; nor shall I forbid you to plunder the city. However, such things ought to be done with discretion; for they of Tiberias have not been the only betrayers of our liberty, but many of the most eminent patriots of the Galileans, as they pretended to be, have done the same. Tarry therefore till I shall thoroughly find out those authors of our danger, and then you shall have them all at once under your power, with all such as you shall yourselves bring in also.” Upon my saying this, I pacifie the multitude, and they left off their anger, and went their ways; and I gave orders that he who brought the king’s letters should be put into bonds; but in a few days I pretended that I was obliged, by a necessary affair of my own, to out of the kingdom. I then called Crispus privately, and ordered him to make the soldier that kept him drunk, and to run away to the king. So when Tiberias was in danger of being utterly destroyed a

second time, it escaped the danger by my skillful management, and the care that I had for its preservation.

70. About this time it was that Justus, the son of Pistus, without my knowledge, ran away to the king; the occasion of which I will here relate. Upon the beginning of the war between the Jews and Romans, the people of Tiberias resolved to submit to the king, and not to revolt from the Romans; while Justus tried to persuade them to betake themselves to their arms, as being himself desirous of innovations, and having hopes of obtaining the government of Galilee, as well as of his own country [Tiberias] also. Yet did he not obtain what he hoped for, because the Galileans bore ill-will to those of Tiberias, and this on account of their anger at what miseries they had suffered from them before the war; thence it was that they would not endure that Justus should be their governor. I myself also, who had been intrusted by the community of Jerusalem with the government of Galilee, did frequently come to that degree of rage at Justus, that I had almost resolved to kill him, as not able to bear his mischievous disposition. He was therefore much afraid of me, lest at length my passion should come to extremity; so he went to the king, as supposing that he would dwell better and more safely with him.

71. Now, when the people of Sepphoris had, in so surprising a manner, escaped their first danger, they sent to Cestius Gallus, and desired him to come to them immediately, and take possession of their city, or else to send forces sufficient to repress all their enemies' incursions upon them; and at the last they did prevail with Gallus to send them a considerable army, both of horse and foot, which came in the night time, and which they admitted into the city. But when the country round about it was harassed by the Roman army, I took those soldiers that were about me, and came to Garisme, where I cast up a bank, a good way off the city Sepphoris; and when I was at twenty furlongs distance, I came upon it by night, and made an assault upon its walls with my forces; and when I had ordered a considerable number of my soldiers to scale them with ladders, I became master of the greatest part of the city. But soon after, our unacquaintedness with the places forced us to retire, after we had killed twelve of the Roman footmen, and two horsemen, and a few of the people of Sepphoris, with the loss of only a single man of our own. And when it afterwards came to a battle in the plain against the horsemen, and we had undergone the dangers of it courageously for a long time, we were beaten; for upon the Romans encompassing me about, my soldiers were afraid, and fell back. There fell in that battle one of those that had been intrusted to guard my body; his name was Justus, who at this time had the same post with the king. At the same time also there came forces, both horsemen and footmen, from the king, and Sylla their

commander, who was the captain of his guard: this Sylla pitched his camp at five furlongs' distance from Julias, and set a guard upon the roads, both that which led to Cana, and that which led to the fortress Gamala, that he might hinder their inhabitants from getting provisions out of Galilee.

72. As soon as I had gotten intelligence of this, I sent two thousand armed men, and a captain over them, whose name was Jeremiah, who raised a bank a furlong off Julias, near to the river Jordan, and did no more than skirmish with the enemy; till I took three thousand soldiers myself, and came to them. But on the next day, when I had laid an ambush in a certain valley, not far from the banks, I provoked those that belonged to the king to come to a battle, and gave orders to my own soldiers to turn their backs upon them, until they should have drawn the enemy away from their camp, and brought them out into the field, which was done accordingly; for Sylla, supposing that our party did really run away, was ready to pursue them, when our soldiers that lay in ambush took them on their backs, and put them all into great disorder. I also immediately made a sudden turn with my own forces, and met those of the king's party, and put them to flight. And I had performed great things that day, if a certain fate had not been my hinderance; for the horse on which I rode, and upon whose back I fought, fell into a quagmire, and threw me on the ground, and I was bruised on my wrist, and carried into a village named Cepharnome, or Capernaum. When my soldiers heard of this, they were afraid I had been worse hurt than I was; and so they did not go on with their pursuit any further, but returned in very great concern for me. I therefore sent for the physicians, and while I was under their hands, I continued feverish that day; and as the physicians directed, I was that night removed to Taricheee.

73. When Sylla and his party were informed what happened to me, they took courage again; and understanding that the watch was negligently kept in our camp, they by night placed a body of horsemen in ambush beyond Jordan, and when it was day they provoked us to fight; and as we did not refuse it, but came into the plain, their horsemen appeared out of that ambush in which they had lain, and put our men into disorder, and made them run away; so they slew six men of our side. Yet did they not go off with the victory at last; for when they heard that some armed men were sailed from Taricheae to Juli, they were afraid, and retired.

74. It was not now long before Vespasian came to Tyre, and king Agrippa with him; but the Tyrians began to speak reproachfully of the king, and called him an enemy to the Romans. For they said that Philip, the general of his army, had betrayed the royal palace and the Roman forces that were in Jerusalem, and that it was done by his command. When Vespasian heard of this report, he

rebuked the Tyrians for abusing a man who was both a king and a friend to the Romans; but he exhorted the king to send Philip to Rome, to answer for what he had done before Nero. But when Philip was sent thither, he did not come into the sight of Nero, for he found him very near death, on account of the troubles that then happened, and a civil war; and so he returned to the king. But when Vespasian was come to Ptolemais, the chief men of Decapolis of Syria made a clamor against Justus of Tiberias, because he had set their villages on fire: so Vespasian delivered him to the king, to be put to death by those under the king's jurisdiction; yet did the king only put him into bonds, and concealed what he had done from Vespasian, as I have before related. But the people of Sepphoris met Vespasian, and saluted him, and had forces sent him, with Placidus their commander: he also went up with them, as I also followed them, till Vespasian came into Galilee. As to which coming of his, and after what manner it was ordered, and how he fought his first battle with me near the village Taricheae, and how from thence they went to Jotapata, and how I was taken alive, and bound, and how I was afterward loosed, with all that was done by me in the Jewish war, and during the siege of Jerusalem, I have accurately related them in the books concerning the War of the Jews. However, it will, I think, be fit for me to add now an account of those actions of my life which I have not related in that book of the Jewish war.

75. For when the siege of Jotapata was over, and I was among the Romans, I was kept with much Care, by means of the great respect that Vespasian showed me. Moreover, at his command, I married a virgin, who was from among the captives of that country yet did she not live with me long, but was divorced, upon my being freed from my bonds, and my going to Alexandria. However, I married another wife at Alexandria, and was thence sent, together with Titus, to the siege of Jerusalem, and was frequently in danger of being put to death; while both the Jews were very desirous to get me under their power, in order to haw me punished. And the Romans also, whenever they were beaten, supposed that it was occasioned by my treachery, and made continual clamors to the emperors, and desired that they would bring me to punishment, as a traitor to them: but Titus Caesar was well acquainted with the uncertain fortune of war, and returned no answer to the soldiers' vehement solicitations against me. Moreover, when the city Jerusalem was taken by force, Titus Caesar persuaded me frequently to take whatsoever I would of the ruins of my country; and did that he gave me leave so to do. But when my country was destroyed, I thought nothing else to be of any value, which I could take and keep as a comfort under my calamities; so I made this request to Titus, that my family might have their liberty: I had also the holy books by Titus's concession. Nor was it long after that I asked of him the

life of my brother, and of fifty friends with him, and was not denied. When I also went once to the temple, by the permission of Titus, where there were a great multitude of captive women and children, I got all those that I remembered as among my own friends and acquaintances to be set free, being in number about one hundred and ninety; and so I delivered them without their paying any price of redemption, and restored them to their former fortune. And when I was sent by Titus Caesar with Cerealins, and a thousand horsemen, to a certain village called Thecoa, in order to know whether it were a place fit for a camp, as I came back, I saw many captives crucified, and remembered three of them as my former acquaintance. I was very sorry at this in my mind, and went with tears in my eyes to Titus, and told him of them; so he immediately commanded them to be taken down, and to have the greatest care taken of them, in order to their recovery; yet two of them died under the physician's hands, while the third recovered.

76. But when Titus had composed the troubles in Judea, and conjectured that the lands which I had in Judea would bring me no profit, because a garrison to guard the country was afterward to pitch there, he gave me another country in the plain. And when he was going away to Rome, he made choice of me to sail along with him, and paid me great respect: and when we were come to Rome, I had great care taken of me by Vespasian; for he gave me an apartment in his own house, which he lived in before he came to the empire. He also honored me with the privilege of a Roman citizen, and gave me an annual pension; and continued to respect me to the end of his life, without any abatement of his kindness to me; which very thing made me envied, and brought me into danger; for a certain Jew, whose name was Jonathan, who had raised a tumult in Cyrene, and had persuaded two thousand men of that country to join with him, was the occasion of their ruin. But when he was bound by the governor of that country, and sent to the emperor, he told him that I had sent him both weapons and money. However, he could not conceal his being a liar from Vespasian, who condemned him to die; according to which sentence he was put to death. Nay, after that, when those that envied my good fortune did frequently bring accusations against me, by God's providence I escaped them all. I also received from Vespasian no small quantity of land, as a free gift, in Judea; about which time I divorced my wife also, as not pleased with her behavior, though not till she had been the mother of three children, two of whom are dead, and one whom I named Hyrcanus, is alive. After this I married a wife who had lived at Crete, but a Jewess by birth: a woman she was of eminent parents, and such as were the most illustrious in all the country, and whose character was beyond that of most other women, as her future life did demonstrate. By her I had two sons; the

elder's name was Justus, and the next Simonides, who was also named Agrippa. And these were the circumstances of my domestic affairs. However, the kindness of the emperor to me continued still the same; for when Vespasian was dead, Titus, who succeeded him in the government, kept up the same respect for me which I had from his father; and when I had frequent accusations laid against me, he would not believe them. And Domitian, who succeeded, still augmented his respects to me; for he punished those Jews that were my accusers, and gave command that a servant of mine, who was a eunuch, and my accuser, should be punished. He also made that country I had in Judea tax free, which is a mark of the greatest honor to him who hath it; nay, Domitia, the wife of Caesar, continued to do me kindnesses. And this is the account of the actions of my whole life; and let others judge of my character by them as they please. But to thee, O Epaphroditus, thou most excellent of men! do I dedicate all this treatise of our Antiquities; and so, for the present, I here conclude the whole.

DISCOURSE TO THE GREEKS CONCERNING HADES

Translated by William Whiston

This short treatise was erroneously attributed to Josephus from as early as at least the ninth century, though the work is now believed to be by Hippolytus of Rome. The treatise describes the author's views on the afterlife against the prevailing view of the the Greco-Romans of his day. The author describes Hades as having "a lake of unquenchable fire" prepared by God for a future date of judgment. However, both the just and unjust dead are confined in different, separate portions of Hades; all go through a gate guarded by "an archangel with an host", with the just being guided to the right hand toward a region of light called the Bosom of Abraham. The unjust are violently forced toward the left hand by angels, to a place characterized by fire and which emits "hot vapor", from which they can see the just but cannot pass over due to a "chaos deep and large" that serves as a barrier.

The author assures the Greeks he is addressing that God will resurrect the dead, raising again their bodies and not transmigrating their souls to different bodies. He insists that God is able to do this, likening the dead body both to sown seed and to material cast into "a potter's furnace, in order to be formed again". The author states that when clothed with their pure resurrected bodies, the just will no longer be subject to disease or misery. The unjust, in contrast, will receive their bodies unchanged, including their original diseases. All (just and unjust) will be brought before Jesus Christ who will come as Judge; the author specifically dismisses Minos and Rhadamanthus, those whom the Greeks believed were judges of the underworld, as the arbiters of mankind's fate. Instead, Christ will exercise "the righteous judgment of the Father towards all men", with everlasting punishment for the wicked and eternal bliss for the righteous. The author exhorts his audience to believe in God in order to participate in the reward of the just.

The final paragraph quotes an alleged saying of Christ, "In whatsoever ways I shall find you, in them shall I judge you entirely", which the author uses to claim that if a person living a virtuous life falls into sin, his virtue will not help him escape punishment, while a wicked person who repents in time may still recover "as from a distemper".

DISCOURSE TO THE GREEKS CONCERNING HADES

1. Now as to Hades, wherein the souls of the of the good things they see, and rejoice in the righteous and unrighteous are detained, it is necessary to speak of it. Hades is a place in the world not regularly finished; a subterraneous region, wherein the light of this world does not shine; from which circumstance, that in this region the light does not shine, it cannot be but there must be in it perpetual darkness. This region is allotted as a place of custody for souls, ill which angels are appointed as guardians to them, who distribute to them temporary punishments, agreeable to every one's behavior and manners.

2. In this region there is a certain place set apart, as a lake of unquenchable fire, whereinto we suppose no one hath hitherto been cast; but it is prepared for a day afore-determined by God, in which one righteous sentence shall deservedly be passed upon all men; when the unjust, and those that have been disobedient to God, and have given honor to such idols as have been the vain operations of the hands of men as to God himself, shall be adjudged to this everlasting punishment, as having been the causes of defilement; while the just shall obtain an incorruptible and never-fading kingdom. These are now indeed confined in Hades, but not in the same place wherein the unjust are confined.

3. For there is one descent into this region, at whose gate we believe there stands an archangel with an host; which gate when those pass through that are conducted down by the angels appointed over souls, they do not go the same way; but the just are guided to the right hand, and are led with hymns, sung by the angels appointed over that place, unto a region of light, in which the just have dwelt from the beginning of the world; not constrained by necessity, but ever enjoying the prospect of the good things they see, and rejoice in the expectation of those new enjoyments which will be peculiar to every one of them, and esteeming those things beyond what we have here; with whom there is no place of toil, no burning heat, no piercing cold, nor are any briers there; but the countenance of the and of the just, which they see, always smiles them, while they wait for that rest and eternal new life in heaven, which is to succeed this region. This place we call The Bosom of Abraham.

4. But as to the unjust, they are dragged by force to the left hand by the angels allotted for punishment, no longer going with a good-will, but as prisoners driven by violence; to whom are sent the angels appointed over them to reproach them and threaten them with their terrible looks, and to thrust them still downwards. Now those angels that are set over these souls drag them into the neighborhood of hell itself; who, when they are hard by it, continually hear the

noise of it, and do not stand clear of the hot vapor itself; but when they have a near view of this spectacle, as of a terrible and exceeding great prospect of fire, they are struck with a fearful expectation of a future judgment, and in effect punished thereby: and not only so, but where they see the place [or choir] of the fathers and of the just, even hereby are they punished; for a chaos deep and large is fixed between them; insomuch that a just man that hath compassion upon them cannot be admitted, nor can one that is unjust, if he were bold enough to attempt it, pass over it.

5. This is the discourse concerning Hades, wherein the souls of all men are confined until a proper season, which God hath determined, when he will make a resurrection of all men from the dead, not procuring a transmigration of souls from one body to another, but raising again those very bodies, which you Greeks, seeing to be dissolved, do not believe [their resurrection]. But learn not to disbelieve it; for while you believe that the soul is created, and yet is made immortal by God, according to the doctrine of Plato, and this in time, be not incredulous; but believe that God is able, when he hath raised to life that body which was made as a compound of the same elements, to make it immortal; for it must never be said of God, that he is able to do some things, and unable to do others. We have therefore believed that the body will be raised again; for although it be dissolved, it is not perished; for the earth receives its remains, and preserves them; and while they are like seed, and are mixed among the more fruitful soil, they flourish, and what is sown is indeed sown bare grain, but at the mighty sound of God the Creator, it will sprout up, and be raised in a clothed and glorious condition, though not before it has been dissolved, and mixed [with the earth]. So that we have not rashly believed the resurrection of the body; for although it be dissolved for a time on account of the original transgression, it exists still, and is cast into the earth as into a potter's furnace, in order to be formed again, not in order to rise again such as it was before, but in a state of purity, and so as never to be destroyed any more. And to every body shall its own soul be restored. And when it hath clothed itself with that body, it will not be subject to misery, but, being itself pure, it will continue with its pure body, and rejoice with it, with which it having walked righteously now in this world, and never having had it as a snare, it will receive it again with great gladness. But as for the unjust, they will receive their bodies not changed, not freed from diseases or distempers, nor made glorious, but with the same diseases wherein they died; and such as they were in their unbelief, the same shall they be when they shall be faithfully judged.

6. For all men, the just as well as the unjust, shall be brought before God the word: for to him hath the Father committed all judgment: and he, in order to

fulfill the will of his Father, shall come as Judge, whom we call Christ. For Minos and Rhadamanthus are not the judges, as you Greeks do suppose, but he whom God and the Father hath glorified: Concerning Whom We Have Elsewhere Given A More Particular Account, For The Sake Of Those Who Seek After Truth. This person, exercising the righteous judgment of the Father towards all men, hath prepared a just sentence for every one, according to his works; at whose judgment-seat when all men, and angels, and demons shall stand, they will send forth one voice, and say, Just Is Thy Judgment; the rejoinder to which will bring a just sentence upon both parties, by giving justly to those that have done well an everlasting fruition; but allotting to the lovers of wicked works eternal punishment. To these belong the unquenchable fire, and that without end, and a certain fiery worm, never dying, and not destroying the body, but continuing its eruption out of the body with never-ceasing grief: neither will sleep give ease to these men, nor will the night afford them comfort; death will not free them from their punishment, nor will the interceding prayers of their kindred profit them; for the just are no longer seen by them, nor are they thought worthy of remembrance. But the just shall remember only their righteous actions, whereby they have attained the heavenly kingdom, in which there is no sleep, no sorrow, no corruption, no care, no night, no day measured by time, no sun driven in his course along the circle of heaven by necessity, and measuring out the bounds and conversions of the seasons, for the better illumination of the life of men; no moon decreasing and increasing, or introducing a variety of seasons, nor will she then moisten the earth; no burning sun, no Bear turning round [the pole], no Orion to rise, no wandering of innumerable stars. The earth will not then be difficult to be passed over, nor will it be hard to find out the court of paradise, nor will there be any fearful roaring of the sea, forbidding the passengers to walk on it; even that will be made easily passable to the just, though it will not be void of moisture. Heaven will not then be uninhabitable by men, and it will not be impossible to discover the way of ascending thither. The earth will not be uncultivated, nor require too much labor of men, but will bring forth its fruits of its own accord, and will be well adorned with them. There will be no more generations of wild beasts, nor will the substance of the rest of the animals shoot out any more; for it will not produce men, but the number of the righteous will continue, and never fail, together with righteous angels, and spirits [of God], and with his word, as a choir of righteous men and women that never grow old, and continue in an incorruptible state, singing hymns to God, who hath advanced them to that happiness, by the means of a regular institution of life; with whom the whole creation also will lift up a perpetual hymn from corruption, to incorruption, as glorified by a splendid and

pure spirit. It will not then be restrained by a bond of necessity, but with a lively freedom shall offer up a voluntary hymn, and shall praise him that made them, together with the angels, and spirits, and men now freed from all bondage.

7. And now, if you Gentiles will be persuaded by these motives, and leave your vain imaginations about your pedigrees, and gaining of riches, and philosophy, and will not spend your time about subtleties of words, and thereby lead your minds into error, and if you will apply your ears to the hearing of the inspired prophets, the interpreters both of God and of his word, and will believe in God, you shall both be partakers of these things, and obtain the good things that are to come; you shall see the ascent unto the immense heaven plainly, and that kingdom which is there. For what God hath now concealed in silence [will be then made manifest,] what neither eye hath seen, nor ear hath heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man, the things that God hath prepared for them that love him.

8. In whatsoever ways I shall find you, in them shall I judge you entirely: so cries the End of all things. And he who hath at first lived a virtuous lift, but towards the latter end falls into vice, these labors by him before endured shall be altogether vain and unprofitable, even as in a play, brought to an ill catastrophe. Whosoever shall have lived wickedly and luxuriously may repent; however, there will be need of much time to conquer an evil habit, and even after repentance his whole life must be guarded with great care and diligence, after the manner of a body, which, after it hath been a long time afflicted with a distemper, requires a stricter diet and method of living; for though it may be possible, perhaps, to break off the chain of our irregular affections at once, yet our amendment cannot be secured without the grace of God, the prayers of good men, the help of the brethren, and our own sincere repentance and constant care. It is a good thing not to sin at all; it is also good, having sinned, to repent; as it is best to have health always, but it is a good thing to recover from a distemper. To God be glory and dominion for ever and ever Amen.

The Greek Texts

Remnants of the 1st century Stairs of Ascent, Temple of Jerusalem — Josephus descended through his father from the priestly order of the Jehoiarib, which was the first of the 24 orders of priests in the temple.

LIST OF GREEK TEXTS

In this section of the eBook, readers can view the original Greek texts of Josephus' works. You may wish to Bookmark this page for future reference.

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Praefatio

(1) [1] Ἐπειδὴ τὸν Ἰουδαίων πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον συστάντα μέγιστον οὐ μόνον τῶν καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ὧν ἀκοῇ παρειλήφαμεν ἢ πόλεων πρὸς πόλεις ἢ ἐθνῶν ἔθνεσι συρραγέντων, οἱ μὲν οὐ παρατυχόντες τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀκοῇ συλλέγοντες εἰκαῖα καὶ ἀσύμφωνα διηγήματα σοφιστικῶς ἀναγράφουσιν, [2] οἱ παραγενόμενοι δὲ ἢ κολακείᾳ τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἢ μίσει τῷ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους καταψεύδονται τῶν πραγμάτων, περιέχει δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅπου μὲν κατηγορίαν ὅπου δὲ ἐγκώμιον τὰ συγγράμματα, τὸ δ᾽ ἀκριβὲς τῆς ἱστορίας οὐδαμοῦ, [3] προυθέμην ἐγὼ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν Ἕλλάδι γλώσσῃ μεταβαλὼν ἃ τοῖς ἄνω βαρβάροις τῇ πατρίῳ συντάξας ἀνέπεμψα πρότερον ἀφηγήσασθαι Ἰώσηπος Ματθίου παῖς ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ἱερεύς, αὐτός τε Ῥωμαίους πολεμήσας τὰ πρῶτα καὶ τοῖς ὕστερον παρατυχὼν ἐξ ἀνάγκης:

(2) [4] γενομένου γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, μεγίστου τοῦδε τοῦ κινήματος ἐν Ῥωμαίοις μὲν ἐνόσει τὰ οἰκεῖα, Ἰουδαίων δὲ τὸ νεωτερίζον τότε τεταραγμένοις ἐπανέστη τοῖς καιροῖς ἀκμάζον κατά τε χεῖρα καὶ χρήμασιν, ὡς δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν θορύβων τοῖς μὲν ἐν ἐλπίδι κτήσεως τοῖς δ᾽ ἐν ἀφαιρέσεως δέει γίνεσθαι τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολήν, [5] ἐπειδὴ Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν ἅπαν τὸ ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην ὁμόφυλον συνεπαρθήσεσθαι σφίσιν ἤλπισαν, Ῥωμαίους δὲ οἵ τε γείτονες Γαλάται παρεκίνουν καὶ τὸ Κελτικὸν οὐκ ἠρέμει, μεστὰ δ᾽ ἦν πάντα θορύβων μετὰ Νέρωνα, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν βασιλειᾶν ὁ καιρὸς ἀνέπειθεν, τὰ στρατιωτικὰ δὲ ἤρα μεταβολῆς ἐλπίδι λημμάτων: [6] ἄτοπον ἡγησάμενος περιιδεῖν πλαζομένην ἐπὶ τηλικούτοις πράγμασι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ Πάρθους μὲν καὶ Βαβυλωνίους Ἀράβων τε τοὺς πορρωτάτω καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην ὁμόφυλον ἡμῖν Ἀδιαβηνούς τε γνῶναι διὰ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐπιμελείας ἀκριβῶς, ὅθεν τε ἤρξατο καὶ δι᾽ ὅσων ἐχώρησεν παθῶν ὁ πόλεμος καὶ ὅπως κατέστρεψεν, ἀγνοεῖν δὲ Ἕλληνας ταῦτα καὶ Ῥωμαίων τοὺς μὴ ἐπιστρατευσαμένους, ἐντυγχάνοντας ἢ κολακείαις ἢ πλάσμασι.

(3) [7] Καίτοι γε ἱστορίας αὐτὰς ἐπιγράφειν τολμῶσιν, ἐν αἷς πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν ὑγιὲς δηλοῦν καὶ τοῦ σκοποῦ δοκοῦσιν ἔμοιγε διαμαρτάνειν. βούλονται μὲν γὰρ μεγάλους τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀποδεικνύειν, καταβάλλουσιν δὲ ἀεὶ τὰ Ἰουδαίων καὶ ταπεινοῦσιν: [8] οὐχ ὁρῶ δέ, πῶς ἂν εἶναι μεγάλοι δοκοῖεν οἱ μικροὺς νενικηκότες: καὶ οὔτε τὸ μῆκος αἰδοῦνται τοῦ πολέμου οὔτε τὸ πλῆθος τῆς Ῥωμαίων καμούσης στρατιᾶς οὔτε τὸ μέγεθος τῶν στρατηγῶν, οἳ πολλὰ περὶ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱδρώσαντες οἶμαι ταπεινουμένου τοῦ κατορθώματος αὐτοῖς ἀδοξοῦσιν.

(4) [9] Οὐ μὴν ἐγὼ τοῖς ἐπαίρουσι τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀντιφιλονεικῶν αὔξειν τὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων διέγνων, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἔργα μετ᾽ ἀκριβείας ἀμφοτέρων διέξειμι, τοὺς δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι λόγους ἀνατίθημι τῇ διαθέσει καὶ τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ πάθεσι διδοὺς ἐπολοφύρεσθαι ταῖς τῆς πατρίδος συμφοραῖς. [10] ὅτι γὰρ αὐτὴν στάσις οἰκεία καθεῖλεν, καὶ τὰς Ῥωμαίων χεῖρας ἀκούσας καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ τὸν ναὸν εἵλκυσαν οἱ Ἰουδαίων τύραννοι, μάρτυς αὐτὸς ὁ πορθήσας Καῖσαρ Τίτος, ἐν παντὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τὸν μὲν δῆμον ἐλεήσας ὑπὸ τῶν στασιαστῶν φρουρούμενον, πολλάκις δὲ ἑκὼν τὴν ἅλωσιν τῆς πόλεως ὑπερτιθέμενος καὶ διδοὺς τῇ πολιορκίᾳ χρόνον εἰς μετάνοιαν τῶν αἰτίων. [11] εἰ δή τις ὅσα πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους ἢ τὸ λῃστρικὸν αὐτῶν κατηγορικῶς λέγοιμεν ἢ τοῖς δυστυχήμασι τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιστένοντες συκοφαντοίη, διδότω παρὰ τὸν τῆς ἱστορίας νόμον συγγνώμην τῷ πάθει: πόλιν μὲν γὰρ δὴ τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις πασῶν τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐπὶ πλεῖστόν τε εὐδαιμονίας συνέβη προελθεῖν καὶ πρὸς ἔσχατον συμφορῶν αὖθις καταπεσεῖν: [12] τὰ γοῦν πάντων ἀπ᾽ αἰῶνος ἀτυχήματα πρὸς τὰ Ἰουδαίων ἡττῆσθαι δοκῶ κατὰ σύγκρισιν: καὶ τούτων αἴτιος οὐδεὶς ἀλλόφυλος, ὥστε ἀμήχανον ἦν ὀδυρμῶν ἐπικρατεῖν. εἰ δέ τις οἴκτου σκληρότερος εἴη δικαστής, τὰ μὲν πράγματα τῇ ἱστορίᾳ προσκρινέτω, τὰς δ᾽ ὀλοφύρσεις τῷ γράφοντι.

(5) [13] Καίτοι γε ἐπιτιμήσαιμ᾽ ἂν αὐτὸς δικαίως τοῖς Ἑλλήνων λογίοις, οἳ τηλικούτων κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς πραγμάτων γεγενημένων, ἃ κατὰ σύγκρισιν ἐλαχίστους ἀποδείκνυσι τοὺς πάλαι πολέμους, τούτων μὲν κάθηνται κριταὶ τοῖς φιλοτιμουμένοις ἐπηρεάζοντες, ὧν εἰ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ πλεονεκτοῦσι, λείπονται τῇ προαιρέσει: αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Μήδων συγγράφουσιν ὥσπερ ἧττον καλῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων συγγραφέων ἀπηγγελμένα. [14] καίτοι τοσούτῳ τῆς ἐκείνων ἡττῶνται δυνάμεως ἐν τῷ γράφειν, ὅσῳ καὶ τῆς γνώμης: τὰ γὰρ κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐσπούδαζον ἕκαστοι γράφειν, ὅπου καὶ τὸ παρατυχεῖν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐποίει τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν ἐναργῆ καὶ τὸ ψεύδεσθαι παρ᾽ εἰδόσιν αἰσχρὸν ἦν. [15] τό γε μὴν μνήμῃ τὰ προιστορηθέντα διδόναι καὶ τὰ τῶν ἰδίων χρόνων τοῖς μετ᾽ αὐτὸν συνιστάνειν ἐπαίνου καὶ μαρτυρίας ἄξιον: φιλόπονος δὲ οὐχ ὁ μεταποιῶν οἰκονομίαν καὶ τάξιν ἀλλοτρίαν, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μετὰ τοῦ καινὰ λέγειν καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἱστορίας κατασκευάζων ἴδιον. [16] κἀγὼ μὲν ἀναλώμασι καὶ πόνοις μεγίστοις ἀλλόφυλος ὢν Ἕλλησί τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις τὴν μνήμην τῶν κατορθωμάτων ἀνατίθημι: τοῖς δὲ γνησίοις πρὸς μὲν τὰ λήμματα καὶ τὰς δίκας κέχηνεν εὐθέως τὸ στόμα καὶ γλῶσσα λέλυται, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἱστορίαν, ἔνθα χρὴ τἀληθῆ λέγειν καὶ μετὰ πολλοῦ πόνου τὰ πράγματα συλλέγειν, πεφίμωνται παρέντες τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις καὶ μηδὲ γινώσκουσι τὰς πράξεις τῶν ἡγεμόνων γράφειν. τιμάσθω δὴ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν τὸ τῆς ἱστορίας ἀληθές, ἐπεὶ παρ᾽ Ἕλλησιν ἠμέληται.

(6) [17] Ἀρχαιολογεῖν μὲν δὴ τὰ Ἰουδαίων, τίνες τε ὄντες καὶ ὅπως ἀπανέστησαν Αἰγυπτίων, χώραν τε ὅσην ἐπῆλθον ἀλώμενοι καὶ πόσα ἐξῆς κατέλαβον καὶ ὅπως μετανέστησαν, νῦν τε ἄκαιρον ᾠήθην εἶναι καὶ ἄλλως περιττόν, ἐπειδήπερ

καὶ Ἰουδαίων πολλοὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ τὰ τῶν προγόνων συνετάξαντο μετ᾽ ἀκριβείας καί τινες Ἑλλήνων ἐκεῖνα τῇ πατρίῳ φωνῇ μεταβαλόντες οὐ πολὺ τῆς ἀληθείας διήμαρτον. [18] ὅπου δ᾽ οἵ τε τούτων συγγραφεῖς ἐπαύσαντο καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι προφῆται, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκεῖθεν ποιήσομαι τῆς συντάξεως: τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν τοῦ κατ᾽ ἐμαυτὸν πολέμου διεξοδικώτερον καὶ μεθ᾽ ὅσης ἂν ἐξεργασίας δύνωμαι δίειμι, τὰ δὲ προγενέστερα τῆς ἐμῆς ἡλικίας ἐπιδραμῶ συντόμως,

(7) [19] ὡς Ἀντίοχος ὁ κληθεὶς Ἐπιφανὴς ἑλὼν κατὰ κράτος Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ κατασχὼν ἔτεσι τρισὶ καὶ μησὶν ἓξ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀσαμωναίου παίδων ἐκβάλλεται τῆς χώρας, ἔπειθ᾽ ὡς οἱ τούτων ἔγγονοι περὶ τῆς βασιλείας διαστασιάσαντες εἴλκυσαν εἰς τὰ πράγματα Ῥωμαίους καὶ Πομπήιον. καὶ ὡς Ἡρώδης ὁ Ἀντιπάτρου κατέλυσε τὴν δυναστείαν αὐτῶν ἐπαγαγὼν Σόσσιον, [20] ὅπως τε ὁ λαὸς μετὰ τὴν Ἡρώδου τελευτὴν κατεστασίασεν Αὐγούστου μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονεύοντος, Κυιντιλίου δὲ Οὐάρου κατὰ τὴν χώραν ὄντος, καὶ ὡς ἔτει δωδεκάτῳ τῆς Νέρωνος ἀρχῆς ὁ πόλεμος ἀνερράγη τά τε συμβάντα κατὰ Κέστιον καὶ ὅσα κατὰ τὰς πρώτας ὁρμὰς ἐπῆλθον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοῖς ὅπλοις,

(8) [21] ὅπως τε τὰς περιοίκους ἐτειχίσαντο, καὶ ὡς Νέρων ἐπὶ τοῖς Κεστίου πταίσμασι δείσας περὶ τῶν ὅλων Οὐεσπασιανὸν ἐφίστησι τῷ πολέμῳ, καὶ ὡς οὗτος μετὰ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τῶν παίδων εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίων χώραν ἐνέβαλεν ὅσῃ τε χρώμενος Ῥωμαίων στρατιᾷ καὶ ὅσοι σύμμαχοι ἐκόπησαν εἰς ὅλην τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, καὶ ὡς τῶν πόλεων αὐτῆς ἃς μὲν ὁλοσχερῶς καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἃς δὲ δι᾽ ὁμολογίας ἔλαβεν: [22] ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐν πολέμοις εὐταξίας καὶ τὴν ἄσκησιν τῶν ταγμάτων, τῆς τε Γαλιλαίας ἑκατέρας τὰ διαστήματα καὶ τὴν φύσιν καὶ τοὺς τῆς Ἰουδαίας ὅρους, ἔτι τε τῆς χώρας τὴν ἰδιότητα, λίμνας τε καὶ πηγὰς τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ τὰ περὶ ἑκάστην πόλιν τῶν ἁλισκομένων πάθη μετὰ ἀκριβείας, ὡς εἶδον ἢ ἔπαθον, δίειμι. οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ τι συμφορῶν ἀποκρύψομαι μέλλων γε πρὸς εἰδότας ἐρεῖν.

(9) [23] Ἔπειθ᾽ ὡς ἤδη καμνόντων Ἰουδαίοις τῶν πραγμάτων θνήσκει μὲν Νέρων, Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ὡρμημένος ὑπὸ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀνθέλκεται: τά τε γενόμενα περὶ ταύτης αὐτῷ σημεῖα καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ Ῥώμης μεταβολάς, [24] καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἄκων αὐτοκράτωρ ἀποδείκνυται, καὶ ἀποχωρήσαντος ἐπὶ διοικήσει τῶν ὅλων εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐστασιάσθη τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὅπως τε ἐπανέστησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ τύραννοι, καὶ τὰς τούτων πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφοράς.

(10) [25] Καὶ ὡς ἄρας ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου Τίτος δεύτερον εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐνέβαλεν, ὅπως τε τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ ὅπου συνήγαγε καὶ ὁπόσας, καὶ ὅπως ἐκ τῆς στάσεως ἡ πόλις διέκειτο παρόντος αὐτοῦ, προσβολάς τε ὅσας ἐποιήσατο καὶ ὁπόσα χώματα, περιβόλους τε τῶν τριῶν τειχῶν καὶ τὰ μέτρα τούτων, τήν τε τῆς πόλεως ὀχυρότητα καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τὴν διάθεσιν, [26] ἔτι δὲ τούτων καὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὰ μέτρα πάντα μετ᾽ ἀκριβείας, ἔθη τε ἑορτῶν ἔνια καὶ τὰς ἑπτὰ

ἁγνείας καὶ τὰς τῶν ἱερέων λειτουργίας, ἔτι δὲ τὰς ἐσθῆτας τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, καὶ οἷον ἦν τοῦ ναοῦ τὸ ἅγιον, οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀποκρυπτόμενος οὔτε προστιθεὶς τοῖς πεφωραμένοις.

(11) [27] Ἔπειτα διέξειμι τήν τε τῶν τυράννων πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους ὠμότητα καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων φειδὼ πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους, καὶ ὁσάκις Τίτος σῶσαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐπιθυμῶν ἐπὶ δεξιὰς τοὺς στασιάζοντας προυκαλέσατο, διακρινῶ δὲ τὰ πάθη τοῦ δήμου καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς ὅσα τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ὅσα ὑπὸ τῆς στάσεως καὶ ὅσα ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ κακωθέντες ἐάλωσαν. [28] παραλείψω δὲ οὐδὲ τὰς τῶν αὐτομόλων ἀτυχίας οὐδὲ τὰς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων κολάσεις, ὅπως τε ὁ ναὸς ἄκοντος ἐνεπρήσθη Καίσαρος καὶ ὅσα τῶν ἱερῶν κειμηλίων ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἡρπάγη τήν τε τῆς ὅλης πόλεως ἅλωσιν καὶ τὰ πρὸ ταύτης σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα καὶ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν τῶν τυράννων τῶν τε ἀνδραποδισθέντων τὸ πλῆθος καὶ εἰς ἣν ἕκαστοι τύχην διενεμήθησαν: [29] καὶ ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐπεξῆλθον τὰ λείψανα τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τὰ ἐρύματα τῶν χωρίων καθεῖλον, Τίτος δὲ πᾶσαν ἐπελθὼν τὴν χώραν κατεστήσατο, τήν τε ὑποστροφὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰς Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὸν θρίαμβον.

(12) [30] Ταῦτα πάντα περιλαβὼν ἐν ἑπτὰ βιβλίοις καὶ μηδεμίαν τοῖς ἐπισταμένοις τὰ πράγματα καὶ παρατυχοῦσι τῷ πολέμῳ καταλιπὼν ἢ μέμψεως ἀφορμὴν ἢ κατηγορίας, τοῖς γε τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀγαπῶσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀνέγραψα. ποιήσομαι δὲ ταύτην τῆς ἐξηγήσεως ἀρχήν, ἣν καὶ τῶν κεφαλαίων ἐποιησάμην.

Liber I

I

(1) [31] Στάσεως τοῖς δυνατοῖς Ἰουδαίων ἐμπεσούσης καθ᾽ ὃν καιρὸν Ἀντίοχος ὁ κληθεὶς Ἐπιφανὴς διεφέρετο περὶ ὅλης Συρίας πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν ἕκτον, ἡ φιλοτιμία δ᾽ ἦν αὐτοῖς περὶ δυναστείας ἑκάστου τῶν ἐν ἀξιώματι μὴ φέροντος τοῖς ὁμοίοις ὑποτετάχθαι, Ὀνίας μὲν εἷς τῶν ἀρχιερέων ἐπικρατήσας ἐξέβαλε τῆς πόλεως τοὺς Τωβία υἱούς. [32] οἱ δὲ καταφυγόντες πρὸς Ἀντίοχον ἱκέτευσαν αὐτοῖς ἡγεμόσι χρώμενον εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐμβαλεῖν. πείθεται δ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὡρμημένος πάλαι, καὶ μετὰ πλείστης δυνάμεως αὐτὸς ὁρμήσας τήν τε πόλιν αἱρεῖ κατὰ κράτος καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος τῶν Πτολεμαίῳ προσεχόντων ἀναιρεῖ, ταῖς τε ἁρπαγαῖς ἀνέδην ἐπαφιεὶς τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτὸς καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐσύλησε καὶ τὸν ἐνδελεχισμὸν τῶν καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐναγισμῶν ἔπαυσεν ἐπ᾽ ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἕξ. [33] ὁ δ᾽ ἀρχιερεὺς Ὀνίας πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον διαφυγὼν καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ λαβὼν τόπον ἐν τῷ Ἡλιοπολίτῃ νομῷ πολίχνην τε τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀπεικασμένην καὶ ναὸν ἔκτισεν ὅμοιον: περὶ ὧν αὖθις κατὰ χώραν δηλώσομεν.

(2) [34] Ἀντιόχῳ γε μὴν οὔτε τὸ παρ᾽ ἐλπίδα κρατῆσαι τῆς πόλεως οὔτε αἱ ἁρπαγαὶ καὶ ὁ τοσοῦτος φόνος ἤρκεσεν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀκρασίας παθῶν καὶ κατὰ μνήμην ὧν παρὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἔπαθεν ἠνάγκαζεν Ἰουδαίους καταλύσαντας τὰ πάτρια βρέφη τε αὐτῶν φυλάττειν ἀπερίτμητα καὶ σῦς ἐπιθύειν τῷ βωμῷ: [35] πρὸς ἃ ἅπαντες μὲν ἠπείθουν, ἐσφάττοντο δὲ οἱ δοκιμώτατοι. καὶ Βακχίδης ὁ πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀντιόχου φρούραρχος, τῇ φυσικῇ προσλαβὼν ὠμότητι τὰ ἀσεβῆ παραγγέλματα παρανομίας οὐδεμίαν κατέλιπεν ὑπερβολὴν καὶ κατ᾽ ἄνδρα τοὺς ἀξιολόγους αἰκιζόμενος καὶ κοινῇ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐνδεικνύμενος ὄψιν ἀλώσεως τῇ πόλει, μέχρι ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς τῶν ἀδικημάτων τοὺς πάσχοντας εἰς ἀμύνης τόλμαν ἠρέθισε.

(3) [36] Ματθίας γοῦν υἱὸς Ἀσαμωναίου τῶν ἱερέων εἷς ἀπὸ κώμης Μωδεεὶν ὄνομα, συνασπίσας μετὰ χειρὸς οἰκείας, πέντε γὰρ υἱεῖς ἦσαν αὐτῷ, κοπίσιν ἀναιρεῖ τὸν Βακχίδην. καὶ παραχρῆμα μὲν δείσας τὸ πλῆθος τῶν φρουρῶν εἰς τὰ ὄρη καταφεύγει: [37] προσγενομένων δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου πολλῶν ἀναθαρσήσας κάτεισι καὶ συμβαλὼν μάχῃ νικᾷ τε τοὺς Ἀντιόχου στρατηγοὺς καὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐξελαύνει. παρελθὼν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς εὐπραγίας εἰς δυναστείαν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἀλλοφύλων ἄρξας τῶν σφετέρων ἑκόντων, τελευτᾷ Ἰούδᾳ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν παίδων καταλιπὼν τὴν ἀρχήν.

(4) [38] Ὁ δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἠρεμήσειν Ἀντίοχον ὑπελάμβανε, τάς τε ἐπιχωρίους συγκροτεῖ δυνάμεις, καὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πρῶτος ἐποιήσατο φιλίαν, καὶ τὸν Ἐπιφανῆ πάλιν εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐμβάλλοντα μετὰ καρτερᾶς πληγῆς ἀνέστειλεν. [39]

ἀπὸ δὲ θερμοῦ τοῦ κατορθώματος ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει φρουράν, οὔπω γὰρ ἐκκέκοπτο, καὶ ἐκβαλὼν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄνω πόλεως συνωθεῖ τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς τὴν κάτω: τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ ἄστεος τὸ μέρος Ἄκρα κέκληται: κυριεύσας δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τόν τε χῶρον ἐκάθηρε πάντα καὶ περιετείχισε καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας σκεύη καινὰ κατασκευάσας εἰς τὸν ναὸν εἰσήνεγκεν ὡς τῶν προτέρων μεμιαμμένων, βωμόν τε ᾠκοδόμησεν ἕτερον καὶ τῶν ἐναγισμῶν ἤρξατο. [40] λαμβανούσης δὲ ἄρτι τὸ ἱερὸν κατάστημα τῆς πόλεως τελευτᾷ μὲν Ἀντίοχος, κληρονόμος δὲ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ἀπεχθείας ὁ υἱὸς Ἀντίοχος γίνεται.

(5) [41] Συναγαγὼν γοῦν πεζῶν μὲν μυριάδας πέντε, ἱππεῖς δὲ πεντακισχιλίους, ἐλέφαντας δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα ἐμβάλλει διὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίας εἰς τὴν ὀρεινήν. Βηθσουρὸν μὲν οὖν πολίχνην αἱρεῖ, κατὰ δὲ τόπον, ὃς καλεῖται Βεθζαχαρία στενῆς οὔσης τῆς παρόδου Ἰούδας ὑπαντᾷ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. [42] πρὶν δὲ συνάψαι τὰς φάλαγγας Ἐλεάζαρος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ προιδὼν τὸν ὑψηλότατον τῶν ἐλεφάντων πύργῳ τε μεγάλῳ καὶ περιχρύσοις προτειχίσμασι κεκοσμημένον, ὑπολαβὼν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀντίοχον εἶναι, τῶν τε ἰδίων ἐκτρέχει πολὺ καὶ διακόψας τὸ στῖφος τῶν πολεμίων ἐπὶ τὸν ἐλέφαντα διήνυσεν. [43] ἐφικέσθαι μὲν οὖν τοῦ δοκοῦντος εἶναι βασιλέως οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν διὰ τὸ ὕψος, ὁ δὲ τὸ θηρίον ὑπὸ τὴν γαστέρα πλήξας ἐπικατέσεισεν ἑαυτῷ καὶ συντριβεὶς ἐτελεύτησεν, μηδὲν πλέον δράσας τοῦ τοῖς μεγάλοις ἐπιβαλέσθαι θέμενος εὐκλείας ἐν δευτέρῳ τὸ ζῆν. [44] ὅ γε μὴν κυβερνῶν τὸν ἐλέφαντα ἰδιώτης ἦν: κἂν εἰ συνέβη δὲ εἶναι τὸν Ἀντίοχον, οὐδὲν πλέον ἤνυσεν ὁ τολμήσας τοῦ δοκεῖν ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι μόνῃ λαμπροῦ κατορθώματος ἑλέσθαι τὸν θάνατον. [45] γίνεται δὲ καὶ κληδὼν τἀδελφῷ τῆς ὅλης παρατάξεως: καρτερῶς μὲν γὰρ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διηγωνίσαντο, πλήθει δὲ ὑπερέχοντες οἱ βασιλικοὶ καὶ δεξιᾷ χρησάμενοι τύχῃ κρατοῦσι, καὶ πολλῶν ἀναιρεθέντων τοὺς λοιποὺς ἔχων Ἰούδας εἰς τὴν Γοφνιτικὴν τοπαρχίαν φεύγει. [46] Ἀντίοχος δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ καθίσας ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἐν αὐτῇ κατὰ σπάνιν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπανίσταται, καταλιπὼν μὲν φρουρὰν ὅσην ἀποχρήσειν ὑπελάμβανε, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν δύναμιν ἀπαγαγὼν χειμεριοῦσαν εἰς τὴν Συρίαν.

(6) [47] Πρὸς δὲ τὴν ὑποχώρησιν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰούδας οὐκ ἠρέμει, προσγενομένων δ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους πολλῶν καὶ τοὺς διασωθέντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐπισυγκροτήσας κατὰ κώμην Ἀκέδασαν συμβάλλει τοῖς Ἀντιόχου στρατηγοῖς, καὶ φανεὶς ἄριστος κατὰ τὴν μάχην πολλούς τε τῶν πολεμίων ἀποκτείνας ἀναιρεῖται καὶ μεθ᾽ ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννης ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ Ἀντιόχου φρονούντων τελευτᾷ.

II

(1) [48] Διαδεξάμενος δὲ τοῦτον ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἰωνάθης τά τε ἄλλα πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους διὰ φυλακῆς ἦγεν ἑαυτὸν καὶ τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίᾳ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκρατύνατο πρός τε τὸν Ἀντιόχου παῖδα διαλλαγὰς ἐποιήσατο. οὐ μήν τι τούτων ἤρκεσεν αὐτῷ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν: [49] Τρύφων γὰρ ὁ τύραννος, ἐπίτροπος μὲν ὢν τοῦ Ἀντιόχου παιδὸς ἐπιβουλεύων δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ πρόσθεν, ἀποσκευάζεσθαι τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ πειρώμενος ἥκοντα τὸν Ἰωνάθην σὺν ὀλίγοις εἰς Πτολεμαίδα πρὸς Ἀντίοχον δόλῳ συλλαμβάνει καὶ δήσας ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίαν στρατεύει: εἶτ᾽ ἀπελαθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σίμωνος, ὃς ἦν ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Ἰωνάθου, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἧτταν ὠργισμένος κτείνει τὸν Ἰωνάθην.

(2) [50] Σίμων δὲ γενναίως ἀφηγούμενος τῶν πραγμάτων αἱρεῖ μὲν Γάζαρά τε καὶ Ἰόππην καὶ Ἰάμνειαν τῶν προσοίκων, κατέσκαψε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἄκραν τῶν φρουρῶν κρατήσας. αὖθις δὲ γίνεται καὶ Ἀντιόχῳ σύμμαχος κατὰ Τρύφωνος, ὃν ἐν Δώροις πρὸ τῆς ἐπὶ Μήδους στρατείας ἐπολιόρκει. [51] ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐξεδυσώπησεν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως πλεονεξίαν Τρύφωνα συνεξελών: μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ γὰρ Ἀντίοχος Κενδεβαῖον τὸν αὐτοῦ στρατηγὸν μετὰ δυνάμεως δῃώσοντα τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἔπεμψεν καὶ καταδουλωσόμενον Σίμωνα. [52] ὁ δὲ καίτοι γε γηραλέος ὢν νεανικώτερον ἀφηγήσατο τοῦ πολέμου: τοὺς μέντοι γε υἱεῖς αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἐρρωμενεστάτων προεκπέμπει, αὐτὸς δὲ μοῖραν τῆς δυνάμεως ἀναλαβὼν ἐπῄει κατ᾽ ἄλλο μέρος. [53] πολλοὺς δὲ πολλαχοῦ κἀν τοῖς ὄρεσι προλοχίσας πάσαις κρατεῖ ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς καὶ νικήσας λαμπρῶς ἀρχιερεὺς ἀποδείκνυται καὶ τῆς Μακεδόνων ἐπικρατείας μετὰ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη Ἰουδαίους ἀπαλλάττει.

(3) [54] Θνήσκει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ἐν συμποσίῳ ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ γαμβροῦ, ὃς αὐτοῦ τήν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς δύο παῖδας ἐγκαθείρξας ἐπὶ τὸν τρίτον Ἰωάννην, ὃς καὶ Ὑρκανὸς ἐκαλεῖτο, τοὺς ἀναιρήσοντας ἔπεμψεν. [55] προγνοὺς δὲ τὴν ἔφοδον ὁ νεανίσκος παραγενέσθαι εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἠπείγετο, πλεῖστον τῷ λαῷ πεποιθὼς κατά τε μνήμην τῶν πατρῴων κατορθωμάτων καὶ μῖσος τῆς Πτολεμαίου παρανομίας. ὥρμησε δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος εἰσελθεῖν καθ᾽ ἑτέραν πύλην, ἐξεκρούσθη γε μὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ταχέως δεδεγμένων ἤδη τὸν Ὑρκανόν. [56] καὶ ὁ μὲν παραχρῆμα ἀνεχώρησεν εἴς τι τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἰεριχοῦντος ἐρυμάτων, ὃ Δαγὼν καλεῖται: κομισάμενος δὲ τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρχιερωσύνην Ὑρκανὸς καὶ θύσας τῷ θεῷ μετὰ τάχους ἐπὶ Πτολεμαῖον ὥρμησεν βοηθήσων τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, καὶ προσβαλὼν τῷ φρουρίῳ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κρείττων ἦν,

(4) [57] ἡττᾶτο δὲ δικαίου πάθους: ὁ γὰρ Πτολεμαῖος ὁπότε καταπονοῖτο, τήν τε μητέρα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ προάγων ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους εἰς εὐσύνοπτον ἠκίζετο καὶ κατακρημνιεῖν, εἰ μὴ θᾶττον ἀπανασταίη, διηπείλει. [58] πρὸς ἃ τὸν μὲν Ὑρκανὸν ὀργῆς πλείων οἶκτος εἰσῄει καὶ δέος, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ οὐδὲν οὔτε πρὸς τὰς αἰκίας οὔτε πρὸς τὸν ἀπειλούμενον αὐτῇ θάνατον ἐνδιδοῦσα χεῖρας ὤρεγε καὶ κατηντιβόλει τὸν παῖδα μήτι πρὸς τὴν αὐτῆς ὕβριν ἐπικλασθέντα φείσασθαι

τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς, ὡς αὐτῇ γε κρείττονα τὸν ἐκ Πτολεμαίου θάνατον ἀθανασίας εἶναι δόντος δίκας ἐφ᾽ οἷς εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῶν παρηνόμησεν. [59] ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης ὁπότε μὲν ἐνθυμηθείη τὸ παράστημα τῆς μητρὸς καὶ κατακούσειε τῆς ἱκεσίας, ὥρμητο προσβάλλειν, ἐπειδὰν δὲ κατίδοι τυπτομένην τε καὶ σπαραττομένην, ἐθηλύνετο καὶ τοῦ πάθους ὅλος ἦν. [60] τριβομένης δὲ διὰ ταῦτα τῆς πολιορκίας ἐπέστη τὸ ἀργὸν ἔτος, ὃ κατὰ ἑπταετίαν ἀργεῖται παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις ὁμοίως ταῖς ἑβδομάσιν ἡμέραις. κἀν τούτῳ Πτολεμαῖος ἀνεθεὶς τῆς πολιορκίας ἀναιρεῖ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς Ἰωάννου σὺν τῇ μητρὶ καὶ φεύγει πρὸς Ζήνωνα τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Κοτυλᾶν: Φιλαδελφείας δ᾽ ἦν τύραννος.

(5) [61] Ἀντίοχος δὲ κατ᾽ ὀργὴν ὧν ὑπὸ Σίμωνος ἔπαθεν, στρατεύσας εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπολιόρκει τὸν Ὑρκανὸν προσκαθεζόμενος τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις. ὁ δὲ τὸν Δαυίδου τάφον ἀνοίξας, ὃς δὴ πλουσιώτατος βασιλέων ἐγένετο, καὶ ὑφελόμενος ὑπὲρ τρισχίλια τάλαντα χρημάτων τόν τε Ἀντίοχον ἀνίστησι τῆς πολιορκίας πείσας τριακοσίοις ταλάντοις καὶ δὴ καὶ ξενοτροφεῖν πρῶτος Ἰουδαίων ἐκ τῆς περιουσίας ἤρξατο.

(6) [62] Αὖθίς γε μὴν Ἀντίοχος ἐπὶ Μήδους στρατεύσας καιρὸν ἀμύνης αὐτῷ παρεῖχεν: εὐθέως γὰρ ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν Συρίᾳ πόλεις, κενάς, ὅπερ ἦν, ὑπολαμβάνων τῶν μαχιμωτέρων εὑρήσειν. [63] Μεδάβην μὲν οὖν καὶ Σαμαγὰν ἅμα ταῖς πλησίον, ἔτι δὲ Σίκιμα καὶ Ἀργαρίζειν αὐτὸς αἱρεῖ, πρὸς αἷς τὸ Χουθαίων γένος, οἳ περιῴκουν τὸ εἰκασθὲν τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερῷ. αἱρεῖ δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ἄλλας τε οὐκ ὀλίγας καὶ Ἀδωρεὸν καὶ Μάρισαν.

(7) [64] Προελθὼν δὲ καὶ μέχρι Σαμαρείας, ἔνθα νῦν ἐστιν Σεβαστὴ πόλις ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου κτισθεῖσα τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ πάντοθεν αὐτὴν ἀποτειχίσας τοὺς υἱεῖς ἐπέστησε τῇ πολιορκίᾳ Ἀριστόβουλον καὶ Ἀντίγονον: ὧν οὐδὲν ἀνιέντων λιμοῦ μὲν εἰς τοσοῦτον προῆλθον οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἅψασθαι καὶ τῶν ἀηθεστάτων. [65] ἐπικαλοῦνται δὲ βοηθὸν Ἀντίοχον τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Ἀσπένδιον: κἀκεῖνος ἑτοίμως ὑπακούσας ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἀριστόβουλον ἡττᾶται. καὶ ὁ μὲν μέχρι Σκυθοπόλεως διωχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐκφεύγει, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Σαμαρεῖς ὑποστρέψαντες τό τε πλῆθος πάλιν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος συγκλείουσιν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἑλόντες αὐτήν τε κατασκάπτουσιν καὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐξηνδραποδίσαντο. [66] προχωρούντων δὲ τῶν κατορθωμάτων τὴν ὁρμὴν οὐ κατέψυξαν, ἀλλὰ προελθόντες ἅμα τῇ δυνάμει μέχρι τῆς Σκυθοπόλεως ταύτην τε κατέδραμον καὶ τὴν ἐντὸς Καρμήλου τοῦ ὄρους χώραν ἅπασαν κατενείμαντο.

(8) [67] Πρὸς δὲ τὰς εὐπραγίας αὐτοῦ τε Ἰωάννου καὶ τῶν παίδων φθόνος ἐγείρει στάσιν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, καὶ πολλοὶ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν συνελθόντες οὐκ ἠρέμουν, μέχρι καὶ πρὸς φανερὸν πόλεμον ἐκριπισθέντες ἡττῶνται. [68] τὸ λοιπὸν δ᾽ ἐπιβιοὺς ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ Ἰωάννης καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν κάλλιστα διοικήσας ἐν τρισὶν ὅλοις καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτεσιν ἐπὶ πέντε υἱοῖς τελευτᾷ, μακαριστὸς ὄντως καὶ κατὰ μηδὲν ἐάσας ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῷ μεμφθῆναι τὴν τύχην. τρία γοῦν τὰ κρατιστεύοντα

μόνος εἶχεν, τήν τε ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην καὶ προφητείαν: [69] ὡμίλει γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ δαιμόνιον ὡς μηδὲν τῶν μελλόντων ἀγνοεῖν, ὅς γε καὶ περὶ δύο τῶν πρεσβυτέρων υἱῶν ὅτι μὴ διαμενοῦσι κύριοι τῶν πραγμάτων προεῖδέν τε καὶ προεφήτευσεν: ὧν τὴν καταστροφὴν ἄξιον ἀφηγήσασθαι, παρ᾽ ὅσον τῆς πατρῴας εὐδαιμονίας ἀπέκλιναν.

III

(1) [70] Μετὰ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν ὁ πρεσβύτερος αὐτῶν Ἀριστόβουλος τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς βασιλείαν μετατιθεὶς περιτίθεται μὲν διάδημα πρῶτος μετὰ τετρακοσιοστὸν καὶ ἑβδομηκοστὸν πρῶτον ἔτος, πρὸς δὲ μῆνας τρεῖς, ἐξ οὗ κατῆλθεν ὁ λαὸς εἰς τὴν χώραν ἀπαλλαγεὶς τῆς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι δουλείας: [71] τῶν δὲ ἀδελφῶν τὸν μὲν μεθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν Ἀντίγονον, ἐδόκει γὰρ ἀγαπᾶν, ἦγεν ἰσοτίμως, τοὺς δ᾽ ἄλλους εἴργνυσι δήσας. δεσμεῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα διενεχθεῖσαν περὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας, ταύτην γὰρ κυρίαν τῶν ὅλων ὁ Ἰωάννης ἀπολελοίπει, καὶ μέχρι τοσαύτης ὠμότητος προῆλθεν, ὥστε καὶ λιμῷ διαφθεῖραι δεδεμένην.

(2) [72] Περιέρχεται δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ τίσις εἰς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀντίγονον, ὃν ἠγάπα τε καὶ τῆς βασιλείας κοινωνὸν εἶχεν: κτείνει γὰρ καὶ τοῦτον ἐκ διαβολῶν, ἃς οἱ πονηροὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ βασίλειον ἐνεσκευάσαντο. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα διηπίστει τοῖς λεγομένοις ὁ Ἀριστόβουλος ἅτε δὴ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀγαπῶν καὶ διδοὺς φθόνῳ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν λογοποιουμένων. [73] ὡς δ᾽ ὁ Ἀντίγονος λαμπρὸς ἀπὸ στρατείας ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν, ἐν ᾗ σκηνοποιεῖσθαι πάτριον τῷ θεῷ, συνέβη μὲν κατ᾽ ἐκείνας τὰς ἡμέρας νόσῳ χρήσασθαι τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον, τὸν δὲ Ἀντίγονον ἐπὶ τέλει τῆς ἑορτῆς ἀναβάντα μετὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ὁπλιτῶν ὡς ἐνῆν μάλιστα κεκοσμημένον προσκυνῆσαι τὸ πλέον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ. [74] κἀν τούτῳ προσιόντες οἱ πονηροὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τήν τε πομπὴν τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἐδήλουν καὶ τὸ παράστημα τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου μεῖζον ἢ κατ᾽ ἰδιώτην, ὅτι τε παρείη μετὰ μεγίστου συντάγματος ἀναιρήσων αὐτόν: οὐ γὰρ ἀνέχεσθαι τιμὴν μόνον ἐκ βασιλείας ἔχων, παρὸν αὐτὴν κατασχεῖν.

(3) [75] Τούτοις κατὰ μικρὸν ἄκων ἐπίστευσεν ὁ Ἀριστόβουλος, καὶ προνοῶν τοῦ μήθ᾽ ὑποπτεύων φανερὸς γενέσθαι καὶ προησφαλίσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἄδηλον καθίστησι μὲν τοὺς σωματοφύλακας ἔν τινι τῶν ὑπογαίων ἀλαμπεῖ, κατέκειτο δ᾽ ἐν τῇ βάρει πρότερον αὖθις δ᾽ Ἀντωνίᾳ μετονομασθείσῃ, προστάξας ἀνόπλου μὲν ἀπέχεσθαι, κτείνειν δὲ τὸν Ἀντίγονον, εἰ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων προσίοι, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔπεμψεν τοὺς προεροῦντας ἄνοπλον ἐλθεῖν. [76] πρὸς τοῦτο πάνυ πανούργως ἡ βασίλισσα συντάσσεται μετὰ τῶν ἐπιβούλων: τοὺς γὰρ πεμφθέντας πείθουσιν τὰ μὲν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως σιωπῆσαι, λέγειν δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίγονον ὡς ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἀκούσας ὅπλα τε αὐτῷ παρεσκευακέναι κάλλιστα καὶ πολεμικὸν

κόσμον ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ διὰ μὲν τὴν ἀσθένειαν αὐτὸς ἐπιδεῖν ἕκαστα κωλυθείη, νῦν δ᾽ ἐπεὶ καὶ χωρίζεσθαι μέλλοις, θεάσαιτ᾽ ἂν ἥδιστά σε ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις.

(4) [77] Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Ἀντίγονος, ἐνῆγεν δ᾽ ἡ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ διάθεσις μηδὲν ὑποπτεύειν πονηρόν, ἐχώρει μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ὡς πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν. γενόμενος δὲ κατὰ τὴν σκοτεινὴν πάροδον, Στράτωνος ἐκαλεῖτο πύργος, ὑπὸ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἀναιρεῖται, βέβαιον ἀποδείξας ὅτι πᾶσαν εὔνοιαν καὶ φύσιν κόπτει διαβολὴ καὶ οὐδὲν οὕτως τῶν ἀγαθῶν παθῶν ἰσχυρόν, ὃ τῷ φθόνῳ μέχρι παντὸς ἀντέχει.

(5) [78] Θαυμάσαι δ᾽ ἄν τις ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Ἰούδαν, Ἐσσαῖος ἦν γένος οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε πταίσας ἢ ψευσθεὶς ἐν τοῖς προαπαγγέλμασιν, ὃς ἐπειδὴ καὶ τότε τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἐθεάσατο παριόντα διὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, πρὸς τοὺς γνωρίμους ἀνέκραγεν, ἦσαν δ᾽ οὐκ ὀλίγοι παρεδρεύοντες αὐτῷ τῶν μανθανόντων, [79] "παπαί, νῦν ἐμοὶ καλόν, ἔφη, τὸ θανεῖν, ὅτε μου προτέθνηκεν ἡ ἀλήθεια καί τι τῶν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ προρρηθέντων διέψευσται: ζῇ γὰρ Ἀντίγονος οὐτοσὶ σήμερον ὀφείλων ἀνῃρῆσθαι. χωρίον δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς σφαγὴν Στράτωνος πύργος εἵμαρτο: καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἀπὸ ἑξακοσίων ἐντεῦθεν σταδίων ἐστίν, ὧραι δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἤδη τέσσαρες: [80] ὁ δὴ χρόνος ἐκκρούει τὸ μάντευμα." ταῦτα εἰπὼν σκυθρωπὸς ἐπὶ συννοίας ὁ γέρων διεκαρτέρει, καὶ μετ᾽ ὀλίγον ἀνῃρημένος Ἀντίγονος ἠγγέλλετο κατὰ τὸ ὑπόγαιον χωρίον, ὃ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸ Στράτωνος ἐκαλεῖτο πύργος ὁμωνυμοῦν τῇ παραλίῳ Καισαρείᾳ. τοῦτο γοῦν τὸν μάντιν διετάραξεν.

(6) [81] Ἀριστοβούλῳ γε μὴν εὐθὺς ἡ περὶ τοῦ μύσους μεταμέλεια νόσον ἐνσκήπτει καὶ πρὸς ἔννοιαν τοῦ φόνου τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχων ἀεὶ τεταραγμένην συνετήκετο, μέχρι τῶν σπλάγχνων ὑπ᾽ ἀκράτου τῆς λύπης σπαραττομένων ἄθρουν αἷμα ἀναβάλλει. [82] τοῦτό τις τῶν ἐν τῇ θεραπείᾳ παίδων ἐκφέρων δαιμονίῳ προνοίᾳ σφάλλεται καθ᾽ ὃν τόπον Ἀντίγονος ἔσφακτο καὶ φαινομένοις ἔτι τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ φόνου σπίλοις τὸ αἷμα τοῦ κτείναντος ἐπέχεεν. ἤρθη δ᾽ εὐθὺς οἰμωγὴ τῶν θεασαμένων ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες τοῦ παιδὸς ἐκεῖ ἐπικατασπείσαντος τὸ αἷμα. [83] τῆς δὲ βοῆς ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπυνθάνετο καὶ μηδενὸς τολμῶντος εἰπεῖν μᾶλλον ἐνέκειτο μαθεῖν ἐθέλων: τέλος δὲ ἀπειλοῦντι καὶ βιαζομένῳ τἀληθὲς εἶπον. ὁ δὲ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐμπίπλησι δακρύων καὶ στενάξας ὅσον ἦν αὐτῷ δύναμις εἶπεν: [84] "οὐκ ἄρα θεοῦ μέγαν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐπ᾽ ἔργοις ἀθεμίτοις λήσειν ἔμελλον, ἀλλά με ταχεῖα μέτεισι δίκη φόνου συγγενοῦς. μέχρι τοῦ μοι, σῶμα ἀναιδέστατον, τὴν ἀδελφῷ καὶ μητρὶ κατάκριτον ψυχὴν καθέξεις; μέχρι τοῦ δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐπισπείσω κατὰ μέρος τοὐμὸν αἷμα; λαβέτωσαν ἀθρόον τοῦτο, καὶ μηκέτι ταῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν σπλάγχνων χοαῖς ἐπειρωνευέσθω τὸ δαιμόνιον." ταῦτα εἰπὼν εὐθέως τελευτᾷ βασιλεύσας οὐ πλεῖον ἐνιαυτοῦ.

IV

(1) [85] Λύσασα δ' ἡ γυνὴ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ βασιλέα καθίστησιν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν καὶ καθ' ἡλικίαν καὶ μετριότητι προύχειν δοκοῦντα. ὁ δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὸν ἕτερον μὲν τῶν ἀδελφῶν βασιλειῶντα κτείνει, τὸν δὲ καταλιμπανόμενον ἀγαπῶντα τὸ ζῆν δίχα πραγμάτων εἶχεν.

(2) [86] Γίνεται δ' αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Λάθουρον ἐπικληθέντα Πτολεμαῖον συμβολὴ πόλιν Ἀσωχὶν ᾑρηκότα, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνεῖλεν τῶν πολεμίων, ἡ δὲ νίκη πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον ἔρρεψεν. ἐπεὶ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Κλεοπάτρας διωχθεὶς εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀνεχώρησεν, Ἀλέξανδρος Γαδάρων τε πολιορκίᾳ κρατεῖ καὶ Ἀμαθοῦντος, ὃ δὴ μέγιστον μὲν ἦν ἔρυμα τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἰορδάνην, τὰ τιμιώτατα δὲ τῶν Θεοδώρου τοῦ Ζήνωνος κτημάτων ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ. [87] ἐπελθὼν δ' ἐξαίφνης ὁ Θεόδωρος τά τε σφέτερα καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποσκευὴν αἱρεῖ, τῶν δ' Ἰουδαίων εἰς μυρίους κτείνει. γίνεται δ' ἐπάνω τῆς πληγῆς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τραπόμενος εἰς τὴν παράλιον αἱρεῖ Γάζαν τε καὶ Ῥάφειαν καὶ Ἀνθηδόνα τὴν αὖθις ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀγριππιάδα ἐπικληθεῖσαν.

(3) [88] Ἐξανδραποδισαμένῳ δὲ ταύτας ἐπανίσταται τὸ Ἰουδαικὸν ἐν ἑορτῇ: μάλιστα γὰρ ἐν ταῖς εὐωχίαις αὐτῶν στάσις ἅπτεται. καὶ δοκεῖ μὴ ἂν κρείττων γενέσθαι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, εἰ μὴ τὸ ξενικὸν αὐτῷ παρεβοήθει: Πισίδαι καὶ Κίλικες ἦσαν: Σύρους γὰρ οὐκ ἐδέχετο μισθοφόρους διὰ τὴν ἔμφυτον αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος ἀπέχθειαν. [89] κτείνας δὲ τῶν ἐπαναστάντων ὑπὲρ ἑξακισχιλίους Ἀραβίας ἥπτετο καὶ ταύτης ἑλὼν Γαλααδίτας καὶ Μωαβίτας φόρον τε αὐτοῖς ἐπιτάξας ἀνέστρεψεν ἐπὶ Ἀμαθοῦν. Θεοδώρου δὲ πρὸς τὰς εὐπραγίας αὐτὸν καταπλαγέντος ἔρημον λαβὼν τὸ φρούριον κατέσκαψεν.

(4) [90] Ἔπειτα συμβαλὼν Ὀβαίδᾳ τῷ Ἀράβων βασιλεῖ προλοχίσαντι κατὰ τὴν Γαυλάνην ἐνέδρας αὐτῷ γενομένης πᾶσαν ἀποβάλλει τὴν στρατιὰν συνωσθεῖσαν κατὰ βαθείας φάραγγος καὶ πλήθει καμήλων συντριβεῖσαν. διαφυγὼν δ' αὐτὸς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τῷ μεγέθει τῆς συμφορᾶς πάλαι μισοῦν τὸ ἔθνος ἠρέθισεν εἰς ἐπανάστασιν. [91] γίνεται δὲ καὶ τότε κρειττων καὶ μάχαις ἐπαλλήλοις οὐκ ἔλαττον πεντακισμυρίων Ἰουδαίων ἀνεῖλεν ἐν ἓξ ἔτεσιν: οὐ μὴν εὐφραίνετό γε ταῖς νίκαις τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείαν ἀναλίσκων: ὅθεν παυσάμενος τῶν ὅπλων λόγοις ἐπεχείρει διαλύεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους. [92] οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐμίσουν τὴν μετάνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ τρόπου τὸ ἀνώμαλον, πυνθανομένῳ τε τὸ αἴτιον, τί ἂν ποιήσας καταστείλειεν αὐτούς, ἀποθανών, ἔλεγον: νεκρῷ γὰρ ἂν διαλλαγῆναι μόλις τῷ τοσαῦτα δράσαντι. ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἄκαιρον ἐπικληθέντα Δημήτριον ἐπεκαλοῦντο. ῥᾳδίως δὲ ὑπακούσαντος κατ' ἐλπίδα μειζόνων καὶ μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἥκοντος συνέμισγον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοῖς συμμάχοις περὶ Σίκιμα.

(5) [93] Δέχεται δ' ἑκατέρους Ἀλέξανδρος ἱππεῦσι μὲν χιλίοις, μισθοφόροις δὲ πεζοῖς ὀκτακισχιλίοις: παρῆν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ εὐνοοῦν Ἰουδαικὸν εἰς μυρίους. τῶν δ' ἐναντίων ἱππεῖς μὲν ἦσαν τρισχίλιοι, πεζῶν δὲ μύριοι τετρακισχίλιοι. καὶ

πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν διακηρύσσοντες οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐπειρῶντο τῶν παρ᾽ ἀλλήλοις ἀποστάσεων, Δημήτριος μὲν τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου μισθοφόρους, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τοὺς ἅμα Δημητρίῳ Ἰουδαίους μεταπείσειν ἐλπίσας. [94] ὡς δ᾽ οὔτε Ἰουδαῖοι θυμῶν οὔτε οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπαύσαντο πίστεως, διεκρίνοντο ἤδη τοῖς ὅπλοις συμπεσόντες. [95] κρατεῖ δὲ τῇ μάχῃ Δημήτριος καίτοι πολλὰ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου μισθοφόρων καὶ ψυχῆς ἔργα καὶ χειρὸς ἐπιδειξαμένων. χωρεῖ δὲ τὸ τέλος τῆς παρατάξεως παρὰ δόξαν ἀμφοτέροις: οὔτε γὰρ Δημητρίῳ παρέμειναν νικῶντι οἱ καλέσαντες, καὶ κατὰ οἶκτον τῆς μεταβολῆς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προσεχώρησαν εἰς τὰ ὄρη καταφυγόντι Ἰουδαίων ἑξακισχίλιοι. ταύτην τὴν ῥοπὴν οὐκ ἤνεγκεν Δημήτριος, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπολαβὼν ἤδη μὲν ἀξιόμαχον εἶναι πάλιν Ἀλέξανδρον, μεταρρεῖν δὲ καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἔθνος εἰς αὐτόν, ἀνεχώρησεν.

(6) [96] Οὐ μὴν τό γε λοιπὸν πλῆθος ὑποχωρησάντων τῶν συμμάχων κατέθεντο τὰς διαφοράς, συνεχὴς δὲ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἦν αὐτοῖς ὁ πόλεμος, μέχρι πλείστους ἀποκτείνας τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀπήλασεν εἰς Βεμέσελιν πόλιν καὶ ταύτην καταστρεψάμενος αἰχμαλώτους ἀνήγαγεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. [97] προύκοψεν δὲ αὐτῷ δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν ὀργῆς εἰς ἀσέβειαν τὸ τῆς ὠμότητος: τῶν γὰρ ληφθέντων ὀκτακοσίους ἀνασταυρώσας ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει γυναῖκάς τε καὶ τέκνα αὐτῶν ἀπέσφαξεν ταῖς ὄψεσι: καὶ ταῦτα πίνων καὶ συγκατακείμενος ταῖς παλλακίσιν ἀφεώρα. [98] τοσαύτη δὲ κατάπληξις ἔσχεν τὸν δῆμον, ὥστε τῶν ἀντιστασιαστῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν νύκτα φυγεῖν ὀκτακισχιλίους ἔξω Ἰουδαίας ὅλης, οἷς ὅρος τῆς φυγῆς ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου θάνατος κατέστη. τοιούτοις ἔργοις ὀψὲ καὶ μόλις ἡσυχίαν τῇ βασιλείᾳ πορίσας ἀνεπαύσατο τῶν ὅπλων.

(7) [99] Γίνεται δὲ πάλιν ἀρχὴ θορύβων Ἀντίοχος ὁ καὶ Διόνυσος ἐπικληθείς, Δημητρίου μὲν ἀδελφὸς ὤν, τελευταῖος δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ Σελεύκου: τοῦτον γὰρ δείσας στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἄραβας ὡρμημένον τὸ μὲν μεταξὺ τῆς ὑπὲρ Ἀντιπατρίδος παρωρείου καὶ τῶν Ἰόππης αἰγιαλῶν διαταφρεύει φάραγγι βαθείᾳ, πρὸ δὲ τῆς τάφρου τεῖχος ἤγειρεν ὑψηλὸν καὶ ξυλίνους πύργους ἐτεκτήνατο τὰς εὐμαρεῖς ἐμβολὰς ἀποφράττων. [100] οὐ μὴν εἶρξαί γε τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἴσχυσεν: ἐμπρήσας γὰρ τοὺς πύργους καὶ τὴν τάφρον χώσας διήλαυνε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. θέμενος δὲ ἐν δευτέρῳ τὴν πρὸς τὸν κωλύσαντα ἄμυναν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἄραβας ἦει. [101] τῶν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναχωρῶν εἰς τὰ χρησιμώτερα τῆς χώρας πρὸς τὴν μάχην, ἔπειτα τὴν ἵππον ἐξαίφνης ἐπιστρέψας, μυρία δ᾽ ἦν τὸν ἀριθμόν, ἀτάκτοις ἐπιπίπτει τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον. καρτερᾶς δὲ μάχης γενομένης ἕως μὲν περιῆν Ἀντίοχος ἀντεῖχεν ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ καίπερ ἀνέδην ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀράβων φονευόμενοι: [102] πεσόντος δέ, καὶ γὰρ προεκινδύνευεν ἀεὶ τοῖς ἡττωμένοις παραβοηθῶν, ἐγκλίνουσιν πάντες, καὶ τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον αὐτῶν ἐπί τε τῆς παρατάξεως κἀν τῇ φυγῇ διαφθείρεται, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς καταφυγόντας εἰς Κανὰ κώμην σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀναλωθῆναι συνέβη πλὴν ὀλίγων ἅπαντας.

(8) [103] Ἐκ τούτου Δαμασκηνοὶ διὰ τὸ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Μενναίου μῖσος Ἀρέταν ἐπάγονται καὶ καθιστῶσιν κοίλης Συρίας βασιλέα. στρατεύεται δ' οὗτος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ μάχῃ νικήσας Ἀλέξανδρον κατὰ συνθήκας ἀνεχώρησεν. [104] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Πέλλαν ἑλὼν ἐπὶ Γέρασαν ᾔει πάλιν τῶν Θεοδώρου κτημάτων γλιχόμενος, καὶ τρισὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς περιβόλοις ἀποτειχίσας διὰ μάχης τὸ χωρίον παραλαμβάνει. [105] καταστρέφεται δὲ καὶ Γαυλάνην καὶ Σελεύκειαν καὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχου φάραγγα καλουμένην, πρὸς οἷς Γάμαλα φρούριον καρτερὸν ἑλών, τὸν ἄρχοντα Δημήτριον ἐν αὐτῷ παραλύσας ἐκ πολλῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἐπάνεισιν εἰς Ἰουδαίαν, τρία πληρώσας ἔτη τῆς στρατείας. ἀσμένως δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους ἐδέχθη διὰ τὴν εὐπραγίαν, καὶ λαμβάνει τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν τοῦ πολεμεῖν ἀρχὴν νόσου. [106] τεταρταίαις δὲ περιόδοις πυρετῶν ἐνοχλούμενος ᾠήθη διακρούσεσθαι τὴν νόσον πάλιν ἀψάμενος πραγμάτων. διὸ δὴ στρατείαις ἀκαίροις ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδιδοὺς καὶ βιαζόμενος παρὰ δύναμιν τὸ σῶμα πρὸς τὰς ἐνεργείας ἀπήλλαξεν. τελευτᾷ γοῦν ἐν μέσοις τοῖς θορύβοις στρεφόμενος βασιλεύσας ἑπτὰ πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσιν ἔτη.

V

(1) [107] Καταλείπει δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀλεξάνδρᾳ τῇ γυναικὶ πεπεισμένος ταύτῃ μάλιστ' ἂν ὑπακοῦσαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, ἐπειδὴ τῆς ὠμότητος αὐτοῦ μακρὰν ἀποδέουσα καὶ ταῖς παρανομίαις ἀνθισταμένη τὸν δῆμον εἰς εὔνοιαν προσηγάγετο. [108] καὶ οὐ διήμαρτεν τῆς ἐλπίδος: ἐκράτησεν γὰρ τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ γύναιον διὰ δόξαν εὐσεβείας: ἠκρίβου γὰρ δὴ μάλιστα τοῦ νόμου τὰ πάτρια καὶ τοὺς πλημμελοῦντας εἰς τοὺς ἱεροὺς νόμους ἐξ ἀρχῆς προεβάλλετο. [109] δύο δ' αὐτῇ παίδων ὄντων ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν μὲν πρεσβύτερον Ὑρκανὸν διά τε τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀποδείκνυσιν ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἄλλως ὄντα νωθέστερον ἢ ὥστε ἐνοχλεῖν περὶ τῶν ὅλων, τὸν δὲ νεώτερον Ἀριστόβουλον διὰ θερμότητα κατεῖχεν ἰδιώτην.

(2) [110] Παραφύονται δὲ αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν Φαρισαῖοι, σύνταγμά τι Ἰουδαίων δοκοῦν εὐσεβέστερον εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἀκριβέστερον ἀφηγεῖσθαι. [111] τούτοις περισσὸν δή τι προσεῖχεν ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρα σεσοβημένη περὶ τὸ θεῖον. οἱ δὲ τὴν ἁπλότητα τῆς ἀνθρώπου κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπιόντες ἤδη καὶ διοικηταὶ τῶν ὅλων ἐγίνοντο διώκειν τε καὶ κατάγειν οὓς ἐθέλοιεν, λύειν τε καὶ δεσμεῖν. καθόλου δὲ αἱ μὲν ἀπολαύσεις τῶν βασιλείων ἐκείνων ἦσαν, τὰ δ' ἀναλώματα καὶ αἱ δυσχέρειαι τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρας. [112] δεινὴ δ' ἦν τὰ μείζω διοικεῖν, δύναμίν τε ἀεὶ συγκροτοῦσα διπλασίονα κατέστησεν καὶ ξενικὴν συνήγαγεν οὐκ ὀλίγην, ὡς μὴ μόνον κρατύνεσθαι τὸ οἰκεῖον ἔθνος, φοβερὰν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἔξωθεν εἶναι δυνάσταις. ἐκράτει δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων αὐτή, Φαρισαῖοι δ' αὐτῆς.

(3) [113] Διογένην γοῦν τινα τῶν ἐπισήμων φίλον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γεγενημένον κτείνουσιν αὐτοὶ σύμβουλον ἐγκαλοῦντες γεγονέναι περὶ τῶν ἀνασταυρωθέντων

ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ὀκτακοσίων. ἐνῆγον δὲ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν εἰς τὸ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους διαχειρίσασθαι τῶν παροξυνάντων ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνους τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον: ἐνδιδούσης δ᾽ ὑπὸ δεισιδαιμονίας ἀνῄρουν οὓς ἐθέλοιεν αὐτοί. [114] προσφεύγουσι δὲ Ἀριστοβούλῳ τῶν κινδυνευόντων οἱ προύχειν δοκοῦντες, κἀκεῖνος πείθει τὴν μητέρα φείσασθαι μὲν διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἐκπέμψαι δ᾽ αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ καθαροὺς ὑπείληφεν, ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. οἱ μὲν οὖν δοθείσης ἀδείας ἐσκεδάσθησαν ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν: [115] Ἀλεξάνδρα δὲ ἐκπέμψασα ἐπὶ Δαμασκὸν στρατιάν, πρόφασις δ᾽ ἦν Πτολεμαῖος ἀεὶ θλίβων τὴν πόλιν, ταύτην μὲν ὑπεδέξατο μηθὲν ἀξιόλογον ἐργασαμένην. [116] Τιγράνην δὲ τὸν Ἀρμενίων βασιλέα προσκαθεζόμενον Πτολεμαίδι καὶ πολιορκοῦντα Κλεοπάτραν συνθήκαις καὶ δώροις ὑπηγάγετο. φθάνει δ᾽ ἐκεῖνος ἀπαναστὰς διὰ τὰς οἴκοι ταραχὰς ἐμβεβληκότος εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν Λευκόλλου.

(4) [117] Κἀν τούτῳ νοσούσης Ἀλεξάνδρας ὁ νεώτερος τῶν παίδων Ἀριστόβουλος τὸν καιρὸν ἁρπάσας μετὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν, εἶχεν δὲ πολλοὺς καὶ πάντας εὔνους διὰ τὴν θερμότητα, κρατεῖ μὲν τῶν ἐρυμάτων ἁπάντων, τοῖς δ᾽ ἐκ τούτων χρήμασιν μισθοφόρους ἀθροίσας ἑαυτὸν ἀποδείκνυσι βασιλέα. [118] πρὸς ταῦτα ὀδυρόμενον τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ἡ μήτηρ οἰκτείρασα τήν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας Ἀριστοβούλου καθείργνυσιν εἰς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν: φρούριον δ᾽ ἦν τῷ βορείῳ κλίματι τοῦ ἱεροῦ προσκείμενον, πάλαι μέν, ὡς ἔφην, βᾶρις ὀνομαζόμενον, αὖθις δὲ ταύτης τυχὸν τῆς προσηγορίας ἐπικρατήσαντος Ἀντωνίου, καθάπερ ἀπό τε τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Ἀγρίππα Σεβαστὴ καὶ Ἀγριππιὰς πόλεις ἐπωνομάσθησαν. [119] πρὶν δὲ ἐπεξελθεῖν Ἀλεξάνδρα τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον τῆς τἀδελφοῦ καταλύσεως τελευτᾷ διοικήσασα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔτεσιν ἐννέα.

VI

(1) [120] Καὶ κληρονόμος μὲν ἦν τῶν ὅλων Ὑρκανός, ᾧ καὶ ζῶσα τὴν βασιλείαν ἐνεχείρισεν, δυνάμει δὲ καὶ φρονήματι προεῖχεν ὁ Ἀριστόβουλος. γενομένης δὲ αὐτοῖς περὶ τῶν ὅλων συμβολῆς περὶ Ἰεριχοῦντα καταλιπόντες οἱ πολλοὶ τὸν Ὑρκανὸν μεταβαίνουσιν πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον. [121] ὁ δὲ μετὰ τῶν συμμεινάντων φθάνει συμφυγὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν καὶ κυριεύσας τῶν πρὸς σωτηρίαν ὁμήρων: ταῦτα δ᾽ ἦν ἡ Ἀριστοβούλου γυνὴ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων. ἀμέλει πρὶν ἀνηκέστου πάθους διελύθησαν, ὥστε βασιλεύειν μὲν Ἀριστόβουλον, Ὑρκανὸν δὲ ἐκστάντα τῆς ἄλλης ἀπολαύειν τιμῆς ὥσπερ ἀδελφὸν βασιλέως. [122] ἐπὶ τούτοις διαλλαγέντες ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ περιεστῶτος φιλοφρόνως ἀλλήλους ἀσπασάμενοι διήμειψαν τὰς οἰκίας: Ἀριστόβουλος μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, Ὑρκανὸς δὲ ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου οἰκίαν.

(2) [123] Δέος δὲ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις τῶν Ἀριστοβούλου διαφόρων ἐμπίπτει παρ᾽ ἐλπίδα κρατήσαντος καὶ μάλιστα Ἀντιπάτρῳ πάλαι διαμισουμένῳ. γένος δ᾽ ἦν

Ἰδουμαῖος προγόνων τε ἕνεκα καὶ πλούτου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἰσχύος πρωτεύων τοῦ ἔθνους. [124] οὗτος ἅμα καὶ τὸν Ὑρκανὸν Ἀρέτᾳ προσφυγόντα τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἀνακτήσασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν ἔπειθεν καὶ τὸν Ἀρέταν δέξασθαί τε τὸν Ὑρκανὸν καὶ καταγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, πολλὰ μὲν τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον εἰς τὸ ἦθος διαβάλλων, πολλὰ δ᾽ ἐπαινῶν τὸν Ὑρκανὸν [παρήνει δέξασθαι], καὶ ὡς πρέπον εἴη τὸν οὕτω λαμπρᾶς προεστῶτα βασιλείας ὑπερέχειν χεῖρα τῷ ἀδικουμένῳ: ἀδικεῖσθαι δὲ τὸν Ὑρκανὸν στερηθέντα τῆς κατὰ τὸ πρεσβεῖον αὐτῷ προσηκούσης ἀρχῆς. [125] προκατασκευάσας δὲ ἀμφοτέρους, νύκτωρ ἀναλαβὼν τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀποδιδράσκει καὶ συντόνῳ φυγῇ χρώμενος εἰς τὴν καλουμένην Πέτραν διασώζεται: βασίλειον αὕτη τῆς Ἀραβίας ἐστίν. [126] ἔνθα τῷ Ἀρέτᾳ τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ἐγχειρίσας καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καθομιλήσας, πολλοῖς δὲ δώροις ὑπελθὼν δοῦναι δύναμιν αὐτῷ πείθει τὴν κατάξουσαν αὐτόν: ἦν δ᾽ αὕτη πεζῶν τε καὶ ἱππέων πέντε μυριάδες, πρὸς ἣν οὐκ ἀντέσχεν Ἀριστόβουλος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συμβολῇ λειφθεὶς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα συνελαύνεται. [127] κἂν ἔφθη κατὰ κράτος ληφθείς, εἰ μὴ Σκαῦρος ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς ἐπαναστὰς αὐτῶν τοῖς καιροῖς ἔλυσε τὴν πολιορκίαν: ὃς ἐπέμφθη μὲν εἰς Συρίαν ἀπὸ Ἀρμενίας ὑπὸ Πομπηίου Μάγνου πολεμοῦντος πρὸς Τιγράνην, παραγενόμενος δὲ εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἑαλωκυῖαν προσφάτως ὑπὸ Μετέλλου καὶ Λολλίου καὶ τούτους μεταστήσας, ἐπειδὴ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπύθετο, καθάπερ ἐφ᾽ ἕρμαιον ἠπείχθη.

(3) [128] Παρελθόντος γοῦν εἰς τὴν χώραν πρέσβεις εὐθέως ἦκον παρὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἑκατέρου δεομένου βοηθεῖν αὐτῷ. γίνεται δ᾽ ἐπίπροσθεν τοῦ δικαίου τὰ παρὰ Ἀριστοβούλου τριακόσια τάλαντα: τοσοῦτον γὰρ λαβὼν Σκαῦρος ἐπικηρυκεύεται πρός τε Ὑρκανὸν καὶ τοὺς Ἄραβας ἀπειλῶν Ῥωμαίους καὶ Πομπήιον, εἰ μὴ λύσειαν τὴν πολιορκίαν. [129] ἀνεχώρει δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας εἰς Φιλαδέλφειαν Ἀρέτας καταπλαγείς, καὶ πάλιν εἰς Δαμασκὸν Σκαῦρος. [130] Ἀριστοβούλῳ δ᾽ οὐκ ἀπέχρησεν τὸ μὴ ἁλῶναι, πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπισυλλέξας εἵπετο τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ περὶ τὸν καλούμενον Παπυρῶνα συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ ἑξακισχιλίους κτείνει, μεθ᾽ ὧν καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Ἀντιπάτρου Φαλλίωνα.

(4) [131] Ὑρκανὸς δὲ καὶ Ἀντίπατρος τῶν Ἀράβων ἀφαιρεθέντες μετέφερον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους τὴν ἐλπίδα, καὶ ἐπειδὴ Πομπήιος ἐπιὼν τὴν Συρίαν εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἦκεν, ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν καταφεύγουσιν καὶ δίχα δωρεῶν αἷς καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀρέταν δικαιολογίαις χρώμενοι κατηντιβόλουν μισῆσαι μὲν τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου βίαν, κατάγειν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τὸν καὶ τρόπῳ καὶ καθ᾽ ἡλικίαν προσήκοντα. [132] οὐ μὴν οὐδ᾽ Ἀριστόβουλος ὑστέρει πεποιθὼς τῇ Σκαύρου δωροδοκίᾳ παρῆν τε καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς οἷόν τε βασιλικώτατα κεκοσμηκὼς ἑαυτόν. ἀδοξήσας δὲ πρὸς τὰς θεραπείας καὶ μὴ φέρων δουλεύειν ταῖς χρείαις ταπεινότερον τοῦ σχήματος ἀπὸ διὸς ἡλίου πόλεως χωρίζεται.

(5) [133] Πρὸς ταῦτ᾽ ἀγανακτήσας Πομπήιος πολλὰ καὶ τῶν περὶ Ὑρκανὸν ἱκετευόντων ὥρμησεν ἐπ᾽ Ἀριστόβουλον, ἀναλαβὼν τήν τε Ῥωμαικὴν δύναμιν καὶ πολλοὺς ἐκ τῆς Συρίας συμμάχους. [134] ἐπεὶ δὲ παρελαύνων Πέλλαν καὶ Σκυθόπολιν ἦκεν εἰς Κορέας. ὅθεν ἡ Ἰουδαίων ἄρχεται χώρα κατὰ τὴν μεσόγειον ἀνιόντων, ἀκούσας συμπεφευγέναι τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειον, τοῦτο δ᾽ ἐστὶν φρούριον τῶν πάνυ φιλοτίμως ἐξησκημένων ὑπὲρ ὄρους ὑψηλοῦ κείμενον, πέμψας καταβαίνειν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν. [135] τῷ δ᾽ ἦν μὲν ὁρμὴ καλουμένῳ δεσποτικώτερον διακινδυνεύειν μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπακοῦσαι, καθεώρα δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ὀρρωδοῦν, καὶ παρῄνουν οἱ φίλοι σκέπτεσθαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἰσχὺν οὖσαν ἀνυπόστατον. οἷς πεισθεὶς κάτεισιν πρὸς Πομπήιον καὶ πολλὰ περὶ τοῦ δικαίως ἄρχειν ἀπολογηθεὶς ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὸ ἔρυμα. [136] πάλιν τε τἀδελφοῦ προκαλουμένου καταβὰς καὶ διαλεχθεὶς περὶ τῶν δικαίων ἄπεισιν μὴ κωλύοντος τοῦ Πομπηίου. μέσος δ᾽ ἦν ἐλπίδος καὶ δέους, καὶ κατῄει μὲν ὡς δυσωπήσων Πομπήιον πάντ᾽ ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῷ, πάλιν δὲ ἀνέβαινεν εἰς τὴν ἄκραν, ὡς μὴ προκαταλύειν δόξειεν αὐτόν. [137] ἐπεὶ μέντοι Πομπήιος ἐξίστασθαί τε τῶν φρουρίων ἐκέλευεν αὐτῷ καὶ παράγγελμα τῶν φρουράρχων ἐχόντων μόναις πειθαρχεῖν ταῖς αὐτογράφοις ἐπιστολαῖς, ἠνάγκαζεν αὐτὸν ἑκάστοις γράφειν ἐκχωρεῖν, ποιεῖ μὲν τὰ προσταχθέντα, ἀγανακτήσας δὲ ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ παρεσκευάζετο πολεμεῖν πρὸς Πομπήιον.

(6) [138] Ὁ δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἐδίδου χρόνον ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, εὐθέως εἵπετο, καὶ προσεπέρρωσεν τὴν ὁρμὴν ὁ Μιθριδάτου θάνατος ἀγγελθεὶς αὐτῷ περὶ Ἰεριχοῦντα, ἔνθα τῆς Ἰουδαίας τὸ πιότατον φοίνικά τε πάμπολυν καὶ βάλσαμον τρέφει. τοῦτο λίθοις ὀξέσιν ἐπιτέμνοντες τὰ πρέμνα συνάγουσιν κατὰ τὰς τομὰς ἐκδακρῦον. [139] καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενος ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ μίαν ἑσπέραν ἔωθεν ἠπείγετο πρὸς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. καταπλαγεὶς δὲ τὴν ἔφοδον Ἀριστόβουλος ἱκέτης ἀπαντᾷ χρημάτων τε ὑποσχέσει καὶ τῷ μετὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτρέπειν καὶ ἑαυτὸν χαλεπαίνοντα καταστέλλει τὸν Πομπήιον. [140] οὐ μήν τι τῶν ὡμολογημένων ἐγένετο: τὸν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν κομιδὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἐκπεμφθέντα Γαβίνιον οἱ τὰ Ἀριστοβούλου φρονοῦντες οὐδὲ τῇ πόλει δέχονται.

VII

(1) [141] Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀγανακτήσας Πομπήιος Ἀριστόβουλον μὲν ἐφρούρει, πρὸς δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐλθὼν περιεσκόπει ὅπως δεῖ προσβαλεῖν, τήν τε ὀχυρότητα τῶν τειχῶν δυσμεταχείριστον ὁρῶν καὶ τὴν πρὸ τούτων φάραγγα φοβερὰν τό τε ἱερὸν ἐντὸς τῆς φάραγγος ὀχυρώτατα τετειχισμένον, ὥστε τοῦ ἄστεος ἁλισκομένου δευτέραν εἶναι καταφυγὴν τοῦτο τοῖς πολεμίοις.

(2) [142] Διαπορουῦντος δ᾽ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον στάσις τοῖς ἔνδον ἐμπίπτει, τῶν μὲν Ἀριστοβούλου πολεμεῖν ἀξιούντων καὶ ῥύεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα, τῶν δὲ τὰ

Ὑρκανοῦ φρονούντων ἀνοίγειν Πομπηίῳ τὰς πύλας: πολλοὺς δὲ τούτους ἐποίει τὸ δέος ἀφορῶντας εἰς τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων εὐταξίαν. [143] ἡττώμενον δὲ τὸ Ἀριστοβούλου μέρος εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνεχώρησεν καὶ τὴν συνάπτουσαν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τῇ πόλει γέφυραν ἀποκόψαντες ἀντισχεῖν εἰς ἔσχατον παρεσκευάζοντο. τῶν δὲ ἑτέρων δεχομένων Ῥωμαίους τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ βασίλεια παραδιδόντων ἐπὶ μὲν ταῦτα Πομπήιος ἕνα τῶν ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτῷ στρατηγῶν Πείσωνα εἰσπέμπει μετὰ στρατιᾶς: [144] ὃς διαλαβὼν φρουραῖς τὴν πόλιν, ἐπειδὴ τῶν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καταφυγόντων οὐδένα λόγοις ἔπειθεν συμβῆναι, τὰ πέριξ εἰς προσβολὰς εὐτρέπιζεν ἔχων τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ὑρκανὸν εἵς τε τὰς ἐπινοίας καὶ τὰς ὑπηρεσίας προθύμους.

(3) [145] Αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ τὸ προσάρκτιον κλίμα τήν τε τάφρον ἔχου καὶ τὴν φάραγγα πᾶσαν ὕλην συμφορούσης τῆς δυνάμεως. χαλεπὸν δ᾽ ἦν τὸ ἀναπληροῦν διὰ βάθος ἄπειρον καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πάντα τρόπον εἰργόντων ἄνωθεν, [146] κἂν ἀτέλεστος ἔμεινεν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὁ πόνος, εἰ μὴ τὰς ἑβδομάδας ἐπιτηρῶν ὁ Πομπήιος, ἐν αἷς παντὸς ἔργου διὰ τὴν θρησκείαν χεῖρας ἀπίσχουσιν Ἰουδαῖοι, τὸ χῶμα ὕψου τῆς κατὰ χεῖρα συμβολῆς εἴργων τοὺς στρατιώτας: ὑπὲρ μόνου γὰρ τοῦ σώματος ἀμύνονται τοῖς σαββάτοις. [147] ἤδη δὲ ἀναπεπληρωμένης τῆς φάραγγος πύργους ὑψηλοὺς ἐπιστήσας τῷ χώματι καὶ προσαγαγὼν τὰς ἐκ Τύρου κομισθείσας μηχανὰς ἐπειρᾶτο τοῦ τείχους: ἀνέστελλον δὲ αἱ πετροβόλοι τοὺς καθύπερθεν κωλύοντας. ἀντεῖχον δ᾽ ἐπὶ πλεῖον οἱ κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος πύργοι μεγέθει τε καὶ κάλλει διαφέροντες.

(4) [148] Ἔνθα δὴ πολλὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κακοπαθούντων ὁ Πομπήιος τά τε ἄλλα τῆς καρτερίας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀπεθαύμαζεν καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ μηδὲν παραλῦσαι: τῆς θρησκείας ἐν μέσοις τοῖς βέλεσιν ἀνειλημένους: ὥσπερ γὰρ εἰρήνης βαθείας κατεχούσης τὴν πόλιν αἵ τε θυσίαι καθ᾽ ἡμέραν καὶ οἱ ἐναγισμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θεραπεία κατὰ τἀκριβὲς ἐξετελεῖτο τῷ θεῷ, καὶ οὐδὲ κατ᾽ αὐτὴν τὴν ἅλωσιν περὶ τῷ βωμῷ φονευόμενοι τῶν καθ᾽ ἡμέραν νομίμων εἰς τὴν θρησκείαν ἀπέστησαν. [149] τρίτῳ γὰρ μηνὶ τῆς πολιορκίας μόλις ἕνα τῶν πύργων καταρρίψαντες εἰσέπιπτον εἰς τὸ ἱερόν. ὁ δὲ πρῶτος ὑπερβῆναι τολμήσας τὸ τεῖχος Σύλλα παῖς ἦν Φαῦστος Κορνήλιος καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν ἑκατοντάρχαι δύο Φούριος καὶ Φάβιος. εἴπετο δὲ ἑκάστῳ τὸ ἴδιον στῖφος, καὶ περισχόντες πανταχοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν ἔκτεινον οὓς μὲν τῷ ναῷ προσφεύγοντας, οὓς δὲ ἀμυνομένους πρὸς ὀλίγον.

(5) [150] Ἔνθα πολλοὶ τῶν ἱερέων ξιφήρεις τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιόντας βλέποντες ἀθορύβως ἐπὶ τῆς θρησκείας ἔμειναν, σπένδοντες δὲ ἀπεσφάττοντο καὶ θυμιῶντες καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον θεραπείας ἐν δευτέρῳ τὴν σωτηρίαν τιθέμενοι. πλεῖστοι δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἀντιστασιαστῶν ἀνῃροῦντο καὶ κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ἔρριπτον ἑαυτοὺς ἄπειροι: καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸ τεῖχος δ᾽ ἔνιοι μανιῶντες ἐν ταῖς ἀμηχανίαις ὑπέπρησαν καὶ συγκατεφλέγοντο. [151] Ἰουδαίων μὲν οὖν

ἀνῃρέθησαν μύριοι καὶ δισχίλιοι, Ῥωμαίων δὲ ὀλίγοι μὲν πάνυ νεκροί, τραυματίαι δ᾽ ἐγένοντο πλείους.

(6) [152] Οὐδὲν δὲ οὕτως ἐν ταῖς τότε συμφοραῖς καθήψατο τοῦ ἔθνους ὡς τὸ τέως ἀόρατον ἅγιον ἐκκαλυφθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων: παρελθὼν γοῦν σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Πομπήιος εἰς τὸν ναόν, ἔνθα μόνῳ θεμιτὸν ἦν παριέναι τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, τὰ ἔνδον ἐθεάσατο, λυχνίαν τε καὶ λύχνους καὶ τράπεζαν καὶ σπονδεῖα καὶ θυμιατήρια, ὁλόχρυσα πάντα, πλῆθός τε ἀρωμάτων σεσωρευμένον καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων εἰς τάλαντα δισχίλια. [153] οὔτε δὲ τούτων οὔτε ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν ἱερῶν κειμηλίων ἥψατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ μίαν τῆς ἁλώσεως ἡμέραν καθᾶραι τὸ ἱερὸν τοῖς νεωκόροις προσέταξεν καὶ τὰς ἐξ ἔθους ἐπιτελεῖν θυσίας. αὖθις δ᾽ ἀποδείξας Ὑρκανὸν ἀρχιερέα τά τε ἄλλα προθυμότατον ἑαυτὸν ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ παρασχόντα καὶ διότι τὸ κατὰ τὴν χώραν πλῆθος ἀπέστησεν Ἀριστοβούλῳ συμπολεμεῖν ὡρμημένον, ἐκ τούτων, ὅπερ ἦν προσῆκον ἀγαθῷ στρατηγῷ, τὸν λαὸν εὐνοίᾳ πλέον ἢ δέει προσηγάγετο. [154] ἐν δὲ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἐλήφθη καὶ ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου πενθερός, ὁ δ᾽ αὐτὸς ἦν καὶ θεῖος αὐτῷ. καὶ τοὺς αἰτιωτάτους μὲν τοῦ πολέμου πελέκει κολάζει, Φαῦστον δὲ καὶ τοὺς μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ γενναίως ἀγωνισαμένους λαμπροῖς ἀριστείοις δωρησάμενος τῇ τε χώρᾳ καὶ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπιτάσσει φόρον.

(7) [155] Ἀφελόμενος δὲ τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τὰς ἐν κοίλῃ Συρίᾳ πόλεις, ἃς εἶλον, ὑπέταξεν τῷ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνο Ῥωμαίων στρατηγῷ κατατεταγμένῳ καὶ μόνοις αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἰδίοις ὅροις περιέκλεισεν. ἀνακτίζει δὲ καὶ Γάδαρα ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων κατεστραμμένην Γαδαρεῖ τινὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπελευθέρων Δημητρίῳ χαριζόμενος. [156] ἠλευθέρωσεν δὲ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ πόλεις, ὅσας μὴ φθάσαντες κατέσκαψαν, Ἵππον Σκυθόπολίν τε καὶ Πέλλαν καὶ Σαμάρειαν καὶ Ἰάμνειαν καὶ Μάρισαν Ἄζωτόν τε καὶ Ἀρέθουσαν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς παραλίους Γάζαν Ἰόππην Δῶρα καὶ τὴν πάλαι μὲν Στράτωνος πύργον καλουμένην, ὕστερον δὲ μετακτισθεῖσάν τε ὑφ᾽ Ἡρώδου βασιλέως λαμπροτάτοις κατασκευάσμασιν καὶ μετονομασθεῖσαν Καισάρειαν. [157] ἃς πάσας τοῖς γνησίοις ἀποδοὺς πολίταις κατέταξεν εἰς τὴν Συριακὴν ἐπαρχίαν. παραδοὺς δὲ ταύτην τε καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ τὰ μέχρις Αἰγύπτου καὶ Εὐφράτου Σκαύρῳ διέπειν καὶ δύο τῶν ταγμάτων, αὐτὸς διὰ Κιλικίας εἰς Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ἄγων μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς αἰχμάλωτον. [158] δύο δ᾽ ἦσαν αὐτῷ θυγατέρες καὶ δύο υἱεῖς, ὧν ὁ ἕτερος μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ διαδιδράσκει, σὺν δὲ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς ὁ νεώτερος Ἀντίγονος εἰς Ῥώμην ἐκομίζετο.

VIII

(1) [159] Κἀν τούτῳ Σκαῦρος εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἐμβαλὼν τῆς μὲν Πέτρας εἴργετο ταῖς δυσχωρίαις, ἐπόρθει δὲ τὰ πέριξ πολλὰ κἀν τούτῳ κακοπαθῶν: ἐλίμωττεν

γὰρ ἡ στρατιά. καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο Ὑρκανὸς ἐπεβοήθει διὰ Ἀντιπάτου τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πέμπων. ὃν καὶ καθίησι Σκαῦρος ὄντα συνήθη πρὸς Ἀρέταν, ὅπως ἐπὶ χρήμασιν διαλύσαιτο τὸν πόλεμον. πείθεται δὲ ὁ Ἄραψ τριακόσια δοῦναι τάλαντα, κἀπὶ τούτοις Σκαῦρος ἐξῆγεν τῆς Ἀραβίας τὴν δύναμιν.

(2) [160] Ὁ δ᾽ ἀποδρὰς τῶν Ἀριστοβούλου παίδων Πομπήιον Ἀλέξανδρος χρόνῳ συναγαγὼν χεῖρα συχνὴν βαρὺς ἦν Ὑρκανῷ καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν κατέτρεχεν, ἐδόκει τε ἂν καταλῦσαι ταχέως αὐτόν, ὅς γε ἤδη καὶ τὸ καταρριφθὲν ὑπὸ Πομπηίου τεῖχος ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀνακτίζειν ἐθάρρει προσελθών, εἰ μὴ Γαβίνιος εἰς Συρίαν πεμφθεὶς Σκαύρῳ διάδοχος τά τε ἄλλα γενναῖον ἀπέδειξεν ἑαυτὸν ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ ἐπ᾽ Ἀλέξανδρον ὥρμησεν. [161] ὁ δὲ δείσας πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον δύναμίν τε πλείω συνέλεγεν, ὡς γενέσθαι μυρίους μὲν ὁπλίτας χιλίους δὲ καὶ πεντακοσίους ἱππεῖς, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῶν χωρίων ἐτείχιζε Ἀλεξάνδρειόν τε καὶ Ὑρκάνειον καὶ Μαχαιροῦντα πρὸς τοῖς Ἀραβίοις ὄρεσιν.

(3) [162] Γαβίνιος δὲ μετὰ μέρους τῆς στρατιᾶς Μᾶρκον Ἀντώνιον προπέμψας αὐτὸς εἵπετο τὴν ὅλην ἔχων δύναμιν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ἐπίλεκτοι καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τάγμα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὧν Μάλιχος ἦρχεν καὶ Πειθόλαος, συμμίξαντες τοῖς περὶ Μᾶρκον Ἀντώνιον ἡγεμόσιν ὑπήντων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. καὶ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ παρῆν ἅμα τῇ φάλαγγι Γαβίνιος. [163] ἐνουμένην δὲ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων δύναμιν οὐχ ὑπομείνας Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνεχώρει καὶ πλησίον ἤδη Ἱεροσολύμων γενόμενος ἀναγκάζεται συμβαλεῖν καὶ κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἐξακισχιλίους ἀποβαλών, ὧν τρισχίλιοι μὲν ἔπεσον τρισχίλιοι δὲ ἐζωγρήθησαν, φεύγει σὺν τοῖς καταλειφθεῖσιν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειον.

(4) [164] Γαβίνιος δὲ πρὸς τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρειον ἐλθὼν ἐπειδὴ πολλοὺς εὗρεν ἐστρατοπεδευμένους, ἐπειρᾶτο συγγνώμης ὑποσχέσει περὶ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων πρὸ μάχης αὐτοὺς προσαγαγέσθαι: μηδὲν δὲ μέτριον φρονούντων ἀποκτείνας πολλοὺς τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀπέκλεισεν εἰς τὸ ἔρυμα. [165] κατὰ ταύτην ἀριστεύει τὴν μάχην ὁ ἡγεμὼν Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος, πανταχοῦ μὲν γενναῖος ἀεὶ φανείς, οὐδαμοῦ δ᾽ οὕτως. Γαβίνιος δὲ τοὺς ἐξαιρήσοντας τὸ φρούριον καταλιπὼν αὐτὸς ἐπῄει τὰς μὲν ἀπορθήτους πόλεις καθιστάμενος, τὰς δὲ κατεστραμμένας ἀνακτίζων. [166] συνεπολίσθησαν γοῦν τούτου κελεύσαντος Σκυθόπολίς τε καὶ Σαμάρεια καὶ Ἀνθηδὼν καὶ Ἀπολλωνία καὶ Ἰάμνεια καὶ Ῥάφεια Μάρισά τε καὶ Ἀδώρεος καὶ Γάβαλα καὶ Ἄζωτος καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαί, τῶν οἰκητόρων ἀσμένως ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστην συνθεόντων.

(5) [167] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων ἐπιμέλειαν ἐπανελθὼν πρὸς τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρειον ἐπέρρωσεν τὴν πολιορκίαν, ὥστε Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπογνοὺς περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἐπικηρυκεύεται πρὸς αὐτόν, συγγνωσθῆναί τε τῶν ἡμαρτημένων δεόμενος καὶ τὰ συλληφθέντα φρούρια παραδιδοὺς Ὑρκάνειον καὶ Μαχαιροῦντα: αὖθις δὲ καὶ τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρειον ἐνεχείρισεν. [168] ἃ πάντα Γαβίνιος ἐναγούσης τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου μητρὸς κατέστρεψεν, ὡς μὴ πάλιν ὁρμητήριον γένοιτο δευτέρου πολέμου:

παρῆν δὲ μειλισσομένη τὸν Γαβίνιον κατὰ δέος τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης αἰχμαλώτων, τοῦ τε ἀνδρὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τέκνων. [169] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα Γαβίνιος Ὑρκανὸν καταγαγὼν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ παραδοὺς κηδεμονίαν αὐτῷ καθίστατο τὴν ἄλλην πολιτείαν ἐπὶ προστασίᾳ τῶν ἀρίστων. [170] διεῖλεν δὲ πᾶν τὸ ἔθνος εἰς πέντε συνόδους, τὸ μὲν Ἱεροσολύμοις προστάξας, τὸ δὲ Γαδάροις, οἱ δὲ ἵνα συντελῶσιν εἰς Ἀμαθοῦντα, τὸ δὲ τέταρτον εἰς Ἱεριχοῦντα κεκλήρωτο, καὶ τῷ πέμπτῳ Σέπφωρις ἀπεδείχθη πόλις τῆς Γαλιλαίας. ἀσμένως δὲ τῆς ἐξ ἑνὸς ἐπικρατείας ἐλευθερωθέντες τὸ λοιπὸν ἀριστοκρατίᾳ διῳκοῦντο.

(6) [171] Μετ᾽ οὐ πολύ γε μὴν αὐτοῖς ἀρχὴ γίνεται θορύβων Ἀριστόβουλος ἀποδρὰς ἐκ Ῥώμης, ὃς αὖθις πολλοὺς Ἰουδαίων ἐπισυνίστη, τοὺς μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦντας μεταβολῆς, τοὺς δὲ ἀγαπῶντας αὐτὸν πάλαι. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καταλαβόμενος τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρειον ἀνατειχίζειν ἐπειρᾶτο: ὡς δὲ Γαβίνιος ὑπὸ Σισέννᾳ καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ Σερουιανῷ στρατιὰν ἔπεμψεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν. γνοὺς ἀνεχώρει ἐπὶ Μαχαιροῦντος. [172] καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄχρηστον ὄχλον ἀπεφορτίσατο, μόνους δὲ ἐπήγετο τοὺς ὡπλισμένους ὄντας εἰς ὀκτακισχιλίους, ἐν οἷς καὶ Πειθόλαος ἦν ὁ ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ὑποστράτηγος αὐτομολήσας μετὰ χιλίων. Ῥωμαῖοι δ᾽ ἐπηκολούθουν, καὶ γενομένης συμβολῆς μέχρι πολλοῦ μὲν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον διεκαρτέρουν γενναίως ἀγωνιζόμενοι, τέλος δὲ βιασθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πίπτουσι μὲν πεντακισχίλιοι, περὶ δὲ δισχιλίους ἀνέφυγον εἴς τινα λόφον, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ χίλιοι σὺν Ἀριστοβούλῳ διακόψαντες τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἰς Μαχαιροῦντα συνελαύνονται. [173] ἔνθα δὴ τὴν πρώτην ἐσπέραν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς ἐρειπίοις ἐναυλισάμενος ἐν ἐλπίσι μὲν ἦν ἄλλην συναθροίσειν δύναμιν ἀνοχὴν τοῦ πολέμου διδόντος καὶ τὸ φρούριον κακῶς ὠχύρου: προσπεσόντων δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας ἀντισχὼν ὑπὲρ δύναμιν ἁλίσκεται καὶ μετ᾽ Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ παιδός, ὃς ἀπὸ Ῥώμης αὐτῷ συναπέδρα, δεσμώτης ἐπὶ Γαβίνιον ἀνήχθη καὶ ἀπὸ Γαβινίου πάλιν εἰς Ῥώμην. [174] τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἡ σύγκλητος εἶρξεν, τὰ τέκνα δ᾽ αὐτοῦ διῆγεν εἰς Ἰουδαίαν Γαβινίου δι᾽ ἐπιστολῶν δηλώσαντος τῇ Ἀριστοβούλου γυναικὶ τοῦτο ἀντὶ τῆς παραδόσεως τῶν ἐρυμάτων ὡμολογηκέναι.

(7) [175] Γαβινίῳ δ᾽ ἐπὶ Πάρθους ὡρμημένῳ στρατεύειν γίνεται Πτολεμαῖος ἐμπόδιον: ὃς ὑποστρέψας ἀπ᾽ Εὐφράτου κατῆγεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐπιτηδείοις εἰς ἅπαντα χρώμενος κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν Ὑρκανῷ καὶ Ἀντιπάτρῳ: καὶ γὰρ χρήματα καὶ ὅπλα καὶ σῖτον καὶ ἐπικούρους Ἀντίπατρος προσῆγεν, καὶ τοὺς ταύτῃ Ἰουδαίους φρουροῦντας τὰς κατὰ τὸ Πηλούσιον ἐμβολὰς παρεῖναι Γαβίνιον ἔπεισεν. [176] τῆς δ᾽ ἄλλης Συρίας πρὸς τὸν Γαβινίου χωρισμὸν κινηθείσης καὶ Ἰουδαίους πάλιν ἀπέστησεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου, μεγίστην δὲ συγκροτήσας δύναμιν ὥρμητο πάντας τοὺς κατὰ τὴν χώραν Ῥωμαίους ἀνελεῖν. [177] πρὸς ὃ Γαβίνιος δείσας, ἤδη δὲ παρῆν ἀπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου τοῖς τῇδε θορύβοις ἠπειγμένος, ἐπὶ τινὰς μὲν τῶν ἀφεστώτων Ἀντίπατρον προπέμψας μετέπεισεν,

συνέμενον δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τρεῖς μυριάδες, κἀκεῖνος ὥρμητο πολεμεῖν. οὕτως ἔξεισιν πρὸς μάχην. ὑπήντων δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ συμβαλόντων περὶ τὸ Ἰταβύριον ὄρος μύριοι μὲν ἀναιροῦνται, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἐσκεδάσθη φυγῇ. [178] καὶ Γαβίνιος ἐλθὼν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς τὸ Ἀντιπάτρου βούλημα κατεστήσατο τὴν πολιτείαν. ἔνθεν ὁρμήσας Ναβαταίων τε μάχῃ κρατεῖ καὶ Μιθριδάτην καὶ Ὀρσάνην φυγόντας ἐκ Πάρθων κρύφα μὲν ἀπέπεμψεν, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔλεγεν ἀποδρᾶναι.

(8) [179] Κἀν τούτῳ Κράσσος αὐτῷ διάδοχος ἐλθὼν παραλαμβάνει Συρίαν. οὗτος εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ Πάρθους στρατείαν τόν τε ἄλλον τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ναοῦ χρυσὸν πάντα περιεῖλεν καὶ τὰ δισχίλια τάλαντα ἦρεν, ὧν ἀπέσχετο Πομπήιος. διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Εὐφράτην αὐτός τε ἀπώλετο καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, περὶ ὧν οὐ νῦν καιρὸς λέγειν.

(9) [180] Πάρθους δὲ μετὰ τὸν Κράσσον ἐπιδιαβαίνειν εἰς Συρίαν ὡρμημένους ἀνέκοπτεν Κάσσιος εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν διαφυγών. περιποιησάμενος δὲ αὐτὴν ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίους ἠπείγετο, καὶ Ταριχέας μὲν ἑλὼν εἰς τρεῖς μυριάδας Ἰουδαίων ἀνδραποδίζεται, κτείνει δὲ καὶ Πειθόλαον τοὺς Ἀριστοβούλου στασιαστὰς ἐπισυνιστάντα: τοῦ φόνου δὲ ἦν σύμβουλος Ἀντίπατρος. [181] τούτῳ γήμαντι γυναῖκα τῶν ἐπισήμων ἐξ Ἀραβίας Κύπρον τοὔνομα τέσσαρες μὲν υἱεῖς γίνονται, Φασάηλος καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὖθις Ἡρώδης, πρὸς οἷς Ἰώσηπος καὶ Φερώρας καὶ Σαλώμη θυγάτηρ. ἐξῳκειωμένος δὲ τοὺς πανταχοῦ δυνατοὺς φιλίαις τε καὶ ξενίαις μάλιστα προσηγάγετο τὸν Ἀράβων βασιλέα διὰ τὴν ἐπιγαμβρίαν, κἀπειδὴ τὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ἀνείλετο πόλεμον, ἐκείνῳ παρακαταθήκην ἔπεμψεν τὰ τέκνα. [182] Κάσσιος δὲ κατὰ συνθήκας ἡσυχάζειν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀναγκάσας ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ὑπέστρεψεν Πάρθους διαβαίνειν ἀνείρξων, περὶ ὧν ἐν ἑτέροις ἐροῦμεν.

IX

(1) [183] Καῖσαρ δὲ Πομπηίου καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου φυγόντων ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰόνιον Ῥώμης καὶ τῶν ὅλων κρατήσας ἀνίησι μὲν τῶν δεσμῶν τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον, παραδοὺς δ᾽ αὐτῷ δύο τάγματα κατὰ τάχος ἔπεμψεν εἰς Συρίαν, ταύτην τε ῥᾳδίως ἐλπίσας καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν δι᾽ αὐτοῦ προσάξεσθαι. [184] φθάνει δ᾽ ὁ φθόνος καὶ τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου προθυμίαν καὶ τὰς Καίσαρος ἐλπίδας: φαρμάκῳ γοῦν ἀναιρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ Πομπηίου φρονούντων μέχρι πολλοῦ μὲν οὐδὲ ταφῆς ἐν τῇ πατρῴᾳ χώρᾳ μετεῖχεν, ἔκειτο δὲ μέλιτι συντηρούμενος ὁ νεκρὸς αὐτοῦ, ἕως ὑπ᾽ Ἀντωνίου Ἰουδαίοις ἐπέμφθη τοῖς βασιλικοῖς μνημείοις ἐνταφησόμενος.

(2) [185] Ἀναιρεῖται δὲ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξανδρος πελέκει ὑπὸ Σκιπίωνος ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ Πομπηίου τοῦτ᾽ ἐπιστείλαντος καὶ γενομένης κατηγορίας πρὸ τοῦ

βήματος ὧν Ῥωμαίους ἔβλαψεν. τοὺς δ᾽ ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Μενναίου παραλαβών, ὃς ἐκράτει τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ Λιβάνῳ Χαλκίδος, Φιλιππίωνα τὸν υἱὸν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς εἰς Ἀσκάλωνα πέμπει. [186] κἀκεῖνος ἀποσπάσας τῆς Ἀριστοβούλου γυναικὸς Ἀντίγονον καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀνήγαγεν. ἁλοὺς δ᾽ ἔρωτι γαμεῖ τὴν ἑτέραν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς δι᾽ αὐτὴν κτείνεται: γαμεῖ γὰρ Πτολεμαῖος τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν ἀνελὼν τὸν υἱὸν καὶ διὰ τὸν γάμον κηδεμονικώτερος αὐτὸς ἦν πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς.

(3) [187] Ἀντίπατρος δὲ μετὰ τὴν Πομπηίου τελευτὴν μεταβὰς ἐθεράπευεν Καίσαρα, κἀπειδὴ Μιθριδάτης ὁ Περγαμηνὸς μεθ᾽ ἧς ἦγεν ἐπ᾽ Αἴγυπτον δυνάμεως εἰργόμενος τῶν κατὰ τὸ Πηλούσιον ἐμβολῶν ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι κατείχετο, τούς τε Ἄραβας ξένος ὢν ἔπεισεν ἐπικουρῆσαι καὶ αὐτὸς ἦκεν ἄγων Ἰουδαίων εἰς τρισχιλίους ὁπλίτας. [188] παρώρμησεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν Συρίᾳ δυνατοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν βοήθειαν τόν τε ἔποικον τοῦ Λιβάνου Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Ἰάμβλιχον, δι᾽ οὓς αἱ ταύτῃ πόλεις ἑτοίμως συνεφήψαντο τοῦ πολέμου. [189] καὶ θαρρῶν ἤδη Μιθριδάτης τῇ προσγενομένῃ δι᾽ Ἀντίπατρον ἰσχύι πρὸς τὸ Πηλούσιον ἐξελαύνει κωλυόμενός τε διελθεῖν ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν. γίνεται δὲ κἀν τῇ προσβολῇ διασημότατος Ἀντίπατρος: τὸ γὰρ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν μέρος τοῦ τείχους διαρρήξας πρῶτος εἰσεπήδησεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ.

(4) [190] Καὶ τὸ Πηλούσιον μὲν ἐάλω, πρόσω δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἰόντα εἶργον αὖθις οἱ τὴν Ὀνίου προσαγορευομένην χώραν κατέχοντες: ἦσαν δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι Αἰγύπτιοι. τούτους Ἀντίπατρος οὐ μόνον μὴ κωλύειν ἔπεισεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῇ δυνάμει παρασχεῖν: ὅθεν οὐδὲ οἱ κατὰ Μέμφιν ἔτι εἰς χεῖρας ἦλθον, ἑκούσιοι δὲ προσέθεντο Μιθριδάτῃ. [191] κἀκεῖνος ἤδη τὸ Δέλτα περιελθὼν συνέβαλλεν τοῖς λοιποῖς Αἰγυπτίοις εἰς μάχην κατὰ χῶρον, ὃς Ἰουδαίων στρατόπεδον καλεῖται. κινδυνεύοντα δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ παρατάξει σὺν ὅλῳ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι ῥύεται περιελθὼν Ἀντίπατρος παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τοῦ ποταμοῦ: [192] τῶν γὰρ καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ἐκράτει τὸ λαιὸν ἔχων κέρας: ἔπειτα προσπεσὼν τοῖς διώκουσι Μιθριδάτην ἀπέκτεινεν πολλοὺς καὶ μέχρι τοσούτου τοὺς καταλειπομένους ἐδίωξεν ὡς καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν ἑλεῖν. ὀγδοήκοντα δὲ μόνους τῶν ἰδίων ἀπέβαλεν, καὶ Μιθριδάτης ἐν τῇ τροπῇ περὶ ὀκτακοσίους. σωθεὶς δ᾽ αὐτὸς παρ᾽ ἐλπίδα μάρτυς ἀβάσκανος γίνεται πρὸς Καίσαρα τῶν Ἀντιπάτρου κατορθωμάτων.

(5) [193] Ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν τὸν ἄνδρα τοῖς ἐπαίνοις καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν εἰς τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κινδύνους ἐπέρρωσεν, ἐν οἷς πᾶσιν παραβολώτατος ἀγωνιστὴς γενόμενος καὶ πολλὰ τρωθεὶς ἐφ᾽ ὅλου σχεδὸν τοῦ σώματος εἶχεν τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀρετῆς. [194] αὖθις δὲ καταστησάμενος τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὡς ἐπανῆκεν εἰς Συρίαν, πολιτείᾳ τε αὐτὸν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐδωρήσατο καὶ ἀτελείᾳ τῆς τε ἄλλης τιμῆς καὶ φιλοφρονήσεως ἕνεκεν ζηλωτὸν ἐποίησεν καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην δὲ δι᾽ αὐτὸν ἐπεκύρωσεν Ὑρκανῷ.

X

(1) [195] Κατ᾽ αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ Ἀντίγονος ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα παρὼν γίνεται παραδόξως Ἀντιπάτρῳ μείζονος προκοπῆς αἴτιος: δέον γὰρ ἀποδύρεσθαι περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς πεφαρμάχθαι δοκοῦντος ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Πομπήιον διαφορῶν καὶ περὶ τἀδελφοῦ τὴν Σκιπίωνος ὠμότητα μέμφεσθαι καὶ μηδὲν εἰς τὸν ἔλεον παραμῖξαι φθονερὸν πάθος, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις Ὑρκανοῦ καὶ Ἀντιπάτρου κατηγόρει παρελθών, [196] ὡς παρανομώτατα μὲν αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν πάσης ἀπελαύνοιεν τῆς πατρίου γῆς, πολλὰ δ᾽ εἰς τὸ ἔθνος αὐτοὶ διὰ κόρον ἐξυβρίζοιεν, καὶ ὅτι τὴν εἰς Αἴγυπτον συμμαχίαν οὐκ ἐπ᾽ εὐνοίᾳ αὐτῷ πέμψειαν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ δέος τῶν πάλαι διαφορῶν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον φιλίαν ἀποσκευαζόμενοι.

(2) [197] Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἀντίπατρος ἀπορρίψας τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὸ πλῆθος ἐπεδείκνυεν τῶν τραυμάτων, καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς εἰς Καίσαρα εὐνοίας οὐκ ἔφη λόγου δεῖν αὐτῷ: κεκραγέναι γὰρ τὸ σῶμα σιωπῶντος: [198] Ἀντιγόνου δὲ θαυμάζειν τὴν τόλμαν, εἰ πολεμίου Ῥωμαίων υἱὸς ὢν καὶ Ῥωμαίων δραπέτου καὶ τὸ νεωτεροποιὸς εἶναι καὶ στασιώδης αὐτὸς πατρῷον ἔχων, παρὰ τῷ Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμόνι κατηγορεῖν ἐπικεχείρηκεν ἑτέρων καὶ πειρᾶται τυχεῖν ἀγαθοῦ τινος, δέον ἀγαπᾶν ὅτι ζῇ: καὶ γὰρ νῦν ἐφίεσθαι πραγμάτων οὐ τοσοῦτον δι᾽ ἀπορίαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα Ἰουδαίους διαστασιάσῃ παρελθὼν καὶ χρήσηται κατὰ τῶν δόντων ταῖς ἀφορμαῖς.

(3) [199] Τούτων Καῖσαρ ἀκούσας Ὑρκανὸν μὲν ἀξιώτερον τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἀπεφήνατο, Ἀντιπάτρῳ δὲ δυναστείας αἵρεσιν ἔδωκεν. ὁ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῷ τιμήσαντι τὸ μέτρον τῆς τιμῆς θέμενος πάσης ἐπίτροπος Ἰουδαίας ἀποδείκνυται καὶ προσεπιτυγχάνει τὰ τείχη τῆς πατρίδος ἀνακτίσαι κατεστραμμένα. [200] τὰς μὲν δὴ τιμὰς ταύτας Καῖσαρ ἐπέστελλεν ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ χαραχθῆναι τῆς τε αὐτοῦ δικαιοσύνης σημεῖον καὶ τῆς τἀνδρὸς ἐσομένας ἀρετῆς.

(4) [201] Ἀντίπατρος δὲ Καίσαρα προπέμψας ἐκ τῆς Συρίας εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ὑπέστρεψεν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὸ τεῖχος ἀνεδείματο τῆς πατρίδος ὑπὸ Πομπηίου κατεστραμμένον καὶ τοὺς ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν θορύβους ἐπιὼν κατέστελλεν, ἀπειλητὴς ἅμα καὶ σύμβουλος ὢν ἑκάστοις, ὅτι τὰ μὲν Ὑρκανοῦ φρονοῦντες ἐν ὄλβῳ καὶ καθ᾽ ἡσυχίαν βιώσονται τῶν τε ἰδίων κτημάτων καὶ κοινῆς εἰρήνης ἀπολαύοντες: [202] εἰ δὲ πείθοιντο ταῖς ψυχραῖς ἐλπίσιν τῶν νεωτερίζειν ἐπὶ κέρδεσιν οἰκείοις ἐθελόντων, ὡς αὐτόν τε πειράσουσιν ἀντὶ κηδεμόνος δεσπότην καὶ Ὑρκανὸν ἀντὶ βασιλέως τύραννον, Ῥωμαίους γε μὴν καὶ Καίσαρα πολεμίους ἀνθ᾽ ἡγεμόνων καὶ φίλων: οὐ γὰρ ἀνέξεσθαι μετακινούμενον ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὃν αὐτοὶ κατέστησαν. [203] ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα λέγων καὶ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ καθίστατο τὴν χώραν ὁρῶν τὸν Ὑρκανὸν νωθῆ τε καὶ βασιλείας ἀτονώτερον. Φασάηλον μὲν δὴ τῶν

παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τῶν πέριξ στρατηγὸν καθίστησιν, τὸν δὲ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἡρώδην ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις ἔστειλεν εἰς Γαλιλαίαν κομιδῇ νέον.

(5) [204] Ὁ δὲ ὢν φύσει δραστήριος ὕλην εὐθέως εὑρίσκει τῷ φρονήματι. καταλαβὼν οὖν Ἐζεκίαν τὸν ἀρχιλῃστὴν τὰ προσεχῆ τῇ Συρίᾳ κατατρέχοντα μετὰ μεγίστου στίφους αὐτόν τε συλλαβὼν ἀποκτείνει καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν λῃστῶν. [205] ὃ δὴ μάλιστα τοῖς Σύροις ἡγεῖτο κεχαρισμένον: ὑμνεῖτο γοῦν ἀνά τε τὰς κώμας καὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν Ἡρώδης ὡς εἰρήνην αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰς κτήσεις ἀνασεσωκώς. γίνεται δ᾽ ἐκ τούτου καὶ Σέξτῳ Καίσαρι γνώριμος ὄντι συγγενεῖ τοῦ μεγάλου Καίσαρος καὶ διοικοῦντι τὴν Συρίαν. [206] πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν εὐδοκιμοῦντα καὶ Φασάηλος ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἔριν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις εὐνουστέρους καθιστάμενος καὶ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ μὲν ἔχων τὴν πόλιν μηδὲν δὲ ἀπειροκάλως εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐξυβρίζων. [207] ἐντεῦθεν Ἀντιπάτρῳ θεραπεία τε ἦν ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους βασιλικὴ καὶ τιμαὶ παρὰ πάντων ὡς δεσπότῃ τῶν ὅλων: οὐ μὴν αὐτὸς τῆς πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν εὐνοίας ἢ πίστεώς τι μετεκίνησεν.

(6) [208] Ἀμήχανον δ᾽ ἐν εὐπραγίαις φθόνον διαφυγεῖν: Ὑρκανὸς γοῦν ἤδη μὲν καὶ καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ἡσυχῇ πρὸς τὸ κλέος τῶν νεανίσκων ἐδάκνετο, μάλιστα δὲ ἐλύπει τὰ Ἡρώδου κατορθώματα καὶ κήρυκες ἐπάλληλοι τῆς καθ᾽ ἕκαστον εὐδοξίας προστρέχοντες πολλοὶ [δὲ] τῶν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις βασκάνων ἠρέθιζον, οἷς ἢ τὸ τῶν παίδων ἢ τὸ Ἀντιπάτρου σωφρονικὸν προσίστατο, [209] λέγοντες ὡς Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ παραχωρήσας τῶν πραγμάτων καθέζοιτο τοὔνομα μόνον βασιλέως ἔχων ἔρημον ἐξουσίας. καὶ μέχρι τοῦ πλανηθήσεται καθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ βασιλεῖς ἐπιτρέφων; οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰρωνεύεσθαι τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν αὐτοὺς ἔτι, φανεροὺς δὲ εἶναι δεσπότας παρωσαμένους ἐκεῖνον, εἴ γε μήτε ἐντολὰς δόντος μήτε ἐπιστείλαντος αὐτοῦ τοσούτους παρὰ τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων νόμον ἀνῄρηκεν Ἡρώδης: ὅν, εἰ μὴ βασιλεύς ἐστιν ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι ἰδιώτης, δεῖν ἐπὶ δίκην ἥκειν ἀποδώσοντα λόγον αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις, οἳ κτείνειν ἀκρίτους οὐκ ἐφιᾶσιν.

(7) [210] Τούτοις κατὰ μικρὸν Ὑρκανὸς ἐξεκαίετο καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν τελευταῖον ἐκρήξας ἐκάλει κριθησόμενον τὸν Ἡρώδην. ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς παραινοῦντος καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων διδόντων παρρησίαν ἀνῄει φρουραῖς διαλαβὼν πρότερον τὴν Γαλιλαίαν. ᾔει δὲ μετὰ καρτεροῦ στίφους, ὡς μήτε καταλύειν δόξειεν Ὑρκανὸν λαμπρὰν ἄγων δύναμιν μήτε γυμνὸς ἐμπέσοι τῷ φθόνῳ. [211] Σέξτος δὲ Καῖσαρ δείσας περὶ τῷ νεανίᾳ, μή τι παρὰ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀποληφθεὶς πάθῃ, πέμπει πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν τοὺς παραγγελοῦντας διαρρήδην ἀπολύειν Ἡρώδην τῆς φονικῆς δίκης. ὁ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ὡρμημένος, ἠγάπα γὰρ Ἡρώδην, ἀποψηφίζεται.

(8) [212] Καὶ ὃς ὑπολαμβάνων ἄκοντος τοῦ βασιλέως διαφυγεῖν εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἀνεχώρησεν πρὸς Σέξτον παρασκευαζόμενος οὐδὲ αὖθις ὑπακοῦσαι καλοῦντι. καὶ πάλιν οἱ πονηροὶ παρώξυνον τὸν Ὑρκανὸν κατ᾽ ὀργήν τε οἴχεσθαι τὸν Ἡρώδην λέγοντες καὶ παρεσκευασμένον κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ: πιστεύων δ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς

οὐκ εἶχεν ὅ τι χρὴ δρᾶν. [213] ὡς ἑώρα μείζονα τὸν διάφορον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπὸ Σέξτου Καίσαρος στρατηγὸς ἀνεδείχθη κοίλης Συρίας καὶ Σαμαρείας οὐ μόνον τε κατ᾽ εὔνοιαν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους ἀλλὰ καὶ δυνάμει φοβερὸς ἦν. εἰς ἔσχατον δέους κατέπεσεν Ὑρκανός, ὅσον οὔπω προσδοκῶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁρμήσειν μετὰ στρατιᾶς.

(9) [214] Καὶ οὐ διήμαρτεν τῆς οἰήσεως: ὁ γὰρ Ἡρώδης κατ᾽ ὀργὴν τῆς περὶ τὴν δίκην ἀπειλῆς στρατιὰν ἀθροίσας ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἦγεν καταλύσων τὸν Ὑρκανόν. κἂν ἔφθη τοῦτο ποιήσας, εἰ μὴ προεξελθόντες ὅ τε πατὴρ καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἔκλασαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ὁρμὴν παρακαλοῦντες καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπειλῇ καὶ ἀνατάσει μόνῃ μετρῆσαι τὴν ἄμυναν, φείσασθαι δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὑφ᾽ οὗ μέχρι τοσαύτης δυνάμεως προῆλθεν: δεῖν τε, εἰ κληθεὶς ἐπὶ δίκην παρώξυνται, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀφέσεως εὐχαριστεῖν καὶ μὴ πρὸς μὲν τὸ σκυθρωπὸν ἀπαντᾶν, περὶ δὲ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀχάριστον εἶναι. [215] εἰ δὲ δὴ λογιστέον εἴη καὶ πολέμου ῥοπὰς βραβεύεσθαι θεῷ, πλέον εἶναι τῆς στρατείας τὸ ἄδικον. διὸ δὴ καὶ περὶ τῆς νίκης οὐ χρὴ κατὰ πᾶν εὔελπιν εἶναι, μέλλοντά γε συμβαλεῖν βασιλεῖ καὶ συντρόφῳ καὶ πολλάκις μὲν εὐεργέτῃ, χαλεπῷ δὲ οὐδέποτε, πλὴν ὅσον πονηροῖς συμβούλοις χρώμενος ἐπισείσειεν αὐτῷ σκιὰν ἀδικήματος. πείθεται τούτοις Ἡρώδης ὑπολαβὼν εἰς τὰς ἐλπίδας αὔταρκες εἶναι καὶ τὸ τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐπιδείξασθαι τῷ ἔθνει.

(10) [216] Κἀν τούτῳ γίνεται περὶ Ἀπάμειαν ταραχὴ Ῥωμαίων καὶ πόλεμος ἐμφύλιος, Καικιλίου μὲν Βάσσου διὰ τὴν εἰς Πομπήιον εὔνοιαν δολοφονήσαντος Σέξτον Καίσαρα καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν παραλαβόντος, τῶν δ᾽ ἄλλων Καίσαρος στρατηγῶν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ τοῦ φόνου μετὰ δυνάμεως συνελθόντων. [217] οἷς καὶ διὰ τὸν ἀνῃρημένον καὶ διὰ τὸν περιόντα Καίσαρα φίλους ὄντας ἀμφοτέρους ὁ Ἀντίπατρος διὰ τῶν παίδων ἔπεμψεν συμμαχίαν. μηκυνομένου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου Μοῦρκος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας Σέξτου παραγίνεται διάδοχος,

XI

(1) [218] συνίσταται δὲ Ῥωμαίοις κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ὁ μέγας πόλεμος Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου κτεινάντων δόλῳ Καίσαρα κατασχόντα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπ᾽ ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἑπτά. μεγίστου δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ γενομένου κινήματος καὶ διαστασιασθέντων τῶν δυνατῶν ἕκαστος ἐλπίσιν οἰκείαις ἐχώρει πρὸς ὃ συμφέρειν ὑπελάμβανεν, καὶ δὴ καὶ Κάσσιος εἰς Συρίαν καταληψόμενος τὰς περὶ Ἀπάμειαν δυνάμεις. [219] ἔνθα Βάσσῳ τε Μοῦρκον καὶ τὰ διεστῶτα τάγματα διαλλάξας ἐλευθεροῖ μὲν Ἀπάμειαν τῆς πολιορκίας, ἡγούμενος δ᾽ αὐτὸς τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπῄει φορολογῶν τὰς πόλεις καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν τὰς εἰσπράξεις ποιούμενος.

(2) [220] Κελευσθὲν δὲ καὶ Ἰουδαίοις εἰσενεγκεῖν ἑπτακόσια τάλαντα δείσας Ἀντίπατρος τὴν ἀπειλὴν τοῦ Κασσίου τοῖς τε υἱοῖς διεῖλεν εἰσπράττειν τὰ χρήματα καί τισιν ἄλλοις τῶν ἐπιτηδείων κατὰ τάχος, ἐν οἷς καὶ Μαλίχῳ τινὶ τῶν διαφόρων: οὕτως ἤπειγεν ἡ ἀνάγκη. [221] πρῶτος δ᾽ ἀπεμειλίξατο Κάσσιον Ἡρώδης τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μοῖραν ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας κομίσας ἑκατὸν τάλαντα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα φίλος ἦν. τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς εἰς βραδυτῆτα κακίσας αὐταῖς ἐθυμοῦτο ταῖς πόλεσιν. [222] Γόφνα γοῦν καὶ Ἀμμαοῦν καὶ δύο ἑτέρας τῶν ταπεινοτέρων ἐξανδραποδισάμενος ἐχώρει μὲν ὡς καὶ Μάλιχον ἀναιρήσων, ὅτι μὴ σπεύσας εἰσέπραξεν, ἐπέσχεν δὲ τὴν τούτου καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων ἀπώλειαν Ἀντίπατρος ταχέως ἑκατὸν ταλάντοις θεραπεύσας Κάσσιον.

(3) [223] Οὐ μὴν Μάλιχος ἀναχωρήσαντος Κασσίου τῆς χάριτος ἀπεμνημόνευσεν Ἀντιπάτρῳ, κατὰ δὲ τοῦ πολλάκις σωτῆρος ἐπιβουλὴν ἐνεσκευάζετο σπεύδων ἀνελεῖν τὸν ἐμπόδιον αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν Ἀντίπατρος δὲ τήν τε ἰσχὺν καὶ τὸ πανοῦργον τἀνδρὸς ὑποδείσας διαβαίνει τὸν Ἰορδάνην στρατὸν ἀθροίσων εἰς τὴν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἄμυναν. [224] φωραθεὶς δὲ Μάλιχος ἀναιδείᾳ τῶν Ἀντιπάτρου παίδων περιγίνεται: τόν τε γὰρ Ἱεροσολύμων φρουρὸν Φασάηλον καὶ Ἡρώδην πεπιστευμένον τὰ ὅπλα πολλαῖς ἀπολογίαις καὶ ὅρκοις ἐκγοητεύσας διαλλακτὰς αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα πείθει γίνεσθαι. πάλιν γοῦν ὑπ᾽ Ἀντιπάτρου σώζεται πείσαντος Μοῦρκον τὸν τότε στρατηγοῦντα Συρίας, ὃς ὥρμητο κτεῖναι Μάλιχον ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐνεωτέρισεν.

(4) [225] Συστάντος δὲ τοῦ πρὸς Κάσσιον καὶ Βροῦτον πολέμου Καίσαρί τε τῷ νέῳ καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ Κάσσιος καὶ Μοῦρκος στρατιὰν ἀθροίσαντες ἐκ τῆς Συρίας, ἐπειδὴ μέγα μέρος εἰς τὰς χρείας Ἡρώδης ἔδοξε, τότε μὲν αὐτὸν Συρίας ἁπάσης ἐπιμελητὴν καθιστᾶσιν δύναμιν πεζήν τε καὶ ἱππικὴν δόντες, μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου κατάλυσιν ἀποδείξειν Κάσσιος ὑπέσχετο καὶ Ἰουδαίας βασιλέα. [226] συνέβη δ᾽ Ἀντιπάτρῳ τήν τε ἰσχὺν τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα αἰτίαν ἀπωλείας γενέσθαι: ταῦτα γὰρ δείσας ὁ Μάλιχος διαφθείρει τινὰ τῶν βασιλικῶν οἰνοχόων χρήμασιν δοῦναι φάρμακον Ἀντιπάτρῳ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀγώνισμα τῆς Μαλίχου παρανομίας γενόμενος μετὰ τὸ συμπόσιον θνήσκει τά τε ἄλλα δραστήριος ἀνὴρ ἐν ἀφηγήσει πραγμάτων καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνακτησάμενός τε Ὑρκανῷ καὶ διαφυλάξας:

(5) [227] Μάλιχος δὲ καθ᾽ ὑπόνοιαν τῆς φαρμακείας ὀργιζόμενον τὸ πλῆθος ἀρνούμενος ἔπειθεν καὶ δυνατώτερον ἑαυτὸν κατεσκεύαζεν ὁπλίτας συγκροτῶν: οὐ γὰρ ἠρεμήσειν Ἡρώδην ὑπελάμβανεν, ὃς δὴ καὶ παρῆν αὐτίκα στρατὸν ἄγων ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ τοῦ πατρός. [228] Φασαήλου δὲ τἀδελφοῦ συμβουλεύσαντος αὐτῷ μὴ φανερῶς τὸν ἄνδρα μετιέναι, διαστασιάσειν γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος, τότε μὲν ἀπολογούμενόν τε προσίεται τὸν Μάλιχον καὶ τῆς ὑπονοίας ἀπολύειν ὠμολόγει, λαμπρὰν δὲ πομπὴν ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ κηδείας ἐτέλεσεν.

(6) [229] Τραπεὶς δ᾽ ἐπὶ Σαμάρειαν στάσει τεταραγμένην κατεστήσατο τὴν πόλιν: ἔπειτα καθ᾽ ἑορτὴν ὑπέστρεφεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἄγων. καὶ πέμπων Ὑρκανός, ἐνῆγεν γὰρ δεδοικὼς τὴν ἔφοδον Μάλιχος, ἐκώλυεν τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους εἰσαγαγεῖν ἐφ᾽ ἁγνεύοντας τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους. ὁ δὲ τῆς προφάσεως καταφρονήσας καὶ τοῦ προστάσσοντος εἰσέρχεται διὰ νυκτός. [230] καὶ πάλιν Μάλιχος προσιὼν ἔκλαιεν Ἀντίπατρον: ἀνθυπεκρίνετο δὲ μόλις Ἡρώδης τὸν θυμὸν ἐπέχων καὶ Κασσίῳ δι᾽ ἐπιστολῶν τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀναίρεσιν ἀπωδύρετο μισοῦντι καὶ ἄλλως Μάλιχον. ὁ δ᾽ αὐτῷ μετιέναι τὸν φονέα τοῦ πατρὸς ἀντεπιστείλας καὶ τοῖς ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτὸν χιλιάρχοις λάθρα προσέταξεν Ἡρώδῃ βοηθεῖν εἰς πρᾶξιν δικαίαν.

(7) [231] Καὶ ἐπειδὴ Λαοδίκειαν ἐλόντος αὐτοῦ συνῆσαν οἱ πανταχόθεν δυνατοὶ δωρεάς τε καὶ στεφάνους φέροντες, Ἡρώδης μὲν τοῦτον τῇ τιμωρίᾳ τὸν καιρὸν ἀφώρισεν, Μάλιχος δὲ ὑποπτεύσας, ὡς ἐν Τύρῳ γίνεται, τόν τε υἱὸν ὁμηρεύοντα παρὰ τοῖς Τυρίοις ὑπεξαγαγεῖν ἔγνω λάθρα καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀποδρᾶναι παρεσκευάζετο: [232] παρώξυνεν δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἡ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀπόγνωσις ἐνθυμεῖσθαι καὶ μείζονα: τό τε γὰρ ἔθνος ἐπαναστήσειν Ῥωμαίοις ἤλπισεν Κασσίου τῷ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον πολέμῳ περισπωμένου καὶ βασιλεύσειν αὐτὸς Ὑρκανὸν καταλύσας εὐμαρῶς.

(8) [233] Ἐπεγέλα δ᾽ ἄρα τὸ χρεὼν αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν. ὁ γοῦν Ἡρώδης προιδόμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν ὁρμὴν τόν τε Ὑρκανὸν κἀκεῖνον ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐκάλει, παρεστῶτας ἔπειτα τῶν οἰκετῶν τινας πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰσέπεμψεν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ δείπνου παρασκευήν, τῷ δὲ ὄντι προειπεῖν τοῖς χιλιάρχοις ἐξελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐνέδραν. [234] κἀκεῖνοι τῶν Κασσίου προσταγμάτων ἀναμνησθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως αἰγιαλὸν ἐξῆεσαν ξιφήρεις, ἔνθα περιστάντες τὸν Μάλιχον πολλοῖς τραύμασιν ἀναιροῦσιν. Ὑρκανὸς δὲ παραχρῆμα μὲν λυθεὶς ὑπ᾽ ἐκπλήξεως ἔπεσεν, μόλις δὲ ἀνενεγκὼν Ἡρώδην διηρώτα, τίς ὁ κτείνας εἴη Μάλιχον. [235] ἀποκριναμένου δέ τινος τῶν χιλιάρχων “τὸ Κασσίου πρόσταγμα”, “Κάσσιος ἄρα, ἔφη, κἀμὲ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα μου σώζει τὸν ἀμφοτέρων ἐπίβουλον ἀνελών.” εἴτε δὲ φρονῶν Ὑρκανὸς οὕτως εἴθ᾽ ὑπὸ δέους ὁμόσε τῇ πράξει χωρῶν εἶπεν, ἄδηλον ἦν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ Μάλιχον μὲν οὕτως Ἡρώδης μετῆλθεν.

XII

(1) [236] Κασσίου δὲ ἀναχωρήσαντος ἐκ Συρίας πάλιν στάσις ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις γίνεται Ἕλικος μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπαναστάντος Φασαήλῳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑπὲρ Μαλίχου τιμωρίαν ἀμύνεσθαι θέλοντος Ἡρώδην εἰς τὸν ἀδελφόν. Ἡρώδης δὲ ἔτυχεν μὲν ὢν παρὰ Φαβίῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ κατὰ Δαμασκόν, ὡρμημένος δὲ βοηθεῖν ὑπὸ νόσου κατείχετο. [237] κἂν τούτῳ Φασάηλος καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν Ἕλικος περιγενόμενος Ὑρκανὸν ὠνείδιζεν εἰς ἀχαριστίαν ὧν τε Ἕλικι συμπράξειεν, καὶ

ὅτι περιορᾷη τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Μαλίχου τὰ φρούρια καταλαμβάνοντα: πολλὰ γὰρ δὴ κατείληπτο, καὶ τὸ πάντων ὀχυρώτατον Μασάδαν.

(2) [238] Οὐ μὴν αὐτῷ τι πρὸς τὴν Ἡρώδου βίαν ἤρκεσεν, ὃς ἀναρρωσθεὶς τά τε ἄλλα παραλαμβάνει κἀκεῖνον ἐκ τῆς Μασάδας ἱκέτην ἀφῆκεν. ἐξήλασεν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας Μαρίωνα τὸν Τυρίων τύραννον ἤδη τρία κατεσχηκότα τῶν ἐρυμάτων, τοὺς δὲ ληφθέντας Τυρίους ἔσωσεν μὲν πάντας, ἦσαν δ᾽ οὓς καὶ δωρησάμενος ἀπέπεμψεν εὔνοιαν ἑαυτῷ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῷ τυράννῳ μῖσος παρασκευαζόμενος. [239] ὁ δὲ Μαρίων ἠξίωτο μὲν τῆς τυραννίδος ὑπὸ Κασσίου τυραννίσιν πᾶσαν διαλαβόντος τὴν Συρίαν, κατὰ δὲ τὸ πρὸς Ἡρώδην ἔχθος συγκατήγαγεν Ἀντίγονον τὸν Ἀριστοβούλου, καὶ τὸ πλέον διὰ Φάβιον, ὃν Ἀντίγονος χρήμασιν προσποιησάμενος βοηθὸν εἶχεν τῆς καθόδου: χορηγὸς δ᾽ ἦν ἁπάντων ὁ κηδεστὴς Πτολεμαῖος Ἀντιγόνῳ.

(3) [240] Πρὸς οὓς Ἡρώδης ἀντιπαραταξάμενος ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμβολῶν τῆς Ἰουδαίας κρατεῖ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἐξελάσας ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πᾶσιν ἀγαπητὸς ὢν ἐπὶ τῷ κατορθώματι: καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὴ προσέχοντες πάλαι τότε ᾠκείωντο διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν ἐπιγαμίαν αὐτῷ. [241] πρότερον μὲν γὰρ ἦκτο γυναῖκα τῶν ἐπιχωρίων οὐκ ἄσημον, Δωρὶς ἐκαλεῖτο, ἐξ ἧς ἐγέννησεν Ἀντίπατρον, τότε δὲ γήμας τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου θυγατέρα, θυγατριδῆν δὲ Ὑρκανοῦ Μαριάμην οἰκεῖος τῷ βασιλεῖ γίνεται.

(4) [242] Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κάσσιον περὶ Φιλίππους ἀνελόντες ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς μὲν Ἰταλίαν Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἀντώνιος, πρεσβευομένων τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων πρὸς Ἀντώνιον εἰς Βιθυνίαν ἦκον καὶ Ἰουδαίων οἱ δυνατοὶ κατηγοροῦντες Φασαήλου καὶ Ἡρώδου, βίᾳ μὲν αὐτοὺς κρατεῖν τῶν πραγμάτων, ὄνομα δὲ μόνον περιεῖναι Ὑρκανῷ τίμιον. πρὸς ἃ παρὼν Ἡρώδης καὶ τεθεραπευκὼς οὐκ ὀλίγοις Ἀντώνιον χρήμασιν οὕτως διέθηκεν, ὡς μηδὲ λόγου τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀνασχέσθαι.

(5) [243] καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτως διελύθησαν, αὖθις δὲ οἱ ἐν τέλει Ἰουδαίων ἑκατὸν ἄνδρες ἦκον εἰς τὴν πρὸς Ἀντιόχειαν Δάφνην ἐπ᾽ Ἀντώνιον ἤδη τῷ Κλεοπάτρας ἔρωτι δεδουλωμένον: οἳ προστησάμενοι τοὺς ἀξιώματι καὶ λόγῳ σφῶν δυνατωτάτους κατηγόρουν τῶν ἀδελφῶν. ὑπήντα δὲ Μεσσάλας ἀπολογούμενος συμπαρεστῶτος Ὑρκανοῦ διὰ τὸ κῆδος. [244] καὶ Ἀντώνιος ἀκούσας ἑκατέρων Ὑρκανοῦ διεπυνθάνετο τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτέρους ὄντας ἄρχειν: τοῦ δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην προκρίνοντος, ἡσθείς, ἦν γὰρ δὴ καὶ ξένος αὐτοῖς πατρῷος δεχθεὶς ὑπ᾽ Ἀντιπάτρου φιλοφρόνως ὅτε εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν σὺν Γαβινίῳ παρέβαλλεν, τετράρχας ἀποδείκνυσιν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς πᾶσαν διοικεῖν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπιτρέπων.

(6) [245] Προσαγανακτούντων δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων πεντεκαίδεκα μὲν συλλαβὼν εἴργνυσιν, οὓς καὶ ἀνελεῖν ὥρμησεν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς μεθ᾽ ὕβρεως ἀπήλασεν. πρὸς ὃ μείζων ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις γίνεται ταραχή: χιλίους γοῦν πάλιν ἔπεμψαν πρέσβεις εἰς Τύρον, ἔνθα διέτριβεν Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ὡρμημένος. ἐπὶ

τούτους κεκραγότας ἐκπέμπει τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν Τυρίων κολάζειν προστάξας οὓς ἂν λάβῃ, συγκατασκευάζειν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κατασταθεῖσιν τετράρχαις.

(7) [246] Πρὸ δὲ τούτου πολλὰ παρῄνει προελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν Ἡρώδης σὺν Ὑρκανῷ μήθ᾽ ἑαυτοῖς ἀπωλείας αἰτίους μήτε τῇ πατρίδι πολέμου γίνεσθαι φιλονεικοῦντας ἀκρίτως. τῶν δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀγανακτούντων Ἀντώνιος ἐκπέμψας ὁπλίτας πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν, πολλοὺς δὲ ἔτρωσεν: ὧν οἵ τε πεσόντες ταφῆς καὶ οἱ τραυματίαι θεραπείας ἠξιώθησαν ὑπὸ Ὑρκανοῦ. [247] οὐ μὴν οἱ διαφυγόντες ἠρέμουν, ἀλλὰ τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν συνταράσσοντες παρώξυναν Ἀντώνιον ὥστε καὶ τοὺς δεσμώτας ἀποκτεῖναι.

XIII

(1) [248] Μετὰ δὲ ἔτη δύο Βαζαφράνου τοῦ Πάρθων σατράπου σὺν Πακόρῳ τῷ βασιλέως υἱῷ Συρίαν κατασχόντος Λυσανίας ἀναδεδεγμένος ἤδη τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτήσαντος, Πτολεμαῖος δ᾽ ἦν οὗτος ὁ Μενναίου, πείθει τὸν σατράπην ὑποσχέσει χιλίων ταλάντων καὶ πεντακοσίων γυναικῶν καταγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια τὸν Ἀντίγονον, καταλῦσαι δὲ τὸν Ὑρκανόν. [249] τούτοις ὑπαχθεὶς Πάκορος αὐτὸς μὲν ᾔει κατὰ τὴν παράλιον, Βαζαφράνην δὲ διὰ τῆς μεσογείου προσέταξεν ἐμβαλεῖν. τῶν δ᾽ ἐπιθαλαττίων Τύριοι Πάκορον οὐκ ἐδέξαντο καίτοι Πτολεμαιῶν καὶ Σιδωνίων δεδεγμένων. ὁ δ᾽ οἰνοχόῳ τινὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν ὁμωνύμῳ μοῖραν τῆς ἵππου παραδοὺς προεμβαλεῖν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν κατασκεψόμενόν τε τὰ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ πρὸς ἃ δέοι βοηθήσοντα Ἀντιγόνῳ.

(2) [250] Τῶν δὲ λῃζομένων τὸν Κάρμηλον πολλοὶ Ἰουδαῖοι συνδραμόντες πρὸς Ἀντίγονον προθύμους ἑαυτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν εἰσβολὴν παρεῖχον. ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν καλούμενον Δρυμὸν προέπεμψεν τὸ χωρίον καταλαβεῖν: ἐν ᾧ γενομένης συμβολῆς ὠσάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ διώξαντες ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἔθεον γενόμενοί τε πλείους μέχρι τῶν βασιλείων προῆλθον. [251] Ὑρκανοῦ δὲ καὶ Φασαήλου δεξαμένων αὐτοὺς καρτερῷ στίφει μάχη κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν συρρήγνυται, καθ᾽ ἣν τρεψάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους οἱ περὶ Ἡρώδην κατακλείουσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ φρουροὺς αὐτῶν ἄνδρας ἑξήκοντα ταῖς πλησίον οἰκίαις ἐγκατέστησαν. [252] τούτους μὲν ὁ στασιάζων πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς λαὸς ἐπελθὼν ἐμπίπρησιν, Ἡρώδης δὲ τοῦ δήμου πολλοὺς κατ᾽ ὀργὴν τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἀναιρεῖ συμβαλών, καὶ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐπεκθεόντων ἀλλήλοις κατὰ λόχους φόνος ἦν ἀδιάλειπτος.

(3) [253] Ἐνστάσης δ᾽ ἑορτῆς, ἣ πεντηκοστὴ καλεῖται, τά τε περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πάντα καὶ ἡ πόλις ὅλη πλήθους τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ἀναπίμπλαται τὸ πλέον ὁπλιτῶν. καὶ Φασάηλος μὲν τὸ τεῖχος, Ἡρώδης δ᾽ οὐ μετὰ πολλῶν ἐφρούρει τὰ βασίλεια:

καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπεκδραμὼν ἀσυντάκτοις κατὰ τὸ προάστειον πλείστους μὲν ἀναιρεῖ, τρέπεται δὲ πάντας καὶ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, τοὺς δὲ εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, τοὺς δὲ εἰς τὸ ἔξω χαράκωμα ἐγκλείει. [254] κἀν τούτῳ διαλλακτὴν μὲν Ἀντίγονος παρακαλεῖ Πάκορον εἰσαφεῖναι, Φασάηλος δὲ πεισθεὶς τῇ τε πόλει καὶ ξενίᾳ τὸν Πάρθον εἰσδέχεται μετὰ πεντακοσίων ἱππέων, προφάσει μὲν ἥκοντα τοῦ παῦσαι τὴν στάσιν. [255] τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς Ἀντιγόνῳ βοηθόν. τὸν γοῦν Φασάηλον ἐνεδρεύων ἀνέπεισεν πρὸς Βαζαφράνην πρεσβεύσασθαι περὶ καταλύσεως, καίτοι γε πολλὰ ἀποτρέποντος Ἡρώδου καὶ παραινοῦντος ἀναιρεῖν τὸν ἐπίβουλον, ἀλλὰ μὴ ταῖς ἐπιβουλαῖς ἑαυτὸν ἐκδιδόναι, φύσει γὰρ ἀπίστους εἶναι τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἔξεισιν Ὑρκανὸν παραλαβών, καὶ Πάκορος, ὡς ἧττον ὑποπτεύοιτο, καταλιπὼν παρ᾽ Ἡρώδῃ τινὰς τῶν καλουμένων Ἐλευθέρων ἱππέων τοῖς λοιποῖς προέπεμψεν Φασάηλον.

(4) [256] Ὡς δ᾽ ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, τοὺς μὲν ἐπιχωρίους ἀφεστῶτας κἀν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὄντας καταλαμβάνουσιν, τῷ σατράπῃ δὲ ἐνετύγχανον πανούργῳ σφόδρα καὶ ταῖς φιλοφρονήσεσιν τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν καλύπτοντι: δῶρα γοῦν δοὺς αὐτοῖς ἔπειτα ἀναχωροῦντας ἐλόχα. [257] τοῖς δ᾽ αἴσθησις γίνεται τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς καταχθεῖσιν εἴς τι τῶν παραθαλασσίων χωρίων, ὃ καλεῖται Ἐκδίππων: ἐκεῖ γὰρ τήν τε ὑπόσχεσιν τῶν χιλίων ἤκουσαν ταλάντων καὶ ὡς Ἀντίγονος τὰς πλείστας τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς γυναικῶν ἐν ταῖς πεντακοσίαις καθοσιώσειεν Πάρθοις, [258] ὅτι τε προλοχίζοιντο μὲν αὐτοῖς αἱ νύκτες ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀεί, πάλαι δ᾽ ἂν καὶ συνελήφθησαν, εἰ μὴ περιέμενον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἡρώδην πρότερον λαβεῖν, ὡς μὴ προπυθόμενος τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς φυλάξαιτο. ταῦτ᾽ οὐκέτι λόγος ἦν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φυλακὰς ἤδη πόρρωθεν ἑαυτῶν ἔβλεπον.

(5) [259] Οὐ μὴν Φασάηλος καίτοι πολλὰ παραινοῦντος Ὀφελλίου φεύγειν, πέπυστο γὰρ οὗτος παρὰ Σαραμάλλα τοῦ πλουσιωτάτου τότε Σύρων τὴν σύνταξιν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ὅλην, καταλιπεῖν Ὑρκανὸν ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ σατράπῃ προσελθὼν ἄντικρυς ὠνείδιζεν τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ μάλισθ᾽ ὅτι γένοιτο τοιοῦτος χρημάτων ἕνεκεν: πλείω γε μὴν αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας δώσειν ὧν Ἀντίγονος ὑπὲρ βασιλείας ὑπέσχετο. [260] πρὸς ταῦτα πανούργως ὁ Πάρθος ἀπολογίαις τε καὶ ὅρκοις ἀποσκευασάμενος τὴν ὑποψίαν ᾤχετο πρὸς Πάκορον. εὐθέως δὲ τῶν καταλειφθέντων Πάρθων οἷς προσετέτακτο Φασάηλόν τε καὶ Ὑρκανὸν συνελάμβανον τά τε ἄλλα πρὸς τὴν ἐπιορκίαν καὶ τὸ ἄπιστον αὐτοῖς καταρωμένους.

(6) [261] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην ὁ πεμφθεὶς οἰνοχόος ἐπεβούλευε συλλαβεῖν ἔξω τοῦ τείχους ἀπατήσας προελθεῖν, ὥσπερ ἐντολὰς εἶχεν. ὁ δὲ ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς ὑποπτεύων τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ τότε πεπυσμένος εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐμπεπτωκέναι τὰ μηνύοντα τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν αὐτῷ γράμματα, προελθεῖν οὐκ ἠβούλετο καίτοι μάλα ἀξιοπίστως τοῦ Πακόρου φάσκοντος δεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπαντῆσαι τοῖς τὰς ἐπιστολὰς κομίζουσιν: οὔτε γὰρ ἐαλωκέναι τοῖς πολεμίοις

αὐτὰς καὶ περιέχειν οὐκ ἐπιβουλήν, ἀλλ᾽ ὁπόσα διεπράξατο Φασάηλος. [262] ἔτυχεν δὲ παρ᾽ ἄλλων προακηκοὼς τὸν ἀδελφὸν συνειλημμένον, καὶ προσῄει Ὑρκανοῦ θυγάτηρ Μαριάμμη, συνετωτάτη γυναικῶν, καταντιβολοῦσα μὴ προιέναι μηδ᾽ ἐμπιστεύειν ἑαυτὸν ἤδη φανερῶς ἐπιχειροῦσι τοῖς βαρβάροις.

(7) [263] Ἔτι δὲ τῶν περὶ Πάκορον σκεπτομένων, πῶς ἂν κρύφα τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἀπαρτίσειαν, οὐ γὰρ ἐκ φανεροῦ οἷόν τε ἦν ἀνδρὸς οὕτω δυνατοῦ περιγενέσθαι, προλαβὼν Ἡρώδης μετὰ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων προσώπων νύκτωρ ἐπὶ Ἰδουμαίας ἐχώρει λάθρα τῶν πολεμίων. [264] αἰσθόμενοι δ᾽ οἱ Πάρθοι κατεδίωκον. κἀκεῖνος τὴν μὲν μητέρα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τὴν καθωμολογημένην παῖδα μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τοῦ νεωτάτου τῶν ἀδελφῶν προστάξας ὁδεύειν αὐτὸς ἀσφαλῶς μετὰ τῶν θεραπόντων ἀνέκοπτε τοὺς βαρβάρους: καὶ πολλοὺς κατὰ πᾶσαν προσβολὴν ἀποκτείνας εἰς Μασάδαν τὸ φρούριον ἠπείγετο.

(8) [265] Βαρυτέρους δὲ κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν Πάρθων Ἰουδαίους ἐπείρασεν, ἐνοχλήσαντας μὲν διηνεκῶς, ἀπὸ δὲ ἑξήκοντα τῆς πόλεως σταδίων καὶ παραταξαμένους ἐπιεικῶς πολὺν χρόνον. ἔνθα κρατήσας Ἡρώδης καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνας αὖθις εἰς μνήμην τοῦ κατορθώματος ἔκτισεν τὸ χωρίον καὶ βασιλείοις πολυτελεστάτοις ἐκόσμησεν καὶ ἀκρόπολιν ὀχυρωτάτην ἀνεδείματο Ἡρώδειόν τε ἐκάλεσεν ἀπὸ ἑαυτοῦ. [266] τηνικαῦτά γε μὴν φεύγοντι καθ᾽ ἡμέραν αὐτῷ προσεγίνοντο πολλοί, καὶ κατὰ Ῥῆσαν γενομένῳ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας Ἰώσηπος ἀδελφὸς ὑπαντήσας συνεβούλευεν τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἑπομένων ἀποφορτίσασθαι: μὴ γὰρ ἂν τοσοῦτον ὄχλον δέξασθαι τὴν Μασάδαν. [267] ἦσαν δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐννακισχιλίους. πεισθεὶς Ἡρώδης τοὺς μὲν βαρυτέρους τῆς χρείας διαφῆκεν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν δοὺς ἐφόδια, μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων τοὺς ἀλκιμωτάτους κατασχὼν εἰς τὸ φρούριον διασώζεται. καταλιπὼν δὲ ἐνταῦθα ταῖς γυναιξὶν ὀκτακοσίους φύλακας καὶ διαρκῆ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πρὸς πολιορκίαν αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν Ἀραβικὴν Πέτραν ἠπείγετο.

(9) [268] Πάρθοι δ᾽ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐφ᾽ ἁρπαγὴν τραπόμενοι τῶν φυγόντων εἰς τὰς οἰκίας εἰσέπιπτον καὶ τὸ βασίλειον ἀπεχόμενοι μόνων τῶν Ὑρκανοῦ χρημάτων: ἦν δ᾽ οὐ πλείω τριακοσίων ταλάντων. ἐπετύγχανον δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐχ ὅσοις ἤλπισαν: ὁ γὰρ Ἡρώδης ἐκ πολλοῦ τὴν ἀπιστίαν τῶν βαρβάρων ὑφορώμενος εἰς τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν τὰ λαμπρότατα τῶν κειμηλίων προανεσκεύαστο, καὶ τῶν αὐτῷ προσεχόντων ὁμοίως ἕκαστος. [269] Πάρθοι δὲ μετὰ τὰς ἁρπαγὰς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὕβρεως ἐχώρησαν ὡς ἐμπλῆσαι μὲν ἀκηρύκτου πολέμου τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν, ἀνάστατον δὲ ποιῆσαι τὴν Μαρισαίων πόλιν, μὴ μόνον δὲ καταστῆσαι βασιλέα Ἀντίγονον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παραδοῦναι αὐτῷ Φασάηλόν τε καὶ Ὑρκανὸν δεσμώτας αἰκίσασθαι. [270] ὁ δὲ Ὑρκανοῦ μὲν προσπεσὼν αὐτὸς τὰ ὦτα λωβᾶται τοῖς ὀδοῦσιν, ὡς μηδὲ αὖθις ἐν μεταβολῇ ποτε δύναιτο τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀπολαβεῖν:

(10) [271] δεῖ γὰρ ὁλοκλήρους ἀρχιερᾶσθαι: τῆς Φασαήλου δὲ ἀρετῆς ὑστερίζει φθάσαντος πέτρᾳ προσρῆξαι τὴν κεφαλήν, ὡς καὶ σιδήρου καὶ χειρῶν εἴργετο. κἀκεῖνος μὲν Ἡρώδου γνήσιον ἑαυτὸν ἀποδείξας ἀδελφὸν καὶ Ὑρκανὸν ἀγεννέστατον, ἀνδρειότατα θνήσκει ποιησάμενος τὴν καταστροφὴν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον ἔργοις πρέπουσαν: [272] κατέχει δὲ καὶ ἄλλος λόγος, ὡς ἀνενέγκαι μὲν ἐκ τῆς τότε πληγῆς, πεμφθεὶς δὲ ἰατρὸς ὑπ᾽ Ἀντιγόνου θεραπεῦσαι δῆθεν αὐτὸν ἐμπλήσειεν τὸ τραῦμα δηλητηρίων φαρμάκων καὶ διαφθείρειεν αὐτόν. ὁπότερον δ᾽ ἂν ἀληθὲς ᾖ, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχει λαμπράν. φασὶν γοῦν αὐτὸν καὶ πρὶν ἐκπνεῦσαι πυθόμενον παρὰ γυναίου τινὸς ὡς Ἡρώδης διαπεφεύγοι, "νῦν, εἰπεῖν, εὔθυμος ἄπειμι τὸν μετελευσόμενον τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καταλιπὼν ζῶντα."

(11) [273] Ὁ μὲν οὖν οὕτως τελευτᾷ. Πάρθοι δὲ καίτοι διημαρτηκότες ὧν μάλιστα ἐπεθύμουν γυναικῶν καθιστᾶσιν μὲν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἀντιγόνῳ τὰ πράγματα, δεσμώτην δ᾽ Ὑρκανὸν ἀνάγουσιν εἰς τὴν Παρθυηνήν.

XIV

(1) [274] Ἡρώδης δὲ συντονώτερον ἤλαυνεν εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν ὡς ἔτι τἀδελφοῦ ζῶντος ἐπειγόμενος χρήματα παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως λαβεῖν, οἷς μόνοις πείσειν ὑπὲρ Φασαήλου τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ἤλπιζεν πλεονεξίαν. ἐλογίζετο γάρ, εἰ τῆς πατρῴας φιλίας ἀμνημονέστερος ὁ Ἄραψ γένοιτο καὶ τοῦ δοῦναι δωρεὰν μικρολογώτερος, δανείσασθαι παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὰ λύτρα ῥύσιον θεὶς τὸν τοῦ λυτρουμένου παῖδα: [275] καὶ γὰρ ἐπήγετο τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν ὄντα ἐτῶν ἑπτά: τάλαντα δ᾽ ἦν ἕτοιμος τριακόσια δοῦναι προστησάμενος Τυρίους παρακαλοῦντας. τὸ χρεὼν δ᾽ ἄρα τὴν αὐτοῦ σπουδὴν ἐφθάκει καὶ Φασαήλου τεθνηκότος εἰς κενὸν Ἡρώδης φιλάδελφος ἦν: οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ παρὰ Ἄραψιν εὑρίσκει φιλίαν οὖσαν. [276] ὁ γοῦν βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν Μάλχος προπέμψας ἐκ τῆς χώρας κατὰ τάχος προσέτασσεν ἀναστρέφειν, προφάσει μὲν χρώμενος Πάρθοις, ἐπικηρυκεύσασθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐκβαλεῖν Ἡρώδην τῆς Ἀραβίας, τῷ δὲ ὄντι κατασχεῖν προαιρούμενος τὰ παρ᾽ Ἀντιπάτρου χρέα καὶ μηδὲν εἰς τὰς ἐκείνου δωρεὰς ἀντιπαρασχεῖν χρῄζουσιν τοῖς τέκνοις δυσωπεῖσθαι. συμβούλοις δ᾽ ἐχρῆτο τῆς ἀναιδείας τοῖς ὁμοίως ἀποστερεῖν τὰς Ἀντιπάτρου παρακαταθήκας θέλουσιν: ἦσαν δὲ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν οἱ δυνατώτατοι.

(2) [277] Ἡρώδης μὲν δὴ πολεμίους τοὺς Ἄραβας εὑρὼν δι᾽ ἃ φιλτάτους ἤλπισεν καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἀποκρινάμενος ὡς ὑπηγόρευε τὸ πάθος ὑπέστρεψεν ἐπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου. καὶ τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἐσπέραν κατά τι τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἱερὸν αὐλίζεται τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἀναλαβών, τῇ δ᾽ ἑξῆς εἰς Ῥινοκούρουρα προελθόντι τὰ περὶ τὴν τἀδελφοῦ τελευτὴν ἀπαγγέλλεται. [278] προσλαβὼν δὲ πένθους ὅσον ἀπεθήκατο φροντίδων ᾖει προσωτέρω. καὶ δὴ βραδέως ὁ Ἄραψ μετανοήσας ἔπεμψεν διὰ τάχους τοὺς ἀνακαλέσοντας τὸν ὑβρισμένον. ἔφθανεν δὲ καὶ

τούτους Ἡρώδης εἰς Πηλούσιον ἀφικόμενος, ἔνθα τῆς παρόδου μὴ τυγχάνων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφορμούντων τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐντυγχάνει: κἀκεῖνοι τήν τε φήμην καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τἀνδρὸς αἰδεσθέντες προπέμπουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. [279] ὁ δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐδέχθη μὲν λαμπρῶς ὑπὸ Κλεοπάτρας στρατηγὸν ἐλπιζούσης ἕξειν εἰς ἃ παρεσκευάζετο: διακρουσάμενος δὲ τὰς παρακλήσεις τῆς βασιλίδος καὶ μήτε τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ὑποδείσας μήτε τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν θορύβους ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἔπλει.

(3) [280] Κινδυνεύσας δὲ περὶ Παμφυλίαν καὶ τοῦ φόρτου τὸ πλεῖον ἐκβαλὼν μόλις εἰς Ῥόδον διασώζεται σφόδρα τῷ πρὸς Κάσσιον πολέμῳ τετρυχωμένην, δεχθεὶς ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Σαπφινίου τῶν φίλων. καίπερ δὲ ὢν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ χρημάτων ναυπηγεῖται τριήρη μεγίστην, [281] ἐν ᾗ μετὰ τῶν φίλων εἰς Βρεντέσιον καταπλεύσας κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπειχθεὶς πρώτῳ διὰ τὴν πατρῴαν φιλίαν ἐνετύγχανεν Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ τάς τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ γένους συμφορὰς ἐκδιηγεῖτο, ὅτι τε τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἐν φρουρίῳ καταλιπὼν πολιορκουμένους διὰ χειμῶνος πλεύσειεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἱκέτης.

(4) [282] Ἀντωνίου δὲ ἥπτετο πρὸς τὴν μεταβολὴν οἶκτος, καὶ κατὰ μνήμην μὲν τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου ξενίας, τὸ δὲ ὅλον καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ παρόντος ἀρετὴν ἔγνω καὶ τότε βασιλέα καθιστᾶν Ἰουδαίων ὃν πρότερον αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν τετράρχην. ἐνῆγεν δὲ οὐκ ἔλαττον τῆς εἰς Ἡρώδην φιλοτιμίας ἡ πρὸς Ἀντίγονον διαφορά: τοῦτον γὰρ δὴ στασιώδη τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐχθρὸν ὑπελάμβανεν. [283] Καίσαρα μὲν οὖν εἶχεν ἑτοιμότερον αὐτοῦ τὰς Ἀντιπάτρου στρατείας ἀνανεούμενον, ἃς κατ᾽ Αἴγυπτον αὐτοῦ τῷ πατρὶ συνδιήνεγκεν, τήν τε ξενίαν καὶ τὴν ἐν ἅπασιν εὔνοιαν, ὁρῶντά γε μὴν καὶ τὸ Ἡρώδου δραστήριον: [284] συνήγαγεν δὲ τὴν βουλήν, ἐν ᾗ Μεσσάλας καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἀτρατῖνος παραστησάμενοι τὸν Ἡρώδην τάς τε πατρῴας εὐεργεσίας καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εὔνοιαν διεξῆεσαν, ἀποδεικνύντες ἅμα καὶ πολέμιον τὸν Ἀντίγονον οὐ μόνον ἐξ ὧν διηνέχθη τάχιον, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι καὶ τότε διὰ Πάρθων λάβοι τὴν ἀρχὴν Ῥωμαίους ὑπεριδών. τῆς δὲ συγκλήτου πρὸς ταῦτα κεκινημένης ὡς παρελθὼν Ἀντώνιος καὶ πρὸς τὸν κατὰ Πάρθων πόλεμον βασιλεύειν Ἡρώδην συμφέρειν ἔλεγεν, ἐπιψηφίζονται πάντες. [285] λυθείσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς Ἀντώνιος μὲν καὶ Καῖσαρ μέσον ἔχοντες Ἡρώδην ἐξῆεσαν, προῆγον δὲ σὺν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρχαῖς οἱ ὕπατοι θύσοντές τε καὶ τὸ δόγμα ἀναθήσοντες εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον. τὴν δὲ πρώτην Ἡρώδῃ τῆς βασιλείας ἡμέραν Ἀντώνιος εἱστία.

XV

(1) [286] Παρὰ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Ἀντίγονος ἐπολιόρκει τοὺς ἐν Μασάδᾳ, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἐπιτηδείοις διαρκουμένους, σπανίζοντας δὲ ὕδατος: διὸ καὶ Ἰώσηπος ἀδελφὸς Ἡρώδου σὺν διακοσίοις τῶν οἰκείων δρασμὸν ἐβουλεύετο εἰς

Ἄραβας ἀκηκοὼς τῶν εἰς Ἡρώδην ἁμαρτημάτων Μάλχῳ μεταμέλειν. [287] κἂν ἔφθη καταλιπὼν τὸ φρούριον, εἰ μὴ περὶ τὴν νύκτα τῆς ἐξόδου συνέβη πλεῖστον ὗσαι: τῶν γὰρ ἐκδοχείων ὕδατος ἀναπλησθέντων οὐκέτ᾽ ἔχρῃζεν φυγῆς, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεξῄεσαν ἤδη τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον καὶ τὰ μὲν φανερῶς συμπλεκόμενοι, τὰ δὲ λοχῶντες συχνοὺς διέφθειρον. οὐ μὴν ἐν ἅπασιν εὐστόχουν, ἔστιν δ᾽ ὅπου καὶ αὐτοὶ πταίοντες ἀνέστρεφον.

(2) [288] Κἀν τούτῳ Βεντίδιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς πεμφθεὶς ἐκ Συρίας Πάρθους ἀνείργειν μετ᾽ ἐκείνους εἰς Ἰουδαίαν παρέβαλεν λόγῳ μὲν ὡς βοηθήσων τοῖς περὶ Ἰώσηπον, ἔργῳ δ᾽ Ἀντίγονον ἀργυριούμενος. [289] ἔγγιστα γοῦν Ἱεροσολύμων αὐλισάμενος ὡς ἐνεπλήσθη χρημάτων, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀνεχώρει μετὰ τῆς πλείστης δυνάμεως, Σίλωνα δὲ σὺν μέρει καταλέλοιπεν, ὡς μὴ κατάφωρον τὸ λῆμμα ποιήσειεν πάντας ἀπαναστήσας. Ἀντίγονος δὲ πάλιν ἐλπίζων Πάρθους ἐπαμυνεῖν καὶ Σίλωνα τέως ἐθεράπευεν, ὡς μηδὲν ἐνοχλοίη πρὸ τῆς ἐλπίδος.

(3) [290] Ἤδη δὲ Ἡρώδης καταπεπλευκὼς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς Πτολεμαίδα καὶ συναγηοχὼς δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην ξένων τε καὶ ὁμοφύλων ἤλαυνεν διὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐπ᾽ Ἀντίγονον συλλαμβανόντων Βεντιδίου καὶ Σίλωνος, οὓς Δέλλιος ὑπ᾽ Ἀντωνίου πεμφθεὶς Ἡρώδην συγκαταγαγεῖν ἔπεισεν. [291] ἐτύγχανεν δὲ Βεντίδιος μὲν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν τὰς διὰ Πάρθους ταραχὰς καθιστάμενος, Σίλων δὲ ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ χρήμασιν ὑπ᾽ Ἀντιγόνου διεφθαρμένος. οὐ μὴν Ἡρώδης ἰσχύος ἠπόρει, προιόντι δ᾽ αὐτῷ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ηὐξεῖτο τὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ πλὴν ὀλίγων πᾶσα ἡ Γαλιλαία προσέθετο. [292] προύκειτο μὲν οὖν τὸ ἀναγκαιότατον ἀγώνισμα Μασάδα καὶ τὸ ῥύσασθαι πρῶτον τοὺς οἰκείους ἐκ τῆς πολιορκίας, γίνεται δ᾽ ἐμπόδιον Ἰόππη: ταύτην γὰρ ἐχρῆν πολεμίαν οὖσαν ἐξελεῖν πρότερον, ὡς μὴ χωροῦντος ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων κατὰ νώτου τι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἔρυμα καταλείποιτο. συνῆπτεν δὲ καὶ Σίλων ἀσμένως τῆς ἀπαναστάσεως πρόφασιν εὑρών, ᾧ προσέκειντο Ἰουδαῖοι διώκοντες. ἐπὶ τούτους Ἡρώδης ἐκδραμὼν μετ᾽ ὀλίγου στίφους τρέπεται ταχέως καὶ Σίλωνα διασώζει κακῶς ἀμυνόμενον.

(4) [293] Ἔπειτα Ἰόππην ἑλὼν πρὸς τὴν Μασάδα ῥυσόμενος τοὺς οἰκείους ἠπείγετο. καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων οὓς μὲν πατρῴα φιλία προσῆγεν, οὓς δὲ τὸ αὐτοῦ κλέος, οὓς δὲ τῆς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν εὐεργεσίας ἀμοιβή, πλείστους γε μὴν ἐλπὶς ὡς ἐκ βασιλέως βεβαίου, δυσκίνητός τε ἤδη δύναμις ἤθροιστο. [294] προιόντα δ᾽ Ἀντίγονος ἐνήδρευεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῶν παρόδων προλοχίζων, ἐν οἷς οὐδὲν ἢ μικρὰ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔβλαπτεν. Ἡρώδης δὲ τοὺς ἐκ Μασάδας οἰκείους παραλαβὼν ῥᾳδίως καὶ Ῥῆσαν τὸ φρούριον ᾔει πρὸς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα: συνῆπτε δ᾽ αὐτῷ τὸ μετὰ Σίλωνος στρατιωτικὸν καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὴν ἰσχὺν καταπλαγέντες.

(5) [295] Στρατοπεδευσαμένους δὲ κατὰ τὸ πρὸς δύσιν κλίμα τοῦ ἄστεος οἱ ταύτῃ φύλακες ἐτόξευόν τε καὶ ἐξηκόντιζον αὐτούς, ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ στῖφος

ἐκθέοντες ἀπεπειρῶντο τῶν προτεταγμένων. Ἡρώδης δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κηρύσσειν περὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐκέλευεν ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθῷ τε παρείη τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς πόλεως, μηδὲν μηδὲ τοὺς φανεροὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀμυνούμενος, δώσων δὲ καὶ τοῖς διαφορωτάτοις ἀμνηστίαν. [296] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀντιπαρηγοροῦντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον οὔτε κατακούειν τῶν κηρυγμάτων εἴων τινὰς οὔτε μεταβάλλεσθαι, τὸ λοιπὸν ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐπέτρεπεν τοῖς σφετέροις: οἱ δὲ ταχέως ἅπαντας ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἐτρέψαντο τοῖς βέλεσιν.

(6) [297] Ἔνθα δὴ καὶ Σίλων ἀπεκαλύψατο τὴν δωροδοκίαν: ἐπισκευασάμενος γὰρ πολλοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν σπάνιν ἐπιτηδείων ἀναβοᾶν καὶ χρήματα εἰς τροφὰς ἀπαιτεῖν ἀπάγειν τε σφᾶς χειμεριοῦντας εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους τόπους, ἐπειδὴ τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἦν ἔρημα πάντα τῶν περὶ Ἀντίγονον προανεσκευασμένων, ἐκίνει τε τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο. [298] Ἡρώδης δ᾽ ἐντυγχάνων τοῖς τε ὑπὸ τὸν Σίλωνα ἡγεμόσιν καὶ κατὰ πλῆθος τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐδεῖτο μὴ καταλιπεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπό τε Καίσαρος καὶ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου προπεμφθέντα: λύσειν γὰρ αὐθημερὸν αὐτῶν τὰς ἀπορίας. [299] καὶ μετὰ τὴν δέησιν [εὐθέως] ὁρμήσας αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν χώραν τοσαύτην αὐτοῖς ἐπιτηδείων ἀφθονίαν ἐκόμισεν, ὡς πάσας ἀποκόψαι τὰς Σίλωνος προφάσεις, εἵς τε τὰς ἑξῆς ἡμέρας μὴ διαλιπεῖν τὴν χορηγίαν προνοούμενος ἐπέστελλεν τοῖς περὶ Σαμάρειαν, ᾠκείωτο δ᾽ ἡ πόλις αὐτῷ, σῖτον καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ βοσκήματα κατάγειν εἰς Ἰεριχοῦντα. [300] ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας Ἀντίγονος διέπεμψεν περὶ τὴν χώραν εἴργειν καὶ λοχᾶν τοὺς σιτηγοὺς κελεύων. οἱ δ᾽ ὑπήκουον, καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος ὁπλιτῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἰεριχοῦντα συνηθροίσθη: διεκαθέζοντο δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρῶν παραφυλάσσοντες τοὺς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐκκομίζοντας. [301] οὐ μὴν Ἡρώδης ἠρέμει, δέκα δὲ σπείρας ἀναλαβών, ὧν πέντε μὲν Ῥωμαίων πέντε δὲ Ἰουδαίων ἦσαν ἔχουσαι καὶ μισθοφόρους μιγάδας πρὸς οἷς ὀλίγους τῶν ἱππέων, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰεριχοῦντα παραγίνεται, καὶ τὴν μὲν πόλιν καταλελειμμένην εὑρίσκει, πεντακοσίους δὲ τὰ ἄκρα κατειληφότας σὺν γυναιξὶν καὶ γενεαῖς. [302] αὐτοὺς μὲν οὖν ἀπολύει λαβών, Ῥωμαῖοι δ᾽ εἰσπεσόντες τὸ λοιπὸν ἄστυ διήρπασαν πλήρεις καταλαμβάνοντες τὰς οἰκίας παντοίων κειμηλίων. Ἰεριχοῦντος μὲν οὖν φρουρὰν ὁ βασιλεὺς καταλιπὼν ὑπέστρεψεν καὶ χειμεριοῦσαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων στρατιὰν εἰς τὰς προσκεχωρηκυίας διαφῆκεν Ἰδουμαίαν καὶ Γαλιλαίαν καὶ Σαμάρειαν. ἐπέτυχεν δὲ καὶ Ἀντίγονος παρὰ τῆς Σίλωνος δωροδοκίας ὑποδέξασθαι τοῦ στρατοῦ μοῖραν ἐν Λύδδοις θεραπεύων Ἀντώνιον.

XVI

(1) [303] Καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐν ἀφθόνοις διῆγον ἀνειμένοι τῶν ὅπλων, Ἡρώδης δ᾽ οὐκ ἠρέμει, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν Ἰδουμαίαν δισχιλίοις πεζοῖς καὶ τετρακοσίοις ἱππεῦσιν διαλαμβάνει πέμψας τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰώσηπον, ὡς μή τι νεωτερισθείη πρὸς

Ἀντίγονον αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν μητέρα καὶ ὅσους ἐκ Μασάδας οἰκείους ἐξήγαγεν μεταγαγὼν εἰς Σαμάρειαν καὶ καταστησάμενος ἀσφαλῶς ᾖει τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας καταστρεψόμενος καὶ τὰς Ἀντιγόνου φρουρὰς ἐξελάσων.

(2) [304] Πρὸς δὲ τὴν Σέπφωριν ἐν νιφετῷ σφοδροτάτῳ διανύσας ἀκονιτὶ παραλαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν πρὸ τῆς ἐφόδου τῶν φυλάκων ἐκφυγόντων. ἔνθα τοὺς ἑπομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος κακωθέντας ἀναλαβών, πολλὴ δ᾽ ἦν ἀφθονία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις ὥρμητο λῃστάς, οἳ πολλὴν τῆς χώρας κατατρέχοντες οὐκ ἐλάττω κακὰ πολέμου διετίθεσαν τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους. [305] προπέμψας δὲ πεζῶν τρία τέλη καὶ μίαν ἴλην ἱππέων πρὸς Ἄρβηλα κώμην αὐτὸς μετὰ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας ἐπῆλθεν μετὰ τῆς λοιπῆς δυνάμεως. οὐ μὴν πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον ἔδεισαν οἱ πολέμιοι, μετὰ δὲ τῶν ὅπλων ἀπήντων ἐμπειρίαν μὲν πολεμικὴν ἔχοντες, τὸ δὲ θράσος λῃστρικόν. [306] συμβαλόντες γοῦν τῷ σφετέρῳ δεξιῷ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας τῶν Ἡρώδου τρέπονται. περιελθὼν δὲ ταχέως Ἡρώδης ἐκ τοῦ καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν δεξιοῦ προσεβοήθει καὶ τὸ μὲν οἰκεῖον ἐπέστρεφεν ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς, τοῖς δὲ διώκουσιν ἐμπίπτων ἀνέκοπτεν τὴν ὁρμὴν μέχρι τὰς κατὰ στόμα προσβολὰς μὴ φέροντες ἐξέκλιναν.

(3) [307] Ὁ δὲ ἕως Ἰορδάνου κτείνων εἵπετο καὶ πολὺ μὲν αὐτῶν μέρος διέφθειρεν, οἱ λοιποὶ δ᾽ ὑπὲρ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐσκεδάσθησαν, ὥστε τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐκκεκαθάρθαι φόβων, πλὴν καθόσον οἱ τοῖς σπηλαίοις ἐμφωλεύοντες ὑπελείποντο: κἀπὶ τούτοις ἔδει διατριβῆς. [308] διὸ δὴ πρῶτον τοῖς στρατιώταις τὰς ἐκ τῶν πεπονημένων ἐπικαρπίας ἀπεδίδου διανέμων ἑκάστῳ δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα ἀργυρίου καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν πολυπλασίονα διέπεμψεν εἰς οὓς ἐχειμέριζον σταθμούς. Φερώρᾳ δὲ τῷ νεωτάτῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπέστελλεν τῆς τε ἀγορᾶς αὐτοῖς ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν καὶ τειχίζειν Ἀλεξάνδρειον. κἀκεῖνος ἀμφοτέρων ἐπεμελήθη.

(4) [309] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ περὶ μὲν Ἀθήνας διῆγεν Ἀντώνιος, Βεντίδιος δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Πάρθους πόλεμον Σίλωνά τε καὶ Ἡρώδην μετεπέμπετο καταστήσασθαι πρότερον ἐπιστέλλων τὰ περὶ Ἰουδαίαν. Ἡρώδης δὲ ἀσμένως Σίλωνα πρὸς Βεντίδιον ἀπολύσας αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις ἐστράτευσεν. [310] τὰ δὲ σπήλαια ταῦτα πρὸς ἀποκρήμνοις ὄρεσιν ἦν οὐδαμόθεν προσιτά, πλαγίας δὲ ἀνόδους μόνον ἔχοντα στενοτάτας. ἡ δὲ κατὰ μέτωπον αὐτῶν πέτρα κατέτεινεν εἰς βαθυτάτας φάραγγας ὄρθιος ἐπιρρέπουσα ταῖς χαράδραις, ὥστε τὸν βασιλέα μέχρι πολλοῦ μὲν ἀπορεῖν πρὸς τὸ ἀμήχανον τοῦ τόπου, τελευταῖον δ᾽ ἐπινοίᾳ χρήσασθαι σφαλερωτάτῃ. [311] τοὺς γοῦν ἀλκίμους καθιμῶν ἐν λάρναξιν ἐνίει τοῖς στομίοις, οἱ δὲ ἀπέσφαττόν τε αὐτοὺς σὺν γενεαῖς καὶ πῦρ ἐνίεσαν τοῖς ἀμυνομένοις. βουληθεὶς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ περισῶσαί τινας Ἡρώδης ἐκήρυξεν ἀναχωρεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν. τῶν δὲ ἐθελουσίως μὲν οὐδεὶς προσέθετο, καὶ τῶν βιαζομένων δὲ πολλοὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας προείλοντο θάνατον. [312] ἔνθα καὶ τῶν γηραιῶν τις ἑπτὰ παίδων πατὴρ μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς δεομένους τοὺς παῖδας

ἐπιτρέψαι σφίσιν ἐξελθεῖν ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ κτείνει τρόπῳ τοιῷδε: καθ᾽ ἕνα προιέναι κελεύσας αὐτὸς ἵστατο ἐπὶ τὸ στόμιον καὶ τὸν ἀεὶ προιόντα τῶν υἱῶν ἀπέσφαττεν. ἐξ ἀπόπτου δὲ Ἡρώδης ἐπιβλέπων τῷ τε πάθει συνείχετο καὶ τῷ πρεσβύτῃ δεξιὰν ὤρεγεν φείσασθαι τῶν τέκνων παρακαλῶν. [313] ὁ δὲ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐνδοὺς τῶν λεγομένων ἀλλὰ καὶ προσονειδίσας τὸν Ἡρώδην εἰς ταπεινότητα ἐπὶ τοῖς παισὶν ἀναιρεῖ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ καταβαλὼν κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ τοὺς νεκροὺς τελευταῖον ἑαυτὸν ἔρριψεν.

(5) [314] Χειροῦται μὲν οὕτως τὰ σπήλαια καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς Ἡρώδης: καταλιπὼν δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ μοῖραν ὅσην ἀποχρήσειν ὑπελάμβανεν πρὸς τὰς ἐπαναστάσεις καὶ Θολεμαῖον ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἐπὶ Σαμαρείας ὑπέστρεφεν, ὁπλίτας μὲν τρισχιλίους ἱππεῖς δ᾽ ἄγων ἑξακοσίους ἐπ᾽ Ἀντίγονον. [315] ἔνθα πρὸς τὴν ἀποχώρησιν αὐτοῦ λαβόντες ἄδειαν οἷς ἔθος ἦν θορυβεῖν τὴν Γαλιλαίαν κτείνουσιν μὲν Θολεμαῖον τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀδοκήτως προσπεσόντες, ἐπόρθουν δὲ τὴν χώραν ποιούμενοι τὰς ἀναφυγὰς εἰς τὰ ἕλη καὶ τὰ δυσερεύνητα τῶν χωρίων. [316] πυθόμενος δὲ Ἡρώδης τὴν ἐπανάστασιν διὰ τάχους ἐπεβοήθει καὶ πολὺ μὲν αὐτῶν πλῆθος διαφθείρει, τὰ φρούρια δὲ πάντα πολιορκίαις ἑξελὼν ἐπιτίμιον τῆς μεταβολῆς εἰσεπράξατο παρὰ τῶν πόλεων ἑκατὸν τάλαντα.

(6) [317] Ἤδη δὲ Πάρθων μὲν ἐξεληλαμένων, ἀνῃρημένου δὲ Πακόρου Βεντίδιος ἐπιστείλαντος Ἀντωνίου πέμπει συμμάχους Ἡρώδῃ κατ᾽ Ἀντιγόνου χιλίους ἱππεῖς καὶ δύο τάγματα. τούτων δὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν Μαχαιρᾶν Ἀντίγονος ἱκέτευσεν δι᾽ ἐπιστολῶν ἑαυτῷ βοηθὸν ἀφικέσθαι πολλά τε περὶ τῆς Ἡρώδου βίας ἀποδυρόμενος καὶ χρήματα δώσειν ὑπισχνούμενος. [318] ὁ δέ, οὐ γὰρ κατεφρόνει τοῦ πέμψαντος ἄλλως τε καὶ πλείον᾽ Ἡρώδου διδόντος, εἰς μὲν τὴν προδοσίαν οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, ὑποκρινόμενος δὲ φιλίαν κατάσκοπος ᾔει τῶν Ἀντιγόνου πραγμάτων Ἡρώδῃ μὴ πεισθεὶς ἀποτρέποντι. [319] προαισθόμενος δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν Ἀντίγονος τήν τε πόλιν ἀπέκλεισεν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ὡς πολέμιον ἠμύνατο, μέχρις αἰδούμενος Μαχαιρᾶς εἰς Ἀμμαοῦντα πρὸς Ἡρώδην ἀναχωρεῖ καὶ πρὸς τὴν διαμαρτίαν θυμούμενος ὅσοις ἐπετύγχανεν Ἰουδαίοις ἀνῄρει, μηδεμίαν τῶν Ἡρωδείων φειδὼ ποιούμενος, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς Ἀντιγονείοις χρώμενος ἅπασιν.

(7) [320] Ἐφ᾽ οἷς χαλεπήνας Ἡρώδης ὥρμησεν μὲν ἀμύνασθαι Μαχαιρᾶν ὡς πολέμιον, κρατήσας δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς ἤλαυνεν πρὸς Ἀντώνιον κατηγορήσων τῆς Μαχαιρᾶ παρανομίας. ὁ δ᾽ ἐν διαλογισμῷ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων γενόμενος ταχέως μεταδιώκει τε τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πολλὰ δεηθεὶς ἑαυτῷ διαλλάττει. [321] οὐ μὴν Ἡρώδης ἐπαύσατο τῆς πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ὁρμῆς: ἀκηκοὼς δ᾽ αὐτὸν μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως προσπολεμοῦντα Σαμοσάτοις, πόλις δ᾽ ἐστὶν Εὐφράτου πλησίον καρτερά, θᾶττον ἠπείγετο τὸν καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον ὁρῶν πρός τε ἐπίδειξιν ἀνδρείας καὶ τοῦ μᾶλλον ἀρέσασθαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον. [322] γίνεται γοῦν ἐπελθὼν τέλος αὐτοῖς τῆς πολιορκίας, πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἀποκτείνας, πολλὴν δὲ

ἀποτεμόμενος λείαν, ὥστε τὸν μὲν Ἀντώνιον θαυμάζοντα καὶ πάλαι τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτὸν τότε μᾶλλον οὕτως ἔχειν καὶ προσθεῖναι πολὺ ταῖς τε ἄλλαις τιμαῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐλπίσιν, Ἀντίοχον δὲ τὸν βασιλέα ἀναγκασθῆναι παραδοῦναι τὰ Σαμόσατα.

XVII

(1) [323] Κἀν τούτῳ θραύεται τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν Ἡρώδου πράγματα. κατελελοίπει μὲν γὰρ Ἰώσηπον τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅλων παραγγείλας μηδὲν μέχρι τῆς ὑποστροφῆς αὐτοῦ παρακινεῖν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον: οὐ γὰρ δὴ βέβαιον εἶναι Μαχαιρῶν σύμμαχον ἐξ ὧν ἔδρασεν. ὁ δὲ ὡς ἤκουσεν ὄντα πορρωτάτω τὸν ἀδελφόν, ἀμελήσας τῶν παραγγελμάτων ἐπὶ Ἱεριχοῦντος ἐχώρει μετὰ πέντε σπειρῶν, ἃς συνέπεμψεν Μαχαιρᾶς: ᾔει δὲ τὸν σῖτον ἁρπάσων ἐν ἀκμῇ τοῦ θέρους. [324] ἐπιθεμένων δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν καὶ ταῖς δυσχωρίαις τῶν ἐναντίων αὐτός τε θνήσκει μάλα γενναῖος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ φανείς, καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαικὸν πᾶν διαφθείρεται: νεοσύλλεκτοι γὰρ ἦσαν ἐκ τῆς Συρίας αἱ σπεῖραι, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐταῖς ἐνεκέκρατο τῶν πάλαι στρατιωτῶν καλουμένων ἐπαμύνειν τοῖς ἀπείροις πολέμου δυνάμενον.

(2) [325] Ἀντιγόνῳ δὲ οὐκ ἀπέχρησεν ἡ νίκη, προῆλθεν δὲ εἰς τοσοῦτον ὀργῆς, ὥστε καὶ νεκρὸν αἰκίσασθαι τὸν Ἰώσηπον: κρατήσας γοῦν τῶν σωμάτων ἀποτέμνει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, καίτοι πεντήκοντα τάλαντα λύτρον αὐτῆς Φερώρα τἀδελφοῦ διδόντος. [326] τὰ δὲ τῆς Γαλιλαίας μετὰ τὴν Ἀντιγόνου νίκην ἐνεωτερίσθη εἰς τοσοῦτον, ὥστε τοὺς τὰ Ἡρώδου φρονοῦντας τῶν δυνατῶν προαγαγόντες εἰς τὴν λίμνην κατέδυσαν οἱ προσέχοντες Ἀντιγόνῳ. μετεβάλλετο δὲ πολλὰ καὶ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας, ἔνθα Μαχαιρᾶς ἀνετείχιζέν τι τῶν ἐρυμάτων, Γιτθὰ καλεῖται. [327] τούτων δὲ οὔπω πέπυστο Ἡρώδης: μετὰ γὰρ τὴν Σαμοσάτων ἅλωσιν Ἀντώνιος μὲν καταστήσας ἐπὶ τῆς Συρίας Σόσσιον καὶ προστάξας Ἡρώδῃ βοηθεῖν ἐπ᾽ Ἀντίγονον αὐτὸς εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀνεχώρησεν, Σόσσιος δὲ δύο μὲν τάγματα προαπέστειλεν εἰς Ἰουδαίαν Ἡρώδῃ συμμαχῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς λοιπῆς δυνάμεως ἠκολούθει σχεδόν.

(3) [328] Ὄντι δ᾽ Ἡρώδῃ κατὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἀντιόχειαν Δάφνην ὄνειροι σαφεῖς τὸν τἀδελφοῦ θάνατον προσημαίνουσιν, καὶ μετὰ ταραχῆς ἐκθορόντι τῆς κοίτης εἰσῄεσαν ἄγγελοι τῆς συμφορᾶς. ὁ δὲ ὀλίγον μὲν προσοιμώξας τῷ πάθει, τὸ πλεῖον δὲ τοῦ πένθους ὑπερθέμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἠπείγετο ποιούμενος τὴν πορείαν ὑπὲρ δύναμιν. [329] καὶ διανύσας ἐπὶ τὸν Λίβανον ὀκτακοσίους μὲν τῶν περὶ τὸ ὄρος προσλαμβάνει συμμάχους, Ῥωμαίων δὲ ἓν τάγμα ταύτῃ συνῆψεν. μεθ᾽ ὧν οὐ περιμείνας ἡμέραν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐνέβαλεν τούς τε πολεμίους ὑπαντιάσαντας εἰς ὃ καταλελοίπεσαν χωρίον τρέπεται. [330] καὶ προσέβαλλεν μὲν συνεχῶς τῷ φρουρίῳ, πρὶν δὲ ἑλεῖν χειμῶνι βιασθεὶς χαλεπωτάτῳ ταῖς πλησίον

ἐνστρατοπεδεύεται κώμαις. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ αὐτῷ μετ᾽ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας καὶ τὸ δεύτερον παρὰ Ἀντωνίου τάγμα συνέμιξεν, δείσαντες τὴν ἰσχὺν οἱ πολέμιοι διὰ νυκτὸς ἐξέλιπον τὸ ἔρυμα.

(4) [331] Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν διὰ Ἰεριχοῦντος ᾔει σπεύδων ᾗ τάχιστα τοὺς τἀδελφοῦ φονεῖς μετελθεῖν: ἔνθα καὶ δαιμόνιόν τι αὐτῷ συμβαίνει τέρας, ἐξ οὗ παρ᾽ ἐλπίδα σωθεὶς ἀνδρὸς θεοφιλεστάτου δόξαν ἀπηνέγκατο: πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ τῶν ἐν τέλει συνειστιάθησαν κατ᾽ ἐκείνην τὴν ἑσπέραν, διαλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ συμποσίου μετὰ τὸ πάντας ἐξελθεῖν ὁ οἶκος εὐθέως συνέπεσεν. [332] τοῦτο καὶ κινδύνων καὶ σωτηρίας κοινὸν ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλοντι πολέμῳ κρίνας εἶναι σημεῖον ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω διεκίνει τὴν στρατιάν. καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν κατατρέχοντες ἀπεπειρῶντο τῶν προτεταγμένων, κατὰ χεῖρα μὲν συμπλέκεσθαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις οὐ σφόδρα θαρροῦντες, πόρρωθεν δὲ χερμάσιν καὶ παλτοῖς ἔβαλλον, ὥστε συχνοὺς κατατιτρώσκειν. ἐν ᾧ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἡρώδης παρελαύνων παλτῷ κατὰ τὴν πλευρὰν ἀκοντίζεται.

(5) [333] Βουλόμενος δὲ Ἀντίγονος μὴ μόνον τόλμῃ τῶν σφετέρων ἀλλὰ καὶ πλήθει περιεῖναι δοκεῖν, Πάππον τινὰ τῶν ἑταίρων μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ Σαμάρειαν περιπέμπει. [334] τούτῳ μὲν οὖν ἦν Μαχαιρᾶς ἀγώνισμα, Ἡρώδης δὲ τὴν πολεμίαν καταδραμὼν πέντε μὲν πολίχνας καταστρέφεται, δισχιλίους δὲ τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς διαφθείρει καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἐμπρήσας ὑπέστρεψεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον: ηὔλιστο δὲ περὶ τὴν καλουμένην Κανᾶ κώμην.

(6) [335] Προσεγίνετο δ᾽ αὐτῷ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν πολὺ πλῆθος Ἰουδαίων ἔκ τε αὐτῆς Ἰεριχοῦντος καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης χώρας, οἱ μὲν διὰ μῖσος τὸ πρὸς Ἀντίγονον, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ κατορθώμασιν κεκινημένοι: τούς γε μὴν πολλοὺς ἐνῆγεν ἐπιθυμία μεταβολῆς ἄλογος. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἠπείγετο συμβαλεῖν, οἱ δὲ περὶ Πάππον οὔτε πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος οὔτε πρὸς τὴν ὁρμὴν ὑποδείσαντες αὐτοῦ προθύμως ἀντεπεξῆλθον. [336] γενομένης δὲ τῆς παρατάξεως τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μέρη πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀντέσχεν, Ἡρώδης δὲ κατὰ μνήμην τοῦ φονευθέντος ἀδελφοῦ παραβαλλόμενος, ὡς ἂν τίσαιτο τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ φόνου, ταχέως τῶν καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ἐκράτει καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκείνους ἐπὶ τὸ συνεστὸς ἀεὶ τρεπόμενος ἅπαντας διώκει. [337] φόνος δ᾽ ἦν πολύς, τῶν μὲν εἰς τὴν κώμην συνεξωθουμένων ἐξ ἧς ὥρμηντο, τοῦ δὲ προσκειμένου τοῖς ὑστάτοις καὶ κτείνοντος ἀπείρους. συνεισπίπτει δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις εἴσω, καὶ πᾶσα μὲν ὁπλιτῶν οἰκία νένακτο, τὰ τέγη δ᾽ ἦν ὕπερθεν ἀμυνομένων κατάπλεα. [338] κἀπειδὴ περιῆν τῶν ἔξωθεν, τὰς οἰκήσεις σπαράττων εἶλκεν τοὺς ἔνδοθεν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς ἐπικατασείων τοὺς ὀρόφους ἀθρόους ἀνῄρει, τοὺς ὑποφεύγοντας δὲ τῶν ἐρειπίων οἱ στρατιῶται ξιφήρεις ἀνεδέχοντο, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐσωρεύθη νεκρῶν πλῆθος, ὥστε τὰς ὁδοὺς ἀποφραγῆναι τοῖς κρατοῦσιν. [339] ταύτην τὴν πληγὴν οὐκ ἤνεγκαν οἱ πολέμιοι: τὸ γοῦν ἐπισυλλεγόμενον αὐτῶν πλῆθος ὡς ἐθεάσατο τοὺς ἀνὰ τὴν κώμην διεφθαρμένους, εἰς φυγὴν διεσκεδάσθη, κἂν εὐθέως τῇ νίκῃ τεθαρρηκὼς Ἡρώδης ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων

ἥλασεν, εἰ μὴ χειμῶνι διεκωλύθη σφοδροτάτῳ. τοῦτ᾽ ἐμπόδιον ἐκείνῳ τε παντελοῦς κατορθώματος καὶ ἥττης Ἀντιγόνῳ κατέστη βουλευομένῳ καταλιπεῖν ἤδη τὴν πόλιν.

(7) [340] Ἡρώδης δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέραν [ἤδη] τοὺς φίλους κεκμηκότας ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ τοῦ σώματος διαφεὶς καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς ἦν ἔτι θερμὸς ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων λουσόμενος ᾔει στρατιωτικώτερον: εἷς γοῦν αὐτῷ παῖς εἵπετο. καὶ πρὶν εἰς τὸ βαλανεῖον εἰσελθεῖν ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ τις ἐκτρέχει τῶν πολεμίων ξιφήρης, ἔπειτα δεύτερος καὶ τρίτος, ἑξῆς δὲ πλείους. [341] οὗτοι καταπεφεύγεσαν μὲν ἐκ τῆς παρατάξεως εἰς τὸ βαλανεῖον ὡπλισμένοι, τέως δ᾽ ὑποπεπτηχότες καὶ διαλανθάνοντες ὡς ἐθεάσαντο τὸν βασιλέα, λυθέντες ὑπ᾽ ἐκπλήξεως αὐτὸν μὲν παρέτρεχον γυμνὸν ὄντα τρέμοντες, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς ἐξόδους ἐχώρουν. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων οὐδεὶς παρῆν κατὰ τύχην ὁ συλληψόμενος τοὺς ἄνδρας, Ἡρώδῃ δ᾽ ἀπέχρη τὸ μηδὲν παθεῖν, ὥστε διαφεύγουσιν πάντες.

(8) [342] Τῇ δ᾽ ὑστεραίᾳ Πάππον μὲν τὸν Ἀντιγόνου στρατηγὸν καρατομήσας, ἀνῄρητο δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῆς παρατάξεως, πέμπει τὴν κεφαλὴν Φερώρᾳ τἀδελφῷ ποινὴν τοῦ φονευθέντος αὐτῶν ἀδελφοῦ: καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἦν ὁ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἀνελών. [343] λωφήσαντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ μέχρι τοῦ τείχους ἀγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν, συνήγετο δ᾽ αὐτῷ τρίτον ἔτος ἐξ οὗ βασιλεὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀπεδέδεικτο, πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ στρατοπεδεύεται: ταύτῃ γὰρ ἦν ἐπίμαχον, καθ᾽ ὃ καὶ πρὶν εἷλεν Πομπήιος τὴν πόλιν. [344] διελὼν δὲ εἰς ἔργα τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ τεμὼν τὰ προάστεια τρία μὲν ἐγείρειν χώματα καὶ πύργους ἐποικοδομεῖν αὐτοῖς κελεύει, καταλιπὼν δὲ τοὺς ἀνυτικωτάτους τῶν ἑταίρων ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων αὐτὸς εἰς Σαμάρειαν ᾔει τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου μετιὼν θυγατέρα καθωμολογημένην ὡς ἔφαμεν αὐτῷ καὶ πάρεργον ποιούμενος τῆς πολιορκίας τὸν γάμον: ἤδη γὰρ ὑπερηφάνει τοὺς πολεμίους.

(9) [345] Γήμας δὲ ὑπέστρεψεν ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων μετὰ μείζονος δυνάμεως: συνῆπτε δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ Σόσσιος μετὰ πλείστης στρατιᾶς ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν, ἣν προεκπέμψας διὰ τῆς μεσογείου τὴν πορείαν αὐτὸς διὰ Φοινίκης ἐποιήσατο. [346] συναθροισθείσης δὲ τῆς ὅλης δυνάμεως εἰς ἕνδεκα μὲν τέλη πεζῶν, ἱππεῖς δὲ ἑξακισχιλίους δίχα τῶν ἀπὸ Συρίας συμμάχων, οἳ μέρος οὐκ ὀλίγον ἦσαν, καταστρατοπεδεύονται τοῦ βορείου τείχους πλησίον, αὐτὸς μὲν πεποιθὼς τοῖς τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμασιν, δι᾽ ὧν βασιλεὺς ἀπεδέδεικτο, Σόσσιος δὲ Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ πέμψαντι τὴν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῷ στρατιὰν Ἡρώδῃ σύμμαχον.

XVIII

(1) [347] Τῶν δ᾽ ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν Ἰουδαίων τὸ πλῆθος ποικίλως ἐτετάρακτο: καὶ γὰρ περὶ τὸν ναὸν ἀθροιζόμενον τὸ ἀσθενέστερον ἐδαιμονία καὶ πολλὰ θειωδέστερον πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς ἐλογοποίει, καὶ τῶν τολμηροτέρων κατὰ

στῖφος ἦσαν λῃστεῖαι πολύτροποι, μάλιστα τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἁρπαζόντων ἐπιτήδεια καὶ μήτε ἵπποις μήτε ἀνδράσιν ὑπολειπομένων τροφήν. [348] τοῦ γε μὴν μαχίμου τὸ εὐτακτότερον ἐτέτακτο πρὸς ἄμυναν τῆς πολιορκίας τούς τε χωννύντας εἶργον ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους καὶ τοῖς ὀργάνοις ἀντιμηχανώμενον ἀεί τι κώλυμα καινότερον: ἐν οὐδενὶ δ᾽ οὕτως ὡς ἐν ταῖς μεταλλείαις περιῆσαν τῶν πολεμίων.

(2) [349] Τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ πρὸς μὲν τὰς λῃστείας ἀντεπενοήθησαν λόχοι δι᾽ ὧν ἀνέστελλεν τὰς διεκδρομάς, πρὸς δὲ τὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπορίαν αἱ πόρρωθεν συγκομιδαί, τῶν δὲ μαχομένων περιῆν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐμπειρίᾳ καίτοι τόλμης οὐδεμίαν καταλιπόντων ὑπερβολήν: [350] φανερῶς μέν γε συνερρήγνυντο τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ προύπτῳ τῷ θανεῖν, διὰ δὲ τῶν ὑπονόμων ἐν μέσοις αὐτοῖς ἐξαπίνης ἐφαίνοντο, καὶ πρὶν κατασεισθῆναί τι τοῦ τείχους ἕτερον ἀντωχύρουν: καθόλου τε οὔτε χερσὶν οὔτ᾽ ἐπινοίαις ἔκαμνον εἰς ἔσχατον ἀντισχεῖν διεγνωκότες. [351] ἀμέλει τηλικαύτης δυνάμεως περικαθεζομένης πέντε μησὶν διήνεγκαν τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἕως τῶν Ἡρώδου τινὲς ἐπιλέκτων ἐπιβῆναι τοῦ τείχους θαρσήσαντες εἰσπίπτουσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἑκατοντάρχαι Σοσσίου. πρῶτα δὲ τὰ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἡλίσκετο, καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπεισχυθείσης πανταχοῦ φόνος ἦν μυρίος, τῶν μὲν Ῥωμαίων τῇ τριβῇ τῆς πολιορκίας διωργισμένων, τοῦ δὲ περὶ Ἡρώδην Ἰουδαικοῦ μηδὲν ὑπολιπέσθαι σπουδάζοντος ἀντίπαλον. [352] ἐσφάττοντο δὲ παμπληθεῖς ἔν τε τοῖς στενωποῖς καὶ κατὰ τὰς οἰκίας συνωθούμενοι καὶ τῷ ναῷ προσφεύγοντες: ἦν τε οὔτε νηπίων οὔτε γήρως ἔλεος οὔτε ἀσθενείας γυναικῶν, ἀλλὰ καίτοι περιπέμποντος τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ φείδεσθαι παρακαλοῦντος οὐδεὶς ἐκράτησεν τῆς δεξιᾶς, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ μεμηνότες πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν ἐπεξῄεσαν. [353] ἔνθα καὶ Ἀντίγονος μήτε τῆς πάλαι μήτε τῆς τότε τύχης ἔννοιαν λαβὼν κάτεισιν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς βάρεως, προσπίπτει δὲ τοῖς Σοσσίου ποσίν. κἀκεῖνος μηδὲν αὐτὸν οἰκτείρας πρὸς τὴν μεταβολὴν ἐπεγέλασέν τε ἀκρατῶς καὶ Ἀντιγόνην ἐκάλεσεν: οὐ μὴν ὡς γυναῖκά γε καὶ φρουρᾶς ἐλεύθερον ἀφῆκεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν δεθεὶς ἐφυλάττετο.

(3) [354] Πρόνοια δ᾽ ἦν Ἡρώδῃ κρατοῦντι τῶν πολεμίων τότε κρατῆσαι καὶ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων συμμάχων: ὥρμητο γὰρ τὸ ξενικὸν πλῆθος ἐπὶ θέαν τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν ναὸν ἁγίων. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοὺς μὲν παρακαλῶν τοῖς δ᾽ ἀπειλούμενος ἔστιν δ᾽ οὓς καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀνέστειλεν, ἥττης χαλεπωτέραν τὴν νίκην ὑπολαμβάνων, εἴ τι τῶν ἀθεάτων παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ὀφθείη. [355] διεκώλυσεν δὲ ἤδη καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἁρπαγάς, πολλὰ διατεινόμενος πρὸς Σόσσιον, εἰ χρημάτων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν τὴν πόλιν Ῥωμαῖοι κενώσαντες καταλείψουσιν αὐτὸν ἐρημίας βασιλέα, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τοσούτων πολιτῶν φόνῳ βραχὺ καὶ τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡγεμονίαν ἀντάλλαγμα κρίνοι. [356] τοῦ δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς πολιορκίας τὰς ἁρπαγὰς δικαίως τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπιτρέπειν φαμένου, αὐτὸς ἔφη διανεμεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χρημάτων τοὺς μισθοὺς ἑκάστοις. οὕτως τε τὴν λοιπὴν ἐξωνησάμενος

πατρίδα τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἐπλήρωσεν: λαμπρῶς μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστον στρατιώτην, ἀναλόγως δὲ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, βασιλικώτατα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐδωρήσατο Σόσσιον, ὡς μηδένα χρημάτων ἀπελθεῖν δεόμενον. [357] Σόσσιος δὲ χρυσοῦν ἀναθεὶς τῷ θεῷ στέφανον ἀνέζευξεν ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων ἄγων δεσμώτην Ἀντίγονον Ἀντωνίῳ. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν φιλοψυχήσαντα μέχρις ἐσχάτου διὰ ψυχρᾶς ἐλπίδος ἄξιος τῆς ἀγεννείας πέλεκυς ἐκδέχεται.

(4) [358] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἡρώδης διακρίνας τὸ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πλῆθος τοὺς μὲν τὰ αὐτοῦ φρονήσαντας εὐνουστέρους ταῖς τιμαῖς καθίστατο, τοὺς δ' Ἀντιγονείους ἀνῄρει. καὶ κατὰ σπάνιν ἤδη χρημάτων ὅσον εἶχεν κόσμον κατανομιστεύσας Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνέπεμψεν. [359] οὐ μὴν εἰς ἅπαν ἐξωνήσατο τὸ μηδὲν παθεῖν: ἤδη γὰρ Ἀντώνιος τῷ Κλεοπάτρας ἔρωτι διεφθαρμένος ἥττων ἦν ἐν πᾶσιν τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, Κλεοπάτρα δὲ διεξελθοῦσα τὴν γενεὰν τὴν ἑαυτῆς ὡς μηδένα τῶν ἀφ' αἵματος ὑπολείπεσθαι, [360] τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔξωθεν ἐφόνα, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τέλει Σύρων διαβάλλουσα πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀναιρεῖν ἔπειθεν ὡς ἂν τῶν κτήσεων ἑκάστου ῥᾳδίως γινομένη δεσπότις, ἔτι δὲ ἐκτείνουσα τὴν πλεονεξίαν ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίους καὶ Ἄραβας ὑπειργάζετο τοὺς ἑκατέρων βασιλεῖς Ἡρώδην καὶ Μάλχον ἀναιρεθῆναι.

(5) [361] Ἐν μέρει γοῦν τῶν προσταγμάτων ἐπινήψας Ἀντώνιος τὸ κτεῖναι μὲν ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ βασιλεῖς τηλικούτους ἀνόσιον ἡγήσατο, τὸ δὲ τούτων ἔγγιον φίλους διεκρούσατο, πολλὰ δὲ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ἀποτεμόμενος καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἰεριχοῦντι φοινικῶνα, ἐν ᾧ γεννᾶται τὸ βάλσαμον, δίδωσιν αὐτῇ πόλεις τε πλὴν Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος τὰς ἐντὸς Ἐλευθέρου ποταμοῦ πάσας. [362] ὧν γενομένη κυρία καὶ προπέμψασα μέχρις Εὐφράτου τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπιστρατεύοντα Πάρθοις ἦλθεν εἰς Ἰουδαίαν δι' Ἀπαμείας καὶ Δαμασκοῦ. κἀνταῦθα μεγάλαις μὲν αὐτῆς τὴν δυσμένειαν δωρεαῖς Ἡρώδης ἐκμειλίσσεται, μισθοῦται δὲ καὶ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἀπορραγέντα χωρία διακοσίων ταλάντων εἰς ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν, προπέμπει δ' αὐτὴν μέχρι Πηλουσίου πάσῃ θεραπείᾳ καταχρώμενος. [363] καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ παρῆν ἐκ Πάρθων Ἀντώνιος ἄγων αἰχμάλωτον Ἀρταβάζην τὸν Τιγράνου παῖδα δῶρον Κλεοπάτρᾳ: μετὰ γὰρ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τῆς λείας ἁπάσης ὁ Πάρθος εὐθὺς ἐχαρίσθη.

XIX

(1) [364] Τοῦ δ' Ἀκτιακοῦ πολέμου συνερρωγότος παρεσκεύαστο μὲν Ἡρώδης Ἀντωνίῳ συνεξορμᾶν ἤδη τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν κατὰ Ἰουδαίαν ἀπηλλαγμένος θορύβων καὶ κεκρατηκὼς Ὑρκανίας, ὃ δὴ χωρίον ἡ Ἀντιγόνου κατεῖχεν ἀδελφή. [365] διεκλείσθη γε μὴν πανούργως ὑπὸ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας συμμετασχεῖν τῶν κινδύνων Ἀντωνίῳ: τοῖς γὰρ βασιλεῦσιν, ὡς ἔφαμεν, ἐπιβουλεύουσα πείθει τὸν Ἀντώνιον Ἡρώδῃ διαπιστεῦσαι τὸν πρὸς Ἄραβας πόλεμον, ἵν' ἢ κρατήσαντος

Ἀραβίας ἢ κρατηθέντος Ἰουδαίας γένηται δεσπότις καὶ θατέρῳ τῶν δυναστῶν καταλύσῃ τὸν ἕτερον.

(2) [366] Ἔρρεψεν μέντοι καθ᾽ Ἡρώδην τὸ βούλευμα: πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ῥύσια κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἄγων καὶ πολὺ συγκροτήσας ἱππικὸν ἐπαφίησιν αὐτοῖς περὶ Διόσπολιν ἐκράτησέν τε καίτοι καρτερῶς ἀντιπαραταξαμένων. πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἧτταν μέγα γίνεται κίνημα τῶν Ἀράβων, καὶ συναθροισθέντες εἰς Κάναθα τῆς κοίλης Συρίας ἄπειροι τὸ πλῆθος τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἔμενον. [367] ἔνθα μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως Ἡρώδης ἐπελθὼν ἐπειρᾶτο προμηθέστερον ἀφηγεῖσθαι τοῦ πολέμου καὶ στρατόπεδον ἐκέλευε τειχίζειν. οὐ μὴν ὑπήκουσεν τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλὰ τῇ προτέρᾳ νίκῃ τεθαρρηκότες ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἄραβας καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὴν πρώτην ἐμβολὴν τραπέντας ἐδίωκον, ἐπιβουλεύεται δὲ Ἡρώδης ἐν τῇ διώξει τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Κανάθων ἐπιχωρίους ἀνέντος Ἀθηνίωνος, ὃς ἦν αὐτῷ τῶν Κλεοπάτρας στρατηγῶν αἰεὶ διάφορος: [368] πρὸς γὰρ τὴν τούτων ἐπίθεσιν ἀναθαρρήσαντες οἱ Ἄραβες ἐπιστρέφονται καὶ συνάψαντες τὸ πλῆθος περὶ πετρώδη καὶ δύσβατα χωρία τοὺς Ἡρώδου τρέπονται πλεῖστόν τε αὐτῶν φόνον εἰργάσαντο. οἱ δὲ διασωθέντες ἐκ τῆς μάχης εἰς Ὄρμιζα καταφεύγουσιν, ὅπου καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν περισχόντες αὖτανδρον εἷλον οἱ Ἄραβες.

(3) [369] Μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς βοήθειαν ἄγων Ἡρώδης παρῆν τῆς χρείας ὑστέραν. ταύτης τῆς πληγῆς αἴτιον αὐτῷ τὸ τῶν ταξιάρχων ἀπειθὲς κατέστη: μὴ γὰρ ἐξαπιναίου τῆς συμβολῆς γενομένης οὐδ᾽ ἂν Ἀθηνίων εὗρεν καιρὸν ἐπιβουλῆς. ἐτιμωρήσατο μέντοι τοὺς Ἄραβας αὖθις ἀεὶ τὴν χώραν κατατρέχων, ὡς ἀνακαλέσασθαι τὴν μίαν αὐτοῖς νίκην πολλάκις. [370] ἀμυνομένῳ δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπιπίπτει συμφορὰ δαιμόνιος ἄλλη, κατ᾽ ἔτος μὲν τῆς βασιλείας ἕβδομον, ἀκμάζοντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀκτίου πολέμου. ἀρχομένου γὰρ ἔαρος ἡ γῆ σεισθεῖσα βοσκημάτων μὲν ἄπειρον πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων δὲ τρεῖς διέφθειρεν μυριάδας, τὸ δὲ στρατιωτικὸν ἔμεινεν ἀβλαβές: ὕπαιθρον γὰρ ηὐλίζετο. [371] κἀν τούτῳ τοὺς Ἄραβας ἐπὶ μεῖζον θράσος ἦρεν ἡ φήμη προσλογοποιοῦσα τοῖς σκυθρωποῖς ἀεί τι χαλεπώτερον: ὡς γοῦν ἁπάσης Ἰουδαίας κατερριμμένης οἰηθέντες ἐρήμου τῆς χώρας κρατήσειν ὥρμησαν εἰς αὐτὴν προθυσάμενοι τοὺς πρέσβεις, οἳ παρὰ Ἰουδαίων ἔτυχον ἥκοντες πρὸς αὐτούς. [372] πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐμβολὴν καταπλαγὲν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ μεγέθει συμφορῶν ἐπαλλήλων ἔκλυτον συναγαγὼν Ἡρώδης ἐπειρᾶτο παρορμᾶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμυναν λέγων τοιάδε:

(4) [373] “Παραλογώτατά μοι δοκεῖ τὸ παρὸν ὑμῶν καθάπτεσθαι δέος: πρὸς μέν γε τὰς δαιμονίους πληγὰς ἀθυμεῖν εἰκὸς ἦν, τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρωπίνην ἔφοδον πάσχειν ἀνάνδρων. ἐγὼ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἀποδέω κατεπτηχέναι τοὺς πολεμίους μετὰ τὸν σεισμόν, ὥσθ᾽ ὑπολαμβάνειν τὸν θεὸν Ἄραψιν δέλεαρ τοῦτο καθεικέναι τοῦ δοῦναι δίκας ἡμῖν: οὐ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ὅπλοις ἢ χερσὶν πεποιθότες ὅσον ταῖς αὐτομάτοις ἡμῶν συμφοραῖς ἦκον: σφαλερὰ δ᾽ ἐλπὶς οὐκ ἐξ οἰκείας ἰσχύος ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ ἀλλοτρίας ἠρτημένη κακοπραγίας. [374] οὔτε δὲ τὸ δυστυχεῖν οὔτε

τοὐναντίον ἐν ἀνθρώποις βέβαιον, ἀλλ᾽ ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἐπαμειβομένην εἰς ἑκάτερα τὴν τύχην. καὶ τοῦτο μάθοιτ᾽ ἂν ἐξ οἰκείων ὑποδειγμάτων: τῇ γοῦν προτέρᾳ μάχῃ κρατούντων ἐκράτησαν ἡμῶν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς νῦν ἁλώσονται κρατήσειν δοκοῦντες: τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄγαν πεποιθὸς ἀφύλακτον, οἱ φόβοι δὲ διδάσκουσιν προμήθειαν: ὥστε ἔμοιγε κἀκ τοῦ δεδοικότος ὑμῶν παρίσταται θαρρεῖν. [375] ὅτε γὰρ ἐθρασύνεσθε πέρα τοῦ δέοντος καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρὰ τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην ἐξωρμήσατε, καιρὸν ἔσχεν ἡ Ἀθηνίωνος ἐνέδρα: νυνὶ δὲ ὁ ὅκνος ὑμῶν καὶ τὸ δοκοῦν ἄθυμον ἀσφάλειαν ἐμοὶ νίκης ἐγγυᾶται. [376] χρὴ μέντοι γε μέχρι τοῦ μέλλειν οὕτως ἔχειν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐγεῖραι τὰ φρονήματα καὶ πεῖσαι τοὺς ἀσεβεστάτους, ὡς οὔτ᾽ ἀνθρώπειόν τι κακὸν οὔτε δαιμόνιον ταπεινώσει ποτὲ τὴν Ἰουδαίων ἀνδραγαθίαν, ἐφ᾽ ὅσον τὰς ψυχὰς ἔχουσιν, οὐδὲ περιόψεταί τις Ἄραβα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἀγαθῶν δεσπότην γενόμενον, ὃν παρ᾽ ὀλίγον πολλάκις αἰχμάλωτον ἔλαβεν. [377] μηδ᾽ ὑμᾶς ταρασσέτω τὰ τῶν ἀψύχων κινήματα μηδ᾽ ὑπολαμβάνετε τὸν σεισμὸν ἑτέρας συμφορᾶς τέρας γεγονέναι: φυσικὰ γὰρ τὰ τῶν στοιχείων πάθη καὶ οὐδὲν ἀνθρώποις πλέον ἢ τὴν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς βλάβην ἐπιφέρεται: λοιμοῦ μὲν γὰρ καὶ λιμοῦ καὶ τῶν χθονίων βρασμῶν προγένοιτ᾽ ἄν τι σημεῖον βραχύτερον, αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα περιγραφὴν ἔχει τὸ μέγεθος: ἐπεὶ τί δύναται μεῖζον ἡμᾶς τοῦ σεισμοῦ βλάψαι καὶ κρατήσας ὁ πόλεμος; [378] τέρας μέντοι μέγιστον ἁλώσεως γέγονεν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς οὐκ αὐτομάτως οὐδὲ διὰ χειρὸς ἀλλοτρίας, οἳ πρέσβεις ἡμετέρους παρὰ τὸν πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμον ὠμῶς ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τοιαῦτα τῷ θεῷ θύματα περὶ τοῦ πολέμου κατέστεψαν. ἀλλ᾽ οὐ διαφεύξονται τὸν μέγαν ὀφθαλμὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀνίκητον δεξιάν, δώσουσιν δ᾽ ἡμῖν αὐτίκα δίκας, ἂν τοῦ πατρίου φρονήματος ἤδη σπάσαντες τιμωροὶ τῶν παρεσπονδημένων ἀναστῶμεν. [379] ἴτω τις οὐχ ὑπὲρ γυναικὸς οὐδ᾽ ὑπὲρ τέκνων οὐδ᾽ ὑπὲρ κινδυνευούσης πατρίδος, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ τῶν πρέσβεων ἀμυνόμενος: ἐκεῖνοι στρατηγήσουσιν τοῦ πολέμου τῶν ζώντων ἄμεινον. προκινδυνεύσω δὲ κἀγὼ χρώμενος ὑμῖν πειθηνίοις: εὖ γὰρ ἴστε τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀνδρείαν ἀνυπόστατον, ἐὰν μὴ προπετείᾳ τινὶ βλαβῆτε.”

(5) [380] Τούτοις παρακροτήσας τὸν στρατὸν ὡς ἑώρα προθύμους, ἔθυεν τῷ θεῷ καὶ μετὰ τὴν θυσίαν διέβαινεν τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. στρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ περὶ Φιλαδέλφειαν ἐγγὺς τῶν πολεμίων περὶ τοῦ μεταξὺ φρουρίου πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἠκροβολίζετο βουλόμενος ἐν τάχει συμβαλεῖν: ἔτυχον γὰρ κἀκεῖνοί τινας προπεπομφότες τοὺς καταληψομένους τὸ ἔρυμα. [381] τούτους μὲν οὖν ἀπεκρούσαντο ταχέως οἱ πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὸν λόφον κατέσχον, αὐτὸς δὲ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν προάγων τὴν δύναμιν εἰς μάχην παρετάσσετο καὶ προεκαλεῖτο τοὺς Ἄραβας. ὡς δ᾽ οὐδεὶς ἐπεξῄει, δεινὴ γάρ τις αὐτοὺς κατάπληξις εἶχε καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πλήθους ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἔλθεμος αὖος ἦν τῷ δέει, προσελθὼν ἐσπάραττεν αὐτῶν τὸ χαράκωμα. [382] κἀν τούτῳ συναναγκασθέντες ἐξίασιν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ἄτακτοι καὶ πεφυρμένοι τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν οἱ πεζοί. πλήθει μὲν

οὖν τῶν Ἰουδαίων περιῆσαν, ἐλείποντο δὲ ταῖς προθυμίαις καίτοι διὰ τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν τῆς νίκης ὄντες καὶ αὐτοὶ παράβολοι.

(6) [383] Διὸ μέχρι μὲν ἀντεῖχον οὐ πολὺς ἦν αὐτῶν φόνος, ὡς δ' ὑπέδειξαν τὰ νῶτα, πολλοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν συμπατούμενοι διεφθείροντο: πεντακισχίλιοι γοῦν ἔπεσον ἐν τῇ τροπῇ, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἔφθη συνωσθὲν εἰς τὸ χαράκωμα. τούτους περισχὼν ἐπολιόρκει, καὶ μέλλοντας ἁλώσεσθαι τοῖς ὅπλοις προκατήπειγεν ἡ δίψα τῶν ὑδάτων ἐπιλειπόντων. [384] ὑπερηφάνει δὲ πρεσβευομένους ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ λύτρα διδόντων πεντακόσια τάλαντα μᾶλλον ἐνέκειτο. τοῦ δὲ δίψους ἐκκαίοντος ἐξιόντες κατὰ πλῆθος ἐνεχείριζον σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἑκόντες, ὡς πέντε μὲν ἡμέραις τετρακισχιλίους δεθῆναι, τῇ δ' ἕκτῃ τὸ λειπόμενον πλῆθος ὑπ' ἀπογνώσεως ἐξελθεῖν ἐπὶ μάχην: οἷς συμβαλὼν Ἡρώδης πάλιν εἰς ἑπτακισχιλίους κτείνει. [385] τηλικαύτῃ πληγῇ τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἀμυνάμενος καὶ σβέσας τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰ φρονήματα προύκοψεν ὥστε καὶ προστάτης ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους αἱρεθῆναι.

XX

(1) [386] Μεταλαμβάνει δὲ αὐτὸν εὐθέως ἡ περὶ τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων φροντὶς διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἀντώνιον φιλίαν Καίσαρος περὶ Ἄκτιον νενικηκότος. παρεῖχεν μέντοι δέους πλέον ἢ ἔπασχεν: οὔπω γὰρ ἐαλωκέναι Καῖσαρ Ἀντώνιον ἔκρινεν Ἡρώδου συμμένοντος. [387] ὅ γε μὴν βασιλεὺς ὁμόσε χωρῆσαι τῷ κινδύνῳ διέγνω, καὶ πλεύσας εἰς Ῥόδον, ἔνθα διέτριβεν Καῖσαρ, πρόσεισιν αὐτῷ δίχα διαδήματος, τὴν μὲν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὸ σχῆμα ἰδιώτης, τὸ δὲ φρόνημα βασιλεύς: μηδὲν γοῦν τῆς ἀληθείας ὑποστειλάμενος ἄντικρυς εἶπεν: [388] "ἐγώ, Καῖσαρ, ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου βασιλεὺς γενόμενος ἐν πᾶσιν ὁμολογῶ γεγονέναι χρήσιμος Ἀντωνίῳ. καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἂν ὑποστειλαίμην εἰπεῖν, ὅτι πάντως ἄν με μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐπείρασας εὐχάριστον, εἰ μὴ διεκώλυσαν Ἄραβες. καὶ συμμαχίαν μέντοι γε αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ σίτου πολλὰς ἔπεμψα μυριάδας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ἀκτίῳ πληγὴν κατέλιπον τὸν εὐεργέτην, [389] ἐγενόμην δὲ σύμβουλος ἄριστος, ὡς οὐκέτι χρήσιμος ἤμην σύμμαχος, μίαν εἶναι λέγων τῶν πταισθέντων διόρθωσιν τὸν Κλεοπάτρας θάνατον: ἦν ἀνελόντι καὶ χρήματα καὶ τείχη πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ στρατιὰν καὶ ἐμαυτὸν ὑπισχνούμην κοινωνὸν τοῦ πρὸς σὲ πολέμου. [390] τοῦ δ' ἄρα τὰς ἀκοὰς ἀπέφραξαν οἱ Κλεοπάτρας ἵμεροι καὶ θεὸς ὁ σοὶ τὸ κρατεῖν χαριζόμενος. συνήττημαι δ' Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ τέθεικα μετὰ τῆς ἐκείνου τύχης τὸ διάδημα. πρὸς σὲ δὲ ἦλθον ἔχων τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα καὶ προλαβὼν ἐξετασθήσεσθαι, ποταπὸς φίλος, οὐ τίνος, ἐγενόμην."

(2) [391] Πρὸς ταῦτα Καῖσαρ "ἀλλὰ σώζου γε, ἔφη, καὶ βασίλευε νῦν βεβαιότερον: ἄξιος γὰρ εἶ πολλῶν ἄρχειν οὕτω φιλίας προιστάμενος. πειρῶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς εὐτυχεστέροις διαμένειν πιστός, ὡς ἔγωγε λαμπροτάτας ὑπὲρ τοῦ σοῦ

φρονήματος ἐλπίδας ἔχω. καλῶς μέντοι γε ἐποίησεν Ἀντώνιος Κλεοπάτρᾳ πεισθεὶς μᾶλλον ἢ σοί: καὶ γὰρ σὲ κεκερδήκαμεν ἐκ τῆς ἀνοίας αὐτοῦ. [392] κατάρχεις δ', ὡς ἔοικεν, εὐποιίας δι' ὧν μοι γράφει καὶ Βεντίδιος συμμαχίαν σε πεπομφέναι πρὸς τοὺς μονομάχους αὐτῷ. νῦν μὲν οὖν δόγματι τὸ βέβαιόν σοι τῆς βασιλείας ἐξαγγέλλω. πειράσομαι δὲ καὶ αὖθις ἀγαθόν τί σε ποιεῖν, ὡς μὴ ζητοίης Ἀντώνιον."

(3) [393] Τούτοις φιλοφρονησάμενος τὸν βασιλέα καὶ περιθεὶς αὐτῷ τὸ διάδημα δόγματι διεσήμαινεν τὴν δωρεάν, ἐν ᾧ πολλὰ μεγαλοφρόνως εἰς ἔπαινον τἀνδρὸς ἐφθέγξατο. ὁ δὲ δώροις ἐπιμειλιξάμενος αὐτὸν ἐξῃτεῖτό τινα τῶν Ἀντωνίου φίλων Ἀλεξᾶν ἱκέτην γενόμενον: ἐνίκα δὲ ἡ Καίσαρος ὀργὴ πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ μεμφομένου τὸν ἐξαιτούμενον οἷς διεκρούσατο τὴν δέησιν. [394] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πορευόμενον ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον διὰ Συρίας Καίσαρα παντὶ τῷ βασιλικῷ πλούτῳ δεξάμενος Ἡρώδης τότε πρῶτον καὶ συνιππάσατο ποιουμένου περὶ Πτολεμαίδα τῆς δυνάμεως ἐξέτασιν εἰστίασέν τε σὺν ἅπασιν τοῖς φίλοις: μεθ' οὓς καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ στρατιᾷ πρὸς εὐωχίαν πάντα διέδωκεν. [395] προυνόησεν δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀνύδρου πορευομένοις μέχρι Πηλουσίου παρασχεῖν ὕδωρ ἄφθονον ἐπανιοῦσί τε ὁμοίως, οὐδὲ ἔστιν ὅ τι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐνεδέησεν τῇ δυνάμει. δόξα γοῦν αὐτῷ τε Καίσαρι καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις παρέστη πολλῷ βραχυτέραν περιεῖναι Ἡρώδῃ βασιλείαν πρὸς ἃ παρέσχεν. [396] διὰ τοῦτο, ὡς ἦκεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἤδη Κλεοπάτρας καὶ Ἀντωνίου τεθνεώτων, οὐ μόνον αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἄλλαις τιμαῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ προσέθηκεν τήν τε ὑπὸ Κλεοπάτρας ἀποτμηθεῖσαν χώραν καὶ ἔξωθεν Γάδαρα καὶ Ἵππον καὶ Σαμάρειαν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τῶν παραλίων Γάζαν καὶ Ἀνθηδόνα καὶ Ἰόππην καὶ Στράτωνος πύργον: [397] ἐδωρήσατο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς φυλακὴν τοῦ σώματος τετρακοσίους Γαλάτας, οἳ πρότερον ἐδορυφόρουν Κλεοπάτραν. οὐδὲν δὲ οὕτως ἐνῆγεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὰς δωρεὰς ὡς τὸ μεγαλόφρον τοῦ λαμβάνοντος.

(4) [398] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν πρώτην ἀκτιάδα προστίθησιν αὐτοῦ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τόν τε Τράχωνα καλούμενον καὶ τὴν προσεχῆ Βαταναίαν τε καὶ τὴν Αὐρανῖτιν χώραν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιᾶσδε: Ζηνόδωρος ὁ τὸν Λυσανίου μεμισθωμένος οἶκον οὐ διέλειπεν ἐπαφεὶς τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Τράχωνος λῃστὰς Δαμασκηνοῖς. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ Οὐάρρωνα τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῆς Συρίας καταφυγόντες ἐδεήθησαν δηλῶσαι τὴν συμφορὰν αὐτῶν Καίσαρι: Καῖσαρ δὲ γνοὺς ἀντεπέστελλεν ἐξαιρεθῆναι τὸ λῃστήριον. [399] στρατεύσας οὖν Οὐάρρων καθαίρει τε τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν γῆν καὶ ἀφαιρεῖται Ζηνόδωρον: ἣν ὕστερον Καῖσαρ, ὡς μὴ γένοιτο πάλιν ὁρμητήριον τοῖς λῃσταῖς ἐπὶ τὴν Δαμασκόν, Ἡρώδῃ δίδωσιν. κατέστησεν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Συρίας ὅλης ἐπίτροπον ἔτι δεκάτῳ πάλιν ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, ὡς μηδὲν ἐξεῖναι δίχα τῆς ἐκείνου συμβουλίας τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις διοικεῖν. [400] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτελεύτα Ζηνόδωρος, προσένειμεν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν μεταξὺ Τράχωνος καὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας γῆν ἅπασαν. ὃ δὲ τούτων Ἡρώδῃ μεῖζον ἦν, ὑπὸ μὲν Καίσαρος ἐφιλεῖτο μετ' Ἀγρίππαν, ὑπ'

Ἀγρίππα δὲ μετὰ Καίσαρα. ἔνθεν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον μὲν εὐδαιμονίας προύκοψεν, εἰς μεῖζον δ᾽ ἐξήρθη φρόνημα καὶ τὸ πλέον τῆς μεγαλονοίας ἐπέτεινεν εἰς εὐσέβειαν.

XXI

(1) [401] Πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ γοῦν ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτόν τε τὸν ναὸν ἐπεσκεύασεν καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνετειχίσατο χώραν τῆς οὔσης διπλασίονα, ἀμέτροις μὲν χρησάμενος τοῖς ἀναλώμασιν ἀνυπερβλήτῳ δὲ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ. τεκμήριον δὲ ἦσαν αἱ μεγάλαι στοαὶ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ βόρειον ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ φρούριον: ἃς μὲν γὰρ ἀνῳκοδόμησεν ἐκ θεμελίων, ὃ δ᾽ ἐπισκευάσας πλούτῳ δαψιλεῖ κατ᾽ οὐδὲν τῶν βασιλείων ἔλαττον Ἀντωνίαν ἐκάλεσεν εἰς τὴν Ἀντωνίου τιμήν. [402] τό γε μὴν ἑαυτοῦ βασίλειον κατὰ τὴν ἄνω δειμάμενος πόλιν δύο τοὺς μεγίστους καὶ περικαλλεστάτους οἴκους, οἷς οὐδὲ ναός πῃ συνεκρίνετο, προσηγόρευσεν ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων τὸν μὲν Καισάρειον τὸν δὲ Ἀγρίππειον.

(2) [403] Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ οἴκοις μόνον αὐτῶν τὴν μνήμην καὶ τὰς ἐπικλήσεις περιέγραψεν, διέβη δὲ εἰς ὅλας πόλεις αὐτῷ τὸ φιλότιμον. ἐν μέν γε τῇ Σαμαρείτιδι πόλιν καλλίστῳ περιβόλῳ τειχισάμενος ἐπὶ σταδίους εἴκοσι καὶ καταγαγὼν ἑξακισχιλίους εἰς αὐτὴν οἰκήτορας, γῆν δὲ τούτοις προσνείμας λιπαρωτάτην καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῷ κτίσματι ναόν τε ἐνιδρυσάμενος μέγιστον καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν τέμενος ἀποδείξας τῷ Καίσαρι τριῶν ἡμισταδίων, τὸ ἄστυ Σεβαστὴν ἐκάλεσεν: ἐξαίρετον δὲ τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ παρέσχεν εὐνομίαν.

(3) [404] Ἐπὶ τούτοις δωρησαμένου τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτὸν ἑτέρας προσθέσει χώρας, ὁ δὲ κἀνταῦθα ναὸν αὐτῷ λευκῆς μαρμάρου καθιδρύσατο παρὰ τὰς Ἰορδάνου πηγάς: καλεῖται δὲ Πάνειον ὁ τόπος: [405] ἔνθα κορυφὴ μέν τις ὄρους εἰς ἄπειρον ὕψος ἀνατείνεται, παρὰ δὲ τὴν ὑπόρειον λαγόνα συνηρεφὲς ἄντρον ὑπανοίγει, δι᾽ οὗ βαραθρώδης κρημνὸς εἰς ἀμέτρητον ἀπορρῶγα βαθύνεται πλήθει τε ὕδατος ἀσαλεύτου καὶ τοῖς καθιμῶσίν τι πρὸς ἔρευναν γῆς οὐδὲν μῆκος ἐξαρκεῖ. [406] τοῦ δὲ ἄντρου κατὰ τὰς ἔξωθεν ῥίζας ἀνατέλλουσιν αἱ πηγαί: καὶ γένεσις μέν, ὡς ἔνιοι δοκοῦσιν, ἔνθεν Ἰορδάνου, τὸ δ᾽ ἀκριβὲς ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς δηλώσομεν.

(4) [407] Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐν Ἰεριχοῖ μεταξὺ Κύπρου τοῦ φρουρίου καὶ τῶν προτέρων βασιλείων ἄλλα κατασκευάσας ἀμείνω καὶ χρησιμώτερα πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδημίας ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ὠνόμασεν φίλων. καθόλου δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ὅντινα τῆς βασιλείας ἐπιτήδειον τόπον τῆς πρὸς Καίσαρα τιμῆς γυμνὸν εἴασεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν χώραν ἐπλήρωσεν ναῶν, εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν αὐτοῦ τὰς τιμὰς ὑπερεξέχεεν καὶ πολλαῖς πόλεσιν ἐνιδρύσατο Καισάρεια.

(5) [408] Κατιδὼν δὲ κἀν τοῖς παραλίοις πόλιν ἤδη μὲν κάμνουσαν, Στράτωνος ἐκαλεῖτο πύργος, διὰ δὲ εὐφυίαν τοῦ χωρίου δέξασθαι δυναμένην τὸ φιλότιμον

αὐτοῦ, πᾶσαν ἀνέκτισεν λευκῷ λίθῳ καὶ λαμπροτάτοις ἐκόσμησεν βασιλείοις, ἐν ᾗ μάλιστα τὸ φύσει μεγαλόνουν ἐπεδείξατο. [409] μεταξὺ γὰρ Δώρων καὶ Ἰόππης, ὧν ἡ πόλις μέση κεῖται, πᾶσαν εἶναι συμβέβηκεν τὴν παράλιον ἀλίμενον, ὡς πάντα τὸν τὴν Φοινίκην ἐπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου παραπλέοντα σαλεύειν ἐν πελάγει διὰ τὴν ἐκ λιβὸς ἀπειλήν, ᾧ καὶ μετρίως ἐπαυρίζοντι τηλικοῦτον ἐπεγείρεται κῦμα πρὸς ταῖς πέτραις, ὥστε τὴν ὑποστροφὴν τοῦ κύματος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐξαγριοῦν τὴν θάλασσαν. [410] ἀλλ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς ἀναλώμασιν καὶ τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ νικήσας τὴν φύσιν μείζονα μὲν τοῦ Πειραιῶς λιμένα κατεσκεύασεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς μυχοῖς αὐτοῦ βαθεῖς ὅρμους ἑτέρους.

(6) [411] Καθάπαν δ᾽ ἔχων ἀντιπράσσοντα τὸν τόπον ἐφιλονείκησεν πρὸς τὴν δυσχέρειαν, ὡς τὴν μὲν ὀχυρότητα τῆς δομήσεως δυσάλωτον εἶναι τῇ θαλάσσῃ, τὸ δὲ κάλλος ὡς ἐπὶ μηδενὶ δυσκόλῳ κεκοσμῆσθαι: συμμετρησάμενος γὰρ ὅσον εἰρήκαμεν τῷ λιμένι μέγεθος καθίει λίθους ἐπ᾽ ὀργυιὰς εἴκοσιν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, ὧν ἦσαν οἱ πλεῖστοι μῆκος ποδῶν πεντήκοντα, βάθος ἐννέα, εὖρος δέκα, τινὲς δὲ καὶ μείζους. [412] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεπληρώθη τὸ ὕφαλον, οὕτως ἤδη τὸ ὑπερέχον τοῦ πελάγους τεῖχος ἐπὶ διακοσίους πόδας ηὐρύνετο: ὧν οἱ μὲν ἑκατὸν προδεδόμηντο πρὸς τὴν ἀνακοπὴν τοῦ κύματος, προκυμία γοῦν ἐκλήθη, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ὑπόκειται τῷ περιθέοντι λιθίνῳ τείχει. τοῦτο δὲ πύργοις τε διείληπται μεγίστοις, ὧν ὁ προύχων καὶ περικαλλέστατος ἀπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος προγόνου Δρούσιον κέκληται,

(7) [413] ψαλίδες τε πυκναὶ πρὸς καταγωγὴν τῶν ἐνορμιζομένων καὶ τὸ πρὸ αὐτῶν πᾶν κύκλῳ νάγμα τοῖς ἀποβαίνουσιν πλατὺς περίπατος. ὁ δ᾽ εἴσπλους βόρειος, αἰθριώτατος γὰρ ἀνέμων τῷ τόπῳ βορέας: καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος κολοσσοὶ τρεῖς ἑκατέρωθεν ὑπεστηριγμένοι κίοσιν, ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἐκ λαιᾶς χειρὸς εἰσπλεόντων πύργος ναστὸς ἀνέχει, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ δεξιοῦ δύο ὀρθοὶ λίθοι συνεζευγμένοι τοῦ κατὰ θάτερον χεῖλος πύργου μείζονες. [414] προσεχεῖς δ᾽ οἰκίαι τῷ λιμένι λευκοῦ καὶ αὗται λίθου, καὶ κατατείνοντες ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν οἱ στενωποὶ τοῦ ἄστεος πρὸς ἓν διάστημα μεμετρημένοι. καὶ τοῦ στόματος ἀντικρὺ ναὸς Καίσαρος ἐπὶ γηλόφου κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει διάφορος: ἐν δ᾽ αὐτῷ κολοσσὸς Καίσαρος οὐκ ἀποδέων τοῦ Ὀλυμπίασιν Διός, ᾧ καὶ προσείκασται, Ῥώμης δὲ ἴσος Ἥρᾳ τῇ κατ᾽ Ἄργος. ἀνέθηκεν δὲ τῇ μὲν ἐπαρχίᾳ τὴν πόλιν, τοῖς ταύτῃ δὲ πλοιζομένοις τὸν λιμένα, Καίσαρι δὲ τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ κτίσματος: Καισάρειαν γοῦν ὠνόμασεν αὐτήν.

(8) [415] Τά γε μὴν λοιπὰ τῶν ἔργων, ἀμφιθέατρον καὶ θέατρον καὶ ἀγοράς, ἄξια τῆς προσηγορίας ἐνιδρύσατο. καὶ πενταετηρικοὺς ἀγῶνας καταστησάμενος ὁμοίως ἐκάλεσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἆθλα μέγιστα προθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς ἑκατοστῆς ἐνενηκοστῆς δευτέρας ὀλυμπιάδος, ἐν οἷς οὐ μόνον οἱ νικῶντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ τρίτοι τοῦ βασιλικοῦ πλούτου μετελάμβανον. [416] ἀνακτίσας δὲ καὶ Ἀνθηδόνα τὴν παράλιον καταρριφθεῖσαν ἐν πολέμῳ

Ἀγρίππειον προσηγόρευσε: τοῦ δ᾽ αὐτοῦ φίλου δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν εὐνοίας καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς πύλης ἐχάραξεν τὸ ὄνομα, ἣν αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ ναῷ κατεσκεύασεν.

(9) [417] Φιλοπάτωρ γε μήν, εἰ καί τις ἕτερος: καὶ γὰρ τῷ πατρὶ μνημεῖον κατέθηκεν πόλιν, ἣν ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ τῆς βασιλείας πεδίῳ κτίσας ποταμοῖς τε καὶ δένδρεσιν πλουσίαν ὠνόμασεν Ἀντιπατρίδα, καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ Ἰεριχοῦντος φρούριον ὀχυρότητι καὶ κάλλει διάφορον τειχίσας ἀνέθηκεν τῇ μητρὶ προσειπὼν Κύπρον. [418] Φασαήλῳ δὲ τἀδελφῷ τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὁμώνυμον πύργον, οὗ τό τε σχῆμα καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ μεγέθει πολυτέλειαν διὰ τῶν ἑξῆς δηλώσομεν. καὶ πόλιν ἄλλην κτίσας κατὰ τὸν ἀπὸ Ἰεριχοῦς ἰόντων αὐλῶνα πρὸς βορέαν Φασαηλίδα ὠνόμασεν.

(10) [419] Παραδοὺς δ᾽ αἰῶνι τούς τε οἰκείους καὶ φίλους οὐδὲ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μνήμης ἠμέλησεν, ἀλλὰ φρούριον μὲν ἐπιτειχίσας τῷ πρὸς Ἀραβίαν ὄρει προσηγόρευσεν Ἡρώδειον ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ, τὸν δὲ μαστοειδῆ κολωνὸν ὄντα χειροποίητον ἑξήκοντα σταδίων ἄπωθεν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκάλεσεν μὲν ὁμοίως, ἐξήσκησεν δὲ φιλοτιμότερον. [420] στρογγύλοις μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἄκραν πύργοις περιέσχεν, ἐπλήρωσεν δὲ τὸν περίβολον βασιλείοις πολυτελεστάτοις, ὡς μὴ μόνον τὴν ἔνδον τῶν οἰκημάτων ὄψιν εἶναι λαμπράν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔξωθεν τοίχοις καὶ θριγκοῖς καὶ στέγαις περικεχύσθαι τὸν πλοῦτον δαψιλῆ: πόρρωθεν δὲ μεγίστοις ἀναλώμασιν ὑδάτων πλῆθος εἰσήγαγεν καὶ βαθμοῖς διακοσίοις λευκοτάτης μαρμάρου τὴν ἄνοδον διέλαβεν: ἦν γὰρ δὴ τὸ γήλοφον ἐπιεικῶς ὑψηλὸν καὶ πᾶν χειροποίητον. [421] κατεσκεύασεν δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς ῥίζας ἄλλα βασίλεια τήν τε ἀποσκευὴν καὶ τοὺς φίλους δέξασθαι δυνάμενα, ὥστε τῷ μὲν πάντα ἔχειν πόλιν εἶναι δοκεῖν τὸ ἔρυμα, τῇ περιγραφῇ δὲ βασίλειον.

(11) [422] Τοσαῦτα συγκτίσας πλείσταις καὶ τῶν ἔξω πόλεων τὸ μεγαλόψυχον ἐπεδείξατο. Τριπόλει μὲν γὰρ καὶ Δαμασκῷ καὶ Πτολεμαίδι γυμνάσια, Βύβλῳ δὲ τεῖχος, ἐξέδρας τε καὶ στοὰς καὶ ναοὺς καὶ ἀγορὰς Βηρυτῷ κατασκευάσας καὶ Τύρῳ, Σιδῶνί γε μὴν καὶ Δαμασκῷ θέατρα, Λαοδικεῦσι δὲ τοῖς παραλίοις ὑδάτων εἰσαγωγήν, Ἀσκαλωνίταις δὲ βαλανεῖα καὶ κρήνας πολυτελεῖς, πρὸς δὲ περίστυλα θαυμαστὰ τήν τε ἐργασίαν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος: εἰσὶ δ' οἷς ἄλση καὶ λειμῶνας ἀνέθηκεν. [423] πολλαὶ δὲ πόλεις ὥσπερ κοινωνοὶ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ χώραν ἔλαβον παρ' αὐτοῦ: γυμνασιαρχίαις δ' ἄλλας ἐπετησίοις τε καὶ διηνεκέσιν ἐδωρήσατο προσόδους κατατάξας, ὥσπερ Κῴοις, ἵνα μηδέποτε ἐκλείπῃ τὸ γέρας. [424] σῖτόν γε μὴν πᾶσιν ἐχορήγησεν τοῖς δεομένοις, καὶ τῇ Ῥόδῳ χρήματα μὲν εἰς ναυτικοῦ κατασκευὴν παρέσχεν πολλαχοῦ καὶ πολλάκις, ἐμπρησθὲν δὲ τὸ Πύθιον ἰδίοις ἀναλώμασιν ἄμεινον ἀνεδείματο. [425] καὶ τί δεῖ λέγειν τὰς εἰς Λυκίους ἢ Σαμίους δωρεὰς ἢ τὴν δι' ὅλης τῆς Ἰωνίας ἐν οἷς ἐδεήθησαν ἕκαστοι δαψίλειαν; ἀλλ' Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Νικοπολῖταί τε καὶ τὸ κατὰ Μυσίαν Πέργαμον οὐ τῶν Ἡρώδου γέμουσιν ἀναθημάτων; τὴν δ' Ἀντιοχέων τῶν ἐν Συρίᾳ πλατεῖαν οὐ φευκτὴν οὖσαν ὑπὸ βορβόρου κατέστρωσέν τε σταδίων εἴκοσι τὸ μῆκος οὖσαν ξεστῇ μαρμάρῳ καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ὑετῶν ἀποφυγὰς ἐκόσμησεν ἰσομήκει στοᾷ.

(12) [426] Ταῦτα μὲν ἄν τις εἴποι ἴδια τῶν εὖ παθόντων δήμων ἑκάστου, τὸ δὲ Ἠλείοις χαρισθὲν οὐ μόνον κοινὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλλ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης δῶρον, εἰς ἣν ἡ δόξα τῶν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἀγώνων διικνεῖται. [427] τούτους γὰρ δὴ καταλυομένους ἀπορίᾳ χρημάτων ὁρῶν καὶ τὸ μόνον λείψανον τῆς ἀρχαίας Ἑλλάδος ὑπορρέον, οὐ μόνον ἀγωνοθέτης ἧς ἐπέτυχεν πενταετηρίδος εἰς Ῥώμην παραπλέων ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ διηνεκὲς πόρους χρημάτων ἀπέδειξεν, ὡς μηδέποτε ἀγωνοθετοῦσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν μνήμην ἀπολιπεῖν. [428] ἀνήνυτον ἂν εἴη χρεῶν διαλύσεις ἢ φόρων ἐπεξιέναι, καθάπερ Φασηλίταις καὶ Βαλανεώταις καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν Κιλικίαν πολιχνίοις τὰς ἐτησίους εἰσφορὰς ἐπεξεκούφισεν. πλεῖστόν γε μὴν αὐτοῦ τῆς μεγαλονοίας ἔθραυσεν ὁ φόβος, ὡς μὴ δόξειεν ἐπίφθονος ἤ τι θηρᾶσθαι μεῖζον εὐεργετῶν τὰς πόλεις πλέον τῶν ἐχόντων.

(13) [429] Ἐχρήσατο δὲ καὶ σώματι πρὸς τὴν ψυχὴν ἀναλόγῳ, κυνηγέτης μὲν ἄριστος ἀεὶ γενόμενος, ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα δι' ἐμπειρίαν ἱππικῆς ἐπετύγχανεν: μιᾷ γοῦν ἡμέρᾳ ποτὲ τεσσαράκοντα θηρίων ἐκράτησεν: ἔστι δὲ καὶ συοτρόφος μὲν ἡ χώρα, τὸ πλέον δ' ἐλάφων καὶ ὀνάγρων εὔπορος: πολεμιστὴς δ' ἀνυπόστατος. [430] πολλοὶ γοῦν κἀν ταῖς γυμνασίαις αὐτὸν κατεπλάγησαν ἀκοντιστήν τε ἰθυβολώτατον καὶ τοξότην εὐστοχώτατον ἰδόντες. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς ψυχικοῖς καὶ τοῖς σωματικοῖς προτερήμασιν ἐχρήσατο καὶ δεξιᾷ τύχῃ: καὶ γὰρ σπάνιον ἔπταισεν ἐν πολέμῳ, καὶ τῶν πταισμάτων οὐκ αὐτὸς αἴτιος, ἀλλ' ἢ προδοσίᾳ τινῶν ἢ προπετείᾳ στρατιωτῶν ἐγένετο.

XXII

(1) [431] Τάς γε μὴν ὑπαίθρους εὐπραγίας ἡ τύχη τοῖς κατ᾽ οἶκον ἀνιαροῖς ἐνεμέσησεν, καὶ κακοδαιμονεῖν ἐκ γυναικὸς ἤρξατο περὶ ἣν μάλιστα ἐσπούδασεν. [432] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν παρῆλθεν, ἀποπεμψάμενος ἣν ἰδιώτης ἦκτο γαμετήν, γένος ἦν ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων Δωρὶς ὄνομα, γαμεῖ Μαριάμμην τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου θυγατέρα, δι᾽ ἣν αὐτῷ στασιασθῆναι συνέβη τὸν οἶκον καὶ τάχιον μέν, μάλιστα δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Ῥώμης ἄφιξιν. [433] πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὸν ἐκ τῆς Δωρίδος υἱὸν Ἀντίπατρον διὰ τοὺς ἐκ Μαριάμμης ἐφυγάδευσεν τῆς πόλεως μόναις ταῖς ἑορταῖς ἀφεὶς κατιέναι: ἔπειτα τὸν πάππον τῆς γυναικὸς Ὑρκανὸν ἐκ Πάρθων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα δι᾽ ὑπόνοιαν ἐπιβουλῆς ἀνεῖλεν, ὃν ᾐχμαλωτίσατο μὲν Βαζαφράνης καταδραμὼν Συρίαν, ἐξῃτήσαντο δὲ κατὰ οἶκτον οἱ ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην ὁμοεθνεῖς. [434] καὶ εἴ γε τούτοις ἐπείσθη παραινοῦσιν μὴ διαβῆναι πρὸς Ἡρώδην, οὐκ ἂν παραπώλετο: δέλεαρ δ᾽ αὐτῷ θανάτου τῆς υἱωνῆς ὁ γάμος κατέστη: τούτῳ γὰρ πεποιθὼς καὶ περισσόν τι τῆς πατρίδος ἐφιέμενος ἦκεν. παρώξυνεν δὲ Ἡρώδην οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀντιποιούμενος βασιλείας, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ τὸ βασιλεύειν ἐπέβαλλεν αὐτῷ.

(2) [435] Τῶν δὲ ἐκ Μαριάμμης πέντε τέκνων γενομένων δύο μὲν θυγατέρες, τρεῖς δ᾽ ἦσαν υἱεῖς. καὶ τούτων ὁ νεώτατος μὲν ἐν Ῥώμῃ παιδευόμενος τελευτᾷ, δύο δὲ τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους βασιλικῶς ἦγεν διά τε τὴν μητρῴαν εὐγένειαν καὶ ὅτι βασιλεύοντι γεγόνεισαν αὐτῷ. [436] τὸ δὲ τούτων ἰσχυρότερον ὁ Μαριάμμης ἔρως συνήργει καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐκκαίων Ἡρώδην λαβρότερος, ὡς μηδενὸς τῶν διὰ τὴν στεργομένην λυπηρῶν αἰσθάνεσθαι: τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἦν μῖσος εἰς αὐτὸν τῆς Μαριάμμης, ὅσος ἐκείνου πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔρως. [437] ἔχουσα δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀπέχθειαν ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων εὔλογον, τὴν δὲ παρρησίαν ἐκ τοῦ φιλεῖσθαι, φανερῶς ὠνείδιζεν αὐτῷ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πάππον Ὑρκανὸν καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰωνάθην: οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτου καίπερ ὄντος παιδὸς ἐφείσατο, δοὺς μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἑπτακαιδεκαέτει, μετὰ δὲ τὴν τιμὴν κτείνας εὐθέως, ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἱερὰν ἐσθῆτα λαβόντι καὶ τῷ βωμῷ προσελθόντι καθ᾽ ἑορτὴν ἄθρουν ἐπεδάκρυσεν τὸ πλῆθος. πέμπεται μὲν οὖν ὁ παῖς διὰ νυκτὸς εἰς Ἰεριχοῦντα, ἐκεῖ δὲ κατ᾽ ἐντολὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλατῶν βαπτιζόμενος ἐν κολυμβήθρᾳ τελευτᾷ.

(3) [438] Διὰ ταῦθ᾽ Ἡρώδην μὲν ὠνείδιζεν ἡ Μαριάμμη, καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα δειναῖς ἐξύβριζεν λοιδορίαις. ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν πεφίμωτο τοῖς ἱμέροις, δεινὴ δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας ἀγανάκτησις εἰσῄει, καὶ πρὸς ὃ μάλιστα κινήσειν τὸν Ἡρώδην ἔμελλον, εἰς μοιχείαν διέβαλλον αὐτήν, [439] ἄλλα τε πολλὰ πρὸς τὸ πιθανὸν ἐνσκευαζόμεναι καὶ κατηγοροῦσαι διότι τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν ἑαυτῆς πέμψειεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν ἀσελγείας ἀποῦσαν δείξειεν ἑαυτὴν ἀνθρώπῳ γυναικομανοῦντι καὶ βιάζεσθαι δυναμένῳ. [440] τοῦθ᾽ ὥσπερ σκηπτὸς ἐμπεσὼν ἐτάραξεν Ἡρώδην, μάλιστα μὲν διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα ζηλοτύπως ἔχοντα, λογιζόμενον δὲ καὶ τὴν Κλεοπάτρας δεινότητα, δι᾽ ἣν Λυσανίας τε ὁ

βασιλεὺς ἀνῄρητο καὶ Μάλχος ὁ Ἄραψ: οὐ γὰρ ἀφαιρέσει γαμετῆς ἐμέτρει τὸν κίνδυνον, ἀλλὰ θανάτῳ.

(4) [441] Μέλλων οὖν ἀποδημήσειν Ἰωσήπῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ Σαλώμης τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ, πιστὸς δὲ ἦν καὶ διὰ τὸ κῆδος εὔνους, παρατίθεται τὴν γυναῖκα, κρύφα δοὺς ἐντολὰς ἀναιρεῖν αὐτήν, εἰ κἀκεῖνον Ἀντώνιος. ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος, οὔτι κακοήθως, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἔρωτα τοῦ βασιλέως παραστῆσαι τῇ γυναικὶ βουλόμενος, ὡς οὐδὲ ἀποθανὼν αὐτῆς ὑπομένοι διαζευχθῆναι, τὸ ἀπόρρητον ἐκφαίνει. [442] κἀκείνη πρὸς ἐπανήκοντα τὸν Ἡρώδην πολλά τε περὶ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὴν συμπαθοῦς ἐν ταῖς ὁμιλίαις ἐπομνύμενον, ὡς οὐδ' ἐρασθείη ποτὲ γυναικὸς ἄλλης, "πάνυ γοῦν, εἶπεν, ταῖς πρὸς τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐντολαῖς ἐπεδείξω τὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔρωτα κτεῖναί με προστάξας."

(5) [443] Ἔκφρων εὐθέως ἀκούσας τὸ ἀπόρρητον ἦν, καὶ οὐκ ἄν ποτε τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐξαγγεῖλαι τὴν ἐντολὴν φάμενος εἰ μὴ διαφθείρειεν αὐτήν, ἐνεθουσία τῷ πάθει καὶ τῆς κοίτης ἐξαλλόμενος ἀνέδην ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀνειλεῖτο. καὶ τοῦτον Σαλώμη ἡ ἀδελφὴ τὸν καιρὸν εἰς τὰς διαβολὰς ἁρπάσασα τὴν εἰς τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐπεβεβαίωσεν ὑποψίαν. ὁ δ' ὑπ' ἀκράτου ζηλοτυπίας ἐκμανεὶς παραχρῆμα κτείνειν προσέταξεν ἀμφοτέρους. [444] μετάνοια δ' εὐθέως εἵπετο τῷ πάθει, καὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ πεσόντος ὁ ἔρως πάλιν ἀνεζωπυρεῖτο. τοσαύτη δ' ἦν φλεγμονὴ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ὡς μηδὲ τεθνάναι δοκεῖν αὐτήν, ὑπὸ δὲ κακώσεως ὡς ζώσῃ προσλαλεῖν, μέχρι τῷ χρόνῳ διδαχθεὶς τὸ πένθος ἀνάλογον τὴν λύπην ἔσχεν τῇ πρὸς περιοῦσαν διαθέσει.

XXIII

(1) [445] Κληρονομοῦσι δὲ τῆς μητρῴας οἱ παῖδες ὀργῆς καὶ τοῦ μύσους ἔννοιαν λαμβάνοντες ὡς πολέμιον ὑφεώρων τὸν πατέρα, καὶ τὸ πρότερον μὲν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης παιδευόμενοι, πλέον δ' ὡς εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ὑπέστρεψαν: συνηνδροῦτο δ' αὐτῶν ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἡ διάθεσις. [446] καὶ ἐπειδὴ γάμων ἔχοντες ὥραν ὁ μὲν τῆς τηθίδος Σαλώμης, ἣ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν κατηγόρησεν, ὁ δ' ἔγημεν Ἀρχελάου τοῦ Καππαδόκων βασιλέως θυγατέρα, προσελάμβανον ἤδη τῷ μίσει καὶ παρρησίαν. [447] ἐκ δὲ τοῦ θράσους αὐτῶν ἀφορμὰς οἱ διαβάλλοντες ἐλάμβανον, καὶ φανερώτερον ἤδη τῷ βασιλεῖ διελέγοντό τινες ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοιτο μὲν ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν υἱῶν, ὁ δὲ Ἀρχελάῳ κηδεύσας καὶ φυγὴν παρασκευάζοιτο τῷ πενθερῷ πεποιθώς, ἵν' ἐπὶ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ κατηγορήσειεν. [448] ἀναπλησθεὶς δὲ τῶν διαβολῶν Ἡρώδης ὥσπερ ἐπιτείχισμα τοῖς υἱοῖς κατάγει τὸν ἐκ τῆς Δωρίδος Ἀντίπατρον καὶ πάντα τρόπον προτιμᾶν ἄρχεται.

(2) [449] Τοῖς δ' ἀφόρητος ἦν ἡ μεταβολή, καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἰδιώτιδος μητρὸς ὁρῶντες προκόπτοντα διὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν εὐγένειαν οὐκ ἐκράτουν τῆς ἀγανακτήσεως, ἐφ' ἑκάστου δὲ τῶν ἀνιαρῶν τὴν ὀργὴν ἐξέφαινον, [450] ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν καθ' ἡμέραν

προσίσταντο μᾶλλον, ὁ δ᾽ Ἀντίπατρος ἤδη καὶ δι᾽ αὐτὸν ἐσπουδάζετο, δεινότατος μὲν ὢν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα κολακείαις, διαβολὰς δὲ κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ποικίλας ἐνσκευαζόμενος καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς λογοποιῶν, τὰ δὲ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους φημίζειν καθιείς, μέχρι παντάπασιν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἀπέρρηξεν τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐλπίδος: [451] καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις καὶ φανερῶς αὐτὸς ἦν ἤδη διάδοχος: ὡς βασιλεὺς γοῦν ἐπέμφθη καὶ πρὸς Καίσαρα τῷ τε κόσμῳ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις θεραπείαις πλὴν διαδήματος χρώμενος. χρόνῳ δ᾽ ἐξίσχυσεν εἰσαγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν Μαριάμμης κοίτην τὴν μητέρα. δυσὶ δ᾽ ὅπλοις κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν χρώμενος, κολακείᾳ καὶ διαβολῇ, τὸν βασιλέα καὶ περὶ θανάτου τῶν υἱῶν ὑπειργάσατο.

(3) [452] Τὸν γοῦν Ἀλέξανδρον σύρας μέχρι Ῥώμης ὁ πατὴρ τῆς ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῷ φαρμακείας ἔκρινεν ἐπὶ Καίσαρος. ὁ δ᾽ εὑρὼν μόλις ὀλοφυρμοῦ παρρησίαν καὶ δικαστὴν ἐμπειρότατον Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ Ἡρώδου φρονιμώτερον, τὰ μὲν ἁμαρτήματα τοῦ πατρὸς αἰδημόνως ὑπεστείλατο, τὰς δ᾽ αὐτοῦ διαβολὰς ἰσχυρῶς ἀπελύσατο. [453] καθαρὸν δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀποδείξας κοινωνοῦντα τῶν κινδύνων, οὕτως ἤδη τό τε Ἀντιπάτρου πανοῦργον καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀτιμίαν ἀπωδύρετο. συνήργει δ᾽ αὐτῷ μετὰ καθαροῦ τοῦ συνειδότος ἡ περὶ λόγους ἰσχύς: ἦν γὰρ δὴ δεινότατος εἰπεῖν. [454] καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον φάμενος ὡς τῷ πατρὶ κτείνειν αὐτοὺς ἔστιν † ἡδὺ καὶ προτίθεται τὸ ἔγκλημα, προήγαγεν μὲν εἰς δάκρυα πάντας, τὸν δὲ Καίσαρα διέθηκεν οὕτως ὡς ἀπογνῶναι μὲν αὐτῶν τὰ κατηγορημένα, διαλλάξαι δὲ Ἡρώδην εὐθέως. αἱ διαλλαγαὶ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἦσαν, ὥστε ἐκείνους μὲν τῷ πατρὶ πάντα πειθαρχεῖν, τὸν δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν καταλιπεῖν ᾧ βούλεται.

(4) [455] Μετὰ ταῦτα δ᾽ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ὑπέστρεφεν ὁ βασιλεύς, τῶν μὲν ἐγκλημάτων ἀφιέναι τοὺς υἱοὺς δοκῶν, τῆς δ᾽ ὑπονοίας οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμένος: παρηκολούθει γὰρ Ἀντίπατρος ἡ τοῦ μίσους ὑπόθεσις. ἀλλ᾽ εἴς γε τὸ φανερὸν τὴν ἀπέχθειαν οὐκ ἐξέφερεν τὸν διαλλακτὴν αἰδούμενος. [456] ὡς δὲ τὴν Κιλικίαν παραπλέων κατῆρεν εἰς Ἐλεοῦσαν, ἑστιᾷ μὲν αὐτὸν φιλοφρόνως Ἀρχέλαος ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ γαμβροῦ σωτηρίας εὐχαριστῶν καὶ ταῖς διαλλαγαῖς ἐφηδόμενος, ὡς ἂν καὶ τάχιον γεγραφὼς τοῖς ἐπὶ Ῥώμης φίλοις συλλαμβάνεσθαι περὶ τὴν δίκην Ἀλεξάνδρῳ: προπέμπει δὲ μέχρι Ζεφυρίου δῶρα δοὺς μέχρι τριάκοντα ταλάντων.

(5) [457] Ὡς δ᾽ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα Ἡρώδης ἀφικνεῖται, συναγαγὼν τὸν λαὸν καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς υἱοὺς παραστησάμενος ἀπελογεῖτο περὶ τῆς ἀποδημίας, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν εὐχαρίστει τῷ θεῷ, πολλὰ δὲ Καίσαρι καταστησαμένῳ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ τεταραγμένον καὶ μεῖζόν τι τοῖς υἱοῖς βασιλείας παρασχόντι τὴν ὁμόνοιαν, [458] ἣν αὐτός, ἔφη, συναρμόσω μᾶλλον: ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐμὲ κύριον τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ δικαστὴν διαδόχου κατέστησεν, ἐγὼ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἐμαυτῷ κἀκεῖνον ἀμείβομαι. τούσδε τοὺς τρεῖς παῖδας ἀποδείκνυμι βασιλεῖς, καὶ τῆς γνώμης

πρῶτον τὸν θεὸν σύμψηφον, ἔπειτα καὶ ὑμᾶς παρακαλῶ γενέσθαι. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἡλικία, τοῖς δ' εὐγένεια τὴν διαδοχὴν προξενεῖ, τό γε μὴν μέγεθος τῆς βασιλείας ἀρκεῖ καὶ πλείοσιν. [459] οὓς δὲ Καῖσαρ μὲν ἤνωσεν, καθίστησιν δὲ πατήρ, ὑμεῖς τηρήσατε μήτε ἀδίκους μήτε ἀνωμάλους τὰς τιμὰς διδόντες, ἑκάστῳ δὲ κατὰ τὸ πρεσβεῖον: οὐ γὰρ τοσοῦτον εὐφρανεῖ τις τὸν παρ' ἡλικίαν θεραπευόμενον, ὅσον ὀδυνήσει τὸν ἀτιμούμενον. [460] οὕς γε μὴν ἑκάστῳ συνεῖναι δεήσει συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους, ἐγὼ διανεμῶ καὶ τῆς ὁμονοίας ἐγγυητὰς ἐκείνους καταστήσομαι, σαφῶς ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι τὰς στάσεις καὶ τὰς φιλονεικίας γεννῶσιν αἱ τῶν συνδιατριβόντων κακοήθειαι, κἂν ὦσιν οὗτοι χρηστοί, τηροῦσιν τὰς στοργάς. [461] ἀξιῶ δ' οὐ μόνον τούτους ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ μου ταξιάρχους ἐν ἐμοὶ μόνον τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχειν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος: οὐ γὰρ βασιλείαν, ἀλλὰ τιμὴν βασιλείας τοῖς υἱοῖς παραδίδωμι, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἡδέων ὡς ἄρχοντες ἀπολαύσουσιν, τὸ βάρος δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐμόν ἐστιν, κἂν μὴ θέλω. [462] σκεπτέσθω δ' ἕκαστος τήν τε ἡλικίαν μου καὶ τὴν ἀγωγὴν τοῦ βίου καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν: οὔτε γὰρ οὕτως εἰμὶ γέρων ὥστ' ἂν ἀπελπισθῆναι ταχέως, οὔτε εἰς τρυφὴν ἐκδιαιτώμενος, ἣ καὶ νέους ἐπιτέμνεται: τὸ δὲ θεῖον οὕτως τεθεραπεύκαμεν ὥστ' ἂν ἐπὶ μήκιστον βίου προελθεῖν. [463] ὁ δὴ τοὺς ἐμοὺς παῖδας θεραπεύων ἐπὶ τῇ ἐμῇ καταλύσει δώσει μοι καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων δίκας: οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ φθονῶν τοῖς ἐξ ἐμοῦ γεγενημένοις ἀνακόπτω τὴν εἰς αὐτοὺς φιλοτιμίαν, ἐπιστάμενος δὲ τοῖς νέοις γίνεσθαι τὰς σπουδὰς θράσους ἐφόδιον. [464] εἴ γε μὴν ἕκαστος ἐνθυμηθείη τῶν προσιόντων, ὅτι χρηστὸς μὲν ὢν παρ' ἐμοῦ λήψεται τὴν ἀμοιβήν, στασιάζων δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῷ θεραπευομένῳ τὸ κακόηθες ἀνόνητον ἕξει, πάντας οἶμαι τὰ ἐμὰ φρονήσειν, τουτέστιν τὰ τῶν ἐμῶν υἱῶν: καὶ γὰρ τούτοις συμφέρει κρατεῖν ἐμὲ κἀμοὶ τούτους ὁμονοεῖν. [465] ὑμεῖς δέ, ὦ παῖδες ἀγαθοί, πρῶτον μὲν ἐνθυμούμενοι τὴν ἱερὰν φύσιν, ἧς καὶ παρὰ θηρίοις αἱ στοργαὶ μένουσιν, ἔπειτα τὸν ποιησάμενον ἡμῶν τὰς διαλλαγὰς Καίσαρα, τρίτον ἐμὲ τὸν ἐν οἷς ἔξεστιν ἐπιτάσσειν παρακαλοῦντα, μείνατε ἀδελφοί. δίδωμι δὲ ὑμῖν ἐσθῆτα ἤδη καὶ θεραπείαν βασιλικήν: ἐπεύχομαι δὲ καὶ τῷ θεῷ τηρῆσαι τὴν ἐμὴν κρίσιν, [466] ἂν ὁμονοῆτε." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ φιλοφρόνως ἕκαστον τῶν υἱῶν κατασπασάμενος διέλυσεν τὸ πλῆθος, τοὺς μὲν συνευχομένους τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ὅσοι δ' ἐπεθύμουν μεταβολῆς, μηδ' ἀκηκοέναι προσποιουμένους.

XXIV

(1) [467] Συναπῆει δὲ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἡ στάσις, καὶ χείρους τὰς ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ὑπονοίας ἔχοντες ἀπηλλάγησαν, Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος ὀδυνώμενοι κεκυρωμένου Ἀντιπάτρῳ τοῦ πρεσβείου, Ἀντίπατρος δὲ καὶ τοῦ δευτερεύειν νεμεσῶν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. [468] ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ποικιλώτατος ὢν τὸ ἦθος ἐχεμυθεῖν τε ᾔδει καὶ πολλῷ τῷ πανούργῳ τὸ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκάλυπτε μῖσος, τοῖς δὲ δι'

εὐγένειαν πᾶν τὸ νοηθὲν ἦν ἐπὶ γλώσσης: καὶ παροξύνοντες μὲν ἐνέκειντο πολλοί, πλείους δὲ τῶν φίλων παρεδύοντο κατάσκοποι. [469] πᾶν δὲ τὸ παρ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ λαληθὲν εὐθέως ἦν παρ᾽ Ἀντιπάτρῳ, καὶ μετὰ προσθήκης μετέβαινεν ἀπὸ Ἀντιπάτρου πρὸς Ἡρώδην: οὔτε γὰρ ἁπλῶς φθεγξάμενος ὁ νεανίας ἀνυπεύθυνος ἦν, ἀλλὰ εἰς διαβολὴν τὸ ῥηθὲν ἐστρέφετο, καὶ μετρίως παρρησιασαμένου μέγιστα τοῖς ἐλαχίστοις προσεπλάττετο. [470] καθίει δ᾽ Ἀντίπατρος ἀεὶ τοὺς ἐρεθίσοντας, ὅπως αὐτῷ τὸ ψεῦδος ἔχοι τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἀληθεῖς: καὶ τῶν φημιζομένων ἕν τι διελεγχθὲν ἅπασιν πίστιν ἐπετίθει. καὶ τῶν μὲν αὐτοῦ φίλων ἢ φύσει στεγανώτατος ἦν ἕκαστος ἢ κατεσκευάζετο δωρεαῖς ὡς μηδὲν ἐκφέρεσθαι τῶν ἀπορρήτων, καὶ τὸν Ἀντιπάτρου βίον οὐκ ἂν ἥμαρτέν τις εἰπὼν κακίας μυστήριον: τοὺς δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνόντας χρήμασιν διαφθείρων ἢ κολακείαις ὑπιὼν ἐς πάντα κατειργάσατο καὶ πεποιήκει προδότας καὶ τῶν πραττομένων ἢ λαλουμένων φῶρας. [471] πάντα δὲ περιεσκεμμένως δραματουργῶν τὰς πρὸς Ἡρώδην ὁδοὺς ταῖς διαβολαῖς ἐποιεῖτο τεχνικωτάτας, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀδελφοῦ προσωπεῖον ἐπικείμενος, καθιεὶς δὲ μηνυτὰς ἑτέρους. κἀπειδὰν ἀπαγγελθείη τι κατ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδρου, παρελθὼν ὑπεκρίνετο καὶ διασύρειν τὸ ῥηθὲν ἀρξάμενος ἔπειτα κατεσκεύαζεν ἡσυχῇ καὶ πρὸς ἀγανάκτησιν ἐξεκαλεῖτο τὸν βασιλέα. [472] πάντα δὲ εἰς ἐπιβουλὴν ἀνήγετο καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν τῇ σφαγῇ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐφεδρεύειν Ἀλέξανδρον: οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως πίστιν ἐχορήγει ταῖς διαβολαῖς, ὡς ἀπολογούμενος Ἀντίπατρος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ.

(2) [473] Τούτοις Ἡρώδης ἐξαγριούμενος ὅσον ὑφῄρει καθ᾽ ἡμέραν τῆς πρὸς τὰ μειράκια στοργῆς, τοσοῦτον Ἀντιπάτρῳ προσετίθει. συναπέκλιναν δὲ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ βασίλειον οἱ μὲν ἑκόντες οἱ δ᾽ ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος, ὥσπερ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τιμιώτατος τῶν φίλων, οἵ τε ἀδελφοὶ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ πᾶσα ἡ γενεά: πάντα γὰρ Ἀντίπατρος ἦν, καὶ τὰ πικρότατον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, πάντα ἦν ἡ Ἀντιπάτρου μήτηρ, σύμβουλος κατ᾽ αὐτῶν μητρυιᾶς χαλεπωτέρα καὶ πλεῖόν τι προγόνων μισοῦσα τοὺς ἐκ βασιλίδος. [474] πάντες μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐθεράπευον Ἀντίπατρον ἤδη, συναφίστα δ᾽ ἕκαστον τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως προστάγματα, παραγγείλαντος τοῖς τιμιωτάτοις μήτε προσιέναι μήτε προσέχειν τοῖς περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον. φοβερὸς δ᾽ ἦν οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔξωθεν φίλοις: οὐδενὶ γὰρ βασιλέων Καῖσαρ τοσαύτην ἔδωκεν ἐξουσίαν, ὥστε τὸν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ φυγόντα καὶ μὴ προσηκούσης πόλεως ἐξαγαγεῖν. [475] τὰ δὲ μειράκια τὰς μὲν διαβολὰς ἠγνόει, παρὸ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀφυλάκτως ἐνέπιπτον αὐταῖς: οὐδὲν γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ φανερῶς ἀπεμέμφετο: συνίει δὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ψύγματος καὶ πρὸς τὸ λυποῦν μᾶλλον ἐτραχύνετο. διέθηκεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ τὸν θεῖον Φερώραν Ἀντίπατρος ἐχθρωδῶς καὶ τὴν τηθίδα Σαλώμην, ὡς ἂν † γαμετὴν οὖσαν, καθομιλῶν ἀεὶ καὶ παροξύνων. [476] συνήργει δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ταύτης ἀπέχθειαν ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου γυνὴ Γλαφύρα γενεαλογοῦσα τὴν ἑαυτῆς εὐγένειαν, καὶ ὡς πασῶν τῶν κατὰ τὸ βασίλειον εἴη δεσπότις, κατὰ πατέρα μὲν ἀπὸ Τημένου, κατὰ μητέρα δὲ ἀπὸ

Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπεως οὖσα. [477] πολλὰ δὲ ὠνείδιζεν εἰς ἀγένειαν τήν τε ἀδελφὴν τὴν Ἡρώδου καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, ὧν ἑκάστη δι᾽ εὐμορφίαν οὐκ ἀπὸ γένους ἠρέθη. πολλαὶ δ᾽ ἦσαν, ὡς ἂν ἐφειμένου τε πατρίως Ἰουδαίοις γαμεῖν πλείους καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἡδομένου πλείοσιν, αἳ πᾶσαι διὰ τὸ μεγάλαυχον τὸ Γλαφύρας καὶ τὰς λοιδορίας ἐμίσουν Ἀλέξανδρον.

(3) [478] Τὴν δὲ δὴ Σαλώμην καίτοι πενθερὰν οὖσαν αὐτὸς Ἀριστόβουλος ἑαυτῷ διεστασίασεν ὠργισμένην καὶ πρόσθεν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐκ Γλαφύρας βλασφημίαις: ὠνείδιζεν γὰρ τῇ γυναικὶ συνεχῶς τὴν ταπεινότητα, καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ἰδιῶτιν, ὁ δ᾽ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξανδρος γήμαι βασιλίδα. [479] τοῦτο κλαίουσα τῇ Σαλώμῃ διήγγειλεν ἡ θυγάτηρ, προσετίθει δ᾽ ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀδελφῶν τὰς μὲν μητέρας ἀπειλοῖεν οἱ περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐπειδὰν παραλάβωσιν τὴν βασιλείαν, ἱστουργοὺς ἅμα ταῖς δούλαις ποιήσειν, αὐτοὺς δὲ κωμῶν γραμματεῖς, ἐπισκώπτοντες ὡς πεπαιδευμένους ἐπιμελῶς. πρὸς ἃ τὴν ὀργὴν οὐ κατασχοῦσα Σαλώμη πάντα διήγγειλεν Ἡρώδῃ: σφόδρα δ᾽ ἦν ἀξιόπιστος κατὰ γαμβροῦ λέγουσα. [480] καί τις ἑτέρα διαβολὴ συνέδραμεν ἡ τὸν θυμὸν ὑπεκκαύσασα τοῦ βασιλέως: ἤκουσεν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀνακαλεῖσθαι μὲν συνεχῶς τὴν μητέρα καὶ κατοιμώζειν ἐπαρωμένους αὐτῷ, πολλάκις δ᾽ αὐτοῦ διαδιδόντος τῶν Μαριάμμης ἐσθήτων τινὰ ταῖς μεταγενεστέραις γυναιξὶν ἀπειλεῖν, ὡς ἀντὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐν τάχει περιθήσουσιν αὐταῖς ἐκ τριχῶν πεποιημένας.

(4) [481] Διὰ ταῦτα καίτοι τὸ φρόνημα τῶν νεανίσκων ὑποδείσας, ὅμως οὐκ ἀπέκοπτε τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς διορθώσεως, ἀλλὰ προσκαλεσάμενος αὐτούς, καὶ γὰρ εἰς Ῥώμην ἐκπλεύσειν ἔμελλεν, βραχέα μὲν ἠπείλησεν ὡς βασιλεύς, τὰ πολλὰ δὲ ἐνουθέτησεν ὡς πατήρ, καὶ φιλεῖν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς παρεκάλει διδοὺς τῶν προημαρτημένων ἄφεσιν, εἰ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἀμείνους γένοιντο. [482] οἱ δὲ τὰς μὲν διαβολὰς ἀπεσκευάζοντο ψευδεῖς εἶναι λέγοντες, πιστώσεσθαι δὲ τὴν ἀπολογίαν τοῖς ἔργοις ἔφασκον: δεῖν μέντοι κἀκεῖνον ἀποφράττειν τὰς λογοποιίας τῷ μὴ πιστεύειν ῥᾳδίως: οὐ γὰρ ἐπιλείψειν τοὺς καταψευσομένους αὐτῶν, ἕως ἂν ὁ πειθόμενος ᾖ.

(5) [483] Τούτοις ὡς πατέρα πείσαντες ταχέως τὸν μὲν ἐν χερσὶν φόβον διεκρούσαντο, τὴν δ᾽ εἰς τὰ μέλλοντα λύπην προσέλαβον: ἔγνωσαν γὰρ τήν τε Σαλώμην ἐχθρὰν καὶ τὸν θεῖον Φερώραν: ἦσαν δὲ βαρεῖς [μὲν] ἀμφότεροι καὶ χαλεποί, Φερώρας δὲ μείζων, ὃς πάσης μὲν ἐκοινώνει τῆς βασιλείας πλὴν διαδήματος, προσόδους δὲ ἰδίας εἶχεν ἑκατὸν τάλαντα, τὴν δὲ πέραν Ἰορδάνου πᾶσαν ἐκαρποῦτο χώραν λαβὼν παρὰ τἀδελφοῦ δῶρον, ὃς αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν καὶ τετράρχην αἰτησάμενος παρὰ Καίσαρος, βασιλικῶν τε γάμων ἠξίωσεν συνοικίσας ἀδελφὴν τῆς ἰδίας γυναικός: μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνης τελευτὴν καθωσίωσε τὴν πρεσβυτάτην τῶν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρων ἐπὶ προικὶ τριακοσίοις ταλάντοις. [484] ἀλλ᾽ ἀπέδρα Φερώρας τὸν βασιλικὸν γάμον πρὸς ἔρωτα δούλης, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ χαλεπήνας Ἡρώδης τὴν μὲν θυγατέρα τῷ πρὸς Πάρθων ὕστερον

ἀναιρεθέντι συνέζευξεν ἀδελφιδῷ: Φερώρᾳ δὲ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ τὴν ὀργὴν ἀνίει διδοὺς συγγνώμην τῇ νόσῳ.

(6) [485] Διεβάλλετο δὲ καὶ πάλαι μὲν ἔτι ζώσης τῆς βασιλίδος ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ φαρμάκοις, τότε δὲ πλεῖστοι μηνυταὶ προσῄεσαν, ὡς καίπερ φιλαδελφότατον ὄντα τὸν Ἡρώδην εἰς πίστιν ὑπαχθῆναι τῶν λεγομένων καὶ δέος. πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ βασανίσας τελευταῖον ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Φερώρου φίλους. [486] ὧν ἐπιβουλὴν μὲν ἄντικρυς ὡμολόγησεν οὐδείς, ὅτι δὲ τὴν ἐρωμένην ἁρπασάμενος εἰς Πάρθους ἀποδρᾶναι παρεσκευάζετο, συμμέτοχοι δὲ τοῦ σκέμματος αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς φυγῆς Κοστόβαρος ὁ Σαλώμης ἀνήρ, ᾧ συνῴκισεν αὐτὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ τοῦ προτέρου διαφθαρέντος. [487] ἦν δ᾽ ἐλευθέρα διαβολῆς οὐδὲ Σαλώμη: καὶ γὰρ αὐτῆς Φερώρας ἀδελφὸς κατηγόρει συνθήκας περὶ γάμου πρὸς Συλλαῖον τὸν Ὀβαίδα τοῦ Ἀράβων βασιλέως ἐπίτροπον, ὃς ἦν ἐχθρότατος Ἡρώδῃ. διελεγχθεῖσα δὲ καὶ τοῦτο καὶ πάνθ᾽ ὅσα Φερώρας ἐνεκάλει, συγγινώσκεται: καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ Φερώραν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπέλυσεν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων.

(7) [488] Μετέβαινεν δὲ ἐπ᾽ Ἀλέξανδρον ὁ χειμὼν τῆς οἰκίας καὶ περὶ τὴν ἐκείνου κεφαλὴν ὅλος ἀπηρείσατο. τρεῖς ἦσαν εὐνοῦχοι τιμιώτατοι τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ δῆλον ἐξ ὧν ἐλειτούργουν: τῷ μὲν γὰρ οἰνοχοεῖν προσετέτακτο, τῷ δὲ δεῖπνον προσφέρειν, ὁ δ᾽ αὐτὸν κατεκοίμιζέν τε καὶ συγκατεκλίνετο. [489] τούτους εἰς τὰ παιδικὰ δώροις μεγάλοις ὑπηγάγετο ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος. μηνυθὲν δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ διηλέγχοντο βασάνοις, καὶ τὴν μὲν συνουσίαν εὐθέως ὡμολόγουν, ἐξέφερον δὲ καὶ τὰς εἰς αὐτὴν ὑποσχέσεις, ὃν τρόπον ἀπατηθεῖεν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου λέγοντος, [490] ὡς οὐκ ἐν Ἡρώδῃ δέοι τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχειν ἀναιδεῖ γέροντι καὶ βαπτομένῳ τὰς κόμας, εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦτ᾽ αὐτὸν οἴονται καὶ νέον, αὐτῷ δὲ προσέχειν, ὃς καὶ παρὰ ἄκοντος διαδέξεται τὴν βασιλείαν οὐκ εἰς μακράν τε τοὺς μὲν ἐχθροὺς ἀμυνεῖται, τοὺς φίλους δ᾽ εὐδαίμονας ποιήσει καὶ μακαρίους, πρὸ πάντων δὲ αὐτούς: [491] εἶναι δὲ καὶ θεραπείαν τῶν δυνατῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον λαθραίαν, τούς τε ἡγεμόνας τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ καὶ τοὺς ταξιάρχους κρύφα πρὸς αὐτὸν συνιέναι.

(8) [492] Ταῦτα τὸν Ἡρώδην οὕτως ἐξεφόβησεν, ὡς μηδὲ παραχρῆμα τολμῆσαι τὰς μηνύσεις ἐκφέρειν, ἀλλὰ κατασκόπους ὑποπέμπων νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἕκαστα τῶν πραττομένων ἢ λεγομένων διηρεύνα καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ὑποψίαις εὐθέως ἀνῄρει. [493] δεινῆς δὲ ἀνομίας ἐνεπλήσθη τὸ βασίλειον: κατὰ γὰρ ἔχθραν ἢ μῖσος ἴδιον ἕκαστος ἔπλασσεν τὰς διαβολάς, καὶ πολλοὶ πρὸς τοὺς διαφόρους φονῶντι τῷ βασιλικῷ θυμῷ κατεχρῶντο. καὶ τὸ μὲν ψεῦδος εἶχεν παραχρῆμα πίστιν, αἱ κολάσεις δὲ τῶν διαβολῶν ἦσαν ὠκύτεραι. κατηγορεῖτο γοῦν τις ἄρτι κατηγορήσας, καὶ τῷ πρὸς αὐτοῦ διελεγχθέντι συναπήγετο: τὰς γὰρ ἐξετάσεις τοῦ βασιλέως ὁ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς κίνδυνος ἐπετέμνετο. [494] προύβη δ᾽ εἰς τοσοῦτον πικρίας, ὡς μηδὲ τῶν ἀκαταιτιάτων τινὶ προσβλέπειν ἡμέρως, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τοῖς

φίλοις ἀπηνέστατος: πολλοῖς γοῦν αὐτῶν ἀπεῖπεν τὸ βασίλειον, καὶ πρὸς οὓς οὐκ εἶχεν χειρὸς ἐξουσίαν τῷ λόγῳ χαλεπὸς ἦν. [495] συνεπέβη δὲ Ἀντίπατρος ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ στῖφος ποιήσας τῶν συγγενῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἥντινα διαβολὴν παρέλιπεν. προήχθη γέ τοι πρὸς τοσοῦτον δέος ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τῆς τερατείας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν συνταγμάτων, ὡς ἐφεστάναι δοκεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ξιφήρη. [496] συλλαβὼν οὖν αὐτὸν ἐξαπίνης ἔδησεν καὶ πρὸς βάσανον ἐχώρει τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ. σιγῶντες δὲ ἀπέθνησκον πολλοὶ καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὲρ τὸ συνειδὸς εἰπόντες: οἱ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλγηδόνων ψεύσασθαι βιασθέντες ἔλεγον, ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοι τε αὐτῷ μετὰ Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ παραφυλάττει κυνηγοῦντα κτείνας εἰς Ῥώμην ἀποδρᾶναι. [497] τούτοις καίπερ οὐ πιθανοῖς οὖσιν ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἐσχεδιασμένοις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπίστευσεν ἡδέως, παραμυθίαν λαμβάνων τοῦ δῆσαι τὸν υἱὸν τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν ἀδίκως.

XXV

(1) [498] Ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπεὶ τὸν πατέρα μεταπείθειν ἀμήχανον ἑώρα, τοῖς δεινοῖς ὁμόσε χωρεῖν διέγνω, καὶ τέσσαρας κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν βίβλους συνταξάμενος προσωμολόγει μὲν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, κοινωνοὺς δ' ἀπεδείκνυεν τοὺς πλείστους αὐτῶν, πρὸ δὲ πάντων Φερώραν καὶ Σαλώμην: ταύτην γὰρ δὴ καὶ μιγῆναί ποτε αὐτῷ μὴ θέλοντι νύκτωρ εἰσβιασαμένην. [499] αἵ τε οὖν βίβλοι παρῆσαν εἰς χεῖρας Ἡρώδῃ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ κατὰ τῶν δυνατωτάτων βοῶσαι, καὶ διὰ τάχους εἰς Ἰουδαίαν Ἀρχέλαος ἀφικνεῖται περὶ τῷ γαμβρῷ καὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ δείσας. γίνεται δὲ βοηθὸς αὐτοῖς μάλα προμηθὴς καὶ τέχνῃ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπειλὴν διεκρούσατο. [500] συμβαλὼν γὰρ εὐθέως αὐτῷ "ποῦ ποτέ ἐστιν ὁ ἀλιτήριός μου γαμβρός, ἐβόα, ποῦ δὲ τὴν πατροκτόνον ὄψομαι κεφαλήν, ἣν ταῖς ἐμαυτοῦ χερσὶν διασπαράξω; προσθήσω δὲ καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα μου τῷ καλῷ νυμφίῳ: καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ κεκοινώνηκεν τοῦ σκέμματος, ὅτι τοιούτου γυνὴ γέγονεν, μεμίανται. [501] θαυμάζω δὲ καὶ σὲ τὸν ἐπιβουλευθέντα τῆς ἀνεξικακίας, εἰ ζῇ μέχρι νῦν Ἀλέξανδρος: ἐγὼ γὰρ ἠπειγόμην ἀπὸ Καππαδοκίας ὡς τὸν μὲν εὑρήσων πάλαι δεδωκότα δίκας, μετὰ δὲ σοῦ περὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἐξετάσων, ἣν ἐκείνῳ γε πρὸς τὸ σὸν ἀξίωμα βλέπων ἐνεγγύησα. νῦν δὲ περὶ ἀμφοῖν ἡμῖν βουλευτέον, κἂν ᾖς πατὴρ λίαν ἢ τοῦ κολάζειν υἱὸν ἀτονώτερος ἐπίβουλον, ἀμείψωμεν τὰς δεξιὰς καὶ γενώμεθα τῆς ἀλλήλων ὀργῆς διάδοχοι."

(2) [502] Τούτοις περικομπήσας καίπερ παρατεταγμένον Ἡρώδην ὑπάγεται: δίδωσι γοῦν αὐτῷ τὰς συνταχθείσας ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου βίβλους ἀναγνῶναι καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐφιστὰς κεφάλαιον συνεσκέπτετο. λαμβάνει δ' Ἀρχέλαος ἀφορμὴν τοῦ στρατηγήματος καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς τοὺς ἐγγεγραμμένους καὶ Φερώραν μετήγαγεν τὰς αἰτίας. [503] ὡς δ' ἑώρα πιστεύοντα τὸν βασιλέα, "σκεπτέον, ἔφη, μή ποτε τὸ μειράκιον ὑπὸ τοσούτων εἴη πονηρῶν

ἐπιβουλευόμενον, οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ μειρακίου σύ: καὶ γὰρ οὐχ ὁρᾶν αἰτίαν, ἐξ ἧς ἂν εἰς τηλικοῦτον μύσος προέπεσεν, ἀπολαύων μὲν ἤδη βασιλείας, ἐλπίζων δὲ καὶ διαδοχήν, εἰ μή τινες ἦσαν ἀναπείθοντες καὶ τὸ τῆς ἡλικίας εὔκολον ἐπὶ κακῷ μεταχειριζόμενοι. διὰ γὰρ τῶν τοιούτων ἐξαπατᾶσθαι μὲν οὐκ ἐφήβους μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ γέροντας, οἴκους δὲ λαμπροτάτους καὶ βασιλείας ὅλας ἀνατρέπεσθαι.”

(3) [504] Συνήνει τοῖς λεγομένοις Ἡρώδης, καὶ τὴν μὲν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ὀργὴν ἐπανίει πρὸς ὀλίγον, πρὸς δὲ Φερώραν παρωξύνετο: τῶν γὰρ τεσσάρων βίβλων οὗτος ἦν ὑπόθεσις. ὃς κατιδὼν τό τε τοῦ βασιλέως ὀξύρροπον καὶ τὴν Ἀρχελάου φιλίαν παρ᾽ αὐτῷ πάντων κρατοῦσαν, ὡς οὐκ ἐνῆν εὐσχήμονι σωτηρία, τὴν δι᾽ ἀναιδείας ἐπορίζετο: καταλείψας γοῦν Ἀλέξανδρον προσέφυγεν Ἀρχελάῳ. [505] κἀκεῖνος οὐχ ὁρᾶν ἔφη, πῶς ἂν αὐτὸν ἐξαιτήσαιτο τοσούτοις ἐνεχόμενον ἐγκλήμασιν, ἐξ ὧν σαφῶς ἀποδείκνυται τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπίβουλος καὶ τῶν παρόντων τῷ μειρακίῳ κακῶν αἴτιος γεγονώς, εἰ μὴ βούλεται τὸ πανοῦργον καὶ τὰς ἀρνήσεις ἀφεὶς προσομολογῆσαι μὲν τὰ κατηγορημένα, συγγνώμην δ᾽ αἰτήσασθαι παρὰ τἀδελφοῦ καὶ φιλοῦντος: εἰς γὰρ τοῦτο πάντα τρόπον αὐτὸς συνεργήσειν.

(4) [506] Πείθεται Φερώρας, καὶ κατασκευάσας ἑαυτόν, ὡς ἂν οἰκτρότατος φανείη, μελαίνῃ τε ἐσθῆτι καὶ δακρύοις προσπίπτει τοῖς Ἡρώδου ποσίν, ὡς πολλάκις ἔτυχεν συγγνώμης αἰτούμενος καὶ μιαρὸν μὲν ἑαυτὸν ὁμολογῶν, δεδρακέναι γὰρ πάντα, ὅσα κατηγοροῖτο, παρακοπὴν δὲ φρενῶν καὶ μανίαν ὀδυρόμενος, ἧς αἴτιον εἶναι τὸν ἔρωτα τῆς γυναικὸς ἔλεγεν. [507] παραστήσας δὴ κατήγορον καὶ μάρτυν ἑαυτοῦ Φερώραν Ἀρχέλαος οὕτως ἤδη παρῃτεῖτο καὶ τὴν Ἡρώδου κατέστελλεν ὀργὴν χρώμενος οἰκείοις ὑποδείγμασιν: καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς πολλῷ χαλεπώτερα πάσχων ὑπὸ τἀδελφοῦ τῆς ἀμύνης ἐπίπροσθεν τίθεσθαι τὸ τῆς φύσεως δίκαιον: ἐν γὰρ ταῖς βασιλείαις ὥσπερ ἐν μεγάλοις σώμασιν ἀεί τι μέρος φλεγμαίνειν ὑπὸ τοῦ βάρους, ὅπερ ἀποκόπτειν μὲν οὐ χρῆναι, θεραπεύειν δὲ πρᾳότερον.

(5) [508] Πολλὰ τοιαῦτα λέγων Ἡρώδην μὲν ἐπὶ Φερώρᾳ μειλίσσεται, διέμενε δ᾽ αὐτὸς ἀγανακτῶν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα διαζεύξας ἀπάξειν ἔφασκεν, ἕως περιέστησεν Ἡρώδην ἀντιπαρακαλεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μειρακίου καὶ πάλιν αὐτῷ μνηστεύεσθαι τὴν θυγατέρα. σφόδρα δὲ ἀξιοπίστως Ἀρχέλαος ᾧ βούλεται συνοικίζειν αὐτὴν ἐπέτρεπεν πλὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου: περὶ πλείστου γὰρ ποιεῖσθαι τηρεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ τῆς ἐπιγαμίας δίκαια. [509] φαμένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως δῶρον ἔξειν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὸν υἱόν, εἰ μὴ λύσειεν τὸν γάμον, ὄντων μὲν αὐτοῖς ἤδη καὶ τέκνων, στεργομένης δ᾽ οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ μειρακίου τῆς γυναικός, ἣν παραμένουσαν μὲν ἔσεσθαι δυσώπημα τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, ἀπορραγεῖσαν δὲ αἰτίαν τῆς εἰς ἅπαντα ἀπογνώσεως: μαλακωτέρας γὰρ γίνεσθαι τὰς τόλμας πάθεσιν οἰκείοις περισπωμένας: [510] κατανεύει μόλις Ἀρχέλαος διαλλάσσεταί τε

καὶ διαλλάσσει τῷ νεανίσκῳ τὸν πατέρα: δεῖν μέντοι πάντως ἔφη πέμπειν αὐτὸν εἰς Ῥώμην Καίσαρι διαλεξόμενον: γεγραφέναι γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐκείνῳ περὶ πάντων.

(6) [511] Τὸ μὲν οὖν Ἀρχελάου στρατήγημα, δι᾽ οὗ τὸν γαμβρὸν ἐρρύσατο, πέρας εἶχεν, μετὰ δὲ τὰς διαλλαγὰς ἐν εὐωχίαις καὶ φιλοφρονήσεσιν διῆγον. ἀπιόντα δ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἡρώδης δωρεῖται ταλάντων ἑβδομήκοντα δώροις θρόνῳ τε χρυσῷ διαλίθῳ καὶ εὐνούχοις καὶ παλλακίδι, ἥτις ἐκαλεῖτο Παννυχίς, τῶν τε φίλων ἐτίμησεν κατ᾽ ἀξίαν ἕκαστον. [512] ὁμοίως τε καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς προστάξαντος τοῦ βασιλέως πάντες Ἀρχελάῳ δῶρα λαμπρὰ ἔδοσαν, προεπέμφθη τε ὑπό τε Ἡρώδου καὶ τῶν δυνατῶν ἕως Ἀντιοχείας.

XXVI

(1) [513] Μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν παρέβαλεν ἀνὴρ πολὺ τῶν Ἀρχελάου στρατηγημάτων δυνατώτερος, ὃς οὐ μόνον τὰς ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου πολιτευθείσας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ διαλλαγὰς ἀνέτρεψεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπωλείας αἴτιος αὐτῷ κατέστη. γένος ἦν Λάκων, Εὐρυκλῆς τοὔνομα, πόθῳ χρημάτων εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν εἰσφθαρείς: οὐ γὰρ ἀντεῖχεν ἔτι ἡ Ἑλλὰς αὐτοῦ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ. [514] λαμπρὰ δ᾽ Ἡρώδῃ δῶρα προσενεγκὼν δέλεαρ ὧν ἐθηρᾶτο καὶ παραχρῆμα πολλαπλασίῳ λαβὼν οὐδὲν ἡγεῖτο τὴν καθαρὰν δόσιν, εἰ μὴ δι᾽ αἵματος ἐμπορεύσεται τὴν βασιλείαν. [515] περιέρχεται γοῦν τὸν βασιλέα κολακείᾳ καὶ δεινότητι λόγων καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ψευδέσιν ἐγκωμίοις. ταχέως δὲ συνιδὼν τὸν Ἡρώδου τρόπον καὶ πάντα λέγων τε καὶ πράττων τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν αὐτῷ φίλος ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις γίνεται: καὶ γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς διὰ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ πάντες οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ἡδέως προετίμων τὸν Σπαρτιάτην.

(2) [516] Ὁ δ᾽ ἐπεὶ τὰ σαθρὰ τῆς οἰκίας κατέμαθεν, τάς τε τῶν ἀδελφῶν διαφορὰς καὶ ὅπως διέκειτο πρὸς ἕκαστον ὁ πατήρ, Ἀντιπάτρου μὲν ξενίᾳ προκατείληπτο, φιλίᾳ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ὑποκρίνεται ψευσάμενος ἑταῖρον ἑαυτὸν εἶναι καὶ Ἀρχελάου πάλαι: διὸ δὴ καὶ ταχέως ὡς δεδοκιμασμένος ἐδέχθη, συνίστησιν δ᾽ αὐτὸν εὐθέως καὶ Ἀριστοβούλῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ. [517] πάντων δ᾽ ἀποπειραθεὶς τῶν προσώπων ἄλλον ἄλλως ὑπῄει, γίνεται δὲ προηγουμένως μισθωτὸς Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ προδότης Ἀλεξάνδρου, τῷ μὲν ὀνειδίζων, εἰ πρεσβύτατος ὢν περιόψεται τοὺς ἐφεδρεύοντας αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δέ, εἰ γεγενημένος ἐκ βασιλίδος καὶ βασιλίδι συνοικῶν ἐάσει διαδέχεσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸν ἐξ ἰδιώτιδος, καὶ ταῦτα μεγίστην ἀφορμὴν ἔχων Ἀρχέλαον. [518] ἦν δὲ πιστὸς τῷ μειρακίῳ σύμβουλος τὴν Ἀρχελάου φιλίαν πλασάμενος: διὸ μηδὲν ὑποστελλόμενος Ἀλέξανδρος τά τε κατ᾽ Ἀντίπατρον ἀπωδύρετο πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ὡς Ἡρώδης αὐτῶν τὴν μητέρα κτείνας οὐ παράδοξον εἰ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν ἐκείνης βασιλείαν: ἐφ᾽ οἷς ὁ Εὐρυκλῆς οἰκτείρειν τε καὶ συναλγεῖν ὑπεκρίνετο. [519] τὰ δ᾽ αὐτὰ καὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον εἰπεῖν δελεάσας καὶ ταῖς κατὰ

τοῦ πατρὸς μέμψεσιν ἐνδησάμενος ἀμφοτέρους ᾤχετο φέρων Ἀντιπάτρῳ τὰ ἀπόρρητα: προσεπιψεύδεται δ᾽ ἐπιβουλὴν ὡς ἐνεδρευόντων αὐτὸν τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐπιφερόντων ἤδη τὰ ξίφη. λαβὼν δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτοις χρημάτων πλῆθος ἐπαινέτης ἦν Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. [520] τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ἐργολαβήσας τὸν Ἀριστοβούλου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου θάνατον κατήγορος αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς γίνεται καὶ προσελθὼν ἀντιδιδόναι τὸ ζῆν ἔφασκεν Ἡρώδῃ τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν εὐεργεσιῶν καὶ τὸ φῶς ἀμοιβὴν τῆς ξενίας ἀντιπαρέχειν: πάλαι γὰρ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἠκονῆσθαι ξίφος καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τετονῶσθαι δεξιάν, ἐμποδὼν δ᾽ αὐτὸς γεγονέναι τῷ τάχει συνεργεῖν ὑποκριθείς: [521] φάναι γὰρ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς οὐκ ἀγαπᾷ βασιλεύσας αὐτὸς Ἡρώδης ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις καὶ μετὰ τὸν τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν φόνον τὴν ἐκείνης ἀρχὴν σπαθήσας, ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι καὶ νόθον εἰσάγεται διάδοχον Ἀντιπάτρῳ τῷ φθόρῳ τὴν παππῴαν αὐτῶν βασιλείαν προτείνων. τιμωρήσειν γε μὴν αὐτὸς τοῖς Ὑρκανοῦ καὶ τοῖς Μαριάμμης δαίμοσιν: οὐδὲ γὰρ πρέπειν αὐτὸν διαδέξασθαι παρὰ τοιούτου πατρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν δίχα φόνου. [522] πολλὰ δ᾽ εἶναι τὰ παροξύνοντα καθ᾽ ἡμέραν, ὥστε μηδὲ λαλιᾶς τινα τρόπον ἀσυκοφάντητον καταλελεῖφθαι: περὶ μὲν γὰρ εὐγενείας ἑτέρων μνείας γενομένης αὐτὸς ἀλόγως ὑβρίζεσθαι, τοῦ πατρὸς λέγοντος “ὁ μόνος εὐγενὴς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τὸν πατέρα δι᾽ ἀγένειαν ἀδοξῶν”: κατὰ δὲ τὰς θήρας προσκρούειν μὲν σιωπῶν, ἐπαινέσας δὲ προσακούειν εἴρων. [523] πανταχοῦ δ᾽ ἀμείλικτον εὑρίσκειν τὸν πατέρα καὶ μόνῳ φιλόστοργον Ἀντιπάτρῳ, δι᾽ ὃν ἡδέως καὶ τεθνήξεσθαι μὴ κρατήσας τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς. κτείναντι δὲ εἶναι σωτηρίας ἀφορμὴν πρῶτον μὲν Ἀρχέλαον ὄντα κηδεστήν, πρὸς ὃν διαφεύξεσθαι ῥᾳδίως, ἔπειτα Καίσαρα μέχρι νῦν ἀγνοοῦντα τὸν Ἡρώδου τρόπον: [524] οὐ γὰρ ὡς πρότερον αὐτῷ παραστήσεσθαι πεφρικὼς τὸν ἐφεστῶτα πατέρα οὐδὲ φθέγξεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ μόνον ἐγκλημάτων, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν κηρύξειν τὰς τοῦ ἔθνους συμφορὰς καὶ τοὺς μέχρι ψυχῆς φορολογουμένους, ἔπειτ᾽ εἰς οἵας τρυφὰς καὶ πράξεις τὰ δι᾽ αἵματος πορισθέντα χρήματα ἀνηλώθη, τούς τε ἐξ ἡμῶν πλουτήσαντας οἵοι, καὶ τὰς θεραπευθείσας πόλεις ἐπὶ τίσιν. [525] ζητήσειν δὲ καὶ τὸν πάππον ἐκεῖ καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας μύση πάντα κηρύξειν, ἐφ᾽ οἷς οὐ κριθήσεσθαι πατροκτόνος.

(3) [526] Τοιαῦτα κατ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδρου τερατευσάμενος Εὐρυκλῆς ἐπῄνει πολλὰ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον, ὡς ἄρα μόνος τε εἴη φιλοπάτωρ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μέχρι νῦν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐμπόδιος. μήπω δὲ καλῶς ἐπὶ τοῖς πρώτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς κατεσταλμένος εἰς ἀνήκεστον ὀργὴν ἐξαγριοῦται. [527] καὶ πάλιν λαβὼν καιρὸν Ἀντίπατρος ἑτέρους κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑπέπεμπεν κατηγόρους λέγειν, ὅτι Ἰουκούνδῳ καὶ Τυράννῳ λάθρα διαλέγοιντο τοῖς ἱππάρχοις μέν ποτε τοῦ βασιλέως γενομένοις, τότε δ᾽ ἔκ τινων προσκρουσμάτων ἀποπεπτωκόσι τῆς τάξεως. ἐφ᾽ οἷς Ἡρώδης ὑπεραγανακτήσας εὐθέως ἐβασάνισεν τοὺς ἄνδρας. [528] ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν διαβληθέντων ὡμολόγουν, προεκομίσθη δέ τις πρὸς τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείου

φρούραρχον ἐπιστολὴ παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου παρακαλοῦντος, ἵνα αὐτὸν δέξηται τῷ φρουρίῳ μετὰ Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ κτείναντα τὸν πατέρα, καὶ παράσχῃ τοῖς ὅπλοις χρήσασθαι καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀφορμαῖς. [529] ταύτην Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ἔλεγεν τέχνασμα εἶναι Διοφάντου: γραμματεὺς δ᾽ ἦν ὁ Διόφαντος τοῦ βασιλέως, τολμηρὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ δεινὸς μιμήσασθαι πάσης χειρὸς γράμματα: πολλὰ γοῦν παραχαράξας τελευταῖον ἐπὶ τούτῳ [καὶ] κτείνεται. βασανίσας δὲ τὸν φρούραρχον Ἡρώδης οὐδὲν ἤκουσεν οὐδὲ παρ᾽ ἐκείνου τῶν διαβεβλημένων.

(4) [530] Ἀλλὰ καίτοι τοὺς ἐλέγχους εὑρίσκων ἀσθενεῖς τοὺς υἱοὺς ἐκέλευσεν τηρεῖν, ἔτι μέντοι λελυμένους, τὸν δὲ λυμεῶνα τῆς οἰκίας καὶ δραματουργὸν ὅλου τοῦ μύσους Εὐρυκλέα σωτῆρα καὶ εὐεργέτην καλῶν πεντήκοντα δωρεῖται ταλάντοις. ὁ δὲ τὴν ἀκριβῆ φήμην φθάσας εἰς Καππαδοκίαν ἀργυρίζεται καὶ παρὰ Ἀρχελάου, τολμήσας εἰπεῖν ὅτι καὶ διαλλάξειεν Ἡρώδην Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. [531] διάρας δ᾽ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοῖς ἐκ κακῶν κτηθεῖσιν εἰς ὅμοια κατεχρήσατο: δὶς γοῦν ἐπὶ Καίσαρος κατηγορηθεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ στάσεως ἐμπλῆσαι τὴν Ἀχαίαν καὶ περιδύειν τὰς πόλεις φυγαδεύεται. κἀκεῖνον μὲν οὕτως ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου ποινὴ περιῆλθεν.

(5) [532] Ἄξιον δὲ ἀντιθεῖναι τὸν Κῷον Εὐάρεστον τῷ Σπαρτιάτῃ: καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ὢν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα φίλοις Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν Εὐρυκλεῖ καιρὸν ἐπιδημήσας πυνθανομένῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ περὶ ὧν ἐκεῖνος διέβαλλεν ὅρκοις τὸ μηδὲν ἀκηκοέναι τῶν μειρακίων ἐπιστώσατο. [533] οὐ μὴν ὤνησέν γέ τι τοὺς ἀθλίους: μόνων γὰρ ἦν τῶν κακῶν ἀκροατὴς ἑτοιμότατος Ἡρώδης καὶ κεχαρισμένος αὐτῷ πᾶς ὁ συμπιστεύων καὶ συναγανακτῶν.

XXVII

(1) [534] Παρώξυνεν δ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ Σαλώμη τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ὠμότητα: ταύτην γὰρ συνδήσασθαι τοῖς κινδύνοις ὁ Ἀριστόβουλος θέλων οὖσαν ἐκυρὰν καὶ τηθίδα, διαπέμπεται σώζειν ἑαυτὴν παραινῶν: παρεσκευάσθαι γὰρ βασιλέα κτείνειν αὐτὴν διαβληθεῖσαν ἐφ᾽ οἷς καὶ πρότερον, ὅτι Συλλαίῳ τῷ Ἄραβι γήμασθαι σπουδάζουσα λάθρα τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπόρρητα διαγγέλλοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν ὄντα. [535] τοῦτο δ᾽ ὥσπερ τελευταία θύελλα χειμαζομένους τοὺς νεανίσκους ἐπεβάπτισεν: ἡ γὰρ Σαλώμη δραμοῦσα πρὸς βασιλέα τὴν παραίνεσιν ἐμήνυσεν. κἀκεῖνος οὐκέτι καρτερήσας δεσμεῖ μὲν ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς υἱεῖς καὶ διεχώρισεν ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων, πέμπει δὲ πρὸς Καίσαρα διὰ τάχους Οὐολούμνιόν τε τὸν στρατοπεδάρχην καὶ τῶν φίλων Ὄλυμπον ἐγγράφους τὰς μηνύσεις φέροντας. [536] οἱ δ᾽ ὡς εἰς Ῥώμην πλεύσαντες ἀπέδοσαν τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως γράμματα, σφόδρα μὲν ἠχθέσθη Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τοῖς νεανίσκοις, οὐ μὴν ᾤετο δεῖν ἀφελέσθαι τὸν πατέρα τὴν περὶ τῶν υἱῶν ἐξουσίαν. [537] ἀντιγράφει γοῦν κύριον μὲν αὐτὸν καθιστάς, εὖ μέντοι ποιήσειν λέγων, εἰ μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν τε

ἰδίων συγγενῶν καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἡγεμόνων ἐξετάσειεν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν: κἂν μὲν ἐνέχωνται, κτείνειν, ἐὰν δὲ μόνον ὦσιν δρασμὸν βεβουλευμένοι, κολάζειν μετριώτερον.

(2) [538] Τούτοις Ἡρώδης πείθεται, καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Βηρυτόν, ἔνθα προσέταξεν Καῖσαρ, συνῆγε τὸ δικαστήριον. προκαθίζουσίν τε οἱ ἡγεμόνες γραφὲν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ Καίσαρος, Σατορνῖνός τε καὶ οἱ περὶ Πεδάνιον πρέσβεις, σὺν οἷς [καὶ] Οὐολούμνιος ἐπίτροπος, ἔπειθ' οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλοι, Σαλώμη τε καὶ Φερώρας, μεθ' οὓς οἱ πάσης Συρίας ἄριστοι πλὴν Ἀρχελάου τοῦ βασιλέως: τοῦτον γὰρ ὄντα κηδεστὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου δι' ὑποψίας εἶχεν Ἡρώδης. [539] τούς γε μὴν υἱοὺς οὐ προήγαγεν εἰς τὴν δίκην μάλα προμηθῶς: ᾔδει γάρ, ὅτι καὶ μόνον ὀφθέντες ἐλεηθήσονται πάντως: εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ λόγου μεταλάβοιεν, ῥᾳδίως Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπολύσεσθαι τὰς αἰτίας. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐν Πλατάνῃ κώμῃ Σιδωνίων ἐφρουροῦντο.

(3) [540] Καταστὰς δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ὡς πρὸς παρόντας διετείνετο κατηγόρει τε τὴν μὲν ἐπιβουλὴν ἀσθενῶς ὡς ἂν ἀπορούμενος εἰς αὐτὴν ἐλέγχων, λοιδορίας δὲ καὶ σκώμματα καὶ ὕβρεις καὶ πλημμελείας μυρίας εἰς αὐτόν, ἃ καὶ θανάτου χαλεπώτερα τοῖς συνέδροις ἀπέφηνεν. ἔπειτα μηδενὸς ἀντιλέγοντος ἐποικτισάμενος, ὡς αὐτὸς ἁλίσκοιτο καὶ νικῶν νίκην πικρὰν κατὰ τῶν τέκνων, ἐπηρώτα τὴν γνώμην ἑκάστου. [541] καὶ πρῶτος Σατορνῖνος ἀπεφήνατο κατακρίνειν μὲν τῶν νεανίσκων, ἀλλ' οὐ θάνατον: οὐ γὰρ εἶναι θεμιτὸν αὐτῷ τριῶν παρεστώτων τέκνων ἑτέρου τέκνοις ἀπώλειαν ἐπιψηφίσασθαι. σύμψηφοι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ δύο πρεσβευταὶ γίνονται, καὶ τούτοις ἕτεροί τινες ἠκολούθησαν. [542] Οὐολούμνιος δὲ τῆς σκυθρωπῆς ἀποφάσεως ἤρξατο, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν πάντες θάνατον κατακρίνουσιν τῶν μειρακίων, οἱ μὲν κολακεύοντες, οἱ δὲ μισοῦντες Ἡρώδην καὶ οὐδεὶς δι' ἀγανάκτησιν. [543] ἔνθα δὴ μετέωρος ἦ τε Συρία πᾶσα καὶ τὸ Ἰουδαικὸν ἦν ἐκδεχομένων τὸ τέλος τοῦ δράματος: οὐδεὶς μέντοι ὑπελάμβανεν ἔσεσθαι μέχρι τεκνοκτονίας ὠμὸν Ἡρώδην. ὁ δὲ σύρας τοὺς υἱοὺς εἰς Τύρον κἀκεῖθεν διαπλεύσας εἰς Καισάρειαν τρόπον ἀναιρέσεως τοῖς μειρακίοις ἐσκέπτετο.

(4) [544] Παλαιὸς δέ τις τοῦ βασιλέως στρατιώτης, ὄνομα Τίρων, ἔχων υἱὸν σφόδρα συνήθη καὶ φίλον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ἠγαπηκὼς ἰδίᾳ τὰ μειράκια, δι' ὑπερβολὴν ἀγανακτήσεως ἔκφρων ἐγίνετο, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐβόα περιιὼν πεπατῆσθαι τὸ δίκαιον, ἀπολωλέναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, συγκεχύσθαι τὴν φύσιν, ἀνομίας γέμειν τὸν βίον, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα μὴ φειδομένῳ τοῦ ζῆν ὑπηγόρευε τὸ πάθος. [545] τέλος δὲ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τολμήσας προσελθεῖν "ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μέν, ἔφη, κακοδαιμονέστατος εἶναι δοκεῖς, ὅστις κατὰ τῶν φιλτάτων πείθῃ τοῖς πονηροτάτοις, εἴ γε Φερώρα καὶ Σαλώμης καταγνοὺς πολλάκις θάνατον πιστεύεις τούτοις κατὰ τῶν τέκνων, οἵ σε τῶν γνησίων περικόπτοντες διαδόχων ἐπ' Ἀντιπάτρῳ καταλείπουσι μόνῳ, τὸν ἑαυτοῖς εὐμεταχείριστον αἱρούμενοι

βασιλέα. [546] σκέψαι μέντοι γε, μή ποτε κἀκείνῳ γένηται μῖσος ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις ὁ τῶν ἀδελφῶν θάνατος: οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅστις οὐκ ἐλεεῖ τὰ μειράκια, τῶν δὲ ἡγεμόνων καὶ φανερῶς ἀγανακτοῦσιν πολλοί.” ταῦθ’ ἅμα λέγων ὠνόμαζεν τοὺς ἀγανακτοῦντας. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς εὐθέως ἐκείνους τε καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ συνελάμβανεν.

(5) [547] Ἐφ’ ᾧ τῶν ἐκ τῆς αὐλῆς τις κουρέων, Τρύφων ὄνομα, προεκπηδήσας ἔκ τινος θεοβλαβείας ἑαυτοῦ μηνυτὴς γίνεται. “κἀμὲ γάρ, ἔφη, Τίρων οὗτος ἀνέπειθεν, ὅταν θεραπεύω τῷ ξυρῷ σε διαχειρίσασθαι, μεγάλας τέ μοι παρ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου δωρεὰς ὑπισχνεῖτο.” [548] ταῦτ’ ἀκούσας Ἡρώδης τόν τε Τίρωνα σὺν τῷ παιδὶ καὶ τὸν κουρέα βασάνοις διήλεγχεν, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀρνουμένων, τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν πλέον λέγοντος, στρεβλοῦν ἐκέλευσεν τὸν Τίρωνα σφοδρότερον. [549] ὁ δ’ υἱὸς οἰκτείρας ὑπέσχετο τῷ βασιλεῖ πάντα μηνύσειν, εἰ χαρίσαιτο τὸν πατέρα αὐτῷ. κἀκείνου δόντος εἶπεν, ὡς ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ πεισθεὶς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ θελήσειεν αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν. τοῦθ’ οἱ μὲν εἰς ἀπαλλαγὴν τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς αἰκίας πεπλάσθαι, τινὲς δὲ ἀληθὲς ἔλεγον.

(6) [550] Ἡρώδης γε μὴν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν τε ἡγεμόνων καὶ Τίρωνος κατηγορήσας τὸν λαὸν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἐστρατολόγησεν: αὐτόθι γοῦν ἀναιροῦνται μετὰ τοῦ κουρέως ξύλοις βαλλόμενοι καὶ λίθοις. [551] πέμψας δὲ καὶ τοὺς υἱεῖς εἰς Σεβαστὴν οὖσαν οὐ πόρρω τῆς Καισαρείας προσέταξεν ἀποπνῖξαι. καὶ τελεσθέντος αὐτῷ ταχέως τοῦ προστάγματος τοὺς νεκροὺς εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειον ἐκέλευσεν ἀνακομισθῆναι τὸ φρούριον συνταφησομένους Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ μητροπάτορι. τὸ μὲν οὖν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου τέλος τοιοῦτον.

XXVIII

(1) [552] Ἀντιπάτρῳ δὲ ἀδήριτον ἔχοντι τὴν διαδοχὴν μῖσος μὲν ἀφόρητον ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους ἐπεγείρεται πάντων ἐπισταμένων, ὅτι τὰς διαβολὰς τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς πάσας ἐπισυντάξειεν οὗτος, ὑποικούρει δὲ καὶ δέος οὐ μέτριον αὐξανομένην ὁρῶντι τὴν τῶν ἀνῃρημένων γενεάν: ἦσαν γὰρ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μὲν ἐκ Γλαφύρας υἱεῖς δύο Τιγράνης καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἀριστοβούλῳ δ’ ἐκ Βερνίκης τῆς Σαλώμης Ἡρώδης μὲν καὶ Ἀγρίππας καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος υἱοί, θυγατέρες δὲ Ἡρωδιὰς καὶ Μαριάμμη. [553] τὴν μὲν οὖν Γλαφύραν μετὰ τῆς προικὸς Ἡρώδης ἀπέπεμψεν εἰς Καππαδοκίαν, ὡς ἀνεῖλεν Ἀλέξανδρον, τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου δὲ Βερνίκην συνῴκισεν θείῳ πρὸς μητρὸς Ἀντιπάτρου: τὴν γὰρ Σαλώμην οὖσαν διάφορον ἐξοικειούμενος ὁ Ἀντίπατρος τοῦτον ἐπραγματεύσατο τὸν γάμον. [554] περιῄει δὲ καὶ τὸν Φερώραν δώροις τε καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις θεραπείαις καὶ τοὺς Καίσαρος φίλους οὐκ ὀλίγα πέμπων ἐπὶ Ῥώμης χρήματα. οἵ γε μὴν περὶ Σατορνῖνον ἐν Συρίᾳ πάντες ἐνεπλήσθησαν τῶν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ δωρεῶν. ἐμισεῖτο δὲ διδοὺς πλεῖον, ὡς ἂν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ μεγαλοψύχου χαριζόμενος ἀλλ’ ἀναλίσκων κατὰ δέος. [555]

συνέβαινεν δὲ τοὺς μὲν λαμβάνοντας οὐδὲν μᾶλλον εὔνους γίνεσθαι, χαλεπωτέρους δ᾽ ἐχθροὺς οἷς μὴ διδοίη. λαμπροτέρας δὲ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διαδόσεις ὁρῶν τὸν βασιλέα παρ᾽ ἃς αὐτὸς ἐλπίδας εἶχεν ἐπιμελούμενον τῶν ὀρφανῶν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνῃρημένοις μετάνοιαν ἐμφαίνοντα δι᾽ ὧν ἠλέει τοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνων.

(2) [556] Συναγαγὼν γάρ ποτε Ἡρώδης συγγενεῖς τε καὶ φίλους παραστησάμενός τε τὰ παιδία καὶ δακρύων ἐμπλήσας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς εἶπεν: "ἐμὲ τοὺς μὲν τούτων πατέρας δαίμων σκυθρωπὸς ἀφείλετο, ταῦτα δέ μοι μετὰ τῆς φύσεως συνίστησιν ἔλεος ὀρφανίας. πειρῶμαι δ᾽, εἰ καὶ πατὴρ ἐγενόμην ἀτυχέστατος, πάππος γοῦν γενέσθαι κηδεμονικώτερος καὶ μετ᾽ ἐμὲ ἡγεμόνας αὐτοῖς ἀπολιπεῖν τοὺς ἐμοὶ φιλτάτους. [557] ἐγγυῶ δὲ τὴν μὲν σήν, ὦ Φερώρα, θυγατέρα τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου παίδων, ἵνα ᾖς αὐτῷ κηδεμὼν ἀναγκαῖος, τῷ δὲ σῷ παιδί, Ἀντίπατρε, τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου θυγατέρα: γένοιο γὰρ ἂν οὕτω πατὴρ τῆς ὀρφανῆς. καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς ὁ ἐμὸς Ἡρώδης λήψεται πρὸς μητρὸς ὢν ἀρχιερέως πάππου. [558] τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐμὰ ταύτην ἐχέτω τὴν κρίσιν, ἣν διακόψῃ μηδεὶς τῶν ἐμὲ φιλούντων: ἐπεύχομαι δὲ καὶ τῷ θεῷ συναρμόσαι τοὺς γάμους ἐπὶ συμφέροντι τῆς ἐμῆς βασιλείας καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐκγόνων τά τε παιδία ταυτὶ γαληνοτέροις ἐπιδεῖν ὄμμασιν ἢ τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν."

(3) [559] [ἐπειδὴ] ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπεδάκρυσέν τε καὶ τῶν παίδων συνήρμοσεν τὰς δεξιάς, ἔπειτα κατασπασάμενος ἕκαστον φιλοφρόνως διέλυσεν τὸ συνέδριον. ἐπαχνώθη δ᾽ εὐθὺς Ἀντίπατρος καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἅπασιν ὀδυνώμενος: ὑπελάμβανεν γὰρ εἶναι παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ τὴν τῶν ὀρφανῶν τιμὴν ἑαυτοῦ κατάλυσιν αὖθίς τε κινδυνεύσειν περὶ τῶν ὅλων, εἰ πρὸς Ἀρχελάῳ καὶ Φερώραν ὄντα τετράρχην βοηθὸν ἔχοιεν οἱ Ἀλεξάνδρου παῖδες. [560] συνελογίζετο δὲ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μῖσος καὶ τὸν τῶν ὀρφανῶν ἔλεον ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους, ὅση τε σπουδὴ ζώντων καὶ ὅση μνήμη παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις τῶν δι᾽ αὐτὸν ἀπολωλότων ἦν ἀδελφῶν. ἔγνω δὴ πάντα τρόπον διακόπτειν τὰς ἐγγύας.

(4) [561] Καὶ τὸ μὲν ὑπιέναι πανούργως ἔδεισε τὸν πατέρα χαλεπὸν ὄντα καὶ πρὸς τὰς ὑποψίας κινούμενον ὀξέως, ἐτόλμησεν δὲ προσελθὼν ἱκετεύειν ἄντικρυς μὴ στερίσκειν αὐτὸν ἧς ἠξίωσεν τιμῆς, μηδὲ αὐτῷ μὲν ὄνομα βασιλείας, δύναμιν δὲ ὑπάρχειν ἄλλοις: οὐ γὰρ κρατήσειν τῶν πραγμάτων, εἰ πρὸς Ἀρχελάῳ πάππῳ καὶ Φερώραν κηδεστὴν ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου παῖς προσλάβοι. [562] κατηντιβόλει δὲ πολλῆς οὔσης γενεᾶς κατὰ τὸ βασίλειον μεταθεῖναι τοὺς γάμους: ἦσαν γὰρ τῷ βασιλεῖ γυναῖκες μὲν ἐννέα, τέκνα δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἑπτά, αὐτὸς μὲν Ἀντίπατρος ἐκ Δωρίδος, Ἡρώδης δ᾽ ἐκ Μαριάμμης τῆς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως θυγατρός, Ἀντίπας δὲ καὶ Ἀρχέλαος ἐκ Μαλθάκης τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος, καὶ θυγάτηρ Ὀλυμπιάς, ἣν ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς αὐτοῦ Ἰώσηπος εἶχεν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἱεροσολυμίτιδος Κλεοπάτρας Ἡρώδης καὶ Φίλιππος, ἐκ δὲ Παλλάδος Φασάηλος. [563] ἐγένοντο δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλαι θυγατέρες Ῥωξάνη τε καὶ Σαλώμη, ἡ

μὲν ἐκ Φαίδρας, ἡ δὲ ἐξ Ἐλπίδος. δύο δ᾽ εἶχεν ἀτέκνους, ἀνεψιάν τε καὶ ἀδελφιδῆν. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων δύο ἀδελφὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου τὰς ἐκ Μαριάμμης. οὔσης δὲ πολυπροσώπου τῆς γενεᾶς ὁ Ἀντίπατρος ἐδεῖτο μετατεθῆναι τοὺς γάμους.

(5) [564] Χαλεπῶς δ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἠγανάκτησεν καταμαθὼν αὐτοῦ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ὀρφανοὺς ἦθος, ἔννοιά τε αὐτῷ παρέστη περὶ τῶν ἀνῃρημένων, μή ποτε κἀκεῖνοι γένοιντο τῶν Ἀντιπάτρου διαβολῶν ἀγώνισμα. [565] τότε μὲν οὖν πολλὰ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀποκρινάμενος ἀπελαύνει τὸν Ἀντίπατρον, αὖθις δὲ ὑπαχθεὶς αὐτοῦ ταῖς κολακείαις μεθηρμόσατο, καὶ αὐτῷ μὲν τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου συνῴκισεν θυγατέρα, τὸν δὲ υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τῇ Φερώρα θυγατρί.

(6) [566] Καταμάθοι δ᾽ ἄν τις, ὅσον ἴσχυσεν ἐν τούτοις κολακεύων Ἀντίπατρος, ἐκ τοῦ Σαλώμην ἐν ὁμοίοις ἀποτυχεῖν. ταύτην γὰρ δὴ καίπερ οὖσαν ἀδελφὴν καὶ πολλὰ διὰ Λιουίας τῆς γυναικὸς Καίσαρος ἱκετεύουσαν γαμηθῆναι τῷ Ἄραβι Συλλαίῳ, διωμόσατο μὲν ἐχθροτάτην ἕξειν, εἰ μὴ παύσαιτο τῆς σπουδῆς, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ἄκουσαν Ἀλεξᾷ τινι τῶν φίλων συνῴκισεν καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων αὐτῆς τὴν μὲν τῷ Ἀλεξᾷ παιδί, τὴν δ᾽ ἑτέραν τῷ πρὸς μητρὸς Ἀντιπάτρου θείῳ. τῶν δ᾽ ἐκ Μαριάμμης θυγατέρων ἡ μὲν ἀδελφῆς υἱὸν Ἀντίπατρον εἶχεν, ἡ δὲ ἀδελφοῦ Φασάηλον.

XXIX

(1) [567] Διακόψας δὲ τὰς τῶν ὀρφανῶν ἐλπίδας ὁ Ἀντίπατρος καὶ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον αὐτῷ τὰς ἐπιγαμίας ποιησάμενος ὡς ἐπὶ βεβαίοις μὲν ὥρμει ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, προσλαβὼν δὲ τῇ κακίᾳ τὸ πεποιθὸς ἀφόρητος ἦν: τὸ γὰρ παρ᾽ ἑκάστῳ μῖσος ἀποσκευάσασθαι μὴ δυνάμενος ἐκ τοῦ φοβερὸς εἶναι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἐπορίζετο. [568] συνήργει δὲ καὶ Φερώρας ὡς ἂν ἤδη καὶ βασιλεῖ βεβαίῳ. γίνεται δὲ καὶ γυναικῶν σύνταγμα κατὰ τὴν αὐλήν, ὃ νεωτέρους ἐκίνησεν θορύβους: ἡ γὰρ Φερώρα γυνὴ μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς προσλαβοῦσα καὶ τὴν Ἀντιπάτρου μητέρα πολλὰ μὲν ἠσέλγαινεν κατὰ τὸ βασίλειον, ἐτόλμησεν δὲ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ὑβρίσαι δύο θυγατέρας, δι᾽ ἃ δὴ μάλιστα ταύτην ἐκεῖνος προβέβλητο: μισούμεναί γε μὴν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπεκράτουν. [569] μόνη δὲ τῆς ὁμονοίας αὐτῶν ἀντίπαλος ἦν Σαλώμη καὶ βασιλεῖ διέβαλλεν τὴν σύνοδον ὡς οὐκ ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθῷ τῶν αὐτοῦ πραγμάτων εἴη. γνοῦσαι δ᾽ ἐκεῖναι τὴν διαβολὴν καὶ ὡς ἀγανακτήσειεν Ἡρώδης, τῆς μὲν φανερᾶς συνόδου καὶ τῶν φιλοφρονήσεων ἐπαύσαντο, τοὐναντίον δ᾽ ὑπεκρίνοντο καὶ διαφέρεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἀκούοντος βασιλέως: αἷς συνυπεκρίνετο καὶ Ἀντίπατρος ἐν τῷ φανερῷ προσκρούων Φερώρᾳ. [570] συνουσίαι δὲ ἦσαν αὐτῶν λάθρα καὶ κῶμοι νυκτερινοί, τήν τε ὁμόνοιαν ἡ παρατήρησις ἐπέτεινεν. ἠγνόει δὲ οὐδὲν Σαλώμη τῶν πραττομένων καὶ πάντα Ἡρώδῃ διήγγελλεν.

(2) [571] Ἐξεκαίετο δ᾽ ἐκεῖνος εἰς ὀργὴν καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τὴν Φερώρου γυναῖκα: ταύτην γὰρ πλέον ἡ Σαλώμη διέβαλλεν. ἀθροίσας οὖν συνέδριον τῶν τε φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ τῆς ἀνθρώπου κατηγόρει καὶ τὴν εἰς τὰς ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρας ὕβριν, ὅτι τε Φαρισαίοις μὲν χορηγήσειεν μισθοὺς κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῷ κατασκευάσειεν πολέμιον ἐνδησαμένη φαρμάκοις. [572] τελευταῖον δ᾽ εἰς Φερώραν ἀπέστρεφεν τὸν λόγον, δυοῖν θάτερον ἑλέσθαι λέγων, ἢ ἑαυτὸν ἀδελφὸν ἢ τὴν γυναῖκα. τοῦ δὲ θᾶττον ἀπολείψειν τὸ ζῆν ἢ τὴν γυναῖκα φήσαντος, οὐκ ἔχων ὅ τι χρὴ δρᾶν μετέβαινεν ἐπ᾽ Ἀντίπατρον, ᾧ παρήγγειλεν μήτε τῇ Φερώρα γυναικὶ μήτε αὐτῷ μήτ᾽ ἄλλῳ τινὶ τῶν ἐκείνης διαλέγεσθαι. ὁ δὲ φανερῶς μὲν οὐ μετέβαινεν τὸ πρόσταγμα, λάθρα δὲ διενυκτέρευεν σὺν ἐκείνοις. [573] καὶ δεδοικὼς τὴν ἐπιτηροῦσαν Σαλώμην πραγματεύεται διὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας φίλων τὴν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀποδημίαν αὐτῷ: γραψάντων γὰρ ἐκείνων δεῖν Ἀντίπατρον διὰ χρόνου πεμφθῆναι πρὸς Καίσαρα, ὁ δὲ οὔ τι μελλήσας ἐξέπεμψεν θεραπείαν τε λαμπρὰν καὶ πλεῖστα δοὺς χρήματα τήν τε διαθήκην κομίζειν, ἐν ᾗ βασιλεὺς μὲν Ἀντίπατρος ἐγέγραπτο, Ἀντιπάτρου δὲ Ἡρώδης διάδοχος ὁ ἐκ Μαριάμμης τῆς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως θυγατρὸς γεγονώς.

(3) [574] Ἔπλευσεν δὲ καὶ Συλλαῖος ὁ Ἄραψ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης, ἠμεληκὼς μὲν τῶν Καίσαρος προσταγμάτων, ἀνταγωνιούμενος δὲ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον περὶ ὧν δεδίκαστο Νικολάῳ τάχιον. οὐ μικρὸς δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς Ἀρέταν ἦν ἀγὼν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βασιλέα: τούτου γὰρ ἄλλους τε φίλους ἀνῃρήκει καὶ Σόαιμον τῶν ἐν Πέτρᾳ δυνατωτάτων. [575] πείσας δὲ πολλοῖς χρήμασιν Φάβατον τὸν Καίσαρος διοικητὴν ἐχρῆτο βοηθῷ καὶ καθ᾽ Ἡρώδου. πλείονα δὲ δοὺς Ἡρώδης ἀφίστησίν τε ἀπὸ Συλλαίου Φάβατον καὶ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ τὰ κελευσθέντα ὑπὸ Καίσαρος εἰσέπραττεν. ὁ δὲ μηδὲν ἀποδοὺς ἔτι καὶ κατηγόρει Φαβάτου παρὰ Καίσαρι, διοικητὴν εἶναι λέγων οὐ τῶν ἐκείνῳ, τῶν δὲ Ἡρώδῃ συμφερόντων. [576] ἐφ᾽ οἷς ὀργισθεὶς Φάβατος, ἦν δ᾽ ἔτι παρὰ Ἡρώδῃ μάλιστα τιμώμενος, γίνεται προδότης Συλλαίου τῶν ἀπορρήτων τῷ τε βασιλεῖ φησιν, ὅτι Συλλαῖος διαφθείρειεν αὐτοῦ τὸν σωματοφύλακα Κόρινθον χρήμασιν, ὃν δεῖ φυλάττεσθαι. πείθεται δ᾽ ὁ βασιλεύς: καὶ γὰρ τέθραπτο μὲν ὁ Κόρινθος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ, γένος δ᾽ ἦν Ἄραψ. [577] συλλαμβάνει δ᾽ εὐθέως οὐκ αὐτὸν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ δύο ἑτέρους Ἄραβας εὑρὼν παρ᾽ αὐτῷ, τὸν μὲν φίλον Συλλαίου τὸν δὲ φύλαρχον. οἱ δὲ βασανιζόμενοι πεῖσαι Κόρινθον ὡμολόγησαν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς χρήμασιν Ἡρώδην ἀνελεῖν. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἀνακριθέντες καὶ παρὰ Σατορνίνῳ τῷ διέποντι τὴν Συρίαν ἀνεπέμφθησαν εἰς Ῥώμην.

(4) [578] Ἡρώδης δὲ οὐκ ἀνίει Φερώραν βιαζόμενος ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς γυναικὸς οὐδ᾽ ἐπενόει μηχανὴν δι᾽ ἧς ἂν τιμωρήσαιτο τὴν ἄνθρωπον πολλὰς τοῦ μίσους ἔχων αἰτίας, ἕως ὑπεραγανακτήσας σὺν αὐτῇ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐκβάλλει. [579] Φερώρας δὲ ἀγαπήσας τὴν ὕβριν ἀπαλλάσσεται μὲν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τετραρχίαν ὀμόσας ὅρον ἔξειν ἕνα τῆς φυγῆς τὸν Ἡρώδου θάνατον καὶ μηδέποτε πρὸς

ζῶντα ὑποστρέψειν, ἐπανῆλθεν δὲ οὐδὲ πρὸς νοσοῦντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν καίτοι λιπαρῶς μεταπεμπόμενον: ἐβούλετο γὰρ αὐτῷ τινας ἐντολὰς καταλείψειν ὡς τεθνηξόμενος. [580] ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν παρ᾽ ἐλπίδα σώζεται, μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ νοσεῖ Φερώρας, εὑρίσκετο δὲ Ἡρώδης μετριώτερος: καὶ γὰρ ἥκει πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ συμπαθῶς ἐθεράπευεν. οὐ μὴν ὑπερίσχυσεν τοῦ πάθους: μετὰ γὰρ ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἀποθνήσκει Φερώρας. [581] ὃν καίπερ ἀγαπήσας Ἡρώδης μέχρι τελευταίας ἡμέρας ὅμως καὶ αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν ἐφημίσθη φαρμάκῳ. τόν γε μὴν νεκρὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα κομίσας πένθος τε μέγιστον ὅλῳ τῷ ἔθνει κατήγγειλεν καὶ κηδείας ἠξίωσεν λαμπροτάτης. ἕνα μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου φονέων τοιοῦτον περιέρχεται τέλος.

XXX

(1) [582] Μετέβαινεν δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸν αὐθέντην Ἀντίπατρον ἡ ποινὴ τὸν Φερώρα θάνατον ἀρχὴν λαβοῦσα. τῶν τούτου γάρ τινες ἀπελευθέρων κατηφεῖς τῷ βασιλεῖ προσελθόντες τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ διεφθάρθαι φαρμάκοις ἔλεγον: προσενεγκεῖν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ τι τὴν γυναῖκα τῶν οὐ συνήθως ἐσκευασμένων, φαγόντα δ᾽ εὐθέως εἰς τὴν νόσον καταπεσεῖν. [583] ἀγηοχέναι τε πρὸ δυοῖν ἡμερῶν τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν γύναιον ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίας φαρμάκων ἔμπειρον, ὅπως φίλτρον σκευάσῃ τῷ Φερώρᾳ, δεδωκέναι δὲ ἀντὶ τούτου θανάσιμον Συλλαίου πραγματευσαμένου: τούτῳ γὰρ ἦν γνώριμον.

(2) [584] Πληγεὶς οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑποψίαις πλείοσιν θεραπαίνας τε καί τινας τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἐβασάνιζεν. ἐβόα δέ τις ἐν ταῖς ἀλγηδόσιν “θεὸς ὁ γῆν καὶ οὐρανὸν διέπων μετέλθοι τὴν τούτων ἡμῖν τῶν κακῶν αἰτίαν, τὴν Ἀντιπάτρου μητέρα.” ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς λαβόμενος ἐπεξῄει πρόσω τὴν ἀλήθειαν. [585] ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τήν τε φιλίαν τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου μητρὸς πρὸς Φερώραν καὶ τὰς ἐκείνου γυναῖκας ἐδήλου καὶ τὰς λαθραίας αὐτῶν συνόδους, ὅτι τε Φερώρας καὶ Ἀντίπατρος σὺν ἐκείναις πίνοιεν ὑποστρέφοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως δι᾽ ὅλης νυκτὸς μηδένα μήτε οἰκέτην μήτε θεράπαιναν ἐῶντες παρατυγχάνειν. μία δὴ τῶν ἐλευθέρων ταῦτα μηνύει.

(3) [586] Τὰς δὲ δούλας χωρὶς ἑκάστην Ἡρώδης ἐβασάνιζεν. ἐρρήθη δὲ παρὰ πάσαις τὰ προειρημένα σύμφωνα, καὶ διότι κατὰ συνθήκην Ἀντίπατρος μὲν εἰς Ῥώμην, Φερώρας δ᾽ ὑποχωρήσειεν εἰς τὴν Περαίαν: πολλάκις γὰρ αὐτοὺς διαλαλεῖν, ὡς μετ᾽ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Ἀριστόβουλον ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς Ἡρώδης μεταβήσεται καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας. οὐ γὰρ φείσεσθαι μετὰ Μαριάμμην καὶ τοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνης ἑτέρου τινός, ὥστε ἄμεινον εἶναι φεύγειν ὡς πορρωτάτω τοῦ θηρίου. [587] πολλάκις δὲ ἀποδυρόμενον πρὸς τὴν μητέρα τὸν Ἀντίπατρον εἰπεῖν, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν εἴη πολιὸς ἤδη, νεάζοι δὲ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ὁ πατήρ, φθάσαι δ᾽ ἂν τάχα καὶ τελευτήσας πρὶν ἄρξασθαι βασιλείας ἀληθοῦς. εἰ δὲ καί ποτε ἐκεῖνος

τελευτήσειεν: πότε δ᾽ ἂν γένοιτο τοῦτο; παντάπασιν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τῆς διαδοχῆς γίνεσθαι σύντομον. [588] ὑποβλαστάνειν δὲ τὰς τῆς ὕδρας κεφαλάς, τοὺς Ἀριστοβούλου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου παῖδας. ἀφῃρῆσθαι δ᾽ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τέκνοις ἐλπίδα: διάδοχον γὰρ οὐ τῶν αὐτοῦ τινα παίδων μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐκ Μαριάμμης Ἡρώδην γεγραφέναι. καὶ κατὰ τοῦτό γε παντάπασιν παραγηρᾶν οἰόμενον αὐτοῦ καὶ διαθήκας μενεῖν κυρίας: αὐτὸν γὰρ προνοήσειν μηδένα τῆς γενεᾶς ἀπολιπεῖν. [589] ὄντα γε μὴν τῶν πώποτε πατέρων μισοτεκνότατον Ἡρώδην πολὺ μᾶλλον εἶναι μισάδελφον: δοῦναι γοῦν αὐτῷ πρῴην ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ διαλέγεσθαι Φερώρᾳ. τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος "τί γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐβλάπτομεν;" ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸν Ἀντίπατρον "εἴθε πάντα ἡμᾶς ἀφελόμενος γυμνοὺς ἐάσειεν ζῶντας. ἀλλ᾽ ἀμήχανον ἐκφυγεῖν οὕτω φονικὸν θηρίον, παρ᾽ ᾧ μηδὲ φιλεῖν τινας ἔξεστι φανερῶς. λάθρα γοῦν νῦν ἀλλήλοις σύνεσμεν, ἐξέσται δὲ φανερῶς, ἐὰν σχῶμέν ποτε ἀνδρῶν φρόνημα καὶ χεῖρας."

(4) [590] Ταῦτ᾽ ἔλεγον αἱ βασανιζόμεναι, καὶ ὅτι Φερώρας βουλεύσαιτο φυγεῖν μετ᾽ αὐτῶν εἰς Πέτραν. ἐπίστευσεν δ᾽ Ἡρώδης πᾶσιν τοῖς λεγομένοις ἐκ τῶν ἑκατὸν ταλάντων: μόνῳ γὰρ Ἀντιπάτρῳ διείλεκτο περὶ αὐτῶν. ἀποσκήπτει δ᾽ εἰς πρώτην ὁ θυμὸς Δωρίδα τὴν Ἀντιπάτρου μητέρα: καὶ γυμνώσας αὐτὴν παντὸς οὗ δεδώρητο κόσμου, πολλῶν δ᾽ ἦν ταλάντων, ἐκβάλλει δεύτερον. [591] τὰς δὲ Φερώρου γυναῖκας ἀπὸ τῶν βασάνων ἐτημέλει διηλλαγμένος. ἐπτόητο δὲ τῷ φόβῳ καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ὑπόνοιαν ἐξερριπίζετο πολλούς τε τῶν οὐκ αἰτίων εἶλκεν εἰς βασάνους δεδοικώς, μή τινα τῶν αἰτίων παραλίπῃ.

(5) [592] Κἀν τούτῳ τρέπεται πρὸς τὸν Σαμαρείτην Ἀντίπατρον, ὃς ἦν ἐπίτροπος Ἀντιπάτρου. βασανίζων δὲ αὐτὸν ἤκουσεν ὅτι μετεπέμψατο μὲν Ἀντίπατρος ἐξ Αἰγύπτου δηλητήριον φάρμακον ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν διά τινος τῶν ἑταίρων Ἀντιφίλου, λάβοι δὲ παρ᾽ ἐκείνου Θευδίων ὁ θεῖος Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ παραδοίη Φερώρᾳ: τούτῳ γὰρ ἐντείλασθαι τὸν Ἀντίπατρον Ἡρώδην ἀνελεῖν ἕως αὐτός ἐστιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῆς ὑπονοίας κεχωρισμένος: Φερώραν δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ παραθέσθαι τὸ φάρμακον. [593] ταύτην ὁ βασιλεὺς μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτίκα τὸ ληφθὲν ἐκέλευσεν κομίζειν. ἡ δ᾽ ἔξεισι μὲν ὡς κομιοῦσα, ῥίπτει δ᾽ ἑαυτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους τόν τε ἔλεγχον καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως αἰκίαν φθάνουσα: προνοίᾳ δ᾽, ὡς ἔοικεν, θεοῦ μετιόντος Ἀντίπατρον οὐκ ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ θάτερα πεσοῦσα διασώζεται. [594] κομισθεῖσαν δ᾽ αὐτὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνακτησάμενος, κεκάρωτο γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ πτώματος, ἠρώτα δι᾽ ἣν αἰτίαν ῥίψειεν ἑαυτήν, εἰ μὲν εἴποι τἀληθές, ἀφήσειν πάσης τιμωρίας ἐπομνύμενος, εἰ δ᾽ ὑποστείλαιτο, δαπανήσειν αὐτῆς ἐν βασάνοις τὸ σῶμα καὶ μηδὲ τάφῳ καταλείψειν.

(6) [595] Πρὸς ταῦθ᾽ ἡ γυνὴ μικρὸν διαλιποῦσα "καὶ τί γάρ, εἶπεν, ἔτι φείδομαι τῶν ἀπορρήτων Φερώρα τεθνεῶτος ἢ σώζουσα τὸν ἀπολέσαντα πάντας ἡμᾶς Ἀντίπατρον; ἄκουε, βασιλεῦ, καὶ μετὰ σοῦ θεὸς ὁ μάρτυς ἐμοὶ τῆς ἀληθείας πλανηθῆναι μὴ δυνάμενος: [596] ὅτε ἀποθνήσκοντι Φερώρᾳ παρεκαθέζου

δεδακρυμένος, τότε με προσκαλεσάμενος ἐκεῖνος "ἦ πολύ γε, ἔφη, ὦ γύναι, τῆς εἰς ἐμαυτὸν διανοίας τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ διήμαρτον, τὸν οὕτως στέργοντα μισήσας καὶ κτεῖναι βουλευσάμενος τὸν οὕτως ἐπ᾽ ἐμοὶ μηδὲ τεθνεῶτί πω συγχεόμενον. ἀλλ᾽ ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπέχω τῆς ἀσεβείας τὸ ἐπιτίμιον, σὺ δ᾽ ὃ φυλάσσεις κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ φάρμακον ὑπ᾽ Ἀντιπάτρου καταλειφθὲν ἡμῖν φέρε καὶ βλέποντός μου ταχέως ἀφάνισον, ἵνα μὴ καὶ καθ᾽ [597] ᾅδου φέροιμι τὸν ἀλάστορα." καὶ κελεύσαντος ἐκόμισα καὶ πλεῖστον μὲν εἰς τὸ πῦρ ὁρῶντος αὐτοῦ κατεκένωσα, βραχὺ δὲ ἐμαυτῇ πρὸς τὰ ἄδηλα καὶ τὸν ἐκ σοῦ φόβον ἐτήρησα."

(7) [598] Ταῦτ᾽ εἰποῦσα προκομίζει τὴν πυξίδα παντάπασιν ἔχουσαν τοῦ φαρμάκου βραχύ. βασιλεὺς δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὴν μητέρα τὴν Ἀντιφίλου καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὰς βασάνους μετέφερεν, κἀκεῖνοι τὸν Ἀντίφιλον κομίσαι τε ἀπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου τὴν πυξίδα ὡμολόγουν καὶ λαβεῖν παρ᾽ ἀδελφοῦ τὸ φάρμακον ἔφασκον ἰατρεύοντος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ. [599] περιιόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου δαίμονες ἅπαν τὸ βασίλειον ἐρευνηταί τε καὶ μηνυταὶ τῶν ἀδήλων ἐγίνοντο τούς τε πορρωτάτω τῆς ὑποψίας ὄντας ἔσυρον εἰς τοὺς ἐλέγχους. εὑρίσκεται γοῦν καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως θυγάτηρ Μαριάμμη τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς συνίστωρ: [600] βασανιζόμενοι γὰρ τοῦτ᾽ ἀπέδειξαν αὐτῆς οἱ ἀδελφοί. βασιλεὺς δὲ τῆς μητρῴας τόλμης καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἠμύνατο: τὸν γοῦν ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἡρώδην ὄντα διάδοχον Ἀντιπάτρου τῆς διαθήκης ἐξήλειψεν.

XXXI

(1) [601] Ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ Βάθυλλος εἰς τοὺς ἐλέγχους συνέδραμεν, ἡ τελευταία πίστις τῶν Ἀντιπάτρῳ βεβουλευμένων: ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἀπελεύθερος αὐτοῦ, κομίζων δ᾽ ἦκεν ἄλλο δηλητήριον ἰοὺς ἀσπίδων καὶ χυλοὺς ἑτέρων ἑρπετῶν, ἵνα εἰ τὸ πρῶτον ἀσθενήσει φάρμακον, τούτῳ Φερώρας μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ὁπλίσαιτο κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως. [602] πάρεργον δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα τόλμης ἐκόμιζεν τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐσκευωρημένας ἐπιστολὰς ὑπ᾽ Ἀντιπάτρου: ἦσαν γὰρ Ἀρχέλαος καὶ Φίλιππος βασιλέως παῖδες ἐπὶ Ῥώμης παιδευόμενοι μειράκιά τε ἤδη καὶ φρονήματος μεστοί. [603] τούτους ἐπανακύπτοντας αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἀποσκευάσασθαι σπεύδων Ἀντίπατρος ἃς μὲν πλάττεται κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπιστολὰς ἐξ ὀνόματος τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης φίλων, οἷς δὲ ἔπειθεν γράψαι διαφθείρας χρήμασιν, ὡς πολλὰ μὲν βλασφημοῖεν τὸν πατέρα, φανερῶς δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Ἀριστόβουλον ὀδύροιντο, πρὸς δὲ τὴν μετάκλησιν ἀγανακτοῖεν: ἤδη δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὁ πατὴρ μετεπέμπετο, καὶ τοῦτο ἦν τὸ μάλιστα ταράσσον Ἀντίπατρον.

(2) [604] Ἔτι δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀποδημίας ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ μένων τοιαύτας κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἠγόραζεν ἐπιστολὰς προσιών τε ὡς ἀνύποπτος εἴη τῷ πατρὶ περὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀπελογεῖτο, τὰ μὲν ψευδῆ λέγων εἶναι τῶν γραφομένων, ἃ δὲ νεότητος ἁμαρτήματα. [605] τηνικαῦτά γε μὴν τοῖς γράφουσιν κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν πλεῖστα

δοὺς χρήματα συμφύρειν ἐπειρᾶτο τὸν ἔλεγχον, ἐσθῆτάς τε πολυτελεῖς καὶ στρωμνὰς ποικίλας ἐκπώματά τε ἀργυρᾶ καὶ χρυσᾶ συνωνούμενος ἄλλα τε πολλὰ τῶν κειμηλίων, ἵνα τῷ πλήθει τῆς εἰς ταῦτα δαπάνης τοὺς εἰς ἐκεῖνα μισθοὺς ἐγκαταγράψῃ: διακόσια γοῦν ἀναλώματος ἀνήνεγκεν τάλαντα, καὶ τούτων μεγίστη πρόφασις ἦν ἡ πρὸς Συλλαῖον δίκη. [606] πάντων δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τότε καὶ τῶν βραχυτέρων ἐν τῷ μείζονι κακῷ διακαλυφθέντων, ὅθ᾽ αἱ μὲν βάσανοι πᾶσαι τὴν πατροκτονίαν, αἱ δ᾽ ἐπιστολαὶ δευτέρας ἀδελφοκτονίας κεκράγεσαν, ὅμως οὐδεὶς τῶν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀφικνουμένων ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτῷ τὰς ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ τύχας καίτοι μεταξὺ τῶν ἐλέγχων καὶ τῆς ἐπανόδου διελθόντων ἑπτὰ μηνῶν: τοσοῦτον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ πάντων μῖσος ἦν. [607] τάχα καὶ τοὺς ἀπαγγέλλειν προῃρημένους οἱ τῶν ἀνῃρημένων δαίμονες ἀδελφῶν ἐφίμουν: γράφει γοῦν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἄφιξιν ἑαυτοῦ ταχεῖαν εὐαγγελιζόμενος, καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ Καίσαρος μετὰ τιμῆς ἀπολυθείη.

(3) [608] Ὁ βασιλεὺς δὲ εἰς χεῖρας λαβεῖν σπεύδων τὸν ἐπίβουλον καὶ δεδοικὼς μή ποτε προγνοὺς φυλάξηται, δι᾽ ἐπιστολῆς ἀνθυπεκρίνετο τά τε ἄλλα φιλοφρονούμενος καὶ σπεύδειν παρακαλῶν: θήσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς πρὸς τὴν μητέρα μέμψεις ἐπειχθέντος: οὐ γὰρ ἠγνόει τὴν ἐκβολὴν τῆς μητρὸς Ἀντίπατρος. [609] πρότερον μὲν οὖν εἰλήφει τὴν περὶ τῆς Φερώρα τελευτῆς ἐπιστολὴν ἐν Τάραντι καὶ μέγιστον ἐποιήσατο πένθος, ὅ τινες ὡς ἐπὶ θείῳ καθύμνουν, ἦν δ᾽, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐπὶ διαμαρτίᾳ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἡ σύγχυσις καὶ οὐ Φερώραν κλαίοντος, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὑπηρέτην: ἤδη δὲ καὶ φόβος ἐπῄει τις αὐτὸν τῶν τετελεσμένων, μή ποτε φωραθείη τὸ φάρμακον. [610] τότε δ᾽ ἐν Κιλικίᾳ λαβὼν ἣν προειρήκαμεν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιστολὴν παραχρῆμα μὲν ἔσπευδεν, ὡς δὲ εἰς Κελένδεριν κατέπλει, λαμβάνει τις αὐτὸν ἔννοια τῶν περὶ τὴν μητέρα κακῶν προμαντευομένης ἤδη καὶ καθ᾽ ἑαυτὴν τῆς ψυχῆς. [611] οἱ μὲν οὖν προμηθέστεροι τῶν φίλων συνεβούλευον μὴ πρότερον ἐμπίπτειν τῷ πατρὶ πρὶν πυθέσθαι σαφῶς δι᾽ ἃς αἰτίας ἐξέβαλεν αὐτοῦ τὴν μητέρα: δεδιέναι γάρ, μή ποτε προσθήκη γένοιτο τῶν κατ᾽ ἐκείνης διαβολῶν. [612] οἱ δὲ ἀσκεπτότεροι καὶ τὴν πατρίδα σπεύδοντες ἰδεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ συμφέρον Ἀντιπάτρῳ σκοποῦντες, ἐπείγεσθαι παρῄνουν καὶ μὴ τῇ μελλήσει παρασχεῖν τῷ πατρὶ μὲν ὑποψίαν φαύλην, τοῖς διαβάλλουσι δὲ ἀφορμήν: καὶ γὰρ νῦν, εἴ τι κεκίνηται κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ, παρὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν γέγονεν: μηδὲ γὰρ ἂν τολμῆσαι παρόντος: ἄτοπον δ᾽ εἶναι δι᾽ ἀδήλους ὑποψίας προδήλων ἀγαθῶν στερίσκεσθαι, καὶ μὴ θᾶττον ἀποδοῦναι μὲν ἑαυτὸν τῷ πατρί, κομίσασθαι δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ μόνῳ σαλεύουσαν. [613] πείθεται τούτοις, ἐνῆγεν γὰρ τὸ δαιμόνιον, καὶ διαπεράσας εἰς τὸν Σεβαστὸν λιμένα τῆς Καισαρείας κατάγεται.

(4) [614] Παρυπήντησεν δ᾽ αὐτῷ παρὰ δόξαν ἐρημία πολλὴ πάντων ἐκτρεπομένων καὶ μηδενὸς προσιέναι τολμῶντος: ἐμισεῖτο μὲν γὰρ ἐπίσης, καὶ τότε φανῆναι τὸ μῖσος ἔσχεν παρρησίαν, πολλοὺς δὲ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως φόβος

ἀπέστρεψεν, ἐπειδὴ πᾶσα πόλις ἤδη τῆς κατ᾽ Ἀντιπάτρου φήμης πεπλήρωτο καὶ μόνος ἠγνόει τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἀντίπατρος: οὔτε δὲ προεπέμφθη λαμπρότερόν τις ἐκείνου πλέοντος ἐπὶ Ῥώμης οὔτε ἀτιμότερον ὑπεδέχθη. [615] ὁ δὲ ἤδη μὲν ἐνενόει τὰς οἴκοι συμφοράς, ἔτι δὲ ἐκ πανουργίας ὑπεκρύπτετο καὶ τῷ δέει τεθνηκὼς ἔνδοθεν σοβαρὸς εἶναι τὸ πρόσωπον ἐβιάζετο. [616] φυγὴ δ᾽ οὐκέτι ἦν οὐδ᾽ ἐκ τῶν περιεχόντων ἀνάδυσις, καὶ σαφὲς μὲν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖ τι τῶν οἴκοθεν ἀπηγγέλλετο διὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπειλήν, ὑπελείπετο δὲ ἐλπὶς ἱλαρωτέρα, τάχα μὲν μηδὲν πεφωρᾶσθαι, τάχα δ᾽, εἴ τι καὶ πεφώραται, διασκευάσειν ἀναιδείᾳ καὶ δόλοις, ἅπερ ἦν αὐτῷ μόνα τὰ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐφόδια.

(5) [617] Φραξάμενος οὖν αὐτοῖς ἦκεν εἰς τὸ βασίλειον δίχα τῶν φίλων: οὗτοι γὰρ ὑβρισθέντες ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου πυλῶνος εἴρχθησαν: ἔτυχεν δ᾽ ἔνδον ὢν Οὔαρος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμών. ὁ δὲ εἴσεισι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τῇ τόλμῃ παρακροτήσας ἑαυτὸν ἤγγιζεν ὡς ἀσπασόμενος. [618] κἀκεῖνος τὰς χεῖρας προβαλὼν καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν παρακλίνας, "ἔστιν, ἐξεβόησεν, καὶ τοῦτο πατροκτόνου τὸ περιπλέκεσθαί μοι θέλειν ἐν τηλικαύταις αἰτίαις ὄντα. φθείρου, δυσσεβεστάτη κεφαλή, μηδέ μου ψαύσῃς πρὶν ἀποσκευάσασθαι τὰ ἐγκλήματα. δίδωμι δέ σοι δικαστήριον καὶ δικαστὴν εὐκαίρως ἥκοντα Οὔαρον. ἴθι καὶ σκέπτου τὴν ἀπολογίαν εἰς αὔριον: παρέχω γάρ σου καιρὸν [619] τοῖς πανουργεύμασιν." πρὸς ταῦτα μηδὲν ὑπ᾽ ἐκπλήξεως ἀποκρίνασθαι δυνηθεὶς αὐτὸς ὑπέστρεψεν, παραγενόμεναι δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκδιηγήσαντο πάντας τοὺς ἐλέγχους ἥ τε μήτηρ καὶ ἡ γυνή. καὶ τότε μὲν ἀνανήψας ἐν σκέψει τῆς ἀπολογίας ἦν.

XXXII

(1) [620] Τῇ δ᾽ ἐπιούσῃ συνέδριον μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀθροίζει τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ φίλων, εἰσκαλεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἀντιπάτρου φίλους. προκαθέζεται δὲ αὐτὸς ἅμα Οὐάρῳ καὶ τοὺς μηνυτὰς πάντας ἐκέλευσεν εἰσαγαγεῖν, ἐν οἷς εἰσήχθησαν καὶ τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου μητρὸς οἰκέται τινὲς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ συνειλημμένοι, κομίζοντες γράμματα παρ᾽ αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν τοιάδε: "ἐπεὶ πεφώραται πάντα ἐκεῖνα τῷ πατρί σου, μὴ παραγίνου πρὸς αὐτόν, ἂν μή τινα πορίσῃ παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος [621] δύναμιν." τούτων σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰσηγμένων Ἀντίπατρος εἰσέρχεται καὶ πεσὼν πρηνὴς πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ πατρός, "ἱκετεύω, πάτερ, ἔφη, μηδέν μου προκατεγνωκέναι, παρασχεῖν δέ μοι τὰς ἀκοὰς ἀκεραίους εἰς τὴν ἀπολογίαν: ἀποδείξω γὰρ ἐμαυτὸν καθαρόν, ἂν σὺ θέλῃς."

(2) [622] Ὁ δ᾽ αὐτῷ σιγᾶν ἐγκραγὼν πρὸς τὸν Οὔαρον εἶπεν: "ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι μὲν καὶ σύ, Οὔαρε, καὶ πᾶς δικαστὴς ὅσιος Ἀντίπατρον ἐξώλη κρινεῖ, πέπεισμαι. δέδοικα δέ, μὴ κἀμοῦ μισήσῃς τὴν τύχην κἀμὲ κρίνῃς πάσης ἄξιον συμφορᾶς τοιούτους υἱοὺς γεγεννηκότα. χρὴ δέ με διὰ τοῦτο ἐλεεῖσθαι πλέον, ὅτι πρὸς

οὕτω μιαροὺς καὶ φιλοστοργότατος πατὴρ ἐγενόμην. [623] τοὺς μὲν γὰρ προτέρους βασιλείας τε ἔτι νέους ἀξιώσας καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ τροφείοις φίλους Καίσαρος, ζηλωτοὺς δὲ ποιήσας βασιλεῦσιν ἑτέροις, εὗρον ἐπιβούλους, οἳ τεθνήκασι τὸ πλέον Ἀντιπάτρῳ: νέῳ γὰρ ὄντι καὶ διαδόχῳ τούτῳ μάλιστα τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἐποριζόμην. [624] τὸ δὲ μιαρὸν τοῦτο θηρίον τῆς ἐμῆς ὑπερεμπλησθὲν ἀνεξικακίας ἤνεγκεν κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ τὸν κόρον: ἔδοξα γὰρ αὐτῷ πολὺν ζῆν χρόνον, καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν γῆρας ἐβαρύνθη βασιλεύς τε οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν εἰ μὴ διὰ πατροκτονίας γενέσθαι, δίκαια γοῦν βουλευσάμενος, ὅτι καταγαγὼν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ἀπερριμμένον καὶ παρωσάμενος τοὺς ἐκ βασιλίδος μοι γεγενημένους ἀπέδειξα τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχον. [625] ἐξομολογοῦμαί σοι, Οὔαρε, τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ φρενοβλάβειαν: ἐγὼ τοὺς υἱοὺς ἐκείνους κατ᾽ ἐμαυτοῦ παρώξυνα δικαίας αὐτῶν ἀποκόψας ἐλπίδας δι᾽ Ἀντίπατρον. καὶ τί μὲν ἐκείνους εὐεργέτησα τηλικοῦτον, ἡλίκον τοῦτον; ᾧ γε ζῶν μὲν ὀλίγου δεῖν παρεχώρησα τῆς ἐξουσίας, φανερῶς δὲ ταῖς διαθήκαις ἐνέγραψα τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχον καὶ πρόσοδον μὲν ἰδίᾳ πεντήκοντα ταλάντων ἔνειμα, τῶν δ᾽ ἐμῶν ἐχορήγησα χρημάτων ἀνέδην, πλέοντι δὲ νῦν εἰς Ῥώμην ἔδωκα τριακόσια τάλαντα, Καίσαρι δ᾽ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς γενεᾶς μόνον ὡς σωτῆρα τοῦ πατρὸς παρεθέμην. [626] τί δ᾽ ἐκεῖνοι τοιοῦτον ἠσέβησαν, οἷον Ἀντίπατρος; ἢ τίς ἔλεγχος ἠνέχθη κατ᾽ αὐτῶν, ἡλίκος ἀποδείκνυσιν τοῦτον ἐπίβουλον; [627] ἀλλὰ φθέγγεσθαί τι τετόλμηκεν ὁ πατροκτόνος καὶ πάλιν δόλοις τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐπικαλύψειν ἐλπίζει. Οὔαρε, σοὶ φυλακτέον: ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶδα τὸ θηρίον καὶ προορῶμαι τὴν μέλλουσαν ἀξιοπιστίαν καὶ τὸν ἐπίπλαστον ὀλοφυρμόν: οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ παραινῶν ἐμοί ποτε φυλάττεσθαι ζῶντα Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ μὴ πᾶσιν πιστεύειν τὸ σῶμα: οὗτος ὁ μέχρι τῆς κοίτης εἰσάγων καὶ μή μέ τις ἐνεδρεύοι περιβλέπων: οὗτος ὁ ταμίας τῶν ὕπνων καὶ χορηγὸς τῆς ἀμεριμνίας, ὁ παραμυθούμενος τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνῃρημένοις λύπην καὶ διακρίνων τὴν τῶν ζώντων εὔνοιαν ἀδελφῶν, ὁ ὑπερασπιστὴς ὁ ἐμός, ὁ σωματοφύλαξ. [628] ὅταν ἀναμνησθῶ, Οὔαρε, τὸ πανοῦργον ἐν ἑκάστῳ καὶ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν, ἀπιστία με τοῦ ζῆν εἰσέρχεται καὶ θαυμάζω, πῶς βαρὺν οὕτως ἐπίβουλον διέφυγον. ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ δαίμων τις ἐξερημοῖ τὸν ἐμὸν οἶκον καί μοι τοὺς φιλτάτους ἐπανίστησιν ἀεί, κλαύσομαι μὲν ἐγὼ τὴν ἄδικον εἱμαρμένην καὶ κατ᾽ ἐμαυτὸν στενάξω τὴν ἐρημίαν, διαφεύξεται δ᾽ οὐδεὶς διψήσας τοὐμὸν αἷμα, κἂν διὰ πάντων μου τῶν τέκνων ὁ ἔλεγχος ἔλθῃ.”

(3) [629] Τοιαῦτα λέγων αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπὸ συγχύσεως ἐνεκόπη, Νικολάῳ δ᾽ ἐνὶ τῶν φίλων λέγειν τὰς ἀποδείξεις ἔνευσεν. μεταξὺ δ᾽ ὁ Ἀντίπατρος ἐπάρας τὴν κεφαλήν, ἔμενεν γὰρ δὴ βεβλημένος πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ πατρός, ἐκβοᾷ: [630] “σύ, πάτερ, ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ πεποίηκας τὴν ἀπολογίαν: πῶς γὰρ ἐγὼ πατροκτόνος, ὃν ὁμολογεῖς φύλακα διὰ παντὸς ἐσχηκέναι; τερατείαν δέ μου καὶ ὑπόκρισιν λέγεις τὴν εὐσέβειαν. πῶς ὁ πανοῦργος ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις οὕτως ἄφρων ἐγενόμην, ὡς μὴ νοεῖν, ὅτι λαθεῖν οὐδ᾽ ἀνθρώπους ῥᾴδιον τηλικοῦτον μύσος ἐνσκευαζόμενον,

τὸν δ᾽ ἀπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ δικαστὴν ἀμήχανον, ὃς ἐφορᾷ πάντα καὶ πανταχοῦ πάρεστιν; [631] ἢ τὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τέλος ἠγνόουν, οὓς ὁ θεὸς οὕτως μετῆλθε τῆς εἰς σὲ κακοβουλίας; τί δέ με καὶ παρώξυνεν κατὰ σοῦ; βασιλείας ἐλπίς; ἀλλ᾽ ἐβασίλευον. ὑπόνοια μίσους; οὐ γὰρ ἐστεργόμην; φόβος ἐκ σοῦ τις ἄλλος: ἀλλὰ μὴν σὲ τηρῶν ἑτέροις φοβερὸς ἦμην. ἔνδεια χρημάτων; [632] καὶ τίνι μᾶλλον ἐξῆν ἀναλίσκειν; εἰ γὰρ ἐξωλέστατος πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐγενόμην καὶ θηρίου ψυχὴν εἶχον ἀνημέρου, πάτερ, οὐκ ἂν ταῖς σαῖς εὐεργεσίαις ἐνικήθην, ὃν κατήγαγες μέν, ὡς ἔφης αὐτός, προέκρινας δὲ τοσούτων τέκνων, ἀπέδειξας δὲ ζῶν βασιλέα, δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ἐποίησας ἐπίφθονον; [633] ὢ τάλας ἐγὼ τῆς πικρᾶς ἀποδημίας, ὡς πολὺν ἔδωκα καιρὸν τῷ φθόνῳ καὶ μακρὰν τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύουσι διωρίαν. σοὶ δέ, πάτερ, καὶ τοῖς σοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἀπεδήμουν, ἵνα μὴ Συλλαῖος τοῦ σοῦ γήρως καταφρονήσῃ. Ῥώμη μοι μάρτυς τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης προστάτης Καῖσαρ, ὁ φιλοπάτορα πολλάκις με εἰπών. λάβε, πάτερ, τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ γράμματα. ταῦτα τῶν ἐνθάδε διαβολῶν πιστότερα, ταῦτα ἀπολογία μοι μόνη, τούτοις τῆς εἰς σὲ φιλοστοργίας τεκμηρίοις χρῶμαι. [634] μέμνησο δὲ ὡς οὐχ ἑκὼν ἔπλεον ἐπιστάμενος τὴν ἐμφωλεύουσαν τῇ βασιλείᾳ κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ δυσμένειαν. σὺ δέ με, πάτερ, ἄκων ἀπώλεσας, ἀναγκάσας καιρὸν διαβολῆς δοῦναι τῷ φθόνῳ. πάρειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐλέγχους, πάρειμι διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ παθὼν ὁ πατροκτόνος. [635] ἀλλὰ μήπω με τούτῳ φίλει τῷ τεκμηρίῳ: κατέγνωσμαι γὰρ καὶ παρὰ θεῷ καὶ παρὰ σοί, πάτερ. κατεγνωσμένος δὲ δέομαι μὴ ταῖς ἄλλων βασάνοις πιστεύειν, ἀλλὰ κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ φερέσθω τὸ πῦρ, ὁδευέτω διὰ τῶν ἐμῶν σπλάγχνων τὰ ὄργανα, μὴ φειδέσθω ὀλοφυρμὸς τοῦ μιαροῦ σώματος: εἰ γὰρ εἰμὶ πατροκτόνος, [636] οὐκ ὀφείλω θνήσκειν ἀβασάνιστος.” τοιαῦτα μετ᾽ ὀλοφυρμοῦ καὶ δακρύων ἐκβοῶν τούς τε ἄλλους ἅπαντας καὶ τὸν Οὔαρον εἰς οἶκτον προυκαλέσατο, μόνον δὲ ὁ θυμὸς Ἠρώδην ἄδακρυν διεκράτει τοὺς ἐλέγχους ἀληθεῖς ἐπιστάμενον.

(4) [637] Ἐν τούτῳ Νικόλαος τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσαντος πολλὰ πρὸς τὸ πανοῦργον τὸ Ἀντιπάτρου προειπὼν καὶ τὸν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ διαχέας ἔλεον, ἔπειτα πικρὰν κατηγορίαν κατετείνατο, πάντα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν κακουργήματα περιτιθεὶς αὐτῷ, μάλιστα δὲ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἀποδεικνὺς ταῖς ἐκείνου διαβολαῖς ἀπολωλότας. ἐπιβουλεύειν δὲ αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν καὶ τοῖς περιοῦσιν ὡς ἐφέδροις τῆς διαδοχῆς: τὸν γὰρ παρασκευάσαντα πατρὶ φάρμακον ἢ πού γ᾽ ἂν ἀδελφῶν ἀποσχέσθαι. [638] προελθὼν δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸν ἔλεγχον τῆς φαρμακείας τάς τε μηνύσεις [ἐξῆς] ἐπεδείκνυεν καὶ περὶ Φερώρα κατεσχετλίαζεν, ὅτι κἀκεῖνον Ἀντίπατρος ποιήσειεν ἀδελφοκτόνον καὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους τῷ βασιλεῖ διαφθείρας ὅλον τοῦ μύσους ἀναπλήσειεν τὸν οἶκον, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις εἰπὼν καὶ ἀποδείξας καταπαύει τὸν λόγον.

(5) [639] Οὔαρος δὲ ἀπολογεῖσθαι κελεύσας τὸν Ἀντίπατρον, ὡς οὐδὲν πλέον εἰπὼν ἢ “θεός ἐστίν μοι τοῦ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν μάρτυς” ἔκειτο σιγῶν, αἰτήσας τὸ

φάρμακον δίδωσί τινι τῶν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ κατακρίτων δεσμώτῃ πιεῖν. [640] τοῦ δὲ παραχρῆμα τελευτήσαντος ὁ μὲν ἀπορρήτους ποιήσας τὰς πρὸς Ἡρώδην ὁμιλίας καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸ συνέδριον Καίσαρι γράψας μετὰ μίαν ἡμέραν χωρίζεται. δεσμεῖ δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίπατρον καὶ πρὸς Καίσαρα τοὺς δηλώσοντας τὴν συμφορὰν ἐξέπεμψεν.

(6) [641] Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ κατὰ Σαλώμης ἐπίβουλος Ἀντίπατρος εὑρίσκεται: τῶν γὰρ Ἀντιφίλου τις οἰκετῶν ἦκεν ἐπιστολὰς κομίζων ἀπὸ Ῥώμης παρὰ Λιουίας θεραπαινίδος Ἀκμῆς τοὔνομα. καὶ παρὰ μὲν ταύτης ἐπέσταλτο βασιλεῖ τὰς παρὰ Σαλώμης ἐπιστολὰς ἐν τοῖς Λιουίας εὑρηκέναι γράμμασιν, πεπομφέναι δὲ αὐτῷ λάθρα δι᾽ εὔνοιαν. [642] αἱ δὲ τῆς Σαλώμης λοιδορίας τε τοῦ βασιλέως περιεῖχον πικροτάτας καὶ κατηγορίαν μεγίστην. ταύτας δὲ πλάσας Ἀντίπατρος καὶ τὴν Ἀκμὴν διαφθείρας ἔπεισεν Ἡρώδῃ πέμψαι. [643] διηλέγχθη δὲ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολῆς: καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τὸ γύναιον ἔγραψεν: “ὡς ἐβουλήθης, ἔγραψά σου τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἐκείνας ἔπεμψα πεπεισμένη τὸν βασιλέα μὴ φείσεσθαι τῆς ἀδελφῆς, ὅταν ἀναγνῷ. καλῶς δὲ ποιήσεις, ἐπειδὰν ἀπαρτισθῇ πάντα, μνημονεύσας ὧν ὑπέσχου.”

(7) [644] Ταύτης φωραθείσης τῆς ἐπιστολῆς καὶ τῶν κατὰ Σαλώμης ἐνσκευασθεισῶν ἔννοια μὲν ἐμπίπτει τῷ βασιλεῖ τάχα καὶ κατ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδρου πλασθῆναι γράμματα, περιαλγὴς δ᾽ ἦν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους ὡς παρ᾽ ὀλίγον καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἀποκτείνας δι᾽ Ἀντίπατρον: [645] οὐκέτι οὖν ἀνεβάλλετο λαβεῖν τιμωρίαν ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων. ὡρμημένος δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ἐπεσχέθη νόσῳ χαλεπῇ: περὶ μέντοι τῆς Ἀκμῆς καὶ τῶν κατὰ Σαλώμης ἐσκευωρημένων ἐπέστειλεν Καίσαρι. [646] τήν τε διαθήκην αἰτήσας μετέγραφεν, καὶ βασιλέα μὲν ἀπεδείκνυεν Ἀντίπαν ἀμελῶν τῶν πρεσβυτάτων Ἀρχελάου καὶ Φιλίππου: διαβεβλήκει γὰρ καὶ τούτους Ἀντίπατρος: Καίσαρι δὲ σὺν τοῖς διὰ χρημάτων δώροις χίλια τάλαντα, τῇ δὲ γυναικὶ καὶ τέκνοις αὐτοῦ καὶ φίλοις καὶ ἀπελευθέροις περὶ πεντακόσια, ἀπένειμεν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν τῆς τε χώρας οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ τῶν χρημάτων: λαμπροτάταις δὲ δωρεαῖς ἐτίμα Σαλώμην τὴν ἀδελφήν. ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς διαθήκαις ταῦτα διωρθώσατο.

XXXIII

(1) [647] Προῄει δ᾽ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ χαλεπώτερον ἡ νόσος ἅτε δὴ τῶν ἁρρωστημάτων ἐν γήρᾳ καὶ ἀθυμίᾳ ἐπιπεσόντων: ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἤδη σχεδὸν ἐτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα, τεταπείνωτο δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ταῖς περὶ τῶν τέκνων συμφοραῖς, ὡς μηδ᾽ ἐν ὑγιείᾳ τι τῶν ἡδέων προσίεσθαι. τῆς νόσου δ᾽ ἦν ἐπίτασις ζῶν Ἀντίπατρος, ὃν οὐκ ἐν παρέργῳ, ῥαίσας δὲ προῄρητο ἀνελεῖν.

(2) [648] Γίνεται δ᾽ ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς αὐτῷ καὶ δημοτική τις ἐπανάστασις. δύο ἦσαν σοφισταὶ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν μάλιστα δοκοῦντες ἀκριβοῦν τὰ πάτρια καὶ διὰ

τοῦτο ἐν παντὶ τῷ ἔθνει μεγίστης ἠξιωμένοι δόξης, Ἰούδας τε υἱὸς Σεπφεραίου καὶ Ματθίας ἕτερος Μαργάλου. [649] τούτοις οὐκ ὀλίγοι προσῆεσαν τῶν νέων ἐξηγουμένοις τοὺς νόμους, καὶ συνεῖχον ὁσημέραι τῶν ἡβώντων στρατόπεδον. οἳ τότε τὸν βασιλέα πυνθανόμενοι ταῖς ἀθυμίαις ὑπορρέοντα καὶ τῇ νόσῳ λόγον καθίεσαν εἰς τοὺς γνωρίμους, ὡς ἄρα καιρὸς ἐπιτηδειότατος εἴη τιμωρεῖν ἤδη τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὰ κατασκευασθέντα παρὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους ἔργα κατασπᾶν. [650] ἀθέμιτον γὰρ εἶναι κατὰ τὸν ναὸν ἢ εἰκόνας ἢ προτομὰς ἢ ζῴου τινὸς ἐπώνυμον ἔργον εἶναι: κατεσκευάκει δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπὲρ τὴν μεγάλην πύλην ἀετὸν χρυσοῦν: ὃν δὴ τότε παρῄνουν ἐκκόπτειν οἱ σοφισταί, καλὸν εἶναι λέγοντες, εἰ καί τις γένοιτο κίνδυνος, ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρίου νόμου θνήσκειν: τοῖς γὰρ οὕτω τελευτῶσιν ἀθάνατόν τε τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν ἐν ἀγαθοῖς αἴσθησιν αἰώνιον παραμένειν, τοὺς δὲ ἀγενεῖς καὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν σοφίας ἀπείρους ἀγνοοῦντας φιλοψυχεῖν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ δι' ἀρετῆς τὸν ἐκ νόσου θάνατον αἱρεῖσθαι.

(3) [651] Ἅμα δὲ τοῖς ἐκείνων λόγοις διεφημίσθη καὶ θνήσκειν ὁ βασιλεύς, ὥστε θαρραλεώτερον ἥπτοντο τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως οἱ νέοι. μέσης γοῦν ἡμέρας καὶ πολλῶν κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀναστρεφομένων σχοίνοις παχείαις καθιμήσαντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους τὸν χρυσοῦν ἀετὸν ἐξέκοπτον πελέκεσιν. [652] ἠγγέλθη δ' εὐθέως τῷ βασιλέως στρατηγῷ, κἀκεῖνος μετὰ χειρὸς οὐκ ὀλίγης ἀναδραμὼν περὶ τεσσαράκοντα νεανίας συλλαμβάνει καὶ κατήγαγεν πρὸς βασιλέα. [653] πυνθανομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ πρῶτον, εἰ τολμήσειαν τὸν χρυσοῦν ἀετὸν ἐκκόπτειν, ὡμολόγουν. ἔπειτα, τίνος κελεύσαντος, ἀπεκρίναντο τοῦ πατρίου νόμου. τί δ' οὕτως γεγήθασιν διερωτήσαντος, ἀναιρεῖσθαι μέλλοντες ἔλεγον, ὅτι πλειόνων ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύσουσιν μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν.

(4) [654] Ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς δι' ὑπερβολὴν ὀργῆς κρείττων τῆς νόσου γενόμενος πρόεισιν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν κατηγορήσας ὡς ἱεροσύλων καὶ προφάσει τοῦ νόμου πειραζόντων τι μεῖζον ἠξίου κολάζειν ὡς ἀσεβεῖς. [655] ὁ δὲ δῆμος δείσας μὴ διὰ πολλῶν ὁ ἔλεγχος ἔλθῃ, παρεκάλει πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς ὑποθεμένους τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἔπειτα τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ συλληφθέντας κολάσαντα τοῖς λοιποῖς τὴν ὀργὴν ἀφιέναι. πείθεται μόλις ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ τοὺς μὲν καθιμήσαντας ἑαυτοὺς ἅμα τοῖς σοφισταῖς κατέκαυσε ζῶντας, τοὺς λοιποὺς δὲ τῶν συλληφθέντων παρέδωκεν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις ἀνελεῖν.

(5) [656] Ἔνθεν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα πᾶν ἡ νόσος διαλαβοῦσα ποικίλοις πάθεσιν ἐμερίζετο: πυρετὸς μὲν γὰρ ἦν οὐ λάβρος, κνησμὸς δὲ ἀφόρητος τῆς ἐπιφανείας ὅλης καὶ κόλου συνεχεῖς ἀλγηδόνες περί τε τοὺς πόδας ὥσπερ ὑδρωπιῶντος οἰδήματα τοῦ τε ἤτρου φλεγμονὴ καὶ δὴ αἰδοίου σηπεδὼν σκώληκας γεννῶσα, πρὸς τούτοις ὀρθόπνοια καὶ δύσπνοια καὶ σπασμοὶ πάντων τῶν μελῶν, ὥστε τοὺς ἐπιθειάζοντας ποινὴν εἶναι τῶν σοφιστῶν τὰ νοσήματα λέγειν. [657] ὁ δὲ παλαιῶν τοσούτοις πάθεσιν ὅμως τοῦ ζῆν ἀντείχετο σωτηρίαν τε ἤλπιζεν καὶ θεραπείας ἐπενόει: διαβὰς γοῦν τὸν Ἰορδάνην τοῖς κατὰ Καλλιρρόην ἐχρῆτο

θερμοῖς: ταῦτα δ᾽ ἔξεισι μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀσφαλτῖτιν λίμνην, ὑπὸ γλυκύτητος δ᾽ ἐστὶ καὶ πότιμα. δόξαν δὲ ἐνταῦθα τοῖς ἰατροῖς ἐλαίῳ θερμῷ πᾶν ἀναθάλψαι τὸ σῶμα χαλασθὲν εἰς πλήρη πύελον ἐκλύει καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὡς τεθνεὼς ἀνέστρεψεν. [658] θορύβου δὲ τῶν θεραπευόντων γενομένου πρὸς μὲν τὴν φωνὴν ἀνήνεγκεν, εἰς δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπογνοὺς τὴν σωτηρίαν τοῖς τε στρατιώταις ἀνὰ πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς ἐκέλευσεν διανεῖμαι καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα τοῖς ἡγεμόσι καὶ τοῖς φίλοις.

(6) [659] Αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποστρέφων εἰς Ἰεριχοῦντα παραγίνεται μελαγχολῶν ἤδη, καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἀπειλῶν αὐτῷ τῷ θανάτῳ προέκοπτεν εἰς ἐπιβολὴν ἀθεμίτου πράξεως: τοὺς γὰρ ἀφ᾽ ἑκάστης κώμης ἐπισήμους ἄνδρας ἐξ ὅλης Ἰουδαίας συναγαγὼν εἰς τὸν καλούμενον ἱππόδρομον ἐκέλευσεν συγκλεῖσαι. [660] προσκαλεσάμενος δὲ Σαλώμην τὴν ἀδελφὴν καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ταύτης Ἀλεξᾶν "οἶδα, ἔφη, Ἰουδαίους τὸν ἐμὸν ἑορτάσοντας θάνατον, δύναμαι δὲ πενθεῖσθαι δι᾽ ἑτέρων καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐπιτάφιον ἔχειν, ἂν ὑμεῖς θελήσητε ταῖς ἐμαῖς ἐντολαῖς ὑπουργῆσαι. τούσδε τοὺς φρουρουμένους ἄνδρας ἐπειδὰν ἐκπνεύσω τάχιστα κτείνατε περιστήσαντες τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἵνα πᾶσα Ἰουδαία καὶ πᾶς οἶκος ἄκων ἐπ᾽ ἐμοὶ δακρύσῃ."

(7) [661] Ταῦτα ἐνετέλλετο, καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ πρέσβεων ἦκον ἐπιστολαί, δι᾽ ὧν Ἀκμὴ μὲν ἀνῃρημένη κελεύσαντος Καίσαρος ἐδηλοῦτο, θανάτῳ δ᾽ Ἀντίπατρος κατάκριτος: ἔγραφόν γε μὴν ὡς, εἰ καὶ φυγαδεύειν αὐτὸν ἐθελήσειεν ὁ πατήρ, ἐπιτρέποι Καῖσαρ. [662] ὁ δὲ βραχὺ μὲν πρὸς τὴν εὐθυμίαν ἀνήνεγκεν, αὖθις δέ, καὶ γὰρ ἐνδείᾳ τροφῆς καὶ βηχὶ σπασμώδει διετείνετο, τῶν ἀλγηδόνων ἡσσηθεὶς φθάσαι τὴν εἱμαρμένην ἐπεβάλλετο. λαβὼν δὲ μῆλον ᾔτησεν καὶ μαχαίριον, εἰώθει γὰρ ἀποτέμνων ἐσθίειν, ἔπειτα περιαθρήσας μή τις ὁ κωλύων εἴη, ἐπῆρεν τὴν δεξιὰν ὡς πλήξων ἑαυτόν. προσδραμὼν δὲ ἐκώλυσεν Ἀχίαβος ὁ ἀνεψιὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν χεῖρα κατασχών. [663] οἰμωγὴ δ᾽ εὐθέως ἤρθη μεγίστη κατὰ τὸ βασίλειον ὡς οἰχομένου βασιλέως, καὶ ταχέως ἀκούσας Ἀντίπατρος ἀναθαρρεῖ τε καὶ γεγηθὼς τοὺς φύλακας ἱκέτευεν ἐπὶ χρήμασιν ἐξαφεῖναι λύσαντας αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ ἡγεμὼν οὐ μόνον ἐκώλυσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλεῖ δραμὼν ἀνήγγειλεν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν. [664] ἀνέκραγεν δ᾽ ἐκεῖνος ἰσχυρότερον τῆς νόσου καὶ παραχρῆμα πέμψας τοὺς δορυφόρους ἀποκτείνει τὸν Ἀντίπατρον. θάψαι δὲ τὸν νεκρὸν αὐτοῦ προστάξας ἐν Ὑρκανίᾳ πάλιν τὰς διαθήκας ἐπανορθοῦται, καὶ διάδοχον μὲν Ἀρχέλαον τὸν πρεσβύτατον υἱὸν ἀδελφὸν δὲ Ἀντιπάτρου γράφει, τετράρχην δὲ Ἀντίπαν.

(8) [665] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τοῦ παιδὸς ἐπιβιοὺς πέντε ἡμέρας τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας ἀφ᾽ οὗ μὲν ἀποκτείνας Ἀντίγονον ἐκράτησεν τῶν πραγμάτων ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ τριάκοντα, ἀφ᾽ οὗ δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀπεδείχθη βασιλεὺς ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα, καὶ κατὰ μὲν τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τύχῃ δεξιᾷ χρησάμενος, εἰ καί τις ἄλλος, ὅστις κατεκτήσατο βασιλείαν ἰδιώτης ὢν καὶ τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ φυλάξας ἰδίοις τέκνοις κατέλιπεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατ᾽ οἶκον ἀτυχέστατος. [666] πρὶν δὲ γνῶναι τὴν

τελευτὴν αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν προελθοῦσα μετὰ τἀνδρὸς ἡ Σαλώμη διαφῆκεν τοὺς δεσμώτας, οὓς κτείνειν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐνετείλατο, μεταπεισθῆναι τὸν βασιλέα λέγουσα καὶ πάλιν ἀναπέμπειν ἕκαστον εἰς τὰ ἴδια. τούτων δ' οἰχομένων ἐδήλουν ἤδη τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ συνῆγον αὐτοὺς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ πλήθους ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἰεριχοῦντα ἀμφιθεάτρῳ. [667] ἔνθα παρελθὼν Πτολεμαῖος ὁ καὶ τὸν σημαντῆρα δακτύλιον παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως πεπιστευμένος τόν τε βασιλέα κατευδαιμονίζει καὶ τὸ πλῆθος παρακαλεῖ καὶ τὴν ἀπολειφθεῖσαν τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀνεγίνωσκεν ἐπιστολήν, ἐν ᾗ πολλὰ περὶ τῆς εἰς τὸν διάδοχον εὐνοίας παρεκάλει. [668] μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν λύσας τὰς ἐπιδιαθήκας ἀνεγίνωσκεν, ἐν αἷς Φίλιππος μὲν τοῦ Τράχωνος καὶ τῶν γειτνιώντων χωρίων κληρονόμος, τετράρχης δ', ὡς προείπαμεν, Ἀντίπας, βασιλεὺς δ' Ἀρχέλαος ἀπεδείκνυτο. [669] τούτῳ δὲ τόν τε δακτύλιον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ Καίσαρι φέρειν ἐνετέλλετο καὶ τὰς διοικήσεις τῆς βασιλείας σεσημασμένας: κύριον γὰρ ἁπάντων ὧν διατάξειεν καὶ βεβαιωτὴν τῶν διαθηκῶν εἶναι Καίσαρα: τά γε μὴν λοιπὰ κατὰ τὰς προτέρας διαθήκας φυλάττειν.

(9) [670] Βοὴ δ' εὐθὺς ἐγένετο τῶν Ἀρχελάῳ συνηδομένων, καὶ κατὰ στῖφος οἱ στρατιῶται μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους προσιόντες ὑπισχνοῦντο μὲν τὴν ἑαυτῶν εὔνοιαν, συνηύχοντο δὲ καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς ταφὴν ἐτρέποντο τοῦ βασιλέως. [671] παρέλιπεν δ' οὐδὲν Ἀρχέλαος εἰς πολυτέλειαν, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὸν βασιλικὸν κόσμον προήνεγκεν συμπομπεύσοντα τῷ νεκρῷ: κλίνη μὲν γὰρ ὁλόχρυσος ἦν διάλιθος, στρωμνὴ δὲ ἁλουργὶς ποικίλη, τὸ σῶμα δ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς πορφύρᾳ κεκαλυμμένον, καὶ διάδημα μὲν ἐπέκειτο τῇ κεφαλῇ, στέφανος δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ χρυσοῦς, τὸ δὲ σκῆπτρον παρὰ τὴν δεξιάν. [672] καὶ περὶ τὴν κλίνην οἵ τε υἱεῖς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συγγενῶν, ἐφ' οἷς οἱ δορυφόροι καὶ τὸ Θρᾴκιον στῖφος Γερμανοί τε καὶ Γαλάται διεσκευασμένοι πάντες ὡς εἰς πόλεμον. [673] προῆγεν δ' ἡ λοιπὴ δύναμις ὡπλισμένη τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν καὶ ταξιάρχοις ἀκολουθοῦντες ἐν κόσμῳ, πεντακόσιοι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τῶν οἰκετῶν καὶ ἀπελευθέρων ἀρωματοφόροι. σταδίους δ' ἐκομίσθη τὸ σῶμα ἑβδομήκοντα εἰς Ἡρώδειον, ὅπου κατὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς ἐτάφη. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἡρώδην τοιοῦτον ἔσχεν πέρας.

Liber II

I

(1) [1] Ἀρχελάῳ δὲ νέων ἦρξε θορύβων ἡ τῆς ἐπὶ Ῥώμην ἀποδημίας ἀνάγκη. πενθήσας γὰρ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν ἐπιτάφιον ἑστίασιν πολυτελῆ τῷ πλήθει παρασχών: ἔθος δὲ τοῦτο παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις πολλοῖς πενίας αἴτιον διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἑστιᾶν οὐκ ἄνευ ἀνάγκης: εἰ γὰρ παραλείποι τις, οὐχ ὅσιος: μεταλαμβάνει μὲν ἐσθῆτα λευκήν, πρόεισι δὲ εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, ἔνθα ποικίλαις αὐτὸν εὐφημίαις ὁ λαὸς ἐκδέχεται. [2] κἀκεῖνος τὸ πλῆθος ἀφ᾽ ὑψηλοῦ βήματος καὶ χρυσοῦ θρόνου δεξιωσάμενος τῆς τε σπουδῆς, ἣν ἐνεδείξαντο περὶ τὴν κηδείαν τοῦ πατρός, εὐχαριστεῖ καὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν θεραπείας ὡς πρὸς βέβαιον ἤδη βασιλέα: φείδεσθαί γε μὴν οὐ μόνον ἔφη τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἕως ἂν αὐτῷ Καῖσαρ ἐπικυρώσῃ τὴν διαδοχήν, ὁ καὶ κατὰ τὰς διαθήκας τῶν ὅλων δεσπότης: [3] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν Ἰεριχοῦντι τῆς στρατιᾶς τὸ διάδημα περιαπτούσης αὐτῷ δεδέχθαι: τοῦ μέντοι προθύμου καὶ τῆς εὐνοίας ὥσπερ τοῖς στρατιώταις οὕτω καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πλήρεις ἀποδώσειν τὰς ἀμοιβάς, ὁπόταν ὑπὸ τῶν κρατούντων βασιλεὺς ἀποδειχθῇ βέβαιος: σπουδάσειν γὰρ ἐν πᾶσιν πρὸς αὐτοὺς φανῆναι τοῦ πατρὸς ἀμείνων.

(2) [4] Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡδόμενον τὸ πλῆθος εὐθέως ἀπεπειρᾶτο τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῦ μεγάλοις αἰτήμασιν: οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐβόων ἐπικουφίζειν τὰς εἰσφοράς, οἱ δὲ ἀναιρεῖν τὰ τέλη, τινὲς δὲ ἀπολύειν τοὺς δεσμώτας. ἐπένευσε δ᾽ ἑτοίμως ἅπασι θεραπεύων τὸ πλῆθος. [5] ἔπειτα θύσας ἐν εὐωχίᾳ μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἦν. ἔνθα δὴ περὶ δείλην ἀθροισθέντες οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν νεωτερίζειν προῃρημένων ἤρξαντο ἰδίου πένθους, ὅτε τὸ κοινὸν ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ πέπαυτο, κατολοφυρόμενοι τοὺς κολασθέντας ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου διὰ τὸν ἐκκοπέντα χρυσοῦν ἀετὸν τῆς πύλης τοῦ ναοῦ. [6] ἦν δὲ τὸ πένθος οὐχ ὑπεσταλμένον, ἀλλ᾽ οἰμωγαὶ διαπρύσιοι καὶ θρῆνος ἐγκέλευστος κοπετοί τε περιηχοῦντες ὅλην τὴν πόλιν ὡς ἂν ἐπ᾽ ἀνδράσιν, οὓς ἔφασκον ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρίων νόμων καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ πυρὶ παραπολέσθαι. [7] τιμωρεῖν δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀνεβόων ἐκ τῶν ὑφ᾽ Ἡρώδου τετιμημένων χρῆναι καὶ πρῶτον τὸν ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου κατασταθέντα παύειν ἀρχιερέα: προσήκειν γὰρ αὐτοῖς εὐσεβέστερον αἱρεῖσθαι καὶ καθαρώτερον.

(3) [8] Πρὸς ἃ παρωξύνετο μὲν Ἀρχέλαος, ἐπεῖχε δὲ τὴν ἄμυναν ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἔξοδον ἐπείξεως, δεδοικὼς μή ποτε τὸ πλῆθος ἐκπολεμώσας κατασχεθείη τῷ κινήματι. διὸ πειθοῖ μᾶλλον ἢ βίᾳ καταστέλλειν ἐπειρᾶτο τοὺς νεωτερίζοντας καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ὑποπέμψας παύσασθαι παρεκάλει. [9] τοῦτον εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν παρελθόντα πρὶν φθέγξασθαί τι λίθοις ἀπήλαυνον οἱ στασιασταὶ καὶ τοὺς μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ σωφρονισμῷ προσιόντας, ἐνίει δὲ πολλοὺς ὁ Ἀρχέλαος, καὶ πάντα

πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀπεκρίναντο δῆλοί τε ἦσαν οὐκ ἠρεμήσοντες εἰ πλήθους ἐπιλάβοιντο. [10] καὶ δὴ τῆς τῶν ἀζύμων ἐνστάσης ἑορτῆς, ἣ πάσχα παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις καλεῖται πολύ τι θυμάτων πλῆθος ἐκδεχομένη, κάτεισι μὲν ἐκ τῆς χώρας λαὸς ἄπειρος ἐπὶ τὴν θρησκείαν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς σοφιστὰς πενθοῦντες ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ συνειστήκεσαν τροφὴν τῇ στάσειποριζόμενοι. [11] πρὸς ὃ δείσας Ἀρχέλαος πρὶν δι᾽ ὅλου τοῦ πλήθους διαδραμεῖν τὴν νόσον ὑποπέμπει μετὰ σπείρας χιλίαρχον προστάξας βίᾳ τοὺς ἐξάρχοντας τῆς στάσεως κατασχεῖν. πρὸς οὓς τὸ πλῆθος ἅπαν παροξύνεται καὶ τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς τῆς σπείρας βάλλοντες λίθοις διέφθειρον, ὁ δὲ χιλίαρχος ἐκφεύγει τραυματίας μόλις. [12] ἔπειθ᾽ οἱ μὲν ὡς μηδενὸς δεινοῦ γεγονότος ἐτρέποντο πρὸς θυσίαν: οὐ μὴν Ἀρχελάῳ δίχα φόνου καθεκτὸν ἔτι τὸ πλῆθος ἐφαίνετο, τὴν δὲ στρατιὰν ἐπαφίησιν αὐτοῖς ὅλην, τοὺς μὲν πεζοὺς διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀθρόους, τοὺς δὲ ἱππεῖς ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον: [13] οἳ θύουσιν ἑκάστοις ἐξαίφνης προσπεσόντες διαφθείρουσι μὲν περὶ τρισχιλίους, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος εἰς τὰ πλησίον ὄρη διεσκέδασαν. εἵποντο δὲ Ἀρχελάου κήρυκες κελεύοντες ἕκαστον ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπ᾽ οἴκου, καὶ πάντες ᾤχοντο τὴν ἑορτὴν ἀπολιπόντες.

II

(1) [14] Αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῶν φίλων Ποπλᾶ καὶ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Νικολάου κατῄει πρὸς θάλασσαν καταλιπὼν ἐπίτροπόν τε τῶν βασιλείων καὶ κηδεμόνα τῶν οἰκείων Φίλιππον. [15] συνεξῄει δ᾽ ἅμα τοῖς τέκνοις Σαλώμη καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφιδοῖ τε καὶ γαμβροί, τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν συναγωνιούμενοι περὶ τῆς διαδοχῆς Ἀρχελάῳ, τὸ δ᾽ ἀληθὲς κατηγορήσοντες περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν παρανομηθέντων.

(2) [16] Συναντᾷ δ᾽ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν Καισάρειαν Σαβῖνος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἐπίτροπος εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἀνιὼν ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν Ἡρώδου χρημάτων. τοῦτον ἐπέσχεν προσωτέρω χωρεῖν ἐπελθὼν Οὔαρος, ὃν διὰ Πτολεμαίου πολλὰ δεηθεὶς Ἀρχέλαος μετεπέμψατο. [17] τότε μὲν οὖν Σαβῖνος Οὐάρῳ χαριζόμενος οὔτ᾽ ἐπὶ τὰς ἄκρας ἔσπευσεν οὔτε τὰ ταμιεῖα τῶν πατρῴων χρημάτων ἀπέκλεισεν Ἀρχελάῳ, μέχρι δὲ τῆς Καίσαρος διαγνώσεως ἠρεμήσειν ὑπέσχετο καὶ διέτριβεν ἐπὶ τῆς Καισαρείας. [18] ὡς δὲ τῶν ἐμποδιζόντων ὁ μὲν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἀπῆρεν, Ἀρχέλαος δὲ εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνήχθη, διὰ τάχους ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ὁρμήσας παραλαμβάνει τὰ βασίλεια καὶ μεταπεμπόμενος τούς τε φρουράρχους καὶ διοικητὰς ἐπειρᾶτο διερευνᾶν τοὺς τῶν χρημάτων ἀναλογισμοὺς τάς τε ἄκρας παραλαμβάνειν. [19] οὐ μὴν οἱ φύλακες τῶν Ἀρχελάου κατημέλουν ἐντολῶν, ἔμενον δὲ φρουροῦντες ἕκαστα καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν ἀνατιθέντες Καίσαρι μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀρχελάῳ.

(3) [20] Κἀν τούτῳ πάλιν Ἀντίπας ἀμφισβητῶν περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐπέξεισιν ἀξιῶν τῆς ἐπιδιαθήκης κυριωτέραν εἶναι τὴν διαθήκην, ἐν ᾗ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς ἐγέγραπτο. συλλήψεσθαι δ᾽ αὐτῷ προυπέσχετο Σαλώμη καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν σὺν Ἀρχελάῳ πλεόντων συγγενῶν. [21] ἐπήγετο δὲ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Νικολάου Πτολεμαῖον ῥοπὴν εἶναι δοκοῦντα διὰ τὴν παρὰ Ἡρώδῃ πίστιν: γεγόνει γὰρ δὴ τῶν φίλων ἐκείνου τιμιώτατος: πλεῖστον μέντοι πεποίθει διὰ δεινότητα λόγων Εἰρηναίῳ τῷ ῥήτορι, διὸ καὶ τοὺς νουθετοῦντας εἴκειν Ἀρχελάῳ κατὰ τὸ πρεσβεῖον καὶ τὰς ἐπιδιαθήκας διεκρούσατο. [22] μεθίστατο δὲ ἐν Ῥώμῃ πάντων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ σπουδὴ τῶν συγγενῶν, οἷς διὰ μίσους ἦν Ἀρχέλαος, καὶ προηγουμένως ἕκαστος αὐτονομίας ἐπεθύμει στρατηγῷ Ῥωμαίων διοικουμένης, εἰ δὲ τοῦτο διαμαρτάνοι, βασιλεύειν Ἀντίπαν ἤθελεν.

(4) [23] Συνήργει δ᾽ αὐτοῖς εἰς τοῦτο καὶ Σαβῖνος δι᾽ ἐπιστολῶν κατηγορήσας μὲν Ἀρχελάου παρὰ Καίσαρι, πολλὰ δ᾽ ἐπαινέσας Ἀντίπαν. [24] συντάξαντες δὲ τὰ ἐγκλήματα οἱ περὶ Σαλώμην ἐνεχείρισαν Καίσαρι, καὶ μετὰ τούτους Ἀρχέλαος τά τε κεφάλαια τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δικαίων γράψας καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοὺς λόγους εἰσπέμπει διὰ Πτολεμαίου. [25] προσκεψάμενος δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὰ παρ᾽ ἀμφοῖν κατ᾽ ἰδίαν τό τε μέγεθος τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς προσόδου, πρὸς οἷς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῆς Ἡρώδου γενεᾶς, προαναγνοὺς δὲ καὶ τὰ παρὰ Οὐάρου καὶ Σαβίνου περὶ τούτων ἐπεσταλμένα, συνέδριον μὲν ἀθροίζει τῶν ἐν τέλει Ῥωμαίων, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸν ἐξ Ἀγρίππα καὶ Ἰουλίας τῆς θυγατρὸς θετὸν παῖδα Γάιον πρώτως ἐκάθισεν, ἀποδίδωσι δὲ λόγον αὐτοῖς.

(5) [26] Ἔνθα καταστὰς ὁ Σαλώμης υἱὸς Ἀντίπατρος, ἦν δὲ τῶν ἐναντιουμένων Ἀρχελάῳ δεινότατος εἰπεῖν, κατηγόρει φάσκων τοῖς μὲν λόγοις ἀμφισβητεῖν ἄρτι βασιλείας Ἀρχέλαον, τοῖς δ᾽ ἔργοις πάλαι γεγονέναι βασιλέα, κατειρωνεύεσθαι δὲ νῦν τῶν Καίσαρος ἀκοῶν, [27] ὃν δικαστὴν τῆς διαδοχῆς οὐ περιέμεινεν, εἴ γε μετὰ τὴν Ἡρώδου τελευτὴν ἐγκαθέτους μὲν ὑποπέμψας τοὺς περιθήσοντας αὐτῷ τὸ διάδημα, προκαθίσας δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ χρηματίσας βασιλεὺς τάξεις τε τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀμείψας καὶ προκοπὰς χαρισάμενος, [28] ἔτι δὲ τῷ δήμῳ πάντα κατανεύσας ὅσων ὡς παρὰ βασιλέως τυχεῖν ἠξίουν καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ μεγίσταις αἰτίαις παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς δεδεμένους λύσας, νῦν ἥκει παρὰ τοῦ δεσπότου σκιὰν αἰτησόμενος βασιλείας, ἧς ἥρπασεν ἑαυτῷ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ποιῶν οὐ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀλλὰ τῶν ὀνομάτων κύριον Καίσαρα. [29] προσωνείδιζεν δ᾽ ὡς καὶ τὸ πένθος κατειρωνεύσατο τοῦ πατρός, μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν μὲν ἐπισχηματίζων τὸ πρόσωπον εἰς λύπην, νύκτωρ δὲ μέχρις κώμων μεθυσκόμενος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὴν ταραχὴν τοῦ πλήθους ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀγανακτήσεως ἔλεγεν γεγονέναι. [30] καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦ λόγου παντὸς ἐναπηρείσατο τῷ πλήθει τῶν περὶ τὸν ναὸν φονευθέντων, οὓς ἐληλυθέναι μὲν ἐφ᾽ ἑορτήν, παρὰ δὲ ταῖς ἰδίαις θυσίαις ὠμῶς ἀπεσφάχθαι: καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ σεσωρεῦσθαι νεκρῶν πλῆθος, ὅσον οὐδ᾽ ἂν ἀλλόφυλος ἐσώρευσεν πόλεμος ἐπελθὼν ἀκήρυκτος. [31] ταύτην μέντοι τὴν

ὠμότητα προσκεψάμενον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν πατέρα μηδ᾽ ἐλπίδος αὐτόν ποτε ἀξιῶσαι βασιλικῆς ἢ ὅτε χεῖρον τὴν ψυχὴν κάμνων τοῦ σώματος ἀκρατὴς ἦν ὑγιαίνοντος λογισμοῦ καὶ οὐδ᾽ ὃν ἔγραφεν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιδιαθήκαις ἤδει διάδοχον, καὶ ταῦτα μηδὲν τὸν ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις μέμψασθαι δυνάμενος, ἃς ἔγραψεν ὑγιαίνων μὲν τὸ σῶμα, καθαρὰν δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχων πάθους παντός. [32] εἰ μέντοι καὶ κυριωτέραν τὴν τοῦ κάμνοντος κρίσιν τιθείη τις, ἀποκεχειροτονῆσθαι βασιλείας Ἀρχέλαον ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς εἰς αὐτὴν παρανομηθεῖσιν: ποταπὸν γὰρ ἂν γενέσθαι λαβόντα τὴν ἀρχὴν παρὰ Καίσαρος τὸν πρὶν λαβεῖν τοσούτους ἀνῃρηκότα;

(6) [33] Πολλὰ τοιαῦτα διεξελθὼν Ἀντίπατρος καὶ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν συγγενῶν παραστησάμενος ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστῳ τῶν κατηγορημένων μάρτυρας καταπαύει τὸν λόγον. [34] ἀνίσταται δὲ Νικόλαος ὑπὲρ Ἀρχελάου, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ φόνον ἀναγκαῖον ἀπέφηνεν: πολεμίους γὰρ γεγονέναι τοὺς ἀνῃρημένους οὐ τῆς βασιλείας μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ δικάζοντος αὐτὴν Καίσαρος. [35] τῶν δ᾽ ἄλλων ἐγκλημάτων συμβούλους ἀπεδείκνυεν αὐτοὺς τοὺς κατηγόρους γεγονέναι. τήν γε μὴν ἐπιδιαθήκην ἠξίου διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα εἶναι κυρίαν, ὅτι βεβαιωτὴν ἐν αὐτῇ Καίσαρα καθίστατο τοῦ διαδόχου: [36] ὁ γὰρ σωφρονῶν ὥστε τῷ δεσπότῃ τῶν ὅλων παραχωρεῖν τῆς ἐξουσίας οὐ δή που περὶ κληρονόμου κρίσιν ἐσφάλλετο, σωφρονῶν δ᾽ ᾑρεῖτο καὶ τὸν καθιστάμενον ὁ γινώσκων τὸν καθιστάντα.

(7) [37] Διεξελθόντος δὲ πάντα καὶ Νικολάου παρελθὼν Ἀρχέλαος προπίπτει τῶν Καίσαρος γονάτων ἡσυχῇ. κἀκεῖνος αὐτὸν μάλα φιλοφρόνως ἀναστήσας ἐνέφηνεν μὲν ὡς ἄξιος εἴη τῆς πατρῴας διαδοχῆς, οὐ μήν τι βέβαιον ἀπεφήνατο. [38] διαλύσας δὲ τοὺς συνέδρους ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν περὶ ὧν διήκουσεν ἐσκέπτετο, εἴτε χρὴ τῶν ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις καταστῆσαί τινα διάδοχον, εἴτε καὶ πάσῃ τῇ γενεᾷ διανεῖμαι τὴν ἀρχήν: ἐδόκει γὰρ ἐπικουρίας τὸ πλῆθος τῶν προσώπων χρῄζειν.

III

(1) [39] Πρὶν δὲ ὁρίσαι τι περὶ τούτων Καίσαρα τελευτᾷ μὲν ἡ Ἀρχελάου μήτηρ Μαλθακὴ νοσήσασα, παρὰ Οὐάρου δ᾽ ἐκομίσθησαν ἐκ Συρίας ἐπιστολαὶ περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀποστάσεως, [40] ἣν προιδόμενος ὁ Οὔαρος, ἀνέβη γὰρ μετὰ τὸν Ἀρχελάου πλοῦν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τοὺς παρακινοῦντας καθέξων, ἐπειδὴ πρόδηλον ἦν τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ ἠρεμῆσον, ἓν τῶν τριῶν ἀπὸ Συρίας ταγμάτων, ὅπερ ἄγων ἦκεν, ἐν τῇ πόλει καταλείπει. [41] καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, ἐπελθὼν δὲ ὁ Σαβῖνος ἀφορμὴν αὐτοῖς παρέσχεν νεωτεροποιίας: τούς τε γὰρ φρουροὺς παραδιδόναι τὰς ἄκρας ἐβιάζετο καὶ πικρῶς τὰ βασιλικὰ χρήματα διηρεύνα, πεποιθὼς οὐ μόνον τοῖς ὑπὸ Οὐάρου καταλειφθεῖσι στρατιώταις, ἀλλὰ

καὶ πλήθει δούλων ἰδίων, οὓς ἅπαντας ὁπλίσας ὑπηρέταις ἐχρῆτο τῆς πλεονεξίας. [42] ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς, οὕτω καλοῦσίν τινα ἑορτὴν Ἰουδαῖοι παρ᾽ ἑπτὰ γινομένην ἑβδομάδας καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἡμερῶν προσηγορίαν ἔχουσαν, οὐχ ἡ συνήθης θρησκεία συνήγαγεν τὸν δῆμον, ἀλλ᾽ ἡ ἀγανάκτησις. [43] συνέδραμεν γοῦν πλῆθος ἄπειρον ἔκ τε τῆς Γαλιλαίας καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας Ἰεριχοῦντός τε καὶ τῆς ὑπὲρ Ἰορδάνην Περαίας, ὑπερεῖχεν δὲ πλήθει καὶ προθυμίαις ἀνδρῶν ὁ γνήσιος ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἰουδαίας λαός. [44] διανείμαντες δὲ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς τρία μέρη τριχῆ στρατοπεδεύονται, πρός τε τῷ βορείῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κλίματι καὶ πρὸς τῷ μεσημβρινῷ κατὰ τὸν ἱππόδρομον, ἡ δὲ τρίτη μοῖρα πρὸς τοῖς βασιλείοις κατὰ δύσιν. περικαθεζόμενοι δὲ πανταχόθεν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπολιόρκουν.

(2) [45] Ὁ δὲ Σαβῖνος πρός τε τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ὑποδείσας καὶ τὰ φρονήματα συνεχεῖς μὲν ἀγγέλους ἔπεμπεν πρὸς Οὔαρον ἐπαμύνειν ἐν τάχει δεόμενος ὡς εἰ βραδύνοι κατακοπησομένου τοῦ τάγματος: [46] αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ὑψηλότατον τοῦ φρουρίου πύργον ἀναβάς, ὃς ἐκαλεῖτο Φασάηλος ἐπώνυμον ἔχων ἀδελφὸν Ἡρώδου διαφθαρέντα ὑπὸ Πάρθων, ἐντεῦθεν κατέσειεν τοῖς ἐν τῷ τάγματι στρατιώταις ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις: δι᾽ ἔκπληξιν γὰρ οὐδ᾽ εἰς τοὺς σφετέρους καταβαίνειν ἐθάρρει. [47] παραπεισθέντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται προπηδῶσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ μάχην καρτερὰν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις συνάπτουσιν, ἐν ᾗ μέχρι μὲν οὐδεὶς καθύπερθεν ἐπήμυνεν περιῆσαν ἐμπειρίᾳ πολέμου τῶν ἀπείρων: [48] ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὶ Ἰουδαίων ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὰς στοὰς κατὰ κεφαλῆς αὐτῶν ἠφίεσαν τὰ βέλη, συνετρίβοντο πολλοὶ καὶ οὔτε τοὺς ἄνωθεν βάλλοντας ἀμύνεσθαι ῥᾴδιον ἦν οὔτε τοὺς συστάδην μαχομένους ὑπομένειν.

(3) [49] Καταπονούμενοι μὲν πρὸς ἀμφοτέρων ὑποπιμπρᾶσιν τὰς στοάς, ἔργα θαυμάσια μεγέθους τε καὶ πολυτελείας ἕνεκεν: οἱ δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐξαίφνης ὑπὸ τῆς φλογὸς περισχεθέντες πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ διεφθάρησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πηδῶντες εἰς αὐτούς, τινὲς δ᾽ εἰς τοὐπίσω κατὰ τοῦ τείχους ἐκρημνίζοντο, ἔνιοι δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἀμηχανίας τοῖς ἰδίοις ξίφεσιν τὸ πῦρ ἔφθανον: [50] ὅσοι δὲ καθερπύσαντες ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ᾔξαν εἰς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εὐμεταχείριστοι διὰ τὴν ἔκπληξιν ἦσαν. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀπολωλότων, τῶν δ᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους σκεδασθέντων ἐρήμῳ τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ θησαυρῷ προσπεσόντες οἱ στρατιῶται περὶ τετρακόσια τάλαντα διήρπασαν, ὧν ὅσα μὴ διεκλάπη Σαβῖνος ἤθροισεν.

(4) [51] Ἰουδαίους δὲ ἥ τε τῶν ἔργων καὶ ἀνδρῶν φθορὰ πολὺ πλείους καὶ μαχιμωτέρους ἐπισυνέστησεν Ῥωμαίοις καὶ περισχόντες τὰ βασίλεια πάντας ἠπείλουν διαφθείρειν, εἰ μὴ θᾶττον ἀπίοιεν: ὑπισχνοῦντο γὰρ ἄδειαν τῷ Σαβίνῳ βουλομένῳ μετὰ τοῦ τάγματος ἐξιέναι. [52] συνελάμβανον δ᾽ αὐτοῖς οἱ πλείους τῶν βασιλικῶν αὐτομολήσαντες. τὸ μέντοι πολεμικώτατον μέρος, Σεβαστηνοὶ τρισχίλιοι Ῥοῦφός τε καὶ Γρᾶτος ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὁ μὲν τοὺς πεζοὺς τῶν βασιλικῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἔχων, Ῥοῦφος δὲ τοὺς ἱππεῖς, ὧν ἑκάτερος καὶ χωρὶς ὑπηκόου

δυνάμεως δι᾽ ἀλκὴν καὶ σύνεσιν πολέμου ῥοπή, προσέθεντο Ῥωμαίοις. [53] Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν οὖν ἐνέκειντο τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τῶν τειχῶν ἅμα πειρώμενοι τοῦ φρουρίου καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Σαβῖνον ἐμβοῶντες ἀπιέναι μηδ᾽ ἐμποδὼν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι διὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ κομιζομένοις τὴν πάτριον αὐτονομίαν. [54] Σαβίνῳ δ᾽ ἀγαπητὸν μὲν ἦν ὑπεξελθεῖν, ἠπίστει δὲ ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν καὶ τὸ πρᾷον αὐτῶν δέλεαρ εἰς ἐνέδραν ὑπώπτευεν: ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ Οὐάρου βοήθειαν ἐλπίζων διέτριβεν τὴν πολιορκίαν.

IV

(1) [55] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν πολλαχόθεν ἐταράσσετο, καὶ συχνοὺς βασιλειᾶν ὁ καιρὸς ἀνέπειθεν. κατὰ μέν γε τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν δισχίλιοι τῶν ὑπὸ Ἡρώδῃ πάλαι στρατευσαμένων συστάντες ἔνοπλοι διεμάχοντο τοῖς βασιλικοῖς, οἷς Ἀχίαβος ἀνεψιὸς βασιλέως ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρυμνοτάτων χωρίων ἐπολέμει ὑποφεύγων τὴν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις συμπλοκήν: [56] ἐν δὲ Σεπφώρει τῆς Γαλιλαίας Ἰούδας υἱὸς Ἐζεκία τοῦ κατατρέχοντός ποτε τὴν χώραν ἀρχιληστοῦ καὶ χειρωθέντος ὑφ᾽ Ἡρώδου βασιλέως συστήσας πλῆθος οὐκ ὀλίγον ἀναρρήγνυσιν τὰς βασιλικὰς ὁπλοθήκας καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ὁπλίσας τοῖς τὴν δυναστείαν ζηλοῦσιν ἐπεχείρει.

(2) [57] Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Περαίαν Σίμων τις τῶν βασιλικῶν δούλων εὐμορφίᾳ σώματος καὶ μεγέθει πεποιθὼς περιτίθησιν μὲν ἑαυτῷ διάδημα, περιιὼν δὲ μεθ᾽ ὧν συνήθροισεν λῃστῶν τά τε ἐν Ἰεριχοῖ βασίλεια καταπίμπρησιν καὶ πολλὰς ἑτέρας τῶν πολυτελῶν ἐπαύλεις, ἁρπαγὰς ῥᾳδίως ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς αὐτῷ ποριζόμενος. [58] κἂν ἔφθη πᾶσαν οἴκησιν εὐπρεπῆ καταφλέξας, εἰ μὴ Γρᾶτος ὁ τῶν βασιλικῶν πεζῶν ἡγεμὼν τούς τε Τραχωνίτας τοξότας καὶ τὸ μαχιμώτατον τῶν Σεβαστηνῶν ἀναλαβὼν ὑπαντιάζει τὸν ἄνδρα. [59] τῶν μὲν οὖν Περαίων συχνοὶ διεφθάρησαν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, τὸν Σίμωνα δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀναφεύγοντα δι᾽ ὀρθίου φάραγγος ὁ Γρᾶτος ὑποτέμνεται καὶ φεύγοντος ἐκ πλαγίου τὸν αὐχένα πλήξας ἀπέρραξε. κατεφλέγη δὲ καὶ τὰ πλησίον Ἰορδάνου βασίλεια κατὰ βηθαραμινενθα συστάντων ἑτέρων τινῶν ἐκ τῆς Περαίας.

(3) [60] Τότε καὶ ποιμήν τις ἀντιποιηθῆναι βασιλείας ἐτόλμησεν: Ἀθρογγαῖος ἐκαλεῖτο, προυξένει δ᾽ αὐτῷ τὴν ἐλπίδα σώματος ἰσχὺς καὶ ψυχὴ θανάτου καταφρονοῦσα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀδελφοὶ τέσσαρες ὅμοιοι. [61] τούτων ἑκάστῳ λόχον ὑποζεύξας ἔνοπλον ὥσπερ στρατηγοῖς ἐχρῆτο καὶ σατράπαις ἐπὶ τὰς καταδρομάς, αὐτὸς δὲ καθάπερ βασιλεὺς τῶν σεμνοτέρων ἥπτετο πραγμάτων. [62] τότε μὲν οὖν ἑαυτῷ περιτίθησιν διάδημα, διέμεινεν δ᾽ ὕστερον οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον τὴν χώραν κατατρέχων σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς: καὶ τὸ κτείνειν αὐτοῖς προηγούμενον ἦν Ῥωμαίους τε καὶ τοὺς βασιλικούς, διέφευγεν δὲ οὐδὲ Ἰουδαίων εἴ τις εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθοι φέρων κέρδος. [63] ἐτόλμησαν δέ ποτε Ῥωμαίων

λόχον ἄθρουν περισχεῖν κατ᾽ Ἀμμαοῦντα: σῖτα δ᾽ οὗτοι καὶ ὅπλα διεκόμιζον τῷ τάγματι. τὸν μὲν οὖν ἑκατοντάρχην αὐτῶν Ἄρειον καὶ τεσσαράκοντα τοὺς γενναιοτάτους κατηκόντισαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ κινδυνεύοντες ταὐτὸ παθεῖν Γράτου σὺν τοῖς Σεβαστηνοῖς ἐπιβοηθήσαντος ἐξέφυγον. [64] πολλὰ τοιαῦτα τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους καὶ τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους παρ᾽ ὅλον τὸν πόλεμον ἐργασάμενοι μετὰ χρόνον οἱ μὲν τρεῖς ἐχειρώθησαν, ὑπ᾽ Ἀρχελάου μὲν ὁ πρεσβύτατος, οἱ δ᾽ ἑξῆς δύο Γράτῳ καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ περιπεσόντες: ὁ δὲ τέταρτος Ἀρχελάῳ προσεχώρησεν κατὰ δεξιάν. [65] τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ τέλος ὕστερον αὐτοὺς ἐξεδέχετο, τότε δὲ λῃστρικοῦ πολέμου τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πᾶσαν ἐνεπίμπλασαν.

V

(1) [66] Οὐάρῳ δὲ δεξαμένῳ τὰ παρὰ Σαβίνου καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων γράμματα δεῖσαί τε περὶ τοῦ τάγματος ὅλου παρέστη καὶ σπεύδειν ἐπὶ τὴν βοήθειαν. [67] ἀναλαβὼν δὴ τὰ λοιπὰ δύο τάγματα καὶ τὰς σὺν αὐτοῖς τέσσαρας ἴλας ἱππέων ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίδος ἦει, προστάξας ἐκεῖ καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ δυναστῶν ἐπικούρους συνελθεῖν: προσέλαβεν δὲ καὶ παρὰ Βηρυτίων διερχόμενος τὴν πόλιν χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους ὁπλίτας. [68] ἐπεὶ δ᾽ εἰς τὴν Πτολεμαίδα τό τε ἄλλο συμμαχικὸν πλῆθος αὐτῷ παρῆν καὶ κατὰ τὸ πρὸς Ἡρώδην ἔχθος Ἀρέτας ὁ Ἄραψ οὐκ ὀλίγην ἄγων δύναμιν ἱππικήν τε καὶ πεζικήν, μέρος τῆς στρατιᾶς εὐθέως ἔπεμπεν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν γειτνιῶσαν τῇ Πτολεμαίδι καὶ Γάιον ἡγεμόνα τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων, ὃς τούς τε ὑπαντιάσαντας τρέπεται καὶ Σέπφωριν πόλιν ἑλὼν αὐτὴν μὲν ἐμπίπρησι, τοὺς δ᾽ ἐνοικοῦντας ἀνδραποδίζεται. [69] μετὰ δὲ τῆς ὅλης δυνάμεως αὐτὸς Οὔαρος εἰς Σαμάρειαν ἐλάσας τῆς μὲν πόλεως ἀπέσχετο μηδὲν ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων θορύβοις παρακεκινηκυῖαν εὑρών, αὐλίζεται δὲ περί τινα κώμην Ἀροῦν καλουμένην: κτῆμα δὲ ἦν Πτολεμαίου καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀράβων διηρπάσθη μηνιόντων καὶ τοῖς Ἡρώδου φίλοις. [70] ἔνθεν εἰς Σαπφὼ πρόεισιν κώμην ἑτέραν ἐρυμνήν, ἣν ὁμοίως διήρπασαν τάς τε προσόρους πάσας ὅσαις ἐπετύγχανον. πυρὸς δὲ καὶ φόνου πεπλήρωτο πάντα καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἁρπαγὰς τῶν Ἀράβων οὐδὲν ἀντεῖχεν. [71] κατεφλέγη δὲ καὶ Ἀμμαοῦς φυγόντων τῶν οἰκητόρων, Οὐάρου δι᾽ ὀργὴν τῶν περὶ Ἄρειον ἀποσφαγέντων κελεύσαντος.

(2) [72] Ἐνθένδε εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα προελθὼν ὀφθείς τε μόνον μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως τὰ στρατόπεδα τῶν Ἰουδαίων διεσκέδασεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ᾤχοντο φυγόντες ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν: [73] δεξάμενοι δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀπεσκευάζοντο τὰς αἰτίας τῆς ἀποστάσεως, αὐτοὶ μὲν οὐδὲν παρακινῆσαι λέγοντες, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἀναγκαίως δεξάμενοι τὸ πλῆθος συμπολιορκηθῆναι μᾶλλον Ῥωμαίοις ἢ συμπολεμῆσαι τοῖς ἀποστᾶσιν. [74] προυπηντήκεισαν δὲ αὐτῷ Ἰώσηπος ὁ ἀνεψιὸς Ἀρχελάου καὶ σὺν Γράτῳ Ῥοῦφος, ἄγοντες ἅμα τῷ βασιλικῷ στρατῷ καὶ τοὺς Σεβαστηνούς, οἵ τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Ῥωμαικοῦ τάγματος τὸν συνήθη τρόπον

κεκοσμημένοι: Σαβῖνος μὲν γὰρ οὐδ᾽ εἰς ὄψιν ὑπομείνας ἐλθεῖν Οὐάρῳ προεξῆλθεν τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. [75] Οὔαρος δὲ κατὰ μοῖραν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ κινήματος ἔπεμψεν περὶ τὴν χώραν, καὶ πολλῶν ἀγομένων τοὺς μὲν ἧττον θορυβώδεις φανέντας ἐφρούρει, τοὺς δὲ αἰτιωτάτους ἀνεσταύρωσεν περὶ δισχιλίους.

(3) [76] Ἠγγέλθη δ᾽ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν ἔτι συμμένειν μυρίους ὁπλίτας. ὁ δὲ τοὺς μὲν Ἄραβας εὐρὼν οὐ συμμάχων ἦθος ἔχοντας, ἀλλ᾽ ἰδίῳ πάθει στρατευομένους καὶ πέρα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προαιρέσεως τὴν χώραν κακοῦντας ἔχθει τῷ πρὸς Ἡρώδην ἀποπέμπεται, μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἰδίων ταγμάτων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀφεστῶτας ἠπείγετο. [77] κἀκεῖνοι πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν Ἀχιάβου συμβουλεύσαντος σφᾶς αὐτοὺς παρέδοσαν, Οὔαρος δὲ τῷ πλήθει μὲν ἠφίει τὰς αἰτίας, τοὺς δὲ ἡγεμόνας ἐξετασθησομένους ἔπεμπεν ἐπὶ Καίσαρα. [78] Καῖσαρ δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις συνέγνω, τινὰς δὲ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως συγγενῶν, ἦσαν γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔνιοι προσήκοντες Ἡρώδῃ κατὰ γένος, κολάσαι προσέταξεν, ὅτι κατ᾽ οἰκείου βασιλέως ἐστρατεύσαντο. [79] Οὔαρος μὲν οὖν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον καταστησάμενος τὰ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ φρουρὰν καταλιπὼν τὸ καὶ πρότερον τάγμα εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπάνεισιν.

VI

(1) [80] Ἀρχελάῳ δ᾽ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης πάλιν ἄλλη συνίσταται δίκη πρὸς Ἰουδαίους, οἳ πρὸ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἐπιτρέψαντος Οὐάρου πρέσβεις ἐξεληλύθεσαν περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἔθνους αὐτονομίας: ἦσαν δὲ πεντήκοντα μὲν οἱ παρόντες, συμπαρίσταντο δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης Ἰουδαίων ὑπὲρ ὀκτακισχιλίους. [81] ἀθροίσαντος δὲ Καίσαρος συνέδριον τῶν ἐν τέλει Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν φίλων ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸ Παλάτιον Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερῷ, κτίσμα δ᾽ ἦν ἴδιον αὐτοῦ θαυμασίῳ πολυτελείᾳ κεκοσμημένον, μετὰ μὲν τῶν πρεσβευτῶν τὸ Ἰουδαικὸν πλῆθος ἔστη, [82] σὺν δὲ τοῖς φίλοις ἄντικρυς Ἀρχέλαος, τῶν δὲ τούτου συγγενῶν οἱ φίλοι παρ᾽ οὐδετέροις, συμπαρίστασθαι μὲν Ἀρχελάῳ διὰ μῖσος καὶ φθόνον οὐχ ὑπομένοντες, ὀφθῆναι δὲ μετὰ τῶν κατηγόρων ὑπὸ Καίσαρος αἰδούμενοι. [83] τούτοις παρῆν καὶ Φίλιππος ἀδελφὸς Ἀρχελάου, προπεμφθεὶς κατ᾽ εὔνοιαν ὑπὸ Οὐάρου δυοῖν ἕνεκα, Ἀρχελάῳ τε συναγωνίσασθαι, κἂν διανέμῃ τὸν Ἡρώδου Καῖσαρ οἶκον πᾶσι τοῖς ἐγγόνοις, κλήρου τινὸς ἀξιωθῆναι.

(2) [84] Ἐπιτραπὲν δὲ λέγειν τοῖς κατηγόροις τὰς Ἡρώδου παρανομίας πρῶτον διεξῆεσαν, οὐ βασιλέα λέγοντες ἀλλὰ τῶν πώποτε τυραννησάντων ὠμότατον ἐνηνοχέναι τύραννον: πλείστων γοῦν ἀνῃρημένων ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοιαῦτα πεπονθέναι τοὺς καταλειφθέντας, ὥστε μακαρίζεσθαι τοὺς ἀπολωλότας: [85] βεβασανικέναι γὰρ οὐ μόνον τὰ σώματα τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πόλεις: τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἰδίας λελωβῆσθαι, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων κεκοσμηκέναι καὶ

τὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας αἷμα κεχαρίσθαι τοῖς ἔξωθεν δήμοις. [86] ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς παλαιᾶς εὐδαιμονίας καὶ τῶν πατρίων νόμων πενίας τὸ ἔθνος καὶ παρανομίας ἐσχάτης πεπληρωκέναι, καθόλου δὲ πλείους ὑπομεμενηκέναι τὰς ἐξ Ἡρώδου συμφορὰς ἐν ὀλίγοις ἔτεσιν Ἰουδαίους ὧν ἐν παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἀναχώρησιν ἔπαθον οἱ πρόγονοι Ξέρξου βασιλεύοντος ἀπαναστάντες. [87] εἰς τοσοῦτον μέντοι μετριότητος καὶ τοῦ δυστυχεῖν ἔθους προελθεῖν, ὥστε ὑπομεῖναι τῆς πικρᾶς δουλείας καὶ διαδοχὴν αὐθαίρετον: [88] Ἀρχέλαον γοῦν τὸν τηλικούτου τυράννου παῖδα μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν βασιλέα τε προσειπεῖν ἑτοίμως καὶ συμπενθῆσαι τὸν Ἡρώδου θάνατον αὐτῷ καὶ συνεύξασθαι περὶ τῆς διαδοχῆς. [89] τὸν δ' ὥσπερ ἀγωνιάσαντα, μὴ νόθος υἱὸς εἶναι δόξειεν Ἡρώδου, προοιμιάσασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν τρισχιλίων πολιτῶν φόνῳ, καὶ τοσαῦτα μὲν παρεστακέναι θύματα περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ θεῷ, τοσούτοις δ' ἐμπεπληκέναι νεκροῖς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐν ἑορτῇ. [90] τοὺς μέντοι περιλειφθέντας ἐκ τοσούτων κακῶν εἰκότως ἐπεστράφθαι ποτὲ ἤδη πρὸς τὰς συμφορὰς καὶ πολέμου νόμῳ τὰς πληγὰς ἐθέλειν κατὰ πρόσωπον δέχεσθαι, δεῖσθαι δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐλεῆσαι τά τε τῆς Ἰουδαίας λείψανα καὶ μὴ τὸ περισσὸν αὐτῆς ὑπορρῖψαι τοῖς ὠμῶς σπαράττουσιν, [91] συνάψαντας δὲ τῇ Συρίᾳ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν διοικεῖν ἐπ' ἰδίοις ἡγεμόσιν: ἐπιδείξεσθαι γάρ, ὡς οἱ νῦν στασιώδεις διαβαλλόμενοι καὶ πολεμικοὶ φέρειν οἴδασιν μετρίους ἡγεμόνας. [92] Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῆς κατηγορίας κατέληξαν εἰς τοιαύτην ἀξίωσιν, ἀναστὰς δὲ Νικόλαος ἀπελύσατο μὲν τὰς εἰς τοὺς βασιλεῖς αἰτίας, κατηγόρει δὲ τοῦ ἔθνους τό τε δύσαρκτον καὶ τὸ δυσπειθὲς φύσει πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς. συνδιέβαλλε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἀρχελάου συγγενεῖς, ὅσοι πρὸς τοὺς κατηγόρους ἀφεστήκεσαν.

(3) [93] Τότε μὲν οὖν Καῖσαρ ἀκούσας ἑκατέρων διέλυσε τὸ συνέδριον, μετὰ δ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ τῆς βασιλείας Ἀρχελάῳ δίδωσιν ἐθνάρχην προσειπών, ὑποσχόμενος δὲ καὶ βασιλέα ποιήσειν, [94] εἰ ἄξιον ἑαυτὸν παράσχοι, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἥμισυ διελὼν εἰς δύο τετραρχίας δυσὶν ἑτέροις παισὶν Ἡρώδου δίδωσιν, τὴν μὲν Φιλίππῳ, τὴν δὲ Ἀντίπᾳ τῷ πρὸς Ἀρχέλαον ἀμφισβητοῦντι περὶ τῆς βασιλείας. [95] ἐγένετο δὲ ὑπὸ τούτῳ μὲν ἥ τε Περαία καὶ Γαλιλαία, πρόσοδος διακόσια τάλαντα, Βατανέα δὲ καὶ Τράχων Αὐρανῖτίς τε καὶ μέρη τινὰ τοῦ Ζήνωνος οἴκου τὰ περὶ ἰννάνω, πρόσοδον ἔχοντα ταλάντων ἑκατόν, ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ τέτακτο. [96] τῆς Ἀρχελάου δ' ἐθναρχίας Ἰδουμαία τε καὶ Ἰουδαία πᾶσα καὶ Σαμαρεῖτις ἦν κεκουφισμένη τετάρτῳ μέρει τῶν φόρων εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ μὴ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστῆναι. [97] πόλεις δ' ὑπηκόους παρέλαβεν Στράτωνος πύργον καὶ Σεβαστὴν καὶ Ἰόππην καὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα: τὰς γὰρ Ἑλληνίδας Γάζαν καὶ Γάδαρα καὶ Ἵππον ἀποτεμόμενος τῆς βασιλείας προσέθηκεν Συρίᾳ. πρόσοδος ἦν τῆς Ἀρχελάῳ δοθείσης χώρας τετρακοσίων ταλάντων. [98] Σαλώμη δὲ πρὸς οἷς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις κατέλιπεν Ἰαμνείας τε καὶ Ἀζώτου καὶ Φασαηλίδος ἀποδείκνυται δεσπότις, χαρίζεται δ' αὐτῇ Καῖσαρ καὶ τὰ ἐν

Ἀσκάλωνι βασίλεια: συνήγετο δ᾽ ἐκ πάντων ἑξήκοντα προσόδου τάλαντα: τὸν δὲ οἶκον αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τὴν Ἀρχελάου τοπαρχίαν ἔταξεν. [99] τῆς δ᾽ ἄλλης Ἡρώδου γενεᾶς ἕκαστος τὸ καταλειφθὲν ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις ἐκομίζετο. δυσὶ δ᾽ αὐτοῦ θυγατράσι παρθένοις Καῖσαρ ἔξωθεν χαρίζεται πεντήκοντα μυριάδας ἀργυρίου καὶ συνῴκισεν αὐτὰς τοῖς Φερώρα παισίν. [100] μετὰ δὲ τὸν οἶκον ἐπιδιένειμεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἑαυτῷ καταλειφθεῖσαν ὑφ᾽ Ἡρώδου δωρεὰν οὖσαν χιλίων ταλάντων, εὐτελῆ τινα τῶν κειμηλίων εἰς τὴν τοῦ κατοιχομένου τιμὴν ἐξελόμενος.

VII

(1) [101] Κἀν τούτῳ νεανίας τις Ἰουδαῖος μὲν τὸ γένος, τραφεὶς δὲ ἐν Σιδῶνι παρά τῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπελευθέρῳ, δι᾽ ὁμοιότητα μορφῆς ψευδόμενος ἑαυτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν ἀναιρεθέντα ὑφ᾽ Ἡρώδου κατ᾽ ἐλπίδα τοῦ λήσειν ἦκεν εἰς Ῥώμην. [102] συνεργὸς δ᾽ ἦν τις ὁμόφυλος αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπιστάμενος, ὑφ᾽ οὗ διδαχθεὶς ἔλεγεν, ὡς οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου δι᾽ οἶκτον ἐκκλέψειαν αὐτοὺς ὁμοίων ὑποβολῇ σωμάτων. [103] τούτοις γοῦν τοὺς ἐν Κρήτῃ Ἰουδαίους ἐξαπατήσας καὶ λαμπρῶς ἐφοδιασθεὶς διέπλευσεν εἰς Μῆλον: ἔνθα συναγείρας πολλῷ πλέον δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν ἀξιοπιστίας ἀνέπεισεν καὶ τοὺς ἰδιοξένους εἰς Ῥώμην αὐτῷ συνεκπλεῦσαι. [104] καταχθεὶς δὲ εἰς Δικαιάρχειαν δῶρά τε παμπληθῆ παρὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ Ἰουδαίων λαμβάνει καὶ καθάπερ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν πατρῴων προεπέμφθη φίλων. προεληλύθει δ᾽ εἰς τοσοῦτον πίστεως τὸ τῆς μορφῆς ὅμοιον, ὥστε τοὺς ἑωρακότας Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ σαφῶς ἐπισταμένους διόμνυσθαι τοῦτον εἶναι. [105] τό γε μὴν Ἰουδαικὸν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἅπαν ἐξεχύθη πρὸς τὴν θέαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πλῆθος ἄπειρον ἦν περὶ τοὺς στενωπούς, δι᾽ ὧν ἐκομίζετο: καὶ γὰρ προῆλθον εἰς τοσοῦτον φρενοβλαβείας οἱ Μήλιοι, ὥστε φορείῳ τε αὐτὸν κομίζειν καὶ θεραπείαν βασιλικὴν ἰδίοις παρασχεῖν ἀναλώμασιν.

(2) [106] Καῖσαρ δὲ γινώσκων [ἀκριβῶς] τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου χαρακτῆρας, κατηγόρητο γὰρ ὑφ᾽ Ἡρώδου παρ᾽ αὐτῷ, συνεώρα μὲν καὶ πρὶν ἰδεῖν τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὴν τῆς ὁμοιότητος ἀπάτην, διδοὺς δέ τι καὶ πίστεως ταῖς ἱλαρωτέραις ἐλπίσιν Κέλαδόν τινα πέμπει τῶν σαφῶς ἐπισταμένων Ἀλέξανδρον, κελεύσας ἀγαγεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν νεανίσκον. [107] ὁ δὲ ὡς εἶδεν, ἐτεκμήρατο μὲν τάχιστα καὶ τὰς διαφορὰς τοῦ προσώπου τό τε ὅλον σῶμα σκληρότερόν τε καὶ δουλοφανὲς καταμαθὼν ἐνόησεν πᾶν τὸ σύνταγμα, [108] πάνυ δὲ αὐτὸν παρῴξυνεν ἡ τόλμα τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ λεγομένων: τοῖς γὰρ πυνθανομένοις περὶ Ἀριστοβούλου σώζεσθαι μὲν κἀκεῖνον ἔλεγεν, ἀπολελεῖφθαι δὲ ἐπίτηδες ἐν Κύπρῳ τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς φυλασσόμενον: ἧττον γὰρ ἐπιχειρεῖσθαι διεζευγμένους. [109] ἀπολαβόμενος οὖν αὐτὸν κατ᾽ ἰδίαν “μισθόν, ἔφη, παρὰ Καίσαρος ἔχεις τὸ ζῆν τοῦ μηνῦσαι τὸν ἀναπείσαντά σε πλανᾶσθαι τηλικαῦτα.” κἀκεῖνος αὐτῷ

δηλώσειν εἰπὼν ἔπεται πρὸς Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν Ἰουδαῖον ἐνδείκνυται καταχρησάμενον αὐτοῦ τῇ ὁμοιότητι πρὸς ἐργασίαν: τοσαῦτα γὰρ εἰληφέναι δῶρα καθ᾽ ἑκάστην πόλιν ὅσα ζῶν Ἀλέξανδρος οὐκ ἔλαβεν. [110] γελάσας δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν μὲν ψευδαλέξανδρον δι᾽ εὐεξίαν σώματος ἐγκατέταξεν τοῖς ἐρέταις, τὸν ἀναπείσαντα δὲ ἐκέλευσεν ἀναιρεθῆναι: Μηλίοις δ᾽ ἤρκεσεν ἐπιτίμιον τῆς ἀνοίας τὰ ἀναλώματα.

(3) [111] Παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἐθναρχίαν Ἀρχέλαος καὶ κατὰ μνήμην τῶν πάλαι διαφορῶν οὐ μόνον Ἰουδαίοις ἀλλὰ καὶ Σαμαρεῦσι χρησάμενος ὠμῶς, πρεσβευσαμένων ἑκατέρων κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ πρὸς Καίσαρα ἔτει τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐνάτῳ φυγαδεύεται μὲν αὐτὸς εἰς Βίενναν πόλιν τῆς Γαλλίας, ἡ οὐσία δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῖς Καίσαρος θησαυροῖς ἐγκατατάσσεται. [112] πρὶν κληθῆναι δ᾽ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄναρ ἰδεῖν φασιν τοιόνδε: ἔδοξεν ὁρᾶν στάχυς ἐννέα πλήρεις καὶ μεγάλους ὑπὸ βοῶν καταβιβρωσκομένους. μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ τοὺς μάντεις καὶ τῶν Χαλδαίων τινὰς ἐπυνθάνετο, τί σημαίνειν δοκοῖεν. [113] ἄλλων δ᾽ ἄλλως ἐξηγουμένων Σίμων τις Ἐσσαῖος τὸ γένος ἔφη τοὺς μὲν στάχυς ἐνιαυτοὺς νομίζειν, βόας δὲ μεταβολὴν πραγμάτων διὰ τὸ τὴν χώραν ἀροτριῶντας ἀλλάσσειν: ὥστε βασιλεύσειν μὲν αὐτὸν τὸν τῶν ἀσταχύων ἀριθμόν, ἐν ποικίλαις δὲ πραγμάτων μεταβολαῖς γενόμενον τελευτήσειν. ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ἀρχέλαος μετὰ πέντε ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὴν δίκην ἐκλήθη.

(4) [114] Ἄξιον δὲ μνήμης ἡγησάμην καὶ τὸ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Γλαφύρας ὄναρ, ἥπερ ἦν θυγάτηρ μὲν Ἀρχελάου τοῦ Καππαδόκων βασιλέως, γυνὴ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου γεγονυῖα τὸ πρῶτον, ὃς ἦν ἀδελφὸς Ἀρχελάου περὶ οὗ διέξιμεν, υἱὸς δὲ Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως, ὑφ᾽ οὗ καὶ ἀνῃρέθη, καθάπερ δεδηλώκαμεν. [115] μετὰ δὲ τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον συνῴκησεν Ἰόβᾳ τῷ βασιλεύοντι Λιβύης, οὗ τελευτήσαντος ἐπανελθοῦσαν αὐτὴν καὶ χηρεύουσαν παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ θεασάμενος ὁ ἐθνάρχης Ἀρχέλαος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἔρωτος ἦλθεν, ὥστε παραχρῆμα τὴν συνοικοῦσαν αὐτῷ Μαριάμμην ἀποπεμψάμενος ἐκείνην ἀγαγέσθαι. [116] παραγενομένη τοίνυν εἰς Ἰουδαίαν μετ᾽ ὀλίγον τῆς ἀφίξεως χρόνον ἔδοξεν ἐπιστάντα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτῇ λέγειν “ἀπέχρη μὲν ὁ κατὰ Λιβύην σοι γάμος, σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἀρκεσθεῖσα τούτῳ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνακάμπτεις ἑστίαν, τρίτον ἄνδρα καὶ ταῦτα τὸν ἀδελφόν, ὦ τολμηρά, τὸν ἐμὸν ἠρημένη. πλὴν οὐ περιόψομαι τὴν ὕβριν, ἀπολήψομαι δέ σε καὶ μὴ θέλουσαν.” τοῦτο διηγησαμένη τὸ ὄναρ μόλις δύο ἡμέρας ἐβίω.

VIII

(1) [117] Τῆς δὲ Ἀρχελάου χώρας εἰς ἐπαρχίαν περιγραφείσης ἐπίτροπος τῆς ἱππικῆς παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις τάξεως Κωπώνιος πέμπεται μέχρι τοῦ κτείνειν λαβὼν παρὰ Καίσαρος ἐξουσίαν. [118] ἐπὶ τούτου τις ἀνὴρ Γαλιλαῖος Ἰούδας ὄνομα εἰς

ἀπόστασιν ἐνῆγε τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους κακίζων, εἰ φόρον τε Ῥωμαίοις τελεῖν ὑπομενοῦσιν καὶ μετὰ τὸν θεὸν οἵσουσι θνητοὺς δεσπότας. ἦν δ' οὗτος σοφιστὴς ἰδίας αἱρέσεως οὐδὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις προσεοικώς.

(2) [119] Τρία γὰρ παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις εἴδη φιλοσοφεῖται, καὶ τοῦ μὲν αἱρετισταὶ Φαρισαῖοι, τοῦ δὲ Σαδδουκαῖοι, τρίτον δέ, ὃ δὴ καὶ δοκεῖ σεμνότητα ἀσκεῖν, Ἐσσηνοὶ καλοῦνται, Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν γένος ὄντες, φιλάλληλοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλέον. [120] οὗτοι τὰς μὲν ἡδονὰς ὡς κακίαν ἀποστρέφονται, τὴν δὲ ἐγκράτειαν καὶ τὸ μὴ τοῖς πάθεσιν ὑποπίπτειν ἀρετὴν ὑπολαμβάνουσιν. καὶ γάμου μὲν παρ' αὐτοῖς ὑπεροψία, τοὺς δ' ἀλλοτρίους παῖδας ἐκλαμβάνοντες ἁπαλοὺς ἔτι πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα συγγενεῖς ἡγοῦνται καὶ τοῖς ἤθεσιν αὐτῶν ἐντυποῦσι, [121] τὸν μὲν γάμον καὶ τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ διαδοχὴν οὐκ ἀναιροῦντες, τὰς δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν ἀσελγείας φυλαττόμενοι καὶ μηδεμίαν τηρεῖν πεπεισμένοι τὴν πρὸς ἕνα πίστιν.

(3) [122] Καταφρονηταὶ δὲ πλούτου, καὶ θαυμάσιον αὐτοῖς τὸ κοινωνικόν, οὐδὲ ἔστιν εὑρεῖν κτήσει τινὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὑπερέχοντα: νόμος γὰρ τοὺς εἰς τὴν αἵρεσιν εἰσιόντας δημεύειν τῷ τάγματι τὴν οὐσίαν, ὥστε ἐν ἅπασιν μήτε πενίας ταπεινότητα φαίνεσθαι μήθ' ὑπεροχὴν πλούτου, τῶν δ' ἑκάστου κτημάτων ἀναμεμιγμένων μίαν ὥσπερ ἀδελφοῖς ἅπασιν οὐσίαν εἶναι. [123] κηλῖδα δ' ὑπολαμβάνουσι τὸ ἔλαιον, κἂν ἀλειφθῇ τις ἄκων, σμήχεται τὸ σῶμα: τὸ γὰρ αὐχμεῖν ἐν καλῷ τίθενται λευχειμονεῖν τε διαπαντός. χειροτονητοὶ δ' οἱ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμεληταὶ καὶ ἀδιαίρετοι πρὸς ἁπάντων εἰς τὰς χρείας ἕκαστοι.

(4) [124] Μία δ' οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῶν πόλις ἀλλ' ἐν ἑκάστῃ μετοικοῦσιν πολλοί. καὶ τοῖς ἑτέρωθεν ἥκουσιν αἱρετισταῖς πάντ' ἀναπέπταται τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως ὥσπερ ἴδια, καὶ πρὸς οὓς οὐ πρότερον εἶδον εἰσίασιν ὡς συνηθεστάτους: [125] διὸ καὶ ποιοῦνται τὰς ἀποδημίας οὐδὲν μὲν ὅλως ἐπικομιζόμενοι, διὰ δὲ τοὺς λῃστὰς ἔνοπλοι. κηδεμὼν δ' ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει τοῦ τάγματος ἐξαιρέτως τῶν ξένων ἀποδείκνυται ταμιεύων ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. [126] καταστολὴ δὲ καὶ σχῆμα σώματος ὅμοιον τοῖς μετὰ φόβου παιδαγωγουμένοις παισίν. οὔτε δὲ ἐσθῆτας οὔτε ὑποδήματα ἀμείβουσι πρὶν διαρραγῆναι τὸ πρότερον παντάπασιν ἢ δαπανηθῆναι τῷ χρόνῳ. [127] οὐδὲν δ' ἐν ἀλλήλοις οὔτ' ἀγοράζουσιν οὔτε πωλοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ χρῄζοντι διδοὺς ἕκαστος τὰ παρ' αὐτῷ τὸ παρ' ἐκείνου χρήσιμον ἀντικομίζεται: καὶ χωρὶς δὲ τῆς ἀντιδόσεως ἀκώλυτος ἡ μετάληψις αὐτοῖς παρ' ὧν ἂν θέλωσιν.

(5) [128] Πρός γε μὴν τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβεῖς ἰδίως: πρὶν γὰρ ἀνασχεῖν τὸν ἥλιον οὐδὲν φθέγγονται τῶν βεβήλων, πατρίους δέ τινας εἰς αὐτὸν εὐχὰς ὥσπερ ἱκετεύοντες ἀνατεῖλαι. [129] καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς ἃς ἕκαστοι τέχνας ἴσασιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν διαφίενται, καὶ μέχρι πέμπτης ὥρας ἐργασάμενοι συντόνως πάλιν εἰς ἓν συναθροίζονται χωρίον, ζωσάμενοί τε σκεπάσμασιν λινοῖς οὕτως ἀπολούονται τὸ σῶμα ψυχροῖς ὕδασιν, καὶ μετὰ ταύτην τὴν ἁγνείαν εἰς ἴδιον οἴκημα συνίασιν, ἔνθα μηδενὶ τῶν ἑτεροδόξων ἐπιτέτραπται παρελθεῖν: αὐτοί τε

καθαροὶ καθάπερ εἰς ἅγιόν τι τέμενος παραγίνονται τὸ δειπνητήριον. [130] καὶ καθισάντων μεθ᾽ ἡσυχίας ὁ μὲν σιτοποιὸς ἐν τάξει παρατίθησι τοὺς ἄρτους, ὁ δὲ μάγειρος ἓν ἀγγεῖον ἐξ ἑνὸς ἐδέσματος ἑκάστῳ παρατίθησιν. [131] προκατεύχεται δ᾽ ὁ ἱερεὺς τῆς τροφῆς, καὶ γεύσασθαί τινα πρὶν τῆς εὐχῆς ἀθέμιτον: ἀριστοποιησάμενος δ᾽ ἐπεύχεται πάλιν: ἀρχόμενοί τε καὶ παυόμενοι γεραίρουσι θεὸν ὡς χορηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς. ἔπειθ᾽ ὡς ἱερὰς καταθέμενοι τὰς ἐσθῆτας πάλιν ἐπ᾽ ἔργα μέχρι δείλης τρέπονται. [132] δειπνοῦσι δ᾽ ὁμοίως ὑποστρέψαντες συγκαθεζομένων τῶν ξένων, εἰ τύχοιεν αὐτοῖς παρόντες. οὔτε δὲ κραυγή ποτε τὸν οἶκον οὔτε θόρυβος μιαίνει, τὰς δὲ λαλιὰς ἐν τάξει παραχωροῦσιν ἀλλήλοις. [133] καὶ τοῖς ἔξωθεν ὡς μυστήριόν τι φρικτὸν ἡ τῶν ἔνδον σιωπὴ καταφαίνεται, τούτου δ᾽ αἴτιον ἡ διηνεκὴς νῆψις καὶ τὸ μετρεῖσθαι παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς τροφὴν καὶ ποτὸν μέχρι κόρου.

(6) [134] Τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι μὴ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν προσταξάντων ἐνεργοῦσι, δύο δὲ ταῦτα παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς αὐτεξούσια, ἐπικουρία καὶ ἔλεος: βοηθεῖν τε γὰρ τοῖς ἀξίοις, ὁπόταν δέωνται, καὶ καθ᾽ ἑαυτοὺς ἐφίεται καὶ τροφὰς ἀπορουμένοις ὀρέγειν. τὰς δὲ εἰς τοὺς συγγενεῖς μεταδόσεις οὐκ ἔξεστι ποιεῖσθαι δίχα τῶν ἐπιτρόπων. [135] ὀργῆς ταμίαι δίκαιοι, θυμοῦ καθεκτικοί, πίστεως προστάται, εἰρήνης ὑπουργοί. καὶ πᾶν μὲν τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἰσχυρότερον ὅρκου, τὸ δὲ ὀμνύειν αὐτοῖς περιίσταται χεῖρον τῆς ἐπιορκίας ὑπολαμβάνοντες: ἤδη γὰρ κατεγνῶσθαί φασιν τὸν ἀπιστούμενον δίχα θεοῦ. [136] σπουδάζουσι δ᾽ ἐκτόπως περὶ τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν συντάγματα μάλιστα τὰ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος ἐκλέγοντες: ἔνθεν αὐτοῖς πρὸς θεραπείαν παθῶν ῥίζαι τε ἀλεξητήριον καὶ λίθων ἰδιότητες ἀνερευνῶνται.

(7) [137] Τοῖς δὲ ζηλοῦσιν τὴν αἵρεσιν αὐτῶν οὐκ εὐθὺς ἡ πάροδος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ἔξω μένοντι τὴν αὐτὴν ὑποτίθενται δίαιταν ἀξινάριόν τε καὶ τὸ προειρημένον περίζωμα καὶ λευκὴν ἐσθῆτα δόντες. [138] ἐπειδὰν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ πεῖραν ἐγκρατείας δῷ, πρόσεισιν μὲν ἔγγιον τῇ διαίτῃ καὶ καθαρωτέρων τῶν πρὸς ἁγνείαν ὑδάτων μεταλαμβάνει, παραλαμβάνεται δὲ εἰς τὰς συμβιώσεις οὐδέπω. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν τῆς καρτερίας ἐπίδειξιν δυσὶν ἄλλοις ἔτεσιν τὸ ἦθος δοκιμάζεται καὶ φανεὶς ἄξιος οὕτως εἰς τὸν ὅμιλον ἐγκρίνεται. [139] πρὶν δὲ τῆς κοινῆς ἅψασθαι τροφῆς ὅρκους αὐτοῖς ὄμνυσι φρικώδεις, πρῶτον μὲν εὐσεβήσειν τὸ θεῖον, ἔπειτα τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους δίκαια φυλάξειν καὶ μήτε κατὰ γνώμην βλάψειν τινὰ μήτε ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος, μισήσειν δ᾽ ἀεὶ τοὺς ἀδίκους καὶ συναγωνιεῖσθαι τοῖς δικαίοις: [140] τὸ πιστὸν ἀεὶ πᾶσιν παρέξειν, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς κρατοῦσιν: οὐ γὰρ δίχα θεοῦ περιγενέσθαι τινὶ τὸ ἄρχειν: κἂν αὐτὸς ἄρχῃ, μηδέποτε ἐξυβρίσειν εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν μηδ᾽ ἐσθῆτί τινι ἢ πλείονι κόσμῳ τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους ὑπερλαμπρύνεσθαι. [141] τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀγαπᾶν ἀεὶ καὶ τοὺς ψευδομένους προβάλλεσθαι: χεῖρας κλοπῆς καὶ ψυχὴν ἀνοσίου κέρδους καθαρὰν φυλάξειν καὶ μήτε κρύψειν τι τοὺς αἱρετιστὰς μήθ᾽ ἑτέροις αὐτῶν τι

μηνύσειν, κἂν μέχρι θανάτου τις βιάζηται. [142] πρὸς τούτοις ὄμνυσιν μηδενὶ μὲν μεταδοῦναι τῶν δογμάτων ἑτέρως ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς μετέλαβεν, ἀφέξεσθαι δὲ λῃστείας καὶ συντηρήσειν ὁμοίως τά τε τῆς αἱρέσεως αὐτῶν βιβλία καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ὀνόματα. τοιούτοις μὲν ὅρκοις τοὺς προσιόντας ἐξασφαλίζονται.

(8) [143] Τοὺς δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀξιοχρέοις ἁμαρτήμασιν ἁλόντας ἐκβάλλουσι τοῦ τάγματος. ὁ δ᾽ ἐκκριθεὶς οἰκτίστῳ πολλάκις μόρῳ διαφθείρεται: τοῖς γὰρ ὅρκοις καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσιν ἐνδεδεμένος οὐδὲ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις τροφῆς δύναται μεταλαμβάνειν, ποηφαγῶν δὲ καὶ λιμῷ τὸ σῶμα τηκόμενος διαφθείρεται. [144] διὸ δὴ πολλοὺς ἐλεήσαντες ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἀναπνοαῖς ἀνέλαβον, ἱκανὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν αὐτῶν τὴν μέχρι θανάτου βάσανον ἡγούμενοι.

(9) [145] Περὶ δὲ τὰς κρίσεις ἀκριβέστατοι καὶ δίκαιοι, καὶ δικάζουσι μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν ἑκατὸν συνελθόντες, τὸ δ᾽ ὁρισθὲν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀκίνητον. σέβας δὲ μέγα παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς μετὰ τὸν θεὸν τοὔνομα τοῦ νομοθέτου, κἂν βλασφημήσῃ τις εἰς τοῦτον κολάζεται θανάτῳ. [146] τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέροις ὑπακούουσιν καὶ τοῖς πλείοσιν ἐν καλῷ: δέκα γοῦν συγκαθεζομένων οὐκ ἂν λαλήσειέν τις ἀκόντων τῶν ἐννέα. [147] καὶ τὸ πτύσαι δὲ εἰς μέσους ἢ τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος φυλάσσονται καὶ ταῖς ἑβδομάσιν ἔργων ἐφάπτεσθαι διαφορώτατα Ἰουδαίων ἁπάντων: οὐ μόνον γὰρ τροφὰς ἑαυτοῖς πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας παρασκευάζουσιν, ὡς μὴ πῦρ ἐναύοιεν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ σκεῦός τι μετακινῆσαι θαρροῦσιν οὐδὲ ἀποπατεῖν. [148] ταῖς δ᾽ ἄλλαις ἡμέραις βόθρον ὀρύσσοντες βάθος ποδιαῖον τῇ σκαλίδι, τοιοῦτον γάρ ἐστιν τὸ διδόμενον ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀξινίδιον τοῖς νεοσυστάτοις, καὶ περικαλύψαντες θοιμάτιον, ὡς μὴ τὰς αὐγὰς ὑβρίζοιεν τοῦ θεοῦ, θακεύουσιν εἰς αὐτόν. [149] ἔπειτα τὴν ἀνορυχθεῖσαν γῆν ἐφέλκουσιν εἰς τὸν βόθρον: καὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦσι τοὺς ἐρημοτέρους τόπους ἐκλεγόμενοι. καίπερ δὴ φυσικῆς οὔσης τῆς τῶν λυμάτων ἐκκρίσεως ἀπολούεσθαι μετ᾽ αὐτὴν καθάπερ μεμιασμένοις ἔθιμον.

(10) [150] Διῄρηνται δὲ κατὰ χρόνον τῆς ἀσκήσεως εἰς μοίρας τέσσαρας, καὶ τοσοῦτον οἱ μεταγενέστεροι τῶν προγενεστέρων ἐλαττοῦνται, ὥστ᾽ εἰ ψαύσειαν αὐτῶν, ἐκείνους ἀπολούεσθαι καθάπερ ἀλλοφύλῳ συμφυρέντας. [151] καὶ μακρόβιοι μέν, ὡς τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑκατὸν παρατείνειν ἔτη, διὰ τὴν ἁπλότητα τῆς διαίτης ἔμοιγε δοκεῖν καὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν, καταφρονηταὶ δὲ τῶν δεινῶν, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀλγηδόνας νικῶντες τοῖς φρονήμασιν, τὸν δὲ θάνατον, εἰ μετ᾽ εὐκλείας πρόσεισι, νομίζοντες ἀθανασίας ἀμείνονα. [152] διήλεγξεν δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν ἅπασιν τὰς ψυχὰς ὁ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμος, ἐν ᾧ στρεβλούμενοί τε καὶ λυγιζόμενοι καιόμενοί τε καὶ κλώμενοι καὶ διὰ πάντων ὁδεύοντες τῶν βασανιστηρίων ὀργάνων, ἵν᾽ ἢ βλασφημήσωσιν τὸν νομοθέτην ἢ φάγωσίν τι τῶν ἀσυνήθων, οὐδέτερον ὑπέμειναν παθεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ κολακεῦσαί ποτε τοὺς αἰκιζομένους ἢ δακρῦσαι. [153] μειδιῶντες δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἀλγηδόσιν καὶ κατειρωνευόμενοι τῶν τὰς βασάνους προσφερόντων εὔθυμοι τὰς ψυχὰς ἠφίεσαν ὡς πάλιν κομιούμενοι.

(11) [154] Καὶ γὰρ ἔρρωται παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἥδε ἡ δόξα, φθαρτὰ μὲν εἶναι τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν ὕλην οὐ μόνιμον αὐτῶν, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἀθανάτους ἀεὶ διαμένειν, καὶ συμπλέκεσθαι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ λεπτοτάτου φοιτώσας αἰθέρος ὥσπερ εἱρκταῖς τοῖς σώμασιν ἴυγγί τινι φυσικῇ κατασπωμένας, [155] ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀνεθῶσι τῶν κατὰ σάρκα δεσμῶν, οἷα δὴ μακρᾶς δουλείας ἀπηλλαγμένας τότε χαίρειν καὶ μετεώρους φέρεσθαι. καὶ ταῖς μὲν ἀγαθαῖς ὁμοδοξοῦντες παισὶν Ἑλλήνων ἀποφαίνονται τὴν ὑπὲρ ὠκεανὸν δίαιταν ἀποκεῖσθαι καὶ χῶρον οὔτε ὄμβροις οὔτε νιφετοῖς οὔτε καύμασι βαρυνόμενον, ἀλλ᾽ ὃν ἐξ ὠκεανοῦ πραὺς ἀεὶ ζέφυρος ἐπιπνέων ἀναψύχει: ταῖς δὲ φαύλαις ζοφώδη καὶ χειμέριον ἀφορίζονται μυχὸν γέμοντα τιμωριῶν ἀδιαλείπτων. [156] δοκοῦσι δέ μοι κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔννοιαν Ἕλληνες τοῖς τε ἀνδρείοις αὐτῶν, οὓς ἥρωας καὶ ἡμιθέους καλοῦσιν, τὰς μακάρων νήσους ἀνατεθεικέναι, ταῖς δὲ τῶν πονηρῶν ψυχαῖς καθ᾽ ᾅδου τὸν ἀσεβῶν χῶρον, ἔνθα καὶ κολαζομένους τινὰς μυθολογοῦσιν, Σισύφους καὶ Ταντάλους Ἰξίονάς τε καὶ Τιτυούς, πρῶτον μὲν ἀιδίους ὑφιστάμενοι τὰς ψυχάς, ἔπειτα εἰς προτροπὴν ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας ἀποτροπήν. [157] τούς τε γὰρ ἀγαθοὺς γίνεσθαι κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀμείνους ἐλπίδι τιμῆς καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν, τῶν τε κακῶν ἐμποδίζεσθαι τὰς ὁρμὰς δέει προσδοκώντων, εἰ καὶ λάθοιεν ἐν τῷ ζῆν, μετὰ τὴν διάλυσιν ἀθάνατον τιμωρίαν ὑφέξειν. [158] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Ἐσσηνοὶ περὶ ψυχῆς θεολογοῦσιν ἄφυκτον δέλεαρ τοῖς ἅπαξ γευσαμένοις τῆς σοφίας αὐτῶν καθιέντες.

(12) [159] Εἰσὶν δ᾽ ἐν αὐτοῖς οἳ καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα προγινώσκειν ὑπισχνοῦνται, βίβλοις ἱεραῖς καὶ διαφόροις ἁγνείαις καὶ προφητῶν ἀποφθέγμασιν ἐμπαιδοτριβούμενοι: σπάνιον δ᾽ εἴ ποτε ἐν ταῖς προαγορεύσεσιν ἀστοχοῦσιν.

(13) [160] Ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ἕτερον Ἐσσηνῶν τάγμα, δίαιταν μὲν καὶ ἔθη καὶ νόμιμα τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁμοφρονοῦν, διεστὼς δὲ τῇ κατὰ γάμον δόξῃ: μέγιστον γὰρ ἀποκόπτειν οἴονται τοῦ βίου μέρος, τὴν διαδοχήν, τοὺς μὴ γαμοῦντας, μᾶλλον δέ, εἰ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ φρονήσειαν, ἐκλιπεῖν ἂν τὸ γένος τάχιστα. [161] δοκιμάζοντες μέντοι τριετίᾳ τὰς γαμετάς, ἐπειδὰν τρὶς καθαρθῶσιν εἰς πεῖραν τοῦ δύνασθαι τίκτειν, οὕτως ἄγονται. ταῖς δ᾽ ἐγκύμοσιν οὐχ ὁμιλοῦσιν, ἐνδεικνύμενοι τὸ μὴ δι᾽ ἡδονὴν ἀλλὰ τέκνων χρείαν γαμεῖν. λουτρὰ δὲ ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἀμπεχομέναις ἐνδύματα, καθάπερ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐν περιζώματι. τοιαῦτα μὲν ἔθη τοῦδε τοῦ τάγματος.

(14) [162] Δύο δὲ τῶν προτέρων Φαρισαῖοι μὲν οἱ μετὰ ἀκριβείας δοκοῦντες ἐξηγεῖσθαι τὰ νόμιμα καὶ τὴν πρώτην ἀπάγοντες αἵρεσιν εἱμαρμένῃ τε καὶ θεῷ προσάπτουσι πάντα, [163] καὶ τὸ μὲν πράττειν τὰ δίκαια καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κεῖσθαι, βοηθεῖν δὲ εἰς ἕκαστον καὶ τὴν εἱμαρμένην: ψυχήν τε πᾶσαν μὲν ἄφθαρτον, μεταβαίνειν δὲ εἰς ἕτερον σῶμα τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν μόνην, τὰς δὲ τῶν φαύλων ἀιδίῳ τιμωρίᾳ κολάζεσθαι. [164] Σαδδουκαῖοι δέ, τὸ δεύτερον τάγμα, τὴν μὲν εἱμαρμένην παντάπασιν ἀναιροῦσιν καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἔξω τοῦ δρᾶν τι

κακὸν ἢ ἐφορᾶν τίθενται: [165] φασὶν δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων ἐκλογῇ τό τε καλὸν καὶ τὸ κακὸν προκεῖσθαι καὶ κατὰ γνώμην ἑκάστου τούτων ἑκατέρῳ προσιέναι. ψυχῆς τε τὴν διαμονὴν καὶ τὰς καθ᾽ ᾅδου τιμωρίας καὶ τιμὰς ἀναιροῦσιν. [166] καὶ Φαρισαῖοι μὲν φιλάλληλοί τε καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ὁμόνοιαν ἀσκοῦντες, Σαδδουκαίων δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὸ ἦθος ἀγριώτερον αἵ τε ἐπιμιξίαι πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοίους ἀπηνεῖς ὡς πρὸς ἀλλοτρίους. τοιαῦτα μὲν περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰουδαίοις φιλοσοφούντων εἶχον εἰπεῖν.

IX

(1) [167] Τῆς Ἀρχελάου δ᾽ ἐθναρχίας μεταπεσούσης εἰς ἐπαρχίαν οἱ λοιποί, Φίλιππος καὶ Ἡρώδης ὁ κληθεὶς Ἀντίπας, διῴκουν τὰς ἑαυτῶν τετραρχίας: Σαλώμη γὰρ τελευτῶσα Ἰουλίᾳ τῇ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ γυναικὶ τήν τε αὐτῆς τοπαρχίαν καὶ Ἰάμνειαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν Φασαηλίδι φοινικῶνας κατέλιπεν. [168] μεταβάσης δὲ εἰς Τιβέριον τὸν Ἰουλίας υἱὸν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας μετὰ τὴν Αὐγούστου τελευτήν, ἀφηγησαμένου τῶν πραγμάτων ἔτεσιν ἑπτὰ καὶ πεντήκοντα πρὸς δὲ μησὶν ἓξ καὶ ἡμέραις δύο, διαμείναντες ἐν ταῖς τετραρχίαις ὅ τε Ἡρώδης καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος, ὁ μὲν πρὸς ταῖς τοῦ Ἰορδάνου πηγαῖς ἐν Πανεάδι πόλιν κτίζει Καισάρειαν κἀν τῇ κάτω Γαυλανιτικῇ Ἰουλιάδα, Ἡρώδης δ᾽ ἐν μὲν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ Τιβεριάδα, ἐν δὲ τῇ Περαίᾳ φερώνυμον Ἰουλίας.

(2) [169] Πεμφθεὶς δὲ εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἐπίτροπος ὑπὸ Τιβερίου Πιλᾶτος νύκτωρ κεκαλυμμένας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα εἰσκομίζει τὰς Καίσαρος εἰκόνας, αἳ σημαῖαι καλοῦνται. [170] τοῦτο μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν μεγίστην ταραχὴν ἤγειρεν Ἰουδαίοις: οἵ τε γὰρ ἐγγὺς πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἐξεπλάγησαν ὡς πεπατημένων αὐτοῖς τῶν νόμων, οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀξιοῦσιν ἐν τῇ πόλει δείκηλον τίθεσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀγανάκτησιν τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἄθρους ὁ ἐκ τῆς χώρας λαὸς συνέρρευσεν. [171] ὁρμήσαντες δὲ πρὸς Πιλᾶτον εἰς Καισάρειαν ἱκέτευον ἐξενεγκεῖν ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων τὰς σημαίας καὶ τηρεῖν αὐτοῖς τὰ πάτρια. Πιλάτου δὲ ἀρνουμένου περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν πρηνεῖς καταπεσόντες ἐπὶ πέντε ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας ἴσας ἀκίνητοι διεκαρτέρουν.

(3) [172] Τῇ δ᾽ ἑξῆς ὁ Πιλᾶτος καθίσας ἐπὶ βήματος ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ σταδίῳ καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τὸ πλῆθος ὡς ἀποκρίνασθαι δῆθεν αὐτοῖς θέλων, δίδωσιν τοῖς στρατιώταις σημεῖον ἐκ συντάγματος κυκλώσασθαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. [173] περιστάσης δὲ τριστιχεὶ τῆς φάλαγγος Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν ἀχανεῖς ἦσαν πρὸς τὸ ἀδόκητον τῆς ὄψεως, Πιλᾶτος δὲ κατακόψειν εἰπὼν αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ προσδέξαιντο τὰς Καίσαρος εἰκόνας, γυμνοῦν τὰ ξίφη τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔνευσεν. [174] οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι καθάπερ ἐκ συνθήματος ἀθρόοι καταπεσόντες καὶ τοὺς αὐχένας παρακλίναντες ἑτοίμους ἀναιρεῖν σφᾶς ἐβόων μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν νόμον παραβῆναι. ὑπερθαυμάσας δὲ ὁ Πιλᾶτος τὸ τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας ἄκρατον ἐκκομίσαι μὲν αὐτίκα τὰς σημαίας Ἱεροσολύμων κελεύει.

(4) [175] Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ταραχὴν ἑτέραν ἐκίνει τὸν ἱερὸν θησαυρόν, καλεῖται δὲ κορβωνᾶς, εἰς καταγωγὴν ὑδάτων ἐξαναλίσκων: κατῆγεν δὲ ἀπὸ τετρακοσίων σταδίων. πρὸς τοῦτο τοῦ πλήθους ἀγανάκτησις ἦν, καὶ τοῦ Πιλάτου παρόντος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα περιστάντες τὸ βῆμα κατεβόων. [176] ὁ δέ, προῄδει γὰρ αὐτῶν τὴν ταραχήν, τῷ πλήθει τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐνόπλους ἐσθῆσιν ἰδιωτικαῖς κεκαλυμμένους ἐγκαταμίξας καὶ ξίφει μὲν χρήσασθαι κωλύσας, ξύλοις δὲ παίειν τοὺς κεκραγότας ἐγκελευσάμενος σύνθημα δίδωσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος. [177] τυπτόμενοι δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πολλοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πληγῶν, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ καταπατηθέντες ἀπώλοντο. πρὸς δὲ τὴν συμφορὰν τῶν ἀνῃρημένων καταπλαγὲν τὸ πλῆθος ἐσιώπησεν.

(5) [178] Κἀν τούτῳ κατήγορος Ἡρώδου τοῦ τετραρχοῦντος Ἀγρίππας υἱὸς Ἀριστοβούλου, ὃν ὁ πατὴρ Ἡρώδης ἀπέκτεινεν, παραγίνεται πρὸς Τιβέριον. τοῦ δὲ μὴ προσδεξαμένου τὴν κατηγορίαν μένων ἐπὶ Ῥώμης τούς τε ἄλλους τῶν γνωρίμων ἐθεράπευεν καὶ μάλιστα τὸν Γερμανικοῦ παῖδα Γάιον ἰδιώτην ἔτι ὄντα. [179] καὶ δή ποτε ἑστιῶν αὐτὸν τά τε ἄλλα ποικίλως ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο καὶ τελευταῖον τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας φανερῶς ηὔξατο θᾶττον αὐτὸν θεάσασθαι τῶν ὅλων δεσπότην ἀποθανόντος Τιβερίου. [180] τοῦτό τις τῶν οἰκετῶν αὐτοῦ διαγγέλλει τῷ Τιβερίῳ, καὶ ὃς ἀγανακτήσας εἵργνυσιν τὸν Ἀγρίππαν καὶ μετ᾽ αἰκίας εἶχεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ μῆνας ἓξ ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ, μέχρις αὐτὸς ἐτελεύτησεν ἡγεμονεύσας ἔτη δύο πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι καὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ μησὶν ἕξ.

(6) [181] Ἀποδειχθεὶς δὲ Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἀνίησίν τε τῶν δεσμῶν τὸν Ἀγρίππαν καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου τετραρχίας, θνήσκει γὰρ οὗτος, καθίστησι βασιλέα. παραγενόμενος δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀγρίππας φθόνῳ τὰς Ἡρώδου τοῦ τετράρχου διήγειρεν ἐπιθυμίας. [182] ἐνῆγε δὲ μάλιστα τοῦτον εἰς ἐλπίδα βασιλείας Ἡρωδιὰς ἡ γυνὴ κατονειδίζουσα τὴν ἀργίαν καὶ φαμένη παρὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι πλεῖν ἐπὶ Καίσαρα στερίσκεσθαι μείζονος ἀρχῆς: ὅπου μὲν γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν ἐξ ἰδιώτου βασιλέα πεποίηκεν, ἧπου γ᾽ ἂν ἐκεῖνον διστάσειεν ἐκ τετράρχου; τούτοις ἀναπεισθεὶς Ἡρώδης ἦκεν πρὸς Γάιον, [183] ὑφ᾽ οὗ τῆς πλεονεξίας ἐπιτιμᾶται φυγῇ εἰς Γαλλίαν: ἠκολούθησεν γὰρ αὐτῷ κατήγορος Ἀγρίππας, ᾧ καὶ τὴν τετραρχίαν τὴν ἐκείνου προσέθηκεν Γάιος. καὶ Ἡρώδης μὲν ἐν Γαλλίᾳ συμφυγούσης αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τελευτᾷ.

X

(1) [184] Γάιος δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξύβρισεν εἰς τὴν τύχην, ὥστε θεὸν ἑαυτὸν καὶ δοκεῖν βούλεσθαι καὶ καλεῖσθαι τῶν τε εὐγενεστάτων ἀνδρῶν ἀκροτομῆσαι τὴν πατρίδα, ἐκτεῖναι δὲ τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίαν. [185] Πετρώνιον μὲν οὖν μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἔπεμψεν ἐγκαθιδρύσοντα τῷ ναῷ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας αὐτοῦ, προστάξας, εἰ μὴ δέχοιντο Ἰουδαῖοι, τούς τε

κωλύοντας ἀνελεῖν καὶ πᾶν τὸ λοιπὸν ἔθνος ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι. [186] θεῷ δ' ἄρα τῶν προσταγμάτων ἔμελεν. καὶ Πετρώνιος μὲν σὺν τρισὶ τάγμασι καὶ πολλοῖς ἐκ τῆς Συρίας συμμάχοις εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἤλαυνεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας, [187] Ἰουδαίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἠπίστουν ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου φήμαις, οἱ δὲ πιστεύοντες ἦσαν ἐν ἀμηχάνῳ πρὸς τὴν ἄμυναν: ταχὺ δ' ἐχώρει διὰ πάντων τὸ δέος ἤδη παρούσης εἰς Πτολεμαίδα τῆς στρατιᾶς.

(2) [188] Πόλις δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη τῆς Γαλιλαίας παράλιος κατὰ τὸ μέγα πεδίον ἐκτισμένη, περιέχεται δὲ ὄρεσιν ἐκ μὲν τοῦ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν κλίματος ἀπὸ σταδίων ἑξήκοντα τῷ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ μεσημβρινοῦ τῷ Καρμήλῳ διέχοντι σταδίους ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι, τῷ δ' ὑψηλοτάτῳ κατ' ἄρκτον, ὃ καλοῦσιν κλίμακα Τυρίων οἱ ἐπιχώριοι: [189] καὶ τοῦτο δὲ σταδίους ἀφέστηκεν ἑκατόν. τοῦ δ' ἄστεος ὅσον ἀπὸ δύο σταδίων ὁ καλούμενος Βήλεος ποταμὸς παραρρεῖ παντάπασιν ὀλίγος, παρ' ᾧ τὸ Μέμνονος μνημεῖόν ἐστιν ἔχον ἐγγὺς αὐτοῦ τόπον ἑκατονταπήχη θαύματος ἄξιον: [190] κυκλοτερὴς μὲν γάρ ἐστιν καὶ κοῖλος, ἀναδίδωσιν δὲ τὴν ὑελίνην ψάμμον, ἣν ὅταν ἐκκενώσῃ πολλὰ πλοῖα προσσχόντα, πάλιν ἀντιπληροῦται τὸ χωρίον, κατασυρόντων μὲν ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες τότε τῶν ἀνέμων εἰς αὐτὸ τὴν ἔξωθεν ἀργὴν ψάμμον, τοῦ δὲ μετάλλου πᾶσαν εὐθέως μεταβάλλοντος εἰς ὕελον. [191] θαυμασιώτερον δὲ τούτου μοι δοκεῖ τὸ τὴν ὑπερχυθεῖσαν ὕελον ἐκ τοῦ τόπου πάλιν ψάμμον γίνεσθαι εἰκαίαν. τὸ μὲν οὖν χωρίον τοῦτο τοιαύτην εἴληχεν φύσιν.

(3) [192] Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων ἀθροισθέντες εἰς τὸ πεδίον τὸ πρὸς Πτολεμαίδι καθικέτευον τὸν Πετρώνιον ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρίων νόμων πρῶτον, ἔπειτα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ πρός τε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰς δεήσεις ἐνδοὺς τοὺς μὲν ἀνδριάντας καὶ τὰς στρατιὰς ἐν Πτολεμαίδι λείπει, [193] προελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν καὶ συγκαλέσας τό τε πλῆθος καὶ τοὺς γνωρίμους πάντας εἰς Τιβεριάδα τήν τε Ῥωμαίων διεξῄει δύναμιν καὶ τὰς Καίσαρος ἀπειλάς, ἔτι δὲ τὴν ἀξίωσιν ἀπέφαινεν ἀγνώμονα: [194] πάντων γὰρ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ἐθνῶν κατὰ πόλιν συγκαθιδρυκότων τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς καὶ τὰς Καίσαρος εἰκόνας τὸ μόνους ἐκείνους ἀντιτάσσεσθαι πρὸς τοῦτο σχεδὸν ἀφισταμένων εἶναι καὶ μεθ' ὕβρεως.

(4) [195] Τῶν δὲ τὸν νόμον καὶ τὸ πάτριον ἔθος προτεινομένων καὶ ὡς οὐδὲ θεοῦ τι δείκηλον, οὐχ ὅπως ἀνδρός, οὐ κατὰ τὸν ναὸν μόνον ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν εἰκαίῳ τινὶ τόπῳ τῆς χώρας θέσθαι θεμιτὸν εἴη, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Πετρώνιος "ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἐμοὶ φυλακτέος ὁ τοὐμοῦ δεσπότου νόμος", ἔφη: "παραβὰς γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ φεισάμενος ὑμῶν ἀπολοῦμαι δικαίως. πολεμήσει δ' ὑμᾶς ὁ πέμψας με καὶ οὐκ ἐγώ: [196] καὶ γὰρ αὐτός, ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς, ἐπιτάσσομαι." πρὸς ταῦτα τὸ πλῆθος πάντ' ἐβόα πρὸ τοῦ νόμου πάσχειν ἑτοίμως ἔχειν. καταστείλας δ' αὐτῶν ὁ Πετρώνιος τὴν βοήν, "πολεμήσετε, εἶπεν, ἄρα [197] Καίσαρι;" καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι περὶ μὲν Καίσαρος καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ῥωμαίων δὶς τῆς ἡμέρας θύειν ἔφασαν, εἰ δὲ βούλεται τὰς εἰκόνας ἐγκαθιδρύειν, πρότερον αὐτὸν δεῖν ἅπαν τὸ Ἰουδαίων

ἔθνος προθύσασθαι: παρέχειν δὲ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἑτοίμους εἰς τὴν σφαγὴν ἅμα τέκνοις καὶ γυναιξίν. [198] ἐπὶ τούτοις θαῦμα καὶ οἶκτος εἰσῄει τὸν Πετρώνιον τῆς τε ἀνυπερβλήτου θρησκείας τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ πρὸς θάνατον ἑτοίμου παραστήματος. καὶ τότε μὲν ἄπρακτοι διελύθησαν.

(5) [199] Ταῖς δ' ἑξῆς ἀθρόους τε τοὺς δυνατοὺς κατ' ἰδίαν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐν κοινῷ συλλέγων ποτὲ μὲν παρεκάλει, ποτὲ δὲ συνεβούλευεν, τὸ πλέον μέντοι διηπείλει τήν τε Ῥωμαίων ἐπανατεινόμενος ἰσχὺν καὶ τοὺς Γαίου θυμοὺς τήν τε ἰδίαν πρὸς τούτοις ἀνάγκην. [200] πρὸς δὲ μηδεμίαν πεῖραν ἐνδιδόντων ὡς ἑώρα καὶ τὴν χώραν κινδυνεύουσαν ἄσπορον μεῖναι, κατὰ γὰρ ὥραν σπόρου πεντήκοντα ἡμέρας ἀργὰ προσδιέτριβεν αὐτῷ τὰ πλήθη, τελευταῖον ἀθροίσας αὐτοὺς καὶ "παρακινδυνευτέον ἐμοὶ μᾶλλον, [201] εἰπών, ἢ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ συνεργοῦντος πείσας Καίσαρα σωθήσομαι μεθ' ὑμῶν ἡδέως ἢ παροξυνθέντος ὑπὲρ τοσούτων ἑτοίμως ἐπιδώσω τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ψυχήν", διαφῆκεν τὸ πλῆθος πολλὰ κατευχομένων αὐτῷ, καὶ παραλαβὼν τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκ τῆς Πτολεμαίδος ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν. [202] ἔνθεν εὐθέως ἐπέστελλεν Καίσαρι τήν τε ἐμβολὴν τὴν εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἱκεσίας τοῦ ἔθνους, ὅτι τε, εἰ μὴ βούλεται πρὸς τοῖς ἀνδράσιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀπολέσαι, δέοι φυλάττειν τε αὐτοὺς τὸν νόμον καὶ παριέναι τὸ πρόσταγμα. [203] ταύταις ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς οὐ σφόδρα μετρίως ἀντέγραψεν ὁ Γάιος, ἀπειλῶν Πετρωνίῳ θάνατον, ὅτι τῶν προσταγμάτων αὐτοῦ βραδὺς ὑπηρέτης ἐγίνετο. ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν τούτων γραμματοφόρους συνέβη χειμασθῆναι τρεῖς μῆνας ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, τὸν δὲ Γαίου θάνατον ἄλλοι καταγγέλλοντες εὐπλόουν. ἔφθη γοῦν τὰς περὶ τούτων Πετρώνιος λαβὼν ἐπιστολὰς ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέραις ἢ τὰς καθ' ἑαυτοῦ.

XI

(1) [204] Γαίου δὲ ἡγεμονεύσαντος ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ὀκτὼ καὶ δολοφονηθέντος ἁρπάζεται μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ στρατευμάτων [εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν] Κλαύδιος, [205] ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἐξηγουμένων τῶν ὑπάτων Σεντίου Σατορνίνου καὶ Πομπωνίου Σεκούνδου τρισὶν ταῖς συμμενούσαις σπείραις ἐπιτρέψασα φυλάττειν τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον ἠθροίσθη καὶ διὰ τὴν ὠμότητα τὴν Γαίου Κλαυδίῳ πολεμεῖν ἐψηφίζετο: καταστήσεσθαι γὰρ δι' ἀριστοκρατίας, ὥσπερ οὖν πάλαι διῳκεῖτο, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἢ κρινεῖν ψήφῳ τὸν ἄξιον τῆς ἡγεμονίας.

(2) [206] Συνέβη τηνικαῦτα πρὸς ἐπιδημοῦντα τὸν Ἀγρίππαν τήν τε σύγκλητον καλοῦσαν εἰς συμβουλίαν πέμψαι καὶ Κλαύδιον ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς, ὅπως πρὸς ἃ δέοι χρήσιμος αὐτοῖς γένοιτο. κἀκεῖνος συνιδὼν τὸν ἤδη τῇ δυνάμει Καίσαρα πρὸς Κλαύδιον ἄπεισιν. [207] ὁ δ' αὐτὸν πρεσβευτὴν πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἀναπέμπει δηλοῦντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ προαίρεσιν, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἄκων ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἁρπαγείη, καὶ οὔτε τὴν ἐκείνων σπουδὴν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν δίκαιον οὔτε

ἀσφαλὲς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τύχην κρίνοι: καὶ γὰρ τὸ τυχεῖν τῆς ἡγεμονικῆς κλήσεως ἐπικίνδυνον εἶναι: [208] ἔπειθ᾽ ὅτι διοικήσει τὴν ἀρχὴν ὥσπερ ἀγαθὸς προστάτης, οὐχ ὡς τύραννος: ἀρκεῖσθαι γὰρ τῇ τιμῇ τῆς προσηγορίας, τὴν δ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστῳ τῶν πραγμάτων βουλὴν πᾶσιν ἀποδώσειν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ φύσει μέτριος ἦν, ἱκανὸν ὑπόδειγμα σωφροσύνης αὐτῷ προκεῖσθαι τὸν Γαίου θάνατον.

(3) [209] Ταῦτ᾽ ἀπήγγειλεν Ἀγρίππας. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ ἀπεκρίνατο καὶ στρατῷ καὶ γνώμαις ἀγαθαῖς πεποιθυῖα δουλείαν ἑκούσιον οὐχ ὑπομενεῖν. καὶ Κλαύδιος ὡς ἤκουσεν τὰ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς, πάλιν ἔπεμψεν τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἀπαγγελοῦντα αὐτοῖς ὅτι προδοῦναι μὲν τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν ὁμονοήσαντας οὐχ ὑπομένοι, πολεμήσειν δ᾽ ἄκων πρὸς οὓς ἥκιστα βούλοιτο. [210] δεῖν μέντοι προαποδειχθῆναι τῷ πολέμῳ χωρίον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως: οὐ γὰρ ὅσιον διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν κακοβουλίαν ὁμοφύλῳ φόνῳ μιαίνεσθαι τὰ τεμένη τῆς πατρίδος. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀκούσας ταῦτα τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἀπήγγειλεν.

(4) [211] Μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν μετὰ τῆς συγκλήτου στρατιωτῶν τις σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος "ἄνδρες, ἐβόησεν, συστρατιῶται, τί παθόντες ἀδελφοκτονεῖν βουλόμεθα καὶ κατὰ τῶν μετὰ Κλαυδίου συγγενῶν ὁρμᾶν, ἔχοντες μὲν αὐτοκράτορα μηδὲν μεμφθῆναι δυνάμενον, τοσαῦτα δὲ [212] τὰ δίκαια πρὸς οὓς μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων χωρεῖν μέλλομεν;" ταῦτα εἰπὼν διὰ μέσης ὥρμησεν τῆς βουλῆς πάντας τοὺς συστρατιώτας ἐφελκόμενος. οἱ δ᾽ εὐπατρίδαι παραχρῆμα μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἀπόλειψιν περιδεῶς ἔσχον, αὖθις δ᾽ ὡς ἀποστροφὴ σωτήριος οὐ κατεφαίνετο, τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁδὸν ἠπείγοντο πρὸς Κλαύδιον. [213] ὑπήντων δ᾽ αὐτοῖς πρὸ τοῦ τείχους γυμνοῖς τοῖς ξίφεσιν οἱ σφοδρότερον κολακεύοντες τὴν τύχην: κἂν συνέβη κινδυνεῦσαι τοὺς προάγοντας πρὶν γνῶναι τὴν ὁρμὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν Κλαύδιον, εἰ μὴ προσδραμὼν Ἀγρίππας αὐτῷ τὸ κινδύνευμα τῆς πράξεως ἐδήλωσεν, ὅτι τε εἰ μὴ κατάσχοι τὴν ὁρμὴν τῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς εὐπατρίδας λελυσσηκότων, ἀπολέσας δι᾽ οὓς τὸ κρατεῖν ἐστι περίοπτον ἐρημίας ἔσοιτο βασιλεύς.

(5) [214] Ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας Κλαύδιος κατέσχεν τὰς ὁρμὰς τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ προσδέχεταί τε τὴν σύγκλητον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ φιλοφρονησάμενος ἐξῄει σὺν αὐτοῖς αὐτίκα θύσων τῷ θεῷ τὰ περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας χαριστήρια. [215] καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν εὐθέως ἐδωρεῖτο τῇ πατρῴᾳ βασιλείᾳ πάσῃ προστιθεὶς ἔξωθεν καὶ τὰς ὑπ᾽ Αὐγούστου δοθείσας Ἡρῴδῃ Τραχωνῖτιν καὶ Αὐρανῖτιν, χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἑτέραν βασιλείαν τὴν Λυσανίου καλουμένην. [216] καὶ τῷ μὲν δήμῳ διατάγματι τὴν δωρεὰν ἐδήλου, τοῖς ἄρχουσιν δὲ προσέταξεν ἐγχαράξαντας δέλτοις χαλκαῖς τὴν δόσιν εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον ἀναθεῖναι: [217] δωρεῖται δ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἡρῴδην, ὁ δ᾽ αὐτὸς καὶ γαμβρὸς ἦν Βερνίκῃ συνοικῶν, βασιλείᾳ τῇ Χαλκίδι.

(6) [218] Ταχέως δ᾽ ὡς ἂν ἐκ τοσαύτης ἀρχῆς πλοῦτος Ἀγρίππᾳ προσέρρει, καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν αὐτὸς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν κατεχρήσατο: τηλικοῦτον γὰρ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις περιβαλεῖν ἤρξατο τεῖχος, ἡλίκον ἂν τελεσθὲν ἀνήνυτον Ῥωμαίοις

ἐποίησεν τὴν πολιορκίαν. [219] ἀλλ᾽ ἔφθη πρὶν ὑψῶσαι τὸ ἔργον τελευτήσας ἐν Καισαρείᾳ, βεβασιλευκὼς μὲν ἔτη τρία, πρότερον δὲ τῶν τετραρχιῶν τρισὶν ἑτέροις ἔτεσιν ἀφηγησάμενος. [220] καταλείπει δὲ τρεῖς μὲν θυγατέρας ἐκ Κύπρου γεγενημένας, Βερνίκην καὶ Μαριάμμην καὶ Δρουσίλλαν, υἱὸν δὲ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς Ἀγρίππαν. οὗ παντάπασιν ὄντος νηπίου πάλιν τὰς βασιλείας Κλαύδιος ἐπαρχίαν ποιήσας ἐπίτροπον πέμπει Κούσπιον Φᾶδον, ἔπειτα Τιβέριον Ἀλέξανδρον, οἳ μηδὲν παρακινοῦντες τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐθῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὸ ἔθνος διεφύλαξαν. [221] μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὁ βασιλεύων τῆς Χαλκίδος Ἡρώδης τελευτᾷ, καταλιπὼν ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἀδελφιδῆς Βερνίκης δύο παῖδας Βερνικιανόν τε καὶ Ὑρκανόν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς προτέρας Μαριάμμης Ἀριστόβουλον. τεθνήκει δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ ἕτερος ἀδελφὸς Ἀριστόβουλος ἰδιώτης καταλιπὼν Ἰωτάπην θυγατέρα. [222] οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἦσαν, ὡς προεῖπον, Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ Ἡρώδου παῖδες, Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκ Μαριάμμης Ἡρώδῃ γεγόνεισαν υἱεῖς, οὓς ὁ πατὴρ ἀνεῖλεν: ἡ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου γενεὰ τῆς μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας ἐβασίλευσεν.

XII

(1) [223] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἡρώδου τελευτήν, ὃς ἦρχε τῆς Χαλκίδος, καθίστησιν Κλαύδιος εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θείου τὸν Ἀγρίππαν υἱὸν Ἀγρίππα: τῆς δ᾽ ἄλλης ἐπαρχίας διαδέχεται τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου Κουμανός, ἐφ᾽ οὗ θόρυβοί τε ἤρξαντο καὶ φθορὰ πάλιν Ἰουδαίων ἐγένετο. [224] συνεληλυθότος γὰρ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν τῶν ἀζύμων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαικῆς σπείρας ὑπὲρ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ στοὰν ἐφεστώσης, ἔνοπλοι δ᾽ ἀεὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς παραφυλάττουσιν, ὡς μή τι νεωτερίζοι τὸ πλῆθος ἠθροισμένον, εἷς τις τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀνασυράμενος τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ κατακύψας ἀσχημόνως προσαπέστρεψεν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τὴν ἕδραν καὶ τῷ σχήματι φωνὴν ὁμοίαν ἐπεφθέγξατο. [225] πρὸς τοῦτο ἅπαν μὲν τὸ πλῆθος ἠγανάκτησεν, καὶ κατεβόων τοῦ Κουμανοῦ κολάζειν τὸν στρατιώτην, οἱ δὲ ἧττον νήφοντες τῶν νέων καὶ τὸ φύσει στασιῶδες ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ μάχην λίθους τε ἁρπάσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἔβαλλον. [226] καὶ Κουμανὸς δείσας μὴ τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁρμὴ γένοιτο, πλείους ὁπλίτας μεταπέμπεται. τῶν δὲ ταῖς στοαῖς ἐπιχεομένων φόβος ἐμπίπτει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀκατάσχετος, καὶ τραπέντες ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ διέφευγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν. [227] τοσαύτη δὲ περὶ τὰς ἐξόδους βία συνωθουμένων ἐγένετο, ὥστε πατηθέντας ὑπ᾽ ἀλλήλων καὶ συντριβέντας ὑπὲρ τρισμυρίους ἀποθανεῖν, γενέσθαι δὲ τὴν ἑορτὴν πένθος μὲν ὅλῳ τῷ ἔθνει θρῆνον δὲ καθ᾽ ἑκάστην οἰκίαν.

(2) [228] Μετελάμβανεν δὲ ταύτην τὴν συμφορὰν ἄλλος λῃστρικὸς θόρυβος. κατὰ γὰρ τὴν Βαιθωρὼ δημοσίαν ὁδὸν Στεφάνου τινὸς δούλου Καίσαρος ἀποσκευὴν κομιζομένην διήρπασαν λῃσταὶ προσπεσόντες. [229] Κουμανὸς δὲ

περιπέμψας τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πλησίον κωμῶν δεσμώτας ἐκέλευσεν ἀνάγεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐπικαλῶν ὅτι μὴ διώξαντες τοὺς λῃστὰς συλλάβοιεν. ἔνθα τῶν στρατιωτῶν τις εὑρὼν ἔν τινι κώμῃ τὸν ἱερὸν νόμον διέρρηξέν τε τὸ βιβλίον καὶ εἰς πῦρ κατέβαλεν. [230] Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ ὡς ὅλης αὐτοῖς τῆς χώρας καταφλεγείσης συνεχύθησαν, καὶ καθάπερ ὀργάνῳ τινὶ τῇ δεισιδαιμονίᾳ συνελκόμενοι πρὸς ἓν κήρυγμα πάντες εἰς Καισάρειαν ἐπὶ Κουμανὸν συνέδραμον ἱκετεύοντες τὸν οὕτως εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὸν νόμον αὐτῶν ἐξυβρίσαντα μὴ περιιδεῖν ἀτιμώρητον. [231] ὁ δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἠρέμει τὸ πλῆθος, εἰ μὴ τύχοι παραμυθίας, ἠξίου τε προάγειν τὸν στρατιώτην καὶ διὰ μέσων τῶν αἰτιωμένων ἀπαχθῆναι τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ κελεύει. καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν ἀνεχώρουν.

(3) [232] Αὖθις δὲ Γαλιλαίων καὶ Σαμαρέων γίνεται συμβολή. κατὰ γὰρ Γήμαν καλουμένην κώμην, ἥτις ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ κεῖται τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος, πολλῶν ἀναβαινόντων Ἰουδαίων ἐπὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἀναιρεῖταί τις Γαλιλαῖος. [233] πρὸς τοῦτο πλεῖστοι μὲν ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας συνέδραμον ὡς πολεμήσοντες τοῖς Σαμαρεῦσιν, οἱ γνώριμοι δ' αὐτῶν ἐλθόντες πρὸς Κουμανὸν ἠντιβόλουν πρὶν ἀνηκέστου πάθους εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν διαβάντα τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ φόνου: μόνως γὰρ ἂν οὕτως διαλυθῆναι πρὸ πολέμου τὸ πλῆθος. Κουμανὸς μὲν οὖν ἐν δευτέρῳ τὰς ἐκείνων ἱκεσίας τῶν ἐν χειρὶ πραγμάτων θέμενος ἀπράκτους ἀπέπεμψεν τοὺς ἱκέτας.

(4) [234] Ἀγγελθὲν δὲ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τὸ πάθος τοῦ πεφονευμένου τὰ πλήθη συνετάραξεν καὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἀφέμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαμάρειαν ἐξώρμων ἀστρατήγητοι καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων κατέχοντι πειθόμενοι. [235] τοῦ λῃστρικοῦ δ' αὐτῶν καὶ στασιώδους Δειναίου τις υἱὸς Ἐλεάζαρος καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐξῆρχον, οἳ τοῖς ὁμόροις τῆς Ἀκραβατηνῆς τοπαρχίας προσπεσόντες αὐτούς τε ἀνῄρουν μηδεμιᾶς ἡλικίας φειδὼ ποιούμενοι καὶ τὰς κώμας ἐνεπίμπρασαν.

(5) [236] Κουμανὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν ἀπὸ τῆς Καισαρείας μίαν ἴλην ἱππέων καλουμένην Σεβαστηνῶν ἐξεβοήθει τοῖς πορθουμένοις καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον πολλοὺς μὲν συνέλαβεν, πλείστους δ' ἀπέκτεινεν. [237] πρὸς δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος τῶν πολεμεῖν τοῖς Σαμαρεῦσιν ὡρμημένων οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκδραμόντες σάκκους ἀμπεχόμενοι καὶ τέφραν τῶν κεφαλῶν καταχέοντες ἱκέτευον ἀναχωρεῖν καὶ μὴ διὰ τὴν εἰς Σαμαρεῖς ἄμυναν ἐπὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα Ῥωμαίους παροξύνειν, ἐλεῆσαί τε τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸν ναὸν τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκας ἰδίας, ἃ πάντα κινδυνεύειν δι' ἑνὸς ἐκδικίαν Γαλιλαίου παραπολέσθαι. [238] τούτοις πεισθέντες Ἰουδαῖοι διελύθησαν. ἐτράποντο δὲ πολλοὶ πρὸς λῃστείαν διὰ τὴν ἄδειαν, καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν ἁρπαγαί τε ἦσαν καὶ τῶν θρασυτέρων ἐπαναστάσεις. [239] καὶ τῶν Σαμαρέων οἱ δυνατοὶ πρὸς Οὐμμίδιον Κουαδρᾶτον, ὃς ἦν ἡγεμὼν τῆς Συρίας, εἰς Τύρον παραγενόμενοι δίκην τινὰ παρὰ τῶν πορθησάντων τὴν χώραν ἠξίουν λαβεῖν. [240] παρόντες δὲ

καὶ οἱ γνώριμοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰωνάθης υἱὸς Ἀνάνου κατάρξαι μὲν ἔλεγον τῆς ταραχῆς Σαμαρέας διὰ τὸν φόνον, αἴτιον δὲ τῶν ἀποβεβηκότων Κουμανὸν γεγονέναι μὴ θελήσαντα τοὺς αὐθέντας τοῦ σφαγέντος ἐπεξελθεῖν.

(6) [241] Κουαδρᾶτος δὲ τότε μὲν ἑκατέρους ὑπερτίθεται φήσας, ἐπειδὰν εἰς τοὺς τόπους παραγένηται, διερευνήσειν ἕκαστα, αὖθις δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς Καισάρειαν τοὺς ὑπὸ Κουμανοῦ ζωγρηθέντας ἀνεσταύρωσεν πάντας. [242] ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Λύδδα παραγενόμενος πάλιν διήκουσεν τῶν Σαμαρέων, καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος ὀκτωκαίδεκα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, οὓς ἐπέπυστο μετεσχηκέναι τῆς μάχης, πελέκει διεχειρίσατο: [243] δύο δ᾽ ἑτέρους τῶν δυνατωτάτων καὶ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς Ἰωνάθην καὶ Ἀνανίαν τόν τε τούτου παῖδα Ἄνανον καί τινας ἄλλους Ἰουδαίων γνωρίμους ἀνέπεμψεν ἐπὶ Καίσαρα, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Σαμαρέων τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους. [244] παρήγγειλεν δὲ καὶ Κουμανῷ καὶ Κέλερι τῷ χιλιάρχῳ πλεῖν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης δώσοντας Κλαυδίῳ λόγον ὑπὲρ τῶν γεγενημένων. ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἀπὸ Λύδδων ἀνέβαινεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ καταλαβὼν τὸ πλῆθος ἄγον τὴν τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτὴν ἀθορύβως εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπανῆει.

(7) [245] Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην Καῖσαρ ἀκούσας Κουμανοῦ καὶ Σαμαρέων, παρῆν δὲ καὶ Ἀγρίππας ἐκθύμως ὑπεραγωνιζόμενος Ἰουδαίων ἐπειδὴ καὶ Κουμανῷ πολλοὶ τῶν δυνατῶν παρίσταντο, Σαμαρέων μὲν καταγνοὺς τρεῖς ἀνελεῖν προσέταξεν τοὺς δυνατωτάτους, Κουμανὸν δὲ ἐφυγάδευσεν. [246] Κέλερα δὲ δεσμώτην ἀναπέμψας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παραδοθῆναι Ἰουδαίοις πρὸς αἰκίαν ἐκέλευσεν καὶ περισυρέντα τὴν πόλιν οὕτω τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποκοπῆναι.

(8) [247] Μετὰ ταῦτα Ἰουδαίας μὲν ἐπίτροπον Φήλικα τὸν Πάλλαντος ἀδελφὸν ἐκπέμπει τῆς τε Σαμαρείας καὶ Γαλιλαίας καὶ Περαίας, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Χαλκίδος Ἀγρίππαν εἰς μείζονα βασιλείαν μετατίθησιν, δοὺς αὐτῷ τήν τε Φιλίππου γενομένην ἐπαρχίαν, αὕτη δ᾽ ἦν Τραχωνῖτις καὶ Βατανέα καὶ Γαυλανῖτις, προσέθηκεν δὲ τήν τε Λυσανίου βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν Οὐάρου γενομένην τετραρχίαν. [248] αὐτὸς δὲ διοικήσας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔτεσι τρισκαίδεκα, πρὸς δὲ μησὶν ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέραις τελευτᾷ καταλιπὼν Νέρωνα τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχον, [249] ὃν ταῖς Ἀγριππίνης τῆς γυναικὸς ἀπάταις ἐπὶ κληρονομίᾳ τῆς ἀρχῆς εἰσεποιήσατο καίπερ υἱὸν ἔχων γνήσιον Βρεττανικὸν ἐκ Μεσσαλίνης τῆς προτέρας γυναικὸς καὶ Ὀκταουίαν θυγατέρα τὴν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ζευχθεῖσαν Νέρωνι: γεγόνει δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκ Παιτίνης Ἀντωνία.

XIII

(1) [250] Ὅσα μὲν οὖν Νέρων δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν εὐδαιμονίας τε καὶ πλούτου παραφρονήσας ἐξύβρισεν εἰς τὴν τύχην, ἢ τίνα τρόπον τόν τε ἀδελφὸν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν μητέρα διεξῆλθεν, ἀφ᾽ ὧν ἐπὶ τοὺς εὐγενεστάτους μετήνεγκεν τὴν ὠμότητα, [251] καὶ ὡς τελευταῖον ὑπὸ φρενοβλαβείας ἐξώκειλεν εἰς σκηνὴν

καὶ θέατρον, ἐπειδὴ δι᾽ ὄχλου πᾶσίν ἐστιν, παραλείψω, τρέψομαι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ Ἰουδαίοις κατ᾽ αὐτὸν γενόμενα.

(2) [252] Τὴν μὲν οὖν μικρὰν Ἀρμενίαν δίδωσιν βασιλεύειν Ἀριστοβούλῳ τῷ Ἡρώδου, τῇ δ᾽ Ἀγρίππα βασιλείᾳ τέσσαρας πόλεις προστίθησιν σὺν ταῖς τοπαρχίαις, Ἄβελα μὲν καὶ Ἰουλιάδα κατὰ τὴν Περαίαν, Ταριχέας δὲ καὶ Τιβεριάδα τῆς Γαλιλαίας, εἰς δὲ τὴν λοιπὴν Ἰουδαίαν Φήλικα κατέστησεν ἐπίτροπον. [253] οὗτος τόν τε ἀρχιλῃστὴν Ἐλεάζαρον ἔτεσιν εἴκοσι τὴν χώραν λῃσάμενον καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ζωγρήσας ἀνέπεμψεν εἰς Ῥώμην: τῶν δ᾽ ἀνασταυρωθέντων ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ λῃστῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ κοινωνίᾳ φωραθέντων δημοτῶν οὓς ἐκόλασεν, ἄπειρόν τι πλῆθος ἦν.

(3) [254] Καθαρθείσης δὲ τῆς χώρας ἕτερον εἶδος λῃστῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπεφύετο, οἱ καλούμενοι σικάριοι, μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν καὶ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει φονεύοντες ἀνθρώπους, [255] μάλιστα [δὲ] ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς μισγόμενοι τῷ πλήθει καὶ ταῖς ἐσθῆσιν ὑποκρύπτοντες μικρὰ ξιφίδια, τούτοις ἔνυττον τοὺς διαφόρους, ἔπειτα πεσόντων μέρος ἐγίνοντο τῶν ἐπαγανακτούντων οἱ πεφονευκότες, διὸ καὶ παντάπασιν ὑπὸ ἀξιοπιστίας ἦσαν ἀνεύρετοι. [256] πρῶτος μὲν οὖν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν Ἰωνάθης ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἀποσφάττεται, μετὰ δ᾽ αὐτὸν καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἀνῃροῦντο πολλοί: καὶ τῶν συμφορῶν ὁ φόβος ἦν χαλεπώτερος, ἑκάστου καθάπερ ἐν πολέμῳ καθ᾽ ὥραν τὸν θάνατον προσδεχομένου. [257] προεσκοποῦντο δὲ πόρρωθεν τοὺς διαφόρους, καὶ οὐδὲ τοῖς φίλοις προσιοῦσιν πίστις ἦν, ἐν μέσαις δὲ ταῖς ὑπονοίαις καὶ ταῖς φυλακαῖς ἀνῃροῦντο: τοσοῦτον τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων τὸ τάχος ἦν καὶ τοῦ λαθεῖν ἡ τέχνη.

(4) [258] Συνέστη δὲ πρὸς τούτοις στῖφος ἕτερον πονηρῶν χειρὶ μὲν καθαρώτερον, ταῖς γνώμαις δὲ ἀσεβέστερον, ὅπερ οὐδὲν ἧττον τῶν σφαγέων τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τῆς πόλεως ἐλυμήνατο. [259] πλάνοι γὰρ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἀπατεῶνες προσχήματι θειασμοῦ νεωτερισμοὺς καὶ μεταβολὰς πραγματευόμενοι δαιμονᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἔπειθον καὶ προῆγον εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν ὡς ἐκεῖ τοῦ θεοῦ δείξοντος αὐτοῖς σημεῖα ἐλευθερίας. [260] ἐπὶ τούτοις Φῆλιξ, ἐδόκει γὰρ ἀποστάσεως εἶναι καταβολή, πέμψας ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοὺς ὁπλίτας πολὺ πλῆθος διέφθειρεν.

(5) [261] Μείζονι δὲ τούτου πληγῇ Ἰουδαίους ἐκάκωσεν ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ψευδοπροφήτης: παραγενόμενος γὰρ εἰς τὴν χώραν ἄνθρωπος γόης καὶ προφήτου πίστιν ἐπιθεὶς ἑαυτῷ περὶ τρισμυρίους μὲν ἀθροίζει τῶν ἠπατημένων, [262] περιαγαγὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἐρημίας εἰς τὸ ἐλαιῶν καλούμενον ὄρος ἐκεῖθεν οἷός τε ἦν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παρελθεῖν βιάζεσθαι καὶ κρατήσας τῆς τε Ῥωμαικῆς φρουρᾶς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τυραννεῖν χρώμενος τοῖς συνεισπεσοῦσιν δορυφόροις. [263] φθάνει δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν ὁρμὴν Φῆλιξ ὑπαντήσας μετὰ τῶν Ῥωμαικῶν ὁπλιτῶν, καὶ πᾶς ὁ δῆμος συνεφήψατο τῆς ἀμύνης, ὥστε συμβολῆς γενομένης τὸν μὲν Αἰγύπτιον φυγεῖν μετ᾽ ὀλίγων, διαφθαρῆναι δὲ καὶ

ζωγρηθῆναι πλείστους τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος σκεδασθὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστον διαλαθεῖν.

(6) [264] Κατεσταλμένων δὲ καὶ τούτων ὥσπερ ἐν νοσοῦντι σώματι πάλιν ἕτερον μέρος ἐφλέγμαινεν. οἱ γὰρ γόητες καὶ λῃστρικοὶ συναχθέντες πολλοὺς εἰς ἀπόστασιν ἐνῆγον καὶ πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν παρεκρότουν θάνατον ἐπιτιμῶντες τοῖς πειθαρχοῦσιν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίᾳ καὶ πρὸς βίαν ἀφαιρήσεσθαι λέγοντες τοὺς ἑκουσίως δουλεύειν προαιρουμένους. [265] μεριζόμενοι δὲ εἰς τὴν χώραν κατὰ λόχους διήρπαζόν τε τὰς τῶν δυνατῶν οἰκίας καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀνῄρουν καὶ τὰς κώμας ἐνεπίμπρασαν, ὥστε τῆς ἀπονοίας αὐτῶν πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀναπίμπλασθαι. καὶ οὗτος μὲν ὁ πόλεμος καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἀνερριπίζετο.

(7) [266] Ἑτέρα δὲ ταραχὴ συνίσταται περὶ Καισάρειαν τῶν ἀναμεμιγμένων Ἰουδαίων πρὸς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ Σύρους στασιασάντων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἠξίουν σφετέραν εἶναι τὴν πόλιν Ἰουδαῖον γεγονέναι τὸν κτίστην αὐτῆς λέγοντες: ἦν δὲ Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεύς: οἱ δὲ ἕτεροι τὸν οἰκιστὴν μὲν προσωμολόγουν Ἰουδαῖον, αὐτὴν μέντοι γε τὴν πόλιν Ἑλλήνων ἔφασαν: οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἀνδριάντας καὶ ναοὺς ἐγκαθιδρῦσαι Ἰουδαίοις αὐτὴν ἀνατιθέντα. [267] διὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἠμφισβήτουν ἑκάτεροι: προῆει δ᾽ αὐτοῖς τὸ φιλόνεικον εἰς ὅπλα καὶ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν οἱ θρασύτεροι παρ᾽ ἀμφοῖν προεπήδων ἐπὶ μάχην: οὔτε γὰρ Ἰουδαίων οἱ γεραιοὶ τοὺς ἰδίους στασιαστὰς κατέχειν οἷοί τε ἦσαν καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν αἶσχος ἐδόκει Ἰουδαίων ἐλαττοῦσθαι. [268] προεῖχον δ᾽ οἱ μὲν πλούτῳ καὶ σωμάτων ἀλκῇ, τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν τῇ παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀμύνῃ: τὸ γὰρ πλέον Ῥωμαίοις τῆς ἐκεῖ δυνάμεως ἐκ Συρίας ἦν κατειλεγμένον καὶ καθάπερ συγγενεῖς ἦσαν πρὸς τὰς βοηθείας ἕτοιμοι. [269] τοῖς γε μὴν ἐπάρχοις φροντὶς ἦν ἀναστέλλειν τὴν ταραχὴν καὶ τοὺς μαχιμωτέρους ἀεὶ συλλαμβάνοντες ἐκόλαζον μάστιξι καὶ δεσμοῖς. οὐ μὴν τὰ πάθη τῶν συλλαμβανομένων ἐνεποίει τοῖς καταλειπομένοις ἀνακοπὴν ἢ δέος, ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι μᾶλλον παρωξύνοντο πρὸς τὴν στάσιν. [270] νικῶντας δέ ποτε τοὺς Ἰουδαίους προελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ὁ Φῆλιξ μετ᾽ ἀπειλῆς ἐκέλευσεν ἀναχωρεῖν. τῶν δὲ μὴ πειθομένων ἐπιπέμψας τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀναιρεῖ συχνούς, ὧν διαρπαγῆναι συνέβη καὶ τὰς οὐσίας. μενούσης δὲ τῆς στάσεως ἐπιλέξας ἑκατέρωθεν τοὺς γνωρίμους ἔπεμψεν πρέσβεις ἐπὶ Νέρωνα διαλεξομένους περὶ τῶν δικαίων.

XIV

(1) [271] Διαδεξάμενος δὲ παρὰ τούτου τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ὁ Φῆστος τὸ μάλιστα λυμαινόμενον τὴν χώραν ἐπεξῄει: τῶν γοῦν λῃστῶν συνέλαβέν τε πλείστους καὶ διέφθειρεν οὐκ ὀλίγους. [272] ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ ὁ μετὰ Φῆστον Ἀλβῖνος τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐξηγήσατο τῶν πραγμάτων, οὐκ ἔστιν δὲ ἥντινα κακουργίας ἰδέαν παρέλειπεν. [273] οὐ μόνον γοῦν ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς πράγμασιν ἔκλεπτεν καὶ διήρπαζεν τὰς ἑκάστων οὐσίας, οὐδὲ τὸ πᾶν ἔθνος ἐβάρει ταῖς εἰσφοραῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ

λῃστείᾳ δεδεμένους ὑπὸ τῆς παρ᾽ ἑκάστοις βουλῆς ἢ τῶν προτέρων ἐπιτρόπων ἀπελύτρου τοῖς συγγενέσιν, καὶ μόνος ὁ μὴ δοὺς τοῖς δεσμωτηρίοις ὡς πονηρὸς ἐγκατελείπετο. [274] τηνικαῦτα καὶ τῶν νεωτερίζειν βουλομένων ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐθάρσησαν αἱ τόλμαι, καὶ χρήμασιν μὲν οἱ δυνατοὶ τὸν Ἀλβῖνον προσελάμβανον ὥστε τοῦ στασιάζειν αὐτοῖς παρέχειν ἄδειαν, τοῦ δημοτικοῦ δὲ τὸ μὴ χαῖρον ἡσυχίᾳ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀλβίνου κοινωνοὺς ἀπέκλινεν. [275] ἕκαστος δὲ τῶν πονηρῶν ἴδιον στῖφος ὑπεζωσμένος αὐτὸς μὲν ὥσπερ ἀρχιλῃστὴς ἢ τύραννος προανεῖχεν ἐκ τοῦ λόχου, τοῖς δορυφοροῦσι δὲ πρὸς ἁρπαγὰς τῶν μετρίων κατεχρῆτο. [276] συνέβαινεν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀφῃρημένους ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀγανακτεῖν ἐχρῆν σιωπᾶν, τοὺς ἅπληγας δὲ δέει τοῦ μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ παθεῖν καὶ κολακεύειν τὸν ἄξιον κολάσεως. καθόλου δὲ ἡ μὲν παρρησία πάντων περικέκοπτο, τυραννὶς δ᾽ ἦν διὰ πλειόνων, καὶ τὰ σπέρματα τῆς μελλούσης ἀλώσεως ἔκτοτε τῇ πόλει κατεβάλλετο.

(2) [277] Τοιοῦτον δ᾽ ὄντα τὸν Ἀλβῖνον ἀπέδειξεν ὁ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐλθὼν Γέσσιος Φλῶρος ἀγαθώτατον κατὰ σύγκρισιν. ὁ μέν γε λάθρα τὰ πολλὰ καὶ μεθ᾽ ὑποστολῆς ἐκακούργησεν, Γέσσιος δὲ τὰς εἰς τὸ ἔθνος παρανομίας ἐπόμπευσεν καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ κατακρίτων πεμφθεὶς δήμιος οὔτε ἁρπαγῆς τινα τρόπον οὔτε αἰκίας παρέλιπεν. [278] ἦν δὲ ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἐλεεινοῖς ὠμότατος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς αἰσχροῖς ἀναιδέστατος. οὔτε δὲ πλείω τις ἀπιστίαν τῆς ἀληθείας κατέχεεν οὔτε ἐν τῷ πανουργεῖν δολιωτέρας ὁδοὺς ἐπενόησεν. ᾧ τὸ μὲν κατ᾽ ἄνδρα κερδαίνειν μικρὸν ἐδόκει, πόλεις δ᾽ ὅλας ἐξεδίδυσκε καὶ δήμους ἀθρόους ἐλυμαίνετο καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐκήρυξεν ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν πᾶσιν ἐξεῖναι ληστεύειν ἐφ᾽ ᾧ μέρος αὐτὸς λήψεται τῶν λαφύρων. [279] διὰ γοῦν τὴν ἐκείνου πλεονεξίαν πάσας ἐρημωθῆναι συνέβη τὰς πόλεις καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πατρίων ἠθῶν ἐξαναστάντας φυγεῖν εἰς τὰς ἀλλοφύλους ἐπαρχίας.

(3) [280] Μέχρι μὲν οὖν ἐν Συρίᾳ Κέστιος Γάλλος ἦν διέπων τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, οὐδὲ πρεσβεύσασθαί τις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐτόλμησεν κατὰ τοῦ Φλώρου: παραγενόμενον δὲ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τῆς τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτῆς ἐνεστώσης περιστὰς ὁ δῆμος οὐκ ἐλάττους τριακοσίων μυριάδων ἱκέτευον ἐλεῆσαι τὰς τοῦ ἔθνους συμφορὰς καὶ τὸν λυμεῶνα τῆς χώρας Φλῶρον ἐκεκράγεσαν: [281] ὁ δὲ παρὼν καὶ τῷ Κεστίῳ παρεστὼς διεχλεύαζεν τὰς φωνάς. ὅ γε μὴν Κέστιος τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ πλήθους καταστείλας καὶ δοὺς ἔμφασιν ὡς πρὸς τὸ μέλλον αὐτοῖς τὸν Φλῶρον κατασκευάσειεν μετριώτερον, ὑπέστρεφεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν. [282] προέπεμπε δὲ αὐτὸν μέχρι Καισαρείας Φλῶρος ἐξαπατῶν καὶ πόλεμον ἤδη τῷ ἔθνει σκοπούμενος, ᾧ μόνῳ συγκρύψειν τὰς ἑαυτοῦ παρανομίας ὑπελάμβανεν: [283] εἰρήνης μὲν γὰρ οὔσης κατηγόρους ἔξειν ἐπὶ Καίσαρος Ἰουδαίους προσεδόκα, πραγματευσάμενος δὲ ἀπόστασιν αὐτῶν τῷ μείζονι κακῷ περισπάσειν τὸν ἔλεγχον ἀπὸ τῶν μετριωτέρων. ὁ μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἂν ἀπορραγείη τὸ ἔθνος, καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐπέτεινεν αὐτοῖς τὰς συμφοράς.

(4) [284] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ Καισαρέων Ἕλληνες νικήσαντες παρὰ Νέρωνι τῆς πόλεως ἄρχειν τὰ τῆς κρίσεως ἐκόμισαν γράμματα, καὶ προσελάμβανεν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ πόλεμος δωδεκάτῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας, ἑπτακαιδεκάτῳ δὲ τῆς Ἀγρίππα βασιλείας, Ἀρτεμισίου μηνός. [285] πρὸς δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ συμφορῶν οὐκ ἀξίαν ἔσχεν πρόφασιν: οἱ γὰρ ἐν Καισαρείᾳ Ἰουδαῖοι, συναγωγὴν ἔχοντες παρὰ χωρίον, οὗ δεσπότης ἦν τις Ἕλλην Καισαρεύς, πολλάκις μὲν κτήσασθαι τὸν τόπον ἐσπούδασαν τιμὴν πολλαπλασίονα τῆς ἀξίας διδόντες: [286] ὡς δ' ὑπερορῶν τὰς δεήσεις πρὸς ἐπήρειαν ἔτι καὶ παρῳκοδόμει τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνος ἐργαστήρια κατασκευαζόμενος στενήν τε καὶ παντάπασιν βιαίαν πάροδον ἀπέλειπεν αὐτοῖς, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ θερμότεροι τῶν νέων προπηδῶντες οἰκοδομεῖν ἐκώλυον. [287] ὡς δὲ τούτους εἶργεν τῆς βίας Φλῶρος, ἀμηχανοῦντες οἱ δυνατοὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, σὺν οἷς Ἰωάννης ὁ τελώνης. πείθουσι τὸν Φλῶρον ἀργυρίου ταλάντοις ὀκτὼ διακωλῦσαι τὸ ἔργον. [288] ὁ δὲ πρὸς μόνον τὸ λαβεῖν ὑποσχόμενος πάντα συμπράξειν, λαβὼν ἔξεισιν τῆς Καισαρείας εἰς Σεβαστὴν καὶ καταλείπει τὴν στάσιν αὐτεξούσιον, ὥσπερ ἄδειαν πεπρακὼς Ἰουδαίοις τοῦ μάχεσθαι.

(5) [289] Τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας ἑβδομάδος οὔσης τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν συναθροισθέντων στασιαστής τις Καισαρεὺς γάστραν καταστρέψας καὶ παρὰ τὴν εἴσοδον αὐτῶν θέμενος ἐπέθυεν ὄρνεις. τοῦτο τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀνηκέστως παρώξυνεν ὡς ὑβρισμένων μὲν αὐτοῖς τῶν νόμων, μεμιασμένου δὲ τοῦ χωρίου. [290] τὸ μὲν οὖν εὐσταθὲς καὶ πρᾷον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἀναφεύγειν ᾤετο χρῆναι, τὸ στασιῶδες δὲ καὶ ἐν νεότητι φλεγμαῖνον ἐξεκαίετο πρὸς μάχην. παρεσκευασμένοι δὲ εἱστήκεσαν οἱ τῶν Καισαρέων στασιασταί, τὸν γὰρ ἐπιθύσοντα προπεπόμφεσαν ἐκ συντάγματος, καὶ ταχέως ἐγένετο συμβολή. [291] προσελθὼν δὲ Ἰούκουνδος ὁ διακωλύειν τεταγμένος ἱππάρχης τήν τε γάστραν αἴρει καὶ καταπαύειν ἐπειρᾶτο τὴν στάσιν. ἡττωμένου δ' αὐτοῦ τῆς τῶν Καισαρέων βίας Ἰουδαῖοι τοὺς νόμους ἁρπάσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς Νάρβατα: χώρα τις αὐτῶν οὕτω καλεῖται σταδίους ἑξήκοντα διέχουσα τῆς Καισαρείας: [292] οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην δυνατοὶ δώδεκα πρὸς Φλῶρον ἐλθόντες εἰς Σεβαστὴν ἀπωδύροντο περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ βοηθεῖν ἱκέτευον, αἰδημόνως ὑπομιμνήσκοντες τῶν ὀκτὼ ταλάντων. ὁ δὲ καὶ συλλαβὼν ἔδησεν τοὺς ἄνδρας αἰτιώμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοὺς νόμους ἐξενεγκεῖν τῆς Καισαρείας.

(6) [293] Πρὸς τοῦτο τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀγανάκτησις ἦν, ἔτι μέντοι τοὺς θυμοὺς κατεῖχον. ὁ δὲ Φλῶρος ὥσπερ ἠργολαβηκὼς ἐκριπίζειν τὸν πόλεμον, πέμψας εἰς τὸν ἱερὸν θησαυρὸν ἐξαιρεῖ δεκαεπτὰ τάλαντα σκηψάμενος εἰς τὰς Καίσαρος χρείας. [294] σύγχυσις δ' εὐθέως εἶχεν τὸν δῆμον, καὶ συνδραμόντες εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν βοαῖς διαπρυσίοις τὸ Καίσαρος ἀνεκάλουν ὄνομα καὶ τῆς Φλώρου τυραννίδος ἐλευθεροῦν σφᾶς ἱκέτευον. [295] ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν στασιαστῶν λοιδορίας αἰσχίστους εἰς τὸν Φλῶρον ἐκεκράγεσαν καὶ κανοῦν περιφέροντες ἀπῄτουν

αὐτῷ κέρματα καθάπερ ἀκλήρῳ καὶ ταλαιπώρῳ. τούτοις οὐκ ἀνετράπη τὴν φιλαργυρίαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸ μᾶλλον χρηματίσασθαι παρωργίσθη. [296] δέον γοῦν εἰς Καισάρειαν ἐλθόντα σβέσαι τὸ τοῦ πολέμου πῦρ ἐκεῖθεν ἀρχόμενον καὶ τῆς ταραχῆς ἀνελεῖν τὰς αἰτίας, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ καὶ μισθὸν ἔλαβεν, ὁ δὲ μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἱππικῆς τε καὶ πεζικῆς ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ὥρμησεν, ἵνα τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ὅπλοις ἐΡγάσηται καὶ τῷ δέει καὶ ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς περιδύσῃ τὴν πόλιν.

(7) [297] Ὁ δὲ δῆμος προδυσωπῆσαι τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτοῦ βουλόμενος ὑπαντᾷ τοῖς στρατιώταις μετ᾽ εὐφημίας καὶ τὸν Φλῶρον θεραπευτικῶς ἐκδέχεσθαι παρεσκευάσατο. [298] κἀκεῖνος προπέμψας σὺν ἱππεῦσιν πεντήκοντα Καπίτωνα ἑκατοντάρχην ἀναχωρεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν καὶ μὴ πρὸς ὃν οὕτως ἐλοιδόρησαν αἰσχρῶς εἰρωνεύεσθαι τὰς νῦν φιλοφρονήσεις: [299] δεῖν γὰρ αὐτούς, εἴπερ γενναῖοί εἰσιν καὶ παρρησιασταί, σκώπτειν μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ παρόντα, φαίνεσθαι δὲ μὴ μόνον ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ἀλλὰ κἀν τοῖς ὅπλοις φιλελευθέρους. [300] τούτοις καταπλαγὲν τὸ πλῆθος, ἅμα καὶ τῶν περὶ Καπίτωνα ἱππέων εἰς μέσον φερομένων, διεσκεδάσθη πρὶν ἀσπάσασθαι τὸν Φλῶρον ἢ τοῖς στρατιώταις φανερὸν ποιῆσαι τὸ πειθήνιον. ἀναχωρήσαντες δὲ εἰς τὰς οἰκίας μετὰ δέους καὶ ταπεινότητος ἐνυκτέρευσαν.

(8) [301] Φλῶρος δὲ τότε μὲν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις αὐλίζεται, τῇ δ᾽ ὑστεραίᾳ βῆμα πρὸ αὐτῶν θέμενος καθέζεται, καὶ προσελθόντες οἵ τε ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ δυνατοὶ τό τε γνωριμώτατον τῆς πόλεως παρέστησαν τῷ βήματι. [302] τούτοις ὁ Φλῶρος ἐκέλευσεν τοὺς λοιδορήσαντας αὐτὸν ἐκδοῦναι, φάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀπολαύσειν τῆς ἀμύνης, εἰ μὴ προάγοιεν τοὺς αἰτίους. οἱ δὲ τὸν μὲν δῆμον ἀπέφηναν εἰρηνικὰ φρονοῦντα, τοῖς δὲ παραφθεγξαμένοις ᾐτοῦντο συγγνώμην: [303] ἐν γὰρ τοσούτῳ πλήθει θαυμαστὸν μὲν οὐδὲν εἶναί τινας θρασυτέρους καὶ δι᾽ ἡλικίαν ἄφρονας, ἀμήχανον δὲ τῶν ἡμαρτηκότων τὴν διάκρισιν ἑκάστου μετανοοῦντος καὶ δι᾽ ἃ δέδρακεν ἀρνουμένου. [304] δεῖν μέντοι γε ἐκεῖνον, εἰ προνοεῖ τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἔθνος εἰρήνης καὶ βούλεται Ῥωμαίοις περισώζειν τὴν πόλιν, μᾶλλον διὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀκαταιτιάτους συγγνῶναι καὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις πλημμελήσασιν ἢ δι᾽ ὀλίγους πονηροὺς ταράξαι δῆμον ἀγαθὸν τοσοῦτον.

(9) [305] Πρὸς ταῦτα μᾶλλον παροξυνθεὶς ἐμβοᾷ τοῖς στρατιώταις διαρπάζειν τὴν ἄνω καλουμένην ἀγορὰν καὶ κτείνειν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας. οἱ δ᾽ ἐπιθυμίᾳ κέρδους προσλαβόντες ἡγεμονικὴν παρακέλευσιν οὐ μόνον ἐφ᾽ ὃν ἐπέμφθησαν τόπον ἥρπαζον, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς πάσας ἐμπηδῶντες τὰς οἰκίας ἔσφαζον τοὺς οἰκήτορας. [306] φυγὴ δ᾽ ἦν ἐκ τῶν στενωπῶν καὶ φόνος τῶν καταλαμβανομένων, τρόπος τε ἁρπαγῆς οὐδεὶς παρελείπετο, καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν μετρίων συλλαβόντες ἐπὶ τὸν Φλῶρον ἀνῆγον: οὓς μάστιξιν προαικισάμενος ἀνεσταύρωσεν. [307] ὁ δὲ σύμπας τῶν ἐκείνης ἀπολομένων τῆς ἡμέρας ἀριθμὸς σὺν γυναιξὶν καὶ τέκνοις, οὐδὲ γὰρ νηπίων ἀπέσχοντο, περὶ τριάκοντα καὶ ἑξακοσίους συνήχθη. [308] βαρυτέραν τε ἐποίει τὴν συμφορὰν τὸ καινὸν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ὠμότητος: ὃ γὰρ μηδεὶς πρότερον

τότε Φλῶρος ἐτόλμησεν, ἄνδρας ἱππικοῦ τάγματος μαστιγῶσαί τε πρὸ τοῦ βήματος καὶ σταυρῷ προσηλῶσαι, ὧν εἰ καὶ τὸ γένος Ἰουδαίων ἀλλὰ γοῦν τὸ ἀξίωμα Ῥωμαικὸν ἦν.

XV

(1) [309] Κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας ἔτυχεν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πεπορευμένος, ὅπως Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνησθείη πεπιστευμένῳ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὑπὸ Νέρωνος καὶ πεμφθέντι διέπειν. [310] τὴν ἀδελφὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ Βερνίκην παροῦσαν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ τὴν παρανομίαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν θεωμένην δεινὸν εἰσῄει πάθος, καὶ πολλάκις τούς τε ἱππάρχους ἑαυτῆς καὶ σωματοφύλακας πέμπουσα πρὸς Φλῶρον ἐδέετο παύσασθαι τοῦ φόνου. [311] καὶ ὁ μὲν οὔτε εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀναιρουμένων οὔτε εἰς τὴν εὐγένειαν τῆς παρακαλούσης, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς μόνον τὸ λυσιτελὲς τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἁρπαγῶν ἀποβλέπων παρήκουσεν. [312] ἡ δ᾽ ὁρμὴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐλύσσησεν καὶ κατὰ τῆς βασιλίδος: οὐ μόνον γοῦν ἐν ὄμμασιν αὐτῆς ᾐκίζοντο τοὺς ἁλισκομένους καὶ διέφθειρον, ἀλλὰ κἂν αὐτὴν ἀνεῖλον, εἰ μὴ καταφυγεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν αὐλὴν ἔφθη, κἀκεῖ διενυκτέρευσεν μετὰ φυλακῆς δεδοικυῖα τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔφοδον. [313] ἐπεδήμει δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις εὐχὴν ἐκτελοῦσα τῷ θεῷ: τοὺς γὰρ ἢ νόσῳ καταπονουμένους ἤ τισιν ἄλλαις ἀνάγκαις ἔθος εὔχεσθαι πρὸ τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν ἧς ἀποδώσειν μέλλοιεν θυσίας οἴνου τε ἀφέξεσθαι καὶ ξυρήσεσθαι τὰς κόμας. [314] ἃ δὴ καὶ τότε τελοῦσα Βερνίκη γυμνόπους τε πρὸ τοῦ βήματος ἱκέτευε τὸν Φλῶρον καὶ πρὸς τῷ μὴ τυχεῖν αἰδοῦς αὐτὴν τὸν περὶ τοῦ ζῆν κίνδυνον ἐπείρασεν.

(2) [315] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐξκαιδεκάτῃ μηνὸς Ἀρτεμισίου συνηνέχθη, τῇ δ᾽ ἐπιούσῃ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ὑπερπαθῆσαν εἰς τὴν ἄνω συνέρρευσεν ἀγορὰν καὶ βοαῖς ἐξαισίοις περὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἀνωδύρετο: τὸ πλέον δὲ ἦσαν εἰς τὸν Φλῶρον ἐπίφθονοι φωναί. [316] πρὸς ὃ δείσαντες οἱ δυνατοὶ σὺν τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν τὰς ἐσθῆτας περιερρήξαντο καὶ προσπίπτοντες ἕκαστος ἐδέοντο παύσασθαι καὶ μὴ πρὸς οἷς πεπόνθασιν εἰς ἀνήκεστόν τι τὸν Φλῶρον ἐρεθίζειν. [317] ἐπείσθη δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ταχέως αἰδοῖ τε τῶν παρακαλούντων καὶ κατ᾽ ἐλπίδα τοῦ μηδὲν ἔτι τὸν Φλῶρον εἰς αὐτοὺς παρανομήσειν.

(3) [318] Ὁ δὲ σβεσθείσης τῆς ταραχῆς ἤχθετο καὶ πάλιν αὐτὴν ἀνάψαι πραγματευόμενος τούς τε ἀρχιερεῖς σὺν τοῖς γνωρίμοις μεταπέμπεται καὶ μόνον ἔφη τεκμήριον ἔσεσθαι τοῦ μηδὲν ἔτι τὸν δῆμον νεωτερίσειν, εἰ προελθόντες ὑπαντήσουσιν τοῖς ἀπὸ Καισαρείας ἀνιοῦσιν στρατιώταις: παρεγίνοντο δὲ δύο σπεῖραι. [319] τῶν δ᾽ ἔτι συγκαλούντων τὸ πλῆθος προπέμψας διεδήλου τοῖς τῶν σπειρῶν ἑκατοντάρχοις, ὅπως παραγγείλωσιν τοῖς ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτοὺς μήτε ἀντασπάσασθαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους κἄν τι κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ φθέγξωνται, χρήσασθαι τοῖς

ὅπλοις. [320] οἱ δ' ἀρχιερεῖς εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὴν πληθὺν συναγαγόντες ὑπαντᾶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις παρεκάλουν καὶ πρὸ ἀνηκέστου πάθους τὰς σπείρας δεξιοῦσθαι. τούτοις τὸ στασιῶδες ἠπείθει, καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἀπολωλότας τὸ πλῆθος ἔρρεπεν πρὸς τοὺς θρασυτέρους.

(4) [321] Ἔνθα δὴ πᾶς μὲν ἱερεὺς πᾶς δ' ὑπηρέτης τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ ἅγια σκεύη προκομίσαντες καὶ τὸν κόσμον, ἐν ᾧ λειτουργεῖν ἔθος ἦν αὐτοῖς, ἀναλαβόντες κιθαρισταί τε καὶ ὑμνῳδοὶ μετὰ τῶν ὀργάνων προσέπιπτον καὶ κατηντιβόλουν φυλάξαι τὸν ἱερὸν κόσμον αὐτοῖς καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἁρπαγὴν τῶν θείων κειμηλίων Ῥωμαίους ἐρεθίσαι. [322] τοὺς δ' ἀρχιερεῖς αὐτοὺς ἦν ἰδεῖν καταμωμένους μὲν τὴν κεφαλὴν κόνει, γυμνοὺς δὲ τὰ στέρνα τῶν ἐσθήτων διερρηγμένων. ὀνομαστὶ δ' ἕκαστον τῶν γνωρίμων καὶ κοινῇ τὸ πλῆθος ἱκέτευον μὴ δι' ἐλαχίστης πλημμελείας προδοῦναι τὴν πατρίδα τοῖς ἐπιθυμοῦσιν πορθῆσαι: [323] τίνα γὰρ ἢ τοῖς στρατιώταις φέρειν ὠφέλειαν τὸν ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀσπασμὸν ἢ διόρθωσιν αὐτοῖς τῶν συμβεβηκότων τὸ μὴ νῦν προελθεῖν; [324] εἰ δὲ δὴ δεξιώσαιντο τοὺς προσιόντας ὡς ἔθος, Φλώρῳ μὲν ἀποκοπήσεσθαι τὴν ἀφορμὴν τοῦ πολέμου, κερδήσειν δ' αὐτοὺς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸ μηδὲν παθεῖν πλέον. ἄλλως τε καὶ τὸ πείθεσθαι στασιάζουσιν ὀλίγοις, δέον αὐτοὺς δῆμον ὄντας τοσοῦτον συναναγκάζειν κἀκείνους συνευγνωμονεῖν, δεινῆς ἀκρασίας εἶναι.

(5) [325] Τούτοις μειλισσόμενοι τὸ πλῆθος ἅμα καὶ τῶν στασιαστῶν οὓς μὲν ἀπειλαῖς οὓς δὲ αἰδοῖ κατέστειλαν. ἔπειτα ἐξηγούμενοι μεθ' ἡσυχίας τε καὶ κόσμου τοῖς στρατιώταις ὑπήντων καὶ πλησίον γενομένους ἠσπάσαντο: τῶν δὲ μηδὲν ἀποκριναμένων οἱ στασιασταὶ Φλώρου κατεβόων. [326] τοῦτο ἦν σύνθημα κατ' αὐτῶν δεδομένον: αὐτίκα γοῦν οἱ στρατιῶται περισχόντες αὐτοὺς ἔπαιον ξύλοις, καὶ φεύγοντας οἱ ἱππεῖς καταδιώκοντες συνεπάτουν. ἔπιπτον δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων τυπτόμενοι, πλείους δ' ὑπ' ἀλλήλων βιαζόμενοι. [327] δεινὸς δὲ περὶ τὰς πύλας ὠθισμὸς ἦν, καὶ φθάνειν ἑκάστου σπεύδοντος βραδυτέρα μὲν ἡ φυγὴ πᾶσιν ἐγίνετο, τῶν δὲ σφαλέντων ἀπώλεια δεινή: πνιγόμενοι γὰρ καὶ κλώμενοι πλήθει τῶν ἐπιβαινόντων ἠφανίζοντο, καὶ οὐδὲ πρὸς ταφήν τις γνώριμος τοῖς ἰδίοις κατελείπετο. [328] συνέπιπτον δὲ καὶ στρατιῶται παίοντες ἀνέδην τοὺς καταλαμβανομένους καὶ διὰ τῆς Βεθεζὰ καλουμένης ἀνεώθουν τὸ πλῆθος βιαζόμενοι παρελθεῖν καὶ κρατῆσαι τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ καὶ τῆς Ἀντωνίας: ὧν καὶ Φλῶρος ἐφιέμενος ἐξῆγε τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς τὸ φρούριον ἐλθεῖν ἠγωνίζετο. [329] διήμαρτέν γε μὴν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς: ὁ γὰρ δῆμος ἄντικρυς ἐπιστραφεὶς εἶργεν τῆς ὁρμῆς, καὶ διαστάντες ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἔβαλλον. καταπονούμενοι δὲ τοῖς ὕπερθεν βέλεσιν καὶ διακόψαι τὸ τοὺς στενωποὺς ἐμφράξαν πλῆθος ἀσθενήσαντες ἀνεχώρουν εἰς τὸ πρὸς τοῖς βασιλείοις στρατόπεδον.

(6) [330] Οἱ δὲ στασιασταὶ δείσαντες μὴ πάλιν ἐπελθὼν ὁ Φλῶρος κρατήσῃ τοῦ ἱεροῦ διὰ τῆς Ἀντωνίας, ἀναβάντες εὐθέως τὰς συνεχεῖς στοὰς τοῦ ἱεροῦ πρὸς

τὴν Ἀντωνίαν διέκοψαν. [331] τοῦτ᾽ ἔψυξεν τὴν Φλώρου πλεονεξίαν: τῶν γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ θησαυρῶν ἐφιέμενος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παρελθεῖν ἐπιθυμῶν εἰς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν, ὡς ἀπερράγησαν αἱ στοαί, τὴν ὁρμὴν ἀνετράπη, καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος τούς τε ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ τὴν βουλὴν αὐτὸς μὲν ἐξιέναι τῆς πόλεως ἔφη, φρουρὰν δ᾽ ἐγκαταλείψειν αὐτοῖς ὅσην ἂν ἀξιώσωσιν. [332] τῶν δὲ πάντα περὶ ἀσφαλείας καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν νεωτερίσειν ὑποσχομένων, εἰ μίαν αὐτοῖς καταλείποι σπεῖραν, μὴ μέντοι τὴν μαχεσαμένην: πρὸς γὰρ ταύτην ἀπεχθῶς δι᾽ ἃ πέπονθεν ἔχειν τὸ πλῆθος: ἀλλάξας τὴν σπεῖραν, ὡς ἠξίουν, μετὰ τῆς λοιπῆς δυνάμεως ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Καισάρειαν.

XVI

(1) [333] Ἑτέραν δὲ ἐπιβολὴν τῷ πολέμῳ ποριζόμενος ἐπέστελλεν Κεστίῳ Ἰουδαίων ἀπόστασιν καταψευδόμενος τήν τε ἀρχὴν τῆς μάχης περιθεὶς αὐτοῖς καὶ δρᾶσαι λέγων ἐκείνους ἃ πεπόνθεσαν. οὐ μὴν οὐδ᾽ οἱ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἄρχοντες ἐσίγησαν, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοί τε καὶ Βερνίκη τῷ Κεστίῳ περὶ ὧν Φλῶρος εἰς τὴν πόλιν παρηνόμησεν ἔγραφον. [334] ὁ δὲ τὰ παρ᾽ ἀμφοῖν ἀναγνοὺς μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐβουλεύετο. τοῖς μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ἐδόκει Κέστιον μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἀναβαίνειν ἢ τιμωρησόμενον τὴν ἀπόστασιν, εἰ γέγονεν, ἢ βεβαιοτέρους καταστήσοντα Ἰουδαίους καὶ συμμένοντας, αὐτῷ δὲ προπέμψαι τῶν ἑταίρων τὸν κατασκεψόμενον τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὰ φρονήματα τῶν Ἰουδαίων πιστῶς ἀναγγελοῦντα. [335] πέμπει δή τινα τῶν χιλιάρχων Νεαπολιτανόν, ὃς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ὑποστρέφοντι περιτυχὼν Ἀγρίππᾳ τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ Ἰάμνειαν τόν τε πέμψαντα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἐδήλωσεν.

(2) [336] Ἔνθα καὶ Ἰουδαίων οἵ τε ἀρχιερεῖς ἅμα τοῖς δυνατοῖς καὶ ἡ βουλὴ παρῆν δεξιουμένη τὸν βασιλέα. μετὰ δὲ τὴν εἰς ἐκεῖνον θεραπείαν ἀπωδύροντο τὰς ἑαυτῶν συμφορὰς καὶ τὴν Φλώρου διεξῆεσαν ὠμότητα. [337] πρὸς ἣν ἠγανάκτει μὲν Ἀγρίππας, στρατηγικῶς δὲ τὴν ὀργὴν εἰς οὓς ἠλέει Ἰουδαίους μετέφερεν, ταπεινοῦν αὐτῶν βουλόμενος τὰ φρονήματα καὶ τῷ μὴ δοκεῖν ἀδίκως τι παθεῖν τῆς ἀμύνης ἀποτρέπων. [338] οἱ μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἂν ὄντες ἔκκριτοι καὶ διὰ τὰς ἑαυτῶν κτήσεις ἐπιθυμοῦντες εἰρήνης, συνίεσαν εὐνοικὴν τὴν ἐπίπληξιν τοῦ βασιλέως: ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπὶ ἑξήκοντα προελθὼν σταδίους ἐδεξιοῦτο τὸν Ἀγρίππαν καὶ τὸν Νεαπολιτανόν. [339] ἐκώκυον δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀπεσφαγμένων αἱ γυναῖκες προεκθέουσαι, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τούτων οἰμωγὴν ὁ δῆμος εἰς ὀλοφυρμοὺς τραπόμενος ἐπικουρεῖν τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἱκέτευεν, τοῦ τε Νεαπολιτανοῦ κατεβόων ὅσα πάθοιεν ὑπὸ Φλώρου καὶ παρελθοῦσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν τήν τε ἀγορὰν ἠρημωμένην ἐπεδείκνυσαν καὶ πεπορθημένας τὰς οἰκίας. [340] ἔπειτα δι᾽ Ἀγρίππα πείθουσι τὸν Νεαπολιτανὸν σὺν ἑνὶ θεράποντι περιελθεῖν μέχρι τοῦ Σιλωᾶ τὴν πόλιν, ἵνα γνῷ Ἰουδαίους τοῖς

μὲν ἄλλοις Ῥωμαίοις ἅπασιν εἴκοντας, μόνῳ δ᾽ ἀπεχθανομένους Φλώρῳ δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς ὠμότητος. ὁ δὲ ὡς διοδεύσας πεῖραν ἱκανὴν ἔλαβεν τῆς πραότητος αὐτῶν, εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀναβαίνει. [341] ἔνθα συγκαλέσας τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν εἰς πίστιν αὐτοὺς τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπαινέσας, πολλὰ δὲ εἰς τὸ τηρεῖν τὴν εἰρήνην προτρεψάμενος καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ προσκυνήσας ὅθεν ἐξῆν τὰ ἅγια πρὸς Κέστιον ἐπανῄει.

(3) [342] Τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπί τε τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς τραπόμενον πέμπειν κατὰ Φλώρου πρέσβεις ἠξίου πρὸς Νέρωνα καὶ μὴ σιωπῶντας ἐπὶ τοσούτῳ φόνῳ καταλιπεῖν ἑαυτοῖς ὑπόνοιαν ἀποστάσεως: δόξειν γὰρ αὐτοὶ κατάρξαι τῶν ὅπλων, εἰ μὴ φθάσαντες ἐνδείξαιντο τὸν κατάρξαντα: [343] φανεροὶ δ᾽ ἦσαν οὐκ ἠρεμήσοντες, εἰ τὴν πρεσβείαν τις ἀποκωλύει. Ἀγρίππᾳ δὲ τὸ μὲν χειροτονεῖν Φλώρου κατηγόρους ἐπίφθονον, τὸ περιιδεῖν δὲ Ἰουδαίους εἰς πόλεμον ἐκριπισθέντας οὐδὲ αὐτῷ λυσιτελὲς κατεφαίνετο. [344] προσκαλεσάμενος δὲ εἰς τὸν ξυστὸν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ παραστησάμενος ἐν περιόπτῳ τὴν ἀδελφὴν Βερνίκην ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσαμωναίων οἰκίας, αὕτη γὰρ ἦν ἐπάνω τοῦ ξυστοῦ πρὸς τὸ πέραν τῆς ἄνω πόλεως, καὶ γέφυρα τῷ ξυστῷ τὸ ἱερὸν συνῆπτεν, Ἀγρίππας ἔλεξεν τοιάδε.

(4) [345] “Εἰ μὲν ἑώρων πάντας ὑμᾶς πολεμεῖν Ῥωμαίοις ὡρμημένους καὶ μὴ τοῦ δήμου τὸ καθαρώτατον καὶ εἰλικρινέστατον εἰρήνην ἄγειν προῃρημένους, οὔτ᾽ ἂν παρῆλθον εἰς ὑμᾶς οὔτε συμβουλεύειν ἐθάρρησα: περισσὸς γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν πᾶς λόγος, ὅταν ᾖ τῶν ἀκουόντων πάντων [ἡ] πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ὁμόνοια. [346] ἐπεὶ δὲ τινὰς μὲν ἡλικία τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ κακῶν ἄπειρος, τινὰς δὲ ἐλπὶς ἀλόγιστος ἐλευθερίας, ἐνίους δὲ πλεονεξία τις παροξύνει καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων, ἐὰν τὰ πράγματα συγχυθῇ, κέρδος, ὅπως αὐτοί τε σωφρονισθέντες μεταβάλωνται καὶ μὴ τῆς ἐνίων κακοβουλίας οἱ ἀγαθοὶ παραπολαύσωσιν, ᾠήθην δεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πάντας ὑμᾶς συναγαγὼν εἰπεῖν ἃ νομίζω συμφέρειν. [347] θορυβήσῃ δέ μοι μηδείς, ἐὰν μὴ τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀκούῃ: τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀνηκέστως ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπόστασιν ὡρμημένοις ἔνεστι καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐμὴν παραίνεσιν ταῦτα φρονεῖν, ἐμοὶ δὲ διαπίπτει καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούειν ἐθέλοντας ὁ λόγος, ἐὰν μὴ παρὰ πάντων ἡσυχία γένηται. [348] οἶδα μὲν οὖν ὅτι πολλοὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων ὕβρεις καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐγκώμια τραγῳδοῦσιν, ἐγὼ δὲ πρὶν ἐξετάζειν τίνες ὄντες καὶ τίσιν ἐπιχειρεῖτε πολεμεῖν, πρῶτον διαζεύξω τὴν συμπλοκὴν τῶν προφάσεων. [349] εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀμύνεσθε τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας, τί σεμνύνετε τὴν ἐλευθερίαν; εἰ δὲ τὸ δουλεύειν ἀφόρητον ἡγεῖσθε, περισσὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἡ μέμψις: καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων μετριαζόντων αἰσχρὸν ὁμοίως τὸ δουλεύειν. [350] σκοπεῖτε δὲ καὶ καθ᾽ ἕκαστον τούτων ὡς ἔστιν μικρὰ τοῦ πολεμεῖν ἡ ὑπόθεσις, καὶ πρῶτά γε τὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων ἐγκλήματα: θεραπεύειν γάρ, οὐκ ἐρεθίζειν χρὴ τὰς ἐξουσίας: [351] ὅταν δὲ τῶν μικρῶν ἁμαρτημάτων τοὺς ἐξονειδισμοὺς ποιῆσθε μεγάλους, καθ᾽ ἑαυτῶν τοὺς ὀνειδιζομένους ἀπελέγχετε,

καὶ παρέντες τὸ λάθρα καὶ μετ᾽ αἰδοῦς ὑμᾶς βλάπτειν πορθοῦσι φανερῶς. οὐδὲν δὲ οὕτως τὰς πληγὰς ὡς τὸ φέρειν ἀναστέλλει, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἡσύχιον τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι γίνεται διατροπή. [352] φέρε δ᾽ εἶναι τοὺς Ῥωμαίων ὑπηρέτας ἀνηκέστως χαλεπούς: οὔπω Ῥωμαῖοι πάντες ἀδικοῦσιν ὑμᾶς οὐδὲ Καῖσαρ, πρὸς οὓς αἱρεῖσθε τὸν πόλεμον: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐξ ἐντολῆς ἥκει τις πονηρὸς ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνων, οὐδέ γε τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν ἀνατολὴν οἱ ἀφ᾽ ἑσπέρας ἐπιβλέπουσιν: ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ ἀκούειν ταχέως τὰ ἐντεῦθεν ἐκεῖ ῥᾴδιον. [353] ἄτοπον δὲ καὶ δι᾽ ἕνα πολλοῖς καὶ διὰ μικρὰς αἰτίας τηλικούτοις καὶ μηδὲ γινώσκουσιν ἃ μεμφόμεθα πολεμεῖν. [354] καὶ τῶν μὲν ἡμετέρων ἐγκλημάτων ταχεῖα γένοιτ᾽ ἂν διόρθωσις: οὔτε γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐπίτροπος μένει διὰ παντός, καὶ τοὺς διαδεξομένους εἰκὸς ἐλεύσεσθαι μετριωτέρους: κινηθέντα δ᾽ ἅπαξ τὸν πόλεμον οὔτε ἀποθέσθαι ῥᾴδιον δίχα συμφορῶν οὔτε βαστάζειν. [355] ἀλλὰ μὴν τό γε νῦν ἐλευθερίας ἐπιθυμεῖν ἄωρον, δέον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲ ἀποβαλεῖν αὐτὴν ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρότερον: ἡ γὰρ πεῖρα τῆς δουλείας χαλεπή, καὶ περὶ τοῦ μηδ᾽ ἄρξασθαι ταύτης ὁ ἀγὼν δίκαιος. [356] ὁ δ᾽ ἅπαξ χειρωθείς, ἔπειτα ἀφιστάμενος, αὐθάδης δοῦλός ἐστιν, οὐ φιλελεύθερος. τότε τοιγαροῦν ἐχρῆν πάνθ᾽ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ δέξασθαι Ῥωμαίους ποιεῖν, ὅτε ἐπέβαινεν τῆς χώρας Πομπήιος. [357] ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν καὶ χρήμασιν καὶ σώμασιν καὶ ψυχαῖς ἄμεινον ὑμῶν πολλῷ διακείμενοι πρὸς μοῖραν ὀλίγην τῆς Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεως οὐκ ἀντέσχον: ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ τὸ μὲν ὑπακούειν ἐκ διαδοχῆς παρειληφότες, τοῖς πράγμασιν δὲ τῶν πρώτων ὑπακουσάντων τοσοῦτον ἐλαττούμενοι, πρὸς ὅλην ἀνθίστασθε τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν; [358] καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οἱ περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας παραδόντες ποτὲ καὶ πυρὶ τὴν πόλιν, οἱ τὸν ὑπερήφανον Ξέρξην διὰ γῆς πλεύσαντα καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης ὁδεύσαντα καὶ μὴ χωρούμενον μὲν τοῖς πελάγεσιν, πλατυτέραν δὲ τῆς Εὐρώπης τὴν στρατιὰν ἄγοντα, οἷα δραπέτην ἐπὶ μιᾶς νηὸς διώξαντες, περὶ δὲ τῇ μικρᾷ Σαλαμῖνι τὴν τοσαύτην Ἀσίαν κλάσαντες νῦν δουλεύουσιν Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίδα τῆς Ἑλλάδος πόλιν διοικεῖ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας προστάγματα. [359] Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ μετὰ Θερμοπύλας καὶ Πλαταιὰς καὶ τὸν ἐρευνήσαντα τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀγησίλαον ἀγαπῶσιν τοὺς αὐτοὺς δεσπότας, [360] καὶ Μακεδόνες ἔτι φανταζόμενοι Φίλιππον καὶ τὴν σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παρασπείρουσαν αὐτοῖς τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡγεμονίαν ὁρῶντες, φέρουσιν τὴν τοσαύτην μεταβολὴν καὶ πρὸς οὓς μεταβέβηκεν ἡ τύχη προσκυνοῦσιν. [361] ἄλλα τε ἔθνη μυρία πλείονος γέμοντα πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν παρρησίας εἴκει: μόνοι δ᾽ ὑμεῖς ἀδοξεῖτε δουλεύειν οἷς ὑποτέτακται τὰ πάντα. ποίᾳ στρατιᾷ ποίοις πεποιθότες ὅπλοις; ποῦ μὲν ὁ στόλος ὑμῖν διαληψόμενος τὰς Ῥωμαίων θαλάσσας; ποῦ δ᾽ οἱ ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς ἐξαρκέσοντες θησαυροί; [362] πρὸς Αἰγυπτίους ἄρα καὶ πρὸς Ἄραβας οἴεσθε κινεῖν τὸν πόλεμον; οὐ περισκέψεσθε τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν; οὐ μετρήσετε τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀσθένειαν; οὐ τὰ μὲν ἡμέτερα καὶ τῶν προσοίκων ἐθνῶν ἠττήθη πολλάκις, ἡ δὲ ἐκείνων ἰσχὺς διὰ τῆς

οἰκουμένης ἀνίκητος; [363] μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ταύτης ἐζήτησάν τι πλέον: οὐ γὰρ ἐξήρκεσεν αὐτοῖς ὅλος Εὐφράτης ὑπὸ τὴν ἀνατολὴν οὐδὲ τῶν προσαρκτίων ὁ Ἴστρος ἥ τε μεσημβρινὴ μέχρι τῶν ἀοικήτων ἐρευνηθεῖσα Λιβύη καὶ Γάδειρα πρὸς ἑσπέραν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ ὠκεανὸν ἑτέραν ἐζήτησαν οἰκουμένην καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἀνιστορήτων πρότερον Βρεττανῶν διήνεγκαν τὰ ὅπλα. [364] τί οὖν; ὑμεῖς πλουσιώτεροι Γαλατῶν, ἰσχυρότεροι Γερμανῶν, Ἑλλήνων συνετώτεροι, πλείους τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐστὲ πάντων; τί τὸ πεποιθὸς ὑμᾶς κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐπαίρει; χαλεπὸν τὸ δουλεύειν, ἐρεῖ τις. [365] πόσῳ μᾶλλον Ἕλλησιν, οἳ τῶν ὑφ᾽ ἡλίῳ πάντων προύχοντες εὐγενείᾳ καὶ τοσαύτην νεμόμενοι χώραν ἓξ Ῥωμαίων ὑπείκουσιν ῥάβδοις, τοσαύταις δὲ καὶ Μακεδόνες οἱ δικαιότερον ὑμῶν ὀφείλοντες ἐλευθερίας ἀντιποιεῖσθαι. [366] τί δ᾽ αἱ πεντακόσιαι τῆς Ἀσίας πόλεις; οὐ δίχα φρουρᾶς ἕνα προσκυνοῦσιν ἡγεμόνα καὶ τὰς ὑπατικὰς ῥάβδους; τί χρὴ λέγειν Ἠνιόχους τε καὶ Κόλχους καὶ τὸ τῶν Ταύρων φῦλον, Βοσπορανούς τε καὶ τὰ περίοικα τοῦ Πόντου καὶ τῆς Μαιώτιδος ἔθνη; [367] παρ᾽ οἷς πρὶν μὲν οὐδ᾽ οἰκεῖος ἐγιγνώσκετο δεσπότης, νῦν δὲ τρισχιλίοις ὁπλίταις ὑποτάσσεται, καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς μακραὶ τὴν πρὶν ἄπλωτον καὶ ἀγρίαν εἰρηνεύουσι θάλασσαν. [368] πόσα Βιθυνία καὶ Καππαδοκία καὶ τὸ Παμφύλιον ἔθνος Λύκιοί τε καὶ Κίλικες ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἔχοντες εἰπεῖν χωρὶς ὅπλων φορολογοῦνται; τί δαί; Θρᾷκες οἱ πέντε μὲν εὖρος ἑπτὰ δὲ μῆκος ἡμερῶν χώραν διειληφότες, τραχυτέραν τε καὶ πολλῷ τῆς ὑμετέρας ὀχυρωτέραν καὶ βαθεῖ κρυμῷ τοὺς ἐπιστρατεύσοντας ἀνακόπτουσαν, οὐχὶ δισχιλίοις Ῥωμαίων ὑπακούουσιν φρουροῖς; [369] οἱ δ᾽ ἀπὸ τούτων Ἰλλυριοὶ τὴν μέχρι Δαλματίας ἀποτεμνομένην Ἴστρῳ κατοικοῦντες, οὐ δυσὶν μόνοις τάγμασιν ὑπείκουσιν, μεθ᾽ ὧν αὐτοὶ τὰς Δακῶν ἀνακόπτουσιν ὁρμάς; [370] οἱ δὲ τοσαυτάκις πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν ἀναχαιτίσαντες Δαλμάται καὶ πρὸς τὸ μόνον ἀεὶ χειρωθέντες τότε συλλεξάμενοι τὴν ἰσχὺν πάλιν ἀποστῆναι, νῦν οὐχ ὑφ᾽ ἑνὶ τάγματι Ῥωμαίων ἡσυχίαν ἄγουσιν; [371] ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ γέ τινας εἰς ἀπόστασιν ὤφειλον ἀφορμαὶ μεγάλαι παροξύνειν, μάλιστα Γαλάτας ἐχρῆν τοὺς οὕτως ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως τετειχισμένους, ἐξ ἀνατολῆς μὲν ταῖς Ἄλπεσιν πρὸς ἄρκτῳ δὲ Ῥήνῳ ποταμῷ, μεσημβρινοῖς δὲ τοῖς Πυρηναίοις ὄρεσιν, ὠκεανῷ δὲ πρὸς δυσμῶν. [372] ἀλλὰ καίτοι τηλικαῦτα μὲν ἔρκη περιβεβλημένοι, πέντε δὲ καὶ τριακοσίοις πληθύοντες ἔθνεσιν, τὰς δὲ πηγάς, ὡς ἄν τις εἴποι, τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἐπιχωρίους ἔχοντες καὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς σχεδὸν ὅλην ἐπικλύζοντες τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἀνέχονται Ῥωμαίων πρόσοδος ὄντες καὶ ταμιευόμενοι παρ᾽ αὐτῶν τὴν οἰκείαν εὐδαιμονίαν. [373] καὶ τοῦθ᾽ ὑπομένουσιν οὐ διὰ φρονημάτων μαλακίαν οὐδὲ δι᾽ ἀγένειαν, οἵ γε διήνεγκαν ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη πόλεμον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὴν τύχην καταπλαγέντες, ἥτις αὐτοῖς κατορθοῖ πλείονα τῶν ὅπλων. τοιγαροῦν ὑπὸ χιλίοις καὶ διακοσίοις στρατιώταις δουλεύουσιν, ὧν ὀλίγου δεῖν πλείους ἔχουσι πόλεις. [374] οὐδὲ Ἴβηρσιν ὁ γεωργούμενος χρυσὸς εἰς

τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐξήρκεσεν πόλεμον οὐδὲ τὸ τοσοῦτον ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης διάστημα φῦλά τε Λουσιτανῶν καὶ Καντάβρων ἀρειμάνια οὐδὲ γείτων ὠκεανὸς φοβερὰν καὶ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἄμπωτιν ἐπάγων, [375] ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἡρακλείους στήλας ἐκτείναντες τὰ ὅπλα καὶ διὰ νεφῶν ὁδεύσαντες τὰ Πυρηναῖα ὄρη καὶ τούτους ἐδουλώσαντο Ῥωμαῖοι: φρουρὰ δ᾽ ἤρκεσεν τῶν οὕτως δυσμάχων καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀπῳκισμένων ἓν τάγμα. [376] τίς ὑμῶν οὐκ ἀκοῇ παρείληφεν τὸ Γερμανῶν πλῆθος; ἀλκὴν μὲν γὰρ καὶ μεγέθη σωμάτων εἴδετε δήπου πολλάκις, ἐπεὶ πανταχοῦ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς τούτων αἰχμαλώτους ἔχουσιν. [377] ἀλλ᾽ οὗτοι γῆν μὲν ἄπειρον νεμόμενοι, μείζω δὲ τῶν σωμάτων ἔχοντες τὰ φρονήματα καὶ τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν θανάτου καταφρονοῦσαν, τοὺς δὲ θυμοὺς τῶν ἀγριωτάτων θηρίων σφοδροτέρους, Ῥῆνον τῆς ὁρμῆς ὅρον ἔχουσιν καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὀκτὼ τάγμασιν δαμαζόμενοι δουλεύουσιν μὲν ἁλόντες, τὸ δ᾽ ὅλον αὐτῶν ἔθνος φυγῇ διασώζεται. [378] σκέψασθε δὲ καὶ τὸ Βρεττανῶν τεῖχος οἱ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμων τείχεσιν πεποιθότες: καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνους περιβεβλημένους ὠκεανὸν καὶ τῆς καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένης οὐκ ἐλάσσονα νῆσον οἰκοῦντας πλεύσαντες ἐδουλώσαντο Ῥωμαῖοι, τέσσαρα δὲ τάγματα τὴν τοσαύτην νῆσον φυλάσσει. [379] καὶ τί δεῖ πολλὰ λέγειν, ὅπου καὶ Πάρθοι, τὸ πολεμικώτατον φῦλον, τοσούτων ἄρχοντες ἐθνῶν καὶ τηλικαύτην περιβεβλημένοι δύναμιν ὁμήρους πέμπουσιν Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἰδεῖν ἐν εἰρήνης προφάσει δουλεύουσαν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς εὐγένειαν. [380] πάντων δὴ σχεδὸν τῶν ὑφ᾽ ἡλίῳ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὅπλα προσκυνούντων ὑμεῖς μόνοι πολεμήσετε μηδὲ τὸ Καρχηδονίων τέλος σκοποῦντες, οἳ τὸν μέγαν αὐχοῦντες Ἀννίβαν καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ Φοινίκων εὐγένειαν ὑπὸ τὴν Σκιπίωνος δεξιὰν ἔπεσον; [381] οὔτε δὲ Κυρηναῖοι, τὸ Λακώνων γένος, οὔτε Μαρμαρίδαι, τὸ μέχρι τῆς διψάδος ἐκτεταμένον φῦλον, οὔθ᾽ αἱ φοβεραὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν Σύρτεις Νασαμῶνές τε καὶ Μαῦροι καὶ τὸ Νομάδων ἄπειρον πλῆθος τὰς Ῥωμαίων ἀνέκοψαν ἀρετάς. [382] τὴν δὲ τρίτην τῆς οἰκουμένης μοῖραν, ἧς οὐδὲ ἐξαριθμήσασθαι τὰ ἔθνη ῥᾴδιον, ὁριζομένην Ἀτλαντικῷ τε πελάγει καὶ στήλαις Ἡρακλείοις καὶ μέχρι τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης τοὺς ἀπείρους νέμουσαν Αἰθίοπας ἐχειρώσαντο μὲν ὅλην, [383] χωρὶς δὲ τῶν ἐτησίων καρπῶν, οἳ μησὶν ὀκτὼ τὸ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην πλῆθος τρέφουσιν, καὶ ἔξωθεν παντοίως φορολογοῦνται καὶ ταῖς χρείαις τῆς ἡγεμονίας παρέχουσιν ἑτοίμους τὰς εἰσφοράς, οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπιταγμάτων ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς ὕβριν ἡγούμενοι καίπερ ἑνὸς τάγματος αὐτοῖς παραμένοντος. [384] καὶ τί δεῖ πόρρωθεν ὑμῖν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ὑποδεικνύναι δύναμιν παρὸν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τῆς γειτνιώσης, [385] ἥτις ἐκτεινομένη μέχρις Αἰθιόπων καὶ τῆς εὐδαίμονος Ἀραβίας ὅρμος τε οὖσα τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, πεντήκοντα πρὸς ταῖς ἑπτακοσίαις ἔχουσα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων δίχα τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν κατοικούντων, ὡς ἔνεστιν ἐκ τῆς καθ᾽ ἑκάστην κεφαλὴν εἰσφορᾶς τεκμήρασθαι, τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν οὐκ ἀδοξεῖ, καίτοι πηλίκον ἀποστάσεως κέντρον ἔχουσα τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πλήθους τε ἀνδρῶν ἕνεκα καὶ πλούτου πρὸς

δὲ μεγέθους: [386] μῆκος μέν γε αὐτῆς τριάκοντα σταδίων, εὖρος δ᾽ οὐκ ἔλαττον δέκα, τοῦ δὲ ἐνιαυσιαίου παρ᾽ ὑμῶν φόρου καθ᾽ ἕνα μῆνα πλέον Ῥωμαίοις παρέχει καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἔξωθεν τῇ Ῥώμῃ σῖτον μηνῶν τεσσάρων: τετείχισται δὲ πάντοθεν ἢ δυσβάτοις ἐρημίαις ἢ θαλάσσαις ἀλιμένοις ἢ ποταμοῖς ἢ ἕλεσιν. [387] ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲν τούτων ἰσχυρότερον εὑρέθη τῆς Ῥωμαίων τύχης, δύο δ᾽ ἐγκαθήμενα τῇ πόλει τάγματα τὴν βαθεῖαν Αἴγυπτον ἅμα τῇ Μακεδόνων εὐγενείᾳ χαλινοῖ. [388] τίνας οὖν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκ τῆς ἀοικήτου παραλήψεσθε συμμάχους; οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης πάντες εἰσὶν Ῥωμαῖοι, εἰ μή τις ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην ἐκτείνει τὰς ἐλπίδας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀδιαβηνῆς ὁμοφύλους οἴεται προσαμυνεῖν, [389] οἱ δ᾽ οὔτε δι᾽ αἰτίαν ἄλογον τηλικούτῳ πολέμῳ συνεμπλέξουσιν ἑαυτούς, οὔτε βουλευσαμένοις κακῶς ὁ Πάρθος ἐπιτρέψει: πρόνοια γὰρ αὐτῷ τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐκεχειρίας, καὶ παραβαίνειν οἰήσεται τὰς σπονδάς, ἄν τις τῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἴῃ. [390] λοιπὸν οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ συμμαχίαν καταφευκτέον. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις τέτακται: δίχα γὰρ θεοῦ συστῆναι τηλικαύτην ἡγεμονίαν ἀδύνατον. [391] σκέψασθε δ᾽ ὡς ὑμῖν τὸ τῆς θρησκείας ἄκρατον, εἰ καὶ πρὸς εὐχειρώτους πολεμοίητε, δυσδιοίκητον, καὶ δι᾽ ἃ μᾶλλον τὸν θεὸν ἐλπίζετε σύμμαχον, ταῦτ᾽ ἀναγκαζόμενοι παραβαίνειν ἀποστρέψετε. [392] τηροῦντές γε μὴν τὰ τῶν ἑβδομάδων ἔθη καὶ πρὸς μηδεμίαν πρᾶξιν κινούμενοι ῥᾳδίως ἁλώσεσθε, καθάπερ οἱ πρόγονοι Πομπηίῳ ταύτας μάλιστα τὰς ἡμέρας ἐνεργοὺς ποιησαμένῳ τῆς πολιορκίας, ἐν αἷς ἤργουν οἱ πολιορκούμενοι: [393] παραβαίνοντες δὲ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τὸν πάτριον νόμον οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὑπὲρ ὅτου λοιπὸν ποιήσεσθε τὸν ἀγῶνα: σπουδὴ γὰρ ὑμῖν μία τὸ μὴ τῶν πατρίων τι καταλῦσαι. [394] πῶς δὲ ἐπικαλέσεσθε τὸ θεῖον πρὸς τὴν ἄμυναν οἱ παραβάντες ἑκουσίως τὴν εἰς αὐτὸ θεραπείαν; ἐπαναιροῦνται δὲ ἕκαστοι πόλεμον ἢ θείᾳ πεποιθότες ἢ ἀνθρωπίνῃ βοηθείᾳ: ὅταν δὲ τὴν παρ᾽ ἀμφοῖν τὸ εἰκὸς ἀποκόπτῃ, φανερὰν ἅλωσιν οἱ πολεμοῦντες αἱροῦνται. [395] τί δὴ κωλύει ταῖς ἑαυτῶν χερσὶν διαχρήσασθαι τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν περικαλλεστάτην πατρίδα ταύτην καταφλέξαι; μανέντες γὰρ οὕτως τό γε τῆς ἥττης ὄνειδος κερδήσετε. καλόν, [396] ὦ φίλοι, καλόν, ἕως ἔτι ἐν ὅρμῳ τὸ σκάφος προσκέπτεσθαι τὸν μέλλοντα χειμῶνα μηδ᾽ εἰς μέσας τὰς θυέλλας ἀπολουμένους ἀναχθῆναι: τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀδήλων ἐπιπεσοῦσιν δεινοῖς τὸ γοῦν ἐλεεῖσθαι περίεστιν, ὁ δ᾽ εἰς πρόδηλον ἀπώλειαν ὁρμήσας καὶ προσονειδίζεται. [397] πλὴν εἰ μή τις ὑπολαμβάνει κατὰ συνθήκας πολεμήσειν καὶ Ῥωμαίους κρατήσαντας ὑμῶν μετριάσειν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ εἰς ὑπόδειγμα τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν καταφλέξειν μὲν τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν, ἀναιρήσειν δὲ πᾶν ὑμῶν τὸ φῦλον: οὐδὲ γὰρ περιλειφθέντες φυγῆς εὑρήσετε τόπον ἁπάντων ἐχόντων Ῥωμαίους δεσπότας ἢ δεδοικότων σχεῖν. [398] ὁ δὲ κίνδυνος οὐ τῶν ἐνθάδε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας κατοικούντων πόλεις: οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης δῆμος ὁ μὴ μοῖραν ἡμετέραν ἔχων. [399] οὓς ἅπαντας πολεμησάντων ὑμῶν κατασφάξουσιν οἱ

διάφοροι, καὶ δι᾽ ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν κακοβουλίαν πᾶσα πλησθήσεται πόλις Ἰουδαικοῦ φόνου. καὶ συγγνώμη μὲν τοῖς τοῦτο πράξασιν: ἂν δὲ μὴ πραχθῇ, λογίσασθε, πῶς πρὸς οὕτω φιλανθρώπους ὅπλα κινεῖν ἀνόσιον. [400] εἰσελθέτω δ᾽ οἶκτος ὑμᾶς εἰ καὶ μὴ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν, ἀλλὰ τῆς γε μητροπόλεως ταύτης καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν περιβόλων. φείσασθε τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἑαυτοῖς μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων τηρήσατε: ἀφέξονται γὰρ οὐκέτι Ῥωμαῖοι τούτων κρατήσαντες, ὧν φεισάμενοι πρότερον ἠχαρίστηνται. [401] μαρτύρομαι δὲ ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμῶν τὰ ἅγια καὶ τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἀγγέλους τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρίδα τὴν κοινήν, ὡς οὐδὲν τῶν σωτηρίων ὑμῖν καθυφηκάμην, ὑμεῖς δὲ βουλευσάμενοι μὲν τὰ δέοντα κοινὴν σὺν ἐμοὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἔξετε, προαχθέντες δὲ τοῖς θυμοῖς χωρὶς ἐμοῦ κινδυνεύσετε.”

(5) [402] Τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπεδάκρυσέν τε μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ πολὺ τῆς ὁρμῆς αὐτῶν ἔπαυσεν τοῖς δακρύοις. ἀνεβόων δὲ οὐ Ῥωμαίοις, ἀλλὰ Φλώρῳ δι᾽ ἃ πεπόνθασιν πολεμεῖν. [403] πρὸς τοῦτο βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας “ἀλλὰ τὰ ἔργα, ἔφη, Ῥωμαίοις ἤδη πολεμούντων ἐστίν: οὔτε γὰρ Καίσαρι δεδώκατε τὸν φόρον καὶ τὰς στοὰς ἀπεκόψατε τῆς Ἀντωνίας. [404] ἀποσκευάσαισθε δ᾽ ἂν τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἀποστάσεως, εἰ ταύτας τε συνάψετε πάλιν καὶ τελέσετε τὴν εἰσφοράν: οὐ γὰρ δή γε Φλώρου τὸ φρούριόν ἐστιν ἢ Φλώρῳ τὰ χρήματα δώσετε.”

XVII

(1) [405] Τούτοις ὁ δῆμος ἐπείθετο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς τε Βερνίκης ἀναβάντες εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν κατήρξαντο τῆς τῶν στοῶν δομήσεως, εἰς δὲ τὰς κώμας οἵ τε ἄρχοντες καὶ βουλευταὶ μερισθέντες τοὺς φόρους συνέλεγον. ταχέως δὲ τὰ τεσσαράκοντα τάλαντα, τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἔλειπεν, ἠθροίσθη. [406] καὶ τοῦ μὲν πολέμου τότε οὕτω τὴν ἀπειλὴν κατεῖχεν Ἀγρίππας, αὖθις δὲ ἐπειρᾶτο πείθειν τὸ πλῆθος ὑπακούειν Φλώρῳ, μέχρις ἀντ᾽ αὐτοῦ πέμψει Καῖσαρ διάδοχον: πρὸς ὃ παροξυνθέντες ἐβλασφήμουν εἰς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τῆς πόλεως αὐτὸν ἐξεκήρυσσον, ἐτόλμων δέ τινες τῶν στασιαστῶν καὶ λίθους ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν βάλλειν. [407] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἰδὼν τὴν ὁρμὴν ἤδη τῶν νεωτεριζόντων ἀκατάσχετον καὶ χαλεπήνας ἐφ᾽ οἷς προπεπηλάκισται, τοὺς μὲν ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν ἅμα τοῖς δυνατοῖς ἔπεμπε πρὸς Φλῶρον εἰς Καισάρειαν, ἵν᾽ ἐκεῖνος ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποδείξῃ τοὺς τὴν χώραν φορολογήσοντας, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν.

(2) [408] Κἀν τούτῳ τινὲς τῶν μάλιστα κινούντων τὸν πόλεμον συνελθόντες ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ φρούριόν τι καλούμενον Μασάδαν, καὶ καταλαβόντες αὐτὸ λάθρα τοὺς μὲν Ῥωμαίων φρουροὺς ἀπέσφαξαν, ἑτέρους δ᾽ ἐγκατέστησαν ἰδίους. [409] ἅμα δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν Ἐλεάζαρος υἱὸς Ἀνανία τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, νεανίας θρασύτατος, στρατηγῶν τότε τοὺς κατὰ τὴν λατρείαν λειτουργοῦντας ἀναπείθει μηδενὸς ἀλλοτρίου δῶρον ἢ θυσίαν προσδέχεσθαι. τοῦτο δ᾽ ἦν τοῦ πρὸς

Ῥωμαίους πολέμου καταβολή: τὴν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τούτων θυσίαν Καίσαρος ἀπέρριψαν. [410] καὶ πολλὰ τῶν τε ἀρχιερέων καὶ τῶν γνωρίμων παρακαλούντων μὴ παραλιπεῖν τὸ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἔθος οὐκ ἐνέδοσαν, πολὺ μὲν καὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ πλήθει πεποιθότες, καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἀκμαιότατον τῶν νεωτεριζόντων συνήργει, μάλιστα δ᾽ ἀφορῶντες εἰς τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον στρατηγοῦντα.

(3) [411] Συνελθόντες γοῦν οἱ δυνατοὶ τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν εἰς ταὐτὸ καὶ τοῖς τῶν Φαρισαίων γνωρίμοις ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀνηκέστοις ἤδη συμφοραῖς ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ τῶν ὅλων: καὶ δόξαν ἀποπειραθῆναι τῶν στασιαστῶν λόγοις πρὸ τῆς χαλκῆς πύλης ἀθροίζουσι τὸν δῆμον, ἥτις ἦν τοῦ ἔνδον ἱεροῦ τετραμμένη πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἡλίου. [412] καὶ πρῶτον αὐτῶν πολλὰ πρὸς τὴν τόλμαν τῆς ἀποστάσεως χαλεπήναντες καὶ τὸ τηλικοῦτον ἐπισείειν τῇ πατρίδι πόλεμον, ἔπειτα τὸ τῆς προφάσεως ἄλογον διήλεγχον, φάμενοι τοὺς μὲν προγόνους αὐτῶν κεκοσμηκέναι τὸν ναὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων τὸ πλέον ἀεὶ προσδεχομένους τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐθνῶν δωρεάς, [413] καὶ οὐ μόνον οὐ διακεκωλυκέναι θυσίας τινῶν, τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἀσεβέστατον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ βλεπόμενα καὶ τὰ παραμένοντα τοσοῦτον χρόνον ἀναθήματα περὶ τῷ ἱερῷ καθιδρυκέναι. [414] αὐτοὺς δὲ νῦν ἐρεθίζοντας τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὅπλα καὶ μνηστευομένους τὸν ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνων πόλεμον καινοτομεῖν θρησκείαν ξένην καὶ μετὰ τοῦ κινδύνου καταψηφίσασθαι τῆς πόλεως ἀσέβειαν, εἰ παρὰ μόνοις Ἰουδαίοις οὔτε θύσει τις ἀλλότριος οὔτε προσκυνήσει. [415] κἂν μὲν ἐπὶ ἰδιώτου τις ἑνὸς τοῦτον εἰσφέρῃ τὸν νόμον, ἀγανακτεῖν ὡς ὁριζομένης ἀπανθρωπίας, περιορᾶν δ᾽ ὅτε Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔκσπονδος γίνεται. [416] δεδοικέναι μέντοι, μὴ τὰς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ἀπορρίψαντες θυσίας κωλυθῶσι θύειν καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν γένηταί τε ἔκσπονδος τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἡ πόλις, εἰ μὴ ταχέως σωφρονήσαντες ἀποδώσουσιν τὰς θυσίας καὶ πρὶν ἐξελθεῖν ἐφ᾽ οὓς ὑβρίκασιν τὴν φήμην διορθώσονται τὴν ὕβριν.

(4) [417] Ἅμα ταῦτα λέγοντες παρῆγον τοὺς ἐμπείρους τῶν πατρίων ἱερεῖς ἀφηγουμένους, ὅτι πάντες οἱ πρόγονοι τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἀλλογενῶν θυσίας ἀπεδέχοντο. προσεῖχεν δὲ οὐδεὶς τῶν νεωτεριζόντων, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ προσίεσαν οἱ λῃστρικοὶ καὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου καταβολὴν ἐνσκευαζόμενοι. [418] συνιδόντες οὖν οἱ δυνατοὶ τήν τε στάσιν ἤδη δυσκαθαίρετον ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν οὖσαν καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων κίνδυνον ἐπὶ πρώτους αὐτοὺς ἀφιξόμενον ἀπεσκευάζοντο τὰς αἰτίας, καὶ πρέσβεις οὓς μὲν πρὸς Φλῶρον ἔπεμπον, ὧν ἦρχεν υἱὸς Ἀνανίου Σίμων, οὓς δὲ πρὸς Ἀγρίππαν, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν ἐπίσημοι Σαῦλός τε καὶ Ἀντίπας καὶ Κοστόβαρος προσήκοντες τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ γένος. [419] ἐδέοντο δὲ ἀμφοτέρων ἀναβῆναι μετὰ δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ πρὶν γενέσθαι δυσκαθαίρετον ἐπικόψαι τὴν στάσιν. [420] Φλώρῳ μὲν οὖν δεινὸν εὐαγγέλιον ἦν, καὶ προῃρημένος ἐξάπτειν τὸν πόλεμον οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς: [421] Ἀγρίππας δὲ κηδόμενος ἐπίσης τῶν τε ἀφισταμένων καὶ πρὸς οὓς ὁ πόλεμος ἠγείρετο, βουλόμενός τε Ῥωμαίοις μὲν Ἰουδαίους σώζεσθαι, Ἰουδαίοις δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὴν μητρόπολιν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽

ἑαυτῷ λυσιτελήσειν τὴν ταραχὴν ἐπιστάμενος, ἔπεμπεν τοὺς ἐπαμυνοῦντας τῷ δήμῳ δισχιλίους ἱππεῖς, Αὐρανίτας τε καὶ Βαταναίους καὶ Τραχωνίτας, ὑπὸ Δαρείῳ μὲν ἱππάρχῃ, στρατηγῷ δὲ τῷ Ἰακίμου Φιλίππῳ.

(5) [422] Τούτοις θαρσήσαντες οἱ δυνατοὶ σὺν τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ πᾶν ὅσον τοῦ πλήθους εἰρήνην ἠγάπα τὴν ἄνω καταλαμβάνονται πόλιν: τῆς κάτω γὰρ τὸ στασιάζον ἐκράτει καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ. [423] χερμάσιν μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῖς ἐκηβόλοις ἀδιαλείπτως ἐχρῶντο, καὶ συνεχεῖς ἦσαν βελῶν ἀφέσεις ἐξ ἑκατέρων τῶν κλιμάτων: ἔστιν δ' ὅτε καὶ κατὰ λόχους ἐκτρέχοντες συστάδην ἐμάχοντο, τόλμαις μὲν οἱ στασιασταὶ προέχοντες, ἐμπειρίᾳ δὲ οἱ βασιλικοί. [424] καὶ τούτοις μὲν ἦν ἀγὼν τοῦ ἱεροῦ κρατῆσαι μάλιστα καὶ τοὺς μιαίνοντας τὸν ναὸν ἐξελάσαι, τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον στασιασταῖς πρὸς οἷς ἔσχον καὶ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν προσλαβεῖν. ἑπτὰ μὲν οὖν ἡμέραις συχνὸς ἀμφοτέρων φόνος ἐγίνετο, καὶ οὐδέτεροι τοῦ καταληφθέντος μέρους εἶκον.

(6) [425] Τῇ δ' ἑξῆς τῆς τῶν ξυλοφορίων ἑορτῆς οὔσης, ἐν ᾗ πᾶσιν ἔθος ἦν ὕλην τῷ βωμῷ προσφέρειν, ὅπως μήποτε τροφὴ τῷ πυρὶ λείποι, διαμένει γὰρ ἄσβεστον ἀεί, τοὺς μὲν διαφόρους τῆς θρησκείας ἐξέκλεισαν, τῷ δ' ἀσθενεῖ λαῷ συνεισρυέντας πολλοὺς τῶν σικαρίων, οὕτως γὰρ ἐκάλουν τοὺς λῃστὰς ἔχοντας ὑπὸ τοῖς κόλποις ξίφη, προσλαβόντες θαρραλεώτερον ἥπτοντο τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως. [426] ἠττῶντο δ' οἱ βασιλικοὶ πλήθει τε καὶ τόλμῃ, καὶ βιασαμένοις εἶκον ἐκ τῆς ἄνω πόλεως. οἱ δὲ ἐπιπεσόντες τήν τε Ἀνανίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως οἰκίαν καὶ τὰ Ἀγρίππα καὶ Βερνίκης ὑποπιμπρᾶσιν βασίλεια: [427] μεθ' ἃ τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα ἔφερον ἀφανίσαι σπεύδοντες τὰ συμβόλαια τῶν δεδανεικότων καὶ τὰς εἰσπράξεις ἀποκόψαι τῶν χρεῶν, ὅπως αὐτοί τε πλῆθος προσλάβωσιν τῶν ὠφεληθέντων καὶ μετ' ἀδείας τοῖς εὐπόροις ἐπαναστήσωσι τοὺς ἀπόρους. φυγόντων δὲ τῶν πρὸς τῷ γραμματοφυλακείῳ τὸ πῦρ ἐνίεσαν. [428] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ νεῦρα τῆς πόλεως καταφλέξαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐχώρουν, ἔνθα δὴ τῶν δυνατῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρχιερέων οἱ μὲν εἰς τοὺς ὑπονόμους καταδύντες διελάνθανον, [429] οἱ δὲ σὺν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς εἰς τὴν ἀνωτέρω καταφυγόντες αὐλὴν ταχέως ἀπέκλεισαν τὰς θύρας, σὺν οἷς Ἀνανίας ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἐζεκίας τε ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ πρεσβεύσαντες πρὸς Ἀγρίππαν ἦσαν. τότε μὲν οὖν τῇ νίκῃ καὶ τοῖς ἐμπρησθεῖσιν ἀρκεσθέντες ἀνεπαύσαντο.

(7) [430] Τῇ δ' ἑξῆς, πεντεκαιδεκάτη δ' ἦν Λώου μηνός, ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ φρουροὺς δυσὶν ἡμέραις πολιορκήσαντες αὐτούς τε εἷλον καὶ κατέσφαξαν καὶ τὸ φρούριον ἐνέπρησαν. [431] ἔπειτα μετέβαινον εἰς τὴν αὐλήν, εἰς ἣν οἱ βασιλικοὶ κατέφυγον, καὶ διανείμαντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη τῶν τειχῶν ἐπειρῶντο. τῶν δ' ἔνδον πρὸς ἐκδρομὴν μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐθάρρει διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐφεστώτων, διιστάμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ θωράκια καὶ τοὺς πύργους ἔβαλλον τοὺς προσιόντας, καὶ συχνοὶ τῶν λῃστῶν ὑπὸ τοῖς τείχεσιν ἔπιπτον. [432] οὔτε δὲ νυκτὸς οὔτε ἡμέρας διέλειπεν ἡ συμβολὴ τῶν μὲν

στασιαστῶν ἀπαγορεύσειν τοὺς ἔνδον οἰομένων ἐνδείᾳ τροφῆς, τῶν δ᾽ ἔνδοθεν καμάτῳ τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας.

(8) [433] Κἀν τούτῳ Μανάημός τις, υἱὸς Ἰούδα τοῦ καλουμένου Γαλιλαίου, σοφιστὴς δεινότατος, ὁ καὶ ἐπὶ Κυρινίου ποτὲ Ἰουδαίους ὀνειδίσας ὅτι Ῥωμαίοις ὑπετάσσοντο μετὰ τὸν θεόν, ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς γνωρίμους ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Μασάδαν, [434] ἔνθα τὴν Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως ὁπλοθήκην ἀναρρήξας καὶ πρὸς τοῖς δημόταις ἑτέρους λῃστὰς καθοπλίσας τούτοις τε χρώμενος δορυφόροις, οἷα δὴ βασιλεὺς ἐπάνεισιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ γενόμενος ἡγεμὼν τῆς στάσεως διέτασσεν τὴν πολιορκίαν. [435] ἀπορία δ᾽ ἦν ὀργάνων, καὶ φανερῶς ὑπορύττειν τὸ τεῖχος οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν ἄνωθεν βαλλομένους: ὑπόνομον δὴ πόρρωθεν ἐφ᾽ ἕνα τῶν πύργων ὑπορύξαντες ἀνεκρήμνισαν αὐτόν, ἔπειτα τὴν ἀνέχουσαν ὕλην ἐμπρήσαντες ἐξῆλθον. [436] ὑποκαέντων δὲ τῶν στηριγμάτων ὁ μὲν πύργος ἐξαίφνης κατασείεται, τεῖχος δ᾽ ἕτερον ἔνδοθεν ἀνῳκοδομημένον διεφάνη: τὴν γὰρ ἐπιβουλὴν αὐτῶν προαισθόμενοι, τάχα καὶ τοῦ πύργου κινηθέντος ὡς ὑπωρύττετο, δεύτερον ἑαυτοῖς ἔρυμα κατεσκεύασαν. [437] πρὸς ὃ τῶν ἀδοκήτως ἰδόντων καὶ κρατεῖν ἤδη πεπεισμένων κατάπληξις ἦν. οἱ δὲ ἔνδοθεν πρός τε τὸν Μανάημον καὶ τοὺς ἐξάρχοντας τῆς στάσεως ἔπεμπον ἀξιοῦντες ἐξελθεῖν ὑπόσπονδοι, καὶ δοθὲν μόνοις τοῖς βασιλικοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις οἱ μὲν ἐξῄεσαν. [438] ἀθυμία δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καταλειφθέντας μόνους ὑπέλαβεν: οὔτε γὰρ βιάσασθαι τοσοῦτον πλῆθος ἐδύναντο καὶ τὸ δεξιὰς αἰτεῖν ὄνειδος ὑπελάμβανον, πρὸς τῷ μηδὲ πιστεύειν εἰ διδοῖτο. [439] καταλιπόντες δὴ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὡς εὐάλωτον ἐπὶ τοὺς βασιλικοὺς ἀνέφυγον πύργους, τόν τε Ἱππικὸν καλούμενον καὶ Φασάηλον καὶ Μαριάμμην. [440] οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Μανάημον εἰσπεσόντες ὅθεν οἱ στρατιῶται διέφυγον ὅσους τε αὐτῶν κατελάμβανον μὴ φθάσαντας ἐκδραμεῖν διέφθειραν, καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς διαρπάσαντες ἐνέπρησαν τὸ στρατόπεδον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἕκτῃ Γορπιαίου μηνὸς ἐπράχθη.

(9) [441] Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ὅ τε ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀνανίας περὶ τὸν τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς εὕριπον διαλανθάνων ἁλίσκεται καὶ πρὸς τῶν λῃστῶν ἀναιρεῖται σὺν Ἐζεκίᾳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, καὶ τοὺς πύργους περισχόντες οἱ στασιασταὶ παρεφύλαττον, μή τις τῶν στρατιωτῶν διαφύγοι. [442] τὸν δὲ Μανάημον ἥ τε τῶν ὀχυρῶν καταστροφὴ χωρίων καὶ ὁ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Ἀνανίου θάνατος ἐτύφωσεν εἰς ὠμότητα καὶ μηδένα νομίζων ἔχειν ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀντίπαλον ἀφόρητος ἦν τύραννος. [443] ἐπανίστανται δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον αὐτῷ, καὶ λόγον ἀλλήλοις δόντες, ὡς οὐ χρὴ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστάντας δι᾽ ἐλευθερίας πόθον καταπροέσθαι ταύτην οἰκείῳ δήμῳ καὶ δεσπότην φέρειν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν πράττοι βίαιον, ἀλλ᾽ οὖν ἑαυτῶν ταπεινότερον: εἰ γὰρ καὶ δέοι τινὰ τῶν ὅλων ἀφηγεῖσθαι, παντὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκείνῳ προσήκειν, συντίθενται καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπεχείρουν αὐτῷ: [444] σοβαρὸς γὰρ ἀναβεβήκει προσκυνήσων ἐσθῆτί τε βασιλικῇ κεκοσμημένος καὶ τοὺς

ζηλωτὰς ἐνόπλους ἐφελκόμενος. [445] ὡς δ᾽ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ὥρμησαν, ὅ τε λοιπὸς δῆμος ἐπὶ τὰς ὀργὰς λίθους ἁρπάσαντες τὸν σοφιστὴν ἔβαλλον, οἰόμενοι τούτου καταλυθέντος διατρέψειν ὅλην τὴν στάσιν, [446] πρὸς ὀλίγον οἱ περὶ τὸν Μανάημον ἀντισχόντες ὡς εἶδον πᾶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς τὸ πλῆθος ὁρμῆσαν, ἔφυγον ὅπη τις ἴσχυσεν, καὶ φόνος μὲν ἦν τῶν καταληφθέντων, ἔρευνα δὲ τῶν ἀποκρυπτομένων. [447] καὶ διεσώθησαν ὀλίγοι λάθρα διαδράντες εἰς Μασάδαν, σὺν οἷς Ἐλεάζαρος υἱὸς Ἰαείρου, προσήκων τῷ Μαναήμῳ κατὰ γένος, ὃς ὕστερον ἐτυράννησεν τῆς Μασάδας. [448] αὐτόν τε τὸν Μανάημον εἰς τὸν καλούμενον Ὀφλᾶν συμφυγόντα κἀκεῖ ταπεινῶς ὑπολανθάνοντα ζωγρήσαντες εἰς τὸ φανερὸν ἐξείλκυσαν καὶ πολλαῖς αἰκισάμενοι βασάνοις ἀνεῖλον, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνας τόν τε ἐπισημότατον τῆς τυραννίδος ὑπηρέτην Ἀψάλωμον.

(10) [449] Ὁ μὲν οὖν δῆμος, ὡς ἔφην, εἰς ταῦτα συνήργησεν ἐλπίζων τινὰ τῆς ὅλης στάσεως διόρθωσιν: οἱ δ᾽ οὐ καταλῦσαι τὸν πόλεμον σπεύδοντες, ἀλλ᾽ ἀδεέστερον πολεμεῖν Μανάημον ἀνῃρήκεσαν. [450] ἀμέλει πολλὰ τοῦ δήμου τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀνεῖναι τὴν πολιορκίαν παρακαλοῦντος, οἱ δὲ προσέκειντο χαλεπώτερον, μέχρι μηκέτι ἀντέχοντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Μετίλιον, οὗτος γὰρ ἦν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔπαρχος, διαπέμπονται πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον ἐξαιτούμενοι μόνας τὰς ψυχὰς ὑποσπόνδους, τὰ δ᾽ ὅπλα καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν κτῆσιν παραδώσειν λέγοντες. [451] οἱ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἱκεσίαν ἁρπάσαντες ἀνέπεμψαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς Γωρίονά τε Νικομήδους υἱὸν καὶ Ἀνανίαν Σαδούκι καὶ Ἰούδαν Ἰωνάθου δεξιάν τε καὶ ὅρκους δώσοντας. ὧν γενομένων κατῆγεν τοὺς στρατιώτας ὁ Μετίλιος. [452] οἱ δὲ μέχρι μὲν ἦσαν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις, οὔτ᾽ ἐπεχείρει τις τῶν στασιαστῶν αὐτοῖς οὔτ᾽ ἐνέφαινεν ἐπιβουλήν: ὡς δὲ κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἅπαντες ἀπέθεντο τοὺς θυρεοὺς καὶ τὰ ξίφη καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι ὑποπτεύοντες ἀνεχώρουν, [453] ὥρμησαν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον καὶ περισχόντες ἀνῄρουν οὔτε ἀμυνομένους οὔτε ἱκετεύοντας, μόνας δὲ τὰς συνθήκας καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους ἀναβοῶντας. [454] οἱ μὲν οὖν οὕτως ὠμῶς ἀπεσφάγησαν ἅπαντες πλὴν Μετιλίου, τοῦτον γὰρ ἱκετεύσαντα καὶ μέχρι περιτομῆς ἰουδαίσειν ὑποσχόμενον διέσωσαν μόνον, τὸ δὲ πάθος Ῥωμαίοις μὲν ἦν κοῦφον, ἐκ γὰρ ἁπλέτου δυνάμεως ἀπαναλώθησαν ὀλίγοι, Ἰουδαίων δὲ προοίμιον ἁλώσεως ἔδοξεν. [455] καὶ κατιδόντες ἀνηκέστους μὲν ἤδη τὰς αἰτίας τοῦ πολέμου, τὴν δὲ πόλιν τηλικούτῳ μιάσματι πεφυρμένην, ἐξ οὗ δαιμόνιόν τι μήνιμα προσδοκᾶν εἰκὸς ἦν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὴν ἐκ Ῥωμαίων ἄμυναν, ἐπένθουν δημοσίᾳ, καὶ πλήρης μὲν κατηφείας ἦν ἡ πόλις, ἕκαστος δὲ τῶν μετρίων ὡς αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ τῶν στασιαστῶν δίκας δώσων τετάρακτο. [456] καὶ γὰρ δὴ σαββάτῳ συνέβη πραχθῆναι τὸν φόνον, ἐν ᾧ διὰ τὴν θρησκείαν καὶ τῶν ὁσίων ἔργων ἔχουσιν ἐκεχειρίαν.

XVIII

(1) [457] Τῆς δ' αὐτῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ὥρας ὥσπερ ἐκ δαιμονίου προνοίας ἀνῄρουν Καισαρεῖς τοὺς παρ' ἑαυτοῖς Ἰουδαίους, ὡς ὑπὸ μίαν ὥραν ἀποσφαγῆναι μὲν ὑπὲρ δισμυρίους, κενωθῆναι δὲ πᾶσαν Ἰουδαίων τὴν Καισάρειαν: καὶ γὰρ τοὺς διαφεύγοντας ὁ Φλῶρος συλλαβὼν κατῆγεν δεσμώτας εἰς τὰ νεώρια. [458] πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Καισαρείας πληγὴν ὅλον τὸ ἔθνος ἐξαγριοῦται, καὶ διαμερισθέντες τάς τε κώμας τῶν Σύρων καὶ τὰς προσεχούσας ἐπόρθουν πόλεις, Φιλαδέλφειάν τε καὶ Ἐσεβωνῖτιν καὶ Γέρασα καὶ Πέλλαν καὶ Σκυθόπολιν. [459] ἔπειτα Γαδάροις καὶ Ἵππῳ καὶ τῇ Γαυλανίτιδι προσπεσόντες τὰ μὲν καταστρεψάμενοι, τὰ δ' ὑποπρήσαντες ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ Κάδασα τὴν Τυρίων καὶ Πτολεμαίδα Γάβαν τε καὶ Καισάρειαν. [460] ἀντέσχον δὲ οὔτε Σεβαστὴ ταῖς ὁρμαῖς αὐτῶν οὔτε Ἀσκάλων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ταύταις πυρποληθείσαις Ἀνθηδόνα καὶ Γάζαν κατέσκαπτον. πολλαὶ δὲ καθ' ἑκάστην τούτων τῶν πόλεων ἀνηρπάζοντο κῶμαι, καὶ τῶν ἁλισκομένων ἀνδρῶν φόνος ἦν ἄπειρος.

(2) [461] Οὐ μὴν οἱ Σύροι τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔλαττον πλῆθος ἀνῄρουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν λαμβανομένους ἀπέσφαττον οὐ μόνον κατὰ μῖσος, ὡς πρότερον, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τὸν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς κίνδυνον φθάνοντες. [462] δεινὴ δὲ ὅλην τὴν Συρίαν ἐπεῖχεν ταραχή, καὶ πᾶσα πόλις εἰς δύο διῄρητο στρατόπεδα, σωτηρία δὲ τοῖς ἑτέροις ἦν τὸ τοὺς ἑτέρους φθάσαι. [463] καὶ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας ἐν αἵματι διῆγον, τὰς δὲ νύκτας δέει χαλεπωτέρας: καὶ γὰρ ἀπεσκευάσθαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους δοκοῦντες ἕκαστοι τοὺς ἰουδαΐζοντας εἶχον ἐν ὑποψίᾳ, καὶ τὸ παρ' ἑκάστοις ἀμφίβολον οὔτε ἀνελεῖν τις προχείρως ὑπέμενεν καὶ μεμιγμένον ὡς βεβαίως ἀλλόφυλον ἐφοβεῖτο. [464] προεκαλεῖτο δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς σφαγὰς τῶν διαφόρων καὶ τοὺς πάλαι πραοτάτους πάνυ δοκοῦντας ἡ πλεονεξία: τὰς γὰρ οὐσίας τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων ἀδεῶς διήρπαζον καὶ καθάπερ ἐκ παρατάξεως τὰ σκῦλα τῶν ἀνῃρημένων εἰς τοὺς σφετέρους οἴκους μετέφερον, ἔνδοξός τε ἦν ὁ πλεῖστα κερδάνας ὡς κατισχύσας πλειόνων. [465] ἦν δὲ ἰδεῖν τὰς πόλεις μεστὰς ἀτάφων σωμάτων καὶ νεκροὺς ἅμα νηπίοις γέροντας ἐρριμμένους γύναιά τε μηδὲ τῆς ἐπ' αἰδοῖ σκέπης μετειληφότα, καὶ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν ἐπαρχίαν μεστὴν ἀδιηγήτων συμφορῶν, μείζονα δὲ τῶν ἑκάστοτε τολμωμένων τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπειλουμένοις ἀνάτασιν.

(3) [466] Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τούτων Ἰουδαίοις πρὸς τὸ ἀλλόφυλον ἦσαν προσβολαί, κατατρέχοντες δὲ εἰς Σκυθόπολιν τοὺς παρ' ἐκείνοις Ἰουδαίους ἐπείρασαν πολεμίους: ταξάμενοι γὰρ μετὰ τῶν Σκυθοπολιτῶν καὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀσφαλείας ἐν δευτέρῳ θέμενοι τὴν συγγένειαν ὁμόσε τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις ἐχώρουν. ὑπωπτεύθη δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ λίαν πρόθυμον: [467] οἱ γοῦν Σκυθοπολῖται δείσαντες μὴ νύκτωρ ἐπιχειρήσωσι τῇ πόλει καὶ μετὰ μεγάλης αὐτῶν συμφορᾶς τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀπολογήσωνται περὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως, ἐκέλευον αὐτούς, εἰ βούλονται τὴν ὁμόνοιαν βεβαιῶσαι καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοεθνεῖς πιστὸν ἐπιδείξασθαι, μεταβαίνειν ἅμα ταῖς γενεαῖς εἰς τὸ ἄλσος. [468] τῶν δὲ ποιησάντων τὸ

προσταχθὲν χωρὶς ὑποψίας. δύο μὲν ἡμέρας ἠρέμησαν οἱ Σκυθοπολῖται τὴν πίστιν αὐτῶν δελεάζοντες, τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ νυκτὶ παρατηρήσαντες τοὺς μὲν ἀφυλάκτους οὓς δὲ κοιμωμένους ἅπαντας ἀπέσφαξαν ὄντας τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὑπὲρ μυρίους καὶ τρισχιλίους, τὰς δὲ κτήσεις διήρπασαν ἁπάντων.

(4) [469] Ἄξιον δ' ἀφηγήσασθαι καὶ τὸ Σίμωνος πάθος, ὃς υἱὸς μὲν ἦν Σαούλου τινὸς τῶν οὐκ ἀσήμων, ῥώμῃ δὲ σώματος καὶ τόλμῃ διαφέρων ἐπὶ κακῷ τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἀμφοτέροις κατεχρήσατο: [470] προιὼν γοῦν ὀσημέραι πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνῄρει τῶν πρὸς τῇ Σκυθοπόλει Ἰουδαίων, τρεπόμενος δὲ πολλάκις αὐτοὺς ἅπαντας μόνος ἦν ῥοπὴ τῆς παρατάξεως. [471] περιέρχεται δ' αὐτὸν ἀξία ποινὴ τοῦ συγγενικοῦ φόνου: ἐπεὶ γὰρ περισχόντες οἱ Σκυθοπολῖται κατηκόντιζον αὐτοὺς ἀνὰ τὸ ἄλσος, σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἐπ' οὐδένα μὲν ὥρμησεν τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ γὰρ ἑώρα τὸ πλῆθος ἀνήνυτον, ἀναβοήσας δὲ μάλα ἐκπαθῶς "ἄξιά γε ὧν ἔδρασα πάσχω, [472] Σκυθοπολῖται, καθ' ὑμῶν, οἳ τοσούτῳ φόνῳ συγγενῶν τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὔνοιαν ἐπιστωσάμεθα. τοιγαροῦν οἷς ἄπιστον μὲν εὐλόγως εὕρηται τὸ ἀλλόφυλον, ἠσέβηται δὲ [εἰς ἔσχατα] τὸ οἰκεῖον, θνήσκωμεν ὡς ἐναγεῖς χερσὶν ἰδίαις: οὐ γὰρ πρέπον ἐν ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων. [473] τὸ αὐτὸ δ' ἂν εἴη μοι καὶ ποινὴ τοῦ μιάσματος ἀξία καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρείαν ἔπαινος, ἵνα μηδεὶς τῶν ἐχθρῶν τὴν ἐμὴν αὐχήσῃ σφαγὴν μηδ' ἐπαλαζονεύσηται πεσόντι." [474] ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐλεοῦσιν ἅμα καὶ τεθυμωμένοις ὄμμασιν περισκέπτεται τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γενεάν: ἦν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ γυνὴ καὶ τέκνα καὶ γηραιοὶ γονεῖς. [475] ὁ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τὸν πατέρα τῆς πολιᾶς ἐπισπασάμενος διελαύνει τῷ ξίφει, μεθ' ὃν οὐκ ἄκουσαν τὴν μητέρα κἀπὶ τούτοις τήν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα, μόνον οὐχ ὑπαπαντῶντος ἑκάστου τῷ ξίφει καὶ σπεύδοντος φθάσαι τοὺς πολεμίους. [476] ὁ δὲ διελθὼν πᾶσαν τὴν γενεὰν καὶ περίοπτος ἐπιστὰς τοῖς σώμασιν τήν τε δεξιὰν ἀνατείνας, ὡς μηδένα λαθεῖν, ὅλον εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σφαγὴν ἐβάπτισεν τὸ ξίφος, ἄξιος μὲν ἐλέους νεανίας δι' ἀλκὴν σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς παράστημα, τῆς δὲ πρὸς ἀλλοφύλους πίστεως ἕνεκεν ἀκολούθοις πάθεσι χρησάμενος.

(5) [477] Πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐν Σκυθοπόλει φθορὰν αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις ἐπανίσταντο τοῖς καθ' ἑαυτὴν Ἰουδαίοις ἑκάστη, καὶ πεντακοσίους μὲν ἐπὶ δισχιλίοις Ἀσκαλωνῖται, Πτολεμαεῖς δὲ δισχιλίους ἀνεῖλον ἔδησάν τ' οὐκ ὀλίγους. [478] καὶ Τύριοι συχνοὺς μὲν διεχειρίσαντο, πλείστους δ' αὐτῶν δεσμώτας ἐφρούρουν, Ἱππηνοί τε καὶ Γαδαρεῖς ὁμοίως τοὺς μὲν θρασυτέρους ἀπεσκευάσαντο, τοὺς δὲ φοβεροὺς διὰ φυλακῆς εἶχον, αἵ τε λοιπαὶ πόλεις τῆς Συρίας, ὅπως ἑκάστη πρὸς τὸ Ἰουδαικὸν ἢ μίσους ἢ δέους εἶχον. [479] μόνοι δὲ Ἀντιοχεῖς καὶ Σιδώνιοι καὶ Ἀπαμεῖς ἐφείσαντο τῶν μετοικούντων καὶ οὔτε ἀνελεῖν τινας Ἰουδαίων ὑπέμειναν οὔτε δῆσαι, τάχα μὲν καὶ διὰ τὸ σφέτερον πλῆθος ὑπερορῶντες αὐτῶν πρὸς τὰ κινήματα, τὸ πλέον δὲ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖν οἴκτῳ πρὸς οὓς οὐδὲν ἑώρων νεωτερίζοντας. [480] Γερασηνοί τε οὔτε εἰς τοὺς ἐμμείναντας ἐπλημμέλησαν καὶ τοὺς ἐξελθεῖν ἐθελήσαντας προέπεμψαν μέχρι τῶν ὅρων.

(6) [481] Συνέστη δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀγρίππα βασιλείαν ἐπιβουλὴ κατὰ Ἰουδαίων. αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐπεπόρευτο πρὸς Κέστιον Γάλλον εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, καταλέλειπτο δὲ διοικεῖν τὰ πράγματα τούτου τῶν ἑταίρων τις τοὔνομα Νόαρος, Σοαίμῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ προσήκων κατὰ γένος. [482] ἦκον δ' ἐκ τῆς Βαταναίας ἑβδομήκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἄνδρες οἱ κατὰ γένος καὶ σύνεσιν τῶν πολιτῶν δοκιμώτατοι στρατιὰν αἰτοῦντες, ἵν' εἴ τι γένοιτο κίνημα καὶ περὶ σφᾶς, ἔχοιεν ἀξιόχρεω φυλακὴν κωλύειν τοὺς ἐπανισταμένους. [483] τούτους ὁ Νόαρος ἐκπέμψας νύκτωρ τῶν βασιλικῶν τινας ὁπλιτῶν ἅπαντας ἀναιρεῖ, τολμήσας μὲν τοὖργον δίχα τῆς Ἀγρίππα γνώμης, διὰ δὲ φιλαργυρίαν ἄμετρον εἰς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους ἑλόμενος ἀσεβεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν διέφθειρεν: διετέλει τε ὠμῶς εἰς τὸ ἔθνος παρανομῶν, μέχρι πυθόμενος Ἀγρίππας ἀνελεῖν μὲν αὐτὸν ᾐδέσθη διὰ Σόαιμον, ἔπαυσεν δὲ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς. [484] οἱ δὲ στασιασταὶ καταλαβόμενοί τι φρούριον, ὃ καλεῖται μὲν Κύπρος, καθύπερθεν δ' ἦν Ἰεριχοῦντος, τοὺς μὲν φρουροὺς ἀπέσφαξαν, τὰ δ' ἐρύματα κατέρριψαν εἰς γῆν. [485] κατὰ δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας καὶ τῶν ἐν Μαχαιροῦντι Ἰουδαίων τὸ πλῆθος ἔπειθεν τοὺς φρουροῦντας Ῥωμαίους ἐκλείπειν τὸ φρούριον καὶ παραδιδόναι σφίσιν. [486] οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐκ βίας ἀφαίρεσιν εὐλαβηθέντες συντίθενται πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκχωρήσειν ὑπόσπονδοι, καὶ λαβόντες τὰ πιστὰ παραδιδόασι τὸ φρούριον, ὅπερ φυλακῇ κρατυνάμενοι κατεῖχον οἱ Μαχαιρῖται.

(7) [487] Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀεὶ μὲν ἦν στάσις πρὸς τὸ Ἰουδαικὸν τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἀφ᾽ οὗ χρησάμενος προθυμοτάτοις κατὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Ἰουδαίοις Ἀλέξανδρος γέρας τῆς συμμαχίας ἔδωκεν τὸ μετοικεῖν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐξ ἴσου † μοίρας πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. [488] διέμεινεν δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἡ τιμὴ καὶ παρὰ τῶν διαδόχων, οἳ καὶ τόπον ἴδιον αὐτοῖς ἀφώρισαν, ὅπως καθαρωτέραν ἔχοιεν τὴν δίαιταν ἧττον ἐπιμισγομένων τῶν ἀλλοφύλων, καὶ χρηματίζειν ἐπέτρεψαν Μακεδόνας, ἐπεί τε Ῥωμαῖοι κατεκτήσαντο τὴν Αἴγυπτον, οὔτε Καῖσαρ ὁ πρῶτος οὔτε τῶν μετ᾽ αὐτόν τις ὑπέμεινεν τὰς ἀπ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδρου τιμὰς Ἰουδαίων ἐλαττῶσαι. [489] συμβολαὶ δ᾽ ἦσαν αὐτῶν ἀδιάλειπτοι πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων πολλοὺς ὁσημέραι παρ᾽ ἀμφοῖν κολαζόντων ἡ στάσις μᾶλλον παρωξύνετο. [490] τότε δ᾽ ὡς καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐτετάρακτο, μᾶλλον ἐξήφθη τὰ παρ᾽ ἐκείνοις. καὶ δὴ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησιαζόντων περὶ ἧς ἔμελλον ἐκπέμπειν πρεσβείας ἐπὶ Νέρωνα συνερρύησαν μὲν εἰς τὸ ἀμφιθέατρον ἅμα τοῖς Ἕλλησιν συχνοὶ Ἰουδαίων, [491] κατιδόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ διάφοροι παραχρῆμα ἀνεβόων πολεμίους καὶ κατασκόπους λέγοντες: ἔπειτα ἀναπηδήσαντες ἐπέβαλλον τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς. οἱ μὲν οὖν λοιποὶ φεύγοντες διεσπάρησαν, τρεῖς δὲ ἄνδρας συλλαβόντες ἔσυρον ὡς ζῶντας καταφλέξοντες. [492] ἤρθη δὲ πᾶν τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμυναν, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον λίθοις τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔβαλλον, αὖθις δὲ λαμπάδας ἁρπασάμενοι πρὸς τὸ ἀμφιθέατρον ὥρμησαν ἀπειλοῦντες ἐν αὐτῷ καταφλέξειν τὸν δῆμον αὐτάνδρον. κἂν ἔφθησαν τοῦτο δράσαντες, εἰ μὴ τοὺς θυμοὺς αὐτῶν ἀνέκοψεν Τιβέριος Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἡγεμών. [493] οὐ μὴν οὗτός γε ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων ἤρξατο σωφρονίζειν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑποπέμψας τοὺς γνωρίμους αὐτοῖς παύσασθαι παρεκάλει καὶ μὴ καθ᾽ ἑαυτῶν ἐρεθίζειν τὸ Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα. καταχλευάζοντες δὲ τῆς παρακλήσεως οἱ στασιώδεις ἐβλασφήμουν τὸν Τιβέριον.

(8) [494] Κἀκεῖνος συνιδὼν ὡς χωρὶς μεγάλης συμφορᾶς οὐκ ἂν παύσαιντο νεωτερίζοντες, ἐπαφίησιν αὐτοῖς τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν Ῥωμαίων δύο τάγματα καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς δισχιλίους στρατιώτας κατὰ τύχην παρόντας εἰς τὸν Ἰουδαίων ὄλεθρον ἐκ Λιβύης: ἐπέτρεψεν δὲ οὐ μόνον ἀναιρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς κτήσεις αὐτῶν διαρπάζειν καὶ τὰς οἰκίας καταφλέγειν. [495] οἱ δ᾽ ὁρμήσαντες εἰς τὸ καλούμενον Δέλτα, συνῴκιστο γὰρ ἐκεῖ τὸ Ἰουδαικόν, ἐτέλουν τὰς ἐντολάς, οὐ μὴν ἀναιμωτί: συστραφέντες γὰρ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ τοὺς ἄμεινον ὡπλισμένους ἑαυτῶν προταξάμενοι μέχρι πλείστου μὲν ἀντέσχον, ἅπαξ δ᾽ ἐγκλίναντες ἀνέδην διεφθείροντο. [496] καὶ παντοῖος ἦν αὐτῶν ὄλεθρος, τῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καταλαμβανομένων, τῶν δ᾽ εἰς τὰς οἰκίας συνωθουμένων. ὑπεπίμπρασαν δὲ καὶ ταύτας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι προδιαρπάζοντες τὰ ἔνδον, καὶ οὔτε νηπίων ἔλεος αὐτοὺς οὔτε αἰδὼς εἰσῄει γερόντων, [497] ἀλλὰ διὰ πάσης ἡλικίας ἐχώρουν κτείνοντες, ὡς ἐπικλυσθῆναι μὲν αἵματι πάντα τὸν χῶρον, πέντε δὲ μυριάδες ἐσωρεύθησαν νεκρῶν, περιελείφθη δ᾽ ἂν οὐδὲ τὸ λοιπόν, εἰ μὴ πρὸς ἱκετηρίας ἐτράποντο.

κατοικτείρας δ᾽ αὐτοὺς Ἀλέξανδρος ἀναχωρεῖν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐκέλευσεν. [498] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἔθους τὸ πειθήνιον ἔχοντες ἅμα νεύματι τοῦ φονεύειν ἐπαύσαντο, τὸ δημοτικὸν δὲ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν μίσους δυσανάκλητον ἦν καὶ μόλις ἀπεσπᾶτο τῶν σωμάτων.

(9) [499] Τοιοῦτον μὲν τὸ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πάθος συνηνέχθη: Κεστίῳ δὲ οὐκέτι ἠρεμεῖν ἐδόκει πανταχοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκπεπολεμωμένων. [500] ἀναλαβὼν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας τὸ μὲν δωδέκατον τάγμα πλῆρες, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνὰ δισχιλίους ἐπιλέκτους, πεζῶν τε ἓξ σπείρας καὶ τέσσαρας ἴλας ἱππέων, πρὸς αἷς τὰς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων συμμαχίας, Ἀντιόχου μὲν δισχιλίους ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοὺς τρισχιλίους τοξότας πάντας, Ἀγρίππα δὲ πεζοὺς μὲν τοὺς ἴσους ἱππεῖς δὲ δισχιλίων ἐλάττους, [501] εἵπετο δὲ καὶ Σόαιμος μετὰ τετρακισχιλίων, ὧν ἦσαν ἱππεῖς ἡ τρίτη μοῖρα καὶ τὸ πλέον τοξόται, προῆλθεν εἰς Πτολεμαίδα. [502] πλεῖστοι δὲ κἀκ τῶν πόλεων ἐπίκουροι συνελέγησαν, ἐμπειρίᾳ μὲν ἠττώμενοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ταῖς δὲ προθυμίαις καὶ τῷ κατὰ Ἰουδαίων μίσει τὸ λεῖπον ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις ἀντιπληροῦντες. παρῆν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀγρίππας Κεστίῳ τῆς τε ὁδοῦ καὶ τῶν συμφερόντων ἐξηγούμενος. [503] ἀναλαβὼν δὲ μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως Κέστιος ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ πόλιν καρτερὰν τῆς Γαλιλαίας Χαβουλών, ἣ καλεῖται ἀνδρῶν, διορίζει δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους τὴν Πτολεμαίδα. [504] καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτὴν ἔρημον μὲν ἀνδρῶν, ἀναπεφεύγει γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τὰ ὄρη, πλήρη δὲ παντοίων κτημάτων, τὰ μὲν ἐφῆκεν τοῖς στρατιώταις διαρπάζειν, τὸ δὲ ἄστυ καίτοι θαυμάσας τοῦ κάλλους ἔχον τὰς οἰκίας ὁμοίως ταῖς ἐν Τύρῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι καὶ Βηρυτῷ δεδομημένας, ἐνέπρησεν. [505] ἔπειτα τὴν χώραν καταδραμὼν καὶ διαρπάσας μὲν πᾶν τὸ προσπῖπτον καταφλέξας δὲ τὰς πέριξ κώμας ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν Πτολεμαίδα. [506] πρὸς δὲ ταῖς ἁρπαγαῖς ἔτι τῶν Σύρων ὄντων καὶ τὸ πλέον Βηρυτίων ἀναθαρσήσαντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ γὰρ ἀποκεχωρηκότα συνίεσαν Κέστιον, τοῖς ἀπολειφθεῖσιν ἀδοκήτως ἐπέπεσον καὶ περὶ δισχιλίους αὐτῶν διέφθειραν.

(10) [507] Ὁ δὲ Κέστιος ἀναζεύξας ἀπὸ τῆς Πτολεμαίδος αὐτὸς μὲν εἰς Καισάρειαν ἀφικνεῖται, μοῖραν δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς προέπεμψεν εἰς Ἰόππην, προστάξας, εἰ μὲν καταλαβέσθαι δυνηθεῖεν τὴν πόλιν, φρουρεῖν, εἰ δὲ προαίσθοιντο τὴν ἔφοδον, περιμένειν αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν. [508] τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν κατὰ θάλασσαν οἱ δὲ κατὰ γῆν ἐπειχθέντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν αἱροῦσιν τὴν πόλιν ῥᾳδίως: καὶ μηδὲ φυγεῖν φθασάντων τῶν οἰκητόρων, οὐχ ὅπως παρασκευάσασθαι πρὸς μάχην, ἐμπεσόντες ἅπαντας ἀνεῖλον σὺν ταῖς γενεαῖς καὶ τὴν πόλιν διαρπάσαντες ἐνέπρησαν: [509] ὁ δὲ ἀριθμὸς τῶν φονευθέντων τετρακόσιοι πρὸς ὀκτακισχιλίοις. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν ὅμορον τῆς Καισαρείας Ναρβατηνὴν τοπαρχίαν ἔπεμψεν συχνοὺς τῶν ἱππέων, οἳ τήν τε γῆν ἔτεμον καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος διέφθειραν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τάς τε κτήσεις διήρπασαν καὶ τὰς κώμας κατέφλεξαν.

(11) [510] Εἰς δὲ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἀπέστειλεν Καισέννιον Γάλλον ἡγεμόνα τοῦ δωδεκάτου τάγματος παραδοὺς δύναμιν ὅσην ἀρκέσειν πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος ὑπελάμβανεν. [511] τοῦτον ἡ καρτερωτάτη τῆς Γαλιλαίας πόλις Σέπφωρις μετ᾽ εὐφημίας δέχεται, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ταύτης εὐβουλίαν αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις ἠρέμουν. τὸ δὲ στασιῶδες καὶ ληστρικὸν πᾶν ἔφυγεν εἰς τὸ μεσαίτατον τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὄρος, ὃ κεῖται μὲν ἀντικρὺ τῆς Σεπφώρεως, καλεῖται δὲ Ἀσαμών. τούτοις ὁ Γάλλος ἐπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν. [512] οἱ δὲ ἕως μὲν ἦσαν ὑπερδέξιοι, ῥᾳδίως τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἠμύναντο προσιόντας καὶ πρὸς διακοσίους αὐτῶν ἀνεῖλον, περιελθόντων δὲ καὶ γενομένων ἐν τοῖς ὑψηλοτέροις ἡττῶντο ταχέως, καὶ οὔτε γυμνῆτες ὁπλίτας συστάδην ἔφερον οὔτε ἐν τῇ τροπῇ τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἐξέφευγον, ὥστε ὀλίγους μὲν ἐν ταῖς δυσχωρίαις διαλαθεῖν, ἀναιρεθῆναι δὲ ὑπὲρ δισχιλίους.

XIX

(1) [513] Γάλλος μὲν οὖν ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι ἑώρα κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν νεωτεριζόμενον, ὑπέστρεφεν μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς εἰς Καισάρειαν: Κέστιος δὲ μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως ἀναζεύξας ἐνέβαλεν εἰς Ἀντιπατρίδα, καὶ πυθόμενος ἔν τινι πύργῳ Ἀφεκοῦ καλουμένῳ συνηθροῖσθαι Ἰουδαίων δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην προέπεμπεν τοὺς συμβαλοῦντας. [514] οἱ δὲ πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν δέει τοὺς Ἰουδαίους διεσκέδασαν, ἐπελθόντες δὲ ἔρημον τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὰς πέριξ κώμας ἐνέπρησαν. [515] ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀντιπατρίδος Κέστιος εἰς Λύδδα προελθὼν κενὴν ἀνδρῶν τὴν πόλιν καταλαμβάνει: διὰ γὰρ τὴν τῆς σκηνοπηγίας ἑορτὴν ἀναβεβήκει πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. [516] πεντήκοντα δὲ τῶν παραφανέντων διαφθείρας καὶ τὸ ἄστυ κατακαύσας ἐχώρει πρόσω, καὶ διὰ Βαιθώρων ἀναβὰς στρατοπεδεύεται κατά τινα χῶρον Γαβαὼ καλούμενον, ἀπέχοντα τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων πεντήκοντα σταδίους.

(2) [517] Οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι κατιδόντες ἤδη πλησιάζοντα τῇ μητροπόλει τὸν πόλεμον, ἀφέμενοι τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ μέγα τῷ πλήθει θαρροῦντες ἄτακτοι μετὰ κραυγῆς ἐξεπήδων ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην μηδὲ τῆς ἀργῆς ἑβδομάδος ἔννοιαν λαβόντες: ἦν γὰρ δὴ τὸ μάλιστα παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς θρησκευόμενον σάββατον. [518] ὁ δ᾽ ἐκσείσας αὐτοὺς τῆς εὐσεβείας θυμὸς ἐποίησεν πλεονεκτῆσαι καὶ κατὰ τὴν μάχην: μετὰ τοσαύτης γοῦν ὁρμῆς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσέπεσον, ὡς διαρρῆξαι τὰς τάξεις αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ μέσων χωρεῖν ἀναιροῦντας. [519] εἰ δὲ μὴ τῷ χαλασθέντι τῆς φάλαγγος οἵ τε ἱππεῖς ἐκπεριελθόντες ἐπήμυναν καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ μὴ σφόδρα κάμνον, κἂν ἐκινδύνευσεν ὅλῃ τῇ δυνάμει Κέστιος. ἀπέθανον δὲ Ῥωμαίων πεντακόσιοι δεκαπέντε: τούτων ἦσαν οἱ τετρακόσιοι πεζοί, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἱππεῖς: τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων δύο πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι. [520] γενναιότατοι δ᾽ αὐτῶν ἔδοξαν οἱ Μονοβάζου τοῦ τῆς Ἀδιαβηνῆς βασιλέως συγγενεῖς, Μονόβαζός τε καὶ Κενεδαῖος, μεθ᾽ οὓς ὁ Περαίτης Νίγερ καὶ Σίλας ὁ

Βαβυλώνιος αὐτομολήσας εἰς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀπ᾽ Ἀγρίππα τοῦ βασιλέως: [521] ἐστρατεύετο γὰρ παρ᾽ αὐτῷ. κατὰ πρόσωπον μὲν οὖν ἀνακοπέντες Ἰουδαῖοι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ὑπέστρεφον, κατόπιν δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ τὴν Βεθώραν ἀνιοῦσιν προσπεσὼν ὁ τοῦ Γιώρα Σίμων πολὺ τῆς οὐραγίας ἐσπάραξεν καὶ συχνὰ τῶν σκευοφόρων ἀποσπάσας ἤγαγεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. [522] μένοντος δὲ τοῦ Κεστίου κατὰ χώραν τρισὶν ἡμέραις οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τὰ μετέωρα κατειληφότες ἐπετήρουν τὰς παρόδους δῆλοί τε ἦσαν οὐκ ἠρεμήσοντες ἀρξαμένων τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁδεύειν.

(3) [523] Ἔνθα δὴ κατιδὼν Ἀγρίππας οὐδὲ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀκίνδυνα πλήθους ἀπείρου πολεμίων τὰ ὄρη περισχόντος ἔκρινεν ἀποπειραθῆναι τῶν Ἰουδαίων λόγοις: ἢ γὰρ πάντας πείσειν καταθέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἢ τῶν ἐναντιωθέντων ἀποστήσειν τὸ μὴ συμφρονοῦν. [524] ἔπεμψεν οὖν τῶν παρ᾽ ἑαυτῷ τοὺς μάλιστα γνωρίμους ἐκείνοις Βόρκιόν τε καὶ Φοῖβον, δεξιάς τε παρὰ Κεστίου καὶ συγγνώμην παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἀσφαλῆ περὶ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων ὑπισχνούμενος, εἰ τὰ ὅπλα ῥίψαντες πρὸς αὐτοὺς μεταβάλοιντο. [525] δείσαντες δὲ οἱ στασιασταὶ μὴ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἀδείας ἐλπίδι πρὸς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν μεταβάληται, τοὺς ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πρεσβεύοντας ὥρμησαν ἀνελεῖν. [526] καὶ πρὶν ἢ φθέγξασθαι τὸν μὲν Φοῖβον διέφθειραν, ὁ δὲ Βόρκιος τρωθεὶς ἔφθη διαφυγεῖν: τοῦ δήμου δὲ τοὺς ἀγανακτήσαντας λίθοις καὶ ξύλοις παίοντες εἰς τὸ ἄστυ συνήλασαν.

(4) [527] Κέστιος δὲ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτῶν ταραχὴν εὔκαιρον ἰδὼν εἰς ἐπίθεσιν ἅπασαν ἐπῆγεν τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τραπέντας μέχρι Ἱεροσολύμων κατεδίωξεν. [528] στρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ καλουμένου Σκοποῦ, διέχει δ᾽ οὗτος ἑπτὰ τῆς πόλεως σταδίους, τρισὶ μὲν ἡμέραις οὐκ ἐπεχείρει τῇ πόλει τάχα τι παρὰ τῶν ἔνδον ἐνδοθήσεσθαι προσδοκῶν, εἰς δὲ τὰς πέριξ κώμας ἐφ᾽ ἁρπαγὴν σίτου πολλοὺς διαφῆκεν τῶν στρατιωτῶν: τῇ τετάρτῃ δέ, ἥτις ἦν τριακὰς Ὑπερβερεταίου μηνός, διατάξας τὴν στρατιὰν εἰσῆγεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. [529] ὁ μὲν οὖν δῆμος ὑπὸ τοῖς στασιασταῖς ἔμφρουρος ἦν, οἱ δὲ στασιασταὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων καταπλαγέντες τῶν μὲν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως μερῶν εἶκον, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐνδοτέρω καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνεχώρουν. [530] Κέστιος δὲ παρελθὼν ὑποπίμπρησιν τήν τε Βεθεζὰν προσαγορευομένην καὶ τὴν Καινόπολιν καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Δοκῶν ἀγοράν, ἔπειτα πρὸς τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἐλθὼν ἀντικρὺ τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς ἐστρατοπεδεύετο. [531] κἂν εἴπερ ἠθέλησεν κατ᾽ αὐτὴν ἐκείνην τὴν ὥραν ἐντὸς τῶν τειχέων βιάσασθαι, παραυτίκα τὴν πόλιν ἔσχεν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον συνέβη καταλελύσθαι: ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅ τε στρατοπεδάρχης Τυράννιος Πρῖσκος καὶ τῶν ἱππάρχων οἱ πλεῖστοι χρήμασιν ὑπὸ Φλώρου δεκασθέντες ἀπέστρεψαν αὐτὸν τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως. [532] καὶ παρὰ τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην ὅ τε πόλεμος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον μῆκος προύβη καὶ ἀνηκέστων Ἰουδαίους συμφορῶν ἀναπλησθῆναι συνέπεσεν.

(5) [533] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ πολλοὶ τῶν γνωρίμων δημοτῶν Ἀνάνῳ τῷ Ἰωνάθου παιδὶ πεισθέντες ἐκάλουν τὸν Κέστιον ὡς ἀνοίξοντες αὐτῷ τὰς πύλας. [534] ὁ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν ὑπεριδὼν καὶ μὴ πάνυ πιστεύσας διεμέλλησεν, ἕως οἱ στασιασταὶ τὴν προδοσίαν αἰσθόμενοι τοὺς μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἄνανον ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους κατέβαλον καὶ λίθοις παίοντες συνήλασαν εἰς τὰς οἰκίας, αὐτοὶ δὲ διαστάντες ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων τοὺς ἀποπειρωμένους τοῦ τείχους ἔβαλλον. [535] πέντε μὲν οὖν ἡμέραις πάντοθεν ἐπιχειροῦσιν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀμήχανος ἦν ἡ προσβολή, τῇ δ᾽ ἐπιούσῃ ἀναλαβὼν ὁ Κέστιος τῶν τε ἐπιλέκτων συχνοὺς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας κατὰ τὸ προσάρκτιον ἐπεχείρει κλίμα τῷ ἱερῷ. [536] Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς εἶργον, καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ἀπεκρούσαντο τοὺς τῷ τείχει προσελθόντας, τέλος δὲ τῷ πλήθει τῶν βελῶν ἀνακοπέντες ὑπεχώρησαν. [537] τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων οἱ πρῶτοι τοὺς θυρεοὺς ἐξερείσαντες εἰς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ κατὰ τούτων οἱ κατόπιν ἄλλους οἵ τε ἑξῆς ὁμοίως τὴν καλουμένην παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς χελώνην ἐφράξαντο, καθ᾽ ἧς τὰ βέλη φερόμενα περιωλίσθανεν ἄπρακτα, μηδὲν δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται κακούμενοι τὸ τεῖχος ὑπέσυρον καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὴν πύλην ὑποπιμπράναι παρεσκευάζοντο.

(6) [538] Δεινὴ δὲ τοὺς στασιαστὰς ἔκπληξις κατέλαβεν: ἤδη δὲ πολλοὶ διεδίδρασκον ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ὡς ἁλωσομένης αὐτίκα. τὸν δὲ δῆμον ἐπὶ τούτοις συνέβαινεν θαρρεῖν, καὶ καθὸ παρείκοιεν οἱ πονηροί, προσῄεσαν αὐτοὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξοντες καὶ δεξόμενοι τὸν Κέστιον ὡς εὐεργέτην. [539] ὃς εἰ βραχὺ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ προσελιπάρησεν, κἂν εὐθέως τὴν πόλιν παρέλαβεν: ἀλλ᾽ οἶμαι διὰ τοὺς πονηροὺς ἀπεστραμμένος ὁ θεὸς ἤδη καὶ τὰ ἅγια τέλος λαβεῖν ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκώλυσεν τὸν πόλεμον.

(7) [540] Ὁ γοῦν Κέστιος οὔτε τὴν τῶν πολιορκουμένων ἀπόγνωσιν οὔτε τοῦ δήμου τὸ φρόνημα συνιδὼν ἐξαίφνης ἀνεκάλεσεν τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ καταγνοὺς ἐπ᾽ οὐδεμιᾷ πληγῇ τῶν ἐλπίδων παραλογώτατα ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀνέζευξεν. [541] πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀδόκητον αὐτοῦ τροπὴν ἀναθαρσήσαντες οἱ λησταὶ κατὰ τῶν ὑστάτων ἐπεξέδραμον καὶ συχνοὺς τῶν ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν διέφθειραν. [542] τότε μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸν Σκοπὸν αὐλίζεται στρατοπέδῳ Κέστιος, τῇ δ᾽ ἐπιούσῃ προσωτέρω χωριζόμενος μᾶλλον ἐξεκαλέσατο τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τοὺς ὑστάτους αὐτῶν προσκείμενοι διέφθειρον καὶ καθ᾽ ἑκάτερον τῆς ὁδοῦ περιιόντες ἠκόντιζον εἰς πλαγίους. [543] οὔτε δὲ ἐπιστραφῆναι πρὸς τοὺς κατόπιν τιτρώσκοντας ἐθάρρουν οἱ τελευταῖοι ἄπειρόν τι πλῆθος οἰόμενοι διώκειν καὶ τοὺς κατὰ πλευρὸν ἐγκειμένους ἀναστέλλειν οὐχ ὑπέμενον, αὐτοὶ μὲν ὄντες βαρεῖς καὶ δεδοικότες τὴν τάξιν διασπᾶν, τοὺς δὲ Ἰουδαίους ὁρῶντες κούφους καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδρομὰς εὐκόλους: ὥστε συνέβαινεν αὐτοῖς πολλὰ κακοῦσθαι μηδὲν ἀντιβλάπτουσιν τοὺς ἐχθρούς. [544] παρ᾽ ὅλην δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν παιόμενοι καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος ἐκσειόμενοι κατέπιπτον, μέχρι πολλῶν διαφθαρέντων, ἐν οἷς ἦν Πρῖσκος μὲν στρατάρχης τάγματος ἕκτου, Λογγῖνος δὲ χιλίαρχος, ἔπαρχος δὲ ἴλης Αἰμίλιος Ἰούκουνδος ὄνομα, μόλις εἰς Γαβαὼν κατήντησαν ἐπὶ τὸ πρότερον

στρατόπεδον, τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τῶν σκευῶν ἀποβαλόντες. [545] ἔνθα δύο μὲν ἡμέρας ἐπέμεινεν ὁ Κέστιος ἀμηχανῶν, ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν, τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ πολλῷ πλείους τοὺς πολεμίους θεασάμενος καὶ πάντα τὰ κύκλῳ μεστὰ Ἰουδαίων ἔγνω καθ' ἑαυτοῦ τε βραδύνας κἂν ἔτι μείνῃ πλείοσιν χρησόμενος ἐχθροῖς.

(8) [546] Ἵνα δὲ συντονωτέρᾳ χρήσαιτο φυγῇ, τὰ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀνθέλκοντα περικόπτειν προσέταξεν. διαφθαρέντων δὲ τῶν τε ὀρέων καὶ τῶν ὄνων ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων πλὴν ὅσα βέλη παρεκόμιζεν καὶ μηχανάς, τούτων γὰρ διὰ τὴν χρείαν περιείχοντο καὶ μάλιστα δεδοικότες, μὴ Ἰουδαίοις κατ' αὐτῶν ἁλῷ, προῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ Βεθώρων. [547] οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι κατὰ μὲν τὰς εὐρυχωρίας ἧττον ἐπέκειντο, συνειληθέντων δὲ εἰς τὰ στενὰ καὶ τὴν κατάβασιν οἱ μὲν φθάσαντες εἶργον αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐξόδου, ἄλλοι δὲ τοὺς ὑστάτους κατεώθουν εἰς τὴν φάραγγα, τὸ δὲ πᾶν πλῆθος παρεκταθὲν ὑπὲρ τὸν αὐχένα τῆς ὁδοῦ κατεκάλυπτε τὴν φάλαγγα τοῖς βέλεσιν. [548] ἔνθα καὶ τῶν πεζῶν ἀμηχανούντων προσαμύνειν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπισφαλέστερος τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ὁ κίνδυνος ἦν: οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τάξει κατὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ βαδίζειν ἐδύναντο βαλλόμενοι, καὶ τὸ πρόσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἱππάσιμον οὐκ ἦν: [549] τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα κρημνοὶ καὶ φάραγγες, εἰς οὓς ἀποσφαλέντες κατεφθείροντο, καὶ οὔτε φυγῆς τις τόπον οὔτε ἀμύνης εἶχεν ἐπίνοιαν, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀμηχανίας ἐπ' οἰμωγὴν ἐτράποντο καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἀπογνώσεσιν ὀδυρμούς: ἀντήχει δ' αὐτοῖς τὸ παρὰ Ἰουδαίων ἐγκέλευσμα καὶ κραυγὴ χαιρόντων ἅμα καὶ τεθυμωμένων. [550] ὀλίγου δὲ δεῖν πᾶσαν ἀνήρπασαν τὴν ἅμα Κεστίῳ δύναμιν, εἰ μὴ νὺξ ἐπέλαβεν, ἐν ᾗ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν εἰς τὴν Βεθώραν κατέφυγον, Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ πάντα τὰ κύκλῳ περισχόντες ἐφρούρουν αὐτῶν τὴν ἔξοδον.

(9) [551] Ἔνθα δὴ Κέστιος τὴν φανερὰν ὁδὸν ἀπογνοὺς δρασμὸν ἐβουλεύετο καὶ διακρίνας τοὺς εὐψυχοτάτους στρατιώτας ὡσεὶ τετρακοσίους ἐπέστησεν τῶν δωμάτων, προστάξας ἀναβοᾶν τὰ σημεῖα τῶν ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις φυλάκων, ὅπως Ἰουδαῖοι πᾶσαν οἴωνται τὴν δύναμιν κατὰ χώραν μένειν: αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀναλαβὼν ἡσυχῇ τριάκοντα πρόεισιν σταδίους. [552] ἔωθεν δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι κατιδόντες ἔρημον τὴν ἔπαυλιν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐξαπατήσαντας τετρακοσίους ἔδραμον, κἀκείνους μὲν ταχέως κατηκόντισαν, ἐδίωκον δὲ τὸν Κέστιον. [553] ὁ δὲ τῆς τε νυκτὸς οὐκ ὀλίγον προειλήφει καὶ συντονώτερον ἔφευγεν μεθ' ἡμέραν, ὥστε τοὺς στρατιώτας ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως καὶ δέους τάς τε ἑλεπόλεις καὶ τοὺς ὀξυβελεῖς καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὀργάνων καταλιπεῖν, ἃ τότε Ἰουδαῖοι λαβόντες αὖθις ἐχρήσαντο κατὰ τῶν ἀφέντων. [554] προῆλθον δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διώκοντες μέχρι Ἀντιπατρίδος. ἔπειθ' ὡς οὐ κατελάμβανον, ὑποστρέφοντες τάς τε μηχανὰς ᾖρον καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐσύλων τήν τε ἀπολειφθεῖσαν λείαν συνῆγον καὶ μετὰ παιάνων εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν ἐπαλινδρόμουν, [555] αὐτοὶ μὲν ὀλίγους ἀποβεβλημένοι παντάπασιν, τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων πεζοὺς μὲν πεντακισχιλίους καὶ τριακοσίους ἀνῃρηκότες, ἱππεῖς δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ

τετρακοσίους. τάδε μὲν οὖν ἐπράχθη Δίου μηνὸς ὀγδόῃ δωδεκάτῳ τῆς Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας ἔτει.

XX

(1) [556] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Κεστίου συμφορὰν πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν Ἰουδαίων ὥσπερ βαπτιζομένης νηὸς ἀπενήχοντο τῆς πόλεως. Κοστόβαρος γοῦν καὶ Σάουλος ἀδελφοὶ σὺν Φιλίππῳ τῷ Ἰακίμου, στρατοπεδάρχης δ' ἦν οὗτος Ἀγρίππα τοῦ βασιλέως, διαδράντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ᾤχοντο πρὸς Κέστιον: [557] ὁ δὲ σὺν τούτοις κατὰ τὴν βασιλικὴν αὐλὴν πολιορκηθεὶς Ἀντίπας ὑπεριδὼν τὴν φυγὴν αὖθις ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν στασιαστῶν διεφθάρη δηλώσομεν. [558] Κέστιος δὲ τοὺς περὶ Σάουλον ἀξιώσαντας ἀνέπεμψεν εἰς Ἀχαίαν πρὸς Νέρωνα τήν τε αὐτῶν δηλώσοντας ἀνάγκην καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τοῦ πολέμου τρέψοντας εἰς Φλῶρον: τὴν γὰρ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον ὀργὴν κουφίσειν καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ κινδύνους ἤλπισεν.

(2) [559] Κἀν τούτῳ Δαμασκηνοὶ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων φθορὰν πυθόμενοι τοὺς παρ' ἑαυτοῖς Ἰουδαίους ἀνελεῖν ἐσπούδασαν. [560] καὶ καθὸ μὲν εἶχον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ συνηθροισμένους πάλαι διὰ τὰς ὑποψίας τοῦτο πραγματευσάμενοι, ῥᾴστην τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἐδόκουν: ἐδεδοίκεισαν δὲ τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας ἁπάσας πλὴν ὀλίγων ὑπηγμένας τῇ Ἰουδαϊκῇ θρησκείᾳ: [561] διὸ μέγιστος αὐτοῖς ἀγὼν ἐγένετο λαθεῖν ἐκείνας. τοὺς δὲ Ἰουδαίους ὡς ἂν ἐν στενῷ χωρίῳ τὸν ἀριθμὸν μυρίους καὶ πεντακοσίους πάντας ἀνόπλους ἐπελθόντες ὑπὸ μίαν ὥραν ἀδεῶς ἀπέσφαξαν.

(3) [562] Οἱ δὲ διώξαντες τὸν Κέστιον ὡς ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, τοὺς μὲν βίᾳ τῶν ἔτι ῥωμαιζόντων τοὺς δὲ πειθοῖ προσήγοντο, καὶ συναθροισθέντες εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν στρατηγοὺς ἀπεδείκνυσαν τοῦ πολέμου πλείονας. [563] ᾑρέθη δὲ Ἰώσηπός τε υἱὸς Γωρίονος καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἄνανος τῶν τε κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἁπάντων αὐτοκράτορες καὶ μάλιστα τὰ τείχη τῆς πόλεως ἀνεγείρειν: [564] τὸν γὰρ τοῦ Σίμωνος υἱὸν Ἐλεάζαρον καίπερ ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ πεποιημένον τὴν Ῥωμαίων λείαν καὶ τὰ ἁρπαγέντα Κεστίου χρήματα, πρὸς οἷς πολλὰ τῶν δημοσίων θησαυρῶν, ὅμως οὐκ ἐπέστησαν ταῖς χρείαις αὐτόν τε τυραννικὸν ὁρῶντες καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῷ ζηλωτὰς δορυφόρων ἔθεσι χρωμένους. [565] κατ' ὀλίγον γε μὴν ἥ τε χρεία τῶν χρημάτων καὶ γοητεύων Ἐλεάζαρος ἐκπεριῆλθε τὸν δῆμον ὥστε αὐτῷ πειθαρχεῖν περὶ τῶν ὅλων.

(4) [566] Εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν ἑτέρους ἐπελέξαντο στρατηγοὺς Ἰησοῦν υἱὸν Σαπφᾶ τῶν ἀρχιερέων ἕνα καὶ Ἐλεάζαρον ἀρχιερέως υἱὸν Νέου: τῷ δ' ἄρχοντι τότε τῆς Ἰδουμαίας Νίγερι, γένος δ' ἦν ἐκ τῆς περὶ Ἰορδάνην Περαίας, διὸ καὶ Περαίτης ἐκαλεῖτο, προσέταξαν ὑποτάσσεσθαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. [567] ἠμέλουν δὲ οὐδὲ τῆς ἄλλης χώρας, ἀλλ' εἰς μὲν Ἰεριχοῦν Ἰώσηπος ὁ Σίμωνος, εἰς δὲ τὴν Περαίαν Μανασσῆς, Θαμνᾶ δὲ τοπαρχίας Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἐσσαῖος στρατηγήσων

ἐπέμφθη: προσκεκλήρωτο δ᾽ αὐτῷ Λύδδα καὶ Ἰόππη καὶ Ἀμμαοῦς. [568] τῆς δὲ Γοφνιτικῆς καὶ Ἀκραβεττηνῆς ὁ Ἀνανίου Ἰωάννης ἡγεμὼν ἀποδείκνυται καὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἑκατέρας Ἰώσηπος Ματθίου: προσώριστο δὲ τῇ τούτου στρατηγίᾳ καὶ Γάμαλα τῶν ταύτῃ πόλεων ὀχυρωτάτη.

(5) [569] Τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν ἕκαστος ὡς εἶχεν προθυμίας ἢ συνέσεως διῴκει τὰ πεπιστευμένα: Ἰώσηπος δὲ εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐλθὼν πρῶτον ἐφρόντισεν τῆς εἰς ἑαυτὸν εὐνοίας τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, εἰδὼς ὅτι ταύτῃ πλεῖστα κατορθώσει, κἂν τἆλλα διαμαρτάνῃ. [570] συνιδὼν δὲ ὅτι τοὺς μὲν δυνατοὺς οἰκειώσεται μεταδιδοὺς τῆς ἐξουσίας αὐτοῖς, τὸ δὲ πᾶν πλῆθος εἰ δι᾽ ἐπιχωρίων καὶ συνήθων τὰ πολλὰ προστάσσοι, τῶν μὲν γηραιῶν ἑβδομήκοντα τοὺς σωφρονεστάτους ἐπιλέξας ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους κατέστησεν ἄρχοντας ὅλης τῆς Γαλιλαίας, [571] ἑπτὰ δὲ ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει δικαστὰς τῶν εὐτελεστέρων διαφόρων: τὰ γὰρ μείζω πράγματα καὶ τὰς φονικὰς δίκας ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ἀναπέμπειν ἐκέλευσεν καὶ τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα.

(6) [572] Καταστησάμενος δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους νόμιμα τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔξωθεν αὐτῶν ἀσφάλειαν ἐχώρει. [573] καὶ γινώσκων Ῥωμαίους προεμβαλοῦντας εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῶν χωρίων ἐτείχιζεν, Ἰωτάπατα μὲν καὶ Βηρσαβὲ καὶ Σελάμην, ἔτι δὲ Καφαρεκχὼ καὶ Ἰαφὰ καὶ Σιγὼφ τό τε Ἰταβύριον καλούμενον ὄρος καὶ Ταριχέας καὶ Τιβεριάδα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὰ περὶ Γεννησὰρ τὴν λίμνην σπήλαια κατὰ τὴν κάτω καλουμένην Γαλιλαίαν ἐτειχίσατο, τῆς δὲ ἄνω Γαλιλαίας τήν τε προσαγορευομένην Ἀκχαβάρων πέτραν καὶ Σὲπφ καὶ Ἰαμνεὶθ καὶ Μηρώ. [574] κατὰ δὲ τὴν Γαυλανιτικὴν Σελεύκειάν τε καὶ Σωγαναίαν καὶ Γάμαλαν ὠχύρωσεν: μόνοις δὲ Σεπφωρίταις ἐφῆκε καθ᾽ ἑαυτοὺς τεῖχος ἀναδείμασθαι χρημάτων τε εὐπόρους ὁρῶν ὄντας καὶ προθύμους ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον δίχα προστάγματος. [575] ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Γίσχαλα Ἰωάννης ὁ Ληίου καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ἐτείχιζεν Ἰωσήπου κελεύσαντος: τοῖς δ᾽ ἄλλοις ἐρύμασιν ἅπασιν αὐτὸς συμπονῶν ἅμα καὶ προστάσσων παρῆν. [576] κατέλεξεν δὲ καὶ δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὑπὲρ δέκα μυριάδας νέων ἀνδρῶν, οὓς πάντας ἔκ τε τῶν συλλεγομένων παλαιῶν ὅπλων ἐγκατασκευαζόμενος ὥπλιζεν.

(7) [577] Ἔπειτα συνιδὼν ἀήττητον τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἰσχὺν γεγενημένην εὐπειθείᾳ μάλιστα καὶ μελέτῃ τῶν ὅπλων, τὴν μὲν διδασκαλίαν ἀπέγνω τῇ χρείᾳ διωκομένην, τὸ δ᾽ εὐπειθὲς ὁρῶν περιγινόμενον ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἡγεμόνων ῥωμαικώτερον ἔτεμνεν τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ πλείους καθίστατο ταξιάρχους. [578] στρατιωτῶν τε γὰρ ἀπεδείκνυεν διαφοράς, καὶ τούτους μὲν ὑπέτασσεν δεκαδάρχαις καὶ ἑκατοντάρχαις ἔπειτα χιλιάρχοις, κἀπὶ τούτοις ἡγεμόνας ταγμάτων ἀδροτέρων ἀφηγουμένους. [579] ἐδίδασκεν δὲ σημείων παραδόσεις καὶ σάλπιγγος προκλήσεις τε καὶ ἀνακλήσεις προσβολάς τε κεράτων καὶ περιαγωγάς, καὶ πῶς δεῖ πρὸς μὲν τὸ κάμνον ἐπιστρέφειν ἐκ τοῦ περιόντος, ἐν δὲ τῷ πονοῦντι συμπαθεῖν. [580] ὅσα τε εἰς παράστασιν ψυχῆς ἢ καρτερίαν συνετέλει

σώματος ἀφηγεῖτο: μάλιστα δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἥσκει πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον παρ᾽ ἕκαστα τὴν Ῥωμαίων εὐταξίαν διηγούμενος, καὶ ὡς πολεμήσουσιν πρὸς ἄνδρας, οἳ δι᾽ ἀλκὴν σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς παράστημα πάσης ὀλίγου δεῖν τῆς οἰκουμένης κρατοῦσιν. [581] ἔφη δὲ πεῖραν αὐτῶν λήψεσθαι τῆς κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον πειθαρχίας καὶ πρὸ παρατάξεως, εἰ τῶν συνήθων ἀδικημάτων ἀπόσχοιντο, κλοπῆς τε καὶ λῃστείας καὶ ἁρπαγῆς τοῦ τε ἐξαπατᾶν τὸ ὁμόφυλον τοῦ τε κέρδος οἰκεῖον ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν βλάβην τῶν συνηθεστάτων: [582] διοικεῖσθαι γὰρ κάλλιστα τοὺς πολέμους παρ᾽ οἷς ἂν ἀγαθὸν τὸ συνειδὸς ἔχωσιν πάντες οἱ στρατευόμενοι, τοὺς δὲ οἴκοθεν φαύλους οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἐπιοῦσιν ἐχθροῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ θεῷ χρῆσθαι πολεμίῳ.

(8) [583] Πολλὰ τοιαῦτα παραινῶν διετέλει. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἕτοιμον εἰς παράταξιν αὐτῷ συνεκεκρότητο πεζῶν μὲν ἓξ μυριάδες, ἱππεῖς δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακόσιοι, χωρὶς δὲ τούτων οἷς ἐπεποίθει μάλιστα μισθοφόροι περὶ τετρακισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους: ἐπιλέκτους δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχεν ἑξακοσίους φύλακας τοῦ σώματος. [584] ἔτρεφον δὲ πλὴν τῶν μισθοφόρων τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν αἱ πόλεις ῥᾳδίως: τῶν γὰρ καταλεγέντων ἑκάστη τοὺς ἡμίσεις ἐπὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκπέμπουσα τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπὶ συμπορισμὸν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων κατεῖχον, ὡς τοὺς μὲν εἰς ὅπλα, τοὺς δὲ εἰς ἐργασίαν διῃρῆσθαι, καὶ τοῖς τὰ σῖτα πέμπουσιν ἀντιχορηγεῖσθαι παρὰ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν.

XXI

(1) [585] Διοικοῦντι δ᾽ οὕτως τῷ Ἰωσήπῳ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν παρανίσταταί τις ἐπίβουλος ἀνὴρ ἀπὸ Γισχάλων, υἱὸς Ληίου, Ἰωάννης ὄνομα, πανουργότατος μὲν καὶ δολιώτατος τῶν ἐπισήμων ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς πονηρεύμασιν ἁπάντων, πένης δὲ τὰ πρῶτα καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ κώλυμα σχὼν τῆς κακίας τὴν ἀπορίαν, [586] ἕτοιμος μὲν ψεύσασθαι, δεινὸς δ᾽ ἐπιθεῖναι πίστιν τοῖς ἐψευσμένοις, ἀρετὴν ἡγούμενος τὴν ἀπάτην καὶ ταύτῃ κατὰ τῶν φιλτάτων χρώμενος, ὑποκριτὴς φιλανθρωπίας καὶ δι᾽ ἐλπίδα κέρδους φονικώτατος, [587] ἀεὶ μὲν ἐπιθυμήσας μεγάλων, τρέφων δὲ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐκ τῶν ταπεινῶν κακουργημάτων: λῃστὴς γὰρ ἦν μονότροπος, ἔπειτα καὶ συνοδίαν εὗρεν τῆς τόλμης τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀλίγην, προκόπτων δ᾽ ἀεὶ πλείονα. [588] φροντὶς δ᾽ ἦν αὐτῷ μηδένα προσλαμβάνειν εὐάλωτον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς εὐεξίᾳ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς παραστήματι καὶ πολέμων ἐμπειρίᾳ διαφέροντας ἐξελέγετο, μέχρι καὶ τετρακοσίων ἀνδρῶν στῖφος συνεκρότησεν, οἳ τὸ πλέον ἐκ τῆς Τυρίων χώρας καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ κωμῶν φυγάδες ἦσαν: [589] δι᾽ ὧν πᾶσαν ἐλῄζετο τὴν Γαλιλαίαν καὶ μετεώρους ὄντας ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλοντι πολέμῳ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐσπάρασσεν.

(2) [590] Ἤδη δ᾽ αὐτὸν στρατηγιῶντα καὶ μειζόνων ἐφιέμενον ἔνδεια χρημάτων κατεῖχεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ὁρῶν αὐτοῦ [σφόδρα] χαίροντα τῷ δραστηρίῳ

πείθει πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῷ πιστεῦσαι τὸ τεῖχος ἀνοικοδομῆσαι τῆς πατρίδος, ἐν ᾧ πολλὰ παρὰ τῶν πλουσίων ἐκέρδανεν: [591] ἔπειτα συνθεὶς σκηνὴν πανουργοτάτην, ὡς ἄρα φυλάττοιντο πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν Ἰουδαῖοι ἐλαίῳ χρῆσθαι μὴ δι᾽ ὁμοφύλων ἐγκεχειρισμένῳ, πέμπειν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν μεθορίαν ἐξῃτήσατο. [592] συνωνούμενος δὲ τοῦ Τυρίου νομίσματος, ὃ τέσσαρας Ἀττικὰς δύναται, τέσσαρας ἀμφορεῖς, τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπίπρασκεν τιμῆς ἡμιαμφόριον. οὔσης δὲ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐλαιοφόρου μάλιστα καὶ τότε εὐφορηκυίας, εἰς σπανίζοντας εἰσπέμπων πολὺ καὶ μόνος ἄπειρόν τι πλῆθος συνῆγεν χρημάτων, οἷς εὐθέως ἐχρῆτο κατὰ τοῦ τὴν ἐργασίαν παρασχόντος. [593] καὶ ὑπολαβών, εἰ καταλύσειεν τὸν Ἰώσηπον, αὐτὸς ἡγήσεσθαι τῆς Γαλιλαίας, τοῖς μὲν ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτὸν λῃσταῖς προσέταξεν εὐτονώτερον ἐγχειρεῖν ταῖς ἁρπαγαῖς, ὅπως πολλῶν νεωτεριζομένων κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἢ διαχρήσαιτό που τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐκβοηθοῦντα λοχήσας ἢ περιορῶντα τοὺς λῃστὰς διαβάλλοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους. [594] ἔπειτα διεφήμιζεν πόρρωθεν, ὡς ἄρα προδιδοίη τὰ πράγματα Ῥωμαίοις Ἰώσηπος, καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς κατάλυσιν τἀνδρὸς ἐπραγματεύετο.

(3) [595] Καθ᾽ ὃν καιρὸν ἀπὸ Δεβαρίθθων κώμης νεανίσκοι τινὲς τῶν ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ καθεζομένων φυλάκων ἐνεδρεύσαντες Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Ἀγρίππα καὶ Βερνίκης ἐπίτροπον ἀφείλοντο πᾶσαν ὅσην ἦγεν ἀποσκευήν, ἐν ᾗ πολυτελεῖς τε ἐσθῆτες οὐκ ὀλίγαι καὶ πλῆθος ἐκπωμάτων ἀργυρῶν χρυσοῖ τε ἦσαν ἑξακόσιοι. [596] μὴ δυνάμενοι δὲ διαθέσθαι κρύφα τὴν ἁρπαγὴν πάντα πρὸς Ἰώσηπον εἰς Ταριχέας ἐκόμισαν. [597] ὁ δὲ μεμψάμενος αὐτῶν τὸ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλικοὺς βίαιον τίθησιν τὰ κομισθέντα παρὰ τῷ δυνατωτάτῳ τῶν Ταριχεατῶν Ἀνναίῳ, πέμψαι κατὰ καιρὸν τοῖς δεσπόταις προαιρούμενος: ὃ δὴ μέγιστον αὐτῷ κίνδυνον ἐπήγαγεν. [598] οἱ γὰρ ἁρπάσαντες ἅμα μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ μηδεμιᾶς τυχεῖν μερίδος ἐκ τῶν κεκομισμένων ἀγανακτοῦντες, ἅμα δὲ καὶ προσκεψάμενοι τοῦ Ἰωσήπου τὴν διάνοιαν, ὅτι μέλλοι τὸν πόνον αὐτῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν χαρίζεσθαι. νύκτωρ εἰς τὰς κώμας διέδραμον καὶ πᾶσιν ἐνεδείκνυντο τὸν Ἰώσηπον ὡς προδότην: ἐνέπλησαν δὲ καὶ τὰς πλησίον πόλεις ταραχῆς, ὥστε ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω δέκα μυριάδας ὁπλιτῶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν συνδραμεῖν. [599] καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ταριχέας ἱπποδρόμῳ συνηθροισμένον πολλὰ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀνεβόα καὶ καταλεύειν οἱ δὲ καίειν τὸν προδότην ἐκεκράγεσαν: παρώξυνεν δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὁ Ἰωάννης καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Ἰησοῦς τις υἱὸς Σαπφία, τότε ἄρχων τῆς Τιβεριάδος. [600] οἱ μὲν οὖν φίλοι καὶ σωματοφύλακες τοῦ Ἰωσήπου καταπλαγέντες τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ πλήθους ἔφυγον πλὴν τεσσάρων πάντες, αὐτὸς δὲ κοιμώμενος ἤδη προσφερομένου τοῦ πυρὸς διανίσταται, [601] καὶ παραινούντων φεύγειν τῶν τεσσάρων, οἳ παρέμειναν, οὔτε πρὸς τὴν καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ἐρημίαν οὔτε πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐφεστώτων καταπλαγεὶς προπηδᾷ, περιρρηξάμενος μὲν τὴν ἐσθῆτα, καταπασάμενος δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς κόνιν, ἀποστρέψας δὲ ὀπίσω τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὸ ἴδιον ξίφος ἐπιδήσας τῷ τένοντι. [602] πρὸς ταῦτα τῶν μὲν οἰκείως ἐχόντων, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν Ταριχεατῶν,

οἶκτος ἦν, οἱ δ᾽ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν πλησίον ὅσοις ἐδόκει φορτικὸς ἐβλασφήμουν, προφέρειν τε τὰ κοινὰ χρήματα θᾶττον ἐκέλευον καὶ τὰς προδοτικὰς συνθήκας ἐξομολογεῖσθαι: [603] προειλήφεσαν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ σχήματος οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἀρνήσεσθαι τῶν ὑπονοηθέντων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ συγγνώμης πορισμῷ πάντα πεποιηκέναι τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἔλεον. [604] τῷ δ᾽ ἦν ἡ ταπείνωσις προπαρασκευὴ στρατηγήματος, καὶ τεχνιτεύων τοὺς ἀγανακτοῦντας κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ κατ᾽ ἀλλήλων στασιάσαι, ἐφ᾽ οἷς ὠργίζοντο πάνθ᾽ ὁμολογήσων, [605] ἔπειτα δοθὲν αὐτῷ λέγειν, “ἐγὼ ταῦτα, ἔφη, τὰ χρήματα οὔτε ἀναπέμπειν Ἀγρίππᾳ προῃρούμην οὔτε κερδαίνειν αὐτός: μὴ γὰρ ἡγησαίμην ποτὲ ἢ φίλον τὸν ὑμῖν διάφορον ἢ κέρδος τὸ φέρον τῷ κοινῷ βλάβην. [606] ὁρῶν δέ, ὦ Ταριχεᾶται, μάλιστα τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν ἀσφαλείας δεομένην καὶ πρὸς κατασκευὴν τείχους χρῄζουσαν ἀργυρίου, δεδοικὼς δὲ τὸν Τιβεριέων δῆμον καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἐφεδρευούσας τοῖς ἠρπαγμένοις, κατασχεῖν ἡσυχῇ τὰ χρήματα προειλόμην, ἵνα ὑμῖν περιβάλωμαι τεῖχος. [607] εἰ μὴ δοκεῖ, προφέρω τὰ κεκομισμένα καὶ παρέχω διαρπάζειν: εἰ μὴ καλῶς ὑμῖν ἐβουλευσάμην, κολάζετε τὸν εὐεργέτην.”

(4) [608] Ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ Ταριχεῶται μὲν αὐτὸν ἀνευφήμουν, οἱ δ᾽ ἀπὸ τῆς Τιβεριάδος σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκάκιζον καὶ διηπείλουν: καταλιπόντες δ᾽ ἑκάτεροι τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἀλλήλοις διεφέροντο. κἀκεῖνος θαρρῶν ἤδη τοῖς ᾠκειωμένοις, ἦσαν δὲ εἰς τετρακισμυρίους Ταριχεᾶται, παντὶ τῷ πλήθει παρρησιαστικώτερον ὡμίλει. [609] καὶ πολλὰ τὴν προπέτειαν αὐτῶν κατονειδίσας ἐκ μὲν τῶν παρόντων Ταριχέας ἔφη τειχίσειν, ἀσφαλιεῖσθαι δὲ ὁμοίως καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις: οὐ γὰρ ἀπορήσειν χρημάτων, ἐὰν ὁμονοῶσιν ἐφ᾽ οὓς δεῖ πορίζειν καὶ μὴ παροξύνωνται κατὰ τοῦ πορίζοντος.

(5) [610] Ἔνθα δὴ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πλῆθος τῶν ἠπατημένων ἀνεχώρει καίτοι διωργισμένον, δισχίλιοι δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ὥρμησαν ἔνοπλοι, καὶ φθάσαντος εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον παρελθεῖν ἀπειλοῦντες ἐφεστήκεσαν. [611] ἐπὶ τούτοις Ἰώσηπος ἀπάτῃ δευτέρᾳ χρῆται: ἀναβὰς γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ τέγος καὶ τῇ δεξιᾷ καταστείλας τὸν θόρυβον αὐτῶν ἀγνοεῖν ἔφη τίνων ἀξιοῦσιν τυχεῖν: οὐ γὰρ κατακούειν διὰ τὴν τῆς βοῆς σύγχυσιν: ὅσα δ᾽ ἂν κελεύσωσιν πάντα ποιήσειν, εἰ τοὺς διαλεξομένους ἡσυχῇ πέμψειαν εἴσω πρὸς αὐτόν. [612] ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ γνώριμοι σὺν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν εἰσῄεσαν. ὁ δὲ σύρας αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ μυχαίτατον τῆς οἰκίας καὶ τὴν αὔλειον ἀποκλείσας ἐμαστίγωσεν, μέχρι πάντων τὰ σπλάγχνα γυμνῶσαι: περιειστήκει δὲ τέως τὸ πλῆθος δικαιολογεῖσθαι μακρότερα τοὺς εἰσελθόντας οἰόμενον. [613] ὁ δὲ τὰς θύρας ἐξαπίνης ἀνοίξας ἠμαγμένους ἐξαφῆκεν τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τοσαύτην τοῖς ἀπειλοῦσιν ἐνειργάσατο κατάπληξιν, ὥστε ῥίψαντας τὰ ὅπλα φεύγειν.

(6) [614] Πρὸς ταῦτα Ἰωάννης ἐπέτεινεν τὸν φθόνον καὶ δευτέραν ἤρτυσεν ἐπιβουλὴν κατὰ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου. σκηψάμενος δὴ νόσον ἱκέτευσεν δι᾽ ἐπιστολῆς τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐπιτρέψαι πρὸς θεραπείαν αὐτῷ χρήσασθαι τοῖς ἐν Τιβεριάδι θερμοῖς ὕδασιν. [615] ὁ δέ, οὔπω γὰρ ὑπώπτευεν τὸν ἐπίβουλον, γράφει τοῖς κατὰ

τὴν πόλιν ὑπάρχοις ξενίαν τε καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια Ἰωάννῃ παρασχεῖν. ὧν ἀπολαύσας μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας ἐφ᾽ ὃ παρῆν διεπράττετο, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀπάταις τοὺς δὲ χρήμασι διαφθείρων ἀνέπειθεν ἀποστῆναι Ἰωσήπου. [616] καὶ γνοὺς ταῦτα Σίλας ὁ φυλάσσειν τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ Ἰωσήπου καθεσταμένος γράφει τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν αὐτῷ κατὰ τάχος. ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος ὡς ἔλαβεν τὴν ἐπιστολήν, νυκτὸς ὁδεύσας συντόνως ἐωθινὸς παρῆν πρὸς τὴν Τιβεριάδα. [617] καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πλῆθος αὐτῷ ὑπήντα, Ἰωάννης δὲ καίτοι τὴν παρουσίαν ὑποπτεύσας ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ὅμως πέμψας τινὰ τῶν γνωρίμων ὑπεκρίνατο τὴν ἀσθένειαν καὶ κλινήρης ὢν ὑστερῆσαι τῆς θεραπείας ἔλεγεν. [618] ὡς δὲ εἰς τὸ στάδιον τοὺς Τιβεριεῖς ἀθροίσας ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἐπειρᾶτο διαλέγεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἐπεσταλμένων, ὑποπέμψας ὁπλίτας προσέταξεν αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν. [619] τούτους τὰ ξίφη γυμνοῦντας ὁ δῆμος προιδὼν ἀνεβόησεν: πρὸς δὲ τὴν κραυγὴν ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἐπιστραφεὶς καὶ θεασάμενος ἐπὶ τῆς σφαγῆς ἤδη τὸν σίδηρον ἀπεπήδησεν εἰς τὸν αἰγιαλόν: εἱστήκει δὲ δημηγορῶν ἐπὶ βουνοῦ τινος ἐξαπήχους τὸ ὕψος: καὶ παρορμοῦντος ἐπιπηδήσας σκάφους σὺν δυσὶν σωματοφύλαξιν εἰς μέσην τὴν λίμνην ἀνέφυγεν.

(7) [620] Οἱ στρατιῶται δ᾽ αὐτοῦ ταχέως ἁρπάσαντες τὰ ὅπλα κατὰ τῶν ἐπιβούλων ἐχώρουν. ἔνθα δείσας ὁ Ἰώσηπος, μὴ πολέμου κινηθέντος ἐμφυλίου δι᾽ ὀλίγων φθόνον παραναλώσῃ τὴν πόλιν, πέμπει τοῖς σφετέροις ἄγγελον μόνης προνοεῖν τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀσφαλείας, μήτε δὲ κτείνειν τινὰ μήτ᾽ ἀπελέγχειν τῶν αἰτίων. [621] καὶ οἱ μὲν τῷ παραγγέλματι πεισθέντες ἠρέμησαν, οἱ δ᾽ ἀνὰ τὴν πέριξ χώραν πυθόμενοι τήν τε ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ τὸν συσκευάσαντα συνηθροίζοντο κατὰ Ἰωάννου: φθάνει δ᾽ ἐκεῖνος εἰς Γίσχαλα φυγὼν τὴν πατρίδα. [622] συνέρρεον δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἰώσηπον οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι κατὰ πόλεις, καὶ πολλαὶ μυριάδες ὁπλιτῶν γενόμεναι παρεῖναι σφᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην τὸν κοινὸν ἐπίβουλον ἐβόων: συγκαταφλέξειν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ὑποδεξαμένην πατρίδα. [623] ὁ δὲ ἀποδέχεσθαι μὲν αὐτῶν ἔφασκεν τὴν εὔνοιαν, ἀνεῖργεν δὲ τὴν ὁρμήν, χειρώσασθαι συνέσει τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μᾶλλον ἢ κτεῖναι προαιρούμενος. [624] ἐκλαβὼν δὲ τοὺς ἀφ᾽ ἑκάστης πόλεως Ἰωάννῃ συναφεστῶτας κατ᾽ ὄνομα, προθύμως δὲ ἐνεδείκνυντο τοὺς σφετέρους οἱ δημόται, καὶ διὰ κηρύκων ἀπειλήσας ἐντὸς ἡμέρας πέμπτης τῶν μὴ καταλιπόντων Ἰωάννην τάς τε οὐσίας διαρπάσειν καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἅμα ταῖς γενεαῖς καταφλέξειν, [625] τρισχιλίους μὲν ἀπέστησεν εὐθέως, οἳ παραγενόμενοι τὰ ὅπλα παρὰ τοῖς ποσὶν ἔρριψαν αὐτοῦ, σὺν δὲ τοῖς καταλειφθεῖσιν, ἦσαν δ᾽ ὅσον εἰς δισχιλίους Σύρων φυγάδες, ἀνέστελλεν Ἰωάννης πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰς λαθραίους ἐπιβουλὰς ἐκ τῶν φανερωτέρων. [626] κρύφα γοῦν ἔπεμπεν ἀγγέλους εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα διαβάλλων τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐπὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς δυνάμεως, φάσκων ὅσον οὐδέπω τύραννον ἐλεύσεσθαι τῆς μητροπόλεως, εἰ μὴ προκαταληφθείη. [627] ταῦθ᾽ ὁ μὲν δῆμος προειδὼς οὐ προσεῖχεν, οἱ δυνατοὶ δὲ κατὰ φθόνον καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων τινὲς λάθρα τῷ Ἰωάννῃ χρήματα πρὸς συλλογὴν μισθοφόρων ἔπεμψαν, ὅπως πολεμῇ πρὸς Ἰώσηπον: ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καθ᾽ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ

μετακαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατηγίας. [628] οὐ μὴν ἠξίουν ἀποχρήσειν τὸ δόγμα: δισχιλίους δὲ καὶ πεντακοσίους ὁπλίτας καὶ τέσσαρας τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἄνδρας ἔστειλαν, τόν τε τοῦ Νομικοῦ Ἰώεσδρον καὶ Ἀνανίαν Σαδούκι καὶ Σίμωνα καὶ Ἰούδην Ἰωνάθου, πάντας εἰπεῖν δυνατωτάτους, ἵν' οὗτοι τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἰώσηπον εὔνοιαν ἀποστρέψωσιν, κἂν μὲν ἑκὼν παραγένηται, λόγον ὑποσχεῖν ἐᾶν αὐτόν, εἰ δὲ βιάζοιτο μένειν, ὡς πολεμίῳ χρῆσθαι. [629] Ἰωσήπῳ δὲ παραγίνεσθαι μὲν στρατιὰν ἐπεστάλκεσαν οἱ φίλοι, τὴν δ' αἰτίαν οὐ προεδήλουν ἅτε δὴ λάθρα τῶν ἐχθρῶν βεβουλευμένων. διὸ καὶ μὴ προφυλαξαμένου τέσσαρες πόλεις εὐθέως πρὸς τοὺς διαφόρους ἀπέστησαν ἐλθόντας, Σέπφωρίς τε καὶ Γάβαρα καὶ Γίσχαλα καὶ Τιβεριάς. [630] ταχέως δὲ καὶ ταύτας προσηγάγετο δίχα τῶν ὅπλων καὶ χειρωσάμενος στρατηγήμασιν τοὺς τέσσαρας ἡγεμόνας τῶν τε ὁπλιτῶν τοὺς δυνατωτάτους ἀνέπεμψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. [631] πρὸς οὓς ὁ δῆμος οὐ μετρίως ἠγανάκτησεν καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ὥρμησεν τοὺς προπέμψαντας ἀνελεῖν, εἰ μὴ φθάσαντες ἀπέδρασαν.

(8) [632] Ἰωάννην δὲ λοιπὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ Γισχάλων τείχους ὁ παρὰ Ἰωσήπου φόβος ἐφρούρει. καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας πάλιν ἀπέστη Τιβεριὰς ἐπικαλεσαμένων τῶν ἔνδον Ἀγρίππαν τὸν βασιλέα. [633] καὶ τοῦ μὲν μὴ καταντήσαντος ἐφ' ἣν συντέτακτο προθεσμίαν, Ῥωμαικῶν δ' ὀλίγων ἱππέων κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν παραφανέντων, τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐξεκήρυσσον. [634] τῶν δ' ἠγγέλη μὲν εἰς Ταριχέας ἡ ἀπόστασις εὐθέως, ἐκπεπομφὼς δὲ πάντας τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπὶ σίτου συλλογὴν οὔτε μόνος ἐξορμᾶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀποστάντας οὔτε μένειν ὑπέμενεν, δεδοικὼς μὴ βραδύναντος αὐτοῦ φθάσωσιν οἱ βασιλικοὶ παρελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν: οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν ἐνεργὸν ἕξειν ἔμελλεν ἐπέχοντος σαββάτου. [635] δόλῳ δὴ περιελθεῖν ἐπενόει τοὺς ἀποστάντας. καὶ τὰς μὲν πύλας τῶν Ταριχεῶν ἀποκλεῖσαι κελεύσας, ὡς μὴ προεξαγγείλειέ τις τὸ σκέμμα τοῖς ἐπιχειρουμένοις, τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς λίμνης σκάφη πάντα συναθροίσας, τριάκοντα δ' εὑρέθησαν καὶ τριακόσια, καὶ ναῦται τεσσάρων οὐ πλείους ἦσαν ἐν ἑκάστῳ, διὰ τάχους ἐλαύνει πρὸς τὴν Τιβεριάδα. [636] καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀποσχὼν τῆς πόλεως ἐξ ὅσου συνιδεῖν οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἦν κενὰς τὰς ἁλιάδας μετεώρους σαλεύειν ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ μόνους ἑπτὰ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἀνόπλους ἔχων ἔγγιον ὀφθῆναι προσῄει. [637] θεασάμενοι δ' αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἔτι βλασφημοῦντες οἱ διάφοροι καὶ διὰ τὴν ἔκπληξιν πάντα τὰ σκάφη γέμειν ὁπλιτῶν νομίσαντες ἔρριψαν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ κατασείοντες ἱκετηρίας ἐδέοντο φείσασθαι τῆς πόλεως.

(9) [638] Ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος πολλὰ διαπειλησάμενος αὐτοῖς καὶ κατονειδίσας, εἰ πρῶτον μὲν ἀράμενοι τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον εἰς στάσεις ἐμφυλίους προαναλίσκουσιν τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ τὰ εὐκταιότατα δρῶσιν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ἔπειτα τὸν κηδεμόνα τῆς ἀσφαλείας αὐτῶν ἀναρπάσαι σπεύδουσιν καὶ κλείειν οὐκ αἰδοῦνται τὴν πόλιν αὐτῷ τῷ τειχίσαντι, προσδέχεσθαι τοὺς ἀπολογησομένους ἔφασκεν καὶ δι' ὧν βεβαιώσεται τὴν πόλιν. [639] κατέβαινον δ' εὐθέως δέκα τῶν

Τιβεριέων οἱ δυνατώτατοι: καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀναλαβὼν μιᾷ τῶν ἁλιάδων ἀνήγαγεν πορρωτέρω, πεντήκοντα δ' ἑτέρους τῆς βουλῆς τοὺς μάλιστα γνωρίμους κελεύει προελθεῖν ὡς καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων πίστιν τινὰ βουλόμενος λαβεῖν. [640] ἔπειτα καινοτέρας σκήψεις ἐπινοῶν ἄλλους ἐπ' ἄλλοις ὡς ἐπὶ συνθήκαις προυκαλεῖτο. [641] τοῖς δὲ κυβερνήταις ἐκέλευσεν τῶν πληρουμένων διὰ τάχους εἰς Ταριχέας ἀναπλεῖν καὶ συγκλείειν τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, μέχρι πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν βουλὴν οὖσαν ἑξακοσίων, περὶ δὲ δισχιλίους τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου συλλαβὼν ἀνήγαγεν σκάφεσιν εἰς Ταριχέας.

(10) [642] Βοώντων δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν αἴτιον εἶναι μάλιστα τῆς ἀποστάσεως Κλεῖτόν τινα καὶ παρακαλούντων εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἀπερείδεσθαι τὴν ὀργήν, ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἀνελεῖν μὲν οὐδένα προῄρητο, Λητοῦν δέ τινα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φυλάκων ἐκέλευσεν ἐξελθεῖν, ἵνα ἀποκόψῃ τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ Κλείτου. [643] δείσας δὲ ἐκεῖνος εἰς ἐχθρῶν στῖφος ἀποβήσεσθαι μόνος οὐκ ἔφη. σχετλιάζοντα δὲ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐπὶ τοῦ σκάφους ὁ Κλεῖτος ὁρῶν καὶ προθυμούμενον αὐτὸν ἐπιπηδᾶν ἐπὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν ἱκέτευεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκτῆς τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν χειρῶν καταλιπεῖν. [644] κἀκείνου κατανεύσαντος ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν ἑτέραν αὐτὸς ἀποκόψειεν ἑαυτοῦ, σπασάμενος τῇ δεξιᾷ τὸ ξίφος ἀπέκοψεν τὴν λαιάν: εἰς τοσοῦτον δέους ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου προήχθη. [645] τότε μὲν δὴ κενοῖς σκάφεσιν καὶ δορυφόροις ἑπτὰ τὸν δῆμον αἰχμαλωτισάμενος πάλιν Τιβεριάδα προσηγάγετο, μετὰ δ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας Σεπφωρίταις συναποστᾶσαν εὐρὼν ἐπέτρεψεν διαρπάσαι τοῖς στρατιώταις. [646] συναγαγὼν μέντοι πάντα τοῖς δημόταις ἔδωκεν τοῖς τε κατὰ Σέπφωριν ὁμοίως: καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνους χειρωσάμενος νουθετῆσαι διὰ τῆς ἁρπαγῆς ἠθέλησεν, τῇ δ' ἀποδόσει τῶν χρημάτων πάλιν εἰς εὔνοιαν προσηγάγετο.

XXII

(1) [647] Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ Γαλιλαίαν ἐπέπαυτο κινήματα, καὶ τῶν ἐμφυλίων παυσάμενοι θορύβων ἐπὶ τὰς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐτράποντο παρασκευάς: [648] ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἄνανός τε ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ τῶν δυνατῶν ὅσοι μὴ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐφρόνουν τό τε τεῖχος ἐπεσκεύαζον καὶ πολλὰ τῶν πολεμιστηρίων ὀργάνων. [649] καὶ διὰ πάσης μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἐχαλκεύετο βέλη καὶ πανοπλία, πρὸς ἀτάκτοις δὲ γυμνασίαις τὸ τῶν νέων πλῆθος ἦν, καὶ μεστὰ πάντα θορύβου, δεινὴ δὲ κατήφεια τῶν μετρίων, καὶ πολλοὶ τὰς μελλούσας προορώμενοι συμφορὰς ἀπωλοφύροντο. [650] θειασμοί τε τοῖς εἰρήνην ἀγαπῶσιν δύσφημοι, τοῖς δὲ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξάψασιν ἐσχεδιάζοντο πρὸς ἡδονήν, καὶ τὸ κατάστημα τῆς πόλεως πρὶν ἐπελθεῖν Ῥωμαίους ἦν οἷον ἀπολουμένης. [651] Ἀνάνῳ γε μὴν φροντὶς ἦν κατὰ μικρὸν ἀφισταμένῳ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευῶν κάμψαι πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον τούς τε στασιαστὰς καὶ τὴν τῶν κληθέντων ζηλωτῶν ἀφροσύνην, ἠττήθη δὲ τῆς βίας, κἂν τοῖς ἐξῆς οἵου τέλους ἔτυχεν δηλώσομεν.

(2) [652] Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀκραβετηνὴν τοπαρχίαν ὁ Γιώρα Σίμων πολλοὺς τῶν νεωτεριζόντων συστησάμενος ἐφ᾽ ἁρπαγὰς ἐτράπετο καὶ οὐ μόνον τὰς οἰκίας ἐσπάρασσεν τῶν πλουσίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ σώματα κατηκίζετο δῆλός τε ἦν ἤδη πόρρωθεν ἀρχόμενος τυραννεῖν. [653] πεμφθείσης δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ὑπ᾽ Ἀνάνου καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων στρατιᾶς πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Μασάδᾳ λῃστὰς μεθ᾽ ὧν εἶχεν κατέφυγεν, κἀκεῖ μέχρι τῆς Ἀνάνου καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἐχθρῶν ἀναιρέσεως μένων συνελήζετο τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν: [654] ὥστε τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοῦ ἔθνους διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν φονευομένων καὶ τὰς συνεχεῖς ἁρπαγὰς στρατιὰν ἀθροίσαντας ἐμφρούρους τὰς κώμας ἔχειν. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

Liber III

I

(1) [1] Νέρωνι δ᾽ ὡς ἠγγέλη τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πταίσματα, λεληθυῖα μὲν ὡς εἰκὸς ἔκπληξις ἐμπίπτει καὶ δέος, φανερῶς δὲ ὑπερηφάνει καὶ προσωργίζετο, [2] στρατηγῶν μὲν ῥᾳστώνῃ μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἀρεταῖς γεγονέναι τὰ συμβάντα λέγων, πρέπειν δ᾽ ἡγούμενος ἑαυτῷ διὰ τὸν ὄγκον τῆς ἡγεμονίας κατασοβαρεύεσθαι τῶν σκυθρωπῶν καὶ δοκεῖν δεινοῦ παντὸς ἐπάνω τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχειν.

(2) [3] διηλέγχετό γε μὴν ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς θόρυβος ὑπὸ τῶν φροντίδων σκεπτομένου τίνι πιστεύσει κινουμένην τὴν ἀνατολήν, ὃς τιμωρήσεται μὲν τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπανάστασιν, προκαταλήψεται δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἤδη καὶ τὰ πέριξ ἔθνη συννοσοῦντα. [4] μόνον εὑρίσκει Οὐεσπασιανὸν ταῖς χρείαις ἀναλογοῦντα καὶ τηλικούτου πολέμου μέγεθος ἀναδέξασθαι δυνάμενον, ἄνδρα ταῖς ἀπὸ νεότητος στρατείαις ἐγγεγηρακότα καὶ προειρηνεύσαντα μὲν πάλαι Ῥωμαίοις τὴν ἑσπέραν ὑπὸ Γερμανῶν ταρασσομένην, προσκτησάμενον δὲ τοῖς ὅπλοις Βρεττανίαν τέως λανθάνουσαν, [5] ὅθεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ Κλαυδίῳ παρέσχε χωρὶς ἱδρῶτος ἰδίου θρίαμβον καταγαγεῖν.

(3) [6] Ταῦτά τε δὴ προκληδονιζόμενος καὶ σταθερὰν μετ᾽ ἐμπειρίας τὴν ἡλικίαν ὁρῶν, μέγα δὲ πίστεως αὐτοῦ τοὺς υἱοὺς ὅμηρον καὶ τὰς τούτων ἀκμὰς χεῖρα τῆς πατρῴας συνέσεως, τάχα τι καὶ περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἤδη τοῦ θεοῦ προοικονομουμένου, [7] πέμπει τὸν ἄνδρα ληψόμενον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν ἐπὶ Συρίας στρατευμάτων, πολλὰ πρὸς τὸ ἐπεῖγον οἷα κελεύουσιν αἱ ἀνάγκαι μειλιξάμενός τε καὶ προθεραπεύσας. [8] ὁ δ᾽ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀχαίας, ἔνθα συνῆν τῷ Νέρωνι, τὸν μὲν υἱὸν Τίτον ἀπέστειλεν ἐπ᾽ Ἀλεξανδρείας τὸ πέμπτον καὶ δέκατον ἐκεῖθεν ἀναστήσοντα τάγμα, περάσας δ᾽ αὐτὸς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πεζὸς εἰς Συρίαν ἀφικνεῖται κἀκεῖ τάς τε Ῥωμαικὰς δυνάμεις συνήγαγε καὶ συχνοὺς παρὰ τῶν γειτνιώντων βασιλέων συμμάχους.

II

(1) [9] Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ μετὰ τὴν Κεστίου πληγὴν ἐπηρμένοι ταῖς ἀδοκήτοις εὐπραγίαις ἀκρατεῖς ἦσαν ὁρμῆς καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκριπιζόμενοι τῇ τύχῃ προσωτέρω τὸν πόλεμον ἐξῆγον: πᾶν γοῦν εὐθέως ὅσον ἦν μαχιμώτατον αὐτοῖς ἀθροισθέντες ὥρμησαν ἐπ᾽ Ἀσκάλωνα. [10] πόλις ἐστὶν ἀρχαία τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων εἴκοσι πρὸς τοῖς πεντακοσίοις ἀπέχουσα σταδίους ἀεὶ διὰ μίσους Ἰουδαίοις γεγενημένη, διὸ καὶ τότε ταῖς πρώταις ὁρμαῖς ἐγγίων ἔδοξεν. [11] ἐξηγοῦντο δὲ τῆς καταδρομῆς τρεῖς ἄνδρες ἀλκήν τε κορυφαῖοι καὶ συνέσει, Νίγερ τε ὁ

Περαίτης καὶ ὁ Βαβυλώνιος Σίλας, πρὸς οἷς Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἐσσαῖος. [12] ἡ δὲ Ἀσκάλων ἐτετείχιστο μὲν καρτερῶς, βοηθείας δὲ ἦν σχεδὸν ἔρημος: ἐφρουρεῖτο γὰρ ὑπό τε σπείρας πεζῶν καὶ ὑπὸ μιᾶς ἴλης ἱππέων, ἧς ἐπῆρχεν Ἀντώνιος.

(2) [13] Οἱ μὲν οὖν πολὺ ταῖς ὁρμαῖς συντονώτερον ὁδεύσαντες ὡς ἐγγύθεν ὡρμημένοι καὶ δὴ παρῆσαν: [14] ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος, οὐ γὰρ ἠγνόει μέλλουσαν ἔτι τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν, προεξήγαγε τοὺς ἱππεῖς καὶ οὐδὲν οὔτε πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος οὔτε τὴν τόλμαν ὑποδείσας τῶν πολεμίων καρτερῶς τὰς πρώτας ὁρμὰς ἀνεδέξατο καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὠθουμένους ἀνέστειλεν. [15] οἱ δὲ πρὸς ἐμπείρους πολέμων ἄπειροι καὶ πεζοὶ πρὸς ἱππεῖς, ἀσύντακτοί τε πρὸς ἡνωμένους καὶ πρὸς ὁπλίτας ἐξηρτυμένους εἰκαιότερον ὡπλισμένοι, θυμῷ τε πλέον ἢ βουλῇ στρατηγούμενοι πρὸς εὐπειθεῖς καὶ νεύματι πάντα πράττοντας ἀντιτασσόμενοι πονοῦσιν ῥᾳδίως: [16] ὡς γὰρ αὐτῶν ἅπαξ ἤδη συνεταράχθησαν αἱ πρῶται φάλαγγες, ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου τρέπονται, καὶ τοῖς κατόπιν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος βιαζομένοις περιπίπτοντες ἀλλήλων ἦσαν πολέμιοι, μέχρι πάντες ταῖς τῶν ἱππέων ἐμβολαῖς εἴξαντες ἐσκεδάσθησαν ἀνὰ πᾶν τὸ πεδίον: τὸ δὲ ἦν πολὺ καὶ πᾶν ἱππάσιμον. [17] ὃ δὴ καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις συνεργῆσαν πλεῖστον εἰργάσατο τῶν Ἰουδαίων φόνον: τούς τε γὰρ φεύγοντας αὐτῶν φθάνοντες ἐπέστρεφον καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δρόμου συνειλουμένων διεκπαίοντες ἀπείρους ἀνῄρουν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλους ὅπῃ τρέποιντο κυκλούμενοι καὶ περιελαύνοντες κατηκόντιζον ῥᾳδίως. [18] καὶ τοῖς μὲν Ἰουδαίοις τὸ ἴδιον πλῆθος ἐρημία παρὰ τὰς ἀμηχανίας κατεφαίνετο, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἐν ταῖς εὐπραγίαις καίπερ ὄντες ὀλίγοι τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ περισσεύειν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑπελάμβανον. [19] καὶ τῶν μὲν προσφιλονεικούντων τοῖς πταίσμασιν αἰδοῖ τε φυγῆς ταχείας καὶ μεταβολῆς ἐλπίδι, τῶν δὲ μὴ κοπιώντων ἐν οἷς εὐτύχουν, παρέτεινεν ἡ μάχη μέχρι δείλης, ἕως ἀνῃρέθησαν μὲν μύριοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἄνδρες καὶ δύο τῶν ἡγεμόνων, Ἰωάννης τε καὶ Σίλας: [20] οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ τραυματίαι τὸ πλέον σὺν τῷ περιλειπομένῳ τῶν ἡγεμόνων Νίγερι τῆς Ἰδουμαίας εἰς πολίχνην τινά, Χάαλλις καλεῖται, συνέφυγον. [21] ὀλίγοι δέ τινες καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ τῆσδε τῆς παρατάξεως ἐτρώθησαν.

(3) [22] Οὐ μὴν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τηλικαύτῃ συμφορᾷ κατεστάλησαν τὰ φρονήματα, μᾶλλον δ' αὐτῶν τὸ πάθος ἤγειρε τὰς τόλμας, ὑπερορῶντές τε τοὺς ἐν ποσὶ νεκροὺς ἐδελεάζοντο τοῖς προτέροις κατορθώμασιν ἐπὶ πληγὴν δευτέραν. [23] διαλιπόντες γοῦν οὐδ' ὅσον ἰάσασθαι τὰ τραύματα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν πᾶσαν ἐπισυλλέξαντες ὀργιλώτερον καὶ πολλῷ πλείους ἐπαλινδρόμουν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσκάλωνα. [24] παρείπετο δ' αὐτοῖς μετά τε τῆς ἀπειρίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πρὸς πόλεμον ἐλασσωμάτων ἡ προτέρα τύχη: [25] τοῦ γὰρ Ἀντωνίου τὰς παρόδους προλοχίσαντος ἀδόκητοι ταῖς ἐνέδραις ἐμπεσόντες καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων πρὶν εἰς μάχην συντάξασθαι κυκλωθέντες, πάλιν πίπτουσι μὲν ὑπὲρ ὀκτακισχιλίους, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ πάντες ἔφυγον, σὺν οἷς καὶ Νίγερ, πολλὰ κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν εὐτολμίας ἐπιδειξάμενος ἔργα, συνελαύνονταί τε προσκειμένων τῶν πολεμίων εἴς τινα

πύργον ὀχυρὸν κώμης Βελζεδὲκ καλουμένης. [26] οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὡς μήτε τρίβοιντο περὶ τὸν πύργον ὄντα δυσάλωτον μήτε ζῶντα τὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ γενναιότατον τῶν πολεμίων περιίδοιεν, ὑποπιμπρᾶσι τὸ τεῖχος. [27] φλεγομένου δὲ τοῦ πύργου Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἀναχωροῦσι γεγηθότες ὡς διεφθαρμένου καὶ Νίγερος, ὁ δὲ εἰς τὸ μυχαίτατον τοῦ φρουρίου σπήλαιον καταπηδήσας ἐκ τοῦ πύργου διασώζεται, καὶ μεθ᾽ ἡμέρας τρεῖς τοῖς μετ᾽ ὀλοφυρμοῦ πρὸς κηδείαν αὐτὸν ἐρευνῶσιν ὑποφθέγγεται. [28] προελθὼν δὲ χαρᾶς ἀνελπίστου πάντας ἐπλήρωσεν Ἰουδαίους ὡς προνοίᾳ θεοῦ σωθεὶς αὐτοῖς στρατηγὸς εἰς τὰ μέλλοντα.

(4) [29] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀναλαβὼν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας, ἣ μητρόπολίς ἐστι τῆς Συρίας, μεγέθους τε ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὐδαιμονίας τρίτον ἀδηρίτως ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις οἰκουμένης ἔχουσα τόπον, ἔνθα μετὰ πάσης τῆς ἰδίας ἰσχύος ἐκδεχόμενον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἄφιξιν καὶ Ἀγρίππαν τὸν βασιλέα κατειλήφει, ἐπὶ Πτολεμαΐδος ἠπείγετο. [30] καὶ κατὰ ταύτην ὑπαντῶσιν αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν οἱ τῆς Γαλιλαίας Σέπφωριν νεμόμενοι πόλιν, μόνοι τῶν τῇδε εἰρηνικὰ φρονοῦντες: [31] οἳ καὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἰσχύος οὐκ ἀπρονόητοι πρὶν ἀφικέσθαι Οὐεσπασιανὸν Καισεννίῳ Γάλλῳ πίστεις τε ἔδοσαν καὶ δεξιὰς ἔλαβον καὶ παρεδέξαντο φρουράν. [32] τότε γε μὴν φιλοφρόνως ἐκδεξάμενοι τὸν ἡγεμόνα προθύμως σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑπέσχοντο κατὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων συμμάχους: [33] οἷς ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀξιώσασι τέως πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ἱππεῖς τε καὶ πεζοὺς παραδίδωσιν ὅσους ἀνθέξειν ταῖς καταδρομαῖς, εἴ τι Ἰουδαῖοι παρακινοῖεν, ὑπελάμβανον: [34] καὶ γὰρ οὐ μικρὸν ἐδόκει τὸ κινδύνευμα πρὸς τὸν μέλλοντα πόλεμον ἀφαιρεθῆναι τὴν Σέπφωριν, μεγίστην μὲν οὖσαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας πόλιν, ἐρυμνοτάτῳ δ᾽ ἐπιτετειχισμένην χωρίῳ καὶ φρουρὰν ὅλου τοῦ ἔθνους ἐσομένην.

III

(1) [35] Δύο δ᾽ οὔσας τὰς Γαλιλαίας, τήν τε ἄνω καὶ τὴν κάτω προσαγορευομένην, περιίσχει μὲν ἡ Φοινίκη τε καὶ Συρία, διορίζει δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν δύσεως ἡλίου Πτολεμαὶς τοῖς τῆς χώρας τέρμασι καὶ Κάρμηλος, τὸ πάλαι μὲν Γαλιλαίων, νῦν δὲ Τυρίων ὄρος: [36] ᾧ προσίσχει Γαβαά, πόλις ἱππέων, οὕτω προσαγορευομένη διὰ τὸ τοὺς ὑφ᾽ Ἡρώδου βασιλέως ἀπολυομένους ἱππεῖς ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικεῖν: [37] ἀπὸ δὲ μεσημβρίας Σαμαρεῖτίς τε καὶ Σκυθόπολις μέχρι τῶν Ἰορδάνου ναμάτων. πρὸς ἕω δὲ Ἱππηνῇ τε καὶ Γαδάροις ἀποτέμνεται καὶ τῇ Γαυλωνίτιδι: ταύτῃ καὶ τῆς Ἀγρίππα βασιλείας ὅροι. [38] τὰ προσάρκτια δ᾽ αὐτῆς Τύρῳ τε καὶ τῇ Τυρίων χώρᾳ περατοῦται. καὶ τῆς μὲν κάτω καλουμένης Γαλιλαίας ἀπὸ Τιβεριάδος μέχρι Χαβουλών, ἧς ἐν τοῖς παραλίοις Πτολεμαΐς γείτων, τὸ μῆκος ἐκτείνεται. [39] πλατύνεται δ᾽ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ

κειμένης κώμης, Ἐξαλὼθ καλεῖται, μέχρι Βηρσάβης, ἣ καὶ τῆς ἄνω Γαλιλαίας εἰς εὖρος ἀρχὴ μέχρι Βακὰ κώμης: αὕτη δὲ τὴν Τυρίων γῆν ὁρίζει. [40] μηκύνεται δὲ μέχρι Μηρὼθ ἀπὸ Θελλᾶ κώμης Ἰορδάνου γείτονος.

(2) [41] Τηλικαῦται δ' οὖσαι τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τοσούτοις ἔθνεσιν ἀλλοφύλοις κεκυκλωμέναι πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀεὶ πολέμου πεῖραν ἀντέσχον: [42] μάχιμοί τε γὰρ ἐκ νηπίων καὶ πολλοὶ Γαλιλαῖοι πάντοτε, καὶ οὔτε δειλία ποτὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας οὔτε λιπανδρία τὴν χώραν κατέσχεν, ἐπειδὴ πίων τε πᾶσα καὶ εὔβοτος καὶ δένδρεσι παντοίοις κατάφυτος, ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς εὐπετείας προκαλέσασθαι καὶ τὸν ἥκιστα γῆς φιλόπονον. [43] προσησκήθη γοῦν ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκητόρων πᾶσα, καὶ μέρος αὐτῆς ἀργὸν οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις πυκναὶ καὶ τὸ τῶν κωμῶν πλῆθος πανταχοῦ πολυάνθρωπον διὰ τὴν εὐθηνίαν, ὡς τὴν ἐλαχίστην ὑπὲρ πεντακισχιλίους πρὸς τοῖς μυρίοις ἔχειν οἰκήτορας.

(3) [44] Καθόλου δέ, εἰ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τις ἐλαττώσειε τῆς Περαίας τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, προέλοιτο δ' ἂν τῇ δυνάμει: ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐνεργὸς ὅλη καὶ συνεχής ἐστιν καρποφόρος, ἡ Περαία δὲ πολὺ μὲν μείζων, ἔρημος δὲ καὶ τραχεῖα τὸ πλέον πρός τε καρπῶν ἡμέρων αὔξησιν ἀγριωτέρα, [45] τό γε μὴν μαλθακὸν αὐτῆς καὶ πάμφορον, καὶ τὰ πεδία δένδρεσι ποικίλοις κατάφυτα τὸ πλεῖστόν τε ἐλαίαν [τε] καὶ ἄμπελον καὶ φοινικῶνας ἤσκηται, διαρδομένη χειμάρροις τε τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν καὶ πηγαῖς ἀεννάοις ἅλις, εἴ ποτ' ἐκεῖνοι σειρίῳ φθίνοιεν. [46] μῆκος μὲν [οὖν] αὐτῆς ἀπὸ Μαχαιροῦντος εἰς Πέλλαν, εὖρος δ' ἀπὸ Φιλαδελφείας μέχρι Ἰορδάνου. [47] καὶ Πέλλῃ μέν, ἣν προειρήκαμεν, τὰ πρὸς ἄρκτον ὁρίζεται, πρὸς ἑσπέραν δὲ Ἰορδάνῃ: μεσημβρινὸν δ' αὐτῆς πέρας ἡ Μωαβῖτις, καὶ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν Ἀραβίᾳ τε καὶ Σιλωνίτιδι, πρὸς δὲ Φιλαδελφηνῇ καὶ Γεράσοις ἀποτέμνεται.

(4) [48] Ἡ δὲ Σαμαρεῖτις χώρα μέση μὲν τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας: ἀρχομένη γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κειμένης Γηνεὼς ὄνομα κώμης ἐπιλήγει τῆς Ἀκραβετηνῶν τοπαρχίας: φύσιν δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίας κατ' οὐδὲν διάφορος. [49] ἀμφότεραι γὰρ ὀρειναὶ καὶ πεδιάδες, εἵς τε γεωργίαν μαλθακαὶ καὶ πολύφοροι κατάδενδροί τε καὶ ὀπώρας ὀρεινῆς καὶ ἡμέρου μεσταί, παρ' ὅσον οὐδαμοῦ φύσει διψάδες, ὕονται δὲ τὸ πλέον: [50] γλυκὺ δὲ νᾶμα πᾶν διαφόρως ἐν αὐταῖς, καὶ διὰ πλῆθος πόας ἀγαθῆς τὰ κτήνη πλέον ἢ παρ' ἄλλοις γαλακτοφόρα. μέγιστόν γε μὴν τεκμήριον ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐθηνίας τὸ πληθύειν ἀνδρῶν ἑκατέραν.

(5) [51] Μεθόριος δ' αὐτῶν ἡ Ἀνουάθου Βόρκαιος προσαγορευομένη κώμη: πέρας αὕτη τῆς Ἰουδαίας τὰ πρὸς βορέαν, τὰ νότια δ' αὐτῆς ἐπὶ μῆκος μετρουμένης ὁρίζει προσκυροῦσα τοῖς Ἀράβων ὅροις κώμη, καλοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν Ἰορδὰν οἱ τῇδε Ἰουδαῖοι. εὖρός γε μὴν ἀπὸ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ μέχρις Ἰόππης ἀναπέπταται. [52] μεσαιτάτη δ' αὐτῆς πόλις τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα κεῖται, παρ' ὃ καί τινες οὐκ ἀσκόπως ὀμφαλὸν τὸ ἄστυ τῆς χώρας ἐκάλεσαν. [53] ἀφῄρηται δ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκ θαλάσσης τερπνῶν ἡ Ἰουδαία τοῖς παραλίοις κατατείνουσα μέχρι

Πτολεμαίδος. [54] μερίζεται δ' εἰς ἕνδεκα κληρουχίας, ὧν ἄρχει μὲν βασίλειον τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα προανίσχουσα τῆς περιοίκου πάσης ὥσπερ ἡ κεφαλὴ σώματος: αἱ λοιπαὶ δὲ μετ' αὐτὴν διῄρηνται τὰς τοπαρχίας. [55] Γοφνὰ δευτέρα καὶ μετὰ ταύτην Ἀκραβετά, Θαμνὰ πρὸς ταύταις καὶ Λύδδα, Ἀμμαοῦς καὶ Πέλλη καὶ Ἰδουμαία καὶ Ἐνγαδδαὶ καὶ Ἠρώδειον καὶ Ἰεριχοῦς, [56] μεθ' ἃς Ἰάμνεια καὶ Ἰόππη τῶν περιοίκων ἀφηγοῦνται, κἀπὶ ταύταις ἥ τε Γαμαλιτικὴ καὶ Γαυλανῖτις Βαταναία τε καὶ Τραχωνῖτις, αἳ καὶ τῆς Ἀγρίππα βασιλείας εἰσὶ μοῖραι. [57] ἀρχομένη δὲ ἀπὸ Λιβάνου ὄρους καὶ τῶν Ἰορδάνου πηγῶν ἡ χώρα μέχρι τῆς πρὸς Τιβεριάδα λίμνης εὐρύνεται, ἀπὸ δὲ κώμης καλουμένης Ἀρφᾶς μέχρις Ἰουλιάδος ἐκτείνεται τὸ μῆκος. οἰκοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν μιγάδες Ἰουδαῖοί τε καὶ Σύροι. [58] τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ πέριξ χώρας ὡς ἐνῆν μάλιστα συντόμως ἀπηγγέλκαμεν.

IV

(1) [59] Ἡ δ' ὑπὸ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ πεμφθεῖσα Σεπφωρίταις βοήθεια, χίλιοι μὲν ἱππεῖς ἑξακισχίλιοι δὲ πεζοί, Πλακίδου χιλιαρχοῦντος αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι διαιροῦνται, καὶ τὸ μὲν πεζὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει πρὸς φυλακὴν αὐτῆς, τὸ δ' ἱππικὸν ἐπὶ τῆς παρεμβολῆς αὐλίζεται. [60] προιόντες δὲ ἑκατέρωθεν συνεχῶς καὶ τὰ πέριξ τῆς χώρας κατατρέχοντες μεγάλα τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐκάκουν ἀτρεμοῦντα τάς τε πόλεις ἔξωθεν λῃζόμενοι καὶ προθέοντας ὁπότε θαρρήσειαν ἀνακόπτοντες. [61] ὥρμησέ γε μὴν Ἰώσηπος ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν αἱρήσειν ἐλπίσας, ἣν αὐτὸς πρὶν ἀποστῆναι Γαλιλαίων ἐτείχισεν ὡς καὶ Ῥωμαίοις δυσάλωτον εἶναι: διὸ καὶ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀφήμαρτεν τοῦ τε βιάζεσθαι καὶ τοῦ μεταπείθειν Σεπφωρίτας ἀσθενέστερος εὑρεθείς. [62] παρώξυνεν δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, καὶ οὔτε νύκτωρ οὔτε μεθ' ἡμέραν ὀργῇ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διέλιπον δῃοῦντες αὐτῶν τὰ πεδία καὶ διαρπάζοντες τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας κτήματα, καὶ κτείνοντες μὲν ἀεὶ τὸ μάχιμον, ἀνδραποδιζόμενοι δὲ τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς. [63] πυρὶ δὲ ἡ Γαλιλαία καὶ αἵματι πεπλήρωτο πᾶσα πάθους τε οὐδενὸς ἢ συμφορᾶς ἀπείρατος ἦν: μία γὰρ καταφυγὴ διωκομένοις αἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου τειχισθεῖσαι πόλεις ἦσαν.

(2) [64] Ὁ δὲ Τίτος περαιωθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀχαίας εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὠκύτερον ἢ κατὰ χειμῶνος ὥραν, παραλαμβάνει μὲν ἐφ' ἣν ἔσταλτο δύναμιν, συντόνῳ δὲ χρώμενος πορείᾳ διὰ τάχους εἰς Πτολεμαίδα ἀφικνεῖται. [65] κἀκεῖ καταλαβὼν τὸν πατέρα δυσὶ τοῖς ἅμα αὐτῷ τάγμασιν, ἦν δὲ τὰ ἐπισημότατα τὸ πέμπτον καὶ τὸ δέκατον, ζεύγνυσι τὸ ἀχθὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεντεκαιδέκατον. [66] τούτοις εἵποντο ὀκτωκαίδεκα σπεῖραι: προσεγένοντο δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Καισαρείας πέντε καὶ ἱππέων ἴλη μία, πέντε δ' ἕτεραι τῶν ἀπὸ Συρίας ἱππέων. [67] τῶν δὲ σπειρῶν αἱ δέκα μὲν εἶχον ἀνὰ χιλίους πεζούς, αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ δεκατρεῖς ἀνὰ ἑξακοσίους μὲν πεζούς,

ἱππεῖς δὲ ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν. συχνὸν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων συνήχθη συμμαχικόν, [68] Ἀντιόχου μὲν καὶ Ἀγρίππα καὶ Σοαίμου παρασχομένων ἀνὰ δισχιλίους πεζοὺς τοξότας καὶ χιλίους ἱππεῖς, τοῦ δὲ Ἄραβος Μάλχου χιλίους πέμψαντος ἱππεῖς ἐπὶ πεζοῖς πεντακισχιλίοις, ὧν τὸ πλέον ἦσαν τοξόται, [69] ὡς τὴν πᾶσαν δύναμιν συνεξαριθμουμένων τῶν βασιλικῶν ἱππέας τε καὶ πεζοὺς εἰς ἓξ ἀθροίζεσθαι μυριάδας δίχα θεραπόντων, οἳ παμπληθεῖς μὲν εἵποντο, διὰ δὲ συνάσκησιν πολεμικὴν οὐκ ἂν ἀποτάσσοιντο τοῦ μαχίμου, κατὰ μὲν εἰρήνην ἐν ταῖς μελέταις τῶν δεσποτῶν ἀεὶ στρεφόμενοι, συγκινδυνεύοντες δ᾽ ἐν πολέμοις, ὡς μήτ᾽ ἐμπειρίᾳ μήτ᾽ ἀλκῇ τινος πλὴν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐλαττοῦσθαι.

V

(1) [70] Κἀν τούτῳ μὲν οὖν θαυμάσαι τις ἂν Ῥωμαίων τὸ προμηθὲς κατασκευαζομένων ἑαυτοῖς τὸ οἰκετικὸν οὐ μόνον εἰς τὰς τοῦ βίου διακονίας ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους χρήσιμον. [71] εἰ δέ τις αὐτῶν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην σύνταξιν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπίδοι, γνώσεται τὴν τοσήνδε ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοὺς ἀρετῆς κτῆμα ἔχοντας, οὐ δῶρον τύχης. [72] οὐ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀρχὴ τῶν ὅπλων πόλεμος, οὐδ᾽ ἐπὶ μόνας τὰς χρείας τῷ χεῖρε κινοῦσιν ἐν εἰρήνῃ προηργηκότες, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ συμπεφυκότες τοῖς ὅπλοις οὐδέποτε τῆς ἀσκήσεως λαμβάνουσιν ἐκεχειρίαν οὐδὲ ἀναμένουσιν τοὺς καιρούς. [73] αἱ μελέται δ᾽ αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν τῆς κατὰ ἀλήθειαν εὐτονίας ἀποδέουσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἕκαστος ὁσημέραι στρατιώτης πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ καθάπερ ἐν πολέμῳ γυμνάζεται. [74] διὸ κουφότατα τὰς μάχας διαφέρουσιν: οὔτε γὰρ ἀταξία διασκίδνησιν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν ἕθει συντάξεως οὔτε δέος ἐξίστησιν οὔτε δαπανᾷ πόνος, ἕπεται δὲ τὸ κρατεῖν ἀεὶ κατὰ τῶν οὐχ ὁμοίων βέβαιον. [75] καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοι τις εἰπὼν τὰς μὲν μελέτας αὐτῶν χωρὶς αἵματος παρατάξεις, τὰς παρατάξεις δὲ μεθ᾽ αἵματος μελέτας. [76] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς εὐάλωτοι πολεμίοις: ὅπῃ δ᾽ ἂν ἐμβάλωσιν εἰς ἐχθρῶν γῆν, οὐ πρὶν ἅπτονται μάχης ἢ τειχίσαι στρατόπεδον. [77] τὸ δὲ οὐκ εἰκαῖον οὐδὲ ἀνώμαλον ἐγείρουσιν οὐδὲ πάντες ἢ ἀτάκτως διαλαβόντες, ἀλλ᾽ εἰ μὲν ἀνώμαλος ὢν τύχοι χῶρος, ἐξομαλίζεται: διαμετρεῖται δὲ παρεμβολὴ τετράγωνος αὐτοῖς. [78] καὶ τεκτόνων πλῆθος ἕπεται τῶν τε πρὸς τὴν δόμησιν ἐργαλείων.

(2) [79] Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔνδον εἰς σκηνὰς διαλαμβάνουσιν, ἔξωθεν δ᾽ ὁ κύκλος τείχους ὄψιν ἐπίχει πύργοις ἐξ ἴσου διαστήματος κεκοσμημένος. [80] ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν μεταπυργίων τούς τε ὀξυβελεῖς καὶ καταπέλτας καὶ λιθοβόλα καὶ πᾶν ἀφετήριον ὄργανον τιθέασιν, πάντα πρὸς τὰς βολὰς ἕτοιμα. [81] πύλαι δὲ ἐνοικοδομοῦνται τέσσαρες καθ᾽ ἕκαστον τοῦ περιβόλου κλίμα, πρός τε εἰσόδους τῶν ὑποζυγίων εὐμαρεῖς καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐκδρομὰς αὐτῶν, εἰ κατεπείγοι, πλατεῖαι. [82] ῥυμοτομοῦσι δ᾽ εὐδιαθέτως εἴσω τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ μέσας μὲν τὰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων σκηνὰς τίθενται, μεσαίτατον δὲ τούτων τὸ στρατήγιον ναῷ παραπλήσιον: [83] ὥσπερ δὲ

ἐν σχεδίῳ πόλις καὶ ἀγορά τις ἀποδείκνυται καὶ χειροτέχναις χωρίον θῶκοί τε λοχαγοῖς καὶ ταξιάρχοις, ὅπῃ δικάζοιεν, εἴ τινες διαφέροιντο. [84] τειχίζεται δὲ ὁ περίβολος καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα θᾶττον ἐπινοίας πλήθει καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ τῶν πονούντων: εἰ δ᾽ ἐπείγοι, καὶ τάφρος ἔξωθεν περιβάλλεται βάθος τετράπηχυς καὶ εὖρος ἴση.

(3) [85] Φραξάμενοι δ᾽ αὐλίζονται κατὰ συντάξεις ἕκαστοι μεθ᾽ ἡσυχίας τε καὶ κόσμου. πάντα δ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μετ᾽ εὐταξίας ἀνύεται καὶ ἀσφαλείας, ξυλεία τε καὶ ἐπισιτισμός, εἰ δέοιντο, καὶ ὑδρεία κατὰ συντάξεις ἑκάστοις. [86] οὐδὲ γὰρ δεῖπνον ἢ ἄριστον ὁπότε θελήσειαν αὐτεξούσιον ἑκάστῳ, πᾶσιν δ᾽ ὁμοῦ, τούς τε ὕπνους αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰς φυλακὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξεγέρσεις σάλπιγγες προσημαίνουσιν, οὐδ᾽ ἔστιν ὅ τι γίνεται δίχα παραγγέλματος. [87] ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἕω τὸ στρατιωτικὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑκατοντάρχας ἕκαστοι, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς χιλιάρχους οὗτοι συνίασιν ἀσπασόμενοι, μεθ᾽ ὧν πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν ὅλων οἱ ταξίαρχοι πάντες. [88] ὁ δ᾽ αὐτοῖς τό τε ἐξ ἔθους σημεῖον καὶ τἆλλα παραγγέλματα δίδωσιν διαφέρειν εἰς τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους: ὃ δὴ κἀπὶ παρατάξεως πράττοντες ἐπιστρέφονταί τε ταχέως, ἵνα δέοι, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐφόδους αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀνακλήσεις ὑποχωροῦσιν ἀθρόοι.

(4) [89] Ἐξιέναι δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου δέον ὑποσημαίνει μὲν ἡ σάλπιγξ, ἠρεμεῖ δ᾽ οὐδείς, ἀλλ᾽ ἅμα νεύματι τὰς μὲν σκηνὰς ἀναιροῦσιν, πάντα δ᾽ ἐξαρτύονται πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον. [90] καὶ πάλιν αἱ σάλπιγγες ὑποσημαίνουσιν παρεσκευάσθαι. οἱ δ᾽ ἐν τάχει τοῖς τε ὀρεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἐπιθέντες τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἑστᾶσιν ὥσπερ ἐφ᾽ ὕσπληγος ἐξορμᾶν ἕτοιμοι, ὑποπιμπρᾶσίν τε ἤδη τὴν παρεμβολὴν ὡς αὐτοῖς μὲν ὂν ῥᾴδιον ἐκεῖ πάλιν τειχίσασθαι, μὴ γένοιτο δ᾽ ἐκεῖνό ποτε τοῖς πολεμίοις χρήσιμον. [91] καὶ τρίτον δ᾽ ὅμως αἱ σάλπιγγες προσημαίνουσιν τὴν ἔξοδον ἐπισπέρχουσαι τοὺς δι᾽ αἰτίαν τινὰ βραδύναντας, ὡς μή τις ἀπολειφθείη τάξεως. [92] ὅ τε κῆρυξ δεξιὸς τῷ πολεμάρχῳ παραστάς, εἰ πρὸς πόλεμόν εἰσιν ἕτοιμοι, τῇ πατρίῳ γλώσσῃ τρὶς ἀναπυνθάνεται. κἀκεῖνοι τοσαυτάκις ἀντιβοῶσιν μέγα τι καὶ πρόθυμον ἕτοιμοι λέγοντες εἶναι, φθάνουσιν δὲ τὸν ἐπερωτῶντα, καί τινος ἀρηίου πνεύματος ὑποπιμπλάμενοι τῇ βοῇ συνεξαίρουσιν τὰς δεξιάς.

(5) [93] Ἔπειτα προιόντες ὁδεύουσιν ἡσυχῇ καὶ μετὰ κόσμου πάντες, ὥσπερ ἐν πολέμῳ τὴν ἰδίαν τάξιν ἕκαστος φυλάσσων, οἱ μὲν πεζοὶ θώραξιν πεφραγμένοι καὶ κράνεσιν καὶ μαχαιροφοροῦντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν. [94] μακρότερον δ᾽ αὐτῶν τὸ λαιὸν ξίφος πολλῷ: τὸ γὰρ κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν σπιθαμῆς οὐ πλέον ἔχει τὸ μῆκος. [95] φέρουσι δ᾽ οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐπίλεκτοι πεζοὶ λόγχην καὶ ἀσπίδα, ἡ δὲ λοιπὴ φάλαγξ ξυστόν τε καὶ θυρεὸν ἐπιμήκη, πρὸς οἷς πρίονα καὶ κόφινον ἄμην τε καὶ πέλεκυν, πρὸς δὲ ἱμάντα καὶ δρέπανον καὶ ἅλυσιν, ἡμερῶν τε τριῶν ἐφόδιον: ὡς ὀλίγον ἀποδεῖν τῶν ἀχθοφορούντων ὀρέων τὸν πεζόν. [96] τοῖς δὲ ἱππεῦσιν μάχαιρα μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν μακρὰ καὶ κοντὸς ἐπιμήκης ἐν χειρί, θυρεὸς δὲ

παρὰ πλευρὸν ἵππου πλάγιος, καὶ κατὰ γωρυτοῦ παρήρτηνται τρεῖς ἢ πλείους ἄκοντες, πλατεῖς μὲν αἰχμάς, οὐκ ἀποδέοντες δὲ δοράτων μέγεθος: [97] κράνη δὲ καὶ θώρακες ὁμοίως τοῖς πεζοῖς ἅπασιν. οὐδενὶ δὲ ὅπλων διαλλάττουσιν οἱ περὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἔκκριτοι τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἴλαις ἱππέων. κλήρῳ δὲ τῶν ταγμάτων ἀεὶ τὸ λαχὸν ἡγεῖται.

(6) [98] Τοιαῦται μὲν οὖν αἱ Ῥωμαίων πορεῖαί τε καὶ καταλύσεις, πρὸς δὲ ὅπλων διαφοραί, οὐδὲν δὲ ἀπροβούλευτον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις οὐδὲ αὐτοσχέδιον, ἀλλὰ γνώμη μὲν ἀεὶ παντὸς ἔργου προάγει, τοῖς δοχθεῖσι δὲ ἕπεται τὰ ἔργα: [99] παρ᾽ ὃ καὶ σφάλλονται μὲν ἥκιστα, κἂν πταίσωσι δέ, ῥᾳδίως ἀναλαμβάνουσι τὰ σφάλματα. [100] ἡγοῦνταί τε τῶν ἀπὸ τύχης ἐπιτευγμάτων ἀμείνους τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς προβουλευθεῖσιν διαμαρτίας, ὡς τοῦ μὲν αὐτομάτου καλοῦ δελεάζοντος εἰς ἀπρομήθειαν, τῆς σκέψεως δέ, κἂν ἀτυχήσῃ ποτέ, πρὸς τὸ μὴ αὖθις καλὴν ἐχούσης μελέτην: [101] καὶ τῶν μὲν αὐτομάτων ἀγαθῶν οὐ τὸν λαβόντα αἴτιον εἶναι, τῶν δὲ παρὰ γνώμην προσπεσόντων σκυθρωπῶν παραμυθίαν τό γε προσηκόντως βεβουλεῦσθαι.

(7) [102] Παρασκευάζουσι μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς μελέταις τῶν ὅπλων οὐ τὰ σώματα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀλκίμους, προσασκοῦνται δὲ καὶ τῷ φόβῳ. [103] οἵ τε γὰρ νόμοι παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς οὐ λιποταξίου μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥᾳστώνης ὀλίγης θανατικοὶ οἵ τε στρατηγοὶ τῶν νόμων φοβερώτεροι: ταῖς γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τιμαῖς ῥύονται τὸ δοκεῖν ὠμοὶ πρὸς τοὺς κολαζομένους. [104] τοσοῦτον δ᾽ αὐτῶν τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας πειθήνιον, ὡς ἕν τε εἰρήνῃ κόσμον εἶναι καὶ ἐπὶ παρατάξεως ἓν σῶμα τὴν ὅλην στρατιάν. [105] οὕτως αὐτῶν ἀσφαλεῖς μὲν αἱ τάξεις, εὔστροφοι δ᾽ εἰσὶν αἱ περιαγωγαί, ὀξεῖαι δ᾽ ἀκοαὶ μὲν παραγγέλμασιν, ὄψεις δὲ σημείοις, ἔργοις δὲ χεῖρες. [106] ὅθεν δρᾶσαι μὲν ἀεὶ ταχεῖς, βραδύτατοι δὲ παθεῖν εἰσιν, οὐδ᾽ ἔστιν ὅπου σταθέντες ἢ πλήθους ἠσσήθησαν ἢ στρατηγημάτων ἢ δυσχωρίας, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τύχης: καὶ γὰρ ταύτης αὐτοῖς τὸ κρατεῖν βεβαιότερον. [107] οἷς οὖν βουλὴ μὲν ἄρχει παρατάξεως, ἕπεται δὲ τοῖς βεβουλευμένοις στρατὸς οὕτω δραστήριος, τί θαυμαστόν, εἰ πρὸς ἕω μὲν Εὐφράτης, ὠκεανὸς δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέραν, μεσημβρινὸν δὲ Λιβύης τὸ πιότατον καὶ πρὸς ἄρκτον Ἴστρος τε καὶ Ῥῆνος τῆς ἡγεμονίας ὅροι; δεόντως γὰρ ἄν τις εἴποι τὸ κτῆμα τῶν κτησαμένων ἔλασσον.

(8) [108] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν διεξῆλθον οὐ Ῥωμαίους ἐπαινέσαι προαιρούμενος τοσοῦτον, ὅσον εἴς τε παραμυθίαν τῶν κεχειρωμένων καὶ εἰς ἀποτροπὴν τῶν νεωτεριζόντων: [109] εἴη δ᾽ ἂν τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσιν τῶν φιλοκαλούντων καὶ πρὸς ἐμπειρίας ἡ ἀγωγὴ τῆς Ῥωμαίων στρατιᾶς. ἐπάνειμι δ᾽ ὅθεν ἐπὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐξέβην.

VI

(1) [110] Οὐεσπασιανὸς μὲν ἅμα τῷ παιδὶ Τίτῳ διατρίβων τέως ἐν τῇ Πτολεμαίδι συνέτασσεν τὰς δυνάμεις, ὁ δὲ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν κατατρέχων Πλάκιδος ἐπεὶ πολὺ μὲν πλῆθος ἀνῃρήκει τῶν καταλαμβανομένων, τοῦτο δ' ἦν τὸ ἀσθενέστερον Γαλιλαίων καὶ ταῖς φυγαῖς ἐναποκάμνον, [111] ὁρῶν δὲ συμφεῦγον ἀεὶ τὸ μάχιμον εἰς τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου τειχισθείσας πόλεις ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν ὀχυρωτάτην αὐτῶν Ἰωταπάταν, οἰόμενος ἐξ ἐφόδου μὲν αἱρήσειν ῥᾳδίως, μέγα δὲ κλέος αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν κἀκείνοις ὄφελος εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ παρέξειν: προσχωρήσειν γὰρ δέει τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις τῆς καρτερωτάτης ἐχομένης. [112] πολύ γε μὴν διήμαρτεν τῆς ἐλπίδος: ἐπιόντα γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰωταπατηνοὶ προαισθόμενοι πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐκδέχονται, καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις συρραγέντες ἀδοκήτοις πολλοὶ καὶ πρὸς μάχην ἕτοιμοι πρόθυμοί τε ὡς ἂν ὑπὲρ κινδυνευούσης πατρίδος καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων, τρέπονται ταχέως. [113] καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τιτρώσκουσι τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἑπτὰ δὲ ἀναιροῦσιν διὰ τὸ μήτε ἄτακτον αὐτῶν τὴν ὑποχώρησιν γενέσθαι καὶ τὰς πληγὰς ἐπιπολαίους πεφραγμένων πάντοθεν τῶν σωμάτων, τούς τε Ἰουδαίους πόρρωθεν βάλλειν πλέον ἢ συμπλέκεσθαι θαρρεῖν γυμνῆτας ὁπλίταις. [114] ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τρεῖς ἄνδρες καὶ ἐτρώθησαν ὀλίγοι. Πλάκιδος μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁρμῆς ἀτονώτερος εὑρεθεὶς φεύγει.

(2) [115] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ὡρμημένος αὐτὸς ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐξελαύνει τῆς Πτολεμαίδος διατάξας τὴν στρατιὰν ὁδεύειν καθὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἔθος. [116] τοὺς μέν γε ψιλοὺς τῶν ἐπικούρων καὶ τοξότας προάγειν ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς ἀνακόπτοιεν τὰς ἐξαπιναίους τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιδρομὰς καὶ διερευνῷεν τὰς ὑπόπτους καὶ λοχᾶσθαι δυναμένας ὕλας, οἷς εἵπετο καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὁπλιτικὴ μοῖρα πεζοί τε καὶ ἱππεῖς. [117] τούτοις ἀφ' ἑκάστης ἑκατονταρχίας ἠκολούθουν δέκα τήν τε ἑαυτῶν σκευὴν καὶ τὰ μέτρα τῆς παρεμβολῆς φέροντες, [118] καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς ὁδοποιοί, τά τε σκολιὰ τῆς λεωφόρου κατευθύνειν καὶ χθαμαλοῦν τὰ δύσβατα καὶ τὰς ἐμποδίους ὕλας προανακόπτειν, ὡς μὴ ταλαιπωροῖτο δυσποροῦν τὸ στράτευμα. [119] κατόπιν δὲ τούτων τάς τε ἰδίας καὶ τὰς τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνων ἔταξεν ἀποσκευὰς καὶ συχνοὺς ἐπὶ τούτοις πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τῶν ἱππέων. [120] μεθ' οὓς αὐτὸς ἐξήλαυνεν τούς τε ἐπιλέκτους τῶν πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων καὶ τοὺς λογχοφόρους ἔχων. εἵπετο δ' αὐτῷ τὸ ἴδιον τοῦ τάγματος ἱππικόν: ἴδιοι γὰρ ἑκάστου τάγματος εἴκοσι πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν ἱππεῖς. [121] τούτοις δ' ἠκολούθουν οἱ τὰς ἐλεπόλεις φέροντες ὀρεῖς καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μηχανήματα. [122] μετὰ τούτους ἡγεμόνες τε καὶ σπειρῶν ἔπαρχοι σὺν χιλιάρχοις, ἐπιλέκτους περὶ σφᾶς στρατιώτας ἔχοντες: [123] ἔπειτα αἱ σημαῖαι περιίσχουσαι τὸν ἀετόν, ὃς παντὸς ἄρχει Ῥωμαίοις τάγματος, βασιλεύς τε οἰωνῶν ἁπάντων καὶ ἀλκιμώτατος ὤν: ὃ δὴ καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας τεκμήριον αὐτοῖς καὶ κληδών, ἐφ' οὓς ἂν ἴωσιν, τοῦ κρατήσειν δοκεῖ. [124] τοῖς δὲ ἱεροῖς ἠκολούθουν οἱ σαλπιγκταί, καὶ κατόπιν αὐτῶν ἡ φάλαγξ τὸ στῖφος εἰς ἓξ πλατύνασα. τούτοις παρείπετό τις ἑκατόνταρχος ἐξ ἔθους τὴν τάξιν ἐπισκοπούμενος. [125] τὸ δ' οἰκετικὸν ἑκάστου

τάγματος ἅπαν τοῖς πεζοῖς εἵπετο, τὰς ἀποσκευὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀρεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἄγοντες: [126] κατόπιν δὲ πάντων [τῶν ταγμάτων] ὁ μίσθιος ὄχλος, οἷς οὐραγοὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ἠκολούθουν πεζοί τε καὶ ὁπλῖται καὶ τῶν ἱππέων συχνοί.

(3) [127] Οὕτως ὁδεύσας Οὐεσπασιανὸς μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς τοὺς ὅρους ἀφικνεῖται τῆς Γαλιλαίας, ἔνθα καταστρατοπεδευσάμενος ὠρμημένους εἰς πόλεμον τοὺς στρατιώτας κατεῖχεν, ἐπιδεικνύμενος τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς κατάπληξιν τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ μετανοίας καιρὸν διδούς, εἰ πρὸ μάχης μεταβάλοιντο: ἅμα δὲ καὶ πρὸς πολιορκίαν τῶν ἐρυμάτων ἐξηρτύετο. [128] μετάνοιαν μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀποστάσεως ὀφθεὶς ὁ στρατηγὸς πολλοῖς ἐνειργάσατο, κατάπληξιν δὲ πᾶσιν: [129] οἱ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐστρατοπεδευκότες οὐκ ἄπωθεν τῆς Σεπφώρεως παρὰ πόλιν Γαρὶν καλουμένην ἐπεὶ πλησιάζοντα τὸν πόλεμον ἤκουσαν ὅσον τε οὔπω τοὺς Ῥωμαίους συμμίξοντας σφίσιν, οὐ μόνον πρὸ μάχης, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὶν ἰδεῖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς διασκίδνανται φυγῇ. [130] καταλείπεται δ' ὁ Ἰώσηπος μετ' ὀλίγων, καὶ κατιδὼν ὡς οὔτε δέχεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἀρκετὴν ἔχει δύναμιν καὶ πεπτώκοι τὰ φρονήματα τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἄσμενοί τ' ἄν, εἰ πιστεύοιντο, χωροῖεν οἱ πλείους ἐπὶ σπονδάς, ἐδεδίει μὲν ἤδη περὶ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου, [131] τότε δ' ὡς πορρωτάτω χωρίζεσθαι τῶν κινδύνων ἔκρινεν. ἀναλαβὼν δὲ τοὺς συμμείναντας εἰς Τιβεριάδα καταφεύγει.

VII

(1) [132] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ τῇ πόλει τῶν Γαδάρων ἐπελθὼν αἱρεῖ τε κατὰ πρώτην ἔφοδον αὐτὴν μαχίμου πλήθους ἔρημον καταλαβών, [133] καὶ παρελθὼν εἴσω πάντας ἡβηδὸν ἀναιρεῖ μηδεμιᾶς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡλικίας ἔλεον ποιουμένων μίσει πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος καὶ μνήμῃ τῆς κατὰ τὸν Κέστιον αὐτῶν παρανομίας. [134] ἐμπίμπρησιν δὲ οὐ μόνον αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πέριξ κώμας πάσας τε καὶ πολίχνας, ἃς μὲν παντελῶς ἐκλελειμμένας, ἔστιν δ' ἃς αὐτὸς ἐξανδραποδιζόμενος.

(2) [135] Ὁ δ' Ἰώσηπος ἣν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν εἵλετο πόλιν αὐτὸς ἐνέπλησεν δέους καταφυγών. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Τιβεριάδος οὐκ ἄν, εἰ μὴ πρὸς τὸ πᾶν ἀπεγνώκει τὸν πόλεμον, τραπῆναί ποτε αὐτὸν ᾤοντο. [136] καὶ κατὰ τοῦτό γε οὐ διημάρτανον αὐτοῦ τῆς γνώμης: ἑώρα μὲν γάρ, ποῖ ῥέψει τὰ Ἰουδαίων τέλους, καὶ μίαν αὐτῶν ἤδει σωτηρίαν, εἰ μεταβάλοιντο. [137] αὐτὸς δὲ καίπερ συγγνωσθήσεσθαι παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις προσδοκῶν, ὅμως τεθνάναι μᾶλλον εἵλετο πολλάκις ἢ καταπροδοὺς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἐμπιστευθεῖσαν αὐτῷ στρατηγίαν ὑβρίσας εὐτυχεῖν παρ' οἷς πολεμήσων ἐπέμφθη. [138] γράφειν οὖν τοῖς ἐν τέλει τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων διέγνω μετὰ ἀκριβείας τὰ πράγματα, ὡς μήτ' ἐπὶ μεῖζον ἐξάρας τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἰσχὺν αὖθις εἰς δειλίαν κακίζοιτο μήτε ἐνδεέστερον ἀπαγγείλας κἂν μετανοήσαντας

ἴσως θρασύνοιεν, [139] ἵνα τε ἢ σπονδὰς αἱρούμενοι ταχέως ἀντιγράψωσιν ἢ πολεμεῖν ἐγνωκότες πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀξιόμαχον αὐτῷ πέμψωσι δύναμιν. [140] ὁ μὲν οὖν ταῦτ᾽ ἐπιστείλας πέμπει διὰ τάχους ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων τοὺς τὰ γράμματα κομίζοντας.

(3) [141] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ὡρμημένος ἐξαιρεῖν τὴν Ἰωταπάταν, πέπυστο γὰρ εἰς αὐτὴν πλείστους τῶν πολεμίων συμπεφευγέναι καὶ ἄλλως ὁρμητήριον ἰσχυρὸν οὖσαν αὐτῶν, πέμπει πεζούς τε καὶ ἱππεῖς τοὺς προεξομαλιοῦντας τὴν ὁδὸν ὀρεινὴν ὑπάρχουσαν καὶ πετρώδη, δύσβατον δὲ καὶ πεζοῖς, ἱππεῦσιν δ᾽ ἀμήχανον. [142] οἱ μὲν οὖν τέσσαρσιν ἡμέραις ἐξειργάσαντο καὶ πλατεῖαν ἤνοιξαν τῇ στρατιᾷ λεωφόρον: τῇ πέμπτῃ δ᾽ ὁ Ἰώσηπος, αὕτη δ᾽ ἦν Ἀρτεμισίου μηνὸς μία καὶ εἰκάς, φθάνει παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν Ἰωταπάταν ἐκ τῆς Τιβεριάδος καὶ πεπτωκότα τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐγείρει τὰ φρονήματα. [143] Οὐεσπασιανῷ δέ τις εὐαγγελίζεται τὴν μετάβασιν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτόμολος καὶ κατήπειγεν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὡς μετ᾽ ἐκείνης αἱρήσοντα πᾶσαν Ἰουδαίαν, εἰ λάβοι τὸν Ἰώσηπον ὑποχείριον. [144] ὁ δ᾽ ἁρπάσας ὥσπερ μέγιστον εὐτύχημα τὴν ἀγγελίαν, καὶ προνοίᾳ θεοῦ τὸν συνετώτατον εἶναι δοκοῦντα τῶν πολεμίων οἰόμενος εἰς εἱρκτὴν αὐθαίρετον παρελθεῖν, εὐθέως μὲν σὺν χιλίοις ἱππεῦσιν πέμπει Πλάκιδον καὶ δεκαδάρχην Αἰβούτιον, ἄνδρα τῶν ἐπισήμων κατὰ χεῖρα καὶ σύνεσιν, περικατασχεῖν κελεύσας τὴν πόλιν, ὡς μὴ λάθοι διαδρὰς ὁ Ἰώσηπος.

(4) [145] Αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ μίαν ἡμέραν ἀναλαβὼν πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν εἵπετο καὶ μέχρι δείλης ὁδεύσας πρὸς τὴν Ἰωταπάταν ἀφικνεῖται. [146] ἀναλαβὼν δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὸ προσάρκτιον αὐτῆς μέρος ἔν τινι λόφῳ στρατοπεδεύεται διέχοντι σταδίους ἑπτὰ τῆς πόλεως, πειρώμενος ὡς μάλιστα τοῖς πολεμίοις εὐσύνοπτος εἶναι πρὸς ἔκπληξιν: [147] ἣ καὶ παραχρῆμα τοσαύτη τοὺς Ἰουδαίους κατέσχεν, ὡς μηδένα τοῦ τείχους τολμῆσαι προελθεῖν. [148] Ῥωμαῖοι δ᾽ εὐθὺς μὲν ἀπώκνησαν προσβαλεῖν δι᾽ ὅλης ὠδευκότες ἡμέρας, διπλῇ δὲ τῇ φάλαγγι κυκλοῦνται τὴν πόλιν καὶ τρίτην ἔξωθεν περιιστᾶσιν τὴν ἵππον, πάσας ἀποφράσσοντες αὐτοῖς τὰς ἐξόδους. [149] τοῦτ᾽ ἐν ἀπογνώσει σωτηρίας παρώξυνε τοὺς Ἰουδαίους πρὸς τόλμαν: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀνάγκης ἐν πολέμῳ μαχιμώτερον.

(5) [150] Γενομένης δὲ μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν προσβολῆς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Ἰουδαῖοι κατὰ χώραν μένοντες ἀντεῖχον ἀντικρὺ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐστρατοπεδευκότες πρὸ τοῦ τείχους: [151] ὡς δὲ Οὐεσπασιανὸς τούτοις μὲν τοὺς τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ πᾶν τὸ τῶν ἐκηβόλων πλῆθος ἐπιστήσας ἐπέτρεψεν βάλλειν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν πεζῶν εἰς τὸ πρόσαντες ἀνώθει καθ᾽ ὃ τὸ τεῖχος ἦν εὐάλωτον, δείσας ὁ Ἰώσηπος περὶ τῇ πόλει προπηδᾷ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ πᾶν τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πλῆθος. [152] συμπεσόντες δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀθρόοι τοῦ μὲν τείχους ἀνέστειλαν αὐτούς, πολλὰ δ᾽ ἐπεδείκνυντο χειρῶν ἔργα καὶ τόλμης. [153] οὐκ ἔλασσόν γε μὴν ὧν ἔδρων ἀντέπασχον: ὅσον γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἡ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀπόγνωσις, τοσοῦτο τοὺς Ῥωμαίους αἰδὼς παρεκρότει, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐμπειρία μετ᾽ ἀλκῆς, τοὺς δὲ θράσος

ὥπλιζε τῷ θυμῷ στρατηγουμένους. [154] παραταξάμενοι δὲ δι᾽ ὅλης ἡμέρας νυκτὶ διαλύονται, τρώσαντες μὲν πλείστους Ῥωμαίων, δεκατρεῖς δ᾽ ἀνελόντες: αὐτῶν δ᾽ ἔπεσον μὲν δεκαεπτά, τραυματίαι δ᾽ ἐγένοντο ἑξακόσιοι.

(6) [155] Τῇ δ᾽ ὑστεραίᾳ πάλιν προσβάλλουσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπεξελθόντες καὶ πολὺ καρτερώτερον ἀντιπαρετάξαντο, θαρραλεώτεροι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ παρὰ λόγον ἀντισχεῖν τῇ προτέρᾳ γεγενημένοι, χρώμενοι δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις μαχιμωτέροις: [156] ὑπὸ γὰρ αἰδοῦς εἰς ὀργὴν ἐξεκαίοντο τὸ μὴ ταχέως νικᾶν ἦτταν ἡγούμενοι. [157] καὶ μέχρι πέμπτης ἡμέρας προσβολαὶ μὲν ἐγίνοντο τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀδιάλειπτοι, ἐκδρομαὶ δὲ τῶν Ἰωταπατηνῶν καὶ τειχομαχίαι καρτερώτεραι, καὶ οὔτε Ἰουδαῖοι τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἰσχὺν κατωρρώδουν οὔτε Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς τὸ τῆς πόλεως δυσάλωτον ἀπέκαμνον.

(7) [158] Ἔστιν δ᾽ Ἰωταπάτα πλὴν ὀλίγου πᾶσα κρημνός, ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων μερῶν πάντοθεν φάραγξιν ἀπείροις ἀπότομος, ὡς τῶν κατιδεῖν πειρωμένων τὰς ὄψεις προεξασθενεῖν τοῦ βάθους, ἀπὸ βορέου δὲ προσιτὴ μόνον, καθ᾽ ὃ λήγοντι τῷ ὄρει πλαγίῳ προσέκτισται. [159] καὶ τοῦτο δ᾽ ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἐμπεριειλήφει τειχίζων τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἀκατάληπτον εἶναι πολεμίοις τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀκρώρειαν. [160] κυκλόθεν δ᾽ ἄλλοις ὄρεσιν καλυπτομένη, πρὶν εἰσαφίκοιτό τις εἰς αὐτήν, παντελῶς ἀόρατος ἦν. εἶχε μὲν οὖν οὕτως ὀχυρότητος Ἰωταπάτη:

(8) [161] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ τῇ τε φύσει τοῦ χωρίου καὶ ταῖς τόλμαις τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀντιφιλονεικῶν ἔγνω καρτερώτερον ἅπτεσθαι τῆς πολιορκίας, καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τοὺς ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνας ἐβουλεύετο περὶ τῆς προσβολῆς. [162] δόξαν δὲ χῶσαι τὸ προσιτὸν τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ συγκομιδὴν ὕλης ἐκπέμπει πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ κοπέντων τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν ὀρῶν συναλισθείσης τε ἅμα τοῖς ξύλοις ἀπείρου χερμάδος, [163] οἱ μὲν πρὸς ἀλεωρὰν τῶν ὕπερθεν ἀφιεμένων βελῶν γέρρα διατείναντες ὑπὲρ χαρακωμάτων ἔχουν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἢ μικρὰ βλαπτόμενοι ταῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους βολαῖς: [164] οἱ δὲ τοὺς πλησίον ὄχθους ἀνασπῶντες γῆν αὐτοῖς ἀδιαλείπτως ἔφερον, καὶ τριχῇ διῃρημένων ἀργὸς ἦν οὐδείς. [165] οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι πέτρας τε μεγάλας ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν τοῖς σκεπάσμασιν αὐτῶν ἐπηφίεσαν καὶ πᾶν εἶδος βελῶν: ἦν δὲ καὶ μὴ διικνουμένων πολὺς ὁ ψόφος καὶ φοβερὸς ἐμπόδιον τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις.

(9) [166] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ἐν κύκλῳ τὰς ἀφετηρίους μηχανὰς ἐπιστήσας, τὰ πάντα δ᾽ ἦν ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα ὄργανα, βάλλειν ἐκέλευσεν τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους. [167] ὁμοῦ δὲ οἵ τε καταπέλται τὰς λόγχας ἀνερροίζουν καὶ ταλαντιαῖοι λίθοι μέγεθος ἐκ τῶν πετροβόλων ἐβάλλοντο πῦρ τε καὶ πλῆθος ἀθρόων οἰστῶν, ἅπερ οὐ μόνον τὸ τεῖχος ἀνεπίβατον τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐντὸς ὅσης ἐφικνεῖτο χώρας: [168] καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἀράβων τοξοτῶν πλῆθος ἀκοντισταί τε καὶ σφενδονῆται πάντες ἅμα τοῖς μηχανήμασιν ἔβαλλον. [169] οὐ μὴν εἰργόμενοι τῆς καθύπερθεν ἀμύνης ἠρέμουν: ἐκτρέχοντες γὰρ λῃστρικώτερον κατὰ λόχους περιέσπων τε τῶν ἐργαζομένων τὰς σκέπας καὶ τοὺς γυμνουμένους ἔπαιον, καὶ

καθ᾽ ὃ παρείκοιεν ἐκεῖνοι διερρίπτουν τε τὸ χῶμα καὶ τὰ χαρακώματα σὺν τοῖς γέρροις ἐνεπίμπρασαν, [170] μέχρι συνεὶς Οὐεσπασιανὸς τὴν διαίρεσιν τῶν ἔργων αἰτίαν εἶναι τῆς βλάβης, τὰ γὰρ διαστήματα τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις προσβολῆς παρεῖχεν τόπον, ἐνοῖ τὰ σκεπάσματα, καὶ συναφθείσης ἅμα αὐτοῖς τῆς δυνάμεως ἀνείρχθησαν αἱ τῶν Ἰουδαίων παραδύσεις.

(10) [171] Ἐγειρομένου δὲ τοῦ χώματος ἤδη καὶ ταῖς ἐπάλξεσιν ὅσον οὔπω πλησιάζοντος δεινὸν ὁ Ἰώσηπος νομίσας, εἰ μηδὲν ἀντιμηχανήσαιτο τῇ πόλει σωτήριον, συναθροίζει τέκτονας καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐκέλευσεν ὑψοῦν. [172] τῶν δ᾽ ἀδύνατον εἶναι φαμένων οἰκοδομεῖν τοσούτοις βέλεσι βαλλομένους, σκέπην αὐτοῖς ἐπινοεῖ τοιάνδε: [173] δρυφάκτους πήξασθαι κελεύσας ἐμπετάσαι τε βύρσας νεοδόρους βοῶν, ὡς ἀναδέχοιντο μὲν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πετροβόλων λίθους κολπούμεναι, περιολισθάνοι δὲ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ βέλη καὶ τὸ πῦρ ὑπὸ τῆς ἰκμάδος εἴργοιτο, προανίστησιν τῶν τεκτόνων. [174] ὑφ᾽ οἷς ἀσφαλῶς ἐργαζόμενοι δι᾽ ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἤγειραν εἰς εἴκοσι πήχεις τὸ ὕψος, καὶ συχνοὺς μὲν πύργους ἐνῳκοδόμησαν αὐτῷ, καρτερὰν δὲ ἔπαλξιν ἐφηρμόσαντο. [175] τοῦτο τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἤδη τῆς πόλεως ἐντὸς οἰομένοις εἶναι πολλὴν ἐποίησεν ἀθυμίαν, καὶ πρός τε τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τοῦ Ἰωσήπου καὶ τὸ παράστημα τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως κατεπλάγησαν.

(11) [176] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ πανοῦργον τοῦ στρατηγήματος καὶ πρὸς τὰς τόλμας παρωξύνετο τῶν Ἰωταπατηνῶν: [177] πάλιν γὰρ ἀναθαρσήσαντες ἐπὶ τῷ τειχισμῷ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπεξέθεον, καὶ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐγίνοντο συμπλοκαὶ κατὰ λόχους ἐπίνοιά τε λῃστρικὴ πᾶσα καὶ τῶν προστυχόντων ἁρπαγαὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων πυρπολήσεις, [178] ἕως Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἀναπαύσας τὴν στρατιὰν μάχης διέγνω προσκαθεζόμενος σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων αἱρεῖν τὴν πόλιν: [179] ἢ γὰρ ἀναγκαζομένους ταῖς ἀπορίαις ἱκετεύσειν αὐτὸν ἢ μέχρι παντὸς ἀπαυθαδισαμένους διαφθαρήσεσθαι λιμῷ. [180] πολύ τε ῥᾴοσιν αὐτοῖς ἠξίου χρήσεσθαι κατὰ τὴν μάχην, εἰ διαλιπὼν αὖθις ἐκτετρυχωμένοις ἐπιπέσοι. φρουρεῖν δὴ πάσας αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσεν τὰς ἐξόδους.

(12) [181] Τοῖς δὲ σίτου μὲν πλῆθος ἦν ἔνδον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλὴν ἁλὸς ἁπάντων, ἔνδεια δὲ ὕδατος ὡς ἂν πηγῆς μὲν οὐκ οὔσης κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, τῷ δ᾽ ὀμβρίῳ διαρκουμένων τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ: σπάνιον δ᾽ εἴ ποτε τὸ κλίμα θέρους ὕεται. [182] καὶ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ὥραν πολιορκουμένων ἀθυμία δεινὴ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ δίψους ἐπίνοιαν ἦν, ἀσχαλλόντων ἤδη ὡς καθάπαν ἐπιλελοιπότος ὕδατος: [183] ὁ γὰρ Ἰώσηπος τήν τε πόλιν ὁρῶν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων εὔπορον καὶ τὰ φρονήματα γενναῖα τῶν ἀνδρῶν, βουλόμενός τε παρ᾽ ἐλπίδα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐκτεῖναι τὴν πολιορκίαν, μέτρῳ τὸ ποτὸν αὐτοῖς διένειμεν εὐθέως. [184] οἱ δὲ τὸ ταμιεύεσθαι χαλεπώτερον ἐνδείας ὑπελάμβανον, καὶ τὸ μὴ αὐτεξούσιον αὐτῶν πλέον ἐκίνει τὴν ὄρεξιν, καὶ καθάπερ εἰς ἔσχατον ἤδη δίψους προήκοντες ἀπέκαμνον. διακείμενοι δὲ οὕτως οὐκ ἐλάνθανον τοὺς Ῥωμαίους: [185] ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ

κατάντους ἑώρων αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τὸ τεῖχος ἐφ᾽ ἕνα συρρέοντας τόπον καὶ μετρουμένους τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐφ᾽ ὃν καὶ τοῖς ὀξυβελέσιν ἐξικνούμενοι πολλοὺς ἀνῄρουν.

(13) [186] Καὶ Οὐεσπασιανὸς μὲν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τῶν ἐκδοχείων κενωθέντων ἤλπιζεν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης αὐτῷ παραδοθήσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν: [187] ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος κλάσαι τὴν ἐλπίδα ταύτην αὐτῷ προαιρούμενος ἐμβρέξαι κελεύει πλείστους τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ κατακρεμάσαι περὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις, ὥστε περιρρεῖσθαι πᾶν ἐξαπίνης τὸ τεῖχος. [188] πρὸς τοῦτ᾽ ἀθυμία τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ κατάπληξις ἦν θεασαμένων εἰς χλεύην τοσοῦτον παραναλίσκοντας ὕδατος οὓς οὐδὲ ποτὸν ἔχειν ὑπελάμβανον, ὥστε καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀπογνόντα τὴν δι᾽ ἐνδείας ἅλωσιν τρέπεσθαι πάλιν πρὸς ὅπλα καὶ βίαν. [189] ὃ δὴ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις δι᾽ ἐπιθυμίας ἦν: ἀπεγνωκότες γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν πρὸ λιμοῦ καὶ δίψης τὸν ἐν πολέμῳ θάνατον ᾑροῦντο.

(14) [190] Ὁ μέντοι γε Ἰώσηπος πρὸς τῷδε τῷ στρατηγήματι καὶ ἕτερον ἐπενόησεν εἰς περιουσίαν αὐτῷ: [191] διά τινος χαράδρας δυσβάτου καὶ διὰ τοῦθ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν φυλάκων ἀμελουμένης κατὰ τὰ πρὸς δύσιν μέρη τῆς φάραγγος ἐκπέμπων τινὰς γράμματά τε πρὸς οὓς ἠβούλετο τῶν ἔξω Ἰουδαίων διεπέμψατο καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐλάμβανεν, παντός τε ἐπιτηδείου τῶν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιλελοιπότων εὐπόρησεν, [192] ἕρπειν τὰ πολλὰ παρὰ τὰς φυλακὰς κελεύσας τοῖς ἐξιοῦσιν καὶ τὰ νῶτα καλύπτειν νάκεσιν, ὡς εἰ καὶ κατίδοι τις αὐτοὺς νύκτωρ, φαντασίαν παρέχοιεν κυνῶν, μέχρι συναισθόμενοι τὴν ἐπίνοιαν οἱ φρουροὶ περιίσχουσιν τὴν χαράδραν.

(15) [193] Καὶ τόθ᾽ ὁ Ἰώσηπος μὲν τὴν πόλιν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ὁρῶν ἀνθέξειν, ἐν ἀπόρῳ δὲ τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν εἰ μένοι, δρασμὸν ἅμα τοῖς δυνατοῖς ἐβουλεύετο. συναισθόμενοι δὲ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ περιχυθὲν αὐτῷ κατηντιβόλουν μὴ σφᾶς περιιδεῖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ μόνῳ κειμένους: [194] εἶναι γὰρ τῇ πόλει καὶ σωτηρίας μὲν ἐλπὶς παραμένων, παντὸς ἀγωνισομένου δι᾽ αὐτὸν προθύμως, κἂν ἁλῶσιν δέ, παραμυθίαν. [195] πρέπειν δ᾽ αὐτῷ μήτε φυγεῖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μήτ᾽ ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τοὺς φίλους μήτ᾽ ἀποπηδᾶν ὥσπερ χειμαζομένης νεώς, εἰς ἣν ἐν γαλήνῃ παρῆλθεν: [196] ἐπιβαπτίσειν γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὴν πόλιν μηδενὸς ἔτι τοῖς πολεμίοις τολμῶντος ἀνθίστασθαι δι᾽ ὃν ἂν θαρσοῖεν οἰχομένου.

(16) [197] Ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος τὸ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀσφαλὲς ὑποστελλόμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἔφασκεν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἔξοδον: [198] μένων μὲν γὰρ οὔτ᾽ ἂν ὠφελῆσαί τι μέγα σωζομένους, κἂν ἁλίσκωνται, συναπολεῖσθαι περιττῶς, ἐκδὺς δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας ἔξωθεν αὐτοὺς ὠφελήσειν μέγιστα: [199] τούς τε γὰρ ἐκ τῆς χώρας Γαλιλαίους συναθροίσειν ᾗ τάχος καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἑτέρῳ πολέμῳ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν ἀντιπερισπάσειν. [200] οὐχ ὁρᾶν δέ, τί παρακαθεζόμενος αὐτοῖς χρήσιμος εἴη νῦν, πλὴν εἰ μὴ Ῥωμαίους παροξύνων μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν, οὓς περὶ πλείστου ποιεῖσθαι λαβεῖν αὐτόν: εἰ δ᾽ ἐκδράντα πύθοιντο, πολὺ τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁρμῆς ἀνήσειν. [201] οὐκ ἔπειθεν δὲ τούτοις, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐξέκαυσεν τὸ πλῆθος αὐτοῦ

περιέχεσθαι: παιδία γοῦν καὶ γέροντες καὶ γύναια μετὰ νηπίων ὀδυρόμενα προσέπιπτον αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ποσὶν ἐμπλεκόμενοι πάντες εἶχοντο, [202] καὶ μετὰ κωκυτῶν κοινωνὸν σφίσι τῆς τύχης μένειν ἱκέτευον, οὐ φθόνῳ τῆς ἐκείνου σωτηρίας, ἔμοιγε δοκεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐλπίδι τῆς ἑαυτῶν: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἠξίουν πείσεσθαι δεινὸν Ἰωσήπου μένοντος.

(17) [203] Ὁ δὲ πειθομένῳ μὲν ἱκετηρίαν ταῦτα νομίσας, βιαζομένῳ δὲ φρουράν, πολὺ δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τῆς εἰς τὴν ἀπόλειψιν ὁρμῆς καὶ ὁ τῶν ὀδυρομένων ἔκλασεν οἶκτος, [204] μένειν τε ἔγνω, καὶ τὴν κοινὴν τῆς πόλεως ἀπόγνωσιν ὁπλισάμενος, "νῦν καιρός, εἰπών, ἄρχεσθαι μάχης, ὅτ᾽ ἐλπὶς οὐκ ἔστι σωτηρίας: καλὸν εὔκλειαν ἀντικαταλλαξάμενον τοῦ βίου καὶ δράσαντά τι γενναῖον εἰς μνήμην ὀψιγενῶν πεσεῖν", ἐπ᾽ ἔργα τρέπεται. [205] καὶ προελθὼν μετὰ τῶν μαχιμωτάτων διεσκίδνα τε τοὺς φρουροὺς καὶ μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατέτρεχεν, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν χωμάτων δέρρεις, αἷς ὑπεσκήνουν, διέσπα, τοῖς δὲ ἔργοις ἐνέβαλλεν πῦρ. [206] τῇ τε ἑξῆς ὁμοίως καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ ἐπὶ συχνὰς ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας πολεμῶν οὐκ ἔκαμνεν.

(18) [207] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ τῶν [τε] Ῥωμαίων κακουμένων ταῖς ἐκδρομαῖς, τρέπεσθαί τε γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἠδοῦντο καὶ τραπέντων ἐπιδιώκειν βάρει τῶν ὅπλων ἦσαν βραδεῖς, οἵ τε Ἰουδαῖοι πρίν τι παθεῖν ἀεὶ δρῶντες ἀνέφευγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, [208] τοῖς μὲν ὁπλίταις τὰς ὁρμὰς αὐτῶν ἐκκλίνειν ἐκέλευσεν καὶ μὴ συμπλέκεσθαι θανατῶσιν ἀνθρώποις: [209] οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀλκιμώτερον εἶναι τῆς ἀπογνώσεως, περισβέννυσθαι δὲ αὐτῶν τὰς ὁρμὰς σκοπῶν ἀπορουμένας ὥσπερ ὕλης τὸ πῦρ: [210] προσήκειν γε μὴν καὶ Ῥωμαίοις μετὰ ἀσφαλείας καὶ τὸ νικᾶν, ὡς ἂν οὐκ ἐξ ἀνάγκης πολεμοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ προσκτωμένοις. [211] τοῖς δὲ τῶν Ἀράβων τοξόταις καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας σφενδονήταις καὶ λιθοβόλοις τὰ πολλὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀνέστελλεν: ἠρέμει δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν ἀφετηρίων ὀργάνων τὸ πλῆθος. [212] οἱ δὲ τούτοις μὲν εἶκον κακούμενοι, τῶν δὲ πόρρω βαλλομένων ἐνδοτέρω γινόμενοι προσέκειντο τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις χαλεποὶ καὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος ἀφειδοῦντες ἐμάχοντο, ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἑκάτεροι τὸ κεκμηκὸς ἑαυτῶν ἀναλαμβάνοντες.

(19) [213] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ἡγούμενος τῷ μήκει τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ταῖς ἐκδρομαῖς ἀντιπολιορκεῖσθαι, τῶν χωμάτων ἤδη τοῖς τείχεσι πελαζόντων προσάγειν ἔγνω τὸν κριόν. [214] ὁ δ᾽ ἐστὶν ὑπερμεγέθης δοκὸς ἱστῷ νηὸς παραπλήσιος: ἐστόμωται δὲ παχεῖ σιδήρῳ κατ᾽ ἄκρον εἰς κριοῦ προτομήν, ἀφ᾽ οὗ καὶ καλεῖται, τετυπωμένῳ. [215] καταιωρεῖται δὲ κάλοις μέσος ὥσπερ ἀπὸ πλάστιγγος ἑτέρας δοκοῦ, σταυροῖς ἑκατέρωθεν ἑδραίοις ὑπεστηριγμένης. [216] ἀνωθούμενος δὲ ὑπὸ πλήθους ἀνδρῶν εἰς τὸ κατόπιν, τῶν αὐτῶν ἀθρόως πάλιν εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν ἐπιβρισάντων τύπτει τὰ τείχη τῷ προανέχοντι σιδήρῳ. [217] καὶ οὐδεὶς οὕτως καρτερὸς πύργος ἢ περίβολος πλατύς, ὃς κἂν τὰς πρώτας πληγὰς ἐνέγκῃ κατίσχυσεν τῆς ἐπιμονῆς. [218] ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν πεῖραν ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων

μετέβαινεν βίᾳ τὴν πόλιν ἑλεῖν σπεύδων, ὡς τὸ προσκαθέζεσθαι βλαβερὸν ἦν Ἰουδαίων οὐκ ἠρεμούντων. [219] οἱ μὲν οὖν τούς τε καταπέλτας καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἀφετηρίων, ὡς ἐξικνοῖτο τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους κωλύειν πειρωμένων, ἔγγιον προσαγαγόντες ἔβαλλον: ὁμοίως δὲ συνήγγιζον οἱ τοξόται καὶ σφενδονῆται. [220] διὰ δὲ ταῦτα μηδενὸς τῶν περιβόλων ἐπιβῆναι τολμῶντος προσῆγον ἕτεροι τὸν κριὸν γέρροις τε διηνεκέσι καὶ καθύπερθεν πεφραγμένον δέρρει πρός τε αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ μηχανήματος ἀσφάλειαν. [221] καὶ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην πληγὴν διεσείσθη μὲν τὸ τεῖχος, κραυγὴ δὲ μεγίστη παρὰ τῶν ἔνδον ἤρθη καθάπερ ἑαλωκότων ἤδη.

(20) [222] Πολλάκις δὲ εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν παίοντας τόπον ὁ Ἰώσηπος ὁρῶν ὅσον οὔπω καταρριφθησόμενον τὸ τεῖχος, σοφίζεται κατ᾽ ὀλίγον τὴν βίαν τοῦ μηχανήματος. [223] σάκκους ἀχύρων πληρώσαντας ἐκέλευσεν καθιμᾶν καθ᾽ ὃ φερόμενον ἀεὶ τὸν κριὸν ὁρῷεν, ὡς πλάζοιτό τε ἡ ἐμβολή, καὶ δεχόμενοι τὰς πληγὰς ἐκκενοῖεν τῇ χαυνότητι. [224] τοῦτο πλείστην διατριβὴν παρέσχεν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, καθ᾽ ὃ μὲν τρέποιεν τὴν μηχανὴν ἀντιπαραγόντων τοὺς σάκκους τῶν ὕπερθεν, ὑποβαλλόντων δὲ ταῖς ἐμβολαῖς, ὡς μηδὲν κατ᾽ ἀντιτυπίαν βλάπτεσθαι τὸ τεῖχος: [225] ἕως ἀντεπινοήσαντες κοντοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μακροὺς καὶ δρέπανα δήσαντες ἐπ᾽ ἄκρων τοὺς σάκους ἀπέτεμνον. [226] ἐνεργοῦς δὲ οὕτω τῆς ἑλεπόλεως γενομένης καὶ τοῦ τείχους, νεοπαγὲς γὰρ ἦν, ἐνδιδόντος ἤδη, τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκ πυρὸς ἄμυναν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ὥρμησαν. [227] ἀψάμενοι δὲ ὅσον αὖης εἶχον ὕλης τριχόθεν ἐπεκθέουσιν, καὶ τά τε μηχανήματα καὶ τὰ γέρρα καὶ τὰ χώματα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπεπίμπρασαν. [228] οἱ δὲ κακῶς ἐπεβοήθουν πρός τε τὴν τόλμαν αὐτῶν καταπεπληγότες καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς φλογὸς τὰς ἀμύνας φθανόμενοι: ξηρᾶς γὰρ ὕλης, πρὸς δὲ ἀσφάλτου τε καὶ πίσσης, ἔτι δὲ θείου διίπτατο τὸ πῦρ ἐπινοίας τάχιον, καὶ τὰ πολλῷ καμάτῳ πεπονημένα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ μιᾶς ὥρας ἐνέμετο.

(21) [229] Ἔνθα καὶ ἀνήρ τις ἐξεφάνη Ἰουδαίων λόγου καὶ μνήμης ἄξιος: Σαμίου μὲν παῖς ἦν, Ἐλεάζαρος δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο, Σαβὰ δὲ πατρὶς αὐτῷ τῆς Γαλιλαίας: [230] ὑπερμεγέθη δὲ πέτραν ἀράμενος ἀφίησιν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ τὴν ἑλέπολιν μετὰ τοσαύτης βίας, ὥστε ἀπορρῆξαι τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ μηχανήματος, ἣν καὶ καταπηδήσας ἐκ μέσων αἴρεται τῶν πολεμίων καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀδείας ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἔφερεν. [231] σκοπὸς δὲ πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς γενόμενος καὶ γυμνῷ τῷ σώματι τὰς πληγὰς δεξάμενος πέντε μὲν διαπείρεται βέλεσιν, [232] πρὸς οὐδὲν δὲ τούτων ἐπιστραφείς, ὅτε τὸ τεῖχος ἀνέβη καὶ περίοπτος πᾶσιν τῆς εὐτολμίας ἔστη, τότε ἰλυσπώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν τραυμάτων μετὰ τοῦ κριοῦ κατέπεσεν. [233] ἄριστοι μετ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐφάνησαν ἀδελφοὶ δύο Νετείρας καὶ Φίλιππος, ἀπὸ Ῥούμας κώμης, Γαλιλαῖοι καὶ αὐτοί, οἳ προπηδῶσι μὲν εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ δεκάτου τάγματος, τοσούτῳ δὲ ῥοίζῳ καὶ βίᾳ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις συνέπεσον, ὡς διαρρῆξαί τε τὰς τάξεις καὶ τρέψασθαι καθ᾽ οὓς ἐφορμήσειαν ἅπαντας.

(22) [234] Μετὰ τούτους ὅ τε Ἰώσηπος καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἀράμενοι πῦρ πάλιν τὰ μηχανήματα καὶ τὰς ὑποδύσεις ἅμα τοῖς ἔργοις ὑφῆψαν τοῦ τε πέμπτου καὶ τοῦ δεκάτου τραπέντος τάγματος, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ φθάσαντες καὶ τὰ ὄργανα καὶ πᾶσαν ὕλην κατέχωσαν. [235] περὶ δὲ δείλην πάλιν ἀναστήσαντες προσῆγον τὸν κριὸν ᾗ προπεπονήκει τυπτόμενον τὸ τεῖχος. [236] ἔνθα τις τῶν ἀμυνομένων ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ βάλλει τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν βέλει κατὰ τὸν ταρσὸν τοῦ ποδὸς καὶ τιτρώσκει μὲν ἐπιπολαίως προεκλύσαντος τὸ βληθὲν τοῦ διαστήματος, μέγιστον δὲ θόρυβον ἐνεποίησεν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις: [237] πρὸς γὰρ τὸ αἷμα ταραχθέντων τῶν πλησίον φήμη διὰ παντὸς ἐπῄει τοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ τῆς πολιορκίας οἱ πλείους ἀφέμενοι μετ᾽ ἐκπλήξεως καὶ δέους ἐπὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν συνέθεον. [238] πρὸ δὲ πάντων Τίτος δείσας περὶ τῷ πατρὶ παρῆν, ὡς τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸν ἡγούμενον εὐνοίᾳ καὶ τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀγωνίᾳ συγχυθῆναι. ῥᾷστα μέντοι τόν τε υἱὸν ὁ πατὴρ δεδιότα καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἔπαυσεν τοῦ θορύβου: [239] τῶν γὰρ ἀλγηδόνων ἐπάνω γενόμενος καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐπτοημένοις δι᾽ αὐτὸν ὀφθῆναι σπουδάσας χαλεπώτερον Ἰουδαίοις ἐπῆρεν τὸν πόλεμον: ἕκαστος γὰρ ὡς τιμωρὸς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ προκινδυνεύειν ἤθελεν, καὶ βοῇ παρακροτοῦντες ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὥρμων.

(23) [240] Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον καίπερ ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλοις πίπτοντες ὑπὸ τῶν καταπελτικῶν καὶ τῶν πετροβόλων, ὅμως οὐκ ἀπετρέποντο τοῦ τείχους, ἀλλὰ πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ καὶ πέτροις τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ γέρρα τὸν κριὸν ἐπιβρίθοντας ἔβαλλον. [241] καὶ ἦνυον μὲν οὐδὲν ἢ μικρόν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀδιαλείπτως ἔπιπτον ὑπὸ μὴ βλεπομένων καθορώμενοι: [242] αὐτοί τε γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς σφετέρας περιλαμπόμενοι φλογὸς σκοπὸς ἦσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις εὐσύνοπτος ὥσπερ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ τῶν ὀργάνων πόρρωθεν μὴ βλεπομένων δυσφύλακτον ἦν τὸ βαλλόμενον. [243] ἥ τε οὖν τῶν ὀξυβελῶν καὶ καταπελτῶν βία πολλοὺς ἅμα διήλαυνεν, καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς μηχανῆς ἀφιεμένων πετρῶν ὁ ῥοῖζος ἐπάλξεις τε ἀπέσυρεν καὶ γωνίας ἀπέθρυπτε πύργων. [244] ἀνδρῶν μὲν γὰρ † οὕτως ἰσχυρὸν στῖφος, ὃ μὴ μέχρις ἐσχάτης στρώννυται φάλαγγος βίᾳ τε καὶ μεγέθει τοῦ λίθου. [245] μάθοι δ᾽ ἄν τις τὴν τοῦ μηχανήματος ἀλκὴν ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆσδε τῆς νυκτὸς γενομένων: πληγεὶς γάρ τις ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἑστώτων ἀνὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἀπαράσσεται τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑπὸ τῆς πέτρας, καὶ τὸ κρανίον ἀπὸ τριῶν ἐσφενδονήθη σταδίων. [246] γυναικός τε μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐγκύμονος πληγείσης τὴν γαστέρα, προῆλθεν δὲ νέον ἐξ οἰκίας, ἐξέσεισεν ἐφ᾽ ἡμιστάδιον τὸ βρέφος: τοσαύτη ἦν ἡ τοῦ λιθοβόλου βία. [247] τῶν οὖν ὀργάνων φοβερώτερος ὁ ῥοῖζος, τῶν δὲ βαλλομένων ἦν [ὁ] ψόφος. [248] ἐπάλληλοι δὲ ἐκτύπουν οἱ νεκροὶ κατὰ τοῦ τείχους ῥιπτόμενοι, καὶ δεινὴ μὲν ἔνδοθεν κραυγὴ γυναικῶν ἠγείρετο, συνήχουν δ᾽ ἔξωθεν οἰμωγαὶ φονευομένων. [249] αἵματι δ᾽ ἐρρεῖτο πᾶς ὁ πρὸ τῆς μάχης περίβολος, καὶ προσβατὸν ὑπὸ πτωμάτων τὸ τεῖχος ἐγίνετο. [250] φοβερωτέραν δὲ ἐποίουν τὴν βοὴν περιηχοῦντα τὰ ὄρη, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς οὔτε εἰς ἀκοῆς οὔτε εἰς ὄψεως

κατάπληξιν ἀπελείπετο. [251] πλεῖστοι μέν γε τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰωταπάτης ἀγωνιζόμενοι γενναίως ἔπεσον, πλεῖστοι δ᾽ ἐγένοντο τραυματίαι, καὶ μόλις περὶ τὴν ἑωθινὴν φυλακὴν ἐνδίδωσι τοῖς μηχανήμασι τὸ τεῖχος ἀδιαλείπτως τυπτόμενον: [252] οἱ δὲ φραξάμενοι τοῖς σώμασι καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις τὸ καταρριφθὲν ἀντωχύρωσαν πρὶν βληθῆναι τὰς ἐπιβατηρίους ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μηχανάς.

(24) [253] Ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἕω Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐπὶ τὴν κατάληψιν τῆς πόλεως συνῆγεν τὴν στρατιὰν ὀλίγον ἀπὸ τοῦ νυκτερινοῦ πόνου διαναπαύσας. [254] βουλόμενος δ᾽ ἀπὸ τῶν καταρριφθέντων περισπάσαι τοὺς εἴργοντας τοὺς μὲν γενναιοτάτους τῶν ἱππέων ἀποβήσας [τῶν ἵππων] τριχῇ διέταξεν κατὰ τὰ πεπτωκότα τοῦ τείχους, πάντοθεν πεφραγμένους τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ τοὺς κοντοὺς προίσχοντας, ὡς ὁπότε τὰς ἐπιβατηρίους βάλλοιεν μηχανὰς κατάρχοιντο τῆς εἰσόδου: [255] κατόπιν δὲ αὐτῶν ἔταξεν τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ ἀκμαιότατον, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἱππικὸν ἀντιπαρεξέτεινεν τῷ τείχει κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ὀρεινὴν πρὸς τὸ μηδένα τῶν ἀναφευγόντων ἐκ τῆς ἁλώσεως διαλαθεῖν. [256] κατόπιν δὲ τούτων περιέστησεν τοὺς τοξότας ἔχειν κελεύσας ἕτοιμα τὰ βέλη πρὸς ἄφεσιν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν μηχανημάτων, [257] ἑτέρους δὲ κλίμακας ἀραμένους προσφέρειν ἐπάνω τοῖς ἀκεραίοις τείχεσιν, ἵν᾽ οἱ μὲν τούτους κωλύειν πειρώμενοι καταλίποιεν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς καταρριφθεῖσιν φυλακήν, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ ὑπ᾽ ἀθρόων βιαζόμενοι τῶν βελῶν εἴξωσιν τῆς εἰσόδου.

(25) [258] Ἰώσηπος δὲ συνιεὶς τὴν ἐπίνοιαν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ μένοντος τείχους σὺν τοῖς κεκμηκόσιν ἵστησι τοὺς γηραιοὺς ὡς μηδὲν ταύτῃ βλαβησομένους, εἰς δὲ τὰ παρερρωγότα τοῦ τείχους τοὺς δυνατωτάτους καὶ πρὸ πάντων ἀνὰ ἓξ ἄνδρας, μεθ᾽ ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸ προκινδυνεύειν ἐκληρώσατο. [259] ἐκέλευσέν τε πρὸς μὲν τὸν ἀλαλαγμὸν τῶν ταγμάτων ἀποφράξαι τὰς ἀκοάς, ὡς ἂν μὴ καταπλαγεῖεν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν βελῶν συνοκλάσαντας καλύψασθαι καθύπερθεν τοῖς θυρεοῖς ὑποχωρῆσαί τε πρὸς ὀλίγον, ἕως τὰς φαρέτρας κενώσωσιν οἱ τοξόται. [260] βαλλόντων δὲ τὰς ἐπιβατηρίους μηχανὰς αὐτοὺς προπηδᾶν καὶ διὰ τῶν ἰδίων ὀργάνων ἁπαντᾶν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀγωνίζεσθαί τε ἕκαστον οὐχ ὡς ὑπὲρ σωθησομένης, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ὑπὲρ ἀπολωλυίας ἤδη τῆς πατρίδος ἀμυνόμενον, [261] λαμβάνειν τε πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν σφαγησομένους γέροντας καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας ἀναιρεθησομένας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὅσον οὐδέπω, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς μελλούσαις συμφοραῖς θυμὸν προαλίσαντας ἐναφεῖναι τοῖς δράσουσιν αὐτάς.

(26) [262] Ἔταξεν μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἑκάτερον: τὸ δ᾽ ἀργὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως: πλῆθος, γύναια καὶ παῖδες, ὡς ἐθεάσαντο τριπλῇ μὲν φάλαγγι τὴν πόλιν ἐζωσμένην, οὐδὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν μάχην μετακεκίνητο τῶν πάλαι φυλακῶν, πρὸς δὲ τοῖς βεβλημένοις τείχεσιν τοὺς πολεμίους ξιφήρεις καὶ τὴν καθύπερθεν ὀρεινὴν λαμπομένην ὅπλοις, τά τε βέλη τοῖς τοξόταις ἐπανέχοντα τῶν Ἀράβων, ὕστατόν τινα κωκυτὸν ἁλώσεως συνήχησαν ὡς οὐκ ἀπειλουμένων ἔτι τῶν κακῶν ἀλλ᾽

ἤδη παρόντων. [263] ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας, ὡς μὴ θηλύνοιεν οἴκτῳ τὰς ὁρμὰς τῶν σφετέρων, κατακλείει ταῖς οἰκίαις μετ᾽ ἀπειλῆς ἡσυχάζειν κελεύσας: αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐρειφθέντων ᾗ ἔλαχεν παρῄει. [264] τοῖς μὲν οὖν καθ᾽ ἕτερα προσφέρουσι τὰς κλίμακας οὐ προσεῖχεν, ἀπεκαραδόκει δὲ τὴν ὁρμὴν τῶν βελῶν.

(27) [265] Ὁμοῦ δ᾽ οἵ τε σαλπικταὶ τῶν ταγμάτων ἁπάντων συνήχησαν καὶ δεινὸν ἐπηλάλαξεν ἡ στρατιά, καὶ πάντοθεν ἀφιεμένων ἀπὸ συνθήματος τῶν βελῶν τὸ φῶς ὑπετέμνετο. [266] μεμνημένοι γε μὴν τῶν τοῦ Ἰωσήπου προσταγμάτων οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τάς τε ἀκοὰς πρὸς τὴν βοὴν καὶ τὰ σώματα πρὸς τὰς ἀφέσεις ἐφράξαντο, [267] καὶ βαλλόντων τὰς μηχανὰς ἐπεξέδραμον δι᾽ αὐτῶν πρὶν ἐπιβῆναι τοὺς βαλόντας, [268] συμπλεκόμενοί τε τοῖς ἀνιοῦσιν παντοῖα καὶ χειρῶν ἔργα καὶ ψυχῆς ἐναπεδείκνυντο, πειρώμενοι παρὰ τὰς ἐσχάτας συμφορὰς μὴ χείρους φαίνεσθαι τῶν ἐν ἀκινδύνῳ τῷ κατὰ σφᾶς ἀνδριζομένων: [269] ὥστε οὐ πρότερον ἀπερρήγνυντο τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρὶν ἢ πεσεῖν ἢ διαφθεῖραι. [270] ὡς δ᾽ οἱ μὲν ἔκαμνον διηνεκῶς ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ τοὺς προμάχους ἀμείβειν οὐκ ἔχοντες, τὸ κεκμηκὸς δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀκραιφνεῖς διεδέχοντο καὶ ταχέως ἀντὶ τῶν ἀποβιασθέντων ἐπέβαινον ἕτεροι, παρακελευσάμενοί τε ἀλλήλοις καὶ πλευρὰν μὲν ἑνώσαντες, τοῖς δὲ θυρεοῖς καθύπερθεν φραξάμενοι στῖφος ἄρρηκτον ἐγένοντο καὶ καθάπερ ἑνὶ σώματι πάσῃ τῇ φάλαγγι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀνωθοῦντες ἤδη τοῦ τείχους ἐπέβαινον.

(28) [271] Ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος ἐν ταῖς ἀμηχανίαις σύμβουλον λαβὼν τὴν ἀνάγκην, ἡ δέ ἐστιν δεινὴ πρὸς ἐπίνοιαν, ὅταν αὐτὴν ἀπόγνωσις ἐρεθίζῃ, ζέον ἔλαιον ἐκέλευσεν καταχέειν τῶν συνησπικότων. [272] οἱ δ᾽ ὡς παρεσκευασμένον ἔχοντες μετὰ τάχους πολλοὶ καὶ πολὺ πάντοθεν τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατέχεον συνεπαφιέντες καὶ τὰ ἀγγεῖα βρασσόμενα τῇ θέρμῃ. [273] τοῦτο καιομένων τῶν Ῥωμαίων διεσκέδασεν τὴν τάξιν, καὶ μετὰ δεινῶν ἀλγηδόνων ἀπεκυλινδοῦντο τοῦ τείχους: [274] ῥᾷστα μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἔλαιον ἀπὸ κορυφῆς μέχρι ποδῶν ὑπὸ τὰς πανοπλίας διέρρει τοῦ σώματος ὅλου καὶ τὴν σάρκα φλογὸς οὐδὲν ἔλασσον ἐπεβόσκετο, θερμαινόμενόν τε φύσει ταχέως καὶ ψυχόμενον βραδέως διὰ τὴν πιότητα. [275] τοῖς δὲ θώραξιν καὶ τοῖς κράνεσιν ἐνδεδεμένων ἀπαλλαγὴ τῆς καύσεως οὐκ ἦν, πηδῶντες δὲ καὶ συνειλούμενοι ταῖς ἀλγηδόσιν ἀπὸ τῶν γεφυρωμάτων ἔπιπτον: οἱ δὲ τραπέντες εἰς τοὺς σφετέρους πρόσω βιαζομένους εὐχείρωτοι τοῖς κατόπιν τιτρώσκουσιν ἦσαν.

(29) [276] Ἐπέλιπεν δὲ οὔτε Ῥωμαίους ἐν ταῖς κακοπραγίαις ἰσχὺς οὔτε τοὺς Ἰουδαίους σύνεσις, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν καίπερ οἰκτρὰ πάσχοντας ὁρῶντες τοὺς καταχυθέντας ὅμως εἰς τοὺς καταχέοντας ἐφέροντο τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ κακίζων ἕκαστος ὡς ἐμπόδιον ὄντα τῆς ῥώμης: [277] οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι δόλῳ δευτέρῳ τὰς προσβάσεις αὐτῶν ἐπέσφαλλον τῆλιν ἐφθὴν ὑποχέοντες ταῖς σανίσιν, ἧς ἐπολισθάνοντες ὑπεσύροντο; [278] καὶ οὔτε τῶν τρεπομένων οὔτε τῶν

προσβαινόντων τις ὀρθὸς ἔμενεν, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν ὑπτιαζόμενοι τῶν ἐπιβατηρίων μηχανῶν συνεπατοῦντο, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ χῶμα κατέπιπτον. [279] ἐπαίοντο δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ πεσόντες: ἐσφαλμένων γὰρ τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὗτοι τῆς κατὰ χεῖρα συμπλοκῆς ἐλευθερωθέντες εἰς τὰς βολὰς εὐσχόλουν. [280] πολλὰ δὲ κακουμένους ἐν τῇ προσβολῇ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὁ στρατηγὸς περὶ δείλην ἀνεκάλει. [281] ἔπεσον δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ πλείους ἐτρώθησαν, τῶν δ᾽ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωταπάτης ἀπέθανον μὲν ἓξ ἄνδρες, τραυματίαι δ᾽ ὑπὲρ τριακοσίους ἀνεκομίσθησαν. [282] εἰκάδι μὲν Δαισίου μηνὸς ἡ παράταξις ἦν.

(30) [283] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι τὴν στρατιὰν παραμυθούμενος, ὡς θυμουμένους ἑώρα καὶ οὐ προτροπῆς ἀλλ᾽ ἔργων δεομένους, [284] προσυψῶσαι μὲν τὰ χώματα, πύργους δὲ τρεῖς πεντήκοντα ποδῶν τὸ ὕψος ἕκαστον κατασκευάσαι κελεύσας πάντοθεν σιδήρῳ κεκαλυμμένους, ὡς ἑδραῖοί τε εἶεν ὑπὸ βρίθους καὶ δυσάλωτοι πυρί, [285] τῶν χωμάτων ἐπέστησεν, συνεπιβήσας αὐτοῖς ἀκοντιστάς τε καὶ τοξότας καὶ τῶν ἀφετηρίων ὀργάνων τὰ κουφότερα, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ῥωμαλεωτάτους σφενδονήτας: [286] οἳ μὴ καθορώμενοι διὰ τὸ ὕψος καὶ τὰ θωράκια τῶν πύργων εἰς καθορωμένους τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους ἔβαλλον. [287] οἱ δὲ μήτε κατὰ κόρσης φερομένων τῶν βελῶν ἐκκλίνειν ῥᾳδίως δυνάμενοι μήτε τοὺς ἀφανεῖς ἀμύνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ μὲν ὕψος τῶν πύργων δυσέφικτον ὁρῶντες ἐκ χειρὸς βέλει, πυρὶ δὲ τὸν περὶ αὐτοῖς σίδηρον ἀνάλωτον, ἔφευγον ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους καὶ προσβάλλειν πειρωμένοις ἐπεξέθεον. [288] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰωταπάτης ἀντεῖχον οὕτως, ἀναιρούμενοί τε καθ᾽ ἡμέραν πολλοὶ καὶ μηδὲν ἀντικακοῦν τοὺς πολεμίους, ὅτι μὴ μετὰ κινδύνων ἀνείργειν ἔχοντες.

(31) [289] Κατὰ δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐπί τινα τῶν τῆς Ἰωταπάτης ἀστυγειτόνων πόλιν, Ἴαφα καλεῖται, νεωτερίζουσαν καὶ τῶν Ἰωταπατηνῶν παρὰ δόξαν ἀντεχόντων ἐπαιρομένην, Τραιανὸν ὄντα τοῦ δεκάτου τάγματος ἡγεμόνα ἐκπέμπει παραδοὺς αὐτῷ χιλίους μὲν ἱππεῖς πεζοὺς δὲ δισχιλίους. [290] ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν πόλιν δυσάλωτον καταλαβών, πρὸς γὰρ τῷ φύσει καρτερὰ τυγχάνειν οὖσα καὶ διπλῷ περιβόλῳ τετείχιστο, προαπηντηκότας δὲ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς ἑτοίμους εἰς μάχην ἰδὼν συμβάλλει καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀντισχόντας ἐδίωκεν. [291] συμφυγόντων δὲ εἰς τὸ πρῶτον τεῖχος οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ πόδας προσκείμενοι συνεισέπεσον. [292] ὁρμήσαντας δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὸ δεύτερον τεῖχος ἀποκλείουσιν τῆς πόλεως οἱ σφέτεροι δείσαντες μὴ συνεισβάλωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι. [293] θεὸς δ᾽ ἦν ἄρα ὁ Ῥωμαίοις τὰ Γαλιλαίων πάθη χαριζόμενος, ὃς καὶ τότε τὸν τῆς πόλεως λαὸν αὐτανδρον χερσὶν οἰκείαις ἐκκλεισθέντα πρὸς ἀπώλειαν ἔκδοτον φονῶσιν ἐχθροῖς παρέστησεν. [294] ἐμπίπτοντες γὰρ ἀθρόοι ταῖς πύλαις καὶ πολλὰ τοὺς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν ὀνομαστὶ καλοῦντες ἐν μέσαις ἀπεσφάττοντο ταῖς ἱκεσίαις. [295] καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτοῖς τεῖχος οἱ πολέμιοι, τὸ δεύτερον δ᾽ ἔκλεισαν οἱ σφέτεροι, [296] μέσοι δὲ τοῖν δυοῖν κατειλούμενοι περιβόλων βύζην, πολλοὶ μὲν τοῖς ἀλλήλων,

πολλοὶ δὲ τοῖς ἰδίοις περιεπείροντο ξίφεσιν, ἄπειροι δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἔπιπτον οὐδὲ ὅσον εἰς ἄμυναν ἀναθαρροῦντες: πρὸς γὰρ τῷ καταπεπλῆχθαι τοὺς πολεμίους τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἔκλασεν ἡ τῶν οἰκείων προδοσία. [297] πέρας ἔθνησκον οὐ Ῥωμαίοις ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἰδίοις καταρώμενοι, μέχρι πάντες ἀπώλοντο μύριοι καὶ δισχίλιοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες. [298] κενὴν δὲ μαχίμων λογιζόμενος εἶναι τὴν πόλιν ὁ Τραιανός, εἰ δὲ καί τινες ἔνδον εἶεν, οἰόμενος μηδὲν αὐτοὺς τολμήσειν ὑπὸ δέους, ἀνετίθει τῷ στρατηγῷ τὴν ἅλωσιν, καὶ στείλας ἀγγέλους πρὸς Οὐεσπασιανὸν ἠτεῖτο πέμψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῷ Τίτον ἐπιθήσοντα τῇ νίκῃ τέλος. [299] ὁ δὲ συμβαλὼν ὑπολείπεσθαί τινα πόνον μετὰ στρατιᾶς τὸν υἱὸν ἐπιπέμπει πεντακοσίων μὲν ἱππέων χιλίων δὲ πεζῶν. [300] ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐλθὼν διὰ τάχους καὶ διατάξας τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ λαιοῦ κέρως τὸν Τραιανὸν ἵστησιν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν ἔχων ἐξηγεῖτο πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν. [301] τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν κλίμακας πάντοθεν τῷ τείχει προσφερόντων πρὸς ὀλίγον οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι καθύπερθεν ἀμυνόμενοι λείπουσιν τὸν περίβολον, [302] ἐπιπηδήσαντες δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Τίτον τῆς μὲν πόλεως ἐκράτησαν ταχέως, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἔνδον αὐτοῖς συστραφέντας καρτερὰ μάχη συρρήγνυται: [303] καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς οἱ δυνατοὶ προσέπιπτον καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν αἱ γυναῖκες ἔβαλλον πᾶν τὸ προστυχὸν αὐταῖς. [304] καὶ μέχρι μὲν ἓξ ὡρῶν ἀντεῖχον μαχόμενοι, δαπανηθέντων δὲ τῶν μαχίμων τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἔν τε τοῖς ὑπαίθροις καὶ κατὰ τὰς οἰκίας ἀπεσφάττοντο νέοι τε ὁμοῦ καὶ γέροντες: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄρρεν ὑπελείφθη δίχα νηπίων, ἃ μετὰ γυναικῶν ἐξηνδραποδίσαντο. [305] τῶν μὲν οὖν ἀναιρεθέντων ἀνά τε τὴν πόλιν κἀπὶ τῆς προτέρας παρατάξεως ἀριθμὸς μύριοι πρὸς τοῖς πεντακισχιλίοις ἦν, τὰ δ᾽ αἰχμάλωτα δισχίλια ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα. [306] τοῦτο συνέβη τὸ πάθος Γαλιλαίοις πέμπτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι Δαισίου μηνός.

(32) [307] Ἔμειναν δὲ οὐδὲ Σαμαρεῖς ἀπείρατοι συμφορῶν: ἀθροισθέντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ Γαριζεὶν καλούμενον ὄρος, ὅπερ αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ἅγιον, κατὰ χώραν μὲν ἔμενον, πολέμου δ᾽ εἶχεν ἀπειλὴν ἥ τε σύνοδος αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ φρονήματα. [308] καὶ οὐδὲ τοῖς γειτνιῶσι κακοῖς ἐσωφρονίζοντο, πρὸς δὲ τὰς Ῥωμαίων εὐπραγίας ἐν ἀλογίστῳ τὴν κατὰ σφᾶς ἀσθένειαν ᾠδουν καὶ μετέωροι πρὸς ταραχὴν ὑπῆρχον. [309] ἐδόκει δὲ Οὐεσπασιανῷ φθάσαι τὸ κίνημα καὶ τὰς ὁρμὰς αὐτῶν ὑποτέμνεσθαι: καὶ γὰρ φρουραῖς ἡ Σαμαρεῖτις ὅλη διείληπτο τό τε πλῆθος τῶν ἐληλυθότων καὶ ἡ σύνταξις ἦν φοβερά. [310] Κερεάλιον οὖν ἔπαρχον ὄντα τοῦ πέμπτου τάγματος μετὰ ἑξακοσίων ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν τρισχιλίων πέμπει. [311] τούτῳ προσβαίνειν μὲν τὸ ὄρος καὶ συνάπτειν μάχην οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἔδοξεν πολλῶν καθύπερθεν τῶν πολεμίων ὄντων, κυκλωσάμενος δὲ τῇ δυνάμει πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπόρειον δι᾽ ὅλης αὐτοὺς ἐφρούρει τῆς ἡμέρας. [312] συνέβη δὲ ὕδατος ἀπορουμένων τῶν Σαμαρέων ἐκφλεγῆναι τότε καὶ καῦμα δεινόν, ὥρα δ᾽ ἦν θέρους καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τὸ πλῆθος ἀπαράσκευον, [313] ὡς τοὺς μὲν αὐθημερὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δίψους ἀποθανεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀπωλείας τὸ δουλεύειν

προαιρουμένους Ῥωμαίοις προσφυγεῖν. [314] ἐξ ὧν συνεὶς ὁ Κερεάλιος καὶ τοὺς ἔτι συμμένοντας ὑπὸ τῶν δεινῶν κατεαγότας ἐπαναβαίνει τῷ ὄρει, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐν κύκλῳ περιστήσας τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπὶ δεξιὰς προυκαλεῖτο καὶ σώζεσθαι παρεκάλει διαβεβαιούμενος ἀσφάλειαν τὰ ὅπλα ῥίψασιν: [315] ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθεν, προσπεσὼν ἀπέκτεινεν πάντας, χιλίους ἑξακοσίους ἐπὶ μυρίοις ὄντας: ἑβδόμῃ καὶ εἰκάδι Δαισίου μηνὸς ἐπράχθη. καὶ τοιαύταις μὲν συμφοραῖς Σαμαρεῖται ἐχρήσαντο.

(33) [316] Τῶν δ' ἀνὰ τὰ Ἰωτάπατα καρτερούντων καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδα τοῖς δεινοῖς ἀντεχόντων τεσσαρακοστῇ μὲν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἑβδόμῃ τὰ χώματα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπερήρθη τὸ τεῖχος, [317] αὐτομολεῖ δέ τις πρὸς τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας τήν τε ὀλιγότητα τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐξαγγέλλων καὶ τὴν ἀσθένειαν, [318] καὶ ὡς ἀγρυπνίᾳ διηνεκεῖ καὶ μάχαις ἐπαλλήλοις δεδαπανημένοι δυνατοὶ μὲν εἶεν οὐδὲ βιαζομένους ἔτι φέρειν, καὶ δόλῳ δ' ἂν ἁλοῖεν, εἴ τις ἐπιθοῖτο: [319] περὶ γὰρ τὴν ἐσχάτην φυλακήν, καθ' ἣν ἄνεσίν τε τῶν δεινῶν ἐδόκουν ἔχειν καὶ καθάπτεται μάλιστα κεκοπωμένων ἑωθινὸς ὕπνος, καταδαρθάνειν ἔφασκεν τοὺς φύλακας συνεβούλευέν τε κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ὥραν ἐπελθεῖν. [320] τῷ δ' ἦν μὲν δι' ὑπονοίας ὁ αὐτόμολος τό τε πρὸς ἀλλήλους πιστὸν εἰδότι τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὰς κολάσεις ὑπεροψίαν, [321] ἐπειδὴ καὶ πρότερον ληφθείς τις τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωταπάτης πρὸς πᾶσαν αἰκίαν βασάνων ἀντέσχεν καὶ μηδὲν διὰ πυρὸς ἐξερευνῶσι τοῖς πολεμίοις περὶ τῶν ἔνδον εἰπὼν ἀνεσταυρώθη τοῦ θανάτου καταμειδιῶν: [322] τά γε μὴν εἰκότα πιστὸν ἐποίει τὸν προδότην, καὶ τάχα μὲν ἀληθεύειν ἐκεῖνον, μηδὲν δ' αὐτὸς ἐξ ἐνέδρας πείσεσθαι μέγα προσδοκῶν, τὸν μὲν φυλάσσειν ἐκέλευσεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν κατάληψιν τῆς πόλεως παρεσκεύαζε τὴν στρατιάν.

(34) [323] Κατὰ δὲ τὴν μηνυθεῖσαν ὥραν ᾖεσαν ἡσυχῇ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος. [324] καὶ πρῶτος ἐπιβαίνει Τίτος σὺν ἑνὶ τῶν χιλιάρχων Δομετίῳ Σαβίνῳ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πέμπτου καὶ δεκάτου τάγματος ὀλίγους ἄγων: [325] ἀποσφάξαντες δὲ τοὺς φύλακας εἰσίασιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, μεθ' οὓς Σέκστος τις Καλουάριος χιλίαρχος καὶ Πλάκιδος τοὺς ὑπὸ σφίσι τεταγμένους εἰσῆγον. [326] κατειλημμένης δὲ τῆς ἄκρας καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐν μέσῳ στρεφομένων, ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἡμέρας οὔσης, ὅμως οὔπω τῆς ἁλώσεως τοῖς κρατουμένοις αἴσθησις ἦν: [327] καμάτῳ τε γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ὕπνῳ διαλέλυντο, καὶ τῶν διανισταμένων ὁμίχλη τὰς ὄψεις ἀπήμβλυνεν πολλὴ κατὰ τύχην τότε τῇ πόλει περιχυθεῖσα, [328] μέχρι πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς εἰσπεσούσης πρὸς μόνην τὴν τῶν κακῶν αἴσθησιν ἐξανέστησαν καὶ τὴν ἅλωσιν ἐπίστευον ἀναιρούμενοι. [329] Ῥωμαίους δὲ κατὰ μνήμην ὧν ἐκ τῆς πολιορκίας ἔπαθον οὔτε φειδὼ εἰσῄει τινὸς οὔτ' ἔλεος, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ κάταντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας τὸν λεὼ συνωθοῦντες ἐφόνευον. [330] ἔνθα καὶ τοὺς ἔτι μάχεσθαι δυναμένους ἡ δυσχωρία τὴν ἄμυναν ἀφείλετο: θλιβόμενοι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς καὶ κατὰ τοῦ πρανοῦς ὑπολισθάνοντες ῥέοντι κατ' ἄκρας ἐκαλύπτοντο τῷ πολέμῳ. [331] τοῦτο

πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐπιλέκτων ἐπ᾽ αὐτοχειρίαν παρώξυνεν: κατιδόντες γάρ, ὡς οὐδένα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀνελεῖν δύνανται, τό γε πεσεῖν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων προέλαβον καὶ συναθροισθέντες ἐπὶ τὰ καταλήγοντα τῆς πόλεως σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀνεῖλον.

(35) [332] Ὅσοι γε μὴν ὑπὸ πρώτην τῆς καταλήψεως αἴσθησιν τῶν φυλάκων διαφυγεῖν ἔφθασαν ἀναβάντες εἴς τινα τῶν προσαρκτίων πύργων μέχρι μέν τινος ἀπημύναντο, περισχεθέντες δὲ πλήθει τῶν πολεμίων ὀψὲ παρεῖσαν τὰς δεξιὰς καὶ τοῖς ἐφεστῶσιν τὴν σφαγὴν εὔθυμοι παρέσχον. [333] ἀναίμακτον δ᾽ ἂν ἦν αὐχῆσαι Ῥωμαίοις τὸ τέλος τῆς πολιορκίας, εἰ μὴ κατὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν εἷς ἔπεσέν τις: ἑκατοντάρχης ἦν Ἀντώνιος, θνήσκει δ᾽ ἐξ ἑνέδρας. [334] τῶν γὰρ εἰς τὰ σπήλαιά τις συμπεφευγότων, πολλοὶ δ᾽ οὗτοι πλῆθος ἦσαν, ἱκετεύει τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὀρέξαι δεξιὰν αὐτῷ πίστιν τε σωτηρίας καὶ βοήθειαν πρὸς ἄνοδον: [335] ὁ δ᾽ ἀφυλάκτως ὤρεγε τὴν χεῖρα, καὶ φθάσας αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνος νύττει κάτωθεν ὑπὸ τὸν βουβῶνα δόρατι καὶ παραχρῆμα διεργάζεται.

(36) [336] Κατ᾽ ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν τὸ φανερὸν πλῆθος ἀνεῖλον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ταῖς δ᾽ ἐπιούσαις ἀνερευνώμενοι τὰς καταδύσεις τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὑπονόμοις καὶ τοῖς σπηλαίοις ἐπεξῄεσαν καὶ διὰ πάσης ἐχώρουν ἡλικίας πλὴν νηπίων καὶ γυναικῶν. [337] καὶ τὰ μὲν αἰχμάλωτα χίλια πρὸς τοῖς διακοσίοις συνήχθη, νεκροὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν καὶ τὰς πρότερον μάχας συνηριθμήθησαν τετρακισμύριοι. [338] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ τήν τε πόλιν κατασκάψαι κελεύει καὶ τὰ φρούρια πάντα προσεμπίπρησιν αὐτῆς. [339] Ἰωτάπατα μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἑάλω τρεισκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας ἔτει Πανέμου νουμηνίᾳ.

VIII

(1) [340] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἀναζητοῦντες κατά τε ὀργὴν σφετέραν καὶ σφόδρα τοῦ στρατηγοῦ φιλοτιμουμένου, μεγίστη γὰρ ἦν μοῖρα τοῦ πολέμου ληφθείς, τούς τε νεκροὺς διηρεύνων καὶ τοὺς ἀποκρύφους. [341] ὁ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἁλισκομένης δαιμονίῳ τινὶ συνεργίᾳ χρησάμενος μέσον μὲν ἑαυτὸν ἐκκλέπτει τῶν πολεμίων, καθάλλεται δὲ εἴς τινα βαθὺν λάκκον, ᾧ πλατὺ σπήλαιον διέζευκτο κατὰ πλευρὰν τοῖς ἄνωθεν ἀόρατον. [342] ἔνθα τεσσαράκοντα μὲν τῶν ἐπισήμων ἄνδρας καταλαμβάνει λανθάνοντας, παρασκευὴν δ᾽ ἐπιτηδείων οὐκ ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις διαρκεῖν δυναμένην. [343] μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν μὲν οὖν ὑπεστέλλετο τῶν πολεμίων πάντα διειληφότων, νυκτὸς δ᾽ ἀνιὼν ἐζήτει δρασμοῦ διάδυσιν καὶ τὰς φυλακὰς κατεσκέπτετο. φρουρουμένων δὲ πανταχόθεν πάντων δι᾽ αὐτὸν ὡς λαθεῖν οὐκ ἦν, αὖθις εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον κατῄει. [344] δύο μὲν οὖν ἡμέραις διαλανθάνει, τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ γυναικὸς ἁλούσης τῶν ἅμα αὐτοῖς μηνύεται, καὶ Οὐεσπασιανὸς αὐτίκα μετὰ σπουδῆς πέμπει δύο χιλιάρχους Παυλῖνον καὶ

Γαλλικανόν, δεξιάς τε τῷ Ἰωσήπῳ δοῦναι κελεύσας καὶ προτρεψομένους ἀνελθεῖν.

(2) [345] Ἀφικόμενοι γοῦν παρεκάλουν οὗτοι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ πίστεις περὶ σωτηρίας ἐδίδοσαν, οὐ μὴν ἔπειθον: [346] ἐκ γὰρ ὧν εἰκὸς ἦν τοσαῦτα δράσαντα παθεῖν, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ φύσει τῶν παρακαλούντων ἡμέρου τὰς ὑποψίας συνέλεγεν ἐδεδίει τε ὡς ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν προκαλουμένους, ἕως Οὐεσπασιανὸς τρίτον ἐπιπέμπει χιλίαρχον Νικάνορα γνώριμον τῷ Ἰωσήπῳ καὶ συνήθη πάλαι. [347] παρελθὼν δ' οὗτος τό τε φύσει Ῥωμαίων χρηστὸν πρὸς οὓς ἂν ἅπαξ ἕλωσι διεξῄει, καὶ ὡς δι' ἀρετὴν αὐτὸς θαυμάζοιτο μᾶλλον ἢ μισοῖτο πρὸς τῶν ἡγεμόνων, [348] σπουδάζειν τε τὸν στρατηγὸν οὐκ ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν ἀναγαγεῖν αὐτόν, εἶναι γὰρ ταύτην καὶ παρὰ μὴ προιόντος λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ σῶσαι προαιρούμενον ἄνδρα γενναῖον. [349] προσετίθει δ' ὡς οὔτ' ἂν Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐνεδρεύων φίλον ἔπεμπεν, ἵνα τοῦ κακίστου πράγματος προστήσηται τὸ κάλλιστον, ἀπιστίας φιλίαν, οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἀπατήσων ἄνδρα φίλον ὑπήκουσεν ἐλθεῖν.

(3) [350] Ἐνδοιάζοντος δὲ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου καὶ πρὸς τὸν Νικάνορα τὸ μὲν στρατιωτικὸν ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἐκκαίειν τὸ σπήλαιον ὥρμητο, κατεῖχεν δ' αὐτοὺς ὁ πολέμαρχος ζωγρῆσαι τὸν ἄνδρα φιλοτιμούμενος. [351] ὡς δ' ὅ τε Νικάνωρ προσέκειτο λιπαρῶν καὶ τὰς ἀπειλὰς τοῦ πολεμίου πλήθους ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἔμαθεν, ἀνάμνησις αὐτὸν τῶν διὰ νυκτὸς ὀνείρων εἰσέρχεται, δι' ὧν ὁ θεὸς τάς τε μελλούσας αὐτῷ συμφορὰς προεσήμαινεν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖς ἐσόμενα. [352] ἦν δὲ καὶ περὶ κρίσεις ὀνείρων ἱκανὸς συμβαλεῖν τὰ ἀμφιβόλως ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου λεγόμενα, τῶν γε μὴν ἱερῶν βίβλων οὐκ ἠγνόει τὰς προφητείας ὡς ἂν αὐτός τε ὢν ἱερεὺς καὶ ἱερέων ἔγγονος: [353] ὢν ἐπὶ τῆς τότε ὥρας ἔνθους γενόμενος καὶ τὰ φρικώδη τῶν προσφάτων ὀνείρων σπάσας φαντάσματα προσφέρει τῷ θεῷ λεληθυῖαν εὐχήν, [354] κἀπειδὴ τὸ Ἰουδαίων, ἔφη, φῦλον ὀκλάσαι δοκεῖ σοι τῷ κτίσαντι, μετέβη δὲ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἡ τύχη πᾶσα, καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν ἐπελέξω τὰ μέλλοντα εἰπεῖν, δίδωμι μὲν Ῥωμαίοις τὰς χεῖρας ἑκὼν καὶ ζῶ, μαρτύρομαι δὲ ὡς οὐ προδότης, ἀλλὰ σὸς εἶμι διάκονος."

(4) [355] Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐνεδίδου τῷ Νικάνορι. καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ συγκαταφυγόντες ὡς τὸν Ἰώσηπον συνίεσαν εἴκοντα τοῖς παρακαλοῦσιν, [356] ἀθρόοι περιστάντες, "ἦ μεγάλα γ' ἂν στενάξειαν, ἐβόων, οἱ πάτριοι νόμοι, οὓς κατέφησεν θεὸς Ἰουδαίοις ὁ κτίσας ψυχὰς θανάτου καταφρονούσας. [357] φιλοζωεῖς, ὦ Ἰώσηπε, καὶ φῶς ὑπομένεις ὁρᾶν δοῦλον; ὡς ταχέως ἐπελάθου σαυτοῦ. πόσους ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἀποθνήσκειν ἔπεισας. [358] ψευδῆ μὲν ἄρα δόξαν ἀνδρείας, ψευδῆ δὲ καὶ συνέσεως εἶχες, εἴ γε σωτηρίαν μὲν ἔχειν ἐλπίζεις παρ' οἷς οὕτως ἐπολέμησας, σώζεσθαι δὲ ὑπ' ἐκείνων, κἂν ᾖ βέβαιον, θέλεις. [359] ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ σοὶ λήθην σεαυτοῦ κατέχεεν ἡ Ῥωμαίων τύχη, προνοητέον ἡμῖν τοῦ πατρίου κλέους. χρήσομέν σοι δεξιὰν καὶ ξίφος: σὺ δ' ἂν μὲν ἑκὼν θνήσκῃς, Ἰουδαίων στρατηγός, ἂν δ' ἄκων, προδότης [360] τεθνήξῃ." ταῦθ' ἅμα λέγοντες

ἐπανετείναντο τὰ ξίφη καὶ διηπείλουν ἀναιρήσειν αὐτόν, εἰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐνδιδοίη.

(5) [361] Δείσας δὲ τὴν ἔφοδον ὁ Ἰώσηπος καὶ προδοσίαν ἡγούμενος εἶναι τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ προσταγμάτων, εἰ προαποθάνοι τῆς διαγγελίας, ἤρχετο πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνάγκης: [362] "τί γὰρ τοσοῦτον, ἔφη, σφῶν αὐτῶν, ἑταῖροι, φονῶμεν; ἢ τί τὰ φίλτατα διαστασιάζομεν, σῶμα καὶ ψυχήν; ἠλλάχθαι τις ἐμέ φησιν. [363] ἀλλ' οἴδασιν Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦτό γε. καλὸν ἐν πολέμῳ θνήσκειν, ἀλλὰ πολέμου νόμῳ, τουτέστιν ὑπὸ τῶν κρατούντων. [364] εἰ μὲν οὖν τὸν Ῥωμαίων ἀποστρέφομαι σίδηρον, ἄξιος ἀληθῶς εἰμι τοὐμοῦ ξίφους καὶ χειρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς: εἰ δ' ἐκείνους εἰσέρχεται φειδὼ πολεμίου, πόσῳ δικαιότερον ἂν ἡμᾶς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν εἰσέλθοι; καὶ γὰρ ἠλίθιον ταῦτα δρᾶν σφᾶς αὐτούς, περὶ ὧν πρὸς ἐκείνους διιστάμεθα. [365] καλὸν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀποθνήσκειν: φημὶ κἀγώ, μαχομένους μέντοι, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀφαιρουμένων αὐτήν. νῦν δ' οὔτ' εἰς μάχην ἀντιάζουσιν ἡμῖν οὔτ' ἀναιροῦσιν ἡμᾶς: δειλὸς δὲ ὁμοίως ὅ τε μὴ βουλόμενος θνήσκειν ὅταν δέῃ καὶ ὁ βουλόμενος, ὅταν μὴ δέῃ. [366] τί δὲ καὶ δεδοικότες πρὸς Ῥωμαίους οὐκ ἄνιμεν; [367] ἆρ' οὐχὶ θάνατον; εἶθ' ὃν δεδοίκαμεν ἐκ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑποπτευόμενον ἑαυτοῖς βέβαιον ἐπιστήσομεν; ἀλλὰ δουλείαν, ἐρεῖ τις. πάνυ γοῦν νῦν ἐσμὲν ἐλεύθεροι. [368] γενναῖον γὰρ ἀνελεῖν ἑαυτόν, φήσει τις. οὐ μὲν οὖν, ἀλλ' ἀγενέστατον, ὡς ἔγωγε καὶ κυβερνήτην ἡγοῦμαι δειλότατον, ὅστις χειμῶνα δεδοικὼς πρὸ τῆς θυέλλης ἐβάπτισεν ἑκὼν τὸ σκάφος. [369] ἀλλὰ μὴν ἡ αὐτοχειρία καὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἁπάντων ζῴων φύσεως ἀλλότριον καὶ πρὸς τὸν κτίσαντα θεὸν ἡμᾶς ἐστιν ἀσέβεια. [370] τῶν μέν γε ζῴων οὐδέν ἐστιν ὃ θνήσκει μετὰ προνοίας ἢ δι' αὐτοῦ: φύσεως γὰρ νόμος ἰσχυρὸς ἐν ἅπασιν τὸ ζῆν ἐθέλειν: διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς φανερῶς ἀφαιρουμένους ἡμᾶς τούτου πολεμίους ἡγούμεθα καὶ τοὺς ἐξ ἐνέδρας τιμωρούμεθα. [371] τὸν δὲ θεὸν οὐκ οἴεσθε ἀγανακτεῖν, ὅταν ἄνθρωπος αὐτοῦ τὸ δῶρον ὑβρίζῃ; καὶ γὰρ εἰλήφαμεν παρ' ἐκείνου τὸ εἶναι καὶ τὸ μηκέτι εἶναι πάλιν ἐκείνῳ δίδομεν. [372] τὰ μέν γε σώματα θνητὰ πᾶσιν καὶ ἐκ φθαρτῆς ὕλης δεδημιούργηται, ψυχὴ δὲ ἀθάνατος ἀεὶ καὶ θεοῦ μοῖρα τοῖς σώμασιν ἐνοικίζεται: εἶτ' ἐὰν μὲν ἀφανίσῃ τις ἀνθρώπου παρακαταθήκην ἢ διαθῆται κακῶς, πονηρὸς εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ ἄπιστος, εἰ δέ τις τοῦ σφετέρου σώματος ἐκβάλλει τὴν παρακαταθήκην τοῦ θεοῦ, λεληθέναι δοκεῖ τὸν ἀδικούμενον; [373] καὶ κολάζειν μὲν τοὺς ἀποδράντας οἰκέτας δίκαιον νενόμισται κἂν πονηροὺς καταλείπωσι δεσπότας, αὐτοὶ δὲ κάλλιστον δεσπότην ἀποδιδράσκοντες τὸν θεὸν οὐ δοκοῦμεν ἀσεβεῖν; [374] ἆρ' οὐκ ἴστε ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἐξιόντων τοῦ βίου κατὰ τὸν τῆς φύσεως νόμον καὶ τὸ ληφθὲν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ χρέος ἐκτινύντων, ὅταν ὁ δοὺς κομίσασθαι θέλῃ, κλέος μὲν αἰώνιον, οἶκοι δὲ καὶ γενεαὶ βέβαιοι, καθαραὶ δὲ καὶ ἐπήκοοι μένουσιν αἱ ψυχαί, χῶρον οὐράνιον λαχοῦσαι τὸν ἁγιώτατον, ἔνθεν ἐκ περιτροπῆς αἰώνων ἀγνοῖς πάλιν ἀντενοικίζονται σώμασιν: [375] ὅσοις δὲ καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐμάνησαν αἱ χεῖρες, τούτων

ᾅδης μὲν δέχεται τὰς ψυχὰς σκοτεινότερος, ὁ δὲ τούτων πατὴρ θεὸς εἰς ἐγγόνους τιμωρεῖται τοὺς τῶν πατέρων ὑβριστάς. [376] διὰ τοῦτο μεμίσηται παρὰ θεῷ τοῦτο καὶ παρὰ τῷ σοφωτάτῳ κολάζεται νομοθέτῃ: [377] τοὺς γοῦν ἀναιροῦντας ἑαυτοὺς παρὰ μὲν ἡμῖν μέχρις ἡλίου δύσεως ἀτάφους ἐκρίπτειν ἔκριναν καίτοι καὶ πολεμίους θάπτειν θεμιτὸν ἡγούμενοι, [378] παρ᾽ ἑτέροις δὲ καὶ τὰς δεξιὰς τῶν τοιούτων νεκρῶν ἀποκόπτειν ἐκέλευσαν, αἷς ἐστρατεύσαντο καθ᾽ ἑαυτῶν, ἡγούμενοι καθάπερ τὸ σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς ἀλλότριον, οὕτως καὶ τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ σώματος. [379] καλὸν οὖν, ἑταῖροι, δίκαια φρονεῖν καὶ μὴ ταῖς ἀνθρωπίναις συμφοραῖς προσθεῖναι τὴν εἰς τὸν κτίσαντα ἡμᾶς δυσσέβειαν. [380] εἰ σώζεσθαι δοκεῖ, σωζώμεθα: καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἄδοξος ἡ σωτηρία παρ᾽ οἷς διὰ τοσούτων ἔργων ἐπεδειξάμεθα τὰς ἀρετάς: εἰ τεθνάναι, καλὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἑλόντων. [381] οὐ μεταβήσομαι δ᾽ ἐγὼ εἰς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων τάξιν, ἵν᾽ ἐμαυτοῦ προδότης γένωμαι: καὶ γὰρ ἂν εἴην πολὺ τῶν αὐτομολούντων πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἠλιθιώτερος, εἴ γ᾽ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦτο πράττουσιν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ ἀπωλείᾳ, καί γε τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ. [382] τὴν μέντοι Ῥωμαίων ἐνέδραν εὔχομαι: μετὰ γὰρ δεξιὰν ἀναιρούμενος ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν εὔθυμος τεθνήξομαι, τὴν τῶν ψευσαμένων ἀπιστίαν νίκης μείζονα ἀποφέρων παραμυθίαν.”

(6) [383] Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰώσηπος πολλὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀποτροπὴν τῆς αὐτοχειρίας ἔλεγεν: [384] οἱ δὲ πεφραγμένας ἀπογνώσει τὰς ἀκοὰς ἔχοντες ὡς ἂν πάλαι καθοσιώσαντες ἑαυτοὺς τῷ θανάτῳ παρωξύνοντο πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ προστρέχων ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν ξιφήρεις ἐκάκιζόν τε εἰς ἀνανδρίαν καὶ ὡς ἕκαστος αὐτίκα πλήξων δῆλος ἦν. [385] ὁ δὲ τὸν μὲν ὀνομαστὶ καλῶν, τῷ δὲ στρατηγικώτερον ἐμβλέπων, τοῦ δὲ δρασσόμενος τῆς δεξιᾶς, ὃν δὲ δεήσει δυσωπῶν, καὶ ποικίλοις διαιρούμενος πάθεσιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνάγκης εἶργεν ἀπὸ τῆς σφαγῆς πάντων τὸν σίδηρον, ὥσπερ τὰ κυκλωθέντα τῶν θηρίων ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸν καθαπτόμενον ἀντιστρεφόμενος. [386] τῶν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἐσχάτας συμφορὰς ἔτι τὸν στρατηγὸν αἰδουμένων παρελύοντο μὲν αἱ δεξιαί, περιωλίσθανεν δὲ τὰ ξίφη, καὶ πολλοὶ τὰς ῥομφαίας ἐπιφέροντες αὐτομάτως παρεῖσαν.

(7) [387] Ὁ δ᾽ ἐν ταῖς ἀμηχανίαις οὐκ ἠπόρησεν ἐπινοίας, ἀλλὰ πιστεύων τῷ κηδεμόνι θεῷ τὴν σωτηρίαν παραβάλλεται, [388] κἀπεὶ δέδοκται τὸ θνήσκειν, ἔφη, φέρε κλήρῳ τὰς ἀλλήλων σφαγὰς ἐπιτρέψωμεν, [389] ὁ λαχὼν δ᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν πιπτέτω, καὶ διοδεύσει πάντων οὕτως ἡ τύχη, μηδ᾽ ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας κείσθω δεξιᾶς ἕκαστος: ἄδικον γὰρ οἰχομένων τινὰ τῶν ἄλλων μετανοήσαντα σωθῆναι.” πιστὸς ἔδοξεν ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ συνεκληροῦτο πείσας. [390] ἑτοίμην δ᾽ ὁ λαχὼν τῷ μεθ᾽ αὐτὸν παρεῖχεν τὴν σφαγὴν ὡς αὐτίκα τεθνηξομένου καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ: ζωῆς γὰρ ἡδίω τὸν μετὰ [τοῦ] Ἰωσήπου θάνατον ἡγοῦντο. [391] καταλείπεται δ᾽ οὗτος εἴτε ὑπὸ τύχης χρὴ λέγειν, εἴτε ὑπὸ θεοῦ προνοίας σὺν ἑτέρῳ, καὶ σπουδάζων μήθ᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ κλήρου καταδικασθῆναι μήτε, εἰ τελευταῖος λείποιτο, μιᾶναι τὴν δεξιὰν ὁμοφύλῳ φόνῳ πείθει κἀκεῖνον ἐπὶ πίστει ζῆν.

(8) [392] Ὁ μὲν οὖν οὕτως τόν τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὸν οἰκείων διαφυγὼν πόλεμον ἐπὶ Οὐεσπασιανὸν ἤγετο ὑπὸ [τοῦ] Νικάνορος. [393] οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι πάντες ἐπὶ θέαν αὐτοῦ συνέτρεχον, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους συνθλιβομένου περὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ θόρυβος ἦν ποικίλος, τῶν μὲν γεγηθότων ἐπὶ τῷ ληφθέντι, τῶν δ' ἀπειλούντων, τῶν δ' ἐγγύθεν ἰδεῖν βιαζομένων. [394] καὶ οἱ μὲν πόρρωθεν κολάζειν ἐβόων τὸν πολέμιον, τῶν δὲ πλησίον ἀνάμνησις αὐτοῦ τῶν ἔργων εἰσῄει καὶ πρὸς τὴν μεταβολὴν θάμβος, [395] τῶν τε ἡγεμόνων οὐδεὶς ἦν, ὃς εἰ καὶ πρότερον ὠργίζετο, τότε πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν οὐκ ἐνέδωκεν αὐτοῦ. [396] μάλιστα δὲ τὸν Τίτον ἐξαιρέτως τό τε καρτερικὸν ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς ᾔρει τοῦ Ἰωσήπου καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἡλικίαν ἔλεος, ἀναμιμνησκομένῳ τε τὸν πάλαι μαχόμενον καὶ τὸν ἐν χερσὶν ἐχθρῶν ἄρτι κείμενον ὁρῶντι παρῆν [δὲ] νοεῖν, ὅσον δύναται τύχη, καὶ ὡς ὀξεῖα μὲν πολέμου ῥοπή, τῶν δ' ἀνθρωπίνων οὐδὲν βέβαιον: [397] παρὸ καὶ τότε συνδιέθηκεν μὲν πλείστους ἑαυτῷ καὶ πρὸς οἶκτον τοῦ Ἰωσήπου, πλείστη δ' αὐτῷ καὶ παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ μοῖρα σωτηρίας ἐγένετο. [398] ὁ μέντοι Οὐεσπασιανὸς φρουρεῖν αὐτὸν μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας προσέταττεν ὡς ἀναπέμψων αὐτίκα Νέρωνι.

(9) [399] Τοῦτο ἀκούσας ὁ Ἰώσηπος μόνῳ τι διαλεχθῆναι θέλειν ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ. μεταστησαμένου δ' ἐκείνου πλὴν τοῦ παιδὸς Τίτου καὶ δυοῖν φίλων τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας "σὺ μέν, [400] ἔφη, Οὐεσπασιανέ, νομίζεις αἰχμάλωτον αὐτὸ μόνον εἰληφέναι Ἰώσηπον, ἐγὼ δὲ ἄγγελος ἥκω σοι μειζόνων. μὴ γὰρ ὑπὸ θεοῦ προπεμπόμενος ᾔδειν τὸν Ἰουδαίων νόμον, καὶ πῶς στρατηγοῖς ἀποθνήσκειν πρέπει. [401] Νέρωνί με πέμπεις: τί γάρ; Οἱ μετὰ Νέρωνα μέχρι σοῦ διάδοχοι μενοῦσιν. σὺ Καῖσαρ, Οὐεσπασιανέ, καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ, σὺ καὶ παῖς ὁ σὸς οὗτος. [402] δέσμει δέ με νῦν ἀσφαλέστερον, καὶ τήρει σεαυτῷ: δεσπότης μὲν γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἐμοῦ σὺ Καῖσαρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης καὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων γένους, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν δέομαι φρουρᾶς μείζονος, [403] εἰ κατασχεδιάζω καὶ θεοῦ." ταῦτ' εἰπόντος παραχρῆμα μὲν Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἀπιστεῖν ἐδόκει καὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ὑπελάμβανεν ταῦτα περὶ σωτηρίας πανουργεῖν, [404] κατὰ μικρὸν δὲ εἰς πίστιν ὑπήγετο τοῦ θεοῦ διεγείροντος αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἤδη καὶ τὰ σκῆπτρα δι' ἑτέρων σημείων προδεικνύντος. [405] ἀτρεκῆ δὲ τὸν Ἰώσηπον καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις κατελάμβανεν: τῶν γὰρ τοῖς ἀπορρήτοις παρατυχόντων φίλων ὁ ἕτερος θαυμάζειν ἔφη πῶς οὔτε τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰωταπάτων περὶ ἁλώσεως, οὔθ' ἑαυτῷ προμαντεύσαιτο αἰχμαλωσίαν, εἰ μὴ ταῦτα λῆρος εἴη διακρουομένου τὰς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὀργάς. [406] ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος καὶ τοῖς Ἰωταπατηνοῖς ὅτι μετὰ τεσσαρακοστὴν ἑβδόμην ἡμέραν ἁλώσονται προειπεῖν ἔφη, καὶ ὅτι πρὸς Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸς ζωγρηθήσεται. [407] ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων κατ' ἰδίαν ὁ Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐκπυθόμενος ὡς εὕρισκεν ἀληθῆ, οὕτω πιστεύειν περὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἦρκτο. [408] φρουρᾶς μὲν οὖν καὶ δεσμῶν οὐκ ἀνίει τὸν Ἰώσηπον, ἐδωρεῖτο δ' ἐσθῆτι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κειμηλίοις φιλοφρονούμενός τε καὶ περιέπων διετέλει τὰ πολλὰ Τίτου τῇ τιμῇ συνεργοῦντος.

IX

(1) [409] Τετάρτῃ δὲ Πανέμου μηνὸς ἀναζεύξας εἰς Πτολεμαίδα κἀκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν παράλιον ἀφικνεῖται Καισάρειαν, μεγίστην τῆς τε Ἰουδαίας πόλιν καὶ τὸ πλέον ὑφ᾽ Ἑλλήνων οἰκουμένην. [410] ἐδέχοντο δὲ καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν μετὰ πάσης εὐφημίας καὶ φιλοφροσύνης οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, καὶ κατ᾽ εὔνοιαν μὲν τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, τὸ δὲ πλέον ἔχθει τῶν κατεστραμμένων: διὸ καὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἀθρόοι καταβοῶντες ἠξίουν κολάζειν. [411] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ τὴν περὶ τούτου δέησιν ὡς ὑπ᾽ ἀκρίτου γινομένην πλήθους ἐξέλυσεν ἡσυχίᾳ: [412] τῶν δὲ ταγμάτων τὰ μὲν δύο χειμερίσοντα ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ τῆς Καισαρείας ἐπιτήδειον ὁρῶν τὴν πόλιν, τὸ δέκατον δὲ καὶ πέμπτον εἰς Σκυθόπολιν, ὡς μὴ θλίβοι παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ τὴν Καισάρειαν. [413] ἀλεεινὴ δ᾽ ἦν κἀκείνη χειμῶνος ὥρᾳ καθ᾽ ὅσον πνιγώδης θέρους ὑπὸ καυμάτων, πεδιὰς οὖσα καὶ παράλιος.

(2) [414] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ συναθροισθέντες οἵ τε κατὰ στάσιν ἐκπίπτοντες τῶν πόλεων καὶ οἱ διαφυγόντες ἐκ τῶν κατεστραμμένων, πλῆθος οὐκ ὀλίγον, ἀνακτίζουσιν Ἰόππην ὁρμητήριον σφίσιν, ἐρημωθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Κεστίου πρότερον, [415] καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐκπεπολεμωμένης ἀνειργόμενοι μεταβαίνειν ἔγνωσαν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. [416] πηξάμενοί τε πειρατικὰ σκάφη πλεῖστα τόν τε Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ τὸν ἐπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου πόρον ἐλῃστευον, ἄπλωτά τε πᾶσιν ἐποίουν τὰ τῇδε πελάγη. [417] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ὡς ἔγνω τὴν σύνταξιν αὐτῶν, πέμπει πεζούς τε καὶ ἱππεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰόππην, οἳ νύκτωρ ὡς ἀφύλακτον εἰσέρχονται τὴν πόλιν. [418] οἱ δ᾽ ἐν αὐτῇ προῄσθοντο μὲν τὴν εἰσβολὴν καὶ καταδείσαντες τοῦ μὲν εἴργειν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀπετρέποντο, συμφυγόντες δὲ εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐξωτέρω βέλους διενυκτέρευσαν.

(3) [419] Ἀλιμένου δ᾽ οὔσης φύσει τῆς Ἰόππης, αἰγιαλῷ γὰρ ἐπιλήγει τραχεῖ καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πᾶν ὀρθίῳ, βραχὺ δὲ συννεύοντι κατὰ τὰς κεραίας ἑκατέρωθεν: [420] αἱ δέ εἰσιν κρημνοὶ βαθεῖς καὶ προύχουσαι σπιλάδες εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, ἔνθα καὶ τῶν Ἀνδρομέδας δεσμῶν ἔτι δεικνύμενοι τύποι πιστοῦνται τὴν ἀρχαιότητα τοῦ μύθου, [421] τύπτων δὲ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐναντίος βορέας καὶ πρὸς ταῖς δεχομέναις πέτραις ὑψηλὸν ἀναπέμπων τὸ κῦμα σφαλερώτερον ἐρημίας τὸν ὅρμον ἀπεργάζεται: [422] κατὰ τοῦτον σαλεύουσιν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰόππης ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω πνεῦμα βίαιον ἐπιπίπτει: μελαμβόριον ὑπὸ τῶν ταύτῃ πλοιζομένων καλεῖται: [423] καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀλλήλαις τῶν νεῶν αὐτόθι συνήραξεν, τὰς δὲ πρὸς ταῖς πέτραις, πολλὰς δὲ πρὸς ἀντίον κῦμα βιαζομένας εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, τόν τε γὰρ αἰγιαλὸν ὄντα πετρώδη καὶ τοὺς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πολεμίους ἐδεδοίκεσαν, μετέωρος ὑπεραρθεὶς ὁ κλύδων ἐβάπτιζεν. [424] ἦν δ᾽ οὔτε φυγῆς τόπος οὔτε μένουσιν σωτηρία, βίᾳ μὲν ἀνέμου τῆς θαλάσσης ἐξωθουμένοις, Ῥωμαίων δὲ τῆς πόλεως. καὶ πολλὴ μὲν οἰμωγὴ συρρηγνυμένων ἐγίνετο τῶν σκαφῶν, πολὺς δ᾽ ἀγνυμένων ὁ ψόφος. [425] καὶ τοῦ πλήθους οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων καλυπτόμενοι διεφθείροντο, πολλοὶ δὲ

τοῖς ναυαγίοις ἐμπλεκόμενοι: τινὲς δὲ ὡς κουφοτέρῳ τὴν θάλατταν ἔφθανον τῷ σιδήρῳ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀναιροῦντες. [426] τό γε μὴν πλεῖστον ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων ἐκφερόμενον περιεξαίνετο ταῖς ἀπορρῶξιν, ὡς αἱμαχθῆναι μὲν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τὸ πέλαγος, πληρωθῆναι δὲ νεκρῶν τὴν παράλιον: καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐκφερομένους ἐφεστῶτες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διέφθειρον. [427] ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῶν ἐκβρασθέντων σωμάτων τετρακισχίλιοι πρὸς τοῖς διακοσίοις ἦν. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ λαβόντες ἀμαχητὶ τὴν πόλιν κατασκάπτουσιν.

(4) [428] Ἰόππη μὲν οὖν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ δεύτερον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἑάλω. [429] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ὡς μὴ πάλιν οἱ πειραταὶ συναλισθεῖεν εἰς αὐτήν, στρατόπεδόν τε ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐγείρει καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν ἐν αὐτῷ καταλείπει μετὰ πεζῶν ὀλίγων, [430] ἵν' οὗτοι μὲν κατὰ χώραν μένοντες φρουρῶσι τὸ στρατόπεδον, οἱ δ' ἱππεῖς προνομεύωσι τὴν πέριξ καὶ τὰς περιοίκους κώμας τε καὶ πολίχνας ἐξαιρῶσιν τῆς Ἰόππης. [431] οἱ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὰ προσταχθέντα τὴν χώραν κατατρέχοντες καθ' ἡμέραν ἔτεμνόν τε καὶ ἠρήμουν ἅπασαν.

(5) [432] Ὡς δὲ εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα τὸ κατὰ τὴν Ἰωταπάτην πάθος ἠγγέλη, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἠπίστουν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς συμφορᾶς καὶ διὰ τὸ μηδένα τῶν λεγομένων αὐτόπτην παρεῖναι: [433] διεσώθη γὰρ οὐδὲ ἄγγελος, ἀλλ' αὐτοματὶ διεκήρυσσεν φήμη τὴν ἅλωσιν οἰκεία φύσει τῶν σκυθρωποτέρων. [434] κατ' ὀλίγον δὲ διὰ τῶν προσχώρων ὥδευε τἀληθὲς καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀμφιβολίας ἦν ἤδη βεβαιότερον, προσεσχεδιάζετό γε μὴν τοῖς πεπραγμένοις καὶ τὰ μὴ γενόμενα: τεθνεὼς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἁλώσεως καὶ ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἠγγέλλετο. [435] τοῦτο μεγίστου τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πένθους ἐπλήρωσεν: κατὰ μέν γε οἴκους καὶ κατὰ συγγενείας οἷς προσήκων ἕκαστος ἦν τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἐθρηνεῖτο, [436] τὸ δ' ἐπὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ πένθος ἐδημεύθη, καὶ οἱ μὲν ξένους, οἱ δὲ συγγενεῖς, οἱ δὲ φίλους ἐθρήνουν, τὸν Ἰώσηπον δὲ πάντες, [437] ὡς ἐπὶ τριακοστὴν μὲν ἡμέραν μὴ διαλιπεῖν τὰς ὀλοφύρσεις ἐν τῇ πόλει, πλείστους δὲ μισθοῦσθαι τοὺς αὐλητάς, οἳ θρήνων αὐτοῖς ἐξῆρχον.

(6) [438] Ὡς δὲ τἀληθῆ διεκαλύπτετο τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰωταπάτην ὥσπερ εἶχεν, ἐσχεδιασμένον δὲ τὸ κατὰ τὸν Ἰώσηπον πάθος εὑρίσκετο, ζῆν δ' αὐτὸν ἔγνωσαν καὶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ὄντα καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἡγεμόνων πλέον ἢ κατ' αἰχμαλώτου τύχην περιέπεσθαι, τοσοῦτον ὀργῆς ἐπὶ ζῶντος ὅσον εὐνοίας ἐπὶ τεθνάναι δοκοῦντος πρότερον ἀνελάμβανον. [439] καὶ παρ' οἷς μὲν εἰς ἀνανδρίαν, παρ' οἷς δὲ εἰς προδοσίαν ἐκακίζετο, πλήρης τε ἀγανακτήσεως ἦν καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτοῦ βλασφημιῶν ἡ πόλις. [440] παρωξύνοντο δὲ ταῖς πληγαῖς καὶ προσεξεκαίοντο ταῖς κακοπραγίαις: τό γε μὴν πταίειν, ὃ γίνεται τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν ἀσφαλείας καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων φυλακῆς αἴτιον, ἐκείνοις κέντρον ἑτέρων ἐγίνετο συμφορῶν: καὶ τὸ τέλος ἀεὶ τῶν κακῶν αὖθις ἀρχή: [441] μᾶλλον γοῦν ὥρμων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὡς καὶ Ἰώσηπον ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀμυνούμενοι. [442] τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τοιοῦτοι θόρυβοι κατεῖχον.

(7) [443] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ καθ᾽ ἱστορίαν τῆς Ἀγρίππα βασιλείας, ἐνῆγεν γὰρ βασιλεὺς αὐτόν, ἅμα καὶ δεξιώσασθαι τὸν ἡγεμόνα σὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ τῷ κατὰ τὸν οἶκον ὅλβῳ προαιρούμενος καὶ καταστεῖλαι δι᾽ αὐτῶν τὰ νοσοῦντα τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἄρας ἀπὸ τῆς παράλου Καισαρείας εἰς τὴν Φιλίππου καλουμένην μεταβαίνει Καισάρειαν. [444] ἔνθα μέχρι μὲν ἡμερῶν εἴκοσι τὴν στρατιὰν διαναπαύων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν εὐωχίαις ἦν, ἀποδιδοὺς τῷ θεῷ χαριστήρια τῶν κατωρθωμένων. [445] ὡς δ᾽ αὐτῷ Τιβεριὰς μὲν νεωτερίζειν, ἀφεστάναι δὲ ἠγγέλλοντο Ταριχέαι, μοῖρα δὲ τῆς Ἀγρίππα βασιλείας ἦσαν ἀμφότεραι, πανταχόθεν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καταστρέφεσθαι διεγνωκὼς τὴν ἐπὶ τούτους στρατείαν εὔκαιρον ἡγεῖτο καὶ δι᾽ Ἀγρίππαν, ὡς εἰς ξενίας ἀμοιβὴν σωφρονίσων αὐτῷ τὰς πόλεις. [446] πέμπει δὴ τὸν υἱὸν Τίτον εἰς Καισάρειαν μετάξοντα τὴν ἐκεῖθεν στρατιὰν εἰς Σκυθόπολιν: ἡ δ᾽ ἐστὶν μεγίστη τῆς δεκαπόλεως καὶ γείτων τῆς Τιβεριάδος. [447] ἔνθα καὶ αὐτὸς παραγενόμενος ἐκδέχεται τὸν υἱὸν καὶ μετὰ τριῶν ταγμάτων προελθὼν στρατοπεδεύεται μὲν ἀπὸ τριάκοντα τῆς Τιβεριάδος σταδίων κατά τινα σταθμὸν εὐσύνοπτον τοῖς νεωτερίζουσιν: [448] Ἔνναβρις ὀνομάζεται. πέμπει δὲ δεκαδάρχην Οὐαλεριανὸν σὺν ἱππεῦσιν πεντήκοντα διαλεχθησόμενον εἰρηνικὰ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ προτρεψόμενον ἐπὶ πίστεις: ἀκηκόει γάρ, ὡς ἐπιθυμοίη μὲν εἰρήνης ὁ δῆμος, καταστασιάζοιτο δ᾽ ὑπό τινων πολεμεῖν βιαζομένων. [449] προσελάσας δὲ Οὐαλεριανὸς ἐπεὶ πλησίον ἦν τοῦ τείχους, αὐτός τε καταβαίνει καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν ἱππέων ἀπέβησεν, ὡς μὴ δοκοῖεν ἀκροβολιζόμενοι παρεῖναι. καὶ πρὶν εἰς λόγους ἐλθεῖν [450] ἐπεκθέουσιν αὐτῷ τῶν στασιαστῶν οἱ δυνατώτατοι μεθ᾽ ὅπλων. ἐξηγεῖτο δ᾽ αὐτῶν Ἰησοῦς τις ὄνομα παῖς Τοῦφα τοῦ λῃστρικοῦ στίφους ὁ κορυφαιότατος. [451] Οὐαλεριανὸς δὲ οὔτε παρὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ συμβαλεῖν ἀσφαλὲς ἡγούμενος, εἰ καὶ τὸ νικᾶν εἴη βέβαιον, καὶ σφαλερὸν τὸ μάχεσθαι πολλοῖς μετ᾽ ὀλίγων ἀπαρασκευάστοις τε πρὸς ἑτοίμους, [452] καὶ ἄλλως ἐκπλαγεὶς τὴν ἀδόκητον τῶν Ἰουδαίων τόλμαν, φεύγει πεζός, ἕτεροί τε ὁμοίως πέντε τοὺς ἵππους ἀπέλιπον, οὓς οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπήγαγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν γεγηθότες ὡς μάχῃ ληφθέντας οὐκ ἐνέδρᾳ.

(8) [453] Τοῦτο καταδείσαντες οἱ γηραιοὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ προύχειν δοκοῦντες φεύγουσι μὲν εἰς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον, [454] ἐπαγόμενοι δὲ τὸν βασιλέα προσπίπτουσιν ἱκέται Οὐεσπασιανῷ, μὴ σφᾶς περιιδεῖν δεόμενοι, μηδὲ τὴν ὀλίγων ἀπόνοιαν ἡγήσασθαι τῆς πόλεως ὅλης: [455] φείσασθαι δὲ τοῦ δήμου Ῥωμαίοις φίλα φρονοῦντος ἀεί, καὶ τοὺς αἰτίους τιμωρήσασθαι τῆς ἀποστάσεως, ὑφ᾽ ὧν αὐτοὶ φρουρηθῆναι μέχρι νῦν ἐπὶ δεξιὰς ἐπειγόμενοι πάλαι. [456] ταύταις ἐνεδίδου ταῖς ἱκεσίαις ὁ στρατηγὸς καίτοι διὰ τὴν ἁρπαγὴν τῶν ἵππων ἐφ᾽ ὅλην ὠργισμένος τὴν πόλιν: καὶ γὰρ ἀγωνιῶντα περὶ αὐτῆς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἑώρα. [457] λαβόντων δὲ τούτων τῷ δήμῳ δεξιὰς οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν οὐκέτι ἀσφαλὲς ἡγούμενοι μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς Τιβεριάδος εἰς Ταριχέας ἀποδιδράσκουσιν. [458] καὶ μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν Οὐεσπασιανὸς σὺν ἱππεῦσιν προπέμπει πρὸς τὴν ἀκρώρειαν

Τραιανὸν ἀποπειραθῆναι τοῦ πλήθους, εἰ πάντες εἰρηνικὰ φρονοῖεν. [459] ὡς δ᾽ ἔγνω τὸν δῆμον ὁμοφρονοῦντα τοῖς ἱκέταις, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ᾔει πρὸς τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ τάς τε πύλας ἀνοίγουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ μετ᾽ εὐφημιῶν ὑπήντων σωτῆρα καὶ εὐεργέτην ἀνακαλοῦντες. [460] τῆς δὲ στρατιᾶς τριβομένης περὶ τὴν τῶν εἰσόδων στενότητα παραρρῆξαι τοῦ κατὰ μεσημβρίαν τείχους Οὐεσπασιανὸς κελεύσας πλατύνει τὴν εἰσβολὴν αὐτοῖς. [461] ἁρπαγῆς μέντοι καὶ ὕβρεως ἀπέχεσθαι παρήγγειλεν τῷ βασιλεῖ χαριζόμενος, τῶν τε τειχῶν διὰ τοῦτον ἐφείσατο συμμενεῖν πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ἐγγυωμένου τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ πολλὰ κεκακωμένην τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῆς στάσεως ἀνελάμβανεν.

X

(1) [462] Ἔπειτα προελθὼν αὐτῆς τε μεταξὺ καὶ Ταριχεῶν στρατοπεδεύεται, τειχίζει τε τὴν παρεμβολὴν ὀχυρωτέραν ὑφορώμενος ἐκεῖ πολέμου τριβὴν αὐτῷ γενησομένην: [463] συνέρρει γὰρ εἰς τὰς Ταριχέας πᾶν τὸ νεωτερίζον, τῇ τε τῆς πόλεως ὀχυρότητι καὶ τῇ λίμνῃ πεποιθότες, ἣ καλεῖται Γεννησὰρ πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων. [464] ἡ μὲν γὰρ πόλις, ὥσπερ ἡ Τιβεριὰς ὑπόρειος οὖσα, καθὰ μὴ τῇ λίμνῃ προσεκλύζετο πάντοθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου τετείχιστο καρτερῶς, ἔλασσον μέντοι τῆς Τιβεριάδος: [465] τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖ περίβολον ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἀποστάσεως δαψιλείᾳ χρημάτων καὶ δυνάμεως ἐκρατύνατο, Ταριχέαι δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὰ λείψανα τῆς φιλοτιμίας μετέλαβον. [466] σκάφη δ᾽ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς λίμνης παρεσκευασμένα πολλὰ πρός τε τὸ συμφεύγειν ἐπὶ γῆς ἡττωμένους, κἂν εἰ δέοι, διαναυμαχεῖν ἐξηρτυμένα. [467] περιβαλλομένων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὸ στρατόπεδον οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν οὔτε πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος οὔτε πρὸς τὴν εὐταξίαν τῶν πολεμίων ὑποδείσαντες προθέουσιν, [468] καὶ πρὸς τὴν πρώτην ἔφοδον τῶν τειχοποιῶν σκεδασθέντων ὀλίγα τῆς δομήσεως σπαράξαντες, ὡς ἑώρων τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἀθροιζομένους, πρίν τι παθεῖν εἰς τοὺς σφετέρους ἀνέφευγον: ἐπιδιώξαντες δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι συνελαύνουσιν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ σκάφη. [469] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀναχθέντες εἰς ὅσον ἐξικνεῖσθαι τῶν Ῥωμαίων βάλλοντες δύναιντο τάς τε ἀγκύρας ἔβαλλον καὶ πυκνώσαντες ὥσπερ φάλαγγα τὰς ναῦς ἐπαλλήλους τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς πολεμίοις διεναυμάχουν: [470] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ τὸ πολὺ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἠθροισμένον ἀκούων ἐν τῷ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως πεδίῳ πέμπει τὸν υἱὸν σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ἑξακοσίοις ἐπιλέκτοις.

(2) [471] Ὁ δ᾽ ὑπέρογκον εὑρὼν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων πληθὺν πρὸς μὲν τὸν πατέρα πέμπει πλείονος δυνάμεως αὐτῷ δεῖν λέγων. αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς μὲν πλείους τῶν ἱππέων ὡρμημένους ὁρῶν καὶ πρὶν ἀφικέσθαι βοήθειαν, ἔστιν δ᾽ οὓς ἡσυχῇ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων καταπεπληγότας, ἐν ἐπηκόῳ στὰς ἔλεξεν ὧδε: [472] “ἄνδρες, ἔφη, Ῥωμαῖοι, καλὸν γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν λόγων ὑπομνῆσαι τοῦ γένους ὑμᾶς, ἵν᾽ εἰδῆτε, τίνες ὄντες πρὸς τίνας μάχεσθαι μέλλομεν. [473] τὰς μέν γε

ἡμετέρας χεῖρας οὐδὲν εἰς τοῦτο τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης διαπέφευγεν, Ἰουδαῖοι δέ, ἵν' εἴπωμεν καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, μέχρι νῦν οὐ κοπιῶσιν ἡττώμενοι. καὶ δεινὸν ἐκείνων ἑστώτων ἐν ταῖς κακοπραγίαις ἡμᾶς τοῖς εὐτυχήμασιν ἐγκάμνειν. [474] προθυμίας μὲν εἰς τὸ φανερὸν ὑμᾶς εὖ ἔχοντας χαίρω βλέπων, δέδοικα δὲ μή τινι τῶν πολεμίων τὸ πλῆθος κατάπληξιν λεληθυῖαν ἐνεργάσηται. [475] λογισάσθω δὴ πάλιν οἷος πρὸς οἵους παρατάξεται, καὶ διότι Ἰουδαῖοι μέν, εἰ καὶ σφόδρα τολμηταὶ καὶ θανάτου καταφρονοῦντες, ἀλλ' ἀσύντακτοί τε καὶ πολέμων ἄπειροι καὶ ὄχλος ἂν ἄλλως, οὐ στρατιὰ λέγοιντο: τὰ δὲ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐμπειρίας καὶ τάξεως τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν; ἐπὶ τοῦτο μέντοι γε μόνοι καὶ κατ' εἰρήνην ἀσκούμεθα τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἵν' ἐν πολέμῳ μὴ πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἀριθμῶμεν ἑαυτούς. [476] ἐπεὶ τίς ὄνησις τῆς διηνεκοῦς στρατείας, ἂν ἴσοι πρὸς ἀστρατεύτους ἀντιτασσώμεθα; [477] λογίζεσθε δέ, ὅτι καὶ πρὸς γυμνῆτας ὁπλῖται καὶ ἱππεῖς πρὸς πεζοὺς καὶ στρατηγούμενοι πρὸς ἀστρατηγήτους διαγωνίζεσθε, καὶ ὡς ὑμᾶς μὲν ταῦτα πολλαπλασίους ποιεῖ τὰ πλεονεκτήματα, πολὺ δὲ τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων ἀριθμοῦ [παραιρεῖται τὰ ἐλαττώματα]. [478] κατορθοῖ δὲ τοὺς πολέμους οὐ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων, κἂν ᾖ μάχιμον, ἀνδρεία δέ, κἂν ἐν ὀλίγοις: οἱ μέν γε καὶ τάξασθαι ῥᾴδιοι καὶ προσαμύνειν ἑαυτοῖς, αἱ δ' ὑπέρογκοι δυνάμεις ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν βλάπτονται πλέον ἢ τῶν πολεμίων. [479] Ἰουδαίων μὲν οὖν τόλμα καὶ θράσος ἡγεῖται καὶ ἀπόνοια, πάθη κατὰ μὲν τὰς εὐπραγίας εὔτονα, σβεννύμενα δὲ ἐν ἐλαχίστοις σφάλμασιν: ἡμῶν δ' ἀρετὴ καὶ εὐπείθεια καὶ τὸ γενναῖον, ὃ κἂν τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐτυχήμασιν ἀκμάζει κἂν τοῖς πταίσμασιν οὐ μέχρι τέλους σφάλλεται. [480] καὶ ὑπὲρ μειζόνων δὲ ἢ Ἰουδαῖοι διαγωνιεῖσθε: καὶ γὰρ εἰ περὶ ἐλευθερίας καὶ πατρίδων ἐκείνοις ὁ πόλεμος κινδυνεύεται, τί μεῖζον ἡμῖν εὐδοξίας καὶ τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν μετὰ τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡγεμονίαν ἐν ἀντιπάλῳ τὰ Ἰουδαίων τίθεσθαι; [481] σκεπτέον δ' ὅτι καὶ παθεῖν μὲν οὐδὲν ἀνήκεστον ἡμῖν φόβος: πολλοὶ γὰρ οἱ βοηθήσοντες καὶ πλησίον: ἁρπάσαι δὲ τὴν νίκην δυνάμεθα, καὶ χρὴ τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς πεμπομένους ἡμῖν συμμάχους φθάνειν, ἵν' ἀκοινώνητόν τε ᾖ τὸ κατόρθωμα καὶ μεῖζον. [482] νομίζω δ' ἔγωγε ἐπὶ τῆσδε τῆς ὥρας καὶ τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν κρίνεσθαι κἀμὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς, εἰ τῶν μὲν προκατωρθωμένων ἄξιος ἐκεῖνος, ἐγὼ δ' ἐκείνου παῖς, στρατιῶται δ' ὑμεῖς ἐμοῦ: καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τὸ νικᾶν ἔθος, κἀγὼ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑποστρέφειν οὐκ ἂν ὑπομείναιμι λειφθείς. [483] ὑμεῖς δὲ πῶς οὐκ ἂν αἰσχύνοισθε προκινδυνεύοντος ἡγεμόνος ἡττώμενοι; προκινδυνεύσω γάρ, εὖ ἴστε, καὶ πρῶτος εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐμβαλῶ. [484] μὴ λείπεσθε δ' ὑμεῖς ἐμοῦ πεπεισμένοι τὴν ἐμὴν ὁρμὴν παρακροτεῖσθαι θεῷ συμμάχῳ, καὶ προγινώσκετε σαφῶς, ὅτι τῆς ἔξω μάχης πλέον τι κατορθώσομεν."

(3) [485] Ταῦτα τοῦ Τίτου διεξιόντος προθυμία δαιμόνιος ἐμπίπτει τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, καὶ προσγενομένου πρὶν συμβαλεῖν Τραιανοῦ μετὰ τετρακοσίων ἱππέων ἤσχαλλον ὡς μειουμένης τῆς νίκης αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν. [486]

ἔπεμψεν δὲ Οὐεσπασιανὸς καὶ Ἀντώνιον Σίλωνα σὺν δισχιλίοις τοξόταις κελεύσας καταλαβόντας τὸ ἀντικρὺ τῆς πόλεως ὄρος τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους ἀνείργειν. [487] καὶ οἱ μὲν ὡς προσετέτακτο τοὺς ταύτῃ πειρωμένους ἐκβοηθεῖν περιέσχον, ὁ δὲ Τίτος πρῶτος τὸν ἵππον ἤλαυνεν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ σὺν κραυγῇ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν οἱ λοιποὶ παρεκτείναντες ἑαυτοὺς εἰς ὅσον ἐπεῖχον οἱ πολέμιοι τὸ πεδίον: παρὸ καὶ πολὺ πλείους ἔδοξαν. [488] οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι καίτοι τήν τε ὁρμὴν καὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν αὐτῶν καταπλαγέντες πρὸς ὀλίγον μὲν ἀντέσχον ταῖς ἐμβολαῖς, νυσσόμενοι δὲ τοῖς κοντοῖς καὶ τῷ ῥοίζῳ τῶν ἱππέων ἀνατρεπόμενοι συνεπατοῦντο. [489] πολλῶν δὲ πανταχοῦ φονευομένων διασκίδνανται καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ὡς ἕκαστος εἶχεν τάχους ἔφευγον. [490] Τίτος δὲ τοὺς μὲν κατόπιν προσκείμενος ἀνῄρει, τῶν δὲ διεκπαίων ἀθρόων, οὓς δὲ φθάνων κατὰ στόμα διήλαυνεν, πολλοὺς δὲ συνηλοία περὶ ἀλλήλοις πεσόντας ἐμπηδῶν, [491] πᾶσιν δὲ τὰς πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος φυγὰς ὑπετέμνετο καὶ πρὸς τὸ πεδίον ἀπέστρεφεν, ἕως τῷ πλήθει βιασάμενοι καὶ διεκπεσόντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν συνέφευγον.

(4) [492] Ἐκδέχεται δὲ αὐτοὺς πάλιν στάσις ἔσω χαλεπή: τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐπιχωρίοις διά τε τὰς κτήσεις καὶ τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἐδόκει πολεμεῖν ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς καὶ τότε διὰ τὴν ἧτταν πλέον: [493] ὁ δ᾽ ἔπηλυς πολὺς ὢν πλεῖον ἐβιάζετο, καὶ διωργισμένων ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλοις κραυγή τε ἦν καὶ θόρυβος ὡς ὅσον οὔπω φερομένων εἰς ὅπλα. [494] κατακούσας δὲ τῆς ταραχῆς Τίτος, οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄπωθεν τοῦ τείχους, "οὗτος ἦν ὁ καιρός, ἐκβοᾷ, καὶ τί, συστρατιῶται, μέλλομεν ἐκδιδόντος ἡμῖν Ἰουδαίους θεοῦ; δέξασθε τὴν νίκην. [495] οὐκ ἀκούετε βοῆς; στασιάζουσιν οἱ τὰς χεῖρας ἡμῶν διεκφυγόντες. ἔχομεν τὴν πόλιν, ἐὰν ταχύνωμεν: δεῖ δὲ πόνου πρὸς τῷ τάχει καὶ λήματος: οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν μεγάλων φιλεῖ δίχα κινδύνου κατορθοῦσθαι. [496] φθάνειν δ᾽ οὐ μόνον χρὴ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ὁμόνοιαν, οὓς ἀνάγκη διαλλάξει ταχέως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἡμετέρων βοήθειαν, ἵνα πρὸς τῷ νικῆσαι τοσοῦτον πλῆθος ὀλίγοι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἕλωμεν μόνοι."

(5) [497] Ταῦθ᾽ ἅμα λέγων ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνεπήδα καὶ καθηγεῖται πρὸς τὴν λίμνην, δι᾽ ἧς ἐλάσας πρῶτος εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσέρχεται καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν οἱ λοιποί. [498] δέος δὲ πρὸς τὴν τόλμαν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἐνέπεσεν, καὶ μάχεσθαι μὲν ἢ διακωλύειν οὐδεὶς ὑπέμεινεν, λιπόντες δὲ τὴν φρουρὰν οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν διὰ τῆς χώρας ἔφευγον, [499] οἱ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην καταθέοντες ὑπαντιάζουσιν τοῖς πολεμίοις περιέπιπτον: ἐκτείνοντο δ᾽ οἱ μὲν ἐπιβαίνοντες τῶν σκαφῶν, οἱ δὲ τοῖς ἀναχθεῖσιν προσπίπτειν πειρώμενοι. πολὺς δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἦν φόνος, [500] τῶν μὲν ἐπηλύδων ὅσοι μὴ διαφυγεῖν ἔφθασαν ἀντιτασσομένων, ἀμαχητὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων: κατὰ γὰρ ἐλπίδα δεξιᾶς καὶ τὸ συνειδὸς τοῦ μὴ βεβουλεῦσθαι πολεμεῖν μάχης ἀπετρέποντο, [501] μέχρι Τίτος τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους ἀνελών, οἰκτείρας δὲ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ἀνεπαύσατο φόνου. [502] καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν λίμνην καταφυγόντες ἐπεὶ τὴν πόλιν εἶδον ἑαλωκυῖαν, ὡς πορρωτάτω τῶν πολεμίων ἀνήχθησαν:

(6) [503] Τίτος δ’ ἐκπέμψας τινὰ τῶν ἱππέων εὐαγγελίζεται τῷ πατρὶ τὸ ἔργον. [504] ὁ δ’, ὡς εἰκός, ὑπερησθεὶς τῇ τε τοῦ παιδὸς ἀρετῇ καὶ τῷ κατορθώματι, μεγίστη γὰρ ἐδόκει καθῃρῆσθαι μοῖρα τοῦ πολέμου, τότε μὲν ἐλθὼν περισχόντας τὴν πόλιν φρουρεῖν ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς μὴ διαλάθοι τις ἐξ αὐτῆς, καὶ κτείνειν προσέταξεν [505] τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ πρὸς τὴν λίμνην καταβὰς σχεδίας ἐκέλευσεν πήσσειν ἐπὶ τοὺς καταπεφευγότας: αἱ δ’ ἐγίνοντο ταχέως ἀφθονίᾳ τε ὕλης καὶ πλήθει τεχνιτῶν.

(7) [506] Ἡ δὲ λίμνη Γεννησὰρ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς προσεχοῦς χώρας καλεῖται, σταδίων δ’ εὖρος οὖσα τεσσαράκοντα καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἑτέρων ἑκατὸν τὸ μῆκος γλυκεῖά τε ὅμως ἐστὶ καὶ ποτιμωτάτη: [507] καὶ γὰρ τῆς ἑλώδους παχύτητος ἔχει τὸ νᾶμα λεπτότερον καθαρά τ’ ἐστὶν πάντοθεν αἰγιαλοῖς ἐπιλήγουσα καὶ ψάμμῳ, πρὸς δὲ εὔκρατος ἀρύσασθαι, ποταμοῦ μὲν ἢ κρήνης προσηνεστέρα, ψυχροτέρα δὲ ἢ κατὰ λίμνης διάχυσιν ἀεὶ μένουσα. [508] τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὕδωρ οὐκ ἀπᾴδει χιόνος ἐξαιθριασθέν, ὅπερ θέρους νυκτὸς ποιεῖν ἔθος τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις, γένη δὲ ἰχθύων ἐν αὐτῇ διάφορα πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλαχοῦ γεῦσίν τε καὶ ἰδέαν. [509] μέση δ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου τέμνεται. καὶ δοκεῖ μὲν Ἰορδάνου πηγὴ τὸ Πάνειον, φέρεται δ’ ὑπὸ γῆν εἰς τοῦτο κρυπτῶς ἐκ τῆς καλουμένης Φιάλης: [510] ἡ δ’ ἐστὶν ἀνιόντων εἰς τὴν Τραχωνῖτιν ἀπὸ σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι Καισαρείας τῆς ὁδοῦ κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος οὐκ ἄπωθεν. [511] ἐκ μὲν οὖν τῆς περιφερείας ἐτύμως Φιάλη καλεῖται τροχοειδὴς οὖσα λίμνη, μένει δ’ ἐπὶ χείλους αὐτῆς ἀεὶ τὸ ὕδωρ μήθ’ ὑπονοστοῦν μήθ’ ὑπερχεόμενον. [512] ἀγνοούμενος δὲ τέως ὁ Ἰορδάνης ἐντεῦθεν ἄρχεσθαι διὰ τοῦ τετραρχήσαντος Τραχωνιτῶν ἠλέγχθη Φιλίππου: [513] βαλὼν γὰρ οὗτος εἰς τὴν Φιάλην ἄχυρα κατὰ τὸ Πάνειον, ἔνθεν ἐδόκουν οἱ παλαιοὶ γεννᾶσθαι τὸν ποταμόν, εὗρεν ἀνενεχθέντα. [514] τοῦ μὲν οὖν Πανείου τὸ φυσικὸν κάλλος ὑπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς προσεξήσκηται πολυτελείας τῷ Ἀγρίππα πλούτῳ κεκοσμημένον: [515] ἀρχόμενος δὲ φανεροῦ ῥεύματος ὁ Ἰορδάνης ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ ἄντρου κόπτει μὲν τὰ τῆς Σεμεχωνίτιδος λίμνης ἕλη καὶ τέλματα, διαμείψας δ’ ἑτέρους ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι σταδίους μετὰ πόλιν Ἰουλιάδα διεκπαίει τὴν Γεννησὰρ μέσην, ἔπειτα πολλὴν ἀναμετρούμενος ἐρημίαν εἰς τὴν Ἀσφαλτῖτιν ἔξεισι λίμνην.

(8) [516] Παρατείνει δὲ τὴν Γεννησὰρ ὁμώνυμος χώρα θαυμαστὴ φύσιν τε καὶ κάλλος: οὔτε γὰρ αὐτή τι φυτὸν ἀρνεῖται διὰ τὴν πιότητα, καὶ πᾶν πεφυτεύκασιν οἱ νεμόμενοι, τοῦ δ’ ἀέρος τὸ εὔκρατον ἁρμόζει καὶ τοῖς διαφόροις. [517] καρύαι μέν γε φυτῶν τὸ χειμεριώτατον ἄπειροι τεθήλασιν ἔνθα φοίνικες, οἳ καύματι τρέφονται, συκαῖ δὲ καὶ ἐλαῖαι πλησίον τούτων, αἷς μαλθακώτερος ἀὴρ ἀποδέδεικται. [518] φιλοτιμίαν ἄν τις εἴποι τῆς φύσεως βιασαμένης εἰς ἓν συναγαγεῖν τὰ μάχιμα καὶ τῶν ὡρῶν ἀγαθὴν ἔριν ἑκάστης ὥσπερ ἀντιποιουμένης τοῦ χωρίου: καὶ γὰρ οὐ μόνον τρέφει παρὰ δόξαν τὰς διαφόρους ὀπώρας ἀλλὰ καὶ διαφυλάσσει. [519] τὰ μέν γε βασιλικώτατα σταφυλήν τε καὶ σῦκον δέκα μησὶν ἀδιαλείπτως χορηγεῖ, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς καρποὺς δι’ ἔτους ὅλου

περιγηράσκοντας ἑαυτοῖς: πρὸς γὰρ τῇ τῶν ἀέρων εὐκρασίᾳ καὶ πηγῇ διάρδεται γονιμωτάτῃ, Καφαρναοὺμ αὐτὴν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καλοῦσιν. [520] ταύτην φλέβα τινὲς τοῦ Νείλου ἔδοξαν, ἐπεὶ γεννᾷ τῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρέων λίμνην κορακίνῳ παραπλήσιον. [521] μῆκος δὲ τοῦ χωρίου παρατείνει κατὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τῆς ὁμωνύμου λίμνης ἐπὶ σταδίους τριάκοντα, καὶ εὖρος εἴκοσι. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως φύσεως ἔχει.

(9) [522] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δέ, ἐπεὶ παρεσκευάσθησαν αἱ σχεδίαι, τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπιβήσας ὅσον ᾤετο τοῖς κατὰ τὴν λίμνην ἀνταρκέσειν ἐπανήγετο. τοῖς δὲ συνελαυνομένοις οὔτ᾽ ἐπὶ γῆν διαφεύγειν ἦν ἐκπεπολεμωμένων πάντων οὔτ᾽ ἐξ ἴσου διαναυμαχεῖν: [523] τά τε γὰρ σκάφη μικρὰ ὄντα καὶ λῃστρικὰ πρὸς τὰς σχεδίας ἦν ἀσθενῆ, καὶ καθ᾽ ἕκαστον ἐμπλέοντες ὀλίγοι πρὸς ἀθρόους ἐφεστῶτας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐγγίζειν ἐδεδοίκεισαν. [524] ὅμως δ᾽ οὖν ἐκπεριπλέοντες τὰς σχεδίας, ἔστιν δ᾽ ὅπου καὶ πλησιάζοντες, πόρρωθεν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἔβαλλον λίθοις καὶ παραξύοντες ἐγγύθεν ἔπαιον. [525] ἐκακοῦντο δ᾽ αὐτοὶ πλέον κατ᾽ ἀμφότερα: ταῖς τε γὰρ χερμάσιν οὐδὲν δρῶντες ὅτι μὴ κτύπον ἐπάλληλον, εἰς γὰρ πεφραγμένους ἔβαλλον, ἐφικτοὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἐγίνοντο βέλεσιν, καὶ πλησιάζειν τολμῶντες πρὶν δρᾶσαί τι παθεῖν ἔφθανον καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐβαπτίζοντο τοῖς σκάφεσιν. [526] τῶν δὲ διεκπαίειν πειρωμένων πολλοὺς μὲν ἐφικνούμενοι κοντοῖς διέπειρον, οὓς δὲ ξιφήρεις ἐπιπηδῶντες εἰς τὰ σκάφη, τινὰς δὲ συντρεχούσαις ταῖς σχεδίαις ἐναποληφθέντας μέσους εἶλον ἅμα ταῖς ἁλιάσιν. [527] τῶν δὲ βαπτισθέντων τοὺς ἀνανεύοντας ἢ βέλος ἔφθανεν ἢ σχεδία κατελάμβανεν, καὶ προσβαίνειν ὑπ᾽ ἀμηχανίας εἰς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς πειρωμένων ἢ κεφαλὰς ἢ χεῖρας ἀπέκοπτον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι. [528] πολλή τε ἦν αὐτῶν καὶ ποικίλη φθορὰ πανταχοῦ, μέχρι τραπέντες εἰς γῆν ἐξεώσθησαν οἱ λοιποὶ κεκυκλωμένων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἁλιάδων. [529] ἐκχεόμενοι δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ κατηκοντίζοντο τῇ λίμνῃ, πολλοὺς δ᾽ ἐκπηδήσαντας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διέφθειραν ἐπὶ γῆς. ἦν δ᾽ ἰδεῖν κεκερασμένην μὲν αἵματι, πεπληρωμένην δὲ νεκρῶν τὴν λίμνην ἅπασαν: διεσώθη γὰρ οὐδείς. [530] δεινὴ δὲ ταῖς ἑξῆς ἡμέραις περιεῖχε τὴν χώραν ὀδμή τε καὶ ὄψις: οἱ μὲν γὰρ αἰγιαλοὶ ναυαγίων ἅμα καὶ διοιδούντων ἔγεμον σωμάτων, ἐκκαιόμενοι δὲ καὶ μυδῶντες οἱ νεκροὶ τὸν ἀέρα διέφθειρον, ὡς μὴ μόνον οἰκτρὸν Ἰουδαίοις γενέσθαι τὸ πάθος, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ μίσους τοῖς δράσασιν ἐλθεῖν. [531] τοῦτο μὲν ἐκείνης τῆς ναυμαχίας τὸ τέλος, ἀπέθανον δὲ σὺν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως πρότερον πεσοῦσιν ἑξακισχίλιοι ἑπτακόσιοι.

(10) [532] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ μετὰ τὴν μάχην καθίζει μὲν ἐπὶ βήματος ἐν Ταριχέαις, διακρίνων δ᾽ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τὸν ἔπηλυν λεώ, κατάρξαι γὰρ οὗτος ἐδόκει πολέμου, μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων εἰ χρὴ καὶ τούτους σώζειν ἐσκέπτετο. [533] φαμένων δὲ τούτων βλαβερὰν ἔσεσθαι τὴν ἄφεσιν αὐτῶν, οὐ γὰρ ἠρεμήσειν ἀπολυθέντας ἀνθρώπους ἐστερημένους μὲν τῶν πατρίδων, βιάζεσθαι δὲ καὶ πρὸς οὓς ἂν καταφύγωσιν πολεμεῖν δυναμένους, [534] Οὐεσπασιανὸς ὡς μὲν οὔτ᾽

ἄξιοι σωτηρίας εἶεν καὶ διαφεύξονται κατὰ τῶν ἀφέντων ἐγίνωσκεν, τὸν δὲ τρόπον αὐτῶν τῆς ἀναιρέσεως διενοεῖτο. [535] καὶ γὰρ αὐτόθι κτείνων ἐκπολεμώσειν ὑφωρᾶτο τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους, οὐ γὰρ ἀνέξεσθαι φονευομένων ἱκετῶν τοσούτων παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς, καὶ μετὰ πίστεις ἐπιθέσθαι προελθοῦσιν οὐχ ὑπέμενεν. [536] ἐξενίκων δ᾽ οἱ φίλοι μηδὲν κατὰ Ἰουδαίων ἀσεβὲς εἶναι λέγοντες καὶ χρῆναι τὸ συμφέρον αἱρεῖσθαι πρὸ τοῦ πρέποντος, ὅταν ᾖ μὴ δυνατὸν ἄμφω. [537] κατανεύσας οὖν αὐτοῖς ἄδειαν ἀμφίβολον ἐπέτρεψεν ἐξιέναι διὰ μόνης τῆς ἐπὶ Τιβεριάδα φερούσης ὁδοῦ. [538] τῶν δὲ ταχέως πιστευσάντων οἷς ἤθελον καὶ μετὰ φανερῶν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ τῶν χρημάτων ἧπερ ἐπετράπη χωρούντων, διαλαμβάνουσιν μὲν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν μέχρι Τιβεριάδος πᾶσαν, ὡς μή τις ἀποκλίνειεν, συγκλείουσι δ᾽ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν. [539] καὶ Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐπελθὼν ἵστησι πάντας ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ, καὶ γηραιοὺς μὲν ἅμα τοῖς ἀχρήστοις διακοσίους ἐπὶ χιλίοις ὄντας ἀνελεῖν ἐκέλευσεν, [540] τῶν δὲ νέων ἐπιλέξας τοὺς ἰσχυροτάτους ἑξακισχιλίους ἔπεμψεν εἰς τὸν ἰσθμὸν Νέρωνι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος εἰς τρισμυρίους καὶ τετρακοσίους ὄντας πιπράσκει χωρὶς τῶν Ἀγρίππᾳ χαρισθέντων: [541] τοὺς γὰρ ἐκ τῆς τούτου βασιλείας ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτῷ ποιεῖν εἴ τι βούλοιτο: πιπράσκει δὲ καὶ τούτους ὁ βασιλεύς. [542] ὁ μέντοι γε ἄλλος ὄχλος Τραχωνῖται καὶ Γαυλανῖται καὶ Ἱππηνοὶ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Γαδαρίτιδος τὸ πλέον ὡς στασιασταὶ καὶ φυγάδες καὶ οἷς τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης ὀνείδη τὸν πόλεμον προυξένει ἐάΛωσαν δὲ Γορπιαίου μηνὸς ὀγδόῃ.

Liber IV

I

(1) [1] Ὅσοι δὲ μετὰ τὴν Ἰωταπάτων ἅλωσιν Γαλιλαῖοι Ῥωμαίων ἀφεστήκεσαν, οὗτοι τῶν ἐν Ταριχέαις ἡττηθέντων προσεχώρουν, καὶ παρέλαβον πάντα Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ φρούρια καὶ τὰς πόλεις πλὴν Γισχάλων καὶ τῶν τὸ Ἰταβύριον ὄρος κατειληφότων. [2] συνέστη δὲ τούτοις καὶ Γάμαλα πόλις Ταριχεῶν ἄντικρυς ὑπὲρ τὴν λίμνην κειμένη. τῆς δ᾽ Ἀγρίππα λήξεως αὕτη τε ἦν καὶ Σωγάνη καὶ Σελεύκεια, καὶ αἱ μὲν [ἐκ] τῆς Γαυλανίτιδος ἀμφότεραι: τοῦ γὰρ ἄνω καλουμένου Γαυλανᾶ μέρος ἦν ἡ Σωγάνη, τοῦ κάτω δ᾽ ἡ Γάμαλα: Σελεύκεια δὲ πρὸς τῇ Σεμεχωνιτῶν λίμνῃ. [3] ταύτῃ τριάκοντα μὲν εὖρος, ἑξήκοντα δὲ μῆκος στάδιοι: διατείνει δ᾽ αὐτῆς τὰ ἕλη μέχρι Δάφνης χωρίου τά τε ἄλλα τρυφεροῦ καὶ πηγὰς ἔχοντος, αἳ τρέφουσαι τὸν μικρὸν καλούμενον Ἰόρδανον ὑπὸ τὸν τῆς χρυσῆς βοὸς νεὼ προπέμπουσι τῷ μεγάλῳ. [4] τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Σωγάνην καὶ Σελεύκειαν ὑπὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἀποστάσεως δεξιαῖς Ἀγρίππας προσηγάγετο, Γάμαλα δ᾽ οὐ προσεχώρει πεποιθυῖα τῇ δυσχωρίᾳ πλέον τῶν Ἰωταπάτων. [5] τραχὺς γὰρ αὐχὴν ἀφ᾽ ὑψηλοῦ κατατείνων ὄρους μέσον ἐπαίρει τένοντα, μηκύνεται δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὑπεροχῆς εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν ἐκκλίνων ὅσον κατόπιν, ὡς εἰκάζεσθαι καμήλῳ τὸ σχῆμα, παρ᾽ ἣν ὠνόμασται τὸ τρανὸν τῆς κλήσεως οὐκ ἐξακριβούντων τῶν ἐπιχωρίων. [6] κατὰ πλευρὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ πρόσωπον εἰς φάραγγας ἀβάτους περισχίζεται, τὸ κατ᾽ οὐρὰν δὲ ὀλίγον ἀναφεύγει τῆς δυσχωρίας, ὅθεν ἀπήρτηται τοῦ ὄρους: καὶ τοῦτο δ᾽ ἐπικαρσίᾳ παρακόψαντες τάφρῳ δύσβατον οἱ ἐπιχώριοι κατεσκεύασαν. [7] πρὸς ὀρθίῳ δὲ τῇ λαγόνι δεδομημέναι πεπύκνωντο δεινῶς ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλαις αἱ οἰκίαι, κρημνιζομένῃ τε ἡ πόλις ἐοικυῖα κατέτρεχεν εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ὀξύτητος. [8] καὶ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν μὲν ἔκλινεν, ὁ νότιος δ᾽ αὐτῆς ὄχθος εἰς ἄπειρον ὕψος ἀνατείνων ἄκρα τῆς πόλεως ἦν, ἀτείχιστος δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν κρημνὸς εἰς τὴν βαθυτάτην κατατείνων φάραγγα: πηγὴ δ᾽ ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους, ἐφ᾽ ἣν τὸ ἄστυ κατέληγεν.

(2) [9] Οὕτως οὖσαν φύσει δυσμήχανον τὴν πόλιν τειχίζων ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἐποίησεν ὀχυρωτέραν ὑπονόμοις τε καὶ διώρυξιν. [10] οἱ δ᾽ ἐν αὐτῇ φύσει μὲν τοῦ χωρίου θαρραλεώτεροι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰωταπάτην ἦσαν, πολὺ δ᾽ ἐλάττους μάχιμοι, καὶ τῷ τόπῳ πεποιθότες οὐδὲ πλείονας ὑπελάμβανον Πεπλήρωτο γὰρ ἡ πόλις διὰ τὴν ὀχυρότητα συμφυγόντων: παρὸ καὶ τοῖς ὑπ᾽ Ἀγρίππα προπεμφθεῖσιν ἐπὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀντεῖχεν ἐπὶ μῆνας ἑπτά.

(3) [11] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δ᾽ ἄρας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀμμαθοῦς, ἔνθα πρὸ τῆς Τιβεριάδος ἐστρατοπεδεύκει: μεθερμηνευομένη δ᾽ Ἀμμαθοῦς θερμὰ λέγοιτ᾽ ἄν, ἔστι γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ πηγὴ θερμῶν ὑδάτων πρὸς ἄκεσιν ἐπιτηδείων: ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὴν

Γάμαλαν. [12] καὶ πᾶσαν μὲν κυκλώσασθαι φυλακῇ τὴν πόλιν οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν οὕτως διακειμένην, πρὸς δὲ τοῖς δυνατοῖς φρουροὺς καθίστησι καὶ τὸ ὑπερκείμενον ὄρος καταλαμβάνεται. [13] τειχισαμένων δὲ ὥσπερ ἔθος τῶν ταγμάτων ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ στρατόπεδα χωμάτων ἤρχετο κατ᾽ οὐράν, καὶ τὸ μὲν κατ᾽ ἀνατολὰς αὐτῷ μέρος, ᾗπερ ὁ ἀνωτάτω τῆς πόλεως πύργος ἦν, ἐφ᾽ οὗ τὸ πέμπτον καὶ δέκατον τάγμα, καὶ τὸ πέμπτον μὲν κατὰ μέσην ἐξειργάζετο τὴν πόλιν, τὰς δὲ διώρυγας ἀνεπλήρου καὶ τὰς φάραγγας τὸ δέκατον. [14] κἀν τούτῳ προσελθόντα τοῖς τείχεσιν Ἀγρίππαν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ περὶ παραδόσεως τοῖς ἐφεστῶσι πειρώμενον διαλέγεσθαι βάλλει τις τῶν σφενδονητῶν κατὰ τὸν δεξιὸν ἀγκῶνα λίθῳ. [15] καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων θᾶττον περιεσχέθη, Ῥωμαίους δὲ ἐπήγειρεν εἰς τὴν πολιορκίαν ὀργή τε περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν δέος: [16] οὐ γὰρ ἀπολείψειν ὠμότητος ὑπερβολὴν κατ᾽ ἀλλοφύλων καὶ πολεμίων τοὺς πρὸς ὁμόφυλον καὶ τῶν συμφερόντων αὐτοῖς σύμβουλον οὕτως ἀγριωθέντας.

(4) [17] Συντελεσθέντων οὖν τῶν χωμάτων θᾶττον πλήθει χειρῶν καὶ τῶν πραττομένων ἔθει προσῆγον τὰς μηχανάς. [18] οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Χάρητα καὶ Ἰώσηπον, οὗτοι γὰρ ἦσαν τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν δυνατώτατοι, καίπερ καταπεπληγότας τοὺς ὁπλίτας τάττουσιν, ἐπειδὴ μέχρι πολλοῦ πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀνθέξειν οὐχ ὑπελάμβανον ὕδατι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτηδείοις μὴ διαρκούμενοι. [19] παρακροτήσαντες δ᾽ ὅμως ἐξήγαγον ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον μὲν ἀπημύναντο τοὺς προσάγοντας τὰς μηχανάς, βαλλόμενοι δὲ τοῖς καταπελτικοῖς καὶ τοῖς πετροβόλοις ἀνεχώρουν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. [20] καὶ προσάγοντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τριχόθεν τοὺς κριοὺς διασείουσι μὲν τὸ τεῖχος, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν ἐρειφθέντων εἰσχεόμενοι μετὰ πολλοῦ σαλπίγγων ἤχου καὶ κτύπου τῶν ὅπλων αὐτοί τ᾽ ἐπαλαλάζοντες συνερρήγνυντο τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν. [21] οἱ δὲ τέως μὲν κατὰ τὰς πρώτας εἰσόδους ἐνιστάμενοι προσωτέρω χωρεῖν ἐκώλυον καὶ καρτερῶς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀνεῖργον: [22] βιαζόμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ πάντοθεν τρέπονται πρὸς τὰ ὑψηλὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ προσκειμένοις τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς ἐπιπεσόντες συνώθουν εἰς τὸ κάταντες καὶ τῇ στενότητι καὶ δυσχωρίᾳ θλιβομένους ἀνῄρουν. [23] οἱ δὲ μήτε τοὺς κατὰ κορυφὴν ἀμύνασθαι δυνάμενοι μήτε διεκπαίειν τῶν σφετέρων πρόσω βιαζομένων ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν πολεμίων, πρόσγειοι γὰρ ἦσαν, ἀνέφευγον. [24] αἱ δὲ ταχέως κατηρείποντο πληρούμεναι καὶ τὸ βάρος μὴ στέγουσαι, κατέσειε δὲ πολλὰς μία τῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς πεσοῦσα καὶ πάλιν ἐκεῖναι τὰς ὑπ᾽ αὐτάς. [25] τοῦτο πλείστους διέφθειρε τῶν Ῥωμαίων: ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀμηχανίας καίτοι συνιζανούσας ὁρῶντες ἐπεπήδων ταῖς στέγαις, καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν κατεχώννυντο τοῖς ἐρειπίοις, πολλοὶ δ᾽ ὑποφεύγοντες μέρη τοῦ σώματος κατελαμβάνοντο, πλείστους δὲ ὁ κονιορτὸς ἄγχων ἀνῄρει. [26] συνεργίαν θεοῦ τοῦτο Γαμαλεῖς ὑπελάμβανον καὶ τῆς κατὰ σφᾶς ἀμελοῦντες βλάβης ἐπέκειντο, πρός τε τὰ στέγη τοὺς πολεμίους

ἀνωθοῦντες καί τοι κατολισθάνοντας ἐν ὀξέσι τοῖς στενωποῖς καὶ ἀεὶ τοὺς πίπτοντας ὕπερθεν βάλλοντες ἔκτεινον. [27] καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐρείπια χερμάδων πλέα ἦν αὐτοῖς, σίδηρον δὲ παρεῖχον οἱ τῶν πολεμίων νεκροί: παρασπῶντες γὰρ τὰ τῶν πεσόντων ξίφη κατὰ τῶν δυσθανατούντων ἐχρῶντο. [28] πολλοὶ δ᾽ ἀπὸ πιπτόντων ἤδη τῶν δωμάτων σφᾶς αὐτοὺς βάλλοντες ἔθνησκον. [29] ἦν δ᾽ οὐδὲ τραπέντων ἡ φυγὴ ῥᾴδιος: κατὰ γὰρ ἄγνοιαν τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ παχύτητα τοῦ κονιορτοῦ μηδὲ ἀλλήλους ἐπιγινώσκοντες ἀνειλοῦντο καὶ περὶ σφᾶς ἔπιπτον.

(5) [30] Οἱ μὲν οὖν μόλις εὑρίσκοντες τὰς ἐξόδους ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως: [31] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δ᾽ ἀεὶ προσμένων τοῖς πονουμένοις, δεινὸν γάρ τι πάθος αὐτὸν εἰσῄει κατερειπομένην ὁρῶντα περὶ τῷ στρατῷ τὴν πόλιν, ἐν λήθῃ τοῦ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀσφαλοῦς γενόμενος λανθάνει κατὰ μικρὸν ἀνωτάτω τῆς πόλεως προελθών, ἔνθα μέσοις ἐγκαταλείπεται τοῖς κινδύνοις μετ᾽ ὀλίγων παντελῶς: [32] οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ παῖς αὐτῷ Τίτος τότε συμπαρῆν τηνικαῦτα πρὸς Μουκιανὸν εἰς Συρίαν ἀπεσταλμένος. [33] τραπῆναι μὲν οὖν οὔτε ἀσφαλὲς οὔτε πρέπον ἡγήσατο, μνησθεὶς δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ νεότητος αὐτῷ πεπονημένων καὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετῆς, ὥσπερ ἔνθους γενόμενος, συνασπίζει μὲν τοὺς ἅμ᾽ αὐτῷ τά τε σώματα καὶ τὰς πανοπλίας, [34] ὑφίσταται δὲ κατὰ κορυφὴν ἐπιρρέοντα τὸν πόλεμον καὶ οὔτε ἀνδρῶν πλῆθος οὔτε βελῶν ὑποπτήξας ἐπέμενε, μέχρι δαιμόνιον τὸ παράστημα τῆς ψυχῆς συννοήσαντες οἱ πολέμιοι ταῖς ὁρμαῖς ἐνέδοσαν. [35] ἀτονώτερον δὲ προσκειμένων αὐτὸς ὑπὸ πόδα ἀνεχώρει νῶτα μὴ δεικνὺς ἕως ἔξω τοῦ τείχους ἐγένετο. [36] πλεῖστοι μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων κατὰ ταύτην ἔπεσον τὴν μάχην, ἐν οἷς ὁ δεκαδάρχης Αἰβούτιος, ἀνὴρ οὐ μόνον ἐφ᾽ ἧς ἔπεσε παρατάξεως, ἀλλὰ πανταχοῦ καὶ πρότερον γενναιότατος φανεὶς καὶ πλεῖστα κακὰ Ἰουδαίους ἐργασάμενος. [37] ἑκατοντάρχης δέ τις, Γάλλος ὀνόματι, μετὰ στρατιωτῶν δέκα περισχεθεὶς ἐν τῇ ταραχῇ κατέδυ μὲν εἴς τινος οἰκίαν, [38] τῶν δ᾽ ἐν αὐτῇ διαλαλούντων παρὰ δεῖπνον ὅσα κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἢ περὶ σφῶν ὁ δῆμος ἐβουλεύετο κατακροασάμενος, ἦν δὲ αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ Σύροι, νύκτωρ ἐπανίσταται καὶ πάντας ἀποσφάξας μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἰς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διασώζεται.

(6) [39] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δ᾽ ἀθυμοῦσαν τὴν στρατιὰν ἀνοίᾳ πταισμάτων καὶ διότι τέως οὐδαμοῦ τηλικαύτῃ συμφορᾷ κέχρηντο, τό γε μὴν πλέον αἰδουμένους ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν στρατηγὸν μόνον τοῖς κινδύνοις ἐγκαταλιπεῖν παρεμυθεῖτο, [40] περὶ μὲν τοῦ καθ᾽ αὐτὸν ὑποστελλόμενος, ὡς μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν μέμφεσθαι δοκοίη, δεῖν δὲ τὰ κοινὰ λέγων ἀνδρείως φέρειν τὴν τοῦ πολέμου φύσιν ἐννοοῦντας, ὡς οὐδαμοῦ τὸ νικᾶν ἀναιμωτὶ περιγίνεται, δαπανᾷ δ᾽ ἡ τύχη τι καὶ παρίσταται. [41] τοσαύτας μέντοι μυριάδας Ἰουδαίων ἀνελόντας αὐτοὺς ὀλίγην τῷ δαίμονι δεδωκέναι συμβολήν. [42] εἶναι δ᾽ ὥσπερ ἀπειροκάλων τὸ λίαν ἐπαίρεσθαι ταῖς εὐπραγίαις, οὕτως ἀνάνδρων τὸ καταπτήσσειν ἐν τοῖς πταίσμασιν: ὀξεῖα γὰρ ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἡ μεταβολή, κἀκεῖνος ἄριστος ὁ κἀν τοῖς εὐτυχήμασιν νήφων, ἵνα

μένῃ καὶ δι᾽ εὐθυμίας ἀναπαλαίων τὰ σφάλματα. [43] τὰ μέντοι συμβεβηκότα νῦν οὔτε μαλακισθέντων ὑμῶν οὔτε παρὰ τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρετὴν γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ κἀκείνοις τοῦ πλεονεκτῆσαι καὶ τοῦ διαμαρτεῖν ἡμῖν αἴτιον ἡ δυσχωρία. [44] καθ᾽ ἣν ἄν τις ὑμῶν μέμψαιτο τῆς ὁρμῆς τὸ ἀταμίευτον: ἀναφυγόντων γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ τῶν πολεμίων αὐτοὺς ὑποστέλλειν ἐχρῆν, καὶ μὴ κατὰ κορυφὴν ἱσταμένοις τοῖς κινδύνοις ἔπεσθαι, κρατοῦντας δὲ τῆς κάτω πόλεως κατ᾽ ὀλίγον προκαλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀναφεύγοντας εἰς ἀσφαλῆ καὶ ἑδραίαν μάχην. νυνὶ δὲ ἀκρατῶς ἐπὶ τὴν νίκην ἐπειγόμενοι τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἠμελήσατε. [45] τὸ δ᾽ ἀπερίσκεπτον ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ τῆς ὁρμῆς μανιῶδες οὐ πρὸς Ῥωμαίων, οἳ πάντα ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ τάξει κατορθοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ βαρβαρικόν, καὶ ᾧ μάλιστα Ἰουδαῖοι κρατοῦνται. [46] χρὴ τοίνυν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν ἀναδραμεῖν καὶ θυμοῦσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ προσαθυμεῖν τῷ παρ᾽ ἀξίαν πταίσματι. [47] τὴν δ᾽ ἀρίστην ἕκαστος ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας χειρὸς ἐπιζητείτω παραμυθίαν: οὕτω γὰρ τοῖς τε ἀπολωλόσι τιμωρήσεσθε καὶ τοὺς ἀνελόντας ἀμυνεῖσθε. [48] πειράσομαι δ᾽ ἐγώ, καθάπερ νῦν, ἐπὶ πάσης μάχης προάγειν τε ὑμῶν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τελευταῖος ἀποχωρεῖν.”

(7) [49] Ὁ μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα λέγων τὴν στρατιὰν ἀνελάμβανεν, τοῖς δὲ Γαμαλεῦσιν πρὸς ὀλίγον μὲν θαρρῆσαι τῷ κατορθώματι παρέστη παραλόγως τε συμβάντι καὶ μεγάλως, [50] λογιζόμενοι δ᾽ ὕστερον ἀφῃρῆσθαι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ δεξιᾶς ἐλπίδας τό τε μὴ δύνασθαι διαφεύγειν ἐννοοῦντες, ἤδη γὰρ ἐπέλιπε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, δεινῶς ἠθύμουν καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀναπεπτώκεσαν. [51] οὐ μὴν εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν ἠμέλουν σωτηρίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ παραρρηχθέντα τοῦ τείχους οἱ γενναιότατοι καὶ τὰ μένοντα περισχόντες ἐφύλασσον οἱ λοιποί. [52] τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐπιρρωννύντων τὰ χώματα καὶ πάλιν πειρωμένων προσβολῆς οἱ πολλοὶ διεδίδρασκον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως κατά τε δυσβάτων φαράγγων, ᾗπερ οὐκ ἔκειντο φυλακαί, καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑπονόμων. [53] ὅσοι γε μὴν δέει τοῦ ληφθῆναι παρέμενον, [ἐν] ἐνδείᾳ διεφθείροντο: πανταχόθεν γὰρ τροφὴ τοῖς μάχεσθαι δυναμένοις συνηθροίζετο.

(8) [54] Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τοιούτοις πάθεσι διεκαρτέρουν, Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ πάρεργον ἐποιεῖτο τῆς πολιορκίας τοὺς τὸ Ἰταβύριον κατειληφότας ὄρος, ὅ ἐστι τοῦ μεγάλου πεδίου καὶ Σκυθοπόλεως μέσον: [55] οὗ τὸ μὲν ὕψος ἐπὶ τριάκοντα σταδίους ἀνίσχει, μόλις προσβατὸν κατὰ τὸ προσάρκτιον κλίμα, πεδίον δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἡ κορυφὴ σταδίων ἓξ καὶ εἴκοσι, πᾶν τετειχισμένον. [56] ἤγειρε δὲ τοσοῦτον ὄντα τὸν περίβολον ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἐν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραις τῇ τε ἄλλῃ χορηγούμενος ὕλῃ κάτωθεν καὶ ὕδατι: καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἐποίκοις μόνον ἦν ὄμβριον. [57] πολλοῦ οὖν πλήθους ἐπὶ τοῦτο συνειλεγμένου Οὐεσπασιανὸς Πλάκιδον σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ἑξακοσίοις πέμπει. [58] τούτῳ τὸ μὲν προσβαίνειν ἀμήχανον ἦν, ἐλπίδι δὲ δεξιῶν καὶ παρακλήσεως πρὸς εἰρήνην τοὺς πολλοὺς προεκαλεῖτο. [59] κατῄεσαν δὲ ἀντεπιβουλεύοντες: ὅ τε γὰρ Πλάκιδος ὠμίλει πρᾳότερον σπουδάζων αὐτοὺς ἐν

τῷ πεδίῳ λαβεῖν, κἀκεῖνοι κατῄεσαν ὡς πειθόμενοι δῆθεν, ἵνα ἀφυλάκτῳ προσπέσωσιν. [60] ἐνίκα μέντοι τὸ Πλακίδου πανοῦργον: ἀρξαμένων γὰρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων μάχης φυγὴν ὑπεκρίνετο καὶ διώκοντας ἑλκύσας ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦ πεδίου τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἐπιστρέφει, τρεψάμενος δὲ πλείστους μὲν αὐτῶν ἀναιρεῖ, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ὑποτεμόμενος εἴργει τῆς ἀνόδου. [61] καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸ Ἰταβύριον καταλιπόντες ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἔφευγον, οἱ δὲ ἐπιχώριοι πίστεις λαβόντες, ἐπιλελοίπει δ' αὐτοὺς ὕδωρ, τό τε ὄρος καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς Πλακίδῳ παρέδοσαν.

(9) [62] Τῶν δ' ἐπὶ τῆς Γαμάλας οἱ παραβολώτεροι μὲν φεύγοντες διελάνθανον, οἱ δ' ἀσθενεῖς διεφθείροντο λιμῷ: [63] τὸ μάχιμον δ' ἀντεῖχεν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ, μέχρι δευτέρᾳ καὶ εἰκάδι μηνὸς Ὑπερβερεταίου τρεῖς τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πέμπτου καὶ δεκάτου τάγματος στρατιῶται περὶ τὴν ἑωθινὴν φυλακὴν ὑποδύντες τὸν προύχοντα κατὰ τούτους πύργον ὑπορύσσουσιν ἡσυχῇ. [64] τοῖς δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φύλαξιν οὔτε προσιόντων αἴσθησις, νὺξ γὰρ ἦν, οὔτε προσελθόντων ἐγένετο. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται φειδόμενοι τοῦ ψόφου καὶ πέντε τοὺς κραταιοτάτους ἐκκυλίσαντες λίθους ὑποπηδῶσι. [65] κατηρείπετο δὲ ὁ πύργος ἐξαίφνης μετὰ μεγίστου ψόφου, καὶ συγκατακρημνίζονται μὲν οἱ φύλακες αὐτῷ, θορυβηθέντες δὲ οἱ κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας φυλακὰς ἔφευγον: [66] καὶ πολλοὺς διεκπαίειν τολμῶντας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διέφθειραν, ἐν οἷς καὶ Ἰώσηπόν τις ὑπὲρ τὸ παρερρηγμένον τοῦ τείχους ἐκδιδράσκοντα βαλὼν ἀναιρεῖ. [67] τῶν δ' ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν διασεισθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ ψόφου διαδρομή τε ἦν καὶ πτόα πολλὴ καθάπερ εἰσπεπαικότων πάντων τῶν πολεμίων. [68] ἔνθα καὶ Χάρης κατακείμενος καὶ νοσηλευόμενος ἐκλείπει πολλοῦ δέους συνεργήσαντος εἰς θάνατον τῇ νόσῳ. [69] Ῥωμαῖοί γε μὴν μεμνημένοι τοῦ προτέρου πταίσματος οὐκ εἰσέβαλλον ἕως τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ προειρημένου μηνός.

(10) [70] Τίτος δέ, ἤδη γὰρ παρῆν, ὀργῇ τῆς πληγῆς ἣν παρ' αὐτὸν ἐπλήγησαν ἀπόντα Ῥωμαῖοι, τῶν ἱππέων ἐπιλέξας διακοσίους, πρὸς οἷς πεζοὺς , Εἰσέρχεται τὴν πόλιν ἡσυχῇ. [71] καὶ παρελθόντος οἱ μὲν φύλακες αἰσθόμενοι μετὰ βοῆς ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα, δήλης δὲ τῆς εἰσβολῆς ταχέως καὶ τοῖς εἴσω γενομένης, οἱ μὲν ἁρπάζοντες τὰ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας ἐπισυρόμενοι πρὸς τὴν ἄκραν ἀνέφευγον μετὰ κωκυτοῦ καὶ βοῆς, οἱ δὲ τὸν Τίτον ὑπαντιάζοντες ἀδιαλείπτως ἔπιπτον: [72] ὅσοι δὲ ἀπεκωλύθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν ἀναδραμεῖν ὑπ' ἀμηχανίας εἰς τὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων φρουρὰς ἐξέπιπτον. ἄπειρος δ' ἦν πανταχοῦ φονευομένων ὁ στόνος, καὶ τὸ αἷμα πᾶσαν ἐπέκλυζε τὴν πόλιν κατὰ πρανοῦς χεόμενον. [73] πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀναφεύγοντας εἰς τὴν ἄκραν ἐπεβοήθει Οὐεσπασιανὸς πᾶσαν εἰσαγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν. [74] ἦν δ' ἥ τε κορυφὴ πάντοθεν πετρώδης καὶ δύσβατος, εἰς ἄπειρον ὕψος ἐπηρμένη, καὶ πανταχόθεν † τοῦ βάθους κατέγεμεν περιειλημμένη κρημνοῖς κατέτεμνόν τε. [75] ἐνταῦθα τοὺς προσβαίνοντας οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις βέλεσι καὶ πέτρας κατακυλινδοῦντες ἐκάκουν: αὐτοὶ δὲ δι' ὕψος ἦσαν δυσέφικτοι βέλει. [76] γίνεται δὲ πρὸς ἀπώλειαν αὐτῶν ἄντικρυς θύελλα

δαιμόνιος, ἢ τὰ μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἔφερεν εἰς αὐτοὺς βέλη, τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀνέστρεφεν καὶ πλάγια παρέσυρεν. [77] οὔτε δὲ τοῖς ὑποκρήμνοις ἐφίστασθαι διὰ τὴν βίαν ἐδύναντο τοῦ πνεύματος μηδὲν ἑδραῖον ἔχοντες, οὔτε τοὺς προσβαίνοντας καθορᾶν. [78] ἐπαναβαίνουσι δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ περισχόντες οὓς μὲν ἀμυνομένους ἔφθανον, οὓς δὲ χεῖρας προίσχοντας: ἐτόνου δὲ τὸν θυμὸν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ πάντας ἡ μνήμη τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης εἰσβολῆς ἀπολωλότων. [79] ἀπογινώσκοντες δὲ τὴν σωτηρίαν πανταχόθεν οἱ πολλοὶ περισχόμενοι τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας αὐτούς τε κατεκρήμνιζον εἰς τὴν φάραγγα: βαθυτάτη δ᾽ αὕτη κατὰ τὴν ἄκραν ὑπορώρυκτο. [80] συνέβη δὲ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ὀργὴν τῆς εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἀπονοίας τῶν ἁλόντων πραοτέραν φανῆναι: τετρακισχίλιοι μέν γε ὑπὸ τούτων ἐσφάγησαν, οἱ δὲ ῥίψαντες ἑαυτοὺς ὑπὲρ πεντακισχιλίους εὑρέθησαν. [81] διεσώθη δὲ πλὴν δύο γυναικῶν οὐδείς: τῆς Φιλίππου δὲ ἦσαν ἀδελφῆς θυγατέρες αὗται, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Φίλιππος Ἰακίμου τινὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐπισήμου, τετραρχήσαντος Ἀγρίππᾳ τῷ βασιλεῖ. [82] διεσώθησαν δὲ τὰς παρὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν ὀργὰς Ῥωμαίων λαθοῦσαι: τότε γὰρ οὐδὲ νηπίων ἐφείδοντο, πολλὰ δ᾽ ἑκάστοτε ἁρπάζοντες ἐσφενδόνων ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας. [83] Γάμαλα μὲν οὕτως ἑάλω τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι μηνὸς Ὑπερβερεταίου τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἀρξαμένης Γορπιαίου μηνὸς τετάρτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι.

II

(1) [84] Μόνη δὲ Γίσχαλα πολίχνη τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἀχείρωτος κατελείπετο, τοῦ μὲν πλήθους εἰρηνικὰ φρονοῦντος, καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν τὸ πλέον γεωργοὶ καὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν ἐλπίσιν ἀεὶ προσανέχοντες, παρεισεφθαρμένου δ᾽ αὐτοῖς οὐκ ὀλίγου λῃστρικοῦ τάγματος, ᾧ τινες καὶ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ συνενόσουν. [85] ἐνῆγε δὲ τούτους εἰς τὴν ἀπόστασιν καὶ συνεκρότει Ληΐου τινὸς υἱὸς Ἰωάννης, γόης ἀνὴρ καὶ ποικιλώτατος τὸ ἦθος, πρόχειρος μὲν ἐλπίσαι μεγάλα, δεινὸς δὲ τῶν ἐλπισθέντων περιγενέσθαι παντί τε ὢν δῆλος ἀγαπᾶν τὸν πόλεμον εἰς δυναστείας ἐπίθεσιν. [86] ὑπὸ τούτῳ τὸ στασιῶδες ἐν τοῖς Γισχάλοις ἐτέτακτο, δι᾽ οὓς τυχὸν καὶ πρεσβευσάμενον περὶ παραδόσεως τὸ δημοτικὸν ἐν πολέμου μοίρᾳ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἔφοδον ἐξεδέχετο. [87] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τούτους Τίτον ἐκπέμπει σὺν χιλίοις ἱππεῦσιν, τὸ δέκατον δὲ τάγμα ἀπαίρει εἰς Σκυθόπολιν. [88] αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν δυσὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Καισάρειαν, τοῦ τε συνεχοῦς καμάτου διδοὺς ἀνάπαυσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ δι᾽ εὐθηνίαν τῶν πόλεων τά τε σώματα καὶ τὸ πρόθυμον ὑποθρέψειν οἰόμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς μέλλοντας ἀγῶνας: [89] οὐ γὰρ ὀλίγον αὐτῷ πόνον ἑώρα περὶ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις λειπόμενον, ἅτε δὴ βασιλείου μὲν οὔσης τῆς πόλεως καὶ προανεχούσης ὅλου τοῦ ἔθνους, συρρεόντων δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου διαδιδρασκόντων. [90] τό γε μὴν φύσει τε ὀχυρὸν αὐτῆς καὶ διὰ κατασκευὴν τειχῶν ἀγωνίαν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἐνεποίει: τὰ δὲ φρονήματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὰς τόλμας δυσμεταχειρίστους καὶ

δίχα τειχῶν ὑπελάμβανεν. [91] διὸ δὴ τοὺς στρατιώτας καθάπερ ἀθλητὰς προήσκει τῶν ἀγώνων.

(2) [92] Τίτῳ δὲ προσιππασαμένῳ τοῖς Γισχάλοις εὐπετὲς μὲν ἦν ἐξ ἐφόδου τὴν πόλιν ἑλεῖν, εἰδὼς δέ, εἰ βίᾳ ληφθείη, διαφθαρησόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀνέδην τὸ πλῆθος, ἦν δ᾽ αὐτῷ κόρος ἤδη φόνων καὶ δι᾽ οἴκτου τὸ πλέον ἀκρίτως συναπολλύμενον τοῖς αἰτίοις, ἐβούλετο μᾶλλον ὁμολογίαις παραστήσασθαι τὴν πόλιν. [93] καὶ δὴ τοῦ τείχους ἀνδρῶν καταγέμοντος, οἳ τὸ πλέον ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ διεφθαρμένου τάγματος, θαυμάζειν ἔφη πρὸς αὐτούς, τίνι πεποιθότες πάσης ἐαλωκυίας πόλεως μόνοι τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὅπλα μένουσιν, [94] ἑωρακότες μὲν ὀχυρωτέρας πολλῷ πόλεις ὑπὸ μίαν προσβολὴν κατεστραμμένας, ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ δὲ τῶν ἰδίων κτημάτων ἀπολαύοντας ὅσοι ταῖς Ῥωμαίων δεξιαῖς ἐπίστευσαν, ἃς καὶ νῦν προτείνειν αὐτοῖς μηδὲν μνησικακῶν τῆς αὐθαδείας. [95] εἶναι γὰρ συγγνωστὸν ἐλευθερίας ἐλπίδα, μηκέτι μέντοι τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις ἐπιμονήν: [96] εἰ γὰρ οὐ πεισθήσονται λόγοις φιλανθρώποις καὶ δεξιαῖς πίστεως, πειράσειν αὐτοὺς ἀφειδῆ τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ ὅσον οὐδέπω † γνωσθήσεσθαι πιεζόμενον τοῖς Ῥωμαίων μηχανήμασιν τὸ τεῖχος, ᾧ πεποιθότες ἐπιδείκνυνται μόνοι Γαλιλαίων, ὅτι εἰσὶν αὐθάδεις αἰχμάλωτοι.

(3) [97] Πρὸς ταῦτα τῶν μὲν δημοτικῶν οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀποκρίνεσθαί τινι μετῆν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀναβῆναι: προδιείληπτο γὰρ ἅπαν τοῖς λῃστρικοῖς, καὶ φύλακες τῶν πυλῶν ἦσαν, ὡς μή τινες ἢ προέλθοιεν ἐπὶ τὰς σπονδὰς ἢ δέξαιντό τινας τῶν ἱππέων εἰς τὴν πόλιν: [98] ὁ δ᾽ Ἰωάννης αὐτός τε ἀγαπᾶν ἔφη τὰς προκλήσεις καὶ τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας ἢ πείσειν ἢ συναναγκάσειν: [99] δεῖν μέντοι τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτὸν ἐκείνην, ἑβδομὰς γὰρ ἦν, χαρίσασθαι τῷ Ἰουδαίων νόμῳ, καθ᾽ ἣν ὥσπερ ὅπλα κινεῖν αὐτοῖς, οὕτω καὶ τὸ συντίθεσθαι περὶ εἰρήνης ἀθέμιτον. [100] οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν δὲ οὐδὲ Ῥωμαίους, ὡς ἀργὴ πάντων αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ἡ τῆς ἑβδομάδος περίοδος, ἔν τε τῷ παραβαίνειν αὐτὴν οὐχ ἧττον ἀσεβεῖν τῶν βιασθέντων τὸν βιασάμενον. φέρειν δ᾽ ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐδεμίαν βλάβην τὰ τῆς ὑπερθέσεως: [101] τί γὰρ ἄν τις ἐν νυκτὶ βουλεύσαιτο δρασμοῦ πλέον ἐξὸν περιστρατοπεδεύσαντα παραφυλάξαι; [102] μέγα δὲ κέρδος αὐτοῖς τὸ μηδὲν παραβῆναι τῶν πατρίων ἐθῶν. πρέπει δὲ τῷ παρὰ προσδοκίαν εἰρήνην χαριζομένῳ τοῖς σωζομένοις τηρεῖν καὶ τοὺς νόμους.” [103] τοιούτοις ἐσοφίζετο τὸν Τίτον, οὐ τοσοῦτον τῆς ἑβδομάδος στοχαζόμενος, ὅσον τῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας: ἐδεδοίκει δὲ ἐγκαταληφθῆναι παραχρῆμα τῆς πόλεως ἁλούσης ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ φυγῇ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχων τοῦ βίου. [104] θεοῦ δ᾽ ἦν ἔργον ἄρα τοῦ σώζοντος τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ὄλεθρον τὸ μὴ μόνον πεισθῆναι Τίτον τῇ σκήψει τῆς ὑπερθέσεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς πόλεως πορρωτέρω στρατοπεδεύσασθαι πρὸς Κυδασοῖς: [105] μεσόγειος δέ ἐστι Τυρίων κώμη καρτερά, διὰ μίσους ἀεὶ καὶ πολέμου Γαλιλαίοις, ἔχουσα πλῆθός τε οἰκητόρων καὶ τὴν ὀχυρότητα τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος διαφορᾶς ἐφόδια.

(4) [106] Νυκτὸς δ᾽ ὁ Ἰωάννης ὡς οὐδεμίαν περὶ τῇ πόλει Ῥωμαίων ἑώρα φυλακήν, τὸν καιρὸν ἁρπασάμενος οὐ μόνον τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ὁπλίτας ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀργοτέρων συχνοὺς ἅμα ταῖς γενεαῖς ἀναλαβὼν ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἔφευγε. [107] μέχρι μὲν οὖν εἴκοσι σταδίων οἷόν τε ἦν συνεξαγαγεῖν γυναικῶν καὶ παιδίων ὄχλον ἀνθρώπῳ κατασπερχομένῳ τοῖς ὑπὲρ αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ τοῦ ζῆν φόβοις, περαιτέρω δὲ προκόπτοντος ἀπελείποντο, καὶ δειναὶ τῶν ἐωμένων ἦσαν ὀλοφύρσεις: [108] ὅσον γὰρ ἕκαστος τῶν οἰκείων ἐγίνετο πορρωτέρω, τοσοῦτον ἐγγὺς ὑπελάμβανεν εἶναι τῶν πολεμίων, παρεῖναί τε ἤδη τοὺς αἰχμαλωτισομένους δοκοῦντες ἐπτόηντο, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀλλήλων ἐκ τοῦ δρόμου ψόφον ἐπεστρέφοντο καθάπερ ἤδη παρόντων οὓς ἔφευγον: [109] ἀνοδίαις τ᾽ ἐνέπιπτον οἱ πολλοί, καὶ περὶ τὴν λεωφόρον ἡ τῶν φθανόντων ἔρις συνέτριβεν τοὺς πολλούς. [110] οἰκτρὸς δὲ γυναικῶν καὶ παιδίων ὄλεθρος ἦν, καί τινες πρὸς ἀνακλήσεις ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ συγγενῶν ἐθάρσησαν μετὰ κωκυτῶν ἱκετεύουσαι περιμένειν. [111] ἀλλ᾽ ἐνίκα τὸ Ἰωάννου παρακέλευσμα σώζειν ἑαυτοὺς ἐμβοῶντος καὶ καταφεύγειν ἔνθα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀπολειπομένων ἀμυνοῦνται Ῥωμαίους ἂν ἁρπαγῶσι. τὸ μὲν οὖν τῶν διαδιδρασκόντων πλῆθος ὡς ἕκαστος ἰσχύος εἶχεν ἢ τάχους ἐσκέδαστο.

(5) [112] Τίτος δὲ μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τὰς συνθήκας πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος παρῆν. [113] ἀνοίγει δ᾽ αὐτῷ τὰς πύλας ὁ δῆμος, καὶ μετὰ τῶν γενεῶν προελθόντες ἀνευφήμουν ὡς εὐεργέτην καὶ φρουρᾶς ἐλευθερώσαντα τὴν πόλιν: [114] ἐδήλουν γὰρ ἅμα τὴν τοῦ Ἰωάννου φυγὴν καὶ παρεκάλουν φείσασθαί τε αὐτῶν καὶ παρελθόντα τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους τῶν νεωτεριζόντων κολάσαι. [115] ὁ δὲ τὰς τοῦ δήμου δεήσεις ἐν δευτέρῳ θέμενος μοῖραν ἔπεμπε τῶν ἱππέων Ἰωάννην διώξουσαν, οἳ τὸν μὲν οὐ καταλαμβάνουσιν, ἔφθη γὰρ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα διαφυγών, τῶν δὲ συναπαράντων ἀποκτείνουσι μὲν εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους, γύναια δὲ καὶ παιδία τρισχιλίων ὀλίγον ἀποδέοντα περιελάσαντες ἀνήγαγον. [116] ὁ δὲ Τίτος ἤχθετο μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ παραχρῆμα τιμωρήσασθαι τὸν Ἰωάννην τῆς ἀπάτης, ἱκανὸν δὲ ἀστοχήσαντι τῷ θυμῷ παραμύθιον ἔχων τὸ πλῆθος τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καὶ τοὺς διεφθαρμένους εἰσῄει τε ἀνευφημούμενος εἰς τὴν πόλιν, [117] καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ὀλίγον τοῦ τείχους παρασπάσαι κελεύσας νόμῳ καταλήψεως ἀπειλαῖς μᾶλλον ἢ κολάσει τοὺς ταράσσοντας τὴν πόλιν ἀνέστελλε: [118] πολλοὺς γὰρ ἂν καὶ διὰ τὰ οἰκεῖα μίση καὶ διαφορὰς ἰδίας ἐνδείξασθαι τοὺς ἀναιτίους, εἰ διακρίνοι τοὺς τιμωρίας ἀξίους: ἄμεινον δ᾽ εἶναι μετέωρον ἐν φόβῳ τὸν αἴτιον καταλιπεῖν ἤ τινα τῶν οὐκ ἀξίων αὐτῷ συναπολεῖν: [119] τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἴσως καὶ σωφρονῆσαι δέει κολάσεως τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς παρῳχηκόσι συγγνώμην αἰδούμενον, ἀδιόρθωτον δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς παραναλωθεῖσι τιμωρίαν εἶναι. [120] φρουρᾷ μέντοι τὴν πόλιν ἠσφαλίσατο, δι᾽ ἧς τούς τε νεωτερίζοντας ἐφέξειν καὶ τοὺς εἰρηνικὰ φρονοῦντας θαρραλεωτέρους καταλείψειν ἔμελλεν. Γαλιλαία μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐάλω πᾶσα, πολλοῖς ἱδρῶσι προγυμνάσασα Ῥωμαίους ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα.

III

(1) [121] Πρὸς δὲ τὴν εἴσοδον τοῦ Ἰωάννου ὁ πᾶς δῆμος ἐξεκέχυτο, καὶ περὶ ἕκαστον τῶν συμπεφευγότων μυρίος ὅμιλος συνηθροισμένοι τὰς ἔξωθεν συμφορὰς ἀνεπυνθάνοντο. [122] τῶν δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄσθμα θερμὸν ἔτι κοπτόμενον ἐδήλου τὴν ἀνάγκην, ἠλαζονεύοντο δὲ κἀν κακοῖς, οὐ πεφευγέναι Ῥωμαίους φάσκοντες, ἀλλ᾽ ἥκειν πολεμήσοντες αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἀσφαλοῦς: [123] ἀλογίστων γὰρ εἶναι καὶ ἀχρήστων παραβόλως προκινδυνεύειν περὶ Γίσχαλα καὶ πολίχνας ἀσθενεῖς, δέον τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰς ἀκμὰς ταμιεύεσθαι τῇ μητροπόλει καὶ συμφυλάσσειν. [124] ἔνθα δὴ παρεδήλουν τὴν ἅλωσιν τῶν Γισχάλων, καὶ τὴν λεγομένην εὐσχημόνως ὑποχώρησιν αὐτῶν οἱ πολλοὶ δρασμὸν ἐνενόουν. [125] ὡς μέντοι τὰ περὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλωτισθέντας ἠκούσθη, σύγχυσις οὐ μετρία κατέσχε τὸν δῆμον, καὶ μεγάλα τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἁλώσεως συνελογίζοντο τὰ τεκμήρια. [126] Ἰωάννης δ᾽ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς καταληφθεῖσιν ἧττον ἠρυθρία, περιιὼν δ᾽ ἑκάστους ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐνῆγεν ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, τὰ μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἀσθενῆ κατασκευάζων, τὴν δ᾽ οἰκείαν δύναμιν ἐξαίρων, [127] καὶ κατειρωνευόμενος τῆς τῶν ἀπείρων ἀγνοίας, ὡς οὐδ᾽ ἂν πτερὰ λαβόντες ὑπερβαῖέν ποτε Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ Ἱεροσολύμων τεῖχος οἱ περὶ ταῖς Γαλιλαίων κώμαις κακοπαθοῦντες καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἐκεῖ τείχεσι κατατρίψαντες τὰς μηχανάς.

(2) [128] Τούτοις τὸ πολὺ τῶν νέων προσδιεφθείρετο καὶ πρὸς [μὲν] τὸν πόλεμον ἦρτο, τῶν δὲ σωφρονούντων καὶ γηραιῶν οὐκ ἦν ὅστις οὐ τὰ μέλλοντα προορώμενος ὡς ἤδη τῆς πόλεως οἰχομένης ἐπένθει. [129] ὁ μὲν οὖν δῆμος ἦν ἐν τοιαύτῃ συγχύσει, προδιέστη δὲ τὸ κατὰ τὴν χώραν πλῆθος τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις στάσεως. [130] ὁ μὲν γὰρ Τίτος ἀπὸ Γισχάλων εἰς Καισάρειαν, Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ἀπὸ Καισαρείας εἰς Ἰάμνειαν καὶ Ἄζωτον ἀφικόμενος παρίσταταί τε αὐτὰς καὶ φρουροὺς ἐγκαταστήσας ὑπέστρεψε πολὺ πλῆθος ἐπαγόμενος τῶν ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ προσκεχωρηκότων. [131] ἐκινεῖτο δ᾽ ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει ταραχὴ καὶ πόλεμος ἐμφύλιος, ὅσον τε ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀνέπνεον εἰς ἀλλήλους τὰς χεῖρας ἐπέστρεφον. ἦν δὲ τῶν ἐρώντων τοῦ πολέμου πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιθυμοῦντας εἰρήνης ἔρις χαλεπή. [132] καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐν οἰκίαις ἥπτετο τῶν ὁμονοούντων πάλαι τὸ φιλόνεικον, ἔπειτα ἀφηνιάζοντες ἀλλήλων οἱ φίλτατοι [λαοὶ] καὶ συνιὼν ἕκαστος πρὸς τοὺς τὰ αὐτὰ προαιρουμένους ἤδη κατὰ πλῆθος ἀντετάσσοντο. [133] καὶ στάσις μὲν ἦν πανταχοῦ, τὸ νεωτερίζον δὲ καὶ τῶν ὅπλων ἐπιθυμοῦν ἐπεκράτει νεότητι καὶ τόλμῃ γηραιῶν καὶ σωφρόνων. [134] ἐτράποντο δὲ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς ἁρπαγὰς ἕκαστοι τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἔπειτα συντασσόμενοι κατὰ λόχους ἐπὶ λῃστείαν τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν, ὡς ὠμότητος καὶ παρανομίας ἕνεκεν αὐτοῖς μηδὲν Ῥωμαίων τοὺς ὁμοφύλους διαφέρειν καὶ πολὺ τοῖς πορθουμένοις κουφοτέραν δοκεῖν τὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἅλωσιν.

(3) [135] Οἱ φρουροὶ δὲ τῶν πόλεων τὰ μὲν ὄκνῳ τοῦ κακοπαθεῖν, τὰ δὲ μίσει τοῦ ἔθνους οὐδὲν ἢ μικρὰ προσήμυνον τοῖς κακουμένοις, μέχρι κόρῳ τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἁρπαγῶν ἀθροισθέντες οἱ τῶν πανταχοῦ συνταγμάτων ἀρχιλῃσταὶ καὶ γενόμενοι πονηρίας στῖφος εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα παρεισφθείρονται, [136] πόλιν ἀστρατήγητον καὶ πατρίῳ μὲν ἔθει πᾶν ἀπαρατηρήτως δεχομένην τὸ ὁμόφυλον, τότε δ᾽ οἰομένων ἁπάντων τοὺς ἐπιχεομένους πάντας ἀπ᾽ εὐνοίας ἥκειν συμμάχους. [137] ὃ δὴ καὶ δίχα τῆς στάσεως ὕστερον ἐβάπτισεν τὴν πόλιν: πλήθει γὰρ ἀχρήστῳ καὶ ἀργῷ προεξαναλώθη τὰ τοῖς μαχίμοις διαρκεῖν δυνάμενα, καὶ πρὸς τῷ πολέμῳ στάσιν τε ἑαυτοῖς καὶ λιμὸν ἐπικατεσκεύασαν.

(4) [138] Ἄλλοι τε ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας λῃσταὶ παρελθόντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς ἔνδον προσλαβόντες χαλεπωτέρους οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν δεινῶν παρίεσαν: [139] οἵ γε οὐ μόνον ἁρπαγαῖς καὶ λωποδυσίαις τὴν τόλμαν ἐμέτρουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέχρι φόνων ἐχώρουν, οὐ νυκτὸς ἢ λαθραίως ἢ ἐπὶ τοὺς τυχόντας, ἀλλὰ φανερῶς καὶ μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν καὶ τῶν ἐπισημοτάτων καταρχόμενοι. [140] πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ Ἀντίπαν, ἄνδρα τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν δυνατωτάτων, ὡς καὶ τοὺς δημοσίους θησαυροὺς πεπιστεῦσθαι, συλλαβόντες εἶρξαν: [141] ἐπὶ τούτῳ Ληουίαν τινὰ τῶν ἐπισήμων καὶ Συφὰν υἱὸν Ἀρεγέτου, βασιλικὸν δ᾽ ἦν καὶ τούτων τὸ γένος, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν χώραν προύχειν δοκοῦντας. [142] δεινὴ δὲ κατάπληξις εἶχε τὸν δῆμον, καὶ καθάπερ κατειλημμένης τῆς πόλεως πολέμῳ τὴν καθ᾽ αὐτὸν ἕκαστος σωτηρίαν ἠγάπα.

(5) [143] Τοῖς δ᾽ οὐκ ἀπέχρη τὰ δεσμὰ τῶν συνειλημμένων, οὐδὲ ἀσφαλὲς ᾤοντο τὸ μέχρι πολλοῦ δυνατοὺς ἄνδρας οὕτω φυλάσσειν: [144] ἱκανοὺς μὲν γὰρ εἶναι καὶ τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῶν πρὸς ἅμυναν οὐκ ὀλιγάνδρους ὄντας, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐπαναστήσεσθαι τάχα κινηθέντα πρὸς τὴν παρανομίαν. [145] δόξαν οὖν ἀναιρεῖν αὐτοὺς Ἰωάννην τινὰ πέμπουσιν τὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς φόνους προχειρότατον: Δορκάδος οὗτος ἐκαλεῖτο παῖς κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχώριον γλῶσσαν: ᾧ δέκα συνελθόντες εἰς τὴν εἱρκτὴν ξιφήρεις ἀποσφάττουσιν τοὺς συνειλημμένους. [146] παρανομήματι δ᾽ ἐν τηλικούτῳ μεγάλως ἀπεψεύδοντο καὶ προφάσεις [ἀνέπλαττον]: διαλεχθῆναι γὰρ αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίοις περὶ παραδόσεως τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, καὶ προδότας ἀνῃρηκέναι τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας ἔφασκον, καθόλου τ᾽ ἐπηλαζονεύοντο τοῖς τολμήμασιν ὡς εὐεργέται καὶ σωτῆρες τῆς πόλεως γεγενημένοι.

(6) [147] Συνέβη δὲ εἰς τοσοῦτον τὸν μὲν δῆμον ταπεινότητος καὶ δέους, ἐκείνους δὲ ἀπονοίας προελθεῖν, ὡς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς εἶναι καὶ τὰς χειροτονίας τῶν ἀρχιερέων. [148] ἄκυρα γοῦν τὰ γένη ποιήσαντες, ἐξ ὧν κατὰ διαδοχὰς οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ἀπεδείκνυντο, καθίστασαν ἀσήμους καὶ ἀγενεῖς, ἵν᾽ ἔχοιεν συνεργοὺς τῶν ἀσεβημάτων: [149] τοῖς γὰρ παρ᾽ ἀξίαν ἐπιτυχοῦσι τῆς ἀνωτάτω τιμῆς ὑπακούειν ἦν ἀνάγκη τοῖς παρασχοῦσι. [150] συνέκρουον δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τέλει ποικίλαις ἐπινοίαις καὶ λογοποιίαις, καιρὸν ἑαυτοῖς ἐν ταῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν

κωλυόντων φιλονεικίαις ποιούμενοι, μέχρι τῶν εἰς ἀνθρώπους ὑπερεμπλησθέντες ἀδικημάτων ἐπὶ τὸ θεῖον μετήνεγκαν τὴν ὕβριν καὶ μεμιασμένοις τοῖς ποσὶ παρῆεσαν εἰς τὸ ἅγιον.

(7) [151] Ἐπανισταμένου τε αὐτοῖς ἤδη τοῦ πλήθους, ἐνῆγε γὰρ ὁ γεραίτατος τῶν ἀρχιερέων Ἄνανος, ἀνὴρ σωφρονέστατος καὶ τάχα ἂν διασώσας τὴν πόλιν, εἰ τὰς τῶν ἐπιβούλων χεῖρας ἐξέφυγεν, οἱ δὲ τὸν νεὼν τοῦ θεοῦ φρούριον αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου ταραχῶν ποιοῦνται καταφυγήν, καὶ τυραννεῖον ἦν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἅγιον. παρεκίρνατο δὲ τοῖς δεινοῖς εἰρωνεία, [152] τὸ τῶν ἐνεργουμένων ἀλγεινότερον: [153] ἀποπειρώμενοι γὰρ τῆς τοῦ δήμου καταπλήξεως καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν δοκιμάζοντες ἰσχὺν κληρωτοὺς ἐπεχείρησαν ποιεῖν τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς οὔσης, ὡς ἔφαμεν, κατὰ γένος αὐτῶν τῆς διαδοχῆς. [154] ἦν δὲ πρόσχημα μὲν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἔθος ἀρχαῖον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ πάλαι κληρωτὴν ἔφασαν εἶναι τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην, τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς τοῦ βεβαιοτέρου [νόμου] κατάλυσις καὶ τέχνη πρὸς δυναστείαν τὰς ἀρχὰς δι᾽ αὐτῶν καθισταμένοις.

(8) [155] Καὶ δὴ μεταπεμψάμενοι μίαν τῶν ἀρχιερατικῶν φυλήν, Ἐνιάχιν καλεῖται, διεκλήρουν ἀρχιερέα, λαγχάνει δ᾽ ἀπὸ τύχης ὁ μάλιστα διαδείξας αὐτῶν τὴν παρανομίαν, Φαννί τις ὄνομα, υἱὸς Σαμουήλου κώμης Ἀφθίας, ἀνὴρ οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐξ ἀρχιερέων, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἐπιστάμενος σαφῶς τί ποτ᾽ ἦν ἀρχιερωσύνη δι᾽ ἀγροικίαν. [156] ἀπὸ γοῦν τῆς χώρας αὐτὸν ἄκοντα σύραντες ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἀλλοτρίῳ κατεκόσμουν προσωπείῳ τήν τ᾽ ἐσθῆτα περιτιθέντες τὴν ἱερὰν καὶ τὸ τί δεῖ ποιεῖν ἐπὶ καιροῦ διδάσκοντες. [157] χλεύη δ᾽ ἦν ἐκείνοις καὶ παιδιὰ τὸ τηλικοῦτον ἀσέβημα, τοῖς δ᾽ ἄλλοις ἱερεῦσιν ἐπιθεωμένοις πόρρωθεν παιζόμενον τὸν νόμον δακρύειν ἐπῄει καὶ κατέστενον τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν τιμῶν κατάλυσιν.

(9) [158] Ταύτην τὴν τόλμαν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἤνεγκεν ὁ δῆμος, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τυραννίδος κατάλυσιν ὥρμηντο πάντες: [159] καὶ γὰρ οἱ προύχειν αὐτῶν δοκοῦντες, Γωρίων τε υἱὸς Ἰωσήπου καὶ ὁ Γαμαλιήλου Συμεών, παρεκρότουν ἔν τε ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀθρόους καὶ κατ᾽ ἰδίαν περιιόντες ἕκαστον ἤδη ποτὲ τίσασθαι τοὺς λυμεῶνας τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ καθᾶραι τῶν μιαιφόνων τὸ ἅγιον, [160] οἵ τε δοκιμώτατοι τῶν ἀρχιερέων, Γαμάλα μὲν υἱὸς Ἰησοῦς Ἀνάνου δὲ Ἄνανος, πολλὰ τὸν δῆμον εἰς νωθείαν κατονειδίζοντες ἐν ταῖς συνόδοις ἐπήγειρον τοῖς ζηλωταῖς: [161] τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐκάλεσαν ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἀλλ᾽ οὐχὶ ζηλώσαντες τὰ κάκιστα τῶν ἔργων [καὶ] ὑπερβαλλόμενοι.

(10) [162] Καὶ δὴ συνελθόντος τοῦ πλήθους εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ πάντων ἀγανακτούντων μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ καταλήψει τῶν ἁγίων ταῖς τε ἁρπαγαῖς καὶ τοῖς πεφονευμένοις, οὔπω δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἄμυναν ὡρμημένων τῷ δυσεπιχειρήτους, ὅπερ ἦν, τοὺς ζηλωτὰς ὑπολαμβάνειν, καταστὰς ἐν μέσοις ὁ Ἄνανος καὶ πολλάκις εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀπιδὼν ἐμπλήσας τε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δακρύων "ἦ καλόν γε, [163] εἶπεν, ἦν ἐμοὶ τεθνάναι πρὶν ἐπιδεῖν τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ τοσούτοις ἄγεσι καταγέμοντα

καὶ τὰς ἀβάτους καὶ ἁγίας χώρας ποσὶ μιαιφόνων στενοχωρουμένας. [164] ἀλλὰ περικείμενος τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὸ τιμιώτατον καλούμενος τῶν σεβασμίων ὀνομάτων, ζῶ καὶ φιλοψυχῶ, μηδ' ὑπὲρ τοὐμοῦ γήρως ὑπομένων εὐκλεῆ θάνατον † εἰ δεῖ μὴ μόνος εἰμὶ καὶ καθάπερ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ψυχὴν ἐπιδώσω μόνην ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ. [165] τί γὰρ καὶ δεῖ ζῆν ἐν δήμῳ συμφορῶν ἀναισθητοῦντι καὶ παρ' οἷς ἀπόλωλεν ἡ τῶν ἐν χερσὶ παθῶν ἀντίληψις; ἁρπαζόμενοι γοῦν ἀνέχεσθε καὶ τυπτόμενοι σιωπᾶτε, καὶ τοῖς φονευομένοις οὐδ' ἐπιστένει τις ἀναφανδόν. [166] ὢ τῆς πικρᾶς τυραννίδος. τί [δὲ] μέμφομαι τοὺς τυράννους; μὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἐτράφησαν ὑφ' ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀνεξικακίας; [167] μὴ γὰρ οὐχ ὑμεῖς περιιδόντες τοὺς πρώτους συνισταμένους, ἔτι δ' ἦσαν ὀλίγοι, πλείους ἐποιήσατε τῇ σιωπῇ καὶ καθοπλιζομένων ἠρεμοῦντες καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπεστρέψατε τὰ ὅπλα, [168] δέον τὰς πρώτας αὐτῶν ἐπικόπτειν ὁρμάς, ὅτε λοιδορίαις καθήπτοντο τῶν συγγενῶν, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀμελήσαντες ἐφ' ἁρπαγὰς παρωξύνατε τοὺς ἀλιτηρίους, καὶ πορθουμένων οἴκων λόγος ἦν οὐδείς: τοιγαροῦν αὐτοὺς ἥρπαζον τοὺς δεσπότας, καὶ συρομένοις διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως οὐδεὶς ἐπήμυνεν. [169] οἱ δὲ καὶ δεσμοῖς ᾑκίσαντο τοὺς ὑφ' ὑμῶν προδοθέντας, ἐῶ λέγειν πόσους καὶ ποδαπούς: ἀλλ' ἀκαταιτιάτοις ἀκρίτοις οὐδεὶς ἐβοήθησε τοῖς δεδεμένοις. [170] ἀκόλουθον ἦν ἐπιδεῖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς φονευομένους. ἐπείδομεν καὶ τοῦτο καθάπερ ἐξ ἀγέλης ζῴων ἀλόγων ἑλκομένου τοῦ κρατιστεύοντος ἀεὶ θύματος, οὐδὲ φωνήν τις ἀφῆκεν οὐχ ὅπως ἐκίνησε τὴν δεξιάν. [171] φέρετε δὴ [τοίνυν], φέρετε πατούμενα βλέποντες τὰ ἅγια καὶ πάντας ὑποθέντες αὐτοὶ τοῖς ἀνοσίοις τοὺς τῶν τολμημάτων βαθμοὺς μὴ βαρύνεσθε τὴν ὑπεροχήν: καὶ γὰρ νῦν πάντως ἂν ἐπὶ μεῖζον προύκοψαν, εἴ τι τῶν ἁγίων καταλῦσαι μεῖζον εἶχον. [172] κεκράτηται μὲν οὖν τὸ ὀχυρώτατον τῆς πόλεως: λεγέσθω γὰρ νῦν τὸ ἱερὸν ὡς ἄκρα τις ἢ φρούριον: ἔχοντες δ' ἐπιτετειχισμένην τυραννίδα τοσαύτην καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑπὲρ κορυφὴν βλέποντες, τί βουλεύεσθε καὶ τίσι τὰς γνώμας προσθάλπετε; [173] Ῥωμαίους ἄρα περιμενεῖτε, ἵν' ἡμῶν βοηθήσωσι τοῖς ἁγίοις; ἔχει μὲν οὕτως τὰ πράγματα τῇ πόλει, καὶ πρὸς τοσοῦτον ἥκομεν συμφορῶν, ἵνα ἡμᾶς ἐλεήσωσι καὶ πολέμιοι. [174] οὐκ ἐξαναστήσεσθε, ὦ τλημονέστατοι, καὶ πρὸς τὰς πληγὰς ἐπιστραφέντες, ὃ κἀπὶ τῶν θηρίων ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, τοὺς τύπτοντας ἀμυνεῖσθε; οὐκ ἀναμνήσεσθε τῶν ἰδίων ἕκαστος συμφορῶν οὐδὲ ἃ πεπόνθατε πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν θέμενοι τὰς ψυχὰς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς θήξετε πρὸς τὴν ἄμυναν; [175] ἀπόλωλεν ἄρα παρ' ὑμῖν τὸ τιμιώτατον τῶν παθῶν καὶ φυσικώτατον, ἐλευθερίας ἐπιθυμία, φιλόδουλοι δὲ καὶ φιλοδέσποτοι γεγόναμεν ὥσπερ ἐκ προγόνων τὸ ὑποτάσσεσθαι παραλαβόντες. [176] ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοί γε πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτονομίας πολέμους διήνεγκαν καὶ οὔτε τῆς Αἰγυπτίων οὔτε τῆς Μήδων δυναστείας ἠττήθησαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ποιεῖν τὸ κελευόμενον. [177] καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ τῶν προγόνων λέγειν; ἀλλ' ὁ νῦν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμος, ἐῶ διελέγχειν πότερον λυσιτελὴς ὢν καὶ σύμφορος ἢ

τοὐναντίον, τίνα δ᾽ οὖν ἔχει πρόφασιν; [178] οὐ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν; εἶτα τοὺς τῆς οἰκουμένης δεσπότας μὴ φέροντες τῶν ὁμοφύλων τυράννων ἀνεξόμεθα; [179] καίτοι τὸ μὲν τοῖς ἔξωθεν ὑπακούειν ἀνενέγκαι τις ἂν εἰς τὴν ἅπαξ ἡττήσασαν τύχην, τὸ δὲ τοῖς οἰκείοις εἴκειν πονηροῖς ἀγεννῶν ἐστι καὶ προαιρουμένων. [180] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἅπαξ ἐμνήσθην Ῥωμαίων, οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν ὃ μεταξὺ τῶν λόγων ἐμπεσὸν ἐπέστρεψε τὴν διάνοιαν, ὅτι κἂν ἁλῶμεν ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνοις, ἀπείη δὲ ἡ πεῖρα τοῦ λόγου, χαλεπώτερον οὐδὲν παθεῖν ἔχομεν ὧν ἡμᾶς διατεθείκασιν οὗτοι. [181] πῶς δὲ οὐ δακρύων ἄξιον ἐκείνων μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ ἀναθήματα βλέπειν, τῶν δὲ ὁμοφύλων τὰ σκῦλα σεσυληκότων καὶ ἀνελόντων τὴν τῆς μητροπόλεως εὐγένειαν, καὶ πεφονευμένους ἄνδρας ὧν ἀπέσχοντο ἂν κἀκεῖνοι κρατήσαντες; [182] καὶ Ῥωμαίους μὲν μηδέποτε ὑπερβῆναι τὸν ὅρον τῶν βεβήλων μηδὲ παραβῆναί τι τῶν ἱερῶν ἐθῶν, πεφρικέναι δὲ πόρρωθεν ὁρῶντας τοὺς τῶν ἁγίων περιβόλους, [183] γενηθέντας δέ τινας ἐν τῇδε τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τραφέντας ὑπὸ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἔθεσι καὶ Ἰουδαίους καλουμένους ἐμπεριπατεῖν μέσοις τοῖς ἁγίοις θερμὰς ἔτι τὰς χεῖρας ἐξ ὁμοφύλων ἔχοντας φόνων; [184] εἶτά τις δέδοικεν τὸν ἔξωθεν πόλεμον καὶ τοὺς ἐν συγκρίσει πολλῷ τῶν οἰκείων ἡμῖν μετριωτέρους; καὶ γὰρ ἄν, εἰ ἐτύμους δεῖ τοῖς πράγμασι τὰς κλήσεις ἐφαρμόζειν, τάχα ἂν εὕροι τις Ῥωμαίους μὲν ἡμῖν βεβαιωτὰς τῶν νόμων, πολεμίους δὲ τοὺς ἔνδον. [185] ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι μὲν ἐξώλεις οἱ ἐπίβουλοι τῆς ἐλευθερίας, καὶ πρὸς ἃ δεδράκασιν οὐκ ἄν τις ἐπινοήσειεν δίκην ἀξίαν κατ᾽ αὐτῶν, οἶμαι πάντας ἥκειν πεπεισμένους οἴκοθεν καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων παρωξύνθαι τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς, ἃ πεπόνθατε. [186] καταπλήσσονται δ᾽ ἴσως οἱ πολλοὶ τό τε πλῆθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν τόλμαν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ τόπου πλεονεξίαν. [187] ταῦτα δ᾽ ὥσπερ συνέστη διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀμέλειαν, καὶ νῦν αὐξηθήσεται πλέον ὑπερθεμένων: καὶ γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέφεται καθ᾽ ἡμέραν παντὸς πονηροῦ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοίους αὐτομολοῦντος, [188] καὶ τὴν τόλμαν ἐξάπτει μέχρι νῦν μηδὲν ἐμπόδιον, τῷ τε τόπῳ καθύπερθεν ὄντες χρήσαιντο καὶ μετὰ παρασκευῆς, ἂν ἡμεῖς χρόνον δῶμεν. [189] πιστεύσατε δὲ ὡς, ἐὰν προσβαίνωμεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς, ἔσονται τῇ συνειδήσει ταπεινότεροι, καὶ τὸ πλεονέκτημα τοῦ ὕψους ὁ λογισμὸς ἀπολεῖ. [190] τάχα τὸ θεῖον ὑβρισμένον ἀναστρέψει κατ᾽ αὐτῶν τὰ βαλλόμενα, καὶ τοῖς σφετέροις διαφθαρήσονται βέλεσιν οἱ δυσσεβεῖς. μόνον ὀφθῶμεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ καταλέλυνται. [191] καλὸν δέ, κἂν προσῇ τις κίνδυνος, ἀποθνήσκειν πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς πυλῶσι καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν εἰ καὶ μὴ πρὸ παίδων ἢ γυναικῶν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἁγίων προέσθαι. [192] προστήσομαι δ᾽ ἐγὼ γνώμῃ τε καὶ χειρί, καὶ οὔτε ἐπίνοιά τις ὑμῖν λείψει πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ἐξ ἡμῶν οὔτε τοῦ σώματος ὄψεσθε φειδόμενον.”

(11) [193] Τούτοις ὁ Ἄνανος παρακροτεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τοὺς ζηλωτάς, οὐκ ἀγνοῶν μὲν ὡς εἶεν ἤδη δυσκατάλυτοι πλήθει τε καὶ νεότητι καὶ παραστήματι ψυχῆς, τὸ πλέον δὲ συνειδήσει τῶν εἰργασμένων: οὐ γὰρ ἐνδώσειν αὐτοὺς εἰς

ἐσχάτην συγγνώμην ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἔδρασαν ἐλπίσαντας: [194] ὅμως δὲ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν παθεῖν προῃρεῖτο μᾶλλον ἢ περιιδεῖν ἐν τοιαύτῃ τὰ πράγματα συγχύσει. [195] τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἄγειν αὐτοὺς ἐβόα καθ᾽ ὧν παρεκάλει, καὶ προκινδυνεύειν ἕκαστος ἦν ἑτοιμότατος.

(12) [196] Ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ ὁ Ἄνανος κατέλεγέ τε καὶ συνέτασσε τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους πρὸς μάχην, οἱ ζηλωταὶ πυνθανόμενοι τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν, παρῆσαν γὰρ οἱ ἀγγέλλοντες αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου, παροξύνονται κἀκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ προπηδῶντες ἀθρόοι τε καὶ κατὰ λόχους οὐδενὸς ἐφείδοντο τῶν προστυγχανόντων. [197] ἀθροίζεται δὲ ὑπ᾽ Ἀνάνου ταχέως τὸ δημοτικόν, πλήθει μὲν ὑπερέχον, ὅπλοις δὲ καὶ τῷ μὴ συγκεκροτῆσθαι λειπόμενον τῶν ζηλωτῶν. [198] τὸ πρόθυμον δὲ παρ᾽ ἑκατέροις ἀνεπλήρου τὰ λείποντα, τῶν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀνειληφότων ὀργὴν ἰσχυροτέραν τῶν ὅπλων, τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τόλμαν παντὸς πλήθους ὑπερέχουσαν: [199] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀοίκητον ὑπολαμβάνοντες αὐτοῖς τὴν πόλιν εἰ μὴ τοὺς λῃστὰς ἐκκόψειαν αὐτῆς, οἱ ζηλωταὶ δὲ εἰ μὴ κρατοῖεν οὐκ ἔστιν ἥστινος ὑστερήσειν τιμωρίας, [200] συνερρήγνυντο στρατηγούμενοι τοῖς πάθεσι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ λίθοις βάλλοντες ἀλλήλους καὶ πόρρωθεν διακοντιζόμενοι, κατὰ δὲ τὰς τροπὰς οἱ κρατοῦντες ἐχρῶντο τοῖς ξίφεσι: καὶ πολὺς ἦν ἑκατέρων φόνος, τραυματίαι τε ἐγίνοντο συχνοί. [201] καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου διεκόμιζον εἰς τὰς οἰκίας οἱ προσήκοντες, ὁ δὲ βληθεὶς τῶν ζηλωτῶν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνῄει καθαιμάσσων τὸ θεῖον ἔδαφος: καὶ μόνον ἄν τις εἴποι τὸ ἐκείνων αἷμα μιᾶναι τὰ ἅγια. [202] κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὰς συμβολὰς ἐκτρέχοντες ἀεὶ περιῆσαν οἱ λῃστρικοί, τεθυμωμένοι δὲ οἱ δημοτικοὶ καὶ πλείους ἀεὶ γινόμενοι, κακίζοντες τοὺς ἐνδιδόντας καὶ μὴ διδόντες τοῖς τρεπομένοις ἀναχώρησιν οἱ κατόπιν βιαζόμενοι, πᾶν μὲν ἐπιστρέφουσι τὸ σφέτερον εἰς τοὺς ὑπεναντίους: [203] κἀκείνων μηκέτ᾽ ἀντεχόντων τῇ βίᾳ, κατὰ μικρὸν δ᾽ ἀναχωρούντων εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν συνεισπίπτουσιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄνανον. [204] τοῖς δὲ κατάπληξις ἐμπίπτει στερομένοις τοῦ πρώτου περιβόλου, καὶ καταφυγόντες εἰς τὸ ἐνδοτέρω ταχέως ἀποκλείουσι τὰς πύλας. [205] τῷ δ᾽ Ἀνάνῳ προσβαλεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἐδόκει τοῖς ἱεροῖς πυλῶσιν ἄλλως τε κἀκείνων βαλλόντων ἄνωθεν, ἀθέμιτον δ᾽ ἡγεῖτο, κἂν κρατήσῃ, μὴ προηγνευκὸς εἰσαγαγεῖν τὸ πλῆθος: [206] διακληρώσας δ᾽ ἐκ πάντων εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους ὁπλίτας καθίστησιν ἐπὶ ταῖς στοαῖς φρουρούς: [207] διεδέχοντο δὲ ἄλλοι τούτους, καὶ παντὶ μὲν ἀνάγκη παρεῖναι πρὸς τὴν φυλακὴν ἐκ περιόδου, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν ἀξιώμασιν ἐφεθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἄρχειν δοκούντων μισθούμενοι πενιχροτέρους ἀνθ᾽ ἑαυτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν φρουρὰν ἔπεμπον.

(13) [208] Γίνεται δὲ τούτοις πᾶσιν ὀλέθρου παραίτιος Ἰωάννης, ὃν ἔφαμεν ἀπὸ Γισχάλων διαδρᾶναι, δολιώτατος ἀνὴρ καὶ δεινὸν ἔρωτα τυραννίδος ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ περιφέρων, ὃς πόρρωθεν ἐπεβούλευε τοῖς πράγμασιν. [209] καὶ δὴ τότε τὰ τοῦ δήμου φρονεῖν ὑποκρινόμενος συμπεριῄει μὲν τῷ Ἀνάνῳ βουλευομένῳ σὺν τοῖς

δυνατοῖς μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ ἐπιόντι τὰς φυλακάς, διήγγελλε δὲ τὰ ἀπόρρητα τοῖς ζηλωταῖς, καὶ πᾶν σκέμμα τοῦ δήμου πρὶν καλῶς βουλευθῆναι παρὰ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐγινώσκετο δι᾽ αὐτοῦ. [210] μηχανώμενος δὲ τὸ μὴ δι᾽ ὑποψίας ἐλθεῖν ἀμέτροις ἐχρῆτο ταῖς θεραπείαις εἰς τόν τε Ἄνανον καὶ τοὺς τοῦ δήμου προεστῶτας. [211] ἐχώρει δ᾽ εἰς τοὐναντίον αὐτῷ τὸ φιλότιμον: διὰ γὰρ τὰς ἀλόγους κολακείας μᾶλλον ὑπωπτεύετο, καὶ τὸ πανταχοῦ παρεῖναι μὴ καλούμενον ἔμφασιν προδοσίας τῶν ἀπορρήτων παρεῖχε. [212] συνεώρων μὲν γὰρ αἰσθανομένους ἅπαντα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς βουλευμάτων, πιθανώτερος δ᾽ οὐδεὶς ἦν Ἰωάννου πρὸς ὑποψίας τοῦ διαγγέλλειν. [213] ἀποσκευάσασθαι μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἦν ῥᾴδιον ὄντα δυνατὸν ἐκ πονηρίας καὶ ἄλλως οὐ τῶν ἀσήμων ὑπεζωσμένον τε πολλοὺς τῶν συνεδρευόντων τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἐδόκει δὲ αὐτὸν ὅρκοις πιστώσασθαι πρὸς εὔνοιαν. [214] ὤμνυε δ᾽ ὁ Ἰωάννης ἑτοίμως εὐνοήσειν τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ μήτε βουλὴν τινα μήτε πρᾶξιν προδώσειν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, συγκαταλύσειν δὲ τοὺς ἐπιτιθεμένους καὶ χειρὶ καὶ γνώμῃ. [215] οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἄνανον πιστεύσαντες τοῖς ὅρκοις ἤδη χωρὶς ὑπονοίας εἰς τὰς συμβουλίας αὐτὸν παρελάμβανον, καὶ δὴ καὶ πρεσβευτὴν εἰσπέμπουσι πρὸς τοὺς ζηλωτὰς περὶ διαλύσεων: ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς σπουδὴ τὸ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς μὴ μιᾶναι τὸ ἱερὸν μηδέ τινα τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἐν αὐτῷ πεσεῖν.

(14) [216] Ὁ δ᾽ ὥσπερ τοῖς ζηλωταῖς ὑπὲρ εὐνοίας ὁμόσας καὶ οὐ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν, παρελθὼν εἴσω καὶ καταστὰς εἰς μέσους πολλάκις μὲν ἔφη κινδυνεῦσαι δι᾽ αὐτούς, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀγνοήσωσι τῶν ἀπορρήτων, ὅσα κατ᾽ αὐτῶν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄνανον ἐβουλεύσαντο: [217] νῦν δὲ τὸν μέγιστον ἀναρριπτεῖν κίνδυνον σὺν πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς, εἰ μή τις προσγένοιτο βοήθεια δαιμόνιος. [218] οὐ γὰρ ἔτι μέλλειν Ἄνανον, ἀλλὰ πείσαντα μὲν τὸν δῆμον πεπομφέναι πρέσβεις πρὸς Οὐεσπασιανόν, ἵν᾽ ἐλθὼν κατὰ τάχος παραλάβῃ τὴν πόλιν, ἀγνείαν δὲ παρηγγελκέναι κατ᾽ αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἑξῆς ἡμέραν, ἵν᾽ ἢ κατὰ θρησκείαν εἰσελθόντες ἢ καὶ βιασάμενοι συμμίξωσιν αὐτοῖς. [219] οὐχ ὁρᾶν δὲ μέχρι τίνος ἢ τὴν φρουρὰν οἵσουσιν ἢ παρατάξονται πρὸς τοσούτους. προσετίθει δ᾽ ὡς αὐτὸς εἰσπεμφθείη κατὰ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν ὡς πρεσβευτὴς περὶ διαλύσεων: τὸν γὰρ Ἄνανον ταύτας αὐτοῖς προτείνειν, ὅπως ἀνυποπτοτέροις ἐπέλθῃ. [220] δεῖν οὖν ἢ τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ ζῆν τοὺς φρουροῦντας ἱκετεύειν ἢ πορίζεσθαί τινα παρὰ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπικουρίαν: [221] τοὺς δὲ θαλπομένους ἐλπίδι συγγνώμης εἰ κρατηθεῖεν, ἐπιλελῆσθαι τῶν ἰδίων τολμημάτων ἢ νομίζειν ἅμα τῷ μετανοεῖν τοὺς δεδρακότας εὐθέως ὀφείλειν διηλλάχθαι καὶ τοὺς παθόντας. [222] ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἀδικησάντων διὰ μίσους πολλάκις γίνεσθαι καὶ τὴν μεταμέλειαν, τοῖς ἀδικηθεῖσι δὲ τὰς ὀργὰς ἐπ᾽ ἐξουσίας χαλεπωτέρας: [223] ἐφεδρεύειν δέ γε ἐκείνοις φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς τῶν ἀπολωλότων καὶ δῆμον τοσοῦτον ὑπὲρ καταλύσεως νόμων καὶ δικαστηρίων τεθυμωμένον, ὅπου κἂν ᾖ τι μέρος τὸ ἐλεοῦν, ὑπὸ πλείονος ἂν αὐτὸ τοῦ διαγανακτοῦντος ἀφανισθῆναι.

IV

(1) [224] Τοιαῦτα μὲν ἐποίκιλλεν ἀθρόως δεδισσόμενος, καὶ τὴν ἔξωθεν βοήθειαν ἀναφανδὸν μὲν οὐκ ἐθάρρει λέγειν, ᾐνίσσετο δὲ τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους: ἵνα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν ζηλωτῶν ἰδίᾳ παροξύνῃ, τὸν Ἄνανον εἴς τε ὠμότητα διέβαλλε καὶ ἀπειλεῖν ἐκείνοις ἐξαιρέτως ἔλεγεν. [225] ἦσαν δὲ Ἐλεάζαρος μὲν υἱὸς Γίωνος, ὃς δὴ καὶ πιθανώτατος ἐδόκει τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς νοῆσαί τε τὰ δέοντα καὶ τὰ νοηθέντα πρᾶξαι, Ζαχαρίας δέ τις υἱὸς Ἀμφικάλλει, γένος ἐκ τῶν ἱερέων ἑκάτερος. [226] οὗτοι πρὸς ταῖς κοιναῖς τὰς ἰδίας καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἀπειλὰς ἀκούσαντες, ἔτι δ' ὡς οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄνανον δυναστείαν αὐτοῖς περιποιούμενοι Ῥωμαίους ἐπικαλοῖντο, καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο Ἰωάννης προσεψεύσατο, μέχρι πολλοῦ μὲν ἠποροῦντο, τί χρὴ πράττειν εἰς ὀξὺν οὕτως καιρὸν συνεωσμένους: [227] παρεσκευάσθαι μὲν γὰρ τὸν δῆμον ἐπιχειρεῖν αὐτοῖς οὐκ εἰς μακράν, αὐτῶν δὲ τὸ σύντομον τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ὑποτετμῆσθαι τὰς ἔξωθεν ἐπικουρίας: πάντα γὰρ ἂν φθῆναι παθεῖν πρὶν καὶ πυθέσθαι τινὰ τῶν συμμάχων. [228] ἔδοξε δ' ὅμως ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους, καὶ γράψαντες ἐπιστολὴν σύντομον, ὡς Ἄνανος μὲν προδιδοίη Ῥωμαίοις τὴν μητρόπολιν ἐξαπατήσας τὸν δῆμον, αὐτοὶ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀποστάντες ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ φρουροῖντο, [229] ὀλίγος δ' ἔτι χρόνος αὐτοῖς βραβεύοι τὴν σωτηρίαν, εἰ δὲ μὴ βοηθήσουσιν ἐκεῖνοι κατὰ τάχος, αὐτοὶ μὲν ὑπ' Ἀνάνῳ τε καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ἡ πόλις δ' ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους φθάσει γενομένη. τὰ δὲ πολλὰ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἐνετέλλοντο πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν Ἰδουμαίων διαλέγεσθαι. [230] προεβλήθησαν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγγελίαν δύο τῶν δραστηρίων ἀνδρῶν εἰπεῖν τε ἱκανοὶ καὶ πεῖσαι περὶ πραγμάτων, τὸ δὲ τούτων χρησιμώτερον, ὠκύτητι ποδῶν διαφέροντες: [231] τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Ἰδουμαίους αὐτόθεν ᾔδεισαν πεισθησομένους, ἅτε θορυβῶδες καὶ ἄτακτον ἔθνος αἰεί τε μετέωρον πρὸς τὰ κινήματα καὶ μεταβολαῖς χαῖρον, πρὸς ὀλίγην τε κολακείαν τῶν δεομένων τὰ ὅπλα κινοῦν καὶ καθάπερ εἰς ἑορτὴν εἰς τὰς παρατάξεις ἐπειγόμενον. [232] ἔδει δὲ τάχους εἰς τὴν ἀγγελίαν: εἰς ὃ μηδὲν ἐλλείποντες προθυμίας οἱ πεμφθέντες, ἐκαλεῖτο δ' αὐτῶν Ἀνανίας ἑκάτερος, καὶ δὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν Ἰδουμαίων παρῆσαν.

(2) [233] Οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τὰ ῥηθέντα παρὰ τῶν ἀφιγμένων ἐκπλαγέντες, ὥσπερ ἐμμανεῖς περιέθεόν τε τὸ ἔθνος καὶ διεκήρυσσον τὴν στρατείαν. [234] ἤθροιστο δ' ἡ πληθὺς τάχιον τοῦ παραγγέλματος, καὶ πάντες ὡς ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἥρπαζον τὰ ὅπλα. [235] συνταχθέντες δὲ εἰς δύο μυριάδας παραγίνονται πρὸς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, χρώμενοι τέσσαρσιν ἡγεμόσιν Ἰωάννῃ τε καὶ Ἰακώβῳ παιδὶ Σωσᾶ, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἦν Σίμων υἱὸς Θακήου καὶ Φινέας Κλουσώθ.

(3) [236] Τὸν δὲ Ἄνανον ἡ μὲν ἔξοδος τῶν ἀγγέλων ὥσπερ καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς ἔλαθεν, ἡ δ' ἔφοδος τῶν Ἰδουμαίων οὐκέτι: προγνοὺς γὰρ ἀπέκλειέ τε τὰς πύλας

αὐτοῖς καὶ διὰ φυλακῆς εἶχε τὰ τείχη. [237] καθάπαν γε μὴν αὐτοὺς ἐκπολεμεῖν οὐκ ἔδοξεν, ἀλλὰ λόγοις πείθειν πρὸ τῶν ὅπλων. [238] στὰς οὖν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄντικρυς αὐτῶν πύργον ὁ μετὰ Ἄνανον γεραίτατος τῶν ἀρχιερέων Ἰησοῦς, πολλῶν ἔφη καὶ ποικίλων τὴν πόλιν κατεσχηκότων θορύβων ἐν οὐδενὶ θαυμάσαι τὴν τύχην οὕτως, ὡς τῷ συμπράττειν τοῖς πονηροῖς καὶ τὰ παράδοξα: [239] παρεῖναι γοῦν ὑμᾶς ἀνθρώποις ἐξωλεστάτοις μετὰ τοσαύτης προθυμίας ἐπαμυνοῦντας καθ' ἡμῶν, μεθ' ὅσης εἰκὸς ἦν ἐλθεῖν οὐδὲ τῆς μητροπόλεως καλούσης ἐπὶ βαρβάρους. [240] καὶ εἰ μὲν ἑώρων τὴν σύνταξιν ὑμῶν ἐξ ὁμοίων τοῖς καλέσασιν ἀνδρῶν, οὐκ ἂν ἄλογον τὴν ὁρμὴν ὑπελάμβανον: οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως συνίστησι τὰς εὐνοίας ὡς τρόπων συγγένεια: νῦν δ', εἰ μέν τις αὐτοὺς ἐξετάζοι καθ' ἕνα, μυρίων ἕκαστος εὑρεθήσεται θανάτων ἄξιος. [241] τὰ γὰρ θύματα καὶ καθάρματα τῆς πόλεως ὅλης, κατασωτευσάμενα τὰς ἰδίας οὐσίας καὶ προγυμνάσαντα τὴν ἀπόνοιαν ἐν ταῖς πέριξ κώμαις τε καὶ πόλεσι, τελευταῖα λεληθότως παρεισέρρευσαν εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν, [242] λῃσταὶ δι' ὑπερβολὴν ἀσεβημάτων μιαίνοντες καὶ τὸ ἀβέβηλον ἔδαφος, οὓς ὁρᾶν ἔστι νῦν ἀδεεῖς ἐμμεθυσκομένους τοῖς ἁγίοις καὶ τὰ σκῦλα τῶν πεφονευμένων καταναλίσκοντας εἰς τὰς ἀπλήστους γαστέρας. [243] τὸ δ' ὑμέτερον πλῆθος καὶ τὸν κόσμον τῶν ὅπλων ὁρᾶν ἔστιν οἷος ἔπρεπεν καλούσης μὲν τῆς μητροπόλεως κοινῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, συμμάχους δὲ κατ' ἀλλοφύλων. τί ἂν οὖν εἴποι τοῦτό τις ἢ τύχης ἐπήρειαν, ὅταν λογάσι πονηροῖς αὔτανδρον ἔθνος ὁρᾷ συνασπίζον [αὐτοῖς]; [244] μέχρι πολλοῦ μὲν ἀπορῶ, τί δή ποτε καὶ τὸ κινῆσαν ὑμᾶς οὕτω ταχέως ἐγένετο: μὴ γὰρ ἂν δίχα μεγάλης αἰτίας ἀναλαβεῖν τὰς πανοπλίας ὑπὲρ λῃστῶν καὶ κατὰ δήμου συγγενοῦς: [245] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἠκούσαμεν Ῥωμαίους καὶ προδοσίαν, ταῦτα γὰρ ὑμῶν ἐθορύβουν τινὲς ἀρτίως, καὶ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐπ' ἐλευθερώσει παρεῖναι, πλέον τῶν ἄλλων τολμημάτων ἐθαυμάσαμεν τοὺς ἀλιτηρίους τῆς περὶ τοῦτο ψευδοῦς ἐπινοίας: [246] ἄνδρας γὰρ φύσει φιλελευθέρους καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα τοῖς ἔξωθεν πολεμίοις μάχεσθαι παρεσκευασμένους οὐκ ἐνῆν ἄλλως ἐξαγριῶσαι καθ' ἡμῶν ἢ λογοποιήσαντας προδοσίαν τῆς ποθουμένης ἐλευθερίας. [247] ἀλλ' ὑμᾶς γε χρὴ σκέπτεσθαι τούς τε διαβάλλοντας καὶ καθ' ὧν, συνάγειν τε τὴν ἀλήθειαν οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιπλάστων λόγων ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων. [248] τί γὰρ δὴ καὶ παθόντες ἂν ἡμεῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσπωλοῖμεν ἑαυτοὺς νῦν, παρὸν ἢ μηδὲ ἀποστῆναι τὸ πρῶτον ἢ προσχωρῆσαι ταχέως ἀποστάντας ὄντων ἔτι τῶν πέριξ ἀπορθήτων; [249] νῦν μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ βουλομένοις διαλύσασθαι ῥᾴδιον, ὅτε Ῥωμαίους μὲν ὑπερόπτας πεποίηκεν ὑποχείριος ἡ Γαλιλαία, φέρει δ' αἰσχύνην ἡμῖν θανάτου χαλεπωτέραν τὸ θεραπεύειν αὐτοὺς ὄντας ἤδη πλησίον. [250] καὶ ἐγὼ καθ' ἑαυτὸν μὲν ἂν εἰρήνην προτιμήσαιμι θανάτου, πολεμούμενος δ' ἅπαξ καὶ συμβαλὼν θάνατον εὐκλεᾶ τοῦ ζῆν αἰχμάλωτος. [251] πότερον δέ φασιν ἡμᾶς τοὺς τοῦ δήμου προεστῶτας πέμψαι κρύφα πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἢ καὶ τὸν δῆμον κοινῇ ψηφισάμενον; [252] εἰ μὲν ἡμᾶς, εἰπάτωσαν τοὺς πεμφθέντας φίλους, τοὺς

διακονήσαντας τὴν προδοσίαν οἰκέτας. ἐφωράθη τις ἀπιών; ἀνακομιζόμενος ἑάλω; [253] γραμμάτων γεγόνασιν ἐγκρατεῖς; πῶς δὲ τοὺς μὲν τοσούτους πολίτας ἐλάθομεν, οἷς κατὰ πᾶσαν ὥραν συναναστρεφόμεθα, τοῖς δὲ ὀλίγοις καὶ φρουρουμένοις καὶ μηδ' εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ προελθεῖν δυναμένοις ἐγνώσθη τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν λαθραίως ἐνεργούμενα; [254] νῦν δ' ἔγνωσαν, ὅτε δεῖ δοῦναι δίκας τῶν τετολμημένων, ἕως δ' ἦσαν ἀδεεῖς αὐτοί, προδότης ἡμῶν οὐδεὶς ὑπωπτεύετο; [255] εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀναφέρουσι τὴν αἰτίαν, ἐν φανερῷ δήπουθεν ἐβουλεύσαντο, οὐδεὶς ἀπεστάτει τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὥστε τάχιον ἂν τῆς μηνύσεως ἔσπευσεν ἡ φήμη πρὸς ὑμᾶς φανερωτέρα. [256] τί δέ; οὐχὶ καὶ πρέσβεις ἔδει πέμπειν ψηφισαμένους τὰς διαλύσεις; καὶ τίς ὁ χειροτονηθείς; εἰπάτωσαν. [257] ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν δυσθανατούντων καὶ πλησίον οὔσας τὰς τιμωρίας διακρουομένων σκῆψίς ἐστιν: εἰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ προδοθῆναι τὴν πόλιν εἵμαρτο, μόνους ἂν τολμῆσαι καὶ τοῦτο τοὺς διαβάλλοντας, ὧν τοῖς τολμήμασιν ἓν μόνον [κακὸν] λείπει, προδοσία. [258] χρὴ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἐπειδήπερ ἅπαξ πάρεστε μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων, τὸ μὲν δικαιότατον, ἀμύνειν τῇ μητροπόλει καὶ συνεξαιρεῖν τοὺς τὰ δικαστήρια καταλύσαντας τυράννους, οἳ πατήσαντες τοὺς νόμους ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν ξίφεσι πεποίηνται τὰς κρίσεις. [259] ἄνδρας γοῦν ἀκαταιτιάτους τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐκ μέσης τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἁρπάσαντες δεσμοῖς τε προῃκίσαντο καὶ μηδὲ φωνῆς μηδ' ἱκεσίας ἀνασχόμενοι διέφθειραν. [260] ἔξεστιν δ' ὑμῖν παρελθοῦσιν εἴσω μὴ πολέμου νόμῳ θεάσασθαι τὰ τεκμήρια τῶν λεγομένων, οἴκους ἠρημωμένους ταῖς ἐκείνων ἁρπαγαῖς καὶ γύναια καὶ γενεὰς τῶν ἀπεσφαγμένων μελανειμονούσας, κωκυτὸν δὲ καὶ θρῆνον ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην: οὐδεὶς γάρ ἐστιν, ὃς οὐ γέγευται τῆς τῶν ἀνοσίων καταδρομῆς: [261] οἵ γε ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξώκειλαν ἀπονοίας, ὥστε μὴ μόνον ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν πόλεων ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὅλου τοῦ ἔθνους μετενεγκεῖν τὴν λῃστρικὴν τόλμαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερόν. [262] ὁρμητήριον γοῦν αὐτοῖς τοῦτο καὶ καταφυγὴ ταμιεῖόν τε τῶν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς παρασκευῶν γέγονεν, ὁ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης προσκυνούμενος χῶρος καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ περάτων γῆς ἀλλοφύλοις ἀκοῇ τετιμημένος παρὰ τῶν γενηθέντων ἐνθάδε θηρίων καταπατεῖται: [263] νεανιεύονταί τε ἐν ταῖς ἀπογνώσεσιν ἤδη δήμους τε δήμοις καὶ πόλεσι πόλεις συγκρούειν καὶ κατὰ τῶν σπλάγχνων τῶν ἰδίων τὸ ἔθνος στρατολογεῖν. [264] ἀνθ' ὧν τὸ μὲν κάλλιστον καὶ πρέπον, ὡς ἔφην, ὑμῖν συνεξαιρεῖν τοὺς ἀλιτηρίους καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀπάτης ἀμυνομένους, ὅτι συμμάχους ἐτόλμησαν καλεῖν οὓς ἔδει τιμωροὺς δεδιέναι: [265] εἰ δὲ αἰδεῖσθε τὰς τῶν τοιούτων ἐπικλήσεις, ἀλλά τοι πάρεστι θεμένοις τὰ ὅπλα καὶ παρελθοῦσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν σχήματι συγγενῶν ἀναλαβεῖν τὸ μέσον συμμάχων τε καὶ πολεμίων ὄνομα δικαστὰς γενομένους. [266] καίτοι λογίσασθε, πόσον κερδήσουσιν ἐφ' ὁμολογουμένοις καὶ τηλικούτοις κρινόμενοι παρ' ὑμῖν οἱ τοῖς ἀκαταιτιάτοις μηδὲ λόγου μεταδόντες: λαμβανέτωσαν δ' οὖν ταύτην ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀφίξεως τὴν χάριν. [267] εἰ δ' οὔτε συναγανακτεῖν ἡμῖν οὔτε κρίνεσθαι

δεῖ, τρίτον ἐστὶ καταλιπεῖν ἑκατέρους καὶ μήτε ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἐπιβαίνειν συμφοραῖς μήτε τοῖς ἐπιβούλοις τῆς μητροπόλεως συνέρχεσθαι. [268] εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα Ῥωμαίοις ὑποπτεύετε διειλέχθαι τινάς, παρατηρεῖν ἔξεστι τὰς ἐφόδους, κἄν τι τῶν διαβεβλημένων ἔργῳ διακαλύπτηται, τότε φρουρεῖν τὴν μητρόπολιν ἐλθόντας κολάζειν τε τοὺς αἰτίους πεφωραμένους: οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑμᾶς φθάσειαν οἱ πολέμιοι τῇ πόλει προσῳκημένους. [269] εἰ δ᾽ οὐδὲν ὑμῖν τούτων εὔγνωμον ἢ μέτριον δοκεῖ, μὴ θαυμάζετε τὰ κλεῖθρα τῶν πυλῶν, ἕως ἂν φέρητε τὰ ὅπλα.”

(4) [270] Τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἔλεγε: τῶν δὲ Ἰδουμαίων οὔτε τὸ πλῆθος προσεῖχεν, ἀλλὰ τεθύμωτο μὴ τυχὸν ἑτοίμης τῆς εἰσόδου, καὶ διηγανάκτουν οἱ στρατηγοὶ πρὸς ἀπόθεσιν τῶν ὅπλων αἰχμαλωσίαν ἡγούμενοι τὸ κελευόντων τινῶν αὐτὰ ῥῖψαι. [271] Σίμων δὲ υἱὸς Κααθὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων εἷς, μόλις τῶν οἰκείων καταστείλας τὸν θόρυβον καὶ στὰς εἰς ἐπήκοον τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν, [272] οὐκέτι θαυμάζειν ἔφη φρουρουμένων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῶν προμάχων τῆς ἐλευθερίας, εἴ γε καὶ τῷ ἔθνει κλείουσί τινες ἤδη τὴν κοινὴν πόλιν, [273] καὶ Ῥωμαίους μὲν εἰσδέχεσθαι παρασκευάζονται τάχα καὶ στεφανώσαντες τὰς πύλας, Ἰδουμαίοις δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων διαλέγονται καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὅπλα κελεύουσι ῥῖψαι, [274] μὴ πιστεύοντες δὲ τοῖς συγγενέσι τὴν τῆς μητροπόλεως φυλακὴν τοὺς αὐτοὺς δικαστὰς ποιοῦνται τῶν διαφόρων, καὶ κατηγοροῦντές τινων ὡς ἀποκτείνειαν ἀκρίτους, αὐτοὶ καταδικάζοιεν ὅλου τοῦ ἔθνους ἀτιμίαν: [275] τὴν γοῦν ἅπασι τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις ἀναπεπταμένην εἰς θρησκείαν πόλιν τοῖς οἰκείοις νῦν ἀποτετείχισθε. [276] πάνυ γὰρ ἐπὶ σφαγὰς ἐσπεύδομεν καὶ τὸν κατὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων πόλεμον οἱ διὰ τοῦτο ταχύναντες, ἵν᾽ ὑμᾶς τηρήσωμεν ἐλευθέρους. [277] τοιαῦτα μέντοι καὶ πρὸς τῶν φρουρουμένων ἠδίκησθε, καὶ πιθανὰς οὕτως ὑποψίας οἶμαι κατ᾽ ἐκείνων συνελέξατε. [278] ἔπειτα τῶν ἔνδον φρουρᾷ κρατοῦντες ὅσοι κήδονται τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ τοῖς συγγενεστάτοις ἔθνεσιν ἀθρόοις ἀποκλείσαντες μὲν τὴν πόλιν ὑβριστικὰ δ᾽ οὕτως προστάγματα κελεύοντες, τυραννεῖσθαι λέγετε καὶ τὸ τῆς δυναστείας ὄνομα τοῖς ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν τυραννουμένοις περιάπτετε. [279] τίς ἂν ἐνέγκαι τὴν εἰρωνείαν τῶν λόγων ἀφορῶν εἰς τὴν ἐναντιότητα τῶν πραγμάτων; εἰ μὴ καὶ νῦν ὑμᾶς ἀποκλείουσιν Ἰδουμαῖοι τῆς μητροπόλεως, οὓς αὐτοὶ τῶν πατρίων ἱερῶν εἴργετε. [280] μέμψαιτ᾽ ἂν εἰκότως τις τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ πολιορκουμένους, ὅτι θαρσήσαντες τοὺς προδότας κολάζειν, οὓς ὑμεῖς ἄνδρας ἐπισήμους καὶ ἀκαταιτιάτους λέγετε διὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν, οὐκ ἀφ᾽ ὑμῶν ἤρξαντο καὶ τὰ καιριώτατα τῆς προδοσίας μέρη προαπέκοψαν. [281] ἀλλ᾽ εἰ κἀκεῖνοι τῆς χρείας ἐγένοντο μαλακώτεροι, τηρήσομεν Ἰδουμαῖοι τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς κοινῆς πατρίδος προπολεμήσομεν ἅμα τούς τε ἔξωθεν ἐπιόντας καὶ τοὺς ἔνδον προδιδόντας ἀμυνόμενοι πολεμίους. [282] ἐνθάδε πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν μενοῦμεν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἕως

ἂν Ῥωμαῖοι κάμωσι προσέχοντες ὑμῖν ἢ ὑμεῖς ἐλεύθερα φρονήσαντες μεταβάλησθε.”

(5) [283] Τούτοις τὸ μὲν τῶν Ἰδουμαίων ἐπεβόα πλῆθος, ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀθυμῶν ἀνεχώρει τοὺς μὲν Ἰδουμαίους μηδὲν φρονοῦντας ὁρῶν μέτριον, διχόθεν δὲ τὴν πόλιν πολεμουμένην. [284] ἦν δὲ οὐδὲ τοῖς Ἰδουμαίοις ἐν ἠρεμίᾳ τὰ φρονήματα: καὶ γὰρ τεθύμωντο πρὸς τὴν ὕβριν εἰρχθέντες τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὰ τῶν ζηλωτῶν ἰσχυρὰ δοκοῦντες ὡς οὐδὲν ἐπαμύνοντας ἑώρων, ἠποροῦντο καὶ μετενόουν πολλοὶ τὴν ἄφιξιν. [285] ἡ δὲ αἰδὼς τοῦ τέλεον ἀπράκτους ὑποστρέφειν ἐνίκα τὴν μεταμέλειαν, ὥστε μένειν αὐτόθι πρὸ τοῦ τείχους κακῶς αὐλιζομένους: [286] διὰ γὰρ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀμήχανος ἐκρήγνυται χειμὼν ἄνεμοί τε βίαιοι σὺν ὄμβροις λαβροτάτοις καὶ συνεχεῖς ἀστραπαὶ βρονταί τε φρικώδεις καὶ μυκήματα σειομένης τῆς γῆς ἐξαίσια. [287] πρόδηλον δὲ ἦν ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων ὀλέθρῳ τὸ κατάστημα τῶν ὅλων συγκεχυμένον, καὶ οὐχὶ μικροῦ τις ἂν εἰκάσαι συμπτώματος τὰ τέρατα.

(6) [288] Μία δὲ τοῖς Ἰδουμαίοις καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει παρέστη δόξα, τοῖς μὲν ὀργίζεσθαι τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τῇ στρατείᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἂν διαφυγεῖν ἐπενεγκόντας ὅπλα τῇ μητροπόλει, τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἄνανον νενικηκέναι χωρὶς παρατάξεως καὶ τὸν θεὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν στρατηγεῖν. [289] κακοὶ δ᾽ ἦσαν ἄρα τῶν μελλόντων στοχασταὶ καὶ κατεμαντεύοντο τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἃ τοῖς ἰδίοις αὐτῶν ἐπῄει παθεῖν. [290] οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἰδουμαῖοι συσπειραθέντες τοῖς σώμασιν ἀλλήλους ἀντέθαλπον καὶ τοὺς θυρεοὺς ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς συμφράξαντες ἧττον ἐκακοῦντο τοῖς ὑετοῖς, [291] οἱ δὲ ζηλωταὶ μᾶλλον τοῦ καθ᾽ αὑτοὺς κινδύνου ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ἐβασανίζοντο καὶ συνελθόντες ἐσκόπουν, εἴ τινα μηχανὴν αὐτοῖς ἀμύνης ἐπινοήσειαν. [292] τοῖς μὲν οὖν θερμοτέροις ἐδόκει μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων βιάζεσθαι τοὺς παραφυλάσσοντας, ἔπειτα δ᾽ εἰσπεσόντας εἰς μέσον τῆς πόλεως ἀναφανδὸν ἀνοίγειν τοῖς συμμάχοις τὰς πύλας: [293] τούς τε γὰρ φύλακας εἴξειν πρὸς τὸ ἀδόκητον αὐτῶν τεταραγμένους ἄλλως τε καὶ τοὺς πλείονας [αὐτῶν] ὄντας ἀνόπλους καὶ πολέμων ἀπείρους, καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν δυσσύνακτον ἔσεσθαι τὸ πλῆθος κατειλημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος εἰς τὰς οἰκίας. [294] εἰ δὲ καί τις γένοιτο κίνδυνος, πρέπειν αὐτοῖς πᾶν ὁτιοῦν παθεῖν ἢ περιιδεῖν τοσοῦτον πλῆθος δι᾽ αὐτοὺς αἰσχρῶς ἀπολλύμενον. [295] οἱ δὲ συνετώτεροι βιάζεσθαι μὲν ἀπεγίνωσκον ὁρῶντες οὐ μόνον τὴν αὐτῶν φρουρὰν πληθύουσαν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῆς πόλεως τεῖχος διὰ τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους ἐπιμελῶς φυλασσόμενον, [296] ᾤοντό τε πανταχοῦ τὸν Ἄνανον παρεῖναι καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν ὥραν ἐπισκέπτεσθαι τὰς φυλακάς: [297] ὃ δὴ ταῖς μὲν ἄλλαις νυξὶν οὕτως εἶχεν, ἀνείθη δὲ κατ᾽ ἐκείνην, οὐ κατὰ τὴν Ἀνάνου ῥᾳθυμίαν, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἀπόλοιτο καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν φυλάκων στρατηγούσης τῆς εἱμαρμένης, [298] ἢ δὴ καὶ τότε τῆς νυκτὸς προκοπτούσης καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐπακμάζοντος κοιμίζει μὲν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ στοᾷ φρουρούς, τοῖς δὲ ζηλωταῖς ἐπίνοιαν ἐμβάλλει τῶν ἱερῶν αἴροντας πριόνων ἐκτεμεῖν τοὺς μοχλοὺς τῶν πυλῶν. [299] συνήργησε δ᾽

αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸ μὴ κατακουσθῆναι τὸν ψόφον ὅ τε τῶν ἀνέμων ἦχος καὶ τὸ τῶν βροντῶν ἐπάλληλον.

(7) [300] Διαλανθάνοντες δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ παραγίνονται πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς πρίοσι χρώμενοι τὴν κατὰ τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους ἀνοίγουσι πύλην. [301] τοῖς δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐμπίπτει ταραχὴ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἄνανον ἐπιχειρεῖν οἰηθεῖσι, καὶ πᾶς ἐπὶ τοῦ ξίφους ἔσχε τὴν δεξιὰν ὡς ἀμυνούμενος: ταχέως δὲ γνωρίζοντες τοὺς ἥκοντας εἰσῄεσαν. [302] εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐτράποντο περὶ τὴν πόλιν, οὐδὲν ἐκώλυσεν ἂν ἀπολωλέναι τὸν δῆμον αὔτανδρον: οὕτως εἶχον ὀργῆς: νῦν δὲ πρώτους τοὺς ζηλωτὰς σπεύδοντες τῆς φρουρᾶς ἐξελέσθαι, δεομένων πολλὰ καὶ τῶν εἰσδεξαμένων μὴ περιιδεῖν δι᾽ οὓς ἦλθον ἐν μέσοις τοῖς δεινοῖς μηδ᾽ αὐτοῖς χαλεπώτερον ἐπισεῖσαι τὸν κίνδυνον: [303] τῶν μὲν γὰρ φρουρῶν ἁλόντων ῥᾴδιον αὐτοῖς εἶναι χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, εἰ δ᾽ ἅπαξ ταύτην προκινήσειαν, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι ἐκείνων κρατῆσαι: [304] πρὸς γὰρ τὴν αἴσθησιν συντάξεσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς ἀνόδους ἀποφράξειν:

V

(1) [305] Συνεδόκει ταῦτα τοῖς Ἰδουμαίοις, καὶ διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀνέβαινον πρὸς τὸ ἱερόν, μετέωροί τε οἱ ζηλωταὶ τὴν ἄφιξιν αὐτῶν ἐκαραδόκουν. καὶ παριόντων εἴσω καὶ αὐτοὶ θαρροῦντες προῄεσαν ἐκ τοῦ ἐνδοτέρου ἱεροῦ. [306] μιγέντες δὲ τοῖς Ἰδουμαίοις προσέβαλλον ταῖς φυλακαῖς, καὶ τινὰς μὲν τῶν προκοιτούντων ἀπέσφαξαν κοιμωμένους, πρὸς δὲ τὴν τῶν ἐγρηγορότων βοὴν διανέστη πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκπλήξεως ἁρπάζοντες τὰ ὅπλα πρὸς τὴν ἄμυναν ἐχώρουν. [307] ἕως μὲν οὖν μόνους τοὺς ζηλωτὰς ἐπιχειρεῖν ὑπελάμβανον, ἐθάρρουν ὡς τῷ πλήθει περιεσόμενοι, κατιδόντες δὲ ἔξωθεν ἐπιχεομένους ἄλλους ᾔσθοντο τὴν εἰσβολὴν τῶν Ἰδουμαίων, [308] καὶ τὸ μὲν πλέον αὐτῶν ἅμα ταῖς ψυχαῖς κατέβαλλε τὰ ὅπλα καὶ πρὸς οἰμωγαῖς ἦν, φραξάμενοι δὲ ὀλίγοι τῶν νέων γενναίως ἐδέχοντο τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ τὴν ἀργοτέραν πληθὺν ἔσκεπον. [309] οἱ δὲ κραυγῇ διεσήμαινον τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τὰς συμφοράς, κἀκείνων ἀμῦναι μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν, ὡς ἔμαθον εἰσπεπαικότας τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους, ἀργὰ δ᾽ ἀντεβόων καὶ ἀντωλοφύροντο, καὶ πολὺς κωκυτὸς γυναικῶν ἠγείρετο κινδυνεύοντος ἑκάστῃ τινὸς τῶν φυλάκων. [310] οἱ δὲ ζηλωταὶ τοῖς Ἰδουμαίοις συνεπηλάλαζον καὶ τὴν ἐκ πάντων βοὴν ὁ χειμὼν ἐποίει φοβερωτέραν. ἐφείδοντό τε οὐδενὸς Ἰδουμαῖοι φύσει τε ὠμότατοι φονεύειν ὄντες καὶ τῷ χειμῶνι κεκακωμένοι κατὰ τῶν ἀποκλεισάντων ἐχρῶντο τοῖς θυμοῖς: [311] ἦσαν δ᾽ ὅμοιοι τοῖς ἱκετεύουσι καὶ τοῖς ἀμυνομένοις καὶ πολλοὺς τήν τε συγγένειαν ἀναμιμνήσκοντας καὶ δεομένους τοῦ κοινοῦ ἱεροῦ λαβεῖν αἰδῶ διήλαυνον τοῖς ξίφεσιν. [312] ἦν δὲ φυγῆς μὲν οὐδεὶς τόπος οὐδὲ σωτηρίας ἐλπίς, συνωθούμενοι δὲ περὶ ἀλλήλους κατεκόπτοντο, καὶ τὸ πλέον

ἐκβιαζόμενοι. ὡς οὐκέτ᾽ ἦν ὑποχωρήσεως τόπος ἐπῄεσαν δὲ οἱ φονεύοντες, ὑπ᾽ ἀμηχανίας κατεκρήμνιζον ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οἰκτρότερον ἔμοιγε δοκεῖν οὗ διέφευγον ὀλέθρου τὸν αὐθαίρετον ὑπομένοντες. [313] ἐπεκλύσθη δὲ τὸ ἔξωθεν ἱερὸν πᾶν αἵματι, καὶ νεκροὺς ὀκτακισχιλίους πεντακοσίους ἡ ἡμέρα κατελάμβανεν.

(2) [314] Οὐκ ἐκορέσθησαν δὲ τούτοις οἱ θυμοὶ τῶν Ἰδουμαίων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν τραπόμενοι πᾶσαν μὲν οἰκίαν διήρπαζον, ἔκτεινον δὲ τὸν περιτυχόντα. [315] καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πλῆθος αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει παρανάλωμα, τοὺς δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς ἀνεζήτουν, καὶ κατ᾽ ἐκείνων ἦν τοῖς πλείστοις ἡ φορά. [316] ταχέως δ᾽ ἁλόντες διεφθείροντο, καὶ τοῖς νεκροῖς αὐτῶν ἐπιστάντες τὸν μὲν Ἄνανον τῆς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὐνοίας. [317] τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους λόγων ἐπέσκωπτον. προῆλθον δὲ εἰς τοσοῦτον ἀσεβείας ὥστε καὶ ἀτάφους ῥῖψαι, καίτοι τοσαύτην Ἰουδαίων περὶ τὰς ταφὰς πρόνοιαν ποιουμένων, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ καταδίκης ἀνεσταυρωμένους πρὸ δύντος ἡλίου καθελεῖν τε καὶ θάπτειν. [318] οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοιμι δ᾽ εἰπὼν ἀλώσεως ἄρξαι τῇ πόλει τὸν Ἀνάνου θάνατον, καὶ ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἀνατραπῆναι τὸ τεῖχος καὶ διαφθαρῆναι τὰ πράγματα Ἰουδαίοις, ἐν ᾗ τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἡγεμόνα τῆς ἰδίας σωτηρίας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ μέσης τῆς πόλεως εἶδον ἀπεσφαγμένον. [319] ἦν γὰρ δὴ τά τε ἄλλα σεμνὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ δικαιότατος. καὶ παρὰ τὸν ὄγκον τῆς τε εὐγενείας καὶ τῆς ἀξίας καὶ ἧς εἶχε τιμῆς ἠγαπηκὼς τὸ ἰσότιμον καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ταπεινοτάτους, φιλελεύθερός τε ἐκτόπως καὶ δημοκρατίας ἐραστής, [320] πρό τε τῶν ἰδίων λυσιτελῶν τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον ἀεὶ τιθέμενος καὶ περὶ παντὸς ποιούμενος τὴν εἰρήνην: ἄμαχα γὰρ ᾔδει τὰ Ῥωμαίων: προσκοπούμενος δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἀνάγκης καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον, ὅπως, εἰ μὴ διαλύσαιντο Ἰουδαῖοι, δεξιῶς διαφέροιντο. [321] καθόλου δ᾽ εἰπεῖν, ζῶντος Ἀνάνου πάντως ἂν διελύθησαν: δεινὸς γὰρ ἦν εἰπεῖν τε καὶ πεῖσαι τὸν δῆμον, ἤδη δὲ ἐχειροῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἐμποδίζοντας: ἢ πολεμοῦντες πλείστην ἂν τριβὴν Ῥωμαίοις παρέσχον ὑπὸ τοιούτῳ στρατηγῷ. [322] παρέζευκτο δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, αὐτοῦ μὲν λειπόμενος κατὰ σύγκρισιν, προύχων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων. [323] ἀλλ᾽ οἶμαι κατακρίνας ὁ θεὸς ὡς μεμιασμένης τῆς πόλεως ἀπώλειαν καὶ πυρὶ βουλόμενος ἐκκαθαρθῆναι τὰ ἅγια τοὺς ἀντεχομένους αὐτῶν καὶ φιλοστοργοῦντας περιέκοπτεν. [324] οἱ δὲ πρὸ ὀλίγου τὴν ἱερὰν ἐσθῆτα περικείμενοι καὶ τῆς κοσμικῆς θρησκείας κατάρχοντες προσκυνούμενοί τε τοῖς ἐκ τῆς οἰκουμένης παραβάλλουσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐρριμμένοι γυμνοὶ βορὰ κυνῶν καὶ θηρίων ἐβλέποντο. [325] αὐτὴν ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνοις στενάξαι τοῖς ἀνδράσι δοκῶ τὴν ἀρετήν, ὀλοφυρομένην ὅτι τοσοῦτον ἥττητο τῆς κακίας. ἀλλὰ [γὰρ] τὸ μὲν Ἀνάνου καὶ Ἰησοῦ τέλος τοιοῦτον ἀπέβη.

(3) [326] Μετὰ δ᾽ ἐκείνους οἵ τε ζηλωταὶ καὶ τῶν Ἰδουμαίων τὸ πλῆθος τὸν λαὸν ὥσπερ ἀνοσίων ζῴων ἀγέλην ἐπιόντες ἔσφαζον. [327] καὶ τὸ μὲν εἰκαῖον ἐφ᾽ οὗ καταληφθείη τόπου διεφθείρετο, τοὺς δὲ εὐγενεῖς καὶ νέους συλλαμβάνοντες εἰς

εἱρκτὴν κατέκλειον δεδεμένους, κατ᾽ ἐλπίδα τοῦ προσθήσεσθαί τινας αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ὑπερτιθέμενοι. [328] προσέσχε δ᾽ οὐδείς, ἀλλὰ πάντες τοῦ τάξασθαι μετὰ τῶν πονηρῶν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος προείλοντο τὸν θάνατον. [329] δεινὰς δὲ τῆς ἀρνήσεως αἰκίας ὑπέμενον μαστιγούμενοί τε καὶ στρεβλούμενοι, μετὰ δὲ τὸ μηκέτ᾽ ἀρκεῖν τὸ σῶμα ταῖς βασάνοις μόλις ἠξιοῦντο τοῦ ξίφους. [330] οἱ συλληφθέντες δὲ μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἀνῃροῦντο νύκτωρ, καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐκφοροῦντες ἔρριπτον, ὡς ἑτέροις εἴη δεσμώταις τόπος. [331] ἦν δὲ τοσαύτη τοῦ δήμου κατάπληξις, ὡς μηδένα τολμῆσαι μήτε κλαίειν φανερῶς τὸν προσήκοντα νεκρὸν μήτε θάπτειν, ἀλλὰ λαθραῖα μὲν ἦν αὐτῶν κατακεκλεισμένων τὰ δάκρυα καὶ μετὰ περισκέψεως, μή τις ἐπακούσῃ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἔστενον: [332] ἴσα γὰρ τοῖς πενθουμένοις ὁ πενθήσας εὐθὺς ἔπασχε: νύκτωρ δὲ κόνιν αἴροντες χεροῖν ὀλίγην ἐπερρίπτουν τοῖς σώμασι, καὶ μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν εἴ τις παράβολος. [333] μύριοι καὶ δισχίλιοι τῶν εὐγενῶν νέων οὕτως διεφθάρησαν.

(4) [334] Οἱ δὲ ἤδη διαμεμισηκότες τὸ φονεύειν ἀνέδην εἰρωνεύοντο δικαστήρια καὶ κρίσεις. [335] καὶ δή τινα τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀποκτείνειν προθέμενοι Ζαχαρίαν υἱὸν Βάρεις: παρώξυνε δὲ αὐτοὺς τὸ λίαν τἀνδρὸς μισοπόνηρον καὶ φιλελεύθερον, ἦν δὲ καὶ πλούσιος, ὥστε μὴ μόνον ἐλπίζειν τὴν ἁρπαγὴν τῆς οὐσίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσαποσκευάσεσθαι δυνατὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν κατάλυσιν: [336] συγκαλοῦσι μὲν ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ἑβδομήκοντα τῶν ἐν τέλει δημοτῶν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, περιθέντες δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς σχῆμα δικαστῶν ἔρημον ἐξουσίας τοῦ Ζαχαρίου κατηγόρουν, ὡς ἐνδιδοίη τὰ πράγματα Ῥωμαίοις καὶ περὶ προδοσίας διαπέμψαιτο πρὸς Οὐεσπασιανόν. [337] ἦν δὲ οὔτ᾽ ἔλεγχός τις τῶν κατηγορουμένων οὔτε τεκμήριον, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοὶ πεπεῖσθαι καλῶς ἔφασαν καὶ τοῦτ᾽ εἶναι πίστιν τῆς ἀληθείας ἠξίουν. [338] ὅ γε μὴν Ζαχαρίας συνιδὼν μηδεμίαν αὐτῷ καταλειπομένην σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα, κεκλῆσθαι γὰρ κατ᾽ ἐνέδραν εἰς εἱρκτήν, οὐκ ἐπὶ δικαστήριον, ἐποιήσατο τὴν τοῦ ζῆν ἀπόγνωσιν οὐκ ἀπαρρησίαστον, ἀλλὰ καταστὰς τὸ μὲν πιθανὸν τῶν κατηγορημένων διεχλεύασε καὶ διὰ βραχέων ἀπελύσατο τὰς ἐπιφερομένας αἰτίας. [339] ἔπειτα δὲ τὸν λόγον εἰς τοὺς κατηγόρους ἀποστρέψας ἑξῆς πάσας αὐτῶν διεξῄει τὰς παρανομίας καὶ πολλὰ περὶ τῆς συγχύσεως κατωλοφύρατο τῶν πραγμάτων. [340] οἱ ζηλωταὶ δ᾽ ἐθορύβουν καὶ μόλις τῶν ξιφῶν ἀπεκράτουν, τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν εἰρωνείαν τοῦ δικαστηρίου μέχρι τέλους παῖξαι προαιρούμενοι, καὶ ἄλλως πειράσαι θέλοντες τοὺς δικαστάς, εἰ παρὰ τὸν αὐτῶν κίνδυνον μνησθήσονται τοῦ δικαίου. [341] φέρουσι δὲ οἱ ἑβδομήκοντα τῷ κρινομένῳ τὰς ψήφους ἅπαντες καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ προείλοντο τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν τὴν ἐπιγραφήν. [342] ἤρθη δὲ βοὴ τῶν ζηλωτῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀπόλυσιν, καὶ πάντων μὲν ἦν ἀγανάκτησις ἐπὶ τοῖς δικασταῖς ὡς μὴ συνιεῖσι τὴν εἰρωνείαν τῆς δοθείσης αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίας, [343] δύο δὲ τολμηρότατοι προσπεσόντες ἐν μέσῳ τῷ ἱερῷ διαφθείρουσι τὸν Ζαχαρίαν καὶ πεσόντι ἐπιχλευάσαντες ἔφασαν "καὶ παρ᾽ ἡμῶν τὴν ψῆφον ἔχεις

καὶ βεβαιοτέραν ἀπόλυσιν" ῥίπτουσί τε αὐτὸν [εὐθέως] ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατὰ τῆς ὑποκειμένης φάραγγος. [344] τοὺς δὲ δικαστὰς πρὸς ὕβριν ἀπεστραμμένοις τοῖς ξίφεσι τύπτοντες ἐξέωσαν τοῦ περιβόλου, δι' ἓν τοῦτο φεισάμενοι τῆς σφαγῆς αὐτῶν, ἵνα σκεδασθέντες ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ἄγγελοι πᾶσι τῆς δουλείας γένωνται.

(5) [345] Τοῖς δὲ Ἰδουμαίοις ἤδη τῆς παρουσίας μετέμελε καὶ προσίστατο τὰ πραττόμενα. [346] συναγαγὼν δὲ αὐτούς τις ἀπὸ τῶν ζηλωτῶν κατ' ἰδίαν ἐλθὼν ἐνεδείκνυτο τὰ συμπαρανομηθέντα τοῖς καλέσασι καὶ τὸ κατὰ τῆς μητροπόλεως διεξῄει: [347] παρατάσσεσθαι μὲν γὰρ ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχιερέων προδιδομένης Ῥωμαίοις τῆς μητροπόλεως, εὑρηκέναι δὲ προδοσίας μὲν τεκμήριον οὐδέν, τοὺς δ' ἐκείνην ὑποκρινομένους φυλάττεσθαι καὶ πολέμου καὶ τυραννίδος ἔργα τολμῶντας. [348] προσήκειν μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς διακωλύειν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς: ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἅπαξ εἰς κοινωνίαν ἐμφυλίου φόνου προέπεσον, ὅρον γοῦν ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασι καὶ μὴ παραμένειν χορηγοῦντας ἰσχὺν τοῖς καταλύουσι τὰ πάτρια. [349] καὶ γὰρ εἴ τινες χαλεπαίνουσι τὸ κλεισθῆναι τὰς πύλας καὶ μὴ δοθῆναι μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων αὐτοῖς ἑτοίμην τὴν εἴσοδον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς εἴρξαντας τετιμωρῆσθαι: καὶ τεθνάναι μὲν Ἄνανον, διεφθάρθαι δὲ ἐπὶ μιᾶς νυκτὸς ὀλίγου δεῖν πάντα τὸν δῆμον: [350] ἐφ' οἷς τῶν μὲν οἰκείων πολλοὺς αἰσθάνεσθαι μετανοοῦντας, τῶν ἐπικαλεσαμένων δὲ ὁρᾶν ἄμετρον τὴν ὠμότητα μηδὲ δι' οὓς ἐσώθησαν αἰδουμένων: [351] ἐν ὄμμασι γοῦν τῶν συμμάχων τὰ αἴσχιστα τολμᾶν, καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων παρανομίας Ἰδουμαίοις προσάπτεσθαι, μέχρις ἂν μήτε κωλύῃ τις μήτε χωρίζηται τῶν δρωμένων. [352] δεῖν οὖν, ἐπειδὴ διαβολὴ μὲν πέφηνε τὰ τῆς προδοσίας, ἔφοδος δὲ Ῥωμαίων οὐδεμία προσδοκᾶται, δυναστεία δ' ἐπιτετείχισται τῇ πόλει δυσκατάλυτος, αὐτοὺς ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπ' οἴκου καὶ τῷ μὴ κοινωνεῖν τοῖς φαύλοις ἁπάντων ἀπολογήσασθαι πέρι, ὧν φενακισθέντες μετάσχοιεν.

VI

(1) [353] Τούτοις πεισθέντες οἱ Ἰδουμαῖοι πρῶτον μὲν λύουσι τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δεσμωτηρίοις περὶ δισχιλίους δημότας, οἳ παραχρῆμα φυγόντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀφικνοῦνται πρὸς Σίμωνα, περὶ οὗ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν: ἔπειτα ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου. [354] καὶ συνέβη τὸν χωρισμὸν αὐτῶν γενέσθαι παράδοξον ἀμφοτέροις: ὅ τε γὰρ δῆμος ἀγνοῶν τὴν μετάνοιαν ἀνεθάρσησε πρὸς ὀλίγον ὡς ἐχθρῶν κεκουφισμένος, [355] οἵ τε ζηλωταὶ μᾶλλον ἐπανέστησαν, οὐχ ὡς ὑπὸ συμμάχων καταλειφθέντες, ἀλλ' ἀπηλλαγμένοι τῶν δυσωπούντων καὶ διατρεπόντων παρανομεῖν. [356] οὐκέτι γοῦν μέλλησις ἢ σκέψις ἦν τῶν ἀδικημάτων, ἀλλ' ὀξυτάταις μὲν ἐχρῶντο ταῖς ἐπινοίαις εἰς ἕκαστα, τὰ δοχθέντα δὲ τάχιον καὶ τῆς ἐπινοίας ἐνήργουν. [357] μάλιστα δ' ἐπ' ἀνδρείαν τε καὶ εὐγένειαν ἐφόνων, τὴν μὲν φθόνῳ λυμαινόμενοι, τὸ δὲ γενναῖον δέει: μόνην

γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀσφάλειαν ὑπελάμβανον τὸ μηδένα τῶν δυνατῶν καταλιπεῖν. [358] ἀνῃρέθη γοῦν σὺν πολλοῖς ἑτέροις καὶ Γουρίων, ἀξιώματι μὲν καὶ γένει προύχων, δημοκρατικὸς δὲ καὶ φρονήματος ἐλευθερίου μεστός, εἰ καί τις ἕτερος Ἰουδαίων: ἀπώλεσε δὲ αὐτὸν ἡ παρρησία μάλιστα πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις πλεονεκτήμασιν. [359] οὐδ᾽ ὁ Περαίτης Νίγερ αὐτῶν τὰς χεῖρας διέφυγεν, ἀνὴρ ἄριστος ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολέμοις γενόμενος: ὃς καὶ βοῶν πολλάκις τάς τε ὠτειλὰς ἐπιδεικνὺς διὰ μέσης ἐσύρετο τῆς πόλεως. [360] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔξω τῶν πυλῶν ἦκτο, τὴν σωτηρίαν ἀπογνοὺς περὶ ταφῆς ἱκέτευεν: οἱ δὲ προαπειλήσαντες ἧς ἐπεθύμει μάλιστα γῆς μὴ μεταδώσειν αὐτῷ, τὸν φόνον ἐνήργουν. [361] ἀναιρούμενος δὲ ὁ Νίγερ τιμωροὺς Ῥωμαίους αὐτοῖς ἐπηράσατο λιμόν τε καὶ λοιμὸν ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ πρὸς ἅπασι τὰς ἀλλήλων χεῖρας: [362] ἃ δὴ πάντα κατὰ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐκύρωσεν ὁ θεός, καὶ τὸ δικαιότατον, ὅτι γεύσασθαι τῆς ἀλλήλων ἀπονοίας ἔμελλον οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν στασιάσαντες. [363] Νίγερ μὲν οὖν ἀνῃρημένος τοὺς περὶ τῆς καταλύσεως αὐτῶν φόβους ἐπεκούφισε, τοῦ λαοῦ δὲ μέρος οὐδὲν ἦν, ᾧ μὴ πρὸς ἀπώλειαν ἐπενοεῖτο πρόφασις. [364] τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν διενεχθέν τινι πάλαι διέφθαρτο, τὸ δὲ μὴ προσκροῦσαν κατ᾽ εἰρήνην ἐπικαίρους ἐλάμβανε τὰς αἰτίας: καὶ ὁ μὲν μηδ᾽ ὅλως αὐτοῖς προσιὼν ὡς ὑπερήφανος, ὁ προσιὼν δὲ μετὰ παρρησίας ὡς καταφρονῶν, ὁ θεραπεύων δ᾽ ὡς ἐπίβουλος ὑπωπτεύετο. [365] μία δὲ ἦν τῶν τε μεγίστων καὶ μετριωτάτων ἐγκλημάτων τιμωρία θάνατος: καὶ διέφυγεν οὐδείς, εἰ μὴ σφόδρα τις ἦν ταπεινὸς ἢ δι᾽ ἀγένειαν ἢ διὰ τύχην.

(2) [366] Ῥωμαίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἡγεμόνες ἕρμαιον ἡγούμενοι τὴν στάσιν τῶν πολεμίων ὥρμηντο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν ἤπειγον ὡς ἂν ὄντα κύριον τῶν ὅλων, φάμενοι πρόνοιαν θεοῦ σύμμαχον σφίσι τῷ τετράφθαι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κατ᾽ ἀλλήλων: [367] εἶναι μέντοι τὴν ῥοπὴν ὀξεῖαν, καὶ ταχέως Ἰουδαίους ὁμονοήσειν [ἡμῖν] ἢ κοπιάσαντας ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις κακοῖς ἢ μετανοήσαντας. [368] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ πλεῖστον αὐτοὺς ἔφη τοῦ δέοντος ἁμαρτάνειν, ὥσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ χειρῶν τε καὶ ὅπλων ἐπίδειξιν ποιήσασθαι γλιχομένους οὐκ ἀκίνδυνον, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ συμφέρον καὶ τἀσφαλὲς σκοποῦντας. [369] εἰ μὲν γὰρ εὐθέως ὁρμήσειεν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, αἴτιος ὁμονοίας ἔσεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτῶν ἀκμάζουσαν ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ἐπιστρέψειν: εἰ δὲ περιμείνειεν, ὀλιγωτέροις χρήσεσθαι δαπανηθεῖσιν ἐν τῇ στάσει. [370] στρατηγεῖν μὲν γὰρ ἄμεινον αὐτοῦ τὸν θεὸν ἀπονητὶ Ῥωμαίοις παραδιδόντα Ἰουδαίους καὶ τὴν νίκην ἀκινδύνως τῇ στρατιᾷ χαριζόμενον: [371] ὥστε χρῆναι διαφθειρομένων χερσὶν οἰκείαις τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ τῷ μεγίστῳ κακῷ στάσει χρωμένων θεατὰς μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἀποκαθῆσθαι τῶν κινδύνων ἢ θανατῶσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ λελυσσηκόσιν κατ᾽ ἀλλήλων χεῖρα μίσγειν. [372] εἰ δέ τις οἴεται τὴν δόξαν τῆς νίκης ἐωλοτέραν ἔσεσθαι δίχα μάχης, γνώτω τοῦ διὰ τῶν ὅπλων σφαλεροῦ τὸ μετὰ ἡσυχίας κατόρθωμα λυσιτελέστερον: [373] καὶ γὰρ οὐχ ἧττον εὐκλεεῖς οἴεσθαι χρὴ τῶν κατὰ χεῖρα λαμπρῶν τοὺς ἐγκρατείᾳ καὶ συνέσει τὰ ἴσα

πράξαντας. ἅμα μέντοι μειουμένων τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν ἀναληφθεῖσαν ἐκ τῶν συνεχῶν πόνων ἐρρωμενέστερον ἄξειν. [374] ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν στοχαζομένων τῆς περὶ τὴν νίκην λαμπρότητος οὐ τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν καιρόν: [375] οὐ γὰρ περὶ κατασκευὴν ὅπλων ἢ τειχῶν οὐδὲ περὶ συλλογὴν ἐπικούρων Ἰουδαίους ἀσχολεῖσθαι, καὶ τὴν ὑπέρθεσιν ἔσεσθαι κατὰ τῶν διδόντων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐμφυλίῳ πολέμῳ καὶ διχονοίᾳ τραχηλιζομένους καθ᾽ ἡμέραν οἰκτρότερα πάσχειν ὧν ἂν ἐπελθόντες αὐτοὶ διαθεῖεν αὐτοὺς ἁλόντας. [376] εἴτ᾽ οὖν τἀσφαλές τις σκοποίη, χρῆναι τοὺς ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν ἀναλισκομένους ἐᾶν, εἴτε τὸ εὐκλεέστερον τοῦ κατορθώματος, οὐ δεῖν τοῖς οἴκοι νοσοῦσιν ἐπιχειρεῖν: ῥηθήσεσθαι γὰρ εὐλόγως οὐκ αὐτῶν τὴν νίκην ἀλλὰ τῆς στάσεως.

(3) [377] Ταῦτα Οὐεσπασιανῷ λέγοντι συνῄνουν οἱ ἡγεμόνες, καὶ παραχρῆμα τὸ στρατηγικὸν τῆς γνώμης ἀνεφαίνετο: πολλοὶ γοῦν καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ηὐτομόλουν τοὺς ζηλωτὰς διαδιδράσκοντες. [378] χαλεπὴ δ᾽ ἦν ἡ φυγὴ φρουραῖς διειλημφότων τὰς διεξόδους πάσας καὶ τὸν ὀπωσοῦν ἐν αὐταῖς ἁλισκόμενον ὡς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀπιόντα διαχρωμένων. [379] ὅ γε μὴν χρήματα δοὺς ἐξηφίετο καὶ μόνος ἦν ὁ μὴ διδοὺς προδότης, ὥστε κατελείπετο τῶν εὐπόρων τὴν φυγὴν ὠνουμένων μόνους ἐναποσφάττεσθαι τοὺς πένητας. [380] νεκροὶ δὲ κατὰ τὰς λεωφόρους πάσας ἐσωρεύοντο παμπληθεῖς, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ὁρμωμένων αὐτομολεῖν πάλιν τὴν ἔνδον ἀπώλειαν ᾑροῦντο: τὸν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίδος θάνατον ἐλπὶς ταφῆς ἐποίει δοκεῖν μετριώτερον. [381] οἱ δὲ εἰς τοσοῦτον ὠμότητος ἐξώκειλαν, ὡς μήτε τοῖς ἔνδον ἀναιρουμένοις μήτε τοῖς ἀνὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς μεταδοῦναι γῆς, [382] ἀλλὰ καθάπερ συνθήκας πεποιημένοι τοῖς τῆς πατρίδος συγκαταλῦσαι καὶ τοὺς τῆς φύσεως νόμους ἅμα τε τοῖς εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἀδικήμασιν συμμιᾶναι καὶ τὸ θεῖον, ὑφ᾽ ἡλίῳ τοὺς νεκροὺς μυδῶντας ἀπέλειπον. [383] τοῖς δὲ θάπτουσί τινα τῶν προσηκόντων ὃ καὶ τοῖς αὐτομολοῦσιν ἐπιτίμιον θάνατος ἦν, καὶ δεῖσθαι παραχρῆμα ταφῆς ἔδει τὸν ἑτέρῳ χαριζόμενον. [384] καθόλου τε εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲν οὕτως ἀπολώλει χρηστὸν πάθος ἐν ταῖς τότε συμφοραῖς ὡς ἔλεος: ἃ γὰρ ἐχρῆν οἰκτείρειν, ταῦτα παρώξυνε τοὺς ἀλιτηρίους, καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ζώντων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνῃρημένους, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ζῶντας τὰς ὀργὰς μετέφερον: [385] καὶ δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν δέους ὁ περιὼν τοὺς προληφθέντας ὡς ἀναπαυσαμένους ἐμακάριζεν οἵ τε ἐν τοῖς δεσμωτηρίοις αἰκιζόμενοι κατὰ σύγκρισιν καὶ τοὺς ἀτάφους ἀπέφαινον εὐδαίμονας. [386] κατεπατεῖτο μὲν οὖν πᾶς αὐτοῖς θεσμὸς ἀνθρώπων, ἐγελᾶτο δὲ τὰ θεῖα, καὶ τοὺς τῶν προφητῶν χρησμοὺς ὥσπερ ἀγυρτικὰς λογοποιίας ἐχλεύαζον. [387] πολλὰ δ᾽ οὗτοι περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας προεθέσπισαν, ἃ παραβάντες οἱ ζηλωταὶ καὶ τὴν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος προφητείαν τέλους ἠξίωσαν. [388] ἦν γὰρ δή τις παλαιὸς λόγος ἀνδρῶν † ἔνθα τότε τὴν πόλιν ἁλώσεσθαι καὶ καταφλέξεσθαι τὸ ἁγιώτατον νόμῳ πολέμου, στάσις ἐὰν κατασκήψῃ καὶ χεῖρες οἰκεῖαι προμιάνωσι τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τέμενος: οἷς οὐκ ἀπιστήσαντες οἱ ζηλωταὶ διακόνους αὐτοὺς ἐπέδοσαν.

VII

(1) [389] Ἤδη δὲ Ἰωάννῃ τυραννιῶντι τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοίους ἰσότιμον ἠδοξεῖτο, καὶ κατ᾽ ὀλίγους προσποιούμενος τῶν πονηροτέρων ἀφηνίαζε τοῦ συντάγματος. [390] ἀεὶ δὲ τοῖς μὲν τῶν ἄλλων δόγμασιν ἀπειθῶν, τὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ προστάσσων δεσποτικώτερον, δῆλος ἦν μοναρχίας ἀντιποιούμενος. [391] εἶκον δ᾽ αὐτῷ τινὲς μὲν δέει, τινὲς δὲ κατ᾽ εὔνοιαν, δεινὸς γὰρ ἦν ἀπάτῃ καὶ λόγῳ προσαγαγέσθαι, πολλοὶ δὲ πρὸς ἀσφαλείας ἡγούμενοι τῆς αὐτῶν τὰς αἰτίας ἤδη τῶν τολμωμένων ἐφ᾽ ἕνα καὶ μὴ πολλοὺς ἀναφέρεσθαι. [392] τό γε μὴν δραστήριον αὐτοῦ κατά τε χεῖρα καὶ κατὰ γνώμην δορυφόρους εἶχεν οὐκ ὀλίγους. [393] πολλὴ δὲ μοῖρα τῶν ἀντικαθισταμένων ἀπελείπετο, παρ᾽ οἷς ἴσχυε μὲν καὶ φθόνος δεινὸν ἡγουμένων ὑποτετάχθαι τὸ πρὶν ἰσοτίμῳ, τὸ πλέον δ᾽ εὐλάβεια τῆς μοναρχίας ἀπέτρεπεν: [394] οὔτε γὰρ καταλύσειν ῥᾳδίως ἤλπιζον αὐτὸν ἅπαξ κρατήσαντα, καὶ καθ᾽ αὑτῶν πρόφασιν ἕξειν τὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀντιπρᾶξαι: προῃρεῖτο δ᾽ οὖν πολεμῶν ἕκαστος ὁτιοῦν παθεῖν ἢ δουλεύσας ἑκουσίως ἐν ἀνδραπόδου μοίρᾳ παραπολέσθαι. [395] διαιρεῖται μὲν οὖν ἡ στάσις ἐκ τούτων, καὶ τοῖς ἐναντιωθεῖσιν Ἰωάννης ἀντεβασίλευσεν. [396] ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτοῖς διὰ φυλακῆς ἦν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἢ μικρὸν εἴ ποτε διηκροβολίζοντο τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἤριζον δὲ κατὰ τοῦ δήμου καὶ πότεροι πλείονα λείαν ἄξουσιν ἀντεφιλονείκουν. [397] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ πόλις τρισὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις κακοῖς ἐχειμάζετο, πολέμῳ καὶ τυραννίδι καὶ στάσει, κατὰ σύγκρισιν μετριώτερον ἦν τοῖς δημοτικοῖς ὁ πόλεμος: ἀμέλει διαδιδράσκοντες ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων ἔφευγον πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους καὶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἧς ἀπήλπισαν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις σωτηρίας ἠξιοῦντο.

(2) [398] Τέταρτον δὲ ἄλλο κακὸν ἐκινεῖτο πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἔθνους κατάλυσιν. [399] φρούριον ἦν οὐ πόρρω Ἱεροσολύμων καρτερώτατον, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων βασιλέων εἴς τε ὑπέκθεσιν κτήσεως ἐν πολέμου ῥοπαῖς καὶ σωμάτων ἀσφάλειαν κατεσκευασμένον, ὃ ἐκαλεῖτο Μασάδα. [400] τοῦτο κατειληφότες οἱ προσαγορευόμενοι σικάριοι τέως μὲν τὰς πλησίον χώρας κατέτρεχον οὐδὲν πλέον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ποριζόμενοι: [401] δέει γὰρ ἀνεστέλλοντο τῆς πλείονος ἁρπαγῆς: ὡς [δὲ] τὴν Ῥωμαίων στρατιὰν ἠρεμοῦσαν, στάσει δὲ καὶ τυραννίδι ἰδίᾳ τοὺς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἰουδαίους ἐπύθοντο διῃρημένους, ἀδροτέρων ἥπτοντο τολμημάτων. [402] καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν τῶν ἀζύμων, ἣν ἄγουσιν Ἰουδαῖοι σωτήρια ἐξ οὗ τῆς ὑπ᾽ Αἰγυπτίοις δουλείας ἀνεθέντες εἰς τὴν πάτριον γῆν κατῆλθον, νύκτωρ τοὺς ἐμποδὼν ὄντας διαλαθόντες πολίχνην τινὰ κατατρέχουσιν καλουμένην Ἐνγαδδί, [403] ἐν ᾗ τὸ μὲν ἀμύνεσθαι δυνάμενον πρὶν ὅπλων ἅψασθαι καὶ συνελθεῖν φθάσαντες ἐσκέδασαν καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐξέβαλον, τὸ δὲ φυγεῖν ἧττον ὄν, γύναιά τε καὶ παῖδας, ὑπὲρ ἑπτακοσίους ἀναιροῦσιν. [404] ἔπειτα τούς τε οἴκους ἐξεσκευασμένοι καὶ τῶν καρπῶν τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους ἁρπάσαντες ἀνήνεγκαν εἰς τὴν Μασάδαν. [405] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐλῄζοντο πάσας τὰς

περὶ τὸ φρούριον κώμας καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθουν ἅπασαν προσδιαφθειρομένων αὐτοῖς καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἑκασταχόθεν οὐκ ὀλίγων: [406] ἐκινεῖτο δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἄλλα τῆς Ἰουδαίας κλίματα τὸ τέως ἠρεμοῦν τὸ λῃστρικόν, καθάπερ δὲ ἐν σώματι τοῦ κυριωτάτου φλεγμαίνοντος πάντα τὰ μέλη συνενόσει: [407] διὰ γοῦν τὴν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει στάσιν καὶ ταραχὴν ἄδειαν ἔσχον οἱ κατὰ τὴν χώραν πονηροὶ τῶν ἁρπαγῶν καὶ τὰς οἰκείας ἕκαστος κώμας ἁρπάζοντες ἔπειτα εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν ἀφίσταντο. [408] συναθροιζόμενοί τε καὶ συνομνύμενοι κατὰ λόχους στρατιᾶς μὲν ὀλιγώτεροι πλείους δὲ λῃστηρίου προσέπιπτον ἱεροῖς καὶ πόλεσιν, [409] καὶ κακοῦσθαι μὲν συνέβαινεν ἐφ᾽ οὓς ὁρμήσειαν ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ καταληφθέντας, φθάνεσθαι δὲ τὰς ἀμύνας ὡς λῃστῶν ἅμα ταῖς ἁρπαγαῖς ἀποδιδρασκόντων. οὐδὲν δὲ μέρος ἦν τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ὃ μὴ τῇ προανεχούσῃ πόλει συναπώλλυτο.

(3) [410] Ταῦτα Οὐεσπασιανῷ παρὰ τῶν αὐτομόλων διηγγέλλετο. καίπερ γὰρ φρουρούντων τὰς ἐξόδους τῶν στασιαστῶν ἁπάσας καὶ διαφθειρόντων τοὺς ὀπωσοῦν προσιόντας, ὅμως ἦσαν οἳ διελάνθανον καὶ καταφεύγοντες εἰς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐνῆγον ἀμῦναι τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ τοῦ δήμου περισῶσαι λείψανα: [411] διὰ γὰρ τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εὔνοιαν ἀνῃρῆσθαί τε τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ κινδυνεύειν τοὺς περιόντας. [412] ὁ δὲ οἰκτείρων ἤδη τὰς συμφορὰς αὐτῶν τὸ μὲν δοκεῖν ἐκπολιορκήσων ἐφίσταται τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς ἀπαλλάξων πολιορκίας. [413] ἔδει μὲν προκαταστρέψασθαι τὰ λειπόμενα καὶ μηδὲν ἔξωθεν ἐμπόδιον τῇ πολιορκίᾳ καταλιπεῖν: ἐλθὼν οὖν ἐπὶ τὰ Γάδαρα μητρόπολιν τῆς Περαίας καρτερὰν τετράδι Δύστρου μηνὸς εἴσεισιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν: [414] καὶ γὰρ ἔτυχον οἱ δυνατοὶ λάθρα τῶν στασιωδῶν πρεσβευσάμενοι πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ παραδόσεως πόθῳ τε εἰρήνης καὶ διὰ τὰς οὐσίας: πολλοὶ δὲ τὰ Γάδαρα κατῴκουν πλούσιοι. [415] τούτων τὴν πρεσβείαν ἠγνοήκεσαν οἱ διάφοροι, πλησίον δὲ ἤδη ὄντος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ διεπύθοντο, καὶ κατασχεῖν μὲν αὐτοὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀπέγνωσαν δύνασθαι τῶν τε ἔνδον ἐχθρῶν πλήθει λειπόμενοι καὶ Ῥωμαίους ὁρῶντες οὐ μακρὰν τῆς πόλεως, φεύγειν δὲ κρίνοντες ἠδόξουν ἀναιμωτὶ καὶ μηδεμίαν παρὰ τῶν αἰτίων εἰσπραξάμενοι τιμωρίαν. [416] συλλαβόντες δὴ τὸν Δόλεσον, οὗτος γὰρ ἦν οὐ μόνον ἀξιώματι καὶ γένει τῆς πόλεως πρῶτος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐδόκει καὶ τῆς πρεσβείας αἴτιος, κτείνουσί τε αὐτὸν καὶ δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν ὀργῆς νεκρὸν αἰκισάμενοι διέδρασαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. [417] ἐπιούσης δὲ ἤδη τῆς Ῥωμαικῆς δυνάμεως ὅ τε δῆμος τῶν Γαδαρέων μετ᾽ εὐφημίας τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν εἰσδεξάμενοι δεξιὰς παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ πίστεως ἔλαβον καὶ φρουρὰν ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν πρὸς τὰς τῶν φυγάδων καταδρομάς: [418] τὸ γὰρ τεῖχος αὐτοὶ πρὶν ἀξιῶσαι Ῥωμαίους καθεῖλον, ὅπως εἴη πίστις αὐτοῖς τοῦ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀγαπᾶν τὸ μηδὲ βουληθέντας δύνασθαι πολεμεῖν.

(4) [419] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς διαδράντας ἐκ τῶν Γαδάρων Πλάκιδον σὺν ἱππεῦσιν πεντακοσίοις καὶ πεζοῖς τρισχιλίοις πέμπει, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης στρατιᾶς ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Καισάρειαν. [420] οἱ δὲ φυγάδες ὡς αἰφνίδιον τοὺς

διώκοντας ἱππεῖς ἐθεάσαντο, πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν εἵς τινα κώμην συνειλοῦνται Βηθενναβρὶν προσαγορευομένην: [421] ἐν ᾗ νέων πλῆθος οὐκ ὀλίγον εὑρόντες καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἑκόντας τοὺς δὲ βίᾳ καθοπλίσαντες εἰκαίως, προπηδῶσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Πλάκιδον. [422] οἱ δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὴν πρώτην ἐμβολὴν ὀλίγον εἶξαν ἅμα καὶ προκαλέσασθαι τεχνιτεύοντες αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους πορρωτέρω, [423] λαβόντες δ᾽ εἰς ἐπιτήδειον περιήλαυνόν τε καὶ κατηκόντιζον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν φυγάδας αὐτῶν οἱ ἱππεῖς ὑπετέμνοντο, τὰς συμπλοκὰς δὲ τὸ πεζὸν εὐτόνως διέφθειρον. [424] οὐ μέντοι πλέον τι τόλμης ἐπιδεικνύμενοι Ἰουδαῖοι διεφθείροντο: πεπυκνωμένοις γὰρ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσπίπτοντες καὶ ταῖς πανοπλίαις ὥσπερ τετειχισμένοις, αὐτοὶ μὲν οὐχ εὕρισκον βέλους παράδυσιν οὐδ᾽ ηὐτόνουν ῥῆξαι τὴν φάλαγγα, [425] περιεπείροντο δὲ τοῖς ἐκείνων βέλεσι καὶ τοῖς ἀγριωτάτοις παραπλήσιοι θηρίοις ὥρμων ἐπὶ τὸν σίδηρον, διεφθείροντο δ᾽ οἱ μὲν κατὰ στόμα παιόμενοι τοῖς ξίφεσιν, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων σκεδαννύμενοι.

(5) [426] Σπουδὴ γὰρ ἦν τῷ Πλακίδῳ τὰς ἐπὶ τὴν κώμην ὁρμὰς αὐτῶν διακλείειν. [427] καὶ συνεχῶς παρελαύνων κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνο τὸ μέρος, ἔπειτα ἐπιστρέφων ἅμα καὶ τοῖς βέλεσι χρώμενος εὐστόχως ἀνῄρει τοὺς πλησιάζοντας καὶ δέει τοὺς πόρρωθεν ἀνέστρεφεν, μέχρι βίᾳ διεκπεσόντες οἱ γενναιότατοι πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος διέφευγον. [428] ἀπορία δ᾽ εἶχε τοὺς φύλακας: οὔτε γὰρ ἀποκλεῖσαι τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Γαδάρων ὑπέμενον διὰ τοὺς σφετέρους καὶ δεξάμενοι συναπολεῖσθαι προσεδόκων. [429] ὃ δὴ καὶ συνέβη: συνωσθέντων γὰρ αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος παρ᾽ ὀλίγον μὲν οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῖς συνεισέπεσον, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ φθασάντων ἀποκλεῖσαι τὰς πύλας προσβαλὼν ὁ Πλάκιδος καὶ μέχρι δείλης γενναίως ἀγωνισάμενος τοῦ τείχους καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ἐκράτει. [430] τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀργὰ πλήθη διεφθείρετο, φυγὴ δὲ ἦν τῶν δυνατωτέρων, τὰς δ᾽ οἰκίας οἱ στρατιῶται διήρπασαν καὶ τὴν κώμην ἐνέπρησαν. [431] οἱ δὲ διαδράντες ἐξ αὐτῆς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν χώραν συνανέστησαν, καὶ τὰς μὲν αὐτῶν συμφορὰς ἐξαίροντες ἐπὶ μεῖζον, τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν ἐπιέναι λέγοντες πάντας πανταχόθεν ἐξέσεισαν τῷ δέει, γενόμενοί τε παμπληθεῖς ἔφευγον ἐπὶ Ἰεριχοῦντος: [432] αὕτη γὰρ ἔτι μόνη τὰς ἐλπίδας αὐτῶν ἔθαλπε τῆς σωτηρίας καρτερὰ πλήθει γε οἰκητόρων. [433] Πλάκιδος δὲ τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ ταῖς προαγούσαις εὐπραγίαις τεθαρρηκὼς εἵπετο, καὶ μέχρι μὲν Ἰορδάνου τοὺς ἀεὶ καταλαμβανομένους ἀνῄρει, συνελάσας δὲ πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος εἰργομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥεύματος, τραφὲν γὰρ ὑπ᾽ ὄμβρων ἄβατον ἦν, ἀντικρὺ παρετάσσετο. [434] παρώξυνε δ᾽ ἡ ἀνάγκη πρὸς μάχην τοὺς φυγῆς τόπον οὐκ ἔχοντας, καὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις ἐπὶ μήκιστον παρεκτείναντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐδέχοντο τὰ βέλη καὶ τὰς τῶν ἱππέων ἐμβολάς, οἳ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν παίοντες εἰς τὸ ῥεῦμα κατέβαλον. [435] καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν χερσὶν αὐτῶν διαφθαρὲν μύριοι πεντακισχίλιοι, τὸ δὲ βιασθὲν ἐμπηδῆσαι εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην πλῆθος ἐκουσίως ἄπειρον ἦν. [436] ἐάλωσαν δὲ περὶ δισχιλίους

καὶ διακοσίους λεία τε παμπληθὴς ὄνων τε καὶ προβάτων καὶ καμήλων καὶ βοῶν.

(6) [437] Ἰουδαίοις μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ἐλάττων ἥδε ἡ πληγὴ προσπεσοῦσα καὶ μείζων ἔδοξεν ἑαυτῆς διὰ τὸ μὴ μόνον τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν δι᾽ ἧς ἔφευγον πληρωθῆναι φόνου μηδὲ νεκροῖς διαβατὸν γενέσθαι τὸν Ἰορδάνην, ἐμπλησθῆναι δὲ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τὴν Ἀσφαλτικὴν λίμνην, εἰς ἣν παμπληθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατεσύρησαν. [438] Πλάκιδος δὲ δεξιᾷ τύχῃ χρώμενος ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὰς πέριξ πολίχνας τε καὶ κώμας, καταλαμβανόμενός τε Ἄβιλα καὶ Ἰουλιάδα καὶ Βησιμὼ τάς τε μέχρι [τῆς] Ἀσφαλτίτιδος πάσας ἐγκαθίστησιν ἑκάστῃ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους τῶν αὐτομόλων. [439] ἔπειτα σκάφεσιν ἐπιβήσας τοὺς στρατιώτας αἱρεῖ τοὺς εἰς τὴν λίμνην καταφεύγοντας. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Περαίαν προσεχώρησεν ἢ ἑάλω πάντα μέχρι Μαχαιροῦντος.

VIII

(1) [440] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τὸ περὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν ἀγγέλλεται κίνημα καὶ Οὐίνδιξ ἅμα τοῖς δυνατοῖς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἀφεστὼς Νέρωνος, περὶ ὧν ἐν ἀκριβεστέροις ἀναγέγραπται. [441] Οὐεσπασιανὸν δ᾽ ἐπήγειρεν εἰς τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ πολέμου τὰ ἠγγελμένα προορώμενον ἤδη τοὺς μέλλοντας ἐμφυλίους πολέμους καὶ τὸν ὅλης κίνδυνον τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ἐν ᾧ προειρηνεύσας τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἐπικουφίσειν ᾤετο τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν φόβους. [442] ἕως μὲν οὖν ἐπεῖχεν ὁ χειμὼν τὰς ὑπηγμένας διησφαλίζετο κώμας τε καὶ πολίχνας φρουραῖς, δεκαδάρχας μὲν κώμαις ἐγκαθιστάς, ἑκατοντάρχας δὲ πόλεσι: πολλὰ δὲ ἀνῴκιζε καὶ τῶν πεπορθημένων. [443] ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἔαρος ἀναλαβὼν τὸ πλέον τῆς δυνάμεως ἦγαγεν ἀπὸ τῆς Καισαρείας ἐπὶ Ἀντιπατρίδος, ἔνθα δυσὶν ἡμέραις καταστησάμενος τὴν πόλιν τῇ τρίτῃ προῄει πορθῶν καὶ καίων τὰς πέριξ πάσας. [444] καταστρεψάμενος δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν Θαμνὰ τοπαρχίαν ἐπὶ Λύδδων καὶ Ἰαμνείας ἐχώρει καὶ προκεχειρωμέναις ἑκατέραις ἐγκαταστήσας οἰκήτορας τῶν προσκεχωρηκότων ἱκανοὺς εἰς Ἀμμαοῦντα ἀφικνεῖται. [445] καταλαβόμενος δὲ τὰς ἐπὶ τὴν μητρόπολιν αὐτῶν εἰσβολὰς στρατόπεδόν τε τειχίζει καὶ τὸ πέμπτον ἐν αὐτῇ τάγμα καταλιπὼν πρόεισι μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὴν Βεθλεπτηνφῶν τοπαρχίαν. [446] πυρὶ δὲ αὐτήν τε καὶ τὴν γειτνιῶσαν ἀνελὼν καὶ τὰ πέριξ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας φρούρια τοῖς ἐπικαίροις τόποις ἐπετείχισε: [447] καταλαβόμενος δὲ δύο κώμας τὰς μεσαιτάτας τῆς Ἰδουμαίας, Βήταβριν καὶ Καφάρτοβαν, κτείνει μὲν ὑπὲρ μυρίους, [448] αἰχμαλωτίζεται δὲ ὑπὲρ χιλίους, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἐξελάσας ἐγκαθίστησιν τῆς οἰκείας δυνάμεως οὐκ ὀλίγην, οἳ κατατρέχοντες ἐπόρθουν ἅπασαν τὴν ὀρεινήν. [449] αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς λοιπῆς δυνάμεως ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἀμμαοῦν, ὅθεν διὰ τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος καὶ παρὰ τὴν Νέαν πόλιν καλουμένην, Μαβαρθὰ δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, καταβὰς εἰς Κορέαν

δευτέρᾳ Δαισίου μηνὸς στρατοπεδεύεται. [450] τῇ δ᾽ ἑξῆς εἰς Ἰεριχοῦντα ἀφικνεῖται, καθ᾽ ἣν αὐτῷ συμμίσγει Τραιανὸς εἷς τῶν ἡγεμόνων τὴν ἐκ τῆς Περαίας ἄγων δύναμιν ἤδη τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰορδάνην κεχειρωμένων.

(2) [451] Τὸ μὲν οὖν πολὺ πλῆθος ἐκ τῆς Ἰεριχοῦς φθάσαν τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἄντικρυς Ἱεροσολύμων ὀρεινὴν διαπεφεύγει, καταλειφθὲν δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγον διαφθείρεται. [452] τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἔρημον κατειλήφεσαν, ἥτις ἵδρυται μὲν ἐν πεδίῳ, ψιλὸν δὲ ὑπέρκειται αὐτῇ καὶ ἄκαρπον ὄρος μήκιστον: [453] κατὰ γὰρ τὸ βόρειον κλίμα μέχρι τῆς Σκυθοπολιτῶν γῆς ἐκτείνεται, κατὰ δὲ τὸ μεσημβρινὸν μέχρι τῆς Σοδομιτῶν χώρας καὶ τῶν περάτων τῆς Ἀσφαλτίτιδος. ἔστιν δὲ ἀνώμαλόν τε πᾶν καὶ ἀοίκητον διὰ τὴν ἀγονίαν. [454] ἀντίκειται δὲ τούτῳ τὸ περὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην ὄρος ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ Ἰουλιάδος καὶ τῶν βορείων κλιμάτων, παρατεῖνον δὲ εἰς μεσημβρίαν ἕως Σομόρων, ἥπερ ὁρίζει τὴν Πέτραν τῆς Ἀραβίας. ἐν τούτῳ δ᾽ ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Σιδηροῦν καλούμενον ὄρος μηκυνόμενον μέχρι τῆς Μωαβίτιδος. [455] ἡ μέση δὲ τῶν δύο ὀρέων χώρα τὸ μέγα πεδίον καλεῖται, ἀπὸ κώμης Γινναβρὶν διῆκον μέχρι τῆς Ἀσφαλτίτιδος. [456] ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ μῆκος μὲν σταδίων χιλίων διακοσίων, εὖρος δ᾽ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ μέσον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου τέμνεται λίμνας τε ἔχει τήν τε Ἀσφαλτῖτιν καὶ τὴν Τιβεριέων φύσιν ἐναντίας: ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἁλμυρώδης καὶ ἄγονος, ἡ Τιβεριέων δὲ γλυκεῖα καὶ γόνιμος. [457] ἐκπυροῦται δὲ ὥρᾳ θέρους τὸ πεδίον καὶ δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν αὐχμοῦ περιέχει νοσώδη τὸν ἀέρα: [458] πᾶν γὰρ ἄνυδρον πλὴν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, παρὸ καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις φοινικῶνας εὐθαλεστέρους καὶ πολυφορωτέρους εἶναι συμβέβηκεν, ἧττον δὲ τοὺς πόρρω κεχωρισμένους.

(3) [459] Παρὰ μέντοι τὴν Ἰεριχοῦν ἐστι πηγὴ δαψιλής τε καὶ πρὸς ἀρδείας λιπαρωτάτη παρὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ἀναβλύζουσα πόλιν, ἣν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναυῆ παῖς στρατηγὸς Ἑβραίων πρώτην εἶλε γῆς Χαναναίων δορίκτητον. [460] ταύτην τὴν πηγὴν λόγος ἔχει κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς οὐ μόνον γῆς καὶ δένδρων καρποὺς ἀπαμβλύνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναικῶν γονάς, καθόλου τε πᾶσιν εἶναι νοσώδη τε καὶ φθαρτικήν, ἐξημερωθῆναι δὲ καὶ γενέσθαι τοὐναντίον ὑγιεινοτάτην τε καὶ γονιμωτάτην ὑπὸ Ἐλισσαίου τοῦ προφήτου: γνώριμος δ᾽ ἦν οὗτος Ἠλία καὶ διάδοχος: [461] ὃς ἐπιξενωθεὶς τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰεριχοῦν, περισσὸν δή τι φιλοφρονησαμένων αὐτὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων αὐτούς τε ἀμείβεται καὶ τὴν χώραν αἰωνίῳ χάριτι. [462] προελθὼν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν καὶ καταβαλὼν εἰς τὸ ῥεῦμα πλῆρες ἁλῶν ἀγγεῖον κεράμου, ἔπειτα εἰς οὐρανὸν δεξιὰν ἀνατείνας δικαίαν κἀπὶ γῆς σπονδὰς μειλικτηρίους χεόμενος, τὴν μὲν ᾐτεῖτο μαλάξαι τὸ ῥεῦμα καὶ γλυκυτέρας φλέβας ἀνοῖξαι, [463] τὸν δὲ ἐγκεράσασθαι τῷ ῥεύματι γονιμωτέρους [τε] ἀέρας δοῦναί τε ἅμα καὶ καρπῶν εὐθηνίαν τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις καὶ τέκνων διαδοχήν, μηδ᾽ ἐπιλιπεῖν αὐτοῖς τὸ τούτων γεννητικὸν ὕδωρ, ἕως μένουσι δίκαιοι. [464] ταύταις ταῖς εὐχαῖς πολλὰ προσχειρουργήσας ἐξ ἐπιστήμης ἔτρεψε τὴν πηγήν, καὶ τὸ πρὶν ὀρφανίας αὐτοῖς καὶ λιμοῦ παραίτιον ὕδωρ ἔκτοτε εὐτεκνίας καὶ κόρου χορηγὸν κατέστη. [465]

τοσαύτην γοῦν ἐν ταῖς ἀρδείαις ἔχει δύναμιν ὡς, εἰ καὶ μόνον ἐφάψαιτο τῆς χώρας, νοστιμώτερον εἶναι τῶν μέχρι κόρου χρονιζόντων. [466] παρὸ καὶ τῶν [μὲν] δαψιλεστέρως χρωμένων ἡ ὄνησίς ἐστιν ὀλίγη, τούτου δὲ τοῦ ὀλίγου χορηγία δαψιλής. [467] ἄρδει γοῦν πλέονα τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων, καὶ πεδίον μὲν ἔπεισιν ἑβδομήκοντα σταδίων μῆκος εὖρος δ' εἴκοσιν, ἐκτρέφει δ' ἐν αὐτῷ παραδείσους καλλίστους τε καὶ πυκνοτάτους. [468] τῶν δὲ φοινίκων ἐπαρδομένων γένη πολλὰ ταῖς γεύσεσι καὶ ταῖς παρηγορίαις διάφορα: τούτων οἱ πιότεροι πατούμενοι καὶ μέλι δαψιλὲς ἀνιᾶσιν οὐ πολλῷ τοῦ λοιποῦ χεῖρον. [469] καὶ μελιττοτρόφος δὲ ἡ χώρα: φέρει δὲ καὶ ὀποβάλσαμον, ὃ δὴ τιμιώτατον τῶν τῇδε καρπῶν, κύπρον τε καὶ μυροβάλανον, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἁμαρτεῖν τινα εἰπόντα θεῖον εἶναι τὸ χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ δαψιλῆ τὰ σπανιώτατα καὶ κάλλιστα γεννᾶται. [470] τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων αὐτῷ καρπῶν ἕνεκεν οὐκ ἂν ῥᾳδίως τι παραβληθείη κλίμα τῆς οἰκουμένης: οὕτως τὸ καταβληθὲν πολύχουν ἀναδίδωσιν. [471] αἴτιόν μοι δοκεῖ τὸ θερμὸν τῶν ἀέρων καὶ τὸ τῶν ὑδάτων εὔτονον, τῶν μὲν προκαλουμένων τὰ φυόμενα καὶ διαχεόντων, τῆς δὲ ἰκμάδος ῥιζούσης ἕκαστον ἰσχυρῶς καὶ χορηγούσης τὴν ἐν θέρει δύναμιν: περικαὲς δέ ἐστιν οὕτως τὸ χωρίον, ὡς μηδένα ῥᾳδίως προιέναι. [472] τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ πρὸ ἀνατολῆς ἀντλούμενον, ἔπειτα ἐξαιθριασθὲν γίνεται ψυχρότατον καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν πρὸς τὸ περιέχον φύσιν λαμβάνει, χειμῶνος δὲ ἀνάπαλιν χλιαίνεται καὶ τοῖς ἐμβαίνουσι γίνεται προσηνέστατον. [473] ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὸ περιέχον οὕτως εὔκρατον, ὡς λινοῦν ἀμφιέννυσθαι τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους νιφομένης τῆς ἄλλης Ἰουδαίας. [474] ἀπέχει δὲ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων μὲν σταδίους ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα, τοῦ δὲ Ἰορδάνου ἑξήκοντα, καὶ τὸ μὲν μέχρι Ἱεροσολύμων αὐτῆς ἔρημον καὶ πετρῶδες, τὸ δὲ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰορδάνου καὶ τῆς Ἀσφαλτίτιδος χθαμαλώτερον μέν, ἔρημον δὲ ὁμοίως καὶ ἄκαρπον. [475] ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἰεριχοῦν εὐδαιμονεστάτην οὖσαν ἀποχρώντως δεδήλωται.

(4) [476] Ἄξιον δὲ ἀφηγήσασθαι καὶ τὴν φύσιν τῆς Ἀσφαλτίτιδος λίμνης, ἥτις ἐστὶ μέν, ὡς ἔφην, πικρὰ καὶ ἄγονος, ὑπὸ δὲ κουφότητος καὶ τὰ βαρύτατα τῶν εἰς αὐτὴν ῥιφέντων ἀναφέρει, καταδῦναι δ' εἰς τὸν βυθὸν οὐδὲ ἐπιτηδεύσαντα ῥᾴδιον. [477] ἀφικόμενος γοῦν καθ' ἱστορίαν ἐπ' αὐτὴν Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐκέλευσέ τινας τῶν νεῖν οὐκ ἐπισταμένων δεθέντας ὀπίσω τὰς χεῖρας ῥιφῆναι κατὰ τοῦ βυθοῦ, καὶ συνέβη πάντας ἐπινήξασθαι καθάπερ ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἄνω βιαζομένους. [478] ἔστι δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἡ τῆς χρόας μεταβολὴ θαυμάσιος: τρὶς γὰρ ἑκάστης ἡμέρας τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἀλλάσσεται καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἡλιακὰς ἀκτῖνας ἀνταυγεῖ ποικίλως. [479] τῆς μέντοι ἀσφάλτου κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη βώλους μελαίνας ἀναδίδωσιν: αἱ δ' ἐπινήχονται τό τε σχῆμα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ταύροις ἀκεφάλοις παραπλήσιαι. [480] προσελαύνοντες δὲ οἱ τῆς λίμνης ἐργάται καὶ δρασσόμενοι τοῦ συνεστῶτος ἕλκουσιν εἰς τὰ σκάφη, πληρώσασι δὲ ἀποκόπτειν οὐ ῥᾴδιον, ἀλλὰ δι' εὐτονίαν προσήρτηται τῷ μηρύματι τὸ σκάφος, ἕως ἂν ἐμμηνίῳ γυναικῶν

αἵματι καὶ οὔρῳ διαλύσωσιν αὐτήν, οἷς μόνοις εἴκει. [481] καὶ χρήσιμος δὲ οὐ μόνον εἰς ἁρμονίας νεῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἄκεσιν σωμάτων: εἰς πολλὰ γοῦν τῶν φαρμάκων παραμίσγεται. [482] ταύτης τῆς λίμνης μῆκος μὲν ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ πεντακόσιοι στάδιοι, καθὸ δὴ μέχρι Ζοάρων τῆς Ἀραβίας ἐκτείνεται, εὖρος δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. [483] γειτνιᾷ δ᾽ ἡ Σοδομῖτις αὐτῇ, πάλαι μὲν εὐδαίμων γῆ καρπῶν τε ἕνεκεν καὶ τῆς κατὰ πόλιν περιουσίας, νῦν δὲ κεκαυμένη πᾶσα. [484] φασὶ δὲ ὡς δι᾽ ἀσέβειαν οἰκητόρων κεραυνοῖς καταφλεγῆναι: ἔστι γοῦν ἔτι λείψανα τοῦ θείου πυρός, καὶ πέντε μὲν πόλεων ἰδεῖν σκιάς, ἔτι δὲ κἀν τοῖς καρποῖς σποδιὰν ἀναγεννωμένην, οἳ χροιὰν μὲν ἔχουσι τῶν ἐδωδίμων ὁμοίαν, δρεψαμένων δὲ χερσὶν εἰς καπνὸν διαλύονται καὶ τέφραν. [485] τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ τὴν Σοδομῖτιν μυθευόμενα τοιαύτην ἔχει πίστιν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψεως.

IX

(1) [486] Ὁ δὲ Οὐεσπασιανὸς πανταχόθεν περιτειχίζων τοὺς ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἔν τε τῇ Ἰεριχοῖ καὶ ἐν Ἀδίδοις ἐγείρει στρατόπεδα καὶ φρουροὺς ἀμφοτέραις ἐγκαθίστησιν ἔκ τε τοῦ Ῥωμαικοῦ καὶ συμμαχικοῦ συντάγματος. [487] πέμπει δὲ καὶ εἰς Γέρασα Λούκιον Ἄννιον παραδοὺς μοῖραν ἱππέων καὶ συχνοὺς πεζούς. [488] ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἐφόδου τὴν πόλιν ἑλὼν ἀποκτείνει μὲν χιλίους τῶν νέων, ὅσοι μὴ διαφυγεῖν ἔφθασαν, γενεὰς δὲ ᾐχμαλωτίσατο καὶ τὰς κτήσεις διαρπάσαι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπέτρεψεν: ἔπειτα τὰς οἰκίας ἐμπρήσας ἐπὶ τὰς πέριξ κώμας ἐχώρει. [489] φυγαὶ δ᾽ ἦσαν τῶν δυνατῶν καὶ φθοραὶ τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων, τὸ καταλειφθὲν δὲ πᾶν ἐνεπίμπρατο. [490] καὶ διειληφότος τοῦ πολέμου τήν τε ὀρεινὴν ὅλην καὶ τὴν πεδιάδα πάσας οἱ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις τὰς ἐξόδους ἀφῄρηντο: τοὺς μέν γε αὐτομολεῖν προαιρουμένους οἱ ζηλωταὶ παρεφυλάσσοντο, τοὺς δὲ οὔπω τὰ Ῥωμαίων φρονοῦντας εἶργεν ἡ στρατιὰ πανταχόθεν τὴν πόλιν περιέχουσα.

(2) [491] Οὐεσπασιανῷ δ᾽ εἰς Καισάρειαν ἐπιστρέψαντι καὶ παρασκευαζομένῳ μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐξελαύνειν ἀγγέλλεται Νέρων ἀνῃρημένος, τρία καὶ δέκα βασιλεύσας ἔτη καὶ ἡμέρας ὀκτώ. [492] περὶ οὗ λέγειν ὃν τρόπον εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐξύβρισεν πιστεύσας τὰ πράγματα τοῖς πονηροτάτοις, Νυμφιδίῳ καὶ Τιγελλίνῳ, [493] τοῖς τε ἀναξίοις τῶν ἐξελευθέρων, καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ τούτων ἐπιβουλευθεὶς κατελείφθη μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν φυλάκων ἁπάντων, διαδρὰς δὲ σὺν τέτρασι τῶν πιστῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἐν τοῖς προαστείοις ἑαυτὸν ἀνεῖλεν, καὶ ὡς οἱ καταλύσαντες αὐτὸν μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον δίκας ἔδοσαν, [494] τόν τε κατὰ τὴν Γαλατίαν πόλεμον ὡς ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ πῶς Γάλβας ἀποδειχθεὶς αὐτοκράτωρ εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπανῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς Ἱσπανίας, καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν αἰτιαθεὶς ἐπὶ ταπεινοφροσύνῃ ἐδολοφονήθη κατὰ μέσην τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀγορὸν ἀπεδείχθη τε αὐτοκράτωρ Ὄθων: [495] τήν τε τούτου στρατείαν ἐπὶ τοὺς

Οὐιτελλίου στρατηγοὺς καὶ κατάλυσιν, ἔπειτα τοὺς κατὰ Οὐιτέλλιον ταράχους καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ Καπετώλιον συμβολήν, ὅπως τε Ἀντώνιος Πρῖμος καὶ Μουκιανὸς διαφθείραντες Οὐιτέλλιον καὶ τὰ Γερμανικὰ τάγματα κατέστειλαν τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον. [496] πάντα ταῦτα διεξιέναι μὲν ἐπ᾽ ἀκριβὲς παρῃτησάμην, ἐπειδὴ δι᾽ ὄχλου πᾶσίν ἐστιν καὶ πολλοῖς Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀναγέγραπται, συναφείας δὲ ἕνεκεν τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τοῦ μὴ διηρτῆσθαι τὴν ἱστορίαν κεφαλαιωδῶς ἕκαστον ἐπισημαίνομαι.

[497] Οὐεσπασιανὸς τοίνυν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀνεβάλλετο τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων στρατείαν, καραδοκῶν πρὸς τίνα ῥέψει τὸ κρατεῖν μετὰ Νέρωνα: [498] αὖθις δὲ Γάλβαν ἀκούσας αὐτοκράτορα, πρὶν ἐπιστεῖλαί τι περὶ τοῦ πολέμου κἀκεῖνον, οὐκ ἐπεχείρει, πέμπει δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Τίτον ἀσπασόμενόν τε καὶ ληψόμενον τὰς περὶ Ἰουδαίων ἐντολάς. διὰ δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς αἰτίας ἅμα Τίτῳ καὶ Ἀγρίππας ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς Γάλβαν ἔπλει. [499] καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἀχαίας, χειμῶνος γὰρ ἦν ὥρα, μακραῖς ναυσὶ περιπλεόντων φθάνει Γάλβας ἀναιρεθεὶς μετὰ μῆνας ἑπτὰ καὶ ἴσας ἡμέρας: ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρέλαβεν Ὄθων ἀντιποιούμενος τῶν πραγμάτων. [500] ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀγρίππας εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφικέσθαι διέγνω μηδὲν ὀρρωδήσας πρὸς τὴν μεταβολήν: [501] Τίτος δὲ κατὰ δαιμόνιον ὁρμὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἰς τὴν Συρίαν ἀνέπλει καὶ κατὰ τάχος εἰς Καισάρειαν ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. [502] καὶ οἱ μὲν μετέωροι περὶ τῶν ὅλων ὄντες ὡς ἂν σαλευομένης τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας ὑπερεώρων τὴν ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίους στρατείαν, καὶ διὰ τὸν περὶ τῆς πατρίδος φόβον τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους ὁρμὴν ἄωρον ἐνόμιζον.

(3) [503] Ἐπανίσταται δὲ ἄλλος τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις πόλεμος. υἱὸς ἦν Γιώρα Σίμων τις, Γερασηνὸς τὸ γένος, νεανίας πανουργίᾳ μὲν ἠττώμενος Ἰωάννου τοῦ προκατέχοντος ἤδη τὴν πόλιν, ἀλκῇ δὲ σώματος καὶ τόλμῃ διαφέρων, [504] δι᾽ ἣν καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀνάνου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως φυγαδευθεὶς ἐξ ἧς εἶχε τοπαρχίας Ἀκραβετηνῆς πρὸς τοὺς κατειληφότας τὴν Μασάδαν λῃστὰς παραγίνεται. [505] τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἦν αὐτοῖς δι᾽ ὑποψίας: εἰς τὸ κατωτέρω γοῦν φρούριον ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτῷ παρελθεῖν ἅμα ταῖς γυναιξίν, ἃς ἄγων ἦκεν, αὐτοὶ τὸ ὑψηλότερον οἰκοῦντες: [506] αὖθις δὲ διὰ συγγένειαν ἠθῶν καὶ ὅτι πιστὸς ἐδόκει, συμπροενόμευε γοῦν αὐτοῖς ἐξιὼν καὶ συνεπόρθει τὰ περὶ τὴν Μασάδαν . [507] οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ τὰ μείζω παρακαλῶν ἔπεισεν: οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἔθει ὄντες τῷ φρουρίῳ, [508] καθάπερ φωλεοῦ χωρίζεσθαι μακρὰν ἐδεδοίκεσαν, ὁ δὲ τυραννιῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἐφιέμενος ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὴν Ἀνάνου τελευτὴν ἤκουσεν, εἰς τὴν ὀρεινὴν ἀφίσταται, καὶ προκηρύξας δούλοις μὲν ἐλευθερίαν, γέρας δὲ ἐλευθέροις τοὺς πανταχόθεν πονηροὺς συνήθροιζεν.

(4) [509] Ὡς δ᾽ ἦν αὐτῷ καρτερὸν ἤδη τὸ σύνταγμα, τὰς ἀνὰ τὴν ὀρεινὴν κώμας κατέτρεχεν, ἀεὶ δὲ προσγινομένων πλειόνων ἐθάρρει καταβαίνειν εἰς τὰ χθαμαλώτερα. [510] κἀπειδὴ πόλεσιν ἤδη φοβερὸς ἦν, πολλοὶ πρὸς τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ τὴν εὔροιαν τῶν κατορθωμάτων ἐφθείροντο δυνατοί, καὶ οὐκέτι ἦν δούλων

μόνων οὐδὲ λῃστῶν στρατός, ἀλλὰ καὶ δημοτικῶν οὐκ ὀλίγων ὡς πρὸς βασιλέα πειθαρχεῖν. [511] κατέτρεχε δὲ τήν τε Ἀκραβετηνὴν τοπαρχίαν καὶ τὰ μέχρι τῆς μεγάλης Ἰδουμαίας: κατὰ γὰρ κώμην τινὰ καλουμένην Ἀὶν τεῖχος κατασκευάσας ὥσπερ φρουρίῳ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ἐχρῆτο, [512] κατὰ δὲ τὴν φάραγγα προσαγορευομένην Φερεταὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἀνευρύνας σπήλαια, πολλὰ δ᾽ εὑρὼν ἕτοιμα ταμιείοις ἐχρῆτο θησαυρῶν καὶ τῆς λείας ἐκδοχείοις. [513] ἀνετίθει δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἁρπαζομένους εἰς αὐτὰ καρπούς, οἵ τε πολλοὶ τῶν λόχων δίαιταν εἶχον ἐν ἐκείνοις: δῆλος δ᾽ ἦν τό τε σύνταγμα προγυμνάζων καὶ τὰς παρασκευὰς κατὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων.

(5) [514] Ὅθεν οἱ ζηλωταὶ δείσαντες αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ προλαβεῖν βουλόμενοι τὸν κατ᾽ αὐτῶν τρεφόμενον ἐξίασι μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων οἱ πλείους: ὑπαντιάζει δὲ Σίμων, καὶ παραταξάμενος συχνοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀναιρεῖ, συνελαύνει δὲ τοὺς λοιποὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν. [515] οὔπω δὲ θαρρῶν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ μὲν τοῖς τείχεσιν προσβάλλειν ἀπετράπη, χειρώσασθαι δὲ πρότερον τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν ἐπεβάλετο: καὶ δὴ δισμυρίους ἔχων ὁπλίτας ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρους αὐτῆς. [516] οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες τῆς Ἰδουμαίας κατὰ τάχος ἀθροίσαντες ἐκ τῆς χώρας τὸ μαχιμώτατον περὶ πεντακισχιλίους καὶ δισμυρίους, τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς ἐάσαντες φρουρεῖν τὰ σφέτερα διὰ τὰς τῶν ἐν Μασάδᾳ σικαρίων καταδρομάς, ἐδέχοντο τὸν Σίμωνα πρὸς τοῖς ὅροις. [517] ἔνθα συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς καὶ δι᾽ ὅλης πολεμήσας ἡμέρας, οὔτε νενικηκὼς οὔτε νενικημένος διεκρίθη, καὶ ὁ μὲν εἰς τὴν Ναίν, οἱ δὲ Ἰδουμαῖοι διελύθησαν ἐπ᾽ οἴκου. [518] καὶ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ Σίμων μείζονι δυνάμει πάλιν εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ὥρμητο, στρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ κατά τινα κώμην, Θεκουὲ καλεῖται, πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἡρωδείῳ φρουρούς, ὅπερ ἦν πλησίον, Ἐλεάζαρόν τινα τῶν ἑταίρων ἔπεμψε πείσοντα παραδοῦναι τὸ ἔρυμα. [519] τοῦτον οἱ φύλακες προθύμως ἐδέξαντο τὴν αἰτίαν ἀγνοοῦντες δι᾽ ἣν ἥκοι, φθεγξάμενον δὲ περὶ παραδόσεως ἐδίωκον σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη, μέχρι φυγῆς τόπον οὐκ ἔχων ἔρριψεν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν ὑποκειμένην φάραγγα. [520] καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτίκα τελευτᾷ, τοῖς δ᾽ Ἰδουμαίοις ἤδη κατορρωδοῦσι τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῦ Σίμωνος ἔδοξε πρὸ τοῦ συμβαλεῖν κατασκέψασθαι τὴν στρατιὰν τῶν πολεμίων.

(6) [521] Εἰς τοῦτο δὲ ὑπηρέτην αὐτὸν ἑτοίμως ἐπεδίδου Ἰάκωβος, εἷς τῶν ἡγεμόνων, προδοσίαν ἐνθυμούμενος. [522] ὁρμήσας γοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλούρου, κατὰ γὰρ ταύτην συνήθροιστο τὴν κώμην τότε τῶν Ἰδουμαίων τὸ στράτευμα, [523] παραγίνεται πρὸς Σίμωνα, καὶ πρώτην αὐτῷ παραδώσειν συντίθεται τὴν αὐτοῦ πατρίδα, λαβὼν ὅρκους ὡς ἀεὶ τίμιος ὢν διατελέσει, συνεργήσειν δὲ ὑπέσχετο καὶ περὶ τῆς ὅλης Ἰδουμαίας. [524] ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἑστιαθεὶς φιλοφρόνως ὑπὸ τοῦ Σίμωνος καὶ λαμπραῖς ἐπαρθεὶς ὑποσχέσεσιν, ἐπειδήπερ εἰς τοὺς σφετέρους ὑπέστρεψε, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πολλαπλασίονα τὴν στρατιὰν ἐψεύδετο τοῦ Σίμωνος, [525] ἔπειτα δεξιούμενος τούς τε ἡγεμόνας καὶ κατ᾽ ὀλίγους πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐνῆγεν ὥστε δέξασθαι τὸν Σίμωνα καὶ παραδοῦναι δίχα μάχης αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀρχήν. [526]

ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα διαπραττόμενος καὶ Σίμωνα δι᾽ ἀγγέλων ἐκάλει σκεδάσειν ὑπισχνούμενος τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους: ὃ δὴ παρέσχεν. [527] ὡς γὰρ ἦν ἤδη πλησίον ἡ στρατιά, πρῶτος ἀναπηδήσας ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον μετὰ τῶν συνδιεφθαρμένων ἔφευγε. [528] πτοία δ᾽ ἐμπίπτει παντὶ τῷ πλήθει, καὶ πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν λυθέντες ἐκ τῆς τάξεως ἀνεχώρουν ἕκαστοι πρὸς τὰ ἴδια.

(7) [529] Σίμων δὲ παρὰ δόξαν εἰς τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν εἰσήλασεν ἀναιμωτὶ καὶ προσβαλὼν ἀδοκήτως πρώτην αἱρεῖ τὴν πολίχνην Χεβρών, ἐν ᾗ πλείστης ἐκράτησε λείας, πάμπολυν δὲ διήρπασε καρπόν. [530] ὡς δέ φασιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τὴν Χεβρὼν οὐ μόνον τῶν τῇδε πόλεων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Μέμφεως ἀρχαιοτέραν: δισχίλια γοῦν αὐτῇ καὶ τριακόσια ἔτη συναριθμεῖται. [531] μυθεύουσι δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ οἰκητήριον Ἀβράμου τοῦ Ἰουδαίων προγόνου γεγονέναι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἀπανάστασιν, τούς τε παῖδας αὐτοῦ λέγουσι καταβῆναι εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἔνθεν: [532] ὧν καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα μέχρι νῦν ἐν τῇδε τῇ πολίχνῃ δείκνυται πάνυ καλῆς μαρμάρου καὶ φιλοτίμως εἰργασμένα. [533] δείκνυται δ᾽ ἀπὸ σταδίων ἓξ τοῦ ἄστεος τερέβινθος μεγίστη, καὶ φασὶ τὸ δένδρον ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως μέχρι νῦν διαμένειν. [534] ἔνθεν ὁ Σίμων ἐχώρει διὰ πάσης τῆς Ἰδουμαίας, οὐ μόνον κώμας καὶ πόλεις πορθῶν, λυμαινόμενος δὲ καὶ τὴν χώραν: δίχα γὰρ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν τέσσαρες αὐτῷ συνείποντο μυριάδες, ὡς μηδὲ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐξαρκούντων πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος. [535] προσῆν δὲ ταῖς χρείαις ὠμότης τε αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὸ γένος ὀργή, δι᾽ ἃ μᾶλλον ἐξερημοῦσθαι συνέβαινε τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν. [536] καθάπερ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκρίδων κατόπιν ὕλην ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἐψιλωμένην πᾶσαν, οὕτω τὸ κατὰ νώτου τῆς Σίμωνος στρατιᾶς ἐρημία κατελείπετο: [537] καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐμπιπρῶντες τὰ δὲ κατασκάπτοντες, πᾶν δὲ τὸ πεφυκὸς ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν ἢ συμπατοῦντες ἠφάνιζον ἢ νεμόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐνεργὸν ὑπὸ τῆς πορείας σκληροτέραν ἐποίουν τῆς ἀκάρπου, καθόλου τε εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲ σημεῖόν τι κατελείπετο τοῖς πορθουμένοις τοῦ γεγονέναι.

(8) [538] Ταῦτα πάλιν τοὺς ζηλωτὰς ἐπήγειρεν, καὶ φανερῶς μὲν ἀντιπαρατάξασθαι κατέδεισαν, προλοχίσαντες δ᾽ ἐν ταῖς παρόδοις ἁρπάζουσι τοῦ Σίμωνος τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν θεραπείας συχνούς. [539] ἔπειτα ὡς αὐτὸν αἰχμαλωτισάμενοι τὸν Σίμωνα γεγηθότες εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑπέστρεψαν καὶ ὅσον οὐδέπω προσεδόκων καταθέμενον τὰ ὅπλα περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἱκετεύσειν. [540] τὸν δὲ οὐκ ἔλεος εἰσῆλθεν ἀλλ᾽ ὀργὴ περὶ τῆς ἡρπασμένης, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐλθὼν καθάπερ τὰ τρωθέντα τῶν θηρίων, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς τρώσαντας οὐ κατέλαβεν, ἐφ᾽ οὓς εὗρε τὸν θυμὸν ἠφίει. [541] ὅσοι γοῦν λαχανείας ἕνεκεν ἢ φρυγανισμοῦ προεληλύθεσαν ἔξω πυλῶν ἀνόπλους καὶ γέροντας συλλαμβάνων ἠκίζετο καὶ διέφθειρεν, δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν ἀγανακτήσεως μονονουχὶ καὶ νεκρῶν γευόμενος τῶν σωμάτων. [542] πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ χειροκοπήσας εἰσέπεμπε καταπλήξασθαι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἅμα καὶ διαστῆσαι τὸν δῆμον ἐπιχειρῶν πρὸς τοὺς αἰτίους. [543] ἐντέταλτο δ᾽ αὐτοῖς λέγειν, ὅτι Σίμων

θεὸν ὄμνυσι τὸν πάντων ἔφορον, εἰ μὴ θᾶττον ἀποδώσουσιν αὐτῷ τὴν γυναῖκα, ῥήξας τὸ τεῖχος τοιαῦτα διαθήσειν πάντας τοὺς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, μηδεμιᾶς φεισάμενος ἡλικίας μηδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναιτίων διακρίνας τοὺς αἰτίους. [544] τούτοις οὐ μόνον ὁ δῆμος ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ζηλωταὶ καταπλαγέντες ἀποπέμπουσιν αὐτῷ τὴν γυναῖκα: καὶ τότε μὲν ἐκμειλιχθεὶς ὀλίγον ἀνεπαύσατο τοῦ συνεχοῦς φόνου.

(9) [545] Οὐ μόνον δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν στάσις ἦν καὶ πόλεμος ἐμφύλιος, ἀλλὰ κἀπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας. [546] ἀνῄρητο μὲν γὰρ κατὰ μέσην τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀγορὰν Γάλβας, ἀποδεδειγμένος δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ Ὄθων ἐπολέμει Οὐιτελλίῳ βασιλειῶντι: τοῦτον γὰρ ᾔρητο τὰ κατὰ Γερμανίαν τάγματα. [547] καὶ γενομένης συμβολῆς κατὰ Φρηγδίακον τῆς Γαλατίας πρός τε Οὐάλεντα καὶ Καικίνναν τοὺς Οὐιτελλίου στρατηγούς, τῇ πρώτῃ μὲν ἡμέρᾳ περιῆν Ὄθων, τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ τὸ Οὐιτελλίου στρατιωτικόν: [548] καὶ πολλοῦ φόνου γενομένου διεχρήσατο μὲν Ὄθων αὐτὸν ἐν Βριξέλλῳ τὴν ἦτταν πυθόμενος ἡμέρας δύο καὶ τρεῖς μῆνας κρατήσας τῶν πραγμάτων, [549] προσεχώρησε δὲ τοῖς Οὐιτελλίου στρατηγοῖς ἡ στρατιά, καὶ κατέβαινεν αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. [550] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἀναστὰς ἐκ τῆς Καισαρείας πέμπτῃ Δαισίου μηνὸς ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὰ μηδέπω κατεστραμμένα τῶν τῆς Ἰουδαίας χωρίων. [551] ἀναβὰς δὲ εἰς τὴν ὀρεινὴν αἱρεῖ δύο τοπαρχίας, τήν τε Γοφνιτικὴν καὶ τὴν Ἀκραβετηνὴν καλουμένην, μεθ' ἃς Βήθηγά τε καὶ Ἐφραὶμ πολίχνια, οἷς φρουροὺς ἐγκαταστήσας μέχρι Ἱεροσολύμων ἱππάζετο: φθορὰ δ' ἦν πολλῶν καταλαμβανομένων καὶ συχνοὺς ᾐχμαλωτίζετο. [552] Κερεάλιος δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν ἡγεμόνων μοῖραν ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν ἀναλαβὼν τὴν ἄνω καλουμένην Ἰδουμαίαν ἐπόρθει, καὶ Κάφεθρα μὲν ψευδοπολίχνιον ἐξ ἐφόδου λαβὼν ἐμπίπρησιν, ἑτέραν δὲ καλουμένην Χαραβὶν προσβαλὼν ἐπολιόρκει. [553] πάνυ δ' ἦν ἰσχυρὸν τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ τρίψεσθαι προσδοκῶντι πλείω χρόνον αἰφνιδίως ἀνοίγουσιν οἱ ἔνδον τὰς πύλας καὶ μεθ' ἱκετηριῶν προελθόντες ἑαυτοὺς παρέδοσαν. [554] Κερεάλιος δὲ τούτους παραστησάμενος ἐπὶ Χεβρὼν ἑτέρας πόλεως ἀρχαιοτάτης ἐχώρει: κεῖται δ', ὡς ἔφην, αὕτη κατὰ τὴν ὀρεινὴν οὐ πόρρω Ἱεροσολύμων: βιασάμενος δὲ τὰς εἰσόδους τὸ μὲν ἐγκαταληφθὲν πλῆθος ἠβηδὸν ἀναιρεῖ, τὸ δ' ἄστυ καταπίμπρησι. [555] καὶ πάντων ἤδη κεχειρωμένων πλὴν Ἡρωδείου καὶ Μασάδας καὶ Μαχαιροῦντος, ταῦτα δ' ὑπὸ τῶν λῃστῶν κατείληπτο, σκοπὸς ἤδη τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα προύκειτο Ῥωμαίοις.

(10) [556] Ὁ δὲ Σίμων ὡς ἐρρύσατο παρὰ τῶν ζηλωτῶν τὴν γυναῖκα, πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ λείψανα τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ὑπέστρεψεν, καὶ περιελαύνων πανταχόθεν τὸ ἔθνος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τοὺς πολλοὺς φεύγειν συνηνάγκασεν. [557] εἵπετο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ κυκλωσάμενος αὖθις τὸ τεῖχος ὄντινα λάβοι τῶν προιόντων κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐργατῶν διέφθειρεν. [558] ἦν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ Σίμων μὲν ἔξωθεν Ῥωμαίων φοβερώτερος, οἱ ζηλωταὶ δ' ἔνδον ἑκατέρων χαλεπώτεροι, κἀν τούτοις ἐπινοίᾳ κακῶν καὶ τόλμῃ τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν Γαλιλαίων διέφερεν: [559] τόν τε γὰρ Ἰωάννην

παρήγαγον εἰς ἰσχὺν οὗτοι, κἀκεῖνος αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἧς περιεποιήσατο δυναστείας ἠμείβετο πάντα ἐπιτρέπων δρᾶν ὧν ἕκαστος ἐπεθύμει. [560] πόθοι δ᾽ ἦσαν ἁρπαγῆς ἀπλήρωτοι καὶ τῶν πλουσίων οἴκων ἔρευνα φόνος τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ὕβρεις ἐπαίζοντο, [561] μεθ᾽ αἵματός τε τὰ συληθέντα κατέπινον καὶ μετ᾽ ἀδείας ἐνεθηλυπάθουν τῷ κόρῳ, κόμας συνθετιζόμενοι καὶ γυναικείας ἐσθῆτας ἀναλαμβάνοντες, καταντλούμενοι δὲ μύροις καὶ πρὸς εὐπρέπειαν ὑπογράφοντες ὀφθαλμούς. [562] οὐ μόνον δὲ κόσμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάθη γυναικῶν ἐμιμοῦντο καὶ δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν ἀσελγείας ἀθεμίτους. ἐπενόησαν ἔρωτας: ἐνηλινδοῦντο δ᾽ ὡς πορνείῳ τῇ πόλει καὶ πᾶσαν ἀκαθάρτοις ἐμίαναν ἔργοις. [563] γυναικιζόμενοι δὲ τὰς ὄψεις ἐφόνων ταῖς δεξιαῖς θρυπτόμενοί τε τοῖς βαδίσμασιν ἐπιόντες ἐξαπίνης ἐγίνοντο πολεμισταὶ τά τε ξίφη προφέροντες ἀπὸ τῶν βεβαμμένων χλανιδίων τὸν προστυχόντα διήλαυνον. [564] τοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας δὲ Ἰωάννην Σίμων φονικώτερον ἐξεδέχετο, καὶ διαφυγών τις τὸν ἐντὸς τείχους τύραννον ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸ πυλῶν διεφθείρετο. [565] πᾶσα δὲ φυγῆς ὁδὸς τοῖς αὐτομολεῖν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους βουλομένοις ἀπεκέκοπτο.

(11) [566] Διεστασιάζετο δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἰωάννην ἡ δύναμις, καὶ πᾶν ὅσον [ἦν] Ἰδουμαίων ἐν αὐτῇ χωρισθὲν ἐπεχείρει τῷ τυράννῳ φθόνῳ τε τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ καὶ μίσει τῆς ὠμότητος. [567] συμβαλόντες δὲ ἀναιροῦσί τε πολλοὺς τῶν ζηλωτῶν καὶ συνελαύνουσι τοὺς λοιποὺς εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν αὐλὴν κατασκευασθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Γραπτῆς: [568] συγγενὴς δὲ ἦν αὕτη τοῦ τῶν Ἀδιαβηνῶν βασιλέως Ἰζᾶ: συνεισπίπτουσι δὲ οἱ Ἰδουμαῖοι, κἀκεῖθεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐξώσαντες τοὺς ζηλωτὰς ἐφ᾽ ἁρπαγὴν ἐτράποντο τῶν Ἰωάννου χρημάτων: [569] κατὰ γὰρ τὴν προειρημένην αὐλὴν αὐτός τε † ὢν ἐκεῖ καὶ τὰ λάφυρα τῆς τυραννίδος κατέθετο. [570] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τὸ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐσκεδασμένον πλῆθος τῶν ζηλωτῶν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν πρὸς τοὺς διαπεφευγότας ἠθροίσθη, καὶ κατάγειν αὐτοὺς παρεσκευάσατο Ἰωάννης ἐπί τε τὸν δῆμον καὶ τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους. [571] τοῖς δὲ οὐχ οὕτω τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν καταδεῖσαι παρέστη μαχιμωτέροις οὖσιν ὡς τὴν ἀπόνοιαν, μὴ νύκτωρ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ παρεισδύντες αὐτούς τε διαφθείρωσι καὶ τὸ ἄστυ καταπιμπρῶσι. [572] συνελθόντες οὖν μετὰ τῶν ἀρχιερέων ἐβουλεύοντο, τίνα χρὴ τρόπον φυλάξασθαι τὴν ἐπίθεσιν. [573] θεὸς δὲ ἄρα τὰς γνώμας αὐτῶν εἰς κακὸν ἔτρεψε, καὶ χαλεπώτερον ἀπωλείας ἐπενόησαν τὸ πρὸς σωτηρίαν φάρμακον: ἵνα γοῦν καταλύσωσιν Ἰωάννην, ἔκριναν δέχεσθαι Σίμωνα καὶ μετὰ ἱκετηριῶν δεύτερον εἰσαγαγεῖν ἑαυτοῖς τύραννον. [574] ἐπεραίνετο δ᾽ ἡ βουλή, καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ματθίαν πέμψαντες ἐδέοντο Σίμωνι εἰσελθεῖν ὃν πολλὰ ἔδεισαν: συμπαρεκάλουν δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τοὺς ζηλωτὰς φεύγοντες πόθῳ τῶν οἴκων καὶ τῶν κτημάτων. [575] ὁ δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὑπερηφάνως κατανεύσας τὸ δεσπόζειν εἰσέρχεται μὲν ὡς ἀπαλλάξων τῶν ζηλωτῶν τὴν πόλιν σωτὴρ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ κηδεμὼν εὐφημούμενος, [576] παρελθὼν δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐσκόπει τὰ περὶ

τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δυναστείας καὶ τοὺς καλέσαντας οὐχ ἧττον ἐχθροὺς ἐνόμιζεν ἢ καθ' ὧν ἐκέκλητο.

(12) [577] Σίμων μὲν οὕτως ἐνιαυτῷ τρίτῳ τοῦ πολέμου Ξανθικῷ μηνὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐγκρατὴς γίνεται: Ἰωάννης δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν ζηλωτῶν πλῆθος εἰργόμενοι τῶν ἐξόδων τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀπολωλεκότες, παραχρῆμα γὰρ τὰ ἐκείνων οἱ περὶ τὸν Σίμωνα διήρπασαν, ἐν ἀπόρῳ τὴν σωτηρίαν εἶχον. [578] προσέβαλλε δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ Σίμων τοῦ δήμου βοηθοῦντος, κἀκεῖνοι καταστάντες ἐπὶ τῶν στοῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπάλξεων ἠμύνοντο τὰς προσβολάς. [579] συχνοὶ δ' ἔπιπτον τῶν περὶ Σίμωνα καὶ πολλοὶ τραυματίαι κατεφέροντο: ῥᾳδίως γὰρ ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου τὰς βολὰς οἱ ζηλωταὶ καὶ οὐκ ἀστόχους ἐποιοῦντο. [580] πλεονεκτοῦντες δὲ τῷ τόπῳ καὶ πύργους ἔτι προσκατεσκεύασαν τέσσαρας μεγίστους, ὡς ἀφ' ὑψηλοτέρων ποιοῖντο τὰς ἀφέσεις, τὸν μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολικὴν καὶ βόρειον γωνίαν, [581] τὸν δὲ τοῦ ξυστοῦ καθύπερθεν, τὸν δὲ τρίτον κατὰ γωνίαν ἄλλην ἀντικρὺ τῆς κάτω πόλεως: [582] ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς ὑπὲρ τὴν κορυφὴν κατεσκεύαστο τῶν παστοφορίων, ἔνθα τῶν ἱερέων εἷς ἐξ ἔθους ἱστάμενος ἑκάστην ἑβδομάδα εἰσιοῦσαν προεσήμαινε σάλπιγγι δείλης καὶ τελεσθεῖσαν αὖθις περὶ ἑσπέραν, ὅτε μὲν ἀνέργειαν τῷ λαῷ καταγγέλλων, ὅτε δ' ἔργων ἔχεσθαι. [583] διέστησαν δ' ἐπὶ τῶν πύργων ὀξυβελεῖς τε καὶ λιθοβόλους μηχανὰς τούς τε τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας. [584] ἔνθα δὴ τὰς μὲν προσβολὰς ὀκνηροτέρας ἐποιεῖτο ὁ Σίμων μαλακιζομένων αὐτῷ τῶν πλειόνων, ἀντεῖχε δ' ὅμως περιουσίᾳ δυνάμεως: τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀργάνων βέλη πορρωτέρω φερόμενα πολλοὺς τῶν μαχομένων ἀνῄρει.

X

(1) [585] Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν περιέσχε καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην πάθη χαλεπά. [586] παρῆν μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ Γερμανίας Οὐιτέλλιος ἅμα τῷ στρατιωτικῷ πολὺ πλῆθος ἐπισυρόμενος ἕτερον, μὴ χωρούμενος δὲ τοῖς ἀποδεδειγμένοις εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας περιβόλοις ὅλην ἐποιήσατο τὴν Ῥώμην στρατόπεδον καὶ πᾶσαν οἰκίαν ὁπλιτῶν ἐπλήρωσεν. [587] οἱ δὲ ἀήθεσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸν Ῥωμαίων πλοῦτον θεασάμενοι καὶ περιλαμφθέντες πάντοθεν ἀργύρῳ τε καὶ χρυσῷ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας μόλις κατεῖχον, ὥστε μὴ ἐφ' ἁρπαγὰς τρέπεσθαί τε καὶ τοὺς ἐμποδὼν γινομένους ἀναιρεῖν. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

(2) [588] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ὡς τὰ πλησίον Ἱεροσολύμων καταστρεψάμενος ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Καισάρειαν, ἀκούει τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην ταραχὰς καὶ Οὐιτέλλιον αὐτοκράτορα. [589] τοῦτο αὐτὸν καίπερ ἄρχεσθαι καθάπερ ἄρχειν καλῶς ἐπιστάμενον εἰς ἀγανάκτησιν προήγαγεν, καὶ τὸν μὲν ὡς ἐρήμου καταμανέντα τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἠδόξει δεσπότην, [590] περιαλγήσας δὲ τῷ πάθει καρτερεῖν τὴν βάσανον οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν καὶ τῆς πατρίδος πορθουμένης ἑτέροις

προσευσχολεῖν πολέμοις. [591] ἀλλ᾽ ὅσον ὁ θυμὸς ἤπειγεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμυναν, τοσοῦτον εἶργεν ἔννοια τοῦ διαστήματος: πολλὰ γὰρ φθάσαι πανουργήσασαν τὴν τύχην πρὶν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περαιωθῆναι καὶ ταῦτα χειμῶνος ὥρᾳ πλέοντα: σφαδάζουσαν ἤδη κατεῖχεν τὴν ὀργήν.

(3) [592] Συνιόντες δὲ οἵ τε ἡγεμόνες καὶ στρατιῶται καθ᾽ ἑταιρίαν φανερῶς ἤδη μεταβολὴν ἐβουλεύοντο καὶ διαγανακτοῦντες ἐβόων, ὡς οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης στρατιῶται τρυφῶντες καὶ μηδ᾽ ἀκούειν πολέμου φήμην ὑπομένοντες διαχειροτονοῦσιν οἷς βούλονται τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ πρὸς ἐλπίδα λημμάτων ἀποδεικνύουσιν αὐτοκράτορας, [593] αὐτοὶ δὲ διὰ τοσούτων κεχωρηκότες πόνων καὶ γηρῶντες ὑπὸ τοῖς κράνεσιν ἑτέροις χαρίζονται τὴν ἐξουσίαν καὶ ταῦτα τὸν ἀξιώτερον ἄρχειν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες. [594] ᾧ τίνα δικαιοτέραν ποτὲ τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς εὐνοίας ἀποδώσειν ἀμοιβήν, εἰ τὴν νῦν καταπροοῖντο; τοσούτῳ δ᾽ εἶναι Οὐεσπασιανὸν ἡγεμονεύειν Οὐιτελλίου δικαιότερον, ὅσῳ καὶ αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐκεῖνον ἀποδειξάντων: [595] οὐ γὰρ δὴ μικροτέρους τῶν ἀπὸ Γερμανίας διενηνοχέναι πολέμους οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκεῖθεν καταγαγόντων τὸν τύραννον ἡττῆσθαι τοῖς ὅπλοις. [596] ἀγῶνος δὲ ἐνδεήσειν οὐδέν: οὐ γὰρ τὴν σύγκλητον ἢ τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον ἀνέξεσθαι τῆς Οὐιτελλίου λαγνείας ἀντὶ τῆς Οὐεσπασιανοῦ σωφροσύνης, οὐδ᾽ ἀντὶ μὲν ἡγεμόνος ἀγαθοῦ τύραννον ὠμότατον, ἄπαιδα δὲ ἀντὶ πατρὸς αἱρήσεσθαι προστάτην: μέγιστον γὰρ δὴ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν εἰρήνης εἶναι τὰς γνησίους τῶν βασιλέων διαδοχάς. [597] εἴτε οὖν ἐμπειρίᾳ γήρως προσήκει τὸ ἄρχειν, Οὐεσπασιανὸν αὐτοὺς ἔχειν, εἴτε νεότητος ἀλκῇ, Τίτον: κραθήσεσθαι γὰρ τῆς παρ᾽ ἀμφοῖν ἡλικίας τὸ ὠφέλιμον. [598] χορηγήσειν δὲ οὐ μόνον αὐτοὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῖς ἀποδειχθεῖσι τρία τάγματα καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων συμμαχίας ἔχοντες συνετηρήσαμεν τά τε πρὸς ἕω πάντα καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης ὅσα τῶν ἀπὸ Οὐιτελλίου φόβων κεχώρισται, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας δὲ συμμάχους, [599] ἀδελφὸν Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καὶ παῖδα ἕτερον, ὧν τῷ μὲν προσθήσεσθαι πολλοὺς τῶν ἐν ἀξιώματι νέων, τὸν δὲ καὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως φυλακὴν πεπιστεῦσθαι, μέρος οὐκ ὀλίγον εἰς ἐπιβολὴν ἡγεμονίας. [600] καθόλου τε ἂν βραδύνωσιν αὐτοί, τάχα τὴν σύγκλητον ἀποδείξειν τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν συντετηρηκότων στρατιωτῶν ἀτιμούμενον.

(4) [601] Τοιαῦτα κατὰ συστροφὰς οἱ στρατιῶται διελάλουν: ἔπειτα συναθροισθέντες καὶ παρακροτήσαντες ἀλλήλους ἀναγορεύουσι τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ σώζειν τὴν κινδυνεύουσαν ἡγεμονίαν παρεκάλουν. [602] τῷ δὲ φροντὶς μὲν ἦν πάλαι περὶ τῶν ὅλων, οὔτι γε μὴν αὐτὸς ἄρχειν προῄρητο, τοῖς μὲν ἔργοις ἑαυτὸν ἄξιον ἡγούμενος, προκρίνων δὲ τῶν ἐν λαμπρότητι κινδύνων τὴν ἐν ἰδιώταις ἀσφάλειαν. [603] ἀρνουμένῳ δὲ μᾶλλον οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἐπέκειντο καὶ περιχυθέντες οἱ στρατιῶται ξιφήρεις ἀναιρεῖν αὐτὸν ἠπείλουν, εἰ μὴ βούλοιτο ζῆν ἀξίως. [604] πολλὰ δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς διατεινάμενος ἐξ ὧν διωθεῖτο τὴν ἀρχὴν τελευταῖον, ὡς οὐκ ἔπειθεν, εἴκει τοῖς ὀνομάσασι.

(5) [605] Προτρεπομένων δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἤδη Μουκιανοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων ὡς αὐτοκράτορα καὶ τῆς ἄλλης στρατιᾶς ἄγειν ἐπὶ πᾶν τὸ ἀντίπαλον, ὁ δὲ πρῶτον τῶν ἐπ᾽ Ἀλεξανδρείας εἴχετο πραγμάτων, εἰδὼς πλεῖστον τῆς ἡγεμονίας μέρος τὴν Αἴγυπτον οὖσαν διὰ τὴν τοῦ σίτου χορηγίαν, [606] ἧς κρατήσας εἰ παρέλκοι καὶ βίᾳ καθαιρήσειν ἤλπιζεν Οὐιτέλλιον, οὐ γὰρ ἀνέξεσθαι πείνης ἐπὶ Ῥώμης τὸ πλῆθος, τὰ δύο τε ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας τάγματα προσποιήσασθαι βουλόμενος. [607] ἐνεθυμεῖτο δὲ καὶ πρόβλημα τὴν χώραν ἔχειν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης ἀδήλων: ἔστι γὰρ κατά τε γῆν δυσέμβολος καὶ τὰ πρὸς θαλάσσης ἀλίμενος, [608] κατὰ μὲν ἑσπέραν προβεβλημένη τὰ ἄνυδρα τῆς Λιβύης, κατὰ δὲ μεσημβρίαν τὴν διορίζουσαν ἀπὸ Αἰθιόπων τὴν Συήνην καὶ τοὺς ἀπλώτους τοῦ ποταμοῦ καταράκτας, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἀνατολῆς τὴν ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν ἀναχεομένην μέχρι Κοπτοῦ. [609] βόρειον δὲ τεῖχος αὐτῇ ἥ τε μέχρι Συρίας γῆ καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Αἰγύπτιον πέλαγος, πᾶν ἄπορον ὅρμων. [610] τετείχισται μὲν οὕτως ἡ Αἴγυπτος πάντοθεν: τὸ μεταξὺ δὲ Πηλουσίου καὶ Συήνης μῆκος αὐτῆς σταδίων δισχιλίων, ὅ τε ἀπὸ τῆς Πλινθίνης ἀνάπλους εἰς τὸ Πηλούσιον σταδίων τρισχιλίων ἑξακοσίων. [611] ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος ἀναπλεῖται μέχρι τῆς Ἐλεφάντων καλουμένης πόλεως, ὑπὲρ ἣν εἴργουσι προσωτέρω χωρεῖν οὓς προειρήκαμεν καταράκτας. [612] δυσπρόσιτος δὲ λιμὴν ναυσὶ καὶ κατ᾽ εἰρήνην Ἀλεξανδρείας: στενός τε γὰρ εἴσπλους καὶ πέτραις ὑφάλοις τὸν ἐπ᾽ εὐθὺ καμπτόμενος δρόμον. [613] καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀριστερὸν αὐτοῦ μέρος πέφρακται χειροκμήτοις σκέλεσιν, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ ἡ προσαγορευομένη Φάρος νῆσος πρόκειται, πύργον ἔχουσα μέγιστον ἐκπυρσεύοντα τοῖς καταπλέουσιν ἐπὶ τριακοσίους σταδίους, ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ πόρρωθεν ὁρμίζοιντο πρὸς τὴν δυσχέρειαν τοῦ κατάπλου. [614] περὶ ταύτην τὴν νῆσον καταβέβληται χειροποίητα τείχη μέγιστα, προσαρασσόμενον δὲ τούτοις τὸ πέλαγος καὶ τοῖς ἄντικρυς ἔρκεσιν ἀμφαγνυμένον ἐκτραχύνει τὸν πόρον καὶ σφαλερὰν διὰ στενοῦ τὴν εἴσοδον ἀπεργάζεται. [615] ὁ μέντοι γε λιμὴν ἀσφαλέστατος ἔνδον καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίων τὸ μέγεθος, εἰς ὃν τά τε λείποντα τῇ χώρᾳ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν κατάγεται καὶ τὰ περισσεύοντα τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἀγαθῶν εἰς πᾶσαν χωρίζεται τὴν οἰκουμένην.

(6) [616] Ἐφίετο μὲν οὖν εἰκότως τῶν ταύτῃ πραγμάτων Οὐεσπασιανὸς εἰς βεβαίωσιν τῆς ὅλης ἡγεμονίας, ἐπιστέλλει δ᾽ εὐθὺς τῷ διέποντι τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν Τιβερίῳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, δηλῶν τὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς πρόθυμον, καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς ὑποδὺς ἀναγκαίως τὸ βάρος τῆς ἡγεμονίας συνεργὸν αὐτὸν καὶ βοηθὸν προσλαμβάνοι. [617] παραναγνοὺς δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν Ἀλέξανδρος προθύμως τά τε τάγματα καὶ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς αὐτὸν ὥρκωσεν. ἑκάτεροι δὲ ἀσμένως ὑπήκουσαν τὴν ἀρετὴν τἀνδρὸς ἐκ τῆς ἐγγὺς στρατηγίας εἰδότες. [618] καὶ ὁ μὲν πεπιστευμένος ἤδη τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν προπαρεσκεύαζεν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἄφιξιν, τάχιον δ᾽ ἐπινοίας διήγγελλον αἱ φῆμαι τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνατολῆς αὐτοκράτορα, καὶ πᾶσα μὲν πόλις ἑώρταζεν εὐαγγέλια [δὲ] καὶ θυσίας ὑπὲρ

αὐτοῦ ἐπετέλει. [619] τὰ δὲ κατὰ Μυσίαν καὶ Παννονίαν τάγματα, μικρῷ πρόσθεν κεκινημένα πρὸς τὴν Οὐιτελλίου τόλμαν, μείζονι χαρᾷ Οὐεσπασιανῷ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὤμνυον. [620] ὁ δ᾽ ἀναζεύξας ἀπὸ Καισαρείας εἰς Βηρυτὸν παρῆν, ἔνθα πολλαὶ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας αὐτῷ, πολλαὶ δὲ κἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπαρχιῶν πρεσβεῖαι συνήντων, στεφάνους παρ᾽ ἑκάστης πόλεως καὶ συγχαρτικὰ προσφέρουσαι ψηφίσματα. [621] παρῆν δὲ καὶ Μουκιανὸς ὁ τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἡγεμὼν τὸ πρόθυμον τῶν δήμων καὶ τοὺς κατὰ πόλιν ὅρκους ἀπαγγέλλων.

(7) [622] Προχωρούσης δὲ πανταχοῦ κατὰ νοῦν τῆς τύχης καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων συννενευκότων ἐκ τοῦ πλείστου μέρους, ἤδη παρίστατο τῷ Οὐεσπασιανῷ νοεῖν, ὡς οὐ δίχα δαιμονίου προνοίας ἄψαιτο τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀλλὰ δικαία τις εἱμαρμένη περιαγάγοι τὸ κρατεῖν τῶν ὅλων ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν: [623] ἀναμιμνήσκεται γὰρ τά τε ἄλλα σημεῖα, πολλὰ δ᾽ αὐτῷ γεγόνει πανταχοῦ προφαίνοντα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, καὶ τὰς τοῦ Ἰωσήπου φωνάς, ὃς αὐτὸν ἔτι ζῶντος Νέρωνος αὐτοκράτορα προσειπεῖν ἐθάρσησεν. [624] ἐξεπέπληκτο δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα δεσμώτην ἔτι ὄντα παρ᾽ αὐτῷ, καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος Μουκιανὸν ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγεμόσι καὶ φίλοις πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸ δραστήριον ἐκδιηγεῖτο καὶ ὅσα περὶ τοῖς Ἰωταπάτοις δι᾽ αὐτὸν ἔκαμον, [625] ἔπειτα τὰς μαντείας, ἃς αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπώπτευσε τότε πλάσματα τοῦ δέους, ἀποδειχθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων θείας. [626] “αἰσχρὸν οὖν, ἔφη, τὸν προθεσπίσαντά μοι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ διάκονον τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ φωνῆς ἔτι αἰχμαλώτου τάξιν ἢ δεσμώτου τύχην ὑπομένειν” καὶ καλέσας τὸν Ἰώσηπον λυθῆναι κελεύει. [627] τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἡγεμόσιν ἐκ τῆς εἰς τὸν ἀλλόφυλον ἀμοιβῆς λαμπρὰ καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐλπίζειν παρέστη, συνὼν δὲ τῷ πατρὶ Τίτος “δίκαιον, [628] ὦ πάτερ, ἔφη, τοῦ Ἰωσήπου καὶ τὸ ὄνειδος ἀφαιρεθῆναι σὺν τῷ σιδήρῳ: γενήσεται γὰρ ὅμοιος τῷ μὴ δεθέντι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἂν αὐτοῦ μὴ λύσωμεν ἀλλὰ κόψωμεν τὰ δεσμά.” τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν μὴ δεόντως δεθέντων πράττεται. [629] συνεδόκει ταῦτα, καὶ παρελθών τις πελέκει διέκοψε τὴν ἅλυσιν. ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος εἰληφὼς περὶ τῶν προειρημένων γέρας τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν ἤδη καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἀξιόπιστος ἦν.

XI

(1) [630] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ταῖς πρεσβείαις χρηματίσας καὶ καταστησάμενος ἑκάστοις τὰς ἀρχὰς δικαίως καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀξίων εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἀφικνεῖται. [631] καὶ βουλευόμενος, ποῖ τρέπεσθαι, προυργιαίτερα τῆς εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὁρμῆς τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην ἔκρινε, τὴν μὲν βέβαιον οὖσαν ὁρῶν, τὰ δ᾽ ὑπὸ Οὐιτελλίου ταρασσόμενα. [632] πέμπει δὴ Μουκιανὸν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν παραδοὺς ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν συχνὴν δύναμιν. ὁ δὲ διὰ τὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ἀκμὴν δείσας τὸ πλεῖν πεζῇ τὴν στρατιὰν ἦγε διὰ Καππαδοκίας καὶ Φρυγίας.

(2) [633] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Ἀντώνιος Πρῖμος ἀναλαβὼν τὸ τρίτον τάγμα τῶν κατὰ Μυσίαν, ἔτυχεν δ᾽ ἡγεμονεύων αὐτόθι, Οὐιτελλίῳ παραταξόμενος ἠπείγετο. [634] Οὐιτέλλιος δὲ αὐτῷ συναντήσοντα μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως Καικίναν Ἀλιηνὸν ἐκπέμπει, μέγα θαρρῶν τἀνδρὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπ᾽ Ὄθωνι νίκην. ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐλαύνων διὰ τάχους περὶ Κρέμωνα τῆς Γαλατίας τὸν Ἀντώνιον καταλαμβάνει: μεθόριος δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις αὕτη τῆς Ἰταλίας. [635] κατιδὼν δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν, συμβαλεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἐθάρρει, σφαλερὰν δὲ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν λογιζόμενος προδοσίαν ἐβουλεύετο. [636] συναγαγὼν δὲ τοὺς ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἑκατοντάρχας καὶ χιλιάρχους ἐνῆγεν μεταβῆναι πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ταπεινῶν μὲν τὰ Οὐιτελλίου πράγματα, τὴν Οὐεσπασιανοῦ δ᾽ ἰσχὺν ἐπαίρων, [637] καὶ παρ᾽ ᾧ μὲν εἶναι λέγων μόνον τῆς ἀρχῆς ὄνομα, παρ᾽ ᾧ δὲ τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ αὐτοὺς δὲ ἄμεινον προλαβόντας τὴν ἀνάγκην ποιῆσαι χάριν καὶ μέλλοντας ἡττᾶσθαι τοῖς ὅπλοις ταῖς γνώμαις τὸν κίνδυνον φθάσαι: [638] Οὐεσπασιανὸν μὲν γὰρ ἱκανὸν εἶναι καὶ χωρὶς αὐτῶν προσκτήσασθαι καὶ τὰ λείποντα, Οὐιτέλλιον δ᾽ οὐδὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς τηρῆσαι τὰ ὄντα.

(3) [639] Πολλὰ τοιαῦτα λέγων ἔπεισε καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον αὐτομολεῖ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. [640] τῆς δ᾽ αὐτῆς νυκτὸς ἐμπίπτει μετάνοια τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ δέος τοῦ προπέμψαντος, εἰ κρείσσων γένοιτο: σπασάμενοι δὲ τὰ ξίφη τὸν Καικίναν ὥρμησαν ἀνελεῖν, κἂν ἐπράχθη τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς, εἰ μὴ προσπίπτοντες οἱ χιλίαρχοι καθικέτευσαν αὐτούς. [641] οἱ δὲ τοῦ μὲν κτείνειν ἀπέσχοντο, δήσαντες δὲ τὸν προδότην οἷοί τε ἦσαν πέμπειν Οὐιτελλίῳ. ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας ὁ Πρῖμος αὐτίκα τοὺς σφετέρους ἀνίστησι καὶ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀποστάντας. [642] οἱ δὲ παραταξάμενοι πρὸς ὀλίγον μὲν ἀντέσχον, αὖθις δὲ τραπέντες ἔφευγον εἰς τὴν Κρέμωνα. τοὺς δὲ ἱππεῖς ἀναλαβὼν Πρῖμος ὑποτέμνεται τὰς εἰσόδους αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸ μὲν πολὺ πλῆθος κυκλωσάμενος πρὸ τῆς πόλεως διαφθείρει, τῷ δὲ λοιπῷ συνεισπεσὼν διαρπάσαι τὸ ἄστυ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐφῆκεν. [643] ἔνθα δὴ πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν ξένων ἔμποροι, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἀπώλοντο, πᾶσα δὲ καὶ ἡ Οὐιτελλίου στρατιά, μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν τρεῖς καὶ διακόσιοι: τῶν δ᾽ ἀπὸ τῆς Μυσίας Ἀντώνιος τετρακισχιλίους ἀποβάλλει καὶ πεντακοσίους. [644] λύσας δὲ τὸν Καικίναν πέμπει πρὸς Οὐεσπασιανὸν ἀγγελοῦντα τὰ πεπραγμένα. καὶ ὃς ἐλθὼν ἀπεδέχθη τε ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ τῆς προδοσίας ὀνείδη ταῖς παρ᾽ ἐλπίδα τιμαῖς ἐπεκάλυψεν.

(4) [645] Ἀνεθάρσει δὲ ἤδη καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην Σαβῖνος, ὡς πλησίον Ἀντώνιος ὢν ἀπηγγέλλετο, καὶ συναθροίσας τὰ τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων στρατιωτῶν τάγματα νύκτωρ καταλαμβάνει τὸ Καπετώλιον. [646] μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν δ᾽ αὐτῷ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπισήμων προσεγένοντο καὶ Δομετιανὸς ὁ τἀδελφοῦ παῖς, μεγίστη μοῖρα τῶν εἰς τὸ κρατεῖν ἐλπίδων. [647] Οὐιτελλίῳ δὲ Πρίμου μὲν ἐλάττων φροντὶς ἦν, τεθύμωτο δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοὺς συναποστάντας τῷ Σαβίνῳ, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἔμφυτον ὠμότητα διψῶν αἵματος εὐγενοῦς τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ τὴν συγκατελθοῦσαν αὐτῷ δύναμιν ἐπαφίησι τῷ Καπετωλίῳ. [648] πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἔκ τε ταύτης καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ μαχομένων ἐτολμήθη, τέλος δὲ τῷ πλήθει περιόντες οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Γερμανίας ἐκράτησαν τοῦ λόφου. [649] καὶ Δομετιανὸς μὲν σὺν πολλοῖς τῶν ἐν τέλει Ῥωμαίων δαιμονιώτερον διασώζεται, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἅπαν κατεκόπη, καὶ Σαβῖνος ἀναχθεὶς ἐπὶ Οὐιτέλλιον ἀναιρεῖται διαρπάσαντές τε οἱ στρατιῶται τὰ ἀναθήματα τὸν ναὸν ἐνέπρησαν. [650] καὶ μετὰ μίαν ἡμέραν εἰσελαύνει μὲν Ἀντώνιος μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, ὑπήντων δ᾽ οἱ Οὐιτελλίου καὶ τριχῇ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν συμβαλόντες ἀπώλοντο πάντες. [651] προέρχεται δὲ μεθύων ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου Οὐιτέλλιος καὶ δαψιλέστερον ὥσπερ ἐν ἐσχάτοις τῆς ἀσώτου τραπέζης κεκορεσμένος. [652] συρεὶς δὲ διὰ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ παντοδαπαῖς αἰκίαις ἐξυβρισθεὶς ἐπὶ μέσης τῆς Ῥώμης ἀποσφάττεται, μῆνας ὀκτὼ κρατήσας καὶ ἡμέρας πέντε, ὃν εἰ συνέβη πλείω βιῶσαι χρόνον, ἐπιλιπεῖν ἂν αὐτοῦ τῇ λαγνείᾳ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν οἶμαι. [653] τῶν δ᾽ ἄλλων νεκρῶν ὑπὲρ πέντε μυριάδες ἠριθμήθησαν. [654] ταῦτα μὲν τρίτῃ μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου πέπρακτο, τῇ δ᾽ ὑστεραίᾳ Μουκιανὸς εἴσεισι μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ τοὺς σὺν Ἀντωνίῳ παύσας τοῦ

κτείνειν, ἔτι γὰρ ἐξερευνώμενοι τὰς οἰκίας πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν Οὐιτελλίου στρατιωτῶν πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν δημοτικῶν ὡς ἐκείνου ἀνῄρουν φθάνοντες τῷ θυμῷ τὴν ἀκριβῆ διάκρισιν, προαγαγὼν δὲ τὸν Δομετιανὸν συνίστησι τῷ πλήθει μέχρι τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀφίξεως ἡγεμόνα. [655] ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἀπηλλαγμένος ἤδη τῶν φόβων αὐτοκράτορα Οὐεσπασιανὸν εὐφήμει, καὶ ἅμα τήν τε τούτου βεβαίωσιν ἑώρταζε καὶ τὴν Οὐιτελλίου κατάλυσιν.

(5) [656] Εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀφιγμένῳ τῷ Οὐεσπασιανῷ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης εὐαγγέλια ἦκε καὶ πρέσβεις ἐκ πάσης τῆς ἰδίας οἰκουμένης συνηδόμενοι: μεγίστη τε οὖσα μετὰ τὴν Ῥώμην ἡ πόλις στενοτέρα τοῦ πλήθους ἠλέγχετο. [657] κεκυρωμένης δὲ ἤδη τῆς ἀρχῆς ἁπάσης καὶ σεσωσμένων παρ᾽ ἐλπίδα Ῥωμαίοις τῶν πραγμάτων Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐπὶ τὰ λείψανα τῆς Ἰουδαίας τὸν λογισμὸν ἐπέστρεφεν. [658] αὐτὸς μέντοι γε εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ὥρμητο λήξαντος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἀνάγεσθαι καὶ τάχος τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν διῴκει, τὸν δὲ υἱὸν Τίτον μετὰ τῆς ἐκκρίτου δυνάμεως ἀπέστειλεν ἐξαιρήσοντα τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. [659] ὁ δὲ προελθὼν πεζῇ μέχρι Νικοπόλεως, εἴκοσι δὲ αὕτη διέχει τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας σταδίους, κἀκεῖθεν ἐπιβήσας τὴν στρατιὰν μακρῶν πλοίων ἀναπλεῖ διὰ τοῦ Νείλου κατὰ τὸν Μενδήσιον νομὸν μέχρι πόλεως Θμούεως. [660] ἐκεῖθεν δ᾽ ἀποβὰς ὁδεύει καὶ κατὰ πολίχνην Τάνιν αὐλίζεται. δεύτερος αὐτῷ σταθμὸς Ἡρακλέους πόλις καὶ τρίτος Πηλούσιον γίνεται. [661] δυσὶ δ᾽ ἡμέραις ἐνταῦθα τὴν στρατιὰν ἀναλαβὼν τῇ τρίτῃ διέξεισι τὰς ἐμβολὰς τοῦ Πηλουσίου, καὶ προελθὼν σταθμὸν ἕνα διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Κασίου Διὸς ἱερῷ στρατοπεδεύεται, τῇ δ᾽ ὑστεραίᾳ κατὰ τὴν Ὀστρακίνην: οὗτος ὁ σταθμὸς ἦν ἄνυδρος, ἐπεισάκτοις δὲ ὕδασιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι χρῶνται. [662] μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς Ῥινοκουρούροις ἀναπαύεται, κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Ῥάφειαν προελθὼν σταθμὸν τέταρτον, ἔστι δ᾽ ἡ πόλις αὕτη Συρίας ἀρχή, [663] τὸ πέμπτον ἐν Γάζῃ τίθεται στρατόπεδον, μεθ᾽ ἣν εἰς Ἀσκάλωνα κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Ἰάμνειαν, ἔπειτα εἰς Ἰόππην κἀξ Ἰόππης εἰς Καισάρειαν ἀφικνεῖται διεγνωκὼς αὐτόθι τὰς ἄλλας δυνάμεις ἀθροίζειν.

Liber V

I

(1) [1] Ὁ μὲν Τίτος ὃν προειρήκαμεν τρόπον διοδεύσας τὴν ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου μέχρι Συρίας ἐρημίαν εἰς Καισάρειαν παρῆν ταύτῃ διεγνωκὼς προσυντάξασθαι τὰς δυνάμεις. [2] ἔτι δ᾽ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν συγκαθισταμένου τῷ πατρὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν νέον αὐτοῖς ἐγκεχειρισμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ συνέβη καὶ τὴν ἐν [τοῖς] Ἱεροσολύμοις στάσιν ἀνακμάσασαν τριμερῆ γενέσθαι καὶ καθ᾽ αὑτοῦ θάτερον ἐπιστρέψαι μέρος, ὅπερ ἄν τις ὡς ἐν κακοῖς ἀγαθὸν εἴποι καὶ δίκης ἔργον. [3] ἡ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τοῦ δήμου τῶν ζηλωτῶν ἐπίθεσις, ἥπερ κατῆρξεν ἁλώσεως τῇ πόλει, προδεδήλωται μετὰ ἀκριβείας ὅθεν τε ἔφυ καὶ πρὸς ὅσον κακῶν ηὐξήθη: [4] ταύτην δ᾽ οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοι τις εἰπὼν στάσει στάσιν ἐγγενέσθαι, καὶ καθάπερ θηρίον λυσσῆσαν ἐνδείᾳ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἰδίας ἤδη σάρκας ὁρμᾷ,

(2) [5] οὕτως Ἐλεάζαρος ὁ τοῦ Σίμωνος, ὃς δὴ καὶ τὰ πρῶτα τοῦ δήμου τοὺς ζηλωτὰς ἀπέστησεν εἰς τὸ τέμενος ὡς ἀγανακτῶν δῆθεν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁσημέραι τῷ Ἰωάννῃ τολμωμένοις, οὐ γὰρ ἀνεπαύετο φονῶν οὗτος, τὸ δ᾽ ἀληθὲς αὐτοῦ μεταγενεστέρῳ τυράννῳ μὴ φέρων ὑποτετάχθαι, πόθῳ τῶν ὅλων καὶ δυναστείας ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίᾳ διίσταται, [6] παραλαβὼν Ἰούδην τε τὸν Χέλικα καὶ Σίμωνα τὸν Ἐσρῶνος τῶν δυνατῶν, πρὸς οἷς Ἐζεκίας Χωβαρεῖ παῖς οὐκ ἄσημος. [7] καθ᾽ ἕκαστον δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν ζηλωτῶν ἠκολούθησαν, καὶ καταλαβόμενοι τὸν ἐνδότερον τοῦ νεὼ περίβολον ὑπὲρ τὰς ἱερὰς πύλας ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγίων μετώπων τίθενται τὰ ὅπλα. [8] πλήρεις μὲν οὖν ἐπιτηδείων ὄντες ἐθάρρουν, καὶ γὰρ ἀφθονία τῶν ἱερῶν ἐγίνετο πραγμάτων τοῖς γε μηδὲν ἀσεβὲς ἡγουμένοις, ὀλιγότητι δὲ τῇ κατὰ σφᾶς ὀρρωδοῦντες ἐγκαθήμενοι τὰ πολλὰ κατὰ χώραν ἔμενον. [9] ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης ὅσον ἀνδρῶν ὑπερεῖχε πλήθει, τοσοῦτον ἐλείπετο τῷ τόπῳ καὶ κατὰ κορυφὴν ἔχων τοὺς πολεμίους οὔτ᾽ ἀδεεῖς ἐποιεῖτο τὰς προσβολὰς οὔτε δι᾽ ὀργὴν ἠρέμει, [10] κακούμενος δὲ πλέον ἥπερ διατιθεὶς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον ὅμως οὐκ ἀνίει, συνεχεῖς δ᾽ ἐκδρομαὶ καὶ βελῶν ἀφέσεις ἐγίνοντο, καὶ φόνοις ἐμιαίνετο πανταχοῦ τὸ ἱερόν.

(3) [11] Ὁ δὲ τοῦ Γιώρα Σίμων, ὃν ἐν ταῖς ἀμηχανίαις ἐπίκλητον αὐτῷ τύραννον ὁ δῆμος ἐλπίδι βοηθείας προσεισήγαγε, τήν τε ἄνω πόλιν ἔχων καὶ τῆς κάτω πολὺ μέρος ἐρρωμενέστερον ἤδη τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην προσέβαλλεν ὡς ἂν καὶ καθύπερθεν πολεμουμένοις: [12] ἦν δ᾽ ὑπὸ χεῖρα προσιὼν αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι τοῖς ἄνωθεν. καὶ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ διχόθεν πολεμουμένῳ συνέβαινε βλάπτεσθαί τε καὶ βλάπτειν εὐκόλως, καὶ καθ᾽ ὅσον ἡττᾶτο τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον ὢν ταπεινότερος, τοσοῦτον ἐπλεονέκτει τῷ ὑψηλῷ τοῦ Σίμωνος. [13] παρὸ καὶ χειρὶ

μὲν τὰς κάτωθεν προσβολὰς ἰσχυρῶς εἶργε, τοὺς δὲ ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατακοντίζοντας ἀνέστελλε τοῖς ὀργάνοις: [14] ὀξυβελεῖς τε γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ καταπέλται παρῆσαν οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ λιθοβόλοι, δι᾽ ὧν οὐ μόνον ἠμύνετο τοὺς πολεμοῦντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ἱερουργούντων ἀνῄρει. [15] καίπερ γὰρ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀσέβειαν ἐκλελυσσηκότες, ὅμως τοὺς θύειν ἐθέλοντας εἰσηφίεσαν, μεθ᾽ ὑποψιῶν μὲν καὶ φυλακῆς τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους, διερευνώμενοι δὲ τοὺς ξένους: οἳ καίπερ περὶ τὰς εἰσόδους δυσωπήσαντες αὐτῶν τὴν ὠμότητα παρανάλωμα τῆς στάσεως ἐγίνοντο. [16] τὰ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀργάνων βέλη μέχρι τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ τοῦ νεὼ διὰ τὴν βίαν ὑπερφερόμενα τοῖς τε ἱερεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἱερουργοῦσιν ἐνέπιπτε, [17] καὶ πολλοὶ σπεύσαντες ἀπὸ γῆς περάτων περὶ τὸν διώνυμον καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις χῶρον ἅγιον πρὸ τῶν θυμάτων ἔπεσον αὐτοὶ καὶ τὸν Ἕλλησι πᾶσι καὶ βαρβάροις σεβάσμιον βωμὸν κατέσπεισαν ἰδίῳ φόνῳ, [18] νεκροῖς δ᾽ ἐπιχωρίοις ἀλλόφυλοι καὶ ἱερεῦσι βέβηλοι συνεφύροντο, καὶ παντοδαπῶν αἷμα πτωμάτων ἐν τοῖς θείοις περιβόλοις ἐλιμνάζετο. [19] τί τηλικοῦτον, ὦ τλημονεστάτη πόλις, πέπονθας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, οἵ σου τὰ ἐμφύλια μύση πυρὶ καθαροῦντες εἰσῆλθον: θεοῦ μὲν γὰρ οὔτε ἦς ἔτι χῶρος οὔτε μένειν ἐδύνασο, τάφος οἰκείων γενομένη σωμάτων καὶ πολέμου τὸν ναὸν ἐμφυλίου ποιήσασα πολυάνδριον: δύναιο δ᾽ ἂν γενέσθαι πάλιν ἀμείνων, εἴγε ποτὲ τὸν πορθήσαντα θεὸν ἐξιλάσῃ. [20] ἀλλὰ καθεκτέον γὰρ καὶ τὰ πάθη τῷ νόμῳ τῆς γραφῆς, ὡς οὐκ ὀλοφυρμῶν οἰκείων ὁ καιρός, ἀλλ᾽ ἀφηγήσεως πραγμάτων. δίειμι δὲ τὰ ἑξῆς ἔργα τῆς στάσεως.

(4) [21] Τριχῇ τῶν ἐπιβούλων τῆς πόλεως διῃρημένων οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον τὰς ἱερὰς ἀπαρχὰς διαφυλάσσοντες κατὰ τοῦ Ἰωάννου τὴν μέθην ἔφερον, οἱ δὲ σὺν τούτῳ διαρπάζοντες τοὺς δημότας ἠγείροντο κατὰ τοῦ Σίμωνος: ἦν δὲ κἀκείνῳ τροφὴ κατὰ τῶν ἀντιστασιαστῶν ἡ πόλις. [22] ὁπότε μὲν οὖν ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐπιχειροῖτο, τοὺς συνόντας ὁ Ἰωάννης ἀντέστρεφε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀνιόντας ἀπὸ τῶν στοῶν βάλλων, τοὺς δ᾽ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατακοντίζοντας ἠμύνετο τοῖς ὀργάνοις: [23] εἰ δ᾽ ἐλευθερωθείη ποτὲ τῶν καθύπερθεν ἐπικειμένων, διανέπαυε δ᾽ αὐτοὺς πολλάκις μέθη καὶ κάματος, ἀδεέστερον τοῖς περὶ τὸν Σίμωνα μετὰ πλειόνων ἐπεξέθεεν. [24] ἀεὶ δ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ὅσον τρέψαιτο τῆς πόλεως ὑπεπίμπρη τὰς οἰκίας σίτου μεστὰς καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἐπιτηδείων: τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ πάλιν ὑποχωροῦντος ἐπιὼν ὁ Σίμων ἔπραττεν, ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες Ῥωμαίοις διαφθείροντες ἃ παρεσκευάσατο πρὸς πολιορκίαν ἡ πόλις, καὶ τὰ νεῦρα τῆς αὐτῶν ὑποκόπτοντες δυνάμεως. [25] συνέβη γοῦν τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πάντα συμφλεγῆναι καὶ μεταίχμιον ἐρημίας γενέσθαι παρατάξεως οἰκείας τὴν πόλιν, κατακαῆναι δὲ πλὴν ὀλίγου πάντα τὸν σῖτον, ὃς ἂν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐπ᾽ ὀλίγα διήρκεσεν ἔτη πολιορκουμένοις. [26] λιμῷ γοῦν ἑάλωσαν, ὅπερ ἥκιστα δυνατὸν ἦν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτον αὐτοῖς προπαρεσκεύασαν.

(5) [27] Πανταχόθεν δὲ τῆς πόλεως πολεμουμένης ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιβούλων καὶ συγκλύδων μέσος ὁ δῆμος ὥσπερ μέγα σῶμα διεσπαράσσετο. [28] γηραιοὶ δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες ὑπ᾽ ἀμηχανίας τῶν εἴσω κακῶν ηὔχοντο Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τὸν ἔξωθεν πόλεμον ἐπ᾽ ἐλευθερίᾳ τῶν εἴσω κακῶν ἐκαραδόκουν. [29] κατάπληξις δὲ δεινὴ καὶ δέος ἦν τοῖς γνησίοις, καὶ οὔτε βουλῆς καιρὸς εἰς μεταβολὴν οὔτε συμβάσεως ἐλπὶς οὔτε φυγὴ τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν: [30] ἐφρουρεῖτο γὰρ πάντα, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ στασιάζοντες οἱ ἀρχιλῃσταὶ τοὺς εἰρηνικὰ Ῥωμαίοις φρονοῦντας ἢ πρὸς αὐτομολίαν ὑπόπτους ὡς κοινοὺς πολεμίους ἀνῄρουν καὶ μόνον ὠμονόουν τὸ φονεύειν τοὺς σωτηρίας ἀξίους. [31] καὶ τῶν μὲν μαχομένων ἀδιάλειπτος ἦν κραυγὴ μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν τε καὶ νύκτωρ, δεινότεροι δὲ οἱ τῶν πενθούντων ὀδυρμοὶ δέει. [32] καὶ θρήνων μὲν αἰτίας ἐπαλλήλους αἱ συμφοραὶ προσέφερον, τὰς δ᾽ οἰμωγὰς ἐνέκλειεν ἡ κατάπληξις αὐτῶν, φιμούμενοι δὲ τά γε πάθη τῷ φόβῳ μεμυκόσι τοῖς στεναγμοῖς ἐβασανίζοντο. [33] καὶ οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας ἦν αἰδὼς ἔτι τοῖς προσήκουσιν οὔτε πρόνοια τῶν ἀπολωλότων ταφῆς. αἴτιον δὲ ἀμφοτέρων ἡ καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ἀπόγνωσις ἑκάστου: παρεῖσαν γὰρ εἰς πάντα τὰς προθυμίας οἱ μὴ στασιάζοντες ὡς ἀπολούμενοι πάντως ὅσον οὐδέπω. [34] πατοῦντες δὴ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλοις σεσωρευμένους οἱ στασιασταὶ συνεπλέκοντο καὶ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ποσὶ πτωμάτων σπῶντες ἦσαν ἀγριώτεροι. [35] προσεξευρίσκοντες δ᾽ ἀεί τι καθ᾽ αὐτῶν ὀλέθριον καὶ πᾶν τὸ δοχθὲν ἀφειδῶς δρῶντες οὐδεμίαν οὔτ᾽ αἰκίας ὁδὸν οὔτε ὠμότητος παρέλειπον. [36] ἀμέλει Ἰωάννης τὴν ἱερὰν ὕλην εἰς πολεμιστηρίων κατασκευὴν ὀργάνων ἀπεχρήσατο: δόξαν γάρ ποτε τῷ λαῷ καὶ τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν ὑποστηρίξαντας τὸν ναὸν εἴκοσι πήχεις προσυψῶσαι, κατάγει μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Λιβάνου μεγίστοις ἀναλώμασι καὶ πόνοις τὴν χρήσιμον ὕλην ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας, ξύλα θέας ἄξια τήν τε εὐθύτητα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος: [37] μεσολαβήσαντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τὸ ἔργον Ἰωάννης τεμὼν αὐτὰ πύργους κατεσκεύασεν ἐξαρκοῦν τὸ μῆκος εὑρὼν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ καθύπερθεν ἱεροῦ μαχομένους, [38] ἵστησί τε προσαγαγὼν κατόπιν τοῦ περιβόλου τῆς πρὸς δύσιν ἐξέδρας ἄντικρυς, ᾗπερ καὶ μόνῃ δυνατὸν ἦν τῶν ἄλλων μερῶν βαθμοῖς πόρρωθεν διειλημμένων.

(6) [39] Καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῖς κατασκευασθεῖσιν ἐξ ἀσεβείας ὀργάνοις κρατήσειν ἤλπισε τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἄχρηστον αὐτῷ τὸν πόνον ἀπέδειξε πρὶν ἐπιστῆσαί τινα τῶν πύργων Ῥωμαίους ἐπαγαγών. [40] ὁ γὰρ δὴ Τίτος ἐπειδὴ τὰ μὲν συνήγαγε τῆς δυνάμεως πρὸς αὐτόν, τοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων συναντᾶν ἐπέστειλεν, ἐξήλαυνε τῆς Καισαρείας. [41] ἦν δὲ τρία μὲν τὰ πρότερον αὐτοῦ τῷ πατρὶ συνδῃώσαντα τὴν Ἰουδαίαν τάγματα καὶ τὸ πάλαι σὺν Κεστίῳ πταῖσαν δωδέκατον, ὅπερ καὶ ἄλλως ἐπίσημον δι᾽ ἀνδρείαν ὑπάρχον τότε κατὰ μνήμην ὧν ἔπαθεν εἰς ἄμυναν ᾖει προθυμότερον. [42] τούτων μὲν οὖν τὸ πέμπτον δι᾽ Ἀμμαοῦς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ συναντᾶν καὶ διὰ Ἰεριχοῦντος τὸ δέκατον ἀναβαίνειν, αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἀνέζευξε μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν, πρὸς οἷς αἵ τε τῶν βασιλέων συμμαχίαι

πολὺ πλείους καὶ συχνοὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας ἐπίκουροι συνῆλθον. [43] ἀνεπληρώθη δὲ καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ταγμάτων ὅσον Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐπιλέξας Μουκιανῷ συνέπεμψεν εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐκ τῶν ἐπελθόντων μετὰ Τίτου. [44] δισχίλιοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ τῶν ἀπ᾽ Ἀλεξανδρείας στρατευμάτων ἐπίλεκτοι, τρισχίλιοι δὲ συνείποντο τῶν ἀπ᾽ Εὐφράτου φυλάκων. [45] φίλων δὲ δοκιμώτατος εὔνοιάν τε καὶ σύνεσιν Τιβέριος Ἀλέξανδρος, πρότερον μὲν αὐτοῖς τὴν Αἴγυπτον διέπων, [46] τότε δὲ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἄρχων, κριθεὶς ἄξιος ἐξ ὧν ἐδεξιώσατο πρῶτος ἐγειρομένην ἄρτι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ μετὰ πίστεως λαμπρᾶς ἐξ ἀδήλου τῇ τύχῃ προσέθετο, σύμβουλός γε μὴν ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου χρείαις ἡλικίᾳ τε προύχων καὶ κατ᾽ ἐμπειρίαν εἵπετο.

II

(1) [47] Προιόντι δὲ εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν Τίτῳ προῆγον μὲν οἱ βασιλικοὶ καὶ πᾶν τὸ συμμαχικόν, ἐφ᾽ οἷς ὁδοποιοὶ καὶ μετρηταὶ στρατοπέδων, ἔπειτα τὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων σκευοφόρα καὶ μετὰ τοὺς τούτων ὁπλίτας αὐτὸς τούς τε ἄλλους ἐπιλέκτους καὶ τοὺς λογχοφόρους ἔχων, κατόπιν δ᾽ αὐτῷ τοῦ τάγματος τὸ ἱππικόν: [48] οὗτοι δὲ πρὸ τῶν μηχανημάτων, κἀπ᾽ ἐκείνοις μετ᾽ ἐπιλέκτων χιλίαρχοι καὶ σπειρῶν ἔπαρχοι, μετὰ δὲ τούτους περὶ τὸν αἰετὸν αἱ σημαῖαι, καὶ ἔμπροσθεν οἱ σαλπικταὶ τῶν σημαιῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἡ φάλαγξ τὸ στῖφος εἰς ἓξ πλατύνασα. [49] τὸ δ᾽ οἰκετικὸν ἑκάστου τάγματος ὀπίσω καὶ πρὸ τούτων τὰ σκευοφόρα, τελευταῖοι δὲ πάντων οἱ μίσθιοι καὶ τούτων φύλακες οὐραγοί. [50] προάγων δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐν κόσμῳ, καθὰ Ῥωμαίοις σύνηθες, ἐμβάλλει διὰ τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος εἰς Γόφνα κατειλημμένην τε πρότερον ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τότε φρουρουμένην: [51] ἔνθα μίαν ἑσπέραν αὐλισάμενος ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω πρόεισι, καὶ διανύσας ἡμέρας σταθμὸν στρατοπεδεύεται κατὰ τὸν ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων πατρίως Ἀκανθῶν αὐλῶνα καλούμενον πρός τινι κώμῃ Γαβὰθ Σαοὺλ λεγομένῃ, σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο λόφον Σαούλου, διέχων ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ὅσον ἀπὸ τριάκοντα σταδίων. [52] ἀναλαβὼν δ᾽ ἐντεῦθεν ὅσον εἰς ἑξακοσίους τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἱππέων ᾔει τήν τε πόλιν περισκεψόμενος, ὅπως ὀχυρότητος ἔχοι, καὶ τὰ φρονήματα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, εἰ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ὑποδείσαντες ἐνδοῖεν: [53] πέπυστο γάρ, ὅπερ ἦν ἀληθές, τοῖς στασιώδεσι καὶ λῃστρικοῖς τὸν δῆμον ὑποπεπτηχότα ποθεῖν μὲν εἰρήνην, ἀσθενέστερον δὲ ὄντα τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως ἠρεμεῖν.

(2) [54] Ἕως μὲν οὖν ὄρθιον ἱππάζετο τὴν λεωφόρον κατατείνουσαν πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος οὐδεὶς προυφαίνετο τῶν πυλῶν, [55] ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ψήφινον πύργον ἀποκλίνας πλάγιον ἦγε τὸ τῶν ἱππέων στῖφος, προπηδήσαντες ἐξαίφνης ἄπειροι κατὰ τοὺς Γυναικείους καλουμένους πύργους διὰ τῆς ἀντικρὺ τῶν Ἑλένης μνημείων πύλης διεκπαίουσι τῆς ἵππου, [56] καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἔτι κατὰ τὴν

ὁδὸν θέοντας ἀντιμέτωποι στάντες ἐκώλυσαν συνάψαι τοῖς ἐκκλίνασι, τὸν δὲ Τίτον ἀποτέμνονται σὺν ὀλίγοις. [57] τῷ δὲ πρόσω μὲν ἦν χωρεῖν ἀδύνατον: ἐκτετάφρευτο γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους περὶ τὰς κηπείας ἅπαντα τοίχοις τε ἐπικαρσίοις καὶ πολλοῖς ἕρκεσι διειλημμένα: [58] τὴν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς σφετέρους ἀναδρομὴν πλήθει τῶν ἐν μέσῳ πολεμίων ἀμήχανον ἑώρα καὶ τραπέντας τοὺς ἀνὰ τὴν λεωφόρον, ὧν οἱ πολλοὶ μηδὲ γινώσκοντες τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως κίνδυνον, ἀλλ᾽ οἰόμενοι συναναστραφῆναι κἀκεῖνον ἀνέφευγον. [59] ὁ δὲ κατιδὼν ὡς ἐν μόνῃ τῇ καθ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀλκῇ κεῖται τὸ σώζεσθαι τόν τε ἵππον ἐπιστρέφει καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐμβοήσας ἔπεσθαι μέσοις ἐμπηδᾷ τοῖς πολεμίοις διεκπαῖσαι πρὸς τοὺς σφετέρους βιαζόμενος. [60] ἔνθα δὴ μάλιστα παρέστη νοεῖν, ὅτι καὶ πολέμων ῥοπαὶ καὶ βασιλέων κίνδυνοι μέλονται θεῷ: [61] τοσούτων γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν Τίτον ἀφιεμένων βελῶν μήτε κράνος ἔχοντα μήτε θώρακα, προῆλθε γὰρ ὡς ἔφην οὐ πολεμιστὴς ἀλλὰ κατάσκοπος, οὐδὲν ἥψατο τοῦ σώματος, κενὰ δ᾽ ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες ἀστοχούντων παρερροιζεῖτο πάντα. [62] ὁ δὲ ξίφει τοὺς κατὰ πλευρὸν ἀεὶ διαστέλλων καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ἀντιπροσώπων ἀνατρέπων ἤλαυνεν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐρειπομένους τὸν ἵππον. [63] τῶν δὲ κραυγή τε ἦν πρὸς τὸ παράστημα τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ παρακέλευσις ὁρμᾶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν, φυγὴ δὲ καὶ χωρισμὸς ἄθρους καθ᾽ οὓς ἐπελαύνων γένοιτο. [64] συνῆπτον δὲ οἱ τοῦ κινδύνου μετέχοντες κατὰ νῶτα καὶ κατὰ πλευρὰν νυσσόμενοι: μία γὰρ ἐλπὶς ἦν σωτηρίας ἑκάστῳ τὸ συνεξανύτειν τῷ Τίτῳ καὶ μὴ φθάσαντα κυκλωθῆναι. [65] δύο γοῦν τῶν ἀπωτέρω τὸν μὲν σὺν τῷ ἵππῳ περισχόντες κατηκόντισαν, θάτερον δὲ καταπηδήσαντα διαφθείραντες τὸν ἵππον ἀπήγαγον, μετὰ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Τίτος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον διασώζεται. [66] τοῖς μὲν οὖν Ἰουδαίοις πλεονεκτήσασι κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἐπίθεσιν ἐπήγειρε τὰς διανοίας ἄσκεπτος ἐλπίς, καὶ πολὺ θάρσος αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἡ πρόσκαιρος ῥοπὴ προυξένει.

(3) [67] Καῖσαρ δ᾽ ὡς αὐτῷ συνέμιξε διὰ νυκτὸς τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀμμαοῦς τάγμα, μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐκεῖθεν ἄρας ἐπὶ τὸν Σκοπὸν καλούμενον πρόεισιν, ἔνθεν ἥ τε πόλις ἤδη κατεφαίνετο καὶ τὸ τοῦ ναοῦ μέγεθος ἐκλάμπον, καθὰ τῷ βορείῳ κλίματι τῆς πόλεως χθαμαλὸς συνάπτων ὁ χῶρος ἐτύμως Σκοπὸς ὠνόμασται. [68] τῆς δὲ πόλεως σταδίους ἑπτὰ διέχων ἐκέλευσε περιβαλέσθαι στρατόπεδον τοῖς δύο τάγμασιν ὁμοῦ, τὸ δὲ πέμπτον τούτων ὀπίσω τρισὶ σταδίοις: κόπῳ γὰρ τῆς διὰ νυκτὸς πορείας τετρυμένους ἐδόκει σκέπης ἀξίους εἶναι, ὡς ἂν ἀδεέστερον τειχίσαιντο. [69] καταρχομένων δ᾽ ἄρτι τῆς δομήσεως καὶ τὸ δέκατον τάγμα διὰ Ἰεριχοῦντος ἤδη παρῆν, ἔνθα καθῆστό τις ὁπλιτικὴ μοῖρα φρουροῦσα τὴν ἐμβολὴν ὑπὸ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ προκατειλημμένην. [70] προσετέτακτο δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἀπέχοντας τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων σταδίους στρατοπεδεύσασθαι κατὰ τὸ Ἐλαιῶν καλούμενον ὄρος, ὃ τῇ πόλει πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἀντίκειται μέσῃ φάραγγι βαθείᾳ διειργόμενον, ἣ Κεδρὼν ὠνόμασται.

(4) [71] Τῶν δ᾽ ἀνὰ τὸ ἄστυ συρρηγνυμένων ἀδιαλείπτως τότε πρῶτον ἀνέπαυσεν τὴν ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλοις ἔριν ὁ ἔξωθεν πόλεμος ἐξαίφνης πολὺς ἐπελθών: [72] καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκπλήξεως οἱ στασιασταὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀφορῶντες στρατοπεδευομένους τριχῆ κακῆς ὁμονοίας κατήρχοντο καὶ λόγον ἀλλήλοις ἐδίδοσαν, [73] τί μένοιεν ἢ τί παθόντες ἀνέχοιντο τρία ταῖς ἀναπνοαῖς αὐτῶν ἐπιφρασσόμενα τείχη, καὶ τοῦ πολέμου μετ᾽ ἀδείας ἀντιπολίζοντος ἑαυτόν, οἱ δ᾽ ὥσπερ θεαταὶ καλῶν καὶ συμφόρων ἔργων καθέζοιντο τειχήρεις τὼ χεῖρε καὶ τὰς πανοπλίας παρέντες; [74] “καθ᾽ αὐτῶν ἄρα γενναῖοι μόνον ἡμεῖς, ἐξεβόησαν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας στάσεως κερδήσουσιν ἀναιμωτὶ τὴν πόλιν.” τούτοις ἀθροίζοντες ἀλλήλους παρεκρότουν, [75] καὶ τὰς πανοπλίας ἁρπάσαντες αἰφνιδίως ἐπεκθέουσι τῷ δεκάτῳ τάγματι καὶ διὰ τῆς φάραγγος ᾷξαντες μετὰ κραυγῆς ἐξαισίου τειχιζομένοις προσπίπτουσι τοῖς πολεμίοις. [76] οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον διῃρημένοι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰ πολλὰ τεθεικότες τῶν ὅπλων, οὔτε γὰρ θαρρήσειν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους πρὸς ἐκδρομὴν ὑπελάμβανον καὶ προθυμουμένων περισπασθήσεσθαι τὰς ὁρμὰς τῇ στάσει, [77] συνεταράχθησαν ἀδοκήτως, καὶ τῶν ἔργων ἀφέμενοι τινὲς μὲν ἀνεχώρουν εὐθέως, πολλοὶ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα θέοντες πρὶν ἐπιστραφῆναι πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐφθάνοντο παιόμενοι. [78] προσεγίνοντο δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀεὶ πλείους ἐπὶ τῷ κρατεῖν τοὺς πρώτους τεθαρρηκότες, καὶ τῶν ὄντων πολλαπλασίους ἐδόκουν σφίσι τε καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις δεξιᾷ χρώμενοι τῇ τύχῃ. [79] μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς ἐν ἔθει συντάξεως ὄντας καὶ μετὰ κόσμου καὶ παραγγελμάτων πολεμεῖν εἰδότας ἀταξία φθάσασα θορυβεῖ. διὸ καὶ τότε προληφθέντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ταῖς ἐμβολαῖς εἶκον. [80] καὶ ὁπότε μὲν ἐπιστραφεῖεν οἱ καταλαμβανόμενοι, τοῦ τε δρόμου τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐπεῖχον καὶ διὰ τὴν ὁρμὴν ἧττον φυλαττομένους ἐτίτρωσκον, ἀεὶ δὲ πληθυούσης τῆς ἐκδρομῆς μᾶλλον ταραττόμενοι τελευταῖον ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τρέπονται. [81] καὶ δοκεῖ τότε ἂν κινδυνεῦσαι τὸ τάγμα πᾶν, εἰ μὴ Τίτος ἀγγελθὲν αὐτῷ τάχος ἐπεβοήθησε, καὶ πολλὰ ὀνειδίσας εἰς ἀνανδρίαν ἐπιστρέφει μὲν τοὺς φεύγοντας, [82] αὐτὸς δὲ πλαγίοις τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις προσπεσὼν μεθ᾽ ὧν ἦκεν ἐπιλέκτων συχνοὺς μὲν ἀναιρεῖ, τιτρώσκει δὲ πλείους, τρέπεται δὲ πάντας καὶ συνωθεῖ κατὰ τῆς φάραγγος. [83] οἱ δ᾽ ἐν τῷ κατάντει πολλὰ κακωθέντες ὡς διεξέπεσον, ἄντικρυς ἐπιστρέφονται καὶ μέσην ἔχοντες τὴν χαράδραν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις διεμάχοντο. [84] μέχρι μὲν δὴ μέσης ἡμέρας οὕτως ἐπολέμουν, ὀλίγον δ᾽ ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ἐκκλίνοντος ἤδη, Τίτος τοὺς μεθ᾽ αὐτοῦ προσβοηθήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν σπειρῶν τοῖς ἐκτρέχουσιν ἀντιπαρατάξας τὸ λοιπὸν τάγμα πρὸς τὸν τειχισμὸν ἀνέπεμπεν εἰς τὴν ἀκρώρειαν.

(5) [85] Ἰουδαίοις δὲ τοῦτ᾽ ἐδόκει φυγή, καὶ τοῦ σκοποῦ κατασείσαντος θοιμάτιον, ὃς αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους καθῆστο, προπηδῶσι πλῆθος ἀκραιφνέστερον μετὰ τοσαύτης ὁρμῆς, ὡς τὸν δρόμον αὐτῶν τοῖς ἀγριωτάτοις εἰκάζειν θηρίοις. [86] ἀμέλει τῶν ἀντιπαραταχθέντων οὐδεὶς ἔμεινεν τὴν

συμβολήν, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ ἐξ ὀργάνου παιόμενοι διέρρηξαν τὴν τάξιν καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τραπέντες ἀνέφευγον. [87] λείπεται δ᾽ ἐν μέσῳ τῷ προσάντει Τίτος μετ᾽ ὀλίγων, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν φίλων παραινούντων, ὅσοι δι᾽ αἰδῶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα τοῦ κινδύνου καταφρονήσαντες ἔστησαν, [88] εἶξαι θανατῶσιν Ἰουδαίοις καὶ μὴ προκινδυνεύειν τούτων, οὓς ἐχρῆν πρὸ αὐτοῦ μένειν, λαμβάνειν δὲ ἔννοιαν τῆς καθ᾽ αὐτὸν τύχης καὶ μὴ στρατιώτου τάξιν ἀποπληροῦν ὄντα καὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης δεσπότην, μηδ᾽ ὀξεῖαν οὕτως ὑφίστασθαι ῥοπὴν ἐν ᾧ σαλεύει τὰ πάντα, [89] τούτων οὐδ᾽ ἀκούειν ἔδοξε, τοῖς δὲ καθ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀνατρέχουσιν ἀνθίσταται καὶ κατὰ στόμα παίων βιαζομένους ἀνῄρει κατά τε τοῦ πρανοῦς ἀθρόοις ἐμπίπτων ἀνεώθει τὸ πλῆθος. [90] οἱ δὲ πρός τε τὸ παράστημα καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν καταπλαγέντες οὐδ᾽ οὕτως μὲν ἀνέφευγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καθ᾽ ἕτερον δ᾽ ἐκκλίνοντες ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀνωτέρω φεύγουσι προσέκειντο. καὶ τούτοις δὲ κατὰ πλευρὰν προσβάλλων τὰς ὁρμὰς ὑπετέμνετο. [91] κἀν τούτῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄνω τειχίζουσι τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὡς ἐθεάσαντο τοὺς κάτω φεύγοντας, [92] πάλιν ἐμπίπτει ταραχὴ καὶ δέος, καὶ διασκίδναται πᾶν τὸ τάγμα, δοκούντων ἀνυπόστατον μὲν εἶναι τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκδρομήν, τετράφθαι δ᾽ αὐτὸν Τίτον: οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποτε τοὺς ἄλλους φεύγειν ἐκείνου μένοντος. [93] καὶ καθάπερ πανικῷ δείματι κυκλωθέντες ἄλλος ἀλλαχῆ διεφέροντο, μέχρι τινὲς κατιδόντες ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ πολέμου τὸν ἡγεμόνα στρεφόμενον καὶ μέγα δείσαντες ἀμφ᾽ αὐτῷ διαβοῶσι τὸν κίνδυνον ὅλῳ τῷ τάγματι. [94] τοὺς δ᾽ αἰδὼς ἐπέστρεφε, καὶ πλεῖόν τι φυγῆς κακίζοντες ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ τῷ καταλιπεῖν Καίσαρα πάσῃ βίᾳ κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐχρῶντο καὶ κλίναντες ἅπαξ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατάντους συνώθουν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ κοῖλον. [95] οἱ δ᾽ ὑπὸ πόδα χωροῦντες ἐμάχοντο, καὶ πλεονεκτοῦντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῷ καθύπερθεν εἶναι συνελαύνουσι πάντας εἰς τὴν φάραγγα. [96] προσέκειτο δὲ τοῖς καθ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁ Τίτος καὶ τὸ μὲν τάγμα πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν τειχοποιίαν ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν οἷς πρότερον ἀντιστὰς εἶργε τοὺς πολεμίους: [97] ὥστ᾽, εἰ χρὴ μήτε θεραπείᾳ τι προστιθέντα μήθ᾽ ὑφελόντα φθόνῳ τἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, αὐτὸς Καῖσαρ δὶς μὲν ἐρρύσατο κινδυνεῦσαν ὅλον τὸ τάγμα καὶ τοῦ περιβαλέσθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῖς ἄδειαν παρέσχε.

III

(1) [98] Λωφήσαντος δὲ πρὸς βραχὺ τοῦ θύραζε πολέμου πάλιν τὸν ἔνδον ἡ στάσις ἐπήγειρεν. [99] καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀζύμων ἐνστάσης ἡμέρας τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ Ξανθικοῦ μηνός, ἐν ᾗ δοκοῦσιν Ἰουδαῖοι τὸν πρῶτον ἀπαλλαγῆναι καιρὸν Αἰγυπτίων, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον παρανοίγοντες τὰς πύλας ἐδέχοντο ἐκ τοῦ δήμου τοὺς προσκυνεῖν ἐθέλοντας εἴσω, [100] Ἰωάννης δὲ προκάλυμμα τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ποιησάμενος τὴν ἑορτὴν τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ κρυπτοῖς ὅπλοις ἐνσκευάσας τοὺς ἀσημοτέρους, ὧν οἱ πλείους ἦσαν ἄναγνοι, διὰ σπουδῆς παρεισπέμπει

προκαταληψομένους τὸ ἱερόν. οἱ δ᾽ ὡς ἔνδον ἐγένοντο, τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἀπορρίψαντες ἐφάνησαν ἐξαπίνης ὁπλῖται. [101] ταραχὴ δὲ μεγίστη περὶ τὸν ναὸν αὐτίκα καὶ θόρυβος ἦν, τοῦ μὲν ἔξω τῆς στάσεως λαοῦ κατὰ πάντων ἄκριτον οἰομένων εἶναι τὴν ἐπίθεσιν, τῶν δὲ ζηλωτῶν ἐπὶ σφίσι μόνοις. [102] ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν ἀφέμενοι τὸ φρουρεῖν ἔτι τὰς πύλας καὶ τῶν ἐπάλξεων καταπηδήσαντες πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν εἰς τοὺς ὑπονόμους τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατέφυγον: οἱ δ᾽ ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ καταπτήσσοντες καὶ περὶ τὸν ναὸν συνειλούμενοι κατεπατοῦντο ξύλοις τε ἀνέδην παιόμενοι καὶ σιδήρῳ. [103] πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν ἡσυχίων κατ᾽ ἔχθραν καὶ μῖσος ἴδιον ὡς ἀντιστασιαστὰς ἀνῄρουν οἱ διάφοροι, καὶ πᾶς ὁ προσκρούσας τῳ τῶν ἐπιβούλων πάλαι τηνικαῦτα ἐπιγνωσθεὶς ὡς ζηλωτὴς πρὸς αἰκίαν ἀνήγετο. [104] πολλὰ δὲ δεινὰ τοὺς ἀναιτίους διαθέντες ἐκεχειρίαν τοῖς αἰτίοις ἔδοσαν, καὶ προελθόντας ἐκ τῶν ὑπονόμων διίεσαν. αὐτοὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐνδότερον ἱερὸν κατασχόντες καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ παρασκευὰς πάσας κατεθάρρουν ἤδη τοῦ Σίμωνος. [105] ἡ μὲν οὖν στάσις οὕτω τριμερὴς οὖσα πρότερον εἰς δύο μοίρας περιίσταται.

(2) [106] Ὁ δὲ Τίτος ἔγγιον ἀπὸ τοῦ Σκοποῦ τῇ πόλει παραστρατοπεδεύσασθαι προαιρούμενος πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἐκτρέχοντας ἔστησεν ἐπιλέξας ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν ὅσους ἀρκέσειν ὑπελάμβανεν, τῇ δ᾽ ὅλῃ δυνάμει προσέταξεν ἐξομαλίζειν τὸ μέχρι τοῦ τείχους διάστημα. καταβληθέντος δὲ παντὸς ἕρκους καὶ περιφράγματος, [107] ὅσα κήπων προανεστήσαντο καὶ δένδρων οἱ οἰκήτορες, ὕλης τε ἡμέρου τῆς μεταξὺ πάσης ἐκκοπείσης ἀνεπλήσθη μὲν τὰ κοῖλα καὶ χαραδρώδη τοῦ τόπου, [108] τὰς δὲ πετρώδεις ἐξοχὰς σιδήρῳ κατεργαζόμενοι χθαμαλὸν ἐποίουν πάντα τὸν τόπον ἀπὸ τοῦ Σκοποῦ μέχρι τῶν Ἡρώδου μνημείων, ἃ προσέχει τῇ τῶν ὄφεων ἐπικαλουμένῃ κολυμβήθρᾳ.

(3) [109] Καὶ κατὰ ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας ἐνέδραν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων συσκευάζονται τοιάνδε. [110] τῶν στασιαστῶν οἱ τολμηροὶ προελθόντες ἔξω τῶν Γυναικείων καλουμένων πύργων, ὡς ἐκβεβλημένοι δῆθεν ὑπὸ τῶν εἰρηνικὰ φρονούντων καὶ δεδοικότες τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔφοδον ἀνειλοῦντο καὶ παρ᾽ ἀλλήλους ὑπέπτησσον. [111] οἱ δὲ διαστάντες ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους δῆμος εἶναι δοκῶν εἰρήνην ἐβόων καὶ δεξιὰν ᾐτοῦντο καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐκάλουν ἀνοίξειν ὑπισχνούμενοι τὰς πύλας: ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα κεκραγότες καὶ τοὺς σφετέρους ἔβαλλον λίθοις ὡς ἀπελαύνοντες τῶν πυλῶν. [112] κἀκεῖνοι βιάζεσθαι τὰς εἰσόδους ὑπεκρίνοντο καὶ τοὺς ἔνδον ἱκετεύειν, συνεχῶς τε πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὁρμήσαντας ἐπιστρεφόμενοι ταραττομένοις προσεῴκεισαν. [113] παρὰ μὲν οὖν τοῖς στρατιώταις τὸ πανοῦργον αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐλείπετο πίστεως, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς τοὺς μὲν ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες ἑτοίμους πρὸς τιμωρίαν, τοὺς δὲ ἀνοίξειν τὴν πόλιν ἐλπίζοντες ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν. [114] Τίτῳ δὲ δι᾽ ὑποψίας ἦν τὸ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως παράλογον: καὶ γὰρ πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας προκαλούμενος αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ συμβάσεις διὰ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου μέτριον οὐδὲν εὕρισκε: καὶ τότε τοὺς στρατιώτας κατὰ χώραν

μένειν ἐκέλευσεν. [115] ἔφθασαν δέ τινες τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις προτεταγμένων ἁρπάσαντες τὰ ὅπλα πρὸς τὰς πύλας ἐκδραμεῖν. [116] τούτοις οἱ μὲν ἐκβεβλῆσθαι δοκοῦντες τὸ πρῶτον ὑπεχώρουν, ἐπεὶ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν τῆς πύλης ἐγίνοντο πύργων, ἐκθέοντες ἐκυκλοῦντό σφας καὶ προσέκειντο κατόπιν: [117] οἱ δ᾽ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους πλῆθος χερμάδων καὶ βελῶν παντοίων ἄθρουν κατέχεαν, ὡς συχνοὺς μὲν ἀνελεῖν, τρῶσαι δὲ πλείστους. [118] ἦν γὰρ οὐ ῥᾴδιον τοῦ τείχους διαφυγεῖν τῶν κατόπιν βιαζομένων, καὶ ἄλλως αἰδὼς τῆς διαμαρτίας καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων δέος παρεκελεύετο τῷ πταίσματι προσλιπαρεῖν. [119] διὸ δὴ μέχρι πλείστου διαδορατιζόμενοι καὶ πολλὰς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων λαμβάνοντες πληγάς, ἀμέλει δ᾽ οὐκ ἐλάττους ἀντιδιδόντες, τέλος ἀνωθοῦσι τοὺς κυκλωσαμένους: ὑποχωροῦσι δ᾽ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ μέχρι τῶν Ἑλένης μνημείων εἵποντο βάλλοντες.

(4) [120] Ἔπειθ᾽ οἱ μὲν ἀπειροκάλως ἐξυβρίζοντες εἰς τὴν τύχην ἔσκωπτόν τε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους δελεασθέντας ἀπάτῃ καὶ τοὺς θυρεοὺς ἀνασείοντες ἐσκίρτων καὶ μετὰ χαρᾶς ἀνεβόων. [121] τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ἀπειλή τε τῶν ταξιάρχων καὶ χαλεπαίνων Καῖσαρ τούτοις ἐξεδέχετο, φάσκων ὡς Ἰουδαῖοι μέν, οἷς ἀπόνοια μόνη στρατηγεῖ, πάντα μετὰ προνοίας πράττουσι καὶ σκέψεως ἐπιβουλάς τε συντάσσοντες καὶ λόχους, ἔπεται δ᾽ αὐτῶν ταῖς ἐνέδραις καὶ τύχη διὰ τὸ πειθήνιον καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους εὔνοιάν τε καὶ πίστιν: [122] Ῥωμαῖοι δέ, οἷς δι᾽ εὐταξίαν καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας εὐπειθὲς ἀεὶ δουλεύει καὶ τύχη, νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων πταίουσι καὶ διὰ χειρῶν ἀκρασίαν ἁλίσκονται, τὸ πάντων αἴσχιστον, ἀστρατήγητοι μαχόμενοι παρόντος Καίσαρος. [123] ἦ μεγάλα μὲν στενάξειν ἔφη τοὺς τῆς στρατείας νόμους, μεγάλα δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν πατέρα τήνδε τὴν πληγὴν πυθόμενον, [124] εἴ γε ὁ μὲν ἐν πολέμοις γηράσας οὐδέποτ᾽ ἔπταισεν οὕτως, οἱ νόμοι δ᾽ ἀεὶ καὶ τοὺς βραχύ τι τῆς τάξεως παρακινήσαντας θανάτῳ κολάζουσιν, νῦν δ᾽ ὅλην στρατιὰν ἑωράκασι λιποτάκτην. [125] γνώσεσθαί γε μὴν αὐτίκα τοὺς ἀπαυθαδισαμένους, ὅτι καὶ τὸ νικᾶν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις δίχα παραγγέλματος ἀδοξεῖται. [126] τοιαῦτα διατεινάμενος πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας δῆλος ἦν κατὰ πάντων χρήσεσθαι τῷ νόμῳ. καὶ οἱ μὲν παρεῖσαν τὰς ψυχὰς ὡς ὅσον οὔπω τεθνηξόμενοι δικαίως, [127] περιχυθέντα δὲ τὰ τάγματα τῷ Τίτῳ περὶ τῶν συστρατιωτῶν ἱκέτευε καὶ τὴν ὀλίγων προπέτειαν χαρίσασθαι τῇ πάντων εὐπειθείᾳ κατηντιβόλουν: ἀναλήψεσθαι γὰρ τὸ παρὸν πταῖσμα ταῖς εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἀρεταῖς.

(5) [128] Πείθεται Καῖσαρ ἅμα ταῖς τε ἱκεσίαις καὶ τῷ συμφέροντι: τὴν μὲν γὰρ καθ᾽ ἑνὸς τιμωρίαν ᾤετο χρῆναι μέχρις ἔργου προκόπτειν, τὴν δ᾽ ἐπὶ πλήθους μέχρι λόγου. [129] τοῖς μὲν οὖν στρατιώταις διηλλάττετο πολλὰ νουθετήσας αὖθις εἶναι φρονιμωτέρους, αὐτὸς δ᾽ ὅπως ἀμυνεῖται τὴν Ἰουδαίων ἐπιβουλὴν ἐσκόπει. [130] τέσσαρσι δ᾽ ἡμέραις ἐξισωθέντος τοῦ μέχρι τῶν τειχῶν διαστήματος, βουλόμενος μετὰ ἀσφαλείας τάς τε ἀποσκευὰς καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος παράγειν τὸ καρτερώτατον τῆς δυνάμεως ἀντιπαρεξέτεινεν τῷ τείχει κατὰ τὸ βόρειον κλίμα καὶ πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἐφ᾽ ἑπτὰ βαθύνας τὴν φάλαγγα, τῶν τε πεζῶν

προτεταγμένων καὶ κατόπιν τῶν ἱππέων, [131] τριστοίχων ἑκατέρων, ἕβδομοι κατὰ μέσον εἱστήκεσαν οἱ τοξόται. [132] τοσούτῳ δὲ στίφει πεφραγμένων Ἰουδαίοις τῶν ἐκδρομῶν τά τε ὑποζύγια τῶν τριῶν ταγμάτων καὶ ἡ πληθὺς ἀδεῶς παρώδευσεν. [133] αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν Τίτος ἀπέχων ὅσον εἰς σταδίους δύο τοῦ τείχους κατὰ τὸ γωνιαῖον αὐτοῦ μέρος ἀντικρὺ τοῦ καλουμένου Ψηφίνου πύργου στρατοπεδεύεται, πρὸς ὃν ὁ κύκλος τοῦ τείχους ἀπ᾽ ἄρκτων καθήκων ἀνακάμπτει πρὸς δύσιν: [134] ἡ δ᾽ ἑτέρα μοῖρα τῆς στρατιᾶς κατὰ τὸν Ἱππικὸν προσαγορευθέντα πύργον τειχίζεται διεστῶσα τῆς πόλεως ὁμοίως δύο σταδίους. [135] τὸ μέντοι δέκατον τάγμα κατὰ χώραν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἐλαιῶν ὄρους ἔμενε.

IV

(1) [136] Τρισὶ δ᾽ ὠχυρωμένη τείχεσιν ἡ πόλις καθ᾽ ἣν μὴ ταῖς ἀβάτοις φάραγξι κεκύκλωτο, ταύτῃ γὰρ εἷς ἦν περίβολος, αὐτὴ μὲν ὑπὲρ δύο λόφων ἀντιπρόσωπος ἔκτιστο μέσῃ φάραγγι διῃρημένων, εἰς ἣν ἐπάλληλοι κατέληγον αἱ οἰκίαι. [137] τῶν δὲ λόφων ὁ μὲν τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἔχων ὑψηλότερός τε πολλῷ καὶ τὸ μῆκος ἰθύτερος ἦν: διὰ γοῦν τὴν ὀχυρότητα φρούριον μὲν ὑπὸ Δαυίδου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκαλεῖτο, πατὴρ Σολομῶνος ἦν οὗτος τοῦ τὸν πρῶτον ναὸν κτίσαντος, ἡ ἄνω δὲ ἀγορὰ πρὸς ἡμῶν: ἄτερος δὲ ὁ καλούμενος Ἄκρα καὶ τὴν κάτω πόλιν ὑφεστὼς ἀμφίκυρτος. [138] τούτου δ᾽ ἄντικρυς τρίτος ἦν λόφος, ταπεινότερός τε φύσει τῆς Ἄκρας καὶ πλατείᾳ φάραγγι διειργόμενος ἄλλῃ πρότερον. [139] αὖθίς γε μὴν καθ᾽ οὓς οἱ Ἀσαμωναῖοι χρόνους ἐβασίλευον τήν τε φάραγγα ἔχωσαν συνάψαι βουλόμενοι τῷ ἱερῷ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῆς Ἄκρας κατεργασάμενοι τὸ ὕψος ἐποίησαν χθαμαλώτερον, ὡς ὑπερφαίνοιτο καὶ ταύτῃ τὸ ἱερόν. [140] ἡ δὲ τῶν τυροποιῶν προσαγορευομένη φάραγξ, ἣν ἔφαμεν τόν τε τῆς ἄνω πόλεως καὶ τὸν κάτω λόφον διαστέλλειν, καθήκει μέχρι Σιλωᾶς: οὕτω γὰρ τὴν πηγὴν γλυκεῖάν τε καὶ πολλὴν οὖσαν ἐκαλοῦμεν. [141] ἔξωθεν δ᾽ οἱ τῆς πόλεως δύο λόφοι βαθείαις φάραγξιν περιείχοντο, καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἑκατέρωθεν κρημνοὺς προσιτὸν οὐδαμόθεν ἦν.

(2) [142] Τῶν δὲ τριῶν τειχῶν τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον διά τε τὰς φάραγγας καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων λόφον, ἐφ᾽ οὗ κατεσκεύαστο, δυσάλωτον ἦν: [143] πρὸς δὲ τῷ πλεονεκτήματι τοῦ τόπου καὶ καρτερῶς ἐδεδόμητο, Δαυίδου τε καὶ Σολομῶνος, ἔτι δὲ τῶν μεταξὺ τούτων βασιλέων φιλοτιμηθέντων περὶ τὸ ἔργον. [144] ἀρχόμενον δὲ κατὰ βορρᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἱππικοῦ καλουμένου πύργου καὶ διατεῖνον ἐπὶ τὸν ξυστόν, ἔπειτα τῇ βουλῇ συνάπτον ἐπὶ τὴν ἑσπέριον τοῦ ἱεροῦ στοὰν ἀπηρτίζετο. [145] κατὰ θάτερα δὲ πρὸς δύσιν, ἀπὸ ταὐτοῦ μὲν ἀρχόμενον, διὰ δὲ τοῦ Βησοῦ καλουμένου χώρου κατατεῖνον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐσσηνῶν πύλην, κἄπειτα πρὸς νότον ὑπὲρ τὴν Σιλωὰν ἐπιστρέφον πηγήν, ἔνθεν τε πάλιν ἐκκλίνον πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Σολομῶνος κολυμβήθραν καὶ διῆκον μέχρι χώρου τινός, ὃν

καλοῦσιν Ὀφλάς, τῇ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν στοᾷ τοῦ ἱεροῦ συνῆπτε. [146] τὸ δὲ δεύτερον τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ πύλης εἶχεν, ἣν Γενὰθ ἐκάλουν τοῦ πρώτου τείχους οὖσαν, κυκλούμενον δὲ τὸ προσάρκτιον κλίμα μόνον ἀνῄει μέχρι τῆς Ἀντωνίας. [147] τῷ τρίτῳ δ' ἀρχὴ ἦν ὁ Ἱππικὸς πύργος, ὅθεν μέχρι τοῦ βορείου κλίματος κατατεῖνον ἐπὶ τὸν Ψήφινον πύργον, ἔπειτα καθῆκον ἀντικρὺ τῶν Ἑλένης μνημείων, Ἀδιαβηνὴ βασιλὶς ἦν αὕτη Ἰζάτου βασιλέως θυγάτηρ, καὶ διὰ σπηλαίων βασιλικῶν μηκυνόμενον ἐκάμπτετο μὲν γωνιαίῳ πύργῳ κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Γναφέως προσαγορευόμενον μνῆμα, τῷ δ' ἀρχαίῳ περιβόλῳ συνάπτον εἰς τὴν Κεδρῶνα καλουμένην φάραγγα κατέληγεν. [148] τοῦτο τῇ προσκτισθείσῃ πόλει περιέθηκεν Ἀγρίππας, ἥπερ ἦν πᾶσα γυμνή: πλήθει γὰρ ὑπερχεομένη κατὰ μικρὸν ἐξεῖρπε τῶν περιβόλων. [149] καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὰ προσάρκτια πρὸς τῷ λόφῳ συμπολίζοντες ἐπ' οὐκ ὀλίγον προῆλθον καὶ τέταρτον περιοικηθῆναι λόφον, ὃς καλεῖται Βεζεθά, κείμενος μὲν ἀντικρὺ τῆς Ἀντωνίας, ἀποτεμνόμενος δὲ ὀρύγματι βαθεῖ: [150] διεταφρεύθη γὰρ ἐπίτηδες, ὡς μὴ τῷ λόφῳ συνάπτοντες οἱ θεμέλιοι τῆς Ἀντωνίας εὐπρόσιτοί τε εἶεν καὶ ἧττον ὑψηλοί: [151] διὸ δὴ καὶ πλεῖστον ὕψος τοῖς πύργοις προσεδίδου τὸ βάθος τῆς τάφρου. ἐκλήθη δ' ἐπιχωρίως Βεζεθὰ τὸ νεόκτιστον μέρος, ὃ μεθερμηνευόμενον Ἑλλάδι γλώσσῃ καινὴ λέγοιτ' ἂν πόλις. [152] δεομένων οὖν τῶν ταύτῃ σκέπης ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ νῦν βασιλέως καὶ ὁμώνυμος Ἀγρίππας ἄρχεται μὲν οὗ προείπομεν τείχους, δείσας δὲ Κλαύδιον Καίσαρα, μὴ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς κατασκευῆς ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ πραγμάτων ὑπονοήσῃ καὶ στάσεως, παύεται θεμελίους μόνον βαλόμενος. [153] καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἂν ἦν ἁλώσιμος ἡ πόλις, εἰ προύκοπτε τὸ τεῖχος ὡς ἤρξατο: λίθοις μὲν γὰρ εἰκοσαπήχεσι τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὸ εὖρος δεκαπήχεσι συνηρμόζετο μήθ' ὑπορυγῆναι σιδήρῳ ῥᾳδίως μήθ' ὑπ' ὀργάνοις διασεισθῆναι δυνάμενον, [154] δέκα δὲ πήχεις αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐπλατύνετο, καὶ τὸ ὕψος πλεῖον μὲν ἄν, ὡς εἰκός, ἔσχε μὴ διακωλυθείσης τῆς τοῦ καταρξαμένου φιλοτιμίας. [155] αὖθις δὲ καίτοι μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐγειρόμενον ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων εἰς εἴκοσι πήχεις ἀνέστη, καὶ διπήχεις μὲν τὰς ἐπάλξεις, τριπήχεις δὲ τοὺς προμαχῶνας εἶχεν, ὡς τὸ πᾶν ὕψος εἰς εἰκοσιπέντε πήχεις ἀνατετάσθαι.

(3) [156] Τοῦ δὲ τείχους ὑπερεῖχον οἱ πύργοι πήχεις εἴκοσι μὲν εἰς εὖρος, εἴκοσι δὲ εἰς ὕψος, τετράγωνοί τε καὶ πλήρεις ὥσπερ αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος ὄντες: ἥ γε μὴν ἁρμονία καὶ τὸ κάλλος τῶν λίθων οὐδὲν ἀπέδει ναοῦ. [157] μετὰ δὲ τὸ ναστὸν ὕψος τῶν πύργων, ὅπερ ἦν εἰκοσάπηχυ, πολυτελεῖς ἦσαν οἶκοι, καὶ καθύπερθεν ὑπερῷα, δεξαμεναί τε πρὸς τὰς τῶν ὑετῶν ὑποδοχάς, ἕλικές τε καὶ πλατεῖαι καθ' ἕκαστον ἄνοδοι. [158] τοιούτους μὲν οὖν πύργους τὸ τρίτον τεῖχος εἶχεν ἐνενήκοντα, τὰ μεταπύργια δὲ τούτων ἀνὰ πήχεις διακοσίους: τὸ δ' αὖ μέσον εἰς τέσσαρας καὶ δέκα πύργους, τὸ δ' ἀρχαῖον εἰς ἑξήκοντα μεμέριστο. [159] τῆς πόλεως δ' ὁ πᾶς κύκλος σταδίων ἦν τριακοντατριῶν. θαυμασίου δ' ὄντος ὅλου τοῦ τρίτου τείχους θαυμασιώτερος ἀνεῖχε κατὰ γωνίαν βόρειός τε καὶ πρὸς δύσιν ὁ Ψήφινος πύργος, καθ' ὃν ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο Τίτος. [160] ἐπὶ γὰρ ἑβδομήκοντα

πήχεις ὑψηλὸς ὢν Ἀραβίαν τε ἀνίσχοντος ἡλίου παρεῖχεν ἀφορᾶν καὶ μέχρι θαλάττης τὰ τῆς Ἑβραίων κληρουχίας ἔσχατα: [161] ὀκτάγωνος δὲ ἦν. τούτου δ' ἄντικρυς ὁ Ἱππικὸς καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν δύο κατεσκευάσθησαν μὲν ὑφ' Ἡρώδου βασιλέως ἐν τῷ ἀρχαίῳ τείχει, μέγεθος δὲ καὶ κάλλος ἦσαν καὶ ὀχυρότητα τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην διάφοροι: [162] πρὸς γὰρ τῷ φύσει μεγαλοψύχῳ καὶ τῇ περὶ τὴν πόλιν φιλοτιμίᾳ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τῶν ἔργων ὁ βασιλεὺς πάθεσιν οἰκείοις ἐχαρίζετο καὶ τρισὶ τοῖς ἠδίστοις προσώποις, ἀφ' ὧν ὠνόμασε τοὺς πύργους, ἀδελφῷ καὶ φίλῳ καὶ γυναικί, τὴν μνήμην ἀνέθηκε, τὴν μὲν ὡς προειρήκαμεν κτείνας δι' ἔρωτα, τοὺς δὲ ἀποβαλὼν ἐν πολέμῳ γενναίως ἀγωνισαμένους. [163] ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἱππικὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ φίλου προσαγορευθεὶς τετράγωνος μὲν ἦν, εὖρος δὲ καὶ μῆκος εἰκοσιπέντε πηχῶν ἕκαστον καὶ ὕψος τριάκοντα, οὐδαμοῦ διάκενος. [164] ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ πλῆρες καὶ ταῖς πέτραις συνηνωμένον εἰς ἐκδοχὴν ὄμβρων εἰκοσάπηχυς λάκκος ἦν τὸ βάθος, [165] ἐπάνω δὲ τούτου δίστεγος οἶκος ἦν εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε πηχῶν τὸ ὕψος εἰς ποικίλα τέγη διηρημένος, ὑπὲρ ὃν τύρσεις μὲν διπήχεις προμαχῶνες δὲ περιβέβληντο τριπήχεις, ὡς τὸ πᾶν ὕψος εἰς ὀγδοήκοντα πήχεις συναριθμεῖσθαι. [166] ὁ δὲ δεύτερος πύργος, ὃν ὠνόμασεν ἀπὸ τἀδελφοῦ Φασάηλον, τὸ μὲν πλάτος καὶ τὸ μῆκος ἴσον εἶχεν, τεσσαράκοντα πηχῶν ἕκαστον, ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ναστὸν ἦν ὕψος. [167] ἐπάνω δὲ αὐτοῦ περιῄει στοὰ δεκάπηχυς τὸ ὕψος θωρακίοις τε καὶ προβόλοις σκεπομένη. [168] μέσην δὲ ὑπερῳκοδόμητο τὴν στοὰν πύργος ἕτερος εἵς τε οἴκους πολυτελεῖς καὶ δὴ καὶ βαλανεῖον διηρημένος, ὡς μηδὲν ἐνδέοι τῷ πύργῳ βασίλειον δοκεῖν. τὰ δ' ἄκρα τοῖς προμαχῶσι καὶ ταῖς τύρσεσιν † ἡ περιαυτοῦ κεκόσμητο. [169] πηχῶν δ' ἦν τὸ πᾶν ὕψος ὡς ἐνενήκοντα, καὶ τὸ μὲν σχῆμα παρεῴκει τῷ κατὰ τὴν Φάρον ἐκπυρσεύοντι τοῖς ἐπὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας πλέουσι, τῇ περιοχῇ δὲ πολὺ μείζων ἦν: τηνικαῦτά γε μὴν τυραννεῖον ἀπεδείχθη τοῦ Σίμωνος. [170] ὁ δὲ τρίτος πύργος ἡ Μαριάμμη, τοῦτο γὰρ ἡ βασιλὶς ἐκαλεῖτο, μέχρι μὲν εἴκοσι πηχῶν ναστὸς ἦν, εἴκοσι δὲ πήχεις εἰς εὖρος διέβαινε καὶ μῆκος ἴσον, [171] πολυτελεστέραν δὲ καὶ ποικιλωτέραν τῶν ἄλλων τὴν οἴκησιν εἶχεν ἐπάνω, τοῦ βασιλέως οἰκεῖον ὑπολαβόντος τὸν ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ὀνομασθέντα κεκοσμῆσθαι πλέον ἢ τοὺς ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν, ὥσπερ ἐκείνους τοῦ τῆς γυναικὸς ἰσχυροτέρους. τούτου τὸ πᾶν ὕψος πεντήκοντα καὶ πέντε πηχῶν ἦν.

(4) [172] Τηλικοῦτοι δ' ὄντες οἱ τρεῖς τὸ μέγεθος πολὺ μείζονες ἐφαίνοντο διὰ τὸν τόπον: [173] αὐτό τε γὰρ τὸ ἀρχαῖον τεῖχος, ἐν ᾧ ἦσαν, ἐφ' ὑψηλῷ λόφῳ δεδόμητο, καὶ τοῦ λόφου καθάπερ κορυφή τις ὑψηλοτέρα προανεῖχεν εἰς τριάκοντα πήχεις, ὑπὲρ ἣν οἱ πύργοι κείμενοι πολὺ δή τι τοῦ μετεώρου προσελάμβανον. [174] θαυμάσιον δὲ καὶ τῶν λίθων ἦν τὸ μέγεθος: οὐ γὰρ ἐξ εἰκαίας χερμάδος οὐδὲ φορητῶν ἀνθρώποις πετρῶν συνειστήκεσαν, λευκὴ δὲ μάρμαρος ἐτμήθη: [175] καὶ τὸ μὲν μῆκος ἑκάστης πηχῶν ἦν εἴκοσι, δέκα δὲ εὖρος καὶ βάθος πέντε, συνήνωντο δ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ὡς δοκεῖν ἕκαστον πύργον

μίαν εἶναι πέτραν ἀναπεφυκυῖαν, ἔπειτα δὲ περιεξέσθαι χερσὶ τεχνιτῶν εἰς σχῆμα καὶ γωνίας: οὕτως οὐδαμόθεν ἡ συνάφεια τῆς ἁρμονίας διεφαίνετο. [176] κειμένοις δὲ πρὸς ἄρκτον αὐτοῖς ἔνδοθεν ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐλὴ προσέζευκτο, παντὸς λόγου κρείσσων: [177] οὔτε γὰρ πολυτελείας οὔτε κατασκευῆς τινος ἔλειπεν ὑπερβολήν, ἀλλὰ τετείχιστο μὲν ἅπασα τριάκοντα πήχεις τὸ ὕψος κύκλῳ κατ᾽ ἴσον διάστημα, κεκοσμημένοις δὲ πύργοις διείληπτο ἀνδρῶσί τε μεγίστοις καὶ εἰς ξενῶνας ἑκατοντακλίνους: [178] ἐν οἷς ἀδιήγητος μὲν ἡ ποικιλία τῶν λίθων ἦν, συνῆκτο γὰρ πολὺς ὁ πανταχοῦ σπάνιος, θαυμασταὶ δὲ ὀροφαὶ μήκει τε δοκῶν καὶ λαμπρότητι προκοσμημάτων, [179] οἴκων δὲ πλῆθος καὶ διαφοραὶ σχημάτων περὶ τούτους μυρίαι, πᾶσίν γε μὴν ἀποσκευαὶ πλήρεις, καὶ τὰ πλείω τῶν ἐν ἑκάστοις κειμένων ἐξ ἀργύρου τε καὶ χρυσοῦ. [180] περίστοα δὲ δι᾽ ἀλλήλων ἐν κύκλῳ πολλά, καὶ στῦλοι πρὸς ἑκάστῳ διάφοροι, τά γε μὴν τούτων ὕπαιθρα πάντα χλοερά, [181] καὶ ποικίλαι μὲν ὕλαι μακροὶ δὲ δι᾽ αὐτῶν περίπατοι καὶ περὶ τούτους εὔριποι βαθεῖς δεξαμεναί τε πανταχοῦ χαλκουργημάτων περίπλεοι, δι᾽ ὧν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐξεχεῖτο, καὶ πολλοὶ περὶ τὰ νάματα πύργοι πελειάδων ἡμέρων. [182] ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔθ᾽ ἑρμηνεῦσαι δυνατὸν ἀξίως τὰ βασίλεια, καὶ φέρει βάσανον ἡ μνήμη τὰς τοῦ λῃστρικοῦ πυρὸς δαπάνας ἀναφέρουσα: [183] οὐ γὰρ ταῦτα Ῥωμαῖοι κατέφλεξαν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔνδον ἐπιβούλων, ὡς προειρήκαμεν, ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Ἀντωνίας ἤρξατο τὸ πῦρ, μετέβη δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τῶν τριῶν πύργων τὰς στέγας ἐπενεμήθη.

V

(1) [184] Τὸ δ᾽ ἱερὸν ἵδρυτο μέν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἐπὶ λόφου καρτεροῦ, κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς δὲ μόλις ἐξήρκει τὸ ἀνωτάτω χθαμαλὸν αὐτοῦ τῷ τε ναῷ καὶ τῷ βωμῷ: τὰ γὰρ πέριξ ἀπόκρημνος ἦν καὶ κατάντης. [185] τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως Σολομῶνος, ὃς δὴ καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἔκτισεν, τὸ κατ᾽ ἀνατολὰς μέρος ἐκτειχίσαντος, ἐπετέθη μία στοὰ τῷ χώματι: καὶ κατά γε τὰ λοιπὰ μέρη γυμνὸς ὁ ναὸς ἦν. τοῖς δ᾽ ἑξῆς αἰῶσιν ἀεί τι τοῦ λαοῦ προσχωννύντος ἀνισούμενος ὁ λόφος ηὐρύνετο. [186] διακόψαντες δὲ καὶ τὸ προσάρκτιον τεῖχος τοσοῦτον προσελάμβανον ὅσον ὕστερον ἐπεῖχεν ὁ τοῦ παντὸς ἱεροῦ περίβολος. [187] τειχίσαντες δ᾽ ἐκ ῥίζης τριχῆ κυκλόθεν τὸν λόφον καὶ μεῖζον ἐλπίδος ἐκπονήσαντες ἔργον, εἰς ὃ μακροὶ μὲν ἐξαναλώθησαν αἰῶνες αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ ἱεροὶ δὲ θησαυροὶ πάντες, οὓς ἀνεπίμπλασαν οἱ παρὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης δασμοὶ πεμπόμενοι τῷ θεῷ, τούς τε ἄνω περιβόλους καὶ τὸ κάτω ἱερὸν ἀμφεδείμαντο. [188] τούτου τὸ ταπεινότατον ἀπὸ τριακοσίων ἀνετειχίσαντο πηχῶν, κατὰ δέ τινας τόπους καὶ πλείονος. οὐ μέντοι πᾶν τὸ βάθος ἐφαίνετο τῶν θεμελίων: ἐπὶ πολὺ γὰρ ἔχωσαν τὰς φάραγγας ἀνισοῦν βουλόμενοι τοὺς στενωποὺς τοῦ ἄστεος. [189] πέτραι δὲ τεσσαρακονταπήχεις τὸ μέγεθος ἦσαν τοῦ δομήματος: ἥ τε γὰρ δαψίλεια τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ φιλοτιμία λόγου

μείζονας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς ἐπιβολάς, καὶ τὸ μηδὲ ἐλπισθὲν ἔξειν πέρας ἐπιμονῇ καὶ χρόνοις ἦν ἀνύσιμον.

(2) [190] Ἦν δὲ ἄξια τῶν τηλικούτων θεμελίων καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἔργα διπλαῖ μὲν γὰρ αἱ στοαὶ πᾶσαι, κίονες δ' αὐταῖς εἰκοσιπέντε πηχῶν τὸ ὕψος ἐφεστήκεσαν μονόλιθοι λευκοτάτης μαρμάρου, κεδρίνοις δὲ φατνώμασιν ὠρόφωντο. [191] τούτων ἡ μὲν φυσικὴ πολυτέλεια καὶ τὸ εὔξεστον καὶ τὸ ἁρμόνιον παρεῖχε θεωρίαν ἀξιόλογον, οὐδενὶ δὲ ἔξωθεν οὔτε ζωγραφίας οὔτε γλυφίδος ἔργῳ προσηγλάιστο. [192] καὶ πλατεῖαι μὲν ἦσαν ἐπὶ τριάκοντα πήχεις, ὁ δὲ πᾶς κύκλος αὐτῶν εἰς ἓξ σταδίους συνεμετρεῖτο περιλαμβανομένης καὶ τῆς Ἀντωνίας: τὸ δ' ὕπαιθρον ἅπαν πεποίκιλτο παντοδαπῷ λίθῳ κατεστρωμένον. [193] διὰ τούτου προιόντων ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἱερὸν δρύφακτος περιβέβλητο λίθινος, τρίπηχυς μὲν ὕψος, πάνυ δὲ χαριέντως διειργασμένος: [194] ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ εἱστήκεσαν ἐξ ἴσου διαστήματος στῆλαι τὸν τῆς ἁγνείας προσημαίνουσαι νόμον αἱ μὲν Ἑλληνικοῖς αἱ δὲ Ῥωμαικοῖς γράμμασιν μηδένα ἀλλόφυλον ἐντὸς τοῦ ἁγίου παριέναι: [195] τὸ γὰρ δεύτερον ἱερὸν ἅγιον ἐκαλεῖτο. καὶ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα [μὲν] βαθμοῖς ἦν ἀναβατὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου, τετράγωνον δὲ ἄνω καὶ τείχει περιπεφραγμένον ἰδίῳ. [196] τούτου τὸ μὲν ἔξωθεν ὕψος καίπερ τεσσαράκοντα πηχῶν ὑπάρχον ὑπὸ τῶν βαθμῶν ἐκαλύπτετο, τὸ δὲ ἔνδον εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε πηχῶν ἦν: πρὸς γὰρ ὑψηλοτέρῳ δεδομημένου τοῦ βαθμοῦ οὐκέτ' ἦν ἅπαν εἴσω καταφανὲς καλυπτόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ λόφου. [197] μετὰ δὲ τοὺς δεκατέσσαρας βαθμοὺς τὸ μέχρι τοῦ τείχους διάστημα πηχῶν ἦν δέκα, πᾶν ἰσόπεδον. [198] ἔνθεν ἄλλοι πάλιν πεντέβαθμοι κλίμακες ἀνῆγον ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας, αἳ ἀπὸ μὲν ἄρκτου καὶ μεσημβρίας ὀκτώ, καθ' ἑκάτερον τέσσαρες, δύο δ' ἦσαν ἐξ ἀνατολῆς κατ' ἀνάγκην: διατετειχισμένου γὰρ κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ κλίμα ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἰδίου πρὸς θρησκείαν χώρου ἔδει δευτέραν εἶναι πύλην: τέτμητο δ' αὕτη τῆς πρώτης ἄντικρυς. [199] κἀκ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ κλιμάτων μία μεσημβρινὴ πύλη καὶ μία βόρειος, δι' ἧς εἰς τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν εἰσῆγον: κατὰ γὰρ τὰς ἄλλας οὐκ ἐξῆν παρελθεῖν γυναιξίν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κατὰ τὴν σφετέραν ὑπερβῆναι τὸ διατείχισμα. ἀνεῖτό γε μὴν ταῖς τ' ἐπιχωρίοις καὶ ταῖς ἔξωθεν ὁμοφύλοις ἐν ἴσῳ πρὸς θρησκείαν ὁ χῶρος. [200] τὸ δὲ πρὸς δύσιν μέρος οὐκ εἶχε πύλην, ἀλλὰ διηνεκὲς ἐδεδόμητο ταύτῃ τὸ τεῖχος. αἱ στοαὶ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν πυλῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἔνδον ἐστραμμέναι πρὸ τῶν γαζοφυλακίων σφόδρα μὲν καλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ἀνείχοντο κίοσιν, ἦσαν δ' ἁπλαῖ, καὶ πλὴν τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν κάτω κατ' οὐδὲν ἀπελείποντο.

(3) [201] Τῶν δὲ πυλῶν αἱ μὲν ἐννέα χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ κεκαλυμμέναι πανταχόθεν ἦσαν ὁμοίως τε αἵ τε παραστάδες καὶ τὰ ὑπέρθυρα, μία δ' ἡ ἔξωθεν τοῦ νεὼ Κορινθίου χαλκοῦ πολὺ τῇ τιμῇ τὰς καταργύρους καὶ περιχρύσους ὑπεράγουσα. [202] καὶ δύο μὲν ἑκάστου πυλῶνος θύραι, τριάκοντα δὲ πηχῶν τὸ ὕψος ἑκάστης καὶ τὸ πλάτος ἦν πεντεκαίδεκα. [203] μετὰ μέντοι τὰς εἰσόδους ἐνδοτέρω πλατυνόμενοι παρ' ἑκάτερον τριακονταπήχεις ἐξέδρας εἶχον εὐρός τε

καὶ μῆκος πυργοειδεῖς, ὑψηλὰς δ᾽ ὑπὲρ τεσσαράκοντα πήχεις: δύο δ᾽ ἀνεῖχον ἑκάστην κίονες δώδεκα πηχῶν τὴν περιοχὴν ἔχοντες. [204] καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἴσον ἦν τὸ μέγεθος, ἡ δ᾽ ὑπὲρ τὴν Κορινθίαν ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἐξ ἀνατολῆς ἀνοιγομένη τῆς τοῦ ναοῦ πύλης ἀντικρὺ πολὺ μείζων: [205] πεντήκοντα γὰρ πηχῶν οὖσα τὴν ἀνάστασιν τεσσαρακονταπήχεις τὰς θύρας εἶχε καὶ τὸν κόσμον πολυτελέστερον ἐπὶ δαψιλὲς πάχος ἀργύρου τε καὶ χρυσοῦ. τοῦτον δὲ ταῖς ἐννέα πύλαις ἐπέχεεν ὁ Τιβερίου πατὴρ Ἀλέξανδρος. [206] βαθμοὶ δὲ δεκαπέντε πρὸς τὴν μείζονα πύλην ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν γυναικῶν διατειχίσματος ἀνῆγον: τῶν γὰρ κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας πέντε βαθμῶν ἦσαν βραχύτεροι.

(4) [207] Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ ναὸς κατὰ μέσον κείμενος, τὸ ἅγιον ἱερόν, δώδεκα βαθμοῖς ἦν ἀναβατός, καὶ τὸ μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον ὕψος τε καὶ εὖρος ἴσον ἀνὰ πήχεις ἑκατόν, κατόπιν δὲ τεσσαράκοντα πήχεσι στενότερος: ἔμπροσθεν γὰρ ὥσπερ ὦμοι παρ᾽ ἑκάτερον εἰκοσαπήχεις διέβαινον. [208] ἡ πρώτη δ᾽ αὐτοῦ πύλη πηχῶν ἑβδομήκοντα τὸ ὕψος οὖσα καὶ εὖρος εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε, θύρας οὐκ εἶχε: τοῦ γὰρ οὐρανοῦ τὸ ἀφανὲς καὶ ἀδιάκλειστον ἐνέφαινε: κεχρύσωτο δὲ τὰ μέτωπα πάντα, καὶ δι᾽ αὐτῆς ὅ τε πρῶτος οἶκος ἔξωθεν πᾶς κατεφαίνετο μέγιστος ὤν, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν εἴσω πύλην πάντα λαμπόμενα χρυσῷ τοῖς ὁρῶσιν ὑπέπιπτεν. [209] τοῦ δὲ ναοῦ ὄντος εἴσω διστέγου μόνος ὁ πρῶτος οἶκος προύκειτο καὶ διηνεκὲς εἰς τὸ ὕψος, ἀνατεινόμενος μὲν ἐπ᾽ ἐνενήκοντα πήχεις, μηκυνόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ διαβαίνων ἐπ᾽ εἴκοσιν. [210] ἡ δὲ διὰ τοῦ οἴκου πύλη κεχρύσωτο μέν, ὡς ἔφην, πᾶσα καὶ ὅλος ὁ περὶ αὐτὴν τοῖχος, εἶχε δὲ καὶ τὰς χρυσᾶς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀμπέλους, ἀφ᾽ ὧν βότρυες ἀνδρομήκεις κατεκρέμαντο. [211] ὄντος δὲ ἤδη τοῦ ναοῦ διστέγου, ταπεινοτέρα τῆς ἔξωθεν ὄψεως ἡ ἔνδον ἦν καὶ θύρας εἶχε χρυσᾶς πεντηκονταπέντε πήχεων τὸ ὕψος εὖρος δ᾽ ἑκκαίδεκα. [212] πρὸ δὲ τούτων ἰσόμηκες καταπέτασμα πέπλος ἦν Βαβυλώνιος ποικιλτὸς ἐξ ὑακίνθου καὶ βύσσου κόκκου τε καὶ πορφύρας, θαυμαστῶς μὲν εἰργασμένος, οὐκ ἀθεώρητον δὲ τῆς ὕλης τὴν κρᾶσιν ἔχων, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ εἰκόνα τῶν ὅλων: [213] ἐδόκει γὰρ αἰνίττεσθαι τῇ κόκκῳ μὲν τὸ πῦρ, τῇ βύσσῳ δὲ τὴν γῆν, τῇ δ᾽ ὑακίνθῳ τὸν ἀέρα, καὶ τῇ πορφύρᾳ τὴν θάλασσαν, τῶν μὲν ἐκ τῆς χροίας ὁμοιουμένων, τῆς δὲ βύσσου καὶ τῆς πορφύρας διὰ τὴν γένεσιν, ἐπειδὴ τὴν μὲν ἀναδίδωσιν ἡ γῆ, τὴν δ᾽ ἡ θάλασσα. [214] κατεγέγραπτο δ᾽ ὁ πέπλος ἅπασαν τὴν οὐράνιον θεωρίαν πλὴν ζῳδίων.

(5) [215] Παριόντας δ᾽ εἴσω τὸ ἐπίπεδον τοῦ ναοῦ μέρος ἐξεδέχετο. τούτου τοίνυν τὸ μὲν ὕψος ἑξήκοντα πηχῶν καὶ τὸ μῆκος ἴσον, εἴκοσι δὲ πηχῶν τὸ πλάτος ἦν. [216] τὸ δ᾽ ἑξηκοντάπηχυ πάλιν διῄρητο, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον μέρος ἀποτετμημένον ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα πήχεις εἶχεν ἐν αὑτῷ τρία θαυμασιώτατα καὶ περιβόητα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔργα, λυχνίαν τράπεζαν θυμιατήριον. [217] ἐνέφαινον δ᾽ οἱ μὲν ἑπτὰ λύχνοι τοὺς πλανήτας: τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς διῄρηντο τῆς λυχνίας: οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης ἄρτοι δώδεκα τὸν ζῳδιακὸν κύκλον καὶ τὸν

ἐνιαυτόν. [218] τὸ θυμιατήριον δὲ διὰ τῶν τρισκαίδεκα θυμιαμάτων, οἷς ἐκ θαλάσσης ἀνεπίμπλατο καὶ τῆς τε ἀοικήτου καὶ οἰκουμένης, ἐσήμαινεν ὅτι τοῦ θεοῦ πάντα καὶ τῷ θεῷ. [219] τὸ δ' ἐνδοτάτω μέρος εἴκοσι μὲν πηχῶν ἦν: διείργετο δὲ ὁμοίως καταπετάσματι πρὸς τὸ ἔξωθεν. ἔκειτο δὲ οὐδὲν ὅλως ἐν αὐτῷ, ἄβατον δὲ καὶ ἄχραντον καὶ ἀθέατον ἦν πᾶσιν, ἁγίου δὲ ἅγιον ἐκαλεῖτο. [220] περὶ δὲ τὰ πλευρὰ τοῦ κάτω ναοῦ δι' ἀλλήλων ἦσαν οἶκοι τρίστεγοι πολλοί, καὶ παρ' ἑκάτερον εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πύλης εἴσοδοι. [221] τὸ δ' ὑπερῷον μέρος τούτους μὲν οὐκέτι εἶχεν τοὺς οἴκους παρόσον ἦν καὶ στενότερον, ὑψηλὸν δ' ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα πήχεις καὶ λιτότερον τοῦ κάτω: συνάγεται γὰρ οὕτως πρὸς ἑξήκοντα τοῖς τοῦ ἐπιπέδου πηχῶν ἑκατὸν τὸ πᾶν ὕψος.

(6) [222] Τὸ δ' ἔξωθεν αὐτοῦ πρόσωπον οὐδὲν οὔτ' εἰς ψυχῆς οὔτ' εἰς ὀμμάτων ἔκπληξιν ἀπέλειπεν: πλαξὶ γὰρ χρυσοῦ στιβαραῖς κεκαλυμμένος πάντοθεν ὑπὸ τὰς πρώτας ἀνατολὰς πυρωδεστάτην ἀπέπαλλεν αὐγὴν καὶ τῶν βιαζομένων ἰδεῖν τὰς ὄψεις ὥσπερ ἡλιακαῖς ἀκτῖσιν ἀπέστρεφεν. [223] τοῖς γε μὴν ἀφικνουμένοις ξένοις πόρρωθεν ὅμοιος ὄρει χιόνος πλήρει κατεφαίνετο: καὶ γὰρ καθὰ μὴ κεχρύσωτο λευκότατος ἦν. [224] κατὰ κορυφὴν δὲ χρυσέους ὀβελοὺς ἀνεῖχεν τεθηγμένους, ὡς μή τινι προσκαθεζομένῳ μολύνοιτο τῶν ὀρνέων. τῶν δ' ἐν αὐτῷ λίθων ἔνιοι μῆκος πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα πηχῶν ἦσαν, ὕψος πέντε, εὖρος δ' ἕξ. [225] πρὸ αὐτοῦ δ' ὁ βωμὸς πεντεκαίδεκα μὲν ὕψος ἦν πήχεων, εὖρος δὲ καὶ μῆκος ἐκτείνων ἴσον ἀνὰ πεντήκοντα πήχεις τετράγωνος ἵδρυτο, κερατοειδεῖς προανέχων γωνίας, καὶ ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἄνοδος ἠρέμα προσάντης ὑπτίαστο. κατεσκευάσθη δὲ ἄνευ σιδήρου, καὶ οὐδέποτ' ἔψαυεν αὐτοῦ σίδηρος. [226] περιέστεφε δὲ τόν τε ναὸν καὶ τὸν βωμὸν εὔλιθόν τι καὶ χαρίεν γείσιον ὅσον πηχυαῖον ὕψος, ὃ διεῖργεν ἐξωτέρω τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερέων. [227] γονορροίοις μὲν δὴ καὶ λεπροῖς ἡ πόλις ὅλη, τὸ δ' ἱερὸν γυναικῶν ἐμμήνοις ἀπεκέκλειστο, παρελθεῖν δὲ ταύταις οὐδὲ καθαραῖς ἐξῆν ὃν προείπαμεν ὅρον. ἀνδρῶν δ' οἱ μὴ καθάπαν ἡγνευκότες εἴργοντο τῆς ἔνδον αὐλῆς, καὶ τῶν ἱερέων πάλιν οἱ [μὴ] καθαρεύοντες εἴργοντο.

(7) [228] Τῶν δ' ἀπὸ γένους ἱερέων ὅσοι διὰ πήρωσιν οὐκ ἐλειτούργουν παρῆσάν τε ἅμα τοῖς ὁλοκλήροις ἐνδοτέρω τοῦ γείσίου καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους ἐλάμβανον μερίδας, ταῖς γε μὴν ἐσθῆσιν ἰδιωτικαῖς ἐχρῶντο: τὴν γὰρ ἱερὰν ὁ λειτουργῶν ἠμφιέννυτο μόνος. [229] ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἀνέβαινον οἱ τῶν ἱερέων ἄμωμοι, βύσσον μὲν ἀμπεχόμενοι, μάλιστα δὲ ἀπὸ ἀκράτου νήφοντες δέει τῆς θρησκείας, ὡς μή τι παραβαῖεν ἐν τῇ λειτουργίᾳ. [230] ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς ἀνῄει μὲν σὺν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀεί, ταῖς δ' ἑβδομάσι καὶ νουμηνίαις καὶ εἴ τις ἑορτὴ πάτριος ἢ πανήγυρις ἦν πάνδημος ἀγομένη δι' ἔτους. [231] ἐλειτούργει δὲ τοὺς μηροὺς μέχρις αἰδοίου διαζώματι καλύπτων λινοῦν τε ὑποδύτην ἔνδοθεν λαμβάνων καὶ ποδήρη καθύπερθεν ὑακίνθινον, ἔνδυμα στρογγύλον θυσανωτόν: τῶν δὲ θυσάνων ἀπήρτηντο κώδωνες χρύσεοι καὶ ῥοαὶ

παράλληλοι, βροντῆς μὲν οἱ κώδωνες, ἀστραπῆς δ᾽ αἱ ῥοαὶ σημεῖον. [232] ἡ δὲ τὸ ἔνδυμα τῷ στέρνῳ προσηλοῦσα ταινία πέντε διηνθισμένη ζώναις πεποίκιλτο, χρυσοῦ τε καὶ πορφύρας καὶ κόκκου πρὸς δὲ βύσσου καὶ ὑακίνθου, δι᾽ ὧν ἔφαμεν καὶ τὰ τοῦ ναοῦ καταπετάσματα συνυφάνθαι. [233] τούτοις δὲ καὶ ἐπωμίδα κεκραμένην εἶχεν, ἐν ᾗ πλείων χρυσὸς ἦν. σχῆμα μὲν οὖν ἐνδυτοῦ θώρακος εἶχεν, δύο δ᾽ αὐτὴν ἐνεπόρπων ἀσπιδίσκαι χρυσαῖ, κατεκέκλειντο δ᾽ ἐν ταύταις κάλλιστοί τε καὶ μέγιστοι σαρδόνυχες, τοὺς ἐπωνύμους τῶν τοῦ ἔθνους φυλῶν ἐπιγεγραμμέναι. [234] κατὰ δὲ θάτερον ἄλλοι προσήρτηντο λίθοι δώδεκα, κατὰ τρεῖς εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη διῃρημένοι, σάρδιον τόπαζος σμάραγδος, ἄνθραξ ἴασπις σάπφειρος, ἀχάτης ἀμέθυστος λιγύριον, ὄνυξ βήρυλλος χρυσόλιθος, ὧν ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστου πάλιν εἷς τῶν ἐπωνύμων ἐγέγραπτο. [235] τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν βυσσίνη μὲν ἔσκεπεν τιάρα, κατέστεπτο δ᾽ ὑακίνθῳ, περὶ ἣν χρυσοῦς ἄλλος ἦν στέφανος ἔκτυπα φέρων τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα: ταῦτα δ᾽ ἐστὶ φωνήεντα τέσσαρα. [236] ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἐσθῆτα οὐκ ἐφόρει χρόνιον, λιτοτέραν δ᾽ ἀνελάμβανεν, ὁπότε δ᾽ εἰσίοι εἰς τὸ ἄδυτον: εἰσῄει δ᾽ ἅπαξ κατ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν μόνος ἐν ᾗ νηστεύειν ἔθος ἡμέρᾳ πάντας τῷ θεῷ. [237] καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τῶν τε περὶ τοῦτον ἐθῶν καὶ νόμων αὖθις ἀκριβέστερον ἐροῦμεν: οὐ γὰρ ὀλίγος περὶ αὐτῶν καταλείπεται λόγος.

(8) [238] Ἡ δ᾽ Ἀντωνία κατὰ γωνίαν μὲν δύο στοῶν ἔκειτο τοῦ πρώτου ἱεροῦ, τῆς τε πρὸς ἑσπέραν καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἄρκτον, δεδόμητο δὲ ὑπὲρ πέτρας πεντηκονταπήχους μὲν ὕψος, περικρήμνου δὲ πάσης: ἔργον δ᾽ ἦν Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα τὸ φύσει μεγαλόνουν ἐπεδείξατο. [239] πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐκ ῥίζης ἡ πέτρα πλαξὶ κεκάλυπτο λείαις λίθων, εἵς τε κάλλος καὶ ὡς ἀπολισθάνοι πᾶς ὁ προσβαίνειν ἢ κατιέναι πειρώμενος. [240] ἔπειτα πρὸ τῆς τοῦ πύργου δομήσεως τριῶν πηχῶν τεῖχος ἦν, ἐνδοτέρω δὲ τούτου τὸ πᾶν ἀνάστημα τῆς Ἀντωνίας ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα πήχεις ἠγείρετο. [241] τὸ δ᾽ ἔνδον βασιλείων εἶχε χώραν καὶ διάθεσιν: μεμέριστο γὰρ εἰς πᾶσαν οἴκων ἰδέαν τε καὶ χρῆσιν περίστοά τε καὶ βαλανεῖα καὶ στρατοπέδων αὐλαῖς πλατείαις, ὡς τῷ μὲν πάντ᾽ ἔχειν τὰ χρειώδη πόλις εἶναι δοκεῖν, τῇ πολυτελείᾳ δὲ βασίλειον. [242] πυργοειδὴς δὲ οὖσα τὸ πᾶν σχῆμα κατὰ γωνίαν τέσσαρσιν ἑτέροις διείληπτο πύργοις, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πεντήκοντα τὸ ὕψος, ὁ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῇ μεσημβρινῇ καὶ κατὰ ἀνατολὴν γωνίᾳ κείμενος ἑβδομήκοντα πηχῶν ἦν, ὡς καθορᾶν ὅλον ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἱερόν. [243] καθὰ δὲ συνῆπτε ταῖς τοῦ ἱεροῦ στοαῖς εἰς ἀμφοτέρας εἶχε καταβάσεις, δι᾽ ὧν κατῄεσαν οἱ φρουροί: [244] καθῆστο γὰρ [ἀεὶ] ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς τάγμα Ῥωμαίων, καὶ διιστάμενοι περὶ τὰς στοὰς μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς τὸν δῆμον, ὡς μή τι νεωτερισθείη, παρεφύλαττον: [245] φρούριον γὰρ ἐπέκειτο τῇ πόλει μὲν τὸ ἱερόν, τῷ ἱερῷ δ᾽ ἡ Ἀντωνία, κατὰ δὲ ταύτην οἱ τῶν τριῶν φύλακες ἦσαν: καὶ τῆς ἄνω δὲ πόλεως ἴδιον φρούριον ἦν τὰ Ἡρώδου βασίλεια. [246] ἡ Βεζαθὰ δὲ λόφος διῄρητο μέν, ὡς ἔφην, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντωνίας, πάντων δ᾽ ὑψηλότατος ὢν μέρει τῆς

καινῆς πόλεως προσῴκιστο. [247] καὶ μόνος τὸ ἱερὸν κατ᾽ ἄρκτον ἐπεσκότει. περὶ μὲν δὴ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν τειχῶν αὖθις εἰπεῖν ἀκριβέστερον ἕκαστα προτεθειμένοις ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀπόχρη.

VI

(1) [248] Τὸ μάχιμον δ᾽ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ στασιάζον πλῆθος περὶ Σίμωνα μὲν ἦσαν μύριοι δίχα τῶν Ἰδουμαίων, πεντήκοντα δ᾽ ἡγεμόνες τῶν μυρίων, ἐφ᾽ οἷς οὗτος κύριος τῶν ὅλων. [249] Ἰδουμαῖοι δ᾽ αὐτῷ συντελοῦντες εἰς πεντακισχιλίους ἄρχοντας εἶχον δέκα: τούτων προύχειν ἐδόκουν ὅ τε τοῦ Σωσᾶ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Σίμων υἱὸς Καθλᾶ. [250] Ἰωάννης δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν κατειληφὼς ἑξακισχιλίους ὁπλίτας εἶχεν ὑφ᾽ ἡγεμόνας εἴκοσι. προσεγένοντο δὲ αὐτῷ τότε καὶ οἱ ζηλωταὶ παυσάμενοι τοῦ διαφέρεσθαι, δισχίλιοι μὲν ὄντες καὶ τετρακόσιοι, χρώμενοι δ᾽ ἄρχοντι τῷ καὶ πρότερον Ἐλεαζάρῳ καὶ Σίμωνι τῷ τοῦ Ἀρινοῦ. [251] πολεμούντων δὲ τούτων, ὡς ἔφαμεν, ἆθλον ὁ δῆμος ἦν ἑκατέρων, καὶ τὸ μὴ συναδικοῦν τοῦ λαοῦ μέρος ὑπ᾽ ἀμφοῖν διηρπάζετο. [252] κατεῖχεν δ᾽ ὁ μὲν Σίμων τήν τε ἄνω πόλιν καὶ τὸ μέγα τεῖχος ἄχρι τοῦ Κεδρῶνος τοῦ τε ἀρχαίου τείχους ὅσον ἀπὸ τῆς Σιλωᾶς ἀνακάμπτον εἰς ἀνατολὴν μέχρι τῆς Μονοβάζου κατέβαινεν αὐλῆς: [253] βασιλεὺς δ᾽ οὗτος ἦν τῶν ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην Ἀδιαβηνῶν: κατεῖχε δὲ καὶ τὴν πηγὴν καὶ τῆς Ἄκρας, αὕτη δ᾽ ἦν ἡ κάτω πόλις, τὰ μέχρι τῶν Ἑλένης βασιλείων τῆς τοῦ Μονοβάζου μητρός, [254] ὁ δ᾽ Ἰωάννης τό θ᾽ ἱερὸν καὶ τὰ πέριξ ἐπ᾽ οὐκ ὀλίγον τόν τε Ὀφλᾶν καὶ τὴν Κεδρῶνα καλουμένην φάραγγα. τὸ μεταξὺ δὲ τούτων ἐμπρήσαντες τῷ πρὸς ἀλλήλους πολέμῳ χώραν ἀνεῖσαν: [255] οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸς τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐστρατοπεδευμένων Ῥωμαίων ἔνδον ἡ στάσις ἠρέμει, βραχὺ δὲ πρὸς τὴν πρώτην ὑπονήψαντες ἐκδρομὴν ἀνενόσουν καὶ κατὰ σφᾶς πάλιν διαστάντες ἐμάχοντο, τὰ κατ᾽ εὐχήν τε πάντα τοῖς πολιορκοῦσιν ἔπραττον. [256] οὔτε γοῦν αὐτοί τι χεῖρον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἔπαθον ὧν ἀλλήλους ἔδρασαν, οὔτε μετὰ τούτους ἡ πόλις ἐπειράθη καινοτέρου πάθους, ἀλλ᾽ ἡ μὲν χαλεπώτερόν τι πρὸ τοῦ πεσεῖν ἠτύχησεν, οἱ δ᾽ ἑλόντες αὐτὴν κατώρθωσάν τι μεῖζον. [257] φημὶ γὰρ ὡς τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἡ στάσις, Ῥωμαῖοι δ᾽ εἷλον τὴν στάσιν, ἥπερ ἦν πολὺ τῶν τειχῶν ὀχυρωτέρα: καὶ τὸ μὲν σκυθρωπὸν τοῖς οἰκείοις, τὸ δίκαιον δ᾽ ἄν τις εὐλόγως Ῥωμαίοις προσγράφοι. νοείτω δὲ ὅπῃ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἕκαστος ἄγεται.

(2) [258] Τῶν γε μὴν ἔνδον οὕτως διακειμένων ὁ Τίτος μετ᾽ ἐπιλέκτων ἱππέων περιιὼν ἔξωθεν ᾗ προσβάλλοι τοῖς τείχεσι κατεσκέπτετο. [259] ἀπορουμένῳ δὲ πάντοθεν, οὔτε γὰρ κατὰ τὰς φάραγγας ἦν προσιτὸν καὶ κατὰ θάτερα τὸ πρῶτον τεῖχος ἐφαίνετο τῶν ὀργάνων στερεώτερον, ἐδόκει κατὰ τὸ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως μνημεῖον προσβαλεῖν: [260] ταύτῃ γὰρ τό τε πρῶτον ἦν ἔρυμα χθαμαλώτερον καὶ τὸ δεύτερον οὐ συνῆπτεν ἀμελησάντων καθὰ μὴ λίαν ἡ καινὴ

πόλις συνῴκιστο τειχίζειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸ τρίτον ἦν εὐπέτεια, δι᾽ οὗ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἀντωνίας τὸ ἱερὸν αἱρήσειν ἐπενόει. [261] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ περιιόντος αὐτοῦ τοξεύεταί τις τῶν φίλων, ὄνομα Νικάνωρ, κατὰ τὸν λαιὸν ὦμον, ἔγγιον μετὰ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου προσελθὼν καὶ πειρώμενος εἰρηνικὰ τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους, οὐ γὰρ ἄγνωστος ἦν, διαλέγεσθαι. [262] διὰ τούτου τὰς ὁρμὰς αὐτῶν ἐπιγνοὺς Καῖσαρ, εἰ μηδὲ τῶν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ προσιόντων ἀπέχοιντο, παροξύνεται πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἅμα τε καὶ τοῖς τάγμασι δῃοῦν τὰ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἠφίει καὶ συμφέροντας ἐκέλευσε τὴν ὕλην ἐγείρειν χώματα. [263] τριχῇ δὲ διατάξας τὴν στρατιὰν πρὸς τὰ ἔργα μέσους ἵστησι τῶν χωμάτων τούς τε ἀκοντιστὰς καὶ τοξότας καὶ πρὸ τούτων τοὺς ὀξυβελεῖς καὶ καταπέλτας καὶ τὰς λιθοβόλους μηχανάς, ὡς τάς τε ἐκδρομὰς εἴργοι τῶν πολεμίων ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους κωλύειν πειρωμένους. [264] κοπτομένων δὲ τῶν δένδρων τὰ προάστεια μὲν ἐν τάχει γεγύμνωτο, συμφερομένων δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὰ χώματα τῶν ξύλων καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἁπάσης ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ὡρμημένης οὐδὲ τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἠρέμει. [265] τὸν μὲν οὖν δῆμον ἐν ἁρπαγαῖς ὄντα καὶ φόνοις συνέβαινε τότε θαρρεῖν: ἀναπνεύσειν τε γὰρ περισπωμένων πρὸς τοὺς ἔξωθεν ὑπελάμβανον καὶ λήψεσθαι παρὰ τῶν αἰτίων αὐτοὶ δίκας, εἰ Ῥωμαῖοι περιγένοιντο.

(3) [266] Ἰωάννης δὲ καίτοι χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔξωθεν πολεμίους τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ὡρμημένων, δέει τοῦ Σίμωνος ἔμενεν. [267] οὐ μὴν ὁ Σίμων ἠρέμει, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἐγγίων τῇ πολιορκίᾳ, τὰ δ᾽ ἀφετήρια διίστησιν ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους, ὅσα Κέστιόν τε ἀφῄρηντο πρότερον καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντωνίας φρουρὰν ἑλόντες ἔλαβον. [268] ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀχρεῖος ἡ κτῆσις ἦν δι᾽ ἀπειρίαν: ὀλίγοι δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτομόλων διδαχθέντες ἐχρῶντο κακῶς τοῖς ὀργάνοις, χερμάσι δὲ καὶ τόξοις τοὺς χωννύντας ἔβαλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους καὶ κατὰ συντάξεις ἐκτρέχοντες αὐτοῖς συνεπλέκοντο. [269] τοῖς δὲ ἐργαζομένοις ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν βελῶν ἦν σκέπη γέρρα τῶν χαρακωμάτων ὑπερτεταμένα, τὰ δ᾽ ἀφετήρια πρὸς τοὺς ἐκθέοντας: θαυμαστὰ δὲ πᾶσι μὲν κατεσκεύαστο τοῖς τάγμασι, διαφόρως δὲ τῷ δεκάτῳ βιαιότεροί τε ὀξυβελεῖς καὶ μείζονα λιθοβόλα, δι᾽ ὧν οὐ μόνον τὰς ἐκδρομὰς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους ἀνέτρεπον. [270] ταλαντιαῖοι μὲν γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ βαλλόμεναι πέτραι, δύο δὲ καὶ πλείονας ᾔεσαν σταδίους: ἡ πληγὴ δ᾽ οὐ τοῖς προεντυχοῦσι μόνον, ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ καὶ τοῖς μετ᾽ ἐκείνους ἦν ἀνυπόστατος. [271] οἵ γε μὴν Ἰουδαῖοι τὸ πρῶτον ἐφυλάττοντο τὴν πέτραν: λευκὴ γὰρ ἦν, ὥστε μὴ τῷ ῥοίζῳ σημαίνεσθαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ λαμπρότητι προορᾶσθαι. [272] σκοποὶ οὖν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν πύργων καθεζόμενοι προεμήνυον, ὁπότε σχασθείη τὸ ὄργανον καὶ ἡ πέτρα φέροιτο, τῇ πατρίῳ γλώσσῃ βοῶντες “ὁ υἱὸς ἔρχεται.” διίσταντο δὲ καθ᾽ οὓς ᾔει καὶ προκατεκλίνοντο, καὶ συνέβαινε φυλαττομένων ἄπρακτον διεκπίπτειν τὴν πέτραν. [273] ἀντεπινοοῦσι δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι μελαίνειν αὐτήν: τότε γὰρ οὐκέθ᾽ ὁμοίως προορωμένης εὐστόχουν καὶ πολλοὺς ἅμα βολῇ μιᾷ διέφθειρον.

[274] ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ κακούμενοι μετ᾽ ἀδείας παρεῖχον Ῥωμαίοις ἐγείρειν τὰ χώματα, πάσῃ δ᾽ ἐπινοίᾳ καὶ τόλμῃ χρώμενοι καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν εἶργον.

(4) [275] Τῶν δ᾽ ἔργων συντετελεσμένων μολιβίδι μὲν καὶ λίνῳ διαμετροῦσιν οἱ τέκτονες τὸ διάστημα πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος, ἀπὸ τῶν χωμάτων ῥίψαντες: οὐ γὰρ ἐνῆν ἄλλως ἄνωθεν βαλλομένοις: εὑρόντες δ᾽ ἐξικνεῖσθαι δυναμένας τὰς ἑλεπόλεις προσῆγον. [276] καὶ Τίτος ἐγγυτέρω τὰ ἀφετήρια διαστήσας, ὡς μὴ τοὺς κριοὺς εἴργοιεν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, ἐκέλευσε τύπτειν. [277] τριχόθεν δ᾽ ἐξαισίου κτύπου περιηχήσαντος αἰφνιδίως τὴν πόλιν κραυγή τε παρὰ τῶν ἔνδον ἤρθη καὶ τοῖς στασιασταῖς ἴσον ἐμπίπτει δέος. κοινὸν δ᾽ ἑκάτεροι τὸν κίνδυνον ἰδόντες κοινὴν ἐπενόουν ἤδη ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν ἄμυναν. [278] διαβοώντων δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν διαφόρων ὡς πάντα πράττοιεν ὑπὲρ τῶν πολεμίων, δέον, εἰ καὶ μὴ διηνεκῆ δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς ὁμόνοιαν ὁ θεός, ἐν γοῦν τῷ παρόντι τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλονεικίαν ὑπερθεμένους κατὰ Ῥωμαίων συνελθεῖν, κηρύσσει μὲν ἄδειαν ὁ Σίμων τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ παρελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος, ἐπιτρέπει δὲ καίπερ ἀπιστῶν ὁ Ἰωάννης. [279] οἱ δὲ τοῦ μίσους καὶ τῶν ἰδίων διαφόρων λαβόντες ἀμνηστίαν ἓν σῶμα γίνονται, καὶ τὸ μὲν τεῖχος περισχόντες ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πυρά τε παμπληθῆ κατὰ τῶν μηχανημάτων ἔσαν καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβρίθοντας τὰς ἑλεπόλεις ἀδιαλείπτως ἔβαλλον, [280] οἱ τολμηρότεροι δὲ κατὰ στίφη προπηδῶντες τὰ γέρρα τῶν μηχανημάτων ἐσπάραττον καὶ τοῖς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν προσπίπτοντες ἐπιστήμῃ μὲν ὀλίγα, τόλμῃ δὲ τὰ πλείω περιεγίνοντο. [281] προσεβοήθει δὲ τοῖς πονοῦσιν αὐτὸς ἀεὶ Τίτος, καὶ παρ᾽ ἑκάτερον τῶν ὀργάνων τούς τε ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς τοξότας διαστήσας εἶργεν μὲν τοὺς τὸ πῦρ ἐπιφέροντας, ἀνέστελλεν δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων βάλλοντας, ἐνεργοὺς δ᾽ ἐποίει τὰς ἑλεπόλεις. [282] οὐ μὴν ταῖς πληγαῖς ὑπήκουε τὸ τεῖχος, εἰ μὴ καθόσον ὁ τοῦ πεντεκαιδεκάτου τάγματος κριὸς γωνίαν διεκίνησε πύργου. [283] τὸ δὲ τεῖχος ἀκέραιον ἦν: οὐδὲ γὰρ εὐθέως συνεκινδύνευε τῷ πύργῳ προύχοντι πολὺ καὶ μὴ δυναμένῳ συναπορρῆξαί τι ῥᾳδίως τοῦ περιβόλου.

(5) [284] Παυσάμενοι δὲ τῶν ἐκδρομῶν πρὸς ὀλίγον καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιτηρήσαντες ἐσκεδασμένους ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα καὶ κατὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα, καμάτῳ γὰρ ἀναχωρῆσαι καὶ δέει τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἠξίουν, ἐκθέουσι κατὰ τὸν Ἱππικὸν πύργον διὰ πύλης ἀφανοῦς πάντες πῦρ τε τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπιφέροντες καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἐρυμάτων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους προελθεῖν ὡρμημένοι. [285] πρὸς δὲ τὴν κραυγὴν αὐτῶν οἵ τε πλησίον συνίσταντο ταχέως καὶ οἱ πόρρωθεν συνέθεον. ἔφθανε δ᾽ ἡ Ἰουδαίων τόλμα τὴν Ῥωμαίων εὐταξίαν, καὶ τοὺς προεντυγχάνοντας τρεψάμενοι προσέκειντο καὶ τοῖς συλλεγομένοις. [286] δεινὴ δὲ περὶ τὰς μηχανὰς συμπίπτει μάχη, τῶν μὲν ὑποπιμπράναι, τῶν δὲ κωλύειν βιαζομένων, κραυγή τε παρ᾽ ἀμφοτέρων ἀσήμαντος ἦν, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν προαγωνιζομένων ἔπιπτον. [287] Ἰουδαῖοι δ᾽ ὑπερεῖχον ἀπονοίᾳ, καὶ τῶν ἔργων ἥπτετο τὸ πῦρ, καταφλεγῆναί τ᾽ ἂν ἐκινδύνευσε πάντα μετὰ τῶν ὀργάνων, εἰ μὴ τῶν ἀπ᾽ Ἀλεξανδρείας

ἐπιλέκτων ἀντέστησαν οἱ πολλοὶ παρὰ τὴν σφετέραν ὑπόληψιν ἀνδρισάμενοι: καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐνδοξοτέρων διήνεγκαν κατὰ ταύτην τὴν μάχην: μέχρι Καῖσαρ τοὺς τῶν ἱππέων δυνατωτάτους ἀναλαβὼν ἐμβάλλει τοῖς πολεμίοις. [288] καὶ δώδεκα μὲν αὐτὸς τῶν προμάχων ἀναιρεῖ, πρὸς δὲ τὸ τούτων πάθος ἐγκλίνοντος τοῦ λοιποῦ πλήθους ἑπόμενος συνελαύνει πάντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν κἀκ τοῦ πυρὸς διασώζει τὰ ἔργα. [289] συνέβη δ' ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ ζωγρηθῆναί τινα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὃν ὁ Τίτος ἀνασταυρῶσαι πρὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐκέλευσεν, εἴ τι πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἐνδοῖεν οἱ λοιποὶ καταπλαγέντες. [290] μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ τῶν Ἰδουμαίων ἡγεμὼν πρὸ τοῦ τείχους γνωρίμῳ τινὶ στρατιώτῃ διαλεγόμενος ὑπό τινος τῶν Ἀράβων κατὰ τοῦ στέρνου τοξεύεται καὶ παραχρῆμα θνήσκει, μέγιστον τοῖς τε Ἰδουμαίοις πένθος καὶ λύπην τοῖς στασιασταῖς ἀπολιπών: καὶ γὰρ κατά τε χεῖρα καὶ συνέσει διάσημος ἦν.

VII

(1) [291] Τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ ταραχὴ καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐμπίπτει παράλογος. [292] τοῦ γὰρ Τίτου πύργους τρεῖς κατασκευάσαι κελεύσαντος πεντηκονταπήχεις, ἵν' ἑκάστου χώματος ἐπιστήσας ἀπὸ τούτων τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους τρέποιτο, συνέβη πεσεῖν αὐτομάτως ἕνα μέσης νυκτός. [293] μεγίστου δὲ ἀρθέντος ψόφου δέος ἐμπίπτει τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιχειρεῖν σφίσι δόξαντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα πάντες ἔθεον. [294] ταραχὴ δὲ τῶν ταγμάτων καὶ θόρυβος ἦν, καὶ τὸ συμβὰν οὐδενὸς εἰπεῖν ἔχοντος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀποδυρόμενοι διεφέροντο μηδενός τε φαινομένου πολεμίου δι' ἀλλήλων ἐπτοοῦντο, [295] καὶ τὸ σύνθημα μετὰ σπουδῆς ἕκαστος τὸν πλησίον ἐπηρώτα καθάπερ Ἰουδαίων ἐμβεβληκότων εἰς τὰ στρατόπεδα, πανικῷ τε δείματι κυκλουμένοις παρεφκεσαν, ἄχρι μαθὼν τὸ συμβὰν Τίτος διαγγέλλειν ἐκέλευσε πᾶσι, καὶ μόλις ἐπαύσαντο τῆς ταραχῆς.

(2) [296] Ἰουδαίους γε μὴν πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ καρτερῶς ἀντέχοντας ἐκάκωσαν οἱ πύργοι: καὶ γὰρ τῶν ὀργάνων τοῖς κουφοτέροις ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐβάλλοντο καὶ τοῖς ἀκοντισταῖς καὶ τοξόταις καὶ λιθοβόλοις. [297] οὔτε δὲ τούτων αὐτοὶ διὰ τὸ ὕψος ἐφικνοῦντο καὶ τοὺς πύργους ἦν ἀμήχανον ἑλεῖν, μήτ' ἀνατραπῆναι ῥᾳδίως διὰ τὸ βρῖθος μήτ' ἐμπρησθῆναι διὰ τὸν σίδηρον δυναμένους, ᾧ κατεκαλύπτοντο. [298] τρεπόμενοι δὲ ἐξωτέρω βέλους οὐκέτι ἐκώλυον τῶν κριῶν τὰς ἐμβολάς, οἳ ἀδιαλείπτως παίοντες ἤνυον κατ' ὀλίγον. [299] ἤδη δὲ τῷ Νίκωνι τοῦ τείχους ἐνδιδόντος, αὐτοὶ γὰρ τοῦτο Ἰουδαῖοι τὴν μεγίστην ἐκάλεσαν Ῥωμαίων ἑλέπολιν ἀπὸ τοῦ πάντα νικᾶν, ἀπέκαμνον μὲν πάλαι πρός τε τὰς μάχας καὶ τὰς φυλακὰς πόρρωθεν τῆς πόλεως διανυκτερεύοντες, [300] ἄλλως δ' ὑπὸ ῥᾳστώνης καὶ τοῦ βουλεύεσθαι πάντα κακῶς περιττὸν αὐτοῖς δόξαν τὸ τεῖχος ἑτέρων μετ' αὐτὸ λειπομένων δύο, μαλακισθέντες ἀνεχώρουν οἱ πολλοί. [301] καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιβάντων καθὸ παρέρρηξεν ὁ Νίκων, καταλιπόντες τὰς φυλακὰς πάντες εἰς τὸ

δεύτερον τεῖχος ἀναφεύγουσιν. οἱ δ᾽ ὑπερβάντες τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντες πᾶσαν εἰσδέχονται τὴν στρατιάν. [302] καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὕτω τοῦ πρώτου τείχους πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ κρατήσαντες ἡμέρᾳ, ἑβδόμῃ δὲ ἣν Ἀρτεμισίου μηνός, αὐτοῦ τε πολὺ κατασκάπτουσι καὶ τὰ προσάρκτια τῆς πόλεως, ἃ καὶ πρότερον Κέστιος.

(3) [303] Μεταστρατοπεδεύεται δὲ Τίτος εἴσω κατὰ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων παρεμβολὴν καλουμένην, ἐπισχὼν πᾶν τὸ μεταξὺ μέχρι τοῦ Κεδρῶνος, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου τείχους ὅσον ἐξωτέρω βέλους εἶναι: [304] προσβολὰς δ᾽ εὐθέως ἐποιεῖτο. ἐμμερισθέντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καρτερῶς ἀπημύναντο τοῦ τείχους, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἀπό τε τῆς Ἀντωνίας καὶ τῆς προσαρκτίου στοᾶς τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ πρὸ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν μνημείων μαχόμενοι, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Σίμωνος τάγμα τὴν παρὰ τὸ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως μνημεῖον ἐμβολὴν διαλαβόντες ἐφράξαντο μέχρι πύλης καθ᾽ ἣν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἱππικὸν πύργον εἰσῆκτο. [305] προπηδῶντές τε πολλάκις ἐκ τῶν πυλῶν συστάδην ἐπολέμουν καὶ συνδιωχθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους κατὰ μὲν τὰς συμπλοκὰς ἡττῶντο τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπιστήμης ὄντες ἄπειροι, περιῆσαν δ᾽ ἐν ταῖς τειχομαχίαις. [306] καὶ τοὺς μὲν μετ᾽ ἰσχύος ἐμπειρία παρεκρότει, Ἰουδαίους δὲ τόλμα δέει τρεφομένη καὶ τὸ φύσει καρτερικὸν ἐν συμφοραῖς: προσῆν δ᾽ ἐλπὶς ἔτι σωτηρίας ἡ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις τοῦ ταχέως κρατήσειν. [307] οὐδετέρων δὲ ἥπτετο κόπος, ἀλλὰ προσβολαὶ καὶ τειχομαχίαι καὶ κατὰ λόχους ἐκδρομαὶ συνεχεῖς δι᾽ ὅλης ἡμέρας ἦσαν, οὐδ᾽ ἔστιν ἥτις ἰδέα μάχης ἀπελείπετο. [308] νὺξ δὲ ἀνέπαυε μόλις ἕωθεν ἀρχομένους: ἦν δ᾽ ἄυπνος ἀμφοτέροις καὶ χαλεπωτέρα τῆς ἡμέρας, δέει τῶν μὲν ὅσον οὔπω καταληφθήσεσθαι τὸ τεῖχος, τῶν δ᾽ ἐπιθήσεσθαι Ἰουδαίους τοῖς στρατοπέδοις, ἔν τε τοῖς ὅπλοις ἑκάτεροι διανυκτερεύοντες ὑπὸ τὰς πρώτας αὐγὰς ἕτοιμοι πρὸς μάχην ἦσαν. [309] καὶ παρὰ μὲν Ἰουδαίοις ἔρις ἦν ὅστις προκινδυνεύσας χαρίσαιτο τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦ Σίμωνος αἰδὼς ἦν καὶ δέος, οὕτως τε προσεῖχεν ἕκαστος αὐτῷ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων, ὡς καὶ πρὸς αὐτοχειρίαν ἑτοιμότατος εἶναι κελεύσαντος: [310] Ῥωμαίοις δὲ ἐπ᾽ ἀνδρείαν ἦν προτροπὴ τοῦ τε κρατεῖν ἔθος καὶ ἥττης ἀήθεια συνεχής τε στρατεία καὶ διηνεκεῖς μελέται καὶ μέγεθος ἡγεμονίας, πρὸ δὲ πάντων Τίτος ἀεὶ πᾶσιν πανταχοῦ παρατυγχάνων. [311] τό τε γὰρ μαλακισθῆναι παρόντος καὶ συναγωνιζομένου Καίσαρος δεινὸν ἐδόκει, καὶ τῷ καλῶς ἀγωνισαμένῳ μάρτυς αὐτὸς ὁ καὶ τιμήσων παρῆν: κέρδος δ᾽ ἦν ἤδη καὶ τὸ γνωσθῆναι Καίσαρι γενναῖον ὄντα. διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὶ τῆς κατὰ σφᾶς ἰσχύος ἀμείνους τῇ προθυμίᾳ διεφάνησαν. [312] παραταξαμένων γοῦν κατὰ ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρὸ τοῦ τείχους καρτερῷ στίφει καὶ διακοντιζομένων ἔτι πόρρωθεν τῶν ταγμάτων ἑκατέρων Λογγῖνός τις τῶν ἱππέων ἐξαλλόμενος τῆς Ῥωμαικῆς τάξεως ἐμπηδᾷ μέσῃ τῇ τῶν Ἰουδαίων φάλαγγι, [313] καὶ διασκεδασθέντων πρὸς τὴν ἐμβολὴν δύο τοὺς γενναιοτάτους ἀναιρεῖ, τὸν μὲν κατὰ στόμα πλήξας ὑπαντιάσαντα, τὸν δ᾽ ἀνασπάσας ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου τὸ δόρυ κατὰ πλευρὰν διαπείρει τραπόμενον, ἐκ μέσων τε τῶν

πολεμίων ἄτρωτος εἰς τοὺς σφετέρους ἔδραμεν. [314] ὁ μὲν οὖν δι᾽ ἀρετὴν ἐπίσημος ἦν, ζηλωταὶ δὲ τῆς ἀνδρείας ἐγίνοντο πολλοί. [315] καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν ἀμελοῦντες τοῦ παθεῖν τὸ διαθεῖναι μόνον ἐσκόπουν, ὅ τε θάνατος αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει κουφότατος εἰ μετὰ τοῦ κτεῖναί τινα τῶν πολεμίων προσπέσοι: [316] Τίτος δὲ τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀσφαλείας οὐχ ἧττον τοῦ κρατεῖν προυνόει, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀπερίσκεπτον ὁρμὴν ἀπόνοιαν λέγων, μόνην δ᾽ ἀρετὴν τὴν μετὰ προνοίας καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν τὸν δρῶντα παθεῖν, ἐν ἀκινδύνῳ τῷ κατὰ σφᾶς ἐκέλευσεν ἀνδρίζεσθαι.

(4) [317] Προσάγει δ᾽ αὐτὸς τοῦ βορείου τείχους τῷ μέσῳ πύργῳ τὴν ἑλέπολιν, ἐν ᾧ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τις ἀνὴρ γόης ὄνομα Κάστωρ ἑλόχα μεθ᾽ ὁμοίων δέκα, τῶν λοιπῶν φυγόντων διὰ τοὺς τοξότας. [318] οὗτοι μέχρι μέν τινος ὑπεπτηχότες τοῖς θωρακίοις ἠρέμουν, λυομένου δὲ τοῦ πύργου διανίστανται, καὶ προτείνας ὁ Κάστωρ τὰς χεῖρας ὡς ἱκετεύων δῆθεν ἐκάλει τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ τῇ φωνῇ κατοικτιζόμενος ἐλεῆσαι σφᾶς παρεκάλει. [319] πιστεύσας δ᾽ ἐξ ἁπλότητος ὁ Τίτος καὶ μετανοεῖν ἤδη τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐλπίσας, ἐπέχει μὲν τοῦ κριοῦ τὴν ἐμβολὴν κωλύει τε τοξεύειν τοὺς ἱκέτας, λέγειν δ᾽ ἐκέλευσεν ὅ τι βούλεται τῷ Κάστορι. [320] τοῦ δ᾽ εἰπόντος ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ καταβῆναι θέλειν, ὁ Τίτος συνήδεσθαι μὲν αὐτῷ τῆς εὐβουλίας ἔφη, συνήδεσθαι δὲ εἰ πάντες ταῦτα ἤδη φρονοῦσι καὶ τῇ πόλει διδόναι τε πίστιν ἑτοίμως. [321] τῶν δέκα δὲ οἱ πέντε μὲν αὐτῷ συνυπεκρίνοντο τὴν ἱκετηρίαν, οἱ λοιποὶ δ᾽ οὐκ ἄν ποτε δουλεύσειν Ῥωμαίοις ἐβόων παρὸν ἐλευθέρους ἀποθανεῖν. [322] καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διαφερομένων ἐτρίβετο μὲν ἡ προσβολή, πέμπων δ᾽ ὁ Κάστωρ πρὸς τὸν Σίμωνα σχολῇ βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἐπειγόντων ἔλεγεν, ὡς οὐκ ἐπ᾽ ὀλίγον αὐτὸς διαπαίζοι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν. ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα πέμπων καταφανὴς ἦν καὶ τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας ἐπὶ τὴν δεξιὰν παρακαλῶν. [323] οἱ δὲ ὥσπερ ἀγανακτοῦντες ὑπὲρ τὰ θωράκια διήρουν τε τὰ ξίφη γυμνὰ καὶ τοὺς θώρακας αὐτῶν πλήξαντες ὡς ἀπεσφαγμένοι κατέπεσον. [324] θάμβος δὲ τὸν Τίτον καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν εἰσῄει τοῦ τῶν ἀνδρῶν παραστήματος, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενοι κάτωθεν ἀκριβῶς τὸ γεγενημένον ἰδεῖν ἐθαύμαζόν τε τῆς εὐτολμίας αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῦ πάθους ἠλέουν. [325] τοξεύει δέ τις ἐν τούτῳ παρὰ τὴν ῥῖνα τὸν Κάστορα, κἀκεῖνος εὐθέως ἀνασπάσας τὸ βέλος ἐπεδείκνυ τῷ Τίτῳ καὶ ὡς οὐ δίκαια πάσχων κατεμέμφετο. πρὸς δὲ τὸν βαλόντα σχετλιάσας Καῖσαρ ἔπεμπε παρεστῶτα τὸν Ἰώσηπον δοῦναι τῷ Κάστορι δεξιάν. [326] ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν οὔτ᾽ αὐτὸς ἔφη προσελεύσεσθαι, φρονεῖν γὰρ οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς τοὺς δεομένους, καὶ τοὺς ὡρμημένους τῶν φίλων κατέσχεν: Αἰνείας δέ τις τῶν αὐτομόλων αὐτὸς ἔφη προσελεύσεσθαι. [327] καὶ τοῦ Κάστορος καλοῦντος, ὅπως δέξαιτό τις καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον ὃ φέροι μεθ᾽ αὑτοῦ, σπουδαιότερον ὁ Αἰνείας διαπετάσας τὸν κόλπον προσέδραμεν. [328] ἁράμενος δὲ ὁ Κάστωρ πέτραν ἐπαφίησιν αὐτῷ, καὶ τούτου μὲν διήμαρτε φυλαξαμένου, τιτρώσκει δὲ στρατιώτην ἕτερον προσελθόντα. [329] συννοήσας δὲ Καῖσαρ τὴν ἀπάτην πρὸς

βλάβης μὲν ἔγνω τὸν ἐν πολέμοις ἔλεον, τὸ γὰρ ἀπηνέστερον ἧττον ὑποπίπτειν τῷ πανούργῳ, τὰς δ᾽ ἐμβολὰς τῆς ἑλεπόλεως ὀργῇ τῆς χλεύης ἐποιεῖτο δυνατωτέρας. [330] ὑποδιδόντα δὲ τὸν πύργον ἐμπιπρᾶσιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Κάστορα, καὶ διὰ τῆς φλογὸς εἰς τὴν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῷ κρυπτὴν ἀλλόμενοι πάλιν δόξαν ἀνδρείας Ῥωμαίοις παρέσχον ὡς ῥίψαντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ πῦρ.

VIII

(1) [331] Αἱρεῖ δὲ Καῖσαρ ταύτῃ τὸ τεῖχος ἡμέρᾳ πέμπτῃ μετὰ τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων φυγόντων ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ παρέρχεται μετὰ χιλίων ἔνδον ὁπλιτῶν καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιλέκτων, καθὸ καὶ τῆς καινῆς πόλεως ἐριοπώλιά τε ἦν καὶ χαλκεῖα καὶ ἱματίων ἀγορά, πρός τε τὸ τεῖχος πλάγιοι κατέτεινον οἱ στενωποί. [332] εἰ μὲν οὖν ἢ τοῦ τείχους εὐθέως πλέον διέλυσεν ἢ πολέμου νόμῳ παρελθὼν ἐπόρθει τὸ ληφθέν, οὐκ ἂν οἶμαί τις ἐμίγη βλάβη τῷ κράτει. [333] νῦν δὲ Ἰουδαίους μὲν ἐλπίσας δυσωπήσειν ἐξὸν κακοῦν τῷ μὴ θέλειν, πρὸς δ᾽ ἀναχώρησιν εὐμαρῆ τὴν εἰσβολὴν οὐκ ἐπλάτυνεν: οὐ γὰρ ἐπιβουλεύσειν οὓς εὐεργετεῖν ὑπελάμβανεν. [334] παρελθὼν γοῦν οὔτε κτείνειν τινὰ τῶν καταλαμβανομένων ἐπέτρεψεν οὔτε ὑποπιμπράναι τὰς οἰκίας, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν στασιασταῖς εἰ βούλοιντο μάχεσθαι δίχα τῆς τοῦ δήμου βλάβης ἄδειαν ἐξόδου, τῷ δήμῳ δὲ τὰς κτήσεις ὑπισχνεῖτο δώσειν: περὶ πλείστου γὰρ ἐποιεῖτο σῶσαι τὴν μὲν πόλιν αὐτῷ, τὸν δὲ ναὸν τῇ πόλει. [335] τὸν μὲν οὖν λαὸν ἕτοιμον εἶχεν εἰς ἃ προύτρεπεν καὶ πάλαι, τοῖς μαχίμοις δ᾽ ἐδόκει τὸ φιλάνθρωπον ἀσθένεια, καὶ τὸν Τίτον ἀδυναμίᾳ τοῦ τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν ἑλεῖν ταῦτα προτείνειν ὑπελάμβανον. [336] διαπειλοῦντες δὲ τοῖς δημόταις θάνατον, εἰ περὶ παραδόσεως μνησθείη τις αὐτῶν, καὶ τοὺς παραφθεγγομένους εἰρήνην ἀποσφάττοντες, ἐπιτίθενται καὶ τοῖς εἰσελθοῦσι Ῥωμαίων, οἱ μὲν κατὰ τοὺς στενωποὺς ὑπαντιάσαντες, οἱ δ᾽ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν, ἄλλοι δ᾽ ἔξω τοῦ τείχους κατὰ τὰς ἄνω προπηδήσαντες πύλας. [337] πρὸς οὓς ταραχθέντες οἱ φρουροὶ τοῦ τείχους καθαλλόμενοι τῶν πύργων ἀνεχώρουν εἰς τὰ στρατόπεδα. [338] κραυγὴ δ᾽ ἦν τῶν μὲν εἴσω πάντοθεν πολεμίοις κεκυκλωμένων, τῶν δ᾽ ἔξωθεν περὶ τοῖς ἀπολειφθεῖσι δεδοικότων. πληθύνοντες δ᾽ ἀεὶ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ πολλὰ πλεονεκτοῦντες κατ᾽ ἐμπειρίαν τῶν στενωπῶν ἐτίτρωσκόν τε πολλοὺς καὶ προσπίπτοντες ἐξώθουν. [339] οἱ δὲ κατ᾽ ἀνάγκην τὸ πλέον ἀντεῖχον, οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀθρόους διαφυγεῖν διὰ στενοῦ τοῦ τείχους, δοκοῦσί τε ἂν κατακοπῆναι πάντες οἱ παρελθόντες μὴ προσαμύναντος τοῦ Τίτου. [340] διαστήσας γὰρ ἐπ᾽ ἄκροις τοῖς στενωποῖς τοὺς τοξότας καὶ κατὰ τὸν μάλιστα πληθύοντα σταθεὶς αὐτός, ἀνέστελλε τοῖς βέλεσι τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Δομέτιος Σαβῖνος, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ κατὰ ταύτην φανεὶς τὴν μάχην. [341] παρέμεινε δὲ συνεχῶς τοξεύων Καῖσαρ καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους κωλύων παρελθεῖν, μέχρι πάντες ἀνεχώρησαν οἱ στρατιῶται.

(2) [342] Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὕτως κρατήσαντες τοῦ δευτέρου τείχους ἐξεώσθησαν, τῶν δ᾽ ἀνὰ τὸ ἄστυ μαχίμων ἐπήρθη τὰ φρονήματα, καὶ μετέωροι πρὸς τὴν εὐπραγίαν ἦσαν, οὔτ᾽ ἂν Ῥωμαίους εἰς τὴν πόλιν τολμήσειν ἔτι παρελθεῖν οὔτ᾽ αὐτοὶ παρελθόντων ἡττηθήσεσθαι δοκοῦντες. [343] ἐπεσκότει γὰρ αὐτῶν ταῖς γνώμαις διὰ τὰς παρανομίας ὁ θεός, καὶ οὔτε τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἰσχὺν ὅσῳ πλείων κατελείπετο τῆς ἐξελαθείσης ἔβλεπον οὔτε τὸν ὑφέρποντα λιμὸν αὐτοῖς: [344] ἔτι γὰρ παρῆν ἐσθίειν ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων κακῶν καὶ τὸ τῆς πόλεως αἷμα πίνειν: ἔνδεια δὲ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἐπεῖχε πάλαι, καὶ σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων διελύοντο πολλοί. [345] τὴν δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ φθορὰν ἑαυτῶν οἱ στασιασταὶ κουφισμὸν ὑπελάμβανον: μόνους γὰρ ἠξίουν σώζεσθαι τοὺς μὴ ζητοῦντας εἰρήνην καὶ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ζῆν προῃρημένους, τὸ δ᾽ ἐναντίον πλῆθος ὥσπερ βάρβαρον ἥδοντο δαπανώμενον. [346] τοιοῦτοι μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἔνδον ἦσαν: Ῥωμαίους δὲ πάλιν τῆς εἰσόδου πειρωμένους ἐκώλυον φραξάμενοι καὶ τὸ καταρριφθὲν ἀντιτειχίσαντες τοῖς σώμασι τρισὶ μὲν ἀντέσχον ἡμέραις καρτερῶς ἀμυνόμενοι, τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ προσβαλόντα γενναίως Τίτον οὐκ ἤνεγκαν, ἀλλὰ βιασθέντες ᾗ καὶ πρότερον ἀναφεύγουσιν. [347] ὁ δὲ πάλιν τοῦ τείχους κρατήσας τὸ προσάρκτιον μὲν εὐθέως κατέρριψε πᾶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ κατὰ μεσημβρίαν φρουρὰς τοῖς πύργοις ἐγκαταστήσας τῷ τρίτῳ προσβάλλειν ἐπενόει.

IX

(1) [348] Δόξαν δ᾽ ἐπανεῖναι πρὸς ὀλίγον τὴν πολιορκίαν καὶ διωρίαν βουλῆς τοῖς στασιασταῖς παρέχειν, εἴ τι πρὸς τὴν καθαίρεσιν ἐνδοῖεν τοῦ δευτέρου τείχους ἢ καὶ τὸν λιμὸν ὑποδείσαντες, οὐ γὰρ εἰς πολὺ τὰς ἁρπαγὰς αὐτοῖς ἐξαρκέσειν, εἰς δέον κατεχρῆτο τὴν ἄνεσιν: [349] ἐνστάσης γὰρ τῆς προθεσμίας, καθ᾽ ἣν ἔδει διαδοῦναι τοῖς στρατιώταις τροφάς, ἐν ἀπόπτῳ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐκτάξαντας τὴν δύναμιν ἀπαριθμεῖν ἑκάστῳ τἀργύριον. [350] οἱ δέ, ὥσπερ ἔθος, ἀποκαλύψαντες τὰ ὅπλα θήκαις ἐσκεπασμένα τέως κατάφρακτοι προῆσαν καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἄγοντες οἱ ἱππεῖς κεκοσμημένους. [351] ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὲ τὰ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ περιελάμπετο, καὶ τῆς ὄψεως ἐκείνης οὐδὲν οὔτε τοῖς σφετέροις ἐπιτερπέστερον οὔτε τοῖς πολεμίοις παρέστη φοβερώτερον. [352] κατεπλήσθη γὰρ ἀφορώντων τό τε ἀρχαῖον τεῖχος ἅπαν καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ βόρειον κλίμα, τάς τε οἰκίας μεστὰς ἦν προκυπτόντων ἰδεῖν, καὶ τῆς πόλεως οὐδὲν ὃ μὴ κεκάλυπτο πλήθει διεφαίνετο. [353] κατάπληξις δὲ δεινὴ καὶ τοῖς τολμηροτάτοις ἐνέπεσε τήν τε δύναμιν ἐπὶ ταὐτὸ πᾶσαν ὁρῶσι καὶ τὸ κάλλος τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν: [354] δοκοῦσί τε ἄν μοι πρὸς ἐκείνην οἱ στασιασταὶ μεταβαλέσθαι τὴν ὄψιν, εἰ μὴ δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν ὧν τὸν δῆμον ἔδρασαν κακῶν συγγνώμην παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἀπήλπιζον. [355] ἀποκειμένου δὲ τοῦ μετὰ κολάσεως, εἰ παύσαιντο, πολὺ κρείττονα τὸν ἐν πολέμῳ θάνατον

ἠγοῦντο. καὶ τὸ χρεὼν δ᾽ ἐκράτει τούς τε ἀναιτίους τοῖς αἰτίοις συναπολέσθαι καὶ τῇ στάσει τὴν πόλιν.

(2) [356] Τέσσαρσιν μὲν οὖν ἡμέραις οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καθ᾽ ἕκαστον τάγμα διετέλεσαν τὰς τροφὰς κομιζόμενοι, τῇ πέμπτῃ δ᾽ ὡς οὐδὲν ἀπήντα παρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰρηνικόν, διχῇ διελὼν τὰ τάγματα Τίτος ἤρχετο τῶν χωμάτων κατά τε τὴν Ἀντωνίαν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἰωάννου μνημεῖον, ταύτῃ μὲν τὴν ἄνω πόλιν αἱρήσειν ἐπινοῶν, τὸ δ᾽ ἱερὸν κατὰ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν: [357] τούτου γὰρ μὴ ληφθέντος οὐδὲ τὸ ἄστυ κατέχειν ἀκίνδυνον ἦν: πρὸς ἑκατέρῳ δὲ μέρει δύο χώματα ἠγείρετο καθ᾽ ἓν ἑκάστου τάγματος. [358] καὶ τοὺς μὲν παρὰ τὸ μνημεῖον ἐργαζομένους οἵ τε Ἰδουμαῖοι καὶ τὸ μετὰ τοῦ Σίμωνος ὁπλιτικὸν εἶργον ἐπεκθέοντες, τοὺς δὲ πρὸ τῆς Ἀντωνίας οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ τὸ τῶν ζηλωτῶν πλῆθος. [359] ἐπλεονέκτουν δὲ οὐ κατὰ χεῖρα μόνον ἀφ᾽ ὑψηλοτέρων μαχόμενοι, καὶ τοῖς ὀργάνοις δὲ ἤδη χρῆσθαι μεμαθηκότες: ἡ γὰρ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν τριβὴ κατὰ μικρὸν ἔθρεψε τὴν ἐμπειρίαν. εἶχον δ᾽ ὀξυβελεῖς μὲν τριακοσίους, τεσσαράκοντα δὲ τῶν λιθοβόλων, δι᾽ ὧν τὰ χώματα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐποίουν δυσέργαστα. [360] Τίτος δὲ σώζεσθαί τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀπόλλυσθαι εἰδὼς ἑαυτῷ, ἅμα καὶ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ προσέκειτο καὶ τοῦ παραινεῖν Ἰουδαίοις μετάνοιαν οὐκ ἠμέλει, [361] τοῖς δ᾽ ἔργοις ἀνέμισγε συμβουλίαν, καὶ πολλάκις γινώσκων ἀνυτικώτερον ὅπλων τὸν λόγον αὐτός τε σώζεσθαι παρεκάλει παραδόντας τὴν πόλιν ἤδη παρειλημμένην καὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον καθίει τῇ πατρίῳ γλώσσῃ διαλέγεσθαι, τάχ᾽ ἂν ἐνδοῦναι πρὸς ὁμόφυλον δοκῶν αὐτούς.

(3) [362] Οὗτος περιὼν τὸ τεῖχος καὶ πειρώμενος ἔξω τε βέλους εἶναι καὶ ἐν ἐπηκόῳ, πολλὰ κατηντιβόλει φείσασθαι μὲν αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ δήμου, φείσασθαι δὲ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ μηδὲ γενέσθαι πρὸς ταῦτα τῶν ἀλλοφύλων ἀπαθεστέρους. [363] Ῥωμαίους μέν γε τοὺς μὴ μετέχοντας ἐντρέπεσθαι τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἅγια καὶ μέχρι νῦν τὰς χεῖρας ἐπέχειν, τοὺς δ᾽ ἐντραφέντας αὐτοῖς κἂν περισωθῇ μόνους ἕξοντας ὡρμῆσθαι πρὸς ἀπώλειαν αὐτῶν. [364] ἦ μὴν τὰ καρτερώτερα μὲν αὐτῶν ὁρᾶν τείχη πεπτωκότα, λειπόμενον δὲ τὸ τῶν ἑαλωκότων ἀσθενέστερον: γινώσκειν δὲ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἰσχὺν ἀνυπόστατον καὶ τὸ δουλεύειν τούτοις οὐκ ἀπείρατον αὐτοῖς. [365] εἰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ πολεμεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας καλόν, χρῆναι τὸ πρῶτον: τὸ δ᾽ ἅπαξ ὑποπεσόντας καὶ μακροῖς εἴξαντας χρόνοις ἔπειτα ἀποσείεσθαι τὸν ζυγὸν δυσθανατούντων, οὐ φιλελευθέρων εἶναι. [366] δεῖν μέντοι καὶ δεσπότας ἀδοξεῖν ταπεινοτέρους, οὐχ οἷς ὑποχείρια τὰ πάντα. τί γὰρ Ῥωμαίους διαπεφευγέναι, πλὴν εἰ μή τι διὰ θάλπος ἢ κρύος ἄχρηστον; [367] μεταβῆναι γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς πάντοθεν τὴν τύχην, καὶ κατὰ ἔθνος τὸν θεὸν ἐμπεριάγοντα τὴν ἀρχὴν νῦν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας εἶναι. νόμον γε μὴν ὡρίσθαι καὶ παρὰ θηρσὶν ἰσχυρότατον καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώποις, εἴκειν τοῖς δυνατωτέροις καὶ τὸ κρατεῖν παρ᾽ οἷς ἀκμὴ τῶν ὅπλων εἶναι. [368] διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς προγόνους αὐτῶν καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἔτι δὲ καὶ ταῖς

ἄλλαις ἀφορμαῖς ἀμείνους ὄντας εἶξαι Ῥωμαίοις, οὐκ ἂν εἰ μὴ τὸν θεὸν ἥδεσαν σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῦθ᾽ ὑπομείναντας. [369] αὐτοὺς δὲ τίνι καὶ πεποιθότας ἀντέχειν, ἐαλωκυίας μὲν ἐκ πλείστου τῆς πόλεως μέρους, τῶν δ᾽ ἔνδον, εἰ καὶ τὰ τείχη παρέμενεν, ἀλώσεως χεῖρον διακειμένων; [370] οὐ γὰρ λανθάνειν Ῥωμαίους τὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει λιμόν, ᾧ νῦν μὲν τὸν δῆμον, μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ διαφθαρήσεσθαι καὶ τοὺς μαχίμους. [371] εἰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ παύσαιντο Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς πολιορκίας μηδ᾽ ἐπιπίπτοιεν τῇ πόλει ξιφήρεις, αὐτοῖς γε τὸν ἄμαχον πόλεμον ἔνδον παρακαθῆσθαι καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ὥραν τρεφόμενον, εἰ μὴ καὶ πρὸς τὸν λιμὸν ἆραι τὰ ὅπλα καὶ μάχεσθαι δύνανται μόνοι τε καὶ παθῶν ἐπικρατεῖν. [372] προσετίθει δὲ ὡς καλὸν πρὸ ἀνηκέστου συμφορᾶς μεταβαλέσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ σωτήριον ἕως ἔξεστι ῥέψαι: καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ μνησικακήσειν αὐτοῖς Ῥωμαίους τῶν γεγενημένων, εἰ μὴ μέχρι τέλους ἀπαυθαδίσαιντο: φύσει τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ κρατεῖν ἡμέρους εἶναι καὶ πρὸ τῶν θυμῶν θήσεσθαι τὸ συμφέρον. [373] τοῦτο δ᾽ εἶναι μήτε τὴν πόλιν ἀνδρῶν κενὴν μήτε τὴν χώραν ἔρημον ἔχειν. διὸ καὶ νῦν Καίσαρα βούλεσθαι δεξιὰν αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν: οὐ γὰρ ἂν σῶσαί τινα βίᾳ λαβόντα τὴν πόλιν, καὶ μάλιστα μηδ᾽ ἐν ἐσχάταις συμφοραῖς ὑπακουσάντων παρακαλοῦντι. [374] τοῦ γε μὴν ταχέως τὸ τρίτον τεῖχος ἁλώσεσθαι τὰ προεαλωκότα πίστιν εἶναι: κἂν ἄρρηκτον δὲ ᾖ τὸ ἔρυμα, τὸν λιμὸν ὑπὲρ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοῖς μαχεῖσθαι.

(4) [375] Ταῦτα τὸν Ἰώσηπον παραινοῦντα πολλοὶ μὲν ἔσκωπτον ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, πολλοὶ δ᾽ ἐβλασφήμουν, ἔνιοι δ᾽ ἔβαλλον. ὁ δ᾽ ὡς ταῖς φαναιῖς οὐκ ἔπειθε συμβουλίαις, ἐπὶ τὰς ὁμοφύλους μετέβαινεν ἱστορίας “ἆ δειλοί, [376] βοῶν, καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἀμνήμονες συμμάχων, ὅπλοις καὶ χερσὶ πολεμεῖτε Ῥωμαίοις; τίνα γὰρ ἄλλον οὕτως ἐνικήσαμεν; [377] πότε δ᾽ οὐ θεὸς ὁ κτίσας ἂν ἀδικῶνται Ἰουδαίων ἔκδικος; οὐκ ἐπιστραφέντες ὄψεσθε πόθεν ὁρμώμενοι μάχεσθε καὶ πηλίκον ἐμιάνατε σύμμαχον; οὐκ ἀναμνήσεσθε πατέρων ἔργα δαιμόνια, καὶ τὸν ἅγιον τόνδε χῶρον ἡλίκους ἡμῖν πάλαι πολέμους καθεῖλεν; [378] ἐγὼ μὲν φρίττω τὰ ἔργα τοῦ θεοῦ λέγων εἰς ἀναξίους ἀκοάς: ἀκούετε δ᾽ ὅμως, ἵνα γνῶτε μὴ μόνον Ῥωμαίοις πολεμοῦντες ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ θεῷ. [379] βασιλεὺς ὁ τότε Νεχαὼς Αἰγυπτίων, ὁ δ᾽ αὐτὸς ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ Φαραώ, μυρίᾳ χειρὶ καταβὰς ἥρπασε Σάρραν βασιλίδα, τὴν μητέρα τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν. [380] τί οὖν ὁ ταύτης ἀνὴρ Ἀβραάμ, προπάτωρ δὲ ἡμέτερος; ἆρα τὸν ὑβριστὴν ἠμύνατο τοῖς ὅπλοις, καίτοι ὀκτωκαίδεκα μὲν καὶ τριακοσίους ὑπάρχους ἔχων, δύναμιν δὲ ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστῳ τούτων ἄπειρον; ἢ αὐτοὺς μὲν ἐρημίαν ἡγήσατο μὴ συμπαρόντος θεοῦ, καθαρὰς δ᾽ ἀνατείνας τὰς χεῖρας εἰς ὃν νῦν ἐμιάνατε χῶρον ὑμεῖς τὸν ἀνίκητον αὐτῷ βοηθὸν ἐστρατολόγησεν; [381] οὐ μετὰ μίαν ἑσπέραν ἄχραντος μὲν ἡ βασίλισσα ἀνεπέμφθη πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, προσκυνῶν δὲ τὸν ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν αἱμαχθέντα χῶρον ὁμοφύλῳ φόνῳ καὶ τρέμων ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν νυκτὶ φαντασμάτων ἔφευγεν ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, ἀργύρῳ δὲ καὶ χρυσῷ τοὺς θεοφιλεῖς Ἑβραίους ἐδωρεῖτο; [382] εἶπω τὴν εἰς Αἴγυπτον μετοικίαν τῶν πατέρων; οὐ τυραννούμενοι καὶ βασιλεῦσιν

ἀλλοφύλοις ὑποπεπτωκότες τετρακοσίοις ἔτεσι παρὸν ὅπλοις ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ χερσὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπέτρεψαν τῷ θεῷ; [383] τίς οὐκ οἶδεν τὴν παντὸς θηρίου καταπλησθεῖσαν Αἴγυπτον καὶ πάσῃ φθαρεῖσαν νόσῳ, τὴν ἄκαρπον [γῆν], τὸν ἐπιλείποντα Νεῖλον, τὰς ἐπαλλήλους δέκα πληγάς, τοὺς διὰ ταῦτα μετὰ φρουρᾶς προπεμπομένους πατέρας ἡμῶν ἀναιμάκτους ἀκινδύνους, οὓς ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ νεωκόρους ἦγεν; [384] ἀλλὰ τὴν ὑπὸ Σύρων ἁρπαγεῖσαν ἁγίαν ἡμῖν λάρνακα οὐκ ἐστέναξε μὲν ἡ Παλαιστίνη καὶ Δαγὼν τὸ ξόανον, ἐστέναξε δὲ πᾶν τὸ τῶν ἁρπασαμένων ἔθνος, [385] σηπόμενοι δὲ τὰ κρυπτὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ δι᾽ αὐτῶν τὰ σπλάγχνα μετὰ τῶν σιτίων καταφέροντες, χερσὶ ταῖς λῃσαμέναις ἀνεκόμισαν κυμβάλων καὶ τυμπάνων ἤχῳ καὶ πᾶσι μειλικτηρίοις ἱλασκόμενοι τὸ ἅγιον; [386] θεὸς ἦν ὁ ταῦτα πατράσιν ἡμετέροις στρατηγῶν, ὅτι τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὰ ὅπλα παρέντες αὐτῷ κρῖναι τὸ ἔργον ἐπέτρεψαν. [387] βασιλεὺς Ἀσσυρίων Σενναχηρεὶμ ὅτε πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπισυρόμενος τήνδε περιεστρατοπεδεύσατο τὴν πόλιν, ἆρα χερσὶν ἀνθρωπίναις ἔπεσεν; [388] οὐχ αἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων ἠρεμοῦσαι ἐν προσευχαῖς ἦσαν, ἄγγελος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ μιᾷ νυκτὶ τὴν ἄπειρον στρατιὰν ἐλυμήνατο, καὶ μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἀναστὰς ὁ Ἀσσύριος ὀκτωκαίδεκα μυριάδας ἐπὶ πεντακισχιλίοις νεκρῶν εὗρε, μετὰ δὲ τῶν καταλειπομένων ἀνόπλους καὶ μὴ διώκοντας Ἑβραίους ἔφυγεν; [389] ἴστε καὶ τὴν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι δουλείαν, ἔνθα μετανάστης ὁ λαὸς ὢν ἔτεσιν ἑβδομήκοντα οὐ πρότερον εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἀνεχαίτισεν ἢ Κῦρον τοῦτο χαρίσασθαι τῷ θεῷ: προυπέμφθησαν γοῦν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάλιν τὸν αὐτῶν σύμμαχον ἐνεωκόρουν. [390] καθόλου δ᾽ εἰπεῖν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι κατώρθωσαν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἢ δίχα τούτων διήμαρτον ἐπιτρέψαντες τῷ θεῷ: μένοντες μέν γε κατὰ χώραν ἐνίκων ὡς ἐδόκει τῷ κριτῇ, μαχόμενοι δὲ ἔπταισαν ἀεί. [391] τοῦτο μέν, ἡνίκα βασιλεὺς Βαβυλωνίων ἐπολιόρκει ταύτην τὴν πόλιν, συμβαλὼν Σεδεκίας ὁ ἡμέτερος βασιλεὺς παρὰ τὰς Ἱερεμίου προφητείας αὐτός τε ἑάλω καὶ τὸ ἄστυ μετὰ τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκαπτόμενον εἶδε: καίτοι πόσῳ μετριώτερος ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖνος τῶν ὑμετέρων ἡγεμόνων ἦν, ὁ δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ αὐτῷ λαὸς ὑμῶν. [392] βοῶντα γοῦν τὸν Ἱερεμίαν, ὡς ἀπέχθοιντο μὲν τῷ θεῷ διὰ τὰς εἰς αὐτὸν πλημμελείας, ἁλώσοιντο δ᾽ εἰ μὴ παραδοῖεν τὴν πόλιν, οὔθ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὔθ᾽ ὁ δῆμος ἀνεῖλεν. [393] ἀλλ᾽ ὑμεῖς, ἵν᾽ ἐάσω τἄνδον, οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἑρμηνεῦσαι δυναίμην τὰς παρανομίας ὑμῶν ἀξίως, ἐμὲ τὸν παρακαλοῦντα πρὸς σωτηρίαν ὑμᾶς βλασφημεῖτε καὶ βάλλετε, παροξυνόμενοι πρὸς τὰς ὑπομνήσεις τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ μηδὲ τοὺς λόγους φέροντες ὧν τἄργα δρᾶτε καθ᾽ ἡμέραν. [394] τοῦτο δ᾽, ἡνίκα Ἀντιόχου τοῦ κληθέντος Ἐπιφανοῦς προσκαθεζομένου τῇ πόλει πολλὰ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἐξυβρικότος, οἱ πρόγονοι μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων προῆλθον, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀπεσφάγησαν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, διηρπάγη δὲ τὸ ἄστυ τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἠρημώθη δ᾽ ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἓξ τὸ ἅγιον. καὶ τί δεῖ τἆλλα λέγειν; [395] ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαίους τίς ἐστρατολόγησε κατὰ τοῦ ἔθνους; οὐχ ἡ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἀσέβεια; πόθεν δ᾽ ἠρξάμεθα δουλείας; [396] ἆρ᾽

οὐχὶ ἐκ στάσεως τῶν προγόνων, ὅτε ἡ Ἀριστοβούλου καὶ Ὑρκανοῦ μανία καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔρις Πομπήιον ἐπήγαγεν τῇ πόλει καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὑπέταξεν ὁ θεὸς τοὺς οὐκ ἀξίους ἐλευθερίας; [397] τρισὶ γοῦν μησὶ πολιορκηθέντες ἑαυτοὺς παρέδοσαν, οὔθ᾽ ἁμαρτόντες εἰς τὰ ἅγια καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἡλίκα ὑμεῖς καὶ πολὺ μείζοσιν ἀφορμαῖς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον χρώμενοι. [398] τὸ δ᾽ Ἀντιγόνου τέλος τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου παιδὸς οὐκ ἴσμεν, οὗ βασιλεύοντος ὁ θεὸς ἀλώσει πάλιν τὸν λαὸν ἤλαυνε πλημμελοῦντα, καὶ Ἡρώδης μὲν ὁ Ἀντιπάτρου Σόσσιον, Σόσσιος δὲ Ῥωμαίων στρατιὰν ἤγαγεν, περισχεθέντες δ᾽ ἐπὶ μῆνας ἓξ ἐπολιορκοῦντο, μέχρι δίκας τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν δόντες ἑάλωσαν καὶ διηρπάγη τοῖς πολεμίοις ἡ πόλις; [399] οὕτως οὐδέποτε τῷ ἔθνει τὰ ὅπλα δέδοται, τῷ δὲ πολεμεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ ἁλώσεσθαι πάντως πρόσεστι. [400] δεῖ γάρ, οἶμαι, τοὺς χωρίον ἅγιον νεμομένους ἐπιτρέπειν πάντα τῷ θεῷ δικάζειν καὶ καταφρονεῖν τότε χειρὸς ἀνθρωπίνης, ὅταν αὐτοὶ πείθωσι τὸν ἄνω δικαστήν. [401] ὑμῖν δὲ τί τῶν εὐλογηθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ νομοθέτου πέπρακται; τί δὲ τῶν ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου κατηραμένων παραλέλειπται; πόσῳ δ᾽ ἐστὲ τῶν τάχιον ἁλόντων ἀσεβέστεροι; [402] οὐ τὰ κρυπτὰ μὲν τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἠδοξήκατε, κλοπὰς λέγω καὶ ἐνέδρας καὶ μοιχείας, ἁρπαγαῖς δ᾽ ἐρίζετε καὶ φόνοις καὶ ξένας καινοτομεῖτε κακίας ὁδούς, ἐκδοχεῖον δὲ πάντων τὸ ἱερὸν γέγονεν καὶ χερσὶν ἐμφυλίοις ὁ θεῖος μεμίανται χῶρος, ὃν καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι πόρρωθεν προσεκύνουν, πολλὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἐθῶν εἰς τὸν ὑμέτερον παραλύοντες νόμον. [403] εἶτ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν ἀσεβηθέντα σύμμαχον προσδοκᾶτε; πάνυ γοῦν ἐστὲ δίκαιοι ἱκέται καὶ χερσὶ καθαραῖς τὸν βοηθὸν ὑμῶν παρακαλεῖτε. [404] τοιαύταις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν ἱκέτευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσσύριον, ὅτε τὸν μέγαν ἐκεῖνον στρατὸν μιᾷ νυκτὶ κατέστρωσεν ὁ θεός; ὅμοια δὲ τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ Ῥωμαῖοι δρῶσιν, ἵνα καὶ ἄμυναν ὑμεῖς ὁμοίαν ἐλπίσητε; [405] οὐχ ὁ μὲν χρήματα παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν λαβὼν ἐφ᾽ ᾧ μὴ πορθήσει τὴν πόλιν κατέβη παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους ἐμπρῆσαι τὸν ναόν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τὸν συνήθη δασμὸν αἰτοῦσιν, ὃν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν τοῖς ἐκείνων πατράσι παρέσχον; [406] καὶ τούτου τυχόντες οὔτε πορθοῦσι τὴν πόλιν οὔτε ψαύουσι τῶν ἁγίων, διδόασι δὲ ὑμῖν τὰ ἄλλα, γενεάς τ᾽ ἐλευθέρας καὶ κτήσεις τὰς ἑαυτῶν νέμεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἱεροὺς νόμους σώζουσι. [407] μανία δὴ τὸν θεὸν προσδοκᾶν ἐπὶ δικαίοις οἷος ἐπ᾽ ἀδίκοις ἐφάνη. καὶ παραχρῆμα δὲ ἀμύνειν οἶδεν ὅταν δέῃ: τοὺς γοῦν Ἀσσυρίους κατὰ νύκτα τὴν πρώτην παραστρατοπεδευσαμένους ἔκλασεν: [408] ὥστ᾽ εἰ καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν γενεὰν ἐλευθερίας ἢ Ῥωμαίους κολάσεως ἀξίους ἔκρινε, κἂν παραχρῆμα καθάπερ τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις ἐνέσκηψεν, ὅτε τοῦ ἔθνους ἥπτετο Πομπήιος, ὅτε μετ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀνῄει Σόσσιος, ὅτε Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐπόρθει τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, τὰ τελευταῖα νῦν, ὅτε ἤγγιζε Τίτος τῇ πόλει. [409] καίτοι Μάγνος μὲν καὶ Σόσσιος πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν παθεῖν καὶ ἀνὰ κράτος ἔλαβον τὴν πόλιν, Οὐεσπασιανὸς δ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς πολέμου καὶ βασιλείας ἤρξατο: Τίτῳ μὲν γὰρ καὶ πηγαὶ πλουσιώτεραι ῥέουσιν αἱ ξηρανθεῖσαι πρότερον ὑμῖν: [410] πρὸ γοῦν τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας τήν

τε Σιλωὰν ἐπιλείπουσαν ἴστε καὶ τὰς πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος ἁπάσας, ὥστε πρὸς ἀμφορέας ὠνεῖσθαι τὸ ὕδωρ: τὸ δὲ νῦν οὕτως πληθύουσι τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑμῶν, ὡς μὴ μόνον αὐτοῖς καὶ κτήνεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κήποις διαρκεῖν. [411] τό γε μὴν τέρας τοῦτο πεπείραται καὶ πρότερον ἐφ᾽ ἁλώσει τῆς πόλεως γεγενημένον, ὅτε ὁ προειρημένος Βαβυλώνιος ἐπεστράτευσεν, ὃς τήν τε πόλιν ἑλὼν ἐνέπρησε καὶ τὸν ναόν, οὐδὲν οἶμαι τῶν τότε ἠσεβηκότων τηλικοῦτον ἡλίκα ὑμεῖς: [412] ὥστε ἐγὼ πεφευγέναι μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων οἶμαι τὸ θεῖον, ἑστάναι δὲ παρ᾽ οἷς πολεμεῖτε νῦν. [413] ἀλλ᾽ ἀνὴρ μὲν ἀγαθὸς οἰκίαν ἀσελγῆ φεύξεται καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ στυγήσει, τὸν δὲ θεὸν ἔτι πείθεσθε τοῖς οἰκείοις κακοῖς παραμένειν, ὃς τά τε κρυπτὰ πάντα ἐφορᾷ καὶ τῶν σιγωμένων ἀκούει; [414] τί δὲ σιγᾶται παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ἢ τί κρύπτεται; τί δ᾽ οὐχὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς φανερὸν γέγονε; πομπεύετε γὰρ παρανομοῦντες καὶ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐρίζετε, τίς χείρων γένηται, τῆς ἀδικίας ὥσπερ ἀρετῆς ἐπίδειξιν ποιούμενοι. [415] καταλείπεται δὲ ὅμως ἔτι σωτηρίας ὁδός, ἐὰν θέλητε, καὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐδιάλλακτον ἐξομολογουμένοις καὶ μετανοοῦσιν. [416] ὦ σιδήρειοι, ῥίψατε τὰς πανοπλίας, λάβετε ἤδη κατερειπομένης αἰδῶ πατρίδος, ἐπιστράφητε καὶ θεάσασθε τὸ κάλλος ἧς προδίδοτε, οἷον ἄστυ, οἷον ἱερόν, ὅσων ἐθνῶν δῶρα. [417] ἐπὶ ταῦτά τις ὁδηγεῖ φλόγα; ταῦτά τις μηκέτ᾽ εἶναι θέλει; καὶ τί σώζεσθαι τούτων ἀξιώτερον, ἄτεγκτοι καὶ λίθων ἀπαθέστεροι. [418] καὶ εἰ μὴ ταῦτα γνησίοις ὄμμασιν βλέπετε, γενεὰς γοῦν ὑμετέρας οἰκτείρατε, καὶ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἑκάστῳ γενέσθω τέκνα καὶ γυνὴ καὶ γονεῖς, οὓς ἀναλώσει μετὰ μικρὸν ἢ λιμὸς ἢ πόλεμος. [419] οἶδ᾽ ὅτι μοι συγκινδυνεύει μήτηρ καὶ γυνὴ καὶ γένος οὐκ ἄσημον καὶ πάλαι λαμπρὸς οἶκος, καὶ τάχα δοκῶ διὰ ταῦτα συμβουλεύειν. ἀποκτείνατε αὐτούς, λάβετε μισθὸν τῆς ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίας τὸ ἐμὸν αἷμα: κἀγὼ θνήσκειν ἕτοιμος, εἰ μετ᾽ ἐμὲ σωφρονεῖν μέλλετε.”

X

(1) [420] Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Ἰωσήπου μετὰ δακρύων ἐμβοῶντος οἱ στασιασταὶ μὲν οὔτε ἐνέδοσαν οὔτ᾽ ἀσφαλῆ τὴν μεταβολὴν ἔκριναν, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐκινήθη πρὸς αὐτομολίαν. [421] καὶ οἱ μὲν τὰς κτήσεις ἐλαχίστου πωλοῦντες, οἱ δὲ τὰ πολυτελέστερα τῶν κειμηλίων, τοὺς μὲν χρυσοῦς, ὡς μὴ φωραθεῖεν ὑπὸ τῶν λῃστῶν, κατέπινον, ἔπειτα πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διαδιδράσκοντες, ὁπότε κατενέγκαιεν εὐπόρουν πρὸς ἃ δέοιντο. [422] διηφίει γὰρ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὁ Τίτος εἰς τὴν χώραν ὅποι βούλοιτο ἕκαστος, καὶ τοῦτ᾽ αὐτὸ μᾶλλον πρὸς αὐτομολίαν παρεκάλει τῶν μὲν εἴσω κακῶν στερησομένους, μὴ δουλεύσοντας δὲ Ῥωμαίοις. [423] οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ τὸν Σίμωνα περιεφύλαττον τὰς τούτων ἐξόδους πλέον ἢ τὰς Ῥωμαίων εἰσόδους, καὶ σκιάν τις ὑπονοίας παρασχὼν μόνον εὐθέως ἀπεσφάττετο.

(2) [424] Τοῖς γε μὴν εὐπόροις καὶ τὸ μένειν πρὸς ἀπώλειαν ἴσον ἦν: προφάσει γὰρ αὐτομολίας ἀνῃρεῖτό τις διὰ τὴν οὐσίαν. τῷ λιμῷ δ' ἡ ἀπόνοια τῶν στασιαστῶν συνήκμαζε, καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀμφότερα προσεξεκαίετο τὰ δεινά. [425] φανερὸς μὲν γὰρ οὐδαμοῦ σῖτος ἦν, ἐπεισπηδῶντες δὲ διηρεύνων τὰς οἰκίας, ἔπειθ' εὑρόντες μὲν ὡς ἀρνησαμένους ᾐκίζοντο, μὴ εὑρόντες δ' ὡς ἐπιμελέστερον κρύψαντας ἐβασάνιζον. [426] τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦ τ' ἔχειν καὶ μὴ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀθλίων, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἔτι συνεστῶτες εὐπορεῖν τροφῆς ἐδόκουν, οἱ τηκόμενοι δὲ ἤδη παρωδεύοντο, καὶ κτείνειν ἄλογον ἐδόκει τοὺς ὑπ' ἐνδείας τεθνηξομένους αὐτίκα. [427] πολλοὶ δὲ λάθρα τὰς κτήσεις ἑνὸς ἀντηλλάξαντο μέτρου πυρῶν μὲν εἰ πλουσιώτεροι τυγχάνοιεν ὄντες, οἱ δὲ πενέστεροι κριθῆς, ἔπειτα κατακλείοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ μυχαίτατα τῶν οἰκιῶν τινὲς μὲν ὑπ' ἄκρας ἐνδείας ἀνέργαστον τὸν σῖτον ἤσθιον, οἱ δ' ἔπεσσον ὡς ἥ τε ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ δέος παρῄνει. [428] καὶ τράπεζα μὲν οὐδαμοῦ παρετίθετο, τοῦ δὲ πυρὸς ὑφέλκοντες ἔτ' ὠμὰ τὰ σιτία διήρπαζον.

(3) [429] Ἐλεεινὴ δὲ ἦν ἡ τροφὴ καὶ δακρύων ἄξιος ἡ θέα, τῶν μὲν δυνατωτέρων πλεονεκτούντων, τῶν δ' ἀσθενῶν ὀδυρομένων. πάντων μὲν δὴ παθῶν ὑπερίσταται λιμός, οὐδὲν δ' οὕτως ἀπόλλυσιν ὡς αἰδῶ: τὸ γὰρ ἄλλως ἐντροπῆς ἄξιον ἐν τούτῳ καταφρονεῖται. [430] γυναῖκες γοῦν ἀνδρῶν καὶ παῖδες πατέρων, καὶ τὸ οἰκτρότατον, μητέρες νηπίων ἐξήρπαζον ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν στομάτων τὰς τροφάς, καὶ τῶν φιλτάτων ἐν χερσὶ μαραινομένων οὐκ ἦν φειδὼ τοὺς τοῦ ζῆν ἀφελέσθαι σταλαγμούς. [431] τοιαῦτα δ' ἐσθίοντες ὅμως οὐ διελάνθανον, πανταχοῦ δ' ἐφίσταντο οἱ στασιασταὶ καὶ τούτων ταῖς ἁρπαγαῖς. [432] ὁπότε γὰρ κατίδοιεν ἀποκεκλεισμένην οἰκίαν, σημεῖον ἦν τοῦτο τοὺς ἔνδον προσφέρεσθαι τροφῆς: εὐθέως δ' ἐξαράξαντες τὰς θύρας εἰσεπήδων, καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐκ τῶν φαρύγγων ἀναθλίβοντες τὰς ἀκόλους ἀνέφερον. [433] ἐτύπτοντο δὲ γέροντες ἀντεχόμενοι τῶν σιτίων, καὶ κόμης ἐσπαράττοντο γυναῖκες συγκαλύπτουσαι τὰ ἐν χερσίν. οὐδέ τις ἦν οἶκτος πολιᾶς ἢ νηπίων, ἀλλὰ συνεπαίροντες τὰ παιδία τῶν ψωμῶν ἐκκρεμάμενα κατέσειον εἰς ἔδαφος. [434] τοῖς δὲ φθάσασι τὴν εἰσδρομὴν αὐτῶν καὶ προκαταπιοῦσι τὸ ἁρπαγησόμενον ὡς ἀδικηθέντες ἦσαν ὠμότεροι. [435] δεινὰς δὲ βασάνων ὁδοὺς ἐπενόουν πρὸς ἔρευναν τροφῆς, ὀρόβοις μὲν ἐμφράττοντες τοῖς ἀθλίοις τοὺς τῶν αἰδοίων πόρους, ῥάβδοις δ' ὀξείαις ἀναπείροντες τὰς ἕδρας, τὰ φρικτὰ δὲ καὶ ἀκοαῖς ἔπασχέ τις εἰς ἐξομολόγησιν ἑνὸς ἄρτου καὶ ἵνα μηνύσῃ δράκα μίαν κεκρυμμένην ἀλφίτων. [436] οἱ βασανισταὶ δ' οὐκ ἐπείνων, καὶ γὰρ ἧττον ἂν ὠμὸν ἦν τὸ μετ' ἀνάγκης, γυμνάζοντες δὲ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν καὶ προπαρασκευάζοντες αὐτοῖς εἰς τὰς ἑξῆς ἡμέρας ἐφόδια. [437] τοῖς δ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων φρουρὰν νύκτωρ ἐξερπύσασιν ἐπὶ λαχάνων συλλογὴν ἀγρίων καὶ πόας ὑπαντῶντες, ὅτ' ἤδη διαπεφευγέναι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδόκουν, ἁφήρπαζον τὰ κομισθέντα, [438] καὶ πολλάκις ἱκετευόντων καὶ τὸ φρικτὸν ἐπικαλουμένων ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ μεταδοῦναί τι μέρος αὐτοῖς ὧν κινδυνεύσαντες

ἤνεγκαν, οὐδ᾽ ὁτιοῦν μετέδοσαν: ἀγαπητὸν δ᾽ ἦν τὸ μὴ καὶ προσαπολέσθαι σεσυλημένον.

(4) [439] Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταπεινότεροι τοιαῦτα πρὸς τῶν δορυφόρων ἔπασχον, οἱ δ᾽ ἐν ἀξιώματι καὶ πλούτῳ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους ἀνήγοντο. τούτων οἱ μὲν ἐπιβουλὰς ψευδεῖς ἐπικαλούμενοι διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ ὡς προδιδοῖεν Ῥωμαίοις τὴν πόλιν, τὸ δ᾽ ἑτοιμότατον ἦν μηνυτὴς ὑπόβλητος ὡς αὐτομολεῖν διεγνωκότων. [440] ὁ δ᾽ ὑπὸ Σίμωνος γυμνωθεὶς πρὸς Ἰωάννην ἀνεπέμπετο, καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου σεσυλημένον ὁ Σίμων μετελάμβανεν: ἀντιπροέπινον δὲ ἀλλήλοις τὸ αἷμα τῶν δημοτῶν καὶ τὰ πτώματα τῶν ἀθλίων διεμερίζοντο. [441] καὶ τοῦ μὲν κρατεῖν στάσις ἦν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις, τῶν δ᾽ ἀσεβημάτων ὁμόνοια: καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὴ μεταδοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων κακῶν θατέρῳ μονοτρόπως ἐδόκει πονηρός, καὶ ὁ μὴ μεταλαβὼν ὡς ἀγαθοῦ τινος ἤλγει τὸν νοσφισμὸν τῆς ὠμότητος.

(5) [442] Καθ᾽ ἕκαστον μὲν οὖν ἐπεξιέναι τὴν παρανομίαν αὐτῶν ἀδύνατον, συνελόντα δὲ εἰπεῖν, μήτε πόλιν ἄλλην τοιαῦτα πεπονθέναι μήτε γενεὰν ἐξ αἰῶνος γεγονέναι κακίας γονιμωτέραν, [443] οἵ γε τελευταῖον καὶ τὸ γένος ἐφαύλιζον τῶν Ἑβραίων, ὡς ἧττον ἀσεβεῖς δοκοῖεν πρὸς ἀλλοτρίους, ἐξωμολογήσαντο δ᾽ ὅπερ ἦσαν εἶναι δοῦλοι καὶ σύγκλυδες καὶ νόθα τοῦ ἔθνους φθάρματα. [444] τὴν μέν γε πόλιν ἀνέτρεψαν αὐτοί, Ῥωμαίους δ᾽ ἄκοντας ἠνάγκασαν ἐπιγραφῆναι σκυθρωπῷ κατορθώματι καὶ μόνον οὐχ εἵλκυσαν ἐπὶ τὸν ναὸν βραδῦνον τὸ πῦρ. [445] ἀμέλει καιόμενον ἐκ τῆς ἄνω πόλεως ἀφορῶντες οὔτ᾽ ἤλγησαν οὔτ᾽ ἐδάκρυσαν, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα τὰ πάθη παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις εὑρέθη. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ χώραν ὕστερον μετ᾽ ἀποδείξεως τῶν πραγμάτων ἐροῦμεν.

XI

(1) [446] Τίτῳ δὲ τὰ μὲν χώματα προύκοπτεν καίτοι πολλὰ κακουμένων ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους τῶν στρατιωτῶν, πέμψας δ᾽ αὐτὸς μοῖραν τῶν ἱππέων ἐκέλευσεν τοὺς κατὰ τὰς φάραγγας ἐπὶ συγκομιδῇ τροφῆς ἐξιόντας ἐνεδρεύειν. [447] ἦσαν δέ τινες καὶ τῶν μαχίμων οὐκέτι διαρκούμενοι ταῖς ἁρπαγαῖς, τὸ δὲ πλέον ἐκ τοῦ δήμου πένητες, οὓς αὐτομολεῖν ἀπέτρεπε τὸ περὶ τῶν οἰκείων δέος: [448] οὔτε γὰρ λήσεσθαι τοὺς στασιαστὰς ἤλπιζον μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ παιδίων διαδιδράσκοντες καὶ καταλιπεῖν τοῖς λῃσταῖς ταῦτα οὐχ ὑπέμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν σφαγησόμενα: [449] τολμηροὺς δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἐξόδους ὁ λιμὸς ἐποίει, καὶ κατελείπετο λανθάνοντας τοὺς πολεμίους ἁΛίσκεσθαι. λαμβανόμενοι δὲ κατ᾽ ἀνάγκην ἠμύνοντο, καὶ μετὰ μάχην ἱκετεύειν ἄωρον ἐδόκει. μαστιγούμενοι δὴ καὶ προβασανιζόμενοι τοῦ θανάτου πᾶσαν αἰκίαν ἀνεσταυροῦντο τοῦ τείχους ἀντικρύ. [450] Τίτῳ μὲν οὖν οἰκτρὸν τὸ πάθος κατεφαίνετο πεντακοσίων ἑκάστης ἡμέρας ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ πλειόνων ἁλισκομένων, οὔτε δὲ τοὺς βίᾳ ληφθέντας ἀφεῖναι ἀσφαλὲς καὶ φυλάττειν τοσούτους φρουρὰν τῶν φυλαξόντων ἐώρα: τό γε μὴν πλέον οὐκ

ἐκώλυεν τάχ᾽ ἂν ἐνδοῦναι πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἐλπίσας αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ παραδοῖεν, ὅμοια πεισομένους. [451] προσήλουν δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται δι᾽ ὀργὴν καὶ μῖσος τοὺς ἁλόντας ἄλλον ἄλλῳ σχήματι πρὸς χλεύην, καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος χώρα τε ἐνέλειπε τοῖς σταυροῖς καὶ σταυροὶ τοῖς σώμασιν.

(2) [452] Οἱ στασιασταὶ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀπεδέησαν τοῦ μεταβαλέσθαι πρὸς τὸ πάθος, ὥστε καὶ τοὐναντίον αὐτοὶ σοφίσασθαι πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος. [453] σύροντες γὰρ τοὺς τῶν αὐτομόλων οἰκείους ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τῶν δημοτῶν τοὺς ἐπὶ πίστιν ὡρμημένους, οἷα πάσχουσιν οἱ Ῥωμαίοις προσφεύγοντες ἐπεδείκνυσαν καὶ τοὺς κεκρατημένους ἱκέτας ἔλεγον, οὐκ αἰχμαλώτους. [454] τοῦτο πολλοὺς τῶν αὐτομολεῖν ὡρμημένων μέχρι τἀληθὲς ἐγνώσθη κατέσχεν: εἰσὶ δ᾽ οἳ καὶ παραχρῆμα διέδρασαν ὡς ἐπὶ βέβαιον τιμωρίαν, ἀνάπαυσιν ἡγούμενοι τὸν ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων θάνατον ἐν λιμοῦ συγκρίσει. [455] πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ χειροκοπῆσαι κελεύσας Τίτος τῶν ἁλωκότων, ὡς μὴ δοκοῖεν αὐτόμολοι καὶ πιστεύοιντο διὰ τὴν συμφοράν, εἰσέπεμψε πρὸς τὸν Σίμωνα καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην, [456] νῦν γε ἤδη παύσασθαι παραινῶν καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν τῆς πόλεως αὐτὸν βιάζεσθαι, κερδῆσαι δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς ἐν ὑστάτοις μεταμελείας τάς τε αὐτῶν ψυχὰς καὶ τηλικαύτην πατρίδα καὶ ναὸν ἀκοινώνητον ἄλλοις. [457] περιιὼν δὲ τὰ χώματα τοὺς ἐργαζομένους ἅμα κατήπειγεν ὡς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀκολουθήσων ἔργοις τῷ λόγῳ. [458] πρὸς ταῦτα αὐτόν τε ἐβλασφήμουν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῦ μὲν θανάτου καταφρονεῖν ἐβόων, ᾑρῆσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸν πρὸ δουλείας καλῶς, ἐργάσεσθαι δὲ ὅσα ἂν δύνωνται κακὰ Ῥωμαίους ἕως ἐμπνέωσι, πατρίδος δὲ οὐ μέλειν τῆς ὡς αὐτός φησιν ἀπολουμένης, καὶ ναοῦ [ἀπολομένου] ἀμείνω τούτου τῷ θεῷ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι. [459] σωθήσεσθαί γε μὴν καὶ τοῦτον ὑπὸ τοῦ κατοικοῦντος, ὃν καὶ αὐτοὶ σύμμαχον ἔχοντες πᾶσαν χλευάσειν ἀπειλὴν ὑστεροῦσαν ἔργων: τὸ γὰρ τέλος εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ. τοιαῦτα ταῖς λοιδορίαις ἀναμίσγοντες ἐκεκράγεσαν.

(3) [460] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Ἐπιφανὴς Ἀντίοχος παρῆν ἄλλους τε ὁπλίτας συχνοὺς ἔχων καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν στῖφος Μακεδόνων καλούμενον, ἥλικας πάντας, ὑψηλούς, ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ ἀντίπαιδας, τὸν Μακεδονικὸν τρόπον ὡπλισμένους τε καὶ πεπαιδευμένους, ὅθεν καὶ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν εἶχον ὑστεροῦντες οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦ γένους. [461] εὐδαιμονῆσαι γὰρ δὴ μάλιστα τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις βασιλέων τὸν Κομμαγηνὸν συνέβη πρὶν γεύσασθαι μεταβολῆς: ἀπέφηνε δὲ κἀκεῖνος ἐπὶ γήρως, ὡς οὐδένα χρὴ λέγειν πρὸ θανάτου μακάριον. [462] ἀλλ᾽ ὅ γε παῖς ἀκμάζοντος αὐτοῦ τηνικαῦτα παρὼν θαυμάζειν ἔφασκε, τί δήποτε Ῥωμαῖοι κατοκνοῖεν προσιέναι τῷ τείχει: πολεμιστὴς δέ τις αὐτὸς ἦν καὶ φύσει παράβολος κατά τε ἀλκὴν τοσοῦτος, ὡς ὀλίγῳ τὰ τῆς τόλμης διαμαρτάνειν. [463] μειδιάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Τίτου καὶ “κοινὸς ὁ πόνος” εἰπόντος, ὡς εἶχεν ὥρμησεν ὁ Ἀντίοχος μετὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος. [464] αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν διά τε ἰσχὺν καὶ κατ᾽ ἐμπειρίαν ἐφυλάττετο τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βέλη τοξεύων εἰς αὐτούς, τὰ

μειράκια δὲ αὐτῷ συνετρίβη πάντα πλὴν ὀλίγων: διὰ γὰρ αἰδῶ τῆς ὑποσχέσεως προσεφιλονείκει μαχόμενα: [465] καὶ τέλος ἀνεχώρουν τραυματίαι πολλοί, συννοοῦντες ὅτι καὶ τοῖς ἀληθῶς Μακεδόσιν, εἰ μέλλοιεν κρατεῖν, δεῖ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχης.

(4) [466] Τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἀρξαμένοις δωδεκάτῃ μηνὸς Ἀρτεμισίου συνετελέσθη τὰ χώματα μόλις ἐνάτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι ταῖς δεχεπτὰ συνεχῶς πονουμένων ἡμέραις: [467] μέγιστα γὰρ ἐχώσθη τὰ τέσσαρα, καὶ θάτερον μὲν τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πέμπτου τάγματος ἐβλήθη κατὰ μέσον τῆς Στρουθίου καλουμένης κολυμβήθρας, τὸ δ᾽ ἕτερον ὑπὸ τοῦ δωδεκάτου διεστῶτος ὅσον εἰς πήχεις εἴκοσι. [468] τῷ δεκάτῳ δὲ τάγματι διέχοντι πολὺ τούτων κατὰ τὸ βόρειον κλίμα τὸ ἔργον ἦν καὶ κολυμβήθραν Ἀμύγδαλον προσαγορευομένην: τούτου δὲ τὸ πεντεκαιδέκατον ἀπὸ τριάκοντα πηχῶν ἔχου κατὰ τὸ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως μνημεῖον. [469] προσαγομένων δὲ ἤδη αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν Ἰωάννης ἔνδοθεν ὑπορύξας τὸ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν μέχρι τῶν χωμάτων καὶ διαλαβὼν σταυροῖς τοὺς ὑπονόμους ἀνακρήμνησιν τὰ ἔργα, πίσσῃ δὲ καὶ ἀσφάλτῳ διακεχρισμένην τὴν ὕλην εἰσκομίσας ἐνίησι πῦρ. [470] καὶ τῶν σταυρῶν ὑποκαέντων ἥ τε διώρυξ ἐνέδωκεν ἀθρόα, καὶ μετὰ μεγίστου ψόφου κατεσείσθη τὰ χώματα εἰς αὐτήν. [471] τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον μετὰ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ καπνὸς ἠγείρετο βαθὺς πνιγομένου τῷ πταίσματι τοῦ πυρός, τῆς δὲ θλιβούσης ὕλης διαβιβρωσκομένης ἤδη φανερὰ φλὸξ ἐρρήγνυτο. [472] καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἔκπληξις μὲν πρὸς τὸ αἰφνίδιον, ἀθυμία δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐπίνοιαν ἐμπίπτει, καὶ κρατήσειν οἰομένοις ἤδη τὸ συμβὰν καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἔψυξε τὴν ἐλπίδα: τὸ δὲ ἀμύνειν ἀχρεῖον ἐδόκει πρὸς τὸ πῦρ, καὶ εἰ σβεσθείη τῶν χωμάτων καταποθέντων.

(5) [473] Μετὰ δ᾽ ἡμέρας δύο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτίθενται χώμασιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Σίμωνα: καὶ γὰρ δὴ προσαγαγόντες ταύτῃ τὰς ἑλεπόλεις οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διέσειον τὸ τεῖχος. [474] Τεφθέος δέ τις ἀπὸ Γάρις πόλεως τῆς Γαλιλαίας, καὶ Μαγάσσαρος τῶν βασιλικῶν Μαριάμμης θεράπων, μεθ᾽ ὧν Ἀδιαβηνός τις υἱὸς Ναβαταίου, τοὔνομα κληθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης καὶ ἀγίρας, ὅπερ σημαίνει χωλός, ἁρπάσαντες λαμπάδας προεπήδησαν ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανάς. [475] τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὔτε τολμηρότεροι κατὰ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐφάνησαν οὔτε φοβερώτεροι: [476] καθάπερ γὰρ εἰς φίλους ἐκτρέχοντες οὐ πολεμίων στῖφος οὔτ᾽ ἐμέλλησαν οὔτ᾽ ἀπέστησαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ μέσων ἐνθορόντες τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑφῆψαν τὰς μηχανάς. [477] βαλλόμενοι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἀνωθούμενοι πάντοθεν οὐ πρότερον ἐκ τοῦ κινδύνου μετεκινήθησαν ἢ δράξασθαι τῶν ὀργάνων τὸ πῦρ. [478] αἰρομένης δὲ ἤδη τῆς φλογὸς Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν στρατοπέδων συνθέοντες ἐβοήθουν, Ἰουδαῖοι δ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ἐκώλυον καὶ τοῖς σβεννύειν πειρωμένοις συνεπλέκοντο κατὰ μηδὲν τῶν ἰδίων φειδόμενοι σωμάτων. [479] καὶ οἱ μὲν εἶλκον ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς τὰς ἑλεπόλεις τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτὰς γέρρων φλεγομένων, οἱ δ᾽ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ διὰ τῆς φλογὸς ἀντελαμβάνοντο καὶ τοῦ σιδήρου ζέοντος δρασσόμενοι τοὺς

κριοὺς οὐ μεθίεσαν: διέβαινε δ᾽ ἀπὸ τούτων ἐπὶ τὰ χώματα τὸ πῦρ καὶ τοὺς ἀμύνοντας προελάμβανεν. [480] ἐν τούτῳ δ᾽ οἱ μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι κυκλούμενοι τῇ φλογὶ καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν τῶν ἔργων ἀπογνόντες ἀνεχώρουν ἐπὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα, [481] Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ προσέκειντο πλείους ἀεὶ γινόμενοι τῶν ἔνδοθεν προσβοηθούντων καὶ τῷ κρατεῖν τεθαρρηκότες ἀταμιεύτοις ἐχρῶντο ταῖς ὀργαῖς, προελθόντες δὲ μέχρι τῶν ἐρυμάτων ἤδη συνεπλέκοντο τοῖς φρουροῖς. [482] τάξις ἐστὶν ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἱσταμένη πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ δεινὸς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ Ῥωμαίων νόμος τὸν ὑποχωρήσαντα καθ᾽ ἣν δήποτ᾽ οὖν αἰτίαν θνήσκειν. [483] οὗτοι τοῦ μετὰ κολάσεως τὸν μετ᾽ ἀρετῆς θάνατον προκρίναντες ἵστανται, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τούτων ἀνάγκην πολλοὶ τῶν τραπέντων ἐπεστράφησαν αἰδούμενοι. [484] διαθέντες δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὀξυβελεῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους εἶργον τὸ προσγινόμενον πλῆθος ἐκ τῆς πόλεως οὐδὲν εἰς ἀσφάλειαν ἢ φυλακὴν τῶν σωμάτων προνοουμένους: συνεπλέκοντο γὰρ Ἰουδαῖοι τοῖς προστυχοῦσι καὶ ταῖς αἰχμαῖς ἀφυλάκτως ἐμπίπτοντες αὐτοῖς τοῖς σώμασι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἔπαιον. [485] οὔτε δὲ ἔργοις αὐτοὶ πλέον ἢ τῷ θαρρεῖν περιῆσαν καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ τόλμῃ πλέον εἶκον ἢ τῷ κακοῦσθαι.

(6) [486] Παρῆν δ᾽ ἤδη Τίτος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντωνίας, ὅπου κεχώριστο κατασκεπτόμενος τόπον ἄλλοις χώμασι, καὶ πολλὰ τοὺς στρατιώτας φαυλίσας, εἰ κρατοῦντες τῶν πολεμίων τειχῶν κινδυνεύουσι τοῖς ἰδίοις καὶ πολιορκουμένων ὑπομένουσιν αὐτοὶ τύχην ὥσπερ ἐκ δεσμωτηρίου καθ᾽ αὑτῶν Ἰουδαίους ἀνέντες, περιῄει μετὰ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων κατὰ πλευρὰ τοὺς πολεμίους αὐτός. [487] οἱ δὲ κατὰ στόμα παιόμενοι καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον ἐπιστραφέντες ἐκαρτέρουν. μιγείσης δὲ τῆς παρατάξεως ὁ μὲν κονιορτὸς τῶν ὀμμάτων, ἡ κραυγὴ δὲ τῶν ἀκοῶν ἐπεκράτει, καὶ οὐδετέρῳ παρῆν ἔτι τεκμήρασθαι τὸ ἐχθρὸν ἢ τὸ φίλιον. [488] Ἰουδαίων δὲ οὐ τοσοῦτον ἔτι κατ᾽ ἀλκὴν ὅσον ἀπογνώσει σωτηρίας παραμενόντων καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐτόνωσεν αἰδὼς δόξης τε καὶ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ προκινδυνεύοντος Καίσαρος: [489] ὥστε μοι δοκοῦσι τὰ τελευταῖα δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν θυμῶν κἂν ἁρπάσαι τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πλῆθος, εἰ μὴ τὴν ῥοπὴν τῆς παρατάξεως φθάσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. [490] διεφθαρμένων δὲ τῶν χωμάτων Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἦσαν ἐν ἀθυμίαις τὸν μακρὸν κάματον ἐπὶ μιᾶς ὥρας ἀπολέσαντες: καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ταῖς συνήθεσι μηχαναῖς ἀπήλπιζον ἁλώσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν.

XII

(1) [491] Τίτος δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐβουλεύετο, καὶ τοῖς μὲν θερμοτέροις πᾶσαν ἐδόκει προσφέρειν τὴν δύναμιν ἀποπειρᾶσθαί τε τοῦ τείχους βίᾳ: [492] μέχρι μὲν γὰρ νῦν κατὰ σπάσμα Ἰουδαίοις συμπεπλέχθαι, προσιόντων δ᾽ ἀθρόων οὐδὲ τὴν ἔφοδον οἴσειν: [493] καταχωσθήσεσθαι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν βελῶν. τῶν δ᾽

ἀσφαλεστέρων οἱ μὲν καὶ τὰ χώματα ποιεῖν πάλιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ δίχα τούτων προσκαθέζεσθαι μόνον παραφυλάττοντας τάς τε ἐξόδους αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς εἰσκομιδὰς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων παρῄνουν καὶ τῷ λιμῷ καταλείπειν τὴν πόλιν, μηδὲ συμπλέκεσθαι κατὰ χεῖρα τοῖς πολεμίοις: [494] ἄμαχον γὰρ εἶναι τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν οἷς εὐχὴ μὲν τὸ σιδήρῳ πεσεῖν, ἀπόκειται δὲ καὶ δίχα τούτου πάθος χαλεπώτερον. [495] αὐτῷ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀργεῖν καθόλου μετὰ τοσαύτης δυνάμεως οὐκ ἐδόκει πρέπειν καὶ τὸ μάχεσθαι περιττὸν πρὸς ἀλλήλων φθαρησομένοις, [496] βάλλεσθαι δὲ χώματα δύσεργον ἀπέφαινεν ὕλης ἀπορίᾳ καὶ τὸ παραφυλάττειν τὰς ἐξόδους δυσεργότερον: κυκλώσασθαί τε γὰρ τῇ στρατιᾷ τὴν πόλιν διὰ μέγεθος καὶ δυσχωρίαν οὐκ εὐμαρὲς εἶναι καὶ σφαλερὸν ἄλλως πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθέσεις. [497] τῶν δὲ φανερῶν φυλαττομένων ἀφανεῖς ἐπινοεῖσθαι Ἰουδαίοις ὁδοὺς κατά τε ἀνάγκην καὶ δι᾽ ἐμπειρίαν: εἰ δέ τι λάθρα παρεισκομισθήσοιτο, τριβὴν ἔσεσθαι πλείονα τῇ πολιορκίᾳ. [498] δεδιέναι τε μὴ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ κατορθώματος αὐτῷ τὸ μῆκος ἐλαττώσῃ τοῦ χρόνου: τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ εἶναι πᾶν ἀνύσιμον, πρὸς δὲ τῆς εὐκλείας τὸ τάχος. [499] δεῖν γε μήν, εἰ καὶ τῷ τάχει μετ᾽ ἀσφαλείας βούλοιτο χρήσασθαι, περιτειχίζειν ὅλην τὴν πόλιν: μόνως γὰρ οὕτως ἂν πάσας ἀποφράξαι τὰς ἐξόδους, καὶ Ἰουδαίους ἢ πρὸς ἅπαντα ἀπογνόντας τὴν σωτηρίαν παραδώσειν τὴν πόλιν ἢ λιμώττοντας χειρωθήσεσθαι ῥᾳδίως: [500] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἠρεμήσειν αὐτὸς ἄλλως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν χωμάτων ἐπιμελήσεσθαι πάλιν χρώμενος τοῖς κωλύουσιν ἀτονωτέροις. [501] εἰ δέ τῳ μέγα δοκεῖ καὶ δυσήνυτον τὸ ἔργον, χρῆναι σκοπεῖν, ὡς οὔτε Ῥωμαίοις τι μικρὸν ἐνεργεῖν πρέπει, καὶ δίχα πόνου κατορθοῦν τι τῶν μεγάλων οὐδενὶ ῥᾴδιον.

(2) [502] Τούτοις πείσας τοὺς ἡγεμόνας διανέμειν ἐκέλευσε τὰς δυνάμεις ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον. ὁρμὴ δέ τις ἐμπίπτει δαιμόνιος τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ μερισαμένων τὸν περίβολον οὐ μόνον τῶν ταγμάτων ἦν ἔρις, [503] ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τάξεων πρὸς ἀλλήλας, καὶ στρατιώτης μὲν δεκαδάρχην, δεκαδάρχης δ᾽ ἑκατοντάρχην, οὗτος δ᾽ ἐσπούδαζεν ἀρέσασθαι χιλίαρχον, τῶν δὲ χιλιάρχων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἔτεινεν ἡ φιλοτιμία καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τὴν ἄμιλλαν ἐβράβευε Καῖσαρ: περιιὼν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἑκάστης ἡμέρας πολλάκις ἐπεσκόπει τὸ ἔργον. [504] ἀρξάμενος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσσυρίων παρεμβολῆς, καθ᾽ ἣν αὐτὸς ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο, ἐπὶ τὴν κατωτέρω Καινόπολιν ἦγε τὸ τεῖχος, ἔνθεν διὰ τοῦ Κεδρῶνος ἐπὶ τὸ Ἐλαιῶν ὄρος: [505] εἶτ᾽ ἀνακάμπτων κατὰ μεσημβρίαν περιλαμβάνει τὸ ὄρος ἄχρι τῆς Περιστερεῶνος καλουμένης πέτρας τόν τε ἐξῆς λόφον, ὃς ἐπίκειται τῇ κατὰ τὴν Σιλωὰμ φάραγγι, κἀκεῖθεν ἐκκλίνας πρὸς δύσιν εἰς τὴν τῆς πηγῆς κατῄει φάραγγα. [506] μεθ᾽ ἣν ἀναβαίνων κατὰ τὸ Ἀνάνου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως μνημεῖον καὶ διαλαβὼν τὸ ὄρος, ἔνθα Πομπήιος ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο, πρὸς κλίμα βόρειον ἐπέστρεφε, [507] καὶ προελθὼν μέχρι κώμης τινός, Ἐρεβίνθων οἶκος καλεῖται, καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκείνην τὸ Ἡρώδου μνημεῖον περισχὼν κατὰ ἀνατολὴν τῷ ἰδίῳ στρατοπέδῳ συνῆπτεν, ὅθεν ἤρξατο. [508] τὸ μὲν οὖν τεῖχος ἑνὸς δέοντος τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων ἦν,

ἔξωθεν δ᾽ αὐτῷ προσῳκοδομήθη τρισκαίδεκα φρούρια, καὶ τούτων οἱ κύκλοι δέκα συνηριθμοῦντο σταδίων. [509] τρισὶ δ᾽ ᾠκοδομήθη τὸ πᾶν ἡμέραις, ὡς τὸ μὲν ἔργον μηνῶν [εἶναι] ἄξιον, τὸ τάχος δ᾽ ἡττᾶσθαι πίστεως. [510] περικλείσας δὲ τῷ τείχει τὴν πόλιν καὶ δύναμιν τοῖς φρουρίοις ἐγκαταστήσας τὴν μὲν πρώτην φυλακὴν τῆς νυκτὸς περιιὼν αὐτὸς ἐπεσκέπτετο, τὴν δευτέραν δ᾽ ἐπέτρεψεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, τὴν τρίτην δ᾽ ἔλαχον οἱ τῶν ταγμάτων ἡγεμόνες. [511] διεκληροῦντο δ᾽ οἱ φύλακες τοὺς ὕπνους, καὶ δι᾽ ὅλης νυκτὸς περιῄεσαν κατὰ διαστήματα τῶν φρουρίων.

(3) [512] Ἰουδαίοις δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐξόδων ἀπεκόπη πᾶσα σωτηρίας ἐλπίς, καὶ βαθύνας αὐτὸν ὁ λιμὸς κατ᾽ οἴκους καὶ γενεὰς τὸν δῆμον ἐπεβόσκετο. [513] καὶ τὰ μὲν τέγη πεπλήρωτο γυναικῶν καὶ βρεφῶν λελυμένων, οἱ στενωποὶ δὲ γερόντων νεκρῶν, παῖδες δὲ καὶ νεανίαι διοιδοῦντες ὥσπερ εἴδωλα κατὰ τὰς ἀγορὰς ἀνειλοῦντο καὶ κατέπιπτον ὅπῃ τινὰ τὸ πάθος καταλαμβάνοι. [514] θάπτειν δὲ τοὺς προσήκοντας οὔτε ἴσχυον οἱ κάμνοντες καὶ τὸ διευτονοῦν ὤκνει διά τε πλῆθος τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ διὰ τὸ κατὰ σφᾶς ἄδηλον: πολλοὶ γοῦν τοῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν θαπτομένοις ἐπαπέθνησκον, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς θήκας πρὶν ἐπιστῆναι τὸ χρεὼν προῆλθον. [515] οὔτε δὲ θρῆνος ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς οὔτ᾽ ὀλοφυρμὸς ἦν, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ λιμὸς ἤλεγχε τὰ πάθη, ξηροῖς δὲ τοῖς ὄμμασι καὶ σεσηρόσι τοῖς στόμασιν οἱ δυσθανατοῦντες ἐφεώρων τοὺς φθάσαντας ἀναπαύσασθαι, βαθεῖα δὲ περιεῖχεν τὴν πόλιν σιγὴ καὶ νὺξ θανάτου γέμουσα καὶ τούτων οἱ λῃσταὶ χαλεπώτεροι. [516] τυμβωρυχοῦντες γοῦν τὰς οἰκίας ἐσύλων τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ τὰ καλύμματα τῶν σωμάτων περισπῶντες μετὰ γέλωτος ἐξῄεσαν, τάς τε ἀκμὰς τῶν ξιφῶν ἐδοκίμαζον ἐν τοῖς πτώμασιν, καί τινας τῶν ἐρριμμένων ἔτι ζῶντας διήλαυνον ἐπὶ πεῖρᾳ τοῦ σιδήρου: [517] τοὺς δ᾽ ἱκετεύοντας χρῆσαι σφίσι δεξιὰν καὶ ξίφος τῷ λιμῷ κατέλειπον ὑπερηφανοῦντες, καὶ τῶν ἐκπνεόντων ἕκαστος ἀτενίσας εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀφεώρα τοὺς στασιαστὰς ζῶντας ἀπολιπών. [518] οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου θησαυροῦ τοὺς νεκροὺς θάπτειν ἐκέλευον τὴν ὀσμὴν οὐ φέροντες, ἔπειθ᾽ ὡς οὐ διήρκουν ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἔρριπτον εἰς τὰς φάραγγας.

(4) [519] Περιιὼν δὲ ταύτας ὁ Τίτος ὡς ἐθεάσατο πεπλησμένας τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ βαθὺν ἰχῶρα μυδώντων ὑπορρέοντα τῶν σωμάτων, ἐστέναξέ τε καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας κατεμαρτύρατο τὸν θεόν, ὡς οὐκ εἴη τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ. [520] τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν εἶχεν οὕτως, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ μηδενὸς ἔτι τῶν στασιαστῶν ἐκτρέχοντος, ἤδη γὰρ καὶ τούτων ἀθυμία καὶ λιμὸς ἐφήπτετο, ἐπ᾽ εὐθυμίαις ἦσαν σίτου τε ἀφθονίαν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων ἐκ τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῶν πλησίον ἐπαρχιῶν ἔχοντες: [521] ἱστάμενοι δὲ πολλοὶ τοῦ τείχους πλησίον καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος τῶν: ἐδωδίμων ἐπιδεικνύμενοι τῷ κατὰ σφᾶς κόρῳ τὸν λιμὸν τῶν πολεμίων ἐξέκαιον. [522] πρὸς δὲ τὸ πάθος τῶν στασιαστῶν μηδὲν ἐνδιδόντων Τίτος οἰκτείρων τὰ λείψανα τοῦ δήμου καὶ σπουδάζων τὸ γοῦν περιὸν ἐξαρπάσαι, πάλιν ἤρχετο χωμάτων χαλεπῶς αὐτῷ τῆς ὕλης ποριζομένης: [523] ἡ

μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὴν πόλιν πᾶσα τοῖς προτέροις ἔργοις ἐκέκοπτο, συνεφόρουν δὲ ἄλλην ἀπ᾽ ἐνενήκοντα σταδίων οἱ στρατιῶται. καὶ πρὸς μόνης ὕψουν τῆς Ἀντωνίας κατὰ μέρη τέσσαρα πολὺ μείζονα τῶν προτέρων χώματα. [524] περιιὼν δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὰ τάγματα καὶ κατεπείγων τὸ ἔργον ἐπεδείκνυ τοῖς λῃσταῖς, ὡς ἐν χερσὶν εἴησαν αὐτοῦ. [525] μόνοις δὲ ἐκείνοις ἄρα κακῶν ἀπολώλει μεταμέλεια, καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς χωρίσαντες ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων ἀμφοτέροις ὡς ἀλλοτρίοις ἐχρῶντο. [526] οὔτε γὰρ πάθος αὐτῶν ἡμέρου τὴν ψυχὴν οὔτ᾽ ἀλγηδὼν ἥπτετο τοῦ σώματος, οἵ γε καὶ νεκρὸν τὸν δῆμον ὥσπερ κύνες ἐσπάραττον καὶ τὰ δεσμωτήρια τῶν ἀρρώστων ἐνεπίμπλασαν.

XIII

(1) [527] Σίμων γοῦν οὐδὲ Ματθίαν, δι᾽ ὃν κατέσχε τὴν πόλιν, ἀβασάνιστον ἀνεῖλε: Βοηθοῦ παῖς ἦν οὗτος ἐκ τῶν ἀρχιερέων ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τῷ δήμῳ πιστὸς καὶ τίμιος: [528] ὃς ὑπὸ τοῖς ζηλωταῖς κακουμένου τοῦ πλήθους, οἷς ἤδη καὶ Ἰωάννης προσῆν, πείθει τὸν δῆμον εἰσαφεῖναι τὸν Σίμωνα βοηθόν, οὐδὲν οὔτε προσυνθέμενος οὔτε προσδοκήσας φαῦλον ἐξ αὐτοῦ. [529] παρελθὼν δ᾽ ἐκεῖνος ὡς ἐκράτησε τῆς πόλεως, ἐχθρὸν ἐν ἴσῳ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγεῖτο καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ σύμβουλον ὡς ἂν ἐξ ἁπλότητος γεγενημένον. [530] ἀχθέντα δὲ τηνικαῦτα καὶ κατηγορούμενον τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων φρονεῖν κατακρίνει μὲν θανάτῳ μηδ᾽ ἀπολογίας ἀξιώσας σὺν τρισὶν υἱοῖς: ὁ γὰρ τέταρτος ἔφθη διαδρὰς πρὸς Τίτον: ἱκετεύοντα δὲ ἀναιρεθῆναι πρὸ τῶν τέκνων καὶ ταύτην αἰτούμενον τὴν χάριν ἀνθ᾽ ὧν ἀνοίξειεν αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν, τελευταῖον ἀνελεῖν ἐκέλευσεν. [531] ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐν ὄψει φονευθεῖσιν ἐπεσφάγη τοῖς παισὶν ἄντικρυς Ῥωμαίων προαχθείς: οὕτω γὰρ ὁ Σίμων Ἀνάνῳ τῷ Βαγαδάτου προσέταξεν, ὃς ἦν ὠμότατος αὐτῷ τῶν δορυφόρων, ἐπειρωνευόμενος, εἴ τι βοηθήσουσιν αὐτῷ πρὸς οὓς ἐξελθεῖν εἵλετο: θάπτειν τ᾽ ἀπεῖπε τὰ σώματα. [532] μετὰ τούτους ἱερεύς τις Ἀνανίας υἱὸς Μασβάλου τῶν ἐπισήμων καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς Ἀριστεύς, γένος ἐξ Ἀμμαοῦς, καὶ σὺν τούτοις πεντεκαίδεκα τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου λαμπρῶν ἀναιροῦνται. [533] τὸν δὲ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου πατέρα συγκλείσαντες ἐφύλαττον, κηρύττουσι δὲ μηδένα τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν μήτε συνομιλεῖν μήτε ἐπὶ ταὐτὸ συναθροίζεσθαι δέει προδοσίας, καὶ τοὺς συνολοφυρομένους πρὸ ἐξετάσεως ἀνῄρουν.

(2) [534] Ταῦτα ὁρῶν Ἰούδης τις υἱὸς Ἰούδου, τῶν ὑπάρχων τοῦ Σίμωνος εἷς ὢν καὶ πεπιστευμένος ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πύργον φυλάττειν, τάχα μέν τι καὶ οἰκτῳ τῶν ὠμῶς ἀπολλυμένων, τὸ δὲ πλέον αὐτοῦ προνοίᾳ, [535] συγκαλέσας τοὺς πιστοτάτους τῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν δέκα, "μέχρι τίνος ἀνθέξομεν, ἔφη, τοῖς κακοῖς; ἢ τίνα σωτηρίας ἔχομεν ἐλπίδα πιστοὶ πονηρῷ μένοντες; [536] οὐχ ὁ μὲν λιμὸς ἤδη καθ᾽ ἡμῶν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ παρὰ μικρὸν ἔνδον, Σίμων δὲ καὶ πρὸς εὐεργέτας ἄπιστος, καὶ δέος

μὲν ἤδη παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ κολάσεως, ἡ δὲ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις δεξιὰ βέβαιος; [537] φέρε, παραδόντες τὸ τεῖχος σώσωμεν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν. πείσεται δὲ οὐδὲν δεινὸν Σίμων, ἐὰν ἀπεγνωκὼς ἑαυτὸν τάχιον δῷ [538] δίκην.” τούτοις τῶν δέκα πεισθέντων ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω τοὺς λοιποὺς τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ἄλλον ἀλλαχόσε διέπεμπεν, ὡς μὴ φωραθείη τι τῶν βεβουλευμένων, αὐτὸς δὲ περὶ τρίτην ὥραν ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐκάλει. [539] τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν ὑπερηφάνουν, οἱ δὲ ἠπίστουν, οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ ὤκνουν ὡς μετὰ μικρὸν ἀκινδύνως ληψόμενοι τὴν πόλιν. [540] ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ Τίτος μεθ᾽ ὁπλιτῶν παρῄει πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος, ἔφθη γνοὺς ὁ Σίμων, καὶ μετὰ τάχους τόν τε πύργον προκαταλαμβάνει καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας συλλαβὼν ἐν ὄψει τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀναιρεῖ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τείχους λωβησάμενος ἔρριψε τὰ σώματα.

(3) [541] Κἀν τούτῳ περιιὼν Ἰώσηπος, οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει παρακαλῶν, βάλλεται τὴν κεφαλὴν λίθῳ καὶ παραχρῆμα πίπτει καρωθείς. ἐκδρομὴ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ πτῶμα τῶν Ἰουδαίων γίνεται, κἂν ἔφθη συρεὶς εἰς τὴν πόλιν, εἰ μὴ ταχέως Καῖσαρ ἔπεμψε τοὺς ὑπερασπίζοντας. [542] μαχομένων δὲ τούτων ὁ Ἰώσηπος μὲν αἴρεται βραχύ τι τῶν πραττομένων ἐπαίων, οἱ στασιασταὶ δ᾽ ὡς ἀνελόντες ὃν ἐπεθύμουν μάλιστα μετὰ χαρᾶς ἀνεβόων. [543] διαγγέλλεταί τε εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὸ καταλειπόμενον πλῆθος ἐπέσχεν ἀθυμία πεπεισμένους οἴχεσθαι τῷ ὄντι δι᾽ ὃν αὐτομολεῖν ἐθάρρουν. [544] ἀκούσασα δὲ ἡ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου μήτηρ ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τεθνάναι τὸν υἱόν, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς φύλακας ἀπὸ Ἰωταπάτων τοῦτο ἔφη πεπεῖσθαι: καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ζῶντος ἀπολαύειν: [545] ἰδίᾳ δὲ ὀλοφυρομένη πρὸς τὰς θεραπαινίδας τοῦτον εἰληφέναι τῆς εὐτεκνίας ἔλεγε καρπὸν τὸ μηδὲ θάψαι τὸν υἱόν, ὑφ᾽ οὗ ταφήσεσθαι προσεδόκησεν. [546] ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔτε ταύτην ἐπὶ πλέον ὠδύνα τὸ ψεῦδος οὔτε τοὺς λῃστὰς ἔθαλπε: ταχέως γὰρ ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς ἀνήνεγκεν ὁ Ἰώσηπος, καὶ προελθὼν τοὺς μὲν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐβόα δίκας αὐτῷ δώσειν τοῦ τραύματος, τὸν δὲ δῆμον ἐπὶ πίστιν πάλιν προυκαλεῖτο. [547] θάρσος δὲ τῷ λαῷ καὶ τοῖς στασιασταῖς ἔκπληξις ἐμπίπτει πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ.

(4) [548] Τῶν δ᾽ αὐτομόλων οἱ μὲν ὑπ᾽ ἀνάγκης ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐπήδων ταχέως, οἱ δὲ προιόντες ὡς ἐπὶ μάχῃ μετὰ χερμάδων ἔπειτα πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἔφευγον. συνείπετο δὲ τούτοις τύχη τῶν εἴσω χαλεπωτέρα, καὶ τοῦ παρὰ σφίσι λιμοῦ συντονώτερον εὕρισκον πρὸς ὄλεθρον τὸν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις κόρον. [549] παρεγίνοντο μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας πεφυσημένοι καὶ ὥσπερ ὑδρωπιῶντες, ἔπειτα ἀθρόως κενοῖς ὑπερεμπιπλάμενοι τοῖς σώμασιν ἐρρήγνυντο πλὴν τῶν δι᾽ ἐμπειρίαν ταμιευσαμένων τὰς ὀρέξεις καὶ κατ᾽ ὀλίγον προσθέντων τροφὴν ἀπειθισμένῳ τῷ σώματι φέρειν. [550] καὶ τοὺς οὕτω δὲ σωζομένους ἑτέρα πληγὴ μετελάμβανε: τῶν γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς Σύροις τις αὐτομόλων φωρᾶται τῶν τῆς γαστρὸς λυμάτων χρυσοῦς ἐκλέγων: καταπίνοντες δέ, ὡς ἔφαμεν, αὐτοὺς προῆεσαν, ἐπειδὴ διηρεύνων πάντας οἱ στασιασταί, καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει χρυσοῦ: δώδεκα γοῦν Ἀττικῶν ὠνοῦντο πρότερον ἰσχύοντας πέντε καὶ

εἴκοσιν. [551] ἀλλά τοι τῆς ἐπινοίας ἐλεγχθείσης δι᾽ ἑνὸς ἀναπίμπλαται μὲν φήμης τὰ στρατόπεδα, ὡς μεστοὶ χρυσίου παρεῖεν οἱ αὐτόμολοι, τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἀράβων πλῆθος καὶ οἱ Σύροι τοὺς ἱκέτας ἀνατέμνοντες ἠρεύνων τὰς γαστέρας. [552] καὶ τούτου τοῦ πάθους οὐδὲν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ συμβῆναι Ἰουδαίοις χαλεπώτερον: μιᾷ γοῦν ἀνεσχίσθησαν νυκτὶ πρὸς δισχιλίους.

(5) [553] Καὶ γνοὺς τὴν παρανομίαν Τίτος ὀλίγου μὲν ἐδέησε τὸ ἱππικὸν περιστήσας κατακοντίσαι τοὺς αἰτίους, εἰ μὴ πολὺ πλῆθος ἐνείχετο καὶ τῶν ἀνῃρημένων πολλαπλασίους ἦσαν οἱ κολασθησόμενοι. [554] συγκαλέσας δὲ τοὺς τῶν συμμάχων ἡγεμόνας καὶ τοὺς τῶν ταγμάτων, συνδιεβάλλοντο γὰρ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινές, πρὸς ἑκατέρους ἀγανακτεῖν ἔλεγεν, [555] εἰ τῶν μὲν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατευομένων τινὲς τοιαῦτα δρῶσιν κέρδους ἕνεκεν ἀδήλου, μηδὲ τὰ ὅπλα σφῶν αὐτῶν αἰδούμενοι πεποιημένα ἀργύρου τε καὶ χρυσοῦ, [556] τοῖς δὲ Ἄραψι καὶ [τοῖς] Σύροις, εἰ πρῶτον μὲν ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ πολέμῳ τοῖς πάθεσιν αὐτεξουσίως χρῶνται, ἔπειτα τῇ περὶ φόνους ὠμότητι καὶ τῷ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους μίσει Ῥωμαίους ἐπιγράφουσι: καὶ γὰρ νῦν ἐνίους αὐτῷ τῶν στρατιωτῶν συναπολαύειν τῆς κακοδοξίας. [557] τούτοις μὲν οὖν διηπείλησε θάνατον, εἴ τις εὑρεθείη πάλιν τὸ αὐτὸ τολμῶν, τοῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ταγμάτων ἐπέστελλεν ἐρευνήσαντας τοὺς ὑπόπτους ἀνάγειν ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν. [558] κατεφρόνει δ᾽, ὡς ἔοικε, φιλοχρηματία πάσης κολάσεως, καὶ δεινὸς ἐμπέφυκεν ἀνθρώποις τοῦ κερδαίνειν ἔρως, οὐδέν τε οὕτως πάθος πλεονεξία παραβάλλεται. [559] ἢ ταῦτα μὲν ἄλλως καὶ μέτρον ἔχει καὶ φόβοις ὑποτάσσεται, θεὸς δὲ ἦν ὁ τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς κατακρίνας καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτοῖς σωτηρίας ὁδὸν εἰς ἀπώλειαν ἀποστρέφων. [560] ὃ γοῦν μετ᾽ ἀπειλῆς ἀπεῖπεν ὁ Καῖσαρ λάθρα κατὰ τῶν αὐτομόλων ἐτολμᾶτο, καὶ τοὺς διαδιδράσκοντας πρὶν πᾶσιν ὀφθῆναι προαπαντῶντες ἔσφαττον οἱ βάρβαροι, περισκοπούμενοι δὲ μή τις ἐπίδοι Ῥωμαίων, ἀνέσχιζον κἀκ τῶν σπλάγχνων τὸ μιαρὸν κέρδος εἶλκον. [561] ὀλίγοις δ᾽ ἐνευρίσκετο, καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς παρανήλισκεν ἐλπὶς μόνη. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ πάθος πολλοὺς τῶν αὐτομόλων ἐπανήγαγεν.

(6) [562] Ἰωάννης δ᾽ ὡς ἐπέλειπον αἱ ἁρπαγαὶ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου, πρὸς ἱεροσυλίαν ἐτρέπετο, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀναθημάτων κατεχώνευε τοῦ ναοῦ, πολλὰ δὲ τῶν πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας ἀναγκαίων σκεύη, κρατῆρας καὶ πίνακας καὶ τραπέζας: ἀπέσχετο δ᾽ οὐδὲ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντων ἀκρατοφόρων. [563] οἱ μέν γε Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖς ἐτίμησάν τε καὶ προσεκόσμησαν τὸ ἱερὸν ἀεί, τότε δὲ ὁ Ἰουδαῖος καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων κατέσπα. [564] πρὸς δὲ τοὺς συνόντας ἔλεγεν, ὡς δεῖ μετ᾽ ἀδείας καταχρήσασθαι τοῖς θείοις ὑπὲρ τοῦ θείου καὶ τοὺς τῷ ναῷ στρατευομένους ἐξ αὐτοῦ τρέφεσθαι. [565] διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν ἱερὸν οἶνον καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον, ὃ τοῖς ὁλοκαυτώμασιν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐφύλαττον [ἐπιχεῖν], ἐκκενώσας, ἦν δ᾽ ἐν τῷ ἔνδον ἱερῷ, διένεμε τῷ πλήθει, κἀκεῖνοι δίχα φρίκης ἠλείφοντο καὶ ἔπινον [ἐξ αὐτῶν]. [566] οὐκ ἂν

ὑποστειλαίμην εἰπεῖν ἅ μοι κελεύει τὸ πάθος: οἶμαι Ῥωμαίων βραδυνόντων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἁλιτηρίους ἢ καταποθῆναι ἂν ὑπὸ χάσματος ἢ κατακλυσθῆναι τὴν πόλιν ἢ τοὺς τῆς Σοδομηνῆς μεταλαβεῖν κεραυνούς: πολὺ γὰρ τῶν ταῦτα παθόντων ἤνεγκε γενεὰν ἀθεωτέραν: τῇ γοῦν τούτων ἀπονοίᾳ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς συναπώλετο.

(7) [567] Καὶ τί δεῖ κατὰ μέρος ἐκδιηγεῖσθαι τὰς συμφοράς; ἀλλὰ πρὸς Τίτον ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις Μαννέος ὁ Λαζάρου φυγὼν διὰ μιᾶς ἔλεγεν ἐκκεκομίσθαι πύλης, ἣν αὐτὸς ἐπεπίστευτο, μυριάδας ἕνδεκα νεκρῶν ἐπὶ πεντακισχιλίοις ὀκτακοσίοις ὀγδοήκοντα, ἀφ᾽ ἧς αὐτοῖς ἡμέρας παρεστρατοπεδεύσατο τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ Ξανθικοῦ μηνὸς ἄχρι Πανέμου νουμηνίας. [568] τοῦτο δ᾽ ἦν πλῆθος ἀπόρων: καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἐφεστώς, ἀλλὰ δημοσίᾳ μισθὸν διδοὺς ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἠρίθμει. τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς οἱ προσήκοντες ἔθαπτον: ταφὴ δ᾽ ἦν τὸ προκομίσαντας ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος ῥῖψαι. [569] μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον διαδράντες πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπισήμων τὰς πάσας τῶν ἀπόρων νεκρῶν ἀπήγγελλον μυριάδας ἑξήκοντα διὰ τῶν πυλῶν ἐκριφῆναι, τῶν δ᾽ ἄλλων ἀνεξερεύνητον εἶναι τὸν ἀριθμόν. [570] μηκέτι δ᾽ εὐτονούντων τοὺς πτωχοὺς ἐκφέρειν [ἔλεγον] συσσωρεύοντας εἰς τοὺς μεγίστους οἴκους τὰ πτώματα ἀποκλείειν. [571] καὶ τοῦ μὲν σίτου τὸ μέτρον πραθῆναι ταλάντου, μετὰ ταῦτα δ᾽ ὡς οὐδὲ ποηλογεῖν ἔθ᾽ οἷόν τ᾽ ἦν περιτειχισθείσης τῆς πόλεως, προελθεῖν τινας εἰς τοσοῦτον ἀνάγκης, ὥστε τὰς ἀμάρας ἐρευνῶντας καὶ παλαιὸν ὄνθον βοῶν προσφέρεσθαι τὰ ἐκ τούτων σκύβαλα, καὶ τὸ μηδ᾽ ὄψει φορητὸν πάλαι τότε γενέσθαι τροφήν. [572] ταῦτα Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἀκούοντες ἠλέησαν, οἱ στασιασταὶ δὲ καὶ βλέποντες οὐ μετενόουν, ἀλλ᾽ ἠνείχοντο μέχρις αὐτῶν προελθεῖν: πεπήρωντο γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρεών, ὃ τῇ τε πόλει καὶ αὐτοῖς ἤδη παρῆν.

Liber VI

I

(1) [1] Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων πάθη προύκοπτεν καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον τῶν τε στασιαστῶν μᾶλλον παροξυνομένων ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ μετὰ τὸν δῆμον ἤδη κἀκείνους νεμομένου. [2] τό γε μὴν πλῆθος τῶν σεσωρευμένων ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν πτωμάτων ὄψει τε φρικῶδες ἦν καὶ λοιμώδη προσέβαλλεν ὀσμὴν πρός τε τὰς ἐκδρομὰς ἐμπόδιον τοῖς μαχομένοις: ὥσπερ γὰρ διὰ παρατάξεως φόνῳ μυρίῳ γεγυμνασμένης χωροῦντας ἔδει τὰ σώματα πατεῖν. [3] οἱ δ᾽ ἐπιβαίνοντες οὔτ᾽ ἔφριττον οὔτ᾽ ἠλέουν οὔτε κληδόνα κακὴν σφῶν αὐτῶν ὑπελάμβανον τὴν εἰς τοὺς κατοιχομένους ὕβριν, [4] πεφυρμένοι δ᾽ ὁμοφύλῳ φόνῳ τὰς δεξιὰς ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους πόλεμον ἐξέθεον, ὀνειδίζοντες, ἔμοιγε δοκεῖν, τὸ θεῖον εἰς βραδυτῆτα τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν κολάσεως: οὐ γὰρ ἐλπίδι νίκης ὁ πόλεμος, ἤδη δὲ ἀπογνώσει σωτηρίας ἐθρασύνετο. [5] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καίτοι πολλὰ περὶ τὴν τῆς ὕλης συγκομιδὴν ταλαιπωρούμενοι τὰ χώματα διήγειραν μιᾷ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέραις, κείραντες, ὡς προείρηται, τὴν περὶ τὸ ἄστυ χώραν ἐπ᾽ ἐνενήκοντα σταδίους ἐν κύκλῳ πᾶσαν. [6] ἦν δ᾽ ἐλεεινὴ καὶ τῆς γῆς ἡ θέα: τὰ γὰρ πάλαι δένδρεσι καὶ παραδείσοις κεκοσμημένα τότε πανταχόθεν ἠρήμωτο καὶ περικέκοπτο τὴν ὕλην, [7] οὐδείς τε τὴν πάλαι Ἰουδαίαν καὶ τὰ περικαλλῆ προάστεια τῆς πόλεως ἑωρακὼς ἀλλόφυλος, ἔπειτα τὴν τότε βλέπων ἐρημίαν οὐκ ὠλοφύρατο καὶ κατεστέναξεν τὴν μεταβολὴν παρ᾽ ὅσον γένοιτο: [8] πάντα γὰρ ἐλυμήνατο τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ κάλλους ὁ πόλεμος, καὶ οὐκ ἄν τις ἐξαπίνης ἐπιστὰς τῶν προεγνωκότων ἐγνώρισε τὸν τόπον, ἀλλὰ παρὼν ἐζήτει τὴν πόλιν.

(2) [9] Ῥωμαίοις δὲ καὶ Ἰουδαίοις τὸ τέλος τῶν χωμάτων ἴσην ἐνεποίει δέους ἀρχήν: [10] οἱ μὲν γάρ, εἰ μὴ καὶ ταῦτα καύσειαν, ἁλώσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν προσεδόκων, Ῥωμαῖοι δ᾽ οὐκ [ἂν] ἔθ᾽ αἱρήσειν κἀκείνων διαφθαρέντων. [11] ὕλης τε γὰρ ἦν ἀπορία, καὶ τῶν μὲν πόνων ἤδη τὸ σῶμα, τῶν δὲ ἐπαλλήλων πταισμάτων αἱ ψυχαὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐλείποντο. [12] τάς γε μὴν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν συμφορὰς Ῥωμαίοις πλέον εἶναι συνέβαινε πρὸς ἀθυμίας ἢ τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ: παρὰ γὰρ τὰ τηλικαῦτα πάθη τοῖς μαχομένοις οὐδὲν ἐχρῶντο μαλακωτέροις, [13] ἀλλ᾽ ἐθραύοντο πάντοτε τὰς ἐλπίδας, τῶν μὲν χωμάτων ταῖς ἐπιβουλαῖς, τῶν δ᾽ ὀργάνων στερρότητι τοῦ τείχους, τῆς δὲ κατὰ χεῖρα μάχης ταῖς τῶν συμπλεκομένων τόλμαις πλεονεκτούμενοι, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, στάσεώς τε καὶ λιμοῦ καὶ πολέμου καὶ τοσούτων κακῶν εὑρίσκοντες ἐπάνω τὸ παράστημα τῆς ψυχῆς Ἰουδαίους ἔχοντας. [14] ὑπελάμβανόν τε τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀμάχους μὲν τὰς ὁρμάς, ἀνάλωτον δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς εὐθυμίαν εἶναι: τί γὰρ ἂν μὴ ὑποστῆναι δεξιᾷ

τύχῃ χρωμένους τοὺς ὑπὸ κακῶν πρὸς ἀλκὴν τρεπομένους; οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐρρωμενεστέρας διὰ ταῦτα τῶν χωμάτων ἐποιοῦντο τὰς φυλακάς.

(3) [15] Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην κατὰ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν ἅμα καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον, εἰ καταρριφθείη τὸ τεῖχος, ἠσφαλίζοντο καὶ πρὶν ἐπιστῆναι τοὺς κριοὺς ἐπέθεντο τοῖς ἔργοις. [16] οὐ μὴν ἐκράτησάν γε τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως, ἀλλὰ προελθόντες μετὰ λαμπάδων πρὶν ἐγγίσαι τοῖς χώμασι ψυχρότεροι τῆς ἐλπίδος ὑπέστρεψαν. [17] πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὐδ᾽ ὁμονοεῖν ἡ σκέψις αὐτῶν ἐᾠκει κατὰ μέρος ἐκπηδώντων κἀκ διαλειμμάτων καὶ μεμελλημένως μετὰ δέους καθόλου τε εἰπεῖν οὐκ Ἰουδαικῶς: τὰ γὰρ ἴδια τοῦ ἔθνους ὑστέρητο ἅμα ἡ τόλμα καὶ ὁρμὴ καὶ δρόμος ὁμοῦ πάντων καὶ τὸ μηδὲ πταίοντας ἀναστρέφειν. [18] ἀτονώτεροι δ᾽ ἑαυτῶν προελθόντες καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εὗρον ἐρρωμενέστερον τοῦ συνήθους παρατεταγμένους: [19] τοῖς μέν γε σώμασι καὶ ταῖς πανοπλίαις οὕτως ἐφράξαντο τὰ χώματα πάντοθεν ὡς τῷ πυρὶ μηδαμόθεν καταλιπεῖν παράδυσιν, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ἐτόνωσαν ἕκαστος μὴ μετακινηθῆναι τῆς τάξεως πρὸ θανάτου. [20] πρὸς γὰρ τῷ πάσας αὐτῶν ὑποκόπτεσθαι τὰς ἐλπίδας, εἰ κἀκεῖνα καταφλεγείη τὰ ἔργα, δεινὴ τοὺς στρατιώτας εἶχεν αἰδώς, εἰ πάντα κρατήσειαν πανουργία μὲν ἀρετῆς, ἀπόνοια δ᾽ ὅπλων, πλῆθος δ᾽ ἐμπειρίας, Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ Ῥωμαίων. [21] ἅμα δὲ τἀφετήρια συνήργει τῶν προπηδώντων ἐφικνούμενα, καὶ πεσών τις τῷ μεθ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐμπόδιον ἦν, ὅ τε κίνδυνος τοῦ πρόσω χωρεῖν ἐποίει μαλακωτέρους. [22] τῶν δ᾽ ἐνδοτέρω βέλους ὑποδραμόντων οἱ μὲν πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν τὴν εὐταξίαν καὶ τὸ πύκνωμα τῶν πολεμίων καταπλαγέντες, οἱ δὲ νυττόμενοι τοῖς ξυστοῖς ἐπαλινδρόμουν: καὶ τέλος ἀλλήλους κακίζοντες εἰς δειλίαν ἀνεχώρουν ἄπρακτοι. νουμηνίᾳ Πανέμου μηνὸς ἡ ἐπιχείρησις ἦν. [23] ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων προσῆγον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς ἑλεπόλεις, βαλλόμενοι πέτραις τε ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντωνίας καὶ πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ καὶ παντὶ τῷ χορηγουμένῳ Ἰουδαίοις ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης βέλει: [24] καίπερ γὰρ πολὺ τῷ τείχει πεποιθότες καὶ τῶν ὀργάνων καταφρονοῦντες ὅμως ἐκώλυον τοὺς Ῥωμαίους προσάγειν. [25] οἱ δὲ τὴν σπουδὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοῦ μὴ πληγῆναι τὴν Ἀντωνίαν ὑπολαμβάνοντες γίνεσθαι δι᾽ ἀσθένειαν τοῦ τείχους καὶ σαθροὺς ἐλπίσαντες εἶναι τοὺς θεμελίους ἀντεφιλονείκουν. [26] οὐ μὴν ὑπήκουε τὸ τυπτόμενον, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν συνεχῶς βαλλόμενοι καὶ πρὸς μηδένα τῶν καθύπερθεν κινδύνων ἐνδιδόντες ἐνεργοὺς παρεῖχον τὰς ἑλεπόλεις: [27] ὡς δ᾽ ἦσαν ἐλάττους καὶ περιεθραύοντο ταῖς πέτραις, ἕτεροι τοὺς θυρεοὺς ὀροφώσαντες ὑπὲρ τῶν σωμάτων χερσὶ καὶ μοχλοῖς ὑπώρυττον τοὺς θεμελίους, καὶ τέσσαράς γε λίθους προσκαρτερήσαντες ἐξέσεισαν. [28] ἀνέπαυσε δὲ νὺξ ἑκατέρους, κἂν ταύτῃ τὸ τεῖχος ὑπὸ τῶν κριῶν σεσαλευμένον, καὶ καθ᾽ ὃ τοῖς προτέροις ἐπιβουλεύων χώμασιν ὁ Ἰωάννης ὑπώρυξεν ἐνδούσης τῆς διώρυχος, ἐξαπίνης κατερείπεται.

(4) [29] Τούτου συμβάντος παραδόξως ἑκατέροις διετέθη τὰ φρονήματα: [30] Ἰουδαίους μὲν γάρ, οὓς ἀθυμεῖν εἰκὸς ἦν, τῷ μὴ παρ᾽ ἐλπίδα γενέσθαι τὸ πτῶμα

καὶ προησφαλίσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸ θαρρεῖν ὡς μενούσης συνέβαινε τῆς Ἀντωνίας: [31] Ῥωμαίων δέ γε τὴν παρ᾽ ἐλπίδα χαρὰν ἐπὶ τῷ καταρριφθέντι ταχέως ἔσβεσεν ὄψις ἑτέρου τείχους, ὅπερ ἔνδοθεν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἀντῳκοδομήκεσαν. [32] εὐμαρεστέρα γε μὴν τῆς πρότερον ἡ προσβολὴ κατεφαίνετο: τό τε γὰρ ἀναβῆναι διὰ τῶν καταρριφθέντων ῥᾷον ἐδόκει, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀσθενέστερόν τε πολλῷ τῆς Ἀντωνίας καὶ ταχέως τῷ πρόσκαιρον εἶναι λύειν ὑπελάμβανον. οὐ μὴν ἐτόλμα τις ἀναβῆναι: προῦπτος γὰρ τοῖς ἀρξαμένοις ἦν ἀπώλεια.

(5) [33] Νομίζων δὲ ὁ Τίτος ἐγείρεσθαι μάλιστα τὰς τῶν πολεμούντων προθυμίας ἐλπίδι καὶ λόγῳ, τάς τε προτροπὰς καὶ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις πολλάκις μὲν λήθην ἐνεργάζεσθαι τῶν κινδύνων, ἔστι δ᾽ ὅτε καὶ θανάτου καταφρόνησιν, συναγαγὼν ἐπὶ ταὐτὸ τοὺς ἀλκίμους ἐπειρᾶτο τῶν ἀνδρῶν, [34] “ὦ συστρατιῶται, λέγων, τὸ μὲν παρακελεύειν ἐπὶ τὰ μὴ φέροντα κίνδυνον αὐτόθεν τοῖς παρακελευομένοις ἀκλεές, ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ τῷ παρακελεύοντι φέρει κατάγνωσιν ἀνανδρίας. [35] δεῖ δέ, οἶμαι, προτροπῆς εἰς μόνα τὰ σφαλερὰ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὡς ἐκεῖνά γε καθ᾽ αὐτοὺς πράττειν ἄξιον. [36] ὥστ᾽ ἔγωγε τὸ μὲν ὑπάρχειν χαλεπὴν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἄνοδον αὐτὸς ὑμῖν προτίθημι: τὸ δ᾽ ὅτι μάλιστα προσήκει μάχεσθαι τοῖς δυσκόλοις τοὺς ἀρετῆς ἐφιεμένους καὶ ὅτι καλὸν ἐν εὐκλείᾳ τελευτὴ καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἄκαρπον ἔσται τοῖς καταρξαμένοις τὸ γενναῖον, διέξειμι. [37] πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὑμῶν γενέσθω προτροπὴ τό τινας ἴσως ἀποτρέπον, ἡ Ἰουδαίων μακροθυμία καὶ τὸ καρτερικὸν ἐν οἷς κακοπαθοῦσιν: [38] αἰσχρὸν γὰρ Ῥωμαίους τε ὄντας καὶ στρατιώτας ἐμούς, καὶ διδακτὸν μὲν ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὸ πολεμεῖν, ἔθιμον δὲ ἐν πολέμῳ τὸ κρατεῖν ἔχοντας, ἡττᾶσθαι κατὰ χεῖρα Ἰουδαίων ἢ κατὰ ψυχήν, καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς νίκης καὶ συνεργουμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. [39] τὰ γὰρ ἡμέτερα πταίσματα τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἐστὶν ἀπονοίας, τὰ δ᾽ ἐκείνων πάθη ταῖς τε ὑμετέραις ἀρεταῖς καὶ ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ συνεργίαις αὔξεται: [40] στάσις γὰρ καὶ λιμὸς καὶ πολιορκία καὶ δίχα μηχανημάτων πίπτοντα τείχη τί ἂν ἀλλ᾽ ἢ θεοῦ μὲν εἴη μῆνις ἐκείνοις, βοήθεια δὲ ἡμετέρα; [41] τὸ τοίνυν μὴ μόνον ἐλαττοῦσθαι χειρόνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν θείαν συμμαχίαν προδιδόναι πρὸς ἡμῶν οὐκ ἂν εἴη. [42] πῶς δ᾽ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν Ἰουδαίους μέν, οἷς οὐ πολλὴν αἰσχύνην φέρει τὸ λείπεσθαι μαθοῦσι δουλεύειν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηκέτι τοῦτο πάσχειν θανάτου καταφρονεῖν καὶ πολλάκις εἰς μέσους ἡμᾶς ἐκτρέχειν, οὐκ ἐλπίδι τοῦ κρατήσειν ἀλλὰ διὰ ψιλὴν ἐπίδειξιν ἀνδρείας: [43] ὑμᾶς δὲ τοὺς γῆς ὀλίγου δεῖν ἁπάσης καὶ θαλάσσης κρατοῦντας, οἷς καὶ τὸ μὴ νικᾶν ὄνειδος, μηδ᾽ ἅπαξ εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους παραβάλλεσθαι, [44] περιμένειν δὲ τὸν λιμὸν κατ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν τύχην ἀργοὺς καθεζομένους μετὰ τοιούτων ὅπλων, καὶ ταῦτα δι᾽ ὀλίγου τοῦ παραβόλου τὸ πᾶν κατορθῶσαι δυναμένους; [45] ἀναβάντες γοῦν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν ἔχομεν τὴν πόλιν: καὶ γὰρ ἂν γίνηταί τις ἔτι πρὸς τοὺς ἔνδον, ὅπερ οὐκ οἶμαι, μάχη, τό γε κατὰ κορυφὴν εἶναι καὶ ταῖς ἀναπνοαῖς ἐπικαθῆσθαι τῶν πολεμίων ταχέως τὴν ὁλοσχερῆ νίκην ἐγγυᾶται. [46] καὶ ἔγωγε τὸ μὲν ὑμνεῖν ἄρτι τὴν ἐν πολέμῳ

τελευτὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀρειμανίοις πεσοῦσιν ἀθανασίαν παραλιπὼν ἐπαρασαίμην ἂν τοῖς ἄλλως ἔχουσι τὸν κατ᾽ εἰρήνην ἐκ νόσου θάνατον, οἷς μετὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ τάφῳ κατακρίνεται. [47] τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ὅτι τὰς μὲν ἐν παρατάξει ψυχὰς σιδήρῳ τῶν σαρκῶν ἀπολυθείσας τὸ καθαρώτατον στοιχεῖον αἰθὴρ ξενοδοχῶν ἄστροις ἐγκαθιδρύει, δαίμονες δ᾽ ἀγαθοὶ καὶ ἥρωες εὐμενεῖς ἰδίοις ἐγγόνοις ἐμφανίζονται, τὰς δὲ ἐν νοσοῦσι τοῖς σώμασι συντακείσας, [48] κἂν τὰ μάλιστα κηλίδων ἢ μιασμάτων ὦσι καθαραί, νὺξ ὑπόγειος ἀφανίζει καὶ λήθη βαθεῖα δέχεται, λαμβανούσας ἅμα τοῦ τε βίου καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἔτι δὲ τῆς μνήμης περιγραφήν; [49] εἰ δὲ κέκλωσται μὲν ἀνθρώποις ἀναγκαία τελευτή, κουφότερον δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν νόσου πάσης σίδηρος ὑπηρέτης, πῶς οὐκ ἀγεννὲς μὴ διδόναι ταῖς χρείαις ὃ τῷ χρεὼν ἀποδώσομεν; [50] καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὡς οὐ δυναμένων σωθῆναι τῶν ἐπιχειρησόντων διεξῆλθον: ἔνεστι δὲ σώζεσθαι τοῖς ἀνδριζομένοις κἀκ τῶν σφαλερωτάτων. [51] πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὸ καταρριφθὲν εὐεπίβατον, ἔπειτα πᾶν τὸ οἰκοδομηθὲν εὐδιάλυτον, ὑμεῖς τε πλείους θαρσήσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀλλήλοις προτροπὴ καὶ βοήθεια γίνεσθε, καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ ὑμέτερον παράστημα ταχέως κλάσει τὰ φρονήματα. [52] καὶ τάχα ἂν ὑμῖν ἀναίμακτον τὸ κατόρθωμα γένοιτο μόνον καταρξαμένοις: ἀναβαίνοντας μὲν γὰρ κωλύειν πειράσονται κατὰ τὸ εἰκός, λαθόντας δὲ καὶ βιασαμένους ἅπαξ οὐκ ἂν ὑποσταῖεν ἔτι, κἂν ὀλίγοι φθάσητε. [53] τὸν δὲ καταρξάμενον αἰσχυνοίμην ἂν εἰ μὴ ποιήσαιμι ζηλωτὸν ἐν ταῖς ἐπικαρπίαις, καὶ ὁ μὲν ζῶν ἄρξει τῶν νῦν ὁμοίων, μακαριστὰ δ᾽ ἀκολουθήσει καὶ τοῖς πεσοῦσι τὰ ἀριστεῖα.”

(6) [54] Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Τίτου διεξιόντος τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πλῆθος ἔδεισε τοῦ κινδύνου τὸ μέγεθος, τῶν δ᾽ ἐν ταῖς σπείραις στρατευομένων Σαβῖνος τοὔνομα, γένος ἀπὸ Συρίας, ἀνὴρ καὶ κατὰ χεῖρα καὶ κατὰ ψυχὴν ἄριστος ἐφάνη. [55] καίτοι προιδὼν ἄν τις αὐτὸν ἀπό γε τῆς σωματικῆς ἕξεως οὐδ᾽ εἰκαῖον εἶναι στρατιώτην ἔδοξε: μέλας μὲν γὰρ ἦν τὴν χροίαν, ἰσχνός, τὴν σάρκα πεπιλημένος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐνῴκει τις ἡρωικὴ ψυχὴ λεπτῷ σώματι καὶ πολὺ τῆς ἰδίας ἀλκῆς στενοτέρῳ. [56] πρῶτος γοῦν ἀναστάς “ἐπιδίδωμί σοι, Καῖσαρ, ἔφη, προθύμως ἐμαυτόν. [57] πρῶτος ἀναβαίνω τὸ τεῖχος. καὶ εὔχομαι μέν μου τῇ τε ἰσχύι καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ τὴν σὴν ἀκολουθῆσαι τύχην, εἰ δὲ νεμεσηθείην τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, ἴσθι μή με πταίσαντα παρ᾽ ἐλπίδας, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ σοῦ [58] κρίσει τὸν θάνατον ᾑρημένον.” ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ τῇ μὲν ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ τὸν θυρεὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀνατείνας, τῇ δεξιᾷ δὲ τὸ ξίφος σπασάμενος ἐχώρει πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος περὶ ὥραν μάλιστα τῆς ἡμέρας ἕκτην. [59] εἵποντο δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕνδεκα μόνοι ζηλωταὶ τῆς ἀνδρείας γενόμενοι: προῆγε δὲ πολὺ πάντων ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁρμῇ τινι δαιμονίῳ χρώμενος. [60] οἱ φρουροὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους κατηκόντιζόν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ βέλεσι πάντοθεν ἀπείροις ἔβαλλον καὶ πέτρας ἐξαισίους κατεκύλιον, [61] αἳ ἐκ τῶν μὲν ἕνδεκα παρέσυραν ἐνίους, ὁ δὲ Σαβῖνος ἁπάντων τοῖς ἀφιεμένοις καὶ καταχωννύμενος ὑπὸ τῶν βελῶν οὐ

πρότερον ἐπέσχε τὴν ὁρμὴν ἢ γενέσθαι τε ἐπ᾽ ἄκρῳ καὶ τρέψασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους: [62] καταπλαγέντες γὰρ αὐτοῦ τήν τε δύναμιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ τὸ παράστημα τῆς ψυχῆς, ἅμα δὲ καὶ πλείους ἀναβεβηκέναι δόξαντες ἐτράπησαν. [63] ἔνθα δὴ καταμέμψαιτ᾽ ἄν τις ὡς φθονερὰν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς τὴν τύχην καὶ κωλύουσαν ἀεὶ τὰ παράδοξα τῶν κατορθωμάτων. [64] ὁ γοῦν ἀνὴρ οὗτος ὅτ᾽ ἐκράτησε τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, ἐσφάλη καὶ πταίσας πρός τινι πέτρᾳ πρηνὴς ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν μετὰ μεγίστου ψόφου κατέπεσεν: ἐπιστραφέντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ κατιδόντες μόνον τε αὐτὸν καὶ πεπτωκότα, πάντοθεν ἔβαλλον. [65] ὁ δ᾽ ἐς γόνυ διαναστὰς καὶ προκαλυψάμενος τὸν θυρεὸν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἠμύνετο καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πλησιασάντων ἔτρωσεν: [66] αὖθις δ᾽ ὑπὸ πλήθους τραυμάτων παρῆκε τὴν δεξιὰν καὶ τέλος πρὶν ἀποδοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν κατεχώσθη τοῖς βέλεσιν, ἀνὴρ ἄξιος μὲν ἀμείνονι χρῆσθαι δι᾽ ἀνδρείαν καὶ τύχῃ, πεσὼν δὲ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἀναλόγως. [67] τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τρεῖς μὲν τοὺς ἤδη πρὸς τοῖς ἄκροις ὄντας συντρίψαντες ἀπέκτειναν τοῖς λίθοις, οἱ δὲ ὀκτὼ τραυματίαι κατασυρέντες ἀνεκομίσθησαν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τρίτῃ μηνὸς Πανέμου ἐπράχθη.

(7) [68] Μετὰ δ᾽ ἡμέρας δύο τῶν προκοιτούντων τινὲς ἐπὶ τοῖς χώμασι φυλάκων εἴκοσι συνελθόντες προσποιοῦνται μὲν τὸν τοῦ πέμπτου τάγματος σημαιαφόρον καὶ δύο τινὰς τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἴλαις ἱππέων καὶ σαλπικτὴν ἕνα, κατὰ δὲ ὥραν τῆς νυκτὸς ἑνάτην προσβαίνουσι μὲν ἡσυχῇ διὰ τῶν ἐρειπίων ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν, ἀποσφάξαντες δὲ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν φρουρῶν κοιμωμένους κρατοῦσι τοῦ τείχους καὶ τῷ σαλπικτῇ σημαίνειν ἐκέλευσαν. [69] πρὸς ὃ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων φυλάκων ἐξανάστασις αἰφνίδιος ἦν καὶ φυγὴ πρίν τινα τὸ πλῆθος ἐπιδεῖν τῶν ἐπιβεβηκότων: ὅ τε γὰρ φόβος καὶ ἡ σάλπιγξ φαντασίαν αὐτοῖς τοῦ πλῆθος ἀναβεβηκέναι πολεμίων παρεῖχε. [70] Καῖσαρ δὲ τοῦ σημείου κατακούσας ἐξοπλίζει τήν τε δύναμιν διὰ τάχους καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων πρῶτος ἀναβαίνει τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους ἔχων. [71] καταπεφευγότων δὲ Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ τῆς διώρυγος εἰσέπιπτον, ἣν ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐπὶ τὰ χώματα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπώρυξε. [72] καὶ διαστάντες ἀπ᾽ ἀμφοτέρων οἱ στασιασταὶ τῶν ταγμάτων, τοῦ τε Ἰωάννου καὶ τοῦ Σίμωνος, εἶργον αὐτοὺς οὐδεμίαν οὔτε ἰσχύος οὔτε προθυμίας ἐλλείποντες ὑπερβολήν: [73] πέρας γὰρ ἀλώσεως ὑπελάμβανον τὸ Ῥωμαίους παρελθεῖν εἰς τὸ ἅγιον, ὃ δὴ κἀκεῖνοι τοῦ κρατεῖν ἀρχήν. [74] συρρήγνυται δὲ περὶ τὰς εἰσόδους μάχη καρτερά, τῶν μὲν καταλαβέσθαι καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν εἰσβιαζομένων, τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων ἐξωθούντων αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν. [75] καὶ τὰ βέλη μὲν ἦν ἀμφοτέροις ἄχρηστα καὶ τὰ δόρατα, σπασάμενοι δὲ τὰ ξίφη συνεπλέκοντο, καὶ περὶ τὴν συμβολὴν ἄκριτον ἦν ὁποτέρωθεν ἕκαστοι μάχοιντο, πεφυρμένων μὲν τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ περὶ τὴν στενοχωρίαν διηλλαγμένων, τῆς δὲ βοῆς ἀσημάντου προσπιπτούσης διὰ τὸ μέγεθος. [76] φόνος τε ἦν ἑκατέρωθεν πολύς, καὶ τῶν πεσόντων τά τε σώματα καὶ τὰς πανοπλίας πατοῦντες ἔθραυον οἱ μαχόμενοι. [77] ἀεὶ δ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ὁπότερον βρίσειεν ῥέων ὁ

πόλεμος, παρακέλευσις μὲν ἦν τῶν πλεονεκτούντων, οἰμωγαὶ δὲ τῶν τρεπομένων. οὔτε δὲ αἱ φυγαὶ τόπον εἶχον οὔτε αἱ διώξεις, ἀλλ᾽ ἀγχώμαλοι ῥοπαὶ καὶ μετακλίσεις μεμιγμένης ἐγίνοντο τῆς παρατάξεως. [78] τοῖς δ᾽ ἔμπροσθεν γινομένοις ἢ τοῦ θνήσκειν ἢ τοῦ κτείνειν ἀνάγκη παρῆν οὐκ οὔσης ἀναφυγῆς: οἱ γὰρ κατὰ νώτου πρόσω βιαζόμενοι τοὺς σφετέρους παρ᾽ ἀμφοῖν οὐδὲ τῇ μάχῃ μεταίχμιον κατέλειπον. [79] πλεονεκτούντων δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοῖς θυμοῖς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐμπειρίαν καὶ κλινομένης καθάπαν ἤδη τῆς παρατάξεως, ἀπὸ γὰρ ἑνάτης ὥρας τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς ἑβδόμην τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπολέμουν, [80] οἱ μὲν ἀθρόοι καὶ τὸν τῆς ἁλώσεως κίνδυνον ἔχοντες ἀνδρείας ἐφόδιον Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ μέρει τῆς δυνάμεως, οὔπω γὰρ ἐπαναβεβήκει τὰ τάγματα, κἀκείνοις ἐπανεῖχον οἱ μαχόμενοι τότε, κρατεῖν τῆς Ἀντωνίας ἀποχρῆν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐδόκει.

(8) [81] Ἰουλιανὸς δέ τις ἑκατοντάρχης τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Βιθυνίας, οὐκ ἄσημος ὢν ἀνήρ, ὧν ἐγὼ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἱστόρησα τὸν πόλεμον ὅπλων τε ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ ἀλκῇ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς παραστήματι πάντων ἄριστος, [82] ὁρῶν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐνδιδόντας ἤδη καὶ κακῶς ἀμυνομένους, παρειστήκει δὲ Τίτῳ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν, προπηδᾷ καὶ νικῶντας ἤδη τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τρέπεται μόνος μέχρι τῆς τοῦ ἐνδοτέρω ἱεροῦ γωνίας. ἔφευγε δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ἄθρουν, οὔτε τὴν ἰσχὺν οὔτε τὴν τόλμαν ἀνθρωπίνην ὑπολαμβάνοντες. [83] ὁ δὲ διὰ μέσων τῶν σκεδαννυμένων ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ διάττων ἐφόνευε τοὺς καταλαμβανομένους, καὶ τῆς ὄψεως ἐκείνης οὐδὲν οὔτε τῷ Καίσαρι θαυμασιώτερον οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις παρέστη φρικωδέστερον. [84] ἐδιώκετο δὲ ἄρα καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τῆς εἱμαρμένης, ἣν ἀμήχανον διαφυγεῖν θνητὸν ὄντα. [85] τὰ γὰρ ὑποδήματα πεπαρμένα πυκνοῖς καὶ ὀξέσιν ἥλοις ἔχων, ὥσπερ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστος, καὶ κατὰ λιθοστρώτου τρέχων ὑπολισθάνει, πεσὼν δὲ ὕπτιος μετὰ μεγίστου τῆς πανοπλίας ἤχου τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐπιστρέφει. [86] καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντωνίας Ῥωμαίων ἤρθη βοὴ περὶ τἀνδρὶ δεισάντων, οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι περιστάντες αὐτὸν ἀθρόοι τοῖς τε ξυστοῖς καὶ ταῖς ῥομφαίαις πάντοθεν ἔπαιον. [87] ὁ δὲ πολὺν μὲν τῷ θυρεῷ σίδηρον ἐξεδέχετο, πολλάκις δὲ ἀναστῆναι πειράσας ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν τυπτόντων ἀνετράπη, καὶ κείμενος δ᾽ ὅμως ἔνυττε τῷ ξίφει πολλούς: [88] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀνῃρέθη ταχέως τῷ τε κράνει καὶ τῷ θώρακι πεφραγμένος πάντα τὰ καίρια πρὸς σφαγὴν καὶ τὸν αὐχένα συνέλκων: μέχρι κοπτομένων αὐτῷ τῶν ἄλλων μελῶν καὶ μηδενὸς προσαμῦναι τολμῶντος ἐνέδωκε. [89] δεινὸν δὲ πάθος εἰσῄει Καίσαρα ἀνδρὸς οὕτως ἐναρέτου καὶ ἐν ὄψει τοσούτων φονευομένου: καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν ὁ τόπος διέκλειε βοηθεῖν θέλοντα, τοὺς δυναμένους δὲ κατάπληξις. [90] Ἰουλιανὸς μὲν οὖν πολλὰ δυσθανατήσας καὶ τῶν κτεινόντων ὀλίγους ἀπλῆγας καταλιπὼν μόλις ἀποσφάττεται, μέγιστον οὐ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καίσαρι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις κλέος καταλιπών: [91] Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἁρπασάμενοι πάλιν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τρέπονται καὶ κατακλείουσιν εἰς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν. [92] ἠγωνίσαντο δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπισήμως κατὰ ταύτην τὴν μάχην Ἀλεξᾶς

μέν τις καὶ Γυφθέος τοῦ Ἰωάννου τάγματος, ἐκ δὲ τῶν περὶ Σίμωνα Μαλαχίας τε καὶ ὁ τοῦ Μέρτωνος Ἰούδας, καὶ Σωσᾶ υἱὸς Ἰάκωβος τῶν Ἰδουμαίων ἡγεμών, τῶν δὲ ζηλωτῶν ἀδελφοὶ δύο, παῖδες Ἀρί, Σίμων τε καὶ Ἰούδης.

II

(1) [93] Τίτος δὲ τοῖς μὲν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιώταις κατασκάπτειν προσέταξε τοὺς θεμελίους τῆς Ἀντωνίας καὶ τῇ δυνάμει πάσῃ ῥᾳδίαν τὴν ἄνοδον εὐτρεπίζειν, [94] αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν Ἰώσηπον παραστησάμενος: ἐπέπυστο γὰρ ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας, Πανέμου δ᾽ ἦν ἑπτακαιδεκάτη, τὸν ἐνδελεχισμὸν καλούμενον ἀνδρῶν ἀπορίᾳ διαλελοιπέναι τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ τούτῳ δεινῶς ἀθυμεῖν: [95] λέγειν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ πάλιν ἐκέλευσεν ἃ καὶ πρότερον, ὡς εἰ καί τις αὐτὸν ἔρως κακὸς ἔχοι τοῦ μάχεσθαι, προελθόντι μεθ᾽ ὅσων βούλεται πολεμεῖν ἐξείη δίχα τοῦ συναπολέσθαι τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὸν ναὸν αὐτῷ, μηκέτι μέντοι μιαίνειν τὸ ἅγιον μηδὲ εἰς τὸν θεὸν πλημμελεῖν, παρεῖναι δ᾽ αὐτῷ τὰς ἐπιλελοιπυίας θυσίας ἐκτελεῖν δι᾽ ὧν ἂν ἐπιλέξηται Ἰουδαίων. [96] καὶ ὁ Ἰώσηπος, ὡς ἂν εἴη μὴ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐν ἐπηκόῳ, τά τε τοῦ Καίσαρος διήγγελλεν ἑβραίζων, [97] καὶ πολλὰ προσηντιβόλει φείσασθαι τῆς πατρίδος καὶ διασκεδάσαι τοῦ ναοῦ γευόμενον ἤδη τὸ πῦρ, τούς τ᾽ ἐναγισμοὺς ἀποδοῦναι τῷ θεῷ. [98] πρὸς ταῦτα τοῦ δήμου μὲν ἦν κατήφεια καὶ σιγή, πολλὰ δ᾽ ὁ τύραννος λοιδορηθείς τε τῷ Ἰωσήπῳ καὶ καταρασάμενος τὸ τελευταῖον προσέθηκεν, ὡς οὐκ ἄν ποτε δείσειεν ἅλωσιν: θεοῦ γὰρ ὑπάρχειν τὴν πόλιν. [99] καὶ ὁ Ἰώσηπος πρὸς ταῦτα ἀνέκραγεν “πάνυ γοῦν καθαρὰν τῷ θεῷ τετήρηκας αὐτήν, ἀμίαντον δὲ μένει τὸ ἅγιον, εἰς ὅν τ᾽ ἐλπίζεις σύμμαχον οὐδὲν ἠσέβησας, τὰς δ᾽ ἐθίμους θυσίας ἀπολαμβάνει. [100] κἂν μὲν σοῦ τις ἀφέλῃ τὴν καθ᾽ ἡμέραν τροφήν, ἀσεβέστατε, τοῦτον ἥγησαι πολέμιον, αὐτὸν δ᾽ ὃν τῆς αἰωνίου θρησκείας ἐστέρησας θεὸν ἐλπίζεις σύμμαχον ἕξειν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ; [101] καὶ Ῥωμαίοις τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἀνατίθης, οἳ μέχρι νῦν κήδονται τῶν ἡμετέρων νόμων καὶ τὰς ὑπὸ σοῦ διακοπείσας θυσίας ἀποδίδοσθαι τῷ θεῷ βιάζονται; [102] τίς οὐκ ἂν στενάξειε καὶ κατολοφύραιτο τῆς παραδόξου μεταβολῆς τὴν πόλιν, εἴ γε ἀλλόφυλοι μὲν καὶ πολέμιοι τὴν σὴν ἀσέβειαν ἐπανορθοῦνται, σὺ δ᾽ ὁ Ἰουδαῖος, ὁ τοῖς νόμοις ἐντραφείς, κἀκείνων πρὸς αὐτοὺς γίνῃ χαλεπώτερος; [103] ἀλλά τοι, Ἰωάννη, καὶ μετανοῆσαι μὲν ἐκ κακῶν οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ἐν ἐσχάτοις καὶ καλὸν ὑπόδειγμα βουλομένῳ σώζειν τὴν πατρίδα σοι πρόκειται βασιλεὺς Ἰουδαίων Ἰεχονίας, [104] ὅς ποτε στρατεύσαντι τῷ Βαβυλωνίῳ δι᾽ αὐτὸν ἑκὼν ἐξέστη πρὶν ἁλῶναι τῆς πόλεως καὶ μετὰ γενεᾶς αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑπέμεινεν ἐθελούσιον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παραδοῦναι ταῦτα πολεμίοις τὰ ἅγια καὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ περιιδεῖν φλεγόμενον. [105] διὰ τοῦτο λόγος τε αὐτὸν πρὸς ἁπάντων Ἰουδαίων ἱερὸς ὑμνεῖ καὶ μνήμη ῥέουσα δι᾽ αἰῶνος ἀεὶ νέα τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις παραδίδωσιν ἀθάνατον.

[106] καλόν, ὦ Ἰωάννη, ὑπόδειγμα, κἂν προσῇ κίνδυνος: ἐγὼ δέ σοι καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων συγγνώμην ἐγγυῶμαι. [107] μέμνησο δ' ὡς ὁμόφυλος ὢν παραινῶ καὶ Ἰουδαῖος ὢν ἐπαγγέλλομαι, καὶ χρὴ σκοπεῖν τίς ὁ συμβουλεύων καὶ πόθεν. μὴ γὰρ ἔγωγέ ποτε γενοίμην ζῶν οὕτως αἰχμάλωτος, ἵνα παύσωμαι τοῦ γένους ἢ τῶν πατρίων ἐπιλάθωμαι. [108] πάλιν ἀγανακτεῖς καὶ κέκραγάς μοι λοιδορούμενος, ἀξίῳ γε καὶ χαλεπωτέρων, ὃς ἀντικρὺς εἱμαρμένης τι παραινῶ καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ βιάζομαι κατακρίτους σώζειν. [109] τίς οὐκ οἶδεν τὰς τῶν παλαιῶν προφητῶν ἀναγραφὰς καὶ τὸν ἐπιρρέποντα τῇ τλήμονι πόλει χρησμὸν ἤδη ἐνεστῶτα; τότε γὰρ ἅλωσιν αὐτῆς προεῖπον, ὅταν ὁμοφύλου τις ἄρξῃ φόνου. [110] τῶν ὑμετέρων δὲ πτωμάτων οὐχ ἡ πόλις καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν δὲ πᾶν πεπλήρωται; θεὸς ἄρα, θεὸς αὐτὸς ἐπάγει μετὰ Ῥωμαίων κάθαρσιν αὐτῷ πῦρ καὶ τὴν τοσούτων μιασμάτων γέμουσαν πόλιν ἀναρπάζει."

(2) [111] Ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Ἰώσηπος μετ' ὀδυρμοῦ καὶ δακρύων λυγμῷ τὴν φωνὴν ἐνεκόπη. [112] καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ᾠκτειράν τε τοῦ πάθους καὶ τῆς προαιρέσεως αὐτὸν ἐθαύμασαν, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην παρωξύνοντο μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἐγκρατεῖς γενέσθαι κἀκείνου. [113] τῶν γε μὴν εὐγενῶν πολλοὺς ἐκίνησεν ὁ λόγος, καὶ τινὲς μὲν ὀρρωδοῦντες τὰς φυλακὰς τῶν στασιαστῶν κατὰ χώραν ἔμενον, ἀπώλειαν μέντοι σφῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς πόλεως κατεγνώκεσαν, εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ καιροφυλακήσαντες ἄδειαν ἀναχωρήσεως πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους κατέφυγον. [114] ὧν ἦσαν ἀρχιερεῖς μὲν Ἰώσηπός τε καὶ Ἰησοῦς, υἱοὶ δὲ ἀρχιερέων τρεῖς μὲν Ἰσμαήλου τοῦ καρατομηθέντος ἐν Κυρήνῃ, καὶ τέσσαρες Ματθίου καὶ εἷς ἑτέρου Ματθίου, διαδρὰς μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπώλειαν, ὃν ὁ τοῦ Γιώρα Σίμων ἀπέκτεινεν σὺν τρισὶν υἱοῖς, ὡς προείρηται. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εὐγενῶν τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι συμμετεβάλοντο. [115] Καῖσαρ δὲ αὐτοὺς τά τε ἄλλα φιλοφρόνως ἐδέξατο καὶ γινώσκων ἀλλοφύλοις ἤθεσιν ἀηδῆ τὴν διατριβὴν ἕξειν ἀπέπεμψεν αὐτοὺς εἰς Γόφναν, τέως ἐκεῖ παραινῶν μένειν: ἀποδώσειν γὰρ ἑκάστῳ τὰς κτήσεις κατὰ σχολὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου γενόμενος. [116] οἱ μὲν οὖν εἰς τὸ δοθὲν πολίχνιον μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας ἀνεχώρουν ἄσμενοι: μὴ φαινομένων δὲ αὐτῶν διεφήμισαν οἱ στασιασταὶ πάλιν ὡς ἀποσφαγεῖεν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων οἱ αὐτόμολοι, δηλονότι τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀποτρέποντες τῷ φόβῳ διαδιδράσκειν. [117] ἤνυστο δ' ὡς καὶ πρότερον αὐτοῖς τὸ πανοῦργον πρὸς καιρόν: ἐπεσχέθησαν γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους αὐτομολεῖν.

(3) [118] Αὖθις δέ, ὡς ἀνακαλέσας τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπὸ τῆς Γοφνὰ Τίτος ἐκέλευσε μετὰ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου περιελθόντας τὸ τεῖχος ὀφθῆναι τῷ δήμῳ, πλεῖστοι πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἔφευγον. [119] γενόμενοι δὲ ἀθρόοι καὶ πρὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱστάμενοι μετ' οἰμωγῆς καὶ δακρύων ἱκέτευον τοὺς στασιαστὰς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὅλῃ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους δέξασθαι τῇ πόλει καὶ τὴν πατρίδα σῶσαι πάλιν, [120] εἰ δὲ μή, τοῦ γε ἱεροῦ πάντως ὑπεξελθεῖν καὶ ῥύσασθαι τὸν ναὸν αὐτοῖς: οὐ γὰρ ἂν τολμῆσαι Ῥωμαίους μὴ μετὰ μεγίστης ἀνάγκης καταφλέξαι τὰ ἅγια. [121] τούτοις μᾶλλον

ἀντεφιλονείκουν, καὶ πολλὰ βλάσφημα τοῖς αὐτομόλοις ἀντικεκραγότες ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν πυλῶν τούς τε ὀξυβελεῖς καὶ καταπέλτας καὶ λιθοβόλους μηχανὰς διέστησαν, ὡς τὸ κύκλῳ μὲν ἱερὸν ὑπὸ πλήθους νεκρῶν προσεοικέναι πολυανδρίῳ, τὸν δὲ ναὸν αὐτὸν φρουρίῳ. [122] τοῖς δὲ ἁγίοις καὶ ἀβάτοις μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων εἰσεπήδων θερμὰς ἔτι τὰς χεῖρας ἐξ ὁμοφύλων ἔχοντες φόνων, καὶ προύκοψαν εἰς τοσοῦτον παρανομίας, ὥσθ᾽ ἣν ἂν εἰκὸς ἀγανάκτησιν γενέσθαι Ἰουδαίων, εἰ Ῥωμαῖοι ταῦτ᾽ ἐξύβριζον εἰς αὐτούς, ταύτην εἶναι παρὰ Ῥωμαίων τότε πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ἀσεβοῦντας εἰς τὰ ἴδια. [123] τῶν μέν γε στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις οὐ μετὰ φρίκης εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀφεώρα καὶ προσεκύνει τούς τε λῃστὰς ηὔχετο πρὶν ἀνηκέστου πάθους μετανοῆσαι.

(4) [124] Τίτος δὲ ὑπερπαθήσας πάλιν ἐξωνείδιζε τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην, λέγων "ἆρ᾽ οὐχ ὑμεῖς, ὦ μιαρώτατοι, τὸν δρύφακτον τοῦτον προεβάλεσθε τῶν ἁγίων; [125] οὐχ ὑμεῖς δὲ τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ στήλας διεστήσατε, γράμμασιν Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ ἡμετέροις κεχαραγμένας, μηδένα τὸ γείσιον ὑπερβαίνειν παραγγέλλειν; [126] οὐχ ἡμεῖς δὲ τοὺς ὑπερβάντας ὑμῖν ἀναιρεῖν ἐπετρέψαμεν, κἂν Ῥωμαῖός τις ᾖ; τί οὖν νῦν, ἀλιτήριοι, καὶ νεκροὺς ἐν αὐτῷ καταπατεῖτε; τί δὲ τὸν ναὸν αἵματι ξένῳ καὶ ἐγχωρίῳ φύρετε; [127] μαρτύρομαι θεοὺς ἐγὼ πατρίους καὶ εἴ τις ἐφεώρα ποτὲ τόνδε τὸν χῶρον, νῦν μὲν γὰρ οὐκ οἴομαι, μαρτύρομαι δὲ καὶ στρατιὰν τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τοὺς παρ᾽ ἐμοὶ Ἰουδαίους καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτούς, ὡς οὐκ ἐγὼ ταῦθ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἀναγκάζω μιαίνειν. [128] κἂν ἀλλάξητε τῆς παρατάξεως τὸν τόπον, οὔτε προσελεύσεταί τις Ῥωμαίων τοῖς ἁγίοις οὔτε ἐνυβρίσει, τηρήσω δὲ τὸν ναὸν ὑμῖν καὶ μὴ θέλουσι."

(5) [129] Ταῦτα τοῦ Ἰωσήπου διαγγέλλοντος ἐκ τοῦ Καίσαρος, οἱ λῃσταὶ καὶ ὁ τύραννος οὐκ ἀπ᾽ εὐνοίας ἀλλὰ κατὰ δειλίαν γίνεσθαι τὰς παρακλήσεις δοκοῦντες ὑπερηφάνουν. [130] Τίτος δὲ ὡς οὔτε οἶκτον ἑαυτῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας οὔτε φειδὼ τοῦ ναοῦ ποιουμένους ἑώρα, πάλιν πρὸς πόλεμον ἄκων ἐχώρει. [131] πᾶσαν μὲν οὖν τὴν δύναμιν ἐπάγειν αὐτοῖς οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν μὴ χωρουμένην τῷ τόπῳ, τριάκοντα δ᾽ ἐπιλέξας ἀφ᾽ ἑκάστης ἑκατονταρχίας τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ τοῖς χιλιάρχοις ἀνὰ χιλίους παραδούς, τούτων δ᾽ ἐπιτάξας ἡγεμόνα Κερεάλιον, ἐπιθέσθαι προσέταξε ταῖς φυλακαῖς περὶ ὥραν τῆς νυκτὸς ἑνάτην. [132] ὄντα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ συγκαταβαίνειν παρεσκευασμένον οἵ τε φίλοι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ κινδύνου κατέσχον καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων λεγόμενα: [133] πλεῖον γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀνύσειν ἔφασαν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντωνίας καθεζόμενον καὶ τὴν μάχην ἀγωνοθετοῦντα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἢ εἰ καταβὰς προκινδυνεύοι: πάντας γὰρ ὁρῶντος Καίσαρος ἀγαθοὺς πολεμιστὰς ἔσεσθαι. [134] τούτοις πεισθεὶς Καῖσαρ καὶ δι᾽ ἓν τοῦτο τοῖς στρατιώταις ὑπομένειν εἰπών, ἵνα κρίνῃ τὰς ἀρετὰς αὐτῶν καὶ μήτε τῶν ἀγαθῶν τις ἀγέραστος μήτε τῶν ἐναντίων ἀτιμώρητος διαλάθῃ, γένηται δὲ αὐτόπτης καὶ μάρτυς ἁπάντων ὁ καὶ τοῦ κολάζειν καὶ τοῦ τιμᾶν

κύριος, [135] τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἔπεμπε καθ᾽ ἣν ὥραν προείρηται, προελθὼν δὲ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸ εὐκάτοπτον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντωνίας ἐκαραδόκει τὸ μέλλον.

(6) [136] Οὐ μὴν οἵ γε πεμφθέντες τοὺς φύλακας εὗρον κοιμωμένους, ὡς ἤλπισαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀναπηδήσασι μετὰ κραυγῆς εὐθέως συνεπλέκοντο: πρὸς δὲ τὴν βοὴν τῶν ἐκκοιτούντων ἔνδοθεν οἱ λοιποὶ κατὰ στῖφος ἐξέθεον. [137] τῶν μὲν δὴ πρώτων τὰς ὁρμὰς ἐξεδέχοντο Ῥωμαῖοι: περιέπιπτον δ᾽ οἱ μετ᾽ ἐκείνους τῷ σφετέρῳ τάγματι, καὶ πολλοὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις ὡς πολεμίοις ἐχρῶντο. [138] τὴν μὲν γὰρ διὰ βοῆς ἐπίγνωσιν ἡ κραυγὴ συγχυθεῖσα παρ᾽ ἀμφοῖν, τὴν δὲ δι᾽ ὀμμάτων ἡ νὺξ ἕκαστον ἀφείλετο, καὶ τυφλώττειν ἄλλως οὓς μὲν οἱ θυμοὶ παρεσκεύαζον οὓς δ᾽ οἱ φόβοι: διὰ τοῦτο τὸν προστυχόντα πλήττειν ἦν ἄκριτον. [139] Ῥωμαίους μὲν οὖν συνησπικότας καὶ κατὰ συντάξεις προπηδῶντας ἧττον ἔβλαπτεν ἡ ἄγνοια: καὶ γὰρ ἦν παρ᾽ ἑκάστῳ μνήμη τοῦ συνθήματος: [140] Ἰουδαῖοι δ᾽ ἀεὶ σκεδαννύμενοι καὶ τάς τε προσβολὰς καὶ τὰς ὑποχωρήσεις ἀνέδην ποιούμενοι πολλάκις φαντασίαν παρεῖχον ἀλλήλοις πολεμίων: τὸν ὑποστρέφοντα γὰρ ἕκαστος οἰκεῖον διὰ σκότους ὡς ἐπιόντα Ῥωμαῖον ἐξεδέχετο. [141] πλείους γοῦν ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἢ τῶν πολεμίων ἐτρώθησαν, ἕως ἡμέρας γενομένης ὄψει τὸ λοιπὸν ἡ μάχη διεκρίνετο, καὶ κατὰ φάλαγγα διαστάντες τοῖς τε βέλεσιν εὐτάκτοις ἐχρῶντο καὶ ταῖς ἀμύναις. [142] οὐδέτεροι δὲ οὔτ᾽ εἶκον οὔτ᾽ ἐκοπίων, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν ὡς ἐφορῶντος Καίσαρος κατ᾽ ἄνδρα καὶ κατὰ συντάξεις ἤριζον ἀλλήλοις, καὶ προκοπῆς ἕκαστος ἐκείνην αὐτῷ τὴν ἡμέραν ἄρξειν ὑπελάμβανεν, εἰ γενναίως ἀγωνίσαιτο: [143] Ἰουδαίοις δ᾽ ἐβράβευε τὰς τόλμας ὅ τε περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ φόβος καὶ ὁ τύραννος ἐφεστὼς καὶ τοὺς μὲν παρακαλῶν, τοὺς δὲ μαστιγῶν καὶ διεγείρων ἀπειλαῖς. [144] συνέβαινε δὲ τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον σταδιαίαν εἶναι τὴν μάχην, ἐν ὀλίγῳ δὲ καὶ ταχέως ἀντιστρέφεσθαι τὰς ῥοπάς: οὐδέτεροι γὰρ οὔτε φυγῆς οὔτε διώξεως μῆκος εἶχον. [145] ἀεὶ δὲ πρὸς τὸ συμβαῖνον οἰκεῖος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντωνίας ὁ θόρυβος ἦν, θαρρεῖν δὲ καὶ κρατοῦσι τοῖς σφετέροις ἐπεβόων καὶ μένειν τρεπομένοις. [146] ἦν δὲ ὥσπερ τι πολέμου θέατρον: οὐδὲν γὰρ οὔτε Τίτον οὔτε τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐλάνθανε τῶν κατὰ τὴν μάχην. [147] τὸ δὲ πέρας ἀρξάμενοι τῆς νυκτὸς ἑνάτης ὥρας ὑπὲρ πέμπτην τῆς ἡμέρας διελύθησαν ἀφ᾽ οὗπερ ἤρξαντο τόπου τῆς συμβολῆς, μηδέτεροι βεβαίως κλίναντες τοὺς ἑτέρους, ἀλλὰ τὴν νίκην μέσην ἐν ἀγχωμάλῳ καταλιπόντες. [148] καὶ Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἐπισήμως ἠγωνίσαντο πολλοί, Ἰουδαίων δ᾽ ἐκ μὲν τῶν περὶ Σίμωνα Ἰούδης ὁ τοῦ Μαρεώτου καὶ Σίμων ὁ τοῦ Ὀσαία, τῶν δὲ Ἰδουμαίων Ἰάκωβος καὶ Σίμων, Ἀκατελᾶ μὲν οὗτος παῖς, Σωσᾶ δὲ ὁ Ἰάκωβος, τῶν δὲ μετὰ Ἰωάννου Γεφθέος καὶ Ἀλεξᾶς, τῶν δὲ ζηλωτῶν Σίμων υἱὸς Ἀρί.

(7) [149] Ἐν τούτῳ δ᾽ ἡ λοιπὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δύναμις ἡμέραις ἑπτὰ καταστρεψαμένη τοὺς τῆς Ἀντωνίας θεμελίους μέχρι τοῦ ἱεροῦ πλατεῖαν ὁδὸν εὐτρεπίσαντο. [150] πλησιάσαντα δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ περιβόλῳ τὰ τάγματα κατήρχετο χωμάτων, τὸ μὲν ἀντικρὺς τῆς τοῦ εἴσω ἱεροῦ γωνίας, ἥτις ἦν κατ᾽ ἄρκτον καὶ

δύσιν, τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὴν βόρειον ἐξέδραν, ἣ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο πυλῶν ἦν: [151] τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν δύο θάτερον μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἑσπέριον στοὰν τοῦ ἔξωθεν ἱεροῦ, τὸ δ' ἕτερον ἔξω κατὰ τὴν βόρειον. προύκοπτεν μέντοι μετὰ πολλοῦ καμάτου καὶ ταλαιπωρίας αὐτοῖς τὰ ἔργα [καὶ] τὴν ὕλην ἀφ' ἑκατὸν σταδίων συγκομίζουσιν, [152] ἐκακοῦντο δ' ἔσθ' ὅπη καὶ κατ' ἐπιβουλάς, αὐτοὶ διὰ περιουσίαν τοῦ κρατεῖν ὄντες ἀδεέστεροι καὶ δι' ἀπόγνωσιν ἤδη σωτηρίας χρώμενοι τολμηροτέροις τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις. [153] τῶν γὰρ ἱππέων τινὲς ὁπότε προέλθοιεν ἐπὶ ξυλείαν ἢ χόρτου συλλογήν, τὸν τῆς συγκομιδῆς χρόνον ἀνίεσαν βόσκεσθαι τοὺς ἵππους ἀποχαλινοῦντες, οὓς οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι κατὰ στῖφος ἐκπηδῶντες ἥρπαζον. [154] καὶ τούτου συνεχῶς γινομένου νομίσας Καῖσαρ, ὅπερ ἦν, ἀμελείᾳ τῶν σφετέρων πλέον ἢ τῇ Ἰουδαίων ἀνδρείᾳ γίνεσθαι τὰς ἁρπαγάς, ἔγνω σκυθρωπότερον τοὺς λοιποὺς πρὸς φυλακὴν τῶν ἵππων ἐπιστρέψαι. [155] καὶ κελεύσας ἀπαχθῆναι τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ τῶν ἀπολεσάντων στρατιωτῶν ἕνα, φόβῳ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐτήρησε τοὺς ἵππους: οὐκέτι γὰρ εἴων νέμεσθαι, καθάπερ δὲ συμπεφυκότες αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς χρείας ἐξῄεσαν. [156] οἱ μὲν οὖν προσεπολέμουν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ τὰ χώματα διήγειρον.

(8) [157] Μετὰ δὲ μίαν ἡμέραν αὐτῶν τῆς ἀνόδου πολλοὶ τῶν στασιαστῶν, οἷς ἁρπαγαί τε ἐπέλειπον ἤδη καὶ ὁ λιμὸς ἤπειγε, συνελθόντες ταῖς κατὰ τὸ Ἐλαιῶν ὄρος Ῥωμαίων φυλακαῖς ἐπιτίθενται περὶ ὥραν ἐνδεκάτην τῆς ἡμέρας, οἰόμενοι πρῶτον μὲν ἀδοκήτων, ἔπειτα πρὸς θεραπείαις ἤδη τοῦ σώματος ὄντων ῥᾳδίως διεκπαίσειν. [158] προαισθόμενοι δὲ τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ταχέως ἐκ τῶν πλησίον φρουρίων συνδραμόντες εἶργον ὑπερπηδᾶν καὶ διακόπτειν τὸ περιτείχισμα βιαζομένους. [159] γενομένης δὲ καρτερᾶς τῆς συμβολῆς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ παρ' ἑκατέρων γενναίως ἐπράχθη, Ῥωμαίων μὲν μετὰ τῆς ἰσχύος ἐμπειρίᾳ τοῦ πολεμεῖν χρωμένων, Ἰουδαίων δὲ ἀφειδέσι ταῖς ὁρμαῖς καὶ τοῖς θυμοῖς ἀκατασχέτοις: [160] ἐστρατήγει δὲ τῶν μὲν αἰδώς, τῶν δὲ ἀνάγκη: τό τε γὰρ ἐξαφεῖναι Ἰουδαίους ὥσπερ ἄρκυσιν ἐνειλημμένους Ῥωμαίοις αἴσχιστον ἐδόκει, κἀκεῖνοι μίαν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας εἶχον, εἰ βιασάμενοι ῥήξειαν τὸ τεῖχος: [161] καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ σπείρας τις ἱππέων, Πεδάνιος τοὔνομα, τρεπομένων ἤδη τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ κατὰ τῆς φάραγγος συνωθουμένων ῥόθιον ἐκ πλαγίου παρελαύνων τὸν ἵππον ἁρπάζει τινὰ φεύγοντα τῶν πολεμίων, νεανίαν στιβαρόν τε ἄλλως τὸ σῶμα καὶ καθωπλισμένον, δραξάμενος ἐκ τοῦ σφυροῦ: [162] τοσοῦτον μὲν ἑαυτὸν ἐκ τρέχοντος ἐπέκλινε τοῦ ἵππου, τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐπεδείξατο τῆς δεξιᾶς τὸν τόνον καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος ἔτι δ' ἐμπειρίας ἱππικῆς. [163] ὁ μὲν οὖν ὥσπερ τι κειμήλιον ἁρπασάμενος ἦκε φέρων Καίσαρι τὸν αἰχμάλωτον: Τίτος δὲ τὸν μὲν λαβόντα τῆς δυνάμεως θαυμάσας, τὸν δὲ ληφθέντα τῆς περὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐπιχειρήσεως κολάσαι κελεύσας, αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν διαμάχαις ἦν καὶ τὰ χώματα κατήπειγεν.

(9) [164] Ἐν ᾧ Ἰουδαῖοι κακούμενοι ταῖς συμβολαῖς ἀεὶ κατ᾽ ὀλίγον κορυφουμένου τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῷ ναῷ προσέρποντος, καθάπερ σηπομένου σώματος ἀπέκοπτον τὰ προειλημμένα μέλη φθάνοντες τὴν εἰς τὸ πρόσω νομήν. [165] τῆς γὰρ βορείου καὶ κατὰ δύσιν στοᾶς τὸ συνεχὲς πρὸς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν ἐμπρήσαντες ἔπειτα ἀπέρρηξαν ὅσον πήχεις εἴκοσι, ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶν ἀρξάμενοι καίειν τὰ ἅγια. [166] μετὰ δ᾽ ἡμέρας δύο, τετράδι καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ προειρημένου μηνός, τὴν πλησίον στοὰν ὑποπιμπρᾶσι Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ μέχρι πεντεκαίδεκα πηχῶν προκόψαντος τοῦ πυρὸς ἀποκόπτουσιν ὁμοίως Ἰουδαῖοι τὴν ὀροφήν, μήτε καθάπαξ ἐξιστάμενοι τῶν ἔργων καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν συναφὲς αὐτῶν διαιροῦντες: [167] διὸ καὶ παρὸν κωλύειν ὑποπιμπράντας, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐμβολὴν τοῦ πυρὸς ἠρεμήσαντες τὴν νομὴν ἐμέτρησαν αὐτῷ σφίσι χρησίμως. [168] περὶ μὲν δὴ τὸ ἱερὸν οὐ διέλειπον αἱ συμβολαί, συνεχὴς δ᾽ ἦν κατὰ μέρος ἐκθεόντων ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλους ὁ πόλεμος.

(10) [169] Τῶν Ἰουδαίων δέ τις κατὰ ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας ἀνὴρ τό τε σῶμα βραχὺς καὶ τὴν ὄψιν εὐκαταφρόνητος γένους θ᾽ ἕνεκα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄσημος, Ἰωνάθης ἐκαλεῖτο, προελθὼν κατὰ τὸ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Ἰωάννου μνημεῖον ἄλλα τε πολλὰ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑπερηφάνως ἐφθέγγετο καὶ τὸν ἄριστον αὐτῶν εἰς μονομαχίαν προυκαλεῖτο. [170] τῶν δὲ ταύτῃ παρατεταγμένων οἱ πολλοὶ μὲν ὑπερηφάνουν, ἦσαν δ᾽ οἳ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἐδεδοίκεσαν, ἥπτετό γε μὴν τινῶν καὶ λογισμὸς οὐκ ἀσύνετος θανατῶντι μὴ συμπλέκεσθαι: [171] τοὺς γὰρ ἀπεγνωκότας τὴν σωτηρίαν ἅμα καὶ τὰς ὁρμὰς ἀταμιεύτους ἔχειν καὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐδυσώπητον, τό τε παραβάλλεσθαι πρὸς οὓς καὶ τὸ νικᾶν οὐ μέγα καὶ μετ᾽ αἰσχύνης τὸ λειφθῆναι σφαλερόν, οὐκ ἀνδρείας ἀλλὰ θρασύτητος εἶναι. [172] μηδενὸς δ᾽ ἐπὶ πολὺ προιόντος καὶ τοῦ Ἰουδαίου πολλὰ κατακερτομοῦντος αὐτοὺς εἰς δειλίαν, ἀλαζὼν γάρ τις ἦν αὐτῷ σφόδρα καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπερήφανος, Πούδης τις ὄνομα τῶν ἐξ ἴλης ἱππέων βδελυξάμενος αὐτοῦ τά τε ῥήματα καὶ τὸ αὔθαδες, [173] εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν βραχύτητα τοῦ σώματος αὐτὸν ἀσκέπτως ἐπαρθῆναι, προπηδᾷ, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα περιῆν συμβαλών, προεδόθη δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης: πεσόντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰωνάθης ἀποσφάττει προσδραμών. [174] ἔπειτα ἐπιβὰς τῷ νεκρῷ τό τε ξίφος ᾑμαγμένον ἀνέσειε καὶ τῇ λαιᾷ τὸν θυρεὸν ἐπηλάλαξέ τε τῇ στρατιᾷ πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν πεσόντα κομπάζων καὶ τοὺς ὁρῶντας Ῥωμαίους ἐπισκώπτων, [175] ἕως αὐτὸν ἀνασκιρτῶντα καὶ ματαίζοντα Πρῖσκός τις ἑκατοντάρχης τοξεύσας διήλασε βέλει: πρὸς ὃ τῶν τε Ἰουδαίων καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κραυγὴ συνεξήρθη διάφορος. [176] ὁ δὲ δινηθεὶς ἐκ τῶν ἀλγηδόνων ἐπὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ πολεμίου κατέπεσεν, ὠκυτάτην ἀποφήνας ἐν πολέμῳ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀλόγως εὐτυχοῦντι νέμεσιν.

III

(1) [177] Οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ τὸ ἱερὸν στασιασταὶ φανερῶς τε οὐκ ἀνίεσαν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν χωμάτων στρατιώτας ἀμυνόμενοι καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, καὶ τοῦ προειρημένου μηνὸς ἑβδόμῃ καὶ εἰκάδι δόλον ἐνσκευάζονται τοιόνδε. [178] τῆς ἑσπερίου στοᾶς τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν δοκῶν καὶ τῆς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς ὀροφῆς ὕλης ἀναπιμπλᾶσιν αὖης, πρὸς δὲ ἀσφάλτου τε καὶ πίσσης: ἔπειθ᾽ ὡς καταπονούμενοι δῆθεν ὑπεχώρουν. [179] πρὸς ὃ τῶν μὲν ἀσκέπτων πολλοὶ ταῖς ὁρμαῖς φερόμενοι προσέκειντο τοῖς ὑποχωροῦσιν ἐπί τε τὴν στοὰν ἀνεπήδων προσθέμενοι κλίμακας, οἱ δὲ συνετώτεροι τὴν ἄλογον τροπὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὑπονοήσαντες ἔμενον. [180] κατεπλήσθη μέντοι τῶν ἀναπηδησάντων ἡ στοά, κἀν τούτῳ Ἰουδαῖοι πᾶσαν ὑποπιμπρᾶσιν αὐτήν. αἰρομένης δ᾽ αἰφνιδίως πάντοθεν τῆς φλογὸς τούς τε ἔξω τοῦ κινδύνου Ῥωμαίους ἔκπληξις ἐπέσχε δεινὴ καὶ τοὺς περισχεθέντας ἀμηχανία. [181] κυκλούμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς φλογὸς οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὀπίσω κατεκρήμνιζον ἑαυτούς, οἱ δ᾽ εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους, πολλοὶ δ᾽ ἐλπίδι σωτηρίας εἰς τοὺς σφετέρους καταπηδῶντες ἐκλῶντο τὰ μέλη, πλείστων δ᾽ ἔφθανε τὰς ὁρμὰς τὸ πῦρ καί τινες τὴν φλόγα σιδήρῳ. [182] περιεῖχε δ᾽ εὐθέως καὶ τοὺς ἄλλως φθειρομένους τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐκφερόμενον. Καίσαρα δὲ καίπερ χαλεπαίνοντα τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις, ἐπειδὴ δίχα παραγγέλματος ἀναβεβήκεσαν, ὅμως οἶκτος εἰσῄει τῶν ἀνδρῶν: [183] καὶ μηδενὸς προσαμύνειν δυναμένου, τοῦτο γοῦν παραμύθιον ἦν τοῖς φθειρομένοις τὸ βλέπειν ὑπὲρ οὗ τις ἠφίει τὴν ψυχὴν ὀδυνώμενον: βοῶν τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ προπηδῶν καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων ἐπαμύνειν παρακαλῶν δῆλος ἦν. [184] τὰς δὲ φωνὰς ἕκαστος καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν ὥσπερ τι λαμπρὸν ἀποφέρων ἐντάφιον εὔθυμος ἀπέθνησκεν. [185] ἔνιοί γε μὴν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῖχον τῆς στοᾶς ὄντα πλατὺν ἀναχωρήσαντες ἐκ μὲν τοῦ πυρὸς διεσώθησαν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων περισχεθέντες ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν ἀντέσχον διατιτρωσκόμενοι, τέλος δὲ πάντες ἔπεσον,

(2) [186] καὶ τελευταῖός τις αὐτῶν νεανίας, ὀνόματι Λόγγος, ὅλον ἐπικοσμήσας τὸ πάθος καὶ κατ᾽ ἄνδρα μνήμης ἀξίων ὄντων πάντων τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἄριστος φανείς. [187] ὃν οἱ μὲν Ἰουδαῖοι τῆς τε ἀλκῆς ἀγάμενοι καὶ ἄλλως ἀνελεῖν ἀσθενοῦντες καταβῆναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ παρεκάλουν, ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς Κορνήλιος ἐκ θατέρου μὴ καταισχῦναι τὸ σφέτερον κλέος καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων στρατιάν. τούτῳ πεισθεὶς καὶ διαράμενος φανερὸν ἑκατέροις τοῖς τάγμασι τὸ ξίφος αὐτὸν ἀναιρεῖ. [188] τῶν δὲ τῷ πυρὶ περισχεθέντων Ἀρτώριός τις πανουργίᾳ διασώζεται: προσκαλεσάμενος γάρ τινα τῶν στρατιωτῶν Λούκιον, ᾧ συνεσκήνει, μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ “κληρονόμον, ἔφη, καταλείπω σε τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ κτημάτων, [189] εἰ προσελθών με δέξαιο.” τοῦ δὲ ἑτοίμως προσδραμόντος ὁ μὲν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν κατενεχθεὶς ἔζησεν, ὁ δὲ δεξάμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ βάρους τῷ λιθοστρώτῳ προσαραχθεὶς παραχρῆμα θνήσκει. [190] τοῦτο τὸ πάθος πρὸς καιρὸν μὲν Ῥωμαίοις ἐνεποίησεν ἀθυμίαν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ μέλλον ὅμως ἀπαρακλήτους κατεσκεύασεν φυλακτικωτέρους τε πρὸς τὰς Ἰουδαίων ἀπάτας ὠφέλησεν, ἐν αἷς

τὰ πολλὰ δι᾽ ἄγνοιαν τῶν τόπων καὶ τὸ ἦθος τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐβλάπτοντο. [191] κατεκάη δ᾽ ἡ στοὰ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰωάννου πύργου, ὃν ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Σίμωνα πολέμῳ κατεσκεύασεν ὑπὲρ τὰς ἐξαγούσας ὑπὲρ τὸν ξυστὸν πύλας: τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ διεφθαρμένοις ἤδη Ἰουδαῖοι τοῖς ἀναβᾶσιν ἀπέκοψαν. [192] τῇ δ᾽ ὑστεραίᾳ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν βόρειον στοὰν ἐνέπρησαν μέχρι τῆς ἀνατολικῆς ὅλην, ὧν ἡ συνάπτουσα γωνία τῆς Κεδρῶνος καλουμένης φάραγγος ὑπερδεδόμητο, παρ᾽ ὃ καὶ φοβερὸν ἦν τὸ βάθος. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

(3) [193] Τῶν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ φθειρομένων κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἄπειρον μὲν ἔπιπτε τὸ πλῆθος, ἀδιήγητα δὲ συνέβαινε τὰ πάθη. [194] καθ᾽ ἑκάστην γὰρ οἰκίαν, εἴ που τροφῆς παραφανείη σκιά, πόλεμος ἦν, καὶ διὰ χειρῶν ἐχώρουν οἱ φίλτατοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐξαρπάζοντες τὰ ταλαίπωρα τῆς ψυχῆς ἐφόδια. [195] πίστις δ᾽ ἀπορίας οὐδὲ τοῖς θνήσκουσιν ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐκπνέοντας οἱ λῃσταὶ διηρεύνων, μή τις ὑπὸ κόλπον ἔχων τροφὴν σκήπτοιτο τὸν θάνατον αὐτῷ. [196] οἱ δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἐνδείας κεχηνότες ὥσπερ λυσσῶντες κύνες ἐσφάλλοντο, καὶ παρεφέροντο ταῖς τε θύραις ἐνσειόμενοι μεθυόντων τρόπον καὶ ὑπ᾽ ἀμηχανίας εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς οἴκους εἰσπηδῶντες δὶς ἢ τρὶς ὥρᾳ μιᾷ. [197] πάντα δὲ ὑπ᾽ ὀδόντας ἦγεν ἡ ἀνάγκη, καὶ τὰ μηδὲ τοῖς ῥυπαρωτάτοις τῶν ἀλόγων ζῴων πρόσφορα συλλέγοντες ἐσθίειν ὑπέφερον: ζωστήρων γοῦν καὶ ὑποδημάτων τὸ τελευταῖον οὐκ ἀπέσχοντο καὶ τὰ δέρματα τῶν θυρεῶν ἀποδέροντες ἐμασῶντο. [198] τροφὴ δ᾽ ἦν καὶ χόρτου τισὶ παλαιοῦ σπάραγμα: τὰς γὰρ ἴνας ἔνιοι συλλέγοντες ἐλάχιστον σταθμὸν ἐπώλουν Ἀττικῶν τεσσάρων. [199] καὶ τί δεῖ τὴν ἐπ᾽ ἀψύχοις ἀναίδειαν τοῦ λιμοῦ λέγειν; εἶμι γὰρ αὐτοῦ δηλώσων ἔργον οἷον μήτε παρ᾽ Ἕλλησιν μήτε παρὰ βαρβάροις ἱστόρηται, φρικτὸν μὲν εἰπεῖν, ἄπιστον δὲ ἀκοῦσαι. [200] καὶ ἔγωγε μὴ δόξαιμι τερατεύεσθαι τοῖς αὖθις ἀνθρώποις, κἂν παρέλειπον τὴν συμφορὰν ἡδέως, εἰ μὴ τῶν κατ᾽ ἐμαυτὸν εἶχον ἀπείρους μάρτυρας. ἄλλως τε καὶ ψυχρὰν ἂν καταθείμην τῇ πατρίδι χάριν καθυφέμενος τὸν λόγον ὧν πέπονθεν τὰ ἔργα.

(4) [201] Γυνή τις τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰορδάνην κατοικούντων, Μαρία τοὔνομα, πατρὸς Ἐλεαζάρου, κώμης Βηθεζουβᾶ, σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο οἶκος ὑσσώπου, διὰ γένος καὶ πλοῦτον ἐπίσημος, μετὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ πλήθους εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καταφυγοῦσα συνεπολιορκεῖτο. [202] ταύτης τὴν μὲν ἄλλην κτῆσιν οἱ τύραννοι διήρπασαν, ὅσην ἐκ τῆς Περαίας ἀνασκευασαμένη μετήνεγκεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, τὰ δὲ λείψανα τῶν κειμηλίων καὶ εἴ τι τροφῆς ἐπινοηθείη καθ᾽ ἡμέραν εἰσπηδῶντες ἥρπαζον οἱ δορυφόροι. [203] δεινὴ δὲ τὸ γύναιον ἀγανάκτησις εἰσῄει, καὶ πολλάκις λοιδοροῦσα καὶ καταρωμένη τοὺς ἅρπαγας ἐφ᾽ αὑτὴν ἠρέθιζεν. [204] ὡς δ᾽ οὔτε παροξυνόμενός τις οὔτ᾽ ἐλεῶν αὐτὴν ἀνῄρει, καὶ τὸ μὲν εὑρεῖν τι σιτίον ἄλλοις ἐκοπία, πανταχόθεν δὲ ἄπορον ἦν ἤδη καὶ τὸ εὑρεῖν, ὁ λιμὸς δὲ διὰ σπλάγχνων καὶ μυελῶν ἐχώρει καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ μᾶλλον ἐξέκαιον οἱ θυμοί, σύμβουλον λαβοῦσα τὴν ὀργὴν μετὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἐπὶ τὴν φύσιν ἐχώρει, [205] καὶ τὸ τέκνον, ἦν δὲ αὐτῇ παῖς ὑπομάστιος, ἁρπασαμένη “βρέφος, εἶπεν, ἄθλιον, ἐν

πολέμῳ καὶ λιμῷ καὶ στάσει τίνι σε τηρήσω; [206] τὰ μὲν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις δουλεία, κἂν ζήσωμεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς, φθάνει δὲ καὶ δουλείαν ὁ λιμός, οἱ στασιασταὶ δὲ ἀμφοτέρων χαλεπώτεροι. [207] ἴθι, γενοῦ μοι τροφὴ καὶ τοῖς στασιασταῖς ἐρινὺς καὶ τῷ βίῳ μῦθος ὁ μόνος ἐλλείπων [208] ταῖς Ἰουδαίων συμφοραῖς.᾽᾽ καὶ ταῦθ᾽ ἅμα λέγουσα κτείνει τὸν υἱόν, ἔπειτ᾽ ὀπτήσασα τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ κατεσθίει, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν κατακαλύψασα ἐφύλαττεν. [209] εὐθέως δ᾽ οἱ στασιασταὶ παρῆσαν, καὶ τῆς ἀθεμίτου κνίσης σπάσαντες ἠπείλουν, εἰ μὴ δείξειεν τὸ παρασκευασθέν, ἀποσφάξειν αὐτὴν εὐθέως. ἡ δὲ καὶ μοῖραν αὐτοῖς εἰποῦσα καλὴν τετηρηκέναι τὰ λείψανα τοῦ τέκνου διεκάλυψεν. [210] τοὺς δ᾽ εὐθέως φρίκη καὶ παρέκστασις ᾔρει καὶ παρὰ τὴν ὄψιν ἐπεπήγεσαν. ἡ δ᾽ ᾽᾽ἐμόν, ἔφη, τοῦτο τέκνον γνήσιον καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐμόν. [211] φάγετε, καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ βέβρωκα. μὴ γένησθε μήτε μαλακώτεροι γυναικὸς μήτε συμπαθέστεροι μητρός. εἰ δ᾽ ὑμεῖς εὐσεβεῖς καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀποστρέφεσθε θυσίαν, ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμῖν βέβρωκα, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ ἐμοὶ μεινάτω.᾽᾽ μετὰ ταῦθ᾽ οἱ μὲν τρέμοντες ἐξῄεσαν, [212] πρὸς ἓν τοῦτο δειλοὶ καὶ μόλις ταύτης τῆς τροφῆς τῇ μητρὶ παραχωρήσαντες, ἀνεπλήσθη δ᾽ εὐθέως ὅλη τοῦ μύσους ἡ πόλις, καὶ πρὸ ὀμμάτων ἕκαστος τὸ πάθος λαμβάνων ὥσπερ αὐτῷ τολμηθὲν ἔφριττε. [213] σπουδὴ δὲ τῶν λιμωττόντων ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον ἦν, καὶ μακαρισμὸς τῶν φθασάντων πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι καὶ θεάσασθαι κακὰ τηλικαῦτα.

(5) [214] Ταχέως δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις διηγγέλθη τὸ πάθος. τῶν δ᾽ οἱ μὲν ἠπίστουν, οἱ δὲ ᾤκτειρον, τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς εἰς μῖσος τοῦ ἔθνους σφοδρότερον συνέβη προελθεῖν. [215] Καῖσαρ δὲ ἀπελογεῖτο καὶ περὶ τούτου τῷ θεῷ, φάσκων παρὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ Ἰουδαίοις εἰρήνην καὶ αὐτονομίαν προτείνεσθαι καὶ πάντων ἀμνηστίαν τῶν τετολμημένων, τοὺς δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν ὁμονοίας στάσιν, [216] ἀντὶ δὲ εἰρήνης πόλεμον, πρὸ κόρου δὲ καὶ εὐθηνίας λιμὸν αἱρουμένους, ἰδίαις δὲ χερσὶν ἀρξαμένους καίειν τὸ συντηρούμενον ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἱερὸν αὐτοῖς, εἶναι καὶ τοιαύτης τροφῆς ἀξίους. [217] καλύψειν μέντοι τὸ τῆς τεκνοφαγίας μύσος αὐτῷ τῷ τῆς πατρίδος πτώματι καὶ οὐ καταλείψειν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡλίῳ καθορᾶν πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ μητέρες οὕτω τρέφονται. [218] προσήκειν μέντοι πρὸ μητέρων πατράσιν τὴν τοιαύτην τροφήν, οἳ καὶ μετὰ τηλικαῦτα πάθη μένουσιν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. [219] ταῦθ᾽ ἅμα διεξιὼν ἐνενόει καὶ τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν τῶν ἀνδρῶν: οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔτι σωφρονῆσαι τοὺς πάντα προπεπονθότας ἐφ᾽ οἷς εἰκὸς ἦν μεταβαλέσθαι μὴ παθοῦσιν.

IV

(1) [220] Ἤδη δὲ τῶν δύο ταγμάτων συντετελεκότων τὰ χώματα Λώου μηνὸς ὀγδόῃ προσάγειν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς κριοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἑσπέριον ἐξέδραν τοῦ ἔξωθεν ἱεροῦ. [221] πρὸ δὲ τούτων ἓξ ἡμέρας ἀδιαλείπτως ἡ στερροτάτη πασῶν ἑλέπολις τύπτουσα τὸν τοῖχον οὐδὲν ἤνυσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὸ μέγεθος καὶ ἡ ἁρμονία τῶν λίθων ἦν ἀμείνων. [222] τῆς δὲ βορείου πύλης ὑπώρυττον

ἕτεροι τοὺς θεμελίους καὶ πολλὰ ταλαιπωρήσαντες τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν λίθους ἐξεκύλισαν. ἀνείχοντο δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνδοτέρω καὶ διέμεινεν ἡ πύλη, μέχρι τὰς δι᾽ ὀργάνων καὶ τῶν μοχλῶν ἐπιχειρήσεις ἀπογνόντες κλίμακας ταῖς στοαῖς προσέφερον. [223] οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι κωλῦσαι μὲν οὐκ ἔφθασαν, ἀναβᾶσι δὲ συμπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνωθοῦντες εἰς τοὐπίσω κατεκρήμνιζον, τοὺς δ᾽ ὑπαντιάζοντας ἀνῄρουν: [224] πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν κλιμάκων ἀποβαίνοντας πρὶν φράξασθαι τοῖς θυρεοῖς παίοντες ταῖς ῥομφαίαις ἔφθανον, ἐνίας δὲ γεμούσας ὁπλιτῶν κλίμακας παρακλίνοντες ἄνωθεν κατέσειον: [225] ἦν δ᾽ οὐκ ὀλίγος καὶ αὐτῶν φόνος. οἱ δὲ ἀνενεγκόντες τὰς σημαίας περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπολέμουν, δεινὴν ἡγούμενοι καὶ πρὸς αἰσχύνης τούτων τὴν ἁρπαγήν. [226] τέλος δὲ καὶ τῶν σημαιῶν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι κρατοῦσιν καὶ τοὺς ἀναβάντας διαφθείρουσιν: οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πρὸς τὸ τῶν ἀπολωλότων πάθος ὀρρωδοῦντες ἀνεχώρουν. [227] τῶν μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων ἄπρακτος οὐδεὶς ἀπέθανεν, τῶν δὲ στασιαστῶν οἳ κατὰ τὰς προτέρας μάχας ἠγωνίσαντο γενναίως καὶ τότε καὶ Ἐλεάζαρος ἀδελφιδοῦς τοῦ τυράννου Σίμωνος. [228] ὁ δὲ Τίτος ὡς ἑώρα τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἱεροῖς φειδὼ πρὸς βλάβης τοῖς στρατιώταις γινομένην καὶ φόνου, τὰς πύλας προσέταξεν ὑφάπτειν.

(2) [229] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν αὐτομολοῦσιν Ἄνανός τε ὁ ἀφαμμαούς, τῶν Σίμωνος δορυφόρων ὁ φονικώτατος, καὶ Ἀρχέλαος υἱὸς Μαγαδδάτου, συγγνώμην ἐλπίσαντες ἐπειδὴ κρατούντων Ἰουδαίων ἀπεχώρουν. [230] Τίτος δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ πανούργημα προβάλλεται τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην περὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ὠμότητα πεπυσμένος ὥρμητο κτείνειν ἑκατέρους, ὑπ᾽ ἀνάγκης ἦχθαι λέγων αὐτούς, οὐκ ἐκ προαιρέσεως παρεῖναι, καὶ σωτηρίας οὐκ ἀξίους εἶναι τοὺς φλεγομένης ἤδη δι᾽ αὐτοὺς τῆς πατρίδος ἐξαλλομένους. [231] ἐκράτει δ᾽ ὅμως τοῦ θυμοῦ ἡ πίστις, καὶ ἀφίησι τοὺς ἄνδρας, οὐ μὴν ἐν ἴσῃ μοίρᾳ κατέτασσε τοῖς ἄλλοις. [232] ἤδη δὲ ταῖς πύλαις οἱ στρατιῶται προσῆγον τὸ πῦρ, καὶ περιτηκόμενος ὁ ἄργυρος διεδίδου ταχέως εἰς τὴν ξυλείαν τὴν φλόγα, ἔνθεν ἀθρόως ἐκφερομένη τῶν στοῶν ἐπελαμβάνετο. [233] τοῖς δὲ Ἰουδαίοις ὁρῶσι τὸ πῦρ ἐν κύκλῳ μετὰ τῶν σωμάτων παρείθησαν αἱ ψυχαί, καὶ διὰ τὴν κατάπληξιν ἀμύνειν μὲν ἢ σβεννύειν ὥρμησεν οὐδείς, αὖοι δ᾽ ἑστῶτες ἀφεώρων. [234] οὐ μὴν πρὸς τὸ δαπανώμενον ἀθυμοῦντες εἰς γοῦν τὸ λοιπὸν ἐσωφρόνουν, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἤδη καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ καιομένου τοὺς θυμοὺς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἔθηγον. [235] ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν νύκτα τὸ πῦρ ἐπεκράτει: κατὰ μέρος γάρ, οὐχ ὁμοῦ πάντοθεν ἴσχυσαν ὑφάψαι τὰς στοάς.

(3) [236] Τῇ δ᾽ ἐπιούσῃ Τίτος μέρει τῆς δυνάμεως σβεννύειν τε καὶ τὰ παρὰ τὰς πύλας ὁδοποιεῖν εἰς εὐμαρεστέραν τῶν ταγμάτων ἄνοδον κελεύσας αὐτὸς συνῆγε τοὺς ἡγεμόνας. [237] καὶ συνελθόντων ἓξ τῶν κορυφαιοτάτων, Τιβερίου τε Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ πάντων τῶν στρατευμάτων ἐπάρχοντος, καὶ Σέξτου Κερεαλίου τοῦ τὸ πέμπτον ἄγοντος τάγμα, καὶ Λαρκίου Λεπίδου τὸ δέκατον, καὶ Τίτου Φρυγίου τὸ πεντεκαιδέκατον, [238] πρὸς οἷς Φρόντων ἦν Ἑτέριος στρατοπεδάρχης

τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας δύο ταγμάτων, καὶ Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπίτροπος, καὶ μετὰ τούτους ἐπιτρόπων καὶ χιλιάρχων ἀθροισθέντων, βουλὴν περὶ τοῦ ναοῦ προυτίθει. [239] τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει χρῆσθαι τῷ τοῦ πολέμου νόμῳ: μὴ γὰρ ἄν ποτε Ἰουδαίους παύσασθαι νεωτερίζοντας τοῦ ναοῦ μένοντος, ἐφ᾽ ὃν οἱ πανταχόθεν συλλέγονται. [240] τινὲς δὲ παρῄνουν, εἰ μὲν καταλίποιεν αὐτὸν Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ μηδεὶς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὰ ὅπλα θείη, σώζειν, εἰ δὲ πολεμοῖεν ἐπιβάντες, καταφλέγειν: φρούριον γάρ, οὐκέτι ναὸν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔσεσθαι τῶν ἀναγκασάντων τὴν ἀσέβειαν, οὐκ αὐτῶν. [241] ὁ δὲ Τίτος οὐδ᾽ ἂν ἐπιβάντες ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πολεμῶσιν Ἰουδαῖοι φήσας ἀντὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀμυνεῖσθαι τὰ ἄψυχα οὐδὲ καταφλέξειν ποτὲ τηλικοῦτον ἔργον: Ῥωμαίων γὰρ ἔσεσθαι τὴν βλάβην, ὥσπερ καὶ κόσμον τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτοῦ μένοντος: [242] θαρροῦντες δὲ ἤδη προσετίθεντο τῇ γνώμῃ Φρόντων τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Κερεάλιος. [243] τότε μὲν οὖν διαλύει τὸ συνέδριον καὶ τὰς ἄλλας δυνάμεις διαναπαῦσαι κελεύσας τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν, ὅπως ἐρρωμενεστέροις ἐν τῇ παρατάξει χρήσαιτο, τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν σπειρῶν ἐπιλέκτοις ὁδοποιεῖν διὰ τῶν ἐρειπίων προσέταξε καὶ τὸ πῦρ σβεννύειν.

(4) [244] Κατ᾽ ἐκείνην μὲν δὴ τὴν ἡμέραν τῶν Ἰουδαίων κάματός τε καὶ κατάπληξις ἐκράτησε τὰς ὁρμάς: τῇ δ᾽ ἐπιούσῃ συλλεξάμενοί τε τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ ἀναθαρσήσαντες ἐπεκθέουσι διὰ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς πύλης τοῖς φύλαξι τοῦ ἔξωθεν ἱεροῦ περὶ δευτέραν ὥραν. [245] οἱ δὲ καρτερῶς μὲν ἐδέξαντο αὐτῶν τὴν ἐμβολὴν καὶ φραξάμενοι τοῖς θυρεοῖς κατὰ μέτωπον ὥσπερ τεῖχος ἐπύκνωσαν τὴν φάλαγγα, δῆλοι δ᾽ ἦσαν οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ συμμενοῦντες πλήθει τε τῶν ἐκτρεχόντων καὶ θυμοῖς ἡττώμενοι. [246] φθάσας δὲ τῆς παρατάξεως τὴν ῥοπὴν Καῖσαρ, καθεώρα γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντωνίας, ἐπήμυνε μετὰ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἱππέων. [247] Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ τὴν ἔφοδον οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλὰ τῶν πρώτων πεσόντων ἐτράπησαν οἱ πολλοί: [248] καὶ ὑποχωροῦσι μὲν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιστρεφόμενοι προσέκειντο, μεταβαλλομένων δὲ ἀνέφευγον πάλιν, ἕως περὶ πέμπτην τῆς ἡμέρας ὥραν οἱ μὲν βιασθέντες εἰς τὸ ἔνδον συνεκλείσθησαν ἱερόν.

(5) [249] Τίτος δὲ ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν διεγνωκὼς τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω μετὰ πάσης ἐμβαλεῖν τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τὸν ναὸν περικατασχεῖν. [250] τοῦ δ᾽ ἄρα κατεψήφιστο μὲν τὸ πῦρ ὁ θεὸς πάλαι, παρῆν δ᾽ ἡ εἱμαρμένη χρόνων περιόδοις ἡμέρα δεκάτη Λώου μηνός, καθ᾽ ἣν καὶ πρότερον ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέως ἐνεπρήσθη. [251] λαμβάνουσι δ᾽ αἱ φλόγες ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν: ὑποχωρήσαντος γὰρ τοῦ Τίτου πρὸς ὀλίγον λωφήσαντες οἱ στασιασταὶ πάλιν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιτίθενται, καὶ τῶν τοῦ ναοῦ φρουρῶν γίνεται συμβολὴ πρὸς τοὺς σβεννύντας τὸ πῦρ τοῦ ἔνδοθεν ἱεροῦ, οἳ τρεψάμενοι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους μέχρι τοῦ ναοῦ παρηκολούθουν. [252] ἔνθα δὴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τις οὔτε παράγγελμα περιμείνας οὔτ᾽ ἐπὶ τηλικούτῳ δείσας ἐγχειρήματι, δαιμονίῳ ὁρμῇ τινι χρώμενος ἁρπάζει μὲν ἐκ τῆς φλεγομένης †

φλογός, ἀνακουφισθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ συστρατιώτου τὸ πῦρ ἐνίησι θυρίδι χρυσῇ, καθ' ἣν εἰς τοὺς περὶ τὸν ναὸν οἴκους εἰσιτὸν ἦν ἐκ τοῦ βορείου κλίματος. [253] αἰρομένης δὲ τῆς φλογὸς Ἰουδαίων μὲν ἐγείρεται κραυγὴ τοῦ πάθους ἀξία, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄμυναν συνέθεον, οὔτε τοῦ ζῆν ἔτι φειδὼ λαμβάνοντες οὔτε ταμιευόμενοι τὴν ἰσχύν, δι' ὃ φυλακτικοὶ πρότερον ἦσαν οἰχομένου.

(6) [254] Δραμὼν δέ τις ἀγγέλλει Τίτῳ: κἀκεῖνος, ἔτυχεν δὲ κατὰ σκηνὴν ἀναπαυόμενος ἐκ τῆς μάχης, ὡς εἶχεν ἀναπηδήσας ἔθει πρὸς τὸν ναὸν εἴρξων τὸ πῦρ. [255] κατόπιν δὲ οἵ τε ἡγεμόνες εἵποντο πάντες, καὶ πτοηθέντα τούτοις ἠκολούθει τὰ τάγματα: βοὴ δὲ ἦν καὶ θόρυβος ἄτε τηλικαύτης δυνάμεως ἀτάκτως κεκινημένης. [256] ὁ μὲν οὖν Καῖσαρ τῇ τε φωνῇ καὶ τῇ δεξιᾷ διεσήμαινε τοῖς μαχομένοις τὸ πῦρ σβεννύειν, οὔτε δὲ βοῶντος ἤκουον μείζονι κραυγῇ τὰς ἀκοὰς προκατειλημμένοι καὶ τοῖς νεύμασι τῆς χειρὸς οὐ προσεῖχον, οἱ μὲν τῷ πολεμεῖν, οἱ δὲ ὀργῇ περισπώμενοι. [257] τῶν δὲ ταγμάτων εἰσθεόντων οὔτε παραίνεσις οὔτ' ἀπειλὴ κατεῖχεν τὰς ὁρμάς, ἀλλ' ὁ θυμὸς ἁπάντων ἐστρατήγει: καὶ περὶ τὰς εἰσόδους συνωθούμενοι πολλοὶ μὲν ὑπ' ἀλλήλων κατεπατοῦντο, πολλοὶ δὲ θερμοῖς ἔτι καὶ τυφομένοις τοῖς ἐρειπίοις τῶν στοῶν ἐμπίπτοντες ἠττωμένων συμφοραῖς ἐχρῶντο. [258] πλησίον δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ γινόμενοι τῶν μὲν τοῦ Καίσαρος παραγγελμάτων προσεποιοῦντο μηδὲ κατακούειν, τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν δὲ τὸ πῦρ ἐνιέναι παρεκελεύοντο. [259] τῶν δὲ στασιαστῶν ἀμηχανία μὲν ἦν ἤδη τοῦ βοηθεῖν, φόνος δὲ πανταχοῦ καὶ τροπή. τὸ δὲ πλέον ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου λαὸς ἀσθενὴς καὶ ἄνοπλος ὅπου καταληφθείη τις ἀπεσφάττετο, καὶ περὶ μὲν τὸν βωμὸν πλῆθος ἐσωρεύετο νεκρῶν, κατὰ δὲ τῶν τοῦ ναοῦ βάθρων αἱμά τ' ἔρρει πολὺ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄνω φονευομένων σώματα κατωλίσθανε.

(7) [260] Καῖσαρ δ' ὡς οὔτε τὰς ὁρμὰς ἐνθουσιώντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατασχεῖν οἷός τε ἦν καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐπεκράτει, παρελθὼν μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἔνδον ἐθεάσατο τοῦ ναοῦ τὸ ἅγιον καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, πολὺ μὲν τῆς παρὰ τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις φήμης ἀμείνω, τοῦ δὲ κόμπου καὶ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς οἰκείοις δόξης οὐκ ἐλάττω. [261] τῆς φλογὸς δὲ οὐδέπω διικνουμένης οὐδαμόθεν εἴσω, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν ναὸν οἴκους νεμομένης, νομίσας, ὅπερ ἦν, ἔτι σώζεσθαι τὸ ἔργον δύνασθαι προπηδᾷ, [262] καὶ αὐτός τε παρακαλεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπειρᾶτο τὸ πῦρ σβεννύειν καὶ Λιβεράλιον ἑκατοντάρχην τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν λογχοφόρων ξύλοις παίοντα τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας ἐκέλευσεν εἴργειν. [263] τῶν δὲ καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα αἰδῶ καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ κωλύοντος φόβον ἐνίκων οἱ θυμοὶ καὶ τὸ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους μῖσος, καὶ πολεμική τις ὁρμὴ λαβροτέρα: [264] τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς ἐνῆγεν ἁρπαγῆς ἐλπίς, δόξαν τε ἔχοντας ὡς τὰ ἔνδον ἅπαντα χρημάτων μεστὰ εἴη, καὶ τὰ πέριξ ὁρῶντας χρυσοῦ πεποιημένα. [265] φθάνει δέ τις καὶ τῶν εἴσω παρεληλυθότων ἐκπηδήσαντος τοῦ Καίσαρος πρὸς ἐποχὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν πῦρ εἰς τοὺς στροφέας ἐμβαλὼν τῆς πύλης † ἐν σκότῳ: [266] τότε γὰρ ἐξαπίνης ἔνδοθεν ἐκφανείσης φλογὸς οἵ τε ἡγεμόνες μετὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀνεχώρουν, καὶ τοὺς

ἔξωθεν οὐδεὶς ὑφάπτειν ἐκώλυεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν ναὸς οὕτως ἄκοντος Καίσαρος ἐμπίπραται.

(8) [267] Πολλὰ δ' ἄν τις ἐπολοφυράμενος ἔργῳ πάντων ὧν ὄψει καὶ ἀκοῇ παρειλήφαμεν θαυμασιωτάτῳ κατασκευῆς τε ἕνεκα καὶ μεγέθους ἔτι τε τῆς καθ' ἕκαστον πολυτελείας καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἅγια δόξης, μεγίστην λάβοι παραμυθίαν τὴν εἱμαρμένην ἄφυκτον οὖσαν ὥσπερ ἐμψύχοις οὕτω καὶ ἔργοις καὶ τόποις. [268] θαυμάσαι δ' ἄν τις ἐν αὐτῇ τῆς περιόδου τὴν ἀκρίβειαν: καὶ μῆνα γοῦν, ὡς ἔφην, καὶ ἡμέραν ἐτήρησεν τὴν αὐτήν, ἐν ᾗ πρότερον ὑπὸ Βαβυλωνίων ὁ ναὸς ἐνεπρήσθη. [269] καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς πρώτης αὐτοῦ κτίσεως, ἣν κατεβάλετο Σολομὼν ὁ βασιλεύς; μέχρι τῆς νῦν ἀναιρέσεως, ἣ γέγονεν ἔτει δευτέρῳ τῆς Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἡγεμονίας, ἔτη συνάγεται χίλια ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα, πρὸς δὲ μῆνες ἑπτὰ καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμέραι: [270] ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ὕστερον, ἣν ἔτει δευτέρῳ Κύρου βασιλεύοντος ἐποιήσατο Ἀγγαῖος, ἔτη μέχρι τῆς ὑπὸ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἁλώσεως τριακονταεννέα πρὸς ἑξακοσίοις καὶ ἡμέραι τεσσαρακονταπέντε.

V

(1) [271] Καιομένου δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τῶν μὲν προσπιπτόντων ἦν ἁρπαγή, φόνος δὲ τῶν καταλαμβανομένων μυρίος καὶ οὔτε ἡλικίας ἦν ἔλεος οὔτ' ἐντροπὴ σεμνότητος, ἀλλὰ καὶ παιδία καὶ γέροντες καὶ βέβηλοι καὶ ἱερεῖς ὁμοίως ἀνῃροῦντο, καὶ πᾶν γένος ἐπεξῄει περισχὼν ὁ πόλεμος, ὁμοῦ τούς τε ἱκετεύοντας καὶ τοὺς ἀμυνομένους. [272] συνήχει δὲ ἡ φλὸξ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐκφερομένη τοῖς τῶν πιπτόντων στεναγμοῖς, καὶ διὰ μὲν τὸ ὕψος τοῦ λόφου καὶ τὸ τοῦ φλεγομένου μέγεθος ἔργου πᾶσαν ἄν τις ἔδοξε καίεσθαι τὴν πόλιν, τῆς δὲ βοῆς ἐκείνης οὐδὲν ἐπινοηθῆναι δύναιτ' ἂν ἢ μεῖζον ἢ φοβερώτερον. [273] τῶν τε γὰρ Ῥωμαικῶν ταγμάτων ἀλαλαγμὸς ἦν συμφερομένων, καὶ τῶν στασιαστῶν πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ κεκυκλωμένων κραυγή, τοῦ τε ἀπολῃφθέντος ἄνω λαοῦ τροπή τε μετ' ἐκπλήξεως εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ πρὸς τὸ πάθος οἰμωγαί. [274] συνεβόα δὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου τὸ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πλῆθος: ἤδη δὲ πολλοὶ τῷ λιμῷ μαραινόμενοι καὶ μεμυκότες ὡς εἶδον τὸ τοῦ ναοῦ πῦρ, εἰς ὀδυρμοὺς πάλιν καὶ κραυγὴν εὐτόνησαν: συνήχει δὲ ἥ τε Περαία καὶ τὰ πέριξ ὄρη βαρυτέραν ποιοῦντα τὴν βοήν. [275] ἦν δὲ τοῦ θορύβου τὰ πάθη φοβερώτερα: τὸν μέν γε τοῦ ἱεροῦ λόφον ἐκ ῥιζῶν ἄν τις ἔδοξε βράττεσθαι πάντοθεν τοῦ πυρὸς καταγέμοντα, δαψιλέστερον δὲ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ πυρὸς εἶναι καὶ τῶν φονευόντων πλείους τοὺς φονευομένους: [276] οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ ἡ γῆ διεφαίνετο τῶν νεκρῶν, ἀλλὰ σωροῖς ἐπιβαίνοντες οἱ στρατιῶται σωμάτων ἐπὶ τοὺς διαφεύγοντας ἔθεον. [277] τὸ μὲν οὖν λῃστρικὸν πλῆθος ὡσάμενοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μόλις εἰς τὸ ἔξω διεκπίπτουσιν ἱερὸν κἀκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, τοῦ δημοτικοῦ δὲ τὸ λειφθὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔξω στοὰν κατέφυγε. [278] τῶν δὲ ἱερέων τινὲς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τούς

τε ὀβελοὺς καὶ τὰς ἕδρας αὐτῶν μολίβου πεποιημένας ἀνασπῶντες εἰς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἠφίεσαν, [279] αὖθις δὲ ὡς οὔτε ἤνυόν τι καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀνερρήγνυτο, ἐπὶ τὸν τοῖχον ἀναχωρήσαντες ὄντα ὀκτάπηχυν τὸ εὖρος ἔμενον. [280] δύο γε μὴν τῶν ἐπισήμων, παρὸν σωθῆναι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους μεταστᾶσιν ἢ διακαρτερεῖν πρὸς τὴν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τύχην, ἑαυτοὺς ἔρριψαν εἰς τὸ πῦρ καὶ τῷ ναῷ συγκατεφλέγησαν, Μηιρός τε υἱὸς Βελγᾶ καὶ Ἰώσηπος Δαλαίου.

(2) [281] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ μάταιον τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πέριξ φειδὼ κρίναντες τοῦ ναοῦ φλεγομένου πάντα συνεπίμπρασαν, τά τε λείψανα τῶν στοῶν καὶ τὰς πύλας πλὴν δύο, τῆς μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀνατολικῶν τῆς δὲ μεσημβρινῆς: καὶ ταύτας ὕστερον κατέσκαψαν. [282] ἔκαιον δὲ καὶ τὰ γαζοφυλάκια, ἐν οἷς ἄπειρον μὲν χρημάτων πλῆθος ἄπειροι δ᾽ ἐσθῆτες καὶ ἄλλα κειμήλια, συνελόντι δ᾽ εἰπεῖν, πᾶς ὁ Ἰουδαίων σεσώρευτο πλοῦτος, ἀνεσκευασμένων ἐκεῖ τοὺς οἴκους τῶν εὐπόρων. [283] ἦκον δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν λοιπὴν στοὰν τοῦ ἔξωθεν ἱεροῦ: καταφεύγει δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου γύναια καὶ παιδία καὶ σύμμικτος ὄχλος εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους. [284] πρὶν δὲ Καίσαρα κρῖναί τι περὶ αὐτῶν ἢ κελεῦσαι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, φερόμενοι τοῖς θυμοῖς οἱ στρατιῶται τὴν στοὰν ὑφάπτουσι, καὶ συνέβη τοὺς μὲν ῥιπτοῦντας αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς φλογὸς διαφθαρῆναι, τοὺς δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ: περιεσώθη δὲ ἐκ τοσούτων οὐδείς. [285] τούτοις αἴτιος τῆς ἀπωλείας ψευδοπροφήτης τις κατέστη κατ᾽ ἐκείνην κηρύξας τὴν ἡμέραν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως, ὡς ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀναβῆναι κελεύει δεξομένους τὰ σημεῖα τῆς σωτηρίας. [286] πολλοὶ δ᾽ ἦσαν ἐγκάθετοι παρὰ τῶν τυράννων τότε πρὸς τὸν δῆμον προφῆται προσμένειν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ βοήθειαν καταγγέλλοντες, ὡς ἧττον αὐτομολοῖεν καὶ τοὺς ἐπάνω δέους καὶ φυλακῆς γενομένους ἐλπὶς παρακροτοίη. [287] πείθεται δὲ ταχέως ἄνθρωπος ἐν συμφοραῖς, ὅταν δ᾽ ἤδη καὶ τῶν κατεχόντων δεινῶν ἀπαλλαγὴν ὁ ἐξαπατῶν ὑπογράφῃ, τόθ᾽ ὁ πάσχων ὅλος γίνεται τῆς ἐλπίδος.

(3) [288] Τὸν γοῦν ἄθλιον δῆμον οἱ μὲν ἀπατεῶνες καὶ καταψευδόμενοι τοῦ θεοῦ τηνικαῦτα παρέπειθον, τοῖς δ᾽ ἐναργέσι καὶ προσημαίνουσι τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐρημίαν τέρασιν οὔτε προσεῖχον οὔτ᾽ ἐπίστευον, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἐμβεβροντημένοι καὶ μήτε ὄμματα μήτε ψυχὴν ἔχοντες τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ κηρυγμάτων παρήκουσαν, [289] τοῦτο μὲν ὅτε ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ἄστρον ἕστη ῥομφαίᾳ παραπλήσιον καὶ παρατείνας ἐπ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν κομήτης, [290] τοῦτο δ᾽ ἡνίκα πρὸ τῆς ἀποστάσεως καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον κινήματος ἀθροιζομένου τοῦ λαοῦ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτήν, ὀγδόη δ᾽ ἦν Ξανθικοῦ μηνός, κατὰ νυκτὸς ἐνάτην ὥραν τοσοῦτο φῶς περιέλαμψε τὸν βωμὸν καὶ τὸν ναόν, ὡς δοκεῖν ἡμέραν εἶναι λαμπράν, καὶ τοῦτο παρέτεινεν ἐφ᾽ ἡμίσειαν ὥραν: [291] ὃ τοῖς μὲν ἀπείροις ἀγαθὸν ἐδόκει, τοῖς δὲ ἱερογραμματεῦσι πρὸς τῶν ἀποβεβηκότων εὐθέως ἐκρίθη. [292] καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἑορτὴν βοῦς μὲν ἀχθεῖσα ὑπό του πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν ἔτεκεν ἄρνα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ μέσῳ, [293] ἡ δ᾽ ἀνατολικὴ πύλη τοῦ ἐνδοτέρω ναοῦ χαλκῆ μὲν οὖσα καὶ στιβαρωτάτη, κλειομένη δὲ περὶ δείλην μόλις ὑπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων εἴκοσι, καὶ μοχλοῖς

μὲν ἐπερειδομένη σιδηροδέτοις, κατάπηγας δὲ ἔχουσα βαθυτάτους εἰς τὸν οὐδὸν ὄντα διηνεκοῦς λίθου καθιεμένους, ὤφθη κατὰ νυκτὸς ὥραν ἕκτην αὐτομάτως ἠνοιγμένη. [294] δραμόντες δὲ οἱ τοῦ ἱεροῦ φύλακες ἤγγειλαν τῷ στρατηγῷ, κἀκεῖνος ἀναβὰς μόλις αὐτὴν ἴσχυσεν κλεῖσαι. [295] πάλιν τοῦτο τοῖς μὲν ἰδιώταις κάλλιστον ἐδόκει τέρας: ἀνοῖξαι γὰρ τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν πύλην: οἱ λόγιοι δὲ λυομένην αὐτομάτως τοῦ ναοῦ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἐνενόουν, καὶ πολεμίοις δῶρον ἀνοίγεσθαι τὴν πύλην, δηλωτικόν τε ἐρημίας ἀπέφαινον ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ σημεῖον. [296] μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἑορτὴν οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον, μιᾷ καὶ εἰκάδι Ἀρτεμισίου μηνός, φάσμα τι δαιμόνιον ὤφθη μεῖζον πίστεως: [297] τερατεία δὲ ἂν ἔδοξεν οἶμαι τὸ ῥηθησόμενον, εἰ μὴ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς θεασαμένοις ἱστόρητο καὶ τὰ ἐπακολουθήσαντα πάθη τῶν σημείων ἦν ἄξια: [298] πρὸ γὰρ ἡλίου δύσεως ὤφθη μετέωρα περὶ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν ἅρματα καὶ φάλαγγες ἔνοπλοι διάττουσαι τῶν νεφῶν καὶ κυκλούμεναι τὰς πόλεις. [299] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἑορτήν, ἣ πεντηκοστὴ καλεῖται, νύκτωρ οἱ ἱερεῖς παρελθόντες εἰς τὸ ἔνδον ἱερόν, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς ἔθος πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας, πρῶτον μὲν κινήσεως ἔφασαν ἀντιλαβέσθαι καὶ κτύπου, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φωνῆς ἀθρόας “μεταβαίνομεν ἐντεῦθεν.” τὸ δὲ τούτων φοβερώτερον, [300] Ἰησοῦς γάρ τις υἱὸς Ἀνανίου τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἄγροικος πρὸ τεσσάρων ἐτῶν τοῦ πολέμου τὰ μάλιστα τῆς πόλεως εἰρηνευομένης καὶ εὐθηνούσης, ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν, ἐν ᾗ σκηνοποιεῖσθαι πάντας ἔθος τῷ θεῷ, κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐξαπίνης ἀναβοᾶν ἤρξατο “φωνὴ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς, [301] φωνὴ ἀπὸ δύσεως, φωνὴ ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων, φωνὴ ἐπὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸν ναόν, φωνὴ ἐπὶ νυμφίους καὶ νύμφας, φωνὴ ἐπὶ τὸν λαὸν πάντα.” τοῦτο μεθ’ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ κατὰ πάντας τοὺς στενωποὺς περιῄει κεκραγώς. [302] τῶν δὲ ἐπισήμων τινὲς δημοτῶν ἀγανακτήσαντες πρὸς τὸ κακόφημον συλλαμβάνουσι τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ πολλαῖς αἰκίζονται πληγαῖς. ὁ δὲ οὔθ’ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φθεγξάμενος οὔτε ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τοὺς παίοντας, ἃς καὶ πρότερον φωνὰς βοῶν διετέλει. [303] νομίσαντες δὲ οἱ ἄρχοντες, ὅπερ ἦν, δαιμονιώτερον τὸ κίνημα τἀνδρὸς ἀνάγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἔπαρχον. [304] ἔνθα μάστιξι μέχρι ὀστέων ξαινόμενος οὔθ’ ἱκέτευσεν οὔτ’ ἐδάκρυσεν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐνῆν μάλιστα τὴν φωνὴν ὀλοφυρτικῶς παρεγκλίνων πρὸς ἑκάστην [305] ἀπεκρίνατο πληγήν “αἰαὶ Ἱεροσολύμοις.” τοῦ δ’ Ἀλβίνου διερωτῶντος, οὗτος γὰρ ἔπαρχος ἦν, τίς εἴη καὶ πόθεν, καὶ διὰ τί ταῦτα φθέγγοιτο, πρὸς ταῦτα μὲν οὐδ’ ὁτιοῦν ἀπεκρίνατο, τὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει θρῆνον εἴρων οὐ διέλειπεν, μέχρι καταγνοὺς μανίαν ὁ Ἀλβῖνος ἀπέλυσεν αὐτόν. [306] ὁ δὲ τὸν μέχρι τοῦ πολέμου χρόνον οὔτε προσῄει τινὶ τῶν πολιτῶν οὔτε ὤφθη λαλῶν, ἀλλὰ καθ’ ἡμέραν ὥσπερ εὐχὴν μεμελετηκώς “αἰαὶ Ἱεροσολύμοις” ἐθρήνει. [307] οὔτε δέ τινι τῶν τυπτόντων αὐτὸν ὀσημέραι κατηρᾶτο οὔτε τοὺς τροφῆς μεταδιδόντας εὐλόγει, μία δὲ πρὸς πάντας ἦν ἡ σκυθρωπὴ κληδὼν ἀπόκρισις. [308] μάλιστα δ’ ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς ἐκεκράγει: καὶ τοῦτ’ ἐφ’ ἑπτὰ ἔτη καὶ μῆνας πέντε εἴρων οὔτ’ ἤμβλυνεν τὴν

φωνὴν οὔτ᾽ ἔκαμεν, μέχρις οὗ κατὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἔργα τῆς κληδόνος ἰδὼν ἀνεπαύσατο. [309] περιιὼν γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους “αἰαὶ πάλιν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῷ λαῷ καὶ τῷ ναῷ” διαπρύσιον ἐβόα, ὡς δὲ τελευταῖον προσέθηκεν “αἰαὶ δὲ κἀμοί”, λίθος ἐκ τοῦ πετροβόλου σχασθεὶς καὶ πλήξας αὐτὸν παραχρῆμα κτείνει, φθεγγομένην δ᾽ ἔτι τὰς κληδόνας ἐκείνας τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφῆκε.

(4) [310] Ταῦτά τις ἐννοῶν εὑρήσει τὸν μὲν θεὸν ἀνθρώπων κηδόμενον καὶ παντοίως προσημαίνοντα τῷ σφετέρῳ γένει τὰ σωτήρια, τοὺς δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἀνοίας καὶ κακῶν αὐθαιρέτων ἀπολλυμένους, [311] ὅπου γε Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν μετὰ τὴν καθαίρεσιν τῆς Ἀντωνίας τετράγωνον ἐποίησαν, ἀναγεγραμμένον ἐν τοῖς λογίοις ἔχοντες ἁλώσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν ναόν, ἐπειδὰν τὸ ἱερὸν γένηται τετράγωνον. [312] τὸ δ᾽ ἐπᾶραν αὐτοὺς μάλιστα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἦν χρησμὸς ἀμφίβολος ὁμοίως ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς εὑρημένος γράμμασιν, ὡς κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν τις ἄρξει τῆς οἰκουμένης. [313] τοῦθ᾽ οἱ μὲν ὡς οἰκεῖον ἐξέλαβον καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν σοφῶν ἐπλανήθησαν περὶ τὴν κρίσιν, ἐδήλου δ᾽ ἄρα τὴν Οὐεσπασιανοῦ τὸ λόγιον ἡγεμονίαν ἀποδειχθέντος ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίας αὐτοκράτορος. [314] ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ δυνατὸν ἀνθρώποις τὸ χρεὼν διαφυγεῖν οὐδὲ προορωμένοις. [315] οἱ δὲ καὶ τῶν σημείων ἃ μὲν ἔκριναν πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἃ δὲ ἐξουθένησαν, μέχρις οὗ τῇ τε ἁλώσει τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τῷ σφῶν αὐτῶν ὀλέθρῳ διηλέγχθησαν τὴν ἄνοιαν.

VI

(1) [316] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τῶν μὲν στασιαστῶν καταπεφευγότων εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καιομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τῶν πέριξ ἁπάντων, κομίσαντες τὰς σημαίας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ θέμενοι τῆς ἀνατολικῆς πύλης ἄντικρυς ἔθυσάν τε αὐταῖς αὐτόθι καὶ τὸν Τίτον μετὰ μεγίστων εὐφημιῶν ἀπέφηναν αὐτοκράτορα. [317] ταῖς δὲ ἁρπαγαῖς οὕτως ἐνεπλήσθησαν οἱ στρατιῶται πάντες, ὥστε κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν πρὸς ἥμισυ τῆς πάλαι τιμῆς τὸν σταθμὸν τοῦ χρυσίου πιπράσκεσθαι. [318] τῶν δ᾽ ἀνὰ τὸν τοῖχον τοῦ ναοῦ ἱερέων διακαρτερούντων παῖς διψήσας ἱκέτευε τοὺς φύλακας τῶν Ῥωμαίων δοῦναι δεξιὰν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ δίψος ἐξωμολογεῖτο. [319] τῶν δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας καὶ τῆς ἀνάγκης οἶκτον λαβόντων καὶ δόντων δεξιὰς καταβὰς αὐτός τε πίνει καὶ ὃ φέρων ἦκεν ἀγγεῖον πλήσας ὕδατος ᾤχετο φεύγων ἄνω πρὸς τοὺς σφετέρους. [320] τῶν δὲ φυλάκων καταλαβεῖν μὲν οὐδεὶς ἴσχυσε, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀπιστίαν ἐβλασφήμουν. κἀκεῖνος οὐδὲν ἔφη παραβεβηκέναι τῶν συνθηκῶν: λαβεῖν γὰρ δεξιὰν οὐ τοῦ μένειν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀλλὰ τοῦ καταβῆναι μόνον καὶ λαβεῖν ὕδωρ, ἅπερ ἀμφότερα πεποιηκὼς πιστὸς ἔδοξεν εἶναι. [321] τὸ μὲν δὴ πανούργημα διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν μάλιστα τοῦ παιδὸς ἀπεθαύμαζον οἱ πλανηθέντες: πέμπτῃ δ᾽ ἡμέρᾳ λιμώττοντες οἱ ἱερεῖς καταβαίνουσι καὶ πρὸς Τίτον ἀναχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν φυλάκων ἱκέτευον τυχεῖν σωτηρίας. [322] ὁ δὲ τὸν μὲν τῆς συγγνώμης

καιρὸν αὐτοῖς παρῳχηκέναι φήσας, οἴχεσθαι δὲ δι᾽ ὃν εὐλόγως ἂν αὐτοὺς ἔσωζε, πρέπειν δὲ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τῷ ναῷ συναπολέσθαι, κελεύει κολάσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας.

(2) [323] Οἱ δὲ περὶ τοὺς τυράννους ὡς τῷ τε πολέμῳ πάντοθεν ἐκρατοῦντο καὶ περιτετειχισμένοις διαφυγεῖν οὐδαμόθεν ἦν, προκαλοῦνται τὸν Τίτον εἰς λόγους. [324] ὁ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ φιλάνθρωπον φύσει τὸ γοῦν ἄστυ περισῶσαι προαιρούμενος καὶ τῶν φίλων ἐναγόντων, ἤδη γὰρ μετριάζειν τοὺς λῃστὰς ὑπελάμβανεν, ἵσταται κατὰ τὸ πρὸς δύσιν μέρος τοῦ ἔξωθεν ἱεροῦ: [325] ταύτῃ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὸν ξυστὸν ἦσαν πύλαι, καὶ γέφυρα συνάπτουσα τῷ ἱερῷ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν: [326] αὕτη τότε μέση τῶν τυράννων ἦν καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἑκατέροις βύζην ἐφεστήκει, Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν περὶ Σίμωνα καὶ Ἰωάννην μετέωροι συγγνώμης ἐλπίδι, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ Καίσαρι καραδοκοῦντες αὐτῶν τὴν ἀξίωσιν. [327] παραγγείλας δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις Τίτος θυμοῦ τε καὶ βελῶν μένειν ἐγκρατεῖς, καὶ τὸν ἑρμηνέα παραστησάμενος, ὅπερ ἦν τεκμήριον τοῦ κρατεῖν, πρῶτος ἤρξατο λέγειν: [328] “ἆρά γε ἤδη κεκόρεσθε τῶν τῆς πατρίδος κακῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες, οἱ μήτε τῆς ἡμετέρας δυνάμεως μήτε τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀσθενείας ἔννοιαν λαβόντες, ὁρμῇ δὲ ἀσκέπτῳ καὶ μανίᾳ τόν τε δῆμον καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἀπολωλεκότες, [329] ἀπολούμενοι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ δικαίως, οἳ πρῶτον μὲν ἀφ᾽ οὗ Πομπήιος εἷλεν ὑμᾶς κατὰ κράτος οὐκ ἐπαύσασθε νεωτεροποιίας, ἔπειτα καὶ φανερὸν ἐξηνέγκατε πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον; [330] ἆρά γε πλήθει πεποιθότες; καὶ μὴν ἐλάχιστον ὑμῖν μέρος ἀντήρκεσεν τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτικοῦ. πίστει τοιγαροῦν συμμάχων; καὶ τί τῶν ἔξω τῆς ἡμετέρας ἡγεμονίας ἐθνῶν ἔμελλεν αἱρήσεσθαι Ἰουδαίους πρὸ Ῥωμαίων; [331] ἀλλ᾽ ἀλκῇ σωμάτων; καὶ μὴν ἴστε Γερμανοὺς δουλεύοντας ἡμῖν. ὀχυρότητι δὲ τειχῶν; καὶ τί μεῖζον ὠκεανοῦ τεῖχος κώλυμα, ὃν περιβεβλημένοι Βρεττανοὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὅπλα προσκυνοῦσιν; [332] καρτερίᾳ ψυχῆς καὶ πανουργίᾳ στρατηγῶν; ἀλλὰ μὴν ἤδειτε καὶ Καρχηδονίους ἁλόντας. [333] τοιγαροῦν ὑμᾶς ἐπήγειρε κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἡ Ῥωμαίων φιλανθρωπία, οἳ πρῶτον μὲν ὑμῖν τήν τε χώραν ἔδομεν νέμεσθαι καὶ βασιλεῖς ὁμοφύλους ἐπεστήσαμεν, [334] ἔπειτα τοὺς πατρίους νόμους ἐτηρήσαμεν, καὶ ζῆν οὐ μόνον καθ᾽ ἑαυτοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπετρέψαμεν ὡς ἐβούλεσθε: [335] τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, δασμολογεῖν τε ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἀναθήματα συλλέγειν ἐπετρέψαμεν, καὶ τοὺς ταῦτα φέροντας οὔτε ἐνουθετήσαμεν οὔτε ἐκωλύσαμεν, ἵν᾽ ἡμῖν γένησθε πλουσιώτεροι καὶ παρασκευάσησθε τοῖς ἡμετέροις χρήμασιν καθ᾽ ἡμῶν. [336] ἔπειτα τηλικούτων ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύοντες ἐπὶ τοὺς παρασχόντας ἠνέγκατε τὸν κόρον καὶ δίκην τῶν ἀτιθασεύτων ἑρπετῶν τοῖς σαίνουσι τὸν ἰὸν ἐναφήκατε. [337] ἔστω γοῦν, κατεφρονήσατε τῆς Νέρωνος ῥᾳθυμίας, καὶ καθάπερ ῥήγματα ἢ σπάσματα τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον κακοήθως ἠρεμοῦντες ἐν τῇ μείζονι νόσῳ διεφάνητε καὶ πρὸς ἐλπίδας ἀναιδεῖς ἀμέτρους ἐξετείνατε τὰς ἐπιθυμίας. [338] ἦκεν ὁ πατὴρ οὑμὸς εἰς τὴν χώραν, οὐ τιμωρησόμενος ὑμᾶς τῶν κατὰ Κέστιον, ἀλλὰ νουθετήσων: [339] δέον γοῦν, εἴπερ ἐπ᾽ ἀναστάσει τοῦ ἔθνους παρῆν, ἐπὶ τὴν ῥίζαν ὑμῶν δραμεῖν

καὶ ταύτην ἐκπορθεῖν τὴν πόλιν εὐθέως, ὁ δὲ Γαλιλαίαν ἐδῄου καὶ τὰ πέριξ ἐπιδιδοὺς ὑμῖν χρόνον εἰς μεταμέλειαν. [340] ἀλλ᾽ ὑμῖν ἀσθένεια τὸ φιλάνθρωπον ἐδόκει κἀκ τῆς ἡμετέρας πραότητος τὴν τόλμαν ἐπεθρέψατε. [341] Νέρωνος οἰχομένου τοῦθ᾽ ὅπερ ἐχρῆν τοὺς πονηροτάτους ἐποιήσατε, ταῖς ἐμφυλίοις ἡμῶν ταραχαῖς ἐπεθαρρήσατε καὶ χωρισθέντων εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐμοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰς παρασκευὰς τοῦ πολέμου κατεχρήσασθε τοῖς καιροῖς, καὶ οὐκ ᾐδέσθητε ταράσσειν αὐτοκράτορας γεγενημένους οὓς καὶ στρατηγοὺς φιλανθρώπους ἐπειράσατε. [342] προσφυγούσης γοῦν ἡμῖν τῆς ἡγεμονίας, καὶ τῶν μὲν κατὰ ταύτην ἠρεμούντων πάντων, πρεσβευομένων δὲ καὶ συνηδομένων τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐθνῶν, πάλιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πολέμιοι, [343] καὶ πρεσβεῖαι μὲν ὑμῶν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ, περίβολοι δὲ τειχῶν ἀνοικοδομούμενοι καινοί, στάσεις δὲ καὶ τυράννων φιλονεικίαι καὶ πόλεμος ἐμφύλιος, μόνα τοῖς οὕτω πονηροῖς πρέποντα. [344] ἦκον ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐγὼ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἄκοντος λαβὼν σκυθρωπὰ παραγγέλματα. τὸν δῆμον ἀκούσας εἰρηνικὰ φρονεῖν ἤσθην. [345] ὑμᾶς παύσασθαι πρὸ πολέμου παρεκάλουν, μέχρι πολλοῦ πολεμούντων ἐφειδόμην, δεξιὰς αὐτομόλοις ἔδωκα, καταφυγοῦσι πίστεις ἐτήρησα, πολλοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἠλέησα, τοὺς ἐπείγοντας βασανίσας ἐκόλασα; τείχεσιν ὑμετέροις μηχανὰς ἄκων προσήγαγον, ἀεὶ φονῶντας τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐφ᾽ ὑμῖν κατέσχον, καθ᾽ ἑκάστην νίκην ὡς ἡττώμενος ὑμᾶς εἰς εἰρήνην προυκαλεσάμην. [346] τοῦ ἱεροῦ πλησίον γενόμενος πάλιν ἑκὼν ἐξελαθόμην τῶν τοῦ πολέμου νόμων, φείσασθαι δὲ παρεκάλουν τῶν ἰδίων ὑμᾶς ἁγίων καὶ σῶσαι τὸν ναὸν ἑαυτοῖς, διδοὺς ἄδειάν τε ἐξόδου καὶ πίστιν σωτηρίας, εἰ δ᾽ ἐβούλεσθε, καὶ μάχης καιρὸν ἐν ἄλλῳ τόπῳ: [347] πάντων ὑπερείδετε καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἰδίαις χερσὶν ἐνεπρήσατε. ἔπειτα, μιαρώτατοι, προκαλεῖσθέ με πρὸς λόγους νῦν; ἵνα τί σώσητε τοιοῦτον οἷον ἀπόλωλεν; ποίας ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀξιοῦτε μετὰ τὸν ναὸν σωτηρίας; [348] ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἑστήκατε καὶ οὐδ᾽ ἐν ἐσχάτοις ὑποκρίνεσθε γοῦν ἱκέτας, ὦ ταλαίπωροι, τίνι πεποιθότες; [349] οὐ νεκρὸς μὲν ὑμῶν ὁ δῆμος, οἴχεται δ᾽ ὁ ναός, ὑπ᾽ ἐμοὶ δὲ ἡ πόλις, ἐν χερσὶ δὲ ταῖς ἐμαῖς ἔχετε τὰς ψυχάς; εἶτα ὑπολαμβάνετε δόξαν ἀνδρείας τὸ δυσθανατᾶν; [350] οὐ μὴν ἐγὼ φιλονεικήσω πρὸς τὴν ἀπόνοιαν ὑμῶν, ῥίψασι δὲ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ παραδοῦσι τὰ σώματα χαρίζομαι τὸ ζῆν, ὥσπερ ἐν οἰκίᾳ πρᾷος δεσπότης τὰ μὲν ἀνήκεστα κολάσας, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ σώζων ἐμαυτῷ.”

(3) [351] Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀποκρίνονται δεξιὰν μὲν μὴ δύνασθαι παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν, ὁμωμοκέναι γὰρ μήποτε τοῦτο ποιήσειν, ἔξοδον δ᾽ ᾐτοῦντο διὰ τοῦ περιτειχίσματος μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων: ἀπελεύσεσθαι γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἔρημον καὶ καταλείψειν αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν. [352] πρὸς ταῦτα ἀγανακτήσας Τίτος, εἰ τύχην ἑαλωκότων ἔχοντες αἱρέσεις αὐτῷ προτείνουσι νενικηκότων, κηρῦξαι μὲν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς αὐτοὺς μήτε αὐτομολεῖν ἔτι μήτε δεξιὰν ἐλπίζειν, φείσεσθαι γὰρ οὐδενός, [353] ἀλλὰ πάσῃ δυνάμει μάχεσθαι καὶ σώζειν ἑαυτοὺς ὅπως ἂν

δύνωνται: πάντα γὰρ αὐτὸς ἤδη πράξειν πολέμου νόμῳ: τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις ἐμπιπράναι καὶ διαρπάζειν ἐπέτρεψεν τὴν πόλιν. [354] οἱ δὲ ἐκείνην μὲν ἐπέσχον τὴν ἡμέραν, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ τό τε ἀρχεῖον καὶ τὴν ἄκραν καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ τὸν Ὀφλᾶν καλούμενον ὑφῆψαν: [355] καὶ προύκοψε τὸ πῦρ μέχρι τῶν Ἑλένης βασιλείων, ἃ δὴ κατὰ μέσην τὴν ἄκραν ἦν, ἐκαίοντο δὲ οἱ στενωποὶ καὶ αἱ οἰκίαι νεκρῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ διεφθαρμένων πλήρεις.

(4) [356] Κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν οἵ τε Ἰζάτου βασιλέως υἱοὶ καὶ ἀδελφοί, πρὸς οἷς πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπισήμων δημοτῶν ἐκεῖ συνελθόντες, ἱκέτευσαν Καίσαρα δοῦναι δεξιὰν αὐτοῖς. ὁ δὲ καίτοι πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ὑπολοίπους διωργισμένος οὐκ ἤλλαξε τὸ ἦθος, δέχεται δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας. [357] καὶ τότε μὲν ἐν φρουρᾷ πάντας εἶχε, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως παῖδας καὶ συγγενεῖς δήσας ὕστερον εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνήγαγεν πίστιν ὁμήρων παρέξοντας.

VII

(1) [358] Οἱ στασιασταὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ὁρμήσαντες αὐλήν, εἰς ἣν δι᾽ ὀχυρότητα πολλοὶ τὰς κτήσεις ἀπέθεντο, τούς τε Ῥωμαίους ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς τρέπονται καὶ τὸ συνηθροισμένον αὐτόθι τοῦ δήμου πᾶν φονεύσαντες, ὄντας εἰς ὀκτακισχιλίους καὶ τετρακοσίους, τὰ χρήματα διήρπασαν. [359] ἐζώγρησαν δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίων δύο, τὸν μὲν ἱππέα τὸν δὲ πεζόν, καὶ τὸν μὲν πεζὸν ἀποσφάξαντες εὐθέως ἔσυραν περὶ τὴν πόλιν, ὥσπερ ἑνὶ σώματι πάντας Ῥωμαίους ἀμυνόμενοι, [360] ὁ δὲ ἱππεὺς ὠφέλιμόν τι αὐτοῖς πρὸς σωτηρίαν ὑποθήσεσθαι λέγων ἀνάγεται πρὸς Σίμωνα: παρ᾽ ᾧ μηδὲν εἰπεῖν ἔχων Ἀρδάλᾳ τινὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων παραδίδοται κολασθησόμενος. [361] ὁ δὲ αὐτοῦ ὀπίσω τὼ χεῖρε δήσας καὶ ταινίᾳ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀντικρὺ τῶν Ῥωμαίων προήγαγεν ὡς καρατομήσων: φθάνει δ᾽ ἐκεῖνος εἰς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διαφυγὼν ἐν ὅσῳ τὸ ξίφος ἐσπάσατο ὁ Ἰουδαῖος. [362] τοῦτον διαφυγόντα ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνελεῖν μὲν οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν Τίτος, ἀνάξιον δὲ Ῥωμαίων εἶναι στρατιώτην κρίνας, ὅτι ζῶν ἐλήφθη, τά τε ὅπλα ἀφείλετο καὶ τοῦ τάγματος ἐξέβαλεν, ἅπερ ἦν αἰσχυνομένῳ θανάτου χαλεπώτερα.

(2) [363] Τῇ δ᾽ ἑξῆς Ῥωμαῖοι τρεψάμενοι τοὺς λῃστὰς ἐκ τῆς κάτω πόλεως τὰ μέχρι τοῦ Σιλωᾶ [πάντα] ἐνέπρησαν, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἄστεος ἥδοντο δαπανωμένου, τῶν δ᾽ ἁρπαγῶν διημάρτανον, ἐπειδὴ πάνθ᾽ οἱ στασιασταὶ προκενοῦντες ἀνεχώρουν εἰς τὴν ἄνω πόλιν. [364] ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς μετάνοια μὲν οὐδεμία τῶν κακῶν, ἀλαζονεία δὲ ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθοῖς: καιομένην γοῦν ἀφορῶντες τὴν πόλιν ἱλαροῖς τοῖς προσώποις εὔθυμοι προσδέχεσθαι τὴν τελευτὴν ἔλεγον, πεφονευμένου μὲν τοῦ δήμου, κεκαυμένου δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ, φλεγομένου δὲ τοῦ ἄστεος μηδὲν καταλιπόντες τοῖς πολεμίοις. [365] οὐ μὴν ὅ γε Ἰώσηπος ἐν ἐσχάτοις ἱκετεύων αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν λειψάνων τῆς πόλεως ἔκαμνεν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ὠμότητα καὶ τὴν ἀσέβειαν εἰπών, πολλὰ δὲ συμβουλεύσας πρὸς σωτηρίαν

οὐδὲν τοῦ χλευασθῆναι πλέον ἀπηνέγκατο. [366] ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτε παραδοῦναι διὰ τὸν ὅρκον ἑαυτοὺς ὑπέμενον οὔτε πολεμεῖν ἐξ ἴσου Ῥωμαίοις ἔθ᾽ οἷοί τε ἦσαν ὥσπερ εἱρκτῇ περιειλημμένοι, τό τε τοῦ φονεύειν ἔθος ἐκίνει τὰς δεξιάς, σκιδνάμενοι κατὰ τὰ ἔμπροσθεν τῆς πόλεως τοῖς ἐρειπίοις ὑπελόχων τοὺς αὐτομολεῖν ὡρμημένους. [367] ἡλίσκοντο δὲ πολλοί, καὶ πάντας ἀποσφάττοντες, ὑπὸ γὰρ ἐνδείας οὐδὲ φεύγειν ἴσχυον, ἐρρίπτουν αὐτῶν κυσὶ τοὺς νεκρούς. [368] ἐδόκει δὲ πᾶς τρόπος ἀπωλείας τοῦ λιμοῦ κουφότερος, ὥστε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἀπηλπικότες ἤδη τὸν ἔλεον ὅμως προσέφευγον καὶ φονεύουσι τοῖς στασιασταῖς ἑκόντες ἐνέπιπτον. [369] τόπος τ᾽ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως οὐδεὶς γυμνὸς ἦν, ἀλλὰ πᾶς λιμοῦ νεκρὸν εἶχεν ἢ στάσεως [καὶ πεπλήρωτο νεκρῶν ἢ διὰ στάσιν ἢ διὰ λιμὸν ἀπολωλότων].

(3) [370] Ἔθαλπε δὲ τούς τε τυράννους καὶ τὸ σὺν αὐτοῖς ληστρικὸν ἐλπὶς ἐσχάτη περὶ τῶν ὑπονόμων, εἰς οὓς καταφεύγοντες οὐ προσεδόκων ἐρευνηθήσεσθαι, μετὰ δὲ τὴν παντελῆ τῆς πόλεως ἅλωσιν ἀναζευξάντων Ῥωμαίων προελθόντες ἀποδράσεσθαι ἐπεχείρουν. [371] τὸ δὲ ἦν ἄρα ὄνειρος αὐτοῖς: οὔτε γὰρ τὸν θεὸν οὔτε Ῥωμαίους λήσειν ἔμελλον. [372] τηνικαῦτά γε μὴν τοῖς ὑπογείοις πεποιθότες αὐτοὶ πλείονα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐνεπίμπρασαν, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν καιομένων καταφεύγοντας εἰς τὰς διώρυχας ἔκτεινόν τε ἀνέδην καὶ ἐσύλων καὶ εἴ τινος εὕροιεν τροφὴν ἁρπάζοντες αἵματι πεφυρμένην κατέπινον. [373] ἦν δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐν ταῖς ἁρπαγαῖς ἤδη πόλεμος αὐτοῖς, δοκοῦσί τε ἄν μοι μὴ φθασθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς ἁλώσεως δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν ὠμότητος γεύσασθαι καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν.

VIII

(1) [374] Καῖσαρ δέ, ὡς ἀμήχανον ἦν ἐξελεῖν δίχα χωμάτων τὴν ἄνω πόλιν περίκρημνον οὖσαν, διανέμει τοῖς ἔργοις τὴν δύναμιν Λώου μηνὸς εἰκάδι. [375] χαλεπὴ δὲ ἦν τῆς ὕλης ἡ κομιδὴ πάντων, ὡς ἔφην, τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐφ᾽ ἑκατὸν σταδίους ἐψιλωμένων εἰς τὰ πρότερον χώματα. [376] τῶν μὲν οὖν τεσσάρων ταγμάτων ἠγείρετο τὰ ἔργα κατὰ τὸ πρὸς δύσιν κλίμα τῆς πόλεως ἀντικρὺ τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς, [377] τὸ δὲ συμμαχικὸν πλῆθος καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς ὄχλος κατὰ τὸν ξυστὸν ἔχου καὶ τὴν γέφυραν καὶ τὸν Σίμωνος πύργον, ὃν ᾠκοδόμησε πρὸς Ἰωάννην πολεμῶν ἑαυτῷ φρούριον.

(2) [378] Κατὰ ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας οἱ τῶν Ἰδουμαίων ἡγεμόνες κρύφα συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύσαντο περὶ παραδόσεως σφῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ πέμψαντες ἄνδρας πέντε πρὸς Τίτον ἱκέτευον δοῦναι δεξιὰν αὐτοῖς. [379] ὁ δὲ καὶ τοὺς τυράννους ἐνδώσειν ἐλπίσας ἀποσπασθέντων τῶν Ἰδουμαίων, οἳ πολὺ τοῦ πολέμου μέρος ἦσαν, βραδέως μέν, ἀλλ᾽ οὖν κατανεύει τε τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀνέπεμψε. [380] παρασκευαζομένων δὲ ἀποχωρεῖν αἰσθάνεται

Σίμων, καὶ πέντε μὲν τοὺς ἀπελθόντας πρὸς Τίτον εὐθέως ἀναιρεῖ, τοὺς δὲ ἡγεμόνας, ὧν ἐπισημότατος ἦν ὁ τοῦ Σωσᾶ Ἰάκωβος, συλλαβὼν εἴργνυσι: [381] τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰδουμαίων ἀμηχανοῦν διὰ τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν τῶν ἡγεμόνων οὐκ ἀφύλακτον εἶχε καὶ τὸ τεῖχος φρουραῖς ἐπιμελεστέραις διελάμβανεν. [382] οὐ μὴν ἀντέχειν οἱ φρουροὶ πρὸς τὰς αὐτομολίας ἴσχυον, ἀλλὰ καίτοι πλείστων φονευομένων πολὺ πλείους οἱ διαφεύγοντες ἦσαν. [383] ἐδέχοντο δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι πάντας, τοῦ τε Τίτου διὰ πρᾳότητα τῶν προτέρων ἀμελήσαντος παραγγελμάτων, καὶ αὐτοὶ κόρῳ τοῦ κτείνειν ἀπεχόμενοι καὶ κέρδους ἐλπίδι: [384] τοὺς γὰρ δημοτικοὺς καταλιπόντες μόνους τὸν ἄλλον ὄχλον ἐπώλουν σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις, ἐλαχίστης τιμῆς ἕκαστον πλήθει τε τῶν πιπρασκομένων καὶ ὀλιγότητι τῶν ὠνουμένων. [385] καίπερ δὲ προκηρύξας μηδένα μόνον αὐτομολεῖν, ὅπως καὶ τὰς γενεὰς ἐξαγάγοιεν, ὅμως καὶ τούτους ἐδέχετο: ἐπέστησε μέντοι τοὺς διακρινοῦντας ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν, εἴ τις εἴη κολάσεως ἄξιος. [386] καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀπεμποληθέντων ἄπειρον ἦν τὸ πλῆθος, οἱ δημοτικοὶ δὲ διεσώθησαν ὑπὲρ τετρακισμυρίους, οὓς διαφῆκεν Καῖσαρ ᾗ φίλον ἦν ἑκάστῳ.

(3) [387] Ἐν δὲ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις καὶ τῶν ἱερέων τις Θεβουθεῖ παῖς, Ἰησοῦς ὄνομα, λαβὼν περὶ σωτηρίας ὅρκους παρὰ Καίσαρος ἐφ᾽ ᾧ παραδώσει τινὰ τῶν ἱερῶν κειμηλίων, [388] ἔξεισι καὶ παραδίδωσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ τοίχου τοῦ ναοῦ λυχνίας δύο τῶν κατὰ τὸν ναὸν κειμένων παραπλησίας τραπέζας τε καὶ κρατῆρας καὶ φιάλας, πάντα ὁλόχρυσα καὶ στιβαρώτατα, [389] παραδίδωσι δὲ καὶ τὰ καταπετάσματα καὶ τὰ ἐνδύματα τῶν ἀρχιερέων σὺν τοῖς λίθοις καὶ πολλὰ τῶν πρὸς τὰς ἱερουργίας σκευῶν ἄλλα. [390] συλληφθεὶς δὲ καὶ ὁ γαζοφύλαξ τοῦ ἱεροῦ Φινέας ὄνομα τούς τε χιτῶνας καὶ τὰς ζώνας ὑπέδειξε τῶν ἱερέων πορφύραν τε πολλὴν καὶ κόκκον, ἃ πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἀπέκειτο τοῦ καταπετάσματος, σὺν οἷς κιννάμωμόν τε πολὺ καὶ κασσίαν καὶ πλῆθος ἑτέρων ἀρωμάτων, ἃ συμμίσγοντες ἐθυμίων ὁσημέραι τῷ θεῷ. [391] παρεδόθη δὲ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πολλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κειμηλίων κόσμος τε ἱερὸς οὐκ ὀλίγος, ἅπερ αὐτῷ βίᾳ ληφθέντι τὴν τῶν αὐτομόλων συγγνώμην ἔδωκε.

(4) [392] Συντετελεσμένων δ᾽ ἤδη καὶ τῶν χωμάτων ἐν ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἡμέραις ἑβδόμῃ Γορπιαίου μηνὸς Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν προσῆγον τὰς μηχανάς, τῶν δὲ στασιαστῶν οἱ μὲν ἀπεγνωκότες ἤδη τὴν πόλιν ἀνεχώρουν τοῦ τείχους εἰς τὴν ἄκραν, οἱ δὲ ἐγκατεδύοντο τοῖς ὑπονόμοις: [393] πολλοὶ δὲ διαστάντες ἠμύνοντο τοὺς προσάγοντας τὰς ἑλεπόλεις. ἐκράτουν δὲ καὶ τούτων Ῥωμαῖοι πλήθει τε καὶ βίᾳ καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, εὐθυμοῦντες ἀθύμων ἤδη καὶ παρειμένων. [394] ὡς δὲ παρερράγη μέρος τι τοῦ τείχους, καί τινες τῶν πύργων τυπτόμενοι τοῖς κριοῖς ἐνέδοσαν, φυγὴ μὲν ἦν εὐθέως τῶν ἀμυνομένων, δέος δὲ καὶ τοῖς τυράννοις ἐμπίπτει σφοδρότερον τῆς ἀνάγκης: [395] πρὶν γὰρ ὑπερβῆναι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐνάρκων τε καὶ μετέωροι πρὸς φυγὴν ἦσαν, ἦν δὲ ἰδεῖν τοὺς πάλαι σοβαροὺς καὶ τοῖς ἀσεβήμασιν ἀλαζόνας τότε ταπεινοὺς καὶ τρέμοντας, ὡς ἐλεεινὴν εἶναι

καίπερ ἐν πονηροτάτοις τὴν μεταβολήν. [396] ὥρμησαν μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ περιτείχισμα δραμόντες ὥσασθαί τε τοὺς φρουροὺς καὶ διακόψαντες ἐξελθεῖν: [397] ὡς δὲ τοὺς μὲν πάλαι πιστοὺς ἑώρων οὐδαμοῦ, διέφυγον γὰρ ὅπῃ τινὶ συνεβούλευεν ἡ ἀνάγκη, προσθέοντες δὲ οἱ μὲν ὅλον ἀνατετράφθαι τὸ πρὸς δύσιν τεῖχος ἤγγελλον, οἱ δ᾽ ἐμβεβληκέναι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἤδη τε πλησίον εἶναι ζητοῦντας αὐτούς, [398] ἕτεροι δὲ καὶ ἀφορᾶν ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων πολεμίους ἔλεγον πλάζοντος τὰς ὄψεις τοῦ δέους, ἐπὶ στόμα πεσόντες ἀνῴμωζον τὴν ἑαυτῶν φρενοβλάβειαν καὶ καθάπερ ὑποκεκομμένοι τὰ νεῦρα τῆς φυγῆς ἠπόρουν. [399] ἔνθα δὴ μάλιστ᾽ ἄν τις καταμάθοι τήν τε τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνοσίοις καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων τύχην: οἱ μέν γε τύραννοι τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐγύμνωσαν αὐτοὺς κἀκ τῶν πύργων κατέβησαν ἑκόντες, ἐφ᾽ ᾧν βίᾳ μὲν οὐδέποθ᾽ ἁλῶναι, μόνῳ δ᾽ ἐδύναντο λιμῷ. [400] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τοσαῦτα περὶ τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις τείχεσι καμόντες παρέλαβον τύχῃ τὰ μὴ δυνατὰ τοῖς ὀργάνοις: παντὸς γὰρ ἰσχυρότεροι μηχανήματος ἦσαν οἱ τρεῖς πύργοι, περὶ ὧν ἀνωτέρω δεδηλώκαμεν.

(5) [401] Καταλιπόντες δὴ τούτους, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καταβληθέντες ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν, παραχρῆμα μὲν εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ τῇ Σιλωᾶ φάραγγα καταφεύγουσιν, αὖθις δὲ ὀλίγον ἀνακύψαντες ἐκ τοῦ δέους ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸ τῇδε περιτείχισμα. [402] χρησάμενοι δὲ ταῖς τόλμαις ἀγενεστέραις τῆς ἀνάγκης, κατεάγησαν γὰρ ἤδη τὴν ἰσχὺν ἅμα τῷ δέει καὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς, ὑπὸ τῶν φρουρῶν ἀνωθοῦνται καὶ σκεδασθέντες ὑπ᾽ ἀλλήλων κατέδυσαν εἰς τοὺς ὑπονόμους. [403] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τῶν τειχῶν κρατήσαντες τάς τε σημαίας ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τῶν πύργων καὶ μετὰ κρότου καὶ χαρᾶς ἐπαιάνιζον ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ, πολὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς κουφότερον τοῦ πολέμου τὸ τέλος εὑρηκότες: ἀναιμωτὶ γοῦν τοῦ τελευταίου τείχους ἐπιβάντες ἠπίστουν, καὶ μηδένα βλέποντες ἀντίπαλον ἀληθῶς ἠπόρηντο. [404] εἰσχυθέντες δὲ τοῖς στενωποῖς ξιφήρεις τούς τε καταλαμβανομένους ἐφόνευον ἀνέδην καὶ τῶν συμφευγόντων τὰς οἰκίας αὐτάνδρους ὑπεπίμπρασαν. [405] πολλὰς δὲ κεραίζοντες ὁπότ᾽ ἔνδον παρέλθοιεν ἐφ᾽ ἁρπαγήν, γενεὰς ὅλας νεκρῶν κατελάμβανον καὶ τὰ δωμάτια πλήρη τῶν τοῦ λιμοῦ πτωμάτων, ἔπειτα πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν πεφρικότες κεναῖς χερσὶν ἐξῄεσαν. [406] οὐ μὴν οἰκτείροντες τοὺς οὕτως ἀπολωλότας ταὐτὸ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας ἔπασχον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα διελαύνοντες ἀπέφραξαν μὲν τοὺς στενωποὺς νεκροῖς, αἵματι δὲ ὅλην τὴν πόλιν κατέκλυσαν, ὡς πολλὰ καὶ τῶν φλεγομένων σβεσθῆναι τῷ φόνῳ. [407] καὶ οἱ μὲν κτείνοντες ἐπαύσαντο πρὸς ἑσπέραν, ἐν δὲ τῇ νυκτὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐπεκράτει, φλεγομένοις δ᾽ ἐπανέτειλεν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἡμέρα Γορπιαίου μηνὸς ὀγδόη, [408] πόλει τοσαύταις χρησαμένῃ συμφοραῖς κατὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν, ὅσοις ἀπὸ κτίσεως ἀγαθοῖς κεχρημένη πάντως ἂν ἐπίφθονος ἔδοξεν, οὐ μὴν ἀξίᾳ κατ᾽ ἄλλο τι τῶν τηλικούτων ἀτυχημάτων ἢ τὸ γενεὰν τοιαύτην ἐνεγκεῖν, ὑφ᾽ ἧς ἀνετράπη.

IX

(1) [409] Παρελθὼν δὲ Τίτος εἴσω τά τε ἄλλα τῆς ὀχυρότητος τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῶν πύργων ἀπεθαύμασεν, οὓς οἱ τύραννοι κατὰ φρενοβλάβειαν ἀπέλιπον. [410] κατιδὼν γοῦν τό τε ναστὸν αὐτῶν ὕψος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ἑκάστης πέτρας τήν τε ἀκρίβειαν τῆς ἁρμονίας, καὶ ὅσοι μὲν εὖρος ἡλίκοι δὲ ἦσαν τὴν ἀνάστασιν, [411] "σὺν θεῷ γε ἐπολεμήσαμεν, ἔφη, καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ τῶνδε τῶν ἐρυμάτων Ἰουδαίους καθελών, ἐπεὶ χεῖρες ἀνθρώπων ἢ μηχαναὶ τί πρὸς τούτους τοὺς [412] πύργους δύνανται;" τότε μὲν οὖν πολλὰ τοιαῦτα διελέχθη πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, τοὺς δὲ τῶν τυράννων δεσμώτας, ὅσοι κατελήφθησαν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις, ἀνῆκεν. [413] αὖθις δὲ τὴν ἄλλην ἀφανίζων πόλιν καὶ τὰ τείχη κατασκάπτων τούτους τοὺς πύργους κατέλιπε μνημεῖον εἶναι τῆς αὐτοῦ τύχης, ᾗ συστρατιώτιδι χρησάμενος ἐκράτησε τῶν ἁλῶναι μὴ δυναμένων.

(2) [414] Ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ στρατιῶται μὲν ἔκαμνον ἤδη φονεύοντες, πολὺ δέ τι πλῆθος τῶν περιόντων ἀνεφαίνετο, κελεύει Καῖσαρ μόνους μὲν τοὺς ἐνόπλους καὶ χεῖρας ἀντίσχοντας κτείνειν, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ζωγρεῖν. [415] οἱ δὲ μετὰ τῶν παρηγγελμένων τό τε γηραιὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς ἀνῄρουν, τὸ δ' ἀκμάζον καὶ χρήσιμον εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν συνελάσαντες ἐγκατέκλεισαν τῷ τῶν γυναικῶν περιτειχίσματι. [416] καὶ φρουρὸν μὲν ἐπέστησε Καῖσαρ ἕνα τῶν ἀπελευθέρων, Φρόντωνα δὲ τῶν φίλων ἐπικρινοῦντα τὴν ἀξίαν ἑκάστῳ τύχην. [417] ὁ δὲ τοὺς μὲν στασιώδεις καὶ λῃστρικοὺς πάντας ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἐνδεικνυμένους ἀπέκτεινε, τῶν δὲ νέων τοὺς ὑψηλοτάτους καὶ καλοὺς ἐπιλέξας ἐτήρει τῷ θριάμβῳ. [418] τοῦ δὲ λοιποῦ πλήθους τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτη δήσας ἔπεμψεν εἰς τὰ κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἔργα, πλείστους δ' εἰς τὰς ἐπαρχίας διεδωρήσατο Τίτος φθαρησομένους ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις σιδήρῳ καὶ θηρίοις: οἱ δ' ἐντὸς ἑπτακαίδεκα ἐτῶν ἐπράθησαν. [419] ἐφθάρησαν δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν αἷς διέκρινεν ὁ Φρόντων ἡμέραις ὑπ' ἐνδείας χίλιοι πρὸς τοῖς μυρίοις, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ μίσους τῶν φυλάκων μὴ μεταλαμβάνοντες τροφῆς, οἱ δ' οὐ προσιέμενοι διδομένην: πρὸς δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ἦν ἔνδεια καὶ σίτου.

(3) [420] Τῶν μὲν οὖν αἰχμαλώτων πάντων, ὅσα καθ' ὅλον ἐλήφθη τὸν πόλεμον, ἀριθμὸς ἐννέα μυριάδες καὶ ἑπτακισχίλιοι συνήχθη, τῶν δὲ ἀπολομένων κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πολιορκίαν μυριάδες ἑκατὸν καὶ δέκα. [421] τούτων τὸ πλέον ὁμόφυλον μὲν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπιχώριον: ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς χώρας ὅλης ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτὴν συνεληλυθότες ἐξαπίνης τῷ πολέμῳ περιεσχέθησαν, ὥστε τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτοῖς τὴν στενοχωρίαν γενέσθαι λοιμώδη φθοράν, αὖθις δὲ καὶ λιμὸν ὠκύτερον. [422] ὅτι δ' ἐχώρει τοσούτους ἡ πόλις, δῆλον ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Κεστίου συναριθμηθέντων, ὃς τὴν ἀκμὴν τῆς πόλεως διαδηλῶσαι Νέρωνι βουλόμενος καταφρονοῦντι τοῦ ἔθνους παρεκάλεσεν τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς, εἴ πως δυνατὸν εἴη τὴν πληθὺν ἐξαριθμήσασθαι: [423] οἱ δ' ἐνστάσης ἑορτῆς, πάσχα καλεῖται, καθ' ἣν θύουσιν μὲν ἀπὸ ἑνάτης ὥρας μέχρις ἑνδεκάτης, ὥσπερ δὲ φατρία περὶ ἑκάστην γίνεται θυσίαν οὐκ ἐλάσσων ἀνδρῶν δέκα, μόνον γὰρ οὐκ ἔξεστιν δαίνυσθαι,

πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ συνείκοσιν ἀθροίζονται, [424] τῶν μὲν θυμάτων εἰκοσιπέντε μυριάδας ἠρίθμησαν, πρὸς δὲ πεντακισχίλια ἑξακόσια. [425] γίνονται ἀνδρῶν, ἵν' ἑκάστου δέκα δαιτυμόνας θῶμεν, μυριάδες ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ διακόσιαι καθαρῶν ἁπάντων καὶ ἁγίων: [426] οὔτε γὰρ λεπροῖς οὔτε γονορροικοῖς οὔτε γυναιξὶν ἐπεμμήνοις οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλως μεμιασμένοις ἐξὸν ἦν τῆσδε τῆς θυσίας μεταλαμβάνειν,

(4) [427] ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις, ὅσοι κατὰ θρησκείαν παρῆσαν, πολὺ δὲ τούτων πλῆθος ἔξωθεν συλλέγεται. [428] τότε γε μὴν ὥσπερ εἰς εἱρκτὴν ὑπὸ τῆς εἱμαρμένης πᾶν συνεκλείσθη τὸ ἔθνος, καὶ ναστὴν ὁ πόλεμος τὴν πόλιν ἀνδρῶν ἐκυκλώσατο. [429] πᾶσαν γοῦν ἀνθρωπίνην καὶ δαιμονίαν φθορὰν ὑπερβάλλει τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολωλότων: ἐπεὶ γοῦν τῶν φανερῶν οὓς μὲν ἀνεῖλον οὓς δ' ἠχμαλωτίσαντο Ῥωμαῖοι, τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὑπονόμοις ἀνηρεύνων καὶ τοὔδαφος ἀναῤῥηγνύντες ὅσοις μὲν ἐνετύγχανον ἔκτεινον, [430] εὑρέθησαν δὲ κἀκεῖ νεκροὶ πλείους δισχιλίων, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν οἱ δὲ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων, τὸ πλέον δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ διεφθαρμένοι. [431] δεινὴ δ' ὑπήντα τοῖς ἐπεισπίπτουσιν ὀδμὴ τῶν σωμάτων, ὡς πολλοὺς μὲν ἀναχωρεῖν εὐθέως, τοὺς δὲ ὑπὸ πλεονεξίας εἰσδύεσθαι νεκροὺς σεσωρευμένους ἐμπατοῦντας: [432] πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν κειμηλίων ἐν ταῖς διώρυξιν εὑρίσκετο, καὶ πᾶσαν θεμιτὴν ὁδὸν ἐποίει τὸ κέρδος: ἀνήγοντο δὲ καὶ δεσμῶται πολλοὶ τῶν τυράννων: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν ἐσχάτοις ἐπαύσαντο τῆς ὠμότητος. [433] ἀπετίσατό γε μὴν ὁ θεὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἀξίως, καὶ Ἰωάννης μὲν λιμώττων μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐν τοῖς ὑπονόμοις ἦν πολλάκις ὑπερηφάνησε παρὰ Ῥωμαίων δεξιὰν λαβεῖν ἱκέτευσε, Σίμων δὲ πολλὰ διαμαχήσας πρὸς τὴν ἀνάγκην, ὡς διὰ τῶν ἑξῆς δηλώσομεν, αὐτὸν παραδίδωσιν. [434] ἐφυλάχθη δὲ ὁ μὲν τῷ θριάμβῳ σφάγιον, ὁ δ' Ἰωάννης δεσμοῖς αἰωνίοις. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τάς τ' ἐσχατιὰς τοῦ ἄστεος ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὰ τείχη κατέσκαψαν.

X

(1) [435] Ἑάλω μὲν οὕτως Ἱεροσόλυμα ἔτει δευτέρῳ τῆς Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἡγεμονίας Γορπιαίου μηνὸς ὀγδόῃ, ἁλοῦσα δὲ καὶ πρότερον πεντάκις τοῦτο δεύτερον ἠρημώθη. [436] Ἀσωχαῖος μὲν γὰρ ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἀντίοχος, ἔπειτα Πομπήιος καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις σὺν Ἡρώδῃ Σόσσιος ἑλόντες ἐτήρησαν τὴν πόλιν. [437] πρὸ δὲ τούτων ὁ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεὺς κρατήσας ἠρήμωσεν αὐτὴν μετὰ ἔτη τῆς κτίσεως χίλια τετρακόσια ἑξηκονταοκτὼ μῆνας ἕξ. [438] ὁ δὲ πρῶτος κτίσας ἦν Χαναναίων δυνάστης ὁ τῇ πατρίῳ γλώσσῃ κληθεὶς βασιλεὺς δίκαιος: ἦν γὰρ δὴ τοιοῦτος. διὰ τοῦτο ἱεράσατό τε τῷ θεῷ πρῶτος καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πρῶτος δειμάμενος Ἱεροσόλυμα τὴν πόλιν προσηγόρευσεν Σόλυμα καλουμένην πρότερον. [439] τὸν μὲν δὴ τῶν Χαναναίων λαὸν ἐκβαλὼν ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλεὺς Δαυίδης κατοικίζει τὸν ἴδιον, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἔτεσι

τετρακοσίοις ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ μησὶν ἓξ ὑπὸ Βαβυλωνίων κατασκάπτεται. [440] ἀπὸ δὲ Δαυίδου τοῦ βασιλέως, ὃς πρῶτος αὐτῆς ἐβασίλευσεν Ἰουδαῖος, μέχρι τῆς ὑπὸ Τίτου γενομένης κατασκαφῆς ἔτη χίλια καὶ ἑκατὸν ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἐννέα. [441] ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πρώτης κτίσεως ἔτη μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης ἁλώσεως δισχίλια ἑκατὸν ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑπτά. [442] ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔθ᾽ ἡ ἀρχαιότης οὔθ᾽ ὁ πλοῦτος ὁ βαθὺς οὔτε τὸ διαπεφοιτηκὸς ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἔθνος οὔθ᾽ ἡ μεγάλη δόξα τῆς θρησκείας ἤρκεσέ τι πρὸς ἀπώλειαν αὐτῇ. τοιοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ τέλος τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων πολιορκίας.

Liber VII

I

(1) [1] Ἐπεὶ δ' οὔτε φονεύειν οὔτε διαρπάζειν εἶχεν ἡ στρατιὰ πάντων τοῖς θυμοῖς ἐπιλειπόντων, οὐ γὰρ δή γε φειδοῖ τινος ἔμελλον ἀφέξεσθαι δρᾶν ἔχοντες, κελεύει Καῖσαρ ἤδη τήν τε πόλιν ἅπασαν καὶ τὸν νεὼν κατασκάπτειν, πύργους μὲν ὅσοι τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερανειστήκεσαν καταλιπόντας, Φασάηλον Ἱππικὸν Μαριάμμην, τεῖχος δ' ὅσον ἦν ἐξ ἑσπέρας τὴν πόλιν περιέχον, [2] τοῦτο μέν, ὅπως εἴη τοῖς ὑπολειφθησομένοις φρουροῖς στρατόπεδον, τοὺς πύργους δέ, ἵνα τοῖς ἔπειτα σημαίνωσιν οἵας πόλεως καὶ τίνα τρόπον ὀχυρᾶς οὕτως ἐκράτησεν ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀνδραγαθία. [3] τὸν δ' ἄλλον ἅπαντα τῆς πόλεως περίβολον οὕτως ἐξωμάλισαν οἱ κατασκάπτοντες, ὡς μηδεπώποτ' οἰκηθῆναι πίστιν ἂν ἔτι παρασχεῖν τοῖς προσελθοῦσι. [4] τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ τέλος ἐκ τῆς τῶν νεωτερισάντων ἀνοίας Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐγένετο, λαμπρᾷ τε πόλει καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις διαβοηθείσῃ.

(2) [5] Καῖσαρ δὲ φυλακὴν μὲν αὐτόθι καταλιπεῖν ἔγνω τῶν ταγμάτων τὸ δέκατον καί τινας ἴλας ἱππέων καὶ λόχους πεζῶν, πάντα δ' ἤδη τὰ τοῦ πολέμου διῳκηκὼς ἐπαινέσαι τε σύμπασαν ἐπόθει τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατορθώμασιν καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα γέρα τοῖς ἀριστεύσασιν ἀποδοῦναι. [6] ποιηθέντος οὖν αὐτῷ μεγάλου κατὰ μέσην τὴν πρότερον παρεμβολὴν βήματος, καταστὰς ἐπὶ τοῦτο μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων εἰς ἐπήκοον ἁπάσῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ ἔλεγε χάριν μὲν πολλὴν ἔχειν αὐτοῖς τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας, ᾗ χρώμενοι διατελοῦσιν: [7] ἐπῄνει δὲ τῆς ἐν παντὶ πολέμῳ πειθαρχίας, ἣν ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις κινδύνοις ἅμα τῇ κατὰ σφᾶς ἀνδρείᾳ παρέσχον, τῇ μὲν πατρίδι καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τὸ κράτος αὔξοντες, φανερὸν δὲ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καθιστάντες, ὅτι μήτε πλῆθος πολεμίων μήτε χωρίων ὀχυρότητες ἢ μεγέθη πόλεων ἢ τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων ἀλόγιστοι τόλμαι καὶ θηριώδεις ἀγριότητες δύναιντ' ἄν ποτε τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρετὴν διαφυγεῖν, κἂν εἰς πολλά τινες τὴν τύχην εὕρωνται συναγωνιζομένην. [8] καλὸν μὲν οὖν ἔφη καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τέλος αὐτοὺς ἐπιθεῖναι πολλῷ χρόνῳ γενομένῳ: μηδὲ γὰρ εὔξασθαί τι τούτων ἄμεινον, ὅτ' εἰς αὐτὸν καθίσταντο: [9] τούτου δὲ κάλλιον αὐτοῖς καὶ λαμπρότερον ὑπάρχειν, ὅτι τοὺς ἡγησομένους καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ἐπιτροπεύσοντας αὐτῶν χειροτονησάντων εἵς τε τὴν πατρίδα προπεμψάντων ἅσμενοι πάντες προσίενται καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐγνωσμένοις ἐμμένουσι, χάριν ἔχοντες τοῖς ἑλομένοις. [10] θαυμάζειν μὲν οὖν ἔφη πάντας καὶ ἀγαπᾶν, εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῦ δυνατοῦ τὴν προθυμίαν οὐδεὶς ἔσχε βραδυτέραν: [11] τοῖς μέντοι διαπρεπέστερον ἀγωνισαμένοις ὑπὸ ῥώμης πλείονος καὶ τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν βίον ἀριστείαις κεκοσμηκόσι, τὴν δ' αὐτοῦ στρατείαν ἐπιφανεστέραν διὰ τῶν

κατορθωμάτων πεποιηκόσιν ἔφη τὰ γέρα καὶ τὰς τιμὰς εὐθὺς ἀποδώσειν, καὶ μηδένα τῶν πλέον πονεῖν ἑτέρου θελησάντων τῆς δικαίας ἀμοιβῆς ἁμαρτήσεσθαι. [12] πλείστην γὰρ αὐτῷ τούτου γενήσεσθαι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐθέλειν τὰς ἀρετὰς τιμᾶν τῶν συστρατευομένων ἢ κολάζειν τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας.

(3) [13] Εὐθέως οὖν ἐκέλευσεν ἀναγινώσκειν τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦτο τεταγμένοις ὅσοι τι λαμπρὸν ἦσαν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κατωρθωκότες. [14] καὶ κατ᾽ ὄνομα καλῶν ἐπῄνει τε παριόντας ὡς ἂν ὑπερευφραινόμενός τις ἐπ᾽ οἰκείοις κατορθώμασι καὶ στεφάνους ἐπετίθει χρυσοῦς, περιαυχένιά τε χρυσᾶ καὶ δόρατα μικρὰ χρυσᾶ καὶ σημαίας ἐδίδου πεποιημένας ἐξ ἀργύρου, [15] καὶ τὴν ἑκάστου τάξιν ἤλλαττεν εἰς τὸ κρεῖττον, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κἀκ τῶν λαφύρων ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν ἐσθῆτάς τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης αὐτοῖς λείας δαψιλῶς ἀπένειμε. [16] πάντων δὲ τετιμημένων ὅπως αὐτὸς ἕκαστον ἠξίωσε, τῇ συμπάσῃ στρατιᾷ ποιησάμενος εὐχὰς ἐπὶ πολλῇ κατέβαινεν εὐφημίᾳ τρέπεταί τε πρὸς θυσίας ἐπινικίους, καὶ πολλοῦ βοῶν πλήθους τοῖς βωμοῖς παρεστηκότος καταθύσας πάντας τῇ στρατιᾷ διαδίδωσιν εἰς εὐωχίαν. [17] αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς ἐν τέλει τρεῖς ἡμέρας συνεορτάσας τὴν μὲν ἄλλην στρατιὰν διαφίησιν ᾗ καλῶς εἶχεν ἑκάστους ἀπιέναι, τῷ δεκάτῳ δὲ τάγματι τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπέτρεψε φυλακὴν οὐκέτι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἀποστείλας, ἔνθα πρότερον ἦσαν. [18] μεμνημένος δὲ τοῦ δωδεκάτου τάγματος, ὅτι Κεστίου στρατηγοῦντος ἐνέδωκαν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, τῆς μὲν Συρίας αὐτὸ παντάπασιν ἐξήλασεν, ἦν γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐν Ῥαφανέαις, εἰς δὲ τὴν Μελιτηνὴν καλουμένην ἀπέστειλε: παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐν μεθορίοις τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐστὶ καὶ Καππαδοκίας. [19] δύο δὲ ἠξίωσεν αὐτῷ μέχρι τῆς εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀφίξεως, τὸ πέμπτον καὶ τὸ πεντεκαιδέκατον, παραμένειν. [20] καὶ καταβὰς ἅμα τῷ στρατῷ πρὸς τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ Καισάρειαν εἰς ταύτην τό τε πλῆθος τῶν λαφύρων ἀπέθετο καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους προσέταξεν ἐν αὐτῇ φυλάττεσθαι: τὸν γὰρ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πλοῦν ὁ χειμὼν ἐκώλυε.

II

(1) [21] Καθ᾽ ὃ δὲ καιροῦ Τίτος Καῖσαρ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις πολιορκῶν προσήδρευεν, ἐν τούτῳ νεὼς φορτίδος Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐπιβὰς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας εἰς Ῥόδον διέβαινεν. [22] ἐντεῦθεν δὲ πλέων ἐπὶ τριήρων καὶ πάσας τὰς ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ πόλεις ἐπελθὼν εὐκταίως αὐτὸν δεχομένας, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωνίας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα περαιοῦται κἀκεῖθεν ἀπὸ Κερκύρας ἐπ᾽ ἄκραν Ἰαπυγίαν, ὅθεν ἤδη κατὰ γῆν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πορείαν. [23] Τίτος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ Καισαρείας ἀναζεύξας εἰς τὴν Φιλίππου καλουμένην Καισάρειαν ἦκε συχνόν [24] τ᾽ ἐν αὐτῇ χρόνον ἐπέμεινεν παντοίας θεωρίας ἐπιτελῶν καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐνταῦθα διεφθάρησαν, οἱ μὲν θηρίοις παραβληθέντες, οἱ δὲ κατὰ πληθὺν

ἀλλήλοις ἀναγκαζόμενοι χρήσασθαι πολεμίοις. [25] ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὴν Σίμωνος τοῦ Γιώρα σύλληψιν ἐπύθετο τοῦτον γενομένην τὸν τρόπον.

(2) [26] Σίμων οὗτος Ἱεροσολύμων πολιορκουμένων ἐπὶ τῆς ἄνω πόλεως ὤν, ἐπεὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἐντὸς ἡ Ῥωμαίων στρατιὰ γενομένη πᾶσαν ἐπόρθει τὴν πόλιν, τότε τῶν φίλων τοὺς πιστοτάτους παραλαβὼν καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς λιθοτόμους τε καὶ τὸν πρὸς τὴν ἐργασίαν ἐπιτήδειον τούτοις σίδηρον τροφήν τε διαρκεῖν εἰς πολλὰς ἡμέρας δυναμένην, σὺν ἐκείνοις ἅπασι καθίησιν αὐτὸν εἴς τινα τῶν ἀφανῶν ὑπονόμων. [27] καὶ μέχρι μὲν ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν ὄρυγμα, προυχώρουν δι᾽ αὐτοῦ, τῆς στερεᾶς δὲ γῆς ὑπαντώσης ταύτην ὑπενόμευον, ἐλπίδι τοῦ ῥᾷον δυνήσεσθαι προελθόντες ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ ποιησάμενοι τὴν ἀνάδυσιν ἀποσώζεσθαι. [28] ψευδῆ δὲ τὴν ἐλπίδα διήλεγχεν ἡ πεῖρα τῶν ἔργων: ὀλίγον τε γὰρ μόλις προύβαινον οἱ μεταλλεύοντες, ἥ τε τροφὴ καίτοι ταμιευομένοις ἔμελλεν ἐπιλείψειν. [29] τότε δὴ τοίνυν ὡς δι᾽ ἐκπλήξεως ἀπατῆσαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους δυνησόμενος λευκοὺς ἐνδιδύσκει χιτωνίσκους καὶ πορφυρᾶν ἐμπερονησάμενος χλανίδα κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν τόπον, ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἱερὸν ἦν πρόσθεν, ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀνεφάνη. [30] τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον τοῖς ἰδοῦσι θάμβος προσέπεσε καὶ κατὰ χώραν ἔμενον, ἔπειτα δ᾽ ἐγγυτέρω προσελθόντες ὅστις ἐστὶν ἤροντο. [31] καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐδήλου Σίμων αὐτοῖς, καλεῖν δὲ τὸν ἡγεμόνα προσέταττεν. καὶ ταχέως πρὸς αὐτὸν δραμόντων ἦκεν Τερέντιος Ῥοῦφος: οὗτος γὰρ ἄρχων τῆς στρατιᾶς κατελέλειπτο: πυθόμενός τε παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὸν μὲν ἐφύλαττε δεδεμένον, Καίσαρι δ᾽ ὅπως εἴη συνειλημμένος ἐδήλου. [32] Σίμωνα μὲν οὖν εἰς δίκην τῆς κατὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ὠμότητος, ὧν πικρῶς αὐτὸς ἐτυράννησεν, ὑπὸ τοῖς μάλιστα μισοῦσι πολεμίοις ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός, [33] οὐ βίᾳ γενόμενον αὐτοῖς ὑποχείριον, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸν ἑκουσίως εἰς τὴν τιμωρίαν παραβαλόντα, δι᾽ ὃ πολλοὺς αὐτὸς ὠμῶς ἀπέκτεινε ψευδεῖς αἰτίας ἐπιφέρων τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους μεταβολῆς. [34] οὐδὲ γὰρ διαφεύγει πονηρία θεοῦ χόλον, οὐδὲ ἀσθενὴς ἡ δίκη, χρόνῳ δὲ μέτεισι τοὺς εἰς αὐτὴν παρανομήσαντας καὶ χείρω τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐπιφέρει τοῖς πονηροῖς, ὅτι καὶ προσεδόκησαν αὐτῆς ἀπηλλάχθαι μὴ παραυτίκα κολασθέντες. ἔγνω τοῦτο καὶ Σίμων εἰς τὰς Ῥωμαίων ὀργὰς ἐμπεσών. [35] ἡ δ᾽ ἐκείνου γῆθεν ἄνοδος πολὺ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στασιαστῶν πλῆθος ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνας τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν τοῖς ὑπονόμοις φωραθῆναι παρεσκεύασε. [36] Καίσαρι δὲ εἰς τὴν παράλιον ἐπανελθόντι Καισάρειαν Σίμων προσήχθη δεδεμένος: κἀκεῖνον μὲν εἰς ὃν ἐπιτελεῖν ἐν Ῥώμῃ παρεσκευάζετο θρίαμβον προσέταξε φυλάττειν.

III

(1) [37] Διατρίβων δ᾽ αὐτόθι τὴν τἀδελφοῦ γενέθλιον ἡμέραν ἐπιφανῶς ἑώρταζε, πολὺ καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων κολάσεως εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου τιμὴν ἀνατιθείς. [38] ὁ γὰρ

ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἔν τε ταῖς πρὸς τὰ θηρία μάχαις καὶ τῶν καταπιμπραμένων ἔν τε ταῖς ἀλληλοκτονίαις ἀναιρουμένων πεντακοσίους ἐπὶ τοῖς δισχιλίοις ὑπερέβαλε. πάντα μέντοι Ῥωμαίοις ἐδόκει ταῦτα μυρίοις αὐτῶν ἀπολλυμένων τρόποις ἐλάττων κόλασις εἶναι. [39] μετὰ τοῦτο Καῖσαρ εἰς Βηρυτὸν ἦκεν: ἡ δ' ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ πόλις Ῥωμαίων ἄποικος: κἀνταῦθα χρονιωτέραν ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἐπιδημίαν πλείονι χρώμενος τῇ λαμπρότητι περὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμέραν γενέθλιον ἔν τε ταῖς τῶν θεωριῶν πολυτελείαις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην ἐπίνοιαν τῶν ἄλλων ἀναλωμάτων. [40] τὸ δὲ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων πλῆθος τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὡς πρόσθεν ἀπώλλυτο.

(2) [41] Γενέσθαι δὲ συνέβη περὶ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὑπολειπομένοις ἐγκλήματα καὶ κίνδυνον ὀλέθρου τῆς πόλεως ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τῶν Ἀντιοχέων ἐκταραχθείσης διά τε τὰς ἐν τῷ παρόντι διαβολὰς αὐτοῖς ἐπενεχθείσας καὶ διὰ τὰ ὑπηργμένα χρόνῳ πρόσθεν οὐ πολλῷ, [42] περὶ ὧν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι διὰ συντόμων προειπεῖν, ἵνα καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα πραχθέντων εὐπαρακολούθητον ποιήσωμαι τὴν διήγησιν.

(3) [43] Τὸ γὰρ Ἰουδαίων γένος πολὺ μὲν κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην παρέσπαρται τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις, πλεῖστον δὲ τῇ Συρίᾳ κατὰ τὴν γειτνίασιν ἀναμεμιγμένον ἐξαιρέτως ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἦν πολὺ διὰ τὸ τῆς πόλεως μέγεθος: μάλιστα δ' αὐτοῖς ἀδεᾶ τὴν ἐκεῖ κατοίκησιν οἱ μετ' Ἀντίοχον βασιλεῖς παρέσχον: [44] Ἀντίοχος μὲν γὰρ ὁ κληθεὶς Ἐπιφανὴς Ἱεροσόλυμα πορθήσας τὸν νεὼν ἐσύλησεν, οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντες τῶν ἀναθημάτων ὅσα χαλκᾶ πεποίητο πάντα τοῖς ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας Ἰουδαίοις ἀπέδοσαν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν αὐτῶν ἀναθέντες, καὶ συνεχώρησαν αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἴσου τῆς πόλεως τοῖς Ἕλλησι μετέχειν. [45] τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα βασιλέων αὐτοῖς προσφερομένων εἵς τε πλῆθος ἐπέδωκαν καὶ τῇ κατασκευῇ καὶ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ τῶν ἀναθημάτων τὸ ἱερὸν ἐξελάμπρυναν, ἀεί τε προσαγόμενοι ταῖς θρησκείαις πολὺ πλῆθος Ἑλλήνων, κἀκείνους τρόπῳ τινὶ μοῖραν αὐτῶν πεποίηντο. [46] καθ' ὃν δὲ καιρὸν ὁ πόλεμος ἀνακεκήρυκτο, νεωστὶ δ' εἰς τὴν Συρίαν Οὐεσπασιανὸς καταπεπλεύκει, τὸ δὲ κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων παρὰ πᾶσιν ἤκμαζε μῖσος, [47] τότε δή τις Ἀντίοχος εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν τὰ μάλιστα διὰ τὸν πατέρα τιμώμενος, ἦν γὰρ ἄρχων τῶν ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας Ἰουδαίων, τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀντιοχέων ἐκκλησιάζοντος εἰς τὸ θέατρον παρελθὼν τόν τε πατέρα τὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐνεδείκνυτο κατηγορῶν, ὅτι νυκτὶ μιᾷ καταπρῆσαι τὴν πόλιν ἅπασαν διεγνώκεισαν, καὶ παρεδίδου ξένους Ἰουδαίους τινὰς ὡς κεκοινωνηκότας τῶν βεβουλευμένων. [48] ταῦτα ἀκούων ὁ δῆμος τὴν ὀργὴν οὐ κατεῖχεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς παραδοθέντας πῦρ εὐθὺς ἐκέλευον κομίζειν, καὶ παραχρῆμα πάντες ἐπὶ τοῦ θεάτρου κατεφλέγησαν, [49] ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ὥρμητο τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐν τῷ τάχιον ἐκείνους τιμωρίᾳ περιβαλεῖν τὴν αὐτῶν πατρίδα σώζειν νομίζοντες. [50] Ἀντίοχος δὲ προσεπέτεινε τὴν ὀργήν, περὶ μὲν τῆς αὐτοῦ μεταβολῆς καὶ τοῦ μεμισηκέναι τὰ

τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθη τεκμήριον ἐμπαρέχειν οἰόμενος τὸ ἐπιθύειν ὥσπερ νόμος ἐστὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν: [51] ἐκέλευε δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τὸ αὐτὸ ποιεῖν ἀναγκάζειν: φανεροὺς γὰρ γενήσεσθαι τῷ μὴ θέλειν τοὺς ἐπιβεβουλευκότας. χρωμένων δὲ τῇ πείρᾳ τῶν Ἀντιοχέων ὀλίγοι μὲν ὑπέμειναν, οἱ δὲ μὴ βουληθέντες ἀνῃρέθησαν. [52] Ἀντίοχος δὲ στρατιώτας παρὰ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμόνος λαβὼν χαλεπὸς ἐφειστήκει τοῖς αὐτοῦ πολίταις, ἀργεῖν τὴν ἑβδόμην οὐκ ἐπιτρέπων, ἀλλὰ βιαζόμενος πάντα πράττειν ὅσα δὴ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἡμέραις. [53] οὕτως τε τὴν ἀνάγκην ἰσχυρὰν ἐποίησεν, ὡς μὴ μόνον ἐπ᾽ Ἀντιοχείας καταλυθῆναι τὴν ἑβδομάδα ἀργὴν ἡμέραν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖθεν ἀρξαμένου τοῦ πράγματος κἀν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ὁμοίως βραχύν τινα χρόνον.

(4) [54] Τοιούτων δὴ τοῖς ἐπ᾽ Ἀντιοχείας Ἰουδαίοις τῶν κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν κακῶν γεγενημένων δευτέρα πάλιν συμφορὰ προσέπεσε, περὶ ἧς ἐπιχειρήσαντες ἀφηγεῖσθαι καὶ ταῦτα διεξήλθομεν. [55] ἐπεὶ γὰρ συνέβη καταπρησθῆναι τὴν τετράγωνον ἀγορὰν ἀρχεῖά τε καὶ γραμματοφυλάκιον καὶ τὰς βασιλικάς, μόλις τε τὸ πῦρ ἐκωλύθη μετὰ πολλῆς βίας ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν περιφερόμενον, ταύτην Ἀντίοχος τὴν πρᾶξιν Ἰουδαίων κατηγόρει. [56] καὶ τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον εἶχον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπεχθῶς, τάχιστα τῇ διαβολῇ παρὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ταραχὴν ὑπαχθέντας πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν προυπηργμένων τοῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ λεγομένοις πιστεύειν παρεσκεύασεν, ὡς μόνον οὐκ αὐτοὺς τὸ πῦρ ἐνιέμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἑωρακότας, [57] καὶ καθάπερ ἐμμανεῖς γεγενημένοι μετὰ πολλοῦ τινος οἴστρου πάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς διαβεβλημένους ὥρμηντο. [58] μόλις δ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐδυνήθη τὰς ὁρμὰς ἐπισχεῖν Ναῖος Κολλήγας τις πρεσβευτής, ἀξιῶν ἐπιτρέψαι Καίσαρι δηλωθῆναι περὶ τῶν γεγονότων: [59] τὸν γὰρ ἡγεμονεύοντα τῆς Συρίας Καισέννιον Παῖτον ἤδη μὲν Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐξαπεστάλκει, συνέβαινε δὲ παρεῖναι μηδέπω. [60] ποιούμενος δὲ ἐπιμελῆ τὴν ἀναζήτησιν ὁ Κολλήγας ἐξεῦρε τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ τῶν μὲν τὴν αἰτίαν ὑπ᾽ Ἀντιόχου λαβόντων Ἰουδαίων οὐδεὶς οὐδ᾽ ἐκοινώνησεν, [61] ἅπαν δὲ τοὖργον ἔπραξαν ἄνθρωποί τινες ἀλιτήριοι διὰ χρεῶν ἀνάγκας νομίζοντες, εἰ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὰ δημόσια καταπρήσειαν γράμματα, τῆς ἀπαιτήσεως ἀπαλλαγὴν ἕξειν. [62] Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ μετεώροις ταῖς αἰτίαις τὸ μέλλον ἔτι καραδοκοῦντες ἐν φόβοις χαλεποῖς ἀπεσάλευον.

IV

(1) [63] Τίτος δὲ Καῖσαρ τῆς περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀγγελίας αὐτῷ κομισθείσης, ὅτι πάσαις μὲν ποθεινὸς ταῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πόλεσιν ἐπῆλθεν, μάλιστα δ᾽ ἡ Ῥώμη μετὰ πολλῆς αὐτὸν ἐδέξατο προθυμίας καὶ λαμπρότητος, εἰς πολλὴν χαρὰν καὶ θυμηδίαν ἐτράπετο, τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ φροντίδων ὡς ἥδιστον ἦν ἀπηλλαγμένος. [64] Οὐεσπασιανὸν γὰρ ἔτι μὲν καὶ μακρὰν ἀπόντα πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἄνθρωποι ταῖς γνώμαις περιεῖπον ὡς ἥκοντα, τὴν προσδοκίαν ἐκ τοῦ πάνυ θέλειν

ἄφιξιν αὐτοῦ νομίζοντες καὶ πάσης ἀνάγκης ἐλευθέραν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχοντες εὔνοιαν. [65] τῇ τε γὰρ βουλῇ κατὰ μνήμην τῶν γεγενημένων ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἡγεμόνων μεταβολαῖς συμφορῶν εὐκταῖον ἦν ἀπολαβεῖν ἡγεμόνα γήρως σεμνότητι καὶ πράξεων ἀκμῇ πολεμικῶν κεκοσμημένον, ᾧ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν πρὸς μόνην ἠπίσταντο τὴν τῶν ἀρχομένων σωτηρίαν ἐσομένην. [66] καὶ μὴν ὁ δῆμος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμφυλίων κακῶν τετρυχωμένος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν ἔσπευδε, τότε δὴ βεβαίως μὲν ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι τῶν συμφορῶν ὑπολαμβάνων, ἀπολήψεσθαι δὲ τὴν ἄδειαν μετὰ τῆς εὐετηρίας πεπιστευκώς. [67] ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφεώρα: μάλιστα γὰρ οὗτοι τῶν κατωρθωμένων αὐτῷ πολέμων ἐγίνωσκον τὸ μέγεθος, τῆς ἀπειρίας δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων καὶ τῆς ἀνανδρίας πεπειραμένοι πολλῆς μὲν αἰσχύνης αὐτοὺς ἐπεθύμουν ἀπηλλάχθαι, τὸν μόνον δὲ καὶ σώζειν αὐτοὺς καὶ κοσμεῖν δυνάμενον ἀπολαβεῖν ηὔχοντο. [68] τοιαύτης δὲ εὐνοίας ἐξ ἁπάντων ὑπαρχούσης τοῖς μὲν κατὰ τὰς ἀξιώσεις προύχουσι τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐκέτ᾽ ἀνεκτὸν ἦν ἀναμένειν, ἀλλὰ πορρωτάτω τῆς Ῥώμης αὐτῷ προεντυχεῖν ἔσπευδον. [69] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων τις ἠνείχετο τῆς ἐντεύξεως τὴν ἀναβολήν, ἀλλ᾽ οὕτως ἐξεχέοντο πάντες ἀθρόοι καὶ πᾶσιν εὐπορώτερον καὶ ῥᾷον ἐδόκει τοῦ μένειν τὸ ἀπιέναι, ὡς καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν τότε πρῶτον ἐν ἑαυτῇ λαβεῖν ὀλιγανθρωπίας αἴσθησιν ἰδίαν: ἦσαν γὰρ ἐλάττους τῶν ἀπιόντων οἱ μένοντες. [70] ἐπεὶ δὲ προσιὼν ἠγγέλλετο, καὶ τὴν ἡμερότητα τῆς ἐντεύξεως αὐτοῦ τὴν πρὸς ἑκάστους ἐδήλουν οἱ προσελθόντες, ἅπαν ἤδη τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἅμα γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ἐπὶ ταῖς παρόδοις ἐξεδέχετο, [71] καὶ καθ᾽ οὓς γένοιτο παριὼν οὗτοι πρὸς τὴν ἡδονὴν τῆς θέας καὶ τὸ μειλίχιον αὐτοῦ τῆς ὄψεως παντοίας ἠφίεσαν φωνάς, τὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ μόνον ἄξιον ἡγεμόνα τῆς Ῥώμης ἀνακαλοῦντες: ἅπασα δ᾽ ἡ πόλις ὡς νεὼς ἦν στεφανωμάτων καὶ θυμιαμάτων ἀνάπλεως. [72] μόλις δ᾽ ὑπὸ πλήθους τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἱσταμένων δυνηθεὶς εἰς τὸ βασίλειον ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸς μὲν τοῖς ἔνδον θεοῖς θυσίας τῆς ἀφίξεως χαριστηρίους ἐπετέλει, [73] προτρέπεται δὲ τὰ πλήθη πρὸς εὐωχίαν καὶ κατὰ φυλὰς καὶ γένη καὶ γειτονίας ποιούμενοι τὰς ἑστιάσεις ηὔχοντο τῷ θεῷ σπένδοντες αὐτόν τ᾽ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον χρόνον Οὐεσπασιανὸν ἐπιμεῖναι τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίᾳ, καὶ παισὶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἐκείνων ἀεὶ γινομένοις φυλαχθῆναι τὸ κράτος ἀνανταγώνιστον. [74] ἡ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων πόλις οὕτως Οὐεσπασιανὸν ἐκδεξαμένη προθύμως εὐθὺς εἰς πολλὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐπεδίδου.

(2) [75] Πρὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν χρόνων, ἐν οἷς Οὐεσπασιανὸς μὲν περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἦν, Τίτος δὲ τῇ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων προσήδρευε πολιορκίᾳ, [76] πολὺ μέρος Γερμανῶν ἐκινήθη πρὸς ἀπόστασιν, οἷς καὶ Γαλατῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι συμφρονήσαντες κοινῇ μεγάλας ἐλπίδας αὐτοῖς συνέθεσαν ὡς καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀπαλλαξόμενοι δεσποτείας. [77] ἐπῆρε δὲ τοὺς Γερμανοὺς ἅψασθαι τῆς ἀποστάσεως καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξενεγκεῖν πρώτη μὲν ἡ φύσις οὖσα λογισμῶν ἔρημος ἀγαθῶν καὶ μετὰ μικρᾶς ἐλπίδος ἑτοίμως ῥιψοκίνδυνος: [78] ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ

μῖσος τὸ πρὸς τοὺς κρατοῦντας, ἐπεὶ μόνοις ἴσασι Ῥωμαίοις τὸ γένος αὐτῶν δουλεύειν βεβιασμένον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μάλιστά γε πάντων ὁ καιρὸς αὐτοῖς θάρσος ἐνεποίησεν: [79] ὁρῶντες γὰρ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ταῖς συνεχέσι τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων ἀλλαγαῖς ἐν ἑαυτῇ τεταραγμένην, πᾶν τε μέρος τῆς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῖς οἰκουμένης πυνθανόμενοι μετέωρον εἶναι καὶ κραδαίνεσθαι, τοῦτον σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἄριστον ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκείνων κακοπραγίας καὶ στάσεως καιρὸν ᾠήθησαν παραδεδόσθαι. [80] ἐνῆγον δὲ τὸ βούλευμα καὶ ταύταις αὐτοὺς ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐτύφουν Κλασσικός τις καὶ Οὐίτιλλος τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς [ὄντες] ἡγεμόνων, οἳ δῆλον μὲν ὡς ἐκ μακροῦ ταύτης ἐφίεντο τῆς νεωτεροποιίας, [81] ὑπὸ τοῦ καιροῦ δὲ θαρσῆσαι προαχθέντες τὴν αὐτῶν γνώμην ἐξέφηναν: ἔμελλον δὲ προθύμως διακειμένοις τὴν πεῖραν τοῖς πλήθεσι προσφέρειν. [82] πολλοῦ δὲ μέρους ἤδη τῶν Γερμανῶν τὴν ἀποστασίαν ἀνωμολογηκότος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ἄνδιχα φρονησάντων, ὥσπερ ἐκ δαιμονίου προνοίας Οὐεσπασιανὸς πέμπει γράμματα Πετιλίῳ Κερεαλίῳ τὸ πρότερον ἡγεμόνι Γερμανίας γενομένῳ, τὴν ὕπατον διδοὺς τιμὴν καὶ κελεύων ἄρξοντα Βρεττανίας ἀπιέναι. [83] πορευόμενος οὖν ἐκεῖνος ὅποι προσετέτακτο καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀπόστασιν τῶν Γερμανῶν πυθόμενος, ἤδη συνειλεγμένοις αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσὼν καὶ παραταξάμενος πολύ τε πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἀναιρεῖ κατὰ τὴν μάχην καὶ τῆς ἀνοίας παυσαμένους ἠνάγκασε σωφρονεῖν. [84] ἔμελλον δὲ κἀκείνου μὴ θᾶττον εἰς τοὺς τόπους παραβαλόντος δίκην οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ὑφέξειν: [85] ἡνίκα γὰρ πρῶτον ἡ τῆς ἀποστάσεως αὐτῶν ἀγγελία τῇ Ῥώμῃ προσέπεσε, Δομετιανὸς Καῖσαρ πυθόμενος οὐχ ὡς ἂν ἕτερος ἐν τούτῳ τῆς ἡλικίας, νέος γὰρ ἦν ἔτι παντάπασιν, τηλικοῦτον ἄρασθαι μέγεθος πραγμάτων ὤκνησεν, [86] ἔχων δὲ πατρόθεν ἔμφυτον τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν καὶ τελειοτέραν τὴν ἄσκησιν τῆς ἡλικίας πεποιημένος ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους εὐθὺς ἤλαυνεν. [87] οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὴν φήμην τῆς ἐφόδου καταπεσόντες ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐποιήσαντο μέγα τοῦ φόβου κέρδος εὑράμενοι τὸ χωρὶς συμφορῶν ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν πάλιν ζυγὸν ὑπαχθῆναι. [88] πᾶσιν οὖν ἐπιθεὶς τοῖς περὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν τάξιν τὴν προσήκουσαν Δομετιανός, ὡς μηδ᾽ αὖθις ἄν ποτε ῥᾳδίως ἔτι τἀκεῖ ταραχθῆναι, λαμπρὸς καὶ περίβλεπτος ἐπὶ κρείττοσι μὲν τῆς ἡλικίας, πρέπουσι δὲ τῷ πατρὶ κατορθώμασιν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνέζευξε.

(3) [89] Τῇ δὲ προειρημένῃ Γερμανῶν ἀποστάσει κατὰ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας καὶ Σκυθικὸν τόλμημα πρὸς Ῥωμαίους συνέδραμεν. [90] οἱ γὰρ καλούμενοι Σκυθῶν Σαρμάται, πολὺ πλῆθος ὄντες, ἄδηλοι μὲν τὸν Ἴστρον ἐπεραιώθησαν εἰς τὴν ἐπιτάδε, πολλῇ δὲ βίᾳ καὶ χαλεποὶ διὰ τὸ παντάπασιν ἀνέλπιστον τῆς ἐφόδου προσπεσόντες πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς φρουρᾶς Ῥωμαίων ἀναιροῦσι, [91] καὶ τὸν πρεσβευτὴν τὸν ὑπατικὸν Φοντήιον Ἀγρίππαν ὑπαντιάσαντα καρτερῶς μαχόμενον κτείνουσι, τὴν δ᾽ ὑποκειμένην χώραν ἅπασαν κατέτρεχον ἄγοντες καὶ φέροντες ὅτῳ περιπέσοιεν. [92] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ τὰ γεγενημένα καὶ τὴν πόρθησιν τῆς Μυσίας πυθόμενος Ῥούβριον Γάλλον ἐκπέμπει δίκην ἐπιθήσοντα

τοῖς Σαρμάταις. [93] ὑφ᾽ οὗ πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπέθανον, τὸ δὲ περισωθὲν μετὰ δέους εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν διέφυγεν. [94] τοῦτο δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ τέλος ἐπιθεὶς ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἀσφαλείας προυνόησε: πλείοσι γὰρ καὶ μείζοσι φυλακαῖς τὸν τόπον διέλαβεν, ὡς εἶναι τοῖς βαρβάροις τὴν διάβασιν τελέως ἀδύνατον. [95] ὁ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν Μυσίαν πόλεμος ταχεῖαν οὕτως ἔλαβε τὴν κρίσιν.

V

(1) [96] Τίτος δὲ Καῖσαρ χρόνον μέν τινα διέτριβεν ἐν Βηρυτῷ, καθὰ προειρήκαμεν, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἀναζεύξας καὶ δι᾽ ὧν ἤει πόλεων τῆς Συρίας ἐν πάσαις θεωρίας τε συντελῶν πολυτελεῖς καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀπωλείας ἀποχρώμενος, θεᾶται κατὰ τὴν πορείαν ποταμοῦ φύσιν ἀξίαν ἱστορηθῆναι. [97] ῥεῖ μὲν γὰρ μέσος Ἀρκέας τῆς Ἀγρίππα βασιλείας καὶ Ῥαφανέας, ἔχει δὲ θαυμαστὴν ἰδιότητα: [98] πολὺς γὰρ ὤν, ὅτε ῥεῖ, καὶ κατὰ τὴν φορὰν οὐ σχολαῖος, ἔπειτα δὲ πᾶς ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν ἐπιλείπων ἓξ ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸν ξηρὸν παραδίδωσιν ὁρᾶν τὸν τόπον: [99] εἶθ᾽ ὥσπερ οὐδεμιᾶς γενομένης μεταβολῆς ὅμοιος κατὰ τὴν ἑβδόμην ἐκδίδωσι, καὶ ταύτην ἀεὶ τὴν τάξιν ἀκριβῶς τετήρηται διαφυλάττων: ὅθεν δὴ καὶ Σαββατικὸν αὐτὸν κεκλήκασιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἑβδόμης οὕτως ὀνομάσαντες.

(2) [100] Ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀντιοχέων δῆμος ἐπεὶ πλησίον ὄντα Τίτον ἐπυνθάνοντο, μένειν μὲν ἐντὸς τειχῶν ὑπὸ χαρᾶς οὐχ ὑπέμενον, ἔσπευδον δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπάντησιν: [101] καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίων ἐπὶ πλέον προῆλθον οὐκ ἄνδρες μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναικῶν πλῆθος ἅμα παισὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐκχεόμενοι. [102] κἀπειδήπερ ἐθεάσαντο προσιόντα, παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἑκατέρωθεν καταστάντες τάς τε δεξιὰς προύτεινον προσαγορεύοντες καὶ παντοίοις ἐπιφημίσμασι χρώμενοι συνυπέστρεφον: [103] συνεχὴς δὲ ἦν αὐτῶν παρὰ πάσας ἅμα τὰς εὐφημίας δέησις ἐκβαλεῖν τῆς πόλεως τοὺς Ἰουδαίους. [104] Τίτος μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ἐνέδωκεν πρὸς ταύτην τὴν δέησιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἡσυχῇ τῶν λεγομένων ἐπήκουεν: ἐπ᾽ ἀδήλῳ δὲ τῷ τί φρονεῖ καὶ τί ποιήσει πολὺς καὶ χαλεπὸς τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὁ φόβος ἦν: [105] οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑπέμεινεν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ Τίτος, ἀλλ᾽ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸ Ζεῦγμα τὸ κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην συνέτεινε τὴν πορείαν, ἔνθα δὴ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Πάρθων βασιλέως Βολογέσου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦκον στέφανον χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων νίκῃ κομίζοντες. [106] ὃν δεξάμενος εἱστία τοὺς βασιλικούς, κἀκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπανέρχεται. [107] τῆς δὲ βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀντιοχέων πολλὰς ποιησαμένων δεήσεις ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὸ θέατρον αὐτόν, ἐν ᾧ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἠθροισμένον ἐξεδέχετο, φιλανθρώπως ὑπήκουσε. [108] πάλιν δ᾽ αὐτῶν σφόδρα λιπαρῶς ἐγκειμένων καὶ συνεχῶς δεομένων ἐξελάσαι τῆς πόλεως τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, εὔστοχον ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, [109] εἰπών “ἀλλ᾽ ἥ γε πατρὶς

αὐτῶν, εἰς ἣν ἐκβαλεῖν ἐχρῆν ὄντας Ἰουδαίους, ἀνῄρηται, καὶ δέξαιτ᾽ ἂν οὐδεὶς αὐτοὺς ἔτι τόπος.” [110] ἐπὶ δευτέραν οὖν Ἀντιοχεῖς τρέπονται δέησιν τῆς προτέρας ἀποστάντες: τὰς γὰρ χαλκᾶς ἠξίουν δέλτους ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν, ἐν αἷς γέγραπται τὰ δικαιώματα τῶν Ἰουδαίων. [111] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτο Τίτος ἐπένευσεν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ᾽ ἐάσας πάντα κατὰ χώραν τοῖς ἐπ᾽ Ἀντιοχείας Ἰουδαίοις ὡς πρότερον εἶχον εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπηλλάττετο. [112] καὶ κατὰ τὴν πορείαν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις προσελθὼν καὶ τὴν λυπρὰν ἐρημίαν βλεπομένην ἀντιτιθεὶς τῇ ποτε τῆς πόλεως λαμπρότητι, καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἐρρηγμένων κατασκευασμάτων καὶ τὸ πάλαι κάλλος εἰς μνήμην βαλλόμενος, ᾤκτειρε τῆς πόλεως τὸν ὄλεθρον, [113] οὐχ ὥσπερ ἄν τις αὐχῶν ὅτι τηλικαύτην οὖσαν καὶ τοσαύτην εἶλε κατὰ κράτος, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἐπαρώμενος τοῖς αἰτίοις τῆς ἀποστάσεως ὑπάρξασι καὶ ταύτην ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει τὴν τιμωρίαν γενέσθαι παρασκευάσασιν: οὕτως ἔκδηλος ἦν οὐκ ἂν θελήσας ἐκ τῆς συμφορᾶς τῶν κολασθέντων γενέσθαι τῆς ἀρετῆς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν. [114] τοῦ δὲ πολλοῦ πλούτου τῆς πόλεως ἔτι κἀν τοῖς ἐρειπίοις οὐκ ὀλίγον μέρος ἀνηυρίσκετο: [115] τὰ μὲν γὰρ πολλὰ ἀνέσκαπτον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, τὰ πλείω δὲ ἐκ μηνύσεως τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀνῃροῦντο, χρυσόν τε καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ τῆς ἄλλης τὰ τιμιώτατα κατασκευῆς, ἅπερ οἱ κεκτημένοι πρὸς τὰς ἀδήλους τοῦ πολέμου τύχας κατὰ γῆς ἀποτεθησαυρίκεσαν.

(3) [116] Τίτος δὲ τὴν προκειμένην ποιούμενος πορείαν ἐπ᾽ Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὴν ἔρημον ᾗ τάχιστα διανύσας ἦκεν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, [117] καὶ πλεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας διεγνωκὼς δυοῖν αὐτῷ ταγμάτων συνηκολουθηκότων ἑκάτερον ὅθεν περ ἀφῖκτο πάλιν ἀπέστειλεν, εἰς μὲν τὴν Μυσίαν τὸ πέμπτον, εἰς Παννονίαν δὲ τὸ πεντεκαιδέκατον. [118] τῶν αἰχμαλώτων δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἡγεμόνας Σίμωνα καὶ Ἰωάννην, τόν τ᾽ ἄλλον ἀριθμὸν ἑπτακοσίους ἄνδρας ἐπιλέξας μεγέθει τε καὶ κάλλει σωμάτων ὑπερβάλλοντας, προσέταξεν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὐτίκα μάλα κομίζεσθαι βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ θριάμβῳ παραγαγεῖν. [119] τοῦ πλοῦ δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ νοῦν ἀνυσθέντος ὁμοίως μὲν ἡ Ῥώμη περὶ τὴν ὑποδοχὴν εἶχε καὶ τὰς ὑπαντήσεις ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρός, λαμπρότερον δ᾽ ἦν Τίτῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πατὴρ ὑπαντῶν καὶ δεχόμενος. [120] τῷ δὲ πλήθει τῶν πολιτῶν δαιμόνιόν τινα τὴν χαρὰν παρεῖχε τὸ βλέπειν αὐτοὺς ἤδη τοὺς τρεῖς ἐν ταὐτῷ γεγονότας. [121] οὐ πολλῶν δὲ ἡμερῶν διελθουσῶν ἕνα καὶ κοινὸν ἔγνωσαν τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατωρθωμένοις ποιήσασθαι θρίαμβον, καίπερ ἑκατέρῳ τῆς βουλῆς ἴδιον ψηφισαμένης. [122] προδιασαφηθείσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐφ᾽ ἧς ἔμελλεν ἡ πομπὴ γενήσεσθαι τῶν ἐπινικίων, οὐδεὶς οἶκοι καταλέλειπτο τῆς ἀμέτρου πληθύος ἐν τῇ πόλει, πάντες δὲ ὅπη καὶ στῆναι μόνον ἦν οἷον προεληλυθότες τοὺς τόπους κατειλήφεσαν, ὅσον τοῖς ὀφθησομένοις μόνον εἰς πάροδον ἀναγκαίαν καταλιπόντες.

(4) [123] Τοῦ δὲ στρατιωτικοῦ παντὸς ἔτι νύκτωρ κατὰ λόχους καὶ τάξεις ὑπὸ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι διεξωδευκότος καὶ περὶ θύρας ὄντος οὐ τῶν ἄνω βασιλείων ἀλλὰ

πλησίον τοῦ τῆς Ἴσιδος ἱεροῦ, ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἀνεπαύοντο τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης οἱ αὐτοκράτορες, [124] περὶ αὐτὴν ἀρχομένην ἤδη τὴν ἕω προίασιν Οὐεσπασιανὸς καὶ Τίτος δάφνῃ μὲν ἐστεφανωμένοι, πορφυρᾶς δ' ἐσθῆτας πατρίους ἀμπεχόμενοι, καὶ παρίασιν εἰς τοὺς Ὀκταουίας περιπάτους: [125] ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἥ τε βουλὴ καὶ τὰ τέλη τῶν ἀρχόντων οἵ τε ἀπὸ τῶν τιμημάτων ἱππεῖς τὴν ἄφιξιν αὐτῶν ἀνέμενον. [126] πεποίητο δὲ βῆμα πρὸ τῶν στοῶν δίφρων αὐτοῖς ἐλεφαντίνων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ κειμένων, ἐφ' οὓς παρελθόντες ἐκαθέσθησαν, καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν εὐθέως ἐπευφήμει πολλὰς αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀρετῆς μαρτυρίας ἀποδιδόντες ἅπαντες: κἀκεῖνοι χωρὶς ὅπλων ἦσαν ἐν ἐσθήσεσιν σηρικαῖς ἐστεφανωμένοι δάφναις. [127] δεξάμενος δ' αὐτῶν τὴν εὐφημίαν Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἔτι βουλομένων λέγειν τὸ τῆς σιγῆς ἐποιήσατο σύμβολον, [128] καὶ πολλῆς ἐκ πάντων ἡσυχίας γενομένης ἀναστὰς καὶ τῷ περιβλήματι τὸ πλέον τῆς κεφαλῆς μέρος ἐπικαλυψάμενος εὐχὰς ἐποιήσατο τὰς νενομισμένας: ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Τίτος ηὔξατο. [129] μετὰ δὲ τὰς εὐχὰς εἰς κοινὸν ἅπασιν Οὐεσπασιανὸς βραχέα διαλεχθεὶς τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας ἀπέλυσεν ἐπὶ τὸ νενομισμένον ἄριστον αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων εὐτρεπίζεσθαι, [130] πρὸς δὲ τὴν πύλην αὐτὸς ἀνεχώρει τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πέμπεσθαι δι' αὐτῆς αἰεὶ τοὺς θριάμβους τῆς προσηγορίας ἀπ' αὐτῶν τετυχυῖαν. [131] ἐνταῦθα τροφῆς τε προαπογεύονται καὶ τὰς θριαμβικὰς ἐσθῆτας ἀμφιασάμενοι τοῖς τε παριδρυμένοις τῇ πύλῃ θύσαντες θεοῖς ἔπεμπον τὸν θρίαμβον διὰ τῶν θεάτρων διεξελαύνοντες, ὅπως εἴη τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἡ θέα ῥᾴων.

(5) [132] Ἀμήχανον δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν εἰπεῖν τῶν θεαμάτων ἐκείνων τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν ἐν ἅπασιν οἷς ἄν τις ἐπινοήσειεν ἢ τεχνῶν ἔργοις ἢ πλούτου μέρεσιν ἢ φύσεως σπανιότησιν: [133] σχεδὸν γὰρ ὅσα τοῖς πώποτε ἀνθρώποις εὐδαιμονήσασιν ἐκτήθη κατὰ μέρος ἄλλα παρ' ἄλλοις θαυμαστὰ καὶ πολυτελῆ, ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἀθρόα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας ἔδειξε τὸ μέγεθος. [134] ἀργύρου γὰρ καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος ἐν παντοίαις ἰδέαις κατασκευασμάτων ἦν ὁρᾶν οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐν πομπῇ κομιζόμενον πλῆθος, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις ῥέοντα ποταμόν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐκ πορφύρας ὑφάσματα τῆς σπανιωτάτης φερόμενα, τὰ δ' εἰς ἀκριβῆ ζωγραφίαν πεποικιλμένα τῇ Βαβυλωνίων τέχνῃ: [135] λίθοι τε διαφανεῖς, οἱ μὲν χρυσοῖς ἐμπεπλεγμένοι στεφάνοις, οἱ δὲ κατ' ἄλλας ποιήσεις, τοσοῦτοι παρηνέχθησαν, ὥστε μαθεῖν ὅτι μάτην εἶναί τι τούτων σπάνιον ὑπειλήφαμεν. [136] ἐφέρετο δὲ καὶ θεῶν ἀγάλματα τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς μεγέθεσι θαυμαστὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν τέχνην οὐ παρέργως πεποιημένα, καὶ τούτων οὐδέν, ὅ τι μὴ τῆς ὕλης τῆς πολυτελοῦς, ζῴων τε πολλαὶ φύσεις παρήγοντο κόσμον οἰκεῖον ἁπάντων περικειμένων. [137] ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ κομίζον ἕκαστα τούτων πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἁλουργαῖς ἐσθῆσι καὶ διαχρύσοις κεκοσμημένον, οἵ τ' εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πομπεύειν διακριθέντες ἐξαίρετον εἶχον καὶ καταπληκτικὴν περὶ αὐτοὺς τοῦ κόσμου τὴν πολυτέλειαν. [138] ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐδὲ

τὸν αἰχμάλωτον ἦν ἰδεῖν ὄχλον ἀκόσμητον, ἀλλ᾽ ἡ τῶν ἐσθήτων ποικιλία καὶ τὸ κάλλος αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς κακώσεως τῶν σωμάτων ἀηδίαν ἔκλεπτε τῆς ὄψεως. [139] θαῦμα δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα παρεῖχεν ἡ τῶν φερομένων πηγμάτων κατασκευή: καὶ γὰρ διὰ μέγεθος ἦν δεῖσαι τῷ βεβαίῳ τῆς φορᾶς ἀπιστήσαντα, [140] τριώροφα γὰρ αὐτῶν πολλὰ καὶ τετρώροφα πεποίητο, καὶ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ τῇ περὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν ἦν ἡσθῆναι μετ᾽ ἐκπλήξεως. [141] καὶ γὰρ ὑφάσματα πολλοῖς διάχρυσα περιβέβλητο, καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ ἐλέφας οὐκ ἀποίητος πᾶσι περιεπεπήγει. [142] διὰ πολλῶν δὲ μιμημάτων ὁ πόλεμος ἄλλος εἰς ἄλλα μεμερισμένος ἐναργεστάτην ὄψιν αὐτοῦ παρεῖχεν: [143] ἦν γὰρ ὁρᾶν χώραν μὲν εὐδαίμονα δῃουμένην, ὅλας δὲ φάλαγγας κτεινομένας πολεμίων, καὶ τοὺς μὲν φεύγοντας τοὺς δ᾽ εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν ἀγομένους, τείχη δ᾽ ὑπερβάλλοντα μεγέθει μηχαναῖς ἐρειπόμενα καὶ φρουρίων ἁλισκομένας ὀχυρότητας καὶ πόλεων πολυανθρώπους περιβόλους κατ᾽ ἄκρας ἐχομένους, [144] καὶ στρατιὰν ἔνδον τειχῶν εἰσχεομένην, καὶ πάντα φόνου πλήθοντα τόπον, καὶ τῶν ἀδυνάτων χεῖρας ἀνταίρειν ἱκεσίας, πῦρ τε ἐνιέμενον ἱεροῖς καὶ κατασκαφὰς οἴκων ἐπὶ τοῖς δεσπόταις, [145] καὶ μετὰ πολλὴν ἐρημίαν καὶ κατήφειαν ποταμοὺς ῥέοντας οὐκ ἐπὶ γῆν γεωργουμένην, οὐδὲ ποτὸν ἀνθρώποις ἢ βοσκήμασιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ἐπιπανταχόθεν φλεγομένης: ταῦτα γὰρ Ἰουδαῖοι πεισομένους αὐτοὺς τῷ πολέμῳ παρέδοσαν. [146] ἡ τέχνη δὲ καὶ τῶν κατασκευασμάτων ἡ μεγαλουργία τοῖς οὐκ ἰδοῦσι γινόμενα τότ᾽ ἐδείκνυεν ὡς παροῦσι. [147] τέτακτο δ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστῳ τῶν πηγμάτων ὁ τῆς ἁλισκομένης πόλεως στρατηγὸς ὃν τρόπον ἐλήφθη. [148] πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ νῆες εἵποντο. λάφυρα δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα χύδην ἐφέρετο, διέπρεπε δὲ πάντων τὰ ἐγκαταληφθέντα τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερῷ, χρυσῆ τε τράπεζα τὴν ὁλκὴν πολυτάλαντος καὶ λυχνία χρυσῆ μὲν ὁμοίως πεποιημένη, τὸ δ᾽ ἔργον ἐξήλλακτο τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν χρῆσιν συνηθείας. [149] ὁ μὲν γὰρ μέσος ἦν κίων ἐκ τῆς βάσεως πεπηγώς, λεπτοὶ δ᾽ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ μεμήκυντο καυλίσκοι τριαίνης σχήματι παραπλησίαν τὴν θέσιν ἔχοντες, λύχνον ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἐπ᾽ ἄκρον κεχαλκευμένος: ἑπτὰ δ᾽ ἦσαν οὗτοι τῆς παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἑβδομάδος τὴν τιμὴν ἐμφανίζοντες. [150] ὅ τε νόμος ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐφέρετο τῶν λαφύρων τελευταῖος. [151] ἐπὶ τούτοις παρῆσαν πολλοὶ Νίκης ἀγάλματα κομίζοντες: ἐξ ἐλέφαντος δ᾽ ἦν πάντων καὶ χρυσοῦ ἡ κατασκευή. [152] μεθ᾽ ἃ Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἤλαυνε πρῶτος καὶ Τίτος εἵπετο, Δομετιανὸς δὲ παρίππευεν, αὐτός τε διαπρεπῶς κεκοσμημένος καὶ τὸν ἵππον παρέχων θέας ἄξιον.

(6) [153] Ἦν δὲ τῆς πομπῆς τὸ τέλος ἐπὶ τὸν νεὼ τοῦ Καπετωλίου Διός, ἐφ᾽ ὃν ἐλθόντες ἔστησαν: ἦν γὰρ παλαιὸν πάτριον περιμένειν, μέχρις ἂν τὸν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν πολεμίων θάνατον ἀπαγγείλῃ τις. [154] Σίμων οὗτος ἦν ὁ Γιώρα, τότε πεπομπευκὼς ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις, βρόχῳ δὲ περιβληθεὶς εἰς τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐσύρετο τόπον αἰκιζομένων αὐτὸν ἅμα τῶν ἀγόντων: νόμος δ᾽ ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐκεῖ κτείνειν τοὺς ἐπὶ κακουργίᾳ θάνατον κατεγνωσμένους. [155] ἐπεὶ δ᾽

ἀπηγγέλθη τέλος ἔχων καὶ πάντες εὐφήμησαν, ἤρχοντο τῶν θυσιῶν, ἃς ἐπὶ ταῖς νομιζομέναις καλλιερήσαντες εὐχαῖς ἀπῆεσαν εἰς τὸ βασίλειον. [156] καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτοὶ πρὸς εὐωχίαν ὑπεδέχοντο, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἅπασιν εὐτρεπεῖς κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον αἱ τῆς ἑστιάσεως ἦσαν παρασκευαί. [157] ταύτην γὰρ τὴν ἡμέραν ἡ Ῥωμαίων πόλις ἑώρταζεν ἐπινίκιον μὲν τῆς κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων στρατείας, πέρας δὲ τῶν ἐμφυλίων κακῶν, ἀρχὴν δὲ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἐλπίδων.

(7) [158] Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς θριάμβους καὶ τὴν βεβαιοτάτην τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας κατάστασιν Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἔγνω τέμενος Εἰρήνης κατασκευάσαι: ταχὺ δὲ δὴ μάλα καὶ πάσης ἀνθρωπίνης κρεῖττον ἐπινοίας ἐτετελείωτο. [159] τῇ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ πλούτου χορηγίᾳ δαιμονίῳ χρησάμενος ἔτι καὶ τοῖς ἔκπαλαι κατωρθωμένοις γραφῆς τε καὶ πλαστικῆς ἔργοις αὐτὸ κατεκόσμησεν: [160] πάντα γὰρ εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸν νεὼ συνήχθη καὶ κατετέθη, δι' ὧν τὴν θέαν ἄνθρωποι πρότερον περὶ πᾶσαν ἐπλανῶντο τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἕως ἄλλο παρ' ἄλλοις ἦν κείμενον ἰδεῖν ποθοῦντες. [161] ἀνέθηκε δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων χρυσᾶ κατασκευάσματα σεμνυνόμενος ἐπ' αὐτοῖς. [162] τὸν δὲ νόμον αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ πορφυρᾶ τοῦ σηκοῦ καταπετάσματα προσέταξεν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀποθεμένους φυλάττειν.

VI

(1) [163] Εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πρεσβευτὴς Λουκίλιος Βάσσος ἐκπεμφθεὶς καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν παρὰ Κερεαλίου Οὐετιλιανοῦ παραλαβὼν τὸ μὲν ἐν τῷ Ἡρωδείῳ φρούριον προσηγάγετο μετὰ τῶν ἐχόντων, [164] μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ πᾶν ὅσον ἦν στρατιωτικὸν συναγαγών, πολὺ δ' ἦν κατὰ μέρη διῃρημένον, καὶ τῶν ταγμάτων τὸ δέκατον, ἔγνω στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Μαχαιροῦντα: πάνυ γὰρ ἦν ἀναγκαῖον ἐξαιρεθῆναι τὸ φρούριον, μὴ διὰ τὴν ὀχυρότητα πολλοὺς εἰς ἀποστασίαν ἐπαγάγηται. [165] καὶ γὰρ τοῖς κατέχουσι βεβαίαν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας καὶ τοῖς ἐπιοῦσιν ὄκνον καὶ δέος ἡ τοῦ χωρίου φύσις ἦν παρασχεῖν ἱκανωτάτη. [166] αὐτὸ μὲν γὰρ τὸ τετειχισμένον πετρώδης ὄχθος ἐστὶν εἰς μήκιστον ὕψος ἐγηγερμένος, ὡς εἶναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δυσχείρωτος, μεμηχάνηται δ' ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως εἶναι μηδὲ προσιτός: [167] φάραγξιν γὰρ πάντοθεν ἀσύνοπτον ἐχούσαις τὸ βάθος περιτετάφρευται, μήτε περαθῆναι ῥᾳδίως δυναμέναις καὶ χωσθῆναι παντάπασιν ἀμηχάνοις. [168] ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπέρας περιτέμνουσα παρατείνει σταδίους ἑξήκοντα πέρας αὐτῆς τὴν Ἀσφαλτῖτιν ποιουμένη λίμνην: κατὰ τοῦτο δέ πῃ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Μαχαιροῦς τὴν ὑψηλοτάτην ἔχει κορυφὴν ὑπερανίσχουσαν: [169] αἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἄρκτου καὶ μεσημβρίας φάραγγες μεγέθει μὲν ἀπολείπονται τῆς προειρημένης, ὁμοίως δ' εἰσὶν ἀμήχανοι πρὸς ἐπιχείρησιν. [170] τῆς δὲ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν φάραγγος τὸ μὲν βάθος οὐκ ἔλαττον ἑκατὸν εὑρίσκεται πήχεων, τέρμα δὲ γίνεται πρὸς ὄρος ἀπαντικρὺ κείμενον Μαχαιροῦντος.

(2) [171] Ταύτην τοῦ τόπου κατιδὼν τὴν φύσιν βασιλεὺς Ἰουδαίων Ἀλέξανδρος πρῶτος ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τειχίζει φρούριον, ὃ μετὰ ταῦτα Γαβίνιος Ἀριστοβούλῳ πολεμῶν καθεῖλεν. [172] Ἡρώδῃ δὲ βασιλεύοντι παντὸς ἔδοξε μᾶλλον ἐπιμελείας ἄξιον εἶναι καὶ κατασκευῆς ὀχυρωτάτης μάλιστα καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν Ἀράβων γειτνίασιν: κεῖται γὰρ ἐν ἐπικαίρῳ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων γῆν ἀποβλέπον. [173] μέγαν μὲν οὖν τόπον τείχεσιν καὶ πύργοις περιβαλὼν πόλιν ἐνταῦθα κατῴκισεν, ἐξ ἧς ἄνοδος εἰς αὐτὴν ἔφερε τὴν ἀκρώρειαν. [174] οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν ἄνω τὴν κορυφὴν τεῖχος ἐδείματο καὶ πύργους ἐπὶ ταῖς γωνίαις ἕκαστον ἑξήκοντα πηχῶν ἀνέστησεν. [175] μέσον δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου βασίλειον ᾠκοδομήσατο μεγέθει τε καὶ κάλλει τῶν οἰκήσεων πολυτελές, [176] πολλὰς δὲ καὶ δεξαμενὰς εἰς ὑποδοχὴν ὕδατος καὶ χορηγίαν ἄφθονον ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδειοτάτοις τῶν τόπων κατεσκεύασεν, ὥσπερ πρὸς τὴν φύσιν ἀμιλληθείς, ἵν᾽ αὐτὸς τὸ κατ᾽ ἐκείνην τοῦ τόπου δυσάλωτον ὑπερβάληται ταῖς χειροποιήτοις ὀχυρώσεσιν: [177] ἔτι γὰρ καὶ βελῶν πλῆθος καὶ μηχανημάτων ἐγκατέθετο καὶ πᾶν ἐπενόησεν ἑτοιμάσασθαι τὸ παρασχεῖν δυνάμενον τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσιν μηκίστης πολιορκίας καταφρόνησιν.

(3) [178] Ἐπεφύκει δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις πήγανον ἄξιον τοῦ μεγέθους θαυμάσαι: συκῆς γὰρ οὐδεμιᾶς ὕψους καὶ πάχους ἐλείπετο. [179] λόγος δὲ ἦν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἡρώδου χρόνων αὐτὸ διαρκέσαι, κἂν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἴσως ἔμεινεν, ἐξεκόπη δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν παραλαβόντων τὸν τόπον Ἰουδαίων. [180] τῆς φάραγγος δὲ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἄρκτον περιεχούσης τὴν πόλιν Βαάρας ὀνομάζεταί τις τόπος, φύει ῥίζαν ὁμωνύμως λεγομένην αὐτῷ. [181] αὕτη φλογὶ μὲν τὴν χροίαν ἔοικε, περὶ δὲ τὰς ἑσπέρας σέλας ἀπαστράπτουσα τοῖς ἐπιοῦσι καὶ βουλομένοις λαβεῖν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἔστιν εὐχείρωτος, ἀλλ᾽ ὑποφεύγει καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἵσταται, πρὶν ἄν τις οὖρον γυναικὸς ἢ τὸ ἔμμηνον αἷμα χέῃ κατ᾽ αὐτῆς. [182] οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε τοῖς ἁψαμένοις πρόδηλός ἐστι θάνατος, εἰ μὴ τύχοι τις αὐτὴν ἐκείνην ἐπενεγκάμενος τὴν ῥίζαν ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς ἀπηρτημένην. [183] ἁλίσκεται δὲ καὶ καθ᾽ ἕτερον τρόπον ἀκινδύνως, ὅς ἐστι τοιόσδε: κύκλῳ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν περιορύσσουσιν, ὡς εἶναι τὸ κρυπτόμενον τῆς ῥίζης βραχύτατον. [184] εἶτ᾽ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀποδοῦσι κύνα, κἀκείνου τῷ δήσαντι συνακολουθεῖν ὁρμήσαντος ἡ μὲν ἀνασπᾶται ῥᾳδίως, θνήσκει δ᾽ εὐθὺς ὁ κύων ὥσπερ ἀντιδοθεὶς τοῦ μέλλοντος τὴν βοτάνην ἀναιρήσεσθαι: φόβος γὰρ οὐδεὶς τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα λαμβάνουσιν. [185] ἔστι δὲ μετὰ τοσούτων κινδύνων διὰ μίαν ἰσχὺν περισπούδαστος: τὰ γὰρ καλούμενα δαιμόνια, ταῦτα δὲ πονηρῶν ἐστιν ἀνθρώπων πνεύματα τοῖς ζῶσιν εἰσδυόμενα καὶ κτείνοντα τοὺς βοηθείας μὴ τυγχάνοντας, αὕτη ταχέως ἐξελαύνει, κἂν προσενεχθῇ μόνον τοῖς νοσοῦσι. [186] ῥέουσι δὲ καὶ θερμῶν ὑδάτων πηγαὶ κατὰ τὸν τόπον πολὺ τὴν γεῦσιν ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσαι: πικραὶ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν τινές εἰσιν, αἱ δὲ γλυκύτητος οὐδὲν ἀπολείπουσαι. [187] πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ ψυχρῶν ὑδάτων ἀναδόσεις οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ χθαμαλωτέρῳ τὰς πηγὰς παραλλήλους ἔχουσαι, [188] ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἂν καὶ μᾶλλόν τις θαυμάσειε, σπήλαιον γάρ τι πλησίον ὁρᾶται κοιλότητι μὲν οὐ

βαθύ, τῇ πέτρᾳ δὲ προυχούσῃ σκεπόμενον: [189] ταύτης ἄνωθεν ὡσανεὶ μαστοὶ δύο ἀνέχουσιν ἀλλήλων ὀλίγῳ διεστῶτες, καὶ ψυχροτάτην μὲν ἄτερος πηγήν, ἄτερος δὲ θερμοτάτην ἐκδίδωσιν, αἷ μισγόμεναι ποιοῦσι λουτρὸν ἥδιστον παιώνιόν τε νοσημάτων, πολλῷ δὲ μάλιστα νεύρων ἄκεσιν. ἔχει δὲ ὁ τόπος καὶ θείου καὶ στυπτηρίας μέταλλα.

(4) [190] Βάσσος δὲ περισκεψάμενος τὸ χωρίον ἔγνω ποιεῖσθαι τὴν πρόσοδον χωννὺς τὴν φάραγγα τὴν πρὸς ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς καὶ τῶν ἔργων εἴχετο, σπουδὴν ποιούμενος ᾗ τάχος ἐξᾶραι τὸ χῶμα καὶ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ ῥᾳδίαν ποιῆσαι τὴν πολιορκίαν. [191] οἱ δ᾽ ἔνδον ἀπειλημμένοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων αὐτοὶ καθ᾽ ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ξένων διακριθέντες ἐκείνους μὲν ἠνάγκασαν, ὄχλον ἄλλως εἶναι νομίζοντες, ἐν τῇ κάτω πόλει παραμένειν καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους προεκδέχεσθαι, [192] τὸ δ᾽ ἄνω φρούριον αὐτοὶ καταλαβόντες εἶχον καὶ διὰ τὴν ἰσχὺν τῆς ὀχυρότητος καὶ προνοίᾳ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν: τεύξεσθαι γὰρ ἀφέσεως ὑπελάμβανον, εἰ τὸ χωρίον Ῥωμαίοις ἐγχειρίσειαν. [193] πείρᾳ δὲ πρότερον ἐβούλοντο τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ διαφεύξεσθαι τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐλπίδας ἐλέγξαι. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ προθύμως ἐποιοῦντο τὰς ἐξόδους ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν, καὶ τοῖς χοῦσι συμπλεκόμενοι πολλοὶ μὲν ἔθνησκον, πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀνῄρουν. [194] ἀεὶ δὲ τὸ κρατεῖν ὁ καιρὸς ἐβράβευεν ἑκατέροις τὸ πλέον, τοῖς μὲν Ἰουδαίοις, εἰ πρὸς ἀφυλακτοτέρους προσπέσοιεν, τοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν χωμάτων προιδομένοις, εἰ τὴν ἐκδρομὴν αὐτῶν δέχοιντο πεφραγμένως. [195] ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐν τούτοις ἔμελλεν γενήσεσθαι τὸ πέρας τῆς πολιορκίας, ἔργον δέ τι πραχθὲν ἐκ συντυχίας παράλογον τῆς παραδόσεως τοῦ φρουρίου τὴν ἀνάγκην ἐπέστησε τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις. [196] ἦν ἐν τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις νεανίας τολμῆσαί τε θρασὺς καὶ κατὰ χεῖρα δραστήριος, Ἐλεάζαρος ὄνομα: [197] γεγόνει δὲ οὗτος ἐν ταῖς ἐκδρομαῖς ἐπιφανὴς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐξιέναι καὶ κωλύειν τὴν χῶσιν παρακαλῶν καὶ κατὰ τὰς μάχας πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διατιθείς, τοῖς δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ τολμῶσιν ἐπεκτρέχειν ῥᾳδίαν μὲν τὴν προσβολὴν τιθέμενος, ἀκίνδυνον δὲ παρέχων τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τῷ τελευταῖος ἀπιέναι. [198] καὶ δή ποτε τῆς μάχης διακριθείσης καὶ γεγονυίας ἀμφοτέρων ἀναχωρήσεως αὐτὸς ἅτε δὴ περιφρονῶν καὶ νομίζων οὐκ ἂν ἔτι τῶν πολεμίων οὐδένα τότε μάχης ἄρξειν, μείνας τῶν πυλῶν ἔξω τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους διελάλει καὶ πᾶς πρὸς ἐκείνοις τὴν διάνοιαν ἦν. [199] ὁρᾷ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ Ῥωμαικοῦ τις στρατοπέδου Ῥοῦφος, γένος Αἰγύπτιος, καὶ μηδενὸς ἂν προσδοκήσαντος ἐξαίφνης ἐπιδραμὼν σὺν αὐτοῖς ἁράμενος αὐτὸν τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἕως κατεῖχε τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἰδόντας ἔκπληξις, φθάνει τὸν ἄνδρα μεταθεὶς πρὸς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον. [200] τοῦ δὲ στρατηγοῦ κελεύσαντος γυμνὸν διαλαβεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ καταστήσαντας εἰς τὸ φανερώτατον τοῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀποβλέπουσι μάστιξιν αἰκίζεσθαι, σφόδρα τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τὸ περὶ τὸν νεανίαν πάθος συνέχεεν, ἀθρόα τε ἡ πόλις ἀνῴμωξε, καὶ θρῆνος ἦν μείζων ἢ καθ᾽ ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς συμφοράν. [201] τοῦτο συνιδὼν ὁ Βάσσος κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων

ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο στρατηγήματος, καὶ βουληθεὶς αὐτῶν ἐπιτεῖναι τὸ περιαλγές, ἵνα βιασθῶσιν ἀντὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τἀνδρὸς ποιήσασθαι τοῦ φρουρίου παράδοσιν, τῆς ἐλπίδος οὐ διήμαρτεν. [202] ὁ μὲν γὰρ προσέταξε καταπηγνύναι σταυρὸν ὡς αὐτίκα κρεμῶν τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον, τοῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ φρουρίου τοῦτο θεασαμένοις ὀδύνη τε πλείων προσέπεσε, καὶ διωλύγιον ἀνῴμωζον οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν εἶναι τὸ πάθος βοῶντες. [203] ἐνταῦθα δὴ τοίνυν Ἐλεάζαρος ἱκέτευεν αὐτοὺς μήτε αὐτὸν περιιδεῖν ὑπομείναντα θανάτων τὸν οἴκτιστον καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν σωτηρίαν παρασχεῖν τῇ Ῥωμαίων εἴξαντας ἰσχύι καὶ τύχῃ μετὰ πάντας ἤδη κεχειρωμένους. [204] οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκείνου λόγους κατακλώμενοι καὶ πολλῶν ἔνδον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δεομένων, ἦν γὰρ ἐκ μεγάλης καὶ σφόδρα πολυανθρώπου συγγενείας, παρὰ τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν εἰς οἶκτον ἐνέδωκαν: [205] καί τινας ἐξαποστείλαντες κατὰ τάχος διελέγοντο ποιεῖσθαι τὴν παράδοσιν τοῦ φρουρίου ἀξιοῦντες, ἵν’ ἀδεεῖς ἀπαλλάττωνται κομισάμενοι τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον. [206] δεξαμένων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ταῦτα, τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐν τῇ κάτω πόλει τὴν γεγενημένην ἰδίᾳ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις πυθόμενοι σύμβασιν αὐτοὶ κατὰ νύκτα λαθόντες ἔγνωσαν ἀποδρᾶναι. [207] τὰς πύλας δὲ αὐτῶν ἀνοιξάντων παρὰ τῶν τὴν ὁμολογίαν πεποιημένων πρὸς τὸν Βάσσον ἦκεν μήνυσις, εἴτ’ οὖν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς φθονησάντων εἴτε [καὶ] διὰ δέος, μὴ τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτοὶ λάβωσι τῆς ἐκείνων ἀποδράσεως. [208] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀνδρειότατοι τῶν ἐξιόντων ἔφθασαν διεκπαίσασθαι καὶ διαφυγεῖν, τῶν δ’ ἔνδον καταλειφθέντων ἄνδρες μὲν ἀνῃρέθησαν ἐπὶ τοῖς χιλίοις ἑπτακόσιοι, γύναια δὲ καὶ παῖδες ἠνδραποδίσθησαν. [209] τὰς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς παραδόντας τὸ φρούριον ὁμολογίας οἰόμενος δεῖν ὁ Βάσσος διαφυλάττειν αὐτούς τε ἀφίησιν καὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον ἀπέδωκε.

(5) [210] Ταῦτα δὲ διοικησάμενος ἠπείγετο τὴν στρατιὰν ἄγων ἐπὶ τὸν προσαγορευόμενον Ἰάρδην δρυμόν: πολλοὶ γὰρ εἰς αὐτὸν ἠγγέλθησαν ἠθροῖσθαι τῶν κατὰ τὰς πολιορκίας πρότερον ἔκ τε Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ Μαχαιροῦντος ἀποδράντων. [211] ἐλθὼν οὖν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον καὶ γνοὺς τὴν ἀγγελίαν οὐκ ἐψευσμένην πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἅπαν κυκλοῦται τὸ χωρίον, ὅπως τοῖς διεκπαίεσθαι τολμῶσιν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἄπορος ἡ φυγὴ γίνηται διὰ τοὺς ἱππέας: τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς ἐκέλευσεν δενδροτομεῖν τὴν ὕλην, εἰς ἣν καταπεφεύγεσαν. [212] καθίστανται δὲ διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς ἀνάγκην οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοῦ δρᾶν τι γενναῖον ὡς ἐκ παραβόλου ἀγωνίσασθαι τάχα ἂν καὶ διαφυγόντες, ἀθρόοι δὲ καὶ μετὰ βοῆς ᾄξαντες ἐνέπιπτον τοῖς κεκυκλωμένοις. [213] οἱ δ’ αὐτοὺς ἐδέχοντο καρτερῶς, καὶ πολλῇ τῶν μὲν ἀπονοίᾳ τῶν δὲ φιλονεικίᾳ χρωμένων χρόνος μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγος διὰ τοῦτο τῇ μάχῃ προύβη, τέλος δ’ αὐτῆς οὐχ ὅμοιον ἀπέβη τοῖς ἀγωνισαμένοις. [214] Ῥωμαίων μὲν γὰρ δώδεκα τοὺς πάντας συνέβη πεσεῖν ὀλίγους τε τρωθῆναι, Ἰουδαίων δὲ ἐκ τῆς μάχης ταύτης οὐδεὶς διέφυγεν, ἀλλ’ ὄντες οὐκ ἐλάττους τρισχιλίων πάντες ἀπέθανον, [215] καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς αὐτῶν Ἰούδας ὁ τοῦ Ἀρεῖ παῖς, περὶ οὗ πρότερον εἰρήκαμεν ὅτι τάξεως

ἡγούμενός τινος ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων κατά τινας διαδὺς τῶν ὑπονόμων ἔλαθεν ἀποδράς.

(6) [216] Περὶ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἐπέστειλε Καῖσαρ Βάσσῳ καὶ Λαβερίῳ Μαξίμῳ, οὗτος δὲ ἦν ἐπίτροπος, κελεύων πᾶσαν γῆν ἀποδόσθαι τῶν Ἰουδαίων. [217] οὐ γὰρ κατῴκισεν ἐκεῖ πόλιν ἰδίαν αὐτῷ τὴν χώραν φυλάττων, ὀκτακοσίοις δὲ μόνοις ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς διαφειμένοις χωρίον ἔδωκεν εἰς κατοίκησιν, ὃ καλεῖται μὲν Ἀμμαοῦς, ἀπέχει δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων σταδίους τριάκοντα. [218] φόρον δὲ τοῖς ὁπουδηποτοῦν οὖσιν Ἰουδαίοις ἐπέβαλεν δύο δραχμὰς ἕκαστον κελεύσας ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον φέρειν, ὥσπερ πρότερον εἰς τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις νεὼν συνετέλουν. καὶ τὰ μὲν Ἰουδαίων τότε τοιαύτην εἶχε κατάστασιν.

VII

(1) [219] Ἤδη δὲ ἔτος τέταρτον Οὐεσπασιανοῦ διέποντος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν συνέβη τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Κομμαγηνῆς Ἀντίοχον μεγάλαις συμφοραῖς πανοικεσίᾳ περιπεσεῖν ἀπὸ τοιαύτης αἰτίας: [220] Καισέννιος Παῖτος, ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμὼν τότε καθεστηκώς, εἴτ᾽ οὖν ἀληθεύων εἴτε καὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἀντίοχον ἔχθραν, οὐ σφόδρα γὰρ τὸ σαφὲς ἠλέγχθη, [221] γράμματα πρὸς Καίσαρα διεπέμψατο, λέγων τὸν Ἀντίοχον μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἐπιφανοῦς διεγνωκέναι Ῥωμαίων ἀφίστασθαι συνθήκας πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Πάρθων πεποιημένον: [222] δεῖν οὖν προκαταλαβεῖν αὐτούς, μὴ φθάσαντες τῶν πραγμάτων [ἄρξασθαι] πᾶσαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν πολέμῳ συνταράξωσιν. [223] ἔμελλε Καῖσαρ τοιούτου μηνύματος αὐτῷ προσπεσόντος μὴ περιορᾶν: καὶ γὰρ ἡ γειτνίασις τῶν βασιλέων ἐποίει τὸ πρᾶγμα μείζονος ἄξιον προνοίας: [224] τὰ γὰρ Σαμόσατα τῆς Κομμαγηνῆς μεγίστη πόλις κεῖται παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην, ὥστ᾽ εἶναι τοῖς Πάρθοις, εἴ τι τοιοῦτον διενενόητο, ῥᾴστην μὲν τὴν διάβασιν βεβαίαν δὲ τὴν ὑποδοχήν. [225] πιστευθεὶς οὖν Παῖτος καὶ λαβὼν ἐξουσίαν πράττειν ἃ δοκεῖ συμφέρειν οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν, ἐξαίφνης δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον οὐδὲν προσδοκώντων εἰς τὴν Κομμαγηνὴν ἐνέβαλεν, τῶν μὲν ταγμάτων ἄγων τὸ ἕκτον καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ λόχους καί τινας ἴλας ἱππέων: [226] συνεμάχουν δὲ καὶ βασιλεῖς αὐτῷ τῆς μὲν Χαλκιδικῆς λεγομένης Ἀριστόβουλος, τῆς Ἐμέσης δὲ καλουμένης Σόαιμος. [227] ἦν δ᾽ αὐτοῖς τὰ περὶ τὴν εἰσβολὴν ἀνανταγώνιστα: τῶν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν χώραν οὐδεὶς ἤθελε χεῖρας ἀνταίρειν. [228] Ἀντίοχος δὲ τῆς ἀγγελίας ἀδοκήτως προσπεσούσης πολέμου μὲν οὐδὲ ἐπίνοιαν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἔσπασεν, ἔγνω δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν βασιλείαν ὡς εἶχεν ἐπὶ σχήματος καταλιπὼν μετὰ γυναικὸς καὶ τέκνων ὑπεξελθεῖν, οὕτως ἂν οἰόμενος καθαρὸν Ῥωμαίοις αὐτὸν ἀποδεῖξαι τῆς ἐπενηνεγμένης αἰτίας. [229] καὶ προελθὼν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἑκατὸν σταδίους πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσιν εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἐν αὐτῷ καταυλίζεται.

(2) [230] Παῖτος δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ Σαμόσατα τοὺς καταληψομένους ἀποστέλλει καὶ δι᾽ ἐκείνων εἶχε τὴν πόλιν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης δυνάμεως ἐπ᾽ Ἀντίοχον ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ὁρμήν. [231] οὐ μὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐδ᾽ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης προήχθη πρᾶξαί τι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολεμικόν, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ τύχην ὀδυρόμενος ὅ τι δέοι παθεῖν ὑπέμενε: [232] νέοις δὲ καὶ πολέμων ἐμπείροις καὶ ῥώμῃ σωμάτων διαφέρουσιν οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἦν τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ τὴν συμφορὰν ἀμαχεὶ καρτερεῖν: τρέπονται οὖν πρὸς ἀλκὴν Ἐπιφανής τε καὶ Καλλίνικος. [233] σφοδρᾶς δὲ τῆς μάχης καὶ παρ᾽ ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν γενομένης αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν διαπρεπῆ παρέσχον καὶ μηδὲν ἐλαττωθείσῃ τῇ σφετέρᾳ δυνάμει [ἐσπέρᾳ] διελύθησαν. [234] Ἀντιόχῳ δ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἐπὶ τῇ μάχῃ τοῦτον κεχωρηκυίᾳ τὸν τρόπον μένειν ἀνεκτὸν ἐδόκει, λαβὼν δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας μετ᾽ ἐκείνων ἐποιεῖτο τὴν φυγὴν εἰς Κιλικίαν, καὶ τοῦτο πράξας τὰ φρονήματα τῶν οἰκείων στρατιωτῶν κατέκλασεν: [235] ὡς γὰρ κατεγνωσμένης ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἀπέστησαν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μετεβάλοντο, καὶ πάντων πρόδηλος ἦν ἀπόγνωσις. [236] πρὶν οὖν τελέως ἐρημωθῆναι τῶν συμμάχων τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἐπιφανῆ σώζειν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἦν ἀναγκαῖον, καὶ γίνονται δέκα σύμπαντες ἱππεῖς οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν τὸν Εὐφράτην διαβαλόντες, [237] ἔνθεν ἤδη μετ᾽ ἀδείας πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Πάρθων Βολογέσην κομισθέντες οὐχ ὡς φυγάδες ὑπερηφανήθησαν, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἔτι τὴν παλαιὰν ἔχοντες εὐδαιμονίαν πάσης τιμῆς ἠξιώθησαν.

(3) [238] Ἀντιόχῳ δ᾽ εἰς Ταρσὸν ἀφιγμένῳ τῆς Κιλικίας ἑκατοντάρχην Παῖτος ἐπιπέμψας δεδεμένον αὐτὸν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλεν. [239] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δ᾽ οὕτως οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀναχθῆναι τὸν βασιλέα, τῆς παλαιᾶς ἀξιῶν φιλίας μᾶλλον αἰδῶ λαβεῖν ἢ διὰ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου πρόφασιν ἀπαραίτητον ὀργὴν διαφυλάττειν. [240] κελεύει δὴ καθ᾽ ὁδὸν ἔτ᾽ ὄντος αὐτοῦ τῶν δεσμῶν ἀφαιρεθῆναι καὶ παρέντα τὴν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἄφιξιν τὸ νῦν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι διάγειν, δίδωσί τε μεγάλας αὐτῷ προσόδους χρημάτων, ὅπως μὴ μόνον ἄφθονον ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλικὴν ἔχοι τὴν δίαιταν. [241] ταῦτα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἐπιφανῆ πυθομένοις, πρότερον σφόδρα περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς δεδιόσιν ἀνείθησαν αἱ ψυχαὶ μεγάλης καὶ δυσδιαθέτου φροντίδος. [242] ἐλπὶς δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖς τῶν παρὰ Καίσαρος διαλλαγῶν ἐγένετο Βολογέσου περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιστείλαντος: οὐδὲ γὰρ εὐδαιμονοῦντες ὑπέμενον ἔξω τῆς Ῥωμαίων ζῆν ἡγεμονίας. [243] δόντος δὲ Καίσαρος ἡμέρως αὐτοῖς τὴν ἄδειαν εἰς Ῥώμην παρεγένοντο, τοῦ τε πατρὸς ὡς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος εὐθὺς ἐλθόντος πάσης ἀξιούμενοι τιμῆς κατέμενον ἐνταῦθα.

(4) [244] Τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἀλανῶν ἔθνος ὅτι μέν εἰσι Σκύθαι περὶ τὸν Τάναιν καὶ τὴν Μαιῶτιν λίμνην κατοικοῦντες, πρότερόν που δεδηλώκαμεν, [245] κατὰ τούτους δὲ τοὺς χρόνους διανοηθέντες εἰς τὴν Μηδίαν καὶ προσωτέρω ταύτης ἔτι καθ᾽ ἁρπαγὴν ἐμβαλεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ὑρκανῶν διαλέγονται: τῆς παρόδου γὰρ οὗτος δεσπότης ἐστίν, ἣν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος πύλαις σιδηραῖς κλειστὴν

ἐποίησε. [246] κἀκείνου τὴν εἴσοδον αὐτοῖς παρασχόντος ἀθρόοι καὶ μηδὲν προυποπτεύσασι τοῖς Μήδοις ἐπιπεσόντες χώραν πολυάνθρωπον καὶ παντοίων ἀνάμεστον βοσκημάτων διήρπαζον μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς τολμῶντος ἀνθίστασθαι. [247] καὶ γὰρ ὁ βασιλεύων τῆς χώρας Πάκορος ὑπὸ δέους εἰς τὰς δυσχωρίας ἀναφεύγων τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἁπάντων παρακεχωρήκει, μόλις δὲ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐρρύσατο τήν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς αἰχμαλώτους γενομένας ἑκατὸν δοὺς τάλαντα. [248] μετὰ πολλῆς οὖν ῥᾳστώνης ἀμαχεὶ ποιούμενοι τὰς ἁρπαγὰς μέχρι τῆς Ἀρμενίας προῆλθον πάντα λεηλατοῦντες. [249] Τιριδάτης δ᾽ αὐτῆς ἐβασίλευεν, ὃς ὑπαντιάσας αὐτοῖς καὶ ποιησάμενος μάχην παρὰ μικρὸν ἦλθεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς ζωὸς ἁλῶναι τῆς παρατάξεως: [250] βρόχον γὰρ αὐτῷ περιβαλών τις ἔμελλεν ἐπισπάσειν, εἰ μὴ τῷ ξίφει θᾶττον ἐκεῖνος τὸν τόνον κόψας ἔφθη διαφυγεῖν. [251] οἱ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν μάχην ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀγριωθέντες τὴν μὲν χώραν ἐλυμήναντο, πολὺ δὲ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης λείας ἄγοντες ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τῶν βασιλειῶν πάλιν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀνεκομίσθησαν.

VIII

(1) [252] Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίας Βάσσου τελευτήσαντος Φλαύιος Σίλβας διαδέχεται τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ὁρῶν ἅπασαν τῷ πολέμῳ κεχειρωμένην, ἓν δὲ μόνον ἔτι φρούριον ἀφεστηκός, ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τοῦτο πᾶσαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς τόποις δύναμιν συναγαγών: καλεῖται δὲ τὸ φρούριον Μασάδα. [253] προειστήκει δὲ τῶν κατειληφότων αὐτὸ σικαρίων δυνατὸς ἀνὴρ Ἐλεάζαρος, ἀπόγονος Ἰούδα τοῦ πείσαντος Ἰουδαίους οὐκ ὀλίγους, ὡς πρότερον δεδηλώκαμεν, μὴ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀπογραφάς, ὅτε Κυρίνιος τιμητὴς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπέμφθη. [254] τότε γὰρ οἱ σικάριοι συνέστησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπακούειν Ῥωμαίων θέλοντας καὶ πάντα τρόπον ὡς πολεμίοις προσεφέροντο, τὰς μὲν κτήσεις ἁρπάζοντες καὶ περιελαύνοντες, ταῖς δ᾽ οἰκήκεσιν αὐτῶν πῦρ ἐνιέντες: [255] οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀλλοφύλων αὐτοὺς ἔφασκον διαφέρειν οὕτως ἀγεννῶς τὴν περιμάχητον Ἰουδαίοις ἐλευθερίαν προεμένους καὶ δουλείαν αἱρεῖσθαι τὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἀνωμολογηκότας. [256] ἦν δ᾽ ἄρα τοῦτο πρόφασις εἰς παρακάλυμμα τῆς ὠμότητος καὶ τῆς πλεονεξίας ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν λεγόμενον: σαφὲς δὲ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐποίησαν. [257] οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἐκοινώνησαν καὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους συνήραντο πολέμου Καὶ παρ᾽ ἐκείνων δὲ τολμήματα χείρω πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐγένετο, [258] κἀπὶ τῷ ψεύδεσθαι πάλιν τὴν πρόφασιν ἐξελεγχόμενοι μᾶλλον ἐκάκουν τοὺς τὴν πονηρίαν αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς δικαιολογίας ὀνειδίζοντας. [259] ἐγένετο γάρ πως ὁ χρόνος ἐκεῖνος παντοδαπῆς ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις πονηρίας πολύφορος, ὡς μηδὲν κακίας ἔργον ἄπρακτον καταλιπεῖν, μηδ᾽ εἴ τι ἐπίνοια διαπλάττειν ἐθελήσειεν, ἔχειν ἄν τι καινότερον ἐξευρεῖν. [260] οὕτως ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ κοινῇ πάντες ἐνόσησαν, καὶ προσυπερβάλλειν ἀλλήλους ἔν τε ταῖς πρὸς θεὸν

ἀσεβείαις καὶ ταῖς εἰς τοὺς πλησίον ἀδικίαις ἐφιλονείκησαν, οἱ μὲν δυνατοὶ τὰ πλήθη κακοῦντες, οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ τοὺς δυνατοὺς ἀπολλύναι σπεύδοντες: [261] ἦν γὰρ ἐκείνοις μὲν ἐπιθυμία τοῦ τυραννεῖν, τοῖς δὲ τοῦ βιάζεσθαι καὶ τὰ τῶν εὐπόρων διαρπάζειν. [262] πρῶτον οὖν οἱ σικάριοι τῆς παρανομίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἤρξαντο ὠμότητος, μήτε λόγον ἄρρητον εἰς ὕβριν μήτ᾽ ἔργον ἀπείρατον εἰς ὄλεθρον τῶν ἐπιβουλευθέντων παραλιπόντες. [263] ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους Ἰωάννης ἀπέδειξεν αὐτοῦ μετριωτέρους: οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἀνῄρει πάντας ὅσοι τὰ δίκαια καὶ συμφέροντα συνεβούλευον, καθάπερ ἐχθίστοις μάλιστα δὴ τῶν πολιτῶν τοῖς τοιούτοις προσφερόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινῇ τὴν πατρίδα μυρίων ἐνέπλησε κακῶν, οἷα πράξειν ἔμελλεν ἄνθρωπος ἤδη καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀσεβεῖν τετολμηκώς: [264] τράπεζάν τε γὰρ ἄθεσμον παρετίθετο καὶ τὴν νενομισμένην καὶ πάτριον ἐξεδιήτησεν ἁγνείαν, ἵν᾽ ᾖ μηκέτι θαυμαστόν, εἰ τὴν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἡμερότητα καὶ κοινωνίαν οὐκ ἐτήρησεν ὁ τῆς πρὸς θεὸν εὐσεβείας οὕτω καταμανείς. [265] πάλιν τοίνυν ὁ Γιώρα Σίμων τί κακὸν οὐκ ἔδρασεν; ἢ ποίας ὕβρεως ἐλευθέρων ἀπέσχοντο σωμάτων οἳ τοῦτον ἀνέδειξαν τύραννον; [266] ποία δὲ αὐτοὺς φιλία, ποία δὲ συγγένεια πρὸς τοὺς ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστης ἡμέρας φόνους οὐχὶ θρασυτέρους ἐποίησε; τὸ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους κακῶς ποιεῖν ἀγεννοῦς ἔργον πονηρίας [εἶναι] ὑπελάμβανον, λαμπρὰν δὲ φέρειν ἐπίδειξιν ἡγοῦντο τὴν ἐν τοῖς οἰκειοτάτοις ὠμότητα. [267] παρημιλλήσατο δὲ καὶ τὴν τούτων ἀπόνοιαν ἡ τῶν Ἰδουμαίων μανία: ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ οἱ μιαρώτατοι τοὺς ἀρχιερέας κατασφάξαντες, ὅπως μηδὲ μέρος τι τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβείας διαφυλάττηται, πᾶν ὅσον ἦν λείψανον ἔτι πολιτικοῦ σχήματος ἐξέκοψαν, [268] καὶ τὴν τελεωτάτην εἰσήγαγον διὰ πάντων ἀνομίαν, ἐν ᾗ τὸ τῶν ζηλωτῶν κληθέντων γένος ἤκμασεν, οἳ τὴν προσηγορίαν τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπηλήθευσαν: [269] πᾶν γὰρ κακίας ἔργον ἐξεμιμήσαντο, μηδ᾽ εἴ τι πρότερον προυπάρχον ἡ μνήμη παραδέδωκεν αὐτοὶ παραλιπόντες ἀζήλωτον. [270] καίτοι τὴν προσηγορίαν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθῷ ζηλουμένων ἐπέθεσαν, ἢ κατειρωνευόμενοι τῶν ἀδικουμένων διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν θηριώδη φύσιν ἢ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν κακῶν ἀγαθὰ νομίζοντες. [271] τοιγαροῦν προσῆκον ἕκαστοι τὸ τέλος εὕροντο τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς τιμωρίαν βραβεύσαντος: [272] ὅσας γὰρ ἀνθρώπου δύναται φύσις κολάσεις ὑπομεῖναι, πᾶσαι κατέσκηψαν εἰς αὐτοὺς μέχρι καὶ τῆς ἐσχάτης τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς, ἣν ὑπέμειναν ἐν πολυτρόποις αἰκίαις ἀποθανόντες. [273] οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ φαίη τις ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐλάττω παθεῖν ὧν ἔδρασαν: τὸ γὰρ δικαίως ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν οὐ προσῆν. [274] τοὺς δὲ ταῖς ἐκείνων ὠμότησι περιπεσόντας οὐ τοῦ παρόντος ἂν εἴη καιροῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ὀδύρεσθαι: πάλιν οὖν ἐπάνειμι πρὸς τὸ καταλειπόμενον μέρος τῆς διηγήσεως.

(2) [275] Ἐπὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον καὶ τοὺς κατέχοντας σὺν αὐτῷ τὴν Μασάδαν σικαρίους ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς ἦκε τὰς δυνάμεις ἄγων, καὶ τῆς μὲν χώρας ἁπάσης εὐθὺς ἐκράτει φρουρὰς ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαιροτάτοις αὐτῆς μέρεσιν ἐγκαταστήσας, [276] τεῖχος δὲ περιέβαλε κύκλῳ περὶ πᾶν τὸ φρούριον, ὅπως

μηδενὶ τῶν πολιορκουμένων ᾖ ῥᾴδιον διαφυγεῖν, καὶ διανέμει τοὺς φυλάξοντας. [277] αὐτὸς δὲ καταστρατοπεδεύει τόπον ὡς μὲν πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐπιτηδειότατον ἐκλαβών, καθ᾽ ὃν αἱ τοῦ φρουρίου πέτραι τῷ πλησίον ὄρει συνήγγιζον, ἄλλως δὲ πρὸς ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων δύσκολον: [278] οὐ γὰρ ἡ τροφὴ μόνον πόρρωθεν ἐκομίζετο καὶ σὺν μεγάλῃ ταλαιπωρίᾳ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τεταγμένων Ἰουδαίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ποτὸν ἦν ἀγώγιμον [εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον] τοῦ τόπου μηδεμίαν ἐγγὺς πηγὴν ἀναδιδόντος. [279] ταῦτ᾽ οὖν προοικονομησάμενος ὁ Σίλβας ἐπὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐτράπετο πολλῆς ἐπιτεχνήσεως καὶ ταλαιπωρίας δεομένην διὰ τὴν ὀχυρότητα τοῦ φρουρίου τοιοῦδε τὴν φύσιν ὑπάρχοντος:

(3) [280] Πέτραν οὐκ ὀλίγην τῇ περιόδῳ καὶ μῆκος ὑψηλὴν πανταχόθεν περιερρώγασι βαθεῖαι φάραγγες κάτωθεν ἐξ ἀοράτου τέρματος κρημνώδεις καὶ πάσῃ βάσει ζῴων ἀπρόσιτοι, πλὴν ὅσον κατὰ δύο τόπους τῆς πέτρας εἰς ἄνοδον οὐκ εὐμαρῆ παρεικούσης. [281] ἔστι δὲ τῶν ὁδῶν ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσφαλτίτιδος λίμνης πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα, καὶ πάλιν ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως ᾗ ῥᾷον πορευθῆναι. [282] καλοῦσι δὲ τὴν ἑτέραν ὄφιν, τῇ στενότητι προσεικάσαντες καὶ τοῖς συνεχέσιν ἑλιγμοῖς: κλᾶται γὰρ περὶ τὰς τῶν κρημνῶν ἐξοχὰς καὶ πολλάκις εἰς αὐτὴν ἀνατρέχουσα καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν αὖθις ἐκμηκυνομένη μόλις ψαύει τοῦ πρόσω. [283] δεῖ δὲ παραλλὰξ τὸν δι᾽ αὐτῆς βαδίζοντα τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ποδῶν ἐρείδεσθαι. ἔστι δὲ πρόδηλος ὄλεθρος: ἑκατέρωθεν γὰρ βάθος κρημνῶν ὑποκέχηνε τῇ φοβερότητι πᾶσαν εὐτολμίαν ἐκπλῆξαι δυνάμενον. [284] διὰ τοιαύτης οὖν ἐλθόντι σταδίους τριάκοντα κορυφὴ τὸ λοιπόν ἐστιν οὐκ εἰς ὀξὺ τέρμα συνηγμένη, ἀλλ᾽ ὥστ᾽ εἶναι κατ᾽ ἄκρας ἐπίπεδον. [285] ἐπὶ ταύτῃ πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ᾠκοδομήσατο φρούριον Ἰωνάθης καὶ προσηγόρευσε Μασάδαν, ὕστερον δ᾽ Ἡρώδῃ τῷ βασιλεῖ διὰ πολλῆς ἐγένετο σπουδῆς ἡ τοῦ χωρίου κατασκευή. [286] τεῖχός τε γὰρ ἤγειρε περὶ πάντα τὸν κύκλον τῆς κορυφῆς ἑπτὰ σταδίων ὄντα λευκοῦ μὲν λίθου πεποιημένον, ὕψος δὲ δώδεκα καὶ πλάτος ὀκτὼ πήχεις ἔχον, [287] τριάκοντα δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἑπτὰ πύργοι πεντηκονταπήχεις ἀνειστήκεσαν, ἐξ ὧν ἦν εἰς οἰκήματα διελθεῖν περὶ πᾶν τὸ τεῖχος ἔνδον ᾠκοδομημένα. [288] τὴν γὰρ κορυφὴν πίονα καὶ πεδίου παντὸς οὖσαν μαλακωτέραν ἀνῆκεν εἰς γεωργίαν ὁ βασιλεύς, ἵν᾽ εἴ ποτε τῆς ἔξωθεν τροφῆς ἀπορία γένοιτο, μηδὲ ταύτῃ κάμοιεν οἱ τὴν αὐτῶν σωτηρίαν τῷ φρουρίῳ πεπιστευκότες. [289] καὶ βασίλειον δὲ κατεσκεύασεν ἐν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπέρας ἀνάβασιν, ὑποκάτω μὲν τῶν τῆς ἄκρας τειχῶν, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἄρκτον ἐκκλίνον. τοῦ δὲ βασιλείου τὸ τεῖχος ἦν ὕψει μέγα καὶ καρτερόν, πύργους ἔχον ἑξηκονταπήχεις ἐγγωνίους τέτταρας. [290] ἥ τε τῶν οἰκημάτων ἔνδον καὶ στοῶν καὶ βαλανείων κατασκευὴ παντοία καὶ πολυτελὴς ἦν, κιόνων μὲν ἁπανταχοῦ μονολίθων ὑφεστηκότων, τοίχων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς οἰκήμασιν ἐδάφων λίθου στρώσει πεποικιλμένων. [291] πρὸς ἕκαστον δὲ τῶν οἰκουμένων τόπων ἄνω τε καὶ περὶ τὸ βασίλειον καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τείχους πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἐτετμήκει λάκκους ἐν ταῖς πέτραις φυλακτῆρας ὑδάτων,

μηχανώμενος εἶναι χορηγίαν ὅση τῷ ἐκ πηγῶν ἐστι χρωμένοις. [292] ὀρυκτὴ δ' ὁδὸς ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου πρὸς ἄκραν τὴν κορυφὴν ἀνέφερε τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἀφανής. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ταῖς φανεραῖς ὁδοῖς ἦν οἷόν τε χρήσασθαι ῥᾳδίως πολεμίους: [293] ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἑῴα διὰ τὴν φύσιν, ὡς προείπαμεν, ἐστὶν ἄβατος, τὴν δ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπέρας μεγάλῳ κατὰ τὸ στενότατον πύργῳ διετείχισεν ἀπέχοντι τῆς ἄκρας πήχεων οὐκ ἔλαττον διάστημα χιλίων, ὃν οὔτε παρελθεῖν δυνατὸν ἦν οὔτε ῥᾴδιον ἐλεῖν: δυσέξοδος δὲ καὶ τοῖς μετὰ ἀδείας βαδίζουσιν ἐπεποίητο. [294] οὕτως μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐφόδους φύσει τε καὶ χειροποιήτως τὸ φρούριον ὠχύρωτο.

(4) [295] Τῶν δ' ἔνδον ἀποκειμένων παρασκευῶν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἄν τις ἐθαύμασε τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὴν διαμονήν: [296] σῖτός τε γὰρ ἀπέκειτο πολὺς καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀρκεῖν ἱκανώτατος οἶνός τε πολὺς ἦν καὶ ἔλαιον, ἔτι δὲ παντοῖος ὀσπρίων καρπὸς καὶ φοίνικες ἐσεσώρευντο. [297] πάντα δὲ εὗρεν ὁ Ἐλεάζαρος τοῦ φρουρίου μετὰ τῶν σικαρίων ἐγκρατὴς δόλῳ γενόμενος ἀκμαῖα καὶ μηδὲν τῶν νεωστὶ κειμένων ἀποδέοντα: καίτοι σχεδὸν ἀπὸ τῆς παρασκευῆς εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἅλωσιν ἑκατὸν ἦν χρόνος ἐτῶν: ἀλλὰ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς περιλειφθέντας τῶν καρπῶν εὗρον ἀδιαφθόρους. [298] αἴτιον δ' οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοι τις ὑπολαμβάνων εἶναι τὸν ἀέρα τῆς διαμονῆς ὕψει τῷ περὶ τὴν ἄκραν πάσης ὄντα γεώδους καὶ θολερᾶς ἀμιγῆ κράσεως. [299] εὑρέθη δὲ καὶ παντοίων πλῆθος ὅπλων ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποτεθησαυρισμένων, ὡς ἀνδράσιν ἀρκεῖν μυρίοις, ἀργός τε σίδηρος καὶ χαλκὸς ἔτι δὲ καὶ μόλιβος, ἅτε δὴ τῆς παρασκευῆς ἐπὶ μεγάλαις αἰτίαις γενομένης: [300] λέγεται γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν Ἡρώδην τοῦτο τὸ φρούριον εἰς ὑποφυγὴν ἑτοιμάζειν διπλοῦν ὑφορώμενον κίνδυνον, τὸν μὲν παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Ἰουδαίων, μὴ καταλύσαντες ἐκεῖνον τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν καταγάγωσι, τὸν μείζω δὲ καὶ χαλεπώτερον ἐκ τῆς βασιλευούσης Αἰγύπτου Κλεοπάτρας. [301] αὕτη γὰρ τὴν αὐτῆς γνώμην οὐκ ἐπεῖχεν, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις Ἀντωνίῳ λόγους προσέφερε τὸν μὲν Ἡρώδην ἀνελεῖν ἀξιοῦσα, χαρίσασθαι δ' αὐτῇ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν Ἰουδαίων δεομένη. [302] καὶ μᾶλλον ἄν τις ἐθαύμασεν, ὅτι μηδέπω τοῖς προστάγμασιν Ἀντώνιος ὑπακηκόει κακῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔρωτος δεδουλωμένος, οὐχ ὅτι περὶ τοῦ μὴ χαρίσασθαι προσεδόκησεν. [303] διὰ τοιούτους μὲν φόβους Ἡρώδης Μασάδαν κατεσκευασμένος ἔμελλεν Ῥωμαίοις ἀπολείψειν ἔργον τοῦ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους πολέμου τελευταῖον.

(5) [304] Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἔξωθεν ἤδη περιτετειχίκει πάντα τὸν τόπον ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὡς προείπαμεν, ἡγεμών, καὶ τοῦ μή τινα ἀποδρᾶναι πρόνοιαν ἐπεποίητο τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην, ἐνεχείρει τῇ πολιορκίᾳ μόνον εὑρὼν ἕνα τόπον ἐπιβολὴν χωμάτων δέξασθαι δυνάμενον. [305] μετὰ γὰρ τὸν διατειχίζοντα πύργον τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως ὁδὸν ἄγουσαν εἴς τε τὸ βασίλειον καὶ τὴν ἀκρώρειαν ἦν τις ἐξοχὴ πέτρας εὐμεγέθης τῷ πλάτει καὶ πολὺ προκύπτουσα, τοῦ δὲ ὕψους τῆς Μασάδας

τριακοσίους πήχεις ὑποκάτω: Λευκὴν δ᾽ αὐτὴν ὠνόμαζον. [306] ἐπὶ ταύτην οὖν ἀναβὰς καὶ κατασχὼν αὐτὴν ὁ Σίλβας ἐκέλευε τὸν στρατὸν χοῦν ἐπιφέρειν. τῶν δὲ προθύμως καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς χειρὸς ἐργαζομένων στερεὸν εἰς διακοσίους πήχεις ὑψώθη τὸ χῶμα. [307] οὐ μὴν οὔτε βέβαιον οὔτε αὔταρκες ἐδόκει τοῦτο τὸ μέτρον εἶναι τοῖς μηχανήμασιν εἰς ἐπιβάθραν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ βῆμα λίθων μεγάλων συνηρμοσμένων ἐποιήθη πεντήκοντα πήχεων εὖρός τε καὶ ὕψος. [308] ἦν δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τε μηχανημάτων ἡ κατασκευὴ παραπλησία τοῖς ὑπὸ μὲν Οὐεσπασιανοῦ πρότερον, μετὰ ταῦτα δ᾽ ὑπὸ Τίτου πρὸς τὰς πολιορκίας ἐπινοηθεῖσι, [309] καὶ πύργος ἑξηκοντάπηχυς συνετελέσθη σιδήρῳ καταπεφραγμένος ἅπας, ἐξ οὗ πολλοῖς ὀξυβελέσι καὶ πετροβόλοις βάλλοντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους μαχομένους ταχέως ἀνέστειλαν καὶ προκύπτειν ἐκώλυσαν. [310] ἐν ταὐτῷ δὲ καὶ κριὸν ὁ Σίλβας μέγαν κατασκευασάμενος, συνεχεῖς κελεύσας ποιεῖσθαι τῷ τείχει τὰς ἐμβολὰς μόλις μὲν ἀλλ᾽ οὖν ἀναρρήξας τι μέρος κατήρειψε. [311] φθάνουσι δ᾽ οἱ σικάριοι ταχέως ἔνδοθεν οἰκοδομησάμενοι τεῖχος ἕτερον, ὃ μηδὲ ὑπὸ τῶν μηχανημάτων ἔμελλεν ὅμοιόν τι πείσεσθαι: μαλακὸν γὰρ αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν σφοδρότητα τῆς ἐμβολῆς ὑπεκλύειν δυνάμενον τοιῷδε τρόπῳ κατεσκεύασαν. [312] δοκοὺς μεγάλας ἐπὶ μῆκος προσεχεῖς ἀλλήλαις κατὰ τὴν τομὴν συνέθεσαν. δύο δὲ ἦσαν τούτων στίχοι παράλληλοι τοσοῦτον διεστῶτες ὅσον εἶναι πλάτος τείχους, καὶ μέσον ἀμφοῖν τὸν χοῦν ἐνεφόρουν. [313] ὅπως δὲ μηδὲ ὑψουμένου τοῦ χώματος ἡ γῆ διαχέοιτο, πάλιν ἑτέραις δοκοῖς ἐπικαρσίαις τὰς κατὰ μῆκος κειμένας διέδεον. [314] ἦν οὖν ἐκείνοις μὲν οἰκοδομίᾳ τὸ ἔργον παραπλήσιον, τῶν μηχανημάτων δ᾽ αἱ πληγαὶ φερόμεναι πρὸς εἶκον ἐξελύοντο καὶ τῷ σάλῳ συνιζάνον ἐποίουν αὐτὸ στεριφώτερον. [315] τοῦτο συνιδὼν ὁ Σίλβας πυρὶ μᾶλλον αἱρήσειν ἐνόμιζεν τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις προσέταττε λαμπάδας αἰθομένας ἀθρόους ἐσακοντίζειν. [316] τὸ δὲ οἷα δὴ ξύλων τὸ πλέον πεποιημένον ταχὺ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀντελάβετο καὶ τῇ χαυνότητι πυρωθὲν διὰ βάθους φλόγα πολλὴν ἐξεπύρσευσεν. [317] ἀρχομένου μὲν οὖν ἔτι τοῦ πυρὸς βορρᾶς ἐμπνέων τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις φοβερὸς ἦν: ἄνωθεν γὰρ ἀποστρέφων ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνους ἤλαυνε τὴν φλόγα, καὶ σχεδὸν ἤδη τῶν μηχανημάτων ὡς συμφλεγησομένων ἀπέγνωσαν: [318] ἔπειτα δ᾽ αἰφνίδιον νότος μεταβαλὼν καθάπερ ἐκ δαιμονίου προνοίας καὶ πολὺς ἐναντίον πνεύσας τῷ τείχει φέρων αὐτὴν προσέβαλε, καὶ πᾶν ἤδη διὰ βάθους ἐφλέγετο. [319] Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν τῇ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ συμμαχίᾳ κεχρημένοι χαίροντες εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπηλλάττοντο μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις διεγνωκότες καὶ τὰς φυλακὰς νύκτωρ ἐπιμελεστέρας ἐποιήσαντο, μή τινες αὐτῶν λάθωσιν ἀποδράντες.

(6) [320] Οὐ μὴν οὔτε αὐτὸς Ἐλεάζαρος ἐν νῷ δρασμὸν ἔλαβεν οὔτε ἄλλῳ τινὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἔμελλεν ἐπιτρέψειν. [321] ὁρῶν δὲ τὸ μὲν τεῖχος ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀναλούμενον, ἄλλον δὲ οὐδένα σωτηρίας τρόπον οὐδ᾽ ἀλκῆς ἐπινοῶν, ἃ δὲ

ἔμελλον Ῥωμαῖοι δράσειν αὐτοὺς καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας [αὐτῶν], εἰ κρατήσειαν, ὑπ᾽ ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῷ τιθέμενος, θάνατον κατὰ πάντων ἐβουλεύσατο. [322] καὶ τοῦτο κρίνας ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἄριστον, τοὺς ἀνδρωδεστάτους τῶν ἑταίρων συναγαγὼν τοιούτοις ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν λόγοις παρεκάλει: [323] “πάλαι διεγνωκότας ἡμᾶς, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, μήτε Ῥωμαίοις μήτ᾽ ἄλλῳ τινὶ δουλεύειν ἢ θεῷ, μόνος γὰρ οὗτος ἀληθής ἐστι καὶ δίκαιος ἀνθρώπων δεσπότης, ἥκει νῦν καιρὸς ἐπαληθεῦσαι κελεύων τὸ φρόνημα τοῖς ἔργοις. [324] πρὸς ὃν αὐτοὺς μὴ καταισχύνωμεν πρότερον μηδὲ δουλείαν ἀκίνδυνον ὑπομείναντες, νῦν δὲ μετὰ δουλείας ἑλόμενοι τιμωρίας ἀνηκέστους, εἰ ζῶντες ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἐσόμεθα: πρῶτοί τε γὰρ πάντων ἀπέστημεν καὶ πολεμοῦμεν αὐτοῖς τελευταῖοι. [325] νομίζω δὲ καὶ παρὰ θεοῦ ταύτην δεδόσθαι χάριν τοῦ δύνασθαι καλῶς καὶ ἐλευθέρως ἀποθανεῖν, ὅπερ ἄλλοις οὐκ ἐγένετο παρ᾽ ἐλπίδα κρατηθεῖσιν. [326] ἡμῖν δὲ πρόδηλος μέν ἐστιν ἡ γενησομένη μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἅλωσις, ἐλευθέρα δὲ ἡ τοῦ γενναίου θανάτου μετὰ τῶν φιλτάτων αἵρεσις. οὔτε γὰρ τοῦτ᾽ ἀποκωλύειν οἱ πολέμιοι δύνανται πάντως εὐχόμενοι ζῶντας ἡμᾶς παραλαβεῖν, οὔθ᾽ ἡμεῖς ἐκείνους ἔτι νικᾶν μαχόμενοι. [327] ἔδει μὲν γὰρ εὐθὺς ἴσως ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὅτε τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἡμῖν ἀντιποιεῖσθαι θελήσασι πάντα καὶ παρ᾽ ἀλλήλων ἀπέβαινε χαλεπὰ καὶ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων χείρω, τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμης στοχάζεσθαι καὶ γινώσκειν, ὅτι τὸ πάλαι φίλον αὐτῷ φῦλον Ἰουδαίων κατέγνωστο: [328] μένων γὰρ εὐμενὴς ἢ μετρίως γοῦν ἀπηχθημένος, οὐκ ἂν τοσούτων μὲν ἀνθρώπων περιεῖδεν ὄλεθρον, προήκατο δὲ τὴν ἱερωτάτην αὐτοῦ πόλιν πυρὶ καὶ κατασκαφαῖς πολεμίων. [329] ἡμεῖς δ᾽ ἄρα καὶ μόνοι τοῦ παντὸς Ἰουδαίων γένους ἠλπίσαμεν περιέσεσθαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν φυλάξαντες, ὥσπερ ἀναμάρτητοι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν γενόμενοι καὶ μηδεμιᾶς μετασχόντες , Οἳ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδιδάξαμεν; [330] τοιγαροῦν ὁρᾶτε, πῶς ἡμᾶς ἐλέγχει μάταια προσδοκήσαντας κρείττονα τῶν ἐλπίδων τὴν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἀνάγκην ἐπαγαγών: [331] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ φρουρίου φύσις ἀνάλωτος οὖσα πρὸς σωτηρίαν ὠφέληκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τροφῆς ἀφθονίαν καὶ πλῆθος ὅπλων καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἔχοντες παρασκευὴν περιττεύουσαν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ περιφανῶς τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας ἀφῃρήμεθα. [332] τὸ γὰρ πῦρ εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους φερόμενον οὐκ αὐτομάτως ἐπὶ τὸ κατασκευασθὲν τεῖχος ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀνέστρεψεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἔστι ταῦτα χόλος πολλῶν ἀδικημάτων, ἃ μανέντες εἰς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους ἐτολμήσαμεν. [333] ὑπὲρ ὧν μὴ τοῖς ἐχθίστοις Ῥωμαίοις δίκας ἀλλὰ τῷ θεῷ δι᾽ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ὑπόσχωμεν: αὗται δέ εἰσιν ἐκείνων μετριώτεραι: [334] θνησκέτωσαν γὰρ γυναῖκες ἀνύβριστοι καὶ παῖδες δουλείας ἀπείρατοι, μετὰ δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἡμεῖς εὐγενῆ χάριν ἀλλήλοις παράσχωμεν καλὸν ἐντάφιον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν φυλάξαντες. [335] πρότερον δὲ καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὸ φρούριον πυρὶ διαφθείρωμεν: λυπηθήσονται γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι, σαφῶς οἶδα, μήτε τῶν ἡμετέρων σωμάτων κρατήσαντες καὶ τοῦ κέρδους ἁμαρτόντες. [336] τὰς τροφὰς μόνας ἐάσωμεν: αὗται γὰρ ἡμῖν τεθνηκόσι

μαρτυρήσουσιν ὅτι μὴ κατ᾽ ἔνδειαν ἐκρατήθημεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς διέγνωμεν, θάνατον ἑλόμενοι πρὸ δουλείας.᾽᾽

(7) [337] Ταῦτα Ἐλεάζαρος ἔλεγεν. οὐ μὴν κατ᾽ αὐτὸ ταῖς γνώμαις προσέπιπτε τῶν παρόντων, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν ἔσπευδον ὑπακούειν καὶ μόνον οὐχ ἡδονῆς ἐνεπίμπλαντο καλὸν εἶναι τὸν θάνατον νομίζοντες, [338] τοὺς δ᾽ αὐτῶν μαλακωτέρους γυναικῶν καὶ γενεᾶς οἴκτος εἰσῄει, πάντως δὲ καὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν προδήλου τελευτῆς εἰς ἀλλήλους ἀποβλέποντες τοῖς δακρύοις τὸ μὴ βουλόμενον τῆς γνώμης ἐσήμαινον. [339] τούτους ἰδὼν Ἐλεάζαρος ἀποδειλιῶντας καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ βουλεύματος τὰς ψυχὰς ὑποκλωμένους ἔδεισε, μή ποτε καὶ τοὺς ἐρρωμένως τῶν λόγων ἀκούσαντας αὐτοὶ συνεκθηλύνωσι ποτνιώμενοι καὶ δακρύοντες. [340] οὔκουν ἀνῆκε τὴν παρακέλευσιν, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐπεγείρας καὶ πολλοῦ λήματος πλήρης γενόμενος λαμπροτέροις ἐνεχείρει λόγοις περὶ ψυχῆς ἀθανασίας, [341] μέγα τε σχετλιάσας καὶ τοῖς δακρύουσιν ἀτενὲς ἐμβλέψας ‘‘ἦ πλεῖστον, εἶπεν, ἐψεύσθην νομίζων ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγώνων συναρεῖσθαι, ζῆν καλῶς ἢ τεθνάναι διεγνωκόσιν. [342] ὑμεῖς δὲ ἦτε τῶν τυχόντων οὐδὲν εἰς ἀρετὴν οὐδ᾽ εὐτολμίαν διαφέροντες, οἵ γε καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ μεγίστων ἀπαλλαγῆ κακῶν φοβεῖσθε θάνατον δέον ὑπὲρ τούτου μήτε μελλῆσαι μήτε σύμβουλον ἀναμεῖναι. [343] πάλαι γὰρ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης αἰσθήσεως παιδεύοντες ἡμᾶς οἱ πάτριοι καὶ θεῖοι λόγοι διετέλουν ἔργοις τε καὶ φρονήμασι τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων αὐτοὺς βεβαιούντων, ὅτι συμφορὰ τὸ ζῆν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις, οὐχὶ θάνατος. [344] οὗτος μὲν γὰρ ἐλευθερίαν διδοὺς ψυχαῖς εἰς τὸν οἰκεῖον καὶ καθαρὸν ἀφίησι τόπον ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι πάσης συμφορᾶς ἀπαθεῖς ἐσομένας, ἕως δέ εἰσιν ἐν σώματι θνητῷ δεδεμέναι καὶ τῶν τούτου κακῶν συναναπίμπλανται, τἀληθέστατον εἰπεῖν, τεθνήκασι: [345] κοινωνία γὰρ θείῳ πρὸς θνητὸν ἀπρεπής ἐστι. μέγα μὲν οὖν δύναται ψυχὴ καὶ σώματι συνδεδεμένη: ποιεῖ γὰρ αὐτῆς ὄργανον αἰσθανόμενον ἀοράτως αὐτὸ κινοῦσα καὶ θνητῆς φύσεως περαιτέρω προάγουσα ταῖς πράξεσιν: [346] οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειδὰν ἀπολυθεῖσα τοῦ καθέλκοντος αὐτὴν βάρους ἐπὶ γῆν καὶ προσκρεμαμένου χῶρον ἀπολάβῃ τὸν οἰκεῖον, τότε δὴ μακαρίας ἰσχύος καὶ πανταχόθεν ἀκωλύτου μετέχει δυνάμεως, ἀόρατος μένουσα τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις ὄμμασιν ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ὁ θεός: [347] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἕως ἐστὶν ἐν σώματι θεωρεῖται: πρόσεισι γὰρ ἀφανῶς καὶ μὴ βλεπομένη πάλιν ἀπαλλάττεται, μίαν μὲν αὐτὴ φύσιν ἔχουσα τὴν ἄφθαρτον, αἰτία δὲ σώματι γινομένη μεταβολῆς. [348] ὅτου γὰρ ἂν ψυχὴ προσψαύσῃ, τοῦτο ζῇ καὶ τέθηλεν, ὅτου δ᾽ ἂν ἀπαλλαγῇ, μαρανθὲν ἀποθνήσκει: τοσοῦτον αὐτῇ περίεστιν ἀθανασίας. [349] ὕπνος δὲ τεκμήριον ὑμῖν ἔστω τῶν λόγων ἐναργέστατον, ἐν ᾧ ψυχαὶ τοῦ σώματος αὐτὰς μὴ περισπῶντος ἡδίστην μὲν ἔχουσιν ἀνάπαυσιν ἐφ᾽ αὑτῶν γενόμεναι, θεῷ δ᾽ ὁμιλοῦσαι κατὰ συγγένειαν πάντη μὲν ἐπιφοιτῶσι, πολλὰ δὲ τῶν ἐσομένων προθεσπίζουσι. [350] τί δὴ δεῖ δεδιέναι θάνατον τὴν ἐν ὕπνῳ γινομένην ἀνάπαυσιν ἀγαπῶντας; πῶς δ᾽ οὐκ ἀνόητόν ἐστιν τὴν ἐν τῷ ζῆν

ἐλευθερίαν διώκοντας τῆς ἀιδίου φθονεῖν αὐτοῖς; [351] ἔδει μὲν οὖν ἡμᾶς οἴκοθεν πεπαιδευμένους ἄλλοις εἶναι παράδειγμα τῆς πρὸς θάνατον ἑτοιμότητος: οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ εἰ καὶ τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων δεόμεθα πίστεως, βλέψωμεν εἰς Ἰνδοὺς τοὺς σοφίαν ἀσκεῖν ὑπισχνουμένους. [352] ἐκεῖνοί τε γὰρ ὄντες ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ τὸν μὲν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον ὥσπερ ἀναγκαίαν τινὰ τῇ φύσει λειτουργίαν ἀκουσίως ὑπομένουσι, [353] σπεύδουσι δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπολῦσαι τῶν σωμάτων, καὶ μηδενὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπείγοντος κακοῦ μηδ᾽ ἐξελαύνοντος πόθῳ τῆς ἀθανάτου διαίτης προλέγουσι μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅτι μέλλουσιν ἀπιέναι, καὶ ἔστιν ὁ κωλύσων οὐδείς, ἀλλὰ πάντες αὐτοὺς εὐδαιμονίζοντες πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἕκαστοι διδόασιν ἐπιστολάς: [354] οὕτως βεβαίαν καὶ ἀληθεστάτην ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὴν μετ᾽ ἀλλήλων εἶναι δίαιταν πεπιστεύκασιν. [355] οἱ δ᾽ ἐπειδὰν ἐπακούσωσι τῶν ἐντεταλμένων αὐτοῖς, πυρὶ τὸ σῶμα παραδόντες, ὅπως δὴ καὶ καθαρωτάτην ἀποκρίνωσι τοῦ σώματος τὴν ψυχήν, ὑμνούμενοι τελευτῶσιν: [356] ῥᾷον γὰρ ἐκείνους εἰς τὸν θάνατον οἱ φίλτατοι προπέμπουσιν ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἕκαστοι τοὺς πολίτας εἰς μηκίστην ἀποδημίαν, καὶ σφᾶς μὲν αὐτοὺς δακρύουσιν, ἐκείνους δὲ μακαρίζουσιν ἤδη τὴν ἀθάνατον τάξιν ἀπολαμβάνοντας. [357] ἆρ᾽ οὖν οὐκ αἰδούμεθα χεῖρον Ἰνδῶν φρονοῦντες καὶ διὰ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀτολμίας τοὺς πατρίους νόμους, οἳ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις εἰς ζῆλον ἥκουσιν, αἰσχρῶς ὑβρίζοντες; [358] ἀλλ᾽ εἴ γε καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐξ ἀρχῆς λόγους ἐπαιδεύθημεν, ὡς ἄρα μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ τὸ ζῆν συμφορὰ δ᾽ ὁ θάνατος, ὁ γοῦν καιρὸς ἡμᾶς παρακαλεῖ φέρειν εὐκαρδίως αὐτὸν θεοῦ γνώμῃ καὶ κατ᾽ ἀνάγκας τελευτήσαντας: [359] πάλαι γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, κατὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ παντὸς Ἰουδαίων γένους ταύτην ἔθετο τὴν ψῆφον ὁ θεός, ὥσθ᾽ ἡμᾶς τοῦ ζῆν ἀπηλλάχθαι μὴ μέλλοντας αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι κατὰ τρόπον. [360] μὴ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὑμῖν ἀνάπτετε τὰς αἰτίας μηδὲ χαρίζεσθε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ὅτι πάντας ἡμᾶς ὁ πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμος διέφθειρεν: οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνων ἰσχύι ταῦτα συμβέβηκεν, ἀλλὰ κρείττων αἰτία γενομένη τὸ δοκεῖν ἐκείνοις νικᾶν παρέσχηκε. [361] ποίοις γὰρ ὅπλοις Ῥωμαίων τεθνήκασιν οἱ Καισάρειαν Ἰουδαῖοι κατοικοῦντες; [362] ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ μελλήσαντας αὐτοὺς ἐκείνων ἀφίστασθαι, μεταξὺ δὲ τὴν ἑβδόμην ἑορτάζοντας τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Καισαρέων ἐπιδραμὸν μηδὲ χεῖρας ἀνταίροντας ἅμα γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις κατέσφαξαν, οὐδ᾽ αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐντραπέντες, οἳ μόνους ἡμᾶς ἡγοῦντο πολεμίους τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας. [363] ἀλλὰ φήσει τις, ὅτι Καισαρεῦσιν ἦν ἀεὶ διαφορὰ πρὸς τοὺς παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς, καὶ τοῦ καιροῦ λαβόμενοι τὸ παλαιὸν μῖσος ἀπεπλήρωσαν. [364] τί οὖν τοὺς ἐν Σκυθοπόλει φῶμεν; ἡμῖν γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι διὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας πολεμεῖν ἐτόλμησαν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν ἡμῶν Ῥωμαίους ἀμύνεσθαι. [365] πολὺ τοίνυν ὤνησεν αὐτοὺς ἡ πρὸς ἐκείνους εὔνοια καὶ πίστις: ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν μέντοι πανοικεσίᾳ πικρῶς κατεφονεύθησαν ταύτην τῆς συμμαχίας ἀπολαβόντες ἀμοιβήν: [366] ἃ γὰρ ἐκείνους ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἐκώλυσαν ταῦθ᾽ ὑπέμειναν ὡς αὐτοὶ δρᾶσαι θελήσαντες. μακρὸν ἂν εἴη νῦν ἰδίᾳ περὶ ἑκάστων λέγειν: [367] ἴστε γὰρ ὅτι τῶν ἐν Συρίᾳ

πόλεων οὐκ ἔστιν ἥτις τοὺς παρ᾽ αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας Ἰουδαίους οὐκ ἀνῄρηκεν, ἡμῖν πλέον ἢ Ῥωμαίοις ὄντας πολεμίους: [368] ὅπου γε Δαμασκηνοὶ μηδὲ πρόφασιν εὔλογον πλάσαι δυνηθέντες φόνου μιαρωτάτου τὴν αὐτῶν πόλιν ἐνέπλησαν ὀκτακισχιλίους πρὸς τοῖς μυρίοις Ἰουδαίους ἅμα γυναιξὶ καὶ γενεαῖς ἀποσφάξαντες. [369] τὸ δ᾽ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πλῆθος τῶν μετ᾽ αἰκίας ἀνῃρημένων ἔξ που μυριάδας ὑπερβάλλειν ἐπυνθανόμεθα. κἀκεῖνοι μὲν ἴσως ἐπ᾽ ἀλλοτρίας γῆς οὐδὲν ἀντίπαλον εὑράμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις οὕτως ἀπέθανον, τοῖς δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκείας τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ἀραμένοις ἅπασι τε τῶν ἐλπίδα νίκης ἐχυρᾶς παρασχεῖν δυναμένων οὐχ ὑπῆρξε; [370] καὶ γὰρ ὅπλα καὶ τείχη καὶ φρουρίων δυσάλωτοι κατασκευαὶ καὶ φρόνημα πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας κινδύνους ἄτρεπτον πάντας πρὸς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἐπέρρωσεν. [371] ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πρὸς βραχὺν χρόνον ἀρκέσαντα καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἡμᾶς ἐπάραντα μειζόνων ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐφάνη: πάντα γὰρ ἥλω, καὶ πάντα τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπέπεσεν, ὥσπερ εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων εὐκλεεστέραν νίκην, οὐκ εἰς τὴν τῶν παρασκευασαμένων σωτηρίαν εὐτρεπισθέντα. [372] καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀποθνήσκοντας εὐδαιμονίζειν προσῆκον: ἀμυνόμενοι γὰρ καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν οὐ προέμενοι τεθνήκασι: τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις γενομένων τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐλεήσειε; τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐπειχθείη πρὸ τοῦ ταὐτὰ παθεῖν ἐκείνοις ἀποθανεῖν; [373] ὧν οἱ μὲν στρεβλούμενοι καὶ πυρὶ καὶ μάστιξιν αἰκιζόμενοι τεθνήκασιν, οἱ δ᾽ ἀπὸ θηρίων ἡμίβρωτοι πρὸς δευτέραν αὐτοῖς τροφὴν ζῶντες ἐφυλάχθησαν, γέλωτα καὶ παίγνιον τοῖς πολεμίοις παρασχόντες. [374] ἐκείνων μὲν οὖν ἀθλιωτάτους ὑποληπτέον τοὺς ἔτι ζῶντας, οἳ πολλάκις εὐχόμενοι τὸν θάνατον λαβεῖν οὐκ ἔχουσιν. [375] ποῦ δ᾽ ἡ μεγάλη πόλις, ἡ τοῦ παντὸς Ἰουδαίων γένους μητρόπολις, ἡ τοσούτοις μὲν ἐρυμνὴ τειχῶν περιβόλοις, τοσαῦτα δ᾽ αὐτῆς φρούρια καὶ μεγέθη πύργων προβεβλημένη, μόλις δὲ χωροῦσα τὰς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευάς, τοσαύτας δὲ μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν ἔχουσα τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μαχομένων; [376] ποῦ γέγονεν ἡμῖν ἡ τὸν θεὸν ἔχειν οἰκιστὴν πεπιστευμένη; πρόρριζος ἐκ βάθρων ἀνήρπασται, καὶ μόνον αὐτῆς μνημεῖον ἀπολείπεται τὸ τῶν ἀνῃρημένων ἔτι τοῖς λειψάνοις ἐποικοῦν. [377] πρεσβῦται δὲ δύστηνοι τῇ σποδῷ τοῦ τεμένους παρακάθηνται καὶ γυναῖκες ὀλίγαι πρὸς ὕβριν αἰσχίστην ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων τετηρημέναι. [378] ταῦτα τίς ἐν νῷ βαλλόμενος ἡμῶν καρτερήσει τὸν ἥλιον ὁρᾶν, κἂν δύνηται ζῆν ἀκινδύνως; τίς οὕτω τῆς πατρίδος ἐχθρός, ἢ τίς οὕτως ἄνανδρος καὶ φιλόψυχος, ὡς μὴ καὶ περὶ τοῦ μέχρι νῦν ζῆσαι μετανοεῖν; [379] ἀλλ᾽ εἴθε πάντες ἐτεθνήκειμεν πρὶν τὴν ἱερὰν ἐκείνην πόλιν χερσὶν ἰδεῖν κατασκαπτομένην πολεμίων, πρὶν τὸν ναὸν τὸν ἅγιον οὕτως ἀνοσίως ἐξορωρυγμένον. [380] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἀγεννὴς ἐλπὶς ἐβουκόλησεν, ὡς τάχα που δυνήσεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀμύνασθαι, φρούδη δὲ γέγονε νῦν καὶ μόνους ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνάγκης καταλέλοιπεν, σπεύσωμεν καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν, ἐλεήσωμεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, ἕως ἡμῖν ἔξεστιν παρ᾽ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν λαβεῖν τὸν ἔλεον. [381] ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ

θάνατον ἐγεννήθημεν καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐγεννήσαμεν, καὶ τοῦτον οὐδὲ τοῖς εὐδαιμονοῦσιν ἔστι διαφυγεῖν: [382] ὕβρις δὲ καὶ δουλεία καὶ τὸ βλέπειν γυναῖκας εἰς αἰσχύνην ἀγομένας μετὰ τέκνων οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρώποις κακὸν ἐκ φύσεως ἀναγκαῖον, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν δειλίαν ὑπομένουσιν οἱ παρὸν πρὸ αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν μὴ θελήσαντες. [383] ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπ᾽ ἀνδρείᾳ μέγα φρονοῦντες Ῥωμαίων ἀπέστημεν καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα νῦν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ προκαλουμένων ἡμᾶς οὐχ ὑπηκούσαμεν. [384] τίνι τοίνυν οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ θυμὸς αὐτῶν πρόδηλος, εἰ ζώντων ἡμῶν κρατήσουσιν; ἄθλιοι μὲν οἱ νέοι τῆς ῥώμης τῶν σωμάτων εἰς πολλὰς αἰκίας ἀρκέσοντες, ἄθλιοι δὲ οἱ παρηβηκότες φέρειν τῆς ἡλικίας τὰς συμφορὰς οὐ δυναμένης. [385] ὄψεταί τις γυναῖκα πρὸς βίαν ἀγομένην, φωνῆς ἐπακούσεται τέκνου πατέρα βοῶντος χεῖρας δεδεμένος. [386] ἀλλ᾽ ἕως εἰσὶν ἐλεύθεραι καὶ ξίφος ἔχουσιν, καλὴν ὑπουργίαν ὑπουργησάτωσαν: ἀδούλωτοι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀποθάνωμεν, ἐλεύθεροι δὲ μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν τοῦ ζῆν συνεξέλθωμεν. [387] ταῦθ᾽ ἡμᾶς οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσι, ταῦθ᾽ ἡμᾶς γυναῖκες καὶ παῖδες ἱκετεύουσι: τούτων τὴν ἀνάγκην θεὸς ἀπέσταλκε, τούτων Ῥωμαῖοι τἀναντία θέλουσι, καὶ μή τις ἡμῶν πρὸ τῆς ἁλώσεως ἀποθάνῃ δεδοίκασι. [388] σπεύσωμεν οὖν ἀντὶ τῆς ἐλπιζομένης αὐτοῖς καθ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀπολαύσεως ἔκπληξιν τοῦ θανάτου καὶ θαῦμα τῆς τόλμης καταλιπεῖν.”

IX

(1) [389] Ἔτι βουλόμενον αὐτὸν παρακαλεῖν πάντες ὑπετέμνοντο καὶ πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν ἠπείγοντο ἀνεπισχέτου τινὸς ὁρμῆς πεπληρωμένοι, καὶ δαιμονῶντες ἀπῄεσαν ἄλλος πρὸ ἄλλου φθάσαι γλιχόμενος καὶ ταύτην ἐπίδειξιν εἶναι τῆς ἀνδρείας καὶ τῆς εὐβουλίας νομίζοντες, τὸ μή τις ἐν ὑστάτοις γενόμενος ὀφθῆναι: τοσοῦτος αὐτοῖς γυναικῶν καὶ παιδίων καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν σφαγῆς ἔρως ἐνέπεσεν. [390] καὶ μὴν οὐδ᾽ ὅπερ ἄν τις ᾠήθη τῇ πράξει προσιόντες ἠμβλύνθησαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀτενῆ τὴν γνώμην διεφύλαξαν οἵαν ἔσχον τῶν λόγων ἀκροώμενοι, τοῦ μὲν οἰκείου καὶ φιλοστόργου πάθους ἅπασι παραμένοντος, τοῦ λογισμοῦ δὲ ὡς τὰ κράτιστα βεβουλευκότος τοῖς φιλτάτοις ἐπικρατοῦντος. [391] ὁμοῦ γὰρ ἠσπάζοντο γυναῖκας περιπτυσσόμενοι καὶ τέκνα προσηγκαλίζοντο τοῖς ὑστάτοις φιλήμασιν ἐμφυόμενοι καὶ δακρύοντες, [392] ὁμοῦ δὲ καθάπερ ἀλλοτρίαις χερσὶν ὑπουργούμενοι συνετέλουν τὸ βούλευμα, τὴν ἐπίνοιαν ὧν πείσονται κακῶν ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις γενόμενοι παραμύθιον τῆς ἐν τῷ κτείνειν ἀνάγκης ἔχοντες. [393] καὶ πέρας οὐδεὶς τηλικούτου τολμήματος ἧττων εὑρέθη, πάντες δὲ διὰ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων διεξῆλθον, ἄθλιοι τῆς ἀνάγκης, οἷς αὐτοχειρὶ γυναῖκας τὰς αὐτῶν καὶ τέκνα κτεῖναι κακῶν ἔδοξεν εἶναι τὸ κουφότατον. [394] οὔτε δὴ τοίνυν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ὀδύνην ἔτι φέροντες καὶ τοὺς ἀνῃρημένους νομίζοντες ἀδικεῖν εἰ καὶ βραχὺν αὐτοῖς ἔτι χρόνον ἐπιζήσουσι,

ταχὺ μὲν τὴν κτῆσιν ἅπασαν εἰς ταὐτὸ σωρεύσαντες πῦρ εἰς αὐτὴν ἐνέβαλον, [395] κλήρῳ δ᾽ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἑλόμενοι δέκα τοὺς ἁπάντων σφαγεῖς ἐσομένους, καὶ γυναικί τις αὐτὸν καὶ παισὶ κειμένοις παραστρώσας καὶ τὰς χεῖρας περιβαλών, παρεῖχον ἑτοίμους τὰς σφαγὰς τοῖς τὴν δύστηνον ὑπουργίαν ἐκτελοῦσιν. [396] οἱ δ᾽ ἀτρέπτως πάντας φονεύσαντες τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλοις τοῦ κλήρου νόμον ὥρισαν, ἵν᾽ ὁ λαχὼν τοὺς ἐννέα κτείνας ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀνέλῃ: πάντες οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἐθάρρουν μήτ᾽ εἰς τὸ δρᾶν μήτ᾽ εἰς τὸ παθεῖν ἄλλος ἄλλου διαφέρειν. [397] καὶ τέλος οἱ μὲν τὰς σφαγὰς ὑπέθεσαν, ὁ δ᾽ εἷς καὶ τελευταῖος τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κειμένων περιαθρήσας, μή πού τις ἔτ᾽ ἐν πολλῷ φόνῳ τῆς αὐτοῦ λείπεται χειρὸς δεόμενος, ὡς ἔγνω πάντας ἀνῃρημένους, πῦρ μὲν πολὺ τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐνίησιν, ἀθρόᾳ δὲ τῇ χειρὶ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ πᾶν ἐλάσας τὸ ξίφος πλησίον τῶν οἰκείων κατέπεσε. [398] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐτεθνήκεσαν ὑπειληφότες οὐδὲν ἔχον ψυχὴν ὑποχείριον ἐξ αὐτῶν Ῥωμαίοις καταλιπεῖν, [399] ἔλαθεν δὲ γυνὴ πρεσβῦτις καὶ συγγενὴς ἑτέρα τις Ἐλεαζάρου, φρονήσει καὶ παιδείᾳ πλεῖστον γυναικῶν διαφέρουσα, καὶ πέντε παιδία τοῖς ὑπονόμοις, οἳ ποτὸν ἦγον ὕδωρ διὰ γῆς, ἐγκατακρυβῆναι τῶν ἄλλων πρὸς τῇ σφαγῇ τὰς διανοίας ἐχόντων, [400] οἳ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἦσαν ἑξήκοντα πρὸς τοῖς ἐνακοσίοις γυναικῶν ἅμα καὶ παίδων αὐτοῖς συναριθμουμένων. [401] καὶ τὸ πάθος ἐπράχθη πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ Ξανθικοῦ μηνός.

(2) [402] Οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι μάχην ἔτι προσδοκῶντες, ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω διασκευασάμενοι καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν χωμάτων ἐφόδους ταῖς ἐπιβάθραις γεφυρώσαντες προσβολὴν ἐποιοῦντο. [403] βλέποντες δ᾽ οὐδένα τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ δεινὴν πανταχόθεν ἐρημίαν καὶ πῦρ ἔνδον καὶ σιωπήν, ἀπόρως εἶχον τὸ γεγονὸς συμβαλεῖν, καὶ τέλος ὡς εἰς ἄφεσιν βολῆς ἠλάλαξαν, εἴ τινα τῶν ἔνδον προκαλέσαιντο. [404] τῆς δὲ βοῆς αἴσθησις γίνεται τοῖς γυναίοις, κἀκ τῶν ὑπονόμων ἀναδῦσαι τὸ πραχθὲν ὡς εἶχε πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐμήνυον, πάντα τῆς ἑτέρας ὡς ἐλέχθη τε καὶ τίνα τρόπον ἐπράχθη σαφῶς ἐκδιηγουμένης. [405] οὐ μὴν ῥᾳδίως αὐτῇ προσεῖχον τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ τολμήματος ἀπιστοῦντες, ἐπεχείρουν τε τὸ πῦρ σβεννύναι καὶ ταχέως ὁδὸν δι᾽ αὐτοῦ τεμόντες τῶν βασιλείων ἐντὸς ἐγένοντο. [406] καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν πεφονευμένων ἐπιτυχόντες οὐχ ὡς ἐπὶ πολεμίοις ἥσθησαν, τὴν δὲ γενναιότητα τοῦ βουλεύματος καὶ τὴν ἐν τοσούτοις ἄτρεπτον ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ἐθαύμασαν τοῦ θανάτου καταφρόνησιν.

X

(1) [407] Τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς ἁλώσεως γενομένης ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ φρουρίου καταλείπει φυλακὴν ὁ στρατηγός, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Καισάρειαν. [408] οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑπελείπετό τις τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν πολεμίων, ἀλλ᾽ ἤδη πᾶσα διὰ μακροῦ τοῦ πολέμου κατέστραπτο πολλοῖς καὶ τῶν ἀπωτάτω κατοικούντων αἴσθησιν καὶ κίνδυνον ταραχῆς παρασχόντος. [409] ἔτι δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν

τὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μετὰ ταῦτα συνέβη πολλοὺς Ἰουδαίων ἀποθανεῖν: [410] τοῖς γὰρ ἐκ τῆς στάσεως τῶν σικαρίων ἐκεῖ διαφυγεῖν δυνηθεῖσιν οὐκ ἀπέχρη τὸ σώζεσθαι, πάλιν δὲ καινοτέροις ἐνεχείρουν πράγμασι καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ὑποδεξαμένων ἔπειθον τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, καὶ Ῥωμαίους μὲν μηδὲν κρείττους αὐτῶν ὑπολαμβάνειν, θεὸν δὲ μόνον ἡγεῖσθαι δεσπότην. [411] ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν οὐκ ἀφανῶν τινες Ἰουδαίων ἀντέβαινον, τοὺς μὲν ἀπέσφαξαν, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἐνέκειντο πρὸς τὴν ἀπόστασιν παρακαλοῦντες. [412] ὁρῶντες δ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἀπόνοιαν οἱ πρωτεύοντες τῆς γερουσίας οὐκέτ' ἀσφαλὲς αὐτοῖς ἐνόμιζον περιορᾶν, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἀθροίσαντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἤλεγχον τὴν ἀπόνοιαν τῶν σικαρίων πάντων αἰτίους ἀποφαίνοντες ἐκείνους τῶν κακῶν: [413] καὶ νῦν ἔφασαν αὐτούς, ἐπείπερ οὐδὲ πεφευγότες τῆς σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα βεβαίαν ἔχουσιν, γνωσθέντας γὰρ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων εὐθὺς ἀπολεῖσθαι, τῆς αὐτοῖς προσηκούσης συμφορᾶς ἀναπιμπλάναι τοὺς μηδενὸς τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων μετασχόντας. [414] φυλάξασθαι τοίνυν τὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὄλεθρον τὸ πλῆθος παρεκάλουν καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀπολογήσασθαι τῇ τούτων παραδόσει. [415] συνιδόντες τοῦ κινδύνου τὸ μέγεθος ἐπείσθησαν τοῖς λεγομένοις, καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ὁρμῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς σικαρίους ᾄξαντες συνήρπαζον αὐτούς. [416] τῶν δ' ἐξακόσιοι μὲν εὐθὺς ἑάλωσαν, ὅσοι δ' εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὰς ἐκεῖ Θήβας διέφυγον, οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν συλληφθέντες ἐπανήχθησαν. [417] ἐφ' ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν ὃς οὐ τὴν καρτερίαν καὶ τὴν εἴτε ἀπόνοιαν εἴτε τῆς γνώμης ἰσχὺν χρὴ λέγειν οὐ κατεπλάγη: [418] πάσης γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς βασάνου καὶ λύμης τῶν σωμάτων ἐπινοηθείσης ἐφ' ἓν τοῦτο μόνον, ὅπως αὐτῶν Καίσαρα δεσπότην ὁμολογήσωσιν, οὐδεὶς ἐνέδωκεν οὐδὲ ἐμέλλησεν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ὑπερτέραν τῆς ἀνάγκης τὴν αὐτῶν γνώμην διεφύλαξαν, ὥσπερ ἀναισθήτοις σώμασι χαιρούσῃ μόνον οὐχὶ τῇ ψυχῇ τὰς βασάνους καὶ τὸ πῦρ δεχόμενοι. [419] μάλιστα δ' ἡ τῶν παίδων ἡλικία τοὺς θεωμένους ἐξέπληξεν: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνων τις ἐξενικήθη Καίσαρα δεσπότην ἐξονομάσαι. τοσοῦτον ἄρα τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ἀσθενείας ἡ τῆς τόλμης ἰσχὺς ἐπεκράτει.

(2) [420] Λοῦπος τότε διῴκει τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ περὶ τοῦ κινήματος τούτου Καίσαρι κατὰ τάχος ἐπέστειλεν. [421] ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὴν ἀκατάπαυστον ὑφορώμενος νεωτεροποιίαν καὶ δείσας, μὴ πάλιν εἰς ἓν ἀθρόοι συλλεγῶσι καί τινας αὐτοῖς συνεπισπάσωνται, προσέταξε τῷ Λούππῳ τὸν ἐν τῇ Ὀνίου καλουμένῃ νεὼν καθελεῖν τῶν Ἰουδαίων. [422] ὁ δ' ἐστὶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν ᾠκίσθη τε καὶ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν ἔλαβεν: [423] Ὀνίας Σίμωνος υἱός, εἷς τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀρχιερέων, φεύγων Ἀντίοχον τὸν Συρίας βασιλέα πολεμοῦντα τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἦκεν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, καὶ δεξαμένου Πτολεμαίου φιλοφρόνως αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἀντίοχον ἀπέχθειαν ἔφη σύμμαχον αὐτῷ ποιήσειν τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος, εἰ πεισθείη τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λεγομένοις. [424] ποιήσειν δὲ τὰ δυνατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ὁμολογήσαντος ἠξίωσεν ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῷ

νεών τε που τῆς Αἰγύπτου κατασκευάσασθαι καὶ τοῖς πατρίοις ἔθεσι θεραπεύειν τὸν θεόν: [425] οὕτως γὰρ Ἀντιόχῳ μὲν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκπολεμώσεσθαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις νεὼν πεπορθηκότι, πρὸς αὐτὸν δ᾽ εὐνοικωτέρως ἕξειν καὶ πολλοὺς ἐπ᾽ ἀδείᾳ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν συλλεγήσεσθαι.

(3) [426] Πεισθεὶς Πτολεμαῖος τοῖς λεγομένοις δίδωσιν αὐτῷ χώραν ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους ἀπέχουσαν Μέμφεως: νομὸς δ᾽ οὗτος Ἡλιοπολίτης καλεῖται. [427] φρούριον ἔνθα κατασκευασάμενος Ὀνίας τὸν μὲν ναὸν οὐχ ὅμοιον ᾠκοδόμησε τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, ἀλλὰ πύργῳ παραπλήσιον λίθων μεγάλων εἰς ἑξήκοντα πήχεις ἀνεστηκότα: [428] τοῦ βωμοῦ δὲ τὴν κατασκευὴν πρὸς τὸν οἰκεῖον ἐξεμιμήσατο καὶ τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ὁμοίως ἐκόσμησεν χωρὶς τῆς περὶ τὴν λυχνίαν κατασκευῆς: [429] οὐ γὰρ ἐποίησε λυχνίαν, αὐτὸν δὲ χαλκευσάμενος λύχνον χρυσοῦν ἐπιφαίνοντα σέλας χρυσῆς ἀλύσεως ἐξεκρέμασε. τὸ δὲ τέμενος πᾶν ὀπτῇ πλίνθῳ περιτετείχιστο πύλας ἔχον λιθίνας. [430] ἀνῆκε δὲ καὶ χώραν πολλὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς χρημάτων πρόσοδον, ὅπως εἴη καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀφθονία καὶ τῷ θεῷ πολλὰ τὰ πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν. [431] οὐ μὴν Ὀνίας ἐξ ὑγιοῦς γνώμης ταῦτα ἔπραττεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἦν αὐτῷ φιλονεικία πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἰουδαίους ὀργὴν τῆς φυγῆς ἀπομνημονεύοντι, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἱερὸν ἐνόμιζε κατασκευάσας εἰς αὐτὸ περισπάσειν ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνων τὸ πλῆθος. [432] ἐγεγόνει δέ τις καὶ παλαιὰ πρόρρησις ἔτεσί που πρόσθεν ἑξακοσίοις: Ἡσαίας ὄνομα τῷ προαγορεύσαντι τοῦδε τοῦ ναοῦ τὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γενησομένην ὑπ᾽ ἀνδρὸς Ἰουδαίου κατασκευήν. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἱερὸν οὕτως ἐπεποίητο.

(4) [433] Λοῦππος δ᾽ ὁ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἡγεμὼν τὰ παρὰ Καίσαρος λαβὼν γράμματα καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καί τινα τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἐκφορήσας τὸν ναὸν ἀπέκλεισε. [434] Λούππου δὲ μετὰ βραχὺ τελευτήσαντος Παυλῖνος διαδεξάμενος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν οὔτε τῶν ἀναθημάτων οὐδὲν κατέλιπε, πολλὰ γὰρ διηπείλησε τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν εἰ μὴ πάντα προκομίσειαν, οὔτε προσιέναι τῷ τεμένει τοὺς θρησκεύειν βουλομένους ἐφῆκεν, [435] ἀλλ᾽ ἀποκλείσας τὰς πύλας ἀπρόσιτον αὐτὸ παντελῶς ἐποίησεν, ὡς μηδ᾽ ἴχνος ἔτι τῆς εἰς τὸν θεὸν θεραπείας ἐν τῷ τόπῳ καταλιπεῖν. [436] χρόνος ἦν εἰς τὴν ἀπόκλεισιν τοῦ ναοῦ γεγονὼς ἀπὸ τῆς κατασκευῆς ἔτη τρία καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τριακόσια.

XI

(1) [437] Ἥψατο δὲ καὶ τῶν περὶ Κυρήνην πόλεων ἡ τῶν σικαρίων ἀπόνοια καθάπερ νόσος. [438] διαπεσὼν γὰρ εἰς αὐτὴν Ἰωνάθης, πονηρότατος ἄνθρωπος καὶ τὴν τέχνην ὑφάντης, οὐκ ὀλίγους τῶν ἀπόρων ἀνέπεισε προσέχειν αὐτῷ καὶ προήγαγεν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον σημεῖα καὶ φάσματα δείξειν ὑπισχνούμενος. [439] καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐλάνθανε ταῦτα διαπραττόμενος καὶ φενακίζων, οἱ δὲ τοῖς ἀξιώμασι προύχοντες τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Κυρήνης Ἰουδαίων τὴν ἔξοδον αὐτοῦ καὶ

παρασκευὴν τῷ τῆς πενταπόλεως Λιβύης ἡγεμόνι Κατύλλῳ προσαγγέλλουσιν. [440] ὁ δ᾽ ἱππέας τε καὶ πεζοὺς ἀποστείλας ῥᾳδίως ἐκράτησεν ἀνόπλων, καὶ τὸ μὲν πλέον ἐν χερσὶν ἀπώλετο, τινὲς δὲ καὶ ζωγρηθέντες ἀνήχθησαν πρὸς τὸν Κάτυλλον. [441] ὁ δ᾽ ἡγεμὼν τοῦ βουλεύματος Ἰωνάθης τότε μὲν διέφυγε, πολλῆς δὲ καὶ λίαν ἐπιμελοῦς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν ζητήσεως γενομένης ἥλω, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἀναχθεὶς αὐτῷ μὲν ἐμηχανᾶτο τῆς τιμωρίας ἀπαλλαγήν, τῷ Κατύλλῳ δ᾽ ἔδωκεν ἀφορμὴν ἀδικημάτων. [442] ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔλεγε καταψευδόμενος διδασκάλους αὐτῷ τοῦ βουλεύματος γεγονέναι,

(2) [443] προθύμως δὲ τὰς διαβολὰς ἐκεῖνος ἐξεδέχετο καὶ τῷ πράγματι πολὺν ὄγκον περιετίθει μεγάλα προστραγῳδῶν, ἵνα δόξειε καὐτὸς Ἰουδαικόν τινα πόλεμον κατωρθωκέναι. [444] τὸ δὲ δὴ τούτου χαλεπώτερον, πρὸς γὰρ τῷ πιστεύειν ῥᾳδίως ἔτι καὶ διδάσκαλος ἦν τῶν σικαρίων τῆς ψευδολογίας: [445] κελεύσας γοῦν αὐτὸν ὀνομάσαι τινὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων Ἀλέξανδρον, ᾧ πάλαι προσκεκρουκὼς φανερὸν ἐξενηνόχει τὸ μῖσος, τήν τε γυναῖκα τὴν ἐκείνου [Βερενίκην ταῖς αἰτίαις] συνεμπλέξας, τούτους μὲν πρῶτον ἀνεῖλεν, ἐπὶ δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἅπαντας τοὺς εὐπορίᾳ χρημάτων διαφέροντας ὁμοῦ τι χιλίους ἐφόνευσεν ἄνδρας: [446] καὶ ταῦτα πράττειν ἐνόμιζεν ἀσφαλῶς, ὅτι τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς τοῦ Καίσαρος προσόδους ἀνελάμβανεν.

(3) [447] Ὅπως δὲ μηδὲ ἀλλαχοῦ τινες τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐλέγξωσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀδικίαν, πορρωτέρω τὸ ψεῦδος ἐξέτεινε καὶ πείθει τὸν Ἰωνάθην καί τινας τῶν ἅμ᾽ ἐκείνῳ συνειλημμένων νεωτερισμοῦ κατηγορίαν ἐπιφέρειν τοῖς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τε καὶ Ῥώμῃ τῶν Ἰουδαίων δοκιμωτάτοις. [448] τούτων εἷς τῶν ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς αἰτιαθέντων ἦν Ἰώσηπος ὁ ταῦτα συγγραψάμενος. [449] οὐ μὴν κατ᾽ ἐλπίδα τῷ Κατύλλῳ τὸ σκευώρημα προεχώρησεν: ἦκε μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἄγων δεδεμένους καὶ πέρας ᾤετο τῆς ἐξετάσεως εἶναι τὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ γενομένην ψευδολογίαν. [450] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὑποπτεύσας ἀναζητεῖ τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ γνοὺς ἄδικον τὴν αἰτίαν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐπενηνεγμένην τοὺς μὲν ἀφίησι τῶν ἐγκλημάτων Τίτου σπουδάσαντος, δίκην δ᾽ ἐπέθηκεν Ἰωνάθῃ τὴν προσήκουσαν: ζῶν γὰρ κατεκαύθη πρότερον αἰκισθείς.

(4) [451] Κατύλλῳ δὲ τότε μὲν ὑπῆρξε διὰ τὴν πρᾳότητα τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων μηδὲν πλεῖον ὑπομεῖναι καταγνώσεως, οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν δὲ νόσῳ καταληφθεὶς πολυτρόπῳ καὶ δυσιάτῳ χαλεπῶς ἀπήλλαττεν, οὐ τὸ σῶμα μόνον κολαζόμενος, ἀλλ᾽ ἦν ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῷ νόσος βαρυτέρα. [452] δείμασι γὰρ ἐξεταράττετο καὶ συνεχῶς ἐβόα βλέπειν εἴδωλα τῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πεφονευμένων ἐφεστηκότα: καὶ κατέχειν αὐτὸν οὐ δυνάμενος ἐξήλλετο τῆς εὐνῆς ὡς βασάνων αὐτῷ καὶ πυρὸς προσφερομένων. [453] τοῦ δὲ κακοῦ πολλὴν ἀεὶ τὴν ἐπίδοσιν λαμβάνοντος καὶ τῶν ἐντέρων αὐτῷ κατὰ διάβρωσιν ἐκπεσόντων, οὕτως ἀπέθανεν, οὐδενὸς ἧττον

ἑτέρου τῆς προνοίας τοῦ θεοῦ τεκμήριον γενόμενος, ὅτι τοῖς πονηροῖς δίκην ἐπιτίθησιν.

(5) [454] Ἐνταῦθα τῆς ἱστορίας ἡμῖν τὸ πέρας ἐστίν, ἣν ἐπηγγειλάμεθα μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας παραδώσειν τοῖς βουλομένοις μαθεῖν, τίνα τρόπον οὗτος ὁ πόλεμος Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ἐπολεμήθη. [455] καὶ πῶς μὲν ἡρμήνευται, τοῖς ἀναγνωσομένοις κρίνειν ἀπολελείφθω, περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας δὲ οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμι θαρρῶν λέγειν, ὅτι μόνης ταύτης παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ἐστοχασάμην.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS

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Προοίμιον περὶ τῆς ὅλης πραγματείας

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. ἡ τοῦ κόσμου σύστασις καὶ διάταξις τῶν στοιχείων.

β. περὶ τοῦ γένους Ἀδάμου καὶ τῶν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ δέκα γενεῶν τῶν μέχρι τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ.

γ. ὡς ὁ κατακλυσμὸς ἐγένετο καὶ ὃν τρόπον Νῶχος σωθεὶς ἐν λάρνακι μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν κατῴκησεν ἐν τῷ Σινάρῳ πεδίῳ.

δ. ὡς πύργος, ὃν οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ ἐφ᾽ ὕβρει τοῦ θεοῦ ᾠκοδόμησαν, καὶ ὡς τὰς φωνὰς αὐτῶν μετέβαλε καὶ ὁ τόπος, ἐν *ᾧ* τοῦτο γέγονε, Βαβυλὼν ἐκλήθη.

ε. ὡς οἱ Νώχου ἔγγονοι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπῴκησαν.

ς. ὅτι τῶν ἐθνῶν ἕκαστον ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκισάντων προσηγορεύθη.

ζ. ὅπως Ἄβραμος ὁ πρόγονος ἡμῶν ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τῆς Χαλδαίων γῆς κατέσχε τὴν τότε μὲν Χαναναίαν νῦν δὲ Ἰουδαίαν λεγομένην.

η. ὅτι λιμοῦ τὴν Χαναναίαν καταλαβόντος εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπῆρε καὶ διατρίψας ἐν αὐτῇ τινα χρόνον ὑπέστρεψεν ὀπίσω.

θ. ἦττα Σοδομιτῶν Ἀσσυρίων αὐτοῖς ἐπιστρατευσάντων.

ι. ὡς Ἄβραμος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους ἐκστρατεύσας ἐνίκησε καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τῶν Σοδομιτῶν ἔσωσε καὶ τὴν λείαν ἣν ἔλαβον ἀφείλετο.

ια. πῶς τὸ Σοδομιτῶν ἔθνος θεὸς κατεστρέψατο χολωθεὶς αὐτοῖς ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἡμάρτανον.

ιβ. περὶ Ἰσμαήλου τοῦ Ἀβράμου καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων αὐτοῦ Ἀράβων.

ιγ. περὶ Ἰσάκου, ὃς ἦν γνήσιος παῖς Ἀβράμου.

ιδ. περὶ Σάρρας τῆς Ἀβράμου γυναικός, καὶ πῶς τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν.

ιε. ὡς ἐκ Κατούρης Ἀβράμῳ γαμηθείσης τὸ τῶν Τρωγλοδυτῶν Ἀράβων ἔθνος ἐγεννήθη.

ις. περὶ τῆς Ἀβράμῳ τελευτῆς.

ιζ. περὶ τῆς Ἰσάκου παίδων Ἡσαῦ καὶ Ἰακώβου γενέσεως καὶ διατροφῆς.

ιη. Ἰακώβου φυγὴ εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν καὶ τὸν ἐκ τἀδελφοῦ φόβον, καὶ ὡς γήμας ἐκεῖ καὶ δώδεκα γεννήσας παῖδας πάλιν εἰς τὴν Χαναναίαν ἐπανῆλθεν.

ιθ. ὡς Ἴσακος τελευτήσας ἐτάφη ἐν Νεβρῶνι.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν ὡς Ἰώσηπος [χ1000]γη, Ἑβραῖοι [χ1000]αωοβ, Εὐσέβιος [χ1000]γυνθ.

Praefatio

(1) [1] Τοῖς τὰς ἱστορίας συγγράφειν βουλομένοις οὐ μίαν οὐδὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁρῶ τῆς σπουδῆς γινομένην αἰτίαν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς καὶ πλεῖστον ἀλλήλων διαφερούσας. [2] τινὲς μὲν γὰρ ἐπιδεικνύμενοι λόγων δεινότητα καὶ τὴν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς θηρευόμενοι δόξαν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τῆς παιδείας τὸ μέρος ὁρμῶσιν, ἄλλοι δὲ χάριν ἐκείνοις φέροντες, περὶ ὧν τὴν ἀναγραφὴν εἶναι συμβέβηκε, τὸν εἰς αὐτὴν πόνον καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν ὑπέστησαν: [3] εἰσὶ δ᾽ οἵτινες ἐβιάσθησαν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνάγκης οἷς πραττομένοις παρέτυχον ταῦτα γραφῇ δηλούσῃ περιλαβεῖν: πολλοὺς δὲ χρησίμων μέγεθος πραγμάτων ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ κειμένων προύτρεψε τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ἱστορίαν εἰς κοινὴν ὠφέλειαν ἐξενεγκεῖν. [4] τούτων δὴ τῶν προειρημένων αἰτιῶν αἱ τελευταῖαι δύο κἀμοὶ συμβεβήκασι: τὸν μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ἡμῖν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις γενόμενον καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ πράξεις καὶ τὸ τέλος οἷον ἀπέβη πείρᾳ μαθὼν ἐβιάσθην ἐκδιηγήσασθαι διὰ τοὺς ἐν τῷ γράφειν λυμαινομένους τὴν ἀλήθειαν,

(2) [5] ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἐγκεχείρισμαι πραγματείαν νομίζων ἅπασι φανεῖσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀξίαν σπουδῆς: μέλλει γὰρ περιέξειν ἅπασαν τὴν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἀρχαιολογίαν καὶ διάταξιν τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἐκ τῶν Ἑβραι¨κῶν μεθηρμηνευμένην γραμμάτων. [6] ἤδη μὲν οὖν καὶ πρότερον διενοήθην, ὅτε τὸν πόλεμον συνέγραφον, δηλῶσαι τίνες ὄντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ τίσι χρησάμενοι τύχαις ὑφ᾽ οἵῳ τε παιδευθέντες νομοθέτῃ τὰ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἄσκησιν ἀρετῆς πόσους τε πολέμους ἐν μακροῖς πολεμήσαντες χρόνοις εἰς τὸν τελευταῖον ἄκοντες πρὸς Ῥωμαίους κατέστησαν. [7] ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειδὴ μείζων ἦν ἡ τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου περιβολή, κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον χωρίσας ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀρχαῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ τέλει τὴν γραφὴν συνεμέτρησα: χρόνου δὲ προι¨όντος, ὅπερ φιλεῖ τοῖς μεγάλων ἅπτεσθαι διανοουμένοις, ὄκνος μοι καὶ μέλλησις ἐγίνετο τηλικαύτην μετενεγκεῖν ὑπόθεσιν εἰς ἀλλοδαπὴν ἡμῖν καὶ ξένην διαλέκτου συνήθειαν. [8] ἦσαν δέ τινες, οἳ πόθῳ τῆς ἱστορίας ἐπ᾽ αὐτήν με προύτρεπον, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ πάντων Ἐπαφρόδιτος ἀνὴρ ἅπασαν μὲν ἰδέαν παιδείας ἠγαπηκώς, διαφερόντως δὲ χαίρων ἐμπειρίαις πραγμάτων, ἅτε δὴ μεγάλοις μὲν αὐτὸς ὁμιλήσας πράγμασι καὶ τύχαις πολυτρόποις, ἐν ἅπασι δὲ θαυμαστὴν φύσεως ἐπιδειξάμενος ἰσχὺν καὶ προαίρεσιν ἀρετῆς ἀμετακίνητον. [9] τούτῳ δὴ πειθόμενος ὡς αἰεὶ τοῖς χρήσιμον ἢ καλόν τι πράττειν δυναμένοις συμφιλοκαλοῦντι καὶ ἐμαυτὸν αἰσχυνόμενος, εἰ δόξαιμι ῥαθυμίᾳ πλέον ἢ τῷ περὶ τὰ κάλλιστα χαίρειν πόνῳ, προθυμότερον ἐπερρώσθην, ἔτι κἀκεῖνα πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις λογισάμενος οὐ παρέργως, περί τε τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων εἰ

μεταδιδόναι τῶν τοιούτων ἤθελον, καὶ περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἴ τινες αὐτῶν γνῶναι τὰ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἐσπούδασαν.

(3) [10] Εὗρον τοίνυν, ὅτι Πτολεμαίων μὲν ὁ δεύτερος μάλιστα δὴ βασιλεὺς περὶ παιδείαν καὶ βιβλίων συναγωγὴν σπουδάσας ἐξαιρέτως ἐφιλοτιμήθη τὸν ἡμέτερον νόμον καὶ τὴν κατ᾽ αὐτὸν διάταξιν τῆς πολιτείας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν μεταβαλεῖν, [11] ὁ δὲ τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἀρχιερέων οὐδενὸς ἀρετῇ δεύτερος Ἐλεάζαρος τῷ προειρημένῳ βασιλεῖ ταύτης ἀπολαῦσαι τῆς ὠφελείας οὐκ ἐφθόνησε πάντως ἀντειπὼν ἄν, εἰ μὴ πάτριον ἦν ἡμῖν τὸ μηδὲν ἔχειν τῶν καλῶν ἀπόρρητον. [12] κἀμαυτῷ δὴ πρέπειν ἐνόμισα τὸ μὲν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως μιμήσασθαι μεγαλόψυχον, τῷ βασιλεῖ δὲ πολλοὺς ὁμοίως ὑπολαβεῖν καὶ νῦν εἶναι φιλομαθεῖς: οὐδὲ γὰρ πᾶσαν ἐκεῖνος ἔφθη λαβεῖν τὴν ἀναγραφήν, ἀλλὰ μόνα τὰ τοῦ νόμου παρέδοσαν οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξήγησιν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν: [13] μυρία δ᾽ ἐστὶ τὰ δηλούμενα διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων, ἅτε δὴ πεντακισχιλίων ἐτῶν ἱστορίας ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐμπεριειλημμένης, καὶ παντοῖαι μέν εἰσι παράλογοι περιπέτειαι, πολλαὶ δὲ τύχαι πολέμων καὶ στρατηγῶν ἀνδραγαθίαι καὶ πολιτευμάτων μεταβολαί. [14] τὸ σύνολον δὲ μάλιστά τις ἂν ἐκ ταύτης μάθοι τῆς ἱστορίας ἐθελήσας αὐτὴν διελθεῖν, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν θεοῦ γνώμῃ κατακολουθοῦσι καὶ τὰ καλῶς νομοθετηθέντα μὴ τολμῶσι παραβαίνειν πάντα κατορθοῦται πέρα πίστεως καὶ γέρας εὐδαιμονία πρόκειται παρὰ θεοῦ: καθ᾽ ὅσον δ᾽ ἂν ἀποστῶσι τῆς τούτων ἀκριβοῦς ἐπιμελείας, ἄπορα μὲν γίνεται τὰ πόριμα, τρέπεται δὲ εἰς συμφορὰς ἀνηκέστους ὅ τι ποτ᾽ ἂν ὡς ἀγαθὸν δρᾶν σπουδάσωσιν, [15] ἤδη τοίνυν τοὺς ἐντευξομένους τοῖς βιβλίοις παρακαλῶ τὴν γνώμην θεῷ προσανέχειν καὶ δοκιμάζειν τὸν ἡμέτερον νομοθέτην, εἰ τήν τε φύσιν ἀξίως αὐτοῦ κατενόησε καὶ τῇ δυνάμει πρεπούσας ἀεὶ τὰς πράξεις ἀνατέθεικε πάσης καθαρὸν τὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ φυλάξας λόγον τῆς παρ᾽ ἄλλοις ἀσχήμονος μυθολογίας: [16] καίτοι γε ὅσον ἐπὶ μήκει χρόνου καὶ παλαιότητι πολλὴν εἶχεν ἄδειαν ψευδῶν πλασμάτων: γέγονε γὰρ πρὸ ἐτῶν δισχιλίων, ἐφ᾽ ὅσον πλῆθος αἰῶνος οὐδ᾽ αὐτῶν οἱ ποιηταὶ τὰς γενέσεις τῶν θεῶν, μήτι γε τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράξεις ἢ τοὺς νόμους ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐτόλμησαν. [17] τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀκριβῆ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς προι¨ὼν ὁ λόγος κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν τάξιν σημανεῖ: τοῦτο γὰρ διὰ ταύτης ποιήσειν τῆς πραγματείας ἐπηγγειλάμην οὐδὲν προσθεὶς οὐδ᾽ αὖ παραλιπών.

(4) [18] Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντα σχεδὸν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ νομοθέτου σοφίας ἡμῖν ἀνήρτηται Μωυσέος, ἀνάγκη μοι βραχέα περὶ ἐκείνου προειπεῖν, ὅπως μή τινες τῶν ἀναγνωσομένων διαπορῶσι, πόθεν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος περὶ νόμων καὶ πράξεων ἔχων τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον φυσιολογίας κεκοινώνηκεν. [19] ἰστέον οὖν, ὅτι πάντων ἐκεῖνος ἀναγκαιότατον ἡγήσατο τῷ καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ μέλλοντι βίον οἰκονομήσειν καλῶς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νομοθετεῖν θεοῦ πρῶτον φύσιν κατανοῆσαι καὶ τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἐκείνου θεατὴν τῷ νῷ γενόμενον οὕτως παράδειγμα τὸ πάντων ἄριστον μιμεῖσθαι καθ᾽ ὅσον οἷόν τε καὶ πειρᾶσθαι κατακολουθεῖν. [20]

οὔτε γὰρ αὐτῷ ποτ᾽ ἂν γενέσθαι νοῦν ἀγαθὸν τῷ νομοθέτῃ ταύτης ἀπολειπομένῳ τῆς θέας, οὔτε τῶν γραφησομένων εἰς ἀρετῆς λόγον οὐδὲν ἀποβήσεσθαι τοῖς λαβοῦσιν, εἰ μὴ πρὸ παντὸς ἄλλου διδαχθεῖεν, ὅτι πάντων πατήρ τε καὶ δεσπότης ὁ θεὸς ὢν καὶ πάντα ἐπιβλέπων τοῖς μὲν ἑπομένοις αὐτῷ δίδωσιν εὐδαίμονα βίον, τοὺς ἔξω δὲ βαίνοντας ἀρετῆς μεγάλαις περιβάλλει συμφοραῖς. [21] τοῦτο δὴ παιδεῦσαι βουληθεὶς Μωυσῆς τὸ παίδευμα τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ πολίτας τῆς τῶν νόμων θέσεως οὐκ ἀπὸ συμβολαίων καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους δικαίων ἤρξατο τοῖς ἄλλοις παραπλησίως, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου κατασκευὴν τὰς γνώμας αὐτῶν ἀναγαγὼν καὶ πείσας, ὅτι τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἔργων τοῦ θεοῦ κάλλιστόν ἐσμεν ἄνθρωποι, ὅτε πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἔσχεν ὑπακούοντας, ῥᾳδίως ἤδη περὶ πάντων ἔπειθεν. [22] οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι νομοθέται τοῖς μύθοις ἐξακολουθήσαντες τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἁμαρτημάτων εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς τῷ λόγῳ τὴν αἰσχύνην μετέθεσαν καὶ πολλὴν ὑποτίμησιν τοῖς πονηροῖς ἔδωκαν: [23] ὁ δ᾽ ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης ἀκραιφνῆ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχοντα τὸν θεὸν ἀποφήνας ᾠήθη δεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκείνης πειρᾶσθαι μεταλαμβάνειν καὶ τοὺς μὴ ταῦτα φρονοῦντας μηδὲ μὴν πιστεύοντας ἀπαραιτήτως ἐκόλασε. [24] πρὸς ταύτην οὖν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐξέτασιν τοὺς ἀναγνωσομένους παρακαλῶ: φανεῖται γὰρ σκοπουμένοις οὕτως οὐδὲν οὔτ᾽ ἄλογον αὐτοῖς οὔτε πρὸς τὴν μεγαλειότητα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν ἀνάρμοστον: πάντα γὰρ τῇ τῶν ὅλων φύσει σύμφωνον ἔχει τὴν διάθεσιν, τὰ μὲν αἰνιττομένου τοῦ νομοθέτου δεξιῶς, τὰ δ᾽ ἀλληγοροῦντος μετὰ σεμνότητος, ὅσα δ᾽ ἐξ εὐθείας λέγεσθαι συνέφερε, ταῦτα ῥητῶς ἐμφανίζοντος. [25] τοῖς μέντοι βουλομένοις καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἑκάστου σκοπεῖν πολλὴ γένοιτ᾽ ἂν ἡ θεωρία καὶ λίαν φιλόσοφος, ἣν ἐγὼ νῦν μὲν ὑπερβάλλομαι, θεοῦ δὲ διδόντος ἡμῖν χρόνον πειράσομαι μετὰ ταύτην γράψαι τὴν πραγματείαν. [26] τρέψομαι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀφήγησιν ἤδη τῶν πραγμάτων μνησθεὶς πρότερον ὧν περὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου κατασκευῆς εἶπε Μωυσῆς: ταῦτα δ᾽ ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις εὗρον ἀναγεγραμμένα. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως:

Liber I

I

(1) [27] Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἔκτισεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. ταύτης δ' ὑπ' ὄψιν οὐκ ἐρχομένης, ἀλλὰ βαθεῖ μὲν κρυπτομένης σκότει, πνεύματος δ' αὐτὴν ἄνωθεν ἐπιθέοντος, γενέσθαι φῶς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ θεός. [28] καὶ γενομένου τούτου κατανοήσας τὴν ὅλην ὕλην διεχώρισε τό τε φῶς καὶ τὸ σκότος καὶ τῷ μὲν ὄνομα ἔθετο νύκτα, τὸ δὲ ἡμέραν ἐκάλεσεν ἑσπέραν τε καὶ ὄρθρον τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν προσαγορεύσας. [29] καὶ αὕτη μὲν ἂν εἷη πρώτη ἡμέρα, Μωυσῆς δ' αὐτὴν μίαν εἶπε: τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν ἱκανὸς μέν εἰμι ἀποδοῦναι καὶ νῦν, ἐπεὶ δ' ὑπέσχημαι τὴν αἰτιολογίαν πάντων ἰδίᾳ συγγραψάμενος παραδώσειν, εἰς τότε καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτῆς ἑρμηνείαν ἀναβάλλομαι. [30] μετὰ δὴ τοῦτο τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν ἡμερῶν τὸν οὐρανὸν τοῖς ὅλοις ἐπιτίθησιν, ὅτ' αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων διακρίνας κατ' αὐτὸν ἠξίωσε τετάχθαι, κρύσταλλόν τε περιπήξας αὐτῷ καὶ νότιον αὐτὸν καὶ ὑετώδη πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν δρόσων ὠφέλειαν ἁρμοδίως τῇ γῇ μηχανησάμενος. [31] τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἵστησι τὴν γῆν ἀναχέας περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν θάλασσαν: κατ' αὐτὴν δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν εὐθὺς φυτά τε καὶ σπέρματα γῆθεν ἀνέτειλε. τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ διακοσμεῖ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄστροις κινήσεις αὐτοῖς ἐπιστείλας καὶ δρόμους, οἷς ἂν αἱ τῶν ὡρῶν περιφοραὶ σημαίνοιντο. [32] πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ζῷά τε κατ' αὐτὴν νηκτὰ καὶ μετάρσια τὰ μὲν κατὰ βάθους τὰ δὲ δι' ἀέρος ἀνῆκε συνδησάμενος αὐτὰ κοινωνίᾳ καὶ μίξει γονῆς ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ συναύξεσθαι καὶ πλεονάζειν αὐτῶν τὴν φύσιν. τῇ δὲ ἕκτῃ ἡμέρᾳ δημιουργεῖ τὸ τῶν τετραπόδων γένος ἄρρεν τε καὶ θῆλυ ποιήσας: ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔπλασε. [33] καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἐξ ταῖς πάσαις ἡμέραις Μωυσῆς καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ φησὶ γενέσθαι, τῇ δὲ ἑβδόμῃ ἀναπαύσασθαι καὶ λαβεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων ἐκεχειρίαν, ὅθεν καὶ ἡμεῖς σχολὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πόνων κατὰ ταύτην ἄγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν προσαγορεύοντες αὐτὴν σάββατα: δηλοῖ δὲ ἀνάπαυσιν κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων διάλεκτον τοὔνομα.

(2) [34] Καὶ δὴ καὶ φυσιολογεῖν Μωυσῆς μετὰ τὴν ἑβδόμην ἤρξατο περὶ τῆς τἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς λέγων οὕτως: ἔπλασεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον χοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς λαβών, καὶ πνεῦμα ἐνῆκεν αὐτῷ καὶ ψυχήν. ὁ δ' ἄνθρωπος οὗτος Ἄδαμος ἐκλήθη: σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ γλῶτταν τὴν Ἑβραίων πυρρόν, ἐπειδήπερ ἀπὸ τῆς πυρρᾶς γῆς φυραθείσης ἐγεγόνει: τοιαύτη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ παρθένος γῆ καὶ ἀληθινή. [35] παρίστησι δὲ ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἀδάμῳ κατὰ γένη τὰ ζῷα θῆλύ τε καὶ ἄρρεν ἀποδειξάμενος καὶ τούτοις ὀνόματα τίθησιν, οἷς ἔτι καὶ νῦν καλοῦνται. βλέπων δὲ τὸν Ἄδαμον οὐκ ἔχοντα κοινωνίαν πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ καὶ συνδιαίτησιν, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν, ξενιζόμενον δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῴοις οὕτως ἔχουσι,

μίαν αὐτοῦ κοιμωμένου πλευρὰν ἐξελὼν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔπλασε γυναῖκα. [36] καὶ ὁ Ἄδαμος προσαχθεῖσαν αὐτὴν ἐγνώρισεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενομένην. ἔσσα δὲ καθ' Ἑβραίων διάλεκτον καλεῖται γυνή, τὸ δ' ἐκείνης ὄνομα τῆς γυναικὸς Εὔα ἦν: σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο πάντων μητέρα.

(3) [37] Φησὶ δὲ τὸν θεὸν καὶ παράδεισον πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολὴν καταφυτεῦσαι παντοίῳ τεθηλότα φυτῷ: ἐν τούτοις δ' εἶναι καὶ τῆς ζωῆς τὸ φυτὸν καὶ ἄλλο τὸ τῆς φρονήσεως, ᾗ διεγινώσκετο τί εἴη τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τί τὸ κακόν. [38] εἰς τοῦτον δὲ τὸν κῆπον εἰσαγαγόντα τόν τε Ἄδαμον καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα κελεῦσαι τῶν φυτῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. ἄρδεται δ' οὗτος ὁ κῆπος ὑπὸ ἑνὸς ποταμοῦ πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν γῆν περιρρέοντος, ὃς εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη σχίζεται. καὶ Φεισὼν μέν, σημαίνει δὲ πληθὺν τοὔνομα, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν φερόμενος ἐκδίδωσιν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων Γάγγης λεγόμενος, [39] Εὐφράτης δὲ καὶ Τίγρις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν ἀπίασι θάλασσαν: καλεῖται δὲ ὁ μὲν Εὐφράτης Φοράς, σημαίνει δὲ ἤτοι σκεδασμὸν ἢ ἄνθος, Τίγρις δὲ Διγλάθ, ἐξ οὗ φράζεται τὸ μετὰ στενότητος ὀξύ: Γηὼν δὲ διὰ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ῥέων δηλοῖ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐναντίας ἀναδιδόμενον ἡμῖν, ὃν δὴ Νεῖλον Ἕλληνες προσαγορεύουσιν.

(4) [40] Ὁ δὴ τοίνυν θεὸς τὸν Ἄδαμον καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τῶν μὲν ἄλλων φυτῶν ἐκέλευε γεύεσθαι, τοῦ δὲ τῆς φρονήσεως ἀπέχεσθαι, προειπὼν ἁψαμένοις ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὄλεθρον γενησόμενον. [41] ὁμοφωνούντων δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ τῶν ζῴων ἁπάντων ὄφις συνδιαιτώμενος τῷ τε Ἀδάμῳ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ φθονερῶς μὲν εἶχεν ἐφ' οἷς αὐτοὺς εὐδαιμονήσειν ᾤετο πεπεισμένους τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ παραγγέλμασιν, [42] οἰόμενος δὲ συμφορᾷ περιπεσεῖσθαι παρακούσαντας ἀναπείθει κακοήθως τὴν γυναῖκα γεύσασθαι τοῦ φυτοῦ τῆς φρονήσεως ἐν αὐτῷ λέγων εἶναι τήν τε τἀγαθοῦ καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ διάγνωσιν, ἧς γενομένης αὐτοῖς μακάριον καὶ μηδὲν ἀπολείποντα τοῦ θείου διάξειν βίον. [43] καὶ παρακρούεται μὲν οὕτω τὴν γυναῖκα τῆς ἐντολῆς τοῦ θεοῦ καταφρονῆσαι: γευσαμένη δὲ τοῦ φυτοῦ καὶ ἡσθεῖσα τῷ ἐδέσματι καὶ τὸν Ἄδαμον ἀνέπεισεν αὐτῷ χρήσασθαι. [44] καὶ συνίεσάν τε αὐτῶν ἤδη γεγυμνωμένων καὶ τὴν αἰσχύνην ὕπαιθρον ἔχοντες σκέπην αὐτοῖς ἐπενόουν: τὸ γὰρ φυτὸν ὀξύτητος καὶ διανοίας ὑπῆρχε. φύλλοις οὖν ἑαυτοὺς συκῆς ἐσκέπασαν καὶ ταῦτα πρὸ τῆς αἰδοῦς προβαλόμενοι μᾶλλον ἐδόκουν εὐδαιμονεῖν ὡς ὧν πρότερον ἐσπάνιζον εὑρόντες. [45] τοῦ θεοῦ δ' εἰς τὸν κῆπον ἐλθόντος ὁ μὲν Ἄδαμος πρότερον εἰς ὁμιλίαν αὐτῷ φοιτῶν συνειδὼς αὐτῷ τὴν ἀδικίαν ὑπεχώρει, τὸν δὲ θεὸν ἐξένιζε τὸ πραττόμενον καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπυνθάνετο, δι' ἣν πρότερον ἡδόμενος τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁμιλίᾳ νῦν φεύγει ταύτην καὶ περιίσταται. [46] τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν φθεγγομένου διὰ τὸ συγγινώσκειν ἑαυτῷ παραβάντι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόσταξιν "ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μέν, εἶπεν ὁ θεός, ἔγνωστο περὶ ὑμῶν, ὅπως βίον εὐδαίμονα καὶ κακοῦ παντὸς ἀπαθῆ βιώσετε μηδεμιᾷ ξαινόμενοι τὴν ψυχὴν φροντίδι, πάντων δ' ὑμῖν αὐτομάτων ὅσα πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ ἡδονὴν συντελεῖ κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνιόντων πρόνοιαν χωρὶς ὑμετέρου πόνου

καὶ ταλαιπωρίας, ὧν παρόντων γῆράς τε θᾶττον οὐκ ἂν ἐπέλθοι καὶ τὸ ζῆν ὑμῖν μακρὸν γένοιτο. [47] νῦν δ᾽ εἰς ταύτην μου τὴν γνώμην ἐνύβρισας παρακούσας τῶν ἐμῶν ἐντολῶν: οὐ γὰρ ἐπ᾽ ἀρετῇ τὴν σιωπὴν ἄγεις, [48] ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ συνειδότι πονηρῷ.᾽᾽ Ἄδαμος δὲ παρῃτεῖτο τῆς ἁμαρτίας αὐτὸν καὶ παρεκάλει τὸν θεὸν μὴ χαλεπαίνειν αὐτῷ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ γεγονότος αἰτιώμενος καὶ λέγων ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἐξαπατηθεὶς ἁμαρτεῖν, ἡ δ᾽ αὖ κατηγόρει τοῦ ὄφεως. [49] ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἧττονα γυναικείας συμβουλίας αὐτὸν γενόμενον ὑπετίθει τιμωρίᾳ, τὴν γῆν οὐκέτι μὲν οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀναδώσειν αὐτομάτως εἰπών, πονοῦσι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τριβομένοις τὰ μὲν παρέξειν, τῶν δ᾽ οὐκ ἀξιώσειν. Εὔαν δὲ τοκετοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐξ ὠδίνων ἀλγηδόσιν ἐκόλαζεν, ὅτι τὸν Ἄδαμον οἷς αὐτὴν ὁ ὄφις ἐξηπάτησε τούτοις παρακρουσαμένη συμφοραῖς περιέβαλεν. [50] ἀφείλετο δὲ καὶ τὸν ὄφιν τὴν φωνὴν ὀργισθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ κακοηθείᾳ τῇ πρὸς τὸν Ἄδαμον καὶ ἰὸν ἐντίθησιν ὑπὸ τὴν γλῶτταν αὐτῷ πολέμιον ἀποδείξας ἀνθρώποις καὶ ὑποθέμενος κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς φέρειν τὰς πληγάς, ὡς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τοῦ τε κακοῦ τοῦ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους κειμένου καὶ τῆς τελευτῆς ῥᾴστης τοῖς ἀμυνομένοις ἐσομένης, ποδῶν τε αὐτὸν ἀποστερήσας σύρεσθαι κατὰ τῆς γῆς ἰλυσπώμενον ἐποίησε. [51] καὶ ὁ μὲν θεὸς ταῦτα προστάξας αὐτοῖς πάσχειν μετοικίζει τὸν Ἄδαμον καὶ τὴν Εὔαν ἐκ τοῦ κήπου εἰς ἕτερον χωρίον.

II

(1) [52] Γίνονται δὲ αὐτοῖς παῖδες ἄρρενες δύο: προσηγορεύετο δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος Κάις, κτίσιν δὲ σημαίνει τοῦτο μεθερμηνευόμενον τοὔνομα, Ἄβελος δὲ ὁ δεύτερος, σημαίνει δὲ οὐθὲν τοῦτο: [53] γίνονται δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ θυγατέρες. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀδελφοὶ διαφόροις ἔχαιρον ἐπιτηδεύμασιν: Ἄβελος μὲν γὰρ ὁ νεώτερος δικαιοσύνης ἐπεμελεῖτο καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πραττομένοις παρεῖναι τὸν θεὸν νομίζων ἀρετῆς προενόει, ποιμενικὸς δ᾽ ἦν ὁ βίος αὐτῷ: Κάις δὲ τά τε ἄλλα πονηρότατος ἦν καὶ πρὸς τὸ κερδαίνειν μόνον ἀποβλέπων γῆν τε ἀροῦν ἐπενόησε πρῶτος καὶ κτείνει δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας: [54] θῦσαι τῷ θεῷ δόξαν αὐτοῖς ὁ μὲν Κάις τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γεωργίας καὶ φυτῶν καρποὺς ἐπήνεγκεν, Ἄβελος δὲ γάλα καὶ τὰ πρωτότοκα τῶν βοσκημάτων. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ταύτῃ μᾶλλον ἥδεται τῇ θυσίᾳ τοῖς αὐτομάτοις καὶ κατὰ φύσιν γεγονόσι τιμώμενος, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχὶ τοῖς κατ᾽ ἐπίνοιαν ἀνθρώπου πλεονέκτου βίᾳ πεφυκόσιν. [55] ἔνθεν ὁ Κάις παροξυνθεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ προτετιμῆσθαι τὸν Ἄβελον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κτείνει τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν αὐτοῦ ποιήσας ἀφανῆ λήσειν ὑπέλαβεν. ὁ δὲ θεὸς συνεὶς τὸ ἔργον ἦκε πρὸς τὸν Κάιν περὶ τἀδελφοῦ πυνθανόμενος, ποῖ ποτ᾽ εἴη: πολλῶν γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἰδεῖν ἡμερῶν τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον πάντα μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ βλέπων αὐτὸν ἀναστρεφόμενον. [56] ὁ δὲ Κάις ἀπορούμενος καὶ οὐκ ἔχων ὅ τι λέγοι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀμηχανεῖν μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφασκε τὸ πρῶτον ἐπὶ τἀδελφῷ μὴ

βλεπομένῳ, παροξυνθεὶς δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ λιπαρῶς ἐγκειμένου καὶ πολυπραγμονοῦντος οὐκ εἶναι παιδαγωγὸς καὶ φύλαξ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πραττομένων ἔλεγεν. [57] ὁ δὲ θεὸς τοὐντεῦθεν ἤλεγχεν ἤδη τὸν Κάιν φονέα τἀδελφοῦ γενόμενον καί “θαυμάζω, φησίν, εἰ περὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀγνοεῖς εἰπεῖν τί γέγονεν, [58] ὃν αὐτὸς ἀπολώλεκας.” τῆς μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τιμωρίας αὐτὸν ἠφίει θυσίαν ἐπιτελέσαντα καὶ δι᾽ αὐτῆς ἱκετεύσαντα μὴ λαβεῖν ὀργὴν αὐτῷ χαλεπωτέραν, ἐπάρατον δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐτίθει καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ τιμωρήσεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἑβδόμην ἠπείλησε γενεάν, καὶ τῆς γῆς αὐτὸν ἐκείνης ἐκβάλλει σὺν τῇ γυναικί. [59] τοῦ δὲ μὴ θηρίοις ἁλώμενος περιπέσῃ δεδιότος καὶ τοῦτον ἀπόληται τὸν τρόπον, ἐκέλευε μηδὲν ὑφορᾶσθαι σκυθρωπὸν ἀπὸ τοιαύτης αἰτίας, ἀλλ᾽ ἕνεκα τοῦ μηδὲν αὐτῷ ἐκ θηρίων γενέσθαι δεινὸν διὰ πάσης ἀδεῶς χωρεῖν γῆς: καὶ σημεῖον ἐπιβαλών, ᾧ γνώριμος ἂν εἴη, προσέταξεν ἀπιέναι.

(2) [60] Πολλὴν δ᾽ ἐπελθὼν γῆν ἱδρύεται μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς Κάις Ναΐ¨δα τόπον οὕτω καλούμενον καὶ αὐτόθι ποιεῖται τὴν κατοίκησιν, ἔνθ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ παῖδες ἐγένοντο: οὐκ ἐπὶ νουθεσίᾳ δὲ τὴν κόλασιν ἔλαβεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐξήσει τῆς κακίας, ἡδονὴν μὲν πᾶσαν ἐκπορίζων αὐτοῦ τῷ σώματι, κἂν μεθ᾽ ὕβρεως τῶν συνόντων δέῃ ταύτην ἔχειν: [61] αὔξων δὲ τὸν οἶκον πλήθει χρημάτων ἐξ ἁρπαγῆς καὶ βίας πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ λῃστείαν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας παρακαλῶν διδάσκαλος αὐτοῖς ὑπῆρχε πονηρῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, καὶ τὴν ἀπραγμοσύνην, ᾗ πρότερον συνέζων οἱ ἄνθρωποι, μέτρων ἐπινοίᾳ καὶ σταθμῶν μετεστήσατο ἀκέραιον αὐτοῖς ὄντα τὸν βίον ἐκ τῆς τούτων ἀμαθίας καὶ μεγαλόψυχον εἰς πανουργίαν περιαγαγών, [62] ὅρους τε γῆς πρῶτος ἔθετο καὶ πόλιν ἐδείματο καὶ τείχεσιν ὠχύρωσεν εἰς ταὐτὸν συνελθεῖν τοὺς οἰκείους καταναγκάσας. καὶ τὴν πόλιν δὲ ταύτην ἀπὸ Ἀνώχου τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου παιδὸς Ἄνωχαν ἐκάλεσεν. [63] Ἀνώχου δὲ Ἰαράδης υἱὸς ἦν, ἐκ δὲ τούτου Μαρουῆλος, οὗ γίνεται παῖς Μαθουσάλας, τοῦ δὲ Λάμεχος, ᾧ παῖδες ὑπῆρξαν ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἐκ δύο γυναικῶν αὐτῷ φύντες Σελλᾶς καὶ Ἄδας. [64] τούτων Ἰώβηλος μὲν ἐξ Ἄδας γεγονὼς σκηνὰς ἐπήξατο καὶ προβατείαν ἠγάπησεν, Ἰούβαλος δέ, ὁμομήτριος δ᾽ ἦν αὐτῷ, μουσικὴν ἤσκησε καὶ ψαλτήρια καὶ κιθάρας ἐπενόησεν, Ἰουβῆλος δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρας γεγονότων ἰσχύι πάντας ὑπερβαλὼν τὰ πολεμικὰ διαπρεπῶς μετῆλθεν ἐκ τούτων καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν τοῦ σώματος ἐκπορίζων, χαλκείαν τε πρῶτος ἐπενόησεν. [65] πατὴρ δὲ θυγατρὸς γενόμενος ὁ Λάμεχος Νοεμᾶς ὄνομα, ἐπεὶ τὰ θεῖα σαφῶς ἐξεπιστάμενος ἑώρα δίκην αὐτὸν ὑφέξοντα τῆς Κάιος ἀδελφοκτονίας μείζονα, τοῦτο ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ γυναιξὶν ἐποίησε φανερόν. [66] ἔτι δὲ ζῶντος Ἀδάμου Κάιος τοὺς ἐγγόνους πονηροτάτους συνέβη γενέσθαι κατὰ διαδοχὴν καὶ μίμησιν ἄλλον ἄλλου χείρονα τελευτῶντα: πρός τε γὰρ πολέμους εἶχον ἀκρατῶς καὶ πρὸς λῃστείαν ὡρμήκεσαν, ἄλλος δ᾽ εἴ τις ὀκνηρὸς ἦν πρὸς τὸ φονεύειν, ἄλλην ἀπόνοιαν ἦν θράσους ὑβρίζων καὶ πλεονεκτῶν.

(3) [67] Ἄδαμος δὲ ὁ πρῶτος ἐκ γῆς γενόμενος, ἀπαιτεῖ γὰρ ἡ διήγησις τὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον, Ἀβέλου μὲν ἐσφαγμένου, Κάιος δὲ διὰ τὸν ἐκείνου φόνον πεφευγότος, παιδοποιίας ἐφρόντιζε, καὶ δεινὸς εἶχεν αὐτὸν γενέσεως ἔρως ἔτη τριάκοντ᾽ ἤδη καὶ διακόσια ἠνυκότα τοῦ βίου, πρὸς οἷς ἕτερα ζήσας ἑπτακόσια τελευτᾷ. [68] γίνονται μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ παῖδες ἄλλοι τε πλείους καὶ Σῆθος: ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων μακρὸν ἂν εἴη λέγειν, πειράσομαι δὲ μόνα τὰ τῶν ἀπὸ Σήθου διελθεῖν: τραφεὶς γὰρ οὗτος καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς ἡλικίαν ἤδη καλὰ κρίνειν δυναμένην καὶ γενόμενος αὐτὸς ἄριστος μιμητὰς τῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀπογόνους κατέλιπεν. [69] οἱ δὲ πάντες ἀγαθοὶ φύντες γῆν τε τὴν αὐτὴν ἀστασίαστοι κατῴκησαν εὐδαιμονήσαντες μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς ἄχρι καὶ τελευτῆς δυσκόλου προσπεσόντος, σοφίαν τε τὴν περὶ τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τὴν τούτων διακόσμησιν ἐπενόησαν. [70] ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ μὴ διαφυγεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰ ηὑρημένα μηδὲ πρὶν εἰς γνῶσιν ἐλθεῖν φθαρῆναι, προειρηκότος ἀφανισμὸν Ἀδάμου τῶν ὅλων ἔσεσθαι τὸν μὲν κατ᾽ ἰσχὺν πυρὸς τὸν ἕτερον δὲ κατὰ βίαν καὶ πλῆθος ὕδατος, στήλας δύο ποιησάμενοι τὴν μὲν ἐκ πλίνθου τὴν ἑτέραν δὲ ἐκ λίθων ἀμφοτέραις ἐνέγραψαν τὰ εὑρημένα, [71] ἵνα καὶ τῆς πλινθίνης ἀφανισθείσης ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπομβρίας ἡ λιθίνη μείνασα παράσχῃ μαθεῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα δηλοῦσα καὶ πλινθίνην ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀνατεθῆναι. μένει δ᾽ ἄχρι δεῦρο κατὰ γῆν τὴν Σειρίδα.

III

(1) [72] Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἑπτὰ γενεὰς διέμειναν θεὸν ἡγούμενοι δεσπότην εἶναι τῶν ὅλων καὶ πάντα πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀποβλέποντες, εἶτα προϊόντος χρόνου μεταβάλλονται πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ἐκ τῶν πατρίων ἐθισμῶν μήτε τὰς νενομισμένας τιμὰς ἔτι τῷ θεῷ παρέχοντες μήτε τοῦ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους δικαίου ποιούμενοι λόγον, ἀλλ᾽ ἦν πρότερον εἶχον τῆς ἀρετῆς ζήλωσιν διπλασίονα τῆς κακίας τότ᾽ ἐπιδεικνύμενοι δι᾽ ὧν ἔπραττον: ἔνθεν ἑαυτοῖς τὸν θεὸν ἐξεπολέμωσαν. [73] πολλοὶ γὰρ ἄγγελοι θεοῦ γυναιξὶ συνιόντες ὑβριστὰς ἐγέννησαν παῖδας καὶ παντὸς ὑπερόπτας καλοῦ διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ δυνάμει πεποίθησιν: ὅμοια τοῖς ὑπὸ γιγάντων τετολμῆσθαι λεγομένοις ὑφ᾽ Ἑλλήνων καὶ οὗτοι δράσαι παραδίδονται. [74] Νῶχος δὲ τοῖς πραττομένοις ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν δυσχεραίνων καὶ τοῖς βουλεύμασιν ἀηδῶς ἔχων ἔπειθεν ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς πράξεις μεταφέρειν, ὁρῶν δ᾽ οὐκ ἐνδιδόντας, ἀλλ᾽ ἰσχυρῶς ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς τῶν κακῶν κεκρατημένους, δείσας μὴ καὶ φονεύσωσιν αὐτὸν μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων καὶ τῶν τούτοις συνοικουσῶν ἐξεχώρησε τῆς γῆς.

(2) [75] Ὁ δὲ θεὸς τοῦτον μὲν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἠγάπησε, κατεδίκαζε δ᾽ οὐκ ἐκείνων μόνων τῆς κακίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶν ὅσον ἦν ἀνθρώπινον τότε δόξαν αὐτῷ διαφθεῖραι καὶ ποιῆσαι γένος ἕτερον πονηρίας καθαρόν, ἐπιτεμόμενος αὐτῶν τὸν

βίον καὶ ποιήσας ἐτῶν οὐχ ὅσα πρότερον ἔζων, ἀλλ᾽ ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν, εἰς θάλασσαν τὴν ἤπειρον μετέβαλε. [76] καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἀφανίζονται πάντες, Νῶχος δὲ σώζεται μόνος ὑποθεμένου μηχανὴν αὐτῷ καὶ πόρον πρὸς σωτηρίαν τοῦ θεοῦ τοιαύτην: [77] λάρνακα τετράστεγον κατασκευάσας πηχῶν τὸ μῆκος τριακοσίων πεντήκοντα δὲ τὸ πλάτος καὶ τριάκοντα τὸ βάθος, εἰς ταύτην σὺν τῇ μητρὶ τῶν παίδων καὶ ταῖς τούτων γυναιξὶν ἀνέβη, τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐπικουρήσειν αὐτοῖς ἔμελλεν ἐνθέμενος, ζῷά τε παντοῖα πρὸς διατήρησιν τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν ἄρρενάς τε καὶ θηλείας συνεισβαλόμενος ἄλλα τε τούτων ἐπταπλασίονα τὸν ἀριθμόν. [78] ἦν δ᾽ ἡ λάρναξ τούς τε τοίχους καρτερὰ καὶ τὸν ὄροφον, ὡς μηδαμόθεν ἐπικλύζεσθαι μηδ᾽ ἡττᾶσθαι τῆς τοῦ ὕδατος βίας. καὶ Νῶχος μὲν οὕτως μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων διασώζεται. [79] ἦν δ᾽ αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπὸ Ἀδάμου δέκατος: Λαμέχου γάρ ἐστιν υἱός, οὗ πατὴρ ἦν Μαθουσάλας, οὗτος δὲ ἦν τοῦ Ἀνώχου τοῦ Ἰαρέδου, Μαλαήλου δὲ Ἰάρεδος ἐγεγόνει, ὃς ἐκ Καϊ̈νᾶ τεκνοῦται τοῦ Ἀνώσου σὺν ἀδελφαῖς πλείοσιν, Ἄνωσος δὲ Σήθου υἱὸς ἦν τοῦ Ἀδάμου:

(3) [80] Συνέβη δὲ τοῦτο τὸ πάθος κατὰ τὸ ἑξακοσιοστὸν ἔτος ἤδη Νώχου τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐν μηνὶ δευτέρῳ Δίῳ μὲν ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων λεγομένῳ, Μαρσουάνῃ δ᾽ ὑπὸ Ἑβραίων: οὕτω γὰρ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἦσαν διατεταχότες. [81] Μωυσῆς δὲ τὸν Νισᾶν, ὅς ἐστι Ξανθικός, μῆνα πρῶτον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑορταῖς ὥρισε κατὰ τοῦτον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοὺς Ἑβραίους προαγαγών: οὗτος δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς ἁπάσας τὰς εἰς τὸ θεῖον τιμὰς ἦρχεν, ἐπὶ μέντοι γε πράσεις καὶ ὠνὰς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην διοίκησιν τὸν πρῶτον κόσμον διεφύλαξε: τὴν δ᾽ ἐπομβρίαν ἄρξασθαί φησιν ἑβδόμῃ τοῦ προειρημένου μηνὸς καὶ εἰκάδι. [82] χρόνος δὲ οὗτος ἀπὸ Ἀδάμου τοῦ πρώτου γεγονότος ἐτῶν ὑπῆρχε δισχιλίων διακοσίων ἑξηκονταδύο. ἀναγέγραπται δὲ ὁ χρόνος ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις σημειουμένων μετὰ πολλῆς ἀκριβείας τῶν τότε καὶ τὰς γενέσεις τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὰς τελευτάς.

(4) [83] Ἀδάμῳ μὲν τριακοστῷ ἤδη καὶ διακοσιοστῷ ἔτει γεγονότι παῖς Σῆθος γίνεται, ὃς ἐνακόσια καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη ἐβίωσε. Σῆθος δὲ κατὰ πέμπτον καὶ διακοσιοστὸν ἔτος ἐγέννησεν Ἄνωσον, ὃς πέντε ζήσας ἔτη καὶ ἐνακόσια Καϊ̈νᾷ τῷ παιδὶ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν δίδωσι τεκνώσας αὐτὸν περὶ ἐνενηκοστὸν καὶ ἑκατοστὸν ἔτος: οὗτος ἐβίωσεν ἔτη δώδεκα πρὸς τοῖς ἐνακοσίοις. [84] Καϊ̈νᾶς δὲ βιοὺς δέκα καὶ ἐνακόσια Μαλαῆλον υἱὸν ἔσχεν ἔτει γενόμενον ἑβδομηκοστῷ καὶ ἑκατοστῷ. οὗτος ὁ Μαλαῆλος ζήσας πέντε καὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ ὀκτακόσια ἔτη ἐτελεύτησεν Ἰάρεδον καταλιπὼν υἱόν, ὃν ἔτος πέμπτον ἑξηκοστὸν καὶ ἑκατοστὸν γενόμενος ἐγέννησε. [85] τοῦτον εἰς ἐννέα καὶ ἑξήκοντα πρὸς τοῖς ἐνακοσίοις βιώσαντα Ἄνωχος υἱὸς διαδέχεται γεννηθεὶς περὶ ἔτη δύο καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ τυγχάνοντος. οὗτος ζήσας πέντε καὶ ἑξήκοντα πρὸς τοῖς τριακοσίοις ἀνεχώρησε πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, ὅθεν οὐδὲ τελευτὴν αὐτοῦ ἀναγεγράφασι. [86] Μαθουσάλας δὲ Ἀνώχου παῖς κατὰ ἔτος αὐτῷ γεγονὼς πέμπτον καὶ ἑξηκοστὸν καὶ ἑκατοστὸν Λάμεχον υἱὸν ἔσχε περὶ ἔτη

γεγονὼς ἑπτὰ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, ᾧ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρέδωκεν αὐτὸς αὐτὴν κατασχὼν ἐννέα καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἐνακοσίοις. [87] Λάμεχος δὲ ἄρξας ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑπτακοσίοις ἔτεσι Νῶχον τῶν πραγμάτων ἀποδείκνυσι προστάτην υἱόν, ὃς Λαμέχῳ γενόμενος ὄγδοον καὶ ὀγδοηκοστὸν καὶ ἑκατοστὸν ἔτος ἠνυκότι πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐνακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ἦρξε τῶν πραγμάτων. [88] ταῦτα συναγόμενα τὰ ἔτη τὸν προαναγεγραμμένον πληροῖ χρόνον. ἐξεταζέτω δὲ μηδεὶς τὰς τελευτὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τοῖς γὰρ αὐτῶν παισὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνων ἀπογόνοις παρεξέτεινον τὸν βίον, ἀλλὰ τὰς γενέσεις αὐτῶν μόνον ὁράτω.

(5) [89] Ἐπισημήναντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὕειν ἀρξαμένου τὸ ὕδωρ ἡμέραις τεσσαράκοντα ὅλαις κατεφέρετο, ὡς ἐπὶ πήχεις πεντεκαίδεκα τὴν γῆν ὑπερέχειν. καὶ τοῦτο ἦν τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ μὴ διασωθῆναι πλείονας φυγῆς ἀφορμὴν οὐκ ἔχοντας. [90] παυσαμένου δὲ τοῦ ὑετοῦ μόλις ἤρξατο ὑποβαίνειν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα, ὡς μηνὶ ἑβδόμῳ, ἱσταμένου δὲ ἦν ἑβδόμη, κατ᾽ ὀλίγον ὑπονοστεῖν ἀπολήγοντος. ἔπειτα τῆς λάρνακος περὶ ἄκραν τινὰ ὄρους σταθείσης κατὰ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν συνεὶς ὁ Νῶχος ἀνοίγει τ᾽ αὐτὴν καὶ θεασάμενος γῆν βραχεῖαν περὶ αὐτὴν ἐπὶ χρηστοτέρας ἤδη γεγονὼς ἐλπίδος ἠρέμει. [91] ὀλίγαις δ᾽ ὕστερον ἡμέραις μᾶλλον ὑποχωροῦντος τοῦ ὕδατος μεθίησι κόρακα βουλόμενος μαθεῖν, εἴ τι καὶ ἄλλο τῆς γῆς ἐκλελειμμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀσφαλές ἐστιν ἤδη πρὸς ἔκβασιν: ὁ δὲ πᾶσαν εὑρὼν ἔτι λιμναζομένην πρὸς Νῶχον ἐπανῆλθε. μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ περιστερὰν ἐπὶ τῷ γνῶναι τὰ περὶ τὴν γῆν προύπεμψεν: [92] ἐπανελθούσης δὲ πεπηλωμένης ἅμα καὶ θαλλὸν ἐλαίας κομιζούσης, μαθὼν τὴν γῆν ἀπηλλαγμένην τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ μείνας ἄλλας ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας τά τε ζῷα τῆς λάρνακος ἐξαφίησιν αὐτός τε μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς προελθὼν καὶ θύσας τῷ θεῷ συνευωχεῖτο τοῖς οἰκείοις. ἀποβατήριον μέντοι τὸν τόπον τοῦτον Ἀρμένιοι καλοῦσιν: ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἀνασωθείσης τῆς λάρνακος ἔτι νῦν αὐτῆς τὰ λείψανα ἐπιδεικνύουσι.

(6) [93] Τοῦ δὲ κατακλυσμοῦ τούτου καὶ τῆς λάρνακος μέμνηνται πάντες οἱ τὰς βαρβαρικὰς ἱστορίας ἀναγεγραφότες, ὧν ἐστι Βηρωσὸς ὁ Χαλδαῖος: διηγούμενος γὰρ τὰ περὶ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν οὕτως που διέξεισι: “λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοῦ πλοίου ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει τῶν Κορδυαίων ἔτι μέρος τι εἶναι καὶ κομίζειν τινὰς τῆς ἀσφάλτου ἀφαιροῦντας: χρῶνται δ᾽ οἱ ἄνθρωποι τῷ κομιζομένῳ [94] πρὸς τοὺς ἀποτροπιασμούς.” μέμνηται δὲ τούτων καὶ Ἱερώνυμος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ὁ τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν τὴν Φοινικικὴν συγγραψάμενος καὶ Μνασέας δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους, καὶ Νικόλαος δὲ ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς ἐν τῇ ἐνενηκοστῇ καὶ ἕκτῃ βίβλῳ ἱστορεῖ περὶ αὐτῶν λέγων οὕτως: [95] “ἔστιν ὑπὲρ τὴν Μινυάδα μέγα ὄρος κατὰ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν Βάρις λεγόμενον, εἰς ὃ πολλοὺς συμφυγόντας ἐπὶ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ λόγος ἔχει περισωθῆναι καί τινα ἐπὶ λάρνακος ὀχούμενον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρώρειαν ὀκεῖλαι καὶ τὰ λείψανα τῶν ξύλων ἐπὶ πολὺ σωθῆναι. γένοιτο δ᾽ ἂν οὗτος, ὅντινα καὶ Μωυσῆς ἀνέγραψεν ὁ Ἰουδαίων νομοθέτης.”

(7) [96] Νῶχος δὲ φοβούμενος, μὴ καθ᾽ ἕκαστον ἔτος ἐπικλύζῃ τὴν γῆν ὁ θεὸς φθορὰν ἀνθρώπων καταψηφισάμενος, ἱερὰ καύσας ἐδεῖτο τὸν θεὸν τοῦ λοιποῦ ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης μένειν εὐταξίας καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι τοιοῦτον ἐπενεγκεῖν πάθος, ὑφ᾽ οὗ κινδυνεύσει πᾶν ἀπολέσθαι τὸ τῶν ζῴων γένος, ἀλλὰ τετιμωρημένον τοὺς πονηροὺς φειδὼ ποιεῖσθαι τῶν διὰ χρηστότητα περιλειφθέντων καὶ τὸ δεινὸν διαφυγεῖν κεκριμένων: [97] κακοδαιμονεστέρους γὰρ ἐκείνων ἔσεσθαι καὶ χείρω κακίαν καταδικασθέντας, εἰ μὴ πρὸς τὸ παντελὲς εἶεν σεσωσμένοι, τηρηθεῖεν δ᾽ ἑτέρῳ κατακλυσμῷ, τοῦ μὲν πρώτου τὸν φόβον καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν μαθόντες τοῦ δευτέρου δὲ τὴν ἀπώλειαν. [98] εὐμενῶς τε οὖν αὐτὸν προσδέχεσθαι τὴν θυσίαν παρεκάλει καὶ μηδεμίαν ὀργὴν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ὁμοίαν βαλεῖν, ὅπως ἔργοις τε τοῖς ταύτης προσλιπαροῦντες καὶ πόλεις ἀναστήσαντες εὐδαιμόνως ζῆν ἔχοιεν καὶ μηδενὸς ὧν καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐπομβρίας ἀπέλαυον ὑστερῶσιν ἀγαθῶν, εἰς μακρὸν αὐτῶν γῆρας καὶ βίου μῆκος ὅμοιον τοῖς τάχιον ἐπερχομένων.

(8) [99] Νώχου δὲ ταύτας ποιησαμένου τὰς ἱκετείας ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀγαπῶν ἐπένευεν αὐτῷ τὰς εὐχὰς εἰς τέλος ἄξειν, οὔτε τοὺς διεφθαρμένους λέγων αὐτὸς ἀπολέσαι, κακίᾳ δὲ τῇ οἰκείᾳ ταύτην αὐτοὺς ὑποσχεῖν τὴν δίκην, οὔτ᾽ ἄν, εἰ γενομένους ἀνθρώπους ἀφανίσαι διεγνώκει, παραγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν βίον, [100] σῶφρον γὰρ εἶναι τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς μηδὲ χαρίσασθαι τὸ ζῆν ἢ δόντα τοῦτο διαφθείρειν: ἀλλ᾽ οἷς ἐξύβριζον εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ ἀρετήν, τούτοις ἐξεβιάσαντό με ταύτην αὐτοῖς ἐπιθεῖναι τὴν δίκην. [101] παύσομαι δὲ τοῦ λοιποῦ μετὰ τοσαύτης ὀργῆς τὰς τιμωρίας ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν εἰσπραττόμενος καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον σοῦ παρακαλοῦντος. εἰ δ᾽ ἐπὶ πλέον ποτὲ χειμάσαιμι, μὴ δείσητε τῶν ὄμβρων τὸ μέγεθος: οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τὴν γῆν ἐπικλύσει τὸ ὕδωρ. [102] παραινῶ μέντοι σφαγῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ καθαρεύειν φόνου τοὺς δράσαντάς τι τοιοῦτον κολάζοντας, χρῆσθαι δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῴοις ἅπασι πρὸς ἃ βούλεσθε καὶ τὰς ὀρέξεις ἔχετε. δεσπότας γὰρ ἁπάντων ὑμᾶς εἶναι πεποίηκα τῶν τε χερσαίων καὶ νηκτῶν καὶ ὅσα τὴν μετάρσιον αἰώραν ἔχει καὶ φοράν, χωρὶς αἵματος: ἐν τούτῳ γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ψυχή. [103] σημανῶ δὲ ὑμῖν παῦλαν ἐσομένην τοξείᾳ τῇ ἐμῇ᾽ τὴν Ἶριν ἀποσημαίνων: τόξον γὰρ εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ παρὰ τοῖς ἐκεῖ νενόμισται. καὶ ὁ μὲν θεὸς ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν καὶ ὑποσχόμενος ἀπαλλάσσεται.

(9) [104] Νῶχος δὲ βιοὺς μετὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακόσια ἔτη καὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον εὐδαιμόνως διαγαγὼν τελευτᾷ ζήσας ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐνακοσίων καὶ πεντήκοντα. [105] μηδεὶς δὲ πρὸς τὸν νῦν βίον καὶ τὴν βραχύτητα τῶν ἐτῶν ἃ ζῶμεν συμβαλὼν τὸν τῶν παλαιῶν ψευδῆ νομιζέτω τὰ περὶ ἐκείνων λεγόμενα τῷ μηδένα νῦν τοσοῦτον ἐν τῷ βίῳ παρατείνειν χρόνον τεκμαιρόμενος μηδ᾽ ἐκείνους εἰς ἐκεῖνο τὸ μῆκος τῆς ζωῆς ἀφῖχθαι. [106] οἱ μὲν γὰρ θεοφιλεῖς ὄντες καὶ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ γενόμενοι καὶ διὰ τὰς τροφὰς ἐπιτηδειοτέρας πρὸς πλείονα χρόνον οὔσας εἰκότως ἔζων πλῆθος τοσοῦτον ἐτῶν: ἔπειτα καὶ δι᾽

ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν εὐχρηστίαν ὧν ἐπενόουν ἀστρονομίας καὶ γεωμετρίας πλεῖον ζῆν τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν, ἅπερ οὐκ ἦν ἀσφαλῶς αὐτοῖς προειπεῖν μὴ ζήσασιν ἑξακοσίους ἐνιαυτούς: διὰ τοσούτων γὰρ ὁ μέγας ἐνιαυτὸς πληροῦται. [107] μαρτυροῦσι δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ πάντες οἱ παρ᾽ Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις συγγραψάμενοι τὰς ἀρχαιολογίας: καὶ γὰρ καὶ Μανέθων ὁ τὴν Αἰγυπτίων ποιησάμενος ἀναγραφὴν καὶ Βηρωσὸς ὁ τὰ Χαλδαι¨κὰ συναγαγὼν καὶ Μῶχός τε καὶ Ἑστιαῖος καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὁ Αἰγύπτιος Ἱερώνυμος οἱ τὰ Φοινικικὰ συγγραψάμενοι συμφωνοῦσι τοῖς ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ λεγομένοις, [108] Ἡσίοδός τε καὶ Ἑκαταῖος καὶ Ἑλλάνικος καὶ Ἀκουσίλαος καὶ πρὸς τούτοις Ἔφορος καὶ Νικόλαος ἱστοροῦσι τοὺς ἀρχαίους ζήσαντας ἔτη χίλια. περὶ μὲν τούτων, ὡς ἂν ἑκάστοις ᾖ φίλον, οὕτω σκοπείτωσαν.

IV

(1) [109] Οἱ δὲ Νώχου παῖδες τρεῖς ὄντες Σημᾶς καὶ Ἰαφθᾶς καὶ Χαμᾶς ἔτεσιν ἑκατὸν ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ἐπομβρίας γεγονότες, πρῶτοι κατελθόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν εἰς τὰ πεδία τὴν ἐν τούτοις οἴκησιν ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους σφόδρα δεδιότας διὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν τὰ πεδία καὶ ὀκνηρῶς ἔχοντας πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑψηλῶν τόπων κατάβασιν ἔπεισαν θαρσήσαντας μιμητὰς αὐτῶν γενέσθαι. [110] καὶ τὸ μὲν πεδίον, εἰς ὃ πρῶτον αὐτοὺς κατῴκισαν, καλεῖται Σεναάρ: τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος αὐτοὺς διὰ πολυανθρωπίαν στέλλειν ἀποικίας, ἵνα μὴ στασιάζοιεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀλλὰ γῆν πολλὴν γεωργοῦντες ἀφθονίας ἀπολαύοιεν τῶν καρπῶν, ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας παρήκουσαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο συμφοραῖς περιπεσόντες ᾔσθοντο τῆς ἁμαρτίας: [111] ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἤνθουν νεότητος πλήθει, πάλιν ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς συνεβούλευσε ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀποικίαν: οἱ δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὴν εὐμένειαν τὴν ἐκείνου νομίζοντες ἔχειν τὰ ἀγαθά, τὴν δ᾽ ἰσχὺν αὐτοῖς τὴν οἰκείαν αἰτίαν τῆς εὐπορίας ὑπολαμβάνοντες οὐκ ἐπείθοντο. [112] προσετίθεσαν δὲ τῷ παρακούειν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμης καὶ τὸ κατ᾽ ἐπιβουλὴν ὑπονοεῖν εἰς ἀποικίαν αὐτοὺς παρορμᾶν, ἵνα διαιρεθέντες εὐεπιχειρητότεροι γένωνται.

(2) [113] Ἐξῆρέ τε αὐτοὺς πρός τε ὕβριν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ καταφρόνησιν Ναβρώδης, ὃς υἱωνὸς μὲν ἦν Χάμου τοῦ Νώχου, τολμηρὸς δὲ καὶ κατὰ χεῖρα γενναῖος: ἔπειθεν οὖν αὐτοὺς μὴ τῷ θεῷ διδόναι τὸ δι᾽ ἐκεῖνον εὐδαιμονεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν ταῦτα παρέχειν αὐτοῖς ἡγεῖσθαι, [114] καὶ περιίστα δὲ κατ᾽ ὀλίγον εἰς τυραννίδα τὰ πράγματα μόνως οὕτως νομίζων ἀποστήσειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῦ φόβου τοῦ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰ χρώμενοι τῇ αὐτοῦ δυνάμει διατελοῖεν, ἀμυνεῖσθαί τε τὸν θεὸν πάλιν ἠπείλει τὴν γῆν ἐπικλύσαι θελήσαντα: πύργον γὰρ οἰκοδομήσειν ὑψηλότερον ἢ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀναβῆναι δυνηθείη, μετελεύσεσθαι δὲ καὶ τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀπωλείας.

(3) [115] Τὸ δὲ πλῆθος πρόθυμον ἦν τοῖς Ναβρώδου ἔπεσθαι δόγμασι δουλείαν ἡγούμενοι τὸ εἴκειν τῷ θεῷ, καὶ τὸν πύργον ᾠκοδόμουν οὐδὲν ἀπολείποντες σπουδῆς οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον ὀκνηρῶς ἔχοντες: ἐλάμβανε δὲ θᾶττον ὕψος ἢ προσεδόκησεν ἄν τις ὑπὸ πολυχειρίας. [116] τὸ μέντοι πάχος ἦν ἰσχυρὸν τοσοῦτον, ὥσθ᾽ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ μειοῦσθαι τοῖς ὁρῶσι τὸ μῆκος. ᾠκοδομεῖτο δὲ ἐκ πλίνθου ὀπτῆς ἀσφάλτῳ συνδεδεμένης, ὡς ἂν μὴ περιρρέοι. οὕτως δὲ μεμηνότας αὐτοὺς ὁρῶν ὁ θεὸς ἀφανίσαι μὲν ἐκ παντὸς οὐκ ἔκρινεν, ὅτι μηδ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν πρώτων ἀπολωλότων σωφρονισθεῖεν, [117] εἰς στάσιν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐνέβαλεν ἀλλογλώσσους ἀπεργασάμενος καὶ ὑπὸ πολυφωνίας ποιήσας ἑαυτῶν ἀσυνέτους εἶναι. ὁ δὲ τόπος ἐν ᾧ τὸν πύργον ᾠκοδόμησαν νῦν Βαβυλὼν καλεῖται διὰ τὴν σύγχυσιν τοῦ περὶ τὴν διάλεκτον πρῶτον ἐναργοῦς: Ἑβραῖοι γὰρ τὴν σύγχυσιν βαβὲλ καλοῦσι. [118] περὶ δὲ τοῦ πύργου τούτου καὶ τῆς ἀλλοφωνίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων μέμνηται καὶ Σίβυλλα λέγουσα οὕτως: “πάντων ὁμοφώνων ὄντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων πύργον ᾠκοδόμησάν τινες ὑψηλότατον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβησόμενοι δι᾽ αὐτοῦ. οἱ δὲ θεοὶ ἀνέμους ἐπιπέμψαντες ἀνέτρεψαν τὸν πύργον καὶ ἰδίαν ἑκάστῳ φωνὴν ἔδωκαν: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Βαβυλῶνα συνέβη κληθῆναι τὴν πό [119] λιν.” περὶ δὲ τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ λεγομένου Σεναὰρ ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ χώρᾳ μνημονεύει Ἑστιαῖος λέγων οὕτως: “τῶν δὲ ἱερέων τοὺς διασωθέντας τὰ τοῦ Ἐνυαλίου Διὸς ἱερώματα λαβόντας εἰς Σεναὰρ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας ἐλθεῖν.”

V

(1) [120] Σκίδνανται δὴ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐντεῦθεν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀλλογλωσσίας τὰς ἀποικίας ποιησάμενοι πανταχοῦ, καὶ γῆν ἕκαστοι κατελάμβανον τὴν ἐντυχοῦσαν καὶ εἰς ἣν αὐτοὺς ἦγεν ὁ θεός, ὡς πληρωθῆναι πᾶσαν αὐτῶν ἤπειρον μεσόγεών τε καὶ παράλιον: εἰσὶ δ᾽ οἳ καὶ περαιωσάμενοι ναυσὶ τὰς νήσους κατῴκησαν. [121] καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἔνια μὲν διασώζει τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν κτισάντων κειμένας προσηγορίας, ἔνια δὲ καὶ μετέβαλεν, οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ σαφέστερον εἶναι δοκοῦν τοῖς παροικοῦσι τροπὴν ἔλαβον. Ἕλληνες δ᾽ εἰσὶν οἱ τούτου καταστάντες αἴτιοι: ἰσχύσαντες γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον ἰδίαν ἐποιήσαντο καὶ τὴν πάλαι δόξαν καλλωπίσαντες τὰ ἔθνη τοῖς ὀνόμασι πρὸς τὸ συνετὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ κόσμον θέμενοι πολιτείας ὡς ἀφ᾽ αὐτῶν γεγονόσιν.

VI

(1) [122] Ἦσαν δὲ τῶν Νώχου παίδων υἱοί, ὧν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῖς ἔθνεσι τὰ ὀνόματα ἐπετίθεσαν οἱ γῆν τινα καταλαβόντες. Ἰαφθᾶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Νώχου παιδὸς ἦσαν ἑπτὰ υἱοί. κατοικοῦσι δὲ οὗτοι ἀπὸ Ταύρου καὶ Ἀμάνου τῶν ὀρῶν ἀρξάμενοι καὶ προῆλθον ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς Ἀσίας ἄχρι ποταμοῦ Τανάιδος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἕως

Γαδείρων γῆν ἣν ἔτυχον καταλαμβάνοντες, καὶ μηδενὸς προκατῳκηκότος τὰ ἔθνη τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐκάλουν ὀνόμασιν. [123] τοὺς γὰρ νῦν ὑφ᾽ Ἑλλήνων Γαλάτας καλουμένους, Γομαρεῖς δὲ λεγομένους, Γόμαρος ἔκτισε. Μαγώγης δὲ τοὺς ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ Μαγώγας ὀνομασθέντας ᾤκισεν, Σκύθας δὲ ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν προσαγορευομένους. [124] τῶν δὲ Ἰαφθᾶ παίδων Ἰαυάνου καὶ Μάδου ἀπὸ μὲν τούτου Μαδαῖοι γίνονται ἔθνος, οἳ πρὸς Ἑλλήνων Μῆδοι κέκληνται, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰαυάνου Ἰωνία καὶ πάντες Ἕλληνες γεγόνασι. κατοικίζει δὲ καὶ Θεοβήλους Θεόβηλος, οἵτινες ἐν τοῖς νῦν Ἴβηρες καλοῦνται. [125] καὶ Μεσχῆνοι δὲ ὑπὸ Μέσχου κτισθέντες Καππάδοκες μὲν ἄρτι κέκληνται, τῆς δὲ ἀρχαίας αὐτῶν προσηγορίας σημεῖον δείκνυται: πόλις γάρ ἐστι παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἔτι καὶ νῦν Μάζακα, δηλοῦσα τοῖς συνιέναι δυναμένοις οὕτως ποτὲ προσαγορευθὲν πᾶν τὸ ἔθνος. Θείρης δὲ Θείρας μὲν ἐκάλεσεν ὧν ἦρξεν, Ἕλληνες δὲ Θρᾷκας αὐτοὺς μετωνόμασαν. [126] καὶ τοσαῦτα μὲν ἔθνη ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰαφέθου παίδων κατοικεῖται: Γομάρου δὲ τριῶν υἱῶν γενομένων Ἀσχανάξης μὲν Ἀσχανάξους ᾤκισεν, οἳ νῦν Ῥήγινες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καλοῦνται, Ῥιφάθης δὲ Ῥιφαθαίους τοὺς Παφλαγόνας λεγομένους, Θυγράμης δὲ Θυγραμαίους, οἳ δόξαν Ἕλλησι Φρύγες ὠνομάσθησαν. [127] Ἰαυάνου δὲ τοῦ Ἰάφθου τριῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ παίδων γενομένων Ἀλισᾶς μὲν Ἀλισαίους ἐκάλεσεν ὧν ἦρχεν, Αἰολεῖς δὲ νῦν εἰσι, Θάρσος δὲ Θαρσεῖς: οὕτως γὰρ ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ παλαιὸν ἡ Κιλικία. σημεῖον δέ: Ταρσὸς γὰρ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς τῶν πόλεων ἡ ἀξιολογωτάτη καλεῖται μητρόπολις οὖσα τὸ ταῦ πρὸς τὴν κλῆσιν ἀντὶ τοῦ θῆτα μεταβαλόντων. [128] Χέθιμος δὲ Χέθιμα τὴν νῆσον ἔσχε, Κύπρος αὕτη νῦν καλεῖται, καὶ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς νῆσοί τε πᾶσαι καὶ τὰ πλείω τῶν παρὰ θάλατταν Χέθη ὑπὸ Ἑβραίων ὀνομάζεται: μάρτυς δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ μία τῶν ἐν Κύπρῳ πόλεων ἰσχύσασα τὴν προσηγορίαν φυλάξαι: Κίτιον γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξελληνισάντων αὐτὴν καλεῖται μηδ᾽ οὕτως διαφυγοῦσα τοῦ Χεθίμου τὸ ὄνομα. Ἰαφθᾶ μὲν δὴ παῖδές τε καὶ υἱωνοὶ τοσαῦτα ἔσχον ἔθνη. [129] ὃ δ᾽ ἴσως ὑφ᾽ Ἑλλήνων ἀγνοεῖται, τοῦτο προειπὼν τρέψομαι πρὸς τὴν ἀφήγησιν ὧν κατέλιπον. τὰ γὰρ ὀνόματα διὰ τὸ τῆς γραφῆς εὐπρεπὲς ἡλλήνισται πρὸς ἡδονὴν τῶν ἐντευξομένων: οὐ γὰρ ἐπιχώριος ἡμῖν ὁ τοιοῦτος αὐτῶν τύπος, ἀλλ᾽ ἕν τε αὐτῶν σχῆμα καὶ τελευτὴ μία, Νῶχός τέ τοι Νῶε καλεῖται καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τύπον ἐπὶ παντὸς τηρεῖ σχήματος.

(2) [130] Οἱ δὲ Χάμου παῖδες τὴν ἀπὸ Συρίας καὶ Ἀμάνου καὶ Λιβάνου τῶν ὀρῶν γῆν κατέσχον, ὅσα πρὸς θάλασσαν αὐτῆς ἐτέτραπτο καταλαβόντες καὶ τὰ μέχρι τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ ἐξιδιωσάμενοι: αἱ μέντοι προσηγορίαι τῶν μὲν καὶ παντελῶς ἐξίτηλοι γεγόνασιν, ἐνίων δὲ μεταβαλοῦσαι καὶ μεταρρυθμισθεῖσαι πρὸς ἑτέρας δύσγνωστοι τυγχάνουσιν, ὀλίγοι δὲ οἱ φυλάξαντες ἀκεραίους τὰς προσηγορίας ὑπάρχουσι. [131] τεσσάρων γὰρ Χάμου παίδων γενομένων Χουσαῖον μὲν οὐδὲν ἔβλαψεν ὁ χρόνος: Αἰθίοπες γὰρ ὧν ἦρξεν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ ἑαυτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πάντων Χουσαῖοι καλοῦνται. [132] ἐτηρήθη δὲ καὶ Μερσαίοις ἡ κατὰ τὴν

προσηγορίαν μνήμη: τὴν γὰρ Αἴγυπτον Μέρσην καὶ Μερσαίους τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἅπαντες οἱ ταύτῃ καλοῦμεν. ἔκτισε δὲ καὶ Φούδης τὴν Λιβύην Φούτους ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καλέσας τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους. [133] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς ἐν τῇ Μαύρων χώρᾳ τοῦτο ἔχων τὸ ὄνομα, ὅθεν καὶ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἱστοριογράφων ἔστιν ἰδεῖν μεμνημένους τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς παρακειμένης αὐτῷ χώρας Φούτης λεγομένης. μετέβαλε δὲ ὃ νῦν αὐτῇ ἐστιν ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῶν Μεσράμου υἱῶν Λίβυος λεγομένου: μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δ᾽ ἐροῦμεν τὴν αἰτίαν, δι᾽ ἣν αὐτὴν καὶ Ἀφρικὴν προσαγορεύεσθαι συμβέβηκε. [134] Χαναναῖος δὲ τέταρτος ὢν Χάμου παῖς τὴν νῦν Ἰουδαίαν καλουμένην οἰκίσας ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ Χαναναίαν προσηγόρευσεν. γίνονται δὲ παῖδες ἐξ αὐτῶν Χούσου μὲν ἕξ, ὧν Σάβας μὲν Σαβαίους, Εὐίλας δὲ Εὐιλαίους ἔκτισεν, οἳ νῦν Γαιτοῦλοι λέγονται, Σαβάθης δὲ Σαβαθηνούς, ὀνομάζονται δὲ Ἀστάβαροι παρ᾽ Ἕλλησιν: [135] οἰκίζει δὲ καὶ Σαβάκτας Σαβακτηνούς: Ῥάμος δὲ Ῥαμαίους ᾤκισε καὶ δύο παῖδας ἔσχεν, ὧν Ἰουδάδας μὲν Ἰουδαδαίους Αἰθιοπικὸν ἔθνος τῶν ἑσπερίων οἰκίσας ἐπωνύμους αὐτῷ κατέλιπε, Σαβαίους δὲ Σαβαῖος: Ναβρώδης δὲ Χούσου υἱὸς ὑπομείνας παρὰ Βαβυλωνίοις ἐτυράννησεν, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται. [136] τῶν δὲ Μεσραίου παίδων ὀκτὼ γενομένων οἱ πάντες τὴν ἀπὸ Γάζης ἕως Αἰγύπτου γῆν κατέσχον, μόνου δὲ Φυλιστίνου τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἡ χώρα διεφύλαξε: Παλαιστίνην γὰρ οἱ Ἕλληνες αὐτοῦ τὴν μοῖραν καλοῦσι. [137] τῶν δὲ ἄλλων, Λουμαίου καὶ Ἀναμία καὶ Λαβίμου τοῦ μόνου κατοικήσαντος ἐν Λιβύῃ καὶ ᾧδε τὴν χώραν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καλέσαντος, Νεδέμου τε καὶ Πεθρωσίμου καὶ Χεσλοίμου καὶ Χεφθώμου πέρα τῶν ὀνομάτων οὐδὲν ἴσμεν: ὁ γὰρ Αἰθιοπικὸς πόλεμος, περὶ οὗ δηλώσομεν ὕστερον, ἀναστάτους αὐτῶν τὰς πόλεις ἐποίησεν. [138] ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ Χαναναίου παῖδες, Σιδώνιος, ὃς καὶ πόλιν ἐπώνυμον ἔκτισεν ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ, Σιδὼν δ᾽ ὑφ᾽ Ἑλλήνων καλεῖται: Ἀμαθοῦς δὲ Ἀμάθουν κατῴκισεν, ἥτις ἔστι καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Ἀμάθη καλουμένη, Μακεδόνες δ᾽ αὐτὴν Ἐπιφάνειαν ἀφ᾽ ἑνὸς τῶν ἐπιγόνων ἐπωνόμασαν: Ἀρουδαῖος δὲ Ἄραδον τὴν νῆσον ἔσχεν: Ἀρουκαῖος δὲ Ἄρκην τὴν ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ. [139] τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἑπτά, Εὐαίου Χετταίου Ἰεβουσαίου Ἀμορραίου Γεργεσαίου Σεναίου Σαμαραίου, πλὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις οὐδὲν ἔχομεν: Ἑβραῖοι γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀνέστησαν τὰς πόλεις ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας ἐν συμφορᾷ γενομένας:

(3) [140] Νῶχος μετὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν τῆς γῆς κατασταθείσης εἰς τὴν αὐτῆς φύσιν ἐπ᾽ ἔργα χωρεῖ καὶ καταφυτεύσας αὐτὴν ἀμπέλοις, ἡνίκα τοῦ καρποῦ τελεσφορηθέντος καθ᾽ ὥραν ἐτρύγησε καὶ παρῆν εἰς χρῆσιν ὁ οἶνος, θύσας ἐν εὐωχίαις ἦν. [141] μεθυσθεὶς δὲ εἰς ὕπνον καταφέρεται καὶ γεγυμνωμένος παρακόσμως ἔκειτο. θεασάμενος δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ νεώτατος τῶν παίδων τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐπιγελῶν δείκνυσιν: οἱ δὲ περιστέλλουσι τὸν πατέρα. [142] καὶ Νῶχος αἰσθόμενος τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις παισὶν εὐδαιμονίαν εὔχεται, τῷ δὲ Χαμᾷ διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν αὐτῷ μὲν οὐ κατηράσατο, τοῖς δ᾽ ἐγγόνοις αὐτοῦ: καὶ τῶν ἄλλων διαπεφευγότων

τὴν ἀρὰν τοὺς Χαναναίου παῖδας μέτεισιν ὁ θεός. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς ἐροῦμεν.

(4) [143] Σημᾷ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν Νώχου υἱῶν πέντε γίνονται παῖδες, οἳ τὴν μέχρι τοῦ κατ᾽ Ἰνδίαν ὠκεανοῦ κατοικοῦσιν Ἀσίαν ἀπ᾽ Εὐφράτου τὴν ἀρχὴν πεποιημένοι. Ἔλυμος μὲν γὰρ Ἐλυμαίους Περσῶν ὄντας ἀρχηγέτας κατέλιπεν: Ἀσσούρας δὲ Νίνον οἰκίζει πόλιν καὶ τοὺς ὑπηκόους Ἀσσυρίους ἐπωνόμασεν, οἳ μάλιστα εὐδαιμόνησαν: [144] Ἀρφαξάδης δὲ τοὺς νῦν Χαλδαίους καλουμένους Ἀρφαξαδαίους ὠνόμασεν ἄρξας αὐτῶν: Ἀραμαίους δὲ Ἄραμος ἔσχεν, οὓς Ἕλληνες Σύρους προσαγορεύουσιν: οὓς δὲ Λυδοὺς νῦν καλοῦσι, Λούδους δὲ τότε, Λούδας ἔκτισε. [145] τῶν δὲ Ἀράμου παίδων τεσσάρων ὄντων Οὔσης μὲν κτίζει τὴν Τραχωνῖτιν καὶ Δαμασκόν, μέση δ᾽ ἐστὶ τῆς Παλαιστίνης καὶ κοίλης Συρίας: Ἀρμενίαν δὲ Ὄτρος, καὶ Γεθέρης Βακτριανούς, Μήσας δὲ Μησαναίους, Σπασίνου Χάραξ ἐν τοῖς νῦν καλεῖται. [146] Ἀρφαξάδου δὲ παῖς γίνεται Σάλης, τοῦ δὲ Ἔβερος, ἀφ᾽ οὗ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους Ἑβραίους ἀρχῆθεν ἐκάλουν: Ἔβερος δὲ Ἰούκταν καὶ Φάλεγον ἐγέννησεν: ἐκλήθη δὲ Φάλεγος, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὸν ἀποδασμὸν τῶν οἰκήσεων τίκτεται: φαλὲκ γὰρ τὸν μερισμὸν Ἑβραῖοι καλοῦσιν. [147] Ἰούκτᾳ δὲ τῶν Ἑβέρου παίδων ἦσαν υἱοὶ Ἐλμόδαδος Σάλεφος Ἀζερμώθης Εἰράης Ἐδώραμος Οὐζάλης Δαήλης Ἤβαλος Ἀβιμάηλος Σάφας Ὀφίρης Εὐίλης Ἰόβηλος. οὗτοι ἀπὸ Κωφῆνος ποταμοῦ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς καὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτῇ Σηρίας τινὰ κατοικοῦσι. ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τῶν Σημᾶ παίδων ἱστορήσθω.

(5) [148] Ποιήσομαι δὲ περὶ Ἑβραίων τὸν λόγον: Φαλέγου γὰρ τοῦ Ἑβέρου γίνεται παῖς Ῥεούς: τούτου δὲ Σεροῦγος, ᾧ Ναχώρης υἱὸς τίκτεται: τούτου δὲ Θέρρος: πατὴρ δὲ οὗτος Ἀβράμου γίνεται, ὃς δέκατος μέν ἐστιν ἀπὸ Νώχου, δευτέρῳ δ᾽ ἔτει καὶ ἐνενηκοστῷ πρὸς ἐνακοσίοις μετὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν ἐγένετο. [149] Θέρρος μὲν γὰρ ἑβδομηκοστῷ ποιεῖται τὸν Ἄβραμον: Ναχώρης δὲ Θέρρον εἰκοστὸν αὐτὸς [ἔτος] καὶ ἑκατοστὸν ἤδη γεγονὼς ἐγέννησε: Σερούγῳ δὲ Ναχώρης τίκτεται περὶ ἔτος δεύτερον καὶ τριακοστὸν καὶ ἑκατοστόν: Ῥοῦμος δὲ Σεροῦγον ἔτη τριάκοντα γεγονὼς πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν: ἐν δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔτεσι καὶ Ῥοῦμον Φάλεγος ἔσχεν: [150] Ἔβερος δὲ τετάρτῳ καὶ τριακοστῷ πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν γεννᾷ Φάλεγον γεννηθεὶς αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Σέλου τριακοστὸν ἔτος ἔχοντος καὶ ἑκατοστόν, ὃν Ἀρφάξαδος ἐτέκνωσε κατὰ πέμπτον καὶ τριακοστὸν ἔτος πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν: Σημᾷ δὲ υἱὸς Ἀρφαξάδης ἦν μετὰ ἔτη δώδεκα τῆς ἐπομβρίας γενόμενος. [151] Ἄβραμος δὲ εἶχεν ἀδελφοὺς Ναχώρην καὶ Ἀράνην: τούτων Ἀράνης μὲν υἱὸν καταλιπὼν Λῶτον καὶ Σάρραν καὶ Μελχὰν θυγατέρας ἐν Χαλδαίοις ἀπέθανεν ἐν πόλει Οὐρῇ λεγομένῃ τῶν Χαλδαίων, καὶ τάφος αὐτοῦ μέχρι νῦν δείκνυται. γαμοῦσι δὲ τὰς ἀδελφιδὰς Μελχὰν μὲν Ναχώρης Σάρραν δὲ Ἄβραμος. [152] Θέρρου δὲ μισήσαντος τὴν Χαλδαίαν διὰ τὸ Ἀράνου πένθος μετοικίζονται πάντες εἰς Χαρρὰν τῆς Μεσοποταμίας, ὅπου καὶ Θέρρον τελευτήσαντα θάπτουσιν ἔτη βιώσαντα πέντε καὶ διακόσια: συνετέμνετο γὰρ

ἤδη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ ζῆν καὶ βραχύτερον ἐγίνετο μέχρι τῆς Μωυσέος γενέσεως, μεθ᾽ ὃν ὅρος ἦν τοῦ ζῆν ἑκατὸν ἔτη πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι τοσαῦθ᾽ ὁρίσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅσα καὶ Μωυσεῖ συνέβη βιῶναι. [153] Ναχώρῃ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῆς Μελχᾶς ὀκτὼ παῖδες ἐγένοντο, Οὖξος Βαοῦξος Μαουῆλος Ζάχαμος Ἀζαοῦος Ἰαδελφᾶς Ἰαδαφᾶς Βαθουῆλος: οὗτοι μὲν Ναχώρου παῖδες γνήσιοι: Ταβαῖος γὰρ καὶ Γάδαμος καὶ Τααῦος καὶ Μαχᾶς ἐκ Ῥούμας παλλακῆς αὐτῷ γεγόνασι. Βαθουήλῳ δὲ τῶν Ναχώρου γνησίων παίδων γίνεται Ῥεβέκκα θυγάτηρ καὶ Λάβανος υἱός.

VII

(1) [154] Ἄβραμος δὲ Λῶτον τὸν Ἀράνου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ υἱὸν τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Σάρρας ἀδελφὸν εἰσεποιήσατο γνησίου παιδὸς ἀπορῶν καὶ καταλείπει τὴν Χαλδαίαν ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε γεγονὼς ἔτη τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος εἰς τὴν Χαναναίαν μετελθεῖν, ἐν ᾗ κατῴκησε καὶ τοῖς ἀπογόνοις κατέλιπε δεινὸς ὢν συνεῖναί τε περὶ πάντων καὶ πιθανὸς τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις περί τε ὧν εἰκάσειεν οὐ διαμαρτάνων. [155] διὰ τοῦτο καὶ φρονεῖν μεῖζον ἐπ᾽ ἀρετῇ τῶν ἄλλων ἠργμένος καὶ τὴν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξαν, ἣν ἅπασι συνέβαινεν εἶναι, καινίσαι καὶ μεταβαλεῖν ἔγνω. πρῶτος οὖν τολμᾷ θεὸν ἀποφήνασθαι δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων ἕνα, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν εἰ καί τι πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν συντελεῖ κατὰ προσταγὴν τὴν τούτου παρέχειν ἕκαστον καὶ οὐ κατ᾽ οἰκείαν ἰσχύν. [156] εἰκάζεται δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης παθήμασι τοῖς τε περὶ τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς κατ᾽ οὐρανὸν συμβαίνουσι: δυνάμεως γὰρ αὐτοῖς παρούσης καὶ προνοῆσαι τῆς κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς εὐταξίας, ταύτης δ᾽ ὑστεροῦντας φανεροὺς γίνεσθαι μηδ᾽ ὅσα πρὸς τὸ χρησιμώτερον ἡμῖν συνεργοῦσι κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἐξουσίαν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ κελεύοντος ἰσχὺν ὑπουργεῖν, ᾧ καλῶς ἔχει μόνῳ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ἀπονέμειν. [157] δι᾽ ἅπερ Χαλδαίων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Μεσοποταμιτῶν στασιασάντων πρὸς αὐτὸν μετοικεῖν δοκιμάσας κατὰ βούλησιν καὶ βοήθειαν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν Χαναναίαν ἔσχε γῆν, ἱδρυθείς τε αὐτόθι βωμὸν ᾠκοδόμησε καὶ θυσίαν ἐτέλεσε τῷ θεῷ.

(2) [158] Μνημονεύει δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀβράμου Βηρωσός, οὐκ ὀνομάζων, λέγων δ᾽ οὕτως: “μετὰ δὲ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν δεκάτῃ γενεᾷ παρὰ Χαλδαίοις τις ἦν δίκαιος ἀνὴρ καὶ μέγας καὶ τὰ οὐράνια [159] ἔμπειρος.” Ἑκαταῖος δὲ καὶ τοῦ μνησθῆναι πλέον τι πεποίηκε: βιβλίον γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ συνταξάμενος κατέλιπε. Νικόλαος δὲ ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν λέγει οὕτως: “Ἀβράμης ἐβασίλευσεν ἔπηλυς σὺν στρατῷ ἀφιγμένος ἐκ τῆς γῆς τῆς ὑπὲρ Βαβυλῶνος Χαλδαίων λεγομένης. [160] μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον μεταναστὰς καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς χώρας σὺν τῷ σφετέρῳ λαῷ εἰς τὴν τότε μὲν Χαναναίαν λεγομένην νῦν δὲ Ἰουδαίαν μετῴκησε καὶ οἱ ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνου πληθύσαντες, περὶ ὧν ἐν ἑτέρῳ λόγῳ

διέξειμι τὰ ἱστορούμενα. τοῦ δὲ Ἀβράμου ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ Δαμασκηνῇ τὸ ὄνομα δοξάζεται καὶ κώμη δείκνυται ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ Ἀβράμου οἴκησις λεγομένη.”

VIII

(1) [161] Λιμοῦ δὲ χρόνοις ὕστερον τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καταλαβόντος Ἄβραμος Αἰγυπτίους εὐδαιμονεῖν πυθόμενος μεταίρειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἦν πρόθυμος τῆς τε ἀφθονίας τῆς ἐκείνων μεθέξων καὶ τῶν ἱερέων ἀκροατὴς ἐσόμενος ὧν λέγοιεν περὶ θεῶν: ἢ γὰρ κρείσσοσιν εὑρεθεῖσι κατακολουθήσειν ἢ μετακοσμήσειν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον αὐτὸς ἄμεινον φρονῶν. [162] ἐπαγόμενος δὲ καὶ τὴν Σάρραν καὶ φοβούμενος τὸ πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐπιμανές, μὴ διὰ τὴν εὐμορφίαν τῆς γυναικὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸν ἀνέλῃ, τέχνην ἐπενόησε τοιαύτην: ἀδελφὸς αὐτῆς εἶναι προσεποιήσατο κἀκείνην τοῦθ᾽ ὑποκρίνασθαι, συμφέρειν γὰρ αὐτοῖς, ἐδίδαξεν. [163] ὡς δ᾽ ἦκον εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ἀπέβαινε τῷ Ἀβράμῳ καθὼς ὑπενόησε: τὸ γὰρ κάλλος ἐξεβοήθη τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ: διὸ καὶ Φαραώθης ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οὐ τοῖς περὶ αὐτῆς λεγομένοις ἀρκεσθεὶς ἀλλὰ καὶ θεάσασθαι σπουδάσας οἷός τε ἦν ἅψασθαι τῆς Σάρρας. [164] ἐμποδίζει δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἄδικον ἐπιθυμίαν νόσῳ τε καὶ στάσει τῶν πραγμάτων: καὶ θυομένῳ περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς κατὰ μῆνιν θεοῦ τὸ δεινὸν αὐτῷ παρεῖναι ἀπεσήμαινον οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἠθέλησεν ὑβρίσαι τοῦ ξένου τὴν γυναῖκα. [165] ὁ δὲ φοβηθεὶς ἠρώτα τὴν Σάρραν, τίς τε εἴη καὶ τίνα τοῦτον ἐπάγοιτο, πυθόμενός τε τὴν ἀλήθειαν Ἄβραμον παρῃτεῖτο: νομίζων γὰρ ἀδελφὴν ἀλλ᾽ οὐ γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ σπουδάσαι περὶ αὐτὴν συγγένειαν ποιήσασθαι βουλόμενος, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐνυβρίσαι κατ᾽ ἐπιθυμίαν ὡρμημένος: δωρεῖταί τε αὐτὸν πολλοῖς χρήμασι, καὶ συνῆν Αἰγυπτίων τοῖς λογιωτάτοις τήν τε ἀρετὴν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ δόξαν ἐντεῦθεν ἐπιφανεστέραν συνέβη γενέσθαι.

(2) [166] Τῶν γὰρ Αἰγυπτίων διαφόροις ἀρεσκομένων ἔθεσι καὶ τὰ παρ᾽ ἀλλήλοις ἐκφαυλιζόντων νόμιμα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δυσμενῶς ἐχόντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους, συμβαλὼν αὐτῶν ἑκάστοις καὶ διαπτύων τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐποιοῦντο περὶ τῶν ἰδίων κενοὺς καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοντας ἀληθὲς ἀπέφαινε. [167] θαυμασθεὶς οὖν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις ὡς συνετώτατος καὶ δεινὸς ἀνὴρ οὐ νοῆσαι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πεῖσαι λέγων περὶ ὧν ἐπιχειρήσειε διδάσκειν, τήν τε ἀριθμητικὴν αὐτοῖς χαρίζεται καὶ τὰ περὶ ἀστρονομίαν παραδίδωσι. [168] πρὸ γὰρ τῆς Ἀβράμου παρουσίας Αἰγύπτιοι τούτων εἶχον ἀμαθῶς: ἐκ Χαλδαίων γὰρ ταῦτ᾽ ἐφοίτησεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ὅθεν ἦλθε καὶ εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

(3) [169] Ὡς δ᾽ εἰς τὴν Χαναναίαν ἀφίκετο, μερίζεται πρὸς Λῶτον τὴν γῆν τῶν ποιμένων αὐτοῖς στασιαζόντων περὶ τῆς χώρας ἐν ᾗ νέμοιεν: τὴν ἐκλογὴν μέντοι καὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν ἐπιτρέπει τῷ Λώτῳ: [170] λαβὼν δ᾽ αὐτὸς τὴν ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου καταλελειμμένην ὑπώρειαν ᾤκει ἐν τῇ Ναβρῶ πόλει: παλαιοτέρα δέ ἐστιν ἔτεσιν

ἑπτὰ πρὸ Τάνιδος τῆς Αἰγύπτου. Λῶτος δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ πεδίον κειμένην καὶ ποταμὸν Ἰορδάνην εἶχεν οὐκ ἄπωθεν τῆς Σοδομιτῶν πόλεως, ἣ τότε μὲν ἦν ἀγαθή, νῦν δὲ ἠφάνισται κατὰ βούλησιν θεοῦ. τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν κατὰ χώραν σημανῶ.

IX

(1) [171] Κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν Ἀσσυρίων κρατούντων τῆς Ἀσίας Σοδομίταις ἤνθει τὰ πράγματα εἴς τε πλοῦτον αὐτῶν ἐπιδεδωκότων καὶ νεότητα πολλήν: βασιλεῖς δὲ αὐτοῖς πέντε διεῖπον τὴν χώραν, Βάλας Βαλαίας Συναβάνης καὶ Συμμόβορος ὅ τε Βαλήνων βασιλεύς: μοίρας δ᾽ ἦρχον ἕκαστος ἰδίας. [172] ἐπὶ τούτους στρατεύσαντες Ἀσσύριοι καὶ μέρη τέσσαρα ποιήσαντες τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπολιόρκουν αὐτούς: στρατηγὸς δ᾽ ἑκάστοις ἦν εἷς ἐπιτεταγμένος. γενομένης δὲ μάχης νικήσαντες οἱ Ἀσσύριοι φόρον ἐπιτάσσουσι τοῖς Σοδομιτῶν βασιλεῦσι. [173] δώδεκα μὲν οὖν ἔτη δουλεύοντες καὶ τοὺς ἐπιταχθέντας αὐτοῖς φόρους τελοῦντες ὑπέμειναν, τῷ δὲ τρισκαιδεκάτῳ ἀπέστησαν, καὶ διαβαίνει στρατὸς Ἀσσυρίων ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς στρατηγούντων Ἀμαραψίδου Ἀριόχου Χοδολαμόρου Θαδάλου. [174] οὗτοι τήν τε Συρίαν ἅπασαν διηρπάσαντο καὶ τοὺς τῶν Γιγάντων ἀπογόνους κατεστρέψαντο, γενόμενοι δὲ κατὰ τὰ Σόδομα στρατοπεδεύουσι κατὰ τὴν κοιλάδα τὴν λεγομένην φρέατα ἀσφάλτου: κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον γὰρ τὸν καιρὸν φρέατα ἦν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, νῦν μέντοι τῆς Σοδομιτῶν πόλεως ἀφανισθείσης ἡ κοιλὰς ἐκείνη λίμνη γέγονεν ἡ Ἀσφαλτῖτις λεγομένη. [175] περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς λίμνης ταύτης αὖθις μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δηλώσομεν, τῶν δὲ Σοδομιτῶν συμβαλόντων τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις καὶ καρτερᾶς τῆς μάχης γενομένης, πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ ᾐχμαλωτίσθησαν, σὺν οἷς καὶ Λῶτος ἤγετο τοῖς Σοδομίταις σύμμαχος ἐληλυθώς.

X

(1) [176] Ἀβράμῳ δὲ ἀκούσαντι τὴν συμφορὰν αὐτῶν φόβος τε ἅμα περὶ Λώτου τοῦ συγγενοῦς εἰσῆλθε καὶ οἶκτος περὶ τῶν Σοδομιτῶν φίλων ὄντων καὶ γειτνιώντων. [177] καὶ βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς δοκιμάσας οὐκ ἀνέμεινεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειχθεὶς καὶ κατὰ πέμπτην ἐπιπεσὼν νύκτα τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις περὶ Δάνον, οὕτως γὰρ ἡ ἑτέρα τοῦ Ἰορδάνου προσαγορεύεται πηγή, καὶ φθάσας πρὶν ἐν ὅπλοις γενέσθαι τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς κοίταις ὄντας ἀπέκτεινε μηδ᾽ ἐπίνοιαν τῆς συμφορᾶς ἔχοντας, οἱ δὲ μήπω πρὸς ὕπνον τετραμμένοι μάχεσθαι δ᾽ ὑπὸ μέθης ἀδύνατοι ἔφυγον. [178] Ἄβραμος δὲ διώκων εἵπετο μέχρι καὶ δευτεραίους συνήλασεν αὐτοὺς εἰς Ὠβὰ τῆς Δαμασκηνῶν γῆς, ἐπιδείξας ὅτι τὸ νικᾶν οὐκ ἐν τῷ πλήθει καὶ τῇ πολυχειρίᾳ κεῖσθαι συμβέβηκεν, ἀλλὰ προθυμία τῶν μαχομένων καὶ τὸ γενναῖον κρατεῖ παντὸς ἀριθμοῦ, τριακοσίοις καὶ δεκαοκτὼ οἰκέταις αὐτοῦ καὶ τρισὶ φίλοις

τοσούτου στρατοῦ περιγενόμενος. ὁπόσοι δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ διέφυγον ἀδόξως ἀνέστρεψαν.

(2) [179] Ἄβραμος δὲ τοὺς τῶν Σοδομιτῶν σώσας αἰχμαλώτους, οἳ ληφθέντες ἔφθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, καὶ τὸν συγγενῆ Λῶτον ἀνέζευξεν μετὰ εἰρήνης. ἀπήντησε δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ τῶν Σοδομιτῶν βασιλεὺς εἰς τόπον τινά, ὃν καλοῦσι πεδίον βασιλικόν. [180] ἔνθα ὁ τῆς Σολυμᾶ ὑποδέχεται βασιλεὺς αὐτὸν Μελχισεδέκ: σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο βασιλεὺς δίκαιος: καὶ ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτος ὁμολογουμένως, ὡς διὰ ταύτην αὐτὸν τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ ἱερέα γενέσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ: τὴν μέντοι Σολυμᾶ ὕστερον ἐκάλεσεν Ἱεροσόλυμα. [181] ἐχορήγησε δὲ οὗτος ὁ Μελχισεδὲκ τῷ Ἀβράμου στρατῷ ξένια καὶ πολλὴν ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων παρέσχε καὶ παρὰ τὴν εὐωχίαν αὐτόν τε ἐπαινεῖν ἤρξατο καὶ τὸν θεὸν εὐλογεῖν ὑποχειρίους αὐτῷ ποιήσαντα τοὺς ἐχθρούς. Ἀβράμου δὲ διδόντος καὶ τὴν δεκάτην τῆς λείας αὐτῷ προσδέχεται τὴν δόσιν. [182] ὁ δὲ τῶν Σοδομιτῶν βασιλεὺς τὴν μὲν λείαν ἔχειν Ἄβραμον παρεκάλει, τοὺς δ’ ἀνθρώπους ἀπολαβεῖν ἠξίου, οὓς παρὰ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἔσωσεν οἰκείους ὄντας. Ἄβραμος δὲ οὐκ ἔφη τοῦτο ποιήσειν, οὐδ’ ἂν ἄλλην ὠφέλειαν ἐκ τῆς λείας ἐκείνης εἰς αὐτὸν ἥξειν πλὴν ὅσα τροφὴ τοῖς οἰκέταις αὐτοῦ γένοιτο: μοῖραν μέντοι τινὰ τοῖς φίλοις αὐτοῦ παρέσχε τοῖς συστρατευομένοις. Ἔσχων δ’ ὁ πρῶτος ἐκαλεῖτο [καὶ] Ἔννηρος καὶ Μαμβρῆς.

(3) [183] Ἐπαινέσας δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὁ θεός, “ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀπολεῖς, φησί, μισθοὺς οὓς ἄξιόν ἐστίν σε ἐπὶ τοιαύταις εὐπραγίαις κομίζεσθαι.” τοῦ δ’ ὑπολαβόντος “καὶ τίς ἂν εἴη χάρις τούτων τῶν μισθῶν, οὐκ ὄντων οἳ διαδέξονται μετ’ αὐτόν, ἔτι γὰρ ἦν ἄπαις, ὁ θεὸς καὶ παῖδα αὐτῷ γενήσεσθαι καταγγέλλει καὶ πολλὴν ἐκείνου γενεάν, ὡς παραπλησίως αὐτῇ τοῖς ἄστροις ἔσεσθαι τὸν ἀριθμόν. [184] καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ’ ἀκούσας θυσίαν προσφέρει τῷ θεῷ κελευσθεὶς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ. ἦν δὲ ὁ τρόπος τῆς θυσίας τοιοῦτος: δάμαλιν τριετίζουσαν καὶ αἶγα τριετίζουσαν καὶ κριὸν ὁμοίως τριετῆ καὶ τρυγόνα καὶ περιστερὰν κελεύσαντος διεῖλε, τῶν ὀρνέων οὐδὲν διελών. [185] εἶτα πρὶν στῆναι τὸν βωμὸν οἰωνῶν ἐφιπταμένων ἐπιθυμίᾳ τοῦ αἵματος φωνὴ θεία παρῆν ἀποσημαίνουσα πονηροὺς αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις γείτονας ἐπὶ ἔτη τετρακόσια γενησομένους κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον: ἐν οἷς κακοπαθήσαντας περιέσεσθαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ κρατήσαντας πολέμῳ Χαναναίων ἕξειν αὐτῶν τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰς πόλεις.

(4) [186] Ἄβραμος δὲ κατῴκει μὲν περὶ τὴν Ὠγύγην καλουμένην δρῦν, ἔστι δὲ τῆς Χαναναίας τὸ χωρίον οὐ πόρρω τῆς Ἑβρωνίων πόλεως, δυσφορῶν δὲ ἐπὶ γυναικὶ μὴ κυούσῃ ἱκετεύει τὸν θεὸν γονὴν αὐτῷ παιδὸς ἄρσενος παρασχεῖν. [187] τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ θαρσεῖν αὐτὸν παρακελευομένου τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ὡς ἐπ’ ἀγαθοῖς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἡγμένον καὶ παίδων ἐσομένων, Σάρρα τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος ἐπικλίνει μίαν τῶν θεραπαινίδων Ἀγάρην ὄνομα γένος οὖσαν Αἰγυπτίαν ὡς ἐξ αὐτῆς παιδοποιησομένῳ. [188] καὶ γενομένη ἐγκύμων ἡ θεραπαινὶς ἐξυβρίζειν εἰς τὴν Σάρραν ἐτόλμησε βασιλίζουσα, ὡς τῆς ἡγεμονίας

περιστησομένης εἰς τὸν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς τεχθησόμενον. Ἀβράμου δὲ αὐτὴν πρὸς αἰκίαν παραδιδόντος τῇ Σάρρᾳ δρασμὸν ἐπεβούλευσεν οὐχ ὑπομένουσα τὰς ταλαιπωρίας καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἱκέτευεν οἶκτον αὐτῆς λαβεῖν. [189] ὑπαντιάζει δὲ διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου προι¨οῦσαν αὐτὴν ἄγγελος θεῖος κελεύων πρὸς τοὺς δεσπότας ἐπανιέναι: βίου γὰρ μείζονος τεύξεσθαι σωφρονοῦσαν: καὶ γὰρ νῦν εἰς τὴν δέσποιναν ἀγνώμονα καὶ αὐθάδη γενομένην ἐν τούτοις εἶναι τοῖς κακοῖς: [190] παρακούουσαν μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ προσωτέρω χωροῦσαν ἔλεγεν ἀπολεῖσθαι, νοστήσασαν δὲ αὐτὴν ὀπίσω γενήσεσθαι μητέρα παιδὸς τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης βασιλεύσοντος. τούτοις πείθεται καὶ ἐπανελθοῦσα πρὸς τοὺς δεσπότας συγγνώμης ἔτυχε: τίκτει δὲ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ Ἰσμαῆλον, θεόκλυτον ἄν τις εἴποι, διὰ τὸ εἰσακοῦσαι τὸν θεὸν τῆς ἱκεσίας.

(5) [191] Ἀβράμῳ μὲν οὖν ἕκτον ἤδη καὶ ὀγδοηκοστὸν ἔτος γεγονότι ὁ προειρημένος ἐγεννήθη, εἰς ἕνατον δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐνενηκοστὸν παρελθόντι ἐπιφανεὶς ὁ θεὸς ἀπήγγειλεν, ὡς παῖς αὐτῷ ἐκ Σάρρας ἔσοιτο: κελεύει δ᾽ αὐτὸν καλέσαι Ἴσακον δηλῶν ἐσόμενα ἔθνη μεγάλα ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ βασιλεῖς, καὶ ὅτι πολεμήσαντες καθέξουσι τὴν Χαναναίαν ἅπασαν ἀπὸ Σιδῶνος μέχρι Αἰγύπτου, [192] προσέταξέ τε βουλόμενος τὸ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ γένος μένειν τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐ συμφυρόμενον περιτέμνεσθαι τὰ αἰδοῖα καὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖν ὀγδόῃ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὸ γεννηθῆναι. τὴν αἰτίαν δὲ τῆς περιτομῆς ἡμῶν ἐν ἄλλοις δηλώσω. [193] πυθομένῳ δὲ Ἀβράμῳ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ἰσμαήλου, εἰ ζήσεται, πολυχρόνιόν τε ἀπεσήμαινεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ μεγάλων ἐθνῶν πατέρα. καὶ Ἄβραμος μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις εὐχαριστήσας τῷ θεῷ περιτέμνεται παραχρῆμα καὶ πάντες οἱ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ παῖς Ἰσμαῆλος, οὗ κατ᾽ ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν τρισκαιδέκατον ἔτος ἔχοντος αὐτὸς ἐνενηκοστὸν πρὸς τοῖς ἐννέα διῆγεν.

XI

(1) [194] Ὑπὸ δὴ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν οἱ Σοδομῖται πλήθει καὶ μεγέθει χρημάτων ὑπερφρονοῦντες εἴς τε ἀνθρώπους ἦσαν ὑβρισταὶ καὶ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἀσεβεῖς, ὡς μηκέτι μεμνῆσθαι τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ γενομένων ὠφελειῶν, εἶναί τε μισόξενοι καὶ τὰς πρὸς ἄλλους ὁμιλίας ἐκτρέπεσθαι. [195] χαλεπήνας οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ θεὸς ἔγνω τιμωρήσασθαι τῆς ὑπερηφανίας αὐτοὺς καὶ τήν τε πόλιν αὐτὴν κατασκάψασθαι καὶ τὴν χώραν οὕτως ἀφανίσαι, ὡς μήτε φυτὸν ἔτι μήτε καρπὸν ἕτερον ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀναδοθῆναι.

(2) [196] Ταῦτα τοῦ θεοῦ κρίναντος περὶ τῶν Σοδομιτῶν Ἄβραμος θεασάμενος τρεῖς ἀγγέλους, ἐκαθέζετο δὲ πρὸς τῇ δρυὶ¨ τῇ Μαμβρῆ παρὰ τῇ θύρᾳ τῆς αὐτοῦ αὐλῆς, καὶ νομίσας εἶναι ξένους ἀναστὰς ἠσπάσατό τε καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτῷ καταχθέντας παρεκάλει ξενίας μεταλαβεῖν. [197] ἐπινευσάντων δὲ ἄρτους τε προσέταξεν εὐθὺς ἐκ σεμιδάλεως γενέσθαι, καὶ μόσχον θύσας καὶ ὀπτήσας

ἐκόμισεν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῇ δρυϊ¨ κατακειμένοις: οἱ δὲ δόξαν αὐτῷ παρέσχον ἐσθιόντων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπυνθάνοντο, ποῖ ποτ᾽ εἴη Σάρρα. τοῦ δ᾽ εἰπόντος ἔνδον εἶναι, ἥξειν ἔφασαν εἰς τὸ μέλλον καὶ εὑρήσειν αὐτὴν ἤδη μητέρα γεγενημένην. [198] τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς ἐπὶ τούτῳ μειδιασάσης καὶ ἀδύνατον εἶναι τὴν τεκνοποιίαν εἰπούσης αὐτῆς μὲν ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη ἐχούσης τοῦ δ᾽ ἀνδρὸς ἑκατόν, οὐκέτι κατέσχον λανθάνοντες ἀλλ᾽ ἐμήνυσαν ἑαυτοὺς ὄντας ἀγγέλους τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ὅτι πεμφθείη μὲν ὁ εἷς σημανῶν περὶ τοῦ παιδός, οἱ δύο δὲ Σοδομίτας καταστρεψόμενοι.

(3) [199] Ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας Ἄβραμος ἤλγησεν ἐπὶ τοῖς Σοδομίταις καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀναστὰς ἱκέτευσε παρακαλῶν, μὴ τοὺς δικαίους καὶ ἀγαθοὺς συναπολλύναι τοῖς πονηροῖς. τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ φήσαντος μηδένα εἶναι τῶν Σοδομιτῶν ἀγαθόν, εἰ γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς δέκα εἶεν συγχωρεῖν ἅπασι τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασι τιμωρίαν, ὁ μὲν Ἄβραμος ἡσύχασεν: [200] οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι παρεγένοντο εἰς τὴν τῶν Σοδομιτῶν πόλιν, καὶ ὁ Λῶτος αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ξενίαν παρεκάλει: λίαν γὰρ ἦν περὶ τοὺς ξένους φιλάνθρωπος καὶ μαθητὴς τῆς Ἀβράμου χρηστότητος. οἱ δὲ Σοδομῖται θεασάμενοι τοὺς νεανίσκους εὐπρεπεστάτους τῇ ὄψει διαφέροντας καὶ παρὰ Λώτῳ καταχθέντας ἐπὶ βίαν καὶ ὕβριν αὐτῶν τῆς ὥρας ἐτράπησαν. [201] τοῦ δὲ Λώτου παραινοῦντος σωφρονεῖν καὶ μὴ χωρεῖν ἐπ᾽ αἰσχύνῃ τῶν ξένων, ἀλλ᾽ ἔχειν αἰδῶ τῆς παρ᾽ αὐτῷ καταγωγῆς, εἰ δὲ ἔχουσιν ἀκρατῶς, τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτῶν λέγοντος παρέξειν, οὐδ᾽ οὕτως ἐπείσθησαν.

(4) [202] Ὁ θεὸς οὖν ἀγανακτήσας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς τολμήμασι τοὺς μὲν ἠμαύρωσεν, ὡς μὴ δυνηθῆναι τὴν εἴσοδον τὴν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εὑρεῖν, Σοδομιτῶν δὲ κατέκρινε πάνδημον ὄλεθρον. Λῶτος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν μέλλουσαν ἀπώλειαν τῶν Σοδομιτῶν αὐτῷ φράσαντος ἀπαλλάσσεται τήν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας, δύο δὲ ἦσαν ἔτι παρθένοι, ἀναλαβών: οἱ γὰρ μνηστῆρες περιεφρόνησαν τῆς ἐξόδου εὐήθειαν ἐπικαλοῦντες τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Λώτου λεγομένοις. [203] καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐνσκήπτει βέλος εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ σὺν τοῖς οἰκήτορσιν κατεπίμπρα τὴν γῆν ὁμοίᾳ πυρώσει ἀφανίζων, ὥς μοι καὶ πρότερον λέλεκται τὸν Ἰουδαι¨κὸν ἀναγράφοντι πόλεμον. ἡ δὲ Λώτου γυνὴ παρὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν συνεχῶς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀναστρεφομένη καὶ πολυπραγμονοῦσα τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν ἀπηγορευκότος τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦτο μὴ ποιεῖν εἰς στήλην ἁλῶν μετέβαλεν: ἱστόρησα δ᾽ αὐτήν, ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν διαμένει. [204] διαφεύγει δ᾽ αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν θυγατέρων εἰς βραχύ τι χωρίον κατασχὼν περιγραφὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός: Ζωὼρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν λέγεται: καλοῦσι γὰρ οὕτως Ἑβραῖοι τὸ ὀλίγον. ἐνταῦθα τοίνυν ὑπό τε ἀνθρώπων ἐρημίας καὶ τροφῆς ἀπορίας ταλαιπώρως διῆγεν.

(5) [205] Αἱ δὲ παρθένοι πᾶν ἠφανίσθαι τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ὑπολαβοῦσαι τῷ πατρὶ πλησιάζουσι προνοήσασαι λαθεῖν: ἐποίουν δὲ τοῦτο ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὸ γένος ἐκλιπεῖν. γίνονται δὲ παῖδες ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Μώαβος: εἴποι δ᾽ ἄν τις

ἀπὸ πατρός. Ἄμμανον δ᾽ ἡ νεωτέρα ποιεῖται: γένους υἱὸν ἀποσημαίνει τὸ ὄνομα. [206] καὶ κτίζει δ᾽ αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν Μωαβίτας μέγιστον ὄντας καὶ νῦν ἔθνος, Ἀμμανίτας δὲ ὁ ἕτερος: Συρίας τῆς κοίλης ἐστὶν ἀμφότερα. καὶ Λώτῳ μὲν τοιαύτην συνέβη τὴν ἐκ Σοδομιτῶν ἀναχώρησιν γενέσθαι.

XII

(1) [207] Ἄβραμος δὲ μετῴκησεν εἰς Γέραρα τῆς Παλαιστίνης ἐν ἀδελφῆς ἐπαγόμενος σχήματι τὴν Σάρραν, ὅμοια τοῖς πρὶν ὑποκρινάμενος διὰ τὸν φόβον: ἐδεδίει γὰρ Ἀβιμέλεχον τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ἐπιχωρίων: ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐρασθεὶς τῆς Σάρρας φθείρειν οἷός τε ἦν. [208] εἴργεται δὲ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ὑπὸ νόσου χαλεπῆς αὐτῷ προσπεσούσης ἐκ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν αὐτὸν ἀπεγνωκότων ὑπνώσας ὄναρ ὁρᾷ μηδὲν ὑβρίζειν τὴν τοῦ ξένου γυναῖκα, καὶ ῥᾷον διατεθεὶς φράζει πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, ὡς ὁ θεὸς ταύτην αὐτῷ ἐπάγει τὴν νόσον ὑπὲρ ἐκδικίας τοῦ ξένου φυλάσσων ἀνύβριστον αὐτῷ τὴν γυναῖκα, μὴ γὰρ ἀδελφὴν οὖσαν ἐπάγεσθαι νόμῳ δ᾽ αὐτῷ συνοικοῦσαν, ἐπαγγέλλεταί τε παρέξειν αὐτὸν εὐμενῆ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀδεοῦς ἐκείνου περὶ τὴν γυναῖκα γενομένου. [209] ταῦτα εἰπὼν μεταπέμπεται τὸν Ἄβραμον συμβουλευσάντων τῶν φίλων καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτὸν ὡς πεισομένης τι τῶν αἰσχρῶν ἐκέλευσε δεδιέναι, θεὸν γὰρ αὐτοῦ κήδεσθαι, καὶ κατὰ τὴν συμμαχίαν τὴν ἐκείνου μεμενηκυῖαν ἀνύβριστον κομίζεσθαι. τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ μάρτυρος ὄντος καὶ τοῦ τῆς γυναικὸς συνειδότος ἔλεγε μηδ᾽ ἂν ὀρεχθῆναι τὴν ἀρχήν, εἰ γαμετὴν οὖσαν ἠπίστατο, ὡς ἀδελφὴν δὲ ἀγόμενον ἦν οὐκ ἠδίκουν. [210] παρακαλεῖ τε πρᾴως ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν θεὸν εὐμενῆ ποιεῖν, παρ᾽ αὐτῷ τε μένειν βουλομένῳ πᾶσαν ἀφθονίαν ὑπάρξειν ἀπιέναι τε προαιρούμενον τεύξεσθαι πομπῆς καὶ πάντων ὅσων καὶ χρῄζων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφίκοιτο. [211] ταῦτ᾽ εἰπόντος Ἄβραμος οὔτε τὴν συγγένειαν τῆς γυναικὸς ἐψεῦσθαι ἔλεγεν, ἀδελφοῦ γὰρ αὐτὴν εἶναι παῖδα, καὶ δίχα τοιαύτης ὑποκρίσεως οὐκ ἀσφαλῆ τὴν ἐπιδημίαν ὑπολαβεῖν. ὅσα τε ἐπὶ τῷ μηδὲν αἴτιος τῆς νόσου γεγονέναι προθυμηθῆναι δ᾽ αὐτοῦ περὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν, ἑτοίμως ἔφασκεν ἔχειν παρ᾽ αὐτῷ μένειν. [212] καὶ Ἀβιμέλεχος τήν τε γῆν πρὸς αὐτὸν νέμεται καὶ τὰ χρήματα, καὶ συντίθενται ἀδόλως πολιτεύσεσθαι ὑπέρ τινος φρέατος ποιούμενοι τὸν ὅρκον, ὃ Βηρσουβαὶ καλοῦσιν: ὅρκιον δὲ φρέαρ λέγοιτ᾽ ἄν. οὕτω δ᾽ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ὠνόμασται.

(2) [213] Γίνεται δὲ Ἀβράμῳ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ καὶ παῖς ἐκ Σάρρας, ὡς αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ προείρητο, ὃν Ἴσακον ὠνόμασε: τοῦτο γέλωτα σημαίνει: διὰ μέντοι τὸ τὴν Σάρραν μειδιάσαι τέξεσθαι φήσαντος αὐτὴν τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ προσδοκῶσαν ἤδη τοκετοῦ πρεσβυτέραν οὖσαν τὸν υἱὸν οὕτως ἐκάλεσεν. αὐτὴ μὲν γὰρ ἐνενήκοντα εἶχεν ἔτη ἑκατὸν δὲ Ἄβραμος. [214] τίκτεται δὲ παῖς ἑκατέρων τῷ ὑστάτῳ ἔτει, ὃν εὐθὺς μετ᾽ ὀγδόην ἡμέραν περιτέμνουσι, κἀξ ἐκείνου μετὰ τοσαύτας ἔθος

ἔχουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ποιεῖσθαι τὰς περιτομάς, Ἄραβες δὲ μετὰ ἔτος τρισκαιδέκατον: Ἰσμαῆλος γὰρ ὁ κτίστης αὐτῶν τοῦ ἔθνους Ἀβράμῳ γενόμενος ἐκ τῆς παλλακῆς ἐν τούτῳ περιτέμνεται τῷ χρόνῳ: περὶ οὗ τὸν πάντα λόγον ἐκθήσομαι μετὰ πολλῆς ἀκριβείας.

(3) [215] Σάρρα δὲ γεννηθέντα τὸν Ἰσμαῆλον ἐκ τῆς δούλης αὐτῆς Ἀγάρης τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔστεργεν οὐδὲν ἀπολείπουσα τῆς πρὸς ἴδιον υἱὸν εὐνοίας, ἐτρέφετο γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἡγεμονίας διαδοχῇ, τεκοῦσα δ' αὐτὴ τὸν Ἴσακον οὐκ ἠξίου παρατρέφεσθαι τούτῳ τὸν Ἰσμαῆλον ὄντα πρεσβύτερον καὶ κακουργεῖν δυνάμενον τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῖς ἀποθανόντος. [216] ἔπειθεν οὖν τὸν Ἄβραμον εἰς ἀποικίαν ἐκπέμπειν αὐτὸν μετὰ τῆς μητρός. ὁ δὲ κατὰ μὲν ἀρχὰς οὐ προσετίθετο τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην οἷς ἡ Σάρρα ἐσπουδάκει πάντων ὠμότατον ἡγούμενος εἶναι παῖδα νήπιον καὶ γυναῖκα ἄπορον τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐκπέμπειν. [217] ὕστερον δέ, καὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἠρέσκετο τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς Σάρρας προσταττομένοις, πεισθεὶς παρεδίδου τὸν Ἰσμαῆλον τῇ μητρὶ μήπω δι' αὐτοῦ χωρεῖν δυνάμενον, ὕδωρ τε ἐν ἀσκῷ καὶ ἄρτον φερομένην ἐκέλευεν ἀπιέναι ὁδηγῷ τῇ ἀνάγκῃ χρωμένην. [218] ὡς δ' ἀπιοῦσαν ἐπιλελοίπει τὰ ἀναγκαῖα, ἐν κακοῖς ἦν, ὕδατος δὲ σπανίζοντος ὑπ' ἐλάτῃ τινὶ θεῖσα τὸ παιδίον ψυχορραγοῦν, ὡς μὴ παρούσης τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφῇ, προῄει πορρωτέρω. [219] συντυχὼν δ' αὐτῇ θεῖος ἄγγελος πηγήν τε φράζει παρακειμένην καὶ κελεύει προνοεῖν τῆς ἀνατροφῆς τοῦ παιδίου: μεγάλα γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀγαθὰ περιμένειν ἐκ τῆς Ἰσμαήλου σωτηρίας. ἡ δ' ἐθάρσησε τοῖς προκατηγγελμένοις καὶ συμβαλοῦσα ποιμέσι διὰ τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπιμέλειαν διαφεύγει τὰς ταλαιπωρίας.

(4) [220] Ἀνδρωθέντι δὲ τῷ παιδὶ γύναιον ἄγεται τὸ γένος Αἰγύπτιον, ἐνθένδε ἦν καὶ αὐτὴ τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἐξ οὗ παῖδες Ἰσμαήλῳ γίνονται δώδεκα πάντες, Ναβαιώθης Κήδαρος Ἀβδεῆλος Μάσσαμος Μάσμασος Ἰδουμᾶς Μάσμησος Χόδαμος Θέμανος Ἰετοῦρος Νάφαισος Κάδμασος. [221] οὗτοι πᾶσαν τὴν ἀπ' Εὐφράτου καθήκουσαν πρὸς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν κατοικοῦσι Ναβατηνὴν τὴν χώραν ὀνομάσαντες. εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι, οἳ τὸ τῶν Ἀράβων ἔθνος καὶ τὰς φυλὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν καλοῦσι διά τε τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ Ἀβράμου ἀξίωμα.

XIII

(1) [222] Ἴσακον δὲ ὁ πατὴρ Ἄβραμος ὑπερηγάπα μονογενῆ ὄντα καὶ ἐπὶ γήρως οὐδῷ κατὰ δωρεὰν αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ γενόμενον. προεκαλεῖτο δὲ εἰς εὔνοιαν καὶ τὸ φιλεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ παῖς ἐπιτηδεύων πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν καὶ τῆς τε τῶν πατέρων θεραπείας ἐχόμενος καὶ περὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείαν ἐσπουδακώς. [223] Ἄβραμος δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐν μόνῳ τῷ τὸν υἱὸν ἀπαθῆ καταλιπὼν ἐξελθεῖν τοῦ ζῆν ἐτίθετο. τούτου μέντοι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βούλησιν ἔτυχεν, ὃς διάπειραν αὐτοῦ βουλόμενος λαβεῖν τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν θρησκείας

ἐμφανισθεὶς αὐτῷ καὶ πάντα ὅσα εἴη παρεσχημένος καταριθμησάμενος, [224] ὡς πολεμίων τε κρείττονα ποιήσειε καὶ τὴν παροῦσαν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ σπουδῆς ἔχοι καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Ἴσακον, ᾗτει τοῦτον αὐτῷ θῦμα καὶ ἱερεῖον αὐτὸν παρασχεῖν ἐκέλευέ τε εἰς τὸ Μώριον ὄρος ἀναγαγόντα ὁλοκαυτῶσαι βωμὸν ἱδρυσάμενον: οὕτως γὰρ ἐμφανίσειν τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν θρησκείαν, εἰ καὶ τῆς τοῦ τέκνου σωτηρίας προτιμήσειε τὸ τῷ θεῷ κεχαρισμένον.

(2) [225] Ἄβραμος δὲ ἐπὶ μηδενὶ κρίνων παρακούειν τοῦ θεοῦ δίκαιον ἅπαντά θ' ὑπουργεῖν ὡς ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου προνοίας ἀπαντώντων οἷς ἂν εὐμενὴς ᾖ, ἐπικρυψάμενος πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα τήν τε τοῦ θεοῦ πρόρρησιν καὶ ἣν εἶχεν αὐτὸς γνώμην περὶ τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς σφαγῆς, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τῶν οἰκετῶν τινι δηλώσας, ἐκωλύετο γὰρ ἂν ὑπηρετῆσαι τῷ θεῷ, λαβὼν τὸν Ἴσακον μετὰ δύο οἰκετῶν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἱερουργίαν ἐπισάξας ὄνῳ ἀπῄει πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. [226] καὶ δύο μὲν ἡμέρας αὐτῷ συνώδευσαν οἱ οἰκέται, τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ ὡς κάτοπτον ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ ὄρος, καταλιπὼν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τοὺς συνόντας μετὰ μόνου τοῦ παιδὸς παραγίνεται εἰς τὸ ὄρος, ἐφ' οὗ τὸ ἱερὸν Δαβίδης ὁ βασιλεὺς ὕστερον ἱδρύεται. [227] ἔφερον δὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς ὅσα λοιπὰ πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν ἦν πλὴν ἱερείου. τοῦ δ' Ἰσάκου πέμπτον τε καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἔχοντος τὸν βωμὸν κατασκευάζοντος καὶ πυθομένου, τί καὶ μέλλοιεν θύειν ἱερείου μὴ παρόντος, τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς παρέξειν ἔλεγεν ὄντα ἱκανὸν καὶ τῶν οὐκ ὄντων εἰς εὐπορίαν ἀνθρώποις παραγαγεῖν καὶ τὰ ὄντα τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς θαρρούντων ἀφελέσθαι: δώσειν οὖν κἀκείνῳ ἱερεῖον, εἴπερ εὐμενὴς μέλλει τῇ θυσίᾳ παρατυγχάνειν αὐτοῦ.

(3) [228] Ὡς δ' ὁ βωμὸς παρεσκεύαστο καὶ τὰς σχίζας ἐπενηνόχει καὶ ἦν εὐτρεπῆ, λέγει πρὸς τὸν υἱόν: "ὦ παῖ, μυρίαις εὐχαῖς αἰτησάμενός σε γενέσθαι μοι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπεὶ παρῆλθες εἰς τὸν βίον, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι μὴ περὶ τὴν σὴν ἀνατροφὴν ἐφιλοτιμησάμην οὐδ' ἐφ' ᾧ μᾶλλον εὐδαιμονήσειν ᾤμην, ὡς εἰ σέ τ' ἴδοιμι ἠνδρωμένον καὶ τελευτῶν διάδοχον τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ καταλίποιμι. [229] ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ θεοῦ τε βουλομένου σὸς πατὴρ ἐγενόμην καὶ πάλιν τούτῳ δοκοῦν ἀποτίθεμαί σε, φέρε γενναίως τὴν καθιέρωσιν: τῷ θεῷ γάρ σε παραχωρῶ ταύτης ἀξιώσαντι παρ' ἡμῶν τῆς τιμῆς ἀνθ' ὧν εὐμενὴς γέγονέ μοι παραστάτης καὶ σύμμαχος νῦν ἐπιτυχεῖν. [230] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγεννήθης ἀΠοθάνῃς οὐ τὸν κοινὸν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν τρόπον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πατρὸς ἰδίου θεῷ τῷ πάντων πατρὶ νόμῳ θυσίας προπεμπόμενος, ἄξιον οἶμαί σε κρίναντος αὐτοῦ μήτε νόσῳ μήτε πολέμῳ μήτε ἄλλῳ τινὶ τῶν παθῶν, ἃ συμπίπτειν πέφυκεν ἀνθρώποις, ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ βίου, [231] μετ' εὐχῶν τε καὶ ἱερουργίας ἐκείνου ψυχὴν τὴν σὴν προσδεξομένου καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ καθέξοντος: ἔσῃ τ' ἐμοὶ εἰς κηδεμόνα καὶ γηρωκόμον, διὸ καὶ σὲ μάλιστα ἀνετρεφόμην, τὸν θεὸν ἀντὶ σαυτοῦ παρεσχημένος."

(4) [232] Ἴσακος δέ, πατρὸς γὰρ ἦν οἵου τετυχηκότα γενναῖον ἔδει τὸ φρόνημα εἶναι, δέχεται πρὸς ἡδονὴν τοὺς λόγους καὶ φήσας, ὡς οὐδὲ γεγονέναι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἦν δίκαιος, εἰ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς μέλλει κρίσιν ἀπωθεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ παρέχειν αὐτὸν

τοῖς ἀμφοτέρων βουλήμασιν ἑτοίμως, ὅτε καὶ μόνου τοῦ πατρὸς ταῦτα προαιρουμένου μὴ ὑπακούειν ἄδικον ἦν, ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν καὶ τὴν σφαγήν. [233] κἂν ἐπράχθη τὸ ἔργον μὴ στάντος ἐμποδὼν τοῦ θεοῦ: βοᾷ γὰρ ὀνομαστὶ τὸν Ἄβραμον εἴργων τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς σφαγῆς. οὐ γὰρ ἐπιθυμήσας αἵματος ἀνθρωπίνου τὴν σφαγὴν αὐτῷ προστάξαι τοῦ παιδὸς ἔλεγεν, οὐδὲ οὗ πατέρα ἐποίησεν αὐτὸς ἀφελέσθαι τούτου βουλόμενος μετὰ τοιαύτης ἀσεβείας, ἀλλὰ δοκιμάσαι θέλων αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν, εἰ καὶ τοιαῦτα προστασσόμενος ὑπακούοι. [234] μαθὼν δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ πρόθυμον καὶ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς θρησκείας ἥδεσθαι μὲν οἷς αὐτῷ παρέσχεν, οὐχ ὑστερήσειν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀεὶ πάσης ἐπιμελείας καὶ τὸ γένος ἀξιοῦντα, ἔσεσθαί τε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ πολυχρονιώτατον καὶ βιώσαντα εὐδαιμόνως παισὶν ἀγαθοῖς καὶ γνησίοις παραδώσειν μεγάλην ἡγεμονίαν. [235] προεδήλου τε τὸ γένος τὸ αὐτῶν εἰς ἔθνη πολλὰ καὶ πλοῦτον ἐπιδώσειν, καὶ μνήμην αἰώνιον αὐτῶν ἔσεσθαι τοῖς γενάρχαις, τήν τε Χαναναίαν ὅπλοις κατακτησαμένους ζηλωτοὺς ἔσεσθαι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις. [236] ταῦτα ὁ θεὸς εἰπὼν κριὸν ἐκ τἀφανοῦς παρήγαγεν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν ἱερουργίαν. οἱ δὲ παρ᾽ ἐλπίδας αὐτοῦ κεκομισμένου καὶ τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν ἐπαγγελίας ἀκηκοότες ἠσπάζοντό τε ἀλλήλους καὶ θύσαντες ἀπενόστησαν πρὸς τὴν Σάρραν καὶ διῆγον εὐδαιμόνως ἐφ᾽ ἅπασιν οἷς ἐθελήσειαν τοῦ θεοῦ συλλαμβάνοντος αὐτοῖς.

XIV

(1) [237] Καὶ Σάρρα μὲν οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἀποθνήσκει βιώσασα ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν. θάπτουσι δ᾽ αὐτὴν ἐν Νεβρῶνι συγχωρούντων μὲν τῶν Χαναναίων καὶ δημοσίᾳ χοῦν αὐτῆς τὸν τάφον, Ἀβράμου δὲ ὠνησαμένου τὸ χωρίον σίκλων τετρακοσίων παρ᾽ Ἐφραίμου τινὸς ἐκ τῆς Νεβρῶνος. καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα Ἄβραμός τε καὶ οἱ ἀπόγονοι αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ κατεσκευάσαντο.

XV

(1) [238] Γαμεῖ δ᾽ αὐτὸς Κατούραν ὕστερον, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ παῖδες ἓξ γίνονται πρός τε πόνους καρτεροὶ καὶ δεινοὶ συνιέναι, Ζεμβράνης Ἰαζάρης Μαδάνης Μαδιάνης Λουσούβακος Σοῦος. φύονται δὲ καὶ τούτοις παῖδες: καὶ Σούου μὲν Σαβακίνης γίνεται καὶ Δαδάνης, τούτου δὲ Λατούσιμος Ἄσσουρις Λούουρις: Μαδάνου δὲ Ἠφᾶς Ἐώφρην Ἄνωχος Ἐβιδᾶς Ἐλδᾶς. [239] τούτοις ἅπασι τοῖς παισὶ καὶ τοῖς υἱωνοῖς Ἄβραμος ἀποικιῶν στόλους μηχανᾶται, καὶ τήν τε Τρωγλοδῦτιν καταλαμβάνουσι καὶ τῆς εὐδαίμονος Ἀραβίας ὅσον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν καθήκει θάλασσαν. λέγεται δέ, ὡς οὗτος ὁ Ἐώφρην στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τὴν Λιβύην κατέσχεν αὐτὴν καὶ οἱ υἱωνοὶ αὐτοῦ κατοικήσαντες ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν γῆν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκείνου ὀνόματος Ἀφρικὰ προσηγόρευσαν. [240] μαρτυρεῖ δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ πολυίστωρ λέγων οὕτως: “Κλεόδημος δέ φησιν ὁ προφήτης

ὁ καὶ Μάλχος ἱστορῶν τὰ περὶ Ἰουδαίων, καθὼς καὶ Μωυσῆς ἱστόρησεν ὁ νομοθέτης αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἐκ τῆς Κατούρας Ἀβράμῳ ἐγένοντο παῖδες ἱκανοί. [241] λέγει δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ὀνομάζων τρεῖς Ἰαφέραν Σούρην Ἰαφράν. ἀπὸ Σούρου μὲν τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν κεκλῆσθαι, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δύο Ἰαφρᾶ τε καὶ Ἰαφέρου, πόλιν τε Ἐφρᾶν καὶ τὴν χώραν Ἀφρικὰ ὀνομασθῆναι. τούτους γὰρ Ἡρακλεῖ συστρατεῦσαι ἐπὶ Λιβύην καὶ Ἀνταῖον: γήμαντά τε τὴν Ἀφράνου θυγατέρα Ἡρακλέα γεννῆσαι υἱὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς Δίδωρον: τούτου δὲ γενέσθαι Σόφωνα, ἀφ᾽ οὗ τοὺς βαρβάρους Σόφακας λέγεσθαι.”

XVI

(1) [242] Ἰσάκῳ δὲ περὶ τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔτος γεγονότι γυναῖκα γνοὺς ἀγαγέσθαι ὁ πατὴρ Ἄβραμος Ῥεβέκκαν Ναχώρου παιδὸς θυγατέρα τἀδελφοῦ τὸν πρεσβύτατον πέμπει τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐπὶ τὴν μνηστείαν ἐνδησάμενος μεγάλαις πίστεσι. [243] γίνονται δὲ αὗται τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον: ὑπὸ τοὺς μηροὺς ἀλλήλοις τὰς χεῖρας ἐπαγαγόντες ἔπειτα ἐπικαλοῦνται τὸν θεὸν μάρτυρα τῶν ἐσομένων. ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ δῶρα τοῖς ἐκεῖ διὰ τὸ σπάνιον ἢ μηδ᾽ ὅλως ἐπιχωριάζειν ἐκτετιμημένα. [244] οὗτος ἀπερχόμενος χρόνῳ διὰ τὸ εἶναι χαλεπὴν ὁδεύεσθαι τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν, χειμῶνι μὲν ὑπὸ πηλῶν βάθους, θέρους δ᾽ ὑπὸ ἀνυδρίας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ λῃστηρίων ὄντων ἐν αὐτῇ, ἃ διαφυγεῖν οὐκ ἐνῆν μὴ προνοοῦσι τούτου τοῖς ὁδεύουσιν, εἰς πόλιν ἀφικνεῖται Κάρραν καὶ γενόμενος ἐν τοῖς προαστείοις παρθένοις ἐντυγχάνει πλείοσιν ἐφ᾽ ὕδωρ βαδιζούσαις: [245] εὔχεται μὲν οὖν τῷ θεῷ Ῥεβέκκαν, ἣν τῷ παιδὶ Ἄβραμος μνηστευσόμενον ἐξαπέστειλεν, εἰ κατὰ νοῦν τὸν αὐτοῦ μέλλει ὁ γάμος οὗτος συντελεῖσθαι, ἐν ἐκείναις εὑρεθῆναι γνωρισθῆναι τε αὐτὴν τῶν μὲν ἄλλων αἰτοῦντι ποτὸν ἀρνουμένων ἐκείνης δὲ αὐτῷ παρασχούσης.

(2) [246] Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ ταύτης ὢν τῆς διανοίας ἐπὶ τὸ φρέαρ παραγίνεται καὶ παρακαλεῖ τὰς παρθένους ποτὸν αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν: τῶν δ᾽ ἐκτρεπομένων ὡς χρῃζουσῶν οἴκαδε κομίζειν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐκείνῳ παρασχεῖν, καὶ γὰρ οὐδ᾽ εὔληπτον εἶναι τὸ ὕδωρ, μία ἐξ ἁπασῶν ἐκείναις τε τῆς πρὸς τὸν ξένον ἐπιπλήττει δυσκολίας, τίνος ἄλλου κοινωνήσειν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους αὐτάς ποτε, αἳ μηδ᾽ ὕδατος μετέδοσαν λέγουσα, καὶ παρέχει αὐτῷ φιλοφρόνως. [247] ὁ δὲ ἐν ἐλπίδι μὲν τῶν ὅλων γενόμενος, βουλόμενος δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν μαθεῖν, ἐπῄνει τε τῆς εὐγενείας αὐτὴν καὶ τῆς χρηστότητος, ὅτι καὶ μετ᾽ οἰκείου πόνου τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπαρκεῖν οὐκ ἔφυγεν, ἐπυνθάνετό τε τίνων εἴη γονέων καὶ κατεύχεται αὐτοῖς ὄνησιν τοιαύτης παιδὸς καί “νυμφεύσειαν, φησίν, ὡς αὐτοῖς ἐστι κεχαρισμένον, εἰς οἶκον ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ παῖδας [248] αὐτῷ τεξομένην γνησίους.” ἡ δὲ οὐδὲ τούτων ἐφθόνησεν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ μαθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ γένος ἀπεσήμαινε καὶ “Ῥεβέκκα μέν, φησίν, ἐγὼ καλοῦμαι, πατὴρ δέ μοι Βαθουῆλος ἦν: ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν

ἤδη τέθνηκε, Λάβανος δὲ ἀδελφός ἐστιν ἡμέτερος τοῦ τε οἴκου παντὸς σὺν τῇ μητρὶ προνοούμενος καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς παρθενίας ἐπιμελόμενος.” [249] τούτων ἀκροασάμενος ἔχαιρέ τε τοῖς γεγονόσι καὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις τὸν θεὸν οὕτως ὁρῶν αὐτῷ τῆς ὁδοῦ σαφῶς συλλαμβάνοντα, καὶ προκομίσας ὁρμίσκον τε καί τινας κόσμους, οὓς εὐπρεπὲς φορεῖν παρθένοις, ἀνεδίδου τῇ κόρῃ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ πιεῖν χάριτος ἀμοιβὴν εἶναι καὶ γέρας, δίκαιον λέγων τοιούτων αὐτὴν τυγχάνειν ἀγαθὴν παρὰ τὰς τοσαύτας παρθένους γενομένην. [250] ἠξίου τε παρ’ αὐτοῖς καταχθῆναι τοῦ προσωτέρω χωρεῖν τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτὸν ἀφαιρουμένης, κόσμον τε φέρων γυναικεῖον πολυτελῆ πιστεύειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀσφαλεστέροις ἔφασκεν ἢ τούτοις, οἷς αὐτὸς ἐπειράθη. τεκμαίρεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τἀδελφοῦ φιλανθρωπίαν αὐτῆς ἔλεγεν, ὡς οὐ δυσχερανοῦσιν, ἐκ τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν ἀρετῆς: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔσεσθαι βαρὺς μισθόν τε τῆς φιλοξενίας τελέσας καὶ δαπάναις ἰδίαις χρησάμενος. [251] ἡ δὲ περὶ μὲν τῆς τῶν γονέων φιλανθρωπίας αὐτῆς ὀρθῶς εἰκάζειν αὐτὸν εἶπεν, ἐπεμέμφετο δὲ ὡς μικρολόγους ὑπειληφότα: πάντων γὰρ ἀμισθὶ μεθέξειν. δηλώσασα μέντοι Λαβάνῳ πρότερον τἀδελφῷ συγχωροῦντος ἄξειν αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν.

(3) [252] Ὡς οὖν τούτου γενομένου παρῆγε τὸν ξένον, τὰς μὲν καμήλους αὐτοῦ παραλαμβάνοντες οἱ Λαβάνου θεράποντες ἐτημέλουν, αὐτὸς δὲ δειπνήσων εἰσήγετο σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνόν φησι πρός τε αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῆς κόρης: “Ἄβραμος Θέρρου μέν ἐστιν υἱός, συγγενὴς δ’ ὑμέτερος: Ναχώρης γὰρ ὁ τούτων, ὦ γύναι, τῶν παίδων πάππος ἀδελφὸς ἦν Ἀβράμου ὁμοπάτριός τε καὶ ὁμομήτριος. [253] πέμπει τοίνυν οὗτος πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀξιῶν τὴν κόρην ταύτην παιδὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ λαβεῖν πρὸς γάμον, ὃς γνήσιός ἐστιν αὐτῷ καὶ μόνος ἐπὶ τοῖς πᾶσι τεθραμμένος. ᾧ τῶν μὲν ἐκεῖ γυναικῶν δυνατὸν αὐτῷ τὴν εὐδαιμονεστάτην λαβεῖν οὐκ ἠξίωσεν ἀγαγέσθαι, τιμῶν δὲ τὸ γένος τὸν γάμον πολιτεύει τοῦτον. [254] οὗ τὴν σπουδὴν καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν μὴ ὑβρίσητε: κατὰ γὰρ θεοῦ βούλησιν τά τε ἄλλα μοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀπήντησε καὶ τὴν παῖδα καὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον οἶκον εὗρον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ πλησίον τῆς πόλεως ἐγενόμην, παρθένους ἰδὼν πολλὰς ἐπὶ τὸ φρέαρ παραγινομένας ηὐξάμην εἰς ταύτην ἐμπεσεῖν, ὃ δὴ γέγονε. [255] γάμον οὖν ὑπὸ θείας μνηστευόμενον ἐπιφανείας καὶ ὑμεῖς κυρώσατε καὶ Ἄβραμον τὸν μετὰ τοσαύτης ἀπεσταλκότα σπουδῆς τῷ κατανεῦσαι τὴν κόρην τιμήσατε.” οἱ δὲ, καλὰ γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ κεχαρισμένα, τήν τε γνώμην τοῦ θεοῦ συνῆκαν καὶ πέμπουσιν ἐφ’ οἷς ἠξίου τὴν θυγατέρα. γαμεῖ δὲ ταύτην ὁ Ἴσακος τῶν πραγμάτων εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφικομένων: οἱ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Κατούρας εἰς τὰς ἀποικίας ἐξεληλύθεισαν.

XVII

(1) [256] Τελευτᾷ δὲ καὶ Ἄβραμος μετ᾽ ὀλίγον, ἀνὴρ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἄκρος καὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν σπουδῆς ἀξίως ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τετιμημένος. ἐβίωσε δὲ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἐτῶν ἑβδομηκονταπέντε πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν καὶ θάπτεται ἐν Νεβρῶνι μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς Σάρρας ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων Ἰσάκου καὶ Ἰσμαήλου.

XVIII

(1) [257] Ἰσάκῳ δὲ μετὰ τὴν Ἀβράμου τελευτὴν ἐκύει τὸ γύναιον, καὶ τῆς γαστρὸς ἐπὶ μεῖζον ὀγκουμένης ἀγωνιάσας ἀνήρετο τὸν θεόν. φράζει δ᾽ αὐτῷ διδύμους τέξεσθαι τὴν Ῥεβέκκαν καὶ φερώνυμα ἔσεσθαι τοῖς παισὶν ἔθνη, τοῦ δὲ μείζονος προτερήσειν τὸ δοκοῦν ἔλασσον εἶναι. [258] τίκτεται δ᾽ αὐτῷ μετ᾽ ὀλίγον κατὰ πρόρρησιν τοῦ θεοῦ δίδυμα παιδία, ὧν τὸ μὲν πρεσβύτερον ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας περισσῶς ἦν δασύ, τὸ δὲ νεώτερον εἴχετο προι¨όντος αὐτοῦ κατὰ πτέρναν. ἠγάπα δὲ ὁ μὲν πατὴρ τὸν πρεσβύτερον Ἠσαῦ λεγόμενον κατ᾽ ἐπωνυμίαν τῆς τριχώσεως: Ἑβραῖοι γὰρ τὸ ἦσαυρον τρίχωμα λέγουσιν: Ἰάκωβος δὲ ὁ νεώτερος τῇ μητρὶ προσφιλὴς ἦν.

(2) [259] Λιμοῦ δὲ τὴν γῆν καταλαβόντος Ἴσακος, δόξαν αὐτῷ χωρεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον τῆς χώρας ἀγαθῆς ὑπαρχούσης, ἐπὶ Γεράρων ἀπῄει τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος. ὑποδέχεται δ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀβιμέλεχος κατὰ ξενίαν καὶ φιλίαν τὴν Ἀβράμου καὶ πολλῇ πάνυ πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίᾳ χρησάμενος κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς ἐπὶ ταύτης ὑπὸ φθόνου μεῖναι πρὸς τὸ πᾶν ἐκωλύθη. [260] ὁρῶν γὰρ τὸν θεὸν τῷ Ἰσάκῳ συμπαρόντα καὶ τοσαύτῃ περὶ αὐτὸν σπουδῇ χρώμενον ἀπώσατο αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ τοιούτου πάλιν ἐκ μεταβολῆς τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ βασκάνου πειραθεὶς Ἀβιμελέχου τότε μὲν ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν λεγομένην Φάραγγα χωρίον οὐ μακρὰν Γεράρων, ὀρύσσοντι δ᾽ αὐτῷ φρέαρ ποιμένες ἐπιπεσόντες εἰς μάχην ἐχώρησαν κωλύοντες τὸ ἔργον, καὶ μὴ βουληθέντος φιλονικεῖν ἔδοξαν κεκρατηκέναι. [261] ὑποχωρήσας δὲ ὤρυσσεν ἕτερον, καὶ βιασαμένων ἄλλων τινῶν Ἀβιμελέχου ποιμένων καὶ τοῦτο καταλιπὼν ἀπεχώρησεν εὐγνώμονι λογισμῷ κτώμενος αὐτῷ τὴν ἄδειαν. [262] εἶτα αὐτομάτου παρασχόντος αὐτῷ τὴν φρεωρυχίαν ἀνεπικώλυτον, Ῥοωβὼθ τὸ φρέαρ ὠνόμασεν: εὐρύχωρον ἀποσημαίνει τὸ ὄνομα. τῶν δὲ προτέρων τὸ μὲν Ἔσκον καλεῖται: μάχην ἄν τις αὐτὸ φήσειε: τὸ δ᾽ ἕτερον Σύαιναν: ἔχθραν ἀποσημαίνει τὸ ὄνομα.

(3) [263] Ἰσάκῳ μὲν οὖν ἀκμάζειν συνέβαινε τὴν ἰσχὺν ὑπὸ μεγέθους πραγμάτων, Ἀβιμέλεχος δὲ κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ φύεσθαι νομίζων τὸν Ἴσακον, ὑπόπτου μὲν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς συνδιαιτήσεως γενομένης, ἐπ᾽ οὐ φανερᾷ δὲ ἔχθρᾳ τοῦ Ἰσάκου ὑπεκστάντος, δείσας μὴ τῆς προτέρας αὐτῷ φιλίας οὐδὲν ὄφελος γένηται πρὸς ἄμυναν ὧν ἔπαθεν Ἰσάκου τραπέντος φιλίαν ἄνωθεν ποιεῖται πρὸς αὐτὸν ἕνα τῶν στρατηγῶν Φίλοχον ἐπαγόμενος. [264] πάντων δὲ τετυχηκὼς ὧν ἠξίου διὰ

τὴν Ἰσάκου χρηστότητα ὀργῆς προσφάτου πρεσβυτέραν χάριν εἰς αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν πατέρα γεγενημένην προτιμῶντος ἀπῆρεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ.

(4) [265] Τῶν δὲ Ἰσάκου παίδων Ἡσαῦς, περὶ ὃν μάλιστα ὁ πατὴρ ἐσπουδάκει, τεσσαράκοντα γεγονὼς ἔτη γαμεῖ Ἄδαν τὴν Ἥλωνος καὶ Ἀλιβάμην τὴν Εὐσεβεῶνος δυναστευόντων ἐν Χαναναίοις ἀνδρῶν θυγατέρας, ἑαυτὸν ποιήσας τῆς περὶ τὸν γάμον ἐξουσίας κύριον καὶ μηδὲ τῷ πατρὶ συμβουλευσάμενος: [266] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἐπέτρεψεν Ἴσακος ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ τῆς γνώμης γενομένης: οὐ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ δι᾽ ἡδονῆς συνάψασθαι συγγένειαν πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους. οὐ βουλόμενος δὲ ἀπεχθὴς εἶναι τῷ παιδὶ κελεύων ἀφίστασθαι τῶν γυναικῶν σιγᾶν ἔκρινε.

(5) [267] Γηραιὸς δὲ ὢν καὶ τὰς ὄψεις εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἠφανισμένος προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν Ἡσαῦν καὶ τὸ γῆρας εἰπὼν ὡς καὶ δίχα τῆς πηρώσεως καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὰς ὄψεις πάθους ἐμποδὼν ἦν αὐτῷ θερα [268] πεύειν τὸν θεὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐξελθεῖν ἐπὶ κυνηγέσιον καὶ θηρασάμενον ὅσα ἂν αὐτῷ δυνατὸν γίνηται παρασκευάσαι δεῖπνον, ἵνα μετὰ τοῦτο ἱκετεύσῃ τὸν θεὸν σύμμαχον αὐτῷ καὶ συνεργὸν εἰς ἅπαντα παρεῖναι τὸν βίον, ἄδηλον μὲν εἶναι λέγων, ὁπότε καὶ τελευτήσειε, πρὸ δὲ τούτου παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ βούλεσθαι τὸν θεὸν ταῖς εὐχαῖς ταῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ παρακεκλημένον.

(6) [269] Καὶ Ἡσαῦς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον ἐξώρμησεν: ἡ δὲ Ῥεβέκκα τὸν θεὸν εἰς τὴν εὔνοιαν ἀξιοῦσα τὴν Ἰακώβου παρακαλεῖν καὶ παρὰ τὴν Ἰσάκου γνώμην ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἐρίφους κατασφάξαντα δεῖπνον παρασκευάζειν. ὁ δὲ Ἰάκωβος ὑπηρέτει τῇ μητρὶ πάντα παρ᾽ αὐτῆς πεπυσμένος: [270] ἐπεὶ δ᾽ εὐτρεπὲς ἦν τὸ δεῖπνον, ἐρίφου δέρματι τὸν βραχίονα περιβαλών, ἵνα πιστεύοιτο παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ διὰ τὴν δασύτητα Ἡσαῦς εἶναι, τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα πάντ᾽ ὢν ὅμοιος διὰ τὸ εἶναι δίδυμος τούτῳ μόνῳ διέφερε, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ πρὶν γενέσθαι τὰς εὐχὰς εὑρεθεὶς κακουργῶν εἰς τοὐναντίον παροξύνῃ τὸν πατέρα ποιήσασθαι ταύτας, προσέφερε τῷ πατρὶ τὸ δεῖπνον. [271] καὶ ὁ Ἴσακος ἐπαισθόμενος τῷ κατὰ τὴν φωνὴν ἰδίῳ προσκαλεῖται τὸν υἱόν: τοῦ δὲ τὸν βραχίονα προτείναντος, ᾧ τὴν αἰγέαν περιβέβλητο, ταύτης ἐπαφώμενος "φωνεῖς μέν, εἶπεν, Ἰακώβῳ παραπλήσιον, κατὰ δὲ τὸ [272] τῆς τριχὸς βάθος Ἡσαῦς εἶναί μοι δοκεῖς." καὶ μηδὲν ὑπολαβὼν κακοῦργον δειπνήσας τρέπεται πρὸς εὐχὰς καὶ παράκλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ "δέσποτα, λέγων, παντὸς αἰῶνος καὶ δημιουργὲ τῆς ὅλης οὐσίας: σὺ γὰρ πατρὶ τῷ ἐμῷ μεγάλην ἰσχὺν προύθηκας ἀγαθῶν κἀμὲ τῶν παρόντων ἠξίωσας καὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἐμοῦ γενομένοις ὑπέσχου βοηθὸς εὐμενὴς καὶ δοτὴρ ἀεὶ τῶν κρειττόνων ἔσεσθαι: [273] ταῦτ᾽ οὖν καὶ βεβαίωσον καὶ μὴ περιίδῃς με διὰ τὴν παροῦσαν ἀσθένειαν, δι᾽ ἣν καὶ μᾶλλόν σου δεόμενος τυγχάνω, καί μοι παῖδα τοῦτον εὐμενὴς σῶζε καὶ παντὸς ἀπαθῆ κακοῦ διαφύλαττε δοὺς αὐτῷ βίον εὐδαίμονα καὶ κτῆσιν ἀγαθῶν, ὅσων σοι δύναμις παρασχεῖν, ποιήσας δ᾽ αὐτὸν φοβερὸν μὲν ἐχθροῖς φίλοις δὲ τίμιον καὶ κεχαρισμένον."

(7) [274] Καὶ ὁ μὲν νομίζων εἰς Ἡσαῦν ποιεῖσθαι τὰς εὐχὰς παρεκάλει τὸν θεόν: ἄρτι δὲ πέπαυτο τούτων καὶ παρῆν Ἡσαῦς ἀπὸ τῆς θήρας. καὶ τῆς διαμαρτίας Ἴσακος αἰσθόμενος ἡσυχίαν ἄγει, Ἡσαῦς δὲ ἠξίου τῶν ὁμοίων τἀδελφῷ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τυγχάνειν: [275] τοῦ δὲ [πατρὸς] ἀρνουμένου διὰ τὸ πάσας εἰς Ἰάκωβον τὰς εὐχὰς ἀνηλωκέναι πένθος ἦγεν ἐπὶ τῇ διαμαρτίᾳ. καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῖς δάκρυσιν ἀχθόμενος ὁ πατὴρ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον καὶ δύναμιν σώματος ἐν ὅπλοις καὶ πᾶσιν ἔργοις εὐδοκιμήσειν αὐτὸν ἔφασκε καὶ καρπώσεσθαι τὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς δόξαν δι᾽ αἰῶνος καὶ τὸ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ γένος, δουλεύσειν δὲ τἀδελφῷ.

(8) [276] Ἰάκωβον δὲ φοβούμενον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τιμωρίαν βουλόμενον λαβεῖν τῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς διαμαρτίας ἡ μήτηρ ῥύεται: πείθει γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα Μεσοποταμίαν ἀγαγέσθαι τῷ Ἰακώβῳ γυναῖκα συγγενῆ. [277] ἤδη γὰρ τὴν Ἰσμαήλου παῖδα Ἡσαῦς παρειλήφει πρὸς γάμον Βασεμάθην: οὐ γὰρ εὐνόουν τοῖς Χαναναίοις οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἴσακον, ὥστε ἐπὶ τοῖς πρότερον αὐτοῦ γάμοις δυσχερῶς διακειμένων εἰς τὸ ἐκείνοις κεχαρισμένον τὴν Βασεμάθην παρέλαβεν μάλιστα περὶ αὐτὴν σπουδάσας.

XIX

(1) [278] Ἰάκωβος δὲ εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν στελλόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς κατὰ γάμον τῆς Λαβάνου θυγατρὸς τοῦ ἐκείνης ἀδελφοῦ, ἐπιτρέψαντος Ἰσάκου τὸν γάμον διὰ τὸ πείθεσθαι τοῖς βουλήμασι τῆς γυναικὸς διὰ τῆς Χαναναίας ἐπορεύετο καὶ διὰ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους μῖσος παρ᾽ οὐδένα μὲν ἠξίου κατάγεσθαι, [279] ὑπαίθριος δὲ ηὐλίζετο τὴν κεφαλὴν λίθοις ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ συμφορουμένοις ἐπιτιθεὶς καὶ τοιαύτην κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὄψιν ὁρᾷ παραστᾶσαν αὐτῷ: κλίμακα γῆθεν ἔδοξεν ἐφικνουμένην τοῦ οὐρανοῦ βλέπειν καὶ δι᾽ αὐτῆς ὄψεις κατιούσας σεμνότερον ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπου φύσιν ἐχούσας, καὶ τελευταῖον ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τὸν θεὸν ἐναργῶς αὐτῷ φαινόμενον ὀνομαστί τε καλέσαι καὶ ποιήσασθαι τοιούτους λόγους. [280] “Ἰάκωβε, πατρὸς ὄντα σε ἀγαθοῦ καὶ πάππου δόξαν ἀρετῆς μεγάλης εὐραμένου κάμνειν ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν οὐ προσῆκεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐλπίζειν τὰ κρείττονα: [281] καὶ γὰρ ἄφθονος ἐκδέξεταί σε μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν παρουσία πρὸς τὸ πᾶν κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἐπικουρίαν. Ἄβραμόν τε γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐκ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας δεῦρο ἤγαγον ἐλαυνόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν συγγενῶν, καὶ πατέρα τὸν σὸν εὐδαίμονα ἀπέφηνα: ὧν οὐχ ἧττω μοῖραν εἰς σὲ καταθήσομαι: [282] θαρρῶν οὖν καὶ ταύτην πορεύου τὴν ὁδὸν ἐμοὶ προπομπῷ χρώμενος: ἀνυσθήσεταί γάρ σοι γάμος, ἐφ᾽ ὃν ἐσπούδακας, καὶ γενήσονταί σοι παῖδες ἀγαθοί, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἀριθμοῦ κρεῖττον ἔσται, μείζοσιν υἱοῖς αὐτῶν καταλιμπάνοντες: οἷς ἐγὼ τὸ ταύτης κράτος τῆς γῆς δίδωμι καὶ παισὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν, οἳ πληρώσουσιν ὅσην ἥλιος ὁρᾷ καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν. [283] ἀλλὰ μήτε κίνδυνον ὑφορῶ μηδένα μήτ᾽

εὐλαβοῦ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πόνων ἐμοῦ ποιουμένου τῶν σοὶ πραχθησομένων πρόνοιαν ἔν τε τοῖς νῦν καὶ πολὺ πλέον ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον.”

(2) [284] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ θεὸς Ἰακώβῳ προαγορεύει: ὁ δὲ περιχαρὴς γενόμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑωραμένοις καὶ κατηγγελμένοις φαιδρύνει τε τοὺς λίθους ὡς τηλικούτων ἀγαθῶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς προρρήσεως γεγενημένης καὶ εὐχὴν ποιεῖται θύσειν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν, εἰ κτησάμενος βίον ἀπαθὴς ἐπανίοι, τῷ θεῷ δεκάτην τῶν πεπορισμένων ποιεῖσθαι οὕτως ἀφικόμενος, τίμιόν τε κρίνει τὸ χωρίον ὄνομα αὐτῷ Βηθὴλ θέμενος, σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο θείαν ἑστίαν κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων γλῶτταν.

(3) [285] Προι¨ὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας χρόνῳ παρῆν εἰς τὴν Χαρράν, καὶ ποιμένας ἐν τοῖς προαστείοις καταλαβὼν καὶ παῖδας ἐφήβους καὶ παρθένους ὑπέρ τινος ἱδρυμένους φρέατος συνδιέτριβεν αὐτοῖς χρῄζων ποτοῦ εἵς τε λόγους αὐτοῖς ἀφικνούμενος ἀνέκρινεν αὐτούς, εἰ τυγχάνουσι Λάβανόν τινα παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς εἰδότες ἔτι περιόντα. [286] οἱ δὲ πάντες ἐπίστασθαί τε ἔφασαν, οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τοιοῦτον ὥστε ἀγνοεῖσθαι, καὶ συμποιμαίνειν αὐτοῖς θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ, ἣν θαυμάζειν ὅτι μήπω παρείη: παρὰ γὰρ ταύτης μεμαθήκεις ἂν ἀκριβέστερον ὅσα περὶ αὐτῶν ἀκοῦσαι ποθεῖς.” ταῦτα δ᾽ αὐτῶν ἔτι λεγόντων παρῆν ἡ παῖς σὺν τοῖς ἐπικατιοῦσι τῶν ποιμένων. [287] καὶ δεικνύουσι τὸν Ἰάκωβον αὐτῇ λέγοντες, ὡς ξένος οὗτος ἥκοι τὰ περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς ἀναπυνθανόμενος. ἡ δὲ ἡσθεῖσα ὑπὸ νηπιότητος τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ Ἰακώβου ἀνέκρινεν αὐτόν, τίς τε ὢν καὶ πόθεν ἥκοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑπὸ τίνος χρείας ἠγμένος, ηὔχετο δὲ δυνατὸν εἶναι αὐτοῖς παρέχειν ὧν ἀφικνεῖται δεόμενος.

(4) [288] Ἰάκωβος δὲ οὐχ ὑπὸ τῆς συγγενείας οὐδὲ τῆς διὰ ταύτην εὐνοίας, ἀλλ᾽ ἔρωτι τῆς παιδὸς ἡττηθεὶς ἐκπέπληκτό τε τοῦ κάλλους ὁρῶν οὕτως ἔχουσαν, ὡς ὀλίγαι τῶν τότε γυναικῶν ἤνθουν, καὶ φησίν: “ἀλλ᾽ ἐμοὶ πρὸς σὲ καὶ πατέρα τὸν σόν, εἴπερ Λαβάνου παῖς τυγχάνεις, οἰκειότης ἐστὶ πρεσβυτέρα τῆς τε σῆς καὶ ἐμῆς γενέσεως: [289] ἐκ Θάρρου γὰρ Ἄβραμος καὶ Ἀρράνης καὶ Ναχώρης ἦσαν υἱοί, ὧν Βαθουῆλος ὁ σὸς πάππος Ναχώρου γίνεται παῖς, Ἀβράμου δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀρράνου Σάρρας Ἴσακος ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ. ἔγγιον δὲ καὶ νεώτερον τοῦθ᾽ ἡμεῖς τῆς συγγενείας ὁμήρευμα ἔχομεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους: [290] Ῥεβέκκα γὰρ μήτηρ ἐμὴ Λαβάνου πατρὸς τοῦ σοῦ ἀδελφὴ πατρός τε τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ μητρός, ἀνεψιοὶ δ᾽ ἐσμὲν ἡμεῖς ἐγώ τε καὶ σύ. καὶ νῦν δεῦρο ἥκω ἀσπασόμενός τε ὑμᾶς καὶ τὴν πρου¨π [291] ἀρχουσαν ἡμῖν συγγένειαν ἀνανεωσόμενος.” ἡ δὲ ὑπὸ μνήμης, ὁποῖα φιλεῖ συντυγχάνειν τοῖς νέοις, προπεπυσμένη παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὰ περὶ τῆς Ῥεβέκκας καὶ τοὺς γονεῖς εἰδυῖα ποθοῦντας αὐτῆς τὸ ὄνομα ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τὸν πατέρα εὐνοίας ἔνδακρυς γενομένη περιβάλλει τὸν Ἰάκωβον, [292] καὶ κατασπασαμένη τὴν εὐκταιοτάτην καὶ μεγίστην ἡδονὴν αὐτὸν κομίσαι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἅπασιν ἔλεγεν ἐπὶ τῇ μνήμῃ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ κειμένῳ καὶ πρὸς μόνῃ ταύτῃ τυγχάνοντι: φανεῖσθαι δ᾽ αὐτῷ παντὸς ἀντάξιον ἀγαθοῦ.

χωρεῖν τε ἐκέλευεν ἤδη πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἔπεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡγουμένῃ καὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς μὴ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὸ πλέον αὐτὸν βραδύνοντα.

(5) [293] Ταῦτ᾽ εἰποῦσα παρῆγεν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν Λάβανον, καὶ γνωρισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ μήτρωος αὐτός τε ἀδεὴς ἦν ἐν φίλοις γενόμενος κἀκείνοις πολλὴν ἡδονὴν παρεῖχεν ἀδοκήτως ἐπιφανείς. [294] μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ὁ Λάβανος χαίρειν μὲν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ παρόντι μειζόνως ἢ ὡς τῷ λόγῳ δηλώσειεν ἔλεγε, τὴν δ᾽ αἰτίαν δι᾽ ἣν ἀφῖκται μητέρα τε καὶ πατέρα πρεσβύτας καταλιπὼν καὶ θεραπείας τῆς παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ δεομένους ἀνεπυνθάνετο: παρέξειν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς ἅπασαν ἐπαμύνειν χρείαν. [295] Ἰάκωβος δὲ πᾶσαν αὐτῷ τὴν αἰτίαν διηγεῖτο λέγων Ἰσάκῳ γενέσθαι παῖδας διδύμους αὐτόν τε καὶ Ἠσαῦν, ὃν ἐπεὶ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς εὐχῶν διήμαρτε σοφίᾳ τῆς μητρὸς εἰς αὐτὸν γενομένων, ἀποκτεῖναι ζητεῖν αὐτὸν ὡς ἀφῃρημένον τῆς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ βασιλείας καὶ ἀγαθῶν ὧν ὁ πατὴρ ηὔξατο. [296] ταύτην τε εἶναι τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἐνθάδε παρουσίας κατὰ τὴν τῆς μητρὸς ἐντολήν: πᾶσί τε γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀδελφοὶ τυγχάνουσι καὶ πλέον τοῦ κατ᾽ ἐκείνους συγγενοῦς ἡ μήτηρ προσλαμβάνει. ἔρυμα δὲ τῆς ἐμῆς, φησίν, ἀποδημίας σέ τε καὶ τὸν θεὸν ποιούμενος θαρρῶ τοῖς παροῦσι.”

(6) [297] Λάβανος δὲ καὶ διὰ τοὺς προγόνους ὑπισχνεῖται πάσης αὐτῷ μεταδώσειν φιλανθρωπίας καὶ διὰ τὴν μητέρα, πρὸς ἣν τὴν εὔνοιαν διὰ τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν σπουδῆς ἐνδείξεσθαι καὶ μὴ παρούσης: ποιμνίων τε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπιμελητὴν καταστήσειν ἔφασκε καὶ προνομῆς ἀντὶ τούτων ἀξιώσειν, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἰδίους ἀπαλλάττεσθαι γονεῖς βουλόμενον μετὰ δώρων ἐπανήξειν καὶ τιμῆς ὅσης εἰκὸς ἦν τυχεῖν τὸν οὕτω συγγενῆ. [298] Ἰακώβου δὲ ἀσμένως ταῦτα ἀκούσαντος καὶ φήσαντος ἡδέως πάντα μένων παρ᾽ αὐτῷ πόνον εἰς ἡδονὴν ὑπομενεῖν τὴν ἐκείνου, μισθὸν δὲ ὑπὲρ τούτου λαβεῖν ἀξιοῦντος τὸν Ῥαχήλας γάμον διά τε τὰ ἄλλα τιμῆς ἀξίας παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τυγχάνειν οὔσης, καὶ ὅτι διάκονος τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφίξεως γένοιτο: ὁ γὰρ τῆς παιδὸς ἔρως αὐτὸν ἠνάγκασε ποιήσασθαι τοὺς περὶ τούτου λόγους. [299] Λάβανος δὲ ἡσθεὶς τούτοις ἐπινεύει τὸν γάμον αὐτῷ τῆς παιδὸς οὐκ ἄλλον ἀμείνω γαμβρὸν εὐξάμενος ἐλθεῖν: εἰ μέντοι παρ᾽ αὐτῷ μένοι τινὰ χρόνον, τοῦτο ποιήσειν: εἰς γὰρ Χαναναίους οὐκ ἂν πέμψαι τὴν θυγατέρα: μεταμέλειν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ τῆς ἀδελφῆς κήδους ἐκεῖ συναφθέντος. [300] τοῦ δ᾽ Ἰακώβου τούτοις συγχωροῦντος ἑπτὰ ἐτῶν χρόνον συντίθεται: τοσάδε γὰρ αὐτῷ κέκριται θητεῦσαι τῷ πενθερῷ, ἵνα τῆς ἀρετῆς πεῖραν δοὺς ἐπιγνωσθῇ μᾶλλον τίς εἴη. καὶ προσδεξάμενος τὸν λόγον Λάβανος τοῦ χρόνου διελθόντος προυτίθει τὴν εὐωχίαν τῶν γάμων. [301] νυκτὸς δ᾽ ἐπιγενομένης οὐδὲν προῃσθημένῳ τῷ Ἰακώβῳ παρακατακλίνει τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν θυγατέρων πρεσβυτέραν τε τῆς Ῥαχήλας καὶ τὴν ὄψιν οὐκ εὐπρεπῆ. συνελθὼν δ᾽ ἐκεῖνος ὑπὸ μέθης καὶ σκότους εἶτα μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν γνοὺς ἀδικίαν ἐπεκάλει Λαβάνῳ. [302] ὁ δὲ συγγνώμην ᾐτεῖτο τῆς ἀνάγκης, ὑφ᾽ ἧς ταῦτα πράξειεν: οὐ γὰρ κατὰ κακουργίαν αὐτῷ τὴν Λείαν παρασχεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑφ᾽ ἑτέρου μείζονος νενικημένον. τοῦτο μέντοι γ᾽ οὐδὲν

ἐμποδίζειν πρὸς τὸν Ῥαχήλας γάμον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐρῶντι δώσειν ταύτην μετ᾽ ἄλλην ἑπταετίαν. πείθεται δ᾽ ὁ Ἰάκωβος, οὐδὲν γὰρ ἕτερον αὐτῷ ποιεῖν ὁ τῆς κόρης ἔρως ἐπέτρεπε, καὶ διελθούσης ἄλλης ἑπταετίας τὴν Ῥαχήλαν παρέλαβεν.

(7) [303] Ἦσαν δ᾽ ἑκατέραις θεραπαινίδες τοῦ πατρὸς δόντος Ζελφὰ μὲν Λείας Ῥαχήλας δὲ Βάλλα, δοῦλαι μὲν οὐδαμῶς ὑποτεταγμέναι δέ. καὶ τῆς Λείας ἥπτετο δεινῶς ὁ πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἔρως τοῦ ἀνδρὸς προσεδόκα τε παίδων γενομένων ἔσεσθαι τιμία ἱκέτευέ τε τὸν θεὸν διηνεκῶς. [304] καὶ γενομένου παιδὸς ἄρρενος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπεστραμμένου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Ῥούβηλον ὀνομάζει τὸν υἱόν, διότι κατ᾽ ἔλεον αὐτῇ τοῦ θεοῦ γένοιτο: τοῦτο γὰρ σημαίνει τὸ ὄνομα. τεκνοῦνται δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τρεῖς ἕτεροι μετὰ χρόνον: Σεμεών, ἀποσημαίνει δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἐπήκοον αὐτῇ τὸν θεὸν γεγονέναι, εἶτα Λευίς, κοινωνίας οἷον βεβαιωτής, μεθ᾽ ὃν Ἰούδας, εὐχαριστίαν τοῦτο δηλοῖ. [305] Ῥαχήλα δὲ φοβουμένη, μὴ διὰ τὴν εὐτεκνίαν τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἧττονος παρὰ τἀνδρὸς μοίρας τυγχάνῃ, παρακατακλίνει τῷ Ἰακώβῳ τὴν αὐτῆς θεραπαινίδα Βάλλαν. ἐγένετο δὲ παιδίον ἐξ αὐτῆς Δάν, θεόκριτον ἄν τινες εἴποιεν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶτταν: καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν Νεφθάλεις, μηχανητὸς οἷον, διὰ τὸ ἀντιτεχνάσασθαι πρὸς τὴν εὐτεκνίαν τῆς ἀδελφῆς. [306] τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ καὶ Λεία ποιεῖ πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἔργον ἀντιτεχνασαμένη: παρακατακλίνει γὰρ τὴν αὐτῆς θεράπαιναν γίνεταί τε καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ζελφῆς υἱὸς Γάδας, τυχαῖον ἄν τις καλέσειεν αὐτόν, καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἄσηρος, μακαριστὴς λέγοιτ᾽ ἂν ἐξ ὧν πρὸς εὔκλειαν προσελάμβανε. [307] Ῥουβήλου δὲ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου τῶν υἱῶν Λείας μανδραγόρου μῆλα κομίζοντος τῇ μητρί, Ῥαχήλα θεασαμένη παρακαλεῖ μεταδοῦναι δι᾽ ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ βρώματος γενομένη. τῆς δ᾽ οὐ πειθομένης, ἀρκεῖσθαι δ᾽ αὐτὴν ἀξιούσης, ὅτι τῆς τιμῆς αὐτὴν ἀφέλοιτο τῆς παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρός, Ῥαχήλα πεπαίνουσα τὸν θυμὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς παραχωρήσειν αὐτῇ τἀνδρὸς ἔλεγε κοιμησομένου παρ᾽ αὐτῇ κατ᾽ ἐκείνην τὴν ἑσπέραν. [308] τῆς δὲ προσιεμένης τὴν χάριν Ἰάκωβος συγκαθεύδει τῇ Λείᾳ Ῥαχήλᾳ χαριζόμενος. πάλιν οὖν γίνονται παῖδες αὐτῇ, Ἰσσαχάρης μὲν σημαίνων τὸν ἐκ μισθοῦ γενόμενον, Ζαβουλὼν δὲ ἠνεχυρασμένον εὐνοίᾳ τῇ πρὸς αὐτήν, θυγάτηρ δὲ Δεῖνα. χρόνοις δ᾽ ὕστερον καὶ Ῥαχήλᾳ γίνεται Ἰώσηπος υἱός: προσθήκην γενησομένου τινὸς δηλοῖ.

(8) [309] Τοῦτον ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον, ἔτη δ᾽ ἐστὶν εἴκοσιν, ἐποίμαινε τῷ πενθερῷ: μετὰ τὸν δ᾽ ἠξίου τὰς γυναῖκας ἀναλαβὼν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν: τοῦ δὲ πενθεροῦ μὴ συγχωροῦντος κρύφα τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐπενόει. [310] τῶν γυναικῶν οὖν ἀπεπειρᾶτο, πῶς ἔχοιεν πρὸς τὴν ἀποδημίαν, τῶν δ᾽ ἐχουσῶν ἡδέως Ῥαχήλα καὶ τοὺς τύπους τῶν θεῶν, οὓς σέβειν πατρίους ὄντας νόμιμον ἦν, συνανελομένη συναπεδίδρασκε μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς οἵ τε ἑκατέρων παῖδες καὶ αἱ θεραπαινίδες σὺν τοῖς υἱοῖς εἴ τέ τις ἦν κτῆσις αὐταῖς. [311] ἐπήγετο δὲ Ἰάκωβος καὶ τῶν βοσκημάτων τὴν ἡμίσειαν Λαβάνου μὴ προεγνωκότος. τοὺς δὲ τύπους ἐπεφέρετο τῶν θεῶν ἡ Ῥαχήλα καταφρονεῖν μὲν τῆς τοιαύτης τιμῆς τῶν θεῶν

διδάξαντος αὐτὴν Ἰακώβου, ἵνα δ' εἰ καταληφθεῖεν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς διωχθέντες ἔχοι τούτοις προσφυγοῦσα συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν.

(9) [312] Λάβανος δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν πρώτην γνοὺς τήν τε Ἰακώβου ἀναχώρησιν καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων δεινοπαθῶν ἤλαυνεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐπειγόμενος, καὶ καθ' ἑβδόμην ἡμέραν ἐπί τινος λόφου λαμβάνει προκαθιδρυμένους. [313] καὶ τότε μέν, ἑσπέρα γὰρ ἦν, ἡσύχαζεν: ὄναρ δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἐπιστὰς αὐτῷ παρῄνεσε λαβόντι τὸν γαμβρὸν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας ἠρεμεῖν καὶ μηδὲν εἰς αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ θυμοῦ τολμᾶν, σπονδὰς δὲ ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς Ἰάκωβον, αὐτὸς λέγων ἐκείνῳ συμμαχήσειν, εἰ καταφρονήσας αὐτοῦ τῆς ὀλιγότητος χωρήσειεν αὐτῷ διὰ μάχης. [314] Λάβανος δὲ τοιαύτης αὐτῷ προρρήσεως γεγενημένης μεθ' ἡμέραν τὸν Ἰάκωβον εἰς λόγους προκαλεσάμενος καὶ δηλώσας αὐτῷ τὸ ὄναρ, ἐπεὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦλθε πεισθείς, ἤρξατο κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ προφέρων, ὅτι καὶ πένητα αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ πάντων ἄπορον ὑπεδέξατο καὶ παράσχοι πᾶσαν ἀφθονίαν τῆς αὐτοῦ κτήσεως: καὶ γὰρ καὶ θυγατέρας ἐμὰς συνέζευξα τὴν εὔνοιάν σου τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς τούτοις αὐξήσεσθαι λογιζόμενος. [315] σὺ δὲ οὔτε τῆς μητρὸς τῆς σαυτοῦ καὶ ἧς ἔχεις πρὸς ἐμὲ συγγενείας οὔτε γυναικῶν ἃς ἔγημας αἰδῶ ποιησάμενος, οὐδὲ τέκνων ὧν εἰμι πάππος φροντίσας, ἐχρήσω μοι πολέμου νόμῳ, κτῆσιν μὲν ἄγων τὴν ἐμὴν θυγατέρας δὲ ἀναπείσας ἀποδρᾶναι τὸν γεγεννηκότα, [316] ἱερά τε πάτρια βαστάσας οἴχῃ φερόμενος ὑπό τε τῶν ἐμῶν τιμηθέντα προγόνων καὶ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ θρησκείας τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκείνοις ἀξιωθέντα: καὶ ταῦτα ἃ μηδὲ οἱ πολεμήσαντες τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἔδρασαν ὁ συγγενὴς σὺ καὶ τῆς μὲν ἀδελφῆς τῆς ἐμῆς υἱός, θυγατέρων δὲ τῶν ἐμῶν ἀνήρ, ξένος δὲ καὶ ἐφέστιος τῆς ἐμῆς οἰκίας γεγενημένος ἔδρασας." [317] ταῦτα εἰπόντος Λαβάνου Ἰάκωβος ἀπελογεῖτο μὴ μόνῳ πατρίδος ἔρωτα τὸν θεόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἐμφῦσαι, καὶ μετὰ τοσοῦτον χρόνον καλῶς ἔχειν αὐτὸν κατελθεῖν εἰς ταύτην. [318] "ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς λείας ἧς ἐγκαλεῖς, φησίν, ἀδικῶν αὐτὸς ἂν εὑρεθείης ἐπ' ἄλλῳ κριτῇ: ὑπὲρ γὰρ ἧς ἐχρῆν σε χάριν ἡμῖν ἔχειν καὶ φυλαχθείσης ὑφ' ἡμῶν καὶ πλείονος γεγενημένης, ὑπὲρ ταύτης πῶς οὐ διαμαρτάνεις τῶν δικαίων χαλεπαίνων ἐμοί, εἰ μοῖραν αὐτῆς ὀλίγην λαβόντες ἔχομεν. περὶ μέντοι γε τῶν θυγατέρων ἴσθι μὴ κατ' ἐμὴν κακουργίαν ἀπαναστήσαντος ἀκολουθεῖν, ἀλλὰ κατ' εὔνοιαν δικαίαν, ἣν γυναιξὶ γαμεταῖς πρὸς τοὺς συνοικοῦντας εἶναι συμβέβηκεν: ἔπονται τοίνυν οὐχ ὡς ἐμοὶ τοσοῦτον, [319] ὅσον τοῖς παισὶν αὐτῶν." καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν αὐτὸς ἔλεγε, προσενεκάλει δὲ καὶ κατηγορίαν ἐποιεῖτο, ὅτι μητρὸς ὢν ἀδελφὸς τῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ συζεύξας αὐτῷ τὰς θυγατέρας ἐπιτάγμασιν ἐκτρυχώσειε χαλεποῖς, εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς κατασχών. καὶ τὰ μὲν προφάσει τῶν γάμων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενόμενα καίπερ ὄντα χαλεπὰ κουφότερα ἔφασκε, χείρω δὲ τὰ μετὰ τοὺς γάμους καὶ ἅ τις ἂν ἔπαθεν ἐχθρὸς ἔφυγε. [320] καὶ γὰρ σφόδρα κακούργως ὁ Λάβανος ἐχρήσατο τῷ Ἰακώβῳ: ὁρῶν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν πρὸς ὅτι θελήσειε συλλαμβανόμενον ὑπισχνεῖτο τῶν τεχθησομένων αὐτῷ

παρέξειν ἔσθ᾽ ὅτε μὲν ὅτι καὶ γένοιτο λευκόν, ποτὲ δ᾽ αὖ τὰ μέλανα τῶν γεννωμένων. [321] πληθυόντων δὲ τῶν ἐπ᾽ ὀνόματι τῷ Ἰακώβου τικτομένων, τὴν μὲν εἰς τὸ παρὸν οὐκ ἐφύλαττε πίστιν, εἰς ἔτος δὲ παρέξειν ἐπηγγέλλετο διὰ τὸ ἐποφθαλμιᾶν τῷ πλήθει τῆς κτήσεως, ἐπαγγελλόμενος μὲν διὰ τὸ δυσέλπιστον γενέσθαι τοσαῦτα, ψευδόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ γενομένοις.

(10) [322] Περὶ μέντοι τῶν ἱερωμάτων ἐκέλευεν ἔρευναν ποιεῖσθαι: δεξαμένου δὲ Λαβάνου τὴν ἔρευναν Ῥαχήλα πυνθανομένη κατατίθησι τοὺς τύπους εἰς τὴν σάγην τῆς φερούσης αὐτὴν καμήλου: ἐκαθέζετο δὲ φάσκουσα τὴν κατὰ φύσιν κάθαρσιν αὐτῇ ἐνοχλεῖν. [323] καὶ Λάβανος μὲν ἀφίσταται τῆς ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐρεύνης οὐκ ἂν οἰηθεὶς τὴν θυγατέρα μετὰ τοιούτου πάθους τοῖς τύποις προσελθεῖν, ποιεῖται δ᾽ ὅρκους πρὸς Ἰάκωβον οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ μνησικακήσειν τῶν γενομένων, ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖνος ἀγαπήσειν αὐτοῦ τὰς θυγατέρας. [324] καὶ τὰς πίστεις τὰς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐποιήσαντο ὑπὲρ ὀρῶν τινων, ἐφ᾽ οἷς στήλην ἀνέθεσαν κατὰ βωμοῦ σχῆμα, ὅθεν Γαλάδην λέγεται βουνός, ἀφ᾽ οὗ καὶ νῦν Γαλαδηνὴν καλοῦσι τὴν γῆν. ἑστιαθέντων δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις ὁ μὲν Λάβανος ἀνέζευξεν.

XX

(1) [325] Ἰακώβῳ δὲ εἰς τὴν Χαναναίαν προϊόντι φαντάσματα συνετύγχανεν ἀγαθὰς ἐλπίδας ὑπαγορεύοντα περὶ τῶν ἐς ὕστερον: καὶ τὸν μὲν τόπον ἐκεῖνον προσαγορεύει θεοῦ στρατόπεδον, βουλόμενος δὲ εἰδέναι, τί ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ φρονεῖ, τοὺς γνωσομένους ἕκαστα μετὰ ἀκριβείας προύπεμψε δεδιὼς αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν προτέραν ὑποψίαν. [326] ἐνετέλλετο δὲ τοῖς πεμπομένοις λέγειν πρὸς τὸν Ἠσαῦν, ὅτι νομίσας Ἰάκωβος ἄδικον συνδιαιτᾶσθαι αὐτοῦ τῇ ὀργῇ τῆς χώρας ἐκὼν ὑπεξέλθοι, καὶ νῦν τὸν χρόνον ἱκανὸν ἡγούμενος εἶναι διαλλάκτην ἐπανήκοι γυναῖκάς τε καὶ παῖδας ἐπαγόμενος μετὰ τοῦ πορισθέντος βίου, μετὰ τῶν τιμιωτάτων ἑαυτὸν ἐκείνῳ παραδιδούς, ὅτι κρίνοι μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν τὸ τῷ ἀδελφῷ συμμεταλαμβάνειν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δεδομένων. [327] καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐδήλουν, Ἠσαῦς δὲ περιχαρὴς γίνεται καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ ὑπήντα σὺν ὁπλίταις τετρακοσίοις. καὶ Ἰάκωβος πυνθανόμενος ἥκειν αὐτὸν ὑπαντησόμενον μετὰ τοσούτων ἦν περίφοβος, τῷ μέντοι θεῷ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας ἐπέτρεπε καὶ πρόνοιαν εἶχεν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, ὅπως αὐτὸς ἀπαθὴς σώζοι τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ κρατήσας τῶν ἐχθρῶν εἰ θέλοιεν ἀδικεῖν. [328] νείμας οὖν τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς μὲν προύπεμπε, τοὺς δὲ λειπομένους ἅσσον ἐκέλευσεν ἀκολουθεῖν, ὅπως εἰ βιασθεῖεν οἱ προπεμφθέντες ἐπιθεμένου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, καταφυγὴν ἔχοιεν τοὺς ἑπομένους. [329] καὶ τοῦτον διατάξας τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ τὸν τρόπον πέμπει τινὰς δῶρα κομίζοντας τἀδελφῷ: ὑποζύγια δὲ ἦν τὰ πεμπόμενα καὶ πλῆθος τετραπόδων ποικίλων, ἃ δὴ τίμια τοῖς ληψομένοις ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι παρὰ τὸ σπανίζειν αὐτῶν. [330] ἦσαν δὲ οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐκ διαλειμμάτων, ἵνα συνεχέστερον

ἐντυγχάνοντες πολλοὶ δοκῶσιν: ἀνήσειν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν δωρεῶν τῆς ὀργῆς, εἰ διαμένοι τεθυμωμένος: ἔτι μέντοι καὶ λόγοις χρηστοῖς ὁμιλεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἴρητο τοῖς πεμπομένοις.

(2) [331] Ταῦτα συνθεὶς διὰ πάσης τῆς ἡμέρας νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἐκίνει τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ: καὶ χειμάρρουν τινὰ Ἰάβακχον λεγόμενον διαβεβηκότων Ἰάκωβος ὑπολελειμμένος φαντάσματι συντυχὼν διεπάλαιεν ἐκείνου προκατάρχοντος τῆς μάχης ἐκράτει τε τοῦ φαντάσματος, [332] ὃ δὴ καὶ φωνῇ χρῆται καὶ λόγοις πρὸς αὐτὸν χαίρειν τε τοῖς γεγενημένοις παραινοῦν καὶ μὴ μικρὸν κρατεῖν ὑπολαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ θεῖον ἄγγελον νενικηκέναι καὶ σημεῖον ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦτο μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν ἐσομένων καὶ τοῦ μηδέποτε τὸ γένος ἐκλείψειν αὐτοῦ, μηδὲ ὑπέρτερον ἀνθρώπων τινὰ τῆς ἰσχύος ἔσεσθαι τῆς ἐκείνου. [333] ἐκέλευσέ τε καλεῖν αὐτὸν Ἰσραῆλον, σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων γλῶτταν τὸν ἀντιστάτην ἀγγέλῳ θεοῦ. ταῦτα μέντοι προύλεγεν Ἰακώβου δεηθέντος: αἰσθόμενος γὰρ ἄγγελον εἶναι θεοῦ, τίνα μοῖραν ἕξει σημαίνειν παρεκάλει. καὶ τὸ μὲν φάντασμα ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὸν ἀφανὲς γίνεται. [334] ἡσθεὶς δὲ τούτοις Ἰάκωβος Φανουῆλον ὀνομάζει τὸν τόπον, ὃ σημαίνει θεοῦ πρόσωπον. καὶ γενομένου διὰ τὴν μάχην ἀλγήματος αὐτῷ περὶ τὸ νεῦρον τὸ πλατὺ αὐτός τε ἀπέχεται τῆς τούτου βρώσεως καὶ δι᾽ ἐκεῖνον οὐδὲ ἡμῖν ἐστιν ἐδώδιμον.

(3) [335] Πλησίον δ᾽ ἤδη τὸν ἀδελφὸν πυνθανόμενος κελεύει προϊ¨έναι τῶν γυναικῶν ἑκατέραν κατ᾽ αὐτὴν μετὰ τῶν θεραπαινίδων, ἵνα πόρρωθεν ἀφορῷεν τὰ ἔργα τῶν ἀνδρῶν μαχομένων, εἰ τοῦτο θελήσειεν Ἠσαῦς, προσεκύνει δ᾽ αὐτὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐγγὺς αὐτῷ γενόμενον οὐδὲν περὶ αὐτοῦ δόλιον φρονοῦντα. [336] καὶ ὁ Ἠσαῦς ἀσπασάμενος αὐτὸν ἀνήρετο τῶν παίδων τὸν ὄχλον καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, ἠξίου τε τότε μαθὼν περὶ αὐτῶν τὸ πᾶν καὶ αὐτὸς συμβαδίζειν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, Ἰακώβου δὲ προφασιζομένου τὸν κόπον τῶν ὑποζυγίων ὑπεχώρησεν εἰς Σάειραν: ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἐποιεῖτο τὴν δίαιταν προσαγορεύσας τὸ χωρίον ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ τριχώσεως [δασεῖαν].

XXI

(1) [337] Ἰάκωβος δὲ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὰς ἔτι νῦν Σκηνὰς λεγομένας, ὅθεν εἰς Σίκιμον παρῆν: Χαναναίων δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις. τῶν δὲ Σικιμωτῶν ἑορτὴν ἀγόντων Δεῖνα, θυγάτηρ ἦν Ἰακώβου μόνη, παρῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὀψομένη τὸν κόσμον τῶν ἐπιχωρίων γυναικῶν. θεασάμενος δ᾽ αὐτὴν Συχέμμης ὁ Ἐμμώρου τοῦ βασιλέως υἱὸς φθείρει δι᾽ ἁρπαγῆς καὶ διατεθεὶς ἐρωτικῶς ἱκετεύει τὸν πατέρα λαβεῖν αὐτῷ πρὸς γάμον τὴν κόρην. [338] ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς ἦκε πρὸς τὸν Ἰάκωβον δεόμενος τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ Συχέμμῃ συζεῦξαι Δεῖναν κατὰ νόμον. Ἰάκωβος δὲ οὔτ᾽ ἀντιλέγειν ἔχων διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ παρακαλοῦντος οὔτε νόμιμον ἡγούμενος ἀλλοφύλῳ συνοικίζειν τὴν θυγατέρα ἠξίωσεν ἐπιτρέψαι αὐτῷ βουλὴν ἀγαγεῖν

περὶ ὧν παρακαλεῖ. [339] ἀπῄει μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐλπίζων Ἰάκωβον παρέξειν τὸν γάμον, Ἰάκωβος δὲ τοῖς παισὶ δηλώσας τήν τε φθορὰν τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ τοῦ Ἐμμώρου τὴν δέησιν ἠξίου βουλεύεσθαι τί δεῖ ποιεῖν. οἱ μὲν οὖν πλείους ἡσύχαζον γνώμης ἀποροῦντες, Σεμεὼν δὲ καὶ Λευὶς ὁμομήτριοι τῆς κόρης ἀδελφοὶ συντίθενται πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοιάνδε τινὰ πρᾶξιν: [340] οὔσης ἑορτῆς καὶ τῶν Σικιμιωτῶν εἰς ἄνεσιν καὶ εὐωχίαν τετραμμένων νύκτωρ πρώτοις ἐπιβαλόντες τοῖς φύλαξι κτείνουσι κοιμωμένους καὶ παρελθόντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀναιροῦσι πᾶν ἄρρεν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα σὺν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, φείδονται δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν. πράξαντες δὲ ταῦτα δίχα τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς γνώμης ἐπανάγουσι τὴν ἀδελφήν.

(2) [341] Ἰακώβῳ δὲ ἐκπλαγέντι πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν γεγονότων καὶ χαλεπαίνοντι πρὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς ὁ θεὸς παραστὰς ἐκέλευσε θαρρεῖν, ἁγνίσαντι δὲ τὰς σκηνὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν, ἃς τὸ πρῶτον ἀπιὼν εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν ἐπὶ τῇ ὄψει τοῦ ὀνείρου ηὔξατο. [342] ἁγνίζων οὖν τοὺς ἑπομένους ἐπιτυγχάνει τοῖς Λαβάνου θεοῖς, οὐ γὰρ ἠπίστατο ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥαχήλης κλαπέντας, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἔκρυψεν ἐν Σικίμοις εἰς γῆν ὑπό τινα δρῦν, ἀπάρας τε τοὐντεῦθεν ἐν Βαιθήλοις ἔθυεν, ὅπου τὸ ὄνειρον ἐθεάσατο χωρῶν πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας.

(3) [343] Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ προι¨ὼν ἐπεὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἐφραθηνὴν γίνεται, ἐνθάδε Ῥαχήλαν ἐκ τοκετοῦ θανοῦσαν θάπτει μόνην τῶν συγγενῶν τῆς ἐν Νεβρῶνι τιμῆς οὐ τυχοῦσαν. πενθήσας δὲ μεγάλως τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς παιδίον Βενιαμὶν ἐκάλεσε διὰ τὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ γενομένην ὀδύνην τῇ μητρί. [344] οὗτοι Ἰακώβου παῖδες οἱ πάντες, ἄρρενες μὲν δώδεκα θήλεια δὲ μία. τούτων ὀκτὼ γνήσιοι, ἐκ Λείας μὲν ἕξ, δύο δὲ ἐκ Ῥαχήλης, τέσσαρες δὲ ἐκ τῶν θεραπαινίδων δύο ἐξ ἑκατέρας, ὧν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα πάντων προεῖπον.

XXII

(1) [345] Παρῆν δ᾽ ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ Νεβρῶνα πόλιν ἐν Χαναναίοις κειμένην: ἐκεῖ δὲ Ἴσακος τὴν δίαιταν εἶχε: καὶ βραχέα μὲν ἀλλήλοις συνδιατρίβουσι: τὴν γὰρ Ῥεβέκκαν Ἰάκωβος οὐ κατέλαβε ζῶσαν. θνήσκει δὲ καὶ Ἴσακος οὐ μετὰ πολὺ τῆς ἀφίξεως τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ ταφῆς ἔτυχεν ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ ἐν Νεβρῶνι μνημείου προγονικοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ τυγχάνοντος αὐτοῖς. [346] ἐγένετο δὲ Ἴσακος ἀνὴρ θεοφιλὴς καὶ προνοίας πολλῆς ἠξιωμένος ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ μετὰ Ἄβραμον τὸν πατέρα, πολυχρονιώτατος δέ: βιώσας γὰρ ἔτη πέντε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν μετὰ ἀρετῆς οὕτως ἀπέθανεν.

Liber II

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ β τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Ὡς Ἡσαῦς καὶ Ἰάκωβος Ἰσάκου παῖδες ὄντες, διείλοντο τὴν οἴκησιν καὶ Ἡσαῦς μὲν τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν κατέσχεν, Ἰάκωβος δὲ τὴν Χαναναίαν.

β. ὡς Ἰώσηπος ὁ νεώτατος τῶν Ἰακώβου παίδων ὀνειράτων αὐτῷ προδεικνύντων τὴν μέλλουσαν εὐδαιμονίαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐφθονήθη.

γ. ὡς αὐτὸς οὗτος εἰς Αἴγυπτον πραθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν διὰ τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν μῖσος καὶ γενόμενος ἐπίσημος ἐκεῖ καὶ λαμπρότατος τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἔσχεν ὑποχειρίους.

[δ. ἡ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς πάσης πρὸς αὐτὸν μετάβασις διὰ τὸν γενόμενον λιμόν.

ε. ὅσα τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ συνέβη κακοπαθοῦσιν ἐπ᾽ ἔτη τετρακόσια.

ς. ὡς Μωσέως ἡγουμένου τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐξέλιπον.

ζ. ἡ Μωσέως γένεσις καὶ ἀνατροφή.

η. ὡς ἡ θάλασσα τοῖς Ἑβραίοις διωκομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀνακοπεῖσα φυγὴν δι᾽ αὐτῆς παρέσχεν.

περιέχει δὲ ἡ βίβλος ἔτη διακόσια εἴκοσι].

I

(1) [1] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰσάκου τελευτὴν οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ μερισάμενοι τὴν οἴκησιν πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐχ ἣν ἔλαβον ταύτην κατέσχον, ἀλλ Ἡσαῦς μὲν τῆς Νεβρωνίας πόλεως ἐκχωρήσας τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἐν Σαειρᾷ διητᾶτο καὶ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ἦρχεν οὕτω καλέσας τὴν χώραν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ: Ἄδωμος γὰρ ἐπωνομάζετο κατὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν τυχὼν τῆς ἐπικλήσεως. [2] ἀπὸ θήρας ποτὲ καὶ πόνου τοῦ περὶ τὸ κυνήγιον λιμώττων ἐπανῆκεν, ἔτι δὲ ἦν παῖς τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἐπιτυχὼν δὲ τἀδελφῷ φακῆν ἐσκευακότι πρὸς ἄριστον αὐτῷ ξανθὴν σφόδρα τὴν χροιὰν καὶ διὰ τοῦτ᾽ ἔτι μᾶλλον ὀρεχθεὶς ἠξίου παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ πρὸς τροφήν. [3] ὁ δὲ ἀποδόσθαι τὸ πρεσβεῖον αὐτῷ τοῦ φαγεῖν συνεργῷ χρησάμενος τῇ πείνῃ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἠνάγκαζε, κἀκεῖνος ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ προαχθεὶς παραχωρεῖ τῶν πρεσβείων αὐτῷ μεθ᾽ ὅρκων. ἔνθεν διὰ τὴν ξανθότητα τοῦ βρώματος ὑπὸ τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν κατὰ παιδιὰν Ἄδωμος ἐπικληθείς, ἄδωμα γὰρ Ἑβραῖοι τὸ ἐρυθρὸν καλοῦσι, τὴν χώραν οὕτως προσηγόρευσεν: Ἕλληνες γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὸ σεμνότερον Ἰδουμαίαν ὠνόμασαν.

(2) [4] Γίνεται δὲ καὶ πατὴρ παίδων πέντε τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὧν Ἰάους μὲν καὶ Ἰόλαμος καὶ Κορῆος ἐκ γυναικὸς μιᾶς Ἀλιβάμης τοὔνομα, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν

Ἀλιφάζης μὲν ἐξ Ἀδάσης, Ῥαουῆλος δὲ ἐκ Βασαμάθης ὑπῆρξαν αὐτῷ γεγονότες. [5] καὶ Ἡσαῦ μὲν οὗτοι παῖδες ἦσαν: Ἀλιφάζῃ δὲ γίνονται γνήσιοι πέντε Θημανὸς Ὄμερος Ὄφους Ἰόθαμος Καναζός: Ἀμαλῆκος γὰρ νόθος ἦν ἐκ παλλακῆς αὐτῷ γεγονὼς Θαμνάης ὄνομα. [6] οὗτοι κατῴκησαν τῆς Ἰδουμαίας τὴν Γοβολῖτιν λεγομένην καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ Ἀμαλήκου κληθεῖσαν Ἀμαληκῖτιν: πολλὴ γὰρ γενομένη ποτὲ ἡ Ἰδουμαία τό τε πάσης αὐτῆς ἀπέσωζεν ὄνομα καὶ τοῖς μέρεσι τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκητόρων προσηγορίας διεφύλαξεν.

II

(1) [7] Ἰακώβῳ δὲ συνέβη παρελθεῖν εἰς εὐδαιμονίας μέγεθος, οἷον οὐκ ἄλλῳ τινὶ ῥᾳδίως: πλούτῳ τε γὰρ ὑπερέβαλλε τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους καὶ παίδων ἀρεταῖς ζηλωτὸς καὶ περίβλεπτος ἦν: οὐδενὸς γὰρ ὅλως ὑστέρουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἔργα χειρῶν καὶ πόνων ὑπομονὴν ἦσαν εὔψυχοι καὶ δεινοὶ συνιέναι. [8] τοσαύτην δ' ἄρα τὸ θεῖον αὐτοῦ πρόνοιαν ἔσχε καὶ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἐπιμέλειαν, ὡς κἀκ τῶν λυπηρῶν αὐτῷ δοξάντων τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν παρασχεῖν καὶ ποιῆσαι τῆς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων ἀναχωρήσεως αἴτιον αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγονότας ὑπὸ τοιαύτης αἰτίας:

[9] Ἰώσηπον ἐκ Ῥαχήλας πεπαιδοποιημένος Ἰάκωβος διά τε τὴν τοῦ σώματος εὐγένειαν καὶ διὰ ψυχῆς ἀρετήν, φρονήσει γὰρ διέφερε, τῶν ἄλλων πλέον υἱῶν ἠγάπα. [10] τούτῳ παρὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἥ τε τοῦ πατρὸς στοργὴ φθόνον ἐκίνησε καὶ μῖσος ἥ τε ἐκ τῶν ὀνειράτων, ἃ θεασάμενος τῷ τε πατρὶ καὶ τούτοις ἐμήνυσεν, εὐδαιμονία καταγγελλομένη, ζηλοτυπούντων ἄρα τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰς τῶν οἰκειοτάτων εὐπραγίας. αἱ δὲ ὄψεις, ἃς κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους εἶδεν Ἰώσηπος, τοιαίδε ἦσαν.

(2) [11] Ἐκπεμφθεὶς μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπὶ συλλογῇ τῶν καρπῶν θέρους ἀκμάζοντος ὁρᾷ πολὺ τῶν κατὰ συνήθειαν ἐπιφοιτώντων κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὀνειράτων διαφέρουσαν ὄψιν, ἣν περιεγερθεὶς τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὡς κρινοῦσιν αὐτῷ τὸ σημαινόμενον ἐξέθετο, λέγων ἰδεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς παρελθούσης νυκτὸς τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ δράγμα τῶν πυρῶν ἠρεμεῖν ἐφ' οὗ κατέθηκε τόπου, τὰ δὲ ἐκείνων προστρέχοντα προσκυνεῖν αὐτὸ καθάπερ οἱ δοῦλοι τοὺς δεσπότας. [12] οἱ δὲ συνέντες ἰσχὺν αὐτῷ καὶ μέγεθος πραγμάτων τὴν ὄψιν προλέγουσαν καὶ κατ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐσομένην τῷ μὲν Ἰωσήπῳ τούτων οὐδὲν ὡς οὐ γνώριμον αὐτοῖς τὸ ὄναρ ὂν διεσάφησαν, ἀρὰς δ' ἐποιήσαντο μηδὲν εἰς τέλος αὐτῷ παρελθεῖν ὧν ὑπενόουν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀπεχθῶς ἔχοντες διετέλουν.

(3) [13] Τῷ δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν φθόνῳ προσφιλονικῆσαν τὸ θεῖον δευτέραν ὄψιν ἐπιπέμπει τῷ Ἰωσήπῳ πολὺ τῆς προτέρας θαυμασιωτέραν. τὸν ἥλιον γὰρ ἔδοξε τὴν σελήνην παραλαβόντα καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀστέρας ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν κατελθεῖν καὶ προσκυνεῖν αὐτόν. [14] ταύτην τὴν ὄψιν τῷ πατρὶ μηδὲν παρὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν

κακόηθες ὑφορώμενος καὶ τούτων παρατυγχανόντων διεσάφησε, τί καὶ βούλεται σημαίνειν φράσαι παρακαλῶν. [15] ὁ δὲ ἡσθεὶς τῷ ὀνείρατι, τὴν γὰρ πρόρρησιν αὐτοῦ τῇ διανοίᾳ συλλαβὼν καὶ μετὰ σοφίας οὐκ ἀσκόπως εἰκάσας ἔχαιρεν ἐπὶ μεγάλοις τοῖς σημαινομένοις, ἃ εὐδαιμονίαν τῷ παιδὶ κατήγγελλε καὶ καιρὸν ἥξειν θεοῦ δόντος, καθ᾽ ὃν αὐτὸν ὑπό τε τῶν γονέων καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἔσεσθαι τίμιον καὶ προσκυνήσεως ἄξιον, [16] τὴν μὲν σελήνην καὶ τὸν ἥλιον μητρὶ καὶ πατρί, τῆς μὲν αὐξούσης ἅπαντα καὶ τρεφούσης τοῦ δ᾽ ἐκτυποῦντος καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἰσχὺν ἐντιθέντος εἰκάζων, τοὺς δ᾽ ἀστέρας τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς: καὶ γὰρ τούτους ἕνδεκα εἶναι καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας ἀπό τε ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης τὴν ἰσχὺν λαμβάνοντας.

(4) [17] Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰάκωβος τοιαύτην οὐκ ἀσυνέτως ἐποιήσατο τῆς ὄψεως τὴν κρίσιν, τοὺς δ᾽ ἀδελφοὺς τοῦ Ἰωσήπου σφόδρα ἐλύπησε τὰ προειρημένα καὶ διετέθησαν ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀλλοτρίῳ τινὶ μέλλοντι τὰ σημαινόμενα διὰ τῶν ὀνειράτων ἀγαθὰ ἕξειν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἀδελφῷ καὶ ὧν συναπολαύσειν αὐτῷ εἰκὸς ἦν κοινωνοὺς ὡς τῆς γενέσεως οὕτως καὶ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἐσομένους: [18] ἀνελεῖν τε ὡρμήκεσαν τὸ μειράκιον, καὶ ταύτην κυρώσαντες τὴν βουλήν, ἐπεὶ τὰ τῆς συγκομιδῆς αὐτοῖς πέρας εἶχεν, ἐπὶ Σικίμων τραπέντες, χώρα δ᾽ ἐστὶν αὕτη βόσκειν ἀγαθὴ θρέμματα καὶ νομὰς ἐκφέρειν, αὐτόθι τῶν ποιμνίων ἐπεμελοῦντο μὴ προδηλώσαντες τῷ πατρὶ τὴν ἐκεῖσε ἄφιξιν. [19] ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγνοίας καὶ τοῦ μηδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ποιμνίων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι τινὰ τὸν περὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτῷ τἀληθὲς σημαίνειν δυνάμενον, σκυθρωπότερον τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν διάνοιαν λαμβάνων καὶ περιδεὴς ὢν πέμπει τὸν Ἰώσηπον εἰς τὰ ποίμνια μαθησόμενον τὰ περὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ τί πράττοιεν σημανοῦντα.

III

(1) [20] Οἱ δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὡς εἶδον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀφιγμένον, ἥσθησαν μέν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ ὡς ἐπ᾽ οἰκείου παρουσίᾳ καὶ πατρὸς ἀπεσταλκότος, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἐχθροῦ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν κατὰ θείαν βούλησιν παραδοθέντος, ἀναιρεῖν τε ἤδη καὶ μὴ τὸν ἐν ποσὶν ὑπερβαλέσθαι καιρὸν ὡρμήκεσαν. [21] οὕτως δ᾽ αὐτοὺς Ῥουβῆλος ὁρῶν ἔχοντας ὁ πρεσβύτατος αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν ὠμονοηκότας ἐπειρᾶτο κατέχειν ὑποδεικνὺς τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ τολμήματος καὶ τὸ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ μύσος, [22] ὡς πονηρὸν μὲν καὶ θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἀνόσιον δοκοῦν καὶ τὸ μὴ συγγενοῦς ἀνθρώπου χειρουργῆσαι φόνον, πολὺ μέντοι μιαρώτερον τὸ σφαγὴν ἀδελφοῦ δράσαντας ὀφθῆναι, ᾧ πατήρ τε ἀναιρουμένῳ συναδικεῖται καὶ μήτηρ εἰς πένθος καὶ παιδὸς ἀποστέρησιν οὐ κατ᾽ ἀνθρώπινον γενομένην νόμον συγκατασπᾶται. [23] τούτων οὖν αὐτῶν αἰδῶ λαβόντας καὶ τῷ λογισμῷ τί καὶ πείσονται τεθνηκότος αὐτοῖς παιδὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ νεωτάτου παραθεμένους ἀποσχέσθαι τοῦ τολμήματος παρεκάλει καὶ τὸν θεὸν δείσαντας, ὃς θεατὴς ἅμα καὶ μάρτυς ἤδη

καὶ τῆς βουλῆς αὐτῶν τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν γεγενημένος ἀποστάντας μὲν τῆς πράξεως ἀγαπήσει μετανοίᾳ καὶ τῷ σωφρονεῖν εἴξαντας, [24] προελθόντας δ' ἐπὶ τοὖργον οὐκ ἔστιν ἣν οὐκ εἰσπράξεται τῆς ἀδελφοκτονίας δίκην μιάναντας αὐτοῦ τὴν πανταχοῦ παροῦσαν πρόνοιαν καὶ μήτε τῶν ἐπ' ἐρημίᾳ πραττομένων ὑστεροῦσαν μήτε τῶν κατὰ τὰς πόλεις: ὅπου γὰρ ἂν ἄνθρωπος ᾖ χρὴ δοκεῖν ἐνταῦθα παρεῖναι καὶ θεόν. [25] τό τε συνειδὸς αὐτοὺς τὸ ἴδιον ἔξειν ἐχθρὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς τολμηθεῖσιν ἔλεγεν, ὃ μήτε τοῖς ἀγαθὸν αὐτὸ ἔχουσι μήτε τοιοῦτον ὁποῖον αὐτοῖς συνοικήσει τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀνελοῦσιν ἔστιν ἀποδράναι. [26] προσετίθει δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς προειρημένοις, ὡς ἀδελφὸν οὐδὲ ἀδικήσαντα κτείνειν ὅσιον, καλὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ μὴ μνησικακεῖν τοῖς οὕτω φίλοις ὑπὲρ ὧν ἁμαρτεῖν ἔδοξαν. Ἰώσηπον δὲ οὐδὲ πονηρὸν εἰς αὐτοὺς γεγενημένον διαφθεροῦσιν, ᾧ τὸ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀσθενὲς ἔλεον μᾶλλον καὶ τὴν παρ' ἡμῶν ἐρανίζεται κηδεμονίαν: [27] ἥ τε αἰτία τῆς ἀναιρέσεως πολὺ χείρω τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτοῖς τίθησι, διὰ φθόνον τῶν ἐσομένων ἀγαθῶν αὐτῷ τοῦ ζῆν ἐξαγαγεῖν διεγνωκότων, ὧν τὸ ἴσον ἀπολαύσουσι κοινωνοῦντες αὐτῷ τῆς μετουσίας οὐκ ἀλλοτρίων ὄντων ἀλλ' οἰκείων: [28] ἴδια γὰρ αὐτῶν ὑπολαμβάνειν, ὅσα ὁ θεὸς Ἰωσήπῳ δώσει, προσεκίνουν τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καλῶς ἔχειν χαλεπωτέραν ἔσεσθαι νομίζειν, εἰ τὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κεκριμένον τῶν ἐλπιζομένων ἀγαθῶν ἄξιον ἀποκτείναντες ἀφαιρήσονται τὸν θεὸν ᾧ ταῦτα χαρίσεται.

(2) [29] Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ῥουβῆλος ταῦτα λέγων καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι πλείω καὶ δεόμενος ἐπειρᾶτο τῆς ἀδελφοκτονίας αὐτοὺς ἀποτρέπειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν μετριωτέρους ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων ἑώρα γεγενημένους, ἀλλὰ σπεύδοντας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν, συνεβούλευε τὸ κακὸν αὐτοὺς ἐπιεικέστερον ποιῆσαι τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως: [30] καὶ γὰρ ἄμεινον μὲν οἷς παρῄνεσε τὸ πρῶτον πεπεῖσθαι λέγων αὐτούς, ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκράτησαν ὥστε ἀνελεῖν τὸν ἀδελφόν, οὐκ ἔσεσθαι σφόδρα κακοὺς οἷς νῦν παραινεῖ πεισθέντας: ἐν γὰρ τούτοις εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἔργον, ἐφ' ᾧ σπεύδουσιν, οὐ μέντοι τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν ἀπόροις κουφότερον. [31] ἠξίου γὰρ αὐτοὺς αὐτόχειρας μὲν μὴ γενέσθαι τἀδελφοῦ, ῥίψαντας δὲ εἰς τὸν παρακείμενον λάκκον οὕτως ἀποθανεῖν ἐᾶσαι καὶ τό γε μὴ μιανθῆναι τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν κερδαίνειν. συναινεσάντων δὲ τούτοις τῶν νεανίσκων παραλαβὼν ὁ Ῥουβῆλος τὸ μειράκιον καὶ καλωδίου ἐκδήσας ἠρέμα καθίησιν εἰς τὸν λάκκον: καὶ γὰρ ἱκανῶς ἄνυδρος ἦν. καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦτο ποιήσας ἀπαλλάσσεται κατὰ ζήτησιν χωρίων πρὸς νομὰς ἐπιτηδείων.

(3) [32] Ἰούδας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν τῶν Ἰακώβου παίδων ἐμπόρους ἰδὼν Ἄραβας τοῦ Ἰσμαηλιτῶν γένους ἀρώματα καὶ Σύρα φορτία κομίζοντας Αἰγυπτίοις ἐκ τῆς Γαλαδηνῆς μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τὴν Ῥουβήλου τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς συνεβούλευεν ἀνιμήσασι τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἀπεμπολῆσαι τοῖς Ἄραψιν: [33] ἐκεῖνόν τε γὰρ ὅτι πορρωτάτω γενόμενον καὶ τεθνήξεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς ξένοις, αὐτούς τε τοῦ μιάσματος οὕτως ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι. δόξαν οὖν τοῦτο, τοῖς ἐμπόροις ἀποδίδονται

τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἀνελκύσαντες ἐκ τοῦ λάκκου μνῶν εἴκοσιν ἑπτακαίδεκα ἐτῶν γεγονότα. [34] Ῥουβῆλος δὲ νύκτωρ ἐπὶ τὸν λάκκον ἐλθὼν σῶσαι τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς λαθὼν τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐγνώκει, καὶ ὡς ἀνακαλουμένῳ μὴ ὑπήκουσε, δείσας μὴ ἐφθάρκασιν αὐτὸν μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν αὐτοῦ κατεμέμφετο τοὺς ἀδελφούς. τῶν δὲ τὸ πραχθὲν αὐτῷ φρασάντων παύεται τοῦ πένθους Ῥουβῆλος.

(4) [35] Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα περὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐπέπρακτο, τί ποιήσαντες ἂν ἔξω τῆς ὑπονοίας παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ γενηθεῖεν ἐζήτουν, καὶ δὴ τὸν χιτωνίσκον, ὃν ἀφῖκτο μὲν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἐνδεδυμένος, περιῃρήκεσαν δ᾽ αὐτὸν ὅτε καθίεσαν εἰς τὸν λάκκον, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς διασπαράξασιν αἵματι τράγου μολῦναι καὶ τῷ πατρὶ δεῖξαι φέροντας, ὡς ἂν ὑπὸ θηρίων αὐτῷ φανείη διεφθαρμένος. [36] καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντες ἦκον πρὸς τὸν πρεσβύτην ἤδη τῶν περὶ τὸν υἱὸν εἰς γνῶσιν ἀφιγμένον, ἔλεγον δὲ τὸν μὲν Ἰώσηπον οὔτ᾽ ἰδεῖν οὔθ᾽ ᾗ κέχρηται συμφορᾷ μεμαθηκέναι, χιτῶνα δὲ τοῦτον εὑρεῖν ᾑμαγμένον καὶ λελακισμένον, ὅθεν αὐτοῖς ὑπόνοιαν εἶναι περιπεσόντα θηρίοις αὐτὸν ἀπολωλέναι, εἴγε τοῦτον ἐνδεδυμένος οἴκοθεν ἐστάλη. [37] Ἰάκωβος δὲ ἐπὶ κουφοτέραις ὧν ἐλπίσιν ὡς ἠνδραποδισμένου δῆθεν αὐτῷ τοῦ παιδός, τοῦτον μὲν ἀφίησι τὸν λογισμόν, πίστιν δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τῆς τελευτῆς ἐναργῆ τὸν χιτῶνα ὑπολαβών, καὶ γὰρ ἐγνώρισεν ἐκεῖνον αὐτὸν ὃν ἐνδεδυμένον ἐκπέμποι πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς, ὡς ἐπὶ νεκρῷ τὸ λοιπὸν οὕτω διέκειτο ἐπὶ τῷ μειρακίῳ πενθῶν. [38] καὶ ὡς ἑνὸς πατὴρ ὢν καὶ τῆς ἐξ ἄλλων παραμυθίας ἐστερημένος οὕτως ἦν παρὰ τῷ κακῷ, πρὶν ἢ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς συμβαλεῖν εἰκάζων ὑπὸ θηρίων Ἰώσηπον ἀφανῆ γεγονέναι. ἐκαθέζετο δὲ σακκίον ἐξαψάμενος καὶ τῇ λύπῃ βαρύς, ὡς μήτε ὑπὸ παίδων παρηγορούντων αὐτὸν ῥᾴονα γενέσθαι μήτε κάμνοντα τοῖς πόνοις ἀπαγορεύειν.

IV

(1) [39] Ἰώσηπον δὲ πωλούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπόρων ὠνησάμενος Πετεφρὴς ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος ἐπὶ τῶν Φαραώθου μαγείρων τοῦ βασιλέως εἶχεν ἐν πάσῃ τιμῇ καὶ παιδείαν τε τὴν ἐλευθέριον ἐπαίδευε καὶ διαίτῃ χρῆσθαι κρείττονι τῆς ἐπὶ δούλῳ τύχης ἐπέτρεπεν ἐγχειρίζει τε τὴν τῶν κατὰ τὸν οἶκον αὐτῷ πρόνοιαν. [40] ὁ δὲ τούτων τε ἀπέλαυε καὶ τὴν ἀρετήν, ἥτις ἦν περὶ αὐτόν, οὐδ᾽ ὑπὸ τῆς μεταβολῆς ἐγκατέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ διέδειξε τὸ φρόνημα κρατεῖν τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ δυσκόλων δυνάμενον, οἷς ἂν παρῇ γνησίως καὶ μὴ πρὸς τὰς εὐπραγίας τὰς κατὰ καιρὸν μόνον ἡρμοσμένον.

(2) [41] Τῆς γὰρ τοῦ δεσπότου γυναικὸς διά τε τὴν εὐμορφίαν καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ δεξιότητα ἐρωτικῶς διατεθείσης καὶ νομιζούσης, εἰ ποιήσειεν αὐτῷ τοῦτο φανερόν, ῥᾳδίως πείσειν αὐτὸν εἰς ὁμιλίαν ἐλθεῖν εὐτύχημα ἡγησάμενον τὸ τὴν δέσποιναν αὐτοῦ δεηθῆναι, [42] καὶ πρὸς τὸ σχῆμα τῆς τότε δουλείας ἀλλ᾽ οὐ πρὸς τὸν τρόπον ἀφορώσης τὸν καὶ παρὰ τὴν μεταβολὴν

παραμένοντα τήν τε ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτῷ ποιησάσης καταφανῆ καὶ λόγους προσφερούσης περὶ μίξεως, παρέπεμπε τὴν ἀξίωσιν οὐ κρίνας ὅσιον εἶναι τοιαύτην αὐτῇ διδόναι χάριν, ἐν ᾗ τοῦ πριαμένου καὶ τοσαύτης ἠξιωκότος τιμῆς ἀδικίαν συνέβαινεν εἶναι καὶ ὕβριν, [43] ἀλλὰ κρατεῖν τε τοῦ πάθους κἀκείνην παρεκάλει τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν τοῦ τεύξεσθαι τῆς ἐπιθυμίας προβαλλόμενος, σταλήσεσθαι γάρ τε αὐτῇ τοῦτο μὴ παρούσης ἐλπίδος, αὐτός τε πάντα μᾶλλον ὑπομενεῖν ἔλεγεν ἢ πρὸς τοῦτο καταπειθὴς ἔσεσθαι: καὶ γὰρ εἰ τῇ δεσποίνῃ δοῦλον ὄντα δεῖ ποιεῖν μηδὲν ἐναντίον, ἡ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν προσταγμάτων ἀντιλογία πολλὴν ἂν ἔχοι παραίτησιν. [44] τῆς δ᾽ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπέτεινε τὸν ἔρωτα τὸ μὴ προσδοκώσῃ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἀντισχεῖν καὶ δεινῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ πολιορκουμένη δευτέρᾳ πάλιν πείρᾳ προεθυμεῖτο κατεργάσασθαι.

(3) [45] Δημοτελοῦς οὖν ἑορτῆς ἐπιστάσης, καθ᾽ ἣν εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν καὶ γυναιξὶ φοιτᾶν νόμιμον ἦν, σκήπτεται νόσον πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα θηρωμένη μόνωσιν καὶ σχολὴν εἰς τὸ δεηθῆναι τοῦ Ἰωσήπου, καὶ γενομένης αὐτῇ ταύτης λιπαρεστέρους ἔτι τῶν πρώτων αὐτῷ προσηνέγκατο λόγους, [46] ὡς καλῶς μὲν εἶχεν αὐτὸν μετὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δέησιν εἶξαι καὶ μηδὲ ἀντειρηκέναι κατά τε τὴν τῆς παρακαλούσης ἐντροπὴν καὶ τὴν τοῦ πάθους ὑπερβολήν, ὑφ᾽ οὗ βιασθείη δέσποινα οὖσα τοῦ κατὰ ταύτην ἀξιώματος ταπεινοτέρα γενέσθαι, φρονήσει δὲ καὶ νῦν ἄμεινον ἐνδοὺς καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῖς παρελθοῦσιν ἄγνωμον διορθώσεται: [47] εἴτε γὰρ δευτέραν δέησιν ἐξεδέχετο, ταύτην γεγονέναι καὶ μετὰ πλείονος σπουδῆς: νόσον τε γὰρ προφασίσασθαι καὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς καὶ τῆς πανηγύρεως τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁμιλίαν προτιμῆσαι: εἴτε τοῖς πρώτοις ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας ἀντέκρουσε λογισμοῖς, τοῦ μηδεμίαν κακουργίαν εἶναι κρίνειν σύμβολον τὸ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιμένειν. [48] προσδοκᾶν τε τῶν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν ὄνησιν, ὧν ἤδη μετέχειν, προσθέμενον αὐτῆς τῷ ἔρωτι καὶ μειζόνων ἀπολαύσειν ὑπήκοον γενόμενον, ἄμυναν δὲ καὶ μῖσος παρ᾽ αὐτῆς ἀποστραφέντα τὴν ἀξίωσιν καὶ τοῦ χαρίσασθαι τῇ δεσποίνῃ τὴν τῆς σωφροσύνης δόκησιν ἐπίπροσθε θέμενον. [49] οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸν τοῦτο ὠφελήσειν τραπείσης εἰς κατηγορίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ καταψευσαμένης πεῖραν ἐπὶ τἀνδρί, προσέξειν δὲ μᾶλλον τοῖς αὐτῆς λόγοις Πετεφρὴν ἢ τοῖς ἐκείνου, κἂν ὅτι μάλιστα ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας φέρωνται.

(4) [50] Ταῦτα λεγούσης τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ δακρυούσης οὔτε οἶκτος αὐτὸν μὴ σωφρονεῖν ἔπεισεν οὔτ᾽ ἠνάγκασε φόβος, ἀλλὰ ταῖς δεήσεσιν ἀντέσχε καὶ ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς οὐκ ἐνέδωκε καὶ παθεῖν ἀδίκως καὶ ὑπομένειν τι τῶν χαλεπωτέρων εἵλετο μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν παρόντων ἀπολαύειν χαρισάμενος ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἂν αὐτῷ συνειδῇ δικαίως ἀπολουμένῳ. [51] γάμου τε αὐτὴν ὑπεμίμνησκε καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα συμβιώσεως καὶ τούτοις τὸ πλέον νέμειν ἢ προσκαίρῳ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἡδονῇ παρεκάλει, τῆς μὲν καὶ μετάνοιαν ἐξούσης αὖθις ἐπ᾽ ὀδύνῃ γενησομένην οὐκ ἐπὶ διορθώσει τῶν ἡμαρτημένων καὶ φόβον του μὴ κατάφωρον γενέσθαι καὶ χάριν τοῦ λαθεῖν ἀγνοουμένου τοῦ κακοῦ, [52] τῆς δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα κοινωνίας

ἀπόλαυσιν ἐχούσης ἀκίνδυνον καὶ προσέτι πολλὴν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν παρρησίαν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους: καὶ ὡς αὐτοῦ δεσπόσει μᾶλλον μείνασα καθαρὰ καὶ δεσποίνης ἐξουσίᾳ χρήσεται πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ συνεξαμαρτάνοντος αἰδοῖ: πολὺ δὲ κρεῖττον εἶναι θαρρεῖν ἐπὶ γινωσκομένοις τοῖς εὖ βεβιωμένοις ἢ ἐπὶ λανθανούσῃ κακοπραγίᾳ.

(5) [53] Ταῦτα λέγων καὶ ἔτι πλείω τούτοις ὅμοια τὴν τῆς γυναικὸς ὁρμὴν ἐπέχειν ἐπειρᾶτο καὶ τὸ πάθος αὐτῆς εἰς λογισμὸν ἐπιστρέφειν, ἡ δὲ βιαιότερον ἐχρῆτο τῇ σπουδῇ καὶ ἐπιβαλοῦσα τὰς χεῖρας ἀναγκάζειν ἀπογνοῦσα τὸ πείθειν ἤθελεν. [54] ὡς δ᾽ ἐξέφυγεν ὑπὸ ὀργῆς ὁ Ἰώσηπος προσκαταλιπὼν καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον, κατεχούσης καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ τούτου μεθεὶς ἐξεπήδησε τοῦ δωματίου, περιδεὴς γενομένη, μὴ κατείπῃ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς, καὶ τῆς ὕβρεως περιαλγῶς ἔχουσα φθάσαι καταψεύσασθαι πρὸς τὸν Πετεφρὴν ἔγνω τοῦ Ἰωσήπου, καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τιμωρῆσαι μὲν αὐτῇ δεινῶς ὑπερηφανημένῃ, προλαβεῖν δὲ τὴν διαβολὴν σοφὸν ἅμα καὶ γυναικεῖον ἡγήσατο. [55] καὶ καθῆστο μὲν κατηφὴς καὶ συγκεχυμένη τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ διαμαρτεῖν τῆς ἐπιθυμίας λύπην ὡς ἐπὶ πείρᾳ διαφθορᾶς πλασαμένη μετ᾽ ὀργῆς, ἐλθόντι δὲ τἀνδρὶ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ταραχθέντι καὶ πυνθανομένῳ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς κατηγορίας τῆς Ἰωσήπου κατήρξατο καί ‘‘τεθναίης, εἶπεν, ἄνερ, ἢ πονηρὸν δοῦλον κοίτην μιᾶναι τὴν σὴν θελήσαντα κόλασον, [56] ὃς οὔθ᾽ οἷος ὢν εἰς τὸν ἡμέτερον οἶκον ἀφῖκται μνησθεὶς ἐσωφρόνησεν οὔθ᾽ ὧν ἐκ τῆς σῆς χρηστότητος ἔτυχεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀχάριστος ὢν ἄν, εἰ μὴ πάντα παρεῖχεν αὐτὸν ἀγαθὸν εἰς ἡμᾶς, ἐπεβούλευσεν ὑβρίσαι γάμον τὸν σόν, καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐν ἑορτῇ τὴν σὴν ἀπουσίαν παραφυλάξας: ὡς ὅσα καὶ μέτριος ἐδόκει πρότερον διὰ τὸν ἐκ σοῦ φόβον ἠρέμει καὶ οὐχὶ φύσει χρηστὸς ἦν. [57] τοιοῦτον δ᾽ ἄρα τὸ παρ᾽ ἀξίαν αὐτὸν καὶ παρ᾽ ἐλπίδας εἰς τιμὴν παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν, ὡς δέον ᾧ τὴν τῆς κτήσεως τῆς σῆς πίστιν καὶ τὴν οἰκονομίαν λαβεῖν ἐξεγένετο καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων [58] οἰκετῶν προτιμηθῆναι τούτῳ καὶ τῆς σῆς ψαύειν γυναικός.’’ παυσαμένη δὲ τῶν λόγων ἐπεδείκνυεν αὐτῷ τὸ ἱμάτιον, ὡς ὅτ᾽ ἐπεχείρει βιάσασθαι καταλιπόντος αὐτό. Πετεφρὴς δὲ μήτε δακρυούσῃ τῇ γυναικὶ μήθ᾽ οἷς ἔλεγε καὶ εἶδεν ἀπιστεῖν ἔχων τῷ τε πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔρωτι πλέον νέμων ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἐξέτασιν οὐκ ἐτρέπετο, [59] δοὺς δὲ σωφρονεῖν τῇ γυναικὶ πονηρὸν δ᾽ εἶναι κατακρίνας τὸν Ἰώσηπον τὸν μὲν εἰς τὴν τῶν κακούργων εἱρκτὴν ἐνέβαλεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐφρόνει κοσμιότητα καὶ σωφροσύνην αὐτῇ μαρτυρῶν.

V

(1) [60] Ἰώσηπος μὲν οὖν πάντ᾽ ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ ποιησάμενος τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν οὔτ᾽ εἰς ἀπολογίαν οὔτ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀκριβῆ τῶν γεγονότων δήλωσιν ἐτράπη, τὰ δεσμὰ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην σιγῶν ὑπῆλθεν ἀμείνονα ἔσεσθαι τῶν δεδεκότων θαρρῶν τὸν τὴν

αἰτίαν τῆς συμφορᾶς καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν εἰδότα θεόν, οὗ πεῖραν τῆς προνοίας εὐθὺς ἐλάμβανεν: [61] ὁ γὰρ δεσμοφύλαξ τήν τε ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν πίστιν αὐτοῦ κατανοήσας ἐν οἷς τάξειεν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς μορφῆς ὑπανίει τε τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ τὸ δεινὸν ἐλαφρότερον αὐτῷ καὶ κοῦφον ἐποίει, διαίτῃ δὲ χρῆσθαι κρείττονι δεσμωτῶν ἐπέτρεπε. [62] τῶν δὲ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὄντων εἴποτε παύσαιντο τῆς περὶ τὰ ἔργα ταλαιπωρίας εἰς ὁμιλίαν, οἷα φιλεῖ κατὰ κοινωνίαν τῆς ὁμοίας συμφορᾶς, τρεπομένων καὶ παρ᾽ ἀλλήλων τὰς αἰτίας ἐφ᾽ αἷς κατακριθεῖεν ἀναπυνθανομένων, [63] οἰνοχόος τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ σφόδρα αὐτῷ τιμώμενος κατ᾽ ὀργὴν δεδεμένος καὶ συνδιαφέρων τῷ Ἰωσήπῳ τὰς πέδας συνηθέστερος αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἐγένετο καί, συνέσει γὰρ ἐδόκει αὐτὸν προύχειν, ὄναρ ἰδὼν ἐξέθετο παρακαλῶν δηλοῦν εἴ τι σημαίνει, μεμφόμενος ὅτι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως κακοῖς ἔτι τὸ θεῖον αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν ὀνειράτων φροντίδας προστίθησιν.

(2) [64] Ἔλεγε δ᾽ οὖν ἰδεῖν κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους τριῶν κλημάτων πεφυκυίας ἀμπέλου βότρυς ἐξ ἑκάστου ἀποκρέμασθαι μεγάλους ἤδη καὶ πρὸς τρύγητον ὡραίους, καὶ τούτους αὐτὸς ἀποθλίβειν εἰς φιάλην ὑπέχοντος τοῦ βασιλέως διηθήσας τε τὸ γλεῦκος δοῦναι τῷ βασιλεῖ πιεῖν, κἀκεῖνον δέξασθαι κεχαρισμένως. [65] τὸ μὲν οὖν ἑωραμένον ἐδήλου τοιοῦτον ὄν, ἠξίου δ᾽ εἴ τι μεμοίραται συνέσεως φράζειν αὐτῷ τὴν πρόρρησιν τῆς ὄψεως. ὁ δὲ θαρρεῖν τε παρεκάλει καὶ προσδοκᾶν ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἀπολυθήσεσθαι τῶν δεσμῶν τοῦ βασιλέως ποθήσαντος αὐτοῦ τὴν διακονίαν καὶ πάλιν εἰς ταύτην αὐτὸν ἐπανάξοντος: [66] καρπὸν γὰρ ἐσήμαινεν ἀμπέλινον ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθῷ τὸν θεὸν ἀνθρώποις παρασχεῖν, ὃς αὐτῷ τε ἐκείνῳ σπένδεται καὶ πίστιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ φιλίαν ὁμηρεύει, διαλύων μὲν ἔχθρας τὰ πάθη δὲ καὶ τὰς λύπας ἐξαιρῶν τοῖς προσφερομένοις αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ὑποφέρων. [67] τοῦτον οὖν φῂς ἐκ τριῶν ἀποθλιβέντα βοτρύων χερσὶ ταῖς σαῖς προσέσθαι τὸν βασιλέα: καλὴν τοίνυν ἴσθι σοι τὴν ὄψιν γεγενημένην καὶ προμηνύουσαν ἄφεσιν τῆς παρούσης ἀνάγκης ἐν τοσαύταις ἡμέραις, ἐξ ὅσων κλημάτων τὸν καρπὸν ἐτρύγησας κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους. [68] μέμνησο μέντοι τούτων πειραθεὶς τοῦ προκαταγγείλαντός σοι τὰ ἀγαθά, καὶ γενόμενος ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ μὴ περιίδῃς ἡμᾶς ἐν οἷς καταλείψεις πρὸς ἃ δεδηλώκαμεν ἀπερχόμενος: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐξαμαρτόντες ἐν δεσμοῖς γεγόναμεν, [69] ἀλλ᾽ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ σωφροσύνης τὰ τῶν κακούργων ὑπομένειν κατεκρίθημεν οὐδέ γε μετ᾽ οἰκείας ἡδονῆς τὸν ταῦθ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἐργασάμενον ὑβρίσαι θελήσαντες.” τῷ μὲν οὖν οἰνοχόῳ χαίρειν κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἀκούσαντι τοιαύτης τῆς τοῦ ὀνείρατος ἐξηγήσεως ὑπῆρχε καὶ περιμένειν τῶν δεδηλωμένων τὴν τελευτήν.

(3) [70] Δοῦλος δέ τις ἐπὶ τῶν σιτοποιῶν τεταγμένος τοῦ βασιλέως συνδεδεμένος τῷ οἰνοχόῳ τοιαύτην ποιησαμένου τοῦ Ἰωσήπου περὶ τῆς ὄψεως ἐκείνῳ τὴν ἀπόφασιν εὔελπις ὤν, καὶ γὰρ καὐτὸς ὄναρ ἦν τεθεαμένος, ἠξίωσε τὸν Ἰώσηπον φράσαι, τί κἀκείνῳ δηλοῦν βούλεται τὰ διὰ τῆς παρελθούσης νυκτὸς ὀφθέντα. [71] ἦν δὲ τοιαῦτα: “τρία, φησί, κανᾶ φέρειν ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς

ἔδοξα, δύο μὲν ἄρτων πλέα, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ὄψου τε καὶ ποικίλων βρωμάτων οἷα βασιλεῦσι σκευάζεται: καταπταμένους δ᾽ οἰωνοὺς ἅπαντα δαπανῆσαι μηδένα λόγον αὐτοῦ ποιουμένους ἀποσοβοῦντος. [72] καὶ ὁ μὲν ὁμοίαν τὴν πρόρρησιν ἔσεσθαι τῇ τοῦ οἰνοχόου προσεδόκα: ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος συμβαλὼν τῷ λογισμῷ τὸ ὄναρ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπών, ὡς ἐβούλετ᾽ ἂν ἀγαθῶν ἑρμηνευτὴς αὐτῷ γεγονέναι καὶ οὐχ οἵων τὸ ὄναρ αὐτῷ δηλοῖ, λέγει δύο τὰς πάσας ἔτι τοῦ ζῆν αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἡμέρας: τὰ γὰρ κανᾶ τοῦτο σημαίνειν: [73] τῇ τρίτῃ δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀνασταυρωθέντα βορὰν ἔσεσθαι πετεινοῖς οὐδὲν ἀμύνειν αὐτῷ δυνάμενον. καὶ δὴ ταῦτα τέλος ὅμοιον οἷς ὁ Ἰώσηπος εἶπεν ἀμφοτέροις ἔλαβε: τῇ γὰρ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ προειρημένῃ γενέθλιον τεθυκὼς ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν σιτοποιῶν ἀνεσταύρωσε, τὸν δὲ οἰνοχόον τῶν δεσμῶν ἀπολύσας ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑπηρεσίας κατέστησεν.

(4) [74] Ἰώσηπον δὲ διετῆ χρόνον τοῖς δεσμοῖς κακοπαθοῦντα καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰνοχόου κατὰ μνήμην τῶν προειρημένων ὠφελούμενον ὁ θεὸς ἀπέλυσε τῆς εἱρκτῆς τοιαύτην αὐτῷ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν μηχανησάμενος: [75] Φαραώθης ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν ἑσπέραν ὄψεις ἐνυπνίων θεασάμενος δύο καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν τὴν ἑκατέρας ἐξήγησιν ταύτης μὲν ἠμνημόνησε, τῶν δὲ ὀνειράτων κατέσχεν. ἀχθόμενος οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑωραμένοις, καὶ γὰρ ἐδόκει σκυθρωπὰ ταῦτ᾽ αὐτῷ, συνεκάλει μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς λογιωτάτους χρῄζων μαθεῖν τῶν ὀνειράτων τὴν κρίσιν. [76] ἀπορούντων δ᾽ ἐκείνων ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐταράττετο. τὸν δὲ οἰνοχόον ὁρῶντα τοῦ Φαραώθου τὴν σύγχυσιν ὑπέρχεται μνήμη τοῦ Ἰωσήπου καὶ τῆς περὶ τῶν ὀνειράτων συνέσεως, [77] καὶ προσελθὼν ἐμήνυσεν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἰώσηπον τήν τε ὄψιν, ἣν αὐτὸς εἶδεν ἐν τῇ εἱρκτῇ, καὶ τὸ ἀποβὰν ἐκείνου φράσαντος, ὅτι τε σταυρωθείη κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν σιτοποιῶν κἀκείνῳ τοῦτο συμβαίη κατὰ ἐξήγησιν ὀνείρατος Ἰωσήπου προειπόντος. [78] δεδέσθαι δὲ τοῦτον μὲν ὑπὸ Πετεφροῦ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν μαγείρων ὡς δοῦλον, λέγειν δ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἑβραίων ἐν ὀλίγοις εἶναι γένους ἅμα καὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς δόξης. τοῦτον οὖν μεταπεμψάμενος καὶ μὴ διὰ τὴν ἄρτι κακοπραγίαν αὐτοῦ καταγνοὺς μαθήσῃ τὰ [79] ὑπὸ τῶν ὀνειράτων σοι δηλούμενα.᾽᾽ κελεύσαντος οὖν τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς ὄψιν αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἰώσηπον παραγαγεῖν τὸν μὲν ἥκουσιν ἄγοντες οἱ κεκελευσμένοι τημελήσαντες κατὰ πρόσταγμα τοῦ βασιλέως.

(5) [80] Ὁ δὲ τῆς δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ λαβόμενος “ὦ νεανία, φησί, σὺ γάρ μοι νῦν ἄριστος καὶ συνίσειν ἱκανώτατος ὑπὸ οἰκέτου τοὐμοῦ μεμαρτύρησαι, τῶν αὐτῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὧν καὶ τούτῳ μετέδωκας ἀξίωσον κἀμὲ φράσας ὅσα μοι κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὀνειράτων ὄψεις προδηλοῦσι: βούλομαι δέ σε μηδὲν ὑποστελλόμενον φόβῳ κολακεῦσαι ψευδεῖ λόγῳ καὶ τῷ πρὸς ἡδονήν, ἂν τἀληθὲς σκυθρωπότερον ᾖ. [81] ἔδοξα γὰρ παρὰ ποταμὸν βαδίζων βόας ἰδεῖν εὐτραφεῖς ἅμα καὶ μεγέθει διαφερούσας ἑπτὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ νάματος χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἕλος, ἄλλας δὲ ταύταις τὸν ἀριθμὸν παραπλησίας ἐκ τοῦ ἕλους ὑπαντῆσαι λίαν κατισχνωμένας καὶ δεινὰς ὁραθῆναι, αἳ κατεσθίουσαι τὰς εὐτραφεῖς καὶ μεγάλας οὐδὲν

ὠφελοῦντο χαλεπῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ τετρυχωμέναι. [82] μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν ὄψιν διεγερθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ ὕπνου καὶ τεταραγμένος ὢν καὶ τί ποτ᾽ εἴη τὸ φάντασμα παρ᾽ ἐμαυτῷ σκοπῶν καταφέρομαι πάλιν εἰς ὕπνον καὶ δεύτερον ὄναρ ὁρῶ πολὺ τοῦ προτέρου θαυμασιώτερον, ὅ με καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκφοβεῖ καὶ ταράττει. [83] στάχυας ἑπτὰ ἑώρων ἀπὸ μιᾶς ῥίζης ἐκφυέντας καρηβαροῦντας ἤδη καὶ κεκλιμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἄμητον ὥρας καὶ τούτοις ἑτέρους ἑπτὰ στάχυας πλησίον λιφερνοῦντας καὶ ἀσθενεῖς ὑπὸ ἀδροσίας, οἳ δαπανᾶν καὶ κατεσθίειν τοὺς ὡραίους τραπέντες ἔκπληξίν μοι παρέσχον.”

(6) [84] Ἰώσηπος δὲ ὑπολαβών, “ὄνειρος μὲν οὗτος, εἶπεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καίπερ ἐν δυσὶ μορφαῖς ὀφθεὶς μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀποσημαίνει τελευτὴν τῶν ἐσομένων. [τό τε γὰρ] τὰς βοῦς ἰδεῖν ζῷον ἐπ᾽ ἀρότρῳ πονεῖν γεγενημένον ὑπὸ τῶν χειρόνων κατεσθιομένας, [85] καὶ οἱ στάχυες ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλαττόνων δαπανώμενοι λιμὸν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἀκαρπίαν ἐπὶ τοσαῦτα προκαταγγέλλουσιν ἔτη τοῖς ἴσοις πρότερον εὐδαιμονησάσῃ, ὡς τὴν τούτων εὐφορίαν τῶν ἐτῶν ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν μετὰ τοσοῦτον ἀριθμὸν ἴσων ἀφορίας ὑπαναλωθῆναι. γενήσεται δὴ σπάνις τῶν ἀναγκαίων σφόδρα δυσκατόρθωτος. [86] σημεῖον δέ: αἱ γὰρ κατισχνωμέναι βόες δαπανήσασαι τὰς κρείττονας οὐκ ἴσχυσαν κορεσθῆναι. ὁ μέντοι θεὸς οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ λυπεῖν τὰ μέλλοντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις προδείκνυσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅπως προυγνωκότες κουφοτέρας συνέσει ποιῶνται τὰς πείρας τῶν κατηγγελμένων. σὺ τοίνυν ταμιευσάμενος τἀγαθὰ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πρῶτον χρόνον γενησόμενα ποιήσεις ἀνεπαίσθητον Αἰγυπτίοις τὴν ἐπελευσομένην συμφοράν.”

(7) [87] Θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν φρόνησιν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ Ἰωσήπου καὶ πυθομένου, τίνα καὶ τρόπον ἂν προοικονομήσειεν ἐν τοῖς τῆς εὐετηρίας καιροῖς τὰ περὶ τῶν μετὰ ταύτην, ὡς ἂν ἐλαφρότερα γένοιτο τὰ τῆς ἀφορίας, [88] ὑπετίθετο καὶ συνεβούλευε φειδὼ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ μὴ κατὰ περιουσίαν αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπιτρέπειν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅσα ἂν κατὰ τρυφὴν ἀναλώσωσιν ἐκ περισσοῦ, ταῦτα τηρεῖν εἰς τὸν τῆς ἐνδείας καιρόν, ἀποτίθεσθαί τε παρῄνει λαμβάνοντα τὸν σῖτον παρὰ τῶν γεωργῶν τὰ διαρκῆ μόνον εἰς διατροφὴν χορηγοῦντα. [89] Φαραώθης δ᾽ ἀμφοτέρων θαυμάσας Ἰώσηπον τῆς τε κρίσεως τοῦ ὀνείρατος καὶ τῆς συμβουλίας αὐτῷ τὴν οἰκονομίαν παραδίδωσιν, ὥστε πράττειν ἃ καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ συμφέροντα ὑπολαμβάνει, τὸν ἐξευρόντα τὴν τοῦ πράγματος ὁδὸν καὶ προστάτην ἄριστον αὐτῆς ὑπολαβὼν γενήσεσθαι. [90] ὁ δὲ ταύτης αὐτῷ τῆς ἐξουσίας ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως δοθείσης σφραγῖδί τε χρῆσθαι τῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ πορφύραν ἐνδύσασθαι διὰ τῆς γῆς ἁπάσης ἐλαύνων ἐφ᾽ ἅρματος ἦγε τὸν σῖτον παρὰ τῶν γεωργῶν τὸν ἀρκοῦντα πρός τε σπόρον καὶ διατροφὴν ἑκάστοις ἀπομετρῶν, μηδενὶ σημαίνων τὴν αἰτίαν, ὑφ᾽ ἧς ταῦτα ἔπραττε.

VI

(1) [91] Τριακοστὸν δ᾽ ἔτος ἤδη τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτῷ διεληλύθει καὶ τιμῆς ἁπάσης ἀπέλαυε τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ προσηγόρευσεν αὐτὸν Ψονθονφάνηχον ἀπιδὼν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ παράδοξον τῆς συνέσεως: σημαίνει γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα κρυπτῶν εὑρετήν. γαμεῖ δὲ καὶ γάμον ἀξιολογώτατον: ἄγεται γὰρ καὶ Πετεφροῦ θυγατέρα τῶν ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει ἱερέων συμπράξαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔτι παρθένον Ἀσέννηθιν ὀνόματι. [92] ἐκ ταύτης δὲ καὶ παῖδες αὐτῷ γίνονται πρὸ τῆς ἀκαρπίας Μανασσῆς μὲν πρεσβύτερος, σημαίνει δ᾽ ἐπίληθον, διὰ τὸ εὐδαιμονήσαντα λήθην εὕρασθαι τῶν ἀτυχημάτων, ὁ δὲ νεώτερος Ἐφράδης, ἀποδιδοὺς δὲ τοῦτο σημαίνει, διὰ τὸ ἀποδοθῆναι αὐτὸν τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ τῶν προγόνων. [93] τῆς δ᾽ Αἰγύπτου κατὰ τὴν Ἰωσήπου τῶν ὀνειράτων ἐξήγησιν μακαριστῶς ἔτη ἑπτὰ διαγούσης ὁ λιμὸς ἥπτετο τῷ ὀγδόῳ ἔτει καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ προῃσθημένοις ἐπιπεσεῖν τὸ κακὸν πονούμενοι χαλεπῶς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πάντες ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλέως θύρας συνέρρεον. [94] ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπον ἐκάλει, κἀκεῖνος τὸν σῖτον αὐτοῖς ἀπεδίδοτο γεγενημένος σωτὴρ ὁμολογουμένως τοῦ πλήθους, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν οὐ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις προὐτίθει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ξένοις ὠνεῖσθαι παρῆν πάντας ἀνθρώπους κατὰ συγγένειαν ἀξιοῦντος ἐπικουρίας τυγχάνειν Ἰωσήπου παρὰ τῶν εὐδαιμονίᾳ χρωμένων.

(2) [95] Πέμπει δὲ καὶ Ἰάκωβος τῆς Χαναναίας δεινῶς ἐκτετρυχωμένης, πάσης γὰρ ἥψατο τῆς ἠπείρου τὸ δεινόν, τοὺς υἱοὺς ἅπαντας εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὠνησομένους σῖτον πεπυσμένος ἐφεῖσθαι τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ ξένοις: μόνον δὲ κατέσχε Βενιαμὶν ἐκ Ῥαχήλας αὐτῷ γεγονότα ὁμομήτριον δὲ Ἰωσήπῳ. [96] οἱ μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐλθόντες ἐνετύγχανον τῷ Ἰωσήπῳ χρῄζοντες ἀγορᾶς: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν, ὃ μὴ μετὰ γνώμης ἐπράττετο τῆς ἐκείνου: καὶ γὰρ τὸ θεραπεῦσαι τὸν βασιλέα τότε χρήσιμον ἐγίνετο τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὅτε καὶ τῆς Ἰωσήπου τιμῆς ἐπιμεληθεῖεν. [97] ὁ δὲ γνωρίσας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς οὐδὲν ἐνθυμουμένους περὶ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ μειράκιον μὲν αὐτὸς ἀπαλλαγῆναι, εἰς τοῦτο δὲ προελθεῖν τῆς ἡλικίας καὶ τῶν χαρακτήρων ἠλλαγμένων ἀγνώριστος αὐτοῖς εἶναι, τῷ δὲ μεγέθει τοῦ ἀξιώματος οὐδ᾽ εἰς ἐπίνοιαν ἐλθεῖν αὐτοῖς δυνάμενος διεπείραζεν, ὡς ἔχοιεν γνώμης περὶ τῶν ὅλων. [98] τόν τε γὰρ σῖτον αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀπεδίδοτο κατασκόπους τε τῶν βασιλέως πραγμάτων ἔλεγεν ἥκειν καὶ πολλαχόθεν μὲν αὐτοὺς συνεληλυθέναι, προφασίζεσθαι δὲ συγγένειαν: οὐ γὰρ εἶναι δυνατὸν ἀνδρὶ ἰδιώτῃ τοιούτους παῖδας καὶ τὰς μορφὰς οὕτως ἐπιφανεῖς ἐκτραφῆναι, δυσκόλου καὶ βασιλεῦσιν οὔσης τοιαύτης παιδοτροφίας. [99] ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ γνῶναι τὰ κατὰ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὰ συμβεβηκότα αὐτῷ μετὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀπαλλαγὴν ταῦτ᾽ ἔπραττε μαθεῖν τε βουλόμενος καὶ τὰ περὶ Βενιαμὶν τὸν ἀδελφόν: ἐδεδίει γάρ, μὴ κἀκεῖνον ὁμοίως οἷς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐτόλμησαν εἶεν ἀπεσκευασμένοι τοῦ γένους.

(3) [100] Οἱ δ᾽ ἦσαν ἐν ταραχῇ καὶ φόβῳ κίνδυνον τὸν μέγιστον αὐτοῖς ἐπηρτῆσθαι νομίζοντες καὶ μηδὲν περὶ τἀδελφοῦ κατὰ νοῦν λαμβάνοντες, καταστάντες τε πρὸς τὰς αἰτίας ἀπελογοῦντο Ῥουβήλου προηγοροῦντος, ὃς ἦν πρεσβύτατος αὐτῶν: [101] “ἡμεῖς γὰρ, εἶπεν, οὐ κατὰ ἀδικίαν δεῦρο ἤλθομεν οὐδὲ

κακουργήσοντες τὰ βασιλέως πράγματα, σωθῆναι δὲ ζητοῦντες καὶ καταφυγὴν τῶν ἐπεχόντων τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν κακῶν τὴν ὑμετέραν φιλανθρωπίαν ὑπολαβόντες, οὓς οὐχὶ πολίταις μόνοις τοῖς αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξένοις ἠκούομεν τὴν ἀγορὰν τοῦ σίτου προτεθεικέναι πᾶσι τὸ σώζεσθαι τοῖς δεομένοις παρέχειν διεγνωκότας. [102] ὅτι δ' ἐσμὲν ἀδελφοὶ καὶ κοινὸν ἡμῖν αἷμα, φανερὸν μὲν καὶ τῆς μορφῆς τὸ οἰκεῖον καὶ μὴ πολὺ παρηλλαγμένον ποιεῖ, πατὴρ δ' ἐστὶν ἡμῖν Ἰάκωβος ἀνὴρ Ἑβραῖος, ᾧ γινόμεθα δώδεκα παῖδες ἐκ γυναικῶν τεσσάρων, ὧν πάντων περιόντων ἦμεν εὐδαίμονες. [103] ἀποθανόντος δὲ ἑνὸς τῶν ἀδελφῶν Ἰωσήπου τὰ πράγματα ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον μετέβαλεν: ὅ τε γὰρ πατὴρ μακρὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ πένθος ἦρται καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπό τε τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ τεθνηκότι συμφορᾶς καὶ τῆς τοῦ πρεσβύτου ταλαιπωρίας κακοπαθοῦμεν. [104] ἥκομέν τε νῦν ἐπ' ἀγορὰν σίτου τήν τε τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν κατὰ τὸν οἶκον πρόνοιαν Βενιαμεῖ τῷ νεωτάτῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν πεπιστευκότες: δύνασαι δὲ πέμψας εἰς τὸν ἡμέτερον οἶκον μαθεῖν, εἴ τι ψευδές ἐστι τῶν λεγομένων."

(4) [105] Καὶ Ῥουβῆλος μὲν τούτοις ἐπειρᾶτο πείθειν τὸν Ἰώσηπον περὶ αὐτῶν τὰ ἀμείνω φρονῆσαι, ὁ δὲ τὸν Ἰάκωβον ζῶντα μαθὼν καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν οὐκ ἀπολωλότα τότε μὲν εἰς τὴν εἱρκτὴν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐπὶ σχολῆς βασανίσων ἐνέβαλε, τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν προαγαγὼν αὐτούς, [106] "ἐπεί, φησί, διισχυρίζεσθε μήτ' ἐπὶ κακουργίᾳ τῶν βασιλέως ἥκειν πραγμάτων εἶναί τε ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατρὸς οὗ λέγετε, πείσαιτ' ἄν με ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν, εἰ καταλίποιτε μὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἕνα παρ' ἐμοὶ μηδὲν ὑβριστικὸν πεισόμενον, ἀποκομίσαντες δὲ τὸν σῖτον πρὸς τὸν πατέρα πάλιν ἔλθοιτε πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν ἀδελφόν, ὃν καταλιπεῖν ἐκεῖ φατε, μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἄγοντες: τοῦτο γὰρ ἔσται πί [107] στωμα τῆς ἀληθείας." οἱ δ' ἐν μείζοσι κακοῖς ἦσαν ἔκλαιόν τε καὶ συνεχῶς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀνωλοφύροντο τὴν Ἰωσήπου συμφοράν, ὡς διὰ τὰ κατ' ἐκείνου βουλευθέντα τιμωροῦντος αὐτοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ τούτοις περιπέσοιεν, Ῥουβῆλος δὲ πολὺς ἦν ἐπιπλήττων αὐτοῖς τῆς μετανοίας, ἐξ ἧς ὄφελος οὐδὲν Ἰωσήπῳ γίνεται: φέρειν δ' αὐτοὺς πᾶν ὅ τι καὶ πάθοιεν κατ' ἐκδικίαν ἐκείνου δρῶντος αὐτὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καρτερῶς ἠξίου. [108] ταῦτα δ' ἔλεγον πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐχ ἡγούμενοι τὸν Ἰώσηπον γλώσσης τῆς αὐτῶν συνιέναι. κατήφεια δὲ πάντας εἶχε πρὸς τοὺς Ῥουβήλου λόγους καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων μετάμελος, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ τῶν ταῦτα ψηφισαμένων, ἐφ' οἷς δίκαιον ἔκρινον τὸν θεὸν κολαζόμενοι. [109] βλέπων δ' οὕτως ἀμηχανοῦντας Ἰώσηπος ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους εἰς δάκρυα προύπιπτε καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς γενέσθαι καταφανὴς ὑπεχώρει καὶ διαλιπὼν πάλιν ἦκε πρὸς αὐτούς. [110] καὶ Σεμεῶνα κατασχὼν ὅμηρον τῆς ἐπανόδου τῶν ἀδελφῶν γενησόμενον ἐκείνους μεταλαβόντας τῆς ἀγορᾶς τοῦ σίτου προσέταξεν ἀπιέναι, κελεύσας τῷ ὑπηρέτῃ ταργύριον, ὃ πρὸς τὴν ὠνὴν εἶεν τοῦ σίτου κεκομικότες, κρύφα τοῖς φορτίοις ἐνθέντι ἀπολύειν κἀκεῖνο κομίζοντας. καὶ ὁ μὲν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἔπραττεν.

(5) [111] Οἱ δὲ Ἰακώβου παῖδες ἐλθόντες εἰς τὴν Χαναναίαν ἀπήγγελλον τῷ πατρὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον αὐτοῖς συμπεσόντα, καὶ ὅτι κατάσκοποι δόξειαν ἀφῖχθαι τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ λέγοντες ἀδελφοί τε εἶναι καὶ τὸν ἐνδέκατον οἴκοι καταλιπεῖν παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ ἀπιστηθεῖεν, ὡς καταλίποιέν τε Σεμεῶνα παρὰ τῷ στρατηγῷ μέχρι Βενιαμὶς ὡς αὐτὸν ἀπιὼν πίστις αὐτοῖς τῶν εἰρημένων παρ᾽ αὐτῷ γένοιτο: [112] ἠξίουν τε τὸν πατέρα μηδὲν φοβηθέντα πέμπειν σὺν αὐτοῖς τὸν νεανίσκον. Ἰακώβῳ δ᾽ οὐδὲν ἤρεσκε τῶν τοῖς υἱοῖς πεπραγμένων, καὶ πρὸς τὴν Σεμεῶνος δὲ κατοχὴν λυπηρῶς φέρων ἀνόητον ἡγεῖτο προστιθέναι καὶ τὸν Βενιαμίν. [113] καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐδὲ Ῥουβήλου δεομένου καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ παῖδας ἀντιδιδόντος, ἵνα εἴ τι πάθοι Βενιαμὶς κατὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἀποκτείνειεν αὐτοὺς ὁ πάππος, πείθεται τοῖς λόγοις. οἱ δ᾽ ἠπόρουν ἐπὶ τοῖς κακοῖς καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἐτάραττε τἀργύριον ἐν τοῖς σακκίοις τοῦ σίτου κατακεκρυμμένον εὑρεθέν. [114] τοῦ δὲ σίτου τοῦ κομισθέντος ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπιλιπόντος καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ μᾶλλον ἁπτομένου βιαζομένης αὐτὸν τῆς ἀνάγκης ὁ Ἰάκωβος ἐκπέμπειν ἐγίνωσκε τὸν Βενιαμὶν μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν: [115] οὐ γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπελθεῖν μὴ μετὰ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν ἀπερχομένοις, καὶ τοῦ πάθους οὖν χείρονος καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν γινομένου καὶ τῶν υἱῶν δεομένων οὐκ εἶχεν, ὅ τι χρήσαιτο τοῖς παροῦσιν. [116] Ἰούδα δὲ τολμηροῦ τἆλλα τὴν φύσιν ἀνδρὸς χρησαμένου πρὸς αὐτὸν παρρησίᾳ, ὡς οὐ προσῆκε μὲν αὐτὸν περὶ τἀδελφοῦ δεδιέναι οὐδὲ τὰ μὴ δεινὰ δι᾽ ὑποψίας λαμβάνειν, πραχθήσεται γὰρ οὐδὲν αὐτῶν περὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν, ᾧ μὴ παρέσται θεός, τοῦτο δὲ συμβήσεσθαι πάντως καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτῷ μένοντι: [117] φανερὰν δ᾽ οὕτως αὐτῶν ἀπώλειαν μὴ καταδικάζειν μηδὲ τὴν ἐκ Φαραώθου τῆς τροφῆς αὐτῶν εὐπορίαν αὐτοὺς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι ἀλόγως περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς δεδιότα, φροντίζειν δὲ καὶ τῆς Σεμεῶνος σωτηρίας, μὴ φειδοῖ τῆς Βενιαμὶν ἀποδημίας ἐκεῖνος ἀπόληται: πιστεῦσαι δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ παραινοῦντος καὶ αὐτῷ, ὡς ἢ σῶον ἐπανάξοντος αὐτῷ τὸν υἱὸν ἢ συγκαταστρέψοντος ἅμα ἐκείνῳ τὸν βίον, [118] πεισθεὶς Ἰάκωβος παρεδίδου τὸν Βενιαμὶν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ σίτου διπλασίονα τῶν τε παρὰ τοῖς Χαναναίοις γεννωμένων τό τε τῆς βαλάνου μύρον καὶ στακτὴν τερέβινθόν τε καὶ μέλι δωρεὰς Ἰωσήπῳ κομίζειν. πολλὰ δὲ ἦν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν παίδων ἐξόδῳ δάκρυα κἀκείνων αὐτῶν. [119] ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς υἱοὺς εἰ κομιεῖται σώους ἐκ τῆς ἀποδημίας ἐφρόντιζεν, οἱ δ᾽ εἰ τὸν πατέρα καταλάβοιεν ἐρρωμένον καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς λύπης κακωθέντα. ἡμερήσιον δὲ αὐτοῖς ἠνύσθη τὸ πένθος, καὶ ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτης κοπωθεὶς ὑπέμενεν, οἱ δὲ ἐχώρουν εἰς Αἴγυπτον μετὰ κρείττονος ἐλπίδος τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι λύπην ἰώμενοι.

(6) [120] Ὡς δ᾽ ἦλθον εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον κατάγονται μὲν παρὰ τὸν Ἰώσηπον, φόβος δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν διετάραττε, μὴ περὶ τῆς τοῦ σίτου τιμῆς ἐγκλήματα λάβωσιν ὡς αὐτοί τι κεκακουργηκότες, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ Ἰωσήπου πολλὴν ἀπολογίαν ἐποιοῦντο κατ᾽ οἰκόν τε φάσκοντες εὑρεῖν ἐν τοῖς

σάκκοις τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ νῦν ἥκειν ἐπανάγοντες αὐτό. [121] τοῦ δὲ μηδ᾽ ὅ τι λέγουσιν εἰδέναι φήσαντος ἀνείθησαν τοῦ δέους. [λύσας τε τὸν Συμεῶνα ἐτημέλει συνεσόμενον τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς.] ἐλθόντος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Ἰωσήπου ἀπὸ τῆς θεραπείας τοῦ βασιλέως τά τε δῶρα παρῆγον αὐτῷ καὶ πυθομένου περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔλεγον, ὅτι καταλάβοιεν αὐτὸν ἐρρωμένον. [122] ὁ δὲ μαθὼν περιόντα καὶ περὶ τοῦ Βενιαμὶν εἰ οὗτος ὁ νεώτερος ἀδελφὸς αὐτῶν εἴη, καὶ γὰρ ἦν αὐτὸν ἑωρακώς, ἀνέκρινε. τῶν δὲ φησάντων αὐτὸν εἶναι οἰκέτην αὐτοῦ θεὸν μὲν ἐπὶ πᾶσι προστάτην εἶπεν, [123] ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ πάθους προαγόμενος εἰς δάκρυα μεθίστατο μὴ βουλόμενος καταφανὴς εἶναι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, ἐπὶ δεῖπνόν τε αὐτοὺς παραλαμβάνει καὶ κατακλίνονται οὕτως ὡς καὶ παρὰ τῷ πατρί. πάντας δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰώσηπος δεξιούμενος διπλασίοσι μοίραις τῶν αὐτῷ παρακειμένων τὸν Βενιαμὶν ἐτίμα.

(7) [124] Ἐπεὶ δὲ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον εἰς ὕπνον ἐτράποντο, κελεύει τῷ ταμίᾳ τόν τε σῖτον αὐτοῖς δοῦναι μεμετρημένον καὶ τὴν τιμὴν πάλιν ἐγκρύψαι τοῖς σακκίοις, εἰς δὲ τὸ τοῦ Βενιαμὶν φορτίον καὶ σκύφος ἀργυροῦν, ᾧ πίνων ἔχαιρε, βαλόντα καταλιπεῖν. [125] ἐποίει δὲ ταῦτα διάπειραν βουλόμενος τῶν ἀδελφῶν λαβεῖν, πότερόν ποτε βοηθήσουσι τῷ Βενιαμὶν κλοπῆς ἀγομένῳ καὶ δοκοῦντι κινδυνεύειν, ἢ καταλιπόντες ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτοὶ κεκακουργηκότες ἀπίασι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. [126] ποιήσαντος δὲ τοῦ οἰκέτου τὰ ἐντεταλμένα μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν οὐδὲν τούτων εἰδότες οἱ τοῦ Ἰακώβου παῖδες ἀπῄεσαν ἀπειληφότες τὸν Σεμεῶνα καὶ διπλῆν χαρὰν χαίροντες ἐπί τε τούτῳ κἀπὶ τῷ Βενιαμὶν ἀποκομίζειν τῷ πατρί, καθὼς ὑπέσχοντο. περιελαύνουσι δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἱππεῖς ἄγοντες τὸν οἰκέτην, ὃς ἐναπέθετο τῷ τοῦ Βενιαμὶν φορτίῳ τὸν σκύφον. [127] ταραχθέντας δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀδοκήτου τῶν ἱππέων ἐφόδου καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν πυθομένους δι᾽ ἣν ἐπ᾽ ἄνδρας ἐληλύθασιν, [128] οἳ μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν τιμῆς καὶ ξενίας τετυχήκασιν αὐτῶν παρὰ τοῦ δεσπότου, κακίστους ἀπεκάλουν, οἳ μηδ᾽ αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὴν ξενίαν καὶ τὴν φιλοφροσύνην τὴν Ἰωσήπου διὰ μνήμης λαβόντες οὐκ ὤκνησαν εἰς αὐτὸν ἄδικοι γενέσθαι, σκύφον δὲ, ᾧ φιλοτησίας αὐτοῖς προύπιεν, ἁράμενοι φέροιεν κέρδους ἀδίκου τήν τε πρὸς Ἰώσηπον φιλίαν τόν τε ἑαυτῶν εἰ φωραθεῖεν κίνδυνον ἐν δευτέρῳ θέμενοι: [129] τιμωρίαν τε αὐτοὺς ὑφέξειν ἠπείλουν οὐ λανθάνοντας τὸν θεὸν οὐδ᾽ ἀποδράντας μετὰ τῆς κλοπῆς, εἰ καὶ τὸν διακονούμενον οἰκέτην διέλαθον. πυνθάνεσθαί τε νῦν, τί παρόντες εἴημεν, ὡς οὐκ εἰδότας: γνώσεσθαι μέντοι κολαζομένους αὐτίκα. καὶ ταῦτα καὶ πέρα τούτων ὁ οἰκέτης εἰς αὐτοὺς λέγων ἐνύβριζεν. [130] οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ ἀγνοίας τῶν περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐχλεύαζον ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ τῆς κουφολογίας τὸν οἰκέτην ἐθαύμαζον τολμῶντα αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρειν ἀνδράσιν, οἳ μηδὲ τὴν τοῦ σίτου τιμὴν ἐν τοῖς σακκίοις αὐτῶν εὑρεθεῖσαν κατέσχον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκόμισαν μηδενὸς εἰδότος τὸ πραχθέν: τοσοῦτον ἀποδεῖν τοῦ γνώμῃ κακουργῆσαι. [131] τῆς μέντοι γε ἀρνήσεως ἀξιοπιστοτέραν ὑπολαβόντες τὴν ἔρευναν ἐκέλευον ταύτῃ χρῆσθαι κἂν εὑρεθῇ τις ὑφῃρημένος

ἅπαντας κολάζειν: οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς συνειδότες ἦγον παρρησίαν, ὡς ἐδόκουν, ἀκίνδυνον. ὁ δὲ τὴν ἔρευναν μὲν ἠξίωσε ποιήσασθαι, τὴν μέντοι τιμωρίαν ἑνὸς ἔφασκεν εἶναι τοῦ τὴν κλοπὴν εὑρεθέντος πεποιημένου. [132] τὴν δὲ ζήτησιν ποιούμενοι καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκπεριελθόντες κατὰ τὴν ἔρευναν ἐπὶ τὸν τελευταῖον Βενιαμὶν ἦκον οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες, ὅτι εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου σακκίον τὸν σκύφον εἶεν ἀποκεκρυφότες, ἀλλ᾽ ἀκριβῆ τὴν ζήτησιν βουλόμενοι ποιεῖσθαι δοκεῖν. [133] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι τοῦ κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀπηλλαγμένοι δέους ἐν τῇ περὶ τὸν Βενιαμὶν φροντίδι τὸ λοιπὸν ἦσαν, ἐθάρρουν δ᾽ ὡς οὐδ᾽ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῆς κακουργίας εὑρεθησομένης ἐκάκιζόν τε τοὺς ἐπιδιώξαντας ὡς ἐμποδίσαντας αὐτοῖς τὴν ὁδὸν δυναμένοις ἤδη προκεκοφέναι. [134] ὡς δὲ τὸ τοῦ Βενιαμὶν φορτίον ἐρευνῶντες λαμβάνουσι τὸν σκύφον εἰς οἰμωγὰς καὶ θρήνους εὐθὺς ἐτράπησαν καὶ τὰς στολὰς ἐπικαταρρήξαντες ἔκλαιόν τε τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπὶ τῇ μελλούσῃ κολάσει τῆς κλοπῆς αὐτούς τε διαψευσομένους τὸν πατέρα περὶ τῆς Βενιαμὶν σωτηρίας. [135] ἐπέτεινε δὲ τὸ δεινὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ δόξαντας ἤδη διαφυγεῖν τὰ σκυθρωπὰ διαφθονηθῆναι, τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν κακῶν καὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ λύπης ἐσομένους αὐτοὺς αἰτίους ἔλεγον βιασαμένους ἄκοντα τὸν πατέρα συναποστεῖλαι.

(8) [136] Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἱππεῖς παραλαβόντες τὸν Βενιαμὶν ἦγον πρὸς Ἰώσηπον καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἑπομένων, ὁ δὲ τὸν μὲν ἰδὼν ἐν φυλακῇ, τοὺς δ᾽ ἐν πενθίμοις σχήμασι, “τί δή, φησίν, ὦ κάκιστοι, φρονήσαντες ἢ περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς φιλανθρωπίας ἢ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς προ [137] νοίας τοιαῦτα πράττειν εἰς εὐεργέτην καὶ ξένον ἐτολμήσατε;” τῶν δὲ παραδιδόντων αὐτοὺς εἰς κόλασιν ἐπὶ τῷ σώζεσθαι Βενιαμὶν καὶ πάλιν ἀναμιμνησκομένων τῶν εἰς Ἰώσηπον τετολμημένων κἀκεῖνον ἀποκαλούντων μακαριώτερον, εἰ μὲν τέθνηκεν ὅτι τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀπήλλακται σκυθρωπῶν, εἰ δὲ περίεστιν ὅτι τῆς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐκδικίας τυγχάνει, λεγόντων δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀλιτηρίους τοῦ πατρός, ὅτι τῇ λύπῃ ἣν ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνῳ μέχρι νῦν ἔχει καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Βενιαμὶν προσθήσουσι, πολὺς ἦν κἀνταῦθ᾽ ὁ Ῥουβῆλος αὐτῶν καθαπτόμενος. [138] Ἰωσήπου δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀπολύοντος, οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀδικεῖν, ἀρκεῖσθαι δὲ μόνῃ τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς τιμωρίᾳ λέγοντος, οὔτε γὰρ τοῦτον ἀπολύειν διὰ τοὺς οὐδὲν ἐξαμαρτόντας σῶφρον ἔλεγεν οὔτε συγκολάζειν ἐκείνους τῷ τὴν κλοπὴν εἰργασμένῳ, βαδιοῦσι δὲ παρέξειν ἀσφάλειαν ἐπαγγελλομένου, [139] τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἔκπληξις ἔλαβε καὶ πρὸς τὸ πάθος ἀφωνία, Ἰούδας δὲ ὁ καὶ τὸν πατέρα πείσας ἐκπέμψαι τὸ μειράκιον καὶ τἆλλα δραστήριος ὢν ἀνὴρ ὑπὲρ τῆς τἀδελφοῦ σωτηρίας ἔκρινε παραβάλλεσθαι, [140] καί “δεινὰ μέν, εἶπεν, ὦ στρατηγέ, τετολμήκαμεν εἰς σὲ καὶ τιμωρίας ἄξια καὶ τοῦ κόλασιν ὑποσχεῖν ἅπαντας ἡμᾶς δικαίως, εἰ καὶ τὸ ἀδίκημα μὴ ἄλλου τινός, ἀλλ᾽ ἑνὸς τοῦ νεωτάτου γέγονεν. ὅμως δὲ ἀπεγνωκόσιν ἡμῖν τὴν δι᾽ αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν ἐλπὶς ὑπολέλειπται παρὰ τῆς σῆς χρηστότητος ἐγγυωμένη τὴν τοῦ κινδύνου διαφυγήν. [141] καὶ νῦν μὴ πρὸς τὸ ἡμέτερον ἀφορῶν μηδὲ τὸ

κακούργημα σκοπῶν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν σαυτοῦ φύσιν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν σύμβουλον ποιησάμενος ἀντὶ τῆς ὀργῆς, ἣν οἱ τἆλλα μικροὶ πρὸς ἰσχύος λαμβάνουσιν οὐκ ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν αὐτῇ χρώμενοι, γενοῦ πρὸς αὐτὴν μεγαλόφρων καὶ μὴ νικηθῇς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς, ὥστε ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς οὐδ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὡς ἰδίας ἔτι τῆς σωτηρίας ἀντιποιουμένους, ἀλλὰ παρὰ σοῦ λαβεῖν αὐτὴν ἀξιοῦντας. [142] καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ νῦν πρῶτον ἡμῖν αὐτὴν παρέξεις, ἀλλὰ τάχιον ἐλθοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν τοῦ σίτου καὶ τὴν εὐπορίαν τῆς τροφῆς ἐχαρίσω δοὺς ἀποκομίζειν καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις ὅσα κινδυνεύοντας αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ διαφθαρῆναι περιέσωσε. [143] διαφέρει δ᾽ οὐδὲν ἢ μὴ περιιδεῖν ἀπολλυμένους ὑπ᾽ ἐνδείας τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἢ μὴ κολάσαι δόξαντας ἁμαρτεῖν καὶ περὶ τὴν εὐεργεσίαν τὴν ἀπὸ σοῦ λαμπρὰν γενομένην φθονηθέντας, ἡ δ᾽ αὐτὴ χάρις ἄλλῳ μέντοι τρόπῳ διδομένη: [144] σώσεις γὰρ οὓς εἰς τοῦτο καὶ ἔτρεφες καὶ ψυχάς, ἃς ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καμεῖν οὐκ εἴασας, τηρήσεις ταῖς σαυτοῦ δωρεαῖς, ὡς θαυμαστὸν ἅμα καὶ μέγα δοῦναί τε ψυχὰς ἡμῖν καὶ παρασχεῖν δι᾽ ὧν αὖται μενοῦσιν ἀπορουμένοις. [145] οἶμαί τε τὸν θεὸν αἰτίαν παρασκευάσαι βουλόμενον εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν περιόντος ἡμᾶς εἰς τοῦτο περιστῆσαι συμφορᾶς, ἵνα καὶ τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀδικημάτων συγγινώσκων φανῇς τοῖς ἐπταικόσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς μόνους τοὺς κατ᾽ ἄλλην πρόφασιν δεομένους ἐπικουρίας φιλάνθρωπος δοκοίης. [146] ὡς μέγα μὲν καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαί τινας εὖ καταστάντας εἰς χρείαν, ἡγεμονικώτερον δὲ σῶσαι τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν τετολμημένων δίκην ὀφείλοντας: εἰ γὰρ τὸ περὶ μικρῶν ζημιωμάτων ἀφεῖναι τοὺς πλημμελήσαντας ἔπαινον ἤνεγκε τοῖς ὑπεριδοῦσι, τό γε περὶ τούτων ἀόργητον, ὑπὲρ ὧν τὸ ζῆν ὑπεύθυνον τῇ κολάσει γίνεται τῶν ἠδικηκότων, θεοῦ φύσει προσετέθη. [147] καὶ ἔγωγε, εἰ μὴ πατὴρ ἡμῖν ἦν πῶς ἐπὶ παίδων ἀποβολῇ ταλαιπωρεῖ διὰ τῆς ἐπὶ Ἰωσήπῳ λύπης ἐπιδεδειγμένος, οὐκ ἂν τοῦ γε καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἕνεκα περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας λόγους ἐποιησάμην, εἰ μὴ ὅσον τῷ σῷ χαριζόμενος ἤθει σώζειν αὐτῷ καλῶς ἔχοντι, καὶ τούτους οἳ λυπήσονται τεθνηκότων οὐκ ἔχοντες παρείχομεν ἂν αὐτοὺς πεισομένους ὅ τι καὶ θελήσειας: [148] νῦν δ᾽, οὐ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐλεοῦντες, εἰ καὶ νέοι καὶ μήπω τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀπολελαυκότες τεθνηξόμεθα, τὸ δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς λογιζόμενοι καὶ τὸ γῆρας οἰκτείροντες τὸ ἐκείνου ταύτας σοι τὰς δεήσεις προσφέρομεν καὶ παραιτούμεθα ψυχὰς τὰς αὐτῶν, ἅς σοι τὸ ἡμέτερον κακούργημα πρὸς τιμωρίαν παρέδωκεν, [149] οὔτε πονηρὸς αὐτὸς οὔτε τοιούτους ἐσομένους ἐγέννησεν ἀλλὰ χρηστὸς ὢν καὶ πειραθῆναι τοιούτων οὐχὶ δίκαιος καὶ νῦν μὲν ἀποδημούντων ταῖς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν φροντίσι κακοπαθεῖ, πυθόμενος δὲ ἀπολωλότας καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν οὐχ ὑπομενεῖ ἀλλὰ διὰ ταύτην πολὺ μᾶλλον τὸν βίον καταλείπει, [150] καὶ τὸ ἄδοξον αὐτὸν τῆς ἡμετέρας καταστροφῆς φθήσεται διαχρησάμενον καὶ κακὴν αὐτῷ ποιήσει τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν ἀπαλλαγήν, πρὶν εἰς ἄλλους φοιτῆσαι τὰ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς σπεύσαντος αὐτὸν εἰς ἀναισθησίαν μεταγαγεῖν. [151] γενόμενος οὖν ἐν τούτῳ τὸν λογισμόν, εἰ καὶ ἡ κακία σε παροξύνει νῦν ἡ

ἡμετέρα, τὸ κατ᾽ αὐτῆς δίκαιον χάρισαι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ δυνηθήτω πλέον ὁ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἔλεος τῆς ἡμετέρας πονηρίας καὶ γῆρας ἐν ἐρημίᾳ βιωσόμενον καὶ τεθνηξόμενον ἡμῶν ἀπολομένων αἴδεσαι, τῷ πατέρων ὀνόματι ταύτην χαριζόμενος τὴν δωρεάν. [152] ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ καὶ τὸν σὲ φύσαντα τιμᾷς καὶ σαυτῷ δίδως, ἀπολαύων μὲν ἤδη τῆς προσηγορίας, ἀπαθὴς δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ φυλαχθησόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ πάντων πατρός, εἰς ὃν κατὰ κοινωνίαν καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ ὀνόματος εὐσεβεῖν δόξεις τοῦ ἡμετέρου πατρὸς οἶκτον λαβὼν ἐφ᾽ οἷς πείσεται τῶν παίδων στερούμενος. [153] σὸν οὖν, ἃ παρέσχεν ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς ταῦτ᾽ ἔχοντ᾽ ἐξουσίαν ἀφελέσθαι δοῦναι καὶ μηδὲν ἐκείνου διενεγκεῖν τῇ χάριτι: τῆς γὰρ ἐπαμφότερον δυνάμεως τετυχηκότα καλὸν ταύτην ἐν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, καὶ παρὸν καὶ ἀπολλύειν τῆς μὲν κατὰ τοῦτο ἐξουσίας ὡς μηδ᾽ ὑπαρχούσης ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι, μόνον δ᾽ ἐπιτετράφθαι τὸ σώζειν ὑπολαμβάνειν, καὶ ὅσῳ τις πλείοσι τοῦτο παρέξει μᾶλλον αὐτῷ φαίνεσθαι διδόντα. [154] σὺ δὲ πάντας ἡμᾶς σώσεις τἀδελφῷ συγγνοὺς ὑπὲρ ὧν ἠτύχηκεν: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμῖν βιώσιμα τούτου κολασθέντος, οἷς γε πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μὴ ἔξεστιν ἀνασωθῆναι μόνοις, ἀλλ᾽ ἐνθάδε δεῖ κοινωνῆσαι τούτῳ τῆς αὐτῆς καταστροφῆς τοῦ βίου. [155] καὶ δεησόμεθά σου, στρατηγέ, κατακρίναντος τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν ἀποθανεῖν συγκολάσαι καὶ ἡμᾶς ὡς τοῦ ἀδικήματος κεκοινωνηκότας: οὐ γὰρ ἀξιώσομεν ἡμεῖς ὡς ἐπὶ λύπῃ τεθνηκότος αὐτοὺς ἀνελεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ὁμοίως αὐτῷ πονηροὶ γεγονότες οὕτως ἀποθανεῖν. [156] καὶ ὅτι μὲν καὶ νέος ὢν ἥμαρτε καὶ μήπω τὸ φρονεῖν ἐρηρεισμένος καὶ ὡς ἀνθρώπινον τοῖς τοιούτοις συγγνώμην νέμειν, σοὶ καταλιπὼν παύομαι περαιτέρω λέγειν, ἵν᾽ εἰ μὲν κατακρίνειας ἡμῶν, τὰ μὴ λεχθέντα δόξῃ βεβλαφέναι πρὸς τὸ σκυθρωπότερον ἡμᾶς, [157] εἰ δ᾽ ἀπολύσειας, κἀκεῖνα τῇ σαυτοῦ χρηστότητι συνιδὼν ἀπεψηφίσθαι νομισθῇς, οὐ σώσας μόνον ἡμᾶς ἀλλὰ καὶ δι᾽ οὗ δικαιότεροι μᾶλλον φανούμεθα τυχεῖν χαριζόμενος καὶ πλέον ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας νοήσας σωτηρίας. [158] εἶτ᾽ οὖν κτείνειν αὐτὸν θέλεις, ἐμὲ τιμωρησάμενος ἀντὶ τούτου τῷ πατρὶ τοῦτον ἀπόπεμψον, εἴτε καὶ κατέχειν σοι δοκεῖ δοῦλον, ἐγὼ πρὸς τὰς χρείας σοι ὑπηρετικώτερος, ἀμείνων ὡς ὁρᾷς πρὸς ἑκάτερον τῶν παθῶν ὑπάρχων.” [159] Ἰούδας μὲν οὖν πάντα ὑπομένειν ὑπὲρ τῆς τἀδελφοῦ σωτηρίας ἡδέως ἔχων ῥίπτει πρὸ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ποδῶν ἑαυτόν, εἴ πως ἐκμαλάξειε τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ καταπραύνειεν ἀγωνιζόμενος, προύπεσον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πάντες δακρύοντες καὶ παραδιδόντες ἑαυτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς Βενιαμὶν ψυχῆς ἀπολουμένους.

(10) [160] Ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος ἐλεγχόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους καὶ μηκέτι δυνάμενος τὴν τῆς ὀργῆς φέρειν ὑπόκρισιν κελεύει μὲν ἀπελθεῖν τοὺς παρόντας, ἵνα μόνοις αὐτὸν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ποιήσῃ φανερόν, ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ ποιεῖ γνώριμον αὐτὸν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καί φησι: [161] “τῆς μὲν ἀρετῆς ὑμᾶς καὶ τῆς εὐνοίας τῆς περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν ἐπαινῶ καὶ κρείττονας ἢ προσεδόκων ἐκ τῶν περὶ ἐμὲ βεβουλευμένων εὑρίσκω ταῦτα πάντα ποιήσας ἐπὶ πείρᾳ τῆς ὑμετέρας

φιλαδελφίας: φύσει δὲ οὐδὲ περὶ ἐμὲ νομίζω πονηροὺς γεγονέναι, θεοῦ δὲ βουλήσει τήν τε νῦν πραγματευομένου τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ τὴν ἐς ὕστερον, ἂν εὐμενὴς ἡμῖν παραμείνῃ. [162] πατρός τε οὖν σωτηρίαν ἐγνωκὼς οὐδ' ἐλπισθεῖσαν καὶ τοιούτους ὑμᾶς ὁρῶν περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν οὐδ' ὧν εἰς ἐμὲ δοκεῖτε ἁμαρτεῖν ἔτι μνημονεύω, παύσομαι δὲ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς μισοπονηρίας καὶ ὡς συναιτίοις τῶν τῷ θεῷ βεβουλευμένων εἰς τὰ παρόντα χάριν ἔχειν ὁμολογῶ. [163] ὑμᾶς τε βούλομαι καὶ αὐτοὺς λήθην ἐκείνων λαβόντας ἥδεσθαι μᾶλλον τῆς τότε ἀβουλίας εἰς τοιοῦτον ἐπελθούσης τέλος ἢ δυσφορεῖν αἰσχυνομένους ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμαρτημένοις. μὴ οὖν δόξῃ λυπεῖν ὑμᾶς τὸ κατ' ἐμοῦ ψῆφον ἐνεγκεῖν πονηρὰν καὶ ἡ ἐπ' αὐτῇ μετάνοια τῷ γε μὴ προχωρῆσαι τὰ βεβουλευμένα. [164] χαίροντες οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκ θεοῦ γεγενημένοις ἅπιτε ταῦτα δηλώσοντες τῷ πατρί, μὴ καὶ ταῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν φροντίσιν ἀναλωθεὶς ζημιώσῃ μου τὸ κάλλιστον τῆς εὐδαιμονίας πρὶν εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ μεταλαβεῖν τῶν παρόντων ἀποθανών. [165] αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτον καὶ γυναῖκας ὑμετέρας καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν συγγένειαν ὑμῶν ἀναλαβόντες ἐνθάδε μετοικίζεσθε: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀποδήμους εἶναι δεῖ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων τοὺς ἐμοὶ φιλτάτους ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ λοιπὴν ἔτι πενταετίαν περιμενοῦντος.'' ταῦτ' εἰπὼν Ἰώσηπος περιβάλλει τοὺς ἀδελφούς: [166] οἱ δ' ἐν δάκρυσιν ἦσαν καὶ λύπῃ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ βεβουλευμένων τιμωρίας τ' οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀπολιπεῖν ἐδόκει τὸ εὔγνωμον τἀδελφοῦ. καὶ τότε μὲν ἦσαν ἐν εὐωχίᾳ: [167] βασιλεὺς δ' ἀκούσας ἥκοντας πρὸς τὸν Ἰώσηπον τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἥσθη τε μεγάλως καὶ ὡς ἐπ' οἰκείῳ διατεθεὶς ἀγαθῷ παρεῖχεν αὐτοῖς ἁμάξας σίτου πλήρεις καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον ἀποκομίζειν τῷ πατρί. λαβόντες δὲ πλείω παρὰ τἀδελφοῦ τὰ μὲν τῷ πατρὶ φέρειν τὰ δὲ αὐτοὶ δωρεὰς ἔχειν ἕκαστος ἰδίας, πλειόνων ἠξιωμένου Βενιαμὶν παρ' αὐτούς, ἀπῄεσαν.

VII

(1) [168] Ὡς δ' ἀφικομένων τῶν παίδων Ἰάκωβος τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἔμαθεν, ὅτι μὴ μόνον εἴη τὸν θάνατον διαπεφευγὼς ἐφ' ᾧ πενθῶν διῆγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζῇ μετὰ λαμπρᾶς εὐδαιμονίας βασιλεῖ συνδιέπων τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὴν ἅπασαν σχεδὸν ἐγκεχειρισμένος αὐτῆς ἐπιμέλειαν, [169] ἄπιστον μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδόκει τῶν ἠγγελμένων λογιζόμενος τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν μεγαλουργίαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὔνοιαν, εἰ καὶ τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ διέλιπεν, ὥρμητο δ' εὐθὺς πρὸς τὸν Ἰώσηπον.

(2) [170] Ὡς δὲ κατέσχεν ἐπὶ τὸ Ὄρκιον φρέαρ θύσας αὐτόθι τῷ θεῷ καὶ φοβούμενος διὰ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τῶν παίδων ἐμφιλοχωρησάντων τῇ οἰκήσει τῇ ἐν αὐτῇ, μὴ οὐκέτ' εἰς τὴν Χαναναίαν οἱ ἔγγονοι μετελθόντες κατάσχωσιν αὐτήν, ὡς ὁ θεὸς ἦν ὑπεισχημένος, [171] ἅμα τε μὴ δίχα θεοῦ βουλήσεως γενομένης τῆς εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀφόδου διαφθαρῇ τὸ γένος

αὐτοῦ, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις δεδιώς, μὴ προεξέλθῃ τοῦ βίου πρὶν εἰς ὄψιν Ἰωσήπου παραγενέσθαι, καταφέρεται στρέφων ἐν ἑαυτῷ τοῦτον τὸν λογισμὸν εἰς ὕπνον.

(3) [172] Ἐπιστὰς δὲ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ καὶ δὶς ὀνομαστὶ καλέσας πυνθανομένῳ τίς ἐστιν, "ἀλλ' οὐ δίκαιον, εἶπεν, Ἰακώβῳ θεὸν ἀγνοεῖσθαι τὸν ἀεὶ παραστάτην καὶ βοηθὸν προγόνοις τε τοῖς σοῖς καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς σοὶ γενόμενον. [173] στερουμένῳ τε γάρ σοι τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ταύτην ἐγὼ παρέσχον, καὶ κατ' ἐμὴν εὔνοιαν εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν μόνος σταλεὶς γάμων τε ἀγαθῶν ἔτυχες καὶ παίδων ἐπαγόμενος πλῆθος καὶ χρημάτων ἐνόστησας. [174] παρέμεινέ τέ σοι γενεὰ πᾶσα προνοίᾳ τῇ ἐμῇ, καὶ ὃν ἀπολωλέναι τῶν υἱῶν ἐδόκεις Ἰώσηπον εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν μειζόνων ἀγαθῶν ἤγαγον καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου κύριον, ὡς ὀλίγῳ διαφέρειν τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐποίησα. [175] ἥκω τε νῦν ὁδοῦ τε ταύτης ἡγεμὼν ἐσόμενος καὶ βίου σου τελευτὴν ἐν ταῖς Ἰωσήπου χερσὶ γενησομένην προδηλῶν καὶ μακρὸν αἰῶνα τῶν σῶν ἐγγόνων ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ καὶ δόξῃ καταγγέλλων καταστήσων τε αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν ὑπέσχημαι."

(4) [176] Τούτῳ θαρρήσας τῷ ὀνείρατι προθυμότερον εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον σὺν τοῖς υἱοῖς καὶ παισὶν τοῖς τούτων ἀπηλλάττετο. ἦσαν δ' οἱ πάντες [πέντε καὶ] ἑβδομήκοντα. τὰ μὲν οὖν ὀνόματα δηλῶσαι τούτων οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζον καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν δυσκολίαν αὐτῶν: [177] ἵνα μέντοι παραστήσω τοῖς οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἀλλ' Αἰγυπτίους εἶναι, ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην μνησθῆναι τῶν ὀνομάτων. Ἰακώβου μὲν οὖν παῖδες ἦσαν δώδεκα: τούτων Ἰώσηπος ἤδη προαφῖκτο: τοὺς οὖν μετ' αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τούτων γεγονότας δηλώσομεν. [178] Ῥουβήλου μὲν ἦσαν παῖδες τέσσαρες, Ἀνώχης Φαλοὺς Ἐσσαρὼν Χάρμισος: Σεμεῶνος δ' ἕξ, Ἰούμηλος Ἰάμεινος Πούθοδος Ἰαχῖνος Σόαρος Σααρᾶς: τρεῖς δὲ Λευὶ γεγόνασιν υἱοί, Γολγόμης Κάαθος Μαράιρος: Ἰούδᾳ δὲ παῖδες ἦσαν τρεῖς, Σάλας Φάρεσος Ἐζελοός, υἱωνοὶ δὲ δύο γεγονότες ἐκ Φαρέσου, Ἐσρὼν καὶ Ἄμουρος. Ἰσακχάρου δὲ τέσσαρες, Θούλας Φρουρᾶς Ἴωβος Σαμάρων. [179] τρεῖς δὲ Ζαβουλὼν ἦγεν υἱούς, Σάραδον Ἥλωνα Ἰάνηλον. τοῦτο μὲν τὸ ἐκ Λείας γένος: καὶ αὐτῇ συνανῄει καὶ θυγάτηρ αὐτῆς Δεῖνα. [180] τρεῖς οὗτοι καὶ τριάκοντα. Ῥαχήλας δὲ παῖδες ἦσαν δύο: τούτων Ἰωσήπῳ μὲν γεγόνεισαν υἱοὶ Μανασσῆς καὶ Ἐφράνης. Βενιαμεῖ δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ δέκα, Βόλος Βάκχαρις Ἀσαβῆλος Γήλας Νεεμάνης Ἴης Ἄρως Νομφθὴς Ὀππαῖς Ἄροδος. οὗτοι τέσσαρες καὶ δέκα πρὸς τοῖς πρότερον κατειλεγμένοις εἰς ἑπτὰ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα γίνονται τὸν ἀριθμόν. [181] καὶ τὸ μὲν γνήσιον γένος τῷ Ἰακώβῳ τοῦτο ἦν, ἐκ Βάλλας δὲ αὐτῷ γίνονται τῆς Ῥαχήλας θεραπαινίδος Δάνος καὶ Νεφθαλίς, ᾧ τέσσαρες εἵποντο παῖδες, Ἐλιῆλος Γοῦνις Σάρης τε καὶ Σέλλιμος, Δάνῳ δὲ μονογενὲς ἦν παιδίον Οὖσις. [182] τούτων προσγινομένων τοῖς προειρημένοις πεντήκοντα καὶ τεσσάρων πληροῦσιν ἀριθμόν. Γάδης δὲ καὶ Ἀσῆρος ἐκ Ζελφᾶς μὲν ἦσαν, ἦν Λείας δὲ αὕτη θεραπαινίς, παῖδας δ' ἐπήγοντο Γάδης μὲν ἑπτά, Ζοφωνίαν Οὔγιν Σοῦνιν Ζάβρωνα Εἰρήνην Ἐρωίδην Ἀριήλην:

[183] Ἀσήρωνός τε ἦν θυγάτηρ καὶ ἄρσενες ἀριθμὸν ἕξ, οἷς ὀνόματα Ἰώμνης Ἰσούσιος Ἠιούβης Βάρης Ἀβαρός τε καὶ Μελχιῆλος. τούτων ἑκκαίδεκα ὄντων καὶ προστιθεμένων τοῖς πεντήκοντα τέσσαρσιν ὁ προειρημένος ἀριθμὸς πληροῦται μὴ συγκαταλεγέντος αὐτοῖς Ἰακώβου.

(5) [184] Μαθὼν δὲ Ἰώσηπος παραγινόμενον τὸν πατέρα, καὶ γὰρ προλαβὼν Ἰούδας ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἐδήλωσεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἄφιξιν, ἀπαντησόμενος ἔξεισι καὶ καθ' Ἡρώων πόλιν αὐτῷ συνέβαλεν. ὁ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς ἀπροσδοκήτου τε καὶ μεγάλης γενομένης μικροῦ δεῖν ἐξέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ ἀνεζωπύρησεν αὐτὸν Ἰώσηπος οὐδ' αὐτὸς μὲν κρατῆσαι δυνηθεὶς ὡς μὴ ταὐτὸ παθεῖν ὑφ' ἡδονῆς, οὐ μέντοι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τῷ πατρὶ γενόμενος ἥττων τοῦ πάθους. [185] ἔπειτα τὸν μὲν ἠρέμα κελεύσας ὁδεύειν αὐτὸς δὲ παραλαβὼν πέντε τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἠπείγετο πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα φράσων αὐτῷ παραγενόμενον μετὰ τοῦ γένους τὸν Ἰάκωβον. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο χαίρων ἤκουσε καὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ λέγειν τίνι βίῳ τερπόμενοι διατελοῦσιν ὡς αὐτοῖς τοῦτον ἐπιτρέψειε διάγειν. [186] ὁ δὲ ποιμένας ἀγαθοὺς αὐτοὺς ἔλεγε καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἢ τούτῳ μόνῳ προσανέχειν, τοῦ τε μὴ διαζευγνυμένους ἀλλ' ἐν ταὐτῷ τυγχάνοντας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ πατρὸς προνοούμενος τοῦ τε τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις εἶναι προσφιλεῖς μηδὲν πράττοντας τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνοις: Αἰγυπτίοις γὰρ ἀπειρημένον ἦν περὶ νομὰς ἀναστρέφεσθαι.

(6) [187] Τοῦ δ' Ἰακώβου παραγενομένου πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ἀσπαζομένου τε καὶ κατευχομένου περὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῷ ὁ Φαραώθης ἐπυνθάνετο, πόσον ἤδη βεβιωκὼς εἴη χρόνον. [188] τοῦ δ' ἑκατὸν ἔτη καὶ τριάκοντα γεγονέναι φήσαντος ἐθαύμασε τοῦ μήκους τῆς ζωῆς τὸν Ἰάκωβον. εἰπόντος δ' ὡς ἥττονα τῶν προγόνων εἴη βεβιωκὼς ἔτη συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ ζῆν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει: ἐν ἐκείνῃ γὰρ καὶ οἱ ποιμένες αὐτοῦ τὰς νομὰς εἶχον.

(7) [189] Ὁ δὲ λιμὸς τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπετείνετο καὶ τὸ δεινὸν ἀπορώτερον ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ἐγίνετο μήτε τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπάρδοντος, οὐ γὰρ ηὔξανε, μήτε ὕοντος τοῦ θεοῦ πρόνοιάν τε μηδεμίαν αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἀγνοίας πεποιημένων. καὶ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου τὸν σῖτον ἐπὶ χρήμασιν αὐτοῖς διδόντος, ὡς [δὲ] ταῦτ' αὐτοῖς ἐπέλιπε, τῶν βοσκημάτων ἐωνοῦντο τὸν σῖτον καὶ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων: [190] οἷς δὲ καὶ γῆς τις ἦν μοῖρα ταύτην παρεχώρουν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τροφῆς. οὕτως τε τοῦ βασιλέως πάσης αὐτῶν τῆς περιουσίας κυρίου γεγενημένου, μετῳκίσθησαν ἄλλος ἀλλαχοῦ, ὅπως βεβαία γένηται τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς χώρας τούτων ἡ κτῆσις, πλὴν τῶν ἱερέων: τούτοις γὰρ ἔμενεν ἡ χώρα αὐτῶν. [191] ἐδούλου τ' αὐτῶν οὐ τὰ σώματα μόνον τὸ δεινόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς διανοίας καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς ἀσχήμονα τῆς τροφῆς εὐπορίαν αὐτοὺς κατηνάγκαζε. λωφήσαντος δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ τῆς γῆς ἐπιβάντος καὶ ταύτης τοὺς καρποὺς ἀφθόνως ἐκφερούσης, [192] ὁ Ἰώσηπος εἰς ἑκάστην παραγενόμενος πόλιν καὶ συλλέγων ἐν αὐταῖς τὸ πλῆθος τήν τε γῆν αὐτοῖς, ἣν ἐκείνων παραχωρούντων βασιλεὺς ἔχειν ἠδύνατο καὶ καρποῦσθαι μόνος, εἰς ἅπαν ἐχαρίζετο καὶ κτῆμα ἴδιον ἡγουμένους φιλεργεῖν παρεκάλει τὴν πέμπτην

τῶν καρπῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ τελοῦντας ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας, ἣν δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς οὖσαν αὐτοῦ. [193] τοὺς δὲ παρ᾽ ἐλπίδας κυρίους τῆς γῆς καθισταμένους χαρά τε ἐλάμβανε καὶ ὑφίσταντο τὰ προστάγματα. καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τό τε ἀξίωμα παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις αὐτοῦ μεῖζον Ἰώσηπος ἀπεργάζεται, καὶ πλείω γε τὴν εὔνοιαν τῷ βασιλεῖ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν, ὅ τε τοῦ τελεῖν τὴν πέμπτην τῶν καρπῶν νόμος ἔμεινε καὶ μέχρι τῶν ὕστερον βασιλέων.

VIII

(1) [194] Ἰάκωβος δὲ ἑπτακαιδέκατον ἔτος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ διατρίψας καὶ νόσῳ χρησάμενος παρόντων αὐτῷ τῶν υἱῶν ἀπέθανεν, ἐπευξάμενος τοῖς μὲν κτῆσιν ἀγαθῶν καὶ προειπὼν αὐτοῖς κατὰ προφητείαν, πῶς μέλλει τῶν ἐκ τῆς γενεᾶς αὐτῶν ἕκαστος κατοικεῖν τὴν Χαναναίαν: τοῦτο δὴ καὶ πολλοῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις ἐγένετο: [195] Ἰωσήπου δ᾽ ἐγκώμιον διεξελθών, ὅτι μὴ μνησικακήσειε τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτου πλέον χρηστὸς εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐγένετο δωρησάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀγαθοῖς, οἷς οὐδὲ εὐεργέτας τινὲς ἠμείψαντο, προσέταξε τοῖς ἰδίοις παισίν, ἵνα τοὺς Ἰωσήπου παῖδας Ἐφρὴν καὶ Μανασσῆν εἰς τὸν αὐτῶν ἀριθμὸν προσῶνται διαιρούμενοι μετ᾽ αὐτῶν τὴν Χαναναίαν, περὶ ὧν ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν: [196] ἠξίου μέντοι καὶ ταφῆς ἐν Νεβρῶνι τυγχάνειν: τελευτᾷ δὲ βιοὺς ἔτη τὰ πάντα τριῶν δέοντα πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, μηδενὸς μὲν τῶν προγόνων ἀπολειφθεὶς ἐπ᾽ εὐσεβείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, τυχὼν δὲ ἀμοιβῆς ἧς δίκαιον ἦν τοὺς οὕτως ἀγαθοὺς γεγονότας. Ἰώσηπος δὲ συγχωρήσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς νεκρὸν εἰς Νεβρῶνα κομίσας ἐκεῖ θάπτει πολυτελῶς. [197] τῶν δ᾽ ἀδελφῶν οὐ βουλομένων αὐτῷ συνυποστρέφειν, δέος γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἶχε μὴ τεθνηκότος αὐτοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς τιμωρήσαιτο τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλῆς οὐκέτ᾽ ὄντος ᾧ χαρίζοιτο τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετριότητα, πείθει μηδὲν ὑφορᾶσθαι μηδ᾽ ἔχειν αὐτὸν δι᾽ ὑποψίας, ἀγαγὼν δὲ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ κτῆσιν πολλὴν ἐχαρίσατο καὶ πάσῃ περὶ αὐτοὺς σπουδῇ χρώμενος οὐκ ἀπέλιπε.

(2) [198] Τελευτᾷ δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἔτη βιώσας ἑκατὸν καὶ δέκα θαυμάσιος τὴν ἀρετὴν γενόμενος καὶ λογισμῷ πάντα διοικῶν καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταμιευόμενος, ὃ δὴ καὶ τῆς τοιαύτης εὐδαιμονίας αἴτιον αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἀλλαχόθεν ἥκοντι καὶ μετὰ τοιαύτης κακοπραγίας, μεθ᾽ ἧς προειρήκαμεν, ὑπῆρχε. [199] τελευτῶσι δ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ζήσαντες εὐδαιμόνως ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου. καὶ τούτων μὲν τὰ σώματα κομίσαντες μετὰ χρόνον οἱ ἀπόγονοι καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἔθαψαν ἐν Νεβρῶνι, [200] τὰ δὲ Ἰωσήπου ὀστᾶ ὕστερον, ὅτε μετανέστησαν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου οἱ Ἑβραῖοι, εἰς τὴν Χαναναίαν ἐκόμισαν: οὕτως γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἐξώρκισε. τούτων οὖν ἕκαστος ὡς ἔσχε καὶ τίσι πόνοις ἐκράτησαν τῆς Χαναναίας σημανῶ προδιηγησάμενος τὴν αἰτίαν δι᾽ ἣν τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐξέλιπον.

IX

(1) [201] Αἰγυπτίοις τρυφεροῖς καὶ ῥᾳθύμοις πρὸς πόνους οὖσι καὶ τῶν τε ἄλλων ἡδονῶν ἥττοσι καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς κατὰ φιλοκέρδειαν συνέβη δεινῶς πρὸς τοὺς Ἑβραίους διατεθῆναι κατὰ φθόνον τῆς εὐδαιμονίας. [202] ὁρῶντες γὰρ τὸ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν γένος ἀκμάζον καὶ δι᾽ ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ πονεῖν εὐφυίαν πλήθει χρημάτων ἤδη καὶ λαμπρούς, κατ᾽ αὐτῶν αὔξεσθαι τούτους ὑπελάμβανον, ὧν τ᾽ ἦσαν ὑπὸ Ἰωσήπου τετυχηκότες διὰ χρόνου μῆκος λήθην λαβόντες καὶ τῆς βασιλείας εἰς ἄλλον οἶκον μετεληλυθυίας δεινῶς ἐνύβριζόν τε τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις καὶ ταλαιπωρίας αὐτοῖς ποικίλας ἐπενόουν. [203] τόν τε γὰρ ποταμὸν εἰς διώρυχας αὐτοῖς πολλὰς προσέταξαν διατεμεῖν τείχη τε οἰκοδομῆσαι ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ χώματα, ὅπως ἂν εἴργοι τὸν ποταμὸν μὴ λιμνάζειν ἐπεκβαίνοντα, πυραμίδας τε ἀνοικοδομοῦντες ἐξετρύχουν ἡμῶν τὸ γένος, ὡς τέχνας τε παντοίας ἀναδιδάσκεσθαι καὶ τοῖς πόνοις γενέσθαι συνήθεις. [204] καὶ τετρακοσίων μὲν ἐτῶν χρόνον διήνυσαν ταῖς ταλαιπωρίαις: ἀντεφιλονείκουν γὰρ οἱ μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι τοῖς πόνοις ἐξαπολέσαι τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας θέλοντες, οἱ δ᾽ ἀεὶ κρείττους φαίνεσθαι τῶν ἐπιταγμάτων.

(2) [205] Ἐν τούτοις δ᾽ ὄντων αὐτῶν τοῖς πράγμασιν αἰτία τοῦ μᾶλλον σπουδάσαι περὶ τὸν ἀφανισμὸν τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις προσεγένετο τοιαύτη: τῶν ἱερογραμματέων τις, καὶ γάρ εἰσι δεινοὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων τὴν ἀλήθειαν εἰπεῖν, ἀγγέλλει τῷ βασιλεῖ τεχθήσεσθαί τινα κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις, ὃς ταπεινώσει μὲν τὴν Αἰγυπτίων ἡγεμονίαν, αὐξήσει δὲ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας τραφεὶς ἀρετῇ τε πάντας ὑπερβαλεῖ καὶ δόξαν ἀείμνηστον κτήσεται. [206] δείσας δ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐκείνου κελεύει πᾶν τὸ γεννηθὲν ἄρσεν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ῥιπτοῦντας διαφθείρειν, παραφυλάσσειν τε τὰς ὠδῖνας τῶν Ἑβραίων γυναικῶν καὶ τοὺς τοκετοὺς αὐτῶν παρατηρεῖν τὰς Αἰγυπτίων μαίας: [207] ὑπὸ γὰρ τούτων αὐτὰς ἐκέλευε μαιοῦσθαι, αἳ διὰ συγγένειαν ἔμελλον μὴ παραβήσεσθαι τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως βούλησιν: τοὺς μέντοι καταφρονήσαντας τοῦ προστάγματος καὶ σώζειν λάθρα τολμήσαντας τὸ τεχθὲν αὐτοῖς ἀναιρεῖσθαι σὺν τῇ γενεᾷ προσέταξεν. [208] δεινὸν οὖν τοῖς ὑπομένουσι τὸ πάθος, οὐ καθὸ παίδων ἀπεστεροῦντο καὶ γονεῖς ὄντες αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπώλειαν ὑπούργουν τῶν γεννωμένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἐπίνοια τῆς τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν ἐπιλείψεως, φθειρομένων μὲν τῶν τικτομένων, αὐτῶν δὲ διαλυθησομένων, χαλεπὴν αὐτοῖς καὶ δυσπαραμύθητον ἐποίει τὴν συμφοράν. [209] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἦσαν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κακῷ: κρατήσειε δ᾽ ἂν οὐδεὶς τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμης οὐδὲ μυρίας τέχνας ἐπὶ τούτῳ μηχανησάμενος: ὅ τε γὰρ παῖς, ὃν προεῖπεν ὁ ἱερογραμματεύς, τρέφεται λαθὼν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως φυλακὴν καὶ ἀληθὴς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενησομένοις ὁ προειπὼν εὑρέθη. γίνεται δ᾽ οὕτως.

(3) [210] Ἀμαράμης τῶν εὖ γεγονότων παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις, ὡς δεδιὼς ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντὸς ἔθνους, μὴ σπάνει τῆς ἐπιτραφησομένης νεότητος ἐπιλείπῃ, καὶ χαλεπῶς

ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ φέρων, ἐκύει γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ γύναιον, ἐν ἀμηχάνοις ἦν, [211] πρὸς ἱκετείαν τοῦ θεοῦ τρέπεται παρακαλῶν οἶκτον ἤδη τινὰ λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων μηδὲν τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν θρησκείας παραβεβηκότων δοῦναί τ᾽ ἀπαλλαγὴν αὐτοῖς ὧν παρ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἐκακοπάθουν τὸν καιρὸν καὶ τῆς ἐπ᾽ ἀπωλείᾳ τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν ἐλπίδος. [212] ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐλεήσας αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἱκεσίαν ἐπικλασθεὶς ἐφίσταται κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους αὐτῷ καὶ μήτε ἀπογινώσκειν αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων παρεκάλει τήν τε εὐσέβειαν αὐτῶν ἔλεγε διὰ μνήμης ἔχειν καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀμοιβὴν ἀεὶ παρέξειν, ἤδη μὲν καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις αὐτῶν δωρησάμενος τὸ γενέσθαι τοσοῦτον πλῆθος αὐτοὺς ἐξ ὀλίγων. [213] καὶ Ἄβραμον μὲν μόνον ἐκ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας εἰς τὴν Χαναναίαν παραγενόμενον εὐδαιμονῆσαι τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτῷ πρὸς γονὴν ἀκάρπως ἐχούσης πρότερον ἔπειτα κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν ἀγαθῆς πρὸς τοῦτο γενομένης τεκνῶσαι παῖδας καὶ καταλιπεῖν μὲν Ἰσμαήλῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἀράβων χώραν, τοῖς δ᾽ ἐκ Κατούρας τὴν Τρωγλοδῦτιν, Ἰσάκῳ δὲ τὴν Χαναναίαν. [214] “ὅσα τε πολεμῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐμήν, φησί, συμμαχίαν ἠνδραγάθησε κἂν ἀσεβεῖς εἶναι δόξητε καὶ μὴ διὰ μνήμης ἔχοντες. Ἰάκωβον δὲ καὶ τοῖς οὐχ ὁμοφύλοις γνώριμον εἶναι συμβέβηκεν ἐπί τε μεγέθει τῆς εὐδαιμονίας μεθ᾽ ἧς ἐβίωσε καὶ παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ κατέλιπεν, οὗ μετὰ ἑβδομήκοντα τῶν πάντων εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀφικομένου ὑπὲρ ἑξήκοντά που μυριάδας ἤδη γεγόνατε. [215] νῦν δ᾽ ἐμὲ τοῦ κοινῇ συμφέροντος ὑμῶν ἵστε προνοούμενον καὶ τῆς σῆς εὐκλείας: ὁ παῖς γὰρ οὗτος, οὗ τὴν γένεσιν Αἰγύπτιοι δεδιότες κατέκριναν ἀπολλύναι τὰ ἐξ Ἰσραηλιτῶν τικτόμενα, σὸς ἔσται καὶ λήσεται μὲν τοὺς ἐπ᾽ ὀλέθρῳ παραφυλάσσοντας, [216] τραφεὶς δὲ παραδόξως τὸ μὲν Ἑβραίων γένος τῆς παρ᾽ Αἰγυπτίοις ἀνάγκης ἀπολύσει, μνήμης δὲ ἐφ᾽ ὅσον μενεῖ χρόνον τὰ σύμπαντα τεύξεται παρ᾽ ἀνθρώποις οὐχ Ἑβραίοις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις, ἐμοῦ τοῦτο χαριζομένου σοί τε καὶ τοῖς ἐκ σοῦ γενησομένοις. ἔσται δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοιοῦτος, ὥστε τὴν ἐμὴν ἕξειν ἱερωσύνην αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου.”

(4) [217] Ταῦτα τῆς ὄψεως αὐτῷ δηλωσάσης περιεγερθεὶς ὁ Ἀμαράμης ἐδήλου τῇ Ἰωχαβέλῃ, γυνὴ δ᾽ ἦν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ δέος ἔτι μεῖζον διὰ τὴν τοῦ ὀνείρου πρόρρησιν αὐτοῖς συνίστατο: οὐ γὰρ ὡς περὶ παιδὸς μόνον εὐλαβεῖς ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ μεγέθει τοσαύτης εὐδαιμονίας ἐσομένου. [218] τοῖς μέντοι προκατηγγελμένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πίστιν ὁ τοκετὸς τῆς γυναικὸς παρεῖχε λαθούσης τοὺς φύλακας διὰ τὴν τῶν ὠδίνων ἐπιείκειαν καὶ τῷ μὴ βιαίας αὐτῇ προσπεσεῖν τὰς ἀλγηδόνας. καὶ τρεῖς μὲν μῆνας παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς τρέφουσι λανθάνοντες: [219] ἔπειτα δὲ δείσας Ἀμαράμης, μὴ κατάφωρος γένηται καὶ πεσὼν ὑπὸ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ὀργὴν αὐτός τε ἀπόληται μετὰ τοῦ παιδίου καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἀφανίσειεν, ἔγνω μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τούτῳ ποιήσασθαι τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς σωτηρίαν καὶ πρόνοιαν ἢ τῷ λήσεσθαι πεπιστευκώς, τοῦτο δ᾽ ἦν ἄδηλον, ἐναποκινδυνεύειν οὐ τῷ παιδὶ μόνον κρυφαίως τρεφομένῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῷ: [220]

τὸν δὲ θεὸν ἡγεῖτο πᾶσαν ἐκποριεῖν ἀσφάλειαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν ψευδὲς γενέσθαι τῶν εἰρημένων. ταῦτα κρίναντες μηχανῶνται πλέγμα βίβλινον ἐμφερὲς τῇ κατασκευῇ κοιτίδι μεγέθους αὐτὸ ποιήσαντες αὐτάρκους εἰς τὸ μετ᾽ εὐρυχωρίας ἐναποκεῖσθαι τὸ βρέφος, ἔπειτα χρίσαντες ἀσφάλτῳ, [221] τῷ γὰρ ὕδατι τὴν διὰ τῶν πλεγμάτων ἀποφράττειν εἴσοδον ἡ ἄσφαλτος πέφυκεν, ἐντιθέασι τὸ παιδίον καὶ κατὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ βαλόντες εἴασαν ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ. καὶ τὸ μὲν ὁ ποταμὸς παραλαβὼν ἔφερε, Μαριάμη δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀδελφὴ κελευσθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ἀντιπαρεξῄει φερόμενον ὅποι χωρήσει ὀψομένη τὸ πλέγμα. [222] ἔνθα καὶ ἔδειξεν ὁ θεὸς μηδὲν μὲν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην σύνεσιν, πᾶν δ᾽ ὅ τι καὶ βουληθείη πράττειν αὐτὸ τέλους ἀγαθοῦ τυγχάνον, καὶ διαμαρτάνοντας μὲν τοὺς ὑπὲρ οἰκείας ἀσφαλείας ἄλλων κατακρίνοντας ὄλεθρον καὶ πολλῇ περὶ τούτου χρησαμένους σπουδῇ, [223] σωζομένους δ᾽ ἐκ παραδόξου καὶ σχεδὸν ἐκ μέσου τῶν κακῶν εὑρισκομένους τὴν εὐπραγίαν τοὺς κινδυνεύοντας τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμῃ. τοιοῦτον δέ τι καὶ περὶ τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον γενόμενον ἐμφανίζει τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῦ θεοῦ.

(5) [224] Θέρμουθις ἦν θυγάτηρ τοῦ βασιλέως. αὕτη παίζουσα παρὰ τὰς ᾐόνας τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ φερόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥεύματος θεασαμένη τὸ πλέγμα κολυμβητὰς ἐπιπέμπει κελεύσασα τὴν κοιτίδα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκκομίσαι. παραγενομένων δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ σταλέντων μετὰ τῆς κοιτίδος ἰδοῦσα τὸ παιδίον ὑπερηγάπησε μεγέθους τε ἕνεκα καὶ κάλλους: [225] τοσαύτῃ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς περὶ Μωυσῆν ἐχρήσατο σπουδῇ, ὡς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν τῶν ψηφισαμένων διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ γένεσιν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἑβραίων γένους ἀπώλειαν ποιῆσαι τροφῆς καὶ ἐπιμελείας ἀξιωθῆναι. κελεύει τε γύναιον ἡ Θέρμουθις ἀχθῆναι παρέξον θηλὴν τῷ παιδίῳ. [226] μὴ προσεμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν θηλὴν ἀλλ᾽ ἀποστραφέντος καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐπὶ πολλῶν ποιήσαντος γυναικῶν ἡ Μαριάμη παρατυγχάνουσα τοῖς γινομένοις οὐχ ὥστε ἐκ παρασκευῆς δοκεῖν ἀλλὰ κατὰ θεωρίαν, “μάτην, εἶπεν, ὦ βασίλισσα, ταύτας ἐπὶ τροφῇ τοῦ παιδὸς μετακαλῇ τὰς γυναῖκας, αἳ μηδὲν πρὸς αὐτὸ συγγενὲς ἔχουσιν. εἰ μέντοι τινὰ τῶν Ἑβραίδων γυναικῶν ἀχθῆναι ποιήσειας, [227] τάχα ἂν προσοῖτο θηλὴν ὁμοφύλου.” δόξασαν δὲ λέγειν εὖ κελεύει τοῦτ᾽ αὐτὴν ἐκπορίσαι καὶ τῶν γαλουχουσῶν τινα μεταθεῖν. ἡ δὲ τοιαύτης ἐξουσίας λαβομένη παρῆν ἄγουσα τὴν μητέρα μηδενὶ γινωσκομένην. καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἀσμενίσαν πως προσφύεται τῇ θηλῇ, καὶ δεηθείσης γε τῆς βασιλίδος πιστεύεται τὴν τροφὴν τοῦ παιδίου πρὸς τὸ πᾶν.

(6) [228] Κἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπίκλησιν ταύτην τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἔθετο εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐμπεσόντι: τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ μῶυ Αἰγύπτιοι καλοῦσιν, ἐσῆς δὲ τοὺς [ἐξ ὕδατος] σωθέντας. συνθέντες οὖν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τὴν προσηγορίαν αὐτῷ ταύτην τίθενται. [229] καὶ ἦν ὁμολογουμένως κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόρρησιν φρονήματός τε μεγέθει καὶ πόνων καταφρονήσει Ἑβραίων ἄριστος. Ἄβραμος γὰρ αὐτῷ πατὴρ ἕβδομος. Ἀμαράμου γὰρ αὐτὸς ἦν παῖς τοῦ Καάθου, Καάθου δὲ πατὴρ

Λευὶς ὁ τοῦ Ἰακώβου, ὃς ἦν Ἰσάκῳ γενόμενος, Ἀβράμου δὲ οὗτος ἦν. [230] σύνεσις δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐφύετ᾽ αὐτῷ τοῦ δὲ ταύτης μέτρου πολὺ κρείττων, καὶ πρεσβυτέραν διεδείκνυεν ταύτης τὴν περιουσίαν ἐν ταῖς παιδιαῖς, καὶ μειζόνων τῶν ὑπ᾽ ἀνδρὸς γενησομένων ἐπαγγελίαν εἶχε τὰ τότε πραττόμενα. καὶ τριετεῖ μὲν αὐτῷ γεγενημένῳ θαυμαστὸν ὁ θεὸς τὸ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐξῆρεν ἀνάστημα, [231] πρὸς δὲ κάλλος οὐδεὶς ἀφιλότιμος ἦν οὕτως, ὡς Μωυσῆν θεασάμενος μὴ ἐκπλαγῆναι τῆς εὐμορφίας, πολλοῖς τε συνέβαινε καθ᾽ ὁδὸν φερομένῳ συντυγχάνουσιν ἐπιστρέφεσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ὄψεως τοῦ παιδός, ἀφιέναι δὲ τὰ σπουδαζόμενα καὶ τῇ θεωρίᾳ προσευσχολεῖν αὐτοῦ: καὶ γὰρ ἡ χάρις ἡ παιδικὴ πολλὴ καὶ ἄκρατος περὶ αὐτὸν οὖσα κατεῖχε τοὺς ὁρῶντας.

(7) [232] Ὄντα δ᾽ αὐτὸν τοιοῦτον ἡ Θέρμουθις παῖδα ποιεῖται γονῆς γνησίας οὐ μεμοιραμένη, καί ποτε κομίσασα τὸν Μωυσῆν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἐπεδείκνυε τοῦτον καὶ ὡς φροντίσειε διαδοχῆς, εἰ καὶ βουλήσει θεοῦ μὴ τύχοι παιδὸς γνησίου, πρὸς αὐτόν τε ἔλεγεν, ἀναθρεψαμένη παῖδα μορφῇ τε θεῖον καὶ φρονήματι γενναῖον, θαυμασίως δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ παρὰ τῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ λαβοῦσα χάριτος ἐμαυτῆς μὲν ἡγησάμην παῖδα ποιήσασθαι, τῆς δὲ σῆς βασιλείας [233] διάδοχον.” ταῦτα λέγουσα ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς χερσὶν ἐνετίθει τὸ βρέφος, ὁ δὲ λαβὼν καὶ προστερνισάμενος κατὰ φιλοφρόνησιν χάριν τῆς θυγατρὸς ἐπιτίθησιν αὐτῷ τὸ διάδημα: καταφέρει δ᾽ ὁ Μωυσῆς εἰς τὴν γῆν περιελόμενος αὐτὸ κατὰ νηπιότητα δῆθεν ἐπέβαινέ τε αὐτῷ τοῖς ποσί. [234] καὶ τοῦτο ἔδοξεν οἰωνὸν ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ φέρειν. θεασάμενος δ᾽ ὁ ἱερογραμματεὺς ὁ καὶ τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ προειπὼν ἐπὶ ταπεινώσει τῆς Αἰγυπτίων ἀρχῆς ἐσομένην ὥρμησεν ἀποκτεῖναι, [235] καὶ δεινὸν ἀνακραγών, “οὗτος, εἶπε, βασιλεῦ, ὁ παῖς ἐκεῖνος, ὃν κτείνασιν ἡμῖν ἐδήλωσεν ὁ θεὸς ἀφόβοις εἶναι, μαρτυρεῖ τῇ προαγορεύσει τοῦ γεγονότος ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἡγεμονίᾳ τῇ σῇ καὶ πατῶν τὸ διάδημα. τοῦτον οὖν ἀνελὼν Αἰγυπτίοις μὲν τὸ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ δέος ἄνες, Ἑβραίοις δὲ τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ δι᾽ αὐτὸν θάρσους ἀφελοῦ.” φθάνει δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἡ Θέρμουθις ἐξαρπάσασα, [236] καὶ πρὸς τὸν φόνον ὀκνηρὸς ἦν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ παρασκευάσαντος, ᾧ πρόνοια τῆς Μωυσέος σωτηρίας ἦν. ἐτρέφετο οὖν πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας τυγχάνων, καὶ τοῖς μὲν Ἑβραίοις ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ παρῆν ἐλπὶς περὶ τῶν ὅλων, [237] δι᾽ ὑποψίας δ᾽ εἶχον Αἰγύπτιοι τὴν ἀνατροφὴν αὐτοῦ: μηδενὸς δ᾽ ὄντος φανεροῦ, δι᾽ ὃν κἂν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς μηδὲν ὄντα ἢ συγγενοὺς διὰ τῆς εἰσποιήσεως ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τινός, ᾧ πλέον ὑπὲρ ὠφελείας τῆς Αἰγυπτίων ἐκ τοῦ προειδέναι τὰ μέλλοντα θαρρεῖν παρῆν, ἀπείχοντο τῆς ἀναιρέσεως αὐτοῦ.

X

(1) [238] Μωυσῆς μὲν τῷ προειρημένῳ τρόπῳ γεννηθείς τε καὶ τραφεὶς καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς ἡλικίαν φανερὰν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐποίησε καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ

ταπεινώσει μὲν τῇ ἐκείνων, ἐπ᾽ αὐξήσει δὲ τῶν Ἑβραίων γεγονέναι τοιαύτης ἀφορμῆς λαβόμενος: [239] Αἰθίοπες, πρόσοικοι δ᾽ εἰσὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις, ἐμβαλόντες εἰς χώραν αὐτῶν ἔφερον καὶ ἦγον τὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων. οἱ δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ὀργῆς στρατεύουσιν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀμυνούμενοι τῆς καταφρονήσεως, καὶ τῇ μάχῃ κρατηθέντες οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔπεσον οἱ δ᾽ αἰσχρῶς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν διεσώθησαν φυγόντες. [240] ἐπηκολούθησαν δὲ διώκοντες Αἰθίοπες καὶ μαλακίας ὑπολαβόντες τὸ μὴ κρατεῖν ἁπάσης τῆς Αἰγύπτου τῆς χώρας ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἥπτοντο καὶ γευσάμενοι τῶν ἀγαθῶν οὐκέτ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀπείχοντο, ὡς δὲ τὰ γειτνιῶντα μέρη πρῶτον αὐτοῖς ἐπερχομένων οὐκ ἐτόλμων ἀντιστρατεύειν, προύβησαν ἄχρι Μέμφεως καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν πόλεων ἀντέχειν δυνηθείσης. [241] τῷ δὲ κακῷ πιεζόμενοι πρὸς χρησμοὺς Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ μαντείας τρέπονται: συμβουλεύσαντος δ᾽ αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ συμμάχῳ χρήσασθαι τῷ Ἑβραίῳ κελεύει ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν θυγατέρα παρασχεῖν τὸν Μωυσῆν στρατηγὸν αὐτῷ γενησόμενον. [242] ἡ δὲ ὅρκους ποιησαμένῳ, ὥστε μηδὲν διαθεῖναι κακόν, παραδίδωσιν ἀντὶ μεγάλης μὲν εὐεργεσίας κρίνουσα τὴν συμμαχίαν, κακίζουσα δὲ τοὺς ἱερέας, εἰ κτεῖναι προαγορεύσαντες αὐτὸν ὡς πολέμιον οὐκ ᾐδοῦντο νῦν χρῄζοντες αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐπικουρίας.

(2) [243] Μωυσῆς δὲ ὑπό τε τῆς Θερμούθιδος παρακληθεὶς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἡδέως προσδέχεται τὸ ἔργον: ἔχαιρον δ᾽ οἱ ἱερογραμματεῖς ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἐθνῶν, Αἰγυπτίων μὲν ὡς τούς τε πολεμίους τῇ ἐκείνου κρατήσοντες ἀρετῇ καὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν ταὐτῷ δόλῳ κατεργασόμενοι, οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἑβραίων ὡς φυγεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐσομένου τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους διὰ τὸ Μωυσῆν αὐτοῖς στρατηγεῖν. [244] ὁ δὲ φθάσας πρὶν ἢ καὶ πυθέσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ τὸν στρατὸν ἀναλαβὼν ἦγεν οὐ διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ποιησάμενος τὴν ἐλασίαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ γῆς. ἔνθα τῆς αὐτοῦ συνέσεως θαυμαστὴν ἐπίδειξιν ἐποιήσατο: [245] τῆς γὰρ γῆς οὔσης χαλεπῆς ὁδευθῆναι διὰ πλῆθος ἑρπετῶν, παμφορωτάτη γάρ ἐστι τούτων, ὡς καὶ τὰ παρ᾽ ἄλλοις οὐκ ὄντα μόνη τρέφειν δυνάμει τε καὶ κακίᾳ καὶ τῷ τῆς ὄψεως ἀσυνήθει διαφέροντα, τινὰ δ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐστι καὶ πετεινὰ ὡς λανθάνοντα μὲν ἀπὸ γῆς κακουργεῖν καὶ μὴ προιδομένους ἀδικεῖν ὑπερπετῆ γενόμενα, νοεῖ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ ἀβλαβῆ πορείαν τοῦ στρατεύματος στρατήγημα θαυμαστόν: [246] πλέγματα γὰρ ἐμφερῆ κιβωτοῖς ἐκ βίβλου κατασκευάσας καὶ πληρώσας ἴβεων ἐκόμιζε. πολεμιώτατον δ᾽ ἐστὶν ὄφεσι τοῦτο τὸ ζῷον: φεύγουσί τε γὰρ ἐπερχομένας καὶ ἐφιστάμενοι καθάπερ ὑπ᾽ ἐλάφων ἁρπαζόμενοι καταπίνονται: χειροήθεις δ᾽ εἰσὶν αἱ ἴβεις καὶ πρὸς μόνον τὸ τῶν ὄφεων γένος ἄγριοι. [247] καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων παρίημι νῦν γράφειν οὐκ ἀγνοούντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῆς ἴβιδος τὸ εἶδος. ὡς οὖν εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐνέβαλε τὴν θηριοτρόφον, ταύταις ἀπεμάχετο τὴν τῶν ἑρπετῶν φύσιν ἐπαφεὶς αὐτοῖς καὶ προπολεμούσαις χρώμενος. τοῦτον οὖν ὁδεύσας τὸν τρόπον οὐδὲ προμαθοῦσι παρῆν τοῖς Αἰθίοψι, [248] καὶ συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς κρατεῖ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων, ἃς εἶχον ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, ἀφαιρεῖται

τάς τε πόλεις αὐτῶν ἐπῄει καταστρεφόμενος, καὶ φόνος πολὺς τῶν Αἰθιόπων ἐπράττετο. καὶ τῆς διὰ Μωυσῆν εὐπραγίας γευσάμενον τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων στράτευμα πονεῖν οὐκ ἔκαμνεν, ὡς περὶ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ καὶ παντελοῦς ἀναστάσεως τὸν κίνδυνον εἶναι τοῖς Αἰθίοψι: [249] καὶ τέλος συνελαθέντες εἰς Σαβὰν πόλιν βασίλειον οὖσαν τῆς Αἰθιοπίας, ἣν ὕστερον Καμβύσης Μερόην ἐπωνόμασεν ἀδελφῆς ἰδίας τοῦτο καλουμένης, ἐπολιορκοῦντο. ἦν δὲ δυσπολιόρκητον σφόδρα τὸ χωρίον τοῦ τε Νείλου περιέχοντος αὐτὴν καὶ κυκλουμένου ποταμῶν τε ἄλλων Ἀστάπου καὶ Ἀσταβόρα δύσμαχον τοῖς πειρωμένοις διαβαίνειν τὸ ῥεῦμα ποιούντων: [250] ἡ γὰρ πόλις ἐντὸς οὖσα νῆσος οἰκεῖται τείχους τε αὐτῇ καρτεροῦ περιηγμένου καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους πρόβλημα τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἔχουσα χώματά τε μεγάλα μεταξὺ τοῦ τείχους, ὥστε ἀνεπίκλυστον εἶναι βιαιότερον ὑπὸ πληθώρας φερομένων, ἅπερ καὶ τοῖς περαιωσαμένοις τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἄπορον ἐποίει τῆς πόλεως τὴν ἅλωσιν. [251] φέροντι τοίνυν ἀηδῶς τῷ Μωυσεῖ τὴν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἀργίαν, εἰς χεῖρας γὰρ οὐκ ἐτόλμων ἁπαντᾶν οἱ πολέμιοι, συνέτυχέ τι τοιοῦτον. [252] Θάρβις θυγάτηρ ἦν τοῦ Αἰθιόπων βασιλέως. αὕτη τὸν Μωυσῆν πλησίον τοῖς τείχεσι προσάγοντα τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ μαχόμενον γενναίως ἀποσκοποῦσα καὶ τῆς ἐπινοίας τῶν ἐγχειρήσεων θαυμάζουσα, καὶ τοῖς τε Αἰγυπτίοις αἴτιον ἀπεγνωκόσιν ἤδη τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς εὐπραγίας ὑπολαμβάνουσα καὶ τοῖς Αἰθίοψιν αὐχοῦσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατ᾽ αὐτῶν κατωρθωμένοις τοῦ περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων κινδύνου, εἰς ἔρωτα δεινὸν ὤλισθεν αὐτοῦ καὶ περιόντος τοῦ πάθους πέμπει πρὸς αὐτὸν τῶν οἰκετῶν τοὺς πιστοτάτους διαλεγομένη περὶ γάμου. [253] προσδεξαμένου δὲ τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τῷ παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν καὶ ποιησαμένου πίστεις ἐνόρκους ἢ μὴν ἄξεσθαι γυναῖκα καὶ κρατήσαντα τῆς πόλεως μὴ παραβήσεσθαι τὰς συνθήκας, φθάνει τὸ ἔργον τοὺς λόγους. καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν Αἰθιόπων εὐχαριστήσας τῷ θεῷ συνετέλει τὸν γάμον Μωυσῆς καὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἀπήγαγεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν.

XI

(1) [254] Οἱ δ᾽ ἐξ ὧν ἐσώζοντο ὑπὸ Μωυσέος μῖσος ἐκ τούτων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνελάμβανον καὶ θερμότερον ἅπτεσθαι τῶν κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ βουλευμάτων ἠξίουν, ὑπονοοῦντες μὲν μὴ διὰ τὴν εὐπραγίαν νεωτερίσειε κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, διδάσκοντες δὲ τὸν βασιλέα περὶ τῆς σφαγῆς. [255] ὁ δὲ καὶ καθ᾽ αὑτὸν μὲν εἶχε τὴν τοῦ πράγματος ἐπίνοιαν ὑπό τε φθόνου τῆς Μωυσέος στρατηγίας καὶ ὑπὸ δέους ταπεινώσεως, ἐπειχθεὶς δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερογραμματέων οἷός τε ἦν ἐγχειρεῖν τῇ Μωυσέος ἀναιρέσει. [256] φθάσας δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν καταμαθεῖν λαθὼν ὑπέξεισι: καὶ τῶν ὁδῶν φυλαττομένων ποιεῖται διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου τὸν δρασμὸν καὶ ὅθεν ἦν ὑπόνοια μὴ λαβεῖν τοὺς ἐχθρούς, ἄπορός τε ὢν τροφῆς ἀπηλλάττετο τῇ καρτερίᾳ καταφρονῶν, [257] εἴς τε πόλιν Μαδιανὴν ἀφικόμενος πρὸς μὲν τῇ

Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσσῃ κειμένην ἐπώνυμον δ᾽ ἑνὸς τῶν Ἀβράμῳ γενομένων ἐκ Κατούρας υἱῶν, καθεσθεὶς ἐπί τινος φρέατος ἐκ τοῦ κόπου καὶ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας ἠρέμει μεσημβρίας οὔσης οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως. ἐνταῦθ᾽ αὐτῷ συνέβη καὶ πρᾶξις ἐκ διαίτης τῶν αὐτόθι συστήσασα τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον ἀφορμὴν παρασχοῦσα.

(2) [258] Τῶν γὰρ χωρίων δυσύδρων ὄντων προκατελάμβανον οἱ ποιμένες τὰ φρέατα, ὅπως μὴ προεξαναλωμένου τοῦ ὕδατος ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων σπανίζοι ποτοῦ τὰ θρέμματα. παραγίνονται οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ φρέαρ ἑπτὰ παρθένοι ἀδελφαὶ Ῥαγουήλου θυγατέρες ἱερέως καὶ πολλῆς ἠξιωμένου τιμῆς παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις, [259] αἳ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς ποιμνίων ἐπιμελούμεναι διὰ τὸ ταύτην ὑπουργίαν εἶναι καὶ γυναιξὶν ἐπιχώριον παρὰ τοῖς Τρωγλοδύταις φθάσασαι τὸ αὔταρκες ἐκ τοῦ φρέατος ἀνέσπασαν ὕδωρ τοῖς ποιμνίοις εἰς δεξαμενάς, αἳ πρὸς ἐκδοχὴν τοῦ ὕδατος ἐγεγόνεισαν. [260] ἐπιστάντων δὲ ποιμένων ταῖς παρθένοις, ὥστ᾽ αὐτοὶ τοῦ ὕδατος κρατεῖν, Μωυσῆς δεινὸν ἡγησάμενος εἶναι περιιδεῖν ἀδικουμένας τὰς κόρας καὶ τὴν βίαν τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐᾶσαι κρείττονα γενέσθαι τοῦ τῶν παρθένων δικαίου, τοὺς μὲν εἶρξε πλεονεκτεῖν ἐθέλοντας, ταῖς δὲ παρέσχε τὴν πρέπουσαν βοήθειαν. [261] αἱ δ᾽ εὐεργετηθεῖσαι παρῆσαν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τήν τε ὕβριν τῶν ποιμένων αὐτῷ διηγούμεναι καὶ τὴν ἐπικουρίαν τοῦ ξένου παρεκάλουν τε μὴ ματαίαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὴν εὐποιίαν μηδ᾽ ἀμοιβῆς ὑστεροῦσαν. ὁ δὲ τάς τε παῖδας ἀπεδέξατο τῆς περὶ τὸν εὐεργετηκότα σπουδῆς καὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν εἰς ὄψιν ἐκέλευεν ἄγειν αὐτῷ τευξόμενον χάριτος δικαίας. [262] ὡς δ᾽ ἦκε, τήν τε τῶν θυγατέρων αὐτῷ ἀπεσήμαινε μαρτυρίαν ἐπὶ τῇ βοηθείᾳ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτὸν θαυμάζων οὐκ εἰς ἀναισθήτους εὐεργεσιῶν καταθέσθαι τὴν ἐπικουρίαν ἔλεγεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἱκανοὺς ἐκτῖσαι χάριν καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἀμοιβῆς ὑπερβαλεῖν τὸ μέτρον τῆς εὐποιίας. [263] ποιεῖται δ᾽ αὐτὸν υἱὸν καὶ μίαν τῶν θυγατέρων πρὸς γάμον δίδωσι τῶν τε θρεμμάτων, ἐν τούτοις γὰρ ἡ πᾶσα κτῆσις τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἀποδείκνυσιν ἐπιμελητὴν καὶ δεσπότην.

XII

(1) [264] Καὶ Μωυσῆς μὲν τοιούτων τυχὼν τῶν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰεθεγλαίου, τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἐπίκλημα τῷ Ῥαγουήλῳ, διῆγεν αὐτόθι ποιμαίνων τὰ βοσκήματα. χρόνῳ δ᾽ ὕστερον νέμων ἐπὶ τὸ Σιναῖον καλούμενον ὄρος ἄγει τὰ ποίμνια: [265] τοῦτο δ᾽ ἐστὶν ὑψηλότατον τῶν ταύτῃ ὀρῶν καὶ πρὸς νομὰς ἄριστον ἀγαθῆς φυομένης πόας καὶ διὰ τὸ δόξαν ἔχειν ἐνδιατρίβειν αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν οὐ κατανεμηθείσης πρότερον, οὐ τολμώντων ἐμβατεύειν εἰς αὐτὸ τῶν ποιμένων: ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τέρας αὐτῷ συντυγχάνει θαυμάσιον. [266] πῦρ γὰρ θάμνου βάτων νεμόμενον τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν χλόην τό τε ἄνθος αὐτοῦ παρῆλθεν ἀβλαβὲς καὶ τῶν ἐγκάρπων κλάδων οὐδὲν ἠφάνισε καὶ ταῦτα τῆς φλογὸς πολλῆς καὶ ὀξυτάτης ὑπαρχούσης. [267] ὁ δὲ

καὶ αὐτὴν μὲν ἔδεισε τὴν ὄψιν παράδοξον γενομένην, κατεπλάγη δ᾽ ἔτι μᾶλλον φωνὴν τοῦ πυρὸς ἀφιέντος καὶ ὀνομαστὶ καλέσαντος αὐτὸν καὶ ποιησαμένου λόγους, οἷς τό τε θάρσος αὐτοῦ τολμήσαντος παρελθεῖν εἰς χωρίον, εἰς ὃ μηδεὶς ἀνθρώπων πρότερον ἀφῖκτο διὰ τὸ εἶναι θεῖον, ἐσήμαινε καὶ συνεβούλευε τῆς φλογὸς [ὡς] πορρωτάτω χωρεῖν καὶ ἀρκεῖσθαι μὲν οἷς ἑώρακεν ἀγαθὸν ὄντα καὶ μεγάλων ἀνδρῶν ἔγγονον, πολυπραγμονεῖν δὲ μηδέν: [268] τούτοις προηγόρευε περισσότερον τὴν ἐσομένην αὐτῷ δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν παρ᾽ ἀνθρώπων τοῦ θεοῦ συμπαρόντος, καὶ θαρροῦντα ἐκέλευεν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀπιέναι στρατηγὸν καὶ ἡγεμόνα τῆς Ἑβραίων πληθύος ἐσόμενον καὶ τῆς ὕβρεως τῆς ἐκεῖ τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἀπαλλάξοντα: [269] καὶ γὰρ γῆν οἰκήσουσι, φησί, ταύτην εὐδαίμονα, ἣν Ἄβραμος ᾤκησεν ὁ ὑμέτερος πρόγονος καὶ τῶν πάντων ἀπολαύσουσιν ἀγαθῶν, εἰς ταῦτα σοῦ καὶ τῆς σῆς συνέσεως αὐτοῖς ἡγουμένης. ἐξαγαγόντα μέντοι τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου θυσίας ἐκέλευε χαριστηρίους ἀφικόμενον εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἐκτελέσαι τὸν τόπον. τοσαῦτα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς θεοκλυτεῖται.

(2) [270] Μωυσῆς δ᾽ ἐκπεπληγμένος οἷς τ᾽ εἶδε καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον οἷς ἤκουσε, “δυνάμει μὲν ἀπιστεῖν, ἔφη, τῇ σῇ, δέσποτα, ἣν αὐτός τε θρησκεύω καὶ προγόνοις οἶδα φανερὰν γενομένην, μανιωδέστερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ φρόνησιν ἡγοῦμαι. [271] πλὴν ἀπορῶ, πῶς ἂν ἰδιώτης ἀνὴρ καὶ μηδεμιᾶς ἰσχύος εὐπορῶν ἢ πείσω λόγοις τοὺς οἰκείους ἀφέντας ἣν ἄρτι κατοικοῦσι γῆν ἕπεσθαί μοι πρὸς ἣν αὐτὸς ἡγοῦμαι, ἢ κἂν ἐκεῖνοι πεισθῶσι, πῶς ἂν βιασαίμην Φαραώθην ἐπιτρέψαι τὴν ἔξοδον τούτοις, ὧν τοῖς πόνοις καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τὴν οἰκείαν αὔξουσιν εὐδαιμονίαν.”

(3) [272] Ὁ δὲ θεὸς αὐτῷ περὶ πάντων συνεβούλευε θαρρεῖν ὑπισχνούμενος αὐτὸς παρέσεσθαι καὶ οὗ μὲν ἂν δέῃ λόγων, πειθὼ παρέξειν, οὗ δ᾽ ἂν ἔργων, ἰσχὺν χορηγήσειν, ἐκέλευέ τε τὴν βακτηρίαν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἀφέντα πίστιν ὧν ὑπισχνεῖται λαμβάνειν. καὶ ποιήσαντος δράκων εἶρπε καὶ συνειλούμενος σπειρηδὸν ὡς διώκουσιν ἐπ᾽ ἀμύνῃ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπανέτεινεν: εἶτα πάλιν βάκτρον ἦν. [273] μετὰ τοῦτο δὲ καθεῖναι τὴν δεξιὰν εἰς τὸν κόλπον προσέταξεν. ὑπακούσας δὲ λευκὴν καὶ τιτάνῳ τὴν χρόαν ὁμοίαν προεκόμισεν: εἶτα εἰς τὸ σύνηθες κατέστη. κελευσθεὶς δὲ καὶ τοῦ πλησίον ὕδατος λαβὼν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐκχέαι ὁρᾷ τὴν χρόαν αἱματώδη γενομένην. [274] θαυμάζοντα δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτοις θαρρεῖν παρεκελεύετο καὶ βοηθὸν εἰδέναι μέγιστον αὐτῷ συνεσόμενον καὶ σημείοις πρὸς τὸ πιστεύεσθαι παρὰ πᾶσι χρῆσθαι, ὅτι πεμφθεὶς ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ πάντα κατὰ τὰς ἐμὰς ἐντολὰς ποιεῖς. κελεύω δὲ μηδὲν ἔτι μελλήσαντα σπεύδειν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐπειγόμενον καὶ μὴ τρίβοντα τὸν χρόνον πλείω ποιεῖν τοῦτον Ἑβραίοις ἐν δουλείᾳ κακοπαθοῦσι.”

(4) [275] Μωυσῆς δ᾽ οὐκ ἔχων ἀπιστεῖν οἷς ἐπηγγέλλετο τὸ θεῖον θεατής γε τοιούτων βεβαιωμάτων καὶ ἀκροατὴς γενόμενος, εὐξάμενος αὐτῷ καὶ πειραθῆναι ταύτης τῆς δυνάμεως ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δεηθεὶς ἠντιβόλει μηδὲ ὀνόματος

αὐτῷ γνῶσιν τοῦ ἰδίου φθονῆσαι, φωνῆς δ᾽ αὐτῷ μετεσχηκότι καὶ ὄψεως ἔτι καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν εἰπεῖν, ἵνα θύων ἐξ ὀνόματος αὐτὸν παρεῖναι τοῖς ἱεροῖς παρακαλῇ. [276] καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ σημαίνει τὴν αὐτοῦ προσηγορίαν οὐ πρότερον εἰς ἀνθρώπους παρελθοῦσαν, περὶ ἧς οὔ μοι θεμιτὸν εἰπεῖν. Μωυσεῖ μέντοι τὰ σημεῖα ταῦτα οὐ τότε μόνον, διὰ παντὸς δὲ ὁπότε δεηθείη συνετύγχανεν: ἐξ ὧν ἁπάντων πλέον περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας τῷ πυρὶ νέμων καὶ τὸν θεὸν εὐμενῆ παραστάτην ἕξειν πιστεύων τούς τε οἰκείους σώσειν ἤλπιζε καὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους κακοῖς περιβαλεῖν.

XIII

(1) [277] Καὶ πυθόμενος τὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τεθνάναι βασιλέα Φαραώθην, ἐφ᾽ οὗπερ αὐτὸς ἔφυγε, δεῖται Ῥαγουήλου συγχωρῆσαι κατὰ ὠφέλειαν αὐτῷ τῶν συγγενῶν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐλθεῖν, καὶ παραλαβὼν τὴν Σαπφώραν ἣν γεγαμήκει τοῦ Ῥαγουήλου θυγατέρα καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς παῖδας Γῆρσον καὶ Ἐλεάζαρον ὥρμησεν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον: [278] τῶν δ᾽ ὀνομάτων τούτων Γῆρσος μὲν σημαίνει κατὰ Ἑβραίων διάλεκτον, ὅτι εἰς ξένην γῆν, Ἐλεάζαρος δὲ συμμάχῳ τῷ πατρῴῳ θεῷ χρησάμενον αὐτὸν Αἰγυπτίους διαφυγεῖν. [279] γενομένῳ δ᾽ αὐτῷ πλησίον τῶν ὀρῶν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀαρὼν ὑπήντησε τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος, πρὸς ὃν ἀποσημαίνει τὰ ἐν τῷ ὄρει συντυχόντα καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς ἐντολάς. προιοῦσι δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὑπηντίαζον Ἑβραίων οἱ ἀξιολογώτατοι τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ μεμαθηκότες, [280] οἷς Μωυσῆς τὰ σημεῖα ἐπεὶ πιθανῶς οὐκ ἦν λέγειν παρέσχεν αὐτῶν τὴν ὄψιν. οἱ δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἐκπλήξεως τῶν παρὰ δόξαν αὐτοῖς ὁρωμένων ἀνεθάρσουν καὶ περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἦσαν εὐέλπιδες, ὡς θεοῦ προνοουμένου τῆς ἀσφαλείας αὐτῶν.

(2) [281] Ἐπεὶ δὲ καταπειθεῖς εἶχεν ἤδη τοὺς Ἑβραίους Μωυσῆς καὶ οἷς ἂν κελεύσῃ τούτοις ἀκολουθήσειν ὁμολογοῦντας καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐρῶντας, παραγίνεται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν νεωστὶ παρειληφότα, [282] καὶ ὅσα τε ὠφελήσειεν Αἰγυπτίους ὑπὸ Αἰθιόπων καταφρονουμένους καὶ διαρπαζομένης αὐτῶν τῆς χώρας ἐδήλου στρατηγίᾳ καὶ πόνοις χρησάμενος ὡς περὶ οἰκείων ὁτιδὴ κινδυνεύσειεν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὑπὸ αὐτῶν ἀμοιβὰς οὐ δικαίας κομιζόμενος ἀνεδίδασκεν, [283] τά τε κατὰ τὸ Σιναῖον ὄρος αὐτῷ συντυχόντα καὶ τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ φωνὰς καὶ τὰ πρὸς πίστιν ὧν οὗτος αὐτῷ προστάξειεν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ δειχθέντα σημεῖα καθ᾽ ἕκαστον ἐξετίθετο, παρεκάλει τε μὴ ἀπιστοῦντα τούτοις ἐμποδὼν ἵστασθαι τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμῃ.

(3) [284] Χλευάσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως Μωυσῆς ἔργῳ παρεῖχεν αὐτῷ βλέπειν τὰ σημεῖα τὰ κατὰ τὸ Σιναῖον ὄρος γενόμενα: ὁ δ᾽ ἀγανακτήσας πονηρὸν μὲν αὐτὸν ἀπεκάλει καὶ πρότερον φυγόντα τὴν παρ᾽ Αἰγυπτίοις δουλείαν καὶ νῦν ἐξ ἀπάτης αὐτοῦ τὴν ἄφιξιν πεποιημένον καὶ τερατουργίαις καὶ μαγείαις καταπλήξειν ἐπικεχειρηκότα. [285] καὶ ταῦθ᾽ ἅμα λέγων κελεύει τοὺς ἱερεῖς τὰς αὐτὰς ὄψεις

αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν ὁρᾶν, ὡς Αἰγυπτίων σοφῶν ὄντων καὶ περὶ τὴν τούτων ἐπιστήμην, καὶ ὅτι μὴ μόνος αὐτὸς ἔμπειρος ὢν εἰς θεὸν δύναται τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ παράδοξον ἀναφέρων πιθανὸς ὥσπερ ἀπαιδεύτοις ὑπάρχειν. καὶ μεθεμένων ἐκείνων τὰς βακτηρίας δράκοντες ἦσαν. [286] Μωυσῆς δ' οὐ καταπλαγείς, "οὐδ' αὐτὸς μέν, εἶπεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τῆς Αἰγυπτίων σοφίας καταφρονῶ, τοσῷδε μέντοι κρείττονα τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πραττόμενα τῆς τούτων μαγείας καὶ τέχνης φημί, ὅσῳ τὰ θεῖα τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων διαφέρει. δείξω δὲ οὐ κατὰ γοητείαν καὶ πλάνην τῆς ἀληθοῦς δόξης τἀμὰ, κατὰ δὲ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν καὶ [287] δύναμιν φαινόμενα." καὶ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν μεθίησιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τὴν βακτηρίαν κελεύσας αὐτὴν εἰς ὄφιν μεταβαλεῖν: ἡ δ' ἐπείθετο καὶ τὰς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βακτηρίας, οἳ δράκοντες ἐδόκουν, περιιοῦσα κατήσθιε μέχρι πάσας ἀνήλωσεν: εἶτ' εἰς τὸ αὐτῆς σχῆμα μεταπεσοῦσαν κομίζεται Μωυσῆς.

(4) [288] Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς οὐδὲν τούτῳ μᾶλλον πραχθέντι καταπλήττεται, προσοργισθεὶς δὲ καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῷ προχωρήσειν εἰπὼν ἐκ τῆς κατ' Αἰγυπτίων σοφίας καὶ δεινότητος κελεύει τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑβραίων τεταγμένον μηδεμίαν αὐτοῖς ἄνεσιν παρέχειν τοῦ πονεῖν, ἀλλὰ πλείοσι τῶν πρότερον κακοῖς αὐτοὺς καταναγκάζειν. [289] ὁ δὲ ἄχυρον αὐτοῖς παρέχων εἰς τὴν πλινθείαν πρότερον οὐκέτι παρεῖχεν, ἀλλ' ἡμέρας μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ταλαιπωρεῖν ἐποίει, νυκτὸς δὲ συνάγειν τὸ ἄχυρον. καὶ τοῦ δεινοῦ διπλασίονος ὄντος αὐτοῖς ἐν αἰτίαις Μωυσῆν εἶχον, ὡς τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας δι' ἐκεῖνον χαλεπωτέρας γεγενημένης. [290] ὁ δ' οὔτε πρὸς τὰς τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπειλὰς ἔκαμνεν οὔτε πρὸς τὰς τῶν Ἑβραίων μέμψεις ἐνεδίδου, τήν τε ψυχὴν παραστησάμενος πρὸς ἑκάτερον ἐπὶ τῷ πονεῖν καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐκπορίζειν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ὑπῆρχε. [291] καὶ παραγενόμενος πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἔπειθεν αὐτὸν ἀπολύειν τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἐπὶ τὸ Σιναῖον ὄρος ἐκεῖ θύσοντας τῷ θεῷ, τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτὸν κεκελευκέναι, καὶ μηδὲν ἀντιπράττειν οἷς ἐκεῖνος βούλεται, τὴν δ' εὐμένειαν αὐτοῦ περὶ παντὸς ποιούμενον συγχωρεῖν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἔξοδον, μὴ καὶ λάθῃ τούτων κωλυτὴς γενόμενος αὐτὸν αἰτιάσασθαι πάσχων ὅσα παθεῖν εἰκὸς τὸν ἀντιπράττοντα θεοῦ προστάγμασι: [292] τοῖς γὰρ χόλον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς κινήσασι θεῖον ἐξ ἁπάντων φύεσθαι τὰ δεινὰ, καὶ οὔτε γῆ τούτοις οὔτε ἀὴρ φίλος οὔτε γοναὶ τέκνων κατὰ φύσιν, ἀλλ' ἐχθρὰ πάντα καὶ πολέμια. πειραθήσεσθαί τε τούτων Αἰγυπτίους ἔφασκε μετὰ καὶ τοῦ τὸν Ἑβραίων λαὸν ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ἀκόντων ἐκείνων.

XIV

(1) [293] Τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἐκφαυλίζοντος τοὺς Μωυσέος λόγους καὶ μηδεμίαν ἐπιστροφὴν ἔτι ποιουμένου πάθη δεινὰ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους κατελάμβανεν, ὧν ἕκαστον ἐκθήσομαι διά τε τὸ μὴ πρότερόν τισι συμβάντα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις εἰς

πεῖραν ἐλθεῖν καὶ διὰ τὸ βούλεσθαι Μωυσῆν μηδὲν ὧν προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς ψευσάμενον ἐπιδεῖξαι, καὶ ὅτι συμφέρει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μαθοῦσι φυλάττεσθαι ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ἐφ᾽ οἷς μὴ δυσαρεστήσῃ τὸ θεῖον μηδ᾽ εἰς ὀργὴν τραπὲν ἀμύνηται τῆς ἀδικίας αὐτούς. [294] ὁ γὰρ ποταμὸς αὐτοῖς αἱματώδης θεοῦ κελεύσαντος ἐρρύη πίνεσθαι μὴ δυνάμενος, καὶ πηγὴν ἑτέραν ὑδάτων οὐκ ἔχουσιν οὐ τὴν χρόαν μόνον ἦν τοιοῦτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πειρωμένοις ἀλγήματα καὶ πικρὰν ὀδύνην προσέφερεν. [295] ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτος μὲν Αἰγυπτίοις, Ἑβραίοις δὲ γλυκὺς καὶ πότιμος καὶ μηδὲν τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν παρηλλαγμένος. πρὸς οὖν τὸ παράδοξον ἀμηχανήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ δείσας περὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων συνεχώρει τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἀπιέναι: καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ λωφήσαντος πάλιν τὴν γνώμην μετέβαλεν οὐκ ἐπιτρέπων τὴν ἄφοδον αὐτοῖς.

(2) [296] Ὁ θεὸς δὲ ἀγνωμονοῦντος καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῆς συμφορᾶς οὐκέτι σωφρονεῖν θέλοντος ἄλλην τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπιφέρει πληγήν: βατράχων πλῆθος ἄπειρον τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἐπεβόσκετο, μεστὸς δὲ τούτων καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ἦν, ὡς διαμωμένους τὸ ποτὸν τῷ τῶν ζῴων ἰχῶρι κεκακωμένον λαμβάνειν ἐναποθνησκόντων καὶ συνδιαφθειρομένων τῷ ὕδατι, [297] ἥ τε χώρα μεστὴ κακῆς ἦν ἰλύος γεννωμένων τε καὶ ἀποθνησκόντων, τάς τε κατ᾽ οἶκον αὐτῶν διαίτας ἠφάνιζον ἐν βρωτοῖς εὑρισκόμενοι καὶ ποτοῖς καὶ ταῖς εὐναῖς αὐτῶν ἐπιπολάζοντες, ὀσμή τε χαλεπὴ ἦν καὶ δυσώδης ἀποθνησκόντων τῶν βατράχων καὶ ζώντων καὶ διεφθαρμένων. [298] ὑπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν κακῶν ἐλαυνομένων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τὸν Μωυσῆν ἐκέλευσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς οἴχεσθαι τοὺς Ἑβραίους λαβόντα, καὶ παραχρῆμα τοῦτ᾽ εἰπόντος ἠφάνιστο τῶν βατράχων τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ἥ τε γῆ καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν κατέστησαν. [299] Φαραώθης δὲ ἅμα τοῦ τε πάθους ἀπήλλακτο ἡ γῆ καὶ τῆς αἰτίας ἐπελέληστο καὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους κατεῖχε, καὶ ὥσπερ πλειόνων παθημάτων φύσεις βουλόμενος μαθεῖν οὐκέτ᾽ ἠφίει τοῖς περὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν ἐξιέναι φόβῳ μᾶλλον ἢ φρονήσει ταύτην αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέπων.

(3) [300] Πάλιν οὖν ἄλλου κακοῦ προσβολῇ μετῄει τὸ θεῖον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀπάτην: φθειρῶν γὰρ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐξήνθησεν ἄπειρόν τι πλῆθος ἔνδοθεν ἀναδιδομένων, ὑφ᾽ ὧν κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπώλλυντο μήτε λουτροῖς μήτε χρίσεσι φαρμάκων διαφθεῖραι τὸ γένος αὐτῶν δυνάμενοι. [301] καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ δεινὸν ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς ταραχθεὶς καὶ δείσας ὁμοῦ τὸν ὄλεθρον τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τὴν αἰσχύνην δὲ τῆς ἀπωλείας λογισάμενος ἐξ ἡμίσους ὑπὸ φαυλότητος ἠναγκάζετο σωφρονεῖν: [302] τοῖς μὲν γὰρ Ἑβραίοις αὐτοῖς ἐδίδου τὴν ἄφοδον, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο λωφήσαντος τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας ὅμηρα τῆς ὑποστροφῆς αὐτῶν καταλιπεῖν αὐτοὺς ἠξίου. προσεξαγριαίνει δὴ τὸν θεὸν νομίσας ἀπατήσειν αὐτοῦ τὴν πρόνοιαν, ὥσπερ Μωυσέος ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐκείνου τιμωροῦντος τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑβραίων: [303] θηρίων γὰρ παντοίων καὶ πολυτρόπων, ὧν εἰς ὄψιν οὐδεὶς ἀπηντήκει πρότερον, τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐγέμισεν, ὑφ᾽ ὧν αὐτοί τε ἀπώλλυντο καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς ἐπιμελείας τῆς παρὰ τῶν γεωργῶν ἀπεστερεῖτο, εἰ δέ τι

καὶ διέφυγε τὴν ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνοις ἀπώλειαν, νόσῳ τοῦτο καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπομενόντων ἐδαπανᾶτο.

(4) [304] Τοῦ δὲ Φαραώθου μηδ᾽ οὕτως εἴκοντος τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ βουλήμασιν, ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας συναπαίρειν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀξιοῦντος καταλείπεσθαι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας, οὐκ ἠπόρει τὸ θεῖον τὴν πονηρίαν αὐτοῦ ποικίλοις κακοῖς καὶ μείζοσι τῶν προενδεδημηκότων μετερχόμενον βασανίσαι: ἀλλὰ γὰρ δεινῶς αὐτοῖς ἐξηλκοῦτο τὰ σώματα τῶν ἐντὸς διαφθειρομένων, καὶ τὸ πολὺ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οὕτως ἀπώλλυτο. [305] μηδ᾽ ὑπὸ ταύτης δὲ τῆς πληγῆς σωφρονιζομένου τοῦ βασιλέως χάλαζα μήτε πρότερον τοῦ κατ᾽ Αἴγυπτον ἀέρος τοῦτο πεπονθότος μήθ᾽ ὁμοία τῇ παρ᾽ ἄλλοις ὥρᾳ χειμῶνος κατιούσῃ, μείζων δὲ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς τὰ βόρεια καὶ τὴν ἄρκτον νεμομένοις, ἔαρος ἀκμάζοντος κατενεχθεῖσα τοὺς καρποὺς αὐτῶν κατέκλασεν. [306] ἔπειτα φῦλον ἀκρίδων ἐπινέμεται τὴν ὑπὸ τῆς χαλάζης μὴ καταβλαβεῖσαν σποράν, ὥστε πρὸς ἀκριβὲς πάσας τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς τῶν καρπῶν ἐλπίδας διολέσαι.

(5) [307] Ἤρκει μὲν οὖν τὸν δίχα πονηρίας ἀνόητον καὶ τὰ προειρημένα τῶν κακῶν εἰς σύνεσιν καὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος τὴν ἐπίνοιαν ὠφελῆσαι, Φαραώθης δὲ οὐ τοσοῦτον ὑπὸ ἀφροσύνης ὅσον ὑπὸ κακίας ὅμως αἰσθόμενος γὰρ τῆς αἰτίας ἀντεφιλονείκει τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοῦ κρείττονος ἑκὼν προδότης ἐγένετο, καὶ κελεύει μὲν τὸν Μωυσῆν μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων ἀπάγειν τοὺς Ἑβραίους, τὴν δὲ λείαν αὐτοῖς καταλιπεῖν ἐφθαρμένης αὐτοῖς τῆς οἰκείας. [308] τοῦ δὲ Μωυσέος οὐχὶ δίκαια φήσαντος αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦν, δεῖν γὰρ αὐτοὺς τῷ θεῷ τὰς θυσίας ἐκ τῆς λείας ἐπενεγκεῖν, καὶ τριβομένου διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ χρόνου σκότος βαθὺ καὶ φέγγους ἄμοιρον περιχεῖται τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις, ὑφ᾽ οὗ τάς τε ὄψεις ἀποκλειομένοις καὶ τὰς ἀναπνοὰς ἐμφραττομένοις ὑπὸ παχύτητος οἰκτρῶς τε ἀποθνήσκειν συνέβαινε καὶ δεδιέναι μὴ καταποθῶσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ νέφους. [309] εἶτα τούτου διασκεδασθέντος μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τοσαύτας νύκτας, ὡς οὐ μετενόει πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον τῶν Ἑβραίων ὁ Φαραώθης, προσελθὼν ὁ Μωυσῆς φησιν: "ἄχρι πότε ἀπειθεῖς τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμῃ: κελεύει γὰρ οὗτος ἀπολύειν τοὺς Ἑβραίους. καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν [310] ἑτέρως ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῶν κακῶν ὑμᾶς μὴ ταῦτα ποιήσαντας." ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὀργισθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἠπείλησεν αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμεῖν, εἰ πάλιν περὶ τούτων ἐνοχλῶν αὐτῷ προσέλθοι. Μωυσῆς δὲ αὐτὸς οὐκέτι ποιήσεσθαι περὶ τούτων λόγους ἔφησεν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐκεῖνον σὺν καὶ τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν Αἰγυπτίων παρακαλέσειν τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἀπελθεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν ἀπαλλάσσεται.

(6) [311] Ὁ δὲ θεὸς δηλώσας ἔτι μιᾷ πληγῇ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους καταναγκάσειν ἀπολῦσαι τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἐκέλευε Μωυσῆν παραγγεῖλαι τῷ λαῷ θυσίαν ἑτοίμην ἔχειν παρασκευασαμένους τῇ δεκάτῃ τοῦ Ξανθικοῦ μηνὸς εἰς τὴν τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτην, ὃς παρὰ μὲν Αἰγυπτίοις Φαρμουθὶ καλεῖται, Νισὰν δὲ παρ᾽ Ἑβραίοις, Μακεδόνες δ᾽ αὐτὸν Ξανθικὸν προσαγορεύουσιν, ἀπάγειν τε

τοὺς Ἑβραίους πάντα ἐπικομιζομένους. [312] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἑτοίμους ἔχων ἤδη τοὺς Ἑβραίους πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον καὶ διατάξας εἰς φατρίας ἐν ταὐτῷ συνεῖχεν, ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης πάντες πρὸς ἄφοδον ἔχοντες ἔθυον καὶ τῷ αἵματι τὰς οἰκίας ἤγνιζον ὑσσώπου κόμαις ἀναλαβόντες καὶ δειπνήσαντες τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κρεῶν ἔκαυσαν ὡς ἐξελευσόμενοι. [313] ὅθεν νῦν ἔτι κατὰ τὸ ἔθος οὕτως θύομεν τὴν ἑορτὴν πάσχα καλοῦντες, σημαίνει δ᾽ ὑπερβάσια, διότι κατ᾽ ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν ὑπερβὰς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐναπέσκηψε τὴν νόσον. ἡ γὰρ φθορὰ τῶν πρωτοτόκων κατ᾽ ἐκείνην ἔπεισι τὴν νύκτα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις, ὡς συνελθόντας πολλοὺς τῶν περὶ τὸ βασίλειον διαιτωμένων τῷ Φαραώθῃ συμβουλεύειν ἀπολύειν τοὺς Ἑβραίους. [314] καὶ Μωυσῆν καλέσας ἐκεῖνος ἀπιέναι προσέταξεν, εἰ τῆς χώρας ἐξέλθοιεν παύσεσθαι τὴν Αἴγυπτον κακοπαθοῦσαν ὑπολαβών, δώροις τε τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἐτίμων, οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τάχιον ἐξελθεῖν, οἱ δὲ καὶ κατὰ γειτνιακὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς συνήθειαν.

XV

(1) [315] Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐξῆεσαν κλαιόντων καὶ μετανοούντων ὅτι χρήσαιντο χαλεπῶς αὐτοῖς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, τὴν δὲ πορείαν ἐποιοῦντο κατὰ Λητοῦς πόλιν ἔρημον οὖσαν ἐν τοῖς τότε: Βαβυλὼν γὰρ ὕστερον ἐκεῖ κτίζεται Καμβύσου καταστρεφομένου τὴν Αἴγυπτον. συντόμως δὲ ποιούμενοι τὴν ἄφοδον εἰς Βεελσεφῶντα χωρίον τριταῖοι παραγίνονται τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης. [316] μηδενὸς δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς εὐποροῦντες διὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν πεφυραμένοις τοῖς ἀλεύροις καὶ πεπηγόσι μόνον ὑπὸ βραχείας θερμότητος τοῖς ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἄρτοις διετρέφοντο, καὶ τούτοις ἐπὶ τριάκονθ᾽ ἡμέρας ἐχρήσαντο: πρὸς πλείονα γὰρ οὐκ ἐξήρκεσε χρόνον αὐτοῖς ὅσα ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐπεφέροντο καὶ ταῦτα τὴν τροφὴν ταμιευομένοις καὶ πρὸς ἀνάγκην ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς κόρον αὐτῇ χρωμένοις: [317] ὅθεν εἰς μνήμην τῆς τότε ἐνδείας ἑορτὴν ἄγομεν ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας ὀκτὼ τὴν τῶν ἀζύμων λεγομένην. τὸ μὲν οὖν πᾶν πλῆθος τῶν μετανισταμένων γυναιξὶν ἅμα καὶ τέκνοις σκοποῦσιν οὐκ εὐαρίθμητον ἦν, οἱ δὲ στρατεύσιμον ἔχοντες τὴν ἡλικίαν περὶ ἑξήκοντα μυριάδες ἦσαν.

(2) [318] Κατέλιπον δὲ τὴν Αἴγυπτον μηνὶ Ξανθικῷ πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ κατὰ σελήνην μετὰ ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ τετρακόσια ἢ τὸν πρόγονον ἡμῶν Ἄβραμον εἰς τὴν Χαναναίαν ἐλθεῖν, τῆς δὲ Ἰακώβου μεταναστάσεως εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον γενομένης διακοσίοις πρὸς τοῖς δεκαπέντε ἐνιαυτοῖς ὕστερον. [319] Μωυσῆς δ᾽ ἐγεγόνει μὲν ἔτος ὀγδοηκοστὸν ἤδη, ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀαρὼν τρισὶ πλείοσιν. ἐπεκομίζοντο δὲ καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου ὀστᾶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐκείνου τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ κελεύσαντος.

(3) [320] Αἰγύπτιοι δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐξελθοῦσι μετενόουν καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως δεινῶς φέροντος ὡς κατὰ γοητείαν τὴν Μωυσέος τούτων γεγονότων ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς

ἐγνώκεσαν ἀπιέναι. καὶ λαβόντες ὅπλα καὶ παρασκευὴν ἐδίωκον ὡς ἐπανάξοντες αὐτοὺς εἰ καταλάβοιεν: καὶ γὰρ οὐκέτ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐνέχεσθαι τῷ θεῷ: τὴν γὰρ ἔξοδον αὐτοῖς γεγονέναι: [321] κρατήσειν δὲ ῥᾳδίως αὐτῶν ὑπέλαβον ἀνόπλων τε ὄντων καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας κεκοπωμένων. παρ᾽ ἑκάστων τε ἀναπυνθανόμενοι ᾗ χωρήσειαν ἐπέσπευδον τὴν δίωξιν, καίτοι χαλεπῆς οὔσης ὁδευθῆναι τῆς γῆς οὐ στρατοπέδοις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ᾽ ἕνα. [322] Μωυσῆς δὲ ταύτῃ τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἀπήγαγεν, ἵν᾽ εἰ μετανοήσαντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι διώκειν ἐθέλοιεν τιμωρίαν τῆς πονηρίας καὶ παραβάσεως τῶν ὡμολογημένων ὑπόσχοιεν, καὶ διὰ Παλαιστίνους, οὓς δυσμενῶς ἔχοντας κατὰ παλαιὰν ἀπέχθειαν οὖσαν ὁπωσοῦν ἐβούλετο λανθάνειν ἀπερχόμενος: ὅμορος γάρ ἐστι τῇ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων χώρᾳ: [323] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν μὲν ἄγουσαν εἰς τὴν Παλαιστίνην οὐκ ἀνήγαγε τὸν λαὸν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου πολλὴν ἀνύσας ὁδὸν καὶ κακοπαθήσας ἠθέλησεν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Χαναναίαν: ἔτι τε καὶ διὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος ἄγειν τὸν λαὸν εἰς τὸ Σιναῖον ὄρος ἐκεῖ ποιήσοντας τὰς θυσίας. [324] καταλαβόντες δὲ τοὺς Ἑβραίους οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι εἰς μάχην παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ συνελαύνουσιν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ πολυχειρίας εἰς ὀλίγον χωρίον: ἑξακόσια γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἅρματα εἵπετο σὺν ἱππεῦσι πεντακισμυρίοις καὶ ὁπλιτῶν μυριάδες ἦσαν εἴκοσι. τὰς δὲ ὁδοὺς ἀπεφράγνυσαν, αἷς φεύξεσθαι τοὺς Ἑβραίους ὑπελάμβανον, μεταξὺ κρημνῶν αὐτοὺς ἀπροσβάτων καὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἀπολαμβάνοντες: [325] τελευτᾷ γὰρ εἰς αὐτὴν ὄρος ὑπὸ τραχύτητος ὁδῶν ἄπορον καὶ φυγῆς ἀπολαμβανόμενον. τοιγαροῦν ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ τῇ πρὸς θάλατταν τοῦ ὄρους τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἀπέφραττον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ κατὰ στόμα τοῦτο ἱδρυσάμενοι, ὅπως τὴν εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἔξοδον ὦσιν αὐτοὺς ἀφῃρημένοι.

(4) [326] Μήτ᾽ οὖν ὑπομένειν πολιορκουμένων τρόπῳ διὰ τὴν ἔνδειαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων δυνάμενοι μήτε φυγῆς εὐπορίαν ὁρῶντες, ὅπλων τε σπανίζοντες εἰ καὶ μάχεσθαι δόξειεν αὐτοῖς, ἐν ἐλπίδι τοῦ πάντως ἀπολεῖσθαι καθειστήκεσαν, εἰ μὴ παραδώσουσιν ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐθελουσίους. [327] καὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν ᾐτιῶντο πάντων ἐπιλελησμένοι τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοῖς σημείων γεγονότων, ὡς καὶ τὸν προφήτην παρορμῶντα καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγελλόμενον ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας λίθοις ἐθελῆσαι βαλεῖν παραδιδόναι τε σφᾶς τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις διεγνωκέναι. [328] πένθος τε ἦν καὶ ὀδυρμοὶ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἐχόντων τὸν ὄλεθρον ὄρεσι καὶ θαλάττῃ περικεκλεισμένων καὶ πολεμίοις καὶ φυγὴν οὐδαμόθεν ἐκ τούτων ἐπινοούντων.

(5) [329] Μωυσῆς δὲ καίπερ ἀγριαίνοντος πρὸς αὐτὸν τοῦ πλήθους οὔτ᾽ αὐτὸς ἐνέκαμνε τῇ περὶ αὐτοὺς προνοίᾳ καὶ τῷ θεῷ κατεφρόνει τά τε ἄλλα πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοῖς ὅσα προεῖπε παρεσχηκότος καὶ μηδὲ τότ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐάσοντος ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς γενομένους ἢ δουλεύειν ἢ ἀπολέσθαι, [330] καὶ στὰς ἐν μέσοις “οὐδὲ ἀνθρώποις, εἶπε, καλῶς τὰ παρόντα πεπολιτευμένοις πρὸς ἡμᾶς δίκαιον ἦν ἀπιστεῖν ὡς οὐχ ὁμοίοις ἐσομένοις πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα, τῆς δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ νῦν

ἀπογινώσκειν ὑμᾶς προνοίας μανίας ἔργον ἂν εἴη, [331] παρ᾽ οὗ πάνθ᾽ ὑμῖν ἀπήντηκεν ὅσα δι᾽ ἐμοῦ πρὸς σωτηρίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῆς δουλείας οὐδὲ προσδοκῶσιν ὑπέσχετο. μᾶλλον δ᾽ ἐχρῆν ἀπόρους, ὡς δοκεῖτε, γεγενημένους βοηθὸν ἐλπίζειν τὸν θεόν, οὗ καὶ τὸ νῦν εἰς ταύτην ὑμᾶς περικεκλεῖσθαι τὴν δυσχωρίαν ἔργον, [332] ἵν᾽ ἐξ ἀμηχάνων ὅθεν οὔθ᾽ αὐτοὺς νομίζετε σωτηρίαν ἕξειν οὔθ᾽ οἱ πολέμιοι ἐκ τούτων ῥυσάμενος τήν τε ἰσχὺν ἐπιδείξηται τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὴν περὶ ὑμᾶς πρόνοιαν. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ μικροῖς τὸ θεῖον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ συμμαχίαν οἷς ἂν εὔνουν ᾖ δίδωσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἀνθρωπίνην ἐλπίδα μὴ βλέποι πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον παροῦσαν. [333] ὅθεν τοιούτῳ βοηθῷ πεπιστευκότες, ᾧ δύναμις καὶ τὰ μικρὰ ποιῆσαι μεγάλα καὶ τῶν τηλικούτων ἀσθένειαν καταψηφίσασθαι, μὴ καταπέπληχθε τὴν Αἰγυπτίων παρασκευήν, μηδ᾽ ὅτι θάλασσα καὶ κατόπιν ὑμῖν ὄρη φυγῆς ὁδὸν οὐ παρέχοντα διὰ τοῦτ᾽ ἀπογινώσκετε τὴν σωτηρίαν: γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν καὶ ταῦθ᾽ ὑμῖν πεδία τοῦ θεοῦ θελήσαντος καὶ γῆ τὸ πέλαγος.᾽᾽

XVI

(1) [334] Τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν ἦγεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὁρώντων: ἐν ὄψει γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ τῷ πόνῳ τεταλαιπωρημένοι τῆς διώξεως εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν τὴν μάχην ὑπερβαλέσθαι καλῶς ἔχειν ὑπελάμβανον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς τῷ αἰγιαλῷ Μωυσῆς ἐγεγόνει, λαβὼν τὴν βακτηρίαν τὸν θεὸν ἱκέτευε καὶ σύμμαχον καὶ βοηθὸν ἐκάλει λέγων: [335] ᾽᾽οὐδ᾽ αὐτὸς μὲν ἀγνοεῖς, ὅτι φυγεῖν ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων οὔτε κατὰ ῥώμην οὔτε κατ᾽ ἐπίνοιάν ἐστιν ἀνθρωπίνην, ἀλλ᾽ εἰ δή τι πάντως σωτήριον στρατῷ τῷ κατὰ τὴν σὴν βούλησιν ἀφέντι τὴν Αἴγυπτον, σόν ἐστιν ἐκπορίζειν. [336] ἡμεῖς τε ἄλλην ἀπεγνωκότες ἐλπίδα καὶ μηχανὴν εἰς τὴν ἀπὸ σοῦ μόνου καταφεύγομεν, καὶ εἴ τι παρὰ τῆς σῆς ἔλθοι προνοίας ἐξαρπάσαι τῆς Αἰγυπτίων ὀργῆς ἡμᾶς δυνάμενον ἀφορῶμεν. ἀφίκοιτο δὲ τοῦτο ταχέως τὴν σὴν ἐμφανίσον ἡμῖν δύναμιν καὶ τὸν λαὸν ὑπὸ ἀνελπιστίας καταπεπτωκότα πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ἀναστῆσον εἰς εὐθυμίαν καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας θάρσος. [337] ἐν οὐκ ἀλλοτρίοις δ᾽ ἐσμὲν τοῖς ἀπόροις, ἀλλὰ σὴ μὲν ἡ θάλασσα, σὸν δὲ τὸ περικλεῖον ἡμᾶς ὄρος, ὡς ἀνοιγῆναι μὲν τοῦτο σοῦ κελεύσαντος, ἠπειρωθῆναι δὲ καὶ τὸ πέλαγος, εἶναι δὲ ἡμῖν ἀποδρᾶναι καὶ δι᾽ ἀέρος δόξαν ἰσχύι τῇ σῇ τοῦτον ἡμᾶς σώζεσθαι τὸν τρόπον.᾽᾽

(2) [338] Τοσαῦτα ἐπιθειάσας τύπτει τῇ βακτηρίᾳ τὴν θάλατταν. ἡ δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς ἀνεκόπη καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν ὑποχωρήσασα γυμνὴν ἀφίησι τὴν γῆν ὁδὸν Ἑβραίοις εἶναι καὶ φυγήν. [339] Μωυσῆς δὲ ὁρῶν τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ πέλαγος ἐκκεχωρηκὸς αὐτοῖς τῆς ἰδίας ἠπείρου πρῶτος ἐνέβαινεν αὐτῇ καὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἐκέλευεν ἕπεσθαι διὰ θείας ὁδοῦ ποιουμένους τὴν πορείαν καὶ τῷ κινδύνῳ τῶν παρόντων πολεμίων ἡδομένους καὶ χάριν ἔχοντας διὰ τὴν παράλογον οὕτως ἐξ αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν ἀναφανεῖσαν.

(3) [340] Τῶν δ’ οὐκέτ’ ὀκνούντων, ἀλλ’ ἰεμένων μετὰ σπουδῆς ὡς συμπαρόντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ, μαίνεσθαι μὲν αὐτοὺς τὸ πρῶτον Αἰγύπτιοι ἐδόκουν ὡς ἐπὶ πρόδηλον ὄλεθρον ὁρμωμένους, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑώρων ἀβλαβεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ προκεκοφότας καὶ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐμπόδιον μηδὲ δυσχερὲς ἀπαντῆσαν, διώκειν ὡρμήκεσαν αὐτοὺς ὡς κἀκείνοις ἠρεμήσοντος τοῦ πελάγους, καὶ προτάξαντες τὴν ἵππον κατέβαινον. [341] Ἑβραῖοι δὲ καθοπλιζομένους καὶ τὸν χρόνον εἰς τοῦτο τρίβοντας ἔφθασαν εἰς τὴν ἀντιπέραν γῆν ἀπαθεῖς ἐκφυγόντες, ὅθεν καὶ θαρσαλεωτέροις συνέβαινε πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν ὡς οὐδὲν οὐδ’ αὐτῶν πεισομένων εἶναι. [342] Αἰγύπτιοι δ’ ἐλάνθανον ἰδίαν ὁδὸν Ἑβραίοις γεγενημένην, ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ κοινὴν ἐπεμβαίνοντες καὶ μέχρι σωτηρίας τῶν κεκινδυνευκότων πεποιημένην, ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐπ’ ἀπωλείᾳ τῇ τούτων ὡρμημένοις χρῆσθαι θέλουσιν. [343] ὡς οὖν ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων στρατὸς ἅπας ἐντὸς ἦν, ἐπιχεῖται πάλιν ἡ θάλασσα καὶ περικαταλαμβάνει ῥοώδης ὑπὸ πνευμάτων κατιοῦσα τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, ὄμβροι τ’ ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ κατέβαινον καὶ βρονταὶ σκληραὶ προσεξαπτομένης ἀστραπῆς καὶ κεραυνοὶ δὲ κατηνέχθησαν. [344] ὅλως δ’ οὐδὲν ἦν τῶν ἐπ’ ἀπωλείᾳ κατὰ μῆνιν θεοῦ συμπιπτόντων ἀνθρώποις, ὃ μὴ τότε συνῆλθε: καὶ γὰρ νὺξ αὐτοὺς ζοφώδης καὶ σκοτεινὴ κατέλαβε. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἀπώλοντο πάντες, ὡς μηδ’ ἄγγελον τῆς συμφορᾶς τοῖς ὑπολελειμμένοις ὑποστρέψαι.

(4) [345] Τοὺς δ’ Ἑβραίους οὐδὲ κατασχεῖν ἦν ἐπὶ τῇ χαρᾷ τῆς παραδόξου σωτηρίας καὶ τῇ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπωλείᾳ, βεβαίως νομίζοντας ἠλευθερῶσθαι τῶν ἀναγκαζόντων δουλεύειν διεφθαρμένων καὶ τὸν θεὸν οὕτως ἐναργῶς ἔχοντας βοηθοῦντα. [346] καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτοί τε τὸν κίνδυνον οὕτως ἐκφυγόντες καὶ προσέτι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπιδόντες κεκολασμένους, ὡς οὐκ ἄλλοι τινὲς μνημονεύονται τῶν πρόσθεν ἀνθρώπων, ἐν ὕμνοις ἦσαν καὶ παιδιαῖς ὅλην τὴν νύκτα, καὶ Μωυσῆς ᾠδὴν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐγκώμιόν τε καὶ τῆς εὐμενείας εὐχαριστίαν περιέχουσαν ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ συντίθησιν.

(5) [347] Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ὡς εὗρον ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις οὕτως ἕκαστον τούτων παραδέδωκα: θαυμάσῃ δὲ μηδεὶς τοῦ λόγου τὸ παράδοξον, εἰ ἀρχαίοις ἀνθρώποις καὶ πονηρίας ἀπείροις εὑρέθη σωτηρίας ὁδὸς καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης εἴτε κατὰ βούλησιν θεοῦ εἴτε κατὰ ταὐτόματον, [348] ὁπότε καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Μακεδονίας χθὲς καὶ πρῴην γεγονόσιν ὑπεχώρησε τὸ Παμφύλιον πέλαγος καὶ ὁδὸν ἄλλην οὐκ ἔχουσι παρέσχε τὴν δι’ αὐτοῦ καταλῦσαι τὴν Περσῶν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ θεοῦ θελήσαντος, καὶ τοῦτο πάντες ὁμολογοῦσιν οἱ τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου πράξεις συγγραψάμενοι. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ὡς ἑκάστῳ δοκεῖ διαλαμβανέτω.

(6) [349] Τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ τὰ ὅπλα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων προσενεχθέντα τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Ἑβραίων ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥοῦ καὶ τῆς βίας τοῦ πνεύματος ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνο ἐκδιδούσης ὁ Μωυσῆς καὶ τοῦτο εἰκάσας τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίᾳ γεγονέναι, ὅπως μηδὲ ὅπλων ὦσιν ἄποροι, συναγαγὼν καὶ τούτοις σκεπάσας τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὸ

Σιναῖον ὄρος θύσων ἐκεῖ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὰ σῶστρα τῆς πληθύος ἀποδώσων, καθὼς αὐτῷ καὶ προείρητο.

Liber III

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Ὡς Μωυσῆς τὸν λαὸν ἀπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου ἀναλαβὼν ἤγαγεν ἐπὶ τὸ Σιναῖον ὄρος πολλὰ ταλαιπωρήσαντα ἐν τῇ ὁδοιπορίᾳ.

β. ὡς πολεμήσαντες Ἑβραίοις Ἀμαληκῖται καὶ οἱ πέριξ ἡττήθησαν καὶ πολλὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπέβαλον.

γ. ὅτι τὸν πενθερὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰεθὴρ Μωυσῆς παραγενόμενον πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ Σιναῖον ἀσμένως ὑπεδέξατο.

δ. ὡς ὑπέθετο διατάξαι τὸν λαὸν αὐτῷ κατὰ χιλιάρχους καὶ ἑκατοντάρχους ἄτακτον ὄντα τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ ὡς ἕκαστα τούτων ἐποίησε Μωυσῆς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πενθεροῦ παραίνεσιν.

ε. ὡς ἀναβὰς Μωυσῆς ἐπὶ τὸ Σιναῖον ὄρος καὶ λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοὺς νόμους τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἔδωκεν.

ς. περὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἣν κατεσκεύασε Μωυσῆς ἐν τῇ ἐρημίᾳ εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὥστε ναὸν εἶναι δοκεῖν.

ζ. τίνες τε τοῖς ἱερεῦσίν εἰσιν αἱ στολαὶ καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως: καὶ τῶν ἁγνειῶν οἱ τρόποι καὶ περὶ τῶν ἑορτῶν καὶ ὡς ἑκάστη τῶν ἑορτῶν διατέτακται.

η. ὡς ἐκεῖθεν ἄρας Μωυσῆς ἤγαγεν εἰς τοὺς ὅρους τῶν Χαναναίων καὶ τοὺς κατοψομένους αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν καὶ τῶν πόλεων τὸ μέγεθος ἐξαπέστειλεν.

θ. ὅτι τῶν πεμφθέντων μετὰ τεσσαρακοστὴν ὑποστρεψάντων ἡμέραν καὶ λεγόντων οὐκ ἀξιομάχους αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν Χαναναίων ὑπεξαιρόντων δύναμιν, τὸ πλῆθος ταραχθὲν καὶ πεσὸν εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν ὥρμησεν ὥστε καταλεῦσαι παρὰ μικρὸν τὸν Μωυσῆν καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὑποστρέψαι δουλεύειν διεγνωκότες.

ι. καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τούτῳ Μωυσῆς διαγανακτήσας τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρημίας διατριβὴν προειπεῖν ὠργίσθαι, καὶ μήτ᾽ εἰς Αἴγυπτον ὑποστρέφειν μήτε λαβεῖν τὴν Χαναναίαν.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν δύο.

I

(1) [1] Παραδόξου δὲ τῆς σωτηρίας τοῖς Ἑβραίοις οὕτως γενομένης δεινῶς ἐλύπει πάλιν αὐτοὺς ἀγομένους ἐπὶ τὸ Σιναῖον ὄρος ἡ χώρα τελέως οὖσα ἔρημος καὶ τῶν τε πρὸς τροφὴν αὐτοῖς ἄπορος, σπανίζουσα δὲ καὶ ὕδατος εἰς τὸ ἔσχατον, καὶ μὴ μόνον ἀνθρώποις τι παρασχεῖν ἐνδεής, ἀλλὰ καὶ μηδ᾽ ἄλλο τι

τῶν ζῴων ἱκανὴ βόσκειν: ψαφαρὰ γάρ ἐστι καὶ νοτερὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ φῦσαι καρπὸν δύναιτο. τοιαύτην δὲ οὖσαν τὴν χώραν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὥδευον ἑτέραν ἀπελθεῖν οὐκ ἔχοντες. [2] ἐπεφέροντο δ' ἐκ τῆς προωδοιπορημένης ὕδωρ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κεκελευκότος, καὶ τούτου δαπανηθέντος ἐκ φρεάτων ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ὑδρείαν ἐπιπόνως διὰ σκληρότητα τῆς γῆς, καὶ τὸ εὑρισκόμενον δὲ πικρὸν ἀλλ' οὐ πότιμον ἦν, καὶ τοῦτο δὲ σπάνιον. [3] ἀφικνοῦνται δὲ τοῦτον ὁδεύοντες τὸν τρόπον περὶ δείλην ὀψίαν εἰς Μὰρ τόπον οὕτως διὰ τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος κακίαν ὀνομάσαντες: μὰρ γὰρ ἡ πικρία λέγεται. καὶ αὐτόθι τεταλαιπωρημένοι τῷ τε συνεχεῖ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας καὶ τῇ τῆς τροφῆς ἀπορίᾳ, καὶ γὰρ τότ' αὐτοὺς τελείως ἐπιλελοίπει, κατάγονται: [4] φρέαρ γὰρ ἦν, διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον ἔμειναν, οὐδ' αὐτὸ μὲν ἐξαρκεῖν δυνάμενον τοσούτῳ στρατῷ, βραχεῖαν μέντοι παρέχον αὐτοῖς εὐθυμίαν ἐν ἐκείνοις εὑρεθὲν τοῖς χωρίοις: καὶ γὰρ ἤκουον παρὰ τῶν ἐξερευνώντων μηδὲν ἔμπροσθεν βαδίζουσιν εἶναι. πικρὸν δὲ ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἄποτον ἦν οὐκ ἀνθρώποις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἀφόρητον.

(2) [5] Ὁρῶν δ' ὁ Μωυσῆς ἀθύμως διακειμένους καὶ τοῦ πράγματος τὸ ἀναντίλεκτον, οὐ γὰρ καθαρὸς ἦν στρατὸς ὥστε τῷ βιαζομένῳ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἀντιτάξαι τὸ ἀνδρεῖον, ἀλλὰ διέφθειρε τὸ κατ' ἐκείνους γενναῖον παίδων τε καὶ γυναικῶν ὄχλος ἀσθενέστερος τῆς ἐκ λόγων διδασκαλίας, ἐν χαλεπωτέροις ἦν τὴν συμφορὰν τὴν ἁπάντων ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ ποιούμενος: [6] καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἐπ' ἄλλον τινὰ συνέτρεχον ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἀντιβολοῦντες γύναια μὲν ὑπὲρ νηπίων οἱ δ' ἄνδρες ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων μὴ περιορᾶν, ἀλλ' ἐκπορίζειν αὐτοῖς ἀφορμήν τινα σωτηρίας. ἱκετεύειν οὖν τρέπεται τὸν θεὸν μεταβαλεῖν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκ τῆς παρούσης κακίας καὶ πότιμον αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν. [7] καὶ κατανεύσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν χάριν λαβὼν τομάδος τὸ ἄκρον ἐν ποσὶν ἐρριμμένης διαιρεῖ μέσην καὶ κατὰ τὸ μῆκος τὴν τομὴν ποιησάμενος, ἔπειτα μεθεὶς εἰς τὸ φρέαρ ἔπειθε τοὺς Ἑβραίους τὸν θεὸν ἐπήκοον αὐτοῦ τῶν εὐχῶν γεγονέναι καὶ ὑπεσχῆσθαι τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτοῖς παρέξειν οἷον ἐπιθυμοῦσιν, ἂν πρὸς τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κελευόμενα μὴ ὀκνηρῶς ἀλλὰ προθύμως ὑπουργῶσιν. [8] ἐρομένων δ' αὐτῶν, τί καὶ ποιούντων ἂν μεταβάλοι τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον, κελεύει τοὺς ἐν ἀκμῇ περιστάντας ἐξαντλεῖν λέγων τὸ ὑπολειπόμενον ἔσεσθαι πότιμον αὐτοῖς προεκκενωθέντος τοῦ πλείονος. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπόνουν, τὸ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν συνεχῶν πληγῶν γεγυμνασμένον καὶ κεκαθαρμένον ἤδη πότιμον ἦν.

(3) [9] Ἄραντες δ' ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Ἦλιν ἀφικνοῦνται πόρρωθεν μὲν ἀγαθὴν ὁραθῆναι, καὶ γὰρ φοινικόφυτος ἦν, πλησιάζουσα δ' ἀπηλέγχετο πονηρά: καὶ γὰρ οἱ φοίνικες ὄντες οὐ πλείους ἑβδομήκοντα δυσαυξεῖς τε ἦσαν καὶ χαμαίζηλοι δι' ὕδατος ἀπορίαν ψαφαροῦ τοῦ παντὸς ὄντος χωρίου: [10] οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν δώδεκα οὐσῶν τὸν ἀριθμὸν νοτερόν τι προσαρδεῦον αὐτοῖς δι' ἐλπίδα χρήσιμον, ἀλλὰ μὴ δυναμένων ἐκβλύσαι μηδ' ἀνασχεῖν ἱκμάδες ἦσαν ὀλίγαι, καὶ διαμωμένοις τὴν ψάμμον οὐδὲν ἀπήντα, κἂν εἴ τι δὲ στάζον ἔλαβον

εἰς χεῖρας, ἄχρηστον ηὕρισκον ὑπὸ τοῦ θολερὸν εἶναι: [11] καρπόν τε φέρειν ἦν ἀσθενῆ τὰ δένδρα διὰ σπάνιν τῆς ἐξ ὕδατος εἰς τοῦτο ἀφορμῆς καὶ παρακλήσεως. εἶχον οὖν ἐν αἰτίᾳ τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ κατεβόων αὐτοῦ τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν καὶ τὴν πεῖραν τῶν κακῶν δι᾽ αὐτὸν πάσχειν λέγοντες: τριακοστὴν γὰρ ἐκείνην ὁδεύοντες ἡμέραν ὅσα μὲν ἐπεφέροντο πάντ᾽ ἦσαν ἀναλωκότες, μηδενὶ δὲ περιτυγχάνοντες δυσέλπιδες ἦσαν περὶ τῶν ὅλων. [12] πρὸς δὲ τῷ παρόντι κακῷ τὴν διάνοιαν ὄντες καὶ ἐν μνήμῃ εἶναι τῶν ὑπηργμένων αὐτοῖς ἔκ τε τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς Μωυσέος ἀρετῆς καὶ συνέσεως κωλυόμενοι δι᾽ ὀργῆς τὸν στρατηγὸν εἶχον καὶ βάλλειν αὐτὸν ὡρμήκεσαν ὡς αἰτιώτατον τῆς ἐν ποσὶ συμφορᾶς.

(4) [13] Ὁ δ᾽ οὕτως ἀνηρεθισμένου τοῦ πλήθους καὶ πικρῶς ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν κεκινημένου τῷ θεῷ θαρρῶν καὶ τῷ συνειδότι τῆς περὶ τοὺς ὁμοφύλους προνοίας πάρεισιν εἰς μέσους, καὶ καταβοώντων καὶ κατὰ χεῖρας ἔτι τοὺς λίθους ἐχόντων, ὁραθῆναί τε κεχαρισμένος ὢν καὶ πλήθεσιν ὁμιλεῖν πιθανώτατος, καταπαύειν ἤρξατο τῆς ὀργῆς, [14] μὴ τῶν παρόντων αὐτοὺς δυσκόλων μεμνημένους λήθην ἔχειν τῶν ἔμπροσθεν εὐεργεσιῶν παρακαλῶν, μηδ᾽ ὅτι νῦν πονοῦσι τῆς διανοίας ἐκβάλλειν τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτας καὶ δωρεάς, ὧν μεγάλων καὶ ἐκ παραδόξου ἔτυχον γενομένων, προσδοκᾶν δὲ καὶ τῆς παρούσης ἀπαλλαγῆναι ἀμηχανίας ἐκ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ κηδεμονίας, [15] ὃν εἰκὸς δοκιμάζοντα τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν πῶς τε καρτερίας ἔχουσι καὶ μνήμης τῶν προυπηργμένων, εἰ μὴ πρὸς ἐκεῖνα γίγνοιντο διὰ τὰ ἐν ποσὶ κακά, γυμνάζειν αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἄρτι χαλεποῖς. [16] ἐλέγχεσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἀγαθοὺς οὔτε περὶ τὴν ὑπομονὴν οὔτε περὶ τὴν μνήμην τῶν εὖ γεγονότων, οὕτως μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης, καθ᾽ ἣν ἐκλελοίπασι τὴν Αἴγυπτον, καταφρονοῦντας, οὕτως δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν ὑπηρέτην αὐτοῦ διατεθέντας καὶ ταῦτα μηδὲν αὐτοὺς διαψευσάμενον περὶ ὧν εἴποι τε καὶ πράττειν κατ᾽ ἐντολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσειε. [17] κατηρίθμει τε πάντα, πῶς τε φθαρεῖεν Αἰγύπτιοι κατέχειν αὐτοὺς παρὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμην βιαζόμενοι, καὶ τίνα τρόπον ὁ αὐτὸς ποταμὸς ἐκείνοις μὲν αἷμα ἦν καὶ ἄποτος αὐτοῖς δὲ πότιμος καὶ γλυκύς, [18] πῶς τε διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀναφυγούσης αὐτοῖς πορρωτάτω καινὴν ὁδὸν ἀπελθόντες αὐτῇ ταύτῃ σωθείησαν μὲν αὐτοί, τοὺς δὲ ἐχθροὺς ἐπίδοιεν ἀπολωλότας, ὅτι τε σπανίζοντας ὅπλων εἰς εὐπορίαν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τούτων καταστήσειε, τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ διαφθαρήσεσθαι δόξαντας γεγονέναι καὶ σώσειεν ὁ θεὸς ἐκ παραλόγου καὶ ὡς δύναμις αὐτῷ: [19] μὴ ἀπογινώσκειν δὲ μηδὲ νῦν αὐτοῦ τὴν πρόνοιαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀοργήτως περιμένειν, λογιζομένους μὲν τὴν ἐπικουρίαν μηδὲ βραδεῖαν γίνεσθαι, εἰ μὴ παραυτίκα καὶ εἰ μὴ πρίν τινος πειραθῆναι δυσκόλου πάρεστιν, ἡγουμένους δὲ οὐ κατὰ ὀλιγωρίαν μέλλειν τὸν θεόν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ πείρᾳ τῆς ἀνδρείας αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡδονῆς, [20] ἵνα μάθοι πότερόν ποτε καὶ τροφῆς ἀπορίαν καὶ σπάνιν ὕδατος ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐστε ἐνεγκεῖν γενναῖοι, ἢ δουλεύειν μᾶλλον ἀγαπᾶτε

καθάπερ τὰ βοσκήματα τοῖς κρατοῦσι καὶ τοῖς πρὸς τὰς ἐκείνων ὑπηρεσίας ἀφθόνως τρεφομένοις: [21] δεδιέναι δ' εἰπὼν οὐχ οὕτως ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας, πείσεσθαι γὰρ οὐδὲν κακὸν ἀδίκως ἀποθανών, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, μὴ δι' ὧνπερ αὐτὸν βάλλουσι λίθων τοῦ θεοῦ κατακρίνειν νομισθῶσιν,

(5) [22] ἐπράυνεν αὐτοὺς καὶ τῆς μὲν τοῦ βάλλειν ὁρμῆς ἐπέσχε καὶ εἰς μετάνοιαν ὧν ἔμελλον δρᾶν ἔτρεψε. παθεῖν δ' οὐκ ἀλόγως αὐτοὺς διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην τοῦτο νομίσας ἔγνω δεῖν ἐφ' ἱκετείαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ παράκλησιν ἐλθεῖν, καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐπί τινα σκοπὴν ᾔτει πόρον τινὰ τῷ λαῷ καὶ τῆς ἐνδείας ἀπαλλαγήν: [23] ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ εἶναι τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῳ: συγγινώσκειν δὲ τοῖς νῦν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ πραττομένοις φύσει δυσαρέστου καὶ φιλαιτίου τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν οἷς ἂν ἀτυχῇ γένους ὄντος. ὁ θεὸς δὲ προνοήσειν τε ἐπαγγέλλεται καὶ παρέξειν ἀφορμὴν ἣν ποθοῦσι. [24] Μωυσῆς δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτ' ἀκούσας καταβαίνει πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος: οἱ δ' ὡς ἑώρων καὶ ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις ταῖς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγηθότα μετέβαλον ἐκ τῆς κατηφείας πρὸς τὸ ἱλαρώτερον, καὶ στὰς ἐκεῖνος ἐν μέσοις ἥκειν ἔλεγε φέρων αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν περὶ τῶν ἐνεστηκότων ἀπόρων ἀπαλλαγήν. [25] καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ὀρτύγων πλῆθος, τρέφει δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ὄρνεον ὡς οὐδὲν ἕτερον ὁ Ἀράβιος κόλπος, ἐφίπταται τὴν μεταξὺ θάλατταν ὑπερελθὸν καὶ ὑπὸ κόπου τε ἅμα τῆς πτήσεως καὶ πρόσγαιον μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων ὂν καταφέρεται εἰς τοὺς Ἑβραίους: οἱ δὲ συλλαμβάνοντες ὡς τροφὴν αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ ταύτην μηχανησαμένου τὴν ἔνδειαν ἰῶνται, καὶ Μωυσῆς ἐπ' εὐχὰς τρέπεται τοῦ θεοῦ ταχεῖαν καὶ παρὰ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ποιησαμένου τὴν ἐπικουρίαν.

(6) [26] Εὐθὺς δὲ μετὰ τὴν πρώτην ἀφορμὴν τῆς τροφῆς καὶ δευτέραν αὐτοῖς κατέπεμπεν ὁ θεός: ἀνέχοντος γὰρ τοῦ Μωυσέος τὰς χεῖρας ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς δρόσος κατηνέχθη, καὶ περιπηγνυμένης ταῖς χερσὶ Μωυσῆς ὑπονοήσας καὶ ταύτην εἰς τροφὴν ἥκειν αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γεύεταί τε καὶ ἡσθείς, [27] τοῦ πλήθους ἀγνοοῦντος καὶ νομίζοντος νίφεσθαι καὶ τῆς ὥρας εἶναι τοῦ ἔτους τὸ γινόμενον, ἀνεδίδασκεν οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ὑπόληψιν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καταφέρεσθαι τὴν δρόσον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῇ αὐτῶν καὶ διατροφῇ, καὶ γευομένοις τοῦτο αὐτοῖς παρεῖχε πιστεύειν. [28] οἱ δὲ μιμούμενοι τὸν στρατηγὸν ἥδοντο τῷ βρώματι: μέλιτι γὰρ ἦν τὴν γλυκύτητα καὶ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἐμφερές, ὅμοιον δὲ τῇ τῶν ἀρωμάτων βδέλλῃ, τὸ δὲ μέγεθος τῷ κοριάννου σπέρματι: καὶ περὶ συλλογὴν λίαν αὐτοῦ ἐσπουδάκεσαν. [29] παρηγγέλλετο δ' ἐξ ἴσου πᾶσιν ἀσσαρῶνα, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ μέτρον, εἰς ἑκάστην ἡμέραν συλλέγειν ὡς οὐκ ἐπιλείψοντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ βρώματος, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις ἄπορον ᾖ τὸ λαμβάνειν δι' ἀλκὴν τῶν δυνατωτέρων πλεονεκτούντων περὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν. [30] οἱ μέντοι πλέον τοῦ προστεταγμένου μέτρου συναγαγόντες οὐδὲν περισσότερον εἶχον τοῦ κακοπαθῆσαι: ἀσσαρῶνος γὰρ οὐδὲν πλέον εὕρισκον: τοῦ δ' ὑπολειφθέντος εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ὄνησις οὐδ' ἥτις ἦν διεφθαρμένου ὑπό τε

σκωλήκων καὶ πικρίας: οὕτω θεῖον ἦν τὸ βρῶμα καὶ παράδοξον. [31] ἀμύνει δὲ τοῖς ταύτην νεμομένοις τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπορίαν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ νῦν [ὕεται] πᾶς ἐκεῖνος ὁ τόπος, καθάπερ καὶ τότε Μωυσεῖ χαριζόμενον τὸ θεῖον κατέπεμψε τὴν διατροφήν. [32] καλοῦσι δὲ Ἑβραῖοι τὸ βρῶμα τοῦτο μάννα: τὸ γὰρ μάν ἐπερώτησις κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν διάλεκτον, τί τοῦτ᾽ ἔστιν ἀνακρίνουσα. καὶ οἱ μὲν χαίροντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ καταπεμφθεῖσιν αὐτοῖς διετέλουν, τῇ δὲ τροφῇ ταύτῃ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη ἐχρήσαντο ἐφ᾽ ὅσον χρόνον ἦσαν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ.

(7) [33] Ὡς δ᾽ ἐκεῖθεν ἄραντες εἰς Ῥαφιδεὶν ἦκον ταλαιπωρηθέντες ὑπὸ δίψους εἰς ἔσχατον ἔν τε ταῖς πρότερον ἡμέραις πίδαξιν ὀλίγαις ἐντυγχάνοντες καὶ τότε παντάπασιν ἄνυδρον εὑρόντες τὴν γῆν, ἐν κακοῖς ἦσαν καὶ πάλιν δι᾽ ὀργῆς τὸν Μωυσῆν ἐποιοῦντο. [34] ὁ δὲ τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ πλήθους πρὸς μικρὸν ἐκκλίνας ἐπὶ λιτὰς τρέπεται τοῦ θεοῦ παρακαλῶν ὡς τροφὴν ἔδωκεν ἀπορουμένοις οὕτως καὶ ποτὸν παρασχεῖν, διαφθειρομένης καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τροφῇ χάριτος ποτοῦ μὴ παρόντος. [35] ὁ δ᾽ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τὴν δωρεὰν ἀνεβάλλετο, τῷ δὲ Μωυσεῖ παρέξειν ὑπισχνεῖται πηγὴν καὶ πλῆθος ὕδατος ὅθεν οὐ προσδοκήσειαν, καὶ κελεύει τῷ βάκτρῳ πλήξαντα τὴν πέτραν, ἣν ἑώρων αὐτόθι παρακειμένην, παρ᾽ αὐτῆς λαμβάνειν τὴν εὐπορίαν ὧν δέονται: φροντίζει γὰρ καὶ τοῦ μὴ σὺν πόνῳ μηδ᾽ ἐργασίᾳ τὸ ποτὸν αὐτοῖς φανῆναι. [36] καὶ Μωυσῆς ταῦτα λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ παραγίνεται πρὸς τὸν λαὸν περιμένοντα καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφορῶντα: καὶ γὰρ ἤδη καθεώρων αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς σκοπῆς ὁρμώμενον. ὡς δ᾽ ἦκεν, ἀπολύειν αὐτοὺς καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἀνάγκης τὸν θεὸν ἔλεγε καὶ χαρίσασθαι σωτηρίαν οὐδ᾽ ἐλπισθεῖσαν ἐκ τῆς πέτρας ποταμὸν αὐτοῖς ῥυήσεσθαι λέγων. [37] τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀκοὴν καταπλαγέντων, εἰ ὑπό τε τοῦ δίψους καὶ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας τεταλαιπωρημένοις ἀνάγκη γένοιτο κόπτειν τὴν πέτραν, ὁ Μωυσῆς πλήττει τῇ βακτηρίᾳ, καὶ χανούσης ἐξέβλυσεν ὕδωρ πολὺ καὶ διαυγέστατον. [38] οἱ δὲ τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ γεγονότος κατεπλάγησαν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῖς ἤδη τὸ δίψος ἔληγε, καὶ πίνουσιν ἡδὺ καὶ γλυκὺ τὸ νᾶμα καὶ οἷον ἂν εἴη θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον δόντος ἐφαίνετο: τόν τε οὖν Μωυσῆν ἐθαύμαζον οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τετιμημένον, καὶ θυσίαις ἠμείβοντο τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ αὐτοὺς πρόνοιαν. δηλοῖ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀνακειμένη γραφὴ τὸν θεὸν προειπεῖν Μωυσεῖ οὕτως ἐκ τῆς πέτρας ἀναδοθήσεσθαι ὕδωρ.

II

(1) [39] Τοῦ δὲ Ἑβραίων ὀνόματος ἤδη πολλοῦ κατὰ πάντας διαβοωμένου καὶ τοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν λόγου φοιτῶντος ἐν φόβῳ συνέβαινεν οὐ μικρῷ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους εἶναι, καὶ πρεσβευόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρεκάλουν ἀμύνειν καὶ πειρᾶσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας διαφθείρειν. [40] ἐτύγχανον δὲ οἱ πρὸς τοῦτο ἐνάγοντες οἵ τε τὴν Γοβολῖτιν καὶ τὴν Πέτραν κατοικοῦντες, οἳ καλοῦνται μὲν Ἀμαληκῖται, μαχιμώτατοι δὲ τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἐθνῶν ὑπῆρχον, ὧν πέμποντες οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀλλήλους

τε καὶ τοὺς περιοίκους ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Ἑβραίους πόλεμον παρεκάλουν, στρατὸν ἀλλότριον καὶ τῆς Αἰγυπτίων ἀποδράντα δουλείας ἐφεδρεύειν αὐτοῖς λέγοντες, [41] ὃν οὐ καλῶς ἔχει περιορᾶν, ἀλλὰ πρὶν ἢ λαβεῖν ἰσχὺν καὶ παρελθεῖν εἰς εὐπορίαν καὶ αὐτὸν τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς κατάρξαι μάχης θαρρήσαντας τῷ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς παρ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀπαντᾶν καταλύειν ἀσφαλὲς καὶ σῶφρον δίκην αὐτοὺς καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐρήμου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πραχθέντων ἀπαιτοῦντας, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ ὅταν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡμῶν καὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἐπιβάλωσι τὰς χεῖρας. [42] οἱ δὲ ἀρχομένην δύναμιν ἐχθρῶν πειρώμενοι καταλύειν ἀγαθοὶ συνεῖναι μᾶλλον, ἢ οἱ προκόψασαν μείζω κωλύοντες γενέσθαι: οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ περισσοῦ δοκοῦσι νεμεσᾶν, οἱ δ᾽ οὐδεμίαν αὐτοῖς ἀφορμὴν κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐῶσι γενέσθαι. τοιαῦτα τοῖς τε πλησιοχώροις καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους πρεσβευόμενοι χωρεῖν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐγνώκεσαν εἰς μάχην.

(2) [43] Μωυσεῖ δ᾽ οὐδὲν προσδοκῶντι πολέμιον ἀπορίαν καὶ ταραχὴν ἐνεποίει τὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, καὶ παρόντων ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ἤδη καὶ κινδυνεύειν δέον ἐθορύβει χαλεπῶς τὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων πλῆθος ἐν ἀπορίᾳ μὲν ὂν ἁπάντων, μέλλον δὲ πολεμεῖν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους τοῖς πᾶσι καλῶς ἐξηρτυμένους. [44] παραμυθίας οὖν ὁ Μωυσῆς ἤρχετο καὶ θαρρεῖν παρεκάλει τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ψήφῳ πεπιστευκότας, ὑφ᾽ ἧς εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἠρμένοι κατανικήσειαν τοὺς περὶ αὐτῆς εἰς μάχην αὐτοῖς καθισταμένους, [45] ὑπολαμβάνειν δὲ τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν εἶναι στράτευμα πολὺ καὶ πάντων ἀπροσδεές, ὅπλων χρημάτων τροφῆς τῶν ἄλλων, ὧν παρόντων ἐκ πεποιθήσεως πολεμοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι, κρίνοντας ἐν τῇ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ συμμαχίᾳ ταῦτα αὐτοῖς παρεῖναι, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων ὀλίγον ἄνοπλον ἀσθενές, οἷον καὶ μὴ ὑπὸ τοιούτων, οἵοις αὐτοῖς σύνοιδεν οὖσιν, νικᾶσθαι βουλομένου τοῦ θεοῦ. [46] εἰδέναι δ᾽ οἷος οὗτος ἐπίκουρος ἐκ πολλῶν πεπειραμένους καὶ δεινοτέρων τοῦ πολέμου: τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ εἶναι πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, ἃ δ᾽ ἦν αὐτοῖς πρὸς λιμὸν καὶ δίψος ἄπορα καὶ πρὸς ὄρη καὶ θάλασσαν ὁδὸν οὐκ ἔχουσι φυγῆς, ταῦτ᾽ αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν εὐμένειαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ νενικῆσθαι. νῦν δὲ γίνεσθαι παρεκάλει προθυμοτάτους, ὡς τῆς ἁπάντων εὐπορίας αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ κρατῆσαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν κειμένης.

(3) [47] Καὶ Μωυσῆς μὲν τοιούτοις παρεθάρσυνε τὸ πλῆθος λόγοις συγκαλῶν τούς τε φυλάρχους καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει καθ᾽ ἑκάστους τε καὶ σὺν ἀλλήλοις τοὺς μὲν νεωτέρους παρεκάλει πείθεσθαι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, τοὺς δὲ ἀκροᾶσθαι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ: [48] οἱ δ᾽ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὸν κίνδυνον τὰς ψυχὰς ἠρμένοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ δεινὸν ἑτοίμως ἔχοντες ἤλπιζον ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαί ποτε τῶν κακῶν, καὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν ἐκέλευον ἄγειν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἤδη καὶ μὴ μέλλειν, ὡς τῆς ἀναβολῆς ἐμποδιζούσης τὴν προθυμίαν αὐτῶν. [49] ὁ δὲ τῆς πληθύος ἀποκρίνας πᾶν τὸ μάχιμον Ἰησοῦν ἐφίστησιν αὐτῷ Ναυήκου μὲν υἱὸν φυλῆς τῆς Ἐφραιμίτιδος, ἀνδρειότατον δὲ καὶ πόνους ὑποστῆναι γενναῖον καὶ νοῆσαί τε καὶ εἰπεῖν ἱκανώτατον καὶ θρησκεύοντα τὸν θεὸν ἐκπρεπῶς καὶ Μωυσῆν

διδάσκαλον τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐσεβείας πεποιημένον τιμώμενόν τε παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις. [50] βραχὺ δέ τι περὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἔταξε τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἐπὶ φυλακῇ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν τοῦ τε παντὸς στρατοπέδου. καὶ νύκτα μὲν πᾶσαν ἐν παρασκευαῖς ἦσαν τῶν τε ὅπλων εἴ τι πεπονηκὸς ἦν ἀναλαμβάνοντες καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς προσέχοντες, ὡς ὁρμήσοντες ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ὁπότε κελεύσειεν αὐτοὺς Μωυσῆς. διηγρύπνει δὲ καὶ Μωυσῆς ἀναδιδάσκων τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὃν τρόπον ἐκτάξειε τὸ στρατόπεδον. [51] ἠργμένης δὲ ὑποφαίνειν τῆς ἡμέρας αὖθις τόν τε Ἰησοῦν παρεκάλει μηδὲν χείρονα φανῆναι κατὰ τὸ ἔργον τῆς οὔσης περὶ αὐτὸν ἐλπίδος δόξαν τε διὰ τῆς παρούσης κτήσασθαι στρατηγίας παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις, τῶν τε Ἑβραίων τοὺς ἀξιολογωτάτους ἰδίᾳ παρεκάλει καὶ σύμπαν ἤδη τὸ πλῆθος ὡπλισμένον παρώρμα. [52] καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως παραστησάμενος τὸν στρατὸν τοῖς τε λόγοις καὶ τῇ διὰ τῶν ἔργων παρασκευῇ ἀνεχώρει πρὸς τὸ ὄρος θεῷ τε καὶ Ἰησοῦ παραδιδοὺς τὸ στράτευμα.

(4) [53] Προσέμισγον δὲ οἱ πολέμιοι κἀν χερσὶν ἦν ἡ μάχη: προθυμίᾳ δὲ καὶ διακελευσμῷ τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους χρωμένων μέχρι μὲν οὖν Μωυσῆς αὖθις ἀνίσχει τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ τοὺς Ἀμαληκίτας κατεπόνουν οἱ Ἑβραῖοι. τὸν οὖν πόνον τῆς ἀνατάσεως τῶν χειρῶν ὁ Μωυσῆς οὐχ ὑπομένων, ὁσάκις γὰρ ἂν αὐτὰς καθίει τοσαυτάκις ἐλαττοῦσθαι τοὺς οἰκείους αὐτοῦ συνέβαινε, [54] κελεύει τόν τε ἀδελφὸν Ἀαρῶνα καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς Μαριάμης τὸν ἄνδρα Οὖρον ὄνομα στάντας ἑκατέρωθεν αὐτοῦ διακρατεῖν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν κάμνειν βοηθοῦντας. καὶ τούτου γενομένου κατὰ κράτος ἐνίκων τοὺς Ἀμαληκίτας οἱ Ἑβραῖοι, καὶ πάντες ἂν ἀπωλώλεισαν, εἰ μὴ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἀπέσχοντο τοῦ κτείνειν. [55] νίκην καλλίστην καὶ καιριωτάτην νικῶσιν ἡμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι: καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐπιστρατευσάντων ἐκράτησαν καὶ τοὺς περιοίκους ἐφόβησαν, μεγάλων τε καὶ λαμπρῶν ἐκ τοῦ πονεῖν ἐπέτυχον ἀγαθῶν ἑλόντες τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων, πλούτους τε μεγάλους δημοσίᾳ καὶ κατ᾽ ἰδίαν ἔσχον οὐδὲ τῆς ἀναγκαίου τροφῆς πρότερον εὐποροῦντες. [56] ὑπῆρξε δ᾽ αὐτοῖς οὐκ εἰς τὸ παρὸν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸν αὖθις αἰῶνα τῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτία κατορθωθεῖσα ἡ προειρημένη μάχη: οὐ γὰρ τὰ σώματα μόνον τῶν ἐπιστρατευσάντων ἐδούλωσαν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ φρονήματα, καὶ τοῖς περιοίκοις ἅπασι μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἥττων ἐγένοντο φοβεροί, αὐτοί τε πλούτου μεγάλου δύναμιν προσέλαβον: [57] πολὺς γὰρ ὁ ἄργυρός τε καὶ χρυσὸς ἐγκατελήφθη ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ σκεύη χαλκᾶ, οἷς ἐχρῶντο περὶ τὴν δίαιταν, πολὺ δὲ ἐπίσημον πλῆθος ἑκατέρων ὅσα τε ὑφαντὰ καὶ κόσμοι περὶ τὰς ὁπλίσεις ἥ τε ἄλλη θεραπεία καὶ κατασκευὴ ἐκείνων λεία τε παντοία κτηνῶν καὶ ὅσα φιλεῖ στρατοπέδοις ἐξωδευκόσιν ἔπεσθαι. [58] φρονήματός τε ὑπεπλήσθησαν ἐπ᾽ ἀνδρείᾳ Ἑβραῖοι καὶ πολλὴ μεταποίησις ἦν ἀρετῆς αὐτοῖς πρός τε τῷ πονεῖν ἦσαν ἀεὶ τούτῳ πάντα ληπτὰ νομίζοντες εἶναι. καὶ ταύτης μὲν τῆς μάχης τοῦτο τὸ πέρας.

(5) [59] Τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ Μωυσῆς νεκρούς τε ἐσκύλευε τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὰς παντευχίας τῶν φυγόντων συνέλεγεν ἀριστεῦσί τε τιμὰς ἐδίδου καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐνεκωμίαζε μαρτυρούμενον ἐφ’ οἷς ἔπραξεν ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ. ἀπέθανεν δὲ Ἑβραίων μὲν οὐδείς, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ὅσους οὐδ’ ἀριθμῷ γνῶναι δυνατὸν ἦν. [60] θύσας δὲ χαριστήρια βωμὸν ἱδρύεται νικαῖον ὀνομάσας τὸν θεὸν προεφήτευέ τε πανωλεθρὶ τοὺς Ἀμαληκίτας ἀπολουμένους καὶ μηδένα αὐτῶν ὑπολειφθησόμενον εἰς αὖθις διὰ τὸ Ἑβραίοις ἐπιστρατεύσασθαι καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ἐρήμῳ τε γῇ καὶ ταλαιπωρουμένοις, τόν τε στρατὸν εὐωχίαις ἀνελάμβανε. [61] καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν μάχην πρώτην μαχεσάμενοι πρὸς τοὺς κατατολμήσαντας αὐτῶν μετὰ τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου γενομένην ἔξοδον οὕτως ἐπολέμησαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν τῶν ἐπινικίων ἑορτὴν ἤγαγον, ὁ Μωυσῆς ἀναπαύσας ἐπ’ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας τοὺς Ἑβραίους μετὰ τὴν μάχην προῆγε συντεταγμένους: [62] πολὺ δ’ ἦν ἤδη τὸ ὁπλιτικὸν αὐτοῖς: καὶ προιὼν κατ’ ὀλίγον ἐν τριμήνῳ μετὰ τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου κίνησιν παρῆν ἐπὶ τὸ Σιναῖον ὄρος, ἐν ᾧ τά τε περὶ τὸν θάμνον αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ φαντάσματα συντυχεῖν προειρήκαμεν.

III

(1) [63] Καὶ Ῥαγουῆλος ὁ πενθερὸς αὐτοῦ πυνθανόμενος εὐπραξίαν ἀσμένως ἀπήντα τόν τε Μωυσῆν καὶ τὴν Σαπφώραν δεχόμενος καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν. ἤδεται δὲ Μωυσῆς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πενθεροῦ ἀφίξει καὶ θύσας εὐωχεῖ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ θάμνου πλησίον, ὃς διαπεφεύγει τοῦ πυρὸς τὴν φλόγωσιν: [64] καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος κατὰ συγγένειαν ὡς ἕκαστοι τῆς εὐωχίας μετελάμβανον, Ἀαρὼν δὲ σὺν τοῖς παροῦσι Ῥαγουῆλον προσλαβόμενος ὕμνους τε ᾖδον εἰς τὸν θεὸν ὡς τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας αἴτιον καὶ πορισθὴν γεγενημένον, [65] καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν εὐφήμουν ὡς κατὰ ἀρετὴν ἐκείνου πάντων αὐτοῖς κατὰ νοῦν ἀπηντηκότων. καὶ Ῥαγουῆλος πολλὰ μὲν ἐγκώμια τοῦ πλήθους ἐπὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸν Μωυσῆν εὐχαριστίᾳ διεξῄει, ἐθαύμαζε δὲ καὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν τῆς ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν φίλων ἀνδραγαθίας.

IV

(1) [66] Τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ θεασάμενος ὁ Ῥαγουῆλος τὸν Μωυσῆν ἐν ὄχλῳ πραγμάτων ὄντα: διέλυε γὰρ τὰς δίκας τοῖς δεομένοις πάντων ἐπ’ αὐτὸν βαδιζόντων καὶ μόνως ἂν τοῦ δικαίου τυχεῖν ἡγουμένων, εἰ διαιτητὴς αὐτοῖς οὗτος γένοιτο: [67] καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἡττωμένοις κοῦφον ἐδόκει τὸ λείπεσθαι κατὰ δικαιοσύνην οὐ κατὰ πλεονεξίαν αὐτὸ πάσχειν νομίζουσι: τότε μὲν ἡσυχίαν ἦγε μὴ βουλόμενος ἐμποδίζειν τοῖς ἀρετῇ χρῆσθαι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ θέλουσι, παυσάμενον δὲ τοῦ θορύβου παραλαβὼν καὶ συμμονωθεὶς ἀνεδίδασκεν ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν. [68] καὶ συνεβούλευε τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἥττοσι ταλαιπωρίας ἑτέροις

ἐκστῆναι, περὶ δὲ τῶν μειζόνων καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ πλήθους ἔχειν τὴν πρόνοιαν αὐτόν: δικάσαι μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθοὺς κἂν ἄλλους Ἑβραίων εὑρεθῆναι, φροντίσαι δὲ τοσούτων μυριάδων σωτηρίας οὐκ ἄλλον τινὰ δύνασθαι μὴ Μωυσῆν γενόμενον. [69] "αἰσθανόμενος οὖν τῆς ἀρετῆς, φησί, σαυτοῦ καὶ οἷος γέγονας ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν λαὸν ὑπουργῶν τῷ θεῷ σώζειν τὴν μὲν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων δίαιταν ἐπίτρεψον αὐτοῖς ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἄλλων, σὺ δὲ πρὸς μόνῃ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ θεραπείᾳ κατέχων σεαυτὸν διατέλει ζητῶν οἷς ἂν τὸ πλῆθος ἀπαλλάξειας τῆς νῦν ἀπορίας. [70] ὑποθήκαις δὲ ταῖς ἐμαῖς περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων χρησάμενος τὸν στρατὸν ἐξετάσεις ἀκριβῶς καὶ κατὰ μυρίους τούτων κεκριμένους ἄρχοντας ἀποδείξεις, εἶτα κατὰ χιλίους, διαιρήσεις δὲ μετ᾽ αὐτοὺς εἰς πεντακοσίους, καὶ πάλιν εἰς ἑκατόν, εἶτ᾽ εἰς πεντήκοντα. [71] ἄρχοντάς τε ἐπὶ τούτοις τάξεις, οἳ κατὰ τριάκοντα μερισθέντας διακοσμήσουσι καὶ κατὰ εἴκοσι καὶ κατὰ δέκα συναριθμουμένους, ἔστω δέ τις ἐπὶ τούτοις εἷς τὴν προσηγορίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἀριθμοῦ λαμβάνων, δοκιμασθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους παντὸς εἶναι ἀγαθοὶ καὶ δίκαιοι, [72] οἳ περί τε τῶν διαφόρων αὐτοῖς κρινοῦσι κἂν ᾖ τι μεῖζον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν ἀξιώματι τὴν περὶ τούτου διάγνωσιν ἐπανοίσουσιν, ἂν δὲ κἀκείνους διαφύγῃ τὸ περὶ τοῦ πράγματος δύσκολον, ἐπὶ σὲ τοῦτο ἀναπέμψουσιν: ἔσται γὰρ οὕτως ἀμφότερα: καὶ τῶν δικαίων Ἑβραῖοι τεύξονται καὶ σὺ τῷ θεῷ προσεδρεύων εὐμενέστερον ἂν ποιήσειας αὐτὸν τῷ στρατῷ.

(2) [73] Ταῦτα Ῥαγουήλου παραινέσαντος Μωυσῆς ἀσμένως προσήκατο τὴν συμβουλίαν καὶ ποιεῖ κατὰ τὴν ὑποθήκην τὴν ἐκείνου τοῦ τρόπου τὴν ἐπίνοιαν οὐκ ἀποκρυψάμενος οὐδὲ σφετερισάμενος αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ ποιήσας φανερὸν τὸν ἐξευρηκότα τῷ πλήθει. [74] κἀν τοῖς βιβλίοις δὲ Ῥαγουῆλον ἔγραψεν ὡς εὑρηκότα τὴν διάταξιν τὴν προειρημένην, καλῶς ἔχειν ἡγούμενος τἀληθῆ μαρτυρεῖν τοῖς ἀξίοις, εἰ καὶ δόξαν ἔμελλε φέρειν ἐπιγραφομένῳ τὰ ὑπὸ ἄλλων εὑρημένα, ὥστε τὴν Μωυσέος ἀρετὴν κἀκ τούτου καταμαθεῖν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν ταύτης εὐκαίρως ἐν ἄλλοις τῆς γραφῆς δηλώσομεν.

V

(1) [75] Μωυσῆς δὲ συγκαλέσας τὴν πληθὺν αὐτὸς μὲν εἰς τὸ ὄρος ἀπέρχεσθαι τὸ Σιναῖον ἔλεγεν ὡς συνεσόμενος τῷ θεῷ καί τι λαβὼν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ χρήσιμον ἐπανήξων πρὸς αὐτούς, ἐκείνους δ᾽ ἐκέλευσε πλησίον μετασκηνῶσαι τῷ ὄρει τὴν γειτνίασιν τοῦ θεοῦ προτιμήσαντας. [76] ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν ἀνῄει πρὸς τὸ Σιναῖον ὑψηλότατον τῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χωρίοις ὀρῶν τυγχάνον καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ μεγέθους καὶ τῶν κρημνῶν τὸ ἀπότομον ἀνθρώποις οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀναβατὸν ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ ὁραθῆναι δίχα πόνου τῆς ὄψεως δυνάμενον ἄλλως τε διὰ τὸ λόγον εἶναι περὶ τοῦ τὸν θεὸν ἐν αὐτῷ διατρίβειν φοβερὸν καὶ ἀπρόσιτον. [77] Ἑβραῖοι δὲ κατὰ τὰς Μωυσέος ἐντολὰς μετεσκήνουν καὶ τὰς ὑπωρείας τοῦ ὄρους

κατελαμβάνοντο ἠρμένοι ταῖς διανοίαις ὡς μετὰ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἣν προύτεινεν αὐτοῖς, ἐπανήξοντος Μωυσέος παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ. [78] ἑορτάζοντες δὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν περιέμενον ἀγνεύοντες τήν τε ἄλλην ἁγνείαν καὶ ἀπὸ συνουσίας τῆς γυναικῶν ἡμέρας τρεῖς, καθὼς ἐκεῖνος αὐτοῖς προεῖπε, καὶ παρακαλοῦντες τὸν θεὸν εὐμενῆ συμβάλλοντα Μωυσεῖ δοῦναι δωρεάν, ὑφ᾽ ἧς εὖ βιώσονται. ταῖς τ᾽ οὖν διαίταις ἐχρῶντο πολυτελεστέραις καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ γυναιξὶν ὁμοῦ καὶ τέκνοις ἐκπρεπῶς ἤσκηντο.

(2) [79] Ἐπὶ δύο μὲν οὖν ἡμέρας εὐωχούμενοι διῆγον, τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ πρὶν τὸν ἥλιον ἀνασχεῖν νεφέλη τε ὑπεράνω ἀνέσχε τοῦ παντὸς στρατοπέδου τῶν Ἑβραίων οὐ πρότερον τοῦτο ἰδόντων γενόμενον καὶ τὸ χωρίον οὗ τὰς σκηνὰς ἦσαν πεποιημένοι περιέγραφε, [80] καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ παντὸς ἐν αἰθρίᾳ τυγχάνοντος ἄνεμοί τε σφοδροὶ λάβρον κινοῦντες ὑετὸν κατήγιζον, ἀστραπαί τε ἦσαν φοβεραὶ τοῖς ὁρῶσι, καὶ κεραυνοὶ κατενεχθέντες ἐδήλουν τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ θεοῦ οἷς Μωυσῆς ἔχαιρεν εὐμενοῦς παρατυχόντος. [81] καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ὡς βούλεται φρονείτω ἕκαστος τῶν ἐντευξομένων, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀνάγκη ταῦτα ἱστορεῖν καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ἀναγέγραπται. τοὺς δὲ Ἑβραίους τά τε ὁρώμενα καὶ ὁ ταῖς ἀκοαῖς προσβάλλων ψόφος δεινῶς ἐτάραττεν, [82] ἀήθεις τε γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτῶν, καὶ ὁ περὶ τοῦ ὄρους διαπεφοιτηκὼς λόγος ὡς εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο φοιτῶντος τοῦ θεοῦ σφόδρα τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐξέπληττε. κατεῖχον δ᾽ αὐτοὺς πρὸς ταῖς σκηναῖς ἀχθόμενοι καὶ τόν τε Μωυσῆν ἀπολωλέναι νομίζοντες ὑπ᾽ ὀργῆς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ὅμοια προσδοκῶντες.

(3) [83] Οὕτως δ᾽ αὐτῶν διακειμένων ἐπιφαίνεται Μωυσῆς γαῦρός τε καὶ μέγα φρονῶν. ὀφθείς τε οὖν αὐτὸς ἀπαλλάσσει τοῦ δέους αὐτοὺς καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων κρείττονας ὑπετίθετο τὰς ἐλπίδας, αἴθριός τε καὶ καθαρὸς ὁ ἀὴρ τῶν πρὸ ὀλίγου παθῶν ἦν Μωυσέος παραγεγονότος. [84] ἐπὶ τούτοις οὖν συγκαλεῖ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἀκουσόμενον ὧν ὁ θεὸς εἴποι πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ συναθροισθέντων στὰς ἐπὶ ὑψηλοῦ τινος, ὅθεν ἔμελλον πάντες ἀκούσεσθαι, “ὁ μὲν θεός, εἶπεν, ὦ Ἑβραῖοι, καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον εὐμενὴς προσεδέξατό με καὶ βίον τε ὑμῖν εὐδαίμονα καὶ πολιτείας κόσμον ὑπαγορεύσας πάρεστι καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. [85] πρὸς γοῦν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἔργων, ἃ δι᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἡμῖν ἤδη πέπρακται, μὴ καταφρονήσητε τῶν λεγομένων εἰς ἐμὲ τὸν λέγοντα ἀφορῶντες μηδ᾽ ὅτι γλῶττα ἀνθρωπίνη πρὸς ὑμᾶς λέγει: τὴν δ᾽ ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν κατανοήσαντες ἐπιγνώσεσθε καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ νενοηκότος καὶ ἐπὶ συμφέροντι τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πρὸς ἐμὲ μὴ φθονήσαντος εἰπεῖν: [86] οὐ γὰρ Μωυσῆς ὁ Ἀμαράμου καὶ Ἰωχαβάδης υἱός, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ τὸν Νεῖλον ἀναγκάσας ἡματωμένον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ῥυῆναι καὶ ποικίλοις δαμάσας κακοῖς τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων φρόνημα, ὁ διὰ θαλάσσης ὁδὸν ὑμῖν παρασχών, ὁ καὶ τροφὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ μηχανησάμενος ἐλθεῖν ἀπορουμένοις, [87] ὁ ποτὸν ἐκ πέτρας ἀναβλύσας σπανίζουσι, δι᾽ ὃν Ἄδαμος τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς τε καρπῶν καὶ θαλάσσης μεταλαμβάνει, δι᾽ ὃν Νῶχος ἐκ

τῆς ἐπομβρίας διέφυγε, δι᾽ ὃν Ἄβραμος ὁ ἡμέτερος πρόγονος ἐξ ἀλήτου τὴν Χαναναίαν κατέσχε γῆν, δι᾽ ὃν Ἴσακος γηραιοῖς ἐτέχθη γονεῦσι, δι᾽ ὃν Ἰάκωβος δώδεκα παίδων ἀρεταῖς ἐκοσμήθη, δι᾽ ὃν Ἰώσηπος ἐδεσπότευσε τῆς Αἰγυπτίων δυνάμεως, οὗτος ὑμῖν τούτους χαρίζεται τοὺς λόγους δι᾽ ἑρμηνέως ἐμοῦ. [88] σεβάσμιοι δ᾽ ὑμῖν γενέσθωσαν καὶ παίδων περιμαχητότεροι καὶ γυναικῶν: εὐδαίμονα γὰρ διάξετε βίον τούτοις ἑπόμενοι καὶ γῆς ἀπολαύοντες καρπίμου καὶ θαλάσσης ἀχειμάστου καὶ τέκνων γονῆς κατὰ φύσιν τικτομένων καὶ πολεμίοις ἔσεσθε φοβεροί: τῷ θεῷ γὰρ εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθὼν ἀκροατὴς ἀφθάρτου φωνῆς ἐγενόμην: οὕτως ἐκείνῳ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς τούτου μέλει διαμονῆς.”

(4) [89] Ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν προάγει τὸν λαὸν γυναιξὶν ὁμοῦ καὶ τέκνοις, ὡς ἀκούσαιεν τοῦ θεοῦ διαλεγομένου πρὸς αὐτοὺς περὶ τῶν πρακτέων, ἵνα μὴ βλαβείη τῶν λεγομένων ἡ ἀρετὴ ὑπὸ ἀνθρωπίνης γλώττης ἀσθενῶς εἰς γνῶσιν αὐτοῖς παραδιδομένη. [90] πάντες τε ἤκουον φωνῆς ὑψόθεν παραγενομένης εἰς ἅπαντας, ὡς διαφυγεῖν μηδένα καὶ λόγων οὓς Μωυσῆς ἐν ταῖς δύο πλαξὶ γεγραμμένους κατέλιπεν: οὓς οὐ θεμιτόν ἐστιν ἡμῖν λέγειν φανερῶς πρὸς λέξιν, τὰς δὲ δυνάμεις αὐτῶν δηλώσομεν.

(5) [91] Διδάσκει μὲν οὖν ἡμᾶς ὁ πρῶτος λόγος, ὅτι θεός ἐστιν εἷς καὶ τοῦτον δεῖ σέβεσθαι μόνον: ὁ δὲ δεύτερος κελεύει μηδενὸς εἰκόνα ζῴου ποιήσαντας προσκυνεῖν: ὁ τρίτος δὲ ἐπὶ μηδενὶ φαύλῳ τὸν θεὸν ὀμνύναι: ὁ δὲ τέταρτος παρατηρεῖν τὰς ἑβδομάδας ἀναπαυομένους ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου: [92] ὁ δὲ πέμπτος γονεῖς τιμᾶν: ὁ δὲ ἕκτος ἀπέχεσθαι φόνου: ὁ δὲ ἕβδομος μὴ μοιχεύειν: ὁ δὲ ὄγδοος μὴ κλοπὴν δρᾶν: ὁ δὲ ἔνατος μὴ ψευδομαρτυρεῖν: ὁ δὲ δέκατος μηδενὸς ἀλλοτρίου ἐπιθυμίαν λαμβάνειν.

(6) [93] Καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἀκροασάμενον αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ ὧν Μωυσῆς διελέχθη χαῖρον ἐπὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις τοῦ συλλόγου διελύθη, ταῖς δ᾽ ἐφεξῆς φοιτῶντες ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἠξίουν αὐτὸν καὶ νόμους αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κομίζειν. [94] ὁ δὲ τούτους τε τίθεται καὶ περὶ τῶν ὅλων ὃν ἂν πραχθείη τρόπον ἐν τοῖς αὖθις ἀπεσήμαινε χρόνοις, ὧν μνησθήσομαι κατὰ καιρὸν οἰκεῖον. τοὺς δὲ πλείονας τῶν νόμων εἰς ἑτέραν ἀνατίθεμαι γραφὴν ἰδίαν περὶ αὐτῶν ποιησόμενος ἀφήγησιν.

(7) [95] Οὕτω δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτοῖς ἐχόντων ὁ Μωυσῆς πάλιν εἰς τὸ Σιναῖον ὄρος ἀνῄει προειπὼν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις, βλεπόντων δ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἄνοδον. καὶ χρόνου τριβομένου, τεσσαράκοντα γὰρ ἡμέρας διήγαγεν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν, δέος εἶχε τοὺς Ἑβραίους, μή τι Μωυσῆς πάθοι, καὶ τῶν συντυχόντων δεινῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ οὕτως ἐλύπησεν αὐτούς, ὡς τὸ νομίζειν Μωυσῆν ἀπολωλέναι. [96] ἦν γὰρ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἔρις τῶν μὲν ἀπολωλέναι λεγόντων θηρίοις περιπεσόντα, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεχθῶς ἦσαν διακείμενοι ταύτην τὴν ψῆφον ἔφερον, τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἀνακεχωρηκέναι. [97] τοὺς δὲ σώφρονας καὶ μηδέτερον τῶν λεγομένων εἰς ἡδονὴν λαμβάνοντας ἰδίαν, καὶ τὸ θηρίοις περιπεσόντα ἀποθανεῖν

ἀνθρώπινον ἡγουμένους καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν μεταστῆναι διὰ τὴν προσοῦσαν ἀρετὴν εἰκὸς νομίζοντας, πρᾴως ἔχειν οὗτος ὁ λογισμὸς ἐποίει. [98] προστάτου δὲ ἠρημῶσθαι καὶ κηδεμόνος ὑπολαμβάνοντες, οἵου τυχεῖν οὐκ ἂν ἄλλου δύναιντο, σφόδρα λυπούμενοι διετέλουν καὶ οὔτε ὑπονοεῖν αὐτοὺς εἴα τὸ προσδοκᾶν τι χρηστὸν περὶ τἀνδρὸς οὔτε μὴ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ κατηφεῖν ἠδύναντο. τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον οὐκ ἐθάρρουν μετάγειν Μωυσέος αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖ παραμένειν προειρηκότος.

(8) [99] Ἤδη δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν διεληλυθυιῶν καὶ τοσούτων νυκτῶν παρῆν οὐδενὸς σιτίου τῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις νενομισμένων γεγευμένος. χαρᾶς δ' ἐνέπλησε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπιφανείς, καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν ἣν εἶχε περὶ αὐτῶν ἀπεδήλου τόν τε τρόπον καθ' ὃν εὐδαιμονήσουσι πολιτευόμενοι λέγων αὐτῷ κατὰ ταύτας ὑποθέσθαι τὰς ἡμέρας, [100] καὶ σκηνὴν ὅτι βούλεται γενέσθαι αὐτῷ, εἰς ἣν κάτεισι πρὸς αὐτοὺς παραγινόμενος, ὅπως καὶ μεταβαίνοντες ἀλλαχοῦ ταύτην ἐπαγώμεθα καὶ μηκέτι δεώμεθα τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ Σιναῖον ἀνόδου, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐπιφοιτῶν τῇ σκηνῇ παρατυγχάνῃ ταῖς ἡμετέραις εὐχαῖς. [101] γενήσεται δὲ ἡ σκηνὴ μέτροις τε καὶ κατασκευῇ οἷς αὐτὸς ὑπέδειξεν ὑμῶν ἀόκνως ἐχόντων πρὸς τὸ ἔργον. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν δύο πλάκας αὐτοῖς ἐπιδείκνυσιν ἐγγεγραμμένους ἐχούσας τοὺς δέκα λόγους, ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ πέντε. καὶ χεὶρ ἦν ἐπὶ τῇ γραφῇ τοῦ θεοῦ.

VI

(1) [102] Οἱ δὲ χαίροντες οἷς τε ἑώρων καὶ οἷς ἤκουον τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῆς κατὰ δύναμιν αὐτῶν σπουδῆς οὐκ ἀπελείποντο, ἀλλ' εἰσέφερον ἄργυρόν τε καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ χαλκὸν ξύλα τε τῆς καλλίστης ὕλης καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς σήψεως παθεῖν δυνάμενα, αἰγείους τε τρίχας καὶ δορὰς προβάτων τὰς μὲν ὑακίνθῳ βεβαμμένας τὰς δὲ φοίνικι: αἱ δὲ πορφύρας ἄνθος, ἕτεραι δὲ λευκὴν παρεῖχον τὴν χρόαν: [103] ἔριά τε τοῖς προειρημένοις ἄνθεσι μεμολυσμένα καὶ λίνου βύσσον λίθους τε τούτοις ἐνδεδεμένους, οὓς χρυσίῳ καθειργνύντες ἄνθρωποι κόσμῳ χρῶνται πολυτελεῖ, θυμιαμάτων τε πλῆθος συνέφερον: ἐκ γὰρ τοιαύτης ὕλης κατεσκεύασε τὴν σκηνήν. ἡ δ' οὐδὲν μεταφερομένου καὶ συμπερινοστοῦντος ναοῦ διέφερε. [104] τούτων οὖν κατὰ σπουδὴν συγκομισθέντων ἑκάστου καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν φιλοτιμησαμένου, ἀρχιτέκτονας τοῖς ἔργοις ἐφίστησι κατ' ἐντολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ οὓς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἂν ἐπελέξατο τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενομένης. [105] τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν, καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ἀναγέγραπται, ταῦτ' ἦν: Βασάηλος [μὲν] Οὐρὶ παῖς τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς, υἱὸς δὲ Μαριάμης τῆς ἀδελφῆς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, Ἐλίβαζος δὲ Ἰσαμάχου Δανίδος φυλῆς. [106] τὸ δὲ πλῆθος οὕτως ὑπὸ προθυμίας τοῖς ἐγχειρουμένοις ἐπῆλθεν, ὥστε Μωυσῆς ἀνεῖρξεν αὐτοὺς ὑποκηρυξάμενος ἀρκεῖν τοὺς ὄντας: τοῦτο γὰρ οἱ δημιουργοὶ προειρήκεσαν: ἐχώρουν οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς σκηνῆς κατασκευήν, [107]

καὶ Μωυσῆς αὐτοὺς ἕκαστα περὶ τῶν μέτρων κατὰ τὴν ὑποθήκην τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους ὅσα τε δεῖ σκεύη χωρεῖν αὐτὴν ἀνεδίδασκε πρὸς τὰς θυσίας ὑπηρετήσοντα. ἐφιλοτιμοῦντο δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες περί τε στολὰς ἱερατικὰς καὶ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσων ἔχρῃζε τὸ ἔργον κόσμου τε καὶ λειτουργίας ἕνεκα τοῦ θεοῦ.

(2) [108] Πάντων δ' ἐν ἑτοίμῳ γεγενημένων χρυσίου τε καὶ χαλκοῦ καὶ τῶν ὑφαντῶν, προειπὼν ἑορτὴν Μωυσῆς καὶ θυσίας κατὰ τὴν ἑκάστου δύναμιν ἵστη τὴν σκηνήν, πρῶτον μὲν αἴθριον διαμετρησάμενος τὸ μὲν εὖρος πεντήκοντα πηχῶν ἑκατὸν δὲ τὸ μῆκος. [109] κάμακας δὲ ἔστησε χαλκέας πενταπήχεις τὸ ὕψος καθ' ἑκατέραν πλευρὰν εἴκοσι τῶν ἐπιμηκεστέρων, δέκα δὲ τῶν ἐν πλάτει κειμένων τῆς κατόπιν, κρίκοι δὲ τῶν καμάκων ἑκάστῃ προσῆσαν: Κιονόκρανα μὲν ἀργύρεα, βάσεις δὲ χρυσαῖ σαυρωτῆρσιν ἐμφερεῖς, χαλκαῖ δὲ ἦσαν, ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐρηρεισμέναι. [110] ἐξήπτετο δὲ τῶν κρίκων καλώδια τὴν ἀρχὴν ἥλων χαλκέων πηχυαίων τὸ μέγεθος ἐκδεδεμένα, οἳ καθ' ἑκάστην κάμακα παρέντες κατὰ τοῦ ἐδάφους ἀκίνητον ὑπὸ βίας ἀνέμων τὴν σκηνὴν ἔμελλον παρέξειν. σινδὼν δ' ἐκ βύσσου ποικιλωτάτη διὰ πασῶν ἐπῄει ἀπὸ τοῦ κιονοκράνου κατιοῦσα μέχρι τῆς βάσεως πολλὴ κεχυμένη, περιφράττουσα ἅπαν κύκλῳ τὸ χωρίον, ὡς μηδὲν δοκεῖν τείχους διαφέρειν. [111] καὶ οὕτως μὲν εἶχον αἱ τρεῖς πλευραὶ τοῦ περιβόλου: τῆς δὲ τετάρτης πλευρᾶς, πεντήκοντα γὰρ οὖσα πήχεων ἡ ἑτέρα μέτωπον τοῦ παντὸς ἦν, εἴκοσι μὲν πήχεις ἀνεῴγεσαν κατὰ πύλας, ἐν αἷς ἀνὰ δύο κάμακες εἱστήκεσαν κατὰ μίμησιν πυλώνων. [112] ὅλαις δ' αὐταῖς ἄργυρος ἦν ἐπικεχαλκωμένος πάρεξ τῶν βάσεων: χαλκαῖ γὰρ ἦσαν. ἑκατέρωθεν δὲ τοῦ πυλῶνος τρεῖς κάμακες ἦσαν ἑστῶσαι, αἳ τοῖς πυλούχοις ἐμβεβήκεσαν ἐρηρεισμέναι, καὶ κατ' αὐτῶν δὲ βύσσινον ὕφος σινδόνος ἦν περιηγμένον. [113] τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὰς πύλας μήκους μὲν ὄντος πήχεων εἴκοσι πέντε δὲ βάθους ὕφος ἦν πορφύρας φοίνικος σὺν ὑακίνθῳ καὶ βύσσῳ πεποιημένον πολλῶν αὐτῷ συνανθούντων καὶ ποικίλων, ὁπόσα μὴ ζῴων ἐξετυποῦτο μορφάς. [114] ἐντὸς δὲ τῶν πυλῶν περιρραντήριον ἦν χάλκεον ὁμοίαν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν κρηπῖδα παρεχόμενον, ἐξ οὗ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τὰς χεῖρας ἀποπλύνειν καὶ τῶν ποδῶν καταχεῖν παρῆν. καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦ αἰθρίου περίβολος τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἦν διακεκοσμημένος.

(3) [115] Τὴν δὲ σκηνὴν ἵστησιν αὐτοῦ κατὰ μέσον τετραμμένην πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολάς, ἵνα πρῶτον ὁ ἥλιος ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἀνιὼν ἀφίῃ τὰς ἀκτῖνας. καὶ τὸ μὲν μῆκος αὐτῆς ἐπὶ πήχεις ἐγήγερτο τριάκοντα τὸ δὲ εὖρος ἐπὶ δέκα διειστήκει, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἕτερος τῶν τοίχων νότιος ἦν, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος κατὰ βορέαν ἐτέτραπτο, κατόπιν δ' αὐτῆς ἡ δύσις κατελείπετο. [116] ἀνίστασθαι δ' αὐτὴν ἐχρῆν ἐφ' ὅσον προβαίνοι τὸ εὖρος. κίονες δ' ἦσαν ξύλου πεποιημένοι κατὰ πλευρὰν ἑκατέραν εἴκοσι τετράγωνοι μὲν τὸ σχῆμα εἰργασμένοι, εἰς δὲ πλάτος διεστῶτες πήχεώς τε καὶ ἡμίσους, τὸ δὲ βάθος δακτύλων τεσσάρων. [117] λεπίδες δ' αὐτοῖς ἦσαν ἐπικεχαλκευμέναι πανταχόθεν χρυσαῖ διά τε τῶν ἔνδοθεν καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς μερῶν. δύο δ' αὐτῶν ἑκάστῳ προσῆσαν στρόφιγγες ἐλαυνόμενοι κατὰ δύο βάσεων:

αὗται δ᾽ ἀργυραῖ μὲν ἦσαν, πυλὶς δ᾽ ἑκατέρᾳ τούτων προσῆν δεχομένη τὴν στρόφιγγα. [118] τοῦ δὲ κατὰ δύσιν τοίχου κίονες μὲν ἓξ ἦσαν, συνῄεσαν δ᾽ ἀλλήλοις ἀκριβῶς ἅπαντες, ὥστε μεμυκότων τῶν ἁρμῶν ὡς ἕνα δοκεῖν εἶναι τοῖχον αὐτῶν τὴν συνέλευσιν χρύσειον τά τε ἔνδοθεν καὶ τὰ ἐκτός: [119] ἀνηλόγει γὰρ ὁ τῶν κιόνων ἀριθμός: εἴκοσι γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ παρεῖχε πλάτος Τρίτον σπιθαμῆς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν, ὥστε συμπληροῦσθαι τοὺς τριάκοντα πήχεις ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν: κατὰ δὲ τὸν ὄπισθεν τοῖχον, ἐννέα γὰρ πήχεις οἱ ἓξ κίονες παρέχονται συνελθόντες, δύ᾽ ἑτέρους ποιοῦνται κίονας ἐκ πήχεως τετμημένους, οὓς ἐγγωνίους ἔθεσαν ἐπ᾽ ἴσης τοῖς μείζοσιν ἠσκημένους. [120] ἕκαστος δὲ τῶν κιόνων κρίκον εἶχε χρύσεον κατὰ τὸ ἔξω μέτωπον προσφυὴς ὥσπερ ῥίζαις τισὶν ἐμπεπλεγμένος κατὰ στίχον πρὸς ἀλλήλους τετραμμένοι τὴν περιφέρειαν, καὶ δι᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπίχρυσοι σκυταλίδες ἐλαυνόμεναι πέντε πήχεων ἑκάστη τὸ μέγεθος σύνδεσμος ἦσαν τῶν κιόνων, ἐμβαινούσης κατὰ κεφαλὴν σκυταλίδος ἑκάστης τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τεχνητῷ στρόφιγγι κοχλίου τρόπον δεδημιουργημένῳ. [121] κατὰ δὲ τὸν ὄπισθεν τοῖχον μία φάλαγξ ἦν διὰ πάντων ἰοῦσα τῶν κιόνων, εἰς ἣν ἐνέβαινον πλάγιαι αἱ τελευταῖαι τῶν σκυταλίδων ἐξ ἑκατέρου τοίχου τῶν ἐπιμηκεστέρων καὶ κρατεῖσθαι συνέβαινεν αὐταῖς γιγλύμοις τῷ θήλει τοῦ ἄρρενος συνελθόντος. τοῦτο μέντοι πρὸς τὸ μήθ᾽ ὑπὸ ἀνέμων κραδαίνεσθαι μήτ᾽ ἄλλης αἰτίας τὴν σκηνὴν συνεῖχεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀκίνητον αὐτὴν ἐν ἠρεμίᾳ πολλῇ διαφυλάξειν ἔμελλεν.

(4) [122] Ἐντὸς δὲ διελὼν τὸ μῆκος αὐτῆς εἰς τρία μέρη μετὰ δέκα πήχεας ἡρμοσμένους ἐκ τοῦ μυχοῦ τέσσαρας ἵστησι κίονας ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰργασμένους καὶ βάσεσιν ὁμοίαις ἐπικειμένους διαλείποντας ἀλλήλων κατ᾽ ὀλίγον. τὸ δ᾽ ἐνδοτέρω αὐτῶν ἄδυτον ἦν, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἡ σκηνὴ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀνεῖτο. [123] τὴν μέντοι διαμέτρησιν τὴν τοιαύτην τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ μίμησιν τῆς τῶν ὅλων φύσεως συνέβαινεν εἶναι: τὸ μὲν γὰρ τρίτον αὐτῆς μέρος τὸ ἐντὸς τῶν τεσσάρων κιόνων, ὃ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἦν ἄβατον, ὡς οὐρανὸς ἀνεῖτο τῷ θεῷ, οἱ δ᾽ εἴκοσι πήχεις, ὥσπερ γῆ καὶ θάλασσα βάσιμος ἀνθρώποις, οὕτως τοῖς ἱερεῦσι μόνοις ἐπετέτραπτο. [124] κατὰ μέτωπον δέ, ἐξ οὗ τὴν εἴσοδον ἦσαν πεποιημένοι, κίονες ἔστασαν χρύσεοι χαλκείαις βάσεσιν ἐφεστῶτες τὸν ἀριθμὸν πέντε. κατεπετάννυσαν δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν ὕφεσι βύσσου καὶ πορφύρας ὑακίνθου καὶ φοίνικος βαφῆς συγκεκραμένης. [125] καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦν πήχεων δέκα πανταχόθεν, ᾧ κατεπετάννυσαν τοὺς κίονας, οἳ διαιροῦντες τὸν νεὼν τὸ ἄδυτον ἔνδον αὐτῶν ἀπελάμβανον: καὶ τοῦτο ἦν τὸ ποιοῦν αὐτὸ μηδενὶ κάτοπτον. καὶ ὁ μὲν πᾶς ναὸς ἅγιον ἐκαλεῖτο, τὸ δ᾽ ἄβατον τὸ ἐντὸς τῶν τεσσάρων κιόνων τοῦ ἁγίου τὸ ἅγιον. [126] ὡραῖον δὲ τὸ φάρσος ἄνθεσι παντοίοις, ὅσα γῆθεν ἀνέρχεται, διαπεποικιλμένον τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐνυφασμένον, ὅσα κόσμον οἴσειν ἔμελλε, πλὴν ζῴων μορφῆς. [127] ἕτερον δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῇ ὑφῇ καὶ τῇ χρόᾳ παραπλήσιον τοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς εἰσόδοις πέντε κίονας περιέβαλλε κατὰ γωνίαν ἑκάστου κίονος κρίκου κατέχοντος αὐτὸ ἀπὸ κορυφῆς ἄχρι ἡμίσους τοῦ

κίονος. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν εἴσοδος ἀνεῖτο τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ὑποδυομένοις. [128] ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτου λίνεον ἦν ἰσομέγεθες φάρσος ἐφελκόμενον ἀπὸ κάλων ἐπὶ θάτερα, τῶν κρίκων τῷ τε ὕφει καὶ τῷ κάλῳ διακονούντων πρός τε τὸ ἐκπετάννυσθαι καὶ συνελκόμενον ἵστασθαι κατὰ γωνίαν ἐμποδὼν οὐκ ἐσόμενον πρὸς τὸ κατοπτεύεσθαι καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς ἐπισήμοις ἡμέραις. [129] κατὰ δὲ τὰς λοιπὰς καὶ μάλισθ' ὅταν ᾖ νιφετώδης προπεταννύμενον στεγανὸν ἐποίει τὸ ἐκ τῶν βαμμάτων ὕφος: ὅθεν δὴ παρέμεινε τὸ ἔθος καὶ τὸν ναὸν οἰκοδομησαμένων ἡμῶν, ὥστε τὴν σινδόνα τοιουτότροπον περικεῖσθαι ταῖς εἰσόδοις. [130] δέκα δὲ ἄλλα φάρση πηχῶν τὸ πλάτος τεσσάρων τὸ δὲ μῆκος ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι, χρυσείους ἔχοντα γιγλύμους ἐπὶ συναφῇ θηλείας τε καὶ ἄρρενος συνείλεκτο, ὡς ἓν εἶναι δοκεῖν, εἶτα ὑπερτεινόμενα τοῦ ναοῦ τό τ' ἐφύπερθεν ἐσκίαζε καὶ τῶν τοίχων τοὺς κατὰ πλευρὰν καὶ κατόπιν ἑστῶτας ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ὅσον πῆχυν ἀνέχοντα. [131] ἴσαι δὲ τῷ πλάτει καὶ ἄλλαι σινδόνες μιᾷ πλείους τὸν ἀριθμὸν τὸ δὲ μῆκος ὑπερβάλλουσαι, τριακονταπήχεις γὰρ ἦσαν, ὑφασμέναι δ' ἐκ τριχῶν ὁμοίως κατὰ λεπτουργίαν ταῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων πεποιημέναι ἐτέταντο μέχρι τῆς γῆς κεχυμέναι Κατὰ θύρας ἀετώματι παραπλήσιον καὶ παστάδι παρεῖχον, τοῦ ἑνδεκάτου φάρσους εἰς τοῦτο παρειλημμένου. [132] ἄλλαι δ' ἐπάνω τούτων ἐκ διφθερῶν κατεσκευασμέναι ὑπερῄεσαν σκέπη καὶ βοήθεια ταῖς ὑφανταῖς ἔν τε τοῖς καύμασι καὶ ὁπότε ὑετὸς εἴη γεγενημέναι. πολλὴ δ' ἔκπληξις ἐλάμβανε τοὺς πόρρωθεν θεωμένους: τὴν γὰρ χρόαν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν συμβαίνουσιν οὐδὲν ἐδόκουν διαφέρειν. [133] αἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς τριχὸς καὶ τῶν διφθερῶν πεποιημέναι κατῄεσαν ὁμοίως τῷ περὶ τὰς πύλας ὑφάσματι τό τε καῦμα καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὄμβρων ὕβριν ἀπομαχόμεναι. καὶ ἡ μὲν σκηνὴ τοῦτον πήγνυται τὸν τρόπον.

(5) [134] Γίνεται δὲ καὶ κιβωτὸς τῷ θεῷ ξύλων ἰσχυρῶν τὴν φύσιν καὶ σῆψιν παθεῖν οὐ δυναμένων: ἡ δ' ἐρὼν μὲν καλεῖται κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν γλῶτταν, ἡ δὲ κατασκευὴ τοιαύτη τις ἦν: [135] μῆκος μὲν ἦν αὐτῇ πέντε σπιθαμῶν, τὸ δ' εὖρος καὶ τὸ βάθος τριῶν σπιθαμῶν εἰς ἑκάτερον: χρυσῷ δὲ τά τ' ἐντὸς καὶ τὰ ἔξωθεν περιελήλατο πᾶσα, ὡς ἀποκεκρύφθαι τὴν ξύλωσιν, στρόφιγξί τε χρυσοῖς τὸ ἐπίθεμα προσηνωμένον εἶχε θαυμαστῶς, ὃ πανταχόθεν ἴσον ἦν κατ' οὐδέτερον μέρος ἐξοχαῖς τὴν εὐαρμοστίαν λυμαινόμενον. [136] καὶ καθ' ἑκάτερον δὲ τοῖχον τῶν ἐπιμηκεστέρων κρίκοι προσῆσαν χρυσοῖ δύο τοῦ παντὸς διήκοντες ξύλου, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἔνετοι σκυταλίδες ἐπίχρυσοι καθ' ἑκάτερον τοῖχον, ὡς ἂν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὁπότε δεήσειεν ἄγοιτο κινουμένη: οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ ζεύγους ἐκομίζετο, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων ἐφέρετο. [137] τῷ δὲ ἐπιθέματι αὐτῆς ἦσαν πρόστυποι δύο, Χερουβεῖς μὲν αὐτοὺς Ἑβραῖοι καλοῦσι, ζῷα δέ ἐστι πετεινὰ μορφὴν δ' οὐδενὶ τῶν ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ἑωραμένων παραπλήσια, Μωυσῆς δέ φησι τῷ θρόνῳ τοῦ θεοῦ προστυπεῖς ἑωρακέναι. [138] ταύτῃ τὰς δύο πλάκας, ἐν αἷς τοὺς δέκα λόγους συγγεγράφθαι συμβεβήκει ἀνὰ πέντε μὲν εἰς ἑκατέραν ἀνὰ δύο δὲ καὶ ἥμισυ κατὰ μέτωπον, ἐγκατέθετο. καὶ ταύτην ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ κατατίθησιν.

(6) [139] Ἐν δὲ τῷ ναῷ τράπεζαν ἱδρύεται Δελφικαῖς παραπλησίαν τὸ μῆκος μὲν δύο πηχῶν, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ἑνὸς πήχεως καὶ σπιθαμῶν τριῶν τὸ ὕψος. ἦσαν δ' αὐτῇ πόδες τὰ μὲν ἐξ ἡμίσους ἕως τῶν κάτω τελέως ἐξηρτισμένοι οἷς Δωριεῖς προστιθέασι ταῖς κλίναις ἐμφερεῖς, τὸ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀνατεῖνον τετράγωνοι τῇ ἐργασίᾳ. [140] κοιλαίνεται δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον πλευρὸν κοιλαίνουσά πως κατὰ παλαιστὴν τὸ ἔδαφος ἕλικος περιθεούσης τό τε ἄνω καὶ τὸ κάτω μέρος τοῦ σώματος, καθ' ἕκαστον δὲ τῶν ποδῶν καὶ ταύτῃ ἐλήλατο κρίκος οὐκ ἄπωθεν τοῦ ἐπιθέματος, δι' ὧν ἦεσαν στελεοὶ χρύσεοι ξύλου τἄνερθεν ὄντες, οὐκ ἐξαίρετοι: [141] κοῖλον γὰρ εἶχεν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὸ κατὰ τοὺς κρίκους κοινωθέντας: οὐδὲ γάρ εἰσι διηνεκεῖς, ἀλλὰ πρὶν συνελθεῖν εἰς τὸ ἄπειρον εἰς περονίδας τὴν ἀρχὴν τελευτῶντες, ὧν ἡ μὲν εἰς τὸ προανέχον ἐμβαίνει τῆς τραπέζης, ἡ δὲ εἰς τὸν πόδα: καὶ τούτοις κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐκομίζετο. [142] ἐπὶ ταύτης, ἐτίθετο γὰρ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τετραμμένη πρὸς ἄρκτον οὐ πόρρω τοῦ μυχοῦ, διετίθεσαν ἄρτους τε δώδεκα ἀζύμους κατὰ ἓξ ἐπαλλήλους καθαροῦ πάνυ τοῦ ἀλεύρου ἐκ δύο ἀσσάρων, ὃ μέτρον Ἑβραίων ἑπτὰ κοτύλας Ἀττικὰς ἔχει. [143] ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν ἄρτων ἐτίθεντο φιάλαι δύο χρύσεαι λιβάνου πλήρεις, μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ πάλιν ἄλλοι ἐκομίζοντο [ἄρτοι] ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ ὑφ' ἡμῶν Σαββάτῳ: τὴν γὰρ ἑβδόμην ἡμέραν Σάββατα καλοῦμεν: τὴν δ' αἰτίαν ἐξ ἧς ταῦτα ἐπενοήθησαν ἐν ἑτέροις ἐροῦμεν.

(7) [144] Κατὰ πρόσωπον δὲ τῆς τραπέζης τῷ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τετραμμένῳ τοίχῳ πλησίον ἵσταται λυχνία ἐκ χρυσοῦ κεχωνευμένη διάκενος σταθμὸν ἔχουσα μνᾶς ἑκατόν: Ἑβραῖοι μὲν καλοῦσι κίγχαρες, εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν μεταβαλλόμενον γλῶτταν σημαίνει τάλαντον. [145] πεποίηται δὲ σφαιρία καὶ κρίνα σὺν ῥοίσκοις καὶ κρατηριδίοις, ἑβδομήκοντα δ' ἦν τὰ πάντα, ἐξ ὧν ἀπὸ μιᾶς βάσεως συνετέθη πρὸς ὕψος, ποιήσαντος αὐτὴν συγκειμένην εἰς μοίρας εἰς ὅσας τοὺς πλανήτας καὶ τὸν ἥλιον κατανέμουσιν. [146] ἀπαρτίζεται δὲ εἰς ἑπτὰ κεφαλὰς καταλλήλας ἐν στίχῳ διακειμένας. λύχνοι δ' ἐπιφέρονται αὐταῖς ἑπτὰ κατὰ μίαν τῶν πλανητῶν τὸν ἀριθμὸν μεμιμημένοι, ὁρῶσι δὲ εἵς τε τὴν ἀνατολὴν καὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν λοξῶς αὐτῆς κειμένης.

(8) [147] Μεταξὺ δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς τραπέζης ἔνδον, ὡς προεῖπον, θυμιατήριον ξύλινον μέν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὰ πρότερα ἦν σκεύη μὴ σηπόμενα, στερεὰ δὲ περιελήλατ' αὐτῷ λεπίς, πηχυαῖον μὲν κατὰ πλευρὰν ἑκάστην τὸ πλάτος ὕψος δὲ διπλάσιον. [148] ἐπῆν τε ἐσχάρα χρυσεία ὑπερανεστῶσα ἔχουσα κατὰ γωνίαν ἑκάστην στέφανον καὶ τοῦτον δ' ἐκπεριοδεύοντα χρύσεον, ᾗ καὶ κρίκοι καὶ σκυταλίδες προσῆσαν, αἷς κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων ἐφέρετο. [149] ἵδρυτο δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς βωμὸς χάλκεος ὑπόξυλος καὶ αὐτὸς ἑκάστην πλευρὰν πέντε πήχεσιν ἐκμεμετρημένος, τὸ δὲ ὕψος τρίπηχυς, ὁμοίως τῷ χρυσῷ κεκοσμημένος, χαλκείαις λεπίσιν ἐξησκημένος, δικτύῳ τὴν ἐσχάραν ἐμφερής: ἐξεδέχετο γὰρ ἡ γῆ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάρας πῦρ καταφερόμενον τῆς βάσεως διὰ

παντὸς οὐχ ὑποκειμένης. [150] ἀντικρὺ δ᾽ ἐτίθεντο τοῦ χρυσέου οἰνοχόαι τε καὶ φιάλαι σὺν θυίσκαις καὶ κρατῆρσιν ἦσαν ὅσα τε ἄλλα πρὸς τὰς ἱερουργίας πεποίητο χρύσεα πάντα ὑπῆρχε. καὶ ἡ μὲν σκηνὴ τοιαύτη τε ἦν καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν σκεύη.

VII

(1) [151] Γίνονται δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι στολαὶ πᾶσί τε τοῖς ἄλλοις, οὓς χαναναίας καλοῦσι, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, ὃν ἀραβάχην προσαγορεύουσι: σημαίνει δὲ ἀρχιερέα. Τὴν μὲν οὖν τῶν ἄλλων στολὴν τοιαύτην εἶναι συμβέβηκεν. [152] ὅταν δὲ προσίῃ ταῖς ἱερουργίαις ὁ ἱερεὺς ἡγνευκὼς ἦν ὁ νόμος ἁγνείαν προαγορεύει, πρῶτον μὲν περιτίθεται τὸν μαναχάσην λεγόμενον: βούλεται δὲ τοῦτο συνακτῆρα μὲν δηλοῦν, διάζωμα δ᾽ ἐστὶ περὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα ῥαπτὸν ἐκ βύσσου κλωστῆς εἰργασμένον ἐμβαινόντων εἰς αὐτὸ τῶν ποδῶν ὥσπερ εἰς ἀναξυρίδας, ἀποτέμνεται δὲ ὑπὲρ ἥμισυ καὶ τελευτῆσαν ἄχρι τῆς λαγόνος περὶ αὐτὴν ἀποσφίγγεται.

(2) [153] Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ λίνεον ἔνδυμα διπλῆς φορεῖ σινδόνος βυσσίνης, χεθομένη μὲν καλεῖται, λίνεον δὲ τοῦτο σημαίνει: χέθον γὰρ τὸ λίνον ἡμεῖς καλοῦμεν. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔνδυμα ποδήρης χιτὼν περιγεγραμμένος τῷ σώματι καὶ τὰς χειρῖδας περὶ τοῖς βραχίοσιν κατεσφιγμένος, [154] ὃν ἐπιζώννυνται κατὰ στῆθος ὀλίγον τῆς μασχάλης ὑπεράνω τὴν ζώνην περιάγοντες πλατεῖαν μὲν ὡς εἰς τέσσαρας δακτύλους, διακένως δ᾽ ὑφασμένην ὥστε λεβηρίδα δοκεῖν ὄφεως: ἄνθη δ᾽ εἰς αὐτὴν ἐνύφανται φοίνικι καὶ πορφύρᾳ μετὰ ὑακίνθου καὶ βύσσου πεποικιλμένα, στήμων δ᾽ ἐστὶ μόνη βύσσος. [155] καὶ λαβοῦσα τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἑλίξεως κατὰ στέρνον καὶ περιελθοῦσα πάλιν δεῖται, καὶ κέχυται μὲν πολλὴ μέχρι καὶ τῶν σφυρῶν ἕως οὗ μηδὲν ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐνεργεῖ, πρὸς γὰρ εὐπρέπειαν οὕτως ἔχει τοῖς ὁρῶσι καλῶς, ὅταν δὲ σπουδάζειν περὶ τὰς θυσίας δέῃ καὶ διακονεῖν, ὅπως μὴ κινουμένης ἐμποδίζηται πρὸς τὸ ἔργον, ἀναβαλόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν λαιὸν ὦμον φέρει. [156] Μωυσῆς μὲν οὖν ἀβαίθ αὐτὴν ἐκάλεσεν, ἡμεῖς δὲ παρὰ Βαβυλωνίων μεμαθηκότες ἐμίαν αὐτὴν καλοῦμεν: οὕτως γὰρ προσαγορεύεται παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς. οὗτος ὁ χιτὼν κολποῦται μὲν οὐδαμόθεν, λαγαρὸν δὲ παρέχων τὸν βροχωτῆρα τοῦ αὐχένος ἀρπεδόσιν ἐκ τῆς ὤας καὶ τῶν κατὰ στέρνον καὶ μετάφρενον ἠρτημέναις ἀναδεῖται ὑπὲρ ἑκατέραν κατακλεῖδα: μασσαβάνης καλεῖται.

(3) [157] Ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς φορεῖ πῖλον ἄκωνον οὐ διικνούμενον εἰς πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἀλλ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ὀλίγον ὑπερβεβηκότα μέσης: καλεῖται μὲν μασναεφθῆς, τῇ δὲ κατασκευῇ τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ὡς στεφάνη δοκεῖν ἐξ ὑφάσματος λινέου ταινία πεποιημένη παχεῖα: καὶ γὰρ ἐπιπτυσσόμενον ῥάπτεται πολλάκις. [158] ἔπειτα σινδὼν ἄνωθεν αὐτὸν ἐκπεριέρχεται διήκουσα μέχρι μετώπου τήν τε ῥαφὴν τῆς ταινίας καὶ τὸ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἀπρεπὲς καλύπτουσα καὶ ὅλη δὲ τῷ κρανίῳ γιγνομένη

ἐπίπεδον: ἥρμοσται δὲ ἀκριβῶς, ὡς ἂν μὴ περιρρυείη πονοῦντος περὶ τὴν ἱερουργίαν. καὶ ὁποία μέν ἐστιν ἡ τῶν πολλῶν ἱερέων στολὴ δεδηλώκαμεν.

(4) [159] Ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς κοσμεῖται μὲν καὶ ταύτῃ παραλιπὼν οὐδὲν τῶν προειρημένων, ἐπενδυσάμενος δ' ἐξ ὑακίνθου πεποιημένον χιτῶνα, ποδήρης δ' ἐστὶ καὶ οὗτος, μεεὶρ καλεῖται κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν γλῶσσαν, ζώνῃ περισφίγγεται βάμμασιν οἷς ἡ πρότερον ἥνθει διαπεποικιλμένῃ χρυσοῦ συνυφασμένου: [160] κατὰ πέζαν δ' αὐτῷ προσερραμμένοι θύσανοι ῥοῶν τρόπον ἐκ βαφῆς μεμιμημένοι ἀπήρτηντο καὶ κώδωνες χρύσεοι κατὰ πολλὴν ἐπιτήδευσιν τῆς εὐπρεπείας, ὥστε μέσον ἀπολαμβάνεσθαι δυοῖν τε κωδώνοιν ῥοίσκον, καὶ ῥοῶν κωδώνιον. [161] ἔστι δ' ὁ χιτὼν οὗτος οὐκ ἐκ δυοῖν περιτμημάτων, ὥστε ῥαπτὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων εἶναι καὶ τῶν παρὰ πλευράν, φάρσος δ' ἓν ἐπίμηκες ὑφασμένον σχιστὸν ἔχει βροχωτῆρα πλάγιον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μῆκος ἐρρωγότα πρός τε τὸ στέρνον καὶ μέσον τὸ μετάφρενον: πέζα δ' αὐτῷ προσέρραπται ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ διελέγχεσθαι τῆς τομῆς τὴν δυσπρέπειαν: ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὅθεν αἱ χεῖρες διείργονται σχιστός ἐστιν.

(5) [162] Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τρίτον ἐνδύεται τὸν λεγόμενον μὲν ἐφώδην, Ἑλληνικῇ δ' ἐπωμίδι προσεοικότα: γίνεται γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. ὑφανθεὶς ἐπὶ βάθος πηχυαῖον ἔκ τε χρωμάτων παντοίων καὶ χρυσοῦ συμπεποικιλμένος ἀπερίπτυκτον τοῦ στέρνου τὸ μέσον καταλιμπάνει χειρῖσι τε ἠσκημένος καὶ τῷ παντὶ σχήματι χιτὼν εἶναι πεποιημένος. [163] τῷ δὲ διακένῳ τοῦ ἐνδύματος σύνεισι περίτμημα σπιθαμῆς τὸ μέγεθος χρυσῷ τε καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τῷ ἐφώδῃ βάμμασι διηνθισμένον: ἐσσὴν μὲν καλεῖται, σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶτταν λόγιον: [164] πληροῖ δὲ ἀκριβῶς τοῦ ἐφώδου ὅπερ ὑφαίνοντες κατὰ στῆθος ἐξέλιπον, ἐνοῦται δ' ὑπὸ κρίκων χρυσέων αὐτῷ τε κατὰ γωνίαν ἑκάστην κἀκείνῳ τῶν ἴσων προσκεκοινωμένων, ῥάμματος ὑακίνθου παραληφθέντος εἰς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατάδεσιν τοῖς κρίκοις. [165] πρὸς δὲ τὸ μὴ χαλαρὸν εἶναι τὸ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν κρίκων καταλιμπανόμενον ῥαφὴν αὐτοῦ νήμασιν ὑακινθίνοις ἐπενόησαν. πορποῦσι δὲ τὴν ἐπωμίδα σαρδόνυχες δύο κατὰ τῶν ὤμων ἑκάτερον τέλος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπιθέον χρύσεον ἔχοντες πρὸς τὸ ταῖς περονίσιν ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι. [166] ἐγγέγραπται δὲ τούτοις τῶν Ἰακώβου παίδων τὰ ὀνόματα γράμμασιν ἐπιχωρίοις γλώσσῃ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ κατὰ ἓξ τῶν λίθων ἑκατέρῳ, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι δ' εἰσὶ κατὰ ὦμον τὸν δεξιόν. ἐπίασι δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐσσήνην λίθοι δώδεκα μεγέθει καὶ κάλλει διαφέροντες οὐ κτητὸς ἀνθρώποις κόσμος διὰ τιμῆς ὑπερβολὴν ὄντες: [167] οὗτοι μέντοι κατὰ στίχον τρεῖς ἐπὶ τεσσάρων διακείμενοι γραμμῶν ἐνήσκηνται τῷ ὕφει, χρυσὸς δ' αὐτοὺς ἐκπεριέρχεται τὰς ἕλικας ἐντιθεὶς τῷ ὕφει πρὸς τὸ μὴ διαρρεῖν οὕτως πεποιημένος. [168] καὶ ἡ μὲν πρώτη τριάς ἐστι σαρδόνυξ τόπαζος σμάραγδος, ἡ δευτέρα δὲ ἄνθρακα παρέχεται καὶ ἴασπιν καὶ σάπφειρον, τῆς δὲ τρίτης λίγυρος μὲν ἄρχει εἶτα ἀμέθυσος ἀχάτης δὲ τρίτος ἔνατος ὢν τοῖς πᾶσι, τετάρτου δὲ στίχου χρυσόλιθος μὲν πρόκειται, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ὄνυξ, εἶτα

βήρυλλος, τελευταῖος οὗτος. [169] γράμματα δὲ ἐπετέτμητο πᾶσι τῶν Ἰακώβου υἱῶν, οὓς καὶ φυλάρχους νομίζομεν, ἑκάστου τῶν λίθων ὀνόματι τετιμημένου κατὰ τάξιν ἣν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν γενέσθαι συμβέβηκε. [170] τῶν οὖν κρίκων ἀσθενῶν ὄντων κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐνεγκεῖν τὸ βάρος τῶν λίθων ἑτέρους δύο κρίκους μείζονας τῇ πέζῃ τοῦ ἐσσήνου ᾗπερ ἀνήκει πρὸς τὸν τράχηλον ἐμβεβηκότας τῷ ὑφάσματι ποιοῦσι, δεξομένους ἁλύσεις εἰργασμένας, αἳ συνῆσαν κατ᾽ ἄκρον τῶν ὤμων σειραῖς ἐκ χρυσοῦ πεπλεγμέναις συνάπτουσαι, ὧν τὸ ἄκρον ἀνεστραμμένον ἐνέβαινε κρίκῳ προέχοντι τῆς νωτιαίας πέζης τοῦ ἐφώδου. [171] καὶ τοῦτο ἦν ἀσφάλεια τῷ ἐσσήνῃ πρὸς τὸ μὴ περιρρεῖν, ζώνη δὲ τῷ ἐσσήνῃ προσέρραπτο βάμμασιν οἷς προεῖπον μετὰ χρυσίου προσφερής, ἣ περιοδεύσασα δεῖται πάλιν ἐπὶ τῇ ῥαφῇ καὶ κατακρεμνᾶται: τοὺς δὲ θυσάνους χρύσεαι σύριγγες καθ᾽ ἑκατέραν ἄκραν ἐκλαβοῦσαι πάντας ἐμπεριέχουσιν αὗται.

(6) [172] Πῖλον δὲ ἦν ὁ καὶ πρότερον αὐτῷ παραπλησίως εἰργασμένος τοῖς πᾶσιν ἱερεῦσιν, ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν δὲ συνερραμμένος ἕτερος ἐξ ὑακίνθου πεποικιλμένος περιέρχεται στέφανος χρύσεος ἐπὶ τριστιχίαν κεχαλκευμένος. θάλλει δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ κάλυξ χρύσεος τῇ σακχάρῳ βοτάνῃ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν λεγομένῃ ἀπομεμιμημένος, ὑὸς δὲ κύαμον Ἑλλήνων οἱ περὶ τομὰς ῥιζῶν ἐμπείρως ἔχοντες προσαγορεύουσιν. [173] εἰ δέ τις ἢ θεασάμενος τὴν βοτάνην ἀμαθίᾳ τούτου ἀγνοεῖ τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς ἢ τὴν κλῆσιν ἐπιστάμενος οὐκ ἰδὼν δ᾽ ἀναγνωρίσειε, τοῖς οὕτω δὴ ἔχουσι σημανῶ τὸν τρόπον: [174] βοτάνη μέν ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τρεῖς σπιθαμὰς πολλάκις αὐξανομένη τὸ ὕψος, τὴν δὲ ῥίζαν ἐμφερὴς βουνιάδι, ταύτῃ γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοι τις εἰκάζων αὐτήν, τὰ δὲ φύλλα τοῖς εὐζώμων: ἐκ μέντοι τῶν κλάδων ἀνίησι κάλυκα προσεχῆ τῷ κλωνί, περίεισι δ᾽ αὐτὴν ἔλυτρον, ὅπερ ἀποκρίνεται κατ᾽ αὐτὸ πρὸς τὸν καρπὸν μεταβαλεῖν ἠργμένης: ὁ δὲ κάλυξ μεγέθους ἐστὶ σκυταλίδος τοῦ μικροῦ δακτύλου, κρατῆρι δ᾽ ἐμφερὴς τὴν περιγραφήν. σημανῶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς οὐ μεμαθηκόσι: [175] σφαιρίδος εἰς δύο τετμημένης περὶ τῷ πυθμένι τὴν ἑτέραν τομὴν ἔχει φυόμενος ἀπὸ ῥίζης περιφερής: εἶτα συνιὼν κατ᾽ ὀλίγον ὑποκοιλαινούσης εὐπρεπῶς τῆς ὑποχωρήσεως ἀνευρύνεται πάλιν ἠρέμα κατὰ χεῖλος, ὁμοίως ὀμφαλῷ ῥοιᾶς τετμημένος. [176] ἐπίθεμα δ᾽ αὐτῷ ἡμισφαίριον προσπέφυκεν ἀκριβῶς ἂν εἴποι τις τετορνευμένον, ὑπερανεστώσας ἔχον τὰς ἐντομάς, ἃς εἶπον τῇ ῥοᾷ παραπλησίως βλαστάνειν, ἀκανθώδεις καὶ εἰς ὀξὺ παντελῶς ἀποληγούσας τὸ ἄκρον. [177] φυλάττει δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐπιθέματι τὸν καρπὸν διὰ παντὸς τοῦ κάλυκος ὄντα βοτάνης σπέρματι τῆς σιδηρίτιδος ὅμοιον, ἀφίησι δ᾽ ἄνθος τῷ τῆς μήκωνος πλαταγωνίῳ δυνάμενον δοκεῖν ἐμφερὲς εἶναι. [178] ἐκ τούτου μὲν στέφανος ἐκκεχάλκευται ὅσον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰνίου πρὸς ἑκάτερον τῶν κροτάφων. τὸ δὲ μέτωπον ἡ μὲν ἐφιελὶς οὐκ ἔπεισι, λεγέσθω γὰρ οὕτως ὁ κάλυξ, τελαμὼν δ᾽ ἐστὶ χρύσεος, ὃς ἱεροῖς γράμμασι τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐπιτετμημένος ἐστί. καὶ τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως κόσμος ἐστί.

(7) [179] Θαυμάσειε δ᾽ ἄν τις τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπέχθειαν, ἣν ὡς ἐκφαυλιζόντων ἡμῶν τὸ θεῖον ὅπερ αὐτοὶ σέβειν προῄρηνται διατετελέκασιν ἐσχηκότες: [180] εἰ γάρ τις τῆς σκηνῆς κατανοήσειε τὴν πῆξιν καὶ τοῦ ἱερέως ἴδοι τὴν στολὴν τά τε σκεύη, οἷς περὶ τὴν ἱερουργίαν χρώμεθα, τόν τε νομοθέτην εὑρήσει θεῖον ἄνδρα καὶ ματαίως ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τὰς βλασφημίας ἀκούοντας: ἕκαστα γὰρ τούτων εἰς ἀπομίμησιν καὶ διατύπωσιν τῶν ὅλων, εἴ τις ἀφθόνως ἐθέλοι καὶ μετὰ συνέσεως σκοπεῖν, εὑρήσει γεγονότα: [181] τήν τε γὰρ σκηνὴν τριάκοντα πηχῶν οὖσαν νείμας εἰς τρία καὶ δύο μέρη πᾶσιν ἀνεὶς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ὥσπερ βέβηλόν τινα καὶ κοινὸν τόπον, τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀποσημαίνει: καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα πᾶσίν ἐστιν ἐπιβατά. τὴν δὲ τρίτην μοῖραν μόνῳ περιέγραψε τῷ θεῷ διὰ τὸ καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνεπίβατον εἶναι ἀνθρώποις. [182] ἐπί τε τῇ τραπέζῃ τοὺς δώδεκα τιθεὶς ἄρτους ἀποσημαίνει τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς τοσούτους μῆνας διῃρημένον. τὴν δὲ λυχνίαν ἐξ ἑβδομήκοντα μορίων ποιήσας συγκειμένην τὰς τῶν πλανητῶν δεκαμοιρίας ᾐνίξατο: καὶ λύχνους ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἑπτά, τῶν πλανητῶν τὴν φοράν: τοσοῦτοι γάρ εἰσι τὸν ἀριθμόν. [183] τά τε φάρση ἐκ τεσσάρων ὑφανθέντα τὴν τῶν στοιχείων φύσιν δηλοῖ: ἥ τε γὰρ βύσσος τὴν γῆν ἀποσημαίνειν ἔοικε διὰ τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀνεῖσθαι τὸ λίνον, ἥ τε πορφύρα τὴν θάλασσαν τῷ πεφοινῖχθαι τῶν ἰχθύων τῷ αἵματι, τὸν δὲ ἀέρα βούλεται δηλοῦν ὁ ὑάκινθος, καὶ ὁ φοῖνιξ δ᾽ ἂν εἴη τεκμήριον τοῦ πυρός. [184] ἀποσημαίνει δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως χιτὼν τὴν γῆν λίνεος ὤν, ὁ δὲ ὑάκινθος τὸν πόλον, ἀστραπαῖς μὲν κατὰ τοὺς ῥοίσκους ἀπεικασμένος βρονταῖς δὲ κατὰ τὸν τῶν κωδώνων ψόφον. καὶ τὴν ἐφαπτίδα τοῦ παντὸς τὴν φύσιν ἐκ τεσσάρων δοχθεῖσαν γενέσθαι τῷ θεῷ χρυσῷ συνυφασμένην κατ᾽ ἐπίνοιαν οἶμαι τῆς προσούσης ἅπασιν αὐγῆς. [185] καὶ τὸν ἐσσῆνα μέσον ὄντα τῆς ἐφαπτίδος ἐν τρόπῳ γῆς ἔταξε: καὶ γὰρ αὕτη τὸν μεσαίτατον τόπον ἔχει: ζώνῃ τε περιοδεύσας τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἀποσημαίνει: καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἐμπεριείληφε τὰ πάντα. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην τῶν σαρδονύχων ἑκάτερος, οἷς ἐνεπόρπωσε τὸν ἀρχιερέα. [186] τήν τε δωδεκάδα τῶν λίθων εἴτε τοὺς μῆνάς τις θέλοι νοεῖν, εἴτε τὸν οὕτως [ἀριθμὸν τῶν] ἀστέρων, ὃν ζωδιακὸν κύκλον Ἕλληνες καλοῦσι, τῆς κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνο γνώμης οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοι: καὶ ὁ πῖλος δέ μοι δοκεῖ τὸν οὐρανὸν τεκμηριοῦν ὑακίνθινος πεποιημένος, [187] οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλως ὑπερανετίθετο αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ στεφάνῃ ἠγλαισμένον καὶ ταύτῃ χρυσέᾳ, διὰ τὴν αὐγήν, ᾗ μάλιστα χαίρει τὸ θεῖον. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτόν μοι δεδηλώσθω πολλάκις τε καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ νομοθέτου παρεξόντων ἡμῖν διελθεῖν τῶν πραγμάτων.

VIII

(1) [188] Ὡς δὲ τὸ προειρημένον πέρας εἶχε, τῶν ἀναθημάτων μήπω καθιερωμένων ἐπιστὰς ὁ θεὸς Μωυσεῖ τὴν ἱερωσύνην Ἀαρῶνι τἀδελφῷ

προσέταξε δοῦναι ὡς ἁπάντων δι᾽ ἀρετὴν τῆς τιμῆς δικαιοτέρῳ τυχεῖν. καὶ συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸ πλῆθος τήν τε ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν εὔνοιαν διεξῄει καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους οὓς ὑπομείνειεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. [189] μαρτυρούντων δ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἅπασιν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν πρόθυμον ἐνδεικνυμένων, "ἄνδρες, εἶπεν, Ἰσραηλῖται, τὸ μὲν ἔργον ἤδη τέλος ἔχει οἷον αὐτῷ τε τῷ θεῷ ἥδιστον ἦν καὶ δυνατὸν ἡμῖν, ἐπεὶ δὲ δεῖ τοῦτον τῇ σκηνῇ καταδέχεσθαι, δεῖ πρῶτον ἡμῖν τοῦ ἱερατευσομένου καὶ ὑπηρετήσοντος ταῖς θυσίαις καὶ ταῖς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν εὐχαῖς. [190] καὶ ἔγωγε ταύτης ἐμοὶ τῆς σκέψεως ἐπιτραπείσης ἐμαυτὸν ἂν τῆς τιμῆς ἄξιον ἔκρινα διά τε τὸ φύσει πάντας εἶναι φιλαύτους, καὶ ὅτι πολλὰ ἐμαυτῷ καμόντι περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς ὑμετέρας σύνοιδα: νῦν δ᾽ αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς Ἀαρῶνα τῆς τιμῆς ἄξιον ἔκρινε καὶ τοῦτον ᾑρηται ἱερέα, τὸν δικαιότερον ἡμῶν μᾶλλον εἰδώς, [191] ὡς οὗτος ἐνδύσεται στολὴν τῷ θεῷ καθωσιωμένην καὶ βωμῶν ἐπιμέλειαν ἕξει καὶ πρόνοιαν ἱερείων καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν εὐχὰς ποιήσεται πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἡδέως ἀκουσόμενον, ὅτι τε κήδεται γένους τοῦ ἡμετέρου καὶ παρ᾽ ἀνδρὸς ὃν αὐτὸς ἐπελέξατο [192] γινομένας προσδέχεται ταύτας." Ἑβραῖοι δὲ ἠρέσκοντο τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ συνῄνουν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ χειροτονίᾳ: ἦν γὰρ Ἀαρὼν διά τε τὸ γένος καὶ τὴν προφητείαν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τἀδελφοῦ πρὸς τιμὴν ἁπάντων ἀξιολογώτερος. ἦσαν δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ παῖδες κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον τέσσαρες Νάβαδος Ἀβιοῦς Ἐλεάζαρος Ἰθάμαρος.

(2) [193] Ὅσα δὲ τῶν πρὸς τὴν τῆς σκηνῆς κατασκευὴν παρεσκευασμένων ἦν περιττὰ ταῦτ᾽ ἐκέλευσεν εἰς φάρση σκεπαστήρια τῆς τε σκηνῆς αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς λυχνίας καὶ τοῦ θυμιατηρίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σκευῶν ἀναλῶσαι, ὅπως κατὰ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ταῦτα μήτ᾽ ἐξ ὑετοῦ μηδὲν μήτ᾽ ἐκ κονιορτοῦ βλάπτηται. [194] τό τε πλῆθος ἀθροίσας πάλιν εἰσφορὰν αὐτῷ προσέταξεν εἰσφέρειν σίκλου τὸ ἥμισυ καθ᾽ ἕκαστον, [195] ὁ δὲ σίκλος νόμισμα Ἑβραίων ὢν Ἀττικὰς δέχεται δραχμὰς τέσσαρας: [196] οἱ δ᾽ ἑτοίμως ὑπήκουον οἷς ἐκέλευσε Μωυσῆς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν εἰσφερόντων ἦν ἑξήκοντα μυριάδες καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι καὶ πεντήκοντα. ἔφερον δὲ τὸ ἀργύριον τῶν ἐλευθέρων οἱ ἀπὸ εἴκοσι ἐτῶν ἄχρι πεντήκοντα γεγονότες. τὸ δὲ συγκομισθὲν εἰς τὰς περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν χρείας ἀναλοῦτο.

(3) [197] Ἥγνιζε δὲ καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τοὺς ἱερέας τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ποιούμενος αὐτῶν τὴν κάθαρσιν. σμύρνης ἐπιλέκτου σίκλους πεντακοσίους καὶ ἴρεως ἴσους, κινναμώμου δὲ καὶ καλάμου, ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο εἶδος θυμιάματος, ἡμίσειαν τῶν πρότερον ὁλκὴν κεκομμένα δεύειν ἐκέλευσεν, ἐλαίου τε ἐλαίνου εἴν, μέτρον δ᾽ ἐστὶ τοῦτο ἐπιχώριον δύο χόας Ἀττικοὺς δεχόμενον, ἀναμίξαντας καὶ καθεψήσαντας σκευάσαι τέχνῃ μυρεψῶν χρῖσμα εὐωδέστατον. [198] κἄπειτα τοῦτο λαβὼν αὐτούς τε τοὺς ἱερέας καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν σκηνὴν χρίων κεκάθαρκε, τά τε θυμιώμενα, πολλὰ δ᾽ ἐστὶ ταῦτα καὶ ποικίλα, κατὰ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ θυμιατηρίου μεγάλης πάνυ τιμῆς ὄντα συνεφέρετο, ὧν παραλείπω τὴν φύσιν

ἐκδιηγεῖσθαι, μὴ δι᾽ ὄχλου γένηται τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι. [199] δὶς δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας πρίν τε ἀνασχεῖν τὸν ἥλιον καὶ πρὸς δυσμαῖς θυμιᾶν ἐχρῆν ἔλαιόν τε ἀγνίσαντας φυλάσσειν εἰς τοὺς λύχνους, ὧν τοὺς μὲν τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῇ ἱερᾷ λυχνίᾳ φέγγειν ἔδει τῷ θεῷ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς περὶ τὴν ἑσπέραν ἅπτοντας.

(4) [200] Ἁπάντων δ᾽ ἤδη πέρας εἰληφότων ἔδοξαν ἄριστοι τῶν δημιουργῶν Βεσέβηλος καὶ Ἐλίαβος, τῶν γὰρ ἐξευρημένων τοῖς προτέροις αὐτοὶ προεθυμήθησαν ἀμείνονα προσεξεργάσασθαι, λαβεῖν τε ἐπίνοιαν ὧν πρότερον ἠγνόουν τὴν κατασκευὴν ἱκανώτατοι: [201] τούτων μέντοι Βεσέβηλον συνέβη κριθῆναι τὸν κράτιστον. ὁ δὲ πᾶς χρόνος εἰς τὸ ἔργον διῆλθε μηνῶν ἑπτὰ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀφ᾽ οὗ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐξέλιπον ἐνιαυτὸς αὐτοῖς πρῶτος ἐτελειοῦτο. ἀρχομένου δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου ἔτους μηνὶ Ξανθικῷ κατὰ Μακεδόνας Νισὰν δὲ κατὰ Ἑβραίους νουμηνίᾳ τὴν σκηνὴν ἀφιεροῦσι καὶ πάνθ᾽ ὅσα περὶ αὐτὴν σκεύη μοι δεδήλωται.

(5) [202] Ἐπέδειξε δὲ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ἡσθέντα τῷ ἔργῳ τῶν Ἑβραίων καὶ μὴ μάτην αὐτοὺς πονήσαντας ὑπερηφανίᾳ τῆς χρήσεως, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεξενώθη καὶ κατεσκήνωσε τῷ ναῷ τούτῳ. τὴν δὲ παρουσίαν οὕτως ἐποίησεν: [203] ὁ μὲν οὐρανὸς καθαρὸς ἦν, ὑπὲρ δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν μόνην ἤχλυσεν οὔτε βαθεῖ πάνυ νέφει καὶ πυκνῷ περιλαβὼν αὐτήν, ὥστ᾽ εἶναι δόξαι χειμέριον, οὔτε μὴν λεπτὸν οὕτως, ὥστε τὴν ὄψιν ἰσχύσαι τι δι᾽ αὐτοῦ κατανοῆσαι: ἠδεῖα δὲ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ δρόσος ἔρρει καὶ θεοῦ δηλοῦσα παρουσίαν τοῖς τοῦτο καὶ βουλομένοις καὶ πεπιστευκόσι.

(6) [204] Μωυσῆς δὲ τοὺς τέκτονας οἵαις εἰκὸς ἦν δωρεαῖς τοὺς τοιαῦτα ἐργασαμένους τιμήσας ἔθυεν ἐν τῷ τῆς σκηνῆς αἰθρίῳ κατὰ προσταγὴν θεοῦ ταῦρον καὶ κριὸν καὶ ἔριφον ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτάδων, [205] καὶ δὴ, λέγειν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς περὶ θυσιῶν μέλλω τὰ πρασσόμενα περὶ τὰς ἱερουργίας ἐν ἐκείνοις δηλώσων περί τε ὧν ὁλοκαυτεῖν κελεύει καὶ ὧν μεταλαμβάνειν τῆς βρώσεως ἐφίησιν ὁ νόμος, κἀκ τοῦ αἵματος τῶν τεθυμένων τήν τε στολὴν τοῦ Ἀαρῶνος καὶ αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς παισὶν ἔρραινεν ἀφαγνίσας πηγαίοις τε ὕδασι καὶ μύρῳ, ἵνα τοῦ θεοῦ γίγνοιντο. [206] ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον αὐτούς τε καὶ τὰς στολὰς ἐθεράπευε τήν τε σκηνὴν καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν σκεύη ἐλαίῳ τε προσχριομένῳ, καθὼς εἶπον, καὶ τῷ αἵματι τῶν ταύρων καὶ κριῶν σφαγέντων καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἑνὸς κατὰ γένος, τῇ δὲ ὀγδόῃ κατήγγειλεν ἑορτὴν τῷ λαῷ καὶ θύειν προσέταξε κατὰ δύναμιν. [207] οἱ δ᾽ ἀλλήλοις ἀμιλλώμενοι καὶ ὑπερβάλλειν φιλοτιμούμενοι τὰς θυσίας, ἃς ἕκαστος ἐπιφέροι, τοῖς λεγομένοις ὑπήκουον. ἐπικειμένων δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν τῷ βωμῷ αἰφνίδιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ πῦρ ἀνήφθη αὐτόματον, καὶ ὅμοιον ἀστραπῆς λαμπηδόνι ὁρώμενον τῇ φλογὶ πάντα ἐδαπάνα τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ.

(7) [208] Συνέβη δὲ καὶ Ἀαρῶνι συμφορά τις ἐκ τούτου λογιζομένῳ ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ πατρί, γενναίως δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καρτερηθεῖσα, ὅτι καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν πρὸς τὰ συμπίπτοντα στερρὸς ἦν καὶ κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ ἠγεῖτο τὸ πάθος

γεγονέναι: [209] τῶν γὰρ υἱῶν αὐτοῦ τεσσάρων ὄντων, ὡς προεῖπον, δύο οἱ πρεσβύτεροι Νάβαδος καὶ Ἀβιοῦς κομίσαντες ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν οὐχ ὧν προεῖπε Μωυσῆς θυμάτων, ἀλλ᾽ οἷς ἐχρῶντο πρότερον, κατεκαύθησαν τοῦ πυρὸς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς τὴν ὁρμὴν βαλόντος καὶ τὰ στέρνα καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα φλέγειν αὐτῶν ἀρξαμένου καὶ σβέσαι μηδενὸς δυναμένου. [210] καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἀπέθανον: Μωυσῆς δὲ κελεύει τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς βαστάξαντας τὰ σώματα καὶ κομίσαντας τῆς παρεμβολῆς ἔξω θάψαι μεγαλοπρεπῶς. πενθεῖ δὲ αὐτοὺς τὸ πλῆθος χαλεπῶς ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ παρὰ δόξαν οὕτω γεγενημένῳ διατεθέν. [211] μόνους δὲ Μωυσῆς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν πατέρα μὴ φροντίζειν τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς λύπης ἠξίωσε προκρίναντας τὴν εἰς τὸν θεὸν τιμὴν τοῦ περὶ αὐτοὺς σκυθρωποῦ: ἤδη γὰρ Ἀαρὼν καὶ τὴν στολὴν τὴν ἱερὰν ἠμφίεστο.

(8) [212] Μωυσῆς δὲ πᾶσαν τιμὴν παραιτησάμενος, ἣν ἑώρα τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν ἕτοιμον, πρὸς μόνῃ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ θεραπείᾳ διετέλει. καὶ τῶν μὲν εἰς τὸ Σιναῖον ἀνόδων ἀπείχετο, εἰς δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν εἰσιὼν ἐχρηματίζετο περὶ ὧν ἐδεῖτο παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἰδιωτεύων καὶ τῇ στολῇ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄγων ἑαυτὸν δημοτικώτερον καὶ μηδὲν βουλόμενος τῶν πολλῶν διαφέρειν δοκεῖν, ἢ μόνῳ τῷ προνοούμενος αὐτῶν βλέπεσθαι. [213] ἔτι δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ νόμους αὐτῶν ἔγραφε, καθ᾽ οὓς κεχαρισμένως τῷ θεῷ βιώσονται μηδὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐγκαλεῖν ἔχοντες: ταῦτα μέντοι κατὰ τὴν ὑπαγόρευσιν τοῦ θεοῦ συνετάττετο. διέξειμι μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῶν νόμων.

(9) [214] Ὃ μέντοι περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως στολῆς παρέλιπον διελθεῖν βούλομαι: οὐδαμόθεν γὰρ προφητῶν κακουργίαις κατέλιπεν ἀφορμήν, εἰ δέ τινες τοιοῦτοι γένοιντο παρεγχειρεῖν τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀξιώματι, αὐτοκράτορα δ᾽ εἶναι τὸν θεὸν παρατυγχάνειν τοῖς ἱεροῖς κατέλιπεν ὁπότε θελήσειε καὶ μὴ παρεῖναι, καὶ τοῦτ᾽ οὐχ Ἑβραίοις δῆλον εἶναι μόνον ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ξένων τοῖς παρατυγχάνουσι. [215] τῶν γὰρ λίθων, οὓς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὤμοις φέρειν τὸν ἀρχιερέα προεῖπον, σαρδόνυχες δὲ ἦσαν καὶ σημαίνειν αὐτῶν τὴν φύσιν ἡγοῦμαι περισσὸν πᾶσιν εἰς γνῶσιν ἀφιγμένων, συνέβαινε λάμπειν, ὁπότε ταῖς ἱερουργίαις ὁ θεὸς παρείη, τὸν ἕτερον τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ τῶν ὤμων πεπορπημένον αὐγῆς ἀποπηδώσης καὶ τοῖς πορρωτάτω φαινομένης, οὐ πρότερον ταύτης ὑπαρχούσης τῷ λίθῳ. [216] θαυμαστὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς μὴ τὴν σοφίαν ἐπ᾽ ἐκφαυλισμῷ τῶν θείων ἠσκηκόσιν, ὃ δ᾽ ἐστὶ τούτου θαυμασιώτερον ἐρῶ: διὰ γὰρ τῶν δώδεκα λίθων, οὓς κατὰ στέρνον ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐνερραμμένους τῷ ἐσσῆνι φορεῖ, νίκην μέλλουσι πολεμεῖν προεμήνυεν ὁ θεός: [217] τοσαύτη γὰρ ἀπήστραπτεν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν αὐγὴ μήπω τῆς στρατιᾶς κεκινημένης, ὡς τῷ πλήθει παντὶ γνώριμον εἶναι τὸ παρεῖναι τὸν θεὸν εἰς τὴν ἐπικουρίαν, ὅθεν Ἕλληνες οἱ τὰ ἡμέτερα τιμῶντες ἔθη διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἀντιλέγειν δύνασθαι τούτοις τὸν ἐσσῆνα λόγιον καλοῦσιν. [218] ἐπαύσατο μὲν οὖν ὅ τε ἐσσὴν καὶ ὁ σαρδόνυξ τοῦ λάμπειν ἔτεσι διακοσίοις πρότερον ἢ ταύτην ἐμὲ συνθεῖναι τὴν γραφὴν τοῦ θεοῦ

δυσχεράναντος ἐπὶ τῇ παραβάσει τῶν νόμων, περὶ ὧν ἐροῦμεν εὐκαιρότερον. τρέψομαι δὲ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἑξῆς λόγον.

(10) [219] Καθιερωμένης γὰρ δὴ τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ διακεκοσμημένων τῶν περὶ τοὺς ἱερέας τό τε πλῆθος ὁμόσκηνον αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν ἔκρινεν εἶναι καὶ τρέπεται πρὸς θυσίας τε καὶ ἀνέσεις ὡς ἅπασαν ἤδη κακοῦ προσδοκίαν ἀπεωσμένον, καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ὡς ἀμεινόνων ἐπιθυμοῦντες δωρεάς τε τῷ θεῷ τὰς μὲν κοινῇ τὰς δὲ κατ᾽ ἰδίαν ἀνετίθεσαν κατὰ φυλάς: [220] οἵ τε γὰρ φύλαρχοι κατὰ δύο συνελθόντες ἅμαξαν καὶ δύο βόας προσκομίζουσιν: ἓξ μὲν οὖν ἦσαν αὗται καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις παρεκόμιζον. πρὸς τούτοις ἕκαστος φιάλην τε κομίζει καὶ τρύβλιον καὶ θυίσκην, τὴν μὲν δαρεικοὺς δέκα δυναμένην καὶ πλήρη θυμιαμάτων: [221] τὸ δὲ τρύβλιον καὶ ἡ φιάλη, ἀργυρᾶ δὲ ἦν, σίκλους μὲν αἱ δύο διακοσίους εἶλκον, εἰς δὲ τὴν φιάλην ἑβδομήκοντα μόνοι δεδαπάνηντο, πλήρεις δὲ ἦσαν ἀλεύρων ἐλαίῳ πεφυραμένων, οἷς ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ χρῶνται πρὸς τὰς ἱερουργίας: μόσχον τε καὶ κριὸν σὺν ἀρνίῳ ἑτείῳ ὁλομελῆ καυθησόμενα καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς χίμαρον ἐπὶ παραιτήσει ἁμαρτημάτων. [222] προσῆγε δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἕκαστος καὶ ἑτέρας θυσίας σωτηρίους λεγομένας καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν δύο βόας καὶ πέντε κριοὺς σὺν ἀρνάσιν ἑτείοις καὶ ἐρίφοις. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ θύουσιν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας δώδεκα κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν εἷς: Μωυσῆς δὲ οὐκέτ᾽ ἀναβαίνων ἐπὶ τὸ Σιναῖον ἀλλ᾽ εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν εἰσιὼν ἀνεμάνθανε παρὰ θεοῦ περί τε τῶν πρακτέων καὶ τῶν νόμων τῆς συντάξεως: [223] οὓς κρείττονας ἢ κατὰ σύνεσιν ἀνθρωπίνην ὄντας εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα βεβαίως αἰῶνα συνέβη φυλαχθῆναι δωρεὰν εἶναι δόξαντας τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς μήτ᾽ ἐν εἰρήνῃ ὑπὸ τρυφῆς μήτ᾽ ἐν πολέμῳ κατ᾽ ἀνάγκην Ἑβραίους παραβῆναί τινα τῶν νόμων. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων παύομαι λέγων γραφὴν ἑτέραν ἠξιωκὼς συνθεῖναι περὶ τῶν νόμων.

IX

(1) [224] Νυνὶ δ᾽ ὀλίγων τινῶν ἐπιμνησθήσομαι τῶν ἐφ᾽ ἁγνείαις καὶ ἱερουργίαις κειμένων: καὶ γὰρ τὸν λόγον μοι περὶ τῶν θυσιῶν ἐνεστάναι συμβέβηκε. δύο μὲν γάρ εἰσιν ἱερουργίαι, τούτων δ᾽ ἡ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἑτέρα δ᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου συντελούμεναι κατὰ δύο γίνονται τρόπους: [225] τῆς μὲν ὁλοκαυτεῖται πᾶν τὸ θυόμενον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν τοιαύτην ἔλαβεν, ἡ δὲ χαριστήριός τέ ἐστι καὶ κατ᾽ εὐωχίαν δρᾶται τῶν τεθυκότων: ἐρῶ δὲ περὶ τῆς προτέρας. [226] ἀνὴρ ἰδιώτης ὁλοκαυτῶν θύει μὲν βοῦν καὶ ἀρνίον καὶ ἔριφον: ταῦτα μὲν ἐπέτεια, τοὺς δὲ βοῦς ἐφεῖται θύειν καὶ προήκοντας: ἄρρενα δὲ ὁλοκαυτεῖται τὰ πάντα. σφαγέντων δὲ τούτων τὸν κύκλον τῷ αἵματι δεύουσι τοῦ βωμοῦ οἱ ἱερεῖς, [227] εἶτα καθαρὰ ποιήσαντες διαμελίζουσι καὶ πάσαντες ἁλσὶν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀνατιθέασι σχιζῶν ἤδη πεπληρωμένον καὶ πυρὸς φλεγομένου. τοὺς δὲ πόδας τῶν ἱερείων καὶ τὰ κατὰ νηδὺν ἐκκαθάραντες ἀκριβῶς τοῖς ἄλλοις

καθαγνισθησόμενα προσεπιφέρουσι, τὰς δορὰς τῶν ἱερέων λαμβανόντων. καὶ ὁ μὲν τῆς ὁλοκαυτώσεως τρόπος ἐστὶν οὗτος.

(2) [228] Τὰς δὲ χαριστηρίους θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦντες τὰ αὐτὰ μὲν ζῷα θύουσιν, ὁλόκληρα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν ἐπετείων πρεσβύτερα, ἄρρενα μέντοι θήλεσι συνδυαζόμενα. θύσαντες δὲ ταῦτα φοινίσσουσι μὲν αἵματι τὸν βωμόν, τοὺς δὲ νεφροὺς καὶ τὸν ἐπίπλουν καὶ πάντα τὰ πιμελῆ σὺν τῷ λοβῷ τοῦ ἥπατος καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς τὴν οὐρὰν τοῦ ἀρνὸς ἐπιφέρουσι τῷ βωμῷ. [229] τὸ δὲ στῆθος καὶ τὴν κνήμην τὴν δεξιὰν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι παρασχόντες ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας εὐωχοῦνται τοῖς καταλειπομένοις τῶν κρεῶν, ἃ δ' ἂν περισσεύσῃ κατακαίουσι.

(3) [230] Θύουσι δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτάδων καὶ ὁμοίως τῷ προειρημένῳ τὸ περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτάδων τῆς ἱερουργίας τρόπῳ γίνεται. οἱ δὲ ἀδύνατοι πορίζειν τὰ τέλεια θύματα περιστερὰς ἢ τρυγόνας δύο, ὧν τὸ μὲν ὁλοκαυτεῖται τῷ θεῷ, τὸ δὲ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν εἰς βρῶσιν διδόασιν. ἀκριβέστερον δὲ περὶ τῆς θυσίας τῶνδε τῶν ζῴων ἐν τοῖς περὶ θυσιῶν ἐροῦμεν. [231] ὁ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ ἄγνοιαν εἰς τοῦτο προπεσὼν ἄρνα καὶ ἔριφον θήλειαν τῶν αὐτοετῶν προσφέρει, καὶ τῷ μὲν αἵματι δεύει τὸν βωμὸν ὁ ἱερεὺς οὐχ ὡς τὸ πρῶτον ἀλλὰ τῶν γωνιῶν τὰς ἐξοχάς, καὶ τούς τε νεφροὺς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πιμελὴν σὺν τῷ λοβῷ τοῦ ἥπατος ἐπιφέρουσι τῷ βωμῷ, οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς τάς τε δορὰς ἀποφέρονται καὶ τὰ κρέα ἐπ' ἐκείνης δαπανήσοντες τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ: ὁ γὰρ νόμος εἰς τὴν αὔριον ἀπολιπεῖν οὐκ ἐᾷ. [232] ὁ δὲ ἁμαρτὼν μὲν αὐτῷ δὲ συνειδὼς καὶ μηδένα ἔχων τὸν ἐξελέγχοντα κριὸν θύει τοῦ νόμου τοῦτο κελεύοντος, οὗ τὰ κρέα κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ὁμοίως οἱ ἱερεῖς αὐθημερὸν σιτοῦνται. οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες ἐφ' οἷς ἡμάρτανον ἐκθυόμενοι ταὐτὰ μὲν κομίζουσι τοῖς ἰδιώταις, διαλλάσσουσι δὲ τῷ προσάγειν θύματα ταῦρον ἔριφον ἄρσενας.

(4) [233] Νόμος δὲ ταῖς ἰδιωτικαῖς καὶ ταῖς δημοσίαις θυσίαις καὶ ἄλευρον ἐπιφέρεσθαι καθαρώτατον, ἀρνὶ μὲν ἀσσαρῶνος μέτρον κριῷ δὲ δυοῖν ταύρῳ δὲ τριῶν. τοῦτο καθαγνίζουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ μεμαγμένον ἐλαίῳ: [234] κομίζεται γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἔλαιον ὑπὸ τῶν τεθυκότων ἐπὶ μὲν βοὶ ἰνὸς ἥμισυ, ἐπὶ δὲ κριῷ μέρος τούτου τρίτον τοῦ μέτρου, καὶ τετάρτη μερὶς ἐπ' ἀρνί: ὁ δὲ ἶν μέτρον ἀρχαῖον Ἑβραίων δύναται δύο χόας Ἀττικούς. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ μέτρον τῷ ἐλαίῳ καὶ οἴνου παρῆγον, σπένδουσι δὲ περὶ τὸν βωμὸν τὸν οἶνον. [235] εἰ δέ τις θυσίαν οὐκ ἐπιτελῶν ἐπήνεγκε κατ' εὐχὴν σεμίδαλιν, ταύτης ἀπαρχὴν μίαν ἐπιβάλλει τῷ βωμῷ δράκα, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν οἱ ἱερεῖς πρὸς τροφὴν λαμβάνουσιν ἢ ἑψηθεῖσαν, ἐλαίῳ γὰρ συμπεφύραται, ἢ γενομένων ἄρτων. ἱερέως δὲ κομίσαντος καὶ ὁποσονοῦν ὁλοκαυτεῖν ἀναγκαῖον. [236] κωλύει δὲ ὁ νόμος θύειν ζῷον αὐθημερὸν μετὰ τοῦ γεγεννηκότος ἐπὶ ταὐτό, οὐδ' ἄλλως δὲ πρὶν ὀγδόην ἡμέραν γεννηθέντι διελθεῖν. γίνονται δὲ ἄλλαι θυσίαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰς νόσους διαφυγεῖν ἢ κατ' ἄλλας αἰτίας, εἰς ἃς πέμματα σὺν ἱερείοις ἀναλίσκεται, ὧν εἰς τὴν ὑστέραν οὐδὲν ὑπολιπεῖν ἐστι νόμιμον, τῶν ἱερέων μέρος ἴδιον λαβόντων.

X

(1) [237] Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ δημοσίου ἀναλώματος νόμος ἐστὶν ἄρνα καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν σφάζεσθαι τῶν αὐτοετῶν ἀρχομένης τε ἡμέρας καὶ ληγούσης, κατὰ δὲ ἑβδόμην ἡμέραν, ἥτις σάββατα καλεῖται, δύο σφάττουσι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἱερουργοῦντες. [238] τῇ δὲ νουμηνίᾳ τάς τε καθημερινὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσι καὶ δύο βόας σὺν ἀρνάσιν ἐνιαυσιαίοις ἑπτὰ καὶ κριόν, ἔριφον δὲ ἐπὶ παραιτήσεσιν ἁμαρτάδων, εἴ τι κατὰ λήθην γένοιτο.

(2) [239] Τῷ δ᾽ ἑβδόμῳ μηνί, ὃν Μακεδόνες Ὑπερβερεταῖον καλοῦσι, προσθέντες τοῖς εἰρημένοις ταῦρον καὶ κριὸν καὶ ἄρνας ἑπτὰ θύουσι καὶ ἔριφον ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτάδων.

(3) [240] Δεκάτῃ δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς κατὰ σελήνην διανηστεύοντες ἕως ἑσπέρας θύουσι δ᾽ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταῦρόν τε καὶ κριοὺς δύο καὶ ἄρνας ἑπτὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτάδων ἔριφον. [241] προσάγουσι δὲ δύο πρὸς τούτοις ἐρίφους, ὧν ὁ μὲν ζῶν εἰς τὴν ὑπερόριον ἐρημίαν πέμπεται ἀποτροπιασμὸς καὶ παραίτησις τοῦ πλήθους παντὸς ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτημάτων ἐσόμενος, τὸν δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς προαστείοις εἰς καθαρώτατον ἄγοντες χωρίον αὐτόθι σὺν αὐτῇ καίουσι τῇ δορᾷ μηδὲν ὅλως καθάραντες. [242] συγκατακαίεται δὲ ταῦρος οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου προσαχθείς, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων τοῦ ἀρχιερέως παρασχόντος: οὗ δὴ σφαγέντος εἰσκομίσας εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ αἵματος ἅμα καὶ τοῦ ἐρίφου ῥαίνει τῷ δακτύλῳ τὸν ὄροφον ἑπτάκις, [243] τοῦ δ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος καὶ τοσαυτάκις εἰς τὸν ναὸν καὶ περὶ τὸν χρύσεον βωμὸν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν περὶ τῷ μείζονι κομίσας εἰς τὸ αἴθριον: πρὸς τούτοις τὰς ἐξοχὰς καὶ τοὺς νεφροὺς καὶ τὴν πιμελὴν σὺν τῷ λοβῷ τοῦ ἥπατος ἐπιφέρουσι τῷ βωμῷ. παρέχεται δὲ καὶ κριὸν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ὁλοκαύτωσιν τῷ θεῷ.

(4) [244] Τῇ δὲ πέμπτῃ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς καὶ δεκάτῃ τρεπομένου τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν χειμερινὴν ὥραν σκηνὰς πήγνυσθαι κελεύει κατὰ οἰκίαν ἕκαστον, τό τε κρύος ὑφορωμένους ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τοῦ ἔτους, [245] ὅταν πατρίδων ἐπιτύχοιεν, παραγινομένους εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν πόλιν, ἣν διὰ τὸν ναὸν μητρόπολιν ἔξουσιν, ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας ὀκτὼ ἑορτὴν ἄγοντας ὁλοκαυτεῖν τε καὶ θύειν τῷ θεῷ τότε χαριστήρια, φέροντας ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν εἰρεσιώνην μυρσίνης καὶ ἰτέας σὺν κράδῃ φοίνικος πεποιημένην τοῦ μήλου τοῦ τῆς περσέας προσόντος. [246] εἶναι δὲ τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν τὴν τῆς ὁλοκαυτώσεως θυσίαν ἐκ τριῶν καὶ δέκα βοῶν καὶ ἀρνῶν ἐνὶ πλειόνων καὶ κριῶν δύο κατὰ παραίτησιν ἁμαρτιῶν ἐρίφου προστιθεμένου. ταῖς δ᾽ ἑξῆς ἡμέραις ὁ μὲν αὐτὸς ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἀρνῶν καὶ τῶν κριῶν σὺν τῷ ἐρίφῳ θύεται, ὑφαιροῦντες δὲ ἑκάστης ἡμέρας ἕνα τῶν βοῶν εἰς ἑπτὰ καταντῶσιν. [247] ἀνίενται δὲ ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου κατὰ τὴν ὀγδόην ἡμέραν καὶ τῷ θεῷ, καθάπερ εἰρήκαμεν, μόσχον τε θύομεν καὶ κριὸν καὶ ἄρνας ἑπτά, ὑπὲρ δὲ ἁμαρτημάτων παραιτήσεως ἔριφον. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἑβραίοις τὰς σκηνὰς πηγνύουσιν ἐπιτελεῖν ἐστι πάτριον.

(5) [248] Τῷ δὲ μηνὶ τῷ Ξανθικῷ, ὃς Νισὰν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν καλεῖται καὶ τοῦ ἔτους ἐστὶν ἀρχή, τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ κατὰ σελήνην ἐν κριῷ τοῦ ἡλίου καθεστῶτος, τούτῳ γὰρ τῷ μηνὶ τῆς ὑπ᾽ Αἰγυπτίους δουλείας ἠλευθερώθημεν, καὶ τὴν θυσίαν, ἣν τότ᾽ ἐξιόντας ἀπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου θῦσαι προεῖπον ἡμᾶς πάσχα λεγομένην, δι᾽ ἔτους ἑκάστου θύειν ἐνόμισεν, καὶ δὴ τελοῦμεν αὐτὴν κατὰ φατρίας μηδενὸς τῶν τεθυμένων εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν τηρουμένου. [249] πέμπτῃ δὲ καὶ δεκάτῃ διαδέχεται τὴν πάσχα ἡ τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτὴ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας οὖσα, καθ᾽ ἣν ἀζύμοις τρέφονται καὶ καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ταῦροι σφάζονται δύο καὶ κριὸς μὲν εἷς ἑπτὰ δὲ ἄρνες. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁλοκαυτεῖται προστιθεμένου τοῖς πᾶσι καὶ ἐρίφου ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτάδων εἰς εὐωχίαν κατὰ ἡμέραν ἑκάστην τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν. [250] τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ τῶν ἀζύμων ἡμέρᾳ, ἕκτη δ᾽ ἐστὶν αὕτη καὶ δεκάτη, τῶν καρπῶν οὓς ἐθέρισαν, οὐ γὰρ ἤψαντο πρότερον αὐτῶν, μεταλαμβάνουσι καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἡγούμενοι τιμᾶν δίκαιον εἶναι πρῶτον, παρ᾽ οὗ τῆς εὐπορίας τούτων ἔτυχον, τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῷ τῆς κριθῆς ἐπιφέρουσι τρόπον τοιοῦτον. [251] φρύξαντες τῶν ἀσταχύων τὸ δράγμα καὶ πτίσαντες καὶ καθαρὰς πρὸς ἄλεστον τὰς κριθὰς ποιήσαντες τῷ βωμῷ ἀσσαρῶνα προσφέρουσι τῷ θεῷ, καὶ μίαν ἐξ αὐτοῦ δράκα ἐπιβαλόντες τὸ λοιπὸν ἀφιᾶσιν εἰς χρῆσιν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι: καὶ τότε λοιπὸν δημοσίᾳ ἔξεστι πᾶσι καὶ ἰδίᾳ θερίζειν. θύουσι δ᾽ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀπαρχαῖς τῶν καρπῶν ἀρνίον εἰς ὁλοκαύτωσιν τῷ θεῷ.

(6) [252] Ἑβδόμης ἑβδομάδος διαγεγενημένης μετὰ ταύτην τὴν θυσίαν, αὗται δ᾽ εἰσὶν αἱ τῶν ἑβδομάδων ἡμέραι τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἐννέα, [τῇ πεντηκοστῇ], ἣν Ἑβραῖοι ἀσαρθὰ καλοῦσι, σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο πεντηκοστήν, καθ᾽ ἣν προσάγουσι τῷ θεῷ ἄρτον ἀλφίτων μὲν πυρίνων ἀσσαρῶνας δύο μετὰ ζύμης γεγονότων, θυμάτων δὲ ἄρνας δύο: [253] ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ τῷ θεῷ προσάγειν νόμιμον μόνον, εἰς δὲ δεῖπνον τοῖς ἱερεῦσι σκευάζεται καὶ καταλιπεῖν οὐδέν ἐστιν ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν συγκεχωρημένον: ὁλοκαυτωθησομένους μόσχους τε θύουσι τρεῖς καὶ κριοὺς δύο καὶ ἄρνας τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα, ἐρίφους δὲ δύο ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτημάτων. [254] ἔστι δ᾽ οὐδεμία τῶν ἑορτῶν, καθ᾽ ἣν οὐχ ὁλοκαυτοῦσιν οὐδὲ τῶν πόνων τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ἄνεσιν οὐ διδόασιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν πάσαις νόμιμον τό τε τῆς θυσίας εἶδος καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀργίας ἀταλαίπωρον καὶ πρὸς εὐωχίαις εἰσὶ τεθυκότες.

(7) [255] Ἐκ μέντοι τοῦ κοινοῦ σῖτος ὀπτὸς ζύμης ἄμοιρος, ἀσσαρῶνες δ᾽ εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρες εἰς τοῦτο ἀναλοῦνται. ὀπτῶνται δὲ ἀνὰ δύο διαιρεθέντες μὲν τῇ πρὸ τοῦ σαββάτου, τῷ δὲ σαββάτῳ πρωὶ κομισθέντες ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς τραπέζης τίθενται κατὰ ἓξ εἰς ἀλλήλους τετραμμένοι. [256] δύο δὲ χρυσέων ὑπερκειμένων πινάκων λιβανωτοῦ γεμόντων διαμένουσιν ἕως τοῦ ἑτέρου σαββάτου: καὶ τότε μὲν ἀντ᾽ ἐκείνων ἄλλοι κομίζονται, οἱ δὲ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι πρὸς τροφὴν δίδονται, καὶ τοῦ λιβανωτοῦ θυμιωμένου ἐπὶ τῷ ἱερῷ πυρί, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ καὶ ὁλοκαυτοῦσι τὰ πάντα, λιβανωτὸς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου ἄλλος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄρτων προστίθεται. [257] θύει δ᾽ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων, καὶ δὶς ἑκάστης ἡμέρας τοῦτο ποιεῖ, ἄλευρον ἐλαίῳ

μεμαγμένον καὶ πεπηγὸς ὀπτήσει βραχείᾳ, καὶ εἷς μέν ἐστιν ἀσσάρων τοῦ ἀλεύρου, τούτου δὲ τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ τὸ πρωί, τὸ δ᾽ ἕτερον δείλης ἐπιφέρει τῷ πυρί. τὸν μὲν οὖν περὶ τούτων λόγον ἀκριβέστερον αὖθις δηλώσομεν, ἱκανὰ δέ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ νῦν περὶ αὐτῶν προειρῆσθαι.

XI

(1) [258] Μωυσῆς δὲ τοῦ Λευὶ τὴν φυλὴν τῆς πρὸς τὸν λαὸν κοινωνίας ὑπεξελόμενος ἱερὰν ἐσομένην ἥγνιζε πηγαίοις ὕδασι καὶ ἀενάοις καὶ θυσίαις, ἃς ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις νομίμους παρέχονται τῷ θεῷ, τήν τε σκηνὴν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ σκεύη τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλ᾽ ὅσα πρὸς σκέπην τῆς σκηνῆς ἐπεποίητο παρέδωκεν, ὅπως ὑφηγουμένων τῶν ἱερέων ὑπηρετήσωσιν: ἤδη γὰρ τῷ θεῷ καθιέρωτο.

(2) [259] Καὶ περὶ τῶν ζῴων δὲ διέκρινεν ἕκαστον, ὅτι τρέφοιντο καὶ οὗ πάλιν ἀπεχόμενοι διατελοῖεν, περὶ ὧν ἐν οἷς ἂν ἡμῖν ἀφορμὴ τῆς γραφῆς γένηται διελευσόμεθα τὰς αἰτίας προστιθέντες, ἀφ᾽ ὧν κινηθεὶς τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν βρωτὰ ἡμῖν ἐκέλευσεν εἶναι, τῶν δὲ προσέταξεν ἀπέχεσθαι. [260] αἵματος μέντοι παντὸς εἰς τροφὴν ἀπηγόρευσε τὴν χρῆσιν ψυχὴν αὐτὸ καὶ πνεῦμα νομίζων, καὶ κρέως τοῦ τεθνηκότος αὐτομάτως ζῴου τὴν βρῶσιν διεκώλυσεν, ἐπίπλου τε καὶ στέατος αἰγείου καὶ προβατείου καὶ τοῦ τῶν βοῶν ἀπέχεσθαι προεῖπεν.

(3) [261] Ἀπήλασε δὲ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοὺς λέπρᾳ τὰ σώματα κακωθέντας καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν γονὴν ῥεομένους καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας δ᾽ αἷς ἡ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἔκκρισις ἔπεισι μετέστησε πρὸς ἡμέραν ἑβδόμην, μεθ᾽ ἣν ὡς ἤδη καθαραῖς ἐνδημεῖν ἐφίησιν. [262] ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῖς κηδεύσασι νεκρὸν μετὰ τοσαύτας ἡμέρας νόμιμον τὸ ἐνδημεῖν: τὸν δ᾽ ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐνεχόμενον ἐν τῷ μιάσματι θύειν νόμιμον ἀμνάδας δύο, ὧν τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν καθαγνίζειν δεῖ, τὴν δ᾽ ἑτέραν οἱ ἱερεῖς λαμβάνουσιν. [263] ὁμοίως δὲ θύουσι καὶ περὶ τοῦ τὴν γονὴν ῥεομένου. ὃς δ᾽ ἂν κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἀποκρίνῃ γονήν, καθεὶς αὐτὸν εἰς ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν ὁμοίως τοῖς κατὰ νόμον γυναικὶ πλησιάζουσιν ἐξουσίαν ἔχει. [264] τοὺς δὲ λεπροὺς εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἐξήλασε τῆς πόλεως μηδενὶ συνδιαιτωμένους καὶ νεκροῦ μηδὲν διαφέροντας: ἂν δέ τις ἐξικετεύσας τὸν θεὸν ἀπολυθῇ τῆς νόσου καὶ τὴν ἐρρωμένην κομίσηται χρόαν, ὁ δὴ τοιοῦτος ποικίλαις ἀμείβεται θυσίαις τὸν θεόν, περὶ ὧν ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν.

(4) [265] Ὅθεν καὶ καταγελάσειεν ἄν τις τῶν λεγόντων Μωυσῆν λέπρᾳ κεκακωμένον αὐτόν τε ἀπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου φυγεῖν καὶ τῶν ἐκπεσόντων διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν ἡγησάμενον εἰς τὴν Χαναναίαν ἀγαγεῖν αὐτούς. [266] εἰ γὰρ τοῦτ᾽ ἦν ἀληθές, οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ Μωυσῆς ἀτιμίᾳ τοιαῦτ᾽ ἐνομοθέτησεν, οἷς εὔλογον ἦν αὐτὸν καὶ ἑτέρων εἰσηγουμένων ἀντειρηκέναι, καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ πολλοῖς ὄντων λεπρῶν ἔθνεσι καὶ τιμῆς ἀπολαυόντων, οὐ μόνον ὕβρεως καὶ φυγῆς ἀπηλλαγμένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐπισημοτάτας στρατείας στρατευομένων καὶ τὰς

πολιτικὰς ἀρχὰς πιστευομένων καὶ εἰς ἱερὰ καὶ ναοὺς ἐχόντων ἐξουσίαν εἰσιέναι: [267] ὥστ᾽ οὐδὲν ἐκώλυε καὶ Μωυσῆν, εἰ τοιούτῳ τινὶ συμπτώματι περὶ τὴν χρόαν ἢ τὸ σὺν αὐτῷ πλῆθος ἠλάττωτο, νομοθετῆσαι περὶ αὐτῶν τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ μηδεμίαν τοιαύτην ὁρίσαι ζημίαν. [268] ἀλλὰ δῆλον μέν, ὡς ταῦτα περὶ ἡμῶν λέγουσιν ὑπὸ βασκανίας προαγόμενοι, Μωυσῆς δὲ τούτων καθαρὸς ὢν ἐν καθαροῖς τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις περὶ τῶν νενοσηκότων ἐνομοθέτει κατὰ τιμὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦτο ποιῶν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἕκαστος ὡς αὐτῷ δοκεῖ σκοπείτω.

(5) [269] Τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἐπειδὰν τέκωσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν εἰσιέναι κεκώλυκε καὶ θυσιῶν ἅπτεσθαι μέχρι τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν, ἂν ἄρρεν τὸ τεχθὲν ᾖ: διπλασίονας γὰρ εἶναι τὰς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ θηλυτοκίαις συμβέβηκεν. εἰσιοῦσαι μέντοι μετὰ τὴν προειρημένην προθεσμίαν θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν, ἃς οἱ ἱερεῖς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν διανέμονται.

(6) [270] Ἂν δ᾽ ὑπονοήσῃ μεμοιχεῦσθαί τις αὐτῷ τὴν γυναῖκα, κομίζει κριθῆς ἀληλεσμένης ἀσσάρωνα, καὶ μίαν αὐτῆς δράκα ἐπιβαλόντες τῷ θεῷ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι διδόασιν εἰς τροφήν. τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα στήσας τις τῶν ἱερέων κατὰ τὰς πύλας, αἱ δ᾽ εἰσὶ τετραμμέναι πρὸς τὸν νεών, καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ ἱμάτιον ἀφελὼν ἐπιγράφει μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν προσηγορίαν διφθέρᾳ, [271] κελεύει δὲ ὀμνύειν μηδὲν ἠδικηκέναι τὸν ἄνδρα, παραβᾶσαν δὲ τὸ σῶφρον τοῦ δεξιοῦ σκέλους ἔξαρθρον γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν γαστέρα πρησθεῖσαν οὕτως ἀποθανεῖν: ἂν δ᾽ ὑπὸ πολλοῦ τοῦ ἔρωτος καὶ τῆς διὰ τοῦτον ζηλοτυπίας προπετῶς ὁ ἀνὴρ διὰ τὴν ὑπόνοιαν εἴη κεκινημένος, μηνὶ δεκάτῳ γενέσθαι παιδίον ἄρρεν αὐτῇ. [272] τῶν δ᾽ ὅρκων τελειωθέντων τῆς διφθέρας ἀπαλείψας τοὔνομα εἰς φιάλην ἐκπιέζει, προκομίσας τε ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ γῆς εἴ τι προστύχοι καὶ καταπάσας ἐκπιεῖν δίδωσιν: ἡ δ᾽ εἰ μὲν ἀδίκως ἐνεκλήθη, ἐγκύμων τε γίνεται καὶ τελεσφορεῖται κατὰ τὴν γαστέρα: [273] ψευσαμένη δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπὶ τοῖς γάμοις καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις μετ᾽ αἰσχύνης καταστρέφει τὸν βίον τοῦ τε σκέλους ἐκπεσόντος αὐτῇ καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν ὑδέρου καταλαβόντος. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν θυσιῶν καὶ τῆς ἁγνείας τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐταῖς ταῦτα Μωυσῆς τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις προενόησε, νόμους δὲ αὐτοῖς τοιούτους ἔθετο.

XII

(1) [274] Μοιχείαν μὲν εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἀπεῖπε νομίσας εὔδαιμον τὸ περὶ τοὺς γάμους ὑγιαίνειν τοὺς ἄνδρας, καὶ ταῖς τε πόλεσι καὶ τοῖς οἴκοις συμφέρειν τὸ τοὺς παῖδας εἶναι γνησίους. καὶ μίσγεσθαι δὲ μητράσι κακὸν μέγιστον ὁ νόμος ἀπεῖπεν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πατρὸς συνεῖναι γαμετῇ καὶ τηθίσι καὶ ἀδελφαῖς καὶ παίδων γυναιξὶν ὡς ἔκφυλον ἔχον τὴν ἀδικίαν μεμίσηκεν. [275] ἐκώλυσε δὲ καὶ γυναικὶ μεμιασμένῃ τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν πλησιάζειν μηδὲ κτήνεσιν εἰς συνουσίαν φοιτᾶν μηδὲ τὴν πρὸς τὰ ἄρρενα μῖξιν τιμᾶν διὰ τὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὥραν ἡδονὴν

θηρωμένους παράνομον. κατὰ δὲ τῶν εἰς ταῦτ᾽ ἐξυβρισάντων θάνατον ὥρισε τὴν τιμωρίαν.

(2) [276] Τῶν δ᾽ ἱερέων καὶ διπλασίονα τὴν ἀγνείαν ἐποίησε: τούτων τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις εἴργει καὶ προσέτι γαμεῖν τὰς ἠταιρηκυίας ἐκώλυσε, μήτε δούλην μήτ᾽ αἰχμάλωτον γαμεῖν αὐτοὺς κεκώλυκε καὶ τὰς ἐκ καπηλείας καὶ τοῦ πανδοκεύειν πεπορισμένας τὸν βίον μηδὲ τὰς τῶν προτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἐφ᾽ αἰσδηποτοῦν αἰτίαις ἀπηλλαγμένας. [277] τὸν ἀρχιερέα μέντοι οὐδὲ τεθνηκότος ἀνδρὸς ἠξίωσε γυναῖκα τοῦτο τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱερεῦσι συγχωρῶν, μόνην δ᾽ αὐτῷ [δέδωκε] γαμεῖν παρθένον καὶ ταύτην φυλάττειν: ὅθεν οὐδὲ νεκρῷ πρόσεισιν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν λοιπῶν οὐ κεκωλυμένων ἀδελφοῖς καὶ γονεῦσι καὶ παισὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν προσιέναι μεταστᾶσιν. [278] ἀφελεῖς δὲ εἶναι πᾶσαν ἀφέλειαν: τὸν δὲ μὴ ὁλόκληρον τῶν ἱερέων νέμεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἐκέλευσε τὰ γέρα, ἀναβαίνειν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν καὶ εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἐκώλυσε: μὴ μόνον δὲ περὶ τὰς ἱερουργίας καθαροὺς εἶναι, σπουδάζειν δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν αὐτῶν δίαιταν, ὥστ᾽ αὐτὴν ἄμεμπτον εἶναι. [279] καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν οἱ τὴν ἱερατικὴν στολὴν φοροῦντες ἄμωμοί τέ εἰσι καὶ περὶ πάντα καθαροὶ καὶ νηφάλιοι, πίνειν οἶνον ἕως οὗ τὴν στολὴν ἔχουσι κεκωλυμένοι: ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἱερεῖα θύουσιν ὁλόκληρα καὶ κατὰ μηδὲν λελωβημένα.

(3) [280] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἤδη καὶ κατὰ τὸν ζωῆς χρόνον τῆς αὐτοῦ γινόμενα παρέδωκε Μωυσῆς, τῶν δὲ αὖθις καίπερ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρημίας διαιτώμενος προενόησεν, ὅπως ἐπειδὰν τὴν Χαναναίαν λάβωσι τάδε ποιῶσι: [281] δι᾽ ἑβδόμου ἔτους ἄνεσιν δίδωσι τῇ γῇ ἀπό τε ἀρότρου καὶ φυτείας, ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτοῖς δι᾽ ἑβδόμης ἡμέρας τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων προεῖπεν ἀνάπαυσιν. καὶ τῶν αὐτομάτως ἀναδοθέντων ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς κοινὴν εἶναι τοῖς θέλουσι τὴν χρῆσιν τῶν τε ὁμοφύλων καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτριοχώρων, μηδὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν φυλάττοντας: ποιεῖν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ μεθ᾽ ἑβδόμην ἐτῶν ἑβδομάδα. [282] ταῦτα πεντήκοντα μέν ἐστιν ἔτη τὰ πάντα, καλεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ Ἑβραίων ὁ πεντηκοστὸς ἐνιαυτὸς ἰώβηλος, ἐν ᾧ οἵ τε χρεῶσται τῶν δανείων ἀπολύονται καὶ οἱ δουλεύοντες ἐλεύθεροι ἀφίενται, οὓς ὄντας ὁμοφύλους καὶ παραβάντας τι τῶν νομίμων τῷ σχήματι τῆς δουλείας ἐκόλασε θάνατον οὐκ ἐκδεχομένους. [283] ἀποδίδωσι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς τοῖς ἀρχῆθεν αὐτῶν δεσπόταις τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον: ἐνστάντος τοῦ ἰωβήλου, ἐλευθερίαν σημαίνει τοὔνομα, συνέρχονται ὅ τε ἀποδόμενος τὸ χωρίον καὶ ὁ πριάμενος, καὶ λογισάμενοι τοὺς καρποὺς καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸ χωρίον δαπάνας γεγενημένας τῶν μὲν καρπῶν πλεονάζειν εὑρεθέντων προσδέχεται τὸν ἀγρὸν ὁ ἀποδόμενος, [284] τοῦ δ᾽ ἀναλώματος ὑπερβάλλοντος ὑπὲρ τοῦ λείποντος καταβαλὼν τὸ ἱκνούμενον ἐξέχεται τῆς κτήσεως, ἴσων δὲ συναριθμουμένων τῶν τε καρπῶν καὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων ἀποδίδωσι τοῖς καὶ πρότερον νεμηθεῖσι. [285] τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις νόμιμον ἰσχύειν ἠθέλησε ταῖς κατὰ κώμας πεπραμέναις: περὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πεπραμένων ἔγνωκεν ἑτέρως. εἰ μὲν γὰρ

πρὸ τοῦ τελειωθῆναι τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν καταβάλοι τὸ ἀργύριον, ἀναγκάζει τὸν πριάμενον ἀποδοῦναι, εἰ δὲ πλῆρες γένοιτο τὸ ἔτος, βεβαιοῖ τὴν κτῆσιν τῷ πριαμένῳ. [286] ταύτην Μωυσῆς τὴν διάταξιν τῶν νόμων, ὅθ' ὑπὸ τὸ Σιναῖον καθιδρύκει τὴν στρατιάν, ἐξέμαθε παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις γεγραμμένην παραδίδωσιν.

(4) [287] Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καλῶς αὐτῷ τὰ περὶ τὴν νομοθεσίαν ἔχειν ἐδόκει, πρὸς ἐξέτασιν τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐτράπη τῶν πολεμικῶν ἤδη κατὰ νοῦν ἔχων ἅπτεσθαι, προστάσσει τε τοῖς φυλάρχοις πλὴν τῆς Λευίτιδος φυλῆς ἀκριβῶς τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐκμαθεῖν τῶν στρατεύεσθαι δυναμένων: ἱεροὶ γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ Λευῖται καὶ πάντων ἀτελεῖς. [288] γενομένης δὲ τῆς ἐξετάσεως εὑρέθησαν μυριάδες ἑξήκοντα τῶν ὁπλιτεύειν δυναμένων ὄντων ἀπὸ εἴκοσι ἐτῶν ἕως πεντήκοντα καὶ τρισχίλιοι πρὸς ἑξακοσίοις καὶ πεντήκοντα. ἀντὶ δὲ Λευὶ κατέλεξεν εἰς τοὺς φυλάρχους Μανασσῆν τὸν Ἰωσήπου παῖδα καὶ Ἐφράην ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου: δέησις δὲ ἦν αὕτη Ἰακώβου πρὸς Ἰώσηπον ποιητοὺς αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν τοὺς παῖδας, ὡς καὶ προεῖπον.

(5) [289] Πηγνύντες δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν μέσην ἀπελάμβανον τριῶν φυλῶν κατὰ πλευρὰν ἑκάστην παρασκηνουμένων: ὁδοὶ δὲ διὰ μέσων ἐτέτμηντο, καὶ κόσμος ἦν ἀγορᾶς, καὶ τῶν πωλουμένων ἕκαστον ἐν τάξει διέκειτο, καὶ δημιουργοὶ τέχνης ἁπάσης ἐν τοῖς ἐργαστηρίοις ἦσαν, οὐδενί τε ἄλλῳ ἢ πόλει μετανισταμένῃ καὶ καθιδρυμένῃ ἐῴκει. [290] τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ ἱερεῖς κατεῖχον, ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ Λευῖται πάντες ὄντες τὸ πλῆθος, ἐξητάσθησαν γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦ μὲν ἄρρενος ὅσον τριακοστὴν εἶχεν ἡμέραν γενόμενον, δισμύριοι καὶ δισχίλιοι πρὸς τοῖς ὀκτακοσίοις ὀγδοήκοντα. καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον μὲν ὑπὲρ τὴν σκηνὴν συνέβαινεν ἑστάναι τὴν νεφέλην, μένειν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐπιδημοῦντος ἐδόκει τοῦ θεοῦ, τρεπομένης δὲ ταύτης μετανίστασθαι.

(6) [291] Εὗρε δὲ καὶ βυκάνης τρόπον ἐξ ἀργύρου ποιησάμενος, ἔστι δὲ τοιαύτη: μῆκος μὲν ἔχει πηχυαῖον ὀλίγῳ λεῖπον, στενὴ δ' ἐστὶ σύριγξ αὐλοῦ βραχεῖ παχυτέρα, παρέχουσα δὲ εὖρος ἀρκοῦν ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν πνεύματος εἰς κώδωνα ταῖς σάλπιγξι παραπλησίως τελοῦντα: ἀσώσρα καλεῖται κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων γλῶσσαν. [292] γίνονται δὲ δύο, καὶ τῇ μὲν ἑτέρᾳ πρὸς παρακέλευσιν καὶ συλλογὴν ἐχρῶντο τοῦ πλήθους εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας: καὶ μιᾷ μὲν ἀποσημάναντος ἔδει τὰς ἀρχὰς συνελθεῖν σκεψομένας περὶ τῶν οἰκείων, ἀμφοτέραις δὲ συνῆγε τὸ πλῆθος. [293] τῆς δὲ σκηνῆς μετακινουμένης ταῦτα ἐγίνετο: ἀποσημήναντος γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον οἱ παρὰ ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς ἐσκηνωκότες ἀνίσταντο, καὶ πρὸς τὴν δευτέραν οἱ πρὸς τὸν νότον αὖθις καθεστῶτες. εἶθ' ἡ σκηνὴ λυομένη μέση τῶν προιουσῶν ἓξ φυλῶν ἐκομίζετο καὶ τῶν ἑπομένων ἕξ, Λευῖται δὲ περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν πάντες ἦσαν. [294] τρίτον δὲ σημήναντος τὸ κατὰ λίβα τετραμμένον τῶν ἐσκηνωκότων μέρος ἐκινεῖτο, καὶ τέταρτον τὸ κατὰ βορρᾶν. ταῖς δὲ βυκάναις ἐχρῶντο καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἱερουργίαις προσάγοντες τὰς θυσίας καὶ

τοῖς σαββάτοις καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἡμέραις. θύει δὲ τότε πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τὴν πάσχα λεγομένην ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρήμου.

XIII

(1) [295] Καὶ βραχὺ διαλιπὼν ἀπανίσταται τοῦ Σιναίου ὄρους καὶ τόπους τινὰς ἀμείψας, περὶ ὧν δηλώσομεν, εἴς τι χωρίον Ἐσερμὼθ λεγόμενον παρῆν, κἀκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος πάλιν στασιάζειν ἄρχεται, καὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν αἰτιᾶσθαι τῶν τε κατὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν αὐτῷ πεπειραμένων, [296] καὶ ὅτι γῆς ἀγαθῆς αὐτοὺς πείσαντος ἀπαναστῆναι τὴν μὲν ἀπολέσειαν, ἀντὶ δὲ ἧς ὑπέσχετο παρέξειν εὐδαιμονίας ἐν ταύταις ἀλῶνται ταῖς ταλαιπωρίαις, ὕδατος μὲν σπανίζοντες, εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν μάνναν ἐπιλιπεῖν συμβαίη τέλεον ἀπολούμενοι. [297] πολλὰ δὲ εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ δεινὰ λεγόντων, εἷς δέ τις αὐτοῖς παρῄνει, μήτε Μωυσέος καὶ τῶν πεπονημένων αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας ἀμνημονεῖν μήτ᾽ ἀπογινώσκειν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθείας. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος πρὸς τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἐκινήθη καὶ θορυβῆσαν ἔτι μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸν Μωυσῆν ἐπετείνετο. [298] Μωυσῆς δὲ παραθαρσύνων αὐτοὺς οὕτως ἀπεγνωκότας ὑπέσχετο καίπερ αἰσχρῶς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν περιυβρισμένος πλῆθος αὐτοῖς παρέξειν κρεῶν οὐκ εἰς μίαν ἡμέραν ἀλλ᾽ εἰς πλείονας. ἀπιστούντων δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτῳ καί τινος ἐρομένου, πόθεν ἂν τοσαύταις εὐπορήσειε μυριάσι τῶν προειρημένων, “ὁ θεός, εἶπε, κἀγὼ καί τοι κακῶς ἀκούοντες πρὸς ὑμῶν οὐκ ἂν ἀποσταίημεν κάμνοντες ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν [299] ἔσται.” ἅμα ταῦτ᾽ ἔλεγε καὶ πίμπλαται τὸ στρατόπεδον ὀρτύγων ἅπαν καὶ ἠθροιζον αὐτοὺς περιστάντες. ὁ μέντοι θεὸς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν μετέρχεται τοὺς Ἑβραίους τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν θρασύτητος καὶ λοιδορίας: ἀπέθανε γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγον πλῆθος αὐτῶν, καὶ νῦν ἔτι κατ᾽ ἐπωνυμίαν ὁ χῶρος ὀνομάζεται Καβρωθαβά, ἐπιθυμίας μνημεῖα λέγοιτο ἄν.

XIV

(1) [300] Ἀναγαγὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖθεν ὁ Μωυσῆς εἰς τὴν καλουμένην Φάραγγα πλησίον οὖσαν τοῖς Χαναναίων ὁρίοις καὶ χαλεπὴν ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἀθροίζει τὸ πλῆθος καὶ καταστάς, “δύο, φησί, τοῦ θεοῦ κρίναντος ἡμῖν παρασχεῖν ἀγαθά, ἐλευθερίαν καὶ γῆς κτῆσιν εὐδαίμονος, τὴν μὲν ἤδη δόντος ἔχετε, τὴν δὲ ἤδη λήψεσθε. [301] Χαναναίων γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅροις καθήμεθα, καὶ κωλύσει τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπιόντας οὐ μόνον οὐ βασιλεὺς οὐ πόλις ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τὸ πᾶν ἀθροισθέντων ἔθνος. παρασκευαζώμεθα οὖν πρὸς τὸ ἔργον: οὐ γὰρ ἀμαχητὶ παραχωρήσουσιν ἡμῖν τῆς γῆς, ἀλλὰ μεγάλοις αὐτὴν ἀγῶσιν ἀφαιρεθέντες. [302] πέμψωμεν δὲ κατασκόπους, οἳ τῆσδε τῆς γῆς ἀρετὴν κατανοήσουσι καὶ πόση δύναμις αὐτοῖς. πρὸ δὲ πάντων ὁμονοῶμεν καὶ τὸν θεόν, ὅς ἐστιν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν βοηθὸς καὶ σύμμαχος, διὰ τιμῆς ἔχωμεν.”

(2) [303] Μωυσέος δὲ ταῦτ᾽ εἰπόντος τὸ πλῆθος αὐτὸν τιμαῖς ἀμείβεται, καὶ κατασκόπους αἱρεῖται δώδεκα τῶν γνωριμωτάτων ἐξ ἑκάστης φυλῆς ἕνα, οἳ διεξελθόντες ἀπὸ τῶν πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ τὴν Χαναναίαν ἅπασαν ἐπί τε Ἀμάθην πόλιν καὶ Λίβανον ἀφικνοῦνται τὸ ὄρος, καὶ τήν τε τῆς γῆς φύσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐνοικούντων ἀνθρώπων ἐξιστορήσαντες παρῆσαν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραις εἰς πᾶν καταχρησάμενοι τὸ ἔργον, [304] ἔτι τε καρποὺς ὧν ἔφερεν ἡ γῆ κομίζοντες τῇ τε τούτων εὐπρεπείᾳ καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἃ τὴν γῆν ἔχειν διηγοῦντο, πολεμεῖν ἐπαίροντες τὸ πλῆθος, φοβοῦντες δὲ πάλιν αὐτὸ τῷ τῆς κτήσεως ἀπόρῳ ποταμούς τε διαβῆναι λέγοντες ἀδυνάτους ὑπὸ μεγέθους ἅμα καὶ βάθους καὶ ὄρη ἀμήχανα τοῖς ὁδεύουσι καὶ πόλεις καρτερὰς τείχεσι καὶ περιβόλων ὀχυρότητι: [305] ἐν δ᾽ Ἑβρῶνι καὶ τῶν γιγάντων ἔφασκον τοὺς ἀπογόνους καταλαβεῖν. καὶ οἱ μὲν κατάσκοποι τεθεαμένοι πάντων οἷς μετὰ τὴν ἔξοδον τὴν ἀπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου ἐνέτυχον μείζω τὰ κατὰ τὴν Χαναναίαν αὐτοί τε κατεπλάγησαν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος οὕτως ἔχειν ἐπειρῶντο.

(3) [306] Οἱ δὲ ἄπορον ἐξ ὧν ἠκροάσαντο τὴν κτῆσιν τῆς γῆς ὑπελάμβανον καὶ διαλυθέντες ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ὀλοφυρόμενοι διῆγον, ὡς οὐδὲν ἔργῳ τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθοῦντος λόγῳ δὲ μόνον ὑπισχνουμένου. [307] καὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν πάλιν ᾐτιῶντο καὶ κατεβόων αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἀαρῶνος τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ πονηρὰν μὲν καὶ μετὰ τῶν εἰς τοὺς ἄνδρας βλασφημιῶν διάγουσι τὴν νύκτα. πρωὶ δ᾽ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν συντρέχουσι, δι᾽ ἐννοίας ἔχοντες καταλεύσαντες τόν τε Μωυσῆν καὶ τὸν Ἀαρῶνα ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὑποστρέφειν.

(4) [308] Τῶν δὲ κατασκόπων Ἰησοῦς τε ὁ Ναυήχου παῖς φυλῆς Ἐφραιμίτιδος καὶ Χάλεβος τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς φοβηθέντες χωροῦσιν εἰς μέσους καὶ τὸ πλῆθος κατεῖχον θαρσεῖν δεόμενοι καὶ μήτε ψευδολογίαν κατακρίνειν τοῦ θεοῦ μήτε πιστεύειν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ μὴ τἀληθῆ περὶ τῶν Χαναναίων εἰρηκέναι καταπληξαμένοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ τὴν κτῆσιν αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀγαθῶν παρορμῶσιν: [309] οὔτε γὰρ τῶν ὀρῶν τὸ μέγεθος οὔτε τῶν ποταμῶν τὸ βάθος τοῖς ἀρετὴν ἠσκηκόσιν ἐμποδὼν στήσεσθαι πρὸς τὰ ἔργα καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ θεοῦ συμπροθυμουμένου καὶ ὑπερμαχοῦντος αὐτῶν. “ἴωμεν οὖν, ἔφασαν, ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους μηδὲν ἔχοντες δι᾽ ὑποψίας ἡγεμόνι τε τῷ θεῷ πεπιστευκότες καὶ ὁδηγοῦσιν ἡμῖν ἑπόμενοι.” [310] καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα λέγοντες ἐπεχείρουν τὴν ὀργὴν καταπραύνειν τοῦ πλήθους, Μωυσῆς δὲ καὶ Ἀαρὼν πεσόντες ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὸν θεὸν ἱκέτευον οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίας, ἀλλ᾽ ὅπως τῆς ἀμαθίας παύσῃ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ καταστήσῃ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμηχανίας τοῦ παραστάντος αὐτοῖς πάθους τεταραγμένην, παρῆν δ᾽ ἡ νεφέλη καὶ στᾶσα ὑπὲρ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐσήμαινε τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ θεοῦ.

XV

(1) [311] Μωυσῆς δὲ θαρρήσας πάρεισιν εἰς τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐδήλου κινηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς ὕβρεως αὐτῷ λήψεσθαι τιμωρίαν, οὐκ ἀξίαν μὲν τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, οἵαν δὲ οἱ πατέρες ἐπὶ νουθεσίᾳ τοῖς τέκνοις ἐπιφέρουσι. [312] παρελθόντι γὰρ εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ τῆς μελλούσης ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀπωλείας ἀποκλαιομένῳ τὸν θεὸν ὑπομνῆσαι μέν, ὅσα παθόντες ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ πηλίκων εὐεργεσιῶν μεταλαβόντες ἀχάριστοι πρὸς αὐτὸν γένοιντο, ὅτι τε τῇ νῦν τῶν κατασκόπων ὑπαχθέντες δειλίᾳ τοὺς ἐκείνων λόγους ἀληθεστέρους τῆς ὑποσχέσεως ἡγήσαντο τῆς αὐτοῦ. [313] καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἀπολεῖ μὲν ἅπαντας οὐδ᾽ ἐξαφανίσει τὸ γένος αὐτῶν, ὃ πάντων μᾶλλον ἀνθρώπων ἔσχε διὰ τιμῆς, τὴν μέντοι Χαναναίαν οὐ παρέξειν γῆν αὐτοῖς λαβεῖν οὐδὲ τὴν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς εὐδαιμονίαν, [314] ἀνεστίους δὲ ποιήσειν καὶ ἀπόλιδας ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρημίας ἐπ᾽ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα καταβιῶναι τῆς παρανομίας ποινὴν ταύτην ἐκτίνοντας: παισὶ μέντοι τοῖς ὑμετέροις παραδώσειν τὴν γῆν ὑπέσχετο κἀκείνους τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὧν ἑαυτοῖς ὑπὸ ἀκρασίας ἐφθονήσατε μετασχεῖν, ποιήσειν δεσπότας.”

(2) [315] Ταῦτα δὲ Μωυσέος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμην διαλεχθέντος ἐν λύπῃ καὶ συμφορᾷ τὸ πλῆθος ἐγένετο, καὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν παρεκάλει καταλλάκτην αὐτῶν γενέσθαι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τῆς ἄλης τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν ἀπαλλάξαντα πόλεις αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν. ὁ δ᾽ οὐκ ἔφασκε τὸν θεὸν τοιαύτην πεῖραν προσήσεσθαι, μὴ γὰρ κατὰ κουφότητα προαχθῆναι τὸν θεὸν ἀνθρωπίνην εἰς τὴν ὀργὴν τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ γνώμῃ καταψηφισάμενον αὐτῶν. [316] οὐ δεῖ δὲ ἀπιστεῖν, εἰ Μωυσῆς εἷς ἀνὴρ ὢν τοσαύτας μυριάδας ὀργιζομένας ἐπράυνε καὶ μετήγαγε πρὸς τὸ ἥμερον: ὁ γὰρ θεὸς αὐτῷ συμπαρὼν ἡττᾶσθαι τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ τὸ πλῆθος παρεσκεύαζε, καὶ πολλάκις παρακούσαντες ἀσύμφορον ἑαυτοῖς τὴν ἀπείθειαν ἐπέγνωσαν ἐκ τοῦ συμφορᾷ περιπεσεῖν.

(3) [317] Θαυμαστὸς δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ τῆς ἰσχύος τῆς τοῦ πιστεύεσθαι περὶ ὧν ἂν εἴπῃ οὐ παρ᾽ ὀν ἔζη χρόνον ὑπῆρξε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν: ἔστι γοῦν οὐδεὶς Ἑβραίων, ὃς οὐχὶ καθάπερ παρόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ κολάσοντος ἂν ἀκοσμῇ πειθαρχεῖ τοῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ νομοθετηθεῖσι, κἂν λαθεῖν δύνηται. [318] καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τεκμήρια τῆς ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπόν ἐστι δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ, ἤδη δέ τινες καὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην μηνῶν ὁδὸν τεσσάρων ἐλθόντες κατὰ τιμὴν τοῦ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἱεροῦ μετὰ πολλῶν κινδύνων καὶ ἀναλωμάτων καὶ θύσαντες οὐκ ἴσχυσαν τῶν ἱερῶν μεταλαβεῖν Μωυσέος ἀπηγορευκότος ἐπί τινι τῶν οὐ νομιζομένων οὐδ᾽ ἐκ τῶν πατρίων ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς συντυχόντων. [319] καὶ οἱ μὲν μηδὲ θύσαντες, οἱ δὲ ἡμιέργους τὰς θυσίας καταλιπόντες, πολλοὶ δ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἀρχὴν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν δυνηθέντες ἀπίασιν ὑπακούειν τοῖς Μωυσέος προστάγμασι μᾶλλον ἢ ποιεῖν τὰ κατὰ βούλησιν τὴν ἑαυτῶν προτιμῶντες, καὶ τὸν ἐλέγξοντα περὶ τούτων αὐτοὺς οὐ δεδιότες, ἀλλὰ μόνον τὸ συνειδὸς ὑφορώμενοι. [320] οὕτως ἡ νομοθεσία τοῦ θεοῦ δοκοῦσα τὸν ἄνδρα πεποίηκε τῆς αὐτοῦ φύσεως κρείττονα νομίζεσθαι. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν Κλαυδίου Ῥωμαίων

ἄρχοντος Ἰσμαήλου δὲ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἀρχιερέως ὄντος, καὶ λιμοῦ τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν καταλαβόντος, ὡς τεσσάρων δραχμῶν πωλεῖσθαι τὸν ἀσσάρωνα, [321] κομισθέντος ἀλεύρου κατὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν τῶν ἀζύμων εἰς κόρους ἑβδομήκοντα, μέδιμνοι δὲ οὗτοι Σικελοὶ μέν εἰσιν εἷς καὶ τριακόσιοι Ἀττικοὶ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα εἷς, οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησε τῶν ἱερέων κρίμνον ἓν φαγεῖν τοσαύτης ἀπορίας τὴν γῆν κατεχούσης, δεδιὼς τὸν νόμον καὶ τὴν ὀργήν, ἣν καὶ ἐπὶ ἀνεξελέγκτοις ἀεὶ τὸ θεῖον τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν ἔχει. [322] ὥστ᾽ οὐ δεῖ θαυμάζειν περὶ τῶν τότε πεπραγμένων, ὁπότε καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τὰ καταλειφθέντα ὑπὸ Μωυσέος γράμματα τηλικαύτην ἰσχὺν ἔχει, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς μισοῦντας ἡμᾶς ὁμολογεῖν, ὅτι καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἡμῖν ὁ καταστησάμενός ἐστι θεὸς διὰ Μωυσέος καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς ἐκείνου. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ὡς αὐτῷ τινι δοκεῖ διαλήψεται.

Liber IV

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Ἑβραίων δίχα τῆς Μωυσέος γνώμης μάχη πρὸς Χαναναίους καὶ ἧττα.

β. στάσις Κορέου καὶ τοῦ πλήθους πρὸς Μωυσῆν *καὶ* τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης.

γ. τὰ συμβάντα τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἔτεσιν ὀκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα.

δ. ὡς Σηχῶνα καὶ Ὤγην τοὺς Ἀμορραίων βασιλεῖς νικήσας Μωυσῆς καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἅπασαν αὐτῶν διαφθείρας κατεκλήρωσεν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν δυσὶ φυλαῖς καὶ ἡμισείᾳ τῶν Ἑβραίων.

ε. Μωυσέος πολιτεία καὶ πῶς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφανίσθη.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος αὕτη χρόνον ἐτῶν τριάκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ.

I

(1) [1] Ἑβραίους δ᾽ ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν βίος ἀηδὴς καὶ χαλεπὸς ὢν ἐπόνει καὶ κωλύοντος τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν Χαναναίων πεῖραν λαμβάνειν: οὐ γὰρ ἠξίουν τοῖς Μωυσέος πειθαρχοῦντες λόγοις ἠρεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δίχα τῆς παρ᾽ ἐκείνου προθυμίας κρατήσειν αὐτοὶ τῶν πολεμίων νομίζοντες κατηγόρουν μὲν αὐτοῦ καὶ πραγματεύεσθαι μένειν αὐτοὺς ἀπόρους ὑπενόουν, ἵν᾽ ἀεὶ τῆς ἐξ αὐτοῦ βοηθείας δέωνται, [2] πολεμεῖν δὲ τοῖς Χαναναίοις ὡρμήκεσαν λέγοντες τὸν θεὸν οὐχὶ Μωυσεῖ χαριζόμενον ἐπικουρεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινῇ κηδόμενον αὐτῶν τοῦ ἔθνους διὰ τοὺς προγόνους ὧν ἐπετρόπευσε καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν πρότερόν τε παρασχεῖν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ νῦν βουλομένοις πονεῖν ἀεὶ παρέσεσθαι σύμμαχον: [3] εἶναί τε καὶ κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἱκανοὶ κρατεῖν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἔφασκον, κἂν ἀπαλλοτριοῦν αὐτῶν Μωυσῆς ἐθελήσῃ τὸν θεόν: ὅλως τε συμφέρειν αὐτοῖς τὸ αὐτοκράτορσιν εἶναι, καὶ μὴ χαίροντας ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς παρ᾽ Αἰγυπτίων ἐξελθεῖν ὕβρεως Μωυσῆν τύραννον ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ ζῆν πρὸς τὴν τούτου βούλησιν ἐξαπατωμένους, [4] ὅτι μόνῳ τὸ θεῖον αὐτῷ προδηλοῖ περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων κατὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὔνοιαν, ὡς οὐχ ἁπάντων ἐκ τῆς Ἀβράμου γενεᾶς ὄντων, ἀλλ᾽ αἴτιον ἕνα τούτων τοῦ θεοῦ παρεσχηκότος εἰς τὸ πάντ᾽ αὐτὸν εἰδέναι τὰ μέλλοντα παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ μανθάνοντα: [5] δόξειν τε συνετοὺς εἶναι τῆς ἀλαζονείας αὐτοῦ καταγνόντες καὶ τῷ θεῷ πιστεύσαντες κτήσασθαι γῆν ἣν αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχηται θελήσασιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῷ διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην ἐπ᾽ ὀνόματι τοῦ θεοῦ κωλύοντι προσσχοῖεν. [6] τὴν ἀπορίαν οὖν λογιζόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν, ὑφ᾽ ἧς ἔτι ταύτην αὐτοῖς χείρω συνέβαινεν εἶναι δοκεῖν, ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Χαναναίους

μάχην ἦσαν ὡρμημένοι, τὸν θεὸν προστησάμενοι στρατηγὸν ἀλλ᾽ οὐχὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ νομοθέτου συνεργίαν περιμένοντες.

(2) [7] Ὡς οὖν ταῦτ᾽ ἄμεινον αὐτοῖς ἔξειν ἔκριναν καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπῆλθον, οἱ μὲν οὐ καταπλαγέντες αὐτῶν τὴν ἔφοδον οὐδὲ τὴν πληθὺν γενναίως αὐτοὺς ἐδέξαντο, τῶν δὲ Ἑβραίων ἀποθνήσκουσί τε πολλοὶ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν στράτευμα τῆς φάλαγγος αὐτῶν διαλυθείσης ἀκόσμως διωκόμενον εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν συνέφυγε, [8] καὶ τῷ παρ᾽ ἐλπίδας ἀτυχῆσαι παντάπασιν ἀθυμοῦν οὐδὲν ἔτι χρηστὸν προσεδόκα λογιζόμενον, ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα κατὰ μῆνιν θεοῦ πάθοιεν προεξορμήσαντες ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον τῆς ἐκείνου βουλήσεως.

(3) [9] Μωυσῆς δὲ τοὺς μὲν οἰκείους ὁρῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἥττης καταπεπληγότας, φοβούμενος δὲ μὴ θαρσήσαντες ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ μειζόνων ὀρεχθέντες ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἔλθοιεν, ἔγνω δεῖν τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπαγαγεῖν πορρωτέρω τῶν Χαναναίων εἰς τὴν ἔρημον. [10] καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπιτρέψαντος ἑαυτὸ πάλιν ἐκείνῳ, συνῆκε γὰρ δίχα τῆς αὐτοῦ προνοίας οὐ δυνησόμενον ἐρρῶσθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἀναστήσας τὸ στράτευμα προῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον, ἐνταῦθα νομίζων ἡσυχάσειν αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ πρότερον τοῖς Χαναναίοις εἰς χεῖρας ἥξειν πρὶν ἢ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν εἰς τοῦτο καιρὸν λάβωσιν.

II

(1) [11] Ὅπερ δὲ τοῖς μεγάλοις συμβαίνει στρατοπέδοις καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ τὰς κακοπραγίας δυσάρκτοις εἶναι καὶ δυσπειθέσι, τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις συνέπεσεν: ἑξήκοντα γὰρ ὄντες μυριάδες καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἴσως ἂν μηδ᾽ ἐν ἀγαθοῖς ὑποταγέντες τοῖς κρείττοσι, τότε μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας καὶ συμφορᾶς ἐξηγανάκτουν καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα. [12] στάσις οὖν αὐτοὺς οἵαν ἴσμεν οὔτε παρ᾽ Ἕλλησιν οὔτε παρὰ βαρβάροις γενομένην κατέλαβεν, ὑφ᾽ ἧς ἅπαντας ἀπολέσθαι κινδυνεύσαντας ἔσωσε Μωυσῆς οὐ μνησικακῶν, ὅτι παρ᾽ ὀλίγον ἦλθε καταλευσθεὶς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν. [13] οὐδ᾽ ὁ θεὸς δὲ ἠμέλησε τοῦ μηδὲν αὐτοὺς παθεῖν τῶν δεινῶν, ἀλλὰ καίπερ εἰς τὸν νομοθέτην αὐτῶν ἐξυβρισάντων καὶ τὰς ἐντολάς, ἃς αὐτὸς διὰ Μωυσέος αὐτοῖς ἐπέστειλεν, ἐρρύσατο τῶν ἐκ τοῦ στασιάζειν αὐτοῖς ἂν γενομένων δεινῶν, εἰ μὴ προενόησε. τήν τε οὖν στάσιν καὶ ὅσα μετ᾽ αὐτὴν Μωυσῆς ἐπολιτεύσατο διηγήσομαι προδιελθὼν τὴν αἰτίαν ἀφ᾽ ἧς ἐγένετο.

(2) [14] Κορῆς τις Ἑβραίων ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ γένει καὶ πλούτῳ διαφόρων ἱκανὸς δ᾽ εἰπεῖν καὶ δήμοις ὁμιλεῖν πιθανώτατος, ὁρῶν ἐν ὑπερβαλλούσῃ τιμῇ τὸν Μωυσῆν καθεστῶτα χαλεπῶς εἶχεν ὑπὸ φθόνου, καὶ γὰρ φυλέτης ὢν ἐτύγχανεν αὐτοῦ καὶ συγγενής, ἀχθόμενος ὅτι ταύτης τῆς δόξης δικαιότερον ἂν τῷ πλουτεῖν ἐκείνου μᾶλλον μὴ χείρων ὢν κατὰ γένος αὐτὸς ἀπέλαυε. [15] παρά τε τοῖς Λευίταις, φυλέται δ᾽ ἦσαν, καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ τοῖς συγγενέσι κατεβόα

δεινὸν εἶναι λέγων Μωυσῆν δόξαν αὐτῷ θηρώμενον κατασκευάσαι καὶ κακουργοῦντα κτήσασθαι ταύτην ἐπὶ προφάσει τοῦ θεοῦ περιορᾶν, παρὰ τοὺς νόμους μὲν τἀδελφῷ τὴν ἱερωσύνην Ἀαρῶνι δόντα, μὴ τῷ κοινῷ δόγματι τοῦ πλήθους ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοῦ ψηφισαμένου, [16] τυράννων δὲ τρόπῳ καταχαριζομένου τὰς τιμὰς οἷς ἂν ἐθελήσῃ χαλεπώτερον ἤδη τυγχάνειν τοῦ βιάζεσθαι τό τε λεληθότως ἐξυβρίζειν, ὅτι μὴ μόνον ἄκοντας μηδὲ συνιέντας τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τὴν ἰσχὺν ἀφαιρεῖται: [17] ὅστις γὰρ αὐτῷ σύνοιδεν ὄντι λαβεῖν ἀξίῳ πείθει τυγχάνειν αὐτὸν καὶ τότε βιάσασθαι μὴ θρασυνόμενος, οἷς δὲ ἄπορον ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου τιμᾶσθαι, βίαν μὲν ἀγαθοὶ βουλόμενοι δοκεῖν οὐ προσφέρουσι, τέχνῃ δ᾽ εἶναι κακουργοῦσι δυνατοί. [18] συμφέρειν δὲ τῷ πλήθει τοὺς τοιούτους ἔτι λανθάνειν οἰομένους κολάζειν καὶ μὴ παρελθεῖν εἰς δύναμιν ἐάσαντας φανεροὺς ἔχειν πολεμίους. τίνα γὰρ καὶ λόγον ἀποδοῦναι δυνάμενος Μωυσῆς Ἀαρῶνι καὶ τοῖς υἱέσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἱερωσύνην παρέδωκεν; [19] εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Λευίτιδος φυλῆς τὴν τιμὴν ὁ θεός τινι παρασχεῖν ἔκρινεν, ἐγὼ ταύτης δικαιότερος τυγχάνειν γένει μὲν ὁ αὐτὸς ὢν Μωυσεῖ, πλούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ διαφέρων: εἰ δὲ τῇ πρεσβυτάτῃ τῶν φυλῶν, εἰκότως ἂν ἡ Ῥουβήλου τὴν τιμὴν ἔχοι λαμβανόντων αὐτὴν Δαθάμου καὶ Ἀβιράμου καὶ Φαλαοῦς: πρεσβύτατοι γὰρ οὗτοι τῶν ταύτην τὴν φυλὴν νεμομένων καὶ δυνατοὶ χρημάτων περιουσίᾳ.

(3) [20] Ἐβούλετο μὲν οὖν ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Κορῆς τοῦ κοινοῦ προνοεῖσθαι δοκεῖν, ἔργῳ δὲ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπραγματεύετο τὴν παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους τιμὴν μεταστῆσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα κακοήθως μετ᾽ εὐπρεπείας πρὸς τοὺς φυλέτας ἔλεγε. [21] προιόντος δ᾽ εἰς τοὺς πλείονας κατ᾽ ὀλίγον τοῦ λόγου καὶ τῶν ἀκροωμένων προστιθεμένων ταῖς κατὰ Ἀαρῶνος διαβολαῖς ἀναπίμπλαται τούτων ἅπας ὁ στρατός. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ συντεταγμένοι τῷ Κορῇ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακόσιοι τῶν πρώτων ἄνδρες σπεύδοντες ἀφελέσθαι τὴν ἱερωσύνην τὸν Μωυσέος ἀδελφὸν καὶ τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἀτιμοῦν. [22] ἀνηρέθιστο δὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ βάλλειν τὸν Μωυσῆν ὡρμήκεσαν, εἵς τε ἐκκλησίαν ἀκόσμως μετὰ θορύβου καὶ ταραχῆς συνελέγοντο, καὶ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ θεοῦ στάντες ἐβόων ἥκειν τὸν τύραννον καὶ τῆς ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ δουλείας ἀπηλλάχθαι τὸ πλῆθος, τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ προφάσει βίαια προστάγματα κελεύοντος: [23] τὸν γὰρ θεόν, εἴπερ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ τὸν ἱερωσόμενον ἐκλεγόμενος, τὸν ἄξιον ἂν εἰς τὴν τιμὴν παράγειν, οὐχὶ τοῖς πολλῶν ὑποδεεστέροις ταύτην φέροντα προσνεῖμαι, κρίνοντά τε παρασχεῖν Ἀαρῶνι ταύτην ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει ποιήσασθαι τὴν δόσιν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐπὶ τἀδελφῷ καταλιπεῖν.

(4) [24] Μωυσῆς δὲ τὴν Κορέου διαβολὴν ἐκ πολλοῦ προειδὼς καὶ τὸν λαὸν παροξυνόμενον ἰδὼν οὐκ ἔδεισεν, ἀλλὰ θαρρῶν οἷς περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καλῶς ἐβουλεύετο καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν εἰδὼς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ προαίρεσιν τῆς ἱερωσύνης τυχεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ χάριν, ἦκεν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. [25] καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὸ πλῆθος οὐδένα ἐποιήσατο λόγον, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Κορῆ βοῶν ἐφ᾽ ὅσον ἐδύνατο,

δεξιὸς ὢν καὶ κατὰ τἆλλα καὶ πλήθεσιν ὁμιλεῖν εὐφυής, “ἐμοί, φησίν, ὦ Κορῆ, καὶ σὺ καὶ τούτων ἕκαστος,” ἀπεδήλου δὲ τοὺς πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους ἄνδρας, “τιμῆς ἄξιοι δοκεῖτε, καὶ τὸν ὅμιλον δὲ πάντα τῆς ὁμοίας οὐκ ἀποστερῶ τιμῆς, κἂν ὑστερῶσιν ὧν ὑμῖν ἐκ πλούτου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀξιώσεως ὑπάρχει. [26] καὶ νῦν Ἀαρῶνι τὴν ἱερωσύνην οὐκ ἐπειδὴ πλούτῳ προεῖχε, σὺ γὰρ καὶ ἀμφοτέρους ἡμᾶς μεγέθει χρημάτων ὑπερβάλλεις, οὐ μὴν οὐδ’ εὐγενείᾳ, κοινὸν γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦτο ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν αὐτὸν δοὺς προπάτορα, οὐδὲ διὰ φιλαδελφίαν ὃ δικαίως ἂν ἕτερος εἶχε τοῦτο φέρων ἔδωκα τἀδελφῷ: [27] καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ φροντίζων τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν νόμων τὴν τιμὴν ἐχαριζόμην, οὐκ ἂν ἐμαυτῷ παρεὶς δοῦναι παρέσχον ἑτέρῳ συγγενέστερος ὢν ἐμαυτῷ τἀδελφοῦ, καὶ πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν οἰκειότερον ἢ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον διακείμενος: καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ συνετὸν ἦν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἐμαυτὸν ὑποτιθέντα τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ παρανομεῖν ἄλλῳ τὴν διὰ τούτου εὐδαιμονίαν χαρίζεσθαι. [28] ἀλλ’ ἐγώ τε κρείττων ἢ κακουργεῖν ὅ τε θεὸς οὐκ ἂν περιεῖδεν ἑαυτὸν καταφρονούμενον οὐδ’ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοοῦντας ὅτι καὶ ποιοῦντες αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθε, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς ἐπιλεξάμενος τὸν ἱερωσόμενον αὐτῷ τῆς κατὰ τοῦτ’ αἰτίας ἡμᾶς ἠλευθέρωσεν. [29] οὐ μὴν ἐξ ἐμῆς χάριτος λαβεῖν ἀλλὰ μὴ κατὰ κρίσιν θεοῦ, κατατίθησιν αὐτὴν εἰς μέσον ἐπιδικάσιμον τοῖς βουλομένοις, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ προκριθεὶς ἤδη τυχεῖν αὐτῆς ἀξιῶν ἐπιτραπῆναι καὶ τοῦτο νῦν αὐτῷ [συγχωρηθῆναι] περὶ αὐτῆς σπουδάσαι, [30] προτιμῶν τοῦ τὸ γέρας ἔχειν τὸ μὴ στασιάζοντας ὑμᾶς ὁρᾶν καί τοι κατὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν γνώμην αὐτοῦ τυγχάνων: ὃ γὰρ ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς οὐχ ἡμάρτομεν τοῦτο καὶ μὴ βουλομένων ὑμῶν λαμβάνοντες. [31] ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ μὴ προσέσθαι παρέχοντος ἐκείνου τὴν τιμὴν ἀσεβές, καὶ πάλιν ἀξιοῦντ’ ἔχειν εἰς ἅπαντα χρόνον μὴ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τὴν ἐπ’ αὐτῇ βεβαιοῦντος ἡμῖν τοῦ θεοῦ παντάπασιν ἀλόγιστον. κρινεῖ τοίνυν πάλιν αὐτός, τίνας βούλεται τὰς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῷ θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ προεστάναι τῆς εὐσεβείας: [32] ἄτοπον γὰρ Κορῆν ἐφιέμενον τῆς τιμῆς τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ τίνι παράσχῃ ταύτην ἀφελέσθαι τὸν θεόν. τῆς οὖν στάσεως καὶ τῆς διὰ τοῦτο ταραχῆς παύσασθε, πρωὶ δὲ ὅσοι τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἀντιποιεῖσθε κομίζων ἕκαστος θυμιατήριον οἴκοθεν σὺν θυμιάμασι καὶ πῦρ πάριτε. [33] καὶ σὺ δέ, Κορῆ, παραχώρησον τὴν κρίσιν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτοῦ μένε ψηφοφορίαν, ἀλλὰ μὴ σαυτὸν ποίει τοῦ θεοῦ κρείττονα, παραγίνου δὲ κριθησόμενος οὕτως περὶ τοῦ γέρως. ἀνεμέσητον δ’ οἶμαι καὶ Ἀαρῶνα προσδέξασθαι συγκριθησόμενον, γένους μὲν ὄντα τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηδὲν δὲ μεμφθῆναι τοῖς παρὰ τὴν ἱερωσύνην πεπραγμένοις δυνάμενον. [34] θυμιάσετε οὖν συνελθόντες ἐν φανερῷ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, καὶ θυμιωμένων ὑμῶν οὗπερ ἂν τὴν θυσίαν ἡδίω κρίνῃ ὁ θεός, οὗτος ὑμῖν ἱερεὺς κεχειροτονήσεται, τῆς ἐπὶ τἀδελφῷ διαβολῆς ὡς κεχαρισμένου τὴν τιμὴν αὐτῷ ῥυόμενος.”

III

(1) [35] Ταῦτα Μωυσέος εἰπόντος παύεται καὶ τῆς ταραχῆς τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τῆς εἰς Μωυσῆν ὑποψίας, ἐπένευσαν δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις: καὶ γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἐδόκει χρηστὰ τῷ λαῷ. τότε μὲν οὖν διαλύουσι τὸν σύλλογον, τῇ δ᾽ ἐπιούσῃ συνῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρατευξόμενοι τῇ θυσίᾳ καὶ τῇ δι᾽ αὐτῆς κρίσει τῶν περὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἀγωνιζομένων. [36] συνέβαινε δ᾽ εἶναι θορυβώδη τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετεώρου τοῦ πλήθους ὄντος ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι τῶν ἐσομένων, καὶ τῶν μὲν εἰς ἡδονὴν λαμβανόντων, εἰ Μωυσῆς ἐλεγχθείη κακουργῶν, τῶν δὲ φρονίμων, εἰ πραγμάτων ἀπαλλαγείησαν καὶ ταραχῆς: ἐδεδίεσαν γάρ, μὴ τῆς στάσεως προιούσης ἀφανισθῇ μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ὁ κόσμος τῆς καταστάσεως. [37] ὁ δὲ πᾶς ὅμιλος φύσει χαίρων τῷ καταβοᾶν τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ πρὸς ὅ τις εἴποι πρὸς τοῦτο τὴν γνώμην τρέπων ἐθορύβει. πέμψας δὲ καὶ Μωυσῆς πρὸς Ἀβίραμον καὶ Δαθάμην ὑπηρέτας ἐκέλευσεν ἥκειν κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα καὶ περιμένειν τὴν ἱερουργίαν. [38] ὡς δ᾽ οὔτε ὑπακούσεσθαι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἔφασαν καὶ Μωυσῆν οὐ περιόψεσθαι κατὰ τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ἐκ κακουργίας αὐξανόμενον, ἀκούσας τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ὁ Μωυσῆς ἀκολουθεῖν αὐτῷ τοὺς προβούλους ἀξιώσας ἀπῄει πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Δαθάμην, οὐχ ἡγούμενος εἶναι δεινὸν βαδίζειν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπερηφανήσαντας: οἱ δ᾽ οὐδὲν ἀντειπόντες ἠκολούθουν. [39] οἱ δὲ περὶ Δαθάμην πυθόμενοι τὸν Μωυσῆν μετὰ τῶν ἀξιολόγων τῆς πληθύος πρὸς αὐτοὺς παραγινόμενον προελθόντες γυναιξὶν ἅμα καὶ τέκνοις πρὸ τῶν σκηνῶν ἀπέβλεπον, τί καὶ μέλλοι ποιεῖν ὁ Μωυσῆς: ἔτι τε θεράποντες ἦσαν περὶ αὐτούς, ὡς εἰ βίαν τινὰ προσφέροι Μωυσῆς ἀμυνούμενοι.

(2) [40] Ὁ δὲ πλησίον γενόμενος τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνασχὼν γεγωνότερον ἐκβοήσας, ὡς ἀκουστὸν πάσῃ τῇ πληθύι γενέσθαι, “δέσποτα, φησί, τῶν ἐπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης: σὺ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τῶν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ πεπραγμένων μάρτυς ἀξιολογώτατος, ὡς γνώμῃ τε σῇ γίνεται πάντα καὶ δρωμένοις μηχανὴν ἐξεπόρισας οἴκτον ἐν πᾶσι δεινοῖς Ἑβραίων ποιησάμενος, ἐλθέ μοι τούτων ἀκροατὴς τῶν λόγων: [41] σὲ γὰρ οὔτε πραττόμενον οὔτε νοηθὲν λανθάνει, ὥστ᾽ οὐδὲ φθονήσεις μοι τῆς ἀληθείας τὴν τούτων ἀχαριστίαν ἐπίπροσθεν θέμενος. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτερα τῆς ἐμῆς γενέσεως αὐτὸς οἶσθ᾽ ἀκριβέστερον οὐκ ἀκοῇ μαθὼν ὄψει δὲ τότ᾽ αὐτοῖς παρὼν γινομένοις, ἃ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις καίπερ ἐπιστάμενοι σαφῶς ἀδίκως ὑπονοοῦσι τούτων μοι γενοῦ μάρτυς. [42] ἐγὼ βίον ἀπράγμονα καταστησάμενος ἀνδραγαθίᾳ μὲν ἐμῇ σῇ δὲ βουλῇ, καὶ τοῦτον Ῥαγουήλου μοι τοῦ πενθεροῦ καταλιπόντος ἀφεὶς τὴν ἐκείνων ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐμαυτὸν ἐπέδωκα ταῖς ὑπὲρ τούτων ταλαιπωρίαις. καὶ πρότερον μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας αὐτῶν, νῦν δ᾽ ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας μεγάλους ὑπέστην πόνους καὶ παντὶ δεινῷ τοὐμὸν ἀντιτάξας πρόθυμον. [43] νῦν οὖν ἐπεὶ κακουργεῖν ὑποπτεύομαι παρ᾽ ἀνδράσιν, οἷς ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν καμάτων ὑπῆρχε τὸ περιεῖναι, εἰκότως ἂν αὐτός, ὁ τὸ πῦρ ἐκεῖνό μοι φήνας κατὰ τὸ Σιναῖον καὶ τῆς σαυτοῦ φωνῆς ἀκροατὴν τότε καταστήσας καὶ θεατὴν τεράτων ὅσα μοι

παρέσχεν ἰδεῖν ἐκεῖνος ὁ τόπος ποιήσας, ὁ κελεύσας ἐπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου σταλῆναι καὶ τὴν σὴν γνώμην τούτοις ἐμφανίσαι, [44] ὁ τὴν Αἰγυπτίων εὐδαιμονίαν σείσας καὶ τῆς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοὺς δουλείας δρασμὸν ἡμῖν παρασχὼν καὶ μικροτέραν ἐμοῦ τὴν Φαραώθου ποιήσας ἡγεμονίαν, ὁ γῆν ἡμῖν ἀμαθῶς ἔχουσι τῶν ὁδῶν ποιήσας τὸ πέλαγος καὶ τὴν ἀνακεκομμένην θάλασσαν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίων ἐπικυμήνας ὀλέθροις, ὁ γυμνοῖς οὖσι τὴν ἐξ ὅπλων ἀσφάλειαν χαρισάμενος, [45] ὁ ποτίμους ἡμῖν διεφθαρμένας πηγὰς ῥεῦσαι παρασκευάσας καὶ τελέως ἀποροῦσιν ἐκ πετρῶν ἐλθεῖν ἡμῖν ποτὸν μηχανησάμενος, ὁ τῶν γῆθεν ἀπορουμένους εἰς τροφὴν διασώσας τοῖς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, ὁ καὶ ἀπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ τροφὴν καταπέμψας οὐ πρότερον ἱστορηθεῖσαν, ὁ νόμων ἡμῖν ἐπίνοιαν ὑποθέμενος καὶ διάταξιν πολιτείας: [46] ἐλθέ, δέσποτα τῶν ὅλων, δικαστής μου καὶ μάρτυς ἀδωροδόκητος, ὡς οὔτε δωρεὰν ἐγὼ παρ᾽ Ἑβραίων τινὸς κατὰ τοῦ δικαίου προσηκάμην οὔτε πλούτῳ κατέκρινα πενίαν νικᾶν δυναμένην οὔτε ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τοῦ κοινοῦ πολιτευσάμενος εἰς ἀλλοτριωτάτας τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐπινοίας πάρειμι, ὡς οὐχὶ σοῦ κελεύσαντος Ἀαρῶνι δοὺς τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἀλλὰ κατ᾽ ἐμὴν χάριν. [47] παράστησον δὲ καὶ νῦν, ὅτι πάντα σῇ προνοίᾳ διοικεῖται καὶ μηδὲν αὐτομάτως ἀλλὰ κατὰ βούλησιν βραβευόμενον τὴν σὴν εἰς τέλος ἔρχεται, ὅτι δὲ φροντίζεις τῶν Ἑβραίους ὀνησόντων, μετελθὼν Ἀβίραμον καὶ Δαθάμην, οἵ σου καταδικάζουσιν ἀναισθησίαν ὡς ὑπ᾽ ἐμῆς τέχνης νικωμένου. [48] ποιήσεις δὲ φανερὰν τὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς δίκην οὕτως μεμηνότων κατὰ τῆς σῆς δόξης, μὴ κοινῶς ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν αὐτοὺς μεταστήσας μηδ᾽ ὡς ἀποθανόντας κατ᾽ ἀνθρώπινον ἐξεληλυθότας τοῦ βίου φανέντας νόμον, ἀλλὰ χάνοι περὶ αὐτοὺς ἅμα τῇ γενεᾷ καὶ τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἣν πατοῦσι γῆν: [49] τοῦτο γὰρ σῆς ἐπίδειξις ἂν ἰσχύος ἅπασι γένοιτο καὶ διδασκαλία σωφροσύνης δὲ εἰς τοὺς ταῦτα πείσεσθαι περὶ σοῦ δοξάζοντας οὐχ ὅσια: εὑρεθείην γὰρ ἂν οὕτως ἀγαθὸς ὑπηρέτης ὢν σὺ προστάσσεις. [50] εἰ δ᾽ ἀληθεῖς πεποίηνται τὰς κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ διαβολάς, τοὺς μὲν ἀπαθεῖς ἀπὸ παντὸς φυλάξεις κακοῦ, ὃν δ᾽ ἐπηρασάμην ὄλεθρον αὐτοῖς τοῦτον ποιήσεις ἐμόν, καὶ δίκην εἰσπραξάμενος παρὰ τοῦ τὸν σὸν ἀδικῆσαι θελήσαντος λαὸν τοῦ λοιποῦ βραβεύων ὁμόνοιαν καὶ εἰρήνην σῶζε τὴν πληθὺν ἑπομένην τοῖς σοῖς προστάγμασιν, ἀπαθῆ τηρῶν αὐτὴν καὶ ἀκοινώνητον τῆς τῶν ἡμαρτηκότων κολάσεως: σὺ γὰρ αὐτὸς οἶσθα, ὡς οὐ δίκαιον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνων κακίας κοινῇ πάντας Ἰσραηλίτας τιμωρίαν ἐκτίνειν.”

(3) [51] Ταῦτ᾽ εἰπόντος καὶ δακρύοντος σείεται μὲν αἰφνίδιον ἡ γῆ, σάλου δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς κινηθέντος ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀνέμου βίας σαλευομένου κύματος πᾶς μὲν ἔδεισεν ὁ λαός, πατάγου δὲ καὶ σκληροῦ ῥαγέντος ἤχου κατὰ τὰς ἐκείνων σκηνὰς συνίζησεν ἡ γῆ καὶ πάνθ᾽ ὅσα φίλα τούτοις ἦν ὑπήνεγκεν εἰς αὐτήν. [52] ἠφανισμένων δ᾽ οὕτως, ὡς μηδὲ φανῆναί τινας γνῶναι, συνῆλθε πάλιν τῆς γῆς τὸ περὶ ἐκείνοις κεχηνὸς καὶ καθίστατο, ὡς μηδ᾽ εἰ πάθοι τι τῶν προειρημένων φανερὸν εἶναι τοῖς ὁρῶσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἀπώλοντο ἐπίδειξις τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς

ἰσχύος γενόμενοι: [53] ὀδύραιτο δ' ἄν τις οὐ μόνον τῆς συμφορᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὔσης ἀξίας οἴκτου, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τοιαῦτα παθόντων ἐφήσθησαν οἱ συγγενεῖς: τῶν γὰρ συντεταγμένων ἐκλαθόμενοι πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ἐβεβαίουν τὴν κρίσιν, καὶ νομίζοντες ὡς ἀλιτηρίους ἀπολωλέναι τοὺς περὶ Δαθάμην οὐδ' ἐλυποῦντο.

(4) [54] Μωυσῆς δ' ἐκάλει τοὺς περὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἀμιλλωμένους διὰ τὴν τῶν ἱερέων δοκιμασίαν, ἵν' οὗ προσδέξηται τὴν θυσίαν ὁ θεὸς ἥδιον εἴη κεχειροτονημένος. συνελθόντων δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων ἀνδρῶν, οἳ καὶ διὰ πατέρων ἀρετὴν ἐτιμῶντο παρὰ τῷ λαῷ καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν, ᾗ κἀκείνους ὑπερεβάλλοντο, προῆλθον καὶ Ἀαρὼν καὶ Κορῆς, καὶ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς πάντες καθήγνισαν ἐπὶ τοῖς θυμιατηρίοις ὁπόσα κομίζοντες ἔτυχον. [55] ἐξέλαμψε δὲ πῦρ τοσοῦτον ὅσον οὔτε χειροποίητον ἱστόρησέ τις οὔτε γῆθεν ἀναδοθὲν κατὰ ὑποδρομὴν καύματος οὔτε κατὰ βίαν πνευμάτων ὕλης πρὸς αὐτὸ παρατριβείσης αὐτομάτως ἐξεκρούσθη, ἀλλ' ὁποῖον θεοῦ κελεύσαντος ἀφθείη λαμπρὸν καὶ φλογωδέστατον: [56] ὑφ' οὗ πάντες, οἵ τε διακόσιοι καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ Κορῆς, ἄξαντος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐφθάρησαν, ὡς καὶ τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ἀφανῆ γεγονέναι. περισώζεται δὲ μόνος Ἀαρὼν μηδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς βλαβεὶς τῷ τὸν θεὸν [εἶναι] τὸν οὓς ἔδει καίειν ἀπεσταλκότα. [57] Μωυσῆς δὲ τούτων ἀπολομένων βουλόμενος τὴν τιμωρίαν αὐτῶν μνήμῃ παραδοθῆναι καὶ τοὺς αὖθις ἐσομένους αὐτὴν μαθεῖν, ἐκέλευσεν Ἐλεάζαρον τὸν Ἀαρῶνος υἱὸν τὰ θυμιατήρια αὐτῶν παρὰ τὸν χάλκεον καταθέσθαι βωμόν, [58] ὡς ἂν ὑπόμνησις εἴη τοῖς αὖθις ὧν ἔπαθον καὶ ὅτι τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῦ θεοῦ νομίσειαν ἀπατᾶσθαι δύνασθαι. καὶ Ἀαρὼν μὲν οὐκέτι τῇ Μωυσέος χάριτι τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἔχειν δοκῶν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ κρίσει φανερᾷ γενομένῃ, μετὰ τῶν υἱῶν ἤδη βεβαίως ἀπέλαυε τῆς τιμῆς.

IV

(1) [59] Τὴν μέντοι στάσιν οὐδ' οὕτως συνέβη παύσασθαι, πολλῷ δὲ μᾶλλον αὔξειν καὶ φύεσθαι: χαλεπωτέραν ἐλάμβανε τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον προκοπῆς αἰτίαν, ὑφ' ἧς οὐδέποτε λήξειν τὸ δεινὸν ἦν εἰκὸς ἀλλ' εἰς χρόνον παραμενεῖν. [60] οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι πεπιστευκότες ἤδη μηδὲν γίνεσθαι δίχα τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίας οὐκ ἐβούλοντο ταῦτα χωρὶς τῆς εἰς Μωυσῆν χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ πεπρᾶχθαι, κατηγόρουν δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ θεοῦ γίνεσθαι τοσαύτην οὐχ οὕτω διὰ τὴν τῶν κολασθέντων ἀδικίαν, ὡς Μωυσέος πραγματευσαμένου: [61] καὶ τοὺς μὲν διεφθάρθαι μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτόντας ἢ ὅτι περὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείαν ἐσπουδάκεσαν, τὸν δὲ τοιούτων [ἀνδρῶν] ὀλέθρῳ καὶ πάντων ἀρίστων ἐζημιωκότα τὸν λαὸν πρὸς τῷ μηδεμίαν ὑποσχεῖν δίκην ἔτι καὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἀναμφίλεκτον τἀδελφῷ παρασχεῖν: [62] οὐδένα γὰρ ἔτι αὐτῆς ἄλλον ἀντιποιήσεσθαι καὶ τοὺς πρώτους ὁρῶντα κακῶς ἀπολωλότας. ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ

παρὰ τῶν οἰκείων τοῖς διεφθαρμένοις δέησις ἐγένετο πολλὴ τοῦ πλήθους μειῶσαί τι τῆς Μωυσέος μεγαλαυχίας: ἀσφαλὲς γὰρ αὐτοῖς τοῦτ᾽ εἶναι.

(2) [63] Μωυσῆς δέ, καὶ γὰρ ἐκ πολλοῦ συνιστάμενον ἠκροᾶτο τὸν θόρυβον, δείσας μή τι νεωτερίσωσι πάλιν καὶ γένηταί τι μέγα καὶ χαλεπὸν συνήγαγε τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, [καὶ] περὶ μὲν ὧν ἠκροᾶτο εἰς ἀπολογίαν οὐ καθιστάμενος, ἵνα μὴ παροξύνῃ τὸ πλῆθος, αὐτὸ δὲ μόνον τοῖς φυλάρχοις προειπὼν κομίζειν τὰ τῶν φυλῶν ὀνόματα βακτηρίαις ἐπιγεγραμμένα: [64] λήψεσθαι γὰρ ἐκεῖνον τὴν ἱερωσύνην, οὗπερ ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἐπισημήνῃ τῇ βακτηρίᾳ. δόξαν οὖν κομίζουσιν οἵ τε ἄλλοι καὶ Ἀαρὼν ἐπιγράψας Λευῖτιν ἐν τῇ βακτηρίᾳ, καὶ ταύτας Μωυσῆς ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ θεοῦ κατατίθησι. τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ προεκόμισε τὰς βακτηρίας: γνώριμοι δ᾽ ἦσαν κατασημηναμένων αὐτὰς τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν οἵπερ ἐκόμιζον καὶ τοῦ πλήθους. [65] καὶ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἐφ᾽ οὗπερ αὐτὰς σχήματος Μωυσῆς παρέλαβεν ἐπὶ τούτου μεμενηκυίας ἔβλεπον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἀαρῶνος βλαστούς τε καὶ κλάδους ἀναφύντας ἑώρων καὶ καρπὸν ὡραῖον, ἀμύγδαλα δ᾽ ἦν, ἐκ τοιούτου ξύλου τῆς βακτηρίας κατεσκευασμένης. [66] ἐκπλαγέντες δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῷ παραλόγῳ τῆς θέας, εἰ καί τισι διὰ μίσους ἦν ὁ Μωυσῆς καὶ Ἀαρών, ἀφέντες τοῦτο θαυμάζειν ἤρξαντο τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν κρίσιν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπευφημοῦντες τοῖς δεδογμένοις τῷ θεῷ συνεχώρουν Ἀαρῶνι καλῶς ἔχειν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην. καὶ ὁ μὲν τρὶς αὐτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ χειροτονήσαντος βεβαίως εἶχε τὴν τιμήν, ἡ δὲ τῶν Ἑβραίων στάσις πολὺν ἀκμάσασα χρόνον τοῦτον ἐπαύθη τὸν τρόπον.

(3) [67] Μωυσῆς δ᾽ ἐπεὶ πολέμου καὶ στρατείας ἡ τῶν Λευιτῶν ἀφεῖτο φυλὴ θεραπεύουσα τὸν θεόν, ἵνα μὴ δι᾽ ἀπορίαν μηδὲ ζήτησιν τῶν εἰς τὸν βίον ἀναγκαίων ἀμελοῖεν τοῦ ἱεροῦ, κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν Χαναναίαν κτησαμένους τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἐκέλευε κατανεῖμαι τοῖς Λευίταις ὀκτὼ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα πόλεις ἀγαθὰς καὶ καλὰς τῆς τε πρὸ αὐτῶν γῆς περιγράψαντας εἰς δισχιλίους πήχεις ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτοῖς ἀνεῖναι. [68] πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ τὸν λαὸν ἐξέταξε τῶν ἐπετείων καρπῶν δεκάτην αὐτοῖς τε τοῖς Λευίταις καὶ ἱερεῦσι τελεῖν. καὶ ἃ μὲν ἡ φυλὴ παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους λαμβάνει ταῦτ᾽ ἐστίν: ἀναγκαῖον δ᾽ ἡγησάμην ἃ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἰδίᾳ παρὰ πάντων γίνεται δηλῶσαι.

(4) [69] Τῶν μὲν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ὀκτὼ πόλεων τρισκαίδεκα παραχωρῆσαι τοὺς Λευίτας αὐτοῖς προσέταξε καὶ τῆς δεκάτης, ἧς παρὰ τοῦ λαοῦ κατ᾽ ἔτος λαμβάνουσι, δεκάτην αὐτοῖς ἀπομερίζειν. [70] ἔτι δὲ ἀπαρχὰς τὸν λαὸν δίκαιον τῷ θεῷ πάντων τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς φυομένων καρπῶν ἐπιφέρειν, καὶ τῶν τετραπόδων δὲ τῶν εἰς τὰς θυσίας νενομισμένων τὸ γεννηθὲν πρῶτον, ἂν ἄρσεν ᾖ, καταθῦσαι παρασχεῖν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν, ὥστε αὐτοὺς πανοικὶ σιτεῖσθαι ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ πόλει. [71] τῶν δ᾽ οὐ νενομισμένων ἐσθίειν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους τοὺς δεσπότας σίκλον καὶ ἥμισυ αὐτοῖς ἀναφέρειν, ἀνθρώπου δὲ πρωτοτόκου πέντε σίκλους, εἶναι δὲ ἀπαρχὰς αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς τῶν προβάτων

κουρᾶς, τούς τε πέττοντας τὸν σῖτον καὶ ἀρτοποιουμένους τῶν πεμμάτων αὐτοῖς τινα χορηγεῖν. [72] ὅσοι δ᾽ ἂν αὐτοὺς καθιερῶσιν εὐχὴν πεποιημένοι, ναζιραῖοι δὲ οὗτοι καλοῦνται, κομῶντες καὶ οἶνον οὐ προσφερόμενοι, τούτους δὲ ὅταν τὰς τρίχας ἀφιερῶσιν ἐπὶ θυσίᾳ τε δρῶσι τὰς κουρὰς νέμεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἱερέας. [73] καὶ οἱ κορβᾶν αὐτοὺς ὀνομάσαντες τῷ θεῷ, δῶρον δὲ τοῦτο σημαίνει κατὰ Ἑλλήνων γλῶτταν, βουλομένους ἀφίεσθαι τῆς λειτουργίας τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καταβάλλειν ἀργύριον, γυναῖκα μὲν τριάκοντα σίκλους ἄνδρα δὲ πεντήκοντα. ὅσοι δὲ ἂν ἐνδεέστερα τῶν ὡρισμένων ἔχωσι χρήματα τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐξεῖναι περὶ τούτων ὡς βούλονται δοκιμάσαι. [74] εἶναι δὲ καὶ τοῖς κατ᾽ οἶκον θύουσιν εὐωχίας ἕνεκα τῆς αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ μὴ θρησκείας ἀνάγκην κομίζειν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἔνυστρόν τε καὶ χελύνιον καὶ τὸν δεξιὸν βραχίονα τοῦ θύματος. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἱερεῦσι Μωυσῆς τοσαύτην, πάρεξ ὧν ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτημάτων θύων ὁ λαὸς δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης βίβλῳ δεδηλώκαμεν, εὐπορίαν ἐπενόησε. [75] πάντων δὲ τῶν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τελουμένων κοινωνεῖν διέταξε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ θυγατέρας καὶ γυναῖκας ἔξω τῶν ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτημάτων ἐπιφερομένων θυσιῶν: ταύτας γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ μόνοι δαπανῶσιν οἱ ἄρρενες τῶν ἱερέων αὐθημερόν.

(5) [76] Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα μετὰ τὴν στάσιν Μωυσῆς διέταξεν, ἄρας μετὰ πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ τοὺς τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ὅρους ἦλθε καὶ πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰδουμαίων πέμψας ἠξίου δίοδον αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν, πίστεις ἃς αὐτὸς ἐθέλοι λαβεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν ἀδικηθήσεσθαι δώσειν ὁμολογῶν, ἀγοράν τε τῷ στρατῷ χορηγῆσαι καὶ τιμὴν τοῦ ὕδατος αὐτοὺς κελεῦσαι καταβαλεῖν. [77] ὁ δ᾽ οἷς ἐπρεσβεύσατο Μωυσῆς οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος οὐδὲ συγχωρῶν τὴν δίοδον ἔνοπλον τὴν στρατιὰν ἀγαγὼν προαπήντα τῷ Μωυσεῖ, κωλύσων αὐτοὺς εἰ τολμήσαιεν βίᾳ περαιοῦσθαι. καὶ Μωυσῆς, ἄρχειν γὰρ μάχης οὐ συνεβούλευσεν ὁ θεὸς χρωμένῳ, τὴν δύναμιν ὑπανῆγε διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου ἐκπεριιών.

(6) [78] Τότε δὴ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ Μαριάμην τελευτὴ τοῦ βίου καταλαμβάνει τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔτος πεπληρωκυῖαν ἀφ᾽ οὗ τὴν Αἴγυπτον κατέλιπε μηνὸς δὲ Ξανθικοῦ νουμηνίᾳ κατὰ σελήνην. θάπτουσι δ᾽ αὐτὴν δημοσίᾳ πολυτελῶς ὑπέρ τινος ὄρους, ὃ καλοῦσι Σίν, καὶ πενθήσαντα ἐπὶ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας τὸν λαὸν ἐκάθηρε Μωυσῆς τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ: [79] μόσχον θήλειαν, ἀρότρου μὲν καὶ γεωργίας ἄπειρον ὁλόκληρον δέ, ξανθὴν πᾶσαν, μικρὸν ἄπωθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου προαγαγὼν εἰς χωρίον καθαρώτατον ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἔθυέ τε καὶ τοῦ αἵματος ἑπτάκις ἔρρανε τῷ δακτύλῳ ἀντικρὺ τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ θεοῦ. [80] ἔπειτα καιομένης ὡς εἶχεν ὅλης τῆς δαμάλιδος σὺν τῇ δορᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἐντὸς ξύλον κέδρινον εἰς μέσον ἐμβάλλουσι τὸ πῦρ καὶ ὕσσωπον καὶ φοινικτὸν ἔριον: συναγαγὼν δ᾽ αὐτῆς ἅπασαν τὴν τέφραν ἁγνὸς ἀνὴρ κατατίθησιν εἰς χωρίον καθαρώτατον. [81] τοὺς οὖν ἀπὸ νεκροῦ μεμιασμένους τῆς τέφρας ὀλίγον εἰς πηγὴν ἐνιέντες καὶ ὕσσωπον βαπτίσαντές τε καὶ τῆς

τέφρας ταύτης εἰς πηγὴν ἔρραινον τρίτῃ τε καὶ ἑβδόμῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ καθαροὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἦσαν. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ κατελθοῦσιν εἰς τὰς κληρουχίας προσέταξε ποιεῖν.

(7) [82] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ πένθει τῆς ἀδελφῆς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κάθαρσιν τοιαύτην γενομένην ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου καὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἐλθὼν εἰς χωρίον, ὃ μητρόπολιν αὐτῶν Ἄραβες νενομίκασι, πρότερον μὲν Ἄρκην λεγομένην Πέτραν δὲ νῦν ὀνομαζομένην. [83] ἐνταῦθα ὑψηλοῦ περιέχοντος ὄρους αὐτὸ ἀναβὰς Ἀαρὼν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸ Μωυσέος αὐτῷ δεδηλωκότος, ὅτι μέλλοι τελευτᾶν, παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος ὁρῶντος, κάταντες γὰρ ἦν τὸ χωρίον, ἀποδύεται τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν στολὴν καὶ παραδοὺς αὐτὴν Ἐλεαζάρῳ τῷ παιδί, πρὸς ὃν διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἡ ἀρχιερωσύνη παραγίνεται, θνήσκει τοῦ πλήθους εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφορῶντος, [84] τῷ μὲν αὐτῷ τελευτήσας ἔτει, ᾧ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἀπέβαλε, βιοὺς δὲ ἔτη τὰ πάντα τρία πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. ἀποθνήσκει δὲ κατὰ σελήνην νουμηνίᾳ μηνὸς ὄντος τοῦ παρὰ μὲν Ἀθηναίοις Ἑκατομβαιῶνος καλουμένου Λώου δὲ παρὰ Μακεδόσι Σαβὰ δὲ παρὰ Ἑβραίοις.

V

(1) [85] Πένθος δὲ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ τοῦ λαοῦ τριακονθήμερον ἄγοντος, ἐπεὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐλώφησεν, ἀναλαβὼν ἐκεῖθεν Μωυσῆς τὸν στρατὸν παρῆν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν Ἀρνῶν᾽, ὃς ἐκ τῶν τῆς Ἀραβίας ὀρῶν ὡρμημένος καὶ διὰ πάσης ἐρήμου ῥέων εἰς τὴν Ἀσφαλτῖτιν λίμνην ἐκδίδωσιν ὁρίζων τήν τε Μωαβῖτιν καὶ Ἀμωρῖτιν. γῆ δ᾽ αὕτη καρποφόρος καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων τοῖς παρ᾽ αὐτῆς ἀγαθοῖς ἱκανὴ τρέφειν. [86] πρὸς οὖν Σιχῶνα τὸν βασιλεύοντα τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἀπέστειλε Μωυσῆς τῷ στρατῷ δίοδον αἰτῶν ἐφ᾽ αἷς ἂν θελήσειε πίστεσιν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἀδικηθῆναι μήτε τὴν γῆν μήτε τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, ὧν Σιχὼν ἐκράτει, τοῖς τε κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἐκείνων λυσιτελές, εἰ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτοῖς πιπράσκειν ἐθέλοιεν. Σιχὼν δ᾽ ἀρνούμενος ὁπλίζει τὸν οἰκεῖον στρατὸν καὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους διαβαίνειν τὸν Ἀρνῶνα κωλύειν ἑτοιμότατος ἦν.

(2) [87] Μωυσῆς δὲ ὁρῶν πολεμίως αὐτοῖς τὸν Ἀμοραῖον διακείμενον οὔτε περιφρονούμενος ἀνέχεσθαι δεῖν ἔγνω καὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους τῆς ἀπραξίας καὶ τῆς δι᾽ αὐτὴν ἀπορίας, ὑφ᾽ ἧς στασιάσαι τε πρότερον αὐτοῖς συνέπεσε καὶ τότε δυσκόλως εἶχον, ἀπαλλάξαι διαγνοὺς ἤρετο τὸν θεόν, εἰ πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ δίδωσι. [88] τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ καὶ νίκην ἐπισημήναντος αὐτὸς θαρσαλέως εἶχε πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας παρώρμα, νῦν αὐτοὺς ἀξιῶν τῆς τοῦ πολεμεῖν ἡδονῆς ἀπολαύειν, ὅτ᾽ αὐτῇ συγχωρεῖ χρῆσθαι τὸ θεῖον. οἱ δ᾽ ἧς ἐπόθουν ἐξουσίας λαβόμενοι καὶ τὰς πανοπλίας ἀναλαβόντες εὐθέως ἐχώρουν εἰς τὸ ἔργον. [89] ὁ δὲ Ἀμορραῖος οὐκέτ᾽ ἦν ἐπιόντων ὅμοιος αὐτῷ, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτός τε κατεπλάγη τοὺς Ἑβραίους καὶ ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ παρέχουσα θᾶττον αὐτὴν εὔψυχον εἶναι δοκεῖν τότ᾽ ἀπηλέγχθη πεφοβημένη. τὴν πρώτην οὖν σύνοδον οὐχ ὑπομείναντες

ἀντιστῆναι καὶ δέξασθαι τοὺς Ἑβραίους τρέπονται, τοῦτο ἑαυτοῖς σωτηρίαν ὑπολαβόντες ἢ τὸ μάχεσθαι παρέξειν: [90] ἐθάρρουν γὰρ ταῖς πόλεσιν οὔσαις ὀχυραῖς. παρ᾽ ὧν οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ὄφελος ἦν εἰς ταύτας συνδιωχθεῖσιν: Ἑβραῖοι γὰρ ὡς ἐνδόντας αὐτοὺς εὐθὺς εἶδον, ἐνέκειντο καὶ παραλύσαντες αὐτῶν τὸν κόσμον εἰς φόβον κατέστησαν. [91] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπορραγέντες ἔφευγον ἐπὶ τῶν πόλεων, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν οὐκ ἔκαμνον, ἀλλ᾽ οἷς προπεπονήκεσαν προσεπιταλαιπωρῆσαι προθέμενοι, καὶ σφενδονᾶν τε ἄριστοι τυγχάνοντες καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκηβόλοις δεξιοὶ χρῆσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν ὅπλισιν οὖσαν εὐσταλῆ κοῦφοι πρὸς τὸ διώκειν ὄντες μετέθεον τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς πορρωτάτω συλληφθῆναι γεγονότας ταῖς σφενδόναις καὶ τοῖς τοξεύμασι κατελάμβανον. [92] φόνος τε οὖν γίνεται πολὺς καὶ τραύμασιν ἐπόνουν οἱ διαφεύγοντες, ἔκαμνόν τε ἐπὶ δίψει μᾶλλον ἤ τινι τῶν πολεμικῶν, καὶ γὰρ ὥρα θέρους ἦν, καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ τοῦ πιεῖν. ἐπὶ ποταμὸν οὖν τοὺς πλείους καταραχθέντας, καὶ ὅσον συνεστραμμένον ἔφευγε, περιστάντες ἔβαλλον καὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς ἀκοντίζοντες ἅμα καὶ τοξεύοντες διέφθειραν. [93] ἀποθνήσκει δ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ Σιχὼν ὁ βασιλεύς. Ἑβραῖοι δὲ νεκροὺς ἐσκύλευον καὶ λείαν ἔλαβον καὶ πολλὴν ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς εἶχον μεστῆς ἔτι τῶν καρπῶν ὑπαρχούσης, [94] καὶ διεξῄει πᾶσιν ἀδεῶς τὸ στράτευμα προνομῇ χρώμενον ἁλισκομένων καὶ τῶν πόλεων: οὐδὲν γὰρ παρὰ τούτων ἦν ἐμπόδιον τοῦ μαχίμου παντὸς ἀπολωλότος. Ἀμορραίους μὲν οὖν τοιοῦτο πάθος κατέλαβεν οὔτε φρονῆσαι δεινοὺς οὔτε ἀγαθοὺς κατὰ τὸ ἔργον γεγονότας, Ἑβραῖοι δὲ τὴν ἐκείνων παρελάμβανον. [95] ἔστι δὲ χωρίον, ὃ τριῶν μεταξὺ ποταμῶν κείμενον ὅμοιόν τι νήσῳ τὴν φύσιν ὑπάρχει, τοῦ μὲν Ἀρνῶνος ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ὁρίζοντος αὐτό, Ἰοβάκου δὲ τὴν ἀρκτῴαν αὐτοῦ πλευρὰν περιγράφοντος, ὃς εἰς τὸν Ἰόρδανον ποταμὸν ἐκβάλλων ἐκείνῳ καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος μεταδίδωσι, τὰ μέντοι γε πρὸς τῇ δύσει τοῦ χωρίου περίεισιν αὐτὴν Ἰόρδανος.

(3) [96] Οὕτως οὖν ἐχόντων τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιτίθεται τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις Ὤγης ὁ τῆς Γαλαδηνῆς καὶ Γαυλανίτιδος βασιλεὺς στρατὸν ἄγων, καὶ σπεύδων μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν τὴν Σιχῶνος φίλου τυγχάνοντος εὑρὼν δὲ ἐκεῖνον ἤδη προαπολωλότα καὶ οὕτως ἔγνω τοῖς Ἑβραίοις εἰς μάχην ἐλθεῖν περιέσεσθαί τε νομίζων καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτῶν διάπειραν βουλόμενος λαβεῖν: [97] διαμαρτὼν δὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτός τε ἀποθνήσκει κατὰ τὴν μάχην καὶ σύμπας ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ διαφθείρεται. Μωυσῆς δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν Ἰόβακον περαιωσάμενος διεξῄει τῆς Ὤγου βασιλείας τάς τε πόλεις καταστρεφόμενος καὶ κτείνων πάντας τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, οἳ καὶ πλούτῳ διέφερον πάντων τῶν ἐκείνῃ ἠπειρωτῶν δι᾽ ἀρετὴν γῆς καὶ πλῆθος χρημάτων. [98] Ὤγης δὲ μέγεθός τε καὶ κάλλος ἦν οἷος ὀλίγοι σφόδρα, ἦν δὲ καὶ κατὰ χεῖρα γενναῖος ἀνήρ, ὡς ἴσα τὰ τῶν ἔργων εἶναι τοῖς τοῦ μεγέθους καὶ τῆς εὐπρεπείας πλεονεκτήμασι. τὴν δ᾽ ἰσχὺν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ἐτεκμηριώσαντο κλίνην αὐτοῦ λαβόντες ἐν Ῥαβαθᾶ πόλει τῶν βασιλείων τῆς

Ἀμμανίτιδος, τῇ μὲν κατασκευῇ σιδηρέαν, τεσσάρων δὲ πηχῶν τὸ εὖρος, μήκει δὲ τοῦ διπλασίονος ἐνὶ πήχει μείζονα. [99] τούτου τοίνυν πταίσαντος οὐκ εἰς τὸ παρὸν μόνον τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐπέδωκε τὰ πράγματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς αἴτιος ἀποθανὼν ὑπῆρξε: καὶ γὰρ πόλεις ἑξήκοντα λαμπρῶς πάνυ τετειχισμένας ὑποτελεῖς ἐκείνῳ παρέλαβον καὶ λείαν πολλὴν ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ δημοσίᾳ πάντες εὐπόρησαν.

VI

(1) [100] Μωυσῆς μὲν οὖν στρατοπεδεύει καὶ ἀγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰορδάνῳ κατὰ τὸ μέγα πεδίον Ἰεριχοῦντος ἀντικρύ, πόλις δ’ ἐστὶν εὐδαίμων αὕτη φοίνικά τε φέρειν ἀγαθὴ καὶ βάλσαμον νεμομένη. ἤρχοντο δὲ φρονεῖν ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῖς μέγα Ἰσραηλῖται καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους ἐπιθυμίαν ὑπερέτεινον. [101] καὶ Μωυσῆς ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν θύσας χαριστήρια πρῶτον τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὸν λαὸν εὐωχήσας μέρος τι τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἐξέπεμψε δῃῶσον τὴν Μαδιηνιτῶν γῆν καὶ τὰς πατρίδας αὐτῶν ἐκπολιορκῆσον. τοῦ δ’ ἐκπολεμηθῆναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς αἰτίαν ἔλαβε τοιαύτην.

(2) [102] Βάλακος ὁ τῶν Μωαβιτῶν βασιλεὺς φιλίας αὐτῷ πατρῴας οὔσης καὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς Μαδιηνίτας, ἐπεὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας τοσοῦτον φυομένους ἑώρα καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ πραγμάτων λίαν εὐλαβεῖτο, καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν πέπυστο γῆν ἄλλω πολυπραγμονεῖν τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἀπηγορευκότος τοῦ θεοῦ κτησαμένους τὴν Χαναναίων, θᾶττον ἢ φρονιμώτερον ἐγχειρεῖν ἔγνω τοῖς λόγοις. [103] καὶ πολεμεῖν μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐπραγίαις θρασύτερον ὑπὸ τῆς κακοπραγίας κατειλημμένοις οὐκ ἔκρινε, κωλῦσαι δ’ εἰ δύναιτο γενέσθαι μεγάλους λογιζόμενος πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς Μαδιηνίτας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. [104] οἱ δέ, ἦν γάρ τις ἀπὸ Εὐφράτου Βάλαμος μάντις ἄριστος τῶν τότε καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπιτηδείως ἔχων, πέμπουσι μετὰ τῶν Βαλάκου πρέσβεων ἄνδρας τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἀξιολόγων παρακαλέσοντας τὸν μάντιν ἐλθεῖν, ὅπως ἐπ’ ἐξωλείᾳ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἀρὰς ποιήσηται. [105] παραγενομένους δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις δέχεται ξενίᾳ φιλοφρόνως καὶ δειπνίσας ἀνέκρινε τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ διάνοιαν, τίς αὕτη ἐστὶν ἐφ’ οἷς Μαδιηνῖται παρακαλοῦσι. τοῦ δ’ ἐμποδὼν στάντος ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τοὺς πρέσβεις, προθυμίαν μὲν καὶ σπουδὴν τὴν ἰδίαν ἐμφανίζων αὐτοῖς εἰς ἃ δέονται τυχεῖν, τὸν δὲ θεὸν ἀντιλέγειν αὐτοῦ τῇ προαιρέσει δηλῶν, ὃς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον κλέος δι’ ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὴν ταύτης πρόρρησιν ἀγάγοι: [106] τὸν γὰρ στρατόν, ᾧ καταρασόμενον αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν παρακαλοῦσι, δι’ εὐνοίας εἶναι τῷ θεῷ: συνεβούλευέ τε διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν χωρεῖν παρ’ αὐτοὺς τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας καταλυσαμένους. καὶ τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεις ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπέλυσε.

(3) [107] Μαδιηνῖται δὲ Βαλάκου σφόδρα ἐγκειμένου καὶ δέησιν λιπαρὰν προσφέροντος πάλιν πέμπουσι πρὸς τὸν Βάλαμον. κἀκεῖνος βουλόμενος

χαρίζεσθαί τι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀνήρετο τὸν θεόν, ὁ δὲ καὶ τῆς πείρας δυσχεράνας κελεύει μηδὲν ἀντιλέγειν τοῖς πρέσβεσιν. ὁ δ' οὐχ ὑπολαβὼν ἀπάτῃ ταῦτα τὸν θεὸν κεκελευκέναι συναπῄει τοῖς πρέσβεσι. [108] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀγγέλου θείου προσβαλόντος αὐτῷ κατά τι στενὸν χωρίον περιειλημμένον αἱμασιαῖς διπλαῖς ἡ ὄνος, ἐφ' ἧς ὁ Βάλαμος ὠχεῖτο, συνεῖσα τοῦ θείου πνεύματος ὑπαντῶντος ἀπέκλινε τὸν Βάλαμον πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον τῶν τριγχῶν ἀναισθήτως ἔχουσα τῶν πληγῶν, ἃς ὁ Βάλαμος ἐπέφερεν αὐτῇ κακοπαθῶν τῇ θλίψει τῇ πρὸς τὸν τριγχόν. [109] ὡς δ' ἐγκειμένου τοῦ ἀγγέλου ἡ ὄνος τυπτομένη ὤκλασε, κατὰ βούλησιν θεοῦ φωνὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀφεῖσα κατεμέμφετο τὸν Βάλαμον ὡς ἄδικον ἐπὶ ταῖς πρότερον διακονίαις μηδὲν ἔχοντα ἐγκαλεῖν αὐτῇ πληγὰς ἐπιφέρειν μὴ συνιείς, ὅτι νῦν κατὰ θεοῦ προαίρεσιν οἷς αὐτὸς ἔσπευσεν ὑπηρετεῖν εἴργεται. [110] ταραττομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τῆς ὄνου φωνὴν ἀνθρωπίνην οὖσαν ἐπιφανεὶς καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος ἐναργὴς ἐνεκάλει τῶν πληγῶν, ὡς οὐχὶ τοῦ κτήνους ὄντος αἰτίου, τὴν δὲ ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ διακωλύοντος παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ θεοῦ γενομένην. [111] καταδείσας δ' ὁ Βάλαμος οἷός τε ἦν ἀναστρέφειν, ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν χωρεῖν τὴν προκειμένην παρώρμησε προστάξας ὅτιπερ ἂν αὐτὸς κατὰ νοῦν αὐτῷ ποιήσειε τοῦτο σημαίνειν.

(4) [112] Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος ἧκει πρὸς Βάλακον. δεξαμένου δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκπρεπῶς ἠξίου προαχθεὶς ἐπί τι τῶν ὀρῶν σκέψασθαι, πῶς τὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἔχοι στρατόπεδον. Βάλακος δ' αὐτὸς ἀφικνεῖται τὸν μάντιν σὺν βασιλικῇ θεραπείᾳ φιλοτίμως ἀγόμενος εἰς ὄρος, ὅπερ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς αὐτῶν ἔκειτο τοῦ στρατοπέδου σταδίους ἀπέχον ἑξήκοντα. [113] κατιδὼν δ' αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνος βωμούς τε ἐκέλευσεν ἑπτὰ δείμασθαι τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοσούτους ταύρους καὶ κριοὺς παραστῆσαι: ὑπουργήσαντος δὲ διὰ ταχέων τοῦ βασιλέως ὁλοκαυτεῖ τυθέντας, [114] ὡς τρόπον εἶδε σημαινομένην, "ὁ λεώς, φησίν, οὗτος εὐδαίμων, ᾧ ὁ θεὸς δίδωσι μυρίων κτῆσιν ἀγαθῶν καὶ σύμμαχον εἰς ἅπαντα καὶ ἡγεμόνα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πρόνοιαν ἐπένευσεν. ὡς οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀνθρώπινον γένος, οὗ μὴ κατ' ἀρετὴν καὶ ζήλωσιν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀρίστων καὶ καθαρῶν πονηρίας ὑμεῖς ἀμείνους κριθήσεσθε καὶ παισὶ βελτίοσιν αὐτῶν ταῦτα καταλείψετε, θεοῦ μόνους ὑμᾶς ἀνθρώπους ἐφορῶντος καὶ ὅθεν ἂν γένοισθε πάντων εὐδαιμονέστεροι τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον ἐκπορίζοντος. [115] γῆν τε οὖν ἐφ' ἣν ὑμᾶς αὐτὸς ἔστειλε καθέξετε δουλεύσουσαν αἰεὶ παισὶν ὑμετέροις καὶ τοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν κλέους ἐμπλησθήσεται πᾶσα ἡ γῆ καὶ θάλασσα, ἀρκέσετε δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ παρασχεῖν ἑκάστῃ γῇ τῶν ἀφ' ὑμετέρου γένους οἰκήτορας. [116] θαυμάζετε οὖν, ὦ μακάριος στρατός, ὅτι τοσοῦτος ἐξ ἑνὸς πατρὸς γεγόνατε. ἀλλὰ τὸν νῦν ὑμῶν ὀλίγον ἡ Χαναναίων χωρήσει γῆ, τὴν δ' οἰκουμένην οἰκητήριον δι' αἰῶνος ἵστε προκειμένην ὑμῖν, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὑμῶν ἔν τε νήσοις καὶ κατ' ἤπειρον βιοτεύσετε ὅσον ἐστὶν οὐδ' ἀστέρων ἀριθμὸς ἐν οὐρανῷ. τοσούτοις δὲ οὖσιν οὐκ ἀπαγορεύσει τὸ θεῖον ἀφθονίαν μὲν παντοίων ἀγαθῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ χορηγοῦν,

νίκην δὲ καὶ κράτος ἐν πολέμῳ. [117] παῖδας ἐχθρῶν ἔρως τοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολέμου λάβοι καὶ θρασυνθεῖεν ὥστε εἰς ὅπλα καὶ τὰς ὑμετέρας χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν: οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑποστρέψειέ τις νικηφόρος οὐδ' ὥστε παῖδας εὐφρᾶναι καὶ γυναῖκας. τοσοῦτον ὑμῖν ἀνδρείας τὸ περιὸν ἐκ θεοῦ προνοίας ἀνῄρηται, ᾧ καὶ τὰ περιττὰ μειοῦν ἰσχὺς καὶ τὰ λείποντα διδόναι."

(5) [118] Καὶ ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἐπεθείαζεν οὐκ ὢν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τῷ δὲ θείῳ πνεύματι πρὸς αὐτὰ νενικημένος. τοῦ δὲ Βαλάκου δυσχεραίνοντος καὶ παραβαίνειν αὐτὸν τὰς συνθήκας ἐφ' αἷς αὐτὸν ἀντὶ μεγάλων λάβοι δωρεῶν παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπικαλοῦντος, ἐλθόντα γὰρ ἐπὶ κατάρᾳ τῶν πολεμίων ὑμνεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους καὶ μακαριωτάτους ἀποφαίνειν ἀνθρώπων, [119] "ὦ Βάλακε, φησί, περὶ τῶν ὅλων λογίζῃ καὶ δοκεῖς ἐφ' ἡμῖν εἶναί τι περὶ τῶν τοιούτων σιγᾶν ἢ λέγειν, ὅταν ἡμᾶς τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ λάβῃ πνεῦμα; φωνὰς γὰρ ἃς βούλεται τοῦτο καὶ λόγους οὐδὲν ἡμῶν εἰδότων ἀφίησιν. [120] ἐγὼ δὲ μέμνημαι μὲν ὤντε καὶ σὺ καὶ Μαδιηνῖται δεηθέντες ἐνταυθοῖ με προθύμως ἠγάγετε καὶ δι' ἃ τὴν ἄφιξιν ἐποιησάμην, ἦν τέ μοι δι' εὐχῆς μηδὲν ἀδικῆσαί σου τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. [121] κρείττων δὲ ὁ θεὸς ὧν ἐγὼ χαρίζεσθαι διεγνώκειν: καὶ παντελῶς ἀσθενεῖς οἱ προγινώσκειν περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων παρ' ἑαυτῶν ὑπολαμβάνοντες, ὡς μὴ ταῦθ' ἅπερ ὑπαγορεύει τὸ θεῖον λέγειν, βιάζεσθαι δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου βούλησιν: [122] οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν ἔτι φθάσαντος εἰσελθεῖν ἐκείνου ἡμέτερον. ἔγωγ' οὖν τὸν στρατὸν τοῦτον οὔτ' ἐπαινέσαι προεθέμην οὔτ' ἐφ' οἷς τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ὁ θεὸς ἀγαθοῖς ἐμηχανήσατο διελθεῖν, ἀλλ' εὐμενὴς αὐτοῖς οὗτος ὢν καὶ σπεύδων αὐτοῖς εὐδαίμονα βίον καὶ κλέος αἰώνιον παρασχεῖν ἐμοὶ τοιούτων ἀπαγγελίαν λόγων ὑπέθετο. [123] νῦν δέ, χαρίζεσθαί τε γὰρ αὐτῷ σοὶ διὰ σπουδῆς ἐστί μοι καὶ Μαδιηνίταις, ὧν ἀπώσασθαί μοι τὴν ἀξίωσιν οὐκ εὐπρεπές, φέρε βωμούς τε ἑτέρους αὖθις ἐγείρωμεν καὶ θυσίας ταῖς πρὶν παραπλησίας ἐπιτελέσωμεν, εἰ πεῖσαι τὸν θεὸν δυνηθείην ἐπιτρέψαι μοι τοὺς [124] ἀνθρώπους ἀραῖς ἐνδῆσαι." συγχωρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Βαλάκου δὶς μὲν τεθυκότι τὸ θεῖον οὐκ ἐπένευσε τὰς κατὰ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἀράς, θύσας δὲ καὶ τρίτον ἄλλων πάλιν ἀνασταθέντων βωμῶν οὐδὲ τότε μὲν κατηράσατο τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις, [125] πεσὼν δ' ἐπὶ στόμα πάθη προύλεγεν ὅσα τε βασιλεῦσιν ἔσται καὶ ὅσα πόλεσι ταῖς ἀξιολογωτάταις, ὧν ἐνίαις οὐδ' οἰκεῖσθαί πω συνέβαινε τὴν ἀρχήν, ἅ τε καὶ προυπῆρξεν ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις γενόμενα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις διὰ γῆς ἢ θαλάσσης εἰς μνήμην τὴν ἐμήν. ἐξ ὧν ἁπάντων λαβόντων τέλος ὁποῖον ἐκεῖνος προεῖπε τεκμαίροιτ' ἄν τις, ὅ τι καὶ ἔσοιτο πρὸς τὸ μέλλον.

(6) [126] Βάλακος δὲ ἀγανακτήσας ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ καταράτους γενέσθαι τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας ἀποπέμπει τὸν Βάλαμον μηδεμιᾶς τιμῆς ἀξιώσας: ὁ δὲ ἀπιὼν ἤδη κἀπὶ τῷ περαιοῦν τὸν Εὐφράτην γενόμενος τόν τε Βάλακον μεταπεμψάμενος καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν Μαδιηνιτῶν "Βάλακε, [127] φησί, καὶ Μαδιηνιτῶν οἱ παρόντες, χρὴ γὰρ καὶ παρὰ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ χαρίσασθαι ὑμῖν, τὸ μὲν

Ἑβραίων γένος οὐκ ἂν ὄλεθρος παντελὴς καταλάβοι οὔτ᾽ ἐν πολέμῳ οὔτ᾽ ἐν λοιμῷ καὶ σπάνει τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς καρπῶν, οὔτ᾽ ἄλλη τις αἰτία παράλογος διαφθείρειεν. [128] πρόνοια γάρ ἐστιν αὐτῶν τῷ θεῷ σώζειν ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ καὶ μηδὲν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς [ἐᾶσαι τοιοῦτον πάθος] ἐλθεῖν, ὑφ᾽ οὗ κἂν ἀπόλοιντο πάντες: συμπέσοι δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὀλίγα τε καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον, ὑφ᾽ ὧν ταπεινοῦσθαι δοκοῦντες εἶτ᾽ ἀνθήσουσιν ἐπὶ φόβῳ τῶν ἐπαγαγόντων αὐτοῖς τὰς βλάβας. [129] ὑμεῖς δ᾽ εἰ νίκην τινὰ πρὸς βραχὺν καιρὸν κατ᾽ αὐτῶν κερδᾶναι ποθεῖτε, τύχοιτ᾽ ἂν αὐτῆς ταῦτα ποιήσαντες: τῶν θυγατέρων τὰς μάλιστα εὐπρεπεῖς καὶ βιάσασθαι καὶ νικῆσαι τὴν τῶν ὁρώντων σωφροσύνην ἱκανὰς διὰ τὸ κάλλος ἀσκήσαντες τὴν εὐμορφίαν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μᾶλλον εὐπρεπὲς πέμψατε πλησίον ἐσομένας τοῦ ἐκείνων στρατοπέδου, καὶ δεομένοις συνεῖναι τοῖς νεανίαις αὐτῶν προστάξατε. [130] ἐπειδὰν δὲ κεχειρωμένους ὁρῶσι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, καταλιπέτωσαν καὶ παρακαλούντων μένειν μὴ πρότερον ἐπινευέτωσαν, πρὶν ἂν πείσωσιν αὐτοὺς ἀφέντας τοὺς πατρίους νόμους καὶ τὸν τούτους αὐτοῖς θέμενον τιμᾶν θεὸν τοὺς Μαδιηνιτῶν καὶ Μωαβιτῶν σέβωσιν: οὕτως γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὸν θεὸν ὀργισθήσεσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦθ᾽ ὑποθέμενος αὐτοῖς ᾤχετο.

(7) [131] Τῶν δὲ Μαδιηνιτῶν πεμψάντων τὰς θυγατέρας κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου παραίνεσιν οἱ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἁλίσκονται νέοι τῆς εὐπρεπείας αὐτῶν καὶ παραγενόμενοι εἰς λόγους αὐταῖς παρεκάλουν μὴ φθονεῖν αὐτοῖς τῆς τοῦ κάλλους αὐτῶν ἀπολαύσεως μηδὲ τῆς τοῦ πλησιάζειν συνηθείας: αἱ δ᾽ ἀσμένως δεξάμεναι τοὺς λόγους συνῆσαν αὐτοῖς. [132] ἐνδησάμεναι δ᾽ αὐτοὺς τῷ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἔρωτι καὶ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἀκμαζούσης περὶ ἀπαλλαγὴν ἐγίνοντο. τοὺς δ᾽ ἀθυμία πολλὴ πρὸς τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τῶν γυναικῶν κατέλαβε καὶ λιπαροῦντες ἐνέκειντο, μὴ σφᾶς καταλιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ γαμετὰς αὐτῶν ἐσομένας αὐτόθι μένειν καὶ δεσποίνας ἀποδειχθησομένας πάντων ὧν ὑπῆρχεν αὐτοῖς. [133] ταῦτα δὲ ὀμνύντες ἔλεγον καὶ θεὸν μεσίτην ὧν ὑπισχνοῦντο ποιούμενοι δακρύοντές τε καὶ πανταχόθεν αὐτοὺς ἐλεεινοὺς ταῖς γυναιξὶ κατασκευάζοντες εἶναι. αἱ δ᾽ ὡς δεδουλωμένους αὐτοὺς κατενόησαν καὶ τελέως ὑπὸ τῆς συνηθείας ἐχομένους, ἤρξαντο πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγειν:

(8) [134] “Ἡμῖν, ὦ κράτιστοι νέων, οἶκοί τέ εἰσι πατρῷοι καὶ κτῆσις ἀγαθῶν ἄφθονος καὶ ἡ παρὰ τῶν γονέων καὶ τῶν οἰκείων εὔνοια καὶ στοργή, καὶ κατ᾽ οὐδενὸς τούτων πόρον ἐνθάδ᾽ ἥκουσαι ἡμεῖς εἰς ὁμιλίαν ἥκομεν, οὐδ᾽ ἐμπορευσόμεναι τὴν ὥραν τοῦ σώματος προσηκάμεθα τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀξίωσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ δικαίους ὑπολαβοῦσαι τοιούτοις ὑμᾶς τιμῆσαι ξενίοις δεομένους ἐπείσθημεν. [135] καὶ νῦν, ἐπεί φατε πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλοστόργως ἔχειν καὶ λυπεῖσθε μελλουσῶν ἀναχωρεῖν, οὐδ᾽ αὐταὶ τὴν δέησιν ὑμῶν ἀποστρεφόμεθα, πίστιν δ᾽ εὐνοίας λαβοῦσαι τὴν μόνην ἡμῖν ἀξιόλογον νομισθεῖσαν ἀγαπήσομεν τὸν μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν βίον ὡς γαμεταὶ διανύσαι. [136] δέος γάρ, μὴ καὶ κόρον τῆς ἡμετέρας ὁμιλίας λαβόντες ἔπειθ᾽ ὑβρίσητε καὶ ἀτίμους ἀποπέμψητε πρὸς τοὺς

γονεῖς. συγγινώσκειν τε ταῦτα φυλαττομέναις ἠξίουν. τῶν δὲ ἣν βούλονται πίστιν δώσειν ὁμολογούντων καὶ πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν ἀντιλεγόντων ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὰς πάθους "ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ὑμῖν, [137] ἔφασαν, δέδοκται, τοῖς δ' ἔθεσι καὶ τῷ βίῳ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀλλοτριώτατα χρῆσθε, ὡς καὶ τὰς τροφὰς ὑμῖν ἰδιοτρόπους εἶναι καὶ τὰ ποτὰ μὴ κοινὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀνάγκη βουλομένους ἡμῖν συνοικεῖν καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς ἡμετέρους σέβειν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἄλλο γένοιτο τεκμήριον ἧς ἔχειν τε νῦν φατε πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὐνοίας καὶ τῆς ἐσομένης ἢ τὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν θεοὺς προσκυνεῖν. [138] μέμψαιτο δ' ἂν οὐδείς, εἰ γῆς εἰς ἣν ἀφῖχθε τοὺς ἰδίους αὐτῆς θεοὺς προστρέποισθε καὶ ταῦτα τῶν μὲν ἡμετέρων κοινῶν ὄντων πρὸς ἅπαντας, τοῦ δ' ὑμετέρου πρὸς μηδένα τοιούτου τυγχάνοντος. δεῖν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἔλεγον ἢ ταὐτὰ πᾶσιν ἡγητέον ἢ ζητεῖν ἄλλην οἰκουμένην, ἐν ᾗ βιώσονται μόνοι κατὰ τοὺς ἰδίους νόμους."

(9) [139] Οἱ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἔρωτος κάλλιστα λέγεσθαι ταῦτα ὑπολαβόντες καὶ παραδόντες αὐτοὺς εἰς ἃ προεκαλοῦντο παρέβησαν τὰ πάτρια, θεούς τε πλείονας εἶναι νομίσαντες καὶ θύειν αὐτοῖς κατὰ νόμον τὸν ἐπιχώριον τοῖς καθιδρυσαμένοις προθέμενοι ξενικοῖς τε βρώμασιν ἔχαιρον καὶ πάντ' εἰς ἡδονὴν τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπὶ τοὐναντίον οἷς ὁ νόμος αὐτῶν ἐκέλευε ποιοῦντες διετέλουν, [140] ὡς διὰ παντὸς ἤδη τοῦ στρατοῦ τὴν παρανομίαν χωρεῖν τῶν νέων καὶ στάσιν αὐτοῖς πολὺ χείρω τῆς προτέρας ἐμπεσεῖν καὶ κίνδυνον παντελοῦς τῶν ἰδίων ἐθισμῶν ἀπωλείας. ἅπαξ γὰρ τὸ νέον γευσάμενον ξενικῶν ἐθισμῶν ἁπλήστως ἐνεφορεῖτο, καὶ εἴ τινες τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν διὰ πατέρων ἀρετὰς ἐπιφανεῖς ἦσαν συνδιεφθείροντο,

(10) [141] καὶ Ζαμβρίας ὁ τῆς Σεμεωνίδος ἡγούμενος φυλῆς Χοσβίᾳ συνὼν Μαδιανίτιδι Οὔρου θυγατρὶ τῶν ἐκείνῃ δυναστεύοντος ἀνδρὸς κελευσθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς πρὸ τῶν Μωυσεῖ δοχθέντων τὸ πρὸς ἡδονὴν αὐτῇ γενησόμενον ἐθεράπευεν. [142] ἐν τούτοις δ' ὄντων τῶν πραγμάτων δείσας Μωυσῆς, μὴ γένηταί τι χεῖρον, συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν λαὸν οὐδενὸς μὲν κατηγόρει πρὸς ὄνομα μὴ βουλόμενος εἰς ἀπόνοιαν περιστῆσαι τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ λανθάνειν μετανοῆσαι δυναμένους, [143] ἔλεγε δ' ὡς οὐκ ἄξια δρῷεν οὔτ' αὐτῶν οὔτε πατέρων τὴν ἡδονὴν προτιμήσαντες τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τοῦτον βίου. προσήκειν δ' ἕως ἔτι καὶ καλῶς αὐτοῖς ἂν ἔχοι μεταβαλέσθαι, τὴν ἀνδρείαν ὑπολαμβάνουσιν οὐκ ἐν τῷ βιάζεσθαι τοὺς νόμους ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μὴ εἴκειν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις εἶναι. [144] πρὸς τούτοις δ' οὐδ' εὔλογον ἔφασκε σωφρονήσαντας αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρήμου νῦν ἐν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ὄντας παροινεῖν, μηδὲ τὰ κτηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας δι' εὐπορίαν αὐτῶν ἀπολέσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα λέγων ἐπειρᾶτο τοὺς νέους ἐπανορθοῦν καὶ εἰς μετάνοιαν ἄγειν ὧν ἔπραττον.

(11) [145] Ἀναστὰς δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν Ζαμβρίας "ἀλλὰ σὺ μέν, εἶπεν, ὦ Μωυσῆ, χρῶ νόμοις οἷς αὐτὸς ἐσπούδακας ἐκ τῆς τούτων εὐηθείας τὸ βέβαιον αὐτοῖς παρεσχημένος: ἐπεὶ μὴ τοῦτον αὐτῶν ἐχόντων τὸν τρόπον πολλάκις ἂν ἤδη

κεκολασμένος ἔγνως ἂν οὐκ εὐπαραλογίστους Ἑβραίους. [146] ἐμὲ δ᾽ οὐκ ἂν ἀκόλουθον οἷς σὺ προστάττεις τυραννικῶς λάβοις: οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο τι μέχρι νῦν ἢ προσχήματι νόμων καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δουλείαν μὲν ἡμῖν ἀρχὴν δὲ σαυτῷ κακουργεῖς ἀφαιρούμενος ἡμᾶς τὸ ἡδὺ καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὸν βίον αὐτεξούσιον, ὃ τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἐστὶ καὶ δεσπότην οὐκ ἐχόντων. [147] χαλεπώτερος δ᾽ ἂν οὕτως Αἰγυπτίων Ἑβραίοις γένοιο τιμωρεῖν ἀξιῶν κατὰ [τοὺς] νόμους τὴν ἑκάστου πρὸς τὸ κεχαρισμένον αὐτῷ βούλησιν. πολὺ δ᾽ ἂν δικαιότερον αὐτὸς τιμωρίαν ὑπομένοις τὰ παρ᾽ ἑκάστοις ὁμολογούμενα καλῶς ἔχειν ἀφανίσαι προῃρημένος καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἁπάντων δόξης ἰσχυρὰν τὴν σεαυτοῦ κατεσκευακὼς ἀτοπίαν: [148] ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἂν στεροίμην εἰκότως ὧν πράττω νυνὶ κρίνας ἀγαθὰ ταῦτ᾽ ἔπειτα περὶ αὐτῶν ὁμολογεῖν ἐν τούτοις οὐκ ὀκνήσαιμι. γύναιόν τε ξενικόν, ὡς φῄς, ἦγμαι: παρ᾽ ἐμαυτοῦ γὰρ ἀκούσῃ τὰς ἐμὰς πράξεις ὡς παρὰ ἐλευθέρου, καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ λαθεῖν προεθέμην: [149] θύω τε θεοῖς οἷς θύειν μοι νομίζεται δίκαιον ἡγούμενος παρὰ πολλῶν ἐμαυτῷ πραγματεύεσθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐν τυραννίδι ζῆν τὴν ὅλην ἐξ ἑνὸς ἐλπίδα τοῦ βίου παντὸς ἀνηρτηκότα: χαρείη τ᾽ ἂν οὐδεὶς κυριώτερον αὐτὸν περὶ ὧν πράξαιμι γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς ἀποφαινόμενος.

(12) [150] Τοῦ δὲ Ζαμβρίου ταῦτα περὶ ὧν αὐτός τε ἠδίκει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινὲς εἰπόντος ὁ μὲν λαὸς ἡσύχαζε φόβῳ τε τοῦ μέλλοντος καὶ τὸν νομοθέτην δὲ ὁρῶν μὴ περαιτέρω τὴν ἀπόνοιαν αὐτοῦ προαγαγεῖν ἐκ τῆς ἄντικρυς διαμάχης θελήσαντα: [151] περιίστατο γάρ, μὴ πολλοὶ τῆς τῶν λόγων ἀσελγείας αὐτοῦ μιμηταὶ γενόμενοι ταράξωσι τὸ πλῆθος. καὶ διαλύεται μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ σύλλογος. προεληλύθει δ᾽ ἂν ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἡ τοῦ κακοῦ πεῖρα μὴ φθάσαντος Ζαμβρία τελευτῆσαι ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας. [152] Φινεὲς ἀνὴρ τά τε ἄλλα τῶν νεωτέρων κρείττων καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀξιώματι τοὺς ἡλικιώτας ὑπερέχων, Ἐλεαζάρου γὰρ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἦν, περιαλγήσας τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Ζαμβρίου, καὶ πρὶν ἰσχυροτέραν γενέσθαι τὴν ὕβριν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀδείας ἔργῳ τὴν δίκην αὐτὸν εἰσπράξασθαι διαγνοὺς καὶ κωλῦσαι διαβῆναι τὴν παρανομίαν εἰς πλείονας τῶν ἀρξαμένων οὐ κολαζομένων, [153] τόλμῃ δὲ καὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος ἀνδρείᾳ τοσοῦτον προύχων, ὡς μὴ πρότερον εἴ τινι συσταίη τῶν δεινῶν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, πρὶν ἢ καταγωνίσασθαι καὶ νίκην τὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ λαβεῖν, ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Ζαμβρίου σκηνὴν παραγενόμενος αὐτόν τε παίων τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ τὴν Χοσβίαν ἀπέκτεινεν. [154] οἱ δὲ νέοι πάντες, οἷς ἀρετῆς ἀντιποίησις ἦν καὶ τοῦ φιλοκαλεῖν, μιμηταὶ γενόμενοι τῆς Φινεέσσου τόλμης ἀνῄρουν τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις Ζαμβρίᾳ τὴν αἰτίαν εἰληφότας. ἀπόλλυνται μὲν οὖν καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τούτων ἀνδραγαθίας πολλοὶ τῶν παρανομησάντων, [155] ἐφθάρησαν δὲ [πάντες] καὶ λοιμῷ ταύτην ἐνσκήψαντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν νόσον ὅσοι [τε] συγγενεῖς ὄντες κωλύειν δέον ἐξώτρυνον αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἀδικεῖν τῷ θεῷ δοκοῦντες ἀπέθνησκον. ἀπόλλυνται μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῶν τάξεων ἄνδρες οὐκ ἐλάττους τετρακισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων.

(13) [156] Ὑπὸ δὲ ταύτης παροξυνθεὶς τῆς αἰτίας Μωυσῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Μαδιανιτῶν ὄλεθρον τὴν στρατιὰν ἐξέπεμπε, περὶ ὧν τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐξόδου μετὰ μικρὸν ἀπαγγελοῦμεν προδιηγησάμενοι πρῶτον ὃ παρελίπομεν: δίκαιον [γὰρ] ἐπὶ τούτου τὴν τοῦ νομοθέτου γνώμην μὴ παρελθεῖν ἀνεγκωμίαστον. [157] τὸν γὰρ Βάλαμον παραληφθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν Μαδιηνιτῶν, ὅπως ἐπαράσηται τοῖς Ἑβραίοις, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ δυνηθέντα θείᾳ προνοίᾳ, γνώμην δὲ ὑποθέμενον, ᾗ χρησαμένων τῶν πολεμίων ὀλίγου τὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων πλῆθος διεφθάρη τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι νοσησάντων δή τινων περὶ ταῦτα, μεγάλως ἐτίμησεν ἀναγράψας αὐτοῦ τὰς μαντείας, [158] καὶ παρὸν αὐτῷ σφετερίσασθαι τὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς δόξαν καὶ ἐξιδιώσασθαι μηδενὸς ἂν γενομένου μάρτυρος τοῦ διελέγξοντος, ἐκείνῳ τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἔδωκε καὶ τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ μνήμης ἠξίωσε. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὡς ἂν αὐτοῖς τισι δοκῇ οὕτω σκοπείτωσαν.

VII

(1) [159] Μωυσῆς δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ προεῖπον ἐπὶ τὴν Μαδιηνιτῶν γῆν ἔπεμψεν στρατιὰν τοὺς πάντας εἰς δισχιλίους καὶ μυρίους ἐξ ἑκάστης φυλῆς τὸν ἴσον ἀριθμὸν ἐπιλεξάμενος, στρατηγὸν δ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀπέδειξε Φινεές, οὗ μικρῷ πρότερον ἐμνήσθημεν φυλάξαντος τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸν παρανομοῦντα τούτους Ζαμβρίαν τιμωρησαμένου. [160] Μαδιηνῖται δὲ προπυθόμενοι τὸν στρατὸν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐλαύνοντα καὶ ὅσον οὐδέπω παρεσόμενον ἠθροίζοντό τε καὶ τὰς εἰσβολὰς τῆς χώρας, ᾗ προσεδέχοντο τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀσφαλισάμενοι περιέμενον αὐτούς. [161] ἐλθόντων δὲ καὶ συμβολῆς γενομένης πίπτει τῶν Μαδιηνιτῶν πλῆθος ἀσυλλόγιστον καὶ ἀριθμοῦ κρεῖττον οἵ τε βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν ἅπαντες: πέντε δὲ ἦσαν, Ὤχός τε καὶ Σούρης ἔτι δὲ Ῥοβέης καὶ Οὖρης, πέμπτος δὲ Ῥέκεμος, οὗ πόλις ἐπώνυμος τὸ πᾶν ἀξίωμα τῆς Ἀράβων ἔχουσα γῆς καὶ μέχρι νῦν ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ Ἀραβίου τοῦ κτίσαντος βασιλέως τὸ ὄνομα Ῥεκέμης καλεῖται, Πέτρα παρ᾽ Ἕλλησι λεγομένη. [162] τραπέντων δὲ τῶν πολεμίων οἱ Ἑβραῖοι διήρπασαν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν καὶ πολλὴν λείαν λαβόντες καὶ τοὺς οἰκήτορας γυναιξὶν ἅμα διαφθείραντες μόνας τὰς παρθένους κατέλιπον, τοῦτο Μωυσέος Φινέει κελεύσαντος. [163] ὃς ἧκεν ἄγων τὸν στρατὸν ἀπαθῆ καὶ λείαν ἄφθονον, βόας μὲν γὰρ δισχιλίους καὶ πεντακισμυρίους, ὄις δὲ πεντακισχιλίας πρὸς μυριάσιν ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑξήκοντα, ὄνους δὲ ἑξακισμυρίας, χρυσοῦ δὲ καὶ ἀργύρου ἄπειρόν τι πλῆθος κατασκευῆς, ᾗ κατ᾽ οἶκον ἐχρῶντο: ὑπὸ γὰρ εὐδαιμονίας καὶ ἁβροδίαιτοι σφόδρα ἐτύγχανον. ἤχθησαν δὲ καὶ αἱ παρθένοι περὶ δισχιλίας καὶ τρισμυρίας. [164] Μωυσῆς δὲ μερίσας τὴν λείαν τῆς μὲν ἑτέρας τὸ πεντηκοστὸν Ἐλεαζάρῳ δίδωσι καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι, Λευίταις δὲ τῆς ἑτέρας τὸ πεντηκοστὸν μέρος, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν νέμει τῷ λαῷ. καὶ διῆγον τὸ λοιπὸν

εὐδαιμόνως, ἀφθονίας μὲν ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς ὑπ᾽ ἀρετῆς γεγενημένης, ὑπὸ μηδενὸς δὲ σκυθρωποῦ ταύτης ἀπολαύειν ἐμποδιζόμενοι.

(2) [165] Μωυσῆς δὲ γηραιὸς ἤδη τυγχάνων διάδοχον ἑαυτοῦ Ἰησοῦν καθίστησιν ἐπί τε ταῖς προφητείαις καὶ στρατηγὸν εἴ που δεήσειε γενησόμενον, κελεύσαντος καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτῳ τὴν προστασίαν ἐπιτρέψαι τῶν πραγμάτων. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς πᾶσαν ἐπεπαίδευτο τὴν περὶ τοὺς νόμους παιδείαν καὶ τὸ θεῖον Μωυσέος ἐκδιδάξαντος.

(3) [166] Κἀν τούτῳ δύο φυλαὶ Γαδίς τε καὶ Ῥουβήλου καὶ τῆς Μανασσίτιδος ἡμίσεια πλήθει τετραπόδων εὐδαιμονοῦντες καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι, κοινολογησάμενοι παρεκάλουν τὸν Μωυσῆν ἐξαίρετον αὐτοῖς τὴν Ἀμορῖτιν παρασχεῖν δορίκτητον οὖσαν: ἀγαθὴν γὰρ εἶναι βοσκήματα τρέφειν. [167] ὁ δ᾽ ὑπολαβὼν αὐτοὺς δείσαντας τὴν πρὸς Χαναναίους μάχην πρόφασιν εὐπρεπῆ τὴν τῶν βοσκημάτων ἐπιμέλειαν εὑρῆσθαι κακίστους τε ἀπεκάλει καὶ δειλίας εὐσχήμονα πρόφασιν ἐπινοήσαντας αὐτοὺς μὲν βούλεσθαι τρυφᾶν ἀπόνως διάγοντας πάντων τεταλαιπωρηκότων ὑπὲρ τοῦ κτήσασθαι τὴν αἰτουμένην ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν γῆν, [168] μὴ θέλειν δὲ συναραμένους τῶν ἐπιλοίπων ἀγώνων γῆν ἣν διαβᾶσιν αὐτοῖς τὸν Ἰορδάνην ὁ θεὸς παραδώσειν ὑπέσχηται ταύτην λαβεῖν καταστρεψαμένους οὓς ἐκεῖνος ἀπέδειξεν ἡμῖν πολεμίους. [169] οἱ δ᾽ ὁρῶντες ὀργιζόμενον αὐτὸν καὶ δικαίως ἠρεθίσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἀξίωσιν αὐτῶν ὑπολαβόντες ἀπελογοῦντο μὴ διὰ φόβον κινδύνων μηδὲ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ πονεῖν μαλακίαν πεποιῆσθαι τὴν αἴτησιν, [170] ἀλλ᾽ ὅπως τὴν λείαν ἐν ἐπιτηδείοις καταλιπόντες εὔζωνοι πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰς μάχας χωρεῖν δύναιντο, ἑτοίμους τε ἔλεγον ἑαυτοὺς κτίσαντας πόλεις εἰς φυλακὴν τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ κτήσεως αὐτοῦ διδόντος συναπιέναι τῷ στρατῷ. [171] καὶ Μωυσῆς ἀρεσθεὶς τῷ λόγῳ καλέσας Ἐλεάζαρον τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ Ἰησοῦν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τέλει πάντας συνεχώρει τὴν Ἀμορρῖτιν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ συμμαχῆσαι τοῖς συγγενέσιν, ἕως ἂν καταστήσωνται τὰ πάντα. λαβόντες οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις τὴν χώραν καὶ κτίσαντες πόλεις καρτερὰς τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα συμπεριάγειν μέλλουσιν αὐτοῖς ἂν ἦν ἐμπόδια τοῦ πονεῖν ἀπέθεντο εἰς αὐτάς.

(4) [172] Οἰκοδομεῖ δὲ καὶ Μωυσῆς τὰς δέκα πόλεις τὰς εἰς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ὀκτὼ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα γενησομένας, ὧν τρεῖς ἀπέδειξε τοῖς ἐπ᾽ ἀκουσίῳ φόνῳ φευξομένοις, καὶ χρόνον ἔταξεν εἶναι τῆς φυγῆς τὸν αὐτὸν τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, ἐφ᾽ οὗ δράσας τις τὸν φόνον ἔφυγε. μεθ᾽ ὃν συνεχώρει τελευτήσαντα κάθοδον, ἐχόντων ἐξουσίαν τῶν τοῦ πεφονευμένου συγγενῶν κτείνειν, εἰ λάβοιεν ἔξω τῶν ὅρων τῆς πόλεως εἰς ἣν ἔφυγε τὸν πεφονευκότα: ἑτέρῳ δὲ οὐκ ἐπετέτραπτο. [173] αἱ δὲ πόλεις αἱ πρὸς τὰς φυγὰς ἀποδεδειγμέναι ἦσαν αἵδε: Βοσάρα μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις τῆς Ἀραβίας, Ἀρίμανον δὲ τῆς Γαλαδηνῶν γῆς, καὶ Γαυλανὰν δ᾽ ἐν τῇ Βατανίδι. κτησαμένων δ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν Χαναναίων γῆν τρεῖς ἕτεραι πόλεις ἔμελλον

ἀνατεθήσεσθαι τῶν Λευίτιδων πόλεων τοῖς φυγάσιν εἰς κατοικισμὸν Μωυσέος ἐπιστείλαντος.

(5) [174] Μωυσῆς δὲ προσελθόντων αὐτῷ τῶν πρώτων τῆς Μανασσίτιδος φυλῆς καὶ δηλούντων μὲν ὡς τεθνήκοι τις τῶν φυλετῶν ἐπίσημος ἀνὴρ Σωλοφάντης ὄνομα, παῖδας μὲν οὐ καταλιπὼν ἄρσενας θυγατέρας δέ τοι, καὶ πυθομένων εἰ τούτων ὁ κλῆρος ἔσοιτο, φησίν, [175] εἰ μὲν μέλλουσί τινι συνοικεῖν τῶν φυλετῶν, μετὰ τοῦ κλήρου πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπιέναι, εἰ δ' ἐξ ἄλλης γαμοῖντό τισι φυλῆς, τὸν κλῆρον ἐν τῇ πατρῴᾳ φυλῇ καταλιπεῖν. καὶ τότε μένειν ἑκάστου τὸν κλῆρον ἐν τῇ φυλῇ διετάξατο.

VIII

(1) [176] Τῶν δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ἐτῶν παρὰ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας συμπεπληρωμένων Μωυσῆς ἐκκλησίαν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ συναγαγών, ὅπου νῦν πόλις ἐστὶν Ἀβίλη, φοινικόφυτον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ χωρίον, συνελθόντος τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς λέγει τοιάδε:

(2) [177] "Ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται καὶ τῆς μακρᾶς κοινωνοὶ ταλαιπωρίας, ἐπεὶ τῷ θεῷ δοκοῦν ἤδη καὶ τῷ γήρᾳ χρόνον ἐτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἠνυσμένον δεῖ με τοῦ ζῆν ἀπελθεῖν καὶ τῶν πέρα τοῦ Ἰορδάνου πραχθησομένων οὐ μέλλω βοηθὸς ὑμῖν ἔσεσθαι καὶ σύμμαχος κωλυόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, [178] δίκαιον ἡγησάμην μηδὲ νῦν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τοὐμὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐδαιμονίας πρόθυμον, ἀλλ' ἀίδιόν τε ὑμῖν πραγματεύσασθαι τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπόλαυσιν, καὶ μνήμην ἐμαυτῷ γενομένων ὑμῶν ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ τῶν κρειττόνων. [179] φέρε οὖν ὑποθέμενος ὃν τρόπον ὑμεῖς τ' ἂν εὐδαιμονήσαιτε καὶ παισὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν καταλίποιτε κτῆσιν ἀγαθῶν ἀίδιον παραθέμενος οὕτως ἀπέλθω τοῦ βίου. πιστεύεσθαι δὲ ἄξιός εἰμι διά τε τὰς πρότερον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν φιλοτιμίας καὶ διὰ τὸ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐπὶ τελευτῇ γιγνομένας μετ' ἀρετῆς πάσης ὁμιλεῖν. [180] ὦ παῖδες Ἰσραήλου, μία πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν κτήσεως αἰτία ὁ θεὸς εὐμενής: μόνος γὰρ οὗτος δοῦναί τε ταῦτα τοῖς ἀξίοις καὶ ἀφελέσθαι τῶν ἁμαρτανόντων εἰς αὐτὸν ἱκανός, ᾧ παρέχοντες ἑαυτοὺς οἵους αὐτός τε βούλεται κἀγὼ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ σαφῶς ἐξεπιστάμενος παραινῶ, οὐκ ἂν ὄντες μακαριστοὶ καὶ ζηλωτοὶ πᾶσιν ἀτυχήσαιτέ ποτ' ἢ παύσαισθε, ἀλλ' ὧν τε νῦν ὑμῖν ἐστιν ἀγαθῶν ἡ κτῆσις βεβαία μενεῖ τῶν τε ἀπόντων ταχεῖαν ἕξετε τὴν παρουσίαν. [181] μόνον οἷς ὁ θεὸς ὑμᾶς ἕπεσθαι βούλεται, τούτοις πειθαρχεῖτε, καὶ μήτε νομίμων τῶν παρόντων ἄλλην προτιμήσητε διάταξιν μήτ' εὐσεβείας ἧς νῦν περὶ τὸν θεὸν ἔχοντες καταφρονήσαντες εἰς ἄλλον μεταστήσησθε τρόπον. ταῦτα δὲ πράττοντες ἀλκιμώτατοι μάχας διενεγκεῖν ἁπάντων ἔσεσθε καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν εὐάλωτοι. [182] θεοῦ γὰρ παρόντος ὑμῖν βοηθοῦ πάντων περιφρονεῖν εὔλογον. τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἔπαθλα ὑμῖν μεγάλα κεῖται πρὸς ἅπαντα τὸν βίον κτησαμένοις: αὐτή γε τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαθῶν τὸ πρέσβιστόν ἐστιν, ἔπειτα καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων χαρίζεται

περιουσίαν, [183] ὡς καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑμῖν χρωμένοις αὐτῇ μακαριστὸν ποιῆσαι τὸν βίον καὶ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων πλέον δοξαζομένους ἀδήριτον καὶ παρὰ τοῖς αὖθις τὴν εὔκλειαν ὑμῖν ὑπάρξαι. τούτων δ᾽ ἂν ἐφικέσθαι δυνηθείητε, εἰ τῶν νόμων οὓς ὑπαγορεύσαντός μοι τοῦ θεοῦ συνεταξάμην κατήκοοι καὶ φύλακες γένοισθε καὶ μελετῴητε τὴν σύνεσιν αὐτῶν. [184] ἄπειμι δ᾽ αὐτὸς χαίρων ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἀγαθοῖς παρατιθέμενος ὑμᾶς νόμων τε σωφροσύνῃ καὶ κόσμῳ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ ταῖς τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀρεταῖς, οἳ πρόνοιαν ἕξουσιν ὑμῶν τοῦ συμφέροντος. [185] θεός τε ὁ μέχρι νῦν ἡγεμονεύσας ἡμῖν, καθ᾽ οὗ βούλησιν κἀγὼ χρήσιμος ὑμῖν ἐγενόμην, οὐ μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο στήσει τὴν αὐτοῦ πρόνοιαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ὃν αὐτοὶ βούλεσθε χρόνον τοῦτον ἔχειν προστάτην ἐν τοῖς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπιτηδεύμασι μένοντες, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῦ χρήσεσθε τῇ προμηθείᾳ. [186] γνώμας τε ὑμῖν εἰσηγήσονται τὰς ἀρίστας, αἷς ἑπόμενοι τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἕξετε, ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἐλεάζαρος καὶ Ἰησοῦς ἥ τε γερουσία καὶ τὰ τέλη τῶν φυλῶν, ὧν ἀκροᾶσθε μὴ χαλεπῶς, γινώσκοντες ὅτι πάντες οἱ ἄρχεσθαι καλῶς εἰδότες καὶ ἄρχειν εἴσονται παρελθόντες εἰς ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῦ, [187] τήν τ᾽ ἐλευθερίαν ἡγεῖσθε μὴ τὸ προσαγανακτεῖν οἷς ἂν ὑμᾶς οἱ ἡγεμόνες πράττειν ἀξιῶσι: νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ τοὺς εὐεργέτας ὑβρίζειν ἐν τούτῳ τὴν παρρησίαν τίθεσθε, ὃ δὴ τοῦ λοιποῦ φυλαττομένοις ὑμῖν ἄμεινον ἕξει τὰ πράγματα: [188] μηδὲ τὴν ἴσην ἐπὶ τούτοις ὀργήν ποτε λαμβάνετε, ᾗ κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ πολλάκις ἐτολμήσατε χρῆσθαι: γινώσκετε γὰρ ὡς πλεονάκις ἐκινδύνευσα ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. [189] ταῦτα δ᾽ οὐκ ὀνειδίζειν ὑμᾶς προεθέμην, οὐ γὰρ ἐπ᾽ ἐξόδου τοῦ ζῆν δυσχεραίνοντας καταλιπεῖν ἠξίουν εἰς τὴν ἀνάμνησιν φέρων μηδὲ παρ᾽ ὃν ἔπασχον αὐτὰ καιρὸν ἐν ὀργῇ γενόμενος, ἀλλ᾽ ὥστε τοῦ σωφρονήσειν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὸ μέλλον κατ᾽ αὐτό γε τοῦτ᾽ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι, καὶ μηδὲν εἰς τοὺς προεστηκότας ἐξυβρίσαι διὰ πλοῦτον, ὃς ὑμῖν πολὺς διαβᾶσι τὸν Ἰορδάνην καὶ τὴν Χαναναίαν κτησαμέναις περιστήσεται. [190] ἐπεὶ προαχθέντες εἰς καταφρόνησιν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὀλιγωρίαν ἀπολεῖτε καὶ τὴν εὔνοιαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, ποιήσαντες δὲ τοῦτον ἐχθρὸν τήν τε γῆν, ἣν κτήσεσθε, κρατηθέντες ὅπλοις ὑπὸ τῶν αὖθις ἀφαιρεθήσεσθε μετὰ μείστων ὀνειδῶν καὶ σκεδασθέντες διὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης πᾶσαν ἐμπλήσετε καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν τῆς αὐτῶν δουλείας. [191] ἔσται δ᾽ ὑμῖν τούτων πεῖραν λαμβάνουσιν ἀνωφελὴς ἡ μετάνοια καὶ ἡ τῶν οὐ φυλαχθέντων νόμων ἀνάμνησις. ὅθεν εἰ βούλοισθε τούτους ὑμῖν μένειν, τῶν πολεμίων μηδένα ὑπολείπησθε κρατήσαντες αὐτῶν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπολλύναι πάντας κρίνατε συμφέρειν, ἵνα μή τινων παραγευσάμενοι τῆς ἐκείνων ἐπιτηδεύσεως διαφθείρητε τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν. [192] ἔτι δὲ καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ ἄλση καὶ νεὼς ὁπόσους ἂν ἔχοιεν κατερείπειν παραινῶ καὶ δαπανᾶν πυρὶ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν μνήμην: βεβαία γὰρ ἂν οὕτως ὑμῖν μόνον ὑπάρξειεν ἡ τῶν οἰκείων ἀγαθῶν ἀσφάλεια. [193] ἵνα δὲ μὴ δι᾽ ἀμαθίαν τοῦ κρείττονος ἡ φύσις ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸ

χεῖρον ἀπονεύσῃ, συνέθηκα ὑμῖν καὶ νόμους ὑπαγορεύσαντός μοι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πολιτείαν, ἧς τὸν κόσμον φυλάξαντες πάντων ἂν εὐδαιμονέστατοι κριθείητε.”

(3) [194] Ταῦτα εἰπὼν δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς ἐν βιβλίῳ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν διάταξιν τῆς πολιτείας ἀναγεγραμμένην. οἱ δὲ ἐδάκρυόν τε καὶ πολλὴν ἐπιζήτησιν ἐποιοῦντο τοῦ στρατηγοῦ μεμνημένοι τε ὧν κινδυνεύσειε καὶ προθυμηθείη τῆς περὶ αὐτῶν σωτηρίας καὶ δυσελπιστοῦντες περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ὡς οὐκ ἐσομένης ἄλλης ἀρχῆς τοιαύτης, ἧττόν τε τοῦ θεοῦ προνοησομένου διὰ τὸ Μωυσῆν εἶναι τὸν παρακαλοῦντα. [195] ὧν τε ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρήμου μετ’ ὀργῆς ὁμιλήσειαν αὐτῷ μετανοοῦντες ἤλγουν, ὡς ἅπαντα τὸν λαὸν εἰς δάκρυα προπεσόντα κρεῖττον καὶ τῆς ἐκ λόγου παρηγορίας τὸ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι πάθος. Μωυσῆς δ’ αὐτοὺς παρηγόρει, καὶ τοῦ δακρύων αὐτὸν ἄξιον ὑπολαμβάνειν ἀπάγων αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι τῇ πολιτείᾳ παρεκάλει. καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτω διελύθησαν.

(4) [196] Βούλομαι δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν πρότερον εἰπὼν τῷ τε Μωυσέος ἀξιώματι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀναλογοῦσαν καὶ μαθεῖν παρέξων δι’ αὐτῆς τοῖς ἐντευξομένοις. οἷα τὰ καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἀρχῆθεν ἦν, ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων τραπέσθαι διήγησιν. γέγραπται δὲ πάνθ’ ὡς ἐκεῖνος κατέλιπεν οὐδὲν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ καλλωπισμῷ προσθέντων οὐδ’ ὅτι μὴ κατελέλοιπε Μωυσῆς. [197] νενεωτέρισται δ’ ἡμῖν τὸ κατὰ γένος ἕκαστα τάξαι: σποράδην γὰρ ὑπ’ ἐκείνου κατελείφθη γραφέντα καὶ ὡς ἕκαστόν τι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πύθοιτο. τούτου χάριν ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην προδιαστείλασθαι, μὴ καί τις ἡμῖν παρὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἐντυχόντων τῇ γραφῇ μέμψις ὡς διημαρτηκόσι γένηται. [198] ἔχει δὲ οὕτως ἡ διάταξις ἡμῶν τῶν νόμων τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν. οὓς δὲ κοινοὺς ἡμῖν καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατέλιπε τούτους ὑπερεθέμην εἰς τὴν περὶ ἐθῶν καὶ αἰτιῶν ἀπόδοσιν, ἣν συλλαμβανομένου τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ ταύτην ἡμῖν τὴν πραγματείαν συντάξασθαι πρόκειται.

(5) [199] Ἐπειδὰν τὴν Χαναναίων γῆν κτησάμενοι καὶ σχολὴν ἐν χρήσει τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔχοντες πόλεις τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη κτίζειν προαιρῆσθε, ταῦτα ποιοῦντες τῷ θεῷ φίλα πράξετε καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν βεβαίαν ἕξετε: [200] ἱερὰ πόλις ἔστω μία τῆς Χαναναίων γῆς ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ καὶ δι’ ἀρετὴν ἐπιφανεῖ, ἣν ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἑαυτῷ διὰ προφητείας ἕληται, καὶ νεὼς εἷς ἐν ταύτῃ ἔστω, καὶ βωμὸς εἷς ἐκ λίθων μὴ κατειργασμένων, ἀλλὰ λογάδην συγκειμένων, οἳ κονιάματι χρισθέντες εὐπρεπεῖς τε εἶεν καὶ καθάριοι πρὸς τὴν θέαν. [201] ἡ δ’ ἐπὶ τοῦτον πρόσβασις ἔστω μὴ διὰ βαθμίδων, ἀλλὰ προσχώσεως αὐτῷ καταπρανοῦς γενομένης. ἐν ἑτέρᾳ δὲ πόλει μήτε βωμὸς μήτε νεὼς ἔστω: θεὸς γὰρ εἷς καὶ τὸ Ἑβραίων γένος ἕν.

(6) [202] Ὁ δὲ βλασφημήσας θεὸν καταλευσθεὶς κρεμάσθω δι’ ἡμέρας καὶ ἀτίμως καὶ ἀφανῶς θαπτέσθω.

(7) [203] Συνερχέσθωσαν δὲ εἰς ἣν ἀποφήνωσι πόλιν τὸν νεὼν τρὶς τοῦ ἔτους οἱ ἐκ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς, ἧς ἂν Ἑβραῖοι κρατῶσιν, ὅπως τῷ θεῷ τῶν μὲν ὑπηργμένων εὐχαριστῶσι καὶ περὶ τῶν εἰς τὸ μέλλον παρακαλῶσι καὶ συνιόντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ συνευωχούμενοι προσφιλεῖς ὦσι: [204] καλὸν γὰρ εἶναι μὴ ἀγνοεῖν

ἀλλήλους ὁμοφύλους τε ὄντας καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν κοινωνοῦντας ἐπιτηδευμάτων, τοῦτο δὲ ἐκ μὲν τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπιμιξίας αὐτοῖς ὑπάρξειν, τῇ τε ὄψει καὶ τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ μνήμην αὐτῶν ἐντιθέντας: ἀνεπιμίκτους γὰρ ἀλλήλοις μένοντας ἀλλοτριωτάτους αὐτοῖς νομισθήσεσθαι.

(8) [205] Ἔστω δὲ καὶ δεκάτη τῶν καρπῶν ἐξαίρεσις ὑμῖν χωρὶς ἧς διετάξατε τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ Λευίταις δεδόσθαι, ἣ πιπρασκέσθω μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν πατρίδων, εἰς δὲ τὰς εὐωχίας ὑπηρετείτω καὶ τὰς θυσίας τὰς ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ πόλει: δίκαιον γὰρ εἶναι τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναδιδομένων, ἣν ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς κτήσασθαι παρέσχεν, ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ δεδωκότος ἀπολαύειν.

(9) [206] Ἐκ μισθοῦ γυναικὸς ἡταιρημένης θυσίας μὴ τελεῖν: ἥδεσθαι γὰρ μηδενὶ τῶν ἀφ᾽ ὕβρεως τὸ θεῖον, χείρων δ᾽ οὐκ ἂν εἴη τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν αἰσχύνης: ὁμοίως μηδ᾽ ἂν ἐπ᾽ ὀχεύσει κυνὸς ἤτοι θηρευτικοῦ ἢ ποιμνίων φύλακος λάβῃ τις μισθόν, ἐκ τούτου θύειν τῷ θεῷ.

(10) [207] Βλασφημείτω δὲ μηδεὶς θεοὺς οὓς πόλεις ἄλλαι νομίζουσι. μηδὲ συλᾶν ἱερὰ ξενικά, μηδ᾽ ἂν ἐπωνομασμένον ᾖ τινι θεῷ κειμήλιον λαμβάνειν.

(11) [208] Μηδεὶς δ᾽ ἐξ ὑμῶν κλωστὴν ἐξ ἐρίου καὶ λίνου στολὴν φορείτω: τοῖς γὰρ ἱερεῦσι μόνοις ταύτην ἀποδεδεῖχθαι.

(12) [209] Συνελθόντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις δι᾽ ἐτῶν ἑπτὰ τῆς σκηνοπηγίας ἑορτῆς ἐνστάσης ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπὶ βήματος ὑψηλοῦ σταθείς, ἀφ᾽ οὗ γένοιτο ἐξάκουστος, ἀναγινωσκέτω τοὺς νόμους ἅπασι, καὶ μήτε γυνὴ μήτε παῖδες εἰργέσθωσαν τοῦ ἀκούειν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ οἱ δοῦλοι: [210] καλὸν γὰρ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐγγραφέντας καὶ τῇ μνήμῃ φυλαχθῆναι μηδέποτε ἐξαλειφθῆναι δυναμένους. οὕτως γὰρ οὐδὲν ἁμαρτήσονται μὴ δυνάμενοι λέγειν ἄγνοιαν τῶν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις διωρισμένων, οἵ τε νόμοι πολλὴν πρὸς ἁμαρτάνοντας ἔξουσι παρρησίαν, ὡς προλεγόντων αὐτοῖς ἃ πείσονται καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐγγραψάντων διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς ἃ κελεύουσιν, [211] ὥστ᾽ εἶναι διὰ παντὸς ἔνδον αὐτοῖς τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῶν ἧς ὀλιγωρήσαντες ἠδίκησαν καὶ τῆς ζημίας αὐτοῖς αἴτιοι γεγόνασι. μανθανέτωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ παῖδες πρῶτον τοὺς νόμους μάθημα κάλλιστον καὶ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας αἴτιον.

(13) [212] Δίς τε ἑκάστης ἡμέρας ἀρχομένης τε αὐτῆς καὶ ὁπότε πρὸς ὕπνον ὥρα τρέπεσθαι μαρτυρεῖν τῷ θεῷ τὰς δωρεάς, ἃς ἀπαλλαγεῖσιν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς Αἰγυπτίων γῆς παρέσχε, δικαίας οὔσης φύσει τῆς εὐχαριστίας καὶ γενομένης ἐπ᾽ ἀμοιβῇ μὲν τῶν ἤδη γεγονότων ἐπὶ δὲ προτροπῇ τῶν ἐσομένων: [213] ἐπιγράφειν δὲ καὶ τοῖς θυρώμασιν αὐτῶν τὰ μέγιστα ὧν εὐεργέτησεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἔν τε βραχίοσιν ἕκαστον διαφαίνειν, ὅσα τε τὴν ἰσχὺν ἀποσημαίνειν δύναται τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὔνοιαν φέρειν ἐγγεγραμμένα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τοῦ βραχίονος, ὡς περίβλεπτον πανταχόθεν τὸ περὶ αὐτοὺς πρόθυμον τοῦ θεοῦ.

(14) [214] Ἀρχέτωσαν δὲ καθ᾽ ἑκάστην πόλιν ἄνδρες ἑπτὰ οἱ καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ δίκαιον σπουδὴν προησκηκότες: ἑκάστῃ δὲ ἀρχῇ δύο ἄνδρες

ὑπηρέται διδόσθωσαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν Λευιτῶν φυλῆς. [215] ἔστωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ δικάζειν λαχόντες ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐν πάσῃ τιμῇ, ὡς μήτε βλασφημεῖν ἐκείνων παρόντων μήτε θρασύνεσθαί τισιν ἐξεῖναι τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ἀξιώματι τῶν ἀνθρώπων αἰδοῦς αὐτῶν εὐλαβεστέρους, ὥστε τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ καταφρονεῖν, ἀπεργαζομένης. [216] οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ ἀποφήνασθαι κύριοι περὶ τοῦ δόξαντος αὐτοῖς ἔστωσαν, πλὴν εἰ μή τι χρήματα λαβόντας τις αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ διαφθορᾷ τοῦ δικαίου ἐνδείξαιτ' ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ αἰτίαν προφέροι, καθ' ἣν οὐ καλῶς ἐλέγχει αὐτοὺς ἀποφηναμένους: οὔτε γὰρ κέρδει χαριζομένους οὔτ' ἀξιώματι προσῆκε φανερὰς ποιεῖσθαι τὰς κρίσεις, ἀλλὰ τὸ δίκαιον ἐπάνω πάντων τιθεμένους. [217] ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἂν οὕτως δόξειε καταφρονεῖσθαι καὶ ἀσθενέστερος ἐκείνων οἷς ἄν τις κατὰ φόβον ἰσχύος προσνέμοι τὴν ψῆφον κεκρίσθαι: τοῦ θεοῦ γὰρ ἰσχύς ἐστι τὸ δίκαιον. ὃ τοῖς ἐν ἀξιώμασι τυγχάνουσι καταχαριζόμενός τις ἐκείνους τοῦ θεοῦ δυνατωτέρους ποιεῖ. [218] ἂν δ' οἱ δικασταὶ μὴ νοῶσι περὶ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς παρατεταγμένων ἀποφήνασθαι, συμβαίνει δὲ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀναπεμπέτωσαν τὴν δίκην εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν, καὶ συνελθόντες ὅ τε ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ ὁ προφήτης καὶ ἡ γερουσία τὸ δοκοῦν ἀποφαινέσθωσαν.

(15) [219] Εἷς δὲ μὴ πιστευέσθω μάρτυς, ἀλλὰ τρεῖς ἢ τὸ τελευταῖον δύο, ὧν τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἀληθῆ ποιήσει τὰ προβεβιωμένα. γυναικῶν δὲ μὴ ἔστω μαρτυρία διὰ κουφότητα καὶ θράσος τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν: μαρτυρείτωσαν δὲ μηδὲ δοῦλοι διὰ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγένειαν, οὓς ἢ διὰ κέρδος εἰκὸς ἢ διὰ φόβον μὴ τἀληθῆ μαρτυρῆσαι. ἂν δέ τις ψευδομαρτυρήσας πιστευθῇ, πασχέτω ταῦτ' ἐλεγχθεὶς ὅσα ὁ καταμαρτυρηθεὶς πάσχειν ἔμελλεν.

(16) [220] Ἂν δὲ πραχθέντος φόνου ἔν τινι χώρᾳ μὴ εὑρίσκηται ὁ δράσας μηδ' ὑπονοῆταί τις ὡς διὰ μῖσος ἀπεκτονηκώς, ζητείτωσαν μὲν αὐτὸν μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς μήνυτρα προθέμενοι: μηδενὸς δὲ μηνύοντος αἱ ἀρχαὶ τῶν πόλεων τῶν πλησίον τῇ χώρᾳ, ἐν ᾗ ὁ φόνος ἐπράχθη, καὶ ἡ γερουσία συνελθόντες μετρείτωσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου ὅπου κεῖται ὁ νεκρὸς τὴν χώραν. [221] ἡ δ' ἂν ᾖ πλησιαιτάτη πόλις, οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ δημόσιοι πριάμενοι δάμαλιν καὶ κομίσαντες εἰς φάραγγα καὶ ἀνεπιτήδειον ἀρότρῳ καὶ φυτοῖς χωρίον τοὺς τένοντας κοψάτωσαν τῆς βοός, [222] καὶ χέρνιβας ἑλόμενοι ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς τῆς βοὸς οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ Λευῖται καὶ ἡ γερουσία τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης καθαρὰς ἀναβοησάτωσαν τὰς χεῖρας ἔχειν ἀπὸ τοῦ φόνου καὶ μήτε δρᾶσαι μήτε δρωμένῳ παρατυχεῖν, ἐπικαλεῖσθαι δὲ ἵλεω τὸν θεὸν καὶ μηκέτι τοιοῦτον δεινὸν συμβῆναι τῇ γῇ πάθος.

(17) [223] Ἀριστοκρατία μὲν οὖν κράτιστον καὶ ὁ κατ' αὐτὴν βίος, καὶ μὴ λάβῃ πόθος ὑμᾶς ἄλλης πολιτείας, ἀλλὰ ταύτην στέργοιτε καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἔχοντες δεσπότας κατ' αὐτοὺς ἕκαστα πράττετε: ἀρκεῖ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἡγεμὼν εἶναι. βασιλέως δ' εἰ γένοιτο ἔρως ὑμῖν, ἔστω μὲν οὗτος ὁμόφυλος, πρόνοια δ' αὐτῷ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς διὰ παντὸς ἔστω. [224] παραχωροίη δὲ οὗτος τοῖς μὲν νόμοις καὶ τῷ θεῷ τὰ πλείονα τοῦ φρονεῖν, πρασσέτω δὲ μηδὲν δίχα τοῦ

ἀρχιερέως καὶ τῆς τῶν γερουσιαστῶν γνώμης γάμοις τε μὴ πολλοῖς χρώμενος μηδὲ πλῆθος διώκων χρημάτων μηδ' ἵππων, ὧν αὐτῷ παραγενομένων ὑπερήφανος ἂν τῶν νόμων ἔσοιτο. κωλυέσθω δ', εἰ τούτων τι διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχοι, γίγνεσθαι τοῦ συμφέροντος ὑμῖν δυνατώτερος.

(18) [225] Ὅρους γῆς μὴ ἐξέστω κινεῖν μήτε οἰκείας μήτ' ἀλλοτρίας πρὸς οὕς ἐστιν ὑμῖν εἰρήνη, φυλαττέσθω δ' ὥσπερ θεοῦ ψῆφον βεβαίαν εἰς αἰῶνα κειμένην ἀναιρεῖν, ὡς πολέμων ἐντεῦθεν καὶ στάσεων γινομένων ἐκ τοῦ πλεονεκτοῦντας προσωτέρω χωρεῖν βούλεσθαι τῶν ὅρων: μὴ γὰρ μακρὰν εἶναι τοῦ καὶ τοὺς νόμους ὑπερβαίνειν τοὺς τὸν ὅρον μετακινοῦντας.

(19) [226] Γῆν ὁ φυτεύσας, πρὸ ἐτῶν τεσσάρων ἂν καρπὸν προβάλῃ τὰ φυτά, μήτε τῷ θεῷ ἀπαρχὰς ἐντεῦθεν ἀποφερέτω μήτ' αὐτὸς χρήσθω: οὐ γὰρ κατὰ καιρὸν τοῦτον ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐνεχθῆναι, βιασαμένης δὲ τῆς φύσεως ἀώρως μήτε τῷ θεῷ ἁρμόζειν μήτ' αὐτῷ τῷ δεσπότῃ χρῆσθαι. [227] τῷ δὲ τετάρτῳ τρυγάτω πᾶν τὸ γενόμενον, τότε γὰρ ὥριον εἶναι, καὶ συναγαγὼν εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν κομιζέτω, καὶ σὺν τῇ δεκάτῃ τοῦ ἄλλου καρποῦ μετὰ τῶν φίλων εὐωχούμενος ἀναλισκέτω καὶ μετ' ὀρφανῶν καὶ χηρευουσῶν γυναικῶν. πέμπτου δὲ ἔτους κύριος ἔστω τὰ φυτὰ καρποῦσθαι.

(20) [228] Τὴν ἀμπέλοις κατάφυτον γῆν μὴ σπείρειν: ἀρκεῖσθαι γὰρ αὐτὴν τρέφειν τοῦτο τὸ φυτὸν καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀρότρου πόνων ἀπηλλάχθαι. βουσὶν ἀροῦν τὴν γῆν, καὶ μηδὲν τῶν ἑτέρων ζῴων [σὺν αὐτοῖς] ὑπὸ ζεύγλην ἄγοντας, ἀλλὰ κατ' οἰκεῖα γένη κἀκείνοις ποιεῖσθαι τὸν ἄροτον. εἶναι δὲ καθαρὰ τὰ σπέρματα καὶ ἀνεπίμικτα, καὶ μὴ σύνδυο καὶ τρία σπείρειν: οὐ γὰρ τῇ τῶν ἀνομοίων κοινωνίᾳ χαίρειν τὴν φύσιν. [229] μηδὲ κτήνεσιν ἐπάγειν ὅσα μὴ συγγενῆ: δέος γὰρ ἐκ τούτου μὴ διαβῇ καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἡ πρὸς τὸ ὁμόφυλον ἀτιμία τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὰ μικρὰ καὶ τὰ φαῦλα πρότερον λαβοῦσα. [230] δεῖ δὲ μηδὲν εἶναι τοιοῦτον συγκεχωρημένον, ἐξ οὗ κατὰ μίμησιν παρατροπή τις τῶν κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν ἔσοιτο, ἀλλ' ὡς οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν τυχόντων ἠμέληται τοῖς νόμοις εἰδόσι προνοεῖσθαι τοῦ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἀμέμπτου.

(21) [231] Ἀμῶντας δὲ καὶ συναιροῦντας τὰ θέρη μὴ καλαμᾶσθαι, καταλιπεῖν δέ τινα καὶ τῶν δραγμάτων τοῖς βίου σπανίζουσιν ἔρμαιον εἶναι [τούτοις] πρὸς διατροφήν: ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῆς τρύγης ἀπολιπεῖν τὰς ἐπιφυλλίδας τοῖς πένησι καὶ τῶν ἐλαιῶν παρεῖναί τι τοῦ καρποῦ πρὸς συλλογὴν τοῖς ἐξ ἰδίων οὐκ ἔχουσι μεταλαβεῖν: [232] οὐ τοσαύτη γὰρ ἂν ἐκ τῆς ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς αὐτῶν συλλογῆς εὐπορία τοῖς δεσπόταις γένοιτο, ὅση χάρις ἐκ τῶν δεομένων ἔλθοι, τό τε θεῖον τὴν γῆν προθυμοτέραν εἰς τὴν ἐκτροφὴν τῶν καρπῶν ἀπεργάσεται μὴ τοῦ κατ' αὐτοὺς προνοουμένων λυσιτελοῦς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων διατροφῆς λόγον ἐχόντων. [233] μηδὲ βοῶν ὁπότε τρίβοιεν τοὺς στάχυας ἀποδεῖν τὰ στόματα ἐπὶ τῆς ἅλωος: οὐ γὰρ εἶναι δίκαιον εἴργειν τοὺς συνειργασμένους τοῦ καρποῦ καὶ περὶ τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ πονήσαντας. [234] μηδὲ ὀπώρας ἀκμαζούσης κωλύειν ἅπτεσθαι

τοὺς ὁδῷ βαδίζοντας, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἐξ οἰκείων αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέπειν ἐμπίπλασθαι, κἂν ἐγχώριοι τυγχάνωσι κἂν ξένοι, χαίροντας ἐπὶ τῷ παρέχειν αὐτοῖς τῶν ὡραίων μεταλαμβάνειν: ἀποφέρεσθαι δ᾽ αὐτοῖς μηδὲν ἐξέστω. [235] μηδὲ τρυγῶντες ὧν ἂν εἰς τὰς ληνοὺς κομίζωσιν εἰργέτωσαν τοὺς ὑπαντιάζοντας ἐπεσθίειν: ἄδικον γὰρ ἀγαθῶν, ἃ κατὰ βούλησιν θεοῦ παρῆλθεν εἰς τὸν βίον, φθονεῖν τοῖς ἐπιθυμοῦσιν αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνειν τῆς ὥρας ἐν ἀκμῇ τε οὔσης καὶ σπευδούσης ἀπελθεῖν: [236] ὡς τῷ θεῷ κεχαρισμένον ἂν εἴη, κἂν ὑπ᾽ αἰσχύνης τινὰς ὀκνοῦντας ἅψασθαι λαβεῖν παρακαλῶσιν, ὄντας μὲν Ἰσραηλίτας ὡς κοινωνοὺς καὶ δεσπότας διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν, ἀφιγμένους δ᾽ ἀλλαχόθεν ἀνθρώπους ξενίων τυχεῖν ἀξιοῦντας ὧν ὁ θεὸς καθ᾽ ὥραν αὐτοῖς παρέσχεν. [237] ἀναλώματα γὰρ οὐχ ἡγητέον ὅσα τις κατὰ χρηστότητα παρίησιν ἀνθρώποις λαμβάνειν, τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἀγαθῶν χορηγοῦντος οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ καρποῦσθαι μόνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τοῖς ἄλλοις μεταδιδόναι φιλοτίμως, καὶ βουλομένου τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ τὴν ἰδίαν περὶ τὸν Ἰσραηλιτῶν λαὸν εὔνοιαν καὶ τὴν χορηγίαν τῆς εὐδαιμονίας καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐμφανίζεσθαι ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος αὐτοῖς κἀκείνοις μεταδιδόντων. [238] ὁ δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσας πληγὰς μιᾷ λειπούσας τεσσαράκοντα τῷ δημοσίῳ σκύτει λαβὼν τιμωρίαν ταύτην αἰσχίστην ἐλεύθερος ὑπομενέτω, ὅτι τῷ κέρδει δουλεύσας ὕβρισε τὸ ἀξίωμα: [239] καλῶς γὰρ ὑμῖν ἔχει πεπειραμένοις ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ συμφορῶν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν πρόνοιαν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις ὑπαρχόντων ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τυχόντας εὐπορίας ἐξ ἐλέου καὶ προνοίας τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην ἐξ ὁμοίου πάθους ἀπομερίζειν τοῖς δεομένοις.

(22) [240] Ταῖς δὲ δεκάταις ταῖς δυσίν, ἃς ἔτους ἑκάστου προεῖπον τελεῖν, τὴν μὲν τοῖς Λευίταις, τὴν δ᾽ ἑτέραν πρὸς τὰς εὐωχίας, τρίτην πρὸς αὐταῖς κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τρίτον συμφέρειν εἰς διανέμησιν τῶν σπανιζόντων γυναιξί τε χήραις καὶ παισὶν ὀρφανοῖς: [241] τῶν δ᾽ ὡραίων ὅ τι καὶ πρῶτον ἑκάστῳ τύχῃ γενόμενον εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν κομιζέτωσαν, καὶ τὸν θεὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐνεγκαμένης αὐτὸ γῆς, ἣν αὐτοῖς κτήσασθαι παρέσχεν, εὐλογήσαντες θυσίας ἃς ὁ νόμος αὐτοῖς ἐπιφέρειν κελεύει ἐπιτελέσαντες τούτων τὰ προτέλεια τοῖς ἱερεῦσι διδότωσαν. [242] ἐπειδὰν δὲ ταῦτά τις ποιήσας καὶ πάντων τὰς δεκάτας ἅμα ταῖς εἰς τοὺς Λευίτας καὶ τὰς εὐωχίας ἀπενηνοχὼς ἀπιέναι μέλλῃ πρὸς αὐτὸν οἴκαδε, στὰς ἀντικρὺ τοῦ τεμενίσματος εὐχαριστησάτω μὲν τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι τῆς ἀπ᾽ Αἰγυπτίων αὐτοὺς ὕβρεως ἀπαλλάξας γῆν αὐτοῖς ἀγαθὴν καὶ πολλὴν ἔδωκε καρποῦσθαι, [243] μαρτυράμενος δὲ ὡς τάς τε δεκάτας κατὰ τοὺς Μωυσέος τελέσειε νόμους αἰτησάσθω τὸν θεὸν εὐμενῆ καὶ ἵλεων αὐτῷ διὰ παντὸς εἶναι καὶ κοινῇ πᾶσιν Ἑβραίοις διαμένειν, φυλάττοντα μὲν ἃ δέδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἀγαθὰ προσκτήσασθαι δὲ ὅσα δύναται χαρίζεσθαι.

(23) [244] Γαμείτωσαν δὲ ἐν ὥρᾳ γάμου γενόμενοι παρθένους ἐλευθέρας γονέων ἀγαθῶν, ὁ δὲ μὴ μέλλων ἄγεσθαι παρθένον μὴ ζευγνύσθω συνοικοῦσαν ἄλλῳ νοθεύσας μηδὲ λυπῶν τὸν πρότερον αὐτῆς ἄνδρα: δούλας δὲ μὴ γαμεῖσθαι τοῖς

ἐλευθέροις, μηδ᾽ ἂν ὑπ᾽ ἔρωτος πρὸς τοῦτό τινες ἐκβιάζωνται, κρατεῖν δὲ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τὸ εὐπρεπὲς καὶ τοῖς ἀξιώμασι πρόσφορον. [245] ἔτι μηδὲ ἡταιρημένης εἶναι γάμον, ἧς δι᾽ ὕβριν τοῦ σώματος τὰς ἐπὶ τῷ γάμῳ θυσίας ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἂν προσοῖτο: γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν οὕτω τῶν παίδων τὰ φρονήματα ἐλευθέρια καὶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὄρθια, εἰ μὴ τύχοιεν ἐκ γάμων φύντες αἰσχρῶν, μηδ᾽ ἐξ ἐπιθυμίας οὐκ ἐλευθερίας συνελθόντων. [246] εἴ τις ὡς παρθένον μνηστευσάμενος ἔπειτα μὴ τοιαύτην εὕροι, δίκην λαχὼν αὐτὸς μὲν κατηγορείτω χρώμενος εἰς ἀπόδειξιν οἷς ἂν ἔχῃ τεκμηρίοις, ἀπολογείσθω δὲ ὁ τῆς κόρης πατὴρ ἢ ἀδελφὸς ἢ ὃς ἂν μετὰ τούτους ἐγγυτέρω δοκῇ τοῦ γένους. [247] καὶ κριθεῖσα μὲν ἡ κόρη μὴ ἀδικεῖν συνοικείτω τῷ κατηγορήσαντι μηδεμίαν ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντος ἐκείνου ἀποπέμπεσθαι αὐτήν, πλὴν εἰ μὴ μεγάλας αἰτίας αὐτῷ παράσχοι καὶ πρὸς ἃς οὐδ᾽ ἀντειπεῖν δυνηθείη. [248] τοῦ δὲ τολμηρῶς καὶ προπετῶς ἐπενεγκεῖν αἰτίαν καὶ διαβολὴν πρόστιμον ἐκτινύτω πληγὰς τεσσαράκοντα μιᾷ λειπούσας λαμβάνων καὶ πεντήκοντα σίκλους ἀποτινύτω τῷ πατρί. ἂν δ᾽ ἐξελέγξῃ τὴν παιδίσκην ἐφθαρμένην, δημότις μὲν οὖσα τοῦ μὴ σωφρόνως προστῆναι τῆς παρθενίας ἄχρι νομίμων γάμων καταλευέσθω, ἂν δ᾽ ἐξ ἱερέων ᾖ γεγενημένη, καιέσθω ζῶσα. [249] δύο γυναικῶν οὐσῶν τινι, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἑτέρας ἐν τιμῇ σφόδρα καὶ εὐνοίᾳ κειμένης ἢ δι᾽ ἔρωτα καὶ κάλλος ἢ κατ᾽ ἄλλην αἰτίαν, τῆς δ᾽ ἑτέρας ἐν ἐλάττονι μοίρᾳ τυγχανούσης, ἂν ὁ ἐκ τῆς ἀγαπωμένης παῖς γενόμενος νεώτερος ὢν τοῦ ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρας φύντος ἀξιοῖ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὴν μητέρα τοῦ πατρὸς εὔνοιαν τῶν πρεσβείων τυγχάνειν, ὥστε διπλοῦν τὸ μέρος τῆς πατρῴας οὐσίας ἐκλαμβάνειν, τοῦτο γὰρ ἐν τοῖς νόμοις διεταξάμην, μὴ συγκεχωρήσθω: [250] ἄδικον γὰρ τὸν τῇ γενέσει πρεσβύτερον, ὅτι τὰ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῷ ἧττονα παρὰ τῇ διαθέσει τοῦ πατρός, τῶν ὀφειλομένων αὐτῷ στερεῖσθαι. [251] ὁ κόρην ἄλλῳ κατηγγυημένην φθείρας, εἰ μὲν πείσας καὶ πρὸς τὴν φθορὰν συγκάταινον λαβών, ἀποθνησκέτω σὺν αὐτῇ: πονηροὶ γὰρ ὁμοίως ἑκάτεροι, ὁ μὲν τὸ αἴσχιστον πείσας ἑκουσίως ὑπομεῖναι καὶ προτιμῆσαι τοῦτο τοῦ ἐλευθέρου γάμου τὴν κόρην, ἡ δὲ παρασχεῖν ἑαυτὴν πεισθεῖσα δι᾽ ἡδονὴν ἢ διὰ κέρδος πρὸς τὴν ὕβριν: [252] ἐὰν δέ που μόνῃ περιπεσὼν βιάσηται μηδενὸς βοηθοῦ παρόντος, μόνος ἀποθνησκέτω. ὁ φθείρας παρθένον μήπω κατηγγυημένην αὐτὸς γαμείτω: ἢν δὲ τῷ πατρὶ τῆς κόρης μὴ δόξῃ συνοικίζειν αὐτῷ, πεντήκοντα σίκλους τιμὴν τῆς ὕβρεως καταβαλλέτω. [253] γυναικὸς δὲ τῆς συνοικούσης βουλόμενος διαζευχθῆναι καθ᾽ ἁσδηποτοῦν αἰτίας, πολλαὶ δ᾽ ἂν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τοιαῦται γίγνοιντο, γράμμασι μὲν περὶ τοῦ μηδέποτε συνελθεῖν ἰσχυριζέσθω: λάβοι γὰρ ἂν οὕτως ἐξουσίαν συνοικεῖν ἑτέρῳ, πρότερον γὰρ οὐκ ἐφετέον: εἰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον κακωθείη καὶ τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ θελήσειε γαμεῖν ὁ πρότερος, μὴ ἐξεῖναι αὐτῇ ἐπανιέναι. [254] τὴν ἄτεκνον τἀνδρὸς αὐτῇ τετελευτηκότος ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἐκείνου γαμείτω καὶ τὸν παῖδα τὸν γενόμενον τῷ τοῦ τεθνεῶτος καλέσας ὀνόματι τρεφέτω τοῦ κλήρου διάδοχον: τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τοῖς

δημοσίοις λυσιτελήσει γιγνόμενον τῶν οἴκων οὐκ ἐκλειπόντων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τοῖς συγγενέσι μενόντων, καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ κουφισμὸν οἴσει τῆς συμφορᾶς τοῖς ἔγγιστα τῶν προτέρων ἀνδρῶν συνοικούσαις. [255] ἐὰν δὲ μὴ βούληται γαμεῖν ὁ ἀδελφός, ἐπὶ τὴν γερουσίαν ἐλθοῦσα ἡ γυνὴ μαρτυράσθω τοῦθ', ὅτι βουλομένην αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ οἴκου μένειν καὶ τεκνοῦν ἐξ αὐτοῦ μὴ προσδέχοιτο ὑβρίζων τὴν τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἀδελφοῦ μνήμην. ἐρομένης δὲ τῆς γερουσίας, διὰ ποίαν αἰτίαν ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοι πρὸς τὸν γάμον, ἄν τε μικρὰν ἄν τε μείζω λέγῃ, πρὸς ταῦτα ῥεπέτω: [256] ὑπολύσασα δ' αὐτὸν ἡ γυνὴ τἀδελφοῦ τὰ σάνδαλα, καὶ πτύουσα αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον τούτων αὐτὸν ἄξιον εἶναι παρ' αὐτῆς λεγέτω τυγχάνειν ὑβρίσαντα τὴν τοῦ κατοιχομένου μνήμην. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας ἀπίτω τοῦτ' ἔχων ὄνειδος πρὸς ἅπαντα τὸν βίον, ἡ δ' ᾧπερ ἂν βουληθῇ τινι τῶν δεομένων γαμείσθω. [257] ἂν δ' αἰχμάλωτόν τις λάβῃ παρθένον ἄν τε καὶ γεγαμημένην, βουλομένῳ συνοικεῖν μὴ πρότερον ἐξέστω εὐνῆς ἅψασθαι καὶ κοινωνίας, πρὶν ἢ ξυραμένην αὐτὴν καὶ πένθιμον σχῆμα ἀναλαβοῦσαν ἀποθρηνῆσαι συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους τοὺς ἀπολωλότας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, [258] ὅπως τὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς κορέσασα λυπηρὸν ἔπειθ' οὕτως ἐπ' εὐωχίας τράπηται καὶ γάμους: καλὸν γὰρ εἶναι καὶ δίκαιον παιδοποιὸν παραλαμβάνοντα θεραπεύειν αὐτῆς τὸ βουλητὸν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν ἰδίαν ἡδονὴν διώκοντα μόνον τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν ἀμελεῖν κεχαρισμένου. [259] τριάκοντα δ' ἡμερῶν τῷ πένθει διελθουσῶν, αὐτάρκεις γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς δακρύοις αὗται τῶν φιλτάτων ταῖς φρονίμοις, τότε χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν γάμον. εἰ δ' ἐμπλησθεὶς τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ὑπερηφανεύσειεν αὐτὴν γαμετὴν ἔχειν, μηκέτ' ἐξουσίαν ἐχέτω καταδουλοῦν αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ὅπη βούλεται χωρεῖν ἀπίτω τοῦτο ἐλεύθερον ἔχουσα.

(24) [260] Ὅσοι δ' ἂν τῶν νέων περιφρονῶσι τοὺς γονεῖς καὶ τὴν τιμὴν αὐτοῖς μὴ νέμωσιν ἢ δι' αἰσχύνην ἢ διὰ σύνεσιν ἐξυβρίζοντες εἰς αὐτούς, πρῶτον μὲν λόγοις αὐτοὺς νουθετείτωσαν οἱ πατέρες, αὐτάρκεις γὰρ ἐφ' υἱάσιν οὗτοι δικασταί, [261] συνελθεῖν μὲν ἀλλήλοις οὐχ ἡδονῆς ἕνεκα λέγοντες οὐδὲ τῆς τῶν χρημάτων αὐξήσεως κοινῶν τῶν ἑκατέροις ὑπαρχόντων γενομένων, ἀλλ' ὅπως παίδων τύχωσιν, οἳ γηρωκομήσουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ ὧν ἂν δέωνται παρ' αὐτῶν ἕξουσι, γενόμενόν τε μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ τοῦ τῷ θεῷ χάριν εἰδέναι τὴν μεγίστην ἀράμενοι διὰ σπουδῆς ἀνεθρέψαμεν μηδενὸς φειδὼ ποιούμενοι τοῦ καὶ δόξαντος εἰς σωτηρίαν τὴν σὴν καὶ παιδείαν τῶν ἀρίστων εἶναι χρησίμου. [262] νῦν δέ, συγγνώμην γὰρ χρὴ νέμειν ἐφ' ἁμαρτήμασι νέων, ἀπόχρη σοι ὅσα τῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς τιμῆς ὠλιγώρησας, καὶ μεταβαλοῦ πρὸς τὸ σωφρονέστερον λογισάμενος καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰς πατέρας τολμωμένοις χαλεπῶς ἔχειν, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς πατὴρ τοῦ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων γένους ἐστὶ καὶ συνατιμοῦσθαι δοκεῖ τοῖς τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτῷ προσηγορίαν ἔχουσιν οὐχ ὧν προσῆκεν αὐτοῖς παρὰ τῶν παίδων τυγχανόντων, καὶ νόμος κολαστὴς γίνεται τῶν τοιούτων ἀπαραίτητος, [263] οὗ σὺ μὴ πειραθείης." κἂν μὲν τούτοις θεραπεύηται τὸ τῶν νέων αὔθαδες,

ἀπαλλαττέσθωσαν τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἠγνοημένοις ὀνειδῶν. οὕτως γὰρ ἂν ὅ τε νομοθέτης ἀγαθὸς εἴη καὶ οἱ πατέρες εὐτυχεῖς οὐκ ἐπιδόντες οὔτε υἱὸν κολαζόμενον οὔτε θυγατέρα. [264] οὐδ᾽ ἂν οἱ λόγοι καὶ ἡ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν διδασκαλία τοῦ σωφρονεῖν τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι φανῶσιν, ἐχθροὺς δ᾽ ἀσπόνδους αὐτῷ ποιῇ τοὺς νόμους τοῖς συνεχέσι κατὰ τῶν γονέων τολμήμασι, προαχθεὶς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν τούτων ἔξω τῆς πόλεως τοῦ πλήθους ἑπομένου καταλευέσθω καὶ μείνας δι᾽ ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας εἰς θέαν τὴν ἁπάντων θαπτέσθω νυκτός. [265] οὕτως δὲ καὶ οἱ ὁπωσοῦν ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων ἀναιρεθῆναι κατακριθέντες. θαπτέσθωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ νεκρὸς μηδὲ εἷς ἄμοιρος γῆς κείσθω περαιτέρω τοῦ δικαίου τιμωρίαν ἐκτίνων.

(25) [266] Δανείζειν δ᾽ Ἑβραίων ἐπὶ τόκοις ἐξέστω μηδενὶ μήτε βρωτὸν μήτε ποτόν: οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον προσοδεύεσθαι τοῦ ὁμοφύλου τὰς τύχας, ἀλλὰ βοηθήσαντας ταῖς χρείαις αὐτοῦ κέρδος εἶναι νομίζειν τήν τ᾽ ἐκείνων εὐχαριστίαν καὶ τὴν ἀμοιβὴν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γενησομένην ἐπὶ τῇ χρηστότητι.

(26) [267] Οἱ δὲ λαβόντες εἴτε ἀργύρια εἴτε τινὰ τῶν καρπῶν ὑγρὸν ἢ ξηρόν, κατὰ νοῦν αὐτοῖς τῶν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ χωρησάντων κομίζοντες μεθ᾽ ἡδονῆς ἀποδιδότωσαν τοῖς δοῦσιν ὥσπερ ἀποθέμενοι εἰς τὰ αὐτῶν καὶ πάλιν εἰ δεηθεῖεν ἕξοντες. [268] ἂν δὲ ἀναισχυντῶσι περὶ τὴν ἀπόδοσιν, μὴ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν βαδίσαντας ἐνεχυριάζειν πρὶν ἢ δίκη περὶ τούτου γένηται: τὸ δ᾽ ἐνέχυρον αἰτεῖν ἔξω καὶ τὸν ὀφείλοντα κομίζειν δι᾽ αὐτοῦ μηδὲν ἀντιλέγοντα τῷ μετὰ νόμου βοηθείας ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἥκοντι. [269] κἂν μὲν εὔπορος ᾖ ὁ ἐνεχυρασμένος, κατεχέτω τοῦτο μέχρι τῆς ἀποδόσεως ὁ δεδανεικώς, ἂν δὲ πένης, ἀποτιθέτω πρὶν ἡλίου δυσμῶν, καὶ μάλιστ᾽ ἂν ἱμάτιον ᾖ τὸ ἐνέχυρον, ὅπως εἰς ὕπνον ἔχῃ τοῦτο, φύσει τοῦ θεοῦ τοῖς πενομένοις ἔλεον νέμοντος. [270] μύλην δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ ταύτην σκεύη μὴ ἐξεῖναι λαμβάνειν ἐνέχυρον, ὅπως μὴ στερῶνται καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὰ σιτία ὀργάνων μηδ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἐνδείας πάθωσί τι τῶν χειρόνων.

(27) [271] Ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώπου μὲν κλοπῇ θάνατος ἔστω ζημία, ὁ δὲ χρυσὸν ἢ ἄργυρον ὑφελόμενος τὸ διπλοῦν ἀποτινέτω. κτείνας δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῖς κατ᾽ οἶκον κλεπτομένοις τις ἀθῷος ἔστω κἂν εἰ πρὸς διορύγματι τειχίου. [272] βόσκημα δὲ ὁ κλέψας τετραπλῆν τὴν ζημίαν ἀποτινέτω πλὴν βοός, πενταπλῆν δ᾽ ὑπὲρ τούτου καταβαλλέτω. ὁ δὲ τὸ ἐπιτίμιον ἄπορος διαλύσασθαι δοῦλος ἔστω τοῖς καταδεδικασμένοις.

(28) [273] Πραθεὶς δὲ ὁμοφύλῳ τις ἓξ ἔτη δουλευέτω, τῷ δ᾽ ἑβδόμῳ ἐλεύθερος ἀφείσθω: ἐὰν δὲ τέκνων αὐτῷ γενομένων ἐκ δούλης παρὰ τῷ πριαμένῳ διὰ τὴν εὔνοιαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὰ οἰκεῖα φιλοστοργίαν βούληται δουλεύειν, ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐνστάντος τοῦ ἰοβήλου, πεντηκοστὸς δὲ ἐνιαυτός ἐστιν, ἐλευθερούσθω καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ἐλευθέραν ἐπαγόμενος.

(29) [274] Ἐὰν δέ τις ἢ χρυσίον ἢ ἀργύριον εὕρῃ καθ᾽ ὁδόν, ἐπιζητήσας τὸν ἀπολωλεκότα καὶ κηρύξας τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ εὗρεν ἀποδότω, τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρου ζημίας ὠφέλειαν οὐκ ἀγαθὴν ὑπολαμβάνων. ὁμοίως καὶ περὶ βοσκημάτων οἷς ἂν

ἐντύχῃ τις κατ᾽ ἐρημίαν πλανωμένοις, μὴ εὑρεθέντος τοῦ κυρίου παραχρῆμα παρ᾽ αὐτῷ φυλαττέτω μαρτυράμενος τὸν θεὸν μὴ νοσφίζεσθαι ἀλλότρια.

(30) [275] Μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ παριέναι κτηνῶν τινι κακοπαθούντων ὑπὸ χειμῶνος πεπτωκότων ἐν πηλῷ, συνδιασώζειν δὲ καὶ τὸν πόνον οἰκεῖον ἡγησάμενον βοηθεῖν.

(31) [276] Μηνύειν δὲ καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι, καὶ μὴ γέλωτα θηρωμένους αὐτοῖς ἐμποδίζειν πλάνῃ τὴν ἑτέρου χρείαν.

Ὁμοίως μηδὲ βλασφημείτω τις τὸν ἀπόντα καὶ τὸν ἐνεόν.

(32) [277] Ἐν μάχῃ τις ὅπου μὴ σίδηρος πληγεὶς παραχρῆμα μὲν ἀποθανὼν ἐκδικείσθω ταὐτὸν παθόντος τοῦ πεπληχότος. ἂν δὲ κομισθεὶς παρ᾽ ἑαυτὸν καὶ νοσήσας ἐπὶ πλείονας ἡμέρας ἔπειτ᾽ ἀποθάνῃ, ἀθῷος ἔστω ὁ πλήξας, σωθέντος δὲ καὶ πολλὰ δαπανήσαντος εἰς τὴν νοσηλείαν ἀποτινέτω πάνθ᾽ ὅσα παρὰ τὸν χρόνον τῆς κατακλίσεως ἀνάλωσε καὶ ὅσα τοῖς ἰατροῖς ἔδωκεν. [278] ὁ γυναῖκα λακτίσας ἔγκυον, ἂν μὲν ἐξαμβλώσῃ ἡ γυνὴ ζημιούσθω χρήμασιν ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν ὡς παρὰ τὸ διαφθαρὲν ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ μειώσας τὸ πλῆθος, διδόσθω δὲ καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ τῆς γυναικὸς παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ χρήματα: θνησκούσης δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποθνησκέτω ψυχὴν ἀντὶ ψυχῆς καταθέσθαι δικαιοῦντος τοῦ νόμου.

(33) [279] Φάρμακον μήτε θανάσιμον μήτε τῶν εἰς ἄλλας βλάβας πεποιημένων Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐχέτω μηδὲ εἷς: ἐὰν δὲ κεκτημένος φωραθῇ τεθνάτω, τοῦτο πάσχων ὃ διέθηκεν ἂν ἐκείνους καθ᾽ ὧν τὸ φάρμακον ἦν παρεσκευασμένον.

(34) [280] Πηρώσας πασχέτω [τὰ ὅμοια] στερούμενος οὗπερ ἄλλον ἐστέρησε, πλὴν εἰ μήτι χρήματα λαβεῖν ἐθελήσειεν ὁ πεπηρωμένος, αὐτὸν τὸν πεπονθότα κύριον τοῦ νόμου ποιοῦντος τιμήσασθαι τὸ συμβεβηκὸς αὐτῷ πάθος καὶ συγχωροῦντος, εἰ μὴ βούλεται γενέσθαι πικρότερος.

(35) [281] Βοῦν τοῖς κέρασι πλήττοντα ὁ δεσπότης ἀποσφαττέτω: εἰ δ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἅλωος κτείνειέ τινα πλήξας, αὐτὸς μὲν καταλευσθεὶς ἀποθνησκέτω μηδ᾽ εἰς τροφὴν εὔχρηστος εἶναι κατηξιωμένος, ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ὁ δεσπότης ἐλέγχηται προειδὼς αὐτοῦ τὴν φύσιν καὶ μὴ φυλαξάμενος, ἀποθνησκέτω ὡς αἴτιος τῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ βοὸς ἀνῃρημένῳ γεγενημένος. [282] ἐὰν δὲ δοῦλον ἢ θεράπαιναν ἀποκτείνῃ βοῦς, αὐτὸς μὲν καταλιθούσθω, τριάκοντα δὲ σίκλους ὁ κύριος τοῦ βοὸς ἀποτινέτω τῷ δεσπότῃ τοῦ ἀνῃρημένου. βοῦς δὲ ἐὰν οὕτως πληγεὶς ἀποθάνῃ, πωλείσθωσαν καὶ ὁ τεθνεὼς καὶ ὁ πλήξας καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τὴν ἀμφοτέρων οἱ δεσπόται αὐτῶν διανεμέσθωσαν.

(36) [283] Οἱ φρέαρ ἢ λάκκον ὀρύξαντες ἐπιμελὲς ποιείσθωσαν ὥστε σανίδων ἐπιβολαῖς ἔχειν κεκλεισμένα, οὐχ ὅπως τινὲς εἴργοιντο ὑδρείας, ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα μηδεὶς κίνδυνος ὡς ἐμπεσουμένοις ᾖ. [284] οὗ δ᾽ ἂν εἰς ὄρυγμα τοιοῦτον μὴ κλειστὸν ἐμπεσὸν βόσκημά τινος διαφθαρῇ, τὴν τιμὴν αὐτοῦ τῷ δεσπότῃ καταβαλλέτω. περιβαλλέσθω δὲ καὶ τοῖς στέγεσιν ἅπερ ὡς ἀντὶ τείχους ὄντα οὐκ ἐάσει τινὰς ἀποκυλισθέντας ἀπολέσθαι.

(37) [285] Παρακαταθήκην δὲ ὥσπερ ἱερόν τι καὶ θεῖον χρῆμα ὁ παραλαβὼν φυλακῆς ἀξιούτω, καὶ μηδεὶς ἀποστερῆσαι θρασυνθείη τὸν πεπιστευκότα μήτ᾽ ἀνὴρ μήτε γυνή, μηδ᾽ εἰ χρυσὸν ἄπειρον μέλλοι κερδαίνειν, καταφρονῶν τῷ μηδένα εἶναι τὸν ἐξελέγξοντα. [286] καθόλου μὲν γὰρ τὸ συνειδὸς ἐπιστάμενον τὸ αὐτοῦ προσῆκεν ἕκαστον εὖ πράττειν, καὶ μάρτυρι ἀρκούμενος αὐτῷ πάντα ποιείτω ἃ παρ᾽ ἄλλων ἔπαινον αὐτῷ παρέξει, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν θεόν, ὃν οὐδεὶς πονηρὸς ὢν λανθάνει. [287] εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἐπίβουλον δρῶν ὁ πιστευθεὶς ἀπολέσειεν, ἀφικόμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑπτὰ κριτὰς ὀμνύτω τὸν θεόν, ὅτι μηδὲν παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν ἀπόλοιτο καὶ κακίαν οὐδὲ χρησαμένου τινὶ μέρει αὐτῆς, καὶ οὕτως ἀνεπαιτίατος ἀπίτω. χρησάμενος δὲ κἂν ἐλαχίστῳ μέρει τῶν πεπιστευμένων ἂν ἀπολέσας τύχῃ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα ἃ ἔλαβεν ἀποδοῦναι κατεγνώσθω. [288] ὁμοίως δὲ τῷ περὶ παρακαταθηκῶν κἂν μισθόν τις ἀποστερήσῃ τῶν ἐπὶ σώμασι τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐργαζομένων, μεμισήσθω. ὅθεν οὐκ ἀποστερητέον ἀνδρὸς πένητος μισθὸν εἰδότας, ὡς ἀντὶ γῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κτημάτων ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ τοῦτον εἴη παρεσχηκώς: ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὴν ἀπόδοσιν, ἀλλ᾽ αὐθημερὸν ἐκτίνειν ὡς οὐ βουλομένου τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ἐξ ὧν πεπόνηκε χρήσεως ὑστερεῖν τὸν ἐργασάμενον.

(38) [289] Παῖδας ὑπὲρ ἀδικίας πατέρων μὴ κολάζειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν οἴκτου μᾶλλον ἀξιοῦν, ὅτι μοχθηρῶν ἐγένοντο πατέρων, ἢ μίσους φύντας ἐκ φαύλων. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πατράσιν υἱῶν ἁμαρτίαν λογιστέον τῶν νέων πολλὰ παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν διδασκαλίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρεπόντων ὑπερηφανίᾳ τοῦ διδάσκεσθαι.

(39) [290] Γάλλους ἐκτρέπεσθαι καὶ σύνοδον φεύγειν τὴν μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀφελομένων αὐτοὺς τὸ ἄρρεν καὶ τὸν τῆς παιδοποιίας καρπόν, ὃν ἀνθρώποις ἐπ᾽ αὐξήσει τοῦ γένους ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς παρέσχεν, ἐλαύνειν δὲ οὕτως ὡς ἐπὶ τέκνων σφαγῇ καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ ἀπολλύντας τὸ ἐκείνων αἴτιον: [291] δῆλον γάρ, ὡς τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῖς τεθηλυσμένης μετεκοσμήσαντο πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ τὸ σῶμα: ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πᾶν τὸ νομιζόμενον τέρας τοῖς ὁρῶσι. μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ ποιεῖν ἐκτομίας μήτε ἀνθρώπους μήτε τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων.

(40) [292] Αὕτη μὲν οὖν ὑμῖν εἰρηνικὴ τῶν νόμων κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν διάταξις ἔστω: καὶ ὁ θεὸς εὐμενὴς ἀστασίαστον αὐτῆς τὸν κόσμον παρέξεται, γένοιτο δὲ χρόνος μηδὲ εἷς, ὃς καινίσει τι τούτων καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐναντίον μεταβαλεῖ. [293] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνάγκη τὸ ἀνθρώπειον καὶ εἰς ἀβουλήτους ἢ κατὰ προαίρεσιν ταραχὰς καὶ κινδύνους ἐμπεσεῖν, φέρε καὶ περὶ τούτων βραχέα προσδιατάξωμεν, ὡς ἂν προειδότες ἃ χρὴ ποιεῖν ἐν τῇ χρείᾳ τῶν σωτηρίων εὐπορῆτε καὶ μὴ τότε ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν ἐπιζητοῦντες ἀπαρασκεύαστοι τοῖς καιροῖς περιπέσητε.

(41) [294] Γῆν ὑμῖν ἣν ὁ θεὸς ἔδωκε πόνων καταφρονοῦσι καὶ ψυχὰς πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἠσκημένοις ἀπόλεμον μὲν νέμεσθαι παράσχοι τε κεκτημένοις αὐτὴν μήτε ἀλλοτρίων εἰς αὐτὴν ἐπὶ κακώσει στρατευσάντων μήτε στάσεως ἐμφυλίου

κατασχούσης ὑμᾶς, [295] ὑφ᾽ ἧς τἀναντία πατράσι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν πράττοντες ἀπολεῖτε τὰ ἐκείνοις νομισθέντα, χρώμενοί τε νόμοις οὓς ἀγαθοὺς δοκιμάσας ὁ θεὸς παραδίδωσι διατελοίητε: ἔργον δ᾽ ὅτι ἂν πολεμικὸν ἢ νῦν ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν ἢ ὕστερον ἐπὶ παίδων ὑμετέρων γένηται τοῦθ᾽ ὑπερόριον πραχθείη. [296] μέλλοντας δὲ πολεμεῖν πρεσβείαν καὶ κήρυκας πέμπειν παρὰ τοὺς ἑκουσίως πολεμίους: πρὸ γὰρ τῶν ὅπλων καλὸν εἶναι χρῆσθαι λόγοις πρὸς αὐτοὺς δηλοῦντας, ὅτι καὶ στρατιὰν πολλὴν ἔχοντες καὶ ἵππους καὶ ὅπλα καὶ πρὸ τούτων εὐμενῆ τὸν θεὸν καὶ σύμμαχον, ὅμως ἀξιοῦτε μὴ ἀναγκάζεσθαι πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς μηδὲ τὰ ἐκείνων ἀφαιρουμένους ἀβούλητον αὐτοῖς κέρδος προσλαμβάνειν. [297] καὶ πειθομένων μὲν καλῶς ὑμᾶς ἔχειν τὴν εἰρήνην φυλάττειν, εἰ δὲ φρονοῦντες ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτοῖς ὡς ἰσχύι διαφέρουσιν ἀδικεῖν ἐθέλοιεν, στρατὸν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀγάγοιτε, στρατηγῷ μὲν αὐτοκράτορι χρώμενοι τῷ θεῷ, ὑποστράτηγον δὲ χειροτονήσαντες ἕνα τὸν ἀρετῇ προύχοντα: πολυαρχία γὰρ πρὸς τῷ τοῖς ὀξέως τι πράττειν ἀνάγκην ἔχουσιν ἐμπόδιον εἶναι καὶ βλάπτειν πέφυκε τοὺς χρωμένους. [298] στρατὸν δ᾽ ἄγειν καθαρὸν ἐκ πάντων τῶν ῥώμῃ σωμάτων καὶ ψυχῆς εὐτολμίᾳ διαφερόντων τὸ δειλὸν ἀποκρίναντας, μὴ τοὺς πολεμίους παρὰ τὸ ἔργον τραπὲν εἰς φυγὴν ὠφελήσῃ. τούς τε νεωστὶ δειμαμένους οἰκίας, οἷς οὔπω χρόνος ἀπολαύσεως αὐτῶν ἐνιαύσιος, καὶ φυτεύσαντας οὔπω δὲ καρπῶν μετεσχηκότας, ἐᾶν κατὰ χώραν, καὶ τοὺς μνηστευσαμένους δὲ καὶ νεωστὶ γεγαμηκότας, μὴ πόθῳ τούτων φειδόμενοι τοῦ ζῆν καὶ τηροῦντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν τούτων ἀπόλαυσιν ἐθελοκακήσωσι περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας.

(42) [299] Στρατοπεδευσάμενοι δὲ προνοεῖσθε, μή τι τῶν δυσχερεστέρων ἐργάσησθε. πολιορκοῦντας δὲ καὶ ξύλων ἀπορουμένους εἰς ποίησιν μηχανημάτων μὴ κείρειν τὴν γῆν ἥμερα δένδρα κόπτοντας ἀλλὰ φείδεσθαι, λογιζομένους ἐπ᾽ ὠφελείᾳ ταῦτα τῶν ἀνθρώπων γεγονέναι, καὶ φωνῆς ἂν εὐπορήσαντα δικαιολογήσασθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὡς οὐδὲν αἴτια τοῦ πολέμου γεγονότα πάσχοι κακῶς παρὰ δίκην, εἰ δύναμις αὐτοῖς ἦν καὶ μετοικήσαντα ἂν καὶ πρὸς ἄλλην μεταβάντα γῆν. [300] κρατήσαντες δὲ τῇ μάχῃ τοὺς ἀντιταξαμένους κτείνατε, τοὺς δ᾽ ἄλλους εἰς τὸ τελεῖν ὑμῖν φόρους σώζετε πλὴν τοῦ Χαναναίων ἔθνους τούτους γὰρ πανοικὶ χρῆναι ἀφανίσαι.

(43) [301] Φυλάσσειν δὲ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, ὡς μήτε γυναῖκα ἀνδρικῇ σκευῇ χρῆσθαι μήτ᾽ ἄνδρα στολῇ γυναικείᾳ.

(44) [302] Πολιτείαν μὲν οὖν τοιάνδε Μωυσῆς κατέλιπε, νόμους δ᾽ ἔτι πρότερον τεσσαρακοστῷ ἔτει γεγραμμένους παραδίδωσι, περὶ ὧν ἐν ἑτέρᾳ γραφῇ λέξομεν. ταῖς δ᾽ ἑξῆς ἡμέραις, συνεχὲς γὰρ ἐκκλησίασεν, εὐλογίας αὐτοῖς δίδωσι καὶ κατάρας ἐπὶ τοὺς μὴ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ζησομένους ἀλλὰ παραβησομένους τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς διωρισμένα. [303] ἔπειτα ποίησιν ἑξάμετρον αὐτοῖς ἀνέγνω, ἣν καὶ καταλέλοιπεν ἐν βίβλῳ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ πρόρρησιν περιέχουσαν τῶν ἐσομένων, καθ᾽ ἣν καὶ γέγονε τὰ πάντα καὶ γίνεται, μηδὲν ἐκείνου διημαρτηκότος τῆς ἀληθείας.

[304] ταῦτ᾽ οὖν τὰ βιβλία παραδίδωσι τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ τὴν κιβωτόν, εἰς ἣν καὶ τοὺς δέκα λόγους γεγραμμένους ἐν δυσὶ πλαξὶ κατέθετο, καὶ τὴν σκηνήν: τῷ τε λαῷ παρῄνεσε κρατήσαντι τῆς γῆς καὶ ἱδρυθέντι μὴ λήθην λαβεῖν τῆς Ἀμαληκιτῶν ὕβρεως, ἀλλὰ στρατεύσαντας ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς τιμωρίαν ἀπολαβεῖν ὧν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρήμου τυγχάνοντας ἐποίησαν κακῶς, [305] ἐξελόντας δὲ τὴν Χαναναίων γῆν καὶ πᾶσαν διαφθείραντας τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ πληθὺν καθὰ πρέπει, τὸν βωμόν τε ἀναστῆσαι πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα τετραμμένον οὐ πόρρω τῆς Σικιμίων πόλεως ἐμπεριάγειν μεταξὺ δυοῖν ὀροῖν, Γριζαίου μὲν τοῦ ἐκ δεξιῶν κειμένου, τοῦ δ᾽ ἐκ λαιῶν Βουλῆ προσαγορευομένου, μερισθεῖσαν δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν καθ᾽ ἓξ φυλὰς ἐπὶ τοῖν δυοῖν ὀροῖν ἀναστῆναι καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Λευίτας τε καὶ ἱερέας. [306] καὶ πρώτους μὲν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ Γρίζειν γενομένους εὔχεσθαι τὰ κάλλιστα τοῖς περὶ τὴν θρησκείαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν τῶν νόμων φυλακὴν σπουδάσασιν ὧν τε Μωυσῆς εἶπε μὴ παρακουσαμένοις, εὐφημεῖν δὲ τὰς ἑτέρας, καὶ τούτων πάλιν εὐχομένων τὰς προηγμένας ἐπαινεῖν: [307] ἔπειτα κατὰ ταὐτὰ τοῖς παραβησομένοις κατάρας τίθεσθαι ὑποφωνούσας ἀλλήλαις ἐπὶ τῇ κυρώσει τῶν λεγομένων. ἀνέγραψε δὲ τὰς εὐλογίας καὶ τὰς κατάρας αὐτός, ὡς μηδέποτε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν μάθησιν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου, [308] ἃς δὴ καὶ τῷ βωμῷ τελευτῶν ἐνέγραψε κατὰ πλευρὰν ἑκατέραν, ᾗ καὶ στάντα φησὶ τὸν λαὸν θῦσαί τε καὶ ὁλοκαυτῶσαι καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν οὐκ ἐπενεγκεῖν ἱερεῖον ἕτερον, οὐ γὰρ εἶναι νόμιμον. ταῦτ᾽ οὖν Μωυσῆς διέταξε καὶ τὸ Ἑβραίων ἔθνος ἀκόλουθα τούτοις ποιοῦν διατελεῖ.

(45) [309] Τῇ δ᾽ ὑστεραίᾳ τὸν λαὸν σὺν γυναιξὶν ἅμα καὶ τέκνοις εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγών, ὡς παρεῖναι καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα, ὅρκου τῶν νόμων αὐτοὺς φυλακὴν ποιήσασθαι καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ διανοίας ἀκριβεῖς λογιστὰς γινομένους εἰ μηδὲν εἰς αὐτοὺς μήτε συγγενείᾳ χαριζομένους μήτε εἴκοντας φόβῳ μήτε ἄλλην καθάπαξ αἰτίαν κυριωτέραν τῆς τῶν νόμων φυλακῆς ὑπολαμβάνοντας παραβῆναι τούτους, [310] ἀλλ᾽ ἄν τέ τις τῶν ἐξ αἵματος συγχεῖν καὶ καταλύειν ἐπιχειρῇ τὴν κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς πολιτείαν ἄν τε πόλις, ἀμύνειν αὐτοῖς καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατ᾽ ἰδίαν, καὶ κρατήσαντας μὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνασπᾶν θεμελίων καὶ μηδὲ τὸ ἔδαφος τῶν ἀπονοηθέντων εἰ δυνατὸν καταλιπεῖν, εἰ δ᾽ ἀσθενοῖεν λαβεῖν τὴν τιμωρίαν, αὐτὸ τὸ μὴ κατὰ βούλησιν ἰδίαν ταῦτα γίνεσθαι δεικνύναι. καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ὤμνυεν.

(46) [311] Ἐδίδασκε δὲ αὐτούς, ὡς ἂν αἱ θυσίαι τῷ θεῷ μᾶλλον κεχαρισμέναι γένοιντο καὶ ὅπως ἂν οἱ στρατεύοντες ἐξίοιεν τεκμηρίῳ χρώμενοι τοῖς λίθοις, ὡς καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωκα. προεφήτευσε δὲ καὶ Ἰησοῦς Μωυσέος παρόντος. [312] ἔπειτα πάνθ᾽ ὅσα ποιήσειεν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ λαοῦ σωτηρίας ἔν τε πολέμοις καὶ κατ᾽ εἰρήνην νόμους τε συντιθεὶς καὶ τὸν τῆς πολιτείας κόσμον συμπορίζων ἀναλογιζόμενος προεῖπεν, ὡς δηλώσειεν αὐτῷ τὸ θεῖον, ὅτι παραβάντες τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν θρησκείαν πειραθήσονται κακῶν, [313] ὡς ὅπλων τε αὐτοῖς πολεμίων πληρωθῆναι τὴν γῆν καὶ κατασκαφῆναι πόλεις καὶ τὸν νεὼν καταπρησθῆναι καὶ πραθέντας δουλεύειν ἀνδράσιν οὐδένα ληψομένοις οἶκτον ἐπὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς

αὐτῶν, μετανοήσειν δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ μηδενὶ χρησίμῳ ταῦτα πάσχοντας. [314] ὁ μέντοι θεὸς ὁ κτίσας ὑμᾶς πόλεις τε πολίταις ὑμετέροις ἀποδώσει καὶ τὸν ναόν: ἔσεσθαι δὲ τὴν τούτων ἀποβολὴν οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις.

(47) [315] Παρορμήσας οὖν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπὶ τοὺς Χαναναίους στρατιὰν ἐξάγειν, ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ συνεργοῦντος οἷς ἂν ἐπιχειρήσειε, καὶ πᾶσαν ἐπευφημήσας τὴν πληθύν, "ἐπεί, φησί, πρὸς τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἄπειμι προγόνους καὶ θεὸς τήνδε μοι τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνους ἀφίξεως ὥρισε, [316] χάριν μὲν αὐτῷ ζῶν ἔτι καὶ παρὼν ὑμῖν ἔχειν ὁμολογῶ προνοίας τε τῆς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ἣν οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἀπαλλαγῆς μόνον τῶν ὑμετέρων ἐποιήσατο κακῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δωρεᾶς τῶν κρειττόνων, ὅτι τε πονοῦντί μοι καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐπὶ νοῦν τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ὑμῶν μεταβολῆς φροντίδα λαμβάνοντι συνηγωνίσατο καὶ παρέσχεν ἐν ἅπασιν αὐτὸν ὑμῖν εὐμενῆ. [317] μᾶλλον δ᾽ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ καὶ τὴν ἀφήγησιν αὐτῶν διδοὺς καὶ τὰ τέλη χαριζόμενος, ὑποστρατήγῳ χρώμενος ἐμοὶ καὶ ὑπηρέτῃ ὧν τὸν ἡμέτερον λαὸν εὐεργετεῖν ἠθέλησεν. [318] ἀνθ᾽ ὧν προευλογῆσαι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν, ᾧ μελήσει καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ὑμῶν, ἀπαλλασσόμενος καλῶς ἔχειν ἡγησάμην, αὐτός τε ταύτην ὀφειλομένην ἀμοιβὴν ἀποδιδοὺς καὶ καταλείπων εἰς μνήμην ὑμῖν τὸ σέβειν τε καὶ τιμᾶν προσήκειν τοῦτον ὑμῖν καὶ τοὺς νόμους πάντων ὧν τε παρέσχηκε καὶ μένων εὐμενὴς ἔτι παρέξει δώρημα κάλλιστον φυλάττειν. [319] ὡς δεινὸς μὲν ἐχθρὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος νομοθέτης ὑβριζομένων αὐτῷ τῶν νόμων καὶ μάτην κειμένων, θεοῦ δὲ μὴ πειραθείητε χαλεπαίνοντος ὑπὲρ ἀμελουμένων νόμων, οὓς αὐτὸς γεννήσας ὑμῖν ἔδωκε."

(48) [320] Μωυσέος δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου φήσαντος καὶ μετ᾽ εὐλογίας ἑκάστῃ τῶν φυλῶν προφητεύσαντος τὰ καὶ γενόμενα τὸ πλῆθος εἰς δάκρυα προύπεσεν, ὡς καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας στερνοτυπουμένας ἐμφανίζειν τὸ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ τεθνηξομένῳ πάθος. καὶ οἱ παῖδες δὲ θρηνοῦντες ἔτι μᾶλλον ὡς ἀσθενέστεροι κρατεῖν λύπης ἐδήλουν, ὅτι τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ μεγαλουργίας παρ᾽ αὐτὴν τὴν ἡλικίαν συνίεσαν. [321] ἦν δὲ κατ᾽ ἐπίνοιαν τοῖς τε νέοις καὶ προηβηκόσιν ἡ ἄμιλλα τῆς λύπης: οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰδότες οἵου ἐστέρηνται κηδεμόνος περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀπεθρήνουν, τοῖς δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτου τὸ πένθος ἦν καὶ ὅτι μήπω καλῶς τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῦ γεγευμένοις ἀπολείπεσθαι συνέβαινεν αὐτοῦ. [322] τὴν δ᾽ ὑπερβολὴν τῆς τοῦ πλήθους οἰμωγῆς καὶ τῶν ὀδυρμῶν τεκμαίροιτο ἄν τις ἐκ τοῦ συμβάντος τῷ νομοθέτῃ: καὶ γὰρ πεπεισμένος ἅπαντι τῷ χρόνῳ μὴ δεῖν ἐπὶ μελλούσῃ τελευτῇ κατηφεῖν, ὡς κατὰ βούλησιν αὐτὸ πάσχοντας θεοῦ καὶ φύσεως νόμῳ, ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ πραττομένοις ἐνικήθη δακρῦσαι. [323] πορευομένῳ δ᾽ ἔνθεν οὗ ἔμελλεν ἀφανισθήσεσθαι πάντες εἵποντο δεδακρυμένοι, καὶ Μωυσῆς τοὺς μὲν πόρρω τῇ χειρὶ κατασείων μένειν ἠρεμοῦντας ἐκέλευε, τὸ δ᾽ ἔγγιον λόγοις παρεκάλει μὴ ποιεῖν αὐτῷ δακρυτὴν τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν ἑπομένους. [324] οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτ᾽ αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι κρίνοντες τὸ κατὰ βούλησιν ἀπελθεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐφεῖναι κατέχουσιν ἑαυτοὺς ἐν ἀλλήλοις δακρύοντες. μόνη δ᾽ ἡ

γερουσία προύπεμψεν αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἐλεάζαρος καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἰησοῦς. [325] ὡς δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει τῷ Ἀβαρεῖ καλουμένῳ ἐγένετο, τοῦτο δὲ ὑψηλὸν Ἰεριχοῦντος ἀντικρὺ κεῖται γῆν ἀρίστην τῶν Χαναναίων καὶ πλείστην παρέχον τοῖς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κατοπτεύειν, ἀπέπεμπε τὴν γερουσίαν. [326] ἀσπαζομένου δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ προσομιλοῦντος ἔτι, νέφους αἰφνίδιον ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν στάντος ἀφανίζεται κατά τινος φάραγγος. γέγραφε δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις τεθνεῶτα, δείσας μὴ δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον αὐτὸν ἀναχωρῆσαι τολμήσωσιν εἰπεῖν.

(49) [327] Ἐβίωσε δὲ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἐτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, ὧν ἦρξε τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἐνὶ λείποντι μηνί. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ τῷ ὑστάτῳ μηνὶ τοῦ ἔτους, ὑπὸ μὲν Μακεδόνων Δύστρου καλουμένου Ἀδάρου δ᾽ ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν νουμηνίᾳ, [328] συνέσει τε τοὺς πώποτ᾽ ἀνθρώπους ὑπερβαλὼν καὶ χρησάμενος ἄριστα τοῖς νοηθεῖσιν, εἰπεῖν τε καὶ πλήθεσιν ὁμιλῆσαι κεχαρισμένος τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τῶν παθῶν [αὐτοκράτωρ], [329] ὡς μηδὲ ἐνεῖναι τούτων τῇ ψυχῇ δοκεῖν αὐτοῦ καὶ γινώσκειν μόνον αὐτῶν τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐκ τοῦ παρ᾽ ἄλλοις αὐτὰ βλέπειν μᾶλλον ἢ παρ᾽ αὐτῷ. καὶ στρατηγὸς μὲν ἐν ὀλίγοις, προφήτης δὲ οἷος οὐκ ἄλλος, ὥσθ᾽ ὅ τι ἂν φθέγξαιτο δοκεῖν αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ἀκροᾶσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ. [330] πενθεῖ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ λαὸς ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας τριάκοντα, λύπη δὲ οὐκ ἄλλη κατέσχεν Ἑβραίους τοσαύτη τὸ μέγεθος, ὅση τότε Μωυσέος ἀποθανόντος. [331] ἐπόθουν δ᾽ αὐτὸν οὐχ οἱ πειραθέντες αὐτοῦ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ τοῖς νόμοις ἐντυγχάνοντες αὐτοῦ δεινὴν ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ἐπιζήτησιν, τὸ περιὸν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐκ τούτων λογιζόμενοι. καὶ τὸ μὲν κατὰ Μωυσῆν τέλος τοιοῦτον ἡμῖν δεδηλώσθω.

Liber V

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Ὡς Ἰησοῦς ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἑβραίων πολεμήσας πρὸς Χαναναίους καὶ κρατήσας αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν διέφθειρε, τὴν δὲ γῆν κατακληρουχήσας διένειμε ταῖς φυλαῖς.

β. ὡς ἀποθανόντος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ παραβαίνοντες οἱ Ἰσραηλῖται τοὺς πατρίους νόμους μεγάλων ἐπειράθησαν συμφορῶν, καὶ στασιασάντων ἡ Βενιαμὶς διεφθάρη φυλὴ χωρὶς ἀνδρῶν ἑξακοσίων.

γ. πῶς μετὰ ταύτην τὴν κακοπραγίαν ἀσεβήσαντας αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς Ἀσσυρίοις ἐδούλωσεν.

δ. ἡ διὰ Κενίζου τοῦ Ἀθνιήλου παιδὸς αὐτοῖς ἐλευθερία γενομένη ἄρξαντος ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα λεγομένου δὲ παρά τε Ἕλλησι καὶ Φοίνιξι κριτοῦ.

ε. ὅτι πάλιν ὁ λαὸς ἡμῶν ἐδούλευσε Μωαβίταις ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτη καὶ ὑπό τινος Ἰούδου τῆς δουλείας ἀπηλλάγη τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπ᾽ ἔτη κατασχόντος ὀγδοήκοντα.

ς. ὡς Χαναναίων αὐτοὺς καταδουλωσαμένων ἐπ᾽ ἔτη εἴκοσιν ἠλευθερώθησαν ὑπὸ Βαράκου καὶ Δεβώρας, οἳ ἦρξαν αὐτῶν ἐπ᾽ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα.

ζ. ὅτι πολεμήσαντες Ἀμαληκῖται τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις ἐνίκησάν τε καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐκάκωσαν ἔτη ἑπτά.

η. ὡς Γεδεὼν αὐτοὺς ἠλευθέρωσεν ἀπὸ Ἀμαληκιτῶν καὶ ἦρξε τοῦ πλήθους ἐπὶ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα.

θ. ὅτι μετ᾽ αὐτὸν πολλοὶ γενόμενοι διάδοχοι τοῖς πέριξ ἔθνεσιν ἐπολέμησαν ἱκανῷ χρόνῳ.

ι. περὶ τῆς Σαμψῶνος ἀνδρείας καὶ ὅσων κακῶν αἴτιος Παλαιστίνοις ἐγένετο.

ια. ὡς οἱ υἱοὶ Ἠλῖ τοῦ ἱερέως ἐσφάγησαν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Παλαιστίνους μάχῃ.

ιβ. ὡς ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῶν ἀκούσας τὴν συμφορὰν βαλὼν ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου ἀπέθανεν.

ιγ. ὡς νικήσαντες ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πολέμῳ τοὺς Ἑβραίους οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι καὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν αὐτῶν αἰχμάλωτον ἔλαβον.

ιδ. ὡς οἱ ἀπὸ Κενίζου ἄρξαντες πάντες κριταὶ ἐκλήθησαν.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν τετρακοσίων ἑβδομήκοντα.

(1) [1] Μωυσέος δὲ τὸν προειρημένον τρόπον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπογεγονότος Ἰησοῦς ἁπάντων ἤδη τῶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ νενομισμένων τέλος ἐχόντων καὶ τοῦ πένθους λελωφηκότος παρήγγειλεν ἐπὶ στρατείαν ἕτοιμον εἶναι τὸ πλῆθος, [2] πέμπει τε κατασκόπους εἰς Ἰεριχοῦντα τήν τε δύναμιν αὐτῶν καὶ τίνα διάνοιαν ἔχουσιν αὐτοὶ γνωσομένους, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐξήταζε τὸν στρατὸν ὡς κατὰ καιρὸν διαβησόμενος τὸν Ἰόρδανον. [3] ἀνακαλεσάμενος δὲ τοὺς τῆς Ῥουβηλίδος φυλῆς ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς τῆς Γάδιδος καὶ Μανασσήτιδος προεστῶτας, ἐξ ἡμισείας γὰρ καὶ τῇδε τῇ φυλῇ τὴν Ἀμορίαν κατοικεῖν ἐπετέτραπτο τῆς Χαναναίων γῆς ἕβδομον οὖσαν μέρος, ὑπεμίμνησκεν ἃ ὑπέσχοντο Μωυσεῖ, [4] καὶ παρεκάλει χαριζομένους τῇ τε ἐκείνου προνοίᾳ μηδ᾽ ὅτε ἀπέθνησκε περὶ αὐτοὺς καμούσῃ τῷ τε κοινῇ συμφέροντι παρέχειν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα προθύμους. τῶν δ᾽ ἑπομένων ὁπλίταις πεντακισμυρίοις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀβέλης ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόρδανον ἐξῄει σταδίους ἑξήκοντα.

(2) [5] Καὶ στρατοπεδεύσαντος εὐθὺς οἱ κατάσκοποι παρῆσαν μηδὲν ἀγνοήσαντες τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Χαναναίοις: ἐλθόντες γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ἅπασαν ἐπ᾽ ἀδείας αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν κατενόησαν, τῶν τε τειχῶν ὅσα καρτερὰ καὶ ὅσα μὴ τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλῶς καὶ τῶν πυλίδων αἳ πρὸς εἴσοδον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ δι᾽ ἀσθένειαν συνέφερον. [6] ἠμέλουν δὲ θεωμένων οἱ ἐντυγχάνοντες κατὰ ἱστορίαν ξένοις προσήκουσαν ἀκριβῶς ἕκαστα πολυπραγμονεῖν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει νομίζοντες, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχὶ διανοίᾳ πολεμίων. [7] ὡς δὲ γενομένης ὀψίας ὑποχωροῦσιν εἴς τι καταγώγιον τοῦ τείχους πλησίον, εἰς ὃ καὶ προήχθησαν δειπνοποιησάμενοι καὶ περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς αὐτοῖς τὸ λοιπὸν ἡ φροντὶς ἦν, [8] μηνύονται τῷ βασιλεῖ περὶ δεῖπνον ὄντι κατασκεψόμενοί τινες τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν Ἑβραίων στρατοπέδου παρεῖναι καὶ ὄντες ἐν τῷ τῆς Ῥαάβης καταγωγίῳ μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς τοῦ λανθάνειν προνοίας ὑπάρχειν. ὁ δ᾽ εὐθὺς πέμψας πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἀγαγεῖν συλλαβόντας, ἵνα βασανίσας μάθῃ, τί καὶ βουλόμενοι παρεῖεν. [9] ὡς δ᾽ ἔγνω τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν ἡ Ῥαάβη, λίνου γὰρ ἀγκαλίδας ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους ἔψυχε, τοὺς μὲν κατασκόπους εἰς ταύτας ἀποκρύπτει, τοῖς δὲ πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔλεγεν, ὡς ξένοι τινὲς εἶεν ἀγνῶτες ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἢ δῦναι τὸν ἥλιον παρ᾽ αὐτῇ δειπνήσαντες ἀπαλλαγεῖεν, οὓς εἰ φοβεροὶ τῇ πόλει δοκοῦσιν, ἢ κίνδυνον τῷ βασιλεῖ φέροντες ἦκον, ἀπόνως εἶναι λαβεῖν διωχθέντας. [10] οἱ δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς οὕτως αὐτοὺς ὑπελθούσης οὐδένα ὑπονοήσαντες δόλον ἀπῆλθον οὐδ᾽ ἐρευνήσαντες τὸ καταγώγιον. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ὁρμήσαντες καθ᾽ ἃς ἐνόμιζον αὐτοὺς μάλιστα τῶν ὁδῶν ἀπέρχεσθαι καὶ κατὰ τὰς εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν φερούσας οὐδενὶ γνωρίσματι περιετύγχανον, παύονται τοῦ πονεῖν. [11] τοῦ δὲ θορύβου σταλέντος ἡ Ῥαάβη καταγαγοῦσα τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον εἰποῦσα, ὃν ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν ὑπέλθοι σωτηρίας, ἁλοῦσαν γὰρ ἀποκρύπτουσαν αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἂν διαφυγεῖν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως τιμωρίαν, ἀλλὰ πανοικὶ αὐτὴν ἀπολέσθαι κακῶς, [12] παρακαλέσασα διὰ μνήμης ἔχειν, ὅταν

ἐγκρατεῖς τῆς Χαναναίων γῆς καταστάντες ἀμοιβὴν ἐκτῖσαι δύνωνται τῆς ἄρτι σωτηρίας, χωρεῖν ἐκέλευεν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα ὀμόσαντας ἢ μὴν σώσειν αὐτὴν καὶ τὰ αὐτῆς, ὅταν τὴν πόλιν ἑλόντες φθείρωσι πάντας τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατὰ ψήφισμα τὸ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς γενόμενον: ταῦτα γὰρ εἰδέναι σημείοις τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ διδαχθεῖσαν. [13] οἱ δὲ καὶ τῶν παρόντων αὐτῇ χάριν ἔχειν ὠμολόγουν καὶ περὶ τῶν αὖθις ὤμνυον ἔργῳ τὴν ἀμοιβὴν ἀποδώσειν: ἡνίκα δ᾽ ἂν αἴσθηται μελλούσης ἁλίσκεσθαι τῆς πόλεως, συνεβούλευον κτῆσίν τε τὴν αὐτῆς καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους ἅπαντας εἰς τὸ καταγώγιον ἀποθεμένην ἐγκαθεῖρξαι πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἀνατείνασαν φοινικίδας, ὅπως εἰδὼς τὴν οἰκίαν ὁ στρατηγὸς φυλάττηται κακῶς ποιεῖν: [14] “μηνύσομεν γὰρ αὐτῷ, ἔφασαν, διὰ τὸ σὸν σώζεσθαι πρόθυμον. εἰ δέ τις ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πέσοι τῶν σῶν, σύ τε οὐκ ἂν ἡμῖν ἐπενέγκοις αἰτίαν καὶ τὸν θεὸν ὃν ὀμωμόκαμεν παραιτούμεθα μη [15] δὲν ὡς ἐπὶ παραβαίνουσι τοὺς ὅρκους δυσχερᾶναι.” καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα συνθέμενοι ἐχώρουν διὰ τοῦ τείχους καθιμήσαντες ἑαυτούς, καὶ διασωθέντες πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἐδήλωσαν ὅσα πράξαντες ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἦκον: Ἰησοῦς δὲ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ Ἐλεαζάρῳ καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ φράζει τὰ τοῖς σκοποῖς ὁμοθέντα πρὸς τὴν Ῥαάβην: οἱ δ᾽ ἐπεκύρουν τὸν ὅρκον.

(3) [16] Δεδιότος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὴν διάβασιν, μέγας γὰρ ἦν ὁ ποταμὸς τῷ ῥεύματι καὶ οὔτε γεφύραις πορευτός, οὐ γὰρ ἔζευκτο τὸ πρότερον, βουλομένους τε γεφυροῦν οὐχ ἕξειν σχολὴν παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὑπελάμβανον πορθμείων τε μὴ τυγχανόντων, διαβατὸν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ἐπαγγέλλεται ποιήσειν τὸν ποταμὸν μειώσας αὐτοῦ τὸ πλῆθος. [17] καὶ δύο ἐπισχὼν ἡμέρας Ἰησοῦς διεβίβαζε τὸν στρατὸν καὶ τὴν πληθὺν ἅπασαν τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ: προῆεσαν μὲν οἱ ἱερεῖς τὴν κιβωτὸν ἔχοντες, ἔπειτα οἱ Λευῖται τήν τε σκηνὴν καὶ τὰ πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν ταῖς θυσίαις σκεύη κομίζοντες, εἵποντο δὲ τοῖς Λευίταις κατὰ φυλὰς ὁ πᾶς ὅμιλος μέσους ἔχων παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, δεδιὼς περὶ αὐτῶν μὴ βιασθεῖεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥεύματος. [18] ὡς δὲ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι πρώτοις ἐμβᾶσι πορευτὸς ἔδοξεν ὁ ποταμός, τοῦ μὲν βάθους ἐπεσχημένου, τοῦ δὲ κάχληκος τῷ μὴ πολὺν εἶναι μηδ᾽ ὀξὺν τὸν ῥοῦν ὥσθ᾽ ὑποφέρειν αὐτὸν τῇ βίᾳ ἀντ᾽ ἐδάφους κειμένου, πάντες ἤδη θαρσαλέως ἐπεραιοῦντο τὸν ποταμόν, οἷον αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς προεῖπε ποιήσειν τοιοῦτον κατανοοῦντες. [19] ἔστησαν δὲ ἐν μέσῳ οἱ ἱερεῖς ἕως οὗ διαβαίη τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τἀσφαλοῦς ἀψάμενον τύχοι. πάντων δὲ διαβάντων ἐξῆεσαν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐλεύθερον ἀφέντες ἤδη τὸ ῥεῦμα χωρεῖν κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ποταμὸς εὐθὺς ἐκβάντων αὐτὸν τῶν Ἑβραίων ηὔξετο καὶ τὸ ἴδιον ἀπελάμβανε μέγεθος.

(4) [20] Οἱ δὲ πεντήκοντα προελθόντες στάδια βάλλονται στρατόπεδον ἀπὸ δέκα σταδίων τῆς Ἰεριχοῦντος, Ἰησοῦς τε τόν τε βωμὸν ἐκ τῶν λίθων ὧν ἕκαστος ἀνείλετο τῶν φυλάρχων ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ τοῦ προφήτου κελεύσαντος ἱδρυσάμενος τεκμήριον γενησόμενον τῆς ἀνακοπῆς τοῦ ῥεύματος ἔθυεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ τὴν φάσκα ἑώρταζον ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χωρίῳ, [21] πάντων ὧν αὐτοῖς πρότερον

συνέβαινε σπανίζειν τότε ῥᾳδίως εὐποροῦντες: τόν τε γὰρ σῖτον ἀκμάζοντα ἤδη τῶν Χαναναίων ἐθέριζον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ λείαν ἦγον: τότε γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἡ τῆς μάννας ἐπελελοίπει τροφὴ χρησαμένους ἐπὶ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα.

(5) [22] Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ποιούντων τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν οὐκ ἐπεξῄεσαν οἱ Χαναναῖοι τειχήρεις δ' ἡσύχαζον, πολιορκεῖν αὐτοὺς Ἰησοῦς ἔγνω. καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἡμέρᾳ τὴν κιβωτὸν οἱ ἱερεῖς φέροντες, περὶ δ' αὐτὴν ἐν κύκλῳ μέρος τι τῶν ὁπλιτῶν φυλάττον ἦν, [23] οἳ καὶ προῄεσαν ἑπτὰ κέρασιν αὐτῶν σαλπίζοντες παρεκάλουν τὸν στρατὸν εἰς ἀλκήν, περιώδευόν τε τὸ τεῖχος ἑπομένης τῆς γερουσίας, καὶ σαλπισάντων μόνον τῶν ἱερέων, τούτου γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐποίησαν περισσότερον, ἀνέζευξαν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. [24] καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἓξ ποιησάντων τῇ ἑβδόμῃ τὸ ὁπλιτικὸν Ἰησοῦς συναγαγὼν καὶ τὸν λαὸν ἅπαντα τὴν ἅλωσιν αὐτοῖς τῆς πόλεως εὐηγγελίζετο, ὡς κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ ταύτην παρέξοντος αὐτομάτως καὶ δίχα [τοῦ] πόνου τοῦ σφετέρου τῶν τειχῶν κατενεχθησομένων. [25] κτείνειν μέντοι πάνθ' ὁντινοῦν εἰ λάβοιεν παρεκελεύετο καὶ μήτε κάμνοντας ἀποστῆναι τοῦ φόνου τῶν πολεμίων, μήτ' ἐλέῳ παραχωρήσαντας μήτε περὶ ἁρπαγὴν γινομένους περιορᾶν φεύγοντας τοὺς ἐχθρούς: [26] ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ζῷα πάντα διαφθείρειν μηδὲν αὐτοὺς εἰς ἰδίαν ὠφέλειαν λαμβάνοντας, ὅσος δ' ἂν ἄργυρος ᾖ καὶ χρυσός, ταῦτα ἐκέλευσε συγκομίζοντας ἀπαρχὴν ἐξαίρετον τῶν κατωρθωμένων τῷ θεῷ τηρεῖν ἐκ τῆς πρῶτον ἁλισκομένης πόλεως εἰληφότας: σώζειν δὲ μόνην Ῥαάβην καὶ τὴν γενεὰν αὐτῆς διὰ τοὺς γενομένους πρὸς αὐτὴν τοῖς κατασκόποις ὅρκους.

(6) [27] Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ διατάξας τὸν στρατὸν προσήγαγεν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν: περιῄεσαν δὲ πάλιν τὴν πόλιν ἡγουμένης τῆς κιβωτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἱερέων τοῖς κέρασιν ἐξοτρυνόντων τὴν δύναμιν πρὸς τὸ ἔργον. καὶ περιελθόντων ἑπτάκις καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἠρεμησάντων κατέπεσε τὸ τεῖχος μήτε μηχανῆς μήτε ἄλλης βίας αὐτῷ προσενεχθείσης ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων.

(7) [28] Οἱ δ' εἰσελθόντες εἰς Ἱεριχοῦντα πάντας ἔκτεινον, τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πρὸς τὴν παράδοξον τοῦ τείχους ἀνατροπὴν καταπεπληγότων καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἄμυναν ἀχρείου γεγονότος: ἀνῃροῦντο δ' οὖν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἀποσφαττόμενοι καὶ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐπικαταλαμβανόμενοι. [29] παρῃτεῖτο δ' οὐδὲν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἀπώλλυντο ἄχρι γυναικῶν καὶ παιδίων, καὶ νεκρῶν ἡ πόλις ἦν ἀνάπλεως καὶ διέφυγεν οὐδέν. τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν ἅπασαν καὶ τὴν χώραν. [30] καὶ τὴν Ῥαάβην σὺν τοῖς οἰκείοις εἰς τὸ καταγώγιον συμφυγοῦσαν ἔσωσαν οἱ κατάσκοποι, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἰησοῦς ἀχθείσῃ χάριν ἔχειν ὡμολόγει τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν κατασκόπων καὶ μὴν τῆς εὐεργεσίας ταύτης ἔλεγεν ἐν ταῖς ἀμοιβαῖς οὐχ ἧττονα φανήσεσθαι, δωρεῖται δ' αὐτὴν εὐθὺς ἀγροῖς καὶ διὰ τιμῆς εἶχε τῆς πάσης.

(8) [31] Τῆς δὲ πόλεως εἰ καί τι παρέλθοι τὸ πῦρ κατέσκαπτε καὶ κατὰ τῶν οἰκησόντων, εἴ τις πορθηθεῖσαν ἀνεγείρειν ἐθελήσειεν, ἀρὰς ἔθετο, ὅπως

θεμελίους μὲν τειχῶν βαλόμενος στερηθῇ τοῦ πρώτου παιδός, τελειώσας δὲ τὸν νεώτατον τῶν παίδων ἀποβάλῃ. τῆς δὲ ἀρᾶς τὸ θεῖον οὐκ ἠμέλησεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τοῖς ὑστέροις ἀπαγγελοῦμεν τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν πάθος γενόμενον.

(9) [32] Ἄπειρον δέ τι πλῆθος ἐκ τῆς ἁλώσεως συναθροίζεται ἀργύρου τε καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ προσέτι χαλκοῦ μηδενὸς παραβάντος τὰ δεδογμένα μηδ᾽ εἰς ἰδίαν ὠφέλειαν αὐτὰ διαρπασαμένων, ἀλλ᾽ ἀποσχομένων ὡς ἤδη τῷ θεῷ καθιερωμένων. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἰησοῦς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν εἰς τοὺς θησαυροὺς παραδίδωσι καταθέσθαι. καὶ Ἰεριχοῦς μὲν τοῦτον ἀπώλετο τὸν τρόπον.

(10) [33] Ἄχαρος δέ τις Ζεβεδαίου παῖς ὢν ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς εὐρὼν χλαμύδα βασίλειον ἐκ χρυσοῦ μὲν πᾶσαν ὑφασμένην, μᾶζαν δὲ χρυσοῦ σταθμὸν ἕλκουσαν σίκλων διακοσίων καὶ δεινὸν ἡγησάμενος, εἰ ὃ κινδυνεύσας ηὕρατο κέρδος, τοῦτο τῆς ἰδίας χρείας ἀφελόμενος δοῦναι φέρων τῷ θεῷ καὶ μὴ δεομένῳ, ὄρυγμα βαθὺ ποιήσας ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ σκηνῇ κατώρυξεν εἰς τοῦτο, λήσειν νομίζων ὡς τοὺς συστρατιώτας οὕτως καὶ τὸν θεόν.

(11) [34] Ἐκλήθη δὲ ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ στρατόπεδον ἐβάλετο Ἰησοῦς Γάλγαλα: σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο ἐλευθέριον ὄνομα: διαβάντες γὰρ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐλευθέρους ἑαυτοὺς ἤδη ἀπό τε τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ταλαιπωρίας ἐγίνωσκον.

(12) [35] Μετὰ δ᾽ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας τῆς Ἰεριχοῦντος συμφορᾶς πέμπει τρισχιλίους ὁπλίτας Ἰησοῦς εἰς Ναιὰν πόλιν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰεριχοῦντος κειμένην αἱρήσοντας, οἳ συμβαλόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν Ναιητῶν τραπέντες ἀποβάλλουσιν ἄνδρας ἓξ καὶ τριάκοντα. [36] τοῦτ᾽ ἀγγελθὲν τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις λύπην τε μεγάλην καὶ δεινὴν ἐποίησεν ἀθυμίαν οὐ κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον τῶν ἀπολωλότων, καίτοι γε πάντων ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ σπουδῆς ἀξίων διεφθαρμένων, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἀπόγνωσιν: [37] πιστεύοντες γὰρ ἤδη τῆς γῆς ἐγκρατεῖς εἶναι καὶ σῶον ἕξειν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τὸν στρατὸν οὕτως τοῦ θεοῦ προυπεσχημένου, τεθαρρηκότας παραδόξως ἑώρων τοὺς πολεμίους: καὶ σάκκους ἐπενδύντες ταῖς στολαῖς δι᾽ ὅλης ἡμέρας ἐν δακρύοις ἦσαν καὶ πένθει τροφῆς οὐδεμίαν ἐπιζήτησιν ποιούμενοι, μειζόνως δὲ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς εἶχον ἀχθόμενοι.

(13) [38] Βλέπων δὲ οὕτως ὁ Ἰησοῦς τήν τε στρατιὰν καταπεπληγυῖαν καὶ περὶ τῶν ὅλων πονηρὰν ἤδη τὴν ἐλπίδα λαμβάνουσαν παρρησίαν λαμβάνει πρὸς τὸν θεόν: [39] “ἡμεῖς γὰρ εἶπεν οὐχ ὑπ᾽ αὐθαδείας προήχθημεν ὥστε ταύτην ὑπάγεσθαι τοῖς ὅπλοις τὴν γῆν, ἀλλὰ Μωυσέος τοῦ σοῦ δούλου πρὸς τοῦθ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἐξεγείραντος, ᾧ διὰ πολλῶν τεκμηρίων ἐπηγγέλλου κτήσασθαι παρέξειν ἡμῖν τήνδε τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἡμῶν ἀεὶ τῶν πολεμίων ποιήσειν τοῖς ὅπλοις κρείττονα. [40] τινὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἡμῖν ἀπήντησε τὰς σάς, νῦν δὲ παρὰ δόξαν ἐπταικότες καὶ τῆς δυνάμεώς τινας ἀποβαλόντες ἐπὶ τούτοις ὡς οὐ βεβαίων τῶν παρὰ σοῦ καὶ ὧν προεῖπε Μωυσῆς ἀχθόμεθα καὶ χεῖρον ἡ τῶν μελλόντων ἐλπὶς ἡμᾶς ἀνιᾷ τῇ πρώτῃ πείρᾳ τοιαύτῃ συντυχόντας. [41] ἀλλὰ σύ, δέσποτα, δύναμις γάρ σοι τούτων ἴασιν εὑρεῖν, τό τε παρὸν ἡμῶν λυπηρὸν νίκην

παρασχόμενος καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν αὖθις δύσελπι διακείμενον οὕτως τῆς διανοίας ἔξελε.’’

(14) [42] Ταῦτα μὲν Ἰησοῦς ἐπὶ στόμα πεσὼν ἠρώτα τὸν θεόν: χρηματίσαντος δὲ ἀνίστασθαι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ καθαίρειν τὸν στρατὸν μιάσματος ἐν αὐτῷ γεγονότος κλοπῆς τε τῶν καθιερωμένων αὐτῷ χρημάτων τετολμημένης, διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα τὴν νῦν αὐτοῖς ἦτταν συμπεσεῖν, ἀναζητηθέντος δὲ τοῦ δράσαντος καὶ κολασθέντος νίκην αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ πορίζεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων, φράζει ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν λαὸν Ἰησοῦς, [43] καὶ καλέσας Ἐλεάζαρον τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ τοὺς ἐν τέλει κατὰ φυλὴν ἐκλήρου. τούτου δὲ τὸ τετολμημένον ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς δηλοῦντος κατὰ φατρίας πάλιν ταύτης προτίθησι τὸν κλῆρον. τὸ δ’ ἀληθὲς τοῦ κακουργήματος περὶ τὴν Ἀχάρου συγγένειαν ηὑρίσκετο. [44] κατ’ ἄνδρα δὲ τῆς ἐξετάσεως γινομένης λαμβάνουσι τὸν Ἄχαρον: ὁ δ’ οὐκ ἔχων ἔξαρνος εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ δεινῶς αὐτὸν ἐκπεριελθόντος ὡμολόγει τε τὴν κλοπὴν καὶ τὰ φώρια παρῆγεν εἰς μέσον. καὶ οὗτος μὲν εὐθὺς ἀναιρεθεὶς ἐν νυκτὶ ταφῆς ἀτίμου καὶ καταδίκῳ πρεπούσης τυγχάνει.

(15) [45] Ἰησοῦς δὲ ἀγνίσας τὸν στρατὸν ἐξῆγεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ναιὰν αὐτὸς καὶ νυκτὸς τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐνέδραις προλοχίσας ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον συμβάλλει τοῖς πολεμίοις. τῶν δὲ μετὰ θράσους αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν προτέραν νίκην ἐπιόντων ὑποχωρεῖν προσποιησάμενος ἕλκει τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ μακρὰν αὐτοὺς τῆς πόλεως διώκειν οἰομένους καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ νίκῃ καταφρονοῦντας. [46] ἔπειτ’ ἀναστρέψας τὴν δύναμιν κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῖς ποιεῖ, σημεῖά τε δοὺς ἃ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐνέδραις συνετέτακτο κἀκείνους ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ἐξανίστησιν. οἱ δ’ εἰσεπήδων εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἔνδον περὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν ὄντων, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ πρὸς θέαν τῶν ἔξω τὴν γνώμην περισπωμένων. [47] καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν πόλιν ᾕρουν καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἔκτεινον, Ἰησοῦς δὲ τοὺς προσελθόντας εἰς χεῖρας βιασάμενος φυγεῖν τρέπεται, συνελαυνόμενοι δὲ ὡς εἰς ἀκέραιον τὴν πόλιν ἐπεὶ καὶ ταύτην ἐχομένην ἑώρων καὶ καταπιμπραμένην ὁμοῦ γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις κατέλαβον, διὰ τῶν ἀγρῶν σκεδασθέντες καὶ ἀμύνειν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ μονώσεως οὐ δυνάμενοι . [48] τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς τοὺς Ναιτιανοὺς καταλαβούσης, παίδων τε ὄχλος ἑάλω καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ θεραπείας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀποσκευῆς ἄπειρόν τι πλῆθος, ἀγέλας τε βοσκημάτων ἔλαβον οἱ Ἑβραῖοι καὶ χρήματα πολλά, καὶ γὰρ πλούσιον ἦν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα τοῖς στρατιώταις Ἰησοῦς διένειμεν ἐν Γαλγάλοις γενόμενος.

(16) [49] Γεβεωνῖται δὲ κατοικοῦντες ἔγγιστα τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις τά τε τοῖς Ἱεριχουντίοις συμβεβηκότα πάθη καὶ τὰ τοῖς Ναιτίνοις ὁρῶντες καὶ πρὸς σφᾶς μεταβήσεσθαι τὸ δεινὸν ὑπονοοῦντες, Ἰησοῦν μὲν παρακαλεῖν οὐ διέγνωσαν: οὐδὲ γὰρ τεύξεσθαί τινος τῶν μετρίων ὑπελάμβανον ἐπ’ ὀλέθρῳ τοῦ Χαναναίων ἔθνους παντὸς πολεμοῦντος αὐτούς: [50] Κεφηρίτας δὲ καὶ Καριαθιαριμίτας γείτονας ὄντας αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν παρεκάλουν, οὐδ’ αὐτοὺς διαφεύξεσθαι

τὸν κίνδυνον λέγοντες, εἰ φθάσαιεν αὐτοὶ ληφθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, συνασπίσαντας δὲ αὐτοῖς διέγνωσαν διαδρᾶναι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν. [51] προσδεξαμένων δὲ τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν πέμπουσι πρέσβεις πρὸς Ἰησοῦν φιλίαν σπεισομένους οὓς μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν ἐδοκίμαζον ἱκανοὺς πρᾶξαι τὰ συμφέροντα τῷ πλήθει. [52] οἱ δὲ ὁμολογεῖν αὐτοὺς Χαναναίους ἐπισφαλὲς ἡγούμενοι, διαφεύξεσθαι τὸν διὰ τοῦτο κίνδυνον ὑπολαμβάνοντες, εἰ λέγοιεν αὐτοὺς μὴ προσήκειν κατὰ μηδὲν Χαναναίοις ἀλλὰ πορρωτάτω τούτων κατοικεῖν, ἥκειν τε κατὰ πύστιν τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῦ πολλὴν ἀνύσαντες ὁδὸν ἔφασκον καὶ τεκμήριον τοῦ λόγου τούτου τὸ σχῆμα ὑπεδείκνυον: [53] τὰς γὰρ ἐσθῆτας καινὰς ὅτε ἐξῆεσαν οὔσας ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου τῆς ὁδοιπορίας αὐτοῖς τετρῖφθαι: τρυχίνας γὰρ εἰς τὸ ταῦτα πιστοῦσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπίτηδες ἔλαβον. [54] στάντες οὖν εἰς μέσους ἔλεγον, ὡς πεμφθεῖεν ὑπὸ τῶν Γεβεωνιτῶν καὶ τῶν περιοίκων πόλεων πλεῖστον ἀπεχουσῶν τῆσδε τῆς γῆς ποιησόμενοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν ἐφ᾽ αἷς πάτριον αὐτοῖς ἐστι συνθήκαις: μαθόντες γὰρ ἐκ θεοῦ χάριτος καὶ δωρεᾶς τὴν Χαναναίων αὐτοῖς γῆν κτήσασθαι δεδόσθαι τούτοις τ᾽ ἔλεγον ἥδεσθαι καὶ πολίτας ἀξιοῦν αὐτῶν γενέσθαι. [55] καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα λέγοντες καὶ ἐπιδεικνύντες τὰ τεκμήρια τῆς ὁδοιπορίας παρεκάλουν ἐπὶ συνθήκας καὶ φιλίαν τοὺς Ἑβραίους: Ἰησοῦς δὲ πιστεύσας οἷς ἔλεγον, ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶ τοῦ Χαναναίων ἔθνους, ποιεῖται πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν, καὶ Ἐλεάζαρος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς μετὰ τῆς γερουσίας ὄμνυσιν ἕξειν τε φίλους καὶ συμμάχους καὶ μηδὲν μοχλεύσεσθαι κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ἄδικον τοῖς ὅρκοις ἐπισυναινέσαντος τοῦ πλήθους. [56] καὶ οἱ μὲν ὧν ἤθελον τυχόντες ἐξ ἀπάτης ἀπῄεσαν πρὸς αὐτούς. Ἰησοῦς δὲ τῆς Χαναναίας στρατεύσας εἰς τὴν ὑπώρειον καὶ μαθὼν οὐ πόρρω τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τοὺς Γεβεωνίτας κατῳκημένους καὶ τοῦ γένους ὄντας τῶν Χαναναίων, μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐν τέλει τῆς ἀπάτης αὐτοῖς ἐνεκάλει. [57] τῶν δ᾽ οὐκ ἄλλην ἀφορμὴν σωτηρίας ἔχειν ἢ ταύτην προφασιζομένων καὶ διὰ τοῦτ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν ἐξ ἀνάγκης καταφυγεῖν συγκαλεῖ τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ἐλεάζαρον καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν, καὶ δημοσίους αὐτοὺς δικαιούντων ποιεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ παραβῆναι τὸν ὅρκον ἀποδείκνυσιν εἶναι τοιούτους. καὶ οἱ μὲν τῆς καταλαβούσης αὐτοὺς συμφορᾶς τοιαύτην φυλακὴν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν εὕραντο.

(17) [58] Τοῦ δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν βασιλέως χαλεπῶς φέροντος ἐπὶ τῷ μετατάξασθαι πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν τοὺς Γεβεωνίτας καὶ τοὺς τῶν πλησίον ἐθνῶν παρακαλέσαντος βασιλέας συνάρασθαι τῷ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν πολέμῳ, ὡς τούτους τε εἶδον παρόντας σὺν αὐτῷ, τέσσαρες δὲ ἦσαν, οἱ Γεβεωνῖται καὶ στρατοπεδευσαμένους ἐπί τινι πηγῇ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἄπωθεν παρασκευάζεσθαι πρὸς πολιορκίαν, ἐπεκαλοῦντο σύμμαχον Ἰησοῦν: [59] ἐν τούτοις γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς τὰ πράγματα, ὡς ὑπὸ μὲν τούτων ἀπολεῖσθαι προσδοκᾶν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐπ᾽ ὀλέθρῳ τοῦ Χαναναίων γένους στρατευσάντων σωθήσεσθαι διὰ τὴν γενομένην φιλίαν ὑπολαμβάνειν. [60] καὶ Ἰησοῦς πανστρατιᾷ σπεύσας ἐπὶ τὴν βοήθειαν καὶ δι᾽

ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἀνύσας ὄρθριος προσμίγνυσι τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ τραπεῖσιν εἵπετο διώκων διὰ χωρίων ἐπικλινῶν, Βηθωρὰ καλεῖται. ἔνθα καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ συνεργίαν ἔμαθεν ἐπισημήναντος αὐτοῦ βρονταῖς τε καὶ κεραυνῶν ἀφέσει καὶ χαλάζης καταφορᾷ μείζονος τῆς συνήθους: [61] ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν αὐξηθῆναι πλέον, ὡς ἂν μὴ καταλαβοῦσα νὺξ ἐπίσχῃ τὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων πρόθυμον, συνέπεσεν, ὥστε καὶ λαμβάνει τοὺς βασιλέας Ἰησοῦς ἔν τινι κρυπτομένους σπηλαίῳ κατὰ Μακχίδα καὶ κολάζει πάντας. ὅτι δὲ τὸ μῆκος τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπέδωκε τότε καὶ τοῦ συνήθους ἐπλεόνασε, δηλοῦται διὰ τῶν ἀνακειμένων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ γραμμάτων.

(18) [62] Κατεστραμμένων δ᾽ οὕτως τῶν περὶ τοὺς βασιλέας, οἳ τοὺς Γεβεωνίτας πολεμήσοντες ἐστράτευσαν, ἐπανῄει πάλιν τῆς Χαναναίας ἐπὶ τὴν ὀρεινὴν Ἰησοῦς καὶ πολὺν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ φόνον ἐργασάμενος καὶ λείαν λαβὼν παρῆν εἰς τὸ ἐν Γαλγάλοις στρατόπεδον. [63] τοῦ δὲ περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑβραίων ἀρετῆς λόγου πολλοῦ φοιτῶντος εἰς τοὺς περιοίκους κατάπληξις εἶχε τοὺς ἀκούοντας τὸ τῶν ἀπολωλότων πλῆθος καὶ στρατεύουσιν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς οἱ περὶ Λίβανον ὄρος βασιλεῖς ὄντες Χαναναῖοι καὶ οἱ ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις τῶν Χαναναίων Παλαιστίνους προσλαβόντες στρατοπεδεύουσι πρὸς Βηρώθῃ πόλει Γαλιλαίας τῆς ἄνω Κεδέσης οὐ πόρρω: Γαλιλαίων δ᾽ ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον. [64] τοῦ δὲ στρατοῦ παντὸς ὁπλιτῶν μὲν ἦσαν μυριάδες τριάκοντα μύριοι δ᾽ ἱππεῖς καὶ ἅρματα δισμύρια. καταπλήττει δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων αὐτόν τε Ἰησοῦν καὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ κρείττονος εὐλαβεστέρως εἶχον δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ δέους. [65] τοῦ θεοῦ δ᾽ ἐξονειδίσαντος αὐτοῖς τὸν φόβον καὶ τί πλέον τῆς παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ βοηθείας ποθοῦσιν, ὑποσχομένου τε νικήσειν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ κελεύσαντος τούς τε ἵππους ἀχρήστους ποιῆσαι καὶ τὰ ἅρματα πυρῶσαι, θαρσαλέος πρὸς τὰς ὑποσχέσεις τοῦ θεοῦ γενόμενος ἐξώρμησεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, [66] καὶ διὰ πέμπτης ἡμέρας ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐλθὼν συνάπτει καὶ καρτερὰ μάχη γίνεται καὶ φόνος κρειττων πίστεως παρὰ τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις. διώκων δ᾽ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐξῆλθε καὶ πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα τῶν ἐχθρῶν πλὴν ὀλίγων διέφθειρε, [67] καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς πάντες ἔπεσον, ὥστε τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιλελοιπότων πρὸς τὸ κτείνεσθαι τοὺς ἵππους Ἰησοῦς αὐτῶν ἀνῄρει καὶ τὰ ἅρματα ἐνεπίμπρα, τήν τε χώραν ἐπ᾽ ἀδείας διεπορεύετο μηδενὸς τολμῶντος εἰς μάχην ἐπεξελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ πολιορκίᾳ τὰς πόλεις αἱρῶν καὶ πᾶν ὅ τι λάβοι φονεύων.

(19) [68] Ἔτος δὲ πέμπτον ἤδη παρεληλύθει καὶ Χαναναίων οὐκέτ᾽ οὐδεὶς ὑπολέλειπτο πλὴν εἰ μή τινες ὀχυρότητι τειχῶν διέφυγον. Ἰησοῦς δ᾽ ἐκ τῶν Γαλγάλων ἀναστρατοπεδεύσας εἰς τὴν ὄρειον ἱστᾷ τὴν ἱερὰν σκηνὴν κατὰ Σιλοῦν πόλιν, ἐπιτήδειον γὰρ ἐδόκει τὸ χωρίον διὰ κάλλος, ἕως οἰκοδομεῖν ναὸν αὐτοῖς τὰ πράγματα παράσχοι. [69] καὶ χωρήσας ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ Σικίμων σὺν ἅπαντι τῷ λαῷ βωμόν τε ἵστησιν ὅπου προεῖπε Μωυσῆς καὶ νείμας τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ Γαριζεῖ ὄρει τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἵστησιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Ἠβήλῳ τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἐν ᾧ

καὶ ὁ βωμός ἐστι καὶ τὸ Λευιτικὸν καὶ τοὺς ἱερέας. [70] θύσαντες δὲ καὶ ἀρὰς ποιησάμενοι καὶ ταύτας ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ γεγραμμένας καταλιπόντες εἰς τὴν Σιλοῦν ἀνέζευξαν.

(20) [71] Ἰησοῦς δ' ἤδη γηραιὸς ὢν καὶ τὰς τῶν Χαναναίων πόλεις ὁρῶν οὐκ εὐαλώτους ὑπό τε τῶν χωρίων ἐν οἷς ἦσαν ὀχυρότητος καὶ τῆς τῶν τειχῶν ἰσχύος, ἃ τῇ φυσικῇ τῶν πόλεων πλεονεξίᾳ προσεπιβαλλόμενοι προσεδόκων τοὺς πολεμίους ἀφέξεσθαι πολιορκίας δι' ἀπόγνωσιν τοῦ λαβεῖν, [72] καὶ γὰρ ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῷ ἑαυτῶν οἱ Χαναναῖοι μαθόντες τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας ποιησαμένους τὴν ἔξοδον τὴν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου πρὸς τῷ τὰς πόλεις καρτερὰς ποιεῖν ἐκεῖνον ἅπαντ' ἦσαν τὸν χρόνον, συναγαγὼν τὸν λαὸν εἰς τὴν Σιλοῦν ἐκκλησίαν παρήγγειλε. [73] καὶ σπουδῇ συνδραμόντων τά τε ἤδη κατωρθωμένα καὶ τὰς γεγενημένας πράξεις, ὡς εἰσὶν ἄρισται καὶ τοῦ θείου τοῦ παρασχόντος αὐτὰς ἄξιαι καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῶν νόμων οἷς κατακολουθοῦσιν ἔλεγε, βασιλεῖς τε τριάκοντα καὶ ἕνα τολμήσαντας αὐτοῖς εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν κεκρατῆσθαι δηλῶν καὶ στρατιὰν ὅση ποτὲ κατελπίσασα τῆς αὐτῶν δυνάμεως εἰς μάχην συνῆψεν ἅπασαν διαφθαρεῖσαν, ὡς μηδὲ γενεὰν αὐτοῖς ὑπολελεῖφθαι. [74] τῶν δὲ πόλεων ἐπειδήπερ αἱ μὲν ἐαλώκεσαν, πρὸς ἃς δὲ δεῖ χρόνου καὶ μεγάλης πολιορκίας διὰ τὴν τῶν τειχῶν ὀχυρότητα καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῶν οἰκητόρων πεποίθησιν, ἠξίου τοὺς ἐκ τῆς περαίας τοῦ Ἰορδάνου συνεξορμήσαντας αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν κινδύνων συναραμένους ὄντας συγγενεῖς ἀπολύειν ἤδη πρὸς τὰ οἰκεῖα χάριν αὐτοῖς ὧν συνέκαμον ὁμολογοῦντας, [75] ἕνα τε κατὰ φυλὴν ἀρετῇ προύχειν μαρτυρηθέντα πέμπειν, οἳ τὴν γῆν ἐκμετρησόμενοι πιστῶς καὶ μηδὲν κακουργήσοντες δηλώσουσιν ἡμῖν ἀδόλως αὐτῆς τὸ μέγεθος".

(21) [76] Καὶ Ἰησοῦς μὲν τούτους ποιησάμενος τοὺς λόγους συγκάταινον ἔσχε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐκμετρησομένους τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐξέπεμψε παραδοὺς αὐτοῖς τινας γεωμετρίας ἐπιστήμονας, οὓς τἀληθὲς οὐκ ἔμελλε λήσεσθαι διὰ τὴν τέχνην, ἐντολὰς δοὺς ἀποτιμήσασθαι τῆς τε εὐδαίμονος ἰδίᾳ τὸ μέτρον γῆς καὶ τῆς ἧσσον ἀγαθῆς. [77] ἡ γὰρ φύσις τῆς Χαναναίων γῆς τοιαύτη τίς ἐστιν, ὡς ἴδοι τις ἂν πεδία μεγάλα καὶ καρποὺς φέρειν ἱκανώτατα καὶ συγκρινόμενα μὲν ἑτέρᾳ γῇ πανευδαίμονα νομισθησόμενα, τοῖς δ' Ἰεριχουντίων χωρίοις παραβαλλόμενα καὶ τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν τὸ μηδὲν ἀναφανησόμενα: [78] καίτοι παντελῶς ὀλίγην αὐτῶν εἶναι τὴν γῆν συμβέβηκε ταύτης δὲ ὀρεινὴν τὴν πολλήν, ἀλλ' ὑπερβολὴν εἰς καρπῶν ἐκτροφήν τε καὶ κάλλος οὐκ ἀπολέλοιπεν ἑτέρᾳ. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τιμητοὺς μᾶλλον ἢ μετρητοὺς τοὺς κλήρους εἶναι δεῖν ὑπέλαβε πολλάκις ἑνὸς πλέθρου κἂν χιλίων ἀνταξίου γενομένου. [79] οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες οἱ πεμφθέντες, δέκα δὲ ἦσαν, περιοδεύσαντες καὶ τιμησάμενοι τὴν γῆν ἐν ἑβδόμῳ μηνὶ παρῆσαν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Σιλοῦντα πόλιν, ἔνθα τὴν σκηνὴν ἐστάκεσαν.

(22) [80] Καὶ Ἰησοῦς Ἐλεάζαρόν τε καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν σὺν τοῖς φυλάρχοις παραλαβὼν νέμει ταῖς ἐννέα φυλαῖς καὶ τῶν Μανασσητῶν τοῖς ἡμίσεσι, κατὰ

μέγεθος ἑκάστης τῶν φυλῶν τὴν μέτρησιν ποιησάμενος. [81] κληρώσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, ἡ μὲν Ἰούδα λαχοῦσα πᾶσαν αἱρεῖται τὴν καθύπερθεν Ἰδουμαίαν παρατείνουσαν μὲν ἄχρι τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τὸ δ' εὖρος ἕως τῆς Σοδομίτιδος λίμνης καθήκουσαν: ἐν δὲ τῷ κλήρῳ τούτῳ πόλεις ἦσαν Ἀσκάλων καὶ Γάζα. [82] Σεμεωνὶς δέ, δευτέρα γὰρ ἦν, ἔλαχε τῆς Ἰδουμαίας τὴν Αἰγύπτῳ τε καὶ τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ πρόσορον οὖσαν. Βενιαμῖται δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ ἔλαχον ἄχρι θαλάσσης μὲν τὸ μῆκος, τὸ δὲ πλάτος Ἱεροσολύμοις ὁριζομένην καὶ Βηθήλοις: στενώτατος δὲ ὁ κλῆρος οὗτος ἦν διὰ τὴν τῆς γῆς ἀρετήν: Ἰεριχοῦντα γὰρ καὶ τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ἔλαβον. [83] ἡ δ' Ἐφρὰν φυλὴ τὴν ἄχρι Γαζάρων ἀπὸ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ μηκυνομένην ἔλαχεν, εὐρεῖαν δὲ ὅσον ἀπὸ Βεθήλων εἰς τὸ μέγα τελευτᾷ πεδίον, τῆς τε Μανασσήτιδος οἱ ἡμίσεις ἀπὸ μὲν Ἰορδάνου μέχρι Δώρων πόλεως, πλάτος δὲ ἐπὶ Βηθησάνων, ἣ νῦν Σκυθόπολις καλεῖται, [84] καὶ μετὰ τούτους Ἰσαχαρὶς Κάρμηλόν τε τὸ ὄρος καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦ μήκους ποιησαμένη τέρμονα, τὸ δὲ Ἰταβύριον ὅρος τοῦ πλάτους. Ζαβουλωνῖται δὲ τὴν μέχρι Γενησαρίδος καθήκουσαν δὲ περὶ Κάρμηλον καὶ θάλασσαν ἔλαχον. [85] τὴν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Καρμήλου κοιλάδα προσαγορευομένην διὰ τὸ καὶ τοιαύτην εἶναι Ἀσηρῖται φέρονται πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπὶ Σιδῶνος τετραμμένην: Ἄρκη δὲ πόλις ὑπῆρχεν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ μερίδι ἡ καὶ Ἐκδείπους. [86] τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολὰς τετραμμένα μέχρι Δαμασκοῦ πόλεως καὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας τὰ καθύπερθεν Νεφθαλῖται παρέλαβον ἕως τοῦ Λιβάνου ὄρους καὶ τῶν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου πηγῶν, αἳ τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους ἔχουσιν, ἐκ τοῦ καθήκοντος τοῖς ὅροις κατὰ τὰ βόρεια πόλεως Ἄρκης παροικούσης. [87] Δανῖται δὲ τῆς κοίλης ὅσα πρὸς δυόμενον τέτραπται τὸν ἥλιον λαγχάνουσιν Ἀζώτῳ καὶ Δώροις ὁριζόμενοι Ἰάμνειάν τε πᾶσαν καὶ Γίτταν ἀπ' Ἀκκαρῶνος ἕως τοῦ ὄρους, ἐξ οὗ ἡ Ἰούδα ἦρκτο φυλή.

(23) [88] Καὶ ἓξ μὲν ἔθνη τῶν υἱέων τοῦ Χαναναίου φέροντα τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν διεῖλεν οὕτως Ἰησοῦς καὶ τὴν γῆν ταῖς ἐννέα καὶ τῇ ἡμισείᾳ φυλαῖς ἔδωκε νέμεσθαι: [89] τὴν γὰρ Ἀμορρῖτιν καὶ αὐτὴν οὕτως ἀφ' ἑνὸς τῶν Χαναναίου παίδων καλουμένην Μωυσῆς ἤδη προειληφὼς νενεμήκει ταῖς δυσὶ φυλαῖς καὶ τῷ ἡμίσει: τοῦτο δὲ καὶ πρότερον δεδηλώκαμεν. τὰ δὲ περὶ Σιδῶνα καὶ Ἀρουκαίους καὶ Ἀμαθαίους καὶ Ἀριδαίους ἀδιακόσμητα ἦν.

(24) [90] Ἰησοῦς δὲ τοῦ γήρως ἐμποδίζοντος ἤδη πράττειν ὅσα καὶ νοήσειε τῶν τε μετ' αὐτὸν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παραλαβόντων ἀμελῶς προστάντων τοῦ κοινῇ συμφέροντος, παρήγγειλέ τε φυλῇ ἑκάστῃ τοῦ γένους τῶν Χαναναίων μηδὲν ὑπολιπεῖν ἐν τῇ κατακεκληρωμένῃ γῇ: τὴν γὰρ ἀσφάλειαν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν πατρίων ἐθῶν ἐν μόνῳ τούτῳ καὶ Μωυσῆν αὐτοῖς εἶναι προειπεῖν καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτοὺς πεπεῖσθαι. [91] καὶ τοῖς Λευίταις δὲ τὰς ὀκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα πόλεις ἀποδιδόναι: προειλήφεισαν γὰρ ἤδη κατὰ τὴν Ἀμορραίαν τὰς δέκα. τούτων τρεῖς ἀπονέμει τοῖς φυγάσιν οἰκεῖν ἐν αὐταῖς, πολλὴ γὰρ ἦν πρόνοια τοῦ μηδὲν ὧν Μωυσῆς διέταξε παραλιπεῖν, τῆς μὲν οὖν Ἰούδα φυλῆς Ἰέβρωνα,

Σίκιμα δὲ τῆς Ἐφραίμ, τῆς Νεφθαλίτιδος δὲ Κεδέσην: ἔστι τῆς καθύπερθεν Γαλιλαίας τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον. [92] νέμει δὲ καὶ τῆς λείας ὅσα ἦν ἔτι λοιπά, πλείστη δ' ἐγεγόνει, καὶ μεγάλους πλούτους περιεβέβληντο καὶ κοινῇ πάντες καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ἕκαστος χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ ἐσθήτων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐπισκευῆς ἕνεκα, τετραπόδων τε πλήθους ὅσον οὐδὲ ἀριθμῷ μαθεῖν ἦν προσγενομένου.

(25) [93] Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν στρατὸν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰόρδανον κατὰ τὴν Ἀμορραίαν ἱδρυμένοις, συνεστράτευον δ' αὐτοῖς πεντακισμύριοι ὁπλῖται, ἔλεξε τάδε: "ἐπεὶ ὁ θεός, πατὴρ καὶ δεσπότης τοῦ Ἑβραίων γένους, γῆν τε κτήσασθαι ταύτην ἔδωκε καὶ κτηθεῖσαν εἰς ἅπαν ἡμετέραν φυλάξειν ὑπείσχηται, [94] συνεργίας δὲ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν κατ' ἐντολὴν τὴν ἐκείνου δεομένοις ἑαυτοὺς εἰς ἅπαν προθύμους ἐδώκατε, δίκαιον ὑμᾶς μηδενὸς ἔτι δυσκόλου περιμένοντος ἀναπαύσεως ἤδη τυχεῖν φειδοῖ τῆς προθυμίας ὑμῶν, ἵν' εἰ καὶ πάλιν δεήσειεν ἡμῖν αὐτῆς ἄοκνον ἔχωμεν εἰς τὰ κατεπείξοντα καὶ μὴ τοῖς νῦν καμοῦσαν αὖθις βραδυτέραν. [95] χάριν τε οὖν ὑμῖν ὧν συνήρασθε κινδύνων καὶ οὐχὶ νῦν μόνον ἀλλ' ἀεὶ πάντως ἔξομεν, ὄντες ἀγαθοὶ μεμνῆσθαι τῶν φίλων καὶ παρὰ τῇ διανοίᾳ κρατεῖν ὅσα παρ' αὐτῶν ἡμῖν ὑπῆρξεν, ὅτι τε τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὑμῖν ἀγαθῶν δι' ἡμᾶς ἀνεβάλεσθε καὶ πονήσαντες εἰς ἃ νῦν εὐνοίᾳ θεοῦ κατέστημεν ἔπειθ' οὕτως ἐκρίνατε αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνειν. [96] γέγονε δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἀγαθοῖς ἐκ τῶν σὺν ἡμῖν πόνων πλοῦτος ἄφθονος λείαν τε πολλὴν ἐπαξομένοις καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ τὸ τούτων ἔτι πλεῖον, παρ' ἡμῖν εὔνοια καὶ πρὸς ὅ τι βουληθείητε κατ' ἀμοιβὴν πρόθυμον. οὔτε γὰρ ὧν Μωυσῆς προεῖπεν ἀπελείφθητε καταφρονήσαντες ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπελθόντος οὔτ' ἔστιν οὐδὲν ἐφ' ᾧ μὴ χάριν ὑμῖν οἴδαμεν. [97] χαίροντας οὖν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰς κληρουχίας ἀπολύομεν καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν μηδένα τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς συγγενείας ὅρον ὑπολαμβάνειν, μηδ' ὅτι μεταξὺ ποταμὸς οὗτός ἐστιν ἑτέρους ἡμᾶς νομίσητε καὶ οὐχὶ Ἑβραίους. Ἀβράμου γὰρ ἅπαντές ἐσμεν οἵ τ' ἐνθάδε κἀκεῖ κατοικοῦντες, θεός τε εἷς, ὃς τούς τε ἡμετέρους προγόνους καὶ τοὺς ὑμῶν αὐτῶν παρήγαγεν εἰς τὸν βίον: [98] οὗ τῆς θρησκείας ἐπιμελεῖσθε καὶ πολιτείας, ἣν αὐτὸς διὰ Μωυσέος διέταξε, φυλακὴν ἔχετε τὴν πᾶσαν, ὡς ἐμμενόντων μὲν τούτοις καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ παρέξοντος εὔνουν εἶναι καὶ σύμμαχον ἑαυτόν, ἐκτραπέντων δὲ εἰς ἑτέρων ἐθνῶν μίμησιν ἀπο [99] στραφησομένου τὸ γένος ὑμῶν." ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ καθ' ἕνα τοὺς ἐν τέλει καὶ κοινῇ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἀσπασάμενος αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπέμεινε, προύπεμπε δ' αὐτοὺς ὁ λαὸς οὐκ ἀδακρυτὶ καὶ μόλις ἀλλήλων ἀπελύθησαν.

(26) [100] Διαβᾶσα δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν ἥ τε Ῥουβηλὶς φυλὴ καὶ Γαδὶς καὶ ὅσοι τῶν Μανασσητῶν αὐτοῖς συνείποντο βωμὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὄχθης ἱδρύονται τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, μνημεῖον τοῖς ἔπειτα γενησόμενον [σύμβολον] τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πέραν κατῳκημένους οἰκειότητος. [101] ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ πέραν βωμὸν ἱδρῦσθαι τοὺς ἀπολυθέντας οὐ μεθ' ἧς ἐκεῖνοι γνώμης ἀνέστησαν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ

καὶ ξενικῶν εἰσαγωγῇ θεῶν, οὐκ ἤθελον ἀπιστεῖν, ἀλλὰ περὶ θείαν θρησκείαν τὴν διαβολὴν πιθανὴν νομίζοντες ἐν ὅπλοις ἦσαν, ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀμύνῃ τῶν τὸν βωμὸν ἱδρυσαμένων περαιωσόμενοι τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ κολάσοντες αὐτοὺς τῆς παρατροπῆς τῶν πατρίων ἐθῶν. [102] οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει τὴν συγγένειαν αὐτοὺς λογίζεσθαι καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῶν τὴν αἰτίαν εἰληφότων, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλητὸν καὶ ᾧ τρόπῳ τιμώμενος χαίρει. [103] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐστράτευσαν ὑπ᾽ ὀργῆς, ἐπέσχε δ᾽ αὐτοὺς Ἰησοῦς καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἐλεάζαρος καὶ ἡ γερουσία λόγοις συμβουλεύοντες ἀπόπειραν αὐτῶν τῆς γνώμης λαβεῖν πρῶτον, ἔπειτ᾽ ἂν κακοήθη μάθωσι τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν τότε τοῖς. ὅπλοις χωρεῖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς. [104] πέμπουσιν οὖν πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς αὐτοὺς Φινεέσην τὸν υἱὸν Ἐλεαζάρου καὶ δέκα σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν ἐν τιμῇ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις μαθησομένους, τί καὶ φρονήσαντες τὸν βωμὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ὄχθης τοῦ ποταμοῦ διαβάντες ἔστησαν. [105] ὡς δὲ περαιωσαμένων καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀφικομένων ἐκκλησία συνελέγη, στὰς Φινεέσης μείζω μὲν αὐτοὺς ἁμαρτεῖν ἔλεγεν, ἢ ὥστε λόγοις ἐπιτιμηθέντας νενουθετῆσθαι πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα πλὴν οὐ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς παρανομίας ἀπιδόντας εὐθὺς ἐφ᾽ ὅπλα καὶ τὴν ἐκ χειρῶν τιμωρίαν ὁρμῆσαι, πρὸς δὲ τὸ συγγενὲς καὶ τὸ τάχα καὶ λόγοις ἂν σωφρονῆσαι σκοπήσαντας οὕτω ποιήσασθαι τὴν πρεσβείαν, [106] ἵνα τὴν αἰτίαν μαθόντες ὑφ᾽ ἧς προήχθητε τὸν βωμὸν κατασκευάσαι μήτε προπετεῖς δοκῶμεν ὅπλοις μετιόντες ὑμᾶς κατὰ λογισμὸν ὅσιον ποιησαμένους τὸν βωμόν, κατι δικαίως ἀμυνώμεθα τῆς διαβολῆς ἐλεγχθείσης ἀληθοῦς. [107] οὐ γὰρ ἠξιοῦμεν ὑμᾶς πείρᾳ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμης ἐντὸς γεγενημένους καὶ νόμων ὧν αὐτὸς ἡμῖν δέδωκεν ἀκροατὰς ὑπάρχοντας, διαζευχθέντας ἡμῶν καὶ παρόντας εἰς τὸν ἴδιον κλῆρον, ὃν κατὰ χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου περὶ ἡμᾶς προνοίας ἐλάχετε, λήθην λαβεῖν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν καταλιπόντας καὶ βωμὸν ὃς ἡμῖν πάτριος ξενικοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιφέρειν τοῖς Χαναναίων κακοῖς προσκεχωρηκότας. [108] ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲν ἀδικεῖν δόξετε μετανοήσαντες καὶ μὴ περαιτέρω μανέντες νόμων δὲ πατρίων αἰδῶ καὶ μνήμην λαβόντες. ἂν δ᾽ ἐπιμένητε τοῖς ἡμαρτημένοις, οὐ περιστησόμεθα τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων πόνον, ἀλλὰ περαιωσάμενοι τὸν Ἰόρδανον τούτοις βοηθήσομεν καὶ πρὸ αὐτῶν τῷ θεῷ, μηδὲν ὑμᾶς Χαναναίων διαφέρειν ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἀλλ᾽ ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις διαφθείροντες. [109] μὴ γὰρ νομίσητε τῷ διαβεβηκέναι τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως ἔξω γεγονέναι πανταχοῦ δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς τούτου ἐστὲ καὶ ἀποδρᾶναι τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης δίκην ἀδύνατον. εἰ δ᾽ οἴεσθε τὴν ἐνθάδε παρουσίαν ὑμῖν ἐμπόδιον εἶναι τοῦ σωφρονεῖν, οὐδὲν κωλύει πάλιν τὴν γῆν ὑμᾶς ἀναδάσασθαι καὶ ταύτην ἀνεῖναι μηλόβοτον. [110] ἀλλ᾽ εὖ ποιήσετε σωφρονήσαντες καὶ ἐπὶ νεαροῖς μετατιθέμενοι τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασι. καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν ὑμᾶς πρὸς παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν μὴ παρασχεῖν ἡμῖν ἀνάγκην ἀμύνασθαι. ὡς οὖν τῆς ὑμετέρας αὐτῶν σωτηρίας καὶ

τῶν φιλτάτων ὑμῖν ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ κειμένης οὕτω βουλεύεσθε, λόγοις ἡττηθῆναι συμφέρειν ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἢ πεῖραν ἔργων καὶ πολέμου περιμένειν".

(27) [111] Τοσαῦτα τοῦ Φινεέσου διαλεχθέντος οἱ προεστῶτες τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτὸ πᾶν ἤρξαντο περὶ τῶν ἐγκεκλημένων αὐτοῖς ἀπολογεῖσθαι, καὶ μήτε συγγενείας τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀποστήσεσθαι μήτε κατὰ νεωτερισμὸν ἀναστῆσαι τὸν βωμὸν λέγειν, [112] ἀλλὰ θεόν τε ἕνα γινώσκειν τὸν Ἑβραίοις ἅπασι κοινὸν καὶ τὸν πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς βωμὸν χάλκεον, ᾧ τὰς θυσίας ποιήσειν: τὸν μέντοι γε νῦν ἀνασταθέντα, δι' ὃν καὶ ὕποπτοι γεγόνασιν, οὐ κατὰ θρησκείαν ἱδρῦσθαι, σύμβολον δὲ ὅπως εἴη καὶ τεκμήριον εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς οἰκειότητος καὶ ἀνάγκη τοῦ σωφρονεῖν καὶ τοῖς πατρίοις ἐμμένειν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ παραβάσεως ἀρχήν, ὡς ὑπονοεῖτε. [113] μάρτυς δ' ἡμῖν τοῦ ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ τὸν βωμὸν αἰτίᾳ κατασκευάσαι γένοιτο ὁ θεὸς ἀξιόχρεως, ὅθεν ἀμείνονα περὶ ἡμῶν ἔχοντες ὑπόληψιν μηδὲν καταγινώσκετε τούτων, ἐφ' οἷς ἐξώλεις εἶναι δίκαιοι πάντες ὅσοι τοῦ Ἀβράμου γένους ὄντες νεωτέροις ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἔθεσι καὶ τοῦ συνήθους τρόπου παρηλλαγμένοις".

(28) [114] Ταῦτα εἰπόντας ἐπαινέσας ὁ Φινεέσης παρῆν πρὸς Ἰησοῦν καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν ἀνήγγειλε τῷ λαῷ. ὁ δὲ χαίρων, ὅτι μηδεμία στρατολογεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀνάγκη μέλλει μηδ' εἰς ὅπλα καὶ πόλεμον ἐξαγαγεῖν κατὰ ἀνδρῶν συγγενῶν, χαριστηρίους ὑπὲρ τούτων τῷ θεῷ θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖ. καὶ διαλύσας μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τὰς ἰδίας κληρουχίας Ἰησοῦς αὐτὸς ἐν Σικίμοις διῆγεν. [115] ἔτει δ' ὕστερον εἰκοστῷ ὑπέργηρως ὢν μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς ἐπ' ἀξιώματος μάλιστα τῶν πόλεων καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ὅσον ἦν ἐφικτὸν αὐτῷ συναγαγών, ἐπεὶ παρῆσαν, τάς τε εὐεργεσίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἁπάσας ἀνεμίμνησκεν αὐτούς, πολλαὶ δὲ ἦσαν τοῖς ἐκ ταπεινοῦ σχήματος εἰς τοῦτο δόξης καὶ περιουσίας προελθοῦσι, [116] φυλάττειν τε τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ προαίρεσιν οὕτως ἔχουσαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς παρεκάλει καὶ τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ, ᾗ γε μόνῃ φίλον αὐτοῖς διαμένειν τὸ θεῖον: αὐτῷ γὰρ καλῶς ἔχειν ἀπιέναι μέλλοντι τοῦ ζῆν παραίνεσιν αὐτοῖς τοιαύτην καταλιπεῖν κἀκείνους ἠξίου διὰ μνήμης ποιήσασθαι τὴν παρακέλευσιν.

(29) [117] Καὶ ὁ μὲν τοσαῦτα πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας διαλεχθεὶς τελευτᾷ βιοὺς ἑκατὸν ἔτη καὶ δέκα, ὧν Μωυσεῖ μὲν ἐπὶ διδασκαλίᾳ τῶν χρησίμων συνδιέτριψεν τεσσαράκοντα, στρατηγὸς δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν γίνεται πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν, [118] ἀνὴρ [δὲ] μήτε συνέσεως ὢν ἐνδεὴς μήτε τοῦ τὰ νοηθέντα πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς σαφῶς ἐξενεγκεῖν ἄπειρος, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἄκρος πρός τε τὰ ἔργα καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους εὔψυχος καὶ μεγαλότολμος πρυτανεῦσαί τε τὰ κατὰ τὴν εἰρήνην δεξιώτατος καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντα καιρὸν τὴν ἀρετὴν ἡρμοσμένος. [119] θάπτεται δὲ ἐν πόλει Θαμνᾶ τῆς Ἐφραίμου φυλῆς. θνήσκει δὲ ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν καὶ Ἐλεάζαρος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Φινεέσῃ τῷ παιδὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην καταλιπών, καὶ μνημεῖον αὐτῷ καὶ τάφος ἐν Γαβαθᾶ πόλει τυγχάνει.

II

(1) [120] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων τελευτὴν Φινεέσης προφητεύει κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βούλησιν ἐπ᾽ ἐξωλείᾳ τοῦ Χαναναίων γένους τῇ Ἰούδα φυλῇ παρασχεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν: καὶ γὰρ τῷ λαῷ διὰ σπουδῆς ἦν μαθεῖν τί καὶ τῷ θεῷ δοκεῖ. καὶ προσλαβοῦσα τὴν Σεμεωνίδα, ἐφ᾽ ᾧτε ἐξαιρεθέντων τῶν ἐκείνης ὑποτελῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ κληρουχίᾳ τοῦτο ποιῶσιν

(2) [121] Χαναναῖοι δ᾽ ἀκμαζόντων αὐτοῖς κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν τῶν πραγμάτων στρατῷ μεγάλῳ κατὰ Ζεβέκην αὐτοὺς ὑπέμενον τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ζεβεκηνῶν Ἀδωνιζεβέκῳ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπιτρέψαντες: τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τοῦτο σημαίνει Ζεβεκηνῶν κύριος: ἀδωνὶ γὰρ τῇ Ἑβραίων διαλέκτῳ κύριος γίνεται: ἤλπιζόν τε κρατήσειν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν διὰ τὸ τεθνάναι Ἰησοῦν. [122] συμμίξαντες δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἰσραηλῖται ταῖς δυσὶ φυλαῖς αἷς προεῖπον ἐμαχέσαντο λαμπρῶς καὶ κτείνουσι μὲν αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ μυρίους, τρεψάμενοι δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ διώκοντες αἱροῦσι τὸν Ἀδωνιζέβεκον, [123] ὃς ἀκρωτηριασθεὶς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν φησιν, “ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἄρα λήσεσθαι θεὸν ἔμελλον τάδε πεπονθώς, ἃ κατὰ δυοῖν [124] καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα βασιλέων πρᾶξαι πρότερον οὐκ ἐνετράπην.” καὶ ζῶντα μὲν κομίζουσιν ἕως Ἱεροσολύμων, τελευτήσαντα δὲ γῇ θάπτουσι. καὶ διεξῆσαν αἱροῦντες τὰς πόλεις, πλείστας τε λαβόντες ἐπολιόρκουν Ἱεροσόλυμα: καὶ τὴν μὲν κάτω λαβόντες σὺν χρόνῳ πάντας ἔκτεινον τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, χαλεπὴ δ᾽ ἦν ἡ καθύπερθεν αὐτοῖς αἱρεθῆναι τειχῶν ὀχυρότητι καὶ φύσει τοῦ χωρίου.

(3) [125] Ὅθεν μετεστρατοπέδευσαν εἰς Νεβρῶνα καὶ ταύτην ἑλόντες κτείνουσι πάντας: ὑπελείπετο δὲ τῶν γιγάντων ἔτι γένος, οἳ διὰ σωμάτων μεγέθη καὶ μορφὰς οὐδὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις παραπλησίας παράδοξον ἦσαν θέαμα καὶ δεινὸν ἄκουσμα. δείκνυται δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι τούτων ὀστᾶ μηδὲν τοῖς ὑπὸ πύστιν ἐρχομένοις ἐοικότα. [126] καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τοῖς Λευίταις ἐξαίρετον γέρας ἔδοσαν μετὰ καὶ τῶν δισχιλίων πηχῶν, τὴν δὲ γῆν Χαλέβῳ δωρεὰν ἔδοσαν κατὰ Μωυσέος ἐντολάς: οὗτος δ᾽ ἦν τῶν κατασκόπων εἷς ὧν ἔπεμψε Μωυσῆς εἰς τὴν Χαναναίαν. [127] διδόασι δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἰέθρου τοῦ Μαδιανίτου ἀπογόνοις, Μωυσέος γὰρ ἦν γαμβρός, γῆν ἵνα νέμοιντο: τὴν γὰρ πατρίδα καταλιπόντες ἠκολούθησαν ἐκείνοις καὶ συνῆσαν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρήμου.

(4) [128] Ἡ δὲ Ἰούδα φυλὴ καὶ Σεμεωνὶς τὰς μὲν κατὰ τὴν ὀρεινὴν τῆς Χαναναίας πόλεις εἶλον, τῶν δ᾽ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καὶ πρὸς θαλάσσῃ Ἀσκάλωνά τε καὶ Ἄζωτον. διαφεύγει δ᾽ αὐτοὺς Γάζα καὶ Ἀκκάρων: πεδίων γὰρ ὄντων καὶ πολλῆς ἁρμάτων εὐπορίας κακῶς ἐποίουν τοὺς ἐπελθόντας. καὶ αἵδε μὲν αἱ φυλαὶ μεγάλως ἐκ τοῦ πολεμεῖν εὐδαιμονήσασαι ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν πόλεις καὶ κατατίθενται τὰ ὅπλα.

(5) [129] Βενιαμῖται δέ, τούτων γὰρ ἦν Ἱεροσόλυμα, τοῖς οἰκήτορσιν αὐτῶν συνεχώρησαν φόρους τελεῖν. καὶ οὕτως παυσάμενοι πάντες οἱ μὲν τοῦ κτείνειν

οἱ δὲ κινδυνεύειν, ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν γῆν εὐσχόλουν. τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ φυλαὶ τὴν Βενιαμῖτιν μιμησάμεναι ἐποίουν καὶ τοῖς τελουμένοις ἀρκούμενοι φόροις ἐπέτρεπον τοῖς Χαναναίοις ἀπολέμοις εἶναι.

(6) [130] Ἡ δ᾽ Ἐφρὰν πολιορκοῦσα Βήθηλα τέλος οὐδὲν ἄξιον τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῶν πόνων ηὕρισκε τῆς πολιορκίας, οἱ δὲ καίπερ ἀχθόμενοι τῇ καθέδρᾳ προσεκαρτέρουν. [131] ἔπειτα συλλαβόντες τινὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει προελθόντα ἐπὶ κομιδῇ τῶν ἀναγκαίων τινὰς πίστεις ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ παραδιδόντι τὴν πόλιν σώσειν αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ. κἀκεῖνος ἐπὶ τούτοις ὤμνυε τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἐγχειριεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως προδοὺς σώζεται μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων, οἱ δὲ ἀποκτείναντες ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας εἶχον τὴν πόλιν.

(7) [132] Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους μαλακῶς εἶχον οἱ Ἰσραηλῖται, τῆς δὲ γῆς καὶ τῶν ταύτης ἔργων ἐπεμελοῦντο. τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦτον αὐτοῖς ἐπιδιδόντων ὑπὸ τρυφῆς καὶ ἡδονῆς τοῦ κόσμου ὠλιγώρουν καὶ τῆς πολιτείας τῶν νόμων οὐκέτ᾽ ἦσαν ἀκριβεῖς ἀκροαταί. [133] παροξυνθὲν δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸ θεῖον ἀναιρεῖ, πρῶτον μὲν ὡς φείσαιντο παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην τῶν Χαναναίων, ἔπειθ᾽ ὡς ἐκεῖνοι χρήσοιντο πολλῇ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ὠμότητι καιροῦ λαβόμενοι. [134] οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ δυσθύμως εἶχον καὶ πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν ἀηδῶς πολλά τε παρὰ τῶν Χαναναίων λαβόντες καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πόνους ἤδη διὰ τὴν τρυφὴν ἐκλελυμένοι. [135] καὶ συνέβαινεν ἤδη τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν διεφθάρθαι, καὶ τὰς γερουσίας οὐκ ἀπεδείκνυσαν οὐδ᾽ ἀρχὴν ἄλλην οὐδεμίαν τῶν πρότερον νενομισμένων, ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ἡδονῇ τοῦ κερδαίνειν προσδεδεμένοι. καὶ διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἄδειαν στάσις αὐτοὺς πάλιν καταλαμβάνει δεινὴ καὶ προήχθησαν εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν ἀλλήλοις ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας.

(8) [136] Λευίτης ἀνὴρ τῶν δημοτικωτέρων τῆς Ἐφράνου κληρουχίας ὢν καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ κατοικῶν ἄγεται γύναιον ἀπὸ Βηθλέμων, τῆς δὲ Ἰούδα φυλῆς τοῦτ᾽ ἔστι τὸ χωρίον. ἐρῶν δὲ σφόδρα τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τοῦ κάλλους αὐτῆς ἡττημένος ἠτύχει τῶν παρ᾽ ἐκείνης οὐχ ὁμοίων πειρώμενος. [137] ἀλλοτρίως δ᾽ αὐτῆς ἐχούσης καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἐκκαιομένου τῷ πάθει μέμψεις συνεχεῖς αὐτοῖς ἐγίνοντο καὶ τέλος ἡ γυνὴ πρὸς αὐτὰς βαρυνομένη καταλιποῦσα τὸν ἄνδρα πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς παραγίνεται μηνὶ τετάρτῳ. χαλεπῶς δὲ φέρων ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ τῷ ἔρωτι ἦκε πρὸς τοὺς πενθεροὺς καὶ διαλυσάμενος τὰς μέμψεις καταλλάττεται πρὸς αὐτήν. [138] καὶ τέτταρας μὲν ἡμέρας προσαυτόθι διαιτᾶται φιλοφρονουμένων αὐτὸν τῶν γονέων, τῇ δὲ πέμπτῃ δόξαν ἀπιέναι πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ δείλην ἔξεισι: βράδιον γὰρ ἀπέλυον οἱ γονεῖς τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας τριβὴν ἐποιοῦντο. θεράπων δ᾽ αὐτοῖς εἷς εἵπετο καὶ ὄνος ἦν αὐτοῖς, ἐφ᾽ ἧς ὠχεῖτο τὸ γύναιον. [139] γενομένων δ᾽ αὐτῶν κατὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, σταδίους δ᾽ ἐληλύθεσαν ἤδη τριάκοντα, συνεβούλευεν ὁ θεράπων καταχθῆναί που, μὴ καί τι τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτοὺς ὁδεύοντας καταλάβῃ δύσκολον καὶ ταῦτα οὐδὲ πόρρω πολεμίων ὄντας, τοῦ καιροῦ πολλάκις ἐπισφαλῆ καὶ ὕποπτα ποιοῦντος καὶ τὰ φίλα. [140] τῷ δ᾽ οὐκ

ἤρεσεν ἡ γνώμη παρ᾽ ἀλλοφύλοις ἀνδράσι ξενοῦσθαι, Χαναναίων γὰρ ἦν ἡ πόλις, ἀλλὰ προελθόντας εἴκοσι στάδια εἰς οἰκείαν ἠξίου κατάγεσθαι πόλιν, καὶ κρατήσας τῇ γνώμῃ παρῆν εἰς Γαβὰν φυλῆς τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος ἤδη ὀψίας οὔσης. [141] καὶ μηδενὸς ἐπὶ ξενίαν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐτὸν παρακαλοῦντος πρεσβύτης ἐξ ἀγροῦ κατιὼν τῆς μὲν Ἐφράμιος φυλῆς ὢν ἐν δὲ τῇ Γάβῃ διαιτώμενος συντυγχάνων αὐτῷ, τίς τε ὢν ἥρετο καὶ δι᾽ ἃς αἰτίας στελλόμενος σκότους ἤδη τὰ πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτῷ λαμβάνοι. [142] ὁ δὲ Λευίτης μὲν ἔφησεν εἶναι, γύναιον δὲ παρὰ τῶν γονέων ἄγων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπιέναι, τὴν δ᾽ οἴκησιν ἐδήλου τυγχάνειν ἐν τῇ Ἐφράμου κληρουχίᾳ. ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτης καὶ διὰ συγγένειαν καὶ διὰ τὸ τὴν αὐτὴν φυλὴν νέμειν καὶ διὰ τὴν συντυχίαν παρ᾽ αὐτὸν ξενισθησόμενον ἦγε. [143] νεανίαι δέ τινες τῶν Γαβαηνῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὸ γύναιον θεασάμενοι καὶ τὴν εὐπρέπειαν θαυμάσαντες, ἐπεὶ παρὰ τῷ πρεσβύτῃ κατηγμένην ἔμαθον καταφρονήσαντες τῆς ἀσθενείας καὶ τῆς ὀλιγότητος ἦκον ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας. τοῦ δὲ πρεσβύτου παρακαλοῦντος ἀπαλλάττεσθαι καὶ μὴ προσφέρειν βίαν μηδὲ ὕβριν ἠξίουν αὐτὸν παρασχόντα τὴν ξένην πραγμάτων ἀπηλλάχθαι. [144] συγγενῆ δὲ λέγοντος καὶ Λευῖτιν τοῦ πρεσβύτου καὶ δράσειν αὐτοὺς δεινὰ ὑφ᾽ ἡδονῆς εἰς τοὺς νόμους ἐξαμαρτάνοντας ὠλιγώρουν τοῦ δικαίου καὶ κατεγέλων, ἠπείλουν δὲ ἀποκτείνειν αὐτὸν ἐμποδίζοντα ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτῶν. [145] εἰς δ᾽ ἀνάγκην περιηγμένος καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος τοὺς ξένους περιιδεῖν ὑβρισθέντας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ θυγατρὸς αὐτοῖς παρεχώρει, πληρώσειν τε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτοὺς λέγων νομιμώτερον δίχα τῆς εἰς τοὺς ξένους ὕβρεως αὐτός τε μηδὲν ἀδικήσειν οὓς ὑπεδέξατο τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ νομίζων. [146] ὡς δ᾽ οὐδὲν τῆς σπουδῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ξένην ἐνεδίδοσαν, ἀλλὰ ἐνέκειντο ταύτην παραλαβεῖν ἀξιοῦντες, ὁ μὲν ἱκέτευε μηδὲν τολμᾶν παράνομον, οἱ δ᾽ ἁρπασάμενοι καὶ προσθέμενοι μᾶλλον τῷ βιαίῳ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀπήγαγον πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ δι᾽ ὅλης νυκτὸς ἐμπλησθέντες τῆς ὕβρεως ἀπέλυσαν περὶ ἀρχομένην ἡμέραν. [147] ἡ δὲ τεταλαιπωρημένη τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι παρῆν ἐπὶ τὴν ξενίαν καὶ ὑπὸ λύπης ὧν ἐπεπόνθει καὶ τοῦ μὴ τολμᾶν ὑπ᾽ αἰσχύνης εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν τἀνδρί, τοῦτον γὰρ μάλιστα τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἔχειν ἀνιάτως ἐλογίζετο, καταπεσοῦσα τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφίησιν. [148] ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς οἰόμενος ὕπνῳ βαθεῖ κατεισχῆσθαι τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ μηδὲν σκυθρωπὸν ὑφορώμενος ἀνεγείρειν ἐπειρᾶτο παραμυθήσασθαι διεγνωκώς, ὡς οὐκ ἐξ ἑκουσίου γνώμης αὐτὴν παράσχοι τοῖς καθυβρίσασιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἁρπασαμένων ἐπὶ τὴν ξενίαν ἐλθόντων αὐτῶν. [149] ὡς δὲ τελευτήσασαν ἔμαθε, σωφρόνως πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν κακῶν ἐπιθέμενος τῷ κτήνει νεκρὰν τὴν γυναῖκα κομίζει πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ διελὼν αὐτὴν κατὰ μέλος εἰς μέρη δώδεκα διέπεμψεν εἰς ἑκάστην φυλὴν ἐντειλάμενος τοῖς κομίζουσι λέγειν τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς τελευτῆς τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τὴν παροινίαν τῆς φυλῆς.

(9) [150] Οἱ δ᾽ ὑπό τε τῆς ὄψεως καὶ τῆς ἀκοῆς τῶν βεβιασμένων κακῶς διατεθέντες πρότερον οὐδενὸς τοιούτου πεῖραν εἰληφότες, ὑπ᾽ ὀργῆς ἀκράτου καὶ δικαίας εἰς τὴν Σιλοῦν συλλεγέντες καὶ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς ἀθροισθέντες εἰς ὅπλα χωρεῖν εὐθὺς ὥρμηντο καὶ χρήσασθαι τοῖς Γαβαηνοῖς ὡς πολεμίοις. [151] ἐπέσχε δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἡ γερουσία πείσασα μὴ δεῖν ὀξέως οὕτως πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους ἐκφέρειν πόλεμον πρὶν ἢ λόγοις διαλεχθῆναι περὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, τοῦ νόμου μηδ᾽ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους ἐφιέντος δίχα πρεσβείας καὶ τοιαύτης πρὸς τὸ μετανοῆσαι πείρας τοὺς δόξαντας ἀδικεῖν στρατιὰν ἀγαγεῖν: [152] καλῶς οὖν ἔχει τῷ νόμῳ πειθομένους πρὸς τοὺς Γαβαηνοὺς ἐξαιτοῦντας τοὺς αἰτίους ἐκπέμψαι καὶ παρεχομένων μὲν ἀρκεῖσθαι τῇ τούτων κολάσει, καταφρονησάντων δὲ τότε τοῖς ὅπλοις αὐτοὺς ἀμύνασθαι. [153] πέμπουσιν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς Γαβαηνοὺς κατηγοροῦντες τῶν νεανίσκων τὰ περὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ πρὸς τιμωρίαν αἰτοῦντες τοὺς δράσαντας μὲν οὐ νόμιμα, γενομένους δὲ δικαίους ἀντ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἀποθανεῖν. [154] οἱ δὲ Γαβαηνοὶ οὔτε τοὺς νεανίσκους ἐξέδοσαν καὶ δεινὸν ἀλλοτρίοις ὑπακούειν προστάγμασιν ἡγοῦντο πολέμου φόβῳ μηδενὸς ἀξιοῦντες εἶναι χείρους ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις μήτε διὰ πλῆθος μήτε δι᾽ εὐψυχίαν. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν παρασκευῇ μεγάλῃ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φυλετῶν, συναπενοήθησαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὡς ἀμυνούμενοι βιαζομένους.

(10) [155] Ὡς δὲ τοιαῦτα τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις τὰ παρὰ τῶν Γαβαηνῶν ἀπηγγέλθη, ὅρκους ποιοῦνται μηδένα σφῶν ἀνδρὶ Βενιαμίτῃ δώσειν πρὸς γάμον θυγατέρα στρατεύσειν τε ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς, μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς δι᾽ ὀργῆς ὄντες ἢ τοῖς Χαναναίοις τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν παρειλήφαμεν γενομένους. [156] παραχρῆμά τε ἐξῆγον ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς τὸ στρατόπεδον μυριάδας τεσσαράκοντα ὁπλιτῶν: καὶ Βενιαμιτῶν τὸ ὁπλιτικὸν ἦν ὑπὸ δισμυρίων καὶ πεντακισχιλίων καὶ ἑξακοσίων, ὧν ἦσαν εἰς πεντακοσίους ταῖς λαιαῖς τῶν χειρῶν σφενδονᾶν ἄριστοι, [157] ὥστε καὶ μάχης πρὸς τῇ Γαβᾷ γενομένης τρέπουσι τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας οἱ Βενιαμῖται ἄνδρες τε πίπτουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς δισμυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους, ἐφθάρησαν δὲ ἴσως ἂν καὶ πλείονες, εἰ μὴ νὺξ αὐτοὺς ἐπέσχε καὶ διέλυσε μαχομένους. [158] καὶ οἱ μὲν Βενιαμῖται χαίροντες ἀνεχώρουν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δ᾽ Ἰσραηλῖται καταπεπληγότες ὑπὸ τῆς ἥττης εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. τῇ δ᾽ ἐπιούσῃ πάλιν συμβαλόντων οἱ Βενιαμῖται κρατοῦσι καὶ θνήσκουσι τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ὀκτακισχίλιοι καὶ μύριοι, καὶ δείσαντες τὸν φόνον ἐξέλιπον τὸ στρατόπεδον. [159] παραγενόμενοι δὲ εἰς Βέθηλα πόλιν ἔγγιστα κειμένην καὶ νηστεύσαντες κατὰ τὴν ὑστεραίαν τὸν θεὸν ἱκέτευον διὰ Φινεέσου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως παύσασθαι τῆς ὀργῆς τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ ταῖς δυσὶν αὐτῶν ἥτταις ἀρκεσθέντα δοῦναι νίκην καὶ κράτος κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐπαγγέλλεται ταῦτα διὰ Φινεέσου προφητεύσαντος.

(11) [160] Ποιήσαντες οὖν τὴν στρατιὰν δύο μέρη τὴν μὲν ἡμίσειαν προλοχίζουσι νυκτὸς περὶ τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δ᾽ ἡμίσεις συνέβαλον τοῖς Βενιαμίταις ὑπεχώρουν τε ἐγκειμένων, καὶ ἐδίωκον οἱ Βενιαμῖται τῶν Ἑβραίων ὑποφευγόντων ἠρέμα καὶ

ἐπὶ πολὺ θελόντων εἰς ἅπαν αὐτοὺς ἐξελθεῖν ἀναχωροῦσιν εἵποντο, [161] ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει πρεσβύτας καὶ νέους ὑπολειφθέντας διεκδραμεῖν δι᾽ ἀσθένειαν αὐτοῖς πασσυδὶ βουλομένους χειρώσασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους. ὡς δὲ πολὺ τῆς πόλεως ἀπέσχον, ἐπαύσαντο μὲν φεύγοντες οἱ Ἑβραῖοι, ἐπιστραφέντες δ᾽ ἵστανται πρὸς μάχην καὶ τοῖς ἐν ταῖς ἐνέδραις οὖσι τὸ σημεῖον αἴρουσιν ὃ συνέκειτο. [162] οἱ δ᾽ ἐξαναστάντες μετὰ βοῆς ἐπῆεσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις. οἱ δὲ ἅμα τε ἠπατημένους αὐτοὺς ᾔσθοντο καὶ ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ συνεστήκεσαν, καὶ εἴς τι κοῖλον συνελαθέντας καὶ φαραγγῶδες χωρίον περιστάντες κατηκόντισαν, ὥστε πάντας διαφθαρῆναι πλὴν ἑξακοσίων. [163] οὗτοι δὲ συστραφέντες καὶ πυκνώσαντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ διὰ μέσων ὠσάμενοι τῶν πολεμίων ἔφυγον ἐπὶ τὰ πλησίον ὄρη, καὶ κατασχόντες ἱδρύθησαν. οἱ δ᾽ ἄλλοι πάντες περὶ δισμυρίους ὄντες καὶ πεντακισχιλίους ἀπέθανον. [164] οἱ δ᾽ Ἰσραηλῖται τήν τε Γάβαν ἐμπιπρᾶσι καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τῶν ἀρρένων τοὺς μὴ ἐν ἀκμῇ διεχρήσαντο, τάς τε ἄλλας τῶν Βενιαμιτῶν πόλεις ταὐτὰ δρῶσιν, οὕτως τε ἦσαν παρωξυμμένοι, ὡς καὶ Ἰάβησον τῆς Γαλαδίτιδος οὖσαν, ὅτι μὴ συμμαχήσειεν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τῶν Βενιαμιτῶν, πέμψαντες μυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους ἐκ τῶν τάξεων ἐκέλευσαν ἀνελεῖν. [165] καὶ φονεύουσι τὸ μάχιμον τῆς πόλεως οἱ πεμφθέντες σὺν τέκνοις καὶ γυναιξὶ πλὴν τετρακοσίων παρθένων. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὑπ᾽ ὀργῆς προήχθησαν τῷ κατὰ τὴν γυναῖκα πάθει προσλαβόντες καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ὁπλιτῶν.

(12) [166] Μετάνοια δ᾽ αὐτοὺς λαμβάνει τῆς τῶν Βενιαμιτῶν συμφορᾶς καὶ νηστείαν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς προέθεντο καίτοι δίκαια παθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀξιοῦντες εἰς τοὺς νόμους ἐξαμαρτάνοντας, καὶ τοὺς διαφυγόντας αὐτῶν ἑξακοσίους διὰ πρεσβευτῶν ἐκάλουν: καθίδρυντο γὰρ ὑπὲρ πέτρας τινὸς Ῥοᾶς καλουμένης κατὰ τὴν ἔρημον. [167] οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ὡς οὐκ ἐκείνοις τῆς συμφορᾶς μόνοις γεγενημένης ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῖς τῶν συγγενῶν ἀπολωλότων ὀδυρόμενοι πρᾴως ἔπειθον φέρειν καὶ συνελθεῖν εἰς ταὐτὸ καὶ μὴ παντελῆ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς ὄλεθρον τό γε ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς καταψηφίσασθαι. “συγχωροῦμεν δὲ ὑμῖν, ἔλεγον, τὴν ἀπάσης τῆς φυλῆς γῆν καὶ λείαν ὅσην ἂν ἄγειν δυνηθῆτε”. [168] οἱ δὲ τῶν καθ᾽ ἑαυτοὺς θεοῦ ψήφῳ γεγονότων καὶ κατ᾽ ἀδικίαν τὴν αὐτῶν γνωσιμαχήσαντες κατῆεσαν εἰς τὴν πάτριον φυλὴν πειθόμενοι τοῖς προκαλουμένοις. οἱ δ᾽ Ἰσραηλῖται γυναῖκας αὐτοῖς τὰς τετρακοσίας ἔδοσαν παρθένους τὰς Ἰαβίτιδας, περὶ δὲ τῶν διακοσίων ἐσκόπουν, ὅπως κἀκεῖνοι γυναικῶν εὐπορήσαντες παιδοποιῶνται. [169] γεγενημένων δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅρκων ὥστε μηδενὶ Βενιαμίτῃ συνοικίσαι θυγατέρα πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου, οἱ μὲν ὀλιγωρεῖν συνεβούλευον τῶν ὀμωμοσμένων ὡς ὑπ᾽ ὀργῆς ὀμόσαντες οὐ γνώμῃ καὶ κρίσει, τῷ δὲ θεῷ μηδὲν ἐναντίον ποιήσειν εἰ φυλὴν ὅλην κινδυνεύουσαν ἀπολέσθαι σῶσαι δυνηθεῖεν, τάς τε ἐπιορκίας οὐχ ὅταν ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης γένωνται χαλεπὰς εἶναι καὶ ἐπισφαλεῖς, ἀλλ᾽ ὅταν ἐν κακουργίᾳ τολμηθῶσι. [170] τῆς δὲ γερουσίας πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἐπιορκίας

ὄνομα σχετλιασάσης ἔφη τις τούτοις τε γυναικῶν εὐπορίαν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν καὶ τήρησιν τῶν ὅρκων. ἐρομένων δὲ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν, "ἡμῖν, εἶπεν, τρὶς τοῦ ἔτους εἰς Σιλὼ συνιοῦσιν ἔπονται κατὰ πανήγυριν αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες. [171] τούτων κατὰ ἁρπαγὴν ἐφείσθω γαμεῖν Βενιαμίτας ἃς ἂν δυνηθεῖεν ἡμῶν οὔτε προτρεπομένων οὔτε κωλυόντων. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν δυσχεραίνοντας καὶ τιμωρίαν λαμβάνειν ἀξιοῦντας φήσομεν αὐτοὺς αἰτίους φυλακῆς ἀμελήσαντας τῶν θυγατέρων, ὅτι δὲ δεῖ τῆς ὀργῆς ἐπὶ Βενιαμίτας ὑφεῖναι χρησαμένους αὐτῇ καὶ θᾶττον ἀμέτρως". [172] καὶ οἱ μὲν τούτοις πεισθέντες ψηφίζονται τὸν διὰ τῆς ἁρπαγῆς γάμον τοῖς Βενιαμίταις. ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς οἱ μὲν διακόσιοι κατὰ δύο καὶ τρεῖς πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐνήδρευον παρεσομένας τὰς παρθένους ἔν τε ἀμπελῶσι καὶ χωρίοις ἐν οἷς λήσειν ἔμελλον, [173] αἱ δὲ μετὰ παιδιᾶς οὐδὲν ὑφορώμεναι τῶν μελλόντων ἀφυλάκτως ᾤδευον: οἱ δὲ σκεδασθεισῶν εἴχοντο ἐξαναστάντες. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οὕτως γαμήσαντες ἐπ᾽ ἔργα τῆς γῆς ἐχώρησαν καὶ πρόνοιαν ἐποιήσαντο πάλιν εἰς τὴν προτέραν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐπανελθεῖν. [174] Βενιαμιτῶν μὲν οὖν ἡ φυλὴ κινδυνεύσασα τελέως ἐκφθαρῆναι τῷ προειρημένῳ τρόπῳ κατὰ τὴν Ἰσραηλιτῶν σοφίαν σώζεται ἤνθησέ τε παραχρῆμα καὶ ταχεῖαν εἴς τε πλῆθος καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἐπίδοσιν. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὁ πόλεμος οὕτως παύεται.

III

(1) [175] Ὅμοια δὲ τούτοις παθεῖν καὶ τὴν Δάνην συνέβη φυλὴν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης εἰς τοῦτο προαχθεῖσαν. [176] τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐκλελοιπότων ἤδη τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἄσκησιν καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἔργοις ὄντων τῆς γῆς Χαναναῖοι καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν συνεποιήσαντο δύναμιν, οὐδὲν μὲν αὐτοὶ πείσεσθαι προσδοκῶντες, ὡς δὲ βεβαίαν τὴν τοῦ ποιήσειν κακῶς τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἐλπίδα λαβόντες ἐπ᾽ ἀδείας τὸ λοιπὸν οἰκεῖν τὰς πόλεις ἠξίουν. [177] ἅρματά τε οὖν παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ τὸ ὁπλιτικὸν συνεκρότουν αἵ τε πόλεις αὐτῶν συνεφρόνουν καὶ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς τὴν Ἀσκάλωνα καὶ Ἀκαρῶνα παρεσπάσαντο ἄλλας τε πολλὰς τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καὶ Δανίτας εἰς τὸ ὄρος ἠνάγκασαν συμφυγεῖν οὐδὲ ὀλίγον αὐτοῖς ἐπιβατὸν τοῦ πεδίου καταλιπόντες. [178] οἱ δ᾽ οὔτε πολεμεῖν ὄντες ἱκανοὶ γῆν τε οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀρκοῦσαν πέμπουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν πέντε ἄνδρας εἰς τὴν μεσόγειον κατοψομένους γῆν, εἰς ἣν μετοικήσαιντο. οἱ δ᾽ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ Λιβάνου ὄρους καὶ ἐλάσσονος Ἰορδάνου τῶν πηγῶν κατὰ τὸ μέγα πεδίον Σιδῶνος πόλεως ὁδὸν ἡμέρας μιᾶς προελθόντες καὶ κατασκεψάμενοι γῆν ἀγαθὴν καὶ πάμφορον σημαίνουσι τοῖς αὐτῶν: οἱ δ᾽ ὁρμηθέντες στρατῷ κτίζουσιν αὐτόθι πόλιν Δάνα ὁμώνυμον τῷ Ἰακώβου παιδὶ φυλῆς δ᾽ ἐπώνυμον τῆς αὐτῶν.

(2) [179] Τοῖς δ' Ἰσραηλίταις προύβαινεν ὑπό τε ἀπειρίας τοῦ πονεῖν τὰ κακὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὸ θεῖον ὀλιγωρίας: μετακινηθέντες γὰρ ἅπαξ τοῦ κόσμου τῆς πολιτείας ἐφέροντο πρὸς τὸ καθ' ἡδονὴν καὶ βούλησιν ἰδίαν βιοῦν, ὡς καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωριαζόντων παρὰ τοῖς Χαναναίοις ἀναπίμπλασθαι κακῶν. [180] ὀργίζεται τοίνυν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἣν σὺν πόνοις μυρίοις εὐδαιμονίαν ἐκτήσαντο, ταύτην ἀπέβαλον διὰ τρυφήν. στρατεύσαντος γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Χουσαρσάθου τοῦ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέως πολλούς τε τῶν παραταξαμένων ἀπώλεσαν καὶ πολιορκούμενοι κατὰ κράτος ἡρέθησαν, [181] εἰσὶ δ' οἳ διὰ φόβον ἑκουσίως αὐτῷ προσεχώρησαν, φόρους τε τοῦ δυνατοῦ μείζονας ἐπιταγέντες ἐτέλουν καὶ ὕβρεις παντοίας ὑπέμενον ἕως ἐτῶν ὀκτώ, μεθ' ἃ τῶν κακῶν οὕτως ἠλευθερώθησαν.

(3) [182] Τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς τις Κενίαζος ὄνομα δραστήριος ἀνὴρ καὶ τὸ φρόνημα γενναῖος, χρησθὲν αὐτῷ μὴ περιορᾶν ἐν τοιαύτῃ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας ἀνάγκῃ κειμένους ἀλλ' εἰς ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοὺς ἐξαιρεῖσθαι τολμᾶν, παρακελευσάμενος συλλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν κινδύνων αὐτῷ τινάς, ὀλίγοι δ' ἦσαν, οἷς αἰδὼς ἐπὶ τοῖς τότε παροῦσιν ἐτύγχανε καὶ προθυμία μεταβολῆς, [183] πρῶτον μὲν τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς οὖσαν φρουρὰν τοῦ Χουσαρσάθου διαφθείρει, προσγενομένων δὲ πλειόνων τῶν συναγωνιζομένων ἐκ τοῦ μὴ διαμαρτεῖν περὶ τὰ πρῶτα τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως, μάχην τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις συνάπτουσι καὶ πρὸς τὸ παντελὲς αὐτοὺς ἀπωσάμενοι περαιοῦσθαι τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐβιάζοντο. [184] Κενίαζος δὲ ὡς ἔργῳ πεῖραν αὐτοῦ δεδωκὼς τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας γέρας ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς λαμβάνει παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἀρχήν, ὥστε κρίνειν τὸν λαόν. καὶ ἄρξας ἐπ' ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα καταστρέφει τὸν βίον.

IV

(1) [185] Τελευτήσαντος δὲ τούτου πάλιν τὰ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ὑπὸ ἀναρχίας ἐνόσει πράγματα, καὶ τῷ μὴ διὰ τιμῆς ἄγειν τὸν θεὸν μηδὲ τοῖς νόμοις ὑπακούειν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκακοῦτο, [186] ὡς καταφρονήσαντα αὐτῶν τῆς ἀκοσμίας τῆς κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν Ἐγλῶνα τὸν Μωαβιτῶν βασιλέα πόλεμον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐξενεγκεῖν καὶ πολλαῖς μάχαις αὐτῶν κρατήσαντα καὶ τοὺς φρονήματι τῶν ἄλλων διαφέροντας ὑποτάξαντα πρὸς τὸ παντελὲς αὐτῶν τὴν δύναμιν ταπεινῶσαι καὶ φόρους αὐτοῖς ἐπιτάξαι τελεῖν. [187] καθιδρύσας δ' αὐτῷ ἐν Ἰεριχοῦντι βασίλειον ταύτην ἀποδείξας οὐδὲν τῆς εἰς τὸ πλῆθος κακώσεως παρέλιπεν εἴς τε πενίαν αὐτοὺς κατέστησεν ἐπὶ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτη. λαβὼν δ' οἶκτον ὁ θεὸς τῶν [Ἰσραηλιτῶν] ἐφ' οἷς ἔπασχον καὶ ταῖς ἱκετείαις αὐτῶν ἐπικλασθεὶς ἀπήλλαξε τῆς ὑπὸ τοῖς Μωαβίταις ὕβρεως. ἠλευθερώθησαν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ.

(2) [188] Τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς νεανίας Ἰούδης μὲν τοὔνομα Γήρα τε πατρὸς τολμῆσαί τε ἀνδρειότατος καὶ τῷ σώματι πρὸς τὰ ἔργα χρῆσθαι δυνατὸς τῶν χειρῶν τὴν ἀριστερὰν ἀμείνων κἀπ' ἐκείνης τὴν ἅπασαν ἰσχὺν ἔχων κατῴκει μὲν

ἐν Ἰεριχοῦντι καὶ αὐτός, [189] συνήθης δὲ γίνεται τῷ Ἐγλῶνι δωρεαῖς αὐτὸν θεραπεύων καὶ ὑπερχόμενος, ὡς διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν βασιλέα προσφιλῆ τυγχάνειν αὐτόν. [190] καί ποτε σὺν δυσὶν οἰκέταις δῶρα τῷ βασιλεῖ φέρων ξιφίδιον κρύφα τῷ δεξιῷ σκέλει περιδησάμενος εἰσῄει πρὸς αὐτόν. ὥρα δ' ἦν θέρους καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἤδη μεσούσης ἀνεῖντο αἱ φυλακαὶ ὑπό τε τοῦ καύματος καὶ πρὸς ἄριστον τετραμμένων. [191] δοὺς οὖν τὰ δῶρα τῷ Ἐγλῶνι ὁ νεανίσκος, διέτριβε δ' ἔν τινι δωματίῳ δεξιῶς πρὸς θέρος ἔχοντι, πρὸς ὁμιλίαν ἐτράποντο. μόνοι δ' ἦσαν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοὺς ἐπεισιόντας τῶν θεραπόντων ἀπιέναι κελεύσαντος διὰ τὸ πρὸς Ἰούδην ὁμιλεῖν. [192] καθῆστο δ' ἐπὶ θρόνου καὶ δέος εἰσῄει τὸν Ἰούδην, μὴ διαμάρτῃ καὶ μὴ δῷ καιρίαν πληγήν. ἀνίστησιν οὖν αὐτὸν ὄναρ εἰπὼν ἔχειν ἐκ προστάγματος αὐτῷ δηλῶσαι τοῦ θεοῦ. [193] καὶ ὁ μὲν πρὸς τὴν χαρὰν τὴν τοῦ ὀνείρατος ἀνεπήδησεν ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου, πλήξας δ' αὐτὸν Ἰούδης εἰς τὴν καρδίαν καὶ τὸ ξιφίδιον ἐγκαταλιπὼν ἔξεισι προσκλίνας τὴν θύραν. οἵ τε θεράποντες ἠρέμουν εἰς ὕπνον τετράφθαι νομίζοντες τὸν βασιλέα.

(3) [194] Ὁ δ' Ἰούδης τοῖς Ἰεριχουντίοις ἀποσημαίνων κρυπτῶς παρεκάλει τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι. οἱ δ' ἀσμένως ἀκούσαντες αὐτοί τε εἰς τὰ ὅπλα ἦσαν καὶ διέπεμπον εἰς τὴν χώραν τοὺς ἀποσημαίνοντας κέρασιν οἰῶν: τούτοις γὰρ συγκαλεῖν τὸ πλῆθος πάτριον. [195] οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἐγλῶνα πολὺν μὲν χρόνον ἠγνόουν τὸ συμβεβηκὸς αὐτῷ πάθος, ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἦν, δείσαντες μή τι νεώτερον εἴη περὶ αὐτὸν γεγονός, εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον καὶ νεκρὸν εὑρόντες ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ καθειστήκεσαν, καὶ πρὶν τὴν φρουρὰν συστραφῆναι τὸ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπέρχεται πλῆθος. [196] καὶ οἱ μὲν παραχρῆμα ἀναιροῦνται, οἱ δ' εἰς φυγὴν τρέπονται ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Μωαβῖτιν σωθησόμενοι, ἦσαν δὲ ὑπὲρ μυρίους. καὶ Ἰσραηλῖται προκατειληφότες τοῦ Ἰορδάνου τὴν διάβασιν διώκοντες ἔκτεινον καὶ κατὰ τὴν διάβασιν πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀναιροῦσι, διέφυγέ τε οὐδεὶς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν. [197] καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἑβραῖοι τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς ὑπὸ τοῖς Μωαβίταις δουλείας ἀπηλλάγησαν, Ἰούδης δ' ἐκ τῆς αἰτίας ταύτης τιμηθεὶς τῇ τοῦ πλήθους παντὸς ἡγεμονίᾳ τελευτᾷ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔτεσιν ὀγδοήκοντα κατασχών, ἀνὴρ καὶ δίχα τῆς προειρημένης πράξεως ἐπαίνου δίκαιος τυγχάνειν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Σαάγαρος ὁ Ἀνάθου παῖς αἱρεθεὶς ἄρχειν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτει κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον.

V

(1) [198] Ἰσραηλῖται δὲ πάλιν, οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ διδαχῇ τοῦ κρείττονος ἐλάμβανον τῶν πρότερον ἠτυχημένων ὑπό τε τοῦ μήτε σέβειν τὸν θεὸν μήθ' ὑπακούειν τοῖς νόμοις, πρὶν ἢ καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ Μωαβίταις ἀναπνεῦσαι δουλείας πρὸς ὀλίγον Ἀβίτῳ τοῦ Χαναναίων βασιλέως δουλοῦνται. [199] οὗτος γὰρ ἐξ Ἀσώρου πόλεως ὁρμώμενος, αὕτη δ' ὑπέρκειται τῆς Σεμαχωνίτιδος λίμνης, στρατοῦ μὲν ὁπλιτῶν

τριάκοντα ἔτρεφε μυριάδας μυρίους δὲ ἱππέας, τρισχιλίων δὲ ἁρμάτων ηὐπόρει. ταύτης οὖν στρατηγὸς τῆς δυνάμεως Σισάρης τιμῆς πρώτης παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ τυγχάνων συνελθόντας πρὸς αὐτὸν τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας ἐκάκωσε δεινῶς, ὥστε αὐτοῖς ἐπιτάξαι τελεῖν φόρους.

(2) [200] Εἴκοσι μὲν οὖν ἔτη ταῦτα πάσχοντες ἤνυσαν μήτε αὐτοὶ φρονεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς δυστυχίας ὄντες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πλέον δαμάσαι ἔτι θέλοντος αὐτῶν τὴν ὕβριν διὰ τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀγνωμοσύνην, ἵνα μεταθέμενοι τοῦ λοιποῦ σωφρονῶσιν διδαχθέντες τὰς συμφορὰς αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς περιφρονήσεως τῶν νόμων ὑπάρξαι, Δαβώραν [δέ] τινα προφῆτιν, [201] μέλισσαν δὲ σημαίνει τοὔνομα κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων γλῶσσαν, ἱκέτευον δεηθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ λαβεῖν οἶκτον αὐτῶν καὶ μὴ περιιδεῖν ἀπολλυμένους αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ Χαναναίων. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐπένευσε σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς καὶ στρατηγὸν αἱρεῖται Βάρακον τῆς Νεφθαλίδος ὄντα φυλῆς: βάρακος δέ ἐστιν ἀστραπὴ κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων γλῶσσαν.

(3) [202] Μεταπεμψαμένη δ᾽ ἡ Δαβώρα τὸν Βάρακον ἐπιλέξαντα τῶν νέων μυρίους ἐκέλευε χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους: ἀποχρῆναι γὰρ τοσούτους τοῦ θεοῦ προειρηκότος καὶ νίκην ἀποσημήναντος. [203] Βαράκου δὲ φαμένου οὐ στρατηγήσειν μὴ κἀκείνης αὐτῷ συστρατηγούσης ἀγανακτήσασα, “σὺ μέν, εἶπε, γυναικὶ παραχωρεῖς ἀξίωμα ὃ σοὶ δέδωκεν ὁ θεός, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ παραιτοῦμαι”. καὶ συναριθμήσαντες μυρίους ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο πρὸς Ἰταβυρίῳ ὄρει. [204] ἀπήντα δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὁ Σισάρης τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσαντος καὶ στρατοπεδεύονται τῶν πολεμίων οὐκ ἄπωθεν. τοὺς δ᾽ Ἰσραηλίτας καὶ τὸν Βάρακον καταπλαγέντας τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν διεγνωκότας ἡ Δεβώρα κατεῖχε τὴν συμβολὴν ποιεῖσθαι κατ᾽ ἐκείνην κελεύουσα τὴν ἡμέραν: νικήσειν γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ συλλήψεσθαι τὸν θεόν.

(4) [205] Συνήεσαν οὖν καὶ προσμιγέντων ὄμβρος ἐπιγίνεται μέγας καὶ ὕδωρ πολὺ καὶ χάλαζα, τόν τε ὑετὸν κατὰ πρόσωπον ἤλαυνε τῶν Χαναναίων ἄνεμος ταῖς ὄψεσιν αὐτῶν ἐπισκοτῶν, ὡς τὰς τοξείας ἀχρήστους αὐτοῖς εἶναι καὶ τὰς σφενδόνας: οἵ τε ὁπλῖται διὰ τὸ κρύος χρῆσθαι τοῖς ξίφεσιν οὐκ εἶχον. [206] τοὺς δ᾽ Ἰσραηλίτας ἧττόν τε ἔβλαπτε κατόπιν γινόμενος ὁ χειμὼν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἔννοιαν τῆς βοηθείας τοῦ θεοῦ θάρσος ἐλάμβανον, ὥστε εἰς μέσους ὡσάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, οἱ δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῆς οἰκείας ἵππου ταραχθέντες ἔπεσον, ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν ἁρμάτων πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν. [207] Σισάρης δὲ καταπηδήσας τοῦ ἅρματος ὡς εἶδε τὴν τροπὴν γινομένην, φυγὼν ἀφικνεῖται παρά τινα τῶν Κενελίδων γυναῖκα Ἰάλην ὄνομα, ἣ κρύψαι τε ἀξιώσαντα δέχεται καὶ ποτὸν αἰτήσαντι δίδωσι γάλα διεφθορὸς ἤδη. [208] ὁ δὲ πιὼν τοῦ μέτρου δαψιλέστερον εἰς ὕπνον τρέπεται. ἡ δὲ Ἰάλη κοιμωμένου σιδήρεον ἧλον ἐλάσασα σφύρῃ κατὰ τοῦ στόματος καὶ τοῦ χελυνίου διέπειρε τὸ ἔδαφος καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Βάρακον μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐλθοῦσιν ἐπεδείκνυε τῇ γῇ προσηλωμένον. [209] καὶ οὕτως μὲν ἡ νίκη αὕτη

περιέστη κατὰ τὰ ὑπὸ Δαβώρας εἰρημένα εἰς γυναῖκα. Βάρακος δὲ στρατεύσας ἐπ᾽ Ἄσωρον Ἰοαβινόν τε ὑπαντιάσαντα κτείνει καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πεσόντος καθελὼν εἰς ἔδαφος τὴν πόλιν στρατηγεῖ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐπ᾽ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα.

VI

(1) [210] Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Βαράκου καὶ Δαβώρας κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν μετὰ ταῦτα Μαδιηνῖται παρακαλέσαντες Ἀμαληκίτας τε καὶ Ἄραβας στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας καὶ μάχῃ τε νικῶσι τοὺς συμβαλόντας καὶ τὸν καρπὸν δῃώσαντες τὴν λείαν ἐπήγοντο. [211] τοῦτο δὲ ποιούντων ἐπ᾽ ἔτη ἑπτὰ εἰς τὰ ὄρη τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἀνεστάλη τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τῶν πεδίων ἐξεχώρουν ὑπονόμους τε καὶ σπήλαια ποιησάμενοι πᾶν ὅ τι τοὺς πολεμίους διέφυγεν ἐν τούτοις εἶχον φυλάττοντες. [212] οἱ γὰρ Μαδιηνῖται κατὰ ὥραν θέρους στρατεύοντες τὸν χειμῶνα γεωργεῖν τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις ἐπέτρεπον, ὅπως ἔχωσι πεπονηκότων αὐτῶν εἰς ἃ βλάπτωσι. λιμὸς δ᾽ ἦν καὶ σπάνις τροφῆς καὶ τρέπονται πρὸς ἱκετείαν τοῦ θεοῦ σώζειν αὐτοὺς παρακαλοῦντες.

(2) [213] Καὶ Γεδεὼν ὁ Ἰάσου παῖς Μανασσίδος φυλῆς ἐν ὀλίγοις δράγματα σταχύων φερόμενος κρυπτῶς εἰς τὴν ληνὸν ἔκοπτε: τοὺς γὰρ πολεμίους ἐδεδίει φανερῶς τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς ἅλωος. φαντάσματος δὲ αὐτῷ παραστάντος νεανίσκου μορφῇ καὶ φήσαντος εὐδαίμονα καὶ φίλον τῷ θεῷ, ὑποτυχών “τοῦτο γοῦν, ἔφη, τεκμήριον τῆς εὐμενείας αὐτοῦ μέγιστον τῇ ληνῷ με νῦν ἀντὶ ἅλωος χρῆσθαι”. [214] θαρσεῖν δὲ παρακελευσαμένου καὶ πειρᾶσθαι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀνασώζειν ἀδυνάτως ἔχειν ἔλεγε: τήν τε γὰρ φυλὴν ἐξ ἧς ὑπῆρχε πλήθους ὑστερεῖν καὶ νέον αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ τηλικούτων πραγμάτων ἀσθενέστερον. ὁ δὲ θεὸς αὐτὸς ἀναπληρώσειν τὸ λεῖπον ἐπηγγέλλετο καὶ νίκην παρέξειν Ἰσραηλίταις αὐτοῦ στρατηγοῦντος.

(3) [215] Τοῦτ᾽ οὖν διηγούμενος ὁ Γεδεὼν τισὶ τῶν νέων ἐπιστεύετο, καὶ παραχρῆμα πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἕτοιμον ἦν τὸ στρατόπεδον μυρίων ἀνδρῶν. ἐπιστὰς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὁ θεὸς τῷ Γεδεῶνι τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν αὐτῷ φίλαυτον οὖσαν ἐδήλου καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀρετῇ διαφέροντας ἀπεχθανομένην, ὅπως τε τὴν νίκην παρέντες τοῦ θεοῦ δοκεῖν νομίζουσιν ἰδίαν ὡς πολὺς στρατὸς ὄντες καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀξιόμαχος. [216] ἵνα μάθωσιν οὖν βοηθείας τῆς αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔργον, συνεβούλευε περὶ μεσοῦσαν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ἀκμῇ τοῦ καύματος ὄντος ἄγειν τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατακλιθέντας καὶ οὕτως πίνοντας εὐψύχους ὑπολαμβάνειν, ὅσοι δ᾽ ἂν ἐσπευσμένως καὶ μετὰ θορύβου πίνοντες τύχοιεν τούτους δειλοὺς νομίζειν καὶ καταπεπληγότας τοὺς πολεμίους. [217] ποιήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Γεδεῶνος κατὰ τὰς ὑποθήκας τοῦ θεοῦ τριακόσιοι ἄνδρες εὑρέθησαν ταῖς χερσὶ μετὰ φόβου προσενεγκάμενοι τὸ ὕδωρ τεταραγμένως,

ἔφησέ τε ὁ θεὸς τούτους ἐπαγόμενον ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου μέλλοντες εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν περαιοῦσθαι.

(4) [218] Γεδεῶνος δ' ἐν φόβῳ καθεστῶτος, καὶ γὰρ νυκτὸς ἐπιχειρεῖν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς προειρήκει, τοῦ δέους αὐτὸν ἀπαγαγεῖν βουλόμενος κελεύει προσλαβόντα ἕνα τῶν στρατιωτῶν πλησίον χωρεῖν ταῖς Μαδιηνιτῶν σκηναῖς: παρ' αὐτῶν γὰρ ἐκείνων λήψεσθαι φρόνημα καὶ θάρσος. [219] πεισθεὶς δὲ ᾔει Φρουρὰν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θεράποντα παραλαβών, καὶ πλησιάσας σκηνῇ τινι καταλαμβάνει τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ ἐγρηγορότας καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ὄναρ διηγούμενον τῷ συσκηνοῦντι, ὥστε ἀκούειν τὸν Γεδεῶνα. τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον ἦν: μᾶζαν ἐδόκει κριθίνην ὑπ' εὐτελείας ἀνθρώποις ἄβρωτον διὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κυλιομένην τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως σκηνὴν καταβαλεῖν καὶ τὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν πάντων. [220] ὁ δὲ σημαίνειν ὄλεθρον τοῦ στρατοῦ τὴν ὄψιν ἔκρινε λέγων, ὅθεν τοῦτ' αὐτῷ συνιδεῖν ἐπῆλθε, πᾶν τὸ σπέρμα τὸ καλούμενον κρίθινον εὐτελέστατον ὁμολογεῖσθαι τυγχάνειν, τοῦ δ' Ἀσιανοῦ παντὸς τὸ Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἀτιμότερον νῦν γεγενημένον ὅμοιον δὲ τῷ κατὰ κριθὴν γένει. [221] καὶ τὸ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις νῦν μεγαλοφρονοῦν τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη Γεδεὼν καὶ τὸ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιωτικόν. ἐπεὶ οὖν τὴν μᾶζαν φῆς ἰδεῖν τὰς σκηνὰς ἡμῶν ἀνατρέπουσαν, δέδια μὴ θεὸς Γεδεῶνι τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν νίκην ἐπινένευκε."

(5) [222] Γεδεῶνα δ' ἀκούσαντα τὸ ὄναρ ἐλπὶς ἀγαθὴ καὶ θάρσος ἔλαβε καὶ προσέταξεν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις εἶναι τοὺς οἰκείους διηγησάμενος αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ὄψιν, οἱ δ' ἕτοιμοι πρὸς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα φρονηματισθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν δεδηλωμένων ἦσαν. [223] καὶ κατὰ τετάρτην μάλιστα φυλακὴν προσῆγε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ στρατιὰν Γεδεὼν εἰς τρία μέρη διελὼν αὐτήν, ἑκατὸν δὲ ἦσαν ἐν ἑκάστῳ. ἐκόμιζον δὲ πάντες ἀμφορέας κενοὺς καὶ λαμπάδας ἡμμένας ἐν αὐταῖς, ὅπως μὴ κατάφωρος τοῖς πολεμίοις ἡ ἔφοδος αὐτῶν γένηται, καὶ ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ κριοῦ κέρας: ἐχρῶντο δὲ τούτοις ἀντὶ σάλπιγγος. [224] χωρίον δὲ πολὺ κατεῖχε τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στράτευμα, πλείστην γὰρ αὐτοῖς εἶναι συνέβαινε κάμηλον, καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἔθνη νεμηθέντες ὑφ' ἑνὶ κύκλῳ πάντες ἦσαν. [225] οἱ δ' Ἑβραῖοι, προειρημένον αὐτοῖς ὁπόταν γένωνται πλησίον τῶν πολεμίων ἐκ συνθήματος σάλπιγξί τε ἠχήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἀμφορέας κατεάξαντας ὁρμῆσαι μετὰ τῶν λαμπάδων ἀλαλάξαντας καὶ νικᾶν θεοῦ Γεδεῶνι βοηθήσοντος, τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν. [226] ταραχὴ δὲ λαμβάνει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἔτι [τε] ὑπνοῦντας καὶ δείματα: νὺξ γὰρ ἦν καὶ ὁ θεὸς τοῦτο ἤθελεν. ἐκτείνοντο δὲ ὀλίγοι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, οἱ δὲ πλείους ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων διὰ τὸ τῇ γλώσσῃ διαφωνεῖν. ἅπαξ δὲ καταστάντες εἰς ταραχὴν πᾶν τὸ προστυχὸν ἀνῄρουν νομίζοντες εἶναι πολέμιον, φόνος τε πολὺς ἦν. [227] καὶ φήμη πρὸς τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας τῆς Γεδεῶνος νίκης ἀφικομένης ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἦσαν, καὶ διώξαντες λαμβάνουσι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν κοίλῳ τινὶ χαράδραις περιειλημμένῳ οὐ δυναμέναις διαπερᾶναι χωρίῳ καὶ περιστάντες κτείνουσιν ἅπαντας καὶ δύο

τῶν βασιλέων Ὥρηβόν τε καὶ Ζῆβον. [228] οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοὺς περιλειφθέντας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐνάγοντες, ἦσαν δὲ μύριοι καὶ ὀκτακισχίλιοι, στρατοπεδεύονται πολὺ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἄπωθεν. Γεδεὼν δὲ οὐκ ἀπηγορεύκει πονῶν, ἀλλὰ διώξας μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ συμβαλὼν ἅπαντας διέφθειρε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἡγεμόνας Ζεβὴν καὶ Ζαρμούνην αἰχμαλώτους λαβὼν ἀνήγαγεν. [229] ἀπέθανον δ᾽ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ μάχῃ Μαδιηνιτῶν τε καὶ τῶν συστρατευσάντων αὐτοῖς Ἀράβων περὶ μυριάδας δώδεκα, λεία τε πολλὴ χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ ὕφη καὶ κάμηλος καὶ ὑποζύγια λαμβάνεται τοῖς Ἑβραίοις. Γεδεὼν δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἐφρὰν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα κτείνει τοὺς τῶν Μαδιηνιτῶν βασιλέας.

(6) [230] Ἡ δ᾽ Ἐφράμιδος φυλὴ τῇ Γεδεῶνος εὐπραγίᾳ δυσχεραίνουσα στρατεύειν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν διεγνώκει, τὸ μὴ προαγγεῖλαι τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν αὐτοῖς τὴν κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγκαλοῦντες. Γεδεὼν δὲ μέτριος ὢν καὶ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἄκρος οὐκ αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν αὐτοκράτορι χρησάμενος λογισμῷ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπιθέσθαι χωρὶς αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος: τὴν δὲ νίκην οὐχ ἧττον αὐτῶν ἔφασκεν ἰδίαν ἢ τῶν ἐστρατευκότων εἶναι. [231] καὶ τούτοις παρηγορήσας αὐτῶν τὴν ὀργὴν τοῖς λόγοις μᾶλλον τοὺς Ἑβραίους ὠφέλησε τῆς ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμίων εὐπραξίας [φήσας αἰτίους]: ἐμφυλίου γὰρ αὐτοὺς στάσεως ἄρχειν μέλλοντας ἐρρύσατο. τῆς μέντοι ὕβρεως ταύτης ἡ φυλὴ δίκην ἐξέτισεν, ἣν δηλώσομεν κατὰ καιρὸν ἴδιον.

(7) [232] Γεδεὼν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποθέσθαι βουλόμενος βιασθεὶς ἔσχεν αὐτὴν ἐπ᾽ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα βραβεύων αὐτοῖς τὰ δίκαια καὶ περὶ τῶν διαφορῶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν βαδιζόντων κύρια πάντα ἦν τὰ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ λεγόμενα. καὶ ὁ μὲν γηραιὸς τελευτήσας ἐν Ἐφρὰν τῇ πατρίδι θάπτεται.

VII

(1) [233] Παῖδες δὲ ἦσαν αὐτῷ γνήσιοι μὲν ἑβδομήκοντα, πολλὰς γὰρ ἔγημε γυναῖκας, νόθος δ᾽ εἷς ἐκ παλλακῆς Δρούμας Ἀβιμέλεχος τοὔνομα, ὃς μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν ἀναχωρήσας εἰς Σίκιμα πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ μητρὸς συγγενεῖς, ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ἦν, καὶ λαβὼν ἀργύριον παρ᾽ αὐτῶν, οἳ διὰ πλῆθος ἀδικημάτων ἦσαν ἐπίσημοι, [234] ἀφικνεῖται σὺν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸν πατρῷον οἶκον καὶ κτείνει πάντας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς πλὴν Ἰωθάμου: σώζεται γὰρ οὗτος διαφυγεῖν εὐτυχήσας. Ἀβιμέλεχος δὲ εἰς τυραννίδα τὰ πράγματα μεθίστησι κύριον αὐτὸν ὅ τι βούλεται ποιεῖν ἀντὶ τῶν νομίμων ἀποδείξας καὶ δεινῶς πρὸς τοὺς τοῦ δικαίου προισταμένους ἐκπικραινόμενος.

(2) [235] Καί ποτε δημοτελοῦς Σικίμοις οὔσης ἑορτῆς καὶ τοῦ πλήθους παντὸς ἐκεῖ συνειλεγμένου ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰωθάμης, ὃν καὶ διαφυγεῖν ἔφαμεν, ἀνελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Γαριζείν, ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῆς Σικιμίων πόλεως, ἐκβοήσας

εἰς ἐπήκοον τοῦ πλήθους ἡσυχίαν αὐτῷ παρασχόντος ἠξίου μαθεῖν τὰ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ λεγόμενα. [236] γενομένης δὲ σιγῆς εἶπεν, ὡς τὰ δένδρα φωνὴν ἀνθρώπειον προιέμενα συνόδου γενομένης αὐτῶν δεηθείη συκῆς ἄρχειν αὐτῶν. ἀρνησαμένης δ᾽ ἐκείνης διὰ τὸ τιμῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς καρποῖς οἰκείας οὔσης ἀπολαύειν οὐχ ὑπ᾽ ἄλλων ἔξωθεν προσγινομένης, τὰ δένδρα τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ ἄρχεσθαι φροντίδος οὐκ ἀπελείπετο, ἐδόκει δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀμπέλῳ τὴν τιμὴν παρασχεῖν. [237] καὶ ἡ ἄμπελος χειροτονουμένη τοῖς τῆς συκῆς χρησαμένη λόγοις παρῃτεῖτο τὴν ἀρχήν. τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ καὶ τῶν ἐλαιῶν ποιησαμένων ῥάμνος, ἐδεήθη γὰρ αὐτῆς ὥστε παραλαβεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τὰ δένδρα, [238] πυρεῖα δὲ ἀγαθὴ παρασχεῖν τῶν ξύλων ἐστίν, ὑπισχνεῖται τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναλήψεσθαι καὶ ἀόκνως ἔχειν. δεῖ μέντοι συνιζάνειν αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τὴν σκιάν, εἰ δ᾽ ὅλεθρον ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ φρονοῖεν, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐνόντος πυρὸς διαφθαρεῖεν. [239] ταῦτα δ᾽ οὐ γέλωτος ἕνεκα, φησί, λέγω, ὅτι δὲ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐκ Γεδεῶνος πεπειραμένοι περιορῶσιν Ἀβιμέλεχον ἐπὶ τῶν ὅλων ὄντα πραγμάτων σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἀποκτείναντες, ὃν πυρὸς οὐδὲν διοίσειν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὑπεχώρησε καὶ διῃτᾶτο λανθάνων ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι δεδιὼς ἐπ᾽ ἔτη τρία τὸν Ἀβιμέλεχον.

(3) [240] Μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς Σικιμῖται, μετενόησαν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς Γεδεῶνος υἱοῖς πεφονευμένοις, ἐξελαύνουσι τὸν Ἀβιμέλεχον τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς φυλῆς: ὁ δὲ κακοῦν τὴν πόλιν ἐφρόντιζε. τῆς δ᾽ ὥρας τῆς τοῦ τρυγᾶν γενομένης ἐδεδίεσαν συλλέγειν τὸν καρπὸν προιόντες μή τι δράσῃ κακὸν Ἀβιμέλεχος εἰς αὐτούς. [241] ἐπιδημήσαντος δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀρχόντων τινὸς Γυάλου σὺν ὁπλίταις καὶ συγγενέσι τοῖς αὐτοῦ φυλακὴν οἱ Σικιμῖται δέονται παρασχεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἕως ἂν τρυγήσωσι. προσδεξαμένου δ᾽ ἐκείνου τὴν ἀξίωσιν προῆεσαν καὶ Γυάλης σὺν αὐτοῖς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἄγων ὁπλιτικόν. [242] ὅ τε οὖν καρπὸς μετὰ ἀσφαλείας συνάγεται καὶ δειπνοῦντες κατὰ συμμορίαν φανερῶς ἀπετόλμων ἤδη βλασφημεῖν τὸν Ἀβιμέλεχον, οἵ τε ἄρχοντες ἐνέδραις καταλαμβανόμενοι τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν πολλοὺς τῶν Ἀβιμελέχου συλλαμβάνοντες ἀνῄρουν.

(4) [243] Ζάβουλος δέ τις τῶν Σικιμιτῶν ἄρχων ξένος ὢν Ἀβιμελέχου ὅσα παροξύνειεν Γυάλης τὸν δῆμον πέμπων ἀγγέλους ἐμήνυεν αὐτῷ καὶ παρῄνει λοχᾶν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως: πείσειν γὰρ Γυάλην ἐξελθεῖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνῳ τυγχάνειν ὥστε ἀμύνασθαι: γενομένου γὰρ τούτου διαλλαγὰς αὐτῷ μνηστεύσεσθαι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον. [244] ὅ τε οὖν Ἀβιμέλεχος ἐκάθισεν ἐνεδρεύων καὶ ὁ Γυάλης ἀφυλακτοτέρως διέτριβεν ἐπὶ τοῦ προαστείου καὶ Ζάβουλος σὺν αὐτῷ. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁπλίτας ἐπιφερομένους Γυάλης πρὸς Ζάβουλον ἔλεγεν ἄνδρας αὐτοῖς ἐπιέναι καθωπλισμένους. [245] τοῦ δὲ σκιὰς εἶναι φαμένου τῶν πετρῶν, πλησίον ἤδη γινομένων τὸ ἀκριβὲς κατανοῶν οὐ σκιὰς ἔλεγε ταῦτ᾽ εἶναι, λόχον δ᾽ ἀνδρῶν. καὶ Ζάβουλος, “οὐ σὺ μέντοι, φησίν, Ἀβιμελέχῳ κακίαν ἐπεκάλεις; τί οὖν οὐκ ἐπιδεικνύεις τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς μέγεθος εἰς μάχην αὐτῷ συμβαλών”; [246] Γυάλης δὲ θορυβούμενος συνάπτει τοῖς Ἀβιμελέχου καὶ πίπτουσι μέν τινες τῶν

σὺν αὐτῷ, φεύγει δ᾽ αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν πόλιν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀγόμενος. καὶ Ζάβουλος πολιτεύεται Γυάλην ἐκβληθῆναι τῆς πόλεως κατηγορήσας, ὡς μαλακῶς πρὸς τοὺς Ἀβιμελέχου στρατιώτας ἀγωνίσαιτο. [247] Ἀβιμέλεχος δὲ πυθόμενος ἐξελευσομένους αὖθις κατὰ τρύγητον τοὺς Σικιμίους ἐνέδραις προλοχίζεται τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ προελθόντων ἡ μὲν τρίτη μοῖρα τῆς στρατιᾶς καταλαμβάνει τὰς πύλας ἀφαιρησομένη τὴν εἴσοδον τοὺς πολίτας, οἱ δ᾽ ἄλλοι σκιδναμένους μεταθέουσι, πανταχοῦ τε φόνος ἦν. [248] καὶ κατασκάψας εἰς ἔδαφος τὴν πόλιν, οὐ γὰρ ἀντέσχε πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἅλας κατὰ τῶν ἐρειπίων σπείρας προῆγε. καὶ Σικιμῖται πάντες οὕτως ἀπώλοντο: ὅσοι δὲ κατὰ τὴν χώραν σκεδασθέντες διέφυγον τὸν κίνδυνον, οὗτοι πέτραν ὀχυρὰν εὑρόντες ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἱδρύονται τειχίσαι τε ταύτην παρεσκευάζοντο. [249] ἔφθη τε τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν Ἀβιμέλεχος μαθὼν ἐλθεῖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ φακέλλους ὕλης ξηρᾶς περιβαλὼν τῷ χωρίῳ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ φέρων ταῦτα ποιεῖν τὴν στρατιὰν παρεκελεύσατο. καὶ ταχέως περιληφθείσης ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς πέτρας τοῖς ξύλοις πῦρ ἐμβάλλουσιν ὅσα τε μᾶλλον ἐξάπτειν φύσιν ἔχει καὶ μεγίστην αἴρουσι φλόγα. [250] καὶ διαφεύγει μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας οὐθείς, ἀλλ᾽ ἅμα γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἀπώλοντο, ἄνδρες μὲν περὶ πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἱκανόν. καὶ Σικιμίταις μὲν τοιαύτη συμφορὰ συνέπεσε μείζων καὶ τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ λύπης γενομένη πλὴν ὅτι κατὰ δίκην ἐπ᾽ ἀνδρὸς εὐεργέτου συνθεῖσι κακὸν τηλικοῦτον.

(5) [251] Ἀβιμέλεχος δὲ τοῖς Σικιμιτῶν κακοῖς καταπλήξας τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας μειζόνων ἐφιέμενος δῆλος ἦν καὶ μηδαμοῦ περιγράψων τὴν βίαν, εἰ μὴ πάντας ἀπολέσειεν. ἤλαυνεν οὖν ἐπὶ Θήβας καὶ τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς αἱρεῖ, πύργου δ᾽ ὄντος ἐν αὐτῇ μεγάλου, εἰς ὃν πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος συνέφυγε, πολιορκεῖν τοῦτον παρεσκευάζετο. [252] καὶ αὐτὸν πλησίον ὁρμῶντα τῶν πυλῶν γυνὴ θραύσματι μύλης βαλοῦσα κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τυγχάνει, πεσὼν δὲ Ἀβιμέλεχος τὸν ὑπασπιστὴν παρεκάλει κτείνειν αὐτόν, μὴ τῆς γυναικὸς ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ δόξειεν ἔργον. καὶ ὁ μὲν τὸ προσταχθὲν ἐποίει. [253] ὁ δὲ τοιαύτην ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς παρανομίας ποινὴν ἐξέτισε καὶ τῶν εἰς Σικιμίους αὐτῷ τετολμημένων: τούτοις δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἰωθάμου μαντείαν ἡ συμφορὰ συνέπεσε. τὸ μέντοι σὺν Ἀβιμελέχῳ στράτευμα πεσόντος αὐτοῦ σκεδασθὲν ἀνεχώρησεν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα.

(6) [254] Τῶν δὲ Ἰσραηλιτῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Ἰάρης ὁ Γαλαδηνὸς ἐκ τῆς Μανασσίτιδος φυλῆς παραλαμβάνει ἀνὴρ τά τε ἄλλα εὐδαίμων καὶ παῖδας ἀγαθοὺς πεποιημένος τριάκοντα μὲν τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἱππεύειν δὲ ἀρίστους καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Γαλαδηνὴν πόλεων ἀρχὰς ἐγκεχειρισμένους. οὗτος δύο καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτη τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχὼν τελευτᾷ γηραιὸς καὶ ταφῆς ἐν Καμμὼν πόλει τῆς Γαλαδηνῆς ἀξιοῦται.

(7) [255] Πάντα δὲ τὰ τῶν Ἑβραίων εἰς ἀκοσμίαν καὶ ὕβριν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν νόμων ὑπεφέρετο, καὶ καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν Ἀμμανῖται καὶ Παλαιστῖνοι

στρατῷ μεγάλῳ διήρπαζον τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν Περαίαν ἅπασαν κατασχόντες καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν λοιπῶν ἤδη κτῆσιν διαβαίνειν ἐτόλμων. [256] Ἑβραῖοι δὲ σωφρονισθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν κακῶν εἰς ἱκετείαν ἐτράποντο τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ θυσίας ἐπέφερον παρακαλοῦντες αὐτὸν μετριάσαντα καὶ πρὸς τὴν δέησιν αὐτῶν ὑπαχθέντα παύσασθαι τῆς ὀργῆς: ὁ δὲ θεὸς μεταβαλόμενος εἰς τὸ ἡμερώτερον ἔμελλεν αὐτοῖς βοηθεῖν.

(8) [257] Ἀμμανιτῶν δ' ἐστρατευκότων ἐπὶ τὴν Γαλαδηνὴν ὑπήντων οἱ ἐπιχώριοι πρὸς τὸ ὄρος δεόμενοι τοῦ στρατηγήσοντος. ἦν δέ τις Ἰαφθᾶς ἀνὴρ διὰ τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρετὴν δυνατὸς καὶ δι' οἰκείαν αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν ἣν ἔτρεφεν αὐτὸς μισθοφόρων. [258] πρὸς τοῦτον οὖν πέμψαντες ἠξίουν αὐτὸν συμμαχεῖν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι παρασχεῖν εἰς ἅπαντ' αὐτῷ τὸν χρόνον τὴν ἰδίαν ἡγεμονίαν. ὁ δ' οὐ προσίεται τὴν παράκλησιν αὐτῶν ἐγκαλῶν, ὅτι μὴ βοηθήσειαν αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀδικουμένῳ περιφανῶς: [259] οὐ γὰρ ὄντα ὁμομήτριον αὐτοῖς ἀλλὰ ξένον περὶ τὴν μητέρα δι' ἐρωτικὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐπαχθεῖσαν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξέβαλον καταφρονήσαντες τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀσθενείας. [260] καὶ ὁ μὲν διέτριβεν ἐν τῇ Γαλαδίτιδι καλουμένῃ χώρᾳ πάντας τοὺς ὀποθενοῦν παραγινομένους πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ μισθῷ δεχόμενος. ἐκλιπαρησάντων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ὀμοσάντων εἰς ἀεὶ παρέξειν αὐτῷ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐστράτευε.

(9) [261] Καὶ ποιησάμενος ὀξεῖαν τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν ἐν πόλει Μασφαθῇ καθίσας τὸν στρατὸν πρεσβείαν πέμπει παρὰ τὸν Ἀμμανίτην αἰτιώμενος τῆς ἁλώσεως. ὁ δὲ ἀντιπέμψας ἠτιᾶτο τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν τὴν ἔξοδον τὴν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῆς Ἀμορραίας αὐτοὺς ἠξίου παραχωρεῖν ὡς πατρῴας οὔσης ἀρχῆθεν. [262] ἀποκρινάμενος δὲ ὁ Ἰαφθᾶς, ὡς οὔτε τῆς Ἀμορραίας τοῖς προγόνοις αὐτῶν εὐλόγως ἐγκαλοῦσι χάριν τε μᾶλλον τῆς Ἀμμανίτιδος αὐτοῖς ἔχειν ὀφείλουσι παρεθείσης, δυνατὸν γὰρ Μωυσεῖ καὶ ταύτην λαβεῖν Παραχωρεῖν τε ἰδίας εἰπὼν γῆς, ἣν θεοῦ κατακτησαμένου μετὰ τριακόσια ἔτη νέμονται, μάχεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔφησεν.

(10) [263] Καὶ τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεις ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀπέλυσεν: αὐτὸς δ' εὐξάμενος νίκην καὶ θυσιάσειν ὑποσχόμενος, ἂν σῶος εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα ὑποστρέψῃ, καὶ πᾶν ὅ τι καὶ πρῶτον αὐτῷ συντύχοι ἱερουργήσειν, συμβαλών τε νικᾷ παρὰ πολὺ καὶ φονεύων ἐδίωκε μέχρι πόλεως Μανιάθης, καὶ διαβὰς εἰς τὴν Ἀμμανῖτιν πόλεις τε ἠφάνισε πολλὰς καὶ λείαν ἤλασε καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους δουλείας ἀπήλλαξεν ἐν ἔτεσιν ὀκτωκαίδεκα ταύτην ὑπομείναντας. [264] ἀναστρέφων δὲ συμφορᾷ περιπίπτει κατ' οὐδὲν ὁμοίᾳ τοῖς κατωρθωμένοις αὐτῷ: ὑπήντησε γὰρ ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτῷ, μονογενὴς δ' ἦν, ἔτι παρθένος. ὁ δὲ ἀνοιμώξας ἐπὶ τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ πάθους κατεμέμφετο τῆς περὶ τὴν ὑπάντησιν σπουδῆς τὴν θυγατέρα: καθιερῶσαι γὰρ αὐτὴν τῷ θεῷ. [265] τῇ δὲ τὸ συμβησόμενον οὐκ ἀηδῶς προσέπεσεν ἐπὶ νίκῃ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν τεθνηξομένῃ, παρεκάλεσε δὲ δύο μῆνας αὐτῇ παρασχόντα πρὸς τὸ μετὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποθρηνῆσαι τὴν νεότητα τότε ποιεῖν τὰ

κατὰ τὴν εὐχήν. [266] συγχωρήσας δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν προειρημένον χρόνον μετὰ τοῦτον διελθόντα θύσας τὴν παῖδα ὡλοκαύτωσεν οὔτε νόμιμον οὔτε θεῷ κεχαρισμένην θυσίαν ἐπιτελῶν, μὴ διαβασανίσας τῷ λογισμῷ τὸ γενησόμενον οἷόν τε πραχθὲν δόξει τοῖς ἀκούσασι.

(11) [267] Τῆς δ' Ἐφράνου φυλῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατευσάσης, ὅτι μὴ κοινώσαιτο τὴν ἐπ' Ἀμμανίτας ἔλασιν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ μόνος καὶ τὴν λείαν ἔχοι καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις δόξαν, πρῶτον μὲν ἔλεγεν, ὡς οὔτε λάθοιεν αὐτοὺς οἱ συγγενεῖς πολεμούμενοι καλούμενοί τε πρὸς συμμαχίαν οὐ παρεγένοντο δέον καὶ πρὸ δεήσεως ἐγνωκότας ἐπειχθῆναι, [268] ἔπειθ' ὡς ἄδικα πράττειν ἐπιχειροῦσι τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐ τολμήσαντες εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς συγγενεῖς ὡρμηκότες: ἠπείλει τε σὺν τῷ θεῷ λήψεσθαι δίκην παρ' αὐτῶν, ἂν μὴ σωφρονῶσιν. [269] ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἀλλὰ συνέβαλεν αὐτοῖς ἐλθοῦσι μετὰ στρατιᾶς, ἢ μετάπεμπτος ἐκ τῆς Γαλαδηνῆς ἐληλύθει, φόνον τε πολὺν αὐτῶν εἰργάσατο καὶ διώκων τραπέντας προλαβὼν μέρει τινὶ προαπεσταλμένῳ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου τὰς διαβάσεις κτείνει περὶ δισχιλίους καὶ τετρακισμυρίους γεγονότας.

(12) [270] Αὐτὸς δὲ ἄρξας ἓξ ἔτη τελευτᾷ καὶ θάπτεται ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ πατρίδι Σεβέῃ: τῆς Γαλαδηνῆς δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη.

(13) [271] Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἰαφθᾶ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀψάνης παραλαμβάνει φυλῆς ὢν Ἰουδαικῆς Βηθλέμων δὲ πόλεως. τούτῳ δὲ παῖδες ἦσαν ἑξήκοντα, τριάκοντα μὲν ἄρρενες αἱ λοιπαὶ δὲ θυγατέρες, οὓς καὶ πάντας ζῶντας κατέλιπε τὰς μὲν ἀνδράσιν ἐκδοὺς τοῖς δὲ γυναῖκας ἠγμένος. πράξας δ' οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ ἑπταετεῖ γενομένῳ χρόνῳ λόγου καὶ μνήμης ἄξιον γηραιὸς ὢν ἀπέθανε καὶ ταφῆς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τυγχάνει.

(14) [272] Ἀψανοῦς δ' οὕτως ἀποθανόντος οὐδ' ὁ μετ' αὐτὸν παραλαβὼν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Ἤλων ἐπ' ἔτη δέκα κατασχὼν αὐτὴν φυλῆς ὢν τῆς Ζαβούλης ἔπραξέ τι σπουδῆς ἄξιον.

(15) [273] Ἀβδὼν δὲ Ἤλωνος παῖς φυλῆς μὲν τῆς Ἐφραμίτιδος πόλεως δὲ τῆς Φαραθωνιτῶν γεγονώς, αὐτοκράτωρ ἡγεμὼν ἀποδειχθεὶς μετ' Ἤλωνα μόνης ἂν τῆς εὐπαιδίας μνημονευθείη, [μηδὲν ἔργον] διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν ἄδειαν τῶν πραγμάτων λαμπρὸν μηδ' αὐτὸς εἰργασμένος. [274] υἱοὶ δὲ ἦσαν αὐτῷ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τούτων τὴν γενεὰν καταλιπόντες τριάκοντα, ἤλαυνέ τε σὺν αὐτοῖς οὖσιν ἑβδομήκοντα πᾶσιν ἱππάζειν ἀρίστοις γεγενημένοις, καὶ πάντας ὑπὲρ γῆς ἀπολιπὼν θνήσκει γηραιὸς καὶ ταφῆς ἐν Φαραθῷ λαμπρᾶς τυγχάνει.

VIII

(1) [275] Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Παλαιστῖνοι τελευτήσαντα κρατοῦσι τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν καὶ φόρους παρ' αὐτῶν ἐλάμβανον ἐπ' ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα. ταύτης δ' ἐλευθεροῦνται τῆς ἀνάγκης τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ:

(2) [276] Μανώχης τις Δανιτῶν ἐν ὀλίγοις ἄριστος καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ὁμολογούμενος πρῶτος εἶχε γύναιον ἐπ᾽ εὐμορφίᾳ περίβλεπτον καὶ τῶν κατ᾽ αὐτὸ διαφέρον. παίδων δ᾽ οὐ γινομένων αὐτῷ δυσφορῶν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπαιδίᾳ θεὸν ἱκέτευεν ἐπὶ τὸ προάστειον συνεχῶς φοιτῶν μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς δοῦναι διαδοχὴν αὐτοῖς γνησίαν: μέγα δέ ἐστι τοῦτο πεδίον. [277] ἦν δὲ καὶ μανιώδης ὑπ᾽ ἔρωτος ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ζηλότυπος ἀκρατῶς. μονωθείσῃ δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ φάντασμα ἐπιφαίνεται τοῦ θεοῦ νεανίᾳ καλῷ παραπλήσιον μεγάλῳ καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενον αὐτῇ παιδὸς γονὴν κατὰ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν καλοῦ τε καὶ ῥώμην ἐπιφανοῦς, ὑφ᾽ ᾧ πονήσειν Παλαιστίνους ἀνδρουμένῳ. [278] παρῄνει τε τὰς κόμας αὐτῷ μὴ ἀποκείρειν: ἔσται δ᾽ αὐτῷ πρὸς ἄλλο μὲν ποτὸν ἀποστροφὴ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦτο προστάσσοντος, πρὸς ὕδωρ δὲ μόνον οἰκειότης". καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν ᾤχετο κατὰ βούλησιν ἐλθὼν τοῦ θεοῦ.

(3) [279] Ἡ δὲ τἀνδρὶ παραγενομένῳ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου ἐκδιηγήσατο ἐκθαυμάζουσα τοῦ νεανίσκου τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος, ὡς ἐκεῖνον ἐκ τῶν ἐπαίνων εἰς ἔκπληξιν κατὰ ζηλοτυπίαν περιστῆναι καὶ ὑπόνοιαν τὴν ἐκ τοιούτου πάθους κινουμένην. [280] ἡ δὲ βουλομένη τὴν ἄλογον τἀνδρὸς λύπην σταλῆναι τὸν θεὸν ἱκέτευε πάλιν πέμψαι τὸν ἄγγελον, ὡς ἂν καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς ὁραθείη. καὶ παραγίνεται πάλιν κατὰ χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἄγγελος ὄντων ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ φαίνεται τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μεμονωμένῃ. ἡ δ᾽ ἐπιμεῖναι δεηθεῖσα ὡς ἂν ἀγάγοι τὸν ἄνδρα συγχωρήσαντος μέτεισι τὸν Μάνωχον. [281] ὁ δὲ θεασάμενος οὐδ᾽ οὕτως ἐπαύετο τῆς ὑπονοίας ἠξίωσέ τι καὶ αὐτῷ δηλοῦν ὅσα καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ μηνύσειεν. ἀρκέσειν δὲ φράσαντος ταύτην μόνην εἰδέναι, τίς εἴη λέγειν ἐκέλευεν, ἵνα τοῦ παιδὸς γενομένου χάριν αὐτῷ καὶ δωρεὰν παράσχωσι. [282] τοῦ δὲ μηδέ τινων αὐτῷ δεῖσθαι φήσαντος, οὐδὲ γὰρ κατὰ χρείαν ταῦτα εὐαγγελίσασθαι περὶ τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς γονῆς, τοῦ δὲ μεῖναι παρακαλοῦντος καὶ ξενίων μετασχεῖν οὐκ ἐπένευσε, πεισθεὶς δ᾽ ὅμως λιπαροῦντος ἐπιμεῖναι ὡς ἂν ξένιον αὐτῷ τι κομίσῃ, [283] καὶ θύσαντος ἔριφον τοῦ Μανώχου καὶ τοῦτον ὀπτᾶν τῇ γυναικὶ κελεύσαντος, ἐπεὶ πάντ᾽ ἦν εὐτρεπῆ, προσέταξεν ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας ἀποθέσθαι τούς τε ἄρτους καὶ τὰ κρέα χωρὶς τῶν ἀγγείων. [284] καὶ ποιησάντων ἅπτεται τῇ ῥάβδῳ ᾗ εἶχε τῶν κρεῶν, τὰ δὲ λάμψαντος πυρὸς ἅμα τοῖς ἄρτοις ἐκαίετο καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος διὰ τοῦ καπνοῦ ὥσπερ ὀχήματος ἀνιὼν εἰς οὐρανὸν αὐτοῖς φανερὸς ἦν. Μανώχην δὲ φοβούμενον, μή τι σφαλερὸν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως τοῦ θεοῦ γένοιτο, θαρσεῖν ἡ γυνὴ παρεκελεύετο: ἐπὶ γὰρ συμφέροντι τῷ αὐτῶν τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς ὁραθῆναι.

(4) [285] Καὶ κύει τε ἐκείνη καὶ φυλακὴν εἶχε τῶν ἐντολῶν, καὶ γενόμενον τὸ παιδίον Σαμψῶνα καλοῦσιν, ἰσχυρὸν δ᾽ ἀποσημαίνει τὸ ὄνομα. ηὔξετο δ᾽ ὁ παῖς ῥᾳδίως καὶ δῆλος ἦν προφητεύσων ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν δίαιταν σωφροσύνης καὶ τῆς τῶν τριχῶν ἀνέσεως.

(5) [286] Ἀφικόμενος δὲ μετὰ τῶν γονέων εἰς Θάμνα πόλιν τῶν Παλαιστίνων πανηγύρεως ἀγομένης ἑρᾷ παρθένου τῶν ἐπιχωρίων παρακαλεῖ τε τοὺς γονεῖς ἄγεσθαι πρὸς γάμον αὐτῷ τὴν κόρην. τῶν δὲ ἀρνουμένων διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁμόφυλον εἶναι, τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τὸ Ἑβραίων σύμφορον ἐπινοοῦντος τὸν γάμον ἐκνικᾷ μνηστεύσασθαι τὴν παρθένον. [287] συνεχῶς δ' ἀπερχόμενος πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτῆς συντυγχάνει λέοντι καὶ γυμνὸς ὢν ἐκδεξάμενος αὐτὸν ἄγχει ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ εἰς τὸ χωρίον τὸ ὑλῶδες ἐνδοτέρω τῆς ὁδοῦ ῥίπτει τὸ θηρίον.

(6) [288] Πάλιν τε ἀπιὼν πρὸς τὴν κόρην ἐπιτυγχάνει σμήνει μελιττῶν ἐν τῷ στήθει τοῦ λέοντος ἐκείνου νενοσσευκότων, καὶ ἀνελόμενος τρία μέλιτος κηρία σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς δώροις οἷς ἐκόμιζε δίδωσι τῇ παιδί. [289] τῶν δὲ Θαμνιτῶν παρὰ τὴν εὐωχίαν τὴν τῶν γάμων, εἱστία γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἅπαντας, διὰ δέος τῆς ἰσχύος τοῦ νεανίσκου τριάκοντα δόντων αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους λόγῳ μὲν ἑταίρους ἐσομένους ἔργῳ δὲ φύλακας, μή τι παρακινεῖν ἐθελήσειεν, τοῦ πότου προβάντος καὶ παιδιᾶς οὔσης, οἷα φιλεῖ παρὰ τοὺς τοιούτους καιρούς, [290] ὁ Σαμψὼν εἶπεν, "ἀλλὰ προβάλλοντος ἐμοῦ λόγον εἰ λύσετε τοῦτον ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ ποιούμενοι τὴν ζήτησιν, ὀθόνας τε καὶ στολὰς γέρας τῆς συνέσεως κατ' ἄνδρα ἕκαστον φέρεσθε παρ' ἐμοῦ". φιλοτιμουμένων δὲ ὁμοῦ τε συνετοὺς δόξαι καὶ κέρδος εὕρασθαι καὶ λέγειν ἀξιούντων φησίν, ὅτι τὸ πάμβορον γεγεννήκοι βορὰν ἡδεῖαν ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ πάνυ ἀηδοῦς ὄντος. [291] τῶν δ' ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας οὐ δυναμένων ἐξευρεῖν τὸ νοούμενον παρακαλούντων δὲ τὴν κόρην μαθοῦσαν παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτοῖς μηνῦσαι, καὶ γὰρ ἠπείλουν ἐμπρήσειν αὐτὴν τοῦτο μὴ παρασχοῦσαν, ὁ Σαμψὼν δεομένης τῆς κόρης εἰπεῖν αὐτῇ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀντέχειν ἐπειρᾶτο, [292] ἐγκειμένης δ' αὐτῆς καὶ εἰς δάκρυα προπιπτούσης καὶ τεκμήριον τιθεμένης τῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν δυσνοίας τὸ μὴ λέγειν αὐτῇ, μηνύει τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν αὐτῇ τοῦ λέοντος καὶ ὡς τὰ τρία βαστάσας ἐξ αὐτοῦ κηρία μέλιτος γεγονότα κομίσειεν αὐτῇ. [293] καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐδὲν ὑφορώμενος δολερὸν σημαίνει τὸ πᾶν, ἡ δ' ἐκφέρει τὸν λόγον τοῖς δεηθεῖσι. κατὰ οὖν τὴν ἑβδόμην ἡμέραν, καθ' ἣν ἔδει τὸν προβληθέντα λόγον αὐτῷ διασαφεῖν, πρὶν ἢ δῦναι τὸν ἥλιον συνελθόντες φασίν, "οὔτε λέοντος ἀηδέστερόν τι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν οὔτε ἥδιον μέλιτος χρωμένοις". [294] καὶ ὁ Σαμψὼν εἶπεν οὐδὲ γυναικὸς εἶναί τι δολερώτερον, ἥτις ὑμῖν ἐκφέρει τὸν ἡμέτερον λόγον". κἀκείνοις μὲν δίδωσιν ἃ ὑπέσχετο λείαν ποιησάμενος Ἀσκαλωνιτῶν τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῷ συντυχόντας, Παλαιστῖνοι δ' εἰσὶ καὶ οὗτοι, τὸν δὲ γάμον ἐκεῖνον παραιτεῖται καὶ ἡ παῖς ἐκφαυλίσασα τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτὸν συνῆν αὐτοῦ φίλῳ νυμφοστόλῳ γεγονότι.

(7) [295] Πρὸς δὲ τὴν ὕβριν ταύτην Σαμψὼν παροξυνθεὶς ἅπαντας ἔγνω σὺν αὐτῇ Παλαιστίνους μετέρχεσθαι. θέρους δ' ὄντος καὶ πρὸς ἄμητον ἤδη τῶν καρπῶν ἀκμαζόντων συλλαβὼν τριακοσίας ἀλώπεκας καὶ τῶν οὐρῶν ἐξάψας λαμπάδας ἡμμένας ἀφίησιν εἰς τὰς ἀρούρας τῶν Παλαιστίνων. [296] καὶ φθείρεται

μὲν οὕτως αὐτοῖς ὁ καρπός, Παλαιστῖνοι δὲ γνόντες Σαμψῶνος εἶναι τὸ ἔργον καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν δι᾽ ἣν ἔπραξε, πέμψαντες τοὺς ἄρχοντας εἰς Θαμνὰ τὴν γενομένην αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς ζῶντας κατέπρησαν ὡς αἰτίους τῶν κακῶν γεγονότας.

(8) [297] Σαμψὼν δὲ πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῶν Παλαιστίνων ἀποκτείνας Αἰτὰν κατῴκει, πέτρα δ᾽ ἐστὶν ὀχυρὰ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς. Παλαιστῖνοι δ᾽ ἐστράτευον ἐπὶ τὴν φυλήν. τῶν δ᾽ οὐ δικαίως λεγόντων τιμωρίαν αὐτοὺς εἰσπράττεσθαι περὶ τῶν Σαμψῶνος ἁμαρτημάτων φόρους αὐτοὺς τελοῦντας, εἰ βούλονται μὴ ἔχειν αἰτίαν ἔφασαν αὐτοῖς ὑποχείριον Σαμψῶνα δοῦναι. [298] οἱ δὲ ἀνεπίκλητοι βουλόμενοι τυγχάνειν παρῆσαν ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν τρισχίλιοι ὁπλῖται καὶ καταμεμψάμενοι τῶν εἰς Παλαιστίνους αὐτῷ τετολμημένων ἄνδρας ἅπαντι τῷ γένει τῶν Ἑβραίων συμφορὰν ἐπενεγκεῖν δυναμένους, ἥκειν τε λέγοντες ὅπως αὐτὸν λαβόντες ὑποχείριον δῶσιν αὐτοῖς ἠξίουν ἑκοντὶ τοῦθ᾽ ὑπομένειν. [299] ὁ δὲ λαβὼν ὅρκους παρ᾽ αὐτῶν μηδὲν τούτων ποιήσειν περισσότερον ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐγχειριεῖν μόνον, καταβὰς ἐκ τῆς πέτρας αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ τῶν φυλετῶν τίθησιν ἐξουσίᾳ, κἀκεῖνοι δήσαντες αὐτὸν δυσὶ καλωδίοις ἦγον παραδοῦναι τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις. [300] καὶ γενομένων κατὰ χωρίον, ὃ Σιαγὼν καλεῖται νῦν διὰ τὴν Σαμψῶνος ἀνδραγαθίαν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ γενομένην, πάλαι δ᾽ ἦν ἀνώνυμον, οὐκ ἄπωθεν ἐστρατοπεδευκότων τῶν Παλαιστίνων, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπαντώντων μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ βοῆς ὡς ἐπὶ κατωρθωμένοις οἷς ἐβούλοντο, διαρρήξας τὰ δεσμὰ Σαμψὼν ἁρπασάμενος ὄνου σιαγόνα παρὰ ποσὶν οὖσαν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ὥσατο καὶ παίων αὐτοὺς τῇ σιαγόνι κτείνει εἰς χιλίους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους τρέπεται ταραχθέντας.

(9) [301] Σαμψὼν δὲ μεῖζον ἢ χρὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ φρονῶν οὐ κατὰ θεοῦ συνεργίαν ἔλεγε τοῦτο συμβῆναι, τὴν δ᾽ ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν ἐπέγραψε τῷ γεγονότι, τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς μὲν πεσεῖν τοὺς δ᾽ εἰς φυγὴν τραπῆναι διὰ τοῦ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ δέους αὐχῶν. [302] δίψους δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἰσχυροῦ κατασχόντος κατανοῶν ὡς οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀνθρώπειος ἀρετὴ τῷ θεῷ πάντα προσεμαρτύρει καὶ καθικέτευε μηδὲν τῶν εἰρημένων πρὸς ὀργὴν λαβόντα τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτὸν ἐγχειρίσαι, παρασχεῖν δὲ βοήθειαν πρὸς τὸ δεινὸν καὶ ῥύσασθαι τοῦ κακοῦ. [303] καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἱκετείας ἐπικλασθεὶς ὁ θεὸς πηγὴν κατά τινος πέτρας ἀνίησιν ἡδεῖαν καὶ πολλήν, ὅθεν καὶ Σαμψὼν ἐκάλει τὸ χωρίον Σιαγόνα καὶ μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο τοῦτο λέγεται.

(10) [304] Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν μάχην Σαμψὼν καταφρονῶν τῶν Παλαιστίνων εἰς Γάζαν ἀφικνεῖται καὶ ἔν τινι τῶν καταγωγίων διέτριβε. μαθόντες δὲ τῶν Γαζαίων οἱ ἄρχοντες τὴν αὐτόθι παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ τὰ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐνέδραις καταλαμβάνουσιν, ὅπως ἐξιὼν μὴ λάθῃ. [305] Σαμψὼν δέ, οὐ γὰρ λανθάνουσιν αὐτὸν ταῦτα μηχανησάμενοι, περὶ μεσοῦσαν ἤδη τὴν νύκτα ἀναστὰς ἐνράσσει ταῖς πύλαις, αὐταῖς τε φλιαῖς καὶ μοχλοῖς ὅση τε ἄλλη περὶ αὐταῖς ἦν ξύλωσις ἁράμενος κατωμαδὸν εἰς τὸ ὑπὲρ Ἑβρῶνος ὄρος φέρων κατατίθησιν.

(11) [306] Παρέβαινε δ' ἤδη τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν δίαιταν παρεχάρασσεν ξενικῶν μιμήσει ἐθισμῶν καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτῷ ἀρχὴ κακοῦ γίνεται: γυναικὸς γὰρ ἑταιριζομένης παρὰ τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις ἐρασθεὶς Δαλάλης τοὔνομα συνῆν αὐτῇ. [307] καὶ τῶν Παλαιστίνων οἱ τοῦ κοινοῦ προεστῶτες ἐλθόντες πρὸς αὐτὴν πείθουσιν ἐπαγγελίαις μαθεῖν παρὰ τοῦ Σαμψῶνος τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἰσχύος, ὑφ' ἧς ἄληπτός ἐστι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς. ἡ δὲ παρὰ πότον καὶ τοιαύτην συνουσίαν θαυμάζουσα τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ ἐτεχνίτευε μαθεῖν, τίνι τρόπῳ τοσοῦτον προύχει κατ' ἀρετήν. [308] ὁ δὲ Σαμψών, ἔτι γὰρ φρονεῖν ἰσχυρὸς ἦν, ἀντηπάτα τὴν Δαλάληνφάμενος, εἰ κλήμασιν ἑπτὰ δεθείη ἀμπέλου ἔτι καὶ περιειλεῖσθαι δυναμένοις, ἀσθενέστερος ἂν πάντων ἔσοιτο. [309] ἡ δὲ τότε μὲν ἡσύχασεν, ἀποσημήνασα δὲ τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῶν Παλαιστίνων ἐνίδρυσε τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔνδον τινὰς καὶ μεθύοντα κατέδει τοῖς κλήμασι κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρότατον, ἔπειτ' ἀνεγείρασα ἐδήλου παρεῖναί τινας ἐπ' αὐτόν. [310] ὁ δὲ ῥήξας τὰ κλήματα βοηθεῖν ὡς ἐπερχομένων αὐτῷ τινων ἐπειρᾶτο. καὶ ἡ γυνὴ συνεχῶς ὁμιλοῦντος αὐτῇ τοῦ Σαμψῶνος δεινῶς ἔχειν ἔλεγεν, εἰ κατ' ἀπιστίαν εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν μὴ λέγει ταῦθ' ἅπερ δεῖται, ὡς οὐ σιγησομένης ὅσα μὴ γινώσκεσθαι συμφέρειν οἶδεν αὐτῷ. [311] τοῦ δὲ πάλιν ἀπατῶντος αὐτὴν καὶ φήσαντος ἑπτὰ κάλοις δεθέντα τὴν ἰσχὺν ἀπολέσειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσασα οὐδὲν ἤνυσεν, τρίτον συνυφῆναι τὰς κόμας αὐτοῦ ἐμήνυσεν. [312] ὡς δ' οὐδὲ τούτου γενομένου ἀληθὲς ηὑρίσκετο, δεομένης τελευταῖον ὁ Σαμψών, ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὸν συμφορᾷ περιπεσεῖν, χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενος τῇ Δαλάλῃ, "ἐμοῦ, φησίν, ὁ θεὸς κήδεται καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου πρόνοιαν γεννηθεὶς κόμην ταύτην τρέφω παρεγγυήσαντος μὴ ἀποκείρειν τοῦ θεοῦ: τὴν γὰρ ἰσχὺν εἶναί μοι κατὰ τὴν ταύτης αὔξησιν καὶ παραμονήν". [313] ταῦτα μαθοῦσα καὶ στερήσασα τῆς κόμης αὐτὸν παραδιδοῖ τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐκέτ' ὄντα ἰσχυρὸν ἀμύνασθαι τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν. οἱ δ' ἐκκόψαντες αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δεδεμένον ἄγειν παρέδοσαν.

(12) [314] Προιόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ηὔξετο ἡ κόμη τῷ Σαμψῶνι, καὶ ἑορτῆς οὔσης τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις δημοτελοῦς καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ γνωριμωτάτων ἐν ταὐτῷ εὐωχουμένων, οἶκος δ' ἦν δύο κιόνων στεγόντων αὐτοῦ τὸν ὄροφον, ἄγεται μεταπεμψαμένων ὁ Σαμψὼν εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον, ὅπως ἐνυβρίσωσιν αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸν πότον. [315] ὁ δὲ δεινότερον τῶν κακῶν ὑπολαμβάνων τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ὑβριζόμενος ἀμύνασθαι, τὸν χειραγωγοῦντα παῖδα πείθει, προσαναπαύσασθαι χρῄζειν εἰπὼν ὑπὸ κόπου, τοῖς κίοσιν αὐτὸν ἐγγὺς ἀγαγεῖν. [316] ὡς δὲ ἦκεν, ἐνσεισθεὶς αὐτοῖς ἐπικαταβάλλει τὸν οἶκον ἀνατραπέντων τῶν κιόνων τρισχιλίοις ἀνδράσιν, οἳ πάντες ἀπέθανον, ἐν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ Σαμψών. καὶ τὸν μὲν τοιοῦτον κατέσχε τέλος ἄρξαντα τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν εἴκοσιν ἔτη. [317] θαυμάζειν δὲ ἄξιον τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς ἰσχύος καὶ τοῦ περὶ τὴν τελευτὴν μεγαλόφρονος τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τῆς ὀργῆς τῆς μέχρι τοῦ τελευτᾶν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ γυναικὸς ἁλῶναι δεῖ τῇ φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων προσάπτειν ἧττονι

ἁμαρτημάτων οὔσῃ, μαρτυρεῖν δὲ ἐκείνῳ τὴν εἰς τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τῆς ἀρετῆς περιουσίαν. οἱ δὲ συγγενεῖς ἀράμενοι τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ θάπτουσιν ἐν Σαρασᾶ τῇ πατρίδι μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν.

IX

(1) [318] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Σαμψῶνος τελευτὴν προέστη τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν Ἠλὶς ὁ ἀρχιερεύς. ἐπὶ τούτου λιμῷ τῆς χώρας κακοπαθούσης αὐτῶν Ἀβιμέλεχος ἐκ Βηθλέμων, ἔστι δὲ ἡ πόλις αὕτη τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς, ἀντέχειν τῷ δεινῷ μὴ δυνάμενος τήν τε γυναῖκα Νααμεὶν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς αὐτῷ γεγενημένους Χελλιῶνα καὶ Μαλαῶνα ἐπαγόμενος εἰς τὴν Μωαβῖτιν μετοικίζεται. [319] καὶ προχωρούντων αὐτῷ κατὰ νοῦν τῶν πραγμάτων ἄγεται τοῖς υἱοῖς γυναῖκας Μωαβίτιδας Χελλιῶνι μὲν Ὀρφᾶν Ῥούθην δὲ Μαλαῶνι. διελθόντων δὲ δέκα ἐτῶν ὅ τε Ἀβιμέλεχος καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν οἱ παῖδες δι᾽ ὀλίγου τελευτῶσι, [320] καὶ ἡ Ναάμις πικρῶς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι φέρουσα καὶ τὴν ὑπ᾽ ὄψιν τῶν φιλτάτων ἐρημίαν οὐχ ὑπομένουσα, δι᾽ ἣν καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξεληλύθει, πάλιν εἰς αὐτὴν ἀπηλλάττετο: [321] καὶ γὰρ ἤδη καλῶς τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτὴν ἐπυνθάνετο χωρεῖν. οὐκ ἐκαρτέρουν δὲ διαζευγνύμεναι αὐτῆς αἱ νύμφαι, οὐδὲ παραιτουμένη βουλομένας συνεξορμᾶν πείθειν ἐδύνατο, ἀλλ᾽ ἐγκειμένων εὐξαμένη γάμον εὐτυχέστερον αὐταῖς οὗ διημαρτήκεσαν παισὶ τοῖς αὐτῆς γαμηθεῖσαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν κτῆσιν, ὅτε τὰ πρὸς αὐτὴν οὕτως ἐστί, [322] μένειν αὐτόθι παρεκάλει καὶ μὴ συμμεταλαμβάνειν αὐτῇ βούλεσθαι πραγμάτων ἀδήλων τὴν πάτριον γῆν καταλιπούσας. ἡ μὲν οὖν Ὀρφᾶ μένει, τὴν δὲ Ῥούθην μὴ πεισθεῖσαν ἀπήγαγε κοινωνὸν παντὸς τοῦ προστυχόντος γενησομένην.

(2) [323] Ἐλθοῦσαν δὲ Ῥούθην μετὰ τῆς πενθερᾶς εἰς τὴν Βηθλεέμων Βοώζης Ἀβιμελέχου συγγενὴς ὢν δέχεται ξενίᾳ. καὶ ἡ Ναάμις, προσαγορευόντων αὐτὴν ὀνομαστί, δικαιότερον εἶπε Μαρὰν καλεῖτέ με: σημαίνει δὲ καθ᾽ Ἑβραίων γλῶτταν ναάμις μὲν εὐτυχίαν, μαρὰ δὲ ὀδύνην. [324] ἀμήτου δὲ γενομένου ἐξῄει καλαμησομένη κατὰ συγχώρησιν τῆς πενθερᾶς ἡ Ῥούθη, ὅπως τροφῆς εὐποροῖεν, καὶ εἰς τὸ Βοώζου τυχαίως ἀφικνεῖται χωρίον. παραγενόμενος δὲ Βόαζος μετ᾽ ὀλίγον καὶ θεασάμενος τὴν κόρην ἀνέκρινε τὸν ἀγροκόμον περὶ τῆς παιδός. ὁ δὲ μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν παρ᾽ αὐτῆς ἅπαντα προπεπυσμένος ἐδήλου τῷ δεσπότῃ. [325] ὁ δὲ τῆς περὶ τὴν πενθερὰν εὐνοίας ἅμα καὶ μνήμης τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῆς ᾧ συνῴκησεν ἀσπασάμενος καὶ εὐξάμενος αὐτῇ πεῖραν ἀγαθῶν καλαμᾶσθαι μὲν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἠξίωσεν, θερίζειν δὲ πᾶν ὅ τι καὶ δύναιτο καὶ λαμβάνειν ἐπιτρέπει προστάξας τῷ ἀγροκόμῳ μηδὲν αὐτὴν διακωλύειν λαμβάνειν, ἄριστόν τε παρέχειν αὐτῇ καὶ ποτόν, ὁπότε σιτίζοι τοὺς θερίζοντας. [326] Ῥούθη δὲ ἄλφιτα λαβοῦσα παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐφύλαξε τῇ ἐκυρᾷ καὶ παρῆν ὀψὲ κομίζουσα μετὰ τῶν σταχύων: ἐτετηρήκει δ᾽ αὐτῇ καὶ ἡ Ναάμις ἀπομοίρας

βρωμάτων τινῶν, οἷς αὐτὴν ἐπολυώρουν οἱ γειτονεύοντες: διηγεῖται δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Βοάζου πρὸς αὐτὴν εἰρημένα. [327] δηλωσάσης δ᾽ ἐκείνης ὡς συγγενής ἐστι καὶ τάχα ἂν δι᾽ εὐσέβειαν προνοήσειεν αὐτῶν, ἐξῄει πάλιν ταῖς ἐχομέναις ἡμέραις ἐπὶ καλάμης συλλογὴν σὺν ταῖς Βοάζου θεραπαινίσιν.

(3) [328] Ἐλθών τε μετ᾽ οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας καὶ Βόαζος ἤδη τῆς κριθῆς λελικμημένης ἐπὶ τῆς ἅλωος ἐκάθευδε. τοῦτο πυθομένη ἡ Ναάμις τεχνᾶται παρακατακλῖναι τὴν Ῥούθην αὐτῷ: καὶ γὰρ ἔσεσθαι χρηστὸν αὐταῖς ὁμιλήσαντα τῇ παιδί: καὶ πέμπει τὴν κόρην ὑπνωσομένην αὐτοῦ παρὰ τοῖς ποσίν. [329] ἡ δέ, πρὸς οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀντιλέγειν τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκυρᾶς κελευομένων ὅσιον ἡγεῖτο, παραγίνεται καὶ παραυτίκα μὲν λανθάνει τὸν Βόαζον βαθέως καθυπνωκότα, περιεγερθεὶς δὲ περὶ μέσην νύκτα καὶ αἰσθόμενος τῆς ἀνθρώπου παρακατακειμένης ἀνέκρινε τίς εἴη. [330] τῆς δ᾽ εἰπούσης τοὔνομα καὶ φαμένης ὡς αὐτῆς δεσπότην συγχωρεῖν, τότε μὲν ἡσυχίαν ἄγει, ὄρθριος δὲ πρὶν ἢ τοὺς οἰκέτας ἄρξασθαι κινεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἔργον περιεγείρας αὐτὴν κελεύει τῶν κριθῶν λαβοῦσαν ὅ τι καὶ δύναιτο πορεύεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐκυρὰν πρὶν ὀφθῆναί τισιν αὐτόθι κεκοιμημένην, φυλάττεσθαι σῶφρον τὴν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις διαβολὴν καὶ μάλιστ᾽ ἐπὶ μὴ γεγονόσι. [331] περὶ μέντοι τοῦ παντὸς οὕτω, φησίν, ἔσται, [ἐρωτᾶν] τὸν ἔγγιστά μου τῷ γένει τυγχάνοντα, εἰ σοῦ χρεία γαμετῆς ἐστιν αὐτῷ, καὶ λέγοντι μὲν ἀκολουθήσεις ἐκείνῳ, παραιτουμένου δὲ νόμῳ σε συνοικήσουσαν ἄξομαι.”

(4) [332] Ταῦτα τῇ ἐκυρᾷ δηλωσάσης εὐθυμία κατεῖχεν αὐτὰς ἐν ἐλπίδι τοῦ πρόνοιαν ἕξειν αὐτῶν Βόαζον γενομένας. κἀκεῖνος ἤδη μεσούσης τῆς ἡμέρας κατελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν τήν τε γερουσίαν συνῆγε καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος Ῥούθην ἐκάλει καὶ τὸν συγγενῆ, καὶ παραγενομένου φησίν: [333] “Ἀβιμελέχου καὶ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ κλήρων κρατεῖς;” ὁμολογήσαντος δὲ συγχωρούντων τῶν νόμων κατὰ ἀγχιστείαν, “οὐκοῦν, φησὶν ὁ Βόαζος, οὐκ ἐξ ἡμισείας δεῖ μεμνῆσθαι τῶν νόμων. ἀλλὰ πάντα ποιεῖν κατ᾽ αὐτούς. Μαάλου γὰρ δεῦρ᾽ ἥκει γύναιον, ὅπερ εἰ θέλεις τῶν ἀγρῶν κρατεῖν γαμεῖν σε δεῖ κατὰ τοὺς [334] νόμους.” ὁ δὲ Βοάζῳ καὶ τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς παρεχώρει συγγενεῖ μὲν ὄντι καὶ αὐτῷ τῶν τετελευτηκότων, εἶναι δὲ καὶ γυναῖκα λέγων αὐτῷ καὶ παῖδας ἤδη. [335] μαρτυράμενος οὖν ὁ Βόαζος τὴν γερουσίαν ἐκέλευε τῇ γυναικὶ ὑπολῦσαι αὐτὸν προσελθοῦσαν κατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ πτύειν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον. γενομένου δὲ τούτου Βόαζος γαμεῖ τὴν Ῥούθην καὶ γίνεται παιδίον αὐτοῖς μετ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν ἄρρεν. [336] τοῦτο ἡ Ναάμις τιτθευομένη κατὰ συμβουλίαν τῶν γυναικῶν Ὠβήδην ἐκάλεσεν ἐπὶ γηροκομίᾳ τῇ αὐτῆς τραφησόμενον: ὠβήδης γὰρ κατὰ διάλεκτον τὴν Ἑβραίων ἀποσημαίνει δουλεύων. Ὠβήδου δὲ γίνεται παῖς Ἰεσσαῖος, τούτου Δαβίδης ὁ βασιλεύσας καὶ παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ καταλιπὼν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπὶ μίαν καὶ εἴκοσι γενεὰς ἀνδρῶν. [337] τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ Ῥούθην ἀναγκαίως διηγησάμην ἐπιδεῖξαι βουλόμενος τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν, ὅτι τούτῳ παράγειν ἐφικτόν ἐστιν

εἰς ἀξίωμα λαμπρὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτυχόντας, εἰς οἷον ἀνήγαγε καὶ Δαβίδην ἐκ τοιούτων γενόμενον.

X

(1) [338] Ἑβραῖοι δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτοῖς ὑπενεχθέντων πάλιν πόλεμον ἐκφέρουσι Παλαιστίνοις διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν: Ἠλὶ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ δύο παῖδες ἦσαν Ὀφνίης τε καὶ Φινεέσης. [339] οὗτοι καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ὑβρισταὶ γενόμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἀσεβεῖς οὐδενὸς ἀπείχοντο παρανομήματος, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐφέροντο τῶν γερῶν κατὰ τιμήν, ἃ δ' ἐλάμβανον αὐτοῖς ἁρπαγῆς τρόπῳ, γυναῖκάς τε τὰς ἐπὶ θρησκείᾳ παραγινομένας ὕβριζον φθοραῖς ταῖς μὲν βίαν προσφέροντες τὰς δὲ δώροις ὑπαγόμενοι: τυραννίδος δ' οὐθὲν ἀπέλειπεν ὁ βίος αὐτῶν. [340] ὅ τε οὖν πατὴρ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις χαλεπῶς εἶχεν ὅσον οὐδέπω προσδοκῶν ἥξειν ἐκ θεοῦ τιμωρίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς πραττομένοις, τό τε πλῆθος ἐδυσφόρει, κἀπειδὴ φράζει τὴν ἐσομένην συμφορὰν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ τῷ τε Ἠλὶ καὶ Σαμουήλῳ τῷ προφήτῃ παιδὶ τότε ὄντι, τότε φανερὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς πένθος ἦγε.

(2) [341] Βούλομαι δὲ τὰ περὶ τοῦ προφήτου πρότερον διεξελθὼν ἔπειθ' οὕτως τὰ περὶ τοὺς Ἠλὶ παῖδας εἰπεῖν καὶ τὴν δυστυχίαν τὴν τῷ παντὶ λαῷ Ἑβραίων γενομένην. [342] Ἀλκάνης Λευίτης ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐν μέσῳ πολιτῶν τῆς Ἐφράμου κληρουχίας Ῥαμαθὰν πόλιν κατοικῶν ἐγάμει δύο γυναῖκας Ἄνναν τε καὶ Φενάνναν. ἐκ δὴ ταύτης καὶ παῖδες αὐτῷ γίνονται, τὴν δ' ἑτέραν ἄτεκνον οὖσαν ἀγαπῶν διετέλει. [343] ἀφικομένου δὲ μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν τοῦ Ἀλκάνου εἰς Σιλὼ πόλιν θῦσαι, ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπεπήγει καθὼς προειρήκαμεν, καὶ πάλιν κατὰ τὴν εὐωχίαν νέμοντος μοίρας κρεῶν ταῖς τε γυναιξὶ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις, ἡ Ἄννα θεασαμένη τοὺς τῆς ἑτέρας παῖδας τῇ μητρὶ περικαθημένους, εἰς δάκρυά τε προύπεσε καὶ τῆς ἀπαιδίας αὐτὴν ὠλοφύρετο καὶ τῆς μονώσεως. [344] καὶ τῆς τἀνδρὸς παραμυθίας τῇ λύπῃ κρατήσασα εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν ᾤχετο τὸν θεὸν ἱκετεύουσα δοῦναι γονὴν αὐτῇ καὶ ποιῆσαι μητέρα, ἐπαγγελλομένη τὸ πρῶτον αὐτῇ γενησόμενον καθιερώσειν ἐπὶ διακονίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ δίαιταν οὐχ ὁμοίαν τοῖς ἰδιώταις ποιησόμενον. [345] διατριβούσης δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς πολὺν χρόνον Ἠλὶς ὁ ἀρχιερεύς, ἐκαθέζετο γὰρ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς, ὡς παροινοῦσαν ἐκέλευεν ἀπιέναι. τῆς δὲ πιεῖν ὕδωρ φαμένης, λυπουμένης δ' ἐπὶ παίδων ἀπορίᾳ τὸν θεὸν ἱκετεύειν, θαρσεῖν παρεκελεύετο παρέξειν αὐτῇ παῖδας τὸν θεὸν καταγγέλλων.

(3) [346] Παραγενομένη δ' εὔελπις πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τροφὴν χαίρουσα προσηνέγκατο, καὶ ἀναστρεψάντων εἰς τὴν πατρίδα κύειν ἤρξατο καὶ γίνεται παιδίον αὐτοῖς, ὃν Σαμουῆλον προσαγορεύουσι: θεαίτητον ἄν τις εἴποι. παρῆσαν οὖν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς θύσοντες γενέσεως δεκάτας τ' ἔφερον. [347] ἀναμνησθεῖσα δ' ἡ γυνὴ τῆς εὐχῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ παιδὶ γεγενημένης παρεδίδου τῷ Ἠλὶ ἀνατιθεῖσα τῷ θεῷ προφήτην γενησόμενον: κόμη τε οὖν αὐτῷ ἀνεῖτο καὶ

ποτὸν ἦν ὕδωρ. καὶ Σαμουῆλος μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ διῆγε τρεφόμενος, Ἀλκάνῃ δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς Ἄννας υἱεῖς τε γίνονται καὶ τρεῖς θυγατέρες.

(4) [348] Σαμουῆλος δὲ πεπληρωκὼς ἔτος ἤδη δωδέκατον προεφήτευε. καί ποτε κοιμώμενον ὀνομαστὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεός: ὁ δὲ νομίσας ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως πεφωνῆσθαι παραγίνεται πρὸς αὐτόν. οὐ φαμένου δὲ καλέσαι τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ὁ θεὸς εἰς τρὶς τοῦτο ποιεῖ. [349] καὶ Ἠλὶς διαυγασθείς φησι πρὸς αὐτόν, "ἀλλ᾽ ἐγὼ [μὲν], Σαμουῆλε, σιγὴν ὡς καὶ τὸ πρὶν ἦγον, θεὸς δ᾽ ἐστὶν ὁ καλῶν, σήμαινέ τε πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτι παρατυγχάνω." καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ φθεγξαμένου πάλιν ἀκούσας ἠξίου λαλεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς χρωμένοις: οὐ γὰρ ὑστερήσειν αὐτὸν ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἂν θελήσῃ διακονίας. [350] καὶ ὁ θεός "ἐπεί, φησί, παρατυγχάνεις, μάνθανε συμφορὰν Ἰσραηλίταις ἐσομένην λόγου μείζονα καὶ πίστεως τοῖς παρατυγχάνουσι, καὶ τοὺς Ἠλὶ δὲ παῖδας ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ τεθνηξομένους καὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην μετελευσομένην εἰς τὴν Ἐλεαζάρου οἰκίαν: Ἠλὶς γὰρ τῆς ἐμῆς θεραπείας μᾶλλον τοὺς υἱοὺς καὶ παρὰ [351] τὸ συμφέρον αὐτοῖς ἠγάπησε." ταῦτα βιασάμενος ὅρκοις εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν προφήτην Ἠλίς, οὐ γὰρ ἐβούλετο λυπεῖν αὐτὸν λέγων, ἔτι μᾶλλον βεβαιοτέραν εἶχε τὴν προσδοκίαν τῆς τῶν τέκνων ἀπωλείας. Σαμουήλου δὲ ηὔξετο ἐπὶ πλέον ἡ δόξα πάντων ὧν προεφήτευσεν ἀληθινῶν βλεπομένων.

XI

(1) [352] Κατὰ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν καιρὸν καὶ Παλαιστῖνοι στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας στρατοπεδεύονται κατὰ πόλιν Ἀμφεκᾶν, δεξαμένων δ᾽ ἐξ ὀλίγου τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν συνῆεσαν εἰς τὴν ἐχομένην καὶ νικῶσιν οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι καὶ κτείνουσι μὲν τῶν Ἑβραίων εἰς τετρακισχιλίους, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος συνδιώκουσιν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

(2) [353] Δείσαντες δὲ περὶ τῶν ὅλων Ἑβραῖοι πέμπουσιν ὡς τὴν γερουσίαν καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύοντες κομίζειν, ἵνα παρούσης αὐτῆς παρατασσόμενοι κρατῶσι τῶν πολεμίων ἀγνοοῦντες, ὅτι μείζων ἐστὶν ὁ καταψηφισάμενος αὐτῶν τὴν συμφορὰν τῆς κιβωτοῦ, δι᾽ ὃν καὶ ταύτην συνέβαινεν εἶναι. [354] παρῆν τε οὖν ἡ κιβωτὸς καὶ οἱ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως υἱεῖς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπιστείλαντος, εἰ ληφθείσης τῆς κιβωτοῦ ζῆν ἐθέλουσιν, εἰς ὄψιν αὐτῷ μὴ παραγίνεσθαι. Φινεέσης δὲ ἤδη καὶ ἱερᾶτο τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ παρακεχωρηκότος διὰ τὸ γῆρας. [355] θάρσος οὖν ἐπιγίνεται πολὺ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ὡς διὰ τὴν ἄφιξιν τῆς κιβωτοῦ περιεσομένοις τῶν πολεμίων, κατεπλήττοντο δὲ οἱ πολέμιοι δεδιότες τὴν παρουσίαν τῆς κιβωτοῦ τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις. ταῖς μέντοι γε ἑκατέρων προσδοκίαις οὐχ ὅμοιον ἀπήντησε τὸ ἔργον, [356] ἀλλὰ συμβολῆς γενομένης ἦν μὲν ἤλπιζον νίκην Ἑβραῖοι τῶν Παλαιστίνων αὕτη γίνεται, ἦν δ᾽ ἐφοβοῦντο ἧττα οὗτοι ταύτην Ἑβραῖοι παθόντες ἔγνωσαν αὐτοὺς μάτην ἐπὶ τῇ

κιβωτῷ τεθαρσηκότας: ἐτράπησάν τε γὰρ εὐθὺς εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἀπέβαλον εἰς τρισμυρίους, ἐν οἷς ἔπεσον καὶ οἱ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως υἱεῖς, ἥ τε κιβωτὸς ἤγετο πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων.

(3) [357] Ἀπαγγελθείσης δὲ τῆς ἥττης εἰς τὴν Σιλὼ καὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας τῆς κιβωτοῦ, Βενιαμίτης γάρ τις αὐτοῖς ἄγγελος ἀφικνεῖται νεανίας παρατετευχὼς τῷ γεγονότι, πένθους ἀνεπλήσθη πᾶσα ἡ πόλις. [358] καὶ Ἠλὶς ὁ ἀρχιερεύς, ἐκαθέζετο γὰρ καθ᾽ ἑτέρας τῶν πυλῶν ἐφ᾽ ὑψηλοῦ θρόνου, ἀκούσας οἰμωγῆς καὶ νομίσας νεώτερόν τι πεπρᾶχθαι περὶ τοὺς οἰκείους καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν νεανίαν, ὡς ἔγνω τὰ κατὰ τὴν μάχην, ῥᾴων ἦν ἐπὶ τὸ τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ συνενηνεγμένοις περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὡς ἂν προεγνωκὼς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ συμβησόμενον καὶ προαπηγγελκώς: συνέχει γὰρ ἀκριβῶς τὰ κατὰ προσδοκίαν συντυχόντα τῶν δεινῶν. [359] ὡς δὲ καὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν ἤκουσεν ᾐχμαλωτίσθαι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων, ὑπὸ τοῦ παρ᾽ ἐλπίδας αὐτῷ τοῦτο προσπεσεῖν περιαλγήσας ἀποκυλισθεὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου τελευτᾷ, ὀκτὼ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα βιώσας ἔτη τὰ πάντα καὶ τούτων τεσσαράκοντα κατασχὼν τὴν ἀρχήν.

(4) [360] Θνήσκει δὲ κατ᾽ ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ ἡ Φινεέσου τοῦ παιδὸς γυνὴ μὴ καρτερήσασα ζῆν ἐπὶ τῇ τἀνδρὸς δυστυχίᾳ. κυούσῃ μὲν αὐτῇ προσηγγέλη τὸ περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα πάθος, τίκτει δ᾽ ἑπταμηνιαῖον παῖδα, ὃν καὶ ζήσαντα Ἰαχώβην προσηγόρευσαν, σημαίνει δὲ ἀδοξίαν τὸ ὄνομα, διὰ τὴν προσπεσοῦσαν δύσκλειαν τότε τῷ στρατῷ.

(5) [361] Ἦρξε δὲ πρῶτος Ἠλὶς Ἰθαμάρου τῆς ἑτέρου τῶν Ἀαρῶνος υἱῶν οἰκίας: ἡ γὰρ Ἐλεαζάρου οἰκία τὸ πρῶτον ἱερᾶτο παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐπιδεχόμενοι τὴν τιμήν, ἐκεῖνός τε Φινεέσῃ τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ παραδίδωσι, [362] μεθ᾽ ὃν Ἀβιεζέρης υἱὸς ὢν αὐτοῦ τὴν τιμὴν παραλαβὼν παιδὶ αὐτοῦ Βόκκι τοὔνομα αὐτὴν κατέλιπε, παρ᾽ οὗ διεδέξατο Ὄζις υἱὸς ὤν, μεθ᾽ ὃν Ἠλὶς ἔσχε τὴν ἱερωσύνην, περὶ οὗ νῦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνου μέχρι τῶν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Σολομῶνος βασιλείαν καιρῶν. τότε δὲ οἱ Ἐλεαζάρου πάλιν αὐτὴν ἀπέλαβον.

Liber VI

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Φθορὰ Παλαιστίνων καὶ τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν ἐξ ὀργῆς τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὴν αἰχμαλωτευθεῖσαν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν κιβωτόν, καὶ τίνα τρόπον ἀπέπεμψαν αὐτὴν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις.

β. στρατεία Παλαιστίνων ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς καὶ νίκη Ἑβραίων Σαμουήλου στρατηγοῦντος αὐτῶν τοῦ προφήτου.

γ. ὡς Σαμουῆλος διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἀσθενὴς ὢν τὰ πράγματα διοικεῖν τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ ἐνεχείρισεν.

δ. ὡς οὐ καλῶς προισταμένων ἐκείνων τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ πλῆθος ὑπ᾽ ὀργῆς ἠτήσατο βασιλεύεσθαι.

ε. Σαμουήλου πρὸς τοῦτο ἀγανάκτησις καὶ βασιλέως αὐτοῖς ἀνάδειξις Σαούλου τοὔνομα κελεύσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ.

ς. Σαούλου στρατεία ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀμμανιτῶν ἔθνος καὶ νίκη καὶ διαρπαγὴ τῶν πολεμίων.

ζ. ὡς στρατευσάμενοι πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι ἡττήθησαν.

η. Σαούλου πρὸς Ἀμαληκίτας πόλεμος καὶ νίκη.

θ. ὅτι παραβαίνοντος Σαούλου τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ προφήτου Σαμουῆλος ἄλλον ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα κρύφα Δαβίδην ὄνομα κατ᾽ ἐπιτροπὴν τοῦ θεοῦ.

ι. ὡς καὶ πάλιν ἐπεστράτευσαν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι ἔτι Σαούλου βασιλεύοντος.

ια. μονομαχία Δαβίδου τότε πρὸς Γολίαθον τὸν ἄριστον τῶν Παλαιστίνων καὶ ἀναίρεσις τοῦ Γολιάθου καὶ ἧττα τῶν Παλαιστίνων.

ιβ. ὡς θαυμάσας τὸν Δαβίδην τῆς ἀνδρείας συνῴκισεν αὐτῷ τὴν θυγατέρα Σαοῦλος.

ιγ. ὅτι μετὰ ταῦτα ὕποπτον αὐτῷ τὸν Δαβίδην γενόμενον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐσπούδασεν ἀποκτεῖναι.

ιδ. ὡς πολλάκις καὶ Δαβίδης κινδυνεύσας ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σαούλου διέφυγε καὶ Σαοῦλον δὶς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ γενόμενον ὥστε ἀνελεῖν οὐ διεχρήσατο.

ιε. ὡς στρατευσαμένων Παλαιστίνων πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἡττήθησαν οἱ Ἑβραῖοι τῇ μάχῃ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν Σαοῦλος ἀπέθανε μετὰ τῶν παίδων μαχόμενος.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν λβ.

(1) [1] Λαβόντες δ’ οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι τὴν τῶν πολεμίων κιβωτὸν αἰχμάλωτον, ὡς προειρήκαμεν μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν, εἰς Ἄζωτον ἐκόμισαν πόλιν καὶ παρὰ τὸν αὐτῶν θεὸν ὥσπερ τι λάφυρον, Δαγὼν δ’ οὗτος ἐκαλεῖτο, τιθέασι. [2] τῇ δ’ ἐπιούσῃ πάντες ὑπὸ τὴν τῆς ἡμέρας ἀρχὴν εἰσιόντες εἰς τὸν ναὸν προσκυνῆσαι τὸν θεὸν ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν αὐτῷ τοῦτο ποιοῦντι τὴν κιβωτόν: ἔκειτο γὰρ ἐπ’ αὐτῆς ἀποπεπτωκὼς τῆς βάσεως, ἐφ’ ἧς ἑστὼς διετέλει: καὶ βαστάσαντες πάλιν ἐφιστᾶσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ταύτης δυσφορήσαντες ἐπὶ τῷ γεγενημένῳ. πολλάκις δὲ φοιτῶντες παρὰ τὸν Δαγὼν καὶ καταλαμβάνοντες ὁμοίως ἐπὶ τοῦ προσκυνοῦντος τὴν κιβωτὸν σχήματος κείμενον ἐν ἀπορίᾳ δεινῇ καὶ συγχύσει καθίσταντο. [3] καὶ τελευταῖον ἀπέσκηψεν εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἀζωτίων πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν φθορὰν τὸ θεῖον καὶ νόσον: ἀπέθνησκον γὰρ ὑπὸ δυσεντερίας, πάθους χαλεποῦ καὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ὀξυτάτην ἐπιφέροντος πρὶν ἢ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῖς εὐθανάτως ἀπολυθῆναι τοῦ σώματος, τὰ ἐντὸς ἀναφέροντες [ἐξεμοῦντες] διαβεβρωμένα καὶ παντοίως ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου διεφθαρμένα: τὰ δ’ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας μυῶν πλῆθος ἀνελθὸν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κατέβλαψε μήτε φυτῶν μήτε καρπῶν ἀποσχόμενον. [4] ἐν δὴ τούτοις ὄντες τοῖς κακοῖς οἱ Ἀζώτιοι καὶ πρὸς τὰς συμφορὰς ἀντέχειν οὐ δυνάμενοι συνῆκαν ἐκ τῆς κιβωτοῦ ταύτας αὐτοῖς ἀνασχεῖν, καὶ τὴν νίκην καὶ τὴν ταύτης αἰχμαλωσίαν οὐκ ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ γεγενημένην. πέμπουσιν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀσκαλωνίτας ἀξιοῦντες τὴν κιβωτὸν αὐτοὺς παρὰ σφᾶς δέχεσθαι. [5] τοῖς δὲ οὐκ ἀηδὴς ἡ τῶν Ἀζωτίων δέησις προσέπεσεν, ἀλλ’ ἐπινεύουσι μὲν αὐτοῖς τὴν χάριν, λαβόντες δὲ τὴν κιβωτὸν ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις δεινοῖς κατέστησαν: συνεξεκόμισε γὰρ αὐτῇ τὰ τῶν Ἀζωτίων ἡ κιβωτὸς πάθη πρὸς τοὺς ἀπ’ ἐκείνων αὐτὴν δεχομένους: καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους παρ’ αὐτῶν ἀποπέμπουσιν Ἀσκαλωνῖται. [6] μένει δ’ οὐδὲ παρ’ ἐκείνοις: ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν αὐτῶν παθῶν ἐλαυνόμενοι πρὸς τὰς ἐχομένας ἀπολύουσι πόλεις. καὶ τοῦτον ἐκπεριέρχεται τὸν τρόπον τὰς πέντε τῶν Παλαιστίνων πόλεις ἡ κιβωτὸς ὥσπερ δασμὸν ἀπαιτοῦσα παρ’ ἑκάστης τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἐλθεῖν ἃ δι’ αὐτὴν ἔπασχον.

(2) [7] Ἀπειρηκότες δὲ τοῖς κακοῖς οἱ πεπειραμένοι καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν αὐτὰ διδασκαλία γινόμενοι τοῦ μὴ προσδέξασθαι τὴν κιβωτόν ποτε πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ μισθῷ καὶ τέλει, τὸ λοιπὸν ἐζήτουν μηχανὴν καὶ πόρον ἀπαλλαγῆς αὐτῆς. [8] καὶ συνελθόντες οἱ ἐκ τῶν [πέντε] πόλεων ἄρχοντες, Γίττης καὶ Ἀκάρων καὶ Ἀσκάλωνος ἔτι δὲ Γάζης καὶ Ἀζώτου, ἐσκόπουν τί δεῖ ποιεῖν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐδόκει τὴν κιβωτὸν ἀποπέμπειν τοῖς οἰκείοις, ὡς ὑπερεκδικοῦντος αὐτὴν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ συνεπιδημησάντων αὐτῇ τῶν δεινῶν διὰ τοῦτο καὶ συνεισβαλόντων μετ’ ἐκείνης εἰς τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν: [9] ἦσαν δὲ οἱ λέγοντες τοῦτο μὲν μὴ ποιεῖν μηδ’ ἐξαπατᾶσθαι τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν κακῶν εἰς ἐκείνην ἀναφέροντας: οὐ γὰρ ταύτην εἶναι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῇ καὶ τὴν ἰσχύν: οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποτ’ αὐτῆς κηδομένου τοῦ θεοῦ ὑποχείριον ἀνθρώποις γενέσθαι. ἡσυχάζειν δὲ καὶ πρᾴως

ἔχειν ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι παρῄνουν αἰτίαν τούτων οὐκ ἄλλην ἢ μόνην λογιζομένους τὴν φύσιν, ἣ καὶ σώμασι καὶ γῇ καὶ φυτοῖς καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῆς συνεστῶσι κατὰ χρόνων περιόδους τίκτει τοιαύτας μεταβολάς. [10] νικᾷ δὲ τὰς προειρημένας γνώμας ἀνδρῶν ἔν τε τοῖς ἐπάνω χρόνοις συνέσει καὶ φρονήσει διαφέρειν πεπιστευμένων συμβουλία καὶ τότε μάλιστα δοξάντων: ἁρμοζόντως λέγειν τοῖς παροῦσιν, οἳ μήτ᾽ ἀποπέμπειν ἔφασαν τὴν κιβωτὸν μήτε κατασχεῖν, ἀλλὰ πέντε μὲν ἀνδριάντας ὑπὲρ ἑκάστης πόλεως χρυσοῦς ἀναθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ χαριστήριον, ὅτι προενόησεν αὐτῶν τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ κατέσχεν ἐν τῷ βίῳ διωκομένους ἐξ αὐτοῦ παθήμασιν, οἷς οὐκέτι ἦν ἀντιβλέψαι, τοσούτους δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν μύας χρυσοῦς τοῖς κατανεμηθεῖσιν αὐτῶν καὶ διαφθείρασι τὴν χώραν ἐμφερεῖς: [11] ἔπειτα βαλόντας εἰς γλωσσόκομον αὐτοὺς καὶ θέντας ἐπὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν ἅμαξαν αὐτῇ καινὴν κατασκευάσαι, καὶ βόας ὑποζεύξαντας ἀρτιτόκους τὰς μὲν πόρτις ἐγκλεῖσαι καὶ κατασχεῖν, μὴ ταῖς μητράσιν ἐμποδὼν ἐπόμεναι γένωνται, πόθῳ δ᾽ αὐτῶν ὀξυτέραν ποιῶνται τὴν πορείαν: ἐκείνας δ᾽ ἐξελάσαντας τὴν κιβωτὸν φερούσας ἐπὶ τριόδου καταλιπεῖν αὐταῖς ἐπιτρέψαντας ἣν βούλονται τῶν ὁδῶν ἀπελθεῖν: [12] κἂν μὲν τὴν Ἑβραίων ἀπίωσι καὶ τὴν τούτων χώραν ἀναβαίνωσιν, ὑπολαμβάνειν τὴν κιβωτὸν αἰτίαν τῶν κακῶν, ἂν δὲ ἄλλην τράπωνται, μεταδιώξωμεν αὐτὴν, ἔφασαν, μαθόντες ὅτι μηδεμίαν ἰσχὺν τοιαύτην ἔχει.

(3) [13] Ἔκριναν δ᾽ αὐτὰ καλῶς εἰρῆσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις εὐθὺς τὴν γνώμην ἐκύρωσαν. καὶ ποιήσαντες μὲν τὰ προειρημένα προάγουσιν [τὴν ἅμαξαν] ἐπὶ τὴν τρίοδον καὶ καταλιπόντες ἀνεχώρησαν, τῶν δὲ βοῶν τὴν ὀρθὴν ὁδὸν ὥσπερ ἡγουμένου τινὸς αὐταῖς ἀπιουσῶν ἠκολούθουν οἱ τῶν Παλαιστίνων ἄρχοντες, ποῦ ποτε στήσονται καὶ πρὸς τίνας ἥξουσι βουλόμενοι μαθεῖν. [14] κώμη δέ τίς ἐστι τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς Βήθης ὄνομα: εἰς ταύτην ἀφικνοῦνται αἱ βόες, καὶ πεδίου μεγάλου καὶ καλοῦ τὴν πορείαν αὐτῶν ἐκδεξαμένου παύονται προσωτέρω χωρεῖν στήσασαι τὴν ἅμαξαν αὐτόθι. θέα δὲ ἦν τοῖς ἐν τῇ κώμῃ καὶ περιχαρεῖς ἐγένοντο: θέρους γὰρ ὥρᾳ πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν συγκομιδὴν τῶν καρπῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρούραις ὑπάρχοντες ὡς εἶδον τὴν κιβωτὸν ὑφ᾽ ἡδονῆς ἁρπαγέντες καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἀφέντες ἔδραμον εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἅμαξαν. [15] καὶ καθελόντες τὴν κιβωτὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγγος, ὃ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας εἶχε καὶ τοὺς μύας, τιθέασιν ἐπί τινος πέτρας, ἥτις ἦν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, καὶ θύσαντες λαμπρῶς τῷ θεῷ καὶ κατευωχηθέντες τήν τε ἅμαξαν καὶ τοὺς βόας ὁλοκαύτωσαν. καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἰδόντες οἱ τῶν Παλαιστίνων ἄρχοντες ἀνέστρεψαν ὀπίσω.

(4) [16] Ὀργὴ δὲ καὶ χόλος τοῦ θεοῦ μέτεισιν ἑβδομήκοντα τῶν ἐκ τῆς Βήθης κώμης, οὓς οὐκ ὄντας ἀξίους ἅψασθαι τῆς κιβωτοῦ, ἱερεῖς γὰρ οὐκ ἦσαν, καὶ προσελθόντας αὐτῇ βαλὼν ἀπέκτεινεν. ἔκλαυσαν δὲ ταῦτα παθόντας αὐτοὺς οἱ κωμῆται, καὶ πένθος ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἤγειραν οἷον εἰκὸς ἐπὶ θεοπέμπτῳ κακῷ καὶ τὸν ἴδιον ἕκαστος ἀπεθρήνει: [17] τοῦ τε μένειν τὴν κιβωτὸν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀναξίους

ἀποφαίνοντες αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑβραίων πέμψαντες ἐδήλουν ἀποδεδόσθαι τὴν κιβωτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Παλαιστίνων. κἀκεῖνοι γνόντες τοῦτο ἀποκομίζουσιν αὐτὴν εἰς Καριαθιαρεὶμ γείτονα πόλιν τῆς Βήθης κώμης. [18] ἔνθα τινὸς Λευίτου τὸ γένος Ἀμιναδάβου δόξαν ἔχοντος ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ θρησκείᾳ καταβιοῦντος εἰς οἰκίαν τὴν κιβωτὸν ἤγαγον, ὥσπερ εἰς πρέποντα τῷ θεῷ τόπον ἐν ᾧ κατῴκει δίκαιος ἄνθρωπος. ἐθεράπευον δὲ τὴν κιβωτὸν οἱ τούτου παῖδες καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας ταύτης ἕως ἐτῶν εἴκοσι προέστησαν: τοσαῦτα γὰρ ἔμεινεν ἐν τῇ Καριαθιαρεὶμ ποιήσασα παρὰ τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις μῆνας τέσσαρας.

II

(1) [19] Τοῦ δὲ λαοῦ παντὸς ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, καθ' ὃν εἶχεν ἡ τῶν Καριαθιαρειμιτῶν πόλις τὴν κιβωτόν, ἐπ' εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας τραπέντος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πολλὴν ἐμφανίζοντος τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν θρησκείαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν, ὁ προφήτης Σαμουῆλος ἰδὼν αὐτῶν τὴν προθυμίαν, ὡς εὔκαιρον πρὸς οὕτως ἔχοντας εἰπεῖν περὶ ἐλευθερίας καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ, χρῆται λόγοις οἷς ᾤετο μάλιστα τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν προσάξεσθαι καὶ πείσειν: [20] "ἄνδρες, γὰρ εἶπεν, οἷς ἔτι νῦν βαρεῖς μὲν πολέμιοι Παλαιστῖνοι, θεὸς δ' εὐμενὴς ἄρχεται γίνεσθαι καὶ φίλος, οὐκ ἐπιθυμεῖν ἐλευθερίας δεῖ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιεῖν δι' ὧν ἂν ἔλθοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, οὐδὲ βούλεσθαι μὲν ἀπηλλάχθαι δεσποτῶν ἐπιμένειν δὲ πράττοντας ἐξ ὧν οὗτοι διαμενοῦσιν: [21] ἀλλὰ γίνεσθε δίκαιοι, καὶ τὴν πονηρίαν ἐκβαλόντες τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ θεραπεύσαντες αὐτὴν ὅλαις ταῖς διανοίαις προστρέπεσθε τὸ θεῖον καὶ τιμῶντες διατελεῖτε: ταῦτα γὰρ ὑμῖν ποιοῦσιν ἥξει τὰ ἀγαθά, δουλείας ἀπαλλαγὴ καὶ νίκη πολεμίων, ἃ λαβεῖν οὔθ' ὅπλοις οὔτε σωμάτων ἀλκαῖς οὔτε πλήθει συμμάχων δυνατόν ἐστιν: οὐ γὰρ τούτοις ὁ θεὸς ὑπισχνεῖται παρέξειν αὐτά, τῷ δ' ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι καὶ δικαίους: ἐγγυητὴς δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν ὑποσχέσεων ἐγὼ γίνο [22] μαι." ταῦτ' εἰπόντος ἐπευφήμησε τὸ πλῆθος ἡσθὲν τῇ παραινέσει καὶ κατένευσεν αὐτὸ παρέξειν κεχαρισμένον τῷ θεῷ. συνάγει δ' αὐτοὺς ὁ Σαμουῆλος εἴς τινα πόλιν λεγομένην Μασφάτην: κατοπτευόμενον τοῦτο σημαίνει κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἑβραίων γλῶτταν: ἐντεῦθεν ὑδρευσάμενοί τε σπένδουσι τῷ θεῷ καὶ διανηστεύσαντες ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπ' εὐχὰς τρέπονται.

(2) [23] Οὐ λανθάνουσι δὲ τοὺς Παλαιστίνους ἐκεῖ συναχθέντες, ἀλλὰ μαθόντες οὗτοι τὴν ἄθροισιν αὐτῶν μεγάλῃ στρατιᾷ καὶ δυνάμει κατ' ἐλπίδα τοῦ μὴ προσδοκῶσι μηδὲ παρεσκευασμένοις ἐπιπεσεῖσθαι τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐπέρχονται. [24] καταπλήττει δ' αὐτοὺς τοῦτο καὶ εἰς ταραχὴν ἄγει καὶ δέος, καὶ δραμόντες πρὸς Σαμουῆλον, ἀναπεπτωκέναι τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ὑπὸ φόβου καὶ τῆς προτέρας ἥττης ἔφασκον καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἠρεμεῖν, ἵνα μὴ κινήσωμεν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων δύναμιν, σοῦ δ' ἀναγαγόντος ἡμᾶς ἐπ' εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας καὶ ὅρκους γυμνοῖς καὶ ἀνόπλοις ἐπεστράτευσαν οἱ πολέμιοι: ἐλπὶς οὖν ἡμῖν οὐκ ἄλλη σωτηρίας, ἢ μόνη

ἡ παρὰ σοῦ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ [25] ἱκετευθέντος ὑπὸ σοῦ παρασχεῖν ἡμῖν διαφυγεῖν Παλαιστίνους.” ὁ δὲ θαρρεῖν τε προτρέπεται καὶ βοηθήσειν αὐτοῖς τὸν θεὸν ἐπαγγέλλεται καὶ λαβὼν ἄρνα γαλαθηνόν, ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄχλων θύει καὶ παρακαλεῖ τὸν θεὸν ὑπερσχεῖν αὐτῶν τὴν δεξιὰν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Παλαιστίνους μάχῃ καὶ μὴ περιιδεῖν αὐτοὺς δεύτερον δυστυχήσαντας. ἐπήκοος δὲ γίνεται τῶν εὐχῶν ὁ θεὸς, καὶ προσδεξάμενος εὐμενεῖ καὶ συμμάχῳ τῇ διανοίᾳ τὴν θυσίαν ἐπινεύει νίκην αὐτοῖς καὶ κράτος. [26] ἔτι δ’ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὴν θυσίαν ἔχοντος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μήπω πᾶσαν διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς φλογὸς ἀπειληφότος προῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἡ τῶν πολεμίων δύναμις καὶ παρατάσσεται εἰς μάχην, ἐπ’ ἐλπίδι μὲν νίκης, ὡς ἀπειλημμένων ἐν ἀπορίᾳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων μήτε ὅπλα ἐχόντων μήτε ὡς ἐπὶ μάχῃ ἐκεῖσε ἀπηντηκότων, περιπίπτουσι δὲ οἷς οὐδ’ εἰ προύλεγέ τις ῥᾳδίως ἐπείσθησαν. [27] πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς κλονεῖ σεισμῷ καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτοῖς ὑπότρομον καὶ σφαλερὰν κινήσας τίθησιν, ὡς σαλευομένης τε τὰς βάσεις ὑποφέρεσθαι καὶ διισταμένης εἰς ἕνια τῶν χασμάτων καταφέρεσθαι, ἔπειτα βρονταῖς καταψοφήσας καὶ διαπύροις ἀστραπαῖς ὡς καταφλέξων αὐτῶν τὰς ὄψεις περιλάμψας καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἐκκροτήσας τὰ ὅπλα, γυμνοὺς εἰς φυγὴν ἀπέστρεψεν. [28] ἐπεξέρχεται δὲ Σαμουῆλος μετὰ τῆς πληθύος καὶ πολλοὺς κατασφάξας κατακολουθεῖ μέχρι Κορραίων τόπου τινὸς οὕτω λεγομένου, καὶ καταπήξας ἐκεῖ λίθον ὥσπερ ὅρον τῆς νίκης καὶ τῆς φυγῆς τῶν πολεμίων, ἰσχυρὸν αὐτὸν προσαγορεύει σύμβολον τῆς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γενομένης αὐτοῖς κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἰσχύος.

(3) [29] Οἱ δὲ μετ’ ἐκείνην τὴν πληγὴν οὐκέτ’ ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ δέους καὶ μνήμης τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἡσύχαζον: ὃ δ’ ἦν πάλαι θάρσος τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους, τοῦτ’ ἐκείνων μετὰ τὴν νίκην ἐγένετο. [30] καὶ Σαμουῆλος στρατεύσας ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἀναιρεῖ πολλοὺς καὶ τὰ φρονήματ’ αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ταπεινοῖ καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀφαιρεῖται, ἣν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπετέμοντο πρότερον κρατήσαντες τῇ μάχῃ: αὕτη δ’ ἦν μέχρι πόλεως Ἀκάρων ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς Γίττης ὅρων ἐκτεταμένη. ἦν δὲ κατ’ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν φίλια τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις τὰ ὑπολειπόμενα τῶν Χαναναίων.

III

(1) [31] Ὁ δὲ προφήτης Σαμουῆλος διακοσμήσας τὸν λαὸν καὶ πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἀποδοὺς εἰς ταύτην ἐκέλευσε συνερχομένοις περὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους κρίνεσθαι διαφορῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ δι’ ἔτους ἐπερχόμενος τὰς πόλεις ἐδίκαζεν αὐτοῖς καὶ πολλὴν ἐβράβευεν εὐνομίαν ἐπὶ χρόνον πολύν.

(2) [32] ἔπειθ’ ὑπὸ γήρως βαρυνόμενος καὶ τὰ συνήθη πράττειν ἐμποδιζόμενος τοῖς υἱοῖς τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν προστασίαν τοῦ ἔθνους παραδίδωσιν, ὧν ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος Ἰοῦλος προσηγορεύετο, τῷ δὲ νεωτέρῳ Ἐβίᾳ ὄνομα ἦν. προσέταξε

δὲ τὸν μὲν ἐν Βεθήλῳ πόλει καθεζόμενον κρίνειν, τὸν δ᾽ ἕτερον ἐν Βερσουβεὶ μερίσας τὸν ὑπακουσόμενον ἑκατέρῳ λαόν. [33] ἐγένοντο δὲ σαφὲς οὗτοι παράδειγμα καὶ τεκμήριον τοῦ μὴ τὸν τρόπον ὁμοίους τοῖς φύσασι γίνεσθαί τινας, ἀλλὰ τάχα μὲν χρηστοὺς καὶ μετρίους ἐκ πονηρῶν, τότε μέν γε φαύλους ἐξ ἀγαθῶν παρέσχον αὐτοὺς γενομένους: [34] τῶν γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐκτραπόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ὁδὸν ἀπελθόντες δώρων καὶ λημμάτων αἰσχρῶν καθυφίεντο τὸ δίκαιον, καὶ τὰς κρίσεις οὐ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ κέρδος ποιούμενοι καὶ πρὸς τρυφὴν καὶ πρὸς διαίτας πολυτελεῖς ἀπονενευκότες πρῶτον μὲν ὑπεναντία ταῦτα ἔπρασσον τῷ θεῷ, δεύτερον δὲ τῷ προφήτῃ πατρὶ δ᾽ ἑαυτῶν, ὃς πολλὴν καὶ τοῦ τὸ πλῆθος εἶναι δίκαιον σπουδὴν εἰσεφέρετο καὶ πρόνοιαν.

(3) [35] Ὁ δὲ λαὸς ἐξυβριζόντων [εἰς] τὴν προτέραν κατάστασιν καὶ πολιτείαν τῶν τοῦ προφήτου παίδων χαλεπῶς τε τοῖς πραττομένοις ἔφερε καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν συντρέχουσι, διέτριβε δ᾽ ἐν Ἀρμαθᾶ πόλει, καὶ τάς τε τῶν υἱῶν παρανομίας ἔλεγον καὶ ὅτι γηραιὸς ὢν αὐτὸς ἤδη καὶ παρειμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου τῶν πραγμάτων οὐκέτι τὸν αὐτὸν προεστάναι δύναται τρόπον: ἐδέοντό τε καὶ ἱκέτευον ἀποδεῖξαί τινα αὐτῶν βασιλέα, ὃς ἄρξει τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τιμωρήσεται Παλαιστίνους ὀφείλοντας ἔτ᾽ αὐτοῖς δίκας τῶν προτέρων ἀδικημάτων. [36] ἐλύπησαν δὲ σφόδρα τὸν Σαμουῆλον οἱ λόγοι διὰ τὴν σύμφυτον δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέας μῖσος: ἤττητο γὰρ δεινῶς τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ὡς θείας καὶ μακαρίους ποιούσης τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτῆς τῇ πολιτείᾳ. [37] ὑπὸ δὲ φροντίδος καὶ βασάνου τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις οὔτε τροφῆς ἐμνημόνευσεν οὔτε ὕπνου, δι᾽ ὅλης δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς στρέφων τὰς περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐννοίας διεκαρτέρει.

(4) [38] Ἔχοντι δὲ οὕτως ἐμφανίζεται τὸ θεῖον καὶ παραμυθεῖται μὴ δυσφορεῖν ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἠξίωσε τὸ πλῆθος, ὡς οὐκ ἐκεῖνον ὑπερηφανήσοντας ἀλλ᾽ ἑαυτὸν, εἰ μὴ βασιλεύσει μόνος: ταῦτα δὲ ἀφ᾽ ἧς ἡμέρας ἐξήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἀπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου μηχανᾶσθαι τὰ ἔργα: λήψεσθαι μέντοι γε οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν μετάνοιαν αὐτοὺς ἐπίπονον, ὑφ᾽ ἧς οὐδὲν μὲν ἀγένητον ἔσται τῶν ἐσομένων, ἐλεγχθήσονται δὲ καταφρονήσαντες καὶ βουλὰς οὐκ εὐχαρίστους πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ τὴν σὴν προφητείαν λαβόντες. [39] κελεύω δή σε χειροτονεῖν αὐτοῖς ὃν ἂν ἐγὼ προείπω βασιλέα προδηλώσαντα ποταπῶν τε πειραθήσονται βασιλευόμενοι κακῶν καὶ διαμαρτυράμενον ἐφ᾽ οἵαν σπεύδουσι μεταβολήν.”

(5) [40] Ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας Σαμουῆλος ἅμα ἕῳ συγκαλέσας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀποδείξειν αὐτοῖς βασιλέα ὡμολόγησεν, ἔφη δὲ δεῖν πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐκδιηγήσασθαι τὰ παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἐσόμενα καὶ ὅσοις συνενεχθήσονται κακοῖς: “γινώσκετε γὰρ ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ὑμῶν ἀποσπάσουσι τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἁρματηλάτας εἶναι κελεύσουσι, τοὺς δ᾽ ἱππεῖς καὶ σωματοφύλακας, δρομεῖς δὲ ἄλλους καὶ χιλιάρχους καὶ ἑκατοντάρχους, ποιήσουσι δὲ καὶ τεχνίτας

ὁπλοποιοὺς καὶ ἁρματοποιοὺς καὶ ὀργάνων τέκτονας γεωργούς τε καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἀγρῶν ἐπιμελητὰς καὶ σκαπανεῖς ἀμπέλων, [41] καὶ οὐδέν ἐστιν ὃ μὴ κελευόμενοι ποιήσουσιν ἀνδραπόδων ἀργυρωνήτων τρόπον: καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας δ' ὑμῶν μυρεψοὺς ἀποφανοῦσι καὶ ὀψοποιοὺς καὶ σιτοποιούς, καὶ πᾶν ἔργον ὃ θεραπαινίδες ἐξ ἀνάγκης πληγὰς φοβούμεναι καὶ βασάνους ὑπηρετήσουσι. κτῆσιν δὲ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀφαιρήσονται καὶ ταύτην εὐνούχοις καὶ σωματοφύλαξι δωρήσονται καὶ βοσκημάτων ἀγέλας τοῖς αὐτῶν προσνεμοῦσι. [42] συνελόντι δ' εἰπεῖν, δουλεύσετε μετὰ πάντων τῶν ὑμετέρων τῷ βασιλεῖ σὺν τοῖς αὐτῶν οἰκέταις: ὃς γενόμενος μνήμην ὑμῖν τῶνδε τῶν λόγων γεννήσει καὶ τῷ πάσχειν αὐτὰ μεταγινώσκοντας ἱκετεῦσαι τὸν θεὸν ἐλεῆσαί τε ὑμᾶς καὶ δωρήσασθαι ταχεῖαν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν βασιλέων: ὁ δ' οὐ προσδέξεται τὰς δεήσεις, ἀλλὰ παραπέμψας ἐάσει δίκην ὑποσχεῖν ὑμᾶς τῆς αὐτῶν κακοβουλίας."

(6) [43] Ἦν δ' ἄρα καὶ πρὸς τὰς προρρήσεις τῶν συμβησομένων ἀνόητον τὸ πλῆθος καὶ δύσκολον ἐξελεῖν τῆς διανοίας κρίσιν ἤδη παρὰ τῷ λογισμῷ καθιδρυμένην: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπεστράφησαν οὐδ' ἐμέλησεν αὐτοῖς τῶν Σαμουήλου λόγων, ἀλλ' ἐνέκειντο λιπαρῶς καὶ χειροτονεῖν ἠξίουν ἤδη τὸν βασιλέα καὶ μὴ φροντίζειν τῶν ἐσομένων: [44] ἐπὶ γὰρ τιμωρίᾳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀνάγκη τὸν πολεμήσοντα σὺν αὐτοῖς ἔχειν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄτοπον εἶναι τῶν πλησιοχώρων βασιλευομένων τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν αὐτοὺς πολιτείαν. ὁρῶν δ' αὐτοὺς μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν προειρημένων ἀπεστραμμένους ὁ Σαμουῆλος, ἀλλ' ἐπιμένοντας "νῦν μὲν, εἶπεν, ἄπιτε πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἕκαστος, μεταπέμψομαι δὲ ὑμᾶς εἰς δέον, ὅταν μάθω παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τίνα δίδωσιν ὑμῖν βασιλέα."

IV

(1) [45] Ἦν δέ τις ἐκ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς ἀνὴρ εὖ γεγονὼς καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὸ ἦθος, Κεὶς ὄνομα: τούτῳ παῖς ὑπῆρχεν, ἦν δὲ νεανίας τὴν μορφὴν ἄριστος καὶ τὸ σῶμα μέγας τό τε φρόνημα καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀμείνων τῶν βλεπομένων: Σαοῦλον αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν. [46] οὗτος ὁ Κείς, ὄνων αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς νομῆς καλῶν ἀποπλανηθεισῶν, ἤδετο γὰρ αὐταῖς ὡς οὐκ ἄλλῳ τινὶ τῶν κτημάτων, τὸν υἱὸν μεθ' ἑνὸς θεράποντος ἐπὶ ζήτησιν τῶν κτηνῶν ἐξέπεμψεν: ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ τὴν πάτριον περιῆλθε φυλὴν εἰς τὰς ἄλλας ἀφίκετο, οὐδ' ἐν ταύταις δ' ἐπιτυχὼν ἀπιέναι διεγνώκει, μὴ ποιήσῃ περὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ πατρὶ λοιπὸν φροντίδα. [47] τοῦ δ' ἑπομένου θεράποντος ὡς ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὴν Ἀραμαθὰ πόλιν εἶναι προφήτην ἐν αὐτῇ φήσαντος ἀληθῆ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν βαδίζειν συμβουλεύσαντος, γνώσεσθαι γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ περὶ τῶν ὄνων τέλος, οὐθὲν ἔχειν πορευθέντας εἶπεν ἀντὶ τῆς προφητείας ὃ παράσχωσιν αὐτῷ: κεκενῶσθαι γὰρ ἤδη τῶν ἐφοδίων. [48] τοῦ δ' οἰκέτου τέταρτον αὐτῷ παρεῖναι σίκλου φήσαντος καὶ τοῦτο δώσειν, ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀγνοίας τοῦ μὴ λαμβάνειν τὸν προφήτην μισθὸν ἐπλανῶντο, παραγίνονται καὶ

πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις παρατυγχάνοντες παρθένοις ἐφ᾽ ὕδωρ βαδιζούσαις ἐρωτῶσιν αὐτὰς τοῦ προφήτου τὴν οἰκίαν. αἱ δὲ σημαίνουσι καὶ σπεύδειν παρεκελεύσαντο πρὶν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ δεῖπνον κατακλιθῆναι: πολλοὺς γὰρ ἑστιᾶν καὶ προκατακλίνεσθαι τῶν κεκλημένων. [49] ὁ δὲ Σαμουῆλος διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίαν τότε συνήγαγε: δεομένῳ γὰρ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ προειπεῖν τίνα ποιήσει βασιλέα τῇ παρελθούσῃ τοῦτον μηνύσαντος, πέμψειν γὰρ αὐτός τινα νεανίσκον ἐκ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς κατὰ τήνδε τὴν ὥραν, αὐτὸς [μὲν] ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος καθεζόμενος ἐξεδέχετο τὸν καιρὸν γενέσθαι, πληρωθέντος δ᾽ αὐτοῦ καταβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐπορεύετο. [50] συναντᾷ δὲ τῷ Σαούλῳ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ σημαίνει τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν ἄρξειν μέλλοντα. Σαοῦλος δὲ πρόσεισι τῷ Σαμουήλῳ καὶ προσαγορεύσας ἐδεῖτο μηνύειν τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ προφήτου: ξένος γὰρ ὢν ἀγνοεῖν ἔφασκε. [51] τοῦ δὲ Σαμουήλου αὐτὸν εἶναι φράσαντος καὶ ἄγοντος ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, ὡς τῶν ὄνων ἐφ᾽ ὧν τὴν ζήτησιν ἐκπεμφθείη σεσωσμένων τά τε πάντα ἀγαθὰ ἔχειν αὐτῷ κεκυρωμένα, προστυχών "ἀλλ᾽ ἥττων, εἶπεν, ἐγὼ, δέσποτα, ταύτης τῆς ἐλπίδος καὶ φυλῆς μικροτέρας ἢ βασιλέας ποιεῖν καὶ πατριᾶς ταπεινοτέρας τῶν ἄλλων πατριῶν. σὺ δὲ παίζεις καὶ γέλωτά με τίθεσαι περὶ μειζόνων ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν χώραν διαλεγόμενος. [52] ὁ δὲ προφήτης ἀγαγὼν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίαν κατακλίνει καὶ τὸν ἀκόλουθον ἐπάνω τῶν κεκλημένων: οὗτοι δ᾽ ἦσαν ἑβδομήκοντα τὸν ἀριθμόν: προστάσσει δὲ τοῖς διακόνοις παραθεῖναι τῷ Σαούλῳ μερίδα βασιλικήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κοίτης ὥρα προσῆγεν οἱ μὲν ἀναστάντες ἀπελύοντο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἕκαστοι, ὁ δὲ Σαοῦλος παρὰ τῷ προφήτῃ σὺν τῷ θεράποντι κατεκοιμήθη.

(2) [53] Ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ Σαμουῆλος ἀναστήσας αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς κοίτης προύπεμπε καὶ γενόμενος ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐκέλευσε τὸν μὲν θεράποντα ποιῆσαι προελθεῖν, ὑπολείπεσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν: ἔχειν γὰρ αὐτῷ τι φράσαι [μηδενὸς ἄλλου παρόντος]. [54] καὶ ὁ μὲν Σαοῦλος ἀποπέμπεται τὸν ἀκόλουθον, λαβὼν δ᾽ ὁ προφήτης τὸ ἅγιον ἔλαιον καταχεῖ τῆς τοῦ νεανίσκου κεφαλῆς καὶ κατασπασάμενος "ἴσθι, φησὶ, βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κεχειροτονημένος ἐπί τε Παλαιστίνους καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ Ἑβραίων ἄμυναν. τούτων δὲ ἔσται σοι σημεῖον ὅ σε βούλομαι προγινώσκειν: [55] ὅταν ἀπέλθῃς ἐντεῦθεν καταλήψῃ τρεῖς ἀνθρώπους ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ προσκυνῆσαι τῷ θεῷ πορευομένους εἰς Βέθηλα, ὧν τὸν μὲν πρῶτον τρεῖς ἄρτους ὄψει κομίζοντα, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἔριφον, ὁ τρίτος δὲ ἀσκὸν οἴνου φέρων ἀκολουθήσει. ἀσπάσονταί σε οὗτοι καὶ φιλοφρονήσονται καὶ δώσουσί σοι ἄρτους δύο, σὺ δὲ λήψῃ. [56] κἀκεῖθεν ἥξεις εἰς τὸ Ῥαχήλας καλούμενον μνημεῖον, ὅπου συμβαλεῖς τῷ σεσῶσθαί σου τὰς ὄνους εὐαγγελιουμένῳ: ἔπειτ᾽ ἐκεῖθεν ἐλθὼν εἰς Γεβαθὰ προφήταις ἐκκλησιάζουσιν ἐπιτεύξῃ καὶ γενόμενος ἔνθεος προφητεύσεις σὺν αὐτοῖς, ὡς πάνθ᾽ ὅντιν᾽ ὁρῶντα ἐκπλήττεσθαί τε καὶ θαυμάζειν λέγοντα "πόθεν εἰς τοῦτο εὐδαιμονίας ὁ Κεισαίου παῖς παρῆλθεν;" ὅταν δέ σοι ταῦτα γένηται τὰ σημεῖα, [57] τὸν θεὸν ἴσθι μετὰ σοῦ τυγχάνοντα,

ἄσπασαί τε τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς. ἥξεις δὲ μετάπεμπτος εἰς Γάλγαλα ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ, ἵνα χαριστήρια τούτων θύσωμεν τῷ θεῷ.᾽᾽ φράσας ταῦτα καὶ προειπὼν ἀποπέμπει τὸν νεανίσκον: τῷ Σαούλῳ δὲ πάντα κατὰ τὴν Σαμουήλου προφητείαν ἀπήντησεν.

(3) [58] Ὡς δὲ ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ συγγενοῦς αὐτοῦ Ἀβηνάρου, καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον τῶν ἄλλων οἰκείων μᾶλλον ἔστεργεν, ἀνερωτῶντος περὶ τῆς ἀποδημίας καὶ τῶν κατ᾽ αὐτὸν γεγονότων τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἀπεκρύψατο οὐδ᾽ ὡς ἀφίκοιτο παρὰ Σαμουῆλον τὸν προφήτην οὐδ᾽ ὡς ἐκεῖνος αὐτῷ σεσῶσθαι τὰς ὄνους ἔφρασε, περὶ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τῶν κατ᾽ αὐτὴν, [59] ἃ φθόνον ἀκουόμενα καὶ ἀπιστίαν ἔχειν ᾤετο, σιωπᾷ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ οὐδὲ πρὸς εὔνουν σφόδρα δοκοῦντα εἶναι καὶ περισσότερον τῶν ἀφ᾽ αἵματος ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ στεργόμενον ἀσφαλὲς ἢ σῶφρον ἔδοξε μηνύειν λογισάμενος οἶμαι τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν οἵα ταῖς ἀληθείαις ἐστίν, ὅτι βεβαίως οὐδεὶς οὔτε φίλων οὔτε συγγενῶν οὐδ᾽ ἄχρι τῶν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαμπρῶν ἀποσώζει τὴν διάθεσιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς ὑπεροχὰς κακοήθεις τυγχάνουσιν ἤδη καὶ βάσκανοι.

(4) [60] Σαμουῆλος δὲ καλεῖ τὸν λαὸν εἰς Μασφὰ πόλιν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν διατίθεται λόγους, οὓς κατ᾽ ἐντολὴν φράζειν ἔλεγε τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνου παρασχόντος καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους δουλώσαντος ἀμνημονήσειαν τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, καὶ τὸν μὲν θεὸν ἀποχειροτονοῦσι τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ εἰδότες ὡς συμφορώτατον ὑπὸ τοῦ πάντων ἀρίστου προστατεῖσθαι, [61] θεὸς δὲ πάντων ἄριστος, αἱροῦνται δ᾽ ἔχειν ἄνθρωπον βασιλέα, ὃς ὡς κτήματι τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις κατὰ βούλησιν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν ὁρμὴν χρήσεται τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀφειδῶς ἐμφορούμενος, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ ὡς ἴδιον ἔργον καὶ κατασκεύασμα τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος οὕτως διατηρῆσαι σπουδάσει, ὁ θεὸς δὲ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν κήδοιτο. ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ δέδοκται ταῦτα ὑμῖν καὶ κεκράτηκεν ἡ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὕβρις, τάχθητε πάντες κατὰ φυλάς τε καὶ σκῆπτρα καὶ κλήρους βάλετε.᾽᾽

(5) [62] Ποιησάντων δὲ τοῦτο τῶν Ἑβραίων ὁ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος κλῆρος ἐξέπεσε, ταύτης δὲ κληρωθείσης ἔλαχεν ἡ Ματρὶς καλουμένη πατριὰ, ἧς κατ᾽ ἄνδρα κληρωθείσης λαγχάνει ὁ Κεισαίου βασιλεύειν παῖς Σαοῦλος. [63] γνοὺς δὲ τοῦθ᾽ ὁ νεανίσκος φθάσας ἐκποδὼν αὐτὸν ἐποίει μὴ βουλόμενος οἶμαι δοκεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἑκὼν λαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ τοσαύτην ἐνεδείξατο ἐγκράτειαν καὶ σωφροσύνην, ὥστε τῶν πλείστων οὐδ᾽ ἐπὶ μικραῖς εὐπραγίαις τὴν χαρὰν κατασχεῖν δυναμένων, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς τὸ πᾶσι γενέσθαι φανεροὺς προπιπτόντων, ὁ δ᾽ οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν ἐνέφηνε τοιοῦτον ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ καὶ τῷ τοσούτων καὶ τηλικούτων ἐθνῶν ἀποδεδεῖχθαι δεσπότης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ὄψεως αὐτὸν τῆς τῶν βασιλευθησομένων ἐξέκλεψεν καὶ ζητεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ τοῦτο πονεῖν παρεσκεύασεν. [64] ὧν ἀμηχανούντων καὶ φροντιζόντων, ὅτι καὶ γένοιτο ἀφανὴς ὁ Σαοῦλος, ὁ προφήτης ἱκέτευε τὸν θεὸν δεῖξαι ποῦ ποτ᾽ εἴη καὶ παρασχεῖν εἰς ἐμφανὲς τὸν

νεανίσκον. [65] μαθὼν δὲ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν τόπον ἔνθα κρύπτεται ὁ Σαοῦλος πέμπει τοὺς ἄξοντας αὐτὸν καὶ παραγενόμενον ἵστησι μέσον τοῦ πλήθους. ἐξεῖχε δὲ ἁπάντων, καὶ τὸ ὕψος ἦν βασιλικώτατος.

(6) [66] Λέγει δὲ ὁ προφήτης: "τοῦτον ὑμῖν ὁ θεὸς ἔδωκε βασιλέα: ὁρᾶτε δὲ ὡς καὶ κρείττων ἐστὶ πάντων καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄξιος." ὡς δ' ἐπευφήμησε τῷ βασιλεῖ σωτηρίαν ὁ λαός, τὰ μέλλοντα συμβήσεσθαι καταγράψας αὐτοῖς ὁ προφήτης ἀνέγνω τοῦ βασιλέως ἀκροωμένου καὶ τὸ βιβλίον τίθησιν ἐν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ σκηνῇ ταῖς μετέπειτα γενεαῖς μαρτύριον ὧν προείρηκε. [67] ταῦτ' ἐπιτελέσας ὁ Σαμουῆλος ἀπολύει τὴν πληθύν. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς Ἀρμαθὰ παραγίνεται πόλιν, πατρὶς γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ, Σαούλῳ δὲ ἀπερχομένῳ εἰς Γαβαθὴν, ἐξ ἧς ὑπῆρχε, συνήρχοντο πολλοὶ μὲν ἀγαθοὶ τὴν προσήκουσαν βασιλεῖ τιμὴν νέμοντες, πονηροὶ δὲ πλείους, οἳ καταφρονοῦντες αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐχλεύαζον καὶ οὔτε δῶρα προσέφερον οὔτ' ἐν σπουδῇ καὶ λόγῳ τὸ ἀρέσκεσθαι τὸν Σαοῦλον ἐτίθεντο.

V

(1) [68] Μηνὶ δ' ὕστερον ἄρχει τῆς παρὰ πάντων αὐτῷ τιμῆς ὁ πρὸς Ναάσην πόλεμος τὸν τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν βασιλέα: οὗτος γὰρ πολλὰ κακὰ τοὺς πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ κατῳκημένους τῶν Ἰουδαίων διατίθησι μετὰ πολλοῦ καὶ μαχίμου στρατεύματος διαβὰς ἐπ' αὐτούς: [69] καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν εἰς δουλείαν ὑπάγεται ἰσχύι μὲν καὶ βίᾳ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν αὐτοὺς χειρωσάμενος, σοφίᾳ δὲ καὶ ἐπινοίᾳ πρὸς τὸ μηδ' αὖθις ἀποστάντας δυνηθῆναι τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῷ δουλείαν διαφυγεῖν ἀσθενεῖς ποιῶν: τῶν γὰρ ἢ κατὰ πίστιν ὡς αὐτὸν ἀφικνουμένων ἢ λαμβανομένων πολέμου νόμῳ τοὺς δεξιοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξέκοπτεν. [70] ἐποίει δὲ τοῦθ', ὅπως τῆς ἀριστερᾶς αὐτοῖς ὄψεως ὑπὸ τῶν θυρεῶν καλυπτομένης ἄχρηστοι παντελῶς εἶεν. [71] καὶ ὁ μὲν τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν βασιλεὺς ταῦτ' ἐργασάμενος τοὺς πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ἐπὶ τοὺς Γαλαδηνοὺς λεγομένους ἐπεστράτευσε καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενος πρὸς τῇ μητροπόλει τῶν πολεμίων, Ἰαβὶς δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη, πέμπει πρὸς αὐτοὺς πρέσβεις κελεύων ἤδη παραδοῦναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς δεξιοὺς αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξορύξαι, ἢ πολιορκήσειν ἠπείλει καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν ἀναστήσειν: τὴν δ' αἵρεσιν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι, πότερόν ποτε βραχύ τι τοῦ σώματος ἀποτεμεῖν θέλουσιν ἢ παντάπασιν ἀπολωλέναι. [72] οἱ δὲ Γαλαδηνοὶ καταπλαγέντες πρὸς οὐδέτερον μὲν ἐτόλμησαν οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν οὔτ' εἰ παραδιδόασιν αὐτοὺς οὔτ' εἰ πολεμοῦσιν, ἀνοχὴν δ' ἡμερῶν ἑπτὰ λαβεῖν ἠξίωσαν, ἵνα πρεσβευσάμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους παρακαλέσωσι συμμαχεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰ μὲν ἔλθοι βοήθεια πολεμῶσιν, εἰ δ' ἄπορα εἴη τὰ παρ' ἐκείνων παραδώσειν αὐτοὺς ἔφασκον ἐπὶ τῷ παθεῖν ὅτι ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ.

(2) [73] Ὁ δὲ Ναάσης καταφρονήσας τοῦ τῶν Γαλαδηνῶν πλήθους καὶ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως αὐτῶν δίδωσί τε αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀνοχὴν καὶ πέμπειν πρὸς οὓς ἂν θέλωσι συμμάχους ἐπιτρέπει. πέμπουσιν οὖν εὐθὺς κατὰ πόλιν τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις οἳ ἤγγελλον τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ναάσου καὶ τὴν ἀμηχανίαν ἐν ᾗ καθειστήκεσαν. [74] οἱ δ' εἰς δάκρυα καὶ λύπην ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκοῆς τῶν περὶ τοὺς Ἰαβισηνοὺς προήχθησαν καὶ πέρα τούτων οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἄλλο πράττειν συνεχώρει τὸ δέος: γενομένων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ ἐν τῇ Σαούλου τοῦ βασιλέως πόλει καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους ἐν οἷς εἶναι συνέβαινε τοὺς Ἰαβισηνοὺς φρασάντων, ὁ μὲν λαὸς ταὐτὰ τοῖς πρώτοις ἔπασχεν: ὠδύρετο γὰρ τὴν συμφορὰν τὴν τῶν συγγενῶν: [75] ὁ δὲ Σαοῦλος ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὴν γεωργίαν παραγενόμενος ἔργων εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτυγχάνει κλαίουσι τοῖς αὐτοῦ πολίταις, καὶ πυθόμενος τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς συγχύσεως καὶ κατηφείας αὐτῶν μανθάνει τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων. [76] καὶ ἔνθεος γενόμενος ἀποπέμπει μὲν τοὺς Ἰαβισηνοὺς ὑποσχόμενος αὐτοῖς ἥξειν βοηθὸς τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ πρὶν ἥλιον ἀνασχεῖν κρατήσειν τῶν πολεμίων, ἵνα καὶ νενικηκότας ἤδη καὶ τῶν φόβων ἀπηλλαγμένους ὁ ἥλιος ἐπιτείλας ἴδῃ: ὑπομεῖναι δ' ἐκέλευσέ τινας αὐτῶν ἡγησομένους τῆς ὁδοῦ.

(3) [77] Βουλόμενος δὲ φόβῳ ζημίας τὸν λαὸν ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Ἀμμανίτας ἐπιστρέψαι πόλεμον καὶ συνελθεῖν αὐτοὺς ὀξύτερον, ὑποτεμὼν τῶν αὐτοῦ βοῶν τὰ νεῦρα ταὐτὰ διαθήσειν ἠπείλησε τοὺς ἁπάντων, εἰ μὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἰόρδανον ὡπλισμένοι κατὰ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἀπαντήσουσιν ἡμέραν καὶ ἀκολουθήσουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ Σαμουήλῳ τῷ προφήτῃ, ὅπου ποτ' ἂν αὐτοὺς ἀγάγωσι. [78] τῶν δὲ δι' εὐλάβειαν τῆς κατεπηγγελμένης ζημίας εἰς τὸν ὡρισμένον καιρὸν συνελθόντων ἐξαριθμεῖται ἐν Βαλᾶ τῇ πόλει τὸ πλῆθος: εὑρίσκει δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν χωρὶς τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς εἰς ἑβδομήκοντα μυριάδας συνειλεγμένους, τῆς δὲ φυλῆς ἐκείνης ἦσαν μυριάδες ἑπτά. [79] διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Ἰόρδανον καὶ σχοίνων δέκα δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνύσας ὁδὸν φθάνει μὲν ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα, τριχῇ δὲ τὸ στράτευμα διελὼν ἐπιπίπτει πανταχόθεν αἰφνιδίως οὐ προσδοκῶσι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, καὶ συμβαλὼν εἰς μάχην ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνει τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν καὶ Ναάσην τὸν βασιλέα. [80] τοῦτο λαμπρὸν ἐπράχθη τῷ Σαούλῳ τὸ ἔργον καὶ πρὸς πάντας αὐτὸν διήγγειλε τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἐπαινούμενον καὶ θαυμαστῆς ἀπολαύοντα δόξης ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ: καὶ γὰρ εἴ τινες ἦσαν οἳ πρότερον αὐτοῦ κατεφρόνουν, τότε μετέστησαν ἐπὶ τὸ τιμᾶν καὶ πάντων ἄριστον νομίζειν: οὐ γὰρ ἤρκεσεν αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἰαβισηνοὺς σεσωκέναι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν ἐπιστρατεύσας χώρᾳ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν καταστρέφεται καὶ πολλὴν λαβὼν λείαν λαμπρὸς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ὑπέστρεψεν. [81] ὁ δὲ λαὸς ὑφ' ἡδονῆς τῶν Σαούλῳ κατωρθωμένων ἔχαιρε μὲν ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἐχειροτόνησε βασιλέα, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς οὐδὲν ὄφελος αὐτὸν ἔσεσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι λέγοντας ἐβόων: "ποῦ νῦν εἰσὶν οὗτοι" καὶ "δότωσαν δίκην" καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα φιλεῖ λέγειν ὄχλος ἐπ' εὐπραγίαις ἡρμένος πρὸς τοὺς ἐξευτελίζοντας ἔναγχος τοὺς τούτων αἰτίους. [82] Σαοῦλος δὲ τούτων μὲν

ἠσπάζετο τὴν εὔνοιαν καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν προθυμίαν, ὤμοσε δὲ μήτινα περιόψεσθαι τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἀναιρούμενον ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας: ἄτοπον γὰρ εἶναι τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δεδομένην νίκην αἵματι φῦραι καὶ φόνῳ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους συγγενῶν ἑορτάζειν.

(4) [83] Σαμουήλου δὲ φήσαντος καὶ δευτέρᾳ δεῖν χειροτονίᾳ Σαούλῳ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπικυρῶσαι συνίασι πάντες εἰς Γάλγαλα πόλιν: ἐκεῖ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἐλθεῖν. καὶ πάλιν ὁρῶντος τοῦ πλήθους ὁ προφήτης χρίει τὸν Σαοῦλον τῷ ἁγίῳ ἐλαίῳ καὶ δεύτερον ἀναγορεύει βασιλέα. καὶ οὕτως ἡ τῶν Ἑβραίων πολιτεία εἰς βασιλείαν μετέπεσεν. [84] ἐπὶ γὰρ Μωυσέος καὶ τοῦ μαθητοῦ αὐτοῦ [Ἰησοῦ], ὃς ἦν στρατηγὸς, ἀριστοκρατούμενοι διετέλουν: μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν ἔτεσι τοῖς πᾶσι δέκα καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὀκτὼ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἀναρχία κατέσχε. [85] μετὰ ταῦτα δ᾽ εἰς τὴν προτέραν ἐπανῆλθον πολιτείαν τῷ κατὰ πόλεμον ἀρίστῳ δόξαντι γεγενῆσθαι καὶ κατ᾽ ἀνδρείαν περὶ τῶν ὅλων δικάζειν ἐπιτρέποντες: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον τῆς πολιτείας κριτῶν ἐκάλεσαν.

(5) [86] Ἐκκλησίαν δὲ Σαμουῆλος ποιήσας ὁ προφήτης τῶν Ἑβραίων "ἐπόμνυμαι, φησίν, ὑμῖν τὸν μέγιστον θεὸν, ὃς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐκείνους, λέγω δὴ Μωυσῆν καὶ Ἀαρῶνα, παρήγαγεν εἰς τὸν βίον καὶ τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν ἐξήρπασεν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ τῆς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῖς δουλείας, μηδὲν μήτ᾽ αἰδοῖ χαρισαμένους μήτε ὑποστειλαμένους φόβῳ μήτε ἄλλῳ τινὶ πάθει παραχωρήσαντας εἰπεῖν, εἴ τι μοι πέπρακται σκαιὸν καὶ ἄδικον ἢ κέρδους ἕνεκα ἢ πλεονεξίας ἢ χάριτος τῆς πρὸς ἄλλους: [87] ἐλέγξαι δὲ εἰ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων τι προσηκάμην [μόσχον ἢ πρόβατον], ἃ πρὸς τροφὴν ἀνεμέσητον δοκεῖ λαμβάνειν, ἢ εἴ τινος ὑποζύγιον εἰς ἐμὴν ἀποσπάσας χρείαν ἐλύπησα, τούτων ἕν τι κατειπεῖν παρόντος ὑμῶν τοῦ βασιλέως." οἱ δὲ ἀνέκραγον τούτων οὐδὲν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ γεγονέναι, προστῆναι δὲ ὁσίως αὐτὸν καὶ δικαίως τοῦ ἔθνους.

(6) [88] Σαμουῆλος δὲ ταύτης ἐξ ἁπάντων τῆς μαρτυρίας αὐτῷ γενομένης "ἐπεὶ δεδώκατέ μοι, φησί, τὸ μηδὲν ἄτοπον ἔθ᾽ ὑμᾶς περὶ ἐμοῦ δύνασθαι λέγειν, φέρε νῦν μετὰ παρρησίας ἀκούσατέ μου λέγοντος, ὅτι μεγάλα ἠσεβήσατε εἰς τὸν θεὸν αἰτησάμενοι βασιλέα. [89] διαμνημονεύειν δὲ ὑμᾶς προσῆκεν, ὅτι σὺν ἑβδομήκοντα μόνοις ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ὁ πάππος Ἰάκωβος διὰ λιμὸν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἦλθε, κἀκεῖ πολλῶν μυριάδων ἐπιτεκνωθεισῶν, ἃς εἰς δουλείας καὶ χαλεπὰς ὕβρεις ἤγαγον οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, ὁ θεὸς εὐξαμένων τῶν πατέρων χωρὶς βασιλέως παρέσχεν αὐτοῖς ῥύσασθαι τῆς ἀνάγκης τὸ πλῆθος Μωυσῆν αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀαρῶνα πέμψας ἀδελφοὺς, οἳ ἤγαγον ὑμᾶς εἰς τήνδε τὴν γῆν, ἣν νῦν ἔχετε. [90] καὶ τούτων ἀπολαύσαντες ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ προδεδώκατε τὴν θρησκείαν καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑποχειρίους γενομένους ἠλευθέρωσε πρῶτον μὲν Ἀσσυρίων καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων ἰσχύος ὑπερτέρους ἀπεργασάμενος, ἔπειτα Ἀμμανιτῶν κρατῆσαι παρασχὼν καὶ Μωαβιτῶν καὶ τελευταίων

Παλαιστίνων. καὶ ταῦτ᾽ οὐ βασιλέως ἡγουμένου διεπράξασθε, ἀλλ᾽ Ἰφθάε καὶ Γεδεῶνος στρατηγούντων. [91] τίς οὖν ἔσχεν ὑμᾶς ἄνοια φυγεῖν μὲν τὸν θεὸν, ὑπὸ βασιλέα δὲ εἶναι θέλειν; ἀλλ᾽ ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπέδειξα τοῦτον ὃν αὐτὸς ἐπελέξατο, ἵνα μέντοι γε φανερὸν ποιήσω τὸν θεὸν ὀργιζόμενον καὶ δυσχεραίνοντα τῇ τῆς βασιλείας ὑμῶν αἱρέσει, δηλῶσαι τοῦθ᾽ ὑμῖν [τὸν θεὸν] παρασκευάσω διὰ σημείων ἐναργῶς: ὃ γὰρ οὐδέπω πρότερον εἶδεν ὑμῶν οὐδεὶς ἐνταῦθα γεγενημένον, θέρους ἀκμῇ χειμῶνα, αἰτησάμενος τὸν θεὸν παρέξω τοῦτο νῦν ὑμῖν ἐπι [92] γνῶναι.” καὶ ταῦτα εἰπόντος πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ Σαμουήλου βρονταῖς σημαίνει τὸ θεῖον καὶ ἀστραπαῖς καὶ χαλάζης καταφορᾷ τὴν τοῦ προφήτου περὶ πάντων ἀλήθειαν, ὡς τεθαμβηκότας αὐτοὺς καὶ περιδεεῖς γινομένους ἁμαρτεῖν τε ὁμολογεῖν καὶ κατ᾽ ἄγνοιαν εἰς τοῦτο προπεσεῖν, καὶ ἱκετεύειν τὸν προφήτην ὡς πατέρα χρηστὸν καὶ ἐπιεικῆ τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς εὐμενῆ καταστῆσαι καὶ ταύτην ἀφεῖναι τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, ἣν πρὸς οἷς ἐξύβρισαν ἄλλοις καὶ παρηνόμησαν προσεξειργάσαντο. [93] ὁ δὲ ὑπισχνεῖται καὶ παρακαλέσειν τὸν θεὸν συγγνῶναι περὶ τούτων αὐτοῖς καὶ πείσειν, συνεβούλευε μέντοι δικαίους εἶναι καὶ ἀγαθοὺς καὶ μνημονεύειν ἀεὶ τῶν διὰ τὴν παράβασιν τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῖς κακῶν συμπεσόντων καὶ τῶν σημείων τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς Μωυσέος νομοθεσίας, εἰ σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως εὐδαιμονίας ἐστὶν ἐπιθυμία. [94] εἰ δὲ τούτων ἀμελήσουσιν, ἔλεγεν ἥξειν αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ μεγάλην ἐκ θεοῦ πληγήν. καὶ Σαμουῆλος μὲν ταῦτα τοῖς Ἑβραίοις προφητεύσας ἀπέλυσεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα βεβαιώσας ἐκ δευτέρου τῷ Σαούλῳ τὴν βασιλείαν.

VI

(1) [95] Οὗτος δ᾽ ἐπιλέξας ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους ὡς τρισχιλίους τοὺς μὲν δισχιλίους ὥστε σωματοφυλακεῖν αὐτὸν λαβὼν αὐτὸς διέτριβεν ἐν πόλει Βεθήβῳ, Ἰωνάθῃ δὲ τῷ παιδὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς δοὺς ὥστε σωματοφυλακεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς Γεβὰλ ἔπεμψεν. ὁ δ᾽ ἐκπολιορκεῖ τι φρούριον τῶν Παλαιστίνων οὐ πόρρω Γεβάλων. [96] οἱ γὰρ Παλαιστῖνοι καταστρεφόμενοι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τά τε ὅπλα αὐτοὺς ἀφῃροῦντο καὶ τοὺς ὀχυρωτάτους τῆς χώρας τόπους φρουραῖς κατελαμβάνοντο καὶ σιδηροφορεῖν χρῆσθαί τε καθάπαξ ἀπηγόρευον σιδήρῳ, καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν πρόρρησιν οἱ γεωργοὶ, εἴποτε δεήσει᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐπισκευάσαι τι τῶν ἐργαλείων, ἢ ὕνιν ἢ δίκελλαν ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν εἰς γεωργίαν χρησίμων, φοιτῶντες εἰς τοὺς Παλαιστίνους ταῦτα ἔπραττον. [97] ὡς δὲ ἠκούσθη τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις ἡ τῆς φρουρᾶς ἀναίρεσις ἀγανακτήσαντες καὶ δεινὴν ὕβριν τὴν καταφρόνησιν ἡγησάμενοι στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους πεζῶν μὲν τριάκοντα μυριάσιν ἅρμασι δὲ τρισμυρίοις, ἵππον δὲ ἑξακισχιλίαν ἐπήγοντο: [98] καὶ στρατοπεδευσαμένων πρὸς πόλει Μαχμὰ τοῦτο Σαοῦλος ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλεὺς μαθὼν εἰς Γάλγαλα καταβαίνει πόλιν καὶ διὰ πάσης κηρύσσει τῆς

χώρας ἐπ᾽ ἐλευθερίᾳ καλῶν τὸν λαὸν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Παλαιστίνους, τὴν δύναμιν ἐκφαυλίζων αὐτῶν καὶ διασύρων ὡς οὐκ ἀξιόλογον οὐδ᾽ ὥστε φοβεῖσθαι διακινδυνεύειν πρὸς αὐτούς. [99] κατανοήσαντες δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Παλαιστίνων οἱ τοῦ Σαούλου κατεπλάγησαν, καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς τὰ σπήλαια καὶ τοὺς ὑπονόμους ἔκρυψαν αὐτοὺς, οἱ πλείους δὲ εἰς τὴν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου γῆν ἔφυγον: αὕτη δ᾽ ἦν Γάδου καὶ Ῥουβήλου.

(2) [100] Πέμψας δὲ Σαοῦλος πρὸς τὸν προφήτην ἐκάλει πρὸς αὐτὸν συνδιασκεψόμενον περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων. ὁ δὲ περιμένειν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτόθι καὶ παρασκευάζειν θύματα: μετὰ γὰρ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἥξειν, ὅπως θύσωσι τῇ ἑβδόμῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἔπειθ᾽ οὕτως συμβάλωσι τοῖς πολεμίοις. [101] καὶ περιμένει μὲν ὡς ὁ προφήτης ἐπέστειλεν, οὐκέτι μέντοι γε διατηρεῖ τὴν ἐντολήν, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἑώρα βραδύνοντα μὲν τὸν προφήτην, αὐτὸν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καταλειπόμενον, λαβὼν τὰ θύματα τὴν θυσίαν ἐπετέλει: ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Σαμουῆλον ἤκουσε προσιόντα ὑπαντησόμενος ἐξῆλθεν. [102] ὁ δ᾽ οὐκ ὀρθῶς αὐτὸν ἔφη πεποιηκέναι παρακούσαντα ὧν ἐπέστειλεν αὐτὸς καὶ φθάσαντα τὴν παρουσίαν, ἣν κατὰ βούλησιν γινομένην τοῦ θείου πρὸς τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὰς θυσίας τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλήθους προλάβοι κακῶς ἱερουργήσας καὶ προπετὴς γενόμενος. [103] ἀπολογουμένου δὲ τοῦ Σαούλου καὶ περιμεῖναι μὲν τὰς ἡμέρας ἃς ὥρισε λέγοντος, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀνάγκης καὶ ἀναχωρήσεως μὲν τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν διὰ φόβον, στρατοπεδείας δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐν Μαχμᾶ καὶ ἀκοῆς τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν εἰς Γάλγαλα καταβάσεως ἐπειχθῆναι πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν. [104] ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ Σαμουῆλος “ἀλλὰ σύγε, φησίν, εἰ δίκαιος ἦσθα καὶ μὴ παρήκουσας ἐμοῦ μηδ᾽ ὧν ὑπέθετό μοι περὶ τῶν παρόντων ὁ θεὸς ὠλιγώρησας ταχύτερος ἢ συνέφερε τοῖς πράγμασι γεγονὼς, σοί τ᾽ αὐτῷ πλεῖστον ἂν [105] βασιλεῦσαι χρόνον ἐξεγένετο καὶ τοῖς σοῖς ἐγγόνοις.” καὶ Σαμουῆλος μὲν ἀχθόμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἀνεχώρησε παρ᾽ αὐτὸν, Σαοῦλος δὲ εἰς Γαβαὼν πόλιν ἔχων ἑξακοσίους μεθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ μόνον ἦκε σὺν Ἰωνάθῃ τῷ παιδί. τούτων δὲ οἱ πλείους οὐκ εἶχον ὅπλα τῆς χώρας σπανιζούσης σιδήρου καὶ τῶν ὅπλα χαλκεύειν δυναμένων: οὐ γὰρ εἴων οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι ταῦτα εἶναι, καθὼς μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν δεδηλώκαμεν. [106] διελόντες δ᾽ εἰς τρία μέρη τὴν στρατιὰν οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι καὶ κατὰ τοσαύτας ὁδοὺς ἐπερχόμενοι τὴν τῶν Ἑβραίων χώραν ἐπόρθουν, βλεπόντων τε Σαούλου τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἰωνάθου ἀμῦναί τε τῇ γῇ, μεθ᾽ ἑξακοσίων γὰρ μόνων ἦσαν, οὐ δυναμένων. [107] καθεζόμενοι δ᾽ αὐτός τε καὶ ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἐχίας ἀπόγονος ὢν Ἠλὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἐπὶ βουνοῦ ὑψηλοῦ καὶ τὴν γῆν λεηλατουμένην ὁρῶντες ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ δεινῇ καθεστήκεσαν. συντίθεται δὲ ὁ Σαούλου παῖς τῷ ὁπλοφόρῳ, κρύφα πορευθέντες αὐτοὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων παρεμβολὴν ἐκδραμεῖν καὶ ταραχὴν ἐμποιῆσαι καὶ θόρυβον [αὐτοῖς]. [108] τοῦ δὲ ὁπλοφόρου προθύμως ἕπεσθαι φήσαντος ὅποι ποτ᾽ ἂν ἡγῆται, κἂν ἀποθανεῖν δέῃ, προσλαβὼν τὴν τοῦ

νεανίσκου συνεργίαν καὶ καταβὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βουνοῦ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπορεύετο. ἦν δὲ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ κρημνοῦ, τρισὶν ἄκραις εἰς λεπτὸν ἀπηκονημέναις μῆκος πέτρας ἐν κύκλῳ περιστεφανούσης ὥσπερ προβόλοις τὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις ἀπομαχόμενον. [109] ἔνθεν συνέβαινεν ἠμελῆσθαι τὰς φυλακὰς τοῦ στρατοπέδου διὰ τὸ φύσει περιεῖναι τῷ χωρίῳ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ παντὶ νομίζειν ἀμήχανον εἶναι κατ᾽ ἐκείνας οὐκ ἀναβῆναι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ προσελθεῖν. [110] ὡς οὖν ἦκον εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν ὁ Ἰωνάθης παρεθάρσυνε τὸν ὁπλοφόρον καὶ "προσβάλωμεν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἔλεγε, κἂν μὲν ἀναβῆναι κελεύσωσι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς ἰδόντες σημεῖον τοῦτο νίκης ὑπολάμβανε, ἐὰν δὲ φθέγ [111] ξωνται μηδὲν ὡς οὐ καλοῦντες ἡμᾶς ὑποστρέψωμεν." προσιόντων δὲ αὐτῶν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν πολεμίων ὑποφαινούσης ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας ἰδόντες οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔλεγον ἐκ τῶν ὑπονόμων καὶ σπηλαίων προιέναι τοὺς Ἑβραίους, καὶ πρὸς Ἰωνάθην καὶ τὸν ὁπλοφόρον αὐτοῦ "δεῦτε, ἔφασαν, ἀνέλθετε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἵνα [112] ὑμᾶς τιμωρησώμεθα τῶν τετολμημένων ἀξίως." ἀσπασάμενος δὲ τὴν φωνὴν ὁ τοῦ Σαούλου παῖς ὡς νίκην αὐτῷ σημαίνουσαν παραυτίκα μὲν ἀνεχώρησαν ἐξ οὗπερ ὤφθησαν τόπου τοῖς πολεμίοις, παραμειψάμενοι δὲ τοῦτον ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν ἦκον ἔρημον οὖσαν τῶν φυλαττόντων διὰ τὴν ὀχυρότητα. [113] κἀκεῖθεν ἀνερπύσαντες μετὰ πολλῆς ταλαιπωρίας ἐβιάσαντο τὴν τοῦ χωρίου φύσιν ἀνελθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐπιπεσόντες δ᾽ αὐτοῖς κοιμωμένοις ἀποκτείνουσι μὲν ὡς εἴκοσι, ταραχῆς δὲ καὶ ἐκπλήξεως αὐτοὺς ἐγέμισαν, ὡς τινὰς μὲν φυγεῖν τὰς πανοπλίας ἀπορρίψαντας, [114] οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ μὴ γνωρίζοντες ἑαυτοὺς διὰ τὸ ἐκ πολλῶν ἐθνῶν εἶναι πολεμίους ὑπονοοῦντες ἀλλήλους, καὶ γὰρ εἴκαζον ἀναβῆναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τῶν Ἑβραίων οὐ δύο μόνους, εἰς μάχην ἐτράποντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέθνησκον κτεινόμενοι, τινὲς δὲ φεύγοντες κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν ὠθούμενοι κατεκρημνίζοντο.

(3) [115] Τῶν δὲ τοῦ Σαούλου κατασκόπων τεταράχθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Παλαιστίνων φρασάντων τῷ βασιλεῖ Σαοῦλος ἠρώτα, μή τις εἴη τῶν αὐτοῦ κεχωρισμένος. ἀκούσας δὲ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τὸν ὁπλοφόρον ἀπεῖναι κελεύει τὸν ἀρχιερέα λαβόντα τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν στολὴν προφητεύειν αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων. τοῦ δὲ νίκην ἔσεσθαι καὶ κράτος κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων φράσαντος ἐπεξέρχεται τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις καὶ τεταραγμένοις προσβάλλει καὶ φονεύουσιν ἀλλήλους. [116] προσρέουσι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ πρότερον εἴς τε τοὺς ὑπονόμους καὶ εἰς τὰ σπήλαια συμφυγόντες ἀκούσαντες ὅτι νικᾷ Σαοῦλος: γενομένων δὲ ὡς μυρίων ἤδη τῶν Ἑβραίων διώκει τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐσκορπισμένους τὴν χώραν. εἴτε δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ χαρᾶς οὕτω παραλόγως γενομένῃ, συμβαίνει γὰρ μὴ κρατεῖν τοῦ λογισμοῦ τοὺς οὕτως εὐτυχήσαντας, εἴθ᾽ ὑπὸ ἀγνοίας εἰς δεινὸν προπίπτει καὶ πολλὴν ἔχον κατάμεμψιν ἔργον: [117] βουλόμενος γὰρ αὐτῷ τε τιμωρῆσαι καὶ δίκην ἀπολαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν Παλαιστίνων ἐπαρᾶται τοῖς Ἑβραίοις, ἵν᾽ εἴ τις ἀποσχόμενος τοῦ φονεύειν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς φάγοι

καὶ μὴ μέχρι νὺξ ἐπελθοῦσα τῆς ἀναιρέσεως καὶ τῆς διώξεως αὐτοὺς παύσει τῶν πολεμίων, οὗτος ἐπάρατος ᾖ. [118] τοῦ δὲ Σαούλου τοῦτο φήσαντος, ἐπεὶ κατά τινα δρυμὸν ἐγένοντο βαθὺν καὶ μελισσῶν γέμοντα τῆς Ἐφράμου κληρουχίας, ὁ τοῦ Σαούλου παῖς οὐκ ἐπακηκοὼς τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρᾶς οὐδὲ τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ τοῦ πλήθους ὁμολογίας ἀποθλίψας τι κηρίον τοῦ μέλιτος ἤσθιε. [119] μεταξὺ δὲ γνοὺς, ὅτι μετὰ δεινῆς ἀρᾶς ὁ πατὴρ ἀπεῖπε μὴ γεύσασθαί τινα πρὸ ἡλίου δυσμῶν, ἐσθίων μὲν ἐπαύσατο, ἔφη δὲ οὐκ ὀρθῶς κωλῦσαι τὸν πατέρα: μετὰ μείζονος γὰρ ἰσχύος ἂν καὶ προθυμίας διώκοντας, εἰ τροφῆς μετελάμβανον, πολλῷ πλείονας τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ λαβεῖν καὶ φονεῦσαι.

(4) [120] Πολλὰς γοῦν κατακόψαντες μυριάδας τῶν Παλαιστίνων δείλης ὀψίας ἐπὶ διαρπαγὴν τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῶν Παλαιστίνων τρέπονται, καὶ λείαν πολλὴν καὶ βοσκήματα λαβόντες κατασφάζουσι καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἔναιμα κατήσθιον. ἀπαγγέλλεται δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ ὑπὸ τῶν γραμματέων, ὅτι τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐξαμαρτάνει θῦσαν καὶ πρὶν ἢ τὸ αἷμα καλῶς ἀποπλῦναι καὶ τὰς σάρκας ποιῆσαι καθαρὰς ἐσθίον. [121] καὶ Σαοῦλος κελεύει κυλισθῆναι λίθον μέγαν εἰς μέσον καὶ κηρύσσει θύειν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὸν ὄχλον τὰ ἱερεῖα καὶ τὰ κρέα μὴ σὺν τῷ αἵματι δαίνυσθαι: τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ εἶναι τῷ θεῷ κεχαρισμένον. τοῦτο δὲ πάντων κατὰ τὴν πρόσταξιν τοῦ βασιλέως ποιησάντων ἵστησιν ἐκεῖ βωμὸν ὁ Σαοῦλος καὶ ὠλοκαύτωσεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ τῷ θεῷ. τοῦτον πρῶτον βωμὸν κατεσκεύασεν.

(5) [122] Ἄγειν δ᾽ εὐθὺς τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐπὶ τὴν διαρπαγὴν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ βουλόμενος πρὶν ἡμέρας καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ὀκνούντων ἔπεσθαι, πολλὴν δ᾽ εἰς ἃ προστάττει προθυμίαν ἐνδεικνυμένων, καλέσας ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀχίτωβον τὸν ἀρχιερέα κελεύει αὐτὸν γνῶναι, εἰ δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς καὶ συγχωρεῖ βαδίσασιν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν ἐχθρῶν διαφθεῖραι τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ τυγχάνοντας. [123] εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ ἱερέως μὴ ἀποκρίνεσθαι τὸν θεόν “ἀλλ᾽ οὐ δίχα αἰτίας, εἶπεν ὁ Σαοῦλος, πυνθανομένοις ἡμῖν φωνὴν οὐ δίδωσιν ὁ θεὸς, ὃς πρότερον αὐτὸς προεμήνυσε πάντα καὶ μηδ᾽ ἐπερωτῶσιν ἔφθασε λέγων, ἀλλ᾽ ἔστι τι λανθάνον ἐξ ἡμῶν ἁμάρτημα πρὸς αὐτὸν αἴτιον τῆς σιωπῆς. [124] καὶ ὄμνυμί γε τοῦτον αὐτὸν, ἢ μὴν κἂν ὁ παῖς ὁ ἐμὸς Ἰωνάθης ᾖ τὸ ἁμάρτημα τοῦτο ἐργασάμενος ἀποκτείνειν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν θεὸν οὕτως ἱλάσασθαι, ὡς ἂν εἰ καὶ παρ᾽ ἀλλοτρίου καὶ μηδὲν ἐμοὶ [125] προσήκοντος τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δίκην ἀπελάμβανον.” τοῦ δὲ πλήθους τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐπιβοήσαντος παραχρῆμα πάντας ἵστησιν εἰς ἕνα τόπον, ἵσταται δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς σὺν τῷ παιδὶ κατ᾽ ἄλλο μέρος καὶ κλήρῳ τὸν ἡμαρτηκότα μαθεῖν ἐπεζήτει: καὶ λαγχάνει δοκεῖν οὗτος εἶναι Ἰωνάθης. [126] ἐπερωτώμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τί πεπλημμέληκε καὶ τί παρὰ τὸν βίον οὐκ ὀρθῶς οὐδὲ ὁσίως αὐτῷ διαπραξαμένῳ συνέγνωκε “πάτερ, εἶπεν, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν, ὅτι δὲ χθὲς ἀγνοῶν τὴν ἀρὰν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ὅρκον μεταξὺ διώκων τοὺς πολεμίους ἐγεύσατο κηρίων. Σαοῦλος δ᾽ ἀποκτείνειν αὐτὸν ὄμνυσι καὶ τῆς γενέσεως καὶ τῆς φύσεως τῶν φίλτρων

ἐτίμησε τὸν ὅρκον. [127] ὁ δ’ οὐ καταπλήττεται τὴν ἀπειλὴν τοῦ θανάτου, παραστησάμενος δ’ εὐγενῶς καὶ μεγαλοφρόνως “οὐδ’ ἐγώ σε, φησίν, ἱκετεύσω φείσασθαί μου, πάτερ, ἥδιστος δέ μοι ὁ θάνατος ὑπέρ τε τῆς σῆς εὐσεβείας γινόμενος καὶ ἐπὶ νίκῃ λαμπρᾷ: μέγιστον γὰρ παραμύ [128] θιον τὸ καταλιπεῖν Ἑβραίους Παλαιστίνων κεκρατηκότας.” ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ λαὸς πᾶς ἤλγησε καὶ συνέπαθεν ὤμοσέ τε μὴ περιόψεσθαι τὸν αἴτιον τῆς νίκης Ἰωνάθην ἀποθανόντα. καὶ τὸν μὲν οὕτως ἐξαρπάζουσι τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρᾶς, αὐτοὶ δὲ εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ νεανίσκου ποιοῦνται τῷ θεῷ ὥστε αὐτὸν ἀπολῦσαι τοῦ ἁμαρτήματος.

(6) [129] Καὶ ὁ Σαοῦλος εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν ὑπέστρεψε διαφθείρας ὡσεὶ μυριάδας ἓξ τῶν πολεμίων. βασιλεύει δὲ εὐτυχῶς, καὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα τῶν ἐθνῶν πολεμήσας χειροῦται τό τε Ἀμμανιτῶν καὶ Μωαβιτῶν Παλαιστίνους Ἰδουμαίους [Ἀμαληκίτας τε] καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Σωβᾶς. ἦσαν δὲ παῖδες αὐτῷ τρεῖς μὲν ἄρσενες Ἰωνάθης καὶ Ἰησοῦς καὶ Μέλχισος, θυγατέρες δὲ Μερόβη καὶ Μιχαάλ. [130] στρατηγὸν δὲ εἶχε τὸν τοῦ θείου παῖδα Ἀβήναρον: Νῆρος δ’ ἐκεῖνος ἐκαλεῖτο, Νῆρος δὲ καὶ Κεὶς ὁ Σαούλου πατὴρ ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν, υἱοὶ δ’ Ἀβελίου. ἦν δὲ καὶ πλῆθος ἁρμάτων Σαούλῳ καὶ ἱππέων, οἷς δὲ πολεμήσειε νικήσας ἀπηλλάσσετο, καὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους εἰς εὐπραγίας καὶ μέγεθος εὐδαιμονίας προηγάγετο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπέδειξεν ἐθνῶν δυνατωτέρους, καὶ τῶν νέων τοὺς δὴ καὶ μεγέθει καὶ κάλλει διαφέροντας φύλακας τοῦ σώματος ἐποιεῖτο.

VII

(1) [131] Σαμουῆλος δὲ παραγενόμενος πρὸς τὸν Σαοῦλον πεμφθῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφασκεν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅπως αὐτὸν ὑπομνήσῃ, ὅτι βασιλέα προκρίνας αὐτὸν ἁπάντων ὁ θεὸς ἀπέδειξε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πείθεσθαι καὶ κατήκοον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι ὡς αὐτοῦ μὲν ἔχοντος τὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγεμονίαν, τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν κατ’ ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων. [132] λέγειν τοίνυν ἔφασκε τὸν θεὸν: “ἐπεὶ πολλὰ κακὰ τοὺς Ἑβραίους Ἀμαληκῖται διέθηκαν κατὰ τὴν ἔρημον, ὅτε ἐξελθόντες ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου εἰς τὴν νῦν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς ἐστέλλοντο χώραν, κελεύω πολέμῳ τιμωρησάμενον τοὺς Ἀμαληκίτας καὶ κρατήσαντα μηδέν’ αὐτῶν ὑπολιπεῖν, [133] ἀλλὰ πάσης διεξελθεῖν ἡλικίας ἀρξαμένους ἀπὸ γυναικῶν κτείνειν καὶ νηπίων καὶ τοιαύτην ὑπὲρ ὧν τοὺς προγόνους ὑμῶν εἰργάσαντο τιμωρίαν ἀπολαβεῖν, φείσασθαι δὲ μήτε ὑποζυγίων μήτε τῶν ἄλλων βοσκημάτων εἰς ὠφέλειαν καὶ κτῆσιν ἰδίαν, ἅπαντα δ’ ἀναθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὸ Ἀμαλήκου ὄνομα ταῖς Μωυσέος κατακολουθήσαντ’ ἐντολαῖς ἐξαλεῖψαι.

(2) [134] Ὁμολογεῖ δὲ ποιήσειν Σαοῦλος τὰ προστασσόμενα, τὴν δὲ πειθαρχίαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν οὐκ ἐν τῷ ποιήσασθαι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμαληκίτας στρατείαν λογιζόμενος εἶναι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἑτοιμότητα καὶ τὸ τάχος ἀναβολῆς οὐ προσούσης ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐμφανίζει, ἀθροίζει τε πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ταύτην

ἐξαριθμήσας ἐν Γαλγάλοις εὑρίσκει τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἔξω τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς περὶ τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδας: ἦδε γὰρ ἡ φυλὴ καθ᾽ αὑτήν ἐστι στρατιῶται τρισμύριοι. [135] Σαοῦλος δ᾽ ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἀμαληκιτῶν χώραν ἐνέδρας πολλὰς καὶ λόχους περὶ τὸν χειμάρρουν τίθησιν, ὡς μὴ μόνον ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ μαχομένους αὐτοὺς κακῶς ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μὴ προσδοκῶσι κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐπιπίπτειν καὶ κυκλουμένους ἀναιρεῖν: καὶ δὴ συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς εἰς μάχην τρέπεται τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ διαφθείρει πάντας φεύγουσιν ἐπακολουθῶν. [136] ὡς δ᾽ ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔργον αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ προφητείαν ἐχώρησε, ταῖς πόλεσι τῶν Ἀμαληκιτῶν προσέβαλε καὶ τὰς μὲν μηχανήμασι, τὰς δὲ ὀρύγμασιν ὑπονόμοις καὶ τείχεσιν ἔξωθεν ἀντῳκοδομημένοις, τὰς δὲ λιμῷ καὶ δίψει, τὰς δὲ ἄλλοις τρόποις ἐκπολιορκήσας καὶ λαβὼν κατὰ κράτος ἐπὶ σφαγὴν γυναικῶν καὶ νηπίων ἐχώρησεν, οὐδὲν ὠμὸν οὐδ᾽ ἀνθρωπίνης σκληρότερον διαπράσσεσθαι φύσεως ἡγούμενος, πρῶτον μὲν πολεμίους ταῦτα δρῶν, ἔπειτα προστάγματι θεοῦ, ᾧ τὸ μὴ πείθεσθαι κίνδυνον ἔφερε. [137] λαμβάνει δὲ καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ἐχθρῶν Ἄγαγον αἰχμάλωτον, οὗ θαυμάσας τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ σώματος σωτηρίας ἄξιον ἔκρινεν οὐκέτι τοῦτο ποιῶν κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ, πάθει δὲ νικώμενος ἰδίῳ καὶ χαριζόμενος ἀκαίρως περὶ ὧν οὐκ εἶχεν ἀκίνδυνον ἐξουσίαν οἴκτῳ. [138] ὁ μὲν γὰρ θεὸς οὕτως ἐμίσησε τὸ τῶν Ἀμαληκιτῶν ἔθνος, ὡς μηδὲ νηπίων φείσασθαι κελεῦσαι πρὸς ἃ μᾶλλον ἔλεος γίνεσθαι πέφυκε, Σαοῦλος δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν εἰς Ἑβραίους κακῶν ἔσωσε τῆς μνήμης ὧν ἐπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ τοῦ πολεμίου κάλλος ἐπίπροσθεν ποιησάμενος. [139] συνεξήμαρτε δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος: καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τῶν ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν βοσκημάτων ἐφείσαντο καὶ διήρπασαν μὴ τηρεῖν αὐτὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος τά τε ἄλλα χρήματα καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον ἐξεφόρησαν, εἰ δέ τι μὴ σπουδῆς ἦν ἄξιον ὥστε κεκτῆσθαι διέφθειραν.

(3) [140] Νικήσας δὲ Σαοῦλος ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀπὸ Πηλουσίου τῆς Αἰγύπτου καθήκοντας ἕως τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης διέφθειρε πολεμίους παραλιπὼν τὸ τῶν Σικιμιτῶν ἔθνος: οὗτοι γὰρ ἐν τῇ Μαδιηνῇ χώρᾳ μέσοι κατῴκηνται. πρὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης πέμψας παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς ἀναχωρεῖν, μὴ τοῖς Ἀμαληκίταις κοινωνήσωσι συμφορᾶς: συγγενεῖς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὄντας Ῥαγουήλου τοῦ Μωυσέος πενθεροῦ σώζειν αἰτίαν ἔχειν.

(4) [141] Καὶ Σαοῦλος μὲν ὡς μηδενὸς παρακούσας ὧν ὁ προφήτης ἐπέστειλε μέλλοντι τὸν πρὸς Ἀμαληκίτας ἐκφέρειν πόλεμον, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐκείνοις ἀκριβῶς πεφυλαγμένοις νενικηκὼς τοὺς πολεμίους οἴκαδε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπέστρεψε χαίρων ἐπὶ τοῖς κατωρθωμένοις. [142] ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἄχθεται τῇ τε τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἀμαληκιτῶν σωτηρίᾳ καὶ τῇ τῶν βοσκημάτων διαρπαγῇ τοῦ πλήθους, ὅτι μὴ συγχωρήσαντος αὐτοῦ ταῦτ᾽ ἐπράχθη: δεινὸν γὰρ ἡγεῖτο νικᾶν μὲν καὶ περιγίνεσθαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐκείνου τὴν ἰσχὺν διδόντος αὐτοῖς, καταφρονεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ παρακούεσθαι μηδὲ ὡς ἄνθρωπον βασιλέα. [143]

μετανοεῖν οὖν ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν προφήτην Σαμουῆλον ἐπὶ τῷ χειροτονῆσαι βασιλέα τὸν Σαοῦλον μηδὲν ὧν αὐτὸς κελεύει πράττοντα, τῇ δ᾽ οἰκείᾳ βουλήσει χρώμενον. σφόδρα ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας ὁ Σαμουῆλος συνεχύθη καὶ δι᾽ ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς παρακαλεῖν ἤρξατο τὸν θεὸν καταλλάττεσθαι τῷ Σαούλῳ καὶ μὴ χαλεπαίνειν. [144] ὁ δὲ τὴν συγγνώμην οὐκ ἐπένευσεν εἰς τὸν Σαοῦλον αἰτουμένῳ τῷ προφήτῃ λογισάμενος οὐκ εἶναι δίκαιον ἁμαρτήματα χαρίζεσθαι παραιτήσει: οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἄλλου τινὸς φύεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ μαλακίζεσθαι τοὺς ἀδικουμένους: θηρωμένους γὰρ δόξαν ἐπιεικείας καὶ χρηστότητος λανθάνειν αὐτοὺς ταῦτα γεννῶντας. [145] ὡς οὖν ἀπεῖπεν ὁ θεὸς τῇ τοῦ προφήτου δεήσει καὶ δῆλος ἦν μεταμελόμενος, ἅμ᾽ ἡμέρᾳ Σαμουῆλος εἰς Γάλγαλα παραγίνεται πρὸς Σαοῦλον: θεασάμενος δ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς προστρέχει καὶ κατασπασάμενος “τῷ θεῷ, φησίν, εὐχαριστῶ δόντι μοι τὴν νίκην, ἅπαντα [146] μέντοι γε τὰ κελευσθέντα ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πέπρακται.” Σαμουῆλος δὲ πρὸς τοῦθ᾽ ὑπολαβὼν “πόθεν οὖν ἀκούω θρεμμάτων, εἶπε, καὶ ὑποζυγίων βοῆς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ;” ὁ δὲ τὸν λαὸν ταῦτ᾽ εἰς θυσίας ἀπεκρίνατο τετηρηκέναι: τὸ μέντοι γε τῶν Ἀμαληκιτῶν γένος πᾶν ἐξηφανίσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν καὶ περιλείπεσθαι ἄλλον μηδένα, πρὸς δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀγαγεῖν μόνον τηρήσαντα αὐτῶν τὸν βασιλέα, περὶ οὗ τί δεῖ ποιεῖν βουλεύσεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔφασκεν. [147] ὁ δὲ προφήτης οὐχὶ θυσίαις ἔλεγεν ἥδεσθαι τὸ θεῖον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ δικαίοις. οὗτοι δέ εἰσιν οἱ τῇ βουλήσει καὶ ταῖς ἐντολαῖς αὐτοῦ κατακολουθοῦντες καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο πραχθήσεσθαι καλῶς ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν νομίζοντες ἢ ὅτι ἂν ποιήσωσι τοῦ θεοῦ κεκελευκότος: καταφρονεῖσθαι γὰρ οὐχ ὅταν αὐτῷ μὴ θύῃ τις, ἀλλ᾽ ὅταν ἀπειθεῖν δοκῇ. [148] παρὰ δὲ τῶν οὐχ ὑποτασσομένων οὐδ᾽ ἀληθῆ καὶ μόνην τῷ θεῷ κεχαρισμένην θρησκευόντων θρησκείαν, οὔτ᾽ ἂν πολλὰ καὶ πιμελῆ καταθύσωσιν ἱερεῖα, οὔτ᾽ ἂν κόσμον ἀναθημάτων ἐξ ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ πεποιημένων προσφέρωσι, δέχεται ταῦτ᾽ εὐμενῶς, ἀλλ᾽ ἀποστρέφεται καὶ δείγματα τῆς πονηρίας οὐκ εὐσέβειαν ἡγεῖται. [149] τοῖς δ᾽ ἓν καὶ μόνον τοῦθ᾽ ὅτι περ ἂν φθέγξηται καὶ κελεύσῃ ὁ θεὸς διὰ μνήμης ἔχουσι καὶ τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ παραβῆναί τι τούτων αἱρουμένοις ἐπιτέρπεται, καὶ οὔτε θυσίαν ἐπιζητεῖ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ παρὰ θυόντων δὲ, κἂν ᾖ λιτά, τῆς πενίας ἥδιον τὴν τιμὴν ἢ παρὰ τῶν πλουσιωτάτων δεξιοῦται. [150] σὺ τοίνυν ἴσθι σαυτὸν δι᾽ ὀργῆς ὄντα τῷ θεῷ: κατεφρόνησας γὰρ καὶ κατημέλησας ὧν ἐπέστειλε. πῶς οὖν οἴει τὴν θυσίαν ἂν αὐτὸν προσβλέπειν ἐξ ὧν κατέκρινεν ἀπολέσθαι γινομένην; πλὴν εἰ μὴ νομίζεις ὅμοιον ὄλεθρον τὸ θύεσθαι ταῦτα τῷ θεῷ. προσδόκα τοίνυν τὴν βασιλείαν ἀφαιρεθησόμενος καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἀφ᾽ ἧς [151] ὁρμώμενος τοῦ παρασχόντος σοι θεοῦ ταύτην ἠμέλησας.” Σαοῦλος δὲ ἀδικεῖν ὡμολόγει καὶ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἠρνεῖτο: παραβῆναι γὰρ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ προφήτου: κατὰ μέντοι γε δέος καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν φόβον μὴ κωλῦσαι διαρπάζοντας αὐτοὺς τὴν λείαν μηδ᾽ ἐπισχεῖν. ἀλλὰ συγγίνωσκε καὶ πρᾷος ἴσθι: φυλάξεσθαι γὰρ εἰς τοὐπιὸν ἁμαρτεῖν,

παρεκάλει δὲ τὸν προφήτην ὑποστρέψαντα θυσίας χαριστηρίους ἐπιτελέσαι τῷ θεῷ: ὁ δὲ, οὐ γὰρ ἑώρα τὸν θεὸν διαλλαττόμενον, ἀπῄει πρὸς ἑαυτόν.

(5) [152] Σαοῦλος δὲ κατασχεῖν βουλόμενος τὸν Σαμουῆλον ἐλλαμβάνεται τῆς διπλοίδος καὶ βιαίας τῆς ὁλκῆς διὰ τὸ μεθ᾽ ὁρμῆς ἀπιέναι τὸν Σαμουῆλον γενομένης διασχίζει τὸ ἱμάτιον. [153] τοῦ δὲ προφήτου τὴν βασιλείαν οὕτως [αὐτοῦ] διασχισθῆναι φήσαντος καὶ λήψεσθαι ταύτην ἀγαθὸν καὶ δίκαιον, ἐμμένειν γὰρ τὸν θεὸν τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ κεκριμένοις ὡς τοῦ μεταβάλλεσθαι καὶ στρέφειν τὴν γνώμην ἀνθρωπίνου πάθους ὄντος οὐχὶ θείας ἰσχύος, [154] ὁ Σαοῦλος ἀσεβῆσαι μὲν ἔλεγεν, ἀγένητα δὲ ποιῆσαι τὰ πεπραγμένα μὴ δύνασθαι: τιμῆσαί γε μὴν αὐτὸν παρεκάλει τοῦ πλήθους ὁρῶντος σὺν αὐτῷ παραγενόμενον τὸν θεὸν προσκυνῆσαι. δίδωσι δὲ τοῦτο Σαμουῆλος αὐτῷ καὶ συνελθὼν προσκυνεῖ τῷ θεῷ. [155] ἄγεται δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἀμαληκιτῶν βασιλεὺς Ἄγαγος πρὸς αὐτόν: καὶ πυνθανομένου, πῶς εἴη πικρὸς ὁ θάνατος, εἶπεν "ὡς σὺ πολλὰς μητέρας Ἑβραίων ἐπὶ τέκνοις ὀδύρεσθαι καὶ πένθος ἄγειν ἐποίησας, οὕτως ὀδυνήσεις ἐπὶ σαυτῷ διαφθαρέντι τὴν μητέρα." καὶ κελεύει παραχρῆμα αὐτὸν ἐν Γαλγάλοις ἀποθανεῖν. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς Ἄρμαθον πόλιν ἀπαλλάσσεται.

VIII

(1) [156] Σαοῦλος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς αἰσθόμενος ὧν πειραθείη κακῶν ἐχθρὸν αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν κατασκευάσας, εἰς τὸ βασίλειον ἀναβαίνει Γαβᾶ, σημαίνει βουνὸν ἑρμηνευόμενον τὸ ὄνομα, καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκείνην οὐκέτι τὴν ἡμέραν εἰς ὄψιν ἔρχεται τῷ προφήτῃ. [157] Σαμουήλῳ δὲ λυπουμένῳ περὶ αὐτοῦ παύσασθαι μὲν τῆς φροντίδος ἐκέλευσεν ὁ θεός, λαβόντι δὲ τὸ ἅγιον ἔλαιον εἰς Βηθλέμην ἀπελθεῖν πόλιν πρὸς Ἰεσσαῖον παῖδα Ὠβήδου καὶ χρῖσαι τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ ὃν ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιδείξῃ βασιλέα γενησόμενον. ὁ δὲ εὐλαβεῖσθαι φήσας, μὴ τοῦτο μαθὼν Σαοῦλος ἀνέλῃ λοχήσας αὐτὸν ἢ καὶ φανερῶς, ὑποθεμένου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ δόντος ἀσφαλείας ὁδὸν ἦκεν εἰς τὴν προειρημένην πόλιν. [158] καὶ πάντες αὐτὸν ἠσπάζοντό τε καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἀφίξεως ἀνηρώτων, ἔλεγε δὲ ἥκειν ἵνα θύσῃ τῷ θεῷ. ποιήσας οὖν τὴν θυσίαν καλεῖ τὸν Ἰεσσαῖον μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ θεασάμενος αὐτοῦ τὸν πρεσβύτατον υἱὸν εὐμεγέθη καὶ καλὸν εἴκασεν ἐκ τῆς εὐμορφίας τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν μέλλοντα βασιλεύειν. [159] διαμαρτάνει δὲ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίας: ἐπερωτήσαντι γὰρ αὐτὸν, εἰ χρίσει τῷ ἐλαίῳ τὸν νεανίσκον, ὃν αὐτός τε θαυμάζει καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἄξιον ἔκρινεν, οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ βλέπειν ἀνθρώπους εἶπε καὶ θεόν: [160] ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν εἰς τὸ κάλλος ἀπιδὼν τοῦ νεανίσκου καὶ δὴ τοῦτον ἡγῇ ἄξιον τοῦ βασιλεύειν εἶναι, ἐγὼ δ᾽ οὐ σωμάτων εὐμορφίας ἔπαθλον ποιοῦμαι τὴν βασιλείαν ἀλλὰ ψυχῶν ἀρετῆς καὶ ζητῶ ὅστις ταύτης ἐστὶ τελέως εὐπρεπὴς, εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ πειθοῖ ἐξ ὧν τὸ [161] τῆς ψυχῆς συνίσταται κάλλος κατακεκοσμημένος." ταῦτα φράσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ

πάντας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἰεσσαῖον τοὺς υἱοὺς ἐπιδεῖξαι Σαμουῆλος: ὁ δὲ πέντε ἄλλους ἐποίησεν ἐλθεῖν, ὧν ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος Ταλίαβος, ὁ δεύτερος Ἀμινάδαβος, Σάμαλος ὁ τρίτος, ὁ τέταρτος Ναθαναῆλος, καὶ Ῥάηλος ὁ πέμπτος ἐκαλεῖτο, ὁ δὲ ἕκτος Ἄσαμος. [162] ἰδὼν δὲ καὶ τούτους ὁ προφήτης μηδὲν χείρους τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου ταῖς μορφαῖς ἐπηρώτησε τὸν θεὸν, τίνα τούτων αἱρεῖται βασιλέα. εἰπόντος δ' οὐδένα πυνθάνεται τοῦ Ἰεσσαίου, μὴ πρὸς τούτοις αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλοι παῖδές εἰσι. [163] φήσαντος δὲ εἶναι Δαβίδην τοὔνομα, ποιμαίνειν δὲ καὶ τῆς τῶν βοσκημάτων φυλακῆς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι κελεύει καλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν τάχει: κατακλιθῆναι γὰρ εἰς εὐωχίαν οὐκ εἶναι δυνατὸν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνου μὴ παρόντος. [164] ὡς δ' ἦκεν ὁ Δαβίδης μεταπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς, παῖς ξανθὸς μὲν τὴν χρόαν γοργὸς δὲ τὰς ὄψεις καὶ καλὸς ἄλλως "οὗτός ἐστιν, εἰπὼν ἡσυχῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν Σαμουῆλος, ὁ βασιλεύειν ἀρέσας τῷ θεῷ" κατακλίνεται μὲν αὐτός, κατακλίνει δ' ὑφ' αὐτὸν τὸν νεανίσκον καὶ τὸν Ἰεσσαῖον μετὰ καὶ τῶν παίδων. [165] ἔπειτα λαβὼν ὀρῶντος τοῦ Δαβίδου τὸ ἔλαιον ἀλείφει τ' αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸ οὖς ἠρέμα λαλεῖ καὶ σημαίνει τοῦθ', ὅτι βασιλεύειν αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς ᾔρηται, παρῄνει δ' εἶναι δίκαιον καὶ κατήκοον αὐτοῦ τῶν προσταγμάτων: οὕτως γὰρ αὐτῷ παραμενεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς πολὺν χρόνον καὶ τὸν οἶκον λαμπρὸν καὶ περιβόητον γενήσεσθαι, καταστρέψεσθαι δὲ καὶ Παλαιστίνους, καὶ οἷς ἂν ἔθνεσι πολεμῇ νικῶντα καὶ περιόντα τῇ μάχῃ κλέος ἀοίδιμον ζῶντά τε ἕξειν καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν ἀπολείψειν.

(2) [166] Καὶ Σαμουῆλος μὲν ἀπαλλάσσεται ταῦτα παραινέσας, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Δαβίδην μεταβαίνει τὸ θεῖον καταλιπὸν Σαοῦλον. καὶ ὁ μὲν προφητεύειν ἤρξατο τοῦ θείου πνεύματος εἰς αὐτὸν μετοικισαμένου, τὸν Σαοῦλον δὲ περιήρχετο πάθη τινὰ καὶ δαιμόνια πνιγμοὺς αὐτῷ καὶ στραγγάλας ἐπιφέροντα, ὡς τοὺς ἰατροὺς ἄλλην μὲν αὐτῷ θεραπείαν μὴ ἐπινοεῖν, εἰ δέ τίς ἐστιν ἐξᾴδειν δυνάμενος καὶ ψάλλειν ἐπὶ κινύρᾳ τοῦτον ἐκέλευσαν ζητήσαντας, ὁπόταν αὐτῷ προσίῃ τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ ταράττῃ, ποιεῖν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς στάντα ψάλλειν τε καὶ τοὺς ὕμνους ἐπιλέγειν. [167] ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἠμέλησεν, ἀλλὰ ζητεῖσθαι προσέταξε τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπον: φήσαντος δέ τινος αὐτῷ τῶν παρόντων ἐν Βηθλεέμῃ πόλει τεθεᾶσθαι Ἰεσσαίου μὲν υἱὸν, ἔτι [δὲ] παῖδα τὴν ἡλικίαν, εὐπρεπῆ δὲ καὶ καλὸν τά τε ἄλλα σπουδῆς ἄξιον καὶ δὴ καὶ ψάλλειν εἰδότα καὶ ᾄδειν ὕμνους καὶ πολεμιστὴν ἄκρον, πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Ἰεσσαῖον ἐκέλευσεν ἀποστέλλειν αὐτῷ τὸν Δαβίδην τῶν ποιμνίων ἀποσπάσαντα: βούλεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν περὶ τῆς εὐμορφίας καὶ τῆς ἀνδρείας ἀκούσας τοῦ νεανίσκου. [168] ὁ δὲ Ἰεσσαῖος πέμπει τὸν υἱὸν καὶ ξένια δοὺς κομίσαι τῷ Σαούλῳ. ἐλθόντι δὲ ἥσθη καὶ ποιήσας ὁπλοφόρον διὰ πάσης ἦγε τιμῆς: ἐξῄδετο γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν δαιμονίων ταραχήν, ὁπότε αὐτῷ ταῦτα προσέλθοι, μόνος ἰατρὸς ἦν λέγων τε τοὺς ὕμνους καὶ ψάλλων ἐν τῇ κινύρᾳ καὶ ποιῶν ἑαυτοῦ γίνεσθαι τὸν Σαοῦλον. [169] πέμπει τοίνυν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τοῦ παιδὸς Ἰεσσαῖον ἐᾶσαι παρ' αὐτῷ τὸν

Δαβίδην κελεύων: ἥδεσθαι γὰρ αὐτῷ βλεπομένῳ καὶ παρόντι: τὸν δ᾽ οὐκ ἀντειπεῖν τῷ Σαούλῳ, συγχωρῆσαι δὲ κατέχειν.

IX

(1) [170] Χρόνοις δ᾽ ὕστερον οὐ πολλοῖς οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι πάλιν συνελθόντες καὶ δύναμιν ἀθροίσαντες μεγάλην ἐπίασι τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις καὶ μεταξὺ Σωκοῦς καὶ Ἀζηκοῦς καταλαμβανόμενοι στρατοπεδεύονται. ἀντεπεξάγει δ᾽ αὐτοῖς τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ Σαοῦλος καὶ ἐπί τινος ὄρους στρατοπεδευσάμενος ἀναγκάζει τοὺς Παλαιστίνους τὸ μὲν πρῶτον στρατόπεδον καταλιπεῖν, ὁμοίως δ᾽ ἐπί τινος ὄρους ἀντικρὺ τοῦ καταληφθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ Σαούλου στρατοπεδεύσασθαι. [171] διίστη δ᾽ ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων τὰ στρατόπεδα μέσος αὐλὼν τῶν ὀρῶν ἐφ᾽ ὧν ἦν. καταβὰς οὖν τις τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Παλαιστίνων στρατοπέδου Γολιάθης ὄνομα: πόλεως δὲ Γίττης ἀνὴρ παμμεγεθέστατος: ἦν γὰρ πηχῶν τεσσάρων καὶ σπιθαμῆς ὅπλα τῇ φύσει τοῦ σώματος ἀναλογοῦντα περικείμενος: θώρακα μὲν γὰρ ἐνεδέδυτο σταθμὸν ἄγοντα πέντε χιλιάδας σίκλων, κόρυθα δὲ καὶ κνημῖδας χαλκέας ὁποίας εἰκὸς ἦν ἀνδρὸς οὕτω παραδόξου τὸ μέγεθος σκεπάσαι μέρη, δόρυ δὲ ἦν οὐ κοῦφον βάσταγμα δεξιᾶς, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων αὐτὸ αἴρων ἔφερεν, εἶχε δὲ καὶ λόγχην ἑξακοσίων σίκλων, εἵποντο δὲ πολλοὶ βαστάζοντες τὰ ὅπλα: [172] στὰς τοίνυν ὁ Γολίαθος οὗτος μεταξὺ τῶν παρατάξεων βοήν τε ἀφίησι μεγάλην καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σαοῦλον καὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους λέγει: "μάχης μὲν ὑμᾶς καὶ κινδύνων ἀπαλλάττω: τίς γὰρ ἀνάγκη τὴν στρατιὰν ἡμῶν συμπεσοῦσαν κακοπαθεῖν; [173] δότε δ᾽ ὅστις ἐμοὶ μαχεῖται τῶν ὑμετέρων, καὶ βραβευθήσεται τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἐνὶ τῷ νενικηκότι: δουλεύσουσι γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τοῖς ἑτέροις, ὧν ἂν ὁ νικήσας γένηται: πολὺ δὲ κρεῖττον εἶναι καὶ σωφρονέστατον ἑνὸς κινδύνῳ λαβεῖν ὃ βούλεσθε ἢ τῷ [174] ἁπάντων." ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὸ τῶν οἰκείων στρατόπεδον. τῇ δ᾽ ἐχομένῃ πάλιν ἐλθὼν τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐποιήσατο λόγους, καὶ μέχρι τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν οὐ διέλειπε προκαλούμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις τοὺς πολεμίους, ὡς καταπλαγῆναι αὐτόν τε τὸν Σαοῦλον καὶ τὴν στρατιάν. καὶ παρετάσσοντο μὲν ὡς εἰς μάχην, οὐκ ἤρχοντο δὲ εἰς χεῖρας.

(2) [175] Τοῦ δὲ πολέμου συνεστηκότος τοῖς Ἑβραίοις καὶ τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις Σαοῦλος ἀπέλυσε τὸν Δαβίδην πρὸς τὸν πατέρα Ἰεσσαῖον ἀρκούμενος αὐτοῦ τοῖς τρισὶν υἱοῖς, οὓς ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους ἔπεμψεν. [176] ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπὶ τὰ ποίμνια πάλιν καὶ τὰς νομὰς τῶν βοσκημάτων παραγίνεται, μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἔρχεται εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Ἑβραίων πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς κομίσαι τε τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐφόδια καὶ γνῶναι τί πράττουσι. [177] τοῦ δὲ Γολιάθου πάλιν ἐλθόντος καὶ προκαλουμένου καὶ ὀνειδίζοντος, ὅτι μηδείς ἐστιν ἀνδρεῖος ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὃς εἰς μάχην αὐτῷ τολμᾷ καταβῆναι, μεταξὺ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὁμιλῶν Δαβίδης περὶ ὧν ἐπέστειλεν ὁ πατὴρ ἀκούσας βλασφημοῦντος τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ

κακίζοντος τοῦ Παλαιστίνου ἠγανάκτησε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ εἶπεν ἑτοίμως ἔχειν μονομαχῆσαι τῷ πολεμίῳ. [178] πρὸς τοῦθ' ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν ἀδελφῶν Ἰάναβος ἐπέπληξεν αὐτῷ τολμηρότερον παρ' ἡλικίαν καὶ ἀμαθῆ τοῦ προσήκοντος εἰπών, ἐκέλευσέ τε πρὸς τὰ ποίμνια καὶ τὸν πατέρα βαδίζειν. καταιδεσθεὶς δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὑπεχώρησε καὶ πρός τινας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπελάλησεν, ὅτι θέλοι μάχεσθαι τῷ προκαλουμένῳ. [179] δηλωσάντων δ' εὐθὺς τῷ Σαούλῳ τὴν τοῦ νεανίσκου προαίρεσιν μεταπέμπεται αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ πυθομένου τί βούλεται λέγειν "μὴ ταπεινὸν ἔστω τὸ φρόνημα μηδ' εὐλαβὲς, ὦ βασιλεῦ: καθαιρήσω γὰρ ἐγὼ τὴν ἀλαζονείαν τοῦ πολεμίου χωρήσας αὐτῷ διὰ μάχης καὶ τὸν ὑψηλὸν καὶ μέγαν ὑπ' ἐμαυτῷ βαλών. [180] γένοιτο μὲν ἂν αὐτὸς οὕτως καταγέλαστος, ἔνδοξον δὲ τὸ σὸν στράτευμα, εἰ μηδ' ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς πολεμεῖν ἤδη δυναμένου καὶ πιστευομένου παράταξιν καὶ μάχας, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ παιδὸς ἔτι δοκοῦντος καὶ ταύτην ἔχοντος τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀποθάνοι."

(3) [181] Τοῦ δὲ Σαούλου τὸ μὲν τολμηρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν εὐψυχίαν θαυμάζοντος, οὐ θαρροῦντος δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀλλ' ἀσθενέστερον εἶναι διὰ ταύτην πρὸς εἰδότα πολεμεῖν μάχεσθαι λέγοντος, "ταῦτ', εἶπε Δαβίδης, ἐπαγγέλλομαι τῷ θεῷ θαρρῶν ὄντι μετ' ἐμοῦ: πεπείραμαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῆς βοηθείας. [182] λέοντα γὰρ ἐπελθόντα μού ποτε τοῖς ποιμνίοις καὶ ἁρπάσαντα ἄρνα διώξας καταλαμβάνω καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄρνα τοῦ στόματος ἐξαρπάζω τοῦ θηρὸς, αὐτὸν δ' ὁρμήσαντα ἐπ' ἐμὲ τῆς οὐρᾶς βαστάσας καὶ προσρήξας τῇ γῇ διαφθείρω. [183] ταὐτὸ δὲ καὶ ἄρκον ἀμυνόμενος διατίθεμαι. νομιζέσθω δὴ καὶ ὁ πολέμιος ἐκείνων εἶναι τῶν θηρίων ὀνειδίζων ἐκ πολλοῦ τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ βλασφημῶν ἡμῶν τὸν θεὸν, ὃς αὐτὸν ὑποχείριον ἐμοὶ θήσει."

(4) [184] Τῇ προθυμίᾳ τοιγαροῦν καὶ τῇ τόλμῃ τοῦ παιδὸς ὅμοιον γενέσθαι τέλος παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ Σαοῦλος εὐξάμενος "ἄπιθι, φησί πρὸς τὴν μάχην." καὶ περιθεὶς αὐτῷ τὸν αὐτοῦ θώρακα καὶ περιζώσας τὸ ξίφος καὶ περικεφαλαίαν ἁρμόσας ἐξέπεμψεν. [185] ὁ δὲ Δαβίδης βαρυνόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ὅπλων, οὐκ ἐγεγύμναστο γὰρ οὐδ' ἐμεμαθήκει φέρειν ὅπλα, "ταῦτα μέν, εἶπεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, σὸς ἔστω κόσμος τοῦ βαστάζειν δυναμένου, συγχώρησον δὲ ὡς δούλῳ σου καὶ ὡς ἐγὼ βούλομαι μαχεσθῆναι." τίθησιν οὖν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὴν βακτηρίαν ἀράμενος καὶ πέντε λίθους ἐκ τοῦ χειμάρρου βαλὼν εἰς τὴν πήραν τὴν ποιμενικὴν καὶ σφενδόνην ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ φέρων ἐπὶ τὸν Γολίαθον ἐπορεύετο. [186] καταφρονεῖ δὲ οὕτως ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ὁ πολέμιος ἐρχόμενον καὶ προσέσκωψεν, ὡς οὐχ οἷα πρὸς ἄνθρωπον ὅπλα νενόμισται ταῦτ' ἔχων μέλλοι μάχεσθαι, οἷς δὲ κύνας ἀπελαύνομεν καὶ φυλασσόμεθα. μὴ αὐτὸν ἀντὶ ἀνθρώπου κύνα εἶναι δοκεῖ; ὁ δ' οὐχὶ τοιοῦτον ἀλλὰ καὶ χείρω κυνὸς αὐτὸν νομίζειν ἀπεκρίνατο. κινεῖ δὲ πρὸς ὀργὴν τὸν Γολίαθον, καὶ ἀρὰς αὐτῷ τίθεται ἐκ τῆς προσηγορίας τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ δώσειν ἠπείλησε τὰς σάρκας αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐπιγείοις καὶ τοῖς μεταρσίοις διασπάσασθαι: [187] ἀμείβεται δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Δαβίδης: "σὺ μὲν ἐπέρχῃ μοι ἐν

ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ δόρατι καὶ θώρακι, ἐγὼ δὲ χωρῶν ἐπὶ σὲ τὸν θεὸν ὥπλισμαι, ὃς σέ τε καὶ πᾶσαν ὑμῶν στρατιὰν χερσὶ ταῖς ἡμετέραις διολέσει. καρατομήσω μὲν γάρ σε σήμερον καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις κυσὶ παραβαλῶ, μαθήσονται δὲ πάντες, ὅτι προέστηκεν Ἑβραίων τὸ θεῖον καὶ ὅπλα ἡμῖν καὶ ἰσχὺς τοῦτ᾽ ἔστι κηδόμενον, ἡ δ᾽ ἄλλη παρασκευὴ καὶ δύναμις ἀνωφελὴς θεοῦ μὴ παρόντος.” [188] ὁ δὲ Παλαιστῖνος ὑπὸ βάρους τῶν ὅπλων εἰς ὠκύτητα καὶ δρόμον ἐμποδιζόμενος βάδην ἐπὶ τὸν Δαβίδην παραγίνεται καταφρονῶν καὶ πεποιθὼς γυμνὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ παῖδα ἔτι τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀπόνως ἀναιρήσειν.

(5) [189] Ἀπαντᾷ δὲ ὁ νεανίσκος μετὰ συμμάχου μὴ βλεπομένου τῷ πολεμίῳ: θεὸς δ᾽ ἦν οὗτος. καὶ ἀνελόμενος ἐκ τῆς πήρας ὧν εἰς αὐτὴν κατέθηκεν ἐκ τοῦ χειμάρρου λίθων ἕνα καὶ ἁρμόσας τῇ σφενδόνῃ βάλλει ἐπὶ τὸν Γολίαθον εἰς τὸ μέτωπον: καὶ διῆλθεν ἕως τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου τὸ βληθέν, ὡς εὐθὺς καρωθέντα πεσεῖν τὸν Γολίαθον ἐπὶ τὴν ὄψιν. [190] δραμὼν δ᾽ ἐφίσταται τῷ πολεμίῳ κειμένῳ καὶ τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ τῇ ἐκείνου μάχαιραν οὐκ ἔχων αὐτὸς ἀποτέμνει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ. [191] πεσὼν δ᾽ ὁ Γολίαθος ἧττα καὶ φυγὴ γίνεται Παλαιστίνοις: τὸν γὰρ δοκιμώτατον ἰδόντες ἐρριμμένον καὶ περὶ τῶν ὅλων δείσαντες οὐκέτι μένειν διέγνωσαν, ἀλλ᾽ αἰσχρᾷ καὶ ἀκόσμῳ φυγῇ παραδόντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐξαρπάζειν τῶν κινδύνων ἐπειρῶντο. Σαοῦλος δὲ καὶ πᾶς ὁ τῶν Ἑβραίων στρατὸς ἀλαλάξαντες ἐκπηδῶσιν εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποσφάττοντες διώκουσιν ἄχρι τῶν Γίττης ὁρίων καὶ τῶν πυλῶν τῶν Ἀσκάλωνος. [192] καὶ θνήσκουσι μὲν τῶν Παλαιστίνων εἰς τρισμυρίους, δὶς δὲ τοσοῦτοι τραυματίαι γίνονται. Σαοῦλος δὲ ὑποστρέψας εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν διαρπάζει τὸ χαράκωμα καὶ ἐνέπρησε: τὴν κεφαλὴν δὲ Γολιάθου Δαβίδης εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν σκηνὴν ἐκόμισε καὶ τὴν ῥομφαίαν ἀνέθηκε τῷ θεῷ.

X

(1) [193] Φθόνον δὲ καὶ μῖσος τοῦ Σαούλου πρὸς αὐτὸν αἱ γυναῖκες ἐρεθίζουσιν: ὑπαντῶσαι γὰρ τῇ στρατιᾷ νικηφόρῳ μετὰ κυμβάλων καὶ τυμπάνων καὶ παντοίας χαρᾶς ᾖδον αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες, [ὡς] πολλὰς Σαοῦλος ἀπώλεσε Παλαιστίνων χιλιάδας, αἱ παρθένοι δὲ, ὡς μυριάδας Δαυίδης ἀφανίσειε. [194] τούτων δὲ ἀκούων ὁ βασιλεύς, ὡς τὸ μὲν ἔλαττον τῆς μαρτυρίας αὐτὸς λάβοι, τὸ δὲ τῶν μυριάδων πλῆθος ἀνατεθείη τῷ νεανίσκῳ, καὶ λογισάμενος μηδὲν οὕτω μετὰ λαμπρὰν εὐφημίαν ἢ τὴν βασιλείαν ὑστερεῖν αὐτῷ φοβεῖσθαι καὶ ὑποπτεύειν ἤρξατο τὸν Δαυίδην. [195] καὶ τῆς μὲν πρώτης τάξεως, ἐπεὶ τῷ δέει πλησίον αὐτοῦ καὶ λίαν ἐγγὺς ἐδόκει, ἐποίησε γὰρ αὐτὸν ὁπλοφόρον, μεταστήσας ἀποδείκνυσι χιλίαρχον δοὺς αὐτῷ χώραν ἀμείνονα μὲν ἀσφαλεστέραν δὲ ὡς ἐνόμιζεν αὐτῷ: ἐβούλετο γὰρ εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους αὐτὸν ἐκπέμπειν καὶ τὰς μάχας ὡς ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις τεθνηξόμενον.

(2) [196] Δαυίδης δὲ πανταχοῦ τὸν θεὸν ἐπαγόμενος ὅποι ποτ᾽ ἀφίκοιτο κατώρθου καὶ διευπραγῶν ἐδείκνυτο, ὡς δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀνδρείας τόν τε λαὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν Σαούλου θυγατέρα παρθένον ἔτι οὖσαν λαβεῖν ἔρωτα καὶ τοῦ πάθους ὑπερκρατοῦντος γενέσθαι φανερὰν καὶ διαβληθῆναι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. [197] ὁ δ᾽ ὡς ἀφορμῇ χρησάμενος τῆς ἐπὶ Δαυίδην ἐπιβουλῆς ἡδέως ἤκουσε καὶ δώσειν προθύμως αὐτῷ τὴν παρθένον πρὸς τοὺς τὸν ἔρωτα μηνύσαντας αὐτῆς ἔφη γενησόμενον ἀπωλείας καὶ κινδύνων αἴτιον αὐτῷ ληψομένῳ: “κατεγγυῶ γὰρ, εἶπεν, αὐτῷ τὸν τῆς θυγατρός μου γάμον, ἂν ἑξακοσίας μοι κομίσῃ κεφαλὰς τῶν πολεμίων. [198] ὁ δὲ καὶ γέρως οὕτω λαμπροῦ προτεθέντος καὶ βουλόμενος ἐπ᾽ ἔργῳ παραβόλῳ καὶ ἀπίστῳ λαβεῖν κλέος ὁρμήσει μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν, διαφθαρήσεται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Παλαιστίνων καὶ χωρήσει μοι τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν εὐπρεπῶς: ἀπαλλαγήσομαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ δι᾽ ἄλλων αὐτὸν ἀλλ᾽ [199] οὐχὶ δι᾽ ἐμαυτοῦ κτείνας.” διάπειραν δὴ τῆς τοῦ Δαυίδου διανοίας κελεύει τοὺς οἰκέτας λαμβάνειν, πῶς ἔχει πρὸς τὸ γῆμαι τὴν κόρην. οἱ δ᾽ ἤρξαντο διαλέγεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτι στέργει μὲν αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς Σαοῦλος καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἅπας, βούλεται δ᾽ αὐτῷ κηδεῦσαι τὴν θυγατέρα. [200] ὁ δὲ “μικρὸν ἄρ᾽ ὑμῖν, εἶπε, δοκεῖ γαμβρὸν γενέσθαι βασιλέως: ἐμοὶ δ᾽ οὐχὶ τοιοῦτον φαίνεται καὶ μάλιστα ὄντι ταπεινῷ καὶ δόξης καὶ τιμῆς ἀμοίρῳ.” Σαοῦλος δὲ ἀγγειλάντων αὐτῷ τῶν οἰκετῶν τὰς τοῦ Δαυίδου ἀποκρίσεις “οὐ χρημάτων, ἔφη, δεῖσθαί με φράζετε αὐτῷ οὐδὲ ἔδνων, ἀπεμπολᾶν γὰρ ἔστιν οὕτως τὴν θυγατέρα μᾶλλον ἢ συνοικίζειν, γαμβροῦ δὲ ἀνδρείαν ἔχοντος καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν ἅπασαν, ἣν ὁρᾶν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ. [201] βούλεσθαι δή με παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ γάμου τῆς θυγατρὸς οὐ χρυσὸν οὐδ᾽ ἄργυρον οὐδ᾽ ὅπως ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς οἰκιῶν κομίσῃ, Παλαιστίνων δὲ τιμωρίαν καὶ κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν ἑξακοσίας. [202] αὐτῷ τε γὰρ ἐμοὶ τούτων οὐδὲν ἂν οὔτε ποθεινότερον οὔτε λαμπρότερον οὔτε προτιμότερον δῶρον γένοιτο, τῇ τε παιδί μου πολὺ τῶν νενομισμένων ἔδνων ζηλωτότερον τὸ συνοικεῖν ἀνδρὶ τοιούτῳ καὶ μαρτυρουμένῳ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἧτταν.

(3) [203] Κομισθέντων δὲ τούτων πρὸς τὸν Δαυίδην τῶν λόγων ἡσθεὶς τὸν Σαοῦλον ἐσπουδακέναι νομίζων αὐτοῦ περὶ τὴν συγγένειαν, οὐδὲ βουλεύσασθαι περιμείνας οὐδ᾽ εἰ δυνατὸν ἢ δύσκολόν ἐστι τὸ προκείμενον ἔργον τῷ λογισμῷ περινοήσας ὥρμησεν εὐθὺς μετὰ τῆς ἑταιρίας ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γάμου κατηγγελμένην πρᾶξιν καί, θεὸς γὰρ ἦν ὁ πάντα ποιῶν εὐμαρῆ καὶ δυνατὰ τῷ Δαυίδῃ, κτείνας πολλοὺς καὶ κεφαλὰς ἑξακοσίων ἀποτεμὼν ἦκε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα διὰ τῆς τούτων ἐπιδείξεως τὸν ἀντὶ τούτων γάμον ἀπαιτῶν. [204] Σαοῦλος δὲ οὐκ ἔχων ἀναφυγεῖν ἐκ τῶν ὑπεσχημένων, αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ὑπελάμβανεν ἢ ψεύσασθαι δοκεῖν ἢ δι᾽ ἐπιβουλὴν ἵν᾽ ὡς ἀδυνάτοις ἐπιχειρῶν ὁ Δαυίδης ἀποθάνῃ τὸν γάμον ἐπηγγέλθαι, δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὴν θυγατέρα Μελχὰν ὀνόματι.

XI

(1) [205] Ἔμελλε δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἐμμένειν Σαοῦλος ἄρα: ὁρῶν γὰρ τὸν Δαυίδην παρὰ τῷ θεῷ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ὄχλοις εὐδοκιμοῦντα κατέδεισε, καὶ τὸν φόβον οὐκ ἔχων ἀποκρύψασθαι περὶ μεγάλων ὄντα βασιλείας τε καὶ ζωῆς, ὧν καὶ θατέρου στερηθῆναι συμφορὰ δεινή, κτείνειν τὸν Δαυίδην διεγνώκει καὶ προστάσσει τὴν ἀναίρεσιν αὐτοῦ Ἰωνάθῃ τῷ παιδὶ καὶ τοῖς πιστοτάτοις τῶν οἰκετῶν. [206] ὁ δὲ τὸν πατέρα τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ Δαυίδῃ μεταβολῆς θαυμάσας οὐκ ἐπὶ μετρίοις ἀπὸ τῆς πολλῆς εὐνοίας ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ θανάτῳ γενομένης, καὶ τὸν νεανίσκον ἀγαπῶν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ καταιδούμενος λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπόρρητον καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν. [207] συμβουλεύει μέντοι φυλάσσεσθαι γενόμενον ἐκποδὼν τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν: αὐτὸς γὰρ ἀσπάσεσθαι τὸν πατέρα καὶ καιροῦ παραφανέντος αὐτῷ διαλεχθήσεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν μαθήσεσθαι καὶ ταύτην ἐκφαυλίσειν, [208] ὡς οὐ δεῖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ κτείνειν τοσαῦτα μὲν ἀγαθὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐργασάμενον εὐεργέτην δ᾽ αὐτοῦ γεγενημένον, δι᾽ ἃ καὶ συγγνώμην ἂν ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἁμαρτήμασιν εἰκότως εὕρατο. δηλώσω δέ σοι τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς γνώμην.” Δαυίδης δὲ πεισθεὶς συμβουλίᾳ χρηστῇ ὑπεξίσταται τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ὄψεως.

(2) [209] Τῇ δ᾽ ἐπιούσῃ πρὸς τὸν Σαοῦλον Ἰωνάθης ἐλθὼν ὡς ἱλαρόν τε καὶ χαίροντα κατέλαβεν ἤρξατο λόγους αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ Δαυίδου προσφέρειν: “τί καταγνοὺς αὐτοῦ μικρὸν ἢ μεῖζον ἀδίκημα, πάτερ, προσέταξας ἀνελεῖν ἄνδρα μέγα μὲν αὐτῷ πρὸς σωτηρίαν ὄφελος γεγενημένον, μεῖζον δὲ πρὸς τὴν Παλαιστίνων τιμωρίαν, [210] ὕβρεως δὲ καὶ χλεύης ἀπαλλάξαντα τὸν Ἑβραίων λαὸν ἣν ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας ὑπέμεινε μόνος τολμῶν ὑποστῆναι τὴν τοῦ πολεμίου πρόκλησιν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κομίσαντα μὲν ὅσας ἐπετάχθη κεφαλὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν, λαβόντα δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτῳ γέρας τὴν ἐμὴν ἀδελφὴν πρὸς γάμον, ὡς ἂν ἀλγεινὸς αὐτοῦ γένοιθ᾽ ἡμῖν ὁ θάνατος οὐ διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν: συναδικεῖται γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῷ θανάτῳ καὶ ἡ σὴ θυγάτηρ χηρείαν πρὶν ἢ τῆς συμβιώσεως εἰς ὄνησιν ἐλθεῖν μέλλουσα πειράζειν. [211] ταῦτα λογισάμενος μεταβαλοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἡμερώτερον καὶ μηδὲν ποιήσῃς κακὸν ἄνδρα πρῶτον μὲν εὐεργεσίαν εὐεργετήσαντα μεγάλην τὴν σὴν σωτηρίαν, ὅτε σοι τοῦ πονηροῦ πνεύματος καὶ τῶν δαιμονίων ἐγκαθεζομένων τὰ μὲν ἐξέβαλεν, εἰρήνην δὲ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν τῇ ψυχῇ σου παρέσχεν, δεύτερον δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐκδικίαν: [212] αἰσχρὸν γὰρ τούτων ἐπιλελῆσθαι.” τούτοις παρηγορεῖται τοῖς λόγοις Σαοῦλος καὶ μηδὲν ἀδικήσειν τὸν Δαυίδην ὄμνυσι τῷ παιδί: κρείττων γὰρ ὀργῆς καὶ φόβου δίκαιος λόγος. Ἰωνάθης δὲ μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν Δαυίδην σημαίνει τε αὐτῷ χρηστὰ καὶ σωτήρια τὰ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἄγει τε πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ παρέμεινε τῷ βασιλεῖ Δαυίδης ὥσπερ ἔμπροσθεν.

(3) [213] Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν τῶν Παλαιστίνων στρατευσαμένων πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους πέμπει μετὰ στρατιᾶς τὸν Δαυίδην πολεμήσοντα τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις, καὶ συμβαλὼν πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε καὶ νικήσας ἐπάνεισι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. προσδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Σαοῦλος οὐχ ὡς ἤλπισεν ἀπὸ τοῦ κατορθώματος, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς εὐπραγίας αὐτοῦ λυπηθεὶς ὡς ἐπισφαλέστερος αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου πράξεων γενόμενος. [214] ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν αὐτὸν προσελθὸν τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐθορύβει πνεῦμα καὶ συνετάραττε, καλέσας εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον ἐν ᾧ κατέκειτο κατέχων τὸ δόρυ προσέταξε τῷ ψαλμῷ καὶ τοῖς ὕμνοις ἐξᾴδειν αὐτόν. ἐκείνου δὲ τὰ κελευσθέντα ποιοῦντος διατεινάμενος ἀκοντίζει τὸ δόρυ: καὶ τὸ μὲν προιδόμενος ὁ Δαυίδης ἐξέκλινε, φεύγει δὲ εἰς τὸν οἶκον τὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' ὅλης ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας αὐτόθι.

(4) [215] Νυκτὸς δὲ πέμψας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἄχρι τῆς ἕω φυλάττεσθαι μὴ καὶ λάθῃ παντελῶς ἀφανὴς γενόμενος, ἵνα παραγενόμενος εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον καὶ κρίσει παραδοὺς ἀποκτείνῃ. Μελχὰ δὲ ἡ γυνὴ Δαυίδου θυγάτηρ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς μαθοῦσα διάνοιαν τῷ ἀνδρὶ παρίσταται δειλὰς ἔχουσα τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐλπίδας καὶ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας ψυχῆς ἀγωνιῶσα: οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὴν ζῆν ὑπομενεῖν ἐκείνου στερηθεῖσαν. [216] καί "μή σε, φησίν, ὁ ἥλιος ἐνταυθοῖ καταλάβῃ: οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ὄψεταί σε. φεῦγε δ' ἕως τοῦτό σοι δύναται παρασχεῖν ἡ παροῦσα νύξ: καὶ ποιήσει δέ σοι ταύτην ὁ θεὸς μακροτέραν: ἴσθι γὰρ σαυτὸν ἂν εὑρεθῇς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπολούμενον." καὶ καθιμήσασα διὰ θυρίδος αὐτὸν ἐξέσωσεν: [217] ἔπειτα σκευάσασα τὴν κλίνην ὡς ἐπὶ νοσοῦντι καὶ ὑποθεῖσα τοῖς ἐπιβολαίοις ἦπαρ αἰγός, ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς ὡς αὐτὴν πέμψαντος ἐπὶ τὸν Δαυίδην ὠχλῆσθαι διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς εἶπε τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐπιδείξασα τὴν κλίνην κατακεκαλυμμένην καὶ τῷ πηδήματι τοῦ ἥπατος σαλεύοντι τὴν ἐπιβολὴν πιστωσαμένη τὸ κατακείμενον τὸν Δαυίδην ἀσθμαίνειν. [218] ἀπαγγειλάντων δὲ τῶν πεμφθέντων, ὅτι γένοιτο διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀσθενέστερος, ἐκέλευσεν οὕτως ἔχοντα κομισθῆναι: βούλεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν. ἐλθόντες δὲ καὶ ἀνακαλύψαντες τὴν κλίνην καὶ τὸ σόφισμα τῆς γυναικὸς εὑρόντες ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ βασιλεῖ. [219] μεμφομένου δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτήν, ὅτι σώσειε μὲν τὸν ἐχθρὸν αὐτοῦ κατασοφίσαιτο δ' αὐτόν, ἀπολογίαν σκήπτεται πιθανήν: ἀπειλήσαντα γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀποκτείνειν ἔφησε τυχεῖν ἐκ τοῦ δέους τῆς πρὸς τὸ σωθῆναι συνεργίας: ὑπὲρ ἧς συγγνῶναι καλῶς ἔχειν αὐτῇ κατ' ἀνάγκην ἀλλὰ μὴ κατὰ προαίρεσιν γενομένης: "οὐ γὰρ οὕτως, ἔλεγεν, οἶμαι τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἐζήτεις ἀποθανεῖν, ὡς ἐμὲ σώζεσθαι." καὶ συγγινώσκει δὲ τῇ κόρῃ Σαοῦλος. [220] ὁ δὲ Δαυίδης ἐκφυγὼν τὸν κίνδυνον ἦκε πρὸς τὸν προφήτην Σαμουῆλον εἰς Ἀραμαθὰ καὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐδήλωσε καὶ ὡς παρὰ μικρὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τῷ δόρατι βληθεὶς ἀποθάνοι, μήτ' ἐν τοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν κακὸς γενόμενος μήτ' ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀγῶσιν ἄνανδρος, ἀλλ'

ἐν ἅπασι μετὰ [τοῦ] θυμοῦ καὶ ἐπιτυχής. τοῦτο δ' ἦν αἴτιον Σαούλῳ τῆς πρὸς Δαυίδην ἀπεχθείας.

(5) [221] Μαθὼν δ' ὁ προφήτης τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδικίαν καταλείπει μὲν τὴν πόλιν Ἀραμαθάν, ἀγαγὼν δὲ τὸν Δαυίδην ἐπί τινα τόπον Γαλβουὰθ ὄνομα ἐκεῖ διέτριβε σὺν αὐτῷ. ὡς δ' ἀπηγγέλη τῷ Σαούλῳ παρὰ τῷ προφήτῃ τυγχάνων ὁ Δαυίδης πέμψας ὁπλίτας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄγειν προσέταξε συλλαμβάνοντας. [222] οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὸν Σαμουῆλον καὶ καταλαβόντες προφητῶν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θείου μεταλαμβάνουσι πνεύματος καὶ προφητεύειν ἤρξαντο: Σαοῦλος δ' ἀκούσας ἄλλους ἔπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὸν Δαυίδην: κἀκείνων ταὐτὸ τοῖς πρώτοις παθόντων πάλιν ἀπέστειλεν ἑτέρους: προφητευόντων δὲ καὶ τῶν τρίτων τελευταῖον ὀργισθεὶς αὐτὸς ἐξώρμησεν. [223] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἦν ἤδη, Σαμουῆλος πρὶν ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν προφητεύειν ἐποίησεν. ἐλθὼν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν Σαοῦλος ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ πνεύματος ἐλαυνόμενος ἔκφρων γίνεται καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα περιδύσας ἑαυτὸν καταπεσὼν ἔκειτο δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς Σαμουήλου τε καὶ Δαυίδου βλεπόντων.

(6) [224] Ἰωνάθης δὲ ὁ Σαούλου παῖς ἀφικομένου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖθεν Δαυίδου καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποδυρομένου ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ λέγοντος, ὡς οὐδὲν ἀδικήσας οὔτ' ἐξαμαρτὼν σπουδάζοιτο ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ φονευθῆναι, μήθ' ἑαυτῷ τοῦθ' ὑπονοοῦντι πιστεύειν παρεκάλει μήτε τοῖς διαβάλλουσιν, εἴ τινες ἄρα εἰσὶν οἱ τοῦτο πράττοντες, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ προσέχειν καὶ θαρρεῖν: μηδὲν γὰρ τοιοῦτον ἐπ' αὐτῷ φρονεῖν τὸν πατέρα: φράσαι γὰρ ἂν αὐτῷ περὶ τούτου καὶ σύμβουλον παραλαβεῖν τῇ κοινῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τἆλλα πράττοντα. [225] ὁ δὲ Δαυίδης ὤμνυεν ἦ μὴν οὕτως ἔχειν, καὶ πιστεύοντ' ἠξίου προνοεῖν αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ καταφρονοῦντ' ἐπ' ἀληθέσι τοῖς λόγοις τότε ἀληθὲς ὑπολαβεῖν, ὅταν ἢ θεάσηται [πεφονευμένον αὐτὸν] ἢ πύθηται: μηδὲν λέγειν δ' αὐτῷ τὸν πατέρα περὶ τούτων ἔφασκεν εἰδότα τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν καὶ διάθεσιν.

(7) [226] Λυπηθεὶς δ' ἐφ' ὅτῳ πιστωσάμενος τὴν τοῦ Σαούλου προαίρεσιν Ἰωνάθης οὐκ ἔπεισεν ἐπηρώτα, τίνος ἐξ αὐτοῦ βούλεται τυχεῖν. ὁ δέ "οἶδα γάρ, ἔφη, πάντα σε χαρίζεσθαί μοι καὶ παρέχειν ἐθέλοντα: νουμηνία μὲν εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσάν ἐστιν, ἔθος δ' ἔχω δειπνεῖν σὺν τῷ βασιλεῖ καθήμενος: [227] εἰ δή σοι δοκεῖ πορευθεὶς ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ λανθάνων διαμενῶ, σὺ δ' ἐπιζητήσαντος αὐτοῦ λέγε πορευθῆναί με εἰς τὴν πατρίδα Βηθλέεμ' ἑορτήν μου τῆς φυλῆς ἀγούσης προστιθεὶς ὅτι σύ μοι συγκεχώρηκας. κἂν μὲν οἷον εἰκὸς καὶ σύνηθές ἐστι λέγειν ἐπὶ φίλοις ἀποδημοῦσιν "ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ βεβάδικεν" εἴπῃ, ἴσθι μηδὲν ὕπουλον παρ' αὐτοῦ εἶναι μηδ' ἐχθρόν: ἂν δ' ὡς ἄλλως ἀποκρίνηται τοῦτ' ἔσται τεκμήριον τῶν κατ' ἐμοῦ βεβουλευμένων. [228] μηνύσεις δέ μοι τὴν διάνοιαν τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς οἴκτῳ τε νέμων τοῦτο καὶ φιλίᾳ, δι' ἣν πίστεις τε παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν ἠξίωκας αὐτός τε ἐμοὶ δοῦναι δεσπότης ὤν. εἰ δ' εὑρίσκεις τι ἐν ἐμοὶ πονηρόν, αὐτὸς ἄνελε καὶ φθάσον τὸν πατέρα."

(8) [229] Πρὸς δὲ τὸ τελευταῖον δυσχεράνας τῶν λόγων Ἰωνάθης ποιήσειν ταῦτ' ἐπηγγείλατο κἄν τι σκυθρωπὸν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀπέχθειαν ἐμφανίζον ἀποκρίνηται μηνύσειν. ἵνα δ' αὐτῷ θαρρῇ μᾶλλον, ἐξαγαγὼν αὐτὸν εἰς ὕπαιθρον καὶ καθαρὸν ἀέρα οὐδὲν παρήσειν ὑπὲρ τῆς Δαυίδου σωτηρίας ὤμνυε: [230] "τὸν γὰρ θεόν, εἶπε, τοῦτον ὃν πολὺν ὁρᾷς καὶ πανταχοῦ κεχυμένον, καὶ πρὶν ἑρμηνεῦσαί με τοῖς λόγοις τὴν διάνοιαν ἤδη μου ταύτην εἰδότα, μάρτυρα ποιοῦμαι τῶν πρὸς σὲ συνθηκῶν, ὡς οὐκ ἀνήσω τὸν πατέρα πολλάκις αὐτοῦ τῆς προαιρέσεως διάπειραν λαμβάνων, πρὶν ἢ καταμαθεῖν ἥτις ἐστὶ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀπορρήτοις αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς γενέσθαι. [231] καταμαθὼν δ' οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι, καταμηνύσω δὲ πρὸς σὲ καὶ πρᾷον ὄντα καὶ δυσμενῶς διακείμενον. οἶδε δὲ οὗτος ὁ θεός, πῶς αὐτὸν εἶναι μετὰ σοῦ διὰ παντὸς εὔχομαι: ἔστι μὲν γὰρ νῦν καὶ οὐκ ἀπολείψει σε, ποιήσει δέ σε τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἄντε ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐμὸς ᾖ ἄντ' ἐγὼ κρείττονα. [232] σὺ μόνον μνημόνευε τούτων, κἂν ἀποθανεῖν μοι γένηται τὰ τέκνα μου σῶζε, καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων μοι ἀμοιβὴν εἰς ἐκεῖνα κατάθου." ταῦτ' ἐπομόσας ἀπολύει τὸν Δαυίδην εἴς τινα τόπον ἀπελθεῖν τοῦ πεδίου φράσας, ἐν ᾧ γυμναζόμενος διατελεῖ: γνοὺς γὰρ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἥξειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφησεν ἐκεῖ μόνον ἐπαγόμενος παῖδα. [233] καὶ τρία ἀκόντια δὲ βαλὼν ἐπὶ τὸν σκοπὸν κομίσαι τῷ παιδὶ προστάσσω τὰ ἀκόντια: κεῖσθαι γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ. "καὶ ἂν ταῦτα, φησίν, ἀκούσῃς γίνωσκε μηδὲν εἶναι φαῦλον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός: ἂν δὲ τὰ ἐναντία τούτων ἀκούσῃς μου λέγοντος, καὶ τὰ ἐναντία παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως προσδόκα. [234] τῆς μέντοι γε ἀσφαλείας τεύξῃ παρ' ἐμοῦ καὶ οὐδὲν μὴ πάθῃς ἄτοπον: ὅπως δὲ μνησθῇς τούτων παρὰ τὸν τῆς εὐπραγίας καιρὸν σκόπει καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς μου γενοῦ χρήσιμος." Δαυίδης μὲν οὖν ταύτας λαβὼν παρὰ Ἰωνάθου τὰς πίστεις εἰς τὸ συγκείμενον ἀπηλλάγη χωρίον.

(9) [235] Τῇ δ' ἐχομένῃ, νεομηνία δ' ἦν, ἀγνεύσας ὡς ἔθος εἶχεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, καὶ παρακαθεσθέντων αὐτῷ τοῦ μὲν παιδὸς Ἰωνάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν Ἀβενήρου δὲ τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου ἐκ τῶν ἑτέρων, ἰδὼν τὴν τοῦ Δαβίδου καθέδραν κενὴν ἡσύχασεν ὑπονοήσας οὐ καθαρεύσαντα αὐτὸν ἀπὸ συνουσίας ὑστερεῖν. [236] ὡς δὲ καὶ τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῆς νουμηνίας οὐ παρῆν ἐπυνθάνετο παρὰ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἰωνάθου, ὅτι καὶ τῇ παρελθούσῃ καὶ ταύτῃ τοῦ δείπνου καὶ τῆς ἑστιάσεως ὁ τοῦ Ἰεσσαίου παῖς ἀπολέλειπται. ὁ δὲ πεπορεῦσθαι κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἔφησεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα τῆς φυλῆς ἑορτὴν ἀγούσης ἐπιτρέψαντος αὐτοῦ: παρακαλέσαι μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν καὶ εἰ συγχωρηθείη φησὶν ἀπέρχεσθαι: [237] τὴν γὰρ εὔνοιάν μου τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπίστασαι." τότε τὴν πρὸς Δαυίδην τοῦ πατρὸς Ἰωνάθης ἐπέγνω δυσμένειαν καὶ τρανῶς τὴν ὅλην αὐτοῦ βούλησιν εἶδεν: οὐ γὰρ κατέσχε Σαοῦλος τῆς ὀργῆς, ἀλλὰ βλασφημῶν ἐξ αὐτομόλων γεγενημένον καὶ πολέμιον ἀπεκάλει καὶ κοινωνὸν τοῦ Δαυίδου καὶ συνεργὸν ἔλεγεν καὶ μήτ' αὐτὸν αἰδεῖσθαι μήτε τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ ταῦτα φρονοῦντα καὶ μηδὲ βουλόμενον πεισθῆναι τοῦθ', ὅτι

μέχρις οὗ περίεστι Δαυίδης ἐπισφαλῶς αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἔχει. "μετάπεμψαι τοιγαροῦν αὐτόν, [238] ἔφησεν, ἵνα δῷ δίκην." ὑποτυχόντος δ' Ἰωνάθου, "τί δ' ἀδικοῦντα κολάσαι θέλεις;" οὐκέτ' εἰς λόγους καὶ βλασφημίας τὴν ὀργὴν ὁ Σαοῦλος ἐξήνεγκεν, ἀλλὰ ἁρπάσας τὸ δόρυ ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι θέλων. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔργον οὐκ ἔδρασε διακωλυθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων, φανερὸς δ' ἐγένετο τῷ παιδὶ μισῶν τὸν Δαυίδην καὶ διαχρήσασθαι ποθῶν, ὡς παρὰ μικρὸν δι' ἐκεῖνον αὐτόχειρ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς γεγονέναι.

(10) [239] Καὶ τότε μὲν ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως παῖς ἐκπηδήσας [ἀπὸ] τοῦ δείπνου καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ λύπης προσενέγκασθαι δυνηθείς, κλαίων αὐτὸν μὲν τοῦ παρὰ μικρὸν ἀπολέσθαι τοῦ κατακεκρίσθαι δ' ἀποθανεῖν Δαυίδην διενυκτέρευσεν. ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὸ πεδίον ὡς γυμνασόμενος μὲν δηλώσων δὲ τῷ φίλῳ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς διάθεσιν, ὡς συνέθετο, πρόεισι. [240] ποιήσας δὲ ὁ Ἰωνάθης τὰ συγκείμενα τὸν μὲν ἑπόμενον ἀπολύει εἰς τὴν πόλιν παῖδα, ἦν δ' ἠρεμία τῷ Δαυίδῃ παρελθεῖν εἰς ὄψιν αὐτῷ καὶ λόγους. ἀναφανεὶς δ' οὗτος πίπτει πρὸ τῶν Ἰωνάθου ποδῶν καὶ προσκυνῶν σωτῆρα αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπεκάλει. [241] ἀνίστησι δ' ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς αὐτόν, καὶ περιπλακέντες ἀλλήλους μακρά τε ἠσπάζοντο καὶ δεδακρυμένα τήν τε ἡλικίαν ἀποθρηνοῦντες αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐφθονημένην ἑταιρίαν καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα διαχωρισμόν, ὃς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει θανάτου διαφέρειν. μόλις δ' ἐκ τῶν θρήνων ἀνανήψαντες καὶ μεμνῆσθαι τῶν ὅρκων ἀλλήλοις παρακελευσάμενοι διελύθησαν.

XII

(1) [242] Δαυίδης δὲ φεύγων τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ θάνατον εἰς Ναβὰν παραγίνεται πόλιν πρὸς Ἀβιμέλεχον τὸν ἀρχιερέα, ὃς ἐπὶ τῷ μόνον ἥκοντα ἰδεῖν καὶ μήτε φίλον σὺν αὐτῷ μήτ' οἰκέτην παρόντα ἐθαύμασε καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ μηδένα εἶναι σὺν αὐτῷ μαθεῖν ἤθελεν. [243] ὁ δὲ πρᾶξιν ἀπόρρητον ἐπιταγῆναι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔφησεν, εἰς ἣν συνοδίας αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ λαθεῖν οὐκ ἔδει: τοὺς μέντοι θεράποντας εἰς τόνδε μοι τὸν τόπον ἀπαντᾶν προσέταξα." ἠξίου δὲ λαβεῖν ἐφόδια: φίλου γὰρ αὐτὸν ποιήσειν ἔργον παρασχόντα καὶ πρὸς τὸ προκείμενον συλλαμβανομένου. [244] τυχὼν δὲ τούτων ᾔτει καὶ ὅπλον τι μετὰ χεῖρας ῥομφαίαν ἢ δοράτιον: παρῆν δὲ καὶ Σαούλου δοῦλος γένει μὲν Σύρος Δώηγος δὲ ὄνομα τὰς τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμιόνους νέμων: ὁ δ' ἀρχιερεὺς ἔχειν μὲν αὐτὸς οὐδέν τι εἶπε τοιοῦτον, εἶναι δὲ τὴν Γολιάθου ῥομφαίαν, ἣν ἀποκτείνας τὸν Παλαιστῖνον αὐτὸς ἀναθείη τῷ θεῷ.

(2) [245] λαβὼν δὲ ταύτην ὁ Δαβίδης ἔξω τῆς τῶν Ἑβραίων χώρας εἰς Γίτταν διέφυγε τὴν Παλαιστίνων, ἧς Ἄγχους ἐβασίλευεν. ἐπιγνωσθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως οἰκετῶν καὶ φανερὸς αὐτῷ γενόμενος μηνυόντων ἐκείνων, ὅτι Δαυίδης ὁ πολλὰς ἀποκτείνας Παλαιστίνων μυριάδας εἴη, δείσας μὴ πρὸς αὐτοῦ θάνῃ καὶ

τὸν κίνδυνον ὃν ἐξέφυγε παρὰ Σαούλου παρ᾽ ἐκείνου πειράσῃ προσποιεῖται μανίαν καὶ λύσσαν, ὡς ἀφρὸν κατὰ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ φερόμενον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα συνίστησι μανίαν πίστιν παρὰ τῷ Γίττης βασιλεῖ γενέσθαι τῆς νόσου. [246] καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις ὁ βασιλεὺς προσδυσχεράνας ὡς ἔκφρονα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγάγοιεν ἄνθρωπον ἐκέλευσε τὸν Δαυίδην ὡς τάχος ἐκβάλλειν.

(3) [247] Διασωθεὶς δὲ οὗτος ἐκ τῆς Γίττης εἰς τὴν Ἰούδα παραγίνεται φυλὴν καὶ ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀδολλάμῃ πόλει σπηλαίῳ διατρίβων πέμπει πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς δηλῶν αὐτοῖς ἔνθα εἴη. οἱ δὲ μετὰ πάσης συγγενείας ἦκον πρὸς αὐτόν: καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ὅσοις ἢ χρεία ἦν ἢ φόβος ἐκ Σαούλου τοῦ βασιλέως συνερρύησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ ἐκείνῳ δοκοῦντα ἑτοίμως ἔχειν ἔλεγον. ἐγένοντο δὲ οἱ πάντες ὡσεὶ τετρακόσιοι. [248] θαρρήσας δὲ ὡς καὶ χειρὸς αὐτῷ καὶ συνεργίας ἤδη γεγενημένης ἀπάρας ἐκεῖθεν ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸν τῶν Μωαβιτῶν βασιλέα, καὶ τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χώραν προσδεξάμενον ἕως οὗ ἐπὶ τὸ καθ᾽ αὐτὸν τέλος ἔχειν παρεκάλει: κατανεύσαντος δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν χάριν καὶ πάσης τοὺς γονεῖς τοῦ Δαυίδου τιμὴς παρ᾽ ὃν ἐτύγχανον παρ᾽ αὐτῷ χρόνον ἀξιώ

(4) [249] σαντος αὐτὸς τοῦ προφήτου κελεύσαντος αὐτὸν τὴν μὲν ἐρημίαν ἐκλιπεῖν, πορευθέντα δ᾽ εἰς τὴν κληρουχίαν τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς ἐν αὐτῇ διάγειν πείθεται καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Σάριν πόλιν ἐν αὐτῇ κατέμενε. [250] Σαοῦλος δ᾽ ἀκούσας ὅτι μετὰ πλήθους ὀφθείη ὁ Δαυίδης οὐκ εἰς τυχόντα θόρυβον καὶ ταραχὴν ἐνέπεσεν, ἀλλ᾽ εἰδὼς τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τὴν εὐτολμίαν οὐδὲν ἐξ αὐτοῦ μικρὸν ἀνακύψειν ἔργον ἐφ᾽ οὗ κλαύσεσθαι πάντως καὶ πονήσειν ὑπενόησε. [251] καὶ συγκαλέσας τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ τὴν φυλὴν ἐξ ἧς αὐτὸς ἦν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν βουνὸν οὗ τὸ βασίλειον εἶχε, καὶ καθίσας ἐπ᾽ Ἀρούρης, τόπος ἦν τις τιμῆς, πολιτικῆς περὶ αὐτὸν οὔσης τάξεως σωματοφυλάκων λέγει πρὸς αὐτούς: “ἄνδρες ὁμόφυλοι, μέμνησθε μὲν οἶδ᾽ ὅτι τῶν ἐμῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, ὅτι καὶ ἀγρῶν τινας ἐποίησα δεσπότας καὶ τιμῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ πλήθει καὶ τάξεων ἠξίωσα. [252] πυνθάνομαι τοιγαροῦν, εἰ μείζονας τούτων δωρεὰς καὶ πλείονας παρὰ τοῦ Ἰεσσαίου παιδὸς προσδοκᾶτε: οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι πάντες ἐκείνῳ προστέθεισθε τοὐμοῦ παιδὸς Ἰωνάθου αὐτοῦ τε οὕτως φρονήσαντος καὶ ὑμᾶς ταῦτα πείσαντος: [253] οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοῶ τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς πρὸς Δαυίδην αὐτῷ γεγενημένας, οὐδ᾽ ὅτι σύμβουλος μὲν καὶ συνεργὸς Ἰωνάθης ἐστὶ τῶν κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ συντεταγμένων, μέλει δὲ ὑμῶν οὐδενὶ περὶ τούτων, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀποβη [254] σόμενον ἡσυχάζοντες σκοπεῖτε.” σιωπήσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀπεκρίνατο τῶν παρόντων, Δώηγος δ᾽ ὁ Σύρος ὁ τὰς ἡμιόνους αὐτοῦ βόσκων εἶπεν, ὡς ἴδοι τὸν Δαυίδην εἰς Ναβὰν πόλιν πρὸς Ἀβιμέλεχον ἐλθόντα τὸν ἀρχιερέα τά τε μέλλοντα παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ προφητεύσαντος μαθεῖν καὶ λαβόντα ἐφόδια καὶ τὴν ῥομφαίαν τοῦ Γολιάθου πρὸς οὓς ἐβούλετο μετὰ ἀσφαλείας προπεμφθῆναι.

(5) [255] Μεταπεμψάμενος οὖν τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν γενεὰν Σαοῦλος "τί παθὼν ἐξ ἐμοῦ, εἶπε, δεινὸν καὶ ἄχαρι τὸν Ἰεσσαίου παῖδα προσεδέξω καὶ σιτίων μὲν αὐτῷ μετέδωκας καὶ ὅπλων ὄντι τῆς ἐμῆς βασιλείας ἐπιβούλῳ, τί δὲ δὴ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐχρημάτιζες; οὐ γὰρ δή σε φεύγων ἐμὲ καὶ μισῶν τὸν ἐμὸν [256] οἶκον ἐλάνθανεν." ὁ δ' ἀρχιερεὺς οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρνησιν ἐτράπη τῶν γεγονότων, ἀλλὰ μετὰ παρρησίας ταῦτα παρασχεῖν ὡμολόγει οὐχὶ Δαυίδῃ χαριζόμενος, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ: "πολέμιον γὰρ σὸν οὐκ εἰδέναι ἔφασκε, πιστὸν δὲ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα δοῦλον καὶ χιλίαρχον καὶ τὸ τούτων μεῖζον γαμβρόν τε ἤδη καὶ συγγενῆ. [257] ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἐχθροῖς παρέχειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ τοῖς εὐνοίᾳ καὶ τιμῇ τῇ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀρίστοις. προφητεῦσαι δὲ οὐ νῦν πρῶτον αὐτῷ, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἄλλοτε τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι: φήσαντι δὲ ὑπὸ σοῦ πεμφθῆναι κατὰ πολλὴν σπουδὴν ἐπὶ πρᾶξιν τῷ μηδὲν παρασχεῖν ὧν ἐπεζήτει σοὶ μᾶλλον ἀντιλέγειν ἢ ἐκείνῳ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐλογιζόμην. [258] διὸ μηδὲν πονηρὸν κατ' ἐμοῦ φρονήσῃς μηδὲ πρὸς ἃ νῦν ἀκούεις Δαυίδην ἐγχειρεῖν πρὸς ταῦτα τὴν τότε μου δοκοῦσαν φιλανθρωπίαν ὑποπτεύσῃς: φίλῳ γὰρ καὶ γαμβρῷ σῷ καὶ χιλιάρχῳ παρέσχον, οὐ πολεμίῳ."

(6) [259] Ταῦτα λέγων ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς οὐκ ἔπεισε τὸν Σαοῦλον: δεινὸς γὰρ ὁ φόβος μηδ' ἀληθεῖ πιστεύειν ἀπολογίᾳ: κελεύει δὲ τοῖς ὁπλίταις περιστᾶσιν αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι. μὴ θαρρούντων δ' ἐκείνων ἅψασθαι τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, ἀλλὰ τὸ θεῖον εὐλαβουμένων μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ παρακοῦσαι τοῦ βασιλέως, τῷ Σύρῳ Δωήγῳ προστάσσει τὸν φόνον. [260] καὶ παραλαβὼν ὁμοίους αὐτῷ πονηροὺς ἐκεῖνος ἀποκτείνει τὸν Ἀβιμέλεχον καὶ τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ: ἦσαν δὲ πάντες ὡσεὶ πέντε καὶ τριακόσιοι. πέμψας δὲ Σαοῦλος καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἱερέων Ναβὰν πάντας τε αὐτοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν οὐ γυναικῶν οὐ νηπίων οὐδ' ἄλλης ἡλικίας φεισάμενος, αὐτὴν δὲ ἐνέπρησε. [261] διασώζεται δὲ παῖς [εἷς] Ἀβιμελέχου Ἀβιάθαρος ὄνομα. ταῦτα μέντοι συνέβη, καθὼς προεφήτευσεν ὁ θεὸς τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ Ἠλὶ διὰ τὰς τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ δύο παρανομίας εἰπὼν διαφθαρήσεσθαι τοὺς ἐγγόνους.

(7) [262] Σαοῦλος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὠμὸν οὕτως ἔργον διαπραξάμενος καὶ γενεὰν ὅλην ἀρχιερατικῆς ἀποσφάξας τιμῆς καὶ μήτ' ἐπὶ νηπίοις λαβὼν οἶκτον μήτ' ἐπὶ γέρουσιν αἰδῶ, καταβαλὼν δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἣν πατρίδα καὶ τροφὸν τῶν ἱερέων καὶ προφητῶν αὐτόθι τὸ θεῖον ἐπελέξατο καὶ μόνην εἰς τὸ τοιούτους φέρειν ἄνδρας ἀπέδειξε, μαθεῖν ἅπασι παρέσχε καὶ κατανοῆσαι τὸν ἀνθρώπινον τρόπον, [263] ὅτι μέχρις οὗ μέν εἰσιν ἰδιῶταί τινες καὶ ταπεινοὶ τῷ μὴ δύνασθαι χρῆσθαι τῇ φύσει μηδὲ τολμᾶν ὅσα θέλουσιν ἐπιεικεῖς εἰσι καὶ μέτριοι καὶ μόνον διώκουσι τὸ δίκαιον, καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ τὴν πᾶσαν εὔνοιάν [τε] καὶ σπουδὴν ἔχουσι τότε, καὶ περὶ τοῦ θείου πεπιστεύκασιν, ὅτι πᾶσι τοῖς γινομένοις ἐν τῷ βίῳ πάρεστι καὶ οὐ τὰ ἔργα μόνον ὁρᾷ τὰ πραττόμενα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς διανοίας ἤδη σαφῶς οἶδεν, ἀφ' ὧν μέλλει ταῦτα ἔσεσθαι: [264] ὅταν δὲ εἰς ἐξουσίαν παρέλθωσι καὶ δυναστείαν, τότε πάντ' ἐκεῖνα μετεκδυσάμενοι καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς

προσωπεῖα τὰ ἤθη καὶ τοὺς τρόπους ἀποθέμενοι μεταλαμβάνουσι τόλμαν ἀπόνοιαν καταφρόνησιν ἀνθρωπίνων τε καὶ θείων, [265] καὶ ὅτε μάλιστα δεῖ τῆς εὐσεβείας αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἔγγιστα τοῦ φθονεῖσθαι γεγενημένοις καὶ πᾶσι φανεροῖς ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἂν νοήσωσιν ἢ πράξωσι καθεστῶσι, τόθ᾽ ὡς οὐκέτι βλέποντος αὐτοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ διὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν δεδιότος οὕτως ἐμπαροινοῦσι τοῖς πράγμασιν. [266] ἃ δ᾽ ἂν ἢ φοβηθῶσιν ἀκούσαντες ἢ μισῶσι θελήσαντες ἢ στέρξωσιν ἀλόγως, ταῦτα κύρια καὶ βέβαια καὶ ἀληθῆ καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἀρεστὰ καὶ τῷ θεῷ δοκοῦσι, τῶν δὲ μελλόντων λόγος αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ εἷς: [267] ἀλλὰ τιμῶσι μὲν [τοὺς] πολλὰ ταλαιπωρήσαντας, τιμήσαντες δὲ φθονοῦσι, καὶ παραγαγόντες εἰς ἐπιφάνειαν οὐ ταύτης ἀφαιροῦνται μόνον τοὺς τετυχηκότας, ἀλλὰ διὰ ταύτην καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἐπὶ πονηραῖς αἰτίαις καὶ δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν αὐτῶν ἀπιθάνοις: κολάζουσι δ᾽ οὐκ ἐπ᾽ ἔργοις δίκης ἀξίοις, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ διαβολαῖς καὶ κατηγορίαις ἀβασανίστοις, οὐδ᾽ ὅσους ἔδει τοῦτο παθεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅσους ἀποκτεῖναι δύνανται. [268] τοῦτο Σαοῦλος ἡμῖν ὁ Κείσου παῖς, ὁ πρῶτος μετὰ τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν [καὶ] τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς κριταῖς πολιτείαν Ἑβραίων βασιλεύσας, φανερὸν πεποίηκε τριακοσίους ἀποκτείνας ἱερέας καὶ προφήτας ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ἀβιμέλεχον ὑποψίας, ἐπικαταβαλὼν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν ἐν τρόπῳ τινὶ ναὸν σπουδάσας ἱερέων καὶ προφητῶν ἔρημον καταστῆσαι τοσούτους μὲν ἀνελών, μεῖναι δ᾽ ἐάσας οὐδὲ τὴν πατρίδα αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκείνους ἄλλους γενέσθαι.

(8) [269] Ὁ δ᾽ Ἀβιάθαρος ὁ τοῦ Ἀβιμελέχου παῖς ὁ μόνος δυνηθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σαούλου φονευθέντων ἱερέων φυγὼν πρὸς Δαυίδην τὴν τῶν οἰκείων αὐτοῦ συμφορὰν ἐδήλωσε καὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀναίρεσιν. [270] ὁ δ᾽ οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν ἔφη ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐσόμενα ἰδὼν τὸν Δώηγον: ὑπονοῆσαι γὰρ διαβληθήσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τῆς ἀτυχίας ταύτης αὐτοῖς αὐτὸν ᾐτιᾶτο. μένειν δ᾽ αὐτόθι καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ διατρίβειν ὡς οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῳ τόπῳ λησόμενον οὕτως ἠξίου.

XIII

(1) [271] Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἀκούσας ὁ Δαυίδης τοὺς Παλαιστίνους ἐμβεβληκότας εἰς τὴν Κιλλανῶν χώραν καὶ ταύτην διαρπάζοντας δίδωσιν ἑαυτὸν στρατεύειν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ προφήτου πυθόμενος εἰ ἐπιτρέπει νίκην. τοῦ δὲ σημαίνειν φήσαντος ἐξώρμησεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Παλαιστίνους μετὰ τῶν ἑταίρων καὶ φόνον τε αὐτῶν πολὺν ἐξέχεε καὶ λείαν ἤλασεν. [272] καὶ παραμείνας τοῖς Κιλλανοῖς ἕως οὗ τὰς ἅλως καὶ τὸν καρπὸν συνεῖλον ἀδεῶς Σαούλῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ μηνύεται παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὤν: τὸ γὰρ ἔργον καὶ τὸ κατόρθωμα οὐκ ἔμεινε παρ᾽ οἷς ἐγένετο, φήμῃ δ᾽ ἐπίπαν εἴς τε τὰς τῶν ἄλλων ἀκοὰς καὶ πρὸς τὰς τοῦ βασιλέως διεκομίσθη αὐτό τε συνιστάνον καὶ τὸν πεποιηκότα. [273] χαίρει δὲ Σαοῦλος ἀκούσας ἐν Κίλλα τὸν Δαυίδην, καί “θεὸς ἤδη χερσὶ ταῖς

ἐμαῖς ὑπέθετο αὐτόν, εἰπών, ἐπεὶ καὶ συνηνάγκασεν ἐλθεῖν εἰς πόλιν τείχη καὶ πύλας καὶ μοχλοὺς ἔχουσαν", τῷ λαῷ παντὶ προσέταξεν ἐπὶ τὴν Κίλλαν ἐξορμῆσαι καὶ πολιορκήσαντι καὶ ἑλόντι τὸν Δαυίδην ἀποκτεῖναι. [274] ταῦτα δὲ αἰσθόμενος ὁ Δαυίδης καὶ μαθὼν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι μείναντα παρ' αὐτοῖς οἱ Κιλλῖται ἐκδώσουσι τῷ Σαούλῳ, παραλαβὼν τοὺς τετρακοσίους ἀπῆρεν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ἐπάνω τῆς Ἐνγεδὼν λεγομένης. καὶ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας αὐτὸν πεφευγότα παρὰ τῶν Κιλλιτῶν ἐπαύσατο τῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατείας.

(2) [275] Δαυίδης δὲ ἐκεῖθεν ἄρας εἴς τινα τόπον Καινὴν καλουμένην τῆς Ζιφήνης παραγίνεται, εἰς ὃν Ἰωνάθης ὁ τοῦ Σαούλου παῖς συμβαλὼν αὐτῷ καὶ κατασπασάμενος θαρρεῖν τε καὶ χρηστὰς περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἔχειν ἐλπίδας παρεκάλει καὶ μὴ κάμνειν τοῖς παροῦσι: βασιλεύσειν γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑβραίων δύναμιν ἕξειν ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ, φιλεῖν δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα σὺν μεγάλοις ἁπαντᾶν πόνοις. [276] πάλιν δ' ὅρκους ποιησάμενος τῆς εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν βίον πρὸς ἀλλήλους εὐνοίας καὶ πίστεως καὶ τὸν θεὸν μάρτυρα καλέσας, ὧν ἐπηράσατο αὐτῷ παραβάντι τὰ συγκείμενα καὶ μεταβαλλομένῳ πρὸς τἀναντία, τὸν μὲν αὐτόθι καταλείπει μικρὰ τῶν φροντίδων καὶ τοῦ δέους ἐπικουφίσας, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπανέρχεται. [277] οἱ δὲ Ζιφηνοὶ χαριζόμενοι τῷ Σαούλῳ μηνύουσιν αὐτῷ παρ' αὐτοῖς διατρίβειν τὸν Δαυίδην καὶ παραδώσειν ἔφασαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐλθόντι: καταληφθέντων γὰρ τῶν τῆς Ζιφηνῆς στενῶν οὐκ εἶναι φυγεῖν αὐτὸν πρὸς ἄλλους. [278] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐπῄνεσεν αὐτοὺς χάριν ἔχειν ὁμολογήσας τὸν ἐχθρὸν αὐτῷ μεμηνυκόσι, καὶ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀμείψεσθαι τῆς εὐνοίας ὑποσχόμενος αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψε τοὺς ζητήσοντας τὸν Δαυίδην καὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν ἐξερευνήσοντας, αὐτὸς δ' ἀκολουθήσειν ἀπεκρίνατο. [279] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν καὶ τὴν σύλληψιν τοῦ Δαυίδου προῆγον τὸν βασιλέα σπουδάζοντες μὴ μόνον αὐτῷ μηνῦσαι τὸν ἐχθρὸν [αὐτῷ τὴν εὔνοιαν], ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ παρασχεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς ἐξουσίαν φανερωτέραν καταστῆσαι: διήμαρτον δὲ τῆς ἀδίκου καὶ πονηρᾶς ἐπιθυμίας, οἳ μηδὲν κινδυνεύειν ἔμελλον ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ταῦτ' ἐμφανίσαι τῷ Σαούλῳ, [280] διὰ δὲ κολακείαν καὶ κέρδους προσδοκίαν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἄνδρα θεοφιλῆ καὶ παρὰ δίκην ζητούμενον ἐπὶ θανάτῳ καὶ λανθάνειν δυνάμενον διέβαλλον καὶ παραδώσειν ὑπέσχοντο: γνοὺς γὰρ ὁ Δαυίδης τὴν τῶν Ζιφηνῶν κακοήθειαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἔφοδον ἐκλείπει μὲν τὰ στενὰ τῆς ἐκείνων χώρας, φεύγει δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην πέτραν τὴν οὖσαν ἐν τῇ Σίμωνος ἐρήμῳ.

(3) [281] Ὥρμησεν δὲ ἐπ' ἐκείνην διώκειν Σαοῦλος: κατὰ γὰρ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀναχωρήσαντα ἐκ τῶν στενῶν μαθὼν τὸν Δαυίδην ἐπὶ τὸ ἕτερον μέρος τῆς πέτρας ἀπῆρεν. ἀντιπεριέσπασαν δὲ τὸν Σαοῦλον ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως τοῦ Δαυίδου μέλλοντος ἤδη συλλαμβάνεσθαι Παλαιστῖνοι πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑβραίων ἐστρατευκέναι χάραν ἀκουσθέντες: ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτους ἀνέστρεψε φύσει πολεμίους

ὄντας αὐτοὺς ἀμύνασθαι κρίνας ἀναγκαιότερον, ἢ τὸν ἴδιον σπουδάζοντα λαβεῖν ἐχθρὸν ὑπεριδεῖν τὴν γῆν κακωθεῖσαν.

(4) [282] Καὶ Δαυίδης μὲν οὕτως ἐκ παραλόγου τὸν κίνδυνον διαφυγὼν εἰς τὰ στενὰ τῆς Ἐνγεδηνῆς ἀφικνεῖται: Σαούλῳ δὲ ἐκβαλόντι τοὺς Παλαιστίνους ἦκον ἀπαγγέλλοντές τινες τὸν Δαυίδην ἐν τοῖς Ἐγγεδηνῆς διατρίβειν ὅροις. [283] λαβὼν δὲ τρισχιλίους ἐπιλέκτους ὁπλίτας ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἠπείγετο, καὶ γενόμενος οὐ πόρρω τῶν τόπων ὁρᾷ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν σπήλαιον βαθὺ καὶ κοῖλον εἰς πολὺ καὶ μῆκος ἀνεῳγὸς καὶ πλάτος, ἔνθα συνέβαινε τὸν Δαυίδην μετὰ τῶν τετρακοσίων κεκρύφθαι: ἐπειγόμενος οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν εἴσεισιν εἰς αὐτὸ μόνος θεαθεὶς ὑπό τινος τῶν μετὰ Δαυίδου: [284] καὶ φράσαντος τοῦ θεασαμένου πρὸς τὸν ἐχθρὸν αὐτοῦ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καιρὸν ἔχειν ἀμύνης καὶ συμβουλεύοντος τοῦ Σαούλου ἀποτεμεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τῆς πολλῆς ἄλης αὐτὸν ἀπαλλάξαι καὶ ταλαιπωρίας, ἀναστὰς ἀναίρει μὲν τὴν κροκύδα τοῦ ἱματίου μόνον οὗ Σαοῦλος ἀμπείχετο, μετανοήσας δ᾽ εὐθύς “οὐ δίκαιον, εἶπε, φονεύειν τὸν αὐτοῦ δεσπότην, οὐδὲ τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ βασιλείας ἀξιωθέντα: καὶ γὰρ εἰ πονηρὸς οὗτος εἰς ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐμὲ δεῖ τοιοῦτον εἶναι [285] πρὸς αὐτόν.” τοῦ δὲ Σαούλου τὸ σπήλαιον ἐκλιπόντος προελθὼν ὁ Δαυίδης ἔκραγεν ἀκοῦσαι τὸν Σαοῦλον ἀξιῶν. ἐπιστραφέντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως προσκυνεῖ τε αὐτὸν πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον, ὡς ἔθος, καί φησιν: “οὐ πονηροῖς, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ ψευδεῖς πλάττουσι διαβολὰς παρέχοντα δεῖ τὰς ἀκοὰς χαρίζεσθαι μὲν ἐκείνοις τὸ πιστεύειν αὐτοῖς, εἰς δὲ τοὺς φιλτάτους ὑπονοίας ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἔργοις σκοπεῖν τὴν ἁπάντων διάθεσιν. [286] διαβολὴ μὲν γὰρ ἀπατᾷ, σαφὴς δ᾽ ἀπόδειξις εὐνοίας τὰ πραττόμενα: καὶ λόγος μὲν ἐπ᾽ ἀμφότερα πέφυκεν ἀληθής τε καὶ ψευδής, τὰ δὲ ἔργα γυμνὴν ὑπ᾽ ὄψει τὴν διάνοιαν τίθησιν. [287] ἴσθι τοίνυν ἐκ τούτων καλῶς ἔχειν με πρὸς σὲ καὶ τὸν σὸν οἶκον ἐμοὶ πιστεῦσαι δεῖ, καὶ μὴ τοῖς κατηγοροῦσιν ἃ μήτε εἰς νοῦν ἐβαλόμην μήτε δύναται γενέσθαι προσθέμενον μεταδιώκειν τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν καὶ μηδὲν μήθ᾽ ἡμέρας μήτε νυκτὸς ἔχειν διὰ φροντίδος ἢ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀναίρεσιν, ἣν ἀδίκως μεταπορεύῃ: [288] πῶς γὰρ οὐχὶ ψευδῆ περὶ ἐμοῦ δόξαν εἴληφας ὡς ἀποκτεῖναί σε θέλοντος; ἢ πῶς οὐκ ἀσεβεῖς εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἄνθρωπον τήμερον αὐτῷ τιμωρῆσαι δυνάμενον καὶ παρὰ σοῦ λαβεῖν δίκην καὶ μὴ θελήσαντα μηδὲ τῷ καιρῷ χρησάμενον, ὃν εἰ σοὶ κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ περιέπεσεν οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸς παρῆκας, διαχρήσασθαι ποθῶν καὶ νομίζων πολέμιον; [289] ὅτε γάρ σου τὴν πτέρυγα τοῦ ἱματίου ἀπέτεμον, τότε σου καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἠδυνάμην.” ἐπιδείξας δὲ τὸ ῥάκος ἰδεῖν πιστεύειν παρεῖχεν. “ἀλλ᾽ ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπεσχόμην δικαίας ἀμύνης, φησί, σὺ δὲ μῖσος ἄδικον οὐκ αἰδῇ κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ τρέφων. ὁ θεὸς ταῦτα δικάσειε καὶ τὸν [290] ἑκατέρου τρόπον ἡμῶν ἐλέγξειε.” Σαοῦλος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ τῆς σωτηρίας θαυμάσας καὶ τὴν τοῦ νεανίσκου μετριότητα καὶ φύσιν ἐκπλαγεὶς ἀνώμωξε: τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ κἀκείνου ποιήσαντος αὐτὸν εἶναι δίκαιον στένειν ἀπεκρίνατο: “σὺ μὲν γάρ, φησίν, ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος ἐμοὶ γέγονας, ἐγὼ δὲ σοὶ

συμφορῶν. ἐπεδείξω δὲ σήμερον τὴν ἀρχαίων ἔχοντα σαυτὸν δικαιοσύνην, οἳ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐν ἐρημίᾳ λαβόντες σώζειν παρήγγελλον. [291] πέπεισμαι δὴ νῦν, ὅτι σοὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ θεὸς φυλάττει καὶ περιμένει σε τὸ πάντων τῶν Ἑβραίων κράτος. δὸς δέ μοι πίστεις ἐνόρκους μή μου τὸ γένος ἐξαφανίσαι μηδ' ἐμοὶ μνησικακοῦντα τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐγγόνους ἀπολέσαι, τηρῆσαι δέ μοι καὶ σῶσαι τὸν οἶκον." ὀμόσας δὲ καθὼς ἠξίωκε Δαυίδης Σαοῦλον μὲν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ἀπέλυσε βασιλείαν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν Μασθηρῶν ἀνέβη στενήν.

(5) [292] Ἀποθνήσκει δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν καὶ Σαμουῆλος ὁ προφήτης, ἀνὴρ οὐ τῆς τυχούσης ἀπολαύων παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τιμῆς: ἐνεφάνισε γὰρ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τοῦ πλήθους πρὸς αὐτὸν εὔνοιαν τὸ πένθος, ὃ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ὁ λαὸς ἦγετο, καὶ ἡ περὶ τὴν ταφὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τῶν νομιζομένων ἀναπλήρωσιν φιλοτιμία τε καὶ σπουδή. [293] θάπτουσι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι Ἁρμεθᾶ καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰς πάνυ ἡμέρας ἔκλαυσαν, οὐ κοινὸν τοῦτο πάσχοντες ὡς ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίου τελευτῇ, ὡς οἰκεῖον δ' ἕκαστος ἴδιον ποθῶν. [294] ἐγένετο δ' ἀνὴρ δίκαιος καὶ χρηστὸς τὴν φύσιν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα φίλος τῷ θεῷ. ἦρξε δὲ καὶ προέστη τοῦ λαοῦ μετὰ τὴν Ἠλεὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τελευτὴν μόνος μὲν ἔτη δώδεκα, μετὰ δὲ Σαούλου τοῦ βασιλέως δέκα πρὸς τοῖς ὀκτώ. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Σαμουῆλον οὕτω πέρας ἔσχεν.

(6) [295] Ἦν δέ τις τῶν Ζιφηνῶν ἐκ πόλεως Ἐμμᾶν πλούσιος καὶ πολυθρέμματος: τρισχιλίων μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ ποίμνη προβάτων ἐνέμετο, χιλίων δ' αἰγῶν. ταῦτα Δαυίδης ἀσινῆ τηρεῖν τε καὶ ἀβλαβῆ παρήγγελλε τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ μήτε ὑπὸ ἐπιθυμίας μήτε ὑπὸ ἐνδείας μήτε ὑπὸ τῆς ἐρημίας καὶ τοῦ δύνασθαι λανθάνειν καταβλάπτειν, τούτων δ' ἁπάντων ἐπάνω τίθεσθαι τὸ μηδέν' ἀδικεῖν καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἅπτεσθαι δεινὸν ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ πρόσαντες τῷ θεῷ. [296] ταῦτα δ' ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς οἰόμενος ἀνθρώπῳ χαρίζεσθαι ἀγαθῷ καὶ ταύτης τυγχάνειν ἀξίῳ τῆς προνοίας. ἦν δὲ Νάβαλος, τοῦτο γὰρ εἶχεν ὄνομα, σκληρὸς καὶ πονηρὸς τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἐκ κυνικῆς ἀσκήσεως πεποιημένος τὸν βίον, γυναικὸς δ' ἀγαθῆς καὶ σώφρονος καὶ τὸ εἶδος ὡραίας λελαχώς. [297] πρὸς οὖν τὸν Νάβαλον τοῦτον καθ' ὃν ἔκειρε τὰ πρόβατα καιρὸν πέμψας ὁ Δαυίδης ἄνδρας δέκα τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ διὰ τούτων αὐτὸν ἀσπάζεται καὶ συνεύχεται τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐπ' ἔτη πολλά: παρασχεῖν δὲ ἐξ ὧν δυνατός ἐστιν αὐτῷ παρεκάλει μαθόντα παρὰ τῶν ποιμένων, ὅτι μηδὲν αὐτοὺς ἠδίκησαν, ἀλλὰ φύλακες αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ποιμνίων γεγόνασι πολὺν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ διατρίβοντες ἤδη χρόνον: μετανοήσει δ' οὐδὲν Δαυίδῃ παρασχόμενος. [298] ταῦτα δὲ τῶν πεμφθέντων διακονησάντων πρὸς τὸν Νάβαλον ἀπανθρώπως σφόδρα καὶ σκληρῶς ἀπήντησεν: ἐρωτήσας γὰρ αὐτούς, τίς ἐστι Δαυίδης, ὡς τὸν υἱὸν ἤκουσεν Ἰεσσαίου, "νῦν ἄρα, εἶπε, μέγα φρονοῦσιν ἐφ' αὑτοῖς οἱ δρα [299] πέται καὶ σεμνύνονται τοὺς δεσπότας καταλιπόντες." ὀργίζεται δ' αὐτῶν φρασάντων ὁ Δαυίδης καὶ τετρακοσίους μὲν ὡπλισμένους αὐτῷ κελεύσας ἕπεσθαι, διακοσίους

δὲ φύλακας τῶν σκευῶν καταλιπών, ἤδη γὰρ εἶχεν ἑξακοσίους, ἐπὶ τὸν Νάβαλον ἐβάδιζεν ὀμόσας ἐκείνῃ τῇ νυκτὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν κτῆσιν ὅλην ἀφανίσειν: οὐ γὰρ ἄχθεσθαι μόνον ὅτι γέγονεν ἀχάριστος ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς μηδὲν ἐπιδοὺς πολλῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν χρησαμένοις, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι καὶ προσεβλασφήμησε καὶ κακῶς εἶπε μηδὲν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν λελυπημένος.

(7) [300] Δούλου δέ τινος τῶν τὰ ποίμνια φυλασσόντων τὰ τοῦ Ναβάλου πρὸς τὴν δέσποιναν μὲν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα δ᾽ ἐκείνου κατειπόντος, ὅτι πέμψας ὁ Δαυίδης αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα μηδενὸς τύχοι τῶν μετρίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσυβρισθείη βλασφημίαις δειναῖς πάσῃ περὶ αὐτοὺς προνοίᾳ καὶ φυλακῇ τῶν ποιμνίων χρησάμενος, [301] γέγονε δὲ τοῦτο ἐπὶ κακῷ τῷ τοῦ δεσπότου καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐκείνου φήσαντος Ἀβιγαία, προσηγορεύετο γὰρ οὕτως, ἐπισάξασα τοὺς ὄνους καὶ πληρώσασα παντοίων ξενίων καὶ μηδὲν εἰποῦσα τἀνδρί, ὑπὸ γὰρ μέθης ἀναίσθητος ἦν, ἐπορεύετο πρὸς Δαυίδην: καταβαινούσῃ δὲ τὰ στενὰ τοῦ ὄρους ἀπήντησε Δαυίδης μετὰ τῶν τετρακοσίων ἐπὶ Νάβαλον ἐρχόμενος. [302] θεασαμένη δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἡ γυνὴ κατεπήδησε καὶ πεσοῦσα ἐπὶ πρόσωπον προσεκύνησε καὶ τῶν μὲν Ναβάλου λόγων ἐδεῖτο μὴ μνημονεύειν [οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοεῖν] αὐτὸν ὅμοιον ὄντα τῷ ὀνόματι, Νάβαλος γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων γλῶτταν ἀφροσύνην δηλοῖ, αὐτὴ δ᾽ ἀπελογεῖτο μὴ θεάσασθαι τοὺς πεμφθέντας ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ: [303] “διὸ συγγίνωσκέ μοι, φησί, καὶ τῷ θεῷ χάριν ἔχε κωλύοντί σε μιανθῆναι ἀνθρωπίνῳ αἵματι: μένοντα γάρ σε καθαρὸν ἐκεῖνος αὐτὸς ἐκδικήσει παρὰ τῶν πονηρῶν: ἃ γὰρ ἐκδέχεται κακὰ Νάβαλον ταῦτα καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν σου κεφαλαῖς ἐμπέσοι. [304] γενοῦ δὲ εὐμενής μοι κρίνας ἀξίαν τοῦ παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ ταῦτα δέξασθαι, καὶ τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα μου καὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν τιμὴν ἄφες: πρέπει γὰρ ἡμέρῳ σοι καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ τυγχάνειν, [305] καὶ ταῦτα μέλλοντι βασιλεύειν.” ὁ δὲ τὰ δῶρα δεξάμενος “ἀλλά σε, φησίν, ὦ γύναι, θεὸς εὐμενὴς ἤγαγε πρὸς ἡμᾶς τήμερον: οὐ γὰρ ἂν τὴν ἐπερχομένην ἡμέραν εἶδες, ἐμοῦ τὸν οἶκον τὸν Ναβάλου διὰ τῆσδε τῆς νυκτὸς ὀμόσαντος ἀπολέσαι καὶ μηδένα ὑμῶν ἀπολείψειν ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς [ἕως τετραπόδου] πονηροῦ καὶ ἀχαρίστου πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἑταίρους γενομένου. νῦν δὲ φθάσασα προέλαβες καταμειλίξασθαί μου τὸν θυμὸν κηδομένου σου θεοῦ. ἀλλὰ Νάβαλος μὲν κἂν ἀφεθῇ διὰ σὲ νῦν τῆς τιμωρίας οὐ φεύξεται τὴν δίκην, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ τρόπος αὐτὸν ἀπολεῖ λαβὼν αἰτίαν ἄλλην.”

(8) [306] Ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν ἀπολύει τὴν γυναῖκα: ἡ δ᾽ εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἐλθοῦσα καὶ καταλαβοῦσα τὸν ἄνδρα μετὰ πολλῶν εὐωχούμενον καὶ κεκαρωμένον ἤδη τότε μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν γεγενημένων διεσάφει, τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ νήφοντι ἅπαντα δηλώσασα παρεθῆναι καὶ πᾶν αὐτῷ νεκρωθῆναι τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων καὶ τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς λύπης ἐποίησε: καὶ δέκα οὐ πλείους ἐπιζήσας ἡμέρας τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν ὁ Νάβαλος. [307] ἀκούσας δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν τελευτὴν ὁ Δαυίδης ἐκδικηθῆναι μὲν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καλῶς ἔλεγεν: ἀποθανεῖν γὰρ Νάβαλον ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας πονηρίας καὶ

δοῦναι δίκην αὐτῷ καθαρὰν ἔχοντι τὴν δεξιάν: ἔγνω δὲ καὶ τότε τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐλαυνομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μηδενὸς τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὑπερορῶντος, διδόντος δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς τὰ ὅμοια, τοῖς δὲ πονηροῖς ὀξεῖαν ἐπιφέροντος τὴν ποινήν. [308] πέμψας δ᾽ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα συνοικήσουσαν καὶ γαμηθησομένην ἐκάλει πρὸς αὑτόν: ἡ δὲ ἀναξία μὲν εἶναι καὶ ποδῶν ἅψασθαι τῶν ἐκείνου πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ἔλεγεν, ὅμως δὲ μετὰ πάσης τῆς θεραπείας ἦκε. καὶ συνῴκησε μὲν αὐτῷ ταύτην λαβοῦσα τὴν τιμὴν καὶ διὰ τὸ τὸν τρόπον σώφρονα εἶναι καὶ δίκαιον, τυχοῦσα δ᾽ αὐτῆς καὶ διὰ τὸ κάλλος. [309] εἶχε δὲ Δαυίδης γυναῖκα πρότερον, ἣν ἐξ Ἀβισάρου πόλεως ἔγημε: Μελχὰν δὲ τὴν Σαούλου τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρα τὴν γενομένην τοῦ Δαυίδου γυναῖκα ὁ πατὴρ τῷ Φελτίῳ υἱῷ Λίσου συνέζευξεν ἐκ πόλεως ὄντι Γεθλᾶς.

(9) [310] Μετὰ ταῦτά τινες ἐλθόντες τῶν Ζιφηνῶν ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ Σαούλῳ, ὡς εἴη πάλιν ὁ Δαυίδης ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτῶν καὶ δύνανται συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν βουλομένῳ συνεργῆσαι. ὁ δὲ μετὰ τρισχιλίων ὁπλιτῶν ἐβάδιζεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης ἐστρατοπέδευσεν ἐπί τινι τόπῳ Σίκελλα λεγομένῳ. [311] Δαυίδης δὲ ἀκούσας τὸν Σαοῦλον ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἥκοντα πέμψας κατασκόπους ἐκέλευσε δηλοῦν αὐτῷ, ποῦ τῆς χώρας Σαοῦλος ἤδη προεληλύθοι. τῶν δ᾽ ἐν Σίκελλα φρασάντων διανυκτερεύειν διαλαθὼν τοὺς ἰδίους εἰς τὸ τοῦ Σαούλου στρατόπεδον παραγίνεται ἐπαγόμενος τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ Σαρουίας Ἀβισαῖον καὶ Ἀβιμέλεχον τὸν Χετταῖον. [312] τοῦ δὲ Σαούλου κοιμωμένου καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐν κύκλῳ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Ἀβενήρου κειμένων, ὁ Δαυίδης εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως οὔτ᾽ αὐτὸς ἀναιρεῖ τὸν Σαοῦλον ἐπιγνοὺς αὐτοῦ τὴν κοίτην ἐκ τοῦ δόρατος, τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῷ παρεπεπήγει, οὔτε τὸν Ἀβισαῖον βουλόμενον φονεῦσαι καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ὡρμηκότα εἴασεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κεχειροτονημένον βασιλέα φήσας εἶναι δεινὸν ἀποκτεῖναι κἂν ᾖ πονηρός, ἥξειν γὰρ αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ δόντος τὴν ἀρχὴν σὺν χρόνῳ τὴν δίκην, ἐπέσχε τῆς ὁρμῆς. [313] σύμβολον δὲ τοῦ κτεῖναι δυνηθεὶς ἀποσχέσθαι λαβὼν αὐτοῦ τὸ δόρυ καὶ τὸν φακὸν τοῦ ὕδατος, ὃς ἦν παρ᾽ αὐτῷ κείμενος τῷ Σαούλῳ, μηδενὸς αἰσθομένου τῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πάντων δὲ κατακοιμωμένων ἐξῆλθεν, ἀδεῶς πάντ᾽ ἐργασάμενος, ὅσα καὶ τοῦ καιροῦ δόντος αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς τόλμης διέθηκε τοὺς τοῦ βασιλέως. [314] διαβὰς δὲ τὸν χείμαρρον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν ἀνελθὼν τοῦ ὄρους, ὅθεν ἔμελλεν ἐξάκουστος εἶναι, ἐμβοήσας τοῖς στρατιώταις τοῦ Σαούλου καὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ Ἀβενήρῳ διανίστησιν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου τοῦτόν τε ἐφώνει καὶ τὸν λαόν. ἐπακούσαντος δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τίς ὁ καλέσας αὐτόν ἐστιν ἐρομένου Δαυίδης εἶπεν: [315] “ἐγώ, παῖς μὲν Ἰεσσαίου, φυγὰς δὲ ὑμέτερος. ἀλλὰ τί δήποτε μέγας τε ὢν καὶ τὴν πρώτην ἔχων παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ τιμὴν οὕτως ἀμελῶς τὸ τοῦ δεσπότου φυλάσσεις σῶμα, καὶ ὕπνος ἡδίων ἐστί σοι τῆς τούτου σωτηρίας καὶ προνοίας; θανάτου γὰρ ἄξια ταῦτα καὶ τιμωρίας, οἵ γε μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν

εἰσελθόντας τινὰς ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον οὐκ ἐνοήσατε. ζήτησον οὖν τὸ δόρυ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὸν φακὸν τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ μαθήσῃ, πηλίκον ὑμᾶς ἔλαθε κακὸν ἐντὸς γενόμενον.” Σαοῦλος δὲ γνωρίσας τὴν τοῦ Δαυίδου φωνὴν καὶ μαθών, [316] ὅτι λαβὼν αὐτὸν ἔκδοτον ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου καὶ τῆς τῶν φυλασσόντων ἀμελείας οὐκ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐφείσατο δικαίως ἂν αὐτὸν ἀνελών, χάριν ἔχειν αὐτῷ τῆς σωτηρίας ἔλεγε καὶ παρεκάλει θαρροῦντα καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι πείσεσθαι δεινὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ φοβούμενον ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα: [317] πεπεῖσθαι γάρ, ὅτι μηδ᾽ αὐτὸν οὕτως ἀγαπήσειεν, ὡς ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου στέργεται: ὃς τὸν μὲν φυλάττειν αὐτὸν δυνάμενον καὶ πολλὰ δείγματα τῆς εὐνοίας παρεσχημένον ἐλαύνοι καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐν φυγῇ χρόνον καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀγωνίαις ἠνάγκασε ζῆσαι φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν ἔρημον: αὐτὸς δ᾽ οὐ παύεται ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ σωζόμενος, [οὐδὲ τὴν ψυχὴν] φανερῶς ἀπολλυμένην λαμβάνων. [318] ὁ δὲ Δαυίδης πέμψαντα ἀπολαβεῖν ἐκέλευσε τὸ δόρυ καὶ τὸν φακὸν τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπειπών, [ὡς] ὁ θεὸς ἑκατέρῳ τῆς ἰδίας φύσεως καὶ τῶν κατ᾽ αὐτὴν πεπραγμένων ἔσται δικαστής, ὃς ὅτι καὶ κατὰ τὴν παροῦσαν ἡμέραν ἀποκτεῖναί σε δυνηθεὶς ἀπεσχόμην οἶδε.”

(10) [319] Καὶ Σαοῦλος μὲν δεύτερον διαφυγὼν τὰς Δαυίδου χεῖρας εἰς τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπηλλάσσετο, φοβηθεὶς δὲ Δαυίδης, μὴ μένων αὐτόθι συλληφθῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σαούλου, συμφέρειν ἔκρινεν εἰς τὴν Παλαιστίνην ἀναβὰς διατρίβειν ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἑξακοσίων, οἳ περὶ αὐτὸν ἦσαν παραγίνεται πρὸς Ἀγχοῦν τὸν Γίττης βασιλέα: μία δ᾽ ἦν αὕτη τῶν πέντε πόλεων. [320] δεξαμένου δ᾽ αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως σὺν τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ δόντος οἰκητήριον ἔχων ἅμα καὶ τὰς δύο γυναῖκας Ἀχιμὰν καὶ Ἀβιγαίαν διῆγεν ἐν τῇ Γίττῃ. Σαούλῳ δὲ ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσαντι λόγος οὐκέτ᾽ ἦν πέμπειν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἢ βαδίζειν: δὶς γὰρ ἤδη κινδυνεῦσαι παρὰ μικρὸν ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνῳ γενόμενον συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν σπουδάσαντα. [321] Δαυίδῃ δ᾽ οὐκ ἔδοξεν ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Γιττῶν μένειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐδεήθη τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν, ἵν᾽ ἐπειδὴ φιλανθρώπως αὐτὸν ὑπεδέξατο καὶ τοῦτο χαρίσηται, τόπον τινὰ τῆς χώρας δοὺς αὐτῷ πρὸς κατοίκησιν: αἰδεῖσθαι γὰρ διατρίβων ἐν τῷ πόλει βαρὺς αὐτῷ καὶ φορτικὸς εἶναι. [322] δίδωσι δὲ Ἀγχοῦς αὐτῷ κώμην τινὰ Σέκελλαν καλουμένην, ἣν βασιλεύσας ὁ Δαυίδης ἀγαπῶν ἴδιον κτῆμα ἐτίμησεν εἶναι καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν ἄλλοις δηλώσομεν: ὁ δὲ χρόνος, ὃν κατῴκησε Δαυίδης ἐν Σεκέλλα τῆς Παλαιστίνης, ἐγένετο μῆνες τέσσαρες πρὸς ταῖς εἴκοσιν ἡμέραις. [323] ἐπερχόμενος δὲ λάθρα τοῖς πλησιοχώροις τῶν Παλαιστίνων Σερρίταις καὶ Ἀμαληκίταις διήρπαζεν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν καὶ λείαν πολλὴν κτηνῶν καὶ καμήλων λαμβάνων ὑπέστρεφεν: ἀνθρώπων γὰρ ἀπείχετο δεδιὼς μὴ καταμηνύσωσιν αὐτὸν πρὸς Ἀγχοῦν τὸν βασιλέα, τὸ μέντοι γε τῆς λείας μέρος αὐτῷ δωρεὰν ἔπεμπε. [324] τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως πυθομένου, τίσιν ἐπιθέμενος τὴν λείαν ἀπήλασε; τοῖς πρὸς τὸν νότον τῶν Ἰουδαίων τετραμμένοις καὶ ἐν τῇ πεδιάδι κατοικοῦσιν εἰπὼν πείθει τὸν Ἀγχοῦν

φρονῆσαι οὕτως: [ἤλπισε γὰρ οὗτος,] ὅτι Δαυίδης ἐμίσησε τὸ ἴδιον ἔθνος, καὶ δοῦλον ἕξειν παρ᾽ ὃν ζῇ χρόνον ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ καταμένοντα.

XIV

(1) [325] Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν τῶν Παλαιστίνων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας στρατεύειν διεγνωκότων καὶ περιπεμψάντων πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους ἅπαντας, ἵνα παρῶσιν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον εἰς Ῥεγάν, ἔνθεν ἔμελλον ἀθροισθέντες ἐξορμᾶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους, ὁ τῶν Γιττῶν βασιλεὺς Ἀγχοῦς συμμαχῆσαι τὸν Δαυίδην αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων ὁπλιτῶν ἐκέλευσε. [326] τοῦ δὲ προθύμως ὑποσχομένου καὶ φήσαντος παραστῆναι καιρόν, ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἀμοιβὴν αὐτῷ τῆς εὐεργεσίας καὶ τῆς ξενίας ἀποδώσει, ποιήσειν αὐτὸν καὶ φύλακα τοῦ σώματος μετὰ τὴν νίκην καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας τοὺς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ νοῦν χωρήσαντας αὐτοῖς ἐπηγγείλατο, τῆς τιμῆς καὶ πίστεως ὑποσχέσει τὸ πρόθυμον αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον αὔξων.

(2) [327] Ἔτυχε δὲ Σαοῦλος ὁ τῶν Ἑβραίων βασιλεὺς τοὺς μάντεις καὶ τοὺς ἐγγαστριμύθους καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν τοιαύτην τέχνην ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐκβεβληκὼς ἔξω τῶν προφητῶν. ἀκούσας δὲ τοὺς Παλαιστίνους ἤδη παρόντας καὶ ἔγγιστα Σούνης πόλεως ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐστρατοπεδευκότας ἐξώρμησεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. [328] καὶ παραγενόμενος πρὸς ὄρει τινὶ Γελβουὲ καλουμένῳ βάλλεται στρατόπεδον ἀντικρὺ τῶν πολεμίων. ταράττει δ᾽ αὐτὸν οὐχ ὡς ἔτυχεν ἡ τῶν ἐχθρῶν δύναμις πολλή τε οὖσα καὶ τῆς οἰκείας κρείττων ὑπονοουμένη, καὶ τὸν θεὸν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν ἐρωτᾷ περὶ τῆς μάχης καὶ τοῦ περὶ ταύτην ἐσομένου τέλους προειπεῖν. [329] οὐκ ἀποκρινομένου δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ Σαοῦλος κατέδεισε καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνέπεσε, τὸ κακὸν οἷον εἰκὸς οὐ παρόντος αὐτῷ κατὰ χεῖρα τοῦ θείου προορώμενος. ζητηθῆναι δ᾽ αὐτῷ κελεύει γύναιόν τι τῶν ἐγγαστριμύθων καὶ τῶν τεθνηκότων ψυχὰς ἐκκαλουμένων ὡς οὕτως γνωσομένῳ, ποῖ χωρεῖν αὐτῷ μέλλει τὰ πράγματα: [330] τὸ γὰρ τῶν ἐγγαστριμύθων γένος ἀνάγον τὰς τῶν νεκρῶν ψυχὰς δι᾽ αὐτῶν προλέγει τοῖς δεομένοις τὰ ἀποβησόμενα. μηνυθέντος δ᾽ αὐτῷ παρά τινος τῶν οἰκετῶν εἶναί τι γύναιον τοιοῦτον ἐν πόλει Δώρῳ, λαθὼν πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ μετεκδὺς τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐσθῆτα δύο παραλαβὼν οἰκέτας, οὓς ᾔδει πιστοτάτους ἄνδρας, ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Δῶρον πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ παρεκάλει μαντεύεσθαι καὶ ἀνάγειν αὐτῷ ψυχὴν οὗπερ ἂν αὐτὸς εἴπῃ. [331] τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς ἀπομαχομένης καὶ λεγούσης οὐ καταφρονήσειν τοῦ βασιλέως, ὃς τοῦτο τὸ γένος τῶν μάντεων ἐξήλασεν, οὐδ᾽ αὐτὸν δὲ ποιεῖν καλῶς ἀδικηθέντα μηδὲν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς, ἐνεδρεύοντα δὲ εἰς τὰ κεκωλυμένα λαβεῖν αὐτὴν ἵνα δῷ δίκην, ὤμοσε μηδένα γνώσεσθαι μηδὲ παρ᾽ ἄλλον ἄγειν αὐτῆς τὴν μαντείαν, ἔσεσθαι δ᾽ ἀκίνδυνον. [332] ὡς δὲ τοῖς ὅρκοις αὐτὴν ἔπεισε μὴ δεδιέναι, κελεύει τὴν Σαμουήλου ψυχὴν

ἀναγαγεῖν αὐτῷ. ἡ δ᾽ ἀγνοοῦσα τὸν Σαμουῆλον ὅστις ἦν καλεῖ τοῦτον ἐξ ᾅδου: φανέντος δ᾽ αὐτοῦ θεασάμενον τὸ γύναιον ἄνδρα σεμνὸν καὶ θεοπρεπῆ ταράττεται, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἐκπλαγέν, "οὐ σύ, φησίν, ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶ Σαοῦλος;" ἐδήλωσε γὰρ αὐτὸν Σαμουῆλος. [333] ἐπινεύσαντος δ᾽ ἐκείνου καὶ τὴν ταραχὴν αὐτῆς ἐρομένου πόθεν γένοιτο, βλέπειν εἶπεν ἀνελθόντα τῷ θεῷ τινα τὴν μορφὴν ὅμοιον. τοῦ δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα φράζειν [εἰπόντος] καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ θεαθέντος καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν [κελεύσαντος] γέροντα μὲν ἤδη καὶ ἔνδοξον ἐσήμαινεν, ἱερατικὴν δὲ περικείμενον διπλοίδα. [334] ἐγνώρισεν ἐκ τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν Σαμουῆλον ὄντα καὶ πεσὼν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἠσπάζετο καὶ προσεκύνησε: τῆς δὲ Σαμουήλου ψυχῆς πυθομένης, διὰ τί κινήσειεν αὐτὴν καὶ ἀναχθῆναι ποιήσειεν ἀνάγκην, ἀπωδύρετο τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπικεῖσθαι βαρεῖς αὐτῷ, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀμηχανεῖν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐγκαταλελειμμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μηδὲ προρρήσεως τυγχάνοντα μήτε διὰ προφητῶν μήτε δι᾽ ὀνειράτων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ σὲ τὸν ἐμοῦ προνοησόμενον κατέφυγον." [335] Σαμουῆλος δὲ τέλος αὐτὸν ἔχοντα ἤδη τῆς μεταβολῆς ὁρῶν "περισσὸν μέν, εἶπεν, ἔτι καὶ παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ βούλεσθαι μαθεῖν τοῦ θεοῦ καταλελοιπότος αὐτόν: ἄκουέ γε μήν, ὅτι βασιλεῦσαι δεῖ Δαυίδην καὶ κατορθῶσαι τὸν πόλεμον, σὲ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν ζωὴν [336] ἀπολέσαι τοῦ θεοῦ παρακούσαντα ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀμαληκίτας πολέμῳ καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ μὴ φυλάξαντα, καθὼς προεφήτευσά σοι καὶ ζῶν. ἴσθι τοίνυν καὶ τὸν λαὸν ὑποχείριον τοῖς ἐχθροῖς γενησόμενον καὶ σαυτὸν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αὔριον πεσόντα ἐπὶ τῆς μάχης μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ γενησόμενον."

(3) [337] Ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας Σαοῦλος ἄφωνος ὑπὸ λύπης ἐγένετο καὶ κατενεχθεὶς εἰς τοὔδαφος, εἴτε διὰ τὴν προσπεσοῦσαν ἐκ τῶν δεδηλωμένων ὀδύνην, εἴτε διὰ τὴν ἔνδειαν, οὐ γὰρ προσενήνεκτο τροφὴν τῇ παρελθούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ τε καὶ νυκτί, ῥᾳδίως ἔκειτο νέκυς ὥς τις. [338] μόλις δὲ ἑαυτοῦ γενόμενον συνηνάγκασεν ἡ γυνὴ γεύσασθαι ταύτην αἰτουμένη παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν χάριν ἀντὶ τῆς παραβόλου μαντείας, ἣν οὐκ ἐξὸν αὐτῇ ποιήσασθαι διὰ τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ φόβον ἀγνοουμένου τίς ἦν, ὅμως ὑπέστη καὶ παρέσχεν. ἀνθ᾽ ὧν παρεκάλει τράπεζάν τε αὐτῷ παραθεῖναι καὶ τροφήν, ὡς ἂν τὴν ἰσχὺν συλλεξάμενος εἰς τὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἀποσωθῇ στρατόπεδον: ἀντέχοντα δὲ καὶ τελέως ἀπεστραμμένον ὑπὸ ἀθυμίας ἐβιάσατο καὶ συνέπεισεν. [339] ἔχουσα δὲ μόσχον ἕνα συνήθη καὶ τῆς κατ᾽ οἶκον ἐπιμελείας καὶ τροφῆς ἀξιούμενον ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς, ὡς γυνὴ χερνῆτις καὶ τούτῳ μόνῳ προσαναπαυομένη τῷ κτήματι, κατασφάξασα τοῦτον καὶ τὰ κρέα παρασκευάσασα τοῖς οἰκέταις αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτῷ παρατίθησι. καὶ Σαοῦλος μὲν διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

(4) [340] Δίκαιον δὲ ἀποδέξασθαι τῆς φιλοτιμίας τὴν γυναῖκα, ὅτι καίπερ τῇ τέχνῃ κεκωλυμένη χρήσασθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, παρ᾽ ἧς ἂν αὐτῇ τὰ κατὰ τὸν οἶκον ἦν ἀμείνω καὶ διαρκέστερα, καὶ μηδέποτε αὐτὸν πρότερον τεθεαμένη οὐκ ἐμνησικάκησε τῆς ἐπιστήμης ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καταγνωσθείσης, οὐκ ἀπεστράφη δὲ ὡς

ξένον καὶ μηδέποτε ἐν συνηθείᾳ γεγενημένον, [341] ἀλλὰ συνεπάθησέ τε καὶ παρεμυθήσατο καὶ πρὸς ἃ διέκειτο λίαν ἀηδῶς προετρέψατο, καὶ τὸ μόνον αὐτῇ παρὸν ὡς ἐν πενίᾳ τοῦτο παρέσχεν ἐκτενῶς καὶ φιλοφρόνως, οὔθ' ὑπὲρ εὐεργεσίας ἀμειβομένη τινὸς γεγενημένης οὔτε χάριν μέλλουσαν θηρωμένη, τελευτήσοντα γὰρ [αὐτὸν] ἠπίστατο, φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγαθόν τι παρεσχημένους φιλοτιμουμένων, ἢ παρ' ὧν ἂν δύνωνται λαβεῖν ὄφελος τούτους προθεραπευόντων. [342] καλὸν οὖν ἐστι μιμεῖσθαι τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ποιεῖν εὖ πάντας τοὺς ἐν χρείᾳ γενομένους καὶ μηδὲν ὑπολαμβάνειν ἄμεινον μηδὲ μᾶλλόν τι προσήκειν τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένει τούτου μηδ' ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν θεὸν εὐμενῆ καὶ χορηγὸν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἕξομεν. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐν τοσούτοις ἀρκεῖ δεδηλῶσθαι: [343] τὸν δὲ πόλεσι καὶ δήμοις καὶ ἔθνεσι συμφέροντα λόγον καὶ προσήκοντα τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ὑφ' οὗ προαχθήσονται πάντες ἀρετὴν διώξειν καὶ ζηλοῦν δόξαν καὶ μνήμην αἰώνιον παρασχεῖν δυνησόμενον, ποιήσομαι, πολλὴν καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἐθνῶν καὶ ἄρχουσι πόλεων ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ σπουδὴν τῶν καλῶν ἐνθήσοντα, καὶ πρός τε κινδύνους καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρίδων θάνατον προτρεψόμενον, καὶ πάντων καταφρονεῖν διδάξοντα τῶν δεινῶν. [344] ἔχω δ' αἰτίαν τοῦ λόγου τούτου Σαοῦλον τὸν τῶν Ἑβραίων βασιλέα: οὗτος γὰρ καίπερ εἰδὼς τὰ συμβησόμενα καὶ τὸν ἐπικείμενον θάνατον τοῦ προφήτου προειρηκότος οὐκ ἔγνω φυγεῖν αὐτὸν οὐδὲ φιλοψυχήσας προδοῦναι μὲν τοὺς οἰκείους τοῖς πολεμίοις καθυβρίσαι δὲ τὸ τῆς βασιλείας ἀξίωμα, [345] ἀλλὰ παραδοὺς αὐτὸν πανοικὶ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων τοῖς κινδύνοις καλὸν ἡγήσατο εἶναι πεσεῖν μετὰ τούτων ὑπὲρ τῶν βασιλευομένων μαχόμενος, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἀγαθοὺς ὄντας, ἢ καταλιπεῖν ἐπ' ἀδήλῳ τῷ ποδαποὶ γενήσονται τὸν τρόπον: διάδοχον γὰρ καὶ γένος τὸν ἔπαινον καὶ τὴν ἀγήρω μνήμην ἕξειν. [346] οὗτος οὖν δίκαιος καὶ ἀνδρεῖος καὶ σώφρων ἔμοι γε δοκεῖ μόνος καὶ εἴ τις γέγονε τοιοῦτος ἢ γενήσεται τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἐπ' ἀρετῇ καρποῦσθαι παρὰ πάντων ἄξιος: τοὺς γὰρ μετ' ἐλπίδων ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἐξελθόντας ὡς καὶ κρατήσοντας καὶ σῶς ἐπιστρέψοντας, ἐπειδάν τι διαπράξωνται λαμπρόν, οὔ μοι δοκοῦσι καλῶς ποιεῖν ἀνδρείους ἀποκαλοῦντες, ὅσοι περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συγγράμμασιν εἰρήκασιν: [347] ἀλλὰ δίκαιοι μέν εἰσι κἀκεῖνοι τυγχάνειν ἀποδοχῆς, εὔψυχοι δὲ καὶ μεγαλότολμοι καὶ τῶν δεινῶν καταφρονηταὶ μόνοι δικαίως ἂν λέγοιντο πάντες οἱ Σαοῦλον μιμησάμενοι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ εἰδότας τί μέλλει συμβήσεσθαι κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς μὴ μαλακισθῆναι περὶ αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἀδήλῳ τῷ μέλλοντι παραδόντας αὐτοὺς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ σαλεύειν οὔπω γενναῖον, κἂν ἔργα πολλὰ διαπραξάμενοι τύχωσι: [348] τὸ δὲ μηδὲν ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ χρηστὸν προσδοκῶντας, ἀλλὰ προειδότας ὡς δεῖ θανεῖν καὶ τοῦτο παθεῖν μαχομένους εἶτα μὴ φοβηθῆναι μηδὲ καταπλαγῆναι τὸ δεινόν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτὸ χωρῆσαι προγινωσκόμενον, τοῦτ' ἀνδρείου ἀληθῶς τεκμήριον ἐγὼ κρίνω. [349] Σαοῦλος τοίνυν τοῦτο ἐποίησεν ἐπιδείξας ὅτι πάντας μὲν

προσήκει τῆς μετὰ τὸν θάνατον εὐφημίας γλιχομένους ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ἐξ ὧν ἂν αὐτοῖς ταύτην καταλείποιεν, μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς βασιλέας, ὡς οὐκ ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐ μόνον οὐ κακοῖς εἶναι περὶ τοὺς ἀρχομένους, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ μετρίως χρηστοῖς. [350] ἔτι τούτων πλείω περὶ Σαούλου καὶ τῆς εὐψυχίας λέγειν ἠδυνάμην ὕλην ἡμῖν χορηγησάσης τῆς ὑποθέσεως, ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα μὴ φανῶμεν ἀπειροκάλως αὐτοῦ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, ἐπάνειμι πάλιν ἀφ᾽ ὧν εἰς τούτους ἐξέβην.

(5) [351] Κατεστρατοπεδευκότων γὰρ τῶν Παλαιστίνων, ὡς προεῖπον, καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ βασιλείας καὶ σατραπείας ἐξαριθμούντων τὴν δύναμιν, τελευταῖος βασιλεὺς παρῆλθεν Ἀγχοῦς μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας στρατιᾶς καὶ Δαυίδης μετὰ τῶν ἑξακοσίων ὁπλιτῶν εἵπετο. [352] θεασάμενοι δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Παλαιστίνων, πόθεν εἴησαν ἥκοντες οἱ Ἑβραῖοι καὶ τίνων καλεσάντων ἠρώτων τὸν βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ Δαυίδην ἔλεγεν εἶναι τὸν φυγόντα Σαοῦλον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ δεσπότην καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα δέξασθαι, καὶ νῦν τῆς χάριτος ἀμοιβὴν ἐκτεῖσαι βουλόμενον καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι τὸν Σαοῦλον συμμαχεῖν αὐτοῖς. [353] ἐμέμφθη δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἄνδρα παρειληφὼς ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ πολέμιον καὶ ἀποπέμπειν συνεβούλευον, μὴ καὶ λάθῃ μέγα δι᾽ αὐτὸν κακὸν τοὺς φίλους ἐργασάμενος: καὶ γὰρ οὕτω παρέξειν καταλλαγῆναι πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην κακώσαντα τὴν ἡμετέραν δύναμιν. [354] ὃ δὴ καὶ προορώμενον εἰς τὸν τόπον ὃν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖν ἐκέλευον ἀποπέμπειν σὺν τοῖς ἑξακοσίοις ὁπλίταις: τοῦτον γὰρ εἶναι τὸν Δαυίδην, ὃν ᾄδουσιν αἱ παρθένοι πολλὰς μυριάδας Παλαιστίνων ἀπολέσαντα. ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας ὁ τῶν Γιττῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ καλῶς εἰρῆσθαι λογισάμενος καλέσας τὸν Δαυίδην “ἐγὼ μέν, [355] εἶπε, μαρτυρῶ σοι πολλὴν περὶ ἐμὲ σπουδὴν καὶ εὔνοιαν καὶ διὰ τοῦτό σε σύμμαχον ἐπηγόμην: οὐ δοκεῖ δὲ ταὐτὸ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. ἀλλ᾽ ἄπιθι μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν εἰς ὃν ἔδωκά σοι τόπον μηδὲν ὑπονοῶν ἄτοπον, κἀκεῖ φύλασσέ μοι τὴν χώραν, μή τινες εἰς αὐτὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐμβάλωσιν. [356] ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο συμμαχίας μέρος.” καὶ Δαυίδης μέν, ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ τῶν Γιττῶν βασιλεύς, ἦκεν εἰς Σίκελλαν. καθ᾽ ὃν δὲ καιρὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς συμμαχήσων τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις ἀπῆλθε τὸ τῶν Ἀμαληκιτῶν ἔθνος ἐπελθὸν αἱρεῖ τὴν Σίκελλαν κατὰ κράτος, καὶ ἐμπρήσαντες καὶ πολλὴν λείαν ἄλλην ἔκ τ᾽ αὐτῆς ἐκείνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης τῶν Παλαιστίνων χώρας λαβόντες ἀνεχώρησαν.

(6) [357] Ἐκπεπορθημένην δὲ τὴν Σίκελλαν καταλαβὼν ὁ Δαυίδης καὶ διηρπαγμένα πάντα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας [τὰς] ἑαυτοῦ, δύο γὰρ ἦσαν, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν ἑταίρων σὺν τοῖς τέκνοις ᾐχμαλωτισμένας, περιρρήγνυται εὐθὺς τὴν ἐσθῆτα. [358] κλαίων δὲ καὶ ὀδυρόμενος μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον παρείθη τοῖς κακοῖς, ὥστε αὐτὸν ἐπιλιπεῖν ἤδη καὶ τὰ δάκρυα, κινδυνεῦσαι δὲ καὶ βληθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἑταίρων ἀλγούντων ἐπὶ ταῖς αἰχμαλωσίαις τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν τέκνων ἀποθανεῖν: αὐτὸν γὰρ τῶν γεγονότων ᾐτιῶντο. [359] ἀνασχὼν δ' ἐκ τῆς λύπης καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀναστήσας παρεκάλεσε τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ἀβιάθαρον ἐνδύσασθαι τὴν ἱερατικὴν στολὴν καὶ ἐπερωτῆσαι τὸν θεὸν καὶ προφητεῦσαι, εἰ διώξαντι τοὺς Ἀμαληκίτας δίδωσι καταλαβεῖν καὶ σῶσαι μὲν τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα, τιμωρήσασθαι δὲ τοὺς ἐχθρούς. [360] τοῦ δ' ἀρχιερέως διώκειν κελεύσαντος ἐκπηδήσας μετὰ τῶν ἑξακοσίων ὁπλιτῶν εἵπετο τοῖς πολεμίοις: παραγενόμενος δ' ἐπί τινα χειμάρρουν Βάσελον λεγόμενον καὶ πλανωμένῳ τινὶ περιπεσὼν Αἰγυπτίῳ μὲν τὸ γένος ὑπ' ἐνδείας δὲ καὶ λιμοῦ παρειμένῳ, τρισὶ γὰρ ἡμέραις ἐν τῇ ἐρημίᾳ πλανώμενος ἄσιτος διεκαρτέρησε, πρῶτον αὐτὸν ποτῷ καὶ τροφῇ παραστησάμενος καὶ ἀναλαβὼν ἐπύθετο, τίς τε εἴη καὶ πόθεν. [361] ὁ δὲ γένος μὲν ἐσήμαινεν Αἰγύπτιος ὤν, καταλειφθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότου κατ' ἀρρωστίαν ἔπεσθαι μὴ δυνάμενον: ἐδήλου δ' αὐτὸν τῶν καταπρησάντων καὶ διηρπακότων ἄλλα τε τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τὴν Σίκελλαν εἶναι. [362] χρησάμενος οὖν ὁ Δαυίδης τούτῳ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμαληκίτας ὁδηγῷ καὶ καταλαβὼν [αὐτοὺς] ἐπὶ γῆς ἐρριμμένους, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀριστῶντας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ μεθύοντας ἤδη καὶ λελυμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴνου καὶ τῶν λαφύρων καὶ τῆς λείας ἀπολαύοντας, ἐπιπεσὼν αἰφνιδίως πολὺν αὐτῶν φόνον εἰργάσατο: γυμνοὶ γὰρ ὄντες καὶ μηδὲν προσδοκῶντες τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ πιεῖν καὶ εὐωχεῖσθαι τετραμμένοι πάντες ἦσαν εὐκατέργαστοι. [363] καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔτι τῶν τραπεζῶν παρακειμένων ἐπικαταλαμβανόμενοι παρ' αὐταῖς ἀνῃροῦντο καὶ παρέσυρεν αὐτοῖς τὰ σιτία καὶ τὴν τροφὴν τὸ αἷμα, τοὺς δὲ δεξιουμένους ἀλλήλους ταῖς προπόσεσι διέφθειρεν, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ πρὸς ὕπνον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀκράτου κατενηνεγμένους. ὁπόσοι δ' ἔφθασαν περιθέμενοι τὰς πανοπλίας ἐξ ἐναντίας τ' αὐτῷ στῆναι, τούτους οὐδὲν ἧττον εὐχερῶς τῶν γυμνῶν κατακειμένων ἀπέσφαττον. [364] διέμειναν δὲ οἱ σὺν τῷ Δαυίδῃ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀναιροῦντες ἀπὸ πρώτης ὥρας ἕως ἑσπέρας, ὡς μὴ περιλειφθῆναι τῶν Ἀμαληκιτῶν πλείονας ἢ τετρακοσίους: καὶ οὗτοι δὲ δρομάσι καμήλοις ἐπιβάντες διέφυγον. ἀνέσωσε δὲ τἆλλα πάντα ἃ διήρπασαν αὐτῶν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ τάς τε αὐτοῦ γυναῖκας καὶ τὰς τῶν ἑταίρων. [365] ὡς δὲ ἀναστρέφοντες ἦκον ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, ἔνθα διακοσίους μὴ δυναμένους αὐτοῖς ἕπεσθαι καταλελοίπεσαν ἐπὶ τῶν σκευῶν, οἱ μὲν τετρακόσιοι τῆς μὲν ἄλλης ὠφελείας τε καὶ λείας οὐκ ἠξίουν αὐτοῖς ἀπομερίζειν: οὐ συνακολουθήσαντας γὰρ ἀλλὰ μαλακισθέντας περὶ τὴν δίωξιν ἀγαπήσειν ἀνασεσωσμένας τὰς γυναῖκας ἀπολαμβάνοντας ἔλεγον: [366] Δαυίδης δὲ πονηρὰν

καὶ ἄδικον αὐτῶν ταύτην ἀπέφηνε τὴν γνώμην: εἶναι γὰρ ἀξίους, τοῦ θεοῦ παρασχόντος αὐτοῖς ἀμύνασθαι μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους, κομίσασθαι δὲ πάντα τὰ αὐτῶν, πᾶσιν ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς συστρατευσαμένοις μερίζεσθαι τὴν ὠφέλειαν, καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν σκευῶν μεμενηκότων. [367] καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου νόμος οὗτος ἐκράτησε παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς, ἵνα ταὐτὰ τοῖς μαχομένοις λαμβάνωσιν οἱ τὰ σκεύη φυλάσσοντες. γενόμενος δ᾽ ἐν Σικέλλα Δαυίδης διέπεμψε πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἰούδα φυλῇ συνήθεσι καὶ φίλοις ἀπομοίρας τῶν λαφύρων. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὴν Σικέλλων πόρθησιν καὶ Ἀμαληκιτῶν ἀναίρεσιν οὕτως ἐγένετο.

(7) [368] Τῶν δὲ Παλαιστίνων συμβαλόντων καὶ καρτερᾶς μάχης γενομένης νικῶσιν οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι καὶ πολλοὺς ἀναιροῦσι τῶν ἐναντίων, Σαοῦλος δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ γενναίως ἀγωνιζόμενοι καὶ πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ χρώμενοι, ὡς ἐν μόνῳ τῷ καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν καὶ παραβόλως διακινδυνεῦσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις τῆς ὅλης αὐτοῖς δόξης ἀποκειμένης, οὐδὲν γὰρ τούτου περισσότερον εἶχον, [369] ἐπιστρέφουσι πᾶσαν εἰς αὐτοὺς τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν φάλαγγα καὶ περικυκλωθέντες ἀποθνήσκουσι πολλοὺς τῶν Παλαιστίνων καταβαλόντες. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ παῖδες Ἰωνάθης καὶ Ἀμινάδαβος καὶ Μέλχισος. τούτων πεσόντων τρέπεται τὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων πλῆθος καὶ ἀκοσμία καὶ σύγχυσις γίνεται καὶ φόνος ἐπικειμένων τῶν πολεμίων. [370] Σαοῦλος δὲ φεύγει τὸ καρτερὸν ἔχων περὶ αὐτόν, καὶ τῶν Παλαιστίνων ἐπιπεμψάντων ἀκοντιστὰς καὶ τοξότας πάντας μὲν ἀποβάλλει πλὴν ὀλίγων, αὐτὸς δὲ λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος καὶ πολλὰ τραύματα λαβών, ὡς μηκέτι διακαρτερεῖν μηδ᾽ ἀντέχειν ταῖς πληγαῖς, ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν αὐτὸν ἠσθένει, κελεύει δὲ τὸν ὁπλοφόρον σπασάμενον τὴν ῥομφαίαν ταύτην αὐτοῦ διελάσαι, πρὶν ζῶντα συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν τοὺς πολεμίους. [371] μὴ τολμῶντος δὲ τοῦ ὁπλοφόρου κτεῖναι τὸν δεσπότην, αὐτὸς τὴν ἰδίαν σπασάμενος καὶ στήσας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκμὴν ῥίπτει κατ᾽ αὐτῆς ἑαυτόν: ἀδυνατῶν δὲ μήθ᾽ ἵστασθαι μήτ᾽ ἐπερείσας διαβαλεῖν αὐτοῦ τὸν σίδηρον ἐπιστρέφεται, καὶ νεανίσκου τινὸς ἑστῶτος πυθόμενος τίς εἴη καὶ μαθὼν ὡς Ἀμαληκίτης ἐστὶ παρεκάλεσεν ἐπερείσαντα τὴν ῥομφαίαν διὰ τὸ μὴ ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτὸν δύνασθαι παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ τελευτὴν ὁποίαν αὐτὸς βούλεται. [372] ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο καὶ περιελόμενος τὸν περὶ τὸν βραχίονα αὐτοῦ χρυσὸν καὶ τὸν βασιλικὸν στέφανον ἐκποδὼν ἐγένετο. θεασάμενος δ᾽ ὁ ὁπλοφόρος Σαοῦλον ἀνῃρημένον ἀπέκτεινεν ἑαυτόν: διεσώθη δ᾽ οὐδεὶς τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἔπεσον περὶ τὸ καλούμενον Γελβουὲ ὄρος. [373] ἀκούσαντες δὲ τῶν Ἑβραίων οἱ τὴν κοιλάδα πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου κατοικοῦντες καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τὰς πόλεις ἔχοντες, ὅτι Σαοῦλος πέπτωκε καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ σὺν αὐτῷ πλῆθος ἀπόλωλε, καταλιπόντες τὰς ἑαυτῶν πόλεις εἰς ὀχυρωτάτας ἔφυγον. οἱ δὲ Παλαιστῖνοι τὰς καταλελειμμένας ἐρήμους εὑρόντες κατῴκησαν.

(8) [374] Τῇ δ᾽ ἐπιούσῃ σκυλεύοντες οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων νεκροὺς ἐπιτυγχάνουσι τοῖς Σαούλου καὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ σώμασι καὶ σκυλεύσαντες

ἀποτέμνουσιν αὐτῶν τὰς κεφαλάς, καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν περιήγγειλαν τὴν χώραν πέμψαντες, ὅτι πεπτώκασιν οἱ πολέμιοι: καὶ τὰς μὲν πανοπλίας αὐτῶν ἀνέθηκαν εἰς τὸ Ἀστάρτειον ἱερόν, τὰ δὲ σώματα ἀνεσταύρωσαν πρὸς τὰ τείχη τῆς Βηθσὰν πόλεως, ἣ νῦν Σκυθόπολις καλεῖται. [375] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουσαν οἱ ἐν Ἰάβει πόλει τῆς Γαλααδίτιδος κατοικοῦντες, ὅτι λελώβηνται τὸν Σαούλου νεκρὸν καὶ τοὺς τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ, δεινὸν ἡγησάμενοι περιιδεῖν ἀκηδεύτους ἐξελθόντες οἱ ἀνδρειότατοι καὶ τόλμῃ διαφέροντες, ἡ δὲ πόλις αὕτη καὶ σώμασιν ἀλκίμους καὶ ψυχαῖς φέρει, καὶ δι᾽ ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ὁδεύσαντες ἦλθον εἰς Βηθσάν, [376] καὶ προσελθόντες τῷ τείχει τῶν πολεμίων καὶ καθελόντες τὸ σῶμα Σαούλου καὶ τὰ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ κομίζουσιν εἰς Ἰάβησαν μηδὲ τῶν πολεμίων αὐτοὺς κωλῦσαι τολμησάντων διὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν. [377] οἱ δὲ Ἰαβησηνοὶ πανδημεὶ κλαύσαντες θάπτουσι τὰ σώματα ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ τῆς χώρας τόπῳ Ἀρούρης λεγομένῳ, καὶ πένθος ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἦγον κοπτόμενοι καὶ θρηνοῦντες τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ μήτε τροφῆς μήτε ποτοῦ γευσάμενοι.

(9) [378] Τοῦτο Σαοῦλος τὸ τέλος ἔσχε προφητεύσαντος Σαμουήλου διὰ τὸ παρακοῦσαι τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν ἐπ᾽ Ἀμαληκίταις ἐντολῶν, καὶ ὅτι τὴν Ἀβιμελέχου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως γενεὰν καὶ Ἀβιμέλεχον αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀρχιερέων πόλιν ἀνεῖλεν. ἐβασίλευσε δὲ Σαμουήλου ζῶντος ἔτη ὀκτὼ πρὸς τοῖς δέκα, τελευτήσαντος δὲ δύο καὶ εἴκοσι. καὶ Σαοῦλος μὲν οὕτω κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον.

Liber VII

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Ὡς Δαυίδης μὲν τῆς μιᾶς φυλῆς ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Γιβρῶνι τῇ πόλει, τοῦ δ' ἄλλου πλήθους ὁ Σαούλου παῖς.

β. ὅτι τούτου φονευθέντος ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς φίλων ἅπασιν τὴν βασιλείαν Δαυίδης παρέλαβεν.

γ. ὡς πολιορκήσας Ἱεροσόλυμα Δαυίδης καὶ λαβὼν τὴν πόλιν ἐξέβαλε μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς τοὺς Χαναναίους, ἐνῴκισε δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν Ἰουδαίους.

δ. ὅτι στρατεύσαντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν δὶς Παλαιστίνους ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐνίκησεν.

ε. ἡ γενομένη πρὸς Εἵρωμον τὸν Τυρίων βασιλέα [καὶ] Δαυίδου φιλία.

ς. ὡς τοῖς πέριξ ἔθνεσι στρατεύσας Δαυίδης καὶ χειρωσάμενος φόρον ἐπέταξεν αὐτῷ τελεῖν.

ζ. ἡ γενομένη πρὸς Δαμασκηνοὺς Δαυίδῃ μάχη καὶ νίκη.

η. πῶς ἐπὶ τοὺς Μεσοποταμίους στρατεύσας ἐκράτησεν αὐτῶν.

θ. ὅτι τῶν περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῷ στασιασάντων ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐξεβλήθη τῆς ἀρχῆς εἰς τὴν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου.

ι. ὡς στρατεύσας Ἀψάλωμος ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα Δαυίδην ἀπώλετο σὺν τῷ στρατῷ.

ια. πῶς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν πάλιν κατῆλθε καὶ ζήσας εὐδαιμόνως ἔτι περιὼν Σολόμωνα τὸν υἱὸν ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα.

ιβ. τελευτὴ Δαυίδου καταλιπόντος τῷ παιδὶ πολλὴν ὕλην ἀργύρου τε καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ λιθίας εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ ναοῦ.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα.

I

(1) [1] Συνέβη δὲ ταύτην γενέσθαι τὴν μάχην καθ' ἣν ἡμέραν καὶ Δαυίδης τοὺς Ἀμαληκίτας νικήσας εἰς Σίκελλαν ὑπέστρεψεν. ἤδη δὲ αὐτοῦ δύο ἡμέρας ἔχοντος ἐν τῇ Σικέλλα τῇ τρίτῃ παραγίνεται διασωθεὶς ἐκ τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς Παλαιστίνους ὁ τὸν Σαοῦλον ἀνελὼν τήν τε ἐσθῆτα περιερρηγμένος καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τέφρᾳ περιχεάμενος. [2] καὶ προσκυνήσας αὐτὸν πυνθανομένῳ, πόθεν ἥκοι τοιοῦτος, ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν μάχης ἔλεγε: γενέσθαι δ' ἀτυχὲς αὐτῆς τὸ τέλος ἐδήλου πολλῶν μὲν ἀναιρεθεισῶν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις μυριάδων, πεσόντος δὲ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν Σαούλου μετὰ τῶν τέκνων: [3] ταῦτα δὲ σημαίνειν ἔφασκεν αὐτὸς παρατυχὼν τῇ τροπῇ τῶν Ἑβραίων καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ πεφευγότι

παρών, ὃν καὶ κτεῖναι μέλλοντα ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων λαμβάνεσθαι παρακληθεὶς αὐτὸς ὡμολόγει: τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπιπεσόντα διὰ τὴν τῶν τραυμάτων ὑπερβολὴν αὐτὸν ἀσθενῆσαι κατεργάσασθαι. [4] καὶ σύμβολα τῆς ἀναιρέσεως ἐπεδείκνυεν τόν τε περὶ τοῖς βραχίοσι χρυσὸν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὸν στέφανον, ἃ περιδύσας τὸν Σαούλου νεκρὸν κομίσειεν αὐτῷ. Δαυίδης δὲ μηκέτ᾽ ἀπιστεῖν ἔχων ἀλλ᾽ ἐναργῆ τεκμήρια τοῦ Σαούλου θανάτου βλέπων καταρρηγνύει μὲν τὴν ἐσθῆτα, κλαίων δὲ καὶ ὀδυρόμενος μετὰ τῶν ἑταίρων ὅλην διεκαρτέρησε τὴν ἡμέραν. [5] ποιεῖ δ᾽ αὐτῷ τὴν λύπην χαλεπωτέραν ὁ Σαούλου παῖς Ἰωνάθης πιστότατός τε ὢν φίλος αὐτῷ καὶ σωτηρίας αἴτιος γεγενημένος. τοσαύτην δ᾽ ἐπεδείξατο τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Σαοῦλον εὔνοιαν, ὡς μὴ μόνον ἐπὶ τεθνηκότι χαλεπῶς ἐνεγκεῖν πολλάκις ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κινδυνεύσας ἀφαιρεθῆναι τὸν βίον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἀποκτείναντα κολάσαι. [6] φήσας γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὡς αὐτὸς γένοιτο κατήγορος ἀνελὼν τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ μαθών, ὡς εἴη πατρὸς Ἀμαληκίτου γένος, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀπολέσθαι. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ θρήνους καὶ ἐπιταφίους ἐπαίνους Σαούλου καὶ Ἰωνάθου, οἳ καὶ μέχρις ἐμοῦ διαμένουσιν.

(2) [7] Ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτοις ἐξετίμησε τὸν βασιλέα παυσάμενος τοῦ πένθους ἤρετο τὸν θεὸν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου, τίνα δίδωσιν αὐτῷ κατοικῆσαι πόλιν τῆς Ἰούδα καλουμένης φυλῆς. φήσαντος δ᾽ αὐτοῦ διδόναι Γιβρῶνα καταλιπὼν τὴν Σίκελλαν εἰς ἐκείνην παραγίνεται τάς τε γυναῖκας ἐπαγόμενος τὰς αὐτοῦ, δύο δὲ ἦσαν, καὶ τοὺς ὁπλίτας τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. [8] συνελθὼν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν πᾶς ὁ τῆς φυλῆς τῆς προειρημένης λαὸς ἀποδείκνυσιν αὐτὸν βασιλέα. ἀκούσας δ᾽ ὅτι τὸν Σαοῦλον καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ θάψειαν οἱ ἐν Ἰαβησῷ τῆς Γαλααδίτιδος κατοικοῦντες, ἔπεμψε πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπαινῶν καὶ ἀποδεχόμενος αὐτῶν τὸ ἔργον, καὶ χάριτας ἀποδώσειν ἀντὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς τεθνηκότας σπουδῆς ὑπισχνούμενος, ἅμα δὲ καὶ δηλῶν ὡς ἡ Ἰούδα φυλὴ κεχειροτόνηκεν αὐτὸν βασιλέα.

(3) [9] Ὁ δὲ τοῦ Σαούλου μὲν ἀρχιστράτηγος Ἀβεννῆρος Νήρου δὲ παῖς ἀνὴρ δραστήριος καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὴν φύσιν, ὡς ἔγνω πεσόντα τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην καὶ τοὺς δύο τοὺς ἄλλους αὐτοῦ παῖδας, ἐπειχθεὶς εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν καὶ τὸν περιλειπόμενον ἐξαρπάσας υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, Ἰέβοσθος δ᾽ ἐκαλεῖτο, διαβιβάζει πρὸς τοὺς πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου καὶ παντὸς ἀποδείκνυσι τοῦ πλήθους βασιλέα πάρεξ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς. [10] βασίλειον δ᾽ ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ τὴν κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἐπιχώριον γλῶτταν Μάναλιν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλήνων Παρεμβολὰς λεγομένην: ὥρμησε δ᾽ ἐκεῖθεν Ἀβεννῆρος μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπιλέκτου συμβαλεῖν τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς προαιρούμενος: ὤργιστο γὰρ αὐτοῖς βασιλέα τὸν Δαυίδην κεχειροτονηκόσιν. [11] ἀπήντησε δ᾽ αὐτῷ πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Δαυίδου Σαρουίας μὲν παῖς, πατρὸς δὲ Σουρί, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀδελφῆς τῆς ἐκείνου γεγονὼς αὐτῷ Ἰώαβος ἀρχιστράτηγος ὢν αὐτοῦ, μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν Ἀβεσσαίου καὶ Ἀσαήλου καὶ πάντων τῶν Δαυίδου ὁπλιτῶν. καὶ περιτυχὼν ἐπί τινος κρηνίδος ἐν Γαβαῶ πόλει παρατάσσεται πρὸς μάχην. [12] τοῦ δ᾽ Ἀβεννήρου φήσαντος πρὸς αὐτὸν

βούλεσθαι μαθεῖν, πότερος αὐτῶν ἀνδρειοτέρους στρατιώτας ἔχει, συντίθεται παρ᾽ ἀμφοτέρων δυοκαίδεκα μαχησομένους συμβαλεῖν. προελθόντες τοίνυν εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν παρατάξεων οἱ πρὸς τὴν μάχην ὑφ᾽ ἑκατέρων τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐξειλεγμένοι καὶ τὰς αἰχμὰς ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλους ἀφέντες σπῶνται τὰς μαχαίρας καὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν ἐλλαμβανόμενοι κατέχοντες αὐτοὺς ἔπαιον εἰς τὰς πλευρὰς καὶ τὰς λαγόνας ἀλλήλους ταῖς ῥομφαίαις, ἕως οὗ πάντες ὥσπερ ἐκ συνθήματος ἀπώλοντο. [13] πεσόντων δὲ τούτων συνέρρηξε καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ στρατιά, καὶ καρτερᾶς τῆς μάχης γενομένης ἡττήθησαν οἱ τοῦ Ἀβεννήρου: καὶ τραπέντας οὐκ ἀνίει διώκων Ἰώαβος, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτός τε ἐπέκειτο παρακελευόμενος τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἐκ ποδὸς ἕπεσθαι καὶ μὴ κάμνειν ἀναιροῦντας, [14] οἵ τε ἀδελφοὶ προθύμως ἠγωνίσαντο, καὶ διαφανέστερος τῶν ἄλλων μάλιστα ὁ νεώτερος Ἀσάηλος, ὃς ἐπὶ ποδῶν ὠκύτητι κλέος εἶχεν: οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπους ἐνίκα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἵππῳ καταστάντα εἰς ἅμιλλαν λέγουσι παραδραμεῖν, καὶ τὸν Ἀβεννῆρον ἐδίωκεν ὑπὸ ῥύμης καὶ τῆς ἐπ᾽ ὀρθὸν φορᾶς εἰς οὐδέτερον ἐγκλιθεὶς τῶν μερῶν. [15] ἐπιστραφέντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀβεννήρου καὶ κατασοφίζεσθαι τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτοῦ πειρωμένου καὶ ποτὲ μὲν εἰπόντος ἑνὸς τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν ἀφέμενος τῆς διώξεως ἀφελέσθαι τὴν πανοπλίαν, πάλιν δ᾽ ὡς οὐκ ἔπειθε τοῦτο ποιεῖν κατασχεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ διώκειν παραινοῦντος, μὴ κτείνας αὐτὸν ἀπολέσῃ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ παρρησίαν, οὐ προσιέμενον [δὲ] τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπιμείναντα τὴν δίωξιν φεύγων ὡς εἶχε τὸ δόρυ πλήξας εἰς τοὐπίσω καιρίως παραχρῆμ᾽ ἀπέκτεινεν. [16] οἱ δὲ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ διώκοντες τὸν Ἀβεννῆρον ὡς ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, οὗ κεῖσθαι συνέβαινε τὸν Ἀσάηλον, περιστάντες τὸν νεκρὸν οὐκέτι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδίωκον: ὁ δὲ Ἰώαβος αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀβεσσαῖος παραδραμόντες τὸ πτῶμα καὶ τῆς πλείονος ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀβεννῆρον σπουδῆς αἰτίαν τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος ὀργὴν λαβόντες, ἀπίστῳ τάχει καὶ προθυμίᾳ χρώμενοι μέχρι τόπου τινός, Ὄμματον καλοῦσιν, ἐδίωξαν τὸν Ἀβεννῆρον ἤδη περὶ δυσμὰς ὄντος ἡλίου. [17] ἀναβὰς δ᾽ ἐπί τινα βουνόν, ὅς ἐστιν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ μετὰ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς, αὐτούς τε κατεσκέπτετο καὶ τὸν Ἀβεννῆρον. τούτου δὲ ἀνακεκραγότος καὶ φήσαντος, μὴ δεῖν ἄνδρας ὁμοφύλους εἰς ἔριδα καὶ μάχην παροξύνειν, ἁμαρτεῖν δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀσάηλον, ὃς παραινοῦντος μὴ διώκειν οὐκ ἐπείσθη καὶ διὰ τοῦτο βληθεὶς ἀπέθανε, συμφρονήσας καὶ παράκλησιν ἡγησάμενος τούτους τοὺς λόγους ὁ Ἰώαβος ἀνακαλεῖ τῇ σάλπιγγι σημάνας τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ πολὺ διώξεως ἐπισχών. [18] καὶ οὗτος μὲν ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνου καταστρατοπεδεύεται τοῦ τόπου τὴν νύκτα ταύτην, Ἀβεννῆρος δὲ δι᾽ ὅλης αὐτῆς ὁδεύσας καὶ περαιωσάμενος τὸν Ἰόρδανον ποταμὸν ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Σαούλου παῖδα εἰς τὰς Παρεμβολὰς Ἰέβωσθον. τῇ δ᾽ ἐχομένῃ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὁ Ἰώαβος ἐξαριθμήσας ἅπαντας ἐκήδευσεν. [19] ἔπεσον δὲ τῶν μὲν Ἀβεννήρου στρατιωτῶν ὡς τριακόσιοι καὶ ἑξήκοντα, τῶν δὲ Δαυίδου δέκα πρὸς τοῖς ἐννέα καὶ Ἀσάηλος, οὗ τὸ σῶμα

κομίσαντες ἐκεῖθεν Ἰώαβος καὶ Ἀβεσσαῖος εἰς Βηθλεέμην καὶ θάψαντες ἐν τῷ πατρῴῳ μνήματι πρὸς Δαυίδην εἰς Γιβρῶνα παρεγένοντο. [20] ἤρξατο μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐμφύλιος πόλεμος καὶ διέμεινεν ἄχρι πολλοῦ, τῶν μὲν μετὰ Δαυίδου κρειττόνων ἀεὶ γινομένων καὶ πλεῖον ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις φερομένων, τοῦ δὲ Σαούλου παιδὸς καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων αὐτοῦ κατὰ πᾶσαν σχεδὸν ἡμέραν ἐλαττουμένων.

(4) [21] Ἐγένοντο δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν καὶ παῖδες Δαυίδῃ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἓξ [ἐκ γυναικῶν τοσούτων], ὧν ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτατος ἐκ μητρὸς Ἀχίνας γενόμενος Ἀμνὼν ἐκλήθη, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἐκ γυναικὸς Ἀβιγαίας Δανίηλος, τῷ τρίτῳ δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς Θολομαίου θυγατρὸς Μαχάμης φύντι τοῦ Γεσσιρῶν βασιλέως Ἀψάλωμος ὄνομα, τὸν δὲ τέταρτον Ἀδωνίαν ἐκ γυναικὸς Ἀήθης προσηγόρευσε, τὸν πέμπτον δὲ Σαφατίαν τῆς Ἀβιτάλης καὶ τὸν ἕκτον Γεθερσὰν τῆς Γαλαὰδ ἐπωνόμασε. [22] τοῦ δ᾽ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου συνεστῶτος καὶ συμπιπτόντων εἰς ἔργα καὶ μάχην πυκνῶς μεθ᾽ ἑκατέρου τῶν βασιλέων, Ἀβεννῆρος ὁ τοῦ Σαούλου παιδὸς ἀρχιστράτηγος συνετὸς ὢν καὶ σφόδρα εὔνουν ἔχων τὸ πλῆθος πάντας συμμεῖναι [τῷ Ἰεβόσθῳ] παρεσκεύασε: καὶ διέμειναν ἱκανὸν χρόνον τὰ ἐκείνου φρονοῦντες. [23] ὕστερον δ᾽ ἐν ἐγκλήματι γενόμενος Ἀβεννῆρος καὶ λαβὼν αἰτίαν ὡς συνέλθοι τῇ Σαούλου παλλακῇ Ῥαισφᾶ μὲν τοὔνομα Σιβάτου δὲ θυγατρί, καὶ καταμεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἰεβώσθου περιαλγήσας καὶ θυμωθείς, ὡς οὐ δικαίων τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τυγχάνοι πάσῃ προνοίᾳ περὶ αὐτὸν χρώμενος, ἠπείλησε μὲν τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς Δαυίδην περιστήσειν, ἐπιδείξειν δὲ ὡς οὐχὶ διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ῥώμην καὶ σύνεσιν ἄρχοι τῶν πέραν Ἰορδάνου, διὰ δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ στρατηγίαν τε καὶ πίστιν. [24] καὶ πέμψας εἰς Γιβρῶνα παρὰ Δαυίδην λαβεῖν ὅρκους τε καὶ πίστεις ἠξίου, ἢ μὴν ἕξειν αὐτὸν ἑταῖρον καὶ φίλον ἀναπείσαντα τὸν λαὸν τοῦ Σαούλου μὲν ἀποστῆναι παιδός, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀποδείξαντα πάσης τῆς χώρας βασιλέα. [25] τοῦ δὲ Δαυίδου ποιησαμένου τὰς ὁμολογίας, ἤσθη γὰρ ἐφ᾽ οἷς Ἀβεννῆρος διεπρεσβεύσατο πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ πρῶτον τεκμήριον παρασχεῖν τῶν συνθηκῶν ἀξιώσαντος ἀνασώσαντα πρὸς αὐτὸν [Μελχάλην] τὴν γυναῖκα μεγάλοις ὠνηθεῖσαν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κινδύνοις καὶ Παλαιστίνων κεφαλαῖς ἑξακοσίαις, ἃς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐκόμισε τῷ πατρὶ Σαούλῳ, [26] πέμπει μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν Μελχάλην ἀποσπάσας Ὀφελτίου τοῦ τότε συνοικοῦντος αὐτῇ, πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ Ἰεβώσθου συμπράξαντος: ἐγεγράφει γὰρ αὐτῷ Δαυίδης τὴν γυναῖκα δικαίως ἀπολαβεῖν: συγκαλέσας δὲ τοὺς γεγηρακότας τοῦ πλήθους καὶ ταξιάρχους καὶ χιλιάρχους λόγους ἐποιήσατο πρὸς αὐτούς, [27] ὡς ἔχοντας ἑτοίμως ἀποστῆναι μὲν Ἰεβώσθου Δαυίδῃ δὲ προσθέσθαι ταύτης ἀποστρέψειε τῆς ὁρμῆς, νῦν μέντοι γε ἐπιτρέποι χωρεῖν ᾗ βούλονται: καὶ γὰρ εἰδέναι τὸν θεὸν διὰ Σαμουήλου τοῦ προφήτου Δαυίδην χειροτονήσαντα πάντων Ἑβραίων βασιλέα, προειπεῖν δ᾽ ὅτι Παλαιστίνους ἐκεῖνος αὐτὸς τιμωρήσεται καὶ ποιήσει κρατήσας ὑποχειρίους. [28] ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσαντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ ἡγεμόνες, ὡς τὴν Ἀβεννήρου γνώμην ᾔ

πρότερον εἶχον αὐτοὶ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων σύμφωνον προσέλαβον, τὰ Δαυίδου φρονεῖν μετεβάλοντο. [29] πεισθέντων δὲ τούτων Ἀβεννῆρος συγκαλεῖ τὴν Βενιαμιτῶν φυλήν, οἱ γὰρ ἐκ ταύτης ἅπαντες Ἰεβώσθου σωματοφύλακες ἦσαν, καὶ ταὐτὰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαλεχθείς, ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἀντικρούοντας ἑώρα, προστιθεμένους δ' οἷς ἐβούλετο, παραλαβὼν ὡς εἴκοσι τῶν ἑταίρων ἦκε πρὸς Δαυίδην τοὺς ὅρκους παρ' αὐτοῦ ληψόμενος αὐτός, πιστότερα γὰρ τῶν δι' ἄλλου πραττομένων ὅσα δι' αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι ποιοῦμεν εἶναι δοκεῖ, καὶ προσέτι τοὺς γενομένους αὐτῷ λόγους πρός τε τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ πρὸς τὴν φυλὴν ἅπασαν σημανῶν. [30] ὑποδεξαμένου δ' αὐτὸν φιλοφρόνως καὶ λαμπρᾷ καὶ πολυτελεῖ τραπέζῃ ξενίσαντος ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας, ἠξίωσεν ἀφεθεὶς ἀγαγεῖν τὸ πλῆθος, ἵνα παρόντι καὶ βλεπομένῳ παραδῶσι τὴν ἀρχήν.

(5) [31] Ἐκπέμψαντος δὲ τοῦ Δαυίδου τὸν Ἀβεννῆρον οὐδὲ ὀλίγον διαλιπὼν εἰς Γιβρῶνα ἦκεν Ἰώαβος ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος αὐτοῦ, καὶ μαθών, ὡς εἴη παρὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀβεννῆρος καὶ μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν ἀπηλλαγμένος ἐπὶ συνθήκαις καὶ ὁμολογίαις τῆς ἡγεμονίας, δείσας μὴ τὸν μὲν ἐν τιμῇ καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ ποιήσεται τάξει συνεργόν τε τῆς βασιλείας ἐσόμενον καὶ τἆλλα δεινὸν ὄντα συνιδεῖν πράγματα καὶ τοὺς καιροὺς ὑποδραμεῖν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐλαττωθείη καὶ τῆς στρατηγίας ἀφεθείη, κακοῦργον καὶ πονηρὰν ὁδὸν ἅπεισι. [32] [καὶ] πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιχειρεῖ διαβαλεῖν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα φυλάττεσθαι παραινῶν καὶ μὴ προσέχειν οἷς Ἀβεννῆρος συντίθεται: πάντα γὰρ ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ βεβαιώσασθαι τῷ Σαούλου παιδὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν: ἐπὶ δὲ ἀπάτῃ καὶ δόλῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα μεθ' ἧς ἐβούλετο νῦν ἐλπίδος καὶ οἰκονομίας τῶν κατασκευαζομένων ἀπελθεῖν. [33] ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Δαυίδην τούτοις οὐδὲ παροξυνόμενον ἑώρα, τρέπεται ταύτης τολμηροτέραν ὁδὸν καὶ κρίνας Ἀβεννῆρον ἀποκτεῖναι πέμπει τοὺς ἐπιδιώξοντας, οἷς καταλαβοῦσι προσέταξεν αὐτὸν καλεῖν ἐκ τοῦ Δαυίδου ὀνόματος, ὡς ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ τινα περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἃ μὴ διεμνημόνευσε παρόντος εἰπεῖν. [34] Ἀβεννῆρος δ' ὡς ἤκουσε τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων, κατέλαβον αὐτὸν ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ Βησηρᾶ καλουμένῳ ἀπέχοντι τῆς Γιβρῶνος σταδίους εἴκοσι, μηδὲν ὑπιδόμενος τῶν συμβησομένων ὑπέστρεψεν. ἀπαντήσας δ' αὐτῷ πρὸς τῇ πύλῃ Ἰώαβος καὶ δεξιωσάμενος ὡς μάλιστ' εὔνους καὶ φίλος, ὑποκρίνονται γὰρ ἱκανῶς πολλάκις εἰς τὸ ἀνύποπτον τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τὰ τῶν ἀληθῶς ἀγαθῶν οἱ πράγμασιν ἐγχειροῦντες ἀτόποις, [35] ἀποσπᾷ μὲν τῶν οἰκείων αὐτὸν ὡς ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ διαλεξόμενος, παραγαγὼν δὲ εἰς τὸ ἐρημότερον τῆς πύλης μόνος αὐτὸς ὢν σὺν Ἀβεσσαίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ σπασάμενος τὴν μάχαιραν ὑπὸ τὴν λαγόνα παίει. [36] καὶ τελευτᾷ μὲν Ἀβεννῆρος τοῦτον ἐνεδρευθεὶς τὸν τρόπον ὑπὸ Ἰωάβου, ὡς μὲν αὐτὸς ἔλεγε τιμωρήσαντος Ἀσαήλῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, ὃν διώκοντα λαβὼν Ἀβεννῆρος ἀπέκτεινεν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Γιβρῶνι μάχῃ, ὡς δὲ τἀληθὲς εἶχε δείσαντος περὶ τῆς στρατηγίας καὶ τῆς παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ τιμῆς, μὴ τούτων μὲν αὐτὸς ἀφαιρεθείη, λάβοι δὲ παρὰ Δαυίδου τὴν πρώτην τάξιν Ἀβεννῆρος. [37]

ἐκ τούτων ἄν τις κατανοήσειεν, ὅσα καὶ πηλίκα τολμῶσιν ἄνθρωποι πλεονεξίας ἕνεκα καὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦ μηδενὶ τούτων παραχωρῆσαι: κτήσασθαι γὰρ αὐτὰ ποθοῦντες διὰ μυρίων κακῶν λαμβάνουσι, καὶ δείσαντες ἀποβαλεῖν πολλῷ χείροσι τὸ βέβαιον αὐτοῖς τῆς παραμονῆς περιποιοῦσιν, [38] ὡς οὐχ ὁμοίου δεινοῦ τυγχάνοντος πορίσασθαι τηλικοῦτον μέγεθος ἐξουσίας, καὶ συνήθη τοῖς ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἀγαθοῖς γενόμενον ἔπειτ᾽ αὐτὴν ἀπολέσαι, τούτου δὲ ὑπερβολὴν ἔχοντος συμφορᾶς. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χαλεπώτερα μηχανῶνται καὶ τολμῶσιν ἐν φόβῳ ἔργα πάντες τοῦτ᾽ ἀποβαλεῖν γενόμενοι. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν βραχέσιν ἀρκεῖ δεδηλῶσθαι.

(6) [39] Δαυίδης δ᾽ ἀκούσας ἀνῃρημένον τὸν Ἀβεννῆρον ἤλγησε μὲν τὴν ψυχήν, ἐμαρτύρατο δὲ πάντας ἀνατείνων εἰς τὸν θεὸν τὴν δεξιὰν καὶ βοῶν, ὡς οὔτε κοινωνὸς εἴη τῆς Ἀβεννήρου σφαγῆς, οὔτε κατ᾽ ἐντολὴν καὶ βούλησιν ἰδίαν ἀποθάνοι. ἀρὰς δὲ κατὰ τοῦ πεφονευκότος αὐτὸν δεινὰς ἐτίθετο καὶ τὸν οἶκον ὅλον αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς συμπράξαντας ὑπευθύνους ἐποιεῖτο ταῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος ποιναῖς: [40] ἔμελε γὰρ αὐτῷ μὴ δόξαι παρὰ τὰς πίστεις καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους οὓς ἔδωκεν Ἀβεννήρῳ τοῦτο εἰργάσθαι. προσέταξε μέντοι γε παντὶ τῷ λαῷ κλαίειν καὶ πενθεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τοῖς νομιζομένοις τιμᾶν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα περιρρηξαμένῳ μὲν τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἐνδύντι δὲ σάκκους, ταῦτα δὲ ποιεῖν προάγοντας τὴν κλίνην. [41] αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἐφείπετο μετὰ τῶν γεγηρακότων καὶ τῶν ἐν ἡγεμονίαις ὄντων κοπτόμενός τε καὶ τοῖς δακρύοις ἐνδεικνύμενος τό τε εὔνουν τὸ πρὸς [τὸν] ζῶντα καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τεθνηκότι λύπην, καὶ ὅτι μὴ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην ἀνῄρηται. [42] θάψας δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐν Γιβρῶνι μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ ἐπιταφίους τε συγγραψάμενος θρήνους αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου στὰς πρῶτος ἀνεκλαύσατο καὶ παρέδωκε τοῖς ἄλλοις. οὕτως δ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀβεννήρου συνέσχε θάνατος, ὡς μηδὲ τροφὴν ἀναγκαζόντων αὐτὸν τῶν ἑταίρων λαβεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ὤμοσε γεύσεσθαι μηδενὸς ἄχρι ἡλίου δυσμῶν. [43] ταῦτ᾽ εὔνοιαν αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἐγέννησεν: οἵ τε γὰρ πρὸς τὸν Ἀβεννῆρον φιλοστόργως διακείμενοι σφόδρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν τιμὴν ἀποθανόντα καὶ φυλακὴν τῆς πίστεως ἠγάπησαν, ὅτι πάντων αὐτὸν ἀξιώσειεν τῶν νομιζομένων ὡς συγγενῆ καὶ φίλον, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ ὡς ἐχθρὸν γενόμενον ὑβρίσειεν ἀκόσμῳ ταφῇ καὶ ἠμελημένῃ: τό τε ἄλλο πᾶν ὡς ἐπὶ χρηστῷ καὶ ἡμέρῳ τὴν φύσιν ἔχαιρε, τὴν αὐτὴν ἑκάστου λογιζομένου πρόνοιαν εἰς αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις τυγχάνοντα τὸν Ἀβεννήρου νεκρὸν ἑώρα. [44] πρὸς τούτοις οὖν μάλιστα Δαυίδην γλίχεσθαι δόξης ἀγαθῆς ποιούμενον πρόνοιαν ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν οὐθεὶς ὑπενόησεν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ φονευθῆναι τὸν Ἀβεννῆρον: ἔλεξε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος, ὡς αὐτῷ μὲν οὐχ ἡ τυχοῦσα λύπη γένοιτ᾽ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ τετελευτηκότος, οὐ μικρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἑβραίων πράγμασι βλάβη στερηθέντων αὐτοῦ καὶ συνέχειν αὐτὰ καὶ σώζειν βουλαῖς τε ἀρίσταις καὶ ῥώμῃ χειρῶν ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἔργοις δυναμένου. [45] “ἀλλὰ θεὸς μέν, εἶπεν, ᾧ μέλει πάντων, οὐκ ἐάσει τοῦτον ἡμῖν ἀνεκδίκητον: ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἐπίστασθε, ὡς οὐδὲν

Ἰώαβον καὶ Ἀβεσσαῖον τοὺς Σαρουίας παῖδας ποιεῖν ἱκανός εἰμι πλέον ἐμοῦ δυναμένους, ἀλλ᾽ ἀποδώσει τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν τετολμημένων αὐτοῖς ἀμοιβὴν τὸ θεῖον.᾽᾽ καὶ Ἀβεννῆρος μὲν εἰς τοιοῦτο κατέστρεψε τέλος τὸν βίον.

II

(1) [46] Ἀκούσας δὲ τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτοῦ ὁ Σαούλου παῖς Ἰέβωσθος οὐ πράως ἤνεγκεν ἀνδρὸς ἐστερημένος συγγενοῦς καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῷ παρασχόντος, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπερεπάθησε καὶ λίαν αὐτὸν ὠδύνησεν ὁ Ἀβεννήρου θάνατος. ἐπεβίω δ᾽ οὐδ᾽ αὐτὸς πολὺν χρόνον, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐρέμμωνος υἱῶν Βανά, ἑτέρῳ δὲ Θαηνὸς ὄνομα ἦν, ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ἀπέθανεν. [47] οὗτοι γὰρ ὄντες τὸ μὲν γένος Βενιαμῖται τοῦ δὲ πρώτου τάγματος, λογισάμενοι δ᾽ ὡς ἂν ἀποκτείνωσι τὸν Ἰέβωσθον μεγάλων παρὰ Δαυίδου τεύξονται δωρεῶν καὶ στρατηγίας ἤ τινος ἄλλης πίστεως τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς ἔσται παρ᾽ αὐτῷ αἴτιον, [48] μόνον εὑρόντες μεσημβρίζοντα καὶ κοιμώμενον τὸν Ἰέβωσθον καὶ μήτε τοὺς φύλακας παρόντας μήτε τὴν θυρωρὸν ἐγρηγορυῖαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴν ὑπό τε τοῦ κόπου καὶ τῆς ἐργασίας ἣν μετεχειρίζετο καὶ τοῦ καύματος εἰς ὕπνον καταπεσοῦσαν, παρελθόντες εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον, ἐν ᾧ συνέβαινε κατακεκοιμῆσθαι τὸν Σαούλου παῖδα, κτείνουσιν αὐτόν. [49] καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμόντες καὶ δι᾽ ὅλης νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ποιησάμενοι τὴν πορείαν, ὡς ἂν φεύγοντες ἐκ τῶν ἠδικημένων πρὸς τὸν ληψόμενόν τε τὴν χάριν καὶ παρέξοντα τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, εἰς Γιβρῶνα παρεγένοντο: καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπιδείξαντες τῷ Δαυίδῃ τὴν Ἰεβώσθου συνίστων αὐτοὺς ὡς εὔνους καὶ τὸν ἐχθρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἀνταγωνιστὴν ἀνῃρηκότας. [50] ὁ δ᾽ οὐχ ὡς ἤλπιζον οὕτως αὐτῶν προσεδέξατο τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλ᾽ εἰπών, ‘‘ὦ κάκιστοι καὶ παραχρῆμα δίκην ὑφέξοντες, οὐκ ἔγνωτε πῶς ἐγὼ τὸν Σαούλου φονέα καὶ τὸν κομίσαντά μοι τὸν χρυσοῦν αὐτοῦ στέφανον ἠμυνάμην, καὶ ταῦτα ἐκείνῳ χαριζόμενον τὴν ἀναίρεσιν, ἵνα μὴ συλλάβωσιν αὐτὸν οἱ πολέμιοι; [51] ἦ μεταβεβλῆσθαί με καὶ μηκέτ᾽ εἶναι τὸν αὐτὸν ὑπωπτεύσατε, ὡς χαίρειν κακούργοις ἀνδράσι καὶ χάριτας ἡγήσασθαι τὰς κυριοκτόνους ὑμῶν πράξεις, ἀνῃρηκότων ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ κοίτης ἄνδρα δίκαιον καὶ μηδένα μηδὲν κακὸν εἰργασμένον, ὑμᾶς δὲ καὶ διὰ πολλῆς εὐνοίας καὶ τιμῆς ἐσχηκότα; [52] διὸ δώσετε ποινὴν μὲν αὐτῷ κολασθέντες, δίκην δ᾽ ἐμοὶ τοῦ νομίσαντας ἡδέως ἔξειν με τὴν Ἰεβώσθου τελευτὴν τοῦτον ἀνελεῖν: οὐ γὰρ ἐδύνασθε μᾶλλον ἀδικῆσαι τὴν ἐμὴν δόξαν ἢ τοῦθ᾽ ὑπολαβόντες.᾽᾽ ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν πᾶσαν αἰκίαν αὐτοὺς αἰκισάμενος διεχρήσατο καὶ τὴν Ἰεβώσθου κεφαλὴν ἐν τῷ Ἀβεννήρου τάφῳ πάντων ἀξιώσας ἐκήδευσε.

(2) [53] Τούτων δὲ τοιοῦτον λαβόντων τέλος ἦκον ἅπαντες οἱ τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν Ἑβραίων πρῶτοι πρὸς Δαυίδην εἰς Γιβρῶνα οἵ τε χιλίαρχοι καὶ ἡγεμόνες αὐτῶν, καὶ παρεδίδοσαν αὐτοὺς τήν τε εὔνοιαν, ἣν ἔτι καὶ Σαούλου ζῶντος εἶχον πρὸς

αὐτόν, ὑπομιμνήσκοντες καὶ τὴν τιμήν, ἣν γενόμενον τότε χιλίαρχον τιμῶντες οὐ διέλιπον, ὅτι τε βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ Σαμουήλου τοῦ προφήτου χειροτονηθείη καὶ παῖδες αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡς τὴν Ἑβραίων χώραν αὐτῷ σῶσαι καταγωνισαμένῳ Παλαιστίνους δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς ἐμφανίζοντες. [54] ὁ δὲ ταύτης τε ἀποδέχεται τῆς προθυμίας αὐτοὺς καὶ παρακαλέσας διαμένειν, οὐ γὰρ ἔσεσθαι μετάνοιαν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου, καὶ κατευωχήσας καὶ φιλοφρονησάμενος ἔπεμψε τὸν λαὸν παρ᾽ αὐτὸν ἄξοντας ἅπαντα. [55] καὶ συνῆλθον ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς ὁπλιτῶν ὡς ὀκτακόσιοι καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι φοροῦντες ὅπλα θυρεὸν καὶ σιρομάστην: οὗτοι δὲ τῷ Σαούλου παιδὶ παρέμενον: τούτων γὰρ χωρὶς ἡ Ἰούδα φυλὴ τὸν Δαυίδην ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα. [56] ἐκ δὲ τῆς Συμεωνίδος φυλῆς ἑπτακισχίλιοι καὶ ἑκατόν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ληουίτιδος τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ ἑπτακόσιοι ἔχοντες ἄρχοντα Ἰώδαμον: μετὰ τούτοις ἦν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Σάδωκος σὺν εἴκοσι δύο συγγενέσιν ἡγεμόσιν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς ὁπλῖται τετρακισχίλιοι: ἡ γὰρ φυλὴ περιέμενεν ἔτι τῶν τοῦ γένους Σαούλου τινὰ βασιλεύσειν προσδοκῶσα. [57] ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἐφραίμου φυλῆς δισμύριοι καὶ ὀκτακόσιοι τῶν δυνατωτάτων καὶ κατ᾽ ἰσχὺν διαφερόντων. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μανασσήτιδος φυλῆς τοῦ ἡμίσους μύριοι ὀκτακισχίλιοι [τῶν δυνατωτάτων]. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰσαχάρου φυλῆς διακόσιοι μὲν οἱ προγινώσκοντες τὰ μέλλοντα, ὁπλῖται δὲ δισμύριοι. [58] ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ζαβουλωνίτιδος φυλῆς ὁπλιτῶν ἐπιλέκτων πέντε μυριάδες: αὕτη γὰρ ἡ φυλὴ μόνη πᾶσα πρὸς Δαυίδην συνῆλθεν: οὗτοι πάντες τὸν αὐτὸν ὁπλισμὸν εἶχον τοῖς τῆς Γάδου φυλῆς. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Νεφθαλίδος φυλῆς ἐπίσημοι καὶ ἡγεμόνες χίλιοι ὅπλοις χρώμενοι θυρεῷ καὶ δόρατι, ἠκολούθει δὲ φυλὴ ἀναρίθμητος οὖσα. [59] ἐκ δὲ τῆς Δανίτιδος φυλῆς ἐκλεκτοὶ δισμύριοι ἑπτακισχίλιοι ἑξακόσιοι. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἀσήρου φυλῆς μυριάδες τέσσαρες. ἐκ δὲ τῶν δύο φυλῶν τῶν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ τῆς Μανασσήτιδος φυλῆς ὡπλισμένων θυρεὸν καὶ δόρυ καὶ περικεφαλαίαν καὶ ῥομφαίαν μυριάδες δώδεκα: καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ φυλαὶ ῥομφαίαις ἐχρῶντο. [60] τοῦτο δὴ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος εἰς Γιβρῶνα πρὸς Δαυίδην συνῆλθε μετὰ πολλῆς παρασκευῆς σιτίων καὶ οἴνου καὶ τῶν πρὸς τροφὴν πάντων καὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ βασιλεύειν τὸν Δαυίδην ἐκύρωσαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἑορτάσαντος τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ κατευωχηθέντος ἐν Γιβρῶνι, ὁ Δαυίδης μετὰ πάντων ἐκεῖθεν ἄρας ἦκεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.

III

(1) [61] Τῶν δὲ κατοικούντων τὴν πόλιν Ἰεβουσαίων, γένος δ᾽ εἰσὶν οὗτοι Χαναναίων, ἀποκλεισάντων αὐτῷ τὰς πύλας καὶ τοὺς πεπηρωμένους τὰς ὄψεις καὶ τὰς βάσεις καὶ πᾶν τὸ λελωβημένον στησάντων ἐπὶ χλεύῃ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους καὶ λεγόντων κωλύσειν αὐτὸν εἰσελθεῖν τοὺς ἀναπήρους, ταῦτα δ᾽ ἔπραττον καταφρονοῦντες τῇ τῶν τειχῶν ὀχυρότητι, ὀργισθεὶς πολιορκεῖν

ἤρξατο τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. [62] καὶ πολλῇ σπουδῇ καὶ προθυμίᾳ χρησάμενος ὡς διὰ τοῦ ταύτην ἑλεῖν εὐθὺς ἐμφανίζων τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ καταπληξόμενος εἴ τινες ἄρα καὶ ἄλλοι τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνοις τρόπον διέκειντο πρὸς αὐτόν, λαμβάνει κατὰ κράτος τὴν κάτω πόλιν. [63] ἔτι δὲ τῆς ἄκρας λειπομένης ἔγνω τιμῆς ὑποσχέσει καὶ γερῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς προθυμοτέρους ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τοὺς στρατιώτας παρασκευάσαι, καὶ τῷ διὰ τῶν ὑποκειμένων φαράγγων ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν ἀναβάντι καὶ ταύτην ἑλόντι στρατηγίαν ἅπαντος τοῦ λαοῦ δώσειν ἐπηγγείλατο. [64] πάντων δὲ φιλοτιμουμένων ἀναβῆναι καὶ μηδένα πόνον ὀκνούντων ὑφίστασθαι δι᾽ ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς στρατηγίας, ὁ Σαρουίας παῖς Ἰώαβος ἔφθη τοὺς ἄλλους, καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐβόησε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀπαιτῶν.

(2) [65] Ἐκβαλὼν δὲ τοὺς Ἰεβουσαίους ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνοικοδομήσας τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πόλιν αὐτὴν Δαυίδου προσηγόρευσε, καὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐν αὐτῇ διέτριβε βασιλεύων. ὁ δὲ χρόνος ὃν τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς ἦρξε μόνης ἐν Γιβρῶνι ἐγένετο ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ μῆνες ἕξ. ἀποδείξας δὲ βασίλειον τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα λαμπροτέροις αἰεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐχρῆτο τοῖς πράγμασι τοῦ θεοῦ προνοουμένου κρείττω ποιεῖν αὐτὰ καὶ λαμβάνειν ἐπίδοσιν. [66] πέμψας δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ Ἱέρωμος ὁ Τυρίων βασιλεὺς φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν συνέθετο: ἔπεμψε δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ δωρεὰς ξύλα κέδρινα καὶ τεχνίτας ἄνδρας τέκτονας καὶ οἰκοδόμους, οἳ κατεσκεύασαν βασίλειον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. Δαυίδης δὲ τήν τε ἄνω πόλιν παραλαβὼν καὶ τὴν ἄκραν συνάψας αὐτῇ ἐποίησεν ἓν σῶμα, καὶ περιτειχίσας ἐπιμελητὴν τῶν τειχῶν κατέστησεν Ἰώαβον. [67] πρῶτος οὖν Δαυίδης τοὺς Ἰεβουσαίους ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκβαλὼν ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ προσηγόρευσε τὴν πόλιν: ἐπὶ γὰρ Ἀβράμου τοῦ προγόνου ἡμῶν Σόλυμα ἐκαλεῖτο, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ αὐτήν φασί τινες, ὅτι καὶ Ὅμηρος ταῦτ᾽ ὠνόμασεν Ἱεροσόλυμα: τὸ γὰρ ἱεροῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων γλῶτταν ὠνόμασε τὰ Σόλυμα ὅ ἐστιν ἀσφάλεια. [68] ἦν δὲ πᾶς ὁ χρόνος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰησοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐπὶ Χαναναίους στρατείας καὶ τοῦ πολέμου, καθ᾽ ὃν κρατήσας αὐτῶν κατένειμε ταύτην τοῖς Ἑβραίοις καὶ οὐκέτι τοὺς Χαναναίους ἐκβαλεῖν ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐδυνήθησαν οἱ Ἰσραηλῖται, μέχρις ὁ Δαυίδης αὐτοὺς ἐξεπολιόρκησεν, ἔτη πεντακόσια καὶ δέκα καὶ πέντε.

(3) [69] Ποιήσομαι δὲ καὶ μνήμην Ὀρόνα πλουσίου μὲν ἀνδρὸς τῶν Ἰεβουσαίων, οὐκ ἀναιρεθέντος δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἱεροσολύμων πολιορκίᾳ ὑπὸ Δαυίδου διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἑβραίους εὔνοιαν αὐτοῦ καί τινα καὶ χάριν καὶ σπουδὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν γενομένην τὸν βασιλέα, ἣν μικρὸν ὕστερον εὐκαιρότερον σημανῶ. [70] ἔγημε δὲ καὶ ἄλλας γυναῖκας πρὸς ταῖς οὔσαις αὐτῷ Δαυίδης καὶ παλλακὰς ἔσχεν. ἐποιήσατο δὲ καὶ παῖδας ἐννέα τὸν ἀριθμόν, οὓς προσηγόρευσεν Ἀμασέ, Ἀμνου, Σεβάν, Νάθαν, Σολομῶνα, Ἰεβαρῆ, Ἐλιήν, Φαλναγέην, Ναφήν, Ἰεναέ, Ἐλιφαλέ, ἔτι δὲ καὶ θυγατέρα Θαμάραν. τούτων οἱ μὲν ἐννέα ἐξ εὐγενίδων ἦσαν γεγονότες, οὓς δὲ τελευταίους εἰρήκαμεν δύο ἐκ τῶν παλλακίδων. Θαμάρα δὲ ὁμομήτριος Ἀψαλώμῳ ἦν.

IV

(1) [71] Γνόντες δ' οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι τὸν Δαυίδην βασιλέα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἀποδεδειγμένον στρατεύουσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα: καὶ καταλαβόμενοι τὴν κοιλάδα τῶν Γιγάντων καλουμένην, τόπος δέ ἐστιν οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως, ἐν αὐτῇ στρατοπεδεύονται. [72] ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλεύς, οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄνευ προφητείας καὶ τοῦ κελεῦσαι τὸν θεὸν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐσομένων λαβεῖν ἐγγυητὴν ἐκεῖνον ἑαυτῷ ποιεῖν ἐπέτρεπεν, ἐκέλευσε τὸν ἀρχιερέα τί δοκεῖ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ποδαπὸν ἔσται τὸ τέλος τῆς μάχης προλέγειν αὐτῷ. [73] προφητεύσαντος δὲ νίκην καὶ κράτος ἐξάγει τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Παλαιστίνους: καὶ γενομένης συμβολῆς αὐτὸς κατόπιν αἰφνιδίως ἐπιπεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ εἰς φυγὴν ἐτρέψατο. [74] ὑπολάβῃ δὲ μηδεὶς ὀλίγην τὴν τῶν Παλαιστίνων στρατιὰν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους τῷ τάχει τῆς ἥττης καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἔργον ἐπιδείξασθαι γενναῖον μηδὲ μαρτυρίας ἄξιον στοχαζόμενος αὐτῶν τὴν βραδυτῆτα καὶ τὴν ἀγέννειαν, ἀλλὰ γινωσκέτω Συρίαν τε ἅπασαν καὶ Φοινίκην καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἄλλα ἔθνη πολλὰ καὶ μάχιμα συστρατεῦσαι αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦ πολέμου κοινωνῆσαι, [75] ὃ καὶ μόνον ἦν αἴτιον τοσαυτάκις αὐτοῖς νικωμένοις καὶ πολλὰς ἀποβαλοῦσι μυριάδας μετὰ μείζονος ἐπιέναι τοῖς Ἑβραίοις δυνάμεως. ἀμέλει καὶ ταύταις πταίσαντες ταῖς μάχαις τριπλάσιος στρατὸς ἐπῆλθε τῷ Δαυίδῃ καὶ εἰς ταὐτὸ χωρίον ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο. [76] πάλιν δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐρομένου τὸν θεὸν περὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν μάχην ἐξόδου, προφητεύει ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐν τοῖς ἄλσεσι τοῖς καλουμένοις Κλαυθμῶσι κατέχειν τὴν στρατιὰν οὐκ ἄπωθεν τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπέδου, κινεῖν δ' αὐτὸν μὴ πρότερον μηδ' ἄρχεσθαι τῆς μάχης. [77] πρὶν ἢ τὰ ἄλση σαλεύεσθαι μὴ πνέοντος ἀνέμου. ὡς δ' ἐσαλεύθη τὰ ἄλση καὶ ὃν αὐτῷ καιρὸν προεῖπεν ὁ θεὸς παρῆν, οὐδὲν ἐπισχὼν ἐφ' ἑτοίμην ἤδη καὶ φανερὰν ἐξῆλθε τὴν νίκην: οὐ γὰρ ὑπέμειναν αὐτὸν αἱ τῶν πολεμίων φάλαγγες, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης συμβολῆς τραπέντας ἐνέκειτο κτείνων: καὶ διώκει μὲν αὐτοὺς ἄχρι πόλεως Γαζάρων, ἡ δ' ἐστὶν ὅρος αὐτῶν τῆς χώρας, διαρπάζει δ' αὐτῶν τὴν παρεμβολὴν καὶ πολὺν εὑρὼν ἐν αὐτῇ πλοῦτον καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῶν διέφθειρε.

(2) [78] Τοιαύτης δ' ἀποβάσης καὶ ταύτης τῆς μάχης ἔδοξε Δαυίδῃ συμβουλευσαμένῳ μετὰ τῶν γερόντων καὶ ἡγεμόνων καὶ χιλιάρχων μεταπέμψασθαι τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς χώρας πρὸς αὐτὸν τοὺς ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς ἡλικίας, ἔπειτα τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ Ληουίτας [καὶ] πορευθέντας εἰς Καριαθιάριμα μετακομίσαι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ κιβωτὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ θρησκεύειν ἐν αὐτῇ λοιπὸν ἔχοντας αὐτὴν θυσίαις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τιμαῖς, αἷς χαίρει τὸ θεῖον: [79] εἰ γὰρ ἔτι Σαούλου βασιλεύοντος τοῦτ' ἔπραξαν, οὐκ ἂν δεινὸν οὐδὲν ἔπαθον. συνελθόντος οὖν τοῦ λαοῦ παντός, καθὼς ἐβουλεύσαντο, παραγίνεται ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὴν κιβωτόν, ἣν βαστάξαντες ἐκ τῆς Ἀμιναδάβου

οἰκίας οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ ἐπιθέντες ἐφ᾽ ἅμαξαν καινὴν ἕλκειν ἀδελφοῖς τε καὶ παισὶν ἐπέτρεψαν μετὰ τῶν βοῶν. [80] προῆγε δ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ πᾶν σὺν αὐτῷ τὸ πλῆθος ὑμνοῦντες τὸν θεὸν καὶ ᾄδοντες πᾶν εἶδος μέλους ἐπιχώριον σύν τε ἤχῳ ποικίλῳ κρουσμάτων τε καὶ ὀρχήσεων καὶ ψαλμῶν ἔτι δὲ σάλπιγγος καὶ κυμβάλων κατάγοντες τὴν κιβωτὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. [81] ὡς δ᾽ ἄχρι τῆς Χειδῶνος ἄλωνος τόπου τινὸς οὕτω καλουμένου προῆλθον, τελευτᾷ Ὀζᾶς κατ᾽ ὀργὴν τοῦ θεοῦ: τῶν βοῶν γὰρ ἐπινευσάντων τὴν κιβωτὸν ἐκτείναντα τὴν χεῖρα καὶ κατασχεῖν ἐθελήσαντα, ὅτι μὴ ὢν ἱερεὺς ἥψατο ταύτης, ἀποθανεῖν ἐποίησε. [82] καὶ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐδυσφόρησαν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ Ὀζᾶ, ὁ δὲ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἐτελεύτησεν Ὀζᾶ διακοπὴ καλεῖται. δείσας δ᾽ ὁ Δαυίδης καὶ λογισάμενος, μὴ ταὐτὸ πάθῃ τῷ Ὀζᾶ δεξάμενος τὴν κιβωτὸν παρ᾽ αὑτὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἐκείνου διότι μόνον ἐξέτεινε τὴν χεῖρα πρὸς αὐτὴν οὕτως ἀποθανόντος, [83] οὐκ εἰσδέχεται μὲν αὐτὴν πρὸς αὑτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκνεύσας εἴς τι χωρίον ἀνδρὸς δικαίου, Ὠβαδάρου ἄνομα Ληουίτου τὸ γένος, παρ᾽ αὐτῷ τὴν κιβωτὸν τίθησιν: ἔμεινε δ᾽ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ὅλους μῆνας αὐτόθι καὶ τὸν οἶκον τὸν Ὠβαδάρου ηὔξησέ τε καὶ πολλῶν αὐτῷ μετέδωκεν ἀγαθῶν. [84] ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι ταῦτα συμβέβηκεν Ὠβαδάρῳ καὶ ἐκ πενίας καὶ ταπεινότητος ἀθρόως εὐδαίμων καὶ ζηλωτὸς γέγονε παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ὁρῶσι καὶ πυνθανομένοις τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ, θαρσήσας ὡς οὐδενὸς κακοῦ πειρασόμενος τὴν κιβωτὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν μετακομίζει, [85] τῶν μὲν ἱερέων βασταζόντων αὐτήν, ἑπτὰ δὲ χορῶν οὓς διεκόσμησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς προαγόντων, αὐτοῦ δ᾽ ἐν κινύρᾳ παίζοντος καὶ κροτοῦντος, ὥστε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα Μιχάλην Σαούλου δὲ θυγατέρα τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως ἰδοῦσαν αὐτὸν τοῦτο ποιοῦντα χλευάσαι. [86] εἰσκομίσαντες δὲ τὴν κιβωτὸν τιθέασιν ὑπὸ τὴν σκηνήν, ἣν Δαυίδης ἔπηξεν αὐτῇ, καὶ θυσίας τελείας καὶ εἰρηνικὰς ἀνήνεγκε, καὶ τὸν ὄχλον εἱστίασε πάντα καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ νηπίοις διαδοὺς κολλυρίδα ἄρτου καὶ ἐσχαρίτην καὶ λάγανον τηγανιστὸν καὶ μερίδα θύματος. καὶ τὸν μὲν λαὸν οὕτως κατευωχήσας ἀπέπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δ᾽ εἰς τὸν οἶκον [τὸν] αὐτοῦ παραγίνεται.

(3) [87] Παραστᾶσα δὲ αὐτῷ Μιχάλη ἡ γυνὴ Σαούλου δὲ θυγάτηρ τά τε ἄλλα αὐτῷ κατηύχετο καὶ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσθαι ᾗτει πάνθ᾽ ὅσα παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ δυνατὸν εὐμενεῖ τυγχάνοντι, καὶ δὴ κατεμέμψατο, ὡς ἀκοσμήσειεν ὀρχούμενος ὁ τηλικοῦτος βασιλεὺς καὶ γυμνούμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ὀρχήσεως καὶ [ἐν δούλοις καὶ ἐν] θεραπαινίσιν. [88] ὁ δ᾽ οὐκ αἰδεῖσθαι ταῦτα ποιήσας εἰς τὸ τῷ θεῷ κεχαρισμένον ἔφασκεν, ὃς αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων προετίμησε, παίζειν τε καὶ πολλάκις χορεῦσαι μηδένα τοῦ δόξαι ταῖς θεραπαινίσιν αἰσχρὸν καὶ αὐτῇ τὸ γινόμενον ποιησάμενος λόγον. [89] ἡ Μιχάλη αὕτη Δαυίδῃ μὲν συνοικοῦσα παῖδας οὐκ ἐποιήσατο, γαμηθεῖσα δὲ ὕστερον ᾧ παρέδωκεν αὐτὴν ὁ πατὴρ Σαοῦλος, τότε δὲ ἀποσπάσας αὐτὸς εἶχε, πέντε παῖδας ἔτεκε. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων κατὰ χώραν δηλώσομεν.

(4) [90] Ὁρῶν δ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ πᾶσαν αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα σχεδὸν ἡμέραν ἀμείνω γινόμενα ἐκ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βουλήσεως ἐνόμιζεν ἐξαμαρτάνειν αὐτὸν, εἰ μένων αὐτὸς ἐν οἴκοις ἐκ κέδρου πεποιημένοις ὑψηλοῖς τε καὶ καλλίστην τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν ἔχουσι περιορᾷ τὴν κιβωτὸν ἐν σκηνῇ κειμένην: [91] ἐβούλετο δὲ τῷ θεῷ κατασκευάσαι ναόν, ὡς Μωυσῆς εἶπε, καὶ περὶ τούτων Νάθᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ διαλεχθείς, ἐπεὶ ποιεῖν ὅτιπερ ὥρμηται προσέταξεν αὐτὸν ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς ἅπαντ᾽ αὐτῷ συνεργοῦ παρόντος, εἶχεν ἤδη περὶ τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευὴν προθυμότερον. [92] τοῦ θεοῦ δὲ κατ᾽ ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα τῷ Νάθᾳ φανέντος καὶ φράσαι κελεύσαντος τῷ Δαυίδῃ, ὡς τὴν μὲν προαίρεσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἀποδέχεται, μηδενὸς μὲν πρότερον εἰς νοῦν βαλομένου ναὸν αὐτῷ κατασκευάσαι. τούτου δὲ ταύτην τὴν διάνοιαν λαβόντος: οὐκ ἐπιτρέπειν δὲ πολλοὺς πολέμους ἠγωνισμένῳ καὶ φόνῳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μεμιασμένῳ ποιῆσαι ναὸν αὐτῷ. [93] μετὰ μέντοι γε τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ γηράσαντος καὶ μακρὸν ἀνύσαντος βίον γενήσεσθαι τὸν ναὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν τὴν βασιλείαν παραληψομένου κληθησομένου δὲ Σολομῶνος, οὗ προστήσεσθαι καὶ προνοήσειν ὡς πατὴρ υἱοῦ κατεπηγγέλλετο, τὴν μὲν βασιλείαν τέκνων ἐγγόνοις φυλάξων καὶ παραδώσων, αὐτὸν δὲ τιμωρήσων, ἂν ἁμαρτὼν τύχῃ, νόσῳ καὶ γῆς ἀφορίᾳ. [94] μαθὼν ταῦτα παρὰ τοῦ προφήτου Δαυίδης καὶ περιχαρὴς γενόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν διαμένουσαν ἐγνωκέναι βεβαίως καὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ λαμπρὸν ἐσόμενον καὶ περιβόητον πρὸς τὴν κιβωτὸν παραγίνεται, [95] καὶ πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ἤρξατο προσκυνεῖν καὶ περὶ πάντων εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ θεῷ, ὧν τε αὐτῷ παρέσχηκεν ἤδη ἐκ ταπεινοῦ καὶ ποιμένος εἰς τηλικοῦτο μέγεθος ἡγεμονίας τε καὶ δόξης ἀναγαγών, ὧν τε τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐτοῦ καθυπέσχετο, τῆς προνοίας, ἣν Ἑβραίων καὶ τῆς τούτων ἐλευθερίας ἐποιήσατο. ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν καὶ τὸν θεὸν ὑμνήσας ἀπαλλάσσεται.

V

(1) [96] Διαλιπὼν δὲ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἔγνω δεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς Παλαιστίνους ἐκστρατεύειν, καὶ μηδὲν ἀργὸν μηδὲ ῥᾴθυμον ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ὁρᾶν γινόμενον, ἵν᾽ ὡς τὸ θεῖον αὐτῷ προεῖπε καταστρεψάμενος τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὸ λοιπὸν τοὺς ἐκγόνους αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντας καταλείποι. [97] καὶ συγκαλέσας πάλιν τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ παραγγείλας αὐτῇ πρὸς πόλεμον ἑτοίμῃ καὶ παρεσκευασμένῃ τυγχάνειν, ὅτ᾽ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ καλῶς ἔχειν τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτῆς ἄρας ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπὶ τοὺς Παλαιστίνους ἦκε. [98] κρατήσας δ᾽ αὐτῶν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ πολλὴν τῆς χώρας ἀποτεμόμενος καὶ προσορίσας τῇ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἐπὶ τοὺς Μωαβίτας τὸν πόλεμον μετήγαγε, καὶ τὰ μὲν δύο μέρη τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτῶν τῇ μάχῃ νικήσας διέφθειρε, τὸ δὲ λειπόμενον αἰχμάλωτον ἔλαβε. [99] φόρους δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπιτάξας κατ᾽ ἔτος τελεῖν ἐπὶ Ἀρτάζαρον τὸν Ἀραοῦ μὲν υἱὸν βασιλέα δὲ

τῆς Σωφηνῆς ἐστράτευσε, καὶ συμβαλὼν αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν τῶν μὲν πεζῶν αὐτοῦ διέφθειρεν ὡσεὶ δισμυρίους, τῶν δ' ἱπποτῶν ὡς πεντακισχιλίους. ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἅρματα χίλια, καὶ τὰ πλείω μὲν αὐτῶν ἠφάνισεν, ἑκατὸν δὲ μόνα προσέταξεν αὐτῷ φυλαχθῆναι.

(2) [100] Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Δαμασκοῦ καὶ Σύρων βασιλεὺς Ἄδαδος, ὅτι πολεμεῖ Δαυίδης τὸν Ἀρτάζαρον, φίλος ὢν αὐτῷ μετὰ δυνάμεως ἦκεν ἰσχυρᾶς συμμαχήσων: ἀπήλλαξε δ' ὡς προσεδόκα συμβαλὼν πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ, πταίσας δὲ τῇ μάχῃ πολλοὺς ἀπέβαλε τῶν στρατιωτῶν: ἔπεσον γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἀναιρούμενοι τῆς Ἀδάδου δυνάμεως δισμύριοι, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες ἔφυγον. [101] μέμνηται δὲ τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ Νικόλαος ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν αὐτοῦ λέγων οὕτως: "μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον τῶν ἐγχωρίων τις Ἄδαδος ὄνομα πλεῖον ἰσχύσας Δαμασκοῦ τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Συρίας ἔξω Φοινίκης ἐβασίλευσε. πόλεμον δ' ἐξενέγκας πρὸς Δαυίδην τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ πολλαῖς μάχαις κριθείς, ὑστάτῃ δὲ παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην, ἐν ᾗ ἡττᾶτο, [102] ἄριστος ἔδοξεν εἶναι βασιλέων ῥώμῃ καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ." πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων αὐτοῦ φησιν, ὡς μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν ἐξεδέχοντο παρ' ἀλλήλων καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα, λέγων οὕτως: "τελευτήσαντος δὲ ἐκείνου ἀπόγονοι ἐπὶ δέκα γενεὰς ἐβασίλευον ἑκάστου παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἅμα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τοὔνομα [τούτου] ἐκδεχομένου, ὥσπερ οἱ Πτολεμαῖοι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. [103] μέγιστον δὲ ἁπάντων δυνηθεὶς ὁ τρίτος ἀναμαχέσασθαι βουλόμενος τὴν τοῦ προπάτορος ἧτταν στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐπόρθησε τὴν νῦν Σαμαρεῖτιν καλουμένην γῆν." οὐ διήμαρτε δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας: οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν Ἄδαδος ὁ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Σαμάρειαν Ἀχάβου βασιλεύοντος τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, περὶ οὗ κατὰ χώραν ἐροῦμεν.

(3) [104] Δαυίδης δὲ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Δαμασκὸν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Συρίαν πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ὑπήκοον ἐποιήσατο, καὶ φρουρὰς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καταστήσας καὶ φόρους αὐτοῖς τελεῖν ὁρίσας ὑπέστρεψε: καὶ τάς τε χρυσᾶς φαρέτρας καὶ τὰς πανοπλίας, ἃς οἱ τοῦ Ἀδάδου σωματοφύλακες ἐφόρουν, [105] ἀνέθηκε τῷ θεῷ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, ἃς ὕστερον ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς Σούσακος στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν υἱωνὸν αὐτοῦ Ῥοβόαμον ἔλαβε καὶ πολὺν ἄλλον ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐξεφόρησε πλοῦτον: ταῦτα μὲν ὅταν ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον αὐτῶν τόπον δηλώσομεν. ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἑβραίων βασιλεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ συμπνέοντος αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς πολέμους συγκατορθοῦντος καὶ ταῖς καλλίσταις τῶν Ἀνδραζάρου πόλεων ἐπεστράτευσε Βατταίᾳ καὶ Μάχωνι, καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὰς κατὰ κράτος διήρπασε. [106] χρυσὸς δ' ἐν αὐταῖς εὑρέθη πάμπολυς καὶ ἄργυρος ἔτι δὲ καὶ χαλκός, ὃν τοῦ χρυσοῦ κρείττον' ἔλεγον, ἐξ οὗ καὶ Σολόμων τὸ μέγα σκεῦος θάλασσαν δὲ καλούμενον ἐποίησε καὶ τοὺς καλλίστους ἐκείνους λουτῆρας, ὅτε τῷ θεῷ τὸν ναὸν κατεσκεύασεν.

(4) [107] Ὡς δὲ ὁ τῆς Ἀμάθης βασιλεὺς τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἀνδράζαρον ἐπύθετο καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ διεφθαρμένην ἤκουσε, δείσας περὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν Δαυίδην πρὶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἔλθοι φιλίᾳ καὶ πίστει γνοὺς ἐνδήσασθαι, πέμπει πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀδώραμον υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ τοῦ τὸν Ἀνδράζαρον ἐχθρὸν ὄντ᾽ αὐτῷ πολεμῆσαι χάριν ἔχειν ὁμολογῶν, καὶ συμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ φιλίαν ποιούμενος. [108] ἔπεμψε δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ δῶρα σκεύη τῆς ἀρχαίας κατασκευῆς χρύσεα καὶ ἀργύρεα καὶ χάλκεα. Δαυίδης δὲ ποιησάμενος τὴν συμμαχίαν πρὸς τὸν Θαΐνον, τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς Ἀμάθης, καὶ τὰ δῶρα δεξάμενος ἀπέλυσεν αὐτοῦ τὸν υἱὸν μετὰ τιμῆς τῆς πρεπούσης ἑκατέροις. τὰ δὲ πεμφθέντα ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον, ὃν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων εἰλήφει καὶ τῶν κεχειρωμένων ἐθνῶν, φέρων ἀνατίθησι τῷ θεῷ. [109] οὐκ αὐτῷ δὲ πολεμοῦντι μόνον καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἡγουμένῳ τὸ νικᾶν καὶ κατορθοῦν παρεῖχεν ὁ θεός, ἀλλὰ καὶ πέμψαντος αὐτοῦ μετὰ δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν Ἀβεσσαῖον τὸν Ἰωάβου τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου ἀδελφὸν δι᾽ ἐκείνου τὴν τῶν Ἰδουμαίων νίκην ἔδωκε: μυρίους γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους Ἀβεσσαῖος διέφθειρε τῇ μάχῃ. καὶ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν ἅπασαν φρουραῖς διαλαβὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς φόρους ὑπέρ τε τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς ἑκάστου κεφαλῆς παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐδέχετο. [110] ἦν δὲ καὶ δίκαιος τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὰς κρίσεις πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀφορῶν ἐποιεῖτο. στρατηγὸν δὲ ἁπάσης εἶχε τῆς στρατιᾶς τὸν Ἰώαβον: ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων Ἰωσάφατον υἱὸν Ἀχίλου κατέστησεν: ἀπέδειξε δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς Φινεέσου οἰκίας τὸν Σάδωκον ἀρχιερέα μετ᾽ Ἀβιαθάρου, φίλος γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ: γραμματέα δὲ Σισὰν ἐποίησε: Βαναίᾳ δὲ τῷ Ἰωάδου τὴν τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἀρχὴν παραδίδωσιν: οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι παῖδες αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν τούτου φυλακὴν ἦσαν.

(5) [111] Ἐμνήσθη δὲ καὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἰωνάθην τὸν Σαούλου παῖδα συνθηκῶν καὶ ὅρκων καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίας τε καὶ σπουδῆς: πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀγαθοῖς οἷς εἶχεν ἔτι καὶ μνημονικώτατος τῶν εὖ ποιησάντων παρὰ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ὑπῆρχε. [112] προσέταξεν οὖν ἀναζητεῖν εἴ τις ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ σώζεται, ᾧ τὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἃς ὤφειλεν Ἰωνάθῃ τῆς ἑταιρίας ἀποδώσει: ἀχθέντος οὖν τινος ἠλευθερωμένου μὲν ὑπὸ Σαούλου δυναμένου δὲ γινώσκειν τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ περιόντας, ἀνέκρινεν εἴ τινα ἔχοι λέγειν τῶν Ἰωνάθῃ προσηκόντων ζῶντα καὶ κομίσασθαι τὰς τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν χάριτας δυνάμενον, ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς ἔτυχε παρὰ Ἰωνάθου. [113] φήσαντος δ᾽ υἱὸν αὐτοῦ περιλείπεσθαι Μεμφίβοσθον ὄνομα πεπηρωμένον τὰς βάσεις, τῆς γὰρ τροφοῦ μετὰ τὸ προσαγγελθῆναι τὸν πατέρα τοῦ παιδίου καὶ τὸν πάππον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεσόντας ἁρπασαμένης καὶ φευγούσης, ἀπὸ τῶν ὤμων αὐτὸ κατενεχθῆναι καὶ βλαβῆναι τὰς βάσεις, μαθὼν ὅπου καὶ παρὰ τίνι τρέφεται πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Μάχειρον εἰς Λάβαθα πόλιν, παρὰ τούτῳ γὰρ ὁ Ἰωνάθου παῖς ἐτρέφετο, μεταπέμπεται πρὸς αὐτόν. [114] ἐλθὼν δ᾽ ὁ Μεμφίβοσθος πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον προσεκύνησεν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Δαυίδης θαρρεῖν τε προυτρέπετο καὶ τὰ βελτίω προσδοκᾶν: δίδωσι δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ

τὸν πατρῷον οἶκον καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν οὐσίαν, ἣν ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ Σαοῦλος ἐκτήσατο, σύσσιτόν τε καὶ ὁμοτράπεζον ἐκέλευσεν εἶναι καὶ μηδεμίαν ἡμέραν ἀπολείπεσθαι τῆς σὺν αὐτῷ διαίτης. [115] τοῦ δὲ παιδὸς προσκυνήσαντος ἐπί τε τοῖς λόγοις καὶ ταῖς δωρεαῖς, καλέσας τὸν Σιβὰν τὸν πατρῷον οἶκον ἔλεγε δεδωρῆσθαι τῷ παιδὶ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Σαούλου κτῆσιν, αὐτόν τε ἐκέλευσεν ἐργαζόμενον αὐτοῦ τὴν γῆν καὶ προνοούμενον ἁπάντων τὴν πρόσοδον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα κομίζειν, ἄγειν τε αὐτὸν καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τράπεζαν αὐτὸν Σιβὰν καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ, ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι πεντεκαίδεκα, καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντας εἴκοσι τῷ παιδὶ χαρίζεται Μεμφιβόσθῳ. [116] ταῦτα διαταξαμένου τοῦ βασιλέως ὁ μὲν Σιβὰς προσκυνήσας καὶ πάντα ποιήσειν εἰπὼν ἀνεχώρησεν, ὁ δὲ Ἰωνάθου παῖς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις κατῴκει συνεστιώμενος τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ πάσης ὡς υἱὸς αὐτοῦ θεραπείας τυγχάνων: ἐγένετο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ παῖς, ὃν Μίχανον προσηγόρευσε.

VI

(1) [117] Καὶ οἱ μὲν περιλειφθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Σαούλου γένους καὶ Ἰωνάθου τούτων ἔτυχον παρὰ Δαυίδου τῶν τιμῶν. τελευτήσαντος δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον τοῦ τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν βασιλέως Ναάσου, φίλος δ' ἦν οὗτος αὐτῷ, καὶ διαδεξαμένου τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀννὼν τοῦ παιδός, πέμψας Δαυίδης πρὸς αὐτὸν παρεμυθήσατο πρᾴως τε φέρειν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ πατρὸς παραινῶν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν φιλίαν διαμενεῖν, ἣ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἦν, τούτῳ προσδοκᾶν. [118] οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν ἄρχοντες κακοήθως ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ τὸν Δαυίδου τρόπον ταῦτ' ἐδέξαντο, καὶ παρώτρυναν τὸν βασιλέα λέγοντες κατασκόπους πεπομφέναι τῆς χώρας Δαυίδην καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν δυνάμεως ἐπὶ προφάσει φιλανθρωπίας, φυλάττεσθαί τε συνεβούλευον καὶ μὴ προσέχειν τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ, μὴ καὶ σφαλεὶς ἀπαρηγορήτῳ συμφορᾷ περιπέσῃ. [119] ταῦτ' οὖν δόξας πιθανώτερα λέγειν τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἢ τἀληθὲς εἶχεν ὁ τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν βασιλεὺς Ἀννὼν τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Δαυίδου πεμφθέντας πρέσβεις χαλεπῶς περιύβρισε: ξυρήσας γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰ ἡμίση τῶν γενείων καὶ τὰ ἡμίση τῶν ἱματίων περιτεμὼν ἔργοις ἀπέλυσε κομίζοντας οὐ λόγοις τὰς ἀποκρίσεις. [120] ἰδὼν δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς ἠγανάκτησε καὶ δῆλος ἦν οὐ περιοψόμενος τὴν ὕβριν καὶ τὸν προπηλακισμόν, ἀλλὰ πολεμήσων τοῖς Ἀμμανίταις καὶ τιμωρίαν αὐτῶν τῆς παρανομίας τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς εἰσπραξόμενος τὸν βασιλέα. [121] συνέντες δὲ οἵ τε ἀναγκαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες, ὅτι παρεσπονδήκασι καὶ δίκην ὑπὲρ τούτων ὀφείλουσι, προπαρασκευάζονται εἰς τὸν πόλεμον: καὶ πέμψαντες πρὸς Σύρον τὸν τῶν Μεσοποταμιτῶν βασιλέα χίλια τάλαντα σύμμαχον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ γενέσθαι τῷ μισθῷ παρεκάλεσαν καὶ Σουβάν: ἦσαν δὲ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι τούτοις πεζοῦ δύο μυριάδες. προσεμισθώσαντο δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς Μιχᾶς καλουμένης

χώρας βασιλέα καὶ τέταρτον Ἴστοβον ὄνομα, καὶ τούτους ἔχοντας μυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους ὁπλίτας.

(2) [122] Οὐ κατεπλάγη δὲ τὴν συμμαχίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν δύναμιν ὁ Δαυίδης, τῷ δὲ θεῷ πεποιθὼς καὶ τῷ δικαίως αὐτοῖς ἀνθ᾽ ὧν ὑβρίσθη πολεμεῖν μέλλειν, Ἰώαβον τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον δοὺς αὐτῷ τῆς στρατιᾶς τὸ ἀκμαιότατον ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔπεμψεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς. [123] ὁ δὲ πρὸς τῇ μητροπόλει τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν Ἀραβαθᾶ κατεστρατοπεδεύσατο. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἐξελθόντων καὶ παραταξαμένων οὐχ ὁμοῦ διχῇ δέ, τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐπικουρικὸν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καθ᾽ αὐτὸ ἐτάχθη, τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν στράτευμα πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις ἀντικρὺ τῶν Ἑβραίων, ἰδὼν τοῦτο Ἰώαβος ἀντιμηχανᾶται: [124] καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνδρειοτάτους ἐπιλεξάμενος ἀντιπαρατάσσεται τῷ Σύρῳ καὶ τοῖς μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ βασιλεῦσι, τὸ δ᾽ ἄλλο παραδοὺς Ἀβεσσαίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τοῖς Ἀμμανίταις ἐκέλευσεν ἀντιπαρατάξασθαι, εἰπὼν ἂν τοὺς Σύρους ἴδῃ βιαζομένους αὐτὸν καὶ πλέον δυναμένους μεταγαγόντα τὴν φάλαγγα βοηθεῖν αὐτῷ, τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιήσειν καὶ αὐτός, ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν αὐτὸν καταπονούμενον θεάσηται. [125] προτρεψάμενος οὖν τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ παρακαλέσας εὐψύχως καὶ μετὰ προθυμίας ἀνδράσιν αἰσχύνην φοβουμένοις πρεπούσης ἀγωνίσασθαι τὸν μὲν ἀπέλυσε τοῖς Ἀμμανίταις μαχησόμενον, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς Σύροις συνέβαλε. [126] καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀντισχόντων αὐτῶν καρτερῶς πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν Ἰώαβος, ἅπαντας δ᾽ ἠνάγκασεν εἰς φυγὴν τραπῆναι. τοῦτο ἰδόντες οἱ Ἀμμανῖται καὶ δείσαντες τὸν Ἀβεσσαῖον καὶ τὴν μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν οὐκ ἔμειναν, ἀλλὰ μιμησάμενοι τοὺς συμμάχους εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔφυγον. κρατήσας οὖν τῶν πολεμίων Ἰώαβος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα λαμπρῶς ὑπέστρεψε.

(3) [127] Τοῦτο τὸ πταῖσμα τοὺς Ἀμμανίτας οὐκ ἔπεισεν ἠρεμεῖν οὐδὲ μαθόντας τοὺς κρείττονας ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ πέμψαντες πρὸς Χαλαμὰν τὸν τῶν πέραν Εὐφράτου Σύρων βασιλέα μισθοῦνται τοῦτον ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ, ἔχοντα μὲν ἀρχιστράτηγον Σέβεκον, πεζῶν δὲ μυριάδας ὀκτὼ καὶ ἱππέων μυρίους. [128] γνοὺς δ᾽ ὁ τῶν Ἑβραίων βασιλεὺς πάλιν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν τοὺς Ἀμμανίτας τοσαύτην δύναμιν συνηθροικότας οὐκέτι διὰ στρατηγῶν αὐτοῖς πολεμεῖν ἔκρινεν, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸς σὺν ἁπάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει διαβὰς τὸν Ἰόρδανον ποταμὸν καὶ ὑπαντήσας αὐτοῖς συνάψας εἰς μάχην ἐνίκησε: καὶ ἀναιρεῖ μὲν αὐτῶν πεζῶν μὲν εἰς τέσσαρας μυριάδας ἱππέων δὲ εἰς ἑπτακισχιλίους, ἔτρωσε δὲ καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν τοῦ Χαλαμᾶ Σέβεκον, ὃς ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς ἀπέθανεν. [129] οἱ δὲ Μεσοποταμῖται τοιούτου γενομένου τοῦ τέλους τῆς μάχης αὐτοὺς Δαυίδῃ παρέδοσαν καὶ δῶρα ἔπεμψαν αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὥρᾳ χειμῶνος ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, ἀρχομένου δὲ τοῦ ἔαρος ἔπεμψε τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον Ἰώαβον πολεμήσοντα τοῖς Ἀμμανίταις. ὁ δὲ τήν τε γῆν αὐτῶν ἅπασαν ἐπερχόμενος διέφθειρε καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν συγκλείσας Ἀραβαθὰ ἐπολιόρκει.

VII

(1) [130] Συνέπεσε δὲ καὶ Δαυίδῃ πταῖσμα δεινὸν ὄντι φύσει δικαίῳ καὶ θεοσεβεῖ καὶ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους ἰσχυρῶς φυλάσσοντι: θεασάμενος γὰρ δείλης ὀψίας ἀπὸ τοῦ στέγους τῶν βασιλείων, ἐν ᾧ περιπατεῖν κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνο τῆς ὥρας ἦν ἔθος, γυναῖκα λουομένην ἐν τῇ αὐτῆς οἰκίᾳ ψυχρῷ ὕδατι καλλίστην τὸ εἶδος καὶ πασῶν διαφέρουσαν, ὄνομα αὐτῇ ἦν Βεεθσαβή, ἠττᾶται τοῦ κάλλους τῆς γυναικός: καὶ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας κατασχεῖν οὐ δυνάμενος αὐτῇ συνέρχεται. [131] γενομένης δ᾽ ἐγκύου τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ πεμψάσης πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ὅπως τῷ ἁμαρτήματι σκέψηταί τινα τοῦ λαθεῖν ὁδόν, ἀποθανεῖν γὰρ αὐτὴν κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους καθήκει νόμους μεμοιχευμένην, μετακαλεῖται τὸν Ἰωάβου μὲν ὁπλοφόρον ἐκ τῆς πολιορκίας ἄνδρα δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς Οὐρίαν ὄνομα, καὶ παραγενόμενον περί τε τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ τῆς πολιορκίας ἀνέκρινε. [132] λέγοντος δὲ πάντα κατὰ νοῦν αὐτοῖς κεχωρηκέναι τὰ πράγματα βαστάσας ἐκ τοῦ δείπνου μέρη προσδίδωσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ κελεύει πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα ἀπελθόντα ἀναπαύσασθαι σὺν αὐτῇ. ὁ δὲ Οὐρίας τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐποίησε, παρεκοιμήθη δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁπλοφόροις. [133] ὡς δὲ γνοὺς τοῦθ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνέκρινεν αὐτόν, ὅτι μὴ πρὸς [αὐτὸν εἰς] τὴν οἰκίαν ἔλθοι μηδὲ πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα διὰ τοσούτου χρόνου πάντων ἀνθρώπων ταύτην ἐχόντων τὴν φύσιν ὅταν ἔλθωσιν ἐξ ἀποδημίας, οὐκ εἶναι δίκαιον ἔφη τῶν συστρατιωτῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ χαμαὶ κοιμωμένων ἐν παρεμβολῇ καὶ τῇ τῶν πολεμίων χώρᾳ μετὰ γυναικὸς αὐτὸν ἀναπαύεσθαι καὶ τρυφᾶν. [134] ταῦτ᾽ εἰπόντα μεῖναι τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἐκέλευσεν αὐτόθι ὡς εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἀπολύσων αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον. κληθεὶς δ᾽ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Οὐρίας καὶ μέχρι μέθης προελθὼν ἐν τῷ πότῳ δεξιουμένου τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτὸν ἐπίτηδες ταῖς προπόσεσιν, οὐδὲν ἧττον πάλιν πρὸ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως θυρῶν ἐκοιμήθη μηδεμίαν λαβὼν τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπιθυμίαν. [135] ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ δυσανασχετήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔγραψε τῷ Ἰωάβῳ κολάσαι προστάττων τὸν Οὐρίαν, ἁμαρτεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐδήλου, καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς τιμωρίας ἵνα μὴ γένηται φανερὸς αὐτὸς τοῦτο βουληθεὶς ὑπέθετο: [136] κατὰ γὰρ τὸ δυσμαχώτατον αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε μέρος τῶν πολεμίων τάξαι καὶ καθ᾽ ὃ κινδυνεύσει μαχόμενος ἀπολειφθεὶς μόνος: [τοὺς γὰρ] συμπαραστάτας ἀναχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς μάχης γινομένης ἐκέλευσε. ταῦτα γράψας καὶ σημηνάμενος τῇ αὐτοῦ σφραγῖδι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἔδωκεν Οὐρίᾳ κομίσαι πρὸς Ἰώαβον. [137] δεξάμενος δὲ Ἰώαβος τὰ γράμματα καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως προαίρεσιν ἀναγνούς, καθ᾽ ὃν ᾔδει τόπον τοὺς πολεμίους χαλεποὺς αὐτῷ γενομένους, κατὰ τοῦτον ἔστησε τὸν Οὐρίαν δοὺς αὐτῷ τινας τῶν ἀρίστων τῆς στρατιᾶς: αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἁπάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει προσεπιβοηθήσειν ἔφησεν, εἰ δυνηθεῖεν ἀνατρέψαντές τι τοῦ τείχους εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. [138] ὄντα δ᾽ αὐτὸν γενναῖον στρατιώτην καὶ δόξαν ἔχοντα παρά τε τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις ἐπ᾽ ἀνδρείᾳ χαίρειν τοῖς μεγάλοις πόνοις ἀλλὰ μὴ προσαγανακτεῖν

ἠξίου. τοῦ δ᾽ Οὐρία προθύμως ὑποστάντος τὸ ἔργον, τοῖς μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ παρατασσομένοις ἰδίᾳ καταλιπεῖν ὅταν ἐξορμήσαντας ἴδωσι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδήλωσε. [139] προσβαλόντων οὖν τῇ πόλει τῶν Ἑβραίων δείσαντες οἱ Ἀμμανῖται, μὴ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν τόπον, καθ᾽ ὃν Οὐρίαν συνέβαινε τετάχθαι, φθάσαντες ἀναβῶσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, προστησάμενοι τοὺς ἀνδρειοτάτους αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν πύλην ἀνοίξαντες αἰφνιδίως καὶ μετὰ ῥύμης καὶ δρόμου πολλοῦ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπεξῆλθον. [140] ἰδόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ σὺν τῷ Οὐρίᾳ πάντες ἀνεχώρησαν ὀπίσω, καθὼς Ἰώαβος αὐτοῖς προεῖπεν: αἰσχυνθεὶς δ᾽ Οὐρίας φυγεῖν καὶ τὴν τάξιν καταλιπεῖν ὑπέμεινε τοὺς πολεμίους: καὶ τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτῶν ἐκδεξάμενος ἀναιρεῖ μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγους, κυκλωθεὶς δὲ καὶ ληφθεὶς ἐν μέσῳ ἅμα δ᾽ αὐτῷ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι τελευτᾷ συγκαταπεσόντων ἑτέρων.

(2) [141] Τούτων οὕτως γενομένων ἔπεμψεν ἀγγέλους Ἰώαβος πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα λέγειν ἐντειλάμενος αὐτοῖς, ὡς σπουδάσειε μὲν ταχέως ἑλεῖν τὴν πόλιν, προσβαλὼν δὲ τῷ τείχει καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπολέσας ἀναχωρῆσαι βιασθείη: προστιθέναι δὲ τούτοις ἂν ὀργιζόμενον ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς βλέπωσι καὶ τὸν Οὐρία θάνατον. [142] τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἀκούσαντος παρὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ταῦτα καὶ δυσφοροῦντος φάσκοντος ἁμαρτεῖν αὐτοὺς τῷ τείχει προσβαλόντας, δέον ὑπονόμοις καὶ μηχανήμασιν ἑλεῖν πειρᾶσθαι τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἔχοντας παράδειγμα τὸν Γεδεῶνος υἱὸν Ἀβιμέλεχον, ὃς ἐπεὶ τὸν ἐν Θήβαις πύργον ἑλεῖν ἐβούλετο βίᾳ, βληθεὶς ὑπὸ πρεσβύτιδος πέτρῳ κατέπεσε καὶ ἀνδρειότατος ὢν διὰ τὸ δυσχερὲς τῆς ἐπιβολῆς αἰσχρῶς ἀπέθανεν: [143] οὗ μνημονεύοντας ἔδει μὴ προσιέναι τῷ τείχει τῶν πολεμίων: ἄριστον γὰρ ἁπάντων τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ πραχθέντων καὶ καλῶς καὶ ὡς ἑτέρως ἐνίοις αὐτοῖς κινδύνοις μνήμην ἔχειν, ὡς τὰ μὲν μιμεῖσθαι τὰ δὲ φυλάττεσθαι. [144] ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτως ἔχοντι καὶ τὸν Οὐρία θάνατον ἐδήλωσεν ὁ ἄγγελος, παύεται μὲν τῆς ὀργῆς, Ἰωάβῳ δ᾽ ἐκέλευσεν ἀπελθόντα λέγειν ἀνθρώπινον εἶναι τὸ συμβεβηκὸς καὶ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου φύσιν ἔχειν τοιαύτην, ὥστε ποτὲ μὲν τοῖς ἐναντίοις εὖ πράττειν συμβαίνειν κατ᾽ αὐτόν, ποτὲ δὲ τοῖς ἑτέροις: [145] τοῦ λοιποῦ μέντοι γε προνοεῖν τῆς πολιορκίας, ὅπως μηδὲν ἔτι πταίσωσι κατ᾽ αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ χώμασι καὶ μηχαναῖς ἐκπολιορκήσαντας καὶ παραστησαμένους τὴν μὲν πόλιν κατασκάψαι, ἅπαντας δ᾽ ἀπολέσαι τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄγγελος τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐντεταλμένα κομίζων πρὸς Ἰώαβον ἠπείγετο. [146] ἡ δὲ τοῦ Οὐρία γυνὴ Βεεθσαβὴ τὸν θάνατον τἀνδρὸς πυθομένη ἐπὶ συχνὰς αὐτὸν ἡμέρας ἐπένθησεν, παυσαμένην δὲ τῆς λύπης καὶ τῶν ἐπ᾽ Οὐρίᾳ δακρύων ὁ βασιλεὺς εὐθὺς ἄγεται γυναῖκα, καὶ παῖς ἄρρην ἐξ αὐτῆς γίνεται αὐτῷ.

(3) [147] Τοῦτον οὐχ ἡδέως ἐπεῖδεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν γάμον, ἀλλὰ δι᾽ ὀργῆς ἔχων τὸν Δαυίδην τῷ προφήτῃ Νάθᾳ φανεὶς κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἐμέμφετο τὸν βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ Νάθας ἀστεῖος καὶ συνετὸς ὢν ἀνήρ, λογισάμενος ὡς οἱ βασιλεῖς ὅταν εἰς ὀργὴν ἐμπέσωσι ταύτῃ πλέον ἢ τῷ δικαίῳ νέμουσι, τὰς μὲν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγενημένας

ἀπειλὰς ἡσυχάζειν ἔκρινεν, ἄλλους δὲ λόγους χρηστοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν διεξῆλθε, [148] καὶ δὴ τοιοῦτόν τινα τρόπον περὶ οὗ καὶ τί φρονεῖ ποιῆσαι σαφὲς αὐτῷ παρεκάλει: "δύο γάρ, ἔφησεν, ἄνδρες τὴν αὐτὴν κατῴκουν πόλιν, ὧν ὁ μὲν πλούσιος ἦν καὶ πολλὰς εἶχεν ἀγέλας ὑποζυγίων τε καὶ θρεμμάτων καὶ βοῶν, τῷ πένητι δ' ἀμνὰς ὑπῆρχε μία. [149] ταύτην μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ ἀνέτρεφε συνδιαιρούμενος αὐτῇ τὰ σιτία καὶ φιλοστοργίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὴν χρώμενος ᾗ τις ἂν χρήσαιτο καὶ πρὸς θυγατέρα. ξένου δ' ἐπελθόντος τῷ πλουσίῳ τῶν μὲν ἰδίων οὐδὲν ἠξίωσεν ἐκεῖνος βοσκημάτων καταθύσας εὐωχῆσαι τὸν φίλον, πέμψας δὲ τὴν ἀμνάδα τοῦ πένητος ἀπέσπασε, [150] καὶ ταύτην παρασκευάσας εἱστίασε τὸν ξένον." σφόδρα ἐλύπησεν ὁ λόγος οὗτος τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πονηρὸν πρὸς τὸν Νάθαν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκεῖνον, ὃς δὴ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐτόλμησεν, ἀπεφήνατο καὶ τετραπλῆν ἀποτῖσαι τὴν ἀμνάδα δίκαιον εἶναι καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ θανάτῳ κολασθῆναι. Νάθας δ' ὑποτυχὼν αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν ἐκεῖνον εἶναι τὸν ἄξιον ταῦτα παθεῖν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ κεκριμένον τολμήσαντα μέγα καὶ δεινὸν ἔργον. [151] ἀνεκάλυπτε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ παρεγύμνου τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ποιήσαντος μὲν αὐτὸν βασιλέα πάσης τῆς Ἑβραίων δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν ἐν κύκλῳ πάντων ἐθνῶν πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων κύριον, ῥυσαμένου δ' ἔτι πρὸ τούτων ἐκ τῶν Σαούλου χειρῶν, δόντος δ' αὐτῷ καὶ γυναῖκας ἃς δικαίως καὶ νομίμως ἠγάγετο, καταφρονηθέντος δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀσεβηθέντος, ὃς ἀλλοτρίαν τε γήμας ἔχει γυναῖκα καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς ἀποκτείνειεν ἐκδοὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις: [152] δώσειν οὖν αὐτὸν ἀντὶ τούτων δίκας τῷ θεῷ καὶ βιασθήσεσθαι μὲν αὐτοῦ τὰς γυναῖκας ὑφ' ἑνὸς τῶν παίδων, ἐπιβουλευθήσεσθαι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπ' ἐκείνου, καὶ τὸ ἁμάρτημα τοῦτο κρύφα δράσαντα φανερὰν τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ δίκην ὑφέξειν: τεθνήξεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸν παῖδά σοι παραχρῆμα τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς γεγενημένον. [153] ταραχθέντος δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ συσχεθέντος ἱκανῶς καὶ μετὰ δακρύων καὶ λύπης ἀσεβῆσαι λέγοντος, ἦν γὰρ ὁμολογουμένως θεοσεβὴς καὶ μηδὲν ἁμαρτὼν ὅλως περὶ τὸν βίον ἢ τὰ περὶ τὴν Οὐρία γυναῖκα, ᾤκτειρεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ διαλλάττεται φυλάξειν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπαγγειλάμενος: μετανοοῦντι γὰρ περὶ τῶν γεγενημένων οὐκέτι χαλεπῶς ἔχειν ἔφασκε. καὶ Νάθας μὲν ταῦτα τῷ βασιλεῖ προφητεύσας οἴκαδε ἐπανῆλθε.

(4) [154] Τῷ δ' ἐκ τῆς Οὐρία γυναικὸς γενομένῳ παιδὶ Δαυίδῃ νόσον ἐνσκήπτει χαλεπὴν τὸ θεῖον, ἐφ' ᾗ δυσφορῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς τροφὴν μὲν ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ καίτοι γε ἀναγκαζόντων τῶν οἰκείων οὐ προσηνέγκατο, μέλαιναν δὲ περιθέμενος ἐσθῆτα πεσὼν ἐπὶ σάκκου κατὰ γῆς ἔκειτο τὸν θεὸν ἱκετεύων ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς σωτηρίας: σφόδρα γὰρ ἔστεργεν αὐτοῦ τὴν μητέρα. [155] τῇ δ' ἑβδόμῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν τελευτήσαντος τοῦ παιδὸς οὐκ ἐτόλμων τῷ βασιλεῖ τοῦτο μηνύειν οἱ θεράποντες λογιζόμενοι, μὴ γνοὺς ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀπόσχηται καὶ τροφῆς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐπιμελείας ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ ποθεινοῦ τέκνου τετελευτηκότος, ὅτε καὶ νοσοῦντος οὕτως ὑπὸ τῆς λύπης ἑαυτὸν ἐκάκου. [156] ταραττομένων δ' αἰσθόμενος τῶν

οἰκετῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ταῦτα πασχόντων, ἃ μάλιστα συγκρύψαι τι θέλουσι συμβαίνει, συνεὶς ὅτι τέθνηκεν ὁ παῖς προσφωνήσας ἕνα τῶν οἰκετῶν καὶ μαθὼν τἀληθὲς ἀνίσταται καὶ λουσάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ἐσθῆτα λευκὴν εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ θεοῦ παραγίνεται, [157] καὶ κελεύσας δεῖπνον αὐτῷ παραθεῖναι πολλὴν ἐπὶ τῷ παραλόγῳ τοῖς τε συγγενέσι καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις ἔκπληξιν παρεῖχεν, ὅτι μηδὲν τούτων ἐπὶ νοσοῦντι τῷ παιδὶ ποιήσας πάνθ᾽ ὁμοῦ τετελευτηκότος ἔπραττε. τήν τε αἰτίαν, δεηθέντες ἐπιτρέψαι πρῶτον αὐτοῖς πυθέσθαι, παρεκάλουν [εἰπεῖν] τῶν γεγενημένων. [158] ὁ δὲ ἀμαθεῖς εἰπὼν αὐτοὺς ἐδίδασκεν, ὡς ἔτι μὲν ζῶντος τοῦ παιδὸς ἔχων ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ δεόντως πάντ᾽ ἐποίει τὸν θεὸν ἡγούμενος τούτοις εὐμενῆ καταστήσειν, ἀποθανόντος δ᾽ οὐκέτι χρείαν εἶναι λύπης ματαίας. ταῦτ᾽ εἰπόντος ἐπῄνεσαν τὴν σοφίαν καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ βασιλέως. συνελθὼν δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ Βεεθσαβῇ ἔγκυον αὐτὴν ἐποίησε, καὶ γεννησαμένης ἄρρεν παιδίον Σολόμωνα τοῦτον προσηγόρευσεν, οὕτως Νάθα τοῦ προφήτου κελεύσαντος.

(5) [159] Ἰώαβος δὲ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τοὺς Ἀμμανίτας ἰσχυρῶς ἐκάκου τῶν τε ὑδάτων αὐτοὺς ἀποτεμνόμενος καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων εὐπορίας, ὡς πάνυ ταλαιπωρεῖν ἐνδείᾳ ποτοῦ καὶ τροφῆς. ἐξ ὀλίγου γὰρ φρέατος ἤρτηντο καὶ ταμείας ὡς μὴ τελέως αὐτοὺς ἐπιλιπεῖν τὴν πηγὴν δαψιλέστερον χρωμένους. [160] γράφει δὴ τῷ βασιλεῖ ταῦτα δηλῶν καὶ παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν τῆς πόλεως ἐλθεῖν, ἵνα τὴν νίκην αὐτὸς ἐπιγραφῇ. ταῦτα Ἰωάβου γράψαντος ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτὸν τῆς εὐνοίας καὶ τῆς πίστεως ὁ βασιλεὺς παραλαβὼν τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμιν ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς Ῥαβαθᾶς πόρθησιν, καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἑλὼν διαρπάσαι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐφῆκεν. [161] αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν λαμβάνει στέφανον ἕλκοντα χρυσοῦ τάλαντον καὶ πολυτελῆ λίθον ἔχοντα ἐν μέσῳ σαρδόνυχος: ἐφόρει δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς διαπαντὸς Δαυίδης. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα σκῦλα λαμπρὰ καὶ πολύτιμα εὗρεν ἐν τῇ πόλει: τοὺς δ᾽ ἄνδρας αἰκισάμενος διέφθειρε. ταὐτὰ δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν πόλεις διέθηκεν ἑλὼν αὐτὰς κατὰ κράτος.

VIII

(1) [162] Ἀναστρέψαντος δὲ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τοῦ βασιλέως πταῖσμα αὐτοῦ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης καταλαμβάνει: θυγάτηρ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ παρθένος μὲν ἔτι τὸ δὲ κάλλος εὐπρεπής, ὡς ἁπάσας ὑπερβάλλειν τὰς εὐμορφοτάτας γυναῖκας, Θήμαρ ὄνομα, τῆς δ᾽ αὐτῆς Ἀψαλώμῳ μητρὸς κεκοινωνηκυῖα. [163] ταύτης ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν Δαυίδου παίδων Ἀμνὼν ἐρασθείς, ὡς οὔτε διὰ τὴν παρθενίαν αὐτῆς οὔτε διὰ τὴν φυλακὴν τυχεῖν τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἐδύνατο χαλεπῶς διέκειτο, καὶ τό τε σῶμα τῆς ὀδύνης αὐτὸν κατεσθιούσης κατισχναίνετο καὶ τὴν χρόαν μετέβαλλε. [164] δῆλος δὲ γίνεται ταῦτα πάσχων Ἰωνάθῃ τινὶ συγγενεῖ καὶ φίλῳ:

συνετὸς δ’ ἦν οὗτος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ὀξύς. ὁρῶν οὖν καθ’ ἑκάστην πρωίαν τὸν Ἀμνῶνα μὴ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχοντα τῷ σώματι προσελθὼν ἠρώτα φράσαι τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῷ, εἰκάζειν μέντοι γε οὕτως ἔλεγεν ἐξ ἐρωτικῆς αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἐπιθυμίας. [165] τοῦ δὲ Ἀμνῶνος ὁμολογήσαντος τὸ πάθος ὅτι τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐρᾷ τυγχανούσης ὁμοπατρίας, ὁδὸν αὐτῷ καὶ μηχανὴν εἰς τὸ περιγενέσθαι τῶν εὐκταίων ὑπέθετο: νόσον γὰρ ὑποκρίνασθαι παρῄνεσεν, ἐλθόντα δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν πατέρα πέμψαι τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῷ διακονησομένην ἐκέλευσε παρακαλέσαι: ῥᾴω γὰρ ἔσεσθαι καὶ ταχέως ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι τῆς νόσου τούτου γενομένου. [166] πεσὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀμνὼν ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην νοσεῖν προσεποιήσατο κατὰ τὰς Ἰωνάθου ὑποθήκας. παραγενομένου δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ σκεπτομένου πῶς ἔχοι, τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἐδεῖτο πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτόν: ὁ δ’ εὐθὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἀχθῆναι. ἡκούσῃ δὲ προσέταξεν ἄρτους αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι τηγανιστοὺς αὐτουργῷ γενομένῃ: προσοίσεσθαι γὰρ ἴδιον ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνης χειρῶν. [167] ἡ δ’ ἐμβλέποντος τἀδελφοῦ φυράσασα τὸ ἄλευρον καὶ πλάσασα κολλυρίδας καὶ τηγανίσασα προσήνεγκεν αὐτῷ: ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν οὐκ ἐγεύσατο, προσέταξε δὲ τοῖς οἰκέταις παραιτήσασθαι πάντας πρὸ τοῦ δωματίου: βούλεσθαι γὰρ ἀναπαύσασθαι θορύβου καὶ ταραχῆς ἀπηλλαγμένος. [168] ὡς δὲ τὸ κελευσθὲν ἐγένετο, τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἠξίωσεν εἰς τὸν ἐνδοτέρω τὸ δεῖπνον οἶκον αὐτῷ παρενεγκεῖν: ποιησάσης δὲ τοῦτο τῆς κόρης λαβόμενος αὐτῆς συνελθεῖν αὐτῷ πείθειν ἐπειρᾶτο. ἀνακραγοῦσα δ’ ἡ παῖς “ἀλλὰ μὴ σύ γε τοῦτο βιάσῃ με μηδὲ ἀσεβήσῃς, εἶπεν, ἀδελφέ, τοὺς νόμους παραβὰς καὶ δεινῇ περιβαλὼν σαυτὸν αἰσχύνῃ: παῦσαι δ’ οὕτως ἀδίκου καὶ μιαρᾶς ἐπιθυμίας, ἐξ ἧς ὀνείδη καὶ κακοδοξίαν [169] ὁ οἶκος ἡμῶν κερδανεῖ.” συνεβούλευέ τε περὶ τούτου διαλεχθῆναι τῷ πατρί: συγχωρήσειν γὰρ ἐκεῖνον. ταῦτα δ’ ἔλεγε βουλομένη τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτοῦ τῆς ὀρέξεως πρὸς τὸ παρὸν διαφυγεῖν. ὁ δ’ οὐ πείθεται, τῷ δὲ ἔρωτι καιόμενος καὶ τοῖς τοῦ πάθους κέντροις μυωπιζόμενος βιάζεται τὴν ἀδελφήν. [170] μῖσος δ’ εὐθέως μετὰ τὴν κορείαν εἰσέρχεται τὸν Ἀμνῶνα καὶ προσλοιδορησάμενος ἐκέλευσεν ἀναστᾶσαν ἀπιέναι. τῆς δὲ χείρω τὴν ὕβριν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀποκαλούσης, εἰ βιασάμενος αὐτὸς μηδ’ ἄχρι νυκτὸς ἐπιτρέπει μεῖναι παραχρῆμα δ’ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι κελεύει ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ φωτί, ἵνα καὶ μάρτυσι τῆς αἰσχύνης περιπέσοι, προσέταξεν αὐτὴν ἐκβαλεῖν τῷ οἰκέτῃ. [171] ἡ δὲ περιαλγὴς ἐπὶ τῇ ὕβρει καὶ τῇ βίᾳ γενομένη περιρρήξασα τὸν χιτωνίσκον, ἐφόρουν γὰρ αἱ τῶν ἀρχαίων παρθένοι χειριδωτοὺς ἄχρι τῶν σφυρῶν πρὸς τὸ μὴ βλέπεσθαι χιτῶνας, καὶ σποδὸν καταχεαμένη τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀπῄει διὰ τῆς πόλεως μέσης βοῶσα καὶ ὀδυρομένη τὴν βίαν. [172] περιτυχὼν δ’ αὐτῇ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀψάλωμος ἀνέκρινε, τίνος αὐτῇ δεινοῦ συμβάντος οὕτως ἔχει, κατειπούσης δ’ αὐτῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν ὕβριν ἡσυχάζειν καὶ μετρίως φέρειν παρηγόρει καὶ μὴ νομίζειν ὑβρίσθαι φθαρεῖσαν ὑπ’ ἀδελφοῦ. πεισθεῖσα οὖν παύεται τῆς βοῆς καὶ τοῦ πρὸς

πολλοὺς τὴν βίαν ἐκφέρειν, καὶ πολὺν χρόνον χηρεύουσα παρὰ Ἀψαλώμῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ διεκαρτέρησε.

(2) [173] Γνοὺς δὲ τοῦθ᾽ ὁ πατὴρ Δαυίδης τοῖς μὲν πεπραγμένοις ἤχθετο, φιλῶν δὲ τὸν Ἀμνῶνα σφόδρα, πρεσβύτατος γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ υἱός, μὴ λυπεῖν αὐτὸν ἠναγκάζετο. ὁ δὲ Ἀψάλωμος ἐμίσει χαλεπῶς αὐτὸν καὶ λανθάνων καιρὸν εἰς ἄμυναν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἐπιτήδειον παρεφύλαττεν. [174] ἔτος δ᾽ ἤδη τοῖς περὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ πταίσμασιν διεληλύθει δεύτερον, καὶ μέλλων ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἰδίων κουρὰν ἐξιέναι θρεμμάτων εἰς Βελσεφών, πόλις δ᾽ ἐστὶν αὕτη τῆς Ἐφράμου κληρουχίας, παρακαλεῖ τὸν πατέρα σὺν καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐφ᾽ ἑστίασιν. [175] παραιτησαμένου δ᾽ ὡς μὴ βαρὺς αὐτῷ γένοιτο, τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἀποστεῖλαι παρεκάλεσε. πέμψαντος δὲ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐκέλευσεν ὁπηνίκ᾽ ἂν ἴδωσι τὸν Ἀμνῶνα μέθῃ παρειμένον καὶ κάρῳ, νεύσαντος αὐτοῦ φονεύσωσι μηδένα φοβηθέντες.

(3) [176] Ὡς δ᾽ ἐποίησαν τὸ προσταχθὲν ἔκπληξις καὶ ταραχὴ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς λαμβάνει, καὶ δείσαντες τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐμπηδήσαντες ἵπποις ἐφέροντο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. φθάσας δέ τις αὐτοὺς ἅπαντας ὑπὸ Ἀψαλώμου πεφονεῦσθαι τῷ πατρὶ προσήγγειλεν. [177] ὁ δ᾽ ὡς ἐπὶ παισὶν ὁμοῦ τοσούτοις ἀπολωλόσι καὶ τοῦθ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἀδελφοῦ τῆς λύπης κἀπὶ τῷ κτεῖναι [δυναμένης] δοκοῦντι γινομένης πικρότερον, συναρπαγεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους οὔτε τὴν αἰτίαν ἀνέκρινεν οὔτ᾽ ἄλλο τι μαθεῖν οἷον εἰκὸς τηλικούτου προσηγγελμένου κακοῦ καὶ δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν ἀπιστίαν ἔχοντος περιέμεινεν, ἀλλὰ καταρρηξάμενος τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ ῥίψας ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἔκειτο πενθῶν τοὺς υἱοὺς ἅπαντας καὶ τοὺς ἀποθανεῖν δεδηλωμένους καὶ τὸν ἀνῃρηκότα. [178] ὁ δὲ Σαμᾶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ παῖς Ἰωνάθης ἀνεῖναί τι τῆς λύπης παρεκάλει καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων μὴ πιστεύειν ὡς τεθνᾶσιν, οὐδὲ γὰρ αἰτίαν εὑρίσκειν ὑπολαμβάνειν, περὶ δ᾽ Ἀμνῶνος ἐξετάζειν ἔφη δεῖν: εἰκὸς γὰρ διὰ τὴν Θημάρης ὕβριν ἀποτολμῆσαι τὸν Ἀψάλωμον τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τὴν ἐκείνου. [179] μεταξὺ δὲ κτύπος ἵππων καὶ θόρυβος προσιόντων τινῶν αὐτοὺς ἐπέστρεψεν: ἦσαν δ᾽ οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως παῖδες οἱ διαδράντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἑστιάσεως. ὑπαντᾷ δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὁ πατὴρ θρηνοῦσι λυπούμενος καὶ παρ᾽ ἐλπίδας ὁρῶν οὓς ἀκηκόει μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν ἀπολωλότας. [180] ἦν δὲ παρὰ πάντων δάκρυα καὶ στόνος, τῶν μὲν ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀδελφῷ τετελευτηκότι, τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ὡς ἐπὶ παιδὶ κατεσφαγμένῳ. φεύγει δ᾽ Ἀψάλωμος εἰς Γεσσούραν πρὸς τὸν πάππον τὸν πρὸς μητρὸς δυναστεύοντα τῆς ἐκεῖ χώρας, καὶ τρισὶν ὅλοις ἔτεσι παρ᾽ αὐτῷ καταμένει.

(4) [181] Τοῦ δὲ Δαυίδου προαίρεσιν ἔχοντος ἐπὶ τὸν υἱὸν Ἀψάλωμον πέμπειν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ κατελευσόμενον, ἀλλ᾽ ὅπως εἴη σὺν αὐτῷ, καὶ γὰρ τὰ τῆς ὀργῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου λελωφήκει, πρὸς τοῦτο μᾶλλον αὐτὸν Ἰώαβος ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος παρώρμησε: [182] γύναιον γάρ τι τὴν ἡλικίαν ἤδη προβεβηκὸς ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ προσελθεῖν ἐν σχήματι πενθίμῳ, ὡς παίδων ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγροικίας αὐτῇ διενεχθέντων καὶ πρὸς φιλονεικίαν τραπέντων οὐδενὸς τοῦ καταπαῦσαι δυναμένου

παραφανέντος ἔλεγεν ὑπὸ θατέρου τὸν ἕτερον πληγέντα ἀποθανεῖν: [183] ἠξίου τε τῶν συγγενῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀνῃρηκότα ὡρμηκότων καὶ ζητούντων αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν, χαρίσασθαι τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτῇ τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ μὴ τὰς ἐπιλοίπους τῆς γηρωκομίας ἐλπίδας προσαφαιρεθῆναι: τοῦτο δ' αὐτῇ κωλύσαντα τοὺς βουλομένους ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς παρέξειν: οὐ γὰρ ἐφέξειν ἐκείνους ἄλλῳ τινὶ τῆς σπουδῆς ἢ τῷ παρ' αὐτοῦ φόβῳ. [184] τοῦ δὲ συγκαταινέσαντος οἷς τὸ γύναιον ἱκέτευσεν, ὑπολαβὸν πάλιν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα "χάρις μέν, εἶπεν, ἤδη σου τῇ χρηστότητι κατοικτείραντός μου τὸ γῆρας καὶ τὴν παρὰ μικρὸν ἀπαιδίαν, ἀλλ' ἵνα βέβαια τὰ παρὰ τῆς σῆς μοι ᾖ φιλανθρωπίας, τῷ σαυτοῦ παιδὶ πρῶτον καταλλάγηθι καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὀργὴν ἄφες: [185] πῶς γὰρ ἂν πεισθείην ἐμοί σε ταύτην [ἀληθῶς] δεδωκέναι τὴν χάριν αὐτοῦ σοῦ μέχρι νῦν ἐφ' ὁμοίοις ἀπεχθανομένου τῷ παιδί; τελέως δ' ἀνόητον εἶναι προς [186] θεῖναι τῷ παρὰ γνώμην ἀποθανόντι υἱῷ ἄλλον ἑκουσίως." συνίησι δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπόβλητον οὖσαν τὴν σκῆψιν ἐξ Ἰωάβου καὶ τῆς τούτου σπουδῆς: καὶ ἐπειδὴ παρὰ τῆς πρεσβύτιδος πυθόμενος οὕτως ἔχον τἀληθὲς ἔμαθε, προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν Ἰώαβον ἐπιτυχεῖν τε τοῦ προκειμένου κατὰ νοῦν ἔφασκε καὶ τὸν Ἀψάλωμον ἄγειν ἐκέλευεν: οὐ γὰρ ἔτι χαλεπῶς ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἤδη τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ τὸν θυμὸν ἀφεικέναι. [187] ὁ δὲ προσκυνήσας τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἀσπασάμενος ἐξώρμησεν εἰς τὴν Γεσσούραν παραυτίκα καὶ τὸν Ἀψάλωμον παραλαβὼν ἦκεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.

(5) [188] Προέπεμψε δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς πρόσθεν πρὸς τὸν υἱόν, ἤκουσε γὰρ παραγενόμενον, καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐκέλευσε χωρεῖν: οὔπω γὰρ οὕτως ἔχειν ὥστ' εὐθὺς ἰδεῖν κατελθόντα. καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦτο τοῦ πατρὸς κελεύσαντος ἐξέκλινε τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ καὶ διετέλει τῆς παρὰ τῶν οἰκείων θεραπείας τυγχάνων. [189] οὐκ ἐπιβέβλαπτο δ' εἰς τὸ κάλλος ὑπό τε τῆς λύπης καὶ τοῦ μὴ τυγχάνειν τῆς προσηκούσης ἐπιμελείας υἱῷ βασιλέως, ἀλλ' ἔτι γὰρ ἐξεῖχε καὶ διέπρεπε πᾶν τῷ τε εἴδει καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοὺς ἐν πολλῇ τρυφῇ διαιτωμένους ὑπερέβαλλε. τοσοῦτον μέντοι γε ἦν τὸ βάθος τῆς κόμης, ὡς μόλις αὐτὴν ἡμέραις ἀποκείρειν ὀκτὼ σταθμὸν ἕλκουσαν σίκλους διακοσίους: οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶ πέντε μναῖ. [190] διέτριψε μέντοι γε ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἔτη δύο τριῶν μὲν ἀρρένων πατὴρ γενόμενος μιᾶς δὲ θυγατρὸς τὴν μορφὴν ἀρίστης, ἣν ὁ Σολόμωνος υἱὸς Ῥοβόαμος ὕστερον λαμβάνει, καὶ γίνεται παιδίον ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἀβίας ὄνομα. [191] πέμψας δ' αὐτὸς Ἀψάλωμος πρὸς Ἰώαβον ἐδεῖτ' αὐτοῦ τελέως καταπραῦναι τὸν πατέρα καὶ δεηθῆναι, ὅπως αὐτῷ συγχωρήσῃ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντι θεάσασθαί τε καὶ προσειπεῖν. καταμελήσαντος δὲ Ἰωάβου τῶν ἰδίων τινὰς ἀποστείλας τὴν ὁμοροῦσαν αὐτῷ χώραν ἐπυρπόλησεν. ὁ δὲ τὸ πραχθὲν μαθὼν ἦκε πρὸς τὸν Ἀψάλωμον ἐγκαλῶν τε αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν πυνθανόμενος. [192] ὁ δέ "στρατήγημα τοῦτ', εἶπεν, εὗρον ἀγαγεῖν σε πρὸς ἡμᾶς δυνάμενον ἀμελοῦντα τῶν ἐντολῶν, ἃς ἵνα μοι τὸν πατέρα διαλλάξῃς ἐποιούμην. καὶ δὴ δέομαί σου

παρόντος ἡμερῶσαί μοι τὸν γεγεννηκότα: ὡς ἔγωγε δεινοτέραν τῆς φυγῆς κρίνω τὴν κάθοδον ἔτι τοῦ πατρὸς ἐν ὀργῇ [193] μένοντος.” πεισθεὶς δ’ ὁ Ἰώαβος καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην αὐτοῦ κατοικτείρας ἐμεσίτευσε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ διαλεχθεὶς περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς οὕτως αὐτὸν ἡδέως διατίθησιν, ὡς εὐθέως καλέσαι πρὸς αὐτόν. τοῦ δὲ ῥίψαντος αὑτὸν ἐπὶ τοὔδαφος καὶ συγγνώμην αἰτουμένου τῶν ἡμαρτημένων ἀνίστησί τε καὶ τῶν γεγονότων ἀμνηστίαν ἐπαγγέλλεται.

IX

(1) [194] Ὁ δὲ Ἀψάλωμος τοιούτων αὐτῷ τῶν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποβάντων πολλοὺς μὲν ἵππους ἐν ὀλίγῳ πάνυ χρόνῳ πολλὰ δ’ ἅρματα ἐκέκτητο, καὶ ὁπλοφόροι περὶ αὐτὸν ἦσαν πεντήκοντα: [195] καθ’ ἑκάστην δ’ ἡμέραν ὄρθριος πρὸς τὰ βασίλεια παρεγίνετο καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἥκουσι καὶ ἐλαττουμένοις πρὸς ἡδονὴν ὁμιλῶν, ὡς παρὰ τὸ μὴ συμβούλους ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι τῷ πατρὶ τάχ’ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀδίκως ἐπταικότων τῶν περὶ τὴν κρίσιν, εὔνοιαν αὐτῷ παρὰ πάντων κατεσκεύαζε λέγων, ὡς αὐτὸς ἂν εἰ ταύτην εἶχε τὴν ἐξουσίαν πολλὴν αὐτοῖς ἐβράβευσεν εὐνομίαν. [196] τούτοις δημαγωγῶν τὸ πλῆθος ὡς βεβαίαν ἤδη τὴν παρὰ τῶν ὄχλων εὔνοιαν ἐνόμιζε, μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καταλλαγὴν τεσσάρων ἐτῶν ἤδη διεληλυθότων, ἐδεῖτο προσελθὼν εἰς Γιβρῶνα συγχωρῆσαι πορευθέντι θυσίαν ἀποδοῦναι τῷ θεῷ: φεύγοντα γὰρ αὐτὸν εὔξασθαι. τοῦ δὲ Δαυίδου τὴν ἀξίωσιν ἐφέντος πορεύεται, καὶ πολὺς ἐπισυνέρρευσεν ὄχλος ἐπὶ πολλοὺς αὐτοῦ διαπέμψαντος.

(2) [197] Παρῆν δὲ καὶ ὁ Δαυίδου σύμβουλος ὁ Γελμωναῖος Ἀχιτόφελος καὶ διακόσιοί τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν Ἱεροσολύμων οὐκ εἰδότες μὲν τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν, ὡς δ’ ἐπὶ θυσίαν μετεσταλμένοι: καὶ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ πάντων ἀποδείκνυται τοῦτο γενέσθαι στρατηγήσας. [198] ὡς δ’ ἀπηγγέλη ταῦτα Δαυίδῃ καὶ παρ’ ἐλπίδας αὐτῷ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ παιδὸς ἠκούσθη, δείσας ἅμα καὶ τῆς ἀσεβείας καὶ τῆς τόλμης αὐτὸν θαυμάσας, ὅτι μηδὲ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμαρτημένοις συγγνώμης ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἀλλ’ ἐκείνων πολὺ χείροσι καὶ παρανομωτέροις ἐπεβάλετο βασιλείᾳ πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὸ θεοῦ οὐ δεδομένῃ, δεύτερον δὲ ἐπ’ ἀφαιρέσει τοῦ γεγεννηκότος, ἔγνω φεύγειν εἰς τὰ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου. [199] καὶ συγκαλέσας τῶν φίλων τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς ἀπονοίας κοινολογησάμενος αὐτοῖς καὶ περὶ πάντων ἐπιτρέψας κριτῇ τῷ θεῷ, καταλιπὼν τὰ βασίλεια φυλάσσειν δέκα παλλακίσιν ἀπῆρεν ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, τοῦ τε ἄλλου πλήθους αὐτῷ συνεξορμήσαντος καὶ τῶν ἑξακοσίων ὁπλιτῶν, οἳ καὶ τῆς πρώτης φυγῆς ἐκοινώνουν, ὅτ’ ἔζη Σαοῦλος. [200] τὸν δὲ Ἀβιάθαρον καὶ Σάδωκον τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς συναπαίρειν διεγνωκότας καὶ Λευίτας ἅπαντας μετὰ τῆς κιβωτοῦ μένειν ἔπεισεν, ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μὴ μετακομιζομένης αὐτῆς ῥυσομένου. [201] ἐνετείλατο δ’ ἕκαστα τῶν γινομένων λάθρα διαγγέλλειν αὐτῷ: πιστοὺς δ’ ἔσχε πρὸς πάντα διακόνους παῖδας

Ἀχίμανον μὲν Σαδώκου Ἰωνάθην δὲ Ἀβιαθάρου. Ἔθις δ᾽ ὁ Γιτταῖος συνεξώρμησεν αὐτῷ βιασάμενος τὴν Δαυίδου βούλησιν, μένειν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀνέπειθε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον εὔνους αὐτῷ κατεφάνη. [202] ἀναβαίνοντος δ᾽ αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ Ἐλαιῶνος ὄρους γυμνοῖς τοῖς ποσὶ καὶ πάντων σὺν αὐτῷ δακρυόντων, ἀγγέλλεται καὶ ὁ Ἀχιτόφελος συνὼν τῷ Ἀψαλώμῳ καὶ τὰ τούτου φρονῶν. ἐπέτεινε δ᾽ αὐτῷ τὸ λυπηρὸν τοῦτ᾽ ἀκουσθέν, καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐπεκαλεῖτο δεόμενος ἀπαλλοτριῶσαι τὴν Ἀψαλώμου διάνοιαν πρὸς τὸν Ἀχιτόφελον. ἐδεδίει γάρ, μὴ τἀναντία συμβουλεύων πείσειεν αὐτὸν ἀνὴρ ὢν φρενήρης καὶ συνιδεῖν τὸ λυσιτελὲς ὀξύτατος. [203] γενόμενος δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ ὄρους ἀπεσκόπει τὴν πόλιν καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν δακρύων ὡς ἂν βασιλείας ἐκπεσὼν ηὔχετο τῷ θεῷ: συνήντησε δ᾽ αὐτῷ φίλος ἀνὴρ καὶ βέβαιος Χουσὶς ὄνομα. [204] τοῦτον ὁρῶν τὴν ἐσθῆτα κατερρηγμένον καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν σποδοῦ πλήρη καὶ θρηνοῦντα τὴν μεταβολὴν παρηγορεῖ καὶ παύσασθαι τῆς λύπης παρακαλεῖ καὶ τέλος ἱκέτευσεν ἀπελθόντα πρὸς Ἀψάλωμον ὡς τὰ ἐκείνου φρονοῦντα τά τε ἀπόρρητα τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῦ κατανοεῖν καὶ ταῖς Ἀχιτοφέλου συμβουλίαις ἀντιπράσσειν: οὐ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ὠφελήσειν αὐτῷ συνερχόμενον, ὅσον παρ᾽ ἐκείνῳ γενόμενον. καὶ ὁ μὲν πεισθεὶς τῷ Δαυίδῃ, καταλιπὼν αὐτὸν ἦκεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα: ἀφικνεῖται δ᾽ εἰς αὐτὰ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ καὶ Ἀψάλωμος.

(3) [205] Ὀλίγον δὲ τῷ Δαυίδῃ προελθόντι Σιβᾶς ὁ τοῦ Μεμφιβόσθου δοῦλος συνήντησεν, ὃν προνοησόμενον ἀπεστάλκει τῶν κτήσεων ἃς δεδώρητο τῷ Ἰωνάθου τοῦ Σαούλου παιδὸς υἱῷ, μετὰ ζεύγους ὄνων καταπεφορτισμένων τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις, ἐξ ὧν ἐκέλευσε λαμβάνειν ὧν αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ δέοιντο. [206] πυνθανομένου δέ, ποῦ καταλέλοιπε τὸν Μεμφίβοσθον, ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἔλεγε προσδοκῶντα χειροτονηθήσεσθαι βασιλέα διὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ταραχὴν εἰς μνήμην ὧν εὐηργέτησεν αὐτοὺς Σαοῦλος. ἀγανακτήσας δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πάνθ᾽ ὅσα τῷ Μεμφιβόσθῳ παρεχώρησε Σιβᾷ χαρίζεται πολὺ γὰρ δικαιότερον αὐτὸν ἐκείνου ταῦτ᾽ ἔχειν ἐπέγνωκε: καὶ ὁ μὲν Σιβᾶς περιχαρὴς ἦν.

(4) [207] Δαυίδῃ δὲ γενομένῳ κατὰ Χώρανον τόπον οὕτως καλούμενον ἐπέρχεται τοῦ Σαούλου συγγενὴς Σαμούις μὲν ὄνομα υἱὸς δὲ Γηρᾶ, καὶ λίθοις τε ἔβαλλεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκακηγόρει. περιστάντων δὲ τῶν φίλων καὶ σκεπόντων ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ Σαμούις βλασφημῶν διετέλει, μιαιφόνον καὶ πολλῶν ἀρχηγὸν κακῶν ἀποκαλῶν. [208] ἐκέλευε δὲ καὶ τῆς γῆς ὡς ἐναγῆ καὶ ἐπάρατον ἐξιέναι, καὶ τῷ θεῷ χάριν ὡμολόγει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτὸν ἀφελομένῳ καὶ διὰ παιδὸς ἰδίου τὴν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἥμαρτεν εἰς τὸν αὐτοῦ δεσπότην δίκην αὐτὸν εἰσπραξαμένῳ. πάντων δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἠρεθισμένων ὑπ᾽ ὀργῆς καὶ μάλιστα Ἀβεσσαίου διαχρήσασθαι βουλομένου τὸν Σαμούιν Δαυίδης αὐτὸν τῆς ὀργῆς ἐπέσχε, [209] “μὴ τοῖς παροῦσι κακοῖς ἑτέραν προσεξεργασώμεθα, φησί, καινοτέραν ἀφορμήν: οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ προσλυσσῶντός μοι τούτου κυνὸς αἰδώς τις ἢ φροντὶς ὑπέρχεται, τῷ θεῷ δὲ εἴκω, δι᾽ ὃν οὗτος ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἀπενοήθη. θαυμαστὸν δ᾽ οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τούτου με ταῦτα

πάσχειν, ὅπου γε καὶ παιδὸς ἀσεβοῦς πεπείραμαι. ἀλλ᾽ ἔσται τις οἶκτος ἡμῖν ἐκ θεοῦ καὶ κρατήσομεν τῶν ἐχθρῶν τούτου [210] θελήσαντος.” ἤνυεν οὖν τὴν ὁδὸν οὐ φροντίζων τοῦ Σαμούι παρὰ τὸ ἕτερον μέρος τοῦ ὄρους διατρέχοντος καὶ πολλὰ κακηγοροῦντος: παραγενόμενος δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόρδανον ἀνελάμβανε τοὺς ἰδίους ἐνταῦθα κεκοπωμένους.

(5) [211] Ἀψαλώμου δὲ καὶ Ἀχιτοφέλου τοῦ συμβούλου παραγενομένων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα σὺν ἅπαντι τῷ λαῷ, καὶ ὁ Δαυίδου φίλος ἦκε πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ προσκυνήσας αὐτὸν συνηύχετο τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς αἰῶνα καὶ τὸν πάντα παραμεῖναι χρόνον. φήσαντος δ᾽ ἐκείνου πρὸς αὐτόν, τί δήποτε φίλος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ γεγενημένος καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντα πιστὸς εἶναι δόξας οὐ σὺν αὐτῷ νῦν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καταλιπὼν ἐκεῖνον μεταβαίη πρὸς αὐτόν, δεξιῶς ἀποκρίνεται καὶ σωφρόνως: [212] εἶπε γὰρ ἔπεσθαι δεῖν αὐτὸν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ παντὶ πλήθει. τούτων οὖν μετὰ σοῦ, ὦ δέσποτα, γεγενημένων εἰκότως ἕπομαι κἀγώ: τὴν γὰρ βασιλείαν ἔλαβες παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ. τὴν αὐτὴν μέντοι γε πίστιν καὶ εὔνοιαν ἐνδείξομαι πιστευόμενος εἶναι φίλος, ἣν οἶσθά με τῷ πατρί σου παρεσχημένον. ἀγανακτεῖν δ᾽ οὐδὲν προσῆκε τοῖς παροῦσιν: οὐ γὰρ εἰς ἄλλην οἰκίαν ἡ βασιλεία μεταβέβηκε, [213] μεμένηκε δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς υἱοῦ παραλαβόντος.” ταῦτα λέγων ἔπειθεν: ὕποπτον γὰρ αὐτὸν εἶχε. καὶ καλέσας τὸν Ἀχιτόφελον συνεβουλεύετο αὐτῷ τί δεῖ ποιεῖν: ὁ δὲ παρῄνεσε ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτὸν παλλακαῖς συνελθεῖν: ἐκ τούτου γὰρ εἴσεσθαι τὸν λαὸν ἔλεγε πιστεύσαντα, ὡς ἀδιάλλακτά σοι τὰ πρὸς αὐτόν ἐστι, καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς συστρατεύσεσθαι προθυμίας ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα: μέχρι δεῦρο γὰρ φανερὰν ἔχθραν ἀναλαμβάνειν δεδιέναι προσδοκῶντας ὑμᾶς ὁμονοήσειν. [214] πεισθεὶς δὲ τῇ συμβουλίᾳ κελεύει σκηνὴν αὐτῷ πῆξαι τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλείου τοῦ πλήθους ὁρῶντος, καὶ παρελθὼν συνέρχεται ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς παλλακαῖς. ταῦτα δ᾽ ἐγένετο κατὰ τὴν Νάθα προφητείαν, ἣν τῷ Δαυίδῃ σημαίνων τὴν ἐκ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐσομένην ἐπίθεσιν προεφήτευσε.

(6) [215] Ποιήσας δ᾽ Ἀψάλωμος τὰ παραινεθέντα αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀχιτοφέλου δεύτερον αὐτὸν ἠξίου συμβουλεύειν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. μυρίους δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐπιλέκτους αἰτήσαντος ἐκείνου καὶ τόν τε πατέρα κτενεῖν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ζωοὺς ἀνάξειν ὑποσχομένου καὶ βεβαίαν τότε τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσεσθαι φήσαντος Δαυίδου μηκέτι ζῶντος, [216] ἀρεσθεὶς τῇ γνώμῃ μετακαλεῖται καὶ τὸν Χουσὶν τὸν Δαυίδου ἀρχίφιλον: οὕτως γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνος ἐκάλει: καὶ τὴν Ἀχιτοφέλου γνώμην αὐτῷ δηλώσας, τί καὶ αὐτῷ δοκεῖ περὶ αὐτῆς ἐπυνθάνετο. συνιδὼν δ᾽, ὅτι γενομένων ὧν Ἀχιτόφελος συνεβούλευσε κινδυνεύσει Δαυίδης συλληφθεὶς ἀποθανεῖν, γνώμην εἰσφέρειν ἐναντίαν ἐπειρᾶτο: [217] “οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοεῖς εἶπεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τὴν τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ ἀνδρείαν, ὅτι καὶ πολλοὺς πολέμους πεπολέμηκε καὶ πάντοτε κρατῶν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπήλλακται. νῦν δὲ εἰκὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου μένειν:

στρατηγῆσαι γὰρ ἱκανώτατος καὶ προιδεῖν ἀπάτην ἐπερχομένων πολεμίων: [218] ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν ἑσπέραν ἀπολιπὼν τοὺς ἰδίους ἢ εἴς τινα τῶν αὐλώνων ἑαυτὸν ἀποκρύψει ἢ πρὸς πέτρᾳ τινὶ λοχήσει: συμβαλόντων δὲ τῶν ἡμετέρων οἱ μὲν ἐκείνου πρὸς μικρὸν ὑποχωρήσουσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ θαρσήσαντες ὡς τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτοῖς ἐγγὺς ὄντος ἀντιστήσονται, καὶ μεταξὺ τούτων μαχομένων ὁ πατὴρ ἐπιφανεὶς ἐξαίφνης τοῖς μὲν εὐψυχίαν πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους παρασκευάσει τοὺς δὲ σοὺς καταπλήξεται. [219] παράθου δὴ τοίνυν καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν συμβουλίαν τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐπιγνοὺς ἄριστα τὴν μὲν Ἀχιτοφέλου γνώμην παραίτησαι, πέμψας δ᾽ εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν τῶν Ἑβραίων παράγγειλον αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα σου στρατείαν, καὶ παραλαβὼν αὐτὸς τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ πολέμου γίνου στρατηγὸς καὶ μὴ πιστεύσῃς τοῦτον ἑτέρῳ. [220] νικήσειν γὰρ προσδόκα ῥᾳδίως αὐτόν, ἂν ἐν φανερῷ καταλάβῃς ὄντα μετ᾽ ὀλίγων αὐτὸς πολλὰς ἔχων μυριάδας βουλομένων τὴν περὶ σὲ σπουδὴν ἐπιδείξασθαι καὶ προθυμίαν. ἂν δ᾽ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτὸν εἰς πολιορκίαν περικλείσῃ, μηχανήμασι καὶ [221] ὀρύγμασιν ὑπονόμοις καθαιρήσομεν ἐκείνην τὴν πόλιν.” ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν εὐδοκίμησε μᾶλλον Ἀχιτοφέλου: τῆς γὰρ ἐκείνου γνώμης ἡ τούτου προεκρίθη παρ᾽ Ἀψαλώμου. θεὸς μέντοι γε ἦν ὁ τούτου τῇ διανοίᾳ τὴν τοῦ Χουσὶ συμβουλίαν συστήσας ἀμείνω εἶναι δοκεῖν.

(7) [222] Σπεύσας δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχιερέας Σάδωκον καὶ Ἀβιάθαρον καὶ τήν τε Ἀχιτοφέλου γνώμην ἐξειπὼν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὅτι δέδοκται τὰ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ παραινεθέντα πράττειν, ἐκέλευσε μηνύειν πέμψαντας Δαυίδῃ καὶ φανερὰ ποιεῖν τὰ συμβεβουλευμένα καὶ προσπαρακελεύσασθαι ταχέως διαβῆναι τὸν Ἰόρδανον, μὴ μεταγνοὺς ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ διώκειν ὁρμήσῃ καὶ πρὶν ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ γένηται φθάσας καταλάβῃ. [223] οἱ δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς ἐξεπίτηδες τοὺς υἱοὺς ἔξω τῆς πόλεως κεκρυμμένους εἶχον, ὅπως διακομίσωσι πρὸς τὸν Δαυίδην τὰ πραττόμενα: πέμψαντες οὖν πιστὴν θεραπαινίδα πρὸς αὐτοὺς φέρουσαν τὰ βεβουλευμένα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀψαλώμου προσέταξαν μετὰ σπουδῆς ταῦτα Δαυίδῃ σημαίνειν. [224] οἱ δ᾽ οὐδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς καὶ μέλλησιν ὑπερέθεντο, λαβόντες δὲ τὰς τῶν πατέρων ἐντολὰς εὐσεβεῖς ἅμα καὶ πιστοὶ γίνονται διάκονοι: καὶ τῆς ὑπηρεσίας τὸ τάχος καὶ τὴν ὀξύτητα κρίναντες ἄριστα εἶναι ἠπείγοντο συμβαλεῖν Δαυίδῃ. [225] γενομένους δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ σταδίων τῆς πόλεως δύο θεῶνταί τινες ἱππεῖς καὶ διαβάλλουσι πρὸς τὸν Ἀψάλωμον: ὁ δ᾽ εὐθὺς ἔπεμψε τοὺς συλληψομένους. νοήσαντες δὲ τοῦτο οἱ τῶν ἀρχιερέων παῖδες ἐκτραπέντες τῆς ὁδοῦ παραχρῆμα εἰς κώμην τινὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων οὐκ ἄπωθεν αὐτοὺς ἔδωκαν, Βοκχόρης ἦν ὄνομα τῇ πόλει, καὶ γυναικὸς ἐδεήθησάν τινος κρύψαι καὶ παρασχεῖν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν. [226] ἡ δὲ καθιμήσασα τοὺς νεανίσκους εἰς φρέαρ καὶ πλάκας ἄνωθεν ἐρίων ἐρίων ἐπιβαλοῦσα, ὡς ἦκον οἱ διώκοντες αὐτοὺς καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀνέκριναν εἰ θεάσαιτο, ἰδεῖν οὐκ ἠρνήσατο, πιόντας γὰρ παρ᾽ αὐτῇ πάλιν ἀπελθεῖν, εἰ μέντοι γε συντόνως διώξουσι καταλήψεσθαι προύλεγεν. ὡς δ᾽ ἐπὶ πολὺ διώξαντες οὐ κατέλαβον, ἀνέστρεψαν εἰς τοὐπίσω.

[227] θεασαμένη δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀναζεύξαντας ἡ γυνὴ καὶ μηδένα φόβον τοῖς νεανίσκοις ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἔτι συλλήψεως εἶναι, ἀνιμήσασα τὴν προκειμένην ὁδὸν ἀνύειν παρεκελεύσατο: καὶ πολλῇ σπουδῇ καὶ τάχει χρησάμενοι περὶ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ἦκον πρὸς Δαυίδην καὶ πάντ᾽ ἀκριβῶς ἐδήλωσαν τὰ παρ᾽ Ἀψαλώμου βεβουλευμένα. ὁ δὲ διαβῆναι τὸν Ἰόρδανον τοὺς μεθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ προσέταξεν ἤδη νυκτὸς οὔσης καὶ μηδὲν ὀκνεῖν δι᾽ αὐτήν.

(8) [228] Ἀχιτόφελος δὲ τῆς γνώμης αὐτοῦ παρευδοκιμηθείσης ἐπιβὰς τοῦ κτήνους ἐξώρμησεν εἰς Γελμὼν τὴν πατρίδα: καὶ συγκαλέσας τοὺς οἰκείους ἅπαντας ἃ συνεβούλευσεν Ἀψαλώμῳ ταῦτ᾽ αὐτοῖς διεξῆλθε, καὶ ὡς οὐ πεισθεὶς φανερός ἐστιν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀπολούμενος: Δαυίδην δὲ κρατήσειν ἔλεγεν [καὶ] ἐπανήξειν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν. [229] ἄμεινον οὖν ἔφησεν εἶναι τοῦ ζῆν αὐτὸν ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐλευθέρως καὶ μεγαλοφρόνως ἢ παρασχεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς κόλασιν Δαυίδῃ, καθ᾽ οὗ πάντα συνέπραττεν Ἀψαλώμῳ. ταῦτα διαλεχθεὶς καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὸ μυχαίτατον τῆς οἰκίας ἀνήρτησεν ἑαυτόν. καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἀχιτόφελον τοιούτου θανάτου δικαστὴν αὐτῷ γενόμενον καθελόντες ἐκ τῆς ἀγχόνης ἐκήδευσαν οἱ προσήκοντες. [230] ὁ δὲ Δαυίδης διαβὰς τὸν Ἰόρδανον, καθὼς προειρήκαμεν, εἰς Παρεμβολὰς καλλίστην καὶ ὀχυρωτάτην πόλιν παραγίνεται: δέχονται δὲ αὐτὸν ἀσμενέστατα πάντες οἱ πρῶτοι τῆς χώρας κατά τε αἰδῶ τῆς τότε φυγῆς καὶ κατὰ τιμὴν τῆς προτέρας εὐπραγίας. ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι Βερζελαῖος ὁ Γαλαδίτης καὶ Σειφὰρ ὁ τῆς Ἀμμανίτιδος δυνάστης καὶ Μάχειρος ὁ τῆς Γαλαδίτιδος χώρας πρῶτος. [231] οὗτοι πᾶσαν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐκτένειαν παρέσχον, ὡς μήτε κλίνας ἐπιλιπεῖν ἐστρωμένας μήτε ἄρτους καὶ οἶνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θυμάτων ἀφθονίαν χορηγῆσαι καὶ τῶν εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν ἤδη κεκοπωμένοις καὶ τροφὴν χρησίμων εὐπορίαν διαρκῆ παρασχεῖν.

X

(1) [232] Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἦσαν: Ἀψάλωμος δ᾽ ἀθροίσας μεγάλην στρατιὰν τῶν Ἑβραίων ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Ἰόρδανον ποταμὸν οὐ πόρρω κατέζευξε τῶν Παρεμβολῶν ἐν τῇ Γαλαδιτῶν χώρᾳ, καταστήσας στρατηγὸν πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως Ἀμασᾶν εἰς τὴν Ἰωάβου τάξιν τοῦ συγγενοῦς αὐτοῦ: πατρὸς μὲν γὰρ ἦν Ἰεθράου μητρὸς δὲ Ἀβιγαίας, αὕτη δὲ καὶ Σουρία ἡ Ἰωάβου μήτηρ ἀδελφαὶ ἦσαν Δαυίδου. [233] ὡς δ᾽ ἐξαριθμήσας τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ Δαυίδης περὶ τετρακισχιλίους εὗρεν ὄντας, οὐκ ἔγνω μένειν, πότ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἀψάλωμος ἔλθῃ, προσθεὶς δὲ τοῖς οὖσι χιλιάρχους καὶ ἑκατοντάρχους καὶ διελὼν εἰς τρία μέρη τὸ μὲν τῷ στρατηγῷ παρέδωκεν Ἰωάβῳ, τὸ δὲ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ Ἀβεσσαίῳ, τὴν δὲ τρίτην μοῖραν ἐνεχείρισεν Ἐσθαίῳ συνήθει μὲν ὄντι καὶ φίλῳ ἐκ δὲ τῆς Γιττῶν πόλεως ὑπάρχοντι. [234] βουλόμενον δὲ συνεκστρατεύειν αὐτὸν οὐκ εἴασαν οἱ φίλοι γνώμῃ κατασχόντες σοφωτάτῃ: νικηθέντες μὲν γὰρ σὺν

αὐτῷ πᾶσαν ἀποβαλεῖν ἐλπίδα χρηστὴν ἔφασκον, ἂν δὲ ἡττηθέντες ἐνὶ μέρει τῆς δυνάμεως τῷ λοιπῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν φύγωσιν ἀμείνονα παρασκευάσειν αὐτὸν ἰσχύν: ὑπονοήσειν δὲ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους εἰκός ἐστιν ἄλλο μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ στράτευμα εἶναι. [235] πεισθεὶς δὲ τῇ συμβουλίᾳ ταύτῃ μένειν μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς Παρεμβολαῖς ἔκρινεν, ἐκπέμπων δὲ τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον παρεκάλει προθυμίαν ἐναποδείξασθαι καὶ πίστιν καὶ μνήμην, εἴ τινος τῶν μετρίως ἐχόντων παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἔτυχον: φείσασθαι δὲ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀψαλώμου κρατήσαντας ἠντιβόλει, μὴ κακὸν αὐτὸν ἐργάσηταί τι τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ. καὶ ὁ μὲν νίκην αὐτοῖς ἐπευξάμενος ἐκπέμπει τὴν στρατιάν.

(2) [236] Ἰωάβου δὲ παρατάξαντος τὴν δύναμιν ἀντικρὺ τῶν πολεμίων ἐν πεδίῳ μεγάλῳ ἐξόπισθεν περιβεβλημένῳ δρυμὸν ἀντεξάγει τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ Ἀψάλωμος. καὶ συμβολῆς γενομένης ἔργα μεγάλα χειρῶν τε καὶ τόλμης παρ᾽ ἀμφοτέρων ἐπεδείκνυτο, τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολαβεῖν Δαυίδην παρακινδυνευόντων καὶ πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ χρωμένων, τῶν δ᾽ ἵνα μὴ ταύτην Ἀψάλωμος ἀφαιρεθῇ καὶ δῷ τῷ πατρὶ δίκας κολασθεὶς ἀνθ᾽ ὧν ἐτόλμησεν οὐδὲν ὀκνούντων οὔτε ποιεῖν οὔτε πάσχειν, [237] ἔτι δὲ τῶν μὲν πλειόνων ἵνα μὴ κρατηθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν σὺν Ἰωάβῳ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ στρατηγοῖς ὄντων ὀλίγων, αἰσχύνην γὰρ αὐτοῖς τοῦτο εἶναι μεγίστην, τῶν δὲ Δαυίδου στρατιωτῶν ἵνα τοσούτων μυριάδων κρατήσωσι φιλοτιμουμένων, ἔρις ἐγένετο καρτερά, καὶ νικῶσιν οἱ Δαυίδου ῥώμῃ τε προύχοντες καὶ τῇ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐπιστήμῃ. [238] φεύγοντας δὲ διὰ δρυμῶν καὶ φαράγγων ἑπόμενοι τοὺς μὲν ἐλάμβανον πολλοὺς δὲ ἀνῄρουν, ὡς φεύγοντας πεσεῖν πλείονας ἢ μαχομένους: ἔπεσον γὰρ ὡς δισμύριοι ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας. οἱ δὲ τοῦ Δαυίδου πάντες ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀψάλωμον: φανερὸς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὑπό τε τοῦ κάλλους καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους ἐγένετο. [239] δείσας δέ, μὴ καταλάβωσιν αὐτὸν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἐπιβὰς τῆς ἡμιόνου τῆς βασιλικῆς ἔφευγε: φερόμενος δὲ μετὰ ῥύμης καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ σάλου καὶ τῆς κινήσεως κοῦφος ὤν, ἐμπλακείσης αὐτῷ τῆς κόμης τραχεῖ δένδρῳ μεγάλοις ἐπὶ πολὺ κλάδοις ἐκτεταμένῳ παραδόξως ἀνακρεμνᾶται. καὶ τὸ μὲν κτῆνος ὑπ᾽ ὀξύτητος ὡς ἐπικείμενον τὸν δεσπότην ἔτι φέρον ἐχώρει προσωτέρω, ὁ δ᾽ ἐκ τῶν κλάδων αἰωρούμενος ἐκρατεῖτο τοῖς πολεμίοις. [240] τοῦτό τις ἰδὼν τῶν Δαυίδου στρατιωτῶν ἐδήλωσεν Ἰωάβῳ, καὶ πεντήκοντα σίκλους ἂν αὐτῷ δεδωκέναι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ φήσαντος, εἰ βαλὼν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Ἀψάλωμον, "οὐδ᾽ εἰ χιλίους, εἶπεν, ἔμελλές μοι παρέξειν, τοῦτ᾽ ἂν διέθηκά μου τὸν τοῦ δεσπότου παῖδα, καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐκείνου πάντων ἡμῶν ἀκουόντων φείσασθαι τοῦ νεα [241] νίσκου δεηθέντος." ὁ δὲ κελεύσας αὐτῷ δεῖξαι ποῦ κρεμάμενον ἴδοι τὸν Ἀψάλωμον τοξεύσας κατὰ τῆς καρδίας ἀπέκτεινεν: οἱ δὲ τὰ τοῦ Ἰωάβου κομίζοντες ὅπλα περιστάντες ἐν κύκλῳ τὸ δένδρον κατασπῶσι τὸν νεκρόν: [242] καὶ τὸν μὲν εἰς χάσμα βαθὺ καὶ ἀχανὲς ῥίψαντες ἐπιβάλλουσιν αὐτῷ λίθους, ὥστε ἀναπληρωθῆναι καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τάφου καὶ μέγεθος λαβεῖν, σημήνας δὲ

ἀνακλητικὸν ὁ Ἰώαβος ἐπέσχε τοῦ διώκειν τοὺς οἰκείους στρατιώτας τὴν τῶν πολεμίων δύναμιν φειδόμενος τῶν ὁμοφύλων.

(3) [243] Ἔστησε δ' Ἀψάλωμος ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι τῇ βασιλικῇ στήλην λίθου μαρμαρίνου δύο σταδίους ἀπέχουσαν Ἱεροσολύμων, ἣν προσηγόρευσεν ἰδίαν χεῖρα λέγων, ὡς καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ διαφθαρέντων ἐν τῇ στήλῃ μενεῖ τὸ ὄνομα: τέκνα γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ τρία μὲν ἄρρενα, θυγάτηρ δὲ μία Θωμάρα τοὔνομα, ὡς προειρήκαμεν. [244] συνοικησάσης δ' αὐτῆς τῷ Σολόμωνος υἱῷ Ῥοβοάμῳ γίνεται παῖς ὁ διαδεξάμενος τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀβίας. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν ὑστέροις οἰκειότερον τῇ ἱστορίᾳ δηλώσομεν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀψαλώμου τελευτὴν ὁ μὲν λαὸς εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα διεσπάρη.

(4) [245] Ἀχιμᾶς δὲ ὁ Σαδώκου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως υἱὸς Ἰωάβῳ προσελθὼν ἐδεῖτο αὐτοῦ τὴν νίκην ἐπιτρέψαι πορευθέντι Δαυίδῃ μηνῦσαι, καὶ ὅτι τῆς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθείας ἔτυχε καὶ προνοίας εὐαγγελίσασθαι. [246] καὶ τὸν μέν, οὐ προσήκειν εἰπὼν αὐτῷ καλῶν ἄγγελον ἀεὶ γεγενημένον νῦν ἀπιέναι δηλώσοντα θάνατον τῷ βασιλεῖ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ, μένειν ἠξίου, καλέσας δὲ τὸν Χουσὶν ἐκείνῳ προσέταξε τὸ ἔργον, ἵν' ὅπερ αὐτὸς εἶδε τοῦτο μηνύσειε τῷ βασιλεῖ. [247] τοῦ δ' Ἀχιμᾶ πάλιν δεηθέντος αὐτῷ τὴν ἀγγελίαν ἐφεῖναι, περὶ μόνης γὰρ αὐτὴν ποιήσεσθαι τῆς νίκης ἡσυχάσειν δὲ περὶ τῆς Ἀψαλώμου τελευτῆς, ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Δαυίδην ἄφιξιν. καὶ τὴν ἐπιτομωτέραν ἐκβαλὼν τῶν ὁδῶν, καὶ γὰρ μόνος αὐτὴν ἐγίνωσκε, τὸν Χουσὶν φθάνει. [248] καθεζομένῳ δὲ Δαυίδῃ μεταξὺ τῶν πυλῶν καὶ περιμένοντι, πότ' αὐτῷ τις ἐλθὼν ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἀγγείλῃ τὰ κατ' αὐτήν, τῶν σκοπῶν τις ἰδὼν τὸν Ἀχιμᾶν τρέχοντα καὶ μήπω τίς ἐστι γνωρίσαι δυνάμενος εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Δαυίδην βλέπειν τινὰ παραγινόμενον πρὸς αὐτόν. [249] τοῦ δ' ἄγγελον εἶναι φήσαντος ἀγαθῶν, μετ' ὀλίγον ἔπεσθαί τινα καὶ ἕτερον ἐδήλωσεν αὐτῷ. κἀκεῖνον δὲ ἄγγελον εἰπόντος, ἰδὼν τὸν Ἀχιμᾶν ὁ σκοπὸς ἤδη ἐγγὺς γεγενημένον τὸν Σαδώκου παῖδα τοῦ ἀρχιερέως προστρέχειν ἐσήμαινεν. ὁ δὲ Δαυίδης περιχαρὴς γενόμενος ἀγαθῶν ἄγγελον τοῦτον ἔφησεν εἶναι καί τι τῶν εὐκταίων αὐτῷ φέρειν ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης.

(5) [250] Καὶ μεταξὺ ταῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ βασιλέως φανεὶς ὁ Ἀχιμᾶς προσκυνεῖ τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ πυθομένῳ περὶ τῆς μάχης νίκην εὐαγγελίζεται καὶ κράτος. ἐρομένῳ δ' εἴ τι καὶ περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἔχοι λέγειν αὐτὸς μὲν ἔφασκεν εὐθὺς ὁρμῆσαι πρὸς αὐτὸν τῆς τροπῆς τῶν πολεμίων γενομένης, ἀκοῦσαι δὲ μεγάλης φωνῆς διωκόντων τὸν Ἀψάλωμον καὶ πλεῖον τούτου μηδὲν δεδυνῆσθαι μαθεῖν διὰ τὸ πεμφθέντα ὑπὸ Ἰωάβου δηλῶσαι τὴν νίκην ἐπείγεσθαι. [251] παραγενομένου δὲ τοῦ Χουσὶ καὶ προσκυνήσαντος καὶ τὴν νίκην σημήναντος, περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτὸν ἀνέκρινεν. ὁ δ' "ἐχθροῖς, εἶπε, [252] τοῖς σοῖς οἷα συμβέβηκεν Ἀψαλώμῳ γένοιτο." οὗτος ὁ λόγος οὐδὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ χαρὰν εἴασεν οὔτ' αὐτῷ μεῖναι μείζιστην οὖσαν οὔτε τοῖς στρατιώταις: αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ ὑψηλότατον τῆς πόλεως ἀπεκλαίετο τὸν υἱὸν τυπτόμενος τὰ

στέρνα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν σπαραττόμενος καὶ παντοίως αὐτὸν αἰκιζόμενος καὶ "τέκνον, ἐκβοῶν, εἴθε μοι τὸν θάνατον ἐπελθεῖν ἐγένετο καὶ ἅμα σοι τελευτῆσαι": φύσει γὰρ ὢν φιλόστοργος πρὸς ἐκεῖνον μᾶλλον συμπαθῶς εἶχεν. [253] ἡ στρατιὰ δὲ καὶ Ἰώαβος ἀκούσαντες, ὅτι πενθεῖ τὸν υἱὸν οὕτως ὁ βασιλεύς, ἠσχύνθησαν μετὰ τοῦ τῶν νενικηκότων σχήματος εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, κατηφεῖς δὲ καὶ δεδακρυμένοι πάντες ὡς ἀφ' ἥττης παρῆλθον. [254] κατακαλυψαμένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ στένοντος τὸν υἱὸν εἴσεισι πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἰώαβος καὶ παρηγορῶν "ὦ δέσποτα, φησί, λανθάνεις διαβάλλων σαυτὸν οἷς ποιεῖς, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ἀγαπῶντάς σε καὶ περὶ σοῦ κινδυνεύοντας καὶ σαυτὸν καὶ τὴν σὴν γενεὰν δοκεῖς μισεῖν, στέργειν δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροτάτους καὶ ποθεῖν οὐκέτ' ὄντας, οἳ δίκῃ τεθνήκασιν: [255] εἰ γὰρ Ἀψάλωμος ἐκράτησε καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν βεβαίως κατέσχεν, οὐδενὸς ἂν ἡμῶν ὑπελείφθη λείψανον, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἂν ἀπὸ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν ἀρξάμενοι τέκνων ἀπωλώλειμεν οἰκτρῶς, οὐ κλαιόντων ἡμᾶς τῶν πολεμίων ἀλλὰ καὶ χαιρόντων καὶ τοὺς ἐλεοῦντας ἐπὶ τοῖς κακοῖς κολαζόντων. σὺ δ' οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ ταῦτα ποιῶν ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἐχθρῷ, ὅτι σὸς υἱὸς ὢν ἀσεβὴς οὕτως ἐγένετο. [256] παυσάμενος οὖν τῆς ἀδίκου λύπης προελθὼν ὄφθητι τοῖς σαυτοῦ στρατιώταις καὶ τῆς νίκης αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας προθυμίας εὐχαρίστησον. ὡς ἐγὼ τήμερον, ἂν ἐπιμένῃς τοῖς ἄρτι πραττομένοις, ἀναπείσας ἀποστῆναί σου τὸν λαὸν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἑτέρῳ παραδοῦναι, τότε σοι πικρότερον [257] καὶ ἀληθὲς ποιήσω τὸ πένθος." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν Ἰώαβος ἀπέστρεψεν ἀπὸ τῆς λύπης καὶ ἤγαγεν εἰς τὸν περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων λογισμὸν τὸν βασιλέα: μετασχηματίσας γὰρ ἑαυτὸν Δαυίδης καὶ ποιήσας ἐπιτήδειον εἰς τὴν τοῦ πλήθους θέαν πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις ἐκάθισεν, ὡς ἅπαντα τὸν λαὸν ἀκούσαντα συνδραμεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ κατασπάσασθαι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τοῦτον ἔσχε τὸν τρόπον.

XI

(1) [258] Οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀναχωρήσαντες τῶν Ἑβραίων τῶν μετ' Ἀψαλώμου γενόμενοι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἕκαστοι διεπέμποντο κατὰ πόλεις ὑπομιμνήσκοντες αὐτοὺς ὧν εὐηργέτησε Δαυίδης καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ἣν ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ῥυσάμενος αὐτοὺς πολέμων παρέσχε, [259] μεμφόμενοι δ' ὅτι τῆς βασιλείας αὐτὸν ἐκβαλόντες ἄλλῳ ταύτην ἐνεχείρισαν καὶ νῦν τεθνηκότος τοῦ κατασταθέντος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνος οὐ παρακαλοῦσι Δαυίδην παύσασθαι μὲν τῆς ὀργῆς, εὐνοικῶς δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχειν, τῶν δὲ πραγμάτων καθὼς ἤδη καὶ πρότερον ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολαβόντα. [260] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν συνεχέστερον ἀπηγγέλλετο Δαυίδῃ: κἀκεῖνος οὐδὲν ἧττον ἔπεμψε πρὸς Σάδωκον καὶ Ἀβιάθαρον τοὺς ἀρχιερέας, ἵνα τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς διαλεχθῶσιν, ὡς αἰσχρὸν αὐτοῖς ἄλλας φυλὰς πρὸ ἐκείνης Δαυίδην χειροτονῆσαι βασιλέα, καὶ

ταῦθ᾽ ὑμῶν συγγενῶν ὄντων καὶ κοινὸν αἷμα πρὸς αὐτὸν κεκληρωμένων. [261] τὰ δ᾽ αὐτὰ καὶ Ἀμασᾷ τῷ στρατηγῷ προσέταξεν αὐτοὺς λέγειν, ὅτι τῆς ἀδελφῆς υἱὸς ὢν αὐτοῦ μὴ πείθει τὸ πλῆθος Δαυίδῃ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποδοῦναι: προσδοκᾶν δὲ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ μὴ διαλλαγὴν μόνον, τοῦτο γὰρ ἤδη γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ στρατηγίαν, ἣν αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀψάλωμος παρέσχε. [262] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀρχιερεῖς ἃ μὲν τοῖς τῆς φυλῆς ἄρχουσι διειλέχθησαν ἃ δὲ τὸν Ἀμασὰν ἔπεισαν τὰ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντες ἐγχειρεῖν ταῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φροντίσι. καὶ πείθει γε τὴν φυλὴν παραχρῆμα πέμψαι πρὸς Δαυίδην πρέσβεις παρακαλοῦντας εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτὸν ἐπανελθεῖν βασιλείαν. τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ καὶ πάντες ἐποίουν οἱ Ἰσραηλῖται προτρεψαμένου τοῦ Ἀμασᾶ.

(2) [263] Τῶν δὲ πρέσβεων ἀφικομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παρεγένετο. πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔφθασεν ἡ Ἰούδα φυλὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἰόρδανον ποταμὸν ἀπαντῆσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ὁ Γήρα παῖς Σαμούις μετὰ χιλίων ἀνδρῶν, οὓς ἐκ τῆς Βενιαμίδος φυλῆς ἐπήγετο, καὶ Σιβᾶς δὲ ὁ ἀπελεύθερος Σαούλου καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες μετὰ οἰκετῶν εἴκοσιν. [264] οὗτοι σὺν τῇ Ἰούδα φυλῇ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐγεφύρωσαν, ἵνα ῥᾷστα διαβῇ μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων ὁ βασιλεύς. ὡς δὲ ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόρδανον ἠσπάσατο μὲν αὐτὸν ἡ Ἰούδα φυλή, προσπεσὼν δ᾽ ἀναβάντι ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν Σαμούις καὶ κατασχὼν αὐτοῦ τοὺς πόδας ἐδεῖτο συγγνῶναι περὶ τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἡμαρτημένων καὶ μὴ γενέσθαι πικρὸν αὐτῷ μηδὲ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἡγήσασθαι τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ γενόμενον, λογίσασθαι δ᾽ ὅτι καὶ μετανοήσας ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐσφάλη πρῶτος ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔσπευσε. [265] ταῦτα δ᾽ ἀντιβολοῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ οἰκτιζομένου Ἀβεσσαῖος ὁ Ἰωάβου ἀδελφός, “διὰ τοῦτο οὖν, εἶπεν, οὐ τεθνήξῃ βλασφημήσας τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κατασταθέντα βασιλεύειν;” Δαυίδης δ᾽ ἐπιστραφεὶς πρὸς αὐτόν, “οὐ παύσεσθ᾽, εἶπεν, ὦ Σαρουίας παῖδες; μὴ κινήσητε πάλιν ἡμῖν καινὰς ἐπὶ ταῖς πρώταις ταραχὰς καὶ στάσεις: [266] οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοεῖν ὑμᾶς προσῆκεν, ὅτι σήμερον ἄρχομαι τῆς βασιλείας. διὸ πᾶσιν ἀφιέναι τὰς κολάσεις τοῖς ἀσεβήσασιν ὄμνυμι καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἁμαρτόντων ἐπεξελθεῖν. σύ τε, εἶπεν, ὦ Σαμούι, θάρρει καὶ δείσῃς μηδὲν ὡς τεθνηξόμενος.” ὁ δὲ προσκυνήσας αὐτὸν προῆγεν.

(3) [267] Ἀπήντησε δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Σαούλου υἱωνὸς Μεμφίβοσθος ῥυπαράν τε τὴν ἐσθῆτα περικείμενος καὶ τὴν κόμην βαθεῖαν καὶ κατημελημένην ἔχων: μετὰ γὰρ τὴν Δαυίδου φυγὴν οὔτε ἀπεκείρατο λυπούμενος οὔτ᾽ ἐκάθηρε τὴν ἐσθῆτα κατακρίνας αὐτοῦ συμφορὰν ταύτην ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως μεταβολῇ: διεβέβλητο δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπιτρόπου Σιβᾶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀδίκως. [268] ἀσπασαμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ προσκυνήσαντος ἤρξατο πυνθάνεσθαι, τί δήποτ᾽ οὐ συνεξῆλθεν αὐτῷ καὶ κοινωνὸς ἦν τῆς φυγῆς; ὁ δ᾽ ἀδίκημα τοῦτ᾽ ἔλεγεν εἶναι Σιβᾶ: κελευσθεὶς γὰρ παρασκευάσαι τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον οὐκ ἐφρόντισεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ ἀνδραπόδου τινὸς οὕτως παρήκουσεν. [269] εἰ μέντοι γε τὰς βάσεις εἶχον ἐρρωμένας, οὐκ ἂν ἀπελείφθην σου χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὴν φυγὴν ταύταις δυνάμενος. οὐ τοῦτο δὲ μόνον

ἠδίκησέ μου τὴν πρὸς σέ, δέσποτα, εὐσέβειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσδιέβαλε καὶ κατεψεύσατο κακουργῶν. ἀλλ᾽ οἶδα γάρ, ὅτι τούτων οὐδὲν ἡ σὴ διάνοια προσίεται δικαία τε οὖσα καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐνισχύειν βουλομένη καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἀγαπῶσα: [270] μείζονα γὰρ κινδυνεύσας παθεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάππου τοὐμοῦ καὶ τῆς ὅλης ἡμῶν γενεᾶς ὀφειλούσης εἰς ἐκεῖνα ἀπολωλέναι, σύ τε μέτριος καὶ χρηστὸς ἐγένου τότε μάλιστα πάντων ἐκείνων λήθην ποιησάμενος, ὅτ᾽ ἐξουσίαν τῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τιμωρίας εἶχεν ἡ μνήμη. φίλον δὲ σὸν ἔκρινας ἐμὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης εἶχες ὁσημέραι, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπέλειπον τῶν συγγενῶν τοῦ [271] μάλιστα τιμωμένου.” ταῦτ᾽ εἰπόντος οὔτε τὸν Μεμφίβοσθον ἔγνω κολάζειν οὔθ᾽ ὡς καταψευσαμένου τοῦ Σιβᾶ πρὸς αὐτὸν καταδικάζειν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ [μὴ μετὰ] Σιβᾶ ἐλθεῖν ἐκείνῳ πάντα χαρίσασθαι φήσας αὐτῷ συγγινώσκειν ὑπέσχετο τὰ ἡμίση τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῷ κελεύσας ἀποδοθῆναι. ὁ δὲ Μεμφίβοσθος “πάντ᾽ ἐχέτω μέν, εἶπε, Σιβάς, ἐμοὶ δ᾽ ἀπόχρη τὸ σὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολαβεῖν.”

(4) [272] Βεέρζελον δὲ τὸν Γαλαδίτην ἄνδρα μέγαν καὶ καλὸν καὶ πολλὰ παρεσχημένον ἐν ταῖς Παρεμβολαῖς αὐτῷ Δαυίδης προπέμψαντα μέχρι τοῦ Ἰορδάνου παρεκάλει συνελθεῖν ἕως τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων: γηρωκομήσειν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν πάσῃ τιμῇ καὶ ὡς πατρὸς ἐπιμεληθήσεσθαι καὶ προνοήσειν ἐπηγγέλλετο. [273] ὁ δὲ πόθῳ τῶν οἴκοι παρῃτεῖτο τὴν μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ διατριβήν: καὶ τὸ γῆρας λέγων τοιοῦτον αὐτῷ τυγχάνειν, ὥστε μὴ ἀπολαύειν τῶν ἡδέων εἰς ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη προβεβηκότος, ἀλλ᾽ ὥστε καταλύσεως ἤδη καὶ ταφῆς προνοεῖν, ἐπὶ ταύτην ἠξίου βουλόμενον αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι τὰ κατ᾽ ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτὸν ἀπολῦσαι: [274] οὔτε γὰρ τροφῆς οὔτε ποτοῦ συνιέναι διὰ τὸν χρόνον, ἀποκεκλεῖσθαι δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς ἀκοὰς ἤδη πρὸς αὐλῶν ἤχους καὶ μέλη τῶν ἄλλων ὀργάνων, ὅσα παρὰ βασιλεῦσι τέρπει τοὺς συνδιαιτωμένους. οὕτως δὲ λιπαρῶς δεομένου, “σὲ μέν, εἶπεν, ἀπολύω, τὸν δ᾽ υἱὸν Ἀχίμανον ἄφες μοι: πάντων γὰρ αὐτῷ μετα [275] δώσω τῶν ἀγαθῶν.” καὶ Βεέρζελος μὲν καταλιπὼν τὸν υἱὸν καὶ προσκυνήσας τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πάντων ἐπευξάμενος αὐτῷ τέλος ὧν ἔχει κατὰ ψυχὴν οἴκαδ᾽ ὑπέστρεψε. παραγίνεται δ᾽ εἰς Γάλγαλα Δαυίδης τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ἤδη τὸ ἥμισυ περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχων καὶ τὴν Ἰούδα φυλήν.

(5) [276] Ἀφικνοῦνται δ᾽ εἰς Γάλγαλα πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ πάσης φυλῆς πρῶτοι μετὰ πολλοῦ πλήθους καὶ τὴν Ἰούδα φυλὴν κατεμέμφοντο λάθρα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθοῦσαν, ὡς δεῖν ὁμοῦ πάντας μιᾷ γνώμῃ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀπάντησιν. οἱ δ᾽ ἄρχοντες τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς μὴ δυσχεραίνειν αὐτοὺς ἠξίουν προληφθέντας: καὶ γὰρ συγγενεῖς ὄντες αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον προνοούμενοι καὶ στέργοντες φθάσαι, οὐ μέντοι γε διὰ τὸ προελθεῖν δῶρα λαβεῖν αὐτούς, ἵν᾽ ἔχωσιν ἐπὶ τούτῳ δυσφορεῖν ὕστεροι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντες. [277] ταῦτα τῶν τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς ἡγεμόνων εἰπόντων οἱ τῶν ἄλλων ἄρχοντες οὐχ ἡσύχασαν, ἀλλ᾽ “ἡμεῖς μέν, ἔφασαν, ὦ ἀδελφοί, θαυμάζομεν ὑμᾶς αὐτῶν ἀποκαλοῦντας μόνων συγγενῆ τὸν βασιλέα: ὁ γὰρ τὴν ἁπάντων ἐξουσίαν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαβὼν πάντων ἡμῶν εἶναι

συγγενὴς κρίνεται. καὶ διὰ τοῦθ᾽ ὁ μὲν λαὸς ἕνδεκα μοίρας ἔχει, μίαν δ᾽ ὑμεῖς, καὶ πρεσβύτεροι ἐσμέν, καὶ οὐκ ἐποιήσατε δίκαια λεληθότως ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα.”

(6) [278] Τοιαῦτα τῶν ἡγεμόνων πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαλεχθέντων ἀνήρ τις πονηρὸς καὶ στάσει χαίρων, ὄνομα Σαβαῖος υἱὸς δὲ Βοχορίου τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς, στὰς ἐν μέσῳ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος μέγα βοήσας εἶπεν: “οὔτ᾽ ἔχει τις ἡμῶν παρὰ Δαυίδου μοίρας οὔτε κλῆρον [279] παρὰ τῷ Ἰεσσαίου παιδί.” καὶ μετὰ τοὺς λόγους σαλπίσας κέρατι σημαίνει πόλεμον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ πάντες ἠκολούθησαν ἐκείνῳ Δαυίδην καταλιπόντες: μόνη δ᾽ αὐτῷ παρέμεινεν ἡ Ἰούδα φυλὴ καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις βασίλειον. καὶ τὰς μὲν παλλακάς, αἷς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ συνῆλθεν Ἀψάλωμος, εἰς ἄλλην μετήγαγεν οἰκίαν πάντα προστάξας αὐταῖς χορηγεῖν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τοὺς ἐπιμελομένους, αὐτὸς δ᾽ οὐκέτ᾽ ἐπλησίαζεν αὐταῖς. [280] ἀποδείκνυσι δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀμασὰν στρατηγὸν καὶ τὴν τάξιν αὐτῷ ἐφ᾽ ἧς Ἰώαβος ἦν δίδωσιν ἐκέλευσέ τε στρατιὰν ὅσην δύναται συναγαγόντ᾽ ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς μεθ᾽ ἡμέρας τρεῖς ὡς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, ἵνα παραδοὺς αὐτῷ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν ἐκπέμψῃ πολεμήσοντα τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Βοχορίου. [281] ἐξελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀμασᾶ καὶ περὶ τὴν ἄθροισιν τῆς στρατιᾶς βραδύνοντος, ὡς οὐκ ἐπανῄει τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν Ἰώαβον ἔλεγεν οὐκ εἶναι σύμφορον ἀνοχὴν τῷ Σαβαίῳ διδόναι, μὴ γενόμενος ἐν πλείονι παρασκευῇ μειζόνων κακῶν καὶ πραγμάτων αἴτιος, ἢ Ἀψάλωμος αὐτοῖς κατέστη, γένηται. [282] μὴ περίμενε τοίνυν μηδένα, ἀλλὰ τὴν οὖσαν παραλαβὼν δύναμιν καὶ τοὺς ἑξακοσίους μετὰ Ἀβεσσαίου τοῦ Ἀδελφοῦ σου δίωκε τὸν πολέμιον. καὶ ὅπου ποτ᾽ ἂν αὐτὸν καταλάβῃς ὄντα πειράθητι συμβαλεῖν: σπούδασον δ᾽ αὐτὸν φθάσαι, μὴ πόλεις ὀχυρὰς καταλαβόμενος ἀγῶνας ἡμῖν καὶ πολλοὺς ἱδρῶτας παρασκευάσῃ.”

(7) [283] Ἰώαβος δ᾽ οὐκέτι μέλλειν ἔκρινεν, ἀλλὰ τόν τε ἀδελφὸν καὶ τοὺς ἑξακοσίους παραλαβὼν καὶ ὅση λοιπὴ δύναμις ἦν ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἕπεσθαι κελεύσας ἐξώρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν Σαβαῖον. ἤδη δ᾽ ἐν Γαβαών, κώμη δ᾽ ἐστὶν αὕτη σταδίους ἀπέχουσα τεσσαράκοντα τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, γεγενημένος πολλὴν Ἀμασᾶ δύναμιν ἀγαγόντος ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ διεζωσμένος μάχαιραν καὶ θώρακα ἐνδεδυμένος ὁ Ἰώαβος: [284] προσιόντος δὲ ἀσπάσασθαι τοῦ Ἀμασᾶ φιλοτεχνεῖ τὴν μάχαιραν αὐτομάτως ἐκ τῆς θήκης ἐκπεσεῖν, βαστάσας δ᾽ αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τὸν Ἀμασᾶν ἐγγὺς γενόμενον ὡς καταφιλήσων τοῦ γενείου λαβόμενος οὐ προιδόμενον εἰς τὴν γαστέρα πλήξας ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀσεβὲς ἔργον διαπραξάμενος καὶ παντελῶς ἀνόσιον, ἀγαθὸν νεανίαν καὶ συγγενῆ καὶ μηδὲν ἀδικήσαντα ζηλοτυπήσας τῆς στρατηγίας καὶ τῆς παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἰσοτιμίας. [285] διὰ ταύτην γὰρ τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ τὸν Ἀβενῆρον ἐφόνευσεν. ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνο μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸ παρανόμημα πρόφασις εὐπρεπὴς συγγνωστὸν ἐδόκει ποιεῖν, ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀσάηλος ἐκδεδικῆσθαι νομιζόμενος, τοῦ δ᾽ Ἀμασᾶ φόνου οὐδὲν

τοιοῦτον ἔσχε παρακάλυμμα. [286] ἀποκτείνας δὲ τὸν συστράτηγον ἐδίωκε τὸν Σαβαῖον καταλιπὼν ἕνα πρὸς τῷ νεκρῷ βοᾶν ἐντειλάμενος πρὸς τὴν στρατιάν, ὅτι τέθνηκεν Ἀμασᾶς δικαίως καὶ μετ᾽ αἰτίας κολαζούσης: εἰ δὲ φρονεῖτε τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἕπεσθε τῷ στρατηγῷ αὐτοῦ Ἰωάβῳ καὶ [287] Ἀβεσσαίῳ τῷ τούτου ἀδελφῷ.” κειμένου δὲ τοῦ σώματος ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ συρρέοντος καὶ οἷον ὄχλος φιλεῖ ἐθαύμαζον ἠλέουν προιστάμενοι: βαστάσας δ᾽ ἐκεῖθεν ὁ φύλαξ καὶ κομίσας εἴς τι χωρίον ἀπωτάτω τῆς ὁδοῦ τίθησιν αὐτόθι καὶ καλύπτει ἱματίῳ. τούτου γενομένου πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἠκολούθησε τῷ Ἰωάβῳ. [288] διώξαντι δ᾽ αὐτῷ διὰ πάσης τῆς Ἰσραηλιτῶν χώρας τὸν Σαβαῖον δηλοῖ τις ἐν ὀχυρᾷ πόλει τυγχάνειν Ἀβελωχέᾳ λεγομένῃ. παραγενόμενος δ᾽ ἐκεῖ καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ περικαθίσας τὴν πόλιν καὶ χαράκωμα περὶ αὐτὴν πηξάμενος ὑπορύσσειν ἐκέλευσε τοῖς στρατιώταις τὰ τείχη καὶ καταβάλλειν αὐτά: μὴ δεξαμένων γὰρ αὐτὸν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει χαλεπῶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς διετέθη.

(8) [289] Γύναιον δέ τι σῶφρον καὶ συνετὸν ἐν ἐσχάτοις ἤδη τὴν πατρίδα κειμένην θεασάμενον ἀναβὰν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος προσκαλεῖται διὰ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν τὸν Ἰώαβον. προσελθόντος δ᾽ ἤρξατο λέγειν, ὡς ὁ θεὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἀποδείξειεν, ἵνα τοὺς πολεμίους τοὺς Ἑβραίων ἐξαιρῶσι καὶ παρέχωσιν αὐτοῖς εἰρήνην ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν: σὺ δὲ σπουδάζεις μητρόπολιν Ἰσραηλιτῶν καταβαλεῖν [290] καὶ πορθῆσαι μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτοῦσαν.” ὁ δὲ ἵλεων μὲν εὔχεται τὸν θεὸν αὐτῷ διαμένειν, αὐτὸς δ᾽ οὕτως ἔχειν εἶπεν, ὡς μηδένα τοῦ λαοῦ φονεῦσαι, οὐχ ὅτι πόλιν ἐξελεῖν βούλεσθαι τηλικαύτην: λαβὼν μέντοι παρ᾽ αὐτῶν τὸν ἀντάραντα τῷ βασιλεῖ πρὸς τιμωρίαν Σαβαῖον υἱὸν δὲ Βοχορίου παύσεσθαι τῆς πολιορκίας καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπάξειν. [291] ὡς δ᾽ ἤκουσεν ἡ γυνὴ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ἰωάβου μικρὸν ἐπισχεῖν δεηθεῖσα, τὴν γὰρ κεφαλὴν εὐθέως αὐτῷ ῥιφήσεσθαι τὴν τοῦ πολεμίου, καταβαίνει πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας καὶ “βούλεσθ᾽, εἰποῦσα, κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπολέσθαι μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπου πονηροῦ καὶ μηδὲ τίς ἐστι γνωριζομένου καὶ τοῦτον ἔχειν ἀντὶ Δαυίδου τοῦ τοσαῦτ᾽ εὐεργετήσαντος ὑμᾶς βασιλέα καὶ πρὸς δύ [292] ναμιν τοσαύτην καὶ τηλικαύτην ἀνταίρειν μίαν πόλιν;” πείθει τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμόντας τοῦ Σαβαίου ῥῖψαι ταύτην εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἰωάβου στράτευμα. τούτου γενομένου σημήνας ἀνακλητικὸν ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατηγὸς ἔλυσε τὴν πολιορκίαν καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παντὸς ἀποδείκνυται πάλιν τοῦ λαοῦ στρατηγός. [293] καθίστησι δὲ καὶ Βαναῖον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων καὶ τῶν ἑξακοσίων, Ἀδώραμον δ᾽ ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ τῶν φόρων καὶ Ἰωσάφατον υἱὸν Ἀχίλου ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων, Σουσὰν δὲ γραμματέα, Σάδωκον δὲ καὶ Ἀβιάθαρον ἀπέφηνεν ἱερεῖς.

XII

(1) [294] Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῆς χώρας λιμῷ φθειρομένης ἱκέτευε Δαυίδης τὸν θεὸν ἐλεῆσαι τὸν λαὸν καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἴασιν φανερὰν ποιῆσαι τῆς νόσου. τῶν δὲ προφητῶν εἰπόντων βούλεσθαι τὸν θεὸν ἐκδικίας τυχεῖν τοὺς Γαβαωνίτας, οὓς Σαοῦλος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποκτείνας ἠσέβησεν ἐξαπατήσας καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους αὐτοῖς, οὓς ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἰησοῦς ὤμοσε καὶ ἡ γερουσία, μὴ φυλάξας: [295] ἐὰν τοίνυν δίκην ἣν αὐτοὶ θέλουσιν οἱ Γαβαωνῖται λαβεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνῃρημένων ταύτην αὐτοῖς παράσχῃ, διαλλαγήσεσθαι καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἀπαλλάξειν τῶν κακῶν ἐπηγγέλλετο. [296] ὡς οὖν ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν προφητῶν ἔμαθεν ἐπιζητεῖν τὸν θεόν, μεταπέμπεται τοὺς Γαβαωνίτας καὶ τίνος βούλονται τυχεῖν ἐπηρώτα. τῶν δ’ ἐκ τοῦ γένους τοῦ Σαούλου παραλαβεῖν ἑπτὰ παῖδας ἀξιωσάντων πρὸς τιμωρίαν, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναζητήσας παρέδωκεν αὐτοῖς Ἰεβόσθου φεισάμενος τοῦ Ἰωνάθου παιδός. [297] παραλαβόντες δ’ οἱ Γαβαωνῖται τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς ἐβούλοντο ἐκόλασαν. ἤρξατο δ’ ὕειν παραχρῆμα ὁ θεὸς καὶ τὴν γῆν πρὸς γονὴν καρπῶν ἀνακαλεῖν ἀπολύσας τοῦ πρότερον αὐχμοῦ: καὶ πάλιν εὐθήνησεν ἡ τῶν Ἑβραίων χώρα.

[298] Στρατεύεται δὲ μετ’ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνους, καὶ συνάψας μάχην αὐτοῖς καὶ τρεψάμενος ἐμονώθη διώκων καὶ γενόμενος ἔκλυτος ὤφθη ὑπό τινος τῶν πολεμίων Ἄκμονος μὲν τοὔνομα Ἀράφου δὲ παιδός: [299] οὗτος ἦν μὲν καὶ ἀπόγονος τῶν Γιγάντων, ἔχων δὲ καὶ ξυστόν, οὗ τὴν λαβὴν συνέλκειν σταθμὸν σίκλους τριακοσίους, καὶ θώρακα ἀλυσιδωτὸν καὶ ῥομφαίαν ὥρμησεν ἐπιστραφεὶς ὡς ἀποκτενῶν τὸν τῶν πολεμίων βασιλέα: παρεῖτο γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ κόπου. ἐπιφανεὶς δ’ ἐξαίφνης Ἀβεσσαῖος ὁ Ἰωάβου ἀδελφὸς τὸν βασιλέα μὲν ὑπερήσπισε περιβὰς κείμενον, ἀπέκτεινε δὲ τὸν πολέμιον. [300] ἤνεγκε δ’ ἐπὶ τῷ παρ’ ὀλίγον κινδυνεῦσαι τὸν βασιλέα χαλεπῶς τὸ πλῆθος: καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες ὤρκωσαν αὐτὸν μηκέτι εἰς μάχην ἀπαντῆσαι σὺν αὐτοῖς, μὴ δι’ ἀνδρείαν καὶ προθυμίαν παθών τι τῶν δεινῶν στερήσῃ τὸν λαὸν τῶν δι’ αὐτὸν ἀγαθῶν, ὅσα τε ἤδη παρέσχηκε καὶ ὅσων ἔτι μεθέξουσι πολὺν βιώσαντος χρόνον.

(2) [301] Συνελθόντων δὲ τῶν Παλαιστίνων εἰς Γάζαρα πόλιν ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔπεμψεν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς στρατιάν. ἠρίστευσε δὲ τότε καὶ σφόδρ’ ηὐδοκίμησε Σαβρήχης ὁ Χετταῖος εἷς τῶν περὶ Δαυίδην ἀνδρειοτάτων: ἀπέκτεινε γὰρ πολλοὺς τῶν αὐχούντων προγόνους τοὺς Γίγαντας καὶ μέγα ἐπ’ ἀνδρείᾳ φρονούντων, αἴτιός τε τῆς νίκης τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐγένετο. [302] καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνην τὴν ἧτταν πάλιν ἐπολέμησαν οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι: καὶ στρατιὰν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς Δαυίδου πέμψαντος ἠρίστευσεν Ἐφὰν ὁ συγγενὴς αὐτοῦ: μονομαχήσας γὰρ τῷ πάντων ἀνδρειοτάτῳ Παλαιστίνων ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους εἰς φυγὴν ἔτρεψε, πολλοί τε αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον μαχόμενοι. [303] διαλιπόντες δ’ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο πρὸς τῇ πόλει τῶν ὅρων τῆς Ἑβραίων χώρας οὐκ ἄπωθεν. ἦν δ’ αὐτοῖς ἀνὴρ τὸ μὲν ὕψος ἐξ πηχῶν, δακτύλους δ’ ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τῶν βάσεων

καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἑνὶ περισσοτέρους εἶχε τῶν κατὰ φύσιν. [304] ἐκ τῆς οὖν πεμφθείσης ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ Δαυίδου στρατιᾶς τούτῳ μονομαχήσας Ἰωνάθης ὁ Σουμᾶ υἱὸς ἀνεῖλέ τε αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς ὅλης νίκης ῥοπὴ γενόμενος δόξαν ἀριστείας ἀπηνέγκατο: καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ὁ Παλαιστῖνος ηὔχει τῶν Γιγάντων ἀπόγονος εἶναι. μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν μάχην οὐκέτι τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις ἐπολέμησαν.

(3) [305] Ἀπηλλαγμένος δ᾽ ἤδη πολέμων ὁ Δαυίδης καὶ κινδύνων καὶ βαθείας ἀπολαύων τὸ λοιπὸν εἰρήνης ᾠδὰς εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ ὕμνους συνετάξατο μέτρου ποικίλου: τοὺς μὲν γὰρ τριμέτρους, τοὺς δὲ πενταμέτρους ἐποίησεν. ὄργανά τε κατασκευάσας ἐδίδαξε πρὸς αὐτὰ τοὺς Ληουίτας ὑμνεῖν τὸν θεὸν κατά τε τὴν τῶν καλουμένων σαββάτων ἡμέραν καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας ἑορτάς. [306] ἡ δὲ τῶν ὀργάνων ἐστὶν ἰδέα τοιαύτη τις τὸν τρόπον: ἡ μὲν κινύρα δέκα χορδαῖς ἐξημμένη τύπτεται πλήκτρῳ, ἡ δὲ νάβλα δώδεκα φθόγγους ἔχουσα τοῖς δακτύλοις κρούεται, κύμβαλά τε ἦν πλατέα καὶ μεγάλα χάλκεα. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἡμῖν, ὥστε μὴ τελέως ἀγνοεῖν τὴν τῶν προειρημένων ὀργάνων φύσιν, ἀρκείσθω λελέχθαι.

(4) [307] Τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ πάντες ἦσαν οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνδρεῖοι: τούτων δ᾽ οἱ διασημότατοι καὶ λαμπροὶ τὰς πράξεις ὀκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα, ὧν πέντε μόνων διηγήσομαι τὰ ἔργα: φανερὰς γὰρ καὶ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετὰς ἀρκέσουσιν οὗτοι ποιῆσαι: δυνατοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν οὗτοι καὶ χώραν ὑπάγεσθαι καὶ μεγάλων ἐθνῶν κρατῆσαι. [308] πρῶτος μὲν οὖν Ἴσεβος υἱὸς Ἀχεμαίου, ὃς πολλάκις εἰς τὴν παράταξιν ἐμπηδῶν τῶν πολεμίων οὐ πρὶν ἀνεπαύετο μαχόμενος πρὶν ἐνακοσίους αὐτῶν καταβαλεῖν. μετ᾽ αὐτὸν ἦν Ἐλεάζαρος υἱὸς Δωδείου, ὃς ἦν μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν Ἐρασαμῷ: [309] οὗτός ποτε τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν καταπλαγέντων τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Παλαιστίνων καὶ φευγόντων μόνος ἔμεινε καὶ συμπεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν πολλούς, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ αἵματος προσκολληθῆναι τὴν ῥομφαίαν αὐτοῦ τῇ δεξιᾷ καὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας ἰδόντας τετραμμένους ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοὺς Παλαιστίνους καταβάντας διώκειν καὶ θαυμαστὴν καὶ διαβόητον τότε νίκην ἄρασθαι, τοῦ μὲν Ἐλεαζάρου κτείνοντος ἑπομένου δὲ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ σκυλεύοντος τοὺς ἀνῃρημένους. [310] τρίτος δὲ ἦν Ἠλοῦ μὲν υἱὸς Σαβαίας δὲ ὄνομα. καὶ οὗτος ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Παλαιστίνους ἀγῶσιν εἰς τόπον Σιαγόνα λεγόμενον αὐτῶν παραταξαμένων, ὡς οἱ Ἑβραῖοι πάλιν τὴν δύναμιν φοβηθέντες οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ὑπέστη μόνος ὡς στράτευμα καὶ τάξις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν κατέβαλε τοὺς δ᾽ οὐ καρτερήσαντας αὐτοῦ τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ τὴν βίαν ἀλλ᾽ εἰς φυγὴν ἀποστραφέντας ἐδίωκε. [311] ταῦτα μὲν ἔργα χειρῶν καὶ μάχης οἱ τρεῖς ἐπεδείξαντο. καθ᾽ ὃν δὲ καιρὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὄντος τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπῆλθεν ἡ τῶν Παλαιστίνων δύναμις πολεμῆσαι, Δαυίδης μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνῆλθεν, ὡς προειρήκαμεν, πευσόμενος τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου, [312] τῆς δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρεμβολῆς ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι κειμένης, ἣ μέχρι Βηθλεέμης πόλεως διατείνει σταδίους Ἱεροσολύμων ἀπεχούσης εἴκοσιν, ὁ Δαυίδης τοῖς ἑταίροις

“καλὸν ὕδωρ, εἶπεν, ἔχομεν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι μου: καὶ μάλιστα τὸ ἐν τῷ λάκκῳ τῷ πρὸς τῇ πύλῃ θαυμάζων, εἴ τις ἐξ αὐτοῦ πιεῖν αὐτῷ κομίσειε μᾶλλον ἐθελήσειν ἢ εἰ πολλὰ χρήματα διδοῖ. [313] ταῦτ’ ἀκούσαντες οἱ τρεῖς ἄνδρες οὗτοι παραχρῆμα ἐκδραμόντες καὶ διὰ μέσου τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων ὁρμήσαντες στρατοπέδου ἦκον εἰς Βηθλεέμην, καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀρυσάμενοι πάλιν διὰ τῆς παρεμβολῆς ὑπέστρεψαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ὡς τοὺς Παλαιστίνους καταπλαγέντας αὐτῶν τὸ θράσος καὶ τὴν εὐψυχίαν ἠρεμῆσαι [καὶ μηδὲν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς τολμῆσαι] καταφρονήσαντας τῆς ὀλιγότητος. [314] κομισθέντος δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος οὐκ ἔπιεν ὁ βασιλεὺς κινδύνῳ καὶ αἵματι φήσας ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸ κεκομίσθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὴ προσήκειν αὐτῷ πιεῖν, ἔσπεισε δὲ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ καὶ περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν ἀνδρῶν εὐχαρίστησεν αὐτῷ. μετὰ τούτους ἦν ὁ Ἰωάβου ἀδελφὸς Ἀβεσσαῖος: [315] καὶ γὰρ οὗτος μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν πολεμίων ἑξακοσίους ἀπέκτεινε. πέμπτος Ναβαῖος ὁ ἱερεὺς τῷ γένει: προκληθεὶς γὰρ ὑπ’ ἀδελφῶν διασήμων ἐν τῇ Μωαβίτιδι χώρᾳ κατ’ ἀρετὴν ἐκράτησεν αὐτῶν. καὶ πάλιν αὐτὸν ἀνδρὸς Αἰγυπτίου τὸ γένος θαυμαστοῦ τὸ μέγεθος προκαλεσαμένου, γυμνὸς ὡπλισμένον τῷ δόρατι τῷ ἐκείνου βαλὼν ἀπέκτεινε: περιελόμενος γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἄκοντα καὶ ζῶντα ἔτι καὶ μαχόμενον σκυλεύσας τοῖς ἰδίοις αὐτὸν ὅπλοις διεχρήσατο. [316] προσαριθμήσειε δὲ ἄν τις αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦτο ταῖς προειρημέναις πράξεσιν ἢ ὡς πρῶτον αὐτῶν κατ’ εὐψυχίαν ἢ ὡς ὅμοιον: νίφοντος γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ λέων εἴς τινα λάκκον ὀλισθὼν ἐνέπεσε: στενοῦ δ’ ὄντος τοῦ στομίου δῆλον ἦν ἀφανὲς ἐσόμενον ἐμφραγέντος αὐτοῦ τῇ χιόνι: πόρον οὖν οὐδένα βλέπων ἐξόδου καὶ σωτηρίας ἐβρυχᾶτο. [317] τοῦ δὲ θηρὸς ἀκούσας ὁ Ναβαῖος, ὥδευε γὰρ τότε, καὶ πρὸς τὴν βοὴν ἐλθών, καταβὰς εἰς τὸ στόμιον πλήξας αὐτὸν μαχόμενον τῷ μετὰ χεῖρας ξύλῳ παραχρῆμα ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ τοιοῦτοι τὰς ἀρετὰς ὑπῆρχον.

XIII

(1) [318] Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Δαυίδης βουλόμενος γνῶναι πόσαι μυριάδες εἰσὶ τοῦ λαοῦ, τῶν Μωυσέος ἐντολῶν ἐκλαθόμενος, ὃς προεῖπεν ἐὰν ἐξαριθμηθῇ τὸ πλῆθος ὑπὲρ ἑκάστης κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ τελεῖν ἡμίσικλον, προσέταξεν Ἰωάβῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ πορευθέντι πάντα τὸν ὄχλον ἐξαριθμῆσαι. [319] τοῦ δ’ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι φήσαντος τοῦτο ποιεῖν οὐκ ἐπείσθη, προσέταξε δὲ μηδὲν μελλήσαντα βαδίζειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξαρίθμησιν τῶν Ἑβραίων. Ἰώαβος δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν φυλῶν παραλαβὼν καὶ γραμματεῖς, ἐπιὼν τὴν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν χώραν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὅσον ἐστὶ κατανοήσας ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα μετὰ μῆνας ἐννέα καὶ ἡμέρας εἴκοσι καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀπέδωκε τῷ βασιλεῖ τοῦ λαοῦ χωρὶς τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς: [320] ἐξαριθμῆσαι γὰρ αὐτὴν οὐκ ἔφθασεν ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τὴν Λευιτῶν φυλήν: μετενόησε γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὧν εἰς τὸν

θεὸν ἥμαρτεν. ἦν δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἀριθμὸς ἐνενήκοντα μυριάδες ὅπλα βαστάζειν καὶ στρατεύεσθαι δυναμένων, ἡ δὲ Ἰούδα φυλὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδες ἦσαν.

(2) [321] Τῶν δὲ προφητῶν δηλωσάντων τῷ Δαυίδῃ, ὅτι δι' ὀργῆς ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ, ἱκετεύειν ἤρξατο καὶ παρακαλεῖν εὐμενῆ γενέσθαι καὶ συγγινώσκειν ἡμαρτηκότι. Γάδον δὲ τὸν προφήτην ἔπεμψεν ὁ θεὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν τρεῖς αἱρέσεις κομίζοντα, ὅπως ἐκλέξηται τούτων ἣν ἂν δοκιμάσῃ: πότερον θέλει λιμὸν γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπὶ ἔτη ἑπτά, ἢ τρεῖς μῆνας πολεμήσας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἡττηθῆναι, ἢ λοιμὸν ἐνσκῆψαι καὶ νόσον ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας τοῖς Ἑβραίοις. [322] ὁ δ' εἰς ἀμήχανον ἐκλογὴν μεγάλων κακῶν ἐμπεσὼν ἐλυπεῖτο καὶ σφόδρ' ἦν συγκεχυμένος. τοῦ δὲ προφήτου τοῦτο δεῖν ἐξ ἀνάγκης γενέσθαι φήσαντος καὶ κελεύοντος ἀποκρίνασθαι ταχέως, ἵνα ἀναγγείλῃ τὴν αἵρεσιν αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ, λογισάμενος ὁ βασιλεύς, ὡς εἰ λιμὸν αἰτήσει, δόξει τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτῷ μὲν ἀφόβως, ὅτι πολὺν αὐτὸς ἐγκεκλεισμένον ἔχοι σῖτον, ἐκείνοις δὲ βλαβερῶς: [323] κἂν γένηται τοὺς τρεῖς μῆνας νικωμένους αὐτούς, ὅτι τοὺς ἀνδρειοτάτους ἔχων περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ φρούρια καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μηδὲν φοβούμενος εἵλετο τὸν πόλεμον, ᾐτήσατο πάθος κοινὸν καὶ βασιλεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις, ἐν ᾧ τὸ δέος ἶσον ἁπάντων γίνεται, προσειπὼν ὅτι πολὺ κρεῖττον εἰς τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ χεῖρας ἐμπεσεῖν ἢ τὰς τῶν πολεμίων.

(3) [324] Ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ προφήτης ἀπήγγειλε τῷ θεῷ: ὁ δὲ τὸν λοιμὸν καὶ τὴν φθορὰν ἔπεμψε τοῖς Ἑβραίοις. ἀπέθνησκον δ' οὐ μονοτρόπως οὐδ' ὥστε ῥᾴδιον κατανοῆσαι γενέσθαι τὴν νόσον, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν κακὸν ἓν ἦν, μυρίαις δ' αὐτοὺς αἰτίαις καὶ προφάσεσιν οὐδ' ἐπινοῆσαι δυναμένους ἀνήρπαζεν. [325] ἄλλος γὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλῳ διεφθείρετο, καὶ λανθάνον ἐπερχόμενον τὸ δεινὸν ὀξεῖαν τὴν τελευτὴν ἐπέφερεν, τῶν μὲν αἰφνιδίως μετ' ἀλγημάτων σφοδρῶν καὶ πικρᾶς ὀδύνης τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφιέντων, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ μαραινομένων τοῖς παθήμασι καὶ μηδ' εἰς κηδείαν ὑπολειπομένων, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ κάμνειν εἰς τὸ παντελὲς δαπανωμένων: [326] οἱ δ' αἰφνίδιον σκότους αὐτοῖς τὰς ὄψεις ὑποδραμόντος περιπνιγεῖς ἀπῴμωζον, ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν οἰκείων τινὰ κηδεύοντες ἐναπέθνησκον ἀτελέσι ταῖς ταφαῖς. ἀπώλοντο δ' ἀρξαμένης ἕωθεν τῆς λοιμικῆς νόσου φθείρειν αὐτοὺς ἕως ὥρας ἀρίστου μυριάδες ἑπτά. [327] ἐξέτεινε δὲ ὁ ἄγγελος τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα τὸ δεινὸν κἀκεῖσε πέμπων. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς σάκκον ἐνδεδυμένος ἔκειτο κατὰ τῆς γῆς ἱκετεύων τὸν θεὸν καὶ δεόμενος ἤδη λωφῆσαι καὶ τοῖς ἀπολωλόσιν ἀρκεσθέντα παύσασθαι: ἀναβλέψας δ' εἰς τὸν ἀέρα ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ θεασάμενος τὸν ἄγγελον δι' αὐτοῦ φερόμενον ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ μάχαιραν ἐσπασμένον εἶπε πρὸς τὸν θεόν, [328] ὡς αὐτὸς εἴη κολασθῆναι δίκαιος ὁ ποιμήν, τὰ δὲ ποίμνια σώζεσθαι μηδὲν ἁμαρτόντα, καὶ ἠντιβόλει τὴν ὀργὴν εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν ἀποσκῆπτειν, φείδεσθαι δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ.

(4) [329] Κατακούσας δὲ ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἱκεσίας ἔπαυσε τὸν λοιμόν, καὶ πέμψας Γάδον τὸν προφήτην ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀναβῆναι παραχρῆμα εἰς τὴν ἅλω τοῦ Ἰεβουσαίου Ὀροννᾶ καὶ οἰκοδομήσαντα βωμὸν ἐκεῖ τῷ θεῷ θυσίαν ἐπιτελέσαι. Δαυίδης δ' ἀκούσας οὐκ ἠμέλησεν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἔσπευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν παρηγγελμένον αὐτῷ τόπον. [330] Ὀροννᾶς δὲ τὸν σῖτον ἀλοῶν ἐπεὶ τὸν βασιλέα προσιόντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ πάντας ἐθεάσατο, προσέδραμεν αὐτῷ καὶ προσεκύνησεν. ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν γένος Ἰεβουσαῖος, φίλος δ' ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Δαυίδου: καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτὸν οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο δεινόν, ὅτε τὴν πόλιν κατεστρέψατο, ὡς μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν ἐδηλώσαμεν. [331] τοῦ δὲ Ὀροννᾶ πυθομένου τί παρείη πρὸς τὸν δοῦλον ὁ δεσπότης, εἶπεν ὠνήσασθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἅλω, ὅπως βωμὸν ἐν αὐτῇ κατασκευάσῃ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ποιήσῃ θυσίαν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἅλω εἶπε καὶ τὰ ἄροτρα καὶ τοὺς βόας εἰς ὁλοκαύτωσιν χαρίζεσθαι καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἡδέως εὔχεσθαι τὴν θυσίαν προσέσθαι. [332] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀγαπᾶν μὲν αὐτὸν τῆς ἁπλότητος καὶ τῆς μεγαλοψυχίας ἔλεγε καὶ δέχεσθαι τὴν χάριν, τιμὴν δ' αὐτὸν ἠξίου λαμβάνειν πάντων: οὐ γὰρ εἶναι δίκαιον προῖκα θυσίαν ἐπιτελεῖν. τοῦ δὲ Ὀροννᾶ φήσαντος ποιεῖν ὅ τι βούλεται πεντήκοντα σίκλων ὠνεῖται παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἅλω. [333] καὶ οἰκοδομήσας τὸν βωμὸν ἱερούργησε καὶ ὡλοκαύτωσε καὶ θυσίας ἐπήνεγκεν εἰρηνικάς. καταπραύνεται δὲ τούτοις τὸ θεῖον καὶ πάλιν εὐμενὲς γίνεται. συνέβη δ' εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἀγαγεῖν τὸν τόπον Ἄβραμον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἴσακον ὥστε ὁλοκαυτῶσαι, καὶ μέλλοντος ἀποσφάττεσθαι τοῦ παιδὸς κριὸν ἐξαίφνης ἀναφανῆναι παρεστῶτα τῷ βωμῷ, ὃν καὶ κατέθυσεν Ἄβραμος ἀντὶ τοῦ παιδός, ὡς προειρήκαμεν. [334] ὁρῶν δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς Δαυίδης τῆς εὐχῆς αὐτοῦ τὸν θεὸν ἐπήκοον γεγενημένον καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ἡδέως προσδεξάμενον ἔκρινε τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον ὅλον βωμὸν προσαγορεῦσαι τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς καὶ οἰκοδομῆσαι ναὸν τῷ θεῷ. καὶ ταύτην εὐστόχως ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὸ γενησόμενον τὴν φωνήν: ὁ γὰρ θεὸς τὸν προφήτην ἀποστείλας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ ναὸν ἔλεγεν οἰκοδομήσειν αὐτοῦ τὸν υἱὸν τὸν μέλλοντα μετ' αὐτὸν τὴν βασιλείαν διαδέχεσθαι.

XIV

(1) [335] Μετὰ δὴ ταύτην τὴν προφητείαν ἐκέλευσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς παροίκους ἐξαριθμηθῆναι καὶ εὑρέθησαν εἰς ὀκτὼ μυριάδας καὶ δέκα. ἐκ τούτων ἀπέδειξε λατόμους μὲν τοὺς ὀκτακισμυρίους, τὸ δ' ἄλλο πλῆθος παραφέρειν τοὺς λίθους, τρισχιλίους δὲ καὶ πεντακοσίους τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπέστησεν. ἡτοίμασε δὲ καὶ πολὺν σίδηρον καὶ χαλκὸν εἰς τὰ ἔργα καὶ ξύλα κέδρινα πολλὰ καὶ παμμεγεθέστατα, Τυρίων αὐτῷ ταῦτα πεμπόντων καὶ Σιδωνίων: ἐπεστάλκει γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὴν τῶν ξύλων χορηγίαν. [336] πρός τε τοὺς φίλους ἔλεγε ταῦτα παρασκευάζεσθαι νῦν, ἵνα τῷ μέλλοντι παιδὶ βασιλεύειν μετ' αὐτὸν ἑτοίμην τὴν

ὕλην τῆς οἰκοδομίας καταλείπῃ καὶ μὴ τότε συμπορίζῃ νέος ὢν καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἄπειρος διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἔχων παρακειμένην ἐπιτελῇ τὸ ἔργον.

(2) [337] Καλέσας δὲ τὸν παῖδα Σολόμωνα κατασκευάσαι τῷ θεῷ ναὸν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε διαδεξάμενον τὴν βασιλείαν λέγων, ὡς αὐτὸν βουλόμενον κωλύσειεν ὁ θεὸς αἵματι καὶ πολέμοις πεφυραμένον, προείποι δ᾽ ὅτι Σολόμων οἰκοδομήσει αὐτῷ παῖς νεώτατος καὶ τοῦτο κληθησόμενος τοὔνομα, οὗ προνοήσειν μὲν αὐτὸς ὡς πατὴρ ἐπηγγέλλετο, τὴν δ᾽ Ἑβραίων χώραν εὐδαίμονα καταστήσειν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ μεγίστῳ πάντων εἰρήνῃ καὶ πολέμων ἀπαλλαγῇ καὶ στάσεων ἐμφυλίων. [338] σὺ τοίνυν ἐπεὶ καὶ πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως ἀπεδείχθης βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πειρῶ τά τε ἄλλα γίνεσθαι τῆς τούτου προνοίας ἄξιος εὐσεβὴς ὢν καὶ δίκαιος καὶ ἀνδρεῖος, καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς νόμους οὓς διὰ Μωυσέος ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν φύλαττε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις μὴ παραβαίνειν ἐπίτρεπε. [339] τὸν δὲ ναόν, ὃν ὑπὸ σοῦ βασιλεύοντος εἵλετο αὐτῷ γενέσθαι, σπούδασον ἀποδοῦναι τῷ θεῷ μὴ καταπλαγεὶς τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ἔργου μηδ᾽ ἀποδειλιάσας πρὸς αὐτό: πάντα γάρ σοι πρὸ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ τελευτῆς ἕτοιμα ποιήσω. [340] γίνωσκε χρυσοῦ μὲν ἤδη τάλαντα συνειλεγμένα μύρια, δέκα δ᾽ ἀργύρου μυριάδας ταλάντων, χαλκόν τε καὶ σίδηρον ἀριθμοῦ πλείονα συντέθεικα καὶ ξύλων δὲ καὶ λίθων ὕλην ἄφθονον, ἔχεις δὲ καὶ λατόμων πολλὰς μυριάδας καὶ τεκτόνων: ἂν δέ τι τούτοις προσδέῃ, σὺ προσθήσεις. [341] γίνου τοίνυν ἄριστος τὸν θεὸν ἔχων προστάτην.” προσπαρεκελεύσατο δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοῦ λαοῦ τῆς οἰκοδομίας συλλαβέσθαι τῷ παιδὶ καὶ πάντων ἀδεεῖς ὄντας τῶν κακῶν περὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείαν ἀσχολεῖν: καρπώσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀντὶ τούτων εἰρήνην καὶ εὐνομίαν, οἷς ἀμείβεται τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς καὶ δικαίους ὁ θεὸς ἀνθρώπους. [342] οἰκοδομηθέντος δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τὴν κιβωτὸν αὐτὸν ἀποθέσθαι προσέταξε καὶ τὰ ἅγια σκεύη πρὸ πολλοῦ ναὸν ὀφείλοντα ἔχειν, εἰ τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ παρήκουσαν ἡμῶν οἱ πατέρες ἐντειλαμένου μετὰ τὸ τὴν γῆν ταύτην κατασχεῖν οἰκοδομῆσαι ναὸν αὐτῷ. ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ὁ Δαυίδης καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ διελέχθη.

(3) [343] Πρεσβύτερος δὲ ὢν ἤδη καὶ τοῦ σώματος αὐτῷ ψυχομένου διὰ τὸν χρόνον δύσριγος ὑπῆρχεν, ὡς μηδ᾽ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἐκ πολλῶν ἱματίων γινομένης ἀναθερμαίνεσθαι. συνελθόντων δὲ τῶν ἰατρῶν καὶ συμβουλευσάντων, ὅπως ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς χώρας εὐειδὴς ἐπιλεχθεῖσα παρθένος συγκαθεύδῃ τῷ βασιλεῖ, τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ ῥῖγος ἔσεσθαι βοήθημα θαλπούσης αὐτὸν τῆς κόρης, [344] εὑρίσκετ᾽ ἐν πόλει γυνὴ μία πασῶν τὸ εἶδος ἀρίστη γυναικῶν Ἀβισάκη τοὔνομα, ἣ συγκοιμωμένη μόνον τῷ βασιλεῖ συνεθέρμαινεν αὐτόν: ὑπὸ γὰρ γήρως ἦν πρὸς τἀφροδίσια καὶ γυναικὸς ὁμιλίαν ἀσθενής. καὶ περὶ μὲν ταύτης τῆς παρθένου μετ᾽ ὀλίγον δηλώσομεν.

(4) [345] Ὁ δὲ τέταρτος υἱὸς Δαυίδου νεανίας εὐειδὴς καὶ μέγας, ἐκ γυναικὸς αὐτῷ Αἰγίσθης γεγονὼς Ἀδωνίας δὲ προσαγορευόμενος, ἐμφερὴς ὢν Ἀψαλώμῳ

τήν τε διάνοιαν αὐτὸς ὡς βασιλεύσων ἐπῆρτο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἔλεγεν, ὡς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτὸν δεῖ παραλαβεῖν: κατεσκεύασε δὲ ἅρματα πολλὰ καὶ ἵππους καὶ πεντήκοντα ἄνδρας τοὺς προδρόμους. [346] ταῦθ' ὁρῶν ὁ πατὴρ οὐκ ἐπέπληττεν οὐδ' ἐπεῖχεν αὐτὸν τῆς προαιρέσεως οὐδὲ μέχρι τοῦ πυθέσθαι διὰ τί ταῦτα πράττει προήχθη. συνεργοὺς δ' εἶχεν Ἀδωνίας τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἰώαβον καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ἀβιάθαρον, μόνοι δ' ἀντέπραττον ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Σάδωκος καὶ ὁ προφήτης Νάθας καὶ Βαναίας ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων καὶ Σιμούεις ὁ Δαυίδου φίλος καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀνδρειότατοι. [347] τοῦ δὲ Ἀδωνία παρασκευασαμένου δεῖπνον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως παρὰ τὴν πηγὴν τὴν ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ παραδείσῳ καὶ πάντας καλέσαντος τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς χωρὶς Σολόμωνος, παραλαβόντος δὲ καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἰώαβον καὶ Ἀβιάθαρον καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς, οὔτε δὲ Σάδωκον τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ Νάθαν τὸν προφήτην καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων Βαναίαν καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἐναντίας αἱρέσεως καλέσαντος ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίασιν, [348] τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν Σολόμωνος κατεμήνυσε μητέρα Βερσάβην Νάθας ὁ προφήτης, ὡς Ἀδωνίας βασιλεῦσαι βούλεται, συνεβούλευέ τε σώζειν αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν παῖδα Σολόμωνα, εἴπερ Ἀδωνίας τὴν ἀρχὴν ἤδη παραλάβοι, καὶ περὶ τούτου πυθέσθαι τοῦ βασιλέως. [349] ταῦτα δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ διαλεγομένης ὁ προφήτης εἰσελεύσεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφησε καὶ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῆς ἐπιμαρτυρήσειν. ἡ δὲ Βερσάβη πεισθεῖσα τῷ Νάθᾳ πάρεισι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ προσκυνήσασα καὶ λόγον αἰτησα [350] μένη πάντ' αὐτῷ [καθὼς] ὁ προφήτης ὑπέθετο διεξέρχεται τό τε δεῖπνον τὸ Ἀδωνία καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κεκλημένους Ἀβιάθαρον τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ Ἰώαβον τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ χωρὶς Σολόμωνος καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων αὐτοῦ φίλων μηνύσασα: ἔλεγέ τε πάντα τὸν λαὸν ἀφορᾶν, τίνα χειροτονήσει βασιλέα, παρεκάλει τε κατὰ νοῦν ἔχειν, ὡς μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλεύσας αὐτήν τε καὶ Σολόμωνα τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς ἀναιρήσει.

(5) [351] Διαλεγομένης δὲ ἔτι τῆς γυναικὸς ἤγγειλαν οἱ τοῦ δωματίου προεστῶτες, ὅτι βούλεται Νάθας ἰδεῖν αὐτόν. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἐκδέξασθαι κελεύσαντος εἰσελθών, εἰ τήμερον ἀποδείξειε τὸν Ἀδωνίαν βασιλέα καὶ παραδοίη τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπυνθάνετο: [352] λαμπρὸν γὰρ αὐτὸν ποιήσαντα δεῖπνον κεκληκέναι τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ πάντας χωρὶς Σολόμωνος καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἰώαβον, οἳ μετὰ κρότου καὶ παιδιᾶς εὐωχούμενοι πολλῆς αἰώνιον αὐτῷ συνεύχονται τὴν ἡγεμονίαν: ἐκάλεσε δὲ οὔτε ἐμὲ οὔτε τὸν ἀρχιερέα Σάδωκον οὔτε Βαναίαν τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων: δίκαιον δ' εἶναι ταῦτα γινώσκειν ἅπαντας, [353] εἰ κατὰ τὴν σὴν γνώμην ἐγένετο." ταῦτα τοῦ Νάθα φήσαντος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσε καλέσαι τὴν Βερσάβην πρὸς αὐτόν: ἐκπεπηδήκει γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ δωματίου τοῦ προφήτου παραγενομένου. τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς ἐλθούσης, "ὄμνυμί σοι, φησί, τὸν μέγιστον θεόν, ἢ μὴν τὸν υἱόν σου Σολόμωνα βασιλεύσειν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ὤμοσα, καὶ τοῦτον ἐπὶ τοὐμοῦ καθιεῖσθαι θρόνου: καὶ τοῦτο ἔσται τή

[354] μερον.” προσκυνησάσης δ’ αὐτὸν τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ μακρὸν εὐξαμένης αὐτῷ βίον Σάδωκον μεταπέμπεται τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ Βαναίαν τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων, καὶ παραγενομένοις κελεύει παρα [355] λαβεῖν Νάθαν τὸν προφήτην καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν ὁπλίτας καὶ ἀναβιβάσαντας τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Σολόμωνα ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἡμίονον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἀγαγεῖν ἐπὶ πηγὴν τὴν λεγομένην Γειὼν καὶ περιχρίσαντας τὸ ἅγιον ἔλαιον ἀποδεῖξαι βασιλέα: τοῦτο δὲ ποιῆσαι προσέταξε Σάδωκον τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ Νάθαν τὸν προφήτην. [356] ἀκολουθοῦντάς τε προσέταξε διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως τοῖς κέρασιν ἐπισαλπίζοντας βοᾶν εἰς αἰῶνα Σολόμωνα τὸν βασιλέα καθίσαι ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ θρόνου, ἵνα γνῷ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἀποδεδειγμένον αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς βασιλέα, Σολόμωνι δ’ ἐντετάλθαι περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἵνα εὐσεβῶς καὶ δικαίως προστῇ τοῦ τε Ἑβραίων ἔθνους παντὸς καὶ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς. [357] Βαναία δὲ εὐξαμένου τὸν θεὸν Σολόμωνι εὐμενῆ γενέσθαι μηδὲ μικρὸν διαλιπόντες ἀναβιβάζουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμίονον τὸν Σολόμωνα, καὶ προαγαγόντες ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν καὶ τῷ ἐλαίῳ χρίσαντες εἰσήγαγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπευφημοῦντες καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι πολυχρόνιον εὐχόμενοι, [358] καὶ παραγαγόντες εἰς τὸν οἶκον τὸν βασιλικὸν καθίζουσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου, καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐπ’ εὐωχίαν εὐθὺς ἐτράπη καὶ ἑορτὴν χορεύων καὶ αὐλοῖς τερπόμενος, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ὀργάνων ἅπασαν περιηχεῖσθαι τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸν ἀέρα.

(6) [359] Ὡς δ’ ᾔσθοντο τῆς βοῆς Ἀδωνίας τε καὶ οἱ παρόντες ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐταράχθησαν, ὅ τε στρατηγὸς Ἰώαβος ἔλεγεν οὐκ ἀρέσκεσθαι τοῖς ἤχοις οὐδὲ τῇ σάλπιγγι. παρακειμένου δὲ τοῦ δείπνου καὶ μηδενὸς γευομένου πάντων δ’ ἐπ’ ἐννοίας ὑπαρχόντων, εἰστρέχει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Ἀβιαθάρου παῖς Ἰωνάθης. [360] τοῦ δ’ Ἀδωνία θεασαμένου τὸν νεανίαν ἡδέως καὶ προσειπόντος ἀγαθῶν ἄγγελον, ἐδήλου πάντ’ αὐτοῖς τὰ περὶ τὸν Σολόμωνα καὶ τὴν Δαυίδου τοῦ βασιλέως γνώμην: ἀναπηδήσαντες δ’ ἐκ τοῦ συμποσίου ὅ τε Ἀδωνίας καὶ οἱ κεκλημένοι πάντες ἔφυγον πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἕκαστοι. [361] φοβηθεὶς δ’ Ἀδωνίας τὸν βασιλέα περὶ τῶν γεγονότων ἱκέτης γίνεται τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου κεράτων ἃ δὴ προεῖχεν ἐλλαβόμενος δηλοῦται τοῦτο Σολόμωνι πεποιηκὼς καὶ πίστεις ἀξιῶν παρ’ αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν, ὥστε μὴ μνησικακῆσαι μηδ’ ἐργάσασθαι δεινὸν αὐτὸν μηδέν. [362] ὁ δὲ ἡμέρως πάνυ καὶ σωφρόνως τῆς μὲν τότε ἁμαρτίας αὐτὸν ἀφῆκεν ἀθῷον, εἰπὼν δέ, εἰ ληφθείη τι πάλιν καινοποιῶν, ἑαυτῷ αἴτιον τῆς τιμωρίας ἔσεσθαι, πέμψας ἀνίστησιν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἱκεσίας: ἐλθόντα δὲ καὶ προσκυνήσαντα εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν οἰκίαν ἀπελθεῖν ἐκέλευσε μηδὲν ὑφορώμενον καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ παρέχειν αὐτὸν ἀγαθὸν ὡς αὐτῷ τοῦτο συμφέρον ἠξίου.

(7) [363] Βουλόμενος δὲ Δαυίδης ἐπὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ ἀποδεῖξαι τὸν υἱὸν βασιλέα συγκαλεῖ τοὺς ἄρχοντας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς Ληουίτας. ἐξαριθμήσας δὲ τούτους πρῶτον εὑρίσκει τῶν ἀπὸ τριάκοντα ἐτῶν ἕως πεντήκοντα τρισμυρίους ὀκτακισχιλίους. [364] ἐξ ὧν ἀπέδειξεν ἐπιμελητὰς μὲν τῆς οἰκοδομίας τοῦ ναοῦ δισμυρίους τετρακισχιλίους, κριτὰς δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ γραμματεῖς τούτων ἑξακισχιλίους, πυλωροὺς δὲ τετρακισχιλίους καὶ τοσούτους ὑμνῳδοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ ᾄδοντας τοῖς ὀργάνοις οἷς Δαυίδης κατεσκεύασε, καθὼς προειρήκαμεν. [365] διεμέρισε δ᾽ αὐτοὺς καὶ κατὰ πατριὰς καὶ χωρίσας ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς τοὺς ἱερεῖς εὗρε τούτων εἴκοσι τέσσαρας πατριάς, ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ἐλεαζάρου οἰκίας ἑκκαίδεκα, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰθαμάρου ὀκτώ, διέταξέ τε μίαν πατριὰν διακονεῖσθαι τῷ θεῷ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ὀκτὼ ἀπὸ σαββάτου ἐπὶ σάββατον. [366] καὶ οὕτως αἱ πατριαὶ πᾶσαι διεκληρώσαντο Δαυίδου παρόντος καὶ Σαδώκου καὶ Ἀβιαθάρου τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀρχόντων: καὶ ἡ πρώτη μὲν ἀναβᾶσα πατριὰ ἐγράφη πρώτη, ἡ δὲ δευτέρα ἀκολούθως ἄχρι τῶν εἴκοσι τεσσάρων: καὶ διέμεινεν οὗτος ὁ μερισμὸς ἄχρι τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας. [367] ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ τῆς Ληουίτιδος φυλῆς εἴκοσι μέρη καὶ τέσσαρα καὶ κληρωσαμένων κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀνέβησαν τρόπον ταῖς τῶν ἱερέων ἐφημερίσιν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ὀκτώ. τοὺς δ᾽ ἀπογόνους τοὺς Μωυσέος ἐτίμησεν: ἐποίησε γὰρ αὐτοὺς φύλακας τῶν θησαυρῶν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων, ἃ συνέβη τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἀναθεῖναι: διέταξε δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ληουίτιδος φυλῆς καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι δουλεύειν κατὰ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν τῷ θεῷ, καθὼς αὐτοῖς ἐπέστειλε Μωυσῆς.

(8) [368] Μετὰ ταῦτα διεμέρισε τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς δώδεκα μοίρας σὺν ἡγεμόσι καὶ ἑκατοντάρχοις καὶ ταξιάρχαις. εἶχεν δ᾽ ἑκάστη τῶν μοιρῶν δισμυρίους καὶ τετρακισχιλίους, ὧν ἐκέλευσε προσεδρεύειν κατὰ τριάκονθ᾽ ἡμέρας ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἕως τῆς ὑστάτης Σολόμωνι τῷ βασιλεῖ σὺν τοῖς χιλιάρχοις καὶ ἑκατοντάρχοις. [369] κατέστησε δὲ καὶ ἄρχοντα ἑκάστης μοίρας ὃν ἀγαθὸν ᾔδει καὶ δίκαιον, ἐπιτρόπους τε τῶν θησαυρῶν καὶ κωμῶν καὶ ἀγρῶν ἄλλους καὶ κτηνῶν, ὧν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην μνησθῆναι τῶν ὀνομάτων.

(9) [370] Ὡς δ᾽ ἕκαστα τούτων κατὰ τὸν προειρημένον διέταξε τρόπον, εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συγκαλέσας τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν Ἑβραίων καὶ τοὺς φυλάρχους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν διαιρέσεων καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ πάσης πράξεως ἢ κτήσεως τοῦ βασιλέως τεταγμένους, στὰς ἐφ᾽ ὑψηλοτάτου βήματος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔλεξε πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος: [371] “ἀδελφοὶ καὶ ὁμοεθνεῖς, γινώσκειν ὑμᾶς βούλομαι, ὅτι ναὸν οἰκοδομῆσαι τῷ θεῷ διανοηθεὶς χρυσόν τε πολὺν παρεσκευασάμην καὶ ἀργύρου ταλάντων μυριάδας δέκα, ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐκώλυσέ με διὰ τοῦ προφήτου Νάθα διά τε τοὺς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πολέμους καὶ τῷ φόνῳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μεμιάνθαι τὴν δεξιάν, τὸν δὲ υἱὸν ἐκέλευσε τὸν διαδεξόμενον τὴν βασιλείαν κατασκευάσαι τὸν ναὸν αὐτῷ. [372] νῦν οὖν ἐπεὶ καὶ τῷ προγόνῳ ἡμῶν Ἰακώβῳ δυοκαίδεκα παίδων γενομένων ἵστε τὸν Ἰούδαν ἀποδειχθέντα βασιλέα, καὶ ἐμὲ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐξ ὄντων

προκριθέντα καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν λαβόντα παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μηδένα τούτων δυσχεράναντα, οὕτως ἀξιῶ κἀγὼ τοὺς ἐμαυτοῦ παῖδας μὴ στασιάζειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους Σολόμωνος τὴν βασιλείαν παρειληφότος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπισταμένους ὡς ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ἐξελέξατο φέρειν ἡδέως αὐτὸν δεσπότην. [373] οὐ δεινὸν γὰρ θεοῦ θέλοντος οὐδ᾽ ἀλλοτρίῳ κρατοῦντι δουλεύειν, χαίρειν δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀδελφῷ ταύτης τυχόντι τῆς τιμῆς προσῆκεν ὡς κοινωνοῦντας αὐτῆς. εὔχομαι δὴ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις τοῦ θεοῦ παρελθεῖν εἰς τέλος καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ταύτην ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν σπαρῆναι καὶ τὸν ἅπαντα ταύτῃ παραμεῖναι χρόνον, ἣν αὐτὸς ἐπηγγείλατο παρέξειν ἐπὶ Σολόμωνος βασιλέως. [374] ἔσται δὲ ταῦτα βέβαια καὶ καλὸν ἕξει πέρας, ἂν εὐσεβῆ καὶ δίκαιον αὐτὸν καὶ φύλακα τῶν πατρίων παρέχῃς νόμων, ᾧ τέκνον: εἰ δὲ μή, τὰ χείρω προσδοκάτω ταῦτα παραβαίνων.”

(10) [375] Ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς τούτους ποιησάμενος τοὺς λόγους ἐπαύσατο, τήν τε διαγραφὴν καὶ διάταξιν τῆς οἰκοδομίας τοῦ ναοῦ πάντων ὁρώντων ἔδωκε Σολόμωνι θεμελίων καὶ οἴκων [καὶ] ὑπερῴων, ὅσοι τε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ πηλίκοι τὸ ὕψος καὶ εὖρος γένοιντο, ὅσα τε σκεύη χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ τούτων τὸν σταθμὸν ὥρισε. [376] προσπαρώρμησε δὲ καὶ λόγοις αὐτόν τε πάσῃ χρήσασθαι προθυμίᾳ περὶ τὸ ἔργον καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τὴν Ληουιτῶν φυλὴν συναγωνίσασθαι διά τε τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ διὰ τὸ τὸν θεὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐλέσθαι καὶ τῆς οἰκοδομίας τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας προστάτην. [377] εὐμαρῆ δ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐ σφόδρα ἐπίπονον τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ἀπέφαινεν αὐτοῦ μὲν πολλὰ τάλαντα χρυσοῦ πλείω δ᾽ ἀργύρου καὶ ξύλα καὶ τεκτόνων πλῆθος καὶ λατόμων ἤδη παρεσκευασμένου σμαράγδου τε καὶ πάσης ἰδέας λίθου πολυτελοῦς: [378] καὶ νῦν δ᾽ ἔτι τῆς ἰδίας ἀπαρχὴν διακονίας ἄλλα τρισχίλια τάλαντα χρυσοῦ καθαροῦ παρέξειν ἔλεγεν εἰς τὸ ἄδυτον καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅρμα τοῦ θεοῦ τοὺς Χερουβεῖς, οὓς ἐφεστάναι δεήσει τὴν κιβωτὸν καλύπτοντας. σιωπήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Δαυίδου πολλὴ καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῆς Ληουίτιδος φυλῆς προθυμία συμβαλλομένων καὶ ποιουμένων ἐπαγγελίας λαμπρὰς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς ἐγένετο: [379] χρυσοῦ μὲν γὰρ ὑπέστησαν εἰσοίσειν τάλαντα πεντακισχίλια καὶ στατῆρας μυρίους, ἀργυρίου δὲ μύρια τάλαντα, καὶ σιδήρου μυριάδας ταλάντων πολλάς: καὶ εἴ τινι λίθος ἦν πολυτελὴς ἐκόμισε καὶ παρέδωκεν εἰς τοὺς θησαυρούς, ὧν ἐπετρόπευεν ὁ Μωυσέος ἔκγονος Ἴαλος.

(11) [380] Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἥσθη τε ὁ λαὸς ἅπας καὶ Δαυίδης τὴν σπουδὴν καὶ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ ἱερέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων ὁρῶν τὸν θεὸν εὐλογεῖν ἤρξατο μεγάλῃ βοῇ πατέρα τε καὶ γένεσιν τῶν ὅλων ἀποκαλῶν καὶ δημιουργὸν ἀνθρωπίνων καὶ θείων, οἷς αὐτὸν ἐκόσμησε, προστάτην τε καὶ κηδεμόνα γένους τῶν Ἑβραίων καὶ τῆς τούτων εὐδαιμονίας ἧς τε αὐτῷ βασιλείας ἔδωκεν. [381] ἐπὶ τούτοις εὐξάμενος τῷ τε παντὶ λαῷ τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τῷ παιδὶ Σολόμωνι διάνοιαν ὑγιῆ καὶ δικαίαν καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τῆς ἀρετῆς μέρεσιν ἐρρωμένην ἐκέλευσε καὶ τὸ πλῆθος εὐλογεῖν τὸν θεόν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πεσόντες ἐπὶ

τὴν γῆν προσεκύνησαν, εὐχαρίστησαν δὲ καὶ Δαυίδῃ περὶ πάντων ὧν αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντος ἀπέλαυσαν. [382] τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ θυσίας τῷ θεῷ παρέστησαν μόσχους χιλίους καὶ κριοὺς τοσούτους καὶ χιλίους ἀμνούς, οὓς ὡλοκαύτωσαν: ἔθυσαν δὲ καὶ τὰς εἰρηνικὰς θυσίας πολλὰς μυριάδας ἱερείων κατασφάξαντες. καὶ δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας ἑώρτασεν ὁ βασιλεὺς σὺν παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, καὶ Σολόμωνα δεύτερον ἔχρισαν τῷ ἐλαίῳ καὶ ἀπέδειξαν αὐτὸν βασιλέα καὶ Σάδωκον ἀρχιερέα τῆς πληθύος ἁπάσης. εἵς τε τὸ βασίλειον ἀγαγόντες Σολόμωνα καὶ καθίσαντες αὐτὸν ἐπὶ θρόνου τοῦ πατρῴου ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπήκουον αὐτῷ.

XV

(1) [383] Μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ χρόνον ὁ Δαυίδης καταπεσὼν εἰς νόσον ὑπὸ γήρως καὶ συνειδὼς ὅτι μέλλει τελευτᾶν καλέσας τὸν υἱὸν Σολόμωνα διελέχθη πρὸς αὐτὸν τοιάδε: "ἐγὼ μέν, ὦ τέκνον, εἰς τὸ χρεὼν ἤδη καὶ πατέρας τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἀπαλλάσσομαι κοινὴν ὁδὸν ἁπάντων τῶν τε νῦν ὄντων καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων πορευόμενος, ἐξ ἧς οὐκέτι οἷόν τε ἐπανελθόντα γνῶναι, τί κατὰ τὸν βίον πράττεται. [384] διὸ ζῶν ἔτι καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ γεγονὼς τῷ τελευτᾶν παραινῶ σοι ταῦθ' ἃ καὶ πρότερον ἔφθην συμβουλεύσας, δικαίῳ μὲν εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχομένους, εὐσεβεῖ δὲ πρὸς τὸν τὴν βασιλείαν δεδωκότα θεόν, φυλάττειν δ' αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐντολὰς καὶ τοὺς νόμους, οὓς αὐτὸς διὰ Μωυσέος κατέπεμψεν ἡμῖν, καὶ μήτε χάριτι μήτε θωπείᾳ μήτ' ἐπιθυμίᾳ μήτε ἄλλῳ πάθει προστιθέμενον τούτων ἀμελῆσαι: [385] τὴν γὰρ τοῦ θείου πρὸς σαυτὸν εὔνοιαν ἀπολεῖς παραβάς τι τῶν νομίμων καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἀποστρέψεις πρόνοιαν: τοιοῦτον δὲ σεαυτὸν παρέχων, ὁποῖον εἶναί τε δεῖ κἀγὼ δὲ παρακαλῶ, καθέξεις ἡμῶν τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ γένει καὶ οἶκος ἄλλος Ἑβραίων οὐκ ἂν δεσπόσειεν, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ διὰ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος. [386] μέμνησο δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἰωάβου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ παρανομίας ἀποκτείναντος διὰ ζηλοτυπίαν δύο στρατηγοὺς δικαίους καὶ ἀγαθούς, Ἀβεννῆρόν τε τὸν Νήρου παῖδα καὶ τὸν Ἀμασὰν υἱὸν Ἰέθρα: ὧν ὅπως ἄν σοι δόξῃ τὸν θάνατον ἐκδίκησον, ἐπεὶ καὶ κρείττων ἐμοῦ καὶ δυνατώτερος ὁ Ἰώαβος ὢν μέχρι νῦν τὴν δίκην διέφυγε. [387] παρατίθεμαι δέ σοι καὶ τοὺς Βερζέλου τοῦ Γαλαδίτου παῖδας, οὓς ἐν τιμῇ πάσῃ καὶ προνοίᾳ τοῦτ' ἐμοὶ χαριζόμενος ἕξεις: οὐ προκατάρχομεν γὰρ εὐποιίας, ἀλλ' ἀμοιβὴν ὧν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῶν παρὰ τὴν φυγὴν ὑπῆρξέ μοι χρεολυτοῦμεν. [388] καὶ τὸν Γήρα δὲ υἱὸν Σουμούιν τὸν ἐκ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς, ὃς πολλὰ βλασφημήσας με παρὰ τὴν φυγήν, ὅτ' εἰς Παρεμβολὰς ἐπορευόμην, ἀπήντησεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόρδανον καὶ πίστεις ἔλαβεν ὡς μηδὲν αὐτὸν παθεῖν τότε, νῦν ἐπιζητήσας αἰτίαν εὔλογον ἄμυνε."

(2) [389] Ταῦτα παραινέσας τῷ παιδὶ περί τε τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων καὶ [περὶ] τῶν φίλων καὶ οὓς ᾔδει τιμωρίας ἀξίους γεγενημένους ἀπέθανεν, ἔτη μὲν βιώσας ἑβδομήκοντα, βασιλεύσας δὲ ἑπτὰ μὲν ἐν Χεβρῶνι τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς καὶ μῆνας ἕξ, ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις δὲ ἁπάσης τῆς χώρας τρία καὶ τριάκοντα. [390] οὕτως ἀρίστῳ ἀνδρὶ γεγενημένῳ καὶ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἔχοντι καὶ τοσούτων ἐθνῶν σωτηρίαν ἐγκεχειρισμένῳ βασιλεῖ ἔδει προσεπαινέσαι καὶ τό τε τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ εὐσθενὲς καὶ τὸ τῆς σωφροσύνης συνετόν: ἀνδρεῖος γὰρ ἦν, ὡς οὐκ ἄλλος τις, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἀγῶσι πρῶτος ἐπὶ τοὺς κινδύνους ὥρμα, τῷ πονεῖν καὶ μάχεσθαι παρακελευόμενος τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπὶ τὰς παρατάξεις ἀλλ᾽ οὐχὶ τῷ προστάττειν ὡς δεσπότης, [391] νοῆσαί τε καὶ συνιδεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐνεστηκότων οἰκονομίας ἱκανώτατος, σώφρων ἐπιεικὴς χρηστὸς πρὸς τοὺς ἐν συμφοραῖς ὑπάρχοντας δίκαιος φιλάνθρωπος, ἃ μόνοις δικαιότατα βασιλεῦσιν εἶναι προσῆκε, μηδὲν ὅλως παρὰ τοσοῦτο μέγεθος ἐξουσίας ἁμαρτὼν ἢ τὸ περὶ τὴν Οὐρία γυναῖκα. κατέλιπε δὲ καὶ πλοῦτον ὅσον οὐκ ἄλλος βασιλεὺς οὔθ᾽ Ἑβραίων οὔτ᾽ ἄλλων ἐθνῶν.

(3) [392] Ἔθαψε δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ παῖς Σολόμων ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις διαπρεπῶς τοῖς τε ἄλλοις οἷς περὶ κηδείαν νομίζεται βασιλικὴν ἅπασι καὶ δὴ καὶ πλοῦτον αὐτῷ πολὺν καὶ ἄφθονον συνεκήδευσεν, ὧν τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τεκμήραιτ᾽ ἄν τις ῥᾳδίως ἐκ τοῦ λεχθησομένου: [393] μετὰ γὰρ χρόνον ἐτῶν χιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων Ὑρκανὸς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς πολιορκούμενος ὑπ᾽ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς ἐπικληθέντος υἱοῦ δὲ Δημητρίου, βουλόμενος χρήματ᾽ αὐτῷ δοῦναι ὑπὲρ τοῦ λῦσαι τὴν πολιορκίαν καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπαγαγεῖν καὶ ἀλλαχόθεν οὐκ εὐπορῶν, ἀνοίξας ἕνα οἶκον τῶν ἐν τῷ Δαυίδου μνήματι καὶ βαστάσας τρισχίλια τάλαντα μέρος ἔδωκεν Ἀντιόχῳ καὶ διέλυσεν οὕτως τὴν πολιορκίαν, καθὼς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδηλώκαμεν. [394] μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐτῶν πολλῶν διαγενομένων πάλιν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης ἕτερον ἀνοίξας οἶκον ἀνείλετο χρήματα πολλά. ταῖς μέντοι γε θήκαις τῶν βασιλέων οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐπέτυχεν: ἦσαν γὰρ ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν μηχανικῶς κεκηδευμέναι πρὸς τὸ μὴ φανεραὶ εἶναι τοῖς εἰς τὸ μνῆμα εἰσιοῦσιν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἡμῖν τοσοῦτον ἀπόχρη δεδηλῶσθαι.

Liber VIII

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Ὡς Σολόμων τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀνεῖλε.

β. περὶ τῆς σοφίας αὐτοῦ καὶ συνέσεως καὶ τοῦ πλούτου.

γ. ὅτι πρῶτος τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ναὸν ᾠκοδόμησεν.

δ. ὡς τελευτήσαντος Σολόμωνος ὁ λαὸς ἀποστὰς τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Ῥοβοάμου τῶν δέκα φυλῶν τῶν ὑπηκόων τινὰ Ἱεροβόαμον ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα, τῶν δὲ δύο φυλῶν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἐβασίλευσεν.

ε. ὡς Ἴσακος Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ κατασχὼν τὴν πόλιν τὸν πλοῦτον αὐτῆς εἰς Αἴγυπτον μετήνεγκε.

ς. στρατεία Ἱεροβοάμου τοῦ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέως ἐπὶ τὸν υἱὸν τὸν Ῥοβοάμου καὶ ἥττα.

ζ. ὅτι τὴν Ἱεροβοάμου γενεὰν Βασίνης τις ὄνομα διαφθείρας αὐτὸς τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχεν.

η. Αἰθιόπων ἐπιστρατεία τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις βασιλεύοντος αὐτῶν Ἀσάνου τοῦ Ἀβία παιδός, καὶ διαφθορὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ.

θ. ὡς τῆς Ἀβεσσάρου γενεᾶς διαφθαρείσης ἐβασίλευσε τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν Ἄμαρις καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἄχαβος.

ι. ὡς Ἄδαδος Δαμασκοῦ καὶ Συρίας βασιλεὺς δὶς ἐπ᾽ Ἄχαβον στρατευσάμενος ἠττήθη.

ια. Ἀμμανιτῶν καὶ Μωαβιτῶν στρατευσαμένων ἐπ᾽ Ἰωσαφάτην τὸν Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλέα ἥττα.

ιβ. ὡς Ἄχαβος ἐπὶ Σύρους στρατευσάμενος ἠττήθη τῇ μάχῃ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπώλετο.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος αὕτη ἔτη ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα καὶ τρία.

I

(1) [1] Περὶ μὲν οὖν Δαυίδου καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος γενόμενος τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις πολέμους τε καὶ μάχας ὅσας κατορθώσας γηραιὸς ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης βίβλῳ δεδηλώκαμεν. [2] Σολόμωνος δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ νέου τὴν ἡλικίαν ἔτι ὄντος τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντος, ὃν ἔτι ζῶν ἀπέφηνε τοῦ λαοῦ δεσπότην κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βούλησιν, καθίσαντος ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον ὁ μὲν πᾶς ὄχλος ἐπευφήμησεν, οἷον εἰκὸς ἐπ᾽ ἀρχομένῳ βασιλεῖ,

τελευτῆσαι καλῶς αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα καὶ πρὸς γῆρας ἀφικέσθαι λιπαρὸν καὶ πανεύδαιμον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν.

(2) [3] Ἀδωνίας δέ, ὃς καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔτι ζῶντος ἐπεχείρησε τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχεῖν, παρελθὼν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως μητέρα Βερσάβην καὶ φιλοφρόνως αὐτὴν ἀσπασάμενος, πυθομένης εἰ καὶ διὰ χρείαν τινὰ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀφῖκται καὶ δηλοῦν κελευούσης ὡς ἡδέως παρεξομένης ἤρξατο λέγειν, [4] ὅτι γινώσκει μὲν τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ πλήθους προαίρεσιν οὖσαν αὐτοῦ, μεταβάσης δὲ πρὸς Σολόμωνα τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμην στέργει καὶ ἀγαπᾷ τὴν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῷ δουλείαν καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν [ἥδεται πράγμασιν]. [5] ἐδεῖτο δ᾽ οὖν διακονῆσαι πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῷ καὶ πεῖσαι δοῦναι τὴν τῷ πατρὶ συγκοιμωμένην πρὸς γάμον αὐτῷ Ἀβισάκην: οὐ γὰρ πλησιάσαι τὸν πατέρα διὰ τὸ γῆρας αὐτῇ, μένειν δ᾽ ἔτι παρθένον. [6] ἡ δὲ Βερσάβη καὶ διακονήσειν σπουδαίως ὑπέσχετο καὶ καταπράξεσθαι τὸν γάμον δι᾽ ἀμφότερα, τοῦ τε βασιλέως αὐτῷ χαρίσασθαί τι βουλησομένου καὶ δεησομένης αὐτῆς λιπαρῶς. καὶ ὁ μὲν εὔελπις ἀπαλλάττεται περὶ τοῦ γάμου, ἡ δὲ τοῦ Σολόμωνος μήτηρ εὐθὺς ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν υἱὸν διαλεξομένη περὶ ὧν Ἀδωνίᾳ δεηθέντι κατεπηγγείλατο. [7] καὶ προυπαντήσαντος αὐτῇ τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ περιπλακέντος, ἐπεὶ παρήγαγεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον, οὗ συνέβαινεν αὐτῷ κεῖσθαι τὸν βασιλικὸν θρόνον, καθίσας ἐκέλευσεν ἕτερον ἐκ δεξιῶν τεθῆναι τῇ μητρί. καθεσθεῖσα δ᾽ ἡ Βερσάβη “μίαν, εἶπεν, ὦ παῖ, χάριν αἰτουμένη κατάνευσον καὶ μηδὲν ἐξ ἀρνήσεως δύσκολον μηδὲ σκυθρωπὸν ἀπεργάσῃ.” τοῦ δὲ Σολόμωνος προστάττειν κελεύοντος, [8] πάντα γὰρ ὅσιον εἶναι μητρὶ παρέχειν, καί τι προσμεμψαμένου τὴν ἀρχήν, ὅτι μὴ μετ᾽ ἐλπίδος ἤδη βεβαίας τοῦ τυχεῖν ὧν ἀξιοῖ ποιεῖται τοὺς λόγους ἀλλ᾽ ἄρνησιν ὑφορωμένη, δοῦναι τὴν παρθένον αὐτὸν Ἀβισάκην Ἀδωνίᾳ τἀδελφῷ πρὸς γάμον παρεκάλει.

(3) [9] Λαβὼν δὲ πρὸς ὀργὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν λόγον ἀποπέμπεται μὲν τὴν μητέρα μειζόνων ὀρέγεσθαι πραγμάτων εἰπὼν Ἀδωνίαν καὶ θαυμάζειν, πῶς οὐ παραχωρῆσαι καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ὡς πρεσβυτέρῳ παρακαλεῖ τὸν γάμον αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀβισάκης αἰτουμένη φίλους ἔχοντι δυνατοὺς Ἰώαβον τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ Ἀβιάθαρον τὸν ἱερέα, μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ Βαναίαν τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἀποκτεῖναι προσέταξεν αὐτῷ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀδωνίαν. [10] καλέσας δὲ τὸν Ἀβιάθαρον τὸν ἱερέα “θανάτου μέν, εἶπε, ῥύεταί σε τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα τῷ πατρὶ συνέκαμες καὶ ἡ κιβωτός, ἣν σὺν αὐτῷ μετήνεγκας. ταύτην δέ σοι τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐπιτίθημι ταξαμένῳ μετὰ Ἀδωνία καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου φρονήσαντι: μήτε ἐνθάδε ἴσθι μήτε εἰς ὄψιν ἀπάντα τὴν ἐμήν, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς τὴν πατρίδα πορευθεὶς ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ζῆθι καὶ τοῦτον ἄχρι τελευτῆς ἔχε τὸν βίον ἁμαρτὼν τοῦ μηκέτ᾽ εἶναι δι [11] καίως ἐν ἀξίᾳ.” καταλύεται μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερατικῆς τιμῆς ὁ Ἰθαμάρου οἶκος διὰ τὴν προειρημένην αἰτίαν, καθὼς καὶ τῷ Ἀβιαθάρου πάππῳ προεῖπεν ὁ θεὸς Ἠλεί, μετέβη δ᾽ εἰς τὸ Φιναάσου γένος πρὸς Σάδωκον. [12] οἱ δὲ ἰδιωτεύσαντες ἐκ

τοῦ Φιναάσου γένους καθ᾽ ὃν καιρὸν εἰς τὸν Ἰθαμάρου οἶκον ἡ ἀρχιερωσύνη μετῆλθεν Ἠλεὶ πρώτου ταύτην παραλαβόντος ἦσαν οὗτοι: ὁ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ υἱὸς Βοκίας, τούτου δὲ Ἰώθαμος, Ἰωθάμου δὲ Μαραίωθος, Μαραιώθου δὲ Ἀροφαῖος, Ἀροφαίου δὲ Ἀχίτωβος, Ἀχιτώβου δὲ Σάδωκος, ὃς πρῶτος ἐπὶ Δαυίδου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀρχιερεὺς ἐγένετο.

(4) [13] Ἰώαβος δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ἀκούσας Ἀδωνία περιδεὴς ἐγένετο, φίλος γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ βασιλεῖ Σολόμωνι, καὶ κίνδυνον ἐκ τούτου διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εὔνοιαν οὐκ ἀλόγως ὑποπτεύων καταφεύγει μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ἀσφάλειαν δὲ ἐνόμιζεν αὐτῷ ποριεῖν ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβείας τοῦ βασιλέως. [14] ὁ δὲ ἀπαγγειλάντων αὐτῷ τινων τὴν Ἰωάβου γνώμην πέμψας Βαναίαν ἐκέλευσεν ἀναστήσαντα ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὸ δικαστήριον ὡς ἀπολογησόμενον. Ἰώαβος δὲ οὐκ ἔφη καταλείψειν τὸ ἱερόν, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοῦ τεθνήξεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν ἑτέρῳ χωρίῳ. [15] Βαναίου δὲ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν αὐτοῦ τῷ βασιλεῖ δηλώσαντος προσέταξεν ὁ Σολόμων ἐκεῖ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποτεμεῖν, καθὼς βούλεται, καὶ ταύτην λαβεῖν τὴν δίκην ὑπὲρ τῶν δύο στρατηγῶν, οὓς ὁ Ἰώαβος ἀνοσίως ἀπέκτεινε, θάψαι δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα, ὅπως τὰ μὲν ἁμαρτήματα μηδέποτε καταλείπῃ τὸ γένος τὸ ἐκείνου, τῆς δὲ Ἰωάβου τελευτῆς αὐτός τε καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἀθῷοι τυγχάνωσι. [16] καὶ Βαναίας μὲν τὰ κελευσθέντα ποιήσας αὐτὸς ἀποδείκνυται στρατηγὸς πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως, Σάδωκον δὲ ποιεῖ μόνον ἀρχιερέα ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸν Ἀβιαθάρου τόπον, ὃν μετεστήσατο.

(5) [17] Σουμουίσῳ δὲ προσέταξεν οἰκίαν οἰκοδομήσαντι μένειν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις αὐτῷ προσεδρεύοντι καὶ μὴ διαβαίνειν τὸν χειμάρρουν Κεδρῶνα ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν, παρακούσαντι δὲ τούτων θάνατον ἔσεσθαι τὸ πρόστιμον. τῷ δὲ μεγέθει τῆς ἀπειλῆς καὶ ὅρκους αὐτῷ προσηνάγκασε ποιήσασθαι. [18] Σουμούισος δὲ χαίρειν οἷς προσέταξεν αὐτῷ Σολόμων φήσας καὶ ταῦτα ποιήσειν προσομόσας καταλιπὼν τὴν πατρίδα τὴν διατριβὴν ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐποιεῖτο. διελθόντων δὲ τριῶν ἐτῶν ἀκούσας δύο δούλους ἀποδράντας αὐτὸν ἐν Γίττῃ τυγχάνοντας ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας. [19] ἐπανελθόντος δὲ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς αἰσθόμενος, ὡς καὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν αὐτοῦ καταφρονήσαντος καὶ τὸ μεῖζον τῶν ὅρκων τοῦ θεοῦ μηδεμίαν ποιησαμένου φροντίδα, χαλεπῶς εἶχε καὶ καλέσας αὐτόν “οὐ σύ, φησίν, ὤμοσας μὴ καταλείψειν ἐμὲ μηδ᾽ ἐξελεύσεσθαί ποτ᾽ ἐκ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως εἰς ἄλλην; [20] οὔκουν ἀποδράσῃ τὴν τῆς ἐπιορκίας δίκην, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτης καὶ ὧν τὸν πατέρα μου παρὰ τὴν φυγὴν ὕβρισας τιμωρήσομαί σε πονηρὸν γενόμενον, ἵνα γνῷς ὅτι κερδαίνουσι μὲν οὐδὲν οἱ κακοὶ μὴ παρ᾽ αὐτὰ τἀδικήματα κολασθέντες, ἀλλὰ παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ ᾧ νομίζουσιν ἀδεεῖς εἶναι μηδὲν πεπονθότες αὔξεται καὶ γίνεται μείζων ἡ κόλασις αὐτοῖς ἧς ἂν παραυτίκα πλημμελήσαντες ἔδοσαν.” καὶ Σουμούισον μὲν κελευσθεὶς Βαναίας ἀπέκτεινεν.

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II

(1) [21] Ἤδη δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν βεβαίως ἔχων Σολόμων καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κεκολασμένων ἄγεται τὴν Φαραώθου τοῦ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέως θυγατέρα: καὶ κατασκευάσας τὰ τείχη [τῶν] Ἱεροσολύμων πολλῷ μείζω καὶ ὀχυρώτερα τῶν πρόσθεν ὄντων διεῖπε τὰ πράγματα λοιπὸν ἐπὶ πολλῆς εἰρήνης μηδ' ὑπὸ τῆς νεότητος πρός τε δικαιοσύνην καὶ φυλακὴν τῶν νόμων καὶ μνήμην ὧν ὁ πατὴρ τελευτῶν ἐπέστειλε βλαπτόμενος, ἀλλὰ πάνθ' ὅσα οἱ τοῖς χρόνοις προβεβηκότες καὶ πρὸς τὸ φρονεῖν ἀκμάζοντες μετὰ πολλῆς ἀκριβείας ἐπιτελῶν. [22] ἔγνω δ' εἰς Γιβρῶνα παραγενόμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ χαλκέου θυσιαστηρίου τοῦ κατασκευασθέντος ὑπὸ Μουσείου θῦσαι τῷ θεῷ καὶ χίλια τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὁλοκαύτωσεν ἱερεῖα. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας μεγάλως ἔδοξε τὸν θεὸν τετιμηκέναι: φανεὶς γὰρ αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκέλευσεν αἰρεῖσθαι, τίνας ἀντὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας παράσχῃ δωρεὰς αὐτῷ. [23] Σολόμων δὲ τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ μέγιστα καὶ θεῷ παρασχεῖν ἥδιστα καὶ λαβεῖν ἀνθρώπῳ συμφορώτατα τὸν θεὸν ᾔτησεν: οὐ γὰρ χρυσὸν οὐδ' ἄργυρον οὐδὲ τὸν ἄλλον πλοῦτον ὡς ἄνθρωπος καὶ νέος ἠξίωσεν αὐτῷ προσγενέσθαι, ταῦτα γὰρ σχεδὸν νενόμισται παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις μόνα σπουδῆς ἄξια καὶ θεοῦ δῶρα εἶναι, ἀλλὰ "δός μοι φησί, δέσποτα, νοῦν ὑγιῆ καὶ φρόνησιν ἀγαθήν, οἷς ἂν τὸν λαὸν τἀληθῆ καὶ τὰ δίκαια λαβὼν κρίνοιμι." [24] τούτοις ἥσθη τοῖς αἰτήμασιν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τά τε ἄλλα πάνθ' ὧν οὐκ ἐμνήσθη παρὰ τὴν ἐκλογὴν δώσειν ἐπηγγείλατο πλοῦτον δόξαν νίκην πολεμίων, καὶ πρὸ πάντων σύνεσιν καὶ σοφίαν οἵαν οὐκ ἄλλος τις ἀνθρώπων ἔσχεν οὔτε βασιλέων οὔτ' ἰδιωτῶν, φυλάξειν τε καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὑπισχνεῖτο χρόνον, ἂν δίκαιός τε ὢν διαμένῃ καὶ πειθόμενος αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν πατέρα μιμούμενος ἐν οἷς ἦν ἄριστος. [25] ταῦτα τοῦ θεοῦ Σολόμων ἀκούσας ἀνεπήδησεν εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς κοίτης καὶ προσκυνήσας αὐτὸν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς μεγάλας ἐπιτελέσας θυσίας κατευωχεῖ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἅπαντας.

(2) [26] Ταύταις δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις κρίσις ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἦχθη δυσχερής, ἧς τὸ τέλος εὑρεῖν ἦν ἐπίπονον: τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα περὶ οὗ συνέβαινεν εἶναι τὴν δίκην ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην δηλῶσαι, ἵνα τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι τό τε δύσκολον τῆς κρίσεως γνώριμον ὑπάρξῃ, καὶ τοιούτων μεταξὺ πραγμάτων γενόμενοι λάβωσιν ὥσπερ ἐξ εἰκόνος τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἀγχινοίας τὸ ῥᾳδίως ἀποφαίνεσθαι περὶ τῶν ζητουμένων δυνηθῆναι. [27] δύο γυναῖκες ἑταῖραι τὸν βίον ἦκον ἐπ' αὐτόν, ὧν ἡ ἀδικεῖσθαι δοκοῦσα πρώτη λέγειν ἤρξατο: "οἰκῶ μέν, εἶπεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μετὰ ταύτης ἐν ἑνὶ δωματίῳ, συνέβη δ' ἀμφοτέραις ἡμῖν ἐπὶ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἀποτεκεῖν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὥραν ἄρρενα παιδία. [28] τρίτης δὲ ἡμέρας διελθούσης ἐπικοιμηθεῖσα τῷ αὐτῆς παιδίῳ αὕτη τοῦτο μὲν ἀποκτείνει, βαστάσασα δὲ τοὐμὸν ἐκ τῶν γονάτων πρὸς αὐτὴν μεταφέρει καὶ τὸ νεκρὸν ἐμοῦ κοιμωμένης εἰς τὰς ἀγκάλας μου τίθησι. [29] πρωὶ δὲ θηλὴν ὀρέξαι βουλομένη τῷ παιδίῳ τὸ

μὲν ἐμὸν οὐχ εὗρον, τὸ δὲ ταύτης νεκρὸν ὁρῶ μοι παρακείμενον: ἀκριβῶς γὰρ κατανοήσασα τοῦτο ἐπέγνων: ὅθεν ἀπαιτῶ τὸν ἐμὸν υἱὸν καὶ οὐκ ἀπολαμβάνουσα καταπέφευγα, δέσποτα, ἐπὶ τὴν παρὰ σοῦ βοήθειαν: τῷ γὰρ εἶναι μόνας καὶ μηδένα τὸν ἐλέγξαι δυνάμενον φοβεῖσθαι [30] καταφρονοῦσα ἰσχυρῶς ἀρνουμένη παραμένει.” ταῦτ’ εἰπούσης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνέκρινε τὴν ἑτέραν, τί τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἀντιλέγειν ἔχει. τῆς δὲ ἀρνουμένης τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι, τὸ δὲ παιδίον ζῆν τὸ αὐτῆς λεγούσης, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀντιδίκου τεθνηκέναι, μηδενὸς ἐπινοοῦντος τὴν κρίσιν ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ ἐπ’ αἰνίγματι περὶ τὴν εὕρεσιν αὐτοῦ πάντων τῇ διανοίᾳ τετυφλωμένων μόνος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπενόησέ τι τοιοῦτον: [31] κελεύσας κομισθῆναι καὶ τὸ νεκρὸν καὶ τὸ ζῶν παιδίον μεταπέμπεταί τινα τῶν σωματοφυλάκων καὶ σπασάμενον ἐκέλευσε τὴν μάχαιραν ἀμφότερα διχοτομῆσαι τὰ παιδία, ὅπως ἑκάτεραι λάβωσιν ἀνὰ ἥμισυ τοῦ τε ζῶντος καὶ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος. [32] ἐπὶ τούτῳ πᾶς μὲν ὁ λαὸς λανθάνων ἐχλεύαζεν ὡς μειράκιον τὸν βασιλέα, μεταξὺ δὲ τῆς μὲν ἀπαιτούσης καὶ ἀληθοῦς μητρὸς ἀνακραγούσης τοῦτο μὴ ποιεῖν ἀλλὰ παραδιδόναι τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τὸ παιδίον ὡς ἐκείνης, ἀρκεῖσθαι γὰρ τῷ ζῆν αὐτὸ καὶ βλέπειν μόνον κἂν ἀλλότριον δοκῇ, τῆς δ’ ἑτέρας ἑτοίμως ἐχούσης διαιρούμενον ἰδεῖν τὸ παιδίον καὶ προσέτι βασανισθῆναι καὶ αὐτὴν ἀξιούσης, [33] ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπιγνοὺς τὰς ἑκατέρων φωνὰς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας γεγενημένας τῇ μὲν ἀνακραγούσῃ τὸ παιδίον προσέκρινε, μητέρα γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀληθῶς εἶναι, τῆς δὲ ἄλλης κατέγνω πονηρίαν τό τε ἴδιον ἀποκτεινάσης καὶ τὸ τῆς φίλης σπουδαζούσης ἀπολλύμενον θεάσασθαι. [34] τοῦτο μέγα δεῖγμα καὶ τεκμήριον τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως φρονήσεως καὶ σοφίας ἐνόμιζε τὸ πλῆθος, κἀξ ἐκείνης τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας ὡς θείαν ἔχοντι διάνοιαν αὐτῷ προσεῖχον.

(3) [35] Στρατηγοὶ δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν τῆς χώρας ἁπάσης οἵδε: τῆς μὲν Ἐφραίμου κληρουχίας Οὔρης: ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Βιθιέμες τοπαρχίας ἦν Διόκληρος: τὴν δὲ τῶν Δώρων καὶ τὴν παραλίαν Ἀβινάδαβος εἶχεν ὑπ’ αὐτῷ γεγαμηκὼς τὴν Σολόμωνος θυγατέρα: [36] τὸ δὲ μέγα πεδίον ἦν ὑπὸ Βαναίᾳ τῷ Ἀχίλου παιδί, προσεπῆρχε δὲ καὶ τῆς ἄχρι Ἰορδάνου πάσης: τὴν δὲ Γαλαδῖτιν καὶ Γαυλανῖτιν ἕως τοῦ Λιβάνου ὄρους καὶ πόλεις ἑξήκοντα μεγάλας καὶ ὀχυρωτάτας ἔχων ὑφ’ αὐτὸν Γαβάρης διεῖπεν: Ἀχινάδαβος δὲ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὅλης ἄχρι Σιδῶνος ἐπετρόπευε συνοικῶν καὶ αὐτὸς θυγατρὶ Σολόμωνος Βασίμα τοὔνομα: [37] τὴν δὲ περὶ Ἀκὴν παραλίαν εἶχε Βανακάτης: Σαφάτης δὲ τὸ Ἰταβύριον ὄρος καὶ Καρμήλιον καὶ τὴν κάτω Γαλιλαίαν ἄχρι τοῦ ποταμοῦ Ἰορδάνου χώραν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πᾶσαν ἐπετέτραπτο: Σουμούις δὲ τὴν τῆς Βενιαμίδος κληρουχίαν ἐγκεχείριστο: Γαβάρης δὲ εἶχε τὴν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου χώραν: ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων εἷς πάλιν ἄρχων ἀποδέδεικτο. [38] θαυμαστὴν δ’ ἐπίδοσιν ἔλαβεν ὅ τε τῶν Ἑβραίων λαὸς καὶ ἡ Ἰούδα φυλὴ πρὸς γεωργίαν τραπέντων καὶ τὴν τῆς γῆς ἐπιμέλειαν: εἰρήνης γὰρ ἀπολαύοντες καὶ πολέμοις καὶ ταραχαῖς μὴ περισπώμενοι καὶ

προσέτι τῆς ποθεινοτάτης ἐλευθερίας ἀκρατῶς ἐμφορούμενοι πρὸς τῷ συναύξειν ἕκαστος τὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ ποιεῖν ἄξια πλείονος ὑπῆρχεν.

(4) [39] Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι τῷ βασιλεῖ ἡγεμόνες, οἳ τῆς τε Σύρων γῆς καὶ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων ἥτις ἦν ἀπ᾽ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ διήκουσα μέχρι τῆς Αἰγυπτίων ἐπῆρχον ἐκλέγοντες αὐτῷ φόρους παρὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν. [40] συνετέλουν δὲ καὶ τῇ τραπέζῃ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν καὶ τῷ δείπνῳ τοῦ βασιλέως σεμιδάλεως μὲν κόρους τριάκοντα, ἀλεύρου δὲ ξ, σιτιστοὺς δὲ βόας δέκα καὶ νομάδας βόας εἴκοσι, σιτιστοὺς δὲ ἄρνας ἑκατόν. ταῦτα πάντα πάρεξ τῶν ἀπ᾽ ἄγρας ἐλάφων λέγω καὶ βουβάλων καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν καὶ ἰχθύων ἐκομίζετο καθ᾽ ἡμέραν βασιλεῖ παρὰ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων. [41] τοσοῦτον δὲ πλῆθος ἦν ἁρμάτων Σολόμωνι, ὡς τέσσαρας εἶναι μυριάδας φατνῶν τῶν ὑποζευγνυμένων ἵππων: χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἦσαν ἱππεῖς δισχίλιοι καὶ μύριοι, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἡμίσεις τῷ βασιλεῖ προσήδρευον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ κατὰ τὰς βασιλικὰς διεσπαρμένοι κώμας ἐν αὐταῖς κατέμενον. ὁ δ᾽ αὐτὸς ἡγεμὼν ὁ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως δαπάνην πεπιστευμένος καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις ἐχορήγει τὰ ἐπιτήδεια συγκομίζων εἰς ὃν ὁ βασιλεὺς διέτριβε τόπον.

(5) [42] Τοσαύτη δ᾽ ἦν ἣν ὁ θεὸς παρέσχε Σολόμωνι φρόνησιν καὶ σοφίαν, ὡς τούς τε ἀρχαίους ὑπερβάλλειν ἀνθρώπους καὶ μηδὲ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, οἳ πάντων συνέσει διενεγκεῖν λέγονται, συγκρινομένους λείπεσθαι παρ᾽ ὀλίγον, ἀλλὰ πλεῖστον ἀφεστηκότας τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως φρονήσεως ἐλέγχεσθαι. [43] ὑπερῆρε δὲ καὶ διήνεγκε σοφίᾳ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν δόξαν ἐχόντων παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐπὶ δεινότητι, ὧν οὐ παρελεύσομαι τὰ ὀνόματα: ἦσαν δὲ Ἄθανος καὶ Αἱμανὸς καὶ Χάλκεος καὶ Δάρδανος υἱοὶ Ἡμάωνος. [44] συνετάξατο δὲ καὶ βιβλία περὶ ᾠδῶν καὶ μελῶν πέντε πρὸς τοῖς χιλίοις καὶ παραβολῶν καὶ εἰκόνων βίβλους τρισχιλίας: καθ᾽ ἕκαστον γὰρ εἶδος δένδρου παραβολὴν εἶπεν ἀπὸ ὑσσώπου ἕως κέδρου, τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ περὶ κτηνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιγείων ἁπάντων ζῴων καὶ τῶν νηκτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀερίων: οὐδεμίαν γὰρ φύσιν ἠγνόησεν οὐδὲ παρῆλθεν ἀνεξέταστον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν πάσαις ἐφιλοσόφησε καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς ἰδιωμάτων ἄκραν ἐπεδείξατο. [45] παρέσχε δ᾽ αὐτῷ μαθεῖν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τὴν κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων τέχνην εἰς ὠφέλειαν καὶ θεραπείαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις: ἐπῳδάς τε συνταξάμενος αἷς παρηγορεῖται τὰ νοσήματα καὶ τρόπους ἐξορκώσεων κατέλιπεν, οἷς οἱ ἐνδούμενοι τὰ δαιμόνια ὡς μηκέτ᾽ ἐπανελθεῖν ἐκδιώξουσι. [46] καὶ αὕτη μέχρι νῦν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἡ θεραπεία πλεῖστον ἰσχύει: ἱστόρησα γάρ τινα Ἐλεάζαρον τῶν ὁμοφύλων Οὐεσπασιανοῦ παρόντος καὶ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ χιλιάρχων καὶ ἄλλου στρατιωτικοῦ πλήθους ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμονίων λαμβανομένους ἀπολύοντα τούτων. ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς θεραπείας τοιοῦτος ἦν: [47] προσφέρων ταῖς ῥισὶ τοῦ δαιμονιζομένου τὸν δακτύλιον ἔχοντα ὑπὸ τῇ σφραγῖδι ῥίζαν ἐξ ὧν ὑπέδειξε Σολόμων ἔπειτα ἐξεῖλκεν ὀσφρομένῳ διὰ τῶν μυκτήρων τὸ δαιμόνιον, καὶ πεσόντος εὐθὺς τἀνθρώπου μηκέτ᾽ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπανήξειν ὥρκου, Σολόμωνός τε μεμνημένος καὶ τὰς ἐπῳδὰς ἃς συνέθηκεν ἐκεῖνος ἐπιλέγων. [48]

βουλόμενος δὲ πεῖσαι καὶ παραστῆσαι τοῖς παρατυγχάνουσιν ὁ Ἐλεάζαρος, ὅτι ταύτην ἔχει τὴν ἰσχύν, ἐτίθει μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν ἤτοι ποτήριον πλῆρες ὕδατος ἢ ποδόνιπτρον καὶ τῷ δαιμονίῳ προσέταττεν ἐξιὸν τἀνθρώπου ταῦτα ἀνατρέψαι καὶ παρασχεῖν ἐπιγνῶναι τοῖς ὁρῶσιν, ὅτι καταλέλοιπε τὸν ἄνθρωπον. [49] γινομένου δὲ τούτου σαφὴς ἡ Σολόμωνος καθίστατο σύνεσις καὶ σοφία δι᾽ ἣν, ἵνα γνῶσιν ἅπαντες αὐτοῦ τὸ μεγαλεῖον τῆς φύσεως καὶ τὸ θεοφιλὲς καὶ λάθῃ μηδένα τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως περὶ πᾶν εἶδος ἀρετῆς ὑπερβολή, περὶ τούτων εἰπεῖν προήχθημεν.

(6) [50] Ὁ δὲ τῶν Τυρίων βασιλεὺς Εἵρωμος ἀκούσας ὅτι Σολόμων τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς διεδέξατο βασιλείαν ὑπερήσθη, φίλος γὰρ ἐτύγχανε τῷ Δαυίδῃ, καὶ πέμψας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἠσπάζετό τε καὶ συνέχαιρεν ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀγαθοῖς. ἀποστέλλει δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν Σολόμων γράμματα δηλοῦντα τάδε: [51] “βασιλεὺς Σολόμων Εἰρώμῳ βασιλεῖ. ἴσθι μου τὸν πατέρα βουληθέντα κατασκευάσαι τῷ θεῷ ναὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πολέμων καὶ τῶν συνεχῶν στρατειῶν κεκωλυμένον: οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύσατο πρότερον τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καταστρεφόμενος πρὶν ἢ πάντας αὐτοὺς φόρων ὑποτελεῖς πεποιηκέναι. [52] ἐγὼ δὲ χάριν οἶδα τῷ θεῷ τῆς παρούσης εἰρήνης καὶ διὰ ταύτην εὐσχολῶν οἰκοδομῆσαι τῷ θεῷ βούλομαι τὸν οἶκον: καὶ γὰρ ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ τοῦτον ἔσεσθαι τῷ πατρί μου προεῖπεν ὁ θεός. διὸ παρακαλῶ σε συμπέμψαι τινὰς τοῖς ἐμοῖς εἰς Λίβανον τὸ ὄρος κόψοντας ξύλα: πρὸς γὰρ τομὴν ὕλης ἐπιστημονέστερον ἔχουσι τῶν ἡμετέρων οἱ Σιδώνιοι. μισθὸν δ᾽ ὃν ἂν ὁρίσῃς ἐγὼ τοῖς ὑλουργοῖς παρέξω.”

(7) [53] Ἀναγνοὺς δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν Εἵρωμος καὶ τοῖς ἐπεσταλμένοις ἡσθεὶς ἀντιγράφει τῷ Σολόμωνι: “βασιλεὺς Εἵρωμος βασιλεῖ Σολόμωνι. τὸν μὲν θεὸν εὐλογεῖν ἄξιον, ὅτι σοι τὴν πατρῴαν παρέδωκεν ἡγεμονίαν ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ καὶ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἔχοντι, ἐγὼ δὲ τούτοις ἡδόμενος ἅπαντα ὑπουργήσω τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα: [54] τεμὼν γὰρ ξύλα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα κέδρου τε καὶ κυπαρίσσου διὰ τῶν ἐμῶν καταπέμψω ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καὶ κελεύσω τοὺς ἐμοὺς σχεδίαν πηξαμένους εἰς ὃν ἂν βουληθῇς τόπον τῆς σαυτοῦ χώρας πλεύσαντας ἀποθέσθαι: ἔπειθ᾽ οἱ σοὶ διακομίσουσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. ὅπως δὲ καὶ σὺ παράσχῃς ἡμῖν ἀντὶ τούτων σῖτον, οὗ διὰ τὸ νῆσον οἰκεῖν δεόμεθα, φρόντισον.”

(8) [55] Διαμένει δὲ ἄχρι τῆς τήμερον τὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τούτων ἀντίγραφα οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις μόνον σωζόμενα βιβλίοις ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Τυρίοις, ὥστε εἴ τις ἐθελήσειε τὸ ἀκριβὲς μαθεῖν, δεηθεὶς τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Τυρίων γραμματοφυλακείου δημοσίων εὕροι συμφωνοῦντα τοῖς εἰρημένοις ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν τὰ παρ᾽ ἐκείνοις. [56] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν διεξῆλθον βουλόμενος γνῶναι τοὺς ἐντευξομένους, ὅτι μηδὲν μᾶλλον ἔξω τῆς ἀληθείας λέγομεν, μηδὲ πιθανοῖς τισι καὶ πρὸς ἀπάτην καὶ τέρψιν ἐπαγωγοῖς τὴν ἱστορίαν διαλαμβάνοντες τὴν μὲν ἐξέτασιν φεύγειν πειρώμεθα, πιστεύεσθαι δ᾽ εὐθὺς ἀξιοῦμεν, οὐδὲ συγκεχωρημένον ἡμῖν κατεξανισταμένοις τοῦ πρέποντος τῇ πραγματείᾳ ἀθῴοις ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλὰ

μηδεμιᾶς ἀποδοχῆς τυγχάνειν παρακαλοῦντες, ἂν μὴ μετὰ ἀποδείξεως καὶ τεκμηρίων ἰσχυρῶν ἐμφανίζειν δυνώμεθα τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

(9) [57] Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Σολόμων ὡς ἐκομίσθη τὰ παρὰ Τυρίων βασιλέως γράμματα τήν τε προθυμίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν εὔνοιαν ἐπῄνεσε καὶ οἷς ἠξίωσε τούτοις αὐτὸν ἠμείψατο, σίτου μὲν αὐτῷ κατ᾽ ἔτος πέμψας δισμυρίους κόρους καὶ τοσούτους ἐλαίου βάτους, ὁ δὲ βάτος δύναται ξέστας ἑβδομήκοντα δύο: τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ μέτρον καὶ οἴνου παρεῖχεν. [58] ἡ μὲν οὖν Εἰρώμου φιλία καὶ Σολόμωνος ἀπὸ τούτων ἔτι μᾶλλον ηὔξησε καὶ διαμένειν ὤμοσαν εἰς ἅπαν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐπέταξε παντὶ τῷ λαῷ φόρον ἐργάτας τρισμυρίους, οἷς ἄπονον τὴν ἐργασίαν κατέστησε μερίσας αὐτὴν συνετῶς: μυρίους γὰρ ἐποίησε κόπτοντας ἐπὶ μῆνα ἕνα ἐν Λιβάνῳ ὄρει δύο μῆνας ἀναπαύεσθαι παραγινομένους ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα, μέχρις οὗ πάλιν οἱ δισμύριοι τὴν [59] ἐργασίαν ἀναπληρώσωσι κατὰ τὸν ὡρισμένον χρόνον ἔπειθ᾽ οὕτως συνέβαινε τοῖς πρώτοις μυρίοις διὰ τετάρτου μηνὸς ἀπαντᾶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον. ἐγεγόνει δ᾽ ἐπίτροπος τοῦ φόρου τούτου Ἀδώραμος. ἦσαν δ᾽ ἐκ τῶν παροίκων οὓς Δαυίδης καταλελοίπει τῶν μὲν παρακομιζόντων τὴν λιθίαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὕλην ἑπτὰ μυριάδες, τῶν δὲ λατομούντων ὀκτάκις μύριοι, τούτων δ᾽ ἐπιστάται τρισχίλιοι καὶ τριακόσιοι. [60] προστετάχει δὲ λίθους μὲν αὐτοῖς τέμνειν μεγάλους εἰς τοὺς τοῦ ναοῦ θεμελίους, ἁρμόσαντας δὲ πρῶτον καὶ συνδήσαντας ἐν τῷ ὄρει κατακομίζειν οὕτως εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἐγίνετο δὲ ταῦτ᾽ οὐ παρὰ τῶν οἰκοδόμων τῶν ἐγχωρίων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧν ὁ Εἴρωμος ἔπεμψε τεχνιτῶν.

III

(1) [61] Τῆς δ᾽ οἰκοδομίας τοῦ ναοῦ Σολόμων ἤρξατο τέταρτον ἔτος ἤδη τῆς βασιλείας ἔχων μηνὶ δευτέρῳ, ὃν Μακεδόνες μὲν Ἀρτεμίσιον καλοῦσιν Ἑβραῖοι δὲ Ἰάρ, μετὰ ἔτη πεντακόσια καὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ δύο τῆς ἀπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐξόδου, μετὰ δὲ χίλια καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτη τῆς Ἀβράμου εἰς τὴν Χαναναίαν ἐκ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἀφίξεως, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐπομβρίας μετὰ χίλια καὶ τετρακόσια καὶ τεσσαράκοντα: [62] ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ πρώτου γεννηθέντος Ἀδάμου ἕως οὗ τὸν ναὸν ᾠκοδόμησε Σολόμων διεληλύθει τὰ πάντα ἔτη τρισχίλια καὶ ἑκατὸν δύο. καθ᾽ ὃν δὲ ὁ ναὸς ἤρξατο οἰκοδομεῖσθαι χρόνον, κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἔτος ἤδη τῆς ἐν Τύρῳ βασιλείας ἐνδέκατον ἐνειστήκει Εἰρώμῳ, τῆς δὲ οἰκήσεως εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τοῦ ναοῦ διεγεγόνει χρόνος ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ διακοσίων.

(2) [63] Βάλλεται μὲν οὖν τῷ ναῷ θεμελίους ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ μήκιστον τῆς γῆς βάθος ὕλης λίθων ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ πρὸς χρόνον ἀντέχειν δυναμένης, οἳ τῇ τε γῇ συμφυέντες ἔμελλον ἔδαφος καὶ ἔρεισμα τῆς ἐποικοδομησομένης κατασκευῆς ἔσεσθαι καὶ διὰ τὴν κάτωθεν ἰσχὺν οἴσειν ἀπόνως μέγεθός τε τῶν ἐπικεισομένων καὶ κάλλους πολυτέλειαν, ᾗ βάρος ἔμελλεν οὐχ ἧττον εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα πρὸς

ὕψος καὶ πρὸς ὄγκον κόσμου τε χάριν καὶ μεγαλουργίας ἐπενοεῖτο. [64] ἀνήγαγε δὲ αὐτὸν ἄχρι τῆς ὀροφῆς ἐκ λευκοῦ λίθου πεποιημένον. τὸ μὲν οὖν ὕψος ἦν ἑξήκοντα πηχῶν, τῶν δ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ μῆκος, εὖρος δ᾽ εἴκοσι. κατὰ τούτου δὲ ἄλλος ἦν ἐγηγερμένος ἴσος τοῖς μέτροις, ὥστε εἶναι τὸ πᾶν ὕψος τῷ ναῷ πηχῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι: [65] τέτραπτο δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολήν. τὸ δὲ προνάιον αὐτοῦ προύστησαν ἐπὶ πήχεις μὲν εἴκοσι τὸ μῆκος πρὸς τὸ εὖρος τοῦ οἴκου τεταμένον, ἔχον δὲ πλάτος πήχεις δέκα καὶ εἰς ὕψος δὲ ἀνεγηγερμένον πηχῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι. περιῳκοδόμησε δὲ τὸν ναὸν ἐν κύκλῳ τριάκοντα βραχέσιν οἴκοις, οἳ συνοχή τε τοῦ παντὸς ἔμελλον ἔσεσθαι διὰ πυκνότητα καὶ πλῆθος ἔξωθεν περικείμενοι, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰς εἰσόδους αὐτοῖς δι᾽ ἀλλήλων κατεσκεύασεν. [66] ἕκαστος δὲ τῶν οἴκων τούτων εὖρος μὲν εἶχε πέντε πήχεις, μῆκος δὲ τοὺς αὐτούς, ὕψος δὲ εἴκοσιν. ἐπῳκοδόμηντο δὲ τούτοις ἄνωθεν ἕτεροι οἶκοι καὶ πάλιν ἄλλοι κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ἴσοι καὶ τοῖς μέτροις καὶ τῷ ἀριθμῷ, ὡς τὸ πᾶν ὕψος αὐτοὺς λαβεῖν τῷ κάτωθεν οἴκῳ παραπλήσιον: ὁ γὰρ ὑπερῷος οὐκ ἦν περιῳκοδομημένος. [67] ὄροφος δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπεβέβλητο κέδρου καὶ τοῖς μὲν οἴκοις ἴδιος ἦν οὗτος ἑκάστῳ πρὸς τοὺς πλησίον οὐ συνάπτων, τοῖς δ᾽ ἄλλοις ὑπῆρχεν ἡ στέγη κοινὴ δι᾽ ἀλλήλων δεδομημένη μηκίσταις δοκοῖς καὶ διηκούσαις ἁπάντων, ὡς τοὺς μέσους τοίχους ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν συγκρατουμένους ξύλων ἐρρωμενεστέρους διὰ τοῦτο γίνεσθαι. [68] τὴν δὲ ὑπὸ τὰς δοκοὺς στέγην τῆς αὐτῆς ὕλης ἐβάλετο πᾶσαν ἐξεσμένην εἰς φατνώματα καὶ προσκόλλησιν χρυσοῦ. τοὺς δὲ τοίχους κεδρίναις διαλαβὼν σανίσι χρυσὸν αὐταῖς ἐνετόρευσεν, ὥστε στίλβειν ἅπαντα τὸν ναὸν καὶ περιλάμπεσθαι τὰς ὄψεις τῶν εἰσιόντων ὑπὸ τῆς αὐγῆς τοῦ χρυσοῦ πανταχόθεν φερομένης. [69] ἡ δ᾽ ὅλη τοῦ ναοῦ οἰκοδομία κατὰ πολλὴν τέχνην ἐκ λίθων ἀκροτόμων ἐγένετο συντεθέντων ἁρμονίως πάνυ καὶ λείως, ὡς μήτε σφύρας μήτε ἄλλου τινὸς ἐργαλείου τεκτονικοῦ τοῖς κατανοοῦσιν ἐργασίαν δηλοῦσθαι, ἀλλὰ δίχα τῆς τούτων χρήσεως πᾶσαν ἡρμόσθαι τὴν ὕλην προσφυῶς, ὡς ἑκούσιον τὴν ἁρμονίαν αὐτῆς δοκεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς τῶν ἐργαλείων ἀνάγκης. [70] ἐφιλοτέχνησε δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄνοδον εἰς τὸν ὑπερῷον οἶκον διὰ τοῦ εὔρους τοῦ τοίχου: οὐ γὰρ εἶχε θύραν μεγάλην κατὰ τῆς ἀνατολῆς ὡς εἶχεν ὁ κάτωθεν οἶκος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τῶν πλευρῶν ἦσαν εἴσοδοι διὰ μικρῶν πάνυ θυρῶν. διέλαβε δὲ τὸν ναὸν καὶ ἔνδοθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν ξύλοις κεδρίνοις ἁλύσεσι παχείαις συνδεδεμένοις, ὥστε ἀντ᾽ ὀχυρωμάτων καὶ ῥώμης τοῦτο εἶναι.

(3) [71] Διελὼν δὲ τὸν ναὸν εἰς δύο τὸν μὲν ἔνδοθεν οἶκον εἴκοσι πηχῶν ἐποίησεν ἄδυτον, τὸν δὲ τεσσαράκοντα πηχῶν ἅγιον ναὸν ἀπέδειξεν. ἐκτεμὼν δὲ τὸν μέσον τοῖχον θύρας ἐπέστησε κεδρίνας χρυσὸν πολὺν αὐταῖς ἐνεργασάμενος καὶ τορείαν ποικίλην. [72] κατεπέτασε δὲ ταύτας ὕφεσιν εὐανθεστάτοις ἐξ ὑακίνθου καὶ πορφύρας καὶ κόκκου πεποιημένοις, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ βύσσου λαμπροτάτης καὶ μαλακωτάτης. ἀνέθηκε δὲ εἰς τὸ ἄδυτον εἴκοσι πηχῶν τὸ εὖρος

τῶν δ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ μῆκος δύο Χερουβεῖς ὁλοχρύσους πηχῶν ἑκατέραν τὸ ὕψος πέντε, δύο δ᾽ ἦσαν ἑκατέρᾳ πτέρυγες ἐπὶ πέντε πήχεις ἐκτεταμέναι. [73] διὸ καὶ οὐ μακρὰν ἀλλήλων αὐτὰς ἀνέστησεν, ἵνα τῶν πτερύγων τῇ μὲν ἅπτωνται τοῦ κατὰ νότον κειμένου τοίχου τοῦ ἀδύτου, τῇ δὲ κατὰ βορέαν, αἱ δ᾽ ἄλλαι πτέρυγες αὐταῖς συνάπτουσαι τεθείσῃ μεταξὺ αὐτῶν τῇ κιβωτῷ σκέπη τυγχάνωσι. τὰς δὲ Χερουβεῖς οὐδεὶς ὁποῖαί τινές εἰσιν εἰπεῖν οὐδ᾽ εἰκάσαι δύναται. [74] κατέστρωσε δὲ καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τὸ ἔδαφος ἐλάσμασι χρυσοῦ, ἐπέθηκε δὲ καὶ τῷ πυλῶνι τοῦ ναοῦ θύρας πρὸς τὸ ὕψος τοῦ τοίχου συμμεμετρημένας εὖρος ἐχούσας πηχῶν εἴκοσι, καὶ ταύτας κατεκόλλησε χρυσῷ. [75] συνελόντι δ᾽ εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν εἴασε τοῦ ναοῦ μέρος οὔτε ἔξωθεν οὔτε ἔνδοθεν, ὃ μὴ χρυσὸς ἦν. κατεπέτασε δὲ καὶ ταύτας τὰς θύρας ὁμοίως ταῖς ἐνδοτέρω καταπετάσμασιν. ἡ δὲ τοῦ προναίου πύλη τούτων οὐδὲν εἶχε.

(4) [76] Μεταπέμπεται δ᾽ ἐκ Τύρου Σολόμων παρὰ Εἰρώμου τεχνίτην Χείρωμον ὄνομα μητρὸς μὲν ὄντα Νεφθαλίτιδος τὸ γένος, ἐκ γὰρ ταύτης ὑπῆρχε τῆς φυλῆς, πατρὸς δὲ Οὐρίου γένος Ἰσραηλίτου. οὗτος ἅπαντος μὲν ἐπιστημόνως εἶχεν ἔργου, μάλιστα δὲ τεχνίτης ἦν χρυσὸν ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ χαλκόν, ὑφ᾽ οὗ δὴ καὶ πάντα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως βούλησιν τὰ περὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐμηχανήθη. [77] κατεσκεύασε δὲ ὁ Χείρωμος οὗτος καὶ στύλους δύο χαλκοῦς ἔσωθεν τὸ πάχος τεσσάρων δακτύλων. ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν ὕψος τοῖς κίοσιν ὀκτωκαίδεκα πήχεων, ἡ δὲ περίμετρος δέκα καὶ δύο πηχῶν: χωνευτὸν δ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἑκατέρᾳ κεφαλῇ κρίνον ἐφειστήκει τὸ ὕψος ἐπὶ πέντε πήχεις ἐγηγερμένον, ᾧ περιέκειτο δίκτυον ἐλάτῃ χαλκέᾳ περιπεπλεγμένον καλύπτον τὰ κρίνα. [78] τούτου δὲ ἀπήρτηντο κατὰ διστιχίαν καὶ ῥοιαὶ διακόσιαι. τούτων τῶν κιόνων τὸν μὲν ἕτερον κατὰ τὴν δεξιὰν ἔστησε τοῦ προπυλαίου παραστάδα καλέσας αὐτὸν Ἰαχείν, τὸν δ᾽ ἕτερον κατὰ τὸ ἀριστερὸν ὀνομάσας αὐτὸν Ἀβαίζ.

(5) [79] Ἐχώνευσε δὲ καὶ θάλασσαν χαλκῆν εἰς ἡμισφαίριον ἐσχηματισμένην: ἐκλήθη δὲ τὸ χαλκούργημα θάλασσα διὸ τὸ μέγεθος: ἦν γὰρ ὁ λουτὴρ τὴν διάμετρον πηχῶν δέκα καὶ ἐπὶ παλαιστιαῖον πάχος κεχωνευμένος. ὑπερήρειστο δὲ κατὰ τὸ μεσαίτατον τοῦ κύτους σπείρᾳ περιαγομένῃ εἰς ἕλικας δέκα: [80] ἦν δὲ τὴν διάμετρον πήχεως, περιειστήκεσαν δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν μόσχοι δώδεκα πρὸς τὰ κλίματα τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων ἀποβλέποντες καθ᾽ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν τρεῖς, εἰς τὰ ὀπίσθια νενευκότες, ὥστ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐπικαθέζεσθαι τὸ ἡμισφαίριον κατὰ περιαγωγὴν ἔνδον ἀπονεῦον. ἐδέχετο δὲ ἡ θάλασσα βάτους τρισχιλίους.

(6) [81] Ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ λουτήρων δέκα βάσεις χαλκᾶς τετραγώνους. τούτων ἑκάστη μῆκος γεγόνει πηχῶν πέντε πλάτος τεσσάρων ὕψος ἓξ. συνεκέκλειτο δὲ τὸ ἔργον κατὰ μέρος τετορευμένον οὕτως: τέσσαρες ἦσαν κιονίσκοι κατὰ γωνίαν ἑστῶτες τετράγωνοι τὰ πλευρὰ τῆς βάσεως ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες ἐξηρμοσμένα. [82] ἦν δὲ ταῦτα τριχῇ διῃρημένα: ἑκάστην δὲ χώραν ὅρος ἐπεῖχεν εἰς ὑπόβασιν κατεσκευασμένος, ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐτετόρευτο πῇ μὲν λέων πῇ δὲ

ταῦρος καὶ ἀετός, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν κιονίσκων ὁμοίως ἐξείργαστο τοῖς κατὰ τὰ πλευρὰ τετορευμένοις. [83] τὸ δὲ πᾶν ἔργον ἐπὶ τεσσάρων αἰωρούμενον τροχῶν εἱστήκει. χωνευτοὶ δ' ἦσαν οὗτοι πλήμνας καὶ ἄντυγας πήχεως καὶ ἡμίσους ἔχοντες τὴν διάμετρον. ἐθαύμασεν ἄν τις τὰς ἀψῖδας τῶν τροχῶν θεασάμενος, ὅπως συντετορευμέναι καὶ τοῖς πλευροῖς τῶν βάσεων προσηνωμέναι ἁρμονίως ταῖς ἄντυξιν ἐνέκειντο: ἦσαν δ' ὅμως οὕτως ἔχουσαι. [84] τὰς δὲ γωνίας ἄνωθεν συνέκλειον ὦμοι χειρῶν ἀνατεταμένων, οἷς ἐπεκάθητο σπεῖρα κατὰ κοῖλον ἐπικειμένη τὸν λουτῆρα ταῖς χερσὶν ἐπαναπαυόμενον ἀετοῦ καὶ λέοντος αὐτοῖς ἐφηρμοσμένων, ὡς σύμφυτα ταῦτ' εἶναι δοκεῖν τοῖς ὁρῶσι. μεταξὺ δὲ τούτων φοίνικες ἦσαν τετορευμένοι. τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ κατασκευὴ τῶν δέκα βάσεων ὑπῆρχε. [85] προσεξείργαστο δὲ καὶ χυτρογαύλους δέκα λουτῆρας στρογγύλους χαλκοῦς, ὧν ἕκαστος ἐχώρει τεσσαράκοντα χόας: τὸ γὰρ ὕψος εἶχε τεσσάρων πηχῶν καὶ τοσούτοις ἀλλήλων αὐτοῖς διειστήκει τὰ χείλη. τίθησι δὲ τοὺς λουτῆρας τούτους ἐπὶ τῶν δέκα βάσεων τῶν κληθεισῶν Μεχενώθ. [86] πέντε δὲ λουτῆρας ἵστησιν ἐξ ἀριστεροῦ μέρους τοῦ ναοῦ, τέτραπτο δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ βορέαν ἄνεμον, καὶ τοσούτους ἐκ τοῦ δεξιοῦ πρὸς νότον ἀφορῶντας εἰς τὴν ἀνατολήν: κατὰ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἔθηκε. [87] πληρώσας δὲ ὕδατος τὴν μὲν θάλασσαν ἀπέδειξεν εἰς τὸ νίπτειν τοὺς εἰς τὸν ναὸν εἰσιόντας ἱερεῖς ἐν αὐτῇ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας μέλλοντας ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν, τοὺς δὲ λουτῆρας εἰς τὸ καθαίρειν τὰ ἐντὸς τῶν ὁλοκαυτουμένων ζῴων καὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν.

(7) [88] Κατεσκεύασε δὲ καὶ θυσιαστήριον χάλκεον εἴκοσι πηχῶν τὸ μῆκος καὶ τοσούτων τὸ εὖρος τὸ δὲ ὕψος δέκα πρὸς τὰς ὁλοκαυτώσεις. ἐποίησε δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ σκεύη πάντα χάλκεα ποδιστῆρας καὶ ἀναλημπτῆρας: οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πρὸς τούτοις Χείρωμος καὶ λέβητας καὶ ἅρπαγας καὶ πᾶν σκεῦος ἐδημιούργησεν ἐκ χαλκοῦ τὴν αὐγὴν ὁμοίου χρυσῷ καὶ τὸ κάλλος: [89] τραπεζῶν τε πλῆθος ἀνέθηκεν ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ μίαν μὲν μεγάλην χρυσέαν, ἐφ' ἧς ἐτίθεσαν τοὺς ἄρτους τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ταύτῃ παραπλησίας μυρίας πρὸς αὐταῖς ἑτέρῳ τρόπῳ γεγενημένας, ἐφ' ὧν ἐπέκειτο τὰ σκεύη φιάλαι τε καὶ σπονδεῖα χρύσεα μὲν δισμύρια ἀργύρεα δὲ τετρακισμύρια. [90] καὶ λυχνίας δὲ μυρίας ἐποίησε κατὰ τὴν Μωυσέος προσταγήν, ἐξ ὧν μίαν ἀνέθηκεν εἰς τὸν ναόν, ἵνα καίηται καθ' ἡμέραν ἀκολούθως τῷ νόμῳ, καὶ τράπεζαν μίαν ἐπικειμένην ἄρτους πρὸς τὸ βόρειον τοῦ ναοῦ μέρος ἀντικρὺ τῆς λυχνίας: ταύτην γὰρ κατὰ νότον ἔστησεν, ὁ δὲ χρύσεος βωμὸς μέσος αὐτῶν ἔκειτο. ταῦτα πάντα εἶχεν ὁ τῶν τεσσαράκοντα πηχῶν οἶκος πρὸ τοῦ καταπετάσματος τοῦ ἀδύτου: ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἡ κιβωτὸς ἔμελλε κεῖσθαι.

(8) [91] Οἰνοχόας δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς μυριάδας ὀκτὼ κατεσκεύασε καὶ φιαλῶν χρυσέων δέκα ἀργυρέας δὲ διπλασίονας. πινάκων δὲ χρυσέων εἰς τὸ προσφέρειν ἐν αὐτοῖς πεφυραμένην σεμίδαλιν τῷ βωμῷ μυριάδας ὀκτώ, τούτων δ' ἀργυροῦς

διπλασίονας. κρατῆρας δ᾽ οἷς ἐνεφύρων τὴν σεμίδαλιν μετ᾽ ἐλαίου χρυσέους μὲν ἑξακισμυρίους, ἀργυρέους δὲ δὶς τοσούτους. [92] τὰ μέτρα δὲ τοῖς Μωυσήου λεγομένοις δὲ ειν καὶ ἐσσάρωνες παραπλήσια, χρυσᾶ μὲν δισμύρια ἀργύρεα δὲ διπλασίονα. θυμιατήρια δὲ χρυσᾶ ἐν οἷς ἐκομίζετο τὸ θυμίαμα εἰς τὸν ναὸν δισμύρια: ὁμοίως ἄλλα θυμιατήρια οἷς ἐκόμιζον ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου βωμοῦ πῦρ ἐπὶ τὸν μικρὸν βωμὸν τὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ πεντακισμύρια. [93] στολὰς δὲ ἱερατικὰς τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι σὺν ποδήρεσιν ἐπωμίσι καὶ λογίῳ καὶ λίθοις χιλίας: ἡ δὲ στεφάνη, εἰς ἣν τὸν θεὸν Μωυσῆς ἔγραψε, μία ἦν καὶ διέμεινεν ἄχρι τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας: τὰς δὲ ἱερατικὰς στολὰς ἐκ βύσσου κατεσκεύασε καὶ ζώνας πορφυρᾶς εἰς ἕκαστον μυρίας. [94] καὶ σαλπίγγων κατὰ Μωυσέος ἐντολὴν μυριάδας εἴκοσι, καὶ στολῶν τοῖς ὑμνῳδοῖς Ληουιτῶν ἐκ βύσσου μυριάδας εἴκοσι: καὶ τὰ ὄργανα τὰ μουσικὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὑμνῳδίαν ἐξηυρημένα, ἃ καλεῖται νάβλας καὶ κινύρας, ἐξ ἠλέκτρου κατεσκεύασε τετρακισμύρια.

(9) [95] Ταῦτα πάντα ὁ Σολόμων εἰς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τιμὴν πολυτελῶς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς κατεσκεύασε μηδενὸς φεισάμενος ἀλλὰ πάσῃ φιλοτιμίᾳ περὶ τὸν τοῦ ναοῦ κόσμον χρησάμενος, ἃ καὶ κατέθηκεν ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς τοῦ θεοῦ. περιέβαλε δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ κύκλῳ γείσιον μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχώριον γλῶτταν τριγχὸν δὲ παρ᾽ Ἕλλησι λεγόμενον εἰς τρεῖς πήχεις ἀναγαγὼν τὸ ὕψος, εἴρξοντα μὲν τοὺς πολλοὺς τῆς εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν εἰσόδου, μόνοις δὲ ἀνειμένην αὐτὴν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι σημανοῦντα. [96] τούτου δ᾽ ἔξωθεν ἱερὸν ᾠκοδόμησεν: ἐν τετραγώνου σχήματι στοὰς ἐγείρας μεγάλας καὶ πλατείας καὶ πύλαις ὑψηλαῖς ἀνεῳγμένας, ὧν ἑκάστη πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν ἀνέμων τέτραπτο χρυσέαις κλειομένη θύραις. εἰς τοῦτο τοῦ λαοῦ πάντες οἱ διαφέροντες ἁγνείᾳ καὶ παρατηρήσει τῶν νομίμων εἰσῄεσαν. [97] θαυμαστὸν δὲ καὶ λόγου παντὸς ἀπέφηνε μεῖζον, ὡς δὲ εἰπεῖν καὶ τῆς ὄψεως, τὸ τούτων ἔξωθεν ἱερόν: μεγάλας γὰρ ἐγχώσας φάραγγας, ἃς διὰ βάθος ἄπειρον οὐδὲ ἀπόνως ἐννεύσαντας ἦν ἰδεῖν, καὶ ἀναβιβάσας εἰς τετρακοσίους πήχεις τὸ ὕψος ἰσοπέδους τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους ἐφ᾽ ἧς ὁ ναὸς ᾠκοδόμητο κατεσκεύασε: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὕπαιθρον ὂν τὸ ἔξωθεν ἱερὸν ἴσον ὑπῆρχε τῷ ναῷ. [98] περιλαμβάνει δ᾽ αὐτὸ καὶ στοαῖς διπλαῖς μὲν τὴν κατασκευήν, λίθου δ᾽ αὐτοφυοῦς τὸ ὕψος κίοσιν ἐπερηρεισμέναις: ὀροφαὶ δ᾽ αὐταῖς ἦσαν ἐκ κέδρου φατνώμασιν ἀνεξεσμέναι. τὰς δὲ θύρας τῷ ἱερῷ τούτῳ πάσας ἐπέστησεν ἐξ ἀργύρου.

IV

(1) [99] Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἔργα ταῦτα καὶ τὰ μεγέθη καὶ κάλλη τῶν τε οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀναθημάτων Σολόμων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν ἔτεσιν ἑπτὰ συντελέσας καὶ πλούτου καὶ προθυμίας ἐπίδειξιν ποιησάμενος, ὡς ἄν τις ἰδὼν ἐνόμισεν ὡς ἐν τῷ παντὶ κατασκευασθῆναι χρόνῳ ταῦτα ἐν οὕτως ὀλίγῳ πρὸς τὸ

μέγεθος συγκρινόμενα τοῦ ναοῦ συμπερασθῆναι, γράψας τοῖς ἡγεμόσι καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις τῶν Ἑβραίων ἐκέλευσεν ἅπαντα τὸν λαὸν συναγαγεῖν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ὀψόμενόν τε τὸν ναὸν καὶ μετακομιοῦντα τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ κιβωτὸν εἰς αὐτόν. [100] καὶ περιαγγελθείσης τῆς εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πᾶσιν ἀφίξεως ἑβδόμῳ μηνὶ μόλις συνίασιν, ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Ἀθύρει, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων Ὑπερβερεταίῳ λεγομένῳ. συνέδραμε δ᾽ εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καὶ ὁ τῆς σκηνοπηγίας καιρὸς ἑορτῆς σφόδρα παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἁγιωτάτης καὶ μεγίστης. [101] βαστάσαντες οὖν τὴν κιβωτὸν καὶ τὴν σκηνήν, ἣν Μωυσῆς ἐπήξατο, καὶ πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὴν διακονίαν τῶν θυσιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ σκεύη μετεκόμιζον εἰς τὸν ναόν. προῆγον δὲ μετὰ θυσιῶν αὐτός τε ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἅπας καὶ οἱ Λευῖται σπονδαῖς τε καὶ πολλῶν ἱερείων αἵματι τὴν ὁδὸν καταντλοῦντες καὶ θυμιῶντες ἀπειρόν τι θυμιαμάτων πλῆθος, [102] ὡς ἅπαντα τὸν πέριξ ἀέρα πεπληρωμένον καὶ τοῖς πορρωτάτω τυγχάνουσιν ἡδὺν ἀπαντᾶν καὶ γνωρίζειν ἐπιδημίαν θεοῦ καὶ κατοικισμὸν κατ᾽ ἀνθρωπίνην δόξαν εἰς νεοδόμητον αὐτῷ καὶ καθιερωμένον χωρίον: καὶ γὰρ οὐδ᾽ ὑμνοῦντες οὐδὲ χορεύοντες ἕως οὗ πρὸς τὸν ναὸν ἦλθον ἔκαμον. [103] τούτῳ μὲν οὖν τῷ τρόπῳ τὴν κιβωτὸν μετήνεγκαν. ὡς δ᾽ εἰς τὸ ἄδυτον αὐτὴν εἰσενεγκεῖν ἔδει, τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πλῆθος μετέστη, μόνοι δὲ κομίσαντες οἱ ἱερεῖς μεταξὺ τῶν δύο Χερουβὶμ κατέθεσαν: αἱ δὲ τοὺς ταρσοὺς συμπλέξασαι, καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἦσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ τεχνίτου κατεσκευασμέναι, τὴν κιβωτὸν ὡς ὑπὸ σκηνῇ τινι καὶ θόλῳ κατεσκέπασαν. [104] εἶχε δὲ ἡ κιβωτὸς οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ δύο λιθίνας πλάκας, αἳ τοὺς δέκα λόγους τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ Μωυσεῖ λαληθέντας ἐν Σιναίῳ ὄρει ἐγγεγραμμένους αὐταῖς ἔσωζον. τὴν δὲ λυχνίαν καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν καὶ τὸν βωμὸν τὸν χρύσεον ἔστησαν ἐν τῷ ναῷ πρὸ τοῦ ἀδύτου κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τόπους, οὓς καὶ τότε ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ κείμενοι κατεῖχον, καὶ τὰς καθημερινὰς θυσίας ἀνέφερον. [105] τὸ δὲ θυσιαστήριον τὸ χάλκεον ἵστησι πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ ἀντικρὺ τῆς θύρας, ὡς ἀνοιχθείσης αὐτὸ κατὰ πρόσωπον εἶναι καὶ βλέπεσθαι τὰς ἱερουργίας καὶ τὴν τῶν θυσιῶν πολυτέλειαν. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ σκεύη πάντα συναλίσας ἔνδον εἰς τὸν ναὸν κατέθετο.

(2) [106] Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντα διακοσμήσαντες οἱ ἱερεῖς τὰ περὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν ἐξῆλθον, ἄφνω πίλημα νεφέλης οὐ σκληρὸν οὐδ᾽ οἷον ὥρᾳ χειμῶνος ὑετοῦ γέμον ἵσταται κεχυμένον δὲ καὶ κεκραμένον εἰς τὸν ναὸν εἰσερρύη, καὶ ταῖς μὲν ὄψεσι τῶν ἱερέων ὡς μὴ καθορᾶν ἀλλήλους ἐπεσκότει, ταῖς δὲ διανοίαις ταῖς ἁπάντων φαντασίαν καὶ δόξαν παρεῖχεν ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ κατεληλυθότος εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ κατεσκηνωκότος ἡδέως ἐν αὐτῷ. [107] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ ταύτης εἶχον αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐννοίας ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Σολόμων ἐξεγερθείς, ἔτυχε γὰρ καθεζόμενος, ἐποιήσατο λόγους πρὸς τὸν θεόν, οὓς τῇ θείᾳ φύσει πρέποντας ὑπελάμβανε καὶ καλῶς εἶχεν αὐτῷ λέγειν: “σοὶ γάρ, εἶπεν, οἶκον μὲν αἰώνιον, ὦ δέσποτα, καὶ ἄξιον αὐτῷ εἰργάσω γεγονότα τὸν οὐρανὸν οἴδαμεν καὶ ἀέρα καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, δι᾽ ὧν ἁπάντων οὐδὲ τούτοις ἀρκούμενος κεχώρηκας, [108] τοῦτον δέ σοι κατεσκεύακα

τὸν ναὸν ἐπώνυμον, ὡς ἂν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ σοι τὰς εὐχὰς θύοντες καὶ καλλιεροῦντες ἀναπέμπωμεν εἰς τὸν ἀέρα καὶ πεπεισμένοι διατελοίημεν, ὅτι πάρει καὶ μακρὰν οὐκ ἀφέστηκας [οὐδὲ σαυτῶ]: τῷ μὲν γὰρ πάντ᾽ ἐφορᾶν καὶ πάντ᾽ ἀκούειν οὐδὲ νῦν ὅπου σοι θέμις οἰκῶν ἀπολείπεις τοῦ πᾶσιν ἔγγιστα εἶναι, μᾶλλον δ᾽ ἑκάστῳ καὶ βουλευομένῳ καὶ διὰ νυκτὸς καὶ [109] ἡμέρας συμπάρει.” ταῦτα ἐπιθειάσας πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀπέστρεψεν εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τοὺς λόγους ἐμφανίζων τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν πρόνοιαν, ὅτι Δαυίδῃ τῷ πατρὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἅπαντα καθὼς ἀποβέβηκεν ἤδη τὰ πολλὰ καὶ γενήσεται τὰ λείποντα δηλώσειε, καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς ἐπιθείη τὸ ὄνομα μήπω γεγεννημένῳ καὶ [110] τίς μέλλοι καλεῖσθαι προείποι καὶ ὅτι τὸν ναὸν οὗτος οἰκοδομήσει αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν γενόμενος: ἃ βλέποντας κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου προφητείαν ἐπιτελῆ τὸν θεὸν εὐλογεῖν ἠξίου καὶ περὶ μηδενὸς ἀπογινώσκειν ὧν ὑπέσχηται πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ὡς οὐκ ἐσομένου πιστεύοντας ἐκ τῶν ἤδη βλεπομένων.

(3) [111] Ταῦτα διαλεχθεὶς πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀφορᾷ πάλιν εἰς τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν εἰς τὸν ὄχλον ἀνασχών “ἔργοις μέν, εἶπεν, οὐ δυνατὸν ἀνθρώποις ἀποδοῦναι θεῷ χάριν ὑπὲρ ὧν εὖ πεπόνθασιν: ἀπροσδεὲς γὰρ τὸ θεῖον ἁπάντων καὶ κρεῖττον τοιαύτης ἀμοιβῆς: ᾧ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων ὑπὸ σοῦ, δέσποτα, κρείττονες γεγόναμεν, τούτῳ τὴν σὴν εὐλογεῖν μεγαλειότητα καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑπηργμένων εἰς τὸν ἡμέτερον οἶκον καὶ τὸν Ἑβραίων εὐχαριστεῖν ἀνάγκη. [112] τίνι γὰρ ἄλλῳ μᾶλλον ἱλάσασθαι μηνίοντα καὶ δυσμεναίνοντα εὐμενῆ δεξιώτερόν ἐστιν ἡμῖν ἢ φωνῇ, ἣν ἐξ ἀέρος τε ἔχομεν καὶ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ πάλιν ἀνιοῦσαν οἴδαμεν; χάριν οὖν ἔχειν δι᾽ αὐτῆς ὁμολογῶ σοι περί τε τοῦ πατρὸς πρῶτον, ὃν ἐξ ἀφανοῦς εἰς τοσαύτην ἀνήγαγες δόξαν, [113] ἔπειθ᾽ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ πάντα μέχρι τῆς παρούσης ἡμέρας ἃ προεῖπας πεποιηκότι, δέομαί τε τοῦ λοιποῦ χορηγεῖν ὅσα θεῷ δύναμις ἀνθρώποις ὑπὸ σοῦ τετιμημένοις, καὶ τὸν οἶκον τὸν ἡμέτερον αὔξειν εἰς πᾶν, ὡς καθωμολόγησας Δαυίδῃ τῷ πατρί μου καὶ ζῶντι καὶ παρὰ τὴν τελευτήν, ὅτι παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἡ βασιλεία μενεῖ καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου γένος αὐτὴν διαδοχαῖς ἀμείψει μυρίαις. ταῦτ᾽ οὖν ἡμῖν ἐπάρκεσον καὶ παισὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀρετὴν ᾗ σὺ χαίρεις παράσχου. [114] πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἱκετεύω καὶ μοῖράν τινα τοῦ σοῦ πνεύματος εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀποικίσαι, ὡς ἂν καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ἡμῖν εἶναι δοκῇς. σοὶ μὲν γὰρ μικρὸν οἰκητήριον καὶ τὸ πᾶν οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τοῦτον ὄντων κύτος, οὐχ ὅτι γε οὗτος ὁ τυχὼν ναός, ἀλλὰ φυλάσσειν τε ἀπόρθητον ἐκ πολεμίων ὡς ἴδιον εἰς ἅπαν καὶ προνοεῖν ὡς οἰκείου κτήματος παρακαλῶ. [115] κἂν ἁμαρτών ποτε ὁ λαὸς ἔπειτα πληγῇ τινι κακῷ διὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐκ σοῦ γῆς ἀκαρπίᾳ καὶ φθορᾷ λοιμικῇ ἤ τινι τούτων τῶν παθημάτων, οἷς σὺ τοὺς παραβάντας τι τῶν ὁσίων μετέρχῃ, καὶ καταφεύγῃ πᾶς ἀθροισθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν ναὸν ἱκετεύων σε καὶ σωθῆναι δεόμενος, ἐπήκοος αὐτοῦ γενόμενος ὡς ἔνδον ὢν ἐλεήσῃς καὶ τῶν συμφορῶν ἀπαλλάξῃς. [116] ταύτην δὲ οὐχ Ἑβραίοις μόνον δέομαι παρὰ σοῦ τὴν βοήθειαν εἶναι σφαλεῖσιν, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἀπὸ περάτων τῆς

οἰκουμένης τινὲς ἀφίκωνται κἂν ὁποθενδηποτοῦν προστρεπόμενοι καὶ τυχεῖν τινος ἀγαθοῦ λιπαροῦντες, δὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπήκοος γενόμενος. [117] οὕτως γὰρ ἂν μάθοιεν πάντες, ὅτι σὺ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐβουλήθης παρ᾽ ἡμῖν κατασκευασθῆναί σοι τὸν οἶκον, ἡμεῖς δ᾽ οὐκ ἀπάνθρωποι τὴν φύσιν ἐσμὲν οὐδ᾽ ἀλλοτρίως πρὸς τοὺς οὐχ ὁμοφύλους ἔχομεν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι κοινὴν τὴν ἀπὸ σοῦ βοήθειαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὄνησιν ὑπάρχειν ἠθελήσαμεν.”

(4) [118] Εἰπὼν ταῦτα καὶ ῥίψας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὴν ὥραν προσκυνήσας ἀναστὰς θυσίας τῷ θεῷ προσήνεγκε καὶ γεμίσας τῶν ὁλοκλήρων ἱερείων ἐναργέστατα τὸν θεὸν ἡδέως ἔγνω τὴν θυσίαν προσδεχόμενον: πῦρ γὰρ ἐξ ἀέρος διαδραμὸν καὶ πάντων ὁρώντων ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ᾖξαν ἅπασαν τὴν θυσίαν ἀνήρπασε καὶ κατεδαίσατο. [119] ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἐπιφανείας γενομένης ὁ μὲν λαὸς δήλωσιν εἶναι τοῦτ᾽ εἰκάσας τῆς ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ θεοῦ διατριβῆς ἐσομένης καὶ ἡσθεὶς προσεκύνει πεσὼν ἐπὶ τοὔδαφος, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς εὐλογεῖν τε ἤρξατο καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ταὐτὸ ποιεῖν παρώρμα δείγματα μὲν ἔχοντας ἤδη τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὐμενείας, [120] εὐχομένους δὲ τοιαῦτα ἀποβαίνειν ἀεὶ τὰ παρ᾽ ἐκείνου, καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῖς καθαρὰν ἀπὸ πάσης φυλάττεσθαι κακίας ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ θρησκείᾳ καὶ τῷ τὰς ἐντολὰς τηρεῖν ἃς διὰ Μωυσέος αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς διαμενούσας: ἔσεσθαι γὰρ οὕτως εὔδαιμον τὸ Ἑβραίων ἔθνος καὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων γένους μακαριώτερον. [121] παρεκάλει τε μνημονεύειν, ὡς οἷς ἐκτήσαντο τὰ παρόντα ἀγαθὰ τούτοις αὐτὰ καὶ βέβαια ἕξειν καὶ μείζω καὶ πλείω καταστήσειν: οὐ γὰρ λαβεῖν αὐτὰ μόνον δι᾽ εὐσέβειαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθέξειν διὰ ταῦτα προσῆκεν ὑπολαμβάνειν: εἶναι δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οὐχ οὕτως μέγα τὸ κτήσασθαί τι τῶν [οὐχ] ὑπαρχόντων, ὡς τὸ σῶσαι τὰ πορισθέντα καὶ μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν εἰς. βλάβην αὐτῶν.

(5) [122] Ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς διαλεχθεὶς ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος διαλύει τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τελέσας θυσίας ὑπέρ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντων Ἑβραίων, ὡς μόσχους μὲν καταθῦσαι μυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους, προβάτων δὲ μυριάδας δώδεκα. [123] τὸν μὲν γὰρ ναὸν τότε πρῶτον ἔγευσεν ἱερουργημάτων καὶ κατευωχήθησαν ἐν αὐτῷ πάντες σὺν γυναιξὶν Ἑβραῖοι καὶ τέκνοις, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν σκηνοπηγίαν καλουμένην ἑορτὴν πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ λαμπρῶς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐπὶ δὶς ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἤγαγεν ὁ βασιλεὺς σὺν ἅπαντι τῷ λαῷ κατευωχούμενος.

(6) [124] Ἐπεὶ δ᾽ εἶχεν αὐτοῖς ἀποχρώντως ταῦτα καὶ μηδὲν ἐνέδει τῇ περὶ τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβείᾳ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἕκαστος τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπολύσαντος ἀπῄεσαν εὐχαριστήσαντες τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς τε περὶ αὐτοὺς προνοίας καὶ ὧν ἐπεδείξατο ἔργων, καὶ εὐξάμενοι τῷ θεῷ παρασχεῖν αὐτοῖς εἰς πολὺν χρόνον Σολόμωνα βασιλέα τὴν πορείαν ἐποιοῦντο μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ παιδιᾶς ὕμνους εἰς τὸν θεὸν ᾄδοντες, ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀπόνως τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα πάντας ἀνύσαι. [125] καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν κιβωτὸν εἰς τὸν ναὸν εἰσαγαγόντες καὶ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἱστορήσαντες αὐτοῦ καὶ θυσιῶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ μεγάλων καὶ ἑορτῶν

μεταλαβόντες εἰς τὰς αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι πόλεις ὑπέστρεψαν. ὄναρ δ᾽ ἐπιφανὲν τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἐσήμαινεν αὐτῷ τῆς εὐχῆς ἐπήκοον τὸν θεὸν γεγονέναι, [126] καὶ ὅτι φυλάξει τε τὸν ναὸν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐν αὐτῷ μενεῖ τῶν ἐκγόνων αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἁπάσης πληθύος τὰ δίκαια ποιούσης, αὐτόν τε πρῶτον ἐμμένοντα ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ὑποθήκαις ἔλεγεν εἰς ὕψος καὶ μέγεθος εὐδαιμονίας ἀνοίσειν ἄπειρον καὶ βασιλεύσειν ἀεὶ τῆς χώρας τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς: [127] προδόντα μέντοι τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα καὶ λήθην αὐτῶν ποιησάμενον καὶ ξενικοὺς θεοὺς θρησκεύειν μεταβαλόμενον πρόρριζον ἐκκόψειν καὶ μήτε τοῦ γένους τι λείψανον αὐτῶν ἐάσειν μήτε τὸν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν λαὸν ἀπαθῆ παρόψεσθαι, πολέμοις δ᾽ αὐτοὺς καὶ κακοῖς ἐξαφανίσειν μυρίοις κἀκ τῆς γῆς, ἣν τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν ἔδωκεν, [128] ἐκβαλὼν ἐπήλυδας ἀλλοτρίας καταστήσειν, τὸν δὲ ναὸν τὸν νῦν οἰκοδομηθέντα καταπρησθησόμενον τοῖς ἐχθροῖς παραδώσειν καὶ διαρπαγησόμενον, κατασκάψειν δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν χερσὶ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ποιήσειν μύθων ἄξια τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς κακὰ καὶ πολλῆς δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν μεγέθους ἀπιστίας, [129] ὡς τοὺς προσοίκους ἀκούοντας τὴν συμφορὰν θαυμάζειν καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν πολυπραγμονεῖν δι᾽ ἣν οὕτως ἐμισήθησαν Ἑβραῖοι τῷ θεῷ πρότερον εἰς δόξαν καὶ πλοῦτον ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ παραχθέντες, καὶ παρὰ τῶν ὑπολειπομένων ἀκούειν ἐξομολογουμένων τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς τῶν πατρίων νομίμων παραβάσεις. ταῦτα μὲν αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν εἰπεῖν κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἀναγέγραπται.

V

(1) [130] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευὴν ἐν ἔτεσιν ἑπτὰ καθὼς προειρήκαμεν γενομένην τὴν τῶν βασιλείων οἰκοδομὴν κατεβάλετο, ἣν ἔτεσι τρισὶ καὶ δέκα μόγις ἀπήρτισεν: οὐ γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐσπουδάζετο τρόπον ὄνπερ καὶ τὸ ἱερόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν καίπερ ὂν μέγα καὶ θαυμαστῆς ἐργασίας καὶ παραδόξου τετυχηκὸς ἔτι καὶ θεοῦ συνεργοῦντος, εἰς ὃν ἐγίνετο, τοῖς προειρημένοις ἔτεσιν ἔλαβε πέρας: [131] τὰ δὲ βασίλεια πολὺ τῆς ἀξίας τοῦ ναοῦ καταδεέστερα τυγχάνοντα τῷ μήτε τὴν ὕλην ἐκ τοσούτου χρόνου καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡτοιμάσθαι φιλοτιμίας καὶ βασιλεῦσιν οἰκητήριον ἀλλ᾽ οὐ θεῷ γίνεσθαι, βράδιον ἠνύσθη. [132] καὶ αὐτὰ μὲν οὖν ἄξια λόγου καὶ κατὰ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τῆς Ἑβραίων χώρας καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ᾠκοδομήθη, τὴν δὲ ὅλην αὐτῶν διάταξιν καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν εἰπεῖν ἀναγκαῖον, ἵν᾽ οὕτως ἐκ τούτου στοχάζεσθαι καὶ συνορᾶν ἔχωσι τὸ μέγεθος οἱ τῇ γραφῇ μέλλοντες ἐντυγχάνειν.

(2) [133] Οἶκος ἦν μέγας καὶ καλὸς πολλοῖς στύλοις ἐρηρεισμένος, ὃν εἰς τὰς κρίσεις καὶ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων διάγνωσιν πλῆθος ὑποδέξασθαι καὶ χωρῆσαι σύνοδον ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ δίκας συνεληλυθότων κατεσκεύασεν ἑκατὸν μὲν πηχῶν τὸ μῆκος εὖρος δὲ πεντήκοντα τὸ δ᾽ ὕψος τριάκοντα, κίοσι μὲν τετραγώνοις

ἀνειλημμένον ἐκ κέδρου πᾶσιν, ἐστεγασμένον δὲ Κορινθίως, ἰσομέτροις δὲ φλιαῖς καὶ θυρώμασι τριγλύφοις ἀσφαλῆ τε ὁμοῦ καὶ κεκαλλωπισμένον. [134] ἕτερος δὲ οἶκος ἦν ἐν μέσῳ κατὰ ὅλου τοῦ πλάτους τεταγμένος [τετράγωνος] εὖρος πηχῶν τριάκοντα, ἄντικρυς ἔχων ναὸν παχέσι στύλοις ἀνατεταμένον: ἦν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐξέδρα διαπρεπής, ἐν ᾗ καθεζόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔκρινεν, ᾗ παρέζευκτο κατεσκευασμένος ἄλλος οἶκος τῇ βασιλίσσῃ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ πρὸς τὴν δίαιταν καὶ τὰς ἀναπαύσεις οἰκήματα μετὰ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπόλυσιν, ἐστρωμένα πάντα σανίσι τετμημέναις ἐκ κέδρου. [135] καὶ τὰ μὲν ᾠκοδομήσατο λίθοις δεκαπήχεσιν, ἑτέρῳ δὲ πριστῷ τοὺς τοίχους καὶ πολυτελεῖ κατημφίεσεν, ὃν εἰς κόσμον ἱερῶν καὶ βασιλείων οἴκων θεωρίων γῆ μεταλλεύεται τοῖς φέρουσιν αὐτὸν τόποις ἐπαινουμένη. [136] καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κάλλος ἐπὶ τριστιχίαν ἦν ἐνυφασμένον, τετάρτη δὲ μοῖρα γλυφέων παρεῖχε θαυμάζειν ἐπιστήμην, ὑφ᾽ ὧν πεποίητο δένδρα καὶ φυτὰ παντοῖα σύσκια τοῖς κλάδοις καὶ τοῖς ἐκκρεμαμένοις αὐτῶν πετάλοις, ὡς ὑπονοεῖν αὐτὰ καὶ σαλεύεσθαι δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν λεπτότητος καλύπτοντα τὸν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῖς λίθον. [137] τὸ δὲ ἄλλο μέχρι τῆς στέγης χριστὸν ἦν καὶ καταπεποικιλμένον χρώμασι καὶ βαφαῖς. προσκατεσκεύασε δὲ τούτοις ἄλλα τε πρὸς τρυφὴν οἰκήματα καὶ δὴ καὶ στοὰς μηκίστας καὶ ἐν καλῷ τῶν βασιλείων κειμένας, ἐν αἷς λαμπρότατον οἶκον εἰς ἑστίασιν καὶ συμπόσια χρυσοῦ περίπλεων: καὶ τἆλλα δὲ ὅσα τοῦτον ἔχειν ἔδει πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἑστιωμένων ὑπηρεσίαν σκεύη πάντ᾽ ἐκ χρυσοῦ κατεσκεύαστο. [138] δύσκολον δ᾽ ἐστὶν καταριθμήσασθαι τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν ποικιλίαν τῶν βασιλείων, ὅσα μὲν ἦν αὐτοῖς τὰ μέγιστα οἰκήματα, πόσα δὲ τὰ τούτων ὑποδεέστερα καὶ πόσα ὑπόγεια καὶ ἀφανῆ, τά τε τῶν ἀνειμένων εἰς ἀέρα κάλλη καὶ τὰ ἄλση πρὸς θεωρίαν ἐπιτερπεστάτην καὶ θέρους ὑποφυγὴν καὶ σκέπην εἶναι τοῖς σώμασιν. [139] ἐν κεφαλαίῳ δ᾽ εἰπεῖν τὴν ὅλην οἰκοδομίαν ἐκ λίθου λευκοῦ καὶ κέδρου καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου πᾶσαν ἐποιήσατο τοὺς ὀρόφους καὶ τοὺς τοίχους τοῖς ἐγκλειομένοις χρυσῷ λίθοις διανθίσας τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὡς καὶ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ναὸν τούτοις κατηγλάισεν. [140] εἰργάσατο δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἐλέφαντος θρόνον παμμεγεθέστατον ἐν κατασκευῇ βήματος ἔχοντα μὲν ἓξ βαθμούς, ἑκάστῳ δὲ τούτων ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους δύο λέοντες ἐφειστήκεσαν τοσούτων ἄνωθεν ἄλλων παρεστώτων. τὸ δ᾽ ἐνήλατον τοῦ θρόνου χεῖρες ἦσαν δεχόμεναι τὸν βασιλέα, ἀνακέκλιτο δ᾽ εἰς μόσχου προτομὴν τὰ κατόπιν αὐτοῦ βλέποντος, χρυσῷ δὲ ἅπας ἦν δεδεμένος.

(3) [141] Ταῦτα Σολόμων εἰκοσαετίᾳ κατασκευάσας, ἐπεὶ πολὺν μὲν αὐτῷ χρυσὸν πλείω δ᾽ ἄργυρον ὁ τῶν Τυρίων βασιλεὺς Εἴρωμος εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν συνήνεγκεν ἔτι δὲ καὶ ξύλα κέδρου καὶ πίτυος, ἀντεδωρήσατο καὶ αὐτὸς μεγάλαις δωρεαῖς τὸν Εἴρωμον σῖτόν τε κατ᾽ ἔτος πέμπων αὐτῷ καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἔλαιον, ὧν μάλιστα διὰ τὸ νῆσον οἰκεῖν, ὡς καὶ προειρήκαμεν ἤδη, χρῄζων διετέλει. [142] πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ πόλεις αὐτῷ τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἴκοσι μὲν τὸν

ἀριθμὸν οὐ πόρρω δὲ τῆς Τύρου κειμένας ἐχαρίσατο, ἃς ἐπελθὼν καὶ κατανοήσας Εἴρωμος καὶ δυσαρεστήσας τῇ δωρεᾷ πέμψας πρὸς Σολόμωνα μὴ δεῖσθαι τῶν πόλεων ἔλεγε κἄκτοτε προσηγορεύθησαν Χαβαλὼν γῆ: μεθερμηνευόμενον δὲ τὸ χάβαλον κατὰ Φοινίκων γλῶτταν οὐκ ἀρέσκον σημαίνει. [143] καὶ σοφίσματα δὲ καὶ λόγους αἰνιγματώδεις διεπέμψατο πρὸς Σολόμωνα ὁ τῶν Τυρίων βασιλεὺς παρακαλῶν, ὅπως αὐτῷ σαφηνίσῃ τούτους καὶ τῆς ἀπορίας τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ζητουμένων ἀπαλλάξῃ. τὸν δὲ δεινὸν ὄντα καὶ συνετὸν οὐδὲν τούτων παρῆλθεν, ἀλλὰ πάντα νικήσας τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ μαθὼν αὐτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν ἐφώτισε.

VI

(1) [144] Μέμνηται τούτων τῶν δύο βασιλέων καὶ Μένανδρος ὁ μεταφράσας ἀπὸ τῆς Φοινίκων διαλέκτου τὰ Τυρίων ἀρχεῖα εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν φωνὴν λέγων οὕτως: "τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀβιβάλου διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ υἱὸς Εἴρωμος, ὃς βιώσας ἔτη πεντηκοντατρία ἐβασίλευσε τριάκοντα καὶ τέσσαρα. [145] οὗτος ἔχωσε τὸ Εὐρύχωρον τόν τε χρυσοῦν κίονα τὸν ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Διὸς ἀνέθηκεν: ἔτι [τε] ὕλην ξύλων ἀπελθὼν ἔκοψεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ λεγομένου Λιβάνου εἰς τὰς τῶν ἱερῶν στέγας: [146] καθελών τε τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἱερὰ καὶ ναὸν ᾠκοδόμησε τοῦ Ἡρακλέους καὶ τῆς Ἀστάρτης, πρῶτός τε τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἔγερσιν ἐποιήσατο ἐν τῷ Περιτίῳ μηνί: τοῖς τε Ἰτυκαίοις ἐπεστρατεύσατο μὴ ἀποδιδοῦσι τοὺς φόρους καὶ ὑποτάξας πάλιν αὐτῷ ἀνέστρεψεν. ἐπὶ τούτου ἦν Ἀβδήμονος παῖς νεώτερος, ὃς ἀεὶ ἐνίκα τὰ προβλήματα, [147] ἃ ἐπέτασσε Σολόμων ὁ Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλεύς." μνημονεύει δὲ καὶ Δῖος λέγων οὕτως: "Ἀβιβάλου τελευτήσαντος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Εἴρωμος ἐβασίλευσεν. οὗτος τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς μέρη τῆς πόλεως προσέχωσε καὶ μεῖζον τὸ ἄστυ ἐποίησε καὶ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς τὸ ἱερὸν καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸ ὂν ἐγχώσας τὸν μεταξὺ τόπον συνῆψε τῇ πόλει καὶ χρυσοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἐκόσμησεν: ἀναβὰς δὲ εἰς τὸν Λίβανον ὑλοτόμησε πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν κατασκευήν. [148] τὸν δὲ τυραννοῦντα Ἱεροσολύμων Σολόμωνα πέμψαι φησὶ πρὸς Εἴρωμον αἰνίγματα καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἀξιοῦντα, τὸν δὲ μὴ δυνηθέντα διακρῖναι τῷ λύσαντι χρήματα ἀποτίνειν. [149] ὁμολογήσαντα δὲ τὸν Εἴρωμον καὶ μὴ δυνηθέντα λῦσαι τὰ αἰνίγματα πολλὰ τῶν χρημάτων εἰς τὸ ἐπιζήμιον ἀναλῶσαι: εἶτα δὲ Ἀβδήμονά τινα Τύριον ἄνδρα τὰ προτεθέντα λῦσαι καὶ αὐτὸν ἄλλα προβαλεῖν, ἃ μὴ λύσαντα τὸν Σολόμωνα πολλὰ τῷ Εἰρώμῳ προσαποτῖσαι χρήματα." καὶ Δῖος μὲν οὕτως εἴρηκεν.

(2) [150] Ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἑώρα τὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τείχη ὁ βασιλεὺς πύργων πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν δεόμενα καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ὀχυρότητος, πρὸς γὰρ τἀξίωμα τῆς πόλεως ἡγεῖτο δεῖν καὶ τοὺς περιβόλους εἶναι, ταῦτά τε προσεπεσκεύαζε καὶ πύργοις αὐτὰ μεγάλοις προσεξῆρεν. [151] ᾠκοδόμησε δὲ καὶ πόλεις ταῖς βαρυτάταις

ἐναρίθμους Ἄσωρόν τε καὶ Μαγέδω, τὴν τρίτην δὲ Γάζαρα, ἣν τῆς Παλαιστίνων χώρας ὑπάρχουσαν Φαραώνης ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς στρατευσάμενος καὶ πολιορκήσας αἱρεῖ κατὰ κράτος: ἀποκτείνας δὲ πάντας τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας αὐτὴν κατέσκαψεν, εἶτα δωρεὰν ἔδωκεν τῇ θυγατρὶ Σολόμωνι γεγαμημένῃ. [152] διὸ καὶ ἀνήγειρεν αὐτὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὖσαν ὀχυρὰν φύσει καὶ πρὸς πολέμους καὶ τὰς τῶν καιρῶν μεταβολὰς χρησίμην εἶναι δυναμένην. οὐ πόρρω δ' αὐτῆς ἄλλας ᾠκοδόμησε δύο πόλεις: Βητχώρα τῇ ἑτέρᾳ ὄνομα ἦν, ἡ δ' ἑτέρα Βελὲθ ἐκαλεῖτο. [153] προσκατεσκεύασε δὲ ταύταις καὶ ἄλλας εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ τρυφὴν ἐπιτηδείως ἐχούσας τῇ τε τῶν ἀέρων εὐκρασίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ὡραίοις εὐφυεῖς καὶ νάμασιν ὑδάτων ἐνδρόσους. ἐμβαλὼν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἔρημον τῆς ἐπάνω Συρίας καὶ κατασχὼν αὐτὴν ἔκτισεν ἐκεῖ πόλιν μεγίστην δύο μὲν ἡμερῶν [ὁδὸν] ἀπὸ τῆς ἄνω Συρίας διεστῶσαν, ἀπὸ δ' Εὐφράτου μιᾶς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς μεγάλης Βαβυλῶνος ἓξ ἡμερῶν ἦν τὸ μῆκος. [154] αἴτιον δὲ τοῦ τὴν πόλιν οὕτως ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκουμένων μερῶν τῆς Συρίας ἀπῳκίσθαι τὸ κατωτέρω μὲν μηδαμοῦ τῆς γῆς ὕδωρ εἶναι, πηγὰς δ' ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ μόνον εὑρεθῆναι καὶ φρέατα. ταύτην οὖν τὴν πόλιν οἰκοδομήσας καὶ τείχεσιν ὀχυρωτάτοις περιβαλὼν Θαδάμοραν ὠνόμασε καὶ τοῦτ' ἔτι νῦν καλεῖται παρὰ τοῖς Σύροις, οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες αὐτὴν προσαγορεύουσι Πάλμυραν.

(3) [155] Σολόμων μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ταῦτα κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν πράττων διετέλει. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπιζητήσαντας, ὅτι πάντες οἱ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεῖς ἀπὸ Μιναίου τοῦ Μέμφιν οἰκοδομήσαντος, ὃς ἔτεσι πολλοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἐγένετο τοῦ πάππου ἡμῶν Ἀβράμου, μέχρι Σολόμωνος πλειόνων ἐτῶν τριακοσίων καὶ χιλίων μεταξὺ διεληλυθότων Φαραῶθαι ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ μετ' αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς μεταξὺ χρόνοις ἄρξαντος βασιλέως Φαραώθου τὴν προσηγορίαν λαβόντες, ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην εἰπεῖν, ἵνα τὴν ἄγνοιαν αὐτῶν ἀφέλω καὶ ποιήσω τοῦ ὀνόματος φανερὰν τὴν αἰτίαν, ὅτι Φαραὼ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους βασιλέα σημαίνει. [156] οἶμαι δ' αὐτοὺς ἐκπαίδων ἄλλοις χρωμένους ὀνόμασιν ἐπειδὰν βασιλεῖς γένωνται τὸ σημαῖνον αὐτῶν τὴν ἐξουσίαν κατὰ τὴν πάτριον γλῶτταν μετονομάζεσθαι: καὶ γὰρ οἱ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας βασιλεῖς ἄλλοις ὀνόμασι καλούμενοι πρότερον ὅτε τὴν βασιλείαν ἔλαβον Πτολεμαῖοι προσηγορεύθησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως. [157] καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίων δὲ αὐτοκράτορες ἐκ γενετῆς ἀπ' ἄλλων χρηματίσαντες ὀνομάτων Καίσαρες καλοῦνται τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ τῆς τιμῆς τὴν προσηγορίαν αὐτοῖς θεμένης ἀλλ' οὐχ οἷς ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων ἐκλήθησαν τούτοις ἐπιμένοντες. νομίζω δὲ καὶ Ἡρόδοτον τὸν Ἁλικαρνασέα διὰ τοῦτο μετὰ Μιναίαν τὸν οἰκοδομήσαντα Μέμφιν τριάκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους βασιλεῖς Αἰγυπτίων γενέσθαι λέγοντα μὴ δηλῶσαι αὐτῶν τὰ ὀνόματα, ὅτι κοινῶς Φαραῶθ' ἐκαλοῦντο: [158] καὶ γὰρ μετὰ τὴν τούτων τελευτὴν γυναικὸς βασιλευσάσης λέγει τοὔνομα Νικαύλην καλῶν δηλῶν, ὡς τῶν μὲν ἀρρένων βασιλέων τὴν αὐτὴν προσηγορίαν ἔχειν δυναμένων, τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς οὐκέτι κοινωνεῖν ἐκείνης, καὶ

διὰ τοῦτ᾽ εἶπεν αὐτῆς τὸ φύσει δεῆσαν ὄνομα. [159] ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἡμῶν βιβλίοις εὗρον, ὅτι μετὰ Φαραώθην τὸν Σολόμωνος πενθερὸν οὐκέτ᾽ οὐδεὶς τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα βασιλεὺς Αἰγυπτίων ἐκλήθη, καὶ ὅτι ὕστερον ἦκε πρὸς Σολόμωνα ἡ προειρημένη γυνὴ βασιλεύουσα τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας. περὶ μὲν οὖν ταύτης μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δηλώσομεν: νῦν δὲ τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην, ἵνα παραστήσω τὰ ἡμέτερα βιβλία καὶ τὰ παρ᾽ Αἰγυπτίοις περὶ πολλῶν ὁμολογοῦντα.

(4) [160] Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Σολόμων τοὺς ἔτι τῶν Χαναναίων οὐχ ὑπακούοντας, οἳ ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ διέτριβον ὄρει καὶ μέχρι πόλεως Ἀμάθης, ὑποχειρίους ποιησάμενος φόρον αὐτοῖς προσέταξε καὶ πρὸς τὸ θητεύειν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς οἰκετικὰς χρείας ἐκτελεῖν καὶ πρὸς γεωργίαν κατ᾽ ἔτος ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπελέγετο. [161] τῶν γὰρ Ἑβραίων οὐδεὶς ἐδούλευεν οὐδ᾽ ἦν εὔλογον ἔθνη πολλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ δεδωκότος αὐτοῖς ὑποχείρια, δέον ἐκ τούτων ποιεῖσθαι τὸ θητικόν, αὐτοὺς κατάγειν εἰς τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἐν ὅπλοις ἐφ᾽ ἁρμάτων καὶ ἵππων στρατευόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ δουλεύοντες διῆγον. [162] τῶν δὲ Χαναναίων, οὓς εἰς τὴν οἰκετείαν ἀπήγαγεν. ἄρχοντας ἀπέδειξε πεντακοσίους καὶ πεντήκοντα τὸν ἀριθμόν, οἳ τὴν ὅλην αὐτῶν ἐπιτροπὴν εἰλήφεσαν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὥστε διδάσκειν αὐτοὺς τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὰς πραγματείας, ἐφ᾽ ἃς ἂν αὐτῶν ἔχρῃζεν.

(5) [163] Ἐναυπηγήσατο δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τῷ Αἰγυπτιακῷ κόλπῳ σκάφη πολλὰ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης ἔν τινι τόπῳ λεγομένῳ Γασίων Γάβελος οὐ πόρρω Ἰλάνεως πόλεως, ἣ νῦν Βερενίκη καλεῖται: αὕτη γὰρ ἡ χώρα τὸ πρὶν Ἰουδαίων ἦν. ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ τῆς ἁρμοζούσης εἰς τὰς ναῦς δωρεᾶς παρ᾽ Εἰρώμου τοῦ Τυρίων βασιλέως: [164] ἄνδρας γὰρ αὐτῷ κυβερνήτας καὶ τῶν θαλασσίων ἐπιστήμονας ἔπεμψεν ἱκανούς, οἷς ἐκέλευσε πλεύσαντας μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων οἰκονόμων εἰς τὴν πάλαι μὲν Σώφειραν νῦν δὲ χρυσῆν γῆν καλουμένην, τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἐστιν αὕτη, χρυσὸν αὐτῷ κομίσαι. καὶ συναθροίσαντες ὡς τετρακόσια τάλαντα πάλιν ἀνεχώρησαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα.

(6) [165] Τὴν δὲ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας τότε βασιλεύουσαν γυναῖκα σοφίᾳ διαπεπονημένην καὶ τἆλλα θαυμαστὴν ἀκούουσαν τὴν Σολόμωνος ἀρετὴν καὶ φρόνησιν ἐπιθυμία τῆς ὄψεως αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν ὁσημέραι περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ λεγομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἤγαγε: [166] πεισθῆναι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς πείρας ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκοῆς, ἣν εἰκός ἐστι καὶ ψευδεῖ δόξῃ συγκατατίθεσθαι καὶ μεταπεῖσαι πάλιν, ὅλη γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπαγγέλλουσι κεῖται, θέλουσα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν διέγνω, μάλιστα καὶ τῆς σοφίας αὐτοῦ βουλομένη λαβεῖν πεῖραν αὐτὴ προτείνασα καὶ λῦσαι τὸ ἄπορον τῆς διανοίας δεηθεῖσα ἦκεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα μετὰ πολλῆς δόξης καὶ πλούτου παρασκευῆς: [167] ἐπηγάγετο γὰρ καμήλους χρυσίου μεστὰς καὶ ἀρωμάτων ποικίλων καὶ λίθων πολυτελῶν. ὡς δ᾽ ἀφικομένην αὐτὴν ἡδέως ὁ βασιλεὺς προσεδέξατο. τά τε ἄλλα περὶ αὐτὴν φιλότιμος ἦν καὶ τὰ προβαλλόμενα σοφίσματα ῥᾳδίως τῇ συνέσει καταλαμβανόμενος θᾶττον ἢ

προσεδόκα τις ἐπελύετο. [168] ἡ δ᾽ ἐξεπλήσσετο μὲν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ Σολόμωνος οὕτως ὑπερβάλλουσαν αὐτὴν καὶ τῆς ἀκουομένης τῇ πείρᾳ κρείττω καταμαθοῦσα, μάλιστα δ᾽ ἐθαύμαζε τὰ βασίλεια τοῦ τε κάλλους καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους οὐχ ἧττον δὲ τῆς διατάξεως τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων: [169] καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταύτῃ πολλὴν τοῦ βασιλέως καθεώρα φρόνησιν. ὑπερεξέπληττε δ᾽ αὐτὴν ὅ τε οἶκος ὁ δρυμὼν ἐπικαλούμενος Λιβάνου καὶ ἡ τῶν καθ᾽ ἡμέραν δείπνων πολυτέλεια καὶ τὰ τῆς παρασκευῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ διακονίας ἥ τε τῶν ὑπηρετούντων ἐσθὴς καὶ τὸ μετ᾽ ἐπιστήμης αὐτῶν περὶ τὴν διακονίαν εὐπρεπές, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ αἱ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐπιτελούμεναι τῷ θεῷ θυσίαι καὶ τὸ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ Λευιτῶν περὶ αὐτὰς ἐπιμελές. [170] ταῦθ᾽ ὁρῶσα καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ὑπερεθαύμαζε, καὶ κατασχεῖν οὐ δυνηθεῖσα τὴν ἔκπληξιν τῶν βλεπομένων φανερὰν ἐποίησεν αὐτὴν θαυμαστικῶς διακειμένην: πρὸς γὰρ τὸν βασιλέα προήχθη λόγους εἰπεῖν, ὑφ᾽ ὧν ἠλέγχθη σφόδρα τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις ἡττημένη: [171] “πάντα μὲν γάρ, εἶπεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ δι᾽ ἀκοῆς εἰς γνῶσιν ἐρχόμενα μετ᾽ ἀπιστίας παραγίνεται, τῶν δὲ σῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὧν αὐτός τε ἔχεις ἐν αὐτῷ, λέγω δὲ τὴν σοφίαν καὶ τὴν φρόνησιν, καὶ ὧν ἡ βασιλεία σοι δίδωσιν, οὐ ψευδὴς ἄρα ἡ φήμη πρὸς ἡμᾶς διῆλθεν, ἀλλ᾽ οὖσα ἀληθὴς πολὺ [172] καταδεεστέραν τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἀπέφηνεν ἧς ὁρῶ νῦν παροῦσα τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἀκοὰς πείθειν ἐπεχείρει μόνον, τὸ δὲ ἀξίωμα τῶν πραγμάτων οὐχ οὕτως ἐποίει γνώριμον, ὡς ἡ ὄψις αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς εἶναι συνίστησιν. ἐγὼ γοῦν οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀπαγγελλομένοις διὰ πλῆθος καὶ μέγεθος ὧν ἐπυνθανόμην πιστεύουσα πολλῷ πλείω τούτων ἱστόρηκα. [173] καὶ μακάριόν τε τὸν Ἑβραίων λαὸν εἶναι κρίνω δούλους τε τοὺς σοὺς καὶ φίλους, οἳ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν τῆς σῆς ἀπολαύουσιν ὄψεως καὶ τῆς σῆς σοφίας ἀκροώμενοι διατελοῦσιν. εὐλογήσειεν ἄν τις τὸν θεὸν ἀγαπήσαντα τήνδε τὴν χώραν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας οὕτως, ὥστε σὲ ποιῆσαι βασιλέα.”

VII

(1) [174] Παραστήσασα δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν λόγων, πῶς αὐτὴν διέθηκεν ὁ βασιλεύς, ἔτι καὶ ταῖς δωρεαῖς τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῆς ἐποίησε φανεράν: εἴκοσι μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ τάλαντα ἔδωκε χρυσίου ἀρωμάτων τε πλῆθος ἀσυλλόγιστον καὶ λίθον πολυτελῆ: λέγουσι δ᾽ ὅτι καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὀποβαλσάμου ῥίζαν, ἣν ἔτι νῦν ἡμῶν ἡ χώρα φέρει, δούσης ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς ἔχομεν. [175] ἀντεδωρήσατο δ᾽ αὐτὴν καὶ Σολόμων πολλοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ μάλισθ᾽ ὧν κατ᾽ ἐπιθυμίαν ἐξελέξατο: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν, ὅ τι δεηθείσῃ λαβεῖν οὐ παρέσχεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἑτοιμότερον ὧν αὐτὸς κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ἐχαρίζετο προαίρεσιν ἅπερ ἐκείνη τυχεῖν ἠξίου προιέμενος τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην ἐπεδείκνυτο. καὶ ἡ μὲν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας βασίλισσα ὧν προειρήκαμεν τυχοῦσα καὶ μεταδοῦσα πάλιν τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ὑπέστρεψε.

(2) [176] Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν κομισθέντων ἀπὸ τῆς χρυσῆς καλουμένης γῆς λίθου πολυτελοῦς τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ξύλων πευκίνων, τοῖς ξύλοις εἰς ὑποστήριγμα τοῦ τε ναοῦ καὶ τῶν βασιλείων κατεχρήσατο καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν μουσικῶν ὀργάνων κατασκευὴν κινύρας τε καὶ νάβλας, ὅπως ὑμνῶσιν οἱ Ληουῖται τὸν θεόν: πάντων δὲ τῶν ποτε κομισθέντων αὐτῷ τὰ κατ᾽ ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐνεχθέντα καὶ μεγέθει καὶ κάλλει διέφερεν. [177] ὑπολάβῃ δὲ μηδείς, ὅτι τὰ τῆς πεύκης ξύλα τοῖς νῦν εἶναι λεγομένοις καὶ ταύτην ὑπὸ τῶν πιπρασκόντων τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐπὶ καταπλήξει τῶν ὠνουμένων λαμβάνουσίν ἐστι παραπλήσια. ἐκεῖνα γὰρ τὴν μὲν ἰδέαν ἐμφερῆ τοῖς συκίνοις γίνεται, λευκότερα δέ ἐστι καὶ στίλβει πλέον. [178] τοῦτο μὲν πρὸς τὸ μηδένα τὴν διαφορὰν ἀγνοῆσαι μηδὲ τὴν φύσιν τῆς ἀληθοῦς πεύκης, ἐπεὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως χρείαν ἐμνήσθημεν αὐτῆς, εὔκαιρον εἶναι καὶ φιλάνθρωπον δηλῶσαι νομίσαντες εἰρήκαμεν.

(3) [179] Ὁ δὲ τοῦ χρυσοῦ σταθμὸς τοῦ κομισθέντος αὐτῷ τάλαντα ἑξακόσια καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἕξ, μὴ συγκαταριθμουμένου καὶ τοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπόρων ὠνηθέντος μηδ᾽ ὧν οἱ τῆς Ἀραβίας τοπάρχαι καὶ βασιλεῖς ἔπεμπον αὐτῷ δωρεῶν. ἐχώνευσε δὲ τὸν χρυσὸν εἰς διακοσίων κατασκευὴν θυρεῶν ἀνὰ σίκλους ἀγόντων ἑξακοσίους. [180] ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ ἀσπίδας τριακοσίας ἀγούσης ἑκάστης χρυσίου μνᾶς τρεῖς: ἀνέθηκε δὲ ταύτας φέρων εἰς τὸν οἶκον τὸν δρυμῶνα Λιβάνου καλούμενον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐκπώματα διὰ χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθου τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἑστίασιν ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα φιλοτεχνῶν κατεσκεύασε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τῶν σκευῶν δαψίλειαν χρυσέαν ἅπασαν ἐμηχανήσατο: [181] οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν ὅ τις ἀργύρῳ ἐπίπρασκεν ἢ πάλιν ἐωνεῖτο, ἀλλὰ πολλαὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ναῦς, ἃς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τῇ Ταρσικῇ λεγομένῃ θαλάττῃ καταστήσας παραγαγεῖν εἰς τὰ ἐνδοτέρω τῶν ἐθνῶν παντοίαν ἐμπορίαν προσέταξεν, ὧν ἐξεμπολουμένων ἄργυρός τε καὶ χρυσὸς ἐκομίζετο τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ πολὺς ἐλέφας Αἰθίοπές τε καὶ πίθηκοι. τὸν δὲ πλοῦν ἀπιοῦσαί τε καὶ ἐπανερχόμεναι τρισὶν ἔτεσιν ἤνυον.

(4) [182] Φήμη δὲ λαμπρὰ πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν χώραν περιήρχετο διαβοῶσα τὴν Σολόμωνος ἀρετὴν καὶ σοφίαν, ὡς τούς τε πανταχοῦ βασιλεῖς ἐπιθυμεῖν εἰς ὄψιν αὐτῷ παραγενέσθαι τοῖς λεγομένοις δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν ἀπιστοῦντας, καὶ δωρεαῖς μεγάλαις προσεμφανίζειν τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν σπουδήν: [183] ἔπεμπον γὰρ αὐτῷ σκεύη χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ ἀλουργεῖς ἐσθῆτας καὶ ἀρωμάτων γένη πολλὰ καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἅρματα καὶ τῶν ἀχθοφόρων ἡμιόνων ὅσους καὶ ῥώμῃ καὶ κάλλει τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ὄψιν εὖ διαθήσειν ἐπελέγοντο, ὥστε τοῖς οὖσιν αὐτῷ πρότερον ἅρμασι καὶ ἵπποις ἐκ τῶν πεμπομένων προσθέντα ποιῆσαι τὸν μὲν τῶν ἁρμάτων ἀριθμὸν τετρακοσίοις περισσότερον, ἦν γὰρ αὐτῷ πρότερον χίλια, τὸν δὲ τῶν ἵππων δισχιλίοις, ὑπῆρχον γὰρ αὐτῷ δισμύριοι ἵπποι. [184] ἤσκηντο δ᾽ οὗτοι πρὸς εὐμορφίαν καὶ τάχος, ὡς μήτ᾽ εὐπρεπεστέρους ἄλλους εἶναι συμβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς μήτε ὠκυτέρους, ἀλλὰ καλλίστους τε πάντων ὁρᾶσθαι καὶ ἀπαραμίλλητον

αὐτῶν εἶναι τὴν ὀξύτητα. [185] ἐπεκόσμουν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ ἀναβαίνοντες νεότητι μὲν πρῶτον ἀνθοῦντες ἐπιτερπεστάτῃ τὸ δὲ ὕψος ὄντες περίοπτοι καὶ πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερέχοντες, μηκίστας μὲν καθειμένοι χαίτας ἐνδεδυμένοι δὲ χιτῶνας τῆς Τυρίας πορφύρας. ψῆγμα δὲ χρυσοῦ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν αὐτῶν ἐπέσηθον ταῖς κόμαις, ὡς στίλβειν αὐτῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς τῆς αὐγῆς τοῦ χρυσοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον ἀντανακλωμένης. [186] τούτων περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντων ὁ βασιλεὺς καθωπλισμένων καὶ τόξα ἐξηρτημένων ἐφ᾽ ἅρματος αὐτὸς ὀχούμενος καὶ λευκὴν ἠμφιεσμένος ἐσθῆτα πρὸς αἰώραν ἔθος εἶχεν ἐξορμᾶν. ἦν δέ τι χωρίον ἀπὸ δύο σχοίνων Ἱεροσολύμων, ὃ καλεῖται μὲν Ἠτάν, παραδείσοις δὲ καὶ ναμάτων ἐπιρροαῖς ἐπιτερπὲς ὁμοῦ καὶ πλούσιον: εἰς τοῦτο τὰς ἐξόδους αἰωρούμενος ἐποιεῖτο.

(5) [187] Θείᾳ τε περὶ πάντα χρώμενος ἐπινοίᾳ τε καὶ σπουδῇ καὶ λίαν ὢν φιλόκαλος οὐδὲ τῶν ὁδῶν ἠμέλησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων τὰς ἀγούσας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα βασίλειον οὖσαν λίθῳ κατέστρωσε μέλανι, πρός τε τὸ ῥᾳστώνην εἶναι τοῖς βαδίζουσι, καὶ πρὸς τὸ δηλοῦν τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας. [188] διαμερίσας δὲ τὰ ἅρματα καὶ διατάξας, ὥστε ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει τούτων ἀριθμὸν ὡρισμένον ὑπάρχειν, αὐτὸς μὲν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐτήρησεν ὀλίγα, τὰς δὲ πόλεις ταύτας ἁρμάτων προσηγόρευσε. τοῦ δ᾽ ἀργυρίου τοσοῦτον ἐποιήσατο πλῆθος ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὁ βασιλεύς, ὅσον ἦν καὶ τῶν λίθων, καὶ τῶν κεδρίνων ξύλων οὐ πρότερον ὄντων, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν δένδρων τῶν συκαμινίνων, ὧν πληθύει τὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίας πεδία. [189] προσέταξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόροις Αἰγύπτου κομίζουσιν αὐτῷ πιπράσκειν τὸ μὲν ἅρμα σὺν ἵπποις δυσὶν ἑξακοσίων δραχμῶν ἀργυρίου, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς τῆς Συρίας βασιλεῦσι καὶ τοῖς πέραν Εὐφράτου διέπεμπεν αὐτούς.

(6) [190] Γενόμενος δὲ πάντων βασιλέων ἐνδοξότατος καὶ θεοφιλέστατος καὶ φρονήσει καὶ πλούτῳ διενεγκὼν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἑβραίων ἀρχὴν ἐσχηκότων οὐκ ἐπέμεινε τούτοις ἄχρι τελευτῆς, ἀλλὰ καταλιπὼν τὴν τῶν πατρίων ἐθισμῶν φυλακὴν οὐκ εἰς ὅμοιον οἷς προειρήκαμεν αὐτοῦ τέλος κατέστρεψεν, [191] εἰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἐκμανεὶς καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀφροδισίων ἀκρασίαν οὐ ταῖς ἐπιχωρίαις μόνον ἠρέσκετο, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐθνῶν γήμας Σιδωνίας καὶ Τυρίας καὶ Ἀμμανίτιδας καὶ Ἰδουμαίας παρέβη μὲν τοὺς Μωσήους νόμους, ὃς ἀπηγόρευσε συνοικεῖν ταῖς οὐχ ὁμοφύλοις, [192] τοὺς δ᾽ ἐκείνων ἤρξατο θρησκεύειν θεοὺς ταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ τῷ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἔρωτι χαριζόμενος, τοῦτ᾽ αὐτὸ ὑπιδομένου τοῦ νομοθέτου προειπόντος μὴ γαμεῖν τὰς ἀλλοτριοχώρους, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς ξένοις ἐπιπλακέντες ἔθεσι τῶν πατρίων ἀποστῶσι, μηδὲ τοὺς ἐκείνων σέβωνται θεοὺς παρέντες τιμᾶν τὸν ἴδιον. [193] ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν κατημέλησεν ὑπενεχθεὶς εἰς ἡδονὴν ἀλόγιστον Σολόμων, ἀγαγόμενος δὲ γυναῖκας ἀρχόντων καὶ διασήμων θυγατέρας ἑπτακοσίας τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ παλλακὰς τριακοσίας, πρὸς δὲ ταύταις καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Αἰγυπτίων θυγατέρα, εὐθὺς μὲν ἐκρατεῖτο πρὸς αὐτῶν, ὥστε μιμεῖσθαι τὰ παρ᾽ ἐκείναις, καὶ τῆς εὐνοίας καὶ

φιλοστοργίας ἠναγκάζετο παρέχειν αὐταῖς δεῖγμα τὸ βιοῦν ὡς αὐταῖς πάτριον ἦν: [194] προβαινούσης δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας καὶ τοῦ λογισμοῦ διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἀσθενοῦντος ἀντέχειν πρὸς τὴν μνήμην τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἔτι μᾶλλον τοῦ μὲν ἰδίου θεοῦ κατωλιγώρησε, τοὺς δὲ τῶν γάμων τῶν ἐπεισάκτων τιμῶν διετέλει. [195] καὶ πρὸ τούτων δὲ ἁμαρτεῖν αὐτὸν ἔτυχε καὶ σφαλῆναι περὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν νομίμων, ὅτε τὰ τῶν χαλκῶν βοῶν ὁμοιώματα κατεσκεύασε τῶν ὑπὸ τῇ θαλάττῃ τῷ ἀναθήματι καὶ τῶν λεόντων τῶν περὶ τὸν θρόνον τὸν ἴδιον: οὐδὲ γὰρ ταῦτα ποιεῖν ὅσιον εἰργάσατο. [196] κάλλιστον δ' ἔχων καὶ οἰκεῖον παράδειγμα τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου δόξαν, ἣν αὐτῷ συνέβη καταλιπεῖν διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβειαν, οὐ μιμησάμενος αὐτὸν καὶ ταῦτα δὶς αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους φανέντος καὶ τὸν πατέρα μιμεῖσθαι παραινέσαντος ἀκλεῶς ἀπέθανεν. [197] ἦκεν οὖν εὐθὺς ὁ προφήτης ὑπὸ θεοῦ πεμφθεὶς οὔτε λανθάνειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς παρανομήμασι λέγων οὔτ' ἐπὶ πολὺ χαιρήσειν τοῖς πραττομένοις ἀπειλῶν, ἀλλὰ ζῶντος μὲν οὐκ ἀφαιρεθήσεσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπεὶ τῷ πατρὶ Δαυίδῃ τὸ θεῖον ὑπέσχετο διάδοχον αὐτὸν ποιήσειν ἐκείνου, [198] τελευτήσαντος δὲ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ταῦτα διαθήσειν οὐχ ἅπαντα μὲν τὸν λαὸν ἀποστήσας αὐτοῦ, δέκα δὲ φυλὰς παραδοὺς αὐτοῦ τῷ δούλῳ, δύο δὲ μόνας καταλιπὼν τῷ υἱωνῷ τῷ Δαυίδου δι' αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον, ὅτι τὸν θεὸν ἠγάπησε, καὶ διὰ τὴν πόλιν Ἱεροσόλυμα, ἐν ᾗ ναὸν ἔχειν ἠβουλήθη.

(7) [199] Ταῦτ' ἀκούσας Σολόμων ἤλγησε καὶ σφοδρῶς συνεχύθη πάντων αὐτῷ σχεδὸν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐφ' οἷς ζηλωτὸς ἦν εἰς μεταβολὴν ἐρχομένων πονηράν. οὐ πολὺς δὲ διῆλθε χρόνος ἀφ' οὗ κατήγγειλεν ὁ προφήτης αὐτῷ τὰ συμβησόμενα καὶ πολέμιον εὐθὺς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤγειρεν ὁ θεὸς Ἄδερον μὲν ὄνομα τὴν δ' αἰτίαν τῆς ἔχθρας λαβόντα τοιαύτην: [200] παῖς οὗτος ἦν Ἰδουμαῖος γένος ἐκ βασιλικῶν σπερμάτων. καταστρεψαμένου δὲ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν Ἰωάβου τοῦ Δαυίδου στρατηγοῦ καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐν ἀκμῇ καὶ φέρειν ὅπλα δυναμένους διαφθείραντος μησὶν ἕξ, φυγὼν ἦκε πρὸς Φαραῶνα τὸν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα. [201] ὁ δὲ φιλοφρόνως αὐτὸν δεξάμενος οἰκόν τε αὐτῷ δίδωσι καὶ χώραν εἰς διατροφὴν καὶ γενόμενον ἐν ἡλικίᾳ λίαν ἠγάπα, ὡς καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναικὸς αὐτῷ δοῦναι πρὸς γάμον τὴν ἀδελφὴν ὄνομα Θαφίνην, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ υἱὸς γενόμενος τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως παισὶ συνετράφη. [202] ἀκούσας οὖν τὸν Δαυίδου θάνατον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τὸν Ἰωάβου προσελθὼν ἐδεῖτο τοῦ Φαραῶνος ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῷ βαδίζειν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἀνακρίναντος, τίνος ἐνδεὴς ὢν ἢ τί παθὼν ἐσπούδακε καταλιπεῖν αὐτόν, ἐνοχλῶν πολλάκις καὶ παρακαλῶν τότε μὲν οὐκ ἀφείθη: [203] κατ' ἐκεῖνον δὲ τὸν καιρόν, καθ' ὃν ἤδη Σολόμωνι τὰ πράγματα κακῶς ἔχειν ἤρχετο διὰ τὰς προειρημένας παρανομίας καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ, συγχωρήσαντος τοῦ Φαραῶνος ὁ Ἄδερος ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν: καὶ μὴ δυνηθεὶς αὐτὴν ἀποστῆσαι τοῦ Σολόμωνος, κατείχετο γὰρ φρουραῖς πολλαῖς καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἐλεύθερος δι' αὐτὰς οὐδ' ἐπ' ἀδείας ὁ

νεωτερισμός, ἄρας ἐκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν Συρίαν ἀφίκετο. [204] συμβαλὼν δὲ ἐκεῖ τινι Ῥάζῳ μὲν τοὔνομα τὸν δὲ τῆς Σωφηνῆς ἀποδεδρακότι βασιλέα Ἀδραάζαρον δεσπότην ὄντα καὶ λῃστεύοντι τὴν χώραν εἰς φιλίαν αὐτῷ συνάψας ἔχοντι περὶ αὐτὸν στῖφος λῃστρικὸν ἀναβαίνει, καὶ κατασχὼν τὴν ἐκεῖ Συρίαν βασιλεὺς αὐτῆς ἀποδείκνυται καὶ κατατρέχων τὴν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν γῆν ἐποίει κακῶς καὶ διήρπαζε Σολόμωνος ζῶντος ἔτι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδέρου συνέβαινε πάσχειν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις.

(8) [205] Ἐπιτίθεται δὲ Σολόμωνι καὶ τῶν ὁμοφύλων τις Ἱεροβόαμος υἱὸς Ναβαταίου κατὰ προφητείαν πάλαι γενομένην αὐτῷ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπελπίσας: παῖδα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καταλειφθέντα καὶ ὑπὸ τῇ μητρὶ παιδευόμενον ὡς εἶδε γενναῖον καὶ τολμηρὸν Σολόμων ὄντα τὸ φρόνημα τῆς τῶν τειχῶν οἰκοδομίας ἐπιμελητὴν κατέστησεν, ὅτε τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις τὸν κύκλον περιέβαλεν. [206] οὕτως δὲ τῶν ἔργων προενόησεν, ὥστε ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸν ἀπεδέξατο καὶ γέρας αὐτῷ στρατηγίαν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰωσήπου φυλῆς ἔδωκεν. ἀπερχομένῳ δὲ τῷ Ἱεροβοάμῳ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων συνεβόλησε προφήτης ἐκ πόλεως μὲν Σιλὼ Ἀχίας δὲ ὄνομα. καὶ προσαγορεύσας αὐτὸν ἀπήγαγεν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ μικρὸν ἀπονεύσας εἴς τι χωρίον, εἰς ὃ παρῆν μηδὲ εἷς ἄλλος. [207] σχίσας δὲ εἰς δώδεκα φάρση τὸ ἱμάτιον, ὅπερ ἦν αὐτὸς περιβεβλημένος, ἐκέλευσε τὸν Ἱεροβόαμον λαβεῖν τὰ δέκα προσειπών, ὅτι ταῦτα ὁ θεὸς βούλεται καὶ σχίσας τὴν Σολόμωνος ἀρχὴν τῷ παιδὶ μὲν τῷ τούτου διὰ τὴν πρὸς Δαυίδην γεγενημένην ὁμολογίαν αὐτῷ μίαν φυλὴν καὶ τὴν ἑξῆς αὐτῇ δίδωσι, σοὶ δὲ τὰς δέκα Σολόμωνος εἰς αὐτὸν ἐξαμαρτόντος καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνων θεοῖς αὐτὸν ἐκδεδωκότος. [208] εἰδὼς οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν δι᾽ ἣν μετατίθησι τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην ἀπὸ Σολόμωνος ὁ θεὸς δίκαιος εἶναι πειρῶ καὶ φύλαττε τὰ νόμιμα, προκειμένου σοι τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τιμῆς ἄθλου μεγίστου τῶν ἁπάντων, γενήσεσθαι τηλικούτῳ ἡλίκον οἶσθα Δαυίδην γενόμενον.”

VIII

(1) [209] Ἐπαρθεὶς οὖν τοῖς τοῦ προφήτου λόγοις Ἱεροβόαμος φύσει θερμὸς ἀν νεανίας καὶ μεγάλων ἐπιθυμητὴς πραγμάτων οὐκ ἠρέμει. γενόμενος δ᾽ ἐν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ καὶ μεμνημένος τῶν ὑπὸ Ἀχία δεδηλωμένων εὐθὺς ἀναπείθειν ἐπεχείρει τὸν λαὸν ἀφίστασθαι Σολόμωνος καὶ κινεῖν καὶ παράγειν εἰς αὐτὸν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. [210] μαθὼν δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν Σολόμων ἐζήτει συλλαβὼν αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν. φθάσας δὲ γνῶναι τοῦτο Ἱεροβόαμος πρὸς Ἴσακον φεύγει τὸν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα, καὶ μέχρι τῆς Σολόμωνος τελευτῆς ἐκεῖ μείνας τό τε μηδὲν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ παθεῖν ἐκέρδησε καὶ τὸ τῇ βασιλείᾳ φυλαχθῆναι. [211] ἀποθνήσκει δὲ Σολόμων ἤδη γηραιὸς ὢν βασιλεύσας μὲν ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη, ζήσας

δὲ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ τέσσαρα: θάπτεται δὲ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἅπαντας ὑπερβαλὼν εὐδαιμονίᾳ τε καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ φρονήσει τοὺς βασιλεύσαντας, εἰ μὴ ὅσα γε πρὸς τὸ γῆρας ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἀπατηθεὶς παρηνόμησε: περὶ ὧν καὶ τῶν δι᾽ αὐτὰς κακῶν συμπεσόντων Ἑβραίοις εὐκαιρότερον ἔξομεν διασαφῆσαι.

(2) [212] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Σολόμωνος τελευτὴν διαδεξαμένου τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν Ῥοβοάμου, ὃς ἐκ γυναικὸς Ἀμμανίτιδος ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῷ γεγονὼς Νοομᾶς τοὔνομα, πέμψαντες εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον οἱ τῶν ὄχλων ἄρχοντες ἐκάλουν τὸν Ἱεροβόαμον. ἀφικομένου δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰς Σίκιμα πόλιν καὶ Ῥοβόαμος εἰς αὐτὴν παραγίνεται: δέδοκτο γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖσε συνελθοῦσι τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις ἀποδεῖξαι βασιλέα. [213] προσελθόντες οὖν οἵ τε ἄρχοντες αὐτῷ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ Ἱεροβόαμος παρεκάλουν λέγοντες ἀνεῖναί τι τῆς δουλείας αὐτοῖς καὶ γενέσθαι χρηστότερον τοῦ πατρός: βαρὺν γὰρ ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνῳ ζυγὸν αὐτοὺς ὑπενεγκεῖν: εὐνούστεροι δὲ ἔσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἀγαπήσειν τὴν δουλείαν διὰ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν ἢ διὰ τὸν φόβον. [214] ὁ δὲ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας εἰπὼν αὐτοῖς ἀποκρινεῖσθαι περὶ ὧν ἀξιοῦσιν ὕποπτος μὲν εὐθὺς γίνεται μὴ παραχρῆμα ἐπινεύσας αὐτοῖς τὰ πρὸς ἡδονήν, πρόχειρον γὰρ ἠξίουν εἶναι τὸ χρηστὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐν νέῳ, ἐδόκει δ᾽ ὅμως καὶ τὸ βουλεύσασθαι τοῦ μὴ παραυτίκα ἀπειπεῖν ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος ἔχεσθαι.

(3) [215] Συγκαλέσας δὲ τοὺς πατρῴους φίλους ἐσκοπεῖτο μετ᾽ αὐτῶν, ποδαπὴν δεῖ ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀπόκρισιν πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος. οἱ δ᾽ ἅπερ εἰκὸς τοὺς εὔνους καὶ φύσιν ὄχλων εἰδότας παρῄνουν αὐτῷ φιλοφρόνως ὁμιλῆσαι τῷ λαῷ καὶ δημοτικώτερον ἢ κατὰ βασιλείας ὄγκον: χειρώσεσθαι γὰρ οὕτως εἰς εὔνοιαν αὐτὸν φύσει τῶν ὑπηκόων ἀγαπώντων τὸ προσηνὲς καὶ παρὰ μικρὸν ἰσότιμον τῶν βασιλέων. [216] ὁ δ᾽ ἀγαθὴν οὕτως καὶ συμφέρουσαν ἴσως πρὸς τὸ πᾶν, εἰ δὲ μή, πρός γε τὸν τότε καιρὸν ὅτ᾽ ἔδει γενέσθαι βασιλέα γνώμην ἀπεστράφη τοῦ θεοῦ ποιήσαντος οἶμαι κατακριθῆναι τὸ συμφέρον ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ: καλέσας δὲ μειράκια τὰ συντεθραμμένα καὶ τὴν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων αὐτοῖς συμβουλίαν εἰπών, τί δοκεῖ ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐκέλευσε λέγειν. [217] τὰ δέ, οὔτε γὰρ ἡ νεότης οὔτε ὁ θεὸς ἠφίει νοεῖν τὰ κρείττω, παρῄνεσαν ἀποκρίνασθαι τῷ λαῷ τὸν βραχύτατον αὐτοῦ δάκτυλον τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ὀσφύος εἶναι παχύτερον καί, εἰ σκληροῦ λίαν ἐπειράθησαν ἐκείνου, πολὺ μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ λήψεσθαι πεῖραν δυσκόλου: καὶ εἰ μάστιξιν αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνος ἐνουθέτει, σκορπίοις τοῦτο ποιήσειν αὐτὸν προσδοκᾶν. [218] τούτοις ἡσθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ δόξας προσήκειν τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀξιώματι τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, ὡς συνῆλθεν ἀκουσόμενον τὸ πλῆθος τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν, μετεώρου τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ὄντος καὶ λέγοντος ἀκοῦσαί τι τοῦ βασιλέως ἐσπουδακότος, οἰομένου δέ τι καὶ φιλάνθρωπον, τὴν τῶν μειρακίων αὐτοῖς συμβουλίαν παρεὶς τὴν τῶν φίλων ἀπεκρίνατο. ταῦτα δ᾽ ἐπράττετο κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βούλησιν, ἵνα λάβῃ τέλος ἃ προεφήτευσεν Ἀχίας.

(4) [219] Πληγέντες δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων καὶ ἀλγήσαντες ὡς ἐπὶ πείρᾳ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἠγανάκτησαν καὶ μέγα πάντες ἐκβοήσαντες οὐκέτι οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ συγγενὲς πρὸς Δαυίδην καὶ τοὺς ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ μετ᾽ ἐκείνην ἔφασαν τὴν ἡμέραν: παραχωρεῖν δ᾽ αὐτῷ μόνον τὸν ναὸν ὃν ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ κατεσκεύασεν εἰπόντες καταλείψειν ἠπείλησαν. [220] οὕτως δ᾽ ἔσχον πικρῶς καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν ἐτήρησαν, ὡς πέμψαντος αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν φόρων Ἀδώραμον, ἵνα καταπραύνῃ καὶ συγγνόντας τοῖς εἰρημένοις, εἴ τι προπετὲς καὶ δύσκολον ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς, ποιήσῃ μαλακωτέρους, οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλὰ βάλλοντες αὐτὸν λίθοις ἀπέκτειναν. [221] ταῦτ᾽ ἰδὼν Ῥοβόαμος καὶ νομίσας αὐτὸν βεβλῆσθαι τοῖς λίθοις, οἷς τὸν ὑπηρέτην ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτοῦ τὸ πλῆθος, δείσας μὴ καὶ ἔργῳ πάθῃ τὸ δεινὸν ἐπιβὰς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ ἅρματος ἔφυγεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. καὶ ἡ μὲν Ἰούδα φυλὴ καὶ ἡ Βενιαμίδος χειροτονοῦσιν αὐτὸν βασιλέα, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας τῶν Δαυίδου παίδων ἀποστὰν τὸν Ἱεροβόαμον ἀπέδειξε τῶν πραγμάτων κύριον. [222] Ῥοβόαμος δὲ ὁ Σολόμωνος παῖς ἐκκλησίαν ποιήσας τῶν δύο φυλῶν, ἃς εἶχεν ὑπηκόους, οἷός τε ἦν λαβὰν ὀκτωκαίδεκα παρ᾽ αὐτῶν στρατοῦ μυριάδας ἐπιλέκτους ἐξελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἱεροβόαμον καὶ τὸν λαόν, ὅπως πολεμήσας ἀναγκάσῃ δουλεύειν αὐτῷ. [223] κωλυθεὶς δ᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ προφήτου ποιήσασθαι τὴν στρατείαν, οὐ γὰρ εἶναι δίκαιον τοὺς ὁμοφύλους πολεμεῖν οὗτος ἔλεγε καὶ ταῦτα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ προαίρεσιν τῆς τοῦ πλήθους ἀποστάσεως γεγενημένης, οὐκέτ᾽ ἐξῆλθε. [224] διηγήσομαι δὲ πρῶτον ὅσα Ἱεροβόαμος ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς ἔπραξεν, εἶτα δὲ τούτων ἐχόμενα τὰ ὑπὸ Ῥοβοάμου τοῦ τῶν δύο φυλῶν βασιλέως γεγενημένα δηλώσομεν: φυλαχθείη γὰρ ἂν οὕτως ἄχρι παντὸς τῆς ἱστορίας τὸ εὔτακτον.

(5) [225] Ὁ τοίνυν Ἱεροβόαμος οἰκοδομήσας βασίλειον ἐν Σικίμῃ πόλει ἐν ταύτῃ τὴν δίαιταν εἶχε, κατεσκεύασε δὲ καὶ ἐν Φανουὴλ πόλει λεγομένῃ. μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ τῆς σκηνοπηγίας ἑορτῆς ἐνίστασθαι μελλούσης λογισάμενος, ὡς ἐὰν ἐπιτρέψῃ τῷ πλήθει προσκυνῆσαι τὸν θεὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πορευθέντι καὶ ἐκεῖ τὴν ἑορτὴν διαγαγεῖν, μετανοῆσαν ἴσως καὶ δελεασθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τῆς θρησκείας τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ καταλείψει μὲν αὐτόν, προσχωρήσει δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ βασιλεῖ, καὶ κινδυνεύσει τούτου γενομένου τὴν ψυχὴν ἀποβαλεῖν, ἐπιτεχνᾶταί τι τοιοῦτον: [226] δύο ποιήσας δαμάλεις χρυσᾶς καὶ οἰκοδομήσας ναίσκους τοσούτους ἕνα μὲν ἐν Βηθήλῃ πόλει, τὸν ἕτερον δὲ ἐν Δάνῃ, ἡ δ᾽ ἐστὶ πρὸς ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ μικροῦ Ἰορδάνου, τίθησι τὰς δαμάλεις ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τῶν ἐν ταῖς προειρημέναις πόλεσι ναίσκων, καὶ συγκαλέσας τὰς δέκα φυλὰς ὧν αὐτὸς ἦρχεν ἐδημηγόρησε τούτους ποιησάμενος τοὺς λόγους: [227] "ἄνδρες ὁμόφυλοι, γινώσκειν ὑμᾶς νομίζω τοῦτο, ὅτι πᾶς τόπος ἔχει τὸν θεὸν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἓν ἀποδεδειγμένον χωρίον ἐν ᾧ πάρεστιν, ἀλλὰ πανταχοῦ τε ἀκούει καὶ τοὺς θρησκεύοντας ἐφορᾷ. ὅθεν οὔ μοι δοκεῖ νῦν ἐπείγειν ὑμᾶς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πορευθέντας εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν πόλιν μακρὰν οὕτως ὁδὸν προσκυνεῖν: [228]

ἄνθρωπος γὰρ κατεσκεύακε τὸν ναόν, πεποίηκα δὲ κἀγὼ δύο χρυσᾶς δαμάλεις ἐπωνύμους τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐν Βηθήλῃ πόλει καθιέρωσα τὴν δ᾽ ἐν Δάνῃ, ὅπως ὑμῶν οἱ τούτων ἔγγιστα τῶν πόλεων κατῳκημένοι προσκυνῶσιν εἰς αὐτὰς ἀπερχόμενοι τὸν θεόν. ἀποδείξω δέ τινας ὑμῖν καὶ ἱερεῖς ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ Ληουίτας, ἵνα μὴ χρείαν ἔχητε τῆς Ληουίτιδος φυλῆς καὶ τῶν υἱῶν Ἀαρῶνος, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ βουλόμενος ὑμῶν ἱερεὺς εἶναι προσενεγκάτω μόσχον τῷ θεῷ καὶ κριόν, ὃ καὶ τὸν [229] πρῶτον ἱερέα φασὶν Ἀαρῶνα πεποιηκέναι.” ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν ἐξηπάτησε τὸν λαὸν καὶ τῆς πατρίου θρησκείας ἀποστάντας ἐποίησε παραβῆναι τοὺς νόμους. ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐγένετο τοῦτο τοῖς Ἑβραίοις καὶ τοῦ πολέμῳ κρατηθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων αἰχμαλωσίᾳ περιπεσεῖν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ χώραν δηλώσομεν.

IX

(1) [230] Ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἑβδόμῳ μηνὶ βουλόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν Βηθήλῃ ταύτην ἀγαγεῖν, ὥσπερ ἐώρταζον καὶ αἱ δύο φυλαὶ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, οἰκοδομεῖ μὲν θυσιαστήριον πρὸ τῆς δαμάλεως, γενόμενος δὲ αὐτὸς ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀναβαίνει σὺν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἱερεῦσι. [231] μέλλοντος δ᾽ ἐπιφέρειν τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ὁλοκαυτώσεις ἐν ὄψει τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς παραγίνεται πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων προφήτης Ἰάδων ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ πέμψαντος, ὃς σταθεὶς ἐν μέσῳ τῷ πλήθει τοῦ βασιλέως ἀκούοντος εἶπε τάδε πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον ποιούμενος τοὺς λόγους: [232] “ὁ θεὸς ἔσεσθαί τινα προλέγει ἐκ τοῦ Δαυίδου γένους Ἰωσίαν ὄνομα, ὃς ἐπὶ σοῦ θύσει τοὺς ψευδιερεῖς τοὺς κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν γενησομένους καὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ τῶν λαοπλάνων τούτων καὶ ἀπατεώνων καὶ ἀσεβῶν ἐπὶ σοῦ καύσει. ἵνα μέντοι γε πιστεύσωσιν οὗτοι τοῦθ᾽ οὕτως ἔξειν, σημεῖον αὐτοῖς προερῶ γενησόμενον: ῥαγήσεται τὸ θυσιαστήριον παραχρῆμα καὶ [233] πᾶσα ἡ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πιμελὴ τῶν ἱερείων ἐπὶ γῆν χυθήσεται.” ταῦτ᾽ εἰπόντος τοῦ προφήτου παροξυνθεὶς ὁ Ἱεροβόαμος ἐξέτεινε τὴν χεῖρα κελεύων συλλαβεῖν αὐτόν. ἐκτεταμένη δ᾽ ἡ χεὶρ εὐθέως παρείθη καὶ οὐκέτ᾽ ἴσχυε ταύτην πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀναγαγεῖν, ἀλλὰ νεναρκηκυῖαν καὶ νεκρὰν εἶχεν ἀπηρτημένην. ἐρράγη δὲ καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ κατηνέχθη πάντα ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, καθὼς προεῖπεν ὁ προφήτης. [234] μαθὼν δὲ ἀληθῆ τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ θείαν ἔχοντα πρόγνωσιν παρεκάλεσεν αὐτὸν δεηθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναζωπυρῆσαι τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἱκέτευσε τὸν θεὸν τοῦτ᾽ αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν, ὁ δὲ τῆς χειρὸς τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἀπολαβούσης χαίρων ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ τὸν προφήτην παρεκάλει δειπνῆσαι παρ᾽ αὐτῷ. [235] Ἰάδων δέ φησιν οὐχ ὑπομένειν εἰσελθεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδὲ γεύσασθαι ἄρτου καὶ ὕδατος ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει: τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν ἀπειρηκέναι καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν ἦλθεν ὅπως μὴ δι᾽ αὐτῆς ποιήσηται τὴν ἐπιστροφήν, ἀλλὰ δι᾽ ἄλλης ἔφασκεν: τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ὁ

βασιλεὺς ἐθαύμαζεν τῆς ἐγκρατείας, αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἦν ἐν φόβῳ μεταβολὴν αὐτοῦ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων οὐκ ἀγαθὴν ὑπονοῶν.

X

(1) [236] Ἦν δέ τις ἐν τῇ πόλει πρεσβύτης πονηρὸς ψευδοπροφήτης, ὃν εἶχεν ἐν τιμῇ Ἱεροβόαμος ἀπατώμενος ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν λέγοντος. οὗτος τότε μὲν κλινήρης ἦν διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ γήρως ἀσθένειαν, τῶν δὲ παίδων αὐτῷ δηλωσάντων τὰ περὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων προφήτου καὶ τῶν σημείων τῶν γενομένων, [237] καὶ ὡς παρεθεῖσαν αὐτῷ τὴν δεξιὰν Ἱεροβόαμος εὐξαμένου πάλιν ἐκείνου ζῶσαν ἀπολάβοι, δείσας μὴ παρευδοκιμήσειεν αὐτὸν ὁ ξένος παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ πλείονος ἀπολαύοι τιμῆς προσέταξε τοῖς παισὶν εὐθὺς ἐπιστρώσασι τὸν ὄνον ἕτοιμον πρὸς ἔξοδον αὐτῷ παρασκευάσαι. [238] τῶν δὲ σπευσάντων ὃ προσετάγησαν ἐπιβὰς ἐδίωξε τὸν προφήτην καὶ καταλαβὼν ἀναπαυόμενον ὑπὸ δένδρῳ δασεῖ καὶ σκιὰν ἔχοντι δρυὸς εὐμεγέθους ἠσπάσατο πρῶτον, εἶτ᾽ ἐμέμφετο μὴ παρ᾽ αὐτὸν εἰσελθόντα καὶ ξενίων μεταλαβόντα. [239] τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος κεκωλῦσθαι πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ γεύσασθαι παρά τινι τῶν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ πόλει, "ἀλλ᾽ οὐχὶ παρ᾽ ἐμοὶ πάντως, εἶπεν, ἀπηγόρευκέ σοι τὸ θεῖον παραθέσθαι τράπεζαν: προφήτης γάρ εἰμι κἀγὼ καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς σοι κοινωνὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν θρησκείας, καὶ πάρειμι νῦν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πεμφθείς. [240] ὅπως ἀγάγω σε πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν ἑστιασόμενον." ὁ δὲ ψευσαμένῳ πεισθεὶς ἀνέστρεψεν: ἀριστώντων δ᾽ ἔτι καὶ φιλοφρονουμένων ὁ θεὸς ἐπιφαίνεται τῷ Ἰάδωνι καὶ παραβάντα τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ τιμωρίαν ὑφέξειν ἔλεγεν καὶ ποδαπὴν ἐδήλου: λέοντα γὰρ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀπερχομένῳ συμβαλεῖν ἔφραζεν, ὑφ᾽ οὗ διαφθαρήσεσθαι καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς πατρῴοις μνήμασι ταφῆς ἀμοιρήσειν. [241] ταῦτα δ᾽ ἐγένετο οἶμαι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βούλησιν, ὅπως μὴ προσέχοι τοῖς τοῦ Ἰάδωνος λόγοις Ἱεροβόαμος ἐληλεγμένῳ ψευδεῖ. πορευομένῳ τοίνυν τῷ Ἰάδωνι πάλιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα συμβάλλει λέων καὶ κατασπάσας αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ κτήνους ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὸν μὲν ὄνον οὐδὲν ὅλως ἔβλαψε, παρακαθεζόμενος δ᾽ ἐφύλαττε κἀκεῖνον καὶ τὸ τοῦ προφήτου σῶμα, μέχρις οὗ τινες τῶν ὁδοιπόρων ἰδόντες ἀπήγγειλαν ἐλθόντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῷ ψευδοπροφήτῃ. [242] ὁ δὲ τοὺς υἱοὺς πέμψας ἐκόμισε τὸ σῶμα εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ πολυτελοῦς κηδείας ἠξίωσεν ἐντειλάμενος τοῖς παισὶ καὶ αὐτὸν ἀποθανόντα σὺν ἐκείνῳ θάψαι, λέγων ἀληθῆ μὲν εἶναι πάνθ᾽ ὅσα προεφήτευσε κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης καὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν, ὑβρισθήσεσθαι δ᾽ αὐτὸς μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν οὐδὲν σὺν ἐκείνῳ ταφεὶς τῶν ὀστῶν οὐ γνωρισθησομένων. [243] κηδεύσας οὖν τὸν προφήτην καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς υἱοῖς ἐντειλάμενος πονηρὸς ὢν καὶ ἀσεβὴς πρόσεισι τῷ Ἱεροβοάμῳ καὶ "τί δήποτ᾽ ἐταράχθης, εἰπών, ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ ἀνοήτου λόγων;" ὡς τὰ περὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ χεῖρα διηγήσαθ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς θεῖον ἀληθῶς καὶ

προφήτην ἄριστον ἀποκαλῶν, ἤρξατο ταύτην αὐτοῦ τὴν δόξαν ἀναλύειν [κακουργῶν] καὶ πιθανοῖς περὶ τῶν γεγενημένων χρώμενος λόγοις βλάπτειν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. [244] ἐπεχείρει γὰρ πείθειν αὐτόν, ὡς ὑπὸ κόπου μὲν ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ ναρκήσειε βαστάζουσα τὰς θυσίας, εἶτ᾽ ἀνεθεῖσα πάλιν εἰς τὴν αὐτῆς ἐπανέλθοι φύσιν, τὸ δὲ θυσιαστήριον καινὸν ὂν καὶ δεξάμενον θυσίας πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ῥαγείη καὶ πέσοι διὰ βάρος τῶν ἐπενηνεγμένων. ἐδήλου δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ τὰ σημεῖα [ταῦτα] προειρηκότος ὡς ὑπὸ λέοντος ἀπώλετο: οὕτως οὐδὲ ἓν οὔτ᾽ εἶχεν [245] οὔτ᾽ ἐφθέγξατο προφήτου.” ταῦτα εἰπὼν πείθει τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ τελέως ἀποστρέψας ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ὁσίων ἔργων καὶ δικαίων ἐπὶ τὰς ἀσεβεῖς πράξεις παρώρμησεν. οὕτως δ᾽ ἐξύβρισεν εἰς τὸ θεῖον καὶ παρηνόμησεν, ὡς οὐδὲν ἄλλο καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ζητεῖν ἢ τί καινὸν καὶ μιαρώτερον τῶν ἤδη τετολμημένων ἐργάσηται. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἱεροβόαμον ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐν τούτοις ἡμῖν δεδηλώσθω.

(2) [246] Ὁ δὲ Σολόμωνος υἱὸς Ῥοβόαμος ὁ τῶν δύο φυλῶν βασιλεύς, ὡς προειρήκαμεν, ᾠκοδόμησε πόλεις ὀχυράς τε καὶ μεγάλας Βηθλεὲμ καὶ Ἠταμὲ καὶ Θεκωὲ καὶ Βηθσοὺρ καὶ Σωχὼ καὶ Ὀδολλὰμ καὶ Εἰπὰν καὶ Μάρισαν καὶ τὴν Ζιφὰ καὶ Ἀδωραὶμ καὶ Λάχεις καὶ Ἀζηκὰ καὶ Σαρὰμ καὶ Ἠλὼμ καὶ Χεβρῶνα. [247] ταύτας μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ φυλῇ [καὶ κληρουχίᾳ] πρώτας ᾠκοδόμησε, κατεσκεύασε δὲ καὶ ἄλλας μεγάλας ἐν τῇ Βενιαμίδι κληρουχίᾳ, καὶ τειχίσας φρουράς τε κατέστησεν ἐν ἀπάσαις καὶ ἡγεμόνας σῖτόν τε πολὺν καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἔλαιον τά τε ἄλλα πρὸς διατροφὴν ἐν ἑκάστῃ τῶν πόλεων δαψιλῶς ἀπέθετο, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις θυρεοὺς καὶ σιρομάστας εἰς πολλὰς μυριάδας. [248] συνῆλθον δὲ οἱ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις ἱερεῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ Ληουῖται καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι τοῦ πλήθους ἦσαν ἀγαθοὶ καὶ δίκαιοι καταλιπόντες αὐτῶν τὰς πόλεις, ἵνα θρησκεύσωσιν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις τὸν θεόν: οὐ γὰρ ἡδέως εἶχον προσκυνεῖν ἀναγκαζόμενοι τὰς δαμάλεις, ἃς Ἱεροβόαμος κατεσκεύασε: καὶ ηὔξησαν τὴν Ῥοβοάμου βασιλείαν ἐπ᾽ ἔτη τρία. [249] γήμας δὲ συγγενῆ τινα καὶ τρεῖς ποιησάμενος ἐξ αὐτῆς παῖδας ἦγετο ὕστερον καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἀψαλώμου θυγατρὸς Θαμάρης Μαχάνην ὄνομα καὶ αὐτὴν οὖσαν συγγενῆ: καὶ παῖς ἐξ αὐτῆς ἄρρην αὐτῷ γίνεται, ὃν Ἀβίαν προσηγόρευσεν. τεκνοῖ δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων γυναικῶν πλειόνων, ἁπασῶν δὲ μᾶλλον ἔστερξε τὴν Μαχάνην. [250] εἶχε δὲ τὰς μὲν νόμῳ συνοικούσας αὐτῷ γυναῖκας ὀκτωκαίδεκα παλλακὰς δὲ τριάκοντα, καὶ υἱοὶ μὲν αὐτῷ γεγόνεισαν ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι θυγατέρες δ᾽ ἑξήκοντα. διάδοχον δὲ ἀπέδειξε τῆς βασιλείας τὸν ἐκ τῆς Μαχάνης Ἀβίαν καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς ὀχυρωτάτας πόλεις ἐπίστευσεν.

(3) [251] Αἴτιον δ᾽ οἶμαι πολλάκις γίνεται κακῶν καὶ παρανομίας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ τῶν πραγμάτων μέγεθος καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον αὐτῶν τροπή: τὴν γὰρ βασιλείαν αὐξανομένην οὕτω βλέπων Ῥοβόαμος εἰς ἀδίκους καὶ ἀσεβεῖς ἐξετράπη πράξεις καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείας κατεφρόνησεν, ὡς καὶ τὸν ὑπ᾽

αὐτῷ λαὸν μιμητὴν γενέσθαι τῶν ἀνομημάτων. [252] συνδιαφθείρεται γὰρ τὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἤθη τοῖς τῶν ἡγουμένων τρόποις, καὶ ὡς ἔλεγχον τῆς ἐκείνων ἀσελγείας τὴν αὐτῶν σωφροσύνην παραπέμποντες ὡς ἀρετῇ ταῖς κακίαις αὐτῶν ἔπονται: οὐ γὰρ ἔνεστιν ἀποδέχεσθαι δοκεῖν τὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἔργα μὴ ταὐτὰ πράττοντας. [253] τοῦτο τοίνυν συνέβαινε καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ Ῥοβοάμῳ τεταγμένοις ἀσεβοῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ παρανομοῦντος σπουδάζειν, μὴ προσκρούσωσι τῷ βασιλεῖ θέλοντες εἶναι δίκαιοι. τιμωρὸν δὲ τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ὕβρεων ὁ θεὸς ἐπιπέμπει τὸν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα Ἴσωκον, περὶ οὗ πλανηθεὶς Ἡρόδοτος τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ Σεσώστρει προσάπτει. [254] οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Ἴσωκος πέμπτῳ ἔτει τῆς Ῥοβοάμου βασιλείας ἐπιστρατεύεται μετὰ πολλῶν αὐτῷ μυριάδων: ἅρματα μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ χίλια καὶ διακόσια τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἠκολούθει, ἱππέων δὲ μυριάδες ἕξ, πεζῶν δὲ μυριάδες τεσσαράκοντα. τούτων τοὺς πλείστους Λίβυας ἐπήγετο καὶ Αἰθίοπας. [255] ἐμβαλὼν οὖν εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν Ἑβραίων καταλαμβάνει τε τὰς ὀχυρωτάτας τῆς Ῥοβοάμου βασιλείας πόλεις ἀμαχητὶ καὶ ταύτας ἀσφαλισάμενος ἔσχατον ἐπῆλθε τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐγκεκλεισμένου τοῦ Ῥοβοάμου καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἐν αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν Ἰσώκου στρατείαν καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἱκετευόντων δοῦναι νίκην καὶ σωτηρίαν: [256] ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἔπεισαν τὸν θεὸν ταχθῆναι μετ᾽ αὐτῶν: ὁ δὲ προφήτης Σαμαίας ἔφησεν αὐτοῖς τὸν θεὸν ἀπειλεῖν ἐγκαταλείψειν αὐτούς, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν θρησκείαν αὐτοῦ κατέλιπον. ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσαντες εὐθὺς ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀνέπεσον καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι σωτήριον ὁρῶντες ἐξομολογεῖσθαι πάντες ὥρμησαν, ὅτι δικαίως αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ὑπερόψεται γενομένους περὶ αὐτὸν ἀσεβεῖς καὶ συγχέοντας τὰ νόμιμα. [257] κατιδὼν δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς οὕτω διακειμένους καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἀνθομολογουμένους οὐκ ἀπολέσειν αὐτοὺς εἶπε πρὸς τὸν προφήτην, ποιήσειν μέντοι γε τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ὑποχειρίους, ἵνα μάθωσι πότερον ἀνθρώπῳ δουλεύειν ἐστὶν ἀπονώτερον ἢ θεῷ. [258] παραλαβὼν δὲ Ἴσωκος ἀμαχητὶ τὴν πόλιν δεξαμένου Ῥοβοάμου διὰ τὸν φόβον οὐκ ἐνέμεινε ταῖς γενομέναις συνθήκαις, ἀλλ᾽ ἐσύλησε τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἐξεκένωσε τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοὺς βασιλικοὺς χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου μυριάδας ἀναριθμήτους βαστάσας καὶ μηδὲν ὅλως ὑπολιπών. [259] περιεῖλε δὲ καὶ τοὺς χρυσοῦς θυρεοὺς καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας, ἃς κατεσκεύασε Σολόμων ὁ βασιλεύς, οὐκ εἴασε δὲ οὐδὲ τὰς χρυσᾶς φαρέτρας, ἃς ἀνέθηκε Δαυίδης τῷ θεῷ λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ τῆς Σωφηνῆς βασιλέως, καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσας ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα. [260] μέμνηται δὲ ταύτης τῆς στρατείας καὶ ὁ Ἁλικαρνασεὺς Ἡρόδοτος περὶ μόνον τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως πλανηθεὶς ὄνομα, καὶ ὅτι ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς ἐπῆλθεν ἔθνεσι καὶ τὴν Παλαιστίνην Συρίαν ἐδουλώσατο λαβὼν ἀμαχητὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ. [261] φανερὸν δ᾽ ἐστίν, ὅτι τὸ ἡμέτερον ἔθνος βούλεται δηλοῦν κεχειρωμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου: ἐπάγει γάρ, ὅτι στήλας κατέλιπεν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀμαχητὶ παραδόντων ἑαυτοὺς αἰδοῖα γυναικῶν ἐγγράψας: Ῥοβόαμος δ᾽ αὐτῷ παρέδωκεν ὁ ἡμέτερος βασιλεὺς ἀμαχητὶ τὴν πόλιν. [262] φησὶ δὲ καὶ Αἰθίοπας παρ᾽ Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθηκέναι τὴν

τῶν αἰδοίων περιτομήν: Φοίνικες γὰρ καὶ Σύροι οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ὁμολογοῦσι παρ᾽ Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθηκέναι.” δῆλον οὖν ἐστιν, ὅτι μηδένες ἄλλοι περιτέμνονται τῶν ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Σύρων ἢ μόνοι ἡμεῖς. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἕκαστοι λεγέτωσαν ὅ τι ἂν αὐτοῖς δοκῇ.

(4) [263] Ἀναχωρήσαντος δὲ Ἰσώκου Ῥοβόαμος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀντὶ μὲν τῶν χρυσέων θυρεῶν καὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων χάλκεα ποιήσας τὸν αὐτὸν ἀριθμὸν παρέδωκε τοῖς τῶν βασιλείων φύλαξιν. ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ μετὰ στρατηγίας ἐπιφανοῦς καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι λαμπρότητος διάγειν ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ πολλῇ καὶ δέει πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἐχθρὸς ὢν Ἱεροβοάμῳ. [264] ἐτελεύτησε δὲ βιώσας ἔτη πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ βασιλεύσας δ᾽ αὐτῶν ἑπτακαίδεκα, τὸν τρόπον ἀλαζὼν ἀνὴρ καὶ ἀνόητος καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ προσέχειν τοῖς πατρῴοις φίλοις τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολέσας: ἐτάφη δ᾽ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐν ταῖς θήκαις τῶν βασιλέων. διεδέξατο δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ υἱὸς Ἀβίας ὄγδοον ἤδη καὶ δέκατον ἔτος Ἱεροβοάμου τῶν δέκα φυλῶν βασιλεύοντος. [265] καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τοιοῦτον ἔσχε τὸ τέλος: τὰ δὲ περὶ Ἱεροβόαμον ἀκόλουθα τούτων ἔχομεν πῶς κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον διεξελθεῖν: οὗτος γὰρ οὐ διέλιπεν οὐδ᾽ ἠρέμησεν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐξυβρίζων, ἀλλὰ καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἐπὶ τῶν ὑψηλῶν ὀρῶν βωμοὺς ἀνιστὰς καὶ ἱερεῖς ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους ἀποδεικνὺς διετέλει.

XI

(1) [266] Ταῦτα δ᾽ ἔμελλεν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τἀσεβήματα καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δίκην εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ κεφαλὴν καὶ πάσης αὐτοῦ τῆς γενεᾶς τρέψειν τὸ θεῖον. κάμνοντος δ᾽ αὐτῷ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ παιδός, ὃν Ὀβίμην ἐκάλουν, τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ προσέταξε τὴν στολὴν ἀποθεμένην καὶ σχῆμα λαβοῦσαν ἰδιωτικὸν πορευθῆναι πρὸς Ἀχίαν τὸν προφήτην: [267] εἶναι γὰρ θαυμαστὸν ἄνδρα περὶ τῶν μελλόντων προειπεῖν: καὶ γὰρ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῷ τοῦτον δεδηλωκέναι: παραγενομένην δ᾽ ἐκέλευσε περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀνακρίνειν ὡς ξένην, εἰ διαφεύξεται τὴν νόσον. ἡ δὲ μετασχηματισαμένη, καθὼς αὐτῇ προσέταξεν ὁ ἀνήρ, ἦκεν εἰς Σιλὼ πόλιν: ἐκεῖ γὰρ διέτριβεν ὁ Ἀχίας. [268] καὶ μελλούσης εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ εἰσιέναι τὰς ὄψεις ἠμαυρωμένου διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἐπιφανεὶς ὁ θεὸς ἀμφότερα αὐτῷ μηνύει τήν τε Ἱεροβοάμου γυναῖκα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφιγμένην καὶ τί δεῖ περὶ ὧν πάρεστιν ἀποκρίνασθαι. [269] παριούσης δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ὡς ἰδιώτιδος καὶ ξένης ἀνεβόησεν “εἴσελθε, ὦ γύναι Ἱεροβοάμου: τί κρύπτεις σαυτήν; τὸν γὰρ θεὸν οὐ λανθάνεις, ὃς ἀφιξομένην τέ μοι ἐδήλωσε καὶ προσέταξε τίνας ποιήσομαι τοὺς λόγους. ἀπελθοῦσα οὖν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα φράζε αὐτῷ ταῦτα λέγειν: [270] ἐπεί σε μέγαν ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ μηδενὸς ὄντος ἐποίησα καὶ ἀποσχίσας τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαυίδου γένους σοὶ ταύτην ἔδωκα, σὺ δὲ τούτων ἠμνημόνησας καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν θρησκείαν καταλιπὼν χωνευτοὺς θεοὺς

κατασκευάσας ἐκείνους τιμᾷς, οὕτω σε πάλιν καθαιρήσω καὶ πᾶν ἐξολέσω σου τὸ γένος καὶ κυσὶ καὶ ὄρνισι βορὰν ποιήσω γενέσθαι. [271] βασιλεὺς γὰρ ἐξεγείρεθ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ τοῦ λαοῦ παντός, ὃς οὐδένα ὑπολείψει τοῦ Ἱεροβοάμου γένους: μεθέξει δὲ τῆς τιμωρίας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐκπεσὸν τῆς ἀγαθῆς γῆς καὶ διασπαρὲν εἰς τοὺς πέραν Εὐφράτου τόπους, ὅτι τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως ἀσεβήμασι κατηκολούθησε καὶ τοὺς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ γενομένους προσκυνεῖ θεοὺς τὴν ἐμὴν θυσίαν ἐγκαταλιπόν. [272] σὺ δέ, ὦ γύναι, ταῦτα ἀπαγγέλλουσα σπεῦδε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα. τὸν δὲ υἱὸν καταλήψῃ τεθνηκότα: σοῦ γὰρ εἰσιούσης εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπολείψει τὸ ζῆν αὐτόν. ταφήσεται δὲ κλαυθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους παντὸς κοινῷ τιμηθεὶς πένθει: καὶ γὰρ μόνος τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἱεροβοάμου γένους [273] ἀγαθὸς οὗτος ἦν.᾽᾽ ταῦτ᾽ αὐτοῦ προφητεύσαντος ἐκπηδήσασα ἡ γυνὴ τεταραγμένη καὶ τῷ τοῦ προειρημένου παιδὸς θανάτῳ περιαλγής, θρηνοῦσα διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τὴν μέλλουσαν τοῦ τέκνου κοπτομένη τελευτὴν ἀθλία τοῦ πάθους ἠπείγετο κακοῖς ἀμηχάνοις καὶ σπουδῇ μὲν ἀτυχεῖ χρωμένη διὰ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς, ἔμελλε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπειχθεῖσα θᾶττον ὄψεσθαι νεκρόν, ἀναγκαίᾳ δὲ διὰ τὸν ἄνδρα. καὶ παραγενομένη τὸν μὲν ἐκπεπνευκότα καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ προφήτης εὗρε, τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ πάντα ἀπήγγειλεν.

(2) [274] Ἱεροβόαμος δ᾽ οὐδενὸς τούτων φροντίσας πολλὴν ἀθροίσας στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥοβοάμου παῖδα τῶν δύο φυλῶν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ πατρὸς διαδεξάμενον Ἀβίαν ἐξεστράτευσε πολεμήσων: κατεφρόνει γὰρ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας τὴν ἔφοδον τὴν Ἱεροβοάμου πρὸς αὐτὴν οὐ κατεπλάγη, γενόμενος δ᾽ ἐπάνω καὶ τῆς νεότητος τῷ φρονήματι καὶ τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ πολεμίου στρατιὰν ἐπιλέξας ἐκ τῶν δύο φυλῶν ἀπήντησε τῷ Ἱεροβοάμῳ εἰς τόπον τινὰ καλούμενον ὄρος Σαμαρῶν καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενος ἐγγὺς αὐτοῦ τὰ πρὸς τὴν μάχην εὐτρέπιζεν. [275] ἦν δ᾽ ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ μυριάδες τεσσαράκοντα, ἡ δὲ τοῦ Ἱεροβοάμου στρατιὰ διπλασίων ἐκείνης. ὡς δὲ τὰ στρατεύματα πρὸς τὰ ἔργα καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους ἀντιπαρετάσσετο καὶ συμβαλεῖν ἔμελλε, στὰς ἐφ᾽ ὑψηλοῦ τινος Ἀβίας τόπου καὶ τῇ χειρὶ κατασείσας τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὸν Ἱεροβόαμον ἀκοῦσαι πρῶτον αὐτοῦ μεθ᾽ ἡσυχίας ἠξίωσε. [276] γενομένης δὲ σιωπῆς ἤρξατο λέγειν: “ὅτι μὲν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὁ θεὸς Δαυίδῃ καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις αὐτοῦ κατένευσεν εἰς ἅπαντα χρόνον, οὐδ᾽ ὑμεῖς ἀγνοεῖτε, θαυμάζω δέ, πῶς ἀποστάντες τοὐμοῦ πατρὸς τῷ δούλῳ Ἱεροβοάμῳ προσέθεσθε καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκείνου πάρεστε νῦν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ βασιλεύειν κεκριμένους πολεμήσοντες καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφαιρησόμενοι τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν: τὴν μὲν γὰρ πλείω μέχρι νῦν Ἱεροβόαμος ἀδίκως ἔχει. [277] ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ οἶμαι καὶ ταύτης αὐτὸν ἀπολαύσειν ἐπὶ πλείονα χρόνον, ἀλλὰ δοὺς καὶ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος δίκην τῷ θεῷ παύσεται τῆς παρανομίας καὶ τῶν ὕβρεων, ἃς οὐ διαλέλοιπεν εἰς αὐτὸν ὑβρίζων καὶ ταὐτὰ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀναπεπεικώς, οἳ μηδὲν ἀδικηθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι μὴ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐκκλησιάζων ὠμίλησεν ἀνθρώπων πονηρῶν συμβουλίᾳ πεισθείς,

ἐγκατελίπετε τῷ δοκεῖν ὑπ᾽ ὀργῆς ἐκεῖνον, ταῖς δ᾽ ἀληθείαις αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου νόμων ἀπεσπάσατε. [278] καίτοι συνεγνωκέναι καλῶς εἶχεν ὑμᾶς οὐ λόγων μόνον δυσκόλων ἀνδρὶ νέῳ καὶ δημαγωγίας ἀπείρῳ, ἀλλ᾽ εἰ καὶ πρός τι δυσχερὲς ἡ νεότης αὐτὸν καὶ ἡ ἀμαθία τῶν πραττομένων ἐξῆγεν ἔργον, διά τε Σολόμωνα τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὰς εὐεργεσίας τὰς ἐκείνου: παραίτησιν γὰρ εἶναι δεῖ τῆς τῶν ἐγγόνων ἁμαρτίας τὰς τῶν πατέρων εὐποιίας. [279] ὑμεῖς δ᾽ οὐδὲν τούτων ἐλογίσασθε οὔτε τότ᾽ οὔτε νῦν, ἀλλ᾽ ἦκε στρατὸς ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς τοσοῦτος: τίνι καὶ πεπιστευκὼς περὶ τῆς νίκης; ἢ ταῖς χρυσαῖς δαμάλεσι καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρῶν βωμοῖς, ἃ δείγματα τῆς ἀσεβείας ἐστὶν ὑμῶν ἀλλ᾽ οὐχὶ τῆς θρησκείας; ἢ τὸ πλῆθος ὑμᾶς εὐέλπιδας ἀπεργάζεται τὴν ἡμετέραν στρατιὰν ὑπερβάλλον; [280] ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἥτις ἰσχὺς μυριάδων στρατοῦ μετ᾽ ἀδικημάτων πολεμοῦντος: ἐν γὰρ μόνῳ τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβεῖ τὴν βεβαιοτάτην ἐλπίδα τοῦ κρατεῖν τῶν ἐναντίων ἀποκεῖσθαι συμβέβηκεν, ἥτις ἐστὶ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν τετηρηκόσιν ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς τὰ νόμιμα καὶ τὸν ἴδιον θεὸν σεβομένοις, ὃν οὐ χεῖρες ἐποίησαν ἐξ ὕλης φθαρτῆς οὐδ᾽ ἐπίνοια πονηροῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ὄχλων ἀπάτῃ κατεσκεύασεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὃς ἔργον ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος τῶν ἁπάντων. [281] συμβουλεύω τοιγαροῦν ὑμῖν ἔτι καὶ νῦν μεταγνῶναι καὶ λαβόντας ἀμείνω λογισμὸν παύσασθαι τοῦ πολεμεῖν καὶ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὸ προαγαγὸν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον μέγεθος εὐδαιμονίας γνωρίσαι.”

(3) [282] Ταῦτα μὲν Ἀβίας διελέχθη πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος: ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος λάθρα τινὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν Ἱεροβόαμος ἔπεμψε περικυκλωσομένους τὸν Ἀβίαν ἔκ τινων οὐ φανερῶν τοῦ στρατοπέδου μερῶν. μέσου δ᾽ αὐτοῦ περιληφθέντος τῶν πολεμίων ἡ μὲν στρατιὰ κατέδεισε καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀνέπεσεν, ὁ δ᾽ Ἀβίας παρεθάρρυνε καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχειν ἐν τῷ θεῷ παρεκάλει: τοῦτον γὰρ οὐ κεκυκλῶσθαι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων. [283] οἱ δὲ ὁμοῦ πάντες ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ συμμαχίαν τῶν ἱερέων τῇ σάλπιγγι σημανάντων ἀλαλάξαντες ἐχώρησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους: καὶ τῶν μὲν ἔθραυσε τὰ φρονήματα καὶ τὰς ἀκμὰς αὐτῶν ἐξέλυσεν ὁ θεός, τὴν δὲ Ἀβία στρατιὰν ὑπερτέραν ἐποίησεν: [284] ὅσος γὰρ οὐδέποτ᾽ ἐμνημονεύθη φόνος ἐν πολέμῳ γεγονέναι οὔθ᾽ Ἑλλήνων οὔτε βαρβάρων, τοσούτους ἀποκτείναντες τῆς Ἱεροβοάμου δυνάμεως θαυμαστὴν καὶ διαβόητον νίκην παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαβεῖν ἠξιώθησαν: πεντήκοντα γὰρ μυριάδας τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατέβαλον καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν διήρπασαν τὰς ὀχυρωτάτας ἑλόντες κατὰ κράτος, τήν τε Βηθήλην καὶ τὴν τοπαρχίαν αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν Ἰσανὰν καὶ τὴν τοπαρχίαν αὐτῆς. [285] καὶ Ἱεροβόαμος μὲν οὐκέτι μετὰ ταύτην τὴν ἧτταν ἴσχυσεν ἐφ᾽ ὅσον Ἀβίας περιῆν χρόνον. τελευτᾷ δ᾽ οὗτος ὀλίγον τῇ νίκῃ χρόνον ἐπιζήσας ἔτη βασιλεύσας τρία, καὶ θάπτεται μὲν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐν ταῖς προγονικαῖς θήκαις, ἀπολείπει δὲ υἱοὺς μὲν δύο καὶ εἴκοσι θυγατέρας δὲ ἓξ καὶ δέκα. πάντας τούτους ἐκ γυναικῶν δεκατεσσάρων ἐτεκνώσατο. [286] διεδέξατο δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἄσανος: καὶ ἡ

μήτηρ τοῦ νεανίσκου Μαχαία τοὔνομα. τούτου κρατοῦντος εἰρήνης ἀπέλαυεν ἡ χώρα τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐπὶ ἔτη δέκα.

(4) [287] Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀβίαν τὸν Ῥοβοάμου τοῦ Σολόμωνος οὕτως παρειλήφαμεν. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ καὶ Ἱεροβόαμος ὁ τῶν δέκα φυλῶν βασιλεὺς ἄρξας ἔτη δύο καὶ εἴκοσι. διαδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν ὁ παῖς Νάβαδος δευτέρου ἔτους ἤδη τῆς βασιλείας Ἀσάνου διεληλυθότος. ἦρξε δὲ ὁ τοῦ Ἱεροβοάμου παῖς ἔτη δύο τῷ πατρὶ τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ τὴν πονηρίαν ἐμφερὴς ὤν. [288] ἐν δὲ τούτοις τοῖς δυσὶν ἔτεσι στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Γαβαθῶνα πόλιν Παλαιστίνων οὖσαν πολιορκίᾳ λαβεῖν αὐτὴν προσέμενεν: ἐπιβουλευθεὶς δ' ἐκεῖ ὑπὸ φίλου τινὸς Βασάνου ὄνομα Σειδοῦ δὲ παιδὸς ἀποθνήσκει, ὃς μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν ἅπαν τὸ Ἱεροβοάμου γένος διέφθειρε. [289] καὶ συνέβη κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ προφητείαν τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Ἱεροβοάμου συγγενῶν ἀποθανόντας ὑπὸ κυνῶν σπαραχθῆναι καὶ δαπανηθῆναι, τοὺς δ' ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ὑπ' ὀρνίθων. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἱεροβοάμου οἶκος τῆς ἀσεβείας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀνομημάτων ἀξίαν ὑπέσχε δίκην.

XII

(1) [290] Ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλεὺς Ἄσανος ἦν τὸν τρόπον ἄριστος καὶ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἀφορῶν καὶ μηδὲν μήτε πράττων μήτ' ἐννοούμενος, ὃ μὴ πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν εἶχε καὶ τὴν τῶν νομίμων φυλακὴν τὴν ἀναφοράν. κατώρθωσε δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν ἐκκόψας εἴ τι πονηρὸν ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ καθαρεύσας ἁπάσης κηλῖδος. [291] στρατοῦ δ' εἶχεν ἐπιλέκτων ἀνδρῶν ὡπλισμένων θυρεὸν καὶ σιρομάστην ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς μυριάδας τριάκοντα, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος ἀσπίδας φορούντων καὶ τοξοτῶν μυριάδας πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι. [292] ἤδη δὲ αὐτοῦ δέκα ἔτη βασιλεύοντος στρατεύει μεγάλῃ δυνάμει Ζαραῖος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας βασιλεὺς ἐνενήκοντα μὲν πεζῶν μυριάσιν ἱππέων δὲ δέκα τριακοσίοις δ' ἅρμασι. καὶ μέχρι πόλεως Μαρήσας, ἔστι δ' αὕτη τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς, ἐλάσαντος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς οἰκείας δυνάμεως ἀπήντησεν Ἄσανος, [293] καὶ ἀντιπαρατάξας αὐτῷ τὴν στρατιὰν ἔν τινι φάραγγι Σαβαθὰ λεγομένῃ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἄπωθεν, ὡς κατεῖδε τὸ τῶν Αἰθιόπων πλῆθος ἀναβοήσας νίκην ᾔτει παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὰς πολλὰς ἐλεῖν μυριάδας τῶν πολεμίων: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλῳ τινὶ θαρσήσας ἔλεγεν ἢ τῇ παρ' αὐτοῦ βοηθείᾳ δυναμένῃ καὶ τοὺς ὀλίγους ἀπεργάσασθαι κρείττους τῶν πλειόνων καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς τῶν ὑπερεχόντων ἀπαντῆσαι πρὸς μάχην τῷ Ζαραίῳ.

(2) [294] Ταῦτα λέγοντος Ἀσάνου νίκην ἐσήμαινεν ὁ θεός, καὶ συμβαλὼν μετὰ χαρᾶς τῶν προδεδηλωμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνει τῶν Αἰθιόπων καὶ τραπέντας εἰς φυγὴν ἐδίωξεν ἄχρι τῆς Γεραρίτιδος χώρας. ἀφέμενοι δὲ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως ἐπὶ τὴν διαρπαγὴν τῶν πόλεων, ἦλω γὰρ ἡ Γεράρων, ἐχώρησαν καὶ

τῆς παρεμβολῆς αὐτῶν, ὡς πολὺν μὲν ἐκφορῆσαι χρυσὸν πολὺν δὲ ἄργυρον λείαν τε ἀπαγαγεῖν καμήλους τε καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ βοσκημάτων ἀγέλας. [295] Ἄσανος μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡ παρ᾽ αὐτῷ στρατιὰ τοιαύτην παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ νίκην λαβόντες καὶ ὠφέλειαν ἀνέστρεφον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, παραγενομένοις δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀπήντησε κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν προφήτης Ἀζαρίας ὄνομα. οὗτος ἐπισχεῖν κελεύσας τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἤρξατο λέγειν πρὸς αὐτούς, ὅτι ταύτης εἶεν τῆς νίκης παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τετυχηκότες, ὅτι δικαίους καὶ ὁσίους ἑαυτοὺς παρέσχον καὶ πάντα κατὰ βούλησιν θεοῦ πεποιηκότας. [296] ἐπιμένουσι μὲν οὖν ἔφασκεν ἀεὶ κρατεῖν αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ τὸ ζῆν μετ᾽ εὐδαιμονίας παρέξειν τὸν θεόν, ἀπολιποῦσι δὲ τὴν θρησκείαν ἅπαντα τούτων ἐναντία συμβήσεσθαι καὶ γενήσεσθαι χρόνον ἐκεῖνον, ἐν ᾧ μηδεὶς ἀληθὴς εὑρεθήσεται προφήτης ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ὄχλῳ οὐδὲ ἱερεὺς τὰ δίκαια χρηματίζων, [297] ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ πόλεις ἀνάστατοι γενήσονται καὶ τὸ ἔθνος κατὰ πάσης σπαρήσεται γῆς ἔπηλυν βίον καὶ ἀλήτην βιωσόμενον. καιρὸν δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσι συνεβούλευεν ἀγαθοῖς γίνεσθαι καὶ μὴ φθονῆσαι τῆς εὐμενείας αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ. ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐχάρησαν καὶ πολλὴν πρόνοιαν ἐποιοῦντο κοινῇ τε πάντες καὶ κατ᾽ ἰδίαν τοῦ δικαίου: διέπεμψε δ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν νομίμων ἐπιμελησομένους.

(3) [298] Καὶ τὰ μὲν Ἀσάνου τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν δύο φυλῶν ἐν τούτοις ὑπῆρχεν. ἐπάνειμι δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν Βασάνην τὸν ἀποκτείναντα τὸν Ἱεροβοάμου υἱὸν Νάβαδον καὶ κατασχόντα τὴν ἀρχήν. [299] οὗτος γὰρ ἐν Θαρσάλῃ πόλει διατρίβων καὶ ταύτην οἰκητήριον πεποιηκὼς εἴκοσι μὲν ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη καὶ τέσσαρα, πονηρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀσεβὴς ὑπὲρ Ἱεροβόαμον καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ γενόμενος πολλὰ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος κακὰ διέθηκε καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐξύβρισεν: ὃς αὐτῷ πέμψας Ἰηοῦν τὸν προφήτην προεῖπε διαφθερεῖν αὐτοῦ πᾶν τὸ γένος καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἷς καὶ τὸν Ἱεροβοάμου κακοῖς περιέβαλεν οἶκον ἐξολέσειν, [300] ὅτι βασιλεὺς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ γενόμενος οὐκ ἠμείψατο τὴν εὐεργεσίαν τῷ δικαίως προστῆναι τοῦ πλήθους καὶ εὐσεβῶς, ἅπερ αὐτοῖς πρῶτον τοῖς οὖσι τοιούτοις ἀγαθὰ ἔπειτα τῷ θεῷ φίλα, τὸν δὲ κάκιστον Ἱεροβόαμον ἐμιμήσατο καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπολομένης τῆς ἐκείνου ζῶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν πονηρίαν ἐνεδείξατο: πεῖραν οὖν ἔξειν εἰκότως τῆς ὁμοίας συμφορᾶς αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν ὅμοιον αὐτῷ γενόμενον. [301] Βασάνης δὲ προακηκοὼς τὰ μέλλοντα αὐτῷ συμβήσεσθαι κακὰ μεθ᾽ ὅλης τῆς γενεᾶς ἐπὶ τοῖς τετολμημένοις οὐ πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ἡσύχασεν, ἵνα μὴ μᾶλλον πονηρὸς δόξας ἀποθάνῃ καὶ περὶ τῶν παρῳχημένων ἔκτοτε γοῦν μετανοήσας συγγνώμης τύχῃ, [302] ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ οἱ προκειμένων αὐτοῖς ἄθλων ἐπὰν περί τι σπουδάσωσιν οὐ διαλείπουσι περὶ τοῦτο ἐνεργοῦντες, οὕτω καὶ Βασάνης προειρηκότος αὐτῷ τοῦ προφήτου τὰ μέλλοντα ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθοῖς τοῖς μεγίστοις κακοῖς ὀλέθρῳ γένους καὶ οἰκίας ἀπωλείᾳ χείρων ἐγένετο, καὶ καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ὥσπερ ἀθλητὴς κακίας τοῖς περὶ ταύτην πόνοις προσετίθει. [303] καὶ τελευταῖον τὴν στρατιὰν παραλαβὼν πάλιν ἐπῆλθε πόλει τινὶ τῶν οὐκ

ἀφανῶν Ἀρμαθῶνι τοὔνομα σταδίους ἀπεχούσῃ Ἱεροσολύμων τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ καταλαβόμενος αὐτὴν ὠχύρου προδιεγνωκὼς καταλιπεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ δύναμιν, ἵν' ἐκεῖθεν ὡρμημένοι τὴν Ἀσάνου βασιλείαν κακώσωσι.

(4) [304] Φοβηθεὶς δὲ Ἄσανος τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν τοῦ πολεμίου καὶ λογισάμενος, ὡς πολλὰ διαθήσει κακὰ τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῷ βασιλευομένην ἅπασαν ὁ καταλειφθεὶς ἐν Ἀρμαθῶνι στρατός, ἔπεμψε πρὸς τὸν Δαμασκηνῶν βασιλέα πρέσβεις καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον παρακαλῶν συμμαχίαν καὶ ὑπομιμνήσκων, ὅτι καὶ πατρῴα φιλία πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς. [305] ὁ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων τὸ πλῆθος ἀσμένως ἐδέξατο καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσατο πρὸς αὐτὸν διαλύσας τὴν πρὸς τὸν Βασάνην φιλίαν, καὶ πέμψας εἰς τὰς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ βασιλευομένας πόλεις τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς ἰδίας δυνάμεως ἐκέλευσε κακοῦν αὐτάς. οἱ δὲ τὰς μὲν ἐνεπίμπρασαν τὰς δὲ διήρπασαν πορευθέντες, τήν τε Ἰωάνου λεγομένην καὶ Δάνα καὶ Ἀβελάνην καὶ ἄλλας πολλάς. [306] ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς τοῦ μὲν οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ ὀχυροῦν τὸν Ἀραμαθῶνα ἐπαύσατο καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς ὡς βοηθήσων τοῖς οἰκείοις κακουμένοις ἀνέστρεψεν, ὁ δ' Ἄσανος ἐκ τῆς παρεσκευασμένης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς οἰκοδομίαν ὕλης πόλεις ἀνήγειρεν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τόπῳ δύο καρτεράς, ἡ μὲν Γαβαὰ ἐκαλεῖτο, ἡ δὲ Μασταφάς. [307] καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καιρὸν οὐκ ἔσχεν ὁ Βασάνης τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄσανον στρατείας: ἐφθάσθη γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρεὼν καὶ θάπτεται μὲν ἐν Θαρσῇ πόλει, παραλαμβάνει δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν παῖς Ἥλανος. οὗτος ἄρξας ἐπ' ἔτη δύο τελευτᾷ φονεύσαντος αὐτὸν ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς Ζαμβρίου τοῦ ἱππάρχου τῆς ἡμισείας τάξεως: [308] κατευωχηθέντα γὰρ αὐτὸν παρὰ τῷ οἰκονόμῳ αὐτοῦ Ὥσᾳ τοὔνομα πείσας ἐπιδραμεῖν τῶν ὑφ' αὐτὸν ἱππέων τινὰς ἀπέκτεινε δι' αὐτῶν μεμονωμένον τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ὁπλιτῶν καὶ ἡγεμόνων: οὗτοι γὰρ ἅπαντες περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν τῆς Γαβαθώνης ἐγίνοντο τῆς Παλαιστίνων.

(5) [309] Φονεύσας δὲ τὸν Ἥλανον ὁ ἵππαρχος Ζαμβρίας αὐτὸς βασιλεύει καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Βασάνου γενεὰν κατὰ τὴν Ἰηοῦς προφητείαν διαφθείρει: τῷ γὰρ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ συνέβη τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ πρόρριζον ἀπολέσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν, ὡς καὶ τὸν Ἱεροβοάμου διαφθαρέντα γεγράφαμεν. [310] ἡ δὲ πολιορκοῦσα τὴν Γαβαθώνην στρατιὰ πυθομένη τὰ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ὅτι Ζαμβρίας ἀποκτείνας αὐτὸν ἔχει τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ αὐτὴ τὸν ἡγούμενον αὐτῆς Ἀμαρῖνον ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα, ὃς ἀπὸ τῆς Γαβαθώνης ἀναστήσας τὸν στρατὸν εἰς Θαρσὴν παραγίνεται τὸ βασίλειον καὶ προσβαλὼν τῇ πόλει κατὰ κράτος αἱρεῖ. [311] Ζαμβρίας δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἰδὼν ἠρημωμένην συνέφυγεν εἰς τὸ μυχαίτατον τῶν βασιλείων καὶ ὑποπρήσας αὐτὸ συγκατέκαυσεν ἑαυτὸν βασιλεύσας ἡμέρας ἑπτά. διέστη δ' εὐθὺς ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν λαὸς καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν Θαμαναῖον βασιλεύειν ἤθελον, οἱ δὲ τὸν Ἀμαρῖνον. νικήσαντες δ' οἱ τοῦτον ἄρχειν ἀξιοῦντες ἀποκτείνουσι τὸν Θαμαναῖον, καὶ παντὸς βασιλεύει ὁ Ἀμαρῖνος τοῦ ὄχλου. [312] τριακοστῷ δὲ ἔτει τῆς Ἀσάνου βασιλείας ἦρξεν ὁ Ἀμαρῖνος ἔτη

δώδεκα: τούτων τὰ μὲν ἓξ ἐν Θάρσῳ πόλει, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐν Σωμαρεῶνι λεγομένῃ πόλει ὑπὸ δὲ Ἑλλήνων Σαμαρείᾳ καλουμένῃ. προσηγόρευσε δ᾽ αὐτὴν αὐτὸς Σωμαραῖος ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸ ὄρος ἀποδομένου αὐτῷ ἐφ᾽ ᾧ κατεσκεύασε τὴν πόλιν Σωμάρου. [313] διέφερε δ᾽ οὐδὲν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλευσάντων ἢ τῷ χείρων αὐτῶν εἶναι: ἅπαντες γὰρ ἐζήτουν πῶς ἀποστήσουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν λαὸν τοῖς καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἀσεβήμασι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δι᾽ ἀλλήλων αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν ἐλθεῖν καὶ μηδένα τοῦ γένους ὑπολιπεῖν. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ, διαδέχεται δ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁ παῖς Ἄχαβος.

(6) [314] Μαθεῖν δ᾽ ἔστιν ἐκ τούτων, ὅσην τὸ θεῖον ἐπιστροφὴν ἔχει τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων, καὶ πῶς μὲν ἀγαπᾷ τοὺς ἀγαθούς, μισεῖ δὲ τοὺς πονηροὺς καὶ προρρίζους ἀπόλλυσιν: οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεῖς ἄλλος ἐπ᾽ ἄλλῳ διὰ τὴν παρανομίαν καὶ τὰς ἀδικίας ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πολλοὶ κακῶς διαφθαρέντες ἐγνώσθησαν καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν, ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τῶν δύο φυλῶν βασιλεὺς Ἄσανος δι᾽ εὐσέβειαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην εἰς μακρὸν καὶ εὔδαιμον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ προήχθη γῆρας καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἓν ἄρξας ἔτος εὐμοίρως ἀπέθανε. [315] τελευτήσαντος δ᾽ αὐτοῦ διεδέξατο τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὁ υἱὸς Ἰωσαφάτης ἐκ γυναικὸς Ἀβιδᾶς τοὔνομα γεγενημένος. τοῦτον μιμητὴν Δαυίδου τοῦ προπάππου κατά τε ἀνδρείαν καὶ εὐσέβειαν ἅπαντες ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ὑπέλαβον. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως οὐ κατεπείγει νῦν λέγειν.

XIII

(1) [316] Ὁ δὲ Ἄχαβος ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς κατῴκει μὲν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ, τὴν δ᾽ ἀρχὴν κατέσχεν ἕως ἐτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ δύο μηδὲν καινίσας τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων, εἰ μὴ ὅσα ≥ πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον καθ᾽ ὑπερβολὴν πονηρίας ἐπενόησεν, ἅπαντα δ᾽ αὐτῶν τὰ κακουργήματα καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ὕβριν ἐκμιμησάμενος καὶ μάλιστα τὴν Ἱεροβοάμου ζηλώσας παρανομίαν: [317] καὶ γὰρ οὗτος δαμάλεις τὰς ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου κατασκευασθείσας προσεκύνησε καὶ τούτοις ἄλλα παράδοξα προσεμηχανήσατο. ἔγημε δὲ γυναῖκα θυγατέρα μὲν Εἰθωβάλου τοῦ Τυρίων καὶ Σιδωνίων βασιλέως Ἰεζαβέλην δὲ ὄνομα, ἀφ᾽ ἧς τοὺς ἰδίους αὐτῆς θεοὺς προσκυνεῖν ἔμαθεν. [318] ἦν δὲ τὸ γύναιον δραστήριόν τε καὶ τολμηρόν, εἰς τοσαύτην δὲ ἀσέλγειαν καὶ μανίαν προύπεσεν, ὥστε καὶ ναὸν τῷ Τυρίων θεῷ ὃν Βελίαν προσαγορεύουσιν ᾠκοδόμησε καὶ ἄλσος παντοίων δένδρων κατεφύτευσε: κατέστησε δὲ [καὶ] ἱερεῖς καὶ ψευδοπροφήτας τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ: καὶ αὐτὸς δ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς πολλοὺς τοιούτους περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχεν ἀνοίᾳ καὶ πονηρίᾳ πάντας ὑπερβεβληκὼς τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ.

(2) [319] Προφήτης δέ τις τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ ἐκ πόλεως Θεσσεβώνης τῆς Γαλααδίτιδος χώρας προσελθὼν Ἀχάβῳ προλέγειν αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν ἔφασκε μήθ᾽ ὕσειν αὐτὸν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς ἔτεσι μήτε δρόσον καταπέμψειν εἰς τὴν χώραν, εἰ

μὴ φανέντος αὐτοῦ. καὶ τούτοις ἐπομόσας ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὰ πρὸς νότον μέρη ποιούμενος παρὰ χειμάρρῳ τινὶ τὴν διατριβήν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὸ ποτὸν εἶχε: τὴν γὰρ τροφὴν αὐτῷ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν κόρακες προσέφερον. [320] ἀναξηρανθέντος δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ δι᾽ ἀνομβρίαν εἰς Σαριφθὰν πόλιν οὐκ ἄπωθεν τῆς Σιδῶνος καὶ Τύρου, μεταξὺ γὰρ κεῖται, παραγίνεται τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος: εὑρήσειν γὰρ ἐκεῖ γυναῖκα χήραν, ἥτις αὐτῷ παρέξει τροφάς. [321] ὡν δ᾽ οὐ πόρρω τῆς πύλης ὁρᾷ γυναῖκα χερνῆτιν ξυλιζομένην: τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ δηλώσαντος ταύτην εἶναι τὴν μέλλουσαν αὐτὸν διατρέφειν προσελθὼν ἠσπάσατο καὶ κομίσαι ὕδωρ παρεκάλεσεν, ὅπως πίῃ, καὶ πορευομένης μετακαλεσάμενος καὶ ἄρτον ἐνεγκεῖν ἐκέλευσε. [322] τῆς δ᾽ ὀμοσάσης μηδὲν ἔχειν ἢ μίαν ἀλεύρου δράκα καὶ ὀλίγον ἐλαίου, πορεύεσθαι δὲ συνειλεχυῖαν τὰ ξύλα, ἵνα φυράσασα ποιήσῃ αὐτῇ καὶ τῷ τέκνῳ ἄρτον, μεθ᾽ ὃν ἀπολεῖσθαι λιμῷ δαπανηθέντα μηκέτι μηδενὸς ὄντος ἔλεγεν, “ἀλλὰ θαρσοῦσα, εἶπεν, ἄπιθι καὶ τὰ κρείττω προσδοκῶσα, καὶ ποιήσασα πρῶτον ἐμοὶ βραχὺ κόμισον: προλέγω γάρ σοι μηδέποτ᾽ ἐπιλείψειν ἀλεύρων ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἄγγος μηδ᾽ ἐλαίου τὸ κεράμιον, μέχρις οὗ ἂν ὕσῃ ὁ θεός.” [323] ταῦτ᾽ εἰπόντος τοῦ προφήτου παραγενομένη πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐποίησε τὰ εἰρημένα καὶ αὐτή τε ἔσχε καὶ τῷ τέκνῳ χορηγεῖ τὴν διατροφὴν καὶ τῷ προφήτῃ, ἐπέλιπε δ᾽ οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς τούτων, ἄχρις οὗ καὶ ὁ αὐχμὸς ἐπαύσατο. [324] μέμνηται δὲ τῆς ἀνομβρίας ταύτης καὶ Μένανδρος ἐν ταῖς Ἰθωβάλου τοῦ Τυρίων βασιλέως πράξεσι λέγων οὕτως: “ἀβροχία τ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὑπερβερεταίου μηνὸς ἕως τοῦ ἐχομένου ἔτους Ὑπερβερεταίου, ἱΚετείαν δ᾽ αὐτοῦ ποιησαμένου κεραυνοὺς ἱκανοὺς βεβληκέναι. οὗτος πόλιν Βότρυν ἔκτισε τὴν ἐπὶ Φοινίκῃ καὶ Αὖζαν τὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ.” καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δηλῶν τὴν ἐπ᾽ Ἀχάβου γενομένην ἀνομβρίαν, κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτον καὶ Ἰθώβαλος ἐβασίλευε Τυρίων, ὁ Μένανδρος ἀναγέγραφεν.

(3) [325] Ἡ δὲ γυνὴ περὶ ἧς πρὸ τούτων εἴπομεν, ἡ τὸν προφήτην διατρέφουσα, τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῇ καταπεσόντος εἰς νόσον, ὡς καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφεῖναι καὶ δόξαι νεκρόν, ἀνακλαιομένη καὶ ταῖς τε χερσὶν αὐτὴν αἰκιζομένη καὶ φωνὰς οἵας ὑπηγόρευε τὸ πάθος ἀφιεῖσα κατῃτιᾶτο τῆς παρ᾽ αὐτῇ παρουσίας τὸν προφήτην ὡς ἐλέγξαντα τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῆς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῦ παιδὸς τετελευτηκότος. [326] ὁ δὲ παρεκελεύετο θαρρεῖν καὶ παραδοῦναι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῷ: ζῶντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀποδώσειν. παραδούσης οὖν βαστάσας εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον, ἐν ᾧ διέτριβεν αὐτός, καὶ καταθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης ἀνεβόησε πρὸς τὸν θεὸν οὐ καλῶς ἀμείψασθαι τὴν ὑποδεξαμένην καὶ θρέψασαν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς ἀφαιρησόμενον, ἐδεῖτό τε τὴν ψυχὴν εἰσπέμψαι πάλιν τῷ παιδὶ καὶ παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν βίον. [327] τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ κατοικτείραντος μὲν τὴν μητέρα, βουληθέντος δὲ καὶ τῷ προφήτῃ χαρίσασθαι τὸ μὴ δόξαι πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπὶ κακῷ παρεῖναι, παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν προσδοκίαν ἀνεβίωσεν. ἡ δ᾽ εὐχαρίστει τῷ προφήτῃ καὶ τότε σαφῶς ἔλεγε μεμαθηκέναι, ὅτι τὸ θεῖον αὐτῷ διαλέγεται.

(4) [328] Χρόνου δ' ὀλίγου διελθόντος παραγίνεται πρὸς Ἄχαβον τὸν βασιλέα κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ δηλώσων αὐτῷ τὸν γενησόμενον ὑετόν. λιμὸς δὲ τότε κατεῖχε τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν καὶ πολλὴ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπορία, ὡς μὴ μόνον ἀνθρώπους αὐτῶν σπανίζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν γῆν μηδ' ὅσα τοῖς ἵπποις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κτήνεσι πρὸς νομήν ἐστι χρήσιμα διὰ τὴν ἀνομβρίαν ἀναδιδόναι. [329] τὸν οὖν ἐπιμελόμενον αὐτοῦ τῶν κτημάτων ὁ βασιλεὺς καλέσας Ὠβεδίαν ἀπιέναι βούλεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπεν ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ τοὺς χειμάρρους, ἵν' εἴ που παρ' αὐτοῖς εὑρεθείη πόα ταύτην εἰς τροφὴν ἀμησάμενοι τοῖς κτήνεσιν ἔχωσι. καὶ περιπέμψαντα κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην τοὺς ζητήσοντας τὸν προφήτην Ἠλίαν οὐχ εὑρηκέναι: συνέπεσθαι δ' ἐκέλευσε κἀκεῖνον αὐτῷ. [330] δόξαν οὖν ἐξορμᾶν αὐτοῖς μερισάμενοι τὰς ὁδοὺς ὅ τε Ὠβεδίας καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπῄεσαν ἕτερος ἑτέραν τῶν ὁδῶν. συνεβεβήκει δὲ καθ' ὃν Ἰεζαβέλη ἡ βασίλισσα καιρὸν τοὺς προφήτας ἀπέκτεινε τοῦτον ἑκατὸν ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ Γάρις σπηλαίοις κρύψαι προφήτας καὶ τρέφειν αὐτοὺς ἄρτον χορηγοῦντα μόνον καὶ ὕδωρ. [331] μονωθέντι δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Ὠβεδίᾳ συνήντησεν ὁ προφήτης Ἠλίας: καὶ πυθόμενος παρ' αὐτοῦ τίς εἴη καὶ μαθὼν προσεκύνησεν αὐτόν: ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα βαδίζειν ἐκέλευσε καὶ λέγειν, ὅτι παρείη πρὸς αὐτόν. [332] ὁ δὲ τί κακὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπονθότα πρὸς τὸν ἀποκτεῖναι ζητοῦντα καὶ πᾶσαν ἐρευνήσαντα γῆν πέμπειν αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν: ἢ τοῦτ' ἀγνοεῖν αὐτόν, ὅτι μηδένα τόπον κατέλιπεν, εἰς ὃν οὐκ ἀπέστειλε τοὺς ἀνάξοντας εἰ λάβοιεν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ; [333] καὶ γὰρ εὐλαβεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφασκε, μὴ τοῦ θεοῦ φανέντος αὐτῷ πάλιν εἰς ἄλλον ἀπέλθῃ τόπον, εἶτα διαμαρτὼν αὐτοῦ πέμψαντος τοῦ βασιλέως μὴ δυνάμενος εὑρεῖν ὅπου ποτ' εἴη γῆς ἀποθάνῃ. [334] προνοεῖν οὖν αὐτοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας παρακαλεῖ τὴν περὶ τοὺς ὁμοτέχνους αὐτοῦ σπουδὴν λέγων, ὅτι σώσειεν ἑκατὸν προφήτας Ἰεζαβέλης πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνῃρηκυίας καὶ ἔχοι κεκρυμμένους αὐτοὺς καὶ τρεφομένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ μηδὲν δεδιότα βαδίζειν ἐκέλευε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα δοὺς αὐτῷ πίστεις ἐνόρκους, ὅτι πάντως κατ' ἐκείνην Ἀχάβῳ φανήσεται τὴν ἡμέραν.

(5) [335] Μηνύσαντος δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ Ὠβεδίου τὸν Ἠλίαν ὑπήντησεν ὁ Ἄχαβος καὶ ἤρετο μετ' ὀργῆς, εἰ αὐτὸς εἴη ὁ τὸν Ἑβραίων λαὸν κακώσας καὶ τῆς ἀκαρπίας αἴτιος γεγενημένος. ὁ δ' οὐδὲν ὑποθωπεύσας αὐτὸν εἶπεν ἅπαντα τὰ δεινὰ πεποιηκέναι καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ ξενικοὺς ἐπεισενηνοχότας τῇ χώρᾳ θεοὺς καὶ τούτους σέβοντας, τὸν δ' ἴδιον αὐτῶν, ὃς μόνος ἐστὶ θεός, ἀπολελοιπότας καὶ μηδεμίαν ἔτι πρόνοιαν αὐτοῦ ποιουμένους. [336] νῦν μέντοι γε ἀνελθόντα ἐκέλευε πάντα τὸν λαὸν εἰς τὸ Καρμήλιον ὄρος ἀθροῖσαι πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς προφήτας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς γυναικός, εἰπὼν ὅσοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἴησαν, καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀλσῶν προφήτας ὡς τετρακοσίους τὸ πλῆθος ὄντας. [337] ὡς δὲ συνέδραμον πάντες εἰς τὸ προειρημένον ὄρος Ἀχάβου διαπέμψαντος, σταθεὶς αὐτῶν ὁ προφήτης Ἠλίας μεταξύ, μέχρι πότε διῃρημένους αὐτοὺς τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ ταῖς

δόξαις οὕτως βιώσειν ἔφασκε: νομίσαντας μὲν γὰρ τὸν ἐγχώριον θεὸν ἀληθῆ καὶ μόνον ἕπεσθαι τούτῳ καὶ ταῖς ἐντολαῖς αὐτοῦ παρῄνει, μηδὲν δὲ τοῦτον ἡγουμένους ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ξενικῶν ὑπειληφότας ὡς ἐκείνους δεῖ θρησκεύειν αὐτοῖς συνεβούλευε κατακολουθεῖν. [338] τοῦ δὲ πλήθους μηδὲν πρὸς ταῦτ᾽ ἀποκριναμένου ἠξίωσεν Ἠλίας πρὸς διάπειραν τῆς τε τῶν ξενικῶν θεῶν ἰσχύος καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἰδίου, μόνος ὢν αὐτοῦ προφήτης ἐκείνων δὲ τετρακοσίους ἐχόντων, λαβεῖν αὐτός τε βοῦν καὶ ταύτην θύσας ἐπιθεῖναι ξύλοις πυρὸς οὐχ ὑπαφθέντος, κἀκείνους ταὐτὸ ποιήσαντας ἐπικαλέσασθαι τοὺς ἰδίους θεοὺς ἀνακαῦσαι τὰ ξύλα: γενομένου γὰρ τούτου μαθήσεσθαι αὐτοὺς τὴν ἀληθῆ φύσιν τοῦ θεοῦ. [339] ἀρεσάσης δὲ τῆς γνώμης ἐκέλευσεν Ἠλίας τοὺς προφήτας ἐκλεξαμένους βοῦν πρώτους θῦσαι καὶ τοὺς αὑτῶν ἐπικαλέσασθαι θεούς. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ οὐδὲν ἀπήντα παρὰ τῆς εὐχῆς καὶ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως θύσασι τοῖς προφήταις, σκώπτων ὁ Ἠλίας μεγάλῃ βοῇ καλεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευε τοὺς θεούς: ἢ γὰρ ἀποδημεῖν αὐτοὺς ἢ καθεύδειν. [340] τῶν δ᾽ ἀπ᾽ ὄρθρου τοῦτο ποιούντων μέχρι μέσης ἡμέρας καὶ τεμνόντων αὐτοὺς μαχαίραις καὶ σιρομάσταις κατὰ τὸ πάτριον ἔθος, μέλλων αὐτὸς ἐπιτελεῖν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς μὲν ἀναχωρῆσαι, τοὺς δ᾽ ἐγγὺς προσελθόντας τηρεῖν αὐτόν, μὴ πῦρ λάθρα τοῖς ξύλοις ἐμβάλῃ. [341] τοῦ δὲ ὄχλου προσελθόντος λαβὼν δώδεκα λίθους κατὰ φυλὴν τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἀνέστησεν ἐξ αὐτῶν θυσιαστήριον καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ δεξαμενὴν ὤρυξε βαθυτάτην, καὶ συνθεὶς τὰς σχίζας ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπιθεὶς τὰ ἱερεῖα τέσσαρας ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης ἐκέλευσεν ὑδρίας ὕδατος κατασκεδάσαι τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, ὡς ὑπερβαλεῖν αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν δεξαμενὴν ἅπασαν γεμισθῆναι ὕδατος πηγῆς ἀναδοθείσης. [342] ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας ἤρξατο εὔχεσθαι τῷ θεῷ καὶ καλεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ποιεῖν τῷ πεπλανημένῳ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον λαῷ φανερὰν τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν. καὶ ταῦτα λέγοντος ἄφνω πῦρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τοῦ πλήθους ὁρῶντος ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἔπεσε καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ἐδαπάνησεν, ὡς ἀνακαῆναι καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ψαφαρὸν γενέσθαι τὸν τόπον.

(6) [343] Οἱ δ᾽ Ἰσραηλῖται τοῦτ᾽ ἰδόντες ἔπεσον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ προσεκύνουν ἕνα θεὸν καὶ μέγιστον καὶ ἀληθῆ μόνον ἀποκαλοῦντες, τοὺς δ᾽ ἄλλους ὀνόματι ὑπὸ φαύλης καὶ ἀνοήτου δόξης πεποιημένους: συλλαβόντες δ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς προφήτας ἀπέκτειναν Ἠλία παραινέσαντος. ἔφη δὲ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ πορεύεσθαι πρὸς ἄριστον μηδὲν ἔτι φροντίσαντα: μετ᾽ ὀλίγον γὰρ ὄψεσθαι τὸν θεὸν ὕοντα. [344] καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἄχαβος ἀπηλλάγη, Ἠλίας δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τοῦ Καρμηλίου ἀναβὰς ὄρους καὶ καθίσας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς προσηρείσατο τοῖς γόνασι τὴν κεφαλήν, τὸν δὲ θεράποντα ἐκέλευσεν ἀνελθόντα ἐπί τινα σκοπὴν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀποβλέπειν, κἂν ἴδῃ νεφέλην ἐγειρομένην ποθέν, φράζειν αὐτῷ: μέχρι γὰρ τότε καθαρῷ συνέβαινε τῷ ἀέρι εἶναι. [345] τοῦ δὲ ἀναβάντος καὶ μηδὲν πολλάκις ὁρᾶν φήσαντος, ἕβδομον ἤδη βαδίσας ἑωρακέναι μελαινόμενον εἶπέ τι τοῦ ἀέρος οὐ πλέον ἴχνους ἀνθρωπίνου. ὁ δὲ Ἠλίας ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας πέμπει πρὸς τὸν Ἄχαβον κελεύων αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπέρχεσθαι πρὶν ἢ καταρραγῆναι τὸν ὄμβρον. [346]

καὶ ὁ μὲν εἰς Ἰερέζηλα πόλιν παραγίνεται: μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ τοῦ ἀέρος ἀχλύσαντος καὶ νέφεσι καλυφθέντος πνεῦμά τε λάβρον ἐπιγίνεται καὶ πολὺς ὄμβρος. ὁ δὲ προφήτης ἔνθεος γενόμενος τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ἅρματι μέχρι τῆς Ἰερέζηλας πόλεως συνέδραμε.

(7) [347] Μαθοῦσα δὲ ἡ τοῦ Ἀχάβου γυνὴ Ἰεζάβηλα τά τε σημεῖα τὰ ὑπὸ Ἠλία γενόμενα καὶ ὅτι τοὺς προφήτας αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν, ὀργισθεῖσα πέμπει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγγέλους ἀπειλοῦσα δι᾽ αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνειν αὐτόν, ὡς κἀκεῖνος τοὺς προφήτας αὐτῆς ἀπολέσειε. [348] φοβηθεὶς δ᾽ ὁ Ἠλίας φεύγει εἰς πόλιν Βερσουβεὲ λεγομένην, ἐπ᾽ ἐσχάτης δ᾽ ἔστιν αὕτη τῆς χώρας τῶν τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς ἐχόντων κατὰ τὴν Ἰδουμαίων γῆν, καταλιπὼν δ᾽ ἐκεῖ τὸν θεράποντα εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ἀνεχώρησεν εὐξάμενος ἀποθανεῖν: οὐ γὰρ δὴ κρείττων εἶναι τῶν πατέρων, ἵνα ἐκείνων ἀπολωλότων αὐτὸς ζῆν γλίχηται: [349] κατακοιμηθεὶς δὲ πρός τινι δένδρῳ διεγείραντος αὐτόν τινος ἀναστὰς εὑρίσκει παρακειμένην αὐτῷ τροφὴν καὶ ὕδωρ: φαγὼν δὲ καὶ συλλεξάμενος ἐκ τῆς τροφῆς ἐκείνης τὴν δύναμιν εἰς τὸ Σιναῖον καλούμενον ὄρος παραγίνεται, οὗ Μωυσῆς τοὺς νόμους παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λέγεται λαβεῖν. [350] εὑρὼν δ᾽ ἐν αὐτῷ σπήλαιόν τι κοῖλον εἴσεισι καὶ διετέλει ποιούμενος ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν μονήν. ἐρομένης δέ τινος αὐτὸν φωνῆς ἐξ ἀδήλου, τί παρείη καταλελοιπὼς τὴν πόλιν ἐκεῖσε, διὰ τὸ κτεῖναι μὲν τοὺς προφήτας τῶν ξενικῶν θεῶν, πεῖσαι δὲ τὸν λαὸν ὅτι μόνος εἴη θεὸς ὁ ὤν, ὃν ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς ἐθρήσκευσαν, ἔφησε: ζητεῖσθαι γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πρὸς τιμωρίαν ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ βασιλέως. [351] πάλιν δὲ ἀκούσας προελθεῖν εἰς τὸ ὕπαιθρον τῇ ἐπιούσῃ, γνώσεσθαι γὰρ οὕτως τί δεῖ ποιεῖν, προῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ σπηλαίου μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν καὶ σεισμοῦ τε ἐπακούει καὶ λαμπρὰν πυρὸς αὐγὴν ὁρᾷ. [352] καὶ γενομένης ἡσυχίας φωνὴ θεία μὴ ταράττεσθαι τοῖς γινομένοις αὐτὸν παρακελεύεται, κρατήσειν γὰρ οὐδένα τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ, προσέταξέ τε ὑποστρέψαντα εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀποδεῖξαι τοῦ πλήθους βασιλέα Ἰηοῦν τὸν Νεμεσαίου παῖδα, ἐκ Δαμασκοῦ δὲ τῶν Σύρων Ἀζάηλον: ἀντ᾽ αὐτοῦ δὲ προφήτην Ἐλισσαῖον ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ γενήσεσθαι ἐκ πόλεως Ἀβέλας: διαφθερεῖ δὲ τοῦ ἀσε [353] βοῦς ὄχλου τοὺς μὲν Ἀζάηλος τοὺς δὲ Ἰηοῦς.” ὁ δ᾽ Ἠλίας ὑποστρέφει ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας εἰς τὴν Ἑβραίων χώραν καὶ τὸν Σαφάτου παῖδα Ἐλισσαῖον καταλαβὼν ἀροῦντα καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ τινας ἄλλους ἐλαύνοντας ζεύγη δώδεκα προσελθὼν ἐπέρριψεν αὐτῷ τὸ ἴδιον ἱμάτιον. [354] ὁ δ᾽ Ἐλισσαῖος εὐθέως προφητεύειν ἤρξατο καὶ καταλιπὼν τοὺς βόας ἠκολούθησεν Ἠλίᾳ. δεηθεὶς δὲ συγχωρῆσαι αὐτῷ τοὺς γονεῖς ἀσπάσασθαι κελεύοντος τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἀποταξάμενος αὐτοῖς εἵπετο καὶ ἦν Ἠλίου τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τοῦ ζῆν καὶ μαθητὴς καὶ διάκονος. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τοῦ προφήτου τούτου τοιαῦτα ἦν.

(8) [355] Ναβώθης δέ τις ἐξ Ἰεζαρήλου πόλεως ἀγρογείτων ὢν τοῦ βασιλέως παρακαλοῦντος αὐτὸν ἀποδόσθαι τιμῆς ὅσης βούλεται τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ τῶν ἰδίων ἀγρόν, ἵνα συνάψας ἓν αὐτὸ ποιήσῃ κτῆμα, εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλοιτο χρήματα

λαβεῖν ἐπιτρέποντος ἐκλέξασθαι τῶν ἀγρῶν τινα τῶν ἐκείνου, τοῦτο μὲν οὔ φησι ποιήσειν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν καρπώσεσθαι γῆν, ἣν ἐκληρονόμησε τοῦ πατρός. [356] λυπηθεὶς δ᾽ ὡς ἐφ᾽ ὕβρει τῷ μὴ τἀλλότρια λαβεῖν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὔτε λουτρὸν προσηνέγκατο οὔτε τροφήν, τῆς δ᾽ Ἰεζαβέλης τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ πυνθανομένης, ὅ τι λυπεῖται καὶ μήτε λούεται μήτε ἄριστον αὐτῷ παρατίθεται μήτε δεῖπνον, διηγήσατο αὐτῇ τὴν Ναβώθου σκαιότητα καὶ ὡς χρησάμενος ἐπιεικέσι πρὸς αὐτὸν λόγοις καὶ βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας ὑποδεεστέροις ὑβρισθείη μὴ τυχὼν ὧν ἠξίου. [357] ἡ δὲ μὴ μικροψυχεῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις παρεκάλει, παυσάμενον δὲ τῆς λύπης ἐπὶ τὴν συνήθη τρέπεσθαι τοῦ σώματος πρόνοιαν: μελήσειν γὰρ αὐτῇ περὶ τῆς Ναβώθου τιμωρίας. [358] καὶ παραχρῆμα πέμπει γράμματα πρὸς τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀχάβου ὀνόματος νηστεῦσαί τε κελεύουσα καὶ ποιησαμένους ἐκκλησίαν προκαθίσαι μὲν αὐτῶν Νάβωθον, εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὸν γένους ἐπιφανοῦς, παρασκευασαμένους δὲ τρεῖς τολμηρούς τινας τοὺς καταμαρτυρήσοντας αὐτοῦ, ὡς τὸν θεόν τε εἴη βλασφημήσας καὶ τὸν βασιλέα, καταλεῦσαι καὶ τούτῳ διαχρήσασθαι τῷ τρόπῳ. [359] καὶ Νάβωθος μέν, ὡς ἔγραψεν ἡ βασίλισσα, οὕτως καταμαρτυρηθεὶς βλασφημῆσαι τὸν θεόν τε καὶ Ἄχαβον βαλλόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἀπέθανεν, ἀκούσασα δὲ ταῦτα Ἰεζάβηλα εἴσεισι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ κληρονομεῖν τὸν Ναβώθου ἀμπελῶνα προῖκα ἐκέλευσεν. [360] ὁ δὲ Ἄχαβος ἥσθη τοῖς γεγενημένοις καὶ ἀναπηδήσας ἀπὸ τῆς κλίνης ὀψόμενος ἦκε τὸν ἀμπελῶνα τὸν Ναβώθου. ἀγανακτήσας δ᾽ ὁ θεὸς πέμπει τὸν προφήτην Ἠλίαν εἰς τὸ Ναβώθου χωρίον Ἀχάβῳ συμβαλοῦντα καὶ περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐρησόμενον, ὅτι κτείνας τὸν ἀληθῆ δεσπότην τοῦ χωρίου κληρονομήσειεν αὐτὸς ἀδίκως. [361] ὡς δ᾽ ἦκε πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅ τι βούλεται χρήσασθαι αὐτῷ, αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ὄντα ἐπὶ ἁμαρτήματι ληφθῆναι ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἔφη τὸν τόπον, ἐν ᾧ τὸν Ναβώθου νεκρὸν ὑπὸ κυνῶν δαπανηθῆναι συνέβη, τό τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ τῆς γυναικὸς χυθήσεσθαι αἷμα καὶ πᾶν αὐτοῦ τὸ γένος ἀπολεῖσθαι τοιαῦτα ἀσεβῆσαι τετολμηκότος καὶ παρὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους πολίτην ἀδίκως ἀνῃρηκότος. [362] Ἀχάβῳ δὲ λύπη τῶν πεπραγμένων εἰσῆλθε καὶ μετάμελος, καὶ σακκίον ἐνδυσάμενος γυμνοῖς τοῖς ποσὶ διῆγεν οὐχ ἁπτόμενος τροφῆς ἀνθομολογούμενός τε τὰ ἡμαρτημένα καὶ τὸν θεὸν οὕτως ἐξευμενίζων. ὁ δὲ ζῶντος μὲν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν προφήτην ὑπερβαλεῖσθαι τὴν τοῦ γένους τιμωρίαν εἶπεν ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐπὶ τοῖς τετολμημένοις μετανοεῖ, τελέσειν δὲ τὴν ἀπειλὴν ἐπὶ τῷ υἱῷ Ἀχάβου. καὶ ὁ μὲν προφήτης ταῦτ᾽ ἐδήλωσε τῷ βασιλεῖ.

XIV

(1) [363] Τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἄχαβον ὄντων τοιούτων κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ὁ τοῦ Ἀδάδου βασιλεύων τῶν Σύρων καὶ Δαμασκοῦ δύναμιν ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς χώρας συναγαγὼν καὶ συμμάχους τοὺς πέραν Εὐφράτου βασιλέας ποιησάμενος τριάκοντα καὶ δύο ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄχαβον. [364] ὁ δ᾽ οὐκ ὢν ὅμοιος αὐτῷ τῇ στρατιᾷ πρὸς μάχην μὲν οὐ παρετάξατο, πάντα δ᾽ εἰς τὰς ὀχυρωτάτας πόλεις ἐγκλείσας τὰ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτὸς μὲν ἔμεινεν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ: τείχη γὰρ αὖτη λίαν ἰσχυρὰ περιεβέβλητο καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δυσάλωτος ἐδόκει: ὁ δὲ Σύρος ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαμάρειαν καὶ περικαθίσας αὐτῇ τὸν στρατὸν ἐπολιόρκει. [365] πέμψας δὲ κήρυκα πρὸς Ἄχαβον ἠξίου πρεσβευτὰς δέξασθαι παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ, δι᾽ ὧν αὐτῷ δηλώσει τί βούλεται. τοῦ δὲ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέως πέμπειν ἐπιτρέψαντος ἐλθόντες οἱ πρέσβεις ἔλεγον κατ᾽ ἐντολὴν τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν Ἀχάβου πλοῦτον καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας Ἀδάδου τυγχάνειν: ἂν δ᾽ ὁμολογήσῃ καὶ λαβεῖν αὐτὸν τούτων ὅσα βούλεται συγχωρήσῃ, τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπάξει καὶ παύσεται πολιορκῶν αὐτόν. [366] ὁ δ᾽ Ἄχαβος τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἐκέλευσε πορευθεῖσι λέγειν τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ἐκείνου πάντες κτήματά εἰσιν αὐτοῦ. [367] ταῦτα δ᾽ ἀπαγγειλάντων πέμπει πάλιν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀξιῶν ἀνωμολογηκότα πάντα εἶναι ἐκείνου δέξασθαι τοὺς πεμφθησομένους εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ δούλους, οἷς ἐρευνήσασι τά τε βασίλεια καὶ τοὺς τῶν φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν οἴκους ἐκέλευε διδόναι πᾶν ὅ τι ἂν ἐν αὐτοῖς εὕρωσι κάλλιστον, τὰ δ᾽ ἀπαρέσαντα σοὶ καταλεί [368] ψουσιν.” Ἄχαβος δ᾽ ἀγασθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ δευτέρᾳ πρεσβείᾳ τοῦ τῶν Σύρων βασιλέως συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸ πλῆθος ἔλεγεν, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ἑτοίμως εἶχεν ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ γυναῖκας τὰς ἰδίας προέσθαι τῷ πολεμίῳ καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ πάσης παραχωρῆσαι κτήσεως: ταῦτα γὰρ ἐπιζητῶν ἐπρεσβεύσατο πρῶτον ὁ Σύρος. [369] νῦν δ᾽ ἠξίωκε δούλους πέμψαι τάς τε πάντων οἰκίας ἐρευνῆσαι καὶ μηδὲν ἐν αὐταῖς καταλιπεῖν τῶν καλλίστων κτημάτων πρόφασιν βουλόμενος πολέμου λαβεῖν, εἰδὼς ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἐμαυτοῦ δι᾽ ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἂν φεισαίμην, ἀφορμὴν δ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀηδοῦς πραγματευόμενος εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν: ποιήσω γε μὴν τὰ ὑμῖν [370] δοκοῦντα.” τὸ δὲ πλῆθος μὴ δεῖν ἀκούειν τῶν κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ καταφρονεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν ἑτοίμως ἔχειν. τοῖς οὖν πρεσβευταῖς ἀποκρινάμενος λέγειν ἀπελθοῦσιν, ὅτι τοῖς τὸ πρῶτον ἀξιωθεῖσιν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ νῦν ἐμμένει τῆς τῶν πολιτῶν ἀσφαλείας ἕνεκα πρὸς δὲ τὴν δευτέραν ἀξίωσιν οὐχ ὑπακούει, ἀπέλυσεν αὐτούς.

(2) [371] Ὁ δ᾽ Ἄδαδος ἀκούσας ταῦτα καὶ δυσχεράνας τρίτον ἔπεμψε πρὸς Ἄχαβον τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀπειλῶν ὑψηλότερον τῶν τειχῶν οἷς καταφρονεῖ χῶμα τούτοις ἐπεγείρειν αὐτοῦ τὴν στρατιὰν κατὰ δράκα λαμβάνουσαν, ἐμφανίζων αὐτῷ τῆς δυνάμεως τὸ πλῆθος καὶ καταπληττόμενος. [372] τοῦ δ᾽ Ἀχάβου μὴ καυχᾶσθαι δεῖν ἀποκριναμένου καθωπλισμένον ἀλλὰ τῇ μάχῃ κρείττω γενόμενον, ἐλθόντες οἱ πρέσβεις καὶ δειπνοῦντα καταλαβόντες τὸν βασιλέα μετὰ

τριάκοντα καὶ δύο βασιλέων συμμάχων ἐδήλωσαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν: ὁ δ᾽ εὐθέως τοῦτο προσέταξε καὶ περιχαρακοῦν τὴν πόλιν καὶ χώματα βάλλεσθαι καὶ μηδένα τρόπον ἀπολιπεῖν πολιορκίας. [373] ἦν δ᾽ Ἄχαβος τούτων πραττομένων ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ δεινῇ σὺν παντὶ τῷ λαῷ: θαρρεῖ δὲ καὶ τῶν φόβων ἀπολύεται προφήτου τινὸς αὐτῷ προσελθόντος καὶ φήσαντος αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν ὑπισχνεῖσθαι ποιήσειν τὰς τοσαύτας τῶν πολεμίων μυριάδας ὑποχειρίους. [374] πυθομένῳ δέ, διὰ τίνων ἂν ἡ νίκη γένοιτο, “διὰ τῶν παίδων, εἶπε, τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἡγουμένου σοῦ διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν ἐκείνων.” καλέσαντος δὲ τοὺς τῶν ἡγεμόνων υἱούς, εὑρέθησαν δ᾽ ὡς διακόσιοι καὶ τριακονταδύο, μαθὼν τὸν Σύρον πρὸς εὐωχίαν καὶ ἄνεσιν τετραμμένον ἀνοίξας τὰς πύλας ἐξέπεμψε τοὺς παῖδας. [375] τῶν δὲ σκοπῶν δηλωσάντων τοῦτο τῷ Ἀδάδῳ πέμπει τινὰς ὑπαντησομένους ἐντειλάμενος, ἂν μὲν εἰς μάχην ὦσι προεληλυθότες, ἵνα δήσαντες ἀγάγωσι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἂν δ᾽ εἰρηνικῶς, ὅπως ταὐτὸ ποιῶσιν. [376] εἶχε δ᾽ ἑτοίμην Ἄχαβος καὶ τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν. οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων παῖδες συμβαλόντες τοῖς φύλαξι πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνουσι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἄχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου διώκουσιν. ἰδὼν δὲ τούτους νικῶντας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξαφίησι καὶ τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν ἅπασαν. [377] ἡ δ᾽ αἰφνιδίως ἐπιπεσοῦσα τοῖς Σύροις ἐκράτησεν αὐτῶν, οὐ γὰρ προσεδόκων αὐτοὺς ἐπεξελεύσεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γυμνοῖς καὶ μεθύουσι προσέβαλλον, ὥστε τὰς πανοπλίας ἐκ τῶν στρατοπέδων φεύγοντας καταλιπεῖν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα σωθῆναι μόλις ἐφ᾽ ἵππου ποιησάμενον τὴν φυγήν. [378] Ἄχαβος δὲ πολλὴν ὁδὸν διώκων τοὺς Σύρους ἤνυσεν ἀναιρῶν αὐτούς, διαρπάσας δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ, πλοῦτος δ᾽ ἦν οὐκ ὀλίγος, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρυσοῦ πλῆθος καὶ ἀργύρου τά τε ἅρματα τοῦ Ἀδάδου καὶ τοὺς ἵππους λαβὼν ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. τοῦ δὲ προφήτου παρασκευάζεσθαι φήσαντος καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἑτοίμην ἔχειν, ὡς τῷ ἐπιόντι πάλιν ἔτει στρατεύσοντος ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν τοῦ Σύρου, ὁ μὲν Ἄχαβος πρὸς τούτοις ἦν.

(3) [379] Ὁ δὲ Ἄδαδος διασωθεὶς ἐκ τῆς μάχης μεθ᾽ ὅσης ἠδυνήθη στρατιᾶς συνεβουλεύσατο τοῖς αὐτοῦ φίλοις, πῶς ἂν ἐπιστρατεύσηται τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις. οἱ δὲ ἐν μὲν τοῖς ὄρεσιν οὐκ ἐδίδοσαν γνώμην συμβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς: τὸν γὰρ θεὸν αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις δύνασθαι τόποις καὶ διὰ τοῦτο νῦν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν νενικῆσθαι: κρατήσειν δὲ ἔλεγον ἐν πεδίῳ ποιησαμένους τὴν μάχην. [380] συνεβούλευον δὲ πρὸς τούτῳ τοὺς μὲν βασιλέας οὓς ἐπηγάγετο συμμάχους ἀπολῦσαι πρὸς τὰ οἰκεῖα, τὴν δὲ στρατιὰν αὐτῶν κατασχεῖν ἀντ᾽ ἐκείνων σατράπας καταστήσαντα: εἰς δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀπολωλότων τάξιν στρατολογῆσαι δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῆς αὐτῶν καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἅρματα. δοκιμάσας οὖν ταῦτα εἰρῆσθαι καλῶς οὕτως διεκόσμησε τὴν δύναμιν.

(4) [381] Ἀρξαμένου δὲ ἔαρος ἀναλαβὼν τὴν στρατιὰν ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους, καὶ γενόμενος πρὸς πόλει τινί, Ἀφεκὰ δ᾽ αὐτὴν καλοῦσιν, ἐν μεγάλῳ στρατοπεδεύεται πεδίῳ. Ἄχαβος δ᾽ ἀπαντήσας αὐτῷ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως

ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσατο: σφόδρα δ' ἦν ὀλίγον αὐτοῦ τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀντιπαραβαλλόμενον. [382] τοῦ δὲ προφήτου προσελθόντος αὐτῷ πάλιν καὶ νίκην τὸν θεὸν αὐτῷ διδόναι φήσαντος, ἵνα τὴν ἰδίαν ἰσχὺν ἐπιδείξηται μὴ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἀλλὰ κἀν τοῖς πεδίοις ὑπάρχουσαν, ὅπερ οὐκ εἶναι δοκεῖ τοῖς Σύροις, ἑπτὰ μὲν ἡμέρας ἀντεστρατοπεδευκότες ἡσύχαζον, τῇ δὲ ὑστάτῃ τούτων ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον προελθόντων ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῶν πολεμίων καὶ παραταξαμένων εἰς μάχην ἀντεπεξῆγε καὶ Ἄχαβος τὴν [οἰκείαν] δύναμιν. [383] καὶ συμβαλὼν καρτερᾶς τῆς μάχης γενομένης τρέπεται τοὺς πολεμίους εἰς φυγὴν καὶ διώκων ἐπέκειτο. οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἁρμάτων καὶ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπώλοντο, ἴσχυσαν δ' ὀλίγοι διαφυγεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀφεκὰ πόλιν αὐτῶν. [384] ἀπέθανον δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσόντων ὄντες δισμύριοι ἑπτακισχίλιοι. διεφθάρησαν δ' ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ μάχῃ ἄλλαι μυριάδες δέκα. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τῶν Σύρων Ἄδαδος φεύγων μετά τινων πιστοτάτων οἰκετῶν εἰς ὑπόγειον οἶκον ἐκρύβη. [385] τούτων φιλανθρώπους καὶ ἐλεήμονας εἶναι φησάντων τοὺς τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέας καὶ δυνήσεσθαι τῷ συνήθει τρόπῳ τῆς ἱκετείας χρησαμένους τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτῷ παρ' Ἀχάβου λαβεῖν, εἰ συγχωρήσειεν αὐτοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν, ἀφῆκεν: οἱ δὲ σάκκους ἐνδυσάμενοι καὶ σχοινία ταῖς κεφαλαῖς περιθέμενοι, οὕτως γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν ἱκέτευον οἱ Σύροι, πρὸς Ἄχαβον παρεγένοντο καὶ δεῖσθαι τὸν Ἄδαδον σώζειν αὐτὸν ἔλεγον εἰς ἀεὶ δοῦλον αὐτοῦ τῆς χάριτος γενησόμενον. [386] ὁ δὲ συνήδεσθαι φήσας αὐτῷ περιόντι καὶ μηδὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεπονθότι τιμὴν καὶ εὔνοιαν, ἣν ἄν τις ἀδελφῷ παράσχοι, κατεπηγγείλατο. λαβόντες δὲ ὅρκους παρ' αὐτοῦ μηδὲν ἀδικήσειν φανέντα προάγουσι πορευθέντες ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου ἐν ᾧ κέκρυπτο καὶ προσάγουσι τῷ Ἀχάβῳ ἐφ' ἅρματος καθεζομένῳ: ὁ δὲ προσεκύνησεν αὐτόν. [387] Ἄχαβος δ' ἐπιδοὺς αὐτῷ τὴν δεξιὰν ἀναβιβάζει ἐπὶ τὸ ἅρμα καὶ καταφιλήσας θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευε καὶ μηδὲν τῶν ἀτόπων προσδοκᾶν, Ἄδαδος δ' εὐχαρίστει καὶ παρ' ὅλον τὸν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον ἀπομνημονεύσειν τῆς εὐεργεσίας ὡμολόγει καὶ τὰς πόλεις τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, ἃς ἀπήνεγκαν οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖς, ἀποδώσειν ἐπηγγείλατο καὶ Δαμασκὸν ὥστε ἐξελαύνειν εἰς αὐτήν, καθὼς καὶ οἱ πατέρες αὐτοῦ εἰς Σαμάρειαν εἶχον τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἀνήσειν. [388] γενομένων δ' αὐτοῖς ὅρκων καὶ συνθηκῶν πολλὰ δωρησάμενος αὐτῷ Ἄχαβος ἀπέπεμψεν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν βασιλείαν. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς Ἀδάδου τοῦ Σύρων βασιλέως στρατείας ἐπὶ Ἄχαβον καὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας τοιοῦτον ἔσχε τὸ τέλος.

(5) [389] Προφήτης δέ τις τοὔνομα Μιχαίας προσελθών τινι τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν πλῆξαι: τοῦτο γὰρ ποιήσειν κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ. τοῦ δὲ μὴ πεισθέντος προεῖπε παρακούσαντα τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ προσταγμάτων λέοντι περιτυχόντα διαφθαρήσεσθαι. συμβάντος τούτου τἀνθρώπῳ πρόσεισιν ἑτέρῳ πάλιν ὁ προφήτης ταὐτὸ προστάσσων. [390] πλήξαντος δ' ἐκείνου καὶ θραύσαντος αὐτοῦ τὸ κρανίον καταδησάμενος τὴν κεφαλὴν προσῆλθε τῷ

βασιλεῖ λέγων αὐτῷ συνεστρατεῦσθαι καὶ παραλαβεῖν ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τινα τῶν αἰχμαλώτων παρὰ τοῦ ταξιάρχου, φυγόντος δ᾽ αὐτοῦ κινδυνεύειν ὑπὸ τοῦ παραδεδωκότος ἀποθανεῖν: ἀπειλῆσαι γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰ διαφύγοι ὁ αἰχμάλωτος ἀποκτείνειν. [391] δίκαιον δὲ φήσαντος Ἀχάβου τὸν θάνατον εἶναι λύσας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπιγινώσκεται ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ Μιχαίας ὁ προφήτης ὤν. ἐκέχρητο δὲ σοφίσματι πρὸς αὐτὸν τῷ γενομένῳ πρὸς τοὺς μέλλοντας λόγους: [392] εἶπε γάρ, [ὡς] ὁ θεὸς ἀφέντ᾽ αὐτὸν διαδράναι τὴν τιμωρίαν Ἄδαδον τὸν βλασφημήσαντα εἰς αὐτὸν μετελεύσεται καὶ ποιήσει σεαυτὸν μὲν ἀποθανεῖν ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου, τὸν δὲ λαὸν ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτοῦ.᾽᾽ παροξυνθεὶς δ᾽ Ἄχαβος πρὸς τὸν προφήτην τὸν μὲν ἐγκλεισθέντα φυλάττεσθαι ἐκέλευσε, συγκεχυμένος δ᾽ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς Μιχαίου λόγοις ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν.

XV

(1) [393] Καὶ Ἄχαβος μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἦν: ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλέα Ἰωσάφατον, ὃς αὐξήσας τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ δυνάμεις ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς ἐν τῇ τῶν ὑπηκόων χώρᾳ καταστήσας οὐδὲν ἧττον Ἀβία τοῦ πάππου καταληφθείσης τῆς Ἐφράμου κληρουχίας Ἱεροβάμου βασιλεύοντος τῶν δέκα φυλῶν φρουρὰς ἐγκαθίδρυσεν. [394] ἀλλ᾽ εἶχεν εὐμενές τε καὶ συνεργὸν τὸ θεῖον δίκαιος ὢν καὶ εὐσεβὴς καὶ τί καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἡδὺ ποιήσει καὶ προσηνὲς τῷ θεῷ ζητῶν. ἐτίμων δ᾽ αὐτὸν οἱ πέριξ βασιλικαῖς δωρεαῖς, ὡς πλοῦτόν τε ποιῆσαι βαθύτατον καὶ δόξαν ἄρασθαι μεγίστην.

(2) [395] Τρίτῳ δ᾽ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας συγκαλέσας τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς χώρας καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἐκέλευε τὴν γῆν περιελθόντας ἅπαντα τὸν λαὸν τὸν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ διδάξαι κατὰ πόλιν τοὺς Μωσείους νόμους καὶ φυλάσσειν τούτους καὶ σπουδάζειν περὶ τὴν θρησκείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ ἥσθη πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος οὕτως, ὡς μηδὲν ἄλλο φιλοτιμεῖσθαι μηδὲ ἀγαπᾶν ὡς τὸ τηρεῖν τὰ νόμιμα. [396] οἵ τε προσχώριοι διετέλουν στέργοντες τὸν Ἰωσάφατον καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρήνην ἄγοντες: οἱ δὲ Παλαιστῖνοι τακτοὺς ἐτέλουν αὐτῷ φόρους καὶ Ἄραβες ἐχορήγουν κατ᾽ ἔτος ἄρνας ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους καὶ ἐρίφους τοσούτους. πόλεις τε μεγάλας ὠχύρωσεν ἄλλας τε καὶ βαρεῖς, καὶ δύναμιν στρατιωτικὴν πρὸς πολέμους ηὐτρέπιστο. [397] ἦν δὲ ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς στρατὸς ὁπλιτῶν μυριάδες τριάκοντα, ὧν Ἐδναῖος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἶχεν, Ἰωάννης δὲ μυριάδων εἴκοσι. ὁ δ᾽ αὐτὸς οὗτος ἡγεμὼν κἀκ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς εἶχε τοξοτῶν πεζῶν μυριάδας εἴκοσι, ἄλλος δ᾽ ἡγεμὼν ᾧ Χάβαθος ὄνομα μυριάδας ὁπλιτῶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα τὸ πλῆθος τῷ βασιλεῖ προσένειμε, πάρεξ ὧν εἰς τὰς ὀχυρωτάτας διέπεμψε πόλεις.

(3) [398] Ἠγάγετο δὲ τῷ παιδὶ Ἰωράμῳ τὴν Ἀχάβου θυγατέρα τοῦ τῶν δέκα φυλῶν βασιλέως Ὀθλίαν ὄνομα. πορευθέντα δ᾽ αὐτὸν μετὰ χρόνον τινὰ εἰς Σαμάρειαν φιλοφρόνως Ἄχαβος ὑπεδέξατο καὶ τὸν ἀκολουθήσαντα στρατὸν

ἐξένισε λαμπρῶς σίτου τε καὶ οἴνου καὶ θυμάτων ἀφθονίᾳ, παρεκάλεσέ τε συμμαχῆσαι κατὰ τοῦ Σύρων βασιλέως, ἵνα τὴν ἐν τῇ Γαλαδηνῇ πόλιν Ἀραμαθὰν ἀφέληται: [399] τοῦ γὰρ πατρὸς αὐτὴν τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρῶτον τυγχάνουσαν ἀφῃρῆσθαι τὸν ἐκείνου πατέρα. τοῦ δὲ Ἰωσαφάτου τὴν βοήθειαν ἐπαγγειλαμένου, καὶ γὰρ εἶναι δύναμιν αὐτῷ μὴ ἐλάττω τῆς ἐκείνου, καὶ μεταπεμψαμένου τὴν δύναμιν ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων εἰς Σαμάρειαν, προεξελθόντες ἔξω τῆς πόλεως οἱ δύο βασιλεῖς καθίσαντες ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰδίου θρόνου ἑκάτερος τοῖς οἰκείοις στρατιώταις τὸ στρατιωτικὸν διένεμον. [400] Ἰωσαφάτης δ᾽ ἐκέλευσεν εἴ τινές εἰσι προφῆται καλέσαντ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀνακρῖναι περὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Σύρον ἐξόδου, εἰ συμβουλεύουσι κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι τὴν στρατείαν: καὶ γὰρ εἰρήνη τε καὶ φιλία τότε τῷ Ἀχάβῳ πρὸς τὸν Σύρον ὑπῆρχεν ἐπὶ τρία ἔτη διαμείνασα, ἀφ᾽ οὗ λαβὼν αὐτὸν αἰχμάλωτον ἀπέλυσεν ἄχρις ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας.

(4) [401] Καλέσας δὲ Ἄχαβος τοὺς αὐτοῦ προφήτας ὡσεὶ τετρακοσίους τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντας ἐκέλευσεν ἔρεσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ στρατευσαμένῳ ἐπὶ Ἄδερα νίκην καὶ καθαίρεσιν τῆς πόλεως, δι᾽ ἣν ἐκφέρειν μέλλει τὸν πόλεμον. [402] τῶν δὲ προφητῶν συμβουλευσάντων ἐκστρατεῦσαι, κρατήσειν γὰρ τοῦ Σύρου καὶ λήψεσθαι ὑποχείριον αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ τὸ πρῶτον, συνεὶς ἐκ τῶν λόγων Ἰωσάφατος, ὅτι ψευδοπροφῆται τυγχάνουσιν, ἐπύθετο τοῦ Ἀχάβου εἰ καὶ ἕτερός τίς ἐστι προφήτης τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα ἀκριβέστερον μάθωμεν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων.” ὁ δ᾽ Ἄχαβος εἶναι μὲν ἔφη, [403] μισεῖν δ᾽ αὐτὸν κακὰ προφητεύσαντα καὶ προειπόντα ὅτι τεθνήξεται νικηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύρου, ἐν φρουρᾷ δὲ νῦν αὐτὸν ἔχειν: καλεῖσθαι δὲ Μιχαίαν, υἱὸν δ᾽ εἶναι Ὀμβλαίου: τοῦ δ᾽ Ἰωσαφάτου κελεύσαντος αὐτὸν προαχθῆναι πέμψας εὐνοῦχον ἄγει τὸν Μιχαίαν. [404] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐδήλωσεν αὐτῷ ὁ εὐνοῦχος πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους προφήτας νίκην τῷ βασιλεῖ προειρηκέναι. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐξὸν αὐτῷ καταψεύσασθαι τοῦ θεοῦ φήσας, ἀλλ᾽ ἐρεῖν ὅτι ἂν αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως [αὐτὸς] εἴπῃ, ὡς ἦκε πρὸς τὸν Ἄχαβον καὶ λέγειν αὐτῷ τἀληθὲς οὕτος ἐνωρκίσατο, δεῖξαι τὸν θεὸν αὐτῷ φεύγοντας τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας ἔφη καὶ διωκομένους ὑπὸ τῶν Σύρων καὶ διασκορπιζομένους ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ ὄρη, καθάπερ ποιμένων ἠρημωμένα ποίμνια. [405] ἔλεγε δὲ σημαίνειν τοὺς μὲν μετ᾽ εἰρήνης ἀναστρέψειν εἰς τὰ ἴδια, πεσεῖσθαι δ᾽ αὐτὸν μόνον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ. ταῦτα φήσαντος τοῦ Μιχαία πρὸς Ἰωσάφατον ὁ Ἄχαβος “ἀλλ᾽ ἔγωγε μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν ἐδήλωσά σοι τὴν τἀνθρώπου πρός με διάθεσιν, καὶ ὅτι μοι τὰ χείρω προεφήτευσε.” τοῦ δὲ Μιχαία εἰπόντος, [406] ὡς προσῆκεν αὐτῷ πάντων ἀκροᾶσθαι τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ προλεγομένων, καὶ ὡς παρορμῶσιν αὐτὸν οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται ποιήσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἐλπίδι νίκης, καὶ ὅτι δεῖ πεσεῖν αὐτὸν μαχόμενον, αὐτὸς μὲν ἦν ἐπ᾽ ἐννοίᾳ, Σεδεκίας δέ τις τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν προσελθὼν Μιχαίᾳ μὲν μὴ προσέχειν παρῄνει: [407] λέγειν γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἀληθές: τεκμηρίῳ δὲ ἐχρήσατο οἷς Ἠλίας προεφήτευσεν ὁ τούτου

κρείττων τὰ μέλλοντα συνιδεῖν: καὶ γὰρ τοῦτον ἔλεγε προφητεύσαντα ἐν Ἰεζερήλα πόλει ἐν τῷ Ναβώθου ἀγρῷ τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ κύνας ἀναλιχμήσεσθαι προειπεῖν, καθὼς καὶ Ναβώθου τοῦ δι᾽ αὐτὸν καταλευσθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου. [408] δῆλον οὖν, ὅτι οὗτος ψεύδεται τῷ κρείττονι προφήτῃ τἀναντία λέγων ἀπὸ ἡμερῶν τριῶν φάσκων τεθνήξεσθαι. γνώσεσθε δ᾽ εἴπερ ἐστὶν ἀληθὴς καὶ τοῦ θείου πνεύματος ἔχει τὴν δύναμιν: εὐθὺς γὰρ ῥαπισθεὶς ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ βλαψάτω μου τὴν χεῖρα, ὥσπερ Ἰάδαος τὴν Ἱεροβοάμου τοῦ βασιλέως συλλαβεῖν θελήσαντος ἀπεξήρανε δεξιάν: ἀκή [409] κοας γὰρ οἶμαι τοῦτο πάντως γενόμενον.” ὡς οὖν πλήξαντος αὐτοῦ τὸν Μιχαίαν μηδὲν συνέβη παθεῖν, Ἄχαβος θαρρήσας ἄγειν τὴν στρατιὰν πρόθυμος ἦν ἐπὶ τὸν Σύρον: ἐνίκα γὰρ οἶμαι τὸ χρεὼν καὶ πιθανωτέρους ἐποίει τοῦ ἀληθοῦς τοὺς ψευδοπροφήτας, ἵνα λάβῃ τὴν ἀφορμὴν τοῦ τέλους. Σεδεκίας σιδήρεα ποιήσας κέρατα λέγει πρὸς Ἄχαβον, ὡς θεὸν αὐτῷ σημαίνειν τούτοις ἅπασαν καταστρέψεσθαι τὴν Συρίαν. [410] Μιχαίαν δὲ μετ᾽ οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας εἰπόντα τὸν Σεδεκίαν ταμιεῖον ἐκ ταμιείου κρυβόμενον ἀμείψειν ζητοῦντα φυγεῖν τῆς ψευδολογίας τὴν δίκην, ἐκέλευσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπαχθέντα φυλάττεσθαι πρὸς Ἀχάμωνα τὸν τῆς πόλεως ἄρχοντα καὶ χορηγεῖσθαι μηδὲν ἄρτου καὶ ὕδατος αὐτῷ περισσότερον.

(5) [411] Καὶ Ἄχαβος μὲν καὶ Ἰωσάφατος ὁ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλεὺς ἀναλαβόντες τὰς δυνάμεις ἦλασαν εἰς Ῥαμάθην πόλιν τῆς Γαλαδίτιδος. ὁ δὲ τῶν Σύρων βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας αὐτῶν τὴν στρατείαν ἀντεπήγαγεν αὐτοῖς τὴν αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν καὶ οὐκ ἄπωθεν τῆς Ἀραμάθης στρατοπεδεύεται. [412] συνέθεντο δὲ ὅ τε Ἄχαβος καὶ Ἰωσάφατος ἀποθέσθαι μὲν τὸν Ἄχαβον τὸ βασιλικὸν σχῆμα, τὸν δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλέα τὴν αὐτοῦ στολὴν ἔχοντα στῆναι ἐν τῇ παρατάξει, κατασοφιζόμενοι τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μιχαία προειρημένα. εὗρε δ᾽ αὐτὸν τὸ χρεὼν καὶ δίχα τοῦ σχήματος: [413] ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἄδαδος ὁ τῶν Σύρων βασιλεὺς παρήγγειλε τῇ στρατιᾷ διὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων μηδένα τῶν ἄλλων ἀναιρεῖν, μόνον δὲ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν. οἱ δὲ Σύροι τῆς συμβολῆς γενομένης ἰδόντες τὸν Ἰωσάφατον ἑστῶτα πρὸ τῆς τάξεως καὶ τοῦτον εἰκάσαντες εἶναι τὸν Ἄχαβον ὥρμησαν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ περικυκλωσάμενοι, [414] ὡς ἐγγὺς ὄντες ἔγνωσαν οὐκ ὄντα τοῦτον, ἀνεχώρησαν ὀπίσω, ἀπό τε ἀρχομένης ἠοῦς ἄχρι δείλης μαχόμενοι καὶ νικῶντες ἀπέκτειναν οὐδένα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐντολὴν ζητοῦντες τὸν Ἄχαβον ἀνελεῖν μόνον καὶ εὑρεῖν οὐ δυνάμενοι. παῖς δέ τις βασιλικὸς τοῦ Ἀδάδου Ἀμανὸς ὄνομα τοξεύσας εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους τιτρώσκει τὸν βασιλέα διὰ τοῦ θώρακος κατὰ τοῦ πνεύμονος. [415] Ἄχαβος δὲ τὸ μὲν συμβεβηκὸς οὐκ ἔγνω ποιῆσαι τῷ στρατεύματι φανερὸν μὴ τραπείησαν, τὸν δ᾽ ἡνίοχον ἐκέλευσεν ἐκτρέψαντα τὸ ἅρμα ἐξάγειν τῆς μάχης: χαλεπῶς γὰρ βεβλῆσθαι καὶ καιρίως. ὀδυνώμενος δὲ ἔστη ἐπὶ τοῦ ἅρματος ἄχρι δύνοντος ἡλίου καὶ λιφαιμήσας ἀπέθανε.

(6) [416] Καὶ τὸ μὲν τῶν Σύρων στράτευμα νυκτὸς ἤδη γενομένης ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν, καὶ δηλώσαντος τοῦ στρατοκήρυκος ὅτι τέθνηκεν Ἄχαβος ἀνέζευξαν εἰς τὰ ἴδια, κομίσαντες δὲ τὸν Ἀχάβου νεκρὸν εἰς Σαμάρειαν ἐκεῖ θάπτουσι. [417] καὶ τὸ ἅρμα ἀποπλύναντες ἐν τῇ Ἰεζερήλα κρήνῃ καθημαγμένον τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως φόνῳ ἀληθῆ τὴν Ἠλία προφητείαν ἐπέγνωσαν: οἱ μὲν γὰρ κύνες ἀνελιχμήσαντο τὸ αἷμα, αἱ δὲ ἑταιριζόμεναι ἐν τῇ κρήνῃ τὸ λοιπὸν λουόμεναι τούτῳ διετέλουν. ἀπέθανε δ' ἐν Ἀραμάθῃ, Μιχαία τοῦτο προειπόντος. [418] συμβάντων οὖν Ἀχάβῳ τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν δύο προφητῶν εἰρημένων μέγα τὸ θεῖον ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ σέβειν καὶ τιμᾶν αὐτὸ πανταχοῦ, καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας μὴ τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ βούλησιν πιθανώτερα δοκεῖν, ὑπολαμβάνειν δ' ὅτι προφητείας καὶ τῆς διὰ τῶν τοιούτων προγνώσεως οὐδέν ἐστι συμφορώτερον παρέχοντος οὕτω τοῦ θεοῦ τί δεῖ φυλάξασθαι, [419] λογίζεσθαί τε πάλιν ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν βασιλέα γεγενημένων στοχαζομένους προσῆκε τὴν τοῦ χρεὼν ἰσχύν, ὅτι μηδὲ προγινωσκόμενον αὐτὸ διαφυγεῖν ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ὑπέρχεται τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας ψυχὰς ἐλπίσι κολακεῦον χρησταῖς, αἷς εἰς τὸ πόθεν αὐτῶν κρατήσει περιάγει. [420] φαίνεται οὖν καὶ Ἄχαβος ὑπὸ τούτου τὴν διάνοιαν ἀπατηθείς, ὥστε ἀπιστῆσαι μὲν τοῖς προλέγουσι τὴν ἧτταν, τοῖς δὲ πρὸς χάριν προφητεύσασι πεισθεὶς ἀποθανεῖν. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ὁ παῖς Ὀχοζίας διεδέξατο.

Liber IX

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ ἐνάτῃ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Ὡς στρατευσάμενος ὁ Ἀχάβου παῖς Ἰώραμος ἐπὶ Μωαβίτας ἐκράτησεν αὐτῶν.

β. ὡς ὁ ὁμώνυμος αὐτῷ Ἰώραμος βασιλεύων τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν πᾶσαν λαβὼν τούς τε ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τοὺς πατρῴους φίλους ἀπέκτεινεν.

γ. ὅτι τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ἀποστάσης καὶ στρατευσάντων ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἀράβων ἥ τε δύναμις αὐτοῦ πᾶσα διεφθάρη καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ πάρεξ ἑνὸς ὄντος ἔτι νηπίου καὶ πρὸς τούτοις αὐτὸς ἀσεβὴς γενόμενος κακῶς τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν.

δ. στρατεία τοῦ Σύρων καὶ Δαμασκοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέα Ἰώραμον καὶ πῶς πολιορκηθεὶς οὗτος ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ παραδόξως τὸν κίνδυνον διέφυγεν.

ε. ὡς αὐτὸς Ἰώραμος ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ Ἰηοῦ ἀναιρεθεὶς τοῦ ἱππάρχου καὶ ἡ γενεὰ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλεὺς Ὀχοζίας.

ς. ὅτι μετὰ τὴν τούτου τελευτὴν ὁ Ἰηοῦς ἐβασίλευσε τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ διατρίβων καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ γενεὰς τέσσαρας.

ζ. ὡς γυνή τις Ὀθλία τοὔνομα τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἐβασίλευσεν ἐπὶ ἔτη πέντε καὶ ἀνελὼν αὐτὴν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰώδας τὸν Ὀχοζίου παῖδα Ἰωάσην ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα.

η. Ἀζαήλου τοῦ Δαμασκηνῶν βασιλέως ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας στρατεία καὶ ὡς πολλὰ κακὰ τήν τε χώραν αὐτῶν διαθεὶς καὶ τὴν Σαμαρέων πόλιν ὀλίγῳ πάλιν ὕστερον χρόνῳ στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἀνέζευξεν.

θ. ὡς Ἀμασίας ὁ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν βασιλεὺς στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Ἰδουμαίους καὶ Ἀμαληκίτας ἐνίκησεν.

ι. ὡς αὐτὸς οὗτος πολεμῶν πρὸς τὸν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέα Ἰώασον ἡττᾶται μέν, ληφθεὶς δὲ αἰχμάλωτος καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα δοὺς ἀπελύθη πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείαν καὶ ὡς ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Ὀζίας τὰ πέριξ ἔθνη ἐχειρώσατο.

ια. στρατεία τοῦ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέως Ἱεροβάμου ἐπὶ Συρίαν καὶ νίκη.

ιβ. ὡς ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Σαμάρειαν καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα παρὰ Φακέα τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν εἰσπραξάμενος εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ὑπέστρεψεν.

ιγ. ὅτι στρατευσάμενος Ῥαασσεὶν ὁ Δαμασκοῦ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολυμίτας ἠνάγκασεν Ἀχάζην τὸν βασιλέα πέμψαντα χρήματα πολλὰ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ἀσσυρίων πεῖσαι τούτοις αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Δαμασκὸν στρατεύσασθαι.

ιδ. ὡς κατὰ κράτος εἷλεν ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς Δαμασκὸν καὶ διέφθειρε μὲν αὐτῶν τὸν βασιλέα, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἀναστήσας εἰς Μηδίαν ἕτερα ἔθνη κατῴκισεν ἐν Δαμασκῷ.

ιε. ὡς Σαλμανάσαρ ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Σαμάρειαν καὶ πέντε πολιορκήσας ἔτεσιν ἐν αὐτῇ τὸν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέα Ὡσῆν παραστησάμενος τὴν πόλιν ἀπέκτεινεν,

ις. καὶ ὡς ὁ Ἀσσύριος τὰς δέκα τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν φυλὰς εἰς τὴν Μηδίαν κατοικίσας ἐκ τῆς Περσίδος τὸ τῶν Χουθαίων ἔθνος εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων μετήγαγε χώραν, οὓς Ἕλληνες Σαμαρεῖς καλοῦσιν.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ζ μηνῶν.

I

(1) [1] Ἰωσαφάτῃ δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ παραγενομένῳ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀπὸ τῆς συμμαχίας τῆς πρὸς Ἄχαβον τὸν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέα, ἣν Ἄδερι τῷ Σύρων πολεμοῦντι βασιλεῖ παρασχὼν ἦν ὡς προειρήκαμεν, Ἰηοῦς ὁ προφήτης συντυχὼν ἠτιᾶτο τῆς πρὸς Ἄχαβον συμμαχίας ἄνθρωπον ἀσεβῆ καὶ πονηρόν: τὸν γὰρ θεὸν ἀηδῶς μὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ διατεθῆναι, ῥύσασθαι μέντοι καίπερ ἡμαρτηκότα διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ φύσιν οὖσαν ἀγαθὴν ἔλεγεν ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων. [2] καὶ τότε μὲν ἐπ᾽ εὐχαριστίας καὶ θυσίας ὁ βασιλεὺς τρέπεται τοῦ θεοῦ: μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τὴν χώραν ὥρμησεν περιερχόμενος ἐν κύκλῳ πᾶσαν ὅσης αὐτὸς ἐπῆρχε τὸν λαὸν ἐκδιδάσκειν τά τε νόμιμα τὰ διὰ Μωσήους ὑπὸ θεοῦ δοθέντα καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν τὴν πρὸς αὐτόν. [3] καὶ δικαστὰς ἀποδείξας ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει τῶν βασιλευομένων ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ παρεκελεύσατο μηδενὸς οὕτως ὡς τοῦ δικαίου προνοουμένους κρίνειν τοῖς ὄχλοις μήτε δώρων μήτε ἀξιώματος τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ διὰ πλοῦτον ἢ γένος εἶναι δοκούντων, βραβεύειν δὲ ἅπασι τὸ ἴσον ἐπισταμένους, ὅτι καὶ τῶν κρύφα πραττομένων ἕκαστον ὁ θεὸς βλέπει. [4] ταῦτα διδάξας κατὰ πόλιν ἑκάστην τῶν δύο φυλῶν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, κατέστησε δὲ καὶ ἐν τούτοις κριτὰς ἐκ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν Ληουιτῶν καὶ τῶν τὰ πρῶτα τοῦ πλήθους φερομένων παραινέσας ἐπιμελεῖς καὶ δικαίας ποιεῖσθαι πάσας τὰς κρίσεις: [5] ἂν δὲ περὶ μειζόνων διαφορὰν ἔχοντες τῶν ὁμοφύλων τινὲς ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πρὸς αὐτοὺς πέμψωσι πόλεων, τούτοις δὲ μετὰ πλείονος σπουδῆς ἀποφαίνεσθαι δικαίως περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων: μάλιστα γὰρ τὰς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει κρίσεις, ἐν ᾗ τόν τε ναὸν εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ συμβέβηκε καὶ δίαιταν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔχει, προσῆκε σπουδαίας εἶναι καὶ δικαιοτάτας. [6] ἄρχοντας δ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀποδείκνυσιν Ἀμασίαν τὸν ἱερέα καὶ Ζαβαδίαν ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς ἑκατέρους. καὶ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον διέτασσε τὰ πράγματα.

(2) [7] Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἐστράτευον ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν Μωαβῖται καὶ Ἀμμανῖται συμπαραλαβόντες καὶ Ἀράβων μεγάλην μοῖραν, καὶ

καταστρατοπεδεύονται πρὸς Ἐγγάδῃ πόλει κειμένῃ πρὸς τῇ Ἀσφαλτίδι λίμνῃ τριακοσίους ἀπεχούσῃ σταδίους τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων: γεννᾶται δ᾽ ἐν αὐτῇ φοίνιξ ὁ κάλλιστος καὶ ὀποβάλσαμον. [8] ἀκούσας δ᾽ Ἰωσαφάτης, ὅτι τὴν λίμνην διαβάντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἐμβεβλήκασιν ἤδη εἰς τὴν βασιλευομένην ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ χώραν, δείσας εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συνάγει τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ στὰς κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ ναοῦ ηὔχετο καὶ ἐπεκαλεῖτο τὸν θεὸν παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ δύναμιν καὶ ἰσχύν, ὥστε τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς ἐπιστρατεύσαντας: [9] καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο δεηθῆναι τοὺς τὸ ἱερὸν κατασκευασαμένους αὐτοῦ, ὅπως ὑπερμάχηται τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης καὶ τοὺς ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸ τολμήσαντας ἐλθεῖν ἀμύνηται, οἳ τὴν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ δοθεῖσαν γῆν εἰς κατοίκησιν ἀφελέσθαι πάρεισιν αὐτούς. ταῦτ᾽ εὐχόμενος ἐδάκρυε καὶ σύμπαν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος γυναιξὶν ἅμα καὶ τέκνοις ἱκέτευεν. [10] Ἰαζίηλος δέ τις προφήτης παρελθὼν εἰς μέσην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀνεβόησε τῷ τε πλήθει λέγων καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ, τὸν θεὸν ἐπακοῦσαι τῶν εὐχῶν καὶ πολεμήσειν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι. προσέταξε δὲ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐξελάσαντα τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπαντᾶν: [11] εὑρήσειν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς μεταξὺ Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ Ἐγγάδης ἀναβάσεως λεγομένης δ᾽ Ἐξοχῆς: καὶ μὴ συμβαλεῖν μὲν αὐτοῖς, στάντας δὲ μόνον ὁρᾶν, πῶς αὐτοῖς μάχεται τὸ θεῖον. τοῦ δὲ προφήτου ταῦτ᾽ εἰπόντος ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος πεσόντες ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ηὐχαρίστουν τῷ θεῷ καὶ προσεκύνουν, οἱ δὲ Ληουῖται τοῖς ὀργάνοις διετέλουν ὑμνοῦντες.

(3) [12] Ἅμα δ᾽ ἡμέρᾳ προελθὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν ἔρημον τὴν ὑποκάτω Θεκώας πόλεως ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος, ὡς δεῖ πιστεύειν τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτου εἰρημένοις καὶ μὴ παρατάσσεσθαι μὲν αὐτοὺς εἰς μάχην, προστησαμένους δὲ τοὺς ἱερεῖς μετὰ τῶν σαλπίγγων καὶ Ληουιτῶν εὐχαριστεῖν ὡς ἤδη ῥυσαμένῳ τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων. [13] ἤρεσε δὲ ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως γνώμη, καὶ ἅπερ συνεβούλευσε ταῦτ᾽ ἔπραττον. ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἰς φόβον ἐνέβαλε καὶ ταραχὴν τοὺς Ἀμμανίτας: οἱ δὲ δόξαντες ἀλλήλους πολεμίους ἀπέκτεινον, ὡς ἐκ τῆς τοσαύτης στρατιᾶς ἀνασωθῆναι μηδένα. [14] Ἰωσαφάτης δὲ ἀποβλέψας εἰς τὴν φάραγγα, ἐν ᾗ συνέβαιν᾽ ἐστρατοπεδευκέναι τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ πλήρη νεκρῶν ἰδὼν ἥσθη μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθείας, ὅτι μηδὲ πονήσασιν αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς δι᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν νίκην ἔδωκεν, ἐπέτρεψε δὲ τῇ στρατιᾷ διαρπάσαι τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ σκυλεῦσαι τοὺς νεκρούς. [15] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας σκυλεύοντες ἔκαμον: τοσοῦτον ἦν τὸ τῶν ἀνῃρημένων πλῆθος: τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ συναθροισθεὶς πᾶς ὁ λαὸς εἴς τινα κοῖλον καὶ φαραγγώδη τόπον τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν εὐλόγησαν, ἀφ᾽ οὗ καὶ προσηγορίαν ἔσχεν ὁ τόπος κοιλὰς εὐλογίας.

(4) [16] Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἀναγαγὼν τὴν στρατιὰν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τρέπεται πρὸς εὐωχίαν καὶ θυσίας ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας. μετὰ μέντοι γε τὴν τῶν πολεμίων αὐτοῦ διαφθορὰν ἀκουσθεῖσαν τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις ἔθνεσι πάντες οὗτοι

κατεπλάγησαν αὐτόν, ὡς φανερῶς αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν συμμαχοῦντος. καὶ Ἰωσαφάτης μὲν ἔκτοτε μετὰ λαμπρᾶς δόξης ἐπί τε δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείᾳ διῆγεν: [17] ἦν δὲ φίλος καὶ τῷ τοῦ Ἀχάβου παιδὶ βασιλεύοντι τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, πρὸς ὃν κοινωνήσας ἐπὶ κατασκευῇ νεῶν εἴς τε Πόντον πλεουσῶν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης ἐμπόρια διήμαρτε τοῦ κτήματος: ὑπὸ γὰρ μεγέθους ἀπώλετο τὰ σκάφη: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκέτι περὶ ναῦς ἐφιλοτιμήσατο. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλέα Ἰωσαφάτην οὕτως εἶχεν.

II

(1) [18] Ὁ δ’ Ἀχάβου παῖς Ὀχοζίας ἐβασίλευε τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ ποιούμενος τὴν δίαιταν, πονηρὸς ὢν καὶ πάντα ὅμοιος τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἀμφοτέροις καὶ Ἱεροβοάμῳ τῷ πρώτῳ παρανομήσαντι καὶ τὸν λαὸν ἀπατᾶν ἀρξαμένῳ. [19] τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν ἔτος ἤδη δεύτερον ἔχοντος ὁ τῶν Μωαβιτῶν ἀφίσταται βασιλεὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς φόρους, οὓς ἔμπροσθεν ἐτέλει τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀχάβῳ, χορηγῶν ἐπαύσατο. συνέβη δὲ τὸν Ὀχοζίαν καταβαίνοντα ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους τῆς οἰκίας κατενεχθῆναι καὶ νοσήσαντα πέμψαι πρὸς τὴν Ἀκκάρων θεὸν Μυῖαν, τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῇ θεῷ, πυνθάνεσθαι περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας. [20] φανεὶς δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἑβραίων θεὸς Ἠλίᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ προσέταξεν αὐτῷ τοῖς πεμφθεῖσιν ἀγγέλοις ὑπαντήσαντι πυνθάνεσθαι αὐτῶν, εἰ θεὸν ὁ Ἰσραηλιτῶν λαὸς ἴδιον οὐκ ἔχει, ὅτι πέμπει πρὸς τὸν ἀλλότριον βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐρησομένους, κελεῦσαί τε αὐτοὺς ὑποστρέψαι καὶ φράσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὅτι μὴ διαφεύξεται τὴν νόσον. [21] τοῦ δὲ Ἠλία ποιήσαντος ἃ προσέταξεν ὁ θεὸς ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἄγγελοι τὰ παρ’ αὐτοῦ παραχρῆμα ὑπέστρεψαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. θαυμάζοντος δὲ τὸ τάχος τῆς ἐπανόδου καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐρωτήσαντος ἔφασαν ἀπαντῆσαί τινα αὐτοῖς ἄνθρωπον καὶ κωλῦσαι μὲν προσωτέρω χωρεῖν, ἀναστρέψαντας δέ σοι λέγειν ἐξ ἐντολῆς τοῦ Ἰσραηλιτῶν θεοῦ, [22] ὅτι κάκιον ἕξει ἡ νόσος.” τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως σημαίνειν αὐτῷ τὸν ταῦτ’ εἰρηκότα κελεύσαντος, ἄνθρωπον ἔλεγον δασὺν καὶ ζώνην περιειλημμένον δερματίνην. συνεὶς δὲ ἐκ τούτων Ἠλίαν εἶναι τὸν σημαινόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων πέμψας πρὸς αὐτὸν ταξίαρχον καὶ πεντήκοντα ὁπλίτας ἀχθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν. [23] εὑρὼν δὲ τὸν Ἠλίαν ὁ πεμφθεὶς ταξίαρχος ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ ὄρους καθεζόμενον καταβάντα ἥκειν ἐκέλευε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα: κελεύειν γὰρ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνον: εἰ δὲ μὴ θελήσειεν, ἄκοντα βιάσεσθαι. ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πείρᾳ τοῦ προφήτης ἀληθὴς ὑπάρχειν εὔξεσθαι πῦρ ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ πεσὸν ἀπολέσαι τούς τε στρατιώτας καὶ αὐτὸν εὔχεται, καὶ πρηστὴρ κατενεχθεὶς διαφθείρει τόν τε ταξίαρχον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. [24] τῆς δὲ ἀπωλείας τῆς τούτων δηλωθείσης τῷ βασιλεῖ παροξυνθεὶς ἄλλον ταξίαρχον πέμπει ἐπὶ τὸν Ἠλίαν σὺν ὁπλίταις τοσούτοις, ὅσοις καὶ τὸν πρότερον συναπέστειλεν. ἀπειλήσαντος δὲ καὶ τούτου τῷ προφήτῃ βίᾳ λαβόντα ἄξειν αὐτὸν εἰ μὴ

κατέλθοι βουλόμενος, εὐξαμένου κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ πῦρ διεχρήσατο καθὼς καὶ τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ταξίαρχον. [25] πυνθανόμενος δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦτον ὁ βασιλεὺς τρίτον ἐξέπεμψεν. ὁ δὲ φρόνιμος ὢν καὶ λίαν ἐπιεικὴς τὸ ἦθος ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, οὗ συνέβαινεν εἶναι τὸν Ἠλίαν, φιλοφρόνως προσεῖπεν αὐτόν: γινώσκειν δ᾽ ἔλεγεν, ὅτι μὴ βουλόμενος βασιλικῷ διακονῶν προστάγματι παρείη πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντες οὐχ ἑκόντες ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ἦλθον: ἐλεῆσαι τοιγαροῦν αὐτὸν ἠξίου τούς τε σὺν αὐτῷ παρόντας ὁπλίτας καὶ καταβάντα ἕπεσθαι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. [26] ἀποδεξάμενος δὲ τὴν δεξιότητα τῶν λόγων καὶ τὸ ἀστεῖον τοῦ ἤθους ὁ Ἠλίας καταβὰς ἠκολούθησε. παραγενόμενος δὲ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα προεφήτευσεν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐδήλου λέγειν: “ἐπειδὴ κατέγνως μὲν αὐτοῦ ὡς οὐκ ὄντος θεοῦ καὶ περὶ τῆς νόσου οὐ τἀληθὲς προειπεῖν δυναμένου, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἀκκαρωνιτῶν ἔπεμπες παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ πυνθανόμενος ποδαπὸν ἔσται σοι τῆς νόσου τέλος, γίνωσκε ὅτι τεθνήξῃ.”

(2) [27] Καὶ ὁ μὲν ὀλίγου σφόδρα χρόνου διελθόντος καθὼς προεῖπεν Ἠλίας ἀπέθανε, διαδέχεται δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἰώραμος: ἄπαις γὰρ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον. ὁ δὲ Ἰώραμος οὗτος τῷ πατρὶ Ἀχάβῳ τὴν πονηρίαν παραπλήσιος γενόμενος ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη δώδεκα πάσῃ παρανομίᾳ χρησάμενος καὶ ἀσεβείᾳ πρὸς τὸν θεόν: παρεὶς γὰρ τοῦτον θρησκεύειν τοὺς ξενικοὺς ἐσέβετο: [28] ἦν δὲ τἆλλα δραστήριος. κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν Ἠλίας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφανίσθη καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔγνω μέχρι τῆς σήμερον αὐτοῦ τὴν τελευτήν: μαθητὴν δὲ Ἐλισσαῖον κατέλιπεν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἐδηλώσαμεν. περὶ μέντοι γε Ἠλία καὶ Ἐνώχου τοῦ γενομένου πρὸ τῆς ἐπομβρίας ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἀναγέγραπται βίβλοις, ὅτι γεγόνασιν ἀφανεῖς, θάνατον δ᾽ αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς οἶδεν.

III

(1) [29] Παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἰώραμος ἐπὶ τὸν Μωαβιτῶν ἔγνω στρατεύειν βασιλέα Μεισὰν ὄνομα: τοῦ γὰρ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, καθὼς προείπαμεν, ἔτυχεν ἀποστὰς φόρους τελῶν Ἀχάβῳ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ μυριάδας εἴκοσι προβάτων σὺν τοῖς πόκοις. [30] συναθροίσας οὖν τὴν οἰκείαν δύναμιν ἔπεμψε πρὸς Ἰωσαφάτην παρακαλῶν αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ φίλος ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς ὑπῆρχεν αὐτοῦ τῷ πατρί, συμμαχῆσαι πόλεμον ἐπὶ τοὺς Μωαβίτας ἐκφέρειν μέλλοντι ἀποστάντας αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας. ὁ δ᾽ οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς βοηθήσειν ὑπέσχετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Ἰδουμαίων βασιλέα συναναγκάσειν ὄντα ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτὸν συστρατεύσασθαι. [31] Ἰώραμος δὲ τοιούτων αὐτῷ τῶν παρὰ Ἰωσαφάτου περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας κομισθέντων ἀναλαβὼν αὐτοῦ τὴν στρατιὰν ἦκεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ ξενισθεὶς λαμπρῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν, δόξαν αὐτοὺς διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ποιήσασθαι τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, οὐ γὰρ προσδοκήσειν αὐτοὺς ταύτῃ ποιήσεσθαι τὴν ἔφοδον, ὥρμησαν οἱ τρεῖς βασιλεῖς

ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, ὅ τε τούτων αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν καὶ ὁ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας, [32] καὶ κυκλεύσαντες ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν εἰς ἀπορίαν ὕδατος τοῖς τε κτήνεσι καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ περιέστησαν πλανηθέντων τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτοῖς τῶν ἡγουμένων, ὡς ἀγωνιᾶν μὲν ἅπαντας, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν Ἰώραμον καὶ ὑπὸ λύπης ἐκβοῆσαι πρὸς τὸν θεόν, τί κακὸν αἰτιασάμενος ἀγάγοι τοὺς τρεῖς βασιλεῖς ἀμαχητὶ παραδώσοντας ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Μωαβιτῶν βασιλεῖ; [33] παρεθάρρυνε δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰωσαφάτης δίκαιος ὢν καὶ πέμψαντα εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκέλευσε γνῶναι, εἴ τις αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ προφήτης συνελήλυθεν, ἵνα δι' αὐτοῦ μάθωμεν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, τί ποιητέον ἡμῖν.'' οἰκέτου δέ τινος φήσαντος τῶν Ἰωράμου ἰδεῖν αὐτόθι τὸν Ἠλία μαθητὴν Ἐλισσαῖον Σαφάτου παῖδα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπίασιν οἱ τρεῖς βασιλεῖς Ἰωσαφάτου παραινέσαντος. [34] ἐλθόντες δ' ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ προφήτου, ἔτυχε δ' ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς κατεσκηνωκώς, ἐπηρώτων τὸ μέλλον ἐπὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς, μάλιστα δὲ ὁ Ἰώραμος. τοῦ δὲ μὴ διοχλεῖν αὐτῷ φράσαντος ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς μητρὸς βαδίζειν προφήτας, εἶναι γὰρ ἐκείνους ἀληθεῖς, ἐδεῖτο προφητεύειν καὶ σώζειν αὐτούς. [35] ὁ δὲ ὀμόσας τὸν θεὸν οὐκ ἂν ἀποκριθῆναι αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ διὰ Ἰωσαφάτην ὅσιον ὄντα καὶ δίκαιον, ἀχθέντος ἀνθρώπου τινὸς ψάλλειν εἰδότος, ἐπεζήτησε γὰρ αὐτός, πρὸς τὸν ψαλμὸν ἔνθεος γενόμενος προσέταξε τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐν τῷ χειμάρρῳ πολλοὺς ὀρύξαι βόθρους: [36] οὔτε γὰρ νέφους οὔτε πνεύματος γενομένου οὔτε ὑετοῦ καταρραγέντος ὄψεσθε πλήρη τὸν ποταμὸν ὕδατος, ὡς ἂν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια διασωθῆναι ὑμῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποτοῦ. ἔσται δὲ ὑμῖν οὐ τοῦτο μόνον παρὰ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ κρατήσετε τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ καλλίστας καὶ ὀχυρωτάτας πόλεις λήψεσθε τῶν Μωαβιτῶν, καὶ δένδρα μὲν αὐτῶν ἥμερα κόψετε, τὴν δὲ χώραν δῃώσετε, πηγὰς δὲ καὶ ποταμοὺς ἐμφράξετε.''

(2) [37] Ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ προφήτου τῇ ἐπιούσῃ πρὶν ἥλιον ἀνασχεῖν ὁ χειμάρρους πολὺς ἐρρύη, σφοδρῶς γὰρ ἀπὸ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἰδουμαίᾳ τὸν θεὸν ὗσαι συνέπεσεν, ὥστε εὑρεῖν τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια ποτὸν ἄφθονον. [38] ὡς δὲ ἤκουσαν οἱ Μωαβῖται τοὺς τρεῖς βασιλέας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς βαδίζοντας καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου ποιουμένους τὴν ἔφοδον, ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν εὐθὺς συλλέξας στρατιὰν ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρῶν βάλλεσθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἵνα αὐτοὺς μὴ λάθωσιν εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐμβαλόντες οἱ πολέμιοι. [39] θεασάμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἡλίου τὸ ἐν τῷ χειμάρρῳ ὕδωρ, καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ μακρὰν ἦν τῆς Μωαβίτιδος, αἵματι τὴν χροὰν ὅμοιον, τότε γὰρ μάλιστα πρὸς τὴν αὐγὴν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐρυθραίνεται, ψευδῆ δόξαν περὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλάμβανον ὡς ἀπεκτονότων ἑαυτοὺς διὰ δίψος καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ αἷμα αὐτοῖς ῥέοντος. [40] τοῦτο τοίνυν οὕτως ἔχειν ὑπολαβόντες ἠξίωσαν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ διαρπαγὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐκπέμψαι τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πάντες ἐξορμήσαντες ὡς ἐπὶ ἑτοίμην ὠφέλειαν ἦλθον εἰς τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν στρατόπεδον ὡς ἀπολωλότων. καὶ διαψεύδεται μὲν αὐτοῖς ἡ ἐλπὶς αὕτη, περιστάντων δὲ τῶν πολεμίων οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν κατεκόπησαν οἱ δὲ

διεσπάρησαν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν χώραν φεύγοντες. [41] ἐμβαλόντες δὲ εἰς τὴν Μωαβιτῶν οἱ βασιλεῖς τάς τε πόλεις κατεστρέψαντο τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτῶν διήρπασαν καὶ ἠφάνισαν πληροῦντες τῶν ἐκ τῶν χειμάρρων λίθων, καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν δένδρων ἔκοψαν, καὶ τὰς πηγὰς ἐνέφραξαν τῶν ὑδάτων, καὶ τὰ τείχη καθεῖλον ἕως ἐδάφους. [42] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τῶν Μωαβιτῶν συνδιωκόμενος τῇ πολιορκίᾳ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁρῶν κινδυνεύουσαν αἱρεθῆναι κατὰ κράτος ὥρμησε μεθ᾽ ἑπτακοσίων ἐξελθὼν διὰ τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων ἐξιππάσασθαι στρατοπέδου, καθ᾽ ὃ μέρος ἐνόμιζεν αὐτοὺς τὰς φυλακὰς ἀνεῖσθαι. καὶ πειραθεὶς οὐκ ἠδυνήθη φυγεῖν: ἐπιτυγχάνει γὰρ ἐπιμελῶς φρουρουμένῳ τῷ τόπῳ. [43] ὑποστρέψας δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔργον ἀπογνώσεως καὶ δεινῆς ἀνάγκης διεπράξατο: τῶν υἱῶν τὸν πρεσβύτατον, ὃς μετ᾽ αὐτὸν βασιλεύειν ἤμελλεν, ἀναγαγὼν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὥστε ἅπασι φανερὸν γενέσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἱερούργησεν εἰς ὁλοκαύτωσιν τῷ θεῷ. θεασάμενοι δ᾽ αὐτὸν οἱ βασιλεῖς κατῴκτειραν τῆς ἀνάγκης καὶ παθόντες ἀνθρώπινόν τι καὶ ἐλεεινὸν διέλυσαν τὴν πολιορκίαν καὶ ἕκαστος εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀνέστρεψαν. [44] Ἰωσαφάτης δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ μετ᾽ εἰρήνης διαγαγὼν ὀλίγον ἐπιβιώσας χρόνον μετὰ τὴν στρατείαν ἐκείνην ἀπέθανε, ζήσας μὲν ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸν ἑξήκοντα, βασιλεύσας δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι. ταφῆς δὲ ἔτυχε μεγαλοπρεποῦς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις: καὶ γὰρ ἦν μιμητὴς τῶν Δαυίδου ἔργων.

IV

(1) [45] Κατέλιπε δὲ καὶ παῖδας ἱκανούς, διάδοχον δ᾽ ἀπέδειξε τὸν πρεσβύτατον Ἰώραμον: ταὐτὸ γὰρ εἶχεν ὄνομα τῷ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφῷ, βασιλεύοντι δὲ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, Ἀχάβου δὲ παιδί. [46] παραγενόμενος δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς Μωαβίτιδος ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς εἰς Σαμάρειαν εἶχε σὺν αὐτῷ τὸν προφήτην Ἐλισσαῖον, οὗ τὰς πράξεις βούλομαι διελθεῖν, λαμπραὶ γάρ εἰσι καὶ ἱστορίας ἄξιαι, καθὼς ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ἐπεγνώκαμεν.

(2) [47] Προσελθοῦσαν γὰρ αὐτῷ φασι τὴν Ὠβεδίου τοῦ Ἀχάβου οἰκονόμου γυναῖκα εἰπεῖν, ὡς οὐκ ἀγνοεῖ πῶς ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς τοὺς προφήτας περιέσωσεν ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀχάβου γυναικὸς Ἰεζαβέλας ἀναιρουμένους: ἑκατὸν γὰρ ἔλεγεν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ δανεισαμένου τραφῆναι κεκρυμμένους: καὶ μετὰ τὴν τἀνδρὸς τελευτὴν ἄγεσθαι νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν δανειστῶν αὐτήν τε καὶ τέκνα πρὸς δουλείαν, παρεκάλει τε διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐργασίαν τἀνδρὸς ἐλεῆσαί τε καὶ παρασχεῖν τινα βοήθειαν. [48] πυθομένῳ δ᾽ αὐτῷ, τί ἔχει ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἔφη, ἔλαιον δὲ βραχὺ λίαν ἐν κεραμίῳ. ὁ δὲ προφήτης ἀπελθοῦσαν ἐκέλευσεν ἀγγεῖα χρήσασθαι πολλὰ παρὰ τῶν γειτόνων κενὰ καὶ τὰς θύρας ἀποκλείσασαν τοῦ δωματίου μεταχεῖν εἰς ἅπαντα τὸ ἔλαιον: τὸν γὰρ θεὸν πληρώσειν αὐτά. [49] τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς τὰ κελευσθέντα ποιούσης καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις προσφέρειν ἕκαστον τῶν

ἀγγείων προσταττούσης, ἐπεὶ πάντα ἐπληρώθη καὶ μηδὲν ἦν κενόν, ἐλθοῦσα πρὸς τὸν προφήτην ταῦτα ἀπήγγειλεν. [50] ὁ δὲ συνεβούλευε τοὔλαιον ἀπελθούσῃ ἀποδόσθαι καὶ τοῖς δανεισταῖς ἀποδοῦναι τὰ ὀφειλόμενα: γενήσεσθαι δέ τι καὶ περισσὸν ἐκ τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ ἐλαίου, ᾧ πρὸς διατροφὴν τὴν τῶν τέκνων καταχρήσεται. καὶ Ἐλισσαῖος μὲν οὕτως ἀπήλλαξε τῶν χρεῶν τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν δανειστῶν ὕβρεως ἠλευθέρωσεν.

(3) [51] Ἐλισσαῖος δὲ ταχέως πρὸς Ἰώραμον ἐξαπέστειλε φυλάττεσθαι τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον αὐτῷ παραινῶν: εἶναι γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ Σύρους τινὰς τοὺς ἐκεῖ λοχῶντας αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς οὐκέτ᾽ ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν ἐξώρμησε τῷ προφήτῃ πειθόμενος: [52] Ἄδερ δὲ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς διαμαρτὼν ὡς τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοῦ καταμηνυσάντων πρὸς τὸν Ἰώραμον τὴν ἐνέδραν, ὠργίζετό τε καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτοὺς προδότας ἔλεγε τῶν ἀπορρήτων αὐτοῦ καὶ θάνατον ἠπείλει φανερᾶς τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως, ἣν μόνοις ἐκείνοις ἐπίστευσε, τῷ πολεμίῳ γεγενημένης. [53] φήσαντος δέ τινος τῶν παρόντων ψευδοδοξεῖν αὐτόν, μηδὲ ὑπονοεῖν αὐτὸν ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἐχθρὸν αὐτοῦ κατειρηκότας τὴν ἔκπεμψιν τῶν ἀναιρησόντων αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ γινώσκειν ὅτι Ἐλισσαῖός ἐστιν ὁ προφήτης ὁ πάντα μηνύων αὐτῷ καὶ φανερὰ ποιῶν τὰ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ βουλευόμενα, προσέταξε πέμψας μαθεῖν ἐν τίνι πόλει τυγχάνει διατρίβων Ἐλισσαῖος. [54] οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες ἦκον ἀγγέλλοντες αὐτὸν ἐν Δωθαεὶν ὑπάρχοντα. πέμπει τοιγαροῦν Ἄδερ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν δύναμιν πολλὴν ἱππέων καὶ ἁρμάτων, ὅπως τὸν Ἐλισσαῖον λάβωσιν. οἱ δὲ νυκτὸς κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν περιλαβόντες εἶχον ἐν φρουρᾷ. ἅμα δὲ ἕῳ τοῦτο μαθὼν ὁ τοῦ προφήτου διάκονος καὶ ὅτι ζητοῦσιν οἱ πολέμιοι λαβεῖν Ἐλισσαῖον ἐδήλωσεν αὐτῷ μετὰ βοῆς καὶ ταραχῆς δραμὼν πρὸς αὐτόν. [55] ὁ δὲ τὸν θεράποντα μὴ δεδιέναι παρεθάρρυνε καὶ τὸν θεόν, ᾧ συμμάχῳ καταφρονῶν ἀδεὴς ἦν, παρεκάλει τῷ διακόνῳ πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν αὐτὸν εὔελπι θάρσος ἐμφανίσαι τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν καὶ παρουσίαν, ὡς δυνατόν. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐπήκοος τῶν εὐχῶν τοῦ προφήτου γενόμενος πλῆθος ἁρμάτων καὶ ἵππων τῷ θεράποντι περὶ τὸν Ἐλισσαῖον κεκυκλωμένον θεάσασθαι παρέσχεν, ὡς αὐτὸν ἀφιέναι μὲν τὸ δέος, ἀναθαρσῆσαι δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν τῆς νομιζομένης συμμαχίας. [56] Ἐλισσαῖος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ὄψεις ἀμαυρῶσαι τὸν θεὸν παρεκάλει ἀχλὺν αὐταῖς ἐπιβαλόντα ἀφ᾽ ἧς ἀγνοήσειν αὐτὸν ἔμελλον. γενομένου δὲ καὶ τούτου προελθὼν εἰς μέσους τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπηρώτησε, τίνα ἐπιζητοῦντες ἦλθον: τῶν δὲ τὸν προφήτην Ἐλισσαῖον εἰπόντων παραδώσειν ὑπέσχετο, εἰ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐν ᾗ τυγχάνει ὢν ἀκολουθήσειαν αὐτῷ. [57] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἡγουμένῳ τῷ προφήτῃ τὰς ὄψεις ὑπὸ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπεσκοτημένοι σπουδάζοντες εἵποντο, ἀγαγὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἐλισσαῖος εἰς Σαμάρειαν Ἰωράμῳ μὲν τῷ βασιλεῖ προσέταξε κλεῖσαι τὰς πύλας καὶ περιστῆσαι τοῖς Σύροις τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν, τῷ θεῷ δὲ ηὔξατο καθᾶραι τὰς ὄψεις τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὴν ἀχλὺν αὐτῶν ἀνελεῖν. οἱ δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς ἀμαυρώσεως ἐκείνης ἀφεθέντες ἑώρων αὐτοὺς ἐν μέσοις τοῖς ἐχθροῖς

ὑπάρχοντας. [58] ἐν ἐκπλήξει δὲ δεινῇ καὶ ἀμηχανίᾳ τῶν Σύρων οἷον εἰκὸς ἐφ᾽ οὕτως θείῳ καὶ παραδόξῳ πράγματι κειμένων καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰωράμου πυθομένου τὸν προφήτην, εἰ κελεύσειεν αὐτοὺς κατακοντισθῆναι, τοῦτο μὲν ἐκώλυσε ποιεῖν Ἐλισσαῖος: τοὺς γὰρ νόμῳ πολέμου ληφθέντας ἀποκτείνειν εἶναι δίκαιον ἔλεγε, τούτους δὲ μηδὲν κακὸν ἐργάσασθαι τὴν ἐκείνου χώραν, θείᾳ δὲ δυνάμει πρὸς αὐτοὺς οὐκ εἰδότας ἐλθεῖν. [59] συνεβούλευέ τε ξενίων αὐτοῖς μεταδόντα καὶ τραπέζης ἀπολύειν ἀβλαβεῖς. Ἰώραμος μὲν οὖν τῷ προφήτῃ πειθόμενος ἑστιάσας λαμπρῶς πάνυ καὶ φιλοτίμως τοὺς Σύρους ἀπέλυσε πρὸς Ἄδερα τὸν αὐτῶν βασιλέα.

(4) [60] Τῶν δὲ ἀφικομένων καὶ δηλωσάντων αὐτῷ τὰ συμβεβηκότα θαυμάσας ὁ Ἄδερ τὸ παράδοξον καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ δύναμιν καὶ τὸν προφήτην, ᾧ τὸ θεῖον οὕτως ἐναργῶς παρῆν, κρύφα μὲν οὐκέτι διέγνω τῷ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐπιχειρεῖν βασιλεῖ τὸν Ἐλισσαῖον δεδοικώς, φανερῶς δὲ πολεμεῖν ἔκρινε τῷ πλήθει τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ τῇ δυνάμει νομίζων περιέσεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων. [61] καὶ στρατεύει μετὰ μεγάλης δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰώραμον, ὃς οὐχ ἡγούμενος αὐτὸν ἀξιόμαχον εἶναι τοῖς Σύροις ἐνέκλεισεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Σαμάρειαν θαρρῶν τῇ τῶν τειχῶν ὀχυρότητι. Ἄδερ δὲ λογισάμενος αἱρήσειν τὴν πόλιν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῖς μηχανήμασι, λιμῷ μέντοι καὶ σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων παραστήσεσθαι τοὺς Σαμαρεῖς, προσβαλὼν ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν. [62] οὕτω δὲ ἐπέλιπε τὸν Ἰώραμον ἡ τῶν ἀναγκαίων εὐπορία, ὡς δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἐνδείας ἐν τῇ Σαμαρείᾳ πραθῆναι ὀγδοήκοντα μὲν ἀργυρῶν νομίσματος κεφαλὴν ὄνου, πέντε δὲ ἀργυρῶν νομίσματος ξέστην κόπρου περιστερῶν ἀντὶ ἁλῶν ὠνεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἑβραίους. [63] ἦν δ᾽ ἐν φόβῳ μὴ διὰ τὸν λιμὸν προδῷ τις τοῖς ἐχθροῖς τὴν πόλιν ὁ Ἰώραμος καὶ καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐκπεριήρχετο τὰ τείχη καὶ τοὺς φύλακας, μή τις ἔνδον εἴη παρ᾽ αὐτῶν σκεπτόμενος καὶ τῷ βλέπεσθαι καὶ φροντίζειν ἀφαιρούμενος καὶ τὸ βούλεσθαί τι τοιοῦτον καὶ τὸ ἔργον, εἰ ταύτην τις τὴν γνώμην ἤδη λαμβάνειν ἔφθασεν. [64] ἀνακραγούσης δέ τινος γυναικός “δέσποτα ἐλέησον” νομίσας αἰτεῖν τι μέλλειν αὐτὴν τῶν πρὸς τροφὴν ὀργισθεὶς ἐπηράσατο αὐτῇ τὸν θεὸν καὶ μήτε ἄλως αὐτῷ μήτε ληνοὺς ὑπάρχειν ἔλεγεν, ὅθεν τι καὶ παράσχοι ἂν αὐτῇ δεομένῃ. [65] τῆς δ᾽ οὐδενὸς μὲν τούτων χρῄζειν εἰπούσης οὐδ᾽ ἐνοχλεῖν τροφῆς ἕνεκα, κριθῆναι δὲ ἀξιούσης πρὸς ἄλλην γυναῖκα, κελεύσαντος λέγειν καὶ διδάσκειν περὶ ὧν ἐπιζητεῖ συνθήκας ἔφη ποιήσασθαι μετὰ τῆς ἑτέρας γυναικὸς γειτνιώσης καὶ φίλης αὐτῇ τυγχανούσης, ὅπως ἐπεὶ τὰ τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐνδείας ἦν ἀμήχανα διαχρησάμενοι τὰ τέκνα, ἦν δὲ ἄρρεν ἑκατέρᾳ παιδίον, ἀνὰ μίαν ἡμέραν θρέψωμεν ἀλλήλας. [66] “κἀγὼ μέν, φησί, πρώτη τοὐμὸν κατέσφαξα καὶ τὴν παρελθοῦσαν ἡμέραν τοὐμὸν ἐτράφημεν ἀμφότεραι: νῦν δ᾽ οὐ βούλεται ταὐτὸ ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ παραβαίνει τὴν [67] συνθήκην καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀφανῆ πεποίηκε.” τοῦτ᾽ ἐλύπησε σφοδρῶς Ἰώραμον ἀκούσαντα, καὶ περιρρηξάμενος τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ δεινὸν ἐκβοήσας ἔπειτα ὀργῆς

ἐπὶ τὸν προφήτην Ἐλισσαῖον πληρωθεὶς ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν ὥρμησεν, ὅτι μὴ δεῖται τοῦ θεοῦ πόρον τ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ διαφυγὴν τῶν περιεχόντων κακῶν δοῦναι: τόν τε ἀποτεμοῦντα αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν εὐθὺς ἐξέπεμψε. [68] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ἠπείγετο τοῦ προφήτου: τὸν δ᾽ Ἐλισσαῖον οὐκ ἔλαθεν ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως ὀργή, καθεζόμενος δὲ οἴκαδε παρ᾽ αὐτῷ σὺν τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐμήνυσεν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι Ἰώραμος ὁ τοῦ φονέως υἱὸς πέμψειε τὸν ἀφαιρήσοντα αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλήν. [69] “ἀλλ᾽ ὑμεῖς, φησίν, ὅταν ὁ τοῦτο προσταχθεὶς ἀφίκηται, παραφυλάξαντες εἰσιέναι μέλλοντα προσαποθλίψατε τῇ θύρᾳ καὶ κατάσχετε: ἀκολουθήσει γὰρ αὐτῷ πρός με παραγινόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς μεταβεβουλευμένος.” καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸ κελευσθὲν ὡς ἦκεν ὁ πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τὴν Ἐλισσαίου ἐποίησαν: [70] Ἰώραμος δὲ καταγνοὺς τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν προφήτην ὀργῆς καὶ δείσας, μὴ φθάσῃ κτείνας αὐτὸν ὁ τοῦτο προσταχθείς, ἔσπευσε κωλῦσαι γενέσθαι τὸν φόνον καὶ διασῶσαι τὸν προφήτην. ἀφικόμενος δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ᾐτιᾶτο, ὅτι μὴ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λύσιν αὐτοῖς τῶν παρόντων αἰτεῖται κακῶν, ἀλλ᾽ οὕτως ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν φθειρομένους ὑπερορᾷ. [71] Ἐλισσαῖος δὲ εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἐπηγγέλλετο κατ᾽ ἐκείνην τὴν ὥραν, καθ᾽ ἣν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀφίκετο πρὸς αὐτόν, ἔσεσθαι πολλὴν εὐπορίαν τροφῆς καὶ πραθήσεσθαι μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ σίκλου δύο κριθῆς σάτα, ὠνήσεσθαι δὲ σεμιδάλεως σάτον σίκλου. [72] ταῦτα τόν τε Ἰώραμον καὶ τοὺς παρόντας εἰς χαρὰν περιέτρεψε: πιστεύειν γὰρ τῷ προφήτῃ διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς προπεπειραμένοις ἀλήθειαν οὐκ ὤκνουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνης ἐνδεὲς τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ταλαίπωρον ἡ προσδοκωμένη κοῦφον αὐτοῖς ἐποίει. [73] ὁ δὲ τῆς τρίτης μοίρας ἡγεμὼν τῷ βασιλεῖ φίλος ὢν καὶ τότε φέρων αὐτὸν ἐπερηρεισμένον “ἄπιστα, εἶπε, λέγεις, ὦ προφῆτα: καὶ ὥσπερ ἀδύνατον ἐκχέαι τὸν θεὸν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταρράκτας κριθῆς ἢ σεμιδάλεως, οὕτως ἀμήχανον καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ σοῦ νῦν εἰρημένα γενέσθαι.” καὶ ὁ προφήτης πρὸς αὐτόν “ταῦτα μέν, εἶπεν, ὄψει τοῦτο λαμβάνοντα τὸ τέλος, οὐ μεταλήψῃ δ᾽ οὐδενὸς τῶν ὑπαρξόντων.”

(5) [74] Ἐξέβη τοίνυν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον τὰ ὑπὸ Ἐλισσαίου προειρημένα: νόμος ἦν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ τοὺς λέπραν ἔχοντας καὶ μὴ καθαροὺς ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων τὰ σώματα μένειν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως. ἄνδρες οὖν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τέσσαρες διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν μένοντες μηκέτι μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ λιμοῦ [75] τροφὴν ἐκφέροντος εἰσελθεῖν μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸν νόμον κεκωλυμένοι, κἂν ἐπιτραπῇ δ᾽ αὐτοῖς διαφθαρήσεσθαι κακῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ λογισάμενοι, τοῦτο δὲ πείσεσθαι κἂν αὐτόθι μείνωσιν ἀπορίᾳ τροφῆς, παραδοῦναι τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτοὺς ἔκριναν ὡς εἰ μὲν φείσαιντο αὐτῶν ζησόμενοι, εἰ δ᾽ ἀναιρεθεῖεν εὐθανατήσοντες. [76] ταύτην κυρώσαντες τὴν βουλὴν νυκτὸς ἦκον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων. ἤρχετο δ᾽ ἤδη τοὺς Σύρους ἐκφοβεῖν καὶ ταράττειν ὁ θεὸς καὶ κτύπον ἁρμάτων καὶ ἵππων ὡς ἐπερχομένης στρατιᾶς ταῖς ἀκοαῖς αὐτῶν ἐνηχεῖν καὶ ταύτην ἐγγυτέρω προσφέρειν αὐτοῖς τὴν ὑπόνοιαν. [77] ἀμέλει τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς

διετέθησαν, ὥστε τὰς σκηνὰς ἐκλιπόντες συνέδραμον πρὸς τὸν Ἄδερα λέγοντες, ὡς Ἰώραμος ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν μισθωσάμενος συμμάχους τόν τε τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα καὶ τὸν τῶν νήσων ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἄγει: προσιόντων γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐπακούειν τοῦ κτύπου. [78] ταῦτα λέγουσιν ὁ Ἄδερ, καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς περιεψοφεῖτο ἤδη τὰς ἀκοὰς ὁμοίως τῷ πλήθει, προσέσχε καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀταξίας καὶ θορύβου καταλιπόντες ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ πλοῦτον ἄφθονον εἰς φυγὴν ἐχώρησαν. [79] οἱ λεπροὶ δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Σαμαρείας ἀναχωρήσαντες εἰς τὸ τῶν Σύρων στρατόπεδον, ὧν μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεμνήσθημεν, ὡς γενόμενοι πρὸς τῇ παρεμβολῇ πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν καὶ ἀφωνίαν ἔβλεπον οὖσαν καὶ παρελθόντες δὲ εἴσω καὶ ὁρμήσαντες εἰς μίαν σκηνὴν οὐδένα ἑώρων, ἐμφαγόντες καὶ πιόντες ἐβάστασαν ἐσθῆτα καὶ πολὺν χρυσὸν κομίσαντες ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς ἔκρυψαν: [80] ἔπειτ᾽ εἰς ἑτέραν σκηνὴν παρελθόντες ὁμοίως τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ πάλιν ἐξεκόμισαν, καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐποίησαν τετράκις μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς ὅλως ἐντυγχάνοντος. ὅθεν εἰκάσαντες ἀνακεχωρηκέναι τοὺς πολεμίους κατεγίνωσκον αὐτῶν μὴ ταῦτα δηλούντων τῷ Ἰωράμῳ καὶ τοῖς πολίταις. [81] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὸ τῆς Σαμαρείας τεῖχος καὶ ἀναβοήσαντες πρὸς τοὺς φύλακας ἐμήνυον αὐτοῖς τὰ περὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ταῦτ᾽ ἀπήγγειλαν τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως φύλαξι, παρ᾽ ὧν μαθὼν Ἰώραμος μεταπέμπεται τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας. [82] πρὸς οὓς ἐλθόντας ἐνέδραν καὶ τέχνην ὑπονοεῖν ἔλεγε τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τοῦ τῶν Σύρων βασιλέως ἀπογνόντος ἡμᾶς τῷ λιμῷ διαφθαρήσεσθαι, ἵνα ὡς πεφευγότων εἰς διαρπαγὴν ἐξελθόντων τῆς παρεμβολῆς αἰφνιδίως ἐπιπέσῃ καὶ κτείνῃ μὲν αὐτούς, ἁμαχητὶ δὲ ἕλῃ τὴν πόλιν: ὅθεν ὑμῖν παραινῶ διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχειν αὐτὴν μὴ καταφρονήσαντας τῷ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀνακεχωρηκέναι: [83] φήσαντος δέ τινος, ὡς ἄριστα μὲν καὶ συνετώτατα ὑπονοήσειε, πέμψαι γε μὴν συμβουλεύσαντος δύο τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς τὴν ἄχρι Ἰορδάνου πᾶσαν ἐξερευνήσοντας, ἵν᾽ εἰ ληφθέντες ὑπὸ λοχώντων τῶν πολεμίων διαφθαρεῖεν φυλακὴ τῇ στρατιᾷ γένωνται τοῦ μηδὲν ὅμοιον παθεῖν αὐτὴν ἀνυπόπτως προελθοῦσαν: “προσαριθμήσεις δέ, φησί, τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ τεθνηκόσι τοὺς ἱππεῖς, κἂν [84] ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ληφθέντες ἀπόλωνται.” ἀρεσθεὶς δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ τότε τοὺς κατοψομένους ἐξέπεμψεν: οἱ δὲ κενὴν μὲν πολεμίων τὴν ὁδὸν ἤνυσαν, μεστὴν δὲ σιτίων καὶ ὅπλων εὗρον, ἃ διὰ τὸ κοῦφοι πρὸς τὸ φεύγειν εἶναι ῥίπτοντες κατέλιπον. ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ διαρπαγὴν τῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὸ πλῆθος ἐξαφῆκεν. [85] εὐτελὲς δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδ᾽ ὀλίγον ὠφελοῦντο, ἀλλὰ πολὺν μὲν χρυσόν, πολὺν δὲ ἄργυρον, ἀγέλας δὲ παντοδαπῶν κτηνῶν, ἔτι γε μὴν σίτου μυριάσι καὶ κριθῆς αἷς οὐδ᾽ ὄναρ ἤλπισαν ἐπιτυχόντες τῶν μὲν προτέρων κακῶν ἀπηλλάγησαν, ἀφθονίαν δ᾽ εἶχον, ὡς ὠνεῖσθαι δύο μὲν σάτα κριθῆς σίκλου σεμιδάλεως δὲ σάτον σίκλου κατὰ τὴν Ἐλισσαίου προφητείαν: ἰσχύει δὲ τὸ σάτον μόδιον καὶ ἥμισυ Ἰταλικόν. [86] μόνος δὲ τούτων οὐκ ὤνατο τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὁ τῆς τρίτης μοίρας ἡγεμών: κατασταθεὶς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς

πύλης ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἵνα τὸ πλῆθος ἐπέχῃ τῆς πολλῆς ὁρμῆς καὶ μὴ κινδυνεύσωσιν ὑπ᾽ ἀλλήλων ὠθούμενοι συμπατηθέντες ἀπολέσθαι, τοῦτ᾽ αὐτὸς ἔπαθε καὶ τοῦτον ἀποθνήσκει τὸν τρόπον τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτῷ προφητεύσαντος Ἐλισσαίου, ὅτε τοῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς ἐσομένης εὐπορίας τῶν ἐπιτηδείων λεγομένοις μόνος ἐξ ἁπάντων οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν.

(6) [87] Ὁ δὲ τῶν Σύρων βασιλεὺς Ἄδερος διασωθεὶς εἰς Δαμασκὸν καὶ μαθών, ὅτι τὸ θεῖον αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν εἰς τὸ δέος καὶ τὴν ταραχὴν ἐκείνην ἐνέβαλεν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐξ ἐφόδου πολεμίων ἐγένετο, σφόδρα τῷ δυσμενῆ τὸν θεὸν ἔχειν ἀθυμήσας εἰς νόσον κατέπεσεν. [88] ἐκδημήσαντος δὲ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν εἰς Δαμασκὸν Ἐλισσαίου τοῦ προφήτου γνοὺς ὁ Ἄδερ τὸν πιστότατον τῶν οἰκετῶν Ἀζάηλον ἔπεμψεν ὑπαντησόμενον αὐτῷ καὶ δῶρα κομίζοντα, κελεύσας ἔρεσθαι περὶ τῆς νόσου καὶ εἰ διαφεύξεται τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς κίνδυνον. [89] Ἀζάηλος δὲ μετὰ καμήλων τεσσαράκοντα τὸν ἀριθμόν, αἳ τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ τιμιώτατα τῶν ἐν Δαμασκῷ γινομένων καὶ ὄντων ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ ἔφερον δῶρα, συμβαλὼν τῷ Ἐλισσαίῳ προσαγορεύσας αὐτὸν φιλοφρόνως ἔλεγεν ὑπὸ Ἄδερος τοῦ βασιλέως πεμφθῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸν δῶρά τε κομίσαι καὶ πυθέσθαι περὶ τῆς νόσου καὶ εἰ ῥᾴων ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἔσοιτο. [90] ὁ δὲ προφήτης τὸν μὲν Ἀζάηλον ἐκέλευε μηδὲν ἀπαγγέλλειν τῷ βασιλεῖ κακόν, ἔλεγε δ᾽ ὅτι τεθνήξεται. καὶ ὁ μὲν οἰκέτης τοῦ βασιλέως ἐλυπεῖτο ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας, ὁ δ᾽ Ἐλισσαῖος ἔκλαιε καὶ πολλοῖς ἐρρεῖτο δακρύοις προορώμενος ἃ πάσχειν ὁ λαὸς ἔμελλε κακὰ μετὰ τὴν Ἄδερος τελευτήν. [91] ἀνακρίναντος δ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἀζαήλου τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς συγχύσεως “κλαίω, φησί, τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐλεῶν, ὧν ἐκ σοῦ πείσεται δεινῶν: ἀποκτενεῖς γὰρ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ τὰς ὀχυρωτάτας πόλεις ἐμπρήσεις, καὶ παιδία μὲν ἀπολεῖς προσρηγνὺς [92] πέτραις τὰς δ᾽ ἐγκύους ἀναρρήξεις γυναῖκας.” τοῦ δὲ Ἀζαήλου λέγοντος: “τίνα γὰρ ἰσχὺν ἐμοὶ τηλικαύτην εἶναι συμβέβηκεν, ὥστε ταῦτα ποιῆσαι;” τὸν θεὸν ἔφησεν αὐτῷ δεδηλωκέναι τοῦθ᾽, ὅτι τῆς Συρίας μέλλει βασιλεύειν. Ἀζάηλος μὲν οὖν παραγενόμενος πρὸς τὸν Ἄδερα τῷ μὲν τὰ βελτίω περὶ τῆς νόσου κατήγγελλε, τῇ δ᾽ ἐπιούσῃ δίκτυον ἐπιβαλὼν αὐτῷ διάβροχον τὸν μὲν στραγγάλῃ διέφθειρε, [93] τὴν δ᾽ ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς παρέλαβε δραστήριός τε ὢν ἀνὴρ καὶ πολλὴν ἔχων παρὰ τῶν Σύρων εὔνοιαν καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Δαμασκηνῶν, ὑφ᾽ οὗ μέχρι νῦν αὐτός τε ὁ Ἄδερ καὶ Ἀζάηλος ὁ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν ἄρξας ὡς θεοὶ τιμῶνται διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας καὶ τῶν ναῶν οἰκοδομίας, οἷς ἐκόσμησαν τὴν τῶν Δαμασκηνῶν πόλιν. [94] πομπεύουσι δ᾽ αὐτοὶ καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τῇ τιμῇ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ σεμνύνονται τὴν τούτων ἀρχαιότητα οὐκ εἰδότες, ὅτι νεώτεροί εἰσι καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες οὗτοι οἱ βασιλεῖς ἔτη χίλια καὶ ἑκατόν. ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς Ἰώραμος ἀκούσας τὴν Ἄδερος τελευτὴν ἀνέπνευσεν ἐκ τῶν φόβων καὶ τοῦ δέους ὃ δι᾽ αὐτὸν εἶχεν ἀσμένως εἰρήνης λαμβανόμενος.

v

(1) [95] Ἰώραμος δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλεύς, καὶ τούτῳ γὰρ ἦν ταὐτὸν καθὼς προειρήκαμεν ἔμπροσθεν ὄνομα, παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ σφαγὴν τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν πατρῴων φίλων οἳ καὶ ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν ἐχώρησε, τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπίδειξιν τῆς πονηρίας ἐντεῦθεν ποιησάμενος καὶ μηδὲν διενεγκὼν τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ βασιλέων, οἳ πρῶτοι παρηνόμησαν εἰς τὰ πάτρια τῶν Ἑβραίων ἔθη καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείαν. [96] ἐδίδαξε δ᾽ αὐτὸν τά τ᾽ ἄλλα εἶναι κακὸν καὶ δὴ καὶ ξενικοὺς θεοὺς προσκυνεῖν Γοθολία θυγάτηρ μὲν Ἀχάβου συνοικοῦσα δ᾽ αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ μὲν θεὸς διὰ τὴν πρὸς Δαυίδην ὁμολογίαν οὐκ ἐβούλετο τούτου τὸ γένος ἐξαφανίσαι, Ἰώραμος δ᾽ οὐ διέλειπεν ἑκάστης ἡμέρας καινουργῶν ἐπ᾽ ἀσεβείᾳ καὶ λύμῃ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐθισμῶν. [97] ἀποστάντων δὲ αὐτοῦ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν τῶν Ἰδουμαίων καὶ τὸν μὲν πρότερον ἀποκτεινάντων βασιλέα, ὃς ὑπήκουεν αὐτοῦ τῷ πατρί, ὃν δ᾽ ἐβούλοντο αὐτοὶ καταστησάντων Ἰώραμος μετὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν ἁρμάτων νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πέριξ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας διέφθειρε, περαιτέρω δ᾽ οὐ προῆλθεν. [98] ὤνησε μέντοι τοῦτο ποιήσας οὐδὲ ἕν: πάντες γὰρ ἀπέστησαν αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ τὴν χώραν τὴν καλουμένην Λαβίναν νεμόμενοι. ἦν δ᾽ οὕτως ἐμμανής, ὥστε τὸν λαὸν ἠνάγκαζεν ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλότατα τῶν ὀρῶν ἀναβαίνοντα προσκυνεῖν τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους θεούς.

(2) [99] Ταῦτα δ᾽ αὐτῷ πράττοντι καὶ τελέως ἐκβεβληκότι τῆς διανοίας τὰ πάτρια νόμιμα κομίζεται παρ᾽ Ἠλίου τοῦ προφήτου ἐπιστολή, ἣ τὸν θεὸν ἐδήλου μεγάλην παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ληψόμενον δίκην, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἰδίων πατέρων μιμητὴς οὐκ ἐγένετο, τοῖς δὲ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέων κατηκολούθησεν ἀσεβήμασι καὶ συνηνάγκασε τὴν Ἰούδα φυλὴν καὶ τοὺς πολίτας Ἱεροσολύμων ἀφέντας τὴν ὁσίαν τοῦ ἐπιχωρίου θεοῦ σέβειν τὰ εἴδωλα, καθὼς καὶ Ἄχαβος τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας ἐβιάσατο, [100] ὅτι τε τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς διεχρήσατο καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ δικαίους ἀπέκτεινεν: τήν τε τιμωρίαν ἣν ἀντὶ τούτων ὑφέξειν ἔμελλεν ἐσήμαινε τοῖς γράμμασιν ὁ προφήτης, ὄλεθρον τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ φθορὰν γυναικῶν αὐτοῦ [τοῦ βασιλέως] καὶ τέκνων, [101] καὶ ὅτι τεθνήξεται νόσῳ τῆς νηδύος ἐπὶ πολὺ βασανισθεὶς καὶ τῶν ἐντέρων αὐτοῦ δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν τῆς τῶν ἐντὸς διαφθορᾶς ἐκρυέντων, ὥστ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁρῶντα τὴν αὐτοῦ συμφορὰν καὶ μηδὲν βοηθῆσαι δυνάμενον ἔπειθ᾽ οὕτως ἀποθανεῖν. ταῦτα μὲν ἐδήλου διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ὁ Ἠλίας.

(3) [102] Μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ στρατὸς Ἀράβων τῶν ἔγγιστα τῆς Αἰθιοπίας κατοικούντων καὶ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων εἰς τὴν Ἰωράμου βασιλείαν ἐνέβαλε καὶ τήν τε χώραν διήρπασαν καὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ βασιλέως, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ κατέσφαξαν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας. εἷς δὲ αὐτῷ περιλείπεται τῶν παίδων διαφυγὼν τοὺς πολεμίους Ὀχοζίας ὄνομα. [103] μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν συμφορὰν αὐτὸς τὴν προειρημένην ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτου νόσον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον νοσήσας χρόνον, ἐπέσκηψε

γὰρ εἰς τὴν γαστέρα τὸ θεῖον αὐτοῦ τὴν ὀργήν, ἐλεεινῶς ἀπέθανεν ἐπιδὼν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐντὸς ἐκρυέντα. περιύβρισε δ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ὁ λαός: [104] λογισάμενος γὰρ οἶμαι τὸν οὕτως ἀποθανόντα κατὰ μῆνιν θεοῦ μηδὲ κηδείας τῆς βασιλεῦσι πρεπούσης ἄξιον εἶναι τυχεῖν, οὔτε ταῖς πατρῴαις ἐνεκήδευσεν αὐτὸν θήκαις οὔτε ἄλλης τιμῆς ἠξίωσεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἰδιώτην ἔθαψε, βιώσαντα μὲν ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα, βασιλεύσαντα δὲ ὀκτώ. παραδίδωσι δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ Ὀχοζίᾳ.

VI

(1) [105] Ἰώραμος δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς μετὰ τὴν Ἄδερος τελευτὴν ἐλπίσας Ἀραμώθα πόλιν τῆς Γαλαδίτιδος ἀφαιρήσεσθαι τοὺς Σύρους στρατεύει μὲν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν μετὰ μεγάλης παρασκευῆς, ἐν δὲ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τοξευθεὶς ὑπό τινος τῶν Σύρων οὐ καιρίως ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Ἰεζερήλην πόλιν ἰαθησόμενος ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ τραῦμα, καταλιπὼν ἐν τῇ Ἀραμώθα τὴν στρατιὰν ἅπασαν καὶ ἡγεμόνα τὸν Ἀμασῆ παῖδα Ἰηοῦν: ἤδη γὰρ αὐτὴν ᾑρήκει κατὰ κράτος. [106] προύκειτο δ᾽ αὐτῷ μετὰ τὴν θεραπείαν πολεμεῖν τοῖς Σύροις. Ἐλισσαῖος δ᾽ ὁ προφήτης ἕνα τῶν αὐτοῦ μαθητῶν δοὺς αὐτῷ τὸ ἅγιον ἔλαιον ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ἀραμώθα χρίσοντα τὸν Ἰηοῦν καὶ φράσοντα, ὅτι τὸ θεῖον αὐτὸν ᾑρηται βασιλέα: ἄλλα τε πρὸς τούτοις εἰπεῖν ἐπιστείλας ἐκέλευε τρόπῳ φυγῆς ποιήσασθαι τὴν πορείαν, ὅπως λάθῃ πάντας ἐκεῖθεν ἀπιών. [107] ὁ δὲ γενόμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸν μὲν Ἰηοῦν εὑρίσκει καθεζόμενον μετὰ τῶν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἡγεμόνων μέσον αὐτῶν καθὼς Ἐλισσαῖος αὐτῷ προεῖπε, προσελθὼν δὲ ἔφη βούλεσθαι περί τινων αὐτῷ διαλεχθῆναι. [108] τοῦ δὲ ἀναστάντος καὶ ἀκολουθήσαντος εἰς τὸ ταμιεῖον λαβὼν ὁ νεανίσκος τὸ ἔλαιον κατέχεεν αὐτοῦ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἔφη βασιλέα χειροτονεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπ᾽ ὀλέθρῳ τοῦ γένους τοῦ Ἀχάβου, καὶ ὅπως ἐκδικήσῃ τὸ αἷμα τῶν προφητῶν τῶν ὑπὸ Ἰεζαβέλας παρανόμως ἀποθανόντων, [109] ἵν᾽ ὁ τούτων οἶκος τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὄνπερ Ἱεροβάμου τοῦ Ναβαταίου παιδὸς καὶ Βασὰ πρόρριζος διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν αὐτῶν ἀφανισθῇ καὶ μηδὲν ὑπολειφθῇ σπέρμα τῆς Ἀχάβου γενεᾶς. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν ἐξεπήδησεν ἐκ τοῦ ταμιείου σπουδάζων μηδενὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς ὁραθῆναι.

(2) [110] Ὁ δὲ Ἰηοῦς προελθὼν ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ἔνθα μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐκαθέζετο. πυνθανομένων δὲ καὶ φράζειν αὐτοῖς παρακαλούντων τί πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφίκοιτο ὁ νεανίσκος καὶ προσέτι μαίνεσθαι λεγόντων αὐτόν, "ἀλλ᾽ ὀρθῶς γε εἰκάσατε, εἶπε, καὶ γὰρ τοὺς [111] λόγους μεμηνότος ἐποιήσατο." σπουδαζόντων δ᾽ ἀκοῦσαι καὶ δεομένων ἔφη τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν ᾑρῆσθαι βασιλέα τοῦ πλήθους εἰρηκέναι. ταῦτ᾽ εἰπόντος ἕκαστος περιδύων αὐτὸν ὑπεστρώννυεν αὐτῷ τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ σαλπίζοντες τοῖς κέρασιν ἐσήμαινον Ἰηοῦν εἶναι βασιλέα. [112] ὁ δὲ ἀθροίσας τὴν στρατιὰν ἔμελλεν ἐξορμᾶν ἐπὶ Ἰώραμον εἰς Ἰεζέρελαν πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ

καθὼς προεῖπον ἐθεραπεύετο τὴν πληγήν, ἣν ἔλαβε πρὸς τῇ Ἀραμώθα πολιορκίᾳ. ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν βασιλεὺς Ὀχοζίας ἀφιγμένος πρὸς τὸν Ἰώραμον: υἱὸς γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ὡς καὶ προειρήκαμεν: ἐπισκέψασθαι δὲ πῶς ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἔχοι διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν ἐληλύθει. [113] Ἰηοῦς δὲ βουλόμενος αἰφνιδίως τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰώραμον προσπεσεῖν ἠξίου μηδὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποδράντα τινὰ μηνῦσαι ταῦτα τῷ Ἰωράμῳ: τοῦτο γὰρ ἔσεσθαι λαμπρὰν ἐπίδειξιν αὐτῷ τῆς εὐνοίας καὶ τοῦ διακειμένους οὕτως ἀποδεῖξαι αὐτὸν βασιλέα.

(3) [114] Οἱ δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἡσθέντες ἐφύλαττον τὰς ὁδούς, μή τις εἰς Ἰεζέρελαν διαλαθὼν μηνύσῃ αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐκεῖ. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰηοῦς τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους παραλαβὼν καὶ καθίσας ἐφ᾽ ἅρματος εἰς τὴν Ἰεζέρελαν ἐπορεύετο, γενομένου δὲ ἐγγὺς ὁ σκοπός, ὃν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰώραμος καθεστάκει τοὺς ἐρχομένους εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀφορᾶν, ἰδὼν μετὰ πλήθους προσελαύνοντα τὸν Ἰηοῦν ἀπήγγειλεν Ἰωράμῳ προσελαύνουσαν ἱππέων ἴλην. [115] ὁ δ᾽ εὐθὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἐκπεμφθῆναί τινα τῶν ἱππέων ὑπαντησόμενον καὶ τίς ἐστιν ὁ προσιὼν γνωσόμενον. ἐλθὼν οὖν πρὸς τὸν Ἰηοῦν ὁ ἱππεὺς ἐπερωτᾷ περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ: πυνθάνεσθαι γὰρ ταῦτα τὸν βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ μηδὲν μὲν περὶ τούτων πολυπραγμονεῖν ἐκέλευσεν, ἕπεσθαι δ᾽ αὐτῷ. [116] ταῦτα ὁ σκοπὸς ὁρῶν ἀπήγγειλεν Ἰωράμῳ τὸν ἱππέα συγκαταμιγέντα τῷ πλήθει τῶν προσιόντων σὺν ἐκείνοις παραγίνεσθαι. πέμψαντος δὲ καὶ δεύτερον τοῦ βασιλέως ταὐτὸ ποιεῖν προσέταξεν Ἰηοῦς. [117] ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐδήλωσεν ὁ σκοπὸς Ἰωράμῳ, τελευταῖον αὐτὸς ἐπιβὰς ἅρματος σὺν Ὀχοζίᾳ τῷ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν βασιλεῖ, παρῆν γὰρ αὐτὸς ὡς ἔφην ἔμπροσθεν ὀψόμενος αὐτὸν πῶς ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἔχοι διὰ συγγένειαν, ἐξῆλθεν ὑπαντησόμενος. [118] σχολαίτερον δὲ καὶ μετ᾽ εὐταξίας ὥδευεν Ἰηοῦς. καταλαβὼν δὲ ἐν ἀγρῷ Ναβώθου τοῦτον Ἰώραμος ἐπυνθάνετο, εἰ πάντα ἔχοι καλῶς τὰ κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον: βλασφημήσαντος δὲ πικρῶς αὐτὸν Ἰηοῦ, ὡς καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ φαρμακὸν ἀποκαλέσαι, δείσας ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ μηδὲν ὑγιὲς φρονεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπονοήσας στρέψας ὡς εἶχε τὸ ἅρμα ἔφυγε, φήσας πρὸς Ὀχοζίαν ἐνέδρᾳ καὶ δόλῳ κατεστρατηγῆσθαι. Ἰηοῦς δὲ τοξεύσας αὐτὸν καταβάλλει τοῦ βέλους διὰ τῆς καρδίας ἐνεχθέντος. [119] καὶ Ἰώραμος μὲν εὐθὺς πεσὼν ἐπὶ γόνυ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφῆκεν, Ἰηοῦς δὲ προσέταξε Βαδάκῳ τῷ τῆς τρίτης μοίρας ἡγεμόνι ῥῖψαι τὸν Ἰωράμου νεκρὸν εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν τὸν Ναβώθου ἀναμνήσας αὐτὸν τῆς Ἠλία προφητείας, ἣν Ἀχάβῳ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν Νάβωθον ἀποκτείναντι προεφήτευσεν, ὡς ἀπολεῖται αὐτός τε καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐκείνου χωρίῳ: [120] ταῦτα γὰρ καθεζόμενος ὄπισθεν τοῦ ἅρματος Ἀχάβου λέγοντος ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ προφήτου. καὶ δὴ τοῦτο συνέβη γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν πρόρρησιν τὴν ἐκείνου. πεσόντος δὲ Ἰωράμου δείσας περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας Ὀχοζίας τὸ ἅρμα εἰς ἑτέραν [ὁδὸν] ἐξένευσε λήσεσθαι τὸν Ἰηοῦν ὑπολαβών. [121] ὁ δ᾽ ἐπιδιώξας καὶ καταλαβὼν ἔν τινι προσβάσει τοξεύσας

ἔτρωσε, καταλιπὼν δὲ τὸ ἅρμα καὶ ἀναβὰς ἵππῳ φεύγει τὸν Ἰηοῦν εἰς Μαγιαδδὼ κἀκεῖ θεραπευόμενος μετ᾽ ὀλίγον ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς τελευτᾷ. κομισθεὶς δ᾽ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τῆς ἐκεῖ ταφῆς τυγχάνει βασιλεύσας μὲν ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα, πονηρὸς δὲ καὶ χείρων τοῦ πατρὸς γενόμενος.

(4) [122] Τοῦ δὲ Ἰηοῦ εἰσελθόντος εἰς τὰ Ἰεζέρελα κοσμησαμένη Ἰεζαβέλα καὶ στᾶσα ἐπὶ τοῦ πύργου "καλός, εἶπε, δοῦλος ὃς ἀποκτείνει τὸν δεσπότην." ὁ δὲ ἀναβλέψας πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπυνθάνετο τίς εἴη καὶ καταβᾶσαν ἥκειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν καὶ τέλος τοῖς εὐνούχοις προσέταξεν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου βαλεῖν. [123] καταφερομένη δ᾽ ἤδη τό τε τεῖχος περιέρρανε τῷ αἵματι καὶ συμπατηθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν ἵππων οὕτως ἀπέθανε. τούτων δὴ γενομένων παρελθὼν Ἰηοῦς εἰς τὰ βασίλεια σὺν τοῖς φίλοις ἑαυτὸν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνεκτᾶτο τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τραπέζῃ. προσέταξε δὲ τοῖς οἰκέταις ἀνελομένοις τὴν Ἰεζαβέλαν θάψαι διὰ τὸ γένος: ἦν γὰρ ἐκ βασιλέων. [124] εὗρον δ᾽ οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος αὐτῆς οἱ προσταχθέντες τὴν κηδείαν ἢ μόνα τὰ ἀκρωτήρια, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πᾶν ὑπὸ κυνῶν ἦν δεδαπανημένον. ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας Ἰηοῦς ἐθαύμαζε τὴν Ἠλίου προφητείαν: οὗτος γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐν Ἰεζερέλα προεῖπε τοῦτον ἀπολεῖσθαι τὸν τρόπον.

(5) [125] Ὄντων δ᾽ Ἀχάβῳ παίδων ἑβδομήκοντα τρεφομένων δ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ πέμπει δύο ἐπιστολὰς Ἰηοῦς τὴν μὲν τοῖς παιδαγωγοῖς τὴν ἑτέραν δὲ τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῶν Σαμαρέων, λέγων τὸν ἀνδρειότατον τῶν Ἀχάβου παίδων ἀποδεῖξαι βασιλέα: καὶ γὰρ ἁρμάτων αὐτῷ εἶναι πλῆθος καὶ ἵππων καὶ ὅπλων καὶ στρατιᾶς καὶ πόλεις ὀχυρὰς ἔχειν: καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντας εἰσπράττεσθαι δίκην ὑπὲρ τοῦ δεσπότου. [126] ταῦτα δὲ γράφει διάπειραν βουλόμενος λαβεῖν τῆς τῶν Σαμαρέων διανοίας. ἀναγνόντες δὲ τὰ γράμματα οἵ τε ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ παιδαγωγοὶ κατέδεισαν, καὶ λογισάμενοι μηδὲν δύνασθαι ποιεῖν πρὸς τοῦτο, δύο γὰρ μεγίστων ἐκράτησε βασιλέων, ἀντέγραψαν ὁμολογοῦντες αὐτὸν ἔχειν δεσπότην καὶ ποιήσειν ὃ ἂν κελεύῃ. [127] ὁ δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντέγραψεν αὐτῷ τε ὑπακούειν κελεύων καὶ τῶν Ἀχάβου παίδων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποτεμόντας πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτόν. οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες μεταπεμψάμενοι τοὺς τροφεῖς τῶν παίδων προσέταξαν ἀποκτείνασιν αὐτοὺς τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποτεμεῖν καὶ πέμψαι πρὸς Ἰηοῦν. οἱ δ᾽ οὐδὲν ὅλως φεισάμενοι τοῦτο ἔπραξαν καὶ συνθέντες εἴς τινα πλεκτὰ ἀγγεῖα τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπέπεμψαν εἰς Ἰεζέρελαν. [128] κομισθεισῶν δὲ τούτων ἀγγέλλεται μετὰ τῶν φίλων δειπνοῦντι τῷ Ἰηοῦ, ὅτι κομισθεῖεν αἱ τῶν Ἀχάβου παίδων κεφαλαί. ὁ δὲ πρὸ τῆς πύλης ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους ἐκέλευσεν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀναστῆσαι βουνούς. [129] γενομένου δὲ τούτου ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ πρόεισιν ὀψόμενος καὶ θεασάμενος ἤρξατο πρὸς τὸν παρόντα λαὸν λέγειν, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν δεσπότην στρατεύσαιτο τὸν αὐτοῦ κἀκεῖνον ἀποκτείνειε, τούτους δὲ οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀνέλοι: γινώσκειν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἠξίου περὶ τῆς Ἀχάβου γενεᾶς, ὅτι πάντα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ προφητείαν γέγονε καὶ ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ, καθὼς καὶ Ἠλίας προεῖπεν, ἀπόλωλε. [130] προσδιαφθείρας δὲ καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς Ἰεζερελίταις

εὑρεθέντας ἐκ τῆς Ἀχάβου συγγενείας [ἱππεῖς] εἰς Σαμάρειαν ἐπορεύετο. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν τοῖς Ὀχοζίᾳ συμβαλὼν οἰκείοις τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἀνέκρινεν αὐτούς, τί δή ποτε παρεγένοντο. [131] οἱ δ' ἀσπασόμενοί τε Ἰώραμον καὶ τὸν αὐτῶν βασιλέα Ὀχοζίαν ἥκειν ἔφασκον: οὐ γὰρ ᾔδεσαν αὐτοὺς ἀμφοτέρους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεφονευμένους. Ἰηοῦς δὲ καὶ τούτους συλληφθέντας ἀναιρεθῆναι προσέταξεν ὄντας τὸν ἀριθμὸν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ δύο.

(6) [132] Συναντᾷ δ' αὐτῷ μετὰ τούτους ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ δίκαιος Ἰωνάδαβος ὄνομα φίλος αὐτῷ πάλαι γεγονώς, ὃς ἀσπασάμενος αὐτὸν ἐπαινεῖν ἤρξατο τῷ πάντα κατὰ βούλησιν πεποιηκέναι τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐξαφανίσας τὴν Ἀχάβου. [133] Ἰηοῦς δὲ ἀναβάντα ἐπὶ τὸ ἅρμα συνεισελθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς Σαμάρειαν παρεκάλει λέγων ἐπιδείξειν, πῶς οὐδενὸς φείσεται πονηροῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ψευδοπροφήτας καὶ τοὺς ψευδιερεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐξαπατήσαντας τὸ πλῆθος, ὡς τὴν μὲν τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ θρησκείαν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τοὺς δὲ ξενικοὺς προσκυνεῖν, τιμωρήσεται: κάλλιστον δ' εἶναι θεαμάτων καὶ ἥδιστον ἀνδρὶ χρηστῷ καὶ δικαίῳ κολαζομένους πονηρούς. [134] τούτοις πεισθεὶς ὁ Ἰωνάδαβος ἀναβὰς εἰς τὸ ἅρμα εἰς Σαμάρειαν παραγίνεται. ἀναζητήσας δὲ πάντας τοὺς Ἀχάβου συγγενεῖς Ἰηοῦς ἀποκτείνει. βουλόμενος δὲ μηδένα τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν μηδ' ἱερέων τῶν Ἀχάβου θεῶν τὴν τιμωρίαν διαφυγεῖν ἀπάτῃ καὶ δόλῳ πάντας αὐτοὺς συνέλαβεν: [135] ἀθροίσας γὰρ τὸν λαὸν ἔφη βούλεσθαι διπλασίονας ὧν Ἄχαβος εἰσηγήσατο θεῶν προσκυνεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνων ἱερεῖς καὶ προφήτας ἠξίου καὶ δούλους αὐτῶν παρεῖναι: θυσίας γὰρ πολυτελεῖς καὶ μεγάλας ἐπιτελεῖν μέλλειν τοῖς Ἀχάβου θεοῖς: τὸν δ' ἀπολειφθέντα τῶν ἱερέων θανάτῳ ζημιώσειν. ὁ δὲ θεὸς Ἀχάβου Βαὰλ ἐκαλεῖτο. [136] τάξας δὲ ἡμέραν, καθ' ἣν ἔμελλε ποιήσειν τὰς θυσίας διέπεμπεν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰσραηλιτῶν χώραν τοὺς ἄξοντας πρὸς αὐτὸν τοὺς ἱερεῖς τοῦ Βαάλ. ἐκέλευσε δ' Ἰηοῦς τῷ ἱερεῖ δοῦναι πᾶσιν ἐνδύματα: λαβόντων δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν οἶκον μετὰ τοῦ φίλου Ἰωναδάβου μή τις ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀλλόφυλος εἴη καὶ ξένος ἐρευνῆσαι προσέταξεν: οὐ βούλεσθαι γὰρ τοῖς ἱεροῖς αὐτῶν ἀλλότριον παρατυγχάνειν. [137] τῶν δὲ εἰπόντων μὲν οὐδένα παρεῖναι ξένον καταρξαμένων δὲ τῶν θυσιῶν περιέστησεν ὀγδοήκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἄνδρας, οὓς ᾔδει πιστοτάτους τῶν ὁπλιτῶν, κελεύσας αὐτοῖς ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς ψευδοπροφήτας καὶ νῦν τοῖς πατρίοις ἔθεσι τιμωρεῖν πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον ὠλιγωρημένοις, ὑπὲρ τῶν διαφυγόντων τὰς ἐκείνων ἀφαιρεθήσεσθαι ψυχὰς ἀπειλήσας. [138] οἱ δὲ τούς τε ἄνδρας ἅπαντας κατέσφαξαν καὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Βαὰλ ἐμπρήσαντες ἐκάθηραν οὕτως ἀπὸ τῶν ξενικῶν ἐθισμῶν τὴν Σαμάρειαν. οὗτος ὁ Βαὰλ Τυρίων ἦν θεός. Ἄχαβος δὲ τῷ πενθερῷ βουλόμενος χαρίσασθαι Εἰθωβάλῳ Τυρίων ὄντι βασιλεῖ καὶ Σιδωνίων ναόν τε αὐτῷ κατεσκεύασεν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ καὶ προφήτας ἀπέδειξε καὶ πάσης θρησκείας ἠξίου. [139] ἀφανισθέντος δὲ τούτου τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς χρυσᾶς δαμάλεις προσκυνεῖν τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις Ἰηοῦς ἐπέτρεψε. ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξαμένῳ καὶ προνοήσαντι τῆς κολάσεως τῶν ἀσεβῶν ὁ

θεὸς διὰ τοῦ προφήτου προεῖπεν ἐπὶ τέσσαρας γενεὰς τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ βασιλεύσειν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἰηοῦν ἐν τούτοις ὑπῆρχεν.

VII

(1) [140] Ὀθλία δ' ἡ Ἀχάβου θυγάτηρ ἀκούσασα τήν τ' Ἰωράμου τἀδελφοῦ τελευτὴν καὶ τὴν Ὀχοζία τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ τοῦ γένους τῶν βασιλέων τὴν ἀπώλειαν ἐσπούδαζε μηδένα τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Δαυίδου καταλιπεῖν οἴκου, πᾶν δ' ἐξαφανίσαι τὸ γένος, ὡς ἂν μηδὲ εἷς ἐξ αὐτοῦ βασιλεὺς ἔτι γένοιτο. [141] καὶ τοῦθ' ὡς μὲν ᾤετο διεπράξατο, διεσώθη δὲ εἷς υἱὸς Ὀχοζίου, τρόπῳ δὲ τοιούτῳ τὴν τελευτὴν διέφυγεν: ἦν Ὀχοζίᾳ ὁμοπάτριος ἀδελφὴ Ὡσαβέθη ὄνομα: ταύτῃ συνῆν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰώδας. [142] εἰσελθοῦσα δ' εἰς τὸ βασίλειον καὶ τοῖς ἀπεσφαγμένοις τὸν Ἰώασον, τοῦτο γὰρ προσηγορεύετο τὸ παιδίον ἐνιαύσιον, ἐγκεκρυμμένον εὑροῦσα μετὰ τῆς τρεφούσης βαστάσασα μετ' αὐτῆς εἰς τὸ ταμιεῖον ἀπέκλεισε τῶν κλινῶν καὶ λανθάνοντες ἀνέθρεψαν αὐτή τε καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς Ἰώδας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἔτεσιν ἕξ, οἷς ἐβασίλευσεν Ὀθλία τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τῶν δύο φυλῶν.

(2) [143] Τῷ δὲ ἑβδόμῳ κοινολογησάμενός τισιν Ἰώδας πέντε τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἑκατοντάρχαις καὶ πείσας αὐτοὺς συνεπιθέσθαι μὲν τοῖς κατὰ τῆς Ὀθλίας ἐγχειρουμένοις, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν τῷ παιδὶ περιποιῆσαι, λαβὼν ὅρκους οἷς τὸ ἀδεὲς παρὰ τῶν συνεργούντων βεβαιοῦται τὸ λοιπὸν ἐθάρρει ταῖς κατὰ τῆς Ὀθλίας ἐλπίσιν. [144] οἱ δ' ἄνδρες, οὓς ὁ ἱερεὺς Ἰώδας κοινωνοὺς τῆς πράξεως παρειλήφει, περιπορευθέντες ἅπασαν τὴν χώραν τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς Ληουίτας ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀθροίσαντες καὶ τοὺς τῶν φυλῶν προεστηκότας ἦκον ἄγοντες εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα. [145] ὁ δὲ πίστιν ᾔτησεν αὐτοὺς ἔνορκον, ἢ μὴν φυλάξειν ὅπερ ἂν μάθωσιν ἀπόρρητον παρ' αὐτοῦ σιωπῆς ἅμα καὶ συμπράξεως δεόμενον. ὡς δ' ἀσφαλὲς αὐτῷ λέγειν ὁμωμοκότων ἐγένετο παραγαγὼν ὃν ἐκ τοῦ Δαυίδου γένους ἔτρεφεν "οὗτος ἡμῖν, εἶπε, βασιλεὺς ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς οἰκίας, ἣν ἴστε τὸν θεὸν ἡμῖν προφητεύσαντα βασιλεύσειν ἄχρι τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου. [146] παραινῶ δὲ τὴν τρίτην ὑμῶν μοῖραν φυλάττειν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, τὴν δὲ τρίτην ταῖς πύλαις ἐφεστάναι τοῦ τεμένους ἁπάσαις, ἡ δὲ μετὰ ταύτην ἐχέτω τὴν τῆς ἀνοιγομένης καὶ φερούσης εἰς τὸ βασίλειον πύλης φυλακήν: τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἄοπλον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τυγχανέτω: [147] μηδένα δ' εἰσελθεῖν ὁπλίτην ἐάσητε ἢ μόνον ἱερέα." προσδιέταξε δὲ τούτοις μέρος τι τῶν ἱερέων καὶ Ληουίτας περὶ αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν βασιλέα ταῖς μαχαίραις ἐσπασμέναις αὐτὸν δορυφοροῦντας, τὸν δὲ τολμήσαντα παρελθεῖν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ὡπλισμένον ἀναιρεῖσθαι παραυτίκα: [148] δείσαντας δὲ μηδὲν παραμεῖναι τῇ φυλακῇ τοῦ βασιλέως. καὶ οἱ μὲν οἷς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς συνεβούλευσεν τούτοις πεισθέντες ἔργῳ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἐδήλουν. ἀνοίξας δὲ Ἰώδας τὴν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ὁπλοθήκην, ἣν Δαυίδης κατεσκεύασε, διεμέρισε τοῖς ἑκατοντάρχαις ἅμα καὶ ἱερεῦσι καὶ Ληουίταις ἅπανθ' ὅσ' εὗρεν

ἐν αὐτῇ δόρατά τε καὶ φαρέτρας καὶ εἴ τι ἕτερον εἶδος ὅπλου κατέλαβε, καὶ καθωπλισμένους ἔστησεν ἐν κύκλῳ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν συναψαμένους τὴν χεῖρα καὶ τὴν εἴσοδον τοῖς οὐ προσήκουσιν οὕτως ἀποτειχίσοντας. [149] συναγαγόντες δὲ τὸν παῖδα εἰς τὸ μέσον ἐπέθεσαν αὐτῷ τὸν στέφανον τὸν βασιλικὸν καὶ τῷ ἐλαίῳ χρίσας Ἰώδας ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα: τὸ δὲ πλῆθος χαῖρον καὶ κροταλίζον ἐβόα σώζεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα.

(3) [150] Τοῦ δὲ θορύβου καὶ τῶν ἐπαίνων Ὀθλία παρ᾽ ἐλπίδας ἀκούσασα τεταραγμένη σφόδρα τῇ διανοίᾳ μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἐξεπήδησε στρατιᾶς ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου. καὶ παραγενομένην εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτὴν οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς εἰσδέχονται, τοὺς δ᾽ ἑπομένους ὁπλίτας εἶρξαν εἰσελθεῖν οἱ περιεστῶτες ἐν κύκλῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τοῦτο προστεταγμένοι. [151] ἰδοῦσα δὲ Ὀθλία τὸν παῖδα ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἑστῶτα καὶ τὸν βασίλειον ἐπικείμενον στέφανον περιρρηξαμένη καὶ δεινὸν ἀνακραγοῦσα φονεύειν ἐκέλευε τὸν ἐπιβουλεύσαντα αὐτῇ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφελέσθαι σπουδάσαντα. Ἰώδας δὲ καλέσας τοὺς ἑκατοντάρχας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἀπαγαγόντας τὴν Ὀθλίαν εἰς τὴν φάραγγα τὴν Κεδρῶνος ἀνελεῖν αὐτὴν ἐκεῖ: μὴ γὰρ βούλεσθαι μιᾶναι τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτόθι τὴν ἀλιτήριον τιμωρησάμενον. [152] προσέταξε δὲ κἂν βοηθῶν τις προσέλθῃ κἀκεῖνον ἀνελεῖν. ἐλλαβόμενοι τοίνυν τῆς Ὀθλίας οἱ προστεταγμένοι τὴν ἀναίρεσιν αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην τῶν ἡμιόνων τοῦ βασιλέως ἤγαγον κἀκεῖ διεχρήσαντο.

(4) [153] Ὡς δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ὀθλίαν τοῦτον ἐστρατηγήθη τὸν τρόπον συγκαλέσας τόν τε δῆμον καὶ τοὺς ὁπλίτας ὁ Ἰώδας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐξώρκωσεν εὐνοεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ προνοεῖν αὐτοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀρχῆς: ἔπειτ᾽ αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα τιμήσειν τὸν θεὸν καὶ μὴ παραβῆναι τοὺς Μωσήους νόμους δοῦναι πίστιν ἠνάγκασε. [154] καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ᾽ εἰσδραμόντες τὸν τοῦ Βαὰλ οἶκον, ὃν Ὀθλία τε καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς Ἰώραμος κατεσκεύασεν ἐφ᾽ ὕβρει μὲν τοῦ πατρίου θεοῦ τιμῇ δὲ Ἀχάβου κατέσκαψαν καὶ τὸν ἔχοντα τὴν ἱερωσύνην αὐτοῦ Μάθαν ἀπέκτειναν. [155] τὴν δ᾽ ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ φυλακὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ Ληουίταις ἐπέτρεψεν Ἰώδας κατὰ τὴν Δαυίδου τοῦ βασιλέως διάταξιν κελεύσας αὐτοὺς δὶς τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιφέρειν τὰς νενομισμένας τῶν ὁλοκαυτώσεων θυσίας καὶ θυμιᾶν ἀκολούθως τῷ νόμῳ. ἀπέδειξε δέ τινας τῶν Ληουιτῶν καὶ πυλωροὺς ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τοῦ τεμένους, ὡς μηδένα μεμιασμένον παριέναι λανθάνοντα.

(5) [156] Τούτων δ᾽ ἕκαστα διατάξας μετὰ τῶν ἑκατοντάρχων καὶ ἡγεμόνων καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ παραλαβὼν ἄγει τὸν Ἰώασον εἰς τὸ βασίλειον, καὶ καθίσαντος ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλικὸν θρόνον ἐπευφήμησέ τε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ πρὸς εὐωχίαν τραπέντες ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἑώρτασαν ἡμέρας: ἡ μέντοι γε πόλις ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν Ὀθλίαν ἀποθανεῖν ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν. [157] ἦν δὲ Ἰώασος ὅτε τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν ἐτῶν ἑπτά, μήτηρ δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν ὄνομα Σαβιὰ πατρίδος δὲ Βηρσαβεέ. πολλὴν δ᾽ ἐποιήσατο τῶν νομίμων φυλακὴν καὶ περὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείαν φιλοτιμίαν παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ὃν Ἰώδας ἐβίωσεν. [158] ἔγημε δὲ

καὶ γυναῖκας δύο παρελθὼν εἰς ἡλικίαν δόντος τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, ἐξ ὧν καὶ ἄρρενες αὐτῷ καὶ θήλειαι παῖδες ἐγένοντο. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰωάσου, ὡς τὴν τῆς Ὀθλίας ἐπιβουλὴν διέφυγε καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν, ἐν τούτοις δεδηλώκαμεν.

VIII

(1) [159] Ἀζάηλος δ' ὁ τῶν Σύρων βασιλεὺς πολεμῶν τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν Ἰηοῦ διέφθειρε τῆς πέραν Ἰορδάνου χώρας τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολὴν τῶν Ῥουβηνιτῶν καὶ Γαδιτῶν καὶ Μανασσιτῶν ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν Γαλαδῖτιν καὶ Βαταναίαν πυρπολῶν πάντα καὶ διαρπάζων καὶ τοῖς εἰς χεῖρας ἀπαντῶσι βίαν προσφέρων. [160] οὐ γὰρ ἔφθη αὐτὸν Ἰηοῦς ἀμύνασθαι κακοῦντα τὴν χώραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸ θεῖον ὑπερόπτης γενόμενος καὶ καταφρονήσας τῆς ὁσίας καὶ τῶν νόμων ἀπέθανε βασιλεύσας ἔτη τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι. ἐτάφη δὲ ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχον Ἰώαζον τὸν υἱὸν καταλιπών.

(2) [161] Τὸν δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν βασιλέα Ἰώασον ὁρμή τις ἔλαβε τὸν ναὸν ἀνακαινίσαι τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα καλέσας Ἰώδαν εἰς ἅπασαν ἐκέλευσε πέμψαι τὴν χώραν τοὺς Ληουίτας καὶ ἱερέας αἰτήσοντας ὑπὲρ ἑκάστης κεφαλῆς ἡμίσικλον ἀργύρου εἰς ἐπισκευὴν καὶ ἀνανέωσιν τοῦ ναοῦ καταλυθέντος ὑπὸ Ἰωράμου καὶ Ὀθλίας καὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτῆς. [162] ὁ δ' ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐποίησε συνεὶς ὡς οὐδεὶς προεῖται τἀργύριον, τρίτῳ δὲ καὶ εἰκοστῷ τῆς βασιλείας ἔτει μεταπεμψαμένου τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτόν τε καὶ Ληουίτας καὶ ὡς παρακούσαντας ὧν προσέταξεν αἰτιωμένου καὶ κελεύσαντος εἰς τὸ μέλλον προνοεῖσθαι τῆς ἐπισκευῆς τοῦ ναοῦ, στρατηγήματι χρῆται πρὸς τὴν συλλογὴν τῶν χρημάτων ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ᾧ τὸ πλῆθος ἡδέως ἔσχε τοιούτῳ: [163] ξύλινον κατασκευάσας θησαυρὸν καὶ κλείσας πανταχόθεν ὀπὴν αὐτῷ μίαν ἤνοιξεν. ἔπειτα θεὶς εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἕκαστον ὅσον βούλεται βάλλειν εἰς αὐτὸν διὰ τῆς ὀπῆς εἰς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν τοῦ ναοῦ. πρὸς τοῦτο πᾶς ὁ λαὸς εὖ διετέθη καὶ πολὺν ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν φιλοτιμούμενοι καὶ συνεισφέροντες ἤθροισαν. [164] κενοῦντες δὲ τὸν θησαυρὸν καὶ παρόντος τοῦ βασιλέως ἀριθμοῦντες τὸ συνειλεγμένον ὅ τε γραμματεὺς [καὶ ἱερεὺς] τῶν γαζοφυλακίων ἔπειτ' εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ἐτίθεσαν τόπον. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐποίουν ἑκάστης ἡμέρας. ὡς δ' ἀποχρῶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐδόκει τῶν χρημάτων ἔπεμψαν μισθούμενοι λατόμους καὶ οἰκοδόμους ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰώδας καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰώασος καὶ ἐπὶ ξύλα μεγάλα καὶ τῆς καλλίστης ὕλης. [165] ἐπισκευασθέντος δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τὸν ὑπολειφθέντα χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον, οὐκ ὀλίγος δὲ ἦν, εἵς τε κρατῆρας καὶ οἰνοχόας καὶ ἐκπώματα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ σκεύη κατεχρήσαντο θυσίαις τε πολυτελέσιν ὁσημέραι τὸν βωμὸν πιαίνοντες διετέλουν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐφ' ὅσον Ἰώδας χρόνον ἔζη τῆς προσηκούσης ἐτύγχανε σπουδῆς.

(3) [166] Ὡς δ᾽ ἐτελεύτησεν οὗτος ἔτη μὲν βιώσας ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα δίκαιος δὲ καὶ πάντα χρηστὸς γενόμενος, ἐτάφη δ᾽ ἐν ταῖς βασιλικαῖς θήκαις ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, ὅτι τῷ Δαυίδου γένει τὴν βασιλείαν ἀνεκτήσατο, προέδωκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεόν. [167] συνδιεφθάρησαν δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ τοῦ πλήθους πρωτεύοντες, ὥστε πλημμελεῖν εἰς τὰ δίκαια καὶ νενομισμένα παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἄριστα εἶναι. δυσχεράνας δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τῇ μεταβολῇ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πέμπει τοὺς προφήτας διαμαρτυρησομένους τε τὰ πραττόμενα καὶ παύσοντας τῆς πονηρίας αὐτούς. [168] οἱ δ᾽ ἰσχυρὸν ἔρωτα καὶ δεινὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἄρα ταύτης εἶχον, ὡς μήτε οἷς οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐξυβρίσαντες εἰς τὰ νόμιμα πανοικὶ κολασθέντες ἔπαθον, μήθ᾽ οἷς οἱ προφῆται προύλεγον πεισθέντες μετανοῆσαι καὶ μετελθεῖν ἐξ ὧν εἰς ἐκεῖνα παρανομήσαντες ἐτράπησαν: ἀλλὰ καὶ Ζαχαρίαν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Ἰώδα λίθοις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσε βληθέντα ἀποθανεῖν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς εὐεργεσιῶν αὐτοῦ λαθόμενος, [169] ὅτι τοῦ θεοῦ προφητεύειν αὐτὸν ἀποδείξαντος στὰς ἐν μέσῳ τῷ πλήθει συνεβούλευεν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ δίκαια πράττειν καὶ τιμωρίαν ὅτι μεγάλην ὑφέξουσι μὴ πειθόμενοι προύλεγε. τελευτῶν μέντοι Ζαχαρίας μάρτυρα καὶ δικαστὴν ὧν ἔπασχε τὸν θεὸν ἐποιεῖτο ἀντὶ χρηστῆς συμβουλίας καὶ ὧν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ παρέσχεν Ἰωάσῳ πικρῶς καὶ βιαίως ἀπολλύμενος.

(4) [170] Ἔδωκε μέντοι γε οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ὁ βασιλεὺς δίκην ὧν παρηνόμησεν: ἐμβαλόντος γὰρ Ἀζαήλου τοῦ Σύρων βασιλέως εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν Γίτταν καταστρεψαμένου καὶ λεηλατήσαντος ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν στρατεύειν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα φοβηθεὶς ὁ Ἰώασος πάντας ἐκκενώσας τοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ θησαυροὺς καὶ τοὺς τῶν βασιλείων καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα καθελών, ἔπεμψε τῷ Σύρῳ τούτοις ὠνούμενος τὸ μὴ πολιορκηθῆναι μηδὲ κινδυνεύειν περὶ τῶν ὅλων. [171] ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς τῇ τῶν χρημάτων ὑπερβολῇ τὴν στρατιὰν οὐκέτ᾽ ἤγαγεν ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. νόσῳ μέντοι χαλεπῇ περιπεσὼν ὁ Ἰώασος ἐπιθεμένων αὐτῷ τῶν φίλων, οἳ τὸν Ζαχαρίου θάνατον ἐκδικοῦντες τοῦ Ἰώδα παιδὸς ἐπεβούλευσαν τῷ βασιλεῖ, διεφθάρη πρὸς αὐτῶν: [172] καὶ θάπτεται μὲν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, οὐκ ἐν ταῖς θήκαις δὲ τῶν προγόνων ἀσεβὴς γενόμενος. ἐβίωσε δὲ ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ διαδέχεται Ἀμασίας ὁ παῖς.

(5) [173] Εἰκοστῷ δὲ καὶ πρώτῳ τῆς Ἰωάσου βασιλείας παρέλαβε τὴν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἡγεμονίαν Ἰώαζος ὁ τοῦ Ἰηοῦδος υἱὸς ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ καὶ κατέσχεν αὐτὴν ἔτεσιν ἑπτὰ καὶ δέκα τοῦ μὲν πατρὸς οὐδ᾽ αὐτὸς μιμητὴς γενόμενος, ἀσεβήσας δ᾽ ὅσα καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι τοῦ θεοῦ καταφρονήσαντες. [174] ἐταπείνωσε δ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ συνέστειλεν ἐκ τῆς τοσαύτης δυνάμεως ὁ τῶν Σύρων βασιλεὺς εἰς ὁπλίτας μυρίους καὶ πεντήκοντα ἱππεῖς στρατεύσας ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ πόλεις τε μεγάλας καὶ πολλὰς αὐτοῦ ἀφελόμενος καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτοῦ διαφθείρας. [175] ταῦτα δ᾽ ἔπαθεν ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν λαὸς κατὰ τὴν Ἐλισσαίου προφητείαν, ὅτε Ἀζάηλον βασιλεύσειν προεῖπε τῶν Σύρων καὶ Δαμασκηνῶν ἀποκτείναντα τὸν

δεσπότην. ὧν δὲ ἐν οὕτως ἀπόροις κακοῖς Ἰώαζος ἐπὶ δέησιν καὶ ἱκετείαν τοῦ θεοῦ κατέφυγε ῥύσασθαι τῶν Ἀζαήλου χειρῶν αὐτὸν παρακαλῶν καὶ μὴ περιιδεῖν ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνῳ γενόμενον. [176] ὁ δὲ θεὸς καὶ τὴν μετάνοιαν ὡς ἀρετὴν ἀποδεχόμενος καὶ νουθετεῖν μᾶλλον τοὺς δυναμένους τελέως μὴ ἀπολλύειν δοκοῦν αὐτῷ, δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν κινδύνων ἄδειαν. εἰρήνης δ᾽ ἡ χώρα λαβομένη ἀνέδραμέ τε πάλιν εἰς τὴν προτέραν κατάστασιν καὶ εὐθήνησε.

(6) [177] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰωάζου τελευτὴν ἐκδέχεται τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰώασος. ἕβδομον ἤδη καὶ τριακοστὸν ἔτος βασιλεύοντος Ἰωάσου τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν οὗτος ὁ Ἰώασος ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν: καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτὴν εἶχε προσηγορίαν τῷ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν βασιλεῖ: καὶ κατέσχεν αὐτὴν ἔτεσιν ἑκκαίδεκα. [178] ἀγαθὸς δ᾽ ἦν καὶ οὐδὲν ὅμοιος τῷ πατρὶ τὴν φύσιν. κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν Ἐλισσαίου τοῦ προφήτου γηραιοῦ μὲν ἤδη τυγχάνοντος εἰς δὲ νόσον ἐμπεπτωκότος ἦκεν ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπισκεψόμενος. [179] καταλαβὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν ἐσχάτοις ὄντα κλαίειν ἤρξατο [βλέποντος αὐτοῦ] καὶ ποτνιᾶσθαι καὶ πατέρα τε ἀποκαλεῖν καὶ ὅπλον: δι᾽ αὐτὸν γὰρ μηδέποτε χρήσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὅπλοις, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἐκείνου προφητείαις ἀμαχητὶ κρατεῖν τῶν πολεμίων: νῦν δ᾽ ἀπιέναι μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν, καταλείπειν δ᾽ ἐξωπλισμένον τοῖς Σύροις καὶ τοῖς ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν πολεμίοις. [180] οὐδ᾽ αὐτῷ τοίνυν ζῆν ἔτι ἀσφαλὲς ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ καλῶς ἔχειν συνεξορμᾶν αὐτῷ καὶ συναπαίρειν ἐκ τοῦ βίου. ταῦτ᾽ ὀδυρόμενον Ἐλισσαῖος παρεμυθεῖτο τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τόξον ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ κομισθὲν ἐντεῖναι τοῦτο. ποιήσαντος οὖν εὐτρεπὲς τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ τόξον, ἐπιλαβόμενον τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν τοξεύειν. [181] τρία βέλη δ᾽ αὐτοῦ προεμένου εἶτα δ᾽ ἀναπαυσαμένου “πλείω μέν, εἶπεν, ἀφεὶς ἐκ ῥιζῶν ἂν τὴν τῶν Σύρων βασιλείαν ἐξεῖλες, ἐπεὶ δὲ τρισὶν ἠρκέσθης μόνοις, τοσαύταις καὶ μάχαις κρατήσεις συμβαλὼν τοῖς Σύροις, ἵνα τὴν χώραν ἣν ἀπετέμοντο τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς ἀνακτήσῃ: καὶ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς τοῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας ἀπηλλάγη. [182] μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ ὁ προφήτης ἀπέθανεν ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ διαβόητος καὶ φανερῶς σπουδασθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ: θαυμαστὰ γὰρ καὶ παράδοξα διὰ τῆς προφητείας ἐπεδείξατο ἔργα καὶ μνήμης λαμπρᾶς παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἀξιωθέντα. ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ ταφῆς μεγαλοπρεποῦς καὶ οἵας εἰκὸς ἦν τὸν οὕτω θεοφιλῆ μεταλαβεῖν. [183] συνέβη δὲ καὶ τότε, λῃστῶν τινων ῥιψάντων εἰς τὸν Ἐλισσαίου τάφον ὃν ἦσαν ἀνῃρηκότες, τὸν νεκρὸν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ προσκολληθέντα ἀναζωπυρῆσαι. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἐλισσαίου τοῦ προφήτου, ζῶν τε ὅσα προεῖπε καὶ ὡς μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἔτι δύναμιν εἶχε θείαν, ἤδη δεδηλώκαμεν.

(7) [184] Τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Σύρων βασιλέως Ἀζαήλου εἰς Ἀδδὰν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἡ βασιλεία παραγίνεται: πρὸς τοῦτον συνάπτει πόλεμον Ἰώασος ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ τρισὶ μάχαις νικήσας αὐτὸν ἀφείλετο τὴν χώραν

ἅπασαν καὶ ὅσας ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Ἀζάηλος πόλεις καὶ κώμας τῆς Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλείας παρέλαβε. [185] τοῦτο μέντοι κατὰ τὴν Ἐλισσαίου προφητείαν ἐγένετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέβη καὶ Ἰώασον ἀποθανεῖν, ὁ μὲν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ κηδεύεται, καθῆκε δὲ εἰς Ἰώασον ἡ ἀρχὴ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ.

IX

(1) [186] Δευτέρῳ δ’ ἔτει τῆς Ἰωάσου βασιλείας τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀμασίας τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις μητρὸς ὢν Ἰωάδη τοὔνομα πολίτιδος δὲ τὸ γένος: θαυμαστῶς δὲ τοῦ δικαίου προυνόει καὶ ταῦτα νέος ὤν. παρελθὼν δ’ ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔγνω δεῖν πρῶτον Ἰωάσῳ τιμωρῆσαι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιθεμένους αὐτῷ φίλους κολάσαι. [187] καὶ τούτους μὲν συλλαβὼν ἅπαντας ἐφόνευσε, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας αὐτῶν οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο δεινὸν ἀκόλουθα ποιῶν τοῖς Μωσήους νόμοις, ὃς οὐκ ἐδικαίωσε διὰ πατέρων ἁμαρτίας τέκνα κολάζειν. [188] ἔπειτα στρατιὰν ἐπιλέξας ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς καὶ Βενιαμίδος τῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ καὶ περὶ εἴκοσι ἔτη γεγονότων καὶ συναθροίσας ὡς τριάκοντα μυριάδας τούτων μὲν ἑκατοντάρχους κατέστησε, πέμψας δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέα μισθοῦται δέκα μυριάδας ὁπλιτῶν ἑκατὸν ἀργυρίου ταλάντων: διεγνώκει γὰρ τοῖς Ἀμαληκιτῶν ἔθνεσι καὶ Ἰδουμαίων καὶ Γαβαλιτῶν ἐπιστρατεύσασθαι. [189] παρασκευασαμένου δὲ πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν καὶ μέλλοντος ἐξορμᾶν ὁ προφήτης τὸν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν στρατὸν ἀπολῦσαι συνεβούλευσεν: εἶναι γὰρ ἀσεβῆ καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἦτταν αὐτῷ προλέγειν χρησαμένῳ τούτοις συμμάχοις: περιέσεσθαι δὲ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγων αὐτοῖς ἀγωνιζόμενον βουλομένου τοῦ θεοῦ. [190] δυσφοροῦντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τῷ φθῆναι τὸν μισθὸν δεδωκέναι τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις παρῄνει ποιεῖν ὁ προφήτης ὅ τι τῷ θεῷ δοκεῖ, χρήματα δ’ αὐτῷ πολλὰ παρ’ αὐτοῦ γενήσεσθαι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀπολύει χαρίζεσθαι τὸν μισθὸν εἰπών, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς οἰκείας δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὰ προειρημένα τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐστράτευσε: [191] καὶ κρατήσας αὐτῶν τῇ μάχῃ μυρίους μὲν ἀπέκτεινε, τοσούτους δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβεν, οὓς ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην ἀγαγὼν πέτραν, ἥπερ ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀραβίαν, ἀπ’ αὐτῆς κατεκρήμνισεν, ἀπήγαγέ τε λείαν πολλὴν καὶ πλοῦτον ἄφθονον ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν. [192] Ἀμασίου δ’ ἐν τούτοις ὑπάρχοντος οἱ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν οὓς ἀπέλυσε μισθωσάμενος ἀγανακτήσαντες ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ νομίσαντες ὕβριν εἶναι τὴν ἀπόλυσιν, οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοῦτο παθεῖν μὴ κατεγνωσμένους, ἐπῆλθον αὐτοῦ τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ μέχρι Βηθσεμήρων προελθόντες διήρπασαν τὴν χώραν καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔλαβον ὑποζύγια, τρισχιλίους δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἀπέκτειναν.

(2) [193] Ἀμασίας δὲ τῇ νίκῃ καὶ τοῖς κατορθώμασιν ἐπαρθεὶς τὸν μὲν τούτων αἴτιον θεὸν αὐτῷ γενόμενον ὑπερορᾶν ἤρξατο, οὓς δ’ ἐκ τῆς Ἀμαληκιτῶν χώρας ἐκόμισεν, τούτους σεβόμενος διετέλει. [194] προσελθὼν δὲ ὁ προφήτης αὐτῷ

θαυμάζειν ἔλεγεν, εἰ τούτους ἡγεῖται θεούς, οἳ τοὺς ἰδίους παρ᾽ οἷς ἐτιμῶντο μηδὲν ὤνησαν μηδ᾽ ἐκ χειρῶν ἐρρύσαντο τῶν ἐκείνου, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπερεῖδον πολλούς τε αὐτῶν ἀπολλυμένους καὶ αὐτοὺς αἰχμαλωτισθέντας: κεκομίσθαι γὰρ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ, καθὼς ἄν τις τῶν πολεμίων τινὰ ζωγρήσας ἤγαγεν. [195] τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ ταῦτ᾽ ὀργὴν ἐκίνησε καὶ προσέταξεν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν τὸν προφήτην ἀπειλήσας αὐτὸν κολάσειν, ἂν πολυπραγμονῇ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἡσυχάζειν εἶπεν, οὐκ ἀμελήσειν δὲ ὧν ἐπικεχείρηκε νεωτερίζων τὸν θεὸν προύλεγεν. [196] Ἀμασίας δὲ κατέχειν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐπραγίαις οὐ δυνάμενος, ἃς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαβὼν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐξύβριζεν, ἀλλὰ φρονηματισθεὶς ἔγραψεν Ἰωάσῳ τῷ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεῖ κελεύων ὑπακούειν αὐτῷ σὺν ἅπαντι τῷ λαῷ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ὑπήκουσε τοῖς προγόνοις αὐτοῦ Δαυίδῃ καὶ Σολόμωνι, ἢ μὴ βουλόμενον εὐγνωμονεῖν εἰδέναι πολέμῳ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς διακριθησόμενον. [197] ἀντέγραψε δ᾽ ὁ Ἰώασος τάδε: “βασιλεὺς Ἰώασος βασιλεῖ Ἀμασίᾳ. ἦν ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ ὄρει κυπάρισσος παμμεγέθης καὶ ἄκανος. αὕτη πρὸς τὴν κυπάρισσον ἔπεμψε μνηστευομένη τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῆς πρὸς γάμον τῷ παιδί. μεταξὺ ταῦτα λέγουσαν θηρίον τι παρερχόμενον κατεπάτησε τὴν ἄκανον. [198] τοῦτο οὖν ἔσται σοι παράδειγμα τοῦ μὴ μειζόνων ἐφίεσθαι, μηδ᾽ ὅτι τὴν πρὸς Ἀμαληκίτας μάχην εὐτύχησας ἐπὶ ταύτῃ γαυρούμενος σαυτῷ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου κινδύνους ἐπισπῶ.”

(3) [199] Ταῦτα δὲ ἀναγνοὺς Ἀμασίας ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν παρωξύνθη τοῦ θεοῦ παρορμῶντος αὐτὸν οἶμαι πρὸς αὐτήν, ἵνα τῶν παρανομηθέντων εἰς αὐτὸν δίκην ἀπολάβῃ. ὡς δ᾽ ἐξήγαγε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰώασον καὶ συνάπτειν μάχην ἔμελλον, τὸ Ἀμασίου στράτευμα φόβος αἰφνίδιος καὶ κατάπληξις οἵαν θεὸς οὐκ εὐμενὴς ἐντίθησιν εἰς φυγὴν ἔτρεψε, [200] καὶ πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν διασπαρέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους αὐτῶν μονωθέντα τὸν Ἀμασίαν ληφθῆναι συνέβη πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων αἰχμάλωτον: ἠπείλησε δ᾽ αὐτῷ θάνατον Ἰώασος, εἰ μὴ πείσειε τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας ἀνοίξαντας αὐτῷ τὰς πύλας δέξασθαι μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς εἰς τὴν πόλιν. [201] καὶ Ἀμασίας μὲν ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης καὶ τοῦ περὶ τὸ ζῆν δέους ἐποίησεν εἰσδεχθῆναι τὸν πολέμιον: ὁ δὲ διακόψας τι τοῦ τείχους ὡς τετρακοσίων πηχῶν ἐφ᾽ ἅρματος εἰσήλασε διὰ τῆς διακοπῆς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τὸν Ἀμασίαν ἄγων αἰχμάλωτον. [202] κύριος δὲ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ γενόμενος τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν τούς τε τοῦ θεοῦ θησαυροὺς ἀνείλετο καὶ ὅσος ἦν τῷ Ἀμασίᾳ χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐξεφόρησε, καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸν ἀπολύσας τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἀνέζευξεν εἰς Σαμάρειαν. [203] ταῦτα δ᾽ ἐγένετο περὶ τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας ἔτει τετάρτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ τῆς Ἀμασία βασιλείας, ὃς μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων φεύγει μὲν εἰς Λάχισαν πόλιν, ἀναιρεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιβούλων πεμψάντων ἐκεῖ τοὺς ἀποκτενοῦντας αὐτόν. καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα κομίσαντες εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα βασιλικῶς ἐκήδευσαν: [204] κατέστρεψε δὲ οὕτως Ἀμασίας τὸν βίον καὶ διὰ τὸν νεωτερισμὸν τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὀλιγωρίας, βιώσας

μὲν ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ πεντήκοντα βασιλεύσας δὲ ἐννέα καὶ εἴκοσι. διαδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν ὁ παῖς Ὀζίας τοὔνομα.

X

(1) [205] Πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς Ἀμασία βασιλείας ἐβασίλευσε τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ὁ Ἰωάσου υἱὸς Ἱερόβαμος ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα. οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰ μὲν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ὑβριστὴς καὶ παράνομος δεινῶς ἐγένετο εἴδωλά τε σεβόμενος καὶ πολλοῖς ἀτόποις καὶ ξένοις ἐγχειρῶν ἔργοις, τῷ δὲ λαῷ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν μυρίων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος ὑπῆρχε. [206] τούτῳ προεφήτευσέ τις Ἰωνᾶς, ὡς δεῖ πολεμήσαντα τοῖς Σύροις αὐτὸν κρατῆσαι τῆς ἐκείνων δυνάμεως καὶ πλατῦναι τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν τοῖς μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἄρκτον μέρεσιν ἕως Ἀμάθου πόλεως, τοῖς δὲ κατὰ τὴν μεσημβρίαν ἕως τῆς Ἀσφαλτίδος λίμνης: [207] τὸ γὰρ ἀρχαῖον οἱ ὅροι τῆς Χαναναίας ἦσαν οὗτοι, καθὼς ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἰησοῦς περιώρισε. στρατεύσας οὖν ἐπὶ τοὺς Σύρους ὁ Ἱερόβαμος καταστρέφεται πᾶσαν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν, ὡς προεφήτευσεν Ἰωνᾶς.

(2) [208] Ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ἡγησάμην τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῶν πραγμάτων παραδώσειν ὑπεσχημένος ὅσα καὶ περὶ τούτου τοῦ προφήτου εὗρον ἐν ταῖς Ἑβραικαῖς βίβλοις ἀναγεγραμμένα διεξελθεῖν: κελευσθεὶς γὰρ οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πορευθῆναι μὲν εἰς τὴν Νινύου βασιλείαν κηρῦξαι δ' ἐκεῖ γενόμενον ἐν τῇ πόλει ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολέσει, δείσας οὐκ ἀπῆλθεν, ἀλλ' ἀποδιδράσκει τὸν θεὸν εἰς Ἰόπην πόλιν καὶ πλοῖον εὑρὼν ἐμβὰς εἰς Ταρσὸν ἔπλει τῆς Κιλικίας. [209] ἐπιγενομένου δὲ χειμῶνος σφοδροτάτου καὶ κινδυνεύοντος καταδῦναι τοῦ σκάφους οἱ μὲν ναῦται καὶ οἱ κυβερνῆται καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ναύκληρος εὐχὰς ἐποιοῦντο χαριστηρίους, εἰ διαφύγοιεν τὴν θάλασσαν, ὁ δὲ Ἰωνᾶς συγκαλύψας αὐτὸν ἐβέβλητο μηδὲν ὧν τοὺς ἄλλους ἑώρα ποιοῦντας μιμούμενος. [210] αὔξοντος δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον τοῦ κλύδωνος καὶ βιαιοτέρας γενομένης ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς θαλάσσης ὑπονοήσαντες, ὡς ἐνδέχεταί τινα τῶν ἐμπλεόντων αἴτιον αὐτοῖς εἶναι τοῦ χειμῶνος, συνέθεντο κλήρῳ τοῦτον ὅστις ποτὲ ἦν μαθεῖν. [211] κληρωσαμένων οὖν ὁ προφήτης λαγχάνει πυνθανομένων τε πόθεν τε εἴη καὶ τί μετέρχεται τὸ μὲν γένος ἔλεγεν Ἑβραῖος εἶναι προφήτης τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ: συνεβούλευσεν οὖν αὐτοῖς, εἰ θέλουσιν ἀποδράναι τὸν παρόντα κίνδυνον, ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος: αἴτιον γὰρ αὐτοῖς εἶναι τοῦ χειμῶνος. [212] οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐκ ἐτόλμων κρίναντες ἀσέβημα ξένον ἄνθρωπον καὶ πεπιστευκότα αὐτοῖς τὸ ζῆν εἰς φανερὰν αὐτοὺς ἀπώλειαν ἐκρῖψαι, τελευταῖον δ' ὑπερβιαζομένου τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ ὅσον οὔπω μέλλοντος βαπτίζεσθαι τοῦ σκάφους, ὑπό τε τοῦ προφήτου παρορμηθέντες αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους τοῦ περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας ῥίπτουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. [213] καὶ ὁ μὲν χειμὼν ἐστάλη, τὸν δὲ λόγος ὑπὸ τοῦ κήτους καταποθέντα τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ

τοσαύτας νύκτας εἰς τὸν Εὔξεινον ἐκβρασθῆναι πόντον ζῶντα καὶ μηδὲν τοῦ σώματος λελωβημένον. [214] ἔνθα τοῦ θεοῦ δεηθεὶς συγγνώμην αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν τῶν ἡμαρτημένων ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Νίνου πόλιν καὶ σταθεὶς εἰς ἐπήκοον ἐκήρυσσεν, ὡς μετ᾽ ὀλίγον πάλιν ἀποβαλοῦσι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ ταῦτα δηλώσας ὑπέστρεψε. διεξῆλθον δὲ τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ διήγησιν, ὡς εὗρον ἀναγεγραμμένην.

(3) [215] Ἱερόβαμος δ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ πάσης εὐδαιμονίας τὸν βίον διαγαγὼν καὶ ἄρξας ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα ἐτελεύτησε καὶ θάπτεται μὲν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ, διαδέχεται δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν υἱὸς Ζαχαρίας. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ Ὀζίας ὁ τοῦ Ἀμασία υἱός, [216] ἔτος ἤδη τέταρτον πρὸς τοῖς δέκα βασιλεύοντος Ἱεροβοάμου, τῶν δύο φυλῶν ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις μητρὸς ὢν Ἀχίας μὲν τοὔνομα ἀστῆς δὲ τὸ γένος. ἀγαθὸς δὲ ἦν καὶ δίκαιος τὴν φύσιν καὶ μεγαλόφρων καὶ προνοῆσαι τῶν πραγμάτων φιλοπονώτατος. [217] στρατευσάμενος δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνους καὶ νικήσας μάχῃ πόλεις αὐτῶν ἔλαβε κατὰ κράτος Γίτταν καὶ Ἰάμνειαν καὶ κατέσκαψεν αὐτῶν τὰ τείχη. μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν στρατείαν ἐπῆλθε τοῖς τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ γειτνιῶσιν Ἄραψι καὶ πόλιν κτίσας ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης ἐγκατέστησεν αὐτῇ φρουράν. [218] ἔπειτα τοὺς Ἀμμανίτας καταστρεψάμενος καὶ φόρους αὐτοῖς ὁρίσας τελεῖν καὶ πάντα τὰ μέχρι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὅρων χειρωσάμενος τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἤρχετο ποιεῖσθαι τὸ λοιπὸν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν: ὅσα γὰρ τῶν τειχῶν ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου καταβέβλητο ἢ ὑπὸ τῆς ὀλιγωρίας τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων, ταῦτά τε ἀνῳκοδόμει καὶ κατεσκεύαζεν, ὅσα τε ἦν καταβεβλημένα ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέως, ὅτε τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ λαβὼν αἰχμάλωτον τὸν Ἀμασίαν εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. [219] προσῳκοδόμησε δὲ καὶ πύργους πολλοὺς πεντήκοντα πηχῶν ἕκαστον. καὶ φρουροὺς δὲ ἐνετείχισε τοῖς ἐρήμοις χωρίοις καὶ πολλοὺς ὀχετοὺς ὤρυξεν ὑδάτων. ἦν δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θρεμμάτων ἄπειρόν τι πλῆθος: εὐφυὴς γὰρ ἦν ἡ χώρα πρὸς νομάς. [220] γεωργικὸς δὲ ὢν σφόδρα τῆς γῆς ἐπεμελεῖτο φυτοῖς αὐτὴν καὶ παντοδαποῖς τιθηνῶν σπέρμασι. στρατιᾶς δ᾽ εἶχεν ἐπιλέκτου περὶ αὐτὸν μυριάδας ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα, ἧς ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν καὶ ταξίαρχοι καὶ χιλίαρχοι γενναῖοι καὶ τὴν ἀλκὴν ἀνυπόστατοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν δισχίλιοι. [221] διέταξε δ᾽ εἰς φάλαγγας τὴν ὅλην στρατιὰν καὶ ὥπλισε ῥομφαίαν δοὺς ἑκάστῳ καὶ θυρεοὺς καὶ θώρακας χαλκέους καὶ τόξα καὶ σφενδόνας. ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις μηχανήματα πολλὰ πρὸς πολιορκίας κατεσκεύασε πετρόβολά τε καὶ δορύβολα καὶ ἅρπαγας [καὶ ἀρτῆρας] καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ὅμοια.

(4) [222] Γενόμενος δ᾽ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ συντάξει καὶ παρασκευῇ διεφθάρη τὴν διάνοιαν ὑπὸ τύφου καὶ χαυνωθεὶς θνητῇ περιουσίᾳ τῆς ἀθανάτου καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντα διαρκοῦς τὸν χρόνον ἰσχύος ὠλιγώρησεν: αὕτη δὲ ἦν ἡ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβεια καὶ τὸ τηρεῖν τὰ νόμιμα. [223] ὤλισθε δὲ ὑπ᾽ εὐπραξίας καὶ κατηνέχθη πρὸς τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἁμαρτήματα, πρὸς ἃ κἀκεῖνον ἡ τῶν ἀγαθῶν λαμπρότης καὶ

τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πραγμάτων οὐ δυνηθέντα προστῆναι καλῶς αὐτῶν ἤγαγεν. ἐνστάσης δ᾽ ἡμέρας ἐπισήμου καὶ πάνδημον ἑορτὴν ἐχούσης ἐνδὺς ἱερατικὴν στολὴν εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ τέμενος θυσιάσων ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ βωμοῦ τῷ θεῷ. [224] τοῦ δ᾽ ἀρχιερέως Ἀζαρία ὄντων σὺν αὐτῷ ἱερέων ὀγδοήκοντα κωλύοντος αὐτόν, οὐ γὰρ ἐξὸν ἐπιθύειν εἶπον, μόνοις δ᾽ ἐφεῖσθαι τοῦτο ποιεῖν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀαρῶνος γένους, καταβοώντων δ᾽ ἐξιέναι καὶ μὴ παρανομεῖν εἰς τὸν θεόν, ὀργισθεὶς ἠπείλησεν αὐτοῖς θάνατον, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄξουσι. [225] μεταξὺ δὲ σεισμὸς ἐκλόνησε τὴν γῆν μέγας καὶ διαστάντος τοῦ ναοῦ φέγγος ἡλίου λαμπρὸν ἐξέλαμψε καὶ τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως ὄψει προσέπεσεν, ὡς τῷ μὲν εὐθέως λέπραν ἐπιδραμεῖν, πρὸ δὲ τῆς πόλεως πρὸς τῇ καλουμένῃ Ἐρωγῇ τοῦ ὄρους ἀπορραγῆναι τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν δύσιν καὶ κυλισθὲν τέσσαρας σταδίους ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνατολικὸν ὄρος στῆναι, ὡς τάς τε παρόδους ἐμφραγῆναι καὶ τοὺς παραδείσους τοὺς βασιλικούς. [226] ἐπεὶ δὲ κατειλημμένην τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπὸ τῆς λέπρας εἶδον οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἔφραζόν τε αὐτῷ τὴν συμφορὰν καὶ ἐκέλευον ἐξιέναι τῆς πόλεως ὡς ἐναγῆ. ὁ δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ αἰσχύνης τε τοῦ συμβεβηκότος δεινοῦ καὶ τοῦ μηκέτ᾽ αὐτῷ παρρησίαν εἶναι τὸ κελευόμενον ἐποίει, τῆς ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον διανοίας καὶ τῶν διὰ τοῦτο εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἀσεβημάτων ταλαίπωρον οὕτως καὶ οἰκτρὰν ὑπομείνας δίκην. [227] καὶ χρόνον μέν τινα διῆγεν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἰδιώτην ἀποζῶν βίον τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῷ Ἰωθάμου τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντος, ἔπειτα ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ ἀθυμίας τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἀπέθανεν, ἔτη μὲν βιώσας ὀκτὼ καὶ ἑξήκοντα, τούτων δὲ βασιλεύσας πεντηκονταδύο. ἐκηδεύθη δὲ μόνος ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ κήποις.

XI

(1) [228] Ὁ δὲ τοῦ Ἱεροβάμου παῖς Ζαχαρίας ἓξ μῆνας βασιλεύσας τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν δολοφονηθεὶς ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ φίλου τινὸς Σελλήμου μὲν τοὔνομα Ἰαβήσου δὲ υἱοῦ, ὃς καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν μετ᾽ αὐτὸν παραλαβὼν οὐ πλείονα χρόνον ἡμερῶν αὐτὴν κατέσχε τριάκοντα. [229] ὁ γὰρ στρατηγὸς Μαναῆμος κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ὢν ἐν Θάρσῃ πόλει καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ζαχαρίαν ἀκούσας ἄρας μετὰ πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Σαμάρειαν, καὶ συμβαλὼν εἰς μάχην ἀναιρεῖ τὸν Σέλλημον καὶ βασιλέα καταστήσας ἑαυτὸν ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Θαψὰν παραγίνεται πόλιν. [230] οἱ δ᾽ ἐν αὐτῇ τὰς πύλας μοχλῷ κλείσαντες οὐκ εἰσεδέξαντο τὸν βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ ἀμυνόμενος αὐτοὺς τὴν πέριξ ἐδῄου χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος λαμβάνει πολιορκίᾳ. [231] φέρων δὲ χαλεπῶς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν Θαψίων πραχθεῖσι πάντας αὐτοὺς διεχρήσατο μηδὲ νηπίων φεισάμενος ὠμότητος ὑπερβολὴν οὐ καταλιπὼν οὐδὲ ἀγριότητος: ἃ γὰρ οὐδὲ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων τινὰς συγγνωστὸν διαθεῖναι γενομένους ὑποχειρίους, ταῦτα τοὺς ὁμοφύλους οὗτος εἰργάσατο. [232] βασιλεύσας οὖν τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ὁ Μαναῆμος

ἐπ᾽ ἔτη μὲν δέκα σκαιὸς καὶ πάντων ὠμότατος διέμενεν ὤν, στρατεύσαντος δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν Φούλου τοῦ Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέως εἰς μὲν ἀγῶνα καὶ μάχην οὐκ ἀπαντᾷ τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις, πείσας δὲ χίλια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου λαβόντα ἀναχωρῆσαι διαλύεται τὸν πόλεμον. [233] τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιον τοῦτο συνήνεγκε τὸ πλῆθος Μαναήμῳ πραχθὲν κατὰ κεφαλὴν δραχμὰς πεντήκοντα. τελευτήσας δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα κηδεύεται μὲν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ, καταλείπει δὲ τῆς βασιλείας τὸν υἱὸν Φακέαν διάδοχον, ὃς τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς κατακολουθήσας ὠμότητι δυσὶν ἔτεσι μόνοις ἦρξεν. [234] ἔπειτα δολοφονηθεὶς ἐν συμποσίῳ μετὰ φίλων ἀπέθανε Φακέου τινός, ὃς ἦν χιλίαρχος, ἐπιβουλεύσαντος αὐτῷ, παιδὸς δὲ Ῥομελία. κατασχὼν δὲ καὶ οὗτος ὁ Φακέας τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔτεσιν εἴκοσιν ἀσεβής τε ἦν καὶ παράνομος. [235] ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς Θαγλαθφαλλάσαρ τοὔνομα ἐπιστρατευσάμενος τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις καὶ τήν τε Γαλαδηνὴν ἅπασαν καταστρεψάμενος καὶ τὴν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου χώραν καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτῇ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν καλουμένην καὶ Κύδισσα καὶ Ἄσωρα τοὺς οἰκήτορας αἰχμαλωτίσας μετέστησεν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέως ἐν τούτοις ἡμῖν δεδηλώσθω.

(2) [236] Ἰωσᾶς δὲ Ὀζία παῖς ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκ μητρὸς μὲν ἀστῆς γεγονὼς καλουμένης δὲ Ἰεράσης. οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐδεμιᾶς ἀρετῆς ἀπελείπετο, ἀλλ᾽ εὐσεβὴς μὲν τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, δίκαιος δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ὑπῆρχεν, ἐπιμελὴς δὲ τῶν κατὰ πόλιν: [237] ὅσα γὰρ ἐπισκευῆς ἐδεῖτο καὶ κόσμου ταῦτα φιλοτίμως ἐξειργάσατο, στοὰς μὲν τὰς ἐν τῷ ναῷ ἱδρύσας καὶ προπύλαια, τὰ δὲ καταπεπτωκότα τῶν τειχῶν ἀνέστησε πύργους παμμεγέθεις καὶ δυσαλώτους οἰκοδομήσας, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἴ τι κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν ἠμέλητο πολλὴν ἐπιστροφὴν ἐποιεῖτο. [238] στρατευσάμενος δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμμανίτας καὶ κρατήσας αὐτῶν τῇ μάχῃ προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς φόρους κατὰ πᾶν ἔτος αὐτῷ τελεῖν ἑκατὸν τάλαντα καὶ σίτου κόρους μυρίους, τοσούτους δὲ καὶ κριθῆς. ηὔξησε δ᾽ οὕτω τὴν βασιλείαν, ὥστε ἀκαταφρόνητον μὲν αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων εἶναι, τοῖς δ᾽ οἰκείοις εὐδαίμονα.

(3) [239] Ἦν δέ τις κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν προφήτης Ναοῦμος ὄνομα, ὃς περὶ τῆς Ἀσσυρίων καταστροφῆς καὶ τῆς Νίνου προφητεύων ἔλεγεν, ὡς ἔσται Νινύας κολυμβήθρα ὕδατος κινουμένη: οὕτως καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἅπας ταρασσόμενος καὶ κλυδωνιζόμενος οἰχήσεται φεύγων λεγόντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους “στῆτε καὶ μείνατε καὶ χρυσὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄργυρον ἁρπάσατε.” ἔσται δ᾽ οὐδεὶς βουλησόμενος: [240] σώζειν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐθελήσουσι τὰς ψυχὰς μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ κτήματα: δεινὴ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἔρις ἕξει καὶ θρῆνος πάρεσίς τε τῶν μελῶν, αἵ τε ὄψεις ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου μέλαιναι τελέως αὐτοῖς γενήσονται. [241] ποῦ δὲ ἔσται τὸ κατοικητήριον τῶν λεόντων καὶ ἡ μήτηρ σκύμνων; λέγει δέ σοι ὁ θεός, Νινύα, ὅτι ἀφανιῶ σε καὶ οὐκέτι λέοντες ἐκ [242] σοῦ πορευόμενοι ἐπιτάξουσι τῷ κόσμῳ.” καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις ἐπροφήτευσεν οὗτος ὁ προφήτης περὶ Νινύης, ἃ λέγειν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην, ἵνα δὲ μὴ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν

ὀχληρὸς δοκῶ παρέλιπον. συνέβη δὲ πάντα τὰ προειρημένα περὶ Νινύης μετὰ ἔτη ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα. περὶ μὲν τούτων ἀποχρώντως ἡμῖν δεδήλωται.

XII

(1) [243] Ὁ δὲ Ἰώθαμος μετήλλαξεν ἔτη βιώσας ἓν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα βασιλεύσας δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν ἑκκαίδεκα, θάπτεται δὲ ἐν ταῖς βασιλικαῖς θήκαις. ἔρχεται δ' εἰς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἄχαζον ἡ βασιλεία, ὃς ἀσεβέστατος εἰς τὸν θεὸν γενόμενος καὶ τοὺς πατρίους παραβὰς νόμους τοὺς Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέας ἐμιμήσατο βωμοὺς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀναστήσας καὶ θύων ἐπ' αὐτῶν τοῖς εἰδώλοις, οἷς καὶ ἴδιον ὡλοκαύτωσε παῖδα κατὰ τὰ Χαναναίων ἔθη, καὶ τούτοις ἄλλα παραπλήσια διεπράττετο. [244] ἔχοντος δ' οὕτως καὶ μεμηνότος ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁ τῶν Σύρων καὶ Δαμασκηνῶν βασιλεὺς Ῥαασὴς καὶ Φακέας ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν: φίλοι γὰρ ἦσαν: καὶ συνελάσαντες αὐτὸν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐπὶ πολὺν ἐπολιόρκουν χρόνον διὰ τὴν τῶν τειχῶν ὀχυρότητα μηδὲν ἀνύοντες. [245] ὁ δὲ τῶν Σύρων βασιλεὺς λαβὼν τὴν πρὸς τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσσῃ πόλιν Ἠλαθοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἀποκτείνας ἐγκατῴκισεν αὐτῇ Σύρους. τοὺς δ' ἐντοῖς φρουρίοις ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς πέριξ Ἰουδαίους διαφθείρας καὶ λείαν πολλὴν ἀπελάσας εἰς Δαμασκὸν μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀνέζευξεν. [246] ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν βασιλεὺς γνοὺς τοὺς Σύρους ἐπ' οἴκου κεχωρηκότας καὶ νομίσας ἀξιόμαχος εἶναι τῷ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεῖ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξήγαγε, καὶ συμβαλὼν ἐνικήθη κατὰ μῆνιν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἣν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀσεβήμασιν αὐτοῦ πολλοῖς ἅμα καὶ μεγάλοις εἶχεν: [247] δώδεκα γὰρ μυριάδες κατ' ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἀνῃρέθησαν, ὧν ὁ στρατηγὸς Ζαχάριν τὸν υἱὸν ἀπέκτεινεν ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀχάζου Ἀμασίας ὄνομα, καὶ τὸν ἐπίτροπον τῆς βασιλείας ἁπάσης Ἐρκὰμ καὶ τὸν τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς στρατηγὸν Ἐλικὰν αἰχμάλωτον ἔλαβον, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας ἀπήγαγον, καὶ πολλὴν λείαν διαρπάσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς Σαμάρειαν.

(2) [248] Ὠδηδὰς δέ τις, ὃς κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ προφήτης ὑπῆρχεν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ, τῷ στρατῷ πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἀπαντήσας μεγάλῃ βοῇ τὴν νίκην αὐτοῖς οὐ διὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ἰσχὺν αὐτῶν ἐδήλου γενέσθαι, διὰ δὲ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ χόλον, ὃν εἶχεν ἐπ' Ἄχαζον τὸν βασιλέα. [249] καὶ κατεμέμφετο τῇ μὲν εὐπραγίᾳ τῇ κατ' αὐτοῦ μὴ ἀρκεσθέντας, ἀλλὰ τολμήσαντας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς καὶ Βενιαμίτιδος συγγενεῖς ὄντας αἰχμαλωτίσαι. συνεβούλευέ τε αὐτοῖς ἀπολῦσαι τούτους εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπαθεῖς: ἀπειθήσαντας γὰρ τῷ θεῷ δίκην ὑφέξειν. [250] ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν λαὸς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συνελθὼν ἐπεσκέπτετο περὶ τούτων. ἀναστὰς δέ τις Βαραχίας ὄνομα τῶν εὐδοκιμούντων ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ ἄλλοι μετ' αὐτοῦ τρεῖς ἔλεγον οὐκ ἐπιτρέψειν τοῖς ὁπλίταις εἰσαγαγεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἵνα μὴ πάντες ἀπολώμεθα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ: μόνον γὰρ ἀπόχρη τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡμᾶς

ἐξαμαρτεῖν, ὡς οἱ προφῆται λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ καινότερα τούτων ἀσεβήματα [251] δρᾶν.” ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατιῶται συνεχώρησαν ἐκείνοις ποιεῖν ὃ ἐδόκει συμφέρειν. παραλαβόντες οὖν οἱ προειρημένοι ἄνδρες τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἔλυσάν τε καὶ ἐπιμελείας ἠξίωσαν καὶ δόντες ἐφόδια εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπέλυσαν ἀβλαβεῖς, οὐδὲν δ᾽ ἧττον καὶ τέσσαρες αὐτοῖς συνῆλθον καὶ μέχρις Ἰεριχοῦντος προπέμψαντες οὐκ ἄπωθεν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἀνέστρεψαν εἰς Σαμάρειαν.

(3) [252] Ἄχαζος δ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς ταῦτα παθὼν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν πέμψας πρὸς τὸν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέα Θαγλαθφαλλασάρην συμμαχίαν αὐτὸν παρασχεῖν παρεκάλει πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας καὶ Σύρους καὶ Δαμασκηνοὺς χρήματα πολλὰ δώσειν ὑπισχνούμενος, ἔπεμψε δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ λαμπρὰς δωρεάς. [253] ὁ δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων ἀφικομένων ὡς αὐτὸν ἦκε σύμμαχος Ἀχάζῳ, καὶ στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τοὺς Σύρους τήν τε χώραν αὐτῶν ἐπόρθησε καὶ τὴν Δαμασκὸν κατὰ κράτος εἷλε καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Ἀρασὴν ἀπέκτεινε. τοὺς δὲ Δαμασκηνοὺς ἀπῴκισεν εἰς τὴν ἄνω Μηδίαν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων μεταστήσας τινὰς εἰς τὴν Δαμασκὸν κατῴκισε. [254] τὴν δὲ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν γῆν κακώσας πολλοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς αἰχμαλώτους συνέλαβε. ταῦτ᾽ αὐτοῦ διαπραξαμένου τοὺς Σύρους ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄρας τὸν χρυσὸν ὃς ἦν ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς θησαυροῖς καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον τὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ εἴ τι κάλλιστον ἀνάθημα, τοῦτο βαστάσας ἦκεν ἔχων εἰς Δαμασκὸν καὶ ἔδωκε τῷ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεῖ κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας: καὶ πάντων αὐτῷ χάριν ἔχειν ὁμολογήσας ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. [255] ἦν δ᾽ οὕτως ἀνόητος καὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἀσυλλόγιστος ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὥστε οὐδὲ πολεμούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Σύρων ἐπαύσατο τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῶν προσκυνῶν, ἀλλὰ διετέλει τούτους σεβόμενος ὡς παρεξομένους αὐτῷ τὴν νίκην. [256] ἡττηθεὶς δὲ πάλιν τοὺς Ἀσσυρίων ἤρξατο τιμᾶν θεοὺς καὶ πάντας ἐᾠκει μᾶλλον τιμήσων ἢ τὸν πατρῷον καὶ ἀληθῶς θεόν, ὃς αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ἥττης ὀργιζόμενος ἦν αἴτιος. [257] ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δ᾽ ὀλιγωρίας καὶ καταφρονήσεως ἦλθεν, ὡς καὶ τέλεον ἀποκλεῖσαι τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὰς νενομισμένας ἀπαγορεῦσαι θυσίας ἐπιφέρειν καὶ περιδῦσαι τῶν ἀναθημάτων αὐτόν. ταῦθ᾽ ὑβρίσας τὸν θεὸν ἐτελεύτησεν ἔτη μὲν βιώσας ἓξ καὶ τριάκοντα, βασιλεύσας δ᾽ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἑκκαίδεκα, τὸν δ᾽ υἱὸν Ἐζεκίαν διάδοχον καταλιπών.

XIII

(1) [258] Ἀπέθανε δ᾽ ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς Φακέας ἐπιβουλεύσαντος αὐτῷ φίλου τινὸς Ὡσήου ὄνομα, ὃς κατασχὼν τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπ᾽ ἔτη ἐννέα πονηρός τε ἦν καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὀλίγωρος. [259] στρατεύει δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς Σαλμανάσσας καὶ κρατήσας αὐτοῦ, τὸν γὰρ θεὸν οὐκ εἶχεν Ὡσῆος εὐμενῆ, καὶ σύμμαχον ἐποιήσατο καὶ φόρους ἐπέταξεν αὐτῷ τελεῖν ὡρισμένους. [260] ἔτει δὲ τετάρτῳ Ὡσήου τῆς

βασιλείας ἐβασίλευσεν Ἐζεκίας ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἀχάζου υἱὸς καὶ Ἀβίας ἀστῆς τὸ γένος. φύσις δ' ἦν αὐτῷ χρηστὴ καὶ δικαία καὶ εὐσεβής: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο πρῶτον εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν παρελθὼν οὐδ' ἀναγκαιότερον οὐδὲ συμφορώτερον αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ὑπέλαβε τοῦ θρησκεύειν τὸν θεόν, ἀλλὰ συγκαλέσας τὸν λαὸν καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς Ληουίτας ἐδημηγόρησεν ἐν αὐτοῖς λέγων: [261] "οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε μέν, ὡς διὰ τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ἁμαρτίας τοὐμοῦ παραβάντος τὴν πρὸς θεὸν ὁσίαν καὶ τιμὴν πολλῶν ἐπειράθητε καὶ μεγάλων κακῶν, διαφθαρέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ ἀναπεισθέντες οὓς αὐτὸς ἐδοκίμαζεν εἶναι θεοὺς τούτοις προσκυνεῖν: [262] παραινῶ δὲ ὑμῖν ἔργῳ μεμαθηκότας, ὡς ἔστι δεινὸν τὸ ἀσεβεῖν, τούτου μὲν ἤδη λήθην ποιήσασθαι, καθᾶραι δ' αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν προτέρων μιασμάτων τούς τε ἱερεῖς καὶ Ληουίτας καὶ συνελθόντας οὕτως ἀνοῖξαι τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ καθάραντας αὐτὸ ταῖς ἐξ ἔθους θυσίαις εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν καὶ πάτριον ἀνακαλέσασθαι τιμήν. οὕτως γὰρ τὸν θεὸν εὐμενῆ ποιήσαιμεν ἀφέντα τὴν ὀργήν."

(2) [263] Ταῦτ' εἰπόντος τοῦ βασιλέως οἱ ἱερεῖς ἀνοίγουσί τε τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἀνοίξαντες τὰ σκεύη τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὰ μιάσματα ἐκβαλόντες τὰς ἐξ ἔθους τῷ βωμῷ θυσίας ἐπέφερον. διαπέμψας δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν ὑπ' αὐτὸν χώραν ἐκάλει τὸν λαὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τὴν τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτὴν ἄξοντα: πολὺν γὰρ ἐκλελοίπει χρόνον διὰ τὰς τῶν προειρημένων βασιλέων παρανομίας. [264] ἐξαπέστειλε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας προτρεπόμενος αὐτοὺς ἀφέντας τὸν ἄρτι βίον εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐπανελθεῖν συνήθειαν καὶ σέβειν τὸν θεόν: καὶ γὰρ ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτοῖς παραγενομένοις εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τὴν τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτὴν ἄγειν καὶ συμπανηγυρίζειν αὐτοῖς. ταῦτα δ' ἔλεγε παραινεῖν, οὐχ ὅπως ὑπακούσωσιν αὐτοῦ εἰ μὴ θέλουσι, τοῦ δ' ἐκείνοις συμφέροντος ἕνεκα: μακαρίους γὰρ ἔσεσθαι. [265] οἱ δὲ Ἰσραηλῖται παραγενομένων τῶν πρέσβεων καὶ δηλωσάντων αὐτοῖς τὰ παρὰ τοῦ ἰδίου βασιλέως οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐπείσθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις ὡς ἀνοήτους ἐχλεύασαν, καὶ τοὺς προφήτας δὲ ὁμοίως ταῦτα παραινοῦντας καὶ προλέγοντας ἃ πείσονται μὴ μεταθέμενοι πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν τοῦ θεοῦ διέπτυον καὶ τελευταῖον συλλαβόντες αὐτοὺς ἀπέκτειναν. [266] καὶ οὐδὲ μέχρι τούτων αὐτοῖς ἤρκεσε παρανομοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ χείρω τῶν προειρημένων ἐπενοοῦντο καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσαντο, πρὶν ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτοὺς ἀμυνόμενος τῆς ἀσεβείας ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν ὑποχειρίους. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων αὖθις δηλώσομεν. [267] πολλοὶ μέντοι τῆς Μανασσίτιδος φυλῆς καὶ Ζαβούλου καὶ Ἰσσαχάρου πεισθέντες οἷς οἱ προφῆται παρῄνεσαν εἰς εὐσέβειαν μετεβάλοντο. καὶ οὗτοι πάντες εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς Ἐζεκίαν συνέδραμον, ὅπως τῷ θεῷ προσκυνήσωσιν.

(3) [268] Ἀφικομένων δὲ τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἐζεκίας ἀναβὰς εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ἔθυσεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ταύρους ἑπτὰ καὶ κριοὺς τοσούτους καὶ ἄρνας ἑπτὰ καὶ ἐρίφους τοσούτους. ἐπιθέντες δὲ τὰς χεῖρας ταῖς

κεφαλαῖς τῶν ἱερείων αὐτός τε ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καλλιερεῖν ἐφῆκαν. [269] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔθυόν τε καὶ ὡλοκαύτουν, οἱ δὲ Λευῖται περιεστῶτες ἐν κύκλῳ μετὰ τῶν μουσικῶν ὀργάνων ᾖδον ὕμνους εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἔψαλλον ὡς ἐδιδάχθησαν ὑπὸ Δαυίδου, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἱερεῖς βυκάνας ἔχοντες ἐπεσάλπιζον τοῖς ὑμνῳδοῦσι. τούτων δὲ γινομένων ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ῥίψαντες αὐτοὺς ὅ τε βασιλεὺς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος προσεκύνουν τὸν θεόν. [270] ἔπειτα θύει μὲν βοῦς ἑβδομήκοντα κριοὺς ἑκατὸν ἄρνας διακοσίους, τῷ πλήθει δὲ πρὸς εὐωχίαν ἐχαρίσατο βοῦς μὲν ἑξακοσίους τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ θρέμματα τρισχίλια: καὶ πάντα μὲν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἀκολούθως ἐποίησαν τῷ νόμῳ. τούτοις δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡδόμενος εὐωχεῖτο μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ τῷ θεῷ χάριν ἔχειν ὁμολογῶν. [271] ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτῆς θύσαντες τὴν λεγομένην φάσκα τὰς ἄλλας τὸ λοιπὸν θυσίας ἐπετέλουν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἑπτά. τῷ δὲ πλήθει πάρεξ ὧν ἐκαλλιέρησαν αὐτοὶ ταύρους μὲν δισχιλίους θρέμματα δὲ ἑπτακισχίλια ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐχαρίσατο. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἐποίησαν: χιλίους μὲν γὰρ ταύρους ἔδοσαν αὐτοῖς θρέμματα δὲ χίλια καὶ τεσσαράκοντα. [272] καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀπὸ Σολόμωνος τοῦ βασιλέως οὐκ ἀχθεῖσα ἡ ἑορτὴ τότε πρῶτον λαμπρῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως ἐπετελέσθη. ὡς δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν αὐτοῖς πέρας εἶχεν, ἐξελθόντες εἰς τὴν χώραν ἤγνισαν αὐτήν: [273] καὶ τὴν πόλιν δὲ παντὸς ἐκάθηραν μιάσματος εἰδώλων, τάς τε καθημερινὰς θυσίας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιτελεῖσθαι διέταξε κατὰ τὸν νόμον, καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ Ληουίταις τὰς δεκάτας ὥρισε παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους δίδοσθαι καὶ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τῶν καρπῶν, ἵν' ἀεὶ τῇ θρησκείᾳ παραμένωσι καὶ τῆς θεραπείας ὦσιν ἀχώριστοι τοῦ θεοῦ. [274] καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος συνεισέφερε παντοδαπὸν καρπὸν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ Λευίταις, ἀποθήκας δὲ καὶ ταμιεῖα τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς κατασκευάσας ἑκάστῳ διένειμε τῶν ἱερέων καὶ Ληουιτῶν καὶ παισὶν αὐτῶν καὶ γυναιξί: [275] καὶ οὕτω πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν θρησκείαν ἐπανῆλθον. ταῦτα δὲ τὸν προειρημένον τρόπον ὁ βασιλεὺς καταστησάμενος πόλεμον ἐξήνεγκε πρὸς τοὺς Παλαιστίνους καὶ νικήσας κατέσχεν ἁπάσας ἀπὸ Γάζης μέχρι Γίττης πόλεις τῶν πολεμίων. ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς πέμψας ἠπείλει πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ καταστρέψεσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, εἰ μὴ τοὺς φόρους, οὓς ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ τὸ πρῶτον ἐτέλει, τούτους ἀποδώσει. [276] Ἐζεκίας δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀπειλῶν οὐκ ἐφρόντισ', ἐθάρρει δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ τῷ προφήτῃ Ἡσαίᾳ, παρ' οὗ πάντ' ἀκριβῶς τὰ μέλλοντα ἐπυνθάνετο. καὶ ὧδε μὲν ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐχέτω τὰ περὶ τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως.

XIV

(1) [277] Σαλμανάσσης δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεύς, ἐπεὶ ἠγγέλη αὐτῷ ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς Ὡσείης πέμψας κρύφα πρὸς Σώαν τὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ, παροξυνθεὶς

ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαμάρειαν ἔτει ἑβδόμῳ τῆς Ὡσήου βασιλείας. [278] οὐ δεξαμένου δ᾽ αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως ἔτεσι πολιορκήσας τρισὶν εἷλε κατὰ κράτος τὴν Σαμάρειαν, ἔνατον μὲν ἔτος Ὡσήου βασιλεύοντος ἕβδομον δὲ Ἐζεκίου τοῦ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν βασιλέως, καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἡγεμονίαν ἄρδην ἠφάνισε καὶ πάντα τὸν λαὸν μετῴκισεν εἰς τὴν Μηδίαν καὶ Περσίδα, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Ὡσῆν ζῶντα ἔλαβε. [279] καὶ μεταστήσας ἄλλα ἔθνη ἀπὸ Χούθου τόπου τινός, ἔστι γὰρ ἐν τῇ Περσίδι ποταμὸς τοῦτ᾽ ἔχων τοὔνομα, κατῴκισεν εἰς τὴν Σαμάρειαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν χώραν. [280] μετῴκησαν οὖν αἱ δέκα φυλαὶ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας μετὰ ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐνακοσίων τεσσαρακονταεπτά, ἀφ᾽ οὗ χρόνου τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐξῆλθον αὐτῶν οἱ πρόγονοι, ὃν δὲ κατέσχον τὴν χώραν ταύτην στρατηγοῦντος Ἰησοῦ ἔστιν ἐτῶν ὀκτακοσίων: ἀφ᾽ οὗ δ᾽ ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ Ῥοβοάμου τοῦ Δαυίδου υἱωνοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἱεροβοάμῳ παρέδοσαν, ὥς μοι καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωται, ἔτη ἐστὶ διακόσια τεσσαράκοντα μῆνες ἑπτὰ ἡμέραι ἑπτά. [281] καὶ τέλος μὲν τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας τοιοῦτο κατέλαβε παραβάντας τοὺς νόμους καὶ παρακούσαντας τῶν προφητῶν, οἳ προύλεγον ταύτην αὐτοῖς τὴν συμφορὰν μὴ παυσαμένοις τῶν ἀσεβημάτων. [282] ἦρξε δ᾽ αὐτοῖς τῶν κακῶν ἡ στάσις, ἣν ἐστασίασαν πρὸς Ῥοβόαμον τὸν Δαυίδου υἱωνὸν Ἱερόβαμον τὸν τούτου δοῦλον αὐτῶν ἀποδείξαντες βασιλέα, ὃς εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἐξαμαρτὼν ἐχθρὸν αὐτοῖς τοῦτο ἐποίησε μιμησαμένοις τὴν ἐκείνου παρανομίαν. ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν ἧς ἦν ἄξιος δίκης ταύτην ὑπέσχεν.

(2) [283] Ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς ἐπῆλθε πολεμῶν τήν τε Συρίαν πᾶσαν τήν τε Φοινίκην, τό τε ὄνομα τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τοῖς Τυρίων ἀρχείοις ἀναγέγραπται: ἐστράτευσε γὰρ ἐπὶ Τύρον βασιλεύοντος αὐτῆς Ἐλουλαίου. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ τούτοις Μένανδρος ὁ τῶν χρονικῶν ποιησάμενος τὴν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ τὰ τῶν Τυρίων ἀρχεῖα μεταφράσας εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν γλῶτταν, ὃς οὕτως ἐδήλωσε: [284] "καὶ Ἐλουλαῖος θεμένων αὐτῷ Πύας ὄνομα ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη τριακονταέξ. οὗτος ἀποστάντων Κιτταίων ἀναπλεύσας προσηγάγετο αὐτοὺς πάλιν. ἐπὶ τούτου Σελάμψας ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς ἐπῆλθε Φοινίκην πολεμῶν ἅπασαν, ὅστις σπεισάμενος εἰρήνην μετὰ πάντων ἀνεχώρησεν ὀπίσω: [285] ἀπέστη τε Τυρίων Σιδὼν καὶ Ἄρκη καὶ ἡ πάλαι Τύρος καὶ πολλαὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις, αἳ τῷ Ἀσσυρίων ἑαυτὰς βασιλεῖ παρέδοσαν. δι᾽ ἃ Τυρίων οὐχ ὑποταγέντων πάλιν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὑπέστρεψε Φοινίκων συμπληρωσάντων αὐτῷ ναῦς ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἐπικώπους ὀκτακοσίους. [286] αἷς ἐπιπλεύσαντες οἱ Τύριοι ναυσὶ δεκαδύο τῶν νεῶν τῶν ἀντιπάλων διασπαρεισῶν λαμβάνουσιν αἰχμαλώτους ἄνδρας εἰς πεντακοσίους: ἐπετάθη δὴ πάντων ἐν Τύρῳ τιμή. [287] διὰ ταῦτ᾽ ἀναζεύξας ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς κατέστησε φύλακας ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν ὑδραγωγείων, οἳ διακωλύσουσι Τυρίους ἀρύεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο ἔτεσι πέντε γενόμενον ἐκαρτέρησαν πίνοντες ἐκ φρεάτων

ὀρυκτῶν.” καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν τοῖς Τυρίων ἀρχείοις γεγραμμένα κατὰ Σαλμανάσσου τοῦ Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέως ταῦτ᾽ ἐστίν.

(3) [288] Οἱ δὲ μετοικισθέντες εἰς τὴν Σαμάρειαν Χουθαῖοι, ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐχρῶντο μέχρι δεῦρο τῇ προσηγορίᾳ διὰ τὸ ἐκ τῆς Χουθᾶ καλουμένης χώρας μεταχθῆναι, αὕτη δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Περσίδι καὶ ποταμὸς τοῦτ᾽ ἔχων ὄνομα, ἕκαστοι κατὰ ἔθνος ἴδιον θεὸν εἰς τὴν Σαμάρειαν κομίσαντες, πέντε δ᾽ ἦσαν, καὶ τούτους καθὼς ἦν πάτριον αὐτοῖς σεβόμενοι παροξύνουσι τὸν μέγιστον θεὸν εἰς ὀργὴν καὶ χόλον. [289] λοιμὸν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐνέσκηψεν, ὑφ᾽ οὗ φθειρόμενοι οὐδεμίαν τῶν κακῶν θεραπείαν ἐπινοοῦντες χρησμῷ θρησκεύειν τὸν μέγιστον θεόν, ὡς τοῦτο σωτήριον αὐτοῖς ὄν, ἔμαθον. πέμψαντες οὖν πρὸς τὸν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέα πρέσβεις ἐδέοντο ἱερεῖς αὐτοῖς ὧν ἔλαβεν αἰχμαλώτων τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας πολεμήσας ἀποστεῖλαι. [290] πέμψαντός τε τὰ νόμιμα καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον ὁσίαν διδαχθέντες ἐθρήσκευον αὐτὸν φιλοτίμως καὶ τοῦ λοιμοῦ παραχρῆμα ἐπαύσαντο. χρώμενοί τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔθεσι διατελοῦσιν οἱ κατὰ μὲν τὴν Ἑβραίων γλῶτταν Χουθαῖοι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλήνων Σαμαρεῖται, [291] οἳ πρὸς μεταβολὴν συγγενεῖς μὲν ὄταν εὖ πράττοντας βλέπωσι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀποκαλοῦσιν ὡς ἐξ Ἰωσήπου φύντες καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκεῖθεν τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντες οἰκειότητος, ὅταν δὲ πταίσαντας ἴδωσιν, οὐδαμόθεν αὐτοῖς προσήκειν λέγουσιν οὐδ᾽ εἶναι δίκαιον οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς εὐνοίας ἢ γένους, ἀλλὰ μετοίκους ἀλλοεθνεῖς ἀποφαίνουσιν αὐτούς. περὶ μὲν τούτων ἔξομεν εὐκαιρότερον εἰπεῖν.

Liber X

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ βίβλῳ *τῶν* Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Στρατεία τοῦ Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέως Σεναχειρίβου ἐπὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ πολιορκία τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν Ἐζεκίου.

β. ὡς ἐφθάρη τὸ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων στράτευμα λοιμικῶς ἐν μιᾷ νυκτὶ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν ἀναζεύξας οἴκαδε ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς τῶν τέκνων ἀπέθανεν.

γ. ὡς τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον μετ᾽ εἰρήνης Ἐζεκίας διαγαγὼν ἐτελεύτησε διάδοχον τῆς βασιλείας Μανασσῆν καταλιπών.

δ. ὅτι στρατεύσαντες ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν οἱ Χαλδαίων καὶ Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεῖς καὶ νικήσαντες αὐτὸν αἰχμάλωτον λαβόντες ἤγαγον εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, καὶ κατασχόντες αὐτόθι πολὺν χρόνον εἰς τὴν [αὐτὴν] βασιλείαν πάλιν ἀπέλυσαν.

ε. ὡς τὸν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα Νεχαῶνα στρατευσάμενον ἐπὶ Βαβυλωνίους καὶ ποιούμενον διὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίας τὴν ὁδὸν κωλύων ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωσίας ὑπαντᾷ: μάχης δὲ γενομένης τραυματίας κομισθεὶς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τελευτᾷ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰωάζην ἀπέδειξαν οἱ Ἱεροσολυμῖται βασιλέα.

ς. ὡς συμβαλὼν ὁ Νεχαὼς τῷ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεῖ κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν καὶ ὑποστρέφων εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἦκεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἰωάζην ἤγαγεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, τὸν δ᾽ ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰωάκειμον ἀνέδειξε βασιλέα τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν.

ζ. Ναβουχοδονοσάρου τοῦ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέως στρατεία εἰς Συρίαν, καὶ ὡς πᾶσαν αὐτὴν καταστρεψάμενος ἄχρι τῶν ὅρων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀνέβη εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν Ἰωάκειμον φίλον ἠνάγκασεν εἶναι καὶ σύμμαχον.

η. ὡς μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τὴν τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου πάλιν ὁ Ἰωάκειμος ἐφρόνησε τὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ στρατεύσας ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁ Ναβουχοδονόσαρος καὶ πολιορκήσας τῆς πόλεως παραδούσης ἑαυτὴν μετὰ χρόνον τὸν μὲν Ἰωάκειμον ἀπέκτεινεν, Ἰωάκειμον δὲ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ κατέστησε βασιλέα: καὶ ὡς πολλὰ χρήματα λαβὼν ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων εὐθέως εἰς Συρίαν ὑπέστρεψεν.

θ. ὅτι μετανοήσας ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν Ἰωάκειμον ποιῆσαι βασιλέα καὶ στρατεύσας ἐπὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐγκρατὴς τοῦ Ἰωακείμου γίνεται παραδόντος αὐτὸν μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῶν φίλων, ὅπως τ᾽ ἔλαβε πολλοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ὁ Βαβυλώνιος καὶ ἀναθήματα βαστάσας ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα τὸν Ἰεχονίου θεῖον Σαχχίαν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν βασιλέα καταστήσας.

ι. ὡς καὶ τοῦτον ἀκούσας βούλεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους συμμαχίαν ποιήσασθαι καὶ φιλίαν στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα κατὰ κράτος αἱρεῖ τῇ

πολιορκίᾳ καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐμπρήσας τὸν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν δῆμον καὶ Σεδεκίαν μετῴκισεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα.

ια. ὡς Ναβουχοδονόσαρος τελευτήσας διάδοχον καταλείπει τῆς βασιλείας τὸν υἱόν, καὶ ὡς καταλύεται ἡ τούτων ἀρχὴ ὑπὸ Κύρου τοῦ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλέως.

ιβ. ὅσα συνέβη τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν παρὰ τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν ρπβ μῆνας [στιγμα] ἡμέρας ι.

I

(1) [1] Ἐζεκίου δὲ τοῦ τῶν δύο φυλῶν βασιλέως τέταρτον ἤδη καὶ δέκατον ἔτος τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἔχοντος ὁ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεὺς Σεναχείριμος ὄνομα στρατεύει μετὰ πολλῆς παρασκευῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν κατὰ κράτος τε ἁπάσας αἱρεῖ τὰς πόλεις τὰς τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς καὶ Βενιαμίτιδος. [2] μέλλοντος δ᾽ ἄγειν τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ἐπὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα φθάνει πρεσβευσάμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπακούσεσθαι καὶ φόρον ὃν ἂν τάξῃ τελέσειν ὑπισχνούμενος. Σεναχείριμος δὲ μαθὼν τὰ παρὰ τῶν πρέσβεων ἔγνω μὴ πολεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀξίωσιν προσδέχεται καὶ ἀργυρίου μὲν τάλαντα τριακόσια χρυσίου δὲ τριάκοντα λαβὼν φίλος ἀναχωρήσειν ὡμολόγει πίστεις δοὺς τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ἐνόρκους, ἢ μὴν ἀδικήσας μηδὲν αὐτὸν οὕτως ἀναστρέψειν. [3] ὁ δ᾽ Ἐζεκίας πεισθεὶς καὶ κενώσας τοὺς θησαυροὺς πέμπει τὰ χρήματα νομίζων ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τοῦ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἀγῶνος. [4] ὁ δὲ Ἀσσύριος λαβὼν ταῦτα τῶν μὲν ὡμολογημένων οὐδὲν ἐφρόντισεν, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ᾽ Αἰγυπτίους καὶ Αἰθίοπας, τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν Ῥαψάκην μετὰ πολλῆς ἰσχύος σὺν καὶ δυσὶν ἄλλοις τῶν ἐν τέλει κατέλιπε πορθήσοντας τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. τούτων δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα Θαρατὰ καὶ Ἀράχαρις ἦν.

(2) [5] Ὡς δ᾽ ἐλθόντες πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, πέμψαντες πρὸς τὸν Ἐζεκίαν ἠξίουν αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν εἰς λόγους. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπὸ δειλίας οὐ πρόεισι, τρεῖς δὲ τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους φίλους αὐτῷ ἐξέπεμψε, τὸν τῆς βασιλείας ἐπίτροπον Ἐλιακίαν ὄνομα καὶ Σουβαναῖον καὶ Ἰώανον τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων. [6] οὗτοι μὲν οὖν προελθόντες ἀντικρὺ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῆς στρατιᾶς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἔστησαν, θεασάμενος δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὁ στρατηγὸς Ῥαψάκης ἐκέλευσεν ἀπελθόντας Ἐζεκίᾳ λέγειν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς μέγας Σεναχείριμος πυνθάνεται αὐτοῦ, τίνι θαρρῶν καὶ πεποιθὼς φεύγει δεσπότην αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκροάσασθαι μὴ θέλει καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν οὐ δέχεται τῇ πόλει; ἢ διὰ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους τὴν αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν ἐλπίζων ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνων αὐτῶν καταγωνίσασθαι; [7] εἰ δὲ τοῦτο προσδοκᾷ, δηλοῦν αὐτῷ, ὅτι ἀνόητός ἐστι καὶ ὅμοιος ἀνθρώπῳ, ὃς καλάμῳ ἐπερειδόμενος τεθλασμένῳ πρὸς τῷ καταπεσεῖν ἔτι καὶ τὴν χεῖρα

διαπαρεὶς ᾔσθετο τῆς βλάβης. εἰδέναι δ᾽ ὅτι καὶ βουλήσει θεοῦ τὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν στρατείαν πεποίηται, ὃς αὐτῷ καταστρέψασθαι καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλείαν δέδωκεν, ἵνα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τοὺς ἀρχομένους [8] ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ διαφθείρῃ.᾽᾽ ταῦτα δὲ τὸν Ῥαψάκην ἑβραιστὶ λέγοντα, τῆς γὰρ γλώττης εἶχεν ἐμπείρως, ὁ Ἐλιάκειμος φοβούμενος, μὴ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπακοῦσαν εἰς ταραχὴν ἐμπέσῃ, συριστὶ φράζειν ἠξίου. συνεὶς δ᾽ ὁ στρατηγὸς τὴν ὑπόνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ δέος μείζονι καὶ διατόρῳ τῇ φωνῇ χρώμενος ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ ἑβραιστὶ λέγειν, ὅπως ἀκούσαντες τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως προστάγματα πάντες τὸ συμφέρον ἕλωνται παραδόντες αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν: [9] δῆλον γὰρ ὡς τὸν λαὸν ὑμεῖς τε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐλπίσι παρακρουόμενοι ματαίαις ἀντέχειν πείθετε. εἰ δὲ θαρρεῖτε καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἡμῶν ἀπώσεσθαι νομίζετε, δισχιλίους ἐκ τῆς ἐμοὶ παρούσης ἵππους ἕτοιμός εἰμι ὑμῖν παρέχειν, οἷς ἰσαρίθμους ἐπιβάτας δόντες ἐμφανίσατε τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν: ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἂν οὕς γε μὴ ἔχετε τούτους δῴητε. [10] τί τοιγαροῦν βραδύνετε παραδιδόναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοῖς κρείττοσι καὶ ληψομένοις ὑμᾶς καὶ μὴ θέλοντας; καίτοι τὸ μὲν ἑκούσιον τῆς παραδόσεως ἀσφαλὲς ὑμῖν, τὸ δὲ ἀκούσιον πολεμουμένοις ἐπικίνδυνον καὶ συμφορῶν αἴτιον φανεῖται.᾽᾽

(3) [11] Ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσαντες ὅ τε δῆμος καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων λέγοντος ἀπήγγειλαν Ἐζεκίᾳ. ὁ δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀποδὺς ἐσθῆτα, ἀμφιασάμενος δὲ σάκκους καὶ σχῆμα ταπεινὸν ἀναλαβὼν τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τὸν θεὸν ἱκέτευε καὶ βοηθῆσαι τῷ μηδεμίαν ἄλλην ἐλπίδα ἔχοντι σωτηρίας ἠντιβόλει. [12] πέμψας δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων τινὰς καὶ τῶν ἱερέων πρὸς Ἡσαίαν τὸν προφήτην ἠξίου δεηθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ποιησάμενον θυσίας ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν νεμεσῆσαι μὲν ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἐλπίσιν, ἐλεῆσαι δὲ τὸν αὐτοῦ λαόν. [13] ὁ δὲ προφήτης ταῦτα ποιήσας χρηματίσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ παρεθάρρυνεν αὐτόν τε τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν φίλους προλέγων ἀμαχητὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἡττηθέντας ἀναχωρήσειν αἰσχρῶς καὶ οὐχὶ μεθ᾽ οἵου νῦν εἰσι θράσους: [14] τὸν γὰρ θεὸν προνοεῖν ὅπως διαφθαρῶσι: καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἀσσυρίων Σεναχείριμον διαμαρτόντα τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον πραγμάτων καὶ ἐπανερχόμενον εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπολεῖσθαι σιδήρῳ προύλεγεν.

(4) [15] Ἔτυχε δ᾽ ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ γεγραφὼς τῷ Ἐζεκίᾳ ὁ Ἀσσύριος ἐπιστολάς, ἐν αἷς ἀνόητον μὲν αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν ὑπολαμβάνοντα τὴν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῷ διαφεύξεσθαι δουλείαν ἔθνη πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα κεχειρωμένῳ, ἠπείλει δὲ πανωλεθρίᾳ διαφθερεῖν αὐτὸν παραλαβών, εἰ μὴ τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξας ἑκὼν αὐτοῦ δέξεται τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. [16] ταῦτ᾽ ἀναγνοὺς καταφρονεῖ διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πεποίθησιν, τὰς δ᾽ ἐπιστολὰς πτύξας εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἔσω κατέθετο. πάλιν δὲ τῷ θεῷ τὰς εὐχὰς αὐτοῦ ποιησαμένου περὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς ἁπάντων σωτηρίας Ἡσαίας ὁ προφήτης ἐπήκοον αὐτὸν ἔφασκε γεγονέναι καὶ κατὰ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν μὴ πολιορκηθήσεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύρου, μέλλοντι πάντων ἀδεεῖς

τῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ γενομένων γεωργήσειν μετ᾽ εἰρήνης καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιμελήσεσθαι κτημάτων οὐδὲν φοβουμένους. [17] ὀλίγου δὲ χρόνου διελθόντος καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς διαμαρτὼν τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐπιβολῆς ἄπρακτος ἀνεχώρησεν ἐπ᾽ οἴκου δι᾽ αἰτίαν τοιαύτην: πολὺς αὐτῷ χρόνος ἐτρίβετο πρὸς τὴν Πηλουσίου πολιορκίαν, καὶ τῶν χωμάτων ἤδη μετεώρων ὄντων, ἃ πρὸς τοῖς τείχεσιν ἤγειρε, καὶ ὅσον οὔπω μέλλοντος προσβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἀκούει τὸν τῶν Αἰθιόπων βασιλέα Θαρσικὴν πολλὴν ἄγοντα δύναμιν ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἥκειν διεγνωκότα ποιήσασθαι τὴν πορείαν διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου καὶ ἐξαίφνης εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἐμβαλεῖν. [18] ταραχθεὶς οὖν ὑπὸ τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς Σεναχείριμος ἐΠὶ τὸν ἱερέα τὸν Ἡφαίστου στρατεῦσαι ἔλεγεν ὡς Οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἔλθοι βασιλέα ἱερέα ὄντα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, πολιορκῶν δὲ τὸ Πηλούσιον ἔλυσε τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης: ηὔξατο ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τῷ θεῷ, ᾧ γενόμενος ἐπήκοος ὁ θεὸς πληγὴν ἐνσκήπτει τῷ Ἄραβι: [19] πλανᾶται γὰρ κἀν τούτῳ οὐκ Ἀσσυρίων λέγων τὸν βασιλέα ἀλλ᾽ Ἀράβων: μυῶν γὰρ πλῆθός φησι μιᾷ νυκτὶ τὰ τόξα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὅπλα διαφαγεῖν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὴ ἔχοντα τόξα τὸν βασιλέα τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπάγειν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηλουσίου. [20] καὶ Ἡρόδοτος μὲν οὕτως ἱστορεῖ, Βηρωσὸς δὲ ὁ τὰ Χαλδαικὰ συγγραψάμενος μνημονεύει τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ Σεναχειρίμου, καὶ ὅτι τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἦρχε καὶ ὅτι πάσῃ ἐπεστρατεύσατο τῇ Ἀσίᾳ [καὶ τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ] λέγων οὕτως:

(5) [21] Ὑποστρέψας δ᾽ ὁ Σεναχείριμος ἀπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων πολέμων εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, καταλαβὼν ἐκεῖ τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ στρατηγῷ Ῥαψάκῃ δύναμιν Τοῦ θεοῦ λοιμικὴν ἐνσκήψαντος αὐτοῦ τῷ στρατῷ νόσον κατὰ τὴν πρώτην νύκτα τῆς πολιορκίας διαφθείρονται μυριάδες ὀκτωκαίδεκα καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι σὺν ἡγεμόσι καὶ ταξιάρχαις. [22] ὑπὸ ταύτης δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς εἰς φόβον καὶ δεινὴν ἀγωνίαν καταστὰς καὶ δείσας περὶ τῷ στρατῷ παντὶ φεύγει μετὰ τῆς λοιπῆς δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν τὴν Νίνου προσαγορευθεῖσαν. [23] καὶ διατρίψας ἐν αὐτῇ ὀλίγον χρόνον δολοφονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων παίδων Ἀνδρομάχου καὶ Σελευκάρου τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον καὶ ἀνετέθη τῷ ἰδίῳ ναῷ Ἀράσκῃ λεγομένῳ. καὶ οἱ μὲν φυγαδευθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἀπῆραν, διαδέχεται δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν μετ᾽ αὐτοὺς καταφρονῶν τοῦ Σεναχειρίμου Ἀσαραχόδδας. καὶ τὸ μὲν τῆς Ἀσσυρίων στρατείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας τέλος τοιοῦτο συνέβη γενέσθαι.

II

(1) [24] Ἐζεκίας δ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς παραδόξως ἀπαλλαγεὶς τῶν φόβων χαριστηρίους σὺν ἅπαντι τῷ λαῷ θυσίας ἐπετέλεσε τῷ θεῷ, μηδεμιᾶς ἄλλης αἰτίας τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς μὲν διαφθειράσης τοὺς δὲ φόβῳ τῆς ὁμοίας τελευτῆς

ἀπαλλαξάσης ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἢ τῆς συμμαχίας τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. [25] πάσῃ δὲ χρησάμενος σπουδῇ καὶ φιλοτιμίᾳ περὶ τὸν θεὸν μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ νόσῳ χαλεπῇ περιπεσὼν ἀπέγνωστο μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν, χρηστὸν δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν προσδοκῶν, οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ φίλοι. τῇ δὲ νόσῳ προσετίθετο καὶ ἀθυμία δεινὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀπαιδίαν λογιζομένου, καὶ ὅτι μέλλοι τελευτᾶν ἔρημον καταλιπὼν τὸν οἶκον καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν γνησίας διαδοχῆς. [26] κάμνων οὖν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐννοίας μάλιστα καὶ ὀδυρόμενος ἱκέτευε τὸν θεὸν αὐτῷ ζωῆς ὀλίγον χρόνον προσεπιδοῦναι μέχρι τέκνων γονῆς, καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἢ πατὴρ γένηται τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτὸν ἐᾶσαι καταλιπεῖν. [27] ἐλεήσας δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τῆς αἰτήσεως ἀποδεξάμενος, ὅτι μὴ διὰ τὸ μέλλειν στέρεσθαι τῶν ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας ἀγαθῶν ὠδύρετο τὴν ὑπονοηθεῖσαν τελευτὴν ἔτι τε χρόνον ζωῆς αὐτῷ δεηθείη παρασχεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ παῖδας αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τοὺς ὑποδεξομένους τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐκείνου, πέμψας Ἡσαίαν τὸν προφήτην ἐκέλευσε δηλοῦν αὐτῷ, ὅτι καὶ διαφεύξεται τὴν νόσον μετὰ τρίτην ἡμέραν καὶ βιώσεται μετ᾽ αὐτὴν ἔτη πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ παῖδες αὐτῷ γενήσονται. [28] ταῦτα τοῦ προφήτου φήσαντος κατ᾽ ἐντολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς νόσου καὶ τὸ παράδοξον τῶν ἀπηγγελμένων ἀπιστῶν σημεῖόν τι καὶ τεράστιον ἠξίου ποιῆσαι τὸν Ἡσαίαν, ἵνα αὐτῷ πιστεύσῃ λέγοντι ταῦτα ἥκοντι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ: τὰ γὰρ παράλογα καὶ μείζω τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῖς ὁμοίοις πιστοῦται πράγμασιν. [29] ἐρωτήσαντος δ᾽ αὐτὸν τί βούλεται σημεῖον γενέσθαι, τὸν ἥλιον ἠξίωσεν, ἐπειδὴ σκιὰν ἐπὶ δέκα βαθμοὺς ἀποκλίνας ἤδη πεποίηκεν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀναστρέψαι τόπον ποιήσας αὐτὴν πάλιν παρασχεῖν. τοῦ δὲ προφήτου τὸν θεὸν παρακαλέσαντος, ὥστε τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτ᾽ ἐπιδεῖξαι τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἰδὼν ὅπερ ἤθελεν εὐθὺς λυθεὶς τῆς νόσου ἄνεισιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τῷ θεῷ προσκυνήσας εὐχὰς ἐποιήσατο.

(2) [30] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ συνέβη τὴν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Μήδων καταλυθῆναι: δηλώσω δὲ περὶ τούτων ἐν ἑτέροις. ὁ δὲ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεὺς Βαλάδας ὄνομα πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Ἐζεκίαν πρέσβεις δῶρα κομίζοντας σύμμαχόν τε αὐτὸν εἶναι παρεκάλει καὶ φίλον. [31] ὁ δὲ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς ἡδέως ἀποδεξάμενος ἑστιασάμενός τε καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἐπιδείξας αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅπλων παρασκευὴν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πολυτέλειαν, ὅσην ἐν λίθοις εἶχε καὶ χρυσῷ, δῶρά τε δοὺς κομίζειν τῷ Βαλάδῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέλυσεν. [32] Ἡσαίου δὲ τοῦ προφήτου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικομένου καὶ πυνθανομένου πόθεν εἶεν οἱ παρόντες, ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἔλεγε παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐλθεῖν αὐτούς: ἐπιδεῖξαι δὲ πάντ᾽ αὐτοῖς, ὅπως ἰδόντες τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τούτου στοχαζόμενοι σημαίνειν ἔχωσι τῷ βασιλεῖ. [33] ὁ δὲ προφήτης ὑποτυχών "ἴσθι, φησίν, οὐ μετ᾽ ὀλίγον χρόνον εἰς Βαβυλῶνά σου τοῦτον μετατεθησόμενον τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνους εὐνουχισθησομένους καὶ ἀπολέσαντας τὸ ἄνδρας εἶναι τῷ Βαβυλωνίῳ δουλεύσοντας βασιλεῖ: ταῦτα γὰρ προλέγειν τὸν θεόν. [34] ὁ δ᾽ Ἐζεκίας λυπηθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἔφη μὲν οὐκ ἂν βούλεσθαι τοιαύταις

συμφοραῖς τὸ ἔθνος αὐτοῦ περιπεσεῖν, ἐπεὶ δ᾽ οὐκ εἶναι δυνατὸν τὰ τῷ θεῷ δεδογμένα μεταβαλεῖν, ηὔχετο μέχρι τῆς αὐτοῦ ζωῆς εἰρήνην ὑπάρξαι. μνημονεύει δὲ τοῦ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέως Βαλαδᾶ Βηρωσός. [35] ὃν δ᾽ οὗτος ὁ προφήτης θεῖος ὁμολογουμένως καὶ θαυμάσιος τὴν ἀλήθειαν, πεποιθὼς τῷ μηδὲν ὅλως ψευδὲς εἰπεῖν ἅπανθ᾽ ὅσα προεφήτευσεν ἐγγράψας βίβλοις κατέλιπεν ἐκ τοῦ τέλους γνωρισθησόμενα τοῖς αὖθις ἀνθρώποις. καὶ οὐχ οὗτος μόνος ὁ προφήτης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοι δώδεκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν τὸ αὐτὸ ἐποίησαν, καὶ πᾶν εἴ τι φαῦλον γίνεται παρ᾽ ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀποβαίνει προφητείαν. ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν αὖθις ἐξαγγελοῦμεν ἕκαστον.

III

(1) [36] Ἐπιβιοὺς δ᾽ ὃν προειρήκαμεν χρόνον ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἐζεκίας καὶ πάντα τοῦτον ἐν εἰρήνῃ διαγαγὼν τελευτᾷ πεντηκοστὸν μὲν καὶ τέταρτον ἔτος τῆς ζωῆς διανύσας, εἴκοσι δὲ βασιλεύσας καὶ ἐννέα. [37] διαδεξάμενος δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Μανασσῆς ἐκ μητρὸς μὲν Ἐχίβας τοὔνομα πολίτιδος γεγονώς, ἀπέρρηξεν ἑαυτὸν τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐτράπετο πᾶν εἶδος πονηρίας ἐπιδειξάμενος ἐν τῷ τρόπῳ καὶ μηδὲν ἀσεβὲς παραλιπών, ἀλλὰ μιμούμενος τὰς τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν παρανομίας, οἳ εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἁμαρτόντες ἀπώλοντο: μιᾶναι δὲ καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐτόλμησε τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν. [38] ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς εἰς τὸν θεὸν καταφρονήσεως ὁρμώμενος πάντας τοὺς δικαίους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τῶν προφητῶν ἔσχε φειδὼ καὶ τούτων δέ τινας καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἀπέσφαζεν, ὥστε αἵματι ῥεῖσθαι τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. [39] λαβὼν οὖν ὀργὴν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ θεὸς πέμπει προφήτας πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸ πλῆθος, δι᾽ ὧν αὐτοῖς ἠπείλησε τὰς αὐτὰς συμφοράς, αἷς συνέβη περιπεσεῖν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτῶν Ἰσραηλίτας εἰς αὐτὸν ἐξυβρίζοντας. οἱ δὲ τοῖς μὲν λόγοις οὐκ ἐπίστευον, παρ᾽ ὧν ἠδύναντο κερδῆσαι τὸ μηδενὸς πειραθῆναι κακοῦ, τοῖς δ᾽ ἔργοις ἔμαθον ἀληθῆ τὰ παρὰ τῶν προφητῶν.

(2) [40] Ὡς γὰρ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπέμενον, πόλεμον ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐκίνει παρά τε τοῦ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων καὶ Χαλδαίων βασιλέως, ὃς στρατιὰν πέμψας εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν τήν τε χώραν αὐτῶν ἐλεηλάτησε καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Μανασσῆν δόλῳ ληφθέντα καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀχθέντα πρὸς ἣν ἠβούλετο τιμωρίαν εἶχεν ὑποχείριον. [41] ὁ δὲ Μανασσῆς τότε συνεὶς ἐν οἵοις κακοῖς ἐστι καὶ πάντων ἑαυτὸν αἴτιον νομίζων ἐδεῖτο τοῦ θεοῦ παρέχειν αὐτῷ φιλάνθρωπον καὶ ἐλεήμονα τὸν πολέμιον. χαρίζεται τοῦτο τῆς ἱκεσίας ἐπακούσας ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ὁ Μανασσῆς ἀπολυθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέως ἀνασώζεται. [42] γενόμενος δ᾽ εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα τῶν μὲν προτέρων ἁμαρτημάτων περὶ τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν μνήμην ἐσπούδαζεν, εἰ δυνατὸν αὐτῷ γένοιτο, τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκβαλεῖν, ὧν ἐπιβουλεύειν ὥρμησε καὶ πάσῃ χρῆσθαι περὶ αὐτὸν δεισιδαιμονίᾳ: καὶ τὸν ναὸν

ἤγνισε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκάθηρε καὶ πρὸς μόνῳ τὸ λοιπὸν ἦν τῷ χάριν τε τῆς σωτηρίας ἐκτείνειν τῷ θεῷ καὶ διατηρεῖν αὐτὸν εὐμενῆ παρ᾽ ὅλον τὸν βίον. [43] τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ πράττειν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐδίδασκε μεμαθηκώς, οἷα παρὰ μικρὸν ἐχρήσατο συμφορᾷ διὰ τὴν ἐναντίαν πολιτείαν. ἐπισκευάσας δὲ καὶ τὸν βωμὸν τὰς νομίμους θυσίας ἐπετέλει, καθὼς διέταξε Μωυσῆς. [44] διοικησάμενος δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν θρησκείαν ὃν δεῖ τρόπον καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἀσφαλείας προενόησεν, ὥστε τὰ παλαιὰ τείχη μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπισκευάσας σπουδῆς καὶ ἕτερον αὐτοῖς ἐπιβαλεῖν, ἀναστῆσαί τε καὶ πύργους ὑψηλοτάτους τά τε πρὸ τῆς πόλεως φρούρια τοῖς τ᾽ ἄλλοις καὶ δὴ καὶ σιτίων πάντων τῶν εἰς αὐτὰ χρησίμων ὀχυρώτερα ποιῆσαι. [45] ἀμέλει δὲ τῇ πρὸς ταῦτα μεταβολῇ χρησάμενος οὕτω τὸν μεταξὺ διῆγε βίον, ὡς μακαριστὸς εἶναι καὶ ζηλωτὸς ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου λογιζομένου, ἀφ᾽ οὗ τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβεῖν ἤρξατο. [46] ζήσας οὖν ἔτη ἑξήκοντα ἑπτὰ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον βασιλεύσας ἔτη πέντε καὶ πεντήκοντα. καὶ θάπτεται μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ παραδείσοις, ἡ βασιλεία δὲ εἰς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ παραγίνεται Ἀμμῶνα μητρὸς Ἐμασέλμης μὲν ὄνομα τετυχηκότα, ἐκ δὲ πόλεως Ἰαζαβάτης ὑπαρχούσης.

IV

(1) [47] Οὗτος μιμησάμενος τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔργα, ἃ νέος ὢν ἐκεῖνος ἐτόλμησεν, ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων οἰκετῶν ἀπέθανεν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας τῆς αὐτοῦ βιώσας ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ εἴκοσι, βασιλεύσας δ᾽ ἐξ αὐτῶν δύο. [48] μετῆλθε δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὸ πλῆθος τοὺς φονεῖς καὶ τῷ πατρὶ συνθάπτουσι τὸν Ἀμμῶνα, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ Ἰωσίᾳ παραδιδοῦσιν ὀκταετεῖ τὴν ἡλικίαν ὄντι, ᾧ μήτηρ ἐκ πόλεως μὲν ἦν Βοσκέθ, Ἰέδις δὲ τοὔνομα. [49] τὴν δὲ φύσιν αὐτὸς ἄριστος ὑπῆρχε καὶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν εὖ γεγονὼς Δαυίδου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ σκοπῷ καὶ κανόνι τῆς ὅλης περὶ τὸν βίον ἐπιτηδεύσεως ἐκείνῳ κεχρημένος. [50] γενόμενος δὲ ἐτῶν δυοκαίδεκα τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἐπεδείξατο: τὸν γὰρ λαὸν ἐσωφρόνιζε καὶ παρῄνει τῆς περὶ τῶν εἰδώλων δόξης ὡς οὐχὶ θεῶν ὄντων ἀποστάντας σέβειν τὸν πάτριον θεόν, τά τε τῶν προγόνων ἐπισκοπῶν ἔργα τὰ μὲν ἁμαρτηθέντα διώρθου συνετῶς ὡς ἂν πρεσβύτατος καὶ νοῆσαι τὸ δέον ἱκανώτατος, ὅσα δ᾽ εὕρισκεν εὖ γεγονότα κατὰ χώραν ἐφύλαττέ τε καὶ ἐμιμεῖτο. [51] ταῦτα δ᾽ ἔπραττε σοφίᾳ καὶ ἐπινοίᾳ τῆς φύσεως χρώμενος καὶ τῇ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων πειθόμενος συμβουλίᾳ καὶ παραδόσει: τοῖς γὰρ νόμοις κατακολουθῶν ὡς περὶ τὴν τάξιν τῆς πόλεως καὶ περὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείας εὐοδεῖν τε συνέβαινε διὰ τὴν τῶν πρώτων παρανομίαν μὴ τυγχάνειν ἀλλ᾽ ἐξηφανίσθαι: [52] περιιὼν γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν τά τε ἄλση τὰ τοῖς ξενικοῖς ἀνειμένα θεοῖς ἐξέκοψε καὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς αὐτῶν κατέσκαψεν, εἴ τι δ᾽ ἀνάθημα τούτοις ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων ἀνέκειτο περιυβρίζων

κατέσπα. [53] καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τὸν λαὸν ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ αὐτοὺς δόξης εἰς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείαν ἐπέστρεψε καὶ τὰς συνήθεις ἐπέφερε θυσίας αὐτοῦ τῷ βωμῷ καὶ τὰς ὁλοκαυτώσεις. ἀπέδειξε δέ τινας κριτὰς καὶ ἐπισκόπους, ὡς ἂν διοικοῖεν τὰ παρ᾽ ἑκάστοις πράγματα περὶ παντὸς τὸ δίκαιον ποιούμενοι καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς οὐκ ἔλασσον αὐτὸ περιέποντες. [54] διαπέμψας δὲ κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον τοὺς βουλομένους ἐκέλευε κομίζειν εἰς ἐπισκευὴν τοῦ ναοῦ, ὅσον τις ἢ προαιρέσεως ἢ δυνάμεως ἔχει. [55] κομισθέντων δὲ τῶν χρημάτων τῆς ἐπιμελείας τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τῆς εἰς τοῦτο δαπάνης προύστησε τόν τ᾽ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως Ἀμασίαν καὶ τὸν γραμματέα Σαφᾶν καὶ τὸν γραφέα τῶν ὑπομνημάτων Ἰωάτην καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ἐλιακίαν, [56] οἳ μηδὲν ὑπερθέσει μηδὲ ἀναβολῇ δόντες ἀρχιτέκτονας καὶ πάνθ᾽ ὅσα πρὸς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν χρήσιμα παρασκευάσαντες εἶχοντο τῶν ἔργων. καὶ ὁ μὲν ναὸς οὕτως ἐπισκευασθεὶς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως εὐσέβειαν φανερὰν ἐποίησεν.

(2) [57] Ὄγδοον δ᾽ ἤδη καὶ δέκατον τῆς βασιλείας ἔτος ἔχων πέμπει πρὸς Ἐλιακίαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα κελεύων τὸ περισσὸν χωνεύσαντα ποιῆσαι κρατῆρας καὶ σπονδεῖα καὶ φιάλας εἰς τὴν διακονίαν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὅσος ἂν ᾖ χρυσὸς ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ τοῦτον προκομίσαντας εἰς τοὺς κρατῆρας ὁμοίως καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα σκεύη δαπανῆσαι. [58] προκομίζων δὲ τὸν χρυσὸν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἐλιακίας ἐντυγχάνει ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ταῖς Μωυσέος ἐν τῷ ναῷ κειμέναις καὶ προκομίσας δίδωσι τῷ γραμματεῖ Σαφᾷ. ὁ δὲ ἀναγνοὺς παραγίνεται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πάντα ὅσα κελεύει γενέσθαι τέλος ἔχοντα ἐδήλου, παρανέγνω δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς βίβλους [αὐτῶν]. [59] ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ περιρρηξάμενος τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὸν ἀρχιερέα καλέσας Ἐλιακίαν καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν γραμματέα καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων φίλων τινὰς ἔπεμψε πρὸς τὴν προφῆτιν Ὀολδά, γυναῖκα δὲ Σαλλούμου τῶν ἐν δόξῃ τινὸς καὶ δι᾽ εὐγένειαν ἐπιφανοῦς, καὶ προσελθόντας ἐκέλευε λέγειν ἱλάσκεσθαι τὸν θεὸν καὶ πειρᾶσθαι ποιεῖν εὐμενῆ: δέος γὰρ εἶναι, μὴ παραβάντων τοὺς Μωυσέος νόμους τῶν προγόνων αὐτῶν κινδυνεύσωσιν ἀνάστατοι γενέσθαι καὶ τῆς οἰκείας ἐκπεσόντες ἐπ᾽ ἀλλοτρίας ἔρημοι πάντων καταστρέψωσιν οἰκτρῶς τὸν βίον. [60] ἀκούσασα δ᾽ ἡ προφῆτις παρὰ τῶν πεμφθέντων ταῦτα δι᾽ αὐτῶν ὧν ἐπέστειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἀπελθόντας πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα λέγειν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν θεῖον ἤδη κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ψῆφον ἤνεγκεν, ἣν οὐχ ἱκεσίαις ἄν τις ἄκυρον ποιήσειεν, ἀπολέσαι τὸν λαὸν καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐκβαλεῖν καὶ πάντων ἀφελέσθαι τῶν νῦν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν παραβάντας τοὺς νόμους καὶ τοσούτῳ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ μὴ μετανοήσαντας, τῶν τε προφητῶν τοῦτο παραινούντων σωφρονεῖν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀσεβήμασι τιμωρίαν προλεγόντων: [61] ἦν, ἵνα πεισθῶσιν, ὅτι θεός ἐστι καὶ οὐδὲν ἐψεύδετο τούτων ὧν αὐτοῖς διὰ τῶν προφητῶν κατήγγειλε, πάντως αὐτοῖς ποιήσειν. δι᾽ αὐτὸν μέντοι δίκαιον γενόμενον ἐφέξειν ἔτι τὰς συμφοράς, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν τὰ κατεψηφισμένα πάθη τοῖς ὄχλοις ἐπιπέμψειν.

(3) [62] Οἱ μὲν οὖν τῆς γυναικὸς προφητευσάσης ἐλθόντες ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ βασιλεῖ. ὁ δὲ περιπέμψας πανταχοῦ τὸν λαὸν ἐκέλευε συνελθεῖν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τούς θ' ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς Λευίτας, πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν παρεῖναι προστάξας. [63] ἀθροισθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀνέγνω τὰς ἱερὰς βίβλους, ἔπειτα στὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐν μέσῳ τῷ πλήθει ὅρκους ποιήσασθαι καὶ πίστεις ἠνάγκασεν, ἢ μὴν θρησκεύσειν τὸν θεὸν καὶ φυλάξειν τοὺς Μωυσέος νόμους. [64] οἱ δὲ προθύμως τ' ἐπήνεσαν καὶ τὰ παραινεθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ποιήσειν ὑπέστησαν θύοντές τε παραχρῆμα καὶ καλλιεροῦντες ἤδη τὸν θεὸν ἱκέτευον εὐμενῆ καὶ ἵλεων αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν. [65] τὸν δὲ ἀρχιερέα προσέταξεν εἴ τι περισσὸν ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων σκεῦος τοῖς εἰδώλοις καὶ ξενικοῖς θεοῖς κατασταθὲν ἦν ἐν τῷ ναῷ, τοῦτο ἐκβαλεῖν. συναθροισθέντων δὲ πολλῶν καταπρήσας αὐτὰ τὴν σποδὸν αὐτῶν διέσπειρε καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς τῶν εἰδώλων οὐκ ὄντας ἐκ τοῦ Ἀαρῶνος γένους ἀπέκτεινε.

(4) [66] Ταῦτα δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις διαπραξάμενος ἦκεν εἰς τὴν χώραν καὶ τὰ κατασκευασθέντα ἐν αὐτῇ ὑπὸ Ἱεροβοάμου τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τιμὴν τῶν ξενικῶν θεῶν ἠφάνισε καὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ, ὃν κατεσκεύασε πρῶτος Ἱερόβαμος, κατέκαυσε. [67] ταῦτα δὲ προφήτην κατελθόντα πρὸς Ἱερόβαμον θυσιάζοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ παντὸς ἀκούοντος τοῦ λαοῦ προκαταγγεῖλαι τὰ γενησόμενα, ὅτι τις ἐκ τοῦ Δαυίδου γένους Ἰωσίας τοὔνομα ποιήσει τὰ προειρημένα. συνέβη δὲ ταῦτα λαβεῖν τέλος μετὰ ἔτη τριακόσια καὶ ἑξηκονταέν.

(5) [68] Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωσίας πορευθεὶς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, ὅσοι τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν καὶ τὴν δουλείαν τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων διέφυγον, ἀφεῖναι μὲν τὰς ἀσεβεῖς πράξεις καὶ τὰς τιμὰς τὰς πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους θεοὺς ἐγκαταλιπεῖν ἔπεισε, τὸν δὲ πάτριον καὶ μέγιστον θεὸν εὐσεβεῖν καὶ τούτῳ προσανέχειν: [69] τὰς οἰκίας τε καὶ τὰς κώμας ἠρεύνησε καὶ τὰς πόλεις, μή τις ἔνδον ἔχοι τι τῶν εἰδώλων ὑπονοῶν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τοῖς βασιλευομένοις ἐφεστῶτα ἅρματα, ἃ κατεσκεύασαν οἱ πρόγονοι, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον ἦν ᾧ προσεκύνουν ὡς θεῷ ἐβάστασε: [70] καὶ καθαρίσας οὕτω τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τὸν λαὸν συνεκάλεσε κἀκεῖ τὴν ἀζύμων ἑορτὴν καὶ τὴν πάσχα λεγομένην ἤγαγεν: ἐδωρήσατό τε τῷ λαῷ τὸ πάσχα νεογνοὺς ἐρίφους καὶ ἄρνας δισμυρίους, βοῦς δ' εἰς ὁλοκαυτώματα τρισχιλίους. [71] παρεῖχον δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱερέων οἱ πρῶτοι διὰ τὸ πάσχα τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἄρνας δισχιλίους ἑξακοσίους καὶ τοῖς Λευίταις πεντακισχιλίους ἄρνας ἔδοσαν οἱ προεστῶτες αὐτῶν, βοῦς δὲ πεντακοσίους. [72] καὶ γενομένης οὕτως ἀφθόνου τῆς τῶν ἱερείων εὐπορίας τὰς θυσίας ἐπετέλουν τοῖς Μωυσέος νόμοις, ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἱερέων ἐξηγουμένων καὶ διακονουμένων τοῖς ὄχλοις, καὶ τοῦ μηδεμίαν ἄλλην οὕτως ἀχθῆναι τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἑορτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Σαμουήλου τοῦ προφήτου χρόνων αἴτιον ἦν τὸ πάντα κατὰ νόμους καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν παρατήρησιν τῆς πατρίου

συνηθείας ἐπιτελεσθῆναι. [73] ζήσας δ᾽ ἐν εἰρήνῃ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Ἰωσίας ἔτι δὲ καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ τῇ παρὰ πᾶσιν εὐδοξίᾳ κατέστρεψε τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τὸν βίον:

V

(1) [74] Νεχαῦς ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς ἐγείρας στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἤλασε ποταμὸν Μήδους πολεμήσων καὶ τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους, οἳ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων κατέλυσαν ἀρχήν: τῆς γὰρ Ἀσίας βασιλεῦσαι πόθον εἶχε. [75] γενομένου δ᾽ αὐτοῦ κατὰ Μένδην πόλιν, ἣν δ᾽ αὕτη τῆς Ἰωσίου βασιλείας, μετὰ δυνάμεως εἶργεν αὐτὸν διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ποιεῖσθαι χώρας τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μήδους ἔλασιν. πέμψας δὲ κήρυκα πρὸς αὐτὸν Νεχαῦς οὐκ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν στρατεύειν ἔλεγεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ὡρμηκέναι: μὴ παροξύνειν δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευεν, ὥστε πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ κωλύοντι βαδίζειν ἐφ᾽ οὗ διέγνωκεν. [76] Ἰωσίας δὲ οὐ προσίετο τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Νεχαῦ, ἀλλ᾽ οὕτως εἶχεν ὡς μὴ συγχωρεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν οἰκείαν διέρχεσθαι, τῆς πεπρωμένης οἶμαι εἰς τοῦτ᾽ αὐτὸν παρορμησάσης, ἵνα λάβῃ πρόφασιν κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ. [77] διατάσσοντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ἐφ᾽ ἅρματος ἀπὸ κέρως ἐπὶ κέρας ὀχουμένου τοξεύσας τις αὐτὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἔπαυσε τῆς πρὸς τὴν μάχην σπουδῆς: τῷ τραύματι γὰρ περιαλγὴς ὢν ἐκέλευσεν ἀνακληθῆναι τὸ στράτευμα καὶ ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. τελευτᾷ δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς ἐκεῖ τὸν βίον καὶ κηδεύεται ἐν ταῖς πατρῴαις θήκαις μεγαλοπρεπῶς βιώσας μὲν ἔτη τριακονταεννέα, βασιλεύσας δὲ τούτων ἓν καὶ τριάκοντα. [78] πένθος δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ μέγα τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ἤχθη πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὀδυρομένου καὶ κατηφοῦντος: Ἱερεμίας δὲ ὁ προφήτης ἐπικήδειον αὐτοῦ συνέταξε μέλος [θρηνητικόν], ὃ καὶ μέχρι νῦν διαμένει. [79] οὗτος ὁ προφήτης καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα τῇ πόλει δεινὰ προεκήρυξεν ἐν γράμμασι καταλιπὼν καὶ τὴν νῦν ἐφ᾽ ἡμῶν γενομένην ἅλωσιν τήν τε Βαβυλῶνος αἵρεσιν. οὐ μόνον δὲ οὗτος προεθέσπισε ταῦτα τοῖς ὄχλοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ προφήτης Ἰεζεκίηλος, ὃς πρῶτος περὶ τούτων δύο βίβλους γράψας κατέλιπεν. [80] ἦσαν δὲ οἱ δύο τῷ γένει ἱερεῖς, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν Ἱερεμίας ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις διῆγεν ἀπὸ τρισκαιδεκάτου ἔτους τῆς Ἰωσίου βασιλείας ἕως οὗ κατεσκάφη ἡ πόλις καὶ ὁ ναός. τὰ μέντοι γε συμβάντα περὶ τοῦτον τὸν προφήτην κατὰ χώραν δηλώσομεν.

(2) [81] Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἰωσίου, καθὼς προειρήκαμεν, τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ διαδέχεται Ἰώαζος τοὔνομα τρίτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἤδη ἔτος γεγονώς. καὶ οὗτος μὲν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐβασίλευσε μητρὸς Ἀμιτάλης καὶ πόλεως Τομάνης ἀσεβὴς δὲ καὶ μιαρὸς τὸν τρόπον: [82] ὁ δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς ὑποστρέψας ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης μεταπέμπεται τὸν Ἰώαζον πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀμαθὰ καλουμένην πόλιν, ἥτις ἐστὶ τῆς Συρίας, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐλθόντα ἔδησε, τῷ δὲ πρεσβυτέρῳ αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῷ ὁμοπατρίῳ ὄντι Ἐλιακείμῳ τοὔνομα τὴν βασιλείαν παραδίδωσι μετονομάσας αὐτὸν Ἰωάκειμον: τῇ δὲ χώρᾳ ἐπέταξεν ἑκατὸν ἀργυρίου τάλαντα,

ἓν δὲ χρυσίου. [83] καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐτέλει ὁ Ἰωάκειμος τὸ πλῆθος τῶν χρημάτων, τὸν δὲ Ἰώαζον ἀπήγαγεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ὃς καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν αὐτῇ βασιλεύσας μῆνας τρεῖς ἡμέρας δέκα. ἡ δὲ τοῦ Ἰωακείμου μήτηρ ἐκαλεῖτο Ζαβουδᾶ, ἐκ πόλεως δ' ἦν Ἀβουμᾶς. ἐτύγχανε δ' ὢν τὴν φύσιν ἄδικος καὶ κακοῦργος καὶ μήτε πρὸς θεὸν ὅσιος μήτε πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἐπιεικής.

VI

(1) [84] Ἔτος δ' αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας τέταρτον ἤδη ἔχοντος τὴν Βαβυλωνίων ἀρχὴν παραλαμβάνει Ναβουχοδονόσορος ὄνομα, ὃς ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν μετὰ μεγάλης παρασκευῆς ἐπὶ Καρχάμισσαν ἀναβαίνει πόλιν, ἔστι δ' αὕτη πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ, διεγνωκὼς πολεμεῖν τῷ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Νεχαῦ: ὑπὸ τούτῳ γὰρ ἦν ἅπασα ἡ Συρία. [85] μαθὼν δὲ τὴν τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου προαίρεσιν καὶ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατείαν ὁ Νεχαῦς οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ὠλιγώρησεν, ἀλλὰ σὺν πολλῇ χειρὶ τὸν Ναβουχοδονόσορον ἀμυνούμενος ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην. [86] συμβολῆς δὲ γενομένης ἠττήθη καὶ πολλὰς ἀπέβαλε μυριάδας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ. διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Εὐφράτην ὁ Βαβυλώνιος τὴν ἄχρι Πηλουσίου παραλαμβάνει Συρίαν πάρεξ τῆς Ἰουδαίας. [87] τέσσαρα δ' ἔτη βασιλεύοντος ἤδη τοῦ Ναβουχοδονοσόρου ὄγδοον ἦν τῷ Ἰωακείμῳ τῷ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἔχοντι τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ στρατεύει μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ὁ Βαβυλώνιος φόρους αἰτῶν τὸν Ἰωάκειμον ἢ πολεμήσειν ἀπειλῶν. ὁ δὲ δείσας τὴν ἀπειλὴν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀντικαταλλαξάμενος τῶν χρημάτων ἤνεγκεν αὐτῷ φόρους οὓς ἔταξεν ἐπὶ ἔτη τρία.

(2) [88] Τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ στρατεύειν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἀκούσας ἐπὶ τὸν Βαβυλώνιον καὶ τοὺς φόρους αὐτῷ μὴ δοὺς διεψεύσθη τῆς ἐλπίδος: [89] οἱ γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι ποιήσασθαι τὴν στρατείαν οὐκ ἐθάρρησαν. ταῦτα δὲ ὁ προφήτης Ἱερεμίας κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν προύλεγεν, ὡς μάτην ταῖς παρὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐλπίσι προσανέχουσι, καὶ ὡς δεῖ τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέως ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι, καὶ Ἰωακείμῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ χειρωθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. [90] ἀλλὰ ταῦτ' οὐδὲν χρήσιμον οὐκ ὄντων τῶν σωθησομένων ἐλέγετο: καὶ γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ἀκούοντες παρημέλουν, καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν λαμβάνοντες τὰ λεγόμενα ὡς οἰωνιζομένου κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ προφήτου τὸν Ἱερεμίαν ᾐτιῶντο, καὶ ὑπάγοντες δίκῃ καταψηφισθῆναι πρὸς τιμωρίαν ἠξίουν. [91] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἤνεγκαν τὰς ψήφους κατ' αὐτοῦ οἳ καὶ ἀπέγνωσαν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, οἱ δὲ σοφῆς ὄντες διανοίας ἀπέλυσαν τὸν προφήτην ἀπὸ τῆς αὐλῆς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συνεβούλευσαν μηδὲν διαθεῖναι κακὸν τὸν Ἱερεμίαν. [92] ἔλεγον γὰρ οὐ μόνον τοῦτον προλέγειν τῇ πόλει τὰ μέλλοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ Μιχαίαν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα κατηγγελκέναι καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους, ὧν οὐδεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν τότε βασιλέων οὐδὲν ἔπαθεν, ἀλλ' ὡς προφήτης τοῦ θεοῦ τιμῆς ἔτυχε. [93] τούτοις καταπραύναντες τὸ

πλῆθος τοῖς λόγοις ἐρρύσαντο τῆς κατεψηφισμένης αὐτοῦ κολάσεως τὸν Ἱερεμίαν, ὃς ἁπάσας αὐτοῦ τὰς προφητείας συγγραψάμενος νηστεύοντος τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἐκκλησιάζοντος ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ μηνὶ ἐνάτῳ τοῦ πέμπτου ἔτους τῆς Ἰωακείμου βασιλείας ἀνέγνω τὴν βίβλον, ἣν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων συμβήσεσθαι τῇ πόλει καὶ τῷ ναῷ καὶ τοῖς ὄχλοις ἦν συντεταχώς. [94] ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ ἡγεμόνες λαμβάνουσι παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ βιβλίον καὶ κελεύουσιν αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν γραμματέα Βαροῦχον ἐκποδὼν αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι, μή τισι δῆλοι γένωνται, τὸ δὲ βιβλίον αὐτοὶ φέροντες τῷ βασιλεῖ διδόασιν. ὁ δὲ παρόντων αὐτῷ τῶν φίλων ἐκέλευσε τὸν αὐτοῦ γραμματέα λαβόντα ἀναγνῶναι. [95] ἀκούσας δὲ τῶν ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ καὶ ὀργισθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς διέρρηξέ τε καὶ βαλὼν εἰς πῦρ ἠφάνισε, ζητηθέντας δὲ τόν τε Ἱερεμίαν καὶ τὸν γραμματέα Βαροῦχον ἐκέλευσεν ἀχθῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸν κολασθησομένους. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν διαφεύγουσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ὀργήν.

(3) [96] Μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον στρατευόμενον ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέα δέχεται κατὰ δέος τῶν προειρημένων ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτου τούτου, οὐδὲν νομίζων πείσεσθαι δεινὸν μηδὲ ἀποκλείσας μηδὲ πολεμήσας, [97] ἀπελθὼν δ' εἰς αὐτὸν ὁ Βαβυλώνιος οὐκ ἐφύλαξε τὰς πίστεις, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους καὶ κάλλει διαφέροντας τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἀπέκτεινε μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰωακείμου, ὃν ἄταφον ἐκέλευσε ῥιφῆναι πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν: τὸν δὲ υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰωάκειμον κατέστησε βασιλέα τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς πόλεως. [98] τοὺς δ' ἐν ἀξιώματι τρισχιλίους ὄντας τὸν ἀριθμὸν αὐτοῦ αἰχμαλώτους λαβὼν ἀπήγαγεν εἰς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα: ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἦν καὶ ὁ προφήτης Ἰεζεκίηλος παῖς ὤν. καὶ τέλος μὲν τοιοῦτον Ἰωάκειμον τὸν βασιλέα κατέσχε βιώσαντα μὲν ἓξ καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη βασιλεύσαντα δὲ τούτων ἕνδεκα, ὁ δὲ διαδεξάμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἰωάκειμος, ἐκ μητρὸς μὲν Νοόστης ὄνομα πολίτιδος δέ, ἐβασίλευσε μῆνας τρεῖς ἡμέρας δέκα.

VII

(1) [99] Τὸν δὲ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέα δόντα τὴν βασιλείαν Ἰωακείμῳ παραχρῆμα ἔλαβε δέος: ἔδεισε γάρ, μὴ μνησικακήσας αὐτῷ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀναιρέσεως ἀποστήσῃ τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ: πέμψας τοιγαροῦν δύναμιν ἐπολιόρκει τὸν Ἰωάκειμον ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις. [100] ὁ δὲ φύσει χρηστὸς ὢν καὶ δίκαιος οὐκ ἠξίου τὴν πόλιν κινδυνεύουσαν δι' αὐτὸν περιορᾶν, ἀλλ' ἀπάρας τὴν μητέρα καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς παραδίδωσι τοῖς πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου στρατηγοῖς ὅρκους παρ' αὐτῶν λαβὼν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν μήτ' αὐτοὺς παθεῖν μήτε τὴν πόλιν. [101] οἷς οὐδ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἡ πίστις ἔμεινεν: οὐ γὰρ ἐφύλαξεν αὐτὴν ὁ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεύς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐπέστειλεν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει λαβόντας αἰχμαλώτους νέους τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ τεχνίτας δεδεμένους ἄγειν πρὸς αὐτόν, ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι πάντες εἰς μυρίους ὀκτακοσίους τριακονταδύο, καὶ

τὸν Ἰωάκειμον μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῶν φίλων. [102] τούτους δὴ κομισθέντας πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶχεν ἐν φυλακῇ: τὸν δὲ θεῖον τοῦ Ἰωακείμου Σαχχίαν ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα ὅρκους παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ λαβών, ἢ μὴν φυλάξειν αὐτῷ τὴν χώραν καὶ μηδὲν νεωτερίσειν μηδὲ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις εὐνοήσειν.

(2) [103] Σαχχίας δ᾽ ἦν ἐτῶν μὲν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑνός, ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν παρέλαβεν, ὁμομήτριος μὲν Ἰωακείμου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, τῶν δὲ δικαίων καὶ τοῦ δέοντος ὑπερόπτης: καὶ γὰρ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἦσαν ἀσεβεῖς περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ πᾶς ὄχλος ἐπ᾽ ἐξουσίας ὕβριζεν ἃ ἤθελεν: [104] διὸ καὶ ὁ προφήτης Ἱερεμίας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθὼν πολλάκις ἐμαρτύρατο κελεύων τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἀσεβείας καὶ παρανομίας καταλιπεῖν, προνοεῖν δὲ τοῦ δικαίου, καὶ μήτε τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῷ εἶναι ἐν αὐτοῖς πονηροὺς προσανέχειν μήτε τοῖς ψευδοπροφήταις ἀπατῶσιν αὐτὸν πεπιστευκέναι, ὡς οὐκέτι πολεμήσει τὴν πόλιν ὁ Βαβυλώνιος καὶ ὡς Αἰγύπτιοι στρατεύσουσιν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ νικήσουσι: ταῦτα γὰρ οὐκ ἀληθῆ λέγειν οὐδ᾽ οὕτως ὀφείλοντα γενέσθαι. [105] ὁ δὲ Σαχχίας ἐφ᾽ ὅσον μὲν ἤκουσε τοῦ προφήτου ταῦτα λέγοντος ἐπείθετο αὐτῷ καὶ συνῄδει πᾶσιν ὡς ἀληθεύουσι καὶ συμφέρον αὐτῷ πεπιστευκέναι: διέφθειρον δὲ πάλιν αὐτὸν οἱ φίλοι καὶ διῆγον ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ προφήτου πρὸς ἅπερ ἤθελον. [106] προεφήτευσε δὲ καὶ Ἰεζεκίηλος ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τὰς μελλούσας τῷ λαῷ συμφορὰς καὶ γράψας ταῦτα ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. ταῖς δὲ προφητείαις αὐτῶν Σαχχίας ἠπίστησεν ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας: τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα συμφωνοῦντα εἰπεῖν συνέβη, ὡς ἥ τε πόλις ἁλώσεται καὶ Σαχχίας αὐτὸς αἰχμάλωτος ἔσται, διεφώνησε δὲ Ἰεζεκίηλος εἰπὼν οὐκ ὄψεσθαι Βαβυλῶνα τὸν Σαχχίαν τοῦ Ἱερεμίου φάσκοντος αὐτῷ, ὅτι δεδεμένον αὐτὸν ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἄξει βασιλεύς. [107] καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ταὐτὸν αὐτοὺς ἑκατέρους λέγειν καὶ περὶ ὧν συμφωνεῖν ἐδόκουν ὡς οὐδ᾽ ἐκεῖνα ἀληθῆ λέγουσι καταγνούς: καίτοι πάντ᾽ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὰς προφητείας ἀπήντησεν, ἅπερ εὐκαιρότερον δηλώσομεν.

(3) [108] Τὴν συμμαχίαν δὲ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους ἐπ᾽ ἔτη ὀκτὼ κατασχὼν διέλυσε τὰς πρὸς αὐτοὺς πίστεις καὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις προστίθεται καταλύσειν τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους ἐλπίσας, αἳ μετ᾽ ἐκείνων ἐγένοντο. [109] μαθὼν δὲ τοῦτο ὁ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεὺς ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν χώραν κακώσας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ φρούρια λαβὼν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν ἦκε τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν πολιορκήσων αὐτήν. [110] ὁ δ᾽ Αἰγύπτιος ἀκούσας ἐν οἷς ἐστιν ὁ σύμμαχος αὐτοῦ Σαχχίας ἀναλαβὼν πολλὴν δύναμιν ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὡς λύσων τὴν πολιορκίαν. ὁ δὲ Βαβυλώνιος ἀφίσταται τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, ἀπαντήσας δὲ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς τῇ μάχῃ νικᾷ καὶ τρεψάμενος αὐτοὺς εἰς φυγὴν ἐξ ὅλης διώκει τῆς Συρίας. [111] ὡς δ᾽ ἀνεχώρησεν ὁ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, ἐξηπάτησαν οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται τὸν Σαχχίαν λέγοντες οὔτε τὸν Βαβυλώνιον ἔτι αὐτὸν πολεμήσειν καὶ τοὺς ὁμοφύλους, οὓς ἀναστήσειεν ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας εἰς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, μετὰ πάντων ἀνήξειν τῶν τοῦ ναοῦ σκευῶν, ὧν ἐσύλησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκ τοῦ νεώ. [112] τἀναντία δὲ τούτων καὶ

ἀληθῆ προελθὼν Ἱερεμίας προεφήτευσεν, ὡς ποιοῦσι μὲν κακῶς καὶ ἐξαπατῶσι τὸν βασιλέα, παρὰ δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ὄφελος, ἀλλὰ νικήσας αὐτοὺς ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἐπιστρατεύσειν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα μέλλει, καὶ πολιορκήσει τε καὶ τῷ λιμῷ διαφθερεῖ τὸν δῆμον, καὶ τοὺς περιλειφθέντας αἰχμαλώτους ἄξει, καὶ τὰς οὐσίας διαρπάσει, καὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ πλοῦτον ἐκφορήσας ἔτι καὶ αὐτὸν ἐμπρήσει καὶ κατασκάψει τὴν πόλιν, καὶ δουλεύσομεν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐτοῦ ἐπ᾽ ἔτη ἑβδομήκοντα. [113] παύσουσι δ᾽ ἡμᾶς τότε τῆς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῖς δουλείας Πέρσαι τε καὶ Μῆδοι καταλύσαντες Βαβυλωνίους, ἀφ᾽ ὧν εἰς τήνδε ἀπολυθέντες οἰκοδομήσομεν τὸν ναὸν πάλιν καὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα κατα [114] στήσομεν.᾽᾽ ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Ἱερεμίας ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πλειόνων ἐπιστεύετο, οἱ δὲ ἡγεμόνες καὶ οἱ ἀσεβεῖς ὡς ἐξεστηκότα τῶν φρενῶν αὐτὸν οὕτως ἐξεφαύλιζον. δόξαν δὲ αὐτῷ που καὶ εἰς τὴν πατρίδα παραγενέσθαι λεγομένην Ἀναθὼθ σταδίους δ᾽ ἀπέχουσαν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων εἴκοσι, συντυχὼν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τῶν ἀρχόντων τις συλλαβὼν κατέσχε συκοφαντῶν ὡς πρὸς τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους αὐτομολοῦντα. [115] ὁ δὲ ψευδῆ μὲν ἐκεῖνον ἔλεγεν αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρειν αὐτῷ, βαδίζειν δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἔφασκεν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα. ὁ δ᾽ οὐ πεισθεὶς ἀλλὰ λαβὼν αὐτὸν ἤγαγεν εἰς δίκην πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ὑφ᾽ ὧν πᾶσαν αἰκίαν καὶ βασάνους ὑπομείνας ἐφυλάττετο πρὸς τιμωρίαν. καὶ χρόνον μέν τινα διῆγεν οὕτως ἀδίκως πάσχων τὰ προειρημένα.

(4) [116] Ἔτει δ᾽ ἐνάτῳ τῆς Σαχχίου βασιλείας καὶ ἡμέρᾳ δεκάτῃ τοῦ δεκάτου μηνὸς στρατεύει τὸ δεύτερον ὁ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ προσκαθίσας αὐτῇ μῆνας ὀκτωκαίδεκα μετὰ πάσης πολιορκεῖ φιλοτιμίας. συνεπέθετο δὲ εἰς ταὐτὸ πολιορκουμένοις τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις δύο τὰ μέγιστα τῶν παθῶν, λιμὸς καὶ φθορὰ λοιμικὴ ἐνσκήψαντα σφοδρῶς. [117] ἐν δὲ τῇ εἱρκτῇ τυγχάνων ὁ προφήτης Ἱερεμίας οὐχ ἡσύχαζεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεκράγει καὶ ἐκήρυσσε παραινῶν τῷ πλήθει δέξασθαι τὸν Βαβυλώνιον ἀνοίξαντας τὰς πύλας: σωθήσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς πανοικὶ τοῦτο πράξαντας, εἰ δὲ μή, διαφθαρήσεσθαι. [118] προύλεγεν δ᾽ ὡς εἰ μὲν ἐπιμένοι τις ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντως ἀπολεῖται θατέρῳ ἢ λιμῷ δαπανηθεὶς ἢ σιδήρῳ τῷ τῶν πολεμίων, εἰ δὲ φύγοι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, διαδράσεται τὸν θάνατον. [119] οὐδὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς δὲ ὄντες τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐπίστευον οἱ ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούοντες τῶν ἡγεμόνων, ἀλλὰ μετ᾽ ὀργῆς ἀπήγγελλον ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ κατηγοροῦντες κατῃτιῶντο κτεῖναι τὸν προφήτην ὡς μεμηνότα καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν προκατακλῶντα καὶ ταῖς τῶν χειρόνων καταγγελίαις τὸ πρόθυμον ἐκλύοντα τοῦ πλήθους: ἕτοιμον γὰρ εἶναι αὐτὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς πατρίδος κινδυνεῦσαι, ὁ δὲ παρῄνει πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους φεύγειν ἁλώσεσθαι λέγων τὴν πόλιν καὶ πάντας ἀπολεῖσθαι.

(5) [120] Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπὸ χρηστότητος καὶ δικαιοσύνης οὐδὲν ἰδίᾳ παρωξύνθη, ἵνα δὲ μὴ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἀπεχθάνηται παρὰ τοιοῦτον καιρὸν ἀντιπράττων αὐτῶν τῇ προαιρέσει, τὸν προφήτην ἐφῆκεν αὐτοῖς ποιεῖν ὅτι ἂν

θέλωσιν. [121] ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἐφέντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν εἱρκτὴν εἰσελθόντες καὶ παραλαβόντες αὐτὸν εἴς τινα λάκκον βορβόρου πλήρη καθίμησαν, ὅπως ἰδίῳ θανάτῳ πνιγεὶς ἀποθάνῃ. ὁ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ αὐχένος ὑπὸ τοῦ πηλοῦ περισχεθεὶς ἐν τούτοις ἦν. [122] τῶν δ' οἰκετῶν τις τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τιμῇ τυγχάνων Αἰθίοψ τὸ γένος τὸ περὶ τὸν προφήτην πάθος ἀπήγγειλε τῷ βασιλεῖ φάσκων οὐκ ὀρθῶς ταῦτα τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτοῦ πεποιηκέναι καταποντίσαντας εἰς βόρβορον τὸν προφήτην καὶ τοῦ διὰ τῶν δεσμῶν θανάτου πικρότερον οὕτως ἐσόμενον ἐπινοήσαντας κατ' αὐτοῦ. [123] ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ μετανοήσας ἐν τῷ παραδοῦναι τὸν προφήτην τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐκέλευσε τὸν Αἰθίοπα τριάκοντα τῶν βασιλικῶν παραλαβόντα καὶ σχοίνους καὶ πᾶν ὃ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ προφήτου σωτηρίαν ἐπινοεῖν χρήσιμον μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀνελκύσαι τὸν Ἱερεμίαν. ὁ δ' Αἰθίοψ παραλαβὼν οὓς ἐπετάγη ἀνέσπασεν ἐκ τοῦ βορβόρου τὸν προφήτην καὶ διαφῆκεν ἀφύλακτον.

(6) [124] Μεταπεμψαμένου δ' αὐτὸν κρύφα τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τί δύναται φράζειν αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα σημαίνειν ἐρομένου, ἔχειν μὲν ἔλεγεν, οὐ πιστευθήσεσθαι δ' εἰπὼν οὐδὲ παραινέσας ἀκουσθήσεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὡς δὴ μέγα κακόν τι εἰργασμένον ἀπολέσαι διέγνωσαν οἱ σοὶ φίλοι, φησί, καὶ ποῦ νῦν εἰσιν οἱ τὸν Βαβυλώνιον οὐκέθ' ἡμῖν ἐπιστρατεύσειν φάσκοντες καὶ ἀπατῶντες ὑμᾶς; εὐλαβοῦμαι δὲ νῦν γε τὴν ἀλήθειαν εἰπεῖν, μή με κατακρίνῃς θανάτῳ." τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ὅρκους αὐτῷ δόντος, [125] ὡς οὔτε αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἀναιρήσει οὔτε τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐκδώσει, θαρσήσας τῇ δεδομένῃ πίστει συνεβούλευσεν αὐτῷ παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις: [126] ταῦτα δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν δι' αὐτοῦ προφητεύειν ἔλεγεν, εἴ γε βούλεται σώζεσθαι καὶ τὸν ἐφεστῶτα κίνδυνον διαφυγεῖν καὶ μήτε τὴν πόλιν εἰς ἔδαφος πεσεῖν, μήτε τὸν ναὸν ἐμπρησθέντα Γὰρ αὐτὸν τούτων παραίτιον ἔσεσθαι τῶν κακῶν τοῖς πολίταις καὶ αὐτῷ πανοικὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς. [127] ὁ δὲ ταῦτ' ἀκούσας βούλεσθαι μὲν αὐτὸς ἔφη ποιεῖν ἃ παραινεῖ καὶ λέγει συνοίσειν αὐτῷ γινόμενα, δεδιέναι δὲ τοὺς αὐτομολήσαντας τῶν ὁμοφύλων πρὸς τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους, μὴ διαβληθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ κολασθῇ. [128] παρεθάρσυνε δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ προφήτης καὶ μάτην ὑπονοεῖν τὴν τιμωρίαν ἔλεγεν: οὐδενὸς γὰρ κακοῦ πειραθήσεσθαι παραδόντα τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις οὔτ' αὐτὸν οὔτε τὰ τέκνα οὔτε τὰς γυναῖκας, μενεῖν δὲ καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἀπαθῆ. [129] καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἱερεμίαν ταῦτ' εἰπόντα ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπέλυσεν προστάξας αὐτῷ πρὸς μηδένα τῶν πολιτῶν ἐξενεγκεῖν τὰ δόξαντ' αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν, εἰ μαθόντες αὐτὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μετάπεμπτον γεγονέναι πυνθάνονται τί κληθεὶς εἴποι πρὸς αὐτόν, φράζειν τι τούτων, ἀλλὰ σκήπτεσθαι πρὸς αὐτούς, ὅτι δεηθείη μὴ ἐν δεσμῷ τυγχάνειν καὶ φυλακῇ. [130] καὶ δὴ τοῦτο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔλεγεν: ἐπυνθάνοντο γὰρ ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὸν προφήτην, τί περὶ αὐτῶν ἀφίκοιτο πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα σκήπτεσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐλέχθη.

VIII

(1) [131] Τῆς δὲ πολιορκίας τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἐντεταμένως σφόδρα καὶ προθύμως εἶχετο: πύργους τε γὰρ μεγάλων οἰκοδομήσας χωμάτων ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀνεῖργε τοὺς τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐφεστῶτας, καὶ πολλὰ περὶ τὸν κύκλον ὅλον ἤγειρε χώματα τοῖς τείχεσι τὸ ὕψος ἴσα. [132] καρτερῶς δὲ καὶ προθύμως ἔφερον οἱ ἐντὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν: ἔκαμνον γὰρ οὔτε πρὸς τὸν λιμὸν οὔτε πρὸς τὴν νόσον τὴν λοιμικήν, ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἔνδον ὑπὸ τούτων ἐλαυνόμενοι τῶν παθῶν τὰς ψυχὰς ἔρρωντο πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, μήτε πρὸς τὰς ἐπινοίας τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα καταπληττόμενοι, ἀλλ᾽ ἀντιμηχανήματα πρὸς πάντα τὰ παρ᾽ ἐκείνων ἀντεπινοοῦντες: [133] ὡς εἶναι τὸν ὅλον ἀγῶνα καὶ τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις καὶ τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις τῆς ὀξύτητος καὶ συνέσεως, τῶν μὲν πλέον ἐν ταύτῃ δυνηθῆναι τὴν ἀναίρεσιν οἰομένων εἶναι τῆς πόλεως, τῶν δὲ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐν οὐκ ἄλλῳ τιθεμένων ἢ ἐν τῷ μὴ καμεῖν μηδ᾽ ἀπειπεῖν ἀντεφευρίσκοντας οἷς μάταια τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπελεγχθήσεται μηχανήματα. [134] καὶ ταῦθ᾽ ὑπέμειναν ἐπὶ μῆνας ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἕως οὗ διεφθάρησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ τῶν βελῶν, ἅπερ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων εἰς αὐτοὺς ἠκόντιζον οἱ πολέμιοι.

(2) [135] Ἡιρέθη δ᾽ ἡ πόλις ἐνδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς Σαχχίου βασιλείας τοῦ τετάρτου μηνὸς τῇ ἐνάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ. εἷλον δ᾽ οὖν οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, οἷς ἐπίστευσε τὴν πολιορκίαν ὁ Ναβουχοδονόσορος: αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐν Ἀραβαθᾶ διέτριβε πόλει. τὰ δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ὀνόματα, εἴ τις ἐπιζητήσειε γνῶναι, οἵτινες τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πορθήσαντες ὑπέταξαν, ἦν Ῥεγάλσαρος, Ἀρέμαντος, Σεμέγαρος, Ναβώσαρις, Ἀχαράμψαρις. [136] ἁλούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως περὶ μέσην νύκτα καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῶν πολεμίων εἰσελθόντων εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν γνοὺς ὁ Σαχχίας ὁ βασιλεύς, παραλαβὼν τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ τοὺς φίλους φεύγει μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως διὰ τῆς καρτερᾶς φάραγγος καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου. [137] φρασάντων δὲ τοῦτό τινων αὐτομόλων τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον ὥρμησαν διώκειν αὐτόν, καταλαβόντες δὲ οὐκ ἄπωθεν Ἰεριχοῦντος ἐκυκλώσαντο αὐτόν: οἱ δὲ φίλοι καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες οἱ συμφυγόντες τῷ Σαχχίᾳ ἐπεὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐγγὺς ὄντας εἶδον, καταλιπόντες αὐτὸν διεσπάρησαν ἄλλος ἀλλαχοῦ καὶ σώζειν ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος ἔγνω. [138] περιλειφθέντα τε αὐτὸν σὺν ὀλίγοις ζωγρήσαντες οἱ πολέμιοι μετὰ τῶν τέκνων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ἤγαγον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. παραγενόμενον δ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁ Ναβουχοδονόσαρος ἀσεβῆ καὶ παράσπονδον ἀποκαλεῖν ἤρξατο καὶ ἀμνήμονα τῶν πρόσω λόγων, οὓς ἐποιήσατο σώζειν αὐτῷ τὴν χώραν ὑποσχόμενος. [139] ὠνείδιζε δὲ καὶ ἀχαριστίαν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ μὲν λαβόντι τὴν βασιλείαν, Ἰωακείμου γὰρ αὐτὴν οὖσαν ἀφελόμενον ἐκείνῳ δοῦναι, χρησαμένῳ δὲ τῇ δυνάμει κατὰ τοῦ παρασχόντος: “ἀλλὰ μέγας, εἶπεν, ὁ θεός, ὃς μισήσας σου τὸν τρόπον ὑποχείριον ἡμῖν ἔθηκε.” [140] χρησάμενος δὲ τούτοις πρὸς Σαχχίαν τοῖς λόγοις τοὺς υἱοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἀνελεῖν καὶ τοὺς φίλους παραχρῆμα αὐτοῦ τε Σαχχίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰχμαλώτων βλεπόντων, ἔπειτα

τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐκκόψας τοῦ Σαχχίου δήσας ἤγαγεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα. [141] καὶ ταῦτ᾽ αὐτῷ συνέβη, ἃ Ἱερεμίας τε καὶ Ἰεζεκίηλος προεφήτευσαν αὐτῷ, ὅτι συλληφθεὶς ἀχθήσεται πρὸς τὸν Βαβυλώνιον καὶ λαλήσει αὐτῷ κατὰ στόμα καὶ ὄψεται τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἱερεμίας εἶπε, τυφλωθεὶς δὲ καὶ ἀχθεὶς εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ταύτην οὐκ εἶδε καθὼς Ἰεζεκίηλος προεῖπε.

(3) [142] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἱκανῶς ἐμφανίσαι δυνάμενα τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ φύσιν τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσιν εἰρήκαμεν, ὅτι ποικίλη τέ ἐστι καὶ πολύτροπος καὶ καθ᾽ ὥραν ἀπαντᾷ τεταγμένως, ἅ τε δεῖ γενέσθαι προλέγει, τήν τε τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄγνοιαν καὶ ἀπιστίαν, ὑφ᾽ ἧς οὐδὲν προιδεῖν εἰάθησαν τῶν ἀποβησομένων, ἀφύλακτοι δὲ ταῖς συμφοραῖς παρεδόθησαν, ὡς ἀμήχανον αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν πεῖραν διαφυγεῖν.

(4) [143] Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τοῦ Δαυίδου γένους βασιλεύσαντες οὕτως κατέστρεψαν τὸν βίον, εἴκοσι μὲν καὶ εἷς γενόμενοι μέχρι τοῦ τελευταίου βασιλέως, ἔτη δὲ πάντες βασιλεύσαντες πεντακόσια καὶ δεκατέσσαρα καὶ μῆνας ἓξ καὶ ἡμέρας δέκα, ἐξ ὧν εἴκοσι τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέσχεν ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν βασιλεὺς Σαοῦλος οὐκ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς φυλῆς ὑπάρχων.

(5) [144] Ὁ δὲ Βαβυλώνιος πέμπει τὸν αὐτοῦ στρατηγὸν Ναβουζαρδάνην εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα συλήσοντα τὸν ναόν, προστάξας ἅμα καὶ καταπρῆσαι αὐτόν τε καὶ τὰ βασίλεια τήν τε πόλιν εἰς ἔδαφος καθελεῖν καὶ τὸν λαὸν εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν μεταστῆσαι. [145] ὃς γενόμενος ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐνδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς Σαχχίου βασιλείας συλᾷ τε τὸν ναὸν καὶ βαστάζει τὰ σκεύη τοῦ θεοῦ χρυσᾶ τε καὶ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν μέγαν λουτῆρα, ὃν Σολόμων ἀνέθηκεν, ἔτι γε μὴν τοὺς στύλους τοὺς χαλκοῦς καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν τάς τε χρυσᾶς τραπέζας καὶ τὰς λυχνίας. [146] βαστάσας δὴ ταῦτα ἀνῆψε τὸν ναὸν μηνὶ πέμπτῳ τῇ νουμηνίᾳ ἐνδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς Σαχχίου βασιλείας, ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ δὲ τῆς Ναβουχοδονοσόρου: ἐνέπρησε δὲ καὶ τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατέστρεψεν. [147] ἐνεπρήσθη δὲ ὁ ναὸς μετὰ τετρακόσια ἔτη καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ μῆνας ἓξ καὶ δέκα ἡμέρας, ἀφ᾽ οὗ κατεσκευάσθη: τῇ δ᾽ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μεταναστάσει τοῦ λαοῦ τότε ἦν ἔτη χίλια ἑξηκονταδύο μῆνες ἓξ ἡμέραι δέκα: τῷ δὲ κατακλυσμῷ μέχρι τῆς τοῦ ναοῦ πορθήσεως χρόνος ἦν ὁ πᾶς ἐτῶν χιλίων ἐνακοσίων πεντηκονταεπτὰ μηνῶν ἓξ ἡμερῶν δέκα: [148] ἐξ οὗ δ᾽ ἐγεννήθη ὁ Ἄδαμος μέχρι τῶν περὶ τὸν ναὸν συμβάντων ἔτη ἐστὶ τετρακισχίλια πεντακόσια δεκατρία μῆνες ἓξ ἡμέραι δέκα. τοσοῦτον μὲν οὖν τὸ τούτων τῶν ἐτῶν πλῆθος: ὅσα γε μὴν ἐπράχθη καθ᾽ ἕκαστον τῶν συμβεβηκότων δεδηλώκαμεν. [149] ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς τοῦ Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέως κατασκάψας τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸν λαὸν μεταναστήσας ἔλαβεν αἰχμαλώτους τὸν ἀρχιερέα Σεβαῖον καὶ τὸν μετ᾽ αὐτὸν ἱερέα Σεφενίαν καὶ τοὺς φυλάσσοντας τὸ ἱερὸν ἡγεμόνας, τρεῖς δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν εὐνοῦχον καὶ τοὺς φίλους τοῦ Σαχχίου ἑπτὰ καὶ τὸν

γραμματέα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλους ἡγεμόνας ἑξήκοντα, οὓς ἅπαντας μεθ᾽ ὧν ἐσύλησε σκευῶν ἐκόμισε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα εἰς Σαλάβαθα πόλιν τῆς Συρίας. [150] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοῦ μὲν ἀρχιερέως καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐκέλευσεν ἐκεῖ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποτεμεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ πάντας τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τὸν Σαχχίαν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα δέσμιον ἐπήγετο καὶ Ἰωσάδακον τὸν ἀρχιερέα ὄντα υἱὸν Σαραία τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, ὃν ἀπέκτεινεν ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἐν Ἀριβαθᾶ πόλει τῆς Συρίας, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἡμῖν δεδήλωται.

(6) [151] Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ γένος διεξήλθομεν τὸ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τίνες ἦσαν δεδηλώκαμεν καὶ τοὺς χρόνους αὐτῶν, ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην καὶ τῶν ἀρχιερέων εἰπεῖν τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τίνες ἦσαν οἱ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην καταδείξαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι. [152] πρῶτος μὲν οὖν Σάδωκος ἀρχιερεὺς ἐγένετο τοῦ ναοῦ, ὃν Σολόμων ᾠκοδόμησε: μετ᾽ αὐτὸν δ᾽ ὁ υἱὸς Ἀχιμᾶς διαδέχεται τὴν τιμὴν καὶ μετὰ Ἀχιμᾶν Ἀζαρίας, τούτου δὲ Ἰώραμος, τοῦ δὲ Ἰωράμου Ἴως, μετ᾽ αὐτὸν δὲ Ἀξιώραμος, [153] τοῦ δὲ Ἀξιωράμου Φιδέας, τοῦ δὲ Φιδέα Σουδαίας, τοῦ δὲ Σουδαία Ἰουῆλος, τοῦ δὲ Ἰώθαμος, Ἰωθάμου δὲ Οὐρίας, Οὐρία δὲ Νηρίας, Νηρία δὲ Ὡδαίας, τοῦ δὲ Σαλοῦμος, Σαλούμου δὲ Ἑλκίας, Ἑλκία δ᾽ Ἄζαρος, τοῦ δὲ Ἰωσάδακος ὁ αἰχμαλωτισθεὶς εἰς Βαβυλῶνα. οὗτοι πάντες παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς διεδέξαντο τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην.

(7) [154] Παραγενόμενος δ᾽ εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ὁ βασιλεὺς Σαχχίαν μὲν εἶχεν ἄχρις οὗ καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν εἱρκτῇ, θάψας δ᾽ αὐτὸν βασιλικῶς τὰ σκεύη τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Ἱεροσολύμων συληθέντα ναοῦ ἀνέθηκε τοῖς ἰδίοις θεοῖς, τὸν δὲ λαὸν κατῴκισεν ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίτιδι χώρᾳ, τὸν δὲ ἀρχιερέα ἀπέλυσε τῶν δεσμῶν.

IX

(1) [155] Ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς Ναβουζαρδάνης αἰχμαλωτίσας τὸν τῶν Ἑβραίων λαὸν τοὺς πένητας καὶ αὐτομόλους ἐκεῖ κατέλιπεν ἀποδείξας αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνα Γαδαλίαν ὄνομ᾽ Ἀικάμου παῖδα τῶν εὖ γεγονότων ἐπιεικῆ καὶ δίκαιον, ἐπέταξε δ᾽ αὐτοῖς τὴν χώραν ἐργαζομένοις τῷ βασιλεῖ τελεῖν φόρον ὡρισμένον. [156] Ἱερεμίαν δὲ τὸν προφήτην λαβὼν ἐκ τῆς εἱρκτῆς ἔπειθεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα σὺν αὐτῷ παραγενέσθαι: κεκελεῦσθαι γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως πάντ᾽ αὐτῷ χορηγεῖν: εἰ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ βούλεται, δηλοῦν αὐτῷ ποῦ μένειν διέγνωκεν, ἵνα τοῦτο ἐπισταλῇ τῷ βασιλεῖ. [157] ὁ δὲ προφήτης οὔθ᾽ ἕπεσθαι ἤθελεν οὔτ᾽ ἀλλαχόσε που μένειν, ἡδέως δ᾽ εἶχεν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐρειπίοις τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῖς ταλαιπώροις αὐτῆς διαζῆσαι λειψάνοις. γνοὺς δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν προαίρεσιν ὁ στρατηγός, τῷ Γαδαλίᾳ προστάξας, ὃν κατέλιπεν, αὐτίκα πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν καὶ χορηγίαν ὅσων ἂν δέηται δωρησάμενός τε αὐτὸν δωρεαῖς πολυτελέσιν ἀπέλυσεν. [158] καὶ Ἱερεμίας μὲν κατέμεινεν [εἰς Δάναν] ἐν πόλει τῆς χώρας Μοσφοθᾶ καλουμένῃ παρακαλέσας τὸν Ναβουζαρδάνην, ἵν᾽ αὐτῷ συναπολύσῃ τὸν μαθητὴν

Βαροῦχον Νήρου δὲ παῖδα ἐξ ἐπισήμου σφόδρα οἰκίας ὄντα καὶ τῇ πατρίῳ γλώττῃ διαφερόντως πεπαιδευμένον.

(2) [159] Ναβουζαρδάνης δὲ ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ὥρμησεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα. οἱ δὲ πολιορκουμένων Ἱεροσολύμων φυγόντες διασκεδασθέντες κατὰ τὴν χώραν, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους ἤκουσαν ἀνακεχωρηκότας καὶ λείψανά τινα καταλελοιπότας ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν γῇ [καὶ] τοὺς ταύτην ἐργασομένους, συλλεχθέντες πανταχόθεν ἦκον πρὸς τὸν Γαδαλίαν εἰς Μασαφθά. [160] ἡγεμόνες δ᾽ ἦσαν ἐν αὐτοῖς Ἰωάδης υἱὸς Καρίου καὶ Σερέας καὶ Ἰωαζανίας καὶ ἕτεροι πρὸς τούτοις, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους ἦν τις Ἰσμάηλος πονηρὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ δολιώτατος, ὃς πολιορκουμένων τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἔφυγε πρὸς τὸν Ἀμμανιτῶν βασιλέα Βααλεὶμ καὶ συνδιήγαγεν αὐτῷ τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον. [161] τούτους τοίνυν γενομένους αὐτοῦ Γαδαλίας ἔπεισε μένειν αὐτίκα μηδὲν δεδιότας τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους: γεωργοῦντας γὰρ τὴν χώραν οὐδὲν πείσεσθαι δεινόν. ταῦτα ὀμνὺς αὐτοῖς διεβεβαιοῦτο καὶ προστάτην αὐτὸν ἔχειν λέγων, ὥστε εἴ τις ἐνοχλοίη τεύξεσθαι τῆς προθυμίας: [162] καὶ συνεβούλευε κατοικεῖν [εἰς] ἣν ἕκαστος βούλεται πόλιν ἀποστέλλοντα μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ ἀνακτίζειν τὰ ἐδάφη καὶ κατοικεῖν: προεῖπέ τε παρασκευάζεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἕως ἔτι καιρός ἐστι σῖτον καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἔλαιον, ὅπως ἔχωσι διὰ τοῦ χειμῶνος τρέφεσθαι. ταῦτα διαλεχθεὶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπέλυσε [διὰ] τῆς χώρας εἰς ὃν ἕκαστος ἐβούλετο τόπον.

(3) [163] Διαδραμούσης δὲ φήμης εἰς τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἔθνη, ὅτι τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς παρ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐλθόντας Γαδαλίας ἐδέξατο φιλανθρώπως καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτοῖς γεωργοῦσι κατοικεῖν ἐφῆκεν, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ τελεῖν φόρον τῷ Βαβυλωνίῳ, συνέδραμον αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὸν Γαδαλίαν καὶ τὴν χώραν κατῴκησαν. [164] κατανοήσαντες δὲ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Γαδαλίου χρηστότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν Ἰωάννης καὶ οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἡγεμόνες ὑπερηγάπησαν αὐτὸν καὶ Βαάλιμον τὸν τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν βασιλέα ἔλεγον πέμψαι Ἰσμάηλον ἀποκτενοῦντα αὐτὸν δόλῳ κρυφίως, ὅπως αὐτὸς ἄρχῃ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν: εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ γένους τοῦ βασιλικοῦ. [165] ῥύσεσθαί γε μὴν ἔλεγον αὐτὸν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, ἂν αὐτοῖς ἐφῇ κτεῖναι τὸν Ἰσμάηλον, ὡς οὐδενὸς γνωσομένου: δεδιέναι γὰρ ἔφασκον, μὴ φονευθεὶς αὐτὸς ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου παντελὴς ἀπώλεια γένηται τῶν ὑπολελειμμένων τῆς τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἰσχύος. [166] ὁ δ᾽ ἀπιστεῖν αὐτοῖς ὡμολόγει κατ᾽ ἀνδρὸς εὖ πεπονθότος ἐπιβουλὴν τοιαύτην ἐμφανίσασιν: οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς εἶναι παρὰ τηλικαύτην ἐρημίαν ὧν ἔχρῃζε μὴ διαμαρτόντα οὕτως πονηρὸν εἰς τὸν εὐεργετήσαντα καὶ ἀνόσιον εὑρεθῆναι, ὡς τῷ μὲν τὸ ἀδίκημα τὸ μὴ ὑπ᾽ ἄλλων ἐπιβουλευόμενον σῶσαι, σπουδάζειν δὲ αὐτὸν αὐτόχειρα ζητεῖν αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι. [167] οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ εἰ ταῦτ᾽ ἀληθῆ δεῖ δοκεῖν, ἄμεινον ἔφασκεν ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου μᾶλλον, ἢ καταφυγόντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ πιστεύσαντα τὴν ἰδίαν σωτηρίαν καὶ παρακαταθέμενον αὐτῷ διαφθεῖραι.

(4) [168] Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰωάννης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν ἡγεμόνων μὴ δυνηθέντες πεῖσαι τὸν Γαδαλίαν ἀπῆλθον. χρόνου δὲ διελθόντος ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα παραγίνεται πρὸς Γαδαλίαν εἰς Μασφαθὰ πόλιν Ἰσμάηλος μετ᾽ ἀνδρῶν δέκα, οὓς λαμπρᾷ τραπέζῃ καὶ ξενίοις ὑποδεξάμενος εἰς μέθην προήχθη φιλοφρονούμενος τὸν Ἰσμάηλον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. [169] θεασάμενος δ᾽ αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχοντα καὶ βεβαπτισμένον εἰς ἀναισθησίαν καὶ ὕπνον ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης ὁ Ἰσμάηλος ἀναπηδήσας μετὰ τῶν δέκα φίλων ἀποσφάττει τὸν Γαδαλίαν καὶ τοὺς κατακειμένους σὺν αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ. καὶ μετὰ τὴν τούτων ἀναίρεσιν ἐξελθὼν νυκτὸς ἅπαντας φονεύει τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἰουδαίους καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων καταλειφθέντας ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν στρατιωτῶν. [170] τῇ δ᾽ ἐπιούσῃ μετὰ δώρων ἦκον πρὸς Γαδαλίαν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ὀγδοήκοντα μηδενὸς τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐγνωκότος. ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἰσμάηλος εἵσω τε αὐτοὺς καλεῖ ὡς πρὸς Γαδαλίαν, καὶ παρελθόντων ἀποκλείσας τὴν αὔλειον ἐφόνευσε καὶ τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν εἰς λάκκον τινὰ βαθύν, ὡς ἂν ἀφανῆ γένοιτο, κατεπόντισε. [171] διεσώθησαν δὲ τῶν ὀγδοήκοντα τούτων ἀνδρῶν οἳ μὴ πρότερον ἀναιρεθῆναι παρεκάλεσαν πρὶν ἢ τὰ κεκρυμμένα ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς αὐτῷ παραδῶσιν ἔπιπλά τε καὶ ἐσθῆτα καὶ σῖτον. ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας ἐφείσατο τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων Ἰσμάηλος: [172] τὸν δ᾽ ἐν τῇ Μασφάθῃ λαὸν σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ νηπίοις ᾐχμαλώτισεν, ἐν οἷς καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Σαχχίου θυγατέρας, ἃς Ναβουζαρδάνης ὁ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων στρατηγὸς παρὰ Γαδαλίᾳ καταλελοίπει. ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸν Ἀμμανιτῶν βασιλέα.

(5) [173] Ἀκούσας δ᾽ ὁ Ἰωάννης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἡγεμόνες [τὰ ἐν τῇ Μασφαθῇ] τὰ πεπραγμένα ὑπὸ Ἰσμαήλου καὶ τὸν Γαδαλίου θάνατον ἠγανάκτησαν, καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ἕκαστος ὁπλίτας παραλαβὼν ὥρμησαν πολεμήσοντες τὸν Ἰσμάηλον καὶ καταλαμβάνουσιν αὐτὸν πρὸς τῇ πηγῇ ἐν Ἰβρῶνι. [174] οἱ δὲ αἰχμαλωτισθέντες ὑπὸ Ἰσμαήλου τὸν Ἰωάννην ἰδόντες καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας εὐθύμως διετέθησαν βοήθειαν αὐτοῖς ἥκειν ὑπολαμβάνοντες, καὶ καταλιπόντες τὸν αἰχμαλωτίσαντα πρὸς Ἰωάννην ἀνεχώρησαν. Ἰσμάηλος μὲν οὖν μετ᾽ ἀνδρῶν ὀκτὼ φεύγει πρὸς τὸν τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν βασιλέα. [175] ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης παραλαβὼν οὓς ἀνέσωσεν ἐκ τῶν Ἰσμαήλου χειρῶν καὶ τοὺς εὐνούχους καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ νήπια εἴς τινα τόπον Μάνδρα λεγόμενον παραγίνεται. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἐπέμεινεν αὐτόθι, διεγνώκεισαν δ᾽ ἐκεῖθεν ἄραντες εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐλθεῖν φοβούμενοι, μὴ κτείνωσιν αὐτοὺς οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι μείναντας ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ὑπὲρ Γαδαλία τοῦ κατασταθέντος ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνος ὀργισθέντες πεφονευμένου.

(6) [176] Ὄντων δ᾽ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς βουλῆς προσίασιν Ἱερεμίᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ Ἰωάννης ὁ τοῦ Καρίου καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ παρακαλοῦντες δεηθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅπως ἀμηχανοῦσιν αὐτοῖς περὶ τοῦ τί χρὴ ποιεῖν τοῦτ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὑποδείξῃ, ὁμόσαντες ποιήσειν ὅ τι ἂν αὐτοῖς Ἱερεμίας εἴπῃ. [177] ὑποσχομένου δὲ τοῦ προφήτου διακονήσειν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν συνέβη μετὰ δέκα ἡμέρας αὐτῷ

φανέντα τὸν θεὸν εἰπεῖν δηλῶσαι Ἰωάννῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγεμόσι καὶ τῷ λαῷ παντί, ὅτι μένουσι μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ χώρᾳ παρέσται καὶ πρόνοιαν ἕξει καὶ τηρήσει παρὰ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων οὓς δεδίασιν ἀπαθεῖς, πορευομένους δὲ εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπολείψει καὶ ταὐτὰ διαθήσει ὀργισθείς, ἃ καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτῶν ἔμπροσθεν οἴδατε [178] πεπονθότας.” ταῦτα εἰπὼν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ τῷ λαῷ τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς προλέγειν ὁ προφήτης οὐκ ἐπιστεύετο, ὡς κατὰ ἐντολὴν τὴν ἐκείνου μένειν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ κελεύει, χαριζόμενον δὲ Βαρούχῳ τῷ ἰδίῳ μαθητῇ καταψεύδεσθαι μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ, πείθειν δὲ μένειν αὐτόθι, ὡς ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων διαφθαρῶσι. [179] παρακούσας οὖν ὅ τε λαὸς καὶ Ἰωάννης τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ συμβουλίας, ἣν αὐτοῖς διὰ τοῦ προφήτου παρῄνεσεν, ἀπῆρεν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἄγων καὶ τὸν Ἱερεμίαν καὶ τὸν Βαροῦχον.

(7) [180] Γενομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκεῖ σημαίνει τὸ θεῖον τῷ προφήτῃ μέλλοντα στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, καὶ προειπεῖν ἐκέλευε τῷ λαῷ τήν τε ἅλωσιν τῆς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ ὅτι τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀποκτενεῖ, τοὺς δὲ αἰχμαλώτους λαβὼν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἄξει. [181] καὶ ταῦτα συνέβη: τῷ γὰρ πέμπτῳ τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων πορθήσεως ἔτει, ὅ ἐστι τρίτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν τῆς Ναβουχοδονοσόρου βασιλείας, στρατεύει Ναβουχοδονόσορος ἐπὶ τὴν κοίλην Συρίαν, καὶ κατασχὼν αὐτὴν ἐπολέμησε καὶ Μωαβίταις καὶ Ἀμμανίταις. [182] ποιησάμενος δὲ ὑπήκοα ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον καταστρεψόμενος αὐτήν, καὶ τὸν μὲν τότε βασιλέα κτείνει, καταστήσας δὲ ἕτερον τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ πάλιν Ἰουδαίους αἰχμαλωτίσας ἤγαγεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα. [183] καὶ τὸ μὲν Ἑβραίων γένος ἐν τοιούτῳ τέλει γενόμενον παρειλήφαμεν δὶς ἐλθὸν πέραν Εὐφράτου: ὑπὸ Ἀσσυρίων μὲν γὰρ ἐξέπεσεν ὁ τῶν δέκα φυλῶν λαὸς ἀπὸ Σαμαρείας βασιλεύοντος αὐτῶν Ὡσήου, ἔπειτα τῶν δύο φυλῶν ὑπὸ Ναβουχοδονοσόρου τοῦ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέως καὶ τῶν Χαλδαίων ὃς ὑπελείφθη τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἁλόντων. [184] Σαλμανάσσης μὲν οὖν ἀναστήσας τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας κατῴκισεν ἀντ’ αὐτῶν τὸ τῶν Χουθαίων ἔθνος, οἳ πρότερον ἐνδοτέρω τῆς Περσίδος καὶ τῆς Μηδίας ἦσαν, τότε μέντοι Σαμαρεῖς ἐκλήθησαν τὴν τῆς χώρας εἰς ἣν κατῳκίσθησαν προσηγορίαν ἀναλαβόντες: ὁ δὲ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεὺς τὰς δύο φυλὰς ἐξαγαγὼν οὐδὲν ἔθνος εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν κατῴκισε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔρημος ἡ Ἰουδαία πᾶσα καὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ὁ ναὸς διέμεινεν ἔτεσιν ἑβδομήκοντα. [185] τὸν δὲ σύμπαντα χρόνον, ὃς ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν αἰχμαλωσίας ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν δύο φυλῶν ἀνάστασιν ἐληλύθει, ἑκατὸν ἔτη καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ μῆνας ἓξ καὶ δέκα ἡμέρας συνέβη γενέσθαι.

X

(1) [186] Ὁ δὲ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεὺς Ναβουχοδονόσορος τοὺς εὐγενεστάτους λαβὼν τῶν Ἰουδαίων παῖδας καὶ τοὺς Σαχχίου τοῦ βασιλέως

αὐτῶν συγγενεῖς, οἳ καὶ ταῖς ἀκμαῖς τῶν σωμάτων καὶ ταῖς εὐμορφίαις τῶν ὄψεων ἦσαν περίβλεπτοι, παιδαγωγοῖς καὶ τῇ δι᾽ αὐτῶν θεραπείᾳ παραδίδωσι ποιήσας τινὰς αὐτῶν ἐκτομίας: [187] τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ὅσα κατεστρέψατο ληφθέντας ἐν ὥρᾳ τῆς ἡλικίας διαθεὶς ἐχορήγει μὲν αὐτοῖς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης αὐτοῦ εἰς δίαιταν, ἐπαίδευε δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐπιχώρια καὶ τὰ τῶν Χαλδαίων ἐξεδίδασκε γράμματα: ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι σοφίαν ἱκανοὶ περὶ ἣν ἐκέλευε διατρίβειν. [188] ἦσαν δ᾽ ἐν τούτοις τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Σαχχίου γένους τέσσαρες καλοί τε καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τὰς φύσεις, ὧν ὁ μὲν Δανίηλος ἐκαλεῖτο, ὁ δὲ Ἀνανίας, ὁ δὲ Μισάηλος, ὁ δὲ τέταρτος Ἀζαρίας. τούτους ὁ Βαβυλώνιος μετωνόμασε καὶ χρῆσθαι προσέταξεν ἑτέροις ὀνόμασι. [189] καὶ τὸν μὲν Δανίηλον ἐκάλουν Βαλτάσαρον, τὸν δ᾽ Ἀνανίαν Σεδράχην, Μισάηλον δὲ Μισάχην, τὸν δ᾽ Ἀζαρίαν Ἀβδεναγώ. τούτους ὁ βασιλεὺς δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν εὐφυίας καὶ σπουδῆς τῆς περὶ τὴν παίδευσιν καὶ σοφίας ἐν προκοπῇ γενομένους εἶχεν ἐν τιμῇ καὶ στέργων διετέλει.

(2) [190] Δόξαν δὲ Δανιήλῳ μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν σκληραγωγεῖν ἑαυτὸν καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς τραπέζης ἐδεσμάτων ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ καθόλου πάντων τῶν ἐμψύχων, προσελθὼν Ἀσχάνῃ τῷ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτῶν ἐμπεπιστευμένῳ εὐνούχῳ τὰ μὲν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτοῖς κομιζόμενα παρεκάλεσεν αὐτὸν ἀναλίσκειν λαμβάνοντα, παρέχειν δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὄσπρια καὶ φοίνικας εἰς διατροφὴν καὶ εἴ τι τῶν ἀψύχων ἕτερον βούλοιτο: πρὸς γὰρ τὴν τοιαύτην δίαιταν αὐτοὺς κεκινῆσθαι, τῆς δ᾽ ἑτέρας περιφρονεῖν. [191] ὁ δ᾽ εἶναι μὲν ἕτοιμος ἔλεγεν ὑπηρετεῖν αὐτῶν τῇ προαιρέσει, ὑφορᾶσθαι δέ, μὴ κατάδηλοι τῷ βασιλεῖ γενηθέντες ἐκ τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ἰσχνότητος καὶ τῆς τροπῆς τῶν χαρακτήρων, συμμεταβάλλειν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀνάγκη τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰς χρόας ἅμα τῇ διαίτῃ, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων παίδων εὐπαθούντων ἐλεγχθέντες αἴτιοι κινδύνου καὶ τιμωρίας αὐτῷ καταστῶσιν. [192] ἔχοντα τοίνυν πρὸς τοῦτ᾽ εὐλαβῶς τὸν Ἀσχάνην πείθουσιν ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμέρας ταῦτα παρασχεῖν αὐτοῖς πείρας ἕνεκα καὶ μὴ μεταβαλούσης μὲν αὐτοῖς τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ἕξεως ἐπιμένειν τοῖς αὐτοῖς, ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι εἰς αὐτὴν βλαβησομένων, εἰ δὲ μειωθέντας ἴδοι καὶ κάκιον τῶν ἄλλων ἔχοντας, ἐπὶ τὴν προτέραν αὐτοὺς δίαιταν ἄγειν. [193] ὡς δὲ οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἐλύπει τὴν τροφὴν ἐκείνην προσφερομένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εὐτραφέστεροι τὰ σώματα καὶ μείζονες ἐγίνοντο, ὡς τοὺς μὲν ἐνδεεστέρους ὑπολαμβάνειν οἷς τὴν βασιλικὴν συνέβαινεν εἶναι χορηγίαν, τοὺς δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Δανιήλου δοκεῖν ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ καὶ τρυφῇ τῇ πάσῃ βιοῦν, ἔκτοτε μετ᾽ ἀδείας ὁ Ἀσχάνης ἃ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ δείπνου καθ᾽ ἡμέραν συνήθως ἔπεμπε τοῖς παισὶν ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς ἐλάμβανεν, ἐχορήγει δ᾽ αὐτοῖς τὰ προειρημένα. [194] οἱ δὲ ὡς καὶ τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτοῖς διὰ τοῦτο καθαρῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν παιδείαν ἀκραιφνῶν γεγενημένων καὶ τῶν σωμάτων πρὸς φιλοπονίαν εὐτονωτέρων, οὔτε γὰρ ἐκείνας ἐφείλκοντο καὶ βαρείας εἶχον ὑπὸ τροφῆς ποικίλης οὔτε ταῦτα μαλακώτερα διὰ

τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν, πᾶσαν ἑτοίμως ἐξέμαθον παιδείαν ἥτις ἦν παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις καὶ τοῖς Χαλδαίοις. μάλιστα δὲ Δανίηλος ἱκανῶς ἤδη σοφίας ἐμπείρως ἔχων περὶ κρίσεις ὀνείρων ἐσπουδάκει, καὶ τὸ θεῖον αὐτῷ φανερὸν ἐγίνετο.

(3) [195] Μετὰ δ᾽ ἔτος δεύτερον τῆς Αἰγύπτου πορθήσεως ὁ βασιλεὺς Ναβουχοδονόσορος ὄναρ ἰδὼν θαυμαστόν, οὗ τὴν ἔκβασιν κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους αὐτὸς αὐτῷ ἐδήλωσεν ὁ θεός, τούτου μὲν ἐπιλανθάνεται διαναστὰς ἐκ τῆς κοίτης, μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ τοὺς Χαλδαίους καὶ τοὺς μάγους καὶ τοὺς μάντεις, ὡς εἴη τι ὄναρ ἑωρακὼς ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς περὶ τὴν λήθην ὧν εἶδε μηνύων ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς λέγειν, ὅτι τε ἦν τὸ ὄναρ καὶ [τί] τὸ σημεῖον. [196] τῶν δὲ ἀδύνατον εἶναι λεγόντων ἀνθρώποις τοῦτο εὑρεῖν, εἰ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐκθοῖτο τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ ἐνυπνίου φράσειν τὸ σημεῖον ὑποσχομένων, θάνατον ἠπείλησεν αὐτοῖς, εἰ μὴ τὸ ὄναρ εἴποιεν, προσέταξε τε πάντας αὐτοὺς ἀναιρεθῆναι ποιῆσαι τὸ κελευσθὲν ὁμολογήσαντας μὴ δύνασθαι. [197] Δανίηλος δ᾽ ἀκούσας, ὅτι προσέταξε πάντας τοὺς σοφοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποθανεῖν, ἐν τούτοις δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν κινδυνεύειν, πρόσεισιν Ἀριόχῃ τῷ τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τοῦ βασιλέως ἀρχὴν πεπιστευμένῳ. [198] δεηθεὶς δὲ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν μαθεῖν, δι᾽ ἣν ὁ βασιλεὺς πάντας εἴη προστεταχὼς ἀναιρεθῆναι τοὺς σοφοὺς καὶ Χαλδαίους καὶ μάγους, καὶ μαθὼν τὸ περὶ τὸ ἐνύπνιον καὶ ὅτι κελευσθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦτ᾽ αὐτῷ δηλοῦν ἐπιλελησμένῳ φήσαντες μὴ δύνασθαι παρώξυναν αὐτόν, παρεκάλεσε τὸν Ἀριόχην εἰσελθόντα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα μίαν αἰτήσασθαι νύκτα τοῖς μάγοις [καὶ ταύτῃ] τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ἐπισχεῖν: ἐλπίζειν γὰρ δι᾽ αὐτῆς δεηθεὶς τοῦ θεοῦ γνώσεσθαι τὸ ἐνύπνιον. [199] ὁ δὲ Ἀριόχης ταῦτ᾽ ἀπήγγειλε τῷ βασιλεῖ Δανίηλον ἀξιοῦν. καὶ ὁ μὲν κελεύει τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ἐπισχεῖν τῶν μάγων ἕως γνῷ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν τὴν Δανιήλου: ὁ δὲ παῖς μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν ὑποχωρήσας πρὸς ἑαυτὸν δι᾽ ὅλης ἱκετεύει τὸν θεὸν τῆς νυκτὸς γνωρίσαι καὶ τοὺς μάγους καὶ τοὺς Χαλδαίους, οἷς δεῖ καὶ αὐτοὺς συναπολέσθαι, ῥύσασθαι δὲ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ὀργῆς ἐμφανίσαντα τὴν ὄψιν αὐτῷ καὶ ποιήσαντα δήλην, ἧς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπελέληστο διὰ τῆς παρελθούσης νυκτὸς ἰδὼν κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους. [200] ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἅμα τούς τε κινδυνεύοντας ἐλεήσας καὶ τὸν Δανίηλον τῆς σοφίας ἀγασάμενος τό τε ὄναρ αὐτῷ γνώριμον ἐποίησε καὶ τὴν κρίσιν, ὡς ἂν καὶ τὸ σημαινόμενον ὁ βασιλεὺς παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ μάθοι. [201] Δανίηλος δὲ γνοὺς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα περιχαρὴς ἀνίσταται καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς δηλώσας τοὺς μὲν ἀπεγνωκότας ἤδη τοῦ ζῆν καὶ πρὸς τῷ τεθνάναι τὴν διάνοιαν ἔχοντας εἰς εὐθυμίαν καὶ τὰς περὶ τοῦ βίου διήγειρεν ἐλπίδας, [202] εὐχαριστήσας δὲ τῷ θεῷ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ἔλεον λαβόντι τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτῶν γενομένης ἡμέρας παραγίνεται πρὸς Ἀριόχην καὶ ἄγειν αὐτὸν ἠξίου πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα: δηλῶσαι γὰρ αὐτῷ βούλεσθαι τὸ ἐνύπνιον, ὅ φησιν ἰδεῖν πρὸ τῆς παρελθούσης νυκτός.

(4) [203] Εἰσελθὼν δὲ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Δανίηλος παρῃτεῖτο πρῶτον μὴ σοφώτερον αὐτὸν δόξαι τῶν ἄλλων Χαλδαίων καὶ μάγων, ὅτι μηδενὸς ἐκείνων

τὸ ὄναρ εὑρεῖν δυνηθέντος αὐτὸς αὐτὸ μέλλοι λέγειν: οὐ γὰρ κατ᾽ ἐμπειρίαν οὐδ᾽ ὅτι τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἐκπεπόνηται τοῦτο γίνεται, ἀλλ᾽ ἐλεήσας ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς κινδυνεύοντας ἀποθανεῖν δεηθέντι περί τε τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν καὶ τὸ ὄναρ καὶ τὴν κρίσιν αὐτοῦ φανερὰν ἐποίησεν. [204] οὐχ ἧττον γὰρ τῆς ἐφ᾽ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς καταδικασθεῖσιν ὑπὸ σοῦ μὴ ζῆν λύπης περὶ τῆς σῆς αὐτοῦ δόξης ἐφρόντιζον ἀδίκως οὕτως ἄνδρας καὶ ταῦτα καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς ἀποθανεῖν κελεύσαντος, οἷς οὐδὲν μὲν ἀνθρωπίνης σοφίας ἐχόμενον προσέταξας, ὃ δ᾽ ἦν θεοῦ τοῦτο ἀπήτεις παρ᾽ αὐτῶν. [205] σοὶ τοίνυν φροντίζοντι περὶ τοῦ τίς ἄρξει τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς μετὰ σέ, κοιμηθέντι βουλόμενος δηλῶσαι πάντας ὁ θεὸς τοὺς βασιλεύσοντας ὄναρ ἔδειξε τοιοῦτον: [206] ἔδοξας ὁρᾶν ἀνδριάντα μέγαν ἑστῶτα, οὗ τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν συνέβαινεν εἶναι χρυσῆν, τοὺς δὲ ὤμους καὶ τοὺς βραχίονας ἀργυροῦς, τὴν δὲ γαστέρα καὶ τοὺς μηροὺς χαλκέους, κνήμας δὲ καὶ πόδας σιδηροῦς. [207] εἶτα λίθον ἐξ ὄρους ἀπορραγέντα ἐμπεσεῖν τῷ ἀνδριάντι καὶ τοῦτον καταβαλόντα συνθρύψαι καὶ μηδὲν αὐτοῦ μέρος ὁλόκληρον ἀφεῖναι, ὡς τὸν μὲν χρυσὸν καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον καὶ τὸν χαλκὸν καὶ τὸν σίδηρον ἀλεύρων λεπτότερον γενέσθαι, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀνέμου πνεύσαντος σφοδροτέρου ὑπὸ τῆς βίας ἁρπαγέντα διασπαρῆναι, τὸν δὲ λίθον αὐξῆσαι τοσοῦτον, ὡς ἅπασαν δοκεῖν τὴν γῆν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πεπληρῶσθαι. [208] τὸ μὲν οὖν ὄναρ, ὅπερ εἶδες, τοῦτ᾽ ἔστιν, ἡ δὲ κρίσις αὐτοῦ τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον: ἡ μὲν χρυσῆ κεφαλὴ σέ τε ἐδήλου καὶ τοὺς πρὸ σοῦ βασιλέας Βαβυλωνίους ὄντας: αἱ δὲ χεῖρες καὶ οἱ ὦμοι σημαίνουσιν ὑπὸ δύο καταλυθήσεσθαι βασιλέων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὑμῶν: [209] τὴν δὲ ἐκείνων ἕτερός τις ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως καθαιρήσει χαλκὸν ἠμφιεσμένος, καὶ ταύτην ἄλλη παύσει τὴν ἰσχὺν ὁμοία σιδήρῳ καὶ κρατήσει δὲ εἰς ἅπαντα διὰ τὴν τοῦ σιδήρου φύσιν: εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὴν στερροτέραν τῆς τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀργύρου καὶ τοῦ χαλκοῦ. [210] ἐδήλωσε δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ λίθου Δανίηλος τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἀλλ᾽ ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ἔδοξε τοῦτο ἱστορεῖν τὰ παρελθόντα καὶ τὰ γεγενημένα συγγράφειν οὐ τὰ μέλλοντα ὀφείλοντι, εἰ δέ τις τῆς ἀκριβείας γλιχόμενος οὐ περιίσταται πολυπραγμονεῖν, ὡς καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀδήλων τί γενήσεται βούλεσθαι μαθεῖν, σπουδασάτω τὸ βιβλίον ἀναγνῶναι τὸ Δανιήλου: εὑρήσει δὲ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν.

(5) [211] Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ναβουχοδονόσαρος ἀκηκοὼς ταῦτα καὶ ἐπιγνοὺς τὸ ὄναρ ἐξεπλάγη τὴν τοῦ Δανιήλου φύσιν καὶ πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον, ᾧ τρόπῳ τὸν θεὸν προσκυνοῦσι, τούτῳ τὸν Δανίηλον ἠσπάζετο: [212] καὶ θύειν δὲ ὡς θεῷ προσέταξεν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν αὐτῷ τοῦ ἰδίου θεοῦ θέμενος ἁπάσης ἐπίτροπον τῆς βασιλείας ἐποίησε καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ, οὓς ὑπὸ φθόνου καὶ βασκανίας εἰς κίνδυνον ἐμπεσεῖν συνέβη τῷ βασιλεῖ προσκρούσαντας ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης: [213] ὁ βασιλεὺς κατασκευάσας χρύσεον ἀνδριάντα πηχῶν τὸ μὲν ὕψος ἑξήκοντα τὸ πλάτος δὲ ἕξ, στήσας αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος πεδίῳ καὶ μέλλων καθιεροῦν αὐτὸν συνεκάλεσεν ἐξ

ἁπάσης ἧς ἦρχε γῆς τοὺς πρώτους πρῶτον αὐτοῖς προστάξας, ὅταν σημαινούσης ἀκούσωσι τῆς σάλπιγγος, τότε πεσόντας προσκυνεῖν τὸν ἀνδριάντα: τοὺς δὲ μὴ ποιήσαντας ἠπείλησεν εἰς τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς ἐμβληθῆναι κάμινον. [214] πάντων οὖν μετὰ τὸ σημαινούσης ἐπακοῦσαι τῆς σάλπιγγος προσκυνούντων τὸν ἀνδριάντα τοὺς Δανιήλου συγγενεῖς οὐ ποιῆσαι τοῦτό φασι μὴ βουληθέντας παραβῆναι τοὺς πατρίους νόμους. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐλεγχθέντες εὐθὺς εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐμβληθέντες θείᾳ σώζονται προνοίᾳ καὶ παραδόξως διαφεύγουσι τὸν θάνατον. [215] ἀΛλὰ κατὰ λογισμὸν οἶμαι τῷ μηδὲν ἀδικήσαντας εἰς αὐτὸ βληθῆναι οὐχ ἥψατο, καίειν δ' ἀσθενὲς ἦν ἔχον ἐν ἑαυτῷ τοὺς παῖδας τοῦ θεοῦ κρείττονα τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ὥστε μὴ δαπανηθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς παρασκευάσαντος. τοῦτο συνέστησεν αὐτοὺς τῷ βασιλεῖ ὡς δικαίους καὶ θεοφιλεῖς, διὸ μετὰ ταῦτα πάσης ἀξιούμενοι παρ' αὐτοῦ τιμῆς διετέλουν.

(6) [216] Ὀλίγῳ δ' ὕστερον χρόνῳ πάλιν ὁρᾷ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὁ βασιλεὺς ὄψιν ἑτέραν, ὡς ἐκπεσὼν τῆς ἀρχῆς μετὰ θηρίων ἕξει τὴν δίαιταν καὶ διαζήσας οὕτως ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρημίας ἔτεσιν ἑπτὰ αὖθις τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολήψεται. τοῦτο θεασάμενος τοὖναρ πάλιν τοὺς μάγους συγκαλέσας ἀνέκρινεν αὐτοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τί σημαίνοι λέγειν ἠξίου. [217] τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων οὐθεὶς ἠδυνήθη τὴν τοῦ ἐνυπνίου διάνοιαν εὑρεῖν οὐδ' ἐμφανίσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ, Δανίηλος δὲ μόνος καὶ τοῦτ' ἔκρινε καὶ καθὼς οὗτος αὐτῷ προεῖπεν ἀπέβη. διατρίψας γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρημίας τὸν προειρημένον χρόνον οὐδενὸς τολμήσαντος ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι παρὰ τὴν ἑπταετίαν, δεηθεὶς τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολαβεῖν πάλιν εἰς αὐτὴν ἐπανέρχεται. [218] ἐγκαλέσῃ δέ μοι μηδεὶς οὕτως ἕκαστα τούτων ἀπαγγέλλοντι διὰ τῆς γραφῆς, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις εὑρίσκω βιβλίοις: καὶ γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἱστορίας πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιζητήσοντάς τι περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἢ μεμψομένους ἠσφαλισάμην, μόνον τε μεταφράζειν τὰς Ἑβραίων βίβλους εἰπὼν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶτταν καὶ ταῦτα δηλώσειν μήτε προστιθεὶς τοῖς πράγμασιν αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ μήτ' ἀφαιρῶν ὑπεισχημένος.

XI

(1) [219] Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ναβουχοδονόσορος ἔτη τρία καὶ τεσσαράκοντα βασιλεύσας τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον ἀνὴρ δραστήριος καὶ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων εὐτυχέστερος γενόμενος. μέμνηται δ' αὐτοῦ τῶν πράξεων καὶ Βηρωσὸς ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Χαλδαικῶν ἱστοριῶν λέγων οὕτως: [220] "ἀκούσας δ' ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσορος, ὅτι ὁ τεταγμένος σατράπης ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν Συρίαν τὴν κοίλην καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην τόποις ἀποστάτης αὐτοῦ γέγονεν, οὐ δυνάμενος αὐτὸς κακοπαθεῖν συστήσας τῷ υἱῷ Ναβουχοδονοσόρῳ ὄντι ἐν ἡλικίᾳ μέρη τινὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπ' αὐτόν. [221] συμμίξας δὲ Ναβουχοδονόσορος τῷ ἀποστάτῃ καὶ παραταξάμενος αὐτοῦ τε ἐκράτησε καὶ

τὴν χώραν ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν ἐποιήσατο. τῷ τε πατρὶ αὐτοῦ Ναβουχοδονοσόρῳ συνέβη κατ᾽ αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν ἀρρωστήσαντι ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίων πόλει μεταλλάξαι τὸν βίον ἔτη βασιλεύσαντα εἴκοσι καὶ ἕν. [222] αἰσθόμενος δὲ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν Ναβουχοδονοσάρου καὶ καταστήσας τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον πράγματα καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν χώραν καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ Φοινίκων καὶ Σύρων καὶ τῶν κατ᾽ Αἴγυπτον ἐθνῶν συντάξας τισὶ τῶν φίλων μετὰ τῆς βαρυτάτης δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ὠφελείας ἀνακομίζειν εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν, αὐτὸς ὁρμήσας ὀλιγοστὸς διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου παραγίνεται εἰς Βαβυλῶνα. [223] παραλαβὼν δὲ τὰ πράγματα διοικούμενα ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων καὶ διατηρουμένην τὴν βασιλείαν ὑπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου αὐτῶν, κυριεύσας ὁλοκλήρου τῆς πατρικῆς ἀρχῆς τοῖς μὲν αἰχμαλώτοις παραγενομένοις συνέταξεν ἀποικίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδειοτάτοις τῆς Βαβυλωνίας τόποις ἀποδεῖξαι, [224] αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου λαφύρων τό τε τοῦ Βήλου ἱερὸν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κοσμήσας φιλοτίμως τήν τε ὑπάρχουσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πόλιν καὶ ἕτερα καταχαρισάμενος καὶ ἀναγκάσας πρὸς τὸ μηκέτι δύνασθαι τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας τὸν ποταμὸν ἀναστρέψαντας ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν [κατασκευάζειν] περιεβάλετο τρεῖς μὲν τῆς ἔνδον πόλεως περιβόλους, τρεῖς δ᾽ ἔξω τούτων δὲ τῆς ὀπτῆς πλίνθου. [225] καὶ τειχίσας ἀξιολόγως τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς πυλῶνας κοσμήσας ἱεροπρεπῶς κατεσκεύασεν ἐν τοῖς πατρικοῖς βασιλείοις ἕτερα βασίλεια ἐχόμενα αὐτῶν, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἀνάστημα καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν πολυτέλειαν περισσὸν ἴσως ἂν εἴη λέγειν, πλὴν ὅσον τὰ μεγάλα καὶ ὑπερήφανα συνετελέσθη ἡμέραις πεντεκαίδεκα. [226] [ἐν δὲ] τοῖς βασιλείοις τούτοις ἀναλήμματα λίθινα ἀνῳκοδόμησε τὴν ὄψιν ἀποδοὺς ὁμοιοτάτην τοῖς ὄρεσι, καταφυτεύσας δένδρεσι παντοδαποῖς ἐξειργάσατο καὶ κατεσκεύασε τὸν καλούμενον κρεμαστὸν παράδεισον διὰ τὸ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἐπιθυμεῖν τῆς οἰκείας διαθέσεως ὡς τεθραμμένην ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Μηδίαν [227] τόποις.” καὶ Μεγασθένης δὲ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν Ἰνδικῶν μνημονεύει αὐτῶν δι᾽ ἧς ἀποφαίνειν πειρᾶται τοῦτον τὸν βασιλέα τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν πράξεων ὑπερβεβηκότα τὸν Ἡρακλέα: καταστρέψασθαι γὰρ αὐτόν φησι Λιβύης τὴν πολλὴν καὶ Ἰβηρίαν. [228] καὶ Διοκλῆς δ᾽ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Περσικῶν μνημονεύει τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ Φιλόστρατος ἐν ταῖς Ἰνδικαῖς καὶ Φοινικικαῖς ἱστορίαις, ὅτι οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπολιόρκησε τὴν Τύρον ἔτεσι τρισὶ καὶ δέκα βασιλεύοντος κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν Ἰθωβάλου τῆς Τύρου. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων ἱστορούμενα περὶ τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως ταῦτα ἦν.

(2) [229] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ναβουχοδονοσόρου τελευτὴν Ἀβιλμαθαδάχος ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαμβάνει, ὃς εὐθὺς τὸν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλέα Ἰεχονίαν τῶν δεσμῶν ἀφεὶς ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις τῶν φίλων εἶχε πολλὰς αὐτῷ δωρεὰς δοὺς καὶ ποιήσας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ βασιλέων: [230] ὁ γὰρ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ τὴν πίστιν οὐκ ἐφύλαξεν Ἰεχονίᾳ παραδόντι μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ

τέκνων καὶ τῆς συγγενείας ὅλης ἑκουσίως αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, ὡς ἂν μὴ κατασκαφείη ληφθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῆς πολιορκίας, καθὼς προειρήκαμεν. [231] τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀβιλμαθαδάχου μετὰ ἔτη ὀκτωκαίδεκα τῆς βασιλείας Ἠγλίσαρος ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαμβάνει, καὶ κατασχὼν αὐτὴν ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα καταστρέφει τὸν βίον. μετὰ δ᾽ αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Λαβοσόρδαχον ἀφικνεῖται τῆς βασιλείας ἡ διαδοχή, καὶ μῆνας ποιήσασα παρ᾽ αὐτῷ τοὺς πάντας ἐννέα τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ μεταβαίνει πρὸς Βαλτασάρην τὸν καλούμενον Ναβοάνδηλον παρὰ τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις. [232] ἐπὶ τοῦτον στρατεύουσι Κῦρός τε ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ Δαρεῖος ὁ Μήδων. καὶ πολιορκουμένων τοὺς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι θαυμάσιόν τι καὶ τεράστιον θέαμα συνέβη: κατέκειτο δειπνῶν καὶ πίνων ἐν οἴκῳ μεγάλῳ καὶ πρὸς ἑστιάσεις πεποιημένῳ βασιλικὰς μετὰ τῶν παλλακίδων καὶ τῶν φίλων. [233] δόξαν δὲ αὐτῷ κομισθῆναι κελεύει ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου ναοῦ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ σκεύη, ἃ συλήσας Ναβουχοδονόσορος ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων οὐκ ἐχρῆτο μέν, εἰς δὲ τὸν αὐτοῦ ναὸν κατέθηκεν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπὸ θράσους προαχθείς, ὥστε αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι, μεταξὺ πίνων καὶ βλασφημῶν τὸν θεὸν ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ὁρᾷ χεῖρα προιοῦσαν καὶ τῷ τοίχῳ τινὰς συλλαβὰς ἐγγράφουσαν. [234] ταραχθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ὄψεως συνεκάλεσε τοὺς μάγους καὶ τοὺς Χαλδαίους, πᾶν τοῦτο τὸ γένος ὅσον ἦν ἐν τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις τά τε σημεῖα καὶ τὰ ὀνείρατα κρίνειν δυνάμενον, ὡς ἂν αὐτῷ δηλώσωσι τὰ γεγραμμένα. [235] τῶν δὲ μάγων οὐδὲν εὑρίσκειν δυναμένων οὐδὲ συνιέναι λεγόντων ὑπ᾽ ἀγωνίας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ πολλῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ λύπης κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐκήρυξε τὴν χώραν τῷ τὰ γράμματα καὶ τὴν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν δηλουμένην διάνοιαν σαφῆ ποιήσαντι δώσειν ὑπισχνούμενος στρεπτὸν περιαυχένιον χρύσεον καὶ πορφυρᾶν ἐσθῆτα φορεῖν, ὡς οἱ τῶν Χαλδαίων βασιλεῖς, καὶ τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς. [236] τούτου γενομένου τοῦ κηρύγματος ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ μάγοι συνδραμόντες καὶ φιλοτιμησάμενοι πρὸς τὴν εὕρεσιν τῶν γραμμάτων οὐδὲν ἔλαττον ἠπόρησαν. [237] ἀθυμοῦντα δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτῳ θεασαμένη τὸν βασιλέα ἡ μάμμη αὐτοῦ παραθαρσύνειν ἤρξατο καὶ λέγειν, ὡς ἔστι τις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας αἰχμάλωτος ἐκεῖθεν τὸ γένος ἀχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ναβουχοδονοσόρου πορθήσαντος Ἱεροσόλυμα Δανίηλος ὄνομα, σοφὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ δεινὸς εὑρεῖν τὰ ἀμήχανα καὶ μόνῳ τῷ θεῷ γνώριμα, ὃς Ναβουχοδονοσόρῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ μηδενὸς ἄλλου δυνηθέντος εἰπεῖν περὶ ὧν ἔχρῃζεν εἰς φῶς ἤγαγε τὰ ζητούμενα. [238] μεταπεμψάμενον οὖν αὐτὸν ἠξίου παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ πυνθάνεσθαι περὶ τῶν γραμμάτων καὶ τὴν ἀμαθίαν τὴν τῶν οὐχ εὑρόντων αὐτὰ κατακρίνειν, κἂν σκυθρωπὸν ᾖ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ σημαινόμενον.

(3) [239] Ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας καλεῖ τὸν Δανίηλον ὁ Βαλτασάρης καὶ διαλεχθεὶς ὡς πύθοιτο περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς σοφίας, ὅτι θεῖον αὐτῷ πνεῦμα συμπάρεστι καὶ μόνος ἐξευρεῖν ἱκανώτατος ἃ μὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰς ἐπίνοιαν ἔρχεται, φράζειν αὐτῷ τὰ γεγραμμένα καὶ τί σημαίνει μηνύειν ἠξίου: [240] τοῦτο γὰρ ποιήσαντι

πορφύραν δώσειν ἐνδεδύσθαι καὶ χρύσεον περὶ αὐχένα στρεπτὸν καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ μέρος τιμὴν καὶ γέρας τῆς σοφίας, ὡς ἂν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπισημότατος γένοιτο τοῖς ὁρῶσι καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐφ᾽ ᾗ τούτων ἔτυχε πυνθανομένοις. [241] Δανίηλος δὲ τὰς μὲν δωρεὰς αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἠξίου: τὸ γὰρ σοφὸν καὶ θεῖον ἀδωροδόκητον εἶναι καὶ προῖκα τοὺς δεομένους ὠφελεῖν, μηνύσειν δ᾽ αὐτῷ τὰ γεγραμμένα σημαίνοντα καταστροφὴν αὐτῷ τοῦ βίου, ὅτι μηδ᾽ οἷς ὁ πρόγονος αὐτοῦ διὰ τὰς εἰς θεὸν ὕβρεις ἐκολάσθη τούτοις ἔμαθεν εὐσεβεῖν καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν μηχανᾶσθαι: [242] ἀλλὰ καὶ Ναβουχοδονοσόρου μεταστάντος εἰς δίαιταν θηρίων ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἠσέβησε καὶ μετὰ πολλὰς ἱκεσίας καὶ δεήσεις ἐλεηθέντος ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τὸν θεὸν ὡς τὴν ἅπασαν ἔχοντα δύναμιν καὶ προνοούμενον τῶν ἀνθρώπων μέχρις οὗ καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν ὑμνοῦντος, λήθην αὐτὸς ἔλαβε τούτων καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐβλασφήμησε τὸ θεῖον, τοῖς δὲ σκεύεσιν αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν παλλακίδων διηκονεῖτο. [243] ταῦτα ὁρῶντα τὸν θεὸν ὀργισθῆναι αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ τῶν γεγραμμένων προκαταγγέλλειν, εἰς οἷον αὐτὸν καταστρέψαι δεῖ τέλος. ἐδήλου δὲ τὰ γράμματα τάδε: μάνη: τούτῳ δὲ ἔλεγεν Ἑλλάδι γλώσσῃ σημαίνοιτο ἂν ἀριθμός, ὥσπερ τῆς ζωῆς σου τὸν χρόνον καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἠρίθμηκεν ὁ θεὸς [καὶ] περισσεύειν ἔτι σοι βραχὺν χρόνον. [244] θέκελ: σημαίνει τοῦτο τὸν σταθμόν: στήσας οὖν σου λέγει τὸν χρόνον τῆς βασιλείας ὁ θεὸς ἤδη καταφερομένην δηλοῖ. φαρές: καὶ τοῦτο κλάσμα δηλοῖ καθ᾽ Ἑλλάδα γλῶτταν: κλάσει τοιγαροῦν σου τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ Μήδοις αὐτὴν καὶ Πέρσαις διανεμεῖ.

(4) [245] Δανιήλου δὲ ταῦτα τῷ βασιλεῖ σημαίνειν φράσαντος τὰ ἐν τῷ τοίχῳ γράμματα τὸν μὲν Βαλτασάρην, οἷον εἰκὸς ἐφ᾽ οὕτω χαλεποῖς τοῖς δεδηλωμένοις, λύπη καὶ συμφορὰ κατέλαβεν: [246] οὐ μὴν ὡς προφήτῃ αὐτῷ κακῶν γενομένῳ τὰς δωρεὰς ἃς ὑπέσχετο δώσειν οὐ δίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ πάσας παρέσχε, τὸ μὲν ἐφ᾽ οἷς δοθήσονται λογιζόμενος ἴδιον αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀνάγκης, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχὶ τοῦ προφητεύσαντος εἶναι, τὰ δὲ ὡμολογημένα κρίνων ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ δικαίου, κἂν ᾖ σκυθρωπὰ τὰ μέλλοντα συμβαίνειν οὕτως ἔκρινε: [247] μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον αὐτός τε ἐλήφθη καὶ ἡ πόλις Κύρου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν στρατεύσαντος: Βαλτάσαρος γάρ ἐστιν, ἐφ᾽ οὗ τὴν αἵρεσιν τῆς Βαβυλῶνος συνέβη γενέσθαι, βασιλεύσαντος αὐτοῦ ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτη. [248] τῶν μὲν οὖν Ναβουχοδονοσόρου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγγόνων τὸ τέλος τοιοῦτον παρειλήφαμεν γενόμενον: Δαρείῳ δὲ τῷ καταλύσαντι τὴν Βαβυλωνίων ἡγεμονίαν μετὰ Κύρου τοῦ συγγενοῦς ἔτος ἦν ἑξηκοστὸν καὶ δεύτερον, ὅτε τὴν Βαβυλῶνα εἷλεν, ὃς ἦν Ἀστυάγους υἱός, ἕτερον δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐκαλεῖτο ὄνομα: [249] ὃς καὶ Δανίηλον τὸν προφήτην λαβὼν ἤγαγεν εἰς Μηδίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ πάσης αὐτῷ τιμῆς μεταδιδοὺς εἶχε σὺν αὐτῷ: τῶν τριῶν γὰρ σατραπῶν ἦν, οὓς ἐπὶ τῶν ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων σατραπειῶν κατέστησε: τοσούτους γὰρ ἐποίησε Δαρεῖος εἰς αὐτήν.

(5) [250] Δανίηλος τοίνυν ὢν ἐν τοιαύτῃ τιμῇ καὶ λαμπρᾷ σπουδῇ παρὰ τῷ Δαρείῳ καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντα ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ μόνος, ὡς ἂν ἔχων τὸ θεῖον πεπιστευμένος ἐν αὐτῷ, παραλαμβανόμενος ἐφθονήθη: βασκαίνουσι γὰρ οἱ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ἑτέρους ἐν πλείονι τιμῇ παρὰ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι βλέποντες. [251] ζητούντων δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀφορμὴν διαβολῆς καὶ κατηγορίας τῶν ἀχθομένων ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ εὐδοκιμοῦντι παρὰ τῷ Δαρείῳ παρεῖχεν αἰτίαν οὐδεμίαν: ὢν γὰρ καὶ χρημάτων ἐπάνω καὶ παντὸς λήμματος περιορῶν, αἴσχιστον αὐτῷ δοκεῖν κἂν ὑπὲρ ὧν δοθείη καλῶς πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν, οὐδ᾽ ἡντιναοῦν τοῖς ζηλοτυποῦσιν αὐτὸν ἐγκλημάτων εὕρεσιν παρεῖχεν. [252] οἱ δ᾽ ὡς οὐδὲν εἶχον, ὃ κατειπόντες αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ζημιώσουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τιμὴν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ διαβολῇ, τρόπον ἄλλον ἐζήτουν καθ᾽ ὃν αὐτὸν ἐκποδὼν ποιήσονται. ὁρῶντες οὖν τὸν Δανίηλον τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας προσευχόμενον τῷ θεῷ πρόφασιν ἔγνωσαν εὑρηκέναι, δι᾽ ἧς ἀπολέσουσιν αὐτόν. [253] καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δαρεῖον ἐλθόντες ἀπήγγελλον αὐτῷ, ὡς τοῖς σατράπαις αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι δόξειεν ἐπὶ τριάκονθ᾽ ἡμέρας ἀνεῖναι τὸ πλῆθος, ὅπως μήτ᾽ αὐτῷ τις μήτε τοῖς θεοῖς δεόμενος αὐτῶν καὶ εὐχόμενος εἴη, τὸν μέντοι γε αὐτῶν παραβάντα ταύτην τὴν γνώμην εἰς τὸν τῶν λεόντων ἔκριναν ῥῖψαι λάκκον ἀπολούμενον.

(6) [254] Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς οὐ συνιδὼν τὴν κακουργίαν οὐδ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸν Δανίηλον ταῦτα κατεσκευασμένους ὑπονοήσας ἀρέσκεσθαι τοῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἔφη δεδογμένοις, καὶ κυρώσειν τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῶν ἐπαγγελλόμενος προτίθησι πρόγραμμα δηλοῦν τῷ πλήθει τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς σατράπαις. [255] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες φυλαττόμενοι τὰ προστεταγμένα μὴ παραβῆναι ἠρέμουν, Δανιήλῳ δὲ φροντὶς οὐδ᾽ ἡτισοῦν τούτων ἦν, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἔθος εἶχεν ἱστάμενος ηὔχετο τῷ θεῷ πάντων ὁρώντων. [256] οἱ δὲ σατράπαι τῆς ἀφορμῆς αὐτοῖς ἣν ἐσπούδαζον λαβεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Δανίηλον παραφανείσης εὐθὺς ἦκον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ κατηγόρουν ὡς παραβαίνοντος μόνου τοῦ Δανιήλου τὰ προστεταγμένα: μηδενὸς γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων τολμῶντος προσεύχεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ τοῦτ᾽ οὐ δι᾽ ἀσέβειαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ φυλακὴν καὶ διατήρησιν ὑΠὸ τοῦ φθόνου: [257] ἀπὸ γὰρ μείζονος ἧς προσεδόκων εὐνοίας τοῦτο ποιεῖν τὸν Δαρεῖον ὑπολαμβάνοντες, ὡς καὶ καταφρονήσαντι τῶν ἐκείνου προσταγμάτων συγγνώμην ἑτοίμως νέμειν, καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο βασκαίνοντες τῷ Δανιήλῳ, οὔτε μετεβάλλοντο πρὸς τὸ ἡμερώτερον, ῥίπτειν δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἠξίουν κατὰ τὸν νόμον εἰς τὸν λάκκον τῶν λεόντων. [258] ἐλπίσας δ᾽ ὁ Δαρεῖος, ὅτι ῥύσεται τὸ θεῖον αὐτὸν καὶ οὐδὲν μὴ πάθῃ δεινὸν ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ εὐθύμως φέρειν τὰ συμβαίνοντα: καὶ βληθέντος εἰς τὸν λάκκον σφραγίσας τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ στομίου κείμενον ἀντὶ θύρας λίθον ἀνεχώρησε, δι᾽ ὅλης δ᾽ ἄσιτος τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ ἄυπνος διῆγεν ἀγωνιῶν περὶ τοῦ Δανιήλου: [259] μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν δὲ ἀναστὰς ἐπὶ τὸν λάκκον ἦλθε καὶ σωζομένην τὴν σφραγῖδα εὑρών, ᾗ σημηνάμενος τὸν λίθον κατελελοίπει, ἀνοίξας ἀνεβόησε καλῶν τὸν Δανίηλον καὶ πυνθανόμενος εἰ σώζεται. τοῦ δὲ ἐπακούσαντος τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ μηδὲν παθεῖν

εἰπόντος, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀνελκυσθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ λάκκου τοῦ τῶν θηρίων. [260] οἱ δὲ ἐχθροὶ θεασάμενοι τὸν Δανίηλον μηδὲν πεπονθότα δεινὸν διὰ μὲν τὸ θεῖον καὶ τὴν τούτου πρόνοιαν οὐκ ἠξίουν αὐτὸν σώζεσθαι, πεπληρωμένους δὲ τοὺς λέοντας τροφῆς μὴ ἅψασθαι μηδὲ προσελθεῖν τῷ Δανιήλῳ νομίζοντες τοῦτο ἔλεγον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. [261] ὁ δὲ μισήσας αὐτοὺς τῆς πονηρίας παραβληθῆναι μὲν πολλὰ κελεύει τοῖς λέουσι κρέα, κορεσθέντων δ᾽ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοῦ Δανιήλου προσέταξεν εἰς τὸν λάκκον βληθῆναι, ὅπως εἰ διὰ κόρον αὐτοῖς οὐ προσήξουσιν οἱ λέοντες μάθοι. [262] σαφὲς δ᾽ ἐγένετο τῷ Δαρείῳ τῶν σατραπῶν παραβληθέντων τοῖς θηρίοις, ὅτι τὸ θεῖον ἔσωσε τὸν Δανίηλον: οὐδενὸς γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐφείσαντο οἱ λέοντες, ἀλλὰ πάντας διεσπάραττον ὡσανεὶ σφόδρα λιμώττοντες καὶ τροφῆς ἐνδεεῖς. ἠρέθισε δ᾽ αὐτοὺς οὐ τὸ πεινῆν οἶμαι μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν ἀφθόνων κρεῶν πεπληρωμένους, ἀλλ᾽ ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κακία, δήλη γὰρ καὶ τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζῴοις ἦν αὕτη, πρὸς τιμωρίαν ἣ γένοιτο τοῦ θεοῦ προαιρουμένου.

(7) [263] Διαφθαρέντων οὖν τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων Δανιήλῳ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ὁ βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος καθ᾽ ὅλην ἔπεμψε τὴν χώραν ἐπαινῶν τὸν θεόν, ὃν Δανίηλος προσκυνεῖ, καὶ μόνον αὐτὸν εἶναι ἔλεγεν ἀληθῆ καὶ τὸ πάντων κράτος ἔχοντα: ἔσχε δὲ καὶ τὸν Δανίηλον ἐν ὑπερβαλλούσῃ τιμῇ πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἀποδείξας τῶν φίλων. [264] ὢν δὲ οὕτως ἐπίσημος καὶ λαμπρὸς ἐπὶ δόξῃ τοῦ θεοφιλὴς εἶναι Δανίηλος ᾠκοδόμησεν ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις τῆς Μηδικῆς βάριν εὐπρεπέστατόν τι κατασκεύασμα καὶ θαυμασίως πεποιημένον, ἣ μέχρι δεῦρο μὲν ἔστι καὶ σώζεται, τοῖς δ᾽ ὁρῶσι δοκεῖ προσφάτως κατεσκευάσθαι καὶ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἐκείνης ἧς ἕκαστος αὐτὴν ἡμέρας ἱστορεῖ γεγονέναι: οὕτως νεαρὸν αὐτῆς καὶ ἀκμαῖον τὸ κάλλος καὶ μηδαμοῦ γεγηρακὸς ὑπὸ τοσούτου χρόνου: [265] πάσχει γὰρ καὶ τὰ κατασκευάσματα ταὐτὸν ἀνθρώποις καὶ πολιοῦται καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν λυόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐτῶν καὶ τὴν εὐπρέπειαν μαραινόμενα. θάπτουσι δ᾽ ἐν τῇ βάρει τούς τε Μήδων βασιλέας καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Πάρθων ἄχρι τοῦ δεῦρο, καὶ ὁ ταύτην πεπιστευμένος Ἰουδαῖός ἐστιν ἱερεὺς καὶ τοῦτο γίνεται μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας. [266] ἄξιον δὲ τἀνδρὸς τούτου καὶ ὃ μάλιστ᾽ ἂν θαυμάσαι τις ἀκούσας διελθεῖν: ἀπαντᾷ γὰρ αὐτῷ παραδόξως ὡς ἑνί τινι τῶν μεγίστων καὶ παρὰ τὸν τῆς ζωῆς χρόνον τιμή τε καὶ δόξα ἡ παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τοῦ πλήθους, καὶ τελευτήσας δὲ μνήμην αἰώνιον ἔχει. [267] τὰ γὰρ βιβλία, ὅσα δὴ συγγραψάμενος καταλέλοιπεν, ἀναγινώσκεται παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἔτι καὶ νῦν καὶ πεπιστεύκαμεν ἐξ αὐτῶν, ὅτι Δανίηλος ὡμίλει τῷ θεῷ: οὐ γὰρ τὰ μέλλοντα μόνον προφητεύων διετέλει, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι προφῆται, ἀλλὰ καὶ καιρὸν ὥριζεν, εἰς ὃν ταῦτα ἀποβήσεται: [268] καὶ τῶν προφητῶν τὰ χείρω προλεγόντων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δυσχεραινομένων ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τοῦ πλήθους Δανίηλος ἀγαθῶν ἐγίνετο προφήτης αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς εὐφημίας τῶν προλεγομένων εὔνοιαν ἐπισπᾶσθαι παρὰ πάντων, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ τέλους αὐτῶν ἀληθείας πίστιν καὶ

δόξαν ὁμοῦ θειότητος παρὰ τοῖς ὄχλοις ἀποφέρεσθαι. [269] κατέλιπε δὲ γράψας, ὅθεν ἡμῖν ἀληθὲς τὸ τῆς προφητείας αὐτοῦ ἀκριβὲς καὶ ἀπαράλλακτον ἐποίησε δῆλον: φησὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν γενόμενον ἐν Σούσοις ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει τῆς Περσίδος, ὡς ἐξῆλθεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον μετὰ ἑταίρων αὐτοῦ, σεισμοῦ καὶ κλόνου τῆς γῆς ἐξαίφνης γενομένου καταλειφθείη μόνος φευγόντων τῶν φίλων καὶ πέσοι μὲν ἐπὶ στόμα ταραχθεὶς ἐπὶ τὰς δύο χεῖρας, τινὸς δ᾽ ἁψαμένου αὐτοῦ καὶ μεταξὺ κελεύοντος ἀναστῆναι καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα συμβήσεσθαι τοῖς πολίταις ἰδεῖν μετὰ πολλὰς γενεάς. [270] ἀναστάντι δ᾽ αὐτῷ δειχθῆναι κριὸν ἐσήμαινε μέγαν, πολλὰ μὲν ἐκπεφυκότα κέρατα, τελευταῖον δ᾽ αὐτῶν ὑψηλότερον ἔχοντα. ἔπειτ᾽ ἀναβλέψαι μὲν εἰς τὴν δύσιν, θεάσασθαι δὲ τράγον ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς δι᾽ ἀέρος φερόμενον συρράξαντα τῷ κριῷ καὶ τοῖς κέρασι ῥήξαντα δὶς καταβαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πατῆσαι. [271] εἶτα τὸν τράγον ἰδεῖν ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου μέγιστον ἀναφύσαντα κέρας, οὗ κλασθέντος ἀναβλαστῆσαι τέσσαρα καθ᾽ ἕκαστον τῶν ἀνέμων τετραμμένα. ἐξ αὐτῶν δ᾽ ἀνασχεῖν καὶ ἄλλο μικρότερον ἀνέγραψεν, ὃ αὐξῆσαν ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ ὁ ταῦτα ἐπιδεικνὺς θεὸς πολεμήσειν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔθνος καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀναιρήσειν κατὰ κράτος, καὶ συγχεεῖν τὰ περὶ τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὰς θυσίας κωλύσειν γενέσθαι ἐπὶ ἡμέρας χιλίας διακοσίας ἐνενήκοντα ἕξ. [272] ταῦτα μὲν ἰδεῖν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῷ ἐν Σούσοις ὁ Δανίηλος ἔγραψε, κρῖναι δ᾽ αὐτὸν τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ φαντάσματος ἐδήλου τὸν θεὸν οὕτως: τὸν μὲν κριὸν βασιλείας τὰς Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν σημαίνειν ἔφασκε, τὰ δὲ κέρατα τοὺς βασιλεύειν μέλλοντας, τὸ δὲ ἔσχατον κέρας σημαίνειν τὸν ἔσχατον βασιλέα: τοῦτον γὰρ διοίσειν ἁπάντων πλούτῳ τε καὶ δόξῃ. [273] τὸν δὲ τράγον δηλοῦν, ὡς ἐκ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τις βασιλεύων ἔσται, ὃς τῷ Πέρσῃ συμβαλὼν δὶς κρατήσει τῇ μάχῃ καὶ παραλήψεται τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἅπασαν. [274] δηλοῦσθαι δ᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου κέρατος τοῦ ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ τοῦ τράγου τὸν πρῶτον βασιλέα καὶ τὴν τῶν τεσσάρων ἀναβλάστησιν ἐκπεσόντος ἐκείνου καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὰ τέσσαρα κλίματα τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν ἀποστροφὴν ἑκάστου τοὺς διαδόχους μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως ἐμφανίζεσθαι καὶ διαμερισμὸν εἰς αὐτοὺς τῆς βασιλείας, οὔτε δὲ παῖδας αὐτοῦ τούτους ὄντας οὔτε συγγενεῖς, πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἄρξειν τῆς οἰκουμένης. [275] γενήσεσθαι δ᾽ ἐκ τούτων τινὰ βασιλέα τὸν ἐκπολεμήσοντα τό τε ἔθνος καὶ τοὺς νόμους αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν κατὰ τούτους ἀφαιρησόμενον πολιτείαν καὶ συλήσοντα τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐπ᾽ ἔτη τρία κωλύσοντα ἐπιτελεσθῆναι. [276] καὶ δὴ ταῦτα ἡμῶν συνέβη παθεῖν τῷ ἔθνει ὑπὸ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς, καθὼς εἶδεν ὁ Δανίηλος καὶ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἔμπροσθεν ἀνέγραψε τὰ γενησόμενα. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον ὁ Δανίηλος καὶ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας ἀνέγραψε, καὶ ὅτι ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐρημωθήσεται. [277] ταῦτα πάντα ἐκεῖνος θεοῦ δείξαντος αὐτῷ συγγράψας κατέλειψεν: ὥστε τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας καὶ τὰ συμβαίνοντα σκοποῦντας θαυμάζειν ἐπὶ τῇ παρὰ θεοῦ τιμῇ τὸν Δανίηλον καὶ τοὺς Ἐπικουρείους ἐκ τούτων εὑρίσκειν πεπλανημένους, [278] οἳ τήν τε πρόνοιαν

ἐκβάλλουσι τοῦ βίου καὶ θεὸν οὐκ ἀξιοῦσιν ἐπιτροπεύειν τῶν πραγμάτων, οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῆς μακαρίας καὶ ἀφθάρτου πρὸς διαμονὴν τῶν ὅλων οὐσίας κυβερνᾶσθαι τὰ σύμπαντα, ἄμοιρον δὲ ἡνιόχου καὶ ἀφρόντιστον τὸν κόσμον αὐτομάτως φέρεσθαι λέγουσιν. [279] ὃς εἰ τοῦτον ἀπροστάτητος ἦν τὸν τρόπον, καθάπερ καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐρήμους κυβερνητῶν καταδυομένας ὁρῶμεν ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἢ καὶ τὰ ἅρματα περιτρεπόμενα μὴ ἔχοντα τοὺς ἡνιοχοῦντας, συντριβεὶς ἂν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπρονοήτου συμφορᾶς ἀπωλώλει καὶ διεφθείρετο. [280] τοῖς οὖν προειρημένοις ὑπὸ Δανιήλου δοκοῦσί μοι σφόδρα τῆς ἀληθοῦς δόξης διαμαρτάνειν οἱ τῷ θεῷ μηδεμίαν εἶναι περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀποφαινόμενοι πρόνοιαν: οὐ γὰρ ἂν κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου προφητείαν, εἰ συνέβαινεν αὐτοματισμῷ τινι τὸν κόσμον διάγειν, πάντα ἐωρῶμεν ἀποβαίνοντα. [281] ἐγὼ μὲν περὶ τούτων ὡς εὗρον καὶ ἀνέγνων οὕτως ἔγραψα: εἰ δέ τις ἄλλως δοξάζειν βουλήσεται περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀνέγκλητον ἐχέτω τὴν ἑτερογνωμοσύνην.

Liber XI

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ ἑνδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Ὡς Κῦρος ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀπολύσας ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοῖς οἰκοδομῆσαι τὸν ναὸν δοὺς αὐτοῖς χρήματα.

β. ὅτι διεκώλυσαν αὐτοὺς οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως ἡγεμόνες κατασκευάσαι τὸ ἱερὸν ἐμποδὼν γενόμενοι τοῖς ἔργοις.

γ. ὡς Κύρου τελευτήσαντος Καμβύσης ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ παραλαβὼν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐκ παντὸς ἀπηγόρευσε τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις οἰκοδομῆσαι τὸν ναόν.

δ. ὅτι Δαρεῖος ὁ Ὑστάσπεω βασιλεύσας Περσῶν ἐτίμησεν τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος καὶ τὸν ναὸν αὐτῶν ἀνῳκοδόμησεν.

ε. ὡς μετ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Ξέρξης οἰκείως πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους διετέθη.

ς. ὅτι βασιλεύοντος Ἀρταξέρξου Ἰουδαίων πᾶν τὸ ἔθνος ἐκινδύνευσεν.

ζ. ὡς Βαγώας ὁ Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ νεωτέρου στρατηγὸς πολλὰ εἰς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐξύβρισεν.

η. ὡς ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος εὐεργέτησεν αὐτοὺς κρατήσας τῆς Ἰουδαίας.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν σμγ μηνῶν ε.

I

(1) [1] Τῷ δὲ πρώτῳ τῆς Κύρου βασιλείας ἔτει, τοῦτο δ᾽ ἦν ἑβδομηκοστὸν ἀφ᾽ ἧς ἡμέρας μεταναστῆναι τὸν λαὸν ἡμῶν ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας εἰς Βαβυλῶνα συνέπεσεν, ἠλέησεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν καὶ τὴν συμφορὰν ἐκείνων τῶν ταλαιπώρων, καὶ καθὼς προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς διὰ Ἱερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου πρὶν ἢ κατασκαφῆναι τὴν πόλιν, [2] ὡς μετὰ τὸ δουλεῦσαι Ναβουχοδονοσόρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ταύτην ὑπομεῖναι τὴν δουλείαν ἐπὶ ἔτη ἑβδομήκοντα πάλιν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πάτριον ἀποκαταστήσει γῆν καὶ τὸν ναὸν οἰκοδομήσουσι καὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἀπολαύσουσιν εὐδαιμονίας, ταῦτ᾽ αὐτοῖς παρέσχεν. [3] παρορμήσας γὰρ τὴν Κύρου ψυχὴν ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν γράψαι κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὅτι Κῦρος ὁ βασιλεὺς λέγει: “ἐπεί με ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγιστος τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα, πείθομαι τοῦτον εἶναι, ὃν τὸ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἔθνος προσκυνεῖ. [4] καὶ γὰρ τοὐμὸν προεῖπεν ὄνομα διὰ τῶν προφητῶν, καὶ ὅτι τὸν ναὸν αὐτοῦ οἰκοδομήσω ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ χώρᾳ.”

(2) [5] Ταῦτα δ᾽ ἔγνω Κῦρος ἀναγινώσκων τὸ βιβλίον, ὃ τῆς αὐτοῦ προφητείας ὁ Ἡσαίας κατέλιπεν πρὸ ἐτῶν διακοσίων καὶ δέκα: οὗτος γὰρ ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ εἶπε ταῦτα λέγειν τὸν θεόν, ὅτι βούλομαι Κῦρον ἐγὼ πολλῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀποδείξας βασιλέα πέμψαι μου τὸν λαὸν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν γῆν καὶ οἰκοδομῆσαί μου τὸν ναόν. [6] ταῦτα Ἡσαίας προεφήτευσεν ἔμπροσθεν ἢ κατασκαφῆναι τὸν ναὸν ἔτεσιν ἑκατὸν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα. ταῦτ᾽ οὖν ἀναγνόντα τὸν Κῦρον καὶ θαυμάσαντα τὸ θεῖον ὁρμή τις ἔλαβεν καὶ φιλοτιμία ποιῆσαι τὰ γεγραμμένα, καὶ καλέσας τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι Ἰουδαίων συγχωρεῖν αὐτοῖς ἔφη βαδίζειν εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν πατρίδα καὶ ἀναστῆσαί τε τὴν πόλιν Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ναόν: [7] ἔσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦτον σύμμαχον αὐτόν τε γράψειν τοῖς γειτονεύουσιν ἐκείνῃ τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν ἰδίων ἡγεμόνων καὶ σατραπῶν, ἵνα συμβάλωνται χρυσὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄργυρον εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ πρὸς τούτοις θρέμματα πρὸς τὰς θυσίας.

(3) [8] Ταῦτα Κύρου καταγγείλαντος τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις ἐξώρμησαν οἱ τῶν δύο φυλῶν ἄρχοντες τῆς Ἰούδα καὶ Βενιαμίτιδος οἵ τε Λευῖται καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. πολλοὶ γὰρ κατέμειναν ἐν τῇ Βαβυλῶνι τὰ κτήματα καταλιπεῖν οὐ θέλοντες. [9] καὶ παραγενομένοις αὐτοῖς οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως φίλοι πάντες ἐβοήθουν καὶ συνεισέφερον εἰς τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευὴν οἱ μὲν χρυσὸν οἱ δ᾽ ἄργυρον οἱ δὲ βοσκημάτων πλῆθος σὺν ἵπποις. καὶ τάς τε εὐχὰς ἀπεδίδοσαν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὰς νομιζομένας κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν θυσίας ἐπετέλουν, ὥσπερ ἀνακτιζομένης αὐτοῖς τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἀναβιούσης τῆς ἀρχαίας περὶ τὴν θρησκείαν συνηθείας. [10] ἀπέπεμψε δ᾽ αὐτοῖς Κῦρος καὶ τὰ σκεύη τοῦ θεοῦ, ἃ συλήσας τὸν ναὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ναβουχοδονόσορος εἰς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐκόμισεν. [11] παρέδωκεν δὲ ταῦτα φέρειν Μιθριδάτῃ τῷ γαζοφύλακι αὐτοῦ προστάξας δοῦναι αὐτὰ Ἀβεσσάρῳ, ὅπως φυλάττῃ μέχρι τῆς οἰκοδομίας τοῦ ναοῦ, τελεσθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ παραδῷ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν καὶ ἄρχουσιν τοῦ πλήθους εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀποθησομένοις. [12] πέμπει δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Συρίᾳ σατράπας Κῦρος τάδε λέγουσαν: “βασιλεὺς Κῦρος Σισίνῃ καὶ Σαραβασάνῃ χαίρειν. Ἰουδαίων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ χώρᾳ κατοικούντων ἐπέτρεψα τοῖς βουλομένοις εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ἀπελθοῦσι πατρίδα τήν τε πόλιν ἀνακτίζειν καὶ τὸν ναὸν οἰκοδομῆσαι τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τόπου, ἐφ᾽ οὗ καὶ πρότερον. [13] κατέπεμψα δέ μου καὶ τὸν γαζοφύλακα Μιθριδάτην καὶ Ζοροβάβηλον τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἵνα θεμελίους βάλωνται τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ οἰκοδομήσωσιν αὐτὸν ὕψος μὲν ἑξήκοντα πηχῶν τῶν δ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ εὖρος, λίθου μὲν ξεστοῦ τρεῖς ποιησάμενοι δόμους καὶ ἕνα ξύλινον ἐγχώριον, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ θυσιαστήριον, ἐφ᾽ οὗ θύσουσιν τῷ θεῷ. [14] τὴν δὲ εἰς ταῦτα δαπάνην ἐκ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ γενέσθαι βούλομαι. καὶ τὰ σκεύη δέ, ἃ ἐσύλησεν ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσορος ὁ βασιλεύς, ἔπεμψα παραδοὺς Μιθριδάτῃ τῷ γαζοφύλακι καὶ Ζοροβαβήλῳ τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἵνα διακομίσωσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ἀποκαταστήσωσιν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ. [15] ὁ

δ’ ἀριθμὸς αὐτῶν ἐστιν τοσοῦτος: ψυκτῆρες χρύσεοι πεντήκοντα, ἀργύρεοι τετρακόσιοι, θηρίκλεια χρύσεα πεντήκοντα, ἀργύρεα τετρακόσια, κάδοι χρύσεοι πεντήκοντα, ἀργύρεοι πεντακόσιοι, σπονδεῖα χρύσεα τεσσαράκοντα, ἀργύρεα τριακόσια, φιάλαι χρυσαῖ τριάκοντα, ἀργύρεαι δισχίλιαι τετρακόσιαι, σκεύη τε ἄλλα μεγάλα χίλια. [16] συγχωρῶ δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν ἐκ προγόνων εἰθισμένην τιμὴν κτηνῶν καὶ οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου δραχμὰς εἴκοσιν μυριάδας καὶ πεντακισχιλίας πεντακοσίας καὶ εἰς σεμίδαλιν πυρῶν ἀρτάβας δισμυρίας πεντακοσίας. κελεύω δὲ τὴν τούτων χορηγίαν ἐκ τῶν Σαμαρείας γίνεσθαι φόρων. [17] ἐποίσουσι δὲ τὰ ἱερὰ ταῦτα κατὰ τοὺς Μωυσέως νόμους οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ προσφέροντες εὔξονται τῷ θεῷ περὶ σωτηρίας τε τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ, ὅπως ἡ Περσῶν βασιλεία διαμείνῃ. τοὺς δὲ παρακούσαντας τούτων καὶ ἀκυρώσαντας ἀνασταυρωθῆναι [18] βούλομαι καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν εἶναι βασιλικάς.” καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐπιστολὴ ταῦτα ἐδήλου: τῶν δ’ ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας συνελθόντων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα μυριάδες ἦσαν τέσσαρες καὶ δισχίλιοι τετρακόσιοι ἑξήκοντα δύο.

II

(1) [19] Βαλλομένων δὲ τοὺς θεμελίους τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ περὶ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν αὐτοῦ λίαν ἐσπουδακότων, τὰ πέριξ ἔθνη καὶ μάλιστα τὸ Χουθαίων, οὓς ἐκ τῆς Περσίδος καὶ Μηδικῆς ἀγαγὼν Σαλμανασσάρης ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς κατῴκισεν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ, ὅτε τὸν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν λαὸν ἀνάστατον ἐποίησεν, παρεκάλουν τοὺς σατράπας καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμελουμένους ἐμποδίζειν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους πρός τε τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἀνάστασιν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευήν. [20] οἱ δὲ καὶ χρήμασιν διαφθαρέντες ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀπημπόλησαν τοῖς Χουθαίοις τὸ περὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀμελὲς καὶ ῥᾴθυμον τῆς οἰκοδομῆς: Κύρῳ γὰρ περί τε ἄλλους ἀσχοληθέντι πολέμους ἄγνοια τούτων ἦν καὶ στρατευσαμένῳ γε ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας εὐθὺς συνέβη τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον. [21] Καμβύσου δὲ τοῦ Κύρου παιδὸς τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντος οἱ ἐν Συρίᾳ καὶ Φοινίκῃ καὶ Ἀμμανίτιδι καὶ Μωαβίτιδι καὶ Σαμαρείᾳ γράφουσιν ἐπιστολὴν Καμβύσῃ δηλοῦσαν τάδε: [22] “δέσποτα, οἱ παῖδές σου Ῥάθυμος ὁ πάντα τὰ πραττόμενα γράφων καὶ Σεμέλιος ὁ γραμματεὺς καὶ οἱ τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ καὶ Φοινίκῃ κριταί. γινώσκειν σε δεῖ, βασιλεῦ, ὅτι Ἰουδαῖοι οἱ εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἀναχθέντες ἐληλύθασιν εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν καὶ τήν τε πόλιν τὴν ἀποστάτιν καὶ πονηρὰν οἰκοδομοῦσιν καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπισκευάζουσιν τὰ τείχη καὶ ναὸν ἀνεγείρουσιν. [23] ἴσθι μέντοι γε τούτων γενομένων οὔτε φόρους αὐτοὺς τελεῖν ὑπομενοῦντας οὔτε δὲ ὑπακούειν ἐθελήσοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἀντιστήσονται καὶ ἄρχειν μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπακούειν ἐθελήσουσιν. [24] ἐνεργουμένων οὖν τῶν περὶ τὸν ναὸν καὶ σπουδαζομένων καλῶς ἔχειν ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν γράψαι σοι, βασιλεῦ, καὶ μὴ περιιδεῖν,

ὅπως ἐπισκέψῃ τὰ τῶν πατέρων σου βιβλία: εὑρήσεις γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀποστάτας καὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἐχθροὺς Ἰουδαίους καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν, ἣ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν ἠρημώθη. [25] ἔδοξε δ᾽ ἡμῖν καὶ τοῦτό σοι δηλῶσαι ἀγνοούμενον ἴσως, ὅτι τῆς πόλεως οὕτως συνοικισθείσης καὶ τὸν κύκλον τῶν τειχῶν ἀπολαβούσης ἀποκλείεταί σοι ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἐπὶ κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην.”

(2) [26] Ἀναγνοὺς δὲ ὁ Καμβύσης τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ φύσει πονηρὸς ὢν κινεῖται πρὸς τὰ δεδηλωμένα καὶ γράφει τάδε λέγων: “βασιλεὺς Καμβύσης Ῥαθύμῳ τῷ γράφοντι τὰ προσπίπτοντα καὶ Βεελζέμῳ καὶ Σεμελίῳ γραμματεῖ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τοῖς συντασσομένοις καὶ οἰκοῦσιν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ καὶ Φοινίκῃ τάδε λέγει. [27] ἀναγνοὺς τὰ πεμφθέντα παρ᾽ ὑμῶν γράμματα ἐκέλευσα ἐπισκέψασθαι τὰ τῶν προγόνων μου βιβλία, καὶ εὑρέθη ἡ πόλις ἐχθρὰ βασιλεῦσιν ἀεὶ γεγενημένη, καὶ στάσεις καὶ πολέμους οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες πραγματευσάμενοι, καὶ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν ἔγνωμεν δυνατοὺς καὶ βιαίους φορολογήσαντας κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην. [28] ἐγὼ τοίνυν προσέταξα μὴ συγχωρεῖν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις οἰκοδομεῖν τὴν πόλιν, μὴ ἐπὶ πλέον αὐξηθῇ τὰ τῆς κακίας αὐτῶν, ᾗ χρώμενοι πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς διατετελέ [29] κασιν.” τούτων ἀναγνωσθέντων τῶν γραμμάτων ὁ Ῥάθυμος καὶ Σεμέλιος ὁ γραμματεὺς καὶ οἱ τούτοις συντεταγμένοι παραχρῆμα ἐπιπηδήσαντες ἵπποις ἔσπευσαν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πλῆθος ἐπαγόμενοι πολύ, καὶ διεκώλυσαν οἰκοδομεῖν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν ναόν. [30] καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπεσχέθη τὰ ἔργα μέχρι τοῦ δευτέρου ἔτους τῆς Δαρείου βασιλείας τοῦ Περσῶν ἐπ᾽ ἄλλα ἔτη ἐννέα: Καμβύσης γὰρ ἓξ ἔτη βασιλεύσας, καταστρεψάμενος ἐν τούτοις τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὑποστρέψας ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν Δαμασκῷ.

III

(1) [31] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν μάγων ἀναίρεσιν, οἳ μετὰ τὸν Καμβύσου θάνατον τὴν Περσῶν ἀρχὴν ἐνιαυτῷ κατέσχον οἱ λεγόμενοι ἑπτὰ οἶκοι τῶν Περσῶν τὸν Ὑστάσπου παῖδα Δαρεῖον ἀπέδειξαν βασιλέα. οὗτος ἰδιώτης ὢν ηὔξατο τῷ θεῷ, εἰ γένοιτο βασιλεύς, πάντα τὰ σκεύη τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅσα ἦν ἔτι ἐν Βαβυλῶνι, πέμψειν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. [32] ἔτυχεν δὲ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ἀφικόμενος πρὸς Δαρεῖον ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων Ζοροβάβηλος, ὃς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων Ἰουδαίων ἡγεμὼν ἀπεδέδεικτο: πάλαι γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ φιλία πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, δι᾽ ἣν καὶ σωματοφυλακεῖν αὐτὸν μετ᾽ ἄλλων δύο κριθεὶς ἄξιος ἀπέλαυεν ἧς ἤλπισεν τιμῆς.

(2) [33] Τῷ δὲ πρώτῳ τῆς βασιλείας ἔτει Δαρεῖος ὑποδέχεται λαμπρῶς καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς παρασκευῆς τούς τε περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς οἴκοι γεγονότας καὶ τοὺς τῶν Μήδων ἡγεμόνας καὶ σατράπας τῆς Περσίδος καὶ τοπάρχας τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἄχρι τῆς Αἰθιοπίας καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν ἑκατὸν εἰκοσιεπτὰ σατραπειῶν. [34] ἐπεὶ δὲ κατευωχηθέντες ἄχρι κόρου καὶ πλησμονῆς ἀνέλυσαν κοιμηθησόμενοι παρ᾽

αὐτοὺς ἕκαστοι, Δαρεῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν κοίτην καὶ βραχὺ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀναπαυσάμενος ἔξυπνος γίνεται, καὶ μηκέτι κατακοιμηθῆναι δυνάμενος εἰς ὁμιλίαν τρέπεται μετὰ τῶν τριῶν σωματοφυλάκων, [35] καὶ τῷ λόγον ἐροῦντι περὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ἀνακρίνειν μέλλει τὸν ἀληθέστερον καὶ συνετώτερον, τούτῳ γέρας δώσειν ὑπισχνεῖται νικητήριον πορφύραν ἐνδύσασθαι καὶ ἐν ἐκπώμασιν χρυσοῖς πίνειν καὶ ἐπὶ χρυσίου καθεύδειν καὶ ἅρμα χρυσοχάλινον καὶ κίδαριν βύσσινον καὶ περιαυχένιον χρύσεον, καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν ἕξειν προεδρίαν διὰ τὴν σοφίαν καὶ συγγενής μου, [36] ἔφη, κληθήσεται.” ταύτας ἐπαγγειλάμενος αὐτοῖς παρέξειν τὰς δωρεὰς ἐρωτᾷ μὲν τὸν πρῶτον, εἰ ὁ οἶνος ὑπερισχύει, τὸν δεύτερον δέ, εἰ οἱ βασιλεῖς, τὸν τρίτον δέ, εἰ αἱ γυναῖκες ἢ τούτων μᾶλλον ἡ ἀλήθεια. ταῦτα προθεὶς αὐτοῖς ζητεῖν ἡσύχασεν. [37] ὄρθρου δὲ μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς μεγιστᾶνας καὶ σατράπας καὶ τοπάρχας τῆς Περσίδος καὶ Μηδικῆς καὶ καθίσας ἐν ᾧ χρηματίζειν εἰώθει, τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἕκαστον ἐκέλευσεν πάντων ἀκουόντων ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν προκειμένων.

(3) [38] Καὶ ὁ πρῶτος ἤρξατο λέγειν τὴν τοῦ οἴνου δύναμιν οὕτως αὐτὴν ἐμφανίζων: “ἄνδρες γὰρ εἶπεν, ἐγὼ τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῦ οἴνου τεκμαιρόμενος πάντα ὑπερβάλλουσαν εὑρίσκω τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ: [39] σφάλλει γὰρ τῶν πινόντων αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπατᾷ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως τῇ τοῦ ὀρφανοῦ καὶ δεομένου κηδεμόνος ὁμοίαν τίθησιν, καὶ τὴν τοῦ δούλου διεγείρει πρὸς παρρησίαν τοῦ ἐλευθέρου, ἥ τε τοῦ πένητος ὁμοία γίνεται τῇ τοῦ πλουσίου: [40] μεταποιεῖ γὰρ καὶ μεταγεννᾷ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐν αὐταῖς ἐγγενόμενος, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐν συμφορᾷ καθεστηκότων σβέννυσι τὸ λυποῦν, τοὺς δὲ ἀλλότρια χρέα λαβόντας εἰς λήθην ἄγει καὶ ποιεῖ δοκεῖν αὐτοὺς ἁπάντων πλουσιωτάτους, ὡς μηδὲν μικρὸν φθέγγεσθαι, ταλάντων δὲ μεμνῆσθαι καὶ τῶν τοῖς εὐδαίμοσι προσηκόντων ὀνομάτων. [41] ἔτι γε μὴν στρατηγῶν καὶ βασιλέων ἀναισθήτους ἀπεργάζεται καὶ φίλων καὶ συνήθων ἐξαιρεῖ μνήμην: ὁπλίζει γὰρ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ κατὰ τῶν φιλτάτων καὶ δοκεῖν ποιεῖ πάντων ἀλλοτριωτάτους. [42] καὶ ὅταν νήψαντες τύχωσιν καὶ καταλίπῃ διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ οἶνος κοιμωμένους, ἀνίστανται μηθὲν ὧν ἔπραξαν παρὰ τὴν μέθην εἰδότες. τούτοις ἐγὼ τεκμαιρόμενος εὑρίσκω τὸν οἶνον ὑπερκρατοῦντα πάντων καὶ βιαιότατον.”

(4) [43] Ὡς δὲ ὁ πρῶτος ἀποφηνάμενος περὶ τῆς ἰσχύος τοῦ οἴνου τὰ προειρημένα ἐπαύσατο, ὁ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν ἤρξατο λέγειν περὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως δυνάμεως, ταύτην ἀποδεικνὺς τὴν ἰσχυροτάτην καὶ πλέον τῶν ἄλλων δυναμένην, ὅσα βίαν ἔχειν ἢ σύνεσιν δοκεῖ. τὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς ἀποδείξεως ἐντεῦθεν ἐλάμβανεν: [44] πάντων μὲν εἶπεν ἀνθρώπους περικρατεῖν, οἳ καὶ τὴν γῆν καταναγκάζουσιν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν εἶναι χρησίμην αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἃ θέλουσιν, τούτων δ᾽ ἄρχουσιν οἱ βασιλεῖς καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσιν: οἱ δὲ τοῦ κρατίστου καὶ ἰσχυροτάτου ζῴου δεσπόζοντες ἀνυπέρβλητοι τὴν δύναμιν οὗτοι καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν εἰκότως ἂν εἶεν. [45] ἀμέλει πολέμους ἐπιτάττοντες καὶ κινδύνους τοῖς

ἀρχομένοις ἀκούονται, καὶ πέμποντες αὐτοὺς ἐπ᾽ ἐχθροὺς καταπειθεῖς διὰ τὴν ἰσχὺν τὴν αὐτῶν ἔχουσιν, καὶ ὄρη μὲν κατεργάζεσθαι καὶ τείχη κατασπᾶν καὶ πύργους κελεύουσιν, καὶ κτείνεσθαι δ᾽ οἱ κελευσθέντες καὶ κτείνειν ὑπομένουσιν, ἵνα μὴ τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως δόξωσι παραβαίνειν προστάγματα, νικήσαντες δὲ τὴν ὠφέλειαν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου τῷ βασιλεῖ κομίζουσιν. [46] καὶ οἱ μὴ στρατευόμενοι [δὲ ἀλλὰ] γῆν ἐργαζόμενοι καὶ ἀροῦντες ὅταν πονήσαντες καὶ ἅπασαν τὴν τῶν ἔργων ταλαιπωρίαν ὑπομείναντες θερίσωσιν καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς συνέλωσιν, τοὺς φόρους τῷ βασιλεῖ κομίζουσιν. [47] ὃ δ᾽ ἂν οὗτος εἴπῃ καὶ κελεύσῃ τοῦτο ἐξ ἀνάγκης οὐδὲν ὑπερβαλομένων γίνεται. ἔτι ὁ μὲν τρυφῆς ἁπάσης καὶ ἡδονῆς ἀναπιμπλάμενος καθεύδει, φυλάσσεται δὲ ὑπὸ γρηγορούντων καὶ ὡσανεὶ δεδεμένων ὑπὸ φόβου: [48] καταλιπεῖν γὰρ οὐδὲ εἷς τολμᾷ κοιμώμενον οὐδὲ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναχωρήσας ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἓν ἔργον ἡγούμενος τῶν ἀναγκαίων τὸ φυλάττειν τὸν βασιλέα τούτῳ προσμένει. πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς δόξειεν τὴν πάντων ἰσχὺν ὑπερβάλλειν, ᾧ τοσοῦτο πλῆθος πείθεται κελεύοντι;”

(5) [49] Σιωπήσαντος δὲ καὶ τούτου περὶ τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ὁ τρίτος Ζοροβάβηλος διδάσκειν αὐτοὺς ἤρξατο λέγων οὕτως: “ἰσχυρὸς μὲν καὶ ὁ οἶνος καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς, ᾧ πάντες ὑπακούουσιν, ἀλλὰ κρείττους τὴν δύναμιν τούτων αἱ γυναῖκες: [50] τόν τε γὰρ βασιλέα γυνὴ παρήγαγεν εἰς τὸ φῶς καὶ τοὺς φυτεύσαντας ἀμπέλους, αἳ ποιοῦσιν τὸν οἶνον, γυναῖκές εἰσιν αἱ τίκτουσαί τε καὶ τρέφουσαι, καθόλου δ᾽ οὐδέν ἐστιν, ὃ μὴ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἔχομεν: καὶ γὰρ τὰς ἐσθῆτας αὗται ὑφαίνουσιν ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ κατ᾽ οἶκον διὰ ταύτας ἐπιμελείας καὶ φυλακῆς ἀξιοῦται. [51] καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἀποζευχθῆναι γυναικῶν, ἀλλὰ χρυσὸν πολὺν κτησάμενοι καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ ἄλλο τι τῶν πολυτελῶν καὶ σπουδῆς ἀξίων, ὅταν ἴδωμεν εὔμορφον γυναῖκα, πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἀφέντες τῷ εἴδει τῆς ὁραθείσης προσκεχήναμεν καὶ ὑπομένομεν παραχωρῆσαι τῶν ὄντων ἡμῖν, ἵνα τοῦ κάλλους ἀπολαύσωμεν καὶ μεταλάβωμεν. [52] ἐγκαταλείπομεν δὲ καὶ πατέρας [καὶ μητέρας] καὶ τὴν θρεψαμένην γῆν, καὶ τῶν φιλτάτων πολλάκις λήθην ἔχομεν διὰ τὰς γυναῖκας, καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀφιέναι μετ᾽ αὐτῶν καρτεροῦμεν. οὕτως δ᾽ ἂν μάλιστα τὴν ἰσχὺν τῶν γυναικῶν κατανοήσαιτε: [53] οὐχὶ πονοῦντες καὶ πᾶσαν ταλαιπωρίαν ὑπομένοντες καὶ διὰ γῆς καὶ διὰ θαλάττης, ὅταν ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν πόνων περιγένηταί τινα, αὐτὰ φέροντες ὡς δεσποίναις ταῖς γυναιξὶν διδόαμεν; [54] καὶ τὸν βασιλέα δὲ τὸν τοσούτων κύριον εἶδόν ποτε ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥαβεζάκου τοῦ Θεμασίου παιδὸς Ἀπάμης παλλακῆς δ᾽ αὐτοῦ ῥαπιζόμενον, καὶ τὸ διάδημα ἀφαιρουμένης καὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ κεφαλῇ περιτιθείσης ἀνεχόμενον καὶ μειδιώσης μὲν μειδιῶντα ὀργιζομένης δὲ σκυθρωπάζοντα καὶ τῇ τῶν παθῶν μεταβολῇ κολακεύοντα τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ διαλλάττοντα ἐκ τοῦ σφόδρα ταπεινὸν αὐτὸν ποιεῖν, εἴ ποτε δυσχεραίνουσαν ἔβλεπεν.”

(6) [55] Εἰς ἀλλήλους δὲ ἀφορώντων τῶν σατραπῶν καὶ ἡγεμόνων περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἤρξατο λέγειν "ἀπέδειξα μέν, εἰπών, ὅσον αἱ γυναῖκες ἰσχύουσιν, ἀσθενέστεραι δ' ὅμως καὶ αὗται καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς ἀληθείας ὑπάρχουσιν. εἰ γάρ ἐστιν ἡ γῆ μεγίστη καὶ ὑψηλὸς ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ταχὺς ὁ ἥλιος, ταῦτα δὲ πάντα κινεῖται κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀληθινὸς δέ ἐστιν καὶ δίκαιος οὗτος, ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας δεῖ καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἰσχυροτάτην ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ μηδὲν πρὸς αὐτὴν τὸ ἄδικον δυνάμενον. [56] ἔτι γε μὴν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα θνητὰ καὶ ὠκύμορα εἶναι συμβέβηκεν τῶν ἰσχὺν ἐχόντων, ἀθάνατον δὲ ἡ ἀλήθεια χρῆμα καὶ ἀίδιον. παρέχει δ' ἡμῖν οὐ κάλλος χρόνῳ μαραινόμενον οὐδὲ περιουσίαν ἀφαιρετὴν ὑπὸ τύχης, ἀλλὰ τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ νόμιμα, διακρίνουσα ἀπ' αὐτῶν τὰ ἄδικα καὶ ἀπελέγχουσα."

(7) [57] Καταπαύει μὲν ὁ Ζοροβάβηλος τὸν περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον, ἐπιβοήσαντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους ὡς ἄριστα εἰπόντος, καὶ ὅτι τὸ ἀληθὲς ἰσχὺν ἄτρεπτον καὶ ἀγήρω μόνον ἔχοι, προσέταξεν αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς αἰτήσασθαί τι πάρεξ ὧν αὐτὸς ἦν ὑπεσχημένος: δώσειν γὰρ ὄντι σοφῷ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μᾶλλον φανέντι συνετῷ: "συγκαθεσθήσῃ δέ μοι, [58] φησίν, καὶ κεκλήσῃ συγγενὴς ἐμός." ταῦτ' εἰπόντος ὑπέμνησεν αὐτὸν τῆς εὐχῆς, ἧς ἐποιήσατο, εἰ λάβοι τὴν βασιλείαν: αὕτη δ' ἂν εἴη οἰκοδομῆσαι μὲν Ἱεροσόλυμα, κατασκευάσαι δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ναόν, ἀποκαταστῆσαι δὲ καὶ τὰ σκεύη, ὅσα συλήσας Ναβουχοδονόσορος εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἐκόμισεν. καὶ τοῦτ', ἔφη, τοὐμὸν αἴτημά ἐστιν, ὅ μοι νῦν ἐπιτρέπεις αἰτήσασθαι κριθέντι σοφῷ καὶ συνετῷ."

(8) [59] Ἡσθεὶς ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναστὰς κατεφίλησέν τε αὐτὸν καὶ τοῖς τοπάρχαις καὶ σατράπαις γράφει κελεύων προπέμψαι τὸν Ζοροβάβηλον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ μέλλοντας ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἐξιέναι τοῦ ναοῦ. [60] ἐπέστειλε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν Συρίᾳ καὶ Φοινίκῃ ξύλα κέδρινα κατακομίζειν ἐκ τοῦ Λιβάνου τεμόντας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ συγκατασκευάζειν αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ πάντας ἔγραψεν ἐλευθέρους εἶναι τοὺς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀπελθόντας. [61] καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους τοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ σατράπας ἐκώλυσεν ἐπιτάττειν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τὰς βασιλικὰς χρείας, ἀνῆκέ τε πᾶσαν ἣν ἂν κατασχεῖν δυνηθῶσιν τῆς χώρας ἀτελῆ φόρων αὐτοῖς νέμεσθαι. προσέταξε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους καὶ Σαμαρείτας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς κοίλης Συρίας ἀφεῖναι τὰς κώμας, ἃς τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατεῖχον, καὶ προσέτι τάλαντα πεντήκοντα εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ δοθῆναι. [62] θύειν τε αὐτοῖς τὰς νενομισμένας θυσίας ἐπέτρεψε καὶ τὴν χορηγίαν ἅπασαν καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν στολήν, ᾗ θεραπεύουσι τὸν θεὸν ὅ τε ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων γίνεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς Λευίταις τὰ ὄργανα, [63] οἷς ὑμνοῦσι τὸν θεόν, καὶ τοῖς φύλαξι τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ προσέταξεν κλήρους γῆς δοθῆναι καὶ κατὰ ἕκαστον ἔτος ὡρισμένον τι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βίου χρείαν ἀργύριον, πέμψαι δὲ καὶ τὰ σκεύη, καὶ πάντα, ὅσα Κῦρος πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐβουλήθη περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀποκαταστάσεως, ταῦτα καὶ Δαρεῖος διετάξατο.

(9) [64] Τυχὼν οὖν τούτων παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ζοροβάβηλος ἐξελθὼν ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλείων καὶ ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐχαριστεῖν ἤρξατο τῷ θεῷ τῆς σοφίας καὶ τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ νίκης, ἣν Δαρείου παρόντος ἔλαβεν: οὐ γὰρ ἂν τούτων ἀξιωθῆναι μὴ σοῦ, φησί, δέσποτα, [65] τυχὼν εὐμενοῦς.᾽᾽ ταῦτ᾽ οὖν περὶ τῶν παρόντων εὐχαριστήσας τῷ θεῷ καὶ πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα δεηθεὶς αὐτὸν παρέχειν ὅμοιον, ἦκεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα καὶ τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις εὐηγγελίσατο τὰ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως. [66] οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες εὐχαριστοῦσι μὲν τῷ θεῷ πάλιν αὐτοῖς ἀποδιδόντι τὴν πάτριον γῆν, εἰς δὲ πότον καὶ κώμους τραπέντες ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ διήγαγον εὐωχούμενοι καὶ τὴν ἀνάκτησιν καὶ παλιγγενεσίαν τῆς πατρίδος ἑορτάζοντες. [67] ἔπειτα τοὺς ἀναβησομένους εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἡγεμόνας ἐκ τῶν πατρίων φυλῶν σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις καὶ ὑποζυγίοις ἐπελέξαντο, οἳ Δαρείου συμπέμψαντος ἕως τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ὥδευον μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ τρυφῆς, ψαλλόμενοι καὶ καταυλούμενοι καὶ περιψοφούμενοι τοῖς κυμβάλοις. προέπεμπε δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ ὑπολειπόμενον τῶν Ἰουδαίων πλῆθος μετὰ παιδιᾶς.

(10) [68] Καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἀπῆεσαν ἐξ ἑκάστης πατριᾶς ἀριθμὸς ὄντες ὡρισμένος. ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔδοξε τὰ τῶν πατριῶν καταλέγειν ὀνόματα, ἵνα μὴ τὴν τῶν ἀναγινωσκόντων διάνοιαν τῆς συναφῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀποσπάσας δυσπαρακολούθητον αὐτοῖς ποιήσω τὴν διήγησιν. [69] τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιον τῶν ἀπερχομένων περὶ ἔτη δώδεκα τὴν ἡλικίαν γεγονότων ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς καὶ Βενιαμίτιδος ἦν μυριάδες τετρακόσιαι ἑξηκονταδύο καὶ ὀκτακισχίλιοι, Λευῖται δὲ τέσσαρες καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα, γυναικῶν δὲ ἀναμὶξ καὶ νηπίων σώματα ἦν τετρακισμύρια ἑπτακόσια τεσσαρακονταδύο. [70] πάρεξ δὲ τούτων Λευῖται μὲν ἦσαν ὑμνῳδοὶ ἑκατὸν εἰκοσιοκτώ, πυλωροὶ δὲ ἑκατὸν δέκα, δοῦλοι δὲ ἱεροὶ τριακόσιοι ἐνενηκονταδύο, ἄλλοι τε πρὸς τούτοις λέγοντες μὲν εἶναι τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν οὐ δυνάμενοι δὲ ἐπιδεῖξαι τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ἑξακόσιοι πεντηκονταδύο. [71] ἐξεβλήθησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱερέων ἐκ τῆς τιμῆς ἠγμένοι γυναῖκας, ὧν οὔτ᾽ αὐτοὶ τὸ γένος εἶχον εἰπεῖν οὔτ᾽ ἐν ταῖς γενεαλογίαις τῶν Λευιτῶν καὶ ἱερέων εὑρέθησαν: ἦσαν δὲ ὡς πεντακόσιοι καὶ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι. [72] τὸ δὲ τῶν θεραπόντων πλῆθος εἵπετο τοῖς ἀναβαίνουσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἑπτακισχιλίων τριακοσίων τριακονταεπτά, ψάλται δὲ καὶ ψάλτριαι διακόσιοι τεσσαρακονταπέντε, κάμηλοι τετρακόσιαι τριακονταπέντε, ὑποζύγια πεντακισχίλια πεντακόσια εἰκοσιπέντε. [73] ἡγεμὼν δὲ τῆς κατηριθμημένης πληθύος ἦν ὁ Σαλαθιήλου παῖς Ζοροβάβηλος ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν ὢν τῶν Δαυίδου γεγονὼς ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς, καὶ Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς Ἰωσεδέκου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως. πρὸς τούτοις ὁ Μαρδοχαῖος καὶ Σερεβαῖος ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους κεκριμένοι ἄρχοντες ἦσαν, οἳ καὶ συνεβάλοντο μνᾶς μὲν χρυσίου ἑκατὸν ἀργύρου δὲ πεντακισχιλίας. [74] οὕτως μὲν οὖν οἵ τε ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ Λευῖται καὶ μέρος τι τοῦ παντὸς λαοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὃς ἦν ἐν τῇ Βαβυλῶνι, κατῳκίσθησαν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα: τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πλῆθος εἰς τὰς ἰδίας ἀνεχώρησεν πατρίδας.

IV

(1) [75] Ἑβδόμῳ δὲ μηνὶ τῆς ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος αὐτῶν ἐξόδου περιπέμψαντες ὅ τε ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰησοῦς καὶ Ζοροβάβηλος ὁ ἄρχων τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας συνήγαγον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πανδημεὶ μηδὲν προθυμίας ἀπολιπόντες, [76] κατεσκεύασάν τε θυσιαστήριον ἐφ᾽ οὗ καὶ πρότερον ἦν ᾠκοδομημένον τόπου, ὅπως τὰς νομίμους ἀναφέρωσι θυσίας ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ κατὰ τοὺς Μωυσέως νόμους. ταῦτα δὲ ποιοῦντες οὐκ ἦσαν ἐν ἡδονῇ τοῖς προσχωρίοις ἔθνεσιν πάντων αὐτοῖς ἀπεχθανομένων. [77] ἤγαγον δὲ καὶ τὴν σκηνοπηγίαν κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρόν, ὡς ὁ νομοθέτης περὶ αὐτῆς διετάξατο, καὶ προσφορὰς μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους ἐνδελεχισμοὺς καὶ τὰς θυσίας τῶν σαββάτων καὶ πασῶν τῶν ἁγίων ἑορτῶν, οἵ τε πεποιημένοι τὰς εὐχὰς ἀπεδίδοσαν θύοντες ἀπὸ νουμηνίας τοῦ ἑβδόμου μηνός. [78] ἤρξαντο δὲ καὶ τῆς οἰκοδομίας τοῦ ναοῦ πολλὰ τοῖς τε λατόμοις καὶ τέκτοσι χρήματα δόντες καὶ τὰ πρὸς τροφὴν τῶν εἰσαγομένων, τοῖς τε Σιδωνίοις ἡδὺ καὶ κοῦφον ἦν τά τε κέδρινα κατάγουσιν ἐκ τοῦ Λιβάνου ξύλα δήσασιν αὐτὰ καὶ σχεδίαν πηξαμένοις εἰς τὸν τῆς Ἰόππης κομίζειν λιμένα: τοῦτο γὰρ πρῶτος μὲν Κῦρος ἐκέλευσεν, τότε δὲ Δαρείου κελεύσαντος ἐγίνετο.

(2) [79] Ὧν τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καθόδου τῶν Ἰουδαίων μηνὶ δευτέρῳ παραγενομένων συνείχετο ἡ τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευή: καὶ τοὺς θεμελίους ἐγείραντες τῇ νουμηνίᾳ τοῦ δευτέρου μηνὸς τοῦ δευτέρου ἔτους ἐπῳκοδόμουν, προστησάμενοι τῶν ἔργων Λευιτῶν τε τοὺς εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἤδη γεγονότας καὶ Ἰησοῦν καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ Ζοδμοῆλον τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰούδα τοῦ Ἀμιναδάβου καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ. [80] καὶ ὁ μὲν ναὸς πάσῃ χρησαμένων σπουδῇ τῶν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐγκεχειρισμένων θᾶττον ἢ προσεδόκησεν ἄν τις ἔλαβεν τέλος. ἀπαρτισθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ μετὰ σαλπίγγων οἱ ἱερεῖς ταῖς συνήθεσι στολαῖς κεκοσμημένοι καὶ οἱ Λευῖται καὶ οἱ Ἀσάφου παῖδες ἀναστάντες ὕμνουν τὸν θεόν, ὡς τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν εὐλογίαν Δαυίδης κατέδειξε πρῶτος. [81] οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευῖται καὶ τῶν πατριῶν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τὸν πρότερον [ναὸν] ταῖς μνήμαις ἀναπολοῦντες μέγιστόν τε καὶ πολυτελέστατον, καὶ τὸν γεγενημένον ὁρῶντες ὑπὸ πτωχείας ἐνδεέστερον τοῦ πάλαι κατασκευαζόμενον, ὅσον εἶεν τῆς ἀρχαίας εὐδαιμονίας ὑποβεβηκότες καὶ τῆς ἀξίας τοῦ ναοῦ λογιζόμενοι κατήφουν, καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τούτῳ λύπης κρατεῖν οὐ δυνάμενοι μέχρι θρήνων καὶ δακρύων προήγοντο. [82] ὁ δὲ λαὸς ἠγάπα τοῖς παροῦσιν καὶ τῷ μόνον οἰκοδομῆσαι τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ πρότερον ὄντος οὐδένα λόγον ποιούμενος οὐδ᾽ ἀνάμνησιν οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν σύγκρισιν τὴν ἐκείνου βασανίζων αὐτὸν ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἐλάττοσιν οἷς ὑπελάμβανεν. [83] ὑπερεφώνει δὲ τὸν τῶν σαλπίγγων ἦχον καὶ τὴν τοῦ πλήθους χαρὰν ἡ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ ἱερέων ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐδόκουν ἐλαττοῦσθαι τὸν ναὸν τοῦ κατασκαφέντος οἰμωγή.

(3) [84] Τῆς δὲ βοῆς τῶν σαλπίγγων ἀκούσαντες οἱ Σαμαρεῖται, ἐτύγχανον γὰρ ἀπεχθανόμενοι τῇ τε Ἰούδα φυλῇ καὶ τῇ Βενιαμίτιδι, συνέδραμον τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ θορύβου μαθεῖν θέλοντες. γνόντες δὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλωτισθέντας εἰς Βαβυλῶνα τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀνακτίζοντας τὸ ἱερόν, προσίασιν τῷ Ζοροβαβήλῳ καὶ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἡγουμένοις τῶν πατριῶν ἀξιοῦντες αὐτοῖς ἐπιτραπῆναι συγκατασκευάσαι τὸν ναὸν καὶ κοινωνῆσαι τῆς οἰκοδομίας: [85] "σεβόμεθα γὰρ οὐκ ἔλαττον ἐκείνων τὸν θεόν, ἔφασκον, καὶ τοῦτον ὑπερευχόμεθα καὶ τῆς θρησκείας ἐσμὲν ἐπιθυμηταὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου, ἀφ' οὗ Σαλμανασσάρης ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῆς Χουθίας [86] ἡμᾶς μετήγαγεν καὶ Μηδίας ἐνθάδε." τούτους αὐτῶν ποιησαμένων τοὺς λόγους Ζοροβάβηλος καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ οἱ τῶν πατριῶν ἡγεμόνες τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔφασαν τῆς μὲν οἰκοδομίας αὐτοῖς ἀδύνατον εἶναι κοινωνεῖν, αὐτῶν προσταχθέντων κατασκευάσαι τὸν ναὸν πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Κύρου νῦν δὲ ὑπὸ Δαρείου: [87] προσκυνεῖν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐφιέναι καὶ τοῦτο μόνον εἶναι κοινόν, εἰ βούλονται, πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀφικνουμένοις εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν σέβειν τὸν θεόν.

(4) [88] Ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες οἱ Χουθαῖοι, τὴν γὰρ προσηγορίαν οἱ Σαμαρεῖται ταύτην ἔχουσιν, ἠγανάκτησαν καὶ πείθουσιν τὰ ἐν Συρίᾳ ἔθνη τῶν σατραπῶν δεηθῆναι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὅνπερ ἐπὶ Κύρου πρότερον εἶτ' ἐπὶ Καμβύσου μετ' αὐτόν, ἐπισχεῖν τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευὴν καὶ σπουδάζουσιν περὶ αὐτὸν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀναβολὴν καὶ τριβὴν πραγματεύσασθαι. [89] κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἀναβάντων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα Σισίνου τοῦ τῆς Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης ἐπάρχου καὶ Σαρωβαζάνου μετὰ καί τινων ἑτέρων καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐρομένων, τίνος αὐτοῖς συγχωρήσαντος οὕτως οἰκοδομοῦσιν τὸν ναόν, ὡς φρούριον μᾶλλον αὐτὸν εἶναι ἢ ἱερόν, καὶ τί δήποτε τὰς στοὰς καὶ τὰ τείχη περιβεβλήκασιν τῇ πόλει σφόδρα ὀχυρά, [90] Ζοροβάβηλος καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰησοῦς δούλους μὲν αὐτοὺς ἔφασαν εἶναι τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ, τὸν δὲ ναὸν τοῦτον αὐτῷ κατασκευασθέντα ὑπὸ βασιλέως αὐτῶν εὐδαίμονος καὶ πάντας ὑπερβάλλοντος ἀρετῇ πολὺν διαμεῖναι χρόνον. [91] ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν πατέρων ἀσεβησάντων εἰς τὸν θεὸν Ναβουχοδονόσορος ὁ Βαβυλωνίων καὶ Χαλδαίων βασιλεὺς ἑλὼν τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος αὐτήν τε καθεῖλεν καὶ τὸν ναὸν συλήσας ἐνέπρησεν καὶ τὸν λαὸν μετῴκισεν αἰχμάλωτον μεταγαγὼν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, [92] Κῦρος ὁ μετ' αὐτὸν τῆς Βαβυλωνίας καὶ Περσίδος βασιλεὺς ἔγραψεν οἰκοδομῆσαι τὸν ναόν, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα μετήγαγεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσορος ἀναθήματα καὶ σκεύη Ζοροβαβήλῳ παραδοὺς καὶ Μιθριδάτῃ τῷ γαζοφύλακι προσέταξεν κομίσαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὸν ἴδιον ἀποκατασταθῆναι ναὸν οἰκοδομηθέντα. [93] τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπέστειλεν ἐν τάχει γενέσθαι Σαβάσηρον κελεύσας ἀναβάντα εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τῆς οἰκοδομίας τοῦ ναοῦ ποιήσασθαι πρόνοιαν. ὃς μετὰ τὸ λαβεῖν παρὰ Κύρου γράμματα, παραγενόμενος εὐθὺς τοὺς θεμελίους κατεβάλετο, καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου κατασκευαζόμενος μέχρι καὶ

τοῦ δεῦρο διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν κακοήθειάν ἐστιν ἀτελής. [94] εἰ τοίνυν βούλεσθε καὶ δοκιμάζετε, γράψατε ταῦτα Δαρείῳ, ὅπως ἐπισκεψάμενος τὰ τῶν βασιλέων ὑπομνήματα εὕρῃ μηδὲν ἡμᾶς ὧν λέγομεν καταψευσαμένους."

(5) [95] Ταῦτ' εἰπόντων τοῦ τε Ζοροβαβήλου καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ὁ Σισίννης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τὴν μὲν οἰκοδομίαν ἐπισχεῖν οὐ διέγνωσαν ἕως ἂν ταῦτα δηλωθῇ Δαρείῳ, παραχρῆμα δ' αὐτῷ περὶ τούτων ἔγραψαν. [96] τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων κατεπτηχότων καὶ δεδιότων μὴ μεταδόξῃ τῷ βασιλεῖ περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευῆς, ὄντες κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον δύο προφῆται παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἀγγαῖος καὶ Ζαχαρίας θαρρεῖν αὐτοὺς παρώρμων καὶ μηδὲν ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν ὑφορᾶσθαι δύσκολον, ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα προλέγοντος. πιστεύοντες δὲ τοῖς προφήταις ἐντεταμένως εἶχοντο τῆς οἰκοδομίας μηδεμίαν ἡμέραν ἀνιέμενοι.

(6) [97] Δαρεῖος δὲ τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν αὐτῷ γραψάντων καὶ κατηγορούντων διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὡς τήν τε πόλιν ὀχυροῦσι καὶ τὸν ναὸν φρουρίῳ προσεοικότα μᾶλλον ἢ ἱερῷ κατασκευάζουσιν, λεγόντων δὲ μὴ συνοίσειν αὐτῷ τὰ γινόμενα καὶ προσέτι τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἐπιδεικνύντων τὰς Καμβύσου, δι' ὧν ἐκώλυσεν ἐκεῖνος οἰκοδομεῖν τὸν ναόν, [98] μαθὼν παρ' αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀσφαλῆ τοῖς πράγμασιν αὐτοῦ τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἀποκατάστασιν ἔσεσθαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Σισίννου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ κομισθέντα ἀνέγνω γράμματα, προσέταξεν ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ζητηθῆναι τὰ περὶ τούτων. [99] καὶ εὑρέθη ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις τῇ βάρει τῇ ἐν Μηδίᾳ βιβλίον, ἐν ᾧ τάδε ἦν ἀναγεγραμμένα: "ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς βασιλείας ἔτει Κῦρος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσεν τὸν ναὸν οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ὕψος μὲν πηχῶν ἑξήκοντα εὖρος δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν, διὰ δόμων λιθίνων βία τε ξεστῶν τριῶν καὶ ξυλίνου δόμου ἑνὸς ἐγχωρίου. [100] καὶ τὴν εἰς ταῦτα δαπάνην ἐκ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως γίνεσθαι διετάξατο, καὶ τὰ σκεύη, ἃ συλήσας Ναβουχοδονόσορος εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἐκόμισεν, ἀποδοθῆναι τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις, [101] τὴν δὲ ἐπιμέλειαν τούτων εἶναι Ἀναβασσάρου τοῦ ἐπάρχου καὶ τῆς Συρίας τε καὶ Φοινίκης ἡγεμόνος καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων αὐτοῦ, ὅπως αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀφέξονται τοῦ τόπου, τοῖς δὲ δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰουδαίοις τε καὶ ἡγεμόσιν αὐτῶν ἐπιτρέψουσιν οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὸν ναόν. [102] καὶ συλλαβέσθαι δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον διετάξατο, κἀκ τοῦ φόρου τοῦ τῆς χώρας ἧς ἐπετροπεύοντο τελεῖν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις εἰς θυσίας λόγον ταύρους καὶ κριοὺς καὶ ἄρνας καὶ ἐρίφους καὶ σεμίδαλιν καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ οἶνον καὶ τἆλλα, ὅσα ἂν οἱ ἱερεῖς ὑπαγορεύσωσιν, εὔχωνται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ Περσῶν. [103] τοὺς δὲ παραβάντας τι τῶν ἐπεσταλμένων συλληφθέντας ἐκέλευσεν ἀνασταυρωθῆναι καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν καταταγῆναι κτῆσιν. καὶ κατηύξατο πρὸς τούτοις τῷ θεῷ, ὅπως εἴ τις ἐπιχειρήσειε διακωλῦσαι τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τοῦ ναοῦ, βαλὼν αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς ἐπίσχῃ τῆς ἀδικίας."

(7) [104] Ταῦθ᾽ εὑρὼν ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν τοῖς Κύρου Δαρεῖος ἀντιγράφει τῷ Σισίννῃ καὶ τοῖς ἑταίροις αὐτοῦ τάδε λέγων: "βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος Σισίννῃ τῷ ἐπάρχῳ καὶ Σαραβαζάνῃ καὶ τοῖς ἑταίροις αὐτῶν χαίρειν. τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ὑμῖν ἧς ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν εὗρον τοῖς Κύρου ἀπέσταλκα καὶ βούλομαι γίνεσθαι πάντα, καθὼς ἐν αὐτῇ περιέχει. [105] ἔρρωσθε." μαθόντες οὖν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ὁ Σισίννης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως προαίρεσιν ταύτῃ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀκόλουθα ποιεῖν διέγνωσαν. ἐπεστάτουν οὖν τῶν ἱερῶν ἔργων συλλαμβανόμενοι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τῶν γερόντων ἄρχουσιν. [106] καὶ ἠνύετο κατὰ πολλὴν σπουδὴν ἡ κατασκευὴ τοῦ ναοῦ προφητευόντων Ἀγγαίου καὶ Ζαχαρίου κατὰ πρόσταγμα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μετὰ βουλήσεως Κύρου τε καὶ Δαρείου τῶν βασιλέων, ᾠκοδομήθη δὲ ἐν ἔτεσιν ἑπτά. [107] τοῦ δ᾽ ἐνάτου τῆς Δαρείου βασιλείας ἔτους εἰκάδι καὶ τρίτῃ μηνὸς δωδεκάτου, ὃς καλεῖται παρὰ μὲν ἡμῖν Ἄδαρ παρὰ δὲ Μακεδόσιν Δύστρος, προσφέρουσιν θυσίας οἵ τε ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευῖται καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν πλῆθος ἀνανεωτικὰς τῶν πρότερον ἀγαθῶν μετὰ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν τοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνακαινισθὲν ἀπειληφέναι ταύρους ἑκατὸν κριοὺς διακοσίους ἄρνας τετρακοσίους χιμάρους δώδεκα κατὰ φυλήν, τοσαῦται γάρ εἰσιν αἱ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν φυλαί, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἥμαρτεν ἑκάστη. [108] ἔστησάν τε κατὰ τοὺς Μωυσέως νόμους οἵ τε ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ Λευῖται θυρωροὺς ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστου πυλῶνος: ᾠκοδομήκεσαν γὰρ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ τὰς ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ ναοῦ στοὰς τοῦ ἔνδοθεν ἱεροῦ.

(8) [109] Ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτῆς μηνὶ τῷ πρώτῳ, κατὰ μὲν Μακεδόνας Ξανθικῷ λεγομένῳ κατὰ δὲ ἡμᾶς Νισάν, συνερρύη πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἤγαγον ἀγνεύοντες μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ, [110] καὶ τὴν πάσχα προσαγορευομένην θυσίαν τῇ τετράδι καὶ δεκάτῃ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς ἐπιτελέσαντες κατευωχήθησαν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ μηδεμιᾶς φειδόμενοι πολυτελείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ὁλοκαυτώσεις ἐπιφέροντες τῷ θεῷ καὶ χαριστηρίους θυσίας ἱερουργοῦντες ἀνθ᾽ ὧν αὐτοὺς ποθοῦν τὸ θεῖον πάλιν εἰς τὴν πάτριον γῆν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ νόμους ἤγαγεν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως διάνοιαν εὐμενῆ κατέστησεν αὐτοῖς. [111] καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐπιδαψιλευόμενοι ταῖς θυσίαις καὶ τῇ περὶ τὸν θεὸν φιλοτιμίᾳ κατῴκησαν ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις πολιτείᾳ χρώμενοι ἀριστοκρατικῇ μετὰ ὀλιγαρχίας: οἱ γὰρ ἀρχιερεῖς προεστήκεσαν τῶν πραγμάτων ἄχρι οὗ τοὺς Ἀσαμωναίου συνέβη βασιλεύειν ἐκγόνους. [112] πρὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐβασιλεύοντο ἀπὸ Σαούλου πρῶτον ἀρξάμενοι καὶ Δαυίδου ἐπὶ ἔτη πεντακόσια τριακονταδύο μῆνας ἓξ ἡμέρας δέκα, πρὸ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων τούτων ἄρχοντες αὐτοὺς διεῖπον οἱ προσαγορευόμενοι κριταὶ καὶ μόναρχοι, καὶ τοῦτον πολιτευόμενοι τὸν τρόπον ἔτεσιν πλέον ἢ πεντακοσίοις διήγαγον μετὰ Μωυσῆν ἀποθανόντα καὶ Ἰησοῦν τὸν στρατηγόν. [113] καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῶν ἀνασωθέντων

ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας Ἰουδαίων ἐν τοῖς Κύρου καὶ Δαρείου χρόνοις ἐν τούτοις ὑπῆρχεν.

(9) [114] Οἱ δὲ Σαμαρεῖς ἀπεχθῶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ βασκάνως διακείμενοι πολλὰ κακὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἰργάσαντο πλούτῳ τε πεποιθότες καὶ συγγένειαν προσποιούμενοι τὴν Περσῶν, ἐπειδήπερ ἐκεῖθεν ἦσαν. [115] ὅσα τε γὰρ ἐκελεύσθησαν ἐκ τῶν φόρων ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὰς θυσίας τελεῖν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις παρέχειν οὐκ ἤθελον τούς τε ἐπάρχους σπουδάζοντας αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ συνεργοῦντας εἶχον, ἄλλα τε ὅσα βλάπτειν ἢ δι᾽ ἑαυτῶν ἢ δι᾽ ἑτέρων ἠδύναντο τοὺς Ἰουδαίους οὐκ ἀπώκνουν. [116] ἔδοξεν οὖν πρεσβευσαμένοις τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Δαρεῖον κατηγορῆσαι τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν, καὶ πρεσβεύουσιν Ζοροβάβηλος καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ἀρχόντων τέσσαρες. [117] ὡς δὲ τὰ ἐγκλήματα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας, ἃς κατὰ τῶν Σαμαρέων ἐπέφερον, ἔγνω παρὰ τῶν πρέσβεων ὁ βασιλεύς, δοὺς αὐτοῖς κομίζειν ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἐπάρχους τῆς Σαμαρείας καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἀπέπεμψεν. [118] τὰ δὲ γεγραμμένα ἦν τοιάδε: “βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος Ταγανᾷ καὶ Σαμβᾷ τοῖς ἐπάρχοις καὶ Σαμαρειτῶν Σαδράκῃ καὶ Βουήδωνι καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς συνδούλοις αὐτῶν τοῖς ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ. Ζοροβάβηλος καὶ Ἀνανίας καὶ Μαρδοχαῖος Ἰουδαίων πρεσβευταὶ ἠτιῶντο ὑμᾶς ὡς ἐνοχλοῦντας αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ μὴ χορηγοῦντας ἃ προσέταξα ὑμῖν εἰς τὰς θυσίας τελεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀναλώματα. [119] βούλομαι οὖν ὑμᾶς ἀναγνόντας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν χορηγεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γαζοφυλακείου τῶν φόρων τῆς Σαμαρείας πάνθ᾽ ὅσα πρὸς θυσίας ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς χρήσιμα, καθὼς οἱ ἱερεῖς ἀξιοῦσιν, ἵνα μὴ διαλείπωσιν καθ᾽ ἡμέραν θύοντες μηδ᾽ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ καὶ Περσῶν εὐχόμενοι τῷ θεῷ.” καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐπιστολὴ ταῦτα περιεῖχεν.

V

(1) [120] Δαρείου δὲ τελευτήσαντος παραλαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Ξέρξης ἐκληρονόμησεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβειάν τε καὶ τιμήν: ἅπαντα γὰρ ἀκολούθως τῷ πατρὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν θρησκείαν ἐποίησεν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἔσχεν φιλοτιμότατα. [121] κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἀρχιερεὺς ἦν Ἰησοῦ παῖς Ἰωάκειμος ὄνομα. ὑπῆρχεν δὲ καὶ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι δίκαιος ἀνὴρ καὶ δόξης ἀπολαύων ἀγαθῆς παρὰ τῷ πλήθει πρῶτος ἱερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ καλούμενος Ἔζδρας, ὃς τῶν Μωυσέως νόμων ἱκανῶς ἔμπειρος ὢν γίνεται φίλος τῷ βασιλεῖ Ξέρξῃ. [122] γνοὺς δὲ ἀναβῆναι εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ἐπαγαγέσθαι τινὰς τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τυγχανόντων Ἰουδαίων παρεκάλεσεν τὸν βασιλέα δοῦναι αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς σατράπας τῆς Συρίας ἐπιστολήν, ὑφ᾽ ἧς αὐτοῖς γνωρισθήσεται τίς εἴη. [123] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς γράφει πρὸς τοὺς σατράπας ἐπιστολὴν τοιάνδε: “βασιλεὺς βασιλέων Ξέρξης Ἔζδρᾳ ἱερεῖ καὶ ἀναγνώστῃ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ νόμων χαίρειν. τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ φιλανθρωπίας ἔργον εἶναι νομίσας τὸ τοὺς βουλομένους ἐκ τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους

καὶ Λευιτῶν ὄντων ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ βασιλείᾳ συναπαίρειν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, τοῦτο προσέταξα, καὶ ὁ βουλόμενος ἀπίτω, [124] καθάπερ ἔδοξέν μοι καὶ τοῖς ἑπτά μου συμβούλοις, ὅπως τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπισκέψωνται τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀκολούθως καὶ ἀπενέγκωσι δῶρα τῷ Ἰσραηλιτῶν θεῷ, ἅπερ ηὐξάμην ἐγώ τε καὶ οἱ φίλοι: [125] καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον ὅσον ἂν εὑρεθῇ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ὠνομασμένον τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο πᾶν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα κομισθῆναι τῷ θεῷ εἰς τὰς θυσίας, πάντα τε, ὅσα βούλει ἐξ ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ κατασκευάσαι, ποιεῖν ἐξέστω σοι μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν. [126] καὶ τὰ δεδομένα σοι ἱερὰ σκεύη ἀναθήσεις καὶ ὅσων ἂν ἐπίνοιαν λάβῃς καὶ ταῦτα προσεξεργάσῃ τὴν εἰς αὐτὰ δαπάνην ποιούμενος ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γαζοφυλακείου. [127] ἔγραψα δὲ καὶ τοῖς γαζοφύλαξιν τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς Φοινίκης, ἵνα τῶν ὑπὸ Ἔζδρα τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ ἀναγνώστου τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ νόμων ἐπισταλέντων ἐπιμεληθῶσιν. ὅπως δὲ μηδεμίαν ὀργὴν ἐπ᾽ ἐμὲ λάβῃ τὸ θεῖον ἢ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐκγόνους, πάντ᾽ ἀξιῶ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ πυροῦ κόρων ἑκατὸν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι τῷ θεῷ κατὰ τὸν νόμον. [128] καὶ ὑμῖν δὲ λέγω, ὅπως τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν καὶ Λευίταις καὶ ἱεροψάλταις καὶ θυρωροῖς καὶ ἱεροδούλοις καὶ γραμματεῦσιν τοῦ ἱεροῦ μήτε φόρους ἐπιτάξητε μήτε ἄλλο μηδὲν ἐπίβουλον ἢ φορτικὸν εἰς αὐτοὺς γένηται. [129] καὶ σὺ δέ, Ἔζδρα, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίαν ἀπόδειξον κριτάς, ὅπως δικάσωσιν ἐν Συρίᾳ καὶ Φοινίκῃ πάσῃ τοὺς ἐπισταμένους σου τὸν νόμον, καὶ τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσιν δὲ παρέξεις αὐτὸν μαθεῖν, [130] ἵνα ἄν τις τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν σου παραβαίνῃ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ νόμον ἢ τὸν βασιλικόν, ὑπόσχῃ τιμωρίαν, ὡς οὐ κατ᾽ ἄγνοιαν αὐτὸν παραβαίνων, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἐπιστάμενος μὲν τολμηρῶς δὲ παρακούων καὶ καταφρονῶν. κολασθήσονται δ᾽ ἤτοι θανάτῳ ἢ ζημίᾳ χρηματικῇ. ἔρρωσο.’’

(2) [131] Λαβὼν δὲ Ἔζδρας ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὑπερήσθη καὶ τῷ θεῷ προσκυνεῖν ἤρξατο, τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς αὐτὸν χρηστότητος ἐκεῖνον αἴτιον ὁμολογῶν γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ χάριν ἔλεγεν εἶναι. ἀναγνοὺς δ᾽ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῖς αὐτόθι παροῦσιν Ἰουδαίοις, αὐτὴν μὲν κατέσχεν, τὸ δ᾽ ἀντίγραφον αὐτῆς πρὸς ἅπαντας ἔπεμψεν τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Μηδίαν ὄντας. [132] μαθόντες δὲ οὗτοι τὴν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβειαν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἔζδραν εὔνοιαν ἅπαντες μὲν ὑπερηγάπησαν, πολλοὶ δ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς κτήσεις ἀναλαβόντες ἦλθον εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ποθοῦντες τῆς εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καθόδου. [133] ὁ δὲ πᾶς λαὸς τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινεν: διὸ καὶ δύο φυλὰς εἶναι συμβέβηκεν ἐπί τε τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης Ῥωμαίοις ὑπακουούσας, αἱ δὲ δέκα φυλαὶ πέραν εἰσὶν Εὐφράτου ἕως δεῦρο, μυριάδες ἄπειροι καὶ ἀριθμῷ γνωσθῆναι μὴ δυνάμεναι. [134] πρὸς δὲ Ἔζδραν ἀφικνοῦνται ἱερέων καὶ Λευιτῶν καὶ θυρωρῶν καὶ ἱεροψαλτῶν καὶ ἱεροδούλων πολλοὶ τὸν ἀριθμόν. συναγαγὼν δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ Εὐφράτου καὶ τρεῖς ἐπιδιατρίψας ἐκεῖ ἡμέρας νηστείαν αὐτοῖς παρήγγειλεν, ὅπως εὐχὰς ποιήσονται τῷ θεῷ περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν

σωτηρίας καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν παθεῖν ἄτοπον ἢ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἤ τινος ἄλλου δυσκόλου προσπεσόντος αὐτοῖς: [135] φθάσας γὰρ ὁ Ἔζδρας εἰπεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὅτι διασώσει αὐτοὺς ὁ θεός, οὐ κατηξίωσεν ἱππεῖς αὐτὸν αἰτῆσαι τοὺς προπέμψοντας. ποιησάμενοι δὲ τὰς εὐχάς, ἄραντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐφράτου δωδεκάτῃ τοῦ πρώτου μηνὸς τοῦ ἑβδόμου ἔτους τῆς Ξέρξου βασιλείας παρεγένοντο εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα μηνὶ πέμπτῳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους. [136] καὶ παραχρῆμα τοῖς γαζοφύλαξιν ὁ Ἔζδρας οὖσιν ἐκ τοῦ τῶν ἱερέων γένους παρέστησεν τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα, ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἑξακόσια πεντήκοντα, σκεύη ἀργυρᾶ ταλάντων ἑκατόν, καὶ χρύσεα σκεύη ταλάντων εἴκοσι, καὶ χαλκᾶ σκεύη χρυσοῦ κρείττονα σταθμὸν ἔχοντα ταλάντων δώδεκα: ταῦτα γὰρ ἐδωρήσατο ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ σύμβουλοι αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι μένοντες Ἰσραηλῖται. [137] παραδοὺς δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ὁ Ἔζδρας ἀπέδωκε τῷ θεῷ τὰς ἐκ τῶν ὁλοκαυτώσεων νενομισμένας γίνεσθαι θυσίας, ταύρους δώδεκα ὑπὲρ κοινῆς τοῦ λαοῦ σωτηρίας, κριοὺς ἐνενήκοντα, ἄρνας ἑβδομηκονταδύο, ἐρίφους εἰς παραίτησιν τῶν ἡμαρτημένων δεκαδύο. [138] τοῖς δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως οἰκονόμοις καὶ τοῖς ἐπάρχοις τῆς κοίλης Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης τὰ γράμματα τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπέδωκεν. οἱ δὲ τὸ προσταχθὲν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ποιεῖν ἀνάγκην ἔχοντες ἐτίμησάν τε τὸ ἔθνος καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν αὐτῷ χρείαν συνήργησαν.

(3) [139] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐβουλεύσατο Ἔσδρας, προεχώρησεν δ᾽ αὐτῷ κρίναντος αὐτὸν ἄξιον οἶμαι τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν βουληθέντων διὰ χρηστότητα καὶ δικαιοσύνην. [140] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον προσελθόντων αὐτῷ τινων κατηγορούντων, ὥς τινες τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ Λευιτῶν παραβεβήκασι τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ λελύκασιν τοὺς πατρίους νόμους ἀλλοεθνεῖς ἠγμένοι γυναῖκας καὶ τὸ ἱερατικὸν γένος συγκεχύκασιν, [141] δεομένων τε βοηθῆσαι τοῖς νόμοις, μὴ κοινὴν ἐπὶ πάντας ὀργὴν λαβὼν πάλιν αὐτοὺς εἰς συμφορὰς ἐμβάλῃ, διέρρηξε μὲν εὐθὺς ὑπὸ λύπης τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐσπάρασσεν καὶ τὰ γένεια ὑβρίζων ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τε ἑαυτὸν ἔρριψεν ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην λαβεῖν τοὺς πρώτους τοῦ λαοῦ. [142] λογιζόμενος δὲ ὅτι, ἐὰν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτοὺς τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν προστάξῃ τέκνα, οὐκ ἀκουσθήσεται, διέμενεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κείμενος. συνέτρεχον οὖν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ μέτριοι πάντες κλαίοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ γεγενημένῳ λύπης συμμεταλαμβάνοντες. [143] ἀναστὰς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ὁ Ἔσδρας καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, αἰσχύνεσθαι μὲν ἔλεγεν αὐτὸν ἀναβλέψαι διὰ τὰ ἡμαρτημένα τῷ λαῷ, ὃς τῆς μνήμης ἐξέβαλεν τὰ τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν αὐτῶν συμπεσόντα, [144] παρεκάλει δὲ τὸν θεὸν σπέρμα τι καὶ λείψανον ἐκ τῆς τότε συμφορᾶς αὐτῶν καὶ αἰχμαλωσίας περισώσαντα καὶ πάλιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν γῆν ἀποκαταστήσαντα [καὶ τοὺς Περσῶν βασιλέας ἀναγκάσαντα] λαβεῖν οἶκτον αὐτῶν, καὶ συγγνωμονῆσαι τοῖς νῦν ἡμαρτημένοις, ἄξια μὲν θανάτου πεποιηκόσιν, ὃν δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ χρηστότητι καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους ἀφιέναι τῆς κολάσεως.

(4) [145] Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπαύσατο τῶν εὐχῶν: θρηνούντων δὲ πάντων, ὅσοι πρὸς αὐτὸν σὺν γυναιξὶν καὶ τέκνοις συνῆλθον, Ἀχόνιός τις ὀνόματι πρῶτος τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν, προσελθὼν αὐτοὺς μὲν ἁμαρτεῖν ἔλεγεν ἀλλοεθνεῖς ἐνοικισαμένους γυναῖκας, ἔπειθε δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐξορκίσαι πάντας ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτὰς καὶ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν γεγενημένα, κολασθήσεσθαι δὲ τοὺς οὐχ ὑπακούσαντας τῷ νόμῳ. [146] πεισθεὶς οὖν τούτοις ὁ Ἔζδρας ἐποίησεν ὀμόσαι τοὺς φυλάρχους τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν Λευιτῶν καὶ Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἀποπέμψασθαι τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα κατὰ τὴν Ἀχονίου συμβουλίαν. [147] λαβὼν δὲ τοὺς ὅρκους εὐθὺς ὥρμησεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ εἰς τὸ παστοφόριον τὸ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἐλιασίβου καὶ μηδενὸς ὅλως διὰ τὴν λύπην γευσάμενος ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν διήγαγεν αὐτόθι. [148] γενομένου δὲ κηρύγματος ὥστε πάντας τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας συνελθεῖν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, ὡς τῶν ἐν δυσὶν ἢ τρισὶν ἡμέραις οὐκ ἀπαντησάντων ἀπαλλοτριωθησομένων τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων κρίσιν ἀφιερωθησομένης, συνῆλθον ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς καὶ Βενιαμίτιδος ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις εἰκάδι τοῦ ἐνάτου μηνός, ὃς κατὰ μὲν Ἑβραίους Ξένιος, κατὰ δὲ Μακεδόνας Ἀπελλαῖος καλεῖται. [149] καθισάντων δὲ ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, παρόντων ἅμα καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κρύους ἀηδῶς διακειμένων, ἀναστὰς Ἔζδρας ἠτιᾶτο ἐκείνους λέγων παρανομῆσαι γήμαντας οὐκ ἐξ ὁμοφύλων: νῦν μέντοι γε ποιήσειν αὐτοὺς τῷ μὲν θεῷ κεχαρισμένα συμφέροντα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀποπεμψαμένους τὰς γυναῖκας. [150] οἱ δὲ ποιήσειν μὲν τοῦτο πάντες ἐξεβόησαν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος εἶναι πολύ, καὶ τὴν ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους χειμέριον, καὶ τὸ ἔργον οὐ μιᾶς οὐδὲ δευτέρας ἡμέρας ὑπάρχειν. ἀλλ᾽ οἵ τε ἡγεμόνες τούτοις καὶ οἱ συνοικοῦντες ταῖς ἀλλοφύλοις παραγενέσθωσαν λαβόντες χρόνον καὶ πρεσβυτέρους ἐξ οὗ ἂν θελήσωσιν [151] τόπου τοὺς συνεπισκεψομένους τὸ τῶν γεγαμηκότων πλῆθος.” καὶ ταῦτα δόξαν αὐτοῖς ἀρξάμενοι τῇ νουμηνίᾳ τοῦ δεκάτου μηνὸς ἀναζητεῖν τοὺς συνοικοῦντας ταῖς ἀλλοεθνέσιν εὗρον ἕως τῆς τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ ἐχομένου νουμηνίας ποιησάμενοι τὴν ἔρευναν πολλοὺς ἔκ τε τῶν Ἰησοῦ ἐκγόνων τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν Λευιτῶν καὶ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, [152] οἳ καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν γεγενημένα τῆς τῶν νόμων φυλακῆς ἢ τῶν πρὸς αὐτὰ φίλτρων ποιούμενοι πλείονα λόγον εὐθὺς ἐξέβαλον καὶ θυσίας ἐξευμενίζοντες τὸν θεὸν ἐπήνεγκαν κριοὺς καταθύσαντες αὐτῷ. τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν λέγειν οὐκ ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι. [153] τὸ μὲν οὖν ἁμάρτημα τὸ περὶ τοὺς γάμους τῶν προειρημένων οὕτως ἐπανορθώσας Ἔζδρας ἐκαθάρισεν τὴν περὶ ταῦτα συνήθειαν, ὥστ᾽ αὐτὴν τοῦ λοιποῦ μόνιμον εἶναι.

(5) [154] Τῷ δ᾽ ἑβδόμῳ μηνὶ τὴν σκηνοπηγίαν ἑορτάζοντες καὶ σχεδὸν ἅπαντος τοῦ λαοῦ συνεληλυθότος ἐπ᾽ αὐτήν, ἀνελθόντες εἰς τὸ ἀνειμένον τοῦ ναοῦ πρὸς τὴν πύλην τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἀποβλέπουσαν ἐδεήθησαν τοῦ Ἔζδρα τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς ἀναγνῶναι τοὺς Μωυσέως. [155] ὁ δὲ μέσος τοῦ πλήθους σταθεὶς ἀνέγνω καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐποίησεν ἀπ᾽ ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας ἕως μεσημβρίας: οἱ δὲ

ἀκούσαντες ἀναγινωσκομένων τῶν νόμων δίκαιοι μὲν πρὸς τὸ παρὸν καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἐδιδάσκοντο εἶναι, περὶ δὲ τῶν παρῳχημένων ἐδυσφόρουν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ δακρύειν προήχθησαν ἐνθυμούμενοι πρὸς αὐτούς, ὅτι μηδὲν ἂν τῶν πεπειραμένων κακῶν ἔπαθον, εἰ τὸν νόμον διεφύλαττον. [156] ὁ δὲ Ἔζδρας οὕτως ὁρῶν αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας ἐκέλευσεν ἀπιέναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ δακρύειν: εἶναι γὰρ ἑορτὴν καὶ μὴ δεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ κλαίειν: οὐ γὰρ ἐξεῖναι: προυτρέπετο δὲ μᾶλλον πρὸς εὐωχίαν ὁρμήσαντας ποιεῖν τὰ πρόσφορα τῇ ἑορτῇ καὶ κεχαρισμένα, καὶ τὴν μετάνοιαν καὶ λύπην τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἐξημαρτημένοις ἀσφάλειάν τε ἕξειν καὶ φυλακὴν τοῦ μηδὲν ὅμοιον συμπεσεῖν. [157] οἱ δὲ ταῦτα Ἔζδρα παραινοῦντος ἑορτάζειν ἤρξαντο καὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦντες ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας ὀκτὼ ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα μετὰ ὕμνων τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ἐπανορθώσεως τῶν περὶ τὸ πολίτευμα παρανομηθέντων Ἔζδρᾳ χάριν εἰδότες. [158] ᾧ συνέβη μετὰ τὴν παρὰ τῷ λαῷ δόξαν γηραιῷ τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον καὶ ταφῆναι μετὰ πολλῆς φιλοτιμίας ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ Ἰωακείμου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἀποθανόντος παῖς αὐτοῦ Ἐλεάσιβος τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην διεδέξατο.

(6) [159] Τῶν δ᾽ αἰχμαλωτισθέντων τις Ἰουδαίων οἰνοχόος τοῦ βασιλέως Ξέρξου Νεεμίας ὄνομα περιπατῶν πρὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως τῶν Περσῶν Σούσων, ξένων τινῶν ἀπὸ μακρᾶς ὁδοιπορίας εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσιόντων ἐπακούσας ἑβραιστὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμιλούντων προσελθὼν αὐτοῖς ἐπυνθάνετο, πόθεν εἶεν παραγενόμενοι. [160] ἀποκριναμένων δ᾽ ἥκειν ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, πῶς αὐτῶν ἔχει τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ἡ μητρόπολις Ἱεροσόλυμα, πάλιν ἤρξατο πυνθάνεσθαι. [161] κακῶς δ᾽ ἔχειν εἰπόντων, καθῃρῆσθαι γὰρ εἰς ἔδαφος τὰ τείχη καὶ τὰ πέριξ ἔθνη πολλὰ διατιθέναι κακὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, ἡμέρας μὲν κατατρεχόντων τὴν χώραν καὶ διαρπαζόντων, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς κακῶς ἀπεργαζομένων, ὡς πολλοὺς ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων αἰχμαλώτους ἀπῆχθαι καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς πλήρεις εὑρίσκεσθαι καθ᾽ ἡμέραν νεκρῶν, [162] ἐδάκρυσεν ὁ Νεεμίας ἐλεήσας τῆς συμφορᾶς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους, καὶ ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, "ἄχρι τίνος, εἶπεν, ὦ δέσποτα, περιόψει ταῦτα πάσχον τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν οὕτως ἅρπαγμα [163] πάντων καὶ λάφυρον γενόμενον;" διατρίβοντος δ᾽ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῇ πύλῃ καὶ ταῦτα ἀποδυρομένου προελθών τις ἤγγειλεν αὐτῷ μέλλειν ἤδη κατακλίνεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα. ὁ δ᾽ εὐθὺς ὡς εἶχεν μηδὲ ἀπολουσάμενος διακονήσων ἔσπευσεν τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ πότου διακονίαν. [164] ὡς δὲ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ὁ βασιλεὺς διεχύθη καὶ ἡδίων αὐτοῦ γενόμενος ἀπέβλεψεν εἰς τὸν Νεεμίαν, κατεσκυθρωπακότα θεασάμενος, διὰ τί κατηφὴς εἴη ἀνέκρινεν. [165] ὁ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ δεηθεὶς χάριν τινὰ καὶ πειθὼ παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ λέγοντι, "πῶς, φησίν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, δύναμαί σοι μὴ βλέπεσθαι τοιοῦτος μηδὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀλγεῖν, ὅπου τῆς πατρίδος μου Ἱεροσολύμων, ἐν ᾗ τάφοι καὶ μνήματα προγόνων τῶν ἐμῶν εἰσιν, ἀκούω βεβλῆσθαι κατὰ τῆς γῆς τὰ τείχη καὶ τὰς πύλας ἐμπεπρησμένας αὐτῆς; ἀλλὰ χάρισαί μοι πορευθέντι τὸ τεῖχος ἀνεγεῖραι καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ λεῖπον προσοι

[166] κοδομῆσαι.” ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς διδόναι τε τὴν δωρεὰν κατένευσεν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς σατράπας κομίσαι γράμματα, ὅπως τιμῆς τε αὐτὸν ἀξιώσωσι καὶ πᾶσαν παράσχωσιν χορηγίαν εἰς ἅπερ βούλεται. “πέπαυσο δή, φησί, λυπούμενος καὶ χαίρων ἡμῖν τοῦ λοιποῦ δια [167] κόνει.” ὁ μὲν οὖν Νεεμίας προσκυνήσας τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς ὑποσχέσεως εὐχαριστήσας τὸ κατηφὲς τοῦ προσώπου καὶ συγκεχυμένον ἀπεκάθηρεν τῇ περὶ τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων ἡδονῇ. καλέσας δὲ αὐτὸν τῇ ἐπιούσῃ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ πρὸς Ἀδδαῖον ἐπιστολὴν κομίσαι τὸν τῆς Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Σαμαρείας ἔπαρχον, ἐν ᾗ περί τε τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ Νεεμίου καὶ χορηγίας τῆς εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ἐπεστάλκει.

(7) [168] Γενόμενος οὖν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἐθελοντὶ ἀκολουθοῦντας αὐτῷ παραλαβὼν ἦκεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πέμπτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἤδη βασιλεύοντος Ξέρξου, καὶ δείξας τῷ θεῷ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἀποδίδωσιν τῷ Ἀδδαίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπάρχοις, καὶ συγκαλέσας πάντα τὸν λαὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα στὰς ἐν μέσῳ τῷ ἱερῷ τοιούτους ἐποιήσατο πρὸς αὐτὸν τοὺς λόγους: [169] “ἄνδρες Ἰουδαῖοι, τὸν μὲν θεὸν ἴστε μνήμῃ τῶν πατέρων Ἀβράμου καὶ Ἰσάκου καὶ Ἰακώβου παραμένοντα καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων δικαιοσύνης οὐκ ἐγκαταλείποντα τὴν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πρόνοιαν: ἀμέλει συνήργησέν μοι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως λαβεῖν ἐξουσίαν, ὅπως ὑμῶν τὸ τεῖχος ἀναστήσω καὶ τὸ λείψανον τοῦ ἱεροῦ τελειώσω. [170] βούλομαι δ’ ὑμᾶς τὴν τῶν γειτονευόντων ἡμῖν ἐθνῶν δυσμένειαν σαφῶς εἰδότας, καὶ ὅτι πρὸς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν, εἰ μάθοιεν περὶ ταύτην ἡμᾶς φιλοτιμουμένους, ἐνστήσονται καὶ πολλὰ πραγματεύσονται πρὸς αὐτὴν ἡμῖν ἐμπόδια, [171] θαρρεῖν μὲν τῷ θεῷ πρῶτον ὡς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων ἀπέχθειαν στησομένους, μήτε δ’ ἡμέρας μήτε νυκτὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνιέναι τῆς οἰκοδομίας, ἀλλὰ πάσῃ σπουδῇ χρωμένους συνέχειν τὸ ἔργον, [172] ὥς γε καιρὸς ἴδιός ἐστιν.” ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ἐκέλευσεν εὐθὺς τοὺς ἄρχοντας μετρῆσαι τὸ τεῖχος καὶ διανεῖμαι τὴν ἐργασίαν αὐτοῦ τῷ λαῷ κατὰ κώμας τε καὶ πόλεις κατὰ τὸ ἑκάστοις δυνατόν, ὑποσχόμενος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν συλλήψεσθαι πρὸς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν διέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. [173] καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πρὸς τὸ ἔργον παρεσκευάζοντο. ἐκλήθησαν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα ἀφ’ ἧς ἡμέρας ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἀνέβησαν ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς, ἧς πρώτης ἐλθούσης εἰς ἐκείνους τοὺς τόπους αὐτοί τε καὶ ἡ χώρα τὴν προσηγορίαν αὐτοῖς μετέλαβον.

(8) [174] Ἀκούσαντες δὲ τὴν τῶν τειχῶν οἰκοδομὴν σπευδομένην Ἀμμανῖται καὶ Μωαβῖται καὶ Σαμαρεῖται καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ [κοίλῃ] Συρίᾳ νεμόμενοι χαλεπῶς ἔφερον καὶ διετέλουν ἐπιβουλὰς αὐτοῖς συντιθέντες τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῶν ἐμποδίζοντες, πολλούς τε τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπέκτειναν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐζήτουν τὸν Νεεμίαν διαφθεῖραι μισθούμενοί τινας τῶν ἀλλοφύλων, ἵν’ αὐτὸν ἀνέλωσιν. [175] εἰς φόβον δὲ καὶ ταραχὴν αὐτοὺς ἐνέβαλλον καὶ φήμας αὐτοῖς διέστελλον ὡς πολλῶν ἐπιστρατεύειν αὐτοῖς μελλόντων ἐθνῶν, ὑφ’ ὧν ἐκταρασσόμενοι μικροῦ τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἀπέστησαν. [176] τὸν δὲ Νεεμίαν οὐδὲν τούτων ἐξέστησεν τῆς

σπουδῆς τῆς περὶ τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ στῖφός τι φυλακῆς ἕνεκα τοῦ σώματος περιβαλλόμενος ἀτρύτως ὑπέμενεν, ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐπιθυμίας ἀναισθητῶν καὶ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας. οὕτως δὲ καὶ συντεταμένως καὶ προνοητικῶς αὐτοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας εἶχεν οὐχὶ φοβούμενος τὸν θάνατον, ἀλλὰ πεπεισμένος, ὅτι μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ τελευτὴν οὐκέτ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῖς πολίταις ἀναστήσεται τὰ τείχη. [177] ἐκέλευσεν δὲ ἐξῆς τοὺς οἰκοδομοῦντας ὅπλα περιζωννυμένους ἐργάζεσθαι, καὶ ὁ μὲν οἰκοδόμος μάχαιραν εἶχεν καὶ ὁ τὴν ὕλην παρακομίζων, θυρεοὺς δ᾽ ἔγγιστα αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσεν κεῖσθαι καὶ σαλπιγκτὰς ἀπὸ πεντακοσίων ἔστησεν ποδῶν προστάξας, ἂν ἐπιφανῶσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, τοῦτο σημῆναι τῷ λαῷ, ἵν᾽ ὁπλισάμενοι μάχωνται καὶ μὴ γυμνοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιπέσωσιν. [178] αὐτὸς δὲ νύκτωρ περιήρχετο τῆς πόλεως τὸν κύκλον οὐδὲν κάμνων οὔτε τοῖς ἔργοις οὔτε τῇ διαίτῃ οὔτε τοῖς ὕπνοις: οὐδενὶ γὰρ τούτων πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀνάγκην ἐχρῆτο. [179] καὶ ταύτην ὑπέμεινε τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν ἐπὶ ἔτη δύο καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας: ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ τῷ χρόνῳ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀνῳκοδομήθη τὸ τεῖχος, ὀγδόῳ καὶ εἰκοστῷ τῆς Ξέρξου βασιλείας ἔτει μηνὶ ἐνάτῳ. [180] τέλος δὲ τῶν τειχῶν λαβόντων Νεεμίας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἔθυσαν τῷ θεῷ ὑπὲρ τῆς τούτων οἰκοδομίας καὶ διῆγον ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας ὀκτὼ εὐωχούμενοι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἔθνη τὰ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ κατῳκημένα τῆς τῶν τειχῶν οἰκοδομίας πέρας ἔχειν ἀκουσθείσης ἐδυσφόρει. [181] Νεεμίας δὲ τὴν πόλιν ὁρῶν ὀλιγανθρωπουμένην τοὺς ἱερεῖς τε καὶ Λευίτας παρεκάλεσεν τὴν χώραν ἐκλιπόντας μετελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ μένειν ἐν αὐτῇ κατασκευάσας τὰς οἰκίας αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων: [182] τόν τε γεωργοῦντα λαὸν τὰς δεκάτας τῶν καρπῶν ἐκέλευσε φέρειν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, ἵνα τρέφεσθαι διηνεκῶς ἔχοντες οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευῖται μὴ καταλείπωσι τὴν θρησκείαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἡδέως ὑπήκουσαν οἷς Νεεμίας διετάξατο, πολυανθρωποτέραν δὲ τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν οὕτως συνέβη γενέσθαι. [183] πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα καλὰ καὶ ἐπαίνων ἄξια φιλοτιμησάμενος ὁ Νεεμίας ἐτελεύτησεν εἰς γῆρας ἀφικόμενος. ἀνὴρ δὲ ἐγένετο χρηστὸς τὴν φύσιν καὶ δίκαιος καὶ περὶ τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς φιλοτιμότατος, μνημεῖον αἰώνιον αὐτῷ καταλιπὼν τὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τείχη. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Ξέρξου βασιλέως ἐγένετο.

VI

(1) [184] Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ξέρξου τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς τὸν υἱὸν Κῦρον, ὃν Ἀρταξέρξην Ἕλληνες καλοῦσιν, συνέβη μεταβῆναι. τούτου τὴν Περσῶν ἔχοντος ἡγεμονίαν ἐκινδύνευσεν τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἅπαν σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἀπολέσθαι. τὴν δ᾽ αἰτίαν μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δηλώσομεν: [185] πρέπει γὰρ τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως διηγεῖσθαι πρῶτον, ὡς ἔγημεν Ἰουδαίαν γυναῖκα τοῦ γένους οὖσαν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ, ἣν καὶ σῶσαι τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν λέγουσιν. [186] παραλαβὼν γὰρ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ Ἀρταξέρξης καὶ καταστήσας ἀπὸ Ἰνδίας ἄχρι Αἰθιοπίας τῶν

σατραπειῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ εἰκοσιεπτὰ οὐσῶν ἄρχοντας, τῷ τρίτῳ τῆς βασιλείας ἔτει τούς τε φίλους καὶ τὰ Περσῶν ἔθνη καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτῶν ὑποδεξάμενος ἑστιᾷ πολυτελῶς, οἷον εἰκὸς παρὰ βασιλεῖ τοῦ πλούτου παρασκευαζομένῳ τὴν ἐπίδειξιν ποιήσασθαι, ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα. [187] ἔπειτα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς αὐτῶν ἐν Σούσοις ἐπὶ ἡμέρας κατευώχησεν ἑπτά. τὸ δὲ συμπόσιον ἦν αὐτοῖς τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον γεγενημένον: σκήνωμα πηξάμενος ἐκ χρυσέων καὶ ἀργυρέων κιόνων ὕφη λίνεα καὶ πορφύρεα κατ᾽ αὐτῶν διεπέτασεν, ὥστε πολλὰς μυριάδας κατακλίνεσθαι. [188] διηκονοῦντο δ᾽ ἐκπώμασι χρυσέοις καὶ τοῖς διὰ λίθου πολυτελοῦς εἰς τέρψιν ἅμα καὶ θέαν πεποιημένοις. προσέταττεν δὲ καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις μὴ βιάζεσθαι πίνειν τὸ ποτὸν αὐτοῖς συνεχῶς προσφέροντας, ὡς καὶ παρὰ Πέρσαις γίγνεται, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς ὃ βούλεται τῶν κατακειμένων ἕκαστος φιλοφρονεῖσθαι. [189] διαπέμψας δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν χώραν παρήγγειλεν ἀνεῖσθαι τῶν ἔργων ἀφιεμένους καὶ ἑορτάζειν ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις. [190] ὁμοίως τε τῶν γυναικῶν ἡ βασίλισσα Ἄστη συνήγαγεν συμπόσιον ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, ἣν ἐπιδεῖξαι βουλόμενος τοῖς ἑστιωμένοις ὁ βασιλεὺς πέμψας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ἥκειν κάλλει τὰς γυναῖκας ἁπάσας ὑπερβάλλουσαν. [191] ἡ δὲ φυλακῇ τῶν παρὰ Πέρσαις νόμων, οἳ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις βλέπεσθαι τὰς γυναῖκας ἀπηγορεύκασιν, οὐκ ἐπορεύετο πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ πολλάκις τοὺς εὐνούχους ἀποστέλλοντος πρὸς αὐτὴν οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐνέμεινεν παραιτουμένη τὴν ἄφιξιν, [192] ὡς εἰς ὀργὴν παροξυνθέντα τὸν βασιλέα λῦσαι μὲν τὸ συμπόσιον, ἀναστάντα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἑπτὰ τῶν Περσῶν, οἳ τὴν τῶν νόμων ἐξήγησιν ἔχουσι παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς, καλέσαντα κατηγορεῖν τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ λέγειν, ὡς ὑβρισθείη πρὸς αὐτῆς: κληθεῖσα γὰρ [193] ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πολλάκις εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ὑπήκουσεν οὐδὲ ἅπαξ.” προσέταξεν οὖν δηλοῦν, τίνα κατ᾽ αὐτῆς νόμον ὁρίζουσιν. ἑνὸς δ᾽ ἐξ αὐτῶν Μουχαίου ὄνομα εἰπόντος οὐκ αὐτῷ μόνῳ ταύτην γεγονέναι τὴν ὕβριν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι Πέρσαις, οἷς κινδυνεύεται καταφρονουμένοις ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν αἴσχιστα διαγεγονέναι τὸν βίον: [194] οὐδεμία γὰρ τοῦ συνοικοῦντος ἀνδρὸς αἰδῶ ποιήσεται παράδειγμα τὴν τῆς βασιλίσσης ὑπερηφανίαν πρὸς σὲ τὸν κρατοῦντα ἁπάντων ἔχουσα. παρακελευομένου δὲ τὴν οὕτως ἐνυβρίζουσαν αὐτῷ ζημιῶσαι μεγάλην ζημίαν καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντα διαγγεῖλαι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης κεκυρωμένα, ἔδοξε τὴν Ἄστην ἐκβαλεῖν καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ἐκείνης τιμὴν ἑτέρᾳ γυναικί.

(2) [195] Διακείμενος δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐρωτικῶς καὶ μὴ φέρων τὴν διάζευξιν, καταλλαγῆναι μὲν αὐτῇ διὰ τὸν νόμον οὐκ ἐδύνατο, λυπούμενος δὲ ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀδυνάτοις οἷς ἤθελεν διετέλει. βλέποντες δ᾽ αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχοντα χαλεπῶς οἱ φίλοι συνεβούλευον τὴν μὲν τῆς γυναικὸς μνήμην καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα μηδὲν ὠφελούμενον ἐκβαλεῖν, [196] ζητῆσαι δὲ περιπέμψαντα καθ᾽ ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην παρθένους εὐπρεπεῖς, ὧν τὴν προκριθεῖσαν ἕξειν γυναῖκα: σβέννυσθαι γὰρ τὸ

πρὸς τὴν προτέραν φιλόστοργον ἑτέρας ἐπεισαγωγῇ, καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἐκείνην εὔνουν ἀποσπώμενον κατὰ μικρὸν γίνεσθαι τῆς συνούσης. [197] πεισθεὶς δὲ τῇ συμβουλίᾳ ταύτῃ προσέταξέ τισιν ἐπιλεξαμένους τὰς εὐδοκιμούσας ἐπ᾽ εὐμορφίᾳ τῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ παρθένων ἀγαγεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν. [198] συναχθεισῶν δὲ πολλῶν εὑρέθη τις ἐν Βαβυλῶνι κόρη τῶν γονέων ἀμφοτέρων ὀρφανὴ παρὰ τῷ θείῳ Μαρδοχαίῳ, τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ, τρεφομένη: οὗτος δ᾽ ἦν ἐκ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς, τῶν δὲ πρώτων παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις. [199] πασῶν δὲ τὴν Ἐσθῆρα συνέβαινεν, τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν αὐτῇ τοὔνομα, τῷ κάλλει διαφέρειν καὶ τὴν χάριν τοῦ προσώπου τὰς ὄψεις τῶν θεωμένων μᾶλλον ἐπάγεσθαι. [200] παραδοθεῖσα δὲ αὕτη τινὶ τῶν εὐνούχων εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν πάσης ἐτύγχανε προνοίας ἀρωμάτων ἀφθονίᾳ καὶ πολυτελείᾳ τῶν ἀλειμμάτων ὧν χρῄζει τὰ σώματα καταρδομένη, καὶ τούτων ἀπέλαυον ἐπὶ μῆνας ἓξ τετρακόσιαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν οὖσαι. [201] ὅτε δ᾽ ἐνόμιζεν ἀποχρώντως τῷ προειρημένῳ χρόνῳ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχειν τὰς παρθένους καὶ τοῦ βαδίζειν αὐτὰς ἐπὶ κοίτην βασιλέως ἀξίας ἤδη γεγονέναι, καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν μίαν ἔπεμπεν τῷ βασιλεῖ συνεσομένην. [202] ὁ δὲ πλησιάζων εὐθὺς ἀπέπεμπεν πρὸς τὸν εὐνοῦχον. ἀφικομένης δὲ τῆς Ἐσθήρας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡσθεὶς αὐτῇ καὶ πεσὼν τῆς κόρης εἰς ἔρωτα νομίμως αὐτὴν ἄγεται γυναῖκα καὶ γάμους αὐτῇ ποιεῖται δωδεκάτῳ μηνὶ ἑβδόμου ἔτους τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας, Ἀδέρῳ δὲ καλουμένῳ. [203] διέπεμψε δὲ τοὺς ἀγγάρους λεγομένους εἰς πᾶν ἔθνος ἑορτάζειν τοὺς γάμους παραγγέλλων, αὐτὸς δὲ Πέρσας [καὶ τοὺς Μήδους] καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν ἐθνῶν ἑστιᾷ ἐπὶ μῆνα ὅλον ὑπὲρ τῶν γάμων αὐτοῦ, εἰσελθούσῃ δὲ εἰς τὸ βασίλειον περιτίθησι τὸ διάδημα, καὶ συνῴκησεν οὕτως Ἐσθήρα μὴ ποιήσασα φανερὸν αὐτῷ τὸ ἔθνος, ἐξ οὗπερ εἴη τυγχάνουσα. [204] μεταβὰς δὲ ὁ θεῖος αὐτῆς ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς Σοῦσα τῆς Περσίδος αὐτόθι διῆγεν ἑκάστης ἡμέρας πρὸς τοῖς βασιλείοις διατρίβων καὶ πυνθανόμενος περὶ τῆς κόρης, τίνα διάγει τρόπον: ἔστεργεν γὰρ αὐτὴν ὡς αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα.

(3) [205] Ἔθηκε δὲ καὶ νόμον ὁ βασιλεὺς ὥστε μηδένα τῶν ἰδίων αὐτῷ προσιέναι μὴ κληθέντα, ὀπηνίκα ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου καθέζοιτο. περιεστήκεσαν δὲ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ πελέκεις ἔχοντες ἄνθρωποι πρὸς τὸ κολάζειν τοὺς προσιόντας ἀκλήτους τῷ θρόνῳ. [206] καθῆστο μέντοι λύγον χρυσέαν ἔχων αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεύς, ἢν ὅτε τινὰ σώζειν ἤθελεν τῶν ἀκλήτων προσιόντων ἐξέτεινεν πρὸς αὐτόν: ὁ δὲ ἁπτόμενος αὐτῆς ἀκίνδυνος ἦν. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἀρκούντως ἡμῖν δεδήλωται.

(4) [207] Χρόνῳ δ᾽ ὕστερον ἐπιβουλευσάντων τῷ βασιλεῖ Βαγαθώου καὶ Θεοδοσίτου Βαρνάβαζος τῶν εὐνούχων οἰκέτης τοῦ ἑτέρου τὸ γένος ὢν Ἰουδαῖος συνεὶς τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τῷ θείῳ κατεμήνυσε τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ βασιλέως, Μαρδοχαῖος δὲ διὰ τῆς Ἐσθήρας φανεροὺς ἐποίησε τῷ βασιλεῖ τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας. [208] ταραχθεὶς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τἀληθὲς ἐξεῦρεν καὶ τοὺς μὲν εὐνούχους ἀνεσταύρωσεν, τῷ δὲ Μαρδοχαίῳ τότε μὲν οὐδὲν παρέσχεν ὡς αἰτίῳ τῆς σωτηρίας γεγονότι, μόνον δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα τοῖς τὰ ὑπομνήματα

συγγραφομένοις ἐκέλευσε σημειώσασθαι καὶ προσμένειν αὐτὸν τοῖς βασιλείοις ὄντα φίλον ἀναγκαιότατον τῷ βασιλεῖ.

(5) [209] Ἀμάνην δὲ Ἀμαδάθου μὲν υἱὸν τὸ γένος δὲ Ἀμαληκίτην εἰσιόντα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα προσεκύνουν οἵ τε ξένοι καὶ Πέρσαι ταύτην αὐτῷ τὴν τιμὴν παρ᾽ αὐτῶν Ἀρταξέρξου κελεύοντος γενέσθαι. [210] Μαρδοχαίου δὲ διὰ σοφίαν καὶ τὸν οἴκοθεν αὐτοῦ νόμον οὐ προσκυνοῦντος ἄνθρωπον, παραφυλάξας ὁ Ἀμάνης ἐπυνθάνετο, πόθεν εἴη. μαθὼν δ᾽ αὐτὸν ὄντα Ἰουδαῖον ἠγανάκτησεν καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν εἶπεν, ὡς οἱ μὲν ἐλεύθεροι Πέρσαι προσκυνοῦσιν αὐτόν, οὗτος δὲ δοῦλος ὢν οὐκ ἀξιοῖ τοῦτο ποιεῖν. [211] καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι θελήσας τὸν Μαρδοχαῖον αὐτὸν μὲν αἰτήσασθαι πρὸς κόλασιν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως μικρὸν ἡγήσατο, τὸ ἔθνος δὲ αὐτοῦ διέγνω πᾶν ἀφανίσαι: καὶ γὰρ φύσει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀπηχθάνετο, ὅτι καὶ τὸ γένος τῶν Ἀμαληκιτῶν, ἐξ ὧν ἦν αὐτός, ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν διέφθαρτο. [212] προσελθὼν οὖν τῷ βασιλεῖ κατηγόρει λέγων ἔθνος εἶναι πονηρόν, διεσπάρθαι δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ τῆς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ βασιλευομένης οἰκουμένης, ἄμικτον ἀσύμφυλον οὔτε θρησκείαν τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔχον οὔτε νόμοις χρώμενον ὁμοίοις, ἐχθρὸν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσι καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν τῷ σῷ λαῷ καὶ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις. [213] τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος, εἴ τινα θέλεις τοῖς ὑπηκόοις εὐεργεσίαν καταθέσθαι, κελεύσεις πρόρριζον ἀπολέσθαι μηδέ τι αὐτοῦ λείψανον καταλιπεῖν μήτ᾽ εἰς δουλείαν τινῶν φυλαχθέντων μήτε αἰχμαλωσίᾳ. [214] ἵνα μέντοι μὴ ζημιωθῇς τοὺς φόρους τοὺς παρ᾽ αὐτῶν γινομένους, ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας αὐτὸς ἐπηγγείλατο μυριάδας δώσειν ταλάντων ἀργυρίου τέσσαρας, ὅπου ἂν κελεύσῃ. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ χρήματα παρέχειν ἡδέως ἔλεγεν, ἵν᾽ ἀπὸ τούτων εἰρηνευθῇ τῶν κακῶν ἡ βασιλεία.

(6) [215] Ταῦτα τοῦ Ἀμάνου ἀξιώσαντος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον αὐτῷ χαρίζεται καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὥστε ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς ὅ τι βούλεται. τυχὼν δὲ ὧν ἐπεθύμει Ἀμάνης παραχρῆμα πέμπει διάταγμα ὡς τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς ἅπαντα τὰ ἔθνη περιέχον τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον: [216] "βασιλεὺς μέγας Ἀρταξέρξης τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἰνδικῆς ἕως τῆς Αἰθιοπίας ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σατραπειῶν ἄρχουσι τάδε γράφει. πολλῶν ἐθνῶν ἄρξας καὶ πάσης ἧς ἐβουλήθην κρατήσας οἰκουμένης καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας ὑπερήφανον μηδὲ σκαιὸν εἰς τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἀναγκασθεὶς ἁμαρτεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπιεικῆ καὶ πρᾷον ἐμαυτὸν παρασχὼν καὶ προνοησάμενος εἰρήνης καὶ εὐνομίας αὐτοῖς, ἐζήτουν πῶς εἰς ἅπαντα τούτων ἀπολαύειν αὐτοῖς γένοιτο. [217] τοῦ δὲ διὰ σωφροσύνην καὶ δικαιοσύνην παρ᾽ ἐμοὶ τὴν πρώτην μοῖραν δόξης καὶ τιμῆς ἔχοντος καὶ μετ᾽ ἐμὲ δευτέρου διὰ πίστιν καὶ βέβαιον εὔνοιαν Ἀμάνου κηδεμονικῶς ὑποδείξαντός μοι παντάπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἀναμεμῖχθαι δυσμενὲς ἔθνος καὶ τοῖς νόμοις ἀλλόκοτον καὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἀνυπότακτον καὶ παρηλλαγμένον τοῖς ἔθεσι καὶ τὴν μοναρχίαν μισοῦν καὶ δύσνουν τοῖς ἡμετέροις πράγμασι, [218] κελεύω τοὺς δηλουμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ δευτέρου μου πατρὸς Ἀμάνου πάντας σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἀπολέσαι μηδεμίαν φειδῶ ποιησαμένους, μηδ᾽ ἐλέῳ πλέον ἢ τοῖς ἐπεσταλμένοις

πεισθέντας παρακοῦσαι τῶν γεγραμμένων. [219] καὶ τοῦτο γενέσθαι βούλομαι τῇ τετράδι καὶ δεκάτῃ τοῦ δωδεκάτου μηνὸς τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους, ὅπως οἱ πανταχόθεν ἡμῖν πολέμιοι μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ διαφθαρέντες τοῦ λοιποῦ μετ᾽ εἰρήνης [220] ἡμῖν τὸν βίον διάγειν παρέχωσι.” τούτου κομισθέντος τοῦ προστάγματος εἰς τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὴν χώραν ἕτοιμοι πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπώλειαν εἰς τὴν προειρημένην ἡμέραν ἐγίνοντο: ἐσπεύδετο δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ Σούσῃ. ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ Ἀμάνης πρὸς εὐωχίαις καὶ πότοις ἦσαν, ἐν ταραχῇ δ᾽ ἦν ἡ πόλις.

(7) [221] Ὁ δὲ Μαρδοχαῖος μαθὼν τὸ γινόμενον περιρρηξάμενος τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ σάκκον ἐνδυσάμενος καὶ καταχεάμενος σποδιὰν διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐφέρετο βοῶν, ὅτι μηδὲν ἀδικῆσαν ἔθνος ἀναιρεῖται, καὶ τοῦτο λέγων ἕως τῶν βασιλείων ἦλθεν καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ἔστη: οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν εἰσελθεῖν αὐτῷ τοιοῦτον περικειμένῳ σχῆμα. [222] τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ καὶ πάντες ἐποίησαν οἱ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν Ἰουδαῖοι, ἐν αἷς τὰ περὶ τούτων προετέθη γράμματα, θρηνοῦντες καὶ τὰς κατηγγελμένας αὐτοῖς συμφορὰς ὀδυρόμενοι. ὡς δ᾽ ἀπήγγειλάν τινες τῇ βασιλίσσῃ τὸν Μαρδοχαῖον ἐν οὕτως οἰκτρῷ σχήματι πρὸ τῆς αὐλῆς ἑστῶτα, ταραχθεῖσα πρὸς τὴν ἀκοὴν ἐξέπεμπεν τοὺς μεταμφιάσοντας αὐτόν. [223] οὐ πεισθέντος δὲ ἀποδύσασθαι τὸν σάκκον, οὐ γὰρ ἐφ᾽ ᾧ τοῦτον ἀναγκασθείη λαβεῖν δεινῷ πεπαῦσθαι τοῦτο, προσκαλεσαμένη τὸν εὐνοῦχον Ἀχράθεον, καὶ γὰρ ἔτυχεν αὐτῇ παρών, ἀπέστειλεν Μαρδοχαίῳ γνωσόμενον, τίνος συμβεβηκότος αὐτῷ σκυθρωποῦ πενθεῖ καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦτο περικείμενος οὐδ᾽ αὐτῆς παρακαλούσης ἀπέθετο. [224] ὁ δὲ Μαρδοχαῖος ἐπέδειξε τῷ εὐνούχῳ τὴν αἰτίαν τό τε γράμμα τὸ κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰς ἅπασαν τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ βασιλεῖ χώραν διαπεμφθὲν καὶ τὴν τῶν χρημάτων ὑπόσχεσιν, ᾗ τὴν ἀπώλειαν τοῦ ἔθνους ᾐτεῖτο παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀμάνης. [225] δοὺς δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῶν ἐν Σούσοις προτεθέντων κομίσαι τῇ Ἐσθῆρι καὶ περὶ τούτων δεηθῆναι τοῦ βασιλέως ἐνετέλλετο καὶ σωτηρίας ἕνεκεν τοῦ ἔθνους μὴ ἀδοξῆσαι λαβεῖν σχῆμα ταπεινόν, ᾧ παραιτήσεται τοὺς Ἰουδαίους κινδυνεύοντας ἀπολέσθαι: τὸν γὰρ τὴν δευτέραν ἔχοντα τῷ βασιλεῖ τιμὴν Ἀμάνην κατηγορήσαντ᾽ αὐτῶν παρωξυγκέναι κατ᾽ αὐτῶν τὸν βασιλέα. [226] ταῦτα γνοῦσα πέμπει πάλιν πρὸς Μαρδοχαῖον δηλοῦσα, ὅτι μήτε κληθείη πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ὁ εἰσερχόμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄκλητος ἀποθνήσκει, πλὴν εἰ μή τινα σώζειν βουλόμενος προτείνειεν τὸν χρυσῆν ῥάβδον: ᾧ γὰρ τοῦτο ποιήσειεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀκλήτῳ προσελθόντι, οὗτος οὐκ ἀποθνήσκει μόνος, [227] ἀλλὰ συγγνώμης τυχὼν σώζεται.” Μαρδοχαῖος δὲ τούτους κομίσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ εὐνούχου παρὰ τῆς Ἐσθῆρος τοὺς λόγους ἀπαγγέλλειν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῇ, μὴ τὴν ἰδίαν οὕτως σκοπεῖν σωτηρίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν κοινὴν τοῦ ἔθνους: εἰ γὰρ ἀμελήσειεν τούτου νῦν, ἔσεσθαι μὲν αὐτῷ βοήθειαν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πάντως, αὐτὴν δὲ καὶ τὸν πατρῷον οἶκον αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τῶν ὀλιγωρηθέντων διαφθαρήσεσθαι. [228] ἡ δὲ Ἐσθήρα ἐπέστειλεν μὲν τῷ Μαρδοχαίῳ τὸν αὐτὸν πέμψασα διάκονον εἰς Σοῦσα πορευθέντι τοὺς ἐκεῖ Ἰουδαίους εἰς ἐκκλησίαν

συναγαγεῖν καὶ νηστεῦσαι πάντων ἀποσχομένους ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ ποιήσασα μετὰ τῶν θεραπαινίδων τότε προσελεύσεσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ παρὰ τὸν νόμον ὑπισχνεῖτο, κἂν ἀποθανεῖν δέῃ τοῦτο ὑπομενεῖν.

(8) [229] Καὶ Μαρδοχαῖος μὲν κατὰ τὰς Ἐσθῆρος ἐντολὰς τόν τε λαὸν ἐποίησεν νηστεῦσαι καὶ τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸς ἱκέτευσε μηδὲ νῦν ὑπεριδεῖν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔθνος ἀπολλύμενον, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς καὶ πρότερον αὐτοῦ πολλάκις προενόησεν καὶ ἁμαρτόντι συνέγνω, καὶ νῦν αὐτὸ ῥύσασθαι τῆς κατηγγελμένης ἀπωλείας: [230] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἁμαρτόν τι κινδυνεύειν ἀκλεῶς ἀποθανεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸν γὰρ εἶναι τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς Ἀμάνου ὀργῆς, ὅτι μὴ προσεκύνησα μηδ᾽ ἣν σοί, δέσποτα, φησίν, τιμὴν παρεῖχον, ταύτην ἐκείνῳ παρασχεῖν ὑπέμενον, ὀργισθεὶς ταῦτα [231] κατὰ τῶν μὴ παραβαινόντων τοὺς σοὺς νόμους ἐμηχανήσατο.” τὰς δ᾽ αὐτὰς ἠφίει καὶ τὸ πλῆθος φωνάς, παρακαλοῦν προνοῆσαι τὸν θεὸν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἁπάσῃ τῇ γῇ Ἰσραηλίτας ἐξελέσθαι τῆς μελλούσης συμφορᾶς: καὶ γὰρ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτὴν εἶχον ἤδη καὶ προσεδόκων. ἱκέτευε δὲ καὶ Ἐσθήρα τὸν θεὸν τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ ῥίψασα κατὰ τῆς γῆς ἑαυτὴν καὶ πενθικὴν ἐσθῆτα περιθεμένη, [232] καὶ τροφῇ καὶ ποτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἡδέσιν ἀποταξαμένη τρισὶν ἡμέραις ᾔτει τὸν θεὸν ἐλεηθῆναι μὲν αὐτήν, δόξαι δ᾽ ὀφθεῖσαν τῷ βασιλεῖ πιθανὴν μὲν τοὺς λόγους παρακαλοῦσαν τὸ δὲ εἶδος εὐπρεπεστέραν τῆς τάχιον οὖσαν, [233] ἵν᾽ ἀμφοτέροις καὶ πρὸς τὴν παραίτησιν ὀργῆς, εἴ τι παροξυνθείη πρὸς αὐτὴν ὁ βασιλεύς, χρήσαιτο καὶ πρὸς τὴν συνηγορίαν τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις σαλευόντων, μῖσός τε γενέσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τὴν ἀπώλειαν αὐτοῖς τὴν μέλλουσαν, ἐὰν ὀλιγωρηθῶσιν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, κατασκευάσοντας.

(9) [234] Ταῦθ᾽ ἱκετεύουσα τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀποδύεται μὲν τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐκείνην καὶ τὸ σχῆμα μεταβάλλει, κοσμησαμένη δ᾽ ὡς ἐχρῆν τὴν βασίλισσαν σὺν δυσὶν θεραπαίναις, ὧν ἡ μὲν ἐπερειδομένην αὐτὴν κούφως ἔφερεν, ἡ δὲ ἑπομένη τὸ βαθὺ τοῦ ἐνδύματος καὶ μέχρι τῆς γῆς κεχυμένον ἄκροις ἀπῃώρει τοῖς δακτύλοις, ἥκει πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, μεστὴ μὲν τὸ πρόσωπον ἐρυθήματος, προσηνὲς δὲ καὶ σεμνὸν ἐπικειμένη τὸ κάλλος. [235] εἰσῄει δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν μετὰ δέους. ὡς δὲ κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ καθεζομένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου γίνεται τὸν βασιλικὸν περικειμένου κόσμον, οὗτος δ᾽ ἦν ἐκ ποικίλης μὲν ἐσθῆτος, [236] χρυσοῦ δὲ καὶ λίθου πολυτελοῦς, φοβερώτερον καὶ δι᾽ αὐτὰ μᾶλλον θεασαμένη καί τι κἀκείνου προσιδόντος αὐτὴν ἀπηνέστερον καὶ διακεκαυμένῳ ὑπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς τῷ προσώπῳ, πάρεσις αὐτὴν εὐθὺς λαμβάνει καὶ τοῖς παρὰ πλευρὸν οὖσιν ἀχανὴς ἐπέπεσεν. [237] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς κατὰ βούλησιν οἶμαι τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν μετέβαλεν καὶ δείσας περὶ τῇ γυναικί, μὴ καὶ πάθῃ τι τῶν χειρόνων ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου, [238] ἀνεπήδησεν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου, καὶ ταῖς ἀγκάλαις αὐτὴν ὑπολαβὼν ἀνεκτᾶτο κατασπαζόμενός τε καὶ προσομιλῶν ἡδέως καὶ θαρρεῖν παρακαλῶν καὶ μηδὲν ὑποπτεύειν σκυθρωπόν, ὅτι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄκλητος ἔλθοι: τὸν γὰρ νόμον τοῦτον πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους κεῖσθαι, τὴν δὲ ὁμοίως αὐτῷ βασιλεύουσαν πᾶσαν

ἔχειν ἄδειαν. [239] ταῦτα λέγων τὸ σκῆπτρον αὐτῆς ἐνετίθει τῇ χειρὶ καὶ τὴν ῥάβδον ἐξέτεινεν ἐπὶ τὸν αὐχένα αὐτῆς διὰ τὸν νόμον εὐλαβείας αὐτὴν ἀπολύων. [240] ἡ δ' ὑπὸ τούτων ἀναζωπυρήσασα, "δέσποτ', εἶπεν, οὐκ ἔχω σοι τὸ αἰφνίδιον τοῦ συμβεβηκότος μοι ῥᾳδίως εἰπεῖν: ὡς γὰρ εἶδόν σε μέγαν καὶ καλὸν καὶ φοβερόν, εὐθὺς [241] ὑπεχώρει μου τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ κατελειπόμην ὑπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς." μόλις δ' αὐτῆς καὶ ταῦτα φθεγγομένης καὶ μετὰ ἀσθενείας αὐτόν τε ἀγωνία καὶ ταραχὴ κατελάμβανεν καὶ τὴν Ἐσθῆρ' εὐψυχεῖν καὶ τὰ κρείττω προσδοκᾶν παρεθάρρυνεν, ὡς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἡμίση τῆς βασιλείας, εἰ δέοιτο τούτων, παραχωρήσοντος αὐτῇ. [242] ἡ δὲ Ἐσθήρα ἐφ' ἑστίασιν αὐτὸν μετὰ Ἀμάνου τοῦ φίλου πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐλθεῖν ἠξίωσεν: παρεσκευακέναι γὰρ αὐτὴν δεῖπνον ἔλεγεν. ὡς δ' ἐπένευσεν καὶ παρῆσαν, μεταξὺ πίνων τὴν Ἐσθῆρα ἐκέλευσε δηλοῦν αὐτῷ, τί βούλεται: [243] μηδενὸς γὰρ ἀτυχήσειν, μηδ' ἂν τὸ μέρος τῆς βασιλείας ἐθελήσῃ [λαβεῖν]. ἡ δὲ εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἀνεβάλλετο φράζειν αὐτῷ τὴν αὐτῆς βούλησιν, εἰ πάλιν ἔλθοι πρὸς αὐτὴν μετὰ Ἀμάνου ἐφ' ἑστίασιν.

(10) [244] Τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ὑποσχομένου ὁ Ἀμάνης ἐξῆλθεν περιχαρὴς ἐπὶ τῷ μόνον ἠξιῶσθαι συνδειπνεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ παρὰ τῇ Ἐσθήρᾳ, καὶ ὅτι μηδεὶς τοσαύτης ἄλλος τυγχάνει παρὰ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι τιμῆς. ἰδὼν δ' ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ Μαρδοχαῖον ὑπερηγανάκτησεν: οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ παρ' αὐτοῦ θεασαμένου πρὸς τιμὴν ἐγένετο. [245] καὶ παρελθὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν γυναῖκα Γάζασαν ἐκάλεσεν καὶ τοὺς φίλους. ὧν παρόντων διηγεῖτο τὴν τιμήν, ἧς οὐ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπολαύοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῆς βασιλίσσης: καὶ γὰρ τήμερον ὡς δειπνήσειεν παρ' αὐτῇ μόνος σὺν τῷ βασιλεῖ, κληθείη πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν. [246] ἔλεγέν τε μὴ ἀρέσκεσθαι Μαρδοχαῖον ὁρῶντα ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τὸν Ἰουδαῖον. τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Γαζάσης εἰπούσης κελεῦσαι ξύλον κοπῆναι πηχῶν ἑξήκοντα καὶ πρωὶ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως αἰτησάμενον ἀνασταυρῶσαι τὸν Μαρδοχαῖον, ἐπαινέσας τὴν γνώμην προσέταξεν τοῖς οἰκέταις ξύλον ἑτοιμασαμένους στῆσαι τοῦτο ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ πρὸς τιμωρίαν Μαρδοχαίῳ. [247] καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἦν ἕτοιμον: ὁ δὲ θεὸς κατεγέλα τῆς Ἀμάνου πονηρᾶς ἐλπίδος καὶ τὸ συμβησόμενον εἰδὼς ἐτέρπετο τῷ γενησομένῳ: τοῦ γὰρ βασιλέως διὰ νυκτὸς ἐκείνης ἀφαιρεῖται τὸν ὕπνον. [248] ὁ δ' οὐ βουλόμενος ἀργῶς ἀπολέσαι τὴν ἀγρυπνίαν, ἀλλ' εἴς τι τῶν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διαφερόντων αὐτὴν ἀναλῶσαι, τὸν γραμματέα κομίσαντα καὶ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων τὰ ὑπομνήματα καὶ τῶν ἰδίων πράξεων ἀναγινώσκειν αὐτῷ προσέταξεν. [249] κομίσαντος δὲ καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντος εὑρέθη τις δι' ἀριστείαν ἔν τινι γέρας εἰληφὼς χώραν, ἧς καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐγέγραπτο. ἕτερον δὲ διὰ πίστιν τετυχηκότα δωρεᾶς μηνύων ἦλθεν καὶ ἐπὶ Γαβαταῖον καὶ Θεοδέστην τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύσαντας εὐνούχους τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὧν μηνυτὴς Μαρδοχαῖος ἦν γεγενημένος. [250] φράσαντος δὲ τοῦτο μόνον τοῦ γραμματέως καὶ μεταβαίνοντος εἰς ἑτέραν πρᾶξιν ἐπέσχεν ὁ βασιλεὺς πυνθανόμενος, εἰ μὴ ἔχει γέρας αὐτῷ δοθὲν ἀναγεγραμμένον. ὁ δ' ὡς ἔφη μηδὲν εἶναι, κελεύσας ἡσυχάζειν, τίς ἡ τῆς

νυκτὸς ὥρα, παρὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τεταγμένων ἐπυνθάνετο. [251] μαθὼν δ', ὡς ὄρθρος ἐστὶν ἤδη, προσέταξεν τῶν φίλων ὃν ἂν πρὸ τῆς αὐλῆς εὕρωσιν ἤδη παρόντα τοῦτον αὐτῷ δηλοῦν. ἔτυχέν τε ὥστε Ἀμάνην εὑρεθῆναι: θᾶττον γὰρ τῆς συνήθους ὥρας ἐληλύθει περὶ τοῦ Μαρδοχαίου θανάτου δεησόμενος αὐτοῦ. [252] τῶν οὖν θεραπόντων εἰπόντων, ὅτι Ἀμάνης εἴη πρὸ τῆς αὐλῆς, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν εἰσκαλέσαι. εἰσελθόντος δέ "φίλον, εἶπεν, εἰδὼς ἐμαυτῷ σὲ μόνον εὔνουν συμβουλεῦσαί μοι παρακαλῶ, πῶς ἂν τιμήσαιμι τινὰ στεργόμενον ὑπ' [253] ἐμοῦ σφόδρα τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ μεγαλοφροσύνης ἀξίως." ὁ δὲ Ἀμάνης λογισάμενος, ἣν ἂν δῷ γνώμην ταύτην δώσειν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, φιλεῖσθαι γὰρ ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως μόνον, ἣν ᾤετο ἀρίστην εἶναι ταύτην φανερὰν ἐποίησεν. [254] εἶπεν γάρ "εἰ βούλοιο τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν φῂς ἀγαπᾶν δόξῃ περιβαλεῖν, ποίησον ἐφ' ἵππου βαδίζειν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐσθῆτά σοι φοροῦντα καὶ περιαυχένιον χρυσοῦν ἔχοντα καὶ προάγοντα τῶν ἀναγκαίων φίλων ἕνα κηρύσσειν δι' ὅλης τῆς πόλεως, ὅτι ταύτης τυγχάνει τῆς τιμῆς ὃν ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς τιμήσῃ." [255] ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀμάνης ταῦτα συνεβούλευσεν οἰόμενος εἰς αὐτὸν ἥξειν τοῦτο τὸ γέρας. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἡσθεὶς τῇ παραινέσει "προελθών. φησίν, ἔχεις γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ τὴν στολὴν καὶ τὸν στρεπτόν. ἐπιζήτησον Μαρδοχαῖον τὸν Ἰουδαῖον καὶ ταῦτα ἐκείνῳ δοὺς προάγων αὐτοῦ τὸν ἵππον, σὺ γάρ, ἔφη, μοι φίλος ἀναγκαῖος, ἴσθι διάκονος ὢν χρηστὸς σύμβουλος ἐγένου. ταῦτα δὲ αὐτῷ παρ' ἡμῶν [256] ἔσται σώσαντί μου τὴν ψυχήν." τούτων ἀκούσας παρὰ πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα τὴν διάνοιαν συνεχύθη καὶ πληγεὶς ὑπὸ ἀμηχανίας ἔξεισιν ἄγων τὸν ἵππον καὶ τὴν πορφύραν καὶ τὸ χρυσοῦν περιαυχένιον, καὶ τὸν Μαρδοχαῖον εὑρὼν πρὸ τῆς αὐλῆς σάκκον ἐνδεδυμένον ἐκέλευσεν ἀποθέμενον ἐνδύσασθαι τὴν πορφύραν. [257] ὁ δὲ οὐκ εἰδὼς τἀληθές, ἀλλὰ χλευάζεσθαι νομίζων "ὦ κάκιστε πάντων ἀνθρώπων, εἶπεν, οὕτως ἡμῶν ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἐπεγγελᾷς;" πεισθεὶς δ', ὡς ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῷ γέρας τοῦτ' εἴη δεδωκὼς ἀντὶ τῆς σωτηρίας, ἣν αὐτῷ παρέσχεν τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύσαντας εὐνούχους ἐλέγξας, ἐνδύεται τὴν πορφύραν, ἣν ὁ βασιλεὺς φορῶν ἀεὶ διετέλει, καὶ περιτίθεται τὸ περιαυχένιον, [258] καὶ ἐπιβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἐν κύκλῳ περιήει τὴν πόλιν Ἀμάνου προάγοντος καὶ κηρύσσοντος, ὅτι τοῦτ' ἔσται παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ᾧ ἂν στέρξῃ καὶ τιμῆς ἄξιον δοκιμάσῃ. [259] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκπεριῆλθον τὴν πόλιν, ὁ μὲν Μαρδοχαῖος εἰσῄει πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, Ἀμάνης δ' ὑπ' αἰσχύνης πρὸς αὐτὸν παραγίνεται καὶ μετὰ δακρύων τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς. φίλοις τὰ συμβεβηκότα διηγεῖτο. οἱ δ' οὐκέτ' ἀμύνασθαι τὸν Μαρδοχαῖον ἔλεγον δυνήσεσθαι: τὸν γὰρ θεὸν εἶναι σὺν αὐτῷ.

(11) [260] Ταῦτα δὲ τούτων ἔτι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμιλούντων ἦκον οἱ τῆς Ἐσθήρας εὐνοῦχοι τὸν Ἀμάνην ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐπισπεύδοντες. [261] Σαβουχάδας δὲ τῶν εὐνούχων εἷς ἰδὼν τὸν σταυρὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀμάνου οἰκίᾳ πεπηγότα, ὃν ἐπὶ Μαρδοχαῖον παρεσκευάκεισαν, καὶ πυθόμενος παρά τινος τῶν οἰκετῶν, ἐπὶ τίνα τοῦτον ἦσαν ἑτοιμασάμενοι, γνούς, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς βασιλίσσης θεῖον, τὸν γὰρ

Ἀμάνην μέλλειν αὐτὸν αἰτεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς τιμωρίαν, τότε μὲν ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν. [262] ὡς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ τοῦ Ἀμάνου εὐωχηθεὶς ἠξίου τὴν βασίλισσαν λέγειν αὐτῷ, τίνος βούλεται δωρεᾶς τυχεῖν, ὡς ληψομένην οὗπερ ἂν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχῃ, τὸν τοῦ λαοῦ κίνδυνον ἀπωδύρετο καὶ πρὸς ἀπώλειαν ἔλεγεν μετὰ τοῦ ἔθνους ἐκδεδόσθαι, διὸ καὶ ποιεῖσθαι περὶ τούτων τοὺς λόγους: [263] οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἠνωχληκέναι αὐτῷ, εἰ πρὸς δουλείαν πικρὰν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἀπεμποληθῆναι: μέτριον γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ κακόν: παρεκάλει τε τούτων ἀπαλλαγῆναι. [264] ἐρωτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὑπὸ τίνος εἴη ταῦτα γεγενημένα, κατηγόρει τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη φανερῶς τοῦ Ἀμάνου καὶ τοῦτον ὄντα πονηρὸν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς κατεσκευακέναι τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἤλεγχεν. [265] ταραχθέντος δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἀναπηδήσαντος εἰς τοὺς κήπους ἐκ τοῦ συμποσίου, τῆς Ἐσθήρας ὁ Ἀμάνης ἤρξατο δεῖσθαι καὶ παρακαλεῖν συγγνῶναι τῶν ἡμαρτημένων: συνῆκε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐν κακοῖς ὤν: ἐπί τε τῆς κλίνης αὐτοῦ πεσόντος καὶ τὴν βασίλισσαν παρακαλοῦντος ἐπεισελθὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν μᾶλλον παροξυνθεὶς εἶπεν, “ὦ κάκιστε πάντων, καὶ βιάζεσθαί μου [266] τὴν γυναῖκα ἐπιχειρεῖς;” Ἀμάνου δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο καταπλαγέντος καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι φθέγξασθαι δυνηθέντος, καὶ Σαβουζάνης ὁ εὐνοῦχος παρελθὼν κατηγόρει τοῦ Ἀμάνου, ὡς εὕροι σταυρὸν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ παρεσκευασμένον ἐπὶ Μαρδοχαῖον τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῷ πυνθανομένῳ τὸν οἰκέτην εἰπεῖν, ὅτε καλέσων αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἔλθοι πρὸς αὐτόν. εἶναι δὲ τὸν σταυρὸν ἔλεγεν ἑξήκοντα πήχεων τὸ ὕψος. [267] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας οὐκ ἄλλῃ τιμωρίᾳ περιβάλλειν ἔκρινεν τὸν Ἀμάνην ἢ τῇ κατὰ Μαρδοχαίου νενοημένῃ, καὶ κελεύει παραχρῆμα αὐτὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ σταυροῦ κρεμασθέντα ἀποθανεῖν. [268] ὅθεν ἐπέρχεταί μοι τὸ θεῖον θαυμάζειν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ δικαιοσύνην καταμανθάνειν, μὴ μόνον τὴν Ἀμάνου κολάσαντος πονηρίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κατ᾽ ἄλλου μεμηχανημένην τιμωρίαν ταύτην ἐκείνου ποιήσαντος εἶναι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις μαθεῖν οὕτως [γνῶναι] παρεσχηκότος, ὡς ἃ καθ᾽ ἑτέρου τις παρεσκεύασε ταῦτα λανθάνει καθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ πρῶτον ἑτοιμασάμενος.

(12) [269] Ἀμάνης μὲν οὖν ἀμετρήτως τῇ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως χρώμενος τιμῇ τοῦτον διεφθάρη τὸν τρόπον, τὴν δὲ οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ ἐχαρίσατο τῇ βασιλίσσῃ. Μαρδοχαῖον δὲ προσκαλεσάμενος, καὶ γὰρ ἐδήλωσεν αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν συγγένειαν Ἐσθήρα, ὃν ἔδωκεν Ἀμάνῃ δακτύλιον τοῦτον Μαρδοχαίῳ δίδωσι. [270] δωρεῖται δὲ καὶ ἡ βασίλισσα Μαρδοχαίῳ τὴν Ἀμάνου κτῆσιν καὶ δεῖται τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπαλλάξαι τοῦ περὶ τῆς ζωῆς φόβου τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος, δηλοῦσα τὰ γραφέντα κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν ὑπὸ Ἀμάνου τοῦ Ἀμαδάθου: τῆς γὰρ πατρίδος αὐτῇ διαφθαρείσης καὶ τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἀπολομένων οὐκ ἂν ὑπομένειν τὸν βίον. [271] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὑπέσχετο μηδὲν ἄχαρι αὐτὴν μηδ᾽ οἷς ἐσπούδακεν ἐναντίον ἔσεσθαι, γράφειν δὲ ἃ βούλεται προσέταξε περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκείνην ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως ὀνόματος καὶ σημηναμένην αὐτοῦ τῇ σφραγῖδι πέμπειν εἰς

πᾶσαν τὴν βασιλείαν: τοὺς γὰρ ἀναγνωσομένους τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ σημαντῆρος ἠσφαλισμένας ἐπιστολὰς οὐδὲν περὶ τῶν ἐγγεγραμμένων ἐναντιώσεσθαι. [272] μεταπεμφθέντας οὖν τοὺς βασιλικοὺς γραμματεῖς ἐκέλευσε γράφειν τοῖς ἔθνεσι περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοῖς τε οἰκονόμοις καὶ ἄρχουσιν ἀπὸ Ἰνδικῆς ἕως τῆς Αἰθιοπίας ἑκατὸν εἰκοσιεπτὰ σατραπειῶν ἡγουμένοις. τὰ δὲ γραφέντα τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον: [273] "βασιλεὺς μέγας Ἀρταξέρξης τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα φρονοῦσι χαίρειν. πολλοὶ διὰ μέγεθος εὐεργεσίας καὶ τιμῆς, ἣν δι' ὑπερβολὴν χρηστότητος τῶν παρεχόντων ἐκαρποῦντο, οὐκ εἰς τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους μόνον ἐξυβρίζουσιν, [274] ἀλλ' οὐδ' αὐτοὺς ἀδικεῖν ὤκνησαν τοὺς εὐεργετοῦντας τὸ εὐχάριστον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀναιροῦντες, καὶ δι' ἀπειροκαλίαν τῶν οὐκ ἐξ ὧν προσεδόκησαν ἀγαθῶν κόρον εἰς τοὺς αἰτίους ἀφέντες λήσεσθαι τὸ θεῖον ἐπὶ τούτοις νομίζουσι καὶ τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ διαφεύξεσθαι δίκην. [275] ἔνιοι δὲ ἐκ τούτων προστασίαν πραγμάτων ἐπιτραπέντες παρὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ μῖσος ἴδιον ἔχοντες πρός τινας, παραλογισάμενοι τοὺς κρατοῦντας ψευδέσιν αἰτίαις καὶ διαβολαῖς ἔπεισαν κατὰ μηδὲν ἀδικούντων ὀργὴν ἀναλαβεῖν, ὑφ' ἧς ἐκινδύνευσαν ἀπολέσθαι. [276] τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων οὐδ' ἀκοῇ γνωρίμων ἡμῖν οὕτως ἰδεῖν ἔστιν ἔχον, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν παρὰ τὰς ἡμετέρας ὄψεις τετολμημένων, ὡς διαβολαῖς μὲν καὶ κατηγορίαις μὴ προσέχειν ἔτι τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδ' οἷς ἕτεροι πείθειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν, κρίνειν δ' ὅσα τις αὐτὸς οἶδεν πεπραγμένα, καὶ κολάζειν μὲν ἂν ᾖ τοιαῦτα, χαρίζεσθαι δ' ἂν ἑτέρως ἔχῃ, τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῖς ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῖς λέγουσι προστιθέμενον. [277] ὡς μὲν Ἀμάνης, Ἀμαδάθου μὲν παῖς Ἀμαληκίτης δὲ τὸ γένος, ἀλλότριος ὢν τοῦ Περσῶν αἵματος, ἐπιξενωθεὶς ἡμῖν ἀπέλαυσεν τῆς πρὸς ἅπαντας χρηστότητος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, ὡς πατέρα μου τὸ λοιπὸν προσαγορεύεσθαι καὶ προσκυνούμενον διατελεῖν καὶ μεθ' ἡμᾶς τὰ δεύτερα τῆς βασιλικῆς παρὰ πάντων τιμῆς ἀποφέρεσθαι, τὴν εὐτυχίαν οὐκ ἤνεγκεν οὐδὲ σώφρονι λογισμῷ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐταμίευσεν, [278] ἀλλὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἐπεβούλευσέ με καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τὸν αἴτιον αὐτῷ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀφελέσθαι, τὸν εὐεργέτην μου καὶ σωτῆρα Μαρδοχαῖον καὶ τὴν κοινωνὸν ἡμῖν τοῦ τε βίου καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἐσθῆρα κακούργως καὶ μετὰ ἀπάτης πρὸς ἀπώλειαν αἰτησάμενος: τούτῳ γάρ με τῷ τρόπῳ τῶν εὐνοούντων ἐρημώσας ἐβούλετο τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς ἄλλους μεταβαλεῖν. [279] ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀλιτηρίου πρὸς ἀπώλειαν ἐκδοθέντας Ἰουδαίους οὐ πονηροὺς κατανοήσας, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἄριστον πολιτευομένους τρόπον καὶ τῷ θεῷ προσανέχοντας, ὃς ἐμοί τε καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις ἡμῶν τὴν βασιλείαν διεφύλαξεν, οὐ μόνον ἀπολύω τῆς ἐκ τῶν προαπεσταλμένων τιμωρίας, οἷς ποιήσετε καλῶς μὴ προσέχοντες, [280] ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμῆς αὐτοὺς ἁπάσης τυγχάνειν βούλομαι, καὶ τὸν ταῦτα κατ' αὐτῶν μηχανησάμενον πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν τῶν ἐν Σούσοις ἀνεσταύρωσα μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς, τοῦ πάντα ἐφορῶντος θεοῦ ταύτην αὐτῷ τὴν δίκην ἐπιβαλόντος. [281] κελεύω δὲ ὑμᾶς τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἐκθέντας εἰς ἅπασαν τὴν βασιλείαν τοὺς

Ἰουδαίους ἀφεῖναι τοῖς ἰδίοις νόμοις χρωμένους ζῆν μετ᾽ εἰρήνης καὶ βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς, ὅπως τοὺς ἐν οἷς ἠτύχησαν καιροῖς ἀδικήσαντας αὐτοὺς ἀμύνωνται, τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ δωδεκάτου μηνός, ὅς ἐστιν Ἄδαρ, τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ: [282] ταύτην γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ἀντὶ ὀλεθρίας σωτήριον πεποίηκεν. ἔστι δ᾽ ἀγαθὴ τοῖς εὐνοοῦσιν ἡμῖν ὑπόμνησις δὲ τῆς τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων κολάσεως. [283] εἰδέναι μέντοι γε βούλομαι καὶ πόλιν καὶ πᾶν ἔθνος, ἐὰν τῶν γεγραμμένων τινὸς παρακούσῃ, ὅτι καὶ πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ δαπανηθήσεται. τὰ μέντοι γεγραμμένα προτεθήτω καθ᾽ ὅλης τῆς ἡμῖν ὑπηκόου χώρας, καὶ παρασκευαζέσθωσαν πάντως εἰς τὴν προγεγραμμένην ἡμέραν, ἵνα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μετέλθωσιν.᾽᾽

(13) [284] Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἱππεῖς οἱ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς διακομίζοντες εὐθὺς ἐξορμήσαντες τὴν προκειμένην ὁδὸν ἤνυον. ὁ δὲ Μαρδοχαῖος ὡς ἀναλαβὼν τὴν βασιλικὴν στολὴν καὶ τὸν στέφανον τὸν χρυσοῦν καὶ τὸν στρεπτὸν περιθέμενος προῆλθεν, ἰδόντες αὐτὸν οὕτως τετιμημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως οἱ ἐν Σούσοις ὄντες Ἰουδαῖοι κοινὴν ὑπέλαβον τὴν εὐπραγίαν αὐτοῦ. [285] χαρὰ δὲ καὶ σωτήριον φέγγος ἐκτιθεμένων τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως γραμμάτων καὶ τοὺς κατὰ πόλιν τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τοὺς κατὰ χώραν ἐπεῖχεν, ὡς πολλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν διὰ τὸν ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων φόβον περιτεμνόμενα τὴν αἰδῶ τὸ ἀκίνδυνον αὐτοῖς ἐκ τούτου πραγματεύσασθαι. [286] καὶ γὰρ τοῦ δωδεκάτου μηνὸς τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ, ὃς κατὰ μὲν Ἑβραίους Ἄδαρ καλεῖται κατὰ δὲ Μακεδόνας Δύστρος, οἱ κομίσαντες τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως γράμματα ἐδήλουν, ὅπως καθ᾽ ἣν ἡμέραν αὐτοὶ κινδυνεύσειν ἤμελλον ἐν ταύτῃ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀπολέσωσιν. [287] οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες τῶν σατραπειῶν καὶ οἱ τύραννοι καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς εἶχον ἐν τιμῇ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους: ὁ γὰρ ἐκ Μαρδοχαίου φόβος ἠνάγκαζεν αὐτοὺς σωφρονεῖν. [288] τοῦ δὲ γράμματος τοῦ βασιλικοῦ διὰ πάσης τῆς ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν χώρας γενομένου συνέπεσεν ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἐν Σούσοις Ἰουδαίους ἀποκτεῖναι τῶν ἐχθρῶν περὶ πεντακοσίους. [289] τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως τῶν ἀπολωλότων δηλώσαντος τὸν ἀριθμὸν Ἐσθήρᾳ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας τί ποτ᾽ εἴη γεγονὸς διαποροῦντος καὶ τί πρὸς τούτοις ἔτ᾽ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι βούλεται πυνθανομένου, πραχθήσεσθαι γάρ, παρεκάλεσεν ἐπιτραπῆναι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν οὕτως χρήσασθαι τοῖς ὑπολειπομένοις τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ τοὺς δέκα τοὺς Ἀμάνου παῖδας ἀνασταυρῶσαι. [290] καὶ τοῦτο μὲν προσέταξε τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὁ βασιλεὺς μηδὲν ἀντιλέγειν Ἐσθῆρι δυνάμενος: οἱ δὲ πάλιν συστραφέντες τῇ τετράδι καὶ δεκάτῃ τοῦ Δύστρου μηνὸς ἀπέκτειναν τῶν ἐναντίων ὡς τριακοσίους, καὶ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐκείνοις ὑπαρχόντων ἥψαντο κτημάτων. [291] ἀπέθανον δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν Ἰουδαίων τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῖς ἑπτακισμύριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι. καὶ τούτους μὲν ἀπέκτειναν τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνός, τὴν δὲ ἐχομένην ἑορτάσιμον ἐποίησαν. [292] ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν Σούσοις Ἰουδαῖοι τὴν τετράδα καὶ δεκάτην καὶ τὴν ἐχομένην τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς συναθροισθέντες εὐωχήθησαν. ὅθεν καὶ νῦν οἱ ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ Ἰουδαῖοι πάντες τὰς ἡμέρας ταύτας ἑορτάζουσιν

διαπεμπόμενοι μερίδας ἀλλήλοις. [293] ἔγραψεν δὲ Μαρδοχαῖος τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀρταξέρξου βασιλείᾳ [ζῶσιν] Ἰουδαίοις ταύτας παραφυλάσσειν τὰς ἡμέρας καὶ ἑορτὴν ἄγειν αὐτὰς καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις παραδοῦναι τοῦ πρὸς πάντα διαμεῖναι τὸν χρόνον τὴν ἑορτὴν ἕνεκα καὶ μὴ λήθῃ παραπολέσθαι: [294] μελλήσαντας γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐν ταύταις διαφθείρεσθαι ταῖς ἡμέραις ὑπὸ Ἀμάνου δίκαια ποιήσειν, εἰ διαφυγόντες μὲν ἐν αὐταῖς τὸν κίνδυνον τοὺς δ᾽ ἐχθροὺς τιμωρησάμενοι παρατηρήσουσιν αὐτὰς εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ θεῷ. [295] διὰ ταῦτα μὲν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τὰς προειρημένας ἡμέρας ἑορτάζουσιν προσαγορεύσαντες αὐτὰς φρουρέας. ὁ δὲ Μαρδοχαῖος μέγας τε ἦν καὶ λαμπρὸς παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ συνδιεῖπεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολαύων ἅμα καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας τοῦ βίου τῇ βασιλίσσῃ. [296] ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τὰ πράγματα δι᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀμείνω πάσης ἐλπίδος. καὶ τὰ μὲν τούτοις βασιλεύοντος Ἀρταξέρξου συμβάντα τοῦτον εἶχεν τὸν τρόπον.

VII

(1) [297] Ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Ἐλεασίβου τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην Ἰώδας ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ διεδέξατο. τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ τούτου τὴν τιμὴν Ἰωάννης υἱὸς ὢν αὐτοῦ παρέλαβεν, δι᾽ ὃν καὶ Βαγώσης ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ [ἄλλου] Ἀρταξέρξου τὸν ναὸν ἐμίανεν καὶ φόρους ἐπέταξε τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, πρὶν τὰς καθημερινὰς ἐπιφέρειν θυσίας ὑπὲρ ἀρνὸς ἑκάστου τελεῖν αὐτοὺς δημοσίᾳ δραχμὰς πεντήκοντα. [298] τούτου δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν τοιαύτην συνέβη γενέσθαι: ἀδελφὸς ἦν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ Ἰησοῦς: τούτῳ φίλῳ τυγχάνοντι ὁ Βαγώσης ὑπέσχετο τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην παρέξειν. [299] ἀπὸ ταύτης οὖν τῆς πεποιθήσεως Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῷ ναῷ διενεχθεὶς τῷ Ἰωάννῃ παρώξυνεν τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὥστ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν καὶ διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν τηλικοῦτο ἀσέβημα δρᾶσαι κατ᾽ ἀδελφοῦ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ὡς δεινὸν ἦν καὶ πρότερον, ὡς μήτε παρ᾽ Ἕλλησιν μήτε παρὰ βαρβάροις ὠμὸν οὕτως καὶ ἀσεβὲς ἔργον γεγονέναι. [300] τὸ μέντοι θεῖον οὐκ ἠμέλησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ λαὸς δι᾽ αὐτὴν τὴν αἰτίαν ἐδουλώθη καὶ ὁ ναὸς ἐμιάνθη ὑπὸ Περσῶν. Βαγώσης δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀρταξέρξου γνούς, ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐφόνευσεν, εὐθὺς ἐπιστὰς τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις μετὰ θυμοῦ ἤρξατο λέγειν: [301] “ἐτολμήσατε ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ φόνον ἐργάσασθαι.” πειρωμένου δ᾽ αὐτοῦ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἐκώλυον αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔφη: “πῶς οὐκ ἐγὼ καθαρώτερός εἰμι τοῦ ἀνῃρημένου ἐν τῷ ναῷ;” καὶ τούτους ποιησάμενος τοὺς λόγους εἰς τὸν ναὸν εἰσέρχεται. ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν χρησάμενος τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ Βαγώσης τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἔτεσιν ἑπτὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰησοῦ τελευτῆς μετῆλθεν.

(2) [302] Καταστρέψαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἰωάννου τὸν βίον διαδέχεται τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰαδδοῦς. ἦν δὲ καὶ τούτῳ ἀδελφὸς Μανασσῆς ὄνομα, ᾧ Σαναβαλλέτης ὁ πεμφθεὶς εἰς Σαμάρειαν ὑπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ τελευταίου

βασιλέως σατράπης Χουθαῖος τὸ γένος, ἐξ ὧν καὶ οἱ Σαμαρεῖς εἰσιν, [303] εἰδὼς λαμπρὰν οὖσαν τὴν πόλιν Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ κοίλῃ Συρίᾳ κατοικοῦσιν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ βασιλεῖς πράγματα παρασχόντας, ἀσμένως συνῴκισεν τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα Νικασὼ καλουμένην, οἰόμενος τὴν ἐπιγαμίαν ὅμηρον αὐτῷ γενήσεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους παντὸς εὔνοιαν.

VIII

(1) [304] Κατὰ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν καιρὸν καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἐν Αἰγαῖς ὑπὸ Παυσανίου τοῦ Κεράστου ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τῶν Ὀρεστῶν γένους δολοφονηθεὶς ἀπέθανεν. [305] παραλαβὼν δ' ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, νικᾷ μὲν τοὺς Δαρείου στρατηγοὺς ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς, ἐπελθὼν δὲ τὴν Λυδίαν καὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν δουλωσάμενος καὶ τὴν Καρίαν ἐπιδραμὼν τοῖς ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ τόποις ἐπέβαλεν, καθὼς ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται.

(2) [306] Οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πρεσβύτεροι δεινοπαθοῦντες ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν Ἰαδδοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἀδελφὸν ἀλλοφύλῳ συνοικοῦντα μετέχειν τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἐστασίαζον πρὸς αὐτόν: [307] ἠγοῦντο γὰρ τὸν τούτου γάμον ἐπιβάθραν τοῖς παρανομεῖν περὶ τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν συνοικήσεις βουλησομένοις γενέσθαι καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους αὐτοῖς κοινωνίας ἀρχὴν τοῦτο ἔσεσθαι. [308] ὑπάρξαι μέντοι καὶ τῆς προτέρας αἰχμαλωσίας αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν κακῶν αἴτιον τὸ περὶ τοὺς γάμους πλημμελῆσαί τινας καὶ ἀγαγέσθαι γυναῖκας οὐκ ἐπιχωρίας. ἐκέλευον οὖν τὸν Μανασσῆν διαζεύγνυσθαι τῆς γυναικὸς ἢ μὴ προσιέναι τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ. [309] τοῦ δ' ἀρχιερέως τῷ λαῷ συναγανακτοῦντος καὶ εἴργοντος τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ βωμοῦ, παραγενόμενος ὁ Μανασσῆς πρὸς τὸν πενθερὸν Σαναβαλλέτην στέργειν μὲν ἔλεγεν αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα Νικασώ, τῆς μέντοι γε ἱερατικῆς τιμῆς μεγίστης οὔσης ἐν τῷ ἔθνει καὶ τῷ γένει παραμενούσης οὐ βούλεσθαι δι' αὐτὴν στέρεσθαι. [310] τοῦ δὲ Σαναβαλλέτου μὴ μόνον τηρήσειν αὐτῷ τὴν ἱερωσύνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν παρέξειν δύναμιν καὶ τιμὴν ὑπισχνουμένου καὶ πάντων ἀποδείξειν ὧν αὐτὸς ἐπῆρχεν τόπων ἡγεμόνα βουλόμενον συνοικεῖν αὐτοῦ τῇ θυγατρί, καὶ λέγοντος οἰκοδομήσειν ναὸν ὅμοιον ὄντα τῷ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαριζεὶν ὄρους, ὃ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σαμάρειαν ὀρῶν ἐστιν ὑψηλότατον, [311] καὶ ταῦτα ποιήσειν ἐπαγγελλομένου μετὰ τῆς Δαρείου γνώμης τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐπαρθεὶς ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν ὁ Μανασσῆς παρέμενεν τῷ Σαναβαλλέτῃ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην οἰόμενος ἕξειν Δαρείου δόντος: καὶ γὰρ συνέβαινεν τὸν Σαναβαλλέτην ἤδη πρεσβύτερον εἶναι. [312] πολλῶν δὲ ἱερέων καὶ Ἰσραηλιτῶν τοιούτοις γάμοις ἐπιπεπλεγμένων κατεῖχεν οὐ μικρὰ ταραχὴ τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας: ἀφίσταντο γὰρ ἅπαντες πρὸς τὸν

Μανασσῆν τοῦ Σαναβαλλέτου χορηγοῦντος αὐτοῖς καὶ χρήματα καὶ χώραν εἰς γεωργίαν καὶ κατοίκησιν ἀπομερίζοντος καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ τῷ γαμβρῷ συμφιλοκαλοῦντος.

(3) [313] Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν Δαρεῖος ἀκούσας, ὅτι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον διαβὰς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τοὺς σατράπας αὐτοῦ τῇ κατὰ Γράνικον μάχῃ κρατήσας προσωτέρω χωρεῖ, στρατιὰν ἱππικήν τε καὶ πεζικὴν συνήθροιζεν ἀπαντῆσαι διαγνοὺς τοῖς Μακεδόσιν πρὶν ἢ πᾶσαν αὐτοὺς ἐπιόντας καταστρέψασθαι τὴν Ἀσίαν. [314] περαιωσάμενος οὖν τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν καὶ τὸν Ταῦρον τὸ Κιλίκιον ὄρος ὑπερελθὼν ἐν Ἰσσῷ τῆς Κιλικίας τοὺς πολεμίους ὡς ἐκεῖ μαχησόμενος αὐτοῖς ἐξεδέχετο. [315] ἡσθεὶς δὲ τῇ Δαρείου καταβάσει ὁ Σαναβαλλέτης εὐθὺς ἔλεγεν τῷ Μανασσῇ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις τελέσειν, ὡς ἂν Δαρεῖος κρατήσας τῶν πολεμίων ὑποστρέψῃ: πέπειστο γὰρ οὐκ αὐτὸς μόνος ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ μηδ᾽ εἰς χεῖρας τοῖς Πέρσαις ἥξειν τοὺς Μακεδόνας διὰ τὸ πλῆθος. [316] ἀπέβη δ᾽ οὐχ ὡς προσεδόκων: συμβαλὼν γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἡττήθη καὶ πολλὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπολέσας ληφθέντων αἰχμαλώτων αὐτοῦ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν τέκνων ἔφυγεν εἰς Πέρσας. [317] Ἀλέξανδρος δ᾽ εἰς Συρίαν παραγενόμενος Δαμασκὸν αἱρεῖ καὶ Σιδῶνος κρατήσας ἐπολιόρκει Τύρον, ἠξίου τε ἀποστείλας γράμματα πρὸς τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέα συμμαχίαν τε αὐτῷ πέμπειν καὶ ἀγορὰν τῷ στρατεύματι παρασχεῖν καὶ ὅσα Δαρείῳ πρότερον ἐτέλουν δῶρα τούτῳ διδόναι τὴν Μακεδόνων φιλίαν ἑλομένους: [318] οὐ γὰρ μετανοήσειν ἐπὶ τούτοις. τοῦ δ᾽ ἀρχιερέως ἀποκριναμένου τοῖς γραμματοφόροις, ὡς ὅρκους εἴη δεδωκὼς Δαρείῳ μὴ βαστάζειν ὅπλα κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τούτους ἕως ἂν ᾖ Δαρεῖος ἐν τοῖς ζῶσιν μὴ παραβήσεσθαι φήσαντος, [319] ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος παρωξύνθη, καὶ τὴν μὲν Τύρον οὐκ ἔκρινεν καταλιπεῖν ὅσον οὐδέπω μέλλουσαν αἱρεῖσθαι, παραστησάμενος δὲ ταύτην ἠπείλει στρατεύσειν ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέα καὶ διδάξειν πάντας, πρὸς τίνας δὴ αὐτοῖς φυλακτέον τοὺς ὅρκους: [320] ὅθεν πονικώτερον χρησάμενος τῇ πολιορκίᾳ λαμβάνει τὴν Τύρον. καταστησάμενος δὲ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Γαζαίων πόλιν ἦλθεν καὶ τήν τε Γάζαν καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ φρούραρχον ὄνομα Βαβημάσιν ἐπολιόρκει.

(4) [321] Νομίσας δὲ καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἔχειν ὁ Σαναβαλλέτης τῆς ἐπιβολῆς Δαρείου μὲν ἀπέγνω, λαβὼν δὲ ὀκτακισχιλίους τῶν ἀρχομένων ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἦκεν καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτὸν ἀρχόμενον τῆς Τύρου πολιορκίας, ὧν τε αὐτὸς ἄρχει τόπων ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ παραδιδόναι τούτους καὶ δεσπότην αὐτὸν ἡδέως ἔχειν ἀντὶ Δαρείου τοῦ βασιλέως. [322] ἀσμένως δ᾽ αὐτὸν προσδεξαμένου θαρρῶν ἤδη περὶ τῶν προκειμένων ὁ Σαναβαλλέτης αὐτῷ λόγους προσέφερεν δηλῶν, ὡς γαμβρὸν μὲν ἔχοι Μανασσῆ τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέως Ἰαδδοῦ ἀδελφόν, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους αὐτῷ συμπαρόντας τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν θέλειν ἱερὸν ἐν τοῖς ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνῳ τόποις ἤδη κατασκευάσαι. [323] τοῦτο δ᾽ εἶναι καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ

συμφέρον εἰς δύο διῃρῆσθαι τὴν Ἰουδαίων δύναμιν, ἵνα μὴ ὁμογνωμονοῦν τὸ ἔθνος μηδὲ συνεστός, εἰ νεωτερίσειέν ποτε, χαλεπὸν ᾖ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, καθὼς καὶ πρότερον τοῖς Ἀσσυρίων ἄρξασιν ἐγένετο. [324] συγχωρήσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου πᾶσαν εἰσενεγκάμενος σπουδὴν ᾠκοδόμησεν ὁ Σαναβαλλέτης τὸν ναὸν καὶ ἱερέα τὸν Μανασσῆ κατέστησεν, μέγιστον γέρας ἡγησάμενος τοῖς ἐκ τῆς θυγατρὸς γενησομένοις τοῦτ᾽ ἔσεσθαι. [325] μηνῶν δ᾽ ἑπτὰ τῇ Τύρου πολιορκίᾳ διεληλυθότων καὶ δύο τῇ Γάζης ὁ μὲν Σαναβαλλέτης ἀπέθανεν. Ἀλέξανδρος δ᾽ ἐξελὼν τὴν Γάζαν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ἀναβαίνειν ἐσπουδάκει. [326] ὁ δ᾽ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰαδδοῦς τοῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας ἦν ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ καὶ δέει, πῶς ἀπαντήσει τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἀμηχανῶν ὀργιζομένου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τῇ πρότερον ἀπειθείᾳ. παραγγείλας οὖν ἱκεσίαν τῷ λαῷ καὶ θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ προσφέρων ἐδεῖτο ὑπερασπίσαι τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τῶν ἐπερχομένων κινδύνων ἀπαλλάξαι. [327] κατακοιμηθέντι δὲ μετὰ τὴν θυσίαν ἐχρημάτισεν αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὁ θεὸς θαρρεῖν καὶ στεφανοῦντας τὴν πόλιν ἀνοίγειν τὰς πύλας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους λευκαῖς ἐσθῆσιν, αὐτὸν δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἱερέων ταῖς νομίμοις στολαῖς ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ὑπάντησιν μηδὲν προσδοκῶντας πείσεσθαι δεινὸν προνοουμένου τοῦ θεοῦ. [328] διαναστὰς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ὕπνου ἔχαιρέν τε μεγάλως αὐτὸς καὶ τὸ χρηματισθὲν αὐτῷ πᾶσι μηνύσας καὶ ποιήσας ὅσα κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους αὐτῷ παρηγγέλη τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως παρουσίαν ἐξεδέχετο.

(5) [329] Πυθόμενος δ᾽ αὐτὸν οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως ὄντα πρόεισι μετὰ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλήθους, ἱεροπρεπῆ καὶ διαφέρουσαν τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ποιούμενος τὴν ὑπάντησιν εἰς τόπον τινὰ Σαφειν λεγόμενον. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τοῦτο μεταφερόμενον εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν γλῶτταν σκοπὸν σημαίνει: τά τε γὰρ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸν ναὸν συνέβαινεν ἐκεῖθεν ἀφορᾶσθαι. [330] τῶν δὲ Φοινίκων καὶ τῶν ἀκολουθούντων Χαλδαίων ὅσα βασιλέως ὀργὴν εἰκὸς ἦν ἐπιτρέψειν αὐτοῖς τήν τε πόλιν διαρπάσειν καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα μετ᾽ αἰκίας ἀπολέσειν λογιζομένων, τὰ ἐναντία τούτων ἐγένετο. [331] ὁ γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτι πόρρωθεν ἰδὼν τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἐν ταῖς λευκαῖς ἐσθῆσιν, τοὺς δὲ ἱερεῖς προεστῶτας ἐν ταῖς βυσσίναις αὐτῶν, τὸν δὲ ἀρχιερέα ἐν τῇ ὑακινθίνῳ καὶ διαχρύσῳ στολῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχοντα τὴν κίδαριν καὶ τὸ χρυσοῦν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἔλασμα, ᾧ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγέγραπτο ὄνομα, προσελθὼν μόνος προσεκύνησεν τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα πρῶτος ἠσπάσατο. [332] τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων ὁμοῦ πάντων μιᾷ φωνῇ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀσπασαμένων καὶ κυκλωσαμένων αὐτόν, οἱ μὲν τῆς Συρίας βασιλεῖς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντος κατεπλάγησαν καὶ διεφθάρθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν διάνοιαν ὑπελάμβανον, [333] Παρμενίωνος δὲ μόνου προσελθόντος αὐτῷ καὶ πυθομένου, τί δήποτε προσκυνούντων αὐτὸν ἁπάντων αὐτὸς προσκυνήσειεν τὸν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέα; “οὐ τοῦτον, εἶπεν, προσεκύνησα, τὸν δὲ θεόν, οὗ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην οὗτος τετίμηται: [334] τοῦτον γὰρ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους εἶδον ἐν τῷ νῦν σχήματι ἐν Δίῳ τῆς Μακεδονίας τυγχάνων, καὶ πρὸς

ἐμαυτὸν διασκεπτομένῳ μοι, πῶς ἂν κρατήσαιμι τῆς Ἀσίας, παρεκελεύετο μὴ μέλλειν ἀλλὰ θαρσοῦντα διαβαίνειν: αὐτὸς γὰρ ἡγήσεσθαί μου τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ τὴν Περσῶν παραδώσειν ἀρχήν. [335] ὅθεν ἄλλον μὲν οὐδένα θεασάμενος ἐν τοιαύτῃ στολῇ, τοῦτον δὲ νῦν ἰδὼν καὶ τῆς κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἀναμνησθεὶς ὄψεώς τε καὶ παρακελεύσεως, νομίζω θείᾳ πομπῇ τὴν στρατείαν πεποιημένος Δαρεῖον νικήσειν καὶ τὴν Περσῶν καταλύσειν δύναμιν καὶ πάνθ᾽ ὅσα κατὰ νοῦν ἐστί μοι προχωρήσειν.” [336] ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν πρὸς τὸν Παρμενίωνα καὶ δεξιωσάμενος τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων παραθεόντων εἰς τὴν πόλιν παραγίνεται. καὶ ἀνελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν θύει μὲν τῷ θεῷ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ὑφήγησιν, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἀξιοπρεπῶς ἐτίμησεν. [337] δειχθείσης δ᾽ αὐτῷ τῆς Δανιήλου βίβλου, ἐν ᾗ τινα τῶν Ἑλλήνων καταλύσειν τὴν Περσῶν ἀρχὴν ἐδήλου, νομίσας αὐτὸς εἶναι ὁ σημαινόμενος τότε μὲν ἡσθεὶς ἀπέλυσε τὸ πλῆθος, τῇ δ᾽ ἐπιούσῃ προσκαλεσάμενος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς αἰτεῖσθαι δωρεάς, ἃς ἂν αὐτοὶ θέλωσιν. [338] τοῦ δ᾽ ἀρχιερέως αἰτησαμένου χρήσασθαι τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις καὶ τὸ ἕβδομον ἔτος ἀνείσφορον εἶναι, συνεχώρησεν πάντα. παρακαλεσάντων δ᾽ αὐτόν, ἵνα καὶ τοὺς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι καὶ Μηδίᾳ Ἰουδαίους τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐπιτρέψῃ νόμοις χρῆσθαι, ἀσμένως ὑπέσχετο ποιήσειν ἅπερ ἀξιοῦσιν. [339] εἰπόντος δ᾽ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος, εἴ τινες αὐτῷ βούλονται συστρατεύειν τοῖς πατρίοις ἔθεσιν ἐμμένοντες καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ζῶντες, ἑτοίμως ἔχειν ἐπάγεσθαι, πολλοὶ τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατείαν ἠγάπησαν.

(6) [340] Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος ταῦτα διοικησάμενος ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐξεστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐχομένας πόλεις. πάντων δ᾽ αὐτὸν πρὸς οὓς ἀφίκοιτο φιλοφρόνως ἐκδεχομένων, Σαμαρεῖται μητρόπολιν τότε τὴν Σίκειμαν ἔχοντες κειμένην πρὸς τῷ Γαριζεὶν ὄρει καὶ κατῳκημένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστατῶν τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους, ἰδόντες ὅτι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους Ἀλέξανδρος οὕτω λαμπρῶς τετίμηκεν ἔγνωσαν αὐτοὺς Ἰουδαίους ὁμολογεῖν. [341] εἰσὶν γὰρ οἱ Σαμαρεῖς τοιοῦτοι τὴν φύσιν, ὡς ἤδη που καὶ πρότερον δεδηλώκαμεν: ἐν μὲν ταῖς συμφοραῖς ὄντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀρνοῦνται συγγενεῖς ὁμολογοῦντες τότε τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὅταν δέ τι λαμπρὸν περὶ αὐτοὺς ἴδωσιν ἐκ τύχης, ἐπιπηδῶσιν αὐτῶν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ προσήκειν αὐτοῖς λέγοντες καὶ ἐκ τῶν Ἰωσήπου γενεαλογοῦντες αὐτοὺς ἐκγόνων Ἐφραίμου καὶ Μανασσοῦς. [342] μετὰ λαμπρότητος οὖν καὶ πολλὴν ἐνδεικνύμενοι τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν προθυμίαν ἀπήντησαν τῷ βασιλεῖ μικροῦ δεῖν ἐγγὺς τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων. ἐπαινέσαντος δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου οἱ Σικιμῖται προσῆλθον αὐτῷ προσπαραλαβόντες καὶ οὓς Σαναβαλλέτης πρὸς αὐτὸν στρατιώτας ἀπέστειλεν καὶ παρεκάλουν παραγενόμενον εἰς τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν τιμῆσαι καὶ τὸ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἱερόν. [343] ὁ δ᾽ ἐκεῖνο μὲν αὖθις ὑποστρέφων ἰδεῖν ὑπέσχετο πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀξιούντων δὲ ἀφεῖναι τὸν φόρον αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἑβδοματικοῦ ἔτους, οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ σπείρειν, τίνες ὄντες ταῦτα παρακαλοῦσιν ἐπυνθάνετο. τῶν δ᾽ εἰπόντων Ἑβραῖοι μὲν εἶναι, [344] χρηματίζειν δ᾽ οἱ ἐν

Σικίμοις Σιδώνιοι, πάλιν αὐτοὺς ἐπηρώτησεν, εἰ τυγχάνουσιν Ἰουδαῖοι. τῶν δ' οὐκ εἶναι φαμένων "ἀλλ' ἔγωγε ταῦτ', εἶπεν, Ἰουδαίοις ἔδωκα, ὑποστρέψας μέντοι γε καὶ διδαχθεὶς ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀκριβέστερον ποιήσω τὰ δόξαντα." τοῖς μὲν οὖν Σικιμίταις οὕτως ἀπετάξατο. [345] τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Σαναβαλλέτου στρατιώτας ἐκέλευσεν ἔπεσθαι εἰς Αἴγυπτον: ἐκεῖ γὰρ αὐτοῖς δώσειν κλήρους γῆς: ὃ καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ἐποίησεν ἐν τῇ Θηβαίδι φρουρεῖν τὴν χώραν αὐτοῖς προστάξας.

(7) [346] Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ εἰς τοὺς διαδόχους ἐμερίσθη, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαριζεὶν ὄρους ἱερὸν ἔμεινεν. εἰ δέ τις αἰτίαν ἔσχεν παρὰ τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις κοινοφαγίας ἢ τῆς ἐν σαββάτοις παρανομίας ἤ τινος ἄλλου τοιούτου ἁμαρτήματος, παρὰ τοὺς Σικιμίτας ἔφευγεν λέγων ἀδίκως ἐκβεβλῆσθαι. [347] τετελευτήκει δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνον ἤδη τὸν καιρὸν καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰαδδοῦς καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην Ὀνίας ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ παρειλήφει. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας ἐν τούτοις ἐτύγχανεν ὄντα.

Liber XII

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ δωδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Ὡς Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου δόλῳ καὶ ἀπάτῃ παραλαβὼν τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πολλοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰς Αἴγυπτον μετῴκισεν.

β. ὡς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ κληθεὶς Φιλάδελφος τοὺς Ἰουδαίων νόμους εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν γλῶσσαν μετέβαλεν καὶ πολλοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀπέλυσεν Ἐλεαζάρῳ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ αὐτῶν χαριζόμενος, καὶ ἀναθήματα πολλὰ ἀνέθηκεν τῷ θεῷ.

γ. πῶς ἐτίμησαν οἱ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεῖς τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος καὶ πολίτας ἐποίησαν ἐν ταῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν κτισθείσαις πόλεσιν κατοικίσαντες.

δ. ἐκ τῆς γενομένης ἀτυχίας ἐπανόρθωσις ὑπὸ Ἰωσήπου τοῦ Τωβίου ποιησαμένου φιλίαν πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Ἐπιφανῆ.

ε. φιλία καὶ συμμαχία Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸς Ὀνίαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

ς. στάσις τῶν δυνατῶν Ἰουδαίων πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ὡς ἐπεκαλέσαντο Ἀντίοχον τὸν Ἐπιφανῆ.

ζ. ὅτι στρατευσάμενος Ἀντίοχος ἐπὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα τήν τε πόλιν παρέλαβεν καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐσύλησεν.

η. ὡς Ἀντιόχου κωλύσαντος τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις χρῆσθαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους μόνος ὁ Ἀσαμωναίου παῖς Ματταθίας κατεφρόνησεν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοὺς Ἀντιόχου στρατηγοὺς ἐνίκησεν.

θ. ἡ Ματταθίου τελευτή, γηραιοῦ μὲν ὄντος ἤδη, παραδόντος δὲ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων προστασίαν τοῖς παισίν.

ι. ὡς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰούδας τοῖς Ἀντιόχου στρατηγοῖς μαχεσάμενος τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἰς τὴν πάτριον ἐπανήγαγε πολιτείαν καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς ἀπεδείχθη ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ.

ια. ὡς ὁ Ἀντιόχου στρατηγὸς Ἀπολλώνιος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐμβαλὼν ἡττηθεὶς ἀπέθανεν.

ιβ. ἡ Σαίωνος καὶ Γοργίου στρατεία ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ ἧττα καὶ διαφορὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ.

ιγ. ὅτι στρατευσάμενος Ἰούδας ἐπὶ Ἀμμανίτας καὶ εἰς τὴν Γαλαδῖτιν ἐνίκησεν.

ιδ. ὡς Σίμων ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Τυρίους καὶ Πτολεμαεῖς ἐκράτησεν αὐτῶν.

ιε. Λυσίου στρατεία τοῦ Ἀντιόχου στρατηγοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίους καὶ ἧττα.

ις. ὡς Ἀντίοχος ὁ Ἐπιφανὴς ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν Πέρσαις.

ιζ. ὡς Ἀντίοχος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Εὐπάτωρ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίους μετὰ Λυσίου καὶ νικήσας ἐπολιόρκει Ἰούδαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐγκλείσας.

ιη. ὅτι πολλοῦ χρόνου τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τριβομένου φιλίαν ποιησάμενος πρὸς Ἰούδαν εὐπρεπῶς ἀνεχώρησεν ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας Ἀντίοχος.

ιθ. ὡς Βακχίδης ὁ Δημητρίου στρατηγὸς ἐπιστρατευσάμενος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἄπρακτος ἀνέστρεψε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα.

κ. ὡς Νικάνωρ μετὰ τὸν Βακχίδην πεμφθεὶς στρατηγὸς ἀπώλετο σὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ αὐτοῦ.

κα. ὅτι πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν Βακχίδης ἐκπεμφθεὶς ἐνίκησεν.

κβ. ὡς Ἰούδας διεφθάρη μαχόμενος.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν ρο.

I

(1) [1] Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οὖν ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς καταλύσας τὴν Περσῶν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν τὸν προειρημένον καταστησάμενος τρόπον τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον. [2] μεταπεσούσης δ’ εἰς πολλοὺς τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀντίγονος μὲν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπικρατεῖ, Σέλευκος δὲ Βαβυλῶνος καὶ τῶν κεῖθι ἐθνῶν, Λυσίμαχός τε τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον διεῖπεν, τὴν δὲ Μακεδονίαν εἶχεν Κάσσανδρος, Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Λάγου τὴν Αἴγυπτον εἰλήφει. [3] στασιαζόντων δὲ τούτων καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλοτιμουμένων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς πολέμους τε συνεχεῖς καὶ μακροὺς συνέβη γίγνεσθαι καὶ τὰς πόλεις κακοπαθεῖν καὶ πολλοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἀποβάλλειν τῶν οἰκητόρων, ὡς καὶ τὴν Συρίαν ἅπασαν ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου τότε Σωτῆρος χρηματίζοντος τἀναντία παθεῖν αὐτοῦ τῇ ἐπικλήσει. [4] κατέσχε δὲ οὗτος καὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα δόλῳ καὶ ἀπάτῃ χρησάμενος: ἐλθὼν γὰρ σαββάτοις εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὡς θύσων, μήτε τῶν Ἰουδαίων αὐτὸν ἀμυνομένων, οὐδὲν γὰρ ὑπενόουν πολέμιον, καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀνύποπτον καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ἀργίᾳ καὶ ῥαθυμίᾳ τυγχανόντων, ἀπόνως ἐγκρατὴς γίγνεται τῆς πόλεως καὶ πικρῶς ἦρχεν αὐτῆς. [5] μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ καὶ Ἀγαθαρχίδης ὁ Κνίδιος ὁ τὰς τῶν διαδόχων πράξεις συγγραψάμενος, ὀνειδίζων ἡμῖν δεισιδαιμονίαν ὡς δι’ αὐτὴν ἀποβαλοῦσι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, λέγων οὕτως: [6] “ἔστιν ἔθνος Ἰουδαίων λεγόμενον, οἳ πόλιν ὀχυρὰν καὶ μεγάλην ἔχοντες Ἱεροσόλυμα ταύτην ὑπερεῖδον ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίῳ γενομένην ὅπλα λαβεῖν οὐ θελήσαντες, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἄκαιρον δεισιδαιμονίαν χαλεπὸν ὑπέμειναν ἔχειν δε [7] σπότην.” Ἀγαθαρχίδης μὲν οὖν ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ ἔθνους ἡμῶν ἀπεφήνατο. ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος πολλοὺς αἰχμαλώτους λαβὼν ἀπό τε τῆς ὀρεινῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τῶν περὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα τόπων καὶ τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος καὶ τῶν ἐν Γαριζείν, κατῴκισεν ἅπαντας εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀγαγών. [8] ἐπεγνωκὼς δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων περί τε τὴν τῶν ὅρκων φυλακὴν καὶ τὰς πίστεις βεβαιοτάτους ὑπάρχοντας ἐξ ὧν

ἀπεκρίναντο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πρεσβευσαμένῳ πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετὰ τὸ κρατῆσαι Δαρείου τῇ μάχῃ, πολλοὺς αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ φρούρια καταλοχίσας καὶ τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ποιήσας ἰσοπολίτας ὅρκους ἔλαβεν παρ᾽ αὐτῶν, ὅπως τοῖς ἐκγόνοις τοῦ παραθεμένου τὴν πίστιν διαφυλάξωσιν. [9] οὐκ ὀλίγοι δ᾽ οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον παρεγίγνοντο τῆς τε ἀρετῆς τῶν τόπων αὐτοὺς καὶ τῆς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου φιλοτιμίας προκαλουμένης. [10] στάσεις μέντοι γε τοῖς ἐκγόνοις αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς Σαμαρείτας τὴν πάτριον ἀγωγὴν τῶν ἐθῶν ἀποσώζειν προαιρουμένοις ἐγίγνοντο καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπολέμουν, τῶν μὲν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν τὸ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἱερὸν ἅγιον εἶναι λεγόντων καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐκεῖ πέμπειν ἀξιούντων, τῶν δὲ Σικιμιτῶν εἰς τὸ Γαριζεὶν ὄρος κελευόντων.

II

(1) [11] Βασιλεύσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔτη δώδεκα καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Σωτῆρος τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἕν, ἔπειτα τὴν βασιλείαν τῆς Αἰγύπτου παραλαβὼν ὁ Φιλάδελφος καὶ κατασχὼν αὐτὴν ἐπ᾽ ἔτη ἐνὸς δέοντα τεσσαράκοντα τόν τε νόμον ἡρμήνευσε καὶ τοὺς δουλεύοντας ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἀπέλυσε τῆς δουλείας ὄντας περὶ δώδεκα μυριάδας ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης: [12] Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεύς, ὃς ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν βιβλιοθηκῶν τοῦ βασιλέως, σπουδάζων εἰ δυνατὸν εἴη πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην συναγαγεῖν βιβλία καὶ συνωνούμενος, εἴ τι που μόνον ἀκούσειε σπουδῆς ἄξιον ὄν, τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως προαιρέσει, μάλιστα γὰρ τὰ περὶ τὴν συλλογὴν τῶν βιβλίων εἶχεν φιλοκάλως, συνηγωνίζετο. [13] ἐρομένου δ᾽ αὐτόν ποτε τοῦ Πτολεμαίου, πόσας ἤδη μυριάδας ἔχοι συνειλεγμένας βιβλίων, τῶν μὲν ὑπαρχόντων εἶπεν εἶναι περὶ εἴκοσι, ὀλίγου δὲ χρόνου εἰς πεντήκοντα συναθροίσειν. [14] μεμηνῦσθαι δ᾽ ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ πολλὰ εἶναι καὶ παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς νομίμων συγγράμματα σπουδῆς ἄξια καὶ τῆς βασιλέως βιβλιοθήκης, ἃ τοῖς ἐκείνων χαρακτῆρσιν καὶ τῇ διαλέκτῳ γεγραμμένα πόνον αὐτοῖς οὐκ ὀλίγον παρέξειν εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν μεταβαλλόμενα γλῶτταν. [15] δοκεῖ μὲν γὰρ εἶναι τῇ ἰδιότητι τῶν Συρίων γραμμάτων ἐμφερὴς ὁ χαρακτὴρ αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ὁμοίαν αὐτοῖς ἀπηχεῖν, ἰδιότροπον δὲ αὐτὴν εἶναι συμβέβηκεν. οὐδὲν οὖν ἔλεγεν κωλύειν καὶ ταῦτα μεταβαλόντα, δύνασθαι γὰρ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸ χορηγίας εὐποροῦντα, ἔχειν ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ καὶ τὰ παρ᾽ ἐκείνοις. [16] δόξας οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄριστα τὸν Δημήτριον φιλοτιμουμένῳ περὶ πλῆθος αὐτῷ βιβλίων ὑποτίθεσθαι γράφει τῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερεῖ ταῦτα γίγνεσθαι.

(2) [17] Ἀρισταῖος δέ τις φίλος ὢν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ σπουδαζόμενος ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ διὰ μετριότητα, πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον ἔγνω παρακαλέσαι τὸν βασιλέα, ὅπως ἀπολύσῃ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους Ἰουδαίους ὅσοι κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν ἦσαν αὐτοῦ, [18] καιρὸν δ᾽ ἐπιτήδειον τοῦτον εἶναι δοκιμάσας

τῆς δεήσεως πρώτοις περὶ τούτου διαλέγεται τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῶν σωματοφυλάκων Σωσιβίῳ τῷ Ταραντίνῳ καὶ Ἀνδρέᾳ, συναγωνίσασθαι περὶ ὧν ἐντυγχάνειν μέλλει τῷ βασιλεῖ παρακαλῶν αὐτούς. [19] προσλαβὼν δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν προειρημένων γνώμην ὁ Ἀρισταῖος, προσελθὼν τῷ βασιλεῖ λόγους πρὸς αὐτὸν τοιούτους ἐποιήσατο: [20] "οὐ χρῆν ἀπατωμένους ἡμᾶς, ὦ βασιλεῦ, περιορᾶν, ἀλλὰ τἀληθὲς ἀπελέγχειν: τοὺς γὰρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων νόμους οὐ μεταγράψαι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ μεθερμηνεῦσαι διεγνωκότες εἰς τὸ σοὶ κεχαρισμένον, τίνι καὶ λόγῳ χρώμενοι τοῦτο πράξαιμεν ἂν πολλῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐν τῇ σῇ βασιλείᾳ δουλευόντων; [21] οὓς τῇ σαυτοῦ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ καὶ χρηστότητι ποιῶν ἀκολούθως ἀπόλυσον τῆς ταλαιπωρίας, τὴν βασιλείαν σου διέποντος τοῦ θεμένου τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς θεοῦ, καθὼς ἐμοὶ πολυπραγμονήσαντι μαθεῖν ὑπῆρξεν. [22] τὸν γὰρ ἅπαντα συστησάμενον θεὸν καὶ οὗτοι καὶ ἡμεῖς σεβόμεθα Ζῆνα καλοῦντες αὐτὸν ἐτύμως ἀπὸ τοῦ πᾶσιν ἐμφύειν τὸ ζῆν τὴν ἐπίκλησιν αὐτοῦ θέντες. ὅθεν εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τοὺς ἐξαίρετον τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν θρησκείαν πεποιημένους ἀπόδος τοῖς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ βίον ἀπολελοιπόσιν. [23] ἴσθι μέντοι γε, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὡς οὔτε γένει προσήκων αὐτοῖς οὔτε ὁμόφυλος ὢν ταῦτα περὶ αὐτῶν ἀξιῶ, πάντων δὲ ἀνθρώπων δημιούργημα ὄντων τοῦ θεοῦ: καὶ δὴ γιγνώσκων αὐτὸν ἡδόμενον τοῖς εὖ ποιοῦσιν ἐπὶ τοῦτο καὶ σὲ παρακαλῶ."

(3) [24] Ταῦτ' εἰπόντος τοῦ Ἀριστάιου ἀναβλέψας εἰς αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἱλαρῷ καὶ γεγηθότι τῷ προσώπῳ "πόσας, εἶπεν, ὑπολαμβάνεις τῶν ἀπολυθησομένων ἔσεσθαι μυριάδας;" ὑποτυχόντος δὲ Ἀνδρέου, παρειστήκει γάρ, καὶ φήσαντος ὀλίγῳ πλείονας ἔσεσθαι τῶν ἕνδεκα μυριάδων "ἦ μικρὰν ἄρα εἶπεν, ἡμᾶς, Ἀρισταῖε, δωρεὰν αἰτεῖς." Σωσιβίου δὲ καὶ τῶν παρόντων φησάντων, [25] ὡς ἄξιον αὐτὸν δέοι τῆς αὐτοῦ μεγαλοψυχίας τῷ παρεσχηκότι τὴν βασιλείαν θεῷ ποιήσασθαι χαριστήριον, διαχυθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσεν, ὅταν τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀποδιδῶσιν τὸ μισθοφορικόν, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς αἰχμαλώτων καταβαλεῖν δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι. [26] καὶ περὶ ὧν ἠξίουν προθεῖναι γράμματα ὑπέσχετο μεγαλοπρεπῶς τε ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν Ἀριστάιου προαίρεσιν βεβαιοῦντα καὶ πρὸ ταύτης τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βούλησιν, καθ' ἣν οὐ μόνον τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀχθέντας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου στρατιᾶς ἀπολύσειν ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς προυπάρχοντας ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ εἴ τινες αὖθις ἐπεισήχθησαν. [27] πλειόνων δ' ἢ τετρακοσίων ταλάντων τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως γενήσεσθαι φαμένων ταῦτά τε συνεχώρει καὶ τὸ ἀντίγραφον τοῦ προστάγματος εἰς δήλωσιν τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως μεγαλοφροσύνης ἔγνωσαν διαφυλάξαι. [28] ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτον: "ὅσοι τῶν συστρατευσαμένων ἡμῶν τῷ πατρὶ τήν τε Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην ἐπέδραμον καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καταστρεψάμενοι σώματα λαβόντες αἰχμάλωτα διεκόμισαν εἴς τε τὰς πόλεις ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ ταῦτα ἀπημπόλησαν, τούς τε πρὸ αὐτῶν ὄντας ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ εἴ τινες νῦν εἰσήχθησαν, τούτους ἀπολυέτωσαν οἱ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου σώματος λαμβάνοντες δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν

εἴκοσι, οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται μετὰ καὶ τῶν ὀψωνίων, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς τραπέζης κομιζόμενοι τὰ λύτρα. [29] νομίζω γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς προαίρεσιν καὶ παρὰ τὸ δέον ἠχμαλωτίσθαι, τήν τε χώραν αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν στρατιωτικὴν αὐθάδειαν κεκακῶσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν εἰς Αἴγυπτον αὐτῶν μεταγωγὴν πολλὴν ὠφέλειαν ἐκ τούτου τοῖς στρατιώταις γεγονέναι. [30] τὸ δίκαιον οὖν σκοπῶν καὶ τοὺς καταδεδυναστευμένους παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον ἐλεῶν ἀπολύειν κελεύω τοὺς ἐν ταῖς οἰκετείαις ὄντας Ἰουδαίους τὸ προγεγραμμένον κομιζομένους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν κεφάλαιον τοὺς κεκτημένους, καὶ μηδένα περὶ τούτων κακουργεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπακούειν τοῖς προστεταγμένοις. [31] βούλομαι δὲ τὰς ἀπογραφὰς ἀφ᾽ ἧς ἐξεπέμφθησαν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν ὑπάρχοντας, παραδεικνύντας εὐθὺς καὶ τὰ σώματα: τοῦτο γὰρ τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ πράγμασιν ἡγοῦμαι συμφέρειν. προσαγγελλέτω δὲ τοὺς ἀπειθήσαντας ὁ βουλόμενος, ὧν τὰς οὐσίας [32] εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν κτῆσιν ἀνενεχθῆναι βούλομαι.” τούτου δὲ τοῦ προστάγματος ἀναγνωσθέντος τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἔχοντος, μόνου δὲ λείποντος τοῦ περὶ τῶν πρότερον καὶ τῶν αὖθις εἰσηγμένων Ἰουδαίων μὴ διεστάλθαι, προσέθηκεν αὐτὸς μεγαλοφρόνως καὶ τὸ περὶ τούτων φιλάνθρωπον, καὶ τὴν τῶν διαφόρων δόσιν οὖσαν ἀθρόαν ἐκέλευσεν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπομερίσαι καὶ τοῖς βασιλικοῖς τραπεζίταις. [33] γενομένου δὲ τούτου ταχέως ἐν ἑπτὰ ταῖς πάσαις ἡμέραις τέλος εἰλήφει τὰ δοχθέντα τῷ βασιλεῖ, τάλαντα δ᾽ ὑπὲρ ἑξήκοντα καὶ τετρακόσια τῶν λύτρων ἐγένετο: καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν νηπίων εἰσέπραττον οἱ δεσπόται τὰς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν δραχμάς, ὡς τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων διδόναι κελεύσαντος ἐν τῷ προγράψαι ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου σώματος λαμβάνειν τὸ προειρημένον.

(4) [34] Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ταῦτ᾽ ἐγένετο κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως βούλησιν μεγαλοπρεπῶς, ἐκέλευσε τὸν Δημήτριον εἰσδοῦναι καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαικῶν βιβλίων ἀναγραφῆς δόγμα: οὐδὲν γὰρ εἰκῇ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ᾠκονομεῖτο, πάντα δὲ μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας ἐπράττετο. [35] διὸ καὶ τὸ τῆς εἰσδόσεως ἀντίγραφον καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν κατατέτακται καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπεσταλμένων ἀναθημάτων καὶ τὸ ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστου κατασκευασθέν, ὡς ἀκριβεστάτην εἶναι τὴν τοῦ τεχνίτου τοῖς ὁρῶσι μεγαλουργίαν, καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν κατασκευασμάτων ἐξοχὴν τὸν ἑκάστου δημιουργὸν εὐθέως ποιήσειν γνώριμον. τῆς μέντοι γε εἰσδόσεως τὸ ἀντίγραφον ὑπῆρχε τοιοῦτον: [36] “βασιλεῖ μεγάλῳ παρὰ Δημητρίου. προστάξαντός σου, ὦ βασιλεῦ, περί τε τῶν ἔτι λειπόντων εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν τῆς βιβλιοθήκης συγγραμμάτων, ὅπως συναχθῇ, καὶ περὶ τῶν διαπεπτωκότων, ὅπως τῆς δεούσης ἐπιμελείας τύχῃ, πάσῃ κεχρημένος περὶ ταῦτα σπουδῇ δηλῶ σοι τὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίων νομοθεσίας βιβλία λείπειν ἡμῖν σὺν ἑτέροις: χαρακτῆρσιν γὰρ Ἑβραικοῖς γεγραμμένα καὶ φωνῇ τῇ ἐθνικῇ ἐστιν ἡμῖν ἀσαφῆ. [37] συμβέβηκε δ᾽ αὐτὰ καὶ ἀμελέστερον ἢ ἔδει σεσημάνθαι διὰ τὸ βασιλικῆς οὐ τετυχηκέναι προνοίας. ἔστι δ᾽ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ σοὶ

διηκριβωμένα: φιλοσοφωτέραν γὰρ καὶ ἀκέραιον τὴν νομοθεσίαν εἶναι συμβέβηκεν ὡς ἂν οὖσαν θεοῦ. [38] διὸ καὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς αὐτῆς καὶ τοὺς συγγραφεῖς τῶν ἱστοριῶν οὐκ ἐπιμνησθῆναί φησιν Ἑκαταῖος ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης οὐδὲ τῶν κατ᾽ αὐτὴν πολιτευσαμένων ἀνδρῶν, ὡς ἀγνῆς οὔσης καὶ μὴ δέον αὐτὴν βεβήλοις στόμασιν διασαφεῖσθαι. [39] ἐὰν οὖν σοι δοκῇ, βασιλεῦ, γράψεις τῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερεῖ, ὅπως ἀποστείλῃ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἓξ ἀφ᾽ ἑκάστης φυλῆς τοὺς ἐμπειροτάτους τῶν νόμων, παρ᾽ ὧν τὸ τῶν βιβλίων σαφὲς καὶ σύμφωνον ἐκμαθόντες καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν ἀκριβὲς λαβόντες τῶν πραγμάτων ἀξίως ταῦτα τῆς σῆς προαιρέσεως συναγάγωμεν.”

(5) [40] Τοιαύτης οὖν τῆς εἰσδόσεως γενομένης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσεν τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ τῶν Ἰουδαίων Ἐλεαζάρῳ γραφῆναι περὶ τούτων ἅμα καὶ τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν δουλευόντων παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς Ἰουδαίων δηλοῦντας αὐτῷ, καὶ πρὸς κατασκευὴν δὲ κρατήρων καὶ φιαλῶν καὶ σπονδείων ἔπεμψε χρυσίου μὲν ὁλκῆς τάλαντα πεντήκοντα, λίθων δὲ πολυτελῶν ἀσυλλόγιστόν τι πλῆθος. [41] προσέταξε δὲ καὶ τοὺς φύλακας τῶν κιβωτῶν, ἐν αἷς ἐτύγχανον οἱ λίθοι, τὴν ἐκλογὴν τοῖς τεχνίταις αὐτοῖς οὗπερ ἂν θελήσωσιν εἴδους ἐπιτρέπειν. διετάξατο δὲ καὶ νομίσματος εἰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς χρείας πρὸς ἑκατὸν τάλαντα τῷ ἱερεῖ δοθῆναι. [42] διηγήσομαι δὲ τὰ κατασκευάσματα καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς δημιουργίας αὐτῶν μετὰ τὸ προεκθέσθαι τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τῆς γραφείσης Ἐλεαζάρῳ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, ταύτην λαβόντι τὴν τιμὴν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης: [43] τελευτήσαντος Ὀνίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Σίμων γίγνεται διάδοχος ὁ καὶ δίκαιος ἐπικληθεὶς διά τε τὸ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβὲς καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους εὔνουν. [44] ἀποθανόντος δὲ τούτου καὶ νήπιον υἱὸν καταλιπόντος τὸν κληθέντα Ὀνίαν ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἐλεάζαρος, περὶ οὗ τὸν λόγον ποιούμεθα, τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην παρέλαβεν, ᾧ γράφει Πτολεμαῖος τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον: [45] “βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος Ἐλεαζάρῳ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ χαίρειν. πολλῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ κατῳκισμένων Ἰουδαίων, οὓς αἰχμαλωτισθέντας ὑπὸ Περσῶν ὅτ᾽ ἐκράτουν ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ ἐτίμησεν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὸ στρατιωτικὸν κατέταξεν ἐπὶ μείζοσιν μισθοφοραῖς, τισὶν δὲ γενομένοις ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ σὺν αὐτῷ τὰ φρούρια καὶ τὴν τούτων φυλακὴν παρέθετο, ἵνα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ὦσιν φοβεροί, [46] τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγὼ παραλαβὼν πᾶσι μὲν φιλανθρώπως ἐχρησάμην, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς σοῖς πολίταις, ὧν ὑπὲρ δέκα μὲν μυριάδας αἰχμαλώτων δουλευόντων ἀπέλυσα τοῖς δεσπόταις αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν λύτρα καταβαλών. [47] τοὺς δὲ ἀκμάζοντας ταῖς ἡλικίαις εἰς τὸν στρατιωτικὸν κατάλογον κατέταξα, τινὰς δὲ τῶν περὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ τὴν τῆς αὐλῆς πίστιν εἶναι δυναμένων ταύτης ἠξίωκα, νομίζων ἡδὺ τῷ θεῷ τῆς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ προνοίας ἀνάθημα τοῦτο καὶ μέγιστον ἀναθήσειν. [48] βουλόμενος δὲ καὶ τούτοις χαρίζεσθαι καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην Ἰουδαίοις τὸν νόμον ὑμῶν ἔγνων μεθερμηνεῦσαι, καὶ γράμμασιν Ἑλληνικοῖς ἐκ τῶν Ἑβραικῶν μεταγραφέντα κεῖσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ. [49] καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις

ἐπιλεξάμενος ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ἓξ ἀφ᾽ ἑκάστης φυλῆς ἤδη πρεσβυτέρους, οἳ καὶ διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐμπείρως ἔχουσι τῶν νόμων καὶ δυνήσονται τὴν ἑρμηνείαν αὐτῶν ἀκριβῆ ποιήσασθαι: νομίζω γὰρ τούτων ἐπιτελεσθέντων μεγίστην δόξαν ἡμῖν περιγενήσεσθαι. [50] ἀπέσταλκα δέ σοι περὶ τούτων διαλεξομένους Ἀνδρέαν τὸν ἀρχισωματοφύλακα καὶ Ἀρισταῖον ἐμοὶ τιμιωτάτους, δι᾽ ὧν καὶ ἀπαρχὰς ἀναθημάτων εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπέσταλκα τάλαντα ἀργυρίου ἑκατόν. καὶ σὺ δ᾽ ἡμῖν ἐπιστέλλων περὶ ὧν ἂν θέλῃς ποιήσεις κεχαρισμένα.”

(6) [51] Τῆς οὖν ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ βασιλέως κομισθείσης πρὸς τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον ἀντιγράφει πρὸς αὐτὴν ὡς ἐνῆν μάλιστα φιλοτίμως. “ἀρχιερεὺς Ἐλεάζαρος βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ χαίρειν. ἐρρωμένων σοῦ τε καὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης Ἀρσινόης καὶ τῶν τέκνων καλῶς ἡμῖν ἔχει πάντα. [52] τὴν δ᾽ ἐπιστολὴν λαβόντες μεγάλως ἥσθημεν ἐπὶ τῇ προαιρέσει σου, καὶ συναθροίσαντες τὸ πλῆθος ἀνέγνωμεν αὐτὴν ἐμφανίζοντες αὐτῷ ἣν ἔχεις πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβειαν. [53] ἐπεδείξαμεν δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς φιάλας ἃς ἔπεμψας χρυσᾶς εἴκοσι καὶ ἀργυρᾶς τριάκοντα καὶ κρατῆρας πέντε καὶ τράπεζαν εἰς ἀνάθεσιν, ἅ τε εἰς θυσίαν καὶ εἰς ἐπισκευὴν ὧν ἂν δέηται τὸ ἱερὸν τάλαντα ἑκατόν, ἅπερ ἐκόμισαν Ἀνδρέας καὶ Ἀρισταῖος οἱ τιμιώτατοί σου τῶν φίλων, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ παιδείᾳ διαφέροντες καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς ἄξιοι. [54] ἴσθι δ᾽ ἡμᾶς τὸ σοὶ συμφέρον, κἂν ᾖ τι παρὰ φύσιν, ὑπομενοῦντας: ἀμείβεσθαι γὰρ ἡμᾶς δεῖ τὰς σὰς εὐεργεσίας πολυμερῶς εἰς τοὺς ἡμετέρους πολίτας κατατεθείσας. [55] εὐθὺς οὖν ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς σου καὶ τέκνων καὶ φίλων προσηγάγομεν θυσίας, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος εὐχὰς ἐποιήσατο γενέσθαι σοι τὰ κατὰ νοῦν καὶ φυλαχθῆναί σου τὴν βασιλείαν ἐν εἰρήνῃ, τήν τε τοῦ νόμου μεταγραφὴν ἐπὶ συμφέροντι τῷ σῷ λαβεῖν ὃ προαιρῇ τέλος. [56] ἐπελεξάμην δὲ καὶ πρεσβυτέρους ἄνδρας ἓξ ἀπὸ φυλῆς ἑκάστης, οὓς πεπόμφαμεν ἔχοντας τὸν νόμον. ἔσται δὲ τῆς σῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης τὸ μεταγραφέντα τὸν νόμον εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀποπέμψαι μετ᾽ ἀσφαλείας τῶν κομιζόντων. ἔρρωσο.”

(7) [57] Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἀντέγραψεν. ἐμοὶ δ᾽ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἔδοξεν εἶναι τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα πρεσβυτέρων, οἳ τὸν νόμον ἐκόμιζον ὑπὸ Ἐλεαζάρου πεμφθέντες, δηλοῦν: ἦν γὰρ ταῦτα ὑπογεγραμμένα ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ. [58] τὴν μέντοι γε τῶν ἀναθημάτων πολυτέλειαν καὶ κατασκευήν, ἣν ἀπέστειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ θεῷ, οὐκ ἀνεπιτήδειον ἡγησάμην διελθεῖν, ὅπως ἅπασιν ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως περὶ τὸν θεὸν φιλοτιμία φανερὰ γένηται: ἄφθονον γὰρ τὴν εἰς ταῦτα δαπάνην χορηγῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ παρὼν ἀεὶ τοῖς τεχνίταις καὶ τὰ ἔργα ἐπιβλέπων οὐδὲν ἀμελῶς οὐδὲ ῥᾳθύμως εἴα γίγνεσθαι τῶν κατασκευασμάτων. [59] ὧν ἕκαστον οἷον ἦν τὴν πολυτέλειαν διηγήσομαι, τῆς μὲν ἱστορίας ἴσως οὐκ ἀπαιτούσης τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν, τὸ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως φιλόκαλον καὶ μεγαλόφρον οὕτω συστήσειν τοῖς ἐντευξομένοις ὑπολαμβάνων.

(8) [60] Πρῶτον δὲ τὰ περὶ τῆς τραπέζης ἐκθήσομαι. εἶχεν μὲν οὖν δι᾽ ἐννοίας ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπερμεγεθέστατον τοῖς μέτροις ἀπεργάσασθαι τὸ κατασκεύασμα, προσέταξε δὲ μαθεῖν τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀνακειμένης ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις τραπέζης πόσον τέ ἐστιν καὶ εἰ δύναται τούτου μεῖζον κατασκευασθῆναι. [61] μαθὼν δὲ καὶ τὴν οὖσαν ἡλίκη τις ἦν, καὶ ὅτι αὐτῆς οὐδὲν κωλύει μείζονα γενέσθαι, φήσας καὶ πενταπλασίονα τῆς ὑπαρχούσης τῷ μεγέθει βούλεσθαι κατασκευάσαι, φοβεῖσθαι δέ, μὴ πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας ἄχρηστος διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ μεγέθους γένηται: βούλεσθαι γὰρ οὐκ ἀνακεῖσθαι μόνον εἰς θέαν τἀναθήματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας εὔχρηστα: [62] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λογισάμενος σύμμετρον κατεσκευάσθαι τὴν προτέραν τράπεζαν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ διὰ σπάνιν χρυσοῦ, τῷ μεγέθει μὲν οὐκ ἔγνω τὴν προυπάρχουσαν ὑπερβαλεῖν, τῇ δὲ ποικιλίᾳ καὶ τῷ κάλλει τῆς ὕλης ἀξιολογωτέραν κατασκευάσαι. [63] δεινὸς δὲ ὢν συνιδεῖν πραγμάτων παντοδαπῶν φύσιν καὶ λαβεῖν ἐπίνοιαν ἔργων καινῶν καὶ παραδόξων καὶ ὅσα ἦν ἄγραφα τὴν εὕρεσιν αὐτὸς παρέχων διὰ τὴν σύνεσιν καὶ ὑποδεικνὺς τοῖς τεχνίταις, ἐκέλευσεν ταῦτα κατασκευάζεσθαι καὶ τὰ ἀναγεγραμμένα πρὸς τὴν ἀκρίβειαν αὐτῶν ἀποβλέποντας ὁμοίως ἐπιτελεῖν.

(9) [64] Ὑποστησάμενοι τοίνυν ποιήσασθαι τὴν τράπεζαν δύο μὲν καὶ ἡμίσους πηχῶν τὸ μῆκος, ἑνὸς δὲ τὸ εὖρος, τὸ δ᾽ ὕψος ἑνὸς καὶ ἡμίσους, κατεσκεύαζον ἐκ χρυσοῦ τὴν ὅλην τοῦ ἔργου καταβολὴν ποιούμενοι. τὴν μὲν οὖν στεφάνην παλαιστιαίαν εἰργάσαντο, τὰ δὲ κυμάτια στρεπτὰ τὴν ἀναγλυφὴν ἔχοντα σχοινοειδῆ τῇ τορείᾳ θαυμαστῶς ἐκ τῶν τριῶν μερῶν μεμιμημένην. [65] τριγώνων γὰρ ὄντων αὐτῶν ἑκάστη γωνία τὴν αὐτὴν τῆς ἐκτυπώσεως εἶχεν διάθεσιν, ὡς στρεφομένων αὐτῶν μίαν καὶ μὴ διάφορον τὴν ἰδέαν αὐτοῖς συμπεριφέρεσθαι. τῆς δὲ στεφάνης τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ τὴν τράπεζαν ἐκκεκλιμένον ὡραίαν εἶχεν τὴν ἀποτύπωσιν, τὸ δ᾽ ἔξωθεν περιηγμένον ἔτι μᾶλλον τῷ κάλλει τῆς ἐργασίας ἦν ἐκπεπονημένον, ὡς ὑπ᾽ ὄψιν καὶ θεωρίαν ἐρχόμενον. [66] διὸ καὶ τὴν μὲν ὑπεροχὴν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν ὀξεῖαν συνέβαινε γίγνεσθαι, καὶ μηδεμίαν γωνίαν τριῶν οὐσῶν, ὡς προειρήκαμεν, περὶ τὴν μεταγωγὴν τῆς τραπέζης ἐλάσσονα βλέπεσθαι. ἐνδιέκειντο δὲ ταῖς σχοινίσιν τῆς τορείας λίθοι πολυτελεῖς παράλληλοι περόναις χρυσαῖς διὰ τρημάτων κατειλημμένοι. [67] τὰ δ᾽ ἐκ πλαγίου τῆς στεφάνης καὶ πρὸς ὄψιν ἀνατείνοντα ὠῶν ἐκ λίθου καλλίστου πεποιημένων θέσει κατακεκόσμητο ῥάβδοις τὴν ἀναγλυφὴν ἐοικότων πυκναῖς, αἳ περὶ τὸν κύκλον τῆς τραπέζης εἵληντο. [68] ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν τῶν ὠῶν διατύπωσιν στέφανον περιήγαγον οἱ τεχνῖται παντοίου καρποῦ φύσιν ἐντετορευμένον, ὡς ἀποκρέμασθαί τε βότρυς καὶ στάχυας ἀναστῆναι καὶ ῥόας ἀποκεκλεῖσθαι. τοὺς δὲ λίθους εἰς πᾶν γένος τῶν προειρημένων καρπῶν, ὡς ἑκάστου τὴν οἰκείαν ἐντετυπῶσθαι χρόαν, ἐξεργασάμενοι συνέδησαν τῷ χρυσῷ περὶ ὅλην τὴν τράπεζαν. [69] ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν στέφανον ὁμοίως ἡ τῶν ὠῶν διάθεσις πεποίητο καὶ ἡ τῆς ῥαβδώσεως ἀναγλυφή, τῆς τραπέζης ἐπ᾽ ἀμφότερον μέρος ἔχειν τὴν αὐτὴν

τῆς ποικιλίας τῶν ἔργων καὶ γλαφυρότητος θέαν κατεσκευασμένης, ὡς καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων κυμάτων θέσιν καὶ τὴν τῆς στεφάνης μηδὲ τῆς τραπέζης ἐφ᾽ ἕτερον μέρος ἐναλλαττομένης γίγνεσθαι διάφορον, τὴν δ᾽ αὐτὴν ἄχρι καὶ τῶν ποδῶν ὄψιν τῆς ἐπιτεχνήσεως διατετάσθαι. [70] ἔλασμα γὰρ χρυσοῦ τὸ πλάτος τεσσάρων δακτύλων ποιήσαντες καθ᾽ ὅλου τοῦ τῆς τραπέζης πλάτους εἰς τοῦτο τοὺς πόδας αὐτῆς ἐνέθεσαν, ἔπειτα περόναις καὶ κατακλεῖσιν αὐτοὺς ἐνέσφιγγον τῇ τραπέζῃ κατὰ τὴν στεφάνην, ἵνα τὴν θέαν τῆς καινουργίας καὶ πολυτελείας, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ τις ἂν στήσῃ τὴν τράπεζαν μέρει, παρέχωσι τὴν αὐτήν. [71] ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τραπέζης μαίανδρον ἐξέγλυψαν λίθους αὐτῷ κατὰ μέσον ἀξιολόγους ὥσπερ ἀστέρας ποικίλης ἰδέας ἐνθέντες, τόν τε ἄνθρακα καὶ τὸν σμάραγδον ἥδιστον προσαυγάζοντας αὐτῶν ἑκάτερον τοῖς ὁρῶσιν, τῶν τε ἄλλων γενῶν ὅσοι περισπούδαστοι καὶ ζηλωτοὶ πᾶσιν διὰ τὴν πολυτέλειαν τῆς φύσεως ὑπάρχουσιν. [72] μετὰ δὲ τὸν μαίανδρον πλέγμα τι σχοινοειδὲς περιῆκτο ῥόμβῳ τὴν κατὰ μέσον ὄψιν ἐμφερές, ἐφ᾽ οὗ κρύσταλλός τε λίθος καὶ ἤλεκτρον ἐντετύπωτο τῇ παραλλήλῳ τῆς ἰδέας γειτνιάσει ψυχαγωγίαν θαυμαστὴν παρέχον τοῖς βλέπουσιν. [73] τῶν δὲ ποδῶν ἦσαν αἱ κεφαλίδες εἰς κρίνα μεμιμημέναι τὰς ἐκφύσεις τῶν πετάλων ὑπὸ τὴν τράπεζαν ἀνακλωμένων, εἰς ὀρθὸν δὲ τὴν βλάστησιν ἔνδοθεν παρεχόντων ὁρᾶν. [74] ἡ δὲ βάσις αὐτοῖς ἦν ἐξ ἄνθρακος λίθου παλαιστιαία πεποιημένη σχῆμα κρηπῖδος ἀποτελοῦσα, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ὀκτὼ δακτύλων ἔχουσα, καθ᾽ οὗ τὸ πᾶν ἔλασμα τῶν ποδῶν ἐρήρειστο. [75] ἀνέγλυψαν δὲ λεπτομερεῖ καὶ φιλοπονωτάτῃ τορείᾳ τῶν ποδῶν ἕκαστον, κισσὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ κλήματα ἀμπέλων σὺν καὶ βότρυσιν ἐκφύσαντες, ὡς εἰκάσαι μηδὲν ἀποδεῖν τῆς ἀληθείας: καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ πνεῦμα διὰ λεπτότητα καὶ τὴν ἐπ᾽ ἄκρον αὐτῶν ἔκτασιν κινούμενα φαντασίαν τῶν κατὰ φύσιν μᾶλλον ἢ τέχνης μιμημάτων παρεῖχεν. [76] ἐκαινούργησαν δὲ ὥστε τρίπτυχον οἱονεὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ὅλης κατασκευάσαι τραπέζης τῆς ἁρμονίας πρὸς ἄλληλα τῶν μερῶν οὕτω συνδεδεμένης, ὡς ἀόρατον εἶναι καὶ μηδ᾽ ἐπινοεῖσθαι τὰς συμβολάς. ἥμισυ δὲ πήχεως οὐκ ἔλασσον τῇ τραπέζῃ τὸ πάχος συνέβαινεν εἶναι. [77] τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀνάθημα τοῦτο κατὰ πολλὴν τοῦ βασιλέως φιλοτιμίαν τοιοῦτο τῇ τε πολυτελείᾳ τῆς ὕλης καὶ τῇ ποικιλίᾳ τῆς καλλονῆς καὶ τῇ μιμήσει τῇ κατὰ τὴν τορείαν τῶν τεχνιτῶν συνετελέσθη, σπουδάσαντος εἰ καὶ μὴ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς προανακειμένης τῷ θεῷ τραπέζης ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι διάφορος, τῇ μέντοι γε τέχνῃ καὶ τῇ καινουργίᾳ καὶ τῇ λαμπρότητι τῆς κατασκευῆς πολὺ κρείττονα καὶ περίβλεπτον ἀπεργάσασθαι.

(10) [78] Τῶν δὲ κρατήρων χρύσεοι μὲν ἦσαν δύο, φολιδωτὴν δ᾽ εἶχον ἀπὸ τῆς βάσεως μέχρι τοῦ διαζώματος τὴν τορείαν λίθων ταῖς σπείραις ποικίλων ἐνδεδεμένων. [79] εἶτα ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ μαίανδρος πηχυαῖος τὸ ὕψος ἐξείργαστο κατὰ σύνθεσιν λίθων παντοίων τὴν ἰδέαν, κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ δὲ ῥάβδωσις ἀναγέγλυπτο, καθ᾽ ἧς πλέγμα ῥομβωτὸν δικτύοις ἐμφερὲς ἕως τοῦ χείλους ἀνείλκυστο: [80] τὰ δὲ

μέσα λίθων ἀσπίδια τετραδακτύλων ἀνεπλήρου τὸ κάλλος. περιεστέφετο δὲ τὰ χείλη τοῦ κρατῆρος κρίνων σμίλαξι καὶ ἀνθεμίσι καὶ βοτρύων σχοινίαις εἰς κύκλον περιηγμέναις. [81] τοὺς μὲν οὖν χρυσέους κρατῆρας δύο χωροῦντας ἑκάτερον ἀμφορέας τοῦτον κατεσκεύασαν τὸν τρόπον, οἱ δ' ἀργύρεοι τῶν ἐσόπτρων τὴν λαμπρότητα πολὺ διαυγέστεροι γεγόνεισαν, ὡς τρανοτέρας διὰ τούτων τὰς τῶν προσφερομένων ὄψεις ὁρᾶσθαι. [82] προσκατεσκεύασε δὲ τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ φιάλας τριάκοντα, ὧν ὅσα χρυσὸς ἦν ἀλλὰ μὴ λίθῳ πολυτελεῖ διείληπτο, σμίλαξι κισσοῦ καὶ πετάλοις ἀμπέλων ἐσκίαστο φιλοτέχνως ἐντετορευμένων. [83] ταῦτα δ' ἐγίγνετο μὲν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν τῶν ἐργαζομένων θαυμασίων ὄντων περὶ τὴν τέχνην, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως σπουδῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας διαφερόντως ἀπηρτίζετο: [84] οὐ γὰρ τῆς χορηγίας τὸ ἄφθονον καὶ μεγαλόψυχον τοῖς τεχνίταις παρεῖχεν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ χρηματίζειν τοῖς δημοσίοις πράγμασιν ἀπειρηκὼς αὐτὸς τοῖς κατασκευάζουσι παρῆν καὶ τὴν ὅλην ἐργασίαν ἐπέβλεπεν. αἴτιον δ' ἦν τοῦτο τῆς τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἐπιμελείας, οἳ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν τούτου σπουδὴν ἀποβλέποντες φιλοπονώτερον τοῖς ἔργοις προσελιπάρουν.

(11) [85] Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ πεμφθέντα εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου ἀναθήματα. ὁ δ' ἀρχιερεὺς Ἐλεάζαρος ἀναθεὶς αὐτὰ καὶ τιμήσας τοὺς κομίσαντας καὶ δῶρα τῷ βασιλεῖ δοὺς κομίζειν ἀπέλυσε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. [86] παραγενομένων δ' εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀκούσας Πτολεμαῖος τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐληλυθότας, εὐθὺς μεταπέμπεται τὸν Ἀνδρέαν καὶ τὸν Ἀρισταῖον τοὺς πρέσβεις. οἱ δ' ἀφικόμενοι τάς τε ἐπιστολάς, ἃς ἐκόμιζον αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, ἀπέδοσαν καὶ ὅσα φράζειν ἀπὸ λόγων ὑπέθετο ταῦτα ἐδήλωσαν. [87] σπεύδων δ' ἐντυχεῖν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων [πρεσβύταις] ἤκουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν τῶν νόμων, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους οὓς χρειῶν ἕνεκα παρεῖναι συνέβαινεν ἐκέλευσεν ἀπολῦσαι, παράδοξον τοῦτο ποιῶν καὶ παρὰ τὸ ἔθος: [88] οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τοιούτων αἰτιῶν ἀχθέντες διὰ πέμπτης ἡμέρας αὐτῷ προσῄεσαν, οἱ δὲ πρεσβεύοντες διὰ μηνός: τότε τοίνυν ἀπολύσας ἐκείνους τοὺς πεμφθέντας ὑπὸ Ἐλεαζάρου περιέμενεν. [89] ὡς δὲ παρῆλθον μετὰ καὶ τῶν δώρων οἱ γέροντες, ἃ τῷ βασιλεῖ κομίσαι ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν, καὶ τῶν διφθερῶν, αἷς ἐγγεγραμμένους εἶχον τοὺς νόμους χρυσοῖς γράμμασιν, ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτοὺς περὶ τῶν βιβλίων. [90] ὡς δ' ἀποκαλύψαντες τῶν ἐνειλημάτων ἐπέδειξαν αὐτῷ, θαυμάσας ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς ἰσχνότητος τοὺς ὑμένας καὶ τῆς συμβολῆς τὸ ἀνεπίγνωστον, οὕτως γὰρ ἥρμοστο, καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσας χρόνῳ πλείονι χάριν ἔχειν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς τε ἐλθοῦσιν καὶ μείζονα τῷ πέμψαντι, πρὸ δὲ πάντων τῷ θεῷ, οὗ τοὺς νόμους εἶναι συμβέβηκεν. [91] ἐκβοησάντων δ' ὑφ' ἓν καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν συμπαρόντων γίγνεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ δι' ὑπερβολὴν ἡδονῆς εἰς δάκρυα προύπεσεν, φύσει τῆς μεγάλης χαρᾶς πασχούσης καὶ τὰ τῶν λυπηρῶν σύμβολα. [92] κελεύσας δὲ τὰ βιβλία δοῦναι τοῖς

ἐπὶ τῆς τάξεως τότε τοὺς ἄνδρας ἠσπάσατο, δίκαιον εἰπὼν εἶναι πρῶτον περὶ ὧν αὐτοὺς μετεπέμψατο ποιησάμενον τοὺς λόγους ἔπειτα κἀκείνους προσειπεῖν. τὴν μέντοι γε ἡμέραν, καθ᾽ ἣν ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐπιφανῆ ποιήσειν καὶ κατὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἐπίσημον εἰς ὅλον τὸν τῆς ζωῆς χρόνον ἐπηγγέλλετο: [93] ἔτυχεν γὰρ ἡ αὐτὴ εἶναι τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς νίκης, ἣν Ἀντίγονον ναυμαχῶν ἐνίκησεν: συνεστιαθῆναί τε ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ καὶ καταλύσεις προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς δοθῆναι τὰς καλλίστας πρὸς τῇ ἄκρᾳ.

(12) [94] Ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν ξένων ἀποδοχῆς τεταγμένος Νικάνωρ Δωρόθεον καλέσας, ὃς εἶχεν τὴν περὶ τούτων πρόνοιαν, ἐκέλευεν ἑτοιμάζειν ἑκάστῳ τὰ δέοντα πρὸς τὴν δίαιταν. διετέτακτο δὲ τοῦτον ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν τρόπον: [95] κατὰ γὰρ πόλιν ἑκάστην, ὅσαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρῶνται περὶ τὴν δίαιταν, ἦν τούτων ἐπιμελόμενος καὶ κατὰ τὸ τῶν ἀφικνουμένων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔθος πάντ᾽ αὐτοῖς παρεσκευάζετο, ἵνα τῷ συνήθει τρόπῳ τῆς διαίτης εὐωχούμενοι μᾶλλον ἥδωνται καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν ὡς ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντες δυσχεραίνωσιν. ὃ δὴ καὶ περὶ τούτους ἐγένετο Δωροθέου διὰ τὴν περὶ τὸν βίον ἀκρίβειαν ἐπὶ τούτοις καθεστῶτος. [96] συνέστρωσε δὲ πάντα δι᾽ αὐτοῦ τὰ πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας ὑποδοχὰς καὶ διμερῆ τὴν κλισίαν ἐποίησεν οὑτωσὶ προστάξαντος τοῦ βασιλέως: τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἡμίσεις ἐκέλευσεν ἀνὰ χεῖρα κατακλιθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ κλισίαν, οὐδὲν ἀπολιπὼν τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἄνδρας τιμῆς. [97] ἐπεὶ δ᾽ οὕτως κατεκλίθησαν ἐκέλευσε τὸν Δωρόθεον, οἷς ἔθεσι χρώμενοι διατελοῦσιν πάντες οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφιγμένοι κατὰ ταῦτα ὑπηρετεῖν. [διὸ] καὶ τοὺς ἱεροκήρυκας καὶ θύτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, οἳ τὰς κατευχὰς ἐποιοῦντο, παρῃτήσατο, τῶν δὲ παραγενομένων ἕνα Ἐλισαῖον ὄνομα ὄντα ἱερέα παρεκάλεσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ποιήσασθαι κατευχάς. [98] ὁ δὲ στὰς εἰς μέσον ηὔχετο τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, εἶτα κρότος ἐξ ἁπάντων μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ βοῆς ἤρθη καὶ παυσάμενοι πρὸς εὐωχίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν παρεσκευασμένων ἐτράπησαν. [99] διαλιπὼν δ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐφ᾽ ὅσον ἔδοξεν ἀποχρῶντα καιρὸν εἶναι φιλοσοφεῖν ἤρξατο καὶ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν λόγους ἐπηρώτα φυσικούς, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ζητουμένων θεωρίαν ἀκριβῶς ἐκείνων περὶ παντὸς οὐτινοσοῦν λέγειν αὐτοῖς προβληθείη διασαφούντων, ἡδόμενος τούτοις ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας δώδεκα τὸ συμπόσιον ἐποιήσατο, [100] ὡς τῷ βουλομένῳ τὰ κατὰ μέρος γνῶναι τῶν ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ ζητηθέντων εἶναι μαθεῖν ἀναγνόντι τὸ Ἀρισταίου βιβλίον, ὃ συνέγραψεν διὰ ταῦτα.

(13) [101] Θαυμάζοντος δ᾽ αὐτοὺς οὐ μόνον τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ καὶ Μενεδήμου τοῦ φιλοσόφου προνοίᾳ διοικεῖσθαι πάντα φήσαντος καὶ διὰ τοῦτ᾽ εἰκὸς καὶ τοῦ λόγου δύναμιν καὶ κάλλος εὑρῆσθαι, παύονται μὲν περὶ τούτων ἐπιζητοῦντες. [102] γεγενῆσθαι δ᾽ αὐτῷ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔλεγεν ἤδη παρόντων αὐτῶν: ὠφελῆσθαι γὰρ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν μεμαθηκότα, πῶς δεῖ βασιλεύειν: κελεύει τε αὐτοῖς ἀνὰ τρία δοθῆναι τάλαντα καὶ τοὺς ἀποκαταστήσοντας ἐπὶ τὴν

κατάλυσιν. [103] διελθουσῶν δὲ τριῶν ἡμερῶν παραλαβὼν αὐτοὺς ὁ Δημήτριος καὶ διελθὼν τὸ ἑπταστάδιον χῶμα τῆς θαλάσσης πρὸς τὴν νῆσον καὶ διαβὰς πρὸς τὴν γέφυραν, προελθὼν ἐπὶ τὰ βόρεια μέρη συνέδριον ἐποιήσατο ἐν τῷ παρὰ τὴν ᾠόνα κατεσκευασμένῳ οἴκῳ πρὸς διάσκεψιν πραγμάτων ἠρεμίας καλῶς ἔχοντι. [104] ἀγαγὼν οὖν αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖ παρεκάλει πάντων, ὧν ἂν δεηθεῖεν εἰς τὴν ἑρμηνείαν τοῦ νόμου, παρόντων ἀκωλύτως ἐπιτελεῖν τὸ ἔργον. οἱ δ᾽ ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα φιλοτίμως καὶ φιλοπόνως ἀκριβῆ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν ποιούμενοι μέχρι μὲν ὥρας ἐνάτης πρὸς τούτῳ διετέλουν ὄντες, [105] ἔπειτ᾽ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀπηλλάττοντο θεραπείαν ἀφθόνως αὐτοῖς τῶν πρὸς τὴν δίαιταν χορηγουμένων καὶ προσέτι τοῦ Δωροθέου πολλὰ καὶ τῶν παρασκευαζομένων τῷ βασιλεῖ, προσέταξε γάρ, αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος. [106] πρωὶ δὲ πρὸς τὴν αὐλὴν παραγινόμενοι καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἀσπαζόμενοι πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀπῄεσαν τόπον καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ τὰς χεῖρας ἀπονιπτόμενοι καὶ καθαίροντες αὐτοὺς οὕτως ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν νόμων ἑρμηνείαν ἐτρέποντο.

[107] Μεταγραφέντος δὲ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν ἔργου τέλος ἐν ἡμέραις ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ δυσὶν λαβόντος, συναγαγὼν ὁ Δημήτριος τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἅπαντας εἰς τὸν τόπον, ἔνθα καὶ μετεβλήθησαν οἱ νόμοι, παρόντων καὶ τῶν ἑρμηνέων ἀνέγνω τούτους. [108] τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἀπεδέξατο μὲν καὶ τοὺς διασαφήσαντας πρεσβυτέρους τὸν νόμον, ἐπῄνεσεν δὲ καὶ τὸν Δημήτριον τῆς ἐπινοίας ὡς μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς εὑρετὴν γεγενημένον, παρεκάλεσάν τε δοῦναι καὶ τοῖς ἡγουμένοις αὐτῶν ἀναγνῶναι τὸν νόμον, ἠξίωσάν τε [πάντες] ὅ τε ἱερεὺς καὶ τῶν ἑρμηνέων οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ τοῦ πολιτεύματος οἱ προεστηκότες, ἐπεὶ καλῶς τὰ τῆς ἑρμηνείας ἀπήρτισται, καὶ διαμεῖναι ταῦθ᾽, ὡς ἔχοι, καὶ μὴ μετακινεῖν αὐτά. [109] ἁπάντων δ᾽ ἐπαινεσάντων τὴν γνώμην ἐκέλευσαν, εἴ τις ἢ περισσόν τι προσγεγραμμένον ὁρᾷ τῷ νόμῳ ἢ λεῖπον, πάλιν ἐπισκοποῦντα τοῦτο καὶ ποιοῦντα φανερὸν διορθοῦν, σωφρόνως τοῦτο πράττοντες, ἵνα τὸ κριθὲν ἅπαξ ἔχειν καλῶς εἰς ἀεὶ διαμένῃ.

(14) [110] Ἐχάρη μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὴν αὐτοῦ προαίρεσιν εἴς τι χρήσιμον ὁρῶν τετελειωμένην, μάλιστα [ὡς] δὲ τῶν νόμων ἀναγνωσθέντων αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν ἐξεπλάγη τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον ἤρξατο ποιεῖσθαι λόγους, πῶς οὕτως θαυμαστῆς οὔσης τῆς νομοθεσίας οὐδεὶς οὔτε τῶν ἱστορικῶν αὐτῆς οὔτε τῶν ποιητῶν ἐπεμνήσθη. [111] ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος μηδένα τολμῆσαι τῆς τῶν νόμων τούτων ἀναγραφῆς ἅψασθαι διὰ τὸ θείαν αὐτὴν εἶναι καὶ σεμνὴν ἔφασκεν, καὶ ὅτι βλαβεῖεν ἤδη τινὲς τούτοις ἐγχειρήσαντες ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, [112] δηλῶν ὡς Θεόπομπός τε βουληθεὶς ἱστορῆσαί τι περὶ τούτων ἐταράχθη τὴν διάνοιαν πλείοσιν ἢ τριάκοντα ἡμέραις καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἀνέσεις ἐξιλάσκετο τὸν θεόν, ἐντεῦθεν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὴν παραφροσύνην ὑπονοῶν: οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄναρ εἶδεν ὅτι τοῦτ᾽ αὐτῷ συμβαίη περιεργαζομένῳ τὰ θεῖα καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐκφέρειν εἰς κοινοὺς ἀνθρώπους θελήσαντι: [113] καὶ

ἀποσχόμενος κατέστη τὴν διάνοιαν. ἐδήλου δὲ καὶ περὶ Θεοδέκτου τοῦ τῶν τραγῳδιῶν ποιητοῦ ἀναφέρεσθαι, ὅτι βουληθεὶς ἔν τινι δράματι τῶν ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ βύβλῳ γεγραμμένων μνησθῆναι τὰς ὄψεις γλαυκωθείη καὶ συνιδὼν τὴν αἰτίαν ἀπαλλαγείη τοῦ πάθους ἐξευμενισάμενος τὸν θεόν.

(15) [114] Παραλαβὼν δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ταῦτα παρὰ τοῦ Δημητρίου, καθὼς προείρηται, προσκυνήσας αὐτοῖς ἐκέλευσε πολλὴν ποιεῖσθαι τῶν βιβλίων τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, ἵνα διαμείνῃ ταῦτα καθαρῶς, τούς τε ἑρμηνεύσαντας παρεκάλεσεν συνεχῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας παραγίγνεσθαι: [115] τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς τιμὴν τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν δώρων ὠφελείας λυσιτελήσειν: νῦν μὲν γὰρ εἶναι δίκαιον αὐτοὺς ἐκπέμπειν ἔλεγεν, ἑκουσίως δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντας τεύξεσθαι πάντων, ὧν ἥ τε αὐτῶν ἐστιν σοφία δικαία τυχεῖν καὶ ἡ ἐκείνου μεγαλοφροσύνη παρασχεῖν ἱκανή. [116] τότε μὲν οὖν ἐξέπεμψεν αὐτοὺς δοὺς ἑκάστῳ στολὰς ἀρίστας τρεῖς καὶ χρυσοῦ τάλαντα δύο καὶ κυλίκιον ταλάντου καὶ τὴν τοῦ συμποσίου στρωμνήν. [117] καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκείνοις ἔχειν ἐδωρήσατο. τῷ δ' ἀρχιερεῖ Ἐλεαζάρῳ δι' αὐτῶν ἔπεμψεν κλίνας ἀργυρόποδας δέκα καὶ τὴν ἀκόλουθον αὐτῶν ἐπισκευὴν καὶ κυλίκιον ταλάντων τριάκοντα, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ στολὰς δέκα καὶ πορφύραν καὶ στέφανον διαπρεπῆ καὶ βυσσίνης ὀθόνης ἱστοὺς ἑκατόν, ἔτι γε μὴν φιάλας καὶ τρύβλια καὶ σπονδεῖα καὶ κρατῆρας χρυσοῦς πρὸς ἀνάθεσιν δύο. [118] παρεκάλεσεν δ' αὐτὸν καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, ὅπως εἰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων θελήσειάν τινες πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν ἐπιτρέψῃ, περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενος τὴν μετὰ τῶν ἐν παιδείᾳ τυγχανόντων συνουσίαν καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον εἰς τοὺς τοιούτους ἡδέως ἔχων κατατίθεσθαι. καὶ τὰ μὲν εἰς δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν Ἰουδαίοις τοιαῦτα παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου συνέβη γενέσθαι.

III

(1) [119] Ἔτυχον δὲ καὶ τῆς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων τῆς Ἀσίας τιμῆς, ἐπειδὴ συνεστράτευσαν αὐτοῖς: καὶ γὰρ Σέλευκος ὁ Νικάτωρ ἐν αἷς ἔκτισεν πόλεσιν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ τῇ κάτω Συρίᾳ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ μητροπόλει Ἀντιοχείᾳ πολιτείας αὐτοὺς ἠξίωσεν καὶ τοῖς ἐνοικισθεῖσιν ἰσοτίμους ἀπέφηνεν Μακεδόσιν καὶ Ἕλλησιν, ὡς τὴν πολιτείαν ταύτην ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένειν: [120] τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦτο: τοὺς Ἰουδαίους μὴ βουλομένους ἀλλοφύλῳ ἐλαίῳ χρῆσθαι λαμβάνειν ὡρισμένον τι παρὰ τῶν γυμνασιάρχων εἰς ἐλαίου τιμὴν ἀργύριον ἐκέλευσεν. ὃ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀντιοχέων ἐν τῷ νῦν πολέμῳ λῦσαι προαιρουμένου Μουκιανὸς ἡγεμὼν ὢν τότε τῆς Συρίας ἐτήρησεν, [121] καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κρατήσαντος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καὶ Τίτου τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης δεηθέντες οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς καὶ Ἀντιοχεῖς, ἵνα τὰ δίκαια τὰ τῆς πολιτείας μηκέτι μένῃ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, οὐκ ἐπέτυχον. [122] ἐξ οὗ τις ἂν κατανοήσειεν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιείκειαν

καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνην, μάλιστα δὲ τὴν Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καὶ Τίτου, ὅτι καίτοι πολλὰ πονήσαντες ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους πολέμῳ καὶ πικρῶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντες, ὅτι μὴ παρέδοσαν αὐτοῖς τὰ ὅπλα μέχρις δ' ἐσχάτου πολεμοῦντες ὑπέμειναν, [123] οὐδενὸς αὐτοὺς τῶν ὑπαρχόντων κατὰ τὴν προειρημένην πολιτείαν ἀφείλοντο: ἅμα γὰρ καὶ τῆς πρότερον ὀργῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων καὶ Ἀντιοχέων δήμων μεγίστων παρακλήσεως ἐκράτησαν, [124] ὥστε μηδὲν μήθ' ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς τούτους χάριτος μήθ' ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμηθέντας μισοπονηρίας ἐνδοῦναι πρὸς τὸ λῦσαί τι τῶν ἀρχαίων τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις φιλανθρώπων, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀνταραμένους αὐτοῖς ὅπλα καὶ χωρήσαντας διὰ μάχης δεδωκέναι τιμωρίαν φήσαντες τοὺς οὐδὲν ἐξαμαρτόντας οὐκ ἐδικαίουν ἀποστερεῖν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων.

(2) [125] Ὅμοιον δέ τι τούτῳ καὶ Μᾶρκον Ἀγρίππαν φρονήσαντα περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἴδαμεν: τῶν γὰρ Ἰώνων κινηθέντων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ δεομένων τοῦ Ἀγρίππου, ἵνα τῆς πολιτείας, ἣν αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν Ἀντίοχος ὁ Σελεύκου υἱωνὸς ὁ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν Θεὸς λεγόμενος, [126] μόνοι μετέλθωσιν, ἀξιούντων δ', εἰ συγγενεῖς εἰσιν αὐτοῖς Ἰουδαῖοι, σέβεσθαι τοὺς αὐτῶν θεούς, καὶ δίκης περὶ τούτων συστάσης ἐνίκησαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοῖς αὐτῶν ἔθεσι χρῆσθαι συνηγορήσαντος αὐτοῖς Νικολάου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ: ὁ γὰρ Ἀγρίππας ἀπεφήνατο μηδὲν αὐτῷ καινίζειν ἐξεῖναι. [127] τὸ δ' ἀκριβὲς εἴ τις βούλεται καταμαθεῖν, ἀναγνώτω τοῦ Νικολάου τὴν ἑκατοστὴν καὶ εἰκοστὴν καὶ τρίτην καὶ τετάρτην. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ὑπ' Ἀγρίππου κριθέντων οὐκ ἔστιν ἴσως θαυμάζειν: οὐ γὰρ ἐπολέμει τότε Ῥωμαίοις τὸ ἡμέτερον ἔθνος: [128] Οὐεσπασιανοῦ δ' ἄν τις καὶ Τίτου τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην εἰκότως ἐκπλαγείη μετὰ πολέμους καὶ τηλικούτους ἀγῶνας οὓς ἔσχον πρὸς ἡμᾶς μετριοπαθησάντων. ἐπανάξω δὲ τὸν λόγον ὅθεν ἐπὶ ταῦτ' ἐξέβην.

(3) [129] Τοὺς γὰρ Ἰουδαίους ἐπ' Ἀντιόχου τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλεύοντος τῆς Ἀσίας ἔτυχεν αὐτούς τε πολλὰ ταλαιπωρῆσαι τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν κακουμένης καὶ τοὺς τὴν κοίλην Συρίαν νεμομένους. [130] πολεμοῦντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Φιλοπάτορα Πτολεμαῖον καὶ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαῖον ἐπικληθέντα δὲ Ἐπιφανῆ, κακοπαθεῖν συνέβαινεν αὐτοῖς καὶ νικῶντος καὶ πταίοντος ταὐτὰ πάσχειν, ὥστ' οὐδὲν ἀπέλειπον χειμαζομένης νεὼς καὶ πονουμένης ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος ἑκατέρωθεν μεταξὺ τῆς εὐπραγίας τῆς Ἀντιόχου καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ θάτερον αὐτοῦ τροπῆς τῶν πραγμάτων κείμενοι. [131] νικήσας μέντοι τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ὁ Ἀντίοχος τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προσάγεται. τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Φιλοπάτορος ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ μεγάλην ἐξέπεμψε δύναμιν καὶ στρατηγὸν Σκόπαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ κοίλῃ Συρίᾳ, ὃς πολλάς τε αὐτῶν πόλεις ἔλαβεν καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον ἔθνος: πολεμούμενον γὰρ αὐτῷ προσέθετο. [132] μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ τὸν Σκόπαν Ἀντίοχος νικᾷ συμβαλὼν αὐτῷ πρὸς ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Ἰορδάνου καὶ πολλὴν αὐτοῦ τῆς στρατιᾶς διέφθειρεν. [133] ὕστερον δ' Ἀντιόχου χειρωσαμένου τὰς ἐν τῇ κοίλῃ Συρίᾳ πόλεις, ἃς ὁ Σκόπας κατεσχήκει, καὶ τὴν Σαμάρειαν, ἑκουσίως αὐτῷ προσέθεντο οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι

καὶ τῇ πόλει δεξάμενοι πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τῇ τε στρατιᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἐλέφασιν ἀφθονίαν παρέσχον καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ Σκόπα καταλειφθέντας ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων φρουροὺς πολιορκοῦντι προθύμως συνεμάχησαν. [134] ὁ οὖν Ἀντίοχος δίκαιον ἡγησάμενος τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρὸς αὐτὸν σπουδὴν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ἀμείψασθαι γράφει τοῖς τε στρατηγοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς φίλοις μαρτυρῶν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὑπὲρ ὧν εὖ πάθοι πρὸς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς ἃς ὑπὲρ τούτων διέγνω παρασχεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐμφανίζων. [135] παραθήσομαι δὲ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τὰς τοῖς στρατηγοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν γραφείσας προδιελθών, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ τούτοις ἡμῶν τοῖς λόγοις Πολύβιος ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης: ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἑξκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν αὐτοῦ φησιν οὕτως: “ὁ δὲ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου στρατηγὸς Σκόπας ὁρμήσας εἰς τοὺς ἄνω τόπους κατεστρέψατο ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος.” λέγει δὲ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ βίβλῳ, [136] ὡς τοῦ Σκόπα νικηθέντος ὑπ᾽ Ἀντιόχου τὴν μὲν Βατανέαν καὶ Σαμάρειαν καὶ Ἄβιλα καὶ Γάδαρα παρέλαβεν Ἀντίοχος, μετ᾽ ὀλίγον δὲ προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ προσαγορευόμενον Ἱεροσόλυμα κατοικοῦντες, ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ πλείω λέγειν ἔχοντες καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τῆς γενομένης περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπιφανείας, εἰς [137] ἕτερον καιρὸν ὑπερθησόμεθα τὴν διήγησιν.” καὶ Πολύβιος μὲν ταῦτα ἱστόρησεν. ἡμεῖς δ᾽ ἐπανάξομεν τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τὴν διήγησιν παραθέμενοι πρῶτον τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου.

[138] Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Πτολεμαίῳ χαίρειν. τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ παραυτίκα μέν, ἡνίκα τῆς χώρας ἐπέβημεν αὐτῶν, ἐπιδειξαμένων τὸ πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλότιμον καὶ παραγενομένους δ᾽ εἰς τὴν πόλιν λαμπρῶς ἐκδεξαμένων καὶ μετὰ τῆς γερουσίας ἀπαντησάντων, ἄφθονον δὲ τὴν χορηγίαν τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τοῖς ἐλέφασι παρεσχημένων, συνεξελόντων δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ φρουροὺς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, [139] ἠξιώσαμεν καὶ αὐτοὶ τούτων αὐτοὺς ἀμείψασθαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἀναλαβεῖν κατεφθαρμένην ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τοὺς πολέμους συμπεσόντων καὶ συνοικίσαι τῶν διεσπαρμένων εἰς αὐτὴν πάλιν συνελθόντων. [140] πρῶτον δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐκρίναμεν διὰ τὴν εὐσέβειαν παρασχεῖν εἰς τὰς θυσίας σύνταξιν κτηνῶν τε θυσίμων καὶ οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου καὶ λιβάνου ἀργυρίου μυριάδας δύο καὶ σεμιδάλεως ἀρτάβας ἱερᾶς κατὰ τὸν ἐπιχώριον νόμον πυρῶν μεδίμνους χιλίους τετρακοσίους ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἁλῶν μεδίμνους τριακοσίους ἑβδομηκονταπέντε. [141] τελεῖσθαι δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ταῦτα βούλομαι, καθὼς ἐπέσταλκα, καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀπαρτισθῆναι ἔργον τάς τε στοὰς κἂν εἴ τι ἕτερον οἰκοδομῆσαι δέοι: ἡ δὲ τῶν ξύλων ὕλη κατακομιζέσθω ἐξ αὐτῆς τε τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Λιβάνου μηδενὸς πρασσομένου τέλος. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἐν οἷς ἂν ἐπιφανεστέραν γίγνεσθαι τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐπισκευὴν δέῃ. [142] πολιτευέσθωσαν δὲ πάντες οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους, ἀπολυέσθω δ᾽ ἡ γερουσία καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ γραμματεῖς τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ ἱεροψάλται ὧν ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς τελοῦσιν καὶ τοῦ στεφανιτικοῦ φόρου καὶ τοῦ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων. [143] ἵνα δὲ θᾶττον ἡ πόλις κατοικισθῇ, δίδωμι τοῖς τε νῦν κατοικοῦσιν καὶ

κατελευσομένοις ἕως τοῦ Ὑπερβερεταίου μηνὸς ἀτελέσιν εἶναι μέχρι τριῶν ἐτῶν. [144] ἀπολύομεν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτοὺς τοῦ τρίτου μέρους τῶν φόρων, ὥστε αὐτῶν ἐπανορθωθῆναι τὴν βλάβην. καὶ ὅσοι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἁρπαγέντες δουλεύουσιν, αὐτούς τε τούτους καὶ τοὺς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν γεννηθέντας ἐλευθέρους ἀφίεμεν καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτοῖς ἀποδίδοσθαι κελεύομεν.”

(4) [145] Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπιστολὴ ταῦτα περιεῖχεν. σεμνύνων δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πρόγραμμα κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν βασιλείαν ἐξέθηκεν περιέχον τάδε: μηδενὶ ἐξεῖναι ἀλλοφύλῳ εἰς τὸν περίβολον εἰσιέναι τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸν ἀπηγορευμένον τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, εἰ μὴ οἷς ἁγνισθεῖσίν ἐστιν ἔθιμον κατὰ τὸν πάτριον νόμον. [146] μηδ᾽ εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσφερέσθω ἵππεια κρέα μηδὲ ἡμιόνεια μηδὲ ἀγρίων ὄνων καὶ ἡμέρων παρδάλεών τε καὶ ἀλωπέκων καὶ λαγῶν καὶ καθόλου δὲ πάντων τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων ζῴων τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις: μηδὲ τὰς δορὰς εἰσφέρειν ἐξεῖναι, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τρέφειν τι τούτων ἐν τῇ πόλει: μόνοις δὲ τοῖς προγονικοῖς θύμασιν, ἀφ᾽ ὧν καὶ τῷ θεῷ δεῖ καλλιερεῖν, ἐπιτετράφθαι χρῆσθαι. ὁ δέ τι τούτων παραβὰς ἀποτινύτω τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς τρισχιλίας.”

[147] Ἔγραψε δὲ μαρτυρῶν ἡμῖν εὐσέβειάν τε καὶ πίστιν, ἡνίκα νεωτερίζοντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἐπύθετο καὶ Λυδίαν καθ᾽ ὃν ἦν καιρὸν ἐν ταῖς ἄνω σατραπείαις, κελεύων Ζεῦξιν τὸν αὐτοῦ στρατηγὸν καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα φίλον πέμψαι τινὰς τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς Φρυγίαν. [148] γράφει δ᾽ οὕτως: “βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Ζεύξιδι τῷ πατρὶ χαίρειν. εἰ ἔρρωσαι, εὖ ἂν ἔχοι, ὑγιαίνω δὲ καὶ αὐτός. [149] πυνθανόμενος τοὺς ἐν Λυδίᾳ καὶ Φρυγίᾳ νεωτερίζοντας μεγάλης ἐπιστροφῆς ἡγησάμην τοῦτό μοι δεῖσθαι, καὶ βουλευσαμένῳ μοι μετὰ τῶν φίλων, τί δεῖ ποιεῖν, ἔδοξεν εἰς τὰ φρούρια καὶ τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους τόπους τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας καὶ Βαβυλωνίας Ἰουδαίων οἴκους δισχιλίους σὺν ἐπισκευῇ μεταγαγεῖν. [150] πέπεισμαι γὰρ εὔνους αὐτοὺς ἔσεσθαι τῶν ἡμετέρων φύλακας διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβειαν, καὶ μαρτυρουμένους δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων εἰς πίστιν οἶδα καὶ προθυμίαν εἰς ἃ παρακαλοῦνται: βούλομαι τοίνυν καίπερ ἐργώδους ὄντος τοῦ μεταγαγεῖν ὑποσχομένους νόμοις αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἰδίοις. [151] ὅταν δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀγάγῃς εἰς τοὺς προειρημένους τόπους, εἴς τ᾽ οἰκοδομίας οἰκιῶν αὐτοῖς δώσεις τόπον ἑκάστῳ καὶ χώραν εἰς γεωργίαν καὶ φυτείαν ἀμπέλων, καὶ ἀτελεῖς τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς καρπῶν ἀνήσεις ἐπὶ ἔτη δέκα. [152] μετρείσθωσαν δὲ καὶ ἄχρις ἂν τοὺς παρὰ τῆς γῆς καρποὺς λαμβάνωσιν σῖτον εἰς τὰς τῶν θεραπόντων διατροφάς: διδόσθω δὲ καὶ τοῖς εἰς τὰς χρείας ὑπηρετοῦσιν τὸ αὔταρκες, ἵνα τῆς παρ᾽ ἡμῶν τυγχάνοντες φιλανθρωπίας προθυμοτέρους παρέχωσιν αὐτοὺς περὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα. [153] πρόνοιαν δὲ ποιοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, ὅπως ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἐνοχλῆται.” περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Ἀντιόχου φιλίας τοῦ μεγάλου πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ταῦτα ἡμῖν ἀποχρώντως εἰρήσθω μαρτύρια.

IV

(1) [154] Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φιλίαν καὶ σπονδὰς πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον Ἀντίοχος ἐποιήσατο καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὴν θυγατέρα Κλεοπάτραν πρὸς γάμον παραχωρήσας αὐτῷ τῆς κοίλης Συρίας καὶ Σαμαρείας καὶ Ἰουδαίας καὶ Φοινίκης φερνῆς ὀνόματι. [155] καὶ διαιρεθέντων εἰς ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς βασιλέας τῶν φόρων τὰς ἰδίας ἕκαστοι τῶν ἐπισήμων ὠνοῦντο πατρίδας φορολογεῖν καὶ συναθροίζοντες τὸ προστεταγμένον κεφάλαιον τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐτέλουν. [156] ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ Σαμαρεῖς εὖ πράσσοντες πολλὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐκάκωσαν τήν τε χώραν αὐτῶν τεμόντες καὶ σώματα διαρπάσαντες: ἐγένετο δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ὀνίου. [157] τελευτήσαντος γὰρ Ἐλεαζάρου τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ὁ θεῖος αὐτοῦ Μανασσῆς παρέλαβεν, μεθ' ὃν καταστρέψαντα τὸν βίον Ὀνίας τὴν τιμὴν ἐξεδέξατο Σίμωνος υἱὸς ὢν τοῦ δικαίου κληθέντος: Σίμων δ' ἦν ἀδελφὸς Ἐλεαζάρου, καθὼς προεῖπον. [158] οὗτος ὁ Ὀνίας βραχὺς ἦν τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ χρημάτων ἥττων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ φόρον, ὃν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν οἱ πατέρες αὐτοῦ ἐτέλουν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, τάλαντα εἴκοσιν ἀργυρίου μὴ δούς, εἰς ὀργὴν ἐκίνησεν τὸν βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον [τὸν Εὐεργέτην, ὃς ἦν πατὴρ τοῦ Φιλοπάτορος]. [159] καὶ πέμψας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρεσβευτὴν ᾐτιᾶτο τὸν Ὀνίαν ὡς οὐκ ἀποδιδόντα τοὺς φόρους καὶ ἠπείλει κληρουχήσειν αὐτῶν τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἀπολαβὼν καὶ πέμψειν τοὺς ἐνοικήσοντας στρατιώτας. ἀκούσαντες δὲ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι συνεχύθησαν, τὸν δὲ Ὀνίαν τούτων ἐδυσώπει διὰ τὴν φιλοχρηματίαν οὐδέν.

(2) [160] Ἰώσηπος δέ τις, νέος μὲν ἔτι τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἐπὶ σεμνότητι δὲ καὶ προνοίᾳ δικαιοσύνης δόξαν ἔχων παρὰ τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις, Τωβίου μὲν πατρός, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ὀνίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἀδελφῆς γεγονώς, δηλωσάσης αὐτῷ τῆς μητρὸς τὴν τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ παρουσίαν, ἔτυχεν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀποδημῶν εἰς Φικόλαν κώμην ἐξ ἧς ὑπῆρχεν, [161] ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπέπληττε τῷ Ὀνίᾳ μὴ προνοουμένῳ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλ' εἰς κινδύνους τὸ ἔθνος βουλομένῳ περιστῆσαι διὰ τὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἀποστέρησιν, δι' ἃ καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τὴν προστασίαν λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν καὶ τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς τιμῆς ἐπιτυχεῖν. [162] εἰ δ' ἐρωτικῶς οὕτως ἔχοι τῶν χρημάτων, ὡς δι' αὐτὰ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα κινδυνεύουσαν ἰδεῖν ὑπομεῖναι καὶ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν παθόντας αὐτοῦ τοὺς πολίτας, συνεβούλευσεν ἀπελθόντα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα δεηθῆναι αὐτοῦ ἢ πάντων αὐτῷ παραχωρῆσαι τῶν χρημάτων ἢ μέρους. [163] τοῦ δὲ Ὀνίου μήτε ἄρχειν θέλειν ἀποκριναμένου καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην δ' εἰ δυνατόν ἐστιν ἑτοίμως ἔχειν ἀποθέσθαι λέγοντος μήτε ἀναβήσεσθαι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, μέλειν γὰρ αὐτῷ περὶ τούτων οὐδέν, εἰ πρεσβεύειν αὐτῷ συγχωρεῖ πρὸς τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἔθνους ἐπηρώτησεν. [164] φήσαντος δὲ ἐπιτρέπειν ἀναβὰς εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ὁ Ἰώσηπος καὶ συγκαλέσας τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν μηδὲν ταράσσεσθαι μηδὲ φοβεῖσθαι παρῄνει διὰ τὴν Ὀνίου τοῦ θείου περὶ αὐτῶν ἀμέλειαν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀδείᾳ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς

σκυθρωποτέρας ἐλπίδος τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοὺς ἔχειν ἠξίου: πρεσβεύσειν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐπηγγέλλετο πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πείσειν αὐτόν, ὅτι μηδὲν ἀδικοῦσιν. [165] καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τούτων ἀκοῦσαν εὐχαριστεῖ τῷ Ἰωσήπῳ, καταβὰς δ' αὐτὸς ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ξενίᾳ τε ὑποδέχεται τὸν παρὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου πεπρεσβευκότα καὶ δωρησάμενος αὐτὸν πολυτελέσι δωρεαῖς καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἑστιάσας φιλοτίμως ἡμέρας προέπεμψε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, φράσας αὐτῷ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀκολουθήσειν: [166] καὶ γὰρ ἔτι μᾶλλον γεγόνει πρόθυμος πρὸς τὴν ἄφιξιν τὴν παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ προτρεψαμένου καὶ παρορμήσαντος εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐλθεῖν καὶ πάντων ὧν ἂν δέηται παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τυχεῖν αὐτὸν ποιήσειν ὑποσχομένου: τὸ γὰρ ἐλευθέριον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν τοῦ ἤθους λίαν ἠγάπησεν.

(3) [167] Καὶ ὁ μὲν πρεσβευτὴς ἐλθὼν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπήγγειλεν τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν τοῦ Ὀνίου ἀγνωμοσύνην καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ Ἰωσήπου χρηστότητος ἐδήλου, καὶ ὅτι μέλλοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἥξειν παραιτησόμενος τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων τὸ πλῆθος: εἶναι γὰρ αὐτοῦ προστάτην: ἀμέλει τοσαύτῃ [περὶ] τῶν ἐγκωμίων τῶν περὶ τοῦ νεανίσκου διετέλεσε χρώμενος περιουσίᾳ, ὥστε καὶ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ Κλεοπάτραν προδιέθηκεν οἰκείως ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν Ἰώσηπον οὔπω παρόντα. [168] ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος διαπέμψας πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰς Σαμάρειαν καὶ δανεισάμενος ἀργύριον καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἑτοιμασάμενος ἐσθῆτάς τε καὶ ἐκπώματα καὶ ὑποζύγια, καὶ ταῦθ' ὡς περὶ δισμυρίας δραχμὰς παρασκευασάμενος εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν παρεγένετο. [169] ἔτυχεν δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν πάντας ἀναβαίνειν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων τῶν τῆς Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης πρώτους καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν τελῶν ὠνήν: κατ' ἔτος δὲ αὐτὰ τοῖς δυνατοῖς τῶν ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει ἐπίπρασκεν ὁ βασιλεύς. [170] ὁρῶντες οὖν οὗτοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐχλεύαζον ἐπὶ πενίᾳ καὶ λιτότητι. ὡς δ' εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀφικόμενος ἐν Μέμφει τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἤκουσεν ὄντα, ὑπαντησάμενος συνέβαλεν αὐτῷ. [171] καθεζομένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπ' ὀχήματος μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ μετὰ Ἀθηνίωνος φίλου, οὗτος δ' ἦν ὁ πρεσβεύσας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ παρὰ Ἰωσήπῳ ξενισθείς, θεασάμενος αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀθηνίων εὐθὺς ἐποίει τῷ βασιλεῖ γνώριμον, τοῦτον εἶναι λέγων, περὶ οὗ παραγενόμενος ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ἀπήγγειλεν, ὡς ἀγαθός τε εἴη καὶ φιλότιμος νεανίσκος. [172] ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος πρῶτός τε αὐτὸν ἠσπάσατο καὶ δὴ ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὸ ὄχημα παρεκάλεσεν καὶ καθεσθέντος ἤρξατο περὶ τῶν Ὀνίᾳ πραττομένων ἐγκαλεῖν. ὁ δέ "συγγίνωσκε, φησίν, αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ γῆρας: οὐ γὰρ λανθάνει σε πάντως, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς πρεσβύτας καὶ τὰ νήπια τὴν αὐτὴν διάνοιαν ἔχειν συμβέβηκεν. παρὰ δ' ἡμῶν ἔσται σοι τῶν νέων ἅπαντα, [173] ὥστε μηδὲν αἰτιᾶσθαι." ἡσθεὶς δ' ἐπὶ τῇ χάριτι καὶ τῇ εὐτραπελίᾳ τοῦ νεανίσκου μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ὡς ἤδη καὶ πεπειραμένος ἀγαπᾶν ἤρξατο, ὡς ἔν τε τοῖς βασιλείοις αὐτὸν κελεῦσαι διαιτᾶσθαι καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τῆς ἑστιάσεως τῆς ἰδίας ἔχειν. [174] γενομένου δ' ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως

ἰδόντες οἱ πρῶτοι τῆς Συρίας συγκαθεζόμενον αὐτῷ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἀηδῶς ἔφερον.

(4) [175] Ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας, καθ᾽ ἣν ἔμελλεν τὰ τέλη πιπράσκεσθαι τῶν πόλεων, ἠγόραζον οἱ τοῖς ἀξιώμασιν ἐν ταῖς πατρίσιν διαφέροντες. εἰς ὀκτακισχίλια δὲ τάλαντα συναθροιζομένων τῶν τῆς κοίλης Συρίας τελῶν καὶ τῆς Φοινίκης καὶ Ἰουδαίας σὺν τῇ Σαμαρείᾳ, [176] προσελθὼν Ἰώσηπος τοὺς μὲν ὠνουμένους διέβαλλεν ὡς συνθεμένους ὀλίγην αὐτῷ τιμὴν ὑφίστασθαι τῶν τελῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ διπλασίονα δώσειν ὑπισχνεῖτο καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτόντων εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ τὰς οὐσίας ἀναπέμψειν αὐτῷ: καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τοῖς τέλεσι συνεπιπράσκετο. [177] τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἡδέως ἀκούσαντος καὶ ὡς αὔξοντι τὴν πρόσοδον αὐτοῦ κατακυροῦν τὴν ὠνὴν τῶν τελῶν ἐκείνῳ φήσαντος, ἐρομένου δὲ εἰ καὶ τοὺς ἐγγυησομένους αὐτὸν ἔχει, σφόδρ᾽ ἀστείως ἀπεκρίνατο: “δώσω γὰρ εἶπεν ἀνθρώπους ἀγαθοὺς καὶ καλούς, [178] οἷς οὐκ ἀπιστήσετε.” λέγειν δὲ τούτους οἵτινες εἶεν εἰπόντος, “αὐτόν, εἶπεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, σέ τε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν σὴν ὑπὲρ ἑκατέρου μέρους ἐγγυησομένους δίδωμί σοι.” γελάσας δ᾽ ὁ Πτολεμαῖος συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ δίχα τῶν ὁμολογούντων ἔχειν τὰ τέλη. [179] τοῦτο σφόδρα τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐλθόντας ἐλύπησεν ὡς παρευδοκιμηθέντας. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπανῆκον εἰς τὰς ἰδίας ἕκαστοι πατρίδας μετ᾽ αἰσχύνης.

(5) [180] Ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως πεζῶν μὲν στρατιώτας δισχιλίους, ἠξίωσε γὰρ βοήθειάν τινα λαβεῖν, ἵνα τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καταφρονοῦντας ἔχῃ βιάζεσθαι, καὶ δανεισάμενος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ παρὰ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως φίλων τάλαντα πεντακόσια εἰς Συρίαν ἐξώρμησεν. [181] γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι τοὺς φόρους ἀπαιτῶν τοὺς Ἀσκαλωνίτας, ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ἐβούλοντο διδόναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσύβριζον αὐτόν, συλλαβὼν αὐτῶν τοὺς πρωτεύοντας ὡς εἴκοσιν ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν εἰς χίλια τάλαντα ἀθροισθείσας ἔπεμψε τῷ βασιλεῖ, δηλῶν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ γεγενημένα. [182] θαυμάσας δ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁ Πτολεμαῖος τοῦ φρονήματος καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐπαινέσας ἐφίησιν αὐτῷ ποιεῖν ὅ τι βούλεται. ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Σύροι κατεπλάγησαν καὶ παράδειγμα τῆς ἀπειθείας χαλεπὸν ἔχοντες τοὺς τῶν Ἀσκαλωνιτῶν ἄνδρας ἀνῃρημένους ἀνοίγοντες τὰς πύλας ἐδέχοντο προθύμως τὸν Ἰώσηπον καὶ τοὺς φόρους ἐτέλουν. [183] ἐπιχειρούντων δὲ καὶ Σκυθοπολιτῶν ὑβρίζειν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ παρέχειν τοὺς φόρους αὐτῷ, οὓς μηδὲν ἀμφισβητοῦντες ἐτέλουν, καὶ τούτων ἀποκτείνας τοὺς πρώτους τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν ἀπέστειλε τῷ βασιλεῖ. [184] συναγαγὼν δὲ πολλὰ χρήματα καὶ κέρδη μεγάλα ποιήσας ἐκ τῆς ὠνῆς τῶν τελῶν, εἰς τὸ διαμεῖναι τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ δύναμιν τοῖς οὖσι κατεχρήσατο, τὴν ἀφορμὴν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς τότε εὐτυχίας τηρεῖν φρόνιμον ἡγούμενος ἐξ αὐτῶν ὧν αὐτὸς ἐκέκτητο: [185] πολλὰ γὰρ ὑπὸ χεῖρα τῷ βασιλεῖ

καὶ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ δῶρα ἔπεμπεν καὶ τοῖς φίλοις αὐτῶν καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν δυνατοῖς ὠνούμενος διὰ τούτων τὴν εὔνοιαν τὴν παρ᾽ αὐτῶν.

(6) [186] Ἀπέλαυσε δὲ ταύτης τῆς εὐτυχίας ἐπὶ ἔτη εἴκοσι καὶ δύο, πατὴρ μὲν γενόμενος ἐκ μιᾶς γυναικὸς παίδων ἑπτά, ποιησάμενος δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Σολυμίου θυγατρὸς ἕνα Ὑρκανὸν ὄνομα. [187] γαμεῖ δὲ ταύτην ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης: τἀδελφῷ ποτε συνελθὼν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἄγοντι καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα γάμων ὥραν ἔχουσαν, ὅπως αὐτὴν συνοικίσῃ τινὶ τῶν ἐπ᾽ ἀξιώματος Ἰουδαίων, καὶ δειπνῶν παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὀρχηστρίδος εἰσελθούσης εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον εὐπρεποῦς ἐρασθεὶς τῷ ἀδελφῷ τοῦτο μηνύει παρακαλῶν αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ καὶ νόμῳ κεκώλυται παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις ἀλλοφύλῳ πλησιάζειν γυναικί, συγκρύψαντα τὸ ἁμάρτημα καὶ διάκονον ἀγαθὸν γενόμενον παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ ὥστ᾽ ἐκπλῆσαι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. [188] ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς ἀσμένως δεξάμενος τὴν διακονίαν, κοσμήσας τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα νυκτὸς ἤγαγε πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ συγκατεκοίμισεν. ὁ δ᾽ ὑπὸ μέθης ἀγνοήσας τἀληθὲς συνέρχεται τῇ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ θυγατρί, καὶ τούτου γενομένου πολλάκις ἦρα σφοδρότερον. ἔφη δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν, ὡς κινδυνεύει τῷ ζῆν ἐρῶν ὀρχηστρίδος, ἧς ἴσως οὐκ ἂν αὐτῷ παραχωρήσειν τὸν βασιλέα. [189] τοῦ δὲ ἀδελφοῦ μηδὲν ἀγωνιᾶν παρακαλοῦντος, ἀπολαύειν δ᾽ ἧς ἐρᾷ μετ᾽ ἀδείας καὶ γυναῖκα ἔχειν αὐτὴν φήσαντος καὶ τἀληθὲς αὐτῷ φανερὸν ποιήσαντος, ὡς ἔλοιτο μᾶλλον τὴν ἰδίαν ὑβρίσαι θυγατέρα ἢ περιιδεῖν ἐκεῖνον ἐν αἰσχύνῃ γενόμενον, ἐπαινέσας αὐτὸν Ἰώσηπος τῆς φιλαδελφίας συνῴκησεν αὐτοῦ τῇ θυγατρὶ καὶ παῖδα ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐγέννησεν Ὑρκανόν, ὡς προειρήκαμεν. [190] ἔτι δὲ ὢν τρισκαίδεκα ἐτῶν οὗτος ὁ παῖς νεώτερος ἐπεδείκνυτο τὴν φυσικὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ σύνεσιν, ὡς ζηλοτυπηθῆναι δεινῶς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὄντα πολὺ κρείττονα καὶ φθονηθῆναι δυνάμενον. [191] τοῦ δὲ Ἰωσήπου γνῶναι θελήσαντος, τίς αὐτῷ τῶν υἱῶν πρὸς ἀρετὴν εὖ πέφυκεν καὶ καθ᾽ ἕνα πέμψαντος πρὸς τοὺς παιδεύειν τότε δόξαν ἔχοντας, οἱ λοιποὶ μὲν ὑπὸ ῥᾳθυμίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸ φιλεργεῖν μαλακίας ἀνόητοι καὶ ἀμαθεῖς ἐπανῆκον αὐτῷ, μετὰ δ᾽ ἐκείνους τὸν νεώτατον Ὑρκανόν, [192] δοὺς αὐτῷ τριακόσια ζεύγη βοῶν, ἐξέπεμψεν ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν δύο εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν σπεροῦντα τὴν γῆν ἀποκρύψας τοὺς ζευκτῆρας ἰμάντας. [193] ὁ δὲ γενόμενος ἐν τῷ τόπῳ καὶ τοὺς ἰμάντας οὐκ ἔχων, τῆς μὲν τῶν βοηλατῶν γνώμης κατηλόγησεν συμβουλευόντων πέμπειν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα κομιοῦντάς τινας τοὺς ἰμάντας, τὸν δὲ καιρὸν ἡγησάμενος μὴ δεῖν ἀπολλύναι περιμένοντα τοὺς ἀποσταλησομένους ἐπενόησέν τι στρατηγικὸν καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας πρεσβύτερον. [194] κατασφάξας γὰρ δέκα ζεύγη τὰ μὲν κρέα τοῖς ἐργάταις διένειμεν, τεμὼν δὲ τὰς δορὰς αὐτῶν καὶ ποιήσας ἰμάντας ἐνέδησεν τούτοις τὰ ζυγά, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον σπείρας ἦν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ προσέταξε γῆν ὑπέστρεψε πρὸς αὐτόν. [195] ἐλθόντα δ᾽ ὁ πατὴρ ὑπερηγάπησεν τοῦ φρονήματος, καὶ τὴν ὀξύτητα τῆς διανοίας καὶ τὸ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ τολμηρὸν ἐπαινέσας ὡς μόνον ὄντα γνήσιον ἔτι μᾶλλον ἔστεργεν ἀχθομένων ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν.

(7) [196] Ὡς δ᾽ ἀπήγγειλέ τις αὐτῷ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν υἱὸν τῷ βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ πάντες οἱ πρῶτοι τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς ὑπηκόου χώρας ἑορτάζοντες τὴν γενέσιον ἡμέραν τοῦ παιδίου μετὰ μεγάλης παρασκευῆς εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐξώρμων, αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπὸ γήρως κατείχετο, τῶν δὲ υἱῶν ἀπεπειρᾶτο εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἀπελθεῖν βούλεται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. [197] τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων παραιτησαμένων καὶ πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας συνουσίας ἀγροικότερον ἔχειν φησάντων, τὸν δ᾽ ἀδελφὸν Ὑρκανὸν πέμπειν συμβουλευσάντων, ἡδέως ἀκούσας καλεῖ τὸν Ὑρκανὸν καὶ εἰ δύναται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα βαδίσαι καὶ πρόθυμός ἐστιν ἀνέκρινεν. [198] ἐπαγγειλαμένου δὲ πορεύσεσθαι καὶ δεῖσθαι χρημάτων οὐ πολλῶν φήσαντος εἰς τὴν ὁδόν, ζήσεσθαι γὰρ ἐπιεικῶς ὥστε ἀρκέσειν αὐτῷ δραχμὰς μυρίας, ἥσθη τοῦ παιδὸς τῇ σωφροσύνῃ. [199] διαλιπὼν δὲ ὀλίγον ὁ παῖς συνεβούλευε τῷ πατρὶ δῶρα μὲν αὐτόθεν μὴ πέμπειν τῷ βασιλεῖ, δοῦναι δὲ ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τὸν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ οἰκονόμον, ὅπως αὐτῷ παρέχῃ πρὸς ὠνὴν ὧν ἂν εὕρῃ καλλίστων καὶ πολυτελῶν χρήματα. [200] ὁ δὲ νομίζων δέκα ταλάντων ἔσεσθαι τὴν εἰς τὰς δωρεὰς τῷ βασιλεῖ δαπάνην καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπαινέσας ὡς παραινοῦντα καλῶς, γράφει τῷ οἰκονόμῳ Ἀρίονι, ὃς ἅπαντα τὰ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ χρήματα αὐτοῦ διῴκει οὐκ ὄντα ἐλάσσω τρισχιλίων ταλάντων: [201] ὁ γὰρ Ἰώσηπος τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας χρήματα ἔπεμπεν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ τῆς προθεσμίας ἐνισταμένης, καθ᾽ ἣν ἔδει τῷ βασιλεῖ τοὺς φόρους ἀπαριθμεῖν, ἔγραφεν τῷ Ἀρίονι τοῦτο ποιεῖν. [202] πρὸς οὖν τοῦτον ἀπαιτήσας τὸν πατέρα ἐπιστολήν, λαβὼν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὥρμησεν. ἐξελθόντος δ᾽ αὐτοῦ γράφουσιν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως φίλοις, ἵν᾽ αὐτὸν διαφθείρωσιν.

(8) [203] Ὡς δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀπέδωκε τῷ Ἀρίονι τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ἐπερωτήσαντος αὐτοῦ, πόσα βούλεται τάλαντα λαβεῖν, ἤλπισε δ᾽ αὐτὸν αἰτήσειν δέκα ἢ βραχεῖ τούτων πλέον, εἰπόντος χιλίων χρῄζειν ὀργισθεὶς ἐπέπληττεν αὐτῷ ὡς ἀσώτως ζῆν διεγνωκότι, καὶ πῶς ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ συναγάγοι τὴν οὐσίαν [ὡς] πονῶν καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ἀντέχων ἐδήλου καὶ μιμητὴν αὐτὸν ἠξίου γενέσθαι τοῦ γεγεννηκότος: δώσειν δ᾽ οὐδὲν πλέον ταλάντων δέκα καὶ ταῦτα εἰς δωρεὰς τῷ βασιλεῖ. [204] παροξυνθεὶς δ᾽ ὁ παῖς εἰς δεσμὰ τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐνέβαλεν. τῆς δὲ τοῦ Ἀρίονος γυναικὸς τοῦτο δηλωσάσης τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ καὶ δεηθείσης, ὅπως ἐπιπλήξῃ τῷ παιδί, σφόδρα γὰρ ἦν ὁ Ἀρίων ἐν τιμῇ παρ᾽ αὐτῇ, φανερὸν τῷ βασιλεῖ τοῦτο ἐποίησεν ἡ Κλεοπάτρα. [205] ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Ὑρκανὸν θαυμάζειν ἔλεγεν, πῶς ἀποσταλεὶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς οὔτε ὀφθείη αὐτῷ καὶ προσέτι δήσειεν τὸν οἰκονόμον: [206] ἐλθόντα οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῷ μηνύειν ἐκέλευσεν. τὸν δέ φασιν ἀποκρίνασθαι τῷ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως λέγειν αὐτῷ, ὅτι νόμος ἐστὶ παρ᾽ αὐτῷ κωλύων τὸν γεννηθέντα γεύσασθαι θυσιῶν, πρὶν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἔλθῃ καὶ θύσῃ τῷ θεῷ: κατὰ δὴ τοῦτον τὸν λογισμὸν οὐδ᾽ αὐτὸς ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν περιμένων τὰ δῶρα κομίσαι τοῦ πατρὸς

εὐεργέτῃ γεγενημένῳ. [207] τὸν δὲ δοῦλον κολάσαι παρακούσαντα ὧν προσέταξεν: διαφέρειν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἢ μικρὸν εἶναί τινα δεσπότην ἢ μέγαν: ἂν οὖν μὴ κολάζωμεν τοὺς τοιούτους, καὶ σὺ προσδόκα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων καταφρονηθήσεσθαι.” ταῦτ’ ἀκούσας ὁ Πτολεμαῖος εἰς γέλωτα ἐτράπη καὶ τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην τοῦ παιδὸς ἐθαύμασεν.

(9) [208] Μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀρίων, ὅτι τοῦτον ὁ βασιλεὺς διετέθη τὸν τρόπον καὶ μηδεμία βοήθειά ἐστιν αὐτῷ, δοὺς τὰ χίλια τάλαντα τῷ παιδὶ τῶν δεσμῶν ἀπελύθη. καὶ τρεῖς διαλιπὼν ἡμέρας ὁ Ὑρκανὸς ἠσπάσατο τοὺς βασιλέας. [209] οἱ δὲ ἀσμένως αὐτὸν εἶδον καὶ φιλοφρόνως εἱστίασαν διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τιμήν. λάθρα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἀπελθὼν ὠνεῖται παρ’ αὐτῶν παῖδας μὲν ἑκατὸν γράμματα ἐπισταμένους καὶ ἀκμαιοτάτους, ἑνὸς ἕκαστον ταλάντου, ἑκατὸν δὲ παρθένους τῆς αὐτῆς τιμῆς ἑκάστην. [210] κληθεὶς δ’ ἐφ’ ἑστίασιν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα μετὰ τῶν πρώτων τῆς χώρας ὑποκατακλίνεται πάντων, καταφρονηθεὶς ὡς παῖς ἔτι τὴν ἡλικίαν ὑπὸ τῶν τοὺς τόπους κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν διανεμόντων. [211] τῶν δὲ συγκατακειμένων πάντων τῶν μερῶν τὰ ὀστᾶ, ἀφῄρουν γὰρ αὐτοὶ τὰς σάρκας, σωρευόντων ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Ὑρκανοῦ, ὡς πληρῶσαι τὴν παρακειμένην αὐτῷ τράπεζαν, [212] Τρύφων ὃς ἦν τοῦ βασιλέως ἄθυρμα καὶ πρὸς τὰ σκώμματα καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πότοις γέλωτας ἀπεδέδεικτο, παρακαλεσάντων αὐτὸν τῶν κατακειμένων τῇ τραπέζῃ παρεστὼς τῷ βασιλεῖ, “ὁρᾷς, εἶπεν, ὦ δέσποτα, τὰ παρακείμενα Ὑρκανῷ ὀστᾶ; ἐκ τούτου στόχασαι, ὅτι καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ τὴν Συρίαν ἅπασαν [213] περιέδυσεν ὡς οὗτος ταῦτα τῶν σαρκῶν ἐγύμνωσεν.” γελάσαντος δὲ πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Τρύφωνος λόγον τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἐρομένου τὸν Ὑρκανόν, ὅτι τοσαῦτ’ αὐτῷ παράκειται ὀστᾶ, “εἰκότως, εἶπεν, ὦ δέσποτα: τοὺς μὲν γὰρ κύνας τὰ ὀστᾶ σὺν τοῖς κρέασιν κατεσθίειν, ὥσπερ οὗτοι” πρὸς τοὺς κατακειμένους ἐπιβλέπων, ὅτι μηθὲν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν ἔκειτο, “οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι τὸ κρέας ἐσθίουσιν, τὰ δ’ ὀστᾶ ῥίπτουσιν, [214] ὅπερ ἄνθρωπος ὢν κἀγὼ νῦν πεποίηκα.” ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς θαυμάζει τὴν ἀπόκρισιν αὐτοῦ σοφὴν οὕτως γενομένην καὶ πάντας ἐκέλευσεν ἀνακροτῆσαι τῆς εὐτραπελίας ἀποδεχόμενος αὐτόν. [215] τῇ δ’ ἐπιούσῃ πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως φίλων πορευόμενος καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν δυνατῶν τοὺς μὲν ἠσπάζετο, παρὰ δὲ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀπεπυνθάνετο, τί μέλλουσιν διδόναι τῷ βασιλεῖ δῶρον ἐν τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ γενεσίῳ. [216] τῶν δὲ ἀνὰ δέκα τάλαντα μέλλειν διδόναι φησάντων τοὺς μέν, τοὺς δὲ ἐν ἀξίᾳ κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς οὐσίας ἕκαστον αὐτῶν, ὑπεκρίνετο λυπεῖσθαι διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τοιαύτην προσενεγκεῖν δωρεάν: πλέον γὰρ πέντε ταλάντων οὐκ ἔχειν. οἱ δὲ θεράποντες ταῦτ’ ἀκούσαντες ἀπήγγελλον τοῖς δεσπόταις. [217] χαιρόντων δ’ αὐτῶν ὡς καταγνωσθησομένου τοῦ Ἰωσήπου καὶ προσκρούσοντος τῷ βασιλεῖ διὰ τὴν βραχύτητα τῆς δωρεᾶς, ἐνστάσης τῆς ἡμέρας οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι προσέφερον τῷ βασιλεῖ ταλάντων οἱ λίαν μεγαλοδωρεῖσθαι νομίζοντες οὐ πλεῖον εἴκοσι, ὁ δ’ Ὑρκανὸς οὓς ὠνήσατο παῖδας ἑκατὸν καὶ

παρθένους τοσαύτας ἀνὰ τάλαντον ἑκάστῳ φέρειν δοὺς προσήγαγεν τοὺς μὲν τῷ βασιλεῖ, τὰς δὲ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ. [218] πάντων δὲ θαυμασάντων τὴν παρ᾽ ἐλπίδα τῶν δώρων πολυτέλειαν καὶ τῶν βασιλέων αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῖς φίλοις ἔτι καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν θεραπείαν τοῦ βασιλέως οὖσιν πολλῶν ἄξια ταλάντων δῶρα ἔδωκεν, ὡς διαφυγεῖν τὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν κίνδυνον: τούτοις γὰρ ἐγεγράφεισαν αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ διαχρήσασθαι τὸν Ὑρκανόν. [219] Πτολεμαῖος δὲ τὴν μεγαλοψυχίαν ἀγασάμενος τοῦ μειρακίου προσέταξεν αὐτῷ δωρεὰν ἣν βούλεται λαμβάνειν. ὁ δ᾽ οὐδὲν πλέον ἠξίωσεν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἢ γράψαι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ. [220] τιμήσας οὖν αὐτὸν φιλοτιμότατα καὶ δωρεὰς δοὺς λαμπρὰς καὶ τῷ τε πατρὶ γράψας καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιτρόποις ἐξέπεμψεν. [221] ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τούτων τετυχηκότα τὸν Ὑρκανὸν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ μετὰ μεγάλης ἐπανερχόμενον τιμῆς, ἐξῆλθον ὑπαντησόμενοι καὶ διαφθεροῦντες αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰδότος: ὀργιζόμενος γὰρ αὐτῷ ἕνεκεν τῶν εἰς τὰς δωρεὰς χρημάτων οὐκ ἐφρόντιζεν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ. τὴν ὀργὴν μέντοι τὴν πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἀπεκρύπτετο φοβούμενος τὸν βασιλέα. [222] συμβαλόντων δ᾽ αὐτῷ τῶν ἀδελφῶν εἰς μάχην ἄλλους τε τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν καὶ δύο τῶν ἀδελφῶν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διεσώθησαν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. παραγενόμενον δ᾽ αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπεὶ μηδεὶς ἐδέχετο, δείσας ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ κἀκεῖ διέτριβεν φορολογῶν τοὺς βαρβάρους.

(10) [223] Ἐβασίλευσεν δὲ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν τῆς Ἀσίας Σέλευκος ὁ Σωτὴρ ἐπικαλούμενος υἱὸς ὢν Ἀντιόχου τοῦ μεγάλου. [224] τελευτᾷ δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ὑρκανοῦ πατὴρ Ἰώσηπος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος καὶ μεγαλόφρων, καὶ τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων λαὸν ἐκ πτωχείας καὶ πραγμάτων ἀσθενῶν εἰς λαμπροτέρας ἀφορμὰς τοῦ βίου καταστήσας, εἴκοσι ἔτη καὶ δύο τὰ τέλη τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς Φοινίκης καὶ Σαμαρείας κατασχών. ἀπέθανεν δὲ καὶ ὁ θεῖος αὐτοῦ Ὀνίας τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην Σίμωνι τῷ παιδὶ καταλιπών.

[225] Τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ τούτου ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ διάδοχος τῆς τιμῆς Ὀνίας γίνεται, πρὸς ὃν ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς Ἄρειος πρεσβείαν τε ἔπεμψεν καὶ ἐπιστολάς, ὧν τὸ ἀντίγραφόν ἐστι τοιοῦτο: "βασιλεὺς Λακεδαιμονίων Ἄρειος Ὀνίᾳ χαίρειν. [226] ἐντυχόντες γραφῇ τινι εὕρομεν, ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς εἶεν γένους Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ἄβραμον οἰκειότητος. δίκαιον οὖν ἐστιν ἀδελφοὺς ὑμᾶς ὄντας διαπέμπεσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς περὶ ὧν ἂν βούλησθε. [227] ποιήσομεν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῦτο, καὶ τά τε ὑμέτερα ἴδια νομιοῦμεν καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν κοινὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔξομεν. Δημοτέλης ὁ φέρων τὰ γράμματα διαπέμπει τὰς ἐπιστολάς. τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐστὶν τετράγωνα: ἡ σφραγίς ἐστιν ἀετὸς δράκοντος ἐπειλημμένος."

(11) [228] Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπιστολὴ ἡ πεμφθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως τοῦτον περιεῖχε τὸν τρόπον. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἰωσήπου τὸν λαὸν συνέβη

στασιάσαι διὰ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ. τῶν γὰρ πρεσβυτέρων πόλεμον ἐξενεγκαμένων πρὸς Ὑρκανόν, ὃς ἦν νεώτατος τῶν Ἰωσήπου τέκνων, διέστη τὸ πλῆθος. [229] καὶ οἱ μὲν πλείους τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις συνεμάχουν καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Σίμων διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν: ὁ δὲ Ὑρκανὸς ἐπανελθεῖν μὲν οὐκέτι ἔγνω εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, προσκαθίσας δὲ τοῖς πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου συνεχῶς ἐπολέμει τοὺς Ἄραβας, ὡς πολλοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ λαβεῖν αἰχμαλώτους. [230] ᾠκοδόμησεν δὲ βᾶριν ἰσχυρὰν ἐκ λίθου λευκοῦ κατασκευάσας πᾶσαν μέχρι καὶ τῆς στέγης ἐγγλύψας ζῷα παμμεγεθέστατα, περιήγαγεν δ' αὐτῇ εὖριπον μέγαν καὶ βαθύν. [231] ἐκ δὲ τῆς καταντικρὺ τοῦ ὄρους πέτρας διατεμὼν αὐτῆς τὸ προέχον σπήλαια πολλῶν σταδίων τὸ μῆκος κατεσκεύασεν. ἔπειτα οἴκους ἐν αὐτῇ τοὺς μὲν εἰς συμπόσια τοὺς δ' εἰς ὕπνον καὶ δίαιταν ἐποίησεν, ὑδάτων δὲ διαθεόντων πλῆθος, ἃ καὶ τέρψις ἦν καὶ κόσμος τῆς αὐλῆς, εἰσήγαγεν. [232] τὰ μέντοι στόμια τῶν σπηλαίων ὥστε ἕνα δι' αὐτῶν εἰσδῦναι καὶ μὴ πλείους βραχύτερα ἤνοιξεν: καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπίτηδες ἀσφαλείας ἕνεκα τοῦ μὴ πολιορκηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ κινδυνεῦσαι ληφθεὶς κατεσκεύασεν. [233] προσῳκοδόμησε δὲ καὶ αὐλὰς τῷ μεγέθει διαφερούσας καὶ παραδείσοις ἐκόσμησε παμμήκεσι. καὶ τοιοῦτον ἀπεργασάμενος τὸν τόπον Τύρον ὠνόμασεν. οὗτος ὁ τόπος ἐστὶ μεταξὺ τῆς Ἀραβίας καὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου οὐ πόρρω τῆς Ἐσσεβωνίτιδος. [234] ἦρξε δ' ἐκείνων τῶν μερῶν ἐπὶ ἔτη ἑπτά, πάντα τὸν χρόνον ὃν Σέλευκος τῆς Συρίας ἐβασίλευσεν. ἀποθανόντος δὲ τούτου μετ' αὐτὸν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀντίοχος ὁ κληθεὶς Ἐπιφανὴς τὴν βασιλείαν κατέσχεν. [235] τελευτᾷ δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικαλούμενος Ἐπιφανής, καταλιπὼν δύο παῖδας ἔτι βραχεῖς τὴν ἡλικίαν, ὧν ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος Φιλομήτωρ ἐκαλεῖτο, Φύσκων δὲ ὁ νεώτερος. [236] Ὑρκανὸς δὲ ὁρῶν μεγάλην δύναμιν ἔχοντα τὸν Ἀντίοχον καὶ δείσας, μὴ συλληφθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κολασθῇ διὰ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Ἄραβας αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα, τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον αὐτόχειρ αὐτοῦ γενόμενος. τὴν δ' οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν Ἀντίοχος λαμβάνει.

V

(1) [237] Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἀποθανόντος καὶ Ὀνίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ [Ἰησοῦ] τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην Ἀντίοχος δίδωσιν: ὁ γὰρ παῖς, ὃν Ὀνίας καταλελοίπει, ἔτι νήπιος ἦν. δηλώσομεν δὲ τὰ περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς τούτου κατὰ χώραν ἕκαστα. [238] Ἰησοῦς δέ, οὗτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ τοῦ Ὀνίου ἀδελφός, τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀφῃρέθη προσοργισθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ δόντος αὐτὴν τῷ νεωτάτῳ αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῷ Ὀνίᾳ τοὔνομα. Σίμωνι γὰρ οὗτοι τρεῖς ἐγένοντο παῖδες, καὶ εἰς τοὺς τρεῖς ἦκεν ἡ ἀρχιερωσύνη, καθὼς δεδηλώκαμεν. [239] ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰησοῦς Ἰάσονα αὐτὸν μετωνόμασεν, ὁ δὲ Ὀνίας ἐκλήθη Μενέλαος. στασιάσαντος οὖν τοῦ προτέρου ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ πρὸς τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα

κατασταθέντα Μενέλαον καὶ τοῦ πλήθους διανεμηθέντος εἰς ἑκατέρους, ἐκ τῆς Μενελάου μοίρας οἱ Τωβίου παῖδες ἐγένοντο, [240] τὸ δὲ πλέον τοῦ λαοῦ τῷ Ἰάσονι συνελάμβανεν, ὑφ᾽ οὗ καὶ πονούμενοι ὅ τε Μενέλαος καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ τοῦ Τωβίου πρὸς Ἀντίοχον ἀνεχώρησαν δηλοῦντες αὐτῷ, ὅτι βούλονται τοὺς πατρίους νόμους καταλιπόντες καὶ τὴν κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς πολιτείαν ἔπεσθαι τοῖς βασιλικοῖς καὶ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν πολιτείαν ἔχειν. [241] παρεκάλεσαν οὖν αὐτὸν ἐπιτρέψαι αὐτοῖς οἰκοδομῆσαι γυμνάσιον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. συγχωρήσαντος δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν αἰδοίων περιτομὴν ἐπεκάλυψαν, ὡς ἂν εἶεν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀπόδυσιν Ἕλληνες, τά τε ἄλλα πάνθ᾽ ὅσα ἦν αὐτοῖς πάτρια παρέντες ἐμιμοῦντο τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ἔργα.

(2) [242] Ἀντίοχος δὲ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῷ χωρούσης κατὰ τρόπον ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον διέγνω στρατεύσασθαι, πόθον αὐτῆς λαβὼν καὶ διὰ τὸ τῶν Πτολεμαίου παίδων καταφρονεῖν ἀσθενῶν ἔτι τυγχανόντων καὶ μηδέπω πράγματα τηλικαῦτα διέπειν δυναμένων. [243] γενόμενος οὖν μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως κατὰ τὸ Πηλούσιον καὶ δόλῳ τὸν Φιλομήτορα Πτολεμαῖον ἐκπεριελθὼν καταλαμβάνει τὴν Αἴγυπτον, καὶ γενόμενος ἐν τοῖς περὶ Μέμφιν τόποις καὶ κατασχὼν ταύτην ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ὡς πολιορκίᾳ παραστησόμενος αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ βασιλεύοντα χειρωσόμενος Πτολεμαῖον. [244] ἀπεκρούσθη δ᾽ οὐ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ὅλης Αἰγύπτου, Ῥωμαίων αὐτῷ παραγγειλάντων ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς χώρας, καθὼς ἤδη που καὶ πρότερον ἐν ἄλλοις δεδηλώκαμεν. [245] διηγήσομαι δὲ κατὰ μέρος τὰ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν βασιλέα, ὡς τήν τε Ἰουδαίαν ἐχειρώσατο καὶ τὸν ναόν: ἐν γὰρ τῇ πρώτῃ μου πραγματείᾳ κεφαλαιωδῶς αὐτῶν ἐπιμνησθεὶς ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην νῦν εἰς τὴν ἐπ᾽ ἀκριβὲς αὐτῶν ἐπανελθεῖν ὑφήγησιν.

(3) [246] Ὑποστρέψας ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου διὰ τὸ παρὰ Ῥωμαίων δέος ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ἐξεστράτευσεν, καὶ γενόμενος ἐν αὐτῇ ἔτει ἑκατοστῷ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ τρίτῳ μετὰ τοὺς ἀπὸ Σελεύκου βασιλεῖς ἀμαχητὶ λαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν ἀνοιξάντων αὐτῷ τὰς πύλας ὅσοι τῆς ἐκείνου προαιρέσεως ἦσαν. [247] ἐγκρατὴς δ᾽ οὕτως τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων γενόμενος πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν τῶν τἀναντία φρονούντων καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ συλήσας ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν.

(4) [248] Συνέβη δὲ μετὰ ἔτη δύο τῷ ἑκατοστῷ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ πέμπτῳ ἔτει μηνὸς πέμπτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι, ὃς καλεῖται κατὰ μὲν ἡμᾶς Ἐξελέους, κατὰ δὲ Μακεδόνας Ἀπελλαῖος, ὀλυμπιάδι ἑκατοστῇ καὶ πεντηκοστῇ καὶ τρίτῃ μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἀναβῆναι τὸν βασιλέα εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ προσποιησάμενον εἰρήνην ἀπάτῃ περιγενέσθαι τῆς πόλεως. [249] ἐφείσατο δὲ τότε οὐδὲ τῶν εἰσδεξαμένων αὐτὸν διὰ τὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ πλοῦτον, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ πλεονεξίας, χρυσὸν γὰρ ἑώρα πολὺν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον τῶν ἀναθημάτων κόσμον πολυτελέστατον, ἵνα συλήσῃ τοῦτον, ὑπέμεινε τὰς πρὸς ἐκείνους αὐτῷ σπονδὰς

παραβῆναι. [250] περιδύσας οὖν τὸν ναόν, ὡς καὶ τὰ σκεύη τοῦ θεοῦ βαστάσαι λυχνίας χρυσᾶς καὶ βωμὸν χρύσεον καὶ τράπεζαν καὶ τὰ θυσιαστήρια, καὶ μηδὲ τῶν καταπετασμάτων ἀποσχόμενος, ἅπερ ἦν ἐκ βύσσου καὶ κόκκου πεποιημένα, κενώσας δὲ καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς τοὺς ἀποκρύφους καὶ μηδὲν ὅλως ὑπολιπών, εἰς μέγα τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐπὶ τούτοις πένθος ἐνέβαλεν. [251] καὶ γὰρ τὰς καθημερινὰς θυσίας, ἃς προσέφερον τῷ θεῷ κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ἐκώλυσεν αὐτοὺς προσφέρειν, καὶ διαρπάσας πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν τοὺς δ' αἰχμαλώτους γυναιξὶν ἅμα καὶ τέκνοις ἔλαβεν, ὡς τῶν ζωγρηθέντων περὶ μυρίους γενέσθαι τὸ πλῆθος. [252] ἐνέπρησε δ' αὐτῆς τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ καταβαλὼν τὰ τείχη τὴν ἐν τῇ κάτω πόλει ᾠκοδόμησεν ἄκραν: ἦν γὰρ ὑψηλὴ καὶ ὑπερκειμένη τὸ ἱερόν: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὴν ὀχυρώσας τείχεσιν ὑψηλοῖς καὶ πύργοις φρουρὰν Μακεδονικὴν ἐγκατέστησεν. ἔμενον δ' οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ καὶ τοῦ πλήθους οἱ ἀσεβεῖς καὶ πονηροὶ τὸν τρόπον, ὑφ' ὧν πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ τοὺς πολίτας συνέβη παθεῖν. [253] ἐποικοδομήσας δὲ καὶ τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ βωμὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς σύας ἐπ' αὐτοῦ κατέσφαξε, θυσίαν οὐ νόμιμον οὐδὲ πάτριον τῇ Ἰουδαίων θρησκείᾳ ταύτην ἐπιτελῶν. ἠνάγκασε δ' αὐτοὺς ἀφεμένους τὴν περὶ τὸν αὐτῶν θεὸν θρησκείαν τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ νομιζομένους σέβεσθαι, οἰκοδομήσαντας δὲ ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει καὶ κώμῃ τεμένη αὐτῶν καὶ βωμοὺς καθιδρύσαντας θύειν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς σῦς καθ' ἡμέραν. [254] ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ μὴ περιτέμνειν αὐτοὺς τὰ τέκνα, κολάσειν ἀπειλήσας εἴ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιῶν εὑρεθείη. κατέστησε δὲ καὶ ἐπισκόπους, οἳ προσαναγκάσουσιν αὐτοὺς τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα ποιεῖν. [255] καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ μὲν ἑκοντὶ οἱ δὲ καὶ δι' εὐλάβειαν τῆς ἐπηγγελμένης τιμωρίας κατηκολούθουν οἷς ὁ βασιλεὺς διετέτακτο, οἱ δὲ δοκιμώτατοι καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς εὐγενεῖς οὐκ ἐφρόντισαν αὐτοῦ, τῶν δὲ πατρίων ἐθῶν πλείονα λόγον ἔσχον ἢ τῆς τιμωρίας, ἣν οὐ πειθομένοις ἠπείλησεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν αἰκιζόμενοι καὶ πικρὰς βασάνους ὑπομένοντες ἀπέθνησκον. [256] καὶ γὰρ μαστιγούμενοι καὶ τὰ σώματα λυμαινόμενοι ζῶντες ἔτι καὶ ἐμπνέοντες ἀνεσταυροῦντο, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν, οὓς περιέτεμνον παρὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως προαίρεσιν, ἀπῆγχον ἐκ τῶν τραχήλων αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀνεσταυρωμένων γονέων ἀπαρτῶντες. ἠφανίζετο δ' εἴ που βίβλος εὑρεθείη ἱερὰ καὶ νόμος, καὶ παρ' οἷς εὑρέθη καὶ αὐτοὶ κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπώλλυντο.

(5) [257] Ταῦτα βλέποντες οἱ Σαμαρεῖται πάσχοντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους οὐκέθ' ὡμολόγουν αὐτοὺς εἶναι συγγενεῖς αὐτῶν οὐδὲ τὸν ἐν Γαριζεὶν ναὸν τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ, τῇ φύσει ποιοῦντες ἀκόλουθα, ἣν δεδηλώκαμεν, καὶ λέγοντες αὐτοὺς Μήδων ἀποίκους καὶ Περσῶν: καὶ γάρ εἰσιν τούτων ἄποικοι. [258] πέμψαντες οὖν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον πρέσβεις καὶ ἐπιστολὴν ἐδήλουν τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα: "βασιλεῖ Ἀντιόχῳ θεῷ ἐπιφανεῖ ὑπόμνημα παρὰ τῶν ἐν Σικίμοις Σιδωνίων. [259] οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι διά τινας αὐχμοὺς τῆς χώρας παρακολουθήσαντες ἀρχαίᾳ τινὶ δεισιδαιμονίᾳ ἔθος ἐποίησαν σέβειν τὴν παρὰ

τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις λεγομένην σαββάτων ἡμέραν, ἱδρυσάμενοι δὲ ἀνώνυμον ἐν τῷ Γαριζεὶν λεγομένῳ ὄρει ἱερὸν ἔθυον ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὰς καθηκούσας θυσίας. [260] σοῦ δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τῆς πονηρίας αὐτῶν ἀξίως χρησαμένου, οἱ τὰ βασιλικὰ διοικοῦντες οἰόμενοι κατὰ συγγένειαν ἡμᾶς ταὐτὰ ποιεῖν ἐκείνοις ταῖς ὁμοίαις αἰτίαις περιάπτουσιν, ὄντων ἡμῶν τὸ ἀνέκαθεν Σιδωνίων, καὶ τοῦτο φανερόν ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀναγραφῶν. [261] ἀξιοῦμεν οὖν σε τὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα προστάξαι Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ μεριδάρχῃ καὶ Νικάνορι τῷ τὰ βασιλικὰ πράττοντι μηδὲν ἡμῖν ἐνοχλεῖν προσάπτουσι τὰς τῶν Ἰουδαίων αἰτίας, ἡμῶν καὶ τῷ γένει καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσιν ἀλλοτρίων ὑπαρχόντων, προσαγορευθῆναι δὲ τὸ ἀνώνυμον ἱερὸν Διὸς Ἑλληνίου: γενομένου γὰρ τούτου παυσόμεθα μὲν ἐνοχλούμενοι, τοῖς δ᾽ ἔργοις μετὰ ἀδείας [262] προσανέχοντες μείζονάς σοι ποιήσομεν τὰς προσόδους.” ταῦτα τῶν Σαμαρέων δεηθέντων ἀντέγραψεν αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς τάδε: “βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Νικάνορι. οἱ ἐν Σικίμοις Σιδώνιοι ἐπέδωκαν τὸ κατακεχωρισμένον ὑπόμνημα. [263] ἐπεὶ οὖν συμβουλευομένοις ἡμῖν μετὰ τῶν φίλων παρέστησαν οἱ πεμφθέντες ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν, ὅτι μηδὲν τοῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐγκλήμασι προσήκουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ἔθεσιν αἱροῦνται χρώμενοι ζῆν, ἀπολύομέν τε αὐτοὺς τῶν αἰτιῶν, καὶ τὸ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἱερόν, καθάπερ ἠξιώκασι, προσαγορευθήτω Διὸς Ἑλ [264] ληνίου.” ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ μεριδάρχῃ ἐπέστειλεν ἕκτῳ ἔτει καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ μηνὸς Ἑκατομβαιῶνος Ὑρκανίου ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῃ.

VI

(1) [265] Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἦν τις οἰκῶν ἐν Μωδαὶ κώμῃ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ὄνομα Ματταθίας, υἱὸς Ἰωάννου τοῦ Συμεῶνος τοῦ Ἀσαμωναίου, ἱερεὺς ἐξ ἐφημερίδος Ἰώαβος, Ἱεροσολυμίτης. [266] ἦσαν δ᾽ αὐτῷ υἱοὶ πέντε, Ἰωάννης ὁ καλούμενος Γάδδης καὶ Σίμων ὁ κληθεὶς Θάτις καὶ Ἰούδας ὁ καλούμενος Μακαβαῖος καὶ Ἐλεάζαρος ὁ κληθεὶς Αὐρὰν καὶ Ἰωνάθης ὁ κληθεὶς Ἀφφοῦς. [267] οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ματταθίας ἀπωδύρετο τοῖς τέκνοις τὴν κατάστασιν τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τήν τε τῆς πόλεως διαρπαγὴν καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τὴν σύλησιν καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τὰς συμφοράς, ἔλεγέν τε κρεῖττον αὐτοῖς εἶναι ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρίων νόμων ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ζῆν οὕτως ἀσεβῶς.

(2) [268] Ἐλθόντων δὲ εἰς τὴν Μωδαὶν κώμην τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καθεσταμένων ἐπὶ τῷ ποιεῖν ἀναγκάζειν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἃ διετέτακτο καὶ θύειν τοὺς ἐκεῖ κελευόντων, ὡς ὁ βασιλεὺς κελεύσειεν, διά τε τὴν δόξαν τήν τε διὰ τὰ ἄλλα καὶ διὰ τὴν εὐπαιδίαν ἀξιούντων τὸν Ματταθίαν προκατάρχειν τῶν θυσιῶν, [269] κατακολουθήσειν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς πολίτας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τιμηθήσεσθαι πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως, ὁ Ματταθίας οὐκ ἔφασκεν ποιήσειν, οὐδ᾽ εἰ τὰ πάντα ἔθνη τοῖς Ἀντιόχου προστάγμασιν ἢ διὰ φόβον ἢ δι᾽ εὐαρέστησιν

ὑπακούει, πεισθήσεσθαί ποτ᾽ αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν τέκνων τὴν πάτριον θρησκείαν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν. [270] ὡς δὲ σιωπήσαντος αὐτοῦ προσελθών τις τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθυσεν εἰς μέσον καθ᾽ ἃ προσέταξεν Ἀντίοχος, θυμωθεὶς ὁ Ματταθίας ὥρμησεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν παίδων ἐχόντων κοπίδας καὶ αὐτόν τε ἐκεῖνον διέφθειρεν καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀπελλῆν, ὃς ἐπηνάγκαζεν, διεχρήσατο μετ᾽ ὀλίγων στρατιωτῶν, [271] καὶ τὸν βωμὸν καθελὼν ἀνέκραγεν, “εἴ τις ζηλωτὴς ἐστιν τῶν πατρίων ἐθῶν καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείας, ἐπέσθω, φησίν, ἐμοί,” καὶ ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ἐξώρμησεν καταλιπὼν ἅπασαν τὴν αὐτοῦ κτῆσιν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ. [272] τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ καὶ ἄλλοι ποιήσαντες μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν ἔφυγον εἰς τὴν ἔρημον καὶ ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις διῆγον. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦθ᾽ οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατηγοὶ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ὅσην εἶναι συνέβαινεν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἀναλαβόντες ἐδίωξαν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον τοὺς Ἰουδαίους. [273] καὶ καταλαβόντες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτοὺς ἐπεχείρουν πείθειν μετανοήσαντας αἱρεῖσθαι τὰ συμφέροντα καὶ μὴ προσάγειν αὐτοῖς ἀνάγκην, ὥστ᾽ αὐτοῖς χρήσασθαι πολέμου νόμῳ: [274] μὴ προσδεχομένων δὲ τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλὰ τἀναντία φρονούντων, συμβάλλουσιν αὐτοῖς εἰς μάχην σαββάτων ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ὡς εἶχον οὕτως ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις αὐτοὺς κατέφλεξαν οὐδὲ ἀμυνομένους ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τὰς εἰσόδους ἐμφράξαντας: τοῦ δὲ ἀμύνασθαι διὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀπέσχοντο μηδ᾽ ἐν κακοῖς παραβῆναι τὴν τοῦ σαββάτου τιμὴν θελήσαντες: ἀργεῖν γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐν αὐτῇ νόμιμόν ἐστιν. [275] ἀπέθανον μὲν οὖν σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἐμπνιγέντες τοῖς σπηλαίοις ὡσεὶ χίλιοι, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ διασωθέντες τῷ Ματταθίᾳ προσέθεντο κἀκεῖνον ἄρχοντα ἀπέδειξαν. [276] ὁ δὲ καὶ σαββάτοις αὐτοὺς ἐδίδαξε μάχεσθαι λέγων, ὡς εἰ μὴ ποιήσουσι τοῦτο φυλαττόμενοι τὸ νόμιμον, αὐτοῖς ἔσονται πολέμιοι, τῶν μὲν ἐχθρῶν κατ᾽ ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτοῖς προσβαλλόντων, αὐτῶν δ᾽ οὐκ ἀμυνομένων, κωλύσειν τε μηδὲν οὕτως ἀμαχητὶ πάντας ἀπολέσθαι. [277] ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν ἔπεισεν αὐτούς, καὶ ἄχρι δεῦρο μένει παρ᾽ ἡμῖν τὸ καὶ σαββάτοις, εἴ ποτε δεήσειεν, μάχεσθαι. [278] ποιήσας οὖν δύναμιν πολλὴν περὶ αὐτὸν Ματταθίας τούς τε βωμοὺς καθεῖλεν καὶ τοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντας ἀπέκτεινεν, ὅσους λαβεῖν ὑποχειρίους ἠδυνήθη: πολλοὶ γὰρ δι᾽ εὐλάβειαν διεσπάρησαν εἰς τὰ πέριξ ἔθνη: τῶν τε παίδων τοὺς οὐ περιτετμημένους ἐκέλευσε περιτέμνεσθαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ κωλύειν καθεσταμένους ἐκβαλών.

(3) [279] Ἄρξας δ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ καταπεσὼν εἰς νόσον προσκαλεῖται τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ περιστησάμενος αὐτοὺς “ἐγὼ μέν, εἶπεν, ὦ παῖδες, ἄπειμι τὴν εἱμαρμένην πορείαν, παρατίθεμαι δ᾽ ὑμῖν τοὐμὸν φρόνημα καὶ παρακαλῶ μὴ γενέσθαι κακοὺς αὐτοῦ φύλακας, [280] ἀλλὰ μεμνημένους τῆς τοῦ φύσαντος ὑμᾶς καὶ θρεψαμένου προαιρέσεως ἔθη τε σώζειν τὰ πάτρια καὶ κινδυνεύουσαν οἴχεσθαι τὴν ἀρχαίαν πολιτείαν ἀνακτᾶσθαι μὴ συμφερομένους τοῖς ἢ διὰ βούλησιν ἢ δι᾽ ἀνάγκην προδιδοῦσιν αὐτήν, [281] ἀλλ᾽ ἀξιῶ παῖδας ὄντας ἐμοὺς ἐμμεῖναι καὶ

βίας ἀπάσης καὶ ἀνάγκης ἐπάνω γενέσθαι, τὰς ψυχὰς οὕτω παρασκευασαμένους, ὥστ᾽ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων, ἂν δέῃ, λογιζομένους τοῦθ᾽, ὅτι τὸ θεῖον τοιούτους ὑμᾶς ὁρῶν οὐχ ὑπερόψεται, τῆς δ᾽ ἀρετῆς ἀγασάμενον ἀποδώσει πάλιν ὑμῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἐν ᾗ ζήσεσθε μετ᾽ ἀδείας τῶν ἰδίων ἀπολαύοντες ἐθῶν, ἀποκαταστήσει: [282] θνητὰ μὲν γὰρ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπίκηρα, τῇ δὲ τῶν ἔργων μνήμῃ τάξιν ἀθανασίας λαμβάνομεν, ἧς ἐρασθέντας ὑμᾶς βούλομαι διώκειν τὴν εὔκλειαν καὶ τὰ μέγιστα ὑφισταμένους μὴ ὀκνεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπολιπεῖν τὸν βίον. [283] μάλιστα δ᾽ ὑμῖν ὁμονοεῖν παραινῶ καὶ πρὸς ὅ τις ὑμῶν πέφυκεν ἀμείνων θατέρου πρὸς τοῦτ᾽ εἴκοντας ἀλλήλοις οἰκείαις χρῆσθαι ταῖς ἀρεταῖς. καὶ Σίμωνα μὲν τὸν ἀδελφὸν συνέσει προύχοντα πατέρα ἡγεῖσθε καὶ οἷς ἂν οὗτος συμβουλεύσῃ πείθεσθε, [284] Μακαβαῖον δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς δι᾽ ἀνδρείαν καὶ ἰσχὺν στρατηγὸν ἕξετε: τὸ γὰρ ἔθνος οὗτος ἐκδικήσει καὶ ἀμυνεῖται τοὺς πολεμίους. προσίεσθε δὲ καὶ τοὺς δικαίους καὶ θεοσεβεῖς καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν αὔξετε.”

(4) [285] Ταῦτα διαλεχθεὶς τοῖς παισὶν καὶ τὸν θεὸν εὐξάμενος σύμμαχον αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι καὶ τῷ λαῷ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀνασῶσαι πάλιν τοῦ βίου συνήθειαν, μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ τελευτᾷ, καὶ θάπτεται μὲν ἐν Μωδαὶ πένθος ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ μέγα παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ ποιησαμένου, διεδέξατο δὲ τὴν προστασίαν τῶν πραγμάτων ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Ἰούδας ὁ καὶ Μακκαβαῖος ἑκατοστῷ ἔτει καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ ἕκτῳ. [286] συναραμένων δ᾽ αὐτῷ προθύμως τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τούς τε πολεμίους ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ τοὺς παρανομήσαντας τῶν ὁμοφύλων εἰς τὰ πάτρια διεχρήσατο καὶ ἐκαθάρισεν ἀπὸ παντὸς μιάσματος τὴν γῆν.

VII

(1) [287] Ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ τῆς Σαμαρείας στρατηγὸς ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν. ὁ δὲ ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ καὶ συμβαλὼν κρατεῖ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, οὗ καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν, ᾗ χρῆσθαι συνέβαινεν ἐκεῖνον, σκυλεύσας αὐτὸς εἶχεν, πλείους δὲ τραυματίας ἐποίησεν καὶ πολλὴν λείαν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου λαβὼν τῶν πολεμίων ἀνεχώρησεν. [288] Σήρων δ᾽ ὁ τῆς κοίλης Συρίας στρατηγός, ἀκούσας ὅτι πολλοὶ προσκεχωρήκασιν τῷ Ἰούδᾳ καὶ δύναμιν ἤδη περιβέβληται πρὸς ἀγῶνας καὶ πολέμους ἀξιόλογον, ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἔγνω στρατεύσασθαι προσήκειν ὑπολαμβάνων τοὺς εἰς τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως προστάγματα παρανομοῦντας πειρᾶσθαι κολάζειν. [289] συναγαγὼν οὖν δύναμιν ὅση παρῆν αὐτῷ, προσκαταλέξας δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοὺς φυγάδας καὶ ἀσεβεῖς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν παρεγίγνετο: προελθὼν δὲ ἄχρι Βαιθώρων κώμης τῆς Ἰουδαίας αὐτόθι στρατοπεδεύεται. [290] ὁ δὲ Ἰούδας ἀπαντήσας αὐτῷ καὶ συμβαλεῖν προαιρούμενος, ἐπεὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἑώρα πρὸς τὴν μάχην διά τε τὴν ὀλιγότητα

καὶ δι᾽ ἀσιτίαν, νενηστεύκεσαν γάρ, ὀκνοῦντας, παρεθάρσυνεν λέγων οὐκ ἐν τῷ πλήθει τὸ νικᾶν εἶναι καὶ κρατεῖν τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβεῖν. [291] καὶ τούτου σαφέστατον ἔχειν παράδειγμα τοὺς προγόνους, οἳ διὰ δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων νόμων καὶ τέκνων ἀγωνίζεσθαι πολλὰς πολλάκις ἥττησαν μυριάδας: τὸ γὰρ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν ἰσχυρὰ δύναμις. [292] ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν πείθει τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ καταφρονήσαντας τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἐναντίων ὁμόσε χωρῆσαι τῷ Σήρωνι, καὶ συμβαλὼν τρέπει τοὺς Σύρους: πεσόντος γὰρ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πάντες φεύγειν ὥρμησαν, ὡς ἐν τούτῳ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς ἀποκειμένης. ἐπιδιώκων δ᾽ ἄχρι τοῦ πεδίου κτείνει τῶν πολεμίων ὡσεὶ ὀκτακοσίους: οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διεσώθησαν εἰς τὴν παραλίαν.

(2) [293] Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος μεγάλως ὠργίσθη τοῖς γεγενημένοις, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκείαν δύναμιν ἀθροίσας καὶ πολλοὺς ἐκ τῶν νήσων μισθοφόρους παραλαβὼν ἡτοιμάζετο περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἔαρος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐμβαλεῖν. [294] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν διανείμας ἑώρα τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἐπιλείποντας καὶ χρημάτων ἔνδειαν οὖσαν, οὔτε γὰρ οἱ φόροι πάντες ἐτελοῦντο διὰ τὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν στάσεις μεγαλόψυχός τε ὢν καὶ φιλόδωρος οὐκ ἠρκεῖτο τοῖς οὖσιν, ἔγνω πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Περσίδα πορευθεὶς τοὺς φόρους τῆς χώρας συναγαγεῖν. [295] καταλιπὼν οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων Λυσίαν τινὰ δόξαν ἔχοντα παρ᾽ αὐτῷ, Καὶ τὰ μέχρι τῶν Αἰγύπτου ὅρων καὶ τῆς κάτωθεν Ἀσίας ἀπ᾽ Εὐφράτου διήκοντα ποταμοῦ καὶ μέρος τι τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων, [296] τρέφειν μὲν Ἀντίοχον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ μετὰ πάσης φροντίδος ἐνετείλατο ἕως ἂν οὗ παραγένηται, καταστρεψάμενον δὲ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ τοὺς οἰκοῦντας αὐτὴν ἐξανδραποδισάμενον ἀφανίσαι τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ἀπολέσαι. [297] καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπιστείλας τῷ Λυσίᾳ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος ἐξήλασεν εἰς τὴν Περσίδα τῷ ἑκατοστῷ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ ἑβδόμῳ ἔτει, καὶ περαιωσάμενος τὸν Εὐφράτην ἀνέβαινεν πρὸς τοὺς ἄνω σατράπας.

(3) [298] Ὁ δὲ Λυσίας ἐπιλεξάμενος Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Δορυμένους καὶ Νικάνορα καὶ Γοργίαν, ἄνδρας δυνατοὺς τῶν φίλων τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ παραδοὺς αὐτοῖς πεζῆς μὲν δυνάμεως μυριάδας τέσσαρας, ἱππεῖς δὲ ἑπτακισχιλίους, ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν. οἱ δὲ ἄχρις Ἐμμαοῦ πόλεως ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τῇ πεδινῇ καταστρατοπεδεύονται. [299] προσγίγνονται δ᾽ αὐτοῖς σύμμαχοι ἀπό τε τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς πέριξ χώρας καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν πεφευγότων Ἰουδαίων, ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ τῶν ἐμπόρων τινὲς ὡς ὠνησόμενοι τοὺς αἰχμαλωτισθησομένους, πέδας μὲν κομίζοντες αἷς δήσουσιν τοὺς ληφθησομένους, ἄργυρον δὲ καὶ χρυσὸν τιμὴν αὐτῶν καταθησόμενοι. [300] τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐναντίων Ἰούδας κατανοήσας ἔπειθε τοὺς οἰκείους στρατιώτας θαρρεῖν καὶ παρεκελεύετο τὰς ἐλπίδας τῆς νίκης ἔχοντας ἐν τῷ θεῷ τοῦτον ἱκετεύειν τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ σάκκους περιθεμένους, καὶ τὸ σύνηθες αὐτῷ σχῆμα τῆς ἱκεσίας παρὰ τοὺς μεγάλους κινδύνους ἐπιδείξαντας τούτῳ δυσωπῆσαι παρασχεῖν αὐτοῖς τὸ κατὰ

τῶν ἐχθρῶν κράτος. [301] διατάξας δὲ τὸν ἀρχαῖον αὐτοὺς τρόπον καὶ πάτριον κατὰ χιλιάρχους καὶ ταξιάρχους καὶ τοὺς νεογάμους ἀπολύσας καὶ τοὺς τὰς κτήσεις νεωστὶ πεποιημένους, ὅπως μὴ διὰ τὴν τούτων ἀπόλαυσιν φιλοζωοῦντες ἀτολμότερον μάχωνται, καταστὰς τοιούτοις παρώρμα λόγοις πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα τοὺς αὐτοῦ στρατιώτας: [302] "καιρὸς μὲν [οὖν] ὑμῖν οὐκ ἄλλος ἀναγκαιότερος τοῦ παρόντος, ὦ ἑταῖροι, εἰς εὐψυχίαν καὶ κινδύνων καταφρόνησιν καταλείπεται: νῦν γὰρ ἔστιν ἀνδρείως ἀγωνισαμένοις τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολαβεῖν, ἣν καὶ δι' αὐτὴν ἅπασιν ἀγαπητὴν οὖσαν ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ ἐξουσίας τοῦ θρησκεύειν τὸ θεῖον ποθεινοτέραν εἶναι συμβέβηκεν. [303] ὡς οὖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι κειμένων ὑμῖν ταύτην τε ἀπολαβεῖν καὶ τὸν εὐδαίμονα καὶ μακάριον βίον ἀνακτήσασθαι, οὗτος δ' ἦν ὁ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν πάτριον συνήθειαν, ἢ τὰ αἴσχιστα παθεῖν καὶ μηδὲ σπέρμα τοῦ γένους ὑμῶν ὑπολειφθῆναι κακῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ γενομένων, [304] οὕτως ἀγωνίζεσθε, τὸ μὲν ἀποθανεῖν καὶ μὴ πολεμοῦσιν ὑπάρξον ἡγούμενοι, τὸ δ' ὑπὲρ τηλικούτων ἐπάθλων, ἐλευθερίας πατρίδος νόμων εὐσεβείας, αἰώνιον τὴν εὔκλειαν κατασκευάσειν πεπιστευκότες: ἑτοιμάζεσθε τοιγαροῦν οὕτως τὰς ψυχὰς ὡς αὔριον ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ συμβαλοῦντες τοῖς πολεμίοις."

(4) [305] Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰούδας ταῦτα παραθαρσύνων τὴν στρατιὰν ἔλεξεν. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων πεμψάντων Γοργίαν μετὰ πεντακισχιλίων πεζῶν καὶ χιλίων ἱππέων, ὅπως διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιπέσῃ τῷ Ἰούδᾳ, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ὁδηγοὺς ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ τινας τῶν πεφευγότων Ἰουδαίων, αἰσθόμενος ὁ τοῦ Ματταθίου παῖς ἔγνω καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιπεσεῖν καὶ ταῦτα διῃρημένης αὐτῶν τῆς δυνάμεως. [306] καθ' ὥραν οὖν δειπνοποιησάμενος καὶ πολλὰ πυρὰ καταλιπὼν ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου δι' ὅλης ὥδευε τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἐμμαοῖ τῶν πολεμίων. οὐχ εὑρὼν δ' ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὁ Γοργίας, ἀλλ' ὑπονοήσας ἀναχωρήσαντας αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι κεκρύφθαι, πορευθεὶς ἔγνω ζητεῖν, ὅπου ποτ' εἶεν. [307] περὶ δὲ τὸν ὄρθρον ἐπιφαίνεται τοῖς ἐν Ἐμμαοῖ πολεμίοις ὁ Ἰούδας μετὰ τρισχιλίων φαύλως ὡπλισμένων διὰ πενίαν, καὶ θεασάμενος τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἄριστα πεφραγμένους καὶ μετ' ἐμπειρίας πολλῆς ἐστρατοπεδευμένους, προτρεψάμενος τοὺς ἰδίους, ὡς καὶ γυμνοῖς τοῖς σώμασιν μάχεσθαι δεῖ καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἤδη που καὶ τοῖς οὕτως ἔχουσιν τὸ κατὰ τῶν πλειόνων καὶ ὡπλισμένων κράτος ἔδωκεν ἀγασάμενον αὐτοὺς τῆς εὐψυχίας, ἐκέλευσε σημῆναι τοὺς σαλπιγκτάς. [308] ἔπειτ' ἐμπεσὼν ἀπροσδοκήτοις τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ ἐκπλήξας αὐτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ ταράξας πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν ἀνθισταμένους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς διώκων ἦλθεν ἄχρι Γαζάρων καὶ τῶν πεδίων τῆς Ἰδουμαίας καὶ Ἀζώτου καὶ Ἰαμνείας: ἔπεσόν τε αὐτῶν ὡς περὶ τρισχιλίους. [309] Ἰούδας δὲ τῶν μὲν σκύλων παρεκελεύετο μὴ ἐπιθυμεῖν τοὺς αὐτοῦ στρατιώτας: ἔτι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀγῶνά τινα καὶ μάχην [εἶναι] πρὸς Γοργίαν καὶ τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμιν: κρατήσαντας δὲ καὶ τούτων τότε σκυλεύσειν ἐπ' ἀδείας ἔλεγεν τοῦτο μόνον ἔχοντας καὶ μηδὲν ἕτερον ἐκδεχομένους. [310] ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ διαλεγομένου

ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας ὑπερκύψαντες οἱ τοῦ Γοργίου τὴν μὲν στρατιὰν ἣν ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ κατέλιπον ὁρῶσιν τετραμμένην, τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον ἐμπεπρησμένον: ὁ γὰρ καπνὸς αὐτοῖς πόρρωθεν οὖσιν τοῦ συμβεβηκότος δήλωσιν ἔφερεν. [311] ὡς οὖν ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχοντα ἔμαθον οἱ σὺν Γοργίᾳ καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Ἰούδου πρὸς παράταξιν ἑτοίμους κατενόησαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ δείσαντες εἰς φυγὴν ἐτράπησαν. [312] ὁ δὲ Ἰούδας ὡς ἀμαχητὶ τῶν μετὰ Γοργίου στρατιωτῶν ἡττημένων ὑποστρέψας ἀνῃρεῖτο τὰ σκῦλα, πολὺν δὲ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ πορφύραν καὶ ὑάκινθον λαβὼν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ὑπέστρεψε χαίρων καὶ ὑμνῶν τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατωρθωμένοις: οὐ μικρὰ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ νίκη πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν συνεβάλλετο.

(5) [313] Λυσίας δὲ συγχυθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἐκπεμφθέντων ἥττῃ τῷ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἀθροίσας ἓξ καὶ πεντακισχιλίους λαβὼν ἱππεῖς ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, καὶ ἀναβὰς εἰς τὴν ὀρεινὴν ἐν Βεθσούροις κώμῃ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο. [314] ἀπήντησε δὲ μετὰ μυρίων Ἰούδας, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἰδὼν τῶν πολεμίων σύμμαχον ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὸν θεὸν εὐξάμενος, συμβαλὼν τοῖς προδρόμοις τῶν πολεμίων νικᾷ τούτους καὶ φονεύσας αὐτῶν ὡς πεντακισχιλίους τοῖς λοιποῖς ἦν ἐπίφοβος. [315] ἀμέλει κατανοήσας ὁ Λυσίας τὸ φρόνημα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὡς ἕτοιμοι τελευτᾶν εἰσιν, εἰ μὴ ζήσουσιν ἐλεύθεροι, καὶ δείσας αὐτῶν τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν ὡς ἰσχύν, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν λοιπὴν δύναμιν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ διέτριβεν ἐκεῖ ξενολογῶν καὶ παρασκευαζόμενος μετὰ μείζονος στρατιᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐμβαλεῖν.

(6) [316] Τοσαυτάκις οὖν ἡττημένων ἤδη τῶν Ἀντιόχου τοῦ βασιλέως στρατηγῶν ὁ Ἰούδας ἐκκλησιάσας ἔλεγεν μετὰ πολλὰς νίκας, ἃς ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν, ἀναβῆναι δεῖν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸν ναὸν καθαρίσαι καὶ τὰς νενομισμένας θυσίας προσφέρειν. [317] ὡς δὲ παραγενόμενος μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τὸν ναὸν ἔρημον εὗρεν καὶ καταπεπρησμένας τὰς πύλας καὶ φυτὰ διὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν αὐτόματα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀναβεβλαστηκότα, θρηνεῖν ἤρξατο μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπὶ τῇ ὄψει τοῦ ναοῦ συγχυθείς. [318] ἐπιλεξάμενος δέ τινας τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν προσέταξε τούτοις ἐκπολεμῆσαι τοὺς τὴν ἄκραν φυλάττοντας, ἄχρι τὸν ναὸν αὐτὸς ἁγνίσειεν. καὶ καθάρας ἐπιμελῶς αὐτὸν εἰσεκόμισε καινὰ σκεύη, λυχνίαν τράπεζαν βωμόν, ἐκ χρυσοῦ πεποιημένα, ἀπήρτησεν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐμπετάσματα τῶν θυρῶν καὶ τὰς θύρας αὐτὰς ἐπέθηκεν, καθελὼν δὲ καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον καινὸν ἐκ λίθων συμμίκτων ᾠκοδόμησεν οὐ λελαξευμένων ὑπὸ σιδήρου. [319] πέμπτῃ δὲ καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ Ἐξελέου μηνός, ὃν οἱ Μακεδόνες Ἀπελλαῖον καλοῦσιν, ἦψάν τε φῶτα ἐπὶ τῆς λυχνίας καὶ ἐθυμίασαν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ ἄρτους ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν ἐπέθεσαν καὶ ὡλοκαύτησαν ἐπὶ τοῦ καινοῦ θυσιαστηρίου. [320] ἔτυχεν δὲ ταῦτα κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν γίνεσθαι, καθ' ἣν καὶ μετέπεσεν αὐτῶν ἡ ἅγιος θρησκεία εἰς βέβηλον καὶ κοινὴν συνήθειαν μετὰ ἔτη τρία: τὸν γὰρ ναὸν ἐρημωθέντα ὑπὸ Ἀντιόχου

διαμεῖναι τοιοῦτον ἔτεσι συνέβη τρισίν: [321] ἔτει γὰρ πέμπτῳ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ ἑκατοστῷ ταῦτα περὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐγένετο, πέμπτῃ δὲ καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ Ἀπελλαίου μηνὸς ὀλυμπιάδι ἑκατοστῇ καὶ πεντηκοστῇ καὶ τρίτῃ, ἀνενεώθη δὲ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν πέμπτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τοῦ Ἀπελλαίου μηνὸς ὀγδόῳ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ ἑκατοστῷ ἔτει ὀλυμπιάδι ἑκατοστῇ καὶ πεντηκοστῇ καὶ τετάρτῃ. [322] τὴν δ᾽ ἐρήμωσιν τοῦ ναοῦ συνέβη γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν Δανιήλου προφητείαν πρὸ τετρακοσίων καὶ ὀκτὼ γενομένην ἐτῶν: ἐδήλωσεν γάρ, ὅτι Μακεδόνες καταλύσουσιν αὐτόν.

(7) [323] Ἑώρταζε δὲ ὁ Ἰούδας μετὰ τῶν πολιτῶν τὴν ἀνάκτησιν τῆς περὶ τὸν ναὸν θυσίας ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας ὀκτὼ μηδὲν ἀπολιπὼν ἡδονῆς εἶδος, ἀλλὰ πολυτελέσι μὲν καὶ λαμπραῖς ταῖς θυσίαις κατευωχῶν αὐτούς, ὕμνοις δὲ καὶ ψαλμοῖς τὸν μὲν θεὸν τιμῶν αὐτοὺς δὲ τέρπων. [324] τοσαύτῃ δ᾽ ἐχρήσαντο τῇ περὶ τὴν ἀνανέωσιν τῶν ἐθῶν ἡδονῇ μετὰ χρόνον πολὺν ἀπροσδοκήτως ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ γενόμενοι τῆς θρησκείας, ὡς νόμον θεῖναι τοῖς μετ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἑορτάζειν τὴν ἀνάκτησιν τῶν περὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας ὀκτώ. [325] καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο τὴν ἑορτὴν ἄγομεν καλοῦντες αὐτὴν φῶτα ἐκ τοῦ παρ᾽ ἐλπίδας οἶμαι ταύτην ἡμῖν φανῆναι τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν προσηγορίαν θέμενοι τῇ ἑορτῇ. [326] τειχίσας δ᾽ ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδρομὰς τῶν πολεμίων πύργους οἰκοδομησάμενος ὑψηλοὺς φύλακας ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐγκατέστησεν, καὶ τὴν Βεθσούραν δὲ πόλιν ὠχύρωσεν, ὅπως ἀντὶ φρουρίου αὐτῇ πρὸς τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνάγκας ἔχῃ χρῆσθαι.

VIII

(1) [327] Τούτων οὕτως γενομένων τὰ πέριξ ἔθνη πρὸς τὴν ἀναζωπύρησιν καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν τῶν Ἰουδαίων χαλεπῶς διακείμενα πολλοὺς ἐπισυνιστάμενα διέφθειρεν ἐνέδραις καὶ ἐπιβουλαῖς αὐτῶν ἐγκρατῆ γιγνόμενα. πρὸς τούτους πολέμους συνεχεῖς ἐκφέρων ὁ Ἰούδας ἐπέχειν αὐτοὺς τῆς καταδρομῆς καὶ ὧν ἐποίουν κακῶς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐπειρᾶτο. [328] καὶ τοῖς Ἡσαῦ υἱοῖς Ἰδουμαίοις ἐπιπεσὼν κατὰ τὴν Ἀκραβατηνὴν πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν καὶ ἐσκύλευσεν. συγκλείσας δὲ καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ Βαάνου λοχῶντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους περικαθίσας ἐπολιόρκει καὶ τούς τε πύργους αὐτῶν ἐνεπίμπρα καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας διέφθειρεν. [329] ἔπειτ᾽ ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμμανίτας ἐξώρμησεν δύναμιν μεγάλην καὶ πολυάνθρωπον ἔχοντας, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Τιμόθεος. χειρωσάμενος δὲ καὶ τούτους τὴν Ἰαζωρῶν ἐξαιρεῖ πόλιν, καὶ τάς τε γυναῖκας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ τέκνα λαβὼν αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐμπρήσας εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὑπέστρεψεν. [330] μαθόντα δ᾽ αὐτὸν τὰ γειτονεύοντα τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀνεστροφότα συναθροίζεται εἰς τὴν Γαλαδηνὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅροις αὐτῶν Ἰουδαίους. οἱ δὲ καταφυγόντες εἰς Διάθημα τὸ φρούριον πέμψαντες πρὸς Ἰούδαν ἐδήλουν αὐτῷ, ὅτι λαβεῖν

ἐσπούδακεν Τιμόθεος τὸ χωρίον, εἰς ὃ συνεπεφεύγεσαν. [331] ἀναγινωσκομένων δὲ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τούτων κἀκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἄγγελοι παραγίγνονται σημαίνοντες ἐπισυνῆχθαι τοὺς ἐκ Πτολεμαίδος καὶ Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν τῆς Γαλιλαίας.

(2) [332] Πρὸς οὖν ἀμφοτέρας τὰς τῶν ἠγγελμένων χρείας σκεψάμενος Ἰούδας ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν, Σίμωνα μὲν τὸν ἀδελφὸν προσέταξεν ὡς τρισχιλίους τῶν ἐπιλέκτων λαβόντα τοῖς ἐν Γαλιλαίᾳ βοηθὸν ἐξελθεῖν Ἰουδαίοις. [333] αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ Ἰωνάθης ὁ ἕτερος ἀδελφὸς μετ᾽ ὀκτακισχιλίων στρατιωτῶν ὥρμησαν εἰς τὴν Γαλαδῖτιν: κατέλιπεν δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων τῆς δυνάμεως Ἰώσηπόν τε τὸν Ζαχαρία καὶ Ἀζαρίαν προστάξας αὐτοῖς φυλάττειν ἐπιμελῶς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ συνάπτειν πόλεμον πρὸς μηδένα, ἕως ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπανέλθῃ. [334] ὁ μὲν οὖν Σίμων παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν καὶ συμβαλὼν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς εἰς φυγὴν αὐτοὺς ἔτρεψεν καὶ μέχρι τῶν πυλῶν τῆς Πτολεμαίδος διώξας ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν ὡς περὶ τρισχιλίους, καὶ τά τε σκῦλα λαβὼν τῶν ἀνῃρημένων καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους Ἰουδαίους καὶ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν αὐτῶν ἐπαγόμενος εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν πάλιν ἀνέστρεψεν.

(3) [335] Ἰούδας δὲ ὁ Μακαβαῖος καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰωνάθης διαβάντες τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν καὶ ὁδὸν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τριῶν ἀνύσαντες ἡμερῶν τοῖς Ναβαταίοις εἰρηνικῶς ὑπαντῶσιν περιτυγχάνουσιν. [336] ὧν διηγησαμένων τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Γαλάτιδι, ὡς πολλοὶ κακοπαθοῦσιν αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις ἀπειλημμένοι καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν τῆς Γαλάτιδος, καὶ παραινεσάντων αὐτῷ σπεύδειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους καὶ ζητεῖν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν σώζειν τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς, πεισθεὶς ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον, καὶ προσπεσὼν πρώτοις τοῖς τὴν Βοσόραν κατοικοῦσιν καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὴν καταβαλὼν πᾶν τὸ ἄρρεν καὶ μάχεσθαι δυνάμενον διέφθειρεν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὑφῆψεν. [337] ἐπιγενομένης δὲ νυκτὸς οὐδ᾽ οὕτως ἐπέσχεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὁδεύσας δι᾽ αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὸ φρούριον, ἔνθα τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐγκεκλεῖσθαι συνέβαινεν περικαθεζομένου τὸ χωρίον Τιμοθέου μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, ἔωθεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸ παραγίνεται. [338] καὶ καταλαβὼν ἤδη τοῖς τείχεσι προσβεβληκότας τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς μὲν κλίμακας, ὥστε ἀναβαίνειν ἐπ᾽ αὐτά, τοὺς δὲ μηχανήματα προσφέροντας, κελεύσας τὸν σαλπικτὴν σημῆναι καὶ παρορμήσας τοὺς στρατιώτας ὑπὲρ ἀδελφῶν καὶ συγγενῶν διακινδυνεῦσαι προθύμως, εἰς τρία διελὼν τὸν στρατὸν ἐπιπίπτει κατὰ νώτου τοῖς πολεμίοις. [339] οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Τιμόθεον αἰσθόμενοι, ὅτι Μακαβαῖος εἴη, πεῖραν ἤδη καὶ πρότερον αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀνδρείας καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις εὐτυχίας εἰληφότες φυγῇ χρῶνται: ἐφεπόμενος δὲ μετὰ τοῦ στρατεύματος ὁ Ἰούδας ἀναιρεῖ μὲν αὐτῶν ὡς ὀκτακισχιλίους, [340] ἀπονεύσας δ᾽ εἰς Μελλὰ πόλιν οὕτως λεγομένην τῶν ἀλλοφύλων λαμβάνει καὶ ταύτην καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄρρενας ἅπαντας ἀποκτείνει, τὴν δὲ πόλιν αὐτὴν ἐμπίπρησιν. ἄρας δ᾽ ἐκεῖθεν τήν τε Χασφομάκη καὶ Βοσὸρ καὶ πολλὰς ἄλλας πόλεις τῆς Γαλάτιδος καταστρέφεται.

(4) [341] Χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ Τιμόθεος δύναμιν μεγάλην παρασκευασάμενος καὶ συμμάχους ἄλλους τε παραλαβὼν καὶ Ἀράβων τινὰς μισθῷ πείσας αὐτῷ συστρατεύειν ἦκεν ἄγων τὴν στρατιὰν πέραν τοῦ χειμάρρου Ῥομφῶν ἄντικρυς: πόλις δ' ἦν αὕτη: [342] καὶ παρεκελεύετο τοὺς στρατιώτας, εἰ συμβάλοιεν εἰς μάχην τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, προθύμως ἀγωνίζεσθαι καὶ κωλύειν αὐτοὺς διαβαίνειν τὸν χείμαρρον: διαβάντων γὰρ ἦτταν αὐτοῖς προύλεγεν. [343] Ἰούδας δ' ἀκούσας παρεσκευάσθαι τὸν Τιμόθεον πρὸς μάχην ἀναλαβὼν ἅπασαν τὴν οἰκείαν δύναμιν ἔσπευδεν ἐπὶ τὸν πολέμιον, καὶ περαιωσάμενος τὸν χείμαρρον ἐπιπίπτει τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ὑπαντιάζοντας ἀνῄρει, τοὺς δ' εἰς δέος ἐμβαλὼν ῥίψαντας τὰ ὅπλα φεύγειν ἠνάγκασεν. [344] καὶ τινὲς μὲν αὐτῶν διέδρασαν, οἱ δ' εἰς τὸ καλούμενον ἐγκρανὰς τέμενος συμφυγόντες ἤλπισαν τεύξεσθαι σωτηρίας. Ἰούδας δὲ τὴν πόλιν καταλαβόμενος αὐτούς τε ἀπέκτεινεν καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἐνέπρησεν ποικίλῃ χρησάμενος ἰδέᾳ τῆς ἀπωλείας τῶν πολεμίων.

(5) [345] Ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος καὶ συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἐν τῇ Γαλάτιδι Ἰουδαίους μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτοῖς ἀποσκευῆς οἷός τε ἦν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπαναγαγεῖν. [346] ὡς δ' ἦκεν ἐπί τινα πόλιν Ἐμφρὼν ὄνομα ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ κειμένην καὶ οὔτε ἄλλην αὐτῷ τραπομένῳ βαδίζειν δυνατὸν ἦν οὔτε ἀναστρέφειν ἤθελεν, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ παρεκάλει τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντας ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῷ διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀπελθεῖν: τάς τε γὰρ πύλας λίθοις ἐμπεφράκεσαν καὶ τὴν διέξοδον ἀπετέμοντο. [347] μὴ πειθομένων δὲ τῶν Ἐμφραίων παρορμήσας τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ κυκλωσάμενος ἐπολιόρκει, καὶ δι' ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς προσκαθίσας ἐξαιρεῖ τὴν πόλιν καὶ πᾶν ὅσον ἄρρεν ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ κτείνας καὶ καταπρήσας ἅπασαν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἔσχεν: τοσοῦτον δ' ἦν τὸ τῶν πεφονευμένων πλῆθος, ὡς ἐπ' αὐτῶν βαδίζειν τῶν νεκρῶν. [348] διαβάντες δὲ τὸν Ἰορδάνην ἦκον εἰς τὸ μέγα πεδίον, οὗ κεῖται κατὰ πρόσωπον πόλις Βεθσάνη καλουμένη πρὸς Ἑλλήνων Σκυθόπολις. [349] κἀκεῖθεν ὁρμηθέντες εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν παρεγένοντο ψάλλοντές τε καὶ ὑμνοῦντες καὶ τὰς συνήθεις ἐν τοῖς ἐπινικίοις παιδιὰς ἄγοντες, ἔθυσάν τε χαριστηρίους ὑπέρ τε τῶν κατωρθωμένων θυσίας καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ στρατεύματος σωτηρίας: οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς πολέμοις τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπέθανεν.

(6) [350] Ἰώσηπος δὲ ὁ Ζαχαρίου καὶ Ἀζαρίας, οὓς κατέλιπεν στρατηγοὺς ὁ Ἰούδας καθ' ὃν καιρὸν Σίμων μὲν ὑπῆρχεν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ πολεμῶν τοὺς ἐν τῇ Πτολεμαίδι, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἰούδας καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰωνάθης ἐν τῇ Γαλάτιδι, βουληθέντες καὶ αὐτοὶ δόξαν περιποιήσασθαι στρατηγῶν τὰ πολεμικὰ γενναίων τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς δύναμιν ἀναλαβόντες ἦλθον εἰς Ἰάμνειαν. [351] Γοργίου δὲ τοῦ τῆς Ἰαμνείας στρατηγοῦ ὑπαντήσαντος συμβολῆς γενομένης δισχιλίους ἀποβάλλουσι τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ φεύγοντες ἄχρι τῶν τῆς Ἰουδαίας ὅρων [διώκονται]. [352] συνέβη δ' αὐτοῖς τὸ πταῖσμα τοῦτο παρακούσασιν ὧν αὐτοῖς

Ἰούδας ἐπέστειλεν, μὴ συμβαλεῖν εἰς μάχην μηδενὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐκείνου παρουσίας: πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτοῦ στρατηγήμασιν καὶ τὸ κατὰ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον καὶ τὸν Ἀζαρίαν πταῖσμα θαυμάσειεν ἄν τις, ὃ συνῆκεν εἰ παρακινήσουσίν τι τῶν ἐπεσταλμένων αὐτοῖς ἐσόμενον. [353] ὁ δὲ Ἰούδας καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ πολεμοῦντες τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους οὐκ ἀνίεσαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐνέκειντο πανταχόθεν αὐτοῖς, τήν τε Χεβρῶνα πόλιν καταλαβόμενοι ὅσον ὀχυρὸν αὐτῆς καθεῖλον καὶ τοὺς πύργους ἐμπρήσαντες ἐδῄουν τὴν ἀλλόφυλον χώραν καὶ Μάρισαν πόλιν, εἵς τε Ἄζωτον ἐλθόντες καὶ λαβόντες αὐτὴν διήρπασαν. πολλὰ δὲ σκῦλα καὶ λείαν κομίζοντες εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὑπέστρεψαν.

IX

(1) [354] Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος τὴν ἄνω χώραν ἐπερχόμενος ἀκούει πόλιν ἐν τῇ Περσίδι πλούτῳ διαφέρουσαν Ἐλυμαίδα τοὔνομα καὶ πολυτελὲς ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἀναθημάτων πλῆρες εἶναι ἔτι γε μὴν ὅπλα καὶ θώρακας, ἃ καταλιπεῖν ἐπυνθάνετο τὸν υἱὸν τὸν Φιλίππου βασιλέα δὲ Μακεδόνων Ἀλέξανδρον. [355] κινηθεὶς οὖν ὑπὸ τούτων ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλυμαίδα καὶ προσβαλὼν αὐτὴν ἐπολιόρκει. τῶν δ᾽ ἐν αὐτῇ μὴ καταπλαγέντων τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ μηδὲ τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἀλλὰ καρτερῶς ἀντισχόντων ἀποκρούεται τῆς ἐλπίδος: ἀπωσάμενοι γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐπεξελθόντες ἐδίωξαν, ὥστ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα φεύγοντα καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποβαλόντα τῆς στρατιᾶς. [356] λυπουμένῳ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῇ διαμαρτίᾳ ταύτῃ προσαγγέλλουσίν τινες καὶ τὴν τῶν στρατηγῶν ἧτταν, οὓς πολεμήσοντας τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καταλελοίπει, καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν ἤδη τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων. [357] προσγενομένης οὖν καὶ τῆς περὶ τούτων φροντίδος τῇ προτέρᾳ συγχυθεὶς ὑπὸ ἀθυμίας εἰς νόσον κατέπεσεν, ἧς μηκυνομένης καὶ αὐξανόντων τῶν παθῶν συνείς, ὅτι μέλλοι τελευτᾶν, συγκαλεῖ τοὺς φίλους καὶ τήν τε νόσον αὐτοῖς χαλεπὴν οὖσαν ἐμήνυε καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα πάσχει κακώσας τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος παρεδήλου συλήσας τὸν ναὸν καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καταφρονήσας, καὶ ταῦτα λέγων ἐξέπνευσεν. [358] ὥστε θαυμάζειν Πολύβιον τὸν Μεγαλοπολίτην, ὃς ἀγαθὸς ὢν ἀνὴρ ἀποθανεῖν λέγει τὸν Ἀντίοχον βουληθέντα τὸ τῆς ἐν Πέρσαις Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν συλῆσαι: τὸ γὰρ μηκέτι ποιῆσαι τὸ ἔργον βουλευσάμενον οὐκ ἔστιν τιμωρίας ἄξιον. [359] εἰ δὲ διὰ τοῦτο Πολυβίῳ δοκεῖ καταστρέψαι τὸν βίον Ἀντίοχον οὕτως, πολὺ πιθανώτερον διὰ τὴν ἱεροσυλίαν τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ναοῦ τελευτῆσαι τὸν βασιλέα. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτου οὐ διαφέρομαι τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μεγαλοπολίτου λεγομένην αἰτίαν ταύτην ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀληθῆ νομιζόντων.

(2) [360] Ὁ δ᾽ Ἀντίοχος πρὶν ἢ τελευτᾶν καλέσας Φίλιππον ἕνα τῶν ἑταίρων τῆς βασιλείας αὐτὸν ἐπίτροπον καθίστησιν, καὶ δοὺς αὐτῷ τὸ διάδημα καὶ τὴν στολὴν καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ἐκέλευσε κομίσαντα

δοῦναι, δεηθεὶς προνοῆσαι τῆς ἀνατροφῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τηρῆσαι τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκείνῳ. [361] ἀπέθανεν δὲ Ἀντίοχος ἐνάτῳ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ ἑκατοστῷ ἔτει. Λυσίας δὲ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ δηλώσας τῷ πλήθει τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀντίοχον, αὐτὸς γὰρ εἶχεν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, ἀποδείκνυσι βασιλέα καλέσας αὐτὸν Εὐπάτορα.

(3) [362] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ οἱ ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων φρουροὶ καὶ φυγάδες τῶν Ἰουδαίων πολλὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἰργάσαντο: τοὺς γὰρ ἀναβαίνοντας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ θῦσαι βουλομένους ἐξαίφνης ἐκτρέχοντες οἱ φρουροὶ διέφθειραν: ἐπέκειτο γὰρ τῷ ἱερῷ ἡ ἄκρα. [363] τούτων οὖν συμβαινόντων αὐτοῖς Ἰούδας ἐξελεῖν διέγνω τὴν φρουράν, καὶ συναγαγὼν τὸν λαὸν ἅπαντα τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ καρτερῶς ἐπολιόρκει. ἔτος ἦν τοῦτο τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῖς ἀπὸ Σελεύκου ἑκατοστὸν καὶ πεντηκοστόν. κατασκευάσας οὖν μηχανήματα καὶ χώματα ἐγείρας φιλοπόνως προσέκειτο τῇ τῆς ἄκρας αἱρέσει. [364] πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ φυγάδων νύκτωρ ἐξελθόντες εἰς τὴν χώραν καί τινας τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ ἀσεβῶν συναγαγόντες ἦκον πρὸς Ἀντίοχον τὸν βασιλέα, οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ὑπερορᾶσθαι δεινὰ πάσχοντας ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοφύλων καὶ ταῦθ' ὑπομένοντας διὰ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ, τὴν μὲν πάτριον αὐτῶν καταλύσαντας θρησκείαν, ἣν δὲ προσέταξεν ταύτης ἀντιποιουμένους: [365] κινδυνεύειν οὖν ὑπὸ Ἰούδου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν αἱρεθῆναι καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως κατασταθέντας, εἰ μή τις παρ' αὐτοῦ βοήθεια πεμφθείη. [366] ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ παῖς Ἀντίοχος ὠργίσθη καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ φίλους μεταπεμψάμενος ἐκέλευσε μισθοφόρους συναγαγεῖν καὶ ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας τοὺς στρατεύσιμον ἡλικίαν ἔχοντας. καὶ συνήχθη στρατὸς πεζῶν μὲν ὡσεὶ δέκα μυριάδες, ἱππεῖς δὲ δισμύριοι, ἐλέφαντες δὲ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα.

(4) [367] Ταύτην οὖν ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἐξώρμησεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας μετὰ Λυσίου πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς ἔχοντος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Βηθσοῦραν ἀναβαίνει πόλιν σφόδρα ἐχυρὰν καὶ δυσάλωτον καὶ περικαθίσας ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν. [368] ἰσχυρῶς δὲ ἀντεχόντων τῶν Βηθσουραίων καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν αὐτοῦ τῶν μηχανημάτων ἐμπρησάντων, ἐπεξῆλθον γὰρ αὐτῷ, χρόνος ἐτρίβετο πολὺς περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν. [369] Ἰούδας δὲ τὴν ἔφοδον τοῦ βασιλέως ἀκούσας ἀφίσταται μὲν τοῦ τὴν ἄκραν πολιορκεῖν, ἀπαντήσας δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ βάλλεται στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ τῶν στενῶν ἔν τινι τόπῳ Βεθζαχαρίᾳ λεγομένῳ σταδίους ἀπέχοντι τῶν πολεμίων ἑβδομήκοντα. [370] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὁρμήσας ἀπὸ τῆς Βεθσούρας ἤγαγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τὰ στενὰ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἰούδα στρατόπεδον, ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ δὲ πρὸς μάχην διέτασσε τὴν στρατιάν. [371] τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἐλέφαντας ἐποίησεν ἀλλήλοις ἔπεσθαι διὰ τὴν στενοχωρίαν οὐ δυναμένων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πλάτος τετάχθαι, εἰς δὲ κύκλον ἐλέφαντος ἑκάστου συμπροῆσαν πεζοὶ μὲν χίλιοι, ἱππεῖς δὲ πεντακόσιοι: ἔφερον δὲ οἱ ἐλέφαντες πύργους τε ὑψηλοὺς καὶ τοξότας: τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν δύναμιν ἑκατέρωθεν ἐποίησεν ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη φίλους αὐτῆς προτάξας. [372] κελεύσας δὲ ἀλαλάξαι τὴν

στρατιὰν προσβάλλει τοῖς πολεμίοις, γυμνώσας τάς τε χρυσᾶς καὶ χαλκᾶς ἀσπίδας, ὥστε αὐγὴν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀφίεσθαι λαμπράν: συνεπήχει δὲ τὰ ὄρη κεκραγότων αὐτῶν. ταῦτα ὁρῶν ὁ Ἰούδας οὐ κατεπλάγη, δεξάμενος δὲ γενναίως τοὺς πολεμίους τῶν προδρόμων περὶ ἑξακοσίους ἀναιρεῖ. [373] Ἐλεάζαρος δ᾽ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, ὃν Αὐρὸν ἐκάλουν, ἰδὼν τὸν ὑψηλότατον τῶν ἐλεφάντων ὡπλισμένον θώραξι βασιλικοῖς καὶ νομίζων ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὸν βασιλέα εἶναι παρεβάλετο σφόδρα εὐκαρδίως ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁρμήσας, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν περὶ τὸν ἐλέφαντα κτείνας τοὺς ἄλλους διεσκέδασεν, ὑποδὺς δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν γαστέρα καὶ πλήξας ἀπέκτεινε τὸν ἐλέφαντα. [374] ὁ δ᾽ ἐπικατενεχθεὶς τῷ Ἐλεαζάρῳ διαφθείρει τὸν ἄνδρα ὑπὸ τοῦ βάρους. καὶ οὗτος μὲν εὐψύχως πολλοὺς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπολέσας τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν.

(5) [375] Ὁ δὲ Ἰούδας ὁρῶν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἰσχὺν ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ πρὸς πολιορκίαν παρεσκευάζετο: Ἀντίοχος δὲ τὸ μέν τι τῆς στρατιᾶς εἰς Βεθσοῦραν ἔπεμψεν πολεμήσων αὐτήν, τῷ δὲ λοιπῷ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτὸς ἦκεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. [376] οἱ μὲν οὖν Βεθσουρῖται τὴν ἰσχὺν καταπλαγέντες καὶ σπανίζοντα βλέποντες τὰ ἐπιτήδεια παραδιδόασιν ἑαυτοὺς ὅρκους λαβόντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν πείσεσθαι κακὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως. Ἀντίοχος δὲ λαβὼν τὴν πόλιν ἄλλο μὲν αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν διέθηκεν, μόνον δὲ γυμνοὺς ἐξέβαλεν, φρουρὰν δὲ κατέστησεν ἰδίαν ἐν τῇ πόλει. [377] πολλῷ δὲ χρόνῳ τὸ ἱερὸν πολιορκῶν τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις προσεκαθέζετο καρτερῶς τῶν ἔνδοθεν ἀμυνομένων: πρὸς ἕκαστον γὰρ ὧν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἔστησε μηχάνημα κἀκεῖνοι πάλιν ἀντεμηχανῶντο. [378] τροφὴ δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐπιλελοίπει, τοῦ μὲν ὄντος ἀπανηλωμένου καρποῦ, τῆς δὲ γῆς ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἔτει μὴ γεωργημένης, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ εἶναι τὸ ἕβδομον ἔτος, καθ᾽ ὃ νόμος ἡμῖν ἀργὴν ἐᾶν τὴν χώραν, ἀσπόρου μεμενηκυίας. πολλοὶ τοιγαροῦν τῶν πολιορκουμένων ἀπεδίδρασκον διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπορίαν, ὡς ὀλίγους ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καταλειφθῆναι.

(6) [379] Καὶ τοῖς μὲν πολιορκουμένοις ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοιαῦτα συνέβαινεν εἶναι τὰ πράγματα. Λυσίας δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς, ἐπεὶ Φίλιππος αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Περσίδος ἥκων ἐδηλώθη [καὶ] τὰ πράγματα εἰς αὐτὸν κατασκευάζειν, εἶχον μὲν ὥστε τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀφέντες ὁρμᾶν ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον, οὐ μὴν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι φανερὸν τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἔγνωσαν, [380] ἀλλ᾽ ἐκέλευσεν τὸν Λυσίαν ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐν κοινῷ διαλεχθῆναι μηδὲν μὲν τῶν περὶ Φίλιππον ἐμφανίζοντα, τὴν δὲ πολιορκίαν ὅτι χρονιωτάτη γένοιτ᾽ ἂν δηλοῦντα, καὶ τὴν ὀχυρότητα τοῦ χωρίου, καὶ ὅτι τὰ τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῖς ἤδη ἐπιλείποι, καὶ ὡς πολλὰ δεῖ καταστῆσαι τῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ πραγμάτων, [381] καὶ ὡς δοκεῖ πολὺ κρεῖττον εἶναι σπονδὰς ποιησαμένους πρὸς τοὺς πολιορκουμένους καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς ὅλον αὐτῶν τὸ ἔθνος ἐπιτρέψαντας αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις, ὧν ἀφαιρεθέντες νῦν ἐξεπολεμώθησαν, χωρεῖν ἐπὶ

τὰ οἰκεῖα. ταῦτα τοῦ Λυσίου φήσαντος ἠρέσθη τό τε στράτευμα καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῇ γνώμῃ.

(7) [382] Καὶ πέμψας ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν Ἰούδαν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πολιορκουμένους εἰρήνην τε ἐπηγγείλατο καὶ συγχωρεῖν τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις χρωμένους ζῆν. οἱ δὲ ἀσμένως δεξάμενοι τοὺς λόγους λαβόντες ὅρκους τε καὶ πίστεις ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ. [383] εἰσελθὼν δὲ Ἀντίοχος εἰς αὐτὸ καὶ θεασάμενος ὀχυρὸν οὕτως τὸ χωρίον παρέβη τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ κελεύει τὴν δύναμιν παραστᾶσαν καθελεῖν τὸ τεῖχος εἰς ἔδαφος. καὶ ταῦτα ποιήσας ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπαγόμενος Ὀνίαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα, ὃς καὶ Μενέλαος ἐκαλεῖτο. [384] Λυσίας γὰρ συνεβούλευσεν τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸν Μενέλαον ἀνελεῖν, εἰ βούλεται τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἠρεμεῖν καὶ μηδὲν ἐνοχλεῖν αὐτῷ: τοῦτον γὰρ ἄρξαι τῶν κακῶν πείσαντ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὸν πατέρα τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀναγκάσαι τὴν πάτριον θρησκείαν καταλιπεῖν. [385] πέμψας οὖν τὸν Μενέλαον ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς Βέροιαν τῆς Συρίας διέφθειρεν ἀρχιερατεύσαντα μὲν ἔτη δέκα, πονηρὸν δὲ γενόμενον καὶ ἀσεβῆ καὶ ἵνα αὐτὸς ἄρχῃ τὸ ἔθνος ἀναγκάσαντα τοὺς ἰδίους παραβῆναι νόμους. ἀρχιερεὺς δὲ ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸν Μενελάου θάνατον Ἄλκιμος ὁ καὶ Ἰάκιμος κληθείς. [386] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος ὁρῶν ἤδη τὸν Φίλιππον κρατοῦντα τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπολέμει πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὸν ὑποχείριον ἀπέκτεινεν. [387] ὁ δὲ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως υἱὸς Ὀνίας, ὃν προείπομεν ἔτι παῖδα τελευτήσαντος ἀφίεσθαι τοῦ πατρός, ἰδὼν ὅτι τὸν θεῖον αὐτοῦ Μενέλαον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνελὼν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην Ἀλκίμῳ δέδωκεν οὐκ ὄντι τῆς τῶν ἀρχιερέων γενεᾶς, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ Λυσίου πεισθεὶς μεταθεῖναι τὴν τιμὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς οἰκίας εἰς ἕτερον οἶκον, φεύγει πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα. [388] καὶ τιμῆς ἀξιωθεὶς ὑπό τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς Κλεοπάτρας λαμβάνει τόπον ἀξιώσας ἐν τῷ νομῷ τῷ Ἡλιοπολίτῃ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὅμοιον τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ᾠκοδόμησεν ἱερόν. περὶ τούτου μὲν οὖν εὐκαιρότερον ἡμῖν ἔσται διελθεῖν.

X

(1) [389] Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν φυγὼν Δημήτριος ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ὁ Σελεύκου υἱὸς καὶ καταλαβόμενος τῆς Συρίας Τρίπολιν περιτίθησιν μὲν ἑαυτῷ διάδημα, συναγαγὼν δέ τινας περὶ αὐτὸν μισθοφόρους εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν εἰσῆλθεν, πάντων αὐτὸν ἡδέως προσδεχομένων καὶ παραδιδόντων αὐτούς. [390] συλλαβόντες δὲ καὶ Ἀντίοχον τὸν βασιλέα καὶ Λυσίαν ζῶντας ἀνάγουσιν αὐτῷ. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν κελεύσαντος Δημητρίου παραχρῆμα διεφθάρησαν βασιλεύσαντος Ἀντιόχου ἔτη δύο, καθὼς ἤδη που καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ δεδήλωται. [391] συστραφέντες δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πονηροὶ καὶ φυγάδες καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν Ἄλκιμος ὁ ἀρχιερεύς, κατηγόρουν τοῦ ἔθνους παντὸς καὶ Ἰούδα καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ, [392] λέγοντες ὡς τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ πάντας ἀπεκτόνασιν καὶ ὅσοι τὰ ἐκείνου

φρονοῦντες καὶ περιμένοντες αὐτὸν ὑπῆρχον ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τούτους ἀπολωλέκασιν αὐτούς τε τῆς οἰκείας γῆς ἐκβαλόντες ἀλλοτρίας ἐπήλυδας πεποιήκασιν, ἠξίουν τε πέμψαντα τῶν ἰδίων τινὰ φίλων γνῶναι δι᾽ αὐτοῦ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἰούδαν τετολμημένα.

(2) [393] Ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος παροξυνθεὶς ἐκπέμπει Βακχίδην φίλον Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς βασιλέως, ἄνδρα χρηστὸν καὶ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν ἅπασαν πεπιστευμένον, δοὺς αὐτῷ δύναμιν καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα παραθέμενος αὐτῷ Ἄλκιμον ἐντειλάμενος ἀποκτεῖναι Ἰούδαν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. [394] ἐξορμήσας δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ὁ Βακχίδης μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἔπεμψε πρὸς τὸν Ἰούδαν καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ περὶ φιλίας καὶ εἰρήνης διαλεγόμενος: δόλῳ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐβούλετο λαβεῖν. [395] ὁ δ᾽ οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν: ἑώρα γάρ, ὅτι μετὰ στρατιᾶς πάρεστιν τοσαύτης, μεθ᾽ ὅσης ἐπὶ πόλεμόν τις, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐπ᾽ εἰρήνην ἔρχεται. τινὲς μέντοι γε τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου προσέχοντες οἷς ὁ Βακχίδης ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο καὶ νομίσαντες οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ Ἀλκίμου πείσεσθαι δεινὸν ὄντος ὁμοφύλου πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνεχώρησαν, [396] καὶ λαβόντες ὅρκους παρ᾽ ἀμφοτέρων μήτε αὐτούς τι παθεῖν μήτε τοὺς ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ὄντας προαιρέσεως ἐπίστευσαν αὐτοὺς ἐκείνοις. ὁ δὲ Βακχίδης ὀλιγωρήσας τῶν ὅρκων ἑξήκοντα μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους, ὅσοι διενοοῦντο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀναχωρεῖν, ἐπέστρεψεν τοῖς πρώτοις τὴν πίστιν μὴ φυλάξας. [397] ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἀπελθὼν κατὰ κώμην Βηρζηθὼ λεγομένην ἐγένετο, πέμψας συλλαμβάνει πολλοὺς τῶν αὐτομολούντων καί τινας τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ πάντας ἀποκτείνας προσέταξεν τοῖς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ πᾶσιν ὑπακούειν Ἀλκίμῳ, καὶ μετὰ στρατιᾶς τινος, ἵν᾽ ἔχῃ τηρεῖν τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ, καταλιπὼν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Δημήτριον ὑπέστρεψεν.

(3) [398] Ἄλκιμος δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ βουλόμενος βεβαιώσασθαι καὶ συνείς, ὅτι κατασκευάσας εὔνουν τὸ πλῆθος ἀσφαλέστερον ἄρξει, χρηστοῖς ἅπαντας ὑπήγετο λόγοις καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἑκάστῳ καὶ χάριν ὁμιλῶν ταχὺ δὴ μάλα χεῖρα πολλὴν καὶ δύναμιν περιεβάλετο: [399] τούτων δ᾽ ἦσαν οἱ πλείους ἐκ τῶν ἀσεβῶν καὶ πεφυγαδευμένων, οἷς ὑπηρέταις καὶ στρατιώταις χρώμενος ἐπήρχετο τὴν χώραν καὶ ὅσους ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ Ἰούδα φρονοῦντας ηὕρισκεν ἐφόνευεν. [400] ὁρῶν δὲ τὸν Ἄλκιμον ἤδη μέγαν ὁ Ἰούδας γινόμενον καὶ πολλοὺς διεφθαρκότα τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ ὁσίων τοῦ ἔθνους, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιπορευόμενος τὴν χώραν διέφθειρεν τοὺς ταὐτὰ ἐκείνῳ φρονοῦντας. βλέπων δὲ ἑαυτὸν Ἄλκιμος ἀντέχειν τῷ Ἰούδᾳ μὴ δυνάμενον, ἀλλ᾽ ἡττώμενον αὐτοῦ τῆς ἰσχύος, ἐπὶ τὴν παρὰ Δημητρίου τοῦ βασιλέως συμμαχίαν ἔγνω τραπέσθαι. [401] παραγενόμενος οὖν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν παρώξυνεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν, κατηγορῶν ὡς πολλὰ μὲν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πεπόνθοι κακά, πλείω δὲ γένοιτ᾽ ἄν, εἰ μὴ προκαταληφθείη καὶ δοίη δίκην δυνάμεως ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἰσχυρᾶς ἀποσταλείσης.

(4) [402] Ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος τοῦτ᾽ ἤδη καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις αὐτοῦ πράγμασιν ἐπισφαλὲς ἡγησάμενος εἶναι τὸ περιιδεῖν Ἰούδαν ἐν ἰσχύι τοσαύτῃ γενόμενον, ἐκπέμπει Νικάνορα τὸν εὐνούστατον αὐτῷ καὶ πιστότατον τῶν φίλων, οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως αὐτῷ συμφυγών, καὶ δοὺς δύναμιν ὅσην ὑπέλαβεν ἀρκέσειν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Ἰούδαν ἐκέλευσεν μηδεμίαν φειδὼ ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ ἔθνους. [403] ὁ δὲ Νικάνωρ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πολεμεῖν μὲν εὐθὺς οὐ διέγνω τῷ Ἰούδᾳ, δόλῳ δ᾽ ὑποχείριον λαβεῖν κρίνας προσπέμπει λόγους εἰρηνικοὺς αὐτῷ, μηδεμίαν μὲν ἀνάγκην εἶναι φάσκων πολεμεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν, ὅρκους δ᾽ αὐτῷ διδόναι περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν πείσεσθαι δεινόν: ἥκειν γὰρ μετὰ φίλων ἐπὶ τῷ ποιῆσαι φανερὰν αὐτοῖς τὴν Δημητρίου τοῦ βασιλέως διάνοιαν, ὡς περὶ τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν φρονεῖ. [404] ταῦτα διαπρεσβευσαμένου τοῦ Νικάνορος ὁ Ἰούδας καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ πεισθέντες καὶ μηδεμίαν ἀπάτην ὑποπτεύσαντες διδόασιν πίστεις αὐτῷ καὶ δέχονται τὸν Νικάνορα μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. ὁ δὲ ἀσπασάμενος τὸν Ἰούδαν [καὶ] μεταξὺ προσομιλῶν δίδωσι τοῖς οἰκείοις τι σημεῖον, ὅπως συλλάβωσι τὸν Ἰούδαν. [405] ὁ δὲ συνεὶς τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐκπηδήσας πρὸς τοὺς ἰδίους συνέφυγεν. φανερᾶς δὲ τῆς προαιρέσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐνέδρας ὁ Νικάνωρ γενομένης πολεμεῖν ἔκρινεν τῷ Ἰούδᾳ, καὶ συγκροτήσας καὶ παρασκευασάμενος τὰ πρὸς τὴν μάχην συμβάλλει κατά τινα κώμην Καφαρσαλαμὰ καὶ νικήσας ἀναγκάζει τὸν Ἰούδαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἄκραν φεύγειν.

(5) [406] Ἔτι δ᾽ αὐτῷ κατιόντι ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀπαντήσαντες τῶν ἱερέων τινὲς καὶ πρεσβυτέρων ἠσπάζοντο καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐπεδείκνυον, ἃς ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔλεγον ἐπιφέρειν τῷ θεῷ. ὁ δὲ βλασφημήσας αὐτοὺς ἠπείλησεν, εἰ μὴ παραδοίη τὸν Ἰούδαν ὁ λαὸς αὐτῷ, καθαιρήσειν ὅταν ἐπανέλθῃ τὸν ναόν. [407] καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ᾽ ἀπειλήσας ἐξῆλθεν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, οἱ δ᾽ ἱερεῖς εἰς δάκρυα διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις λύπην προέπεσον καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἱκέτευον ῥύσασθαι ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων αὐτούς. [408] ὁ δὲ Νικάνωρ, ὡς ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐξελθὼν ἐγένετο κατά τινα κώμην Βηθωρου λεγομένην, αὐτόθι στρατοπεδεύεται προσγενομένης αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλης ἀπὸ Συρίας δυνάμεως: Ἰούδας δὲ ἐν Ἀδασοῖς ἑτέρᾳ κώμῃ σταδίους ἀπεχούσῃ τριάκοντα τῆς Βηθωροῦ στρατοπεδεύεται δισχιλίους στρατιώτας ἔχων. [409] τούτους παρορμήσας μὴ καταπλαγῆναι τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων πλῆθος, μηδὲ λογίζεσθαι πρὸς πόσους ἀγωνίζεσθαι μέλλουσιν, ἀλλὰ τίνες ὄντες καὶ περὶ οἵων ἐπάθλων κινδυνεύουσιν ἐνθυμουμένους εὐψύχως ὁμόσε χωρῆσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ἐξάγει, καὶ συμβαλὼν τῷ Νικάνορι καὶ καρτερᾶς τῆς μάχης γενομένης κρατεῖ τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ πολλούς τε αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν καὶ τελευταῖον αὐτὸς ὁ Νικάνωρ λαμπρῶς ἀγωνιζόμενος ἔπεσεν. [410] οὗ πεσόντος οὐδὲ τὸ στράτευμα ἔμεινεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀπολέσαντες εἰς φυγὴν ἐτράπησαν ῥίψαντες τὰς πανοπλίας. ἐπιδιώκων δὲ ὁ Ἰούδας ἐφόνευσεν καὶ ταῖς σάλπιγξι ταῖς πέριξ κώμαις ἐσήμαινεν, ὅτι νικῴη τοὺς πολεμίους. [411] οἱ

δ’ ἐν αὐταῖς ἀκούσαντες ἐξεπήδων ὡπλισμένοι καὶ τοῖς φεύγουσιν ὑπαντῶντες ἔκτεινον αὐτοὺς γενόμενοι κατὰ πρόσωπον, ὥστ’ ἐκ τῆς μάχης ταύτης οὐδεὶς διέφυγεν ὄντων αὐτῶν ἐννακισχιλίων. [412] τὴν δὲ νίκην συνέβη γενέσθαι ταύτην τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ λεγομένου παρὰ μὲν Ἰουδαίοις Ἄδαρ κατὰ δὲ Μακεδόνας Δύστρου. ἄγουσιν δ’ ἐν τούτῳ τὰ νικητήρια κατὰ πᾶν ἔτος καὶ ἑορτὴν νομίζουσι τὴν ἡμέραν. ἐξ ἐκείνου μέντοι τοῦ χρόνου πρὸς ὀλίγον τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος τῶν πολέμων ἀναπαυσάμενον καὶ εἰρήνης ἀπολαῦον ἔπειτα εἰς ἀγῶνας πάλιν καὶ κινδύνους κατέστη.

(6) [413] Τῷ δ’ ἀρχιερεῖ τῷ Ἀλκίμῳ βουληθέντι καθελεῖν τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ ἁγίου παλαιὸν ὂν καὶ κατεσκευασμένον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων προφητῶν, πληγή τις αἰφνίδιος ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ προσέπεσεν, ὑφ’ ἧς ἄφωνός τε ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν κατηνέχθη καὶ βασανισθεὶς ἐπὶ συχνὰς ἡμέρας ἀπέθανεν ἀρχιερατεύσας ἔτη τέσσαρα. [414] τελευτήσαντος δὲ τούτου τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ὁ λαὸς τῷ Ἰούδᾳ δίδωσιν, ὃς ἀκούσας περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεως καὶ ὅτι καταπεπολεμήκασιν τήν τε Γαλατίαν καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ Καρχηδόνα τῆς Λιβύης καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τὴν Ἑλλάδα κεχείρωνται καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς Περσέα καὶ Φίλιππον καὶ τὸν μέγαν Ἀντίοχον, ἔγνω φιλίαν ποιήσασθαι πρὸς αὐτούς. [415] πέμψας οὖν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων Εὐπόλεμον τὸν Ἰωάννου υἱὸν καὶ Ἰάσονα τὸν Ἐλεαζάρου παρεκάλει δι’ αὐτῶν συμμάχους εἶναι καὶ φίλους, καὶ Δημητρίῳ γράψαι, ὅπως μὴ πολεμῇ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους. [416] ἐλθόντας δὲ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Ἰούδα πρεσβευτὰς ἡ σύγκλητος δέχεται καὶ διαλεχθεῖσα περὶ ὧν ἐπέμφθησαν τὴν συμμαχίαν ἐπινεύει. ποιήσασα δὲ περὶ τούτου δόγμα τὸ μὲν ἀντίγραφον εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀπέστειλεν, αὐτὸ δ’ εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον εἰς χαλκᾶς ἐγγράψαντες δέλτους ἀνέθεσαν. [417] ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτον: “δόγμα συγκλήτου περὶ συμμαχίας καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος τὸ Ἰουδαίων. μηδένα τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων Ῥωμαίοις πολεμεῖν τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνει μηδὲ τοῖς πολεμοῦσι χορηγεῖν ἢ σῖτον ἢ πλοῖα ἢ χρήματα. [418] ἐὰν δὲ ἐπίωσί τινες Ἰουδαίοις, βοηθεῖν Ῥωμαίους αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, καὶ πάλιν, ἂν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐπίωσίν τινες, Ἰουδαίους αὐτοῖς συμμαχεῖν. ἂν δέ τι πρὸς ταύτην τὴν συμμαχίαν θελήσῃ τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἢ προσθεῖναι ἢ ἀφελεῖν, τοῦτο κοινῇ γινέσθω γνώμῃ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων, ὃ δ’ ἂν προστεθῇ τοῦτ’ εἶναι κύριον. [419] ἐγράφη τὸ δόγμα ὑπὸ Εὐπολέμου τοῦ Ἰωάννου παιδὸς καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰάσονος τοῦ Ἐλεαζάρου ἐπ’ ἀρχιερέως μὲν τοῦ ἔθνους Ἰούδα, στρατηγοῦ δὲ Σίμωνος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ.” καὶ τὴν μὲν πρώτην Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς Ἰουδαίους φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν οὕτως συνέβη γενέσθαι.

XI

(1) [420] Δημήτριος δ’ ἀπαγγελθείσης αὐτῷ τῆς Νικάνορος τελευτῆς καὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας τοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ. στρατεύματος πάλιν τὸν Βακχίδην μετὰ δυνάμεως εἰς

τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐξέπεμψεν. [421] ὃς ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐξορμήσας καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐν Ἀρβήλοις πόλει τῆς Γαλιλαίας στρατοπεδεύεται, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἐκεῖ σπηλαίοις ὄντας, πολλοὶ γὰρ εἰς αὐτὰ συμπεφεύγεσαν, ἐκπολιορκήσας καὶ λαβὼν ἅρας ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα σπουδὴν ἐποιεῖτο. [422] μαθὼν δὲ τὸν Ἰούδαν ἔν τινι κώμῃ Ζηθῶ τοὔνομα κατεστρατοπεδευμένον ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἠπείγετο μετὰ πεζῶν μὲν δισμυρίων, ἱππέων δὲ δισχιλίων: τῷ Ἰούδᾳ δ᾽ ἦσαν οἱ πάντες χίλιοι. οὗτοι τὸ Βακχίδου πλῆθος θεωρήσαντες ἔδεισαν καὶ τὴν παρεμβολὴν καταλιπόντες ἔφυγον πάντες πλὴν ὀκτακοσίων. [423] Ἰούδας δὲ καταλειφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων στρατιωτῶν [καὶ] τῶν πολεμίων ἐπικειμένων καὶ μηδένα καιρὸν αὐτῷ πρὸς συλλογὴν τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπιτρεπόντων οἷός τ᾽ ἦν μετὰ τῶν ὀκτακοσίων συμβαλεῖν τοῖς τοῦ Βακχίδου, [καὶ] προτρεπόμενός τε τούτους εὐψύχως ὑφίστασθαι τὸν κίνδυνον παρεκάλει χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην. [424] τῶν δὲ λεγόντων, ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶ πρὸς τοσοῦτο μέγεθος στρατιᾶς ἀξιόμαχοι, συμβουλευόντων δὲ νῦν μὲν ἀναχωρεῖν καὶ σώζειν αὐτούς, αὖθις δὲ συναγαγόντας τοὺς ἰδίους τοῖς ἐχθροῖς συμβαλεῖν, “μὴ τοῦτ᾽, εἶπεν, ἥλιος ἐπίδοι γενόμενον, ἵν᾽ ἐγὼ τὰ νῶτά μου δείξω τοῖς πολεμίοις. [425] ἀλλ᾽ εἰ καὶ τελευτὴν ὁ παρών μοι καιρὸς φέρει καὶ δεῖ πάντως ἀπολέσθαι μαχόμενον, στήσομαι γενναίως πᾶν ὑπομένων τὸ μέλλον ἢ Τοῖς ἤδη κατωρθωμένοις καὶ τῇ περὶ αὐτῶν δόξῃ προσβαλῶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς νῦν φυγῆς ὕβριν.” καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας παρακαλῶν τοῦ κινδύνου καταφρονήσαντας ὁμόσε χωρῆσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἔλεγεν.

(2) [426] Ὁ δὲ Βακχίδης ἐξαγαγὼν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τὴν δύναμιν πρὸς μάχην παρετάσσετο, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἱππεῖς ἐξ ἑκατέρων τῶν κεράτων ἔταξε, τοὺς δὲ ψιλοὺς καὶ τοξότας προέστησεν πάσης τῆς φάλαγγος, αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ. [427] οὕτως δὲ συντάξας τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπεὶ προσέμιξεν τῷ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπέδῳ, σημῆναι τὸν σαλπικτὴν ἐκέλευσεν καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀλαλάξασαν προσιέναι. [428] τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ ποιήσας ὁ Ἰούδας συμβάλλει τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ καρτερῶς ἀμφοτέρων ἀγωνιζομένων καὶ τῆς μάχης μέχρι δυσμῶν παρατεινομένης, ἰδὼν ὁ Ἰούδας τὸν Βακχίδην καὶ τὸ κρατερὸν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι τυγχάνον, παραλαβὼν τοὺς εὐψυχοτάτους ὥρμησεν ἐπ᾽ ἐκεῖνο τὸ μέρος τῆς τάξεως, καὶ προσβαλὼν τοῖς ἐκεῖ διέσπα αὐτῶν τὴν φάλαγγα. [429] ὡσάμενος δ᾽ εἰς μέσους εἰς φυγὴν ἐβιάσατο αὐτούς, καὶ διώκει μέχρι Ἐζᾶ ὄρους οὕτω λεγομένου. θεασάμενοι δὲ τὴν τροπὴν τῶν ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι οἱ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἔχοντες ἐκυκλώσαντο τὸν Ἰούδαν διώκοντα καὶ λαμβάνουσι μέσον αὐτὸν κατόπιν γενόμενοι. [430] ὁ δὲ φυγεῖν οὐ δυνάμενος, ἀλλὰ περιεσχημένος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, στὰς ἐμάχετο μετὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ. πολλοὺς δὲ κτείνας τῶν ἀντιπάλων καὶ κατάκοπος γενόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς ἔπεσεν, ἐπὶ καλοῖς μὲν πρότερον γεγενημένοις, ἐφ᾽ ὁμοίοις δὲ ὅτε ἀπέθνησκεν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφείς. [431] πεσόντος δὲ Ἰούδα πρὸς μηδένα τὸ λοιπὸν ἀφορᾶν ἔχοντες οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατηγοῦ δὲ τοιούτου στερηθέντες ἔφυγον. [432] λαβόντες δὲ τὸ σῶμα παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὑπόσπονδον Σίμων καὶ Ἰωνάθης ἀδελφοὶ τοῦ Ἰούδα, κομίσαντες εἰς τὴν Μωδεεῖν κώμην, ὅπου καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῶν τέθαπτο, κηδεύουσιν πενθήσαντος ἐπὶ συχνὰς αὐτὸν τοῦ πλήθους ἡμέρας καὶ τιμήσαντος κοινῇ τοῖς νενομισμένοις. [433] καὶ τέλος μὲν τοιοῦτον κατέσχεν Ἰούδαν, ἄνδρα γενναῖον καὶ μεγαλοπόλεμον γενόμενον καὶ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐντολῶν Ματταθίου μνήμονα καὶ πάνθ᾽ ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐλευθερίας καὶ δρᾶσαι καὶ παθεῖν ὑποστάντα. [434] τοιοῦτος οὖν τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑπάρξας μέγιστον αὐτοῦ κλέος καὶ μνημεῖον κατέλιπεν, ἐλευθερώσας τὸ ἔθνος καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ Μακεδόσιν ἐξαρπάσας αὐτὸ δουλείας. τὴν δ᾽ ἀρχιερωσύνην ἔτος τρίτον κατασχὼν ἀπέθανεν.

Liber XIII

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Ὡς Ἰωνάθης ἀδελφὸς ὢν Ἰούδα τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρέλαβεν.

β. ὡς πολεμήσας Βακχίδην ἠνάγκασεν φιλίαν ποιησάμενον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρας.

γ. ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς Ἀντιόχου υἱὸς ἐλθὼν εἰς Συρίαν ἐξήνεγκεν πόλεμον πρὸς Δημήτριον.

δ. ὡς Δημήτριος πρεσβευσάμενος πρὸς Ἰωνάθην ποιεῖται συμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν αὐτόν τε πολλοῖς δωρησάμενος καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν.

ε. ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ ὑπερβαλὼν τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Δημητρίου καὶ ἀποδείξας Ἰωνάθην ἀρχιερέα συμμαχεῖν ἔπεισεν αὐτῷ.

ς. ἡ Ὀνίου φιλία πρὸς τὸν Φιλομήτορα Πτολεμαῖον κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν γενομένη, καὶ ὡς ᾠκοδόμησεν τὸν Ὀνίου καλούμενον ναὸν πρὸς τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὄντα.

ζ. ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρος ἀποθανόντος Δημητρίου σφόδρα ἐτίμησεν Ἰωνάθην.

η. ὡς Δημήτριος ὁ Δημητρίου παῖς πλεύσας εἰς τὴν Συρίαν ἀπὸ Κρήτης καὶ πολεμήσας τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ κρατήσας αὐτοῦ αὐτὸς ἐβασίλευσεν φιλίαν πρὸς Ἰωνάθην ποιησάμενος.

θ. ὡς Τρύφων ὁ Ἀπαμεὺς καταπολεμήσας Δημήτριον Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱῷ παρέδωκεν τὴν βασιλείαν ποιησάμενος καὶ αὐτὸς σύμμαχον Ἰωνάθην.

ι. ὡς Δημητρίου ὑπὸ Πάρθων αἰχμαλώτου ληφθέντος παρεσπόνδησεν τὸν Ἰωνάθην καὶ δόλῳ λαβὼν αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινεν καὶ πόλεμον ἐξήνεγκεν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Σίμωνα.

ια. ὡς Σίμωνι τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐνεχείρισεν τὸ ἔθνος καὶ ἀπέδειξεν αὐτὸν ἀρχιερέα.

ιβ. ὡς ἐπολιόρκησεν ἐν Δώροις Τρύφωνα σύμμαχος γενόμενος Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ Δημητρίου ἀδελφῷ τῷ καὶ Εὐσεβεῖ ἐπικληθέντι.

ιγ. ὡς Τρύφωνος ἀναιρεθέντος Ἀντίοχος ἐπολέμησεν Σίμωνα κἀκεῖνος Κενδεβαῖον τὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτοῦ νικήσας τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐξέβαλεν.

ιδ. ὅτι ὑπὸ τοῦ γαμβροῦ Πτολεμαίου ἐν συμποσίῳ δολοφονηθεὶς ἀπέθανεν, καὶ Πτολεμαῖος δήσας αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ἐπεχείρησεν κατασχεῖν.

ιε. ὡς ὁ νεώτατος τῶν Σίμωνος υἱῶν Ὑρκανὸς φθάσας αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παραλαβὼν ἐπολιόρκησεν τὸν Πτολεμαῖον εἴς τι φρούριον ἐγκλείσας Δαγὼν καλούμενον.

ις. ὡς στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Ὑρκανὸν Ἀντίοχος ὁ καλούμενος Εὐσεβὴς καὶ προσκαθίσας τῇ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλει διέλυσε τὴν πολιορκίαν λαβὼν παρὰ Ὑρκανοῦ τάλαντα τριακόσια καὶ συμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ φιλίαν συνθέμενος.

ιζ. Ὑρκανοῦ στρατεία μετὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχου τελευτὴν ἐν Μήδοις ἀποθανόντος ἐπὶ Συρίαν καὶ ὡς πολλὰς πόλεις κατὰ κράτος εἷλεν.

ιη. φιλία πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ζαβίνα κληθέντος.

ιθ. ὡς ἡττηθεὶς ὑφ' Ὑρκανοῦ Ἀντίοχος ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἐξέπεσεν τῆς Ἰουδαίας.

κ. ὡς παραλαβὼν Ἀριστόβουλος τὴν ἀρχὴν διάδημα περιέθετο πρῶτος.

κα. ὡς τελευτήσαντος Ἀριστοβούλου ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβὼν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην καὶ Ἀραβίαν καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐχειρώσατο.

κβ. Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λαθούρου πρὸς αὐτὸν μάχη καὶ νίκη.

κγ. ὡς στρατευσάμενος Δημήτριος ὁ Εὔκαιρος λεγόμενος ἐπὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκράτησεν αὐτοῦ.

κδ. Ἀντιόχου τοῦ καὶ Διονύσου λεγομένου στρατεία ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίαν καὶ ὡς ἐκράτησεν τῇ μάχῃ.

κε. ὡς μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρα τὴν βασιλείαν ἔτεσιν ἐννέα κατασχοῦσα καὶ βιώσασα μετὰ εἰρήνης καὶ δόξης ἀπέθανεν.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ δύο.

I

(1) [1] Τίνα μὲν οὖν τρόπον τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος καταδουλωσαμένων αὐτὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀνεκτήσατο τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ δι' ὅσων καὶ πηλίκων ἀγώνων ὁ στρατηγὸς αὐτῶν ἐλθὼν Ἰούδας ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μαχόμενος, ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης βίβλῳ δεδηλώκαμεν. [2] μετὰ δὲ τὴν τελευτὴν τὴν Ἰούδου πᾶν ὅσον ἦν ἔτι τῶν ἀσεβῶν καὶ παραβεβηκότων τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν ἐπεφύη τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ πανταχόθεν αὐτοὺς ἀκμάζον ἐκάκου. [3] συνελάμβανε δὲ τῇ τούτων πονηρίᾳ καὶ λιμὸς τὴν χώραν καταλαβών, ὡς πολλοὺς διὰ τὴν σπάνιν τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τοῖς παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀπό τε τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν δεινοῖς ἀντέχειν αὐτομολῆσαι πρὸς τοὺς Μακεδόνας. [4] Βακχίδης δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοὺς ἀποστάντας τῆς πατρίου συνηθείας καὶ τὸν κοινὸν βίον προῃρημένους συναθροίσας τούτοις ἐνεχείρισεν τὴν τῆς χώρας ἐπιμέλειαν, οἳ καὶ συλλαμβάνοντες τοὺς Ἰούδου φίλους καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου φρονοῦντας τῷ Βακχίδῃ παρέδοσαν: ὁ δὲ βασανίζων πρῶτον αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν αἰκιζόμενος ἔπειθ'

οὕτως διέφθειρεν. [5] ταύτης δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τηλικαύτης γενομένης, ἡλίκης οὐκ ἦσαν πεπειραμένοι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἐπάνοδον, οἱ περιλειφθέντες τῶν ἑταίρων τῶν Ἰούδου βλέποντες ἀπολλύμενον οἰκτρῶς τὸ ἔθνος προσελθόντες αὐτοῦ τῷ ἀδελφῷ Ἰωνάθῃ μιμεῖσθαι τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου περὶ τῶν ὁμοφύλων πρόνοιαν ἠξίουν ἀποθανόντος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνων ἐλευθερίας, καὶ μὴ περιορᾶν ἀπροστάτητον τὸ ἔθνος μηδ᾽ ἐν οἷς φθείρεται. [6] ὁ δ᾽ Ἰωνάθης φήσας ἑτοίμως ἔχειν ἀποθνήσκειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ νομισθεὶς κατὰ μηδὲν εἶναι χείρων τἀδελφοῦ στρατηγὸς ἀποδείκνυται τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

(2) [7] Ὁ δὲ Βακχίδης ἀκούσας καὶ φοβηθείς, μὴ παράσχῃ πράγματα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ὁ Ἰωνάθης, ὡς καὶ πρότερον Ἰούδας, ἀποκτεῖναι δόλῳ τοῦτον ἐζήτει. [8] ταύτην δὲ ἔχων τὴν προαίρεσιν οὐκ ἔλαθεν τὸν Ἰωνάθην οὐδὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Σίμωνα, ἀλλὰ γὰρ μαθόντες οὗτοι καὶ παραλαβόντες τοὺς ἑταίρους ἅπαντας εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν τὴν ἔγγιστα τῆς πόλεως τὸ τάχος ἔφυγον, καὶ παραγενόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ καλούμενον λάκκου Ἀσφὰρ αὐτόθι διῆγον. [9] ὁ δὲ Βακχίδης αἰσθόμενος αὐτοὺς ἀπηρκότας καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ τυγχάνοντας ὥρμησεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου στρατοπεδευσάμενος ἀνελάμβανε τὴν δύναμιν. [10] Ἰωνάθης δὲ γνοὺς τὸν Βακχίδην ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἥκοντα πέμπει τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰωάννην τὸν καὶ Γάδδειν λεγόμενον πρὸς τοὺς Ναβαταίους Ἄραβας, ἵνα παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀποθῆται τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἕως οὗ πολεμήσουσι πρὸς Βακχίδην: ἦσαν γὰρ φίλοι. [11] τὸν δὲ Ἰωάννην ἀπιόντα πρὸς τοὺς Ναβαταίους ἐνεδρεύσαντες ἐκ Μηδάβας πόλεως οἱ Ἀμαραίου παῖδες αὐτόν τε συλλαμβάνουσι καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ, καὶ διαρπάσαντες ὅσα ἐπεκομίζετο κτείνουσι τὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ τοὺς ἑταίρους αὐτοῦ πάντας. δίκην μέντοι γε τούτων ὑπέσχον τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀξίαν, ἣν μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δηλώσομεν.

(3) [12] Ὁ δὲ Βακχίδης γνοὺς τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἐν τοῖς ἕλεσι τοῦ Ἰορδάνου κατεστρατοπεδευμένον παραφυλάξας τὴν τῶν σαββάτων ἡμέραν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἦκεν ὡς οὐ μαχούμενον ἐκείνῃ διὰ τὸν νόμον. [13] ὁ δὲ παρορμήσας τοὺς ἑταίρους καὶ περὶ τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὸν κίνδυνον εἰπὼν μέσοις ἀπειλημμένοις τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ὡς φυγὴν οὐκ ἔχουσιν, οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπῄεσαν ὁ ποταμὸς δ᾽ ἦν κατόπιν αὐτῶν, εὐξάμενος δὲ καὶ τῷ θεῷ νίκην αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν συνάπτει τοῖς πολεμίοις. [14] ὧν πολλοὺς καταβαλὼν ἐπεὶ τολμηρῶς εἶδεν ἐπερχόμενον αὐτῷ τὸν Βακχίδην, ἐξέτεινε τὴν δεξιὰν ὡς πλήξων αὐτόν. τοῦ δὲ προιδομένου καὶ τὴν πληγὴν ἐκκλίναντος ἀποπηδήσας μετὰ τῶν ἑταίρων εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν διενήξατο, καὶ τοῦτον διασώζονται τὸν τρόπον εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, τῶν πολεμίων οὐκέτι τὸν ποταμὸν ἀντιδιαβάντων ὑποστρέψαντος εὐθὺς τοῦ Βακχίδου εἰς τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἄκραν. [15] ἀπέβαλεν δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς ὡς περὶ δισχιλίους. πολλὰς δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίας καταλαβόμενος πόλεις ὁ Βακχίδης ὠχύρωσεν, καὶ τὴν Ἰεριχοῦντα καὶ Ἀμμαοῦν καὶ Βαιθωροῦν καὶ

Βέθηλα καὶ Θαμναθὰ καὶ Φαραθὼ καὶ Τοχόαν καὶ Γάζαρα, [16] καὶ πύργους ἐν ἑκάστῃ τῶν πόλεων οἰκοδομήσας καὶ τείχη περιβαλὼν αὐταῖς καρτερὰ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει διαφέροντα δύναμιν εἰς αὐτὰς κατέστησεν, ὅπως κακοῦν ἐκεῖθεν ὁρμώμενοι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἔχωσιν. [17] μάλιστα δὲ τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἄκραν ὠχύρωσεν. λαβὼν δὲ καὶ τοὺς τῶν πρώτων τῆς Ἰουδαίας παῖδας ὁμήρους εἰς τὴν ἄκραν αὐτοὺς ἐνέκλεισεν καὶ τοῦτον ἐφύλαττεν τὸν τρόπον.

(4) [18] Ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ καιρὸν παραγενόμενός τις πρὸς Ἰωνάθην καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Σίμωνα τοὺς Ἀμαραίου παῖδας ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς γάμον ἐπιτελοῦντας καὶ τὴν νύμφην ἄγοντας ἀπὸ Ναβαθὰ πόλεως θυγατέρα τινὸς οὖσαν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἄραψιν, μέλλειν δὲ γίνεσθαι παραπομπὴν τῆς κόρης λαμπρὰν καὶ πολυτελῆ. [19] οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην καὶ Σίμωνα καιρὸν ἐπιτηδειότατον εἰς τὴν ἐκδικίαν τἀδελφοῦ νομίσαντες αὐτοῖς παραφανῆναι, καὶ λήψεσθαι τὴν ὑπὲρ Ἰωάννου δίκην παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πολλῆς ἐξουσίας ὑπολαβόντες ἐξώρμησαν εἰς τὰ Μήδαβα καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐν τῷ ὄρει λοχῶντες ἔμενον. [20] ὡς δ᾽ εἶδον αὐτοὺς ἄγοντας τὴν παρθένον καὶ τὸν νυμφίον καὶ φίλων σὺν αὐτοῖς οἷον εἰκὸς ἐν γάμοις ὄχλον, ἀναπηδήσαντες ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἀπέκτειναν ἅπαντας καὶ τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὅση τότε εἵπετο λεία τοῖς ἀνθρώποις λαβόντες ὑπέστρεψαν. [21] καὶ τιμωρίαν μὲν ὑπὲρ Ἰωάννου τἀδελφοῦ παρὰ τῶν υἱῶν Ἀμαραίου τοιαύτην ἀπέλαβον: αὐτοί τε γὰρ οὗτοι καὶ οἱ συνεπόμενοι τούτοις φίλοι καὶ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν καὶ τέκνα διεφθάρησαν ὄντες τετρακόσιοι.

(5) [22] Σίμων μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἰωνάθης εἰς τὰ ἕλη τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὑποστρέψαντες αὐτόθι κατέμενον. Βακχίδης δὲ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἅπασαν φρουραῖς ἀσφαλισάμενος ὑπέστρεψεν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. καὶ τότε μὲν ἐπ᾽ ἔτη δύο τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἠρέμησεν πράγματα. [23] οἱ δὲ φυγάδες καὶ οἱ ἀσεβεῖς ὁρῶντες τὸν Ἰωνάθην καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀδείας ἐνδιατρίβοντας τῇ χώρᾳ διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην πέμπουσιν πρὸς Δημήτριον τὸν βασιλέα, παρακαλοῦντες ἀποστεῖλαι Βακχίδην ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνάθου σύλληψιν: ἐδήλουν γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀπόνως ἐσομένην, καὶ νυκτὶ μιᾷ μὴ προσδοκῶσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσόντες ἀποκτενεῖν ἅπαντας. [24] τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἐκπέμψαντος τὸν Βακχίδην, γενόμενος οὗτος ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ πᾶσιν ἔγραψεν τοῖς φίλοις καὶ Ἰουδαίοις καὶ συμμάχοις συλλαβεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἰωνάθην. [25] σπουδαζόντων δὲ πάντων καὶ μὴ δυναμένων κρατῆσαι τοῦ Ἰωνάθου, ἐφυλάσσετο γὰρ σφόδρα τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ᾐσθημένος, ὁ Βακχίδης ὀργισθεὶς τοῖς φυγάσιν ὡς ψευσαμένοις αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν βασιλέα πεντήκοντα αὐτῶν τοὺς ἡγουμένους συλλαβὼν ἀπέκτεινεν. [26] ὁ δὲ Ἰωνάθης σὺν τἀδελφῷ καὶ τοῖς ἑταίροις εἰς Βηθαλαγὰν ἀναχωρεῖ κώμην οὖσαν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ φοβηθεὶς τὸν Βακχίδην, καὶ οἰκοδομήσας πύργους καὶ τείχη περιβαλόμενος αὐτὸν ἔσχεν ἀσφαλῶς πεφρουρημένον. [27] Βακχίδης δὲ ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας τήν τε μεθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ στρατιὰν ἄγων καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοὺς συμμάχους παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην

ἦκεν, καὶ προσβαλὼν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ὀχυρώμασιν ἐπὶ πολλὰς αὐτὸν ἡμέρας ἐπολιόρκει. [28] ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὴν σπουδὴν τῆς πολιορκίας οὐκ ἐνδίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ καρτερῶς ἀντιστὰς Σίμωνα μὲν τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει καταλείπει τῷ Βακχίδῃ πολεμήσοντα, λάθρα δ' αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐξελθὼν καὶ συναγαγὼν χεῖρα πολλὴν παρὰ τῶν τὰ αὐτοῦ φρονούντων νυκτὸς ἐπιπίπτει τῷ τοῦ Βακχίδου στρατοπέδῳ καὶ συχνοὺς αὐτῶν διαφθείρας φανερὸς καὶ τἀδελφῷ Σίμωνι γίνεται τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπιπεσών. [29] καὶ γὰρ οὗτος αἰσθόμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κτεινομένους τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπέξεισιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ τά τε μηχανήματα τὰ πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐνέπρησε τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ φόνον αὐτῶν ἱκανὸν εἰργάσατο. [30] θεασάμενος δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Βακχίδης ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπειλημμένον καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν τοὺς δ' ὄπισθεν προσκειμένους, εἰς ἀθυμίαν ἅμα καὶ ταραχὴν τῆς διανοίας ἐνέπεσεν τῷ παρ' ἐλπίδας ἀποβάντι τῆς πολιορκίας συγχυθείς. [31] τὸν μέντοι γε ὑπὲρ τούτων θυμὸν εἰς τοὺς φυγάδας, οἳ μετεπέμψαντο παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτόν, ἀπέσκηψεν ὡς ἐξηπατηκότας, ἐβούλετο δὲ τελευτήσας τὴν πολιορκίαν, εἰ δυνατόν, εὐπρεπῶς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ὑποστρέψαι.

(6) [32] Μαθὼν δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν Ἰωνάθης πρεσβεύεται πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας, ὅπως ἀποδῶσιν ἀλλήλοις οὓς εἰλήφασιν αἰχμαλώτους ἑκάτεροι. [33] νομίσας δὲ ταύτην εὐπρεπεστάτην ὁ Βακχίδης τὴν ἀναχώρησιν σπένδεται πρὸς τὸν Ἰωνάθην φιλίαν, καὶ ὤμοσαν μὴ στρατεύσειν ἔτι κατ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ τούς τε αἰχμαλώτους ἀποδοὺς καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους κομισάμενος ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ μετὰ ταύτην τὴν ἀναχώρησιν οὐκέτι εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐνέβαλεν. [34] ὁ δὲ Ἰωνάθης ταύτης τῆς ἀδείας λαβόμενος καὶ ποιούμενος ἐν Μαχμᾶ πόλει τὴν δίαιταν αὐτόθι τοῖς ὄχλοις διεῖπε τὰ πράγματα καὶ τοὺς πονηροὺς καὶ ἀσεβεῖς κολάζων ἐκάθηρεν οὕτως ἀπὸ τούτων τὸ ἔθνος.

II

(1) [35] Ἔτει δ' ἑξηκοστῷ καὶ ἑκατοστῷ τὸν Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς υἱὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀναβάντα εἰς Συρίαν συνέβη καταλαβέσθαι Πτολεμαίδα ἐκ προδοσίας τῶν ἔνδον στρατιωτῶν: ἀπεχθῶς γὰρ εἶχον πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον διὰ τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ δυσέντευκτον. [36] ἀποκλείσας γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰς τετραπύργιόν τι βασίλειον, ὃ κατεσκεύασεν αὐτὸς οὐκ ἄπωθεν τῆς Ἀντιοχείας, οὐδένα προσίετο, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὰ πράγματα ῥάθυμος ἦν καὶ ὀλίγωρος, ὅθεν αὐτῷ καὶ μᾶλλον τὸ παρὰ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων μῖσος ἐξήφθη, καθὼς ἤδη καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδηλώκαμεν. [37] γενόμενον οὖν ἐν Πτολεμαίδι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀκούσας ὁ Δημήτριος ἦγεν ἅπασαν ἀναλαβὼν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὴν δύναμιν. ἔπεμψεν δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ἰωνάθην πρέσβεις περὶ συμμαχίας καὶ εὐνοίας: φθάσαι γὰρ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον διέγνω, μὴ προδιαλεχθεὶς ἐκεῖνος αὐτῷ σχῇ τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ βοήθειαν. [38] τοῦτο

δ’ ἐποίει φοβηθείς, μὴ μνησικακήσας ὁ Ἰωνάθης αὐτῷ τῆς ἔχθρας συνεπιθῆται. προσέταξεν οὖν αὐτῷ συναθροίζειν δύναμιν καὶ κατασκευάζειν ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς ὁμήρους, οὓς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐνέκλεισε Βακχίδης ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, ἀπολαβεῖν. [39] τοιούτων οὖν αὐτῷ τῶν παρὰ Δημητρίου προσπεσόντων ὁ Ἰωνάθης παραγενόμενος εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀνέγνω τοῦ βασιλέως ἀκουόντων τοῦ τε λαοῦ καὶ τῶν φρουρούντων τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. [40] ἀναγνωσθέντων δὲ τούτων οἱ ἀσεβεῖς καὶ φυγάδες οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως λίαν ἔδεισαν ἐπιτετροφότος Ἰωνάθῃ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατιὰν συλλέγειν καὶ τοὺς ὁμήρους ἀπολαβεῖν. ὁ δὲ τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἑκάστῳ τὸν ἴδιον ἀπέδωκεν. [41] καὶ οὕτως μὲν Ἰωνάθης ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις τὴν μονὴν ἐποιεῖτο καινίζων τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν κατασκευάζων ἕκαστον. ἐκέλευσε γὰρ οἰκοδομηθῆναι καὶ τὰ τείχη τῆς πόλεως ἐκ λίθων τετραγώνων, ὡς ἂν ᾖ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους ἀσφαλέστερα. [42] ταῦτα δ’ ὁρῶντες οἱ τῶν φρουρίων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ φύλακες ἐκλιπόντες αὐτὰ πάντες ἔφυγον εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν πάρεξ τῶν ἐν Βαιθσούρᾳ πόλει καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων: οὗτοι γὰρ ἡ πλείων μοῖρα τῶν ἀσεβῶν καὶ πεφευγότων Ἰουδαίων ἦσαν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰς φρουρὰς οὐκ ἐγκατέλιπον.

(2) [43] Γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τάς τε ὑποσχέσεις, ἃς ἐποιήσατο Δημήτριος πρὸς Ἰωνάθην, καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁπόσα διέθηκεν πολεμῶν τοὺς Μακεδόνας καὶ πάλιν οἷα πεπονθὼς αὐτὸς εἴη ὑπὸ Δημητρίου καὶ Βακχίδου τοῦ Δημητρίου στρατηγοῦ, σύμμαχον οὐκ ἂν εὑρεῖν Ἰωνάθου ἀμείνω πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἔλεγεν ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ, ὃς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους ἐστὶν ἀνδρεῖος, καὶ μῖσος οἰκεῖον ἔχει πρὸς Δημήτριον πολλὰ πεπονθὼς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ κακὰ καὶ πεποιηκώς. [44] εἰ τοιγαροῦν δοκεῖ φίλον ποιεῖσθαι αὐτὸν κατὰ Δημητρίου, νῦν ἐστιν οὐκ ἄλλοτε χρησιμώτερον παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν.” δόξαν οὖν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς φίλοις πέμπειν πρὸς τὸν Ἰωνάθην γράφει τοιαύτην ἐπιστολήν: [45] “βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος Ἰωνάθῃ τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν. τὴν μὲν ἀνδρείαν σου καὶ πίστιν ἀκηκόαμεν πάλαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πεπόμφαμεν πρὸς σὲ περὶ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας. χειροτονοῦμεν δέ σε σήμερον ἀρχιερέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ φίλον ἐμὸν καλεῖσθαι. ἀπέσταλκά σοι καὶ δωρεὰς στολὴν πορφυρᾶν καὶ στέφανον χρύσεον καὶ παρακαλῶ τιμηθέντα ὑφ’ ἡμῶν ὅμοιον γίνεσθαι περὶ ἡμᾶς.”

(3) [46] Δεξάμενος δὲ ὁ Ἰωνάθης τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐνδύεται μὲν τὴν ἱερατικὴν στολὴν τῆς σκηνοπηγίας ἐνστάσης μετὰ ἔτη τέσσαρα ἢ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰούδαν ἀποθανεῖν: καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἀρχιερεύς τις ἐγεγόνει: συνάγει δὲ δύναμιν πολλὴν καὶ πλῆθος ὅπλων ἐχάλκευεν. [47] Δημήτριον δὲ σφόδρα ταῦτ’ ἐλύπησεν μαθόντα καὶ τῆς βραδυτῆτος ἑαυτὸν ἐποίησεν αἰτιᾶσθαι, ὅτι μὴ προλαβὼν Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸς ἐφιλανθρωπεύσατο τὸν Ἰωνάθην, ἀλλ’ ἐκείνῳ καταλίποι καιρὸν εἰς τοῦτο. γράφει τοίνυν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιστολὴν τῷ Ἰωνάθῃ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δηλοῦσαν τάδε: [48] “βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος

Ἰωνάθῃ καὶ τῷ ἔθνει τῶν Ἰουδαίων χαίρειν. ἐπειδὴ διετηρήσατε τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλίαν καὶ πειράσασιν ὑμᾶς τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐχθροῖς οὐ προσέθεσθε, καὶ ταύτην μὲν ὑμῶν ἐπαινῶ τὴν πίστιν καὶ παρακαλῶ δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐμμένειν ἀπολῃψομένους ἀμοιβὰς παρ᾽ ἡμῶν καὶ χάριτας. [49] τοὺς γὰρ πλείστους ὑμῶν ἀνήσω τῶν φόρων καὶ τῶν συντάξεων, ἃς ἐτελεῖτε τοῖς πρὸ ἐμοῦ βασιλεῦσιν καὶ ἐμοί, νῦν τε ὑμῖν ἀφίημι τοὺς φόρους, οὓς ἀεὶ παρέχετε. πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τὴν τιμὴν ὑμῖν χαρίζομαι τῶν ἁλῶν καὶ τῶν στεφάνων, οὓς προσεφέρετε ἡμῖν, καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν τρίτων τοῦ καρποῦ καὶ τοῦ ἡμίσους τοῦ ξυλίνου καρποῦ τὸ γινόμενον ἐμοὶ μέρος ὑμῖν ἀφίημι ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας. [50] καὶ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἑκάστης ὃ ἔδει μοι δίδοσθαι τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ κατοικούντων καὶ τῶν τριῶν τοπαρχιῶν τῶν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ προσκειμένων Σαμαρείας καὶ Γαλιλαίας καὶ Περαίας, τούτους παραχωρῶ ὑμῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον. [51] καὶ τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον εἶναι βούλομαι καὶ ἐλευθέραν ἕως τῶν ὅρων αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης καὶ τῶν τελῶν. τὴν δὲ ἄκραν ἐπιτρέπω τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ ὑμῶν Ἰωνάθῃ, οὓς δ᾽ ἂν αὐτὸς δοκιμάσῃ πιστοὺς καὶ φίλους τούτους ἐν αὐτῇ φρουροὺς καταστῆσαι, ἵνα φυλάσσωσιν ἡμῖν αὐτήν. [52] καὶ Ἰουδαίων δὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλωτισθέντας καὶ δουλεύοντας ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἀφίημι ἐλευθέρους. κελεύω δὲ μηδὲ ἀγγαρεύεσθαι τὰ Ἰουδαίων ὑποζύγια: τὰ δὲ σάββατα καὶ ἑορτὴν ἅπασαν καὶ τρεῖς καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἡμέρας ἔστωσαν ἀτελεῖς. [53] τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ κατοικοῦντας Ἰουδαίους ἐλευθέρους καὶ ἀνεπηρεάστους ἀφίημι, καὶ τοῖς στρατεύεσθαι μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ βουλομένοις ἐπιτρέπω καὶ μέχρις τρισμυρίων ἐξέστω τοῦτο: τῶν δ᾽ αὐτῶν, ὅποι ἂν ἀπίωσι, τεύξονται ὧν καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν στράτευμα μεταλαμβάνει. καταστήσω δ᾽ αὐτῶν οὓς μὲν εἰς τὰ φρούρια, τινὰς δὲ περὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τοὐμοῦ σώματος, καὶ ἡγεμόνας δὲ ποιήσω τῶν περὶ τὴν ἐμὴν αὐλήν. [54] ἐπιτρέπω δὲ καὶ τοῖς πατρῴοις χρῆσθαι νόμοις καὶ τούτους φυλάττειν, καὶ τοῖς τρισὶν τοῖς προσκειμένοις τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ νομοῖς ὑποτάσσεσθαι βούλομαι, καὶ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ δὲ ἐπιμελὲς εἶναι, ἵνα μηδὲ εἷς Ἰουδαῖος ἄλλο ἔχῃ ἱερὸν προσκυνεῖν ἢ μόνον τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. [55] δίδωμι δ᾽ ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν καὶ εἰς τὴν δαπάνην τῶν θυσιῶν κατ᾽ ἔτος μυριάδας πεντεκαίδεκα, τὰ δὲ περισσεύοντα τῶν χρημάτων ὑμέτερα εἶναι βούλομαι: τὰς δὲ μυρίας δραχμάς, ἃς ἐλάμβανον ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ οἱ βασιλεῖς, ὑμῖν ἀφίημι διὰ τὸ προσήκειν αὐτὰς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν τοῖς λειτουργοῦσιν τῷ ἱερῷ. [56] καὶ ὅσοι δ᾽ ἂν φύγωσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ εἰς τὰ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ χρηματίζοντα ἢ βασιλικὰ ὀφείλοντες χρήματα ἢ δι᾽ ἄλλην αἰτίαν, ἀπολελύσθωσαν οὗτοι καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῖς σῶα ἔστω. [57] ἐπιτρέπω δὲ καὶ ἀνακαινίζειν τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ οἰκοδομεῖν τῆς εἰς ταῦτα δαπάνης ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν γινομένης, καὶ τὰ τείχη δὲ συγχωρῶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως οἰκοδομεῖσθαι καὶ πύργους ὑψηλοὺς ἐγείρειν καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν ἀνιστᾶν πάντα. εἰ δέ τι καὶ φρούριόν ἐστιν, ὃ συμφέρει τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ Ἰουδαίων ὀχυρὸν εἶναι, καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν κατασκευασθήτω.”

(4) [58] Ταῦτα μὲν ὑπισχνούμενος καὶ χαριζόμενος ἔγραψεν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις Δημήτριος. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς δύναμιν μεγάλην συναγαγὼν μισθοφόρων καὶ τῶν προσθεμένων ἐκ τῆς Συρίας αὐτῷ στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Δημήτριον ἐστράτευσεν. [59] καὶ μάχης γενομένης τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον κέρας τοῦ Δημητρίου τρέπεται τοὺς ἐναντίους εἰς φυγὴν καὶ ἐδίωξεν ἄχρι πολλοῦ κτείνει τε συχνοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ διαρπάζει τὸ στρατόπεδον, τὸ δὲ δεξιόν, οὗ συνέβαινεν εἶναι τὸν Δημήτριον, ἡττᾶται. [60] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἔφυγον, Δημήτριος δὲ γενναίως μαχόμενος οὐκ ὀλίγους μὲν ἀναιρεῖ τῶν πολεμίων, διώκων δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐλαύνει τὸν ἵππον εἰς τέλμα βαθὺ καὶ δυσεκπόρευτον, ἔνθα συνέβη πεσόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ ἵππου μὴ δυνάμενον διαφυγεῖν ἀναιρεθῆναι. [61] τὸ γὰρ συμβεβηκὸς περὶ αὐτὸν ἰδόντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἀνέστρεψαν καὶ κυκλωσάμενοι τὸν Δημήτριον πάντες ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἠκόντιζον. ὁ δὲ πεζὸς ὢν γενναίως ἀπεμάχετο, καὶ τελευταῖον τραύματα λαβὼν πολλὰ καὶ μηκέτ᾽ ἀντέχειν δυνάμενος κατέπεσεν. καὶ τέλος μὲν τοιοῦτον τὸν Δημήτριον κατέλαβεν ἔτη βασιλεύσαντα ἕνδεκα, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδηλώκαμεν.

III

(1) [62] Ὁ δὲ Ὀνίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως υἱὸς ὁμώνυμος δὲ ὢν τῷ πατρί, ὃς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ φυγὼν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον τὸν ἐπικαλούμενον Φιλομήτορα διῆγεν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἰρήκαμεν, ἰδὼν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν κακουμένην ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ τῶν βασιλέων αὐτῶν, [63] βουλόμενος αὐτῷ δόξαν καὶ μνήμην αἰώνιον κατασκευάσαι, διέγνω πέμψας πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν βασίλισσαν Κλεοπάτραν αἰτήσασθαι παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐξουσίαν, ὅπως οἰκοδομήσειεν ναὸν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ παραπλήσιον τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ Λευίτας καὶ ἱερεῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου γένους καταστήσῃ. [64] τοῦτο δ᾽ ἐβούλετο θαρρῶν μάλιστα τῷ προφήτῃ Ἡσαίᾳ, ὃς ἔμπροσθεν ἔτεσιν ἑξακοσίοις πλέον γεγονὼς προεῖπεν, ὡς δεῖ πάντως ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οἰκοδομηθῆναι ναὸν τῷ μεγίστῳ θεῷ ὑπ᾽ ἀνδρὸς Ἰουδαίου. διὰ ταῦτα οὖν ἐπηρμένος Ὀνίας γράφει Πτολεμαίῳ καὶ Κλεοπάτρᾳ τοιαύτην ἐπιστολήν: [65] “πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ὑμῖν χρείας τετελεκὼς ἐν τοῖς κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργοις μετὰ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθείας, καὶ γενόμενος ἔν τε τῇ κοίλῃ Συρίᾳ καὶ Φοινίκῃ, καὶ εἰς Λεόντων δὲ πόλιν τοῦ Ἡλιοπολίτου σὺν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ εἰς ἄλλους τόπους ἀφικόμενος τοῦ ἔθνους, [66] καὶ πλείστους εὑρὼν παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον ἔχοντας ἱερὰ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δύσνους ἀλλήλοις, ὃ καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις συμβέβηκεν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς θρησκείας οὐχ ὁμόδοξον, ἐπιτηδειότατον εὑρὼν τόπον ἐν τῷ προσαγορευομένῳ τῆς ἀγρίας Βουβάστεως ὀχυρώματι βρύοντα ποικίλης ὕλης καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ζῴων μεστόν, [67] δέομαι συγχωρῆσαί μοι τὸ ἀδέσποτον ἀνακαθάραντι ἱερὸν καὶ συμπεπτωκὸς οἰκοδομῆσαι ναὸν τῷ μεγίστῳ θεῷ καθ᾽ ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις αὐτοῖς

μέτροις ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ τῆς σῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν τέκνων, ἵν' ἔχωσιν οἱ τὴν Αἴγυπτον κατοικοῦντες Ἰουδαῖοι εἰς αὐτὸ συνιόντες κατὰ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμόνοιαν ταῖς σαῖς ἐξυπηρετεῖν χρείαις: [68] καὶ γὰρ Ἡσαίας ὁ προφήτης τοῦτο προεῖπεν: ἔσται θυσιαστήριον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ: καὶ πολλὰ δὲ προεφήτευσεν ἄλλα τοιαῦτα διὰ τὸν τόπον."

(2) [69] Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ὀνίας τῷ βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ γράφει. κατανοήσειε δ' ἄν τις αὐτοῦ τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ γυναικὸς ἐξ ἧς ἀντέγραψαν ἐπιστολῆς: τὴν γὰρ ἁμαρτίαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ νόμου παράβασιν εἰς τὴν Ὀνίου κεφαλὴν ἀνέθεσαν: [70] ἀντέγραψαν γὰρ οὕτως: "βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος καὶ βασίλισσα Κλεοπάτρα Ὀνίᾳ χαίρειν. ἀνέγνωμέν σου τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀξιοῦντος ἐπιτραπῆναί σοι τὸ ἐν Λεόντων πόλει τοῦ Ἡλιοπολίτου ἱερὸν συμπεπτωκὸς ἀνακαθᾶραι, προσαγορευόμενον δὲ τῆς ἀγρίας Βουβάστεως. διὸ καὶ θαυμάζομεν, εἰ ἔσται τῷ θεῷ κεχαρισμένον τὸ καθιδρυσόμενον ἱερὸν ἐν ἀσελγεῖ τόπῳ καὶ πλήρει ζῴων ἱερῶν. [71] ἐπεὶ δὲ σὺ φῂς Ἡσαίαν τὸν προφήτην ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου τοῦτο προειρηκέναι, συγχωροῦμέν σοι, εἰ μέλλει τοῦτ' ἔσεσθαι κατὰ τὸν νόμον: ὥστε μηδὲν ἡμᾶς δοκεῖν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐξημαρτηκέναι."

(3) [72] Λαβὼν οὖν τὸν τόπον ὁ Ὀνίας κατεσκεύασεν ἱερὸν καὶ βωμὸν τῷ θεῷ ὅμοιον τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, μικρότερον δὲ καὶ πενιχρότερον. τὰ δὲ μέτρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ σκεύη νῦν οὐκ ἔδοξέ μοι δηλοῦν: ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ μου βίβλῳ τῶν Ἰουδαικῶν ἀναγέγραπται. [73] εὗρεν δὲ Ὀνίας καὶ Ἰουδαίους τινὰς ὁμοίους αὐτῷ ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευίτας τοὺς ἐκεῖ θρησκεύσοντας. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τούτου ἀρκούντως ἡμῖν δεδήλωται.

(4) [74] Τοὺς δ' ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἰουδαίους καὶ Σαμαρεῖς, οἳ τὸ ἐν Γαριζεὶν προσεκύνουν ἱερόν, κατὰ τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου χρόνους συνέβη στασιάσαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαίου διεκρίνοντο, τῶν μὲν Ἰουδαίων λεγόντων κατὰ τοὺς Μωυσέος νόμους ᾠκοδομῆσθαι τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, τῶν δὲ Σαμαρέων τὸ ἐν Γαριζείν. [75] παρεκάλεσάν τε σὺν τοῖς φίλοις καθίσαντα τὸν βασιλέα τοὺς περὶ τούτων ἀκοῦσαι λόγους καὶ τοὺς ἡττηθέντας θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι. τὸν μὲν οὖν ὑπὲρ τῶν Σαμαρέων λόγον Σαββαῖος ἐποιήσατο καὶ Θεοδόσιος, τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν καὶ Ἰουδαίων Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ Μεσαλάμου. [76] ὤμοσαν δὲ τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἢ μὴν ποιήσεσθαι τὰς ἀποδείξεις κατὰ τὸν νόμον, παρεκάλεσάν τε τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, ὅπως ὃν ἂν λάβῃ παραβαίνοντα τοὺς ὅρκους ἀποκτείνῃ. ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς πολλοὺς τῶν φίλων εἰς συμβουλίαν παραλαβὼν ἐκάθισεν ἀκουσόμενος τῶν λεγόντων. [77] οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τυγχάνοντες Ἰουδαῖοι σφόδρα ἠγωνίων περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἷς ἀγανακτεῖν περὶ τοῦ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις συνέβαινεν ἱεροῦ: χαλεπῶς γὰρ ἔφερον, εἰ τοῦτό τινες καταλύσουσιν οὕτως ἀρχαῖον καὶ διασημότατον τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ὑπάρχον. [78] τοῦ δὲ Σαββαίου καὶ Θεοδοσίου συγχωρησάντων τῷ Ἀνδρονίκῳ πρώτῳ ποιήσασθαι τοὺς λόγους,

ἤρξατο τῶν ἀποδείξεων ἐκ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν διαδοχῶν τῶν ἀρχιερέων, ὡς ἕκαστος παρὰ πατρὸς τὴν τιμὴν ἐκδεξάμενος ἦρξε τοῦ ναοῦ, καὶ ὅτι πάντες οἱ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεῖς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐτίμησαν ἀναθήμασιν καὶ λαμπροτάταις δωρεαῖς, τοῦ δ᾽ ἐν Γαριζεὶν ὡς οὐδὲ ὄντος οὐδεὶς λόγον οὐδ᾽ ἐπιστροφὴν ἐποιήσατο. [79] ταῦτα λέγων Ἀνδρόνικος καὶ πολλὰ τούτοις ὅμοια πείθει τὸν βασιλέα κρῖναι μὲν κατὰ τοὺς Μωυσέος νόμους οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερόν, ἀποκτεῖναι δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Σαββαῖον καὶ Θεοδόσιον. καὶ τὰ μὲν γενόμενα τοῖς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἰουδαίοις κατὰ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Φιλομήτορα ταῦτα ἦν.

IV

(1) [80] Δημητρίου δ᾽ ἀποθανόντος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, καθὼς ἐπάνω δεδηλώκαμεν, Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν τῆς Συρίας παραλαβὼν βασιλείαν γράφει τῷ Φιλομήτορι Πτολεμαίῳ μνηστευόμενος αὐτοῦ πρὸς γάμον τὴν θυγατέρα, δίκαιον εἶναι λέγων τῷ τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρχὴν κομισαμένῳ καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν εἰς αὐτὴν προαχθέντι καὶ κρατήσαντι Δημητρίου καὶ μηδὲ τἆλλα ἐσομένῳ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν οἰκειότητος ἀναξίῳ συνάψαι συγγένειαν. [81] Πτολεμαῖος δὲ προσδεξάμενος ἡδέως τὴν μνηστείαν ἀντιγράφει χαίρειν τε λέγων ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ πατρῴαν οὖσαν ἀπειληφέναι, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα δώσειν ὑπισχνεῖται, ἀπαντᾶν δ᾽ αὐτὸν εἰς Πτολεμαίδα τὴν θυγατέρα μέλλοντι ἄγειν ἐκέλευσεν: αὐτὸς γὰρ αὐτὴν μέχρι ταύτης παραπέμψειν ἀπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου κἀκεῖ συνοικίσειν αὐτῷ τὴν παῖδα. [82] καὶ Πτολεμαῖος μὲν ταῦτα γράψας παραγίνεται μετὰ σπουδῆς εἰς Πτολεμαίδα καὶ Κλεοπάτραν ἄγων τὴν θυγατέρα. εὑρὼν δ᾽ ἐκεῖ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καθὼς ἐπέστειλεν προαπηντηκότα δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὴν παῖδα καὶ φερνὴν ἄργυρόν τε καὶ χρυσὸν ὅσον εἰκὸς ἦν δοῦναι βασιλέα.

(2) [83] Τῶν δὲ γάμων ἐπιτελουμένων Ἀλέξανδρος Ἰωνάθῃ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ γράψας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἥκειν εἰς Πτολεμαίδα. παραγενόμενος δὲ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέας καὶ δωρησάμενος αὐτοὺς λαμπρᾶς τῆς παρ᾽ ἀμφοτέρων ἀπέλαυσε τιμῆς. [84] Ἀλέξανδρος δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἠνάγκασεν καὶ ἀποδυσάμενον τὴν οἰκείαν ἐσθῆτα λαβεῖν πορφύραν, καὶ συγκαθεσθῆναι ποιήσας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος προσέταξεν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας εἰς μέσην μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ προελθόντας τὴν πόλιν κηρῦξαι, μηδενὶ κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ λέγειν ἐφεῖσθαι μηδὲ παρέχειν αὐτῷ πράγματα. [85] τοῦτο δὲ ποιησάντων τῶν ἡγεμόνων ὁρῶντες τὴν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως κεκηρυγμένην Ἰωνάθῃ τιμὴν οἱ κατηγορεῖν παρεσκευασμένοι καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεχθῶς ἔχοντες ἀπέδρασαν, μὴ καὶ προσλάβωσίν τι κακὸν δεδιότες. τοσαύτῃ δὲ σπουδῇ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐχρῆτο, ὥστ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ πρῶτον ἀναγράψαι τῶν φίλων.

(3) [86] Ἔτει δὲ πέμπτῳ καὶ ἑξηκοστῷ πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν Δημήτριος ὁ Δημητρίου μετὰ πολλῶν μισθοφόρων, οὓς παρέσχεν αὐτῷ Λασθένης ὁ Κρής, ἄρας ἀπὸ τῆς Κρήτης κατέπλευσεν εἰς Κιλικίαν. [87] τοῦτο δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀκούσαντα εἰς

ἀγωνίαν καὶ ταραχὴν ἐνέβαλεν καὶ παραχρῆμα ἐκ τῆς Φοινίκης εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἔσπευσεν, ἵνα τὰ ἐκεῖ πρὶν ἢ Δημήτριον ἐλθεῖν ἀσφαλῶς θῆται. [88] κατέλιπεν δὲ τῆς κοίλης Συρίας Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν Τάον ἡγεμόνα, ὃς μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως εἰς Ἰάμνειαν ἐλθὼν ἔπεμψε πρὸς Ἰωνάθην τὸν ἀρχιερέα, λέγων ἄδικον εἶναι μόνον αὐτὸν ἐπ᾽ ἀδείας ζῆν καὶ μετὰ ἐξουσίας οὐχ ὑποτασσόμενον τῷ βασιλεῖ: τοῦτο δ᾽ αὐτῷ παρὰ πάντων ὄνειδος φέρειν, ὅτι μὴ ὑποτάξειεν αὐτὸν τῷ βασιλεῖ. [89] μὴ τοίνυν σαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν καθήμενος ἐξαπάτα νομίζων ἰσχὺν ἔχειν, ἀλλ᾽ εἰ θαρρεῖς τῇ σαυτοῦ δυνάμει καταβὰς εἰς τὸ πεδίον τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ στρατιᾷ συγκρίθητι, καὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς νίκης ἐπιδείξει τὸν ἀνδρειότατον. [90] ἴσθι μέντοι γε τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐξ ἑκάστης πόλεως ἐμοὶ συστρατεύεσθαι: καὶ γὰρ δὴ τοὺς σοὺς προγόνους οἱ ἀεὶ νικῶντές εἰσιν οὗτοι. ποιήσῃ δὲ τὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀγῶνα ἐν τοιαύτῃ γῇ, ἐν ᾗ λίθοις οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλ᾽ ὅπλοις ἀμύνασθαι οὐδὲ τόπος εἰς ὃν ἡττώμενος φεύξῃ.”

(4) [91] Παροξυνθεὶς δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Ἰωνάθης μυρίους ἐπιλεξάμενος στρατιώτας ὥρμησεν ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων μετὰ καὶ Σίμωνος τἀδελφοῦ, καὶ γενόμενος ἐν Ἰόππῃ στρατοπεδεύεται τῆς πόλεως ἔξω τῶν Ἰοππηνῶν ἀποκλεισάντων αὐτῷ τὰς πύλας: φρουρὰν γὰρ ἔνδον εἶχον ὑπὸ Ἀπολλωνίου κατασταθεῖσαν. [92] τοῦ δὲ Ἰωνάθου πρὸς πολιορκίαν αὐτῶν παρασκευαζομένου, φοβηθέντες μὴ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἐξέλῃ κατὰ κράτος ἀνοίγουσιν αὐτῷ τὰς πύλας. ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἀκούσας τὴν Ἰόππην κατειλημμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωνάθου τρισχιλίους ἱππεῖς παραλαβὼν καὶ πεζοὺς ὀκτακισχιλίους εἰς Ἄζωτον ἦλθεν κἀκεῖθεν ἄρας ἠρέμα καὶ βάδην ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πορείαν, ἐλθὼν δ᾽ εἰς τὴν Ἰόππην ἀναχωρῶν ἕλκει τὸν Ἰωνάθην εἰς τὸ πεδίον τῇ ἵππῳ καταφρονῶν καὶ τὰς τῆς νίκης ἐλπίδας ἔχων ἐν αὐτῇ. [93] προελθὼν δ᾽ Ἰωνάθης ἐδίωκεν εἰς Ἄζωτον τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον. ὁ δ᾽, ὡς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ συνέβη γενέσθαι τὸν πολέμιον, ὑποστρέψας εἰς μάχην αὐτῷ συνέβαλεν. [94] τοῦ δ᾽ Ἀπολλωνίου χιλίους ἱππεῖς καθίσαντος εἰς ἐνέδραν ἔν τινι χειμάρρῳ, ὡς ἂν κατόπιν ἐπιφανεῖεν τοῖς πολεμίοις, αἰσθόμενος ὁ Ἰωνάθης οὐ κατεπλάγη: τάξας δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐν πλινθίῳ κατ᾽ ἀμφότερα τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμύνασθαι παρεσκευάσατο, καὶ κατὰ πρόσωπον καὶ τοῖς ὄπισθεν ἐπελευσομένοις αὐτὸν ἀντιτάξας. [95] τῆς δὲ μάχης ἕως ἑσπέρας προβαινούσης, δοὺς Σίμωνι τἀδελφῷ μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦτον μὲν ἐκέλευσε συμβαλεῖν τῇ φάλαγγι τῶν ἐχθρῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ προσέταξεν φραξαμένους τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀποδέχεσθαι τὰ βέλη τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἱππέων. [96] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐποίησαν τὸ κελευσθέν, οἱ δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ἱππεῖς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀφέντες τὰ βέλη μέχρι καὶ ἐξεκενώθησαν οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἔβλαπτον: οὐ γὰρ διικνεῖτο τῶν σωμάτων τὰ βαλλόμενα, συμπεφραγμένοις δὲ ταῖς ἀσπίσιν συνηνωμέναις ὑπὸ πυκνότητος ἐπαφιέμενα ῥᾳδίως ἐκρατεῖτο καὶ ἄπρακτα ἐφέρετο. [97] ὡς δὲ παρείθησαν ἀπὸ πρωὶ μέχρι δείλης ὀψίας ἀκοντίζοντες εἰς αὐτοὺς οἱ πολέμιοι, νοήσας Σίμων κεκμηκότας αὐτοὺς συμβάλλει τῇ φάλαγγι, καὶ προθυμίᾳ χρησαμένων πολλῇ

τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτοῦ τρέπει τοὺς ἐχθροὺς εἰς φυγήν. [98] θεασάμενοι δὲ τοὺς πεζοὺς φεύγοντας οἱ ἱππεῖς οὐδ᾽ αὐτοὶ μένουσιν, ἀλλὰ πάρετοι μὲν ὄντες αὐτοὶ διὰ τὸ μέχρι δείλης μάχεσθαι, τῆς δὲ παρὰ τῶν πεζῶν ἐλπίδος αὐτοῖς ἀπολωλυίας, ἀκόσμως καὶ συγκεχυμένως ἔφευγον, ὡς διασχισθέντας αὐτοὺς διὰ παντὸς σκορπισθῆναι τοῦ πεδίου. [99] διώκων δ᾽ αὐτοὺς Ἰωνάθης μέχρι τῆς Ἀζώτου καὶ πολλοὺς ἀναιρῶν ἀπογνόντας τῆς σωτηρίας ἠνάγκασεν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Δαγῶνος ναὸν καταφυγεῖν, ὃς ἦν ἐν Ἀζώτῳ. λαβὼν δ᾽ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς Ἰωνάθης τὴν πόλιν αὐτήν τε ἐνέπρησεν καὶ τὰς περὶ αὐτὴν κώμας. [100] ἀπέσχετο δ᾽ οὐδὲ τοῦ Δαγῶνος ἱεροῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐνέπρησεν καὶ τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸ συμφυγόντας διέφθειρεν. τὸ δὲ πᾶν πλῆθος τῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεσόντων καὶ καταφλεγέντων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῶν πολεμίων ἦσαν ὀκτακισχίλιοι. [101] κρατήσας οὖν τοσαύτης δυνάμεως ἄρας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀζώτου εἰς Ἀσκάλωνα παραγίνεται, καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύσαντος ἔξω τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῦ προῆλθον εἰς ἀπάντησιν αὐτῷ οἱ Ἀσκαλωνῖται ξένια προσφέροντες αὐτῷ καὶ τιμῶντες. ὁ δὲ ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτοὺς τῆς προαιρέσεως ἀνέστρεψεν ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πολλὴν ἐπαγόμενος λείαν, ἣν ἔλαβεν νικήσας τοὺς πολεμίους. [102] Ἀλέξανδρος δ᾽ ἀκούσας ἡττημένον τὸν αὐτοῦ στρατηγὸν Ἀπολλώνιον προσεποιεῖτο χαίρειν, ὅτι παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην Ἰωνάθῃ συνέβαλεν φίλῳ ὄντι καὶ συμμάχῳ, καὶ πέμπει πρὸς Ἰωνάθην μαρτυρῶν αὐτῷ καὶ γέρα καὶ τιμὰς διδοὺς πόρπην χρυσέαν, ὡς ἔστιν ἔθος δίδοσθαι τοῖς τῶν βασιλέων συγγενέσιν, καὶ τὴν Ἀκκάρωνα καὶ τὴν τοπαρχίαν αὐτῆς εἰς κληρουχίαν ἐπιτρέπει.

(5) [103] Ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν καὶ βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλομήτωρ ἐπικληθεὶς ναυτικὴν ἄγων δύναμιν καὶ πεζὴν εἰς Συρίαν ἦκεν συμμαχήσων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ: γαμβρὸς γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ. [104] καὶ πᾶσαι προθύμως αὐτὸν αἱ πόλεις Ἀλεξάνδρου κελεύσαντος ἐκδεχόμεναι παρέπεμπον ἕως Ἀζώτου πόλεως, ἔνθα πάντες κατεβόων αὐτοῦ περὶ τοῦ ἐμπεπρησμένου ἱεροῦ αὐτῶν Δαγῶνος κατηγοροῦντες Ἰωνάθου τοῦτο ἀφανίσαντος καὶ τὴν χώραν πυρπολήσαντος καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀποκτείναντος. [105] καὶ Πτολεμαῖος μὲν ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας ἡσύχασεν, Ἰωνάθης δὲ εἰς Ἰόππην ἀπαντήσας Πτολεμαίῳ ξενίων τε λαμπρῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τυγχάνει καὶ τιμῆς ἀπάσης, ἔπειτα προπέμψας αὐτὸν ἕως τοῦ Ἐλευθέρου καλουμένου ποταμοῦ πάλιν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.

(6) [106] Γενόμενος δ᾽ ἐν Πτολεμαίδι παρὰ πᾶσαν προσδοκίαν μικροῦ διεφθάρη Πτολεμαῖος ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου δι᾽ Ἀμμωνίου, ὃς ἐτύγχανεν αὐτῷ φίλος ὤν. [107] φανερᾶς δὲ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς γενομένης Πτολεμαῖος γράφει τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πρὸς κόλασιν ἐξαιτῶν τὸν Ἀμμώνιον, ἐπιβουλευθῆναι λέγων ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ δίκην διὰ τοῦτ᾽ αὐτὸν ὑποσχεῖν ἀξιῶν. οὐκ ἐκδιδόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου συνεὶς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον εἶναι τὸν ἐπιβουλεύσαντα χαλεπῶς διετέθη πρὸς αὐτόν. [108] τοῖς δὲ Ἀντιοχεῦσιν καὶ πρότερον ἦν προσκεκρουκὼς Ἀλέξανδρος διὰ τὸν Ἀμμώνιον: πολλὰ γὰρ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πεπόνθεισαν κακά.

τιμωρίαν μέντοι τῶν τετολμημένων Ἀμμώνιος ὑπέσχεν κατασφαγεὶς αἰσχρῶς ὡς γυνή, κρύπτειν ἑαυτὸν σπουδάσας στολῇ γυναικείῳ, καθὼς ἐν ἄλλοις δεδηλώκαμεν.

(7) [109] Πτολεμαῖος δὲ μεμψάμενος αὐτὸν τοῦ τε συνοικίσαι τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῆς τε συμμαχίας τῆς κατὰ Δημητρίου διαλύεται τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν συγγένειαν: [110] ἀποσπάσας γὰρ τὴν θυγατέρα πέμπει πρὸς Δημήτριον εὐθὺς περὶ συμμαχίας καὶ φιλίας συντιθέμενος, τήν τε θυγατέρα δώσειν αὐτῷ ὑπισχνούμενος γυναῖκα καὶ καταστήσειν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρχήν. ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος ἡσθεὶς τοῖς πεπρεσβευμένοις δέχεται τὴν συμμαχίαν καὶ τὸν γάμον. [111] ἓν δ' ἔτι Πτολεμαίῳ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀγώνισμα ὑπελείπετο πεῖσαι τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς δέξασθαι Δημήτριον ἀπεχθῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν διακειμένους ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Δημήτριος εἰς αὐτοὺς παρηνόμησεν. κατεπράξατο δὲ καὶ τοῦτο: [112] μισοῦντες γὰρ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οἱ Ἀντιοχεῖς διὰ τὸν Ἀμμώνιον, ὡς δεδηλώκαμεν, ῥᾳδίως αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐξέβαλον. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκπεσὼν τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἦλθεν εἰς Κιλικίαν. [113] ἐλθὼν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς Πτολεμαῖος βασιλεὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἀναδείκνυται καὶ ἀναγκασθεὶς δύο περιτίθεται διαδήματα, ἓν μὲν τὸ τῆς Ἀσίας, ἕτερον δὲ τὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου. [114] χρηστὸς δὲ ὢν φύσει καὶ δίκαιος καὶ τῶν λαμπρῶν οὐκ ἐφιέμενος πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ λογίσασθαι τὰ μέλλοντα συνετός, φείσασθαι τοῦ μὴ δόξαι εἶναι Ῥωμαίοις ἐπίφθονος ἔκρινεν, καὶ συναγαγὼν τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν πείθει δέξασθαι τὸν Δημήτριον αὐτούς, [115] λέγων οὐδενὸς μνησικακήσειν αὐτοῖς περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτὸν εὐεργετηθέντα, διδάσκαλός τε ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἡγεμὼν ἔσεσθαι αὐτῷ διωμολογήσατο καὶ φαύλοις ἐγχειροῦντι πράγμασιν οὐκ ἐπιτρέψειν ὑπέσχετο. αὐτῷ δ' ἔφασκεν ἀρκεῖν τὴν τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλείαν. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν πείθει τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς δέξασθαι τὸν Δημήτριον.

(8) [116] Τοῦ δ' Ἀλεξάνδρου σὺν στρατεύματι πολλῷ καὶ μεγάλῃ παρασκευῇ ὁρμήσαντος ἐκ τῆς Κιλικίας εἰς τὴν Συρίαν καὶ τὴν Ἀντιοχέων γῆν ἐμπρήσαντος καὶ διαρπάσαντος Πτολεμαῖος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξεστράτευσεν μετὰ τοῦ γαμβροῦ Δημητρίου: ἤδη γὰρ αὐτῷ πρὸς γάμον ἐδεδώκει τὴν θυγατέρα: καὶ νικήσαντες εἰς φυγὴν ἐτρέψαντο τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. [117] οὗτος μὲν οὖν εἰς Ἀραβίαν φεύγει. συνέβη δὲ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τὸν ἵππον τὸν Πτολεμαίου φωνῆς ἀκούσαντα ἐλέφαντος ταραχθῆναι καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἀποσεισάμενον καταβαλεῖν, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἰδόντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁρμῆσαι καὶ τραύματα πολλὰ δόντας αὐτῷ κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς εἰς κίνδυνον τὸν περὶ θανάτου καταστῆσαι: τῶν γὰρ σωματοφυλάκων αὐτὸν ἐξαρπασάντων χαλεπῶς οὕτως εἶχεν, ὡς ἐφ' ἡμέρας τέσσαρας μήτε συνεῖναί τι μήτε φθέγξασθαι δυνηθῆναι. [118] τοῦ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν κεφαλὴν ὁ τῶν Ἀράβων δυνάστης ἀποτεμὼν Ζάβειλος ἀπέστειλεν Πτολεμαίῳ, ὃς τῇ πέμπτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνενεγκὼν ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων καὶ φρονήσας ἥδιστον ἄκουσμα καὶ θέαμα τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν ἅμα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀκούει καὶ θεᾶται. [119]

καὶ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ πλησθεὶς τῆς ἐπ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τεθνηκότι χαρᾶς καὶ αὐτὸς κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον. ἐβασίλευσεν δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Βάλας ἐπιλεγόμενος ἔτη πέντε, καθὼς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδηλώκαμεν.

(9) [120] Παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν Δημήτριος ὁ Νικάτωρ ἐπιλεγόμενος ὑπὸ πονηρίας ἤρξατο διαφθείρειν τὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου στρατεύματα, τῆς τε πρὸς αὐτὸν συμμαχίας ἐκλαθόμενος καὶ ὅτι πενθερὸς ἦν αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τὸν τῆς Κλεοπάτρας γάμον συγγενής. οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιῶται φεύγουσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν πεῖραν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, τῶν δ᾽ ἐλεφάντων Δημήτριος ἐγκρατὴς γίνεται. [121] Ἰωνάθης δ᾽ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς Ἰουδαίας στρατιὰν συναγαγὼν προσβαλὼν ἐπολιόρκει τὴν ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἄκραν ἔχουσαν Μακεδονικὴν φρουρὰν καὶ τῶν ἀσεβῶν τινας καὶ πεφευγότων τὴν πάτριον συνήθειαν. [122] οὗτοι δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κατεφρόνουν ὧν Ἰωνάθης ἐμηχανᾶτο περὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν πεπιστευκότες τῇ ὀχυρότητι τοῦ χωρίου, νυκτὸς δέ τινες τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πονηρῶν ἐξελθόντες ἦκον πρὸς Δημήτριον καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν αὐτῷ τῆς ἄκρας ἐμήνυσαν. [123] ὁ δὲ τοῖς ἠγγελμένοις παροξυνθείς, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἦκεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην. γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Πτολεμαίδι γράφει κελεύων αὐτὸν σπεῦσαι πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Πτολεμαίδα. [124] ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν πολιορκίαν οὐκ ἔπαυσεν, τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους τοῦ λαοῦ παραλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ ἐσθῆτα καὶ πλῆθος ξενίων κομίζων ἦκεν πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον, καὶ τούτοις δωρησάμενος αὐτὸν θεραπεύει τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ τιμηθεὶς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ λαμβάνει βεβαίαν ἔχειν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην, καθὼς καὶ παρὰ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων ἐκέκτητο. [125] κατηγορούντων δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν φυγάδων ὁ Δημήτριος οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρακαλέσαντος αὐτόν, ὅπως ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἁπάσης καὶ τῶν τριῶν τοπαρχιῶν Σαμαρείας καὶ Ἰόππης καὶ Γαλιλαίας τριακόσια τελῇ τάλαντα, δίδωσιν καὶ περὶ πάντων ἐπιστολάς, αἳ περιεῖχον τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον: [126] “βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος Ἰωνάθῃ τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ τῷ ἔθνει τῶν Ἰουδαίων χαίρειν. τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἧς ἔγραψα Λασθένει τῷ συγγενεῖ ἡμῶν ἀπεστάλκαμεν ὑμῖν, ἵνα εἰδῆτε. [127] βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος Λασθένει τῷ πατρὶ χαίρειν. τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνει ὄντι φίλῳ καὶ τὰ δίκαια τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς φυλάττοντι τῆς εὐνοίας ἔκρινα χάριν παρασχεῖν. καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς νομοὺς Ἀφαίρεμα καὶ Λύδδα καὶ Ῥαμαθαιν, οἳ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ προσετέθησαν ἀπὸ τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος, καὶ τὰ προσκυροῦντα τούτοις, [128] ἔτι τε ὅσα παρὰ τῶν θυόντων ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐλάμβανον οἱ πρὸ ἐμοῦ βασιλεῖς, καὶ ὅσα ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν φυτῶν, καὶ τἆλλα τὰ προσήκοντα ἡμῖν, καὶ τὰς λίμνας τῶν ἁλῶν καὶ τοὺς κομιζομένους ἡμῖν στεφάνους ἀφίημι αὐτοῖς, καὶ οὐδὲν παραβιβασθήσεται τούτων ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν οὐδὲ εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον. φρόντισον οὖν, ἵνα τούτων ἀντίγραφον γένηται καὶ δοθῇ Ἰω [129] νάθῃ καὶ ἐν ἐπισήμῳ τόπῳ τοῦ ἁγίου ἱεροῦ τεθῇ.” τὰ μὲν δὴ γραφέντα ταῦτα ἦν. ὁρῶν δὲ ὁ Δημήτριος εἰρήνην οὖσαν καὶ μηδένα κίνδυνον μηδὲ πολέμου φόβον ὑπάρχοντα διέλυσε τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ τὸν

μισθὸν αὐτῶν ἐμείωσεν, καὶ μόνοις τοῦτον ἐχορήγει τοῖς ξενολογηθεῖσιν, οἳ συνανέβησαν ἐκ Κρήτης αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων νήσων. [130] ἔχθρα τοιγαροῦν αὐτῷ καὶ μῖσος ἐκ τούτου γίνεται παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οἷς αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν οὐκέτι παρεῖχεν, οἱ δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖς καὶ ἐπ᾽ εἰρήνης χορηγοῦντες αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως διετέλουν, ἵν᾽ εὐνοοῦντας ἔχωσιν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀγῶσιν εἰ δεήσειέν ποτε προθύμους.

V

(1) [131] Ἀμέλει ταύτην νοήσας τὴν δύσνοιαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς Δημήτριον Ἀλεξάνδρου τις στρατηγὸς Ἀπαμεὺς τὸ γένος Διόδοτος ὁ καὶ Τρύφων ἐπικληθείς, παραγίνεται πρὸς Μάλχον τὸν Ἄραβα, ὃς ἔτρεφε τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸν Ἀντίοχον, καὶ δηλώσας αὐτῷ τὴν δυσμένειαν τὴν τῶν στρατευμάτων πρὸς Δημήτριον ἔπειθεν αὐτῷ δοῦναι τὸν Ἀντίοχον: βασιλέα γὰρ αὐτὸν ποιήσειν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποκαταστήσειν. [132] ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀντεῖχεν ὑπ᾽ ἀπιστίας, ὕστερον δὲ πολλῷ χρόνῳ προσλιπαρήσαντος τοῦ Τρύφωνος νικᾶται τὴν προαίρεσιν εἰς ἃ Τρύφων παρεκάλει. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τούτου τἀνδρὸς ἐν τούτοις ὑπῆρχεν.

(2) [133] Ὁ δ᾽ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰωνάθης ἐξελθεῖν βουλόμενος τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίων φυγάδας καὶ ἀσεβεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἁπάσῃ τῇ χώρᾳ φρουρούς, πέμψας πρὸς Δημήτριον δῶρα καὶ πρεσβευτὰς παρεκάλει τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασι τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐκβαλεῖν. [134] ὁ δ᾽ οὐ ταῦτα μόνον αὐτῷ παρέξειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μείζω τούτων ὑπισχνεῖται μετὰ τὸν ἐν χερσὶ πόλεμον: τούτῳ γὰρ νῦν εὐσχολεῖν. ἠξίου δ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ συμμαχίαν πέμψαι δηλῶν ἀποστῆναι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ. καὶ Ἰωνάθης μὲν τρισχιλίους ἐπιλεξάμενος στρατιώτας ἔπεμψεν.

(3) [135] Ἀντιοχεῖς δὲ μισοῦντες τὸν Δημήτριον ὑπὲρ ὧν πεπόνθεισαν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κακῶς, ἀπεχθανόμενοι δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ τὸν πατέρα Δημήτριον πολλὰ εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐξαμαρτόντα, καιρὸν ἐπετήρουν λαβεῖν καθ᾽ ὃν ἐπιθοῖντο αὐτῷ. [136] νοήσαντες δὲ συμμαχίαν παροῦσαν παρὰ Ἰωνάθου τῷ Δημητρίῳ καὶ συμφρονήσαντες, ὅτι πολλὴν ἀθροίσει δύναμιν, εἰ μὴ φθάσαντες προκαταλάβοιεν αὐτόν, ἁρπάσαντες τὰ ὅπλα καὶ περιστάντες τοῖς βασιλείοις αὐτοῦ τρόπῳ πολιορκίας καὶ τὰς ἐξόδους διαλαβόντες ἐζήτουν χειρώσασθαι τὸν βασιλέα. [137] ὁ δὲ τὸν δῆμον ὁρῶν τὸν τῶν Ἀντιοχέων ἐκπεπολεμωμένον πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν ὅπλοις ὄντα, παραλαβὼν τοὺς μισθοφόρους καὶ τοὺς πεμφθέντας ὑπὸ Ἰωνάθου Ἰουδαίους συμβάλλει τοῖς Ἀντιοχεῦσιν καὶ βιασθεὶς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν, πολλαὶ γὰρ ἦσαν μυριάδες, ἡττᾶται. [138] βλέποντες δὲ τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς κρατοῦντας οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐπὶ τὰς στέγας τῶν βασιλείων ἀναβάντες ἐκεῖθεν ἔβαλλον τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς, καὶ τοῦ μὲν αὐτοί τι πάσχειν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ὄντες πορρωτάτω διὰ τὸ ὕψος, ποιοῦντες δ᾽ αὐτοὺς κακῶς διὰ τὸ ἄνωθεν μάχεσθαι τῶν σύνεγγυς αὐτοὺς οἰκιῶν ἀπώσαντο. [139] καὶ ταύταις

μὲν εὐθὺς πῦρ ἐνῆκαν, ἡ δὲ φλὸξ ἐφ᾽ ὅλην διατείνουσα τὴν πόλιν πυκνῶν τῶν οἰκιῶν οὐσῶν καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα ἐκ ξύλων ᾠκοδομημένων πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἐνέμετο. [140] οἱ δ᾽ Ἀντιοχεῖς μὴ δυνάμενοι βοηθῆσαι μηδὲ κρατῆσαι τοῦ πυρὸς εἰς φυγὴν ἐτράπησαν. τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων ἀπὸ δώματος ἐπὶ δῶμα διαπηδώντων καὶ τοῦτον αὐτοὺς διωκόντων τὸν τρόπον παράδοξον συνέβη γενέσθαι τὴν δίωξιν. [141] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὁρῶν τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς σῶσαι τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐσπουδακότας καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μηκέτι μαχομένους δι᾽ ἄλλων αὐτοῖς ἐπιτίθεται στενωπῶν, καὶ συμβαλὼν πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν, ὡς ἀναγκασθῆναι ῥῖψαι τὰς πανοπλίας καὶ παραδοῦναι αὐτοὺς τῷ Δημητρίῳ. [142] συγγνοὺς δ᾽ αὐτοῖς τῶν τετολμημένων καταπαύει τὴν στάσιν. δωρησάμενος δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τὰς ἐκ τῶν σκύλων ὠφελείας καὶ ὡς αἰτιωτάτοις τῆς νίκης αὐτῷ γεγενημένοις εὐχαριστήσας ἀπέπεμψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς Ἰωνάθην μαρτυρῶν αὐτῷ τῆς συμμαχίας. [143] ὕστερον δὲ πονηρὸς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐγένετο καὶ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις διεψεύσατο καὶ πόλεμον ἠπείλησεν, εἰ μὴ τοὺς φόρους αὐτῷ πάντας ἀποδώσει, οὓς ὤφειλεν τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων βασιλέων. καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐποίησεν ἄν, εἰ μὴ Τρύφων αὐτὸν ἐπέσχεν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην αὐτοῦ παρασκευὴν ἀντιμετέσπασεν εἰς τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ φροντίδας. [144] ὑποστρέψας γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίας εἰς τὴν Συρίαν μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀντιόχου, μειράκιον δ᾽ ἦν οὗτος τὴν ἡλικίαν, περιτίθησιν αὐτῷ τὸ διάδημα. καὶ προσχωρήσαντος τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ παντός, ὃ καταλελοίπει τὸν Δημήτριον διὰ τὸ μὴ τυγχάνειν μισθῶν, πόλεμον ἐκφέρει πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον, καὶ συμβαλὼν αὐτῷ κρατεῖ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τούς τε ἐλέφαντας καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀντιοχέων πόλιν λαμβάνει.

(4) [145] Δημήτριος μὲν οὖν ἡττηθεὶς ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Κιλικίαν, ὁ δὲ παῖς Ἀντίοχος πέμψας πρὸς Ἰωνάθην πρεσβευτὰς καὶ γράμματα φίλον τε καὶ σύμμαχον αὐτὸν ἐποιεῖτο καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἐβεβαίου καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων παρεχώρει νομῶν, οἳ τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων προσετέθησαν. [146] ἔτι γε μὴν σκεύη χρυσᾶ καὶ ἐκπώματα καὶ πορφυρᾶν ἐσθῆτα χρῆσθαι τούτοις ἐπιτρέπων ἀπέστειλεν καὶ πόρπῃ δ᾽ αὐτὸν δωρεῖται χρυσέᾳ καὶ τῶν πρώτων αὐτοῦ καλεῖσθαι φίλων. τὸν ἀδελφὸν δ᾽ αὐτοῦ Σίμωνα στρατηγὸν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπὸ κλίμακος τῆς Τυρίων ἕως Αἰγύπτου καθίστησιν. [147] Ἰωνάθης δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῖς παρ᾽ Ἀντιόχου γεγενημένοις εἰς αὐτὸν ἡσθεὶς πέμψας πρὸς αὐτόν τε καὶ Τρύφωνα πρεσβευτὰς εἶναί τε φίλος ὡμολόγει καὶ σύμμαχος καὶ πολεμήσειν σὺν αὐτῷ πρὸς Δημήτριον, διδάσκων ὡς οὐδ᾽ αὐτῷ χάριτας ἀποδοίη πολλῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ χρηστῶν ἐν οἷς ἐδεῖτο τυχών, ἀλλὰ προσαδικήσειεν ἀνθ᾽ ὧν εὖ πάθοι.

(5) [148] Συγχωρήσαντος οὖν Ἀντιόχου δύναμιν αὐτῷ συναγαγόντι πολλὴν ἔκ τε Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης τοῖς Δημητρίου πολεμῆσαι στρατηγοῖς εὐθὺς ὥρμησεν εἰς τὰς πόλεις. αἱ δὲ λαμπρῶς μὲν ἐξεδέξαντο, στρατιὰν δ᾽ οὐκ ἔδοσαν. [149] παραγενόμενος δ᾽ ἐκεῖθεν πρὸς Ἀσκάλωνα πόλιν καὶ τῶν Ἀσκαλωνιτῶν φιλοτίμως αὐτῷ μετὰ δώρων ἀπαντησάντων, αὐτούς τε τούτους παρεκάλει καὶ

τῶν ἐν τῇ κοίλῃ Συρίᾳ πόλεων ἑκάστην ἀποστᾶσαν Δημητρίου προσθέσθαι μὲν Ἀντιόχῳ, σὺν αὐτῷ δὲ πολεμούσας πειρᾶσθαι παρὰ Δημητρίου δίκην λαμβάνειν ὧν ἁμάρτοι ποτ᾽ εἰς αὐτάς: εἶναι δ᾽ αὐταῖς βουλομέναις ταῦτα φρονεῖν πολλὰς αἰτίας. [150] πείσας δ᾽ ὁμολογῆσαι πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον συμμαχεῖν τὰς πόλεις εἰς Γάζαν παρεγένετο προσαξόμενος καὶ τὴν παρὰ τούτων εὔνοιαν Ἀντιόχῳ. πολὺ δ᾽ εὗρεν τῆς προσδοκίας τοὺς Γαζαίους ἀλλοτριώτερον ἔχοντας: ἀπέκλεισαν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰς πύλας καὶ τὸν Δημήτριον ἐγκαταλιπόντες οὐκ ἔγνωσαν Ἀντιόχῳ προσχωρῆσαι. [151] τοῦτο παρώξυνεν εἰς πολιορκίαν τὸν Ἰωνάθην καὶ τῆς χώρας τὴν κάκωσιν: μέρος γὰρ τῆς στρατιᾶς περικαθίσας τῇ Γάζῃ τῷ λοιπῷ τὴν γῆν αὐτὸς ἐπιὼν διέφθειρεν καὶ ἐνεπίμπρα. ταῦτα δὲ πάσχοντας ἑαυτοὺς ὁρῶντες οἱ Γαζῖται καὶ μηδεμίαν ἀπὸ Δημητρίου βοήθειαν αὐτοῖς γινομένην, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν λυποῦν ἤδη παρόν, τὸ δ᾽ ὠφελῆσον μακρὰν ἔτι καὶ ἄδηλον εἰ παραγένοιτο, σῶφρον ἔκριναν εἶναι τοῦτ᾽ ἀφέντες παραμένειν ἐκεῖνο θεραπεύειν. [152] πέμψαντες οὖν πρὸς τὸν Ἰωνάθην φιλίαν τε ὡμολόγουν καὶ συμμαχίαν: οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄνθρωποι πρὸ πείρας τῶν δεινῶν οὐ συνιᾶσιν τὸ συμφέρον, ἀλλ᾽ ὅταν ἔν τινι κακῷ γενόμενοι τύχωσιν, τότε γνωσιμαχήσαντες ἃ μηδ᾽ ὅλως βλαβέντας ἄμεινον ἦν ποιεῖν ταῦθ᾽ ὕστερον ζημιωθέντες αἱροῦνται. [153] ὁ δὲ συνθέμενος πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν καὶ λαβὼν ὁμήρους τούτους μὲν ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν ἐπῆλθεν ἄχρι Δαμασκοῦ.

(6) [154] Τῶν δὲ Δημητρίου στρατηγῶν ἀκουσθέντων αὐτῷ προελθεῖν εἰς Κέδασαν σὺν πολλῇ στρατιᾷ, μεταξὺ δ᾽ ἐστὶν αὕτη τῆς τε Τυρίων γῆς καὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας: ἀπάξειν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Συρίας ὑπέλαβον ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Γαλιλαίων συμμαχίαν: τῆς γὰρ Γαλιλαίας ὄντας αὐτοὺς οὐ περιόψεσθαι πολεμουμένους: ὑπήντησεν αὐτοῖς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Σίμωνα καταλιπὼν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ, [155] ὃς στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς χώρας συναγαγὼν ὡς ἐνῆν ἱκανώτατον τὴν Βεθσούραν πολιορκῶν προσεκάθητο χωρίον τῆς Ἰουδαίας ὀχυρώτατον: κατεῖχεν γὰρ αὐτὸ φρουρὰ Δημητρίου. δεδήλωται δ᾽ ἡμῖν τοῦτο καὶ πρότερον. [156] ὡς δὲ χώματα μὲν ἐγείραντος τοῦ Σίμωνος, μηχανήματα δ᾽ ἱστάντος καὶ πολλῇ σπουδῇ χρωμένου περὶ τὴν τῆς Βεθσούρου πολιορκίαν ἔδεισαν οἱ φρουροί, μὴ κατὰ κράτος ἐξαιρεθέντος τοῦ χωρίου διαφθαρῶσιν, πέμψαντες πρὸς τὸν Σίμωνα ἠξίουν ὅρκους λαβόντες, ὥστε μηδὲν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ παθεῖν, καταλιπεῖν τὸ χωρίον καὶ πρὸς Δημήτριον ἀπελθεῖν. [157] ὁ δὲ δοὺς ταύτας αὐτοῖς τὰς πίστεις ἐκβάλλει μὲν ἐκείνους ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, αὐτὸς δὲ φρουρὰν καθίστησιν ἰδίαν.

(7) [158] Ἰωνάθης δὲ ἄρας ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἀπὸ τῶν ὑδάτων τῶν Γενησάρων λεγομένων, ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐτύγχανεν ἐστρατοπεδευκώς, εἰς τὸ καλούμενον Ἀσὼρ πεδίον προῆλθεν οὐκ εἰδὼς ὄντας ἐν αὐτῇ τοὺς πολεμίους. [159] μαθόντες δὲ πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας οἱ τοῦ Δημητρίου μέλλειν Ἰωνάθην ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς βαδίζειν ἐνέδραν αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς λοχήσοντας ἐν τῷ ὄρει καθίσαντες αὐτοὶ μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπήντων εἰς τὸ πεδίον: οὓς ἰδὼν ὁ Ἰωνάθης ἑτοίμους πρὸς μάχην παρεσκευάζετο

καὶ αὐτὸς τοὺς ἰδίους στρατιώτας πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὡς ἠδύνατο. [160] τῶν δὲ εἰς τὴν ἐνέδραν ὑπὸ τῶν Δημητρίου στρατηγῶν κατασταθέντων κατὰ νώτου τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις γενομένων, δείσαντες μὴ μέσοι ληφθέντες ἀπόλωνται, φεύγειν ὥρμησαν. [161] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες τὸν Ἰωνάθην κατέλιπον, ὀλίγοι δέ τινες ὡς περὶ πεντήκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὑπέμειναν, καὶ Ματθίας ὁ Ἀψαλώμου καὶ Ἰούδας ὁ Χαψέου τῆς ἀπάσης δυνάμεως ἡγεμόνες ὄντες: τολμηρῶς δὲ καὶ μετὰ ἀπογνώσεως εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ὠσάμενοι τῷ τε θάρσει κατέπληξαν αὐτοὺς καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἀπέστρεψαν εἰς φυγήν. [162] οἱ δ' ἀναχωρήσαντες τῶν Ἰωνάθου στρατιωτῶν ὡς εἶδον τοὺς πολεμίους τραπέντας, ἐπισυλλεγέντες ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ὥρμησαν αὐτοὺς διώκειν καὶ τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν μέχρι Κεδάσων, οὗ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἦν τοῖς πολεμίοις.

(8) [163] Κρατήσας οὖν Ἰωνάθης τῇ μάχῃ λαμπρῶς καὶ δισχιλίους τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀποκτείνας ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. ὁρῶν οὖν, ὅτι πάντ' αὐτῷ κατὰ νοῦν προνοίᾳ θεοῦ χωρεῖ, πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πρεσβευτὰς ἀπέστειλεν, ἀνανεώσασθαι βουλόμενος τὴν γενομένην τῷ ἔθνει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔμπροσθεν φιλίαν. [164] τοῖς δ' αὐτοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ἐπέστειλεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀναστρέφουσιν πρὸς τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας ἀφικέσθαι καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπομνῆσαι φιλίαν καὶ συγγένειαν. οἱ δ' ὡς ἦλθον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην παρελθόντες εἰς τὴν βουλὴν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ παρὰ Ἰωνάθου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως εἰπόντες, ὡς πέμψειεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς συμμαχίας βεβαιώσει, [165] τῆς βουλῆς ἐπικυρωσάσης τὰ πρότερον αὐτῇ περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων φιλίας ἐγνωσμένα καὶ δούσης ἐπιστολὰς πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ Εὐρώπης καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἄρχοντας αὐτοῖς κομίζειν, ὅπως ἀσφαλοῦς τῆς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν κομιδῆς δι' αὐτῶν τύχωσιν, ἀναστρέφοντες εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην παρεγένοντο καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς, ἃς ἔλαβον παρὰ Ἰωνάθου, αὐτοῖς ἀπέδοσαν. [166] τὸ δ' ἀντίγραφον ἦν τόδε: "ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰωνάθης τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἡ γερουσία καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἱερέων Λακεδαιμονίων ἐφόροις καὶ γερουσίᾳ καὶ δήμῳ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς χαίρειν. εἰ ἐρρωμένοις ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια χωρεῖ κατὰ νοῦν, οὕτως ἂν ἔχοι ὡς βουλόμεθα, ἐρρώμεθα δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς. [167] ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις κομισθείσης Ὀνίᾳ τῷ γενομένῳ ἀρχιερεῖ παρ' ἡμῖν παρὰ Ἀρέως τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος ὑμῶν ἐπιστολῆς διὰ Δημοτέλους περὶ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ὑμῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς συγγενείας, ἧς ὑποτέτακται τὸ ἀντίγραφον, τήν τε ἐπιστολὴν ἐδεξάμεθα προθύμως καὶ τῷ Δημοτέλει καὶ τῷ Ἀρεῖ εὐνοικῶς διετέθημεν, οὐ δεόμενοι τῆς τοιαύτης ἀποδείξεως διὰ τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἡμῶν πεπιστεῦσθαι γραμμάτων, [168] τὸ μὲν προκατάρχειν τῆς ἀναγνωρίσεως οὐδὲ δοκιμάζομεν μὴ καὶ προαρπάζειν δοκῶμεν τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν διδομένην δόξαν, πολλῶν δὲ χρόνων διαγενομένων ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναποληθείσης ἡμῖν οἰκειότητος ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς καὶ ἐπωνύμοις ἡμέραις θυσίας τῷ θεῷ προσφέροντες καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας τε καὶ νίκης αὐτὸν παρακαλοῦμεν. [169] πολλῶν δ' ἡμᾶς πολέμων περιστάντων διὰ τὴν τῶν γειτνιώντων πλεονεξίαν οὔθ' ὑμῖν

οὔτ᾽ ἄλλῳ τῶν προσηκόντων ἡμῖν ἐνοχλεῖν ἐκρίναμεν. καταγωνισάμενοι δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους πέμποντες πρὸς Ῥωμαίους Νουμήνιον τὸν Ἀντιόχου καὶ Ἀντίπατρον τὸν Ἰάσονος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γερουσίας ὄντων παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἐν τιμῇ, ἐδώκαμεν αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπιστολάς, ὅπως ἀνανεώσωνται τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἡμῖν συγγένειαν. [170] καλῶς οὖν ποιήσετε καὶ αὐτοὶ γράφοντες ἡμῖν καὶ περὶ ὧν ἂν δέησθε ἐπιστέλλοντες, ὡς εἰς ἅπαντα προθυμησομένοις ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας προαιρέσεως.” οἱ μὲν οὖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τούς τε πρεσβευτὰς φιλοφρόνως ὑπεδέξαντο καὶ ψήφισμα ποιησάμενοι περὶ συμμαχίας καὶ φιλίας πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπέστειλαν.

(9) [171] Κατὰ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον τρεῖς αἱρέσεις τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἦσαν, αἳ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων διαφόρως ὑπελάμβανον, ὧν ἡ μὲν Φαρισαίων ἐλέγετο, ἡ δὲ Σαδδουκαίων, ἡ τρίτη δὲ Ἐσσηνῶν. [172] οἱ μὲν οὖν Φαρισαῖοι τινὰ καὶ οὐ πάντα τῆς εἱμαρμένης ἔργον εἶναι λέγουσιν, τινὰ δ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτοῖς ὑπάρχειν συμβαίνειν τε καὶ μὴ γίνεσθαι. τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἐσσηνῶν γένος πάντων τὴν εἱμαρμένην κυρίαν ἀποφαίνεται καὶ μηδὲν ὃ μὴ κατ᾽ ἐκείνης ψῆφον ἀνθρώποις ἀπαντᾶν. [173] Σαδδουκαῖοι δὲ τὴν μὲν εἱμαρμένην ἀναιροῦσιν οὐδὲν εἶναι ταύτην ἀξιοῦντες οὐδὲ κατ᾽ αὐτὴν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα τέλος λαμβάνειν, ἅπαντα δὲ ἐφ᾽ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς κεῖσθαι, ὡς καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους ἡμᾶς γινομένους καὶ τὰ χείρω παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀβουλίαν λαμβάνοντας. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἀκριβεστέραν πεποίημαι δήλωσιν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ βίβλῳ τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς πραγματείας.

(10) [174] Οἱ δὲ τοῦ Δημητρίου στρατηγοὶ τὴν γεγενημένην ἧττταν ἀναμαχέσασθαι βουλόμενοι, πλείω τῆς προτέρας δύναμιν συναγαγόντες ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην. ὁ δὲ ἐπιόντας πυθόμενος ὀξέως ἀπήντησεν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν Ἀμαθῖτιν: οὐ γὰρ ἔγνω σχολὴν αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν, ὥστ᾽ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐμβαλεῖν. [175] στρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ἄπωθεν σταδίοις πεντήκοντα πέμπει τοὺς κατοψομένους αὐτῶν τὴν παρεμβολὴν καὶ πῶς εἶεν ἐστρατοπεδευκότες. τῶν δὲ κατασκόπων πάντ᾽ αὐτῷ φρασάντων καί τινας συλλαβόντων νυκτός, οἳ αὐτοῖς μέλλειν ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐμήνυον, προγνοὺς ἠσφαλίσατο, [176] προφυλακάς τε ποιησάμενος ἔξω τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τὴν δύναμιν δι᾽ ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἔχων ἅπασαν καὶ παρηγγελκὼς αὐτοῖς τὰς ψυχὰς ἐρρωμένους εἶναι καὶ ταῖς διανοίαις οὕτως ἔχειν, ὡς καὶ διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς εἰ δεήσειε μαχεσομένους, ὥστε μὴ λαθεῖν αὐτῶν τὴν προαίρεσιν. [177] οἱ δὲ τοῦ Δημητρίου στρατηγοὶ πυθόμενοι τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἐγνωκότα οὐκέτι τὴν γνώμην ἦσαν ὑγιεῖς, ἀλλ᾽ ἐτάραττεν αὐτοὺς τὸ καταφώρους τοῖς ἐχθροῖς γεγονέναι καὶ μηδενὶ προσδοκᾶν αὐτῶν ἐπικρατήσειν ἑτέρῳ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς διημαρτημένης: ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ φανεροῦ διακινδυνεύοντες οὐκ ἐνόμιζον εἶναι τοῖς Ἰωνάθου ἀξιόμαχοι. [178] φυγὴν οὖν ἐβουλεύσαντο, καὶ πυρὰ καύσαντες πολλά, ὡς ὁρῶντες οἱ πολέμιοι μένειν αὐτοὺς ὑπολάβοιεν, ἀνεχώρησαν. ὁ δὲ Ἰωνάθης ἔωθεν προσμίξας αὐτῶν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ

καταλαβὼν ἔρημον αὐτό, συνεὶς ὅτι πεφεύγασιν ἐδίωκεν. [179] οὐ μέντοι φθάνει καταλαβεῖν: ἤδη γὰρ τὸν Ἐλεύθερον ποταμὸν διαβεβηκότες ἦσαν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ. ποιησάμενος οὖν ἐκεῖθεν τὴν ὑποστροφὴν εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν καὶ πολεμήσας τοὺς Ναβατηνοὺς καὶ πολλὴν αὐτῶν λείαν ἀπελάσας καὶ λαβὼν αἰχμαλώτους ἐλθὼν εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἐκεῖ πάντα ἀπέδοτο. [180] ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ Σίμων ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἅπασαν ἐπελθὼν καὶ τὴν Παλαιστίνην ἕως Ἀσκάλωνος ἠσφαλίσατο φρουρίοις, καὶ ποιήσας ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς οἰκοδομήμασιν ὀχυρώτατα καὶ ταῖς φυλακαῖς ἦλθεν εἰς Ἰόππην καὶ καταλαβόμενος αὐτὴν εἰσήγαγεν μεγάλην φρουράν: ἤκουσε γὰρ τοὺς Ἰοππηνοὺς βουλομένους τοῖς Δημητρίου στρατηγοῖς παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν.

(11) [181] Ταῦτ᾽ οὖν διοικησάμενοι ὅ τε Σίμων καὶ Ἰωνάθης ἦλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. συναγαγὼν δὲ τὸν λαὸν ἅπαντα εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν Ἰωνάθης συνεβουλεύετο τά τε τείχη τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἐπισκευάσαι καὶ τὸ καθῃρημένον τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν περιβόλου πάλιν ἀναστῆσαι καὶ πύργοις ὑψηλοῖς ἐξοχυρῶσαι τὰ περὶ αὐτό, [182] πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ μέσον τῆς πόλεως ἄλλο τεῖχος ἀνοικοδομησαμένους ἀποφράξαι τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ φρουροῖς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῆς εὐπορίας αὐτοὺς τῶν σιτίων τοῦτον ἀποκλεῖσαι τὸν τρόπον, ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ φρούρια ποιῆσαι πολὺ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλείας ὀχυρώτερα. [183] τῆς δὲ γνώμης καὶ τῷ πλήθει δοκιμασθείσης καλῶς ἔχειν αὐτὸς μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ᾠκοδόμει, Σίμωνα δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐξέπεμψεν ἀσφαλισόμενον. [184] ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος διαβὰς εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν ἦκεν ταύτην τε βουλόμενος καὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα κατασχεῖν, [185] καὶ τῶν ἄνω σατραπειῶν ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος ἐντεῦθεν ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ὅλης τῆς βασιλείας ἀφορμάς: καὶ γὰρ οἱ ταύτῃ κατοικοῦντες Ἕλληνες καὶ Μακεδόνες συνεχῶς ἐπρεσβεύοντο πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀφίκοιτο, παραδώσειν μὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπισχνούμενοι, συγκαταπολεμήσειν δὲ Ἀρσάκην τὸν Πάρθων βασιλέα. [186] ταύταις ἐπαρθεὶς ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ὥρμησεν πρὸς αὐτούς, εἰ καταστρέψαιτο τοὺς Πάρθους καὶ γένοιτ᾽ αὐτῷ δύναμις, τὸν Τρύφωνα πολεμῆσαι διεγνωκὼς καὶ τῆς Συρίας ἐκβαλεῖν. δεξαμένων δὲ αὐτὸν προθύμως τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, συναγαγὼν δύναμιν ἐπολέμησεν πρὸς τὸν Ἀρσάκην, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν ἀποβαλὼν αὐτὸς ζῶν ἐλήφθη, καθὼς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται.

VI

(1) [187] Τρύφων δ᾽ ἐπειδὴ τὰ περὶ τὸν Δημήτριον ἔγνω τοιοῦτο λαβόντα τέλος οὐκέτ᾽ ἦν Ἀντιόχῳ βέβαιος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεβούλευεν ὥστ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνας τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτὸς κατασχεῖν. ἐνεπόδιζέ γε μὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν προαίρεσιν ταύτην ὁ παρὰ Ἰωνάθου φόβος φίλου τυγχάνοντος Ἀντιόχῳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ᾽ ἐκποδὼν ποιήσασθαι τὸν Ἰωνάθην πρῶτον ἔγνω καὶ τότε τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον

ἐγχειρεῖν. [188] ἀπάτῃ δ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ δόλῳ κρίνας ἀνελεῖν εἰς Βαιθσὰν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας παραγίνεται τὴν καλουμένην ὑφ᾽ Ἑλλήνων Σκυθόπολιν, εἰς ἣν μετὰ τεσσάρων αὐτῷ μυριάδων Ἰωνάθης ἀπήντησεν ἐπιλέκτου στρατοῦ: πολεμήσοντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἥκειν ὑπελάμβανεν. [189] ὁ δ᾽ ἕτοιμον εἰς μάχην γνοὺς τὸν Ἰωνάθην ὑπέρχεται δώροις αὐτὸν καὶ φιλοφρονήσει, καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν αὐτοῦ πειθαρχεῖν Ἰωνάθῃ προσέταξεν, τούτοις πιστώσασθαι βουλόμενος εὔνοιαν καὶ πᾶσαν ὑπόνοιαν ἐξελεῖν εἰς τὸ καταφρονήσαντα λαβεῖν ἀφύλακτον οὐδὲν προορώμενον. [190] τήν τε στρατιὰν συνεβούλευεν ἀπολῦσαι: καὶ γὰρ νῦν οὐ δεόντως αὐτὴν ἐπάγεσθαι, πολέμου μὲν οὐκ ὄντος, εἰρήνης δὲ ἐχούσης τὰ πράγματα: κατασχόντα μέντοι γε περὶ αὐτὸν ὀλίγους εἰς Πτολεμαίδα συνελθεῖν παρεκάλει: παραδώσειν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν τά τε ἄλλα πάνθ᾽ ὅσα κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐστὶν ὀχυρώματα ποιήσειν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ: καὶ γὰρ τούτων ἕνεκα παρεῖναι.

(2) [191] Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰωνάθης οὐδὲν τούτων ὑπονοήσας, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπ᾽ εὐνοίας καὶ γνώμης ἀληθοῦς τὸν Τρύφωνα συμβουλεῦσαι ταῦτα πιστεύσας τὴν μὲν στρατιὰν ἀπέλυσεν, τρισχιλίους δὲ κατασχὼν μόνους τοὺς μὲν δισχιλίους ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν χιλίων ἦκεν εἰς Πτολεμαίδα σὺν Τρύφωνι. [192] τῶν δ᾽ ἐν τῇ Πτολεμαίδι κλεισάντων τὰς πύλας, τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Τρύφωνος προστεταγμένον, Ἰωνάθην ἐζώγρησεν, τοὺς δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ πάντας ἀπέκτεινεν. ἔπεμψεν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ καταλειφθέντας δισχιλίους, ὅπως ἂν καὶ τούτους ἀπολέσωσιν: [193] ἀλλ᾽ οὗτοι μὲν ὑπὸ φήμης τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην συμβεβηκότων ἔφθησαν πρὶν ἢ τοὺς ὑπὸ Τρύφωνος ἀπεσταλμένους ἀφικέσθαι φραξάμενοι τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπελθεῖν. οἱ δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς πεμφθέντες ἰδόντες ἑτοίμους ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἀγωνίζεσθαι μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐνοχλήσαντες πρὸς τὸν Τρύφωνα ὑπέστρεψαν.

(3) [194] Οἱ δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀκούσαντες τὴν Ἰωνάθου σύλληψιν καὶ τὴν τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιωτῶν ἀπώλειαν αὐτόν τε ἐκεῖνον ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν ὠλοφύροντο καὶ δεινὴ τἀνδρὸς ἐπιζήτησις παρὰ πᾶσιν ἦν, [195] δέος τε μέγα καὶ κατὰ λόγον αὐτοῖς ἐμπεσὸν ἐλύπει, μὴ τῆς Ἰωνάθου ἀνδρείας ἅμα καὶ προνοίας ἀφῃρημένων τὰ πέριξ ἔθνη χαλεπῶς ἔχοντα πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ διὰ Ἰωνάθην ἠρεμοῦντα νῦν αὐτοῖς ἐπισυστῇ καὶ πολεμοῦντες εἰς τοὺς περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων κινδύνους ἀναγκάζωνται καθίστασθαι. [196] καὶ δὴ τοῦτ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὡς ὑπενόουν συνέπεσεν: τὸν γὰρ Ἰωνάθου ἀκούσαντες θάνατον οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν πολεμεῖν ἤρξαντο τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ὡς ἀποροῦντας ἡγεμόνος. αὐτὸς δ᾽ ὁ Τρύφων δύναμιν συναγαγὼν γνώμην εἶχεν ἀναβὰς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πολεμεῖν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ. [197] Σίμων δ᾽ ὁρῶν πρὸς ταῦτα τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας καταπεπληγότας, βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὑποστῆναι προθύμως ἐπιόντα τὸν Τρύφωνα θαρραλεωτέρους ποιῆσαι τῷ λόγῳ, συγκαλέσας τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὸν ἱερὸν ἐντεῦθεν αὐτοὺς παρακαλεῖν ἤρξατο: [198] “τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐλευθερίας, ὁμόφυλοι, μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐγώ τε καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί μου ὡς ἐτολμήσαμεν ἀσμένως ἀποθανεῖν

οὐκέτ᾽ ἀγνοεῖτε. παραδειγμάτων δὲ τοιούτων εὐποροῦντός μου κἀκ τοῦ θνήσκειν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς θρησκείας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας οἰκίας γενομένους ἡγησαμένου φόβος οὐδὲ εἷς ἔσται τηλικοῦτος, ὃς ταύτην ἡμῶν τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκβαλεῖ τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀντεισάξει δ᾽ εἰς αὐτὴν φιλοζωίαν καὶ δόξης καταφρόνησιν. [199] ὅθεν ὡς οὐκ ἀποροῦντες ἡγεμόνος οἵου τε καὶ πάσχειν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τὰ μέγιστα καὶ δρᾶν ἔπεσθέ μοι προθύμως ἐφ᾽ οὓς ἂν ἡγῶμαι: οὔτε γὰρ κρείττων ἐγὼ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἐμῶν, ἵνα φείδωμαι τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ ψυχῆς, οὔτε χείρων, ἵν᾽ ὃ κάλλιστον ἐκείνοις ἔδοξεν τὸ τελευτᾶν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείας ὑμῶν τοῦτ᾽ ἐγὼ φύγω καὶ καταλίπω. [200] οἷς δέ με δεῖ γνήσιον ἐκείνων ἀδελφὸν φανῆναι τούτοις ἀδελφὸν ἐμαυτὸν ἐπιδείξω: θαρρῶ γὰρ ὡς καὶ δίκην ληψόμενος παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ πάντας ὑμᾶς μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν ὕβρεως ῥυσόμενος καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀπόρθητον μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ διαφυλάξων: τὰ γὰρ ἔθνη βλέπω καταφρονήσαντα ὑμῶν ὡς οὐκ ἐχόντων ἡγεμόνα πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν ὡρμημένα.”

(4) [201] Τούτους ποιησαμένου τοῦ Σίμωνος τοὺς λόγους ἀνεθάρσησεν τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐνδεδωκὸς ὑπὸ δειλίας ἀνηγέρθη πρὸς τὴν ἀμείνω καὶ ἀγαθὴν ἐλπίδα, ὡς ἀθρόως πάντα τὸν λαὸν ἐκβοῆσαι τὸν Σίμωνα αὐτῶν ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ ἀντὶ Ἰούδου καὶ Ἰωνάθου τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν προστασίαν ἔχειν: ἔσεσθαι γὰρ πρὸς ὅ τι κελεύσαι πειθηνίους. [202] συναθροίσας δ᾽ εὐθὺς πᾶν ὅσον ἦν τὸ πολεμικὸν τῆς οἰκείας ἰσχύος ἔσπευδε τὰ τείχη τῆς πόλεως ἀνοικοδομῆσαι, καὶ πύργοις αὐτὴν ὑψηλοτάτοις καὶ καρτεροῖς ἀσφαλισάμενος ἀπέστειλεν μὲν Ἰωνάθην τινὰ φίλον Ἀψαλώμου παῖδα μετὰ στρατιᾶς εἰς Ἰόππην προστάξας αὐτῷ τοὺς οἰκήτορας ἐκβαλεῖν: ἐδεδίει γάρ, μὴ παραδῶσιν οὗτοι τὴν πόλιν τῷ Τρύφωνι. αὐτὸς δ᾽ ὑπομείνας ἐφύλαττε τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα.

(5) [203] Ὁ δὲ Τρύφων ἄρας ἐκ Πτολεμαίδος μετὰ στρατιᾶς πολλῆς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν παραγίνεται καὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην δέσμιον ἄγων. ἀπήντησε δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ Σίμων μετὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως εἰς Ἄδδιδα πόλιν, ἥτις ἐπ᾽ ὄρους κειμένη τυγχάνει, ὑφ᾽ ἧς ὑπόκειται τὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίας πεδία. [204] γνοὺς δὲ Τρύφων ἡγεμόνα τὸν Σίμωνα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καθεσταμένον ἔπεμψεν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦτον ἀπάτῃ καὶ δόλῳ περιελθεῖν βουλόμενος, κελεύων αὐτόν, εἰ θέλει λυθῆναι τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰωνάθην, πέμψαι τάλαντα ἑκατὸν ἀργυρίου καὶ δύο τῶν παίδων τῶν Ἰωνάθου ὁμήρους, ὅπως μὴ ἀφεθεὶς ἀποστήσῃ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν βασιλέως: ἄρτι γὰρ αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ ἀργύριον, ὃ τῷ βασιλεῖ χρησάμενος ὤφειλε, φυλάττεσθαι δεδεμένον. [205] ὁ δὲ Σίμων τὴν τέχνην τὴν τοῦ Τρύφωνος οὐκ ἠγνόησεν, ἀλλὰ συνεὶς ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον ἀπολέσει δοὺς καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν οὐ λύσει, μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ δὲ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐκδώσει τῷ πολεμίῳ, φοβούμενος δέ, μὴ διαβληθῇ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ὡς αἴτιος αὐτὸς τἀδελφῷ θανάτου γενόμενος, ὅτι μήτε τὰ χρήματα μήτε τοὺς υἱοὺς ἔδωκεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, συναγαγὼν τὴν στρατιὰν ἐδήλωσεν αὐτῇ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Τρύφωνος, [206] εἰπὼν ὅτι ταῦτα καὶ ἐνέδραν καὶ ἐπιβουλὴν ἔχει: ὅμως

αἱρετώτερον εἶναι πέμψαι τὰ χρήματ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς ἢ τοῖς ὑπὸ Τρύφωνος προβαλλομένοις μὴ ὑπακούσαντα λαβεῖν αἰτίαν ὡς τὸν ἀδελφὸν σῶσαι μὴ θελήσας. καὶ Σίμων μὲν τούς τε Ἰωνάθου παῖδας ἐξέπεμψεν καὶ τὰ χρήματα. [207] λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Τρύφων οὐκ ἐτήρησεν τὴν πίστιν οὐδὲ ἀπέλυσε τὸν Ἰωνάθην, ἀλλὰ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀναλαβὼν ἐκπεριῆλθε τὴν χώραν καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ἀναβαίνειν διεγνώκει τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ παραγενόμενος ἦκεν εἰς Ἄδωρα πόλιν τῆς Ἰδουμαίας. ἀντιπαρῆγεν δ᾽ ὁ Σίμων μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀεὶ καταστρατοπεδευόμενος ἐξ ἐναντίας αὐτοῦ.

(6) [208] Τῶν δ᾽ ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ πεμψάντων πρὸς Τρύφωνα καὶ παρακαλούντων σπεῦσαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ τροφὰς αὐτοῖς πέμψαι, παρεσκεύασε τὴν ἵππον ὡς διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐσόμενος. ἀλλὰ χιὼν διὰ νυκτὸς πολλὴ πεσοῦσα καὶ τάς τε ὁδοὺς καλύψασα καὶ ἄπορον ἵπποις μάλιστα πεζεύειν ὑπὸ βάθους τὴν πορείαν παρασχοῦσα διεκώλυσεν αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. [209] διόπερ ἐκεῖθεν ἄρας ὁ Τρύφων εἰς τὴν κοίλην ἀφικνεῖται Συρίαν, σπουδῇ τε εἰς τὴν Γαλαδῖτιν ἐμβαλὼν τόν τε Ἰωνάθην ἀποκτείνας αὐτόθι καὶ ταφῆναι κελεύσας αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ὑπέστρεψεν. [210] ὁ δὲ Σίμων πέμψας εἰς Βασκὰ πόλιν μετακομίζει τὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ὀστᾶ, καὶ κηδεύει μὲν ταῦτα ἐν Μωδεεῖ τῇ πατρίδι, πένθος δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ μέγα πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐποιήσατο. [211] Σίμων δὲ καὶ μνημεῖον μέγιστον ᾠκοδόμησεν τῷ τε πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐκ λίθου λευκοῦ καὶ ἀνεξεσμένου. εἰς πολὺ δ᾽ αὐτὸ καὶ περίοπτον ἀναγαγὼν ὕψος στοὰς περὶ αὐτὸ βάλλεται καὶ στύλους μονολίθους θαυμαστὸν ἰδεῖν χρῆμα ἀνίστησιν, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ πυραμίδας ἑπτὰ τοῖς τε γονεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἑκάστῳ μίαν ᾠκοδόμησεν εἰς ἔκπληξιν μεγέθους τε ἕνεκα καὶ κάλλους πεποιημένας, αἳ καὶ μέχρι δεῦρο σώζονται. [212] καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς Ἰωνάθου ταφῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν μνημείων οἰκοδομίας τοῖς οἰκείοις Σίμωνος τοσαύτην σπουδὴν οἴδαμεν γενομένην. ἀπέθανεν δὲ Ἰωνάθης ἀρχιερατεύων ἔτη τέσσαρα προστὰς τοῦ γένους. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς τούτου τελευτῆς ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

(7) [213] Σίμων δὲ κατασταθεὶς ἀρχιερεὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἔτει τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς Μακεδόσι δουλείας τὸν λαὸν ἠλευθέρωσεν ὡς μηκέτι φόρους αὐτοῖς τελεῖν: ἡ δὲ ἐλευθερία καὶ τὸ ἀνείσφορον τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις μετὰ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔτη τῶν Συρίας βασιλέων ἐξ οὗ χρόνου Σέλευκος ὁ Νικάτωρ ἐπικληθεὶς κατέσχεν Συρίαν ὑπῆρξεν. [214] τοσαύτη δ᾽ ἦν ἡ τοῦ πλήθους περὶ τὸν Σίμωνα φιλοτιμία, ὥστ᾽ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους συμβολαίοις καὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις γράμμασιν ἐπὶ πρώτου ἔτους γράφειν Σίμωνος καὶ εὐεργέτου Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἐθνάρχου: εὐτύχησαν γὰρ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ σφόδρα καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῶν περιοίκων ἐκράτησαν. [215] κατεστρέψατο γὰρ Σίμων Γάζαρά τε πόλιν καὶ Ἰόππην καὶ Ἰάμνειαν, ἐκπολιορκήσας δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἄκραν εἰς ἔδαφος αὐτὴν καθεῖλεν, ὡς ἂν μὴ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὁρμητήριον ᾖ καταλαμβανομένοις αὐτὴν τοῦ κακῶς ποιεῖν, ὡς καὶ τότε. καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσας

ἄριστον ἐδόκει καὶ συμφέρον καὶ τὸ ὄρος ἐφ᾽ οὗ τὴν ἄκραν εἶναι συνέβαινεν καθελεῖν, ὅπως ὑψηλότερον ᾖ τὸ ἱερόν. [216] καὶ δὴ τοῦτ᾽ ἔπειθεν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καλέσας τὸ πλῆθος ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ γίνεσθαι, ὧν τε ἔπαθον ὑπὸ τῶν φρουρῶν καὶ τῶν φυγάδων Ἰουδαίων ὑπομιμνήσκων, ἅ τε πάθοιεν ἄν, εἰ πάλιν κατάσχοι τὴν βασιλείαν ἀλλόφυλος φρουρᾶς ἐν αὐτῇ κατασταθείσης. [217] ταῦτα λέγων πείθει τὸ πλῆθος παραινῶν αὐτῷ τὰ συμφέροντα. καὶ πάντες προσβαλόντες καθῄρουν τὸ ὄρος καὶ μήτε νυκτὸς μήθ᾽ ἡμέρας ἀπολυόμενοι τοῦ ἔργου τρισὶν αὐτὸ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἔτεσιν κατήγαγον εἰς ἔδαφος καὶ πεδινὴν λειότητα. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξεῖχεν ἁπάντων τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς ἄκρας καὶ τοῦ ὄρους ἐφ᾽ ᾧ ἦν καθῃρημένων. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ Σίμωνος πραχθέντα τοῦτον εἶχεν τὸν τρόπον.

VII

(1) [218] Μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας τῆς Δημητρίου τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸν Ἀντίοχον, ὃς καὶ Θεὸς ἐπεκλήθη, Τρύφων διέφθειρεν ἐπιτροπεύων αὐτοῦ τέσσαρα βασιλεύσαντα ἔτη. καὶ τὸν μέν, ὡς χειριζόμενος ἀποθάνοι, διήγγειλεν: [219] τοὺς δὲ φίλους καὶ τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους διέπεμπε πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἐπαγγελλόμενος αὐτοῖς χρήματα πολλὰ δώσειν, εἰ βασιλέα χειροτονήσουσιν αὐτόν, Δημήτριον μὲν ὑπὸ Πάρθων αἰχμάλωτον γεγονέναι μηνύων, τὸν δ᾽ ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀντίοχον παρελθόντα εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν πολλὰ ποιήσειν αὐτοῖς κακὰ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἀμυνόμενον. [220] οἱ δ᾽ ἐλπίσαντες εὐπορίαν ἐκ τῆς Τρύφωνι δοθείσης βασιλείας ἀποδεικνύουσιν αὐτὸν ἄρχοντα. γενόμενος δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγκρατὴς ὁ Τρύφων διέδειξεν τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν οὖσαν πονηράν: ἰδιώτης μὲν γὰρ ὢν ἐθεράπευεν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ μετριότητα ὑπεκρίνατο δελεάζων αὐτὸ τούτοις εἰς ἅπερ ἐβούλετο, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν λαβὼν ἀπεδύσατο τὴν ὑπόκρισιν καὶ ὁ ἀληθὴς Τρύφων ἦν. [221] τοὺς οὖν ἐχθροὺς διὰ ταῦτ᾽ ἐποίει κρείττονας: τὸ μὲν γὰρ στρατιωτικὸν αὐτὸν μισοῦν ἀφίστατο πρὸς Κλεοπάτραν τὴν Δημητρίου γυναῖκα τότε ἐν Σελευκείᾳ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἐγκεκλεισμένην. [222] ἀλωμένου δὲ καὶ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Δημητρίου ἀδελφοῦ, ὃς ἐπεκαλεῖτο Σωτήρ, καὶ μηδεμιᾶς αὐτὸν πόλεως δεχομένης διὰ Τρύφωνα, πέμπει πρὸς αὐτὸν Κλεοπάτρα καλοῦσα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπί τε γάμῳ καὶ βασιλείᾳ. ἐκάλει δὲ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἐπὶ τούτοις ἅμα μὲν τῶν φίλων αὐτὴν ἀναπεισάντων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐνδιδόντων τινῶν ἐκ τῆς Σελευκείας τῷ Τρύφωνι δείσασα.

(2) [223] Γενόμενος δ᾽ ἐν τῇ Σελευκείᾳ ὁ Ἀντίοχος καὶ τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτῷ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν αὐξανομένης ὥρμησε πολεμήσων τὸν Τρύφωνα, καὶ κρατήσας αὐτοῦ τῇ μάχῃ τῆς ἄνω Συρίας ἐξέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Φοινίκην διώξας ἄχρι ταύτης εἵς τε Δῶρα φρούριόν τι δυσάλωτον ἐπολιόρκει συμφυγόντα. πέμπει δὲ καὶ πρὸς Σίμωνα τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέα περὶ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας πρέσβεις. [224] ὁ δὲ προσδέχεται προθύμως αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀξίωσιν, καὶ χρήματά τε πολλὰ καὶ τροφὴν

τοῖς τὰ Δῶρα [στρατιώταις] πολιορκοῦσι πέμψας τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἀφθόνως ἐχορήγησεν, ὡς τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων αὐτῷ πρὸς ὀλίγον καιρὸν κριθῆναι φίλων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Τρύφων ἐκ τῆς Δώρας φυγὼν εἰς Ἀπάμειαν καὶ ληφθεὶς ἐν αὐτῇ πολιορκίᾳ διεφθάρη βασιλεύσας ἔτη τρία.

(3) [225] Ὁ δ᾽ Ἀντίοχος ὑπὸ πλεονεξίας καὶ φαυλότητος λήθην τῶν ἐκ Σίμωνος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς χρείας ὑπηρετηθέντων ἐποιήσατο, καὶ δύναμιν στρατιωτικὴν Κενδεβαίῳ παραδοὺς τῶν φίλων ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς Ἰουδαίας πόρθησιν καὶ τὴν Σίμωνος ἄλωσιν ἐξαπέστειλεν. [226] Σίμων δ᾽ ἀκούσας τὴν Ἀντιόχου παρανομίαν καὶ πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἤδη ὅμως ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ δικαίων τῶν παρ᾽ Ἀντιόχου γινομένων τυγχάνειν παρορμηθεὶς καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας φρόνημα κρεῖττον λαβὼν νεανικῶς ἐστρατήγει τοῦ πολέμου. [227] καὶ τοὺς μὲν υἱεῖς μετὰ τῶν μαχιμωτέρων προεκπέμπει στρατιωτῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ κατ᾽ ἄλλο μέρος προῄει μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ πολλοὺς ἐν τοῖς φαραγγώδεσι τῶν ὀρῶν τούτους εἰς ἐνέδραν καταστήσας διαμαρτάνει μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν ἐπιχειρήσεων, κρατήσας δὲ διὰ πάσης τῶν πολεμίων ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὸν λοιπὸν διήγαγεν χρόνον, ποιησάμενος καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους συμμαχίαν.

(4) [228] Ἦρξε μὲν οὖν ὀκτὼ τὰ πάντα τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔτη, τελευτᾷ δὲ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἐν συμποσίῳ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ γαμβροῦ ταύτην ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν συστησαμένου, ὃς καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς δύο παῖδας συλλαβὼν καὶ δεδεμένους ἔχων ἔπεμψεν καὶ ἐπὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν τρίτον, τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Ὑρκανὸς ἦν ὄνομα, τοὺς διαφθεροῦντας. [229] αἰσθόμενος δὲ τοὺς ἐλθόντας ὁ νεανίσκος διαφυγὼν τὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν κίνδυνον εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἠπείγετο, θαρρῶν τῷ πλήθει διὰ τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς εὐεργεσίας καὶ διὰ τὸ Πτολεμαίου τοῖς ὄχλοις μῖσος. σπουδάσαντα δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖον εἰσελθεῖν δι᾽ ἄλλης πύλης ὁ δῆμος ἀπεώσατο τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ἤδη προσδεδεγμένος.

VIII

(1) [230] Καὶ ὁ μὲν εἰς ἕν τι τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἰεριχοῦντος ἐρυμάτων ἀνεχώρησεν Δαγὼν λεγόμενον. ἀπολαβὼν δὲ τὴν πάτριον ἀρχιερωσύνην Ὑρκανὸς καὶ τὸν θεὸν πρώταις θυσίαις παραστησάμενος ἐπὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐξεστράτευσεν, καὶ προσβαλὼν τῷ χωρίῳ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις περιῆν αὐτοῦ, ἡττᾶτο δὲ μόνῳ τῷ πρὸς τὴν μητέρα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς οἴκτῳ. [231] τούτους γὰρ Πτολεμαῖος ἀναγαγὼν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐξ ἀπόπτου ᾐκίζετο καὶ κατακρημνίσειν οὐκ ἀφισταμένου τῆς πολιορκίας ἠπείλει. ὁ δ᾽ ὅσον [ἂν] ἐνδοίη τῆς περὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν τοῦ χωρίου σπουδῆς, τοσοῦτο χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς φιλτάτοις ἡγούμενος πρὸς τὸ μὴ κακῶς πάσχειν, ἐξέλυε τὸ πρόθυμον. [232] ἡ μέντοι μήτηρ ὀρέγουσα τὰς χεῖρας ἱκέτευε μὴ μαλακίζεσθαι δι᾽ αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ πλέον ὀργῇ χρώμενον ἐλεῖν σπουδάσαι τὸ χωρίον καὶ τὸν ἐχθρὸν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῷ ποιήσαντα τιμωρῆσαι τοῖς φιλτάτοις: ἡδὺν

γὰρ αὐτῇ τὸν μετ᾽ αἰκίας [εἶναι] θάνατον, εἰ δίκην ὑπόσχοι τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς παρανομίας ὁ ταῦτα ποιῶν πολέμιος. [233] τὸν δὲ Ὑρκανὸν ταῦτα μὲν λεγούσης τῆς μητρὸς ὁρμή τις ἐλάμβανεν πρὸς τὴν αἵρεσιν τοῦ φρουρίου, ἡνίκα δ᾽ αὐτὴν ἴδοι τυπτομένην καὶ σπαραττομένην, ἐξελύετο καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰς τὴν μητέρα πραττομένοις συμπαθείας ἥττων ἐγίνετο. [234] ἑλκομένης δ᾽ οὕτως εἰς χρόνον τῆς πολιορκίας ἐνίσταται τὸ ἔτος ἐκεῖνο, καθ᾽ ὃ συμβαίνει τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀργεῖν: κατὰ δὲ ἑπτὰ ἔτη τοῦτο παρατηροῦσιν, ὡς ἐν ταῖς ἑβδομάσιν ἡμέραις. [235] καὶ Πτολεμαῖος, ὑπὸ ταύτης ἀνεθεὶς τοῦ πολέμου τῆς αἰτίας ἀποκτείνει τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς τοῦ Ὑρκανοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τοῦτο δράσας πρὸς Ζήνωνα φεύγει τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Κοτυλᾶν, τυραννεύοντα τῆς Φιλαδελφέων πόλεως.

(2) [236] Ἀντίοχος δὲ χαλεπῶς ἔχων ἐφ᾽ οἷς ὑπὸ Σίμωνος ἔπαθεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐνέβαλεν τετάρτῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, πρώτῳ δὲ τῆς Ὑρκανοῦ ἀρχῆς, ὀλυμπιάδι ἑκατοστῇ καὶ ἑξηκοστῇ καὶ δευτέρᾳ. [237] δηώσας δὲ τὴν χώραν τὸν Ὑρκανὸν εἰς αὐτὴν ἐνέκλεισε τὴν πόλιν, ἣν ἑπτὰ στρατοπέδοις περιλαβὼν ἤνυσε μὲν οὐδὲν ὅλως τὸ πρῶτον διά τε τὴν τῶν τειχῶν ὀχυρότητα καὶ δι᾽ ἀρετὴν τῶν ἐμπολιορκουμένων ἔτι γε μὴν ὕδατος ἀπορίαν, ἧς αὐτοὺς ἀπέλυσεν ὄμβρος κατενεχθεὶς πολὺς δυομένης πλειάδος. [238] κατὰ δὲ τὸ βόρειον μέρος τοῦ τείχους, καθ᾽ ὃ συνέβαινεν αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπίπεδον εἶναι, πύργους ἀναστήσας ἑκατὸν τριωρόφους ἀνεβίβασεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς στρατιωτικὰ τάγματα. [239] καὶ προσβολὰς ὁσημέραι ποιησάμενος τάφρον τε βαθεῖαν καὶ πολλὴν τὸ εὖρος καὶ διπλῆν τεμόμενος, ἀπετείχισεν τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας. οἱ δὲ πολλὰς ἐκδρομὰς ἀντεπινοοῦντες, εἰ μὲν ἀφυλάκτοις που προσπέσοιεν τοῖς πολεμίοις, πολλὰ ἔδρων αὐτούς, αἰσθομένων δὲ ἀνεχώρουν εὐχερῶς. [240] ἐπεὶ δὲ βλαβερὰν κατενόησεν Ὑρκανὸς τὴν πολυανθρωπίαν, ἀναλισκομένων τε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τάχιον ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς καὶ μηδενὸς οἷον εἰκὸς ἐκ πολυχειρίας ἔργου γιγνομένου, τὸ μὲν ἀχρεῖον αὐτῆς ἀποκρίνας ἐξέβαλεν, ὅσον δ᾽ ἦν ἀκμαῖον καὶ μάχιμον τοῦτο μόνον κατέσχεν. [241] Ἀντίοχος μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἀπολεχθέντας ἐξελθεῖν ἐκώλυεν, οἱ δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς μεταξὺ τείχεσι κακούμενοι ταῖς βασάνοις ἀπέθνησκον οἰκτρῶς. ἐπιστάσης γε μὴν τῆς σκηνοπηγίας ἑορτῆς ἐλεοῦντες αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐντὸς πάλιν εἰσεδέξαντο. [242] πέμψαντος δ᾽ Ὑρκανοῦ πρὸς Ἀντίοχον καὶ σπονδὰς ἡμερῶν ἑπτὰ διὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἀξιώσαντος γενέσθαι, τῇ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείᾳ εἴκων σπένδεται καὶ προσέτι θυσίαν εἰσέπεμψε μεγαλοπρεπῆ, ταύρους χρυσοκέρωτας καὶ μεστὰ παντοίων ἀρωμάτων ἐκπώματα χρύσεά τε καὶ ἀργύρεα. [243] καὶ τὴν μὲν θυσίαν δεξάμενοι παρὰ τῶν κομιζόντων οἱ πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις ὄντες ἄγουσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, Ἀντίοχος δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν εἱστία, πλεῖστον Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς διενέγκας, ὃς τὴν πόλιν ἑλὼν ὗς μὲν κατέθυσεν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν, τὸν νεὼν δὲ τῷ ζωμῷ τούτων περιέρρανε συγχέας τὰ Ἰουδαίων νόμιμα καὶ τὴν πάτριον αὐτῶν εὐσέβειαν, ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐξεπολεμώθη τὸ ἔθνος καὶ ἀκαταλλάκτως

εἶχεν. [244] τοῦτον μέντοι τὸν Ἀντίοχον δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν τῆς θρησκείας Εὐσεβῆ πάντες ἐκάλεσαν.

(3) [245] Ἀποδεξάμενος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν Ὑρκανὸς καὶ μαθὼν τὴν περὶ τὸ θεῖον σπουδὴν ἐπρεσβεύσατο πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀξιῶν τὴν πάτριον αὐτοῖς πολιτείαν ἀποδοῦναι. ὁ δὲ ἀπωσάμενος τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τῶν μὲν παραινούντων ἐξελεῖν τὸ ἔθνος διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἄλλους αὐτῶν τῆς διαίτης ἀμιξίαν οὐκ ἐφρόντιζεν, [246] πειθόμενος δὲ κατ᾽ εὐσέβειαν πάντα ποιεῖν τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ἀπεκρίνατο, παραδοῦναι μὲν τὰ ὅπλα τοὺς πολιορκουμένους καὶ δασμὸν αὐτῷ τελεῖν Ἰόππης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων πάρεξ τῆς Ἰουδαίας φρουράν τε δεξαμένους ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀπηλλάχθαι τοῦ πολέμου. [247] οἱ δὲ τἆλλα μὲν ὑπομένειν, τὴν δὲ φρουρὰν οὐχ ὡμολόγουν διὰ τὴν ἀμιξίαν οὐκ ἐφικνούμενοι πρὸς ἄλλους. ἀντὶ μέντοι γε τῆς φρουρᾶς ὁμήρους ἐδίδοσαν καὶ τάλαντα ἀργυρίου πεντακόσια, ὧν εὐθὺς τὰ τριακόσια καὶ τοὺς ὁμήρους προσδεξαμένου τοῦ βασιλέως ἔδοσαν, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Ὑρκανοῦ ἀδελφός, καθεῖλεν δὲ καὶ τὴν στεφάνην τῆς πόλεως. [248] ἐπὶ τούτοις μὲν οὖν Ἀντίοχος τὴν πολιορκίαν λύσας ἀνεχώρησεν.

(4) [249] Ὑρκανὸς δὲ τὸν Δαυίδου τάφον ἀνοίξας, ὃς πλούτῳ τούς ποτε βασιλεῖς ὑπερέβαλεν, τρισχίλια μὲν ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἐξεκόμισεν, ὁρμώμενος δ᾽ ὑπὸ τούτων πρῶτος Ἰουδαίων ξενοτροφεῖν ἤρξατο. [250] γίνεται δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς Ἀντίοχον φιλία καὶ συμμαχία, καὶ δεξάμενος αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀφθόνως πάντα τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ φιλοτίμως παρέσχεν. καὶ ποιουμένῳ τὴν ἐπὶ Πάρθους αὐτῷ στρατείαν συνεξώρμησεν Ὑρκανός. μάρτυς δὲ τούτων ἡμῖν ἐστιν καὶ Νικόλαος ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς οὕτως ἱστορῶν: [251] "τρόπαιον δὲ στήσας Ἀντίοχος ἐπὶ τῷ Λύκῳ ποταμῷ νικήσας Ἰνδάτην τὸν Πάρθων στρατηγὸν αὐτόθι ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας δύο δεηθέντος Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ Ἰουδαίου διά τινα ἑορτὴν πάτριον, ἐν ᾗ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις οὐκ ἦν νόμιμον ἐξοδεύειν." καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὐ ψεύδεται λέγων: [252] ἐνέστη γὰρ ἡ πεντηκοστὴ ἑορτὴ μετὰ τὸ σάββατον, οὐκ ἔξεστι δ᾽ ἡμῖν οὔτε τοῖς σαββάτοις οὔτ᾽ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ὁδεύειν. [253] συμβαλὼν δ᾽ Ἀντίοχος Ἀρσάκῃ τῷ Πάρθῳ πολλήν τε τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπέβαλεν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπόλλυται, τὴν δὲ τῶν Σύρων βασιλείαν ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ διαδέχεται Δημήτριος Ἀρσάκου αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἀπολύσαντος καθ᾽ ὃν χρόνον Ἀντίοχος εἰς τὴν Παρθυηνὴν ἐνέβαλεν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται.

IX

(1) [254] Ὑρκανὸς δὲ ἀκούσας τὸν Ἀντιόχου θάνατον εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν Συρίᾳ πόλεις ἐξεστράτευσεν οἰόμενος αὐτὰς εὑρήσειν, ὅπερ ἦν, ἐρήμους τῶν μαχίμων καὶ ῥύεσθαι δυναμένων. [255] Μήδαβαν μὲν οὖν πολλὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτῷ ταλαιπωρηθείσης ἕκτῳ μηνὶ εἷλεν, ἔπειτα καὶ Σαμόγαν καὶ τὰ πλησίον εὐθὺς αἱρεῖ Σίκιμά τε πρὸς τούτοις καὶ Γαριζεὶν τό τε Κουθαίων γένος, [256] ὃ περιοικεῖ

τὸν εἰκασθέντα τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερῷ ναόν, ὃν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπέτρεψεν οἰκοδομῆσαι Σαναβαλλέτῃ τῷ στρατηγῷ διὰ τὸν γαμβρὸν Μανασσῆν τὸν Ἰαδδοῦς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἀδελφόν, ὡς πρότερον δεδηλώκαμεν. συνέβη δὲ τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον ἔρημον γενέσθαι μετὰ ἔτη διακόσια. [257] Ὑρκανὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας αἱρεῖ πόλεις Ἄδωρα καὶ Μάρισαν, καὶ ἅπαντας τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους ὑπὸ χεῖρα ποιησάμενος ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοῖς μένειν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, εἰ περιτέμνοιντο τὰ αἰδοῖα καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίων νόμοις χρήσασθαι θέλοιεν. [258] οἱ δὲ πόθῳ τῆς πατρίου γῆς καὶ τὴν περιτομὴν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τοῦ βίου δίαιταν ὑπέμειναν τὴν αὐτὴν Ἰουδαίοις ποιήσασθαι. κἀκείνοις αὐτοῖς χρόνος ὑπῆρχεν ὥστε εἶναι τὸ λοιπὸν Ἰουδαίους.

(2) [259] Ὑρκανὸς δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἀνανεώσασθαι τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν βουλόμενος πέμπει πρὸς αὐτοὺς πρεσβείαν. καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος δεξαμένη τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ γράμματα ποιεῖται πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ: [260] Φάννιος Μάρκου υἱὸς στρατηγὸς βουλὴν ἤγαγεν πρὸ ὀκτὼ εἰδῶν Φεβρουαρίων ἐν Κομιτίῳ παρόντος Λουκίου Μαννίου Λουκίου υἱοῦ Μεντίνα καὶ Γαίου Σεμπρωνίου πενναίου υἱοῦ Φαλέρνα περὶ ὧν ἐπρέσβευσεν Σίμων Δοσιθέου καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Διόδωρος Ἰάσονος ἄνδρες καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ δήμου τοῦ Ἰουδαίων, [261] [οἳ] καὶ διελέχθησαν περὶ φιλίας τῆς ὑπαρχούσης τούτοις καὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς Ῥωμαίους καὶ τῶν δημοσίων πραγμάτων, ὅπως τε Ἰόππη καὶ λιμένες καὶ Γάζωρα καὶ πηγαὶ καὶ ὅσας πόλεις αὐτῶν ἄλλας καὶ χωρία πολεμῶν ἔλαβεν Ἀντίοχος παρὰ τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα ταῦτα ἀποκατασταθῇ, [262] ἵνα τε τοῖς στρατιώταις τοῖς βασιλικοῖς μὴ ἐξῇ διὰ τῆς χώρας τῆς αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων αὐτῶν διέρχεσθαι, καὶ ὅπως τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκεῖνον ψηφισθέντα ὑπὸ Ἀντιόχου παρὰ τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα ἄκυρα γένηται, [263] ἵνα τε πρέσβεις πέμψαντες ἀποδοθῆναί τε αὐτοῖς ποιήσωσιν τὰ ὑπ᾽ Ἀντιόχου ἀφαιρεθέντα καὶ τὴν χώραν διατιμήσωνται τὴν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ διεφθαρμένην, ὅπως τε αὐτοῖς πρός τε βασιλεῖς καὶ δήμους ἐλευθέρους γράμματα δῶσιν εἰς ἀσφάλειαν τῆς εἰς οἶκον ἐπανόδου. [264] ἔδοξεν οὖν περὶ τούτων ταῦτα: ἀνανεώσασθαι φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν πρὸς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ ὑπὸ δήμου πεμφθέντας ἀγαθοῦ καὶ φίλου. [265] περὶ μέντοι γραμμάτων ἀπεκρίναντο βουλεύσεσθαι, ὅταν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἡ σύγκλητος εὐσχολήσῃ, σπουδάσειν τε τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδὲν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀδίκημα τοιοῦτο γενέσθαι, δοῦναί τε αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατηγὸν Φάννιον χρήματα ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου, ὅπως ἂν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπανέλθοιεν. [266] Φάννιος μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἀποπέμπει τοὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρέσβεις χρήματά τε δοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου καὶ δόγμα συγκλήτου πρὸς τοὺς διαπέμψοντας καὶ ἀσφαλῆ παρεξομένους τὴν οἴκαδε παρουσίαν.

(3) [267] Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ Ὑρκανὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα ἐν τούτοις ὑπῆρχεν, Δημητρίῳ δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ προθυμουμένῳ στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Ὑρκανὸν οὐκ ἐξεγένετο καιρὸς οὐδὲ ἀφορμὴ τῶν τε Σύρων καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεχθανομένων,

πονηρὸς γὰρ ἦν, καὶ πεμψάντων πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Φύσκωνα ἐπικληθέντα πρέσβεις, ὅπως τινὰ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Σελεύκου γένους παραδῷ αὐτοῖς ἀπολῃψόμενον τὴν βασιλείαν. [268] τοῦ δὲ Πτολεμαίου πέμψαντος Ἀλέξανδρον μετὰ στρατιᾶς τὸν Ζεβίναν ἐπιλεγόμενον καὶ μάχης πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον γενομένης, ὁ μὲν ἡττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ φεύγει πρὸς Κλεοπάτραν τὴν γυναῖκα εἰς Πτολεμαίδα καὶ μὴ δεξαμένης αὐτὸν τῆς γυναικὸς ἐκεῖθεν ἀπελθὼν εἰς Τύρον ἁλίσκεται καὶ πολλὰ παθὼν ὑπὸ τῶν μισούντων ἀπέθανεν. [269] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν φιλίαν ποιεῖται πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα. ἔπειτα πολεμήσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Δημητρίου παιδὸς Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Γρυποῦ ἐπικληθέντος, ἡττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ διαφθείρεται.

X

(1) [270] Παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν τῆς Συρίας βασιλείαν ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν στρατεύειν εὐλαβὴς ἦν τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀκούων τὸν ὁμομήτριον, Ἀντίοχος δὲ κἀκεῖνος ἐκαλεῖτο, δύναμιν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Κυζίκου συλλέγειν. [271] μένων δὲ κατὰ χώραν ἔγνω παρασκευάζειν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον τὴν τἀδελφοῦ, ὃς Κυζικηνὸς μὲν ἐπεκλήθη διὰ τὸ τραφῆναι ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει, πατρὸς δ᾽ ἦν Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐπικληθέντος, ὃς ἐν Πάρθοις ἀπέθανεν: οὗτος δὲ ἀδελφὸς ἦν Δημητρίου τοῦ Γρυποῦ πατρός. συνέβη μέντοι μίαν τοῖς δυσὶν ἀδελφοῖς γῆμαι Κλεοπάτραν, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἱστορήκαμεν. [272] ὁ δὲ Κυζικηνὸς Ἀντίοχος παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Συρίαν πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν πολεμῶν διετέλει. Ὑρκανὸς δὲ πάντα ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐν εἰρήνῃ διῆγεν: [273] καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς μετὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχου τελευτὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀπέστη καὶ οὔτε ὡς ὑπήκοος οὔτε ὡς φίλος αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἔτι παρεῖχεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα ἐν ἐπιδόσει πολλῇ καὶ ἀκμῇ κατὰ τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ζαβιναίου καιρούς, καὶ μάλιστ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. ὁ γὰρ πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτοῖς πόλεμος σχολὴν Ὑρκανῷ καρποῦσθαι τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπ᾽ ἀδείας παρεῖχεν, ὡς ἄπειρόν τι χρημάτων πλῆθος συναγαγεῖν. [274] τοῦ μέντοι γε Κυζικηνοῦ τὴν γῆν κακοῦντος φανερῶς καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ προαίρεσιν ἐπεδείκνυτο, καὶ τῶν ἀπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου συμμάχων ἔρημον ὁρῶν τὸν Ἀντίοχον καὶ αὐτόν τε πράττοντα κακῶς καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγῶσιν, ἀμφοτέρων κατεφρόνησεν.

(2) [275] Καὶ στρατεύει μὲν ἐπὶ Σαμάρειαν πόλιν ὀχυρωτάτην, περὶ ἧς, ὅτι καλεῖται νῦν Σεβαστὴ κτισθεῖσα ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου, κατὰ χώραν δηλώσομεν. προσβαλὼν δ᾽ αὐτῇ φιλοπόνως ἐπολιόρκει μισοπονηρῶν τοῖς Σαμαρεῦσιν ὑπὲρ ὧν Μαρισηνοὺς ἀποίκους ὄντας Ἰουδαίων καὶ συμμάχους ἠδίκησαν ὑπακούοντες τοῖς τῶν Σύρων βασιλεῦσιν. [276] περιβαλὼν οὖν τάφρον πανταχόθεν τῇ πόλει καὶ διπλοῦν τεῖχος ὡς ἀπὸ σταδίων ὀγδοήκοντα τοὺς υἱοὺς

ἐφίστησιν Ἀντίγονον καὶ Ἀριστόβουλον. ὧν ἐπικειμένων εἰς τοῦτο ἀνάγκης ὑπὸ λιμοῦ προαχθῆναι τοὺς Σαμαρεῖς συνέπεσεν, ὡς ἅψασθαι μὲν καὶ τῶν ἀήθων, ἐπικαλέσασθαι δὲ βοηθὸν Ἀντίοχον τὸν Κυζικηνόν. [277] ὃς ἑτοίμως ἐπὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν ἀφικόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἀριστόβουλον ἡττᾶται, διωχθεὶς δ' ἄχρι Σκυθοπόλεως ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν διέφυγεν. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς Σαμαρεῖς ὑποστρέψαντες συγκλείουσι πάλιν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος αὐτούς, ὡς καὶ δεύτερον ἐπικαλέσασθαι σύμμαχον πέμψαντες τὸν αὐτὸν Ἀντίοχον. [278] ὃς παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λαθούρου μεταπεμψάμενος ἄνδρας εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους, οὓς ἀκούσης τῆς μητρὸς ἐκεῖνος καὶ ὅσον οὔπω τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτὸν ἐκβεβληκυίας ἐξαπέστειλεν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπιὼν ἐπόρθει τὴν Ὑρκανοῦ χώραν μετὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων λῃστρικῶς, μάχεσθαι μὲν αὐτῷ κατὰ πρόσωπον οὐ τολμῶν, οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀξιόχρεως ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ, νομίζων δὲ τῇ κακώσει τῆς γῆς ἀναγκάσειν Ὑρκανὸν λῦσαι τὴν τῆς Σαμαρείας πολιορκίαν. [279] ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπώλλυεν ἐνέδραις περιπίπτων, ἀπῆρεν εἰς Τρίπολιν Καλλιμάνδρῳ καὶ Ἐπικράτει τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους πόλεμον ἐπιτρέψας.

(3) [280] Καλλίμανδρος μὲν οὖν θρασύτερον τοῖς πολεμίοις προσενεχθεὶς εἰς φυγὴν τραπόμενος παραχρῆμα διεφθάρη. Ἐπικράτης δὲ ὑπὸ φιλοχρηματίας τήν τε Σκυθόπολιν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πρὸς ταύτῃ χωρία προύδωκε φανερῶς τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, τὴν δὲ Σαμαρείας πολιορκίαν διαλύειν οὐκ ἠδύνατο. [281] Ὑρκανὸς μὲν οὖν τὴν πόλιν ἑλὼν ἐνιαυτῷ πολιορκήσας οὐκ ἠρκέσθη μόνῳ τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἠφάνισεν ἐπίκλυστον τοῖς χειμάρροις ποιήσας: διασκάψας γὰρ αὐτὴν ὥστ' εἰς χαράδρας μεταπεσεῖν τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ γενέσθαι ποτὲ πόλιν αὐτὴν ἀφείλετο. [282] παράδοξον δέ τι καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Ὑρκανοῦ λέγεται, τίνα τρόπον αὐτῷ τὸ θεῖον εἰς λόγους ἦλθεν: φασὶν γάρ, ὅτι κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν, καθ' ἣν οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ τῷ Κυζικηνῷ συνέβαλον, αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ ναῷ θυμιῶν μόνος ὢν ἀρχιερεὺς ἀκούσειε φωνῆς, ὡς οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ νενικήκασιν ἀρτίως τὸν Ἀντίοχον. [283] καὶ τοῦτο προελθὼν ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ παντὶ τῷ πλήθει φανερὸν ἐποίησεν, καὶ συνέβη οὕτως γενέσθαι. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ὑρκανὸν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

(4) [284] Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἔτυχε τὸν καιρὸν μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ τῇ χώρᾳ Ἰουδαίους εὐπραγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ κατοικοῦντας καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Κύπρῳ: [285] Κλεοπάτρα γὰρ ἡ βασίλισσα πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν στασιάζουσα Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Λάθουρον ἐπιλεγόμενον κατέστησεν ἡγεμόνας Χελκίαν καὶ Ἀνανίαν υἱοὺς ὄντας Ὀνίου τοῦ οἰκοδομήσαντος τὸν ναὸν ἐν τῷ Ἡλιοπολίτῃ νομῷ πρὸς τὸν ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις, ὡς καὶ πρόσθεν δεδηλώκαμεν. [286] παραδοῦσα δὲ τούτοις ἡ Κλεοπάτρα τὴν στρατιὰν οὐδὲν δίχα τῆς τούτων γνώμης ἔπραττεν, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ καὶ Στράβων ἡμῖν ὁ Καππάδοξ λέγων οὕτως: [287] "οἱ γὰρ πλείους, οἵ τε συνελθόντες καὶ οἱ ὕστερον ἐπιπεμπόμενοι παρὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας εἰς Κύπρον, μετεβάλοντο παραχρῆμα πρὸς τὸν Πτολεμαῖον: μόνοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ὀνίου γενόμενοι Ἰουδαῖοι συνέμενον διὰ τὸ τοὺς πολίτας αὐτῶν

εὐδοκιμεῖν μάλιστα παρὰ τῇ βασιλίσσῃ Χελκίαν τε καὶ Ἀνανίαν.” ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ Στράβων φησίν.

(5) [288] Ὑρκανῷ δὲ φθόνον ἐκίνησεν παρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἡ εὐπραγία, μάλιστα δ’ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι κακῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶχον, αἵρεσις ὄντες μία τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπάνω δεδηλώκαμεν. τοσαύτην δὲ ἔχουσι τὴν ἰσχὺν παρὰ τῷ πλήθει, ὡς καὶ κατὰ βασιλέως τι λέγοντες καὶ κατ’ ἀρχιερέως εὐθὺς πιστεύεσθαι. [289] μαθητὴς δὲ αὐτῶν ἦν καὶ Ὑρκανὸς καὶ σφόδρα ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἠγαπᾶτο. καὶ δὴ καλέσας αὐτοὺς ἐφ’ ἑστίασιν καὶ φιλοφρόνως ὑποδεξάμενος, ἐπεὶ σφόδρα ἡδομένους ἑώρα, λέγειν ἤρξατο πρὸς αὐτούς, ὡς ἴσασιν μὲν αὐτὸν βουλόμενον εἶναι δίκαιον καὶ πάντα ποιοῦντα ἐξ ὧν ἀρέσειεν ἂν τῷ θεῷ καὶ αὐτοῖς: [290] οἱ γὰρ Φαρισαῖοι φιλοσοφοῦσιν: ἠξίου γε μήν, εἰ βλέπουσιν αὐτὸν ἁμαρτάνοντα καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς δικαίας ἐκτρεπόμενον εἰς αὐτὴν ἐπαναγαγεῖν καὶ ἐπανορθοῦν. τῶν δὲ μαρτυρησάντων αὐτῷ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ὁ μὲν ἥσθη τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, [291] εἷς δέ τις τῶν κατακειμένων Ἐλεάζαρος ὄνομα, κακοήθης ὢν φύσει καὶ στάσει χαίρων “ἐπεί, φησίν, ἠξίωσας γνῶναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, θέλεις δὲ εἶναι δίκαιος, τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀπόθου, καὶ μόνον ἀρκείτω σοι τὸ ἄρχειν τοῦ λαοῦ.” τὴν δ’ αἰτίαν αὐτοῦ πυθομένου, [292] δι’ ἣν ἀποθοῖτο τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην “ὅτι, φησίν, ἀκούομεν παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων αἰχμάλωτόν σου γεγονέναι τὴν μητέρα βασιλεύοντος Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς.” ψευδὴς λόγος ἦν: καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ὑρκανὸς παρωξύνθη καὶ πάντες δ’ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι σφοδρῶς ἠγανάκτησαν.

(6) [293] Τῶν δ’ ἐκ τῶν Σαδδουκαίων τῆς αἱρέσεως, οἳ τὴν ἐναντίαν τοῖς Φαρισαίοις προαίρεσιν ἔχουσιν, Ἰωνάθης τις ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα φίλος ὢν Ὑρκανῷ τῇ κοινῇ πάντων Φαρισαίων γνώμῃ ποιήσασθαι τὰς βλασφημίας τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον ἔλεγεν: καὶ τοῦτ’ ἔσεσθαι φανερὸν αὐτῷ πυθομένῳ παρ’ ἐκείνων, τίνος ἄξιός ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις κολάσεως. [294] τοῦ δὲ Ὑρκανοῦ τοὺς Φαρισαίους ἐρομένου, τίνος αὐτὸν ἄξιον ἡγοῦνται τιμωρίας: πειραθήσεσθαι γὰρ οὐ μετὰ τῆς ἐκείνων γνώμης γεγονέναι τὰς βλασφημίας τιμησαμένων αὐτὸν τῷ μέτρῳ τῆς δίκης, πληγῶν ἔφασαν καὶ δεσμῶν: οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει λοιδορίας ἕνεκα θανάτῳ ζημιοῦν, ἄλλως τε καὶ φύσει πρὸς τὰς κολάσεις ἐπιεικῶς ἔχουσιν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι. [295] πρὸς τοῦτο λίαν ἐχαλέπηνεν καὶ δοκοῦν ἐκείνοις ποιήσασθαι τὰς βλασφημίας τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐνόμισεν. μάλιστα δ’ αὐτὸν ἐπιπαρώξυνεν Ἰωνάθης καὶ διέθηκεν οὕτως, [296] ὥστε τῇ Σαδδουκαίων ἐποίησεν προσθέσθαι μοίρᾳ τῶν Φαρισαίων ἀποστάντα καὶ τά τε ὑπ’ αὐτῶν κατασταθέντα νόμιμα τῷ δήμῳ καταλῦσαι καὶ τοὺς φυλάττοντας αὐτὰ κολάσαι. μῖσος οὖν ἐντεῦθεν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἐγένετο. [297] περὶ μέντοι τούτων αὖθις ἐροῦμεν. νῦν δὲ δηλῶσαι βούλομαι, ὅτι νόμιμά τινα παρέδοσαν τῷ δήμῳ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ἐκ πατέρων διαδοχῆς, ἅπερ οὐκ ἀναγέγραπται ἐν τοῖς Μωυσέως νόμοις, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ταῦτα τὸ Σαδδουκαίων γένος ἐκβάλλει, λέγον ἐκεῖνα δεῖν ἡγεῖσθαι νόμιμα τὰ γεγραμμένα, τὰ δ’ ἐκ παραδόσεως τῶν πατέρων μὴ τηρεῖν. [298] καὶ περὶ

τούτων ζητήσεις αὐτοῖς καὶ διαφορὰς γίνεσθαι συνέβαινεν μεγάλας, τῶν μὲν Σαδδουκαίων τοὺς εὐπόρους μόνον πειθόντων τὸ δὲ δημοτικὸν οὐχ ἑπόμενον αὐτοῖς ἐχόντων, τῶν δὲ Φαρισαίων τὸ πλῆθος σύμμαχον ἐχόντων. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων τῶν δύο καὶ τῶν Ἐσσηνῶν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ μου τῶν Ἰουδαικῶν ἀκριβῶς δεδήλωται.

(7) [299] Ὑρκανὸς δὲ παύσας τὴν στάσιν καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτὴν βιώσας εὐδαιμόνως καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διοικησάμενος ἄριστον τρόπον ἔτεσιν ἐνὶ καὶ τριάκοντα τελευτᾷ καταλιπὼν υἱοὺς πέντε, τριῶν τῶν μεγίστων ἄξιος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κριθείς, ἀρχῆς τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς τιμῆς καὶ προφητείας: [300] συνῆν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ θεῖον καὶ τὴν τῶν μελλόντων πρόγνωσιν παρεῖχεν αὐτῷ τε εἰδέναι καὶ προλέγειν οὕτως, ὥστε καὶ περὶ τῶν δύο τῶν πρεσβυτέρων παίδων ὅτι μὴ μενοῦσιν τῶν πραγμάτων κύριοι προεῖπεν. ὧν τὴν καταστροφὴν εἰς τὸ μαθεῖν ὅσον τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπέβησαν εὐτυχίας ἄξιον ἀφηγήσασθαι.

XI

(1) [301] Τελευτήσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ὁ πρεσβύτατος Ἀριστόβουλος τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς βασιλείαν μεταθεῖναι δόξας, ἔκρινεν γὰρ οὕτω, διάδημα πρῶτος ἐπιτίθεται μετὰ τετρακοσίων ἀριθμὸν ἐτῶν καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑνὸς καὶ μηνῶν τριῶν ἀφ᾽ οὗ τῆς ὑπὸ Βαβυλωνίοις δουλείας ἀπαλλαγεὶς ὁ λαὸς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν κατῆλθεν. [302] στέργων δὲ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὸν μετ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἀντίγονον τοῦτον μὲν τῶν ὁμοίων ἠξίου, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους εἶχεν ἐν δεσμοῖς. εἶρξε δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῷ διενεχθεῖσαν, ἐκείνην γὰρ Ὑρκανὸς τῶν ὅλων κυρίαν καταλείπει, καὶ μέχρι τοσαύτης ὠμότητος προῆλθεν, ὥστ᾽ αὐτὴν καὶ λιμῷ διέφθειρεν δεδεμένην. [303] προστίθησιν δὲ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀντίγονον, ὃν στέργειν ἐδόκει μάλιστα καὶ κοινωνὸν εἶχεν τῆς βασιλείας, ἐκ διαβολῶν ἀπαλλοτριωθεὶς πρὸς αὐτόν, αἷς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐκ ἐπίστευεν, τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ φιλεῖν αὐτὸν οὐ προσέχων τοῖς λεγομένοις, τὰ δὲ καὶ φθονούμενον ἡγούμενος διαβάλλεσθαι. [304] τοῦ δὲ Ἀντιγόνου ποτὲ λαμπρῶς ἀπὸ στρατείας ἐπανελθόντος καὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς, καθ᾽ ἣν σκηνοπηγοῦσιν τῷ θεῷ, κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ἐνστάσης, ἔτυχεν τὸν μὲν Ἀριστόβουλον εἰς νόσον καταπεσεῖν, τὸν δὲ Ἀντίγονον ἐπιτελοῦντα τὴν ἑορτὴν ἀναβῆναι λαμπρῶς σφόδρα κεκοσμημένον μετὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ὁπλιτῶν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὰ πλείω περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τἀδελφοῦ εὔχεσθαι, [305] τοὺς δὲ πονηροὺς καὶ διαστῆσαι τὴν ὁμόνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐσπουδακότας ἀφορμῇ χρησαμένους τῇ τε περὶ τὴν πομπὴν τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου φιλοτιμίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κατωρθωμένοις ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ κακοήθως ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον ἐξαίρειν τὰ περὶ τὴν πομπὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ, [306] καὶ ὡς οὐ κατ᾽ ἰδιώτην ἕκαστον ἦν τῶν γινομένων, ἀλλὰ φρονήματος ἔνδειξιν ἔχειν βασιλικοῦ τὰ πραττόμενα, καὶ ὡς κτείνειν αὐτὸν μέλλοι μετὰ στίφους ἐληλυθὼς

καρτεροῦ, λογιζόμενον εὐήθως αὐτὸν βασιλεύειν ἐνὸν τιμῆς μεταλαμβάνοντα δοκεῖν μεγάλων τυγχάνειν.

(2) [307] Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ τούτοις ἄκων πειθόμενος καὶ τοῦ ἀνύποπτος εἶναι τἀδελφῷ προνοῶν καὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἅμα φροντίζων, διίστησι τοὺς σωματοφύλακας ἔν τινι τῶν ὑπογείων ἀφωτίστῳ, κατέκειτο δὲ ἐν τῇ βάρει μετονομασθείσῃ δὲ Ἀντωνίᾳ, καὶ προσέταξεν ἀνόπλου μὲν ἅπτεσθαι μηδένα, κτείνειν δὲ τὸν Ἀντίγονον, ἂν ὡπλισμένος πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰσίῃ. [308] πέμπει μέντοι πρὸς Ἀντίγονον αὐτὸς ἄνοπλον αὐτὸν ἀξιῶν ἥκειν. ἡ δὲ βασίλισσα καὶ οἱ συνεπιβουλεύοντες αὐτῇ κατ᾽ Ἀντιγόνου πείθουσι τὸν πεμφθέντα τἀναντία λέγειν, ὡς ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἀκούσας, ὅτι κατασκευάσειεν ὅπλα καὶ κόσμον πολεμικόν, παραγίνεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν παρακαλεῖ ὡπλισμένον, ὅπως ἴδοι τὴν κατασκευήν. [309] ὁ δ᾽ Ἀντίγονος μηδὲν ὑπιδόμενος κακοῦργον, ἀλλὰ θαρρῶν τῇ παρὰ τἀδελφοῦ διαθέσει, ὡς εἶχεν ἐνδεδυμένος τὴν πανοπλίαν παρεγένετο πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ἐπιδείξων αὐτῷ τὰ ὅπλα. γενόμενον δ᾽ αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸν Στράτωνος λεγόμενον πύργον, οὗ συνέβαινεν ἀφώτιστον εἶναι σφόδρα τὴν πάροδον, ἀποκτείνουσιν οἱ σωματοφύλακες. [310] διέδειξέν γε μὴν ὁ τούτου θάνατος, ὅτι μηδὲν μήτε φθόνου μήτε διαβολῆς ἰσχυρότερον, μηδ᾽ ὅ τι μᾶλλον εὔνοιαν καὶ φυσικὴν οἰκειότητα διίστησιν, ἢ ταῦτα τὰ πάθη. [311] μάλιστα δ᾽ ἄν τις θαυμάσειεν καὶ Ἰούδαν τινά, Ἐσσηνὸν μὲν τὸ γένος, οὐδέποτε δ᾽ ἐν οἷς προεῖπεν διαψευσάμενον τἀληθές: οὗτος γὰρ ἰδὼν τὸν Ἀντίγονον παριόντα τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνεβόησεν ἐν τοῖς ἑταίροις αὐτοῦ καὶ γνωρίμοις, οἳ διδασκαλίας ἕνεκα τοῦ προλέγειν τὰ μέλλοντα παρέμενον, [312] ὡς ἀποθανεῖν αὐτῷ καλὸν διεψευσμένῳ ζῶντος Ἀντιγόνου, ὃν σήμερον τεθνήξεσθαι προειπὼν ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ Στράτωνος πύργῳ περιόντα ὁρᾷ, καὶ τοῦ μὲν χωρίου περὶ σταδίους ἀπέχοντος νῦν ἑξακοσίους, ὅπου φονευθήσεσθαι προεῖπεν αὐτόν, τῆς δ᾽ ἡμέρας ἤδη τὸ πλεῖστον ἠνυσμένον, ὥστ᾽ αὐτῷ κινδυνεύειν τὸ μάντευμα ψεῦδος εἶναι. [313] ταῦτ᾽ οὖν λέγοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατηφοῦντος ἀγγέλλεται τεθνεὼς Ἀντίγονος ἐν τῷ ὑπογείῳ, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ Στράτωνος ἐκαλεῖτο πύργος, ὁμώνυμον τῇ παραλίῳ Καισαρείᾳ. τὸν μὲν οὖν μάντιν τοῦτο διετάραξεν.

(3) [314] Ἀριστόβουλον δὲ τῆς ἀδελφοκτονίας εὐθὺς εἰσῆλθεν μετάνοια καὶ νόσος ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ τῆς διανοίας ὑπὸ τοῦ μύσους κεκακωμένης, ὡς διαφθαρέντων αὐτῷ ὑπὸ ἀκράτου τῆς ὀδύνης τῶν ἐντὸς αἷμα ἀναφέρειν. ὃ τῶν διακονουμένων τις παίδων κατὰ δαιμόνιον οἶμαι πρόνοιαν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον, οὗ σφαγέντος Ἀντιγόνου σπίλους ἔτι τοῦ αἵματος ἐκείνου συνέβαινεν εἶναι, κομίζων ὀλισθὼν ἐξέχεεν. [315] γενομένης δὲ βοῆς παρὰ τῶν ἰδόντων ὡς τοῦ παιδὸς ἐξεπίτηδες ἐκχέαντος ἐκεῖ τὸ αἷμα, ἀκούσας Ἀριστόβουλος τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπύθετο, καὶ μὴ λεγόντων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπετείνετο μαθεῖν, φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπονοούντων ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις εἶναι χείρονα τὰ σιγώμενα. [316] ὡς δ᾽ ἀπειλοῦντος καὶ βιαζομένου τοῖς φόβοις τἀληθὲς εἶπον, προχεῖται μὲν αὐτῷ πληγέντι τὴν διάνοιαν ὑπὸ τοῦ

συνειδότος πολλὰ δάκρυα, βύθιον δὲ ἀνοιμώξας, “οὐκ ἄρ’, εἶπεν, λήσειν ἐπ’ ἀσεβέσιν οὕτω καὶ μιαροῖς τολμήμασι τὸν θεὸν ἔμελλον, ἀλλά με ταχεῖα ποινὴ συγγενοῦς φόνου μετελήλυθεν. [317] καὶ μέχρι τίνος, ὦ σῶμα ἀναιδέστατον, ψυχὴν ὀφειλομένην ἀδελφοῦ καὶ μητρὸς καθέξεις δαίμοσιν; τί δ’ οὐκ ἀθρόαν αὐτὴν ταύτην ἀποδίδως, κατὰ μέρος [318] δ’ ἐπισπένδω τοὐμὸν αἷμα τοῖς μιαιφονηθεῖσιν;” ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ἐπαποθνήσκει τοῖς λόγοις βασιλεύσας ἐνιαυτόν, χρηματίσας μὲν Φιλέλλην, πολλὰ δ’ εὐεργετήσας τὴν πατρίδα, πολεμήσας Ἰτουραίους καὶ πολλὴν αὐτῶν τῆς χώρας τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ προσκτησάμενος ἀναγκάσας τε τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, εἰ βούλονται μένειν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, περιτέμνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίων νόμους ζῆν. [319] φύσει δ’ ἐπιεικεῖ κέχρητο καὶ σφόδρα ἦν αἰδοῦς ἥττων, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ τούτῳ καὶ Στράβων ἐκ τοῦ Τιμαγένους ὀνόματος λέγων οὕτως: “ἐπιεικής τε ἐγένετο οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις χρήσιμος: χώραν τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς προσεκτήσατο καὶ τὸ μέρος τοῦ τῶν Ἰτουραίων ἔθνους ᾠκειώσατο δεσμῷ συνάψας τῇ τῶν αἰδοίων περιτομῇ.”

XII

(1) [320] Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀριστοβούλου Σαλίνα ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ, λεγομένη δὲ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Ἀλεξάνδρα, λύσασα τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ, δεδεμένους γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἶχεν Ἀριστόβουλος, ὡς προειρήκαμεν, Ἰαναῖον τὸν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον βασιλέα καθίστησιν τὸν καὶ καθ’ ἡλικίαν προύχοντα καὶ μετριότητα, [321] ᾧ καὶ συνέβη γεννηθέντι εὐθὺς μισηθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ μηκέτι εἰς ὄψιν ἀφικέσθαι. τὸ δ’ αἴτιον τοῦ μίσους τοιόνδε λέγεται γενέσθαι: [322] στέργων μάλιστα τῶν παίδων Ὑρκανὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους Ἀντίγονον καὶ Ἀριστόβουλον φανέντα κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν ἐπηρώτα, τίς αὐτοῦ τῶν παίδων μέλλει ἔσεσθαι διάδοχος. τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ τοὺς τούτου χαρακτῆρας δείξαντος, λυπηθεὶς ὅτι τῶν ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῦ πάντων οὗτος ἔσται κληρονόμος, γενόμενον εἴασεν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ τρέφεσθαι. ὁ μέντοι θεὸς οὐ διεψεύσατο τὸν Ὑρκανόν. [323] τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν μετὰ τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου τελευτὴν οὗτος παραλαβὼν τὸν μὲν τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπιχειροῦντα τῇ βασιλείᾳ διεχρήσατο, τὸν δ’ ἕτερον ἀπραγμόνως ζῆν προαιρούμενον εἶχεν ἐν τιμῇ.

(2) [324] Καταστησάμενος δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὃν ᾤετο συμφέρειν αὐτῷ τρόπον στρατεύει ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίδα, τῇ δὲ μάχῃ κρατήσας ἐνέκλεισε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ περικαθίσας αὐτοὺς ἐπολιόρκει. τῶν γὰρ ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ Πτολεμαὶς αὐτῷ καὶ Γάζα μόναι χειρωθῆναι ὑπελείποντο, καὶ Ζώιλος δὲ ὁ κατασχὼν τὸν Στράτωνος πύργον τύραννος καὶ Δῶρα. [325] τοῦ δὲ Φιλομήτορος Ἀντιόχου καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀντιόχου, ὃς ἐπεκαλεῖτο Κυζικηνός, πολεμούντων ἀλλήλους καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν ἀπολλύντων ἦν οὐδεμία τοῖς Πτολεμαεῦσιν βοήθεια παρ’ αὐτῶν. [326] ἀλλὰ πονουμένοις τῇ πολιορκίᾳ Ζώιλος ὁ τὸν Στράτωνος πύργον

κατεσχηκὼς [παρῆν] καὶ τὰ Δῶρα σύνταγμα τρέφων στρατιωτικὸν καὶ τυραννίδι ἐπιχειρῶν διὰ τὴν τῶν βασιλέων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἅμιλλαν μικρὰ τοῖς Πτολεμαιεῦσι παρεβοήθει: [327] οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ βασιλεῖς οὕτως εἶχον οἰκείως πρὸς αὐτούς, ὥστ᾽ ἐλπίσαι τινὰ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ὠφέλειαν. ἑκάτεροι γὰρ ταὐτὸν τοῖς ἀθληταῖς ἔπασχον, οἳ τῇ δυνάμει μὲν ἀπηγορευκότες αἰσχυνόμενοι δὲ παραχωρῆσαι διετέλουν ἀργίᾳ καὶ ἀναπαύσει διαφέροντες τὸν ἀγῶνα. [328] λοιπὴ δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐλπὶς ἦν ἡ παρὰ τῶν Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων καὶ τοῦ Κύπρον ἔχοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λαθούρου, ὃς ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκπεσὼν εἰς Κύπρον παρεγένετο. πέμψαντες οὖν πρὸς τοῦτον οἱ Πτολεμαιεῖς παρεκάλουν ἐλθόντα σύμμαχον ἐκ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου χειρῶν αὐτοὺς ῥύσασθαι κινδυνεύοντας. [329] ἐπελπισάντων δ᾽ αὐτὸν τῶν πρέσβεων, ὡς διαβὰς εἰς Συρίαν ἕξει Γαζαίους συνεστῶτας μετὰ τῶν Πτολεμαιῶν καὶ Ζώιλον, ἔτι γε μὴν Σιδωνίους καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους αὐτῷ συλλήψεσθαι λεγόντων, ἐπαρθεὶς πρὸς τὸν ἔκπλουν ἔσπευδεν.

(3) [330] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τοὺς Πτολεμαιᾶς Δημαίνετος πιθανὸς ὢν αὐτοῖς τότε καὶ δημαγωγῶν μεταβαλέσθαι τὰς γνώμας ἐποίησεν, ἄμεινον εἶναι φήσας ἐπ᾽ ἀδήλῳ τῷ γενησομένῳ διακινδυνεύειν πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους μᾶλλον ἢ φανερὰν εἰσδέξασθαι δουλείαν δεσπότῃ παραδόντας αὐτούς, καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ μὴ τὸν παρόντα μόνον ἔχειν πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ μείζω τὸν ἀπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου. [331] τὴν γὰρ Κλεοπάτραν οὐ περιόψεσθαι δύναμιν αὐτῷ κατασκευαζόμενον Πτολεμαῖον ἐκ γειτόνων, ἀλλ᾽ ἥξειν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς μετὰ μεγάλης στρατιᾶς: σπουδάσαι γὰρ αὐτὴν ὥστε καὶ τῆς Κύπρου τὸν υἱὸν ἐκβαλεῖν: εἶναι δὲ Πτολεμαίῳ μὲν διαμαρτόντι τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀποφυγὴν πάλιν τὴν Κύπρον, αὐτοῖς δὲ κινδύνων τὸν ἔσχατον. [332] ὁ μὲν οὖν Πτολεμαῖος κατὰ τὸν πόρον μαθὼν τὴν τῶν Πτολεμαιῶν μεταβολὴν οὐδὲν ἧττον ἔπλευσεν καὶ καταχθεὶς εἰς τὴν καλουμένην Συκάμινον ἐνταυθοῖ τὴν δύναμιν ἐξεβίβασεν. [333] ἦν δὲ ὁ πᾶς στρατὸς αὐτῷ πεζοί τε ἅμα καὶ ἱππεῦσιν περὶ τρισμυρίους, οὓς προαγαγὼν πλησίον τῆς Πτολεμαίδος καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενος, ἐπεὶ μήτε τοὺς παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ πρέσβεις ἐδέχοντο μήτε τῶν λόγων ἠκροῶντο, μεγάλως ἐφρόντιζεν.

(4) [334] Ἐλθόντων δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ζωίλου τε καὶ τῶν Γαζαίων καὶ δεομένων συμμαχεῖν αὐτοῖς πορθουμένης αὐτοῖς τῆς χώρας ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, λύει μὲν τὴν πολιορκίαν δείσας τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀπαγαγὼν δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐστρατήγει τὸ λοιπὸν λάθρα μὲν τὴν Κλεοπάτραν ἐπὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον μεταπεμπόμενος, φανερῶς δὲ φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑποκρινόμενος. [335] καὶ τετρακόσια δὲ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα δώσειν ὑπέσχετο χάριν ἀντὶ τούτων αἰτῶν Ζώιλον ἐκποδὼν ποιήσασθαι τὸν τύραννον καὶ τὴν χώραν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις προσνεῖμαι. τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἡδέως τὴν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ποιησάμενος φιλίαν χειροῦται τὸν Ζώιλον. [336] ὕστερον δὲ ἀκούσας λάθρα διαπεμψάμενον αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ

Κλεοπάτραν λύει τοὺς γεγενημένους πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅρκους καὶ προσβαλὼν ἐπολιόρκει τὴν Πτολεμαίδα μὴ δεξαμένην αὐτόν. καταλιπὼν δ' ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας στρατηγοὺς καὶ μέρος τι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτὸς τῷ λοιπῷ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καταστρεψόμενος ὥρμησεν. [337] ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου διάνοιαν μαθὼν συνήθροισεν καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ πέντε μυριάδας τῶν ἐγχωρίων, ὡς δ' ἔνιοι συγγραφεῖς εἰρήκασιν ὀκτώ, καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἀπήντα τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ. Πτολεμαῖος δ' ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπεσὼν Ἀσωχειτω τῆς Γαλιλαίας πόλει σάββασιν αἱρεῖ κατὰ κράτος αὐτὴν καὶ περὶ μύρια σώματα καὶ πολλὴν ἑτέραν ἔλαβε λείαν.

(5) [338] Πειράσας δὲ καὶ Σέπφωριν μικρὸν ἄπωθεν τῆς πεπορθημένης πολλοὺς ἀποβαλὼν ἦει πολεμήσων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. ὑπήντησε δ' αὐτῷ πρὸς τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ Ἀλέξανδρος περί τινα τόπον λεγόμενον Ἀσωφὼν οὐ πόρρωθεν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ καὶ βάλλεται στρατόπεδον πλησίον τῶν πολεμίων. [339] εἶχεν μέντοι τοὺς προμαχομένους ὀκτακισχιλίους, οὓς ἑκατονταμάχους προσηγόρευσεν, ἐπιχάλκοις χρωμένους τοῖς θυρεοῖς. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου προμαχοῦσιν ἐπίχαλκοι αἱ ἀσπίδες. τοῖς μέντοι γε ἄλλοις ἔλαττον ἔχοντες οἱ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου εὐλαβέστερον συνῆψαν εἰς τὸν κίνδυνον. [340] θάρσος δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐκ ὀλίγον ἐνεποίησεν ὁ τακτικὸς Φιλοστέφανος διαβῆναι κελεύσας τὸν ποταμόν, οὗ μεταξὺ ἦσαν ἐστρατοπεδευκότες. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ κωλύειν αὐτῶν τὴν διάβασιν οὐκ ἔδοξεν: ἐνόμιζεν γάρ, εἰ κατὰ νώτου λάβοιεν τὸν ποταμόν, ῥᾷον αἱρήσειν τοὺς πολεμίους φεύγειν ἐκ τῆς μάχης οὐ δυναμένους. [341] κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἦν ἔργα χειρῶν καὶ προθυμίας παραπλήσια καὶ πολὺς ἐγένετο φόνος ἐξ ἑκατέρων τῶν στρατευμάτων, ὑπερτέρων δὲ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου γινομένων Φιλοστέφανος διελὼν τὴν δύναμιν δεξιῶς τοῖς ἐνδιδοῦσιν ἐπεκούρει. [342] μηδενὸς δὲ τῷ κλιθέντι μέρει τῶν Ἰουδαίων προσβοηθοῦντος τούτους μὲν συνέβαινε φεύγειν μὴ βοηθούντων τῶν πλησίον ἀλλὰ κοινωνούντων τῆς φυγῆς, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τὰ ἐναντία τούτων ἔπραττον: [343] ἐπόμενοι γὰρ ἔκτεινον τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον τραπέντας αὐτοὺς ἅπαντας ἐδίωκον φονεύοντες ἕως οὗ καὶ ὁ σίδηρος αὐτοῖς ἠμβλύνθη κτείνουσιν καὶ αἱ χεῖρες παρείθησαν. [344] τρισμυρίους γοῦν ἔφασαν αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν, Τιμαγένης δὲ πεντακισμυρίους εἴρηκεν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ληφθῆναι, τοὺς δ' εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα διαφεύγειν χωρία.

(6) [345] Πτολεμαῖος δὲ μετὰ τὴν νίκην προσκαταδραμὼν τὴν χώραν ὀψίας ἐπιγενομένης ἔν τισι κώμαις τῆς Ἰουδαίας κατέμεινεν, ἃς γυναικῶν εὑρὼν μεστὰς καὶ νηπίων ἐκέλευσεν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀποσφάττοντας αὐτοὺς καὶ κρεουργοῦντας ἔπειτα εἰς λέβητας ζέοντας ἐνιέντας τὰ μέλη ἀπάρχεσθαι. [346] τοῦτο δὲ προσέταξεν, ἵν' οἱ διαφυγόντες ἐκ τῆς μάχης καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐλθόντες σαρκοφάγους ὑπολάβωσιν εἶναι τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς καταπλαγῶσι ταῦτ' ἰδόντες. [347] λέγει δὲ καὶ Στράβων καὶ Νικόλαος, ὅτι

τοῦτον αὐτοῖς ἐχρήσαντο τὸν τρόπον, καθὼς κἀγὼ προείρηκα. ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ τὴν Πτολεμαίδα κατὰ κράτος, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις φανερὸν πεποιήκαμεν.

XIII

(1) [348] Κλεοπάτρα δ' ὁρῶσα τὸν υἱὸν αὐξανόμενον καὶ τήν τε Ἰουδαίαν ἀδεῶς πορθοῦντα καὶ τὴν Γαζαίων πόλιν ὑπήκοον ἔχοντα, περιιδεῖν οὐκ ἔγνω τοῦτον ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαις ὄντα καὶ ποθοῦντα τὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων μείζω γενόμενον, [349] ἀλλὰ παραχρῆμα μετὰ καὶ ναυτικῆς καὶ πεζῆς δυνάμεως ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξώρμησεν ἡγεμόνας τῆς ὅλης στρατιᾶς ἀποδείξασα Χελκίαν καὶ Ἀνανίαν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τοὺς υἱωνοὺς καὶ διαθήκας πέμψασα Κῴοις παρέθετο. [350] κελεύσασα δὲ τὸν υἱὸν Ἀλέξανδρον στόλῳ μεγάλῳ παραπλεῖν εἰς Φοινίκην ἡ Κλεοπάτρα μετὰ πάσης αὐτὴ τῆς δυνάμεως ἦκεν εἰς Πτολεμαίδα, μὴ δεξαμένων δὲ αὐτὴν τῶν Πτολεμαιῶν πολιορκεῖ τὴν πόλιν. [351] Πτολεμαῖος δ' ἐκ τῆς Συρίας ἀπελθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἔσπευσεν, αἰφνιδίως αὐτὴν οἰόμενος κενὴν οὖσαν στρατιᾶς καθέξειν: ἀλλὰ διαμαρτάνει τῆς ἐλπίδος. κατὰ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν χρόνον συνέβη καὶ Χελκίαν τὸν ἕτερον τῶν τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἡγεμόνων ἀποθανεῖν περὶ κοίλην Συρίαν διώκοντα Πτολεμαῖον.

(2) [352] Ἀκούσασα δ' ἡ Κλεοπάτρα τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν τὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ ὅτι τὰ περὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον οὐχ ὃν προσεδόκα τρόπον προκεχώρηκεν αὐτῷ, πέμψασα μέρος τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐξέβαλεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πάλιν ὑποστρέψας τὸν χειμῶνα διέτριψεν ἐν Γάζῃ. [353] Κλεοπάτρα δ' ἐν τούτῳ τὴν ἐν Πτολεμαίδι φρουρὰν ἐκ πολιορκίας λαμβάνει καὶ τὴν πόλιν. Ἀλεξάνδρου δ' αὐτὴν μετὰ δώρων περιελθόντος καὶ θεραπείας ὁποίας ἄξιον ἦν πεπονθότα μὲν κακῶς ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου, καταφυγῆς δ' οὐκ ἄλλης ἢ ταύτης εὐποροῦντα, τινὲς μὲν τῶν φίλων καὶ ταῦτα συνεβούλευον αὐτῇ λαβεῖν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπελθούσῃ κατασχεῖν καὶ μὴ περιιδεῖν ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ ἑνὶ τοσοῦτο πλῆθος ἀγαθῶν Ἰουδαίων κείμενον. [354] Ἀνανίας δὲ συνεβούλευσε τούτοις ἐναντία, λέγων ἄδικα ποιήσειν αὐτήν, εἰ σύμμαχον ἄνθρωπον ἀφαιρήσεται τῆς ἰδίας ἐξουσίας καὶ ταῦτα συγγενῆ ἡμέτερον: οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοεῖν βούλομαί σε, φησίν, εἰ τὸ πρὸς τοῦτον ἄδικον ἐχθροὺς ἅπαντας ἡμᾶς σοι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους κατα [355] σκευάζει." ταῦτα δὲ Ἀνανία παραινέσαντος ἡ Κλεοπάτρα πείθεται μηδὲν ἀδικῆσαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀλλὰ συμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐποιήσατο ἐν Σκυθοπόλει τῆς κοίλης Συρίας.

(3) [356] Ὁ δὲ τῶν ἐκ Πτολεμαίου φόβων ἐλευθερωθεὶς στρατεύεται μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν κοίλην Συρίαν, αἱρεῖ δὲ Γάδαρα πολιορκήσας δέκα μησίν, αἱρεῖ δὲ καὶ Ἀμαθοῦντα μέγιστον ἔρυμα τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰορδάνην κατῳκημένων, ἔνθα καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ σπουδῆς ἄξια Θεόδωρος ὁ Ζήνωνος εἶχεν. ὃς οὐ προσδοκῶσιν ἐπιπεσὼν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις μυρίους αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνει καὶ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου διαρπάζει. [357] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὐ καταπλήττει τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀλλ'

ἐπιστρατεύει τοῖς θαλαττίοις μέρεσιν, Ῥαφείᾳ καὶ Ἀνθηδόνι, ἣν ὕστερον βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης Ἀγριππιάδα προσηγόρευσεν, καὶ κατὰ κράτος εἶλεν καὶ ταύτην. [358] ὁρῶν δὲ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐκ τῆς Γάζης εἰς Κύπρον ἀνακεχωρηκότα, τὴν δὲ μητέρα αὐτοῦ Κλεοπάτραν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ὀργιζόμενος δὲ τοῖς Γαζαίοις, ὅτι Πτολεμαῖον ἐπεκαλέσαντο βοηθόν, ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν προενόμευσεν. [359] Ἀπολλοδότου δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν Γαζαίων μετὰ δισχιλίων ξένων καὶ μυρίων οἰκετῶν νύκτωρ ἐπιπεσόντος τῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων στρατοπέδῳ ἐφ' ὅσον μὲν ὑπῆρχεν ἡ νὺξ ἐνίκων οἱ Γαζαῖοι δόκησιν παρασχόντες τοῖς πολεμίοις ὡς ἐπεληλυθότος αὐτοῖς Πτολεμαίου, γενομένης δὲ ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς δόξης ἐλεγχθείσης μαθόντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τἀληθὲς ἐπισυστρέφονται καὶ τοῖς Γαζαίοις προσβαλόντες ἀναιροῦσιν αὐτῶν περὶ χιλίους. [360] τῶν δὲ Γαζαίων ἀντεχόντων καὶ μήτε ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας μήτε ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἀναιρουμένων ἐνδιδόντων, πᾶν γὰρ ὁτιοῦν ὑπέμενον παθεῖν ἢ ὑπὸ τῷ πολεμίῳ γενέσθαι, προσεπήγειρεν δ' αὐτῶν τὴν προθυμίαν καὶ Ἀρέτας ὁ Ἀράβων βασιλεὺς ἐπίδοξος ὢν ἥξειν αὐτοῖς σύμμαχος. [361] ἀλλὰ συνέβη πρῶτον τὸν Ἀπολλόδοτον διαφθαρῆναι: Λυσίμαχος γὰρ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ζηλοτυπῶν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις εὐδοκιμεῖν, κτείνας αὐτὸν καὶ στρατιωτικὸν συγκροτήσας ἐνδίδωσιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν πόλιν. [362] ὁ δ' εὐθὺς μὲν εἰσελθὼν ἠρέμει, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὴν δύναμιν ἐπαφῆκε τοῖς Γαζαίοις ἐπιτρέψας τιμωρεῖν αὐτούς: οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἀλλαχῆ τρεπόμενοι τοὺς Γαζαίους ἀπέκτειναν. ἦσαν δ' οὐδ' ἐκεῖνοι τὰς ψυχὰς ἀγεννεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς παραπίπτουσιν ἀμυνόμενοι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους οὐκ ἐλάττονας αὐτῶν διέφθειραν. [363] ἔνιοι δὲ μονούμενοι τὰς οἰκίας ἐνεπίμπρασαν, ὡς μηδὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν λάφυρον εἶναι τοῖς πολεμίοις λαβεῖν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν αὐτόχειρες ἐγένοντο τῆς ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς αὐτὰ δουλείας οὕτως ἀπαλλάττειν ἠναγκασμένοι. [364] τῶν δὲ βουλευτῶν ἦσαν οἱ πάντες πεντακόσιοι συμφυγόντες εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν: συνεδρευόντων γὰρ τὴν ἐπίθεσιν συνέβη γενέσθαι: ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος τούτους τε ἀναιρεῖ καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἐπικατασκάψας ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐνιαυτῷ πολιορκήσας.

(4) [365] Ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτον καιρὸν καὶ Ἀντίοχος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Γρυπὸς ἀποθνήσκει ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέωνος ἐπιβουλευθείς, βιώσας μὲν ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα καὶ πέντε, βασιλεύσας δὲ ἐννέα καὶ εἴκοσι. [366] διαδεξάμενος δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ ὁ παῖς Σέλευκος ἐπολέμει μὲν τῷ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀδελφῷ Ἀντιόχῳ, ὃς ἐπεκαλεῖτο Κυζικηνός, νικήσας δ' αὐτὸν καὶ λαβὼν ἀπέκτεινεν. [367] μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ τοῦ Κυζικηνοῦ παῖς Ἀντίοχος, ὁ Εὐσεβὴς καλούμενος, παραγενηθεὶς εἰς Ἄραδον καὶ περιθέμενος διάδημα πολεμεῖ τῷ Σελεύκῳ, καὶ κρατήσας ἐξήλασεν αὐτὸν ἐκ πάσης τῆς Συρίας. [368] ὁ δὲ φυγὼν εἰς Κιλικίαν καὶ γενόμενος ἐν τῇ Μόψου ἑστίᾳ πάλιν αὐτοὺς εἰσέπραττε χρήματα. ὁ δὲ τῶν Μοψεστέων δῆμος ἀγανακτήσας ὑφῆψεν αὐτοῦ τὰ βασίλεια καὶ διέφθειρεν αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν φίλων. [369] Ἀντιόχου δὲ τοῦ Κυζικηνοῦ παιδὸς βασιλεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Ἀντίοχος ὁ

Σελεύκου ἀδελφὸς ἐκφέρει πόλεμον πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ νικηθεὶς ἀπόλλυται μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς. μετὰ δ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Φίλιππος ἐπιθέμενος διάδημα μέρους τινὸς τῆς Συρίας ἐβασίλευσεν. [370] Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Λάθουρος τὸν τρίτον αὐτῶν ἀδελφὸν Δημήτριον τὸν Ἄκαιρον λεγόμενον ἐκ Κνίδου μεταπεμψάμενος κατέστησεν ἐν Δαμασκῷ βασιλέα. [371] τούτοις δὲ τοῖς δυσὶν ἀδελφοῖς καρτερῶς ἀνθιστάμενος Ἀντίοχος ταχέως ἀπέθανεν: Λαοδίκῃ γὰρ ἐλθὼν σύμμαχος τῇ τῶν Σαμηνῶν βασιλίσσῃ Πάρθους πολεμούσῃ μαχόμενος ἀνδρείως ἔπεσεν. τὴν δὲ Συρίαν οἱ δύο κατεῖχον ἀδελφοὶ Δημήτριος καὶ Φίλιππος, καθὼς ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται.

(5) [372] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῶν οἰκείων πρὸς αὐτὸν στασιασάντων, ἐπανέστη γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ ἔθνος ἑορτῆς ἀγομένης καὶ ἑστῶτος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ θύειν μέλλοντος κιτρίοις αὐτὸν ἔβαλλον, νόμου ὄντος παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐν τῇ σκηνοπηγίᾳ ἔχειν ἕκαστον θύρσους ἐκ φοινίκων καὶ κιτρίων, δεδηλώκαμεν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ἄλλοις, προσεξελοιδόρησαν δ᾽ αὐτὸν ὡς ἐξ αἰχμαλώτων γεγονότα καὶ τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τοῦ θύειν ἀνάξιον, [373] ἐπὶ τούτοις ὀργισθεὶς κτείνει μὲν αὐτῶν περὶ ἑξακισχιλίους, δρύφακτον δὲ ξύλινον περὶ τὸν βωμὸν καὶ τὸν ναὸν βαλόμενος μέχρι τοῦ θριγκοῦ, εἰς ὃν μόνοις ἐξῆν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν εἰσιέναι, τούτῳ τὴν τοῦ πλήθους ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀπέφραττεν εἴσοδον. [374] ἔτρεφεν δὲ καὶ ξένους Πισίδας καὶ Κίλικας: Σύροις γὰρ πολέμιος ὢν οὐκ ἐχρῆτο. καταστρεψάμενος δὲ τῶν Ἀράβων Μωαβίτας καὶ Γαλααδίτας εἰς φόρου ἀπαγωγήν, κατερείπει καὶ Ἀμαθοῦντα Θεοδώρου μὴ τολμῶντος αὐτῷ συμβαλεῖν. [375] συνάψας δὲ μάχην πρὸς Ὀβέδαν τὸν Ἀράβων βασιλέα καὶ πεσὼν εἰς ἐνέδραν ἐν χωρίοις τραχέσι καὶ δυσβάτοις ὑπὸ πλήθους καμήλων εἰς βαθεῖαν κατερράχθη φάραγγα κατὰ Γάδαρα κώμην τῆς ιουδάνιδος καὶ μόλις αὐτὸς διασώζεται, φεύγων δ᾽ ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παραγίνεται. [376] καὶ πρὸς τὴν κακοπραγίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπιθεμένου τοῦ ἔθνους πολεμήσας πρὸς αὐτὸ ἔτεσιν ἓξ ἀναιρεῖ τῶν Ἰουδαίων οὐκ ἔλαττον πέντε μυριάδας. παρακαλοῦντος δὲ παῦσαι τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν δυσμένειαν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐμίσουν αὐτὸν διὰ τὰ συμβεβηκότα. πυνθανομένου δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τί βούλονται, πάντες γενέσθαι ἐβόησαν ἀποθανεῖν αὐτόν, καὶ πρὸς Δημήτριον τὸν Ἄκαιρον ἔπεμψαν παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν.

XIV

(1) [377] Ὁ δὲ μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐλθὼν καὶ παραλαβὼν τοὺς ἐπικαλεσαμένους περὶ Σίκιμα πόλιν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ μετὰ μισθοφόρων ἑξακισχιλίων καὶ διακοσίων Ἰουδαίων τε περὶ δισμυρίους οἳ ἐφρόνουν τὰ ἐκείνου παραλαβὼν ἀντεπῆει τῷ Δημητρίῳ: τούτῳ δ᾽ ἦσαν ἱππεῖς μὲν τρισχίλιοι, πεζῶν δὲ τέσσαρες μυριάδες. [378] πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἑκατέροις ἐπράχθη, τοῦ μὲν ἀποστῆσαι τοὺς μισθοφόρους ὡς ὄντας Ἕλληνας πειρωμένου, τοῦ δὲ τοὺς σὺν Δημητρίῳ

Ἰουδαίους. μηδετέρου δὲ πεῖσαι δυνηθέντος, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς μάχην συμβαλόντων, νικᾷ Δημήτριος, καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι μὲν οἱ Ἀλεξάνδρου μισθοφόροι πάντες πίστεως ἅμα καὶ ἀνδρείας ἐπίδειξιν ποιησάμενοι, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν Δημητρίου στρατιωτῶν.

(2) [379] Φεύγοντος δ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδρου εἰς τὰ ὄρη κατὰ οἶκτον τῆς μεταβολῆς συλλέγονται παρ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἰουδαίων ἑξακισχίλιοι. καὶ τότε μὲν δείσας ὑποχωρεῖ Δημήτριος. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐπολέμουν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ νικώμενοι πολλοὶ ἀπέθνησκον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις. [380] κατακλείσας δὲ τοὺς δυνατωτάτους αὐτᾶν ἐν Βαιθομμει πόλει ἐπολιόρκει, λαβὼν δὲ τὴν πόλιν καὶ γενόμενος ἐγκρατὴς αὐτῶν ἀνήγαγεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ πάντων ὠμότατον ἔργον ἔδρασεν: ἑστιώμενος γὰρ ἐν ἀπόπτῳ μετὰ τῶν παλλακίδων ἀνασταυρῶσαι προσέταξεν αὐτῶν ὡς ὀκτακοσίους, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἔτι ζώντων παρὰ τὰς ἐκείνων ὄψεις ἀπέσφαττεν, [381] ὑπὲρ μὲν ὧν ἠδίκητο ἀμυνόμενος, ἄλλως δὲ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ταύτην εἰσπραττόμενος τὴν δίκην, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα, ὅπερ ἦν εἰκός, ἐταλαιπωρήθη τοῖς πρὸς αὐτοὺς πολέμοις καὶ εἰς τοὔσχατον ἦκε κινδύνου ψυχῆς τε πέρι καὶ βασιλείας, οὐκ ἀρκουμένων ἀγωνίζεσθαι κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτούς, [382] ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλλοφύλους ἐπαγόντων καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον εἰς τοῦτο ἀνάγκης ἀγαγόντων, ὥστε ἣν κατεστρέψατο γῆν ἐν Γαλααδίτιδι καὶ Μωαβίτιδι καὶ τὰ χωρία τῶν Ἀράβων τῷ βασιλεῖ παραδοῦναι, ὅπως ἂν μὴ ξυνάρηται σφίσι τὸν κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ πόλεμον, ἄλλα τε μυρία ἐς ὕβριν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπήρειαν πραξάντων. [383] ἀλλ᾽ [οὖν οὐκ] ἐπιτηδείως δοκεῖ ταῦτα δρᾶσαι, ὥστε διὰ τὴν τῆς ὠμότητος ὑπερβολὴν ἐπικληθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων Θρακίδαν. οἱ δ᾽ ἀντιστασιῶται αὐτοῦ τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες περὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους φεύγουσιν νυκτὸς καὶ παρ᾽ ὃν ἔζη χρόνον Ἀλέξανδρος ἦσαν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ. καὶ οὗτος μὲν ἀπηλλαγμένος τῆς ἐκ τούτων ταραχῆς μετὰ πάσης τὸ λοιπὸν ἠρεμίας ἐβασίλευσεν.

(3) [384] Δημήτριος δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀπελθὼν εἰς Βέροιαν ἐπολιόρκει τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Φίλιππον ὄντων αὐτῷ πεζῶν μὲν μυρίων, χιλίων δὲ ἱππέων. Στράτων δ᾽ ὁ τῆς Βεροίας τύραννος Φιλίππῳ συμμαχῶν Ἄζιζον τὸν Ἀράβων φύλαρχον ἐπεκαλεῖτο καὶ Μιθριδάτην τὸν Σινάκην τὸν Παρθυαίων ὕπαρχον. [385] ὧν ἀφικομένων μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως καὶ πολιορκούντων Δημήτριον ἐντὸς τοῦ χαρακώματος, εἴσω τοῖς τε τοξεύμασι καὶ τῇ δίψῃ συνέχοντες αὐτὸν ἠνάγκασαν τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ σφᾶς παραδοῦναι. λαφυραγωγήσαντες δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τὸν Δημήτριον παραλαβόντες τὸν μὲν τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ τῷ τότε βασιλεύοντι Πάρθων ἔπεμψαν, τῶν δ᾽ αἰχμαλώτων οὓς Ἀντιοχέων εἶναι πολίτας συνέβαινε τούτους προῖκα τοῖς Ἀντιοχεῦσιν ἀπέδωκαν. [386] Μιθριδάτης δ᾽ ὁ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλεὺς Δημήτριον εἶχεν ἐν τιμῇ τῇ πάσῃ μέχρι νόσῳ κατέστρεψε Δημήτριος τὸν βίον. Φίλιππος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης εὐθὺς εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἐλθὼν καὶ κατασχὼν αὐτὴν ἐβασίλευσεν τῆς Συρίας.

XV

(1) [387] Ἔπειτα Ἀντίοχος ὁ κληθεὶς Διόνυσος ἀδελφὸς ὢν Φιλίππου, τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντιποιούμενος εἰς Δαμασκὸν παραγίνεται, καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ πραγμάτων ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος ἐβασίλευσεν. ἐκστρατεύσαντος δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἄραβας αὐτοῦ Φίλιππος ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας ἐπὶ Δαμασκὸν ἦλθεν. [388] Μιλησίου δ᾽, ὃς καταλέλειπτο τῆς ἄκρας φύλαξ καὶ τῶν Δαμασκηνῶν, παραδόντος αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν, ἀχάριστος εἰς αὐτὸν γενόμενος καὶ μηδὲν ὧν ἐλπίσας ἐδέξατο αὐτὸν παρασχών, ἀλλὰ τῷ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ φόβῳ βουληθεὶς δοκεῖν παραλαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἢ τῇ χάριτι τῇ Μιλησίου δωρούμενος αὐτὸν οἷς ἐχρῆν, ὑπωπτεύετο καὶ πάλιν ἐκπίπτει τῆς Δαμασκοῦ: [389] ἐξορμήσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ εἰς ἱππόδρομον ἀπέκλεισεν ὁ Μιλήσιος καὶ τὴν Δαμασκὸν Ἀντιόχῳ διεφύλαξεν. ὃς ἀκούσας τὰ περὶ τὸν Φίλιππον ὑπέστρεψεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίας, στρατεύεται δ᾽ εὐθὺς ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὁπλίταις μὲν ὀκτακισχιλίοις, ἱππεῦσι δὲ ὀκτακοσίοις. [390] δείσας δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ τάφρον ὀρύττει βαθεῖαν ἀπὸ τῆς Χαβερσαβᾶ ἀρξάμενος, ἣ νῦν Ἀντιπατρὶς καλεῖται, ἄχρι τῆς εἰς Ἰόππην θαλάσσης, ᾗ καὶ μόνον ἦν ἐπίμαχον: τεῖχός τ᾽ ἐγείρας καὶ πύργους ἀναστήσας ξυλίνους καὶ μεταπύργια ἐπὶ σταδίους ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα ἐξεδέχετο τὸν Ἀντίοχον. [391] ὁ δὲ ταῦτα πάντα ἐμπρήσας διεβίβαζε ταύτῃ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν. ἀναχωροῦντος δὲ τοῦ Ἄραβος τὰ πρῶτα, ἔπειτα μετὰ μυρίων ἱππέων ἐξαίφνης ἐπιφανέντος ὑπαντήσας τούτοις Ἀντίοχος καρτερῶς ἐμάχετο, καὶ δὴ νικῶν ἀπέθανεν παραβοηθῶν τῷ πονοῦντι μέρει. πεσόντος δ᾽ Ἀντιόχου καὶ τὸ στράτευμα φεύγει εἰς Κανὰ κώμην, ἔνθα τὸ πλεῖον αὐτῶν λιμῷ φθείρεται.

(2) [392] Βασιλεύει δὲ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν τῆς κοίλης Συρίας Ἀρέτας κληθεὶς εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν Δαμασκὸν ἐχόντων διὰ τὸ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Μενναίου μῖσος. στρατεύσας δ᾽ ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ περὶ Ἄδιδα χωρίον μάχῃ νικήσας Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπὶ συνθήκαις ἀνεχώρησεν ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας.

(3) [393] Ἀλέξανδρος δ᾽ ἐλάσας αὖθις ἐπὶ Δίαν πόλιν αἱρεῖ ταύτην, καὶ στρατεύσας ἐπὶ Ἔσσαν, οὗ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια Ζήνωνι συνέβαινεν εἶναι, τρισὶν μὲν περιβάλλει τείχεσιν τὸ χωρίον, ἀμαχὶ δὲ [λαβὼν] τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ Γαύλαναν καὶ Σελεύκειαν ἐξώρμησεν. [394] παραλαβὼν δὲ καὶ ταύτας προσεξεῖλεν καὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχου λεγομένην φάραγγα καὶ Γάμαλα τὸ φρούριον. ἐγκαλῶν δὲ πολλὰ Δημητρίῳ τῷ τῶν τόπων ἄρχοντι περιέδυσεν αὐτόν, καὶ τρίτον ἤδη πεπληρωκὼς ἔτος τῆς στρατείας εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ὑπέστρεψεν προθύμως αὐτὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων διὰ τὴν εὐπραγίαν δεχομένων.

(4) [395] Κατὰ δὴ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἤδη τῶν Σύρων καὶ Ἰδουμαίων καὶ Φοινίκων πόλεις εἶχον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πρὸς θαλάσσῃ μὲν Στράτωνος πύργον Ἀπολλωνίαν Ἰόππην Ἰάμνειαν Ἄζωτον Γάζαν Ἀνθηδόνα Ῥάφειαν Ῥινοκόρουρα, [396] ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ κατὰ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν Ἄδωρα καὶ Μάρισαν καὶ ὅλην Ἰδουμαίαν, Σαμάρειαν Καρμήλιον ὄρος καὶ τὸ Ἰταβύριον ὄρος Σκυθόπολιν

Γάδαρα, Γαυλανίτιδας Σελεύκειαν Γάβαλα, [397] Μωαβίτιδας Ἠσεβὼν Μήδαβα Λεμβὰ Ορωναιμαγελεθων Ζόαρα Κιλίκων αὐλῶνα Πέλλαν, ταύτην κατέσκαψεν ὑποσχομένων τῶν ἐνοικούντων ἐς πάτρια τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθη μεταβαλεῖσθαι, ἄλλας τε πόλεις πρωτευούσας τῆς Συρίας ἦσαν κατεστραμμένοι.

(5) [398] Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκ μέθης εἰς νόσον καταπεσὼν καὶ τρισὶν ἔτεσιν τεταρταίῳ πυρετῷ συσχεθεὶς οὐκ ἀπέστη τῶν στρατειῶν, ἕως οὗ τοῖς πόνοις ἐξαναλωθεὶς ἀπέθανεν ἐν τοῖς Γερασηνῶν ὅροις πολιορκῶν Ῥάγαβα φρούριον πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου. [399] ὁρῶσα δ' αὐτὸν ἡ βασίλισσα πρὸς τῷ τελευτᾶν ὄντα καὶ μηδεμίαν ὑπογράφοντα μηκέτι σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα, κλαίουσα καὶ κοπτομένη τῆς μελλούσης ἐρημίας αὐτήν τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἀπωδύρετο καί "τίνι καταλείπεις οὕτως ἐμέ τε καὶ τὰ τέκνα τῆς παρ' ἄλλων βοηθείας δεόμενα" πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν "καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδώς, πῶς διάκειται [400] πρὸς σὲ δυσμενῶς τὸ ἔθνος." ὁ δὲ συνεβούλευεν αὐτῇ πείθεσθαι μὲν οἷς ὑποθήσεται πρὸς τὸ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀσφαλῶς κατέχειν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων, κρύψαι δὲ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἕως ἂν ἐξέλῃ τὸ χωρίον. [401] ἔπειτα ὡς ἀπὸ νίκης λαμπρῶς εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα παραγινομένην τοῖς Φαρισαίοις ἐξουσίαν τινὰ παρασχεῖν: τούτους γὰρ ἐπαινοῦντας αὐτὴν ἀντὶ τῆς τιμῆς εὔνουν καταστήσειν αὐτῇ τὸ ἔθνος, δύνασθαι δὲ πολὺ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τούτους ἔφασκε βλάψαι τε μισοῦντας καὶ φίλους διακειμένους ὠφελῆσαι: [402] μάλιστα γὰρ πιστεύεσθαι παρὰ τῷ πλήθει περὶ ὧν ἂν κἂν φθονῶσίν τι χαλεπὸν λέγωσιν, αὐτόν τε προσκροῦσαι τῷ ἔθνει διὰ τούτους ἔλεγεν ὑβρισθέντας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. [403] "σὺ τοίνυν, εἶπεν, ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις γενομένη μετάπεμψαι μὲν τοὺς στασιώτας αὐτῶν, ἐπιδείξασα δὲ τὸ σῶμα τοὐμὸν ἐκείνοις ὅπως μοι βούλονται χρῆσθαι μετὰ πολλῆς ἀξιοπιστίας ἐπίτρεπε, εἴτε καθυβρίζειν ἀταφίᾳ μου θελήσουσι τὸν νεκρὸν ὡς πολλὰ πεπονθότες ἐξ ἐμοῦ, εἴτ' ἄλλην τινὰ κατ' ὀργὴν αἰκίαν τῷ σώματι προσφέρειν. ὑπόσχου τε καὶ μηδὲν δίχα τῆς ἐκείνων γνώμης ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διαπράξεσθαι. [404] ταῦτά σου πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰπούσης ἐγώ τε λαμπροτέρας ἀξιωθήσομαι πρὸς αὐτῶν κηδείας ἧς ἂν ἔτυχον ἐκ σοῦ, μηδὲν διὰ τὸ ἐξεῖναι ποιεῖν μου κακῶς τὸν νεκρὸν διαθεῖναι θελησάντων, σύ τε βεβαίως ἄρξεις." ταῦτα παραινέσας τῇ γυναικὶ τελευτᾷ βασιλεύσας ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι, βιώσας δ' ἓν καὶ πεντήκοντα.

XVI

(1) [405] Ἡ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρα τὸ φρούριον ἐξελοῦσα κατὰ τὰς τοῦ: ἀνδρὸς ὑποθήκας τοῖς τε Φαρισαίοις διελέχθη καὶ πάντα ἐπ' ἐκείνοις θεμένη τά τε περὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας, τῆς μὲν ὀργῆς αὐτοὺς τῆς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἔπαυσεν, εὔνους δ' ἐποίησεν καὶ φίλους. [406] οἱ δ' εἰς τὸ πλῆθος παρελθόντες ἐδημηγόρουν τὰς πράξεις τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου διηγούμενοι, καὶ ὅτι δίκαιος αὐτοῖς

ἀπόλοιτο βασιλεύς, καὶ τὸν δῆμον εἰς πένθος καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κατήφειαν ἐξεκαλέσαντο τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, ὥστε καὶ λαμπρότερον ἤ τινα τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων αὐτὸν ἐκήδευσαν. [407] δύο μέντοι γε υἱοὺς Ἀλέξανδρος κατέλιπεν Ὑρκανὸν καὶ Ἀριστόβουλον, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν διέθετο. τῶν δὲ παίδων Ὑρκανὸς μὲν ἀσθενὴς ἦν πράγματα διοικεῖν καὶ βίον ἡσύχιον μᾶλλον ἠγαπηκώς, ὁ δὲ νεώτερος Ἀριστόβουλος δραστήριός τε ἦν καὶ θαρσαλέος. ἐστέργετο μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἡ γυνὴ διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν ἐφ᾽ οἷς ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ἐξήμαρτεν δυσχεραίνειν.

(2) [408] Ἡ δὲ ἀρχιερέα μὲν ἀπεδείκνυεν Ὑρκανὸν διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, πολὺ μέντοι πλέον διὰ τὸ ἄπραγμον αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάντα τοῖς Φαρισαίοις ἐπέτρεπεν ποιεῖν, οἷς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐκέλευσεν πειθαρχεῖν καὶ εἴ τι δὲ καὶ τῶν νομίμων Ὑρκανὸς ὁ πενθερὸς αὐτῆς κατέλυσεν ὧν εἰσήνεγκαν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι κατὰ τὴν πατρῴαν παράδοσιν, τοῦτο πάλιν ἀποκατέστησεν. [409] τὸ μὲν οὖν ὄνομα τῆς βασιλείας εἶχεν αὐτή, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι: καὶ γὰρ φυγάδας οὗτοι κατῆγον καὶ δεσμώτας ἔλυον καὶ καθάπαξ οὐδὲν δεσποτῶν διέφερον. ἐποιεῖτο μέντοι καὶ ἡ γυνὴ τῆς βασιλείας πρόνοιαν, καὶ πολὺ μισθοφορικὸν συνίστησιν, καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν δύναμιν ἀπέδειξεν διπλασίονα, ὡς καταπλῆξαι τοὺς πέριξ τυράννους καὶ λαβεῖν ὅμηρα αὐτῶν. [410] ἠρέμει δ᾽ ἡ χώρα πᾶσα πάρεξ τῶν Φαρισαίων: οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπετάρασσον τὴν βασίλειαν πείθοντες, ὅπως κτείνειεν τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παραινέσαντας ἀνελεῖν τοὺς ὀκτακοσίους. εἶτα αὐτοὶ τούτων ἕνα σφάττουσιν Διογένην καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν ἄλλους ἐπ᾽ ἄλλοις, [411] ἕως οὗ οἱ δυνατοὶ παρελθόντες εἰς τὸ βασίλειον καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν Ἀριστόβουλος, ἐφ᾽κει γὰρ τοῖς γινομένοις δυσανασχετῶν καὶ δῆλος ἦν, καθάπαξ εἰ ἀφορμῆς λάβοιτο, μὴ ἐπιτρέψων τῇ μητρί, ἀνεμίμνησκον ὅσα κατώρθωσαν τοσούτοις κινδύνοις, δι᾽ ὧν τὸ βέβαιον τῆς ἐν σφίσι πίστεως πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην ἐπεδείξαντο, ἀνθ᾽ ὧν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ μεγίστων ἠξιώθησαν. [412] καὶ ἐδέοντο μὴ ἄχρι τοῦ παντὸς ἔμπαλιν τρέψαι σφίσι τὰς ἐλπίδας: ἀποφυγόντας γὰρ τὸν ἐκ πολεμίων κίνδυνον ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ ὑπ᾽ ἐχθρῶν δίκην βοσκημάτων κόπτεσθαι μηδεμιᾶς τιμωρίας οὔσης. [413] ἔλεγόν τε ὡς, εἰ μὲν ἀρκεσθεῖεν τοῖς ἀνῃρημένοις οἱ ἀντίδικοι, διὰ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς δεσπότας γνήσιον μετρίως οἴσειν τὰ ξυμβάντα, εἰ δ᾽ αὖ μέλλοιεν ταὐτὰ μετιέναι, ᾐτοῦντο μάλιστα μὲν δοθῆναι σφίσιν ἀπαλλαγήν: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ὑπομεῖναι χωρὶς αὐτῆς πορίσασθαι τὸ σωτήριον, ἀλλ᾽ ἀσμενίζειν θνήσκοντες πρὸς τοῖς βασιλείοις, ὡς μὴ συγγνοῖεν ἀπιστίαν αὐτοῖς. [414] αἶσχός τε εἶναι σφίσι τε καὶ τῇ βασιλευούσῃ, εἰ πρὸς αὐτῆς ἀμελούμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκδεχθείησαν: ἀντὶ παντὸς γὰρ τιμήσεσθαι Ἀρέταν τε τὸν Ἄραβα καὶ τοὺς μονάρχους, εἰ ἀποξενολογήσειεν τοσούσδε ἄνδρας, οἷς ἦν τάχα που φρικῶδες αὐτῶν καὶ τοὔνομα τὸ πρὶν ἀκουσθῆναι. [415] εἰ δὲ μή, τό γε δεύτερον, εἰ τοὺς Φαρισαίους αὐτῇ προτιμᾶν ἔγνωσταί, κατατάξαι ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις: εἰ γὰρ

ὧδε δαίμων τις ἐπενεμέσησεν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρου οἴκῳ, αὐτούς γε μὴν ἂν ἀποδεῖξαι καὶ ἐν ταπεινῷ σχήματι βιοτεύοντας.

(3) [416] Πολλὰ τοιαῦτα λεγόντων καὶ εἰς οἶκτον τῶν τεθνεώτων καὶ τῶν κινδυνευόντων τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου δαίμονας ἐπικαλουμένων, ἅπαντες οἱ περιεστῶτες ὥρμησαν εἰς δάκρυα, καὶ μάλιστα Ἀριστόβουλος ὅπως ἔχοι γνώμης ἐδήλου πολλὰ τὴν μητέρα κακίζων. [417] ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν αὐτοὶ σφίσι τῶν συμφορῶν ἐγένοντο αἴτιοι, κατὰ φιλαρχίαν ἐκλελυσσηκυίᾳ γυναικὶ παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς βασιλεύειν γενεᾶς ἐν ἀκμῇ οὔσης ἐπιτρέψαντες: ἡ δὲ οὐκ ἔχουσα ὅ τι πράξειε μετὰ τοῦ εὐπρεποῦς τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν χωρίων σφίσιν ἐπέτρεψεν, ὅτι μὴ Ὑρκανίας καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείου καὶ Μαχαιροῦντος, ἔνθα τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἦν αὐτῇ. [418] καὶ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ τὸν υἱὸν Ἀριστόβουλον μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπὶ Δαμασκὸν κατὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Μενναίου λεγομένου, ὃς βαρὺς ἦν τῇ πόλει γείτων. ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν οὐδὲν ἐργασάμενοι σπουδῆς ἄξιον ὑπέστρεψαν.

(4) [419] Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἀγγέλλεται Τιγράνης στρατοῦ μυριάσι τριάκοντα ἐμβεβληκὼς εἰς τὴν Συρίαν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀφιξόμενος. τοῦτο ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἐφόβησε τὴν βασίλισσαν καὶ τὸ ἔθνος. δῶρα δὴ καὶ πολλὰ καὶ λόγου ἄξια πέμπουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ πρέσβεις πολιορκοῦντι Πτολεμαίδα. [420] βασίλισσα γὰρ Σελήνη ἡ καὶ Κλεοπάτρα καλουμένη τῶν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ κατέχειν, ἣ καὶ ἐνήγαγεν τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἀποκλεῖσαι Τιγράνη νῦν ἐτύγχανεν καὶ ἐδέοντο χρηστὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους συγγινώσκειν. [421] ὁ δὲ ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐκ διαστήματος θεραπείας ἐλπίδας ὑπέθετο χρηστάς. ἅρτι δὲ τῆς Πτολεμαίδος ἑαλωκυίας ἀγγέλλεται Τιγράνῃ Λεύκολλον διώκοντα Μιθριδάτην ἐκείνου μὲν διαμαρτεῖν εἰς τοὺς Ἴβηρας ἀναφυγόντος, τὴν δὲ Ἀρμενίαν πορθήσαντα πολιορκεῖν Τιγράνης δὲ καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐπιγνοὺς ἀνεχώρει τὴν ἐπ᾽ οἴκου.

(5) [422] Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τῆς βασιλίσσης εἰς νόσον χαλεπὴν ἐμπεσούσης δόξαν Ἀριστοβούλῳ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι τῆς νυκτὸς ὑπεξελθὼν μεθ᾽ ἑνὸς τῶν θεραπόντων ᾔει ἐπὶ τὰ φρούρια, ἵνα οἱ πατρῷοι κατετάχθησαν αὐτῷ φίλοι. [423] πάλαι γὰρ ἀχθόμενος οἷς ἔπραττεν ἡ μήτηρ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔδεισε, μὴ ἀποθανούσης ἐπὶ τοῖς Φαρισαίοις τὸ πᾶν γένος αὐτοῖς ὑπάρξειεν: ἑώρα γὰρ τὸ ἀδύνατον τοῦ μέλλοντος διαδέχεσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀδελφοῦ. [424] ξυνῄδει δὲ ἡ γυνὴ μόνη τῇ πράξει, ἣν κατέλιπεν αὐτόθι μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς. καὶ πρῶτον ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἄγαβα, ἔνθα Γαλαίστης ἦν τῶν δυνατῶν, ὑπεδέχθη πρὸς αὐτοῦ. [425] μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν δὲ αἴσθησις γίνεται τῇ βασιλίσσῃ τῆς Ἀριστοβούλου φυγῆς, καὶ μέχρι τινὸς ᾤετο γεγονέναι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν οὐκ ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ: ὡς μέντοι ἦκον ἀπαγγέλλοντες ἄλλοι ἐπ᾽ ἄλλοις, ὅτι κατειλήφει τὸ πρῶτον χωρίον καὶ τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ξύμπαντα, εὐθὺς γὰρ ἑνὸς ἀρξαμένου πάντα ἠπείγετο πρὸς τὸ ἐκείνου βούλημα, τότε δὴ ἐν μεγίσταις ταραχαῖς ὑπῆρχεν ἥ τε βασίλισσα καὶ τὸ ἔθνος. [426] ᾔδεισαν γὰρ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ δύνασθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ κρατῦναι τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ὄντα, ἐδεδίεσάν τε, μὴ ποινὴν εἰσπράξαιτο ὧν παρῴνησαν αὐτῷ τὸν οἶκον. δόξαν οὖν τήν τε γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ γενεὰν εἰς τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ φρούριον κατέθεσαν. [427] Ἀριστοβούλῳ δὲ ὡς ἂν ἐκ πολλῶν συχνὰ ἀνήχθη, ἀφ᾽ ὧν ἤδη καὶ κόσμος βασίλειος περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν: σχεδὸν γὰρ ἐν ἡμέραις δεκαπέντε χωρίων ἐκράτησεν εἰκοσιδύο, ὅθεν ἀφορμὰς ἔχων στρατιὰν ἤθροιζεν ἀπὸ Λιβάνου καὶ Τράχωνος καὶ τῶν μονάρχων: οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τῷ πλείονι ὑπαγόμενοι ῥᾳδίως ὑπήκουον: ἄλλως δὲ νομίζοντες, εἰ δὴ ξυλλάβοιεν αὐτῷ, τῶν μὴ προσδοκωμένων οὐχ ἧσσον καρπώσεσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν ὡς αὐτοὶ τοῦ κρατῆσαι πρόφασις γενηθέντες. [428] τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ Ὑρκανὸς ἐσῄεσαν ὡς τὴν βασίλισσαν καὶ ἐδέοντο ὑποθέσθαι γνώμην περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων: τὸν γὰρ Ἀριστόβουλον τῶν πάντων σχεδὸν ἤδη κυριεύειν, ὁπότε χωρίων τοσούτων κρατήσειεν: ἄτοπον δέ, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα κάμνοι, περιούσης αὐτῆς κατὰ σφᾶς βουλεύεσθαι: περιεστάναι δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον οὐ διὰ μακροῦ σφίσιν. [429] ἡ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσε πράττειν ὅ τι δοκοῦσι χρήσιμον εἶναι: πολλὰς δ᾽ ἀφορμὰς αὐτοῖς λείπεσθαι, τὸ ἔθνος ἐρρωμένον καὶ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς γαζοφυλακίοις χρήματα: αὐτῇ μὲν γὰρ μικρὸν ἔτι μέλειν τῶν πραγμάτων ὡς ἂν ὑπολείποντος ἤδη τοῦ σώματος.

(6) [430] Ταῦτ᾽ εἰποῦσα μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ ἐτελεύτησεν βασιλεύσασα ἔτη ἐννέα, τὰ δὲ σύμπαντα βιώσασα τρία καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα, γυνὴ τῷ ἀσθενεῖ τοῦ φύλου κατ᾽ οὐδὲν χρησαμένη: δεινὴ γὰρ εἰς τὸ φίλαρχον ἐν ταῖς μάλιστα γενομένη διήλεγξεν ἔργοις τό τε πρακτικὸν τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ γνώμης καὶ τὸ ἀσύνετον τῶν ἀεὶ πταιόντων περὶ τὰς δυναστείας ἀνδρῶν. [431] τὸ γὰρ παρὸν κρεῖττον ἀξιοῦσα τοῦ μέλλοντος καὶ πάντα δεύτερα τιθεμένη τοῦ ἐγκρατῶς ἄρχειν, οὔτε καλοῦ οὔτε δικαίου ἕνεκά γε τούτων ἐπεστρέφετο. [432] εἰς γοῦν τοῦτο τῷ οἴκῳ ἀτυχίας τὰ πράγματα περιέστησεν, ὥσθ᾽ ἣν μετὰ πλείστων κινδύνων καὶ ταλαιπωρίας

περιεκτήσατο δυναστείαν ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῶν μὴ προσηκόντων γυναικὶ χρόνοις οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον ἀφαιρεθῆναι, τοῖς μὲν δυσμενῶς ἔχουσιν πρὸς τὸ γένος αὐτῶν τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην προσθεῖσα, τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔρημον τῶν προκηδομένων ποιησαμένη. [433] καὶ ξυμφορῶν δὲ ἐνέπλησε καὶ ταραχῆς ἐξ ὧν ζῶσα ἐπολιτεύσατο καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τὸ βασίλειον: οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καίπερ οὕτως ἄρξασα ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀταραξίᾳ τὸ ἔθνος διεφύλαξεν. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ Ἀλεξάνδραν τὴν βασίλισσαν τοῦτο εἶχεν τὸ τέλος: ἔρχομαι δὲ λέξων τὰ τοῖς υἱέσιν αὐτῆς συμβεβηκότα Ἀριστοβούλῳ καὶ Ὑρκανῷ μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνης τελευτὴν ἐν τῇ μετὰ ταύτην μου βίβλῳ.

Liber XIV

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Ὡς μετὰ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρας θάνατον ὁ νεώτερος αὐτῆς τῶν παίδων Ἀριστόβουλος ἐπολέμησεν πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν τὸν ἀδελφὸν περὶ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ κρατήσας αὐτοῦ συνεδίωξεν εἰς τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις βᾶριν, ἔπειθ᾽ ὡς συμβάντες ἔκριναν βασιλεύειν μὲν Ἀριστόβουλον, Ὑρκανὸν δὲ ἰδιωτεύειν.

β. περὶ Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ γένους αὐτοῦ καὶ τίνα τρόπον ἐκ μικρᾶς καὶ τῆς τυχούσης ἀφορμῆς εἰς λαμπρότητα καὶ δόξαν ἅμα τοῖς παισὶν προήχθη καὶ μέγεθος δυνάμεως, καὶ ὅτι πείσαντος Ὑρκανὸν Ἀντιπάτρου φυγεῖν ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων πρὸς Ἀρέταν τὸν τῶν Ἀράβων βασιλέα ἱκέτευσεν ἐλθὼν καταγαγεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν γῆν τε πολλὴν δώσειν καὶ χρήματα ὑποσχόμενος.

γ. ὡς Ἀρέτας προσδεξάμενος τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον καὶ συμβαλὼν καὶ κρατήσας τῇ μάχῃ συνεδίωξεν ἐπὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ περικαθίσας τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν.

δ. ὡς Σκαῦρον πέμψαντος ἀπὸ Ἀρμενίας εἰς Συρίαν Μάγνου Πομπηίου ἦκον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπό τε Ὑρκανοῦ καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου πρέσβεις περὶ συμμαχίας παρακαλοῦντες.

ε. ὅτι Σκαῦρος τετρακοσίοις διαφθαρεὶς ταλάντοις Ἀριστοβούλῳ προσέθετο.

ς. ὡς Ὑρκανὸς καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐπὶ Πομπηίου δικαιολογοῦνται.

[ζ. ὡς Πομπηίου εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐλθόντος Ἀριστόβουλος καὶ Ὑρκανὸς ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἦκον περὶ τῆς βασιλείας δικαιολογούμενοι.]

η. Πομπηίου ὑπέρθεσις διαγνώσεσθαι φήσαντος περὶ ὧν ἀλλήλοις ἐνεκάλουν, ἐπειδὰν εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων χώραν παραγένηται, καὶ ὅτι συνεὶς Ἀριστόβουλος τίνα ἔχει διάνοιαν Πομπήιος ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Ἰουδαίαν, καὶ ὡς ἀγανακτήσαντος αὐτοῦ καὶ στρατεύσαντος ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειον Ἀριστόβουλος ἀνεχώρησεν τὸ φρούριον ὀχυρὸν ὂν καὶ δυσκαταμάχητον.

θ. ὡς Πομπήιος τοῦτο συνιδὼν στρατηγήματι χρησάμενος ἔπεισεν τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον καταλιπόντα τὸ φρούριον καταβῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς βεβαιωσόμενον αὐτῷ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, οἷς πεισθέντα καὶ πολλάκις δικαιολογησάμενον πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἠνάγκασε τοῖς φουράρχοις τῇ αὐτοῦ χειρὶ γράψαι καὶ παραδοῦναι αὐτῷ τὰ φρούρια.

ι. ὡς Ἀριστόβουλος τοῦτο ποιήσας διὰ φόβον ἔπειτα δυσχεράνας ἐπὶ τῷ μηδενὸς ὧν προσεδόκα παρὰ Πομπηίου τυγχάνειν ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.

ια. ὡς Πομπηίου κατὰ πόδας μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς παρακολουθήσαντος μετενόησεν Ἀριστόβουλος καὶ προελθὼν ἄχρι Ἰεριχοῦντος ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ καὶ συγγνώμης τυχεῖν δεηθεὶς περὶ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰ χρήματα παραδώσειν ὑπέσχετο, καὶ Πομπηίου πέμψαντος Γαβίνιον μετὰ ἐπιλέκτων στρατιωτῶν ἐπί τε τὴν τῆς πόλεως παράληψιν καὶ τῶν χρημάτων οἱ Ἱεροσολυμῖται τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ὁρῶντες ἐν φυλακῇ καθεστῶτα τὰς πύλας ἀπέκλεισαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις.

ιβ. ὡς ἐπὶ τούτῳ παροξυνθεὶς Πομπήιος Ἀριστόβουλον μὲν ἔδησεν, προσαγαγὼν δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν, καὶ δέχονται μὲν αὐτὸν οἱ τὰ Ὑρκανοῦ φρονοῦντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἄνω, οἱ δὲ τὰ Ἀριστοβούλου φεύγουσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν.

ιγ. ὡς αἱρεῖ κατὰ κράτος τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὴν κάτω πόλιν ὁ Πομπήιος τῷ τρίτῳ μηνί.

ιδ. περὶ τῆς ἐπιεικείας αὐτοῦ καὶ θεοσεβείας, ὅτι μηδενὸς ἔψαυσεν τῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ πολλῶν ὄντων τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ χρημάτων.

ιε. ὅτι ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ποιήσας φόροις ὑποτελῆ καὶ Ὑρκανὸν ἀποδείξας ἐθνάρχην Ἀριστόβουλον μὲν δέσμιον μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνήγαγεν, Σκαῦρον δὲ τῆς Συρίας ἐπίτροπον κατέλιπεν.

ις. ὅτι Σκαύρου στρατεύσαντος ἐπὶ Πέτραν βασίλειον οὖσαν τῶν Ἀράβων καὶ πολιορκοῦντος, ἐν ἐνδείᾳ τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτοῦ γενομένων Ἀντίπατρος πείθει τὸν Ἄραβα δόντα Σκαύρῳ τάλαντα τριακόσια συμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι.

ιζ. ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου παῖς φυγὼν Πομπήιον καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἰουδαίαν στρατιᾶς αὐτῷ πολλῆς γενομένης πόλεμον ἐξήνεγκεν πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν καὶ Ἀντίπατρον.

ιη. ὡς ὑπὸ Γαβινίου κρατηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ καὶ κατακλεισθεὶς εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειον τὸ φρούριον ἐπολιορκεῖτο.

ιθ. ὡς Γαβίνιος πεισάσης τῆς μητρὸς τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου παραδοῦναι αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸ φρούριον λαβὼν τὸν μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀφῆκεν, ἔγραψεν δὲ καὶ τῇ συγκλήτῳ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ, οἳ ἦσαν μετὰ Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ πατρὸς δεδεμένοι, λῦσαι καὶ ἀποπέμψαι πρὸς τὴν μητέρα, δηλῶν αὐτῆς τὸ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πιστὸν καὶ ὡς ἔστιν ἀξία ταύτης τῆς χάριτος τυγχάνειν.

κ. ὡς μετὰ ταῦτα φυγόντα ἐκ Ῥώμης Ἀριστόβουλον εἰς Ἰουδαίαν λαβὼν Γαβίνιος αἰχμάλωτον πάλιν ἀνέπεμψεν εἰς Ῥώμην.

κα. Κράσσου κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Πάρθους στρατείαν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀνάβασις καὶ σύλησις τῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ χρημάτων.

κβ. φυγὴ Πομπηίου εἰς Ἤπειρον καὶ Σκιπίωνος ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντος εἰς Συρίαν ἄφιξις ἐντολὴν ἔχοντος ἀποκτεῖναι Ἀλέξανδρον.

κγ. ὅτι Καῖσαρ λύσας Ἀριστόβουλον οἷός τε ἦν πέμψαι μετὰ δύο ταγμάτων εἰς Ἰουδαίαν, ἔφθη δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ Πομπηίου φρονούντων διαφθαρεὶς Ἀριστόβουλος φαρμάκῳ.

κδ. Καίσαρος ἐπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου στρατεία, καὶ ὡς συνεμάχησαν αὐτῷ Ὑρκανός τε καὶ Ἀντίπατρος καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους αὐτῷ συμμάχους ἐποίησαν.

κε. Ἀντιπάτρου προθύμως ἀγωνισαμένου κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἀριστεία καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φιλία πρὸς Καίσαρα, καὶ ὡς Ὑρκανὸν Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ χαίρων ἐτίμησεν μεγάλως ἐπιτρέψας αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἀναστῆσαι τείχη.

κς. ὡς Ἀντιπάτρῳ τὴν τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπιτροπὴν ἐνεχείρισεν.

κζ. Καίσαρος ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ δόγματα συγκλήτου περὶ τῆς πρὸς Ἰουδαίους φιλίας.

κη. ὅτι Ἀντίπατρος τοῖς παισὶν Ἡρώδῃ μὲν τὴν τῆς Γαλιλαίας πρόνοιαν Φασαήλῳ δ᾽ ἐπέτρεψεν τὴν Ἱεροσολύμων.

κθ. ὡς Καῖσαρ Σέξστος δωροδοκηθεὶς ὑφ᾽ Ἡρώδου ἡγεμόνος ὄντος ἐν Συρίᾳ μέγαν καὶ ἔνδοξον ἐποίησεν Ἡρώδην καταστήσας ἄρχοντα τῆς κοίλης Συρίας.

λ. ὡς Κάσσιος Καίσαρος ἀποθανόντος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀναβὰς τήν τε χώραν ἐκάκωσεν καὶ τάλαντα ὀκτακόσια παρ᾽ αὐτῶν εἰσεπράξατο, πῶς τε Ἡρώδης ἐκ τῆς εἰσπράξεως τῶν χρημάτων σπουδαῖος ἔδοξεν Κασσίῳ.

λα. Μαλίχου τελευτὴ τοῦ πρὸς Ἡρώδην στασιάσαντος Κασσίου κελεύσαντος.

λβ. θάνατος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας πρεσβευτῶν ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου μετὰ τὴν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ νίκην ἐν Συρίᾳ γενομένου καὶ ἀγανακτήσαντος ἐπὶ τῷ Ἡρώδου κατηγορῆσαι. ταῦτα δ᾽ ἔπραξεν χρήμασι πείσαντος αὐτὸν τοῦ Ἡρώδου.

λγ. στρατεία Πάρθων εἰς Συρίαν, καθ᾽ ἣν τὸν Ἀριστοβούλου υἱὸν Ἀντίγονον εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν κατήγαγον.

λδ. ὡς Ὑρκανὸν καὶ Φασάηλον τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἡρώδου αἰχμαλώτους ἔλαβον.

λε. ὡς Ἡρώδης φεύγων ἐκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ δεηθεὶς Ἀντωνίου χρήματα πολλὰ ὑποσχόμενος ἀπεδείχθη ὑπό τε τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ Καίσαρος βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἰουδαίας.

λς. ἔκπλους Ἡρώδου μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπὸ Ῥώμης εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ μάχη πρὸς Ἀντίγονον στρατιᾶς αὐτῷ Ῥωμαικῆς ἑπομένης καὶ ἡγεμόνος Σίλωνος.

λζ. ὡς Σίλωνος Ἱεροσόλυμα πολιορκήσαντος ὑπὸ Σοσσίου καὶ Ἡρώδου Ἀντίγονος διεφθάρη.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν λβ.

I

(1) [1] Τῶν δὲ περὶ Ἀλεξάνδραν τὴν βασίλισσαν καὶ τὸν θάνατον αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης ἡμῖν βίβλῳ δεδηλωμένων τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα καὶ προσεχῆ νῦν

ἐροῦμεν, οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς ἢ τοῦ μηδὲν παραλιπεῖν τῶν πραγμάτων ἢ δι᾽ ἄγνοιαν ἢ διὰ κάματον τῆς μνήμης προμηθούμενοι. [2] τὴν γὰρ ἱστορίαν καὶ τὴν μήνυσιν τῶν ἀγνοουμένων τοῖς πολλοῖς πραγμάτων διὰ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα δεῖ μὲν καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας κάλλος, ὅσον δὴ τοῦτ᾽ ἔστιν ἔκ τε τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ τῆς τούτων ἁρμονίας καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τούτοις συμβάλλεται κόσμον τῷ λόγῳ, [3] τοῖς ἀναγνωσομένοις ἔχειν, ὡς ἂν μετὰ χάριτός τινος καὶ ἡδονῆς τὴν ἐμπειρίαν παραλαμβάνοιεν, πάντων δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς ἀκριβείας τοὺς συγγραφεῖς στοχάζεσθαι μηδὲν τοῦ τἀληθῆ λέγειν τοῖς περὶ ὧν οὐκ ἴσασιν αὐτοὶ πιστεύειν αὐτοῖς μέλλουσιν προτιμῶντας.

(2) [4] Παραλαβόντος γὰρ τὴν βασιλείαν Ὑρκανοῦ τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει τῆς ἑβδόμης καὶ ἑβδομηκοστῆς πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν ὀλυμπιάδος, ὑπατεύοντος Ῥωμαίων Κυίντου Ὁρτησίου καὶ Κυίντου Μετέλλου, ὃς δὴ καὶ Κρητικὸς ἐπεκαλεῖτο, πόλεμον εὐθὺς ἐκφέρει πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀριστόβουλος, καὶ τῆς μάχης αὐτῷ γενομένης πρὸς Ἰεριχοῦντι πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτομολοῦσιν. [5] οὗ γενομένου φεύγει πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν Ὑρκανός, ἔνθα συνέβαινεν κατεῖρχθαι τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῆς μητρός, καθὼς προειρήκαμεν, καὶ τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας δὲ καταφυγόντας εἰς τὸν τοῦ ἱεροῦ περίβολον αἱρεῖ προσβαλών. [6] καὶ λόγους ποιησάμενος πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν περὶ συμβάσεως καταλύεται τὴν ἔχθραν ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεύειν μὲν Ἀριστόβουλον, αὐτὸν δὲ ζῆν ἀπραγμόνως καρπούμενον ἀδεῶς τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ κτῆσιν. [7] ταῦτα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ συνθέμενοι καὶ ὅρκοις καὶ δεξιαῖς πιστωσάμενοι τὰς ὁμολογίας καὶ κατασπασάμενοι τοῦ πλήθους παντὸς ὁρῶντος ἀλλήλους ἀνεχώρησαν, ὁ μὲν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, Ὑρκανὸς δ᾽ ὡς ἰδιώτης τυγχάνων εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου.

(3) [8] Φίλος δέ τις Ὑρκανοῦ Ἰδουμαῖος Ἀντίπατρος λεγόμενος, πολλῶν μὲν εὐπόρει χρημάτων, δραστήριος δὲ ὢν τὴν φύσιν καὶ στασιαστὴς ἀλλοτρίως εἶχεν πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον καὶ διαφόρως διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ὑρκανὸν εὔνοιαν. [9] Νικόλαος μέντοι φησὶν ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς τοῦτον εἶναι γένος ἐκ τῶν πρώτων Ἰουδαίων τῶν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀφικομένων. ταῦτα δὲ λέγει χαριζόμενος Ἡρώδῃ τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκ τύχης τινὸς γενομένῳ, περὶ οὗ κατὰ καιρὸν δηλώσομεν. [10] οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ Ἀντίπατρος Ἀντίπας τὸ πρῶτον ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν τὸ ὄνομα, ὃν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ στρατηγὸν ἀποδειξάντων ὅλης τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ποιήσασθαι φιλίαν πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοροῦντας αὐτῷ Ἄραβας καὶ Γαζαίους καὶ Ἀσκαλωνίτας λέγουσιν πολλαῖς αὐτοὺς καὶ μεγάλαις ἐξιδιωσάμενον δωρεαῖς. [11] τὴν οὖν Ἀριστοβούλου δυναστείαν ὁ νεώτερος Ἀντίπατρος ὑφορώμενος καὶ δεδιώς, μή τι πάθῃ διὰ τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν μῖσος, ἐπισυνιστᾷ κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ κρύφα διαλεγόμενος τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοὺς δυναστεύοντας, ἄδικον εἶναι λέγων περιορᾶν Ἀριστόβουλον ἀδίκως ἔχοντα τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ τὸν

μὲν ἀδελφὸν ταύτης ἐκβεβληκότα πρεσβύτερον ὄντα, κατέχοντα δ᾽ αὐτὴν οὖσαν ἐκείνου διὰ τὸ πρεσβεῖον. [12] τούτους τε συνεχῶς πρὸς τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ποιούμενος διετέλει τοὺς λόγους, καὶ ὅτι κινδυνεύσει τῷ ζῆν, εἰ μὴ φυλάξαιτο ποιήσας αὐτὸν ἐκποδών: τοὺς γὰρ φίλους τοὺς Ἀριστοβούλου μηδένα παραλείπειν καιρὸν ἔλεγεν συμβουλεύοντας αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν ὡς τότε βεβαίως ἕξοντα τὴν ἀρχήν. [13] τούτοις Ὑρκανὸς ἠπίστει τοῖς λόγοις φύσει χρηστὸς ὢν καὶ διαβολὴν δι᾽ ἐπιείκειαν οὐ προσιέμενος ῥᾳδίως. ἐποίει δ᾽ αὐτὸν τὸ ἄπραγμον καὶ τὸ παρειμένον τῆς διανοίας τοῖς ὁρῶσιν ἀγεννῆ καὶ ἄνανδρον δοκεῖν: τῆς δ᾽ ἐναντίας φύσεως ἦν Ἀριστόβουλος, δραστήριος καὶ διεγηγερμένος τὸ φρόνημα.

(4) [14] Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ὁ Ἀντίπατρος οὐ προσέχοντα ἑώρα τοῖς λόγοις τὸν Ὑρκανόν, οὐ διέλιπεν ἑκάστης ἡμέρας πλαττόμενος καὶ διαβάλλων πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ὡς ἀποκτεῖναι θέλοντα, καὶ μόλις ἐγκείμενος πείθει πρὸς Ἀρέταν αὐτῷ συμβουλεύσας φυγεῖν τὸν Ἀράβων βασιλέα: πεισθέντι γὰρ ἔσεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς σύμμαχος ὑπισχνεῖτο. [15] ὁ δὲ ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούων συμφέρειν ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς τὸν Ἀρέταν ἀποδρᾶναι, ἔστιν δὲ ὅμορος τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ Ἀραβία, καὶ δὴ πέμπει πρῶτον Ὑρκανὸς πρὸς τὸν τῶν Ἀράβων βασιλέα τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ληψόμενον πίστεις, ὡς οὐκ ἐκδώσει τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἱκέτην αὐτοῦ γενόμενον. [16] λαβὼν δὲ τὰς πίστεις ὁ Ἀντίπατρος ὑπέστρεψε πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ παραλαβὼν αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς πόλεως ὑπεξελθὼν νύκτωρ καὶ πολλὴν ἀνύσας ὁδὸν ἦκεν ἄγων εἰς τὴν καλουμένην Πέτραν, ὅπου τὰ βασίλεια ἦν τῷ Ἀρέτᾳ. [17] μάλιστα δὲ ὢν φίλος τῷ βασιλεῖ κατάγειν τὸν Ὑρκανὸν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν παρεκάλει: καὶ τοῦθ᾽ ἑκάστης ἡμέρας ποιῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀνιείς, ἀλλὰ καὶ δωρεὰς προιέμενος, πείθει τὸν Ἀρέταν. [18] οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Ὑρκανὸς ὑπέσχετο αὐτῷ καταχθεὶς καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν κομισάμενος ἀποδώσειν τήν τε χώραν καὶ τὰς δώδεκα πόλεις, ἃς Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ τῶν Ἀράβων ἀφείλετο. ἦσαν δ᾽ αὗται Μήδαβα, Λιββα, Ναβαλώθ, Ἀραβαθα, Γαλανθώνη, Ζωιρα, Ὡρωναιδιγωβασιλισσαρυδδα, Αλουσα, Ωρυβδα.

II

(1) [19] Τούτων αὐτῷ τῶν ὑποσχέσεων γενομένων ὁ Ἀρέτας ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον μετὰ πέντε μυριάδων ἱππέων ἅμα καὶ πεζῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ νικᾷ τῇ μάχῃ. πολλῶν δὲ μετὰ τὴν νίκην πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν αὐτομολησάντων μονωθεὶς ὁ Ἀριστόβουλος ἔφυγεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. [20] ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀράβων βασιλεὺς πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὰν ἀγαγὼν καὶ προσβαλὼν τῷ ἱερῷ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ἐπολιόρκει προστιθεμένου καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῷ Ὑρκανῷ καὶ συμπολιορκοῦντος αὐτῷ, μόνων δὲ τῶν ἱερέων τῷ Ἀριστοβούλῳ προσμενόντων. [21] ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀρέτας ἐξῆς βαλόμενος στρατόπεδα τῶν Ἀράβων καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἰσχυρῶς ἐνέκειτο τῇ πολιορκίᾳ. τούτων δὲ γινομένων κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν

τῆς τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτῆς, ἣν πάσχα λέγομεν, οἱ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκλιπόντες τὴν χώραν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἔφυγον. [22] Ὀνίαν δέ τινα ὄνομα δίκαιον ὄντα καὶ θεοφιλῆ, ὃς ἀνομβρίας ποτὲ οὔσης ηὔξατο τῷ θεῷ λῦσαι τὸν αὐχμὸν καὶ γενόμενος ἐπήκοος ὁ θεὸς ὗσεν, κρύψαντα ἑαυτὸν διὰ τὸ τὴν στάσιν ὁρᾶν ἰσχυρὰν ἐπιμένουσαν, ἀναχθέντα εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἠξίουν, ὡς ἔπαυσε τὴν ἀνομβρίαν εὐξάμενος, ἵν' οὕτως ἀρὰς θῇ κατὰ Ἀριστοβούλου καὶ τῶν συστασιαστῶν αὐτοῦ. [23] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀντιλέγων καὶ παραιτούμενος ἐβιάσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, στὰς μέσος αὐτῶν εἶπεν: [24] "ὦ θεὲ βασιλεῦ τῶν ὅλων, ἐπεὶ οἱ μετ' ἐμοῦ συνεστῶτες σὸς δῆμός ἐστιν καὶ οἱ πολιορκούμενοι δὲ ἱερεῖς σοί, δέομαι μήτε κατὰ τούτων ἐκείνοις ὑπακοῦσαι μήτε κατ' ἐκείνων ἃ οὗτοι παρακαλοῦσιν εἰς τέλος ἀγαγεῖν." καὶ τὸν μὲν ταῦτ' εὐξάμενον περιστάντες οἱ πονηροὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατέλευσαν.

(2) [25] Ὁ δὲ θεὸς ταύτης αὐτοὺς παραχρῆμα ἐτιμωρήσατο τῆς ὠμότητος καὶ δίκην εἰσεπράξατο τοῦ Ὀνίου φόνου τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ: πολιορκουμένων τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου συνέβη τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐπιστῆναι τὴν καλουμένην φάσκα, καθ' ἣν ἔθος ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πολλὰ θύειν τῷ θεῷ. [26] ἀποροῦντες δὲ θυμάτων οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ἠξίωσαν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους παρασχεῖν χρήματα λαβόντας ἀντὶ τῶν θυμάτων ὅσα θέλουσιν. τῶν δέ, εἰ βούλονται λαβεῖν, χιλίας δραχμὰς ὑπὲρ ἑκάστης κεφαλῆς καταβαλεῖν κελευόντων, προθύμως ὅ τε Ἀριστόβουλος καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς ὑπέστησαν καὶ διὰ τῶν τειχῶν καθιμήσαντες ἔδωκαν αὐτοῖς τὰ χρήματα. [27] κἀκεῖνοι λαβόντες οὐκ ἀπέδωκαν τὰ θύματα, ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτο πονηρίας ἦλθον, ὥστε παραβῆναι τὰς πίστεις καὶ ἀσεβῆσαι τὸν θεὸν τὰ πρὸς τὰς θυσίας μὴ παρασχόντες τοῖς δεομένοις. [28] παρασπονδηθέντες δὲ οἱ ἱερεῖς ηὔξαντο τὸν θεὸν δίκην αὐτῶν εἰσπράξασθαι παρὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀνεβάλετο τὴν τιμωρίαν, ἀλλὰ πνεῦμα πολὺ καὶ βίαιον ἐπιπέμψας τὸν καρπὸν ἁπάσης τῆς χώρας διέφθειρεν, ὡς τὸν μόδιον τοῦ σίτου τότε αὐτοὺς ἐξωνεῖσθαι δραχμῶν ἕνδεκα.

(3) [29] Ἐν τούτῳ πέμπει Σκαῦρον εἰς Συρίαν Πομπήιος αὐτὸς ὢν ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ καὶ πολεμῶν ἔτι Τιγράνῃ. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Δαμασκὸν Λόλλιον καὶ Μέτελλον νεωστὶ τὴν πόλιν ᾑρηκότας εὑρὼν αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἠπείγετο. [30] παραγενομένου δὲ πρέσβεις ἦκον πρὸς αὐτὸν παρά τε Ἀριστοβούλου καὶ Ὑρκανοῦ συμμαχεῖν ἀξιούντων ἑκατέροις. ὑπισχνουμένου δὲ Ἀριστοβούλου τετρακόσια δώσειν τάλαντα, τοῦ δὲ Ὑρκανοῦ τούτων οὐκ ἐλάττονα παρέξειν, προσδέχεται τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου ὑπόσχεσιν: [31] καὶ γὰρ εὔπορος χρημάτων καὶ μεγαλόψυχος ἦν καὶ μετριωτέρων ἠξίου τυγχάνειν, ὁ δὲ πένης ἦν καὶ γλίσχρος καὶ περὶ μειζόνων τὴν ἄπιστον προύτεινεν ἐπαγγελίαν. οὐ γὰρ ἴσον ἦν βίᾳ πόλιν ἑλεῖν ἐν ταῖς μάλιστα ὀχυρὰν καὶ δυνατήν, ἢ φυγάδας ἐκβαλεῖν μετὰ τοῦ Ναβαταίων πλήθους οὐκ εὖ πρὸς πόλεμον διακειμένων. [32] τούτῳ τοίνυν προσθέμενος διὰ τὰς προειρημένας αἰτίας λαβὼν τὰ χρήματα λύει τὴν

πολιορκίαν, κελεύσας ἀναχωρεῖν τὸν Ἀρέταν ἢ πολέμιον αὐτὸν Ῥωμαίων ἀποδειχθήσεσθαι. [33] καὶ Σκαῦρος μὲν εἰς Δαμασκὸν πάλιν ἀνεχώρησεν, Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἐπί τε Ἀρέταν καὶ Ὑρκανὸν ἐστράτευσεν καὶ συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς περὶ τὸν καλούμενον Παπυρῶνα νικᾷ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ κτείνει περὶ ἑξακισχιλίους τῶν πολεμίων, μεθ᾽ ὧν ἔπεσεν καὶ Φαλλίων ὁ Ἀντιπάτρου ἀδελφός.

III

(1) [34] Μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ Πομπηίου εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἀφικομένου καὶ κοίλην Συρίαν ἐπιόντος ἦκον παρ᾽ αὐτὸν πρέσβεις ἐξ ὅλης Συρίας καὶ Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας: ἔπεμψε γὰρ αὐτῷ μέγα δῶρον Ἀριστόβουλος ἄμπελον χρυσῆν ἐκ πεντακοσίων ταλάντων. [35] μέμνηται δὲ τοῦ δώρου καὶ Στράβων ὁ Καππάδοξ λέγων οὕτως: “ἦλθεν δὲ καὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου πρεσβεία καὶ στέφανος ἀπὸ χρυσῶν τετρακισχιλίων καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας εἴτε ἄμπελος εἴτε κῆπος: τερπωλὴν ὠνόμαζον τὸ δημιούργημα. [36] τοῦτο μέντοι τὸ δῶρον ἱστορήκαμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀνακείμενον ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπετωλίου ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχον Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλέως. ἐτιμήθη δὲ εἶναι πεντακοσίων ταλάντων” Ἀριστόβουλον μὲν οὖν τοῦτο λέγεται πέμψαι τὸν Ἰουδαίων δυνάστην.

(2) [37] Μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἦκον πάλιν πρέσβεις πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀντίπατρος μὲν ὑπὲρ Ὑρκανοῦ, Νικόδημος δὲ ὑπὲρ Ἀριστοβούλου, ὃς δὴ καὶ κατηγόρει τῶν λαβόντων χρήματα Γαβινίου μὲν πρότερον Σκαύρου δὲ ὕστερον, τοῦ μὲν τριακόσια τοῦ δὲ τετρακόσια τάλαντα, πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τούτους ἐχθροὺς αὐτῷ κατασκευάζων. [38] κελεύσας δὲ ἥκειν τοὺς διαμφισβητοῦντας ἐνισταμένου τοῦ ἔαρος ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῶν χειμαδίων ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τῆς Δαμασκηνῆς. καὶ τήν τε ἄκραν ἐν παρόδῳ τὴν ἐν Ἀπαμείᾳ κατέσκαψεν, ἣν ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἐτείχισεν Ἀντίοχος, [39] καὶ τὴν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Μενναίου χώραν κατενόησεν, ἀνδρὸς πονηροῦ καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλάσσονος Διονυσίου τοῦ Τριπολίτου τοῦ πελεκισθέντος, ᾧπερ καὶ κηδεύων ἐτύγχανεν, χιλίοις μέντοι ταλάντοις ἐξωνησαμένου τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων τιμωρίαν, οἷς Πομπήιος τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐμισθοδότησεν. [40] ἐξεῖλεν δὲ καὶ Λυσιάδα χωρίον, οὗ τύραννος ἦν Σίλας ὁ Ἰουδαῖος. διελθὼν δὲ τὰς πόλεις τήν τε Ἡλιούπολιν καὶ τὴν Χαλκίδα καὶ τὸ διεῖργον ὄρος ὑπερβαλὼν τὴν κοίλην προσαγορευομένην Συρίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἦκεν. [41] ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων διήκουσεν καὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων αὐτῶν, οἳ πρός τε ἀλλήλους διεφέροντο Ὑρκανὸς καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος καὶ τὸ ἔθνος πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους, τὸ μὲν οὐκ ἀξιοῦν βασιλεύεσθαι: πάτριον γὰρ εἶναι τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τοῦ τιμωμένου παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς θεοῦ πειθαρχεῖν, ὄντας δὲ τούτους ἀπογόνους τῶν ἱερέων εἰς ἄλλην μετάγειν ἀρχὴν τὸ ἔθνος ζητῆσαι, ὅπως καὶ

δοῦλον γένοιτο. [42] Ὑρκανὸς δὲ κατηγόρει, ὅτι πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἀφαιρεθείη τὸ πρεσβεῖον ὑπὸ Ἀριστοβούλου καὶ μικρὸν ἔχοι μέρος τῆς χώρας ὑφ᾽ αὑτῷ, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην βίᾳ λαβὼν Ἀριστόβουλος: [43] τάς τε καταδρομὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὁμόρους καὶ τὰ πειρατήρια τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν συστήσαντα διέβαλεν, οὐκ ἂν οὐδ᾽ ἀποστῆναι λέγων τὸ ἔθνος αὐτοῦ, εἰ μὴ βίαιός τις καὶ ταραχώδης ὑπῆρχεν. συνηγόρουν δὲ αὐτῷ ταῦτα λέγοντι πλείους ἢ χίλιοι τῶν δοκιμωτάτων Ἰουδαίων Ἀντιπάτρου παρασκευάσαντος. [44] ὁ δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἐκπεσεῖν αὐτὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς τὴν ἐκείνου φύσιν ᾐτιᾶτο ἄπρακτον οὖσαν καὶ διὰ τοῦτ᾽ εὐκαταφρόνητον, αὐτὸν δ᾽ ἔλεγεν φόβῳ τοῦ μὴ πρὸς ἄλλους μεταστῆναι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν ἀνάγκης αὐτὴν ὑπελθεῖν, προσαγορεύεσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦτο ὅπερ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν πατέρα. [45] καὶ δὴ μάρτυρας τούτων ἐκάλει τοὺς νέους καὶ σοβαρωτέρους, ὧν ἐβδελύττοντο τὰς πορφυρίδας καὶ τὰς κόμας καὶ τὰ φάλαρα καὶ τὸν ἄλλον κόσμον, ὃν ὥσπερ οὐ δίκην ὑφέξοντες, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς εἰς πομπὴν προιόντες περιέκειντο.

(3) [46] Πομπήιος δὲ τούτων ἀκούσας καὶ καταγνοὺς Ἀριστοβούλου βίαν, τότε μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀπέπεμψεν διαλεχθεὶς πρᾴως, ἐλθὼν δ᾽ εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἔλεγεν διατάξειν ἕκαστα, ἐπειδὰν τὰ τῶν Ναβαταίων πρῶτον ἴδῃ. τέως δὲ ἐκέλευσεν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν θεραπεύων ἅμα τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον, μὴ τὴν χώραν ἀποστήσῃ καὶ διακλεισθείη τῶν παρόδων. [47] ἔτυχεν μέντοι τοῦτο ἐξ Ἀριστοβούλου γενόμενον: οὐ γὰρ ἀναμείνας οὐδὲν ὧν διελέχθη πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Πομπήιος εἰς Δειλον πόλιν ἦλθεν κἀκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀπῆρεν.

(4) [48] Ὀργίζεται δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Πομπήιος, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ναβαταίους ἀναλαβὼν στρατιὰν ἔκ τε Δαμασκοῦ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Συρίας ἐπικουρικὰ σὺν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίων τάγμασιν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον. [49] ὡς δὲ παραμειψάμενος Πέλλαν καὶ Σκυθόπολιν εἰς Κορέας ἦκεν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ τῆς Ἰουδαίας διεξιόντι τὴν μεσόγειον, ἐνταῦθα εἴς τι περικαλλὲς ἔρυμα ἐπ᾽ ἄκρου τοῦ ὄρους ἱδρυμένον Ἀλεξάνδρειον Ἀριστοβούλου συμπεφευγότος, πέμψας ἐκέλευσεν ἥκειν πρὸς αὐτόν. [50] ὁ δὲ παραινούντων πολλῶν μὴ πολεμεῖν Ῥωμαίοις κάτεισιν καὶ δικαιολογησάμενος πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀναβαίνει Πομπηίου συγχωρήσαντος. [51] καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐποίησεν δὶς καὶ τρίς, ἅμα μὲν κολακεύων τὴν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐλπίδα καὶ πρὸς ἕκαστον ὧν κελεύσειεν Πομπήιος ὑπακούειν ὑποκρινόμενος, ἅμα δὲ ἀναχωρῶν εἰς τὸ ἔρυμα ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ καταλύειν αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν ἀφορμὴν αὐτῷ παρασκευαζόμενος, δεδιὼς μὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς Ὑρκανὸν περιστήσῃ. [52] κελεύοντος δὲ Πομπηίου παραδιδόναι τὰ ἐρύματα καὶ τοῖς φρουράρχοις ἐπιστέλλειν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρί, παραδέχεσθαι δὲ ἄλλως ἀπείρητο, πείθεται μέν, δυσανασχετῶν δ᾽ ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ἐν παρασκευῇ τοῦ πολεμεῖν ἐγίνετο. [53] καὶ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ Πομπηίῳ στρατιὰν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἄγοντι

καθ᾽ ὁδὸν ἀφικόμενοί τινες ἐκ πόντου τὴν Μιθριδάτου τελευτὴν ἐμήνυον τὴν ἐκ Φαρνάκου τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῷ γενομένην.

IV

(1) [54] Στρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ περὶ Ἰεριχοῦντα, οὗ τὸν φοίνικα συμβέβηκε τρέφεσθαι καὶ τὸ ὀποβάλσαμον μύρων ἀκρότατον, ὃ τῶν θάμνων τεμνομένων ὀξεῖ λίθῳ ἀναπιδύει ὥσπερ ὀπός, ἕωθεν ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐχώρει. [55] καὶ μετανοήσας Ἀριστόβουλος ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς Πομπήιον, καὶ χρήματά τε διδοὺς καὶ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις αὐτὸν εἰσδεχόμενος παρεκάλει παύσασθαι τοῦ πολέμου καὶ πράττειν μετ᾽ εἰρήνης ὅ τι βούλεται. συγγνοὺς δὲ ὁ Πομπήιος αὐτῷ δεομένῳ πέμπει Γαβίνιον καὶ στρατιώτας ἐπί τε τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὴν πόλιν. [56] οὐ μὴν ἐπράχθη τι τούτων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπανῆλθεν ὁ Γαβίνιος τῆς τε πόλεως ἀποκλεισθεὶς καὶ τὰ χρήματα μὴ λαβών, τῶν Ἀριστοβούλου στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ἐπιτρεψάντων τὰ συγκείμενα γενέσθαι. [57] ὀργὴ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτοις Πομπήιον λαμβάνει, καὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ἐν φυλακῇ καταστήσας αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔρχεται τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα οὖσαν ὀχυράν, μόνῳ δὲ τῷ βορείῳ μέρει φαύλως ἔχουσαν: περιέρχεται γὰρ αὐτὴν φάραγξ εὐρεῖά τε καὶ βαθεῖα ἐντὸς ἀπολαμβάνουσα τὸ ἱερὸν λιθίνῳ περιβόλῳ καρτερῶς πάνυ τετειχισμένον.

(2) [58] Ἦν δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔνδον στάσις οὐχ ὁμονοούντων περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἐδόκει παραδιδόναι Πομπηίῳ τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ τὰ Ἀριστοβούλου φρονοῦντες ἀποκλείειν τε καὶ πολεμεῖν παρῄνουν τῷ κἀκεῖνον ἔχεσθαι δεδεμένον. φθάσαντες δὲ οὗτοι τὸ ἱερὸν καταλαμβάνουσι καὶ τὴν τείνουσαν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ γέφυραν εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰς πολιορκίαν εὐτρεπιζόμενοι. [59] οἱ δὲ ἕτεροι δεξάμενοι τὴν στρατιὰν ἐνεχείρισαν Πομπηίῳ τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰ βασίλεια. Πομπήιος δὲ Πείσωνα τὸν ὑποστράτηγον πέμψας σὺν στρατιᾷ τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰ βασίλεια ἐφρούρει καὶ τὰς οἰκίας τὰς πρὸς τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ ὅσα ἦν ἔξω περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ὠχύρου. [60] καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον λόγους συμβατηρίους τοῖς ἐντὸς προσέφερεν, οὐχ ὑπακουόντων δὲ εἰς ἃ προεκαλεῖτο τὰ πέριξ ἐτείχιζε χωρία πρὸς ἅπαντα Ὑρκανοῦ προθύμως ὑπηρετοῦντος. Πομπήιος δὲ ἕωθεν στρατοπεδεύεται κατὰ τὸ βόρειον τοῦ ἱεροῦ μέρος, ὅθεν ἦν ἐπίμαχον. [61] ἀνεστήκεσαν δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα μεγάλοι πύργοι καὶ τάφρος τε ὀρώρυκτο καὶ βαθείᾳ περιείχετο φάραγγι: ἀπερρώγει γὰρ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τῆς γεφύρας ἀνατετραμμένης ἐφ᾽ οὗ δὴ Πομπήιος καὶ τὸ χῶμα ὁσημέραι ταλαιπωρούμενος ἐγήγερτο τεμνόντων τὴν πέριξ ὕλην Ῥωμαίων. [62] καὶ ἐπειδὴ τοῦτ᾽ εἶχεν ἱκανῶς μόλις πλησθείσης τῆς τάφρου διὰ βάθος ἄπειρον προσβαλὼν μηχανὰς καὶ ὄργανα ἐκ Τύρου κομισθέντα ἐπιστήσας κατήρασσε τὸ ἱερὸν τοῖς πετροβόλοις. [63] εἰ δὲ μὴ πάτριον ἦν ἡμῖν ἀργεῖν τὰς ἑβδομάδας ἡμέρας, οὐκ ἂν ἠνύσθη τὸ

χῶμα κωλυόντων ἐκείνων: ἄρχοντας μὲν γὰρ μάχης καὶ τύπτοντας ἀμύνασθαι δίδωσιν ὁ νόμος, ἄλλο δέ τι δρῶντας τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἐᾷ.

(3) [64] Ὃ δὴ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι συνιδόντες κατ᾽ ἐκείνας τὰς ἡμέρας, ἃ δὴ σάββατα καλοῦμεν, οὔτ᾽ ἔβαλλον τοὺς Ἰουδαίους οὔτε εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ὑπήντων, χοῦν δὲ καὶ πύργους ἀνίστασαν καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα προσῆγον, ὥστ᾽ αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἐνεργὰ ταῦτ᾽ εἶναι. [65] μάθοι δ᾽ ἄν τις ἐντεῦθεν τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ἧς ἔχομεν περὶ τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβείας καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν νόμων, μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πολιορκίας διὰ φόβον ἐμποδιζομένων πρὸς τὰς ἱερουργίας, ἀλλὰ δὶς τῆς ἡμέρας πρωί τε καὶ περὶ ἑνάτην ὥραν ἱερουργούντων ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ, καὶ μηδὲ εἴ τι περὶ τὰς προσβολὰς δύσκολον εἴη τὰς θυσίας παυόντων. [66] καὶ γὰρ ἁλούσης τῆς πόλεως περὶ τρίτον μῆνα τῇ τῆς νηστείας ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ ἑνάτην καὶ ἑβδομηκοστὴν καὶ ἑκατοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα ὑπατευόντων Γαίου Ἀντωνίου καὶ Μάρκου Τυλλίου Κικέρωνος οἱ πολέμιοι μὲν εἰσπεσόντες ἔσφαττον τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, [67] οἱ δὲ πρὸς ταῖς θυσίαις οὐδὲν ἧττον ἱερουργοῦντες διετέλουν, οὔτε ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου τοῦ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς οὔθ᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἤδη φονευομένων ἀναγκασθέντες ἀποδρᾶναι πᾶν θ᾽ ὅ τι δέοι παθεῖν τοῦτο παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὑπομεῖναι τοῖς βωμοῖς κρεῖττον εἶναι νομίζοντες ἢ παρελθεῖν τι τῶν νομίμων. [68] ὅτι δὲ οὐ λόγος ταῦτα μόνον ἐστὶν ἐγκώμιον ψευδοῦς εὐσεβείας ἐμφανίζων, ἀλλ᾽ ἀλήθεια, μαρτυροῦσι πάντες οἱ τὰς κατὰ Πομπήιον πράξεις ἀναγράψαντες, ἐν οἷς καὶ Στράβων καὶ Νικόλαος καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῖς Τίτος Λίβιος ὁ τῆς Ῥωμαικῆς ἱστορίας συγγραφεύς.

(4) [69] Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ μηχανήματος προσαχθέντος σεισθεὶς ὁ μέγιστος τῶν πύργων κατηνέχθη καὶ παρέρρηξέν τι χωρίον, εἰσεχέοντο μὲν οἱ πολέμιοι, πρῶτος δὲ αὐτῶν Κορνήλιος Φαῦστος Σύλλα παῖς σὺν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώταις ἐπέβη τοῦ τείχους, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Φούριος ἑκατοντάρχης ἅμα τοῖς ἑπομένοις κατὰ θάτερον μέρος, διὰ μέσων δὲ Φάβιος καὶ αὐτὸς ἑκατοντάρχης σὺν στίφει καρτερῷ. [70] φόνου δὲ ἦν τὰ πάντα ἀνάπλεα. καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, οἱ δ᾽ ὑπὸ ἀλλήλων ἀνῃροῦντο, εἰσὶν δ᾽ οἳ καὶ κατὰ κρημνῶν ἑαυτοὺς ἐρρίπτουν καὶ πῦρ ἐνιέντες εἰς τὰς οἰκίας ἐνεπίμπραντο τὰ γινόμενα καρτερεῖν οὐχ ὑπομένοντες. [71] ἔπεσον δὲ τῶν μὲν Ἰουδαίων εἰς μυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους, Ῥωμαίων δὲ πάνυ ὀλίγοι. ἐλήφθη δὲ αἰχμάλωτος καὶ Ἀψάλωμος, θεῖος ἅμα καὶ πενθερὸς Ἀριστοβούλου. παρηνομήθη δὲ οὐ σμικρὰ περὶ τὸν ναὸν ἄβατόν τε ὄντα ἐν τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ καὶ ἀόρατον: [72] παρῆλθεν γὰρ εἰς τὸ ἐντὸς ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ εἶδον ὅσα μὴ θεμιτὸν ἦν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἢ μόνοις τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν. ὄντων δὲ τραπέζης τε χρυσῆς καὶ λυχνίας ἱερᾶς καὶ σπονδείων καὶ πλήθους ἀρωμάτων, χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς ἱερῶν χρημάτων εἰς δύο χιλιάδας ταλάντων, οὐδενὸς ἥψατο δι᾽ εὐσέβειαν, ἀλλὰ κἀν τούτῳ ἀξίως ἔπραξεν τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς. [73] τῇ τε ὑστεραίᾳ καθαίρειν παραγγείλας τὸ ἱερὸν τοῖς ναοπόλοις καὶ τὰ νόμιμα ἐπιφέρειν τῷ θεῷ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀπέδωκεν Ὑρκανῷ διά τε τἆλλα ὅσα χρήσιμος ὑπῆρξεν αὐτῷ, καὶ

ὅτι τοὺς κατὰ τὴν χώραν Ἰουδαίους Ἀριστοβούλῳ συμπολεμεῖν ἐκώλυσεν, καὶ τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ πολέμου τῷ πελέκει διεχρήσατο. τὸν δὲ Φαῦστον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὅσοι τῷ τείχει προθύμως ἐπέβησαν τῶν πρεπόντων ἀριστείων ἠξίωσεν. [74] καὶ τὰ μὲν Ἱεροσόλυμα ὑποτελῆ φόρου Ῥωμαίοις ἐποίησεν, ἃς δὲ πρότερον οἱ ἔνοικοι πόλεις ἐχειρώσαντο τῆς κοίλης Συρίας ἀφελόμενος ὑπὸ τῷ σφετέρῳ στρατηγῷ ἔταξεν καὶ τὸ σύμπαν ἔθνος ἐπὶ μέγα πρότερον αἰρόμενον ἐντὸς τῶν ἰδίων ὅρων συνέστειλεν. [75] καὶ Γάδαρα μὲν μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν καταστραφεῖσαν ἀνέκτισεν Δημητρίῳ χαριζόμενος τῷ Γαδαρεῖ ἀπελευθέρῳ αὐτοῦ: τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς Ἵππον καὶ Σκυθόπολιν καὶ Πέλλαν καὶ Δῖον καὶ Σαμάρειαν ἔτι τε Μάρισαν καὶ Ἄζωτον καὶ Ἰάμνειαν καὶ Ἀρέθουσαν τοῖς οἰκήτορσιν ἀπέδωκεν. [76] καὶ ταύτας μὲν ἐν τῇ μεσογείῳ χωρὶς τῶν κατεσκαμμένων, Γάζαν δὲ πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ Ἰόππην καὶ Δῶρα καὶ Στράτωνος πύργον, ἣ κτίσαντος αὐτὴν Ἡρώδου μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ λιμέσιν τε καὶ ναοῖς κοσμήσαντος, Καισάρεια μετωνομάσθη, πάσας ὁ Πομπήιος ἀφῆκεν ἐλευθέρας καὶ προσένειμεν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ.

(5) [77] Τούτου τοῦ πάθους τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις αἴτιοι κατέστησαν Ὑρκανὸς καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος πρὸς ἀλλήλους στασιάσαντες: τήν τε γὰρ ἐλευθερίαν ἀπεβάλομεν καὶ ὑπήκοοι Ῥωμαίοις κατέστημεν καὶ τὴν χώραν, ἣν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐκτησάμεθα τοὺς Σύρους ἀφελόμενοι, ταύτην ἠναγκάσθημεν ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς Σύροις, [78] καὶ προσέτι πλείω ἢ μύρια τάλαντα Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ παρ᾽ ἡμῶν εἰσεπράξαντο, καὶ ἡ βασιλεία πρότερον τοῖς κατὰ γένος ἀρχιερεῦσιν διδομένη, τιμὴ δημοτικῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐγένετο. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων κατὰ χώραν ἐροῦμεν. [79] Πομπήιος δὲ τήν τε κοίλην ἄλλην Συρίαν ἕως Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ καὶ Αἰγύπτου Σκαύρῳ παραδοὺς καὶ δύο τάγματα Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ Κιλικίας ᾤχετο ἐπειγόμενος εἰς Ῥώμην. ἐπήγετο δὲ μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς καὶ Ἀριστόβουλον δεδεμένον: δύο γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτῷ θυγατέρες καὶ τοσοῦτοι υἱεῖς, ὧν Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ἀπέδρα, ὁ δὲ νεώτερος Ἀντίγονος συναπεκομίζετο εἰς Ῥώμην ἅμα ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς.

V

(1) [80] Σκαύρου δ᾽ ἐπὶ Πέτραν τῆς Ἀραβίας στρατεύσαντος καὶ διὰ τὸ δυσάλωτον εἶναι τὰ ἐν κύκλῳ δηοῦντος αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος λιμήναντος Ἀντίπατρος κατ᾽ ἐντολὴν Ὑρκανοῦ σῖτον ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, ὅσων ἐνέδει, παρεῖχεν. [81] πεμφθεὶς δὲ πρὸς Ἀρέταν πρεσβευτὴς ὑπὸ Σκαύρου διὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ξενίαν πείθει αὐτὸν ἀργύριον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ δηωθῆναι τὴν χώραν δοῦναι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγγυητὴς τριακοσίων ταλάντων γίνεται. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔλυσε τὸν πόλεμον Σκαῦρος οὐχ ἧττον αὐτὸς ἢ συνέβαινεν Ἀρέταν ἐπιθυμεῖν τοῦτο γενέσθαι βουλόμενος.

(2) [82] Χρόνῳ δ᾽ ὕστερον Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν Ἰουδαίαν κατατρέχοντος τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου παιδὸς Γαβίνιος ἐκ Ῥώμης στρατηγὸς εἰς Συρίαν ἦκεν, ὃς ἄλλα

τε λόγου ἄξια διεπράξατο καὶ ἐπ᾽ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐστράτευσεν, μηκέτι Ὑρκανοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου ῥώμην ἀντέχειν δυναμένου, ἀλλ᾽ ἀνεγείρειν ἤδη καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τεῖχος ἐπιχειροῦντος, ὅπερ καθεῖλεν Πομπήιος. [83] ἀλλὰ τούτου μὲν αὐτὸν ἐπέσχον οἱ ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαῖοι. περιιὼν δὲ ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν χώραν πολλοὺς ὥπλιζεν τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ συνέλεξεν ταχὺ μυρίους μὲν ὁπλίτας πεντακοσίους δὲ πρὸς τοῖς χιλίοις ἱππεῖς, Ἀλεξάνδρειόν τε ὠχύρου τὸ πρὸς ταῖς Κορέαις ἔρυμα καὶ Μαχαιροῦντα πρὸς τοῖς Ἀραβίοις ὄρεσιν. [84] ἔρχεται οὖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν Γαβίνιος Μᾶρκον Ἀντώνιον προπέμψας σὺν ἄλλοις ἡγεμόσιν: οἱ δὲ ὁπλίσαντες Ῥωμαίων τοὺς ἑπομένους καὶ σὺν τούτοις τοὺς ὑπηκόους Ἰουδαίους, ὧν Πειθόλαος ἡγεῖτο καὶ Μάλιχος, προσλαβόντες δὲ καὶ τὸ Ἀντιπάτρου ἑταιρικὸν ὑπήντων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ: ἠκολούθει δὲ καὶ Γαβίνιος σὺν τῇ φάλαγγι. [85] καὶ ἀναχωρεῖ μὲν ἐγγὺς Ἱεροσολύμων Ἀλέξανδρος, συμπεσόντων δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἐκεῖ καὶ μάχης γενομένης κτείνουσι μὲν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν πολεμίων περὶ τρισχιλίους, ζωγροῦσι δὲ οὐκ ἔλαττον.

(3) [86] Ἐν τούτῳ Γαβίνιος ἐπ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδρειον ἐλθὼν προυκαλεῖτο τοὺς ἔνδον εἰς διαλύσεις συγγνώσεσθαι περὶ τῶν πρόσθεν αὐτοῖς ἡμαρτημένων ὁμολογῶν. στρατοπεδευομένων δὲ πολλῶν πρὸ τοῦ ἐρύματος πολεμίων, ἐφ᾽ οὓς ἀνῆεσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος ἐπιφανῶς ἀγωνισάμενος καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνας ἔδοξεν ἠριστευκέναι. [87] Γαβίνιος μὲν οὖν μέρος τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐνταυθοῖ καταλιπών, ἕως ἂν ἐκπολιορκηθῇ τὸ χωρίον, αὐτὸς ἐπῄει τὴν ἄλλην Ἰουδαίαν, καὶ ὅσαις ἐπετύγχανεν καθῃρημέναις τῶν πόλεων κτίζειν παρεκελεύετο. [88] καὶ ἀνεκτίσθησαν Σαμάρεια καὶ Ἄζωτος καὶ Σκυθόπολις καὶ Ἀνθηδὼν καὶ Ῥάφεια καὶ Ἄδωρα Μάρισά τε καὶ Γάζα καὶ ἄλλαι οὐκ ὀλίγαι. τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων πειθομένων οἷς ὁ Γαβίνιος προσέταττεν βεβαίως οἰκηθῆναι τότε συνέβαινε τὰς πόλεις πολὺν χρόνον ἐρήμους γενομένας.

(4) [89] Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπάνεισιν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρειον, καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν αὐτοῦ κρατύνοντος διαπρεσβεύεται πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρος συγγινώσκειν τε αὐτῷ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων δεόμενος καὶ παραδιδοὺς τῶν ἐρυμάτων Ὑρκανίαν τε καὶ Μαχαιροῦντα, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειον. [90] καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Γαβίνιος κατέσκαψεν. τῆς δ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδρου μητρὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθούσης, ἣ ἐφρόνει τὰ Ῥωμαίων τοῦ τε ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τέκνων ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐχομένων, συνεχώρησεν αὐτῇ ταῦτα ἅπερ ἠξίου, καὶ διοικησάμενος τὰ πρὸς αὐτὴν Ὑρκανὸν κατήγαγεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα σχήσοντα τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐπιμέλειαν. [91] πέντε δὲ συνέδρια καταστήσας εἰς ἴσας μοίρας διένειμε τὸ ἔθνος, καὶ ἐπολιτεύοντο οἱ μὲν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις οἱ δὲ ἐν Γαδάροις οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἀμαθοῦντι, τέταρτοι δ᾽ ἦσαν ἐν Ἰεριχοῦντι, καὶ τὸ πέμπτον ἐν Σαπφώροις τῆς Γαλιλαίας. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπηλλαγμένοι δυναστείας ἐν ἀριστοκρατίᾳ διῆγον.

VI

(1) [92] Ἀριστοβούλου δὲ διαδράντος ἐκ Ῥώμης εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρειον, ὅπερ ἦν νεωστὶ κατεσκαμμένον, ἀνακτίζειν προαιρουμένου, πέμπει Γαβίνιος ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν στρατιώτας καὶ ἡγεμόνας Σισέννάν τε καὶ Ἀντώνιον καὶ Σερουίλιον κωλύσοντάς τε τὸ χωρίον αὐτὸν κατασχεῖν καὶ συλληψομένους αὐτόν. [93] πολλοὶ δ᾽ Ἀριστοβούλῳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν εὔκλειαν προσέρρεον καὶ δὴ καὶ νεωτέροις χαίροντες ἀεὶ πράγμασιν: Πειθόλαος γοῦν τις ὑποστράτηγος ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὢν μετὰ χιλίων ηὐτομόλησεν πρὸς αὐτόν: [94] οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν προστιθεμένων ἦσαν ἄνοπλοι. διεγνώκει δ᾽ εἰς Μαχαιροῦντα ἀπανίστασθαι Ἀριστόβουλος: τούτους μὲν οὖν ἀπέλυσεν ἀπόρους ὄντας: οὐ γὰρ ἐγίνοντο αὐτῷ χρήσιμοι πρὸς τὰ ἔργα: τοὺς δ᾽ ὡπλισμένους περὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους ὄντας ἀναλαβὼν ᾤχετο. [95] καὶ προσπεσόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων καρτερῶς ἡττῶνται τῇ μάχῃ γενναίως οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ προθύμως ἀγωνισάμενοι, βιασαμένων τε τῶν πολεμίων εἰς φυγὴν τρέπονται. καὶ φονεύονται μὲν αὐτῶν εἰς πεντακισχιλίους, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ σκεδασθέντες ὡς ἐδύναντο σώζειν αὐτοὺς ἐπειρῶντο. [96] χιλίων μέντοι πλείονας ἔχων Ἀριστόβουλος εἰς Μαχαιροῦντα διέφυγεν ὠχύρου τε τὸ χωρίον καὶ πράττων κακῶς οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐλπίδος ἀγαθῆς εἶχετο. δύο δ᾽ ἡμέρας ἀντισχὼν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ καὶ πολλὰ τραύματα λαβὼν αἰχμάλωτος μετ᾽ Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ παιδός, ὃς δὴ καὶ συνέφυγεν ἐκ Ῥώμης αὐτῷ, πρὸς Γαβίνιον ἄγεται. [97] καὶ τοιαύτῃ μὲν Ἀριστόβουλος χρησάμενος τύχῃ πάλιν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀναπέμπεται καὶ δεθεὶς αὐτόθι κατείχετο, βασιλεύσας μὲν καὶ ἀρχιερατεύσας ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἕξ, ἀνὴρ δὲ λαμπρὸς καὶ μεγαλόψυχος γενόμενος. τὰ μέντοι τέκνα αὐτοῦ ἀνῆκεν ἡ σύγκλητος Γαβινίου γράψαντος τοῦθ᾽ ὑπεσχῆσθαι τῇ μητρὶ παραδούσῃ τὰ ἐρύματα. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπανέρχεται.

(2) [98] Γαβινίῳ δὲ ἐπὶ Πάρθους στρατεύοντι καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἤδη πεπεραιωμένῳ μετέδοξεν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὑποστρέψαντι καταστῆσαι Πτολεμαῖον εἰς αὐτήν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται. [99] Γαβινίῳ μέντοι κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν ἣν ἐφ᾽ Ὑρκανὸν ἐστείλατο Ἀντίπατρος ὑπηρέτησεν σῖτον καὶ ὅπλα καὶ χρήματα, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ Πηλούσιον τῶν Ἰουδαίων οὗτος αὐτῷ προσηγάγετο καὶ συμμάχους ἐποίησεν φύλακας ὄντας τῶν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐμβολῶν. [100] ἐπανελθὼν δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καταλαμβάνει τὴν Συρίαν στάσει καὶ ταραχῇ νοσοῦσαν: ὁ γὰρ Ἀριστοβούλου παῖς Ἀλέξανδρος παρελθὼν ἐξ ὑστέρου πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ βίαν πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπέστησεν, στρατεύματι δὲ μεγάλῳ τὴν χώραν ἐπερχόμενος ἔκτεινε πάντας ὅσους ἐπιτύχοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἴς τε ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον Γαριζεὶν συμφυγόντας προσέκειτο πολιορκῶν.

(3) [101] Ὁ δὲ Γαβίνιος τοιαῦτα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν καταλαβὼν Ἀντίπατρον, συνετὸς γὰρ ἦν, πέμπει πρὸς τοὺς νενοσηκότας, εἰ παῦσαι δυνηθείη τῆς

παραφροσύνης αὐτοὺς καὶ πεῖσαι πρὸς τὸν ἀμείνω λογισμὸν ἐπανελθεῖν. [102] ὁ δ' ἐλθὼν πολλοὺς μὲν ἐσωφρόνισεν καὶ προσηγάγετο τῷ δέοντι, τὸν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκ ἠδυνήθη κατασχεῖν: στρατοῦ γὰρ ἔχων οὗτος μυριάδας τρεῖς Ἰουδαίων ἀπήντησεν Γαβινίῳ καὶ συμβαλὼν ἡττᾶται πεσόντων αὐτῷ μυρίων περὶ τὸ Ἰταβύριον ὄρος.

(4) [103] Καταστησάμενος δὲ Γαβίνιος τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν, ὡς ἦν Ἀντιπάτρῳ θέλοντι, ἐπὶ τὴν Ναβαταίων ἔρχεται, καὶ κρατεῖ μὲν τούτων τῇ μάχῃ, Πάρθων δὲ φυγάδας Μιθριδάτην καὶ Ὀρσάνην ἐλθόντας προύπεμψεν, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ ἀπέδρασαν αὐτόν. [104] καὶ Γαβίνιος μὲν ἔργα μεγάλα καὶ λαμπρὰ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν δράσας ἀπῆρεν εἰς Ῥώμην Κράσσῳ παραδοὺς τὴν ἀρχήν. περὶ δὲ τῆς Πομπηίου καὶ Γαβινίου στρατείας ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίους γράφει Νικόλαος ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς καὶ Στράβων ὁ Καππάδοξ οὐδὲν ἕτερος ἑτέρου καινότερον λέγων.

VII

(1) [105] Κράσσος δὲ ἐπὶ Πάρθους μέλλων στρατεύειν ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ χρήματα, ἃ Πομπήιος καταλελοίπει, δισχίλια δ' ἦν τάλαντα, βαστάσας οἷός τε ἦν καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν ἅπαντα, τάλαντα δ' οὗτος ἦν ὀκτακισχίλια, περιδύειν τοῦ ναοῦ. [106] λαμβάνει δὲ καὶ δοκὸν ὁλοσφύρητον χρυσῆν ἐκ μνῶν τριακοσίων πεποιημένην: ἡ δὲ μνᾶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἰσχύει λίτρας δύο ἥμισυ. παρέδωκε δ' αὐτῷ ταύτην τὴν δοκὸν ὁ τῶν χρημάτων φύλαξ ἱερεὺς Ἐλεάζαρος ὄνομα, οὐ διὰ πονηρίαν, [107] ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ἦν καὶ δίκαιος, ἀλλὰ πεπιστευμένος τὴν τῶν καταπετασμάτων τοῦ ναοῦ φυλακὴν ὄντων θαυμασίων τὸ κάλλος καὶ πολυτελῶν τὴν κατασκευὴν ἐκ δὲ τῆς δοκοῦ ταύτης κρεμαμένων, ἐπεὶ τὸν Κράσσον ἑώρα περὶ τὴν τοῦ χρυσίου γινόμενον συλλογήν, δείσας περὶ τῷ παντὶ κόσμῳ [καὶ] τοῦ ναοῦ τὴν δοκὸν αὐτῷ τὴν χρυσῆν λύτρον ἀντὶ πάντων ἔδωκεν, [108] ὅρκους παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβὼν μηδὲν ἄλλο κινήσειν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ, μόνῳ δὲ ἀρκεσθήσεσθαι τῷ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δοθησομένῳ πολλῶν ὄντι μυριάδων ἀξίῳ. ἡ δὲ δοκὸς αὕτη ἦν ἐν ξυλίνῃ δοκῷ κενῇ, καὶ τοῦτο τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐλάνθανεν ἅπαντας, ὁ δὲ Ἐλεάζαρος μόνος ἠπίστατο. [109] ὁ μέντοι Κράσσος καὶ ταύτην ὡς οὐδενὸς ἀψόμενος ἄλλου τῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ λαμβάνει, καὶ παραβὰς τοὺς ὅρκους ἅπαντα τὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ χρυσὸν ἐξεφόρησεν.

(2) [110] Θαυμάσῃ δὲ μηδείς, εἰ τοσοῦτος ἦν πλοῦτος ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ἱερῷ πάντων τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην Ἰουδαίων καὶ σεβομένων τὸν θεὸν ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης εἰς αὐτὸ συμφερόντων ἐκ πολλῶν πάνυ χρόνων. [111] οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ἀμάρτυρον τὸ μέγεθος τῶν προειρημένων χρημάτων, οὐδ' ὑπὸ ἀλαζονείας ἡμετέρας καὶ περιττολογίας ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξαίρεται πλῆθος, ἀλλὰ πολλοί τε ἄλλοι τῶν συγγραφέων ἡμῖν μαρτυροῦσιν καὶ Στράβων ὁ Καππάδοξ λέγων οὕτως: [112] "πέμψας δὲ Μιθριδάτης [εἰς Κῶ] ἔλαβε τὰ

χρήματα, ἃ παρέθετο ἐκεῖ Κλεοπάτρα βασίλισσα, καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὀκτα [113] κόσια τάλαντα.” ἡμῖν δὲ δημόσια χρήματα οὐκ ἔστιν ἢ μόνα τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ δῆλον, ὅτι ταῦτα μετήνεγκαν εἰς Κῶ τὰ χρήματα οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἰουδαῖοι διὰ τὸν Μιθριδάτου φόβον: οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ πόλιν τε ὀχυρὰν ἔχοντας καὶ τὸν ναὸν πέμπειν χρήματα εἰς Κῶ, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ κατοικοῦντας Ἰουδαίους πιθανὸν τοῦτ᾽ ἐστὶ ποιῆσαι μηδὲν Μιθριδάτην δεδιότας. [114] μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ τόπῳ ὁ αὐτὸς Στράβων, ὅτι καθ᾽ ὃν καιρὸν διέβη Σύλλας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πολεμήσων Μιθριδάτῃ καὶ Λεύκολλον πέμψας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν Κυρήνῃ στάσιν Τοῦ ἔθνους ἡμῶν ἡ οἰκουμένη πεπλήρωτο, λέγων οὕτως: [115] “τέτταρες δ᾽ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Κυρηναίων, ἥ τε τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ ἡ τῶν γεωργῶν τρίτη δ᾽ ἡ τῶν μετοίκων τετάρτη δ᾽ ἡ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. αὕτη δ᾽ εἰς πᾶσαν πόλιν ἤδη καὶ παρελήλυθεν καὶ τόπον οὐκ ἔστι ῥᾳδίως εὑρεῖν τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὃς οὐ παραδέδεκται τοῦτο τὸ φῦλον μηδ᾽ ἐπικρατεῖται ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ. [116] τήν τε Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὴν Κυρηναίων ἅτε τῶν αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνων τυχοῦσαν τῶν τε ἄλλων συχνὰ ζηλῶσαι συνέβη καὶ δὴ τὰ συντάγματα τῶν Ἰουδαίων θρέψαι διαφερόντως καὶ συναυξῆσαι χρώμενα τοῖς πατρίοις τῶν Ἰουδαίων νόμοις. [117] ἐν γοῦν Αἰγύπτῳ κατοικία τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐστὶν ἀποδεδειγμένη χωρὶς καὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλεως ἀφώρισται μέγα μέρος τῷ ἔθνει τούτῳ. καθίσταται δὲ καὶ ἐθνάρχης αὐτῶν, ὃς διοικεῖ τε τὸ ἔθνος καὶ διαιτᾷ κρίσεις καὶ συμβολαίων ἐπιμελεῖται καὶ προσταγμάτων, ὡς ἂν πολιτείας ἄρχων αὐτοτελοῦς. [118] ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μὲν οὖν ἴσχυσε τὸ ἔθνος διὰ τὸ Αἰγυπτίους εἶναι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καὶ διὰ τὸ πλησίον ἔσεσθαι τὴν κατοικίαν τοὺς ἀπελθόντας ἐκεῖθεν, εἰς δὲ τὴν Κυρηναίαν μετέβη διὰ τὸ καὶ ταύτην ὅμορον εἶναι τῇ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων [ἀρχῇ] καθάπερ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης πρότερον.” Στράβων μὲν δὴ ταῦτα λέγει.

(3) [119] Κράσσος δὲ πάντα διοικήσας ὃν αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο τρόπον ἐξώρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Παρθυαίαν: καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν σὺν ἅπαντι διεφθάρη τῷ στρατῷ, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται, Κάσσιος δὲ εἰς Συρίαν φυγὼν καὶ περιποιησάμενος αὐτὴν Πάρθοις ἐμποδὼν ἦν ἐκτρέχουσιν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν διὰ τὴν κατὰ Κράσσου νίκην. [120] αὖθις δ᾽ εἰς Τύρον ἀφικόμενος ἀνέβη καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν. Ταριχέας μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς προσπεσὼν αἱρεῖ καὶ περὶ τρισμυρίους ἀνθρώπους ἀνδραποδίζει, Πειθόλαον δὲ τὸν τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου στάσιν διαδεδεγμένον κτείνει πρὸς τοῦτ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἀντιπάτρου παραστησαμένου, [121] ᾧ πολύ τε καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτῷ συνέβαινε δύνασθαι καὶ πλείστου τότε ἄξιος ἦν καὶ παρὰ Ἰουδαίων οἷς παρὼν ἄγεται γυναῖκα τῶν ἐπισήμων ἐξ Ἀραβίας Κύπρον ὄνομα, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ τέσσαρες ἐγένοντο παῖδες, Φασάηλος καὶ Ἡρώδης, ὃς ὕστερον βασιλεὺς γίνεται, Ἰώσηπός τε καὶ Φερώρας, θυγάτηρ τε Σαλώμη. [122] οὗτος ὁ Ἀντίπατρος ἐπεποίητο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους δυνάστας φιλίαν τε καὶ ξενίαν, μάλιστα δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀράβων, ᾧ καὶ τὰ τέκνα πολεμῶν πρὸς Ἀριστόβουλον παρέθετο. Κάσσιος μὲν οὖν

ἀναστρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἠπείγετο ὑπαντιάσων τοῖς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιοῦσιν, ὡς καὶ ὑπ᾽ ἄλλων δεδήλωται.

(4) [123] Χρόνῳ δ᾽ ὕστερον Καῖσαρ κατασχὼν Ῥώμην μετὰ τὸ Πομπήιον καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον φυγεῖν πέραν τοῦ Ἰονίου παραλύσας τῶν δεσμῶν Ἀριστόβουλον εἰς Συρίαν πέμπειν διεγνώκει δύο παραδοὺς αὐτῷ τάγματα, ὡς ἂν εὐτρεπίζοι τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτὴν δυνατὸς ὤν. [124] Ἀριστόβουλος δ᾽ οὐκ ὤνατο τῶν ἐλπίδων, ἐφ᾽ αἷς ἔτυχε τῆς παρὰ Καίσαρος ἐξουσίας, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸν φθάσαντες οἱ τὰ Πομπηίου φρονοῦντες φαρμάκῳ διαφθείρουσιν, θάπτουσι δ᾽ αὐτὸν οἱ τὰ Καίσαρος θεραπεύοντες πράγματα, καὶ ὁ νεκρὸς ἔκειτο ἐν μέλιτι κεκηδευμένος ἐπὶ χρόνον πολὺν ἕως Ἀντώνιος αὐτὸν ὕστερον ἀποπέμψας εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐν ταῖς βασιλικαῖς θήκαις ἐποίησεν τεθῆναι. [125] Σκιπίων δ᾽ ἐπιστείλαντος αὐτῷ Πομπηίου ἀποκτεῖναι Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀριστοβούλου αἰτιασάμενος τὸν νεανίσκον ἐπὶ τοῖς τὸ πρῶτον εἰς Ῥωμαίους ἐξημαρτημένοις τῷ πελέκει διεχρήσατο. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τελευτᾷ. [126] τοὺς δ᾽ ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Μενναίου παρέλαβεν δυναστεύων Χαλκίδος τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ Λιβάνῳ ὄρει, καὶ πέμψας τὸν υἱὸν Φιλιππίωνα εἰς Ἀσκάλωνα παρὰ τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου γυναῖκα ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῇ συναποστέλλειν τὸν υἱὸν Ἀντίγονον καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας, ὧν τῆς ἑτέρας ἐρασθεὶς Ἀλεξάνδρας ὁ Φιλιππίων ἄγεται γυναῖκα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνελὼν αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ Πτολεμαῖος γαμεῖ τε τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτῆς πρόνοιαν ποιούμενος διετέλει.

VIII

(1) [127] Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Πομπηίου θάνατον καὶ τὴν νίκην τὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ Καίσαρι πολεμοῦντι κατ᾽ Αἴγυπτον πολλὰ χρήσιμον αὐτὸν παρέσχεν Ἀντίπατρος ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπιμελητὴς ἐξ ἐντολῆς Ὑρκανοῦ. [128] Μιθριδάτῃ τε γὰρ τῷ Περγαμηνῷ κομίζοντι ἐπικουρικὸν καὶ ἀδυνάτως ἔχοντι διὰ Πηλουσίου ποιήσασθαι τὴν πορείαν, περὶ δὲ Ἀσκάλωνα διατρίβοντι, ἦκεν Ἀντίπατρος ἄγων Ἰουδαίων ὁπλίτας τρισχιλίους ἐξ Ἀραβίας τε συμμάχους ἐλθεῖν ἐπραγματεύσατο τοὺς ἐν τέλει: [129] καὶ δι᾽ αὐτὸν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν ἅπαντες ἐπεκούρουν ἀπολείπεσθαι τῆς ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος προθυμίας οὐ θέλοντες, Ἰάμβλιχός τε ὁ δυνάστης καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Σοαίμου Λίβανον ὄρος οἰκῶν αἵ τε πόλεις σχεδὸν ἅπασαι. [130] Μιθριδάτης δὲ ἄρας ἐκ Συρίας εἰς Πηλούσιον ἀφικνεῖται καὶ μὴ δεχομένων αὐτὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν. ἠρίστευσε δὲ Ἀντίπατρος κατασύρας τι τοῦ τείχους καὶ ὁδὸν εἰσπεσεῖν παρέσχετο τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰς τὴν πόλιν. [131] καὶ τὸ μὲν Πηλούσιον οὕτως εἶχεν. τοὺς δὲ περὶ Ἀντίπατρον καὶ Μιθριδάτην ἀπιόντας πρὸς Καίσαρα διεκώλυον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι οἱ τὴν Ὀνίου [χώραν] λεγομένην κατοικοῦντες. πείθει δὲ καὶ τούτους τὰ αὐτῶν φρονῆσαι κατὰ τὸ ὁμόφυλον Ἀντίπατρος καὶ μάλιστα ἐπιδείξας αὐτοῖς τὰς Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ

ἀρχιερέως ἐπιστολάς, ἐν αἷς αὐτοὺς φίλους εἶναι Καίσαρος παρεκάλει καὶ ξένια καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια χορηγεῖν τῷ στρατῷ. [132] καὶ οἱ μὲν ὡς ἑώρων Ἀντίπατρον καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα συνθέλοντας ὑπήκουον. τούτους δὲ προσθεμένους ἀκούσαντες οἱ περὶ Μέμφιν ἐκάλουν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην πρὸς ἑαυτούς: κἀκεῖνος ἐλθὼν καὶ τούτους παραλαμβάνει.

(2) [133] Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ καλούμενον Δέλτα ἤδη περιεληλύθει, συμβάλλει τοῖς πολεμίοις περὶ τὸ καλούμενον Ἰουδαίων στρατόπεδον. εἶχε δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας Μιθριδάτης, τὸ δ' εὐώνυμον Ἀντίπατρος. [134] συμπεσόντων δὲ εἰς μάχην κλίνεται τὸ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου κέρας καὶ παθεῖν ἂν ἐκινδύνευσεν τὰ δεινότατα, εἰ μὴ παρὰ τὴν ᾐόνα τοῦ ποταμοῦ σὺν τοῖς οἰκείοις στρατιώταις Ἀντίπατρος παραθέων νενικηκὼς ἤδη τοὺς πολεμίους τὸν μὲν ῥύεται, προτρέπει δ' εἰς φυγὴν τοὺς νενικηκότας Αἰγυπτίους. [135] αἱρεῖ δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπιμείνας τῇ διώξει, τόν τε Μιθριδάτην ἐκάλει πλεῖστον ἐν τῇ τροπῇ διασχόντα. ἔπεσον δὲ τῶν μὲν περὶ τοῦτον ὀκτακόσιοι, τῶν δ' Ἀντιπάτρου πεντήκοντα. [136] Μιθριδάτης δὲ περὶ τούτων ἐπιστέλλει Καίσαρι τῆς τε νίκης αὐτοῖς ἅμα καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αἴτιον τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ἀποφαίνων, ὥστε τὸν Καίσαρα τότε μὲν ἐπαινεῖν αὐτόν, κεχρῆσθαι δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν πόλεμον εἰς τὰ κινδυνωδέστατα τῷ Ἀντιπάτρῳ: καὶ δὴ καὶ τρωθῆναι συνέβη παρὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας αὐτῷ.

(3) [137] Καταλύσας μέντοι Καῖσαρ μετὰ χρόνον τὸν πόλεμον καὶ εἰς Συρίαν ἀποπλεύσας ἐτίμησεν μεγάλως, Ὑρκανῷ μὲν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην βεβαιώσας, Ἀντιπάτρῳ δὲ πολιτείαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ δοὺς καὶ ἀτέλειαν πανταχοῦ. [138] λέγεται δ' ὑπὸ πολλῶν Ὑρκανὸν ταύτης κοινωνῆσαι τῆς στρατείας καὶ ἐλθεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, μαρτυρεῖ δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ καὶ Στράβων ὁ Καππάδοξ λέγων ἐξ Ἀσινίου ὀνόματος οὕτως: "μετὰ τὸν Μιθριδάτην εἰσβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον [139] καὶ Ὑρκανὸν τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέα." ὁ δ' αὐτὸς οὗτος Στράβων καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις πάλιν ἐξ Ὑψικράτους ὀνόματος λέγει οὕτως: "τὸν δὲ Μιθριδάτην ἐξελθεῖν μόνον, κληθέντα δ' εἰς Ἀσκάλωνα Ἀντίπατρον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπιμελητὴν τρισχιλίους αὐτῷ στρατιώτας συμπαρασκευάσαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δυνάστας προτρέψαι, κοινωνῆσαι δὲ τῆς στρατείας καὶ Ὑρκανὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα." ταῦτα μὲν Στράβων φησίν.

(4) [140] Ἐλθὼν δὲ καὶ Ἀντίγονος ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου πρὸς Καίσαρα τήν τε τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπωδύρετο τύχην καὶ ὡς δι' αὐτὸν ἀποθάνοι φαρμάκοις ἀναιρεθεὶς Ἀριστόβουλος καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ κτείναντος πελέκει Σκιπίωνος, ἐδεῖτό τε λαβεῖν οἶκτον αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκβεβλημένου, Ὑρκανοῦ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ Ἀντιπάτρου κατηγόρει βιαίως ἐξηγουμένων τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν παρανομησάντων. [141] παρὼν δ' Ἀντίπατρος ἀπελογεῖτο μὲν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἑώρα τὴν κατηγορίαν κατ' αὐτοῦ γεγενημένην, νεωτεριστὰς δ' ἀπέφαινε τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον καὶ στασιώδεις, ὅσα τε πονήσειεν αὐτὸς καὶ συνεργήσειεν ὑπεμίμνησκεν ἐπὶ τοῖς στρατεύμασιν Ποιούμενος τοὺς λόγους ὧν αὐτὸς ἦν

μάρτυς. [142] δικαίως τε ἔλεγεν Ἀριστόβουλον μὲν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνάσπαστον γεγονέναι πολέμιον ἀεὶ καὶ μηδέποτε εὔνουν ὑπάρξαντα Ῥωμαίοις, τὸν δ' ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ κολασθέντα ἐπὶ λῃστείᾳ ὑπὸ Σκιπίωνος τυχεῖν ὧν ἄξιος ἦν, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ βίαν καὶ ἀδικίαν τοῦτο παθεῖν τοῦ δράσαντος.

(5) [143] Τούτους Ἀντιπάτρου ποιησαμένου τοὺς λόγους Καῖσαρ Ὑρκανὸν μὲν ἀποδείκνυσιν ἀρχιερέα, Ἀντιπάτρῳ δ' ἐφίησιν δυναστείαν ἣν αὐτὸς προαιρεῖται. τούτου δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ποιησαμένου τὴν κρίσιν, ἐπίτροπον αὐτὸν ἀποδείκνυσιν τῆς Ἰουδαίας. [144] ἐπιτρέπει δὲ καὶ Ὑρκανῷ τὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἀναστῆσαι τείχη ταύτην αἰτησαμένῳ τὴν χάριν: ἔτι γὰρ ἐρήριπτο Πομπηίου καταβαλόντος: καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιστέλλει τοῖς ὑπάτοις εἰς Ῥώμην ἀναγράψαι ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ. καὶ τὸ γενόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον: [145] "Λεύκιος Οὐαλέριος Λευκίου υἱὸς στρατηγὸς συνεβουλεύσατο τῇ συγκλήτῳ εἴδοις Δεκεμβρίαις ἐν τῷ τῆς Ὁμονοίας ναῷ. γραφομένῳ τῷ δόγματι παρῆσαν Λούκιος Κωπώνιος Λευκίου υἱὸς Κολλίνα καὶ Παπείριος Κυρίνα. [146] περὶ ὧν Ἀλέξανδρος Ἰάσονος καὶ Νουμήνιος Ἀντιόχου καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος Δωροθέου Ἰουδαίων πρεσβευταί, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ σύμμαχοι διελέχθησαν ἀνανεούμενοι τὰς προυπηργμένας πρὸς Ῥωμαίους χάριτας καὶ τὴν φιλίαν, [147] καὶ ἀσπίδα χρυσῆν σύμβολον τῆς συμμαχίας γενομένην ἀνήνεγκαν ἀπὸ χρυσῶν μυριάδων πέντε, καὶ γράμματ' αὐτοῖς ἠξίωσαν δοθῆναι πρός τε τὰς αὐτονομουμένας πόλεις καὶ πρὸς βασιλεῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς λιμένας ἀδείας τυγχάνειν καὶ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖσθαι, [148] ἔδοξεν συνθέσθαι φιλίαν καὶ χάριτας πρὸς αὐτούς, καὶ ὅσων ἐδεήθησαν τυχεῖν ταῦτ' αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν καὶ τὴν κομισθεῖσαν ἀσπίδα προσδέξασθαι." ταῦτα ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Ὑρκανοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ ἐθνάρχου ἔτους ἑνάτου μηνὸς Πανέμου.

[149] Εὔρατο δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δήμου τιμὰς Ὑρκανὸς πολλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς αὐτοὺς χρήσιμος γενόμενος, ἔπεμψάν τε αὐτῷ ψήφισμα τοῦτον περιέχον τὸν τρόπον: "ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως καὶ ἱερέως Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου μηνὸς Πανέμου πέμπτῃ ἀπιόντος ἐπεδόθη [τοῖς στρατηγοῖς] ψήφισμα Ἀθηναίων. [150] ἐπὶ Ἀγαθοκλέους ἄρχοντος Εὐκλῆς Μενάνδρου Ἀλιμούσιος ἐγραμμάτευε Μουνυχιῶνος ἑνδεκάτῃ τῆς πρυτανείας ἐκκλησίας ἀγομένης ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν Δωρόθεος Ἐρχιεὺς καὶ οἱ συμπρόεδροι Τῷ δήμῳ, Διονύσιος Διονυσίου εἶπεν: [151] ἐπειδὴ Ὑρκανὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ ἐθνάρχης τῶν Ἰουδαίων διατελεῖ κοινῇ τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ἰδίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν ἑκάστῳ εὔνους ὢν καὶ πάσῃ χρώμενος περὶ αὐτοὺς σπουδῇ καὶ τοὺς παραγινομένους Ἀθηναίων ἢ κατὰ πρεσβείαν ἢ κατ' ἰδίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑποδέχεται φιλοφρόνως καὶ προπέμπει τῆς ἀσφαλοῦς αὐτῶν ἐπανόδου προνοούμενος, [152] ἐμαρτυρήθη μὲν καὶ πρότερον περὶ τούτων, δεδόχθαι δὲ καὶ νῦν Διονυσίου τοῦ Θεοδώρου Σουνιέως εἰσηγησαμένου καὶ περὶ τῆς τἀνδρὸς ἀρετῆς ὑπομνήσαντος τὸν δῆμον, καὶ ὅτι προαίρεσιν ἔχει ποιεῖν ἡμᾶς ὅ τι ποτ' ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθόν, [153] τιμῆσαι τὸν

ἄνδρα χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀριστείῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον, καὶ στῆσαι αὐτοῦ εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Δήμου καὶ τῶν Χαρίτων, ἀνειπεῖν δὲ τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγῳδῶν τῶν καινῶν ἀγομένων καὶ Παναθηναίων καὶ Ἐλευσινίων καὶ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν, [154] ἐπιμεληθῆναι δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς διαμένοντί τε αὐτῷ καὶ φυλάττοντι τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὔνοιαν εἶναι πᾶν ὅ τι ἂν ἐπινοήσωμεν εἰς τιμὴν καὶ χάριν τῆς τἀνδρὸς σπουδῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας, ἵνα τούτων γινομένων φαίνηται ὁ δῆμος ἡμῶν ἀποδεχόμενος τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τῆς προσηκούσης ἀμοιβῆς ἀξιῶν καὶ ζηλώσῃ τὴν περὶ ἡμᾶς σπουδὴν τῶν ἤδη τετιμημένων: [155] ἐλέσθαι δὲ καὶ πρέσβεις ἐξ ἁπάντων Ἀθηναίων, οἵτινες τὸ ψήφισμά τε αὐτῷ κομιοῦσι καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν προσδεξάμενον τὰς τιμὰς πειρᾶσθαί τι ποιεῖν ἀγαθὸν ἡμῶν ἀεὶ τὴν πόλιν.” αἱ μὲν οὖν παρὰ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων τιμαὶ πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ διὰ τούτων ἡμῖν δεδήλωνται.

IX

(1) [156] Καῖσαρ δὲ διοικήσας τὰ κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν ἀπέπλευσεν. ὡς δὲ Καίσαρα προπέμψας ἐκ τῆς Συρίας Ἀντίπατρος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὑπέστρεψεν, ἀνεγείρει μὲν εὐθὺς τὸ τεῖχος ὑπὸ Πομπηίου καθῃρημένον καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὴν χώραν θόρυβον ἐπιὼν κατέστελλεν, ἀπειλῶν τε ἅμα καὶ συμβουλεύων ἠρεμεῖν: [157] τοὺς μὲν γὰρ τὰ Ὑρκανοῦ φρονοῦντας ἐν εὐδίᾳ διάξειν καὶ βιώσεσθαι τῶν ἰδίων ἀπολαύοντας κτημάτων ἀταράχως, προστιθεμένους δὲ ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ νεωτερίζειν ἐλπίσιν καὶ τοῖς ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν κέρδεσιν προσανέχοντας αὐτὸν μὲν ἕξειν ἀντὶ προστάτου δεσπότην, Ὑρκανὸν δὲ ἀντὶ βασιλέως τύραννον, Ῥωμαίους δὲ καὶ Καίσαρα πικροὺς ἀνθ᾽ ἡγεμόνων πολεμίους: οὐ γὰρ ἀνέξεσθαι μετακινούμενον ὃν αὐτοὶ κατέστησαν. ταῦτα λέγων καθίστα τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν.

(2) [158] Βραδὺν δ᾽ ὁρῶν καὶ νωθῆ τὸν Ὑρκανὸν Φασάηλον μὲν τὸν πρεσβύτατον τῶν παίδων Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τῶν πέριξ στρατηγὸν ἀποδείκνυσιν, τῷ δὲ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἡρώδῃ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐπέτρεψεν νέῳ παντάπασιν ὄντι: πεντεκαίδεκα γὰρ ἐγεγόνει μόνα ἔτη. [159] βλάπτει δὲ οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἡ νεότης, ἀλλ᾽ ὢν τὸ φρόνημα γενναῖος ὁ νεανίας ἀφορμὴν εὑρίσκει παραχρῆμα εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τῆς ἀρετῆς. καταλαβὼν γὰρ Ἐζεκίαν τὸν ἀρχιλῃστὴν τὰ προσεχῆ τῆς Συρίας κατατρέχοντα σὺν μεγάλῳ στίφει, τοῦτον συλλαβὼν κτείνει καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ λῃστῶν. [160] σφόδρα δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἠγάπησαν οἱ Σύροι: ποθοῦσι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀπηλλάχθαι τοῦ λῃστηρίου τὴν χώραν ἐκαθάρευσεν. ὕμνουν γοῦν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ κατά τε κώμας καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ὡς εἰρήνην αὐτοῖς παρεσχηκότα καὶ ἀσφαλῆ τῶν κτημάτων ἀπόλαυσιν. ἐγένετο δὲ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Σέξστῳ Καίσαρι γνώριμος ὄντι συγγενεῖ τοῦ μεγάλου Καίσαρος καὶ διέποντι τὴν Συρίαν. [161] ζῆλος δ᾽ ἐμπίπτει τῶν Ἡρώδῃ πεπραγμένων Φασαήλῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ,

καὶ πρὸς τὴν εὐδοκίμησιν αὐτοῦ κινηθεὶς ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο μὴ ἀπολειφθῆναι τῆς ὁμοίας εὐφημίας, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις εὐνουστέρους ἐποιεῖτο, δι᾽ αὐτοῦ μὲν ἔχων τὴν πόλιν, οὔτε δὲ ἀπειροκάλως τοῖς πράγμασι προσφερόμενος οὔτ᾽ ἐξυβρίζων εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν. [162] ταῦτ᾽ Ἀντίπατρον ἐποίει θεραπείας παρὰ τοῦ ἔθνους τυγχάνειν βασιλικῆς καὶ τιμῶν οἵων ἄν τις μεταλαμβάνοι τῶν ὅλων ὢν δεσπότης. ὑπὸ μέντοι τῆς ἐκ τούτων λαμπρότητος οὐδὲν οἷα φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν πολλάκις τῆς πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν εὐνοίας παρέβη καὶ πίστεως.

(3) [163] Οἱ δ᾽ ἐν τέλει τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὁρῶντες τὸν Ἀντίπατρον καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ μεγάλως αὐξανομένους εὐνοίᾳ τε τῇ παρὰ τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ προσόδῳ τῇ τε παρὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τῶν Ὑρκανοῦ χρημάτων, κακοήθως εἶχον πρὸς αὐτόν: [164] καὶ γὰρ φιλίαν ὁ Ἀντίπατρος ἦν πεποιημένος πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορας καὶ χρήματα πείσας πέμψαι τὸν Ὑρκανὸν αὐτὸς λαβὼν νοσφίζεται τὴν δωρεάν: ὡς ἰδίαν γὰρ ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ ὡς Ὑρκανοῦ διδόντος ἔπεμψεν. [165] ταῦθ᾽ Ὑρκανὸς ἀκούων οὐκ ἐφρόντιζεν, ἐν δέει δὲ ἦσαν οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὁρῶντες τὸν Ἡρώδην βίαιον καὶ τολμηρὸν καὶ τυραννίδος γλιχόμενον: καὶ προσελθόντες Ὑρκανῷ φανερῶς ἤδη κατηγόρουν Ἀντιπάτρου, καί “μέχρι πότε, ἔφασαν, ἐπὶ τοῖς πραττομένοις ἡσυχάσεις; ἢ οὐχ ὁρᾷς Ἀντίπατρον μὲν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν διεζωσμένους, σαυτὸν μέντοι τῆς βασιλείας ὄνομα μόνον ἀκούοντα; [166] ἀλλὰ μὴ λανθανέτω σε ταῦτα μηδὲ ἀκίνδυνος εἶναι νόμιζε ῥαθυμῶν περί τε σαυτῷ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ: οὐ γὰρ ἐπίτροποί σοι τῶν πραγμάτων Ἀντίπατρος καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ νῦν εἰσιν, μηδὲ ἀπάτα σαυτὸν τοῦτο οἰόμενος, ἀλλὰ δεσπόται φανερῶς ἀνωμολόγηνται: [167] καὶ γὰρ Ἡρώδης ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Ἐζεκίαν ἀπέκτεινεν καὶ πολλοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ παραβὰς τὸν ἡμέτερον νόμον, ὃς κεκώλυκεν ἄνθρωπον ἀναιρεῖν καὶ πονηρὸν ὄντα, εἰ μὴ πρότερον κατακριθείη τοῦτο παθεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ συνεδρίου. μὴ λαβὼν δὲ ἐξουσίαν παρὰ σοῦ ταῦτα ἐτόλμησεν.”

(4) [168] Ὑρκανὸς δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα πείθεται: προσεξῆψαν δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ αἱ μητέρες τῶν ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου πεφονευμένων: αὗται γὰρ καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ παρακαλοῦσαι τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν δῆμον, ἵνα δίκην Ἡρώδης ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῶν πεπραγμένων ὑπόσχῃ, διετέλουν. [169] κινηθεὶς οὖν ὑπὸ τούτων Ὑρκανὸς Ἡρώδην ἐκάλει δικασόμενον ὑπὲρ ὧν διεβάλλετο. ὁ δὲ ἦκεν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ παραινέσαντος μὴ ὡς ἰδιώτῃ μετὰ δ᾽ ἀσφαλείας εἰσελθεῖν καὶ φυλακῆς τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα, τά τε κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ὡς ἐνόμισεν αὐτῷ συμφέρειν ἀσφαλίσασθαι. τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἁρμοσάμενος καὶ μετὰ στίφους ἀποχρῶντος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν ὁδόν, ὡς μήτε ἐπίφοβος Ὑρκανῷ δόξειε μετὰ μείζονος παραγενόμενος τάγματος μήτε γυμνὸς καὶ ἀφύλακτος, ᾔει πρὸς τὴν δίκην. [170] Σέξτος μέντοι ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμὼν γράφει παρακαλῶν Ὑρκανὸν ἀπολῦσαι τὸν Ἡρώδην ἐκ τῆς δίκης καὶ προσαπειλῶν παρακούσαντι. τῷ δ᾽ ἦν ἀφορμὴ τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Σέξτου γράμμα πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου παθόντα

ἀπολῦσαι τὸν Ἡρώδην: ἠγάπα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὡς υἱόν. [171] καταστὰς δὲ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ μετὰ τοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ τάγματος Ἡρώδης κατέπληξεν ἅπαντας καὶ κατηγορεῖν ἐθάρρει τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδεὶς τῶν πρὶν ἀφικέσθαι διαβαλλόντων, ἀλλ᾽ ἦν ἡσυχία καὶ τοῦ τί χρὴ ποιεῖν ἀπορία. [172] διακειμένων δ᾽ οὕτως εἷς τις Σαμαίας ὄνομα, δίκαιος ἀνὴρ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῦ δεδιέναι κρείττων, ἀναστὰς εἶπεν: “ἄνδρες σύνεδροι καὶ βασιλεῦ, εἰς δίκην μὲν οὔτ᾽ αὐτὸς οἶδά τινα τῶν πώποτε εἰς ὑμᾶς κεκλημένων οὕτω παραστάντα οὔτε ὑμᾶς ἔχειν εἰπεῖν ὑπολαμβάνω, ἀλλὰ πᾶς ὁστισδηποτοῦν ἀφῖκται εἰς τὸ συνέδριον τοῦτο κριθησόμενος ταπεινὸς παρίσταται καὶ σχήματι δεδοικότος καὶ ἔλεον θηρωμένου παρ᾽ ὑμῶν, κόμην τ᾽ ἐπιθρέψας καὶ ἐσθῆτα μέλαιναν ἐνδεδυμένος. [173] ὁ δὲ βέλτιστος Ἡρώδης φόνου δίκην φεύγων καὶ ἐπ᾽ αἰτίᾳ τοιαύτῃ κεκλημένος ἔστηκε τὴν πορφύραν περικείμενος καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν κεκοσμημένος τῇ συνθέσει τῆς κόμης καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχων ὁπλίτας, ἵνα ἂν κατακρίνωμεν αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸν νόμον, κτείνῃ μὲν ἡμᾶς, αὐτὸν δὲ σώσῃ βιασάμενος τὸ δίκαιον. [174] ἀλλ᾽ Ἡρώδην μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐκ ἂν μεμψαίμην, εἰ τὸ αὐτοῦ συμφέρον ποιεῖται περὶ πλείονος ἢ τὸ νόμιμον, ὑμᾶς δὲ καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τοσαύτην ἄδειαν αὐτῷ παρασχόντας. ἴστε μέντοι τὸν θεὸν μέγαν, καὶ οὗτος, ὃν νῦν δι᾽ Ὑρκανὸν ἀπολῦσαι βούλεσθε, [175] κολάσει ὑμᾶς τε καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα.” διήμαρτεν δ᾽ οὐδὲν τῶν εἰρημένων. ὁ γὰρ Ἡρώδης τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν πάντας ἀπέκτεινεν τοὺς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ Ὑρκανὸν αὐτὸν χωρὶς τοῦ Σαμαίου: [176] σφόδρα γὰρ αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἐτίμησεν καὶ ὅτι τῆς πόλεως μετὰ ταῦτα πολιορκουμένης ὑπό τε Ἡρώδου καὶ Σοσσίου παρῄνεσεν τῷ δήμῳ δέξασθαι τὸν Ἡρώδην εἰπὼν διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας οὐ δύνασθαι διαφυγεῖν αὐτόν. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων κατὰ χώραν ἐροῦμεν.

(5) [177] Ὑρκανὸς δὲ ὁρῶν ὡρμημένους πρὸς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τὴν Ἡρώδου τοὺς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τὴν δίκην εἰς ἄλλην ἡμέραν ἀνεβάλετο, καὶ πέμψας κρύφα πρὸς Ἡρώδην συνεβούλευσεν αὐτῷ φυγεῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως: οὕτω γὰρ τὸν κίνδυνον διαφεύξεσθαι. [178] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Δαμασκὸν ὡς φεύγων τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ παραγενόμενος πρὸς Σέξτον Καίσαρα καὶ τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀσφαλισάμενος οὕτως εἶχεν, ὡς εἰ καλοῖτο πάλιν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἐπὶ δίκην οὐχ ὑπακουσόμενος. [179] ἠγανάκτουν δὲ οἱ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ἐπειρῶντο διδάσκειν, ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα εἴη κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ. τὸν δ᾽ οὐκ ἐλάνθανε μέν, πράττειν δ᾽ οὐδὲν εἶχεν ὑπὸ ἀνανδρίας καὶ ἀνοίας. [180] Σέξστου δὲ ποιήσαντος Ἡρώδην στρατηγὸν κοίλης Συρίας, χρημάτων γὰρ αὐτῷ τοῦτο ἀπέδοτο, Ὑρκανὸς ἦν ἐν φόβῳ, μὴ στρατεύσηται Ἡρώδης ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν. οὐ πολὺ δὲ τοῦ δέους ἐβράδυνεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἦκεν ἄγων ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἡρώδης στρατιὰν ὀργιζόμενος τῆς δίκης αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ κληθῆναι πρὸς τὸ λόγον ὑποσχεῖν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ. [181] διεκώλυσαν δ᾽ αὐτὸν προσβαλεῖν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ὑπαντήσαντες ὅ τε πατὴρ Ἀντίπατρος καὶ ὁ ἀδελφός, καὶ τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτοῦ καταπαύσαντες καὶ παρακαλέσαντες ἔργῳ μὲν ἐγχειρεῖν μηδενί, καταπληξάμενον δὲ ἀπειλῇ μόνον μὴ χωρῆσαι περαιτέρω κατὰ τοῦ παρασχόντος

αὐτῷ εἰς τοῦτο παρελθεῖν τὸ ἀξίωμα. [182] ἠξίουν τε περὶ τοῦ κληθέντα ἐπὶ δίκην ἐλθεῖν ἀγανακτοῦντα μεμνῆσθαι καὶ τῆς ἀφέσεως καὶ χάριν αὐτῆς εἰδέναι καὶ μὴ πρὸς μὲν τὸ σκυθρωπότερον ἁπαντᾶν, περὶ δὲ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀχαριστεῖν: [183] λογίζεσθαι δ' ὡς, εἰ καὶ πολέμου ῥοπὰς βραβεύει τὸ θεῖον, πλέον ἐστὶ τῆς στρατείας τὸ ἄδικον, διὸ καὶ τὴν νίκην μὴ πάντῃ προσδοκᾶν μέλλοντα πολεμεῖν βασιλεῖ καὶ συντρόφῳ, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν εὐεργετήσαντι, μηδὲν δὲ χαλεπὸν αὐτὸν εἰργασμένῳ, περὶ δὲ ὧν ἐγκαλεῖ διὰ πονηροὺς συμβούλους ἀλλὰ μὴ δι' αὐτὸν ὑπόνοιαν αὐτῷ καὶ σκιὰν δυσκόλου τινὸς παρεσχημένῳ. [184] πείθεται τούτοις Ἡρώδης ὑπολαβὼν εἰς τὰς ἐλπίδας ἀποχρῆν αὐτῷ τὸ καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐπιδείξασθαι τῷ ἔθνει μόνον. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν οὕτως εἶχεν.

X

(1) [185] Καῖσαρ δ' ἐλθὼν εἰς Ῥώμην ἕτοιμος ἦν πλεῖν ἐπ' Ἀφρικῆς πολεμήσων Σκιπίωνι καὶ Κάτωνι, πέμψας δ' Ὑρκανὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν παρεκάλει βεβαιώσασθαι τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν. [186] ἔδοξεν δ' ἀναγκαῖον εἶναί μοι πάσας ἐκθέσθαι τὰς γεγενημένας Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσιν αὐτῶν τιμὰς καὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν, ἵνα μὴ λανθάνῃ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας, ὅτι καὶ οἱ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ οἱ τῆς Εὐρώπης βασιλεῖς διὰ σπουδῆς ἔσχον ἡμᾶς τήν τε ἀνδρείαν ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν πίστιν ἀγαπήσαντες. [187] ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς δυσμένειαν ἀπιστοῦσι τοῖς ὑπὸ Περσῶν καὶ Μακεδόνων ἀναγεγραμμένοις περὶ ἡμῶν τῷ μηκέτ' αὐτὰ πανταχοῦ μηδ' ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις ἀποκεῖσθαι τόποις, ἀλλὰ παρ' ἡμῖν τε αὐτοῖς καί τισιν ἄλλοις τῶν βαρβάρων, [188] πρὸς δὲ τὰ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων δόγματα οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντειπεῖν: ἔν τε γὰρ δημοσίοις ἀνάκειται τόποις τῶν πόλεων καὶ ἔτι νῦν ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ χαλκαῖς στήλαις ἐγγέγραπται, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Καῖσαρ Ἰούλιος τοῖς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἰουδαίοις ποιήσας χαλκῆν στήλην ἐδήλωσεν, ὅτι Ἀλεξανδρέων πολῖταί εἰσιν, ἐκ τούτων ποιήσομαι καὶ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν. [189] παραθήσομαι δὲ τὰ γενόμενα ὑπό τε τῆς συγκλήτου δόγματα καὶ Ἰουλίου Καίσαρος πρός τε Ὑρκανὸν καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν.

(2) [190] Γάιος Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς δικτάτωρ τὸ δεύτερον Σιδωνίων ἄρχουσιν βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. εἰ ἔρρωσθε εὖ ἂν ἔχοι, κἀγὼ δὲ ἔρρωμαι σὺν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. [191] τῆς γενομένης ἀναγραφῆς ἐν τῇ δέλτῳ πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν υἱὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἐθνάρχην Ἰουδαίων πέπομφα ὑμῖν τὸ ἀντίγραφον, ἵν' ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις ὑμῶν ἀνακέηται γράμμασιν. βούλομαι δὲ καὶ ἑλληνιστὶ καὶ ῥωμαιστὶ ἐν δέλτῳ χαλκῇ τοῦτο ἀνατεθῆναι. [192] ἔστιν δὴ τοῦτο: Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς μετὰ συμβουλίου γνώμης ἐπέκρινα. ἐπεὶ Ὑρκανὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἰουδαῖος καὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις ἔν τε εἰρήνῃ καὶ πολέμῳ πίστιν τε καὶ σπουδὴν περὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα πράγματα ἐπεδείξατο, ὡς αὐτῷ πολλοὶ μεμαρτυρήκασιν αὐτοκράτορες,

[193] καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔγγιστα ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ πολέμῳ μετὰ χιλίων πεντακοσίων στρατιωτῶν ἦκεν σύμμαχος καὶ πρὸς Μιθριδάτην ἀποσταλεὶς ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ πάντας ἀνδρείᾳ τοὺς ἐν τάξει ὑπερέβαλεν, [194] διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας Ὑρκανὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ἐθνάρχας Ἰουδαίων εἶναι ἀρχιερωσύνην τε Ἰουδαίων διὰ παντὸς ἔχειν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἔθη, εἶναί τε αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ συμμάχους ἡμῖν ἔτι τε καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατ᾽ ἄνδρα φίλοις ἀριθμεῖσθαι, [195] ὅσα τε κατὰ τοὺς ἰδίους αὐτῶν νόμους ἐστὶν ἀρχιερατικὰ φιλάνθρωπα, ταῦτα κελεύω κατέχειν αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ: ἄν τε μεταξὺ γένηταί τις ζήτησις περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀγωγῆς, ἀρέσκει μοι κρίσιν γίνεσθαι [παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς]. παραχειμασίαν δὲ ἢ χρήματα πράσσεσθαι οὐ δοκιμάζω.

(3) [196] Γαίου Καίσαρος αὐτοκράτορος ὑπάτου δεδομένα συγκεχωρημένα προσκεκριμένα ἐστὶν οὕτως ἔχοντα. ὅπως τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους ἄρχῃ, καὶ τοὺς δεδομένους τόπους καρπίζωνται, καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς αὐτὸς καὶ ἐθνάρχης τῶν Ἰουδαίων προιστῆται τῶν ἀδικουμένων. [197] πέμψαι δὲ πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸν ἀρχιερέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς περὶ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας διαλεξομένους: ἀνατεθῆναι δὲ καὶ χαλκῆν δέλτον ταῦτα περιέχουσαν ἔν τε τῷ Καπετωλίῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι καὶ Τύρῳ καὶ ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς ἐγκεχαραγμένην γράμμασιν Ῥωμαικοῖς καὶ Ἑλληνικοῖς. [198] ὅπως τε τὸ δόγμα τοῦτο πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ταμίαις καὶ τοῖς τούτων ἡγουμένοις Εἵς τε τοὺς φίλους ἀνενέγκωσιν καὶ ξένια τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς παρασχεῖν καὶ τὰ διατάγματα διαπέμψαι πανταχοῦ.

(4) [199] Γάιος Καῖσαρ αὐτοκράτωρ δικτάτωρ ὕπατος τιμῆς καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας ἕνεκεν συνεχώρησεν ἐπὶ συμφέροντι καὶ τῇ συγκλήτῳ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων Ὑρκανὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸν καὶ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ἀρχιερεῖς τε καὶ ἱερεῖς Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους εἶναι ἐπὶ τοῖς δικαίοις, οἷς καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην διακατέσχον.

(5) [200] Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὕπατος τὸ πέμπτον ἔκρινεν τούτους ἔχειν καὶ τειχίσαι τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν, καὶ κατέχειν αὐτὴν Ὑρκανὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀρχιερέα Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἐθνάρχην ὡς ἂν αὐτὸς προαιρῆται. [201] ὅπως τε Ἰουδαίοις ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῆς μισθώσεως [ἔτει] τῆς προσόδου κόρον ὑπεξέλωνται καὶ μήτε ἐργολαβῶσί τινες μήτε φόρους τοὺς αὐτοὺς τελῶσιν.

(6) [202] Γάιος Καῖσαρ αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ δεύτερον ἔστησεν κατ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν ὅπως τελῶσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλεως Ἰόππης ὑπεξαιρουμένης χωρὶς τοῦ ἑβδόμου ἔτους, ὃν σαββατικὸν ἐνιαυτὸν προσαγορεύουσιν, ἐπεὶ ἐν αὐτῷ μήτε τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων καρπὸν λαμβάνουσιν μήτε σπείρουσιν. [203] καὶ ἵνα ἐν Σιδῶνι τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τὸν φόρον ἀποδιδῶσιν τὸ τέταρτον τῶν σπειρομένων, πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι καὶ Ὑρκανῷ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ τὰς δεκάτας τελῶσιν, ἃς ἐτέλουν καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις αὐτῶν. [204] καὶ ὅπως μηδεὶς μήτε ἄρχων μήτε ἀντάρχων μήτε στρατηγὸς ἢ πρεσβευτὴς ἐν τοῖς ὅροις τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀνιστὰς

συμμαχίαν καὶ στρατιώτας ἐξῇ τούτῳ χρήματα εἰσπράττεσθαι ἢ εἰς παραχειμασίαν ἢ ἄλλῳ τινὶ ὀνόματι, ἀλλ᾽ εἶναι πανταχόθεν ἀνεπηρεάστους. [205] ὅσα τε μετὰ ταῦτα ἔσχον ἢ ἐπρίαντο καὶ διακατέσχον καὶ ἐνεμήθησαν, ταῦτα πάντα αὐτοὺς ἔχειν. Ἰόππην τε πόλιν, ἣν ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς ἔσχον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ποιούμενοι τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν αὐτῶν εἶναι, καθὼς καὶ τὸ πρῶτον, ἡμῖν ἀρέσκει, [206] φόρους τε ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως Ὑρκανὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸν καὶ παῖδας αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῶν τὴν γῆν νεμομένων χώρας λιμένος ἐξαγωγίου κατ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν Σιδῶνι μοδίους δισμυρίους χοε ὑπεξαιρουμένου τοῦ ἑβδόμου ἔτους, ὃν σαββατικὸν καλοῦσιν, καθ᾽ ὃν οὔτε ἀροῦσιν οὔτε τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων καρπὸν λαμβάνουσιν. [207] τάς τε κώμας τὰς ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ, ἃς Ὑρκανὸς καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι πρότερον αὐτοῦ διακατέσχον, ἀρέσκει τῇ συγκλήτῳ ταῦτα Ὑρκανὸν καὶ Ἰουδαίους ἔχειν ἐπὶ τοῖς δικαίοις οἷς καὶ πρότερον εἶχον. [208] μένειν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς δίκαια, ὅσα πρὸς ἀλλήλους Ἰουδαίοις καὶ τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ ἱερεῦσιν ἦν τά τε φιλάνθρωπα ὅσα τε τοῦ δήμου ψηφισαμένου καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου ἔσχον. ἐπὶ τούτοις τε τοῖς δικαίοις χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς ἐξεῖναι ἐν Λύδδοις. [209] τούς τε τόπους καὶ χώραν καὶ ἐποίκια, ὅσα βασιλεῦσι Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης συμμάχοις οὖσι Ῥωμαίων κατὰ δωρεὰν ὑπῆρχε καρποῦσθαι, ταῦτα δοκιμάζει ἡ σύγκλητος Ὑρκανὸν τὸν ἐθνάρχην καὶ Ἰουδαίους ἔχειν. [210] δεδόσθαι δὲ Ὑρκανῷ καὶ παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ πρεσβευταῖς τοῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πεμφθεῖσιν ἔν τε πυγμῇ μονομάχων καὶ θηρίων καθεζομένοις μετὰ τῶν συγκλητικῶν θεωρεῖν Αἰτησαμένους παρὰ δικτάτορος ἢ παρὰ ἱππάρχου παρελθεῖν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον εἰσάγωσιν καὶ τὰ ἀποκρίματα αὐτοῖς ἀποδιδῶσιν ἐν ἡμέραις δέκα ταῖς ἁπάσαις, ἀφ᾽ ἧς ἂν τὸ δόγμα γένηται.

(7) [211] Γάιος Καῖσαρ αὐτοκράτωρ δικτάτωρ τὸ τέταρτον ὕπατός τε τὸ πέμπτον δικτάτωρ ἀποδεδειγμένος διὰ βίου λόγους ἐποιήσατο περὶ τῶν δικαίων τῶν Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀρχιερέως Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἐθνάρχου τοιούτους: [212] [τῶν] πρὸ ἐμοῦ αὐτοκρατόρων ἐν ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις μαρτυρησάντων Ὑρκανῷ ἀρχιερεῖ Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ἰουδαίοις ἐπί τε συγκλήτου καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων, εὐχαριστήσαντος δὲ καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου αὐτοῖς, καλῶς ἔχει καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀπομνημονεύειν καὶ προνοεῖν, ὡς Ὑρκανῷ καὶ τῷ ἔθνει τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τοῖς Ὑρκανοῦ παισὶν ὑπὸ συγκλήτου καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων ἀξία τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὐνοίας αὐτῶν καὶ ὧν εὐεργέτησαν ἡμᾶς χάρις ἀνταποδοθῇ.

(8) [213] Ἰούλιος Γάιος ὑιοσο στρατηγὸς ὕπατος Ῥωμαίων Παριανῶν ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἐνέτυχόν μοι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐν Δήλῳ καί τινες τῶν παροίκων Ἰουδαίων παρόντων καὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων πρέσβεων καὶ ἐνεφάνισαν, ὡς ὑμεῖς ψηφίσματι κωλύετε αὐτοὺς τοῖς πατρίοις ἔθεσι καὶ ἱεροῖς χρῆσθαι. [214] ἐμοὶ τοίνυν οὐκ ἀρέσκει κατὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων φίλων καὶ συμμάχων τοιαῦτα γίνεσθαι ψηφίσματα καὶ κωλύεσθαι αὐτοὺς ζῆν κατὰ τὰ αὐτῶν ἔθη καὶ χρήματα εἰς σύνδειπνα καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ εἰσφέρειν, τοῦτο ποιεῖν αὐτῶν μηδ᾽ ἐν Ῥώμῃ

κεκωλυμένων. [215] καὶ γὰρ Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὁ ἡμέτερος στρατηγὸς [καὶ] ὕπατος ἐν τῷ διατάγματι κωλύων θιάσους συνάγεσθαι κατὰ πόλιν μόνους τούτους οὐκ ἐκώλυσεν οὔτε χρήματα συνεισφέρειν οὔτε σύνδειπνα ποιεῖν. [216] ὁμοίως δὲ κἀγὼ τοὺς ἄλλους θιάσους κωλύων τούτοις μόνοις ἐπιτρέπω κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἔθη καὶ νόμιμα συνάγεσθαί τε καὶ ἑστιᾶσθαι. καὶ ὑμᾶς οὖν καλῶς ἔχει, εἴ τι κατὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων φίλων καὶ συμμάχων ψήφισμα ἐποιήσατε, τοῦτο ἀκυρῶσαι διὰ τὴν περὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν καὶ εὔνοιαν.

(9) [217] Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Γαίου θάνατον Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος καὶ Πόπλιος Δολαβέλλας ὕπατοι ὄντες τήν τε σύγκλητον συνήγαγον καὶ τοὺς παρ᾽ Ὑρκανοῦ πρέσβεις παραγαγόντες διελέχθησαν περὶ ὧν ἠξίουν καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐποίησαν, καὶ πάντα συγχωρεῖν αὐτοῖς ἡ σύγκλητος ἐψηφίσατο ὅσων τυγχάνειν ἐβούλοντο. [218] παρατέθειμαι δὲ καὶ τὸ δόγμα, ὅπως τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῶν λεγομένων ἐγγύθεν ἔχωσιν οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες τὴν πραγματείαν. ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτον:

(10) [219] Δόγμα συγκλήτου ἐκ τοῦ ταμιείου ἀντιγεγραμμένον ἐκ τῶν δέλτων τῶν δημοσίων τῶν ταμιευτικῶν Κοίντῳ Ῥουτιλίῳ Κοίντῳ Κορνηλίῳ ταμίαις κατὰ πόλιν, δέλτῳ δευτέρᾳ καὶ ἐκ τῶν πρώτων πρώτῃ. πρὸ τριῶν εἰδῶν Ἀπριλλίων ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ὁμονοίας. γραφομένῳ παρῆσαν Λούκιος Καλπούρνιος Μενηνία Πείσων, [220] Σερουίνιος Παπίνιος Λεμωνία Κούιντος, Γάιος Κανείνιος Τηρητίνα Ῥέβιλος, Πόπλιος Τηδήτιος Λευκίου υἱὸς Πολλία, Λεύκιος Ἀπούλιος Λευκίου υἱὸς Σεργία, Φλάβιος Λευκίου Λεμωνία, Πόπλιος Πλαύτιος Ποπλίου Παπειρία, Μᾶρκος Σέλλιος Μάρκου Μαικία, Λεύκιος Ἐρούκιος Λουκίου Στηλητίνα, Μᾶρκος Κούιντος Μάρκου υἱὸς Πολλία Πλανκῖνος, [221] Πούπλιος Σέρριος Πόπλιος Δολοβέλλας Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος ὕπατοι λόγους ἐποιήσαντο περὶ ὧν δόγματι συγκλήτου Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων ἔκρινεν καὶ εἰς τὸ ταμιεῖον οὐκ ἔφθασεν ἀνενεχθῆναι, περὶ τούτων ἀρέσκει ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, ὡς καὶ Ποπλίῳ Δολαβέλλᾳ καὶ Μάρκῳ Ἀντωνίῳ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἔδοξεν, ἀνενεγκεῖν τε ταῦτα εἰς δέλτους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ πόλιν ταμίας, ὅπως φροντίσωσιν καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰς δέλτους ἀναθεῖναι διπτύχους. [222] ἐγένετο πρὸ πέντε εἰδῶν Φεβρουαρίων ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ὁμονοίας. οἱ δὲ πρεσβεύοντες παρὰ Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἦσαν οὗτοι: Λυσίμαχος Παυσανίου Ἀλέξανδρος Θεοδώρου Πάτροκλος Χαιρέου Ἰωάννης Ὀνείου.

(11) [223] Ἔπεμψεν δὲ τούτων Ὑρκανὸς τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἕνα καὶ πρὸς Δολαβέλλαν τὸν τῆς Ἀσίας τότε ἡγεμόνα, παρακαλῶν ἀπολῦσαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τῆς στρατείας καὶ τὰ πάτρια τηρεῖν ἔθη καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ζῆν ἐπιτρέπειν: [224] οὗ τυχεῖν αὐτῷ ῥᾳδίως ἐγένετο: λαβὼν γὰρ ὁ Δολοβέλλας τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ὑρκανοῦ γράμματα, μηδὲ βουλευσάμενος ἐπιστέλλει τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἅπασιν γράψας τῇ Ἐφεσίων πόλει πρωτευούσῃ τῆς Ἀσίας περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. ἡ δὲ ἐπιστολὴ τοῦτον περιεῖχεν τὸν τρόπον:

(12) [225] Ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Ἀρτέμωνος μηνὸς Ληναιῶνος προτέρᾳ. Δολοβέλλας αὐτοκράτωρ Ἐφεσίων ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. [226] Ἀλέξανδρος Θεοδώρου πρεσβευτὴς Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ ἐθνάρχου τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐνεφάνισέν μοι περὶ τοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι στρατεύεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ μήτε ὅπλα βαστάζειν δύνασθαι μήτε ὁδοιπορεῖν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν σαββάτων, μήτε τροφῶν τῶν πατρίων καὶ συνήθων κατὰ τούτους εὐπορεῖν. [227] ἐγώ τε οὖν αὐτοῖς, καθὼς καὶ οἱ πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἡγεμόνες, δίδωμι τὴν ἀστρατείαν καὶ συγχωρῶ χρῆσθαι τοῖς πατρίοις ἐθισμοῖς ἱερῶν ἕνεκα καὶ ἁγίοις συναγομένοις, καθὼς αὐτοῖς νόμιμον, καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὰς θυσίας ἀφαιρεμάτων, ὑμᾶς τε βούλομαι ταῦτα γράψαι κατὰ πόλεις.

(13) [228] Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Δολαβέλλας Ὑρκανοῦ πρεσβευσαμένου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐχαρίσατο τοῖς ἡμετέροις. Λεύκιος δὲ Λέντλος ὕπατος εἶπεν: πολίτας Ῥωμαίων Ἰουδαίους ἱερὰ Ἰουδαικὰ ἔχοντας καὶ ποιοῦντας ἐν Ἐφέσῳ πρὸ τοῦ βήματος δεισιδαιμονίας ἕνεκα στρατείας ἀπέλυσα πρὸ δώδεκα καλανδῶν Ὀκτωβρίων Λευκίῳ Λέντλῳ Γαίῳ Μαρκέλλῳ ὑπάτοις. [229] παρῆσαν Τίτος Ἄμπιος Τίτου υἱὸς Βάλβος Ὁρατία πρεσβευτής, Τίτος Τόνγιος Τίτου υἱὸς Κροστομίνα, Κόιντος Καίσιος Κοίντου, Τίτος Πομπήιος Τίτου Λογγῖνος, Γάιος Σερουίλιος Γαίου υἱὸς Τηρητίνα Βράκκος χιλίαρχος, Πόπλιος Κλούσιος Ποπλίου Ἐτωρία [Γάλλος], Γάιος Σέντιος Γαίου Υἱὸς Σαβατίνα.

(14) [230] Τίτος Ἄμπιος Τίτου υἱὸς Βάλβος πρεσβευτὴς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος Ἐφεσίων ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. Ἰουδαίους τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Λεύκιος Λέντλος ὁ ὕπατος ἐμοῦ ἐντυχόντος ἀπέλυσεν τῆς στρατείας. αἰτησάμενος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ παρὰ Φαννίου τοῦ ἀντιστρατήγου καὶ παρὰ Λευκίου Ἀντωνίου τοῦ ἀντιταμίου ἐπέτυχον ὑμᾶς τε βούλομαι φροντίσαι, ἵνα μή τις αὐτοῖς διενοχλῇ.

(15) [231] Ψήφισμα Δηλίων. ἐπ᾽ ἄρχοντος Βοιωτοῦ μηνὸς Θαργηλιῶνος εἰκοστῇ χρηματισμὸς στρατηγῶν. Μᾶρκος Πείσων πρεσβευτὴς ἐνδημῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν ὁ καὶ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῆς στρατολογίας προσκαλεσάμενος ἡμᾶς καὶ ἱκανοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν προσέταξεν, [232] ἵνα εἴ τινές εἰσιν Ἰουδαῖοι πολῖται Ῥωμαίων τούτοις μηδεὶς ἐνοχλῇ περὶ στρατείας, διὰ τὸ τὸν ὕπατον Λούκιον Κορνήλιον Λέντλον δεισιδαιμονίας ἕνεκα ἀπολελυκέναι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τῆς στρατείας. διὸ πείθεσθαι ἡμᾶς δεῖ τῷ στρατηγῷ. ὅμοια δὲ τούτοις καὶ Σαρδιανοὶ περὶ ἡμῶν ἐψηφίσαντο.

(16) [233] Γάιος Φάννιος Γαίου υἱὸς στρατηγὸς ὕπατος Κῴων ἄρχουσι χαίρειν. βούλομαι ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι, ὅτι πρέσβεις Ἰουδαίων μοι προσῆλθον ἀξιοῦντες λαβεῖν τὰ συγκλήτου δόγματα τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν γεγονότα. ὑποτέτακται δὲ τὰ δεδογμένα. ὑμᾶς οὖν θέλω φροντίσαι καὶ προνοῆσαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατὰ τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα, ὅπως διὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας χώρας εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀσφαλῶς ἀνακομισθῶσιν.

(17) [234] Λεύκιος Λέντλος ὕπατος λέγει: πολίτας Ῥωμαίων Ἰουδαίους, οἵτινές μοι ἱερὰ ἔχειν καὶ ποιεῖν Ἰουδαικὰ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐδόκουν, δεισιδαιμονίας ἕνεκα ἀπέλυσα. τοῦτο ἐγένετο πρὸ δώδεκα καλανδῶν Κουιντιλίων.

(18) [235] Λούκιος Ἀντώνιος Μάρκου υἱὸς ἀντιταμίας καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος Σαρδιανῶν ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. Ἰουδαῖοι πολῖται ἡμέτεροι προσελθόντες μοι ἐπέδειξαν αὐτοὺς σύνοδον ἔχειν ἰδίαν κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς καὶ τόπον ἴδιον, ἐν ᾧ τά τε πράγματα καὶ τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀντιλογίας κρίνουσιν, τοῦτό τε αἰτησαμένοις ἵν᾽ ἐξῇ ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς τηρῆσαι καὶ ἐπιτρέψαι ἔκρινα.

(19) [236] Μᾶρκος Πόπλιος σπιρίου υἱὸς καὶ Μᾶρκος Μάρκου Ποπλίου υἱὸς Λουκίου λέγουσιν. Λέντλῳ τἀνθυπάτῳ προσελθόντες ἐδιδάξαμεν αὐτὸν περὶ ὧν Δοσίθεος Κλεοπατρίδου Ἀλεξανδρεὺς λόγους ἐποιήσατο, [237] ὅπως πολίτας Ῥωμαίων Ἰουδαίους ἱερὰ Ἰουδαικὰ ποιεῖν εἰωθότας, ἂν αὐτῷ φανῇ, δεισιδαιμονίας ἕνεκα ἀπολύσῃ: καὶ ἀπέλυσε πρὸ δώδεκα καλανδῶν Κουιντιλίων Λευκίῳ Λέντλῳ Γαίῳ Μαρκέλλῳ ὑπάτοις. [238] παρῆσαν Τίτος Ἄμπιος Τίτου υἱὸς Βάλβος Ὁρατία πρεσβευτής, Τίτος Τόνγιος Κροστομίνα, Κόιντος Καίσιος Κοίντου, Τίτος Πήιος Τίτου υἱὸς Κορνηλία Λογγῖνος, Γάιος Σερουίλιος Γαίου Τηρητείνα Βρόκχος χιλίαρχος, Πόπλιος Κλούσιος Ποπλίου υἱὸς Ἐτωρία Γάλλος, [239] Γάιος Τεύτιος Γαίου Αἰμιλία χιλίαρχος, Σέξτος Ἀτίλιος Σέξτου υἱὸς Αἰμιλία Σέσρανος, Γάιος Πομπήιος Γαίου υἱὸς Σαβατίνα, Τίτος Ἄμπιος Τίτου Μένανδρος, Πόπλιος Σερουίλιος Ποπλίου υἱὸς Στράβων, Λεύκιος Πάκκιος Λευκίου Κολλίνα Καπίτων, Αὖλος Φούριος Αὔλου υἱὸς Τέρτιος, Ἄππιος Μηνᾶς. [240] ἐπὶ τούτων ὁ Λέντλος δόγμα ἐξέθετο: πολίτας Ῥωμαίων Ἰουδαίους, οἵτινες ἱερὰ Ἰουδαικὰ ποιεῖν εἰώθασιν, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ πρὸ τοῦ βήματος δεισιδαιμονίας ἕνεκα ἀπέλυσα.

(20) [241] Λαοδικέων ἄρχοντες Γαίῳ Ῥαβελλίῳ Γαίου υἱῷ ὑπάτῳ χαίρειν. Σώπατρος Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως πρεσβευτὴς ἀπέδωκεν ἡμῖν τὴν παρὰ σοῦ ἐπιστολήν, δι᾽ ἧς ἐδήλου ἡμῖν παρὰ Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέως ἐληλυθότας τινὰς γράμματα κομίσαι περὶ τοῦ ἔθνους αὐτῶν γεγραμμένα, [242] ἵνα τά τε σάββατα αὐτοῖς ἐξῇ ἄγειν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἱερὰ ἐπιτελεῖν κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους, ὅπως τε μηδεὶς αὐτοῖς ἐπιτάσσῃ διὰ τὸ φίλους αὐτοὺς ἡμετέρους εἶναι καὶ συμμάχους, ἀδικήσῃ τε μηδὲ εἷς αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἐπαρχίᾳ, ὡς Τραλλιανῶν τε ἀντειπόντων κατὰ πρόσωπον μὴ ἀρέσκεσθαι τοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν δεδογμένοις ἐπέταξας ταῦτα οὕτως γίνεσθαι: παρακεκλῆσθαι δέ σε, ὥστε καὶ ἡμῖν γράψαι περὶ αὐτῶν. [243] ἡμεῖς οὖν κατακολουθοῦντες τοῖς ἐπεσταλμένοις ὑπὸ σοῦ τήν τε ἐπιστολὴν τὴν ἀποδοθεῖσαν ἐδεξάμεθα καὶ κατεχωρίσαμεν εἰς τὰ δημόσια ἡμῶν γράμματα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν ἐπέσταλκας προνοήσομεν, ὥστε μηδὲν μεμφθῆναι.

(21) [244] Πόπλιος Σερουίλιος Ποπλίου υἱὸς Γάλβας ἀνθύπατος Μιλησίων ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. [245] Πρύτανις Ἑρμοῦ υἱὸς πολίτης ὑμέτερος προσελθών μοι ἐν Τράλλεσιν ἄγοντι τὴν ἀγόραιον ἐδήλου παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν γνώμην Ἰουδαίοις ὑμᾶς προσφέρεσθαι καὶ κωλύειν αὐτοὺς τά τε σάββατα ἄγειν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ πάτρια τελεῖν καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς μεταχειρίζεσθαι, καθὼς ἔθος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς, αὐτόν τε κατὰ τοὺς νόμους εὐθυνκέναι τὸ [δίκαιον] ψήφισμα. [246] βούλομαι οὖν ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι, ὅτι διακούσας ἐγὼ λόγων ἐξ ἀντικαταστάσεως γενομένων ἐπέκρινα μὴ κωλύεσθαι Ἰουδαίους τοῖς αὐτῶν ἔθεσι χρῆσθαι.

(22) [247] Ψήφισμα Περγαμηνῶν. ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Κρατίππου μηνὸς Δαισίου [πρώτῃ] γνώμη στρατηγῶν. ἐπεὶ Ῥωμαῖοι κατακολουθοῦντες τῇ τῶν προγόνων ἀγωγῇ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀσφαλείας κινδύνους ἀναδέχονται καὶ φιλοτιμοῦνται τοὺς συμμάχους καὶ φίλους ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ καὶ βεβαίᾳ καταστῆσαι εἰρήνῃ, [248] πέμψαντος πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοῦ ἔθνους τοῦ Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως αὐτῶν πρέσβεις Στράτωνα Θεοδότου Ἀπολλώνιον Ἀλεξάνδρου Αἰνείαν Ἀντιπάτρου Ἀριστόβουλον Ἀμύντου Σωσίπατρον Φιλίππου ἄνδρας καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθούς, [249] καὶ περὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρη ἐμφανισάντων ἐδογμάτισεν ἡ σύγκλητος περὶ ὧν ἐποιήσαντο τοὺς λόγους, ὅπως μηδὲν ἀδικῇ Ἀντίοχος ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντιόχου υἱὸς Ἰουδαίους συμμάχους Ῥωμαίων, ὅπως τε φρούρια καὶ λιμένας καὶ χώραν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἀφείλετο αὐτῶν ἀποδοθῇ καὶ ἐξῇ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν λιμένων μηδ᾽ ἐξαγαγεῖν, [250] ἵνα τε μηδεὶς ἀτελὴς ᾖ ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίων χώρας ἢ τῶν λιμένων αὐτῶν ἐξάγων βασιλεὺς ἢ δῆμος ἢ μόνος Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρέων βασιλεὺς διὰ τὸ εἶναι σύμμαχος ἡμέτερος καὶ φίλος, καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἰόππῃ φρουρὰν ἐκβαλεῖν, καθὼς ἐδεήθησαν: [251] τῆς βουλῆς ἡμῶν Λούκιος Πέττιος ἀνὴρ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς προσέταξεν, ἵνα φροντίσωμεν ταῦτα οὕτως γενέσθαι, καθὼς ἡ σύγκλητος ἐδογμάτισεν, προνοῆσαί τε τῆς ἀσφαλοῦς εἰς οἶκον τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἀνακομιδῆς. [252] ἀπεδεξάμεθα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὸν Θεόδωρον, ἀπολαβόντες δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα, καὶ ποιησαμένου μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὴν Ὑρκανοῦ ἐμφανίσαντος ἀρετὴν καὶ μεγαλοψυχίαν, [253] καὶ ὅτι κοινῇ πάντας εὐεργετεῖ καὶ κατ᾽ ἰδίαν τοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικομένους, τά τε γράμματα εἰς τὰ δημόσια ἡμῶν ἀπεθέμεθα καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντα ποιεῖν ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων σύμμαχοι ὄντες Ῥωμαίων κατὰ τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα ἐψηφισάμεθα. [254] ἐδεήθη δὲ καὶ Θεόδωρος τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἡμῖν ἀποδοὺς τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγῶν, ἵνα πέμψωσι πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν τὸ ἀντίγραφον τοῦ ψηφίσματος καὶ πρέσβεις δηλώσοντας τὴν τοῦ ἡμετέρου δήμου σπουδὴν καὶ παρακαλέσοντας συντηρεῖν τε καὶ αὔξειν αὐτὸν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλίαν καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τινος αἴτιον γίνεσθαι, [255] ὡς ἀμοιβάς τε τὰς προσηκούσας ἀπολῃψόμενον μεμνημένον τε ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Ἄβραμον καιροῖς, ὃς ἦν

πάντων Ἑβραίων πατήρ, οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμῶν ἦσαν αὐτοῖς φίλοι, καθὼς καὶ ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις εὑρίσκομεν γράμμασιν.

(23) [256] Ψήφισμα Ἁλικαρνασέων. ἐπὶ ἱερέως Μέμνονος τοῦ Ἀριστείδου, κατὰ δὲ ποίησιν Εὐωνύμου, Ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἔΔοξε τῷ δήμῳ εἰσηγησαμένου Μάρκου Ἀλεξάνδρου. [257] ἐπεὶ [τὸ] πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβές τε καὶ ὅσιον ἐν ἅπαντι καιρῷ διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχομεν κατακολουθοῦντες τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὄντι εὐεργέτῃ καὶ οἷς περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔγραψεν, ὅπως συντελῶνται αὐτοῖς αἱ εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἱεροποιίαι καὶ ἑορταὶ αἱ εἰθισμέναι καὶ σύνοδοι, [258] δεδόχθαι καὶ ἡμῖν Ἰουδαίων τοὺς βουλομένους ἄνδρας τε καὶ γυναῖκας τά τε σάββατα ἄγειν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ συντελεῖν κατὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίων νόμους καὶ τὰς προσευχὰς ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ κατὰ τὸ πάτριον ἔθος. ἂν δέ τις κωλύσῃ ἢ ἄρχων ἢ ἰδιώτης, τῷδε τῷ ζημιώματι ὑπεύθυνος ἔστω καὶ ὀφειλέτω τῇ πόλει.

(24) [259] Ψήφισμα Σαρδιανῶν. ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ στρατηγῶν εἰσηγησαμένων. ἐπεὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς Ἰουδαῖοι πολῖται πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα φιλάνθρωπα ἐσχηκότες διὰ παντὸς παρὰ τοῦ δήμου καὶ νῦν εἰσελθόντες ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον παρεκάλεσαν, [260] ἀποκαθισταμένων αὐτοῖς τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἵνα κατὰ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἔθη συνάγωνται καὶ πολιτεύωνται καὶ διαδικάζωνται πρὸς αὐτούς, δοθῇ τε καὶ τόπος αὐτοῖς, εἰς ὃν συλλεγόμενοι μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων ἐπιτελοῦσιν τὰς πατρίους εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας τῷ θεῷ: [261] δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ συγκεχωρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς συνερχομένοις ἐν ταῖς ἀποδεδειγμέναις ἡμέραις πράσσειν τὰ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτῶν νόμους, ἀφορισθῆναι δ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ τόπον ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν εἰς οἰκοδομίαν καὶ οἴκησιν αὐτῶν, ὃν ἂν ὑπολάβωσιν πρὸς τοῦτ᾽ ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι, ὅπως τε τοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἀγορανόμοις ἐπιμελὲς ᾖ καὶ τὰ ἐκείνοις πρὸς τροφὴν ἐπιτήδεια ποιεῖν εἰσάγεσθαι.

(25) [262] Ψήφισμα Ἐφεσίων. ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Μηνοφίλου μηνὸς Ἀρτεμισίου τῇ προτέρᾳ ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ, Νικάνωρ Εὐφήμου εἶπεν εἰσηγησαμένων τῶν στρατηγῶν. [263] ἐπεὶ ἐντυχόντων τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἰουδαίων Μάρκῳ Ἰουλίῳ Ποντίου υἱῷ Βρούτῳ ἀνθυπάτῳ, ὅπως ἄγωσι τὰ σάββατα καὶ πάντα ποιῶσιν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια αὐτῶν ἔθη μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς ἐμποδὼν γινομένου, [264] ὁ στρατηγὸς συνεχώρησεν, δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ, τοῦ πράγματος Ῥωμαίοις ἀνήκοντος, μηδένα κωλύεσθαι παρατηρεῖν τὴν τῶν σαββάτων ἡμέραν μηδὲ πράττεσθαι ἐπιτίμιον, ἐπιτετράφθαι δ᾽ αὐτοῖς πάντα ποιεῖν κατὰ τοὺς ἰδίους αὐτῶν νόμους.

(26) [265] Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἐστιν καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα τῇ συγκλήτῳ καὶ τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίων δόγματα πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν γεγενημένα καὶ πόλεσιν ψηφίσματα καὶ γράμματα πρὸς τὰς περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων δικαίων ἐπιστολὰς ἀντιπεφωνημένα τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν, περὶ ὧν ἁπάντων ἐξ ὧν

παρατεθείμεθα πιστεύειν τοῖς ἀναγνωσομένοις οὐ βασκάνως ἡμῶν τὴν γραφὴν πάρεστιν. [266] ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐναργῆ καὶ βλεπόμενα τεκμήρια παρεχόμεθα τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἡμῖν φιλίας γενομένης ἐπιδεικνύντες αὐτὰ χαλκαῖς στήλαις καὶ δέλτοις ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ μέχρι νῦν διαμένοντα καὶ διαμενοῦντα, τὴν μὲν πάντων παράθεσιν ὡς περιττήν τε ἅμα καὶ ἀτερπῆ παρῃτησάμην, [267] οὐδένα δ' οὕτως ἡγησάμην σκαιόν, ὃς οὐχὶ καὶ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡμῖν πιστεύσει φιλανθρωπίας, ὅτι ταύτην καὶ διὰ πλειόνων ἐπεδείξαντο πρὸς ἡμᾶς δογμάτων, καὶ ἡμᾶς οὐχ ὑπολήψεται περὶ ὧν εἶναί φαμεν ἀληθεύειν ἐξ ὧν ἐπεδείξαμεν. τὴν μὲν οὖν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς γενομένην δεδηλώκαμεν.

XI

(1) [268] Συνέβη δ' ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ταραχθῆναι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης: Βάσσος Καικίλιος εἷς τῶν τὰ Πομπηίου φρονούντων ἐπιβουλὴν συνθεὶς ἐπὶ Σέξστον Καίσαρα κτείνει μὲν ἐκεῖνον, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ στράτευμα αὐτοῦ παραλαβὼν ἐκράτει τῶν πραγμάτων, πόλεμός τε μέγας περὶ τὴν Ἀπάμειαν συνέστη τῶν Καίσαρος στρατηγῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐλθόντων μετά τε ἱππέων καὶ πεζῆς δυνάμεως. [269] τούτοις δὲ καὶ Ἀντίπατρος συμμαχίαν ἔπεμψεν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων κατὰ μνήμην ὧν εὐεργετήθησαν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τιμωρεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ δίκην παρὰ τοῦ πεφονευκότος εἰσπράξασθαι δίκαιον ἡγούμενος. [270] χρονιζομένου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου Μοῦρκος μὲν ἦλθεν ἐκ Ῥώμης εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Σέξστου, Καῖσαρ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Κάσσιον καὶ Βροῦτον ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ κτείνεται κατασχὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἕξ. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται.

(2) [271] Τοῦ δ' ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρος θανάτῳ πολέμου συνερρωγότος καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει πάντων ἐπὶ στρατιᾶς συλλογὴν ἄλλου ἄλλῃ διεσπαρμένων, ἀφικνεῖται Κάσσιος εἰς Συρίαν παραληψόμενος τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀπάμειαν στρατόπεδα: [272] καὶ λύσας τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀμφοτέρους προσάγεται τόν τε Βάσσον καὶ τὸν Μοῦρκον τάς τε πόλεις ἐπερχόμενος ὅπλα τε καὶ στρατιώτας συνήθροιζεν καὶ φόρους αὐταῖς μεγάλους ἐπετίθει: μάλιστα δὲ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐκάκωσεν ἑπτακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου πραττόμενος. [273] Ἀντίπατρος δ' ὁρῶν ἐν μεγάλῳ φόβῳ καὶ ταραχῇ τὰ πράγματα μερίζει τὴν τῶν χρημάτων εἴσπραξιν καὶ ἑκατέρῳ τῶν υἱῶν συνάγειν δίδωσιν τὰ μὲν Μαλίχῳ κακοήθως πρὸς αὐτὸν διακειμένῳ, τὰ δὲ ἄλλοις προσέταξεν εἰσπράττεσθαι. [274] καὶ πρῶτος Ἡρώδης ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἰσπραξάμενος ὅσα ἦν αὐτῷ προστεταγμένα φίλος ἦν εἰς τὰ μάλιστα Κασσίῳ: σῶφρον γὰρ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίους ἤδη θεραπεύειν καὶ τὴν παρ' αὐτῶν κατασκευάζειν εὔνοιαν ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων πόνων. [275] ἐπιπράσκοντο δ' αὐτανδροι οἱ τῶν ἄλλων [πόλεων] ἐπιμεληταί, καὶ τέσσαρας πόλεις

ἐξηνδραπόδισε τότε Κάσσιος, ὧν ἦσαν αἱ δυνατώταται Γόφνα τε καὶ Ἀμμαοῦς, πρὸς ταύταις δὲ Λύδδα καὶ Θάμνα. [276] ἐπεξῆλθε δ᾽ ἂν ὑπ᾽ ὀργῆς Κάσσιος ὥστε καὶ Μάλιχον ἀνελεῖν, ὥρμητο γὰρ ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ Ὑρκανὸς δι᾽ Ἀντιπάτρου ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων αὐτῷ πέμψας ἐπέσχε τῆς ὁρμῆς.

(3) [277] Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κάσσιος ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀπῆρεν, Μάλιχος ἐπεβούλευσεν Ἀντιπάτρῳ τὴν τούτου τελευτὴν ἀσφάλειαν Ὑρκανοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς εἶναι νομίζων. οὐ μὴν ἔλαθεν τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ταῦτα φρονῶν, ἀλλ᾽ αἰσθόμενος γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐχώρει πέραν Ἰορδάνου καὶ στρατὸν Ἀράβιον ἅμα καὶ ἐγχώριον συνήθροιζεν. [278] δεινὸς δὲ ὢν ὁ Μάλιχος ἠρνεῖτο μὲν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, ἀπολογούμενος δὲ μεθ᾽ ὅρκων αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς παισίν, καὶ ὡς Φασαήλου μὲν Ἱεροσόλυμα φρουροῦντος, Ἡρώδου δὲ ἔχοντος τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν ὅπλων οὐδ᾽ ἂν εἰς νοῦν ἐβάλετο τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν ὁρῶν τὴν ἀπορίαν, καταλλάσσεται πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίπατρον, [279] καὶ συνέβησαν Μούρκου κατὰ Συρίαν στρατηγοῦντος, ὃς αἰσθόμενος νεωτεροποιοῦντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν τὸν Μάλιχον ἦλθε μὲν ὡς παρὰ μικρὸν αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν, Ἀντιπάτρου δὲ παρακαλέσαντος περιέσωσεν.

(4) [280] Ἦν δὲ ἄρα φονέα περισώσας Ἀντίπατρος αὐτοῦ τὸν Μάλιχον: Κάσσιος μὲν γὰρ καὶ Μοῦρκος στρατὸν ἀθροίζοντες τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἅπασαν ἐνεχείρισαν Ἡρώδῃ καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν κοίλης Συρίας ἐποίησαν πλοῖα δόντες καὶ δύναμιν ἱππικήν τε καὶ πεζικήν, ὑποσχόμενοί τε καὶ βασιλέα τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀναδείξειν μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον: συνειστήκει γὰρ τότε πρός τε Ἀντώνιον καὶ τὸν νέον Καίσαρα. [281] Μάλιχος δὲ δείσας τότε μάλιστα τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ἐκποδὼν ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ πείσας ἀργυρίῳ τὸν Ὑρκανοῦ οἰνοχόον, παρ᾽ ᾧ ἑκάτεροι εἱστιῶντο, φαρμάκῳ κτείνει τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ ὁπλίτας ἔχων εὐτρέπιζεν τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν. [282] γνόντων δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τὴν κατὰ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἡρώδου καὶ Φασαήλου καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐχόντων, ἠρνεῖτο πάλιν ὁ Μάλιχος καὶ ἔξαρνος ἦν τοῦ φόνου. [283] καὶ Ἀντίπατρος μὲν εὐσεβείᾳ τε καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ διενεγκὼν καὶ τῇ περὶ τὴν πατρίδα σπουδῇ τοῦτον ἐτελεύτησεν τὸν τρόπον. τῶν δὲ παίδων αὐτοῦ Ἡρώδης μὲν εὐθὺς ἔγνω τιμωρεῖν τῷ πατρὶ μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ Μάλιχον ἐλθών. Φασαήλῳ δὲ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ δόλῳ μᾶλλον ἐδόκει περιγίνεσθαι τἀνδρός, μὴ πολέμου κατάρχειν νομισθῶσιν ἐμφυλίου. [284] τήν τε οὖν ἀπολογίαν τὴν Μαλίχου προσδέχεται καὶ πιστεύειν ὑποκρίνεται μηδὲν αὐτὸν περὶ τὸν Ἀντιπάτρου θάνατον κακουργῆσαι, τάφον τε ἐκόσμει τῷ πατρί. καὶ παραγενόμενος Ἡρώδης εἰς Σαμάρειαν καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτὴν κεκακωμένην ἀνεκτᾶτο καὶ τὰ νείκη διέλυε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

(5) [285] Μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δ᾽ ἐνστάσης τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἑορτῆς παρεγίνετο σὺν τοῖς στρατιώταις εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ δείσας ὁ Μάλιχος ἀνέπεισεν Ὑρκανὸν μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῷ εἰσιέναι. καὶ πείθεται μὲν Ὑρκανός, προβέβλητο δὲ αἰτίαν τῆς ἀποκωλύσεως τὸ μὴ δεῖν ὄχλον ἀλλοδαπὸν ἀγνεύοντος εἰσδέχεσθαι τοῦ πλήθους. [286] ὀλίγον δὲ φροντίσας Ἡρώδης τῶν ἀγγέλων νύκτωρ εἴσεισιν εἰς τὴν

πόλιν καὶ φοβερὸς ἦν τῷ Μαλίχῳ, ὁ δ' οὐκ ἀνίησιν τὴν ὑπόκρισιν, ἀλλ' ἐδάκρυεν τὸν Ἀντίπατρον καὶ ἀνεκαλεῖτο φανερῶς ὡς φίλος, κρύφα δὲ φυλακὴν τοῦ σώματος ἐποιεῖτο. [287] ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς περὶ Ἡρώδην μὴ ἀπελέγχειν αὐτοῦ τὴν προσποίησιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ἀνύποπτον ἀντιφιλοφρονεῖσθαι τὸν Μάλιχον.

(6) [288] Κασσίῳ μέντοι περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς τοῦ πατρὸς Ἡρώδης ἐπέστελλεν, κἀκεῖνος εἰδώς, οἷος εἴη τὸν τρόπον Μάλιχος, ἀντεπιστέλλει τιμωρεῖν τῷ πατρί, καὶ λάθρα διαπέμπει πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Τύρῳ χιλιάρχους κελεύων αὐτοὺς συμπράττειν Ἡρώδῃ δίκαια μέλλοντι πράξειν. [289] ὡς δὲ Λαοδίκειαν ᾔρηκότος Κασσίου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπῆεσαν κοινῇ στεφάνους τε αὐτῷ καὶ χρήματα κομίζοντες, Ἡρώδης μὲν προσεδόκα δώσειν τὸν Μάλιχον τιμωρίαν ἐκεῖ γενόμενον, [290] ὁ δὲ περὶ Τύρον τῆς Φοινίκης ὑπιδόμενος τὸ πρᾶγμα μειζόνων ἐφήπτετο, καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῷ ὁμηρεύοντος ἐν Τύρῳ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔγνω τοῦτόν τε ὑπεκκλέψαι καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀπαίρειν σπεύδοντος ἐπ' Ἀντώνιον Κασσίου τό τε ἔθνος ἀποστήσας αὐτὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέχειν. [291] τοῖς δὲ βεβουλευμένοις ὅ τε δαίμων ἀντέπραξεν καὶ δεινὸς ὢν Ἡρώδης τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτοῦ κατανοῆσαι, ὃς προεισπέμψας θεράποντα τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν ἐπὶ δείπνου παρασκευήν, καὶ γὰρ ἑστιάσειν αὐτοὺς ἅπαντας προειρήκει, ταῖς δ' ἀληθείαις πρὸς τοὺς χιλιάρχους, ἐξελθεῖν ἐπὶ Μάλιχον πείθει μετὰ ξιφιδίων. [292] οἱ δ' ἐπεξελθόντες καὶ πλησίον τῆς πόλεως αὐτῷ περιτυχόντες ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ κατακεντοῦσι τὸν ἄνδρα. Ὑρκανὸς μὲν οὖν ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως τοῦ γεγονότος εἰς ἀφωνίαν ἐτράπη, μόλις δ' ἀνενεγκὼν ἐπυνθάνετο τῶν περὶ Ἡρώδην, ὅ τι ποτε εἴη τὸ γεγενημένον καὶ τίς ὁ Μάλιχον ἀνῃρηκώς. [293] εἰπόντων δὲ Κάσσιον τοῦτο προστάξαι, ἐπῄνεσεν τὸ ἔργον, πονηρὸν γὰρ εἶναι πάνυ καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπίβουλον. καὶ Μάλιχος μὲν ταύτην ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς Ἀντίπατρον παρανομίας δίκην ἐξέτισεν.

(7) [294] Κασσίου δ' ἐκ Συρίας ἀπάραντος ταραχὴ γίνεται κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν: Ἔλιξ γὰρ ὑπολειφθεὶς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις μετὰ στρατιᾶς ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ Φασάηλον ὅ τε δῆμος ἔνοπλος ἦν. [295] Ἡρώδης δὲ παρὰ Φάβιον ἐπορεύετο ἐν Δαμασκῷ στρατηγοῦντα, καὶ βουλόμενος προσδραμεῖν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὑπὸ νόσου κωλύεται, ἕως οὗ Φασάηλος δι' αὐτοῦ κρείττων Ἕλικος γενόμενος κατακλείει μὲν αὐτὸν εἰς πύργον, εἶτα δὲ ὑπόσπονδον ἀφίησιν, τόν τε Ὑρκανὸν ἐμέμφετο πολλὰ μὲν εὖ παθόντα ὑπ' αὐτῶν συμπράττοντα δὲ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς. [296] ὁ γὰρ ἀδελφὸς Μαλίχου τότε ἀποστήσας οὐκ ὀλίγα χωρία ἐφρούρει καὶ Μάσαδαν τὸ πάντων ἐρυμνότατον. ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦτον ῥαίσας Ἡρώδης ἐκ τῆς νόσου παραγίνεται καὶ ἀφελόμενος αὐτοῦ πάντα ὅσα εἶχεν χωρία ὑπόσπονδον ἀπέλυσεν.

XII

(1) [297] Ἀντίγονον δὲ τὸν Ἀριστοβούλου στρατιὰν ἀθροίσαντα καὶ Φάβιον τεθεραπευκότα χρήμασιν κατῆγεν Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Μενναίου διὰ τὸ κήδευμα. συνεμάχει δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Μαρίων, ὃν Τυρίων καταλελοίπει τύραννον Κάσσιος: τυραννίσι γὰρ διαλαβὼν τὴν Συρίαν οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐφρούρησεν. [298] ὁ δὲ Μαρίων καὶ εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ὅμορον οὖσαν ἐνέβαλεν καὶ τρία καταλαβὼν ἐρύματα διὰ φρουρᾶς εἶχεν. ἐλθὼν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον Ἡρώδης ἅπαντα μὲν αὐτὸν ἀφείλετο, τοὺς δὲ Τυρίων φρουροὺς φιλανθρώπως ἀπέλυσεν ἔστιν οἷς καὶ δωρεὰς δοὺς διὰ τὸ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν εὔνουν. [299] ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ὑπήντησεν Ἀντιγόνῳ καὶ μάχην αὐτῷ συνάψας νικᾷ καὶ ὅσον οὔπω τῶν ἄκρων ἐπιβάντα τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐξέωσεν. εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα δὲ παραγενόμενον στεφάνοις ἀνέδουν Ὑρκανός τε καὶ ὁ δῆμος. [300] ἐγεγάμβρευτο δ' ἤδη καθ' ὁμολογίαν τῷ Ὑρκανοῦ γένει καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ προειστήκει μέλλων ἄγεσθαι τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου θυγατέρα, Ὑρκανοῦ δὲ θυγατριδῆν, ἐξ ἧς πατὴρ μὲν γίνεται τριῶν ἀρρένων, δύο δὲ θηλειῶν. ἦκτο δὲ πρότερον καὶ γυναῖκα δημότιν Δῶριν ὄνομα ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ πρεσβύτατος γίνεται Ἀντίπατρος.

(2) [301] Κάσσιον μὲν οὖν χειροῦνται Ἀντώνιός τε καὶ Καῖσαρ περὶ Φιλίππους, ὡς καὶ παρ' ἄλλοις δεδήλωται. μετὰ δὲ τὴν νίκην Καῖσαρ μὲν ἐπ' Ἰταλίας ἐχώρει, Ἀντώνιος δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπῆρεν: γενομένῳ δὲ ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ αἱ πανταχόθεν ἀπήντων πρεσβεῖαι. [302] παρῆσαν δὲ καὶ Ἰουδαίων οἱ ἐν τέλει κατηγοροῦντες τῶν περὶ Φασάηλον καὶ Ἡρώδην, πρόσχημα μὲν εἶναι λέγοντες τῆς βασιλείας Ὑρκανόν, τούτους δὲ τὴν πᾶσαν ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν. [303] Ἡρώδην δὲ Ἀντώνιος διὰ πολλῆς εἶχε τιμῆς ἐλθόντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ἀπολογίᾳ τῶν κατηγορούντων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο συνέβη μηδὲ λόγου τυχεῖν τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας: διεπέπρακτο δὲ τοῦτο χρήμασιν Ἡρώδης παρ' Ἀντωνίου. [304] ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς Ἔφεσον ἦκεν Ἀντώνιος, ἔπεμψεν Ὑρκανὸς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ τὸ ἔθνος τὸ ἡμέτερον πρεσβείαν πρὸς αὐτὸν στέφανόν τε κομίζουσαν χρυσοῦν καὶ παρακαλοῦσαν τοὺς αἰχμαλωτισθέντας ὑπὸ Κασσίου Ἰουδαίους οὐ νόμῳ πολέμου γράψαντα τοῖς κατὰ τὰς ἐπαρχίας ἐλευθέρους ἀπολῦσαι καὶ τὴν χώραν, ἣν ἐν τοῖς Κασσίου καιροῖς ἀφῃρέθησαν, ἀποδοῦναι. [305] ταῦτα κρίνας Ἀντώνιος ἀξιοῦν δίκαια τοὺς Ἰουδαίους παραχρῆμα ἔγραψεν Ὑρκανῷ καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, ἐπέστειλεν δὲ καὶ τοῖς Τυρίοις καὶ διάταγμα ἔπεμπε περιέχον ταῦτα.

(3) [306] Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος αὐτοκράτωρ Ὑρκανῷ ἀρχιερεῖ καὶ ἐθνάρχῃ καὶ τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνει χαίρειν. εἰ ἔρρωσθε, εὖ ἂν ἔχοι, ἔρρωμαι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ τοῦ στρατεύματος. [307] Λυσίμαχος Παυσανίου καὶ Ἰώσηπος Μενναίου καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος Θεοδώρου πρεσβευταὶ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ μοι συντυχόντες τήν τε ἔμπροσθεν ἐν Ῥώμῃ τελεσθεῖσαν αὐτοῖς πρεσβείαν ἀνενεώσαντο καὶ τὴν νῦν ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους σπουδαίως διέθεντο, ἣν ἔχεις εὔνοιαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐμφανίσαντες. [308] πεπεισμένος οὖν καὶ ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ἐκ τῶν λόγων, ὅτι οἰκειότατα ἔχετε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ τὸ ἀραρὸς ὑμῶν ἦθος καὶ θεοσεβὲς

κατανοήσας, [309] ἴδιον ἥγημαι Καταδραμόντων δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἅπασαν τῶν ἐναντιωθέντων ἡμῖν τε καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ μήτε πόλεων μήτε ἡρῴων ἀποσχομένων μήτε ὅρκους οὓς ἐποιήσαντο φυλαξάντων, ἡμεῖς ὡς οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἰδίου μόνον ἀγῶνος, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων κοινοῦ, τοὺς αἰτίους καὶ τῶν εἰς ἀνθρώπους παρανομιῶν καὶ τῶν εἰς θεοὺς ἁμαρτημάτων ἠμυνάμεθα, δι᾽ ἃ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἀπεστράφθαι δοκοῦμεν, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἀηδῶς ἐπεῖδεν τὸ ἐπὶ Καίσαρι μύσος. [310] ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς αὐτῶν τὰς θεμάχους, ἃς ὑπεδέξατο ἡ Μακεδονία καθάπερ ἴδιος αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀνοσίων τολμημάτων ἀήρ, καὶ τὴν σύγχυσιν τῆς ἡμιμανοῦς κακοηθείας κατὰ Φιλίππους τῆς Μακεδονίας συνεκρότουν, καὶ τόπους εὐφυεῖς καταλαμβανόμενοι μέχρι θαλάσσης ἀποτετειχισμένους ὄρεσιν, ὡς πύλῃ μιᾷ τὴν πάροδον ταμιεύεσθαι, τῶν θεῶν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀδίκοις ἐγχειρήμασιν κατεψηφισμένων ἐκρατήσαμεν. [311] καὶ Βροῦτος συμφυγὼν εἰς Φιλίππους καὶ συγκλεισθεὶς ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἐκοινώνησεν Κασσίῳ τῆς ἀπωλείας. τούτων κεκολασμένων εἰρήνης τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπολαύσειν ἐλπίζομεν καὶ ἀναπεπαῦσθαι τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου. [312] κοινὴν οὖν ποιούμεθα καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις τὴν ὑπὸ θεοῦ δοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν εἰρήνην: ὥσπερ οὖν ἐκ νόσου μεγάλης τὸ τῆς Ἀσίας σῶμα νῦν διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν νίκην ἀναφέρειν. ἔχων τοίνυν καὶ σὲ διὰ μνήμης καὶ τὸ ἔθνος αὔξειν φροντίσω τῶν ὑμῖν συμφερόντων. [313] ἐξέθηκα δὲ καὶ γράμματα κατὰ πόλεις, ὅπως εἴ τινες ἐλεύθεροι ἢ δοῦλοι ὑπὸ δόρυ ἐπράθησαν ὑπὸ Γαίου Κασσίου ἢ τῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῷ τεταγμένων ἀπολυθῶσιν οὗτοι, τοῖς τε ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ δοθεῖσιν καὶ Δολαβέλλα φιλανθρώποις χρῆσθαι ὑμᾶς βούλομαι. Τυρίους τε κωλύω βιαίους εἶναι περὶ ὑμᾶς καὶ ὅσα κατέχουσιν Ἰουδαίων ταῦτα ἀποκαταστῆσαι κελεύω. τὸν δὲ στέφανον ὃν ἔπεμψας ἐδεξάμην.

(4) [314] Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος αὐτοκράτωρ Τυρίων ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἐμφανισάντων μοι ἐν Ἐφέσῳ Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ ἐθνάρχου πρεσβευτῶν καὶ χώραν αὐτῶν ὑμᾶς κατέχειν λεγόντων, εἰς ἣν ἐνέβητε κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἐναντιουμένων ἡμῖν ἐπικράτειαν, [315] ἐπεὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας πόλεμον ἀνεδεξάμεθα καὶ τῶν εὐσεβῶν καὶ δικαίων ποιούμενοι πρόνοιαν ἠμυνάμεθα τοὺς μήτε χάριτος ἀπομνημονεύσαντας μήτε ὅρκους φυλάξαντας, βούλομαι καὶ τὴν ἀφ᾽ ὑμῶν εἰρήνην τοῖς συμμάχοις ἡμῶν ὑπάρχειν καὶ ὅσα παρὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐλάβετε ἀνταγωνιστῶν μὴ συγχωρεῖν, [ἀλλὰ] ταῦτα ἀποδοθῆναι τοῖς ἀφῃρημένοις. [316] οὔτε γὰρ ἐπαρχίας ἐκείνων οὐθεὶς οὔτε στρατόπεδα τῆς συγκλήτου δούσης ἔλαβεν, ἀλλὰ βίᾳ καθαρπάσαντες ἐχαρίσαντο βιαίως τοῖς πρὸς ἃ ἠδίκουν χρησίμοις αὐτοῖς γινομένοις. [317] δίκην οὖν αὐτῶν δεδωκότων τούς τε συμμάχους τοὺς ἡμετέρους ὅσα ποτ᾽ εἶχον ἀξιοῦμεν ἀκωλύτους διακατέχειν καὶ ὑμᾶς, εἴ τινα χωρία Ὑρκανοῦ ὄντα τοῦ ἐθνάρχου Ἰουδαίων πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἢ Γάιον Κάσσιον πόλεμον οὐ συγκεχωρημένον ἐπάγοντα ἐπιβῆναι τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἡμῶν νῦν ἔχετε, ἀποδοῦναι αὐτῷ βίαν τε αὐτοῖς μηδεμίαν

προσφέρειν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀσθενεῖς αὐτοὺς ποιεῖν τῶν ἰδίων δεσπόζειν. [318] εἰ δέ τινα ἔχετε πρὸς αὐτὸν δικαιολογίαν, ὅταν ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐξέσται ὑμῖν ταύτῃ χρήσασθαι, ἡμῶν ἕκαστα τοῖς συμμάχοις ὁμοίως τοῖς κρίμασιν φυλασσόντων.

(5) [319] Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος αὐτοκράτωρ Τυρίων ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. διάταγμα ἐμὸν ἀπέσταλκα πρὸς ὑμᾶς, περὶ οὗ βούλομαι ὑμᾶς φροντίσαι, ἵνα αὐτὸ εἰς τὰς δημοσίας ἐντάξητε δέλτους γράμμασι Ῥωμαικοῖς καὶ Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ ἔχητε αὐτὸ γεγραμμένον, ὅπως ὑπὸ πάντων ἀναγινώσκεσθαι δύνηται. [320] Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος αὐτοκράτωρ τριῶν ἀνδρῶν καταστάντων περὶ τῶν δημοσίων πραγμάτων εἶπεν: ἐπεὶ Γάιος Κάσσιος ταύτῃ τῇ ὑποστάσει ἀλλοτρίαν ἐπαρχίαν κατεχομένην ὑπὸ στρατοπέδων καὶ συμμάχους ὄντας διήρπασεν καὶ ἐξεπολιόρκησεν τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος φίλον ὑπάρχον τοῦ Ῥωμαίων δήμου, [321] τὴν ἀπόνοιαν τὴν ἐκείνου τοῖς ὅπλοις κρατήσαντες διατάγμασιν καὶ κρίμασιν ἐπανορθούμεθα τὰ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ διηρπασμένα, ὥστε ἀποκατασταθῆναι ταῦτα τοῖς συμμάχοις ἡμῶν: καὶ ὅσα ἐπράθη Ἰουδαίων ἤτοι σώματα Ἰουδαίων ἢ κτῆσις ταῦτα ἀφεθήτω, τὰ μὲν σώματα ἐλεύθερα, ὡς ἦν ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς, ἡ δὲ κτῆσις τοῖς πρότερον κυρίοις. [322] τὸν δ᾽ οὐχ ὑπακούσαντα τῷ ἐμῷ διατάγματι δίκην συστήσασθαι βούλομαι, κἂν ἁλῷ τότε κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πράγματος ἀξίαν μελήσει μοι ἐπεξελθεῖν τὸν οὐχ ὑπακούσαντα.

(6) [323] Τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ Σιδωνίοις καὶ Ἀντιοχεῦσιν καὶ Ἀραδίοις ἔγραψεν. παρεθέμεθα μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα εὐκαίρως τεκμήρια γενησόμενα ἧς φαμὲν Ῥωμαίους ποιήσασθαι προνοίας ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἔθνους.

XIII

(1) [324] Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰς Συρίαν Ἀντωνίου παραγενομένου Κλεοπάτρα περὶ Κιλικίαν ἐντυχοῦσα δι᾽ ἔρωτος αὐτὸν ἐκεχείρωτο. καὶ δὴ πάλιν Ἰουδαίων ἑκατὸν οἱ δυνατώτατοι παραγίνονται πρὸς αὐτὸν κατηγοροῦντες Ἡρώδου καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν προστησάμενοι σφῶν τοὺς δεινοτάτους λέγειν. [325] ἀντέλεγεν δὲ αὐτοῖς Μεσσάλας ὑπὲρ τῶν νεανίσκων παρόντος καὶ Ὑρκανοῦ, ὃς κηδεστὴς ἐτύγχανεν ἤδη γεγενημένος. ἀκροασάμενος δὲ ἀμφοτέρων Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ Δάφνης πυνθάνεται Ὑρκανοῦ, πότεροι τοῦ ἔθνους ἄμεινον προίστανται: [326] φήσαντος δὲ τοὺς περὶ Ἡρώδην, Ἀντώνιος καὶ πάλαι οἰκείως ἔχων πρὸς αὐτοὺς διὰ τὴν πατρῴαν ξενίαν, ἣν ἡνίκα σὺν Γαβινίῳ παρῆν ἐπεποίητο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν, τούτους μὲν ἀμφοτέρους τετράρχας καθίστησιν καὶ τὰ Ἰουδαίων αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέπει πράγματα, γράφει δὲ καὶ γράμματα Πεντεκαίδεκα τῶν ἀντιστασιαστῶν ἔδησεν, μέλλοντος δὲ καὶ κτείνειν αὐτοὺς παρῃτήσαντο οἱ περὶ Ἡρώδην.

(2) [327] Ἠρέμουν δ᾽ οὐδ᾽ οὕτως ἐπανελθόντες ἐκ τῆς πρεσβείας, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπήντων πάλιν Ἀντωνίῳ χίλιοι εἰς Τύρον ἐκεῖ δόξαντι ἀφικέσθαι. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος πολλοῖς διεφθαρμένος ἤδη χρήμασιν ὑπό τε Ἡρώδου καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ τῷ κατὰ τόπον ἄρχοντι προσέταξεν κολάσαι τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς τῶν Ἰουδαίων νεωτέρων ἐπιθυμοῦντας πραγμάτων καὶ τοῖς περὶ Ἡρώδην συγκαθιστάναι τὴν ἀρχήν. [328] ταχὺ δὲ Ἡρώδης, ἵδρυντο γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ψάμμου πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, προιὼν ἀπιέναι παρεκελεύετο, συνῆν δ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ὑρκανός, ὡς μεγάλου κακοῦ εἰ προέλθοιεν εἰς φιλονεικίαν ἐσομένου. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο. [329] παραχρῆμα δ᾽ ἐκδραμόντες Ῥωμαῖοι σὺν ἐγχειριδίοις τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν, πλείους δὲ κατέτρωσαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διαφυγόντες ἐπ᾽ οἴκου ἡσύχαζον. τοῦ δὲ δήμου καταβοῶντος Ἡρώδου παροξυνθεὶς Ἀντώνιος τοὺς δεδεμένους ἀπέκτεινεν.

(3) [330] Δευτέρῳ δ᾽ ἔτει Συρίαν κατέσχον Πάκορός τε ὁ βασιλέως παῖς καὶ Βαζαφράνης σατράπης ὢν Πάρθων. τελευτᾷ δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Μενναίου καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Λυσανίας παραλαβὼν διαπράττεται φιλίαν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον τὸν Ἀριστοβούλου, πρὸς τοῦτο χρήσιμον τὸν σατράπην παραλαβὼν μέγα παρ᾽ αὐτῷ δυνάμενον. [331] Ἀντίγονος δ᾽ ὑπισχνεῖτο χίλια τάλαντα καὶ πεντακοσίας γυναῖκας δώσειν Πάρθοις, εἰ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ὑρκανὸν ἀφελόμενοι παραδώσουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην ἀνέλοιεν. [332] οὐ μὴν ἔδωκεν: ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν Πάρθοι διὰ τοῦτ᾽ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐστράτευσαν κατάγοντες Ἀντίγονον, Πάκορος μὲν διὰ τῆς παραθαλαττίου, ὁ δὲ σατράπης Βαζαφράνης διὰ τῆς μεσογείου. [333] Τύριοι μὲν οὖν ἀποκλείουσι Πάκορον, Σιδώνιοι δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαεῖς ἐδέξαντο. ἴλην μέντοι Πάκορος ἱππέων εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐξέπεμψεν κατασκεψομένην τε τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν καὶ Ἀντιγόνῳ συμπράξουσαν, ἡγεμόνα τε ὁμώνυμον τοῦ βασιλέως οἰνοχόον. [334] ἐκ δὲ τῶν περὶ Κάρμηλον τὸ ὄρος Ἰουδαίων πρὸς Ἀντίγονον ἐλθόντων καὶ συνεισβαλεῖν ἑτοίμως ἐχόντων, προσεδόκα δὲ τῆς χώρας μέρος τι λαβεῖν ὁ Ἀντίγονος, δρυμοὶ δὲ τὸ χωρίον καλεῖται, καί τινων ὑπαντιασάντων αὐτοὺς διεκπίπτουσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα οἱ ἄνθρωποι. προσγενομένων δέ τινων πολλοὶ συστραφέντες ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια ἦκον καὶ ταῦτα ἐπολιόρκουν. [335] προσβοηθούντων δὲ τῶν περὶ Φασάηλον καὶ Ἡρώδην καὶ μάχης γενομένης κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν νικῶσιν οἱ νεανίσκοι τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ συνδιώξαντες εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν πέμπουσιν ὁπλίτας τινὰς εἰς τὰς πλησίον οἰκίας φρουρήσοντας αὐτάς, οὓς ἐπαναστὰς ὁ δῆμος συμμάχων ὄντας ἐρήμους σὺν αὐτοῖς οἴκοις κατέπρησεν. [336] ὑπὲρ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀδικίας ταύτης Ἡρώδης μετ᾽ ὀλίγον τιμωρίαν παρὰ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν λαμβάνει συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς εἰς μάχην καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνας.

(4) [337] Γινομένων δ᾽ ὁσημέραι ἀκροβολισμῶν αὐτοῖς ἀνέμενον οἱ πολέμιοι τὸν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὄχλον εἰς τὴν καλουμένην πεντηκοστήν, ἑορτὴ δ᾽ ἐστίν, μέλλοντα ἥξειν. [338] τῆς δ᾽ ἡμέρας ἐνστάσης πολλαὶ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀθροίζονται μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων ὡπλισμένων τε καὶ ἀνόπλων. κατεῖχον δὲ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν οἱ

παρόντες πλὴν τῶν περὶ τὰ βασίλεια: ταῦτα γὰρ σὺν ὀλίγοις στρατιώταις οἱ περὶ Ἡρώδην ἐφρούρουν. [339] Φασάηλος μὲν οὖν τὸ τεῖχος ἐφύλασσεν, Ἡρώδης δὲ λόχον ἔχων ἐπέξεισιν τοῖς πολεμίοις κατὰ τὸ προάστειον, καὶ καρτερῶς μαχεσάμενος πολλάς τε μυριάδας τρέπει, τῶν μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν φευγόντων, τῶν δ᾽ εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, ἔστιν δ᾽ ὧν εἰς τὸ ἔξω χαράκωμα: ἦν γάρ τι αὐτόθι: παρεβοήθει δὲ καὶ Φασάηλος. [340] Πάκορος δ᾽ ὁ Πάρθων στρατηγὸς σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ὀλίγοις Ἀντιγόνου δεηθέντος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔρχεται, λόγῳ μὲν ὡς καταπαύσειεν τὴν στάσιν, τὸ δ᾽ ἀληθὲς συμπράξων ἐκείνῳ τὴν ἀρχήν. [341] Φασαήλου δ᾽ ὑπαντήσαντος καὶ δεξαμένου ξενίᾳ Πάκορος πείθει πρεσβεύσασθαι παρὰ Βαζαφράνην αὐτόν, δόλον τινὰ τοῦτον συντιθείς. καὶ Φασάηλος οὐδὲν ὑπιδόμενος πείθεται μὴ ἐπαινοῦντος Ἡρώδου τοῖς πραττομένοις διὰ τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄπιστον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πακόρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἥκουσιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι κελεύοντος.

(5) [342] Ὤιχοντο δ᾽ οὖν πρεσβεύοντες Ὑρκανός τε καὶ Φασάηλος, Πάκορος δὲ καταλιπὼν Ἡρώδῃ διακοσίους ἱππεῖς καὶ δέκα τῶν λεγομένων ἐλευθέρων προύπεμψεν αὐτούς. γενομένοις δ᾽ ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ μεθ᾽ ὅπλων ὑπαντῶσιν οἱ ταύτῃ τῶν πολεμίων ὑφεστῶτες. [343] καὶ Βαζαφράνης τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτοὺς ὑποδέχεται προθύμως καὶ δῶρα δίδωσιν, ἔπειτα ἐπεβούλευεν. πλησίον δὲ μετὰ ἱππέων ὑπὲρ θαλάττης οἱ περὶ Φασάηλον κατάγονται καὶ ἐνταῦθ᾽ ἀκούσαντες, ὡς Ἀντίγονος ὑπόσχοιτο χίλια τάλαντα καὶ γυναῖκας πεντακοσίας τοῖς Πάρθοις κατ᾽ αὐτῶν, δι᾽ ὑποψίας εἶχον ἤδη τοὺς βαρβάρους. [344] οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ νύκτωρ ἐπιβουλευομένους αὐτοὺς ἀπήγγειλέν τις φυλακῆς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τἀφανοῦς περιισταμένης, καὶ συνελήφθησαν ἄν, εἰ μὴ περιέμενον ἕως [ἂν] οἱ περὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα Πάρθοι Ἡρώδην συλλάβοιεν, μὴ προανῃρημένων τούτων ἐκεῖνος αἰσθόμενος διαφύγοι. καὶ ἦν ταῦθ᾽ οὕτως ἔχοντα καὶ οἱ φύλακες αὐτῶν ἐωρῶντο. [345] Φασαήλῳ μὲν οὖν παρῄνουν τινὲς εὐθὺς ἀφιππάσασθαι καὶ μὴ περιμένειν, μάλιστα μέντοι πρὸς ταῦτα αὐτὸν Ὀφέλλιος ἐνῆγεν, ὃς ἀκηκόει παρὰ Σαραμάλλα τοῦ πλουσιωτάτου τῶν ἐν Συρίᾳ τότε καὶ πλοῖα πρὸς τὴν φυγὴν ὑπισχνεῖτο: ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἦν ἡ θάλασσα. [346] ὁ δὲ Ὑρκανὸν ἀπολιπεῖν οὐκ ἠξίου οὐδὲ παρακινδυνεύειν τἀδελφῷ: προσελθὼν δὲ πρὸς τὸν Βαζαφράνην οὐ δίκαια ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν τοιαῦτα βουλευόμενον περὶ αὐτῶν: χρημάτων τε γὰρ δεομένῳ πλείονα ἔσεσθαι παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ὧν Ἀντίγονος δίδωσιν, καὶ ἄλλως δεινὸν εἶναι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πίστει συνελθόντας πρεσβευτὰς ἀποκτεῖναι μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας. [347] ὁ δὲ βάρβαρος ταῦτα λέγοντος ὤμνυεν μηδὲν ἀληθὲς εἶναι τῶν ὑπονοουμένων, ἀλλὰ ψευδεῖς αὐτὸν ὑποψίας ταράξαι, ἀπῄει τε πρὸς Πάκορον.

(6) [348] Οἰχομένου δὲ τῶν Πάρθων ἐδέσμευόν τινες Ὑρκανὸν καὶ Φασάηλον πολλὰ τῆς ἐπιορκίας κακίζοντα τοὺς Πάρθους. ὁ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην ἀπεσταλμένος εὐνοῦχος ἐντολὰς εἶχεν προαγαγὼν αὐτὸν ἔξω τοῦ τείχους συλλαμβάνειν. [349] ἔτυχον δὲ ἄγγελοι παρὰ Φασαήλου πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ δηλώσει τῆς τῶν Πάρθων ἀπιστίας, οὓς τῶν πολεμίων συλλαβόντων γνοὺς Ἡρώδης

πρόσεισι Πακόρῳ καὶ Πάρθων τοῖς δυνατοῖς ὡς οὖσιν τῶν ἄλλων δεσπόταις. [350] οἱ δὲ τὸ πᾶν εἰδότες ὑπεκρίνοντο δολερῶς καὶ δεῖν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν μετὰ σφῶν ἐξελθόντα πρὸ τοῦ τείχους ὑπαντᾶν τοῖς τὰ γράμματα κομίζουσιν: οὐδέπω γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰλῆφθαι πρὸς τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν, ἥκειν μέντοι δηλοῦντας ὅσα κατορθώσειε Φασάηλος. [351] τούτοις Ἡρώδης οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν: ἀκηκόει γὰρ τὴν σύλληψιν τἀδελφοῦ παρ᾽ ἑτέρων: καὶ παραινούσης δὲ τῆς Ὑρκανοῦ θυγατρός, ἧς ἐγγεγύητο τὴν παῖδα, ἔτι μᾶλλον ὑπώπτευε τοὺς Πάρθους. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι ταύτῃ οὐ προσεῖχον, αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἐπίστευεν λίαν ἔμφρονι γυναικί.

(7) [352] Βουλευομένων δὲ τῶν Πάρθων, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, οὐ γὰρ ἤρεσκεν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀνδρὶ τηλικούτῳ, καὶ ὑπερθεμένων εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν, ἐν τοιαύταις ταραχαῖς Ἡρώδης γενόμενος καὶ μᾶλλον οἷς ἤκουσεν περὶ τἀδελφοῦ καὶ τῆς Πάρθων ἐπιβουλῆς ἢ τοῖς ἐναντίοις προστιθέμενος, ἑσπέρας ἐπελθούσης ἔγνω ταύτῃ πρὸς φυγὴν χρήσασθαι καὶ μὴ διαμέλλειν ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀδήλοις τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κινδύνοις. [353] ἄρας οὖν σὺν οἷς εἶχεν ὁπλίταις καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἐπιθέμενος μητέρα τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀδελφὴν καὶ ἣν ἔμελλεν ἄξεσθαι πρὸς γάμον Ἀλεξάνδρου θυγατέρα τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου παιδὸς τήν τε ταύτης μητέρα, Ὑρκανοῦ δ᾽ ἦν θυγάτηρ, καὶ τὸν νεώτατον ἀδελφὸν τήν τε θεραπείαν πᾶσαν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ὄχλον τὸν σὺν αὐτοῖς, ἐδίωκεν τὴν ἐπὶ Ἰδουμαίας λαθὼν τοὺς πολεμίους. [354] ὧν οὐδεὶς ἂν οὕτως στερρὸς τὴν φύσιν εὑρέθη, ὃς τότε παρὼν τοῖς πραττομένοις οὐκ ἂν ᾤκτειρεν αὐτοὺς τῆς τύχης, γυναίων ἐπαγομένων νήπια τέκνα καὶ μετὰ δακρύων καὶ οἰμωγῆς ἀπολειπουσῶν τὴν πατρίδα καὶ φίλους ἐν δεσμοῖς καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἔτι χρηστὸν προσδεχομένων.

(8) [355] Ἀλλ᾽ Ἡρώδης ἐπάνω τῆς ἐκ τοῦ δεινοῦ πληγῆς τὸ φρόνημα ποιησάμενος αὐτός τε ἦν πρὸς τὸ δεινὸν εὔψυχος καὶ παριὼν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν θαρρεῖν ἕκαστον παρεκελεύετο καὶ μὴ παρέχειν αὐτὸν ἔκδοτον τῇ λύπῃ: τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτοὺς βλάπτειν πρὸς τὴν φυγήν, ἐν ᾗ τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς μόνῃ κεῖσθαι συμβέβηκεν. [356] καὶ οἱ μὲν ὡς Ἡρώδης παρῄνει φέρειν τὴν συμφορὰν ἐπειρῶντο. μικροῦ δ᾽ αὐτὸν διεχρήσατο τοῦ ζεύγους περιτραπέντος καὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῷ κινδυνευσάσης ἀποθανεῖν, διά τε τὸ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ πάθος καὶ διὰ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι, μὴ καταλάβωσιν αὐτὸν οἱ πολέμιοι διώκοντες τριβῆς περὶ τὸ πταῖσμα γενομένης. [357] σπασάμενον γοῦν αὐτὸν τὸ ξίφος καὶ μέλλοντα πλήττειν αὐτὸν κατέσχον οἱ παρόντες, τῷ τε πλήθει κατισχύσαντες καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἐχρῆν αὐτοὺς ἐγκαταλιπεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐσομένους λέγοντες: οὐ γὰρ εἶναι γενναίου τῶν δεινῶν αὐτὸν ἐλευθερώσαντα τοὺς φίλους ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑπεριδεῖν. [358] βιασθεὶς οὖν ἀποσχέσθαι τοῦ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν τολμήματος αἰδοῖ τε τῶν λεγομένων καὶ πλήθει τῶν οὐκ ἐπιτρεπόντων αὐτοῦ τῇ χειρὶ διακονεῖν οἷς ἐντεθύμητο, ἀνακτησάμενος τὴν μητέρα καὶ θεραπείας ἧς ὁ καιρὸς ἤπειγεν ἀξιώσας ἐβάδιζεν τὴν προκειμένην ὁδὸν συντονωτέραν ποιούμενος τὴν πορείαν εἰς Μάσαδαν τὸ ἔρυμα. πολλὰς δὲ

μάχας πρὸς τοὺς ἐπεξελθόντας καὶ διώκοντας τῶν Πάρθων μαχεσάμενος πάσας ἐνίκησεν.

(9) [359] Ἔμεινε δ᾽ αὐτῷ παρὰ τὴν φυγὴν οὐδὲ τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀσφαλῆ, συνεπέθεντο δὲ καὶ οὗτοι γενομένοις ἀπὸ σταδίων ἑξήκοντα τῆς πόλεως προσβάλλοντές τε καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἐρχόμενοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν. [360] οὓς δὴ καὶ τρεψάμενος καὶ κρατήσας οὐχ ὡς ἐν ἀπορίᾳ καὶ ἀνάγκῃ τις τοιαύτῃ καθεστώς, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς κάλλιστα καὶ μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος πρὸς πόλεμον παρεσκευασμένος, ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χωρίῳ, ἐν ᾧ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκράτησε, μετὰ χρόνον βασιλεύσας ἔκτισε καὶ βασίλειον κατεσκεύασεν ἀξιολογώτατον καὶ πόλιν περὶ αὐτὸ Ἡρωδίαν προσαγορεύσας. [361] γενομένῳ δὲ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ἐν Θρήσᾳ χωρίῳ οὕτω καλουμένῳ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἰώσηπος ὑπήντησεν καὶ βουλὴν περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἦγε, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, πολλοῦ μὲν πλήθους ἐπαγομένου καὶ δίχα τῶν μισθοφορούντων αὐτοῖς, τοῦ δὲ χωρίου τῆς Μεσάδας, εἰς ὃ προύκειτο συμφυγεῖν ἐλάττονος ὄντος ὑποδέξασθαι τοσοῦτον ὄχλον. [362] τοὺς μὲν οὖν πλείους ἀπέλυσεν ὑπὲρ ἐννέα χιλιάδας ὄντας ἄλλον ἀλλαχῆ κελεύσας διὰ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας σώζειν αὐτούς, δοὺς ἐφόδια: ὅσοι δ᾽ ἦσαν κοῦφοι καὶ τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους ἀναλαβὼν εἰς τὸ ἔρυμα παραγίνεται καὶ καταθέμενος αὐτόθι τάς τε γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς ἑπομένους, ἦσαν δὲ ὡς ὀκτακόσιοι, σίτου τε ὄντος ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ καὶ ὕδατος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων ἁπάντων διαρκούντως αὐτοῖς ἐξώρμησεν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Πέτρας τῆς Ἀραβίας. [363] ἅμα δ᾽ ἡμέρᾳ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων διήρπαζον οἱ Πάρθοι καὶ τὸ βασίλειον, μόνων δὲ ἀπείχοντο τῶν Ὑρκανοῦ χρημάτων: τὰ δ᾽ ἦν ὡς τριακόσια τάλαντα. [364] πολλὰ δὲ τῶν Ἡρώδου διέφυγεν καὶ μάλισθ᾽ ὅσα προκομισθῆναι κατὰ προμήθειαν τἀνδρὸς εἰς τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν ἐφθάκει. τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἀπέχρησε τοῖς Πάρθοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐξιόντες ἐκάκουν καὶ Μάρισάν τε πόλιν δυνατὴν ἀνέστησαν.

(10) [365] Καὶ Ἀντίγονος μὲν οὕτως καταχθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πάρθων βασιλέως Ὑρκανὸν καὶ Φασάηλον δεσμώτας παραλαμβάνει. σφόδρα δ᾽ ἦν ἄθυμος τῶν γυναικῶν αὐτὸν διαφυγουσῶν, ἃς τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνεθυμεῖτο δώσειν, τοῦτον αὐτοῖς τὸν μισθὸν μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων ὑποσχόμενος. [366] φοβούμενος δὲ τὸν Ὑρκανόν, μὴ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποκαταστήσῃ, παραστάς, ἐτηρεῖτο δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Πάρθων, ἐπιτέμνει αὐτοῦ τὰ ὦτα πραγματευόμενος μηκέτ᾽ αὖθις εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην διὰ τὸ λελωβῆσθαι, τοῦ νόμου τῶν ὁλοκλήρων εἶναι τὴν τιμὴν ἀξιοῦντος. [367] Φασάηλον δ᾽ ἄν τις θαυμάσειε τῆς εὐψυχίας, ὃς γνοὺς αὐτὸν ἀποσφάττεσθαι μέλλοντα οὐχὶ τὸν θάνατον ἡγήσατο δεινόν, τὸ δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἐχθροῦ τοῦτο παθεῖν πικρότατον καὶ αἴσχιστον ὑπολαβών, τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἔχων ἐλευθέρας ὑπὸ δεσμῶν πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν πέτρᾳ προσαράξας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐξήγαγε μὲν αὐτὸν ὡς ἐδόκει κάλλιστα τοῦ ζῆν παρὰ τοιαύτην ἀπορίαν, τῆς δ᾽ ἐξουσίας τοῦ κτεῖναι πρὸς ἡδονὴν αὐτὸν ἀφείλετο τὸν πολέμιον.

[368] λέγουσι δ', ὡς τραύματος μεγάλου γενομένου φαρμάκοις αὐτὸν ὑποπέμψας ἰατροὺς Ἀντίγονος ὡς ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ διέφθειρεν θανασίμοις χρησαμένων εἰς τὸ τραῦμα. [369] πρὸ μέντοι τοῦ τελέως ἀφεῖναι τὴν ψυχὴν ὁ Φασάηλος ἀκούσας παρά τινος γυναίου τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἡρώδην τοὺς πολεμίους διαπεφευγότα σφόδρα τὴν τελευτὴν εὐθύμως ὑπέμεινεν καταλιπὼν τὸν ἐκδικῆσαι τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τιμωρήσασθαι δυνάμενον.

XIV

(1) [370] Ἡρώδην δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν περιεστηκότων αὐτὸν κακῶν οὐ κατέπληττεν, ἀλλ' ἐποίει δεινὸν εὑρίσκειν ἐπιβολὰς ἔργων παραβόλων. πρὸς γὰρ Μάλιχον τὸν Ἀράβων βασιλέα πολλὰ πρόσθεν εὐεργετημένον ἀπῄει τὴν ἀμοιβὴν κομιούμενος, ὅτε μάλιστα ἐδεῖτο, χρήματα ληψόμενος εἴτε δάνειον εἴτε δωρεὰν ὡς ἂν πολλῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ τετυχηκότος. [371] οὐ γὰρ εἰδὼς τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔσπευδεν λυτρώσασθαι παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων αὐτὸν λύτρον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καταβαλὼν νόμισμα ἕως τριακοσίων ταλάντων. ἐπήγετο δὲ καὶ τὸν Φασαήλου παῖδα διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν ἑπταετῆ τυγχάνοντα, παρασχὼν αὐτὸν ἐνέχυρον τοῖς Ἄραψιν. [372] ἀγγέλων δ' αὐτὸν ὑπαντησάντων παρὰ τοῦ Μαλίχου, δι' ὧν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀναχωρεῖν: παρηγγελκέναι γὰρ αὐτῷ Πάρθους Ἡρώδην μὴ δέχεσθαι: ταύτῃ δ' ἐχρῆτο προφάσει ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἀποδοῦναι τὰ χρέα καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει παρὰ τοῖς Ἄραψιν εἰς τοῦτο ἐναγόντων, ὅπως ἀποστερήσωσιν τὰς παρακαταθήκας, ἃς παρὰ Ἀντιπάτρου λαβόντες ἔτυχον, [373] ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἐνοχλήσων ἀφικνεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτούς, μόνον δὲ διαλεξόμενος περὶ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων αὐτῷ πραγμάτων.

(2) [374] Ἔπειτα δόξαν ἀναχωρεῖν ἀπῄει μάλα σωφρόνως τὴν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου. καὶ τότε μὲν ἔν τινι ἱερῷ κατάγεται, καταλελοίπει γὰρ αὐτόθι πολλοὺς τῶν ἑπομένων, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ῥινοκούρουρα ἐκεῖ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἤκουσεν. [375] Μαλίχῳ δὲ μεταγνόντι καὶ μεταθέοντι τὸν Ἡρώδην οὐδὲν τούτου περισσότερον ἐγένετο: πορρωτάτω γὰρ ἦν ἤδη σπεύδων τὴν ἐπὶ Πηλουσίου. ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα νῆες ὁρμοῦσαι αὐτόθι εἶργον τοῦ ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας πλοῦ, τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐντυγχάνει, ὑφ' ὧν κατ' αἰδῶ καὶ πολλὴν ἐντροπὴν προπεμφθεὶς εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὑπὸ Κλεοπάτρας κατείχετο. [376] πεῖσαι μέντοι μένειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἠδυνήθη εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπειγόμενον χειμῶνός τε ὄντος καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐν ταραχῇ καὶ σάλῳ πολλῷ δηλουμένων.

(3) [377] Ἀναχθεὶς οὖν ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ Παμφυλίας καὶ χειμῶνι σφοδρῷ περιπεσὼν μόλις εἰς Ῥόδον διασώζεται φορτίων ἀποβολῆς γενομένης. καὶ δύο μὲν ἐνταυθοῖ τῶν φίλων αὐτῷ συνήντησαν, Σαππῖνός τε καὶ Πτολεμαῖος. [378] εὑρὼν δὲ τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Κάσσιον πολέμου κεκακωμένην οὐδ' ἐν ἀπόροις ὢν εὖ ποιεῖν αὐτὴν ὤκνησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν αὐτὴν ἀνεκτᾶτο. τριήρη τε

κατασκευάσας, καὶ ἀναχθεὶς ἐκεῖθεν σὺν τοῖς φίλοις ἐπ᾽ Ἰταλίας εἰς Βρεντέσιον κατάγεται. [379] κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀφικόμενος πρῶτον μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ φράζει τὰ συμβάντα αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, καὶ πῶς ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Φασάηλος ὑπὸ Πάρθων ἀπόλοιτο συλληφθεὶς καὶ Ὑρκανὸς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν αἰχμάλωτος ἔχοιτο, καὶ ὡς Ἀντίγονον καταστήσειαν βασιλέα χρήματα δώσειν ὑποσχόμενον χίλια τάλαντα καὶ γυναῖκας πεντακοσίας, αἳ τῶν πρώτων κἀκ τοῦ γένους τοῦ αὐτῶν ἔμελλον ἔσεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι ταύτας νυκτὸς ἐκκομίσειεν καὶ διαφύγοι τὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν χεῖρας πολλὰς ὑπομείνας ταλαιπωρίας. [380] εἶτ᾽ ἐπιδιακινδυνεύειν † αὐτῷ τοὺς οἰκείους πολιορκουμένους πλεύσειέ τε διὰ χειμῶνος καὶ παντὸς καταφρονήσειε δεινοῦ σπεύδων ἐπὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας τὰς παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μόνην βοήθειαν.

(4) [381] Ἀντώνιον δ᾽ οἶκτος εἰσέρχεται τῆς Ἡρώδου μεταβολῆς, καὶ τῷ κοινῷ χρησάμενος λογισμῷ περὶ τῶν ἐν ἀξιώματι τοσούτῳ καθεστώτων ὡς κἀκείνων ὑποκειμένων τῇ τύχῃ, τὰ μὲν κατὰ μνήμην τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου ξενίας, [382] τὰ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ χρημάτων ὧν αὐτῷ δώσειν Ἡρώδης, εἰ γένοιτο βασιλεύς, ὑπέσχετο καθὼς καὶ πρότερον τετράρχης ἀπεδέδεικτο, πολὺ μέντοι μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ πρὸς Ἀντίγονον μῖσος, στασιαστὴν γὰρ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐχθρὸν αὐτὸν ὑπελάμβανεν, πρόθυμος ἦν οἷς Ἡρώδης παρεκάλει συλλαμβάνεσθαι. [383] Καῖσαρ μὲν οὖν καὶ διὰ τὰς Ἀντιπάτρου στρατείας, ἃς κατ᾽ Αἴγυπτον αὐτοῦ τῷ πατρὶ συνδιήνεγκεν, καὶ τὴν ξενίαν καὶ τὴν ἐν ἅπασιν εὔνοιαν, καὶ χαριζόμενος δὲ Ἀντωνίῳ σφόδρα περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην ἐσπουδακότι, πρὸς τὴν ἀξίωσιν καὶ τὴν ὧν ἐβούλετο Ἡρώδης συνεργίαν ἑτοιμότερος ἦν. [384] συναγαγόντες δὲ τὴν βουλὴν Μεσσάλας καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἀτρατῖνος, παραστησάμενοι τὸν Ἡρώδην τάς τε τοῦ πατρὸς εὐεργεσίας αὐτοῦ διεξῆεσαν καὶ ἣν αὐτὸς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εἶχεν εὔνοιαν ὑπεμίμνησκον, κατηγοροῦντες ἅμα καὶ πολέμιον ἀποφαίνοντες τὸν Ἀντίγονον οὐκ ἐξ ὧν τὸ πρῶτον προσέκρουσεν αὐτοῖς μόνον, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι καὶ παρὰ Πάρθων τὴν ἀρχὴν λάβοι Ῥωμαίους ὑπεριδών. [385] τῆς δὲ βουλῆς ἐπὶ τούτοις παρωξυμμένης παρελθὼν Ἀντώνιος ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς, ὡς καὶ πρὸς τὸν κατὰ Πάρθων πόλεμον Ἡρώδην βασιλεύειν συμφέρει. καὶ δόξαν τοῦτο πᾶσι ψηφίζονται.

(5) [386] Καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέγιστον ἦν τῆς Ἀντωνίου περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην σπουδῆς, ὅτι μὴ μόνον αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν οὐκ ἐλπίζοντι περιεποιήσατο, οὐ γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνέβη ταύτην αἰτησόμενος, οὐ γὰρ ἐνόμιζεν αὐτῷ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους παρέξειν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἔθος ἔχοντας αὐτὴν διδόναι, [387] ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ τῷ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφῷ λαβεῖν ἀξιώσων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ υἱωνῷ τυγχάνοντι πρὸς μὲν πατρὸς Ἀριστοβούλου πρὸς δὲ μητρὸς Ὑρκανοῦ, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι καὶ ἑπτὰ ταῖς πάσαις ἡμέραις παρέσχεν αὐτῷ τυχόντι τῶν οὐδὲ προσδοκηθέντων ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας. [388] τοῦτον μὲν οὖν τὸν νεανίσκον Ἡρώδης ἀπέκτεινεν, ὡς κατὰ καιρὸν δηλώσομεν: λυθείσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς μέσον ἔχοντες Ἡρώδην Ἀντώνιος καὶ Καῖσαρ ἐξῆεσαν προαγόντων ἅμα ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρχαῖς τῶν ὑπάτων θύσοντές τε καὶ τὸ δόγμα

καταθησόμενοι εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον. [389] ἐστιᾷ δὲ τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν τῆς βασιλείας Ἀντώνιος. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαμβάνει τυχὼν αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τῆς ἑκατοστῆς καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς καὶ τετάρτης ὀλυμπιάδος ὑπατεύοντος Γναίου Δομετίου Καλβίνου τὸ δεύτερον καὶ Γαίου Ἀσινίου Πωλίωνος.

(6) [390] Τοῦτον δὲ ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον Ἀντίγονος ἐπολιόρκει τοὺς ἐν Μασάδα, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων αὐτοῖς ὑπαρχόντων, μόνου δὲ σπανίζοντος ὕδατος, ὡς διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Ἡρώδου Ἰώσηπον σὺν διακοσίοις τῶν οἰκείων ἀποδρᾶναι βουλεύσασθαι πρὸς Ἄραβας: ἀκηκόει γὰρ ὡς Μάλχος τῶν εἰς Ἡρώδην ἁμαρτημάτων μετανοεῖ. [391] κατέσχε δ᾽ αὐτὸν ὕσας διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ὁ θεός: τῶν γὰρ ἐκδοχείων πλησθέντων τοῦ ὕδατος οὐκέτι τῆς φυγῆς ἐδεῖτο, ἀλλὰ τεθαρσηκότες ἤδη καὶ πλέον ἢ κατὰ τὴν εὐπορίαν τοῦ σπανίζοντος, ὡς ἐκ θεοῦ προνοίας ταύτης αὐτοῖς γεγενημένης, ἐπεξιόντες καὶ συμπλεκόμενοι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον τοῖς μὲν φανερῶς, τοῖς δὲ καὶ λάθρα, πολλοὺς αὐτῶν διέφθειραν. [392] κἀν τούτῳ Βεντίδιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς πεμφθεὶς ἐκ Συρίας ὥστε Πάρθους ἀνείργειν, μετ᾽ ἐκείνους εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν παρέβαλεν τῷ λόγῳ μὲν Ἰωσήπῳ συμμαχήσων, τὸ δ᾽ ὅλον ἦν αὐτῷ στρατήγημα χρήματα παρ᾽ Ἀντιγόνου λαβεῖν: ἔγγιστα γοῦν Ἱεροσολύμων στρατοπεδευόμενος ἀποχρώντως ἠργυρίσατο τὸν Ἀντίγονον. [393] καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἀνεχώρησεν σὺν τῇ πλείονι δυνάμει, ἵνα δὲ μὴ κατάφωρον γένηται τὸ λῆμμα, Σίλωνα μετὰ μέρους τινὸς τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατέλιπεν, ὃν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐθεράπευεν Ἀντίγονος, ὅπως μηδὲν ἐνοχλοίη, προσδοκῶν καὶ πάλιν αὐτῷ Πάρθους ἐπαμυνεῖν.

XV

(1) [394] Ἡρώδης δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἤδη καταπεπλευκὼς εἰς Πτολεμαίδα καὶ συναγηοχὼς δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην ξένων τε ἅμα καὶ ὁμοφύλων ἤλαυνε διὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον. συνελάμβανον δ᾽ αὐτῷ Σίλων τε καὶ Βεντίδιος πεισθέντες ὑπὸ Δελλίου συγκατάγειν Ἡρώδην τοῦ πεμφθέντος ὑπ᾽ Ἀντωνίου. [395] Βεντίδιος μὲν οὖν ἐτύγχανεν τὰς ταραχὰς τὰς διὰ Πάρθους ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οὔσας καθιστάμενος, Σίλων δ᾽ ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ χρήμασιν ὑπ᾽ Ἀντιγόνου διεφθαρμένος. Ἡρώδῃ μέντοι προιόντι καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἡ δύναμις ηὔξετο καὶ πᾶσα Γαλιλαία πλὴν ὀλίγων αὐτῷ προστέθειτο. [396] ὡρμηκότα δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Μεσάδα, ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ ἦν τὸ σῶσαι τοὺς ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ πολιορκουμένους συγγενεῖς ὄντας, ἐμποδὼν Ἰόππη γίνεται: πολεμίαν γὰρ οὖσαν αὐτὴν ἐχρῆν ἐξελεῖν πρότερον, ὅπως μηδὲν ὑπολείπηται κατὰ νώτου τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἔρυμα χωροῦντος ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων. [397] ποιησαμένου δὲ καὶ Σίλωνος ταύτην πρόφασιν τῆς ἀπαναστάσεως καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων διωκόντων αὐτὸν Ἡρώδης μετ᾽ ὀλίγου στίφους ἐπέξεισιν καὶ τρέπεται μὲν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, Σίλωνα δὲ σώζει κακῶς ἀμυνόμενον, ἑλών τε τὴν Ἰόππην ἔσπευδεν ῥυσόμενος τοὺς ἐν

Μασάδα οἰκείους. [398] τῶν δ' ἐπιχωρίων οἱ μὲν αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν πατρῴαν προσεχώρουν φιλίαν, οἱ δὲ διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ δόξαν, ἄλλοι δὲ κατ' ἀμοιβὴν τῆς παρ' ἀμφοτέρων εὐεργεσίας, οἱ πλείους δὲ διὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας, ἃς ὡς ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ βεβαίῳ τὸ λοιπὸν εἶχον.

(2) [399] Ἤθροιστο δὴ δύναμις βαρεῖα, καὶ προιόντος Ἀντίγονος τῶν παρόδων τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους τόπους ἐνέδραις καὶ λόχοις κατελάμβανεν καὶ καθάπαξ οὐδὲν ἐκ τούτου τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ μικρὰ παντάπασιν ἔβλαπτεν. [400] Ἡρώδης δὲ τοὺς ἐκ Μασάδας οἰκείους παραλαβὼν καὶ Ῥῆσαν τὸ φρούριον ᾔει πρὸς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, συνῆπτε δ' αὐτῷ τὸ μετὰ Σίλωνος στρατιωτικὸν καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὴν ἰσχὺν καταπλαγέντες. [401] στρατοπεδευσαμένου δὲ κατὰ τὸ πρὸς δύσιν τῆς πόλεως κλίμα οἱ κατὰ τοῦτο τεταγμένοι φύλακες ἠκόντιζόν τε καὶ ἐτόξευον εἰς αὐτούς, [402] ἐνίων δὲ καὶ κατὰ στῖφος ἐξιόντων καὶ τοῖς προτεταγμένοις εἰς χεῖρας ἐρχομένων, Ἡρώδης τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκέλευσεν κηρύσσειν περὶ τὸ τεῖχος, ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τε παρείη τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς πόλεως, μηδὲν μηδὲ τοῖς φανεροῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν μνησικακήσων, ἀλλὰ παρέξων καὶ τοῖς διαφορωτάτοις ἀμνηστίαν τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἁμαρτημάτων. [403] τοῦ δὲ Ἀντιγόνου πρὸς τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρώδου κηρυχθέντα λέγοντος πρός τε Σίλωνα καὶ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα, ὡς παρὰ τὴν αὐτῶν δικαιοσύνην Ἡρώδῃ δώσουσιν τὴν βασιλείαν ἰδιώτῃ τε ὄντι καὶ Ἰδουμαίῳ, τουτέστιν ἡμιιουδαίῳ, δέον τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ γένους οὖσι παρέχειν ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς. [404] καὶ γὰρ εἰ νυνὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχουσιν χαλεπῶς καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ὡς λαβόντα παρὰ Πάρθων ἀφελέσθαι διεγνώκασιν, εἶναί γε πολλοὺς ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ τοὺς ληψομένους κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὴν βασιλείαν, οἳ μηδὲν ἐξημαρτηκότες αὐτοὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους καὶ ἱερεῖς ὄντες οὐκ ἂν εἰκότα πάσχοιεν τῆς τιμῆς στερόμενοι. [405] ταῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτῶν λεγόντων καὶ προελθόντων εἰς βλασφημίας Ἀντίγονος ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐπέτρεπεν τοῖς ἰδίοις. οἱ δὲ τοξεύοντες καὶ πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ κατ' αὐτῶν χρώμενοι ῥᾳδίως αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἐτρέψαντο.

(3) [406] Τότε καὶ Σίλων ἀπεκαλύψατο τὴν δωροδοκίαν: καθῆκε γὰρ τῶν οἰκείων στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ὀλίγους σπάνιν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καταβοᾶν καὶ χρήματα εἰς τροφὰς αἰτεῖν καὶ χειμάσοντας ἀπάγειν εἰς τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους τόπους, τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν ὄντων ἐρήμων διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀντιγόνου στρατιωτῶν ἀνεσκευάσθαι, ἐκίνει τε τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο. [407] Ἡρώδης δ' ἐνέκειτο παρακαλῶν τούς τε ὑπὸ τῷ Σίλωνι ἡγεμόνας καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας μὴ καταλιπεῖν αὐτόν, Καίσαρός τε καὶ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου προτρεψάντων αὐτόν: προνοήσειν γὰρ αὐτῶν τῆς εὐπορίας καὶ παρέξειν αὐτοῖς ἀφθονίαν ὧν ἐπιζητοῦσιν ῥᾳδίως. [408] καὶ μετὰ τὴν δέησιν εὐθὺς ἐξορμήσας εἰς τὴν χώραν οὐκέτ' οὐδεμίαν Σίλωνι τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως πρόφασιν ὑπελίπετο: πλῆθος γὰρ ὅσον οὐδ' ἤλπισέν τις τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐκόμισεν, τοῖς τε περὶ Σαμάρειαν ᾠκειωμένοις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπέστειλεν σῖτα καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ βοσκήματα τά

τε ἄλλα πάντα κατάγειν εἰς Ἰεριχοῦντα τοῦ μηδὲ τὰς ἑξῆς ἡμέρας εἰς χορηγίαν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπιλιπεῖν. [409] οὐκ ἐλάνθανε δὲ ταῦτ᾽ Ἀντίγονον, ἀλλ᾽ εὐθὺς ἀπέπεμψεν κατὰ τὴν χώραν τοὺς εἴρξοντας καὶ λοχήσοντας τοὺς σιτηγοῦντας, οἱ δὲ πειθόμενοι τοῖς Ἀντιγόνου προστάγμασιν καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος ὁπλιτῶν περὶ Ἰεριχοῦντα ἀθροίσαντες παρεφύλασσον ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρῶν καθεσθέντες τοὺς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια κομίζοντας. [410] οὐ μὴν Ἡρώδης τούτων πραττομένων ἠρέμει, δέκα δὲ σπείρας ἀναλαβών, ὧν πέντε μὲν Ῥωμαίων, πέντε δὲ Ἰουδαίων ἦσαν, καὶ μισθοφόρους μιγάδας πρὸς οἷς ὀλίγους τῶν ἱππέων ἐπὶ Ἰεριχοῦντα παραγίνεται, καὶ τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐκλελειμμένην καταλαβών, πεντακοσίους δὲ τὰ ἄκρα κατειληφότας σὺν γυναιξὶν καὶ γενεαῖς, τούτους μὲν ἀπέλυσεν λαβών, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ εἰσπεσόντες διήρπασαν τὴν πόλιν μεσταῖς ἐπιτυγχάνοντες παντοίων κειμηλίων ταῖς οἰκίαις. [411] Ἰεριχοῦντος μὲν οὖν φρουρὰν καταλιπὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπέστρεψεν καὶ χειμάσουσαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων στρατιὰν εἰς τὰς προσκεχωρηκυίας διαφῆκεν Ἰδουμαίαν καὶ Γαλιλαίαν καὶ Σαμάρειαν. [412] ἔτυχεν δὲ καὶ Ἀντίγονος παρὰ Σίλωνος ἀντὶ τῆς δωροδοκίας ὥστε ὑποδέξασθαι τοῦ στρατοῦ μοῖραν ἐν Λύδδοις θεραπεύων Ἀντώνιον. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐν ἀφθόνοις διῆγον ἀνειμένοι τῶν ὅπλων.

(4) [413] Ἡρώδῃ δ᾽ οὐκ ἐδόκει μένειν ἐφ᾽ ἡσυχίας, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰώσηπον σὺν δισχιλίοις ὁπλίταις καὶ τετρακοσίοις ἱππεῦσιν ἐξέπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δ᾽ εἰς Σαμάρειαν παραγενόμενος καὶ καταθέμενος αὐτόθι τήν τε μητέρα καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἐξεληλυθότας ἤδη ἐκ τῶν Μασάδων ἐπὶ Γαλιλαίας ᾤχετο ἐξαιρήσων τινὰ τῶν χωρίων ὑπ᾽ Ἀντιγόνου φρουραῖς κατειλημμένα. [414] διελθὼν δὲ εἰς Σέπφωριν νίφοντος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν Ἀντιγόνου φρουρῶν ὑπεξελθόντων ἐν ἀφθόνοις ἦν τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις. [415] εἶτ᾽ ἐκεῖθεν λῃστῶν τινων ἐν σπηλαίοις κατοικούντων ἱππέων ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἴλην ἐκπέμπει καὶ ὁπλιτικοῦ τρία τέλη παῦσαι κακουργοῦντας ἐγνωκώς: [416] ἔγγιστα δ᾽ ἦν ταῦτα κώμης Ἀρβήλων λεγομένης. εἰς δὲ τεσσαρακοστὴν ἡμέραν αὐτὸς ἦκεν πανστρατιᾷ, καὶ θρασέως ἐξελθόντων τῶν πολεμίων κλίνεται μὲν τὸ εὐώνυμον αὐτῶν κέρας τῆς φάλαγγος, ἐπιφανεὶς δ᾽ αὐτὸς μετὰ στίφους τρέπει μὲν εἰς φυγὴν τοὺς πάλαι νικῶντας, ἀναστρέφει δὲ τοὺς φεύγοντας. [417] ἐνέκειτο δὲ διώκων τοὺς πολεμίους ἄχρι Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ φεύγοντας κατ᾽ ἄλλας ὁδούς, καὶ προσάγεται μὲν πᾶσαν τὴν Γαλιλαίαν πλὴν τῶν ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις κατοικούντων, διανέμει δὲ καὶ ἀργύριον κατ᾽ ἄνδρα δοὺς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα δραχμάς, τοῖς δὲ ἡγεμόσιν πολὺ πλέον, εἰς τὰ χειμάδια διέπεμψεν. [418] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Σίλων ἦκεν παρ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν ἐν τοῖς χειμαδίοις Ἀντιγόνου τροφὰς παρέχειν οὐ θέλοντος: μῆνα γὰρ οὐ πλέον αὐτοὺς ὁ ἀνὴρ ἔθρεψεν, διέπεμψεν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κύκλῳ κελεύων τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἀνασκευάσασθαι καὶ εἰς τὰ ὄρη φεύγειν, ὡς μηδὲν ἔχοντες Ῥωμαῖοι λιμῷ διαφθαρεῖεν. [419] Ἡρώδης δὲ τὴν μὲν τούτων πρόνοιαν Φερώρᾳ τῷ νεωτάτῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπιτρέπει κελεύσας αὐτὸν ἅμα τειχίζειν καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειον. ὁ δὲ ταχέως

τε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ πολλῇ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐποίησεν τό τε Ἀλεξάνδρειον ἠρημωμένον ἀνέκτισεν.

(5) [420] Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Ἀντώνιος μὲν διέτριβεν ἐν Ἀθήναις, κατὰ δὲ Συρίαν Οὐεντίδιος Σίλωνα μεταπεμπόμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους ἐπέστελλεν πρῶτον μὲν Ἡρώδῃ συλλαμβάνεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν σφέτερον καλεῖν τοὺς συμμάχους. [421] ὁ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις λῃστὰς ἐπειγόμενος Σίλωνα μὲν ἐξέπεμψεν Οὐεντιδίῳ, αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνους ἐξώρμησεν. [422] ἦν δ᾽ ἐν ὄρεσιν τὰ σπήλαια τελέως ἐξερρωγόσιν καὶ κατὰ τὸ μεσαίτατον ἀποκρήμνους ἔχοντα τὰς παρόδους καὶ πέτραις ὀξείαις ἐμπεριεχόμενα: [423] ἐν δὴ τούτοις μετὰ πάντων τῶν οἰκείων ἐφώλευον. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς λάρνακας ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς πηξάμενος καθίει ταύτας σιδηραῖς ἁλύσεσιν ἐκδεδεμένας διὰ μηχανῆς ἀπὸ κορυφῆς τοῦ ὄρους, μήτε κάτωθεν ἀνιέναι διὰ τὴν ὀξύτητα τοῦ ὄρους δυναμένων μήτε ἄνωθεν καθέρπειν ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς. [424] αἱ δὲ λάρνακες πλήρεις ὁπλιτῶν ὑπῆρχον ἅρπας μεγάλας ἐχόντων, αἷς ἔμελλον ἐπισπώμενοι τοὺς ἀνθεστῶτας τῶν λῃστῶν κτείνειν καταφερομένους. τὴν μέντοι γε κάθεσιν τῶν λαρνάκων σφαλερὰν εἶναι συνέβαινεν κατὰ βάθους ἀπείρου γινομένην: ἔνδον μέντοι καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια παρῆν αὐτοῖς. [425] ὡς δὲ καθιμήθησαν αἱ λάρνακες, ἐτόλμα δ᾽ οὐδεὶς προσελθεῖν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν στομίων, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ δέους ἠρέμουν, μάχαιράν τις περιζωσάμενος τῶν ὁπλοφόρων καὶ ταῖν χεροῖν ἀμφοτέραιν δραξάμενος ἁλύσεως, ἀφ᾽ ἧς ἤρτητο ἡ λάρναξ, κατῄει ἐπὶ τὰ στόμια δυσχεράνας τὴν τριβὴν τῶν ἐπεξιέναι μὴ τολμώντων. [426] καὶ γενόμενος κατά τι στόμιον πρῶτα μὲν παλτοῖς ἀνακόπτει τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ στομίου, ἔπειτα ἅρπῃ τοὺς ἀνθεστῶτας ἐπισπασάμενος ὠθεῖ κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ, καὶ τοῖς ἔνδον ἐπεισελθὼν ἀποσφάττει τε πολλοὺς καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν λάρνακα ἡσύχασεν. [427] φόβος δὲ εἶχε τοὺς ἄλλους τῆς οἰμωγῆς ἀκούοντας καὶ περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀπόγνωσις, τὸ μέντοι γε πᾶν ἔργον ἐπέσχεν ἐπεξελθοῦσιν: καὶ πολλοὶ συγχωρήσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπικηρυκευσάμενοι παρέδοσαν σφᾶς ὑπηκόους εἶναι. [428] τῷ δ᾽ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἐχρήσαντο τῇ προσβολῇ, μᾶλλον ἔτι τῶν ἐν τοῖς πήγμασιν ἐπεξιόντων αὐτοῖς καὶ κατὰ θύρας μαχομένων πῦρ τε ἐνιέντων. [429] ἐξαφθέντων τε τῶν ἄντρων, πολλὴ γὰρ ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς ὕλη, πρεσβύτης τις ἀπειλημμένος ἔνδον σὺν ἑπτὰ τέκνοις καὶ γυναικί, δεομένων τούτων ἐᾶσαι σφᾶς ὑπεξελθεῖν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, στὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ στομίου τὸν ἀεὶ πρῶτον ἐξιόντα τῶν παίδων ἀπέσφαττεν, εἰς ὃ πάντας διεχρήσατο, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, καὶ ῥίψας κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐπικατέβαλεν ἑαυτὸν θάνατον πρὸ δουλείας ὑπομένων. [430] πολλὰ δὲ πρῶτον ὠνείδισεν τὸν Ἡρώδην εἰς ταπεινότητα καί τοι τοῦ βασιλέως, ἦν γὰρ ἄποπτα αὐτῷ τὰ γινόμενα, δεξιάν τε προτείνοντος καὶ πᾶσαν ἄδειαν. τὰ μὲν οὖν σπήλαια τούτων γενομένων ἤδη πάντα ἐκεχείρωτο.

(6) [431] Καταστήσας δ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς αὐτόθι στρατηγὸν Πτολεμαῖον εἰς Σαμάρειαν ᾤχετο σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ἑξακοσίοις ὁπλίταις δὲ τρισχιλίοις ὡς μάχῃ κριθησόμενος πρὸς Ἀντίγονον. [432] οὐ μὴν τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ προυχώρησεν τὰ κατὰ

τὴν στρατηγίαν, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ καὶ πρότερον τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ταράξαντες ἐπεξελθόντες αὐτὸν διεχρήσαντο καὶ τοῦτο δράσαντες συμφεύγουσιν εἴς τε τὰ ἕλη καὶ τὰ δύσβατα τῶν χωρίων, ἄγοντες καὶ διαρπάζοντες τὴν αὐτόθι πᾶσαν. [433] τιμωρεῖται δὲ τούτους Ἡρώδης ἐπανελθών: τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀναιρεῖ τῶν ἀποστάντων, τοὺς δ᾽ ἀναφυγόντας εἰς ἐρυμνὰ χωρία πολιορκίᾳ παραστησάμενος αὐτούς τε ἀπέκτεινεν καὶ τὰ ἐρύματα κατέσκαψεν. ἐζημίωσε δὲ παύσας οὕτως τὴν νεωτεροποιίαν καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἑκατὸν ταλάντοις.

(7) [434] Ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ Πακόρου πεσόντος ἐν μάχῃ καὶ τῶν Πάρθων πταισάντων πέμπει βοηθὸν ὁ Βεντίδιος Ἡρώδῃ Μαχαιρᾶν σὺν δυσὶ τάγμασι καὶ χιλίοις ἱππεῦσιν ἐπισπεύδοντος Ἀντωνίου. [435] Μαχαιρᾶς μὲν οὖν Ἀντιγόνου καλοῦντος αὐτὸν παρὰ τὴν Ἡρώδου γνώμην χρήμασι διεφθαρμένος ἀπῄει ὡς κατασκεψόμενος αὐτοῦ τὰ πράγματα. τὴν δὲ διάνοιαν ὑπιδόμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν τῆς ἀφίξεως Ἀντίγονος οὐδὲ προσεδέξατο, ἀλλὰ σφενδόναις βάλλων αὐτὸν ἀνεῖργεν, καὶ διεδήλου τὴν αὐτοῦ προαίρεσιν. [436] αἰσθόμενος δὲ τὰ βέλτιστα Ἡρώδην αὐτῷ παραινοῦντα καὶ αὐτὸν διημαρτηκότα παρακούσαντα τῆς ἐκείνου συμβουλίας, ἀνεχώρει μὲν εἰς Ἀμμαοῦν πόλιν, οἷς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν Ἰουδαίοις περιετύγχανεν τούτους ἀπέσφαττεν ἐχθρούς τε καὶ φίλους ὀργιζόμενος ὑπὲρ ὧν πεπόνθει. [437] παροξυνθεὶς δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ Σαμαρείας ᾔει: πρὸς γὰρ Ἀντώνιον ἐγνώκει περὶ τούτων ἀφικέσθαι: δεῖσθαι γὰρ οὐχὶ τοιούτων συμμάχων, οἳ βλάψουσι μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους: ἐξαρκεῖν δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν Ἀντιγόνου καθαίρεσιν. [438] παρακολουθῶν δ᾽ ὁ Μαχαιρᾶς ἐδεῖτο μένειν: εἰ δὲ οὕτως ὥρμηκεν, ἀλλὰ τόν γε ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰώσηπον παρακαθιστάνειν σφίσι προσπολεμοῦσιν Ἀντιγόνῳ. καὶ διαλλάττεται μὲν πολλὰ τοῦ Μαχαιρᾶ δεηθέντος, καταλιπὼν δὲ τὸν Ἰώσηπον αὐτόθι σὺν στρατῷ παρῄνεσεν μὴ ἀποκινδυνεύειν μηδὲ τῷ Μαχαιρᾷ διαφέρεσθαι.

(8) [439] Αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἔσπευδεν, ἐτύγχανεν γὰρ πολιορκῶν Σαμόσατα τὸ πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ χωρίον, σὺν ἱππόταις τε καὶ πεζοῖς κατὰ συμμαχίαν αὐτῷ παροῦσιν. [440] παραγενόμενος δ᾽ εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ πολλοῖς ἐπιτυχὼν ἠθροισμένοις καὶ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον μὲν σπουδὴν βαδίζειν ἔχουσιν, ὑπὸ δέους δὲ διὰ τὸ κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ πολλοὺς ἀναιρεῖν οὐ τολμῶντας ἐξορμᾶν, παραθαρσύνας αὐτὸς ἡγεμὼν γίνεται τῆς ὁδοῦ. [441] κατὰ δὲ σταθμὸν δεύτερον Τῶν Σαμοσάτων ἐλόχα μὲν αὐτόθι τῶν βαρβάρων ἐνέδρα τοὺς φοιτῶντας πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, δρυμῶν δὲ τὰς εἰσβολὰς τὰς εἰς τὰ πεδία διαλαμβανόντων προλοχίζουσιν αὐτόθι τῶν ἱππέων οὐκ ὀλίγους ἠρεμήσοντας ἕως ἂν εἰς τὸ ἱππήλατον οἱ διεξιόντες ἔλθοιεν. [442] ὡς δ᾽ οἱ πρῶτοι διεξῆλθον, ὀπισθοφυλακεῖ μὲν Ἡρώδης, προσπίπτουσι δὲ ἐξαπιναίως οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ὄντες εἰς πεντακοσίους, καὶ τρεψαμένων τοὺς πρώτους ἐπιδραμὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῇ ῥύμῃ τῇ περὶ αὐτὸν παραχρῆμα μὲν ἀνακόπτει τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐπεγείρει δὲ τὸ τῶν οἰκείων φρόνημα καὶ θαρραλέους ἀπεργάζεται, καὶ τῶν

πάλαι φευγόντων ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς μαχομένων ἐκτείνοντο πάντοθεν οἱ βάρβαροι. [443] ἐπέκειτο δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναιρῶν καὶ τὰ διηρπασμένα, πολλὰ δ' ἦν σκευοφόρα καὶ ἀνδράποδα, πάντα ἀνασωσάμενος προῄει. [444] καὶ πλειόνων αὐτοῖς ἐπιθεμένων τῶν ἐν τοῖς δρυμῶσιν, οἳ πλησίον τῆς εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἐκβολῆς ἦσαν, καὶ τούτοις προσμίξας αὐτὸς μετὰ στίφους καρτεροῦ τρέπεται καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνας ἀδεᾶ τοῖς ἑπομένοις ὁδὸν παρεῖχεν: οἱ δὲ σωτῆρα καὶ προστάτην αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν.

(9) [445] Ἐπεὶ δὲ πλησίον τῶν Σαμοσάτων γεγόνει, πέμπει τὸ στράτευμα ὑπαντησόμενον Ἀντώνιος σὺν τῷ οἰκείῳ κόσμῳ τιμὴν Ἡρώδῃ ταύτην ἀπονέμων καὶ ἐπικουρίας ἕνεκα: τὴν γὰρ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀκηκόει κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπίθεσιν. [446] καὶ δὴ παρόντα τε εἶδεν ἀσμένως καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα μαθὼν ἐδεξιοῦτο καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐθαύμαζεν, αὐτός τε περιλαβὼν αὐτὸν Ἀντώνιος ὡς εἶδεν ἠσπάζετο προυτίμα τε νεωστὶ βασιλέα ἀποδείξας. [447] Ἀντιόχου δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τὸ ἔρυμα παραδόντος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παυσαμένου τοῦ πολέμου Σοσσίῳ μὲν Ἀντώνιος παραδίδωσιν Παρακελευσάμενος δὲ Ἡρώδῃ συμμαχεῖν αὐτὸς ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἐχώρει. καὶ Σόσσιος μὲν δύο τάγματα ἐπικουρικὰ Ἡρώδῃ προύπεμψεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τοῦ πλείονος στρατοῦ ἠκολούθει.

(10) [448] Ἔτυχεν δ' ἤδη κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν τεθνεὼς Ἰώσηπος τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ: λήθην μὲν ὧν αὐτῷ παρήγγειλεν ὁ ἀδελφὸς πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἀπερχόμενος λαμβάνει, στρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη, πέντε γὰρ αὐτῷ σπείρας Μαχαιρᾶ δόντος ἐπὶ Ἰεριχοῦντος ἠπείγετο βουλόμενος ἐκθερίσαι τὸν σῖτον αὐτῶν, [449] καὶ νεοσυλλέκτου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατεύματος ὄντος, καὶ πολέμων ἀπείρως ἔχοντος καὶ γὰρ πολὺ ἐκ Συρίας ἦν τὸ κατειλεγμένον, ἐπιθεμένων αὐτόθι τῶν πολεμίων, ἀποληφθεὶς ἐν δυσχωρίαις αὐτός τε ἀποθνήσκει γενναίως μαχόμενος καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν ἀπέβαλεν: ἔξ γὰρ σπεῖραι διεφθάρησαν. [450] κρατήσας δὲ τῶν νεκρῶν Ἀντίγονος ἀποτέμνει τὴν Ἰωσήπου κεφαλὴν πεντήκοντα ταλάντων αὐτὴν ῥυομένου Φερώρα τἀδελφοῦ. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀποστάντες Γαλιλαῖοι τῶν παρὰ σφίσι δυνατῶν τοὺς τὰ Ἡρώδου φρονοῦντας ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ κατεπόντωσαν, καὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας πολλὰ ἐνεωτερίσθη. Μαχαιρᾶς δὲ χωρίον Ηττον ἐξωχύρου.

(11) [451] Παρῆσαν δ' ἄγγελοι τῶν πεπραγμένων πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ἐν Δάφνῃ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐδήλωσαν αὐτῷ τὴν κατὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τύχην, προσδεχομένῳ μέντοι καὶ αὐτῷ διά τινας ὀνείρων ὄψεις τρανῶς προφαινούσας τὸν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ θάνατον. [452] ἐπειχθεὶς οὖν κατὰ τὴν πορείαν ὡς κατὰ Λίβανον τὸ ὄρος γίνεται, ὀκτακοσίους μὲν τῶν αὐτόθι προσλαμβάνει, ἔχων δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαικὸν ἓν τάγμα εἰς Πτολεμαίδα παραγίνεται, κἀκεῖθεν νυκτὸς ἀναστὰς μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ προῄει διὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας. [453] ὑπήντων δ' οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ κρατηθέντες τῇ μάχῃ κατεκλείσθησαν εἰς χωρίον, ὅθεν ἦσαν ὡρμηκότες τῇ προτεραίᾳ: προσβολὰς δὴ τοὐντεῦθεν [ἔωθεν] ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ πολλοῦ χειμῶνος καταρραγέντος οὐδὲν ποιεῖν

δυνάμενος ἀπάγει τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὰς πλησίον κώμας. ἐλθόντος δ᾽ αὐτῷ παρ᾽ Ἀντωνίου καὶ δευτέρου τάγματος οἱ τὸ χωρίον ἔχοντες φοβηθέντες νυκτὸς ἐξέλιπον αὐτό. [454] καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔσπευδεν ἐπὶ Ἰεριχοῦντος τιμωρήσασθαι κατὰ νοῦν ἔχων αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τἀδελφοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέζευξεν, εἱστία μὲν τοὺς ἐν τέλει, μετὰ δὲ τὴν συνουσίαν παρῆλθεν εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον ἀπολύσας τοὺς παρόντας. [455] ἐνταῦθα ἴδοι τις ἂν τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ εὔνοιαν: πίπτει μὲν γὰρ ἡ στέγη τοῦ οἰκήματος, οὐδένα δὲ ἀπολαβοῦσα διέφθειρεν, ὥστε πάντας πιστεῦσαι τὸν Ἡρώδην εἶναι θεοφιλῆ, μέγαν οὕτω καὶ παράδοξον διαφυγόντα κίνδυνον.

(12) [456] Τῇ δ᾽ ὑστεραίᾳ τῶν πολεμίων ἑξακισχίλιοι ἀπ᾽ ἄκρων κατιόντες τῶν ὀρῶν εἰς μάχην ἐφόβουν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. οἱ δὲ γυμνῆτες προσιόντες τοῖς παλτοῖς ἔβαλλον καὶ λίθοις τοὺς περὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἐξεληλυθότας αὐτόν τε παλτῷ τις παρὰ τὴν λαπάραν ἔβαλεν. [457] Ἀντίγονος δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὴν Σαμάρειαν πέμπει στρατηγὸν Πάππον ὄνομα σὺν δυνάμει πολλῇ βουλόμενος παρασχεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις δόξαν πολεμοῦντος ἐκ περιουσίας. ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν Μαχαιρᾷ τῷ στρατηγῷ προσεκάθητο: Ἡρώδης δὲ πέντε πόλεις καταλαβὼν τοὺς ἐγκαταληφθέντας περὶ δισχιλίους ὄντας ἐφόνευσεν αὐτάς τε τὰς πόλεις ἐμπρήσας ἐπανῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν Πάππον: [458] ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο δ᾽ οὗτος περὶ κώμην Ἰσάνας καλουμένην καὶ πολλῶν αὐτῷ προσρεόντων ἐκ τῆς Ἰεριχοῦς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἰουδαίας, ἐπεὶ πλησίον γίνεται, τῶν πολεμίων ἐπεξελθόντων αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ θράσους συμβαλὼν κρατεῖ τῇ μάχῃ, καὶ τιμωρῶν τἀδελφῷ φεύγουσιν εἰς τὴν κώμην εἵπετο κτείνων. [459] πεπληρωμένων δὲ τῶν οἰκήσεων ὁπλιτῶν καί τινων ἀναφευγόντων ἐπὶ τὰς στέγας κρατεῖ τούτων, καὶ τοὺς ὀρόφους τῶν οἴκων ἀνασκάπτων ἔμπλεα τὰ κάτω τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἑώρα ἀθρόων ἀπειλημμένων. [460] τούτους μὲν οὖν πέτραις ἄνωθεν βάλλοντες σωρηδὸν ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλοις ἀνῄρουν: καὶ θέαμα τοῦτο δεινότατον ἦν κατὰ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον νεκρῶν τὸ πλῆθος ἀπείρων ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλοις κειμένων. [461] τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον μάλιστα τὰ φρονήματα τῶν πολεμίων ἔκλασεν καραδοκούντων τὸ μέλλον: ἑωρῶντο γὰρ παμπληθεῖς πόρρωθεν συγγενόμενοι περὶ τὴν κώμην: οἳ τότε ἔφευγον, καὶ εἰ μὴ χειμὼν ἐπέσχεν βαθύς, ἦκεν ἂν καὶ ἐπὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἡ βασιλέως στρατιὰ θαρροῦσα τῷ νενικηκέναι, καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἦν ἂν εἰργασμένη: καὶ γὰρ Ἀντίγονος ἤδη τὴν παντελῆ φυγὴν ἐσκόπει καὶ ἀπανάστασιν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.

(13) [462] Τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεύς, ὀψία γὰρ ἦν, δειπνοποιεῖσθαι κελεύει τοὺς στρατιώτας, αὐτὸς δέ, ἐκεκμήκει γάρ, εἰσελθὼν εἴς τι δωμάτιον περὶ λουτρὸν ἦν. ἔνθα καὶ κίνδυνος αὐτῷ μέγιστος συνέπεσεν, ὃν κατὰ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν διέφυγεν: [463] γυμνοῦ γὰρ ὄντος αὐτοῦ καὶ μετὰ παιδὸς ἑνὸς ἀκολούθου λουομένου [ἐν τῷ] ἐντὸς οἰκήματι τῶν πολεμίων τινὲς ὡπλισμένοι συμπεφευγότες αὐτόθι διὰ φόβον μεταξὺ λουομένου ὁ πρῶτος ὑπεξέρχεται ξίφος ἔχων γυμνὸν καὶ διὰ θυρῶν χωρεῖ, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον δεύτερος καὶ τρίτος ὁμοίως ὡπλισμένοι, οὐδὲν

βλάψαντες τὸν βασιλέα ὑπ᾽ ἐκπλήξεως, ἀγαπῶντες δὲ τὸ μηδὲν αὐτοὶ παθόντες εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν διεκπεσεῖν. [464] τῇ δ᾽ ὑστεραίᾳ τὴν μὲν Πάππου κεφαλήν, ἀνῄρητο γάρ, ἀποκόψας Φερώρᾳ ἔπεμψεν ποινὴν ἀνθ᾽ ὧν ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ πάθοι: οὗτος γὰρ ἦν αὐτόχειρ ἐκείνου γεγενημένος.

(14) [465] Λήξαντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἅρας ἐκεῖθεν ἐγγὺς τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἔρχεται καὶ πλησίον στρατοπεδεύεται τῆς πόλεως: τρίτον δὲ ἔτος τοῦτο ἦν αὐτῷ ἐξ οὗ βασιλεὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀποδέδεικτο. [466] ἀναστρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ καὶ πλησίον ἐλθὼν τοῦ τείχους κατὰ τὸ ἐπιμαχώτατον πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ στρατοπεδεύεται προσβαλεῖν διεγνωκώς, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν ποτε Πομπήιος. τρισὶν δὲ διαλαβὼν χώμασιν τὸν τόπον πύργους ἀνίστα πολλῇ τε χειρὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον χρώμενος καὶ τέμνων τὴν πέριξ ὕλην. [467] παρακαταστήσας δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους, ἱδρυμένης ἔτι τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτὸς εἰς Σαμάρειαν ἐπὶ τὸν γάμον ᾤχετο ἀξόμενος τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου θυγατέρα: ταύτην γὰρ ἦν ἐγγεγυημένος, ὥς μοι καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται.

XVI

(1) [468] Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς γάμους ἦλθεν μὲν διὰ Φοινίκης Σόσσιος προεκπέμψας τὴν δύναμιν διὰ τῆς μεσογαίας, ἦλθεν δὲ καὶ ὁ στρατὸς πλῆθος ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν, παρεγένετο δὲ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος οὐκ ὀλίγον πρὸς τῷ πάλαι στρατὸν ἄγων: [469] περὶ τρισμυρίους γὰρ ἦσαν. πάντες δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἠθροίζοντο τεῖχος, καὶ διεκάθητο πρὸς τῷ βορείῳ τείχει τῆς πόλεως στρατιᾶς ἔνδεκα μὲν οὖσα τέλη ὁπλιτικοῦ, ἓξ δὲ χιλιάδες ἱππέων, ἄλλα δὲ ἐπικουρικὰ ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας, δύο δ᾽ ἡγεμόνες, Σόσσιος μὲν ὑπ᾽ Ἀντωνίου σταλεὶς σύμμαχος, Ἡρώδης δ᾽ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, ὡς Ἀντίγονον ἀφελόμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποδειχθέντα ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολέμιον αὐτὸς ἀντ᾽ ἐκείνου βασιλεὺς εἴη κατὰ τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα.

(2) [470] Μετὰ δὲ πολλῆς προθυμίας καὶ ἔριδος ἅτε σύμπαντος ἠθροισμένου τοῦ πλήθους οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην ἀντεπολέμουν κατειληθέντες ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους, πολλά τε ἐπεφήμιζον περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ πολλὰ ἐπ᾽ εὐφημίᾳ τοῦ δήμου, ὡς ῥυσομένου τῶν κινδύνων αὐτοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ. [471] τά τε ἐκτὸς τῆς πόλεως ἀπεσκευάσαντο, ὡς μηδ᾽ ὅσα τροφὴ δύναιτο εἶναι ὑπολιπεῖν ἢ ἀνθρώποις ἢ ὑποζυγίοις, λῃστείαις τε λάθρα χρώμενοι ἀπορίαν παρέσχον. [472] ταῦτα δ᾽ Ἡρώδης συνιδὼν πρὸς μὲν τὰς λῃστείας ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαιροτάτοις τόποις παρελόχιζεν, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πέμπων ὁπλιτικὰ τέλη πόρρωθεν ἀγορὰν συνεκόμιζεν, ὡς ὀλίγου χρόνου πολλὴν ἀφθονίαν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι τῶν ἀναγκαίων. [473] ἦρτο δὲ συνεχῶς ἤδη πολλῆς χειρὸς ἐργαζομένης καὶ τὰ τρία χώματα εὐπετῶς: θέρος τε γὰρ ἦν καὶ οὐδὲν ἐμποδὼν πρὸς τὴν ἀνάστασιν οὔτ᾽ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀέρος οὔτ᾽ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐργαζομένων, τά τε μηχανήματα προσάγοντες

κατέσειον τὸ τεῖχος καὶ πάσαις ἐχρῶντο πείραις. [474] οὐ μὴν ἐξέπληττον τοὺς ἔνδον, ἀλλὰ ἀντετεχνῶντο κἀκεῖνοι πρὸς τὰ παρὰ τούτων γινόμενα οὐκ ὀλίγα, ἐπεκθέοντές τε τὰ μὲν ἡμίεργα ἐνεπίμπρασαν τὰ δ' ἐξειργασμένα, εἴς τε χεῖρας ἰόντες οὐδὲν κακίους τὰς τόλμας Ῥωμαίων ἦσαν, ἐπιστήμῃ δ' ἐλείποντο. [475] πρός τε τὰς μηχανὰς ἀντετείχιζον ἐρειπομένων τῶν πρώτων οἰκοδομημάτων, ὑπὸ γῆν τε ἀπαντῶντες ἐν ταῖς μεταλλεύσεσιν διεμάχοντο, ἀπονοίᾳ δὲ τὸ πλέον ἢ προμηθείᾳ χρώμενοι προσελιπάρουν τῷ πολέμῳ εἰς τοὔσχατον, καὶ ταῦτα μεγάλου στρατοῦ περικαθημένου σφᾶς καὶ λιμῷ ταλαιπωρούμενοι καὶ σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων: τὸν γὰρ ἑβδοματικὸν ἐνιαυτὸν συνέβη κατὰ ταῦτ' εἶναι. [476] ἀναβαίνουσιν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος πρῶτον μὲν λογάδες εἴκοσι, ἔπειτα δὲ ἑκατόνταρχοι Σοσσίου: ᾑρέθη γὰρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τεῖχος ἡμέραις τεσσαράκοντα, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον πεντεκαίδεκα: καί τινες τῶν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐνεπρήσθησαν στοῶν, ἃς Ἡρώδης Ἀντίγονον ἐμπρῆσαι διέβαλεν, μῖσος αὐτῷ πραγματευόμενος παρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων γενέσθαι. [477] ᾑρημένου δὲ τοῦ ἔξωθεν ἱεροῦ καὶ τῆς κάτω πόλεως εἰς τὸ ἔσωθεν ἱερὸν καὶ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι συνέφυγον, δείσαντες δὲ μὴ διακωλύσωσιν αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς καθημερινὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν τῷ θεῷ, πρεσβεύονται ἐπιτρέψαι παρακαλοῦντες θύματα αὐτοῖς μόνον εἰσκομίζεσθαι: ὁ δ' ὡς ἐνδωσόντων αὐτῶν συνεχώρει ταῦτα. [478] καὶ ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ἑώρα γινόμενον παρ' αὐτῶν ὧν ὑπενόει, ἀλλὰ ἰσχυρῶς ἀντέχοντας ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀντιγόνου βασιλείας, προσβαλὼν κατὰ κράτος εἷλεν τὴν πόλιν. [479] καὶ πάντα εὐθὺς φόνων ἦν ἀνάπλεα τῶν μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ τῇ τριβῇ τῆς πολιορκίας διωργισμένων, τοῦ δὲ περὶ Ἡρώδην Ἰουδαικοῦ μηδὲν ὑπολιπεῖν σπεύδοντος ἀντίπαλον. [480] ἐσφάττοντο δὲ παμπληθεῖς ἔν τε τοῖς στενωποῖς καὶ κατὰ τὰς οἰκίας συνωθούμενοι καὶ τῷ ναῷ προσφεύγοντες, ἦν τε οὔτε νηπίων οὔτε γήρως ἔλεος οὔτε ἀσθενείας γυναικῶν φειδώ, ἀλλὰ καίτοι περιπέμποντος τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ φείδεσθαι παρακαλοῦντος οὐδεὶς ἐκράτησεν τῆς δεξιᾶς, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ μεμηνότες πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν ἐπεξῄεσαν. [481] ἔνθα καὶ Ἀντίγονος μήτε τῆς πάλαι μήτε τῆς τότε τύχης ἔννοιαν λαβὼν κάτεισι μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς βάρεως, προσπίπτει δὲ τοῖς Σοσσίου ποσίν, κἀκεῖνος μηδὲν αὐτὸν οἰκτείρας πρὸς τὴν μεταβολὴν ἐπεκρότησεν μὲν ἀκρατῶς καὶ Ἀντιγόνην ἐκάλεσεν, οὐ μὴν ὡς γυναῖκά γε φρουρᾶς ἐλεύθερον ἀφῆκεν, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν δεθεὶς ἐφυλάττετο.

(3) [482] Πρόνοια δ' ἦν Ἡρώδῃ κρατοῦντι τῶν πολεμίων τοῦ κρατῆσαι καὶ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων συμμάχων: ὥρμητο γὰρ τὸ ξενικὸν πλῆθος ἐπὶ θέᾳ τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν ναὸν ἁγίων. [483] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοὺς μὲν παρακαλῶν τοὺς δ' ἀπειλῶν ἔστιν δ' οὓς καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀνέστελλεν, ἥττης χαλεπωτέραν ἡγούμενος τὴν νίκην, εἴ τι τῶν ἀθεάτων παρ' αὐτῶν ὀφθείη. [484] διεκώλυέ τε καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἁρπαγάς, πολλὰ διατεινάμενος πρὸς Σόσσιον, εἰ χρημάτων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν πόλιν κενώσαντες καταλείψουσιν αὐτὸν ἐρημίας βασιλέα, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τοσούτῳ πολιτῶν φόνῳ βραχὺ καὶ τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡγεμονίαν

ἀντάλλαγμα κρίνει. [485] τοῦ δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς πολιορκίας τὰς ἁρπαγὰς δικαίως τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπιτρέπειν φαμένου, αὐτὸς ἔφη διανεμεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χρημάτων τοὺς μισθοὺς ἑκάστοις. [486] οὕτως τε τὴν λοιπὴν ἐξωνησάμενος πόλιν τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἐπλήρωσεν: λαμπρῶς μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστον στρατιώτην, ἀναλόγως δὲ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, βασιλικώτατα δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐδωρήσατο Σόσσιον, ὡς πάντας ἀπελθεῖν χρημάτων εὐποροῦντας.

(4) [487] Τοῦτο τὸ πάθος συνέβη τῇ Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλει ὑπατεύοντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ Μάρκου Ἀγρίππα καὶ Κανιδίου Γάλλου ἐπὶ τῆς ἑκατοστῆς ὀγδοηκοστῆς καὶ πέμπτης ὀλυμπιάδος τῷ τρίτῳ μηνὶ τῇ ἑορτῇ τῆς νηστείας, ὥσπερ ἐκ περιτροπῆς τῆς γενομένης ἐπὶ Πομπηίου τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις συμφορᾶς: [488] καὶ γὰρ ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου τῇ αὐτῇ ἑάλωσαν ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ ἔτη εἰκοσιεπτά. Σόσσιος δὲ χρυσοῦν ἀναθεὶς τῷ θεῷ στέφανον ἀνέζευξεν ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων Ἀντίγονον ἄγων δεσμώτην Ἀντωνίῳ. [489] δείσας δὲ Ἡρώδης μὴ φυλαχθεὶς Ἀντίγονος ὑπ᾽ Ἀντωνίου καὶ κομισθεὶς εἰς Ῥώμην ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ δικαιολογήσηται πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον, ἐπιδεικνὺς αὐτὸν μὲν ἐκ βασιλέων, Ἡρώδην δὲ ἰδιώτην, καὶ ὅτι προσῆκεν αὐτοῦ βασιλεύειν τοὺς παῖδας διὰ τὸ γένος, εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς Ῥωμαίους ἐξήμαρτεν: [490] ταῦτα φοβούμενος πολλοῖς χρήμασι πείθει τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀνελεῖν Ἀντίγονον. οὗ γενομένου τοῦ δέους μὲν Ἡρώδης ἀπαλλάσσεται, παύεται δ᾽ οὕτως ἡ τοῦ Ἀσσαμωναίου ἀρχὴ μετὰ ἔτη ἑκατὸν εἰκοσιέξ. οἶκος λαμπρὸς οὗτος ἦν καὶ διάσημος γένους τε ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς ἱερατικῆς τιμῆς ὧν τε ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἔθνους οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ διεπράξαντο. [491] ἀλλ᾽ οὗτοι μὲν διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους στάσιν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπέβαλον, μετέβη δ᾽ εἰς Ἡρώδην τὸν Ἀντιπάτρου οἰκίας ὄντα δημοτικῆς καὶ γένους ἰδιωτικοῦ καὶ ὑπακούοντος τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τὸ τέλος τῆς Ἀσσαμωναίων γενεᾶς παρειλήφαμεν.

Liber XV

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Ὡς ληφθείσης τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλεως ὑπὸ Σοσσίου καὶ Ἡρώδου Ἀντώνιος μὲν Ἀντίγονον ἐπελέκισεν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, Ἡρώδης δὲ τεσσαρακονταπέντε τῶν ἐκείνου φίλων πρώτους Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἐπανείλετο καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἠργυρολόγησεν.

β. ὃν τρόπον Ὑρκανὸς ὁ πρῶτος βασιλεὺς Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς ἀφεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλέως Ἀρσάκου πρὸς Ἡρώδην ὑπέστρεψεν.

γ. ὡς Ἡρώδης Ἀριστόβουλον τὸν τῆς γυναικὸς Μαριάμμης ἀδελφὸν ἀρχιερέα καταστήσας μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ διαφθαρῆναι παρεσκεύασεν.

δ. ὡς Κλεοπάτρα τῇ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ἀράβων ἐπιβουλεύουσα βασιλείᾳ μέρη λαβεῖν αὐτῶν ἴσχυνε παρ᾽ Ἀντωνίου.

ε. Κλεοπάτρας εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν παρουσία.

ς. ὡς Ἡρώδης ἐπολέμησεν Ἀρέτᾳ καθ᾽ ὃν καιρὸν Ἀντώνιος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐν τῇ κατ᾽ Ἄκτιον νικᾶται μάχῃ.

ζ. περὶ τοῦ γενομένου σεισμοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ τῆς φθορᾶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν βοσκημάτων.

η. λόγος Ἡρώδου πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀθυμοῦντας πρὸς τὰ πάθη καὶ τὴν ἦτταν τὴν γενομένην.

θ. ὡς ἀνάγκην ἔχων Ἡρώδης ἀπιέναι πρὸς Καίσαρα νενικηκότα διέφθειρεν Ὑρκανόν.

ι. ὡς ἔσχε καὶ παρὰ Καίσαρος τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ παρέπεμψεν αὐτὸν ἐπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου.

ια. ὡς Ἡρώδης ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐτιμήθη.

ιβ. ὡς ἐπανελθὼν ψευδέσι διαβολαῖς παρωξύνθη τὴν γυναῖκα Μαριάμμην ἀποκτεῖναι.

ιγ. περὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ Συρίαν γεγονότος καὶ ὡς διέσωσε τὰ πλήθη καὶ τὰς πόλεις Ἡρώδης.

ιδ. κτίσεις πόλεων Ἑλληνίδων ἃς Ἡρώδης ἐποιήσατο.

ιε. ὡς καθελὼν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις τὸν ἀρχαῖον ναὸν ἄλλον ἀνέστησεν μετὰ ἔτη ἑξακόσια διπλοῦν τοῖς μέτροις.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν ιη.

(1) [1] Σόσσιος μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἡρώδης ὡς κατὰ κράτος ἔλαβον Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ πρὸς τούτοις αἰχμάλωτον Ἀντίγονον, ἡ πρὸ ταύτης ἡμῖν ἐδήλωσεν βίβλος: τὰ δ' ἐκείνῃ συνεχῆ νῦν ἐροῦμεν. [2] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τῆς ὅλης Ἰουδαίας ἐνεχειρίσθη τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἡρώδης, τοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πλήθους ὅσοι μὲν ἦσαν ἰδιωτεύοντες ἔτι τἀκείνου φρονοῦντες ἐν προαγωγῇ τούτους ἐποιεῖτο, τοὺς δὲ τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ἑλομένους οὐκ ἐπέλιπε τιμωρούμενος καὶ κολάζων καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν. [3] ἐτιμῶντο δὲ μάλιστα παρ' αὐτῷ Πολλίων ὁ Φαρισαῖος καὶ Σαμαίας ὁ τούτου μαθητής: πολιορκουμένων γὰρ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων οὗτοι συνεβούλευον τοῖς πολίταις δέξασθαι τὸν Ἡρώδην, ἀνθ' ὧν καὶ τὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἀπελάμβανον. [4] ὁ δὲ Πολλίων οὗτος καὶ κρινομένου ποτὲ Ἡρώδου τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προεῖπεν ὀνειδίζων Ὑρκανῷ καὶ τοῖς δικάζουσιν, ὡς περισωθεὶς Ἡρώδης ἅπαντας αὐτοὺς ἐπεξελεύσεται: καὶ τοῦτο χρόνῳ προύβη τοῦ θεοῦ τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ τελειώσαντος.

(2) [5] Ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε κρατήσας τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων πάντα συνεφόρει τὸν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ κόσμον ἔτι καὶ τοὺς εὐπόρους ἀφαιρούμενος, καὶ συναγαγὼν πλῆθος ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσίου παντὶ τούτῳ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐδωρεῖτο καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν φίλους. [6] ἀπέκτεινε δὲ τεσσαρακονταπέντε τοὺς πρώτους ἐκ τῆς αἱρέσεως Ἀντιγόνου φύλακας περιστήσας ταῖς πύλαις τῶν τειχῶν, ἵνα μή τις συνεκκομισθῇ τοῖς τεθνεῶσι, καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἠρεύνων, καὶ πᾶν τὸ εὑρισκόμενον ἀργύριον ἢ χρυσίον ἤ τι κειμήλιον ἀνεφέρετο τῷ βασιλεῖ, [7] πέρας τε κακῶν οὐδὲν ἦν: τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἡ πλεονεξία τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἐν χρείᾳ γεγενημένου διεφόρει, τὴν δὲ χώραν μένειν ἀγεώργητον τὸ ἑβδοματικὸν ἠνάγκαζεν ἔτος: ἐνεστήκει γὰρ τότε, καὶ σπείρειν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τὴν γῆν ἀπηγορευμένον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν. [8] Ἀντώνιος δὲ λαβὼν αἰχμάλωτον τὸν Ἀντίγονον δέσμιον ἔγνω μέχρι θριάμβου φυλάττειν, ἐπεὶ δ' ἤκουσεν νεωτερίζειν τὸ ἔθνος κἀκ τοῦ πρὸς Ἡρώδην μίσους εὔνουν Ἀντιγόνῳ διαμένον, ἔγνω τοῦτον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ πελεκίσαι: σχεδὸν γὰρ οὐδαμῶς ἠρεμεῖν ἠδύναντο οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. [9] μαρτυρεῖ δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ Στράβων ὁ Καππάδοξ λέγων οὕτως: "Ἀντώνιος δὲ Ἀντίγονον τὸν Ἰουδαῖον ἀχθέντα εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν πελεκίζει. καὶ ἔδοξε μὲν οὗτος πρῶτος Ῥωμαίων βασιλέα πελεκίσαι, οὐκ οἰηθεὶς ἕτερον τρόπον μεταθεῖναι ἂν τὰς γνώμας τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὥστε δέξασθαι τὸν ἀντ' ἐκείνου καθεσταμένον Ἡρώδην: οὐδὲ γὰρ βασανιζόμενοι βασιλέα ἀναγορεύειν αὐτὸν ὑπέμειναν: [10] οὕτως μέγα τι ἐφρόνουν περὶ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως. τὴν οὖν ἀτιμίαν ἐνόμισε μειώσειν Τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν μνήμης, μειώσειν δὲ καὶ τὸ πρὸς Ἡρώδην μῖσος." ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Στράβων.

II

(1) [11] Κατασχόντος δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἡρώδου πυθόμενος Ὑρκανὸς ὁ ἀρχιερεύς, ἦν δὲ παρὰ Πάρθοις αἰχμάλωτος, ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς Ἡρώδην τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἀπολυθεὶς τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ: [12] Βαζαφράνης καὶ Πάκορος οἱ τῶν Πάρθων στρατηγοί, λαβόντες αἰχμαλώτους Ὑρκανὸν τὸν πρῶτον ἀρχιερέα γενόμενον εἶτα βασιλέα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἡρώδου Φασάηλον εἰς Πάρθους ἀνῆγον. [13] καὶ Φασάηλος μὲν οὐ φέρων τὴν ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς αἰσχύνην, πάσης δὲ ζωῆς κρείττονα τὸν μετὰ δόξης ἡγούμενος θάνατον αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ γίνεται φονεύς, καθὼς προεῖπον.

(2) [14] Ὑρκανῷ δ᾽ ἀναχθέντι Φραάτης ὁ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλεὺς ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐπιεικέστερον προσηνέχθη, τὸ τῆς εὐγενείας αὐτοῦ διάσημον προπεπυσμένος. διὰ τοῦτο δεσμῶν μὲν ἀφῆκεν, ἐν Βαβυλῶνι δὲ κατάγεσθαι παρεῖχεν, ἔνθα καὶ πλῆθος ἦν Ἰουδαίων. [15] οὗτοι τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ἐτίμων ὡς ἀρχιερέα καὶ βασιλέα καὶ πᾶν τὸ μέχρις Εὐφράτου νεμόμενον Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος: τῷ δ᾽ ἦν ἀγαπητὰ ταῦτα. [16] πυθόμενος δὲ τὸν Ἡρώδην παρειληφέναι τὴν βασιλείαν ἀντιμετεχώρει ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε φιλοστόργως διακείμενος καὶ τῆς χάριτος ἀπομνησθήσεσθαι προσδοκῶν, κρινόμενον ὅτι καὶ μέλλοντα θανάτῳ ζημιοῦσθαι τοῦ κινδύνου καὶ τῆς κολάσεως ἐρρύσατο. λόγους οὖν προσέφερε τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἰέναι παρ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐσπουδακώς. [17] οἱ δὲ περιείχοντο καὶ μένειν ἠξίουν τὰς ὑπουργίας ἅμα καὶ τὰς τιμὰς λέγοντες, ὡς οὐδὲν ἐνδεὲς αὐτῷ τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς ἢ βασιλεῖς τιμῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν εἴη, καὶ τὸ μεῖζον, ὅτι μηδὲ ἐκεῖ τούτων μεταλαβεῖν δύναται κατὰ λώβην τοῦ σώματος, ἣν ὑπ᾽ Ἀντιγόνου πάθοι, τάς τε χάριτας οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀποδίδοσθαι παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων, ἃς ἔλαβον ἰδιωτεύοντες, ἐξαλλαττούσης αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἀλόγως τῆς τύχης.

(3) [18] Τοιαῦτα κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον ὑποτεινόντων Ὑρκανὸς πόθον εἶχεν ἀπιέναι, καὶ γράφων Ἡρώδης παρεκάλει δεῖσθαι Φραάτου καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ Ἰουδαίων μὴ φθονῆσαι δυνάμει κοινὴν ἔξοντι τὴν βασιλείαν: ἄρτι γὰρ εἶναι καιρὸν αὐτῷ μὲν ἐκτῖσαι τὰς χάριτας ὧν εὖ πάθοι καὶ τραφεὶς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ περισωθείς, ἐκείνῳ δὲ κομίζεσθαι. [19] ταῦτα γράφων Ὑρκανῷ πέμπει καὶ παρὰ τὸν Φραάτην πρεσβευτὴν Σαραμάλλαν καὶ δῶρα πλείω, μὴ διακωλῦσαι τὰς εἰς τὸν εὐεργέτην αὐτοῦ χάριτας ὁμοίως φιλανθρωπευόμενον. [20] ἦν δ᾽ οὐκ ἐντεῦθεν ἡ σπουδή, διὰ δὲ τὸ μὴ κατ᾽ ἀξίαν αὐτὸς ἄρχειν δεδοίκει τὰς ἐξ εὐλόγων μεταβολὰς καὶ τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ὑποχείριον ἔχειν ἔσπευδεν ἢ καὶ παντάπασιν ἐκποδὼν ποιήσασθαι: τοῦτο γὰρ ἔπραξεν ἐν ὑστέρῳ.

(4) [21] Τότε μέντοι γε ἐπειδὴ παρῆν πεπεισμένος ἐφέντος τε τοῦ Πάρθου καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων χρήματα παρασχομένων, ἀπάσῃ τιμῇ δεξάμενος αὐτὸν ἔν τε τοῖς συλλόγοις τὸν πρῶτον ἔνεμε τόπον καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἑστιάσεις προκατακλίνων ἐξηπάτα πατέρα καλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶς τὸ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἀνύποπτον πραγματευόμενος. [22] ὑποκαθίστατο δὲ καὶ τἆλλα πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐξ ὧν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐστασιάσθη: φυλαττόμενος γάρ τινα τῶν

ἐπισήμων ἀποδεικνύειν ἀρχιερέα τοῦ θεοῦ, μεταπεμψάμενος ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ἱερέα τῶν ἀσημοτέρων Ἀνάνηλον ὀνόματι τούτῳ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην δίδωσιν.

(5) [23] Εὐθὺς οὖν οὐκ ἤνεγκεν Ἀλεξάνδρα τὴν ἐπήρειαν, θυγάτηρ μὲν Ὑρκανοῦ, γυνὴ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου βασιλέως, ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου παῖδας ἔχουσα τὸν μὲν ὥρᾳ κάλλιστον Ἀριστόβουλον καλούμενον, τὴν δὲ Ἡρώδῃ συνοικοῦσαν Μαριάμμην εὐμορφίᾳ διάσημον. [24] ἐτετάρακτο δὲ καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔφερεν τὴν ἀτιμίαν τοῦ παιδός, εἰ περιόντος ἐκείνου τῶν ἐπικλήτων τις ἀξιοῦται τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης, καὶ γράφει Κλεοπάτρᾳ μουσουργοῦ τινος αὐτῇ συμπραγματευομένου τὰ περὶ τὴν κομιδὴν τῶν γραμμάτων αἰτεῖσθαι παρ᾽ Ἀντωνίου τῷ παιδὶ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην.

(6) [25] Ἀντωνίου δὲ ῥαθυμότερον ὑπακούοντος, ὁ φίλος αὐτοῦ Δέλλιος εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἐλθὼν ἐπί τινας χρείας ὡς εἶδεν τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον, ἠγάσθη τε τῆς ὥρας καὶ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ κάλλος τοῦ παιδὸς ἐθαύμασεν, οὐχ ἧττον δὲ τὴν Μαριάμμην συνοικοῦσαν τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ δῆλος ἦν καλλίπαιδά τινα τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν διειληφώς. [26] ἐκείνης δὲ εἰς λόγους ἐλθούσης αὐτῷ πείθει γραψαμένην ἀμφοτέρων εἰκόνας Ἀντωνίῳ διαπέμψασθαι: θεασαμένου γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἀτευκτήσειν ὧν ἀξιοῖ. [27] τούτοις ἐπαρθεῖσα τοῖς λόγοις Ἀλεξάνδρα πέμπει τὰς εἰκόνας Ἀντωνίῳ: καὶ Δέλλιος ἐτερατεύετο λέγων οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων αὐτῷ δοκεῖν, ἀλλά τινος θεοῦ γενέσθαι τοὺς παῖδας. ἐπραγματεύετο δὲ δι᾽ ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς ἑλκύσαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον. [28] ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν κόρην ᾐδέσθη μεταπέμπεσθαι γεγαμημένην Ἡρώδῃ καὶ τὰς εἰς Κλεοπάτραν ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου διαβολὰς φυλαττόμενος, ἐπέστελλε δὲ πέμπειν τὸν παῖδα σὺν εὐπρεπείᾳ προστιθείς, εἰ μὴ βαρὺ δοκοίη. [29] τούτων ἀπενεχθέντων πρὸς Ἡρώδην οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἔκρινεν ὥρᾳ τε κάλλιστον ὄντα τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ἐκκαιδεκαέτης γὰρ ὢν ἐτύγχανεν, καὶ γένει προύχοντα πέμπειν παρὰ τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ἰσχύοντα μὲν ὡς οὐκ ἄλλος ἐν τῷ τότε Ῥωμαίων, ἕτοιμον δὲ τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς αὐτὸν ὑποθεῖναι καὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀπαρακαλύπτως ἐκ τοῦ δύνασθαι ποριζόμενον. [30] ἀντέγραψεν οὖν ὡς, εἰ μόνον ἐξέλθοι τῆς χώρας τὸ μειράκιον, ἅπαντα πολέμου καὶ ταραχῆς ἀναπλησθήσεται Ἰουδαίων ἐλπισάντων μεταβολὴν καὶ νεωτερισμὸν ἐπ᾽ ἄλλῳ βασιλεῖ.

(7) [31] Τούτοις δὲ παραιτησάμενος τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔγνω μὴ μέχρι παντὸς ἀτιμάζειν τὸν παῖδα καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς Μαριάμμης ἐγκειμένης λιπαρῶς ἀποδοῦναι τἀδελφῷ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην, καὶ συμφέρειν αὐτῷ κρίνων, ἵνα μηδ᾽ ἀποδημῆσαι δυνατὸν ᾖ τετιμημένῳ, σύλλογον ποιήσας τῶν φίλων ᾐτιᾶτο πολλὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν, [32] κρύφα τε ἐπιβουλεῦσαι λέγων τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ διὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας πράττειν, ὅπως αὐτὸς μὲν ἀφαιρεθῇ τὴν ἀρχήν, τὸ δὲ μειράκιον ἀντ᾽ αὐτοῦ παραλάβῃ τὰ πράγματα δι᾽ Ἀντωνίου. [33] καὶ ταῦτα βούλεσθαι μὲν ἐκείνην οὐ δικαίως, ὁπότε καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα συναποστεροίη τῆς οὔσης αὐτῇ τιμῆς καὶ ταραχὰς ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ

πραγματεύοιτο, πολλὰ πονήσαντος αὐτοῦ καὶ κτησαμένου κινδύνοις οὐ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν. [34] οὐ μὴν ἀπομνημονεύσας αὐτὸς ὢν οὐ καλῶς ἐκείνη πράξειεν ἀποστήσεσθαι τοῦ δίκαιος εἶναι περὶ αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ἔφη διδόναι τῷ παιδὶ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην καὶ πάλαι προκαταστήσασθαι τὸν Ἀνάνηλον παιδίου παντάπασιν ὄντος Ἀριστοβούλου. [35] τοιαῦτα δὲ λέγοντος οὐκ ἀσκέπτως, ἀλλ᾽ ὅπερ ἠξίου μάλιστα πεφροντισμένως εἰς ἀπάτην γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν συμπαραληφθέντων φίλων, περιπαθὴς ἅμα καὶ χαρᾷ τῶν οὐ προσδοκηθέντων καὶ δέει τῆς ὑποψίας Ἀλεξάνδρα μετὰ δακρύων ἀπελογεῖτο, [36] περὶ μὲν τῆς ἱερωσύνης φαμένη πᾶν ὁτιοῦν ὑπ᾽ ἀδοξίας σπουδάσαι, βασιλείᾳ δὲ μήτε ἐπιτίθεσθαι μήτ᾽ ἄν, εἰ καὶ προσίοι, βούλεσθαι λαβεῖν, καὶ νῦν ἀποχρώντως τιμῆς ἔχουσα διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐκείνου καὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ δύνασθαι μᾶλλον ἑτέρων ἄρχειν αὐτὸν ἅπαντι τῷ γένει περιοῦσαν. [37] νῦν τε νενικημένη ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις δέχεσθαι μὲν εἰς τὸν υἱὸν τὴν τιμήν, ἔσεσθαι δὲ πρὸς πᾶν ὑπήκοος, παραιτεῖσθαι δὲ κἂν εἴ τι διὰ γένος καὶ τὴν οὖσαν αὐτῇ παρρησίαν προπετέστερον ὑπ᾽ ἀναξιοπαθείας δράσειεν. [38] οὕτως ἀλλήλοις ὁμιλήσαντες καὶ σπουδαιότερον ἢ θᾶττον ἐν δεξιαῖς διελύοντο πάσης ὑποψίας, ὡς ἐδόκουν, ἐξῃρημένης.

III

(1) [39] Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης εὐθὺς μὲν ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην Ἀνάνηλον ὄντα μέν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἴπομεν, οὐκ ἐπιχώριον, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην ἀπῳκισμένων Ἰουδαίων: οὐ γὰρ ὀλίγαι μυριάδες τοῦδε τοῦ λαοῦ περὶ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ἀπῳκίσθησαν. [40] ἔνθεν ἦν Ἀνάνηλος ἀρχιερατικοῦ γένους καὶ πάλαι κατὰ συνήθειαν Ἡρώδῃ σπουδαζόμενος. τοῦτον αὐτὸς μὲν ἐτίμησεν, ὅτε τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν, αὐτὸς δὲ κατέλυσεν ἐπὶ τῷ παῦσαι τὰς οἰκείας ταραχὰς παράνομα ποιῶν: οὐ γὰρ ἄλλος γέ τις ἀφῃρέθη τὴν τιμὴν ἅπαξ παραλαβών. [41] ἀλλὰ πρῶτος μὲν Ἀντίοχος ὁ Ἐπιφανὴς ἔλυσε τὸν νόμον ἀφελόμενος μὲν Ἰησοῦν, καταστήσας δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ὀνίαν, δεύτερος δὲ Ἀριστόβουλος Ὑρκανὸν ἀφείλετο τὸν ἀδελφόν, Ἡρώδης δὲ τρίτος ἀντιπαρέδωκεν τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀριστοβούλῳ τῷ παιδί.

(2) [42] Καὶ τότε μὲν ἐδόκει τεθεραπευκέναι τὰ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν. οὐ μὴν ὅπερ εἰκὸς ἦν ἐν διαλλαγαῖς ἀνυπόπτως διετέλει, τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν ἐπί τε τοῖς ἐγχειρηθεῖσιν ἤδη καὶ καιρὸν εἰ λάβοιτο νεωτέρων πραγμάτων ἠξιωκὼς δεδοικέναι. [43] προσέταττεν οὖν ἔν τε τοῖς βασιλείοις διατρίβειν καὶ μηδὲν ἀπ᾽ ἐξουσίας δρᾶν, ἐπιμελεῖς τε ἦσαν φυλακαί, λανθάνοντος οὐδ᾽ εἴ τι πρὸς τὴν καθ᾽ ἡμέραν δίαιταν ἐπιτηδεύοιτο. [44] ταῦτα πάντα κατὰ μικρὸν ἐξηγρίου αὐτὴν καὶ μῖσος ἐπεφύετο: φρονήματος γὰρ ἔμπλεως οὖσα γυναικείου τὰς ἐκ τῆς ὑποψίας ἐπιμελείας ἀνηξιοπάθει, παντὸς οὐτινοσοῦν ἀξιοῦσα μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς παρρησίας

στερομένη τιμῆς εὐπρεπείᾳ μετὰ δουλείας καὶ φόβων καταζῆν. [45] ἔπεμπεν οὖν παρὰ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν ἐν οἷς εἴη συνεχὲς ὀδυρομένη καὶ παρακαλοῦσα προσβοηθεῖν αὐτῇ κατὰ δύναμιν. ἡ δὲ λαθοῦσαν ἐκέλευσεν ἐπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου σὺν τῷ παιδὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀποδιδράσκειν. [46] ἐδόκει ταῦτα καὶ τεχνάζεται τοιάδε: δύο λάρνακας ὡς εἰς ἐκκομιδὴν νεκρῶν παρασκευασαμένη ταύταις αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐνέβαλεν, ἐπιτάξασα τῶν οἰκετῶν τοῖς συνειδόσιν διὰ νυκτὸς ἐκφέρειν. ἦν δὲ τοὐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ θάλατταν ὁδὸς αὐτοῖς καὶ πλοῖον, ὃ διαπλεύσειν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἔμελλεν, παρεσκευασμένον. [47] ταῦτα Σαββίωνι τῶν ἐκείνης φίλων Αἴσωπος οἰκέτης αὐτῆς ἀπαγγέλλει προπεσὼν ὡς εἰδότι φράσαι. πυθόμενος δὲ Σαββίων, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἐχθρὸς Ἡρώδου [πρότερον], ὅτι τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων Ἀντιπάτρῳ κατὰ τὴν φαρμακείαν εἷς ἐνομίζετο, τὸ μῖσος ὑπαλλάξεσθαι τῇ περὶ τὴν μήνυσιν εὐνοίᾳ προσεδόκησεν καὶ καταλέγει τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρας ἐπιβουλήν. [48] ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν ἕως τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως ἐάσας προελθεῖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοφώρῳ τοῦ δρασμοῦ συνέλαβεν, παρῆκεν δὲ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, χαλεπὸν μὲν οὐδέν, εἰ καὶ σφόδρα βουλομένῳ ἦν αὐτῷ, διαθεῖναι τολμήσας, οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἀνασχέσθαι Κλεοπάτραν αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν μίσει λαβοῦσαν, ἐμφαίνων δὲ μεγαλοψυχίαν μᾶλλον ἐξ ἐπιεικείας αὐτοῖς συνεγνωκέναι. [49] προύκειτο μέντοι παντάπασιν αὐτῷ τὸ μειράκιον ἐκποδὼν ποιεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ μὴ ταχὺ μηδ᾽ ἅμα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐδόκει πιθανώτερον εἰς τὸ λανθάνειν.

(3) [50] Καὶ τῆς σκηνοπηγίας ἐπεχούσης, ἑορτὴ δέ ἐστιν αὕτη παρ᾽ ἡμῖν εἰς τὰ μάλιστα τηρουμένη, ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας ὑπερεβάλλετο καὶ πρὸς εὐφροσύναις αὐτός τε καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἦν. ἐκίνησεν δ᾽ αὐτὸν ὅμως κἀκ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπισπεῦσαι τὰ περὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἐμφανῶς παροξύνων ὁ φθόνος. [51] τὸ γὰρ μειράκιον Ἀριστόβουλος ἕβδομον ἐπὶ τοῖς δέκα γεγονὸς ἔτος, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀνῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν συντελέσων τὰ θύματα, τόν τε κόσμον ἔχων τὸν τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν θρησκείαν ἐκτελῶν, κάλλει τε κάλλιστος καὶ μεγέθει πλέον ἢ πρὸς τὴν ἡλικίαν ὑπεράγων, τοῦ γε μὴν περὶ τὸ γένος ἀξιώματος πλεῖστον ἐν τῇ μορφῇ διαφαίνων, [52] ὁρμή τε τῷ πλήθει πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας ἐγένετο καὶ τῶν Ἀριστοβούλῳ τῷ πάππῳ πεπραγμένων ἐναργὴς ἡ μνήμη παρέστη, νικώμενοί τε κατὰ μικρὸν ἐξηλέγχοντο τὰς διαθέσεις χαίροντες ὁμοῦ καὶ συγχεόμενοι καὶ φωνὰς εὐφήμους εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφιέντες εὐχαῖς μεμιγμένας, ὡς ἐμφανῆ γενέσθαι τὴν εὔνοιαν τῶν ὄχλων καὶ προπετεστέραν ἐν βασιλείᾳ δοκεῖν τὴν ὧν πεπόνθεσαν ὁμολογίαν. [53] ἐπὶ τούτοις ἅπασιν Ἡρώδης ἔγνω τὴν προαίρεσιν, ἣν εἶχεν εἰς τὸ μειράκιον, ἐξεργάσασθαι. καὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς παρελθούσης εἱστιᾶτο μὲν ἐν Ἰεριχοῦντι δεχομένης αὐτοὺς τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρας, φιλοφρονούμενος δὲ τὸ μειράκιον καὶ προέλκων εἰς ἀδεῆ πότον ἕτοιμος ἦν συμπαίζειν καὶ νεανιεύεσθαι κεχαρισμένως ἐκείνῳ. [54] τοῦ δὲ περὶ τὸν τόπον ἰδιώματος θερινωτέρου τυγχάνοντος συνειλεγμένοι τάχιον ἐξῆλθον ἀλύοντες, καὶ ταῖς κολυμβήθραις ἐπιστάντες, αἳ μεγάλαι περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν ἐτύγχανον,

ἀνέψυχον τὸ θερμότατον τῆς μεσημβρίας. [55] καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἑώρων τοὺς νέοντας τῶν οἰκετῶν καὶ φίλων, ἔπειτα προαχθέντος καὶ τοῦ μειρακίου τῷ καὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην παροξῦναι, τῶν φίλων οἷς ταῦτα ἐπιτέτακτο σκότους ἐπέχοντος βαροῦντες ἀεὶ καὶ βαπτίζοντες ὡς ἐν παιδιᾷ νηχόμενον οὐκ ἀνῆκαν, ἕως καὶ παντάπασιν ἀποπνῖξαι. [56] καὶ διεφθάρη μὲν οὕτως Ἀριστόβουλος, ὀκτωκαίδεκα μὲν οὐ πάντα βιοὺς ἔτη, τὴν δ᾽ ἱερωσύνην κατασχὼν ἐνιαυτόν, ἣν Ἀνάνηλος ἐκομίσατο πάλιν.

(4) [57] Ἐξαγγελθέντος δὲ τοῦ πάθους ταῖς γυναιξὶν εὐθὺς μὲν ἐκ μεταβολῆς θρῆνος ἦν ἐπὶ προκειμένῳ τῷ νεκρῷ καὶ πένθος ἄσχετον, ἥ τε πόλις τοῦ λόγου διαδοθέντος ὑπερήλγει πάσης ἑστίας οἰκειουμένης τὴν συμφορὰν ὡς οὐκ ἐπ᾽ ἀλλοτρίῳ γενομένην. [58] Ἀλεξάνδρα δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκπαθὴς ἦν συνέσει τῆς ἀπωλείας, τὸ μὲν ἀλγοῦν ἐκ τοῦ γινώσκειν ὅπως ἐπράχθη πλεῖον ἔχουσα, τὸ δ᾽ ἐγκαρτερεῖν ἀναγκαῖον ἐπὶ μείζονος κακοῦ προσδοκίᾳ ποιουμένη. [59] καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ἦλθεν αὐτοχειρίᾳ περιγράψασθαι τὸν βίον, ἐπέστη δ᾽ ὅμως, εἰ δύναιτο ζῶσα προσαρκέσαι τῷ κατ᾽ ἐπιβουλὰς ἀνόμως διεφθαρμένῳ, τό τε πλέον ἐντεῦθεν αὐτῇ παρεκρότει τὸν βίον, καὶ τὸ μηδεμίαν ὑποψίαν ἐνδοῦναι τοῦ κατὰ πρόνοιαν ἀπολέσθαι τὸν υἱὸν ἱκανὸν εἰς εὐκαιρίαν ἀμύνης ἐνόμιζε. [60] κἀκείνη μὲν ἐγκρατῶς ἔφερε τὴν ὑποψίαν. Ἡρώδης δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔξωθεν πιθανῶς ἀπεσκευάζετο, μὴ μετὰ προνοίας γενέσθαι τῷ παιδὶ τὸν θάνατον, οὐχ ὅσα πρὸς πένθος ἐπιτηδεύων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δάκρυσι χρώμενος καὶ σύγχυσιν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐμφαίνων ἀληθινήν, τάχα μὲν καὶ τοῦ πάθους ἀπονικῶντος αὐτὸν ἐν ὄψει τῆς τε ὥρας καὶ τοῦ κάλλους, εἰ καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ὁ θάνατος τοῦ παιδὸς ἐνομίζετο, δῆλον δ᾽ ὡς ἀπολογίαν αὐτὰ πραγματευόμενος. [61] τά γε μὴν εἰς τὴν πολυτέλειαν τῆς ἐκφορᾶς καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπεδείξατο, πολλὴν μὲν τὴν παρασκευὴν περί τε τὰς θήκας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν θυμιαμάτων ποιησάμενος, πολὺν δὲ συγκαταθάπτων κόσμον, ὡς ἐκπλῆξαι τὸ λυπηρὸν τῆς ἐν ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἀλγηδόνος καὶ παραμυθήσασθαι τούτῳ τῷ μέρει.

(5) [62] Τὴν δ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδραν ἤττησε μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων, ἀεὶ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον ἡ μνήμη τοῦ κακοῦ παρέχουσα τὴν ὀδύνην ὀδυρτικὴν ἐποίει καὶ φιλόνεικον, καὶ γράφει τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν Ἡρώδου τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ καὶ τὴν ἀπώλειαν τοῦ παιδός. [63] ἡ δὲ καὶ πάλαι σπεύδουσα προσαρκέσαι δεομένῃ καὶ τὰς ἀτυχίας οἰκτείρουσα τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρας αὐτῆς ἐποιεῖτο τὸ πᾶν πρᾶγμα καὶ Ἀντώνιον οὐκ ἀνίει τίσασθαι τὸν φόνον τοῦ παιδὸς παροξύνουσα: οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον Ἡρώδην δι᾽ αὐτοῦ καταστάντα βασιλέα τῆς οὐδὲν προσηκούσης ἀρχῆς εἰς τοὺς ὄννως βασιλεῖς τοιαύτας ἐπιδείκνυσθαι παρανομίας. [64] τούτοις ἀναπειθόμενος Ἀντώνιος ὡς ἐπὶ Λαοδικείας ἐστάλη, πέμπει κελεύων Ἡρώδην ἐλθόντα τῶν εἰς Ἀριστόβουλον ἀπολύσασθαι: πεπρᾶχθαι γὰρ οὐκ ὀρθῶς τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, εἰ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ γέγονεν. [65] ὁ δὲ τήν τε αἰτίαν δεδοικὼς καὶ τὴν Κλεοπάτρας δυσμένειαν, ὡς οὐκ ἀνῆκεν ἐξεργαζομένη κακῶς αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔχειν, ἔγνω μὲν ὑπακούειν, οὐδὲ γὰρ

ἄλλο τι πράττειν ἐνῆν, καταλιπὼν δὲ τὸν θεῖον αὐτοῦ Ἰώσηπον ἐπίτροπον τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ πραγμάτων ἐνετείλατο λεληθότως, εἰ πάθοι τι παρ᾽ Ἀντωνίῳ, παραχρῆμα καὶ τὴν Μαριάμμην ἀνελεῖν: [66] αὐτός τε γὰρ ἔχειν φιλοστόργως πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ δεδοικέναι τὴν ὕβριν, εἰ καὶ τεθνηκότος ἐκείνη κατ᾽ εὐμορφίαν ἄλλῳ τινὶ σπουδάζοιτο. [67] τὸ δὲ σύμπαν ἐνέφαινεν ὁρμὴν Ἀντωνίου περὶ τὴν ἄνθρωπον, ὅτι καὶ πάλαι παρακηκοὼς ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐμορφίας ἐτύγχανεν. Ἡρώδης μὲν [οὖν] ἐπιστείλας ταῦτα καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς ἔχων ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων ἀπῄει πρὸς Ἀντώνιον.

(6) [68] Ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως ὢν τῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ πραγμάτων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο συνεχὲς ἐντυγχάνων τῇ Μαριάμμῃ περί τε τὰς πραγματείας καὶ τιμῆς ἕνεκεν, ἣν ἔδει βασιλευούσῃ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι, καθίει συνεχεῖς ὁμιλίας ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἡρώδου πρὸς αὐτὴν εὐνοίας καὶ φιλοστοργίας. [69] ἐξειρωνευομένων δὲ γυναικείως τοὺς λόγους καὶ μάλιστα τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρας, ὑπερεσπουδακὼς ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἐπιδεῖξαι τὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ βασιλέως προήχθη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐντολὴν εἰπεῖν, πίστιν αὐτὰ ποιούμενος ὡς οὐδὲ χωρὶς ἐκείνης ζῆν δύναται κἂν εἰ πάσχοι δεινόν τι οὐκ ἀξιοῦντος οὐδὲ θανάτῳ διεζεῦχθαι. [70] ταῦτα μὲν Ἰώσηπος. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες, ὡς εἰκός, οὐ τὸ φιλόστοργον τῆς περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην διαθέσεως, τὸ δὲ χαλεπόν, εἰ μηδ᾽ ἀποθνήσκοντος ὑστερήσειεν ἀπωλείας καὶ θανάτου τυραννικοῦ, προλαμβάνουσαι χαλεπὴν τὴν ὑπόνοιαν τοῦ ῥηθέντος εἶχον.

(7) [71] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ λόγος ἐγένετο κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν παρὰ τῶν ἐν ἔχθει τὸν Ἡρώδην ἐχόντων, ὡς Ἀντώνιος αἰκισάμενος αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνειεν. ἡ δὲ φήμη πάντας μὲν ἐτάραξεν, ὡς εἰκός, τοὺς περὶ τὸ βασίλειον, μάλιστα δὲ καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας. [72] Ἀλεξάνδρα δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἀναπείθει τῶν βασιλείων ἐξελθόντα σὺν αὐταῖς προσφυγεῖν τοῖς σημείοις τοῦ Ῥωμαικοῦ τάγματος, ὃ τότε περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ φρουρᾷ τῆς βασιλείας ἐστρατοπέδευεν ἡγουμένου υἱοῦ ἰούδα: [73] διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο πρῶτον μέν, εἰ καί τις ἀπαντήσειεν ταραχὴ περὶ τὴν αὐλήν, ἐν ἀσφαλεστέρῳ διάξειν αὐτοὶ Ῥωμαίους εὐμενεῖς ἔχοντες: ἔπειτα καὶ τεύξεσθαι παντὸς ἠλπικέναι τὴν Μαριάμμην Ἀντωνίου θεασαμένου, δι᾽ οὗ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναλήψεσθαι καὶ μηδενὸς ὑστερήσειν ὧν εἰκὸς τοῖς ἐν εὐγενείᾳ βασιλικῇ γεγονόσιν.

(8) [74] Ἐπὶ τούτων δὲ τῶν λογισμῶν τετυχηκόσιν αὐτοῖς γράμματα παρ᾽ Ἡρώδου περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἀφίκετο τῆς φήμης ἐναντία καὶ τῶν προλαληθέντων. [75] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐγένετο παρ᾽ Ἀντωνίῳ, ταχὺ μὲν αὐτὸν ἀνεκτήσατο τοῖς δώροις ἃ φέρων ἦκεν ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, ταχὺ δὲ ταῖς ὁμιλίαις παρεστήσατο χαλεπῶς ἔχειν εἰς αὐτόν, οἵ τε τῆς Κλεοπάτρας λόγοι πρὸς τὴν ἐξ ἐκείνου θεραπείαν ἧττον ἠδυνήθησαν: [76] οὐ γὰρ ἔφη καλῶς ἔχειν Ἀντώνιος βασιλέα περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν γεγενημένων εὐθύνας ἀπαιτεῖν: οὕτως γὰρ ἂν οὐδὲ βασιλεὺς εἴη: δόντας δὲ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας καταξιώσαντας ἐᾶν αὐτῇ χρῆσθαι. τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ καὶ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖσθαι τὰ περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς συμφέρειν. [77]

ὑπὲρ τούτων Ἡρώδης ἔγραφεν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας διεξῄει τιμάς, ἃς ἔχοι παρ᾽ Ἀντωνίῳ συνθακῶν ἐν ταῖς διαγνώσεσιν καὶ συνεστιώμενος ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστης ἡμέρας, καὶ τούτων ὅπως τυγχάνοι χαλεπῆς εἰς τὰς διαβολὰς αὐτῷ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας οὔσης: πόθῳ γὰρ τῆς χώρας ἐξαιτουμένη τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῇ προσγενέσθαι πάντα τρόπον ἐκποδὼν αὐτὸν ἐσπουδάκει ποιεῖσθαι. [78] δικαίου μέντοι τυγχάνων Ἀντωνίου μηδὲν ἔτι δυσχερὲς προσδοκᾶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θᾶττον ἥξειν βεβαιοτέραν τὴν εὔνοιαν τὴν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ προσειληφὼς τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν. [79] καὶ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ μηκέτι προσεῖναι τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς πλεονεξίας Ἀντωνίου δόντος ἀνθ᾽ ὧν ἠξίου τὴν κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ διὰ τούτου παρηγορήσαντος ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀποσκευασαμένου τὰς ἐντεύξεις, ἃς ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐποιεῖτο.

(9) [80] Τούτων τῶν γραμμάτων ἀπενεχθέντων ἐπαύσαντο μὲν ἐκείνης τῆς ὁρμῆς, ἣν ὡς ἀπολωλότος εἶχον καταφυγεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, οὐ μὴν ἔλαθεν αὐτῶν ἡ προαίρεσις, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ παραπέμψας ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντώνιον ἐπὶ Πάρθους εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὑπέστρεψεν, εὐθὺς μὲν ἥ τε ἀδελφὴ Σαλώμη καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῷ τὴν διάνοιαν ἣν ἔσχον οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν ἀπεσήμηναν, [81] ἡ δὲ Σαλώμη καὶ κατὰ τἀνδρὸς Ἰωσήπου λόγον εἶπεν τὸ ἐΝ διαβολῇ ποιοῦσα καὶ τῇ Μαριάμμῃ συγγενόμενον διατελεῖν. ἔλεγεν δὲ ταῦτα χαλεπῶς ἔχουσα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκ πλείονος, ὅτι κατὰ τὰς διαφορὰς φρονήματι χρωμένη μείζονι τὴν ἐκείνων ἐξωνείδιζεν δυσγένειαν. [82] Ἡρώδης δὲ θερμῶς ἀεὶ καὶ ἐρωτικῶς πρὸς τὴν Μαριάμμην ἔχων εὐθὺς ἐξετετάρακτο καὶ τὴν ζηλοτυπίαν οὐκ ἔφερεν, ἐπικρατούμενος δ᾽ ἀεὶ τοῦ μὴ προπετές τι ποιῆσαι διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα, συντόνῳ τῷ πάθει καὶ τῷ ζήλῳ παρωξυμμένος ἰδίᾳ τὴν Μαριάμμην ἀνέκρινεν ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸς τὸν Ἰώσηπον. [83] ἀπομνυμένης δ᾽ ἐκείνης καὶ πάνθ᾽ ὅσα τῇ μηδὲν ἁμαρτούσῃ προσῆν εἰς ἀπολογίαν καταλογιζομένης, ἀνεπείθετο κατὰ μικρὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ μετέβαινεν ἐκ τῆς ὀργῆς ἡττώμενος τῆς περὶ τὴν γυναῖκα φιλοστοργίας, ὡς ἀπολογεῖσθαι περὶ ὧν ἔδοξεν ἀκούσας πεπιστευκέναι καὶ περὶ τῆς κοσμιότητος αὐτῇ πολλὴν ὁμολογεῖν χάριν. [84] αὐτός τε ὅπως ἔχοι στοργῆς καὶ εὐνοίας πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀνωμολογεῖτο καὶ τέλος, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς φιλεῖ, προύπιπτον εἰς δάκρυα μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς ἐμπεφυκότες ἀλλήλοις. [85] ἀεὶ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον τοῦ βασιλέως πιστουμένου τὴν αὐτοῦ διάθεσιν “οὐ φιλοῦντος, εἶπεν ἡ Μαριάμμη, τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν, εἰ πάσχοι τι χαλεπὸν ὑπ᾽ Ἀντωνίου, κἀμὲ συναπολέσθαι τὴν οὐδενὸς αἰτίαν”. [86] τούτου προπεσόντος τοῦ λόγου περιπαθήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς εὐθὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτὴν ἀφῆκεν, ἐβόα δὲ καὶ τῶν αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ τριχῶν ἐδράττετο, περιφανὲς φώριον ἔχειν τῆς τοῦ Ἰωσήπου πρὸς αὐτὴν κοινωνίας λέγων: [87] οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐξειπεῖν ἃ κατ᾽ ἰδίαν ἤκουσεν μὴ μεγάλης αὐτοῖς πίστεως ἐγγενομένης. οὕτως δ᾽ ἔχων ὀλίγου μὲν ἀπέκτεινε τὴν γυναῖκα, νικώμενος δὲ τῷ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔρωτι ταύτης μὲν τῆς ὁρμῆς ἐκράτησεν ἑαυτοῦ διακαρτερήσας ὀδυνηρῶς καὶ δυσχερῶς, τὸν μέντοι Ἰώσηπον οὐδ᾽ εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθόντα

διαχρήσασθαι προσέταξεν καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν ὡς ἁπάντων παραιτίαν δήσας ἐφύλαττεν.

IV

(1) [88] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Συρίαν ταραχὰς εἶχεν οὐκ ἀνιείσης τῆς Κλεοπάτρας τὸν Ἀντώνιον μὴ πᾶσιν ἐπιχειρεῖν: ἔπειθεν γὰρ ἀφαιρούμενον ἑκάστων τὰς δυναστείας αὐτῇ διδόναι καὶ πλεῖστον ἴσχυεν ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπιθυμίας. [89] φύσει δὲ πλεονεξίᾳ χαίρουσα παρανομίας οὐδὲν ἔλιπεν, τὸν μὲν ἀδελφόν, ᾧ τὴν βασιλείαν ἤδει γενησομένην, προανελοῦσα φαρμάκοις πεντεκαιδέκατον ἔτος ἔχοντα, τὴν δ᾽ ἀδελφὴν Ἀρσινόην ἱκετεύουσαν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ πρὸς τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἀποκτείνασα δι᾽ Ἀντωνίου: [90] χρημάτων μὲν γὰρ εἵνεκεν, εἴ που μόνον ἐλπισθείη, καὶ ναοὶ καὶ τάφοι παρενομήθησαν, οὔθ᾽ ἱεροῦ τινος οὕτως ἀσύλου δόξαντος, ὡς μὴ περιαιρεθῆναι τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ κόσμον, οὔτε βεβήλου μὴ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων παθόντος, εἰ μέλλοι μόνον εἰς εὐπορίαν τῇ τῆς ἀδικούσης πλεονεξίᾳ. [91] τὸ δ᾽ ὅλον οὐδὲν αὔταρκες ἦν γυναικὶ καὶ πολυτελεῖ καὶ δουλευούσῃ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, μὴ καὶ τὰ πάντα πρὸς τὴν ἐπίνοιαν ἐνδεῖν ὧν ἐσπουδάκει. διὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἤπειγεν ἀεί τι τῶν ἄλλων ἀφαιρούμενον αὐτῇ χαρίζεσθαι, καὶ διαβᾶσα σὺν ἐκείνῳ τὴν Συρίαν ἐπενόει κτῆμα ποιήσασθαι. [92] Λυσανίαν μὲν οὖν τὸν Πτολεμαίου Πάρθους αἰτιασαμένη τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπάγειν ἀποκτίννυσιν, ἤτει δὲ παρ᾽ Ἀντωνίου τήν τε Ἰουδαίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀράβων ἀξιοῦσα τοὺς βασιλεύοντας αὐτῶν ἀφελέσθαι. [93] τῷ δ᾽ Ἀντωνίῳ τὸ μὲν ὅλον ἡττᾶσθαι συνέβαινεν τῆς γυναικός, ὡς μὴ μόνον ἐκ τῆς ὁμιλίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ φαρμάκοις δοκεῖν ὑπακούειν εἰς ὅ τι ἂν ἐκείνη θέλῃ, τὸ μέντοι περιφανὲς τῆς ἀδικίας ἐξεδυσώπει μὴ μέχρι τοσούτου κατήκοον γινόμενον ἐπὶ μεγίστοις ἁμαρτάνειν. [94] ἵν᾽ οὖν μήτ᾽ ἀρνηθῇ παντάπασιν μήθ᾽ ὅσα προσέταττεν ἐκείνη διαπραξάμενος ἐκ φανεροῦ δόξῃ κακός, μέρη τῆς χώρας ἑκατέρου παρελόμενος τούτοις αὐτὴν ἐδωρήσατο. [95] δίδωσιν δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐντὸς Ἐλευθέρου ποταμοῦ πόλεις ἄχρις Αἰγύπτου χωρὶς Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος, ἐκ προγόνων εἰδὼς ἐλευθέρας, πολλὰ λιπαρούσης αὐτῆς αὐτῇ δοθῆναι.

(2) [96] Τούτων ἡ Κλεοπάτρα τυχοῦσα καὶ παραπέμψασα μέχρις Εὐφράτου τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπ᾽ Ἀρμενίαν στρατευόμενον ἀνέστρεφεν καὶ γίνεται μὲν ἐν Ἀπαμείᾳ καὶ Δαμασκῷ, παρῆλθεν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν Ἡρώδου συντυχόντος αὐτῇ καὶ τῆς τε Ἀραβίας τὰ δοθέντα καὶ τὰς περὶ τὸν Ἰεριχοῦντα προσόδους [Ἡρώδου] μισθωσαμένου: φέρει δ᾽ ἡ χώρα τὸ βάλσαμον, ὃ τιμιώτατον τῶν ἐκεῖ καὶ παρὰ μόνοις φύεται, τόν τε φοίνικα πολὺν καὶ καλόν. [97] ἐν τούτοις οὖσα καὶ πλείονος αὐτῇ συνηθείας πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδην γινομένης διεπείραζεν εἰς συνουσίαν ἐλθεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ, φύσει μὲν ἀπαρακαλύπτως ταῖς ἐντεῦθεν ἡδοναῖς χρωμένη, τάχα δέ τι καὶ παθοῦσα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐρωτικὸν ἢ καὶ τὸ πιθανώτερον ἀρχὴν ἐνέδρας τὴν

ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ γενησομένην ὕβριν ὑποκατασκευάζουσα: τὸ δὲ σύμπαν ἐξ ἐπιθυμίας ἡττῆσθαι διέφαινεν. [98] Ἡρώδης δὲ καὶ πάλαι μὲν οὐκ εὔνους ἦν τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ χαλεπὴν εἰς ἅπαντας ἐπιστάμενος, τότε δὲ καὶ μισεῖν ἀξιῶν, εἰ δι᾽ ἀσέλγειαν εἰς τοῦτο πρόεισιν, καὶ φθῆναι τιμωρούμενος, εἰ ἐνεδρεύουσα τοιούτοις ἐγχειροίη, τοὺς μὲν λόγους αὐτῆς διεκρούσατο, βουλὴν δ᾽ ἐποιήσατο σὺν τοῖς φίλοις ὑποχείριον ἔχων ἀποκτεῖναι: [99] πολλῶν γὰρ ἀπαλλάξειν κακῶν ἅπαντας οἷς ἐγένετό τε ἤδη χαλεπὴ καὶ προσεδοκᾶτο: τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ λυσιτελήσειν οὐδ᾽ ἐκείνῳ πιστῆς ἐσομένης, εἴ τις αὐτὸν καιρὸς ἢ χρεία κατάσχοι τοιούτων δεησόμενον. [100] ταῦτα βουλευόμενον ἐκώλυον οἱ φίλοι, πρῶτον μὲν διδάσκοντες, ὡς οὐκ ἄξιον μείζω πράττοντα κινδύνων τὸν φανερώτατον ἀναλαμβάνειν, ἐγκείμενοι δὲ καὶ δεόμενοι μηδὲν ἐκ προπετείας ἐπιτηδεύειν: [101] οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἀνασχέσθαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον, οὐδ᾽ εἰ σφόδρα τις αὐτῷ τὸ συμφέρον στήσειε πρὸ τῶν ὀμμάτων: τόν τε γὰρ ἔρωτα μᾶλλον ὑπεκκαύσειν τὸ δοκεῖν βίᾳ καὶ κατ᾽ ἐπιβουλὴν αὐτῆς στέρεσθαι, μέτριον δὲ οὐδὲν εἰς τὴν ἀπολογίαν φανεῖσθαι, τοῦ μὲν ἐπιχειρήματος εἰς γυναῖκα γεγενημένου μέγιστον ἀξίωμα τῶν κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἐσχηκυῖαν τὸν χρόνον, τῆς δ᾽ ὠφελείας, εἰ καὶ ταύτην τις οἰηθείη, σὺν αὐθαδείᾳ καὶ καταγνώσει τῆς ἐκείνου διαθέσεως φανουμένης. [102] ἐξ ὧν οὐκ ἄδηλον, ὡς μεγάλων καὶ ἀπαύστων κακῶν ἀναπλησθήσεται τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ γένος, ἐξὸν ἀποκρουσάμενον τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, εἰς ἣν ἐκείνη παρακαλεῖ, θέσθαι τὸν καιρὸν εὐσχημόνως. [103] τοιαῦτα δεδιττόμενοι καὶ τὸ κινδυνῶδες ἐξ εἰκότος παραδηλοῦντες ἐπέσχον αὐτὸν τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως. ὁ δὲ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν δωρεαῖς θεραπεύσας ἐπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου προύπεμψεν.

(3) [104] Ἀντώνιος δὲ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν λαβὼν Ἀρταβάζην τὸν Τιγράνου σὺν τοῖς παισὶν σατράπαις δέσμιον εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀποπέμπει, δωρούμενος τούτοις τὴν Κλεοπάτραν καὶ τῷ παντὶ κόσμῳ τῆς βασιλείας, ὃν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔλαβεν. [105] Ἀρμενίας δὲ ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀρταξίας ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν ἐκείνου παίδων διαδρὰς ἐν τῷ τότε. καὶ τοῦτον Ἀρχέλαος καὶ Νέρων Καῖσαρ ἐκβαλόντες Τιγράνην τὸν νεώτερον ἀδελφὸν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν κατήγαγον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν ὑστέρῳ.

(4) [106] Περὶ δὲ τοὺς φόρους, οὓς ἔδει τελεῖν τῆς ὑπ᾽ Ἀντωνίου δοθείσης χώρας, ὁ μὲν Ἡρώδης δίκαιος ἦν οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἡγούμενος διδόναι τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ μίσους αἰτίαν. [107] ὁ δ᾽ Ἄραψ Ἡρώδου τὴν φορὰν ἐπιδεξαμένου χρόνον μέν τινα παρεῖχεν ἐκείνῳ τὰ διακόσια τάλαντα, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ κακοήθης ἦν καὶ βραδὺς εἰς τὰς ἀποδόσεις καὶ μόλις εἰ καὶ μέρη τινὰ διαλύσειεν οὐδὲ ταῦτα διδόναι δοκῶν ἀζημίως.

V

(1) [108] Ἡρώδης δὲ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀγνωμονοῦντος καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν δικαίων ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντος εἶχεν μὲν ὡς ἐπεξελευσόμενος, προθεσμίᾳ δὲ

ἐχρήσατο τῷ Ῥωμαικῷ πολέμῳ. [109] τῆς γὰρ ἐπ᾽ Ἀκτίῳ μάχης προσδοκωμένης, ἣν ἐπὶ τῆς ἑβδόμης καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν ὀλυμπιάδος συνέβη γενέσθαι, Καῖσαρ μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἔμελλεν ἀγωνιεῖσθαι πραγμάτων, Ἡρώδης δὲ καὶ τῆς χώρας εὐβοτουμένης αὐτῷ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον καὶ προσόδων καὶ δυνάμεως εὐρημένων, Ἀντωνίῳ συμμαχίαν κατέλεξεν ἐπιμελέστατα ταῖς παρασκευαῖς χρησάμενος. [110] Ἀντώνιος δὲ τῆς μὲν ἐκείνου συμμαχίας οὐδὲν ἔφη δεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ Ἄραβα, καὶ γὰρ ἀκηκόει παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας τὴν ἀπιστίαν, ἐπεξελθεῖν προσέταττεν. ἠξίου γὰρ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα ταῦτα λυσιτελεῖν αὐτῇ τὸν ἕτερον ὑπὸ θατέρου κακῶς πάσχειν ἡγουμένη. [111] τούτων αὐτῷ παρ᾽ Ἀντωνίου λεχθέντων ὑποστρέψας Ἡρώδης συνεῖχεν τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ὡς εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἐμβαλῶν, καὶ παρασκευασθέντος ἱππικοῦ καὶ πεζῆς δυνάμεως εἰς Διόσπολιν ἀφικνεῖται τῶν Ἀράβων ἐκεῖ συναντώντων: οὐ γὰρ ἐλελήθει τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτούς: καὶ μάχης καρτερᾶς γενομένης ἐκράτησαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. [112] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πολλὴ στρατιὰ τῶν Ἀράβων εἰς Κάνατα συνῄει: χωρία δ᾽ ἐστὶ ταῦτα τῆς κοίλης Συρίας: Ἡρώδης τε προπεπυσμένος ἦκεν ἄγων ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς τὸ πλεῖστον ἧς εἶχεν δυνάμεως, καὶ πλησιάσας ἐν καλῷ στρατοπεδεύεσθαι διεγνώκει χάρακά τε βαλόμενος ἐξ εὐκαίρου ταῖς μάχαις ἐπιχειρεῖν. [113] ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ διατάττοντος ἐβόα τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων παρελόμενον τῆς τριβῆς ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἄραβας: ὥρμητο δὲ καὶ τῷ συντετάχθαι πιστεύειν καλῶς καὶ ταῖς προθυμίαις ἄμεινον ἐχόντων ὅσοι τὴν πρώτην μάχην νενικήκεσαν οὐδ᾽ εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἐπιτρέψαντες τοῖς ἐναντίοις. [114] θορυβούντων οὖν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐπιδεικνυμένων σπουδὴν ἔγνω τῇ προθυμίᾳ τοῦ πλήθους ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποχρήσασθαι, καὶ προειπών, ὡς οὐ λελείψεται τῆς ἐκείνων ἀρετῆς, πρῶτος ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἠγήσατο πάντων κατ᾽ οἰκεῖα τέλη συνακολουθησάντων. [115] ἔκπληξις δ᾽ εὐθὺς ἐμπίπτει τοῖς Ἄραψιν: ἀντιστάντες γὰρ εἰς ὀλίγον ὡς ἑώρων ἀμάχους ὄντας καὶ μεστοὺς φρονήματος, ἔφευγον οἱ πλείους ἐγκλίναντες κἂν διεφθάρησαν Ἀθηνίωνος μὴ κακώσαντος Ἡρώδην καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους. [116] οὗτος γὰρ ὢν στρατηγὸς μὲν Κλεοπάτρας ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ, διάφορος δὲ Ἡρώδῃ, τὸ μέλλον οὐκ ἀπαρασκεύως ἐσκόπει, δρασάντων μέν τι λαμπρὸν τῶν Ἀράβων ἐγνωκὼς ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, ἡττωμένων δέ, ὃ καὶ συνέβη, τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας συνεληλυθόσι τῶν οἰκείων παρεσκευασμένος ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις. [117] καὶ τότε κεκμηκόσι τε καὶ νικᾶν οἰομένοις ἀπροσδοκήτως ἐπιπεσὼν πολὺν ἐποίει φόνον: τάς τε γὰρ προθυμίας εἰς τοὺς ὁμολογουμένους ἐχθροὺς ἐκδαπανήσαντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ τῷ νικᾶν ἐπ᾽ ἀδείας χρώμενοι ταχὺ τῶν ἐπιχειρησάντων ἡττῶντο καὶ πολλὰς ἐλάμβανον πληγὰς ἐν χωρίοις ἀφίπποις καὶ πετρώδεσιν, ὧν πλείω τὴν ἐμπειρίαν εἶχον οἱ τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ποιησάμενοι. [118] κακῶς δὲ πασχόντων οἵ τε Ἄραβες αὐτοὺς ἀνειλήφεσαν καὶ πάλιν ὑποστρέψαντες ἔκτεινον ἤδη τετραμμένους. ἐγένοντο δὲ παντοδαπαὶ κτιννυμένων ἀπώλειαι, καὶ τῶν διαπιπτόντων οὐ πολλοὶ συνέφευγον εἰς τὸ

στρατόπεδον. [119] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης ἀπεγνωκὼς τὰ κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἀφιππάζεται βοήθειαν ἄξων: οὐ μὴν ἔφθη καίπερ ἐσπουδακὼς ἐπαρκεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον ἥλω τῶν Ἰουδαίων, οἱ δ' Ἄραβες οὐδὲ μετρίως εὐτυχήκεσαν ἐκ παραλόγου νίκην τε ἧς πλεῖστον ἀπεδέησαν ἀνειληφότες καὶ πολλὴν τῶν ἐναντίων ἀφῃρημένοι δύναμιν. [120] τοὐντεῦθεν ὁ μὲν Ἡρώδης λῃστείαις ἐχρῆτο καὶ τὰ πολλὰ κατατρέχων τὴν τῶν Ἀράβων ἐκάκου ταῖς ἐπιδρομαῖς στρατοπεδευόμενος ἐπὶ τῶν ὅρων, καὶ τὸ μὲν σύμπαν ἐξίστατο κατὰ τοὐμφανὲς εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, οὐκ ἀζήμιος δὲ γινόμενος τῇ συνεχείᾳ καὶ τῷ φιλοπόνῳ τῶν τε οἰκείων ἐπεμελεῖτο παντὶ τρόπῳ τὸ πταῖσμα διορθούμενος.

(2) [121] Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ τῆς ἐπ' Ἀκτίῳ μάχης συνεσταμένης Καίσαρι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἑβδόμου δ' ὄντος Ἡρώδῃ τῆς βασιλείας ἔτους σεισθεῖσα ἡ γῆ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὡς οὐκ ἄλλοτε ἐδόκει, τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ κτηνῶν πολὺν φθόρον ἐποίησεν. [122] ἐφθάρησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ ταῖς πεπτωκυίαις οἰκίαις περὶ τρισμυρίους: τὸ μέντοι στρατιωτικὸν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ διαιτώμενον οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους κατεβλάβη. [123] ταῦτα πυνθανομένοις τοῖς Ἄραψιν καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' ἀλήθειαν ἐξαγγελλόντων αὐτοῖς ὅσοι τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν γεγονότων λόγους τῷ μίσει τῶν ἀκουσομένων ἐχαρίζοντο μεῖζον ἐπῄει φρονεῖν, ὡς τῆς τε χώρας ἀνατετραμμένης τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ διεφθορότων τῶν ἀνθρώπων μηδὲν ἔτι μηδ' εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀντίπαλον καταλελεῖφθαι δοκεῖν. [124] καὶ τῶν τε Ἰουδαίων τοὺς πρέσβεις, ἦκον γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις, συλλαβόντες ἀπέκτειναν καὶ μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν αὐτῶν. [125] οἱ δ' οὔτε τὴν ἔφοδον ἐξεδέξαντο καὶ πρὸς τὰς συμφορὰς ἀθύμως διακείμενοι προίεντο τὰ πράγματα, πλεῖστον ἀπογνώσεως ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πεπονθότες: οὐ γὰρ ἦν οὔτε ἰσοτιμίας ἐλπὶς προηττημένοις ἐν ταῖς μάχαις οὔτε βοηθείας κεκακωμένων αὐτοῖς τῶν οἴκοι πραγμάτων. [126] οὕτως οὖν ἐχόντων ἐπῆγεν ὁ βασιλεὺς λόγῳ τε πείθων τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ πειρώμενος ἀναλαμβάνειν αὐτῶν πεπτωκότα τὰ φρονήματα. προδιακινήσας δὲ καὶ παραθαρρύνας τινὰς τῶν ἀμεινόνων ἐτόλμησεν ἤδη καὶ τῷ πλήθει διαλέγεσθαι πρότερον ὀκνῶν αὐτό, μὴ καὶ χαλεπῷ χρήσηται διὰ τὰς ἀτυχίας. παρεκάλει δὲ τοιούτους ποιούμενος εἰς τὸν ὄχλον τοὺς λόγους:

(3) [127] "Οὐκ ἀγνοῶ μέν, ἄνδρες, ὅτι πολλὰ παρὰ τόνδε τὸν καιρὸν γεγένηται πρὸς τὰς πράξεις ἡμῖν ἐναντιώματα, καὶ θαρρεῖν εἰκὸς ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις οὐδὲ τοὺς πλεῖστον ἀνδραγαθίᾳ διενηνοχότας. [128] ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ κατεπείγει τε πολεμεῖν καὶ τῶν γεγονότων οὐδέν ἐστιν τοιοῦτον, ὃ μὴ δι' ἑνὸς ἔργου καλῶς πραχθέντος ἐπανορθώσεται, παρακαλέσαι προειλόμην ὑμᾶς ἅμα καὶ διδάξαι δι' ὧν ἂν ἐμμείναιτε τοῖς οἰκείοις φρονήμασιν. [129] βούλομαι δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολεμεῖν ὡς δικαίως αὐτὸ ποιοῦμεν ἐπιδεῖξαι, διὰ τὴν ὕβριν τῶν ἐναντίων ἠναγκασμένοι: μέγιστον γὰρ εἰ μάθοιτε τοῦτο προθυμίας ὑμῖν αἴτιον ἔσται: μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο δεῖξαι, διότι καὶ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν δεινὸν οὐδέν ἐστιν καὶ πλείστας εἰς τὸ νικᾶν ἔχομεν τὰς ἐλπίδας. [130] ἄρξομαι δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου μάρτυρας ὑμᾶς

ποιούμενος ὧν λέγω: τὴν γὰρ τῶν Ἀράβων παρανομίαν ἴστε μὲν δήπου καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας οὕτως ἀπίστως διακειμένων, ὡς εἰκὸς ἔχειν τὸ βάρβαρον καὶ ἀνεννόητον θεοῦ, πλεῖστα μέντοι προσέκρουσαν ἡμῖν πλεονεξίᾳ καὶ φθόνῳ καὶ ταῖς ταραχαῖς ἐφεδρεύοντες ἐξ ὑπογύου. [131] καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ τί δεῖ λέγειν; ἀλλὰ κινδυνεύοντας αὐτοὺς τῆς οἰκείας ἀρχῆς ἐκπεσεῖν καὶ δουλεύειν Κλεοπάτρᾳ τίνες ἄλλοι τοῦ δέους ἀπήλλαξαν; ἡ γὰρ ἐμὴ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον φιλία κἀκείνου πρὸς ἡμᾶς διάθεσις αἰτία γεγένηται μηδὲ τούτους ἀνήκεστόν τι παθεῖν, φυλαττομένου τἀνδρὸς μηδὲν ἐπιτηδεύειν, ὃ δύναιτ᾽ ἂν ὕποπτον ἡμῖν γενέσθαι. [132] βουληθέντος δὲ ὅμως Κλεοπάτρᾳ μέρη τινὰ παρασχεῖν ἀφ᾽ ἑκατέρας τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ τοῦτο διῳκησάμην ἐγώ, καὶ πολλὰ δῶρα δοὺς ἰδίᾳ τὸ μὲν ἀσφαλὲς ἀμφοτέροις ἐπορισάμην, τὰς δὲ δαπάνας αὐτὸς ἀνέλαβον, διακόσια μὲν δοὺς τάλαντα, διακοσίων δ᾽ ἐγγυητὴς γενόμενος, ἃ τῇ μὲν προσοδευομένῃ γέγονεν, αὐτοὶ δ᾽ ὑπὸ τούτων ἀπεστερήμεθα. [133] καίτοι γε ἄξιον ἦν μηδενὶ τῶν ὄντων Ἰουδαίους φόρον ἢ τῆς χώρας ἀπόμοιραν τελεῖν, εἰ δ᾽ οὖν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ ὑπέρ γε τούτων οὓς αὐτοὶ σεσώκαμεν, οὐδὲ τοὺς Ἄραβας ὁμολογήσαντας ἐντεύξεως καὶ χάριτος ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐδόκουν τυγχάνειν ἀδικεῖν ἡμᾶς ἀποστεροῦντας, καὶ ταῦτα οὐ πολεμίους ὄντας, ἀλλὰ φίλους. [134] ὡς ἥ γε πίστις ἔχουσα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμιωτάτους τόπον τοῖς γε φίλοις ἀναγκαιοτάτη τετηρῆσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ παρὰ τούτοις, οἳ τὸ μὲν κερδαίνειν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου κάλλιστον ὑπειλήφασιν, τὸ δ᾽ ἄδικον οὐκ ἐπιζήμιον, εἰ μόνον κερδαίνειν δυνηθεῖεν. [135] ἔστιν οὖν ἔτι ζήτησις ὑμῖν, εἰ δεῖ τοὺς ἀδίκους τιμωρεῖσθαι, τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλομένου καὶ παραγγέλλοντος ἀεὶ μισεῖν τὴν ὕβριν καὶ τὴν ἀδικίαν, καὶ ταῦτα οὐ μόνον δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον πόλεμον ἐξιόντων; [136] ἃ γὰρ ὁμολογεῖται παρανομώτατα τοῖς τε Ἕλλησιν καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις, ταῦτα ἔπραξαν εἰς τοὺς ἡμετέρους πρέσβεις ἀποσφάξαντες αὐτούς, τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἱεροὺς καὶ ἀσύλους εἶναι φαμένων τοὺς κήρυκας, ἡμῶν δὲ τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν δογμάτων καὶ τὰ ὁσιώτατα τῶν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις δι᾽ ἀγγέλων παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μαθόντων: τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ ἀνθρώποις θεὸν εἰς ἐμφάνειαν ἄγει καὶ πολεμίους πολεμίοις διαλλάττειν δύναται. [137] ποῖον οὖν μεῖζον ἂν γένοιτο ἀσέβημα ἢ πρέσβεις ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου διαλεγομένους; πῶς δ᾽ ἂν ἔτι δύναιντο ἢ περὶ τὸν βίον εὐσταθεῖν ἢ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον εὐτυχεῖν τοιούτων αὐτοῖς πεπραγμένων; ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδαμῶς δοκοῦσιν. [138] ἴσως τοίνυν τὸ μὲν ὅσιον καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστιν μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν, ἀνδρειότεροι δὲ ἢ πλείους ἐκεῖνοι τετυχήκασιν. ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν ἀνάξιον ὑμῖν ταῦτα λέγειν: μεθ᾽ ὧν γὰρ τὸ δίκαιόν ἐστιν μετ᾽ ἐκείνων ὁ θεός, θεοῦ δὲ παρόντος καὶ πλῆθος καὶ ἀνδρεία πάρεστιν. [139] ἵνα δὲ καὶ τὰ καθ᾽ αὑτοὺς ἐξετάσωμεν, ἐνικήσαμεν τῇ πρώτῃ μάχῃ: συμβαλόντες τὴν δευτέραν οὐδὲ ἀντέσχον ἡμῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ἔφυγον εὐθὺς οὐχ ὑπομείναντες τὴν ἔφοδον καὶ τὰ φρονήματα: νικῶσιν ἡμῖν Ἀθηνίων ἐπέθετο πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον ἐπάγων. [140] πότερον ἀνδραγαθία τοῦτ᾽ ἔστιν ἐκείνων ἢ δευτέρα παρανομία καὶ ἐνέδρα; τί

οὖν ἔλαττον φρονοῦμεν ἐφ᾽ οἷς μείζους ἔχειν δεῖ τὰς ἐλπίδας; πῶς δ᾽ ἂν καταπλαγείημεν τοὺς ὅταν μὲν ἐξ ἀληθείας ἀγωνίζωνται πάντοτε νικωμένους, ὅταν δὲ κρατεῖν νομισθῶσιν ἐξ ἀδικίας αὐτὸ ποιοῦντας; [141] πῶς δ᾽ ἄν, εἰ καὶ γενναίους ἡγεῖταί τις αὐτούς, οὐ παρ᾽ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ μᾶλλον ὁρμηθείη; τὸ γὰρ εὔψυχον οὐκ ἐν τῷ τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τῷ δύνασθαι καὶ τῶν ἰσχυροτέρων κρατεῖν. [142] εἰ δέ τινα καταπλήξεται τὰ οἰκεῖα πάθη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν σεισμὸν συμβεβηκότα, πρῶτον μὲν ἐννοηθήτω, διότι τοῦτ᾽ αὐτὸ καὶ τοὺς Ἄραβας ἐξαπατᾷ μείζω τὰ γενόμενα τῆς ἀληθείας ὑπειληφότας, ἔπειτα ὡς οὐ καλὸν ἐκείνοις τε τόλμης καὶ ἡμῖν δειλίας τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν γενέσθαι: [143] οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐξ οἰκείου τινὸς ἀγαθοῦ τὸ εὔψυχον ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τῆς περὶ ἡμᾶς ὡς κάμνοντας ἤδη τοῖς κακοῖς ἐλπίδος, ἡμεῖς δὲ χωρήσαντες ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς παραιρησόμεθα μὲν ἐκείνων τὸ μεῖζον φρονεῖν, ἀναληψόμεθα δ᾽ αὐτοὶ τὸ μηκέτι θαρροῦσιν μάχεσθαι. [144] καὶ γὰρ οὔτε κεκακώμεθα τοσοῦτον οὔθ᾽, ὅπερ οἴονταί τινες, ὀργὴν θεοῦ παρέχει τὸ γεγονός, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα συμπτώματα γίνεται καὶ πάθη τινά. καὶ εἰ κατὰ θεοῦ γνώμην πέπρακται, δῆλον ὡς καὶ πέπαυται κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην ἀρκουμένου τοῖς γεγονόσιν: βουλόμενος γὰρ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀδικεῖν, οὐκ ἂν μετεβάλετο. [145] τὸν δὲ πόλεμον ὅτι καὶ θέλει τοῦτον ἐνεργεῖσθαι καὶ δίκαιον οἶδεν, δεδήλωκεν αὐτός: ἐνίων γὰρ ἐν τῷ σεισμῷ περὶ τὴν χώραν ἀπολομένων οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἔπαθεν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἐσώθητε, φανερὸν ποιοῦντος τοῦ θεοῦ, διότι κἂν εἰ πανδημεὶ μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν ἐστρατεύεσθε, περιῆν ἂν ὑμῖν μηδὲν ἀνήκεστον παθεῖν. [146] ταῦτα ἐνθυμηθέντες καὶ τὸ μεῖζον ὅτι παρὰ πάντα καιρὸν προιστάμενον ἔχετε τὸν θεόν, ἐπεξέλθετε δικαίαις ἀνδραγαθίαις τοὺς ἀδίκους μὲν πρὸς φιλίαν, ἀσπόνδους δὲ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, ἀνοσίους δὲ εἰς πρέσβεις, ἀεὶ δὲ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρετῆς ἡττημένους.”

(4) [147] Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πολὺ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀμείνους ἐγίνοντο πρὸς τὴν μάχην. Ἡρώδης δὲ θυσίας κατὰ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιήσας καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀναλαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἄραβας διαβὰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπεδεύεται πλησίον. [148] ἐδόκει δ᾽ αὐτῷ φρούριον ἐν μέσῳ κείμενον καταλαβεῖν: οὕτως γὰρ αὐτὸς μὲν ὠφεληθήσεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ θᾶττον συνάψαι τὴν μάχην καὶ εἰ παρέλκειν δέοι ἐρυμνὸν αὐτῷ πεπορισμένος τὸ στρατόπεδον. [149] τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ καὶ τῶν Ἀράβων προνοούντων ἅμιλλα γίνεται περὶ τοῦ χωρίου καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀκροβολισμοῖς, εἶτα δὴ καὶ πλείους εἰς χεῖρας ἐρχόμενοι παρ᾽ ἀμφοτέρων ἕως ἡττηθέντες οἱ παρὰ τῶν Ἀράβων ἀπεχώρουν. [150] τοῦτο εὐθὺς εἰς ἐλπίδας τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις οὐ μικρὸν ἐγεγόνει. καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ ἐΝνοούμενον πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς μάχην ἰέναι βουλόμενον θρασύτερον ἐπεχείρησεν αὐτῶν τὸν χάρακα διασπᾶν καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου προσάγων ἅπτεσθαι: τούτοις γὰρ ἐκβιασθέντες προῆεσαν ἄτακτοι καὶ προθυμίας ἢ τῆς εἰς τὸ νικᾶν ἐλπίδος οὐδ᾽ ὁτιοῦν ἐσχηκότες. [151] ὅμως δ᾽ οὖν εἰς χεῖρας ᾖεσαν πλείους τε ὄντες καὶ διὰ τὸ κατεπείγειν ἐπὶ τὸ τολμηρὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης

στρατηγούμενοι, καὶ μάχη γίνεται καρτερὰ πιπτόντων ἑκατέρωθεν οὐκ ὀλίγων, τέλος δὲ τραπέντες οἱ Ἄραβες ἔφευγον. [152] ἦν δὲ φόνος ἐγκλινάντων, ὡς μὴ μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων θνήσκειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς παραιτίους γίνεσθαι τῶν κακῶν, ὑπό τε πλήθους καὶ φορᾶς ἀτάκτου συμπατουμένων καὶ περιπιπτόντων τοῖς οἰκείοις ὅπλοις: [153] πεντακισχίλιοι γοῦν αὐτῶν ἐγένοντο νεκροί. τὸ δ᾽ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἔφθη μὲν εἰς τὸ χαράκωμα συμφυγεῖν, εἶχεν δ᾽ οὐκ ἐν βεβαίῳ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καὶ μᾶλλον ὕδατος. οἵ τε Ἰουδαῖοι διώκοντες συνεισπεσεῖν μὲν οὐ κατίσχυσαν, [154] περικαθεζόμενοι δὲ τῷ χάρακι καὶ παρατηροῦντες εἰσόδου τε τοὺς ἐπαρκοῦντας καὶ ἐξόδου φυγεῖν βουλομένους εἶργον.

(5) [155] Ἐν τοιούτοις οὖν ὄντες οἱ Ἄραβες ἐπρεσβεύοντο πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδην, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπὲρ διαλύσεως, ἔπειτα, τὸ γὰρ δίψος ἤπειγεν, πᾶν ὁτιοῦν ὑφιστάμενοι καὶ τυχεῖν εἰς τὸ παρὸν ἀδείας ἠξιωκότες. [156] ὁ δ᾽ οὔτε πρέσβεις οὔτε λύτρα τῶν ἡλωκότων οὔτ᾽ ἄλλο τι μέτριον προσίετο φιλόνεικος ὢν ἐκδικῆσαι τὰς παρανομίας τὰς εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνων γεγενημένας. καταναγκαζόμενοί τε τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τῷ δίψει προιόντες αὐτοὺς ἐνεχείριζον ἄγειν καὶ δεῖν, [157] [καὶ] πέντε μὲν ἡμέραις τετρακισχίλιοι τὸ πλῆθος οὕτως ἑάλωσαν, τῇ δ᾽ ἕκτῃ πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ διέγνωσαν ἐξιέναι πολέμου νόμῳ χωρήσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐγχειρεῖν, καὶ εἰ δέοι τι πάσχειν, αἱρούμενοι καὶ μὴ διαφθείρεσθαι κατ᾽ ὀλίγους ἀδόξως. [158] ταῦτα δὲ γνόντες ἐξῆλθον μὲν τοῦ χαρακώματος, διήρκεσαν δ᾽ οὐδαμῶς τῇ μάχῃ, λαμπρῶς μὲν ἀγωνίσασθαι κεκακωμένοι καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ σώματα τόπον οὐκ ἔχοντες, κέρδος δ᾽ εἰ θνήσκοιεν ἐν συμφορᾷ τὸ ζῆν ποιούμενοι, καὶ πίπτουσιν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ μάχῃ περὶ ἑπτακισχιλίους. [159] τοιαύτῃ δὲ πληγῇ χρησαμένων φρονήματος μὲν ὅσον ἦν πρότερον αὐτοῖς ἀφῄρηντο, τεθαυμακότες δὲ ἐν ταῖς οἰκείαις συμφοραῖς τὴν Ἡρώδου στρατηγίαν εἵς τε τὸ λοιπὸν εἶξαν καὶ προστάτην ἀπεφήναντο τοῦ ἔθνους. [160] ὁ δὲ πλεῖστον ἐπὶ τοῖς εὐημερήμασιν ἠξιωκὼς φρονεῖν ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, προσειληφὼς ἀξίωμα καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν.

VI

(1) [161] Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα καλῶς εἶχεν αὐτῷ δυσεπιχειρήτῳ κατὰ πάντα γεγενημένῳ, κίνδυνος δ᾽ ἐμπίπτει τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων κρίσιν ἐξάγων Ἀντώνιον Καίσαρος ἐν τῇ κατ᾽ Ἄκτιον μάχῃ νενικηκότος: [162] τότε γὰρ ἀπέγνωστο αὐτῷ τε Ἡρώδῃ τὰ πράγματα καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ὁμοίως ἐχθροῖς τε καὶ φίλοις: οὐ γὰρ ἦν εἰκὸς ἀτιμώρητον μενεῖν τοσαύτης αὐτῷ φιλίας πρὸς Ἀντώνιον γεγενημένης. [163] ἦν οὖν τοῖς μὲν φίλοις ἀπόγνωσις τῶν κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐλπίδων, ὅσοι δ᾽ ἐχθρῶς εἶχον ἐδόκουν μὲν ἐξ ἐμφανοῦς συνάχθεσθαι, πάθος δὲ λεληθὸς ἐφηδομένων εἶχον ὡς ἀμείνονος τευξόμενοι τῆς μεταβολῆς. [164] αὐτός τε Ἡρώδης τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ὁρῶν

μόνον ἐπ᾽ ἀξιώματος βασιλικοῦ συμφέρειν ᾠ̈ετο μηκέτ᾽ ἐμποδὼν ἐᾶν, εἰ μὲν περισωθείη καὶ διαφύγοι τὸν κίνδυνον, ἀσφαλὲς ἡγούμενος πρὸς τὸ μὴ τοῖς τοιούτοις αὐτοῦ καιροῖς ἐφορμεῖν ἄνδρα τυχεῖν τῆς βασιλείας ἀξιώτερον, εἰ δὲ καὶ πάσχοι τι διὰ Καίσαρος, φθόνῳ τὸν μόνον ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας γενησόμενον ἐπιθυμῶν ἐξελεῖν.

(2) [165] Ταῦτα δ᾽ αὐτοῦ δι᾽ ἐννοίας ἔχοντος ἐνεδόθη τι καὶ παρ᾽ ἐκείνων: ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ὑρκανὸς ἐπιεικείᾳ τρόπου καὶ τότε καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον οὐκ ἠξίου πολυπραγμονεῖν οὐδὲ νεωτέρων ἅπτεσθαι, συγχωρῶν τῇ τύχῃ πᾶν τὸ δι᾽ ἐκείνης γινόμενον ἠγαπηκέναι. [166] φιλόνεικος δ᾽ ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρα καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς μεταβολῆς ἀκρατῶς φέρουσα λόγους ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, μὴ μέχρι παντὸς ἀναμεῖναι τὴν Ἡρώδου παρανομίαν εἰς τὸν αὐτῶν οἶκον, ἀλλὰ προλαβεῖν ἀσφαλείᾳ τὰς αὖθις ἐλπίδας, [167] καὶ γράφειν ἠξίου περὶ τούτων Μάλχῳ τῷ τὴν ἀραβαρχίαν ἔχοντι δέξασθαί τε αὐτὸν καὶ δι᾽ ἀσφαλείας ἔχειν: ὑπεξελθόντων γὰρ εἰ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην οὕτως χωρήσειεν, ὡς εἰκὸς ἐν ἔχθρᾳ Καίσαρος, αὐτοὺς ἔσεσθαι τοὺς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολαμβάνοντας μόνους καὶ διὰ τὸ γένος καὶ διὰ τὴν εὔνοιαν τῶν ὄχλων. [168] ταῦτα πειθούσης ὁ μὲν Ὑρκανὸς διωθεῖτο τοὺς λόγους, φιλόνεικον δέ τι καὶ γυναικεῖον αὐτῆς πεπονθυίας καὶ μήτε νύκτα μήθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἀπολειπομένης, ἀλλ᾽ ἀεὶ περὶ τούτων καὶ τῆς Ἡρώδου πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπιβουλῆς διαλεγομένης, ἀνεπείσθη τέλος ἐπιστολὴν δοῦναι Δοσιθέῳ τινὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν φίλων, ἐν ᾗ συντέτακτο πέμπειν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἄραβα τοὺς ἀναληψομένους καὶ παραπέμψοντας ἱππέας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσφαλτῖτιν λίμνην: αὕτη δ᾽ ἀπέχει τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ὅρων σταδίους τριακοσίους. [169] ἐπίστευεν δὲ τῷ Δοσιθέῳ θεραπεύοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν καὶ τῆς πρὸς Ἡρώδην δυσνοίας οὐ μικρὰς αἰτίας ἔχοντος: Ἰωσήπου τε γάρ, ὃν ἐκεῖνος ἀνῃρήκει, συγγενὴς ἦν καὶ τῶν ἐν Τύρῳ φονευθέντων ὑπ᾽ Ἀντωνίου πρότερον ἀδελφός. [170] οὐ μὴν ἐπήγαγεν ταῦτα τὸν Δοσίθεον Ὑρκανῷ πιστὸν εἰς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν γενέσθαι, προτιμήσας δὲ τῶν ἐκείνου τὰς ἐκ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἐλπίδας ἐπιδίδωσιν Ἡρώδῃ τὴν ἐπιστολήν. [171] ὁ δὲ τῆς εὐνοίας ἀποδεξάμενος ἔτι καὶ τοῦτο προσυπουργῆσαι παρεκελεύετο, πτύξαντα τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ κατασημηνάμενον ἀποδοῦναι τῷ Μάλχῳ καὶ τὰ παρ᾽ ἐκείνου γράμματα λαβεῖν: οὐ γὰρ μικρὸν τὸ διάφορον καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην αὐτὸν εἰδέναι. [172] ταῦτα δὲ τοῦ Δοσιθέου προθύμως ὑπουργήσαντος ὁ μὲν Ἄραψ ἀντεπέστελλεν αὐτόν τε Ὑρκανὸν δέχεσθαι καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πάντας καὶ Ἰουδαίων ὅσοι τὰ ἐκείνου φρονοῦσιν, δύναμίν τε πέμψειν τὴν μετ᾽ ἀσφαλείας αὐτοὺς κομιοῦσαν καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν ἐνδεήσειν ὧν ἠξίου. [173] ὡς δὲ καὶ ταύτην Ἡρώδης ἐδέξατο τὴν ἐπιστολήν, εὐθύς τε μεταπέμπεται τὸν Ὑρκανὸν καὶ περὶ τῶν γενομένων αὐτῷ συνθηκῶν πρὸς τὸν Μάλχον ἀνέκρινεν. ἀρνησαμένου δὲ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς δείξας τῷ συνεδρίῳ διεχειρίσατο τὸν ἄνδρα.

(3) [174] Ταῦτα δὲ γράφομεν ἡμεῖς, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡρώδου περιείχετο. τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις οὐ κατὰ ταῦτα συμφωνεῖ: τὸν γὰρ Ἡρώδην οὐκ ἐπὶ τοιούτοις δοκοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς μᾶλλον Ὑρκανῷ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπάγοντα κατὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ τρόπον ἀποκτεῖναι: [175] γράφουσι γὰρ οὕτως, ἐν συμποσίῳ τινὶ μηδὲν ὑποψίας ἐνδιδόντα λόγον Ὑρκανῷ προσφέρειν, εἴ τινας ἐπιστολὰς παρὰ τοῦ Μάλχου λάβοι, καὶ τὸν μὲν ὁμολογῆσαι προσαγορευτικὰ γράμματα κομίσασθαι, [176] τὸν δ', εἰ καί τινα δωρεὰν εἰληφὼς εἴη, πάλιν ἐπερέσθαι: τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν πλέον ἢ κτηνῶν ἀναβατικῶν τέτταρα πέμψαντος αὐτῷ λαβεῖν, εἰς αἰτίαν τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπαναφέροντα δωροδοκίας καὶ προδοσίας ἀπάγχειν προστάξαι τὸν ἄνδρα. [177] τεκμήρια δὲ τοῦ μηδὲν ἁμαρτόντα τοιούτῳ τέλει περιπεσεῖν καταλογίζονται τὴν ἐπιείκειαν τοῦ τρόπου καὶ τὸ μήτ' ἐν νεότητι θράσους ἢ προπετείας ἐπίδειξιν πεποιῆσθαι μήθ' ὅτε τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτὸς εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ κἀν ταύτῃ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν κατὰ τὴν διοίκησιν Ἀντιπάτρῳ παρακεχωρηκέναι. [178] τότε δ' ἐντῶ πλείω μὲν ἢ ὀγδοήκοντα γεγονὼς ἐτύγχανεν ἔτη, κρατοῦντα δὲ μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας τὸν Ἡρώδην ἠπίστατο, διαβεβήκει δὲ καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην τοὺς ἐν τῷ πέραν τιμῶντας αὐτὸν καταλιπὼν ὡς ὅλος ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ γενησόμενος: ἐγχειρεῖν οὖν τι καὶ καινοτέρων ἅπτεσθαι πάντων ἀπιθανώτατον καὶ οὐ πρὸς τῆς ἐκείνου φύσεως, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα σκῆψιν Ἡρώδου γενέσθαι.

(4) [179] Τοῦτο μὲν τὸ τέλος Ὑρκανῷ συνέπεσεν τοῦ βίου ποικίλαις καὶ πολυτρόποις χρησαμένῳ ταῖς ἐν τῷ ζῆν τύχαις: εὐθὺς μὲν [γὰρ] ἐν ἀρχῇ βασιλευούσης αὐτῷ τῆς μητρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρας ἀρχιερεὺς καταστὰς τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους ἔτεσιν ἐννέα τὴν τιμὴν κατέσχεν. [180] παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποθανούσης τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῷ καὶ ταύτην κατασχὼν τρεῖς μῆνας ἐκπίπτει μὲν ὑπ' Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, κατάγεται δ' αὖθις ὑπὸ Πομπηίου καὶ πάσας τὰς τιμὰς ἀπολαβὼν ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα διετέλεσεν ἐν αὐτοῖς. [181] ἀφαιρεθεὶς δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου καὶ λωβηθεὶς τὸ σῶμα παρὰ Πάρθοις αἰχμάλωτος ἐγένετο. κἀκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπανῆει χρόνῳ διὰ τὰς ἐξ Ἡρώδου προτεινομένας ἐλπίδας, ὧν οὐδὲν αὐτῷ κατὰ προσδοκίαν ἀπήντα πολυπαθείᾳ βίου χρησαμένῳ, τὸ δυσχερέστατον δέ, ὡς προειρήκαμεν, ἐν γήρᾳ τέλους οὐκ ἀξίου τυχεῖν: [182] δοκεῖ γὰρ ἐπιεικὴς καὶ μέτριος ἐν πᾶσιν γενέσθαι καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ διοικηταῖς ἄγειν, οὐ πολυπράγμων οὐδὲ δεινὸς ὢν βασιλείας ἐπιστατεῖν, Ἀντιπάτρῳ τε καὶ Ἡρώδῃ μέχρι τοῦδε προελθεῖν ἐγένετο διὰ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν τὴν ἐκείνου, καὶ τὸ πέρας οὔτε δίκαιον οὔτ' εὐσεβὲς ἐξ αὐτῶν εὕρατο τοιούτου τέλους.

(5) [183] Ὁ δὲ Ἡρώδης ὡς καὶ τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ἐκποδὼν ἐποιήσατο, σπεύδων πρὸς Καίσαρα καὶ μηδὲν ἐλπίσαι περὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ πραγμάτων δυνάμενος χρηστὸν ἐκ τῆς γενομένης αὐτῷ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον φιλίας, ὕποπτον μὲν εἶχεν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν, μὴ τῷ καιρῷ συνεπιθεμένη τὸ πλῆθος ἀποστήσῃ καὶ στασιάσῃ τὰ περὶ τὴν

βασιλείαν πράγματα. [184] παρετίθετο δὲ πάντα Φερώρᾳ τἀδελφῷ, καὶ τὴν μητέρα Κύπρον καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν καὶ τὴν γενεὰν ἅπασαν ἐν Μασάδοις κατεστήσατο παρακελευσάμενος, εἴ τι περὶ αὐτὸν ἀκούσαιεν δυσχερές, ἔχεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων. [185] Μαριάμμην δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα, δυνατὸν γὰρ οὐκ ἦν ἐν διαφορᾷ τῇ πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν καὶ τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἐκείνου δίαιταν τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν, ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείῳ σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρᾳ τῇ μητρὶ κατεστήσατο Ἰώσηπον τὸν ταμιαίαν καὶ τὸν Ἰτουραῖον Σόαιμον ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν καταλιπών, πιστοτάτους μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενομένους αὐτῷ, τότε δὲ προφάσει τιμῆς φρουρεῖν ἀπολειφθέντας τὰς γυναῖκας. [186] ἦν δὲ κἀκείνοις ἐντολὴ μαθόντας τι περὶ αὐτοῦ δυσχερὲς ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀμφοτέρας μεταχειρίσασθαι, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν εἰς δύναμιν τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ σὺν τἀδελφῷ Φερώρᾳ διατηρεῖν.

(6) [187] Ταύτας δοὺς τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτὸς εἰς Ῥόδον ἠπείγετο Καίσαρι συντυχεῖν. κἀπειδὴ κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀφῄρητο μὲν τὸ διάδημα, τοῦ δ᾽ ἄλλου περὶ αὐτὸν ἀξιώματος οὐδὲν ὑφεικώς, ὅτε καὶ κοινωνῆσαι λόγου κατὰ τὴν συντυχίαν ἠξιώθη, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐνέφηνεν τὸ μεγαλεῖον τοῦ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν φρονήματος, [188] οὔτ᾽ εἰς ἱκεσίαν, ὡς εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τοιούτοις, τραπόμενος οὔτε δέησίν τινα προτείνων ὡς ἐφ᾽ ἡμαρτημένοις, ἀποδοὺς δὲ τὸν λογισμὸν τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀνυποτιμήτως. [189] ἔλεγεν γὰρ τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ φιλίαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι μεγίστην πρὸς Ἀντώνιον καὶ πάντα πρᾶξαι κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν, ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνῳ γενήσεται τὰ πράγματα, στρατείας μὲν οὐ κοινωνήσας κατὰ περιολκὰς τῶν Ἀράβων, πέμψας δὲ καὶ χρήματα καὶ σῖτον ἐκείνῳ. [190] καὶ ταῦτ᾽ εἶναι μετριώτερα τῶν ἐπιβαλλόντων αὐτῷ γενέσθαι: τὸν γὰρ ὁμολογοῦντα μὲν εἶναι φίλον, εὐεργέτην δ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἐπιστάμενον, παντὶ μέρει καὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος καὶ περιουσίας συγκινδυνεύειν δέον ὧν αὐτὸς ἔλαττον ἢ καλῶς εἶχεν ἀναστραφεὶς ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνό γε συνειδέναι καλῶς ἑαυτῷ πεποιηκότι τὸ μηδ᾽ ἡττηθέντα τὴν ἐν Ἀκτίῳ μάχην καταλιπεῖν, [191] μηδὲ συμμεταβῆναι ταῖς ἐλπίσιν φανερῶς ἤδη μεταβαινούσης καὶ τῆς τύχης, φυλάξαι δ᾽ αὐτὸν, εἰ καὶ μὴ συναγωνιστὴν ἀξιόχρεων, ἀλλὰ σύμβουλόν γε δεξιώτατον Ἀντωνίῳ τὴν μίαν αἰτίαν τοῦ κἂν σώζεσθαι καὶ μὴ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκπεσεῖν ὑποδεικνύντα, Κλεοπάτραν ἐπανελέσθαι: [192] προανῃρημένης γὰρ ἐκείνης αὐτῷ τε τῶν πραγμάτων ἄρχειν ὑπεῖναι καὶ τὰς πρὸς σὲ συμβάσεις ῥᾷον εὑρίσκεσθαι τῆς ἔχθρας. ὧν οὐδὲν ἐκεῖνος ἐννοηθεὶς ἀλυσιτελῶς μὲν αὐτῷ, συμφερόντως δὲ σοὶ προετίμησεν τὴν ἀβουλίαν. [193] νῦν οὖν εἰ μὲν τῇ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ὀργῇ κρίνεις καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν προθυμίαν, οὐκ ἂν εἴη μοι τῶν πεπραγμένων ἄρνησις οὐδ᾽ ἀπαξιώσω τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εὔνοιαν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ λέγειν, εἰ δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον ἀνελών, τίς εἰμι πρὸς τοὺς εὐεργέτας καὶ ποῖος φίλος ἐξετάζοις, ἐνέσται σοι πείρᾳ τῶν ἤδη γεγενημένων ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι: τοῦ γὰρ ὀνόματος ὑπαλλαγέντος οὐδὲν ἔλαττον αὐτὸ τὸ τῆς φιλίας βέβαιον ἐν ἡμῖν εὐδοκιμεῖν δυνήσεται.”

(7) [194] Τοιαῦτα λέγων καὶ παράπαν ἐμφαίνων τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐλευθέριον οὐ μετρίως ἐπεσπᾶτο τὸν Καίσαρα φιλότιμον ὄντα καὶ λαμπρόν, ὥστ᾽ αὐτῷ τὰς τῶν ἐγκλημάτων αἰτίας σύστασιν ἤδη τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εὐνοίας πραγματεύεσθαι. [195] καὶ τό τε διάδημα πάλιν ἀποκαθίστησιν αὐτῷ καὶ προτρεψάμενος μηδὲν ἐλάττω περὶ αὐτὸν ἢ πρότερον ἦν περὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον φαίνεσθαι, διὰ πάσης ἦγε τιμῆς, προσθεὶς ὅτι καιταιδιος γράψειεν, ἁπάσῃ προθυμίᾳ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς μονομάχους αὐτῷ συλλαβέσθαι τὸν Ἡρώδην. [196] τοσαύτης ἀποδοχῆς ἠξιωμένος καὶ παρ᾽ ἐλπίδας ὁρῶν αὐτῷ πάλιν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς βεβαιοτέραν τὴν βασιλείαν δόσει Καίσαρος καὶ δόγματι Ῥωμαίων, ὅπερ ἐκεῖνος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ βέβαιον ἐπραγματεύσατο, παρέπεμψεν ἐπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου Καίσαρα, δωρησάμενος ὑπὲρ δύναμιν αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς φίλους καὶ πᾶσαν ἐμφαίνων μεγαλοψυχίαν. [197] ᾐτεῖτο δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἀντωνίῳ συνήθων Ἀλέξανδρον ὡς μηδὲν ἀνήκεστον παθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τούτου μὲν οὐκ ἔτυχεν ὅρκῳ προκατειλημμένου Καίσαρος: [198] ἐπανῆει δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πλείονί τε τιμῇ καὶ παρρησίᾳ καὶ τοῖς τὰ ἐναντία προσδοκήσασιν ἔκπληξιν παρέσχεν ὡς ἀεὶ τὸ λαμπρότερον ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων κατ᾽ εὐμένειαν τοῦ θεοῦ προσεπικτώμενος. εὐθὺς οὖν περὶ τὴν ὑποδοχὴν ἐγεγόνει Καίσαρος ἀπὸ Συρίας εἰς Αἴγυπτον εἰσβαλεῖν μέλλοντος. [199] κἀπειδὴ παρῆν, δέχεται μὲν αὐτὸν ἐν Πτολεμαίδι πάσῃ τῇ βασιλικῇ θεραπείᾳ, παρέσχεν δὲ καὶ τῷ στρατεύματι ξένια καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀφθονίαν. κἀν τοῖς εὐνουστάτοις ἐξητάζετο τάς τε δυνάμεις ἐκτάττοντος συνιππαζόμενος καὶ δεχόμενος αὐτὸν καὶ φίλους ἀνδρῶσιν ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα πᾶσιν εἰς πολυτέλειαν καὶ πλοῦτον ὑπηρεσίας ἠσκημένοις. [200] παρέσχεν δὲ καὶ τὴν ἄνυδρον διερχομένοις τὴν τῶν ἐπειγόντων χορηγίαν, ὡς μήτε οἴνου μήτε ὕδατος, ὃ καὶ μᾶλλον ἦν ἐν χρείᾳ τοῖς στρατιώταις, ὑστερηθῆναι. αὐτόν γε μὴν Καίσαρα ταλάντοις ὀκτακοσίοις ἐδωρήσατο καὶ παρέστησεν ἅπασιν ἔννοιαν λαβεῖν, ὅτι τῆς βασιλείας ἧς εἶχεν πολὺ μείζω καὶ λαμπρότερα κατὰ τὰς ὑπουργίας ἐπεδείκνυτο. [201] τοῦτ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ μᾶλλον εἰς πίστιν εὐνοίας καὶ προθυμίας ἐπισυνίστη καὶ πλεῖστον ἠνέγκατο τῇ χρείᾳ τοῦ καιροῦ τὸ μεγαλόψυχον ἁρμόσας. ὁ δὲ καὶ πάλιν ἐπανιόντων ἀπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου τῶν πρώτων οὐδενὸς τὰς ὑπηρεσίας ἥττων ἐφάνη.

VII

(1) [202] Τότε μέντοι γενόμενος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τεταραγμένην αὐτῷ τὴν οἰκίαν καταλαμβάνει καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐχούσας τήν τε γυναῖκα Μαριάμμην καὶ τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἐκείνης Ἀλεξάνδραν. [203] οἰηθεῖσαι γάρ, ὅπερ ἦν ὕποπτον, οὐκ εἰς ἀσφάλειαν τῶν σωμάτων εἰς ἐκεῖνο κατατεθῆναι τὸ χωρίον, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς φρουρᾷ μηθενὸς μήτε τῶν ἄλλων μήθ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐξουσίαν ἔχοιεν, χαλεπῶς ἔφερον. [204] ἥ τε Μαριάμμη τὸν μὲν ἔρωτα τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπόκρισιν ἄλλως καὶ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον

αὐτῷ γινομένην ἀπάτην ὑπελάμβανεν, ἤχθετο δὲ τῷ μηδ᾽ εἰ πάσχοι τι δεινὸν ἐκεῖνος ἐλπίδα τοῦ βιώσεσθαι δι᾽ αὐτὸν ἐσχηκέναι καὶ τὰς Ἰωσήπῳ δοθείσας ἐντολὰς ἀνεμνημόνευεν, ὥστ᾽ ἤδη διὰ θεραπείας εἶχεν τοὺς φρουροὺς καὶ μᾶλλον τὸν Σόαιμον, ἐν ἐκείνῳ τὸ πᾶν ἐπισταμένη. [205] Σόαιμος δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὰς ἀρχὰς πιστὸς ἦν οὐδὲν ὧν Ἡρώδης ἐνετέταλτο παριείς, λόγοις δὲ καὶ δωρεαῖς λιπαρέστερον τῶν γυναικῶν ἐκθεραπευουσῶν αὐτὸν ἡττᾶτο κατὰ μικρὸν ἤδη καὶ τέλος ἐξεῖπεν ἁπάσας τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ βασιλέως, μάλιστα μὲν οὐδ᾽ ἐλπίσας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποστρέψειν ἐξουσίας: [206] ἐν ᾧ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκφυγὼν τὸν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κίνδυνον οὐ μικρὰ χαριεῖσθαι ταῖς γυναιξὶν ὑπελάμβανεν, αἷς ἦν εἰκὸς οὐκ ἀποτεύξεσθαι τοῦ περιόντος ἀξιώματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλέον εἰς τὴν ἀμοιβὴν ἕξειν εἰ βασιλευούσας ἢ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἀγχοῦ γενησομένας. [207] ἐπήλπιζε δ᾽ αὐτὸν οὐχ ἧττον, εἰ καὶ πάντα κατὰ νοῦν πράξας ὑποστρέψειεν Ἡρώδης, μηδὲν ὅτι τῇ γυναικὶ δυνήσεσθαι βουλομένῃ γε ἀντειπεῖν: ἠπίστατο γὰρ τὸν πρὸς τὴν Μαριάμμην ἔρωτα μείζονα λόγου τῷ βασιλεῖ. [208] ταῦτα προσεκλύσαντα τὰς ἐντολὰς ἐξαγγεῖλαι Μαριάμμη χαλεπῶς ἤκουσεν, εἰ μηδὲν πέρας αὐτῇ τῶν ἐξ Ἡρώδου κινδύνων ἔσται, χαλεπῶς δὲ διέκειτο, μηδενὸς μὲν τυχεῖν αὐτὸν τῶν ἴσων εὐχομένη, δυσύποιστον δ᾽ εἰ τύχοι τὸν μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ βίον κρίνουσα. καὶ τοῦτο διέδειξεν ἐν ὑστέρῳ μηδὲν ἐπικρυψαμένη τοῦ κατ᾽ αὐτὴν πάθους.

(2) [209] Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ μεγάλοις οἷς παρ᾽ ἐλπίδας εὐτυχήκει καταπεπλευκὼς πρώτῃ μέν, ὡς εἰκός, τῇ γυναικὶ περὶ τούτων εὐηγγελίζετο, μόνην δὲ ἐκ πάντων διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα καὶ τὴν οὖσαν αὐτῷ συνήθειαν προτιμῶν ἠσπάζετο. [210] τῇ δ᾽ οὔτε τὰς εὐημερίας διηγουμένου χαίρειν μᾶλλον ἢ χαλεπῶς φέρειν συνέβαινεν οὔτ᾽ ἐπικρύπτεσθαι τὸ πάθος δυνατὸν ἦν. ἀλλ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἀδοξίας καὶ τῆς περιούσης εὐγενείας πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀσπασμοὺς ἀνέστενεν, τοῖς δὲ διηγήμασιν ἄχθεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ συγχαίρειν ἐνέφαινεν, ὡς οὐχ ὕποπτα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ καταφανῆ γινόμενα τὸν Ἡρώδην ἐπιταράττειν. [211] ἠδημόνει μὲν γὰρ ὁρῶν τὸ παράλογον τῆς γυναικὸς εἰς αὐτὸν μῖσος οὐκ ἀποκεκρυμμένον, ἤχθετο δὲ τῷ πράγματι καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα φέρειν ἀδυνατῶν ταῖς τε ὀργαῖς καὶ ταῖς διαλλαγαῖς οὐκ ἐνέμενεν, ἀεὶ δὲ ἀπὸ θατέρου μεταβαίνων εἰς θάτερον ἐφ᾽ ἑκατέρῳ πολλὴν εἶχεν ἀπορίαν. [212] οὕτως οὖν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ στυγεῖν καὶ στέργειν ἀποληφθεὶς καὶ πολλάκις ἕτοιμος ὢν ἀμύνασθαι τῆς ὑπερηφανίας αὐτὴν διὰ τὸ προκατειλῆφθαι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀσθενέστερος εἰς τὸ μεταστήσασθαι τὴν ἄνθρωπον ἐγίνετο. τὸ δὲ σύμπαν ἡδέως ἂν ἐκείνην κολάσας ἐδεδοίκει, μὴ λάθοι μείζονα παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀποθανούσης εἰσπραττόμενος.

(3) [213] Συνιδοῦσαι δ᾽ οὕτως αὐτὸν ἔχοντα πρὸς τὴν Μαριάμμην ἥ τε ἀδελφὴ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ κάλλιστον ᾠήθησαν τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ πρὸς ἐκείνην μίσους εἰληφέναι καὶ διελάλουν οὐ μικρῶς παροξύνουσαι τὸν Ἡρώδην διαβολαῖς μῖσος ὁμοῦ καὶ ζηλοτυπίαν ἐμποιεῖν δυνησομέναις. [214] ὁ δ᾽ οὔτε τῶν τοιούτων ἀηδῶς ἤκουσεν λόγων οὔτε δρᾶν τι κατὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ὡς πεπιστευκὼς ἀπεθάρρει, χεῖρον μέντοι

πρὸς αὐτὴν εἶχεν ἀεὶ καὶ τὸ πάθος ἀντεξεκαίετο, τῆς μὲν οὐκ ἀποκρυπτομένης τὴν διάθεσιν, τοῦ δὲ τὸν ἔρωτα πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀεὶ μεταλαμβάνοντος. [215] κἂν εὐθὺς ἐπράχθη τι τῶν ἀνηκέστων: νῦν δὲ Καίσαρος ἀγγελθέντος κρατεῖν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τεθνηκότων Ἀντωνίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας ἔχειν Αἴγυπτον, ἐπειγόμενος εἰς τὸ Καίσαρι ἁπαντᾶν κατέλιπεν ὡς εἶχεν τὰ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν. [216] ἐξιόντι δὲ Μαριάμμη παραστησομένη τὸν Σόαιμον πολλήν τε χάριν τῆς ἐπιμελείας ὡμολόγει καὶ μεριδαρχίαν αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ᾐτήσατο. [217] κἀκεῖνος μὲν τυγχάνει τῆς τιμῆς. Ἡρώδης δὲ γενόμενος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Καίσαρί τε μετὰ πλείονος παρρησίας εἰς λόγους ἦλθεν ὡς ἤδη φίλος καὶ μεγίστων ἠξιώθη: τῶν τε γὰρ Κλεοπάτραν δορυφορούντων Γαλατῶν τετρακοσίοις αὐτὸν ἐδωρήσατο καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῷ πάλιν, ἣν δι᾽ ἐκείνης ἀφῃρέθη. προσέθηκεν δὲ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ Γάδαρα καὶ Ἵππον καὶ Σαμάρειαν ἔτι δὲ τῆς παραλίου Γάζαν καὶ Ἀνθηδόνα καὶ Ἰόπην καὶ Στράτωνος πύργον.

(4) [218] Ἐπιτυχὼν δὲ καὶ τούτων λαμπρότερος ἦν, καὶ τὸν μὲν Καίσαρα παρέπεμψεν ἐπ᾽ Ἀντιοχείας, αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἐπανελθὼν ὅσον ᾤετο τὰ πράγματα αὐτῷ διὰ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπιδιδόναι πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν, τοσοῦτον ἔκαμνεν τοῖς οἰκείοις καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τὸν γάμον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ μᾶλλον εὐτυχεῖν ἐδόκει πρότερον: ἔρωτα γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἐλάττω τῶν ἱστορουμένων ἐπεπόνθει μετὰ τοῦ δικαίου τῆς Μαριάμμης. [219] ἡ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σώφρων καὶ πιστὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦν, εἶχεν δέ τι καὶ γυναικεῖον ὁμοῦ καὶ χαλεπὸν ἐκ φύσεως, ἱκανῶς μὲν ἐντρυφῶσα δεδουλωμένῳ διὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ τὸ βασιλεύεσθαι καὶ κρατεῖν ἄλλον αὐτῆς οὐ συγκαταλογιζομένη τῷ καιρῷ πολλάκις μὲν ὑβριστικῶς αὐτῷ προσηνέχθη καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐκεῖνος ἐξειρωνευόμενος ἔφερεν ἐγκρατῶς καὶ μειζόνως, [220] ἀναφανδὸν δὲ τήν τε μητέρα καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἐπὶ δυσγενείᾳ διεχλεύαζεν καὶ κακῶς ἔλεγεν, ὥστ᾽ ἤδη στάσιν ἐν ταῖς γυναιξὶν εἶναι καὶ μῖσος ἄσπονδον, ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε καὶ διαβολὰς μείζονας. [221] ἥ τε ὑποψία τρεφομένη παρέτεινεν ἐνιαυτοῦ μῆκος ἐξ οὗ παρὰ Καίσαρος Ἡρώδης ὑπεστρόφει. τέλεον μέντοι προοικονομούμενον ἐκ πλείονος ἐξερράγη τοιαύτης ἀφορμῆς ἐγγενομένης: [222] κατακλινόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς ὡς ἀναπαύσασθαι μεσημβρίας οὔσης ἐκάλει τὴν Μαριάμμην ὑπὸ φιλοστοργίας, ἧς ἀεὶ περὶ αὐτὴν εἶχεν. ἡ δὲ εἰσῆλθεν μέν, οὐ μὴν καὶ κατεκλίθη σπουδάζοντος ἐκφαυλίσασα καὶ προσλοιδορηθεῖσα, τόν τε πατέρα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆς ὡς ἀπεκτόνοι. [223] χαλεπῶς δ᾽ ἐκείνου τὴν ὕβριν ἐνηνοχότος καὶ γεγονότος εἰς προπέτειαν ἑτοίμου, τῆς ταραχῆς αἰσθομένη μείζονος ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφὴ Σαλώμη παρεσκευασμένον ἐκ πλείστου τὸν οἰνοχόον εἰσπέμπει κελεύουσα λέγειν, ὡς πείθοι Μαριάμμη φίλτρον αὐτῇ συγκατασκευάσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ. [224] κἂν ταραχθῇ καὶ πυνθάνηται, τί ποτε τοῦτ᾽ ἦν, λέγειν ὅτι φάρμακον ἐκείνης μὲν ἐχούσης αὐτοῦ δὲ διακονῆσαι παρακαλουμένου, μὴ κινηθέντος δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῷ φίλτρῳ τὸν λόγον ἀργὸν ἐᾶν: οὐδένα γὰρ αὐτῷ κίνδυνον φέρειν. τοιαῦτα προδιδάξασα κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν

εἰσπέμπει διαλεξόμενον. [225] ὁ δὲ πιθανῶς ἅμα καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς εἰσῄει, δῶρα μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν Μαριάμμην παρεσχῆσθαι λέγων, ἀναπείθειν δὲ φίλτρον αὐτῷ διδόναι. πρὸς τοῦτο διακινηθέντος καὶ τί τὸ φίλτρον εἴη ἐρωτήσαντος, φάρμακον εἶπεν ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνης διδόμενον, οὗ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτὸς οὐκ εἰδέναι, διὸ καὶ προσαγγεῖλαι τοῦτ᾽ ἀσφαλέστερον αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ διειληφότα. [226] τοιούτων ἀκούσας Ἡρώδης λόγων καὶ πρότερον κακῶς διακείμενος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἠρεθίσθη, τόν τ᾽ εὐνοῦχον, ὃς ἦν τῇ Μαριάμμῃ πιστότατος, ἐβασάνιζεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ φαρμάκου γινώσκων, ὡς οὐ χωρὶς ἐκείνου τι δυνατὸν ἦν οὔτε μεῖζον οὔτε ἔλαττόν τι πεπρᾶχθαι. [227] γενόμενος δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἀνάγκαις ὁ ἄνθρωπος, οὐδὲν μὲν ὧν ἕνεκεν ἐβασανίζετο λέγειν εἶχεν, τὸ μέντοι τῆς γυναικὸς ἔχθος εἰς αὐτὸν ἔφη γενέσθαι διὰ τοὺς λόγους, οὓς ὁ Σόαιμος αὐτῇ φράσαι. [228] ταῦτα δ᾽ ἔτι λέγοντος μέγα βοήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἂν ἔφη Σόαιμον πιστότατον ὄντα τόν γε ἄλλον χρόνον αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ καταπροδοῦναι τὰς ἐντολάς, εἰ μὴ καὶ περαιτέρω προεληλύθει τῆς πρὸς τὴν Μαριάμμην κοινωνίας. [229] καὶ τὸν μὲν Σόαιμον εὐθὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἀποκτεῖναι συλλαβόντας: τῇ δὲ γυναικὶ κρίσιν ἀπεδίδου συναγαγὼν τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν κατηγορίαν ἐσπουδασμένην ποιούμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ τὰς διαβολὰς φίλτρων καὶ φαρμάκων. ἦν δὲ ἀκρατὴς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ κρίσεως ὀργιλαίτερος, καὶ τέλος οὕτως ἔχοντα γινώσκοντες αὐτὸν οἱ παρόντες θάνατον αὐτῆς κατεψηφίσαντο. [230] διενεχθείσης δὲ τῆς γνώμης ὑπεγίνετο μέν τι καὶ τοιοῦτον αὐτῷ τε καί τισιν τῶν παρόντων μὴ προπετῶς οὕτως ἀναιρεῖν, καταθέσθαι δὲ εἰς ἕν τι τῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ φρουρίων. [231] ἐσπουδάσθη δὲ ταῖς περὶ τὴν Σαλώμην ἐκποδὼν ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἄνθρωπον καὶ μᾶλλον ἔπεισαν τὸν βασιλέα τὰς ταραχὰς τοῦ πλήθους, εἰ ζῶσα τύχοι, φυλάξασθαι συμβουλεύουσαι. Μαριάμμη μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἤγετο τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ.

(5) [232] Συνθεωρήσασα δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρα, καὶ διότι μικρὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχοι μὴ καὶ αὐτὴ τῶν ὁμοίων ἐξ Ἡρώδου τυχεῖν, ἐναντίως πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον θράσος καὶ λίαν ἀπρεπῶς μετεβάλετο: [233] βουλομένη γὰρ ἐμφῆναι τὴν ἄγνοιαν ὧν ἐκείνη τὰς αἰτίας εἶχεν, ἐκπηδήσασα καὶ λοιδορουμένη τῇ θυγατρὶ πάντων ἀκουόντων ἐβόα κακὴν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ἀχάριστον γενέσθαι καὶ δίκαια πάσχειν ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις τολμήσασαν: οὐ γὰρ ἀμείψασθαι δεόντως τὸν πάντων αὐτῶν εὐεργέτην. [234] τοιαῦτα μεταξὺ καθυποκρινομένης ἀσχημόνως καὶ τολμώσης ἐφάπτεσθαι καὶ τῶν τριχῶν, πολλὴ μέν, ὡς εἰκός, καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἡ κατάγνωσις ἦν τῆς ἀπρεποῦς προσποιήσεως, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐνεφάνη παρ᾽ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀπολλυμένης: [235] οὔτε γὰρ λόγον δοῦσα τὴν ἀρχὴν οὔτε ταραχθεῖσα πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνης δυσχέρειαν ἐπέβλεπεν ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ὑπὸ φρονήματος τὴν ἁμαρτίαν καὶ μᾶλλον ἄχθεσθαι περιφανῶς ἀσχημονούσης ἐνέφηνεν. [236] αὐτή γε μὴν ἀτρεμαίῳ τῷ καταστήματι καὶ τῇ χρόᾳ τῆς σαρκὸς ἀμεταβλήτῳ πρὸς τὸν θάνατον ἀπῄει, τὴν εὐγένειαν οὐδ᾽ ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ἄδηλον τοῖς ἐπιθεωροῦσιν αὐτὴν ἐμφαίνουσα.

(6) [237] Κἀκείνη μὲν οὕτως ἀπέθανεν γυνὴ καὶ πρὸς ἐγκράτειαν καὶ πρὸς μεγαλοψυχίαν ἄριστα γεγενημένη, τὸ δ᾽ ἐπιεικὲς ἔλιπεν αὐτῇ καὶ πλεῖον ἦν ἐν τῇ φύσει τὸ φιλόνεικον: κάλλει δὲ σώματος καὶ τῷ περὶ τὰς ἐντεύξεις ἀξιώματι μειζόνως φράσαι τὰς κατ᾽ αὐτὴν ὑπερῆγεν, [238] ἥ τε πλείων ἀφορμὴ τοῦ μὴ κεχαρισμένως τῷ βασιλεῖ μηδὲ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ζῆν ἐντεῦθεν ἐγεγόνει: θεραπευομένη γὰρ διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα καὶ δυσχερὲς οὐδὲν ἐξ ἐκείνου προσδοκῶσα τὴν παρρησίαν ἀσύμμετρον εἶχεν. [239] ἠνία δ᾽ αὐτὴν καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς οἰκείους καὶ ταῦτα πάντα πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὡς ἐπεπόνθει λέγειν ἠξίου, καὶ πέρας ἐξενίκησεν ἐχθρὰς αὐτῇ γενέσθαι τήν τε μητέρα καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τοῦ βασιλέως κἀκεῖνον αὐτόν, ᾧ μόνῳ τὸ μὴ παθεῖν τι δυσχερὲς ἀπεπίστευεν.

(7) [240] Ἀναιρεθείσης δ᾽ αὐτῆς τότε καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξήφθη τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ βασιλέως ἔχοντος μὲν οὕτως, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἐδηλώσαμεν: οὐ γὰρ ἀπαθὴς οὐδ᾽ οἷος ἂν ἐκ συνηθείας ἦν ὁ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔρως, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρότερον ἦρξεν ἐνθουσιαστικῶς καὶ τῇ παρρησίᾳ τῆς συμβιώσεως οὐκ ἀπενικήθη μὴ πλείων ἀεὶ γίνεσθαι: [241] τότε μέντοι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐδόκει κατὰ νέμεσίν τινα τῆς κατὰ τὴν Μαριάμμην ἀπωλείας ἐπιθέσθαι, καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ἀνακλήσεις ἦσαν αὐτῆς, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ θρῆνος ἀσχήμων, ἐπενόει δὲ πᾶν εἴ τι δυνατὸν εἰς ψυχαγωγίαν πότους καὶ συνουσίας αὐτῷ πραγματευόμενος, καὶ τούτων οὐδὲν ἤρκει. [242] τὰς οὖν διοικήσεις τῶν κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν παρῃτεῖτο καὶ τοσοῦτον ἥττητο τοῦ πάθους, ὥστ᾽ αὐτὸν ἤδη καὶ καλεῖν τὴν Μαριάμμην προστάξαι τοῖς ὑπηρέταις ὡς ζῶσαν ἔτι καὶ δυναμένην ὑπακούειν. [243] οὕτως δὲ ἔχοντος ἐπιγίνεται λοιμώδης νόσος, ἣ καὶ τῶν ὄχλων τοὺς πλείους καὶ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐντιμοτάτους διέφθειρεν καὶ παρέσχεν ἅπασιν ἐξυπονοῆσαι κατὰ μῆνιν τοῦτο συνενεχθῆναι τῶν κατὰ τὴν γενομένην παρανομίαν ἐπὶ τῇ Μαριάμμῃ. [244] χεῖρον οὖν διετίθει καὶ τοῦτ᾽ αὐτὸ τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ τέλος εἰς τὰς ἐρημίας αὐτὸν διδοὺς καὶ προφάσει κυνηγεσίων ταύταις ἐναδημονῶν οὐκ ἔφθη πλείους διενεγκεῖν ἡμέρας καὶ περιπίπτει νόσῳ δυσχερεστάτῃ: [245] φλόγωσις γὰρ ἦν καὶ πεῖσις ἰνίου καὶ τῆς διανοίας παραλλαγή: τῶν τε θεραπευμάτων οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν ἐξήνυεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐναντιούμενα τέως εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν ἦγεν. [246] ὅσοι τε περὶ αὐτὸν ἦσαν ἰατροὶ τὰ μὲν οἷς αὐτοὶ προσέφερον βοηθήμασιν οὐδὲν ὑπεικούσης τῆς νόσου, τὰ δὲ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως οὐκ ἔχοντος ἄλλως ἢ κατὰ τὸ βιαζόμενον τῆς ἀρρωστίας διαιτᾶσθαι, πάνθ᾽ οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἐπενεχθείη παρέχειν ἠξίουν, τὸ δύσελπι τῆς σωτηρίας ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ τῆς διαίτης ἀνατιθέντες τῇ τύχῃ. κἀκεῖνος μὲν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ τῇ κληθείσῃ Σεβαστῇ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐνοσηλεύετο.

(8) [247] Διατρίβουσα δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἀλεξάνδρα καὶ πυνθανομένη τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐσπουδάκει τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν φρουρίων ἐγκρατὴς γενέσθαι. [248] δύο δ᾽ ἦν, ἓν μὲν αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως, ἕτερον δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καὶ τούτων οἱ κρατοῦντες ὑποχείριον τὸ πᾶν ἔθνος ἐσχήκασιν: τὰς μὲν γὰρ θυσίας οὐκ ἄνευ τούτων οἷόν τε γενέσθαι, τὸ δὲ μὴ ταύτας συντελεῖν οὐδενὶ Ἰουδαίων δυνατὸν

τοῦ ζῆν ἑτοιμότερον ἂν παραχωρησάντων ἢ τῆς θρησκείας, ἣν εἰς τὸν θεὸν εἰώθασιν συντελεῖν. [249] τοῖς οὖν ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν φυλακτηρίων Ἀλεξάνδρα προσήνεγκεν τοὺς λόγους, ὡς δέον αὐτῇ καὶ τοῖς ἐξ Ἡρώδου παιδίοις παραδοῦναι, μὴ καὶ φθῇ τις ἐκείνου μεταλλάξαντος ἕτερος ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων: ῥωσθέντι μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀσφαλέστερον τῶν οἰκειοτάτων διατηρήσει. [250] τούτους τοὺς λόγους αὐτῆς οὐκ ἐπιεικῶς ἤνεγκαν, ἀλλὰ πιστοὶ καὶ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ὄντες ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐν τῷ τότε διέμειναν μίσει τε τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρας καὶ τῷ μηδ᾽ ὅσιον ὑπολαμβάνειν ζῶντα τὸν Ἡρώδην ἀπεγνωκέναι: φίλοι γὰρ ἄνωθεν ἦσαν, εἷς δ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνεψιὸς τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀχίαβος. [251] εὐθὺς οὖν ἐξήγγειλαν πέμψαντες ἐκείνῳ τὴν γνώμην τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρας. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν οὐδὲν ἀναβαλλόμενος ἀποκτεῖναι προσέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ μόλις καὶ σὺν κακοπαθείᾳ διαφυγὼν τὴν νόσον χαλεπὸς ἦν ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι κεκακωμένος ὁμοῦ πρὸς τὸ δυσάρεστον καὶ πάσαις ταῖς αἰτίαις ἑτοιμοτέρως εἰς τιμωρίαν τῶν ὑποπεσόντων ἐχρῆτο. [252] φονεύει δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους αὐτῷ φίλους Κοστόβαρον καὶ Λυσίμαχον καὶ τὸν Γαδία καλούμενον Ἀντίπατρον ἔτι δὲ Δοσίθεον ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης:

(9) [253] Κοστόβαρος ἦν γένει μὲν Ἰδουμαῖος, ἀξιώματος τῶν πρώτων παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ προγόνων ἱερατευσάντων τῷ Κωζαι: θεὸν δὲ τοῦτον Ἰδουμαῖοι νομίζουσιν. [254] Ὑρκανοῦ δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ Ἰουδαίων ἔθη καὶ νόμιμα μεταστήσαντος Ἡρώδης παραλαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν ἄρχοντα τῆς Ἰδουμαίας καὶ Γάζης ἀποδείκνυσιν τὸν Κοστόβαρον καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀδελφὴν Σαλώμην Ἰώσηπον ἀνελὼν τὸν εἰληφότα πρότερον αὐτήν, ὡς ἐδηλώσαμεν. [255] Κοστόβαρος δὲ τούτων τυχὼν ἀσμένως καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἤρθη μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῆς εὐτυχίας καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐξέβαινεν, οὔθ᾽ αὐτῷ καλὸν ἡγούμενος ἄρχοντος Ἡρώδου τὸ προσταττόμενον ποιεῖν οὔτε τοῖς Ἰδουμαίοις τὰ Ἰουδαίων μεταλαβοῦσιν ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνοις εἶναι. [256] καὶ διαπέμπεται πρὸς Κλεοπάτραν τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν φάμενος ἀεὶ τῶν ἐκείνης προγόνων γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ᾽ εἶναι δίκαιον αἰτεῖσθαι παρ᾽ Ἀντωνίου τὴν χώραν: αὐτὸς γὰρ ἕτοιμος εἶναι μεταφέρειν τὴν εὔνοιαν εἰς ἐκείνην. [257] ἔπραττεν δὲ ταῦτα τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ μὲν οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀρεσκόμενος, εἰ δὲ παραιρεθείη τῶν πλειόνων Ἡρώδης, εὐεπιχείρητον ἤδη νομίζων καὶ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἄρξαι τοῦ τῶν Ἰδουμαίων γένους καὶ μεῖζον πράξειν: ἐπιδιέβαινεν γὰρ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν οὐκ ὀλίγας ἀφορμὰς ἔχων γένους καὶ χρημάτων, ἃ μετὰ διηνεκοῦς αἰσχροκερδείας ἐπεπόριστο, καὶ μικρὸν οὐδὲν ἐπενόει. [258] Κλεοπάτρα μὲν οὖν Ἀντωνίου δεηθεῖσα περὶ τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἀποτυγχάνει. λέγονται δὲ πρὸς Ἡρώδην οἱ λόγοι κἀκεῖνος ἕτοιμος ὢν ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν Κοστόβαρον ὅμως τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ δεηθείσης καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἀφίησιν καὶ συγγνώμης ἠξίωσεν, οὐκ ἀνύποπτον αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν ἔχων τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως τῆς τότε.

(10) [259] Χρόνου δὲ διελθόντος ἐπισυνέβη τὴν Σαλώμην στασιάσαι πρὸς τὸν Κοστόβαρον, καὶ πέμπει μὲν εὐθὺς αὐτῷ γραμμάτιον ἀπολυομένη τὸν γάμον οὐ κατὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίων νόμους: ἀνδρὶ μὲν γὰρ ἔξεστιν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν τοῦτο ποιεῖν, γυναικὶ δὲ οὐδὲ διαχωρισθείσῃ καθ᾽ αὑτὴν γαμηθῆναι μὴ τοῦ πρότερον ἀνδρὸς ἐφιέντος. [260] οὐ μὴν ἡ Σαλώμη τὸν ἐγγενῆ νόμον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀπ᾽ ἐξουσίας ἑλομένη τήν τε συμβίωσιν προαπηγόρευσεν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἡρώδην ἔλεγεν ὑπὸ τῆς εἰς ἐκεῖνον εὐνοίας ἀποστῆναι τἀνδρός: ἐγνωκέναι γὰρ αὐτὸν μετ᾽ Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ Λυσιμάχου καὶ Δοσιθέου νεωτέρων ἐφιέμενον. καὶ πίστιν παρεῖχεν τοῦ λόγου τοὺς Σάββα παῖδας, ὅτι διασώζοιντο παρ᾽ αὐτῷ χρόνον ἐνιαυτῶν ἤδη δεκαδύο. [261] τοῦτο δὲ εἶχεν οὕτως καὶ πολλὴν ἔκπληξιν ἐνεποίησεν τῷ βασιλεῖ παρ᾽ ἐλπίδας ἀκουσθέν, ἐκεκίνητό τε μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ λόγου: τὰ γὰρ περὶ τοὺς Σάββα παῖδας ἐσπουδάσθη μὲν αὐτῷ πρότερον ἐπεξελθεῖν αὐτοὺς δυσμενεῖς γενομένους τῇ διαθέσει, τότε δὲ διὰ τὸ μῆκος τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῆς μνήμης ἐξεληλύθεσαν. [262] ἡ δὲ ἔχθρα πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ μῖσος ἀπὸ τοιούτων ἦν: Ἀντιγόνου τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχοντος Ἡρώδης μὲν ἐπολιόρκει δυνάμει τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν, ὑπὸ δὲ χρείας κακῶν, ὅσα τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις παρίσταται, πλείους ἦσαν οἱ τὸν Ἡρώδην ἐπικαλούμενοι καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀπονεύοντες ἤδη ταῖς ἐλπίσιν. [263] ὄντες δὲ ἐπ᾽ ἀξιώματος οἱ τοῦ Σάββα παῖδες καὶ παρὰ τῷ πλήθει δυνατοί, πιστοὶ διετέλουν Ἀντιγόνῳ τόν τε Ἡρώδην διέβαλλον ἀεὶ καὶ συμφυλάττειν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν τὴν ἐκ γένους ἀρχὴν προύτρεπον. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ἅμα καὶ συμφέρειν αὐτὰ νομίζοντες ἐπὶ τοιούτων ἐπολιτεύοντο. [264] τῆς δὲ πόλεως ἁλισκομένης καὶ κρατοῦντος τῶν πραγμάτων Ἡρώδου Κοστόβαρος ἀποδειχθεὶς τὰς διεκβολὰς ἀναφράττειν καὶ φρουρεῖν τὴν πόλιν, ὡς μὴ διαπίπτειν ἐξ αὐτῆς τοὺς ὑπόχρεως τῶν πολιτῶν ἢ τἀναντία τῷ βασιλεῖ πολιτευομένους, εἰδὼς ἐν ὑπολήψει καὶ τιμῇ τοὺς Σάββα τῷ παντὶ πλήθει καὶ νομίζων μέγα μέρος αὐτῷ γενήσεσθαι πρὸς τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν ἐκείνων σωτηρίαν ὑπεξέθετο καὶ κατέκρυψεν ἐν οἰκείοις χωρίοις. [265] καὶ τότε μὲν Ἡρώδην, διεληλύθει γὰρ ἡ τῆς ἀληθείας ὑποψία, πιστωσάμενος ὅρκοις ἢ μὴν οὐδὲν εἰδέναι τῶν κατ᾽ ἐκείνους ἀφεῖτο τῆς ὑπονοίας. αὖθις δὲ κηρύγματα καὶ μήνυτρα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκτιθέντος καὶ πάντα τρόπον ἐρεύνης ἐπινοοῦντος οὐκ ἦλθεν εἰς ὁμολογίαν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τὸ πρῶτον ἔξαρνος γενέσθαι τὸ φωραθῆναι τοὺς ἄνδρας οὐκ ἀνυποτίμητον αὐτῷ πεπεισμένος οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῆς εὐνοίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἤδη τοῦ λανθάνειν αὐτοὺς περιείχετο. [266] περὶ τούτων ἐξαγγελθέντων αὐτῷ διὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς πέμψας εἰς τοὺς τόπους, ἐν οἷς διατρίβειν ἐμηνύθησαν, ἐκείνους τε καὶ τοὺς συγκαταιτιαθέντας ἀπέκτεινεν, ὥστ᾽ εἶναι μηδὲν ὑπόλοιπον ἐκ τῆς Ὑρκανοῦ συγγενείας, ἀλλὰ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτεξούσιον αὐτῷ μηδενὸς ὄντος ἐπ᾽ ἀξιώματος ἐμποδὼν ἵστασθαι τοῖς παρανομουμένοις.

VIII

(1) [267] Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξέβαινεν τῶν πατρίων ἐθῶν καὶ ξενικοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ὑποδιέφθειρεν τὴν πάλαι κατάστασιν ἀπαρεγχείρητον οὖσαν, ἐξ ὧν οὐ μικρὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν αὖθις χρόνον ἠδικήθημεν ἀμεληθέντων ὅσα πρότερον ἐπὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἦγεν τοὺς ὄχλους: [268] πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀγῶνα πενταετηρικὸν ἀθλημάτων κατεστήσατο Καίσαρι καὶ θέατρον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ᾠκοδόμησεν, αὖθίς τ᾽ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ μέγιστον ἀμφιθέατρον, περίοπτα μὲν ἄμφω τῇ πολυτελείᾳ, τοῦ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἔθους ἀλλότρια: χρῆσίς τε γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ θεαμάτων τοιούτων ἐπίδειξις οὐ παραδίδοται. [269] τὴν μέντοι πανήγυριν ἐκεῖνος ἐπιφανεστάτην τὴν τῆς πενταετηρίδος συνετέλει καταγγείλας τε τοῖς πέριξ καὶ συγκαλῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ παντὸς ἔθνους. οἱ δ᾽ ἀθληταὶ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων ἀπὸ πάσης γῆς ἐκαλοῦντο κατ᾽ ἐλπίδα τῶν προκειμένων καὶ τῆς νίκης εὐδοξίᾳ, συνελέγησάν τε οἱ κορυφαιότατοι τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν: [270] οὐ γὰρ μόνον τοῖς περὶ τὰς γυμνικὰς ἀσκήσεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ μουσικῇ διαγινομένοις καὶ θυμελικοῖς καλουμένοις προυτίθει μέγιστα νικητήρια: καὶ διεσπούδαστο πάντας τοὺς ἐπισημοτάτους ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἅμιλλαν. [271] προύθηκεν δὲ καὶ τεθρίπποις καὶ συνωρίσιν καὶ κέλησιν οὐ μικρὰς δωρεάς, καὶ πάνθ᾽, ὅσα κατὰ πολυτέλειαν ἢ σεμνοπρέπειαν παρ᾽ ἑκάστοις ἐσπούδαστο φιλοτιμίᾳ τοῦ διάσημον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὴν ἐπίδειξιν ἐξεμιμήσατο. [272] τό γε μὴν θέατρον ἐπιγραφαὶ κύκλῳ περιεῖχον Καίσαρος καὶ τρόπαια τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἃ πολεμήσας ἐκεῖνος ἐκτήσατο, χρυσοῦ τε ἀπέφθου καὶ ἀργύρου πάντων αὐτῷ πεποιημένων. [273] τὰ δ᾽ εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν οὐδὲν οὕτως ἦν οὔτ᾽ ἐσθῆτος τίμιον οὔτε σκευῆς λίθων, ὃ μὴ τοῖς ὁρωμένοις ἀγωνίσμασιν συνεπεδείκνυτο. παρασκευὴ δὲ καὶ θηρίων ἐγένετο λεόντων τε πλείστων αὐτῷ συναχθέντων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσα καὶ τὰς ἀλκὰς ὑπερβαλλούσας ἔχει καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἐστὶν σπανιώτερα: [274] τούτων αὐτῶν τε πρὸς ἄλληλα συμπλοκαὶ καὶ μάχαι πρὸς αὐτὰ τῶν κατεγνωσμένων ἀνθρώπων ἐπετηδεύοντο, τοῖς μὲν ξένοις ἔκπληξις ὁμοῦ τῆς δαπάνης καὶ ψυχαγωγία τῶν περὶ τὴν θέαν κινδύνων, τοῖς δ᾽ ἐπιχωρίοις φανερὰ κατάλυσις τῶν τιμωμένων παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐθῶν: [275] ἀσεβὲς μὲν γὰρ ἐκ προδήλου κατεφαίνετο θηρίοις ἀνθρώπους ὑπορρίπτειν ἐπὶ τέρψει τῆς ἀνθρώπων θέας, ἀσεβὲς δὲ ξενικοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἐξαλλάττειν τοὺς ἐθισμούς. [276] πάντων δὲ μᾶλλον ἐλύπει τὰ τρόπαια: δοκοῦντες γὰρ εἰκόνας εἶναι τὰς τοῖς ὅπλοις περιειλημμένας, ὅτι μὴ πάτριον ἦν αὐτοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα σέβειν, οὐ μετρίως ἐδυσχέραινον.

(2) [277] Ἐλάνθανον δ᾽ οὐδὲ τὸν Ἡρώδην ἐκταραττόμενοι: καὶ βίαν μὲν ἐπάγειν ἄκαιρον ᾤετο, καθωμίλει δ᾽ ἐνίους καὶ παρηγόρει τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας ἀφαιρούμενος. οὐ μὴν ἔπειθεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ δυσχερείας ὧν ἐδόκουν ἐκεῖνον πλημμελεῖν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐξεβόων, εἰ καὶ πάντα δοκοῖεν οἱστά, μὴ φέρειν εἰκόνας ἀνθρώπων ἐν τῇ πόλει, τὰ τρόπαια λέγοντες: οὐ γὰρ εἶναι πάτριον αὐτοῖς. [278] Ἡρώδης δὲ τεταραγμένους ὁρῶν καὶ μὴ ῥᾳδίως ἂν μεταπεσόντας, εἰ

μὴ τύχοιεν παρηγορίας, καλέσας αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους εἰς τὸ θέατρον παρήγαγεν καὶ δείξας τὰ τρόπαια, τί ποτ᾽ ἔστιν ὃ δοκεῖ ταῦτα αὐτοῖς ἐπύθετο. [279] τῶν δὲ ἐκβοησάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰκόνες, ἐπιτάξας ἀφαιρεθῆναι τὸν περιθέσιμον κόσμον ἐπιδείκνυσιν αὐτοῖς γυμνὰ τὰ ξύλα. τὰ δ᾽ εὐθὺς ἦν ἀποσυληθέντα γέλως καὶ πλεῖστον εἰς διάχυσιν ἐδυνήθη τὸ καὶ πρότερον αὐτοὺς ἐν εἰρωνείᾳ τίθεσθαι τὰς κατασκευὰς τῶν ἀγαλμάτων.

(3) [280] Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῦ παρακρουσαμένου τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὴν ὁρμὴν ἣν ἐπεπόνθεισαν ἐξ ὀργῆς διαχέαντος, οἱ μὲν πλείους εἶχον ὡς μεταβεβλῆσθαι καὶ μὴ χαλεπαίνειν ἔτι, [281] τινὲς δ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπέμενον τῇ δυσχερείᾳ τῶν οὐκ ἐξ ἔθους ἐπιτηδευμάτων, καὶ τὸ καταλύεσθαι τὰ πάτρια μεγάλων ἡγούμενοι ἀρχὴν κακῶν ὅσιον ᾠήθησαν ἀποκινδυνεῦσαι μᾶλλον ἢ δοκεῖν ἐξαλλαττομένης αὐτοῖς τῆς πολιτείας περιορᾶν Ἡρώδην πρὸς βίαν ἐπεισάγοντα τὰ μὴ δι᾽ ἔθους ὄντα, καὶ λόγῳ μὲν βασιλέα, τῷ δ᾽ ἔργῳ πολέμιον φαινόμενον τοῦ παντὸς ἔθνους. [282] ἐκ δὲ τούτου συνομοσάμενοι πάντα κίνδυνον ὑποδύεσθαι δέκα τῶν πολιτῶν ἄνδρες, ξιφίδια τοῖς ἱματίοις ὑποβαλόντες, [283] ἦν δ᾽ αὐτοῖς δι᾽ ἀναξιοπάθειαν ὧν ἤκουεν καὶ τῶν διεφθορότων τις τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς συνομωμοσμένος, οὐχ ὡς ἐνεργῆσαί τι καὶ δρᾶν εἰς τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἱκανός, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ἑτοίμῳ κατατιθεὶς αὐτὸν παθεῖν εἴ τι κἀκείνοις συμβαίνοι δυσχερές, ὥστε μὴ μετρίαν τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῖς ἐπιχειροῦσι δι᾽ αὐτὸν γενέσθαι,

(4) [284] ταῦτα γνόντες ἀπὸ συνθήματος εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἐχώρουν, ἐλπίσαντες μὲν οὐδ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἡρώδην διαφευξεῖσθαι προσπεσόντων ἐξ ἀφανοῦς, πολλοὺς δ᾽, εἰ καὶ μὴ τυγχάνοιεν ἐκείνου, τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀναιρήσειν οἰόμενοι: καὶ ταῦτ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀρκέσειν, εἰ καὶ θνήσκοιεν, εἰς ἔννοιαν ὧν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξυβρίζειν ἐδόκει τὸ πλῆθος καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἀγαγεῖν. [285] ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν προκαταστάντες ἐπὶ τοιαύτης ἦσαν προθυμίας: εἷς δὲ τῶν ὑφ᾽ Ἡρώδου πολυπραγμονεῖν καὶ διαγγέλλειν τὰ τοιαῦτα τεταγμένων ἐξευρηκὼς ὅλην τὴν ἐπίθεσιν εἰς τὸ θέατρον εἰσιέναι μέλλοντι τῷ βασιλεῖ κατεμήνυσεν. [286] ὁ δ᾽, οὐ γὰρ ἀνοίκειον ᾠήθη τὸν λόγον εἴς τε τὸ μῖσος ἀφορῶν, ὃ συνῄδει παρὰ τῶν πλειόνων αὐτῷ, καὶ τὰς ταραχὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς καθ᾽ ἕκαστα γινομένοις παρυφισταμένας, ἀναχωρήσας εἰς τὸ βασίλειον ὀνομαστὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς αἰτίαις ἐκάλει. [287] προσπιπτόντων δ᾽ αὐτοῖς τῶν ὑπηρετῶν αὐτόφωροι λαμβανόμενοι τὸ μὲν ὡς οὐκ ἂν διαφύγοιεν ᾔδεσαν, ἐπεκόσμησαν δὲ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν καταστροφὴν τοῦ τέλους τῷ μηδὲν ὑφιέναι τοῦ φρονήματος: [288] οὐ γὰρ ἐντραπέντες οὐδ᾽ ἀρνησάμενοι τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀνέδειξαν μὲν ἤδη κρατούμενα τὰ ξίφη, διωμολογήσαντο δὲ καλῶς καὶ σὺν εὐσεβείᾳ τὴν συνωμοσίαν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι, κέρδους μὲν οὐδενὸς οὐδ᾽ οἰκείων ἕνεκεν παθῶν, τὸ δὲ πλέον ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν ἐθῶν, ἃ καὶ πᾶσιν ἢ φυλάττειν ἢ θνήσκειν πρὸ αὐτῶν ἄξιον. [289] τοιαῦτα μὲν ἐκεῖνοι τῇ προαιρέσει τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐμπαρρησιασάμενοι περιστάντων αὐτοῖς τῶν βασιλικῶν ἤγοντο καὶ πᾶσαν

αἰκίαν ὑπομείναντες διεφθάρησαν. μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ τὸν ταῦτα μηνύσαντα κατὰ μῖσος ἁρπασάμενοί τινες οὐκ ἀπέκτειναν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μελιστὶ διελόντες προύθεσαν κυσίν. [290] ἐωρᾶτο δὲ πολλοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν τὰ γινόμενα καὶ κατεμήνυσεν οὐδείς, ἕως Ἡρώδου πικροτέραν καὶ φιλόνεικον ποιουμένου τὴν ἔρευναν ἐκβασανισθεῖσαι γυναῖκές τινες ὠμολόγησαν ἃ πραχθέντα εἶδον. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐνεργησάντων ἐγένετο τιμωρία πανοικὶ τὴν προπέτειαν αὐτῶν ἐπεξιόντος, [291] ἡ δ᾽ ἐπιμονὴ τοῦ πάθους καὶ τὸ τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων πίστεως ἀκατάπληκτον οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἐποίει τὸν Ἡρώδην, εἰ μὴ μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας κρατοίη, καὶ διέγνω πάντοθεν περιειληφέναι τὸ πλῆθος, ὡς μὴ νεωτεριζόντων φανερὰν γενέσθαι τὴν ἀπόστασιν.

(5) [292] Ἐξωχυρωμένης οὖν αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς αὐλῆς, ἐν ᾗ διῃτᾶτο, τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τῇ περὶ τὸ φρούριον ὀχυρότητι τὸ καλούμενον Ἀντωνίαν κατασκευασθὲν δι᾽ αὐτοῦ, τρίτον παντὶ τῷ λαῷ τὴν Σαμάρειαν ἐνόησεν ἐπιτείχισμα, καλέσας μὲν αὐτὴν Σεβαστήν, [293] οἰόμενος δὲ κατὰ τῆς χώρας οὐδὲν ἔλαττον ἰσχυροποιεῖν τὸν τόπον, ἀπέχοντα μὲν Ἱεροσολύμων μιᾶς ὁδὸν ἡμέρας, εὔχρηστον δ᾽ ὄντα καὶ κοινὸν ἐπί τε τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῇ χώρᾳ γενησόμενον. τῷ δὲ ἔθνει παντὶ φρούριον ἐνῳκοδόμησεν τὸ πάλαι μὲν καλούμενον Στράτωνος πύργον, Καισάρειαν δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ προσαγορευθέν. [294] ἔν τε τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἱππέων περὶ αὐτὸν ἀποκληρώσας χωρίον συνέκτισεν ἐπί τε τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ Γάβα καλούμενον καὶ τῇ Περαίᾳ τὴν Ἐσεβωνῖτιν. [295] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ μέρος αἰεί τι πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ἐπεξευρίσκων καὶ διαλαμβάνων φυλακαῖς τὸ πᾶν ἔθνος, ὡς ἥκιστα μὲν ἀπ᾽ ἐξουσίας εἰς ταραχὰς προπίπτειν, αἷς καὶ μικροῦ κινήματος ἐγγενομένου συνεχὲς ἐχρῶντο, λανθάνειν δὲ μηδ᾽ εἰ παρακινοῖεν ἐφεστηκότων αἰεί τινων πλησίον, οἳ καὶ γινώσκειν καὶ κωλύειν ἐδύναντο. [296] τότε δὲ τὴν Σαμάρειαν ὡρμημένος τειχίζειν πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν συμμαχησάντων αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους, πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν ὁμόρων συμπολίζειν ἐπετήδευεν, ὑπό τε φιλοτιμίας τοῦ νέον ἐγείρειν καὶ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ πρότερον οὐκ ἐν ταῖς ἐπισήμοις οὖσαν, καὶ μᾶλλον ὅτι πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν αὐτῷ τὸ φιλότιμον ἐπετηδεύετο, τήν τε προσηγορίαν ὑπήλλαττε Σεβαστὴν καλῶν καὶ τῆς χώρας ἀρίστην οὖσαν τὴν πλησίον κατεμέριζεν τοῖς οἰκήτορσιν, ὡς εὐθὺς ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ συνιόντας οἰκεῖν, [297] καὶ τείχει καρτερῷ τὴν πόλιν περιέβαλεν τό τε τοῦ χωρίου πρόσαντες εἰς ἐρυμνότητα κατασκευαζόμενος καὶ μέγεθος οὐχ ὡς τὸ πρῶτον ἀλλ᾽ ὥστε μηδὲν ἀποδεῖν τῶν ἐλλογιμωτάτων πόλεων περιλαμβάνων: στάδιοι γὰρ ἦσαν εἴκοσιν. [298] ἐντὸς δὲ καὶ κατὰ μέσην τριῶν ἡμισταδίων τέμενος ἀνῆκεν παντοίως κεκοσμημένον καὶ ναὸν ἐν αὐτῷ μεγέθει καὶ κάλλει τῶν ἐλλογιμωτάτων ἤγειρεν, ἔν τε τοῖς κατὰ μέρος διὰ πάντων ἐκόσμει τὴν πόλιν, τὸ μὲν ἀναγκαῖον τῆς ἀσφαλείας ὁρῶν καὶ τῇ τῶν περιβόλων ἐρυμνότητι φρούριον αὐτὴν ποιούμενος ἐπὶ τῇ μείζονι, τὸ δ᾽ εὐπρεπὲς ὡς ἂν ἐκ τοῦ φιλοκαλεῖν καὶ μνημεῖα φιλανθρωπίας ἀπολιπεῖν ἐν ὑστέρῳ.

IX

(1) [299] Κατὰ τοῦτον μὲν οὖν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τρισκαιδέκατον ὄντα τῆς Ἡρώδου βασιλείας πάθη μέγιστα τὴν χώραν ἐπέλαβεν, εἴτε δὴ τοῦ θεοῦ μηνίσαντος ἢ καὶ κατὰ περιόδους οὕτως ἀπαντήσαντος τοῦ κακοῦ: [300] πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ αὐχμοὶ διηνεκεῖς ἐγένοντο, καὶ διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἄκαρπος ἡ γῆ μηδ᾽ ὅσα κατ᾽ αὐτὴν ἀναβλαστάνειν, ἔπειτα καὶ τῆς διαίτης κατὰ τὴν ἔνδειαν τῶν σιτίων ἐξαλλαττομένης νόσοι τῶν σωμάτων καὶ πάθος ἤδη λοιμικὸν ἐκράτει, διηνεκῶς ἀντεφοδιαζομένων αὐτοῖς τῶν κακῶν. [301] τό τε γὰρ ἠπορῆσθαι θεραπείας καὶ τροφῆς ἐπέτεινεν εἰς πλέον ἀρξαμένην ἰσχυρῶς τὴν λοιμώδη νόσον ἥ τε φθορὰ τῶν οὕτως ἀπολλυμένων ἀφῃρεῖτο καὶ τοὺς περιόντας εὐθυμίας, ἐπεὶ προσαρκεῖν ταῖς ἀπορίαις ἐξ ἐπιμελείας [οὐκ] ἐδύναντο. [302] φθαρέντων γε μὴν τῶν ἐπ᾽ ἔτος καρπῶν καὶ τῶν ὅσοι πρότερον ἀπέκειντο δεδαπανημένων, οὐδὲν εἰς ἐλπίδα χρηστὴν ὑπελείπετο μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ προσδοκίαν ἐπιτείνοντος τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ οὐδὲ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν μόνον, ὥστ᾽ αὐτοῖς εἶναι μὲν οὐδὲν ὑπόλοιπον, ἀπολωλέναι δὲ καὶ τῶν περιόντων τὰ σπέρματα μηδὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἀνείσης τῆς γῆς. [303] ἥ τε ἀνάγκη πολλὰ διὰ τὰς χρείας ἐκαινούργει. καὶ τὰς ἀπορίας οὐκ ἐλάττους εἶναι συνέβαινεν αὐτῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ, τῶν τε φόρων, οὓς ἐλάμβανεν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, ἀφῃρημένῳ καὶ τὰ χρήματα δεδαπανηκότι πρὸς φιλοτιμίαν ὧν τὰς πόλεις ἐπεσκεύαζεν. [304] ἦν δὲ οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ βοηθείας ἄξιον ἐδόκει προκατειληφότος τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ μῖσος εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀρχομένων: τὸ γὰρ οὐκ εὖ πράττειν φιλαίτιον αἰεὶ κατὰ τῶν προεστηκότων.

(2) [305] Ἐν τοιούτοις διενοεῖτο βοηθεῖν τῷ καιρῷ: χαλεπὸν δ᾽ ἦν οὔτε τῶν πλησίον ἐχόντων ἀποδόσθαι σιτία τῷ μηδ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐλάττω πεπονθέναι, χρημάτων τε οὐκ ὄντων, εἰ καὶ δυνατὸν ὀλίγων ἐπὶ πολλοῖς εὐπορηθῆναι. [306] καλῶς μέντοι νομίζων ἔχειν πάντως εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν [μὴ] ἀμελεῖν, τὸν ὄντα κόσμον ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις αὐτοῦ συνέκοψεν ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ, μήτε τῆς ἐν ταῖς κατασκευαῖς ἐπιμελείας μήτ᾽ εἴ τι τέχνῃ τίμιον ἦν τούτου φεισάμενος. [307] ἔπεμπε δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου τὰ χρήματα Πετρωνίου τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἀπὸ Καίσαρος εἰληφότος. οὗτος οὐκ ὀλίγων ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν καταπεφευγότων διὰ τὰς αὐτὰς χρείας, ἰδίᾳ τε φίλος ὢν Ἡρώδῃ καὶ διασώσασθαι θέλων τοὺς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῷ, πρώτοις μὲν ἔδωκεν ἐξάγειν τὸν σῖτον, εἰς ἅπαντα δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὠνὴν καὶ τὸν ἔκπλουν συνήργησεν, ὡς μέγα μέρος ἢ τὸ πᾶν γενέσθαι ταύτης τῆς βοηθείας. [308] ὁ γὰρ Ἡρώδης, τούτων ἀφικομένων ἐν ἀφορμῇ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τὴν αὐτοῦ προστιθεὶς οὐ μόνον ἀντιμετέστησεν τὰς γνώμας τῶν πρότερον χαλεπῶς ἐχόντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγίστην ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἐπίδειξιν τῆς εὐνοίας καὶ τῆς προστασίας. [309] πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὅσοις οἷόν τε δι᾽ αὐτῶν τὰ περὶ τὰς τροφὰς ἐκπονεῖν ἔνειμε τοῦ σίτου τὴν ἔκταξιν ἀκριβεστάτην ποιούμενος, ἔπειτα πολλῶν ὄντων, οἳ κατὰ γῆρας ἤ τινα προσοῦσαν ἄλλην ἀσθένειαν οὐχ ἱκανῶς εἶχον αὐτοῖς παρασκευάζειν τὰ

σιτία, προυνόει καταστήσας ἀρτοποιοὺς καὶ παρέχων ἑτοίμας τὰς τροφάς. [310] ἐπιμέλειαν δὲ καὶ τοῦ μὴ διαχειμάσαι μετὰ κινδύνων αὐτοὺς ἐποιήσατο συγκατειληφυίας καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἀπορίας, ἐφθαρμένων καὶ παντάπασιν ἐξαναλωθέντων τῶν βοσκημάτων, ὡς οὔτε ἐρίων εἶναι χρῆσιν οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων σκεπασμάτων. [311] ἐκπορισθέντων δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τούτων ταῖς πλησίον ἤδη πόλεσιν ἐπεβάλλετο τὰς ὠφελείας παρέχειν σπέρματα τοῖς ἐν Συρίᾳ διαδούς. καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ὤνησεν οὐχ ἧττον αὐτὸν εὐστοχηθείσης εἰς εὐφορίαν τῆς χάριτος, ὡς ἅπασιν ἱκανὰ τὰ περὶ τὰς τροφὰς γενέσθαι. [312] τὸ δὲ σύμπαν ἀμήτου περὶ τὴν γῆν ὑποφανέντος οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ πέντε μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων, οὓς αὐτὸς ἔθρεψεν καὶ περιεποίησεν, εἰς τὴν χώραν διέπεμψεν, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον κακωθεῖσαν αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν ὑπὸ πάσης φιλοτιμίας καὶ σπουδῆς ἀναλαβὼν οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ τοὺς πέριξ ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς κακοπαθείαις ὄντας ἐπεκούφισεν. [313] οὐ γὰρ ἔσθ᾽ ὅστις ὑπὸ χρείας ἐντυχὼν ἀπελείφθη μὴ βοήθειαν εὕρασθαι κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ δῆμοι καὶ πόλεις καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ὅσοις ἀπορία διὰ τὸ πλειόνων προίστασθαι συνετύγχανεν, ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν καταφεύγοντες ἔσχον ὧν ἐδεήθησαν, [314] ὥστε γενέσθαι λογιζομένων τοὺς μὲν ἔξω τῆς ἀρχῆς δοθέντας σίτου κόρους μυρίους, ὁ δὲ κόρος δύναται μεδίμνους Ἀττικοὺς δέκα, τοὺς δ᾽ εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν βασιλείαν περὶ ὀκτάκις μυρίους. [315] ταύτην δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν τῆς χάριτος εὐκαιρίαν οὕτως ἐν αὐτοῖς τε τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἰσχῦσαι συνέβη καὶ διαβοηθῆναι παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥστε τὰ μὲν πάλαι μίση κινηθέντα διὰ τὸ παραχαράττειν ἔνια τῶν ἐθῶν καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐξαιρεθῆναι καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἔθνους, ἀντικατάλλαγμα δὲ φαίνεσθαι τὴν ἐν τῇ βοηθείᾳ τῶν δεινοτάτων φιλοτιμίαν. [316] εὔκλεια δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἦν, καὶ δοκεῖ τὰ δυσχερῆ συμβῆναι μὲν αὐτῷ μείζω λόγου, κακώσαντα δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν οὐχ ἥκιστα πρὸς εὐδοξίαν ὠφελῆσαι: τὸ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἀπορίαις μεγαλόψυχον παρὰ δόξαν ἐπιδειξάμενος ἀντιμετέστησε τοὺς πολλούς, ὡς ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς δοκεῖν οὐχ οἷον ἡ πεῖρα τῶν πάλαι γεγενημένων, ἀλλ᾽ οἷον ἡ μετὰ τῆς χρείας ἐπιμέλεια παρεστήσατο.

(3) [317] Περὶ δὲ τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον καὶ συμμαχικὸν ἔπεμψεν Καίσαρι πεντακοσίους ἐπιλέκτους τῶν σωματοφυλάκων, οὓς Γάλλος Αἴλιος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν ἦγεν εἰς πολλὰ χρησίμους αὐτῷ γενομένους. [318] πάλιν οὖν αὐτῷ τῶν πραγμάτων πρὸς ἐπίδοσιν εὐθηνουμένων βασίλειον ἐξῳκοδόμει περὶ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ὑπερμεγέθεις οἴκους ἐγείρων καὶ κόσμῳ κατασκευάζων πολυτελεστάτῳ χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθων καὶ περιαλειμμάτων ὡς ἕΚαστον αὐτῶν κλισίας μὲν ἔχειν παμπόλλους ἄνδρας ὑποδέχεσθαι Κατὰ μέτρα δὲ καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας: ὁ μὲν γὰρ Καίσαρος, ὁ δὲ Ἀγρίππα κέκλητο. [319] προσέλαβεν δὲ καὶ γάμον αὐτῷ κινηθεὶς ἐξ ἐρωτικῆς ἐπιθυμίας μηδένα τοῦ κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ἡδονὴν ζῆν ὑπολογισμὸν ποιούμενος. ἀρχὴ δ᾽ αὐτῷ τῶν γάμων ἐγένετο τοιάδε: [320] Σίμων ἦν Ἱεροσολυμίτης υἱὸς Βοηθοῦ τινος Ἀλεξανδρέως, ἱερεὺς ἐν τοῖς

γνωρίμοις, εἶχεν δὲ θυγατέρα καλλίστην τῶν τότε νομιζομένην. [321] ὄντος οὖν λόγου παρὰ τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις αὐτῆς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκοῆς τὸν Ἡρώδη κεκινῆσθαι συνέβαινεν, ὡς δὲ καὶ θεασάμενον ἡ τῆς παιδὸς ἐξέπληξεν ὥρα, τὸ μὲν ἀπ᾽ ἐξουσίας χρώμενον διατελεῖν ἅπαν ἀπεδοκίμαζεν ὑποπτεύων ὅπερ ἦν, εἰς βίαν καὶ τυραννίδα διαβληθήσεσθαι, βέλτιον δ᾽ ᾤετο γάμῳ τὴν κόρην λαβεῖν. [322] καὶ τοῦ Σίμωνος ὄντος ἀδοξοτέρου μὲν ἢ πρὸς οἰκειότητα, μείζονος δὲ ἢ καταφρονεῖσθαι, τὸν ἐπιεικέστερον τρόπον μετῄει τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν αὔξων αὐτοὺς καὶ τιμιωτέρους ἀποφαίνων: αὐτίκα γοῦν Ἰησοῦν μὲν τὸν τοῦ Φοαβιτος ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην, Σίμωνα δὲ καθίστησιν ἐπὶ τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τὸ κῆδος πρὸς αὐτὸν συνάπτεται.

(4) [323] Τελεσθέντος δ᾽ αὐτῷ τοῦ γάμου προσκατεσκευάσατο φρούριον ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων, ἐν οἷς ἐνίκα Ἰουδαίους, ὅτε τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκπεσόντος Ἀντίγονος ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἦν. [324] τοῦτο δὲ τὸ φρούριον ἀπέχει μὲν Ἱεροσολύμων περὶ ἑξήκοντα σταδίους, φύσει δὲ ἐχυρὸν καὶ πρὸς κατασκευὴν ἐπιτηδειότατόν ἐστιν ἐΓγὺς ἐπιεικῶς κολωνὸς εἰς ὕψος ἀνιὼν χειροποίητον, ὡς εἶναι μαστοειδὴς τὴν περιφοράν, διείληπται δὲ κυκλοτερέσι πύργοις ὀρθίαν ἔχων ἄνοδον ξεσταῖς βαθμίσιν ἐξῳκοδομημένην εἰς διακοσίους. ἐντὸς δ᾽ αὐτοῦ καταγωγαὶ βασίλειοι πολυτελεῖς εἰς ἀσφάλειαν ὁμοῦ καὶ κόσμον πεποιημέναι: [325] περὶ δὲ τὴν βάσιν τοῦ λόφου διατριβαὶ κατασκευῆς ἀξιοθεάτου τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τῆς εἰσαγωγῆς τῶν ὑδάτων, οὐ γὰρ οὗτος ὁ τόπος ἔσχηκεν, ἐκ μακροῦ καὶ διὰ πλειόνων ἀναλωμάτων πεποιημένης. τὰ δ᾽ ἐπίπεδα περιῳκοδόμηται πόλις οὐδεμιᾶς ἐλάσσων τὸν λόφον ἀκρόπολιν ἔχουσα τῆς ἄλλης οἰκήσεως.

(5) [326] Πάντων δ᾽ αὐτῷ προκεχωρηκότων εἰς δέον ὧν ἠλπίκει τὰς μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ βασιλείᾳ ταραχὰς οὐδ᾽ ὁπωσοῦν δι᾽ ὑποψίας εἶχεν ἑκατέρωθεν ὑπηκόους παραστησάμενος, φόβῳ μὲν ὧν ἀπαραίτητος εἰς τὰς τιμωρίας, τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν δὲ ὧν μεγαλόψυχος ἐν ταῖς περιπετείαις εὑρίσκετο. [327] περιεβάλλετο δὲ τὴν ἔξωθεν ἀσφάλειαν ὥσπερ ἐπιτείχισμα καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ποιούμενος: πόλεσίν τε γὰρ ὡμίλει δεξιῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως καὶ τοὺς δυνάστας ἐθεράπευεν εὐκαιρίαις ὧν ἑκάστους ἐδωρεῖτο μείζους τὰς χάριτας ἐμποιῶν καὶ τὸ μεγαλόψυχον φύσει πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν εὐπρεπὲς ἔχων, ὥστ᾽ αὐτῷ πάντα διὰ πάντων αὔξεσθαι πρὸς τὸ πλεῖον ἀεὶ προχωρούντων. [328] ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς εἰς τοῦτο φιλοτιμίας καὶ τῆς θεραπείας, ἣν ἐθεράπευεν Καίσαρα καὶ Ῥωμαίων τοὺς πλεῖστον δυναμένους, ἐκβαίνειν τῶν ἐθῶν ἠναγκάζετο καὶ πολλὰ τῶν νομίμων παραχαράττειν, πόλεις τε κτίζων ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας καὶ ναοὺς ἐγείρων, οὐκ ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, [329] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἠνέσχοντο τῶν τοιούτων ἀπηγορευμένων ἡμῖν ὡς ἀγάλματα καὶ τύπους μεμορφωμένους τιμᾶν πρὸς τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν τρόπον, τὴν δ᾽ ἔξω χώραν καὶ τὰ πέριξ οὕτως κατεσκευάζετο, [330] Ἰουδαίοις μὲν ἀπολογούμενος μὴ καθ᾽ αὐτὸν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ ἐντολῆς καὶ προσταγμάτων αὐτὰ ποιεῖν, Καίσαρι δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις τὸ μηδὲ τῶν οἰκείων ἐθῶν ὅσον τῆς ἐκείνων τιμῆς ἐστοχάσθαι χαριζόμενος, αὐτὸς

μέντοι τὸ σύμπαν αὐτοῦ στοχαζόμενος ἢ καὶ φιλοτιμούμενος μείζω τὰ μνημεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῖς αὖθις ὑπολιπέσθαι. ὅθεν καὶ περὶ τὰς ἐπισκευὰς τῶν πόλεων ἐκεκίνητο καὶ πλείστας εἰς τοῦτο τὰς δαπάνας ἐποιεῖτο.

(6) [331] Κατιδὼν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ χωρίον ἐπιτηδειότατον δέξασθαι πόλιν, ὃ πάλαι Στράτωνος ἐκαλεῖτο πύργος, τῇ τε διαγραφῇ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐπεβάλλετο καὶ τοῖς οἰκοδομήμασιν ἀνιστὰς ἅπασαν οὐ παρέργως, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ λευκῆς πέτρας, καὶ διακοσμῶν καὶ βασιλείοις πολυτελεστάτοις καὶ διαίταις πολιτικαῖς, [332] τὸ δὲ μέγιστον καὶ πλείστην ἐργασίαν παρασχόν, ἀκλύστῳ λιμένι, μέγεθος μὲν κατὰ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καταγωγὰς δ᾽ ἔνδον ἔχοντι καὶ δευτέρους ὑφόρμους, τῇ δὲ δομήσει περίβλεπτον, ὅτι μηδ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ τόπου τὴν ἐπιτηδειότητα τῆς μεγαλουργίας εἶχεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεισάκτοις καὶ πολλαῖς ἐξετελειώθη ταῖς δαπάναις. [333] κεῖται μὲν γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ κατὰ τὸν εἰς Αἴγυπτον παράπλουν Ἰόππης μεταξὺ καὶ Δώρων, πολισμάτια ταῦτ᾽ ἐστὶν παράλια δύσορμα διὰ τὰς κατὰ λίβα προσβολάς, αἷ ἀεὶ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ πόντου θῖνας ἐπὶ τὴν ἠόνα σύρουσαι καταγωγὴν οὐ διδόασιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἔστιν ἀναγκαῖον ἀποσαλεύειν τὰ πολλὰ τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἐπ᾽ ἀγκύρας. [334] τοῦτο τὸ δυσδιάθετον τῆς χώρας διορθούμενος καὶ περιγράψας τὸν κύκλον τοῦ λιμένος ἐφ᾽ ὅσον ἦν αὔταρκες πρὸς τῇ χέρσῳ μεγάλοις στόλοις ἐνορμεῖσθαι λίθους ὑπερμεγέθεις καθίει εἰς τὸ βάθος εἰς ὀργυιὰς εἴκοσι. πεντήκοντα ποδῶν ἦσαν οἱ πλείους τὸ μῆκος καὶ πλάτος οὐκ ἔλαττον δεκαοκτώ, βάθος δὲ ἐννέα, τούτων δὲ οἱ μὲν μείζους οἱ δὲ ἐλάττους. [335] ἡ δὲ ἐνδόμησις ὅσον ἦν † ἐβάλλετο κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης διακοσίους πόδας. τούτων τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ προβέβλητο κυματωγαῖς, ὡς ἀπομάχεσθαι περικλώμενον ἐκεῖ τὸν κλύδωνα: προκυμία γοῦν ἐκαλεῖτο: τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν περιεῖχεν λίθινον τεῖχος πύργοις διειλημμένον, [336] ὧν ὁ μέγιστος Δρούσιον ὀνομάζεται, πάνυ καλόν τι χρῆμα, τὴν προσηγορίαν εἰληφὼς ἀπὸ Δρούσου τοῦ Καίσαρος προγόνου τελευτήσαντος νέου. [337] ψαλίδες δὲ ἐμπεποίηνται συνεχεῖς καταγωγαὶ τοῖς ναυτίλοις, τὸ δὲ πρὸ αὐτῶν ἀπόβασις πλατεῖα κύκλῳ περιεστεφάνωκεν τὸν πάντα λιμένα, περίπατος τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἥδιστος. ὁ δ᾽ εἴσπλους καὶ τὸ στόμα πεποίηται πρὸς βορέαν ἀνέμων αἰθριώτατον. [338] βάσις δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου παντὸς ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν εἰσπλεόντων πύργος νενασμένος ἐπὶ πολὺ στερρῶς ἀντέχειν, κατὰ δεξιὰν δὲ δύο λίθοι μεγάλοι καὶ τοῦ κατὰ θάτερα πύργου μείζους, ὀρθοὶ καὶ συνεζευγμένοι. [339] περίκεινται δὲ ἐν κύκλῳ τὸν λιμένα λειοτάτου λίθου κατασκευὴ συνεχεῖς οἰκήσεις κἀν τῷ μέσῳ κολωνός τις, ἐφ᾽ οὗ νεὼς Καίσαρος ἄποπτος τοῖς εἰσπλέουσιν ἄγαλμά τε τὸ μὲν Ῥώμης, τὸ δὲ Καίσαρος: ἥ τε πόλις αὐτὴ Καισάρεια καλεῖται καλλίστης καὶ τῆς ὕλης καὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τετυχηκυῖα. [340] τὰ δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ αὐτὴν ὑπόνομοί τε καὶ λαῦραι πραγματείαν οὐκ ἐλάττω τῶν ὑπερῳκοδομημένων ἔχουσαι. τούτων αἱ μὲν κατὰ σύμμετρα διαστήματα φέρουσιν εἰς τὸν λιμένα καὶ τὴν θάλατταν, μία δ᾽ ἐγκαρσία πάσας ὑπέζωκεν, ὡς

τούς τε ὄμβρους εὐμαρῶς καὶ τὰ λύματα τῶν οἰκητόρων συνεκδίδοσθαι τήν τε θάλατταν, ὅταν ἔξωθεν ἐπείγηται, διαρρεῖν καὶ τὴν σύμπασαν ὑποκλύζειν πόλιν. [341] κατεσκεύαζεν δ' ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ θέατρον καὶ πρὸς τῷ νοτίῳ τοῦ λιμένος ὄπισθεν ἀμφιθέατρον πολὺν ὄχλον ἀνθρώπων δέχεσθαι δυνάμενον καὶ κείμενον ἐπιτηδείως ἀποπτεύειν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. ἡ μὲν δὴ πόλις οὕτως ἐξετελέσθη δωδεκαετεῖ χρόνῳ καὶ ταῖς ἐργασίαις οὐκ ἐγκαμόντος καὶ ταῖς δαπάναις ἐπαρκέσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως.

X

(1) [342] Ἐπὶ τοιούτοις δὲ ὢν καὶ τῆς Σεβαστῆς ἤδη πεπολισμένης ἔγνω τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ πέμπειν εἰς Ῥώμην Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Ἀριστόβουλον, συντευξομένους Καίσαρι. [343] τούτοις ἀνελθοῦσιν καταγωγὴ μὲν ἦν Πολλίωνος οἶκος ἀνδρὸς τῶν μάλιστα σπουδασάντων περὶ τὴν Ἡρώδου φιλίαν, ἐφεῖτο δὲ κἀν τοῖς Καίσαρος κατάγεσθαι: καὶ γὰρ ἐξεδέξατο μετὰ πάσης φιλανθρωπίας τοὺς παῖδας: καὶ δίδωσιν Ἡρώδῃ τὴν βασιλείαν ὅτῳ βούλεται βεβαιοῦν τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγονότων, καὶ χώραν ἔτι τόν τε Τράχωνα καὶ Βαταναίαν καὶ Αὐρανῖτιν: ἔδωκεν δὲ διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν παραλαβών. [344] Ζηνόδωρός τις ἐμεμίσθωτο τὸν οἶκον τὸν Λυσανίου. τούτῳ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὰς προσόδους οὐκ ἤρκει, τὰ λῃστήρια δὲ ἔχων ἐν τῷ Τράχωνι πλείω τὴν πρόσοδον ἔφερεν: οἰκοῦσι γὰρ ἄνδρες ἐξ ἀπονοίας ζῶντες τοὺς τόπους, οἳ τὰ Δαμασκηνῶν ἐλῄζοντο, καὶ Ζηνόδωρος οὔτ' εἶργεν αὐτός τε τῶν ὠφελειῶν ἐκοινώνει. [345] κακῶς δὲ πάσχοντες οἱ πλησιόχωροι Οὐάρρωνος κατεβόων τοῦ τότε ἡγεμονεύοντος καὶ γράφειν ἠξίουν Καίσαρι τοῦ Ζηνοδώρου τὴν ἀδικίαν. Καῖσαρ δὲ ἀνενεχθέντων τούτων ἀντέγραφεν ἐξελεῖν τὰ λῃστήρια τήν τε χώραν Ἡρώδῃ προσένειμεν, ὡς διὰ τῆς ἐπιμελείας τῆς ἐκείνου μηκέτ' ἂν ὀχληρῶν τῶν περὶ τὸν Τράχωνα γενησομένων τοῖς πλησίον: [346] οὐδὲ γὰρ ῥᾴδιον ἦν ἐπισχεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐν ἔθει τὸ λῃστεύειν πεποιημένους καὶ βίον οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ἔχοντας: οὔτε γὰρ πόλεις αὐτοῖς οὔτε κτήσεις ἀγρῶν, ὑποφυγαὶ δὲ κατὰ τῆς γῆς καὶ σπήλαια καὶ κοινὴ μετὰ τῶν βοσκημάτων δίαιτα. μεμηχάνηνται δὲ καὶ συναγωγὰς ὑδάτων καὶ προπαρασκευὰς σιτίων αἳ δύνανται πλεῖστον ἐξ ἀφανοῦς ἀντέχειν. [347] αἵ γε μὴν εἴσοδοι στεναὶ καὶ καθ' ἕνα παρερχομένων, τὰ δ' ἔνδον ἀπίστως μεγάλα πρὸς εὐρυχωρίαν ἐξειργασμένων: τὸ δ' ὑπὲρ τὰς οἰκήσεις ἔδαφος οὐχ ὑψηλόν, ἀλλ' οἷον ἐξ ἐπιπέδου. πέτρα δὲ τὸ σύμπαν σκληρὰ καὶ δύσοδος, εἰ μὴ τρίβῳ χρῷτό τις ἐξ ὁδηγίας: [348] οὐδὲ γὰρ αὗται κατ' ὀρθὸν ἀλλὰ πολλὰς ἕλικας ἐξελίττονται. τούτοις ἐπειδὴ τῶν εἰς τοὺς πλησίον κακουργημάτων ἐκωλύοντο, καὶ κατ' ἀλλήλων ἦν ὁ τῆς λῃστείας τρόπος, ὡς μηδὲν ἀνομίας ἐν τούτῳ λελεῖφθαι. λαβὼν δὲ τὴν χάριν Ἡρώδης παρὰ Καίσαρος καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν χώραν

ὁδηγῶν ἐμπειρίᾳ τούς τε πονηρευομένους αὐτῶν κατέπαυσεν καὶ τοῖς πέριξ ἀδεῆ τὴν εἰρήνην παρέσχεν.

(2) [349] Ὁ δὲ Ζηνόδωρος ἀχθόμενος πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἀφαιρέσει, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ φθόνῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἡρώδου μετειληφότος, ἀνῆλθεν εἰς Ῥώμην κατηγορήσων αὐτοῦ. κἀκεῖνος μὲν ἄπρακτος ἀναστρέφει. [350] πέμπεται δ' Ἀγρίππας τῶν πέραν Ἰονίου διάδοχος Καίσαρι: καὶ τούτῳ περὶ Μιτυλήνην χειμάζοντι συντυχὼν Ἡρώδης, ἦν γὰρ εἰς τὰ μάλιστα φίλος καὶ συνήθης, πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀνέστρεφεν. [351] Γαδαρέων δέ τινες ἐπ' Ἀγρίππαν ἦλθον κατηγοροῦντες αὐτοῦ, καὶ τούτους ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲ λόγον αὐτοῖς δοὺς ἀναπέμπει τῷ βασιλεῖ δεσμίους. οἵ τε Ἄραβες καὶ πάλαι δυσμενῶς ἔχοντες πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἡρώδου διεκεκίνηντο καὶ στασιάζειν ἐπεχείρουν αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα τότε καὶ μετ' αἰτίας, ὡς ἐδόκουν, εὐλογωτέρας: [352] ὁ γὰρ Ζηνόδωρος ἀπογινώσκων ἤδη τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ἔφθη τῆς ἐπαρχίας μέρος τι τὴν Αὐρανῖτιν αὐτοῖς ἀποδόσθαι ταλάντων πεντήκοντα. ταύτης ἐμπεριεχομένης τῇ δωρεᾷ Καίσαρος ὡς μὴ δικαίως ἀφαιρούμενοι διημφισβήτουν, πολλάκις μὲν ταῖς καταδρομαῖς καὶ τῷ βιάζεσθαι θέλειν, ἄλλοτε δὲ καὶ πρὸς δικαιολογίαν ἰόντες. [353] ἀνέπειθον δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπόρους τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ δυσμενεῖς, ἦσαν δ' ἐπελπίζοντες ἀεὶ καὶ πρὸς τὸν νεωτερισμὸν ἐνδιδόντες, ᾧ μάλιστα χαίρουσιν οἱ κακῶς πράττοντες τῷ βίῳ. ταῦτα δὲ ἐκ μακροῦ πραττόμενα γινώσκων Ἡρώδης ὅμως οὐκ εἰς τὸ δυσμενές, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιλογισμοῦ παρηγόρει ταῖς ταραχαῖς οὐκ ἀξιῶν ἀφορμὰς ἐνδιδόναι.

(3) [354] Ἤδη δ' αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἑπτακαιδεκάτου προελθόντος ἔτους Καῖσαρ εἰς Συρίαν ἀφίκετο. καὶ τότε τῶν Γάδαρα κατοικούντων οἱ πλεῖστοι κατεβόων Ἡρώδου βαρὺν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτάγμασιν καὶ τυραννικὸν εἶναι. [355] ταῦτα δὲ ἀπετόλμων μάλιστα μὲν ἐγκειμένου καὶ διαβάλλοντος αὐτὸν Ζηνοδώρου καὶ παρασχόντος ὅρκους, ὡς οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψει μὴ πάντα τρόπον ἀφελέσθαι μὲν τῆς Ἡρώδου βασιλείας, προσθήσειν δὲ τῇ διοικήσει τῇ Καίσαρος. [356] τούτοις ἀναπεισθέντες οἱ Γαδαρεῖς οὐ μικρὰν καταβοὴν ἐποιήσαντο θράσει τοῦ μηδὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ Ἀγρίππα παραδοθέντας ἐν τιμωρίᾳ γενέσθαι διιέντος Ἡρώδου καὶ μηδὲν κακὸν εἰργασμένου: καὶ γὰρ εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἐδόκει δυσπαραίτητος μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις, μεγαλόψυχος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἁμαρτόντας ἀφιέναι. [357] κατηγορούντων οὖν ὕβρεις καὶ ἁρπαγὰς καὶ κατασκαφὰς ἱερῶν ὁ μὲν Ἡρώδης ἀταρακτήσας ἕτοιμος ἦν εἰς τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ἐδεξιοῦτο δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ταραχῆς τοῦ πλήθους μεταβαλὼν τῆς εὐνοίας. [358] καὶ κατὰ μὲν τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν οἱ περὶ τούτων ἐρρέθησαν λόγοι, ταῖς δ' ἑξῆς οὐ προῆλθεν ἡ διάγνωσις: οἱ γὰρ Γαδαρεῖς ὁρῶντες τὴν ῥοπὴν αὐτοῦ τε Καίσαρος καὶ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ προσδοκήσαντες ὅπερ ἦν εἰκὸς ἐκδοθήσεσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ, κατὰ φόβον αἰκίας οἱ μὲν ἀπέσφαττον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ νυκτί, τινὲς δὲ καθ' ὕψους ἠφίεσαν, ἄλλοι δ' εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐμπίπτοντες ἑκοντὶ

διεφθείροντο. [359] ταῦτα δὲ ἐδόκει κατάγνωσις τῆς προπετείας καὶ ἁμαρτίας, ἔνθεν οὐδὲ μελλήσας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέλυεν τῶν αἰτιῶν Ἡρώδην. ἐπισυμπίπτει δὲ οὐ μέτριον εὐτύχημα τοῖς ἤδη γεγονόσιν: ὁ γὰρ Ζηνόδωρος ῥαγέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ σπλάγχνου καὶ πολλοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν ὑποχωροῦντος αἵματος ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας ἐκλείπει τὸν βίον. [360] Καῖσαρ δὲ καὶ τὴν τούτου μοῖραν οὐκ ὀλίγην οὖσαν Ἡρώδῃ δίδωσιν, ἣ μεταξὺ τοῦ Τράχωνος ἦν καὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, Οὐλάθαν καὶ Πανιάδα καὶ τὴν πέριξ χώραν. ἐγκαταμίγνυσιν δ᾽ αὐτὴν τοῖς ἐπιτροπεύουσιν τῆς Συρίας ἐντειλάμενος μετὰ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης τὰ πάντα ποιεῖν. [361] τό τε σύνολον εἰς τοῦτο προῆλθεν εὐτυχίας, ὥστε δύο τούτων τὴν ἀρχὴν Ῥωμαίων διεπόντων τοσήνδε τὸ μέγεθος οὖσαν, Καίσαρος καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἀγρίππου, κατὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὔνοιαν Καῖσαρ μὲν οὐδένα μετὰ Ἀγρίππαν Ἡρώδου προετίμησεν, Ἀγρίππας δὲ μετὰ Καίσαρα πρῶτον ἀπεδίδου φιλίας τόπον Ἡρώδῃ. [362] τοσαύτης δὲ ἐχόμενος παρρησίας τῷ μὲν ἀδελφῷ Φερώρᾳ παρὰ Καίσαρος ᾐτήσατο τετραρχίαν αὐτὸς ἀπονείμας ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας πρόσοδον ἑκατὸν ταλάντων, ὡς εἰ καί τι πάσχοι, τὰ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν καὶ μὴ τοὺς υἱεῖς αὐτῆς κρατεῖν. [363] Καίσαρα δ᾽ ἐπὶ θάλατταν προπέμψας ὡς ἐπανῆκεν, ἐν τῇ Ζηνοδώρου περικαλλέστατον αὐτῷ ναὸν ἐγείρει πέτρας λευκῆς πλησίον τοῦ Πανίου καλουμένου. [364] σπήλαιον ἐν ὄρει περικαλλές ἐστιν, ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸ δὲ γῆς ὀλίσθημα καὶ βάθος ἀπερρωγὸς ἄβατον ὕδατος ἀκινήτου πλέον, καθύπερθε δ᾽ ὄρος παμμέγεθες, ὑπὸ δὲ τὸ σπήλαιον ἀνατέλλουσιν αἱ πηγαὶ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ. τοῦτον ἐπισημότατον ὄντα τὸν τόπον καὶ τῷ ναῷ προσεκόσμησεν, ὃν ἀφιέρου Καίσαρι.

(4) [365] Τότε καὶ τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἀφῆκε τῶν φόρων τοῖς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς ἀναλάβοιεν ἐκ τῆς ἀφορίας, τὸ δὲ πλέον ἀνακτώμενος ἔχοντας δυσμενῶς: κατὰ γὰρ τὴν ἐξεργασίαν τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὡς ἂν λυομένης αὐτοῖς τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ μεταπιπτόντων τῶν ἐθῶν χαλεπῶς ἔφερον, καὶ λόγοι δὲ πόντων ἐγίνοντο παροξυνομένων ἀεὶ καὶ ταραττομένων. [366] ὁ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ τοιοῦτον πολλὴν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐπῆγεν, ἀφαιρούμενος μὲν τὰς εὐκαιρίας, ἐπιτάττων δ᾽ ἀεὶ γίνεσθαι πρὸς τοῖς πόνοις, ἦν δ᾽ οὔτε σύνοδος ἐφειμένη τοῖς περὶ τὴν πόλιν οὔτε κοινωνία περιπάτου καὶ διαίτης, ἀλλ᾽ ἐτετήρητο τὰ πάντα. καὶ χαλεπαὶ τῶν φωραθέντων ἦσαν αἱ κολάσεις, πολλοί τε καὶ φανερῶς καὶ λεληθότως εἰς τὸ φρούριον ἀναγόμενοι τὴν Ὑρκανίαν ἐκεῖ διεφθείροντο, κἀν τῇ πόλει κἀν ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις ἦσαν οἱ τοὺς συνιόντας εἰς ταὐτὸν ἐπισκοποῦντες. [367] ἤδη δέ φασιν οὐδ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀμελεῖν τοῦ τοιούτου μέρους, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἰδιώτου σχῆμα λαμβάνοντα καταμίγνυσθαι νύκτωρ εἰς τοὺς ὄχλους, καὶ πεῖραν αὐτῶν, ἣν ἔχουσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς, λαμβάνειν. [368] τοὺς μὲν οὖν παντάπασιν ἐξαυθαδιζομένους πρὸς τὸ μὴ συμπεριφέρεσθαι τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν πάντας ἐπεξῄει τοὺς τρόπους, τὸ δ᾽ ἄλλο πλῆθος ὅρκοις ἠξίου πρὸς τὴν πίστιν ὑπάγεσθαι καὶ συνηνάγκαζεν ἐνώμοτον αὐτῷ τὴν εὔνοιαν ἢ μὴν

διαφυλάξειν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁμολογεῖν. [369] οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ κατὰ θεραπείαν καὶ δέος εἶκον οἷς ἠξίου, τοὺς δὲ φρονήματος μεταποιουμένους καὶ δυσχεραίνοντας ἐπὶ τῷ καταναγκάζεσθαι πάντα τρόπον ἐκποδὼν ἐποιεῖτο. [370] συνέπειθεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς περὶ Πολλίωνα τὸν Φαρισαῖον καὶ Σαμαίαν καὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις συνδιατριβόντων τοὺς πλείστους ὀμνύειν: οἱ δ' οὔτε συνεχώρησαν οὔθ' ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀρνησαμένοις ἐκολάσθησαν ἐντροπῆς διὰ τὸν Πολλίωνα τυχόντες. [371] ἀφείθησαν δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἀνάγκης καὶ οἱ παρ' ἡμῖν Ἐσσαῖοι καλούμενοι: γένος δὲ τοῦτ' ἔστιν διαίτῃ χρώμενον τῇ παρ' Ἕλλησιν ὑπὸ Πυθαγόρου καταδεδειγμένῃ. [372] περὶ τούτων μὲν οὖν ἐν ἄλλοις σαφέστερον διέξειμι. τοὺς δὲ Ἐσσηνοὺς ἀφ' οἵας αἰτίας ἐτίμα μεῖζόν τι φρονῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἢ κατὰ τὴν θνητὴν φύσιν, εἰπεῖν ἄξιον: οὐ γὰρ ἀπρεπὴς ὁ λόγος φανεῖται τῷ τῆς ἱστορίας γένει παραδηλῶν καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τούτων ὑπόληψιν.

(5) [373] Ἦν τις τῶν Ἐσσηνῶν Μανάημος ὄνομα καὶ τἆλλα κατὰ τὴν προαίρεσιν τοῦ βίου καλοκαγαθίαν μαρτυρούμενος καὶ πρόγνωσιν ἐκ θεοῦ τῶν μελλόντων ἔχων. οὗτος ἔτι παῖδα τὸν Ἡρώδην εἰς διδασκάλου φοιτῶντα κατιδὼν βασιλέα Ἰουδαίων προσηγόρευσεν. [374] ὁ δ' ἀγνοεῖν ἢ κατειρωνεύεσθαι νομίζων αὐτὸν ἀνεμίμνησκεν ἰδιώτης ὤν. Μανάημος δὲ μειδιάσας ἠρέμα καὶ τύπτων τῇ χειρὶ κατὰ τῶν γλουτῶν "ἀλλά τοι καὶ βασιλεύσεις, ἔφη, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐδαιμόνως ἀπάξεις: ἠξίωσαι γὰρ ἐκ θεοῦ. καὶ μέμνησο τῶν Μαναήμου πληγῶν, ὥστε σοι καὶ τοῦτο σύμβολον εἶναι τῶν κατὰ τὴν τύχην μεταπτώσεων. [375] ἄριστος γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος λογισμός, εἰ καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἀγαπήσειας καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβειαν ἐπιείκειαν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας: ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ οἶδά σε τοιοῦτον ἔσεσθαι τὸ πᾶν ἐπιστάμενος. [376] εὐτυχίᾳ μὲν γὰρ ὅσον οὐκ ἄλλος διοίσεις καὶ τεύξῃ δόξης αἰωνίου, λήθην δ' εὐσεβείας ἕξεις καὶ τοῦ δικαίου. ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἂν λάθοι τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τῇ καταστροφῇ τοῦ βίου τῆς ἀντ' αὐτῶν [377] ὀργῆς ἀπομνημονευομένης." τούτοις αὐτίκα μὲν ἥκιστα τὸν νοῦν προσεῖχεν ἐλπίδι λειπόμενος αὐτῶν Ἡρώδης, κατὰ μικρὸν δὲ ἀρθεὶς ἕως καὶ τοῦ βασιλεύειν καὶ εὐτυχεῖν ἐν τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἀρχῆς μεταπέμπεται τὸν Μανάημον καὶ περὶ τοῦ χρόνου πόσον ἄρξει διεπυνθάνετο. [378] Μανάημος δὲ τὸ μὲν σύμπαν οὐκ εἶπεν: ὡς δὲ σιωπῶντος αὐτοῦ, μόνον εἰ δέκα γενήσονται βασιλείας ἐνιαυτοὶ προσεπύθετο καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ τριάκοντα εἰπὼν τὸν ὅρον οὐκ ἐπέθηκε τῷ τέλει τῆς προθεσμίας, Ἡρώδης δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἀρκεσθεὶς τόν τε Μανάημον ἀφῆκεν δεξιωσάμενος καὶ πάντας ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοὺς Ἐσσηνοὺς τιμῶν διετέλει. [379] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἰ καὶ παράδοξα δηλῶσαι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἠξιώσαμεν καὶ περὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἐμφῆναι, διότι πολλοὶ [διὰ] τοιούτων ὑπὸ καλοκαγαθίας καὶ τῆς τῶν θείων ἐμπειρίας ἀξιοῦνται.

XI

(1) [380] Τότε δ’ οὖν ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου τῆς Ἡρώδου βασιλείας γεγονότος ἐνιαυτοῦ μετὰ τὰς προειρημένας πράξεις ἔργον οὐ τὸ τυχὸν ἐπεβάλετο, τὸν νεὼν τοῦ θεοῦ δι’ αὐτοῦ κατασκευάσασθαι μείζω τε τὸν περίβολον καὶ πρὸς ὕψος ἀξιοπρεπέστερον ἐγείρειν, ἡγούμενος ἁπάντων αὐτῷ τῶν πεπραγμένων περισημότερον, ὥσπερ ἦν, ἐκτελεσθήσεσθαι τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς αἰώνιον μνήμην ἀρκέσειν. [381] οὐχ ἕτοιμον δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπιστάμενος οὐδὲ ῥᾴδιον ἔσεσθαι πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως ἠξίου λόγῳ προκαταστησάμενος ἐγχειρῆσαι τῷ παντί, καὶ συγκαλέσας αὐτοὺς ἔλεγε τοιάδε: [382] “τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μοι τῶν κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν πεπραγμένων, ἄνδρες ὁμόφυλοι, περισσὸν ὑπολαμβάνω λέγειν. καίτοι τοῦτον ἐγένετο τὸν τρόπον, ὡς ἐλάττω μὲν ἐμοὶ τὸν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν κόσμον, πλείω δὲ ὑμῖν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν φέρειν. [383] οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς δυσχερεστάτοις ἀμελήσας τῶν εἰς τὰς ὑμετέρας χρείας διαφερόντων οὔτε ἐν τοῖς κατασκευάσμασιν ἐπιτηδεύσας ἐμαυτῷ μᾶλλον ἢ καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν τὸ ἀνεπηρέαστον, οἶμαι σὺν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλήσει πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ὅσον οὐ πρότερον ἀγηοχέναι τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος. [384] τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ μέρος ἐξεργασθέντα περὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ πόλεις ὅσας ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τοῖς ἐπικτήτοις ἐγείραντες κόσμῳ τῷ καλλίστῳ τὸ γένος ἡμῶν ηὐξήσαμεν, περίεργά μοι δοκεῖ λέγειν εἰδόσιν. τὸ δὲ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως, ᾗ νῦν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐπιβάλλομαι, παντὸς εὐσεβέστατον καὶ κάλλιστον ἐφ’ ἡμῶν γενέσθαι νῦν ἐκφανῶ: [385] τὸν γὰρ ναὸν τοῦτον ᾠκοδόμησαν μὲν τῷ μεγίστῳ θεῷ πατέρες ἡμέτεροι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἐπάνοδον, ἐνδεῖ δ’ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος εἰς ὕψος ἑξήκοντα πήχεις: τοσοῦτον γὰρ ὑπερεῖχεν ὁ πρῶτος ἐκεῖνος, ὃν Σολομῶν ἀνῳκοδόμησεν. [386] καὶ μηδεὶς ἀμέλειαν εὐσεβείας τῶν πατέρων καταγνώτω: γέγονεν γὰρ οὐ παρ’ ἐκείνους ἐλάττων ὁ ναός, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα καὶ Κῦρος καὶ Δαρεῖος ὁ Ὑστάσπου τὰ μέτρα τῆς δομήσεως ἔδοσαν, οἷς ἐκεῖνοι καὶ τοῖς ἀπογόνοις δουλεύσαντες καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνους Μακεδόσιν οὐκ ἔσχον εὐκαιρίαν τὸ πρῶτον τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀρχέτυπον εἰς ταὐτὸν ἀναγαγεῖν μέγεθος. [387] ἐπειδὴ δὲ νῦν ἐγὼ μὲν ἄρχω θεοῦ βουλήσει, περίεστιν δὲ καὶ μῆκος εἰρήνης καὶ κτῆσις χρημάτων καὶ μέγεθος προσόδων, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον φίλοι καὶ δι’ εὐνοίας οἱ πάντων ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν κρατοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι, πειράσομαι τὸ παρημελημένον ἀνάγκῃ καὶ δουλείᾳ τοῦ πρότερον χρόνου διορθούμενος τελείαν ἀποδοῦναι τῷ θεῷ τὴν ἀνθ’ ὧν ἔτυχον τῆσδε τῆς βασιλείας εὐσέβειαν.”

(2) [388] Ὁ μὲν Ἡρώδης ταῦτ’ εἶπεν, ἐξέπληξε δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὁ λόγος παρὰ δόξαν ἐμπεσών. καὶ τὸ μὲν τῆς ἐλπίδος ἄπιστον οὐκ ἐπήγειρεν αὐτούς, ἠδημόνουν δέ, μὴ φθάσας καταλῦσαι τὸ πᾶν ἔργον οὐκ ἐξαρκέσει πρὸς τέλος ἀγαγεῖν τὴν προαίρεσιν: ὅ τε κίνδυνος αὐτοῖς μείζων ἐφαίνετο καὶ δυσεγχείρητον ἐδόκει τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἐπιβολῆς. [389] οὕτως δ’ αὐτῶν διακειμένων παρεθάρρυνεν ὁ βασιλεύς, οὐ πρότερον καθαιρήσειν φάμενος τὸν ναὸν μὴ πάντων αὐτῷ τῶν εἰς συντέλειαν παρεσκευασμένων. καὶ ταῦτα προειπὼν οὐκ ἐψεύσατο: [390] χιλίας γὰρ εὐτρεπίσας ἁμάξας, αἳ βαστάσουσι τοὺς λίθους,

ἐργάτας δὲ μυρίους τοὺς ἐμπειροτάτους ἐπιλεξάμενος καὶ ἱερεῦσιν τὸν ἀριθμὸν χιλίοις ἱερατικὰς ὠνησάμενος στολάς, καὶ τοὺς μὲν διδάξας οἰκοδόμους, ἑτέρους δὲ τέκτονας, ἥπτετο τῆς κατασκευῆς ἁπάντων αὐτῷ προθύμως προευτρεπισμένων.

(3) [391] Ἀνελὼν δὲ τοὺς ἀρχαίους θεμελίους καὶ καταβαλόμενος ἑτέρους ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν ναὸν ἤγειρεν μήκει μὲν ἑκατὸν ὄντα πηχῶν, τὸ δ᾽ ὕψος εἴκοσι περιττοῖς, οὓς τῷ χρόνῳ συνιζησάντων τῶν θεμελίων ὑπέβη. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν κατὰ τοὺς Νέρωνος καιροὺς ἐπεγείρειν ἐγνώκειμεν. [392] ᾠκοδομήθη δὲ ὁ ναὸς ἐκ λίθων λευκῶν τε καὶ κραταιῶν τὸ μέγεθος ἑκάστων περὶ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι πήχεις ἐπὶ μῆκος, ὀκτὼ δὲ ὕψος, εὖρος δὲ περὶ δώδεκα. [393] καὶ παντὸς αὐτοῦ καθότι καὶ τῆς βασιλείου στοᾶς τὸ μὲν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν ταπεινότατον, ὑψηλότατον δὲ τὸ μεσαίτατον, ὡς περίοπτον ἐκ πολλῶν σταδίων εἶναι τοῖς τὴν χώραν νεμομένοις, μᾶλλον δ᾽ εἴ τινες κατ᾽ ἐναντίον οἰκοῦντες ἢ προσιόντες τύχοιεν. [394] θύρας δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰσόδου σὺν τοῖς ὑπερθυρίοις ἴσον ἐχούσας τῷ ναῷ ποικίλοις ἐμπετάσμασιν κεκόσμητο, τὰ μὲν ἄνθη ἁλουργέσιν, κίονας δὲ ἐνυφασμένους. [395] καθύπερθε δ᾽ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τοῖς τριχώμασιν ἄμπελος διετέτατο χρυσῆ τοὺς βότρυας ἀπαιωρουμένους ἔχουσα, θαῦμα καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους καὶ τῆς τέχνης τοῖς ἰδοῦσιν, οἷον ἐν πολυτελείᾳ τῆς ὕλης τὸ κατασκευασθὲν ἦν. [396] περιελάμβανεν δὲ καὶ στοαῖς μεγίσταις τὸν ναὸν ἅπαντα πρὸς τὴν ἀναλογίαν ἐπιτηδεύων καὶ τὰς δαπάνας τῶν πρὶν ὑπερβαλλόμενος, ὡς οὐκ ἄλλος τις δοκεῖ ἐπικεκοσμηκέναι τὸν ναόν. ἄμφω δ᾽ ἦσαν μετὰ τοῦ τείχους, αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ τεῖχος ἔργον μέγιστον ἀνθρώποις ἀκουσθῆναι. [397] λόφος ἦν πετρώδης ἀνάντης ἠρέμα πρὸς τοῖς ἑῴοις μέρεσιν τῆς πόλεως ὑπτιούμενος ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν ἄκραν. [398] τοῦτον ὁ πρῶτος ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς Σολομῶν κατ᾽ ἐπιφροσύνην μεγάλαις ἐργασίαις ἀπετείχιζεν τὰ περὶ τὴν ἄκραν ἄνωθεν, ἀπετείχιζεν δὲ κάτωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ῥίζης ἀρχόμενος, ἣν βαθεῖα περιθεῖ φάραγξ ἠλιβάτοις πέτραις μολίβδῳ δεδεμέναις πρὸς ἀλλήλας, ἀπολαμβάνων αἰεί τι τῆς ἔσω χώρας καὶ προβαίνων εἰς βάθος, [399] ὥστ᾽ ἄπειρον εἶναι τό τε μέγεθος τῆς δομῆς καὶ τὸ ὕψος τετραγώνου γεγενημένης, ὡς τὰ μὲν μεγέθη τῶν λίθων ἀπὸ μετώπου κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ὁρᾶσθαι, τὰ δ᾽ ἐντὸς σιδήρῳ διησφαλισμένα συνέχειν τὰς ἁρμογὰς ἀκινήτους τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ. [400] τῆς δ᾽ ἐργασίας οὕτω συναπτούσης εἰς ἄκρον τὸν λόφον ἀπεργασάμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν κορυφὴν καὶ τὰ κοῖλα τῶν περὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐμπλήσας ἰσόπεδον τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τὴν ἄνω καὶ λεῖον ἐποίησεν. τοῦτ᾽ ἦν τὸ πᾶν περίβολος τεττάρων σταδίων τὸν κύκλον ἔχων, ἑκάστης γωνίας στάδιον μῆκος ἀπολαμβανούσης. [401] ἐνδοτέρω δὲ τούτου καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτὴν τὴν ἄκραν ἄλλο τεῖχος ἄνω λίθινον περιθεῖ, κατὰ μὲν ἑῴαν ῥάχιν ἰσομήκη τῷ τείχει στοὰν ἔχον διπλῆν, ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ νεὼ τετυχηκότος ἀφορῶσαν εἰς τὰς θύρας αὐτοῦ. [402] ταύτην πολλοὶ βασιλεῖς οἱ πρόσθεν κατεσκεύασαν. τοῦ δ᾽ ἱεροῦ παντὸς ἦν ἐν κύκλῳ πεπηγμένα σκῦλα

βαρβαρικά, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης ἀνέθηκεν προσθεὶς ὅσα καὶ τῶν Ἀράβων ἔλαβεν.

(4) [403] Κατὰ δὲ τὴν βόρειον πλευρὰν ἀκρόπολις ἐγγώνιος εὐερκὴς ἐτετείχιστο διάφορος ἐχυρότητι. ταύτην οἱ πρὸ Ἡρώδου τοῦ Ἀσαμωναίων γένους βασιλεῖς καὶ ἀρχιερεῖς ᾠκοδόμησαν καὶ βᾶριν ἐκάλεσαν, ὡς ἐκεῖ τὴν ἱερατικὴν αὐτοῖς ἀποκεῖσθαι στολήν, ἣν ὅταν δέῃ θύειν τότε μόνον ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἀμφιέννυται. [404] ταύτην Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐφύλαξεν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἦν μέχρι τῶν Τιβερίου Καίσαρος χρόνων. [405] ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ Οὐιτέλλιος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμὼν ἐπιδημήσας τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις, δεξαμένου τοῦ πλήθους αὐτὸν λαμπρότατα πάνυ θέλων αὐτοὺς τῆς εὐποιίας ἀμείψασθαι, ἐπεὶ παρεκάλεσαν τὴν ἱερὰν στολὴν ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτῶν ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν, ἔγραψεν περὶ τούτων Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι κἀκεῖνος ἐπέτρεψεν, καὶ παρέμεινεν ἡ ἐξουσία τῆς στολῆς τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις μέχρις ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας. [406] μετὰ τοῦτον δὲ Κάσσιος Λογγῖνος ὁ τὴν Συρίαν τότε διοικῶν καὶ Κούσπιος Φᾶδος ὁ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπίτροπος κελεύουσιν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἰς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν καταθέσθαι τὴν στολήν: Ῥωμαίους γὰρ αὐτῆς εἶναι δεῖν κυρίους, καθὼς καὶ πρότερον ἦσαν. [407] πέμπουσιν οὖν Ἰουδαῖοι πρέσβεις πρὸς Κλαύδιον Καίσαρα περὶ τούτων παρακαλέσοντας. ὧν ἀναβάντων ὁ νεώτερος βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας ἐν Ῥώμῃ τυγχάνων αἰτησάμενος παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔλαβεν ἐντειλαμένου Οὐιτελλίῳ τῷ τῆς Συρίας ἀντιστρατήγῳ. [408] πρότερον δ᾽ ἦν ὑπὸ σφραγῖδα τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τῶν γαζοφυλάκων, καὶ πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας τῆς ἑορτῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίων φρούραρχον ἀναβαίνοντες οἱ γαζοφύλακες καὶ καταμανθάνοντες τὴν ἑαυτῶν σφραγῖδα τὴν στολὴν ἐλάμβανον. εἶτ᾽ αὖθις τῆς ἑορτῆς παρελθούσης εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν κομίσαντες τόπον καὶ τῷ φρουράρχῳ δείξαντες σύμφωνον τὴν σφραγῖδα κατετίθεντο. [409] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους τῶν ἐπισυμβεβηκότων παρεδηλώθη. τότε δ᾽ οὖν ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης καὶ ταύτην τὴν βᾶριν ὀχυρωτέραν κατασκευάσας ἐπ᾽ ἀσφαλείᾳ καὶ φυλακῇ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, χαριζόμενος Ἀντωνίῳ φίλῳ μὲν αὐτοῦ Ῥωμαίων δὲ ἄρχοντι προσηγόρευσεν Ἀντωνίαν.

(5) [410] Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἑσπερίοις μέρεσιν τοῦ περιβόλου πύλαι τέτταρες ἐφέστασαν, ἡ μὲν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια τείνουσα τῆς ἐν μέσῳ φάραγγος εἰς δίοδον ἀπειλημμένης, αἱ δύο δὲ εἰς τὸ προάστειον, ἡ λοιπὴ δ᾽ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν βαθμίσιν πολλαῖς κάτω τε εἰς τὴν φάραγγα διειλημμένη καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἄνω πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν πρόσβασιν: ἄντικρυς γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἔκειτο τοῦ ἱεροῦ θεατροειδὴς οὖσα περιεχομένη βαθείᾳ φάραγγι κατὰ πᾶν τὸ νότιον κλίμα. [411] τὸ δὲ τέταρτον αὐτοῦ μέτωπον τὸ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν εἶχε μὲν καὶ αὐτὸ πύλας κατὰ μέσον, ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ δὲ τὴν βασίλειον στοὰν τριπλῆν κατὰ μῆκος διιοῦσαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑῴας φάραγγος ἐπὶ τὴν ἑσπέριον: οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐκτεῖναι προσωτέρω δυνατόν. [412] ἔργον δ᾽ ἦν ἀξιαφηγητότατον τῶν ὑφ᾽ ἡλίῳ: μεγάλου γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ τῆς φάραγγος

ἀναλήμματος καὶ οὐδ᾽ ἀνεκτοῦ κατιδεῖν, εἴ τις ἄνωθεν εἰς τὸν βυθὸν εἰσκύπτοι, παμμέγεθες ὕψος ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ τῆς στοᾶς ἀνέστηκεν, ὡς εἴ τις ἀπ᾽ ἄκρου τοῦ ταύτης τέγους ἄμφω συντιθεὶς τὰ βάθη διοπτεύοι, σκοτοδινιᾶν οὐκ ἐξικνουμένης τῆς ὄψεως εἰς ἀμέτρητον τὸν βυθόν. [413] κίονες δ᾽ ἐφέστασαν κατ᾽ ἀντίστοιχον ἀλλήλοις ἐπὶ μῆκος τέτραχα, συνεδέδετο γὰρ ὁ τέταρτος στοῖχος λιθοδομήτῳ τείχει, καὶ πάχος ἦν ἑκάστου κίονος εἰς τρεῖς ἐπισυναπτόντων ἀλλήλοις τὰς ὀργυιὰς περιλαβεῖν, μῆκος δὲ ποδῶν ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι διπλῆς σπείρας ὑπειλημένης. [414] πλῆθος δὲ συμπάντων δύο καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν κιονοκράνων αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸν Κορίνθιον τρόπον ἐπεξειργασμένων γλυφαῖς ἔκπληξιν ἐμποιούσαις διὰ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς μεγαλουργίαν. [415] τεττάρων δὲ στίχων ὄντων τρεῖς ἀπολαμβάνουσι τὰς διὰ μέσου χώρας ταῖς στοαῖς. τῶν δὲ αἱ μὲν δύο παράλληλοι τὸν αὐτὸν γεγόνασι τρόπον, εὖρος ἑκατέρας πόδες τριάκοντα, μῆκος δὲ στάδιον, ὕψος δὲ πόδες ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα: τῆς δὲ μέσης εὖρος μὲν ἡμιόλιον, ὕψος δὲ διπλάσιον: ἀνεῖχεν γὰρ πλεῖστον παρὰ τὰς ἑκατέρωθεν. [416] αἱ δ᾽ ὀροφαὶ ξύλοις ἐξήσκηντο γλυφαῖς πολυτρόποις σχημάτων ἰδέαις, καὶ τὸ τῆς μέσης βάθος ἐπὶ μεῖζον ἠγείρετο περιδεδομημένου τοῖς ἐπιστυλίοις προμετωπιδίου τοίχου κίονας ἔχοντος ἐνδεδομημένους καὶ ξεστοῦ παντὸς ὄντος, ὡς ἄπιστα τοῖς οὐκ εἰδόσιν καὶ σὺν ἐκπλήξει θεατὰ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν εἶναι. [417] τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ πρῶτος περίβολος ἦν. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ ἀπέχων οὐ πολὺ δεύτερος, προσβατὸς βαθμίσιν ὀλίγαις, ὃν περιεῖχεν ἑρκίον λιθίνου δρυφάκτου γραφῇ κωλῦον εἰσιέναι τὸν ἀλλοεθνῆ θανατικῆς ἀπειλουμένης τῆς ζημίας. [418] εἶχεν δ᾽ ὁ μὲν ἐντὸς περίβολος κατὰ μὲν τὸ νότιον καὶ βόρειον κλίμα τριστοίχους πυλῶνας ἀλλήλων διεστῶτας, κατὰ δὲ ἡλίου βολὰς ἕνα τὸν μέγαν, δι᾽ οὗ παρῄειμεν ἁγνοὶ μετὰ γυναικῶν. [419] ἐσωτέρω δὲ κἀκείνου γυναιξὶν ἄβατον ἦν τὸ ἱερόν. ἐκείνου δ᾽ ἐνδοτέρω τρίτον, ὅπου τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν εἰσελθεῖν ἐξὸν ἦν μόνοις. [ὁ ναὸς ἐν τούτῳ] καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βωμὸς ἦν, ἐφ᾽ οὗ τὰς θυσίας ὡλοκαυτοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ. [420] τούτων εἰς οὐδένα τῶν τριῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης παρῆλθεν: ἐκεκώλυτο γὰρ οὐκ ὢν ἱερεύς. ἀλλὰ κἀν τοῖς ἔργοις τὰ περὶ τὰς στοὰς καὶ τοὺς ἔξω περιβόλους ἐπραγματεύετο καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ᾠκοδόμησεν ἔτεσιν ὀκτώ.

(6) [421] Τοῦ δὲ ναοῦ διὰ τῶν ἱερέων οἰκοδομηθέντος ἐνιαυτῷ καὶ μησὶν πέντε ἅπας ὁ λαὸς ἐπληρώθη χαρᾶς καὶ τοῦ τάχους πρῶτον μὲν τῷ θεῷ τὰς εὐχαριστηρίους ἐποιοῦντο, μετὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς προθυμίας τοῦ βασιλέως ἑορτάζοντες καὶ κατευφημοῦντες τὴν ἀνάκτισιν. [422] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τριακοσίους ἔθυσε τῷ θεῷ βοῦς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ κατὰ δύναμιν, ὧν οὐχ οἷόν τε τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἰπεῖν: ἐκφεύγει γὰρ τὸ δύνασθαι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εἰπεῖν: [423] συνεπεπτώκει γὰρ τῇ προθεσμίᾳ τοῦ περὶ τὸν ναὸν ἔργου καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἣν ἐξ ἔθους ἑώρταζον, ἐς ταὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, καὶ περισημοτάτην ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τὴν ἑορτὴν γενέσθαι.

(7) [424] Κατεσκευάσθη δὲ καὶ κρυπτὴ διώρυξ τῷ βασιλεῖ, φέρουσα μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντωνίας μέχρι τοῦ ἔσωθεν ἱεροῦ πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολικὴν θύραν, ἐφ᾽ ἧς αὐτῷ καὶ πύργον κατεσκεύασεν, ἵν᾽ ἔχῃ διὰ τῶν ὑπογέων εἰς αὐτὸν ἀνιέναι, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου νεωτερισμὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι φυλαττόμενος. [425] λέγεται δὲ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν οἰκοδομουμένου τοῦ ναοῦ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας οὐχ ὕειν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς νυξὶ γίνεσθαι τοὺς ὄμβρους, ὡς μὴ κωλυσιεργεῖν. καὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον οἱ πατέρες ἡμῖν παρέδωκαν, οὐδ᾽ ἐστὶν ἄπιστον, εἰ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἀπίδοι τις ἐμφανείας τοῦ θεοῦ. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐξῳκοδομήθη τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον.

Liber XVI

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ ἐξκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Ὃν τρόπον Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ὑπέστρεψαν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα.

β. ὡς Σαλώμη καὶ Φερώρας οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφοὶ ταῖς κατ᾽ αὐτῶν διαβολαῖς ἐχρῶντο.

γ. ὡς γυναῖκας δοὺς τοῖς περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον Ἡρώδης πρὸς Ἀγρίππαν ἐξέπλευσεν εἰς Μιτυλήνην κἀκεῖθεν αὐτὸν ἔπεισεν εἰς Ἰουδαίαν παραγενέσθαι.

δ. ἄφοδος Ἀγρίππα εἰς Ἰωνίαν καὶ ὡς Ἡρώδης τὸ δεύτερον ἐξέπλευσεν πρὸς Ἀγρίππαν εἰς τὸν Βόσπορον.

ε. ἔντευξις τῶν κατ᾽ Ἰωνίαν Ἰουδαίων Ἀγρίππᾳ παρόντος Ἡρώδου περὶ ὧν ᾐτιῶντο τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

ς. ὡς Ἀγρίππας ἐβεβαίωσε μὲν αὐτοῖς τοὺς νόμους, Ἡρώδης δὲ εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ὑπέστρεψεν.

ζ. ὡς διελέξατο τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις Ἡρώδης καὶ τὸ τέταρτον αὐτοῖς ἀφῆκεν τῶν φόρων τοῦ παρεληλυθότος ἔτους.

η. ὡς ἐστασιάσθη τὰ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν Ἡρώδῃ προτιμῶντι μὲν Ἀντίπατρον τὸν πρεσβύτατον υἱὸν χαλεπῶς δὲ τῶν περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον φερόντων τὴν ὕβριν.

θ. ὡς Ἀντιπάτρου διατρίβοντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοὺς περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον Ἡρώδης ἄγων ἐπὶ Καίσαρος αὐτῶν κατηγόρησεν.

ι. Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀπολογία ἐπὶ Καίσαρος καὶ διαλλαγαὶ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα.

ια. ὡς ἀγῶνας ἤγαγε πεντετηρικοὺς Ἡρώδης ἐπὶ τῇ Καισαρείας κτίσει.

ιβ. πρεσβεία τῶν ἀπὸ Κυρήνης καὶ Ἀσίας Ἰουδαίων ὡς Καίσαρα περὶ ὧν ᾐτιῶντο τοὺς Ἕλληνας πραγμάτων.

ιγ. ἀντίγραφα ἐπιστολῶν, ἃς Καῖσαρ καὶ Ἀγρίππας ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ταῖς πόλεσιν.

ιδ. ὡς ἀπορῶν χρημάτων Ἡρώδης κατῆλθεν εἰς τὸν Δαυίδου τάφον καὶ δειμάτων αὐτὸν ταραξάντων μνημεῖον ἔστησεν ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου.

ιε. ὡς Ἀρχέλαος ὁ Καππαδόκων βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρον τῷ πατρὶ διήλλαξεν δεθέντα ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πρότερον καὶ ὡς ὁ μὲν εἰς Καππαδοκίαν, Ἡρώδης δὲ εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνῆλθεν.

ις. ἀπόστασις τῶν τὸν Τράχωνα οἰκούντων καὶ παράληψις διὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῆς χώρας.

ιζ. ὡς Ἡρώδης τοὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν διαφυγόντας τῶν ἀποστατῶν ἐξῃτεῖτο καὶ μὴ τυγχάνων ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐπιτρέποντος Σατορνίνου.

ιη. ὡς κατηγόρησε Σύλλαιος Ἄραψ ἐπὶ Καίσαρος περὶ τῆς ἐμβολῆς Ἡρώδου καὶ ὡς διὰ Νικολάου ἀπελύσατο τὰς αἰτίας ὀργιζομένου Καίσαρος.

ιθ. διαβολαὶ Εὐρυκλέους κατὰ τῶν παίδων πρὸς Ἡρώδην, καὶ ὡς ἔδησεν αὐτοὺς ὁ πατὴρ καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι περὶ αὐτῶν ἔγραψεν.

κ. ὡς Καίσαρος ἐξουσίαν δόντος ἐν Βηρυτῷ παρὰ τῷ συνεδρίῳ κατηγόρησε τῶν παίδων καὶ ὡς θανόντες ἐτάφησαν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείῳ.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν ιβ.

I

(1) [1] Ἐν δὲ τῇ διοικήσει τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων ἐσπουδακὼς ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς κατὰ μέρος ἀδικίας ἀναστεῖλαι τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἁμαρτανομένων τίθησι νόμον οὐδὲν ἐοικότα τοῖς πρώτοις, ὃν αὐτὸς ἐβεβαίου, τοὺς τοιχωρύχους ἀποδιδόμενος ἐπ᾽ ἐξαγωγῇ τῆς βασιλείας, ὅπερ ἦν οὐκ εἰς τὴν τιμωρίαν μόνον τῶν πασχόντων φορτικόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατάλυσιν περιεῖχεν τῶν πατρίων ἐθῶν. [2] τὸ γὰρ ἀλλοφύλοις καὶ μὴ τὴν αὐτὴν δίαιταν ἔχουσιν τοῦ ζῆν δουλεύειν καὶ βιάζεσθαι πάνθ᾽ ὅσα προσέταττον ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐκεῖνοι ποιεῖν ἁμαρτία πρὸς τὴν θρησκείαν ἦν, οὐ κόλασις τῶν ἁλισκομένων, πεφυλαγμένης ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τῆς τοιαύτης τιμωρίας: [3] ἐκέλευον γὰρ οἱ νόμοι τετραπλᾶ καταβάλλειν τὸν κλέπτην, οὐκ ἔχοντα δὲ πιπράσκεσθαι μέν, ἀλλ᾽ οὔτι γε τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις οὐδ᾽ ὥστε διηνεκῆ τὴν δουλείαν ὑπομένειν: ἔδει γὰρ ἀφεῖσθαι μετὰ ἑξαετίαν. [4] τὸ δ᾽ ὥσπερ ὡρίσθη τότε χαλεπὴν καὶ παράνομον γενέσθαι τὴν κόλασιν ὑπερηφανίας ἐδόκει μέρος, οὐ βασιλικῶς ἀλλὰ τυραννικῶς αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων ὀλιγώρως θεῖναι τὴν τιμωρίαν νενοηκότος. [5] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καθ᾽ ὁμοιότητα τοῦ λοιποῦ τρόπου γιγνόμενα μέρος ἦν τῶν διαβολῶν καὶ τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ δυσνοίας.

(2) [6] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ καὶ τὸν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πλοῦν ἐποιήσατο Καίσαρί τε συντυχεῖν ὁρμηθεὶς καὶ θεάσασθαι τοὺς παῖδας ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διατρίβοντας. Καῖσαρ δὲ τά τε ἄλλα φιλοφρόνως αὐτὸν ἐξεδέξατο καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ὡς ἤδη τελειωθέντας ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν ἀπέδωκεν ἄγειν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν. [7] ὡς δ᾽ ἦκον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας, σπουδὴ περὶ τὰ μειράκια τῶν ὄχλων ἦν, καὶ περίοπτοι πᾶσιν ἐγεγόνεισαν τῷ τε μεγέθει τῆς περὶ αὐτοὺς τύχης κοσμούμενοι καὶ βασιλικοῦ κατὰ τὰς μορφὰς ἀξιώματος οὐκ ἀποδέοντες. [8] ἐπίφθονοί τε εὐθέως ἐδόκουν Σαλώμῃ τε τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφῇ καὶ τοῖς Μαριάμμην ταῖς διαβολαῖς κατηγωνισμένοις: οὗτοι γὰρ ᾤοντο δυναστευόντων αὐτῶν δίκην δώσειν τῶν εἰς τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἐκείνων παρανομηθέντων. [9] τὴν αὐτὴν οὖν ταύτην ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ δέους εἰς τὴν κατ᾽ ἐκείνων διαβολὴν μετέφερον λογοποιοῦντες οὐ καθ᾽ ἡδονὰς συνεῖναι τῷ πατρὶ διὰ τὸν τῆς μητρὸς θάνατον, ὡς μηδὲ ὅσιον εἶναι δοκεῖν ἐπὶ ταὐτὸν συνιέναι τῷ τῆς τεκούσης φονεῖ: [10] ταῦτα γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς

ἀληθείας ἐπὶ τὸ πιθανὸν τῆς αἰτίας φέροντες κακοῦν ἐδύναντο καὶ τῆς εὐνοίας ἧς εἶχεν εἰς τοὺς παῖδας ἀφαιρεῖν: οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄντικρυς ἔλεγον, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἐσκόρπιζον τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους: ἐξ οὗ πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδην ἀναφερομένων ὑποκατεσκευάζετο μῖσος οὐδ᾽ αὐτῇ τῇ φύσει χρόνῳ νικώμενον. [11] ἐν μέντοι τῷ τότε πάσης ὑποψίας καὶ διαβολῆς μείζονι χρώμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῇ τοῦ γεγεννηκέναι φιλοστοργίᾳ καὶ τιμῆς ἧς ἔδει μετεδίδου καὶ γυναῖκας ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γεγονόσιν ἐζεύγνυεν, Ἀριστοβούλῳ μὲν τὴν Σαλώμης θυγατέρα Βερενίκην, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ τὴν Ἀρχελάου τοῦ Καππαδόκων βασιλέως Γλαφύραν.

II

(1) [12] Ταῦτα διοικήσας, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Μᾶρκον Ἀγρίππαν ἐπύθετο καταπεπλευκέναι πάλιν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐπειχθεὶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἠξίωσεν εἴς τε τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ παρελθεῖν καὶ τυχεῖν ὧν ἔδει παρὰ ἀνδρὸς ξένου καὶ φίλου. [13] κἀκεῖνος μὲν εἴξας λιπαρῶς ἐγκειμένου ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, Ἡρώδης δὲ οὐδὲν ἀρεσκείας ἀπέλιπεν ἔν τε ταῖς νεοκτίστοις πόλεσιν ὑποδεχόμενος αὐτὸν καὶ μετὰ τοῦ τὰς κατασκευὰς ἐπιδεικνύναι πᾶσαν ἀπόλαυσιν διαίτης καὶ πολυτελείας ἐξαλλάττων αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς φίλοις ἔν τε τῇ Σεβαστῇ καὶ Καισαρείᾳ περὶ τὸν λιμένα τὸν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κατεσκευασμένον κἀν τοῖς ἐρύμασιν, ἃ πολλαῖς δαπάναις ἐξῳκοδόμησεν, τό τε Ἀλεξάνδρειον καὶ Ἡρώδειον καὶ τὴν Ὑρκανίαν. [14] ἦγεν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ὑπαντῶντός τε τοῦ δήμου παντὸς ἐν ἑορτώδει στολῇ καὶ δεχομένου τὸν ἄνδρα σὺν εὐφημίαις. Ἀγρίππας δὲ τῷ θεῷ μὲν ἑκατόμβην κατέθυσεν, ἑστιᾷ δὲ τὸν δῆμον οὐδενὸς τῶν μεγίστων πλήθει λειπόμενον. [15] αὐτὸς δὲ ὅσον ἐπὶ τῷ καθ᾽ ἡδονὴν κἂν ἔτι πλείους ἐπιμείνας ἡμέρας διὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἠπείγετο: τὸν γὰρ πλοῦν ἐπιβαίνοντος τοῦ χειμῶνος οὐκ ἐνόμιζεν ἀσφαλῆ κομιζομένῳ πάλιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης εἰς τὴν Ἰωνίαν.

(2) [16] Ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ἀπέπλει πολλαῖς αὐτὸν δωρεαῖς τετιμηκότος Ἡρώδου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐπισημοτάτους. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς χειμάσας ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις ἔαρος ἠπείγετο συντυχεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν εἰς Βόσπορον εἰδὼς στρατείαν προηγούμενον. [17] καὶ πλεύσας διὰ Ῥόδου καὶ Κῶ προσέσχεν, περὶ Λέσβον οἰόμενος ἐπικαταλήψεσθαι τὸν Ἀγρίππαν. ἐκεῖ δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀπολαμβάνει πνεῦμα βόρειον εἶργον τὴν ἀναγωγὴν τῶν νεῶν. [18] ὁ δ᾽ ἐπιδιέτριβεν ἡμέρας πλείους ἐν τῇ Χίῳ καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν προσιόντων αὐτῷ δεξιούμενος ἀνελάμβανεν βασιλικαῖς δωρεαῖς, αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἰδὼν πεπτωκυῖαν στοάν, ἣν ἐν τῷ Μιθριδατικῷ πολέμῳ καθαιρεθεῖσαν οὐχ ὥσπερ τὰ ἄλλα διὰ μέγεθος καὶ κάλλος ἀναστῆναι ῥᾴδιον ἦν, [19] χρήματα δοὺς ὅσα μὴ μόνον ἐπαρκεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περιττεύειν ἐδύνατο πρὸς τὴν συντέλειαν τοῦ κατασκευάσματος, ἐνετέλλετο μὴ

περιορᾶν, ἀλλὰ θᾶττον ἐγείρειν ἀποκαθιστάντας τῇ πόλει τὸν ἴδιον κόσμον. [20] αὐτὸς δὲ λήξαντος τοῦ πνεύματος εἰς Μιτυλήνην κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Βυζάντιον παρακομισθείς, ὡς ἤκουσεν ἐντὸς Κυανέων ἤδη πεπλευκέναι τὸν Ἀγρίππαν, μετέσπευδεν ὡς ἐνῆν. [21] καὶ περὶ Σινώπην τὴν ἐν Πόντῳ καταλαβὼν ἀπροσδόκητος μὲν ὤφθη ταῖς ναυσὶ προσπλέων, ἄσμενος δὲ ἐφάνη πολλαί τε φιλοφρονήσεις ἦσαν, ἅτε καὶ μεγίστην πίστιν εἰληφέναι δοκοῦντος εὐνοίας καὶ φιλοστοργίας τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν Ἀγρίππου, τοσοῦτον μὲν πλοῦν ἀνύσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως, οὐκ ἀπολειφθέντος δὲ τῆς ἐκείνου χρείας, ἣν μετὰ τοῦ καταλιπεῖν ἀρχὴν καὶ διοίκησιν οἰκείων πραγμάτων προυργιαιτέραν ἔθετο. [22] πᾶν γοῦν ἦν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν Ἡρώδης, ἔν τε τοῖς πραγματικοῖς συναγωνιστὴς κἀν τοῖς κατὰ μέρος σύμβουλος, ἡδὺς δὲ κἀν ταῖς ἀνέσεσι καὶ μόνος ἁπάντων κοινωνὸς ὀχληρῶν μὲν διὰ τὴν εὔνοιαν, ἡδέων δὲ διὰ τὴν τιμήν. [23] ὡς δ᾽ αὐτοῖς κατείργαστο καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Πόντον, ὧν ἕνεκεν Ἀγρίππας ἐστάλη, τὴν ἀνακομιδὴν οὐκέτ᾽ ἐδόκει ποιεῖσθαι πλέουσιν, ἀλλὰ διαμειψάμενοι τήν τε Παφλαγονίαν καὶ Καππαδοκίαν κἀκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τῆς μεγάλης Φρυγίας ὁδεύσαντες εἰς Ἔφεσον ἀφίκοντο, πάλιν δὲ ἐξ Ἐφέσου διέπλευσαν εἰς Σάμον. [24] πολλαὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ κατὰ πόλιν ἑκάστην εὐεργεσίαι τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ τὰς χρείας τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ἐγένοντο: καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὅσα διὰ χρημάτων ἦν ηπίξεως οὐ παρέλειπεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὰς δαπάνας ποιούμενος καὶ τῶν παρὰ Ἀγρίππα τισὶν ἐπιζητουμένων μεσίτης ἦν καὶ διεπράττετο μηδενὸς ἀτυχῆσαι τοὺς δεομένους. [25] ὄντος δὲ κἀκείνου χρηστοῦ καὶ μεγαλοψύχου πρὸς τὸ παρέχειν ὅσα τοῖς ἠξιωκόσιν ὠφέλιμα ὄντα μηδένα τῶν ἄλλων ἐλύπει, πλεῖστον ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐποίει ῥοπὴ προτρέπουσα πρὸς τὰς εὐεργεσίας οὐ βραδύνοντα τὸν Ἀγρίππαν. [26] Ἰλιεῦσι μέν γε αὐτὸν διήλλαξεν, διέλυσεν δὲ Χίοις τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Καίσαρος ἐπιτρόπους χρήματα καὶ τῶν εἰσφορῶν ἀπήλλαξεν, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις καθὸ δεηθεῖεν ἕκαστοι παρίστατο.

(3) [27] Τότε δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν αὐτῶν γενομένων πολὺ πλῆθος Ἰουδαίων, ὃ τὰς πόλεις ᾤκει, προσῄει καιροῦ καὶ παρρησίας ἐπειλημμένοι, καὶ τὰς ἐπηρείας ἔλεγον, ἃς ἐπηρεάζοντο μήτε νόμοις οἰκείοις ἐώμενοι χρῆσθαι δίκας τε ἀναγκαζόμενοι διδόναι κατ᾽ ἐπήρειαν τῶν εὐθυνόντων ἐν ἱεραῖς ἡμέραις, [28] καὶ τῶν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα χρημάτων ἀνατιθεμένων ἀφαιροῖντο στρατειῶν καὶ λειτουργιῶν ἀναγκαζόμενοι κοινωνεῖν καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα δαπανᾶν τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων, ὧν ἀφείθησαν αἰεὶ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρεψάντων κατὰ τοὺς οἰκείους ζῆν νόμους. [29] τοιαῦτα καταβοώντων παρεστήσατο μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀκοῦσαι τὸν Ἀγρίππαν αὐτῶν δικαιολογουμένων, Νικόλαον δέ τινα τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων ἔδωκεν εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τὰ δίκαια. [30] τοῦ δὲ Ἀγρίππου Ῥωμαίων τε τοὺς ἐν τέλει καὶ βασιλέων καὶ δυναστῶν τοὺς παρόντας αὐτῷ συνέδρους ποιησαμένου καταστὰς ὁ Νικόλαος ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔλεξεν:

(4) [31] “Ἅπασι μὲν, ὦ μέγιστε Ἀγρίππα, τοῖς ἐν χρείᾳ γεγενημένοις ἀνάγκη καταφεύγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀφελέσθαι τὰς ἐπηρείας αὐτῶν δυνησομένους, τοῖς δὲ νῦν ἐντυγχάνουσιν καὶ παρρησία: [32] τυχόντες γὰρ πρότερον ὑμῶν οἵους ηὔξαντο πολλάκις, τὸ μὴ τὰς χάριτας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι δι᾽ ὑμῶν αἰτοῦνται τῶν δεδωκότων, καὶ ταῦτα εἰληφότες μὲν αὐτὰς παρὰ τούτων, οἷς μόνοις διδόναι δύναμις, ἀφαιρούμενοι δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ οὐδενὸς κρείττονος, ἀλλ᾽ οὓς ἴσον ἔχειν αὐτοῖς ἀρχομένους ὁμοίως ὑμῶν ἴσασιν. [33] καίτοι γε εἴτε μεγάλων ἠξιώθησαν, ἔπαινός ἐστιν τῶν τετυχηκότων ὅτι τοσούτων παρέσχον αὐτοὺς ἀξίους, εἴτε μικρῶν, αἰσχρὸν μὴ καὶ ταῦτα βεβαιοῦν δεδωκότας. [34] οἵ γε μὴν ἐμποδὼν ὄντες καὶ πρὸς ἐπήρειαν χρώμενοι Ἰουδαίοις εὔδηλον ὡς ἄμφω ἀδικοῦσιν, τοὺς εἰληφότας, εἰ μὴ νομίζοιεν ἀγαθοὺς οἷς οἱ κρατοῦντες ἐμαρτύρησαν ἐν τῷ καὶ τοιαῦτα δεδωκέναι, καὶ τοὺς δεδωκότας, εἰ τὰς χάριτας αὐτῶν ἀβεβαίους ἀξιοῦσιν γενέσθαι. [35] εἰ δέ τις αὐτοὺς ἔροιτο δύο τούτων θάτερον ἐθέλοιεν ἂν ἀφαιρεθῆναι, τὸ ζῆν ἢ τὰ πάτρια ἔθη τὰς πομπὰς τὰς θυσίας τὰς ἑορτάς, ἃς τοῖς νομιζομένοις προσάγουσι θεοῖς, εὖ οἶδ᾽, ὅτι πάντα μᾶλλον αἱρήσονται παθεῖν ἢ καταλῦσαί τι τῶν πατρίων: [36] καὶ γὰρ τοὺς πολέμους οἱ πολλοὶ διὰ ταῦτα αἱροῦνται φυλαττόμενοι μὴ παραβαίνειν αὐτά, καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, ἣν νῦν τὸ σύμπαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος δι᾽ ὑμᾶς ἔχει, τούτῳ μετροῦμεν τῷ ἐξεῖναι κατὰ χώραν ἑκάστοις τὰ οἰκεῖα τιμῶσιν αὔξειν καὶ διαζῆν. [37] τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἂν αὐτοὶ παθεῖν ἑλόμενοι βιάζονται δρᾶν κατ᾽ ἄλλων ὥσπερ οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀσεβοῦντες, εἴτε τῶν οἰκείων εἰς θεοὺς ὁσίων ἀμελοῖεν, εἴτε τὰ οἰκεῖα τισὶν ἀνοσίως καταλύοιεν. [38] τόδ᾽ ἕτερον δ᾽ ἤδη σκοπήσομεν: ἔστι τις δῆμος ἢ πόλις ἢ κοινὸν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων, οἷς οὐ μέγιστον ἀγαθῶν πέφυκε προστασία τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρχῆς καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαικὸν κράτος; ἐθέλοι δ᾽ ἄν τις ἀκύρους τὰς ἐντεῦθεν εἶναι χάριτας; [39] οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ μαινόμενος: οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰσὶν οἱ μὴ μετέχοντες αὐτῶν ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ. καὶ μὴν οἱ τινὰς ὧν ὑμεῖς ἔδοτε παραιρούμενοι βέβαιον οὐδ᾽ αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ὧν δι᾽ ὑμᾶς ἔχουσιν ὑπολείπονται. [40] καίτοι τὰς μὲν τούτων χάριτας οὐδὲ μετρῆσαι δυνατόν ἐστιν: εἰ γὰρ ἐκλογίσαιντο τὴν πάλαι βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν νῦν ἀρχήν, πολλῶν ὄντων ὅσα πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπέδωκεν, ἔτι κατὰ πάντων ἀρκεῖ τὸ μηκέτι δούλους ἀλλ᾽ ἐλευθέρους φαίνεσθαι. [41] τὰ δ᾽ ἡμέτερα καὶ λαμπρῶς πραττόντων οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπίφθονα: δι᾽ ὑμᾶς γὰρ καὶ μετὰ πάντων εὐτυχοῦμεν καὶ τούτου μόνου μετέχειν ἠξιώσαμεν, ἀκωλύτως τὴν πάτριον εὐσέβειαν διαφυλάττειν, ὃ καὶ καθ᾽ αὐτὸ δόξειεν οὐκ ἐπίφθονον καὶ πρὸς τῶν συγχωρούντων εἶναι: [42] τὸ γὰρ θεῖον, εἰ χαίρει τιμώμενον, χαίρει τοῖς ἐπιτρέπουσι τιμᾶν, ἐθῶν τε τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπάνθρωπον μὲν οὐδέν ἐστιν, εὐσεβῆ δὲ πάντα καὶ τῇ συνήθει δικαιοσύνῃ συγκαθωσιωμένα. [43] καὶ οὔτε ἀποκρυπτόμεθα τὰ παραγγέλματα, οἷς χρώμεθα πρὸς τὸν βίον ὑπομνήμασιν τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἐπιτηδευμάτων, τήν τε ἑβδόμην τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνίεμεν τῇ μαθήσει τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐθῶν καὶ νόμου, μελέτην ὥσπερ ἄλλου τινὸς καὶ τούτων ἀξιοῦντες εἶναι δι᾽ ὧν οὐχ

ἁμαρτησόμεθα. [44] καλὰ μὲν οὖν, ἐὰν ἐξετάζῃ τις καὶ καθ᾽ αὑτὰ τὰ ἔθη, παλαιὰ δ᾽ ἡμῖν, κἂν μή τισιν δοκῇ, ὥστ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ τοῦ χρόνου τιμητὸν δυσαποδίδακτον εἶναι τοῖς ὁσίως παρειληφόσιν καὶ διαφυλάττουσιν. [45] τούτων ἡμᾶς ἀφαιροῦνται κατ᾽ ἐπήρειαν, χρήματα μὲν ἃ τῷ θεῷ συμφέρομεν ἐπώνυμα διαφθείροντες καὶ φανερῶς ἱεροσυλοῦντες, τέλη δ᾽ ἐπιτιθέντες κἀν ταῖς ἑορταῖς ἄγοντες ἐπὶ δικαστήρια καὶ πραγματείας ἄλλας, οὐ κατὰ χρείαν τῶν συναλλαγμάτων, ἀλλὰ κατ᾽ ἐπήρειαν τῆς θρησκείας, ἣν συνίσασιν ἡμῖν, μῖσος οὐ δίκαιον οὐδ᾽ αὐτεξούσιον αὐτοῖς πεπονθότες. [46] ἡ γὰρ ὑμετέρα κατὰ πάντων ἀρχὴ γενομένη μία τὴν μὲν εὔνοιαν ἐνεργὸν τὴν δὲ δύσνοιαν ἄνεργον ποιεῖ τοῖς τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀντ᾽ ἐκείνου προαιρουμένοις. [47] ταῦτ᾽ οὖν ἀξιοῦμεν, ὦ μέγιστε Ἀγρίππα, μὴ κακῶς πάσχειν μηδ᾽ ἐπηρεάζεσθαι μηδὲ κωλύεσθαι τοῖς ἔθεσι χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἡμετέροις μηδ᾽ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τῶν ὄντων μηδ᾽ ἃ μὴ βιαζόμεθα τούτους ὑπὸ τούτων βιάζεσθαι: καὶ γὰρ οὐ δίκαια μόνον ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν δεδομένα πρότερον. [48] ἔτι καὶ δυναίμεθ᾽ ἂν πολλὰ δόγματα τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ κειμένας δέλτους ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀναγινώσκειν, ἃ δῆλον μὲν ὡς μετὰ πεῖραν τῆς ἡμετέρας εἰς ὑμᾶς πίστεως ἐδόθη, κύρια δὲ κἂν εἰ μηδενὸς ὕπαρξιν ἐχαρίσασθε. [49] σχεδὸν γὰρ οὐ μόνοις ἡμῖν ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τὰ μὲν ὄντα φυλάξαντες, μείζω δὲ τῶν ἐλπισθέντων προσθέντες εὐεργετεῖτε τῷ κρατεῖν, καὶ δύναιτ᾽ ἄν τις ἐπεξιὼν τὰς ἑκάστων εὐτυχίας, ἃς δι᾽ ὑμῶν ἔχουσιν, ἀπερίληπτον ποιῆσαι τὸν λόγον. [50] ἵνα μέντοι καὶ δικαίως ἁπάντων αὐτῶν τυγχάνοντας ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιδείξωμεν, ἀρκεῖ πρὸς παρρησίαν ἡμῖν τὰ πρότερον σιωπήσασιν τὸν βασιλεύοντα νῦν ἡμῶν καὶ σοὶ παρακαθεζόμενον εἰπεῖν. [51] ᾧ ποία μὲν εὔνοια πρὸς τὸν ὑμέτερον οἶκον παραλέλειπται; ποία δὲ πίστις ἐνδεής ἐστιν; τίς δὲ οὐ νενόηται τιμή; ποία δὲ χρεία μὴ εἰς πρῶτον ὁρᾷ; τί δὴ κωλύει καὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας χάριτας τῶν εἰς τοσούτων εὐεργεσιῶν ἀριθμὸν εἶναι; [52] καλὸν δ᾽ ἴσως μηδὲ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀντιπάτρου παραλιπεῖν ἀνδραγαθίαν ἀμνημόνευτον, ὃς εἰς Αἴγυπτον εἰσβεβληκότος Καίσαρος δισχιλίοις ὁπλίταις βοηθήσας οὔτ᾽ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ γῆν ἀγῶσιν οὔθ᾽ ὅτε νεῶν ἔδει δεύτερος ἐξητάζετο. [53] καὶ τί δεῖ λέγειν, ὅσην ἐκεῖνοι παρέσχον ῥοπὴν τῷ τότε καιρῷ καὶ πόσων καὶ τίνων δωρεῶν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἠξιώθησαν καθ᾽ ἕνα, δέον ἀναμνῆσαι τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, ἃς ἔγραψεν τότε Καῖσαρ τῇ συγκλήτῳ, καὶ ὡς δημοσίᾳ τιμὰς καὶ πολιτείαν ἔλαβεν Ἀντίπατρος; [54] ἀρκέσει γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ τεκμήρια τοῦ καὶ τὰς χάριτας ἡμᾶς κατ᾽ ἀξίαν ἔχειν καὶ παρὰ σοῦ τὸ βέβαιον αὐτῶν αἰτεῖν, παρ᾽ οὗ καὶ μὴ πρότερον δοθείσας ἦν ἐλπίσαι τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς ὑμᾶς διάθεσιν καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁρῶσιν. [55] ἀπαγγέλλεται δ᾽ ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖ Ἰουδαίων, ὡς μὲν ἐπέβης τῆς χώρας εὐμενής, ὡς δὲ ἀπέδωκας τῷ θεῷ τέλεια θύματα τιμῶν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τελείαις εὐχαῖς, ὡς δὲ τὸν δῆμον εἱστίασας καὶ τὰ παρ᾽ ἐκείνου ξένια προσήκω. [56] ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα καὶ ἔθνει καὶ πόλει πρὸς ἄνδρα τοσούτων ἐπιστατοῦντα πραγμάτων

δεξιώματα καὶ σύμβολα φιλίας χρὴ δοκεῖν, ἣν ἀπέδωκας τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνει τῆς Ἡρώδου προξενούσης αὐτὴν ἑστίας. [57] τούτων ὑπομιμνήσκοντές σε καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ παρόντος καὶ συγκαθεζομένου βασιλέως ἠξιώκαμεν περιττὸν οὐδέν, ἃ δ' αὐτοὶ δεδώκατε ταῦθ' ὑπ' ἄλλων μὴ περιιδεῖν ἀφαιρουμένους."

(5) [58] Τοιαῦτα μὲν τοῦ Νικολάου διελθόντος ἐγένετο οὐδεμία τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀντικατάστασις: οὐδὲ γὰρ ὡς ἐν δικαστηρίῳ περὶ τῶν προκειμένων διελάμβανον, ἀλλ' ἦν ἔντευξις ὧν ἐβιάζοντο. [59] κἀκείνων ἀπολογία μὲν οὐδεμία τοῦ μὴ ταῦτα ποιεῖν, πρόφασις δέ, ὡς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν νεμόμενοι πάντα νῦν ἀδικοῖεν. οἱ δὲ ἐγγενεῖς τε αὐτοὺς ἐδείκνυσαν κἀν τῷ τὰ οἰκεῖα τιμᾶν μηδὲν λυποῦντες οἰκεῖν. [60] συνιδὼν οὖν Ἀγρίππας βιαζομένους ἀπεκρίνατο ταῦτα: διὰ μὲν τὴν Ἡρώδου πρὸς αὐτὸν εὔνοιάν τε καὶ φιλίαν ἕτοιμος εἶναι πᾶν ὁτιοῦν χαρίζεσθαι Ἰουδαίοις, ἃ δὲ ἀξιοῦσιν καὶ καθ' αὐτὰ δίκαια δοκεῖν: ὥστ', εἰ μὲν ἐδέοντο καὶ πλειόνων, οὐκ ἂν ὀκνῆσαι τά γε μὴ λυποῦντα τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν παρασχεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἃ καὶ πρότερον εἰλήφασιν ἄκυρα μὴ γενέσθαι, βεβαιοῦν αὐτοῖς ἀνεπηρεάστοις ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις διατελεῖν ἔθεσιν. [61] τοιαῦτα εἰπὼν διέλυε τὸν σύλλογον. Ἡρώδης δὲ προσεστὼς κατησπάζετο καὶ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν διαθέσεως ὡμολόγει χάριν. ὁ δὲ καὶ εἰς ταῦτα φιλοφρονούμενος ἴσον αὐτὸν παρεῖχεν ἀντεμπλεκόμενος καὶ κατασπαζόμενος. [62] καὶ τότε μὲν ἀνεχώρησεν: ἀπὸ δὲ Σάμου πλεῖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπ' οἴκου διέγνω καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν παραιτησάμενος ἀνήχθη, κατάγεται δ' εἰς Καισάρειαν οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον ἡμέραις πνευμάτων ἐπιτηδείων τυχών. κἀκεῖθεν ἐλθὼν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα συνήγαγεν ἐκκλησίαν πάνδημον: ἦν δὲ πολὺς κἀκ τῆς χώρας ὄχλος. [63] ὁ δὲ παρελθὼν ἀπολογισμόν τε τῆς ὅλης ἐκδημίας ἐποιήσατο καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, ὅσοι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἦσαν, ὡς δι' αὐτὸν ἀνεπηρεάστως εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν ἕξουσιν διηγήσατο. [64] τό τε σύμπαν ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐτυχίαις καὶ τῇ διοικήσει τῆς ἀρχῆς [ὡς] οὐδενὸς παραλείποιτο τῶν ἐκείνοις συμφερόντων, ἀγαλλόμενος τὸ τέταρτον τῶν φόρων ἀφίησιν αὐτοῖς τοῦ παρεληλυθότος ἔτους. [65] οἱ δὲ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῇ χάριτι δεδημαγωγημένοι μετὰ πλείστης χαρᾶς ἀπῄεσαν πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ συνευχόμενοι τῷ βασιλεῖ.

III

(1) [66] Προύβαινε δ' ἀεὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν στάσιν τῆς οἰκίας καὶ χαλεπωτέραν ἐλάμβανε τὴν ἐπίδοσιν, ἀντιμεταλαβούσης μὲν ὥσπερ ἐκ κληρονομίας τὸ κατὰ τῶν νεανίσκων μῖσος τῆς Σαλώμης καὶ πᾶν ὅσον εὐδοκιμήκει κατὰ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν εἰς ἀπόνοιαν καὶ θράσος λαμβανούσης μηδένα τῶν ἐξ ἐκείνης καταλιπεῖν, ὃς δυνήσεται τιμωρῆσαι τῷ θανάτῳ τῆς δι' αὐτὴν ἀνῃρημένης, [67] ἐχόντων δέ τι καὶ τῶν νεανίσκων θρασὺ καὶ δύσνουν εἰς τὸν γεγεννηκότα μνήμῃ τε τῆς μητρὸς οἷα πάθοι παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν καὶ τῇ τοῦ κρατεῖν ἐπιθυμίᾳ. [68] πάλιν τε τὸ κακὸν ὅμοιον ἐγεγόνει τοῖς πρώτοις, βλασφημίαι μὲν ἐξ ἐκείνων εἵς τε τὴν Σαλώμην

καὶ τὸν Φερώραν, κακοήθειαι δὲ τούτων εἰς τὰ μειράκια καὶ μετὰ πραγματείας ἐπιβουλή: [69] τὸ μὲν γὰρ μῖσος ἴσον ἦν ἐξ ἀλλήλων, ὁ δὲ τρόπος τοῦ μισεῖν οὐχ ὅμοιος: ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ λοιδορηθῆναι καὶ προσονειδίσαι προπετεῖς εὐγενὲς ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπειρίας οἰόμενοι τὸ τῆς ὀργῆς ἀνυπόστολον, οἱ δ᾽ οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ πραγματικῶς καὶ κακοήθως ἐχρῶντο ταῖς διαβολαῖς, προέλκοντες ἀεὶ τὰ μειράκια καὶ τὸ θρασὺ καταλογιζόμενοι βίαιον ἔσεσθαι πρὸς τὸν γεγεννηκότα. [70] τὸ γὰρ οὐκ αἰδεῖσθαι ταῖς τῆς μητρὸς ἁμαρτίαις οὐδ᾽ οἴεσθαι δίκαια παθεῖν ἐκείνην ἄσχετον εἶναι πρὸς τὸ μὴ τὸν αἴτιον δοκοῦντα τιμωρήσεσθαι καὶ δι᾽ αὐτοχειρίας. [71] τέλος οὖν ἀνεπλήσθη πᾶσα ἡ πόλις τῶν τοιούτων λόγων καὶ καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἀγωνίσμασιν ἠλεεῖτο μὲν ἡ τῶν μειρακίων ἀπειρία, κατίσχυεν δὲ ἡ τῆς Σαλώμης ἐπιμέλεια καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τὰς ἀφορμὰς τοῦ μὴ ψευδῆ λέγειν ἐλάμβανεν. [72] οἱ γὰρ οὕτως ἀχθόμενοι τῷ θανάτῳ τῆς μητρός, ἐπειδὴ κἀκείνην καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς κακῶς ἔλεγεν, ἐφιλονείκουν ἐλεεινὴν μέν, ὥσπερ ἦν, ἀποφαίνειν τὴν καταστροφὴν τῆς μητρός, ἐλεεινοὺς δὲ αὐτούς, οἳ τοῖς ἐκείνης φονεῦσιν ἀναγκάζονται συζῆν καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνειν.

(2) [73] Ταῦτα προῄει μειζόνως καιρὸν ἐχούσης τῆς στάσεως ἐν ἀποδημίᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως. ὡς δ᾽ ἐπανῆλθεν Ἡρώδης καὶ τῷ πλήθει διελέξατο, καθὼς προειρήκαμεν, προσέπιπτον εὐθὺς οἱ λόγοι παρά τε τοῦ Φερώρα καὶ τῆς Σαλώμης μέγαν αὐτῷ τὸν κίνδυνον εἶναι τὸν παρὰ τῶν νεανίσκων ἀνάφανδα διαπειλουμένων, ὡς οὐκ ἀνέξονται μὴ τισάμενοι τῆς μητρὸς τὸν φόνον. [74] προσετίθεσαν δ᾽ ἔτι καὶ ὡς ταῖς παρ᾽ Ἀρχελάου τοῦ Καππάδοκος ἐλπίσιν ἐπανέχοιεν, ὡς δι᾽ ἐκείνου πρός τε Καίσαρα ἀφιξόμενοι καὶ κατηγορήσοντες τοῦ πατρός. [75] Ἡρώδης δὲ ἐτετάρακτο μὲν εὐθὺς ἀκούσας τοιούτων, ἐξεπέπληκτο δὲ μᾶλλον, ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινὲς ἀπήγγελλον, ἀνέκαμπτε τῇ συμφορᾷ τά τε πρῶτα καταλογιζόμενος ὡς οὔτε τῶν φιλτάτων οὔτε τῆς στεργομένης αὐτῷ γυναικὸς ὥνατο διὰ τὰς ἐγγινομένας ταραχὰς κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν, τό τε μᾶλλον τοῦ προσπεπτωκότος ἤδη βαρὺ καὶ μεῖζον ἐκείνων ὑπολαμβάνων ἐν συγχύσει τῆς ψυχῆς ἦν. [76] τῷ γὰρ ὄντι πλεῖστα μὲν καὶ παρ᾽ ἐλπίδας τῶν ἔξωθεν εἰς εὐτυχίαν αὐτῷ τὸ δαιμόνιον προσετίθει, μέγιστα δὲ τῶν οἴκοι καὶ μηδὲ προσδοκώμενα δυστυχεῖν αὐτῷ συνέβαινεν, ἑκατέρου προιόντος ὡς οὐκ ἄν τις ᾠήθη καὶ παρέχοντος ἀμφήριστον τὴν ὑπερβολήν, εἰ [77] δέον τὴν τοσαύτην εὐτυχίαν τῶν ἔξωθεν πραγμάτων ἀλλάξασθαι τῶν οἴκοι κακῶν, ἢ τοιοῦτο μέγεθος τῶν περὶ τοὺς οἰκείους συμφορῶν διαφυγεῖν ἐν τῷ μηδὲ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας θαυμαζόμενα κεκτῆσθαι.

(3) [78] Ταρασσόμενος δὲ καὶ διακείμενος τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει τῶν μειρακίων ἕτερον αὐτῷ γενόμενον ἰδιωτεύοντι παῖδα προσήγετο καὶ τοῦτον ἐδόκει τιμᾶν, ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Ἀντίπατρος, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐν ὑστέρῳ καὶ τελέως ἡττηθεὶς αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντ᾽ εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἀναφέρων, [79] οἰόμενος δὲ παραιρήσεσθαι

τοῦ θράσους τοὺς ἐκ Μαριάμμης καὶ μᾶλλον εἰς νουθεσίαν τὴν ἐκείνων οἰκονομῶν αὐτό. τὸ γὰρ αὔθαδες οὐκ ἂν [εἴη] παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς, εἰ τοῦτο πεισθεῖεν, ὅτι μὴ μόνοις μηδ᾽ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἡ διαδοχὴ τῆς βασιλείας ὀφείλεται. [80] διὸ καὶ καθάπερ ἔφεδρόν τινα τὸν Ἀντίπατρον εἰσῆγεν οἰόμενος ὀρθῶς προνοεῖν καὶ κατασταλέντων τῶν μειρακίων ἐξεῖναι εὐκαίρως χρῆσθαι βελτίοσιν. [81] τὸ δ᾽ οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐνόησεν ἀπέβη: τοῖς τε γὰρ παισὶν οὐ μετρίως ἐδόκει κεχρῆσθαι τῇ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπηρείᾳ, καὶ δεινὸς ὢν τὸν τρόπον Ἀντίπατρος, ἐπειδὴ παρρησίας τινὸς τῆς οὐ πρότερον οὔσης ἐλπίδος ἀντεποιήσατο, μίαν ἔσχεν ὑπόθεσιν κακοῦ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς μὴ παραχωρεῖν τῶν πρωτείων, ἀλλ᾽ ἔχεσθαι τοῦ πατρός, ἤδη μὲν ἠλλοτριωμένου ταῖς διαβολαῖς, εὐμεταχειρίστου δ᾽ ὄντος εἰς ὅπερ ἐσπουδάκει, πολὺ χαλεπώτερον ἀεὶ γενέσθαι τοῖς διαβεβλημένοις. [82] ἦσαν οὖν οὐ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ μόνου οἱ λόγοι φυλαττομένου δι᾽ αὐτοῦ δόξαι τὰ τοιαῦτα καταμηνύειν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐχρῆτο συνεργοῖς τοῖς ἀνυπόπτοις καὶ διὰ τὴν εὔνοιαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα πιστευθησομένοις αὐτὸ ποιεῖν. [83] ἤδη δὲ πλείους ἐγεγόνεισαν οἱ κἀκεῖνον ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἠλπίκει θεραπεύοντες καὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην ἐκ τοῦ δοκεῖν κατ᾽ εὔνοιαν τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγειν ὑπαγόμενοι. καὶ τούτων πολυπροσώπως καὶ πιστῶς ἀλλήλοις συναγωνιζομένων ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον αἱ παρὰ τῶν μειρακίων ἀφορμαὶ προσεγίνοντο: [84] καὶ γὰρ καὶ δάκρυα πολλάκις ἦν κατ᾽ ἐπήρειαν ὧν ἠτιμάζοντο καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἀνάκλησις καὶ τὸν πατέρα φανερῶς ἤδη πρὸς τοὺς φίλους οὐ δίκαιον ἐλέγχειν ἐπετήδευον, ἅπερ ἅπαντα κακοήθως ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον καιροφυλακούμενα καὶ μειζόνως πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδην ἐξαγγελλόμενα προύβαινεν οὐ μικρὰν ἀπεργαζόμενα τὴν τῆς οἰκίας στάσιν. [85] ἀχθόμενος γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς ταῖς διαβολαῖς καὶ ταπεινῶσαι βουλόμενος τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Μαριάμμης μείζονα ἀεὶ πρὸς τιμὴν Ἀντιπάτρῳ παρεῖχεν, καὶ τέλος ἡττηθεὶς ἐπεισήγαγε μὲν τὴν ἐκείνου μητέρα, Καίσαρι δὲ πολλάκις γράφων ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰδίᾳ συνίστη σπουδαιότερον. [86] Ἀγρίππου γε μὴν ἀνιόντος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας δεκαετῆ γεγενημένην, πλεύσας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ συντυγχάνων μόνον τε τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ἐπήγετο καὶ παρέδωκεν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνάγειν μετὰ πολλῶν δώρων Καίσαρι φίλον ἐσόμενον, ὥστε ἤδη πάντα δοκεῖν ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνῳ καὶ παρεῶσθαι παντάπασιν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς τὰ μειράκια.

IV

(1) [87] Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τιμὴν καὶ τὸ πρῶτον εἶναι δοκεῖν Ἀντιπάτρῳ προυχώρει τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν: καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ πᾶσιν ἐπεσταλκότος Ἡρώδου τοῖς φίλοις διάσημος ἦν: [88] ἤχθετο δὲ τῷ μὴ παρεῖναι μηδὲ ἔχειν ἐξ εὐκαίρου διαβάλλειν ἀεὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐδεδοίκει μεταβολὴν τοῦ πατρός, εἴ τι καὶ καθ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀξιώσει ἐπιεικέστερον εἰς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Μαριάμμης φρονεῖν. [89] ταῦτα δὲ δι᾽ ἐννοίας ἔχων οὐκ ἀφίστατο τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προαιρέσεως, ἀλλὰ

κἀκεῖθεν, ὅτε ἀνιάσειν τι καὶ παροξυνεῖν ἤλπιζεν τὸν πατέρα κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, συνεχῶς ἐπέστελλεν, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς ὑπεραγωνιῶν αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς ἀφ᾽ ἧς εἶχεν [ἐν] φύσει κακοηθείας τὴν ἐλπίδα μεγάλην καὶ καθ᾽ ἑαυτὴν οὖσαν ἐμπορευόμενος, [90] ἕως εἰς τοῦτο προήγαγεν τὸν Ἡρώδην ὀργῆς καὶ δυσφημίας, ὡς ἤδη μὲν ἔχων δυσμενῶς τοῖς μειρακίοις, ἐν δὲ κατοκνεῖν εἰς τοιοῦτον ἐμβῆναι πάθος, ὡς μήτ᾽ ἀμελῶν μήτ᾽ ἐκ προπετείας ἁμαρτάνοι, κρεῖττον ἡγήσατο πλεύσας εἰς Ῥώμην ἐκεῖ τῶν παίδων κατηγορεῖν παρὰ Καίσαρι, καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῷ τοιοῦτον ἐπιτρέπειν, ὃ καὶ διὰ μέγεθος τῆς ἀσεβείας ὕποπτον ἦν. [91] ὡς δὲ ἀνῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἐγένετο μὲν μέχρι τῆς Ἀκυληίας πόλεως Καίσαρι συντυχεῖν ἐπειγόμενος, ἐλθὼν δ᾽ εἰς λόγους καὶ καιρὸν αἰτησάμενος ἐπὶ μεγάλοις οἷς ἐδόκει δυστυχεῖν παρεστήσατο μὲν τοὺς παῖδας, ᾐτιᾶτο δὲ τῆς ἀπονοίας καὶ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως, [92] ὡς ἐχθρῶς ἔχουσιν ἅπαντα τρόπον ἐσπουδακότες [μισεῖν] τὸν ἑαυτῶν πατέρα μεταχειρίσασθαι καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ὠμοτάτῳ τρόπῳ παραλαβεῖν: ὁ δ᾽ οὐδὲ θνήσκων ἐξ ἀνάγκης μᾶλλον ἢ κρίσει παραδοῦναι τῷ διαμείναντι πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐσεβεστέρῳ παρὰ Καίσαρος ἐξουσίαν ἔχοι. [93] τοῖς δ᾽ οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ πλέον, ἀλλ᾽ εἰ καὶ ταύτης στεροῖντο καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἐλάττων λόγος, εἰ μόνον ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν πατέρα δυνηθεῖεν: οὕτως ἄγριόν τι καὶ μιαρὸν ἐντετηκέναι ταῖς ψυχαῖς αὐτῶν μῖσος. καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀτυχίαν αὐτὸς ἐκ μακροῦ φέρων ἀναγκασθῆναι νῦν ἐξηγεῖσθαι Καίσαρι καὶ μιαίνειν αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀκοὰς τοιούτοις λόγοις. [94] καίτοι τί μὲν εἴησαν παθόντες ἐξ αὐτοῦ δυσχερές; ἐπὶ τίνι δὲ μέμφονται βαρὺν ὄντα; πῶς δ᾽ οἷόν τε καὶ δίκαιον ἦν αὐτὸς ἐκτήσατο πολλοῖς πόνοις καὶ κινδύνοις ἀρχήν, ταύτης οὐκ ἐᾶν κύριον εἶναι κρατεῖν τε καὶ διδόναι τῷ κατ᾽ ἀξίαν; [95] ὡς τοῦτό γε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἆθλον εὐσεβείας ἐκτίθεται τῷ μέλλοντι πρὸς τὸν ποτὲ γενήσεσθαι τοιούτῳ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, ἅτε καὶ τῆς ἀμοιβῆς τοσῆσδε οὔσης ἐπιτυγχάνειν. [96] ὅτι δὲ μηδὲ εὐσεβὲς αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τούτου πολυπραγμονεῖν, εὔδηλον: ὁ γὰρ ἀεί τι περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐνθυμούμενος συγκαταλογίζεται τὸν θάνατον τοῦ γεγεννηκότος, μεθ᾽ ὃν ἄλλως οὐκ ἔστιν τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβεῖν. [97] αὐτὸς δ᾽ ὅσα βασιλευομένοις καὶ βασιλέως παισὶν οὐχ ὑστέρησεν μέχρι νῦν ἀποδιδούς, οὐ κόσμον, οὐχ ὑπηρεσίαν, οὐ τρυφήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γάμους τοὺς ἐπισημοτάτους παρεσχῆσθαι, τῷ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἀδελφῆς, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ τὴν Ἀρχελάου τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρα συνοικίσας, [98] τὸ δὲ μέγιστον οὐδ᾽ ἐπὶ τοιούτοις ἦν εἶχεν ἐξουσίαν ταύτῃ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν χρησάμενος ἀγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν κοινὸν εὐεργέτην Καίσαρα, καὶ παρελόμενον αὐτοῦ πᾶν, ὅσον ἢ πατὴρ ἀσεβούμενος ἢ βασιλεὺς ἐπιβουλευόμενος δύναται, κρίσεως ἰσοτιμίᾳ παρεστακέναι: [99] δεήσει μέντοι μὴ παντάπασιν αὐτὸν ἀτιμώρητον γενέσθαι μηδ᾽ ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις φόβοις καταζῆν, οὐδ᾽ ἐκείνοις λυσιτελοῦντος ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐνεθυμήθησαν ὁρᾶν τὸν ἥλιον, εἰ νῦν διαφύγοιεν, ἔργῳ μέγιστα τῶν ἀνθρωπείων καὶ δράσαντας καὶ πεισομένους.

(2) [100] Ταῦτα μὲν Ἡρώδης ἐμπαθῶς ἠτιάσατο παρὰ Καίσαρι τοὺς αὐτοῦ παῖδας. τῶν δὲ νεανίσκων ἤδη μὲν καὶ λέγοντος δάκρυα καὶ σύγχυσις ἦν: μᾶλλον δ' ἐπεὶ κατέπαυσεν Ἡρώδης τὸν λόγον τῷ μὲν ἔξω τῆς τοιαύτης ἀσεβείας γενέσθαι τὸν λόγον πιστὸν εἶχον ἐν τῷ συνειδότι, [101] τὸ δ' ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιφέρεσθαι τὰς διαβολὰς δυσαπολόγητον ὥσπερ ἦν ἤδεσαν, οὐκ εὐσχημονοῦντος οὐδὲ τοῦ κατὰ παρρησίαν λόγου πρὸς τὸν καιρόν, εἰ μέλλοιεν ἐκ βίας ἀεὶ καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐλέγχειν πεπλανημένον. [102] ἦν οὖν ἀπορία τοῦ δύνασθαι λέγειν καὶ δάκρυα καὶ τέλος οἰμωγὴ συμπαθεστέρα, δεδοικότων μέν, εἰ δόξουσιν ἐκ τοῦ συνειδότος ἠπορῆσθαι, ῥᾳδίαν δ' οὐχ εὑρισκομένων τὴν ἀπολογίαν ὑπό τε νεότητος καὶ ταραχῆς, ἣν ἐπεπόνθεισαν. [103] οὐ μὴν ὅ γε Καῖσαρ ἐπιβλέπων αὐτοὺς ὡς εἶχον ἀσύνετον ἐποιεῖτο τὸ μὴ κατὰ συνείδησιν ἀτοπωτέραν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀπειρίας καὶ μετριότητος ὀκνεῖν, ἐλεεινοί τ' ἐγεγόνεισαν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἰδίᾳ καὶ τὸν πατέρα διεκίνησαν ἀληθινῷ τῷ πάθει συνεχόμενον.

(3) [104] Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεῖδον εὐμένειάν τινα καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ἕκαστον τοὺς μὲν συνδακρύοντας, ἅπαντας δὲ συναλγοῦντας, ἄτερος αὐτῶν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπικαλεσάμενος αὐτὸν ἐπεχείρει διαλύειν τὰς αἰτίας καί, [105] "πάτερ, εἶπεν, ἡ μὲν σὴ πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὔνοια δήλη καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν κρίσιν: οὐκ ἂν γάρ, εἴ τι δυσχερὲς ἐνενόεις ἐφ' ἡμῖν, ἐπὶ τὸν πάντας σώζοντα προήγαγες: [106] καὶ γὰρ παρούσης μὲν ἐξουσίας ὡς βασιλεῖ, παρούσης δὲ ὡς πατρὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας ἐπεξιέναι, τὸ εἰς Ῥώμην ἄγειν καὶ τοῦτον ποιεῖσθαι μάρτυρα σώζοντος ἦν: οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀποκτεῖναί τινα προαιρούμενος εἰς ἱερὰ καὶ ναοὺς ἄγει. [107] τὸ δ' ἡμέτερον ἤδη χεῖρον: οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑπομείναιμεν ἔτι ζῆν, εἰ τοιοῦτον ἠδικηκέναι πατέρα πεπιστεύμεθα. καὶ μήποτε τοῦτ' ἐκείνου χεῖρον ἀντὶ τοῦ τεθνάναι μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας τὸ ζῆν ἀδικεῖν ὑποπτευομένους. [108] εἰ μὲν οὖν εὕροι λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας ἡ παρρησία, μακάριον καὶ σὲ πεῖσαι καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον διαφυγεῖν, εἰ δ' οὕτως ἡ διαβολὴ κρατεῖ, περιττὸς ἡμῖν ὁ νῦν ἥλιος, ὃν τί δεῖ βλέπειν μετὰ τῆς ὑποψίας; [109] τὸ μὲν οὖν φάναι βασιλείας ἐπιθυμεῖν, εὔκαιρος εἰς νέους αἰτία, καὶ τὸ προστιθέναι τὴν τῆς ἀθλίας μητρός, ἱκανὸν ἐκ τῆς πρώτης τὴν νῦν ἀτυχίαν ἐξεργάζεσθαι. [110] βλέψον δέ, εἰ μὴ κοινὰ ταῦτα καὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως λέγεσθαι δυνησόμενα: κωλύσει γὰρ οὐδέν, τῷ βασιλεύοντι παῖδες εἰ εἰσὶν νέοι καὶ μήτηρ αὐτῶν ἀποθανοῦσα, πάντας ὑπόπτους εἶναι τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιβούλους δοκεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ ὕποπτον πρὸς τοιαύτην ἀσέβειαν ἀρκετόν. [111] εἰπάτω δέ τις, ἡμῖν εἰ τετόλμηται τοιοῦτον, ᾧ καὶ τὰ μὴ πιστὰ πίστιν εἴωθεν ὑπ' ἐνεργείας λαμβάνειν. φαρμάκου παρασκευὴν ἐλέγχειν δύναταί τις ἢ συνωμοσίαν ἡλικιωτῶν ἢ διαφθορὰν οἰκετῶν ἢ γράμματα κατὰ σοῦ γεγραμμένα; [112] καίτοι τούτων ἕκαστον ἔσθ' ὅπη καὶ μὴ γενόμενον ἐκ διαβολῆς ἐπλάσθη: χαλεπὸν γὰρ οὐχ ὁμονοῶν οἶκος ἐν βασιλείᾳ: καὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, ἣν σὺ φῂς ἔπαθλον εὐσεβείας, συμβαίνει πολλάκις αἰτίαν γενέσθαι τοῖς πονηροτάτοις ἐλπίδων, δι' ἃς οὐδεμίαν ὑποστολὴν ποιοῦνται κακοηθείας. [113] ἀδίκημα μὲν οὖν οὐδεὶς ἐρεῖ καθ' ἡμῶν:

τὰς δὲ διαβολὰς πῶς ἂν λύσειεν ὁ ἀκοῦσαι μὴ θέλων; ἐλαλήσαμέν τι μετὰ παρρησίας. οὐκ εἰς σέ: τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἄδικον: ἀλλ᾽ εἰς τοὺς οὐδ᾽ ὅ τι λελάλητο μὴ σιωπῶντας. [114] τὴν μητέρα τις ἡμῶν ἔκλαυσεν. οὐχ ὅτι τέθνηκεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι καὶ νεκρὰ κακῶς ἤκουσεν ὑπὸ τῶν οὐκ ἀξίων. ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμοῦμεν ἧς ἴσμεν ἔχοντα τὸν πατέρα; τί καὶ θέλοντες; εἰ μὲν εἰσὶν ἡμῖν τιμαὶ βασιλέων, ὥσπερ εἰσίν, οὐ κενοσπουδοῦμεν; [115] εἰ δ᾽ οὐκ εἰσίν, οὐκ ἐλπίζομεν; ἢ σὲ διαχειρισάμενοι κρατήσειν τὴν βασιλείαν προσεδοκήσαμεν, οἷς οὔτε γῆ βάσιμος οὔτε πλωτὴ θάλαττα μετὰ τοιοῦτον ἔργον; ἡ δὲ τῶν ἀρχομένων εὐσέβεια καὶ θρησκεία τοῦ παντὸς ἔθνους ἠνέσχετο ἂν πατροκτόνους ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων εἶναι καὶ εἰς τὸν ἁγιώτατον ὑπὸ σοῦ κατασκευασθέντα ναὸν εἰσιέναι. [116] τί δ᾽ εἰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κατεφρονήσαμεν, ἐδύνατό τις φονεύσας ἀτιμώρητος μένειν ζῶντος Καίσαρος; οὔτ᾽ ἀσεβεῖς οὕτως ἐγέννησας οὔτ᾽ ἀλογίστους, ἀτυχεστέρους δ᾽ ἴσως ἢ σοὶ καλῶς εἶχεν. [117] εἰ δὲ μήτ᾽ αἰτίας ἔχεις μήτ᾽ ἐπιβουλὰς εὑρίσκεις, τί σοι πρὸς πίστιν αὔταρκες τοιαύτης δυσσεβείας; ἡ μήτηρ τέθνηκεν: ἀλλά τοι τὰ κατ᾽ ἐκείνην οὐδὲ παροξύνειν ἡμᾶς ἀλλὰ νουθετεῖν ἠδύνατο. [118] πλείω μὲν ἀπολογεῖσθαι δυνάμεθα, λόγον δ᾽ οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται τὰ μὴ γενόμενα. διόπερ ἐπὶ τῷ πάντων δεσπότῃ Καίσαρι μεσιτεύοντι τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν συντιθέμεθα ταύτην τὴν συνθήκην: [119] εἰ μὲν ἀνύποπτον ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς διάθεσιν ἀπολαμβάνεις, ὦ πάτερ, ζήσομεν, οὐδ᾽ οὕτως μὲν εὐτυχῶς: δεινὸν γὰρ τῶν μεγάλων κακῶν καὶ ψευδὴς αἰτία. [120] παρούσης δέ τινος ὀρρωδίας σὺ μὲν ἐν τῇ κατὰ σαυτὸν εὐσεβείᾳ μένε, δώσομεν δὲ λόγον ἡμεῖς ἑαυτοῖς. οὐχ οὕτως ὁ βίος ἡμῖν τίμιος, ὡς ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἐπ᾽ ἀδικίᾳ τοῦ δεδωκότος.”

(4) [121] Τοιαῦτα δὲ λέγοντος ὅ τε Καῖσαρ οὐδὲ πρότερον πιστεύων τῷ μεγέθει τῆς διαβολῆς ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξηλλάττετο καὶ συνεχὲς εἰς τὸν Ἡρώδην ἀπέβλεπεν ὁρῶν κἀκεῖνον ὑποσυγχυνόμενον, ἀγωνία τε τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐνεπεπτώκει καὶ περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν ὁ λόγος διαδοθεὶς ἐπίφθονον ἐποίει τὸν βασιλέα. [122] τὸ γὰρ ἄπιστον τῆς διαβολῆς καὶ τὸ περὶ τοὺς νεανίσκους ἐν ἀκμῇ καὶ κάλλει σωμάτων ἐλεεινὸν ἐπεσπᾶτο βοήθειαν: ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ δεξιῶς καὶ μετὰ φρονήσεως ὑπήντησεν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἣν οὐδ᾽ ἐκείνοις ἔτι ταὐτὸν σχῆμα, κλαίουσι μὲν ὅμως καὶ σὺν κατηφείᾳ πρὸς τὴν γῆν νενευκόσιν, [123] ἡ δ᾽ ἐλπὶς ἀμείνων ὑπεφαίνετο, καὶ δόξας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸν ἔπειθεν εὔλογα κατηγορηκέναι διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἔχειν [ἐξελέγχειν] ἀπολογίας τινὸς ἐδεῖτο. [124] Καῖσαρ δὲ μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν τοὺς μὲν νεανίσκους, εἰ καὶ πόρρω τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς διαβολῆς δοκοῦσιν, αὐτό γε τοῦτο ἁμαρτεῖν ἔφη τὸ μὴ τοιούτους αὐτοὺς παρασχεῖν τῷ πατρί, ὡς μηδὲ γενέσθαι τὸν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς λόγον. [125] Ἡρώδην δὲ παρεκάλει πᾶσαν ὑπόνοιαν ἐκβαλόντα διαλλάττεσθαι τοῖς παισίν: οὐ γὰρ εἶναι δίκαιον οὐδὲ πιστεύειν τὰ τοιαῦτα κατὰ τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ. δύνασθαι δὲ τὴν μετάνοιαν ἀμφοτέροις οὐ μόνον ἰάσασθαι τὰ συμβεβηκότα, παροξῦναι δὲ τὴν εὔνοιαν, ἐν ᾧ τὸ προπετὲς ἑκάτεροι τῆς ὑποψίας ἀπολογούμενοι σπουδῇ πλείονι

περὶ ἀλλήλους ἀξιώσουσι κεχρῆσθαι. [126] τοιαῦτα νουθετῶν ἔνευσε τοῖς νεανίσκοις. ἐκείνων δὲ βουλομένων ὑποπεσεῖν ἐπὶ δεήσει προαναλαβὼν αὐτοὺς ὁ πατὴρ δακρύοντας ἠσπάζετο παρ᾽ ἕκαστον ἐν μέρει περιπτύσσων, ὡς μηδένα τῶν παρατυγχανόντων ἐλεύθερον ἢ δοῦλον ἀπαθῆ γενέσθαι.

(5) [127] Τότε μὲν οὖν εὐχαριστήσαντες Καίσαρι μετ᾽ ἀλλήλων ἀπῆεσαν καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἀντίπατρος ὑποκρινόμενος ἐφήδεσθαι ταῖς διαλλαγαῖς. [128] ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὑστέραις ἡμέραις Ἡρώδης μὲν ἐδωρεῖτο Καίσαρα τριακοσίοις ταλάντοις θέας τε καὶ διανομὰς ποιούμενον τῷ Ῥωμαίων δήμῳ, Καῖσαρ δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ μετάλλου τοῦ Κυπρίων χαλκοῦ τὴν ἡμίσειαν πρόσοδον καὶ τῆς ἡμισείας τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔδωκεν καὶ τἆλλα ξενίαις καὶ καταγωγαῖς ἐτίμησεν, [129] καὶ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῷ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐφῆκεν ὃν ἂν αἱρῆται τῶν παίδων διάδοχον καθιστάνειν ἢ καὶ διανέμειν μέρος ἑκάστῳ τῆς τιμῆς εἰς πάντας ἐλευσομένης. ἐκείνου δὲ ἤδη θέλοντος αὐτὸ ποιεῖν οὐκ ἐπιτρέψειν ἔφη ζῶντι μὴ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τῶν παίδων κρατεῖν.

(6) [130] Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐπανῄει πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν. ἀποδημοῦντος δὲ οὐ μικρὸν μέρος ἀπέστη τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ περὶ τὸν Τράχωνα, καὶ τούτους οἱ καταλειφθέντες στρατηγοὶ χειρωσάμενοι πάλιν ὑπακούειν ἠνάγκασαν. [131] Ἡρώδης δὲ πλέων σὺν τοῖς παισὶν ὡς ἐγένετο κατὰ Κιλικίαν ἐν Ἐλαιούσῃ τῇ μετωνομασμένῃ νῦν Σεβαστῇ καταλαμβάνει τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Καππαδοκίας Ἀρχέλαον, ὃς αὐτὸν ἐκδέχεται φιλοφρόνως ἡδόμενος ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν παίδων διαλλαγαῖς καὶ τῷ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὃς εἶχεν αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα, τῆς αἰτίας ἀπολελύσθαι, δωρεάς τε ἀντέδοσαν ἀλλήλοις ἃς εἰκὸς βασιλεῖς. [132] ἐντεῦθεν Ἡρώδης ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίας ἐλθὼν καὶ γενόμενος ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων κατὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν διελέγετο, τὴν Καίσαρος εἰς αὐτὸν φιλοφροσύνην καὶ τἆλλα διεξιὼν ὅσα κατὰ μέρος αὐτῷ πραχθέντα συμφέρειν ἡγεῖτο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους εἰδέναι. [133] τέλος ἐπὶ νουθεσίᾳ τῶν παίδων κατέστρεφε τὸν λόγον τοὺς περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος εἰς ὁμόνοιαν παρακαλῶν καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς μετ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀποδεικνύων βασιλέας γενέσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν Ἀντίπατρον, εἶτα καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Μαριάμμης Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Ἀριστόβουλον. [134] ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε πάντας ἀποβλέπειν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀξιῶν καὶ βασιλέα καὶ δεσπότην ἁπάντων δοκεῖν μήτε γήρᾳ παραποδιζόμενον, ἐν ᾧ τοῦ χρόνου τὸ πρὸς ἀρχὴν ἐμπειρότατον ἔχειν, οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἐλαττούμενον, ἃ δύναται καὶ βασιλείας κρατεῖν καὶ παίδων ἄρχειν, τούς τε ἡγεμόνας καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν εἰ πρὸς ἕνα βλέποιεν αὐτὸν ἀτάραχον ἔφη τὸν βίον ἕξειν καὶ πᾶσαν ἀφορμὴν εὐδαιμονίας ἐξ ἀλλήλων ἔσεσθαι. [135] ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν ἀφίησιν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τοῖς πλείστοις μὲν ἀρεστὰ διειλεγμένος, ἐνίοις δ᾽ οὐχ ὁμοίως: ἤδη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμίλλης καὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων ἃς ἐδεδώκει τοῖς παισὶ νενεωτέριστο πολλὰ καὶ νεωτέρων ἐφιέμενοι

(1) [136] Περὶ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον συντέλειαν ἔλαβεν ἡ Καισάρεια Σεβαστή, ἣν ᾠκοδόμει δεκάτῳ μὲν ἔτει πρὸς τέλος ἐλθούσης αὐτῷ τῆς ὅλης κατασκευῆς, ἐκπεσούσης δὲ τῆς προθεσμίας εἰς ὄγδοον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπ᾽ ὀλυμπιάδος δευτέρας καὶ ἐνενηκοστῆς πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατόν. [137] ἣν οὖν εὐθὺς ἐν καθιερώσει μείζονες ἑορταὶ καὶ παρασκευαὶ πολυτελέσταται: κατηγγέλκει μὲν γὰρ ἀγῶνα μουσικῆς καὶ γυμνικῶν ἀθλημάτων, παρεσκευάκει δὲ πολὺ πλῆθος μονομάχων καὶ θηρίων ἵππων τε δρόμον καὶ τὰ πολυτελέστερα τῶν ἔν τε τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ παρ᾽ ἄλλοις τισὶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων. [138] ἀνετίθει δὲ καὶ τοῦτον τὸν ἀγῶνα Καίσαρι κατὰ πενταετηρίδα παρεσκευασμένος ἄγειν αὐτόν: ὁ δ᾽ αὐτῷ πᾶσαν τὴν εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα παρασκευὴν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων διεπέμπετο τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἐπικοσμῶν. [139] ἰδίᾳ δὲ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ Καίσαρος Ἰουλία πολλὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ πολυτελεστάτων ἀπέστειλεν, ὡς μηδὲν ὑστερεῖν τὰ πάντα συντιμώμενα ταλάντων πεντακοσίων. [140] συνελθόντος δ᾽ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὄχλου πλείονος κατὰ θεωρίαν καὶ πρεσβείας, ἃς ἔπεμπον οἱ δῆμοι δι᾽ ἃς ἐπεπόνθεισαν εὐεργεσίας, ἅπαντας ἐξεδέξατο καὶ καταγωγαῖς καὶ τραπέζαις καὶ διηνεκέσιν ἑορταῖς, τῆς πανηγύρεως ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐχούσης τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν θεαμάτων ψυχαγωγίας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς νυξὶ τὰς εὐφροσύνας καὶ τὴν εἰς τοῦτο πολυτέλειαν, ὡς ἐπίσημον γενέσθαι τὴν μεγαλοψυχίαν αὐτοῦ: [141] εἰς πάντα γὰρ ἅπερ [ἂν] ἐπιτηδεύσειεν ἐφιλονείκει τὴν τῶν ἤδη γεγενημένων ἐπίδειξιν ὑπερβαλέσθαι, καί φασιν αὐτόν τε Καίσαρα καὶ Ἀγρίππαν πολλάκις εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἀποδέοι τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἡρώδῃ τῆς οὔσης ἐν αὐτῷ μεγαλοψυχίας: ἄξιον γὰρ εἶναι καὶ Συρίας ἁπάσης καὶ Αἰγύπτου τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχειν.

(2) [142] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν πανήγυριν ταύτην καὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς πόλιν ἄλλην ἀνήγειρεν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῷ λεγομένῳ Καφαρσαβᾶ τόπον ἔνυδρον καὶ χώραν ἀρίστην φυτοῖς ἐκλέξας, ποταμοῦ τε περιρρέοντος τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν καὶ καλλίστου κατὰ μέγεθος τῶν φυτῶν περιειληφότος ἄλσους. [143] ταύτην ἀπὸ Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀντιπατρίδα προσηγόρευσεν. ἐπώνυμον δὲ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ χωρίον ὑπὲρ Ἰεριχοῦν οἰκοδομήσας ἀσφαλείᾳ τε διάφορον καὶ καταγωγαῖς ἥδιστον ἐκάλεσεν Κύπρον. [144] Φασαήλῳ τε τῷ ἀδελφῷ μνημεῖα διὰ τὴν γεγενημένην εἰς αὐτὸν φιλοστοργίαν ἀνετίθει τὰ κάλλιστα, πύργον ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως ἀναστήσας οὐδὲν ἐλάττω τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Φάρον, ὃν προσηγόρευσεν Φασάηλον, ἀσφαλείας τε τῇ πόλει μέρος ὄντα καὶ μνήμης τῷ τετελευτηκότι διὰ τὴν προσηγορίαν. [145] ὁμώνυμον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ πόλιν περὶ τὸν αὐλῶνα τῆς Ἰεριχοῦντος ἔκτισεν ἀπιόντων κατὰ βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, δι᾽ ἧς καὶ τὴν πέριξ χώραν ἔρημον οὖσαν ἐνεργοτέραν ἐποίησεν ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις τῶν οἰκητόρων. Φασαηλίδα καὶ ταύτην ἐκάλει.

(3) [146] Τὰς δὲ ἄλλας εὐεργεσίας ἄπορον εἰπεῖν ὅσας ἀπέδωκεν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἔν τε Συρίᾳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ παρ᾽ οἷς ποτ᾽ ἂν ἀποδημήσας τύχοι: καὶ γὰρ πλείους λειτουργίας καὶ δημοσίων ἔργων κατασκευὰς καὶ χρήματα τοῖς δεομένοις [ἔργοις] εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν προτέρων ἔργων ἐκλελοιπότων ἄφθονα

χαρίσασθαι δοκεῖ. [147] τὰ δὲ μέγιστα καὶ διασημότατα τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ Ῥοδίοις μὲν τό τε Πύθιον ἀνέστησεν οἰκείοις ἀναλώμασιν καὶ παρέσχεν ἀργυρίου πολλὰ τάλαντα πρὸς ναυπηγίαν. Νικοπολίταις δὲ τοῖς ἐπ᾽ Ἀκτίῳ κτισθεῖσιν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν δημοσίων συγκατεσκεύασεν. [148] Ἀντιοχεῦσι δὲ τοῖς ἐν Συρίᾳ μεγίστην πόλιν οἰκοῦσιν, ἣν κατὰ μῆκος τέμνει πλατεῖα, ταύτην αὐτὴν στοαῖς παρ᾽ ἑκάτερα καὶ λίθῳ τὴν ὕπαιθρον ὁδὸν ξεστῷ καταστορέσας πλεῖστον εἰς κόσμον καὶ τὴν τῶν οἰκούντων εὐχρηστίαν ὠφέλησεν. [149] τόν γε μὴν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἀγῶνα πολὺ τῆς προσηγορίας ἀδοξότερον ὑπ᾽ ἀχρηματίας διατεθειμένον τιμιώτερον ἐποίει χρημάτων προσόδους καταστήσας καὶ πρὸς θυσίας καὶ τὸν ἄλλον κόσμον ἐσεμνοποίησεν τὴν πανήγυριν. διὰ δὴ ταύτην τὴν φιλοτιμίαν διηνεκὴς ἀγωνοθέτης παρὰ τοῖς Ἠλείοις ἀνεγράφη.

(4) [150] Τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις ἐπέρχεται θαυμάζειν τὸ διεστὸς τῆς ἐν τῇ φύσει προαιρέσεως: ὅταν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰς φιλοτιμίας καὶ τὰς εὐεργεσίας ἀπίδωμεν, αἷς ἐκέχρητο πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐκ ἄν τις αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν ἔλαττον τετιμημένων ἠρνήθη μὴ συνομολογεῖν εὐεργετικωτάτῃ κεχρῆσθαι τῇ φύσει. [151] ὅταν δὲ εἰς τὰς τιμωρίας καὶ ἀδικίας, ἃς εἰς τοὺς ἀρχομένους καὶ τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἐπεδείξατο βλέψῃ καὶ καταμάθῃ τὸ σκληρὸν καὶ τὸ δυσπαράκλητον τοῦ τρόπου, νικηθήσεται θηριώδη δοκεῖν καὶ πάσης μετριότητος ἀλλότριον. [152] ἔνθεν καὶ διάφορόν τινα καὶ μαχομένην ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ νομίζουσιν γενέσθαι τὴν προαίρεσιν. ἐγὼ δ᾽ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχων μίαν αἰτίαν ἀμφοτέρων τούτων ὑπολαμβάνω: [153] φιλότιμος γὰρ ὢν καὶ τούτου τοῦ πάθους ἡττημένος ἰσχυρῶς, προήγετο μὲν εἰς μεγαλοψυχίαν, εἴ που μνήμης εἰς αὖθις ἢ κατὰ τὸ παρὸν εὐφημίας ἐλπὶς ἐμπέσοι. [154] ταῖς δὲ δαπάναις ὑπὲρ δύναμιν χρώμενος ἠναγκάζετο χαλεπὸς εἶναι τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις: τὰ γὰρ εἰς οὓς ἐδαπάνα πολλὰ γενόμενα κακῶν ποριστὴν ἐξ ὧν ἐλάμβανεν ἐποίει. [155] καὶ συνειδὼς ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἠδίκει τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους μισούμενον ἑαυτὸν τὸ μὲν ἐπανορθοῦσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἐνόμιζεν: οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰς τὰς προσόδους λυσιτελὲς ἦν. ἀντεφιλονείκει δὲ τὴν δύσνοιαν αὐτὴν εὐπορίας ἀφορμὴν ποιούμενος. [156] περί γε μὴν τοὺς οἰκείους, εἴ τις ἢ λόγῳ μὴ θεραπεύοι τὸ δοῦλον ἐξομολογούμενος ἢ δόξειεν εἰς τὴν ἀρχήν τι παρακινεῖν, οὐχ ἱκανὸς ἑαυτοῦ κρατεῖν ἐγίνετο καὶ διεξῆλθεν ὁμοῦ συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους ἴσα πολεμίοις τιμωρούμενος ἐκ τοῦ μόνος ἐθέλειν τετιμῆσθαι τὰς τοιαύτας ἁμαρτίας ἀναλαμβάνων. [157] μαρτύριον δέ μοι τούτου τοῦ πάθους, ὅτι μέγιστον περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν, καὶ τὰ γινόμενα κατὰ τὰς Καίσαρος καὶ Ἀγρίππα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων τιμάς: οἷς γὰρ ἐθεράπευεν τοὺς κρείττονας, τούτοις καὶ αὐτὸς ἠξίου θεραπεύεσθαι καὶ τὸ κάλλιστον ὧν ᾤετο παρέχων ἐν τῷ διδόναι τὴν τοῦ τυχεῖν τῶν ὁμοίων ἐπιθυμίαν ἐδήλου. [158] τό γε μὴν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἠλλοτρίωται νόμῳ πρὸς πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ συνείθισται τὸ δίκαιον ἀντὶ τοῦ πρὸς δόξαν

ἠγαπηκέναι. διόπερ οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ κεχαρισμένον, ὅτι μὴ δυνατὸν εἰκόσιν ἢ ναοῖς ἢ τοιούτοις ἐπιτηδεύμασιν κολακεύειν τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ φιλότιμον. [159] αἰτία μὲν αὕτη μοι δοκεῖ τῆς Ἡρώδου περὶ μὲν τοὺς οἰκείους καὶ συμβούλους ἁμαρτίας, περὶ δὲ τοὺς ἔξω καὶ μὴ προσήκοντας εὐεργεσίας.

VI

(1) [160] Τοὺς δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἰουδαίους καὶ ὅσους ἡ πρὸς Κυρήνῃ Λιβύη κατέσχεν ἐκάκουν αἱ πόλεις, τῶν μὲν πρότερον βασιλέων ἰσονομίαν αὐτοῖς παρεσχημένων, ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε δι᾽ ἐπηρείας ἐχόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων αὐτούς, ὡς καὶ χρημάτων ἱερῶν ἀφαίρεσιν ποιεῖσθαι καὶ καταβλάπτειν ἐν τοῖς ἐπὶ μέρους. [161] πάσχοντες δὲ κακῶς καὶ πέρας οὐδὲν εὑρίσκοντες τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπανθρωπίας ἐπρεσβεύσαντο παρὰ Καίσαρα καὶ περὶ τούτων. ὁ δ᾽ αὐτοῖς τὴν αὐτὴν ἰσοτέλειαν ἔδωκεν γράψας τοῖς κατὰ τὰς ἐπαρχίας, ὧν ὑπετάξαμεν τὰ ἀντίγραφα μαρτύρια τῆς διαθέσεως, ἣν ἔσχον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἄνωθεν οἱ κρατοῦντες.

(2) [162] “Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς ἀρχιερεὺς δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας λέγει. ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἔθνος τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων εὐχάριστον εὑρέθη οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ ἐνεστῶτι καιρῷ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ προγεγενημένῳ καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ῥωμαίων ὅ τε ἀρχιερεὺς αὐτῶν Ὑρκανός, [163] ἔδοξέ μοι καὶ τῷ ἐμῷ συμβουλίῳ μετὰ ὁρκωμοσίας γνώμῃ δήμου Ῥωμαίων τοὺς Ἰουδαίους χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἰδίοις θεσμοῖς κατὰ τὸν πάτριον αὐτῶν νόμον, καθὼς ἐχρῶντο ἐπὶ Ὑρκανοῦ ἀρχιερέως θεοῦ ὑψίστου, τά τε ἱερὰ Εἶναι ἐν ἀσυλίᾳ καὶ ἀναπέμπεσθαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ἀποδίδοσθαι τοῖς ἀποδοχεῦσιν Ἱεροσολύμων, ἐγγύας τε μὴ ὁμολογεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐν σάββασιν ἢ τῇ πρὸ αὐτῆς παρασκευῇ ἀπὸ ὥρας ἐνάτης. [164] ἐὰν δέ τις φωραθῇ κλέπτων τὰς ἱερὰς βίβλους αὐτῶν ἢ τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα ἔκ τε σαββατείου ἔκ τε ἀνδρῶνος, εἶναι αὐτὸν ἱερόσυλον καὶ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ ἐνεχθῆναι εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τῶν Ῥωμαίων. [165] τό τε ψήφισμα τὸ δοθέν μοι ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς εὐσεβείας ἣν ἔχω πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ ὑπὲρ Γαίου Μαρκίου Κηνσωρίνου καὶ τοῦτο τὸ διάταγμα κελεύω ἀνατεθῆναι ἐν ἐπισημοτάτῳ τόπῳ τῷ γενηθέντι μοι ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐν Ἀγκύρῃ. ἐὰν δέ τις παραβῇ τι τῶν προειρημένων, δώσει δίκην οὐ μετρίαν. ἐστηλογραφήθη ἐν τῷ Καίσαρος ναῷ.”

(3) [166] “Καῖσαρ Νωρβανῷ Φλάκκῳ χαίρειν. Ἰουδαῖοι ὅσοι ποτ᾽ οὖν εἰσίν, [οἳ] δι᾽ ἀρχαίαν συνήθειαν εἰώθασιν χρήματά τε ἱερὰ φέροντες ἀναπέμπειν ἀκωλύτως τοῦτο ποιείτωσαν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.” καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Καῖσαρ.

(4) [167] Ἀγρίππας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον: “Ἀγρίππας Ἐφεσίων ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. τῶν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀναφερομένων ἱερῶν χρημάτων τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ φυλακὴν βούλομαι τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ Ἰουδαίους ποιεῖσθαι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. [168] τούς τε

κλέπτοντας ἱερὰ γράμματα τῶν Ἰουδαίων καταφεύγοντάς τε εἰς τὰς ἀσυλίας βούλομαι ἀποσπᾶσθαι καὶ παραδίδοσθαι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, ᾧ δικαίῳ ἀποσπῶνται οἱ ἱερόσυλοι. ἔγραψα δὲ καὶ Σιλανῷ τῷ στρατηγῷ, ἵνα σάββασιν μηδεὶς ἀναγκάζῃ Ἰουδαῖον ἐγγύας ὁμολογεῖν.''

(5) [169] ''Μᾶρκος Ἀγρίππας Κυρηναίων ἄρχουσιν βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. οἱ ἐν Κυρήνῃ Ἰουδαῖοι, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἤδη ὁ Σεβαστὸς ἔπεμψεν πρὸς τὸν ἐν Λιβύῃ στρατηγὸν τόντε ὄντα Φλάβιον καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπιμελουμένους, ἵνα ἀνεπικωλύτως ἀναπέμπηται τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, ὡς ἔστιν αὐτοῖς πάτριον, [170] ἐνέτυχόν μοι νῦν, ὡς ὑπό τινων συκοφαντῶν ἐπηρεαζόμενοι καὶ ὡς ἐν προφάσει τελῶν μὴ ὀφειλομένων κωλύοιντο: οἷς ἀποκαθιστάνειν κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον ἐνοχλουμένοις, καὶ εἴ τινων ἱερὰ χρήματα ἀφῄρηνται τῶν πόλεων τοὺς εἰς ταῦτα ἀποκεκριμένους καὶ ταῦτα διορθώσασθαι τοῖς ἐκεῖ Ἰουδαίοις κελεύω.''

(6) [171] ''Γάιος Νωρβανὸς Φλάκκος ἀνθύπατος Σαρδιανῶν ἄρχουσι χαίρειν. Καῖσάρ μοι ἔγραψεν κελεύων μὴ κωλύεσθαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ὅσα ἂν ὦσιν κατὰ τὸ πάτριον αὐτοῖς ἔθος συναγαγόντες χρήματα ἀναπέμπειν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. ἔγραψα οὖν ὑμῖν, ἵν' εἰδῆτε, ὅτι Καῖσαρ κἀγὼ οὕτως θέλομεν γίνεσθαι.''

(7) [172] Οὐδὲν ἧττον καὶ Ἰούλιος Ἀντώνιος ἀνθύπατος ἔγραψεν '''Εφεσίων ἄρχουσιν βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ κατοικοῦντες Ἰουδαῖοι εἰδοῖς Φεβρουαρίοις δικαιοδοτοῦντί μοι ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ὑπέδειξαν Καίσαρα τὸν Σεβαστὸν καὶ Ἀγρίππαν συγκεχωρηκέναι αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἰδίοις νόμοις καὶ ἔθεσιν, ἀπαρχάς τε, ἃς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας προαιρέσεως εὐσεβείας ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἀΝακομιδῆς συμπορευομένους ποιεῖν ἀνεμποδίστως. [173] ᾔτουν τε, ὅπως κἀγὼ ὁμοίως τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Ἀγρίππα δοθεῖσιν τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην βεβαιώσω. ὑμᾶς οὖν βούλομαι εἰδέναι ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Ἀγρίππα βουλήμασιν συνεπιτρέπειν αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια χωρὶς ἐμποδισμοῦ.''

(8) [174] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν παρεθέμην ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ἐπειδὴ μέλλουσιν αἱ τῶν ἡμετέρων πράξεων ἀναγραφαὶ τὸ πλέον εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἰέναι, δεικνὺς αὐτοῖς ὅτι πάσης τιμῆς ἄνωθεν ἐπιτυγχάνοντες οὐδὲν τῶν πατρίων ἐκωλύθημεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων πράττειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεργούμεθα τὰ τῆς θρησκείας ἔχοντες καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν θεὸν τιμῶν. [175] ποιοῦμαι δὲ πολλάκις αὐτῶν τὴν μνήμην ἐπιδιαλλάττων τὰ γένη καὶ τὰς ἐμπεφυκυίας τοῖς ἀλογίστοις ἡμῶν τε κἀκείνων μίσους αἰτίας ὑπεξαιρούμενος. [176] ἔθεσιν μὲν γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστιν γένος ὃ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ χρῆται καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἔσθ' ὅπη πολλῆς ἐγγιγνομένης τῆς διαφορᾶς: τὸ δίκαιον δὲ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὁμοίως ἐπιτηδεύοντες λυσιτελέστατον ὂν Ἕλλησίν τε καὶ βαρβάροις, [177] οὗ πλεῖστον οἱ παρ' ἡμῖν νόμοι λόγον ἔχοντες ἅπασιν ἡμᾶς, εἰ καθαρῶς ἐμμένοιμεν αὐτοῖς, εὔνους καὶ φίλους ἀπεργάζονται. [178] διὸ καὶ ταῦτα παρ' ἐκείνων ἡμῖν ἀπαιτητέον καὶ δέον οὐκ ἐν τῇ διαφορᾷ τῶν

ἐπιτηδευμάτων οἴεσθαι τὸ ἀλλότριον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τῷ πρὸς καλοκαγαθίαν ἐπιτηδείως ἔχειν: τοῦτο γὰρ κοινὸν ἅπασιν καὶ μόνον ἱκανὸν διασώζειν τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον. ἐπάνειμι δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ συνεχῆ τῆς ἱστορίας.

VII

(1) [179] Ὁ γὰρ Ἡρώδης πολλοῖς τοῖς ἀναλώμασιν εἴς τε τὰς ἔξω καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ χρώμενος, ἀκηκοὼς ἔτι τάχιον ὡς Ὑρκανὸς ὁ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλεὺς ἀνοίξας τὸν Δαυίδου τάφον ἀργυρίου λάβοι τρισχίλια τάλαντα κειμένων πολὺ πλειόνων ἔτι καὶ δυναμένων εἰς ἅπαν ἐπαρκέσαι ταῖς χορηγίαις, ἐκ πλείονος μὲν δι᾽ ἐννοίας εἶχεν τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν, [180] ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε νυκτὸς ἀνοίξας τὸν τάφον εἰσέρχεται πραγματευσάμενος ἥκιστα μὲν τῇ πόλει φανερὸς εἶναι, παρειληφὼς δὲ τοὺς πιστοτάτους τῶν φίλων. [181] ἀποθέσιμα μὲν οὖν χρήματα καθάπερ Ὑρκανὸς οὐχ εὗρεν, κόσμον δὲ χρυσοῦν καὶ κειμηλίων πολύν, ὃν ἀνείλετο πάντα. σπουδὴν δ᾽ εἶχεν ἐπιμελεστέραν ποιούμενος τὴν ἔρευναν ἐνδοτέρω τε χωρεῖν καὶ κατὰ τὰς θήκας, ἐν αἷς ἦν τοῦ Δαυίδου καὶ τοῦ Σολομῶνος τὰ σώματα. [182] καὶ δύο μὲν αὐτῷ τῶν δορυφόρων διεφθάρησαν φλογὸς ἔνδοθεν εἰσιοῦσιν ἀπαντώσης, ὡς ἐλέγετο, περίφοβος δ᾽ αὐτὸς ἐξῄει, καὶ τοῦ δέους ἱλαστήριον μνῆμα λευκῆς πέτρας ἐπὶ τῷ στομίῳ κατεσκευάσατο πολυτελὲς τῇ δαπάνῃ. [183] τούτου καὶ Νικόλαος ὁ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἱστοριογράφος μέμνηται τοῦ κατασκευάσματος, οὐ μὴν ὅτι καὶ κατῆλθεν, οὐκ εὐπρεπῆ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐπιστάμενος. διατελεῖ δὲ καὶ τἆλλα τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον χρώμενος τῇ γραφῇ: [184] ζῶντι γὰρ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ κεχαρισμένως ἐκείνῳ καὶ καθ᾽ ὑπηρεσίαν ἀνέγραφεν, μόνων ἁπτόμενος τῶν εὔκλειαν αὐτῷ φερόντων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐμφανῶς ἀδίκων ἀντικατασκευάζων καὶ μετὰ πάσης σπουδῆς ἐπικρυπτόμενος, [185] ὅς γε καὶ τὸν Μαριάμμης θάνατον καὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτῆς οὕτως ὠμῶς τῷ βασιλεῖ πεπραγμένον εἰς εὐπρέπειαν ἀνάγειν βουλόμενος ἐκείνης τε ἀσέλγειαν καὶ τῶν νεανίσκων ἐπιβουλὰς καταψεύδεται, καὶ διατετέλεκεν τῇ γραφῇ τὰ μὲν πεπραγμένα δικαίως τῷ βασιλεῖ περιττότερον ἐγκωμιάζων, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν παρανομηθέντων ἐσπουδασμένως ἀπολογούμενος. [186] ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὖν πολλὴν ἄν τις, ὡς ἔφην, ἔχοι τὴν συγγνώμην: οὐ γὰρ ἱστορίαν τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀλλὰ ὑπουργίαν τῷ βασιλεῖ ταύτην ἐποιεῖτο. [187] ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ γένους ὄντες ἀγχοῦ τῶν ἐξ Ἀσαμωναίου βασιλέων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σὺν τιμῇ τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἔχοντες τὸ ψεύσασθαί τι περὶ αὐτῶν οὐκ εὐπρεπὲς ὑπειληφότες καθαρῶς καὶ δικαίως ἐκτίθεμεν τὰς πράξεις, πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἐγγόνων τῶν ἐκείνου καὶ βασιλεύοντας ἔτι δι᾽ ἐντροπῆς ἔχοντες, τὴν δ᾽ ἀλήθειαν πρὸ ἐκείνων τετιμηκότες, ἣν ὅτε δικαίως ἐγίνετο συνέβη τε παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις ὀργῇ τυγχάνειν.

(2) [188] Ἡρώδης δὲ διὰ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν, ἣν ἐποιήσατο τῷ τάφῳ, χεῖρον ἐδόκει πράττειν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν, εἴτε δὴ τοῦ μηνίματος ἐπιδόντος εἰς ἃ μάλιστα καὶ πρότερον ἐνόσει πλείω γενέσθαι πρὸς ἀνηκέστους ἐξελθεῖν συμφοράς, εἴτε καὶ τῆς τύχης ἐν ἐκείνῳ τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ποιουμένης ἐν οἷς τὸ κατὰ τὴν αἰτίαν εὔκαιρον οὐ μικρὰν πίστιν παρεῖχεν τοῦ διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν αὐτῷ τὰς συμφορὰς ἀπηντηκέναι. [189] στάσις γὰρ ἦν ὥσπερ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου κατὰ τὴν αὐλὴν καὶ μίση πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀνθυπερβαλλομένων ταῖς διαβολαῖς. [190] ἐστρατήγει δ' ἀεὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν Ἀντίπατρος δεινὸς ὢν ἔξωθεν μὲν περιβάλλειν αὐτοὺς ταῖς αἰτίαις, αὐτὸς δὲ πολλάκις ἀπολογουμένου τόπον λαμβάνων, ἵν' ᾖ τὸ δοκοῦν εὔνουν πιστὸν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις ὧν ἐδόκει. καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ποικίλως ἐκπεριεληλύθει τὸν πατέρα μόνος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου σωτηρίας ἅπαντα πράττειν αὐτὸς πεπιστευκώς. [191] ὁ δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖον, ὃς ἦν αὐτῷ διοικητὴς τῶν τῆς βασιλείας πραγμάτων, Ἀντιπάτρῳ συνίστη καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἐκείνου μητρὸς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπειγόντων ἐβουλεύετο. καὶ καθόλου τὰ πάντα ἦσαν οὗτοι καὶ πράττειν ὅσα θέλοιεν καὶ πρὸς δύσνοιαν ἄγειν τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ἔξωθεν οἷς ἐδόκει συμφέρειν. [192] οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς Μαριάμμης χαλεπώτερον ἀεὶ διετίθεντο, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ὑπ' εὐγενείας οὐκ ἔφερον παρεωσμένοι καὶ τάξιν ἀτιμοτέραν ἔχοντες. [193] αἵ γε μὴν γυναῖκες, ἡ μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνοικοῦσα θυγάτηρ Ἀρχελάου Γλαφύρα μῖσος εἶχεν εἰς τὴν Σαλώμην κατά τε τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα διάθεσιν κἀκ τοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνης θυγατέρα δοκεῖν ὑπερηφανώτερον διακεῖσθαι: συνῴκει μὲν γὰρ Ἀριστοβούλῳ, τὴν δὲ ἰσοτιμίαν αὐτῆς ἀναξιοπάθει Γλαφύρα.

(3) [194] Δευτέρας οὖν ταύτης ἔριδος ἐμπεπτωκυίας οὐδ' ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφὸς Φερώρας ἔξω ταραχῆς ἦν, ἰδίαν δὲ ὑπόθεσιν ὑποψίας καὶ μίσους εἶχεν: ἐμπεπτώκει μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἔρωτα δουλευούσης αὐτῷ γυναικός, ἥττητο δὲ τῆς ἀνθρώπου μεμηνότως ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον κρατούμενος, ὥστ' αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγγυηθείσης θυγατρὸς τὴν μὲν ὑπερηφανῆσαι, πρὸς δὲ τῇ δούλῃ τὸν νοῦν εἶχεν. [195] ἤχθετο δὲ ἀτιμασθεὶς Ἡρώδης τῷ πολλὰ μὲν εὐεργετῆσαι τὸν ἀδελφόν, δυνάμει δὲ καὶ κοινωνὸν ἔχειν τῆς βασιλείας, οὐχ ὅμοιον εἰς τὰς ἀμοιβὰς ὁρῶν, κἂν τῷ προσώπῳ δυστυχεῖν ᾠέτο. [196] καὶ τὴν μὲν κόρην μὴ τυχὼν Φερώρα δικαίου παιδὶ Φασαήλου δίδωσιν, αὐτὸς δὲ χρόνου διελθόντος οἰόμενος ἤδη παρηκμακέναι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τἀδελφῷ περί τε τῶν πρώτων ἠτιᾶτο καὶ τὴν δευτέραν ἠξίου λαμβάνειν, Κύπρος ἐκαλεῖτο. [197] Φερώρᾳ δὲ συμβουλεύει Πτολεμαῖος ἤδη ποτὲ παυσαμένῳ τῆς εἰς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀτιμίας καταβαλεῖν τὸν ἔρωτα: καὶ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν εἶναι δούλης ἡττώμενον ἀποστερεῖν μὲν αὐτὸν τῆς εὐνοίας τῆς παρὰ βασιλέως, αἴτιον δὲ κἀκείνῳ ταραχῆς καὶ μίσους πρὸς αὐτὸν καθίστασθαι. [198] ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνος ἰδὼν λυσιτελήσοντα τῷ καὶ πρότερον ἐν διαβολαῖς γενόμενος συνεγνῶσθαι, τὴν μὲν ἄνθρωπον ἤδη καὶ παῖδα ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔχων ἀποπέμπεται, βασιλεῖ δ' ὡμολόγει λήψεσθαι τὴν δευτέραν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα καὶ τριακοστὴν ἡμέραν συνέθετο τοῦ γάμου, συνεπομνύμενος ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι

κοινώνημα πρὸς τὴν ἀποπεμφθεῖσαν ἔσται. [199] διελθουσῶν δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν τοσοῦτον ἦν ἥττων τοῦ ἔρωτος, ὥστε μηδὲν μὲν ἔτι ποιῆσαι τῶν ὡμολογημένων, πάλιν δὲ διατελεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ. [200] ταῦτα φανερῶς ἤδη τὸν Ἡρώδην ἐλύπει καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἦγεν. ἦσαν οὖν λόγοι τινὲς ἀεὶ παραπίπτοντες παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολλοὶ τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀφορμὴν τῶν κατὰ Φερώρου διαβολῶν ἐποιοῦντο. διέλειπεν δὲ οὐκ ἔσθ᾽ ἥτις ἡμέρα οὐδ᾽ ὥρα, καθ᾽ ἣν ἀτρεμεῖν αὐτῷ συνέβαινεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀεί τι προσέπιπτεν καινῶν ἀγωνισμάτων συγγενῶν καὶ φιλτάτων εἰς ἀλλήλους πεποιημένων. [201] τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἡ Σαλώμη χαλεπὴ καὶ δύσνους οὖσα τοῖς ἐκ Μαριάμμης οὐδὲ τὴν ἑαυτῆς θυγατέρα συνοικοῦσαν Ἀριστοβούλῳ θατέρῳ τῶν νεανίσκων εἴα τῇ τοῦ γάμου πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εὐνοίᾳ χρῆσθαι, λέγειν τε εἴ τι λαλήσειεν κατ᾽ ἰδίαν ἀναπείθουσα καὶ μηνύειν ἑαυτῇ κἀν τοῖς προσκρούμασιν, οἷα συμβαίνει, πολλὰς ὑποψίας εἰσάγουσα. [202] δι᾽ ὧν αὐτὴ μὲν ἅπαντα τὰ κατ᾽ ἐκείνους ἐμάνθανεν, δύσνουν δὲ τὴν παῖδα τῷ νεανίσκῳ πεποιήκει. [203] χαριζομένη δ᾽ ἐκείνη τῇ μητρὶ πολλάκις ἔλεγεν, ὡς μέμνηνται μὲν ἰδιάζοντες ἐκεῖνοι τῆς Μαριάμμης, ἐστυγήκασι δὲ τὸν πατέρα, συνεχὲς δὲ διαπειλοῦσιν, εἰ τύχοιεν αὐτοί ποτε τῆς ἀρχῆς, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων γυναικῶν παῖδας Ἡρώδῃ γεγενημένους κωμογραμματεῖς καταστήσειν: ἁρμόσειν γὰρ εἰς τοιαύτην χρείαν τὸ νῦν ἐπιμελὲς αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς παιδείαν ἐσπουδασμένον. [204] τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας, εἴ ποτε καὶ ταύτας ἴδοιεν τοῦ μητρῴου κόσμου μετειληφυίας, ἀντὶ τῆς παρούσης ἁβρότητος ἀπειλεῖν, ὡς τρύχεσιν ἠμφιεσμέναι καθειργοῦνται μηδὲ τὸν ἥλιον βλέπουσαι. [205] ταῦτ᾽ εὐθὺς ἀπηγγέλλετο διὰ τῆς Σαλώμης τῷ βασιλεῖ: κἀκεῖνος ἤκουεν μὲν ἀλγεινῶς, ἐπειρᾶτο δὲ διορθοῦν, ἐκακοῦτο δὲ ταῖς ὑποψίαις καὶ χείρων ἀεὶ γινόμενος ἅπασιν κατὰ πάντων ἐπίστευεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν ἐπιπλήξας τοῖς παισὶν ἀπολογησαμένων ῥᾴων εἰς τὸν καιρὸν ἐγίνετο, ταῖς δ᾽ ἑξῆς πολὺ χείρω προσέπεσεν.

(4) [206] Ὁ γὰρ Φερώρας ἐλθὼν παρὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἔχοντα τὴν Ἀρχελάου θυγατέρα Γλαφύραν, ὡς ἐδηλώσαμεν, Σαλώμης ἔφη λεγούσης ἀκηκοέναι τὸν Ἡρώδην ἡττῆσθαι τοῦ τῆς Γλαφύρας ἔρωτος καὶ δυσπαρηγόρητον αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν εἶναι. [207] τοῦτο οὖν ἐκεῖνος ἀκούσας ὑπό τε νεότητος καὶ ζηλοτυπίας ἐξεκαίετο καὶ τὰ κατὰ τιμὴν εἰς τὴν παῖδα γινόμενα παρ᾽ Ἡρώδου, πολλάκις δ᾽ ἦσαν αἱ τοιαῦται φιλοφρονήσεις, ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἐλάμβανεν ἐξ ὑπονοιῶν διὰ τὸν ἐκπεσόντα λόγον. [208] οὐκ ἐκαρτέρησέν τε τὴν ὀδύνην τοῦ πράγματος, ἀλλὰ ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καταμηνύει τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Φερώρα ῥηθέντα μετὰ δακρύων. Ἡρώδης δὲ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐκπαθὴς γενόμενος καὶ τὸ σὺν αἰσχύνῃ τῆς διαβολῆς ἐψευσμένον οὐ φέρων ἐτετάρακτο. [209] καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ὠδύρετο τὴν πονηρίαν τῶν οἰκείων οἷος εἰς αὐτοὺς γενόμενος οἵων τυγχάνοι, μεταπέμπεται δὲ τὸν Φερώραν καὶ προσονειδίσας “κάκιστε πάντων, εἶπεν, εἰς τοῦτο τῆς ἀμέτρου καὶ περιττῆς ἦλθες ἀχαριστίας, ὡς τοιαῦτα μὲν περὶ ἡμῶν νοῆσαι, τοιαῦτα δὲ

λαλεῖν; [210] ἆρ᾽ οὐχ ὁρῶ τὴν σὴν προαίρεσιν, ὡς οὐ βλασφημίας ἐστοχασμένος τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους τῷ παιδὶ προσήνεγκας, ἐπιβουλὴν δὲ καὶ φάρμακον αὐτοὺς ποιούμενος τῆς ἐμῆς ἀπωλείας; τίς γὰρ ἄν, εἰ μὴ δαιμόνων ἀγαθῶν ἔτυχεν, ὥσπερ οὗτος ὁ παῖς, ἠνέσχετο τὸν πατέρα μὴ τίσασθαι διὰ τοιαύτην ὑποψίαν; [211] πότερον δὲ λόγον εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν ἢ ξίφος εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτῷ δοκεῖς κατὰ τοῦ γεγεννηκότος; τί δέ σοι βούλεται τὸ μισοῦντά τε αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ πρὸς μόνην τὴν κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ βλασφημίαν εὔνοιαν ὑποκρίνασθαι καὶ περὶ τούτων λέγειν, ἃ τῆς σῆς ἀσεβείας ἦν καὶ νοῆσαι καὶ διαβαλεῖν; [212] ἔρρε κάκιστος εἰς εὐεργέτην καὶ ἀδελφὸν γενόμενος. καὶ σοὶ μὲν ἡ συνείδησις αὕτη συζήσειεν, ἐγὼ δὲ νικῶην ἀεὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς μήτε ἀμυνόμενος κατ᾽ ἀξίαν καὶ μειζόνως εὐεργετῶν ἢ τυχεῖν εἰσι δίκαιοι.”

(5) [213] Τοιαῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεύς. Φερώρας δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοφώρῳ τῇ μοχθηρίᾳ Σαλώμην ἔφη ταῦτα συμπείσειν καὶ παρ᾽ ἐκείνης εἶναι τοὺς λόγους. ἡ δὲ ὡς μόνον ἤκουσεν, ἐτύγχανεν δὲ παροῦσα, πιθανῶς ἀνεβόησεν, [214] ὡς οὐδὲν εἴη παρ᾽ αὐτῆς τοιοῦτον, καὶ ὅτι διὰ σπουδῆς ἐστιν ἅπασιν εἰς μῖσος ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὴν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ πάντα τρόπον ἐνέχειν διὰ τὴν εὔνοιαν, ἣν ἔχοι περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην ἀεὶ προγινώσκουσα τοὺς κινδύνους. [215] ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι: μόνη γὰρ ἀναπείθουσα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐκβάλλειν ἣν εἶχε γυναῖκα, λαμβάνειν δὲ θυγατέρα τὴν βασιλέως εἰκότως ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου μεμισῆσθαι. [216] τοιαῦτα λεγούσης καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ἐπιδραττομένης τῶν τριχῶν, πολλάκις δὲ τυπτούσης τὰ στέρνα, ἡ μὲν ὄψις εἶχέ τι πρὸς τὴν ἄρνησιν πιθανόν, ἡ δὲ κακοήθεια τοῦ τρόπου τὴν ἐν τοῖς γινομένοις ὑπόκρισιν ἀπεσήμαινεν. [217] ὁ δὲ Φερώρας εἰς μέσον ἀπείληπτο μηδὲν εὔσχημον εἰς ἀπολογίαν ἔχων, εἰπεῖν μὲν ὡμολογηκώς, ἀκοῦσαι δ᾽ οὐ πιστευόμενος. ἐγένετο δ᾽ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἥ τε σύγχυσις καὶ ἡ τῶν λόγων εἰς ἀλλήλους ἅμιλλα. [218] τέλος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τόν τε ἀδελφὸν καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν μεμισηκὼς ἀπεπέμπετο καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπαινέσας τῆς ἐγκρατείας καὶ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνενεγκεῖν τοὺς λόγους ὀψὲ τῆς ὥρας περὶ θεραπείαν τοῦ σώματος ἐγένετο. [219] τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς μάχης ἐμπεσούσης κακῶς ἤκουσεν ἡ Σαλώμη: παρ᾽ αὐτῆς γὰρ ἐδόκει κεκινῆσθαι τὰ περὶ τὴν διαβολήν: αἵ τε τοῦ βασιλέως γυναῖκες ἤχθοντο φύσει δυσχερεστάτην εἰδυῖαι καὶ γινομένην ἄλλοτ᾽ ἄλλην κατὰ καιροὺς ἐχθρὰν καὶ φίλην. ἔλεγον οὖν ἀεί τι πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδην κατ᾽ αὐτῆς καί τι συμπεσὸν ἐπὶ μεῖζον ἤγαγεν τὴν εἰς τοῦτο παρρησίαν.

(6) [220] Ἦν μὲν γὰρ ὁ τῆς Ἀραβίας βασιλεὺς Ὀβόδας ἀπράγμων καὶ νωθὴς τὴν φύσιν, Σύλλαιος δ᾽ αὐτῷ διῴκει τὰ πολλὰ δεινὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν νέος ἔτι καὶ καλός. [221] ὑπὸ χρείας οὖν τινος ἐλθὼν ὡς τὸν Ἡρώδην συνδειπνῶν εἶδεν τὴν Σαλώμην, καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἔσχεν πρὸς αὐτήν, γινώσκων δ᾽ ὅτι καὶ χήρα τυγχάνοι διελέγετο. [222] Σαλώμη δὲ καὶ χεῖρον ἢ πάλαι φερομένη παρὰ τἀδελφῷ καὶ τὸν νεανίσκον οὐκ ἀπαθῶς ὁρῶσα πρὸς τὸν γάμον ὥρμητο, ταῖς τε μεταξὺ φοιτώντων ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐνεφαίνετο πλείω τε καὶ μὴ μέτρια τῆς ἐκείνων πρὸς

ἀλλήλους ὁμολογίας. [223] ταῦτα δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες ἀνέφερον τῷ βασιλεῖ διαγελῶσαι τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην, Ἡρώδης δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Φερώρα προσεπυνθάνετο καὶ τηρεῖν ἠξίου παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον, πῶς τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐσχήκασιν. ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἀπήγγελλεν, ὅτι καὶ νεύμασιν καὶ βλέμμασιν οὐκ ἄδηλοι τῆς ὁρμῆς εἰσιν ἀμφότεροι. [224] μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ μὲν Ἄραψ ὕποπτος ὢν ἀπῄει: διαλιπὼν δὲ δύο μῆνας ἢ τρεῖς ἔρχεται πάλιν ὡς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ τούτῳ καὶ λόγους Ἡρώδῃ προσέφερεν, ἀξιῶν αὐτῷ τὴν Σαλώμην δοθῆναι πρὸς γάμον: ἔσεσθαι γὰρ οὐκ ἀλυσιτελὲς τὸ κῆδος ἐπιμιξίᾳ τῆς τῶν Ἀράβων ἀρχῆς, ἣν αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν ἤδη παρεῖναι δυνάμει καὶ μᾶλλον ὀφείλεσθαι. [225] τοῦ δὲ Ἡρώδου τὸν λόγον ἀναφέροντος καὶ πυνθανομένου τῆς ἀδελφῆς, εἰ πρὸς τὸν γάμον ἑτοίμως ἔχει, ταχέως μὲν ἐκείνη προσήκατο, Σύλλαιος δὲ ἀξιούντων αὐτὸν ἐγγραφῆναι τοῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθεσι καὶ τότε γαμεῖν, ἄλλως γὰρ οὐκ εἶναι δυνατόν, οὐχ ὑπομείνας, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταλευσθήσεσθαι πρὸς τῶν Ἀράβων εἰπών, εἰ τοῦτο πράξειεν, ἀπαλλάττεται. [226] Σαλώμην οὖν ὅ τε Φερώρας ἤδη διέβαλλεν εἰς ἀκρασίαν καὶ μᾶλλον αἱ γυναῖκες, λέγουσαι κοινωνίαν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι πρὸς τὸν Ἄραβα. [227] τήν τε κόρην, ἣν τἀδελφῷ κατενεγύησεν ὁ βασιλεύς, ἣν ὁ μὲν Φερώρας οὐκ ἔλαβεν, ὡς προεῖπον, ἡττημένος τῆς γυναικός, αἰτούσης Σαλώμης εἰς τὸν υἱὸν τὸν ἐκ Κοστοβάρου γενόμενον ὥρμητο μὲν ἐκείνῳ συνοικίσαι, [228] μεταπείθεται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Φερώρα τόν τε νεανίσκον οὐκ εὔνουν ἔσεσθαι λέγοντος διὰ τὴν ἀπώλειαν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ δικαιότερον εἶναι λαβεῖν τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα τῆς τετραρχίας ὄντα διάδοχον. οὕτω δὲ συγγνώμην ᾐτεῖτο καὶ μὴ πείσας οὕτως. ἐκείνη μὲν οὖν ἀντιμετατεθείσης τῆς ἐγγύης ἐγαμεῖτο τῷ Φερώρα μειρακίῳ φερνὴν ἐπιδόντος ἑκατὸν τάλαντα τοῦ βασιλέως.

VIII

(1) [229] Οὐκ ἀνεῖτο δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀεὶ καὶ μείζους τὰς ταραχὰς λαμβάνοντα, καὶ συμπίπτει τι τοιοῦτον ἐξ αἰτίας μὲν οὐκ εὐπρεποῦς, χωρῆσαν δὲ πρόσω κατὰ δυσχέρειαν: [230] ἦσαν εὐνοῦχοι τῷ βασιλεῖ διὰ κάλλος οὐ μετρίως ἐσπουδασμένοι. τούτων ὁ μὲν οἰνοχοεῖν, ὁ δὲ δεῖπνον προσφέρειν, ὁ δὲ κατακοιμίζειν βασιλέα πεπίστευτο καὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς. [231] καί τις ἀγγέλλει τῷ βασιλεῖ διαφθαρῆναι τούτους ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ παιδὸς ἐπὶ πολλοῖς χρήμασιν. ἀνακρίναντι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῆς γεγενημένης πρὸς αὐτὸν κοινωνίας καὶ μίξεως ὡμολόγουν, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν δυσχερὲς εἰς τὸν πατέρα συνειδέναι. [232] βασανιζόμενοι δὲ μᾶλλον κἀν ταῖς ἀνάγκαις ὄντες ἐπιτεινόντων ἀεὶ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν καὶ χαριζομένων τῷ Ἀντιπάτρῳ τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἔλεγον ὡς εἴη δυσμένεια πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ μῖσος ἔμφυτον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. [233] παραινοίη δ᾽ αὐτοῖς Ἡρώδην μὲν ἀπεγνωκέναι περιττὸν ἤδη τετυχηκότα καὶ τῷ γήρᾳ παρακάλυμμα τοῦ χρόνου ποιούμενον, μελαίνοντα τὰς τρίχας καὶ κλέπτοντα τὸν

ἔλεγχον τῆς ἡλικίας: εἰ δ᾽ αὐτῷ προσέχοιεν τὸν νοῦν, περιγενομένης τῆς βασιλείας, ἢν καὶ μὴ βουλομένου τοῦ πατρὸς οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς εἶναι, ταχὺ τὸν πρῶτον ἕξειν ἐν αὐτῇ τόπον: [234] οὐ γὰρ μόνον διὰ τὸ γένος, ἀλλ᾽ ἤδη καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς ἕτοιμον αὐτῷ τὸ κρατεῖν εἶναι: πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἡγεμόνων, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν φίλων συνεστᾶσιν οὐχὶ πονηροὶ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν καὶ δρᾶν καὶ πάσχειν.

(2) [235] Τούτων τῶν λόγων ἀκούσας Ἡρώδης ὅλος ἐγένετο τῆς ἐπηρείας καὶ τοῦ δέους, τὰ μὲν εἰς ὕβριν ῥηθέντα χαλεπῶς, τὰ δ᾽ εἰς ὑπόνοιαν οὐκ ἀκινδύνως ἐκλαβών, ὥστε καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἠρεθίζετο καὶ πικρὸς ὢν ἐδεδοίκει, μὴ καί τι ταῖς ἀληθείαις συνέστηκεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἰσχυρότερον ἢ φυλάξασθαι πρὸς ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρόν. [236] ἔνθεν οὐδ᾽ ἐκ φανεροῦ τὴν ἔρευναν ἐποιεῖτο, κατασκόπους δὲ τῶν ὑπονοουμένων διέπεμψεν. ὑποψία τε καὶ μίση πρὸς ἅπαντας ἦν, καὶ τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἐπ᾽ ἀσφαλείᾳ λαμβάνων πολλὴν καὶ κατὰ τῶν οὐκ ἀξίων αὐτῇ χρώμενος διετέλει. [237] πέρας τε οὐδὲν ἦν, ἀλλὰ μένειν οἱ νομιζόμενοι μᾶλλον ὡς ἂν καὶ μᾶλλον ἰσχύοντες ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ φοβεροί: τοῖς δ᾽ οἷς οὐκ ἦν συνήθεια πλείων ὀνομάσαι μόνον ἐδόκει, καὶ μέρος εὐθὺς ἀσφαλείας ἐδόκουν ἀπολλύμενοι. [238] τέλος τε οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ μηδὲν ἔχειν βέβαιον εἰς ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλους ἐτράπησαν, νομίζοντες μέν, εἰ φθάσας ἕτερος τὸν ἕτερον διαβάλοι, τοῦτ᾽ αὐτῷ πρὸς σωτηρίαν φέρειν, ἐπίφθονοι δ᾽ εἴ ποτε τύχοιεν ὧν ἠξίουν γενόμενοι καὶ τὸ δικαίως αὐτοὶ παθεῖν ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἄλλους ἠδίκησαν προσλαμβάνοντες μόνον. [239] ἤδη γοῦν οἰκείας τινὲς ἔχθρας ἐπεξῄεσαν τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ καὶ καταφωραθέντες ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἐγένοντο, τὸν καιρὸν ὥσπερ ὄργανον καὶ πάγην ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς νοοῦντες καὶ συναλισκόμενοι τῇ πείρᾳ, καθ᾽ ἣν ἑτέροις ἐπεβούλευον. [240] ἥ τε γὰρ μετάνοια τῷ βασιλεῖ ταχὺ διὰ τὸ μὴ προφανῶς ἁμαρτάνοντας ἀναιρεῖν ἐπεγίνετο καὶ ταύτης τὸ χαλεπὸν οὐκ εἰς τὸ παύσασθαι τὰ ὅμοια δρᾶν, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς τὸ τιμωρήσασθαι τοῖς ἴσοις τοὺς ἐνδειξαμένους ἀπηρτίζετο.

(3) [241] Τοιαύτη μὲν ἦν τῶν περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν ταραχή. πολλοῖς δὲ τῶν φίλων ἤδη καὶ τοῦτ᾽ αὐτὸ προεῖπεν, ὡς οὔτ᾽ ἐμφανίζεσθαι δέον αὐτῷ λοιπὸν οὔτ᾽ εἰς τὸ βασίλειον εἰσιέναι. ταύτην δὲ τὴν παραγγελίαν ἐποιεῖτο καθ᾽ ὧν ἡ παρρησία ἐλάττονος ἢ πλείονος ἐντροπῆς μετειλήφει: [242] καὶ γὰρ Ἀνδρόμαχον καὶ Γέμελλον ἄνδρας ἄνωθεν φίλους αὐτῷ, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν περὶ τὰς βασιλικὰς χρείας ἔν τε πρεσβείαις καὶ συμβουλίαις ὀνήσαντας αὐτοῦ τὸν οἶκον, συμπαιδεύσαντας δὲ τοὺς υἱοὺς καὶ τί γὰρ ἢ πρῶτον παρρησίας τόπον ἐσχηκότας παρῃτήσατο τότε, [243] τὸν μὲν, ὅτι Δημήτριος ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ συνήθης ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, Γέμελλον δὲ εὔνουν ἐπιστάμενος ἐκείνῳ: καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς τροφαῖς κἀν τῇ παιδείᾳ παραγεγόνει καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ συνδιέτριβεν ἀποδημίαν. παρῃτήσατο δὲ καὶ τούτους ἡδέως μὲν ἂν καὶ χεῖρον, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ μὴ κατ᾽ ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἀσήμων ἔχειν τὴν ἄχρι τοσούτων παρρησίαν τήν τε τιμὴν καὶ τὸ δύνασθαι κωλύειν ἁμαρτάνοντας παραιρούμενος

(4) [244] Ἦν δὲ τούτων ἁπάντων αἴτιος Ἀντίπατρος, ὃς ἐπειδὴ τὸ νενοσηκὸς τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς παρρησίας κατέμαθεν, ἔκπαλαι μὲν συνεδρεύων αὐτῷ προσέκειτο καὶ μᾶλλον ἐδόκει τι περαίνειν, τῶν ἀντέχειν δυναμένων ἕκαστος εἰ ὑπεξαιρεθείη. [245] τότε γοῦν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀνδρόμαχον ἀπελαθέντων λόγου καὶ παρρησίας πρῶτον μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅσους ᾤετο πιστοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ βασάνοις ἀνέκρινεν, εἴ τι κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ τολμηθὲν εἰδείησαν: οἱ δὲ ἀπέθνησκον οὐδὲν ἔχοντες λέγειν. [246] τῷ δ᾽ ἦν φιλονεικίας αἴτιον, εἰ μή τι τοιοῦτον οἷον ἐδόκει κακῶς εὑρίσκοιτο, καὶ δεινὸς Ἀντίπατρος τὸν μὲν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας ἀναίτιον εἰς ἐγκράτειαν καὶ πίστιν διαβαλεῖν, ἐπιπαροξῦναι δὲ ζητεῖν ἐκ πλειόνων τὸ λανθάνον τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως. [247] καί τις ἐν πολλοῖς τοῖς βασανιζομένοις εἶπεν, ὡς εἰδείη τὸν νεανίσκον λέγοντα πολλάκις, ὅταν ἐπαινούμενος αὐτὸς τύχῃ τό τε σῶμα ὡς εἴη μέγας καὶ τὴν τοξικὴν εὔστοχος καὶ τἆλλα τὰ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας, ὅτι ταῦτ᾽ αὐτῷ κακὰ μᾶλλον ἢπερ ἀγαθὰ παρὰ τῆς φύσεώς ἐστιν: ἄχθεσθαι γὰρ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς τὸν πατέρα καὶ φθονεῖν, [248] αὐτός τε ὅταν μὲν ἅμα περιπατῶν συστέλλειν αὐτὸν καὶ καθαιρεῖν ὡς μὴ μείζων ὁρᾶσθαι, τοξεύων δὲ ἐν τοῖς κυνηγεσίοις ἐκείνου παρόντος ἀπὸ σκοποῦ ῥίπτειν: τὴν γὰρ φιλοτιμίαν εἰδέναι τοῦ γεγεννηκότος τούτων εὐδοκιμούντων. [249] βασανιζομένῳ τῷ τε λόγῳ καὶ προσγινομένης ἀνέσεως τῷ σώματι προσετίθει δ᾽ ὅτι καὶ συνεργὸν ἔχων τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ἐν κυνηγεσίῳ λοχήσας Φεύγειν εἰς Ῥώμην, ἐπειδὰν τοῦτ᾽ αὐτῷ πραχθῇ, τὴν βασιλείαν αἰτησόμενος. [250] εὑρέθη δὲ καὶ γράμματα τοῦ νεανίσκου πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν, ἐν οἷς ἐμέμφετο τὸν πατέρα μὴ δίκαια ποιεῖν, Ἀντιπάτρῳ χώραν ἀπονέμοντα πρόσοδον διακοσίων ταλάντων φέρουσαν. [251] ἐπὶ τούτοις εὐθὺς μὲν ἔδοξέν τι πιστὸν ἔχειν Ἡρώδης, ὡς ᾤετο, κατὰ τῆς τῶν παίδων ὑποψίας καὶ συλλαβὼν ἔδησεν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. αὖθις δὲ οὐκ ἀνίει χαλεπὸς ὤν, τὰ μὲν οὐδ᾽ οἷς ἤκουσεν ἄγαν πεπιστευκώς: ἀναλογιζομένῳ γὰρ ἄξιον μὲν ἐπιβουλῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἐφαίνετο, μέμψεις δὲ καὶ νεανικαὶ φιλοτιμίαι, καὶ τὸ κτείναντα φανερῶς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ὁρμᾶν ἀπίθανον. [252] ἠξίου δὲ καὶ μεῖζόν τι λαβεῖν τῆς περὶ τὸν υἱὸν παρανομίας τεκμήριον καὶ φιλόνεικος ἦν μὴ δόξαι προπετῶς τὰ δεσμὰ κατεγνωκέναι. τῶν τε φίλων τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου βασανίζων τοὺς ἐν τέλει διέφθειρεν αὐτῶν οὐκ ὀλίγους οὐδὲν εἰπόντας ὧν ἐκεῖνος ᾤετο. [253] πολλῆς δὲ τῆς εἰς τὸ τοιοῦτον ἑτοιμότητος οὔσης καὶ φόβου καὶ ταραχῆς περὶ τὸ βασίλειον, εἷς τις τῶν νεωτέρων ὡς ἐν ταῖς ἀνάγκαις ἐγένετο, διαπέμπειν ἔφη τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ φίλοις τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀξιοῦντα κληθῆναι θᾶττον ὑπὸ Καίσαρος: ἔχειν γὰρ αὐτῷ πρᾶξιν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν συνισταμένην μηνῦσαι Μιθριδάτην τὸν βασιλέα Πάρθων τοῦ πατρὸς ἠρημένου κατὰ Ῥωμαίων φίλον: εἶναι δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ φάρμακον ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι παρεσκευασμένον.

(5) [254] Τούτοις ἐπίστευσεν Ἡρώδης καί τινα παραμυθίαν τῆς προπετείας εἴληφεν ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν χειρόνων κολακευόμενος. καὶ τὸ μὲν φάρμακον εὐθὺς ἐσπουδακότι ζητεῖν οὐχ εὑρέθη. [255] τὴν δ᾽ ὑπερβολὴν τῶν κακῶν

Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκ φιλονεικίας ἐπιρρῶσαι θέλων εἰς μὲν ἄρνησιν οὐκ ἐτράπετο, μετῄει δὲ τὴν προπέτειαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἁμαρτίᾳ μείζονι, τάχα δὲ καὶ διὰ τούτου βουλόμενος δυσωπῆσαι τὸ πρὸς τὰς διαβολὰς ἕτοιμον, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ εἰ καὶ ἔτυχεν πιστευθεὶς κακοῦν αὐτόν τε καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν βασιλείαν προῃρημένος. [256] γράμματα γὰρ γράψας ἐν βιβλίοις τέσσαρσιν ἀπέστειλεν, ὡς οὐδὲν δεῖ βασανίζειν οὐδὲ περαιτέρω χωρεῖν: γενέσθαι γὰρ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ ταύτης συλλαμβάνειν τόν τε Φερώραν καὶ τοὺς πιστοτάτους αὐτῷ τῶν φίλων, Σαλώμην δὲ καὶ νύκτωρ ἐπεισελθοῦσαν ἄκοντι μιγῆναι: [257] καὶ πάντας ἐπὶ ταὐτὸν ἥκειν τοὺς θᾶττον ἐκεῖνον ἐκποδὼν ποιησαμένους ἄδειαν τῆς ἀεὶ προσδοκίας ἔχειν. ἐν τούτοις καὶ Πτολεμαῖος διεβέβλητο καὶ Σαπίννιος οἱ πιστότατοι τῷ βασιλεῖ. [258] καὶ τί γὰρ ἢ καθάπερ λύττης τινὸς ἐμπεσούσης κατ᾽ ἀλλήλων οἱ πάλαι φίλτατοι τεθηρίωντο, μήτ᾽ ἀπολογίας μήτ᾽ ἐλέγχου τόπον ἕως ἀληθείας ἐχόντων, ἀλλ᾽ ἀεὶ γινομένης ἀκρίτου τινὸς εἰς ἅπαντας ἀπωλείας, καὶ τῶν μὲν δεσμά, τῶν δὲ θανάτους, τῶν δὲ τὸ ταῦτα μέλλειν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὀδυρομένων, ἡσυχία τε καὶ κατήφεια τὸ βασίλειον ἀπεκόσμει τῆς πρώτης εὐδαιμονίας. [259] καὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν Ἡρώδῃ πᾶς ὁ βίος ἐκτεταραγμένῳ καὶ τὸ μηδενὶ πιστεύειν μέγα τῆς προσδοκίας κολαστήριον ἔχοντι: πολλάκις γοῦν ὡς ἐπανιστάμενον αὐτῷ τὸν υἱὸν ἢ καὶ ξιφήρη παρεστῶτα διὰ φαντασίας ἐλάμβανεν. [260] οὕτως ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν πρὸς τούτῳ γινομένη πάθος ἀνεμάξατο μανίας οὐχ ἧττον δὲ καὶ ἀνοίας. καὶ τὰ περὶ ἐκεῖνον εἶχεν οὕτως.

(6) [261] Ἀρχέλαος δὲ ὁ τῶν Καππαδόκων βασιλεύς, ὡς ἐπύθετο τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἡρώδην, ἀγωνιῶν τε ὑπὲρ τῆς θυγατρὸς καὶ τοῦ νεανίσκου καὶ συναλγῶν ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ τῆς ἐπὶ τοσόνδε ταραχῆς, ἦκεν οὐκ ἐν παρέργῳ θέμενος τὰ πράγματα. [262] καὶ καταλαβὼν οὕτως ἔχοντα τὸ μὲν ἐπιτιμᾶν ἢ φάναι γενέσθαι τι προπετὲς αὐτῷ τελέως ἀνοίκειον εἰς τὸν καιρὸν ἡγήσατο: φιλονεικήσειν γὰρ κεκακωμένον καὶ μᾶλλον ἀπολογεῖσθαι σπεύδοντα πλείονος ὀργῆς ἀναπλησθήσεσθαι: [263] μετῄει δὲ τάξιν ἑτέραν τὴν ἐπανόρθωσιν τῶν ἠτυχημένων, ὀργιζόμενος τῷ νεανίσκῳ κἀκεῖνον ἐπιεικῆ λέγων τῷ μηδὲν ἐκ προπετείας ἐργάσασθαι, τόν τε γάμον διαλύσειν ἔφη πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ μηδ᾽ ἂν τῆς θυγατρὸς φείσασθαι, εἴ τι συνειδυῖα τούτῳ οὐ κατεμήνυσεν. [264] τοιούτου δ᾽ ὄντος οὐ κατὰ προσδοκίαν ὧν Ἡρώδης ᾤετο, τὸ δὲ πλέον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὴν ὀργὴν ἐπιδεικνυμένου, μετέπιπτεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς χαλεπότητος καὶ λαβὼν ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου δοκεῖν τὰ πεπραγμένα πεποιηκέναι κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀντιμεθίστατο πάθος. [265] οἰκτρὸς δ᾽ ἦν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις, ὅτε μὲν ἀπελύοντό τινες τὰς τοῦ νεανίσκου διαβολὰς εἰς ὀργὴν ἐκταραττόμενος, ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ἀρχέλαος συγκατηγόρει, πρὸς δάκρυα καὶ λύπην οὐκ ἀπαθῆ μεθιστάμενος: ἐδεῖτο γοῦν ἐκείνου μήτε διαλύειν τὸν γάμον ὀργῆς τε ἔλαττον ἔχειν ἐφ᾽ οἷς ὁ νεανίσκος ἠδίκησεν. [266] Ἀρχέλαος δὲ παραλαβὼν ἐπιεικέστερον εἴς τε τοὺς φίλους μετέφερεν τὰς διαβολάς, ἐκείνων εἶναι λέγων νέον ὄντα καὶ κακοηθείας

ἀναίσθητον διαφθεῖραι, τόν τε ἀδελφὸν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον εἰς ὑποψίαν καθίστη: [267] τοῦ γὰρ Ἡρώδου χαλεπῶς καὶ πρὸς τὸν Φερώραν ἔχοντος ὁ μὲν ἀπορίᾳ τοῦ διαλλάξοντος Ἀρχέλαον ὁρῶν μάλιστα δυνάμενον αὐτὸς τυχὼν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐτράπετο μελανείμων καὶ πάντα τὰ σημεῖα τῆς μετὰ μικρὸν ἀπωλείας ἔχων, [268] Ἀρχέλαος δὲ οὔτε ὑπερεῖδεν τὴν ἔντευξιν οὔτ᾽ ἔφη δυνατὸς εἶναι ταχὺ μεταπείθειν οὕτως ἔχοντα τὸν βασιλέα: βέλτιον δὲ εἶναι αὐτῷ προσιέναι καὶ δεῖσθαι, τῶν πάντων αἴτιον αὐτὸν ὁμολογοῦντα: ὠφελήσειν γὰρ οὕτως τοῦ θυμοῦ τὸ περιττόν, αὐτὸς δὲ συλλήψεσθαι παρών. [269] ταῦτα δὲ πεισθέντος αὐτοῦ συναμφότερον ἦν διαπεπραγμένον, αἵ τε διαβολαὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἀφῄρηντο τοῦ νεανίσκου καὶ Φερώραν Ἀρχέλαος διαλλάξας οὕτως εἰς Καππαδοκίαν ἀπῄει, κεχαρισμένος ὡς οὐκ ἄλλος ἐν τῇ τότε περιστάσει τῶν καιρῶν Ἡρῴδῃ γενόμενος. ὅθεν καὶ δώροις αὐτὸν ἐτίμησεν πολυτελεστάτοις κἀν τοῖς ἄλλοις μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα φίλτατον ἡγησάμενος. [270] ἐποιήσατο δὲ καὶ συνθήκας εἰς Ῥώμην ἐλθεῖν, ἐπειδὴ περὶ τούτων ἐγέγραπτο Καίσαρι, καὶ μέχρις Ἀντιοχείας ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ παρῆλθον. ἐκεῖ καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα Συρίας Τίτιον ἐκ διαφορᾶς Ἀρχελάῳ κακῶς ἔχοντα διήλλαξεν Ἡρῴδης καὶ πάλιν εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ὑποστρέφει.

IX

(1) [271] Γενομένῳ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ κἀκεῖθεν ἐπανήκοντι συνέστη πόλεμος πρὸς τοὺς Ἄραβας ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης: οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὸν Τράχωνα Καίσαρος ἀφελομένου Ζηνόδωρον καὶ προσθέντος Ἡρῴδῃ τὴν χώραν λῃστεύειν μὲν οὐκ εἶχον ἐξουσίαν ἔτι, γεωργεῖν δὲ καὶ ζῆν ἡμέρως ἠναγκάζοντο. [272] τόδ᾽ ἦν ἐκείνοις οὐχ αἱρετὸν οὐδὲ λυσιτέλειαν ἔφερεν ἡ γῆ πονούντων. ὅμως δὲ κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς μὲν οὐκ ἐπιτρέποντος τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπείχοντο τῶν εἰς τοὺς περιοίκους ἀδικημάτων, καὶ πολλὴ διὰ τοῦτο ἦν εὐδοξία τῆς ἐπιμελείας Ἡρῴδῃ. [273] πλεύσαντος δ᾽ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, ὅτε καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου κατηγόρει καὶ παραθησόμενος Ἀντίπατρον τὸν υἱὸν παρεληλύθει Καίσαρι, λόγον ὡς ἀπολωλὼς εἴη διασπείροντες οἱ τὸν Τράχωνα νεμόμενοι τῆς τε ἀρχῆς ἀπέστησαν καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ συνήθη τοὺς πλησιοχώρους ἀδικεῖν ἐτρέποντο. [274] τότε μὲν οὖν αὐτοὺς οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπόντος ἐχειρώσαντο. περὶ τετταράκοντα δέ τινες ἀρχιλῃσταὶ κατὰ δέος τῶν ἡλωκότων ἐξέλιπον μὲν τὴν χώραν, [275] εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἀφορμήσαντες Συλλαίου δεξαμένου μετὰ τὴν ἀποτυχίαν τοῦ Σαλώμης γάμου, τόπον τε ἐρυμνὸν ἐκείνου δόντος ᾤκησαν καὶ κατατρέχοντες οὐ μόνον τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κοίλην Συρίαν ἅπασαν ἐλῄζοντο, παρέχοντος ὁρμητήρια τοῦ Συλλαίου καὶ κακῶς ποιοῦσιν ἄδειαν. [276] Ἡρῴδης δὲ ἐπανελθὼν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἔγνω πολλὰ τῶν οἰκείων αὐτῷ κεκακωμένα, καὶ τῶν μὲν λῃστῶν ἐγκρατὴς γενέσθαι οὐκ ἠδυνήθη διὰ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, ἣν ἐκ τῆς

τῶν Ἀράβων προστασίας ἐπορίσαντο, χαλεπῶς δὲ ἔχων αὐτὸς τῶν ἀδικημάτων περιελθὼν τὸν Τράχωνα τοὺς οἰκείους αὐτῶν ἀπέσφαξεν. [277] ἐντεῦθεν ἐκεῖνοι καὶ μᾶλλον πρὸς ὀργὰς ὧν ἐπεπόνθεισαν ὄντος αὐτοῖς καὶ νόμου πάντα τρόπον ἐπεξιέναι τοὺς τῶν οἰκείων φονεῖς ἀνυποτιμήτως τὴν Ἡρώδου πᾶσαν ἄγοντες καὶ φέροντες διετέλουν. ἐκεῖνος δὲ διελέγετο περὶ τούτων τοῖς Καίσαρος ἡγεμόσιν Σατορνίνῳ τε καὶ Οὐολομνίῳ ἐπὶ κολάσει τοὺς λῃστὰς ἐξαιτούμενος. [278] ὅθεν ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἰσχυρῶς ἐχόντων πλείους μὲν ἐγίνοντο, πάντα δὲ ἐτάραττον ἐπ᾽ ἀναστάσει τῆς Ἡρώδου βασιλείας χωρία καὶ κώμας πορθοῦντες καὶ τοὺς λαμβανομένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπέσφαττον, ὡς εἶναι πολέμῳ τὴν ἀδικίαν ἐοικυῖαν: ἐγεγόνεισαν γὰρ ἤδη περὶ χιλίους. [279] ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἀχθόμενος Ἡρώδης τούς τε λῃστὰς ἐξῄτει καὶ χρέος ὃ διὰ Συλλαίου δανείσας ἔτυχεν Ὀβάδᾳ τάλαντα ἑξήκοντα, παρηκούσης αὐτῷ τῆς προθεσμίας ἀπολαβεῖν ἠξίου. [280] Σύλλαιος δὲ τὸν μὲν Ὀβάδαν παρεωσμένος αὐτὸς δὲ ἅπαντα διοικῶν τούς τε λῃστὰς ἔξαρνος ἦν μὴ κατὰ τὴν Ἀραβίαν εἶναι καὶ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἀνεβάλλετο, περὶ ὧν ἐπί τε Σατορνίνου καὶ Οὐολομνίου τῶν Συρίας ἐπιστατούντων ἐγίνοντο λόγοι. [281] τέλος δὲ συνέθεντο δι᾽ ἐκείνων ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα τά τε χρήματα τὸν Ἡρώδην ἀπολαβεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἀλλήλων ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τῇ βασιλείᾳ Καὶ παρὰ μὲν Ἡρώδῃ τῶν Ἀράβων οὐδεὶς εὑρέθη τὸ σύνολον οὔτε ἐπ᾽ ἀδικίας οὔτε κατ᾽ ἄλλον τρόπον, οἱ δ᾽ Ἄραβες ἠλέγχοντο τοὺς λῃστὰς παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἔχειν.

(2) [282] Διελθούσης δὲ τῆς προθεσμίας Σύλλαιος οὐδὲν τῶν δικαίων πεποιηκὼς εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνέρχεται. ῥύσια δὲ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τῶν παρ᾽ ἐκείνοις λῃστῶν Ἡρώδης ἐποιεῖτο, [283] καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Σατορνῖνον καὶ Οὐολόμνιον ἐπιτρεπόντων ἀγνωμονοῦντας ἐπεξιέναι στρατιάν τε ἔχων προήγαγεν εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἑπτὰ σταθμοὺς διανύσας, καὶ γενόμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ φρουρίου τοῦ τοὺς λῃστὰς ἔχοντος αἱρεῖ μὲν ἐξ ἐφόδου πάντας αὐτούς, κατασκάπτει δὲ τὸ χωρίον Ῥάεπτα καλούμενον: τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἐλύπησεν. [284] ἐκβοηθησάντων δὲ τῶν Ἀράβων ἡγουμένου Νακέβου μάχη γίνεται, καθ᾽ ἣν ὀλίγοι μὲν τῶν Ἡρώδου, Νάκεβος δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἀράβων στρατηγὸς καὶ περὶ εἰκοσιπέντε τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ πίπτουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι πρὸς φυγὴν ἐτράποντο. [285] τισάμενος δὲ τούτους τρισχιλίους Ἰδουμαίων ἐπὶ τῇ Τραχωνίτιδι κατοικίσας ἦγεν λῃστὰς τοὺς ἐκεῖ, καὶ περὶ τούτων τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἔπεμπεν περὶ Φοινίκην οὖσιν, ἀποδεικνὺς ὅτι μηδὲν πλέον ὧν ἀγνωμονοῦντας ἐπεξελθεῖν ἔδει τοὺς Ἄραβας αὐτῷ πέπρακται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖνοι πολυπραγμονοῦντες εὕρισκον οὐ ψευδόμενον.

(3) [286] Ἄγγελοι δὲ Συλλαίῳ καταταχήσαντες εἰς Ῥώμην τὰ πεπραγμένα διεσάφουν εἰς μεῖζον, ὡς εἰκός, ἕκαστον τῶν γεγονότων αἴροντες. [287] ὁ δὲ ἤδη μὲν ἐπεπραγμάτευτο γνώριμος εἶναι Καίσαρι, τότε δὲ περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν ἀναστρεφόμενος ὡς ἤκουσεν εὐθὺς μεταμφιέννυται μέλαιναν ἐσθῆτα καὶ

παρελθὼν ἔλεγεν ὡς αὐτόν, ὅτι πολέμῳ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν εἴη κεκακωμένα καὶ πᾶσα ἀνάστατος ἡ βασιλεία στρατιᾷ πορθήσαντος αὐτὴν Ἡρώδου. [288] δακρύων δὲ πεντακοσίους μὲν ἐπὶ δισχιλίοις Ἀράβων ἀπολωλέναι τοὺς πρώτους ἔλεγεν, ἀνῃρῆσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Νάκεβον οἰκεῖον αὐτῷ καὶ συγγενῆ, πλοῦτον δὲ διηρπάσθαι τὸν ἐν Ῥαέπτοις, καταπεφρονῆσθαι δὲ τὸν Ὀβόδαν ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας οὐκ ἀρκέσαντα τῷ πολέμῳ διὰ τὸ μήτ᾽ αὐτὸν μήτε τὴν Ἀραβικὴν δύναμιν παρεῖναι. [289] τοιαῦτα τοῦ Συλλαίου λέγοντος καὶ προστιθέντος ἐπιφθόνως, ὡς οὐδ᾽ ἂν αὐτὸς ἀπέλθοι τῆς χώρας μὴ πεπιστευκὼς ὅτι Καίσαρι μέλοι τὴν εἰρήνην ἅπασιν εἶναι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, μηδ᾽ εἰ παρὼν ἐτύγχανεν ἐκεῖ λυσιτελῆ ποιῆσαι τὸν πόλεμον Ἡρώδῃ, παροξυνθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀνέκρινε τῶν Ἡρώδου τοὺς παρόντας καὶ τῶν ἰδίων τοὺς ἀπὸ Συρίας ἥκοντας αὐτὸ μόνον, εἰ τὴν στρατιὰν Ἡρώδης ἐξαγάγοι. [290] τῶν δὲ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτὸ λέγειν ἀνάγκην ἐχόντων, τὸ δὲ ἐφ᾽ ὅτῳ καὶ πῶς οὐκ ἀκούοντος, ὀργή τε μείζων ἐγίνετο τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ γράφει πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδην τά τε ἄλλα χαλεπῶς καὶ τοῦτο τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τὸ κεφάλαιον, ὅτι πάλαι χρώμενος αὐτῷ φίλῳ νῦν ὑπηκόῳ χρήσεται. [291] γράφει δὲ καὶ Σύλλαιος ὑπὲρ τούτων τοῖς Ἄραψιν. οἱ δ᾽ ἐπαρθέντες οὔτε τῶν λῃστῶν ὅσοι διέφυγον ἐξεδίδοσαν οὔτε τὰ χρήματα διευλύτουν, νομάς τε ἃς ἐκείνου μισθωσάμενοι διακατεῖχον ἀμισθὶ ταύταις ἐχρῶντο, τεταπεινωμένου τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλέως διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος. [292] ἐπιτίθενται δὲ τῷ καιρῷ καὶ οἱ τὴν Τραχωνῖτιν ἔχοντες τῆς τῶν Ἰδουμαίων φρουρᾶς κατεξαναστάντες καὶ λῃστηρίοις χρώμενοι μετὰ τῶν Ἀράβων, οἳ ἐλεηλάτουν τὴν ἐκείνων χώραν οὐκ ἀπὸ ὠφελείας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μνησικακίας χαλεπώτεροι τὰς ἀδικίας ὄντες.

(4) [293] Ἡρώδης δὲ ταῦτα πάντα φέρων ἠνείχετο μεταβεβληκυίας αὐτῷ τῆς παρρησίας, ἣν εἶχε διὰ Καίσαρα, καὶ τὸ μεῖζον ἀφῄρητο τοῦ φρονήματος: οὐδὲ γὰρ πέμψαντος αὐτοῦ πρεσβείαν ἀπολογησομένην ὁ Καῖσαρ ἠνέσχετο, πάλιν δὲ τοὺς συνελθόντας ἀπράκτους ἀνέπεμψεν. [294] ἦν δ᾽ οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀθυμία καὶ δέος, ὅ τε Σύλλαιος οὐ μετρίως ἐλύπει πιστευθείς τε καὶ παρὼν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, τότε δὲ καὶ μειζόνων ἁπτόμενος: ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ὀβόδας ἐτεθνήκει, παραλαμβάνει δὲ τὴν τῶν Ἀράβων ἀρχὴν Αἰνείας ὁ μετονομασθεὶς αὖθις Ἀρέτας. [295] τοῦτον γὰρ ἐπεχείρει διαβολαῖς παρωσάμενος αὐτὸς ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν ἀρχήν, χρήματα μὲν πολλὰ διδοὺς τοῖς περὶ τὴν αὐλήν, πολλὰ δὲ Καίσαρι δώσειν ὑπισχνούμενος. ὁ δὲ τῷ μὴ τὸν Ἀρέταν ἐπιστείλαντα πρότερον αὐτῷ βασιλεύειν ὠργίζετο. [296] πέμπει δὲ κἀκεῖνος ἐπιστολὴν καὶ δῶρα τῷ Καίσαρι στέφανόν τε χρυσοῦν ἀπὸ πολλῶν ταλάντων: ἡ δὲ ἐπιστολὴ κατηγόρει Σύλλαιον ὄντα πονηρὸν δοῦλον Ὀβόδαν τε φαρμάκοις διαφθεῖραι καὶ ζῶντος ἔτι κρατεῖν αὐτὸν τάς τε τῶν Ἀράβων μοιχεύοντα καὶ χρήματα δανειζόμενον, ὥστ᾽ ἐξιδιώσασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν. [297] προσέσχεν δὲ οὐδὲ τούτοις ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἀλλ᾽ ἀποπέμπει μηδὲν τῶν δώρων λαβών. τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ Ἀραβίαν ἀεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπεδίδου τὰ μὲν εἰς

ἀταξίαν τὰ δ᾽ ὡς καταφθειρομένων μηδένα προεστάναι: [298] τῶν γὰρ βασιλέων ὁ μὲν οὐδέπω τὴν ἀρχὴν βεβαίαν ἔχων οὐχ ἱκανὸς ἦν κωλύειν τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας, Ἡρώδης δὲ ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἠμύνατο τάχιον ὀργισθέντος αὐτῷ Καίσαρος ἁπάσας τὰς εἰς αὐτὸν παρανομίας φέρειν ἠναγκάζετο. [299] πέρας δ᾽ οὐδὲν ὁρῶν τῶν περιεστώτων κακῶν ἔγνω πάλιν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀποστέλλειν, εἴ τι δύναιτο μετριώτερον εὑρεῖν διά τε τῶν φίλων καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν Καίσαρα τὴν ἐντυχίαν ποιησάμενος. κἀκεῖ μὲν ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς ἀπῄει Νικόλαος.

X

(1) [300] Ἐξετετάρακτο δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῷ πολὺ χεῖρον ἐσχηκότα περὶ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον. ὅλως μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ τὸν ἔμπροσθε χρόνον ἀσύνοπτον ἦν, ὡς τὸ μέγιστον καὶ δυσχερέστατον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων παθῶν ἀπειλεῖται τῇ βασιλείᾳ διὰ τῆς τύχης, ἐπέβαινεν δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον ηὐξήθη τότε παρὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν. [301] Εὐρυκλῆς ἀπὸ Λακεδαίμονος οὐκ ἄσημος τῶν ἐκεῖ κακὸς δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ἄνθρωπος καὶ περὶ τρυφὴν καὶ κολακείαν δεινὸς ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν ἔχειν τε καὶ μὴ δοκεῖν, ἐπιδημήσας ὡς τὸν Ἡρώδην δῶρά τε δίδωσιν αὐτῷ καὶ πλείω παρ᾽ ἐκείνου λαβὼν ταῖς εὐκαιρίαις τῶν ἐντεύξεων ἐπραγματεύσατο φίλος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα γενέσθαι βασιλέως. [302] ἦν δ᾽ αὐτῷ καταγωγὴ μὲν ἐν τοῖς Ἀντιπάτρου, πρόσοδος δὲ καὶ συνήθεια πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον: Ἀρχελάῳ γὰρ ἔλεγεν εἶναι τῷ Καππάδοκι διὰ σπουδῆς. [303] ὅθεν καὶ τὴν Γλαφύραν ὑπεκρίνατο τιμᾶν, καὶ πολὺς ἦν ἀφανῶς μὲν ἐκθεραπεύων ἅπαντας ἀεὶ δὲ τοῖς λαλουμένοις ἢ γινομένοις προσέχων, ὡς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀντιχαρίζεσθαι τὰς διαβολάς. [304] τέλος δὲ τοιοῦτος ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰς συντυχίας ἀπέβαινεν, ὡς ἐκείνῳ μὲν εἶναι φίλος τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις δοκεῖν κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον ἐκείνῳ προσεῖναι. οὗτος Ἀλέξανδρον παράγει νέον ὄντα καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐπεπόνθει μηδενὶ μὲν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον δὲ μόνον ἀδεῶς πεπεισμένον ἐξεῖναι λέγειν: [305] ἐνέφαινεν οὖν ἀχθόμενος, ὡς ὁ πατὴρ ἠλλοτρίωτο, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν μητέρα διηγεῖτο καὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον, ὅτι παρωθούμενος αὐτοὺς τῆς τιμῆς τὰ πάντα ἤδη δύναται. τούτων δὲ ἀνεκτὸν οὐδὲν ἔφη κατεσκευασμένου πρὸς μῖσος ἤδη τοῦ πατρός, ὡς μηδὲ συμποσίοις ἢ συλλόγοις ἀνέχεσθαι λέγων. [306] τοιαῦτα μὲν ἐκεῖνος, ὡς εἰκός, ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἤλγει: τοὺς δὲ λόγους Εὐρυκλῆς Ἀντιπάτρῳ τούτους ἀνέφερεν, λέγων μὲν ὡς οὐχ ἕνεκα σοῦ τοῦτ᾽ αὐτὸν ποιεῖν, νικᾶσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ σοῦ τιμώμενος τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ πράγματος καὶ φυλάττεσθαι παρακελευόμενος τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον: οὐ γὰρ ἀπαθῶς τούτων ἕκαστον λέγειν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὴν αὐτοχειρίαν. [307] Ἀντίπατρος μὲν οὖν εὖνουν ὑπολαμβάνων ἐκ τούτων μεγάλας αὐτῷ παρ᾽ ἕκαστα δωρεὰς ἐδίδου καὶ τέλος ἤδη πείθει πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδην ἀναφέρειν τὸν λόγον. [308] ὁ δ᾽ οὐκ ἦν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου δύσνοιαν ἐξ ὧν ἔλεγεν ἀκηκοέναι διηγούμενος ἀπίθανος, ἀλλ᾽ οὕτω διέθηκε τὸν βασιλέα

περιάγων ἀεὶ τοῖς ῥήμασι καὶ παροξύνων, ὡς ἀμετάγνωστον ποιῆσαι τὸ μῖσος. ἐδήλωσεν δὲ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν καιρόν: [309] εὐθὺς γὰρ Εὐρυκλεῖ δίδωσιν πεντήκοντα τάλαντα δωρεάν. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα λαβὼν καὶ πρὸς Ἀρχέλαον ἀναβὰς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Καππαδόκων τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπῄνει καὶ χρήσιμος ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ πολλὰ πρὸς τὰς διαλλαγὰς τὰς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα γεγενῆσθαι. [310] χρηματισάμενος δὲ καὶ παρ᾽ ἐκείνου πρὶν καταφωραθῆναι τῆς κακοηθείας ἀπῄει. Εὐρυκλῆς μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι παυσάμενος εἶναι μοχθηρὸς ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἀδικήμασιν ἀπεστερήθη τῆς πατρίδος.

(2) [311] Ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλεὺς οὐχ ὥσπερ πρότερον εἶχεν πρός τε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ἀκούειν μόνον τὰς κατ᾽ αὐτῶν διαβολάς, ἀλλ᾽ ἤδη διὰ μίσους οἰκείου γεγενημένος αὐτὸς εἰ καὶ μὴ λέγοι τις ἐξειργάζετο, [312] παρατηρῶν ἕκαστα καὶ πυνθανόμενος καὶ πᾶσιν ἐνδιδοὺς τοῖς βουλομένοις, εἴ τις ἔχοι τι κατ᾽ ἐκείνων εἰπεῖν, Εὐάρατόν τε Κῶον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνειδέναι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὖν καθ᾽ ἡδονὴν τὸ πάντων ἥδιστον Ἡρώδης ἐλάμβανεν.

(3) [313] Ἐπιγίνεται δὲ κατὰ τῶν νεανίσκων μεῖζόν τι σκευωρουμένης ἀεὶ τῆς κατ᾽ αὐτῶν διαβολῆς καὶ πᾶσιν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἄθλου τούτου προκειμένου λέγειν τι περὶ ἐκείνων δυσχερὲς πρὸς τῆς τοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἐδόκει σωτηρίας. [314] σωματοφύλακες ἦσαν Ἡρώδῃ δύο κατ᾽ ἰσχὺν καὶ μέγεθος τιμώμενοι Ἰούκουνδος καὶ Τύραννος. οὗτοι προσκρούσαντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπεωσμένοι περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἦσαν συνιππαζόμενοι καὶ κατὰ τὰ γυμνάσια τιμώμενοι καί τι χρυσίον καὶ δωρεὰς ἄλλας ἔλαβον. [315] εὐθὺς οὖν καὶ τούτους ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν ὑποψίαις ἔχων ἐβασάνιζεν, οἱ δὲ διακαρτερήσαντες πολὺν χρόνον ὕστερον ἔλεγον, ὅτι πείθοι φονεύειν αὐτοὺς Ἡρώδην Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐπεὶ περὶ κυνηγέσιον θηρίων διώκων προλάβοι: δυνατὸν γὰρ εἶναι λέγειν ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου κατενεχθεὶς ἐμπαρείη ταῖς αὐτοῦ λόγχαις: [316] καὶ γὰρ πρότερον αὐτῷ τοιοῦτον γενέσθαι πάθος. ἐπέδειξαν δὲ καὶ τὸ χρυσίον ἐν ἱππῶνι κατορωρυγμένον καὶ τὸν ἀρχικύνηγον ἐξήλεγχον, ὅτι καὶ λόγχας αὐτοῖς δοίη βασιλικὰς καὶ τοῖς Ἀλέξανδρον θεραπεύουσιν ὅπλα κελεύοντος ἐκείνου.

(4) [317] Μετὰ τούτους ὁ φρούραρχος Ἀλεξανδρείου συλληφθεὶς ἐβασανίζετο: καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος αἰτίαν εἶχεν δέξεσθαι τῇ φρουρᾷ καὶ παρέξειν χρήματα τοῖς νεανίσκοις ὑπεσχῆσθαι τὰ κείμενα τῶν βασιλικῶν κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνο τὸ φρούριον. [318] αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ὡμολόγησεν, υἱὸς δὲ αὐτοῦ παρελθὼν ταῦτ᾽ ἔφη γενέσθαι, καὶ γράμματα ἐπέδωκεν ὡς εἰκάσαι τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου χειρός: “τελέσαντες σὺν θεῷ εἰπεῖν ἃ προεθέμεθα πάντα ἥξομεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς: ἀλλὰ πειράθητε, καθὼς ὑπέσχησθε, [319] δέξασθαι ἡμᾶς τῷ φρουρίῳ.” μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ γραμματεῖον ὁ μὲν Ἡρώδης οὐκ ἐνδοιασίμως εἶχεν περὶ τῆς τῶν παίδων εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλῆς, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Διόφαντον ἔφη τὸν γραμματέα μιμήσασθαι τὸν τύπον καὶ δι᾽ Ἀντιπάτρου κακουργηθῆναι τὸ γραμματίδιον: ὁ γάρ τοι Διόφαντος ἐδόκει τὰ τοιαῦτα δεινὸς ἐν ὑστέρῳ τε διελεγχθεὶς ἐπ᾽ ἄλλοις οὕτως ἀπέθανεν.

(5) [320] Τοὺς δὲ βασανισθέντας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ εἰς τὸ πλῆθος προήγαγεν ἐν Ἰεριχοῦντι κατηγοροῦντας τῶν παίδων: καὶ τούτους μὲν ἐκ χειρὸς οἱ πολλοὶ βάλλοντες ἀπέκτειναν. [321] ὡρμημένων δὲ καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὁμοίως κτεῖναι, τοῦτο μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς παρῃτήσατο διὰ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Φερώρα τὸ πλῆθος ἀναστείλας, ἦν δὲ φυλακὴ καὶ τήρησις αὐτῶν καὶ προσῄει μὲν οὐδείς, πάντα δ᾽ ἐπεσκοπεῖτο τὰ γινόμενα καὶ λαλούμενα, καὶ τί γὰρ ἢ καταδίκων εἶχον ἀδοξίαν καὶ δέος. [322] ἕτερος δ᾽ αὐτῶν Ἀριστόβουλος ἐκ βαρυθυμίας ὑπαγόμενος καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τηθίδα καὶ πενθερὰν συναλγεῖν αὐτῷ ταῖς συμφοραῖς καὶ μισεῖν τὸν τοιαῦτα πειθόμενον “οὐ γάρ, ἔφη, καὶ σοὶ κίνδυνος ἀπωλείας διαβεβλημένῃ Συλλαίῳ κατ᾽ ἐλπίδα [323] γάμων ἅπαντα τἀνθάδε προμηνύειν;” τούτους ἐκείνη ταχὺ μάλα τἀδελφῷ προσφέρει τοὺς λόγους. ὁ δ᾽ οὐκέτι κατασχὼν αὐτὸν δῆσαί τε κελεύει καὶ διαστήσαντας ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων ὅσα κακῶς ἐποίησαν ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ ταῦτα γραψαμένους ἀποφέρειν. [324] οἱ δ᾽ ἐπεὶ τοῦτο προσετέτακτο αὐτοῖς, ἐγγράφουσιν ἐπιβουλὴν μὲν οὔτε νοῆσαι κατὰ τοῦ γεγεννηκότος οὔτε συσκευάσασθαι, δρασμῷ δὲ ἐπιβαλέσθαι καὶ τοῦτο δι᾽ ἀνάγκην ὑπόπτου καὶ δυσχεροῦς ὄντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ βίου.

(6) [325] Κατὰ δὲ τὸν χρόνον ἥκοντος ἐκ Καππαδοκίας πρεσβευτοῦ παρὰ Ἀρχελάου Μήλα τινός, ὃς ἦν δυνάστης τῶν ἐκείνου, βουλόμενος Ἡρώδης ἐνδείξασθαι τὴν δύσνοιαν Ἀρχελάου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκάλει τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὡς ἦν ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς καὶ πάλιν ἠρώτα περὶ τῆς φυγῆς, ὅπου καὶ πῶς ἐγνώκασιν ἀποχωρεῖν. [326] ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος πρὸς Ἀρχέλαον ἔφη κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Ῥώμην ὁμολογήσαντα διαπέμψειν: ἄλλο δ᾽ οὐδὲν οὔτ᾽ ἄτοπον οὔτε δυσχερὲς ἐντεθυμῆσθαι κατὰ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδ᾽ ὅσα συνεσκεύασται κακοηθείᾳ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀληθὲς εἶναί τι τούτων. [327] βούλεσθαι δ᾽ ἂν ἔτι ζῆν καὶ τοὺς περὶ Τύραννον εἰς ἐξέτασιν ἀσφαλεστέραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους ἀπολέσθαι θᾶττον Ἀντιπάτρου τῷ πλήθει τοὺς ἰδίους ἐγκαθιστάντος φίλους.

(7) [328] Τοιαῦτα λέγοντος ἐκέλευσεν ἅμα τόν τε Μήλαν καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἄγειν ὡς Γλαφύραν τὴν Ἀρχελάου καὶ πυνθάνεσθαι παρ᾽ αὐτῆς, εἰ μηδὲν ἠγνόει τῶν εἰς ἐπιβουλὴν Ἡρώδου γιγνομένων. [329] ὡς δὲ ἦκον, εὐθὺς μὲν Γλαφύρα δεσμώτην ἰδοῦσα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἔπληξε τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ καταπληξαμένη μέγα καὶ συμπαθὲς ἀνῴμωξεν. ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῦ νεανίσκου δάκρυα καὶ τῶν παρόντων ὀδυνηρά τις θέα, μέχρι πλείονος οὐδὲ ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἦκον εἰπεῖν ἢ πράττειν δυναμένων. [330] ὀψὲ δὲ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου, τούτῳ γὰρ ἄγειν αὐτὸν ἐπετέτακτο, φράζειν κελεύοντος εἴ τι τῶν πραττομένων ἡ γυνὴ σύνοιδεν αὐτῷ, “τί δ᾽ οὐκ ἄν, ἔφη, συνέγνω τῆς ψυχῆς ἐμοὶ στεργο [331] μένη πλέον καὶ κοινωνοῦσα τέκνων;” ἡ δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα μὲν ἀνεβόησεν, ὡς συνειδείη μὲν οὐδὲν ἄτοπον, εἰ δὲ φέροι πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν τὴν ἐκείνου τὸ καὶ καθ᾽ αὐτῆς τι ψεύσασθαι, πάνθ᾽ ὁμολογεῖν. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος “ἀσεβὲς μὲν οὐδέν, εἶπεν, οὐδ᾽ ὧν ὑπονοοῦσιν οὓς ἥκιστα ἐχρῆν οὔτ᾽ αὐτὸς ἐνόησα σύ τε οὐδὲν οἶσθα, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι [332] παρ᾽ Ἀρχέλαον ἀποχωρεῖν

ἐγνώκειμεν κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Ῥώμην.” ταῦτ᾽ ἐκείνης ὁμολογούσης ὁ μὲν Ἡρώδης Ἀρχέλαον ἐξεληλέγχθαι τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν δυσνοίας ὑπολαβὼν δίδωσιν Ὀλύμπῳ καὶ Οὐολομνίῳ γράμματα κελεύσας ἐν παράπλῳ μὲν Ἐλαιούσῃ τῆς Κιλικίας προσσχόντας Ἀρχελάῳ τε περὶ τούτων ἀποδοῦναι καὶ μεμψαμένους ὅτι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐφάψαιτο τοῖς παισὶν ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Ῥώμην πλεῖν. [333] κἂν εὕρωσιν ἀνύσαντά τι Νικόλαον, ὡς μηκέτ᾽ αὐτῷ δυσχεραίνειν Καίσαρα, διδόναι τὰς ἐπιστολὰς καὶ τοὺς ἐλέγχους τοὺς κατὰ τῶν νεανίσκων συνεσκευασμένως ἐπέστειλεν. [334] Ἀρχέλαος μὲν οὖν ἀπελογεῖτο δέξασθαι μὲν τοὺς νεανίσκους ὁμολογήσας διὰ τὸ συμφέρειν αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνοις καὶ τῷ πατρὶ μὴ χαλεπώτερόν τι προστεθῆναι κατ᾽ ὀργὴν ὧν ὑπόπτως ἔχοντες ἐστασίαζον: οὐ μὴν καὶ πρὸς Καίσαρα πέμψειν οὐδ᾽ ἄλλο τι κατὰ δύσνοιαν τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὁμολογῆσαι τοῖς νεανίσκοις.

(8) [335] Εἰς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ἀποκομισθέντες ἔσχον καιρὸν ἐπιδοῦναι τὰ γράμματα τῷ Καίσαρα διηλλαγμένον εὑρεῖν Ἡρώδῃ: τὰ γὰρ περὶ τὴν Νικολάου πρεσβείαν ἀπέβη τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον: [336] ὡς ἀνῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν ἐγένετο, πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐληλύθει μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ Συλλαίου κατηγορεῖν ἠξίου, καὶ δῆλοι πρὸ τῆς ἐντυχίας ἦσαν ἀλλήλους πολεμοῦντες. [337] οἱ δὲ Ἄραβες ὑπονοήσαντες ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ Νικολάῳ προσελθόντες τὰς ἀδικίας ἁπάσας ἐμήνυον καὶ τῶν Ὀβόδου ὡς διαφθαρέντων πάντων ἐμφανῆ τεκμήρια παρέχοντες, ἦν γὰρ καὶ τῶν γραμμάτων αὐτοῦ ὃ κατὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν ὑφῃρημένοι διὰ τούτων ἤλεγχον. [338] ὁ δὲ Νικόλαος εὐτυχίαν τινὰ ταύτην ὁρῶν αὐτῷ προσγεγενημένην δι᾽ αὐτῆς ἐπραγματεύετο τὸ μέλλον, ἐπείγων εἰς διαλλαγὰς ἐλθεῖν Ἡρώδῃ Καίσαρα: σαφῶς γὰρ ἠπίστατο βουλομένῳ μὲν ἀπολογεῖσθαι περὶ ὧν ἔπραξεν οὐκ ἔσεσθαι παρρησίαν, ἐθέλοντι δὲ κατηγορεῖν Συλλαίου γενήσεσθαι καιρὸν ὑπὲρ Ἡρώδου λέγειν. [339] συνεστώτων οὖν ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλους καὶ δοθείσης ἡμέρας ὁ Νικόλαος παρόντων αὐτῷ τῶν Ἀρέτα πρέσβεων τά τε ἄλλα κατηγόρει τοῦ Συλλαίου, τήν τε τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπώλειαν λέγων καὶ πολλῶν Ἀράβων, [340] χρήματά τε ὡς εἴη δεδανεισμένος ἐπ᾽ οὐδὲν ὑγιές, καὶ μοιχείας ἐξελέγχων οὐ τῶν ἐν Ἀραβίᾳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ γυναικῶν: προσετίθει δὲ τὸ μέγιστον, ὡς ἐξαπατήσειεν Καίσαρα μηδὲν ἀληθὲς διδάξας ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἡρώδῃ πεπραγμένων. [341] ὡς δ᾽ ἦκεν ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν τόπον, ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐξεῖργεν αὐτὸν τοῦτο μόνον ἀξιῶν ὑπὲρ Ἡρώδου λέγειν, εἰ μὴ στρατιὰν ἤγαγεν εἰς Ἀραβίαν μηδὲ δισχιλίους πεντακοσίους ἀποκτείνειεν τῶν ἐκεῖ μηδ᾽ αἰχμαλώτους λάβοι τὴν χώραν διαρπάσας. [342] πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Νικόλαος ὑπὲρ τούτων ἔφη καὶ μάλιστα διδάξειν, ὅτι μηδὲν ἢ τὰ πλεῖστά γε αὐτῶν οὐ γέγονεν, ὡς σὺ ἀκήκοας καὶ δίκαιον ἦν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς χαλεπώτερον φέρειν. [343] πρὸς δὲ τὸ παράδοξον Καίσαρος ἐνδόντος αὐτὸν ἀκροατήν, τὸ δάνειον εἰπὼν τῶν πεντακοσίων ταλάντων καὶ τὴν συγγραφήν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τοῦτο ἦν προσγεγραμμένον ἐξεῖναι τῆς προθεσμίας παρελθούσης ῥύσια λαμβάνειν ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς χώρας, τὴν

μὲν στρατείαν οὐ στρατείαν ἔλεγεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ δικαίαν τῶν ἰδίων ἀπαίτησιν χρημάτων: [344] καὶ μηδὲ ταύτην ταχὺ μηδ᾽ ὡς ἐπέτρεπον αἱ συγγραφαί, πολλάκις μὲν ἐπὶ Σατορνῖνον ἐλθόντα καὶ Οὐολόμνιον τοὺς τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμόνας, τελευταῖον δὲ ἐν Βηρυτῷ τούτων ἐναντίον Συλλαίου τὴν σὴν τύχην ἐπομόσαντος, ἢ μὴν ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα παρέξειν τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Ἡρώδου πεφευγότας. [345] ὧν οὐδὲν ποιήσαντος Συλλαίου πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐλθεῖν Ἡρώδην κἀκείνων ἐφέντων αὐτῷ λαμβάνειν τὰ ῥύσια μόγις οὕτως ἐξελθεῖν σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν. [346] ὁ μὲν δὴ πόλεμος, ὡς οὗτοι τραγῳδοῦντες ἔλεγον, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐπιστρατείας τοιαῦτα. καίτοι πῶς ἂν εἴη πόλεμος, ἐπιτρεψάντων μὲν τῶν σῶν ἡγεμόνων, δεδωκυίας δὲ τῆς συνθήκης, ἠσεβημένου δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν καὶ τοῦ σοῦ, Καῖσαρ, ὀνόματος; [347] τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἑξῆς ἤδη λεκτέον. λησταὶ τῶν τὸν Τράχωνα κατοικούντων τετταράκοντα τὸ πρῶτον εἶτ᾽ αὖθις πλείονες τὰς Ἡρώδου κολάσεις διαφεύγοντες ὁρμητήριον ἐποιήσαντο τὴν Ἀραβίαν. τούτους ὑπεδέξατο Σύλλαιος ἐπὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους τρέφων καὶ χώραν ἔδωκε νέμεσθαι καὶ τὰ κέρδη τῶν λῃστῶν αὐτὸς ἐλάμβανεν. [348] ὡμολόγησε δὲ καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὅρκοις ἀποδώσειν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ δανείου προθεσμίαν. καὶ δύναιτ᾽ ἂν οὐκ ἐπιδεῖξαι κατὰ τὸ παρὸν οὔτ᾽ ἄλλον τινὰ τῆς Ἀράβων χώρας ἢ τούτους ἐξῃρημένους οὔτε πάντας, ἀλλ᾽ ὅσοι μὴ λαθεῖν ἴσχυσαν. [349] οὕτως οὖν καὶ τοῦ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἐπιφθόνου συκοφαντήματος πεφηνότος μέγιστον, ὦ Καῖσαρ, κατάμαθε πλάσμα καὶ ψεῦσμα πρὸς τὴν σὴν ὀργὴν αὐτῷ ποιηθέν. [350] φημὶ γὰρ ἐπελθούσης ἡμῖν τῆς τῶν Ἀράβων δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν περὶ Ἡρώδην πεσόντος ἑνὸς καὶ δευτέρου, τότε μόλις ἀμυνομένου Νάκεβον τὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι τοὺς πάντας ὧΝ ἕκαστον αὐτὸς εἰς ἑκατὸν ἀναφέρων δισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους τοὺς ἀπολωλότας ἔλεγεν.”

(9) [351] Ταῦτα μᾶλλον ἐκίνει τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαιον ἐπιστραφεὶς ὀργῆς μεστὸς ἀνέκρινεν, ὁπόσοι τεθνήκασιν Ἀράβων. ἀπορουμένου δ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ πεπλανῆσθαι λέγοντος αἵ τε συνθῆκαι τῶν δανείων ἀνεγινώσκοντο καὶ τὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων γράμματα πόλεις τε ὅσαι τὰ λῃστήρια κατῃτιῶντο, [352] καὶ πέρας εἰς τοῦτο μετέστη Καῖσαρ, ὡς τοῦ μὲν Συλλαίου καταγνῶναι θάνατον, Ἡρώδῃ δὲ διαλλάττεσθαι μετάνοιαν ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐκ διαβολῆς πικρότερον ἔγραψεν αὐτῷ πεπονθώς, καί τι τοιοῦτον εἰπεῖν εἰς τὸν Σύλλαιον, ὡς ἀναγκάσειεν αὐτὸν ψευδεῖ λόγῳ πρὸς ἄνδρα φίλον ἀγνωμονῆσαι. [353] τὸ δὲ σύμπαν ὁ μὲν Σύλλαιος ἀνεπέμπετο τὰς δίκας καὶ τὰ χρέα τοῖς δεδανεικόσιν ἀποδώσων εἶθ᾽ οὕτω κολασθησόμενος. Ἀρέτᾳ δ᾽ οὐκ εὐμενὴς ἦν Καῖσαρ, ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ δι᾽ ἐκείνου καθ᾽ αὐτὸν δὲ ἔλαβεν. ἐγνώκει δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν Ἡρώδῃ διδόναι, διεκώλυσεν δὲ τὰ παρ᾽ ἐκείνου πεμφθέντα γράμματα. [354] τοῖς γὰρ περὶ τὸν Ὄλυμπον καὶ Οὐολόμνιον εὐμενῆ Καίσαρα πυνθανομένοις εὐθὺς ἔδοξεν ἐξ ἐντολῆς Ἡρώδου τὰ περὶ τῶν παίδων γράμματα καὶ τοὺς ἐλέγχους ἀναδιδόναι.

[355] Καῖσαρ δὲ ἀναγνοὺς τὸ μὲν ἀρχὴν ἄλλην προσθεῖναι γέροντι καὶ κακῶς πράττοντι τὰ περὶ τοὺς παῖδας οὐκ ᾠήθη καλῶς ἔχειν, δεξάμενος δὲ τοὺς παρὰ Ἀρέτα καὶ τοῦτο μόνον ἐπιτιμήσας, ὡς προπετείᾳ χρήσαιτο τῷ μὴ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀναμεῖναι λαβεῖν, τά τε δῶρα προσήκατο καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐβεβαίωσεν.

XI

(1) [356] Ἡρώδῃ δὲ γράφει διηλλαγμένος ἐπί τε τοῖς παισὶν ἄχθεσθαι λέγων καὶ δέον, εἰ μὲν ἀνοσιώτερόν τι τετολμήκασιν, ἐπεξιέναι πατραλόας ὄντας: αὐτῷ γὰρ ἐφεῖναι ταύτην τὴν ἐξουσίαν: εἰ δὲ δρασμὸν ἐνόησαν, ἄλλως νουθετήσαντα μηδὲν ἀνήκεστον διαπράττεσθαι. [357] συμβουλεύειν δὲ ἔχειν αὐτῷ συνέδριον ἀποδείξαντα περὶ Βηρυτόν, ἐν ᾗ κατοικοῦσιν Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ παραλαβόντα τούς τε ἡγεμόνας καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Καππαδόκων Ἀρχέλαον ὅσους τε τῶν ἄλλων οἴεται φιλίᾳ τε καὶ ἀξιώματι ἐπιφανεῖς μετὰ τῆς ἐκείνων γνώμης ὅ τι χρὴ διαλαμβάνειν. [358] Καῖσαρ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἐπέστελλεν. ὁ δὲ Ἡρώδης τῶν γραμμάτων ὡς αὐτὸν ἀπενεχθέντων περιχαρὴς μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς διαλλαγαῖς ἐγεγόνει, περιχαρὴς δὲ καὶ τῷ πάντ᾽ ἐξεῖναι κατὰ τῶν παίδων αὐτῷ. [359] καί πως τὸ μὲν οὐκ εὖ πράττειν ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ χαλεπὸν μὲν ἀλλ᾽ οὔτε θρασὺν οὔτε προπετῆ πρὸς τὴν ἀπώλειαν τῶν τέκνων παρεῖχεν αὐτόν, ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε μεταβολῆς ἀμείνονος καὶ παρρησίας ἐπιλαβόμενος τὸ μῖσος ἐκενοδόξει τὴν ἐξουσίαν. [360] διέπεμπεν οὖν ὅσους ἐδόκει καλεῖν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον Ἀρχελάου χωρίς: ἐκεῖνον δὲ δι᾽ ἔχθος οὐκ ἠξίου παρατυγχάνειν ἢ καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει νομίζων ἐμποδὼν ἔσεσθαι.

(2) [361] Γενομένων δὲ ἐν Βηρυτῷ τῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσους τῶν πόλεων ἐκάλεσεν, τοὺς μὲν παῖδας, οὐ γὰρ ἠξίου παράγειν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον, ἐν κώμῃ τινὶ Σιδωνίων εἶχεν Παλαεστῶ καλουμένῃ πλησίον τῆς πόλεως, ὡς ἔχειν εἰ κληθεῖεν παραστῆσαι. [362] μόνος δὲ καὶ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν εἰσελθὼν ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα συγκαθημένων ἀνδρῶν κατηγόρει κατηγορίαν οὐκ ὀδυνηρὰν ὡς πρὸς ἀνάγκην ὧν ἠτύχει, πλεῖστον δὲ ἀπεοικυῖαν ᾗ πατὴρ ἐπὶ παισὶν εἴποι: [363] βίαιος γὰρ ἦν καὶ περὶ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῆς αἰτίας ἐτετάρακτο καὶ μέγιστα θυμοῦ καὶ ἀγριότητος ἐνεδίδου σημεῖα, τούς τε ἐλέγχους οὐκ ἐκείνοις ἐπιτρέπων καταμαθεῖν, ἀλλὰ συνηγορίαν αὐτοῖς προτιθεὶς πατρὶ κατὰ παίδων ἀσχήμονα, καὶ τὰ γραφέντα δι᾽ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἀναγινώσκων, ἐν οἷς ἐπιβουλὴ μὲν ἤ τις ἐπίνοια δυσσεβείας οὐκ ἐγέγραπτο, μόνον δὲ ὡς φυγεῖν βουλεύοιντο καὶ λοιδορίαι τινὲς εἰς αὐτὸν ὀνείδη περιέχουσαι διὰ τὴν δύσνοιαν. [364] ἐφ᾽ αἷς ἐκεῖνος ὡς ἐγένετο μᾶλλόν τε ἐξεβόα καὶ τὸ περιὸν εἰς ὁμολογίαν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς δι᾽ ἐκείνων ηὔξανεν ἐπομνύμενος, ὡς ἥδιον ἂν στέροιτο τοῦ ζῆν ἢ τοιούτων ἀκούειν λόγων. [365] τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον εἰπών, ὅτι καὶ τῇ φύσει καὶ τῇ Καίσαρος

δόσει τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτὸς ἔχοι, προσέθηκεν αὐτῷ καὶ πάτριον νόμον κελεύειν, εἴ του κατηγορήσαντες οἱ γονεῖς ἐπιθοῖεν τῇ κεφαλῇ τὰς χεῖρας, ἐπάναγκες εἶναι τοῖς περιεστῶσιν βάλλειν καὶ τοῦτον ἀποκτείνειν τὸν τρόπον. [366] ὅπερ ἕτοιμος ὢν αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ ποιεῖν ὅμως ἀναμεῖναι τὴν ἐκείνων κρίσιν, ἥκειν μέντοι δικαστὰς μὲν οὐχ οὕτως ἐπὶ φανεροῖς οἷς ἐκ τῶν παίδων ὀλίγου πάθοι, συνοργισθῆναι δὲ καιρὸν ἔχοντας, ὡς οὐδενὶ καὶ τῶν πόρρω γεγονότων ἀμελῆσαι τοιαύτης ἐπιβουλῆς ἄξιον.

(3) [367] Ταῦτα τοῦ βασιλέως εἰπόντος καὶ τῶν νεανίσκων οὐδὲ ἕως ἀπολογίας παρηγμένων συμφρονήσαντες οἱ κατὰ τὸ συνέδριον, ὡς ἐπιεικείας καὶ διαλλαγῶν χεῖρον ἔχοι, τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐβεβαίουν αὐτῷ. [368] καὶ πρῶτον μὲν Σατορνῖνος ἀνὴρ ὑπατικὸς καὶ τῶν ἐπ᾽ ἀξιώματος ἀπεφήνατο γνώμην ἀηδεστάτῃ περιστάσει χρώμενος: ἔφη γὰρ καταδικάζειν μὲν τῶν Ἡρώδου παίδων, κτείνειν δ᾽ οὐκ οἴεσθαι δικαιοῦν αὐτὸς παῖδας ἔχων καὶ τοῦ πάθους μείζονος ὄντος, εἰ καὶ πάντα δι᾽ αὐτοὺς δεδυστύχηκεν. [369] μετ᾽ ἐκεῖνον οἱ Σατορνίνου παῖδες, εἵποντο γὰρ αὐτῷ πρεσβευταὶ τρεῖς ὄντες, τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἀπεφήναντο, Οὐολόμνιος δὲ ἄντικρυς ἔφη κολάζειν θανάτῳ τοὺς οὕτως ἀσεβήσαντας εἰς τὸν πατέρα. τὰ δ᾽ αὐτὰ καὶ τῶν ἑξῆς οἱ πλείους, ὥστε καὶ μηκέτι ἄλλο τι δοκεῖν ἢ καταδεδικάσθαι τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ τοὺς νεανίσκους. [370] κἀκεῖθεν μὲν εὐθὺς Ἡρώδης ἦκεν ἄγων αὐτοὺς εἰς Τύρον, καὶ τοῦ τε Νικολάου πλεύσαντος ὡς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπυνθάνετο προδιηγησάμενος τὰ ἐν Βηρυτῷ, ἥντιν᾽ ἔχοιεν γνώμην περὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἐν Ῥώμῃ αὐτοῦ φίλοι, [371] κἀκεῖνος εἶπεν, ὅτι δοκεῖ μὲν ἀσεβῆ εἶναι τὰ ἐκείνοις περὶ σὲ ἐγνωσμένα, χρῆναι μέντοι αὐτοὺς καθείρξαντα δεσμώτας φυλάττειν, [372] καὶ εἰ μὲν ἑτέρως σοι δοκοίη κολάζειν αὐτούς, μὴ φαίνοιο ὀργῇ τὸ πλεῖον ἢ γνώμῃ κεχρῆσθαι, εἰ δὲ τἀναντία ἀπολύειν, μὴ ἀνεπανόρθωτον εἴη σοι τὸ ἀτύχημα. ταῦτα δοκεῖ καὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν σῶν φίλων.᾽᾽ καὶ ὃς σιωπήσας ἐν πολλῇ ἐγένετο συννοίᾳ κἀκεῖνον ἐκέλευσεν συμπλεῖν αὐτῷ.

(4) [373] Ὡς δ᾽ ἦλθεν εἰς Καισάρειαν γίνεται λόγος οὖν ἦν εὐθὺς ἅπασιν τῶν παίδων καὶ μετέωρος ἡ βασιλεία, ποῖ ποτε χωρήσειεν τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐκδεχομένων: [374] δεινὸν γὰρ ὑπῄει πάντας δέος ἐκ παλαιοῦ καταστασιαζομένους εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πέρας ἐλθεῖν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν πάθεσιν ἐδυσχέραινον, οὐκ ἦν δ᾽ οὔτε εἰπεῖν τι προπετὲς οὔτ᾽ ἄλλου λέγοντος ἀκούειν ἀκίνδυνον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐγκεκλεισμένοι τὸν ἔλεον ὀδυνηρῶς μὲν ἀναύδως δὲ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ πάθους ἔφερον. [375] εἷς δὲ αὐτῶν πάλαι στρατιώτης ὄνομα Τίρων, υἱοῦ αὐτῷ καθ᾽ ἡλικίαν ὄντος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ φίλου, πάνθ᾽ ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑποδυόμενα δι᾽ ἡσυχίας ἦν, αὐτὸς ὑπ᾽ ἐλευθεριότητος ἐξελάλει καὶ βοᾶν ἠναγκάζετο πολλάκις ἐν τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἀπαρακαλύπτως λέγων, [376] ὡς ἀπόλοιτο μὲν ἡ ἀλήθεια, τὸ δὲ δίκαιον ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀνῃρημένον εἴη, κρατοίη δὲ τὰ ψεύσματα καὶ ἡ κακοήθεια καὶ τοσοῦτο νέφος ἐπάγοι τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὡς μηδὲ

τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων παθῶν ὁρᾶσθαι τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσιν. [377] τοιοῦτος ὢν ἐδόκει μὲν οὐκ ἀκινδύνως παρρησιάζεσθαι, τὸ δ᾽ εὔλογον ἐκίνει πάντας οὐκ ἀνάνδρως αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν ἱσταμένου. [378] διὸ καὶ πάνθ᾽ ἅπερ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος εἴποιεν ἡδέως ἤκουον ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου λεγόμενα καὶ τὸ καθ᾽ αὑτοὺς ἀσφαλὲς ἐν τῷ σιγᾶν προορώμενοι τὴν ἐκείνου παρρησίαν ὅμως ἀπεδέχοντο: τὸ γὰρ προσδοκώμενον πάθος ἐβιάζετο πάνθ᾽ ὁντινοῦν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λαλεῖν.

(5) [379] Ὁ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα μετὰ πάσης παρρησίας ὠσάμενος μόνος μόνῳ λέγειν ἠξίου, καὶ συγχωρήσαντος "οὐ δυνάμενος, εἶπεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, διακαρτερεῖν ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πάθει τὴν τολμηρὰν ταύτην παρρησίαν, ἀναγκαίαν δὲ σοὶ καὶ συμφέρουσαν, εἰ λάβοις τι χρήσιμον ἐξ αὐτῆς, προύκρινα τῆς ἐμῆς ἀσφαλείας. [380] ποῖ ποτε οἴχονταί σου καὶ πεπτώκασιν ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς αἱ φρένες; ποῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ περιττὸς ἐκεῖνος νοῦς, ᾧ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα κατώρθους; τίς δὲ ἡ τῶν φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν ἐρημία; [381] κρίνω δὲ οὐδὲ παρόντας αὐτοὺς συγγενεῖς εἶναι ἢ φίλους, οἳ περιορῶσι τοιοῦτο μῦσος ἐπὶ τῇ μακαριζομένῃ ποτὲ βασιλείᾳ. σὺ δ᾽ οὐ σκέψει τί τὸ πραττόμενόν ἐστιν; [382] δύο νεανίσκους ἐκ βασιλίδος γυναικὸς γενομένους εἰς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἄκρους ἀναιρήσεις σεαυτὸν ἐν γήρᾳ καταλιπὼν ἐφ᾽ ἑνὶ παιδὶ κακῶς οἰκονομήσαντι τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐλπίδα καὶ συγγενέσιν, ὧν αὐτὸς τοσαυτάκις ἤδη κατέγνωκας θάνατον; [383] οὐκ ἐννοεῖς, ὅτι καὶ τῶν ὄχλων ἡ σιωπὴ τὴν αμογίαν ὅμως ὁρᾷ καὶ μισεῖ τὸ πάθος, ἥ τε στρατιὰ πᾶσα καὶ ταύτης οἱ πρωτεύοντες ἔλεον μὲν τῶν ἀτυχούντων, [384] μῖσος δὲ τῶν ταῦτα διαπραττομένων ἐσχήκασιν;" ἤκουεν τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν οὐ παντάπασιν ἀγνωμόνως, ἀλλὰ τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν, διεκίνησεν αὐτὸν ἁψαμένου τοῦ Τίρωνος ἐναργῶς τοῦ τε πάθους καὶ τῆς περὶ τοὺς οἰκείους ἀπιστίας. [385] αὖθις δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐπεδίδου κατὰ μικρὸν ἀμέτρῳ καὶ στρατιωτικῇ χρώμενος παρρησίᾳ: τὸ γὰρ ἀπαίδευτον ὑπεξέπιπτε τοῦ καιροῦ, ταραχῆς δὲ Ἠρώδης ἐνεπίμπλατο, [386] καὶ μᾶλλον ὀνειδίζεσθαι δοκῶν ἢ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ἀκούειν τῶν λόγων, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοὺς διακειμένους στρατιώτας καὶ τοὺς ἀγανακτοῦντας ἡγεμόνας ἐπύθετο, προστάττει τῷ τε ὀνόματι δηλωθέντων ἁπάντων καὶ τὸν Τίρωνα δήσαντας ἔχειν ἐν φυλακῇ.

(6) [387] Τούτου γενηθέντος ἐπιτίθεται τῷ καιρῷ καὶ Τρύφων τις κουρεὺς τοῦ βασιλέως, ὃς ἔφη προσελθὼν ὡς πείθοι πολλάκις αὐτὸν ὁ Τίρων, ὁπόταν θεραπεύῃ βασιλέως ξυρῷ τὸν λαιμὸν ἀποτέμνειν: ἔσεσθαι γὰρ ἐν πρώτοις περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ μεγάλας λήψεσθαι δωρεάς. [388] ταῦτ᾽ εἰπόντα συλλαμβάνειν κελεύει, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα βάσανος ἦν τοῦ τε Τίρωνος καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ κουρέως. [389] διακαρτεροῦντός τε τοῦ Τίρωνος ὁρῶν ὁ νεανίσκος τὸν πατέρα χαλεπῶς μὲν ἤδη διακείμενον, ἔχοντα δὲ οὐδεμίαν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας αὐτῷ τε τὸ μέλλον ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὸν πάσχοντα δυσχερείας προῦπτον, ἔφη μηνύσειν τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, εἰ παραιτήσεται διὰ τοῦ φράσαι τῆς βασάνου καὶ τῆς αἰκίας αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν πατέρα. [390] δόντος δὲ πίστιν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔλεγεν ὡς εἴη

τις συνθήκη ἐπιθέσθαι δι᾽ αὐτοχειρίας βασιλεῖ τὸν Τίρωνα, προσελθεῖν γὰρ εὔπορον εἶναι μόνον μόνῳ καὶ δράσαντα παθεῖν τι τῶν εἰκότων οὐκ ἀγεννὲς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ χαριζόμενον. [391] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖνος εἰπὼν ἐξαιρεῖται τὸν πατέρα τῆς ἀνάγκης, ἄδηλον εἴτε τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐκβιασθεὶς φράζειν, εἴτε κἂν παραγραφὴν νοήσας τινὰ ταύτην τῶν κακῶν αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ γεγεννηκότι.

(7) [392] Ὁ δὲ Ἡρώδης οὐδ᾽ εἴ τι πρότερον ἦν αὐτῷ ἐνδοιάσιμον περὶ τὴν τεκνοκτονίαν τούτῳ τόπον ἢ χώραν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ καταλελοιπώς, ἀλλὰ πᾶν ἐξῃρημένος τὸ δυνησόμενον αὐτῷ μετάνοιαν ἀμείνονος λογισμοῦ παρασχεῖν ἔσπευσεν ἤδη τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι τῇ προαιρέσει. [393] καὶ προαγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τριακοσίους τε τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοὺς ἐν αἰτίᾳ γενομένους καὶ τὸν Τίρωνα σὺν τῷ παιδὶ καὶ τῷ πρὸ ἐκείνου διελέγχοντι κουρεῖ κατηγορίαν ἁπάντων αὐτῶν ἐποιήσατο. [394] κἀκείνους μὲν τὸ πλῆθος ἀεὶ τοῖς παρατυχοῦσιν βάλλοντες ἀπέκτειναν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος ἀχθέντες εἰς Σεβαστὴν ἐπιτάξαντος τοῦ πατρὸς στραγγάλῃ κτείνονται. τὰ δὲ σώματα νύκτωρ εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειον ἀπέθεντο τοῦ τε μητροπάτορος ἐκεῖ καὶ τῶν πλείστων αὐτοῖς προγόνων κειμένων.

(8) [395] Ἴσως μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἄλογον ἐνίοις καταφαίνεται τρεφόμενον ἐκ πολλοῦ τὸ μῖσος οὕτως αὐξηθῆναι καὶ περαιτέρω προελθὸν ἀπονικῆσαι τὴν φύσιν. ἐπίστασις δὲ γένοιτ᾽ ἂν εἰκότως, εἴτε εἰς τοὺς νεανίσκους ἀνοιστέον τὴν τοιαύτην αἰτίαν πρὸς αἰτίαν ἐνάγοντας τὸν πατέρα καὶ χρόνῳ παρασκευάσαντας ὑπὸ χαλεπότητος ἀνήκεστον αὐτοῖς, [396] εἴτε καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον, ἀπαθῆ καὶ περιττὸν ὄντα περὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὐδοξίας, ὡς μηδένα οἴεσθαι παραλειπτέον ἐφ᾽ ᾧ πᾶν τὸ βουλόμενον ἀνίκητον ἔχειν, [397] ἢ καὶ τὴν τύχην παντὸς εὐγνώμονος λογισμοῦ μείζω τὴν δύναμιν ἐσχηκυῖαν, ὅθεν καὶ πειθόμεθα τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας πράξεις ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνης προκαθωσιῶσθαι τῇ τοῦ γενέσθαι πάντως ἀνάγκῃ καὶ καλοῦμεν αὐτὴν εἱμαρμένην, ὡς οὐδενὸς ὄντος, ὃ μὴ δι᾽ αὐτὴν γίνεται. [398] τοῦτον μὲν οὖν τὸν λόγον ὡς μείζω πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀρκέσει κινεῖν ἡμῖν τε αὐτοῖς ἀποδιδόντας τι καὶ τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων οὐκ ἀνυπευθύνους ποιοῦντας, ἃ πρὸ ἡμῶν ἤδη πεφιλοσόφηται καὶ τῷ νόμῳ. [399] τῶν δὲ ἄλλων δύο τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν παίδων μέμψαιτ᾽ ἄν τις αἰτίαν ὑπό τε αὐθαδείας νεωτερικῆς καὶ βασιλικῆς οἰήσεως, ὅτι καὶ διαβολῶν ἠνείχοντο κατὰ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῶν πραττομένων αὐτῷ περὶ τὸν βίον οὐκ εὐμενεῖς ἦσαν ἐξετασταί, καὶ κακοήθεις μὲν ὑπονοεῖν, ἀκρατεῖς δὲ λέγειν, εὐάλωται δὲ δι᾽ ἀμφότερα τοῖς ἐπιτηροῦσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸς χάριν καταμηνύουσιν. [400] ὁ μέντοι πατὴρ οὐδ᾽ ἐντροπῆς ἄξιος ἔοικεν φαίνεσθαι τοῦ περὶ ἐκείνους ἀσεβήματος, ὃς οὔτε πίστιν ἐπιβουλῆς ἐναργῆ λαβὼν οὔτε παρασκευὴν ἐπιχειρήσεως ἐλέγχειν ἔχων ἐτόλμησεν ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ φύντας, ἀρίστους μὲν τὰ σώματα καὶ περιποθήτους πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις, οὐκ ἀποδέοντας δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν, εἴ που θηρᾶν ἢ γυμνάζεσθαι τὰ πολέμων ἢ

λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμπεσόντων ἔδει. [401] τούτων γὰρ ἁπάντων μετεῖχον, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον ὁ πρεσβύτερος: ἤρκει γάρ, εἰ καὶ κατέγνω, καὶ ζῶντας ὅμως ἐν δεσμοῖς ἢ ξενιτεύοντας ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔχειν μεγάλην ἀσφάλειαν αὐτῷ περιβεβλημένῳ τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν, δι᾽ ἣν οὐδὲν οὐδ᾽ ἐξ ἐφόδου καὶ βίας παθεῖν ἐδύνατο. [402] τὸ δ᾽ ἀποκτεῖναι ταχὺ καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν τοῦ νικῶντος αὐτὸν πάθους ἀσεβείας τεκμήριον ἀνυποτιμήτου Καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας οὔσης ἐν γήρᾳ τοσοῦτον ἐξήμαρτεν. [403] ἥ γε μὴν παρολκὴ καὶ τὸ χρονίζον οὐκ ἂν αὐτῷ συγγνώμην τινὰ φέροι: ταχὺ μὲν γὰρ ἐκπλαγέντα καὶ κεκινημένον χωρῆσαι πρός τι τῶν ἀτόπων, εἰ καὶ δυσχερές, ἀλλ᾽ ἀεὶ συμβαῖνον, ἐν ἐπιστάσει δὲ καὶ μήκει πολλάκις μὲν ὁρμηθέντα πολλάκις δὲ μελλήσαντα τὸ τελευταῖον ὑποστῆναι καὶ διαπράξασθαι, φονώσης καὶ δυσμετακινήτου ψυχῆς ἀπὸ τῶν χειρόνων. [404] ἐδήλωσεν δὲ καὶ τοῖς αὖθις οὐκ ἀποσχόμενος οὐδὲ τῶν περιλοίπων ὅσους ἐδόκει φιλτάτους, ἐφ᾽ οἷς τὸ μὲν δίκαιον ἔλαττον ἐποίει συμπαθεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους, τὸ δ᾽ ὠμὸν ὅμοιον ἦν τὸ μηδὲ ἐκείνων φεισάμενον. διέξιμεν δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἑξῆς ἀφηγούμενοι.

Liber XVII

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ ἑπτακαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Ὡς Ἀντίπατρος ἐμισήθη ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ ἔθνους διὰ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡς διὰ ταῦτα ἐθεράπευεν τοὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολλοῖς χρήμασιν καὶ τὸν πεπιστευμένον τὴν Συρίαν Σατορνῖνον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ἡγεμόνας.

β. ὡς Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἰδὼν τὴν Τραχωνῖτιν χώραν μὴ δυναμένην εὐσταθεῖν διὰ τὰς ἐπιδρομὰς τῶν Ἀράβων, Ζάμαριν Ἰουδαῖον ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ὑποχωρήσαντα καὶ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ διαιτώμενον μεταπεμψάμενος ἐγκατῴκισεν αὐτῇ, καὶ ἐχρῆτο αὐτῷ προβλήματι πρὸς τοὺς Ἄραβας.

γ. ὡς Ἡρώδου τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ παῖδας προσποιησαμένου καὶ τὰς Φερώρα θυγατέρας μνηστεύσαντος αὐτοῖς, Ἀντίπατρος ἔπεισεν τὸν πατέρα τὴν μνηστείαν εἰς τοὺς παῖδας μεταθέσθαι τοὺς αὐτοῦ. καὶ ὡς ἐθεράπευσεν Ἀντίπατρος τοὺς περὶ Φερώραν βουλόμενος ἤδη δι᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπιβουλεῦσαι τῷ πατρί.

δ. ὡς γνοῦσα ἡ ἀδελφὴ τοῦ βασιλέως Σαλώμη κρυφαίως ἀπήγγειλεν τῷ ἀδελφῷ.

ε. ὡς Ἡρώδης παρήγγειλεν Ἀντιπάτρῳ μὴ φοιτᾶν πρὸς Φερώραν μηδὲ ἀπόρρητον μηδὲν ἀπαγγέλλειν αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ φανερῶς μὲν οὐδὲν ἐποίει, ἀλλὰ κρυπτῶς, καὶ ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἐλάνθανεν τὸν Ἡρώδην.

ς. ὡς Ἀντίπατρος ἔγραψεν τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ φίλοις παρακαλῶν αὐτοὺς γράψαι τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ πείθοντας, ἵνα πέμψῃ αὐτὸν πρὸς Καίσαρα μετὰ πολλῶν χρημάτων, καὶ πεισθεὶς Ἡρώδης ἐξέπεμψεν τὸν υἱόν.

ζ. ὡς Ἀντίπατρος ἔπεισεν Φερώραν, ἵνα ἀνέλῃ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Ἡρώδην φαρμάκῳ δοὺς αὐτὸς τὸ φάρμακον τῷ Φερώρᾳ. καὶ ὡς ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης παρήγγειλεν τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ Φερώρᾳ ἐκβαλεῖν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἢ ἀναχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας. ὁ δὲ ἀσμένως ἤκουσεν καὶ ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν τετραρχίαν κἀκεῖ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ τελευτᾷ.

η. κατηγορία τῆς γυναικὸς Φερώρα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν Φερώρα ὡς ἀναιρεθέντος φαρμάκῳ. καὶ ὡς Ἡρώδης ἐκζητήσας εὗρε τὸ φάρμακον κατεσκευασμένον ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου, καὶ βασανίσας ἔγνω τὰς Ἀντιπάτρου ἐπιβουλάς.

θ. κατάπλους Ἀντιπάτρου ἐκ Ῥώμης πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. καὶ ὡς κατηγορηθεὶς ὑπὸ Νικολάου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ καὶ καταγνωσθεὶς θάνατον ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ὑπὸ Κυντιλλίου Οὐάρου τοῦ τότε πεπιστευμένου τὴν Συρίαν ἐδέθη μέχρι τῆς ἐσομένης διαγνώσεως ὑπὸ Καίσαρος.

ι. πρεσβεία πεμφθεῖσα ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου πρὸς Καίσαρα περὶ Ἀντιπάτρου. καὶ ὡς Καῖσαρ ἀκούσας τὰς κατηγορίας κατέγνω αὐτοῦ θάνατον.

ια. περὶ τῆς Ἡρώδου νόσου καὶ στάσεως τῶν Ἰουδαίων δι᾽ αὐτήν, καὶ κόλασις τῶν στασιαστῶν.

ιβ. ὡς δόξαντος Ἀντιπάτρου Ἡρώδην τετελευτηκέναι Ἀντίπατρος διαλεχθείη τῷ σωματοφύλακι περὶ ἀφέσεως, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα Ἀντιπάτρου ἀναίρεσις.

ιγ. Ἡρώδου τελευτὴ καὶ διαθήκη τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς Καίσαρα καὶ μερισμὸς πρὸς τοὺς τρεῖς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ. καὶ ὡς Ἀρχέλαον βασιλέα ποιεῖ τῆς Ἰουδαίας.

ιδ. ἐπιστολὴ Ἡρώδου πρὸς τὸν στρατὸν καὶ ἑκάστῳ αὐτῶν δωρεὰ καὶ παράκλησις πίστεως πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀρχέλαον.

ιε. ταφὴ Ἡρώδου ἐν Ἡρωδίῳ τῷ φρουρίῳ. καὶ ὡς ὁ λαὸς ἐστασίασεν πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀρχέλαον ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ.

ις. ὡς Ἀρχέλαος τρισχιλίους αὐτῶν ἀνεῖλεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔπλευσε πρὸς Καίσαρα σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ Ἡρώδῃ εἰς Ῥώμην πιστεύσας τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ τῷ ἀδελφῷ Φιλίππῳ.

ιζ. ὡς Σαβῖνος ὁ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ Καίσαρος ἐπίτροπος ἀνέβη εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα βίᾳ αἰτῶν τὰ Ἡρώδου χρήματα καὶ φρούρια παρὰ τῶν Ἀρχελάου ἐπιμελητῶν.

ιη. ὡς ἔπεισαν οἱ τοῦ Ἀρχελάου ἐπιμεληταὶ τὸν λαὸν χωρεῖν ἐπὶ ὅπλα καὶ πολιορκῆσαι τὸν Σαβῖνον καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀντωνίᾳ. καὶ ὡς ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Οὔαρος μετὰ μεγάλης δυνάμεως ἀνέβη εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ῥυσάμενος τὸν Σαβῖνον ἐκ τῆς πολιορκίας τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς στάσεως ἐκόλασεν καὶ καλῶς διαθεὶς τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἔγραψε Καίσαρι δηλῶν αὐτῷ τὰ πραχθέντα.

ιθ. ὡς Καῖσαρ τὰς Ἡρώδου διαθήκας βεβαίας ἐποίησεν φυλάξας τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ τὴν διαδοχήν. καὶ ὡς κατηγορεῖται Ἀρχέλαος ὑπὸ τῶν συγγενῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Καίσαρος καὶ νικήσας ἔλαβεν τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ βασιλεύσας μοχθηρῶς δεκαετίαν πάλιν κατηγορηθεὶς ἐξωρίσθη εἰς Βίενναν, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ μετέθηκεν Καῖσαρ εἰς ἐπαρχίαν.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν ιδ.

I

(1) [1] Ἀντιπάτρῳ δὲ ἀραμένῳ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἀσεβείᾳ τε τῇ ὑστάτῃ καὶ ἀλαστορίᾳ τῇ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς τὸν πατέρα περιβεβληκότι οὔτι κατὰ γνώμας ἡ ἐλπὶς τοῦ αὖθις βίου ἦν: ἀπαλλαγεὶς γὰρ φόβου τοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ διὰ τὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν μὴ ἐπικοινωνῆσον, ἐργωδέστερον καὶ ἄπορον αὐτῷ εὕρισκεν τὸ τῆς βασιλείας περιγενέσθαι: τοσόνδ᾽ ἐφύη τῷ ἔθνει μῖσος πρὸς αὐτόν. [2] ὄντος δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦδε χαλεποῦ πλειόνως παρελύπει τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἀλλοτρίως ἔχον τῇ γνώμῃ πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰς οὓς τὰ πάντα ἦν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἀνακείμενα τοῦ οἰκείου ἀσφαλοῦς, ὁπότε τύχοι τὸ ἔθνος νεωτέρων ὀριγνώμενον πραγμάτων: τοσόνδε

κίνδυνον ἐμνήστευσεν αὐτῷ ὁ ὄλεθρος τῶν ἀδελφῶν. [3] οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ συνῆρχέν γε τῷ πατρὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὡς βασιλεὺς ὢν καὶ ἐπιστεύετο παρ᾽ αὐτῷ μειζόνως, ἐξ ὧν ἀπολωλέναι καλῶς εἶχεν εὐνοίας βεβαιώματα εὑρημένος, ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀσφαλείᾳ σωτηρίας τῆς Ἡρώδου τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐνδεδειχώς, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἔχθρᾳ τῇ πρὸς ἐκείνους καὶ πρὸ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τοιαίδε αὐτὸν περιεσπένδον ἀραί. [4] ἅπερ δὴ πάντα μηχαναὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην ὁδοῦ ἵσταντο Ἀντιπάτρῳ, ἐρημοῦντι αὐτὸν μὲν κατηγόρων ἐφ᾽ οἷς πράττειν διενοεῖτο, Ἡρώδην δὲ καταφυγῆς οἳ βοηθοῖεν αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου φανερῶς πολεμίου καταστάντος: [5] ὥστε μίσει μὲν τῷ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἔπρασσεν τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τῶν ἀδελφῶν, τὸ δὲ ἥπτετο μειζόνως τοῦ ἐγχειρῶν μὴ ἀφίεσθαι τῆς πράξεως: ἀποθνήσκοντος μὲν γὰρ Ἡρώδου, βεβαίως αὐτῷ περιγενομένης τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐξικνουμένου δὲ εἰς τὸ πλέον ἔτι ζῆν, κινδύνων ἀντιπεριστάντων ἐξαγγέλτου γενομένης τῆς πράξεως, ἧς συνθέτης γεγονὼς πολέμιον ἠνάγκαζε τὸν πατέρα καταστῆναι. [6] καὶ διὰ τοῦ χαρίζεσθαι πολυτελὴς ἦν τοὺς περὶ τὸν πατέρα, κέρδεσι μεγάλοις ἐκπλήσσων τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων μῖσος πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐπὶ Ῥώμης φίλους πομπαῖς μεγάλων δωρεῶν εὔνους καθιστάμενος, πρὸ πάντων δὲ Σατορνῖνον τὸν τῆς Συρίας ἐπιμελητήν. [7] ὑπάξεσθαί τε ἦν ἐλπὶς αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν Σατορνίνου ἀδελφὸν μεγέθει δώρων, ἃ ἐδίδου, καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀνδρὶ πρώτῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην συνοικοῦσαν τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ χρώμενος. ψευσάμενός τε φιλίαν πρὸς τοὺς ὁμιλοῦντας δεινότατός τις ἦν πεπιστεῦσθαι καὶ μῖσος ἀράμενος ἐφ᾽ οὕστινας ἐπικρύψασθαι συνετώτατος. [8] οὐ μὴν ἠπάτα γε τὴν τηθίδα προκατανενοηκυῖαν ἐκ πλείονος αὐτὸν καὶ μηκέθ᾽ οἷαν οὖσαν παραλογισθῆναι καὶ διὰ τὸ ἤδη παρασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ ἀντιτετάχθαι αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ κακότροπον. [9] καίτοι θυγατρὶ αὐτῆς συνῴκει θεῖος πρὸς μητρὸς Ἀντιπάτρου προνοίᾳ τῇ ἐκείνου καὶ διαπράξει παραλαβὼν τὴν κόρην πρότερον Ἀριστοβούλῳ γεγαμημένην: τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν ὁ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς Καλλέα παῖς γυναῖκα εἶχεν. ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ κατανοεῖσθαι πονηρὸν ὄντα ἦν ἡ ἐπιγαμία τεῖχος, ὥσπερ οὐδ᾽ ἡ πρότερον συγγένεια πρὸς τὸ οὐ μεμισῆσθαι. [10] τὴν δὲ Σαλώμην Ἡρώδης ἐσπουδακυῖαν Συλλαίῳ τῷ Ἄραβι γαμηθῆναι κατ᾽ ἐρωτικὴν ἐπιθυμίαν βιάζεται τῷ Ἀλεξᾷ συνοικεῖν συμπρασσούσης αὐτῷ Ἰουλίας καὶ πειθούσης τὴν Σαλώμην μὴ ἀνήνασθαι τὸν γάμον, μὴ καὶ ἔχθρα καθίσταιτο αὐτοῖς προύπτως ὁμωμοκότος Ἡρώδου μὴ ἂν εὐνοήσειν Σαλώμῃ μὴ ὑποδεξαμένῃ τὸν Ἀλεξᾶ γάμον. καὶ ἐπείθετο Καίσαρός τε οὔσῃ γυναικὶ τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ καὶ ἄλλως συμβουλευούσῃ πάνυ συμφέροντα. [11] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀρχελάου θυγατέρα τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡρώδης ὡς τὸν αὐτῆς πατέρα ἐξέπεμψεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνῳκηκυῖαν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν προῖκα ἀποδούς, ὥστε ἀμφισβήτημα αὐτοῖς μηδὲν εἶναι.

(2) [12] Ἀνέτρεφεν δὲ αὐτὸς τῶν παίδων τὰ τέκνα πάνυ ἐπιμελῶς: ἦσαν γὰρ τῷ μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐκ Γλαφύρας ἄρσενες δύο, Ἀριστοβούλῳ δὲ ἐκ Βερενίκης τῆς

Σαλώμης θυγατρὸς ἄρσενές τε τρεῖς καὶ θήλειαι δύο. [13] καί ποτε παρόντων αὐτῷ τῶν φίλων παραστησάμενος τὰ παιδάρια καὶ τῶν υἱέων ἀνακλαύσας τὴν τύχην ηὔχετο μηδὲν τοιόνδε παισὶν τοῖς ἐκείνων συνελθεῖν, αὐξηθέντας δὲ ἀρετῇ καὶ συμφορᾷ τοῦ δικαίου τὰς τροφὰς ἀμείψασθαι, ἃς ποιοῖτο. [14] ἐγγεγύητό τε εἰς γάμον, ὁπότε ἀφικοίατο εἰς ὥραν τὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ, τῷ μὲν πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου παίδων Φερώρου θυγατέρα, τῷ δὲ Ἀριστοβούλου τὴν Ἀντιπάτρου, καὶ θυγατέρα τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου ἐπωνόμαζε παιδὶ τῷ Ἀντιπάτρου, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν τῶν Ἀριστοβούλου θυγατέρων Ἡρώδῃ παιδὶ τῷ αὐτοῦ: γίνεται δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ οὗτος ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως θυγατρός: πάτριον γὰρ πλείοσιν ἐν ταὐτῷ ἡμῖν συνοικεῖν. [15] ἔπρασσε δὲ τὰς μνηστείας τῶν παίδων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐλέῳ τῶν ὀρφανῶν εἰς εὔνοιαν αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν ἐπιγαμίαν τὸν Ἀντίπατρον προκαλούμενος. [16] Ἀντίπατρος δὲ γνώμῃ τῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς πολιτεύειν οὐκ ἐνέλιπεν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῖς γεγονότας, ἥ τε τοῦ πατρὸς σπουδὴ περὶ αὐτοὺς ἠρέθιζεν αὐτὸν μείζονας ἔσεσθαι τῶν ἀδελφῶν προσδεχόμενον, καὶ μάλιστα ὁπότε ἀνδρωθεῖεν, Ἀρχελάου προσληψομένου τοῖς θυγατριδοῖς βασιλέως ἀνδρὸς καὶ Φερώρου τῷ ληψομένῳ τὴν θυγατέρα: τετράρχης δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἦν. [17] ἐπήγειρε δ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος ἐλέῳ μὲν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ὀρφανοὺς χρώμενον, μίσει δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα ἐξαγαγεῖν οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμένον κακοτροπίᾳ τῇ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. ἐμηχανᾶτο οὖν διάλυσιν τῶν τῷ πατρὶ ἐγνωσμένων, ἐν δεινῷ τιθέμενος προσλήψει τοσῆσδε αὐτοὺς ὁμιλῆσαι δυνάμεως. [18] καὶ μετέπιπτεν Ἡρώδης εἴκων δεήσει τῇ Ἀντιπάτρου, ὥστε αὐτὸν μὲν τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου θυγατέρα γαμεῖν καὶ τὴν Φερώρου τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ. καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν ὁμολογιῶν τοῦ γάμου τοῦτον κινεῖται τὸν τρόπον ἄκοντος τοῦ βασιλέως.

(3) [19] Ἡρώδῃ δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον συνῴκουν ἐννέα γυναῖκες, ἥ τε Ἀντιπάτρου μήτηρ καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, ἐξ ἧς δὴ καὶ ὁμώνυμος αὐτῷ παῖς γεγόνει: ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀδελφοῦ παῖς αὐτῷ μία γεγαμημένη καὶ ἀνεψιὰ σὺν αὐτῇ. καὶ ταῖσδε μὲν τέκνον οὐδὲν ἐφύη. [20] ἦν δ᾽ ἐν ταῖς γυναιξὶν κἀκ τοῦ Σαμαρέων ἔθνους μία καὶ παῖδες αὐτῆς Ἀντίπας καὶ Ἀρχέλαος καὶ θυγάτηρ Ὀλυμπιάς. καὶ ταύτην μὲν ὕστερον Ἰώσηπος γαμεῖ βασιλέως ἀδελφιδοῦς ὤν, Ἀρχέλαος δὲ καὶ Ἀντίπας ἐπὶ Ῥώμης παρά τινι ἰδίῳ τροφὰς εἶχον. [21] Κλεοπάτρα δὲ Ἱεροσολυμῖτις γεγάμητο αὐτῷ καὶ παῖδες ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἡρώδης τε ἐγεγόνεισαν καὶ Φίλιππος, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν Ῥώμῃ τροφὰς εἶχεν. καὶ Παλλὰς δὲ ἐν ταῖς γαμεταῖς Φασάηλον πεποιημένη παῖδα αὐτῷ, πρός γε μὴν ταύταις Φαῖδρα καὶ Ἐλπίς, ἐξ ὧν θυγατέρες δύο ἦσαν Ῥωξάνη καὶ Σαλώμη. [22] τὰς δὲ πρεσβυτέρας αὐτοῦ θυγατέρας ὁμομητρίας τῶν περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον, ὧν περιεώρα Φερώρας τὸν γάμον, συνῴκουν ἡ μὲν Ἀντιπάτρῳ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφῆς παιδὶ ὄντι, Φασαήλῳ δὲ ἡ ἑτέρα: καὶ οὗτος Ἡρώδου ἀδελφοῦ παῖς ἐγεγόνει. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Ἡρώδου τὸ γένος ἦν.

II

(1) [23] Τότε δὲ βουλόμενος πρὸς Τραχωνίτας ἀσφαλὴς εἶναι, κώμην πόλεως μέγεθος οὐκ ἀποδέουσαν ἔγνω Ἰουδαίων κτίσαι ἐν μέσῳ, δυσέμβολόν τε ποιεῖν τὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐξ ἐγγίονος ὁρμώμενος ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος κακουργεῖν. [24] καὶ ἐπιστάμενος ἄνδρα Ἰουδαῖον ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας σὺν πεντακοσίοις ἱπποτοξόταις πᾶσι καὶ συγγενῶν πλήθει εἰς ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν τὸν Εὐφράτην διαβεβηκότα κατὰ τύχας ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῇ ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ τῆς Συρίας διαιτᾶσθαι Σατορνίνου τοῦ τότε στρατηγοῦντος εἰς ἐνοίκησιν αὐτῷ δεδωκότος χωρίον, [25] Οὐλαθὰ ὄνομα αὐτῷ, μετεπέμπετο τοῦτον σὺν τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἑπομένων, παρέξειν ὑπισχνούμενος γῆν ἐν τοπαρχίᾳ τῇ λεγομένῃ Βαταναίᾳ, ὡρίζετο δὲ αὕτη τῇ Τραχωνίτιδι, βουλόμενος πρόβλημα τὴν κατοίκησιν αὐτοῦ κτᾶσθαι, ἀτελῆ τε τὴν χώραν ἐπηγγέλλετο καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰσφορῶν ἀπηλλαγμένους ἁπασῶν, αἳ εἰωθυῖαι ἐγκατοικεῖν τὴν γῆν ἄπρακτον παρασχόμενος.

(2) [26] Τούτοις πεισθεὶς ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἀφικνεῖται καὶ λαβὼν τὴν γῆν φρούρια ᾠκοδομήσατο καὶ κώμην, Βαρθύραν ὄνομα αὐτῇ θέμενος. πρόβλημά τε ἦν οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Τραχωνίτας καὶ Ἰουδαίων τοῖς ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἀφικνουμένοις κατὰ θυσίαν ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων τοῦ μὴ ληστείαις ὑπὸ τῶν Τραχωνιτῶν κακουργεῖσθαι, πολλοί τε ὡς αὐτὸν ἀφίκοντο καὶ ἁπανταχόθεν, οἷς τὰ Ἰουδαίων θεραπεύεται πάτρια. [27] καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ χώρα σφόδρα πολυάνθρωπος ἀδείᾳ τοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀτελοῦς, ἃ παρέμεινεν αὐτοῖς Ἡρώδου ζῶντος. Φίλιππος δὲ υἱὸς ἐκείνου παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὀλίγα τε καὶ ἐπ᾽ ὀλίγοις αὐτοὺς ἐπράξατο, [28] Ἀγρίππας μέντοι γε ὁ μέγας καὶ ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁμώνυμος καὶ πάνυ ἐξετρύχωσαν αὐτούς, οὐ μέντοι τὰ τῆς ἐλευθερίας κινεῖν ἠθέλησαν. παρ᾽ ὧν Ῥωμαῖοι δεξάμενοι τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ μὲν ἐλευθέρου καὶ αὐτοὶ τηροῦσιν τὴν ἀξίωσιν, ἐπιβολαῖς δὲ τῶν φόρων εἰς τὸ πάμπαν ἐπίεσαν αὐτούς. καὶ τάδε μὲν ᾗ καιρὸς ἀκριβώσομαι προιόντος τοῦ λόγου.

(3) [29] Τελευτᾷ δὲ Ζάμαρις ὁ Βαβυλώνιος, ὃς ἐπὶ κτήσει τῆσδε τῆς χώρας Ἡρώδῃ προσποιεῖται, ζήσας τε μετὰ ἀρετῆς καὶ παῖδας λειπόμενος ἀγαθούς, Ἰάκειμον μέν, ὃς ἀνδρείᾳ γενόμενος ἐπιφανὴς ἱππεύειν συνεκρότησε τὸ ὑφ᾽ αὐτῷ Βαβυλώνιον, καὶ ἴλη τῶνδε τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐδορυφόρει τούσδε τοὺς βασιλέας. [30] καὶ Ἰάκειμος δὲ ἐν γήρᾳ τελευτῶν Φίλιππον τὸν υἱὸν κατέλιπεν ἄνδρα κατὰ χεῖρας ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀρετῇ χρῆσθαι παρ᾽ ὁντινοῦν ἀξιόλογον. διόπερ φιλία [31] τε πιστὴ καὶ εὔνοια ἀσφαλὴς αὐτῷ πρὸς Ἀγρίππαν γίνεται τὸν βασιλέα, στρατιάν τε ὁπόσην ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔτρεφεν οὗτος ἀσκῶν διετέλει καὶ ὅπη ἐξοδεύειν δεήσειεν ἡγούμενος.

(4) [32] Ἡρώδου δ᾽ ἐν οἷς εἶπον ὄντος ἀφεώρα τὰ πάντα πράγματα εἰς Ἀντίπατρον, κἀφ᾽ οἷς ὠφελήσειεν κυροῦν οὐκ ἀπήλλακτο ἐξουσίας ἐπικεχωρηκότος τε τοῦ πατρὸς ἐλπίδι εὐνοίας καὶ πίστεως, καὶ περαιτέρω

κτᾶσθαι τὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν τολμηρὸς καθιστάμενος διὰ τὸ ἄδηλος τῷ πατρὶ εἶναι κακουργῶν κἀφ᾽ οἷς εἴπειεν πιστότατος. [33] ἦν τε πᾶσιν φοβερὸς οὐχ οὕτως ἰσχύι τῆς ἐξουσίας, ὡς τοῦ κακοτρόπου τῷ προμηθεῖ: μάλιστα δ᾽ αὐτὸν Φερώρας ἐθεράπευεν καὶ ἀντεθεραπεύετο δεινῶς, πάνυ τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου περιστοιχίσαντος αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν συνισταμένου τὰ πρὸς αὐτόν: [34] ἐδεδούλωτο γὰρ Φερώρας γαμετῇ τε καὶ μητρὶ ταύτης καὶ ἀδελφῇ καὶ ταῦτα μισῶν τὰς ἀνθρώπους ὕβρει θυγατέρων αὐτοῦ παρθένων: ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως ἠνείχετο, πράσσειν τε οὐδὲν ἦν δίχα τῶν γυναικῶν ἐκπεριωδευκυιῶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἀλλήλαις εὐνοίᾳ συμπράσσειν τὰ πάντα μὴ ἀπηλλαγμένων, [35] ὥστε παντοίως ὁ Ἀντίπατρος ὑπῆκτο αὐτὰς καὶ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τῆς μητρός: ταὐτὸν γὰρ αἵδε αἱ τέσσαρες γυναῖκες ἔλεγον. καὶ Φερώρᾳ δὲ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον ἐπ᾽ οὐδαμινοῖς τισιν αἱ γνῶμαι διήλλασσον. [36] ἀντίσπασμα δ᾽ ἦν αὐτοῖς βασιλέως ἡ ἀδελφὴ περισκοποῦσά τε ἐκ πλείονος τὰ πάντα καὶ τὴν εὔνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ κακοῖς τοῖς Ἡρώδου πρασσομένην εἰδυῖά τε καὶ μηνύειν οὐκ ἀποτετραμμένη. [37] καὶ γνόντες ἐν ἀπεχθείᾳ βασιλεῖ τὴν εὔνοιαν αὐτῶν οὖσαν ἐπινοοῦσιν ὥστε φανερὰν μὲν μὴ εἶναι τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτῶν σύνοδον, μίσους δὲ καὶ λοιδοριῶν ᾗ καιρὸς προσποίησιν, καὶ μάλιστα Ἡρώδου παρατυγχάνοντος ἢ οἳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπαγγέλλειν ἔμελλον, κρυπτῶς δὲ τὰ τῆς εὐνοίας ὀχυρώτερα καθίστασθαι. [38] καὶ ἔπρασσον οὕτως. ἐλάνθανεν δὲ τὴν Σαλώμην οὔτε πρῶτον ἡ διάνοια αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε ὡρμημένων οὔτε ἐπειδὴ Χρῆσθαι οὐκ ἀπήλλακτο αὐτή: πάντα δὲ ἀνίχνευέν τε καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν μειζόνως ἐκδεινοῦσα ἀπεσήμαινεν συνόδους τε κρυπτὰς καὶ πότους βουλευτήριά τε ἀφανῶς κατεσκευασμένα, ὧν μὴ ἐπ᾽ ὀλέθρῳ τῷ ἐκείνου συντιθεμένων κἂν πεφανερῶσθαι μὴ κεκωλῦσθαι. [39] νῦν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ προῦπτου διαφόρους καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τῇ ἀλλήλων λέγοντας, εἰς δὲ τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῖς πολλοῖς τὴν εὔνοιαν ἀνατιθεμένους καὶ ὁπότε ἀλλήλοις συμμονωθεῖεν φίλια πράσσειν μὴ ἀπηλλαγμένους, ὁμολογεῖν πολεμεῖν πρὸς οὓς λανθάνειν χρώμενοι εὐνοίᾳ τῇ ἀλλήλων ἐσπουδάκοιεν. [40] καὶ ἡ μὲν ταῦτ᾽ ἀνίχνευέν τε καὶ ἀκριβῶν τυγχάνουσα τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἀνέφερεν συνιέντι μὲν ἤδη τὰ πολλὰ καὶ δι᾽ ἑαυτοῦ, εἰς δὲ τὸ θαρσεῖν οὐ διακενῆς ὑπονοῶν καθισταμένῳ διαβολαῖς τῆς ἀδελφῆς. [41] καὶ ἦν γὰρ μόριόν τι Ἰουδαικὸν ἀνθρώπων ἐπ᾽ ἐξακριβώσει μέγα φρονοῦν τοῦ πατρίου καὶ νόμων οἷς χαίρει τὸ θεῖον προσποιουμένων, οἷς ὑπῆκτο ἡ γυναικωνῖτις, Φαρισαῖοι καλοῦνται, βασιλεῖ δυναμένῳ μάλιστα πράσσειν προμηθεῖς κἀκ τοῦ προῦπτου εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν τε καὶ βλάπτειν ἐπηρμένοι. [42] παντὸς γοῦν τοῦ Ἰουδαικοῦ βεβαιώσαντος δι᾽ ὅρκων ᾗ μὴν εὐνοήσειν Καίσαρι καὶ τοῖς βασιλέως πράγμασιν, οἵδε οἱ ἄνδρες οὐκ ὤμοσαν ὄντες ὑπὲρ ἑξακισχίλιοι, καὶ αὐτοὺς βασιλέως ζημιώσαντος χρήμασιν ἡ Φερώρου γυνὴ τὴν ζημίαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἰσφέρει. [43] οἱ δὲ ἀμειβόμενοι τὴν εὔνοιαν αὐτῆς, πρόγνωσιν δὲ ἐπεπίστευντο ἐπιφοιτήσει τοῦ θεοῦ, προύλεγον, ὡς Ἡρώδῃ μὲν καταπαύσεως ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ θεοῦ

ἐψηφισμένης αὐτῷ τε καὶ γένει τῷ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, τῆς δὲ βασιλείας εἵς τε ἐκείνην περιηξούσης καὶ Φερώραν παῖδάς τε οἳ εἶεν αὐτοῖς. [44] καὶ τάδε, οὐ γὰρ ἐλάνθανεν τὴν Σαλώμην, ἐξάγγελτα βασιλεῖ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι τῶν περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν διαφθείροιέν τινας. καὶ βασιλεὺς τῶν τε Φαρισαίων τοὺς αἰτιωτάτους ἀναιρεῖ καὶ Βαγώαν τὸν εὐνοῦχον Κᾶρόν τέ τινα τῶν τότε προύχοντα ἀρετῇ τοῦ εὐπρεποῦς καὶ παιδικὰ ὄντα αὐτοῦ. κτείνει δὲ καὶ πᾶν ὅ τι τοῦ οἰκείου συνειστήκει οἷς ὁ Φαρισαῖος ἔλεγεν. [45] ἦρτο δὲ ὁ Βαγώας ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ὡς πατήρ τε καὶ εὐεργέτης ὀνομασθησόμενος τοῦ ἐπικατασταθησομένου προρρήσει βασιλέως: κατὰ χεῖρα γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τὰ πάντ᾽ εἶναι, παρέξοντος αὐτῷ γάμου τε ἰσχὺν καὶ παιδώσεως τέκνων γνησίων.

III

(1) [46] Ἡρώδης δὲ κολάσας τῶν Φαρισαίων τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἐληλεγμένους συνέδριόν τε ποιεῖται τῶν φίλων καὶ κατηγορίαν τῆς Φερώρου γυναικός, τήν τε ὕβριν τῶν παρθένων τῇ τόλμῃ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀνατιθεὶς καὶ ἔγκλημα ταύτην ἀτιμίαν αὐτῷ ποιούμενος, [47] ὥστε ἀγωνοθετῶν στάσιν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν πόλεμον ἐκ φύσεως αὐτοῖς καὶ λόγῳ καὶ δι᾽ ἔργων ὁπόσα δύναιτο, τήν τε διάλυσιν τῆς ζημίας τῆς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐπιβληθείσης τέλεσι διαφευχθείσης τοῖς ἐκείνης, τῶν τε νῦν πεπραγμένων οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐ μετ᾽ αὐτῆς. [48] ἀνθ᾽ ὧν, ὦ Φερώρα, καλῶς εἶχεν οὐ δεήσει οὐδὲ γνωμῶν εἰσηγήσεως τῶν ἐμῶν αὐτοκέλευστον ἀποπέμπεσθαι γυναῖκα ταύτην ὡς πολέμου τοῦ πρός μέ σοι αἰτίαν ἐσομένην: καὶ νῦν, εἴπερ ἀντιποιῇ συγγενείας τῆς ἐμῆς, ἀπείπασθαι τήνδε τὴν γαμετήν: μενεῖς γὰρ [49] οὕτως ἀδελφός τε καὶ στέργειν οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμένος.” Φερώρας δὲ καίπερ λόγων ἀρετῇ περιωθούμενος οὔτε συγγενείας τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔλεγε κινήσειν δίκαιον οὐδὲν οὔτε τῶν πρὸς τὴν γαμετὴν εὐνοιῶν, αἱρεῖσθαί τε πρότερον θανεῖν ἢ ζῶν τολμᾶν ἀπεστερῆσθαι γυναικὸς αὐτῷ κεχαρισμένης. [50] Ἡρώδης δὲ Φερώρᾳ μὲν ὑπερεβάλλετο τὴν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὀργὴν καίπερ ἀνήδονον τιμωρίαν εἰσπεπραγμένος, Ἀντιπάτρῳ δὲ ἀπεῖπε καὶ μητρὶ τῇ ἐκείνου Φερώρᾳ τε μὴ ὁμιλεῖν καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν φυλάσσεσθαι τὸ εἰς ταὐτὸν συνεσόμενον. [51] οἱ δ᾽ ὡμολόγουν μέν, συνῄεσαν δὲ ᾗ καιρὸς καὶ συνεκώμαζον Φερώρας καὶ Ἀντίπατρος. ἐφοίτα δὲ λόγος ὁμιλεῖν καὶ Ἀντιπάτρῳ τὴν Φερώρου γυναῖκα συμπρασσούσης αὐτοῖς τὰ εἰς τὴν σύνοδον τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου μητρός.

(2) [52] Ὑφορώμενος δὲ τὸν πατέρα καὶ δεδιώς, μὴ εἰς πλεῖον προχωροίη τὰ τοῦ μίσους ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ, γράφει πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ φίλους κελεύων ἐπιστέλλειν Ἡρώδῃ πέμπειν ᾗ τάχος Ἀντίπατρον ὡς Καίσαρα. [53] οὗ γενομένου ἔπεμπεν Ἡρώδης Ἀντίπατρον δῶρα συμπέμψας ἀξιολογώτατα καὶ διαθήκην, ἐν ᾗ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἀντίπατρον ἀπεδείκνυε βασιλέα, ἢ φθάντος τελευτῆσαι Ἡρώδην τὸν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως θυγατρὸς υἱὸν αὐτῷ γεγενημένον. [54] συνεξορμᾷ δ᾽

Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ Σύλλαιος ὁ Ἄραψ μηδὲν ὧν προσέταξε Καῖσαρ διαπεπραγμένος, καὶ Ἀντίπατρος αὐτοῦ κατηγορεῖ ἐπὶ Καίσαρος περὶ ὧν πρότερον Νικόλαος. κατηγορεῖτο δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀρέτα Σύλλαιος, ὡς πολλοὺς ἀπεκτονὼς τῶν ἐν Πέτρᾳ ἀξιολόγων παρὰ γνώμην τὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ μάλιστα Σόαιμον ἄνδρα τῇ ἐς πάντα ἀρετῇ τιμᾶσθαι δικαιότατον, ἀνῃρηκέναι δὲ καὶ Φάβατον Καίσαρος δοῦλον. [55] καὶ Σύλλαιος αἰτίαν εἶχεν ἐκ τοιῶνδε ἐγκλημάτων: Κόρινθος ἦν Ἡρώδου σωματοφύλαξ τοῦ βασιλέως μάλιστα πιστευόμενος ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ. τοῦτον πείθει Σύλλαιος ἐπὶ χρήμασι μεγάλοις Ἡρώδην ἀποκτεῖναι, καὶ ὑπέσχετο. μαθὼν οὖν Φάβατος Συλλαίου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρηκότος διηγεῖται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. [56] ὁ δὲ τόν τε Κόρινθον βασανίζει συλλαβὼν καὶ πάντα ἀνάπυστα ἦν αὐτῷ. συλλαμβάνει δὲ καὶ δευτέρους Ἄραβας καταγορεύσει τῇ Κορίνθου πειθόμενος τὸν μὲν φύλαρχον ὄντα τὸν δὲ Συλλαίου φίλον. [57] οἳ καὐτοί, βασανίζει γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλεύς, ὡμολόγουν ὅτι παρεῖεν ἐξοτρύνοντες μὴ μαλακίζεσθαι Κόρινθον καὶ εἴ που δεήσειεν καὶ συγχειρουργήσοντες αὐτῷ τὸν φόνον. καὶ Σατορνῖνος δηλώσεως αὐτῷ πάντων ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου γενομένης εἰς Ῥώμην ἐξέπεμψεν αὐτούς.

(3) [58] Φερώραν δὲ ἰσχυρῶς ἐμμένοντα εὐνοίᾳ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀναχωρεῖν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ Ἡρώδης κελεύει. ὁ δὲ ἀσμένως ἐπὶ τὴν τετραρχίαν ἀπῆρεν, πολλὰ ὀμόσας οὐ πρότερον ἥξειν ἢ πύθοιτο Ἡρώδην τετελευτηκότα, ὥστε καὶ νοσήσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως ἀξιωθεὶς ἥκειν ἐπί τινων πίστεσιν ἐντολῶν, εἰ μέλλοι τελευτᾶν, οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ ὅρκου. [59] οὐ μὴν Ἡρώδης γε μιμεῖται τὸ ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε ἐκείνου γνώμην προαποφηνάμενον ἣν ἔχει, ἀλλ᾽ ἦκεν ὡς τὸν Φερώραν, ἐπειδὴ ὕστερον ἄρχεται νοσεῖν, καὶ μετακλήσεως αὐτῷ μὴ γενομένης, θανόντα δὲ περιστείλας ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἀγόμενος ταφῆς ἠξίου καὶ πένθος μέγα ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ προέθετο. [60] τοῦτο Ἀντιπάτρῳ καίτοι γε ἐπὶ Ῥώμης πεπλευκότι κακῶν ἐγένετο ἀρχὴ τῆς ἀδελφοκτονίας αὐτὸν τινυμένου θεοῦ. διηγήσομαι δὲ τὸν πάντα περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον παράδειγμα τῷ ἀνθρωπείῳ γενησόμενον τοῦ ἀρετῇ πολιτεύσοντος ἐπὶ πᾶσιν.

IV

(1) [61] Ἐπειδὴ Φερώρας τελευτᾷ ταφνίται ἐγεγόνεισαν αὐτοῦ ἀπελεύθεροι δύο τῶν Φερώρᾳ τιμίων οὗτοι προσελθόντες Ἡρώδῃ ἠξίουν μὴ ἀνεκδίκητον καταλιπεῖν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τὸν νεκρόν, ἀλλὰ ζήτησιν ποιεῖσθαι τῆς ἀλόγου τε καὶ δυστυχοῦς μεταστάσεως. [62] τοῦ δ᾽ ἐπιστραφέντος τοῖς λόγοις, πιστὰ γὰρ ἐδόκει, δειπνῆσαι μὲν αὐτὸν ἔλεγον παρὰ τῇ γυναικὶ τῇ προτέρᾳ τῆς νόσου, φάρμακον δὲ προσκομισθὲν ἐν βρώματι μὴ πρότερον εἰωθότι ἐμφαγόντα ὑπὸ τούτου τελευτῆσαι: κομιστὸν μέντοι γενέσθαι τὸ φάρμακον ὑπὸ γυναικὸς ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίας λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ προσποιήσεσιν ἐρώτων, φίλτρον γὰρ δὴ ὄνομα αὐτῷ

εἶναι, τὸ δ᾽ ἀληθὲς ἐπὶ τῇ Φερώρου τελευτῇ. [63] φαρμακιστόταται δέ εἰσι γυναικῶν αἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίας: ᾗ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεκάλουν καὶ τῆς Συλλαίου ἐρωμένης ἐν ταῖς μάλιστα ὡμολόγητο εἶναι φίλη, πείσουσαί τε αὐτὴν ἐπὶ πράσει τοῦ φαρμάκου εἰς τοὺς τόπους ἐληλύθεσαν ἥ τε μήτηρ τῆς τοῦ Φερώρου γυναικὸς καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ καὶ ἐπανῆκον αὐτὴν ἀγόμεναι τοῦ δείπνου πρότερον ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ. [64] ὑπὸ τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν λόγων παροξυνθεὶς δούλας τε ἐβασάνιζε τῶν γυναικῶν καί τινας καὶ ἐλευθέρας, καὶ ὄντος ἀφανοῦς τοῦ πράγματος διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἐξειπεῖν τελευταία τις περιουσῶν αὐτῆς τῶν ἀλγηδόνων ἄλλο μὲν ἔφη οὐδέν, θεὸν δ᾽ ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τοιαῖσδε αἰκίαις δώσειν περιβαλεῖν τὴν Ἀντιπάτρου μητέρα κακῶν τῶν ἐπεχόντων αἰτίαν πᾶσιν γενομένην. [65] ταῦτα εἰς ἐπίστασιν Ἠρώδην ἄγει, καὶ τὰ πάντα βασάνοις τῶν γυναικῶν ἀνάπυστα ἦν, οἵ τε κῶμοι καὶ κρυπταὶ σύνοδοι καὶ δὴ καὶ λόγων πρὸς μόνον τὸν υἱὸν εἰρημένων ἐξοίσεις πρὸς τὰς Φερώρου γυναῖκας: ἦν δὲ ταλάντων ἑκατὸν δωρεὰς ἐπικρύπτεσθαι φράζειν πρὸς Φερώραν τῷ Ἀντιπάτρῳ κέλευσις ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός: [66] μῖσός τε πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ ὀλοφυρμοὶ πρὸς τὴν μητέρα, ὡς ἐπὶ μήκιστον τοῦ πατρὸς βιοῦν ἐξηγμένου καὶ αὐτῷ μηδὲν ἐλάσσονος τοῦ γήρως ἐπικειμένου, ὡς μηδ᾽ ἂν ἐλθοῦσαν τὴν βασιλείαν ὁμοίως εὐφρᾶναί ποτ᾽ αὐτόν: παρατρέφεσθαί τε πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ ἀδελφοὺς καὶ ἀδελφῶν παῖδας οὐδαμῶς ἀδεῆ τὴν ἐλπίδα παρεχομένους τἀσφαλοῦς: [67] καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ νῦν, εἴ τι πάσχειν, αὐτὸν ἀδελφῷ μᾶλλον ἢ παιδὶ τῷ αὐτοῦ κελεύειν τὴν ἀρχὴν δίδοσθαι. ὠμότητά τε πολλὴν κατηγόρει τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὰς σφαγὰς τῶν υἱέων, φόβῳ τε μὴ καὶ αὐτῶν ἅπτοιτο ἤδη τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἄρασθαι τέχνην ἐπινοῆσαι, Φερώραν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ τετραρχίας.

(2) [68] Ταῦτα συνῆδεν γὰρ τοῖς λόγοις τῆς ἀδελφῆς, καὶ πολὺ τοῦ μὴ ἀπιστίαν ἔτι ὑποπτεύεσθαι συνῆγεν αὐτοῖς, ὁ βασιλεὺς κρατυνάμενος ἐπὶ κακίᾳ τῇ Ἀντιπάτρου τὴν Δῶριν τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ πάντα τὸν περὶ αὐτὴν κόσμον ταλάντων πολλῶν ὄντα ἀφελόμενος ἔπειτα αὐτὴν ἀποπέμπεται καὶ ταῖς Φερώρου γυναιξὶν φιλίαν ἐσπείσατο. [69] μάλιστα δ᾽ ἐξώτρυνεν εἰς ὀργὴν κατὰ τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν βασιλέα Σαμαρείτης ἀνὴρ Ἀντίπατρος ἐπιτροπεύων τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντίπατρον, ἄλλα τε αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖς βασάνοις κατειπὼν καὶ ὅτι παρασκευασάμενος φάρμακον θανάσιμον δοίη Φερώρᾳ κελεύσας παρὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν αὐτοῦ, ἵν᾽ ὡς πλεῖστον ἀφεστήκοι τῶν ἐν τοιούτοις ὑποτοπασμῶν, τῷ πατρὶ δοῦναι. [70] καὶ κομίσαι μὲν Ἀντίφιλον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τὸ φάρμακον ἕνα τῶν Ἀντιπάτρου φίλων, σταλῆναι δὲ ὡς Φερώραν διὰ Θευδίωνος μητρὸς Ἀντιπάτρου ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως παιδός, καὶ οὕτως ἐλθεῖν τὸ φάρμακον εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν Φερώρου δόντος φυλάσσειν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς. [71] ἡ δὲ ὡμολόγει μὲν ἀνακρίναντος τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ δραμοῦσα ὡς κομίσειεν ῥίπτει κατὰ τέγους ἑαυτήν, οὐ μὴν τελευτᾷ ἐπὶ πόδας τῆς πτώσεως γενομένης. [72] καὶ οὕτως ἐπεὶ ἀνεκτήσατο αὐτὴν ἄδειάν τε αὐτῇ ὑπισχνούμενος καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις μηδὲν ἐπ᾽

ἀφανισμῷ τἀληθοῦς τρεπομένῃ, τρίψειν γε μὴν κακοῖς τοῖς ὑστάτοις ἀγνωμονεῖν προθεμένην, ὑπισχνεῖται καὶ ὤμοσεν ἦ μὴν ἐρεῖν τὰ πάντα ὃν ἐπράχθη τρόπον, λέγουσα μὲν, ὡς ἔφασαν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀληθῆ τὰ πάντα. [73] "κεκόμισται γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ φάρμακον ὑπ' Ἀντιφίλου, ἀδελφὸς δ' ἐκείνῳ ἰατρὸς ὢν ἐπόρισεν, καὶ Θευδίωνος ὡς ἡμᾶς κομίσαντος ἐφύλασσον αὐτὴ παρὰ Φερώρου λαβοῦσα ἐπὶ σὲ ἡτοιμασμένον ὑπὸ Ἀντιπάτρου. [74] ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐνόσει Φερώρας καὶ ἐθεράπευες αὐτὸν ἀφικόμενος, ὁρῶν σου τὴν εὔνοιαν, ᾗ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐχρῶ, ἐπεκλάσθη τε τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ μετακαλέσας με, "ὦ γύναι, φησίν, περιώδευσέ με Ἀντίπατρος ἐπὶ πατρὶ μὲν τῷ αὐτοῦ, ἀδελφῷ δὲ τῷ 'μῷ, θανάσιμόν τε γνώμην συνθεὶς καὶ φάρμακον ᾧ διακονήσοιτο αὐτῇ πεπορισμένος. [75] νῦν οὖν, ἐπειδὴ ὅ τε ἀδελφὸς οὐδὲν ἀρετῇ πρότερον ᾗ ἐχρῆτο περὶ ἐμοῦ ὑφαιρῶν ὤπται ἐμέ τε ἐλπὶς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀπέσεσθαι τοῦ βίου, φέρε μὴ γνώμῃ ἀδελφοκτόνῳ ἀποτισοίμην προπάτορας τοὺς ἐμαυτοῦ, τὸ φάρμακον καίειν τε ἐμοῦ βλέποντος, κομίσασά τε οὐδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς πράσσειν τοῦ ἂν [76] δρὸς τὰς ἐπιστολάς." καὶ τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον καύσασαν τοῦ φαρμάκου τυχεῖν, ὑπολιπέσθαι δὲ ὀλίγον, ἵνα εἰ Φερώρου μεταστάντος περιέποι κακῶς αὐτὴν ὁ βασιλεύς, μεθίσταιτο αὐτῷ διάδρασιν ποιουμένη τῶν ἀναγκῶν. [77] ταῦτα εἰποῦσα τό τε φάρμακον καὶ τὴν πυξίδα εἰς τὸ μέσον παρῆγεν. καὶ ἀδελφὸς δὲ Ἀντιφίλου ἕτερος καὶ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ ἀνάγκαις τε καὶ βασάνων σφοδρότητι ταὐτὰ ἔλεγον καὶ ἐγνώριζον τὴν πυξίδα. [78] κατηγορεῖτο δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἡ θυγάτηρ, γυνὴ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς πάντων ἵστωρ τούτων γενομένη κρύπτειν προθυμηθεῖσα αὐτά. καὶ διὰ τάδε Ἡρώδης ἐκείνην τε ἐξέβαλεν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς ἐξήλειψε τῶν διαθηκῶν εἰς ὃ βασιλεύσοι μενουσῶν, καὶ τὸν πενθερὸν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀφείλετο Σίμωνα τὸν τοῦ Βοηθοῦ, καθίσταται δὲ Ματθίαν τὸν Θεοφίλου Ἱεροσολυμίτην γένος.

(3) [79] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Βάθυλλος ἐκ Ῥώμης ἀπελεύθερος Ἀντιπάτρου παρῆν καὶ βασανισθεὶς εὑρίσκεται φάρμακον κομίζων δώσειν τε τῇ ἑαυτοῦ μητρὶ καὶ Φερώρᾳ, ὡς εἰ τὸ πρότερον μὴ ἅπτοιτο τοῦ βασιλέως, τούτῳ γοῦν μεταχειρίζοιντο αὐτόν. [80] ἀφίκετο δὲ γράμματα παρὰ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ φίλων τῷ Ἡρώδῃ γνώμῃ καὶ ὑπαγορεύσει Ἀντιπάτρου ἐπὶ κατηγορίᾳ Ἀρχελάου καὶ Φιλίππου συγκείμενα, ὡς δῆθεν διαβάλλοιέν τε τὸν πατέρα ἐπὶ σφαγῇ τῶν περὶ Ἀριστόβουλον καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον, δι' οἴκτου δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς λαμβάνοιεν: ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ἐκαλοῦντο ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός, οὐχ ὡς ἐφ' ἑτέροις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς κἀκείνους προσαπολωλεκόσι κατακλήσεως αὐτῶν γινομένης. [81] ταῦτα δὲ μεγάλων μισθῶν οἱ φίλοι τῷ Ἀντιπάτρῳ συνέπρασσον. γράφει δὲ καὶτὸς Ἀντίπατρος τῷ πατρὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ μεγίσταις τῶν αἰτιῶν καὶ παντελὲς ἀπαλλάσσειν φάσκων τὰ μειράκια, τῶν δὲ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν ποιούμενος. αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ περὶ Σύλλαιον ἠγωνίζετο καὶ θεραπεία τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν ἐγεγόνει κόσμος τε ἀξιοπρεπὴς ταλάντων ἐώνητο διακοσίων. [82] θαυμάσειε δ' ἄν τις, ὅτι τοσούτων ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ

κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ κεκινημένων μησὶ πρότερον ἑπτὰ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ δῆλον γένοιτο: αἴτιον δ᾽ ἦν ἥ τε ἀκρίβεια καὶ φυλακὴ τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ μῖσος τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον: οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἦν, ὃς προθύμως κινδύνῳ τῷ αὐτοῦ πoριστὴς τῶν ἐκείνου ἀσφαλειῶν καθίστατο.

V

(1) [83] Ἡρώδης δὲ Ἀντιπάτρου γεγραφότος πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς τὰ πάντα ᾗ χρῆν διαπεπραγμένος ἥξοι ἐν τάχει, ἐπικρυψάμενος τὴν ὀργὴν ἀντεπετίθει, κελεύων μὴ ἀπιέναι τῆς εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν, μὴ καί τι πάσχοι παρὰ τὴν ἐκδημίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἅμα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ κατηγορῶν ὡς ὀλίγον καταθήσεσθαι μέμψεις ἐπαγγελλόμενος τὰς πρὸς αὐτήν, [84] ὁπότε ἐκεῖνος ἀφίκοιτο, παντί τε τρόπῳ φιλότητα τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνεδείκνυτο, δεδιὼς μὴ καί τι ὑποτοπηθεὶς ὑπερβάλλοιτο μὲν ὁδοὺς τὰς πρὸς αὐτόν, τῇ δὲ Ῥώμῃ ἐνδιαιτώμενος κτήσεις ἐφεδρεύοι τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ δὴ καὶ διαπράσσοι τι αὐτῇ. [85] τούτοις ἐν Κιλικίᾳ τοῖς γράμμασιν ἐπιτυγχάνει, τοῖς δὲ τὴν Φερώρου τελευτὴν διασαφοῦσιν ἐν Τάραντι πρότερον, δεινῶς τε ἤνεγκεν οὐκ εὐνοίᾳ τῇ Φερώρου, διότι δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν οὐ διαπραξάμενος ὥσπερ ὑπέσχετο ἀπέθανε. [86] περὶ δὲ Κελένδεριν τῆς Κιλικίας γενόμενος ἐνεδοίαζεν ἤδη περὶ τοῦ οἴκαδε πλοῦ δεινῶς τῇ ἐκβολῇ τῆς μητρὸς λελυπημένος, καὶ τῶν φίλων οἱ μὲν ἐκέλευον αὐτὸν ταῦτά πῃ καραδοκοῦντα ἀνέχειν, οἱ δὲ μὴ διαμέλλειν τὸν οἴκαδε πλοῦν: λύσειν γὰρ παραγενόμενον αἰτίαν πᾶσαν, ὡς καὶ νῦν οὔτι ἐτέρωθεν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου ἀπουσίαν ἰσχὺν τοῖς κατηγόροις ὑπογενέσθαι. [87] τούτοις πεισθεὶς ἔπλει τε καὶ προσέσχε τῷ Σεβαστῷ λιμένι λεγομένῳ, ὃν κατασκευάσας Ἡρώδης πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐπὶ τιμῇ τῇ Καίσαρος καλεῖ Σεβαστόν. [88] ἐν προύπτοις δ᾽ ἦν Ἀντίπατρος ἤδη τοῖς κακοῖς μήτε προσιόντος αὐτῷ μηδενὸς μήτε προσαγορεύοντος ὥσπερ ὅτ᾽ ἐξῄει μετ᾽ εὐχῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπιφημισμάτων Ταῖς ἐναντιωτάταις ἀραῖς οὐκ ἐκωλύοντο αὐτὸν δέχεσθαι ποινὴν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἀποτίνειν ὑπειληφότες.

(2) [89] Ἐτύγχανεν δ᾽ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν Οὔαρος Κοιντίλιος, διάδοχος μὲν Σατορνίνῳ τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἀρχῆς ἀπεσταλμένος, ἥκων δὲ αὐτός τε σύμβουλος Ἡρώδῃ περὶ τῶν ἐνεστηκότων αὐτῷ δεηθέντι. [90] καὶ αὐτῶν συνεδρευόντων παρῆν ὁ Ἀντίπατρος οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ ἐκπύστου γεγονότος. εἴσεισιν δὲ εἰς τὸ βασίλειον ἔτι πορφυρίδας ἀμπεχόμενος, καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν δέχονται οἱ ἐπὶ θύραις, ἀνείργουσι δὲ τοὺς φίλους. [91] ἐθορυβεῖτο δὲ ἤδη σαφῶς οἷ ἐληλύθει κατανοῶν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ προσιόντα αὐτὸν ὡς ἀσπάσαιτο ἀπεώσατο, ἀδελφοκτονίαν τε ἐπικαλῶν καὶ βούλευσιν ὀλέθρου τοῦ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ, πάντων τε ἀκροατὴν καὶ δικαστὴν ἔσεσθαι Οὔαρον τῇ αὔριον. [92] καὶ ὁ μὲν τοιούτου κακοῦ ἅμα τε ἀκροαθέντος καὶ παρόντος τῷ μεγέθει περιφερόμενος ᾤχετο, ὑπαντιάζουσιν δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἥ τε μήτηρ καὶ γυνή, αὕτη δὲ ἦν ἡδη Ἀντιγόνῳ

παῖς τῷ πρὸ Ἡρώδου Ἰουδαίων βεβασιλευκότι, παρ᾽ ὧν τὰ πάντα ἐκμαθὼν ἐν παρασκευαῖς τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἦν.

(3) [93] Τῇ δ᾽ ἑξῆς συνήδρευεν μὲν Οὔαρός τε καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς, εἰσεκλήθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀμφοῖν φίλοι καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς βασιλέως Σαλώμη τε ἡ ἀδελφή, εἶτ᾽ εἴ τινες μηνύσειν ἔμελλον καὶ ὧν βάσανοι γεγόνασιν, δοῦλοί τε μητρῷοι τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου μικρῷ πρότερον συνειλημμένοι ἢ ‘κεῖνον ἥκειν, ἐπιστολὴν φέροντες, ἧς τὸ κεφάλαιον τῶν γεγραμμένων ἦν μὴ ἐπανιέναι ὡς πάντων τῷ πατρὶ ἡκόντων εἰς πύστιν, μόνην τε ἂν καταφυγὴν αὐτῷ λείπεσθαι Καίσαρα καὶ σὺν αὐτῇ τὸ μὴ πατρὶ ὑποχείριον γενέσθαι. [94] Ἀντιπάτρου δὲ προσπεσόντος τῷ πατρὶ πρὸς τὰ γόνατα καὶ ἱκετεύοντος μὴ προδιεγνωσμένην καταστῆναι δίκην, ἀλλ᾽ ἀκροάσεως αὐτοῦ γενομένης παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ ἀκεραίως μένειν δυναμένῳ, τοῦτον κελεύσας Ἡρώδης ἀπάγειν εἰς μέσον αὐτὸς ὠλοφύρατο τῶν παίδων τῆς ποιήσεως, ἣν ἐπὶ τοιαύταις αὐτῷ τύχαις γενομένην πρότερον ἢ τῆς δυσμενείας ἀνασπάσασθαι τῶν πρότερον εἰς Ἀντίπατρον ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτοῦ τὸ γῆρας, τροφάς τε καὶ παιδεύσεις ἃς ποιήσαιτο αὐτῶν ἐξηγούμενος καὶ πλούτου εὐπορίαν ἐν καιροῖς ὡς θελήσειαν προτεθεῖσαν εἰς πάντα: [95] ὧν οὐδὲν ἐπ᾽ ἐμποδίσματι γενέσθαι τοῦ μὴ οὐκ ἐπιβουλῇ τῇ ἐκείνων κινδυνεῦσαι τελευτᾶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θᾶσσον δυσσεβῶς τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβεῖν ἢ φύσεως νόμῳ μεταστάντος εὐχῇ τε τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ δίκῃ. [96] τόν τε Ἀντίπατρον θαυμάζειν, τίνων ἐλπίδι ἐπαρθεὶς θαρσήσειεν ἐπὶ τοιαῦτα χωρεῖν μὴ ἀποτραπῆναι: διάδοχον μὲν γὰρ ἀποφήνασθαι διὰ γραμμάτων τῆς ἀρχῆς, ζῶντος δὲ ἐπ᾽ οὐδενὶ μειονεκτεῖν ἀξιώματός τε ἐπιφανείᾳ καὶ δυνάμει ἐξουσίας, πεντήκοντα μὲν τάλαντα ἐπέτειον πρόσοδον κομισάμενον, δωρεὰν δ᾽ εἰληφότα ὁδοῦ τῆς εἰς Ῥώμην τριακοσίων ταλάντων ἀριθμόν. [97] ἐπεκάλει δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν εἰ μὲν πονηρῶν γεγονότων κατηγορίαν προθεμένῳ μιμητῇ γεγονότι, διακενῆς δὲ τοιῶνδε ἐπαγωγὰς ἐπάγοντι αὐτῇ τῶν συγγενῶν: [98] τὰ γὰρ πάντα οὐδαμόθεν ἀλλὰ μηνύσει τῇ ἐκείνου μεμαθηκότα πρᾶξαι τὰ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς πεπραγμένα γνώμῃ τῇ ἐκείνου, οὓς ἀπολύειν κακοῦ παντὸς κληρονόμον τῆς πατροκτονίας αὐτοῖς καθιστάμενον.

(4) [99] Ταῦθ᾽ ἅμα λέγων εἰς δάκρυα τρέπεται λέγειν τε ἄπορος ἦν. καὶ Νικόλαος ὁ Δαμασκηνός, φίλος τε ὢν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὰ πάντα συνδιαιτώμενος ἐκείνῳ καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὃν πραχθεῖεν τρόπον παρατετευχώς, δεηθέντι τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ λοιπὰ εἰπεῖν ὁπόσα ἀποδείξεών τε καὶ ἐλέγχων ἐχόμενα ἦν. [100] καὶ τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου κατὰ δικαιολογίαν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τετραμμένου καὶ ὁπόσα παραδείγματα τῆς εὐνοίας πρὸς αὐτὸν διεξιόντος, τὰς τιμὰς αἳ ὑπῆρχον αὐτῷ προφερόμενος, ἃς μὴ ἄν ποτε γενέσθαι μὴ οὐκ ἀρετῆς ἀξίῳ περὶ αὐτὸν γεγονότι: [101] καὶ γὰρ ὁπόσα προιδεῖν δεήσειε πάντων προβεβουλευκέναι σωφρόνως, εἴ τέ τινα ἐδεῖτο χειρῶν, πόνῳ τῷ αὐτοῦ ἐκπεπρᾶχθαι τὰ πάντα, εἰκός τε οὐκ εἶναι τῶν ἀλλαχόθεν ἐπιβουλῶν τὸν πατέρα ἐξελόμενον αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλευτὴν καταστῆναι ἀφανίζοντα ἀρετήν, ἢ ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνοις ἐμαρτυρεῖτο αὐτῷ,

κακίᾳ τῇ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε μελλούσῃ συνεῖναι. [102] καίτοι γε τοῦ μέλλοντος διάδοχον προαποδεδεῖχθαι καὶ τοῦ συναπολαυσομένου τιμῶν, αἳ εἰς τὸ παρὸν περιῆσαν, οὐκ ἐπικεκωλῦσθαι: εἰκός τε οὐκ εἶναι τὸν ἁπάντων ἀκινδύνως καὶ μετ᾽ ἀρετῆς ἔχοντα τὴν ἡμίσειαν μετὰ ψόγων καὶ κινδύνου ἐφίεσθαι τοῦ ὅλου ἄδηλον εἰ δυναμένου περιγενέσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα τεθεαμένον τὴν ζημίαν τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ μηνυτὴν μὲν καὶ κατηγορητὴν γενόμενον λανθάνειν δυναμένων, κολαστὴν δ᾽ ἐπεὶ φανεροὶ κατέστησαν πονηροὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ὄντες. [103] καὶ τάδε μὲν αὐτῷ τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἠγωνισμένων παραδείγματα εἶναι τῶν ἀκράτῳ εὐνοίᾳ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα πεπολιτευμένων: τῶν δ᾽ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης μάρτυρα εἶναι Καίσαρα ἐπίσης τῷ θεῷ ἀπατηθῆναι μὴ οἷόν τε ὄντα. [104] ὧν πίστιν εἶναι τὰ ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου γράμματα ἐπεσταλμένα, ὧν οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν ἰσχυροτέρας εἶναι τὰς διαβολὰς τῶν στασιάζειν αὐτοὺς προθεμένων τὰς πλείους ἀποδημίᾳ τῇ αὐτοῦ συντεθῆναι σχολῆς τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐγγενομένης, ἣν οὐκ ἂν αὐτοῖς ἐπιδημοῦντος παραγενέσθαι. [105] διαβάλλοντος δὲ καὶ τὰς βασάνους εἰς ψευδολογίαν, ὡς τῆς ἀνάγκης φύσιν ἐχούσης διδάσκειν τοὺς ὑποπεσόντας τὰ πολλὰ ἡδονῇ τῶν ἐφεστηκότων λέγειν,

(5) [106] καὶ παρέχοντος αὐτὸν εἰς βάσανον, ἐπὶ τούτοις τροπῆς τοῦ συνεδρίου γενομένης, σφόδρα γὰρ ᾤκτειραν τὸν Ἀντίπατρον δάκρυσίν τε καὶ αἰκίαις τοῦ προσώπου χρώμενον, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς δι᾽ οἴκτου καταστῆναι φανερὸν δὲ ἤδη καὶ Ἡρώδην εἶναι καμπτόμενόν τι τῇ γνώμῃ καίπερ μὴ βουλόμενον ἔκδηλον εἶναι, Νικόλαος ἀρξάμενος οἷς τε ὁ βασιλεὺς κατήρξατο λόγοις παλιλλογεῖ μειζόνως ἐκδεινῶν καὶ ὁπόσα ἐκ βασάνων ἢ μαρτυριῶν συνῆγεν τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ ἐγκλήματος. [107] μάλιστα δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιπολὺ ἐξηγεῖτο τοῦ βασιλέως, ᾗ περί τε τροφὰς καὶ παιδεύματα χρησάμενος τῶν υἱέων οὐδαμόθεν εὕροιτο ὀνησιφόρον αὐτὴν περιπταίων ἑτέροις ἀφ᾽ ἑτέρων. [108] καίτοι γε οὐχ οὕτως θαυμάζειν τῶν προτέρων τὴν ἀβουλίαν, νεωτέρους γὰρ καὶ κακίᾳ συμβούλων διεφθαρμένους ἀπαλεῖψαι τὰ τῆς φύσεως δικαιώματα ἀρχῆς θᾶσσον ἢ χρῆν μεταποιεῖσθαι σπουδάσαντας, [109] Ἀντιπάτρου δ᾽ ἂν δικαίως τὴν μανίαν καταπλαγῆναι μὴ μόνον οἷς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς εὐεργετηθείη τὸν λογισμὸν ὥσπερ τὰ ἰοβολώτατα τῶν ἑρπετῶν μὴ μαλαχθέντος, καίτοι γε κἀκείνοις τινὸς ἐγγινομένης μαλακίας τοῦ ἀδικεῖν τοὺς εὐεργέτας, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τὰς τύχας τῶν ἀδελφῶν πρὸς τὸ οὐ μιμητὴν αὐτῶν καταστῆναι τῆς ὠμότητος ἐμποδὼν στάντος. [110] καίτοι γε, ὦ Ἀντίπατρε, τῶν ἀδελφῶν μηνυτής τε ὢν τολμήσειαν αὐτὸς ἦς καὶ ἐρευνητὴς τῶν ἐλέγχων καὶ κολαστὴς πεφωραμένων. καὶ οὐ τοῦ ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνοις ἐγκαλοῦμεν θυμῷ χρῆσθαι μὴ ἐλλιπόντος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μιμεῖσθαι τὴν ἀσέλγειαν αὐτῶν σπουδάσαντος ἐκπεπλήγμεθα, εὑρίσκοντες κἀκεῖνά σοι οὐκ ἐπ᾽ ἀσφαλείᾳ τοῦ πατρός, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ὀλέθρῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν πεπραγμένα, ὅπως μισοπονηρίᾳ τῇ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν φιλοπάτωρ εἶναι πεπιστευμένος ἀδεεστέραν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ κακουργεῖν παραλάβοις δύναμιν, ὃ δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις παρέστησας. [111] ἅμα γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἀνῄρεις ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἤλεγχες πονηροὺς γεγονότας καὶ τοὺς

ὁμοπραγήσαντας αὐτοῖς οὐχ ὑπεδίδους, φανερὸν τοῖς πᾶσιν καθιστάς, ὡς καὶ συνθήκην πρὸς αὐτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ποιησάμενος ἐπανείλω κατηγορεῖν, [112] βουλόμενος σοὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τῆς πατροκτονίας κερδαίνεσθαι καταμόνας καὶ δυοῖν ἀγώνοιν εὐφροσύνην καρπούμενος τρόπου τοῦ σοῦ ἀξίαν, φανεροῦ μὲν τοῦ κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ᾧ καὶ ἠγάλλου ὡς ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις, καὶ ἦν ἄξιον οὕτως φρονεῖν, [113] εἰ δὲ μήγε σὺ χείρων ἦς, κρυπτοῦ δέ, ὃν κατὰ τοῦ πατρὸς συντιθεὶς ἐκείνους μὲν οὐχ ὡς τῷ πατρὶ ἐπιβεβουλευκότας μισῶν, οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐξώκειλας αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ πρᾶξιν παραπλησίαν, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς διαδόχους τῆς ἡγεμονίας σου δικαιότερον ἂν γενομένους, τὸν δὲ πατέρα ἐπισφάζειν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, [114] ἵνα θᾶσσον ὡς ἐκείνων τε ἐπικαταψεύσαιο μὴ ἐλεγχθῇς καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς δίκας παρασχεῖν ἄξιος γένοιο ταύτην παρὰ τοῦ δυστυχοῦς εἰσπράξαιο πατρός, ἐπινοῶν πατροκτονίαν οὐ κοινήν, ἀλλ᾽ οἵαν μέχρι νῦν οὐχ ἱστόρησεν ὁ βίος. [115] οὐχ υἱὸς γὰρ μόνον πατρὶ ἐπεβούλευες, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλοῦντι καὶ εὐεργετηκότι, κοινωνὸς τῆς βασιλείας ὢν τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ διάδοχος προφανθεὶς καὶ τὴν μὲν ἡδονὴν τῆς ἐξουσίας ἤδη προλαμβάνειν μὴ ἐπικεκωλυμένος, ἐλπίδα δὲ τὴν εἰσαῦθις γνώμῃ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ γράμμασιν προησφαλισμένος. [116] ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἄρα τῇ Ἡρώδου ἀρετῇ τὰ πράγματα, γνώμῃ δὲ καὶ πονηρίᾳ ἔκρινες τῇ σεαυτοῦ, βουλόμενος τοῦ πάντων σοι ὑπακούσαντος πατρὸς καὶ τὸ μέρος ἀφαιρεῖσθαι καὶ ὃν προσεποιοῦ τοῖς λόγοις σώζειν τοῖς ἔργοις τοῦτον ἀφανίσαι ζητῶν, [117] καὶ μὴ μόνον αὐτὸς πονηρὸς καθιστάμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν μητέρα ὧν ἐπενόεις πιμπλὰς καὶ στασιοποιῶν τὴν εὔνοιαν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ τολμῶν θηρίον ἀποκαλεῖν τὸν πατέρα, παντὸς ἑρπετοῦ χαλεπωτέραν τὴν διάνοιαν κατεσκευασμένος, ᾗ τὸν ἐκείνων ἰὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς συγγενεστάτους καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοσούτοις εὐεργέτας παρεκάλεις ἐπὶ συμμαχίαις φυλάκων καὶ τέχναις ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν φρασσόμενος κατὰ τοῦ γέροντος, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἀρκούσης τῆς διανοίας μῖσος τὸ ὑποικουροῦν παραστῆσαι. [118] καὶ νῦν ἐλήλυθας μετὰ βασάνους ἐλευθέρων οἰκετῶν ἀνδράσι γυναιξὶν διὰ σὲ γεγονυίας μηνύσεις τῶν συνωμοτῶν ἀντιλογεῖν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ σπεύδων, καὶ μονονουχὶ τὸν πατέρα ἀναιρεῖν μεμελετηκὼς ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου, ἀλλ᾽ ἤδη καὶ νόμον τὸν κατὰ σοῦ γεγραμμένον καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τὴν Οὐάρου καὶ τοῦ δικαίου τὴν φύσιν, [119] οὕτως ἄρα τῇ ἀναιδείᾳ πέποιθας, ὥστε καὶ βασανίζεσθαι ἀξιοῖς, καὶ ψευδεῖς λέγων τὰς βασάνους τῶν προβεβασανισμένων, ἵν᾽ οἱ μὲν ῥυόμενοί σου τὸν πατέρα ἐκκρουσθῶσιν τοῦ ἠληθευκέναι, αἱ δὲ σαὶ βάσανοι δοκῶσι πισταί; [120] οὐ ῥύσῃ Οὔαρε τὸν βασιλέα τῆς ἐπηρείας τῶν συγγενῶν; οὐδὲ πονηρὸν θηρίον, ἐπ᾽ ὀλέθρῳ μὲν τῶν ἀδελφῶν εὔνοιαν προσποιούμενον τοῦ πατρός, ἔνθα δὲ μέλλοι καταμόνας ταχέως ἀποίσεσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν πάντων αὐτῷ θανασιμώτατον ἀναφαινόμενον; γνοὺς ὅτι πατροκτονία κοινόν ἐστιν ἀδίκημα καὶ τῆς φύσεως καὶ τοῦ βίου τὴν πεφηνυῖαν ὡς οὐδὲν ἠσσόνως τοῦ βεβουλευμένου καὶ ὁ μὴ κολάζων ἀδικεῖ τὴν φύσιν.”

(6) [121] Προσετίθει δὲ ἤδη τὰ τῆς μητρὸς Ἀντιπάτρου ὁπόσα πρός τινας ἦν κουφολογίᾳ γυναικείῳ εἰρημένα, μαντείας τε καὶ θυσίας ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ γεγονυίας καὶ ὁπόσα μετὰ τῶν Φερώρου γυναικῶν Ἀντιπάτρῳ ἠσέλγητο μετὰ οἴνου καὶ λύμης ἐρωτικῆς, τῶν τε βασάνων ἀνακρίσεις καὶ ὁπόσα μαρτυριῶν ἐχόμενα: πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παντοῖα ἦν τὰ μὲν προητοιμασμένα, τὰ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ὀξέως ἀπαγγέλλεσθαί τε καὶ βεβαιοῦσθαι ἐφευρημένα: [122] οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι κἂν εἴ τι κατὰ φόβον τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου, μὴ διαδρὰς ἀμύνοιτο αὐτούς, σιγῇ παρεδίδοσαν, ὁρῶντες αὐτὸν ἐπιβατὸν ταῖς κατηγορίαις τῶν ἀρξάντων γεγονότα καὶ τὴν ποτὲ πολλὴν αὐτῷ συστᾶσαν τύχην προφανῶς αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς παραδεδωκυῖαν, οἳ καὶ ἁπλήστως μίσους τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνεφοροῦντο: [123] κατέσπευδε δὲ τότε οὔτι τῇ ἔχθρᾳ τῶν ἐπικεχειρηκότων κατηγορεῖν, ὡς μεγέθει τόλμης ὧν ἐπενόησεν κακιῶν καὶ δυσμενείας τῆς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς, στάσεως καὶ ἀλληλοφθοριῶν ἀναπεπληκὼς τὸν οἶκον καὶ μήτε μίσει κατὰ δίκην μήτε φιλίᾳ δι᾽ εὔνοιαν χρώμενος, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς μελλήσοι αὐτῷ συμφέρειν: [124] ὧν ἁπάντων ἐκ πλέονος αὐτοῖς οἱ πολλοὶ προανεσκοπημένων, οἵπερ δὴ μάλιστα ἀρετῇ κρίνειν πεφύκασιν ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν διὰ τὸ καὶ ὀργῆς ἀπηλλαγμένως ἐπιψηφίζειν τοῖς γινομένοις, καταβοὰς ἐν τοῖς πρὶν εἰρχθέντες ποιεῖσθαι παραγενομένης ἀδείας ἐξέφερον εἰς μέσον ὁπόσα εἰδεῖεν. [125] πολύτροποί τε κακιῶν ἀποδείξεις ἦσαν οὐδαμόθεν ψεύδους αἰτίαν ἐγκαλεῖσθαι δυνάμεναι διὰ τὸ μήτ᾽ εὐνοίᾳ τῇ πρὸς Ἡρώδην λέγειν τοὺς πολλοὺς μήτε ὑποψίᾳ κινδύνων σιγῆς ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἔχοιεν εἰπεῖν ἐγκαλουμένης, ἀλλὰ τῷ πονηρά τε ἡγεῖσθαι τὰ πράγματα, καὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον οὐκ ἀσφαλείᾳ τῇ Ἡρώδου, πονηρίᾳ δὲ τῇ αὐτοῦ πάσης ἄξιον τιμωρίας. [126] πολλά τε ἦν καὶ παρὰ πολλῶν οἷς μὴ παρήγγελτο εἰπεῖν ἀγορευόμενα, ὥστε τὸν Ἀντίπατρον καίπερ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον πάντα δεινότατον ὄντα ψεύσασθαι καὶ ἀπερυθριάσαι μηδὲ ὅσον ἀπὸ φωνῆς ἐπ᾽ ἀντιλέξει τὴν ἰσχὺν εἰσφέρεσθαι. [127] Νικολάου τε παυσαμένου τῶν τε λόγων καὶ τῶν ἐλέγχων Οὔαρος ἐκέλευσεν Ἀντίπατρον ἐπ᾽ ἀπολογίᾳ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων χωρεῖν, εἴ τινες αὐτῷ παρασκευαὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐνόχῳ τοῖς ἐπιφερομένοις εἶναι, καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς εὔχεσθαι τὸν πατέρα εἰδέναι τῶν ὁμοίων εὐχόμενον μηδὲν αὐτὸν ἀδικοῦντα φωρᾶν. [128] ὁ δ᾽ ἐπὶ στόμα ἔκειτο ἀνατετραμμένος τε τῷ θεῷ καὶ πᾶσι προτιθεὶς τὸ ἐπιμαρτυρῆσον αὐτῷ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν, ἢ τεκμηρίοις ἐμφανέσι παραστῆσαι μὴ οὐκ ἐπίβουλον αὐτὸν τοῦ πατρὸς γεγονέναι, [129] εἰωθότες μὲν καὶ πάντες οἷς ἐπιλείπει ἀρετῆς, ὁπότε μὲν ἐγχειρηταί τινα κακῶν εἶεν τοῦ θείου τὸ πᾶσιν παρατυγχάνειν ἀφορίσαντες γνώμῃ τῇ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα χωρεῖν, ὁπότε δὲ φωρώμενοι κινδυνεύοιεν δίκην ὑποσχεῖν, κατ᾽ ἐπίκλησιν αὐτοῦ μαρτυρῶν τὰ πάντα ἐκτρέπειν. [130] ὃ δὴ καὶ τῷ Ἀντιπάτρῳ συμβεβήκει: τὰ πάντα γὰρ ὡς ἐν ἐρημίᾳ τοῦ θείου διαπεπραγμένος, κατειργούσης αὐτὸν πανταχόθεν τῆς δίκης ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἀλλαχόθεν δικαιωμάτων, οἷς ἀπολύσαιτο τὰ ἐγκεκλημένα, αὖθις ἐνεπαροίνει τῇ ἀρετῇ τοῦ θείου, μαρτυρίαν ἐπισκήπτων αὐτῷ περὶ ἰσχύι τῇ

ἐκείνου περιτο ἕως εἰς μέσους παραγαγόντος ὁπόσα ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ πράσσειν τολμᾶν οὐκ ἐνέλιπεν.

(7) [131] Ὁ δὲ Οὔαρος ἐπειδὴ πολλάκις ἀνακρίνων τὸν Ἀντίπατρον οὐδὲν εὑρίσκετο πλέον τῆς ἀνακλήσεως τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁρῶν ἀπέραντον ὂν τὸ γινόμενον ἐκέλευσε τὸ φάρμακον εἰς μέσους ἐνεγκεῖν, ἵν' εἰδῇ τὴν περιοῦσαν αὐτῷ δύναμιν. [132] καὶ κομισθέντος τῶν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ τις ἐαλωκότων πίνει κελεύσαντος Οὐάρου καὶ παραχρῆμα ἔθανεν. τότε δὲ ἐξαναστὰς ἀπῄει τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ τῇ ἑξῆς ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας, ἦπερ δὴ καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἦσαν αὐτῷ διατριβαὶ διὰ τὸ Σύροις τοῦτο βασίλειον εἶναι. Ἡρώδης δὲ παραχρῆμα μὲν ἔδησε τὸν υἱόν. [133] ἄδηλοι δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἦσαν αἱ Οὐάρου πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁμιλίαι καὶ τί εἰπὼν ἀπεληλύθει. εἰκάζετο δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς γνώμῃ τῇ ἐκείνου πράσσειν ὁπόσα περὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ἔπραξεν. δήσας δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς Ῥώμην ὡς Καίσαρα ἐκπέμπει γράμματα περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ γλώσσης διδάξοντας τὸν Καίσαρα τὴν κακίαν τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ Κωπωνίου γνώμη τὴν Καίσαρος. [134] ἁλίσκεται δὲ ὑπὸ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας καὶ ἐπιστολὴ ὑπὸ Ἀντιφίλου πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον γεγραμμένη, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ αὐτὸς διέτριβεν, καὶ λυθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τάδε ἐδήλου: "ἔπεμψά σοι τὴν παρ' Ἀκμῆς ἐπιστολὴν μὴ φεισάμενος τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς: οἶσθα γὰρ, ὅτι αὖθις κινδυνεύω ὑπὸ δύο οἰκιῶν, εἰ γνωσθείην. [135] σὺ δ' εὐτυχοίης περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα." καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐπιστολὴ τάδε ἐδήλου. ἐζήτει δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὴν ἑτέραν ἐπιστολήν, οὐ μὴν φανερά γε ἦν, καὶ τοῦ Ἀντιφίλου δοῦλος ὃς τὴν ἀναγνωσθεῖσαν ἔφερεν ἠρνεῖτο ἑτέραν παραλαβεῖν. [136] ἀπορίας οὖν ἐχούσης τὸν βασιλέα τῶν φίλων τις τῶν τοῦ Ἡρώδου θεώμενος ὑπερραμμένον τοῦ δούλου τὸν ἐντὸς χιτῶνα, ἐνεδεδύκει γὰρ δύο, εἴκασεν ἐντὸς τῆς ἐπιπτυχῆς κρύπτεσθαι τὰ γράμματα: καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως. [137] λαμβάνουσιν οὖν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐγγεγραμμένα τε ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ τάδε: "Ἀκμὴ Ἀντιπάτρῳ. ἔγραψα τῷ πατρί σου οἵαν ἤθελες ἐπιστολὴν καὶ ἀντίγραφον ποιήσασα τῇ πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν κυρίαν ὡς παρὰ Σαλώμης ἔγραψα, ἣν ἀναγνοὺς οἶδ' ὅτι τιμω [138] ρήσεται Σαλώμην ὡς ἐπίβουλον." ἦν δὲ ἡ παρὰ τῆς Σαλώμης δοκοῦσα εἶναι πρὸς τὴν δέσποιναν αὐτῆς ὑπ' Ἀντιπάτρου ἐπ' ὀνόματι τῷ Σαλώμης ὅσα γοῦν ἡ διάνοια θέλοι ὑπηγορευμένη, λέξει δὲ συνέκειτο αὐτῆς. [139] τὰ δὲ γεγραμμένα ἦν τοιάδε: "Ἀκμὴ βασιλεῖ Ἡρώδῃ. ἐγὼ ἔργον ποιουμένη μηδέν σε λανθάνειν τῶν κατὰ σοῦ γινομένων, εὑροῦσα ἐπιστολὴν Σαλώμης πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν κυρίαν κατὰ σοῦ γεγραμμένην ἐπικινδύνως ἐμαυτῇ σοὶ δὲ ὠφελίμως ἐξεγραψάμην καὶ ἀπέστειλά σοι. ταύτην δὲ ἐκείνη ἔγραψεν γήμασθαι θέλουσα Συλλαίῳ. κατάσχισον οὖν τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ἵνα μὴ κἀγὼ τῷ ζῆν κιν [140] δυνεύσω." πρὸς δὲ αὐτὸν ἐγέγραπτο Ἀντίπατρον διασαφούσης, ὅτι διακονουμένη κελεύσματι τῷ ἐκείνου αὐτή τε γράψειε πρὸς Ἡρώδην, ὡς Σαλώμης ἐπιβούλως αὐτῷ πράσσειν ἐπειγομένης τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἀντίγραφον τῆς ὡς πρὸς δέσποιναν τὴν αὐτῆς πεμφθείσης ἐπιστολῆς ὑπὸ Σαλώμης ἀποπέμψειεν αὐτῷ. [141] ἦν δὲ ἡ Ἀκμὴ Ἰουδαία μὲν τὸ γένος, ἐδούλευε δὲ Ἰουλίᾳ τῇ Καίσαρος γυναικὶ καὶ

ἔπρασσε ταῦτα φιλίᾳ τῇ Ἀντιπάτρου ὠνηθεῖσα ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ μεγάλῃ δόσει χρημάτων συγκακουργεῖν κατά τε τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κατὰ τῆς τηθίδος.

(8) [142] Ἡρώδης δὲ ἐκπλαγεὶς μεγέθει τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου κακίας ὥρμησεν μὲν καὶ παραχρῆμα αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν ὡς κύκηθρον μεγάλων γεγονότα πραγμάτων καὶ μὴ μόνον αὐτῷ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ ἐπιβεβουλευκότα καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος διεφθαρκότα τὴν οἰκίαν, ἐξώτρυνεν δ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ ἡ Σαλώμη στερνοτυπουμένη καὶ κτείνειν αὐτὴν κελεύουσα, εἴ τινος ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε πίστεως αἰτίαν ἀξιόχρεων οἵα τε παρασχεῖν γένοιτο. [143] Ἡρώδης δὲ μεταπέμψας ἀνέκρινεν τὸν υἱὸν κελεύων εἴ τι ἀντειπεῖν ἔχοι λέγειν μηδὲν ὑπιδόμενον, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀχανὴς ἦν, ἤρετο αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ πάντα πανταχοῦ πεφώραται πονηρὸς ὤν, τοὺς γοῦν συγκακουργήσαντας αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα μὴ μελλῆσαι κατειπεῖν. [144] ὁ δὲ Ἀντιφίλῳ τὴν πάντων αἰτίαν ἀνετίθει, ἕτερον δ᾽ οὐδένα προυτίθει. Ἡρώδης δὲ περιαλγῶν ὥρμησεν μὲν πέμπειν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης τὸν υἱὸν ὡς Καίσαρα λόγον ὑφέξοντα τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε βουλευμάτων, [145] ἔπειτα δείσας, μὴ καὶ βοηθείᾳ φίλων εὑρίσκοιτο τοῦ κινδύνου διαφυγάς, αὐτὸν μὲν δέσμιον ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἐφύλασσεν, αὖθις δὲ πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμπε καὶ γράμματα ἐπὶ κατηγορίᾳ τοῦ υἱέος ὁπόσα τε Ἀκμὴ συγκακουργήσειεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀντίγραφα τῶν ἐπιστολῶν.

VI

(1) [146] Καὶ οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἠπείγοντο ὁπόσα τε ἀνακρινομένους δεήσοι λέγειν προσεκδιδαχθέντες καὶ τὰ γράμματα φέροντες: εἰς νόσον δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐμπεσὼν διαθήκας γράφει τῷ νεωτάτῳ τῶν υἱῶν τὴν βασιλείαν διδοὺς μίσει τῷ τε πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχέλαον καὶ Φίλιππον ἐκ τῶν Ἀντιπάτρου διαβολῶν, Καίσαρί τε ταλάντων χιλίων καὶ γυναικὶ Ἰουλίᾳ τῇ Καίσαρος καὶ τέκνοις καὶ φίλοις καὶ ἀπελευθέροις Καίσαρος πεντακοσίων. [147] ἔνεμε δὲ καὶ τοῖς υἱέσιν χρήματα καὶ προσόδους καὶ ἀγροὺς καὶ υἱέσι τοῖς ἐκείνων, Σαλώμην δὲ ἐπὶ μέγα ἐπλούτιζεν τὴν ἀδελφὴν εὔνουν τε αὐτῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν διαμεμενηκυῖαν καὶ μηδαμόθι θρασυνομένην κακουργεῖν. [148] ἀπεγνωκὼς δὲ περιοίσειν, καὶ γὰρ περὶ ἔτος ἑβδομηκοστὸν ἦν, ἐξηγρίωσεν ἀκράτῳ τῇ ὀργῇ καὶ πικρίᾳ εἰς πάντα χρώμενος: αἴτιον δὲ ἦν δόξα τοῦ καταφρονεῖσθαι καὶ ἡδονῇ τὰς τύχας αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔθνος φέρειν: ἄλλως τ᾽ ἐπειδή τινες τῶν δημοτικωτέρων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐπανέστησαν αὐτῷ διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν.

(2) [149] Ἦν Ἰούδας ὁ Σαριφαίου καὶ Ματθίας ὁ Μεργαλώθου Ἰουδαίων λογιώτατοι καὶ παρ᾽ οὕστινας ἐξηγηταὶ τῶν πατρίων νόμων, ἄνδρες καὶ δήμῳ προσφιλεῖς διὰ παιδείαν τοῦ νεωτέρου: ὁσημέραι γὰρ διημέρευον αὐτοῖς πάντες οἷς προσποίησις ἀρετῆς ἐπετετήδευτο. [150] οἵ τε πυνθανόμενοι τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν νόσον θεραπεύειν ἄπορον οὖσαν ἐξῆραν τὸ νεώτερον, ὥστε ὁπόσα παρὰ νόμον τοῦ πατρίου κατεσκεύαστο ἔργα ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ταῦτα καθελόντες εὐσεβείας

ἀγωνίσματα παρὰ τῶν νόμων φέρεσθαι: καὶ γὰρ δὴ διὰ τὴν τόλμαν αὐτῶν παρ᾽ ὃ διηγόρευεν ὁ νόμος τῆς ποιήσεως τά τε ἄλλα αὐτῷ συντυχεῖν, οἷς παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου διετρίβη, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν νόσον. [151] ἦν γὰρ τῷ Ἡρώδῃ τινὰ πραγματευθέντα παρὰ τὸν νόμον, ἃ δὴ ἐπεκάλουν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν καὶ Ματθίαν. κατεσκευάκει δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεγάλου πυλῶνος τοῦ ναοῦ ἀνάθημα καὶ λίαν πολυτελές, ἀετὸν χρύσεον μέγαν: κωλύει δὲ ὁ νόμος εἰκόνων τε ἀναστάσεις ἐπινοεῖν καί τινων ζῴων ἀναθέσεις ἐπιτηδεύεσθαι τοῖς βιοῦν κατ᾽ αὐτὸν προῃρημένοις. [152] ὥστε ἐκέλευον οἱ σοφισταὶ τὸν ἀετὸν κατασπᾶν: καὶ γὰρ εἴ τις γένοιτο κίνδυνος τῷ εἰς θάνατον ἀνακειμένῳ, πολὺ τῆς ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἡδονῆς λυσιτελεστέραν φαίνεσθαι τὴν προστιθεμένην ἀρετὴν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ φυλακῇ τοῦ πατρίου μελλήσουσι τελευτᾶν διὰ τὸ ἀίδιον τοῦ ἐπαινεῖσθαι φήμην κατασκευασαμένους ἔν τε τοῖς νῦν ἐπαινεθήσεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἐσομένοις ἀειμνημόνευτον καταλείπειν τὸν βίον. [153] καίτοι γε καὶ τοῖς ἀκινδύνως διαιτωμένοις ἄφυκτον εἶναι τὴν συμφοράν, ὥστε καλῶς ἔχειν τοῖς ἀρετῆς ὀριγνωμένοις τὸ κατεψηφισμένον αὐτοῦ μετ᾽ ἐπαίνων καὶ τιμῶν δεχομένοις ἀπιέναι τοῦ βίου. [154] φέρειν γὰρ κούφισιν πολλὴν τὸ ἐπὶ καλοῖς ἔργοις ὧν μνηστῆρα τὸν κίνδυνον εἶναι τελευτᾶν, καὶ ἅμα υἱέσι τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ὁπόσοι τοῦ συγγενοῦς καταλείποιντο ἄνδρες γυναῖκες καὶ τοῖσδε περιποιῆσαι ὄφελος εὐκλείᾳ τῇ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν.

(3) [155] Καὶ οἱ μὲν τοιούτοις λόγοις ἐξῆραν τοὺς νέους. ἀφικνεῖται δὲ λόγος εἰς αὐτοὺς τεθνάναι φράζων τὸν βασιλέα καὶ συνέπραττε τοῖς σοφισταῖς. καὶ μέσης ἡμέρας ἀνελθόντες κατέσπων τε καὶ πελέκεσιν ἐξέκοψαν τὸν ἀετὸν πολλῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ διατριβόντων. [156] καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀγγέλλεται γὰρ ἡ ἐπιχείρησις πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀπὸ μείζονος διανοίας ἢ ἐπράσσετο ὑπολαβὼν ἄνεισι χεῖρα πολλὴν ἀγόμενος, ὁπόσοι ἀνθέξοιεν τῷ πλήθει τῶν πειρωμένων καθαιρεῖν τὸ ἀνάθημα, ἐπιπεσών τε μὴ προσδεχομένοις, ἀλλ᾽ ὁποῖα ὄχλος φιλεῖ δόξῃ μᾶλλον ἀμαθεῖ ἢ προνοίᾳ ἀσφαλεῖ τετολμηκότας, ἀσυντάκτοις τε καὶ μηδὲν τοῦ ὀνήσοντος προανεσκοπημένοις, [157] τῶν τε νέων οὐκ ἐλάσσους τεσσαράκοντα ἀνδρῶν, οἳ θάρσει ἔμενον ἐπιόντα ἐς φυγὴν τοῦ λοιποῦ πλήθους καταστάντος, λαμβάνει καὶ τοὺς εἰσηγητὰς τοῦ τολμήματος Ἰούδαν καὶ Ματθίαν ἄδοξον ἡγουμένους ὑποχωρεῖν τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀνήγαγεν ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα. [158] ἐρομένου δὲ ἐπεὶ ἀφίκοντο ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως, εἰ τολμήσειαν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀνάθημα καθελεῖν, “ἀλλὰ καὶ πεφρόνηταί γε ἡμῖν τὰ φρονηθέντα καὶ πέπρακται τὰ πεπραγμένα μετ᾽ ἀρετῆς ἀνδράσι πρεπωδεστάτης: τοῦ τε γὰρ θείου τῇ ἀξιώσει βεβοήθηται ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ νόμου ἠκρόατο τὸ σῶφρον, [159] θαυμαστόν τε οὐδέν, εἰ τῶν σῶν δογμάτων ἀξιωτέρους τετηρῆσθαι ἡγησάμεθα νόμους, οὓς Μωσῆς ὑπαγορεύσει καὶ διδαχῇ τοῦ θεοῦ γραψάμενος κατέλιπεν. ἡδονῇ τε τὸν θάνατον οἴσομεν καὶ τιμωρίαν ἥντινα ἐπιβάλοις διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπ᾽ ἀδίκοις ἔργοις, ἀλλὰ φιλίᾳ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς [160] μέλλειν συνείσεσθαι τὸ

ἐφομιλῆσον αὐτοῦ.” καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα πάντες ἔλεγον οὐδὲν ἐλλιπεστέρᾳ τῇ τόλμῃ τοῦ λόγου χρώμενοι, ᾗ θαρσήσαντες τὸ ἔργον πράττειν οὐκ ἀπετράποντο. βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτοὺς καταδήσας μετέπεμπεν εἰς Ἰεριχοῦντα Ἰουδαίων τοὺς ἐν τέλει, [161] καὶ παραγενομένων ἐξεκλησίασεν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ θέατρον ἐπὶ κλινιδίου κείμενος ἀδυναμίᾳ τοῦ στῆναι, γωνεῖστων τε ἐφόσον αἵτινες ἦσαν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς γεγονυῖαι ἀνηριθμεῖτο, [162] καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τὴν κατασκευὴν ὡς μεγάλοις τέλεσι τοῖς αὐτοῦ γένοιτο μὴ δυνηθέντων ἔτεσιν ἑκατὸν εἰκοσιπέντε τῶν Ἀσαμωναίου ἐν οἷς ἐβασίλευον τοιόνδε τι ἐπὶ τιμῇ πρᾶξαι τοῦ θεοῦ, κοσμῆσαι δὲ καὶ ἀναθήμασιν ἀξιολόγοις. [163] ἀνθ᾽ ὧν ἐλπίδα μὲν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι κἂν μεθὸ θάνοι καταλελείψεσθαι μνήμην τε αὐτοῦ καὶ εὔκλειαν. κατεβόα τε ἤδη, διότι μηδὲ ζῶντα ὑβρίζειν ἀπόσχοιντο εἰς αὐτόν, ἀλλ᾽ ἡμέρας τε καὶ ἐν ὄψει τῆς πληθύος ὕβρει χρωμένους ἅψασθαι τῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἀνακειμένων καὶ καθαίρεσιν ὑβρίζοντάς τε ποιεῖσθαι, λόγῳ μὲν εἰς αὐτόν, ἀλήθειαν δὲ εἴ τις ἐξετάζοι τοῦ γεγονότος ἱεροσυλοῦντας.

(4) [164] Οἱ δὲ διὰ τὴν ὠμότητα αὐτοῦ, μὴ δὴ καὶ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐξαγριώσας εἰσπράττοιτο τιμωρίαν, οὔτε γνώμῃ ἔφασαν αὐτὰ πεπρᾶχθαι τῇ αὐτῶν, φαίνεσθαί τε αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμένα κολάσεως αὐτὰ εἶναι. ὁ δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις πραυτέρως ἔσχεν, Ματθίαν δὲ τὸν ἀρχιερέα παύσας ἱερᾶσθαι ὡς αἴτιον τοῦ μέρους τούτων γεγονότα καθίστα Ἰωάζαρον ἀρχιερέα, ἀδελφὸν γυναικὸς τῆς αὐτοῦ. [165] ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Μαθθίου τούτου ἱερωμένου συμβαίνει καὶ ἕτερον ἀρχιερέα καταστῆναι πρὸς μίαν ἡμέραν, ἣν Ἰουδαῖοι νηστείαν ἄγουσιν. [166] αἰτία δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἥδε: ὁ Ματθίας ἱερώμενος ἐν νυκτὶ τῇ φερούσῃ εἰς ἡμέραν, ᾗ ἡ νηστεία ἐνίστατο, ἔδοξεν ἐν ὀνείρατι ὠμιληκέναι [γυναικί], καὶ διὰ τόδε οὐ δυναμένου ἱερουργεῖν Ἰώσηπος ὁ τοῦ Ἐλλήμου συνιεράσατο αὐτῷ συγγενὴς ὤν. [167] Ἡρώδης δὲ τόν τε Ματθίαν ἐπεπαύκει τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης καὶ τὸν ἕτερον Ματθίαν, ὃς ἐγηγέρκει τὴν στάσιν, καὶ ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν ἑταίρων αὐτοῦ ἔκαυσεν ζώους. καὶ ἡ σελήνη δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτὶ ἐξέλιπεν.

(5) [168] Ἡρώδῃ δὲ μειζόνως ἡ νόσος ἐνεπικραίνετο δίκην ὧν παρανομήσειεν ἐκπρασσομένου τοῦ θεοῦ: πῦρ μὲν γὰρ μαλακὸν ἦν οὐχ ὧδε πολλὴν ἀποσημαῖνον τοῖς ἐπαφωμένοις τὴν φλόγωσιν ὁπόσην τοῖς ἐντὸς προσετίθει τὴν κάκωσιν. [169] ἐπιθυμία δὲ δεινὴ τοῦ δέξασθαί τι ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, οὐ γὰρ ἦν μὴ οὐχ ὑπουργεῖν, καὶ ἕλκωσις τῶν τε ἐντέρων καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ κόλου δειναὶ ἀλγηδόνες, καὶ φλέγμα ὑγρὸν περὶ τοὺς πόδας καὶ διαυγές: παραπλησία δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸ ἦτρον κάκωσις ἦν, ναὶ μὴν καὶ τοῦ αἰδοίου σῆψις σκώληκας ἐμποιοῦσα, πνεύματός τε ὀρθία ἔντασις καὶ αὐτὴ λίαν ἀηδὴς ἀχθηδόνι τε τῆς ἀποφορᾶς καὶ τῷ πυκνῷ τοῦ ἄσθματος, ἐσπασμένος τε περὶ πᾶν ἦν μέρος ἰσχὺν οὐχ ὑπομενητὴν προστιθέμενος. [170] ἐλέγετο οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν θειαζόντων καὶ οἷς ταῦτα προαποφθέγγεσθαι σοφίᾳ πρόκειται, ποινὴν τοῦ πολλοῦ δυσσεβοῦς ταύτην ὁ θεὸς εἰσπράσσεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως. [171] καίπερ δὲ μειζόνως ἢ ἀντίσχοι ἄν

τις ταλαιπωρούμενος ἐν ἐλπίδι τοῦ ἀνασφαλοῦντος ἦν, ἰατρούς τε μεταπέμπων καὶ ὁπόσα ἀρωγὰ ὑπαγορεύσειαν χρῆσθαι μὴ ἀποτετραμμένος, ποταμόν τε περάσας Ἰορδάνην θερμοῖς τοῖς κατὰ Καλλιρρόην αὐτὸν παρεδίδου, ἅπερ σὺν τῇ ἐς πάντα ἀρετῇ καὶ πότιμά ἐστιν: ἔξεισιν δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο εἰς λίμνην τὴν ἀσφαλτοφόρον λεγομένην. [172] κἀνταῦθα τοῖς ἰατροῖς δοκῆσαν ὥστε ἀναθάλπειν αὐτόν, καθεθεὶς εἰς πύελον πλέων ἐλαίου δόξαν μεταστάσεως ἐνεποίησεν αὐτοῖς. τῶν δὲ οἰκετῶν οἰμωγῇ χρωμένων περιενεγκὼν καὶ μηδ' ἥντινα ἀμφὶ τοῦ σωθησομένου ἐλπίδα ἔχων τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀνὰ πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς ἑκάστῳ κελεύει νεμηθῆναι: [173] πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν αὐτῶν καὶ φίλοις τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐδωρεῖτο. καὶ παρῆν αὖθις ἐπὶ Ἰεριχοῦντος μέλαινά τε αὐτὸν ᾕρει χολὴ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐξαγριαίνουσα, ὥστε δὴ τελευτῶν πρᾶξιν τοιάνδε ἐπινοεῖ: [174] ἀφικομένων προστάγματι τῷ αὐτοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἀνδρῶν παντὸς τοῦ ἔθνους ὁποίποτε ἀξιολόγων: πολλοὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο ὡς τοῦ παντὸς ἔθνους κατακεκλημένου καὶ πάντων ἀκροασαμένων τοῦ διατάγματος, εἰς γὰρ θάνατον ἦν ἀνακείμενα τοῖς ἀλογήσασι τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἐμμαινομένου πᾶσιν τοῦ βασιλέως ὁμοίως τοῖς τε ἀναιτίοις καὶ παρεσχηκόσιν αἰτίαν: [175] συγκλείσας αὐτοὺς πάντας ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ τήν τε ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ Σαλώμην καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς Ἀλεξᾶν μεταπέμψας τεθνήξεσθαι μὲν οὐ πόρρω ἔλεγεν ἐπὶ τοσόνδε τῶν ἀλγηδόνων αὐτὸν περιεπουσῶν: καὶ τόδε μὲν οἰστόν τε καὶ πᾶσι φίλον παρατυγχάνειν, τὸ δὲ ὀλοφυρμῶν τε ἄπορον καὶ πένθους ἐνδεᾶ ὁποῖον ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ πράσσοιτο ἂν μάλιστα αὐτῷ λυπηρὸν εἶναι: [176] οὐ γὰρ ἀποσκοποῦν τὴν Ἰουδαίων διάνοιαν, ὡς εὐκτὸς αὐτοῖς καὶ πάνυ κεχαρισμένος ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ καὶ ζῶντος ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει ἐπείγεσθαι καὶ ὕβρει τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προτιθεμένων: [177] ἔργον δ' ἄρα ἐκείνων εἶναι κούφισίν τινα αὐτῷ ψηφίσασθαι τοῦ ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε ἀλγεινοῦ: τὰ αὐτὰ γὰρ δὴ φρονῆσαι δόξῃ τῇ αὐτοῦ μὴ ἀπειπαμένων μέγαν τε αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐπιτάφιον γενέσθαι καὶ ὁποῖος οὐδ' ἄλλοις βασιλέων καὶ πένθος διὰ τοῦ ἔθνους ἅπαντος ἐκ ψυχῆς ὀλοφυραμένων ἐπὶ παιδιᾷ καὶ γέλωτι αὐτοῦ. [178] ἐπὰν οὖν θεάσωνται τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφέντα αὐτόν, περιστήσαντας τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἀγνοοῦν ἔτι τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ, μὴ γὰρ πρότερον εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐξενεγκεῖν ἢ τάδε πρᾶξαι κελεύειν, ἀκοντίσαι τοὺς ἐγκαθειργμένους, καὶ πάντας τοῦτον ἀνελόντας τὸν τρόπον διχόθεν αὐτὸν οὐχ ἁμαρτήσαντας τοῦ εὐφρανοῦντος, κυρώσει τε ὧν ἐπιστείλειεν αὐτοῖς μέλλων τελευτᾶν καὶ τῷ πένθει ἀξιολόγῳ τετιμῆσθαι. [179] καὶ ὁ μὲν μετὰ δακρύων ποτνιώμενος καὶ τοῦ συγγενοῦς τὴν εὔνοιαν καὶ πίστιν τοῦ θείου προσκαλῶν ἐπέσκηπτε μὴ ἠτιμῶσθαι ἀξιῶν, κἀκεῖνοι ὡμολόγουν οὐ παραβήσεσθαι.

(6) [180] Κατανοήσειεν δ' ἄν τις τὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ ὅτῳ τὰ πρότερα ἤρεσκεν ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ φιλοζωεῖν πράξειε τὰ εἰς τοὺς συγγενεῖς πεπραγμένα, ἐκ γοῦν τῶν ἄρτι ἐπιστολῶν οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπειον εἰσφερομένην, [181] εἴγε καὶ ἀπιὼν τοῦ βίου πρόνοιαν εἶχεν, ὡς ἐν πένθει καὶ ἐρημίᾳ τῶν φιλτάτων τὸ πᾶν

καταστήσειεν ἔθνος, ἕνα ἀπὸ ἑκάστου οἴκου κελεύων μεταχειρίσαι μηδὲν ἄδικον μήτε εἰς αὐτὸν δεδρακότας μήτε ἐφ᾽ ἑτέροις ἐγκλήμασιν κατηγορίας αὐτῶν γενομένης, εἰωθότων οἷς προσποίησις ἀρετῆς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δίκῃ ἐχθροὺς γεγονότας ἐν τοιοῖσδε καιροῖς τὰ μίση κατατίθεσθαι.

VII

(1) [182] Ταῦτα δὲ ἐπιστέλλοντος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς συγγενεῖς γράμματα παρῆν ὑπὸ τῶν εἰς Ῥώμην πρέσβεων ἀπεσταλμένων πρὸς Καίσαρα. καὶ ἀναγνωσθέντων τὸ κεφάλαιον ἦν, ὡς τῆς τε Ἀκμῆς ὀργῇ τῇ Καίσαρος ἀνῃρημένης ἐφ᾽ οἷς Ἀντιπάτρῳ συγκακουργήσειεν, αὐτόν τε Ἀντίπατρον ὡς ἐπὶ γνώμῃ τῇ ἐκείνου ποιοῖτο ὡς πατρὸς καὶ βασιλέως, εἴτε φυγάδα ἐλαύνειν ἐθελήσειεν, εἴτε καὶ κτιννύειν. [183] τούτων ἀκροώμενος Ἡρώδης βραχὺ μὲν ἀνήνεγκεν ἡδονῇ τῶν γεγραμμένων θανάτῳ τε τῆς Ἀκμῆς ἐπαιρόμενος καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ παιδὶ τιμωρίας, περιουσῶν δὲ εἰς μέγα τῶν ἀλγηδόνων παρίετο τεταλαιπωρημένος σιτίων: καὶ ᾔτησε μῆλον καὶ μαχαίριον: ἦν γὰρ ἐν ἕθει καὶ πρότερον αὐτῷ περιλέψαντι αὐτὸ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ κατ᾽ ὀλίγον τεμόντι ἐσθίειν. [184] λαβὼν δὲ καὶ περισκεψάμενος γνώμην εἶχεν παίσων ἑαυτόν, κἂν ἐπεπράχει μὴ φθάσαντος αὐτοῦ καταλαβεῖν τὴν δεξιὰν Ἀχιάβου: ἀνεψιὸς ἦν αὐτοῦ. καὶ μέγα ἀνακραγόντος οἰμωγή τε αὖθις ἀνὰ τὸ βασίλειον ἦν καὶ θόρυβος μέγας ὡς οἰχομένου τοῦ βασιλέως. [185] καὶ ὁ Ἀντίπατρος, πιστεύει γὰρ τέλος ἀληθῶς τὸν πατέρα ἔχειν, θάρσει τε ἐχρῆτο ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις ὅλος ὡς ἤδη τῶν δεσμῶν ἀφησόμενος καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀκονιτὶ δεξόμενος εἰς χεῖρας, καὶ τῷ εἰρκτοφύλακι περὶ ἀφέσεως ἦν αὐτοῦ διάλογος μεγάλα ὑπισχνουμένου εἰς τὸ παρὸν καὶ ταὖθις, ὡς ἂν περὶ τοιῶνδε τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐνεστηκότος. [186] ὁ δὲ οὐ μόνον ἀπειθὴς ἦν πράσσειν ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἠξίου Ἀντίπατρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀποσημαίνει διάνοιαν τὴν ἐκείνου πολλῇ καὶ προσεισφορᾷ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ χρώμενος. [187] ὁ δὲ Ἡρώδης καὶ πρότερον οὐχ ἡσσώμενος οὐδ᾽ εὐνοίᾳ τοῦ υἱέος ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε τοῦ εἰρκτοφύλακος ταῦτα εἰρηκότος, ἀνεβόησέν τε ἀνατυψάμενος τὴν κεφαλὴν καίπερ ἐν τῷ ὑστάτῳ ὢν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγκῶνα περιάρας ἑαυτὸν κελεύει πέμψας τινὰ τῶν δορυφόρων μηδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος κτείνασιν αὐτὸν ἐν Ὑρκανίᾳ ταφὰς ἀσήμους ποιεῖσθαι.

VIII

(1) [188] Τὰς δὲ διαθήκας αὖθις μετέγραφεν μεταβολῆς αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν διάνοιαν γενομένης, Ἀντίπαν μέν, ᾧ τὴν βασιλείαν καταλελοίπει, τετράρχην καθιστὰς Γαλιλαίας τε καὶ Περαίας, Ἀρχελάῳ δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν χαριζόμενος, [189] τὴν δὲ Γαυλωνῖτιν καὶ Τραχωνῖτιν καὶ Βαταναίαν καὶ Πανιάδα Φιλίππῳ παιδὶ μὲν τῷ αὐτοῦ Ἀρχελάου δὲ ἀδελφῷ γνησίῳ τετραρχίαν εἶναι, Ἰάμνειαν δὲ καὶ Ἄζωτον

καὶ Φασαηλίδα Σαλώμῃ τῇ ἀδελφῇ κατανέμει καὶ ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου μυριάδας πεντήκοντα. [190] προυνόησε δὲ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, ὁπόσοι συγγενεῖς ἦσαν αὐτῷ, χρημάτων τε δόσεσι καὶ προσόδων ἀναφοραῖς ἑκάστους ἐν εὐπορίᾳ καθιστάμενος. Καίσαρι δὲ ἀργυρίου μὲν ἐπισήμου μυριάδας χιλίας, χωρὶς δὲ σκεύη τὰ μὲν χρυσοῦ τὰ δ᾽ ἀργύρου καὶ ἐσθῆτα πάνυ πολλοῦ τέλους, Ἰουλίᾳ δὲ τῇ Καίσαρος γυναικὶ καί τισιν ἑτέροις πεντακοσίας μυριάδας. [191] ταῦτα πράξας ἡμέρᾳ πέμπτῃ μεθ᾽ ὃ Ἀντίπατρον κτείνει τὸν υἱὸν τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας μεθ᾽ ὃ μὲν ἀνεῖλεν Ἀντίγονον ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ τριάκοντα, μεθ᾽ ὃ δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀπεδέδεικτο ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα, ἀνὴρ ὠμὸς εἰς πάντας ὁμοίως καὶ ὀργῆς μὲν ἥσσων κρείσσων δὲ τοῦ δικαίου, τύχῃ δὲ εἰ καί τις ἕτερος κεχρημένος εὐμενεῖ. [192] ἔκ τε γὰρ ἰδιώτου βασιλεὺς καταστὰς καὶ κινδύνοις περιστοιχιζόμενος μυρίοις πάντων ποιεῖται διάδρασιν καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἐξίκετο. ὁπόσα δὲ τὰ κατ᾽ οἶκον περὶ υἱεῖς τοὺς αὐτοῦ, ὅσα μὲν γνώμῃ τῇ ἐκείνου καὶ πάνυ δεξιᾷ κεχρημένος διὰ τὸ κρίνας ἐχθροὺς κρατεῖν οὐχ ὑστερῆσαι, δοκεῖν δ᾽ ἐμοὶ καὶ πάνυ δυστυχής.

(2) [193] Σαλώμη δὲ καὶ Ἀλεξᾶς πρὶν ἔκπυστον γενέσθαι τὸν θάνατον τοῦ βασιλέως τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ἱππόδρομον κατακεκλημένους ἐκπέμπονται ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτῶν, φάμενοι βασιλέα κελεύειν ἀπιοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς νέμεσθαι τὰ οἰκεῖα, πράσσεταί τε αὐτοῖς ἥδε εὐεργεσία μεγίστη εἰς τὸ ἔθνος. [194] ἐφανεροῦτο δ᾽ ἤδη ὁ θάνατος τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ Σαλώμη καὶ Ἀλεξᾶς συναγαγόντες τὸ στρατιωτικὸν εἰς τὸ ἀμφιθέατρον τὸ ἐν Ἰεριχοῦντι πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιστολὴν ἀνέγνωσαν πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας γεγραμμένην ἐπὶ πίστεως εὐχαριστίᾳ καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ παρακλήσει τῶν ὁμοίων παροκωχῆς Ἀρχελάῳ τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ, ὃν βασιλέα καθίσταιτο. [195] εἶτα μέντοι Πτολεμαῖος τὸν σημαντῆρα τοῦ βασιλέως πεπιστευμένος τὰς διαθήκας ἀνέλεγεν, αἳ λήψεσθαι κύρωσιν οὐκ ἄλλως ἔμελλον ἢ Καίσαρος ἐντυχόντος αὐταῖς. βοὴ οὖν εὐθὺς ἦν ἐκτιμώντων Ἀρχέλαον βασιλέα, καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται κατὰ στίφη τε αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες εὔνοιάν τε ὑπισχνοῦνται καὶ προθυμίαν τὴν αὐτῶν καὶ συλλήπτορα τὸν θεὸν παρεκάλουν.

(3) [196] Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τάφον ἡτοίμαζον τῷ βασιλεῖ μελῆσαν Ἀρχελάῳ πολυτελεστάτην γενέσθαι τὴν ἐκκομιδὴν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ πάντα τὸν κόσμον προκομίσαντος εἰς ὃ συμπομπεύσειε τῷ νεκρῷ. [197] ἐφέρετο δὲ ἐπὶ κλίνης χρυσέας λίθοις πολυτελέσιν καὶ ποικίλοις διαπεπασμένης, στρωμνή τε ἦν ἁλουργὴς καὶ ἠμπέσχετο πορφυρίσιν ὁ νεκρὸς διαδήματι ἠσκημένος ὑπερκειμένου στεφάνου χρυσέου σκῆπτρόν τε τῇ δεξιᾷ παρακείμενον. [198] περί τε τὴν κλίνην οἵ τε υἱεῖς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἦν τῶν συγγενῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τὸ στρατιωτικὸν κατὰ οἰκεῖα ἔθνη ἢ προσηγορίας διέκειντο αὐτοῖς νεμηθέντες, πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ δορυφόροι, μετὰ δὲ τὸ Θρᾴκιον, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁπόσοι Γερμανῶν, καὶ τὸ Γαλατικὸν μετ᾽ αὐτούς, ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ πάντες τῷ πολεμιστηρίῳ. [199]

τούτων δὲ κατόπιν ἤδη πᾶς ὁ στρατὸς ὥσπερ ἐς πόλεμον ἐξοδεύοντες [ὥσπερ] ὑπὸ λοχαγῶν ἀγόμενοι καὶ τοῖς ταξιαρχοῦσιν αὐτῶν. τούτοις ἐπετετάχατο πεντακόσιοι τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀρωματοφόροι. ᾖεσαν δὲ ἐπὶ Ἡρωδίου στάδια ὀκτώ: τῇδε γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο αἱ ταφαὶ κελεύσματι τῷ αὐτοῦ. Ἡρώδης μὲν δὴ τοῦτον ἐτελεύτα τὸν τρόπον.

(4) [200] Ἀρχέλαος δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν ἑβδόμην ἡμέραν πένθος τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ τιμῶν διετέλει: τόσας γὰρ διαγορεύει τὸ νόμιμον τοῦ πατρίου. ἑστιάσας δὲ τοὺς ὁμίλους καὶ καταλύσας τὸ πένθος ἄνεισιν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν. ἦσάν τε εὐφημίαι καὶ ἔπαινοι καθ᾽ οὕστινας ἴοι ἑκάστων τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλοτιμουμένων εἰς τὸ δοκεῖν μείζοσι χρῆσθαι ταῖς εὐφημίαις. [201] ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ ὑψηλὸν βῆμα πεποιημένον ἀνελθὼν καὶ ἱδρυθεὶς εἰς θρόνον χρυσοῦν [πεποιημένον] ἀντεδεξιοῦτο τοὺς ὁμίλους χάρματι τῶν εὐφημιῶν τὴν εὔνοιαν αὐτῶν ἡδονῇ φέρων, χάριν τε ὡμολόγει, διότι μηδὲν αὐτῷ μνησικακοῖεν ἀνθ᾽ ὧν ὁ πατὴρ εἰς αὐτοὺς ὑβρίσειεν καὶ πειράσεσθαι μὴ ἐλλείψειν ἀμειβόμενον τὸ πρόθυμον αὐτῶν. [202] ἄρτι μέντοι φειδὼ ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ βασιλείου ὀνόματος, τετιμῆσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸν τῇ ἀξιώσει ὅπερ βεβαίως Καῖσαρ ἐπικυρώσειε τὰς διαθήκας, αἳ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐγράφησαν αὐτοῦ: δι᾽ ἣν αἰτίαν οὐδὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐν Ἰεριχοῦντι τὸ διάδημα αὐτῷ περιθέσθαι προθυμουμένου δέξασθαι τὸ περιμάχητον τῆς ἐνθένδε τιμῆς διὰ τὸ μηδέπω τὸν κυρίως ἀποδώσοντα φανερὸν εἶναι παρασχόμενον. [203] περιιόντων μέν γε εἰς αὐτὸν τῶν πραγμάτων οὐ λείψειν ἀρετῆς τοῦ ἀμειψομένου τὴν εὔνοιαν αὐτῶν: σπουδάσειν γὰρ ἐν πᾶσιν τὰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς φανεῖσθαι τοῦ πατρὸς ἀμείνων τὰ πάντα. [204] οἱ δὲ οἷον ὄχλος εἴωθεν, φιλεῖν οἰόμενοι τὰς πρώτας εἶναι τῶν ἡμερῶν τὰς διανοίας ἐμφανίζειν τῶν παριόντων ἐπὶ τοιάσδε ἀρχάς, ὅσῳ πρᾴως καὶ θεραπευτικῶς ὁ Ἀρχέλαος διελέγετο αὐτοῖς, τοσῷδε μειζόνως τε ἐχρῶντο τοῖς ἐπαίνοις καὶ κατὰ αἰτήσεις δωρεῶν ἐτετράφατο, οἱ μὲν εἰσφορὰς ἃς ἐνιαυσίους φέροιεν ἐπικουφίζειν βοῇ χρώμενοι, οἱ δὲ αὖ δεσμωτῶν, οἳ ὑφ᾽ Ἡρώδου ἐδέδεντο, πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν κἀκ πολλῶν χρόνων, ἀπόλυσιν. [205] εἰσὶν δὲ οἳ ἄρσεις τῶν τελῶν ἃ ἐπὶ πράσεσιν ἢ ὠναῖς ἐπεβάλλετο πρασσόμενα πικρῶς ἠτοῦντο. ἀντέλεγέν τε οὐδαμῶς Ἀρχέλαος ἐπειρᾶτο ὁμίλους σπουδαῖος ὢν ποιεῖν πάντα διὰ τὸ νομίζειν μέγα πρᾶγμα εἰς τήρησιν τῆς ἀρχῆς γενήσεσθαι τὴν εὔνοιαν αὐτῷ τῆς πληθύος. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ θύσας τῷ θεῷ κατ᾽ εὐωχίαν τρέπεται μετὰ τῶν φίλων.

IX

(1) [206] Ἐν τούτῳ δέ τινες τῶν Ἰουδαίων συνελθόντες νεωτέρων ἐπιθυμίᾳ πραγμάτων Ματθίαν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ὑφ᾽ Ἡρώδου ἀποθανόντας, οἳ παραχρῆμα τῆς εἰς τὸ πενθεῖσθαι τιμῆς φόβῳ τῷ ἐκείνου ἀπεστέρηντο, ἦσαν δὲ οἱ τῶν ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἀετοῦ δεδικαιωμένων, ἐπὶ μέγα τε τῇ βοῇ καὶ

οἰμωγῇ χρώμενοι καί τινα ὡς κούφισιν φέροντα τοῖς τεθνεῶσιν ἀπερρίπτουν εἰς τὸν βασιλέα. [207] συνόδου τε αὐτοῖς γενομένης ἠξίουν τιμωρίαν αὐτοῖς ὑπ᾽ Ἀρχελάου γενέσθαι κολάσεσιν τῶν ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου τιμωμένων, καὶ πάντων γε καὶ πρῶτον καὶ ἐκδηλότατα τὸν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἀρχιερέα καθεστῶτα παύσαντα νομιμώτερόν τε ἅμα καὶ καθαρὸν ἀρχιερᾶσθαι ἄνδρα αἱρεῖσθαι. [208] τούτοις Ἀρχέλαος καίπερ δεινῶς φέρων ἐπένευεν τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ὁδὸν ἀνύεσθαι προκείμενον αὐτῷ τάχος ἐπὶ περισκοπήσει τῶν δοξάντων Καίσαρι. [209] πέμψας δὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν πειθοῖ χρῆσθαι, καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τοιούτοις μωρίας ἀποστάντας σκοπεῖν, θάνατόν τε, ὃς τοῖς φίλοις αὐτῶν συνέλθοι, μετὰ νόμων γεγονότα, καὶ τὰς αἰτήσεις ὡς ἐπὶ μέγα τοῦ ὑβρίζειν προίοιεν, τούς τε καιροὺς οὐκ ἐν τοιοῖσδε εἶναι, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ ὁμονοεῖν ἕως καταστησάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπινεύσει τῇ Καίσαρος ἀφίκοιτο ὡς αὐτούς: τότε γὰρ κοινῇ βουλεύσειν περὶ ὧν ἀξιοῖεν σὺν αὐτοῖς: ἄρτι δὲ ἀνέχειν, μὴ καὶ στασιάζειν δοκοῖεν.

(2) [210] Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ὑπειπὼν καὶ διδάξας τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐκπέμπει πρὸς αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ βοῶντες λέγειν τε οὐκ εἴων καὶ εἰς κίνδυνον τοῦ ἀπολουμένου ἐκεῖνόν τε καθίστασαν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅστις γε ἐπὶ σωφρονισμῷ καὶ ἀποτροπῇ τοῦ μὴ τοιῶνδε ὀριγνᾶσθαι τολμήσειν φθέγξασθαι φανερὸς ἦν διὰ τὸ πάντα βουλήσει τῇ αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐξουσίᾳ τῶν ἐφεστηκότων συγχωρεῖν, [211] δεινὸν ἡγούμενοι, εἰ ζῶντός τε Ἡρώδου στερηθεῖεν τῶν φιλτάτων καὶ τελευτῆς αὐτῷ γενομένης τιμωριῶν τῶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς, ὠργηκότες ταῖς γνώμαις καὶ νόμιμόν τε καὶ δίκαιον ἡγούμενοι ὅ τι μελλήσοι ἡδονὴν αὐτοῖς φέρειν, κίνδυνον δὲ τὸν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ προιδέσθαι τε ἀμαθεῖς καὶ εἴ τῳ ὑποπτευθείη, ὑπερβολῆς αὐτῷ γενομένης τῆς παραχρῆμα ἡδονῆς ἐκ τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς ἐχθίστους δοκοῦντας αὐτοῖς. [212] πολλῶν δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀρχελάου πεμπομένων, οἳ διαλέξοιντο αὐτοῖς, τῶν τε ἐνεστώτων μὲν ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ δὲ τῇ αὐτῶν δοκεῖν παριόντων, ὅπως εἰς τὸ πραύτερον καταστήσονται αὐτούς, οὐδενὸς ἠνείχοντο εἰπεῖν ἀνάστασίς τε ἦν δεύειν ὀργῇ χρωμένων, φανεροί τε ἦσαν ἐπὶ μέγα αὐξήσοντες τὴν στάσιν πλήθους ἐπισυρρυέντος αὐτοῖς.

(3) [213] Ἐνστάσης δὲ κατὰ τόνδε τὸν καιρὸν ἑορτῆς, ἐν ᾗ Ἰουδαίοις ἄζυμα προτίθεσθαι πάτριον: φάσκα δ᾽ ἡ ἑορτὴ καλεῖται ὑπόμνημα οὖσα τῆς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἀπάρσεως αὐτῶν γενομένης, καὶ θύουσιν αὐτὴν προθύμως πλῆθός τε ἱερείων ὡς οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῃ κατακόπτειν ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς νόμιμον: [214] κάτεισιν δὲ πληθὺς ἀναρίθμητος ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑπερορίας ἐπὶ θρησκείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ οἱ νεωτερισταὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν τε καὶ Ματθίαν ἐξηγητὰς τῶν νόμων ὀδυρόμενοι συστάντες ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τροφῆς ηὐποροῦντο τοῖς στασιασταῖς οὐκ ὂν ἐν αἰσχύνῃ μεταιτεῖν αὐτούς. [215] καὶ δείσας Ἀρχέλαος, μὴ καί τι δεινὸν βλαστήσειεν αὐτῶν τῇ ἀπονοίᾳ, πέμπει σπεῖράν τε ὁπλιτῶν χιλίαρχόν τε τὴν ὁρμὴν τῶν ἐνεστηκότων πρότερον τὸν πάντα ὅμιλον τοῦ μανιώδους αὐτῶν πλέω καταστῆναι, καὶ εἴ τινες διάδηλοι πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων καθίσταιντο προθυμίᾳ τοῦ

στασιάζειν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀγαγεῖν. [216] ἐπὶ τούτῳ οἱ στασιῶται τῶν ἐξηγητῶν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐξηγρίωσε βοῇ καὶ διακελευσμῷ χρώμενοι ὥρμησάν τε ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ περιστάντες λεύουσιν τοὺς πλείστους αὐτῶν. ὀλίγοι δέ τινες καὶ ὁ χιλίαρχος τραυματίαι διέφυγον. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ταῦτα πράξασιν διὰ χειρῶν αὖθις ἡ θυσία ἦν: [217] Ἀρχελάῳ δὲ ἄπορον ἐδόκει σώζεσθαι τὰ πάντα μὴ οὐκ ἀνακόψειν τὴν ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε ὁρμὴν τῆς πληθύος, ἐκπέμπει δὲ πᾶν τὸ στρατόπεδον Οἳ τούς τε αὐτόθι ἐσκηνωκότας κωλύοιεν τοῖς κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν βοηθεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας ὑπὸ τῶν πεζῶν δέχοιντο ἀντειλῆφθαι τἀσφαλοῦς ἤδη πεπιστευκότας. [218] καὶ εἰς μὲν τρισχιλίους ἄνδρας ἔκτειναν οἱ ἱππεῖς: τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ᾤχετο ἐπὶ ὄρη τὰ πλησίον ἰόντες. ἐκήρυσσε δ᾽ Ἀρχέλαος ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτῶν πᾶσιν. οἱ δὲ ἀπῄεσαν τὴν ἑορτὴν καταλιπόντες φόβῳ κακοῦ μείζονος καίπερ θρασεῖς ὄντες διὰ τὸ ἀπαίδευτον. [219] Ἀρχέλαος δ᾽ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης κατῄει μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς Νικόλαον καὶ Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Πτόλλαν τῶν φίλων ἐπαγόμενος, Φιλίππῳ τἀδελφῷ τὰ πάντα ἐφεὶς καθίστασθαι τοῦ οἴκου καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς. [220] συνεξῄει δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ Σαλώμη ἡ Ἡρώδου ἀδελφὴ γενεὰν ἀγομένη τὴν αὐτῆς, πολλοί τε τῶν συγγενῶν, λόγῳ μὲν ὡς συναγωνιούμενοι τῷ Ἀρχελάῳ ἐπὶ κτήσει τῆς βασιλείας, ἔργῳ δὲ ἀντιπράξοντες καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ποιησόμενοι καταβοάς. [221] ὑπαντιάζει δ᾽ ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τὸν Ἀρχέλαον Σαβῖνος Καίσαρος ἐπίτροπος τῶν ἐν Συρίᾳ πραγμάτων εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ὡρμημένος ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν Ἡρώδου χρημάτων. καὶ αὐτὸν τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ὁρμῆς ἔσχεν ὁ Οὔαρος παρελθών: διὰ γὰρ Πτολεμαίου μετάπεμπτος ὑπ᾽ Ἀρχελάου παρῆν. [222] καὶ Οὐάρῳ Σαβῖνος χαριζόμενος οὔτε τὰς ἄκρας, ὅσαι ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἦσαν, παρέλαβεν οὔτε τοὺς θησαυροὺς κατεσημήνατο, εἴα δ᾽ ἔχειν Ἀρχέλαον μέχρι Καίσαρι δόξειέν τι περὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔμενεν ἐν τῇ Καισαρείᾳ τοῦθ᾽ ὑποσχόμενος. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐκπλεῖ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης Ἀρχέλαος, Οὐάρῳ δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ Ἀντιοχείας ἐγένοντο κομιδαί, Σαβῖνος ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων χωρήσας παραλαμβάνει τὰ βασίλεια. [223] μεταπέμψας δὲ τοὺς φρουράρχους καὶ ὁπόσοι διοικηταὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἦσαν λόγους τε ἀπαιτεῖν πρόδηλος ἦν καὶ τὰς ἄκρας καθίστατο ᾗ αὐτῷ δοκοῖ. οὐ μὴν οἱ φύλακες ἐν ὀλίγῳ τὰς Ἀρχελάου ἐπιστολὰς ἐποιοῦντο, ἀλλ᾽ ἔμενον σώζοντες τὰ πάντα ᾗ προσετέτακτο αὐτοῖς. Καίσαρι δὲ φυλάσσειν ἕκαστ᾽ ἦν προσποίησις αὐτοῖς.

(4) [224] Πλεῖ δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης καὶ Ἀντίπας Ἡρώδου μὲν παῖς, ἐπὶ δ᾽ ἀντιποιήσει τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑποσχέσεσι Σαλώμης ἠρμένος ἐπὶ τῷ ἄρχειν καὶ πολὺ δικαιότερον Ἀρχελάου παραλήψεσθαι τὰ πράγματα ἠξιωκὼς τῷ κατὰ τὰς προτέρας διαθήκας βασιλεὺς ἀποπεφάνθαι, ἃς ἀσφαλεστέρας εἶναι τῶν ἐπιγραφεισῶν. [225] ἐπήγετο δὲ οὗτος τήν τε μητέρα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Νικολάου Πτολεμαῖον φίλον τε Ἡρώδῃ τιμιώτατον γεγενημένον καὶ αὐτῷ προσκείμενον. [226] μάλιστα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐνῆγεν ἐπ᾽ ἀντιποιήσει τῆς βασιλείας φρονεῖν Εἰρηναῖος ῥήτωρ ἀνὴρ καὶ δόξῃ δεινότητος τῆς περὶ αὐτῷ τὴν

βασιλείαν πεπιστευμένος. διὸ δὴ καὶ τῶν κελευόντων εἴκειν Ἀρχελάῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ τε ὄντι κἀν ταῖς ἐπιδιαθήκαις ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐγγεγραμμένῳ βασιλεῖ οὐκ ἠνείχετο. [227] ἐπεὶ δ᾽ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφίκετο, καὶ πάντων τῶν συγγενῶν ἀπόστασις ἦν πρὸς αὐτόν, οὐκ εὐνοίᾳ τῇ ἐκείνου, μίσει δὲ τῷ πρὸς Ἀρχέλαον, μάλιστα μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἐλευθερίας καὶ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγῷ τετάχθαι, εἰ δ᾽ ἄρα τι ἀντισταίη, λυσιτελέστερον Ἀρχελάου τὸν Ἀντίπαν λογιζόμενοι, συνέπραττον Ἀντίπᾳ τὴν βασιλείαν. καὶ Σαβῖνος κατηγόρει παρὰ Καίσαρι τοῦ Ἀρχελάου διὰ γραμμάτων.

(5) [228] Καῖσαρ δὲ Ἀρχελάου τε εἰσπέμψαντος ὡς αὐτὸν γράμματα, ἐν οἷς τὰ δικαιώματα προετίθει τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν διαθήκην τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς τῶν Ἡρώδου χρημάτων σὺν τῷ σημαντῆρι κομίζοντα Πτολεμαῖον, ἐκαραδόκει τὸ μέλλον. [229] ὁ δὲ ταῦτά τε ἀναγνοὺς τὰ γράμματα καὶ τὰς Οὐάρου καὶ Σαβίνου ἐπιστολὰς ὁπόσα τε χρήματα ἦν καὶ τί ἐπ᾽ ἔτος ἐφοίτα καὶ ὅσα Ἀντίπας ἐπ᾽ οἰκειώσει τῆς βασιλείας ἐπεπόμφει γράμματα συνῆγεν ἐπὶ παροκωχῇ γνωμῶν τοὺς φίλους, σὺν οἷς καὶ Γάιον τὸν Ἀγρίππου μὲν καὶ Ἰουλίας τῆς αὐτοῦ θυγατρὸς υἱὸν ποιητὸν δὲ αὐτῷ γεγονότα πρῶτόν τε καθεδούμενον παρέλαβε, καὶ κελεύει λέγειν τοῖς βουλομένοις περὶ τῶν ἐνεστηκότων. [230] καὶ πρῶτος ὁ Σαλώμης υἱὸς Ἀντίπατρος δεινότατός τε ὢν εἰπεῖν καὶ τῷ Ἀρχελάῳ ἐναντιώτατος ἔλεγεν Ἀρχελάῳ παιδιὰν τὸν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς εἶναι λόγον ἔργῳ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς πρότερον ἢ Καίσαρα συγχωρῆσαι παρειληφότι, ἐπικαλῶν τὰ τετολμημένα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπολωλόσι κατὰ τὴν ἑορτήν: [231] ὧν καὶ ἀδικούντων ἄλλως ἔσχεν τὴν τιμωρίαν εἰς τοὺς ἔξω χρῆσθαι δυναμένους ἀνακειμένην εἶναι, καὶ μὴ ὑπ᾽ ἀνδρὸς πεπρᾶχθαι, εἰ μὲν βασιλέως, ἀδικοῦντος τὸ Καίσαρος διαγνοίᾳ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔτι χρώμενον, εἰ δὲ ἰδιώτου, πολὺ χειρόνως, διὰ τὸ μὴ βασιλείας ἀντιποιουμένῳ καλῶς ἂν συγκεχωρῆσθαι, διὰ τὸ Καίσαρα τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι. [232] καθήπτετο δὲ αὐτοῦ ἡγεμόνων τινῶν ἐν τῷ στρατιωτικῷ μετάστασιν ἐπικαλῶν καὶ προκάθισιν ἐπὶ θρόνου βασιλείου καὶ δικῶν διάλυσιν ὡς ὑπὸ βασιλέως γενομένην κατανεύσεις τε αἰτήσεων τοῖς δημοσίᾳ αἰτουμένοις καὶ πάντων διάπραξιν, ὧν οὐδὲν ἂν μειζόνως ἐπινοῆσαι καθεσταμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος εἰς τὴν ἀρχήν. [233] ἀνετίθει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἱπποδρόμου δεσμωτῶν τὴν ἄφεσιν καὶ πολλὰ τὰ μὲν γεγονότα τὰ δὲ καὶ πιστεύεσθαι δυνάμενα διὰ τὸ φύσιν ἔχειν γίνεσθαι ὑπό τε νεωτέρων καὶ φιλοτιμίᾳ τοῦ ἄρχειν προλαμβανόντων τὴν ἐξουσίαν, πένθους τε τοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἀμελείας καὶ κωμασμοὺς αὐτονυκτὶ τῇ ἐκείνου τελευτῇ γεγονότας, [234] ἐφ᾽ οἷς δὴ καὶ τὴν πληθὺν ἀρχὴν τοῦ στασιάζειν λαβεῖν, εἰ τοιαῦτα εὐεργετήσαντος αὐτὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ οὕτως μεγάλων ἠξιωκότος τοιοῖσδε ἀμείβεσθαι τὸν νέκυν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς δακρύειν μὲν προσποιούμενον τὰς ἡμέρας, ἀπολαύοντα δὲ ἡδονῇ τῇ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὅσαι νύκτες. [235] φανεῖσθαί τε καὶ περὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τοιόνδε ὄντα Ἀρχέλαον συγχωροῦντα τὴν βασιλείαν, ὁποῖος γένοιτο καὶ περὶ τὸν

πατέρα: χορεύειν γὰρ καὶ ᾄδειν ὥσπερ ἐχθροῦ πεσόντος, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἀνδρὸς οὕτως μὲν συγγενοῦς, τηλικαῦτα δ᾽ εὐεργετεῖν ἐξηγμένου. [236] δεινότατόν τε πάντων ἀπέφηνε τὸ νῦν ἥκειν ἐπὶ Καίσαρος κατανεύσει τῇ ἐκείνου χρησόμενον τῇ βασιλείᾳ πάντων αὐτῷ προπεποιημένων, ὁπόσα γένοιτο ἂν ὑπὸ σοῦ βεβαίως ἤδη τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος παρεσχηκότος πρασσόμενα. [237] μάλιστα δὲ τὴν σφαγὴν τῶν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐδείνου τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὴν δυσσέβειαν, ὡς ἑορτῆς τε ἐνεστηκυίας καὶ ἱερείων ἐν τρόπῳ σφαχθεῖεν ἔνιοι μὲν ξένοι οἱ δὲ ἐγχώριοι, πλησθείη δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν νεκρῶν οὐχ ὑπ᾽ ἀλλοφύλου, ἀλλὰ τοῦ καὶ μετὰ νομίμων ὀνομάτων τῆς βασιλείας ἐφιεμένου τῆς πράξεως, ὅπως δυνηθείη πληρῶσαι τῆς φύσει τυραννίδος τὴν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις μεμισημένην ἀδικίαν. [238] δι᾽ ἣν μηδὲ ὄναρ ποτὲ ἑωρᾶσθαι βασιλείας αὐτῷ τὴν διαδοχὴν ἀρετῇ τοῦ πατρός: ἐπίστασθαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον καί τοι ἐχθρὸν αὐτῷ [ἐκ] τῶν διαθηκῶν ἰσχυρότερον Ἀντιπάτρῳ καθίστασθαι: κληθῆναι γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν οὐχὶ νοσοῦντος πρὸς τῷ σώματι καὶ τὴν ψυχήν, ἀλλὰ ἀκραιφνεῖ μὲν τῷ λογισμῷ χρωμένου, ἀλκῇ δὲ σώματος τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐφεστηκότος. [239] εἰ δὲ καὶ πρότερον εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπίσης τοῖς νῦν διατεθεῖσθαι τὸν πατέρα, ἀποπεφάνθαι ποταπὸς ἂν γένοιτο βασιλεὺς τὸν μὲν κύριον παρασχεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν Καίσαρα ἀφῃρημένον τοῦ δοῦναι τὴν ἐξουσίαν, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας ἰδιώτην ὄντα ἀκμὴν σφάζειν ἐν ἱερῷ μὴ ἀποτετραμμένον.

(6) [240] Καὶ Ἀντίπατρος μὲν τοιάδε εἰπὼν καὶ μαρτύρων παραστάσεσιν τὰ εἰρημένα κρατυνάμενος πολλοῖς τῶν συγγενῶν παύεται τοῦ λέγειν. ἀνίσταται δὲ Νικόλαος ὑπὲρ Ἀρχελάου καὶ ἔλεγεν τὰ μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ γνώμῃ τῶν πεπονθότων ἀναθεὶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἐξουσίᾳ τῇ Ἀρχελάου: τοὺς γὰρ ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε ἄρχοντας οὐ μόνον τῷ καθ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὑβρίζοντι εἶναι πονηρούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἀναγκάζοντι εἰς τὴν ἄμυναν τῶν εὐγνωμονεῖν προαιρουμένων. [241] ὡς δὲ πολέμια ἔδρων λόγῳ μὲν κατ᾽ Ἀρχελάου τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς εἰς Καίσαρα φανερὸν εἶναι: τοὺς γὰρ ὑβριοῦντας κωλυτὰς παραγενομένους ἢ ὑπ᾽ Ἀρχελάου πεπομφότος κτεῖναι ἐπιθεμένους οὔτε τοῦ θεοῦ οὔτε τοῦ νόμου τῆς ἑορτῆς ἐν φροντίδι γενομένους, [242] ὧν Ἀντίπατρον οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθαι ἐκδικητὴν καθιστάμενον ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ ἔχθρας τῆς αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἀρχέλαον ἢ φύσει τοῦ ἀρετῇ δικαίου. οἱ παρελθόντες καὶ μὴ πρὸς διανοουμένους ἄρχοντες ἀδίκων ἔργων, οἵδε εἰσὶν οἱ βιαζόμενοι καὶ μὴ θέλοντας τοὺς ἀμυνομένους ἐφ᾽ ὅπλα χωρεῖν. [243] ἀνετίθει δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν βουλῇ τῶν κατηγόρων: οὐδὲν γὰρ ὅ τι μὴ οὐ μετὰ γνώμης τῆς αὐτῶν γεγενημένον αἰτίᾳ τοῦ ἀδικεῖν ὑπάγεσθαι, οὐ τῇ φύσει τῇ οὕτως αὐτὰ γεγονότα πονηρὰ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τῷ βλάψειν ἂν δοκεῖν Ἀρχέλαον. τοσήνδε αὐτοῖς εἶναι βουλὴν τοῦ ὑβριοῦντος εἰς ἄνδρα συγγενῆ, καὶ πατρὸς μὲν εὐεργέτου, συνήθη δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ διὰ παντὸς οἰκείως πεπολιτευμένον. [244] τάς γε μὴν διαθήκας ὑπό τε σωφρονοῦντος γεγράφθαι τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ κυριωτέρας τῶν γεγραμμένων πρότερον διὰ τὸ Καίσαρι δεσπότῃ τῶν ὅλων καταλελεῖφθαι τὴν κρίσιν τῶν ἐν

αὐταῖς γεγραμμένων. [245] μιμήσεσθαί τε οὐδαμῶς Καίσαρα τὴν ὕβριν αὐτῶν, οἳ τῆς Ἡρώδου παντοίως ἀπολαύσαντες παρ᾽ ὃν ἔζη καιρὸν δυνάμεως τὰ πάντα ἐπὶ ὕβρει γνώμης ἐπείγοιντο αὐτοῦ, οὐδ᾽ αὐτῶν περὶ τὸν συγγενῆ τοιούτων γεγονότων. [246] οὔκουν Καίσαρά γε ἀνδρὸς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ πεποιημένου τὰ πάντα καὶ φίλου καὶ συμμάχου καταλύσειν τὰς διαθήκας ἐπὶ πίστει τῇ αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένας, οὐδὲ μιμήσεσθαι κακίαν τὴν ἐκείνων τὴν Καίσαρος ἀρετὴν καὶ πίστιν πρὸς ἅπασαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀνενδοίαστον γενομένην, [247] καὶ μανίαν καὶ λογισμῶν ἔκστασιν κατακρίνειν ἀνδρὸς βασιλέως, υἱεῖ μὲν ἀγαθῷ τὴν διαδοχὴν καταλελοιπότος, πίστει δὲ τῇ αὐτοῦ προσπεφευγότος: οὔτ᾽ ἁμαρτάνειν Ἡρώδην ποτὲ περὶ κρίσιν τοῦ διαδόχου σωφροσύνῃ κεχρημένον ἐπὶ τῇ Καίσαρος γνώμῃ τὰ πάντα ποιεῖσθαι.

(7) [248] Καὶ Νικόλαος μὲν τοιάδε διελθὼν καταπαύει τὸν λόγον: Καῖσαρ δὲ Ἀρχέλαον προσπεσόντα αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰ γόνατα φιλοφρόνως τε ἀνίστη φάμενος ἀξιώτατον εἶναι τῆς βασιλείας πολλήν τε ἀπέφαινε τροπὴν γνώμης τῆς αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἄλλα πράξειν, ἀλλ᾽ ὁπόσα αἵ τε διαθῆκαι ὑπηγόρευον καὶ Ἀρχελάῳ συνέφερεν. [249] οὐ μέντοι γε ἐκεκύρωτο οὐδέν, ὡς ἂν ἐχεγγύῳ παραδείγματι χρώμενον ἐπ᾽ ἀδείας Ἀρχέλαον εἶναι. καὶ διαλύσεως τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενομένης ἐσκοπεῖτο καθ᾽ αὐτόν, εἴτε Ἀρχελάῳ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπικυρωτέον, εἴτε νομὴν αὐτῆς ποιεῖσθαι παντὶ τῷ Ἡρώδου γένει καὶ ταῦτα πάντων πολλῆς ἐπικουρίας δεομένων.

X

(1) [250] Πρότερον δὲ ἢ κύρωσίν τινα τούτων γενέσθαι Μαλθάκη τε ἡ Ἀρχελάου μήτηρ νόσῳ τελευτᾷ καὶ παρὰ Οὐάρου τοῦ Συρίας στρατηγοῦ παρῆν γράμματα τὴν Ἰουδαίων ἀπόστασιν διασαφοῦντα: [251] τοῦ γὰρ Ἀρχελάου μετὰ τὸν ἔκπλουν ἐθορυβήθη τὸ πᾶν ἔθνος. καὶ Οὔαρος αὐτὸς ἐπεὶ παρὼν ὡς τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς κινήσεως τιμωρίᾳ περιβαλὼν καὶ τοῦ πολλοῦ τῆς στάσεως ἐπίσχεσιν ποιησάμενος πολλῆς γενομένης ἐπ᾽ Ἀντιοχείας τὴν ἀναζυγὴν ἐποιεῖτο, τάγμα ἓν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις λειπόμενος τὴν Ἰουδαίων νεωτεροποιίαν ἐπιστομιοῦντας. [252] οὐ μὴν ἐπεραίνετό γε οὐδὲν ἐπὶ παύλῃ τοῦ μὴ οὐ στασιάσοντος αὐτῶν. ὅτε γὰρ Οὔαρος ἀπῄει καὶ Σαβῖνος ὁ ἐπίτροπος τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπομείνας αὐτόθι μεγάλως τοὺς στασιώτας κατεπόνει, στρατιᾷ τε τῇ καταλελειμμένῃ πιστεύων, ὡς καὶ περιέσοιτο αὐτῶν, καὶ τῷ πλήθει: [253] πολλοὺς δὲ ὄντας ὁπλίσας δορυφόροις ἐχρῆτο αὐτοῖς ἐπείγων τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καὶ ἐκταράσσων ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει: τάς τε γὰρ ἄκρας ἐβιάζετο παραλαμβάνειν καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν χρημάτων ἐπ᾽ ἐρεύνῃ προθύμως ὥρμητο βίᾳ διὰ κέρδη καὶ πλεονεξιῶν ἐπιθυμίας.

(2) [254] Ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς, ἑορτὴ δὲ ἡμῶν ἐστιν πάτριος τοῦτο κεκλημένη, οὔτι κατὰ τὴν θρησκείαν μόνον παρῆσαν, ἀλλ᾽ ὀργῇ φέροντες τὴν παροινίαν τῆς Σαβίνου ὕβρεως μυριάδες συνηθροίσθησαν ἀνθρώπων καὶ πάνυ πολλαὶ Γαλιλαίων τε καὶ Ἰδουμαίων, Ἰεριχουντίων τε ἦν πληθὺς καὶ ὁπόσοι περάσαντι Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν οἰκοῦσιν, αὐτῶν τε Ἰουδαίων πλῆθος πρὸς πάντας συνειλέχατο καὶ πολὺ προθυμότεροι τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ τῇ Σαβίνου ὡρμήκεσαν. [255] καὶ τρία μέρη νεμηθέντες ἐπὶ τοσῶνδε στρατοπεδεύονται χωρίων, οἱ μὲν τὸν ἱππόδρομον ἀπολαβόντες, καὶ τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν δύο μερῶν οἱ μὲν τῷ βορείῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τετραμμένοι, οἱ δὲ ἑῴαν μοῖραν εἶχον, μοῖρα δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ τρίτη τὰ πρὸς δυόμενον ἥλιον, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ βασίλειον ἦν. ἐπράσσετο δὲ τὰ πάντα αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ πολιορκίᾳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἁπανταχόθεν αὐτοῖς ἀποκεκλεισμένων. [256] καὶ Σαβῖνος, ἔδεισε γὰρ τό τε πλῆθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ φρονήματα ἀνδρῶν ἐν ὀλίγῳ τὸ θανεῖν ποιουμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡττᾶσθαι μὴ ἐθέλειν ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἀρετὴν κρίνειαν τὸ νικᾶν, παραχρῆμά τε ὡς τὸν Οὔαρον ἔπεμπε γράμματα καὶ τὸ σύνηθες οὐκ ἀνίει κελεύων ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος βοηθεῖν, ὡς κινδύνου μεγίστου τὸ ἐγκαταλειφθὲν στράτευμα περιεσχηκότος διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς μακρὰν ἐλπίζειν κατακοπήσεσθαι ληφθέντας αὐτούς. [257] αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦ φρουρίου τὸν ὑψηλότατον τῶν πύργων καταλαβόμενος Φασάηλον ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ Ἡρώδου ἀδελφοῦ Φασαήλου ᾠκοδομημένον τε καὶ οὕτως εἰρημένον τελευτῆς ὑπὸ Παρθυαίων αὐτῷ γενομένης, κατέσειε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπεξιέναι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδ᾽ εἰς τοὺς φίλους τολμῶν κατιέναι, τοὺς δ᾽ ἄλλους προαποθνήσκειν αὐτοῦ τῆς πλεονεξίας δικαιῶν. [258] τολμησάντων δ᾽ εἰς τὴν ἔξοδον τῶν Ῥωμαίων μάχη συνῄει καρτερά, καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πολλῶν μὲν ἔργων ἐκράτουν, οὐ μὴν τὰ φρονήματά γε τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἔκαμνε τῇ ὄψει τοῦ δεινοῦ πολλῶν αὐτοῖς πεπτωκότων, [259] περιοδεύσαντες δ᾽ ἀνίασιν ἐπὶ τὰς στοάς, αἵπερ ἦσαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸν ἔξω περίβολον περιέχουσαι, καὶ πολλοῖς ἀμάχου γενομένης λίθους τε ἠφίεσαν τοὺς μὲν ἐκ χειρὸς ὑπάραντες, οὓς δὲ σφενδονῶν, ἀθληταὶ τρόπου τοιαύτης μάχης ὄντες. [260] καὶ οἱ τοξόται πάντες παρατεταγμένοι μεγάλα ἔβλαπτον τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διὰ τὸ ὑπερδέξιοί τε εἶναι καὶ ἐπιχειρεῖσθαι μὲν ἄποροι διὰ τὸ ἀνέφικτον τοῖς εἰσακοντίζειν πειρωμένοις εἶναι, ῥᾴους δὲ κρατεῖσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἔχοντες. καὶ πολὺν μὲν χρόνον ἡ μάχη συνέστη τοιάδε οὖσα. [261] ἔπειτα Ῥωμαῖοι δεινῶς φέροντες τοῖς δρωμένοις πῦρ ἐνιᾶσιν ταῖς στοαῖς λαθόντες Ἰουδαίων τοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας ἐπ᾽ αὐταῖς. καὶ τὸ πῦρ ὑπό τε πολλῶν προστεθειμένον καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐγείρειν φλόγα δυναμένων ἥπτετο τοῦ ὀρόφου ᾗ τάχος. [262] ὁ δὲ ξύλωσιν παρέχων πίσσης τε καὶ κηροῦ πλέον ἔτι δὲ χρυσὸν ἐπαληλιμμένον εὐθέως ἥκειν, ἔργα τε μεγάλα ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἀξιολογώτατα ἠφανίζετο. καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν στοῶν ὄλεθρος οὗτος ἀπροσδόκητος κατέλαβεν: οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ ὀρόφου καταρραγέντος συγκατεφέροντο αὐτῷ, τοὺς δὲ περισταδὸν ἔβαλλον οἱ πολέμιοι: [263] πολλοὶ δὲ ἀπορίᾳ σωτηρίας τε καὶ ἐκπλήξει

κακοῦ τοῦ περιεστηκότος, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἴεσαν αὐτούς, οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ξίφεσι χρώμενοι διάδρασιν αὐτοῦ ἐποιοῦντο, ὁπόσοι δὲ εἰς τὸ κατόπιν χωρήσαντες ὁδῷ ᾗ ἀναβεβήκεσαν ἐσώζοντο, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πάντας ἔκτεινον γυμνούς τε ὄντας καὶ τὰ φρονήματα ἐκλελυμένους, οὐδὲν τῆς ἀπονοίας διὰ τὸ ἄνοπλον βοηθεῖν δυναμένης. [264] ἐσώθη τε τῶν ἀνελθόντων ἐπὶ τὸ τέγος οὐδ᾽ ὁστισοῦν. καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς ᾗ παρείκοι ὠσθέντες ἐκράτουν τοῦ θησαυροῦ, καθ᾽ ὃν ἱερὰ ἦν χρήματα. καὶ διεκλάπη μὲν πολλὰ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, Σαβῖνος δὲ περιεποίησεν εἰς τὸ φανερὸν τετρακόσια τάλαντα.

(3) [265] Ἰουδαίους δὲ ἐλύπει μὲν τὸ πάθος τῶν φίλων, οἳ ἐν τῇδε ἔπεσον τῇ μάχῃ, ἐλύπει δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἡ ἀφαίρεσις, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ ὅπερ αὐτῶν ἐτύγχανεν συνεστραμμένον καὶ μαχιμώτατον τούτῳ ἐμπεριέχοντες τὸ βασίλειον ἠπείλουν πῦρ τε ἐνήσειν αὐτῷ καὶ πάντας κτείνειν, κελεύοντες ᾗ τάχος ἀπιέναι καὶ πειθομένοις ὑπισχνούμενοι ἄδειαν καὶ Σαβίνῳ σὺν αὐτοῖς. [266] καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν τὸ πλεῖστον ηὐτομολήκεσαν σὺν αὐτοῖς, Ῥοῦφος δὲ καὶ Γρᾶτος τρισχιλίους τὸ μαχιμώτατον τοῦ Ἡρώδου στρατεύματος ἔχοντες ἄνδρας τοῖς σώμασι δραστηρίους Ῥωμαίοις προστίθενται. καί τι καὶ ἱππικὸν ἦν τῶν ὑπὸ τῷ Ῥούφῳ τεταγμένων, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ προσθήκη τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐγεγόνει. [267] Ἰουδαίοις δὲ οὐκ ἠμέλητο ἡ πολιορκία, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τείχη μετήλλευον καὶ τοῖς μεταβαλλομένοις ἐκέλευον μὴ ἐμποδισταῖς εἶναι τοῦ ἀπολῃψομένου χρόνῳ παροῦσαν αὐτοῖς ἐλευθερίαν τὴν πάτριον. [268] Σαβίνῳ μὲν οὖν εὐκτὸν ἀπιέναι μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, πιστεύειν δ᾽ οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν διὰ τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ τὸ λίαν εὔγνωμον τῶν πολεμίων ἐπ᾽ ἀποτροπῇ τοῦ κατασταθησομένου εἶχεν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸν Οὔαρον ἥξειν προσδοκῶν ὑπέμενε τὴν πολιορκίαν.

(4) [269] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἕτερα μυρία θορύβων ἐχόμενα τὴν Ἰουδαίαν κατελάμβανεν πολλῶν πολλαχόσε οἳ κατ᾽ οἰκείων ἐλπίδας κερδῶν καὶ Ἰουδαίων ἔχθρας ἐπὶ τὸ πολεμεῖν ὡρμημένων: [270] δισχίλιοι μὲν τῶν ὑφ᾽ Ἡρώδῃ ποτὲ στρατευσαμένων καὶ ἤδη καταλελυκότες ἐν αὐτῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ συστάντες προσεπολέμουν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ἀντιστατοῦντος αὐτοῖς Ἀχιάβου τοῦ Ἡρώδου ἀνεψιοῦ, καὶ τῶν μὲν πεδίων εἰς τὰ μετέωρα ἀνεωσμένου δι᾽ ἐμπειρίαν τὴν εἰς τὰ πολεμικὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ταῖς δὲ δυσχωρίαις σώζοντος ὁπόσα δυνατά.

(5) [271] Ἰούδας δὲ ἦν Ἐζεκίου τοῦ ἀρχιληστοῦ υἱὸς ἐπὶ μέγα δυνηθέντος ὑφ᾽ Ἡρώδου δὲ μεγάλοις ληφθέντος πόνοις. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ἰούδας περὶ Σέπφωριν τῆς Γαλιλαίας συστησάμενος πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν ἀπονενοημένων ἐπιδρομὴν τῷ βασιλείῳ ποιεῖται καὶ ὅπλων κρατήσας ὁπόσα αὐτόθι ἀπέκειτο ὥπλιζε τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἀποφέρεται χρήματα ὁπόσα κατελήφθη αὐτόθι, [272] φοβερός τε ἅπασιν ἦν ἄγων καὶ φέρων τοὺς προστυγχάνοντας ἐπιθυμίᾳ μειζόνων πραγμάτων καὶ ζηλώσει βασιλείου τιμῆς, οὐκ ἀρετῆς ἐμπειρίᾳ τοῦ δὲ ὑβρίζειν περιουσίᾳ κτήσεσθαι προσδοκῶν τὸ ἐντεῦθεν γέρας.

(6) [273] Ἦν δὲ καὶ Σίμων δοῦλος μὲν Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἄλλως δὲ ἀνὴρ εὐπρεπὴς καὶ μεγέθει καὶ ῥώμῃ σώματος ἐπὶ μέγα προύχων τε καὶ πεπιστευμένος. οὗτος ἀρθεὶς τῇ ἀκρισίᾳ τῶν πραγμάτων διάδημά τε ἐτόλμησε περιθέσθαι, [274] καί τινος πλήθους συστάντος καὶ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς ἀναγγελθεὶς μανίᾳ τῇ ἐκείνων καὶ εἶναι ἄξιος ἐλπίσας παρ᾽ ὀντινοῦν τό τε ἐν Ἰεριχοῦντι βασίλειον πίμπρησιν δι᾽ ἁρπαγῆς ἄγων τὰ ἐγκατειλημμένα, πολλάς τε καὶ ἄλλας τῶν βασιλικῶν οἰκήσεων πολλαχοῦ τῆς χώρας πῦρ ἐνιεὶς ἠφάνιζεν, τοῖς συνεστηκόσιν λείαν ἄγειν τὰ ἐγκαταλελειμμένα ἐπιτρέπων. [275] ἐπέπρακτο δ᾽ ἄν τι μεῖζον ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ μὴ ταχείας ἐπιστροφῆς γενομένης: ὁ γὰρ Γρᾶτος ὁ τῶν βασιλικῶν στρατιωτῶν Ῥωμαίοις προστεθειμένος μεθ᾽ ἧς εἶχεν δυνάμεως ὑπαντιάζει τὸν Σίμωνα, [276] καὶ μάχης αὐτοῖς μεγάλης ἐπὶ πολὺ γενομένης τό τε πολὺ τῶν Περαίων ἀσύντακτοι ὄντες καὶ τόλμῃ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπιστήμῃ μαχόμενοι ἐφθάρησαν, καὶ αὐτοῦ Σίμωνος διά τινος φάραγγος σώζοντος αὐτὸν Γρᾶτος ἐντυχὼν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτέμνει. [277] κατεπρήσθη δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐπ᾽ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ ἐν Ἀμμάθοις βασίλεια ὑπό τινων συστάντων ἀνδρῶν Σίμωνι παραπλησίων. οὕτως πολλὴ ἀφροσύνη ἐνεπολίτευσε τῷ ἔθνει διὰ τὸ βασιλέα μὲν οἰκεῖον οὐκ εἶναι τὸν καθέξοντα τὸ πλῆθος ἀρετῇ, τοὺς δ᾽ ἀλλοφύλους ἐπελθόντας σωφρονιστὰς τοῦ μὴ στασιάσοντος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπέκκαυμα αὐτῶν διά τε τοῦ ὑβρίζειν καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν γενέσθαι.

(7) [278] Ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀθρόγγης ἀνὴρ οὔτε προγόνων ἐπιφανὴς ἀξιώματι οὔτε ἀρετῆς περιουσίᾳ ἤ τινων πλήθει χρημάτων, ποιμὴν δὲ καὶ ἀνεπιφανὴς τοῖς πᾶσιν εἰς τὰ πάντα ὤν, ἄλλως δὲ μεγέθει σώματος καὶ τῇ κατὰ χεῖρας ἀλκῇ διαπρέπων, ἐτόλμησεν ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ φρονῆσαι τῷ κτώμενόν τε αὐτὴν ἡδονῆς πλέον ὑβρίσαι καὶ θνήσκων οὐκ ἐν μεγάλοις τίθεσθαι τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε ἀνάλωμα γενησόμενον. [279] ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀδελφοὶ τέσσαρες μεγάλοι τε καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἐπὶ μέγα προύχειν τῇ κατὰ χεῖρας ἀρετῇ πεπιστευμένοι, πρόεχμα εἶναι τῆς καθέξεως τῆς βασιλείας δοκοῦντες, λόχου τε αὐτῶν ἦρχεν ἕκαστος: συλλέγεται γὰρ μεγάλη πληθὺς πρὸς αὐτούς. [280] καὶ οἵδε μὲν στρατηγοὶ ἦσαν καὶ ὑπεστράτευον αὐτῷ ὁπόσα εἰς τὰς μάχας φοιτῶντες δι᾽ αὐτῶν, ὁ δὲ διάδημα περιθέμενος βουλευτήριόν τε ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοῖς ποιητέοις καὶ τὰ πάντα γνώμῃ ἀνακείμενα εἶχεν τῇ αὐτοῦ. [281] διέμενέ τε ἐπὶ πολὺ τῷδε τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἡ ἰσχὺς βασιλεῖ τε κεκλημένῳ καὶ ἃ πράσσειν ἐθέλοι μὴ ἀποστερουμένῳ, φόνῳ τε καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν ἐπὶ μέγα προσκείμενοι Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ βασιλικῶν μίσει πολιτεύοντες ὁμοίως πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους, τοῦτο μὲν ὕβρει ᾗ χρήσαιντο ἐπὶ τῆς Ἡρώδου ἀρχῆς, Ῥωμαίους δὲ ὧν τὸ παρὸν ἔδοξαν ἀδικεῖν. [282] προιόντος δὲ χρόνου καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ὁμοίως ἐξηγριώθησαν διάφευξίς τε οὐκ ἦν τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐμπεσεῖν, τὰ μὲν κέρδους ἐλπίδι, τὰ δὲ καὶ συνηθείᾳ τοῦ φονεύειν. ἐπιτίθενται δέ ποτε καὶ Ῥωμαίων λόχῳ κατὰ Ἐμμαοῦντα, οἳ σῖτόν τε καὶ ὅπλα τῆς στρατιᾶς ἔφερον. καὶ περιστάντες Ἄρειον μὲν τὸν ἑκατόνταρχον, ὃς ἡγεῖτο τοῦ παντὸς καὶ

τεσσαράκοντα τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν πεζῶν τοὺς κρατίστους κατηκόντισαν. [283] οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ δείσαντες πρὸς τὸ πάθος αὐτῶν Γράτου σὺν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς, οἳ περὶ αὐτὸν ἦσαν, σκέπης αὐτοῖς γενομένης σώζονται τοὺς νεκροὺς καταλιπόντες. καὶ πολὺν μὲν τοιουτοτρόποις χρώμενοι χρόνον μάχαις Ῥωμαίους τε παρελύπησαν οὐκ εἰς ὀλίγα καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ἐκάκωσαν ἐπὶ μέγα. [284] χειροῦται δὲ αὐτῶν χρόνῳ ὕστερον ὁ μὲν Γράτῳ συμβαλὼν ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαίῳ, καὶ τὸν πρεσβύτατον Ἀρχελάου λαβόντος ὁ τελευταῖος πάθει τε τῷ ἐκείνου λελυπημένος καὶ ἄπορον ἐπὶ πλέον ὁρῶν τὴν σωτηρίαν ὑπὸ μονώσεως καὶ καμάτου πολλοῦ ψιλωθεὶς τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ δεξιαῖς καὶ πίστει τοῦ θείου Ἀρχελάῳ παραδίδωσιν αὐτόν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ὕστερον γίνεται.

(8) [285] Λῃστηρίων δὲ ἡ Ἰουδαία πλέως ἦν, καὶ ὃς παρατύχοι τινῶν οἳ συστασιάσοιεν αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς προιστάμενος ἐπ᾽ ὀλέθρῳ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἠπείγετο, ὀλίγα μὲν καὶ ἐπ᾽ ὀλίγοις Ῥωμαίοις λυπηροὶ καθιστάμενοι, τοῦ δὲ ὁμοφύλου φόνον ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἐμποιοῦντες.

(9) [286] Οὔαρος δὲ ἐπειδὴ τὸ πρῶτον πυνθάνεται [τὰ πεπραγμένα] Σαβίνου γράψαντος πρὸς αὐτόν, δείσας περὶ τοῦ τάγματος δύο τὰ λοιπὰ ἀναλαβών, τρία γὰρ ἐπὶ Συρίας τὰ πάντα ἦν, καὶ ἴλας ἱππέων τέσσαρας ὁπόσα τε ἐπικουρικὰ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς οἵ τινες τετράρχαι τότε παρεῖχον, ἠπείγετο βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ τότε πολιορκουμένοις. [287] εἴρητο δὲ πᾶσιν εἰς Πτολεμαίδα ἐπείγεσθαι ὁπόσοι προεξεπέμποντο. διδόασί τε αὐτῷ καὶ Βηρύτιοι διιόντι αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν ἐπικούρους πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, πέμπει δὲ καὶ Ἀρέτας ὁ Πετραῖος ἔχθει τῷ Ἡρώδου φιλίαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων κτώμενος οὐκ ὀλίγην χεῖρα πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων. [288] σταθείσης δ᾽ ἐν Πτολεμαίδι πάσης ἤδη τῆς δυνάμεως μέρος τι ταύτης τῷ υἱῷ παραδοὺς [καὶ] ἑνὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων Γαλιλαίους ἐξέπεμπεν πολεμεῖν, οἳ ὑπὲρ τῆς Πτολεμαίδος ἐχόμενοι κατοικοῦσιν. [289] ὃς ἐμβαλὼν τούς τε ἀντικαταστάντας εἰς μάχην τρέπεται καὶ Σέπφωριν ἑλὼν τοὺς μὲν οἰκήτορας ἠνδραποδίσατο, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐνέπρησεν. αὐτὸς δὲ Οὔαρος ἐπὶ Σαμαρείας τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ προιὼν τῆς μὲν πόλεως ἀπέσχετο διὰ τὸ ἀνέγκλητον ἐπὶ τοῖς νεωτερισμοῖς εἶναι, στρατοπεδεύεται δὲ ἔν τινι κώμῃ Πτολεμαίου κτήματι, Ἀρους ὄνομα αὐτῇ. [290] καὶ οἱ Ἄραβες μίσει τῷ Ἡρώδου ἐμπιπρᾶσιν αὐτὴν ἐχθρῶς καὶ πρὸς φίλους τοὺς ἐκείνου ἔχοντες. κἀνθένδε προιόντες Σαμφὼ κώμην ἑτέραν διήρπασάν τε οἱ Ἄραβες καὶ ἔκαυσαν πάνυ ἐρυμνὴν οὖσαν, καὶ ἔφυγεν ἐν τῇ προόδῳ οὐδὲν αὐτούς, [291] ἀλλὰ πυρὸς καὶ φόνου τὰ πάντα μεστὰ ἦν. πίμπραται δὲ καὶ Ἐμμαοῦς Οὐάρου κελεύσαντος ἐπ᾽ ἐκδικίᾳ τῶν συντετελευτηκότων προεκλειφθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκητόρων. [292] ἐντεῦθεν δὲ καὶ Ἱεροσολύμοις ἤδη συνῆπτε, καὶ Ἰουδαίων οἱ κατὰ πολιορκίαν τοῦ τάγματος τῇδε στρατοπεδευόμενοι τὴν ὄψιν τῆς προσόδου τῶν στρατευμάτων οὐχ ὑπομείναντες ᾤχοντο ἡμίεργον τὴν πολιορκίαν καταλιπόντες. [293] οἱ δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἰουδαῖοι δεινῶς τοῦ Οὐάρου σφίσιν ἐγκαλοῦντος ἀπελύοντο τὰς

αἰτίας, ὡς τῆς μὲν συνόδου τῆς πληθύος διὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν γενομένης, τοῦ δὲ πολέμου μηδαμὰ γνώμῃ τῇ αὐτῶν, τόλμῃ δὲ τῶν ἐπηλύδων συνελθόντες αὐτοῖς καὶ συμπολιορκηθέντες Ῥωμαίοις μᾶλλον ἢ πολιορκεῖν προθυμίαν σχόντες. [294] προαπηντήκασιν δὲ τῷ Οὐάρῳ Ἰώσηπός τε ἀνεψιὸς Ἡρώδου βασιλέως Γρᾶτός τε καὶ Ῥοῦφος τοὺς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῖς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἄγοντες καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων οἱ πολιορκούμενοι. Σαβῖνος δὲ οὐκ ἀφίκετο Οὐάρῳ εἰς ὄψιν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπεξῆλθεν τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ θάλασσαν.

(10) [295] Οὔαρος δὲ κατὰ τὴν χώραν πέμψας τοῦ στρατοῦ μέρος ἐπεζήτει τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως. καὶ σημαινομένων τοὺς μὲν ἐκόλασεν ὡς αἰτιωτάτους, εἰσὶ δ᾽ οὓς καὶ ἀφῆκεν: ἐγίνοντο δὲ οἱ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν σταυρωθέντες δισχίλιοι. [296] μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὴν μὲν αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν ἀποπέμπεται, χρήσιμον μὲν ὁρῶν ἐπ᾽ οὐδαμοῖς οὖσαν πράγμασιν: πολλὰ δὲ ἠτάκτητο αὐτοῖς καὶ παρήκουστο τῶν δογμάτων καὶ ὧν ἠξίου Οὔαρος ἐφέσει κερδῶν, ἃ ἐκ τοῦ κακουργεῖν περιεγίνοντο αὐτοῖς. [297] αὐτὸς δὲ μυρίους Ἰουδαίους συνεστηκέναι πυνθανόμενος ἠπείγετο εἰς κατάληψιν αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ οὐδ᾽ ἦκον εἰς χεῖρας, ἀλλὰ παρέδοσαν αὑτοὺς γνώμῃ τῇ Ἀχιάβου συνελθόντες. καὶ Οὔαρος τῷ πλήθει συγχωρῶν τὰς αἰτίας τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἔπεμπεν ἐπὶ Καίσαρα ὁπόσοι ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν αὐτῶν. [298] Καῖσαρ δὲ τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν πολλοὺς διῆκεν, ὁπόσοι δὲ συγγενεῖς ὄντες Ἡρώδου συνεστράτευον αὐτοῖς τούσδε ἐκόλασεν μόνους, εἰ μηδὲν φροντίσαντες τοῦ δικαίου κατὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἐστράτευον.

XI

(1) [299] Οὔαρος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα καταστησάμενος καὶ φρουρὰν Ἱεροσολύμων τὸ καὶ πρότερον καταλιπὼν τάγμα ἐπ᾽ Ἀντιοχείας ἠπείγετο. Ἀρχελάῳ δ᾽ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἑτέρων πραγμάτων ἐφύοντο ἀρχαὶ κατὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας. [300] ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην πρεσβεία Ἰουδαίων Οὐάρου τὸν ἀπόστολον αὐτῶν τῷ ἔθνει ἐπικεχωρηκότος ὑπὲρ αἰτήσεως αὐτονομίας. καὶ ἦσαν οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις οἱ ἀποσταλέντες γνώμῃ τοῦ ἔθνους πεντήκοντα, συνίσταντο δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης Ἰουδαίων ὑπὲρ ὀκτακισχίλιοι. [301] Καίσαρός τε συνέδριον φίλων τε τῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ Ῥωμαίων τῶν πρώτων συνάγοντος ἐν ἱερῷ Ἀπόλλωνος μεγάλοις τέλεσιν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἱδρυμένῳ, οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν αὐτόθι Ἰουδαίων ἀφικνοῦνται, Ἀρχέλαος δὲ μετὰ τῶν φίλων. [302] ὁπόσοι δὲ συγγενεῖς τοῦ βασιλέως ἦσαν Ἀρχελάῳ μὲν συντετάχθαι διὰ μῖσος τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑστέρουν, τοῖς δὲ πρέσβεσιν ὁμοψηφεῖν κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ δεινὸν ἡγοῦντο ἐν αἰσχύνῃ τῇ αὐτῶν οἰόμενοι γενήσεσθαι παρὰ Καίσαρι κατ᾽ ἀνδρὸς οἰκείου τοιάδε πράσσειν προθυμεῖσθαι. [303] παρῆν δὲ ἤδη καὶ Φίλιππος ἀπὸ Συρίας ἐξοτρύναντος αὐτὸν Οὐάρου τὸ μὲν κεφάλαιον ἐπὶ συνηγορίᾳ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, πάνυ γὰρ εὐνόει Οὔαρος αὐτῷ, γινομένης δὲ τῇ βασιλείᾳ μεταπτώσεως, καὶ τάδε

ὑπώπτευεν Οὔαρος νέμησιν αὐτῆς γενήσεσθαι διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς εἶναι τοὺς αὐτονομίας γλιχομένους, οὐχ ὑστεριῶν τοῦ κἂν αὐτὸς μοῖραν αὐτῆς τινα φέρεσθαι.

(2) [304] Λόγου οὖν τοῖς Ἰουδαίων πρέσβεσι δοθέντος, οἳ ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς βασιλείας ἤλπιζον λέγειν, ἐπὶ κατηγορίᾳ τῶν Ἡρώδου παρανομιῶν τρέπονται, βασιλέα μὲν ὀνόματι ἀποφαίνοντες αὐτόν, τῶν δ᾽ ἐν ταῖς τυραννίσιν ἑκάστης τὸ ἀνήκεστον ἀναδεξάμενον εἰς ταὐτὸν ἐπ᾽ ὀλέθρῳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων συνθέντα χρῆσθαι τὰ πολλὰ καὶ φύσει τῇ αὐτοῦ προσκαινουργεῖν οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμένον. [305] πολλῶν γοῦν ὄντων, οἳ ὀλέθροις ἀπολώλοιεν οὐχ ἱστορήσειν πω πρότερον, πολλῷ δὲ δυστυχεστέρους πάθους ἐκείνων τοὺς ζῶντας εἶναι, οὐ μόνον ὧν ὄψει καὶ διανοίᾳ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀνιαθεῖεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧν ταῖς οὐσίαις. [306] πόλεις τε τὰς μὲν περιοικίδας καὶ ὑπὸ ἀλλοφύλων οἰκουμένας κοσμοῦντα ὧν ἐκ παύσασθαι καὶ καταλύσεώς τε καὶ ἀφανισμῷ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ κατῳκημένων. [307] πενίας δὲ ἀπόρου τὸ ἔθνος ἀναπεπληκέναι σὺν ὀλίγοις εὐδαιμον παρειληφότα, τῶν τε εὐπατριδῶν ὁπότε κτείνειεν αὐτοὺς ἐπ᾽ ἀλόγοις αἰτίαις τὰς οὐσίας ἀποφερόμενον καὶ οἷς συγχωρήσειε τὴν ἀηδίαν τοῦ ζῆν ψίλωσιν χρημάτων καταδικάζοντα. [308] καὶ χωρὶς μὲν πράσσεσθαι φόρους ἐπιβαλλομένους ἑκάστοις τὸ ἐπ᾽ ἔτος, χωρὶς δὲ εὐπορίας εἶναι παρακαταβολὰς αὐτῷ τε καὶ οἰκείοις καὶ φίλοις καὶ τῶν δούλων οἳ ἐπ᾽ ἐκπράξει τῶν φόρων ἐξίοιεν διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι κτήσει τοῦ ἀνυβρίστως μηδ᾽ ὅπως μηδ᾽ ἀργυρίων διδομένων. [309] παρθένων μέντοι φθορὰς καὶ γυναικῶν αἰσχύνας, ὁπόσας ἐπὶ παροινίᾳ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου δρώμενα σιγᾶν διὰ τὸ ἡδονὴν ἴσην εἶναι τοῖς πεπονθόσι τοῦ μὴ γεγονέναι τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνέκπυστα αὐτὰ εἶναι: τοσήνδε Ἡρώδην ἐπεισάγεσθαι τὴν ὕβριν αὐτοῖς, ὁπόσην οὐδ᾽ ἂν θηρίον ἀνθρώπων ἐπιστατεῖν δυνάμεως αὐτῷ παραγενομένης. [310] πολλῶν γοῦν ἀναστάσεων καὶ μεταστάσεων παραλαβουσῶν τὸ ἔθνος οὐδεμίαν ἱστορεῖσθαι πώποτε τοιάνδε δυστυχίαν ἐπελθοῦσαν αὐτῷ, παράδειγμά τε κακώσεως ἣν αὐτῷ Ἡρώδης ἐπετίθει τὸ ἔθνος: [311] καὶ ταῦτ᾽ εἰκότως ἂν γενέσθαι τὸ ἀσμένως Ἀρχέλαον βασιλέα προσειπεῖν οἰήσει τοῦ πάντ᾽ ὄντιν᾽ οὖν τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐσόμενον Ἡρώδου μετριώτερον φαίνεσθαι, καὶ τόν τε πατέρα συνολοφύρεσθαι αὐτῷ θεραπεύοντας, εἴ γε μετρίου τυγχάνειν δυνηθεῖεν, καὶ τἆλλα οἰκειουμένους. [312] τοῦ δὲ δείσαντος μὴ οὐχὶ Ἡρώδου γνήσιος πιστεύοιτο υἱός, οὐδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἐπάξειν ἂν τῷ ἔθνει τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῦτα μηδέπω τέλεον κρατυνάμενον ἡγεμονίαν διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ Καίσαρι δοῦναι καὶ μὴ τὴν ἐξουσίαν εἶναι, [313] καὶ παράδειγμα τὴν τῆς εἰς αὖθις ἀρετῆς τιθέναι τοῖς ἀρχθησομένοις μετριότητος καὶ εὐνομίας, ᾗ χρήσαιτο ἂν πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν πρώτοις ἀποδειχθείσης πράξεως ἐπί τε τοῖς πολίταις καὶ τῷ θεῷ τρισχιλίων ὁμοφύλων ἀνδρῶν σφαγὴν ἐν τῷ τεμένει ποιησάμενον. πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἤδη καὶ δικαίῳ μίσει χρῆσθαι κατ᾽ αὐτῶν πρὸς τῇ λοιπῇ ὠμότητι καὶ ἔγκλημα τῆς ἀντιστάσεως καὶ ἀντιλογίας ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ προφερόμενον; [314] ἦν δὲ

κεφάλαιον αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀξιώσεως βασιλείας μὲν καὶ τοιῶνδε ἀρχῶν ἀπηλλάχθαι, προσθήκη δὲ Συρίας γεγονότες ὑποτάσσεσθαι τοῖς ἐκεῖσε πεμπομένοις στρατηγοῖς: φανερωθήσεσθαι γὰρ οὕτως, εἴτε ἀληθῶς στασιώδεις εἶεν καὶ νεωτερισμοῖς τὰ πολλὰ προσησκημένοι εἴτε καὶ οὔ, μετριωτέρων τυχόντες οἳ ἐπιστήσονται αὐτοῖς.”

(3) [315] Τοιαῦτα δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰρηκότων Νικόλαος τούς τε βασιλεῖς ἀπήλλασσε τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, Ἡρώδην μὲν διὰ τὸ παρ’ ὃν ἔζη χρόνον τυχεῖν ἀκατηγόρητον: οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοὺς ἐγκαλεῖν ἔχοντας ἐπὶ μετρίοις παρὰ τοῦ ζῶντος τιμωρίαν λαβεῖν δυναμένους ἐπὶ νεκρῷ κατηγορίαν συντιθέναι: [316] τὰ δὲ ὑπ’ Ἀρχελάου πραχθέντα ὕβρει τῇ ἐκείνων ἀνετίθει, οἳ ὀριγνώμενοι πραγμάτων παρὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ σφαγῆς ἄρξαντες τῶν κωλύειν ὑβρίζοντας προμηθουμένων ἀμύνης γενομένης ἐγκαλοῖεν. ἐνεκάλει δὲ νεωτεροποιίας αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦ στασιάζειν ἡδονὴν ἀπαιδευσίᾳ τοῦ πείθεσθαι δίκῃ καὶ νομίμοις ὑπὸ τοῦ θέλειν τὰ πάντα νικᾶν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Νικόλαος.

(4) [317] Καῖσαρ δ’ ἀκούσας διαλύει μὲν τὸ συνέδριον, ὀλίγων δ’ ἡμερῶν ὕστερον Ἀρχέλαον βασιλέα μὲν οὐκ ἀποφαίνεται, τῆς δ’ ἡμίσεως χώρας ἥπερ Ἡρώδῃ ὑπετέλει ἐθνάρχην καθίσταται, τιμήσειν ἀξιώματι βασιλείας ὑπισχνούμενος, εἴπερ τὴν εἰς αὐτὴν ἀρετὴν προσφέροιτο. [318] τὴν δ’ ἑτέραν ἡμίσειαν νείμας διχῇ δυσὶν Ἡρώδου παισὶν ἑτέροις παρεδίδου Φιλίππῳ καὶ Ἀντίπᾳ τῷ πρὸς Ἀρχέλαον τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀμφισβητήσαντι περὶ τῆς ὅλης ἀρχῆς. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν ἥ τε Περαία καὶ τὸ Γαλιλαῖον ὑπετέλουν, φορά τε ἦν τάλαντα διακόσια τὸ ἐπ’ ἔτος. [319] Βαταναία δὲ σὺν Τράχωνι καὶ Αὐρανῖτις σύν τινι μέρει οἴκου τοῦ Ζηνοδώρου λεγομένου Φιλίππῳ τάλαντα ἑκατὸν προσέφερεν: τὰ δ’ Ἀρχελάῳ συντελοῦντα Ἰδουμαῖοί τε καὶ Ἰουδαία τό τε Σαμαρειτικόν. τετάρτην μοῖραν οὗτοι τῶν φόρων παραλέλυντο Καίσαρος αὐτοῖς κούφισιν ψηφισαμένου διὰ τὸ μὴ συναποστῆναι τῇ λοιπῇ πληθύι. [320] καὶ ἦσαν πόλεις αἳ Ἀρχελάῳ ὑπετέλουν Στράτωνός τε πύργος καὶ Σεβαστὴ σὺν Ἰόππῃ καὶ Ἱεροσολύμοις: Γάζαν γὰρ καὶ Γάδαρα καὶ Ἵππον, Ἑλληνίδες εἰσὶν πόλεις, ἀπορρήξας αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀκροάσεως Συρίας προσθήκην ποιεῖται. προσῄει δὲ Ἀρχελάῳ φορὰ χρημάτων τὸ κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς τάλαντα ἐξακόσια ἐξ ἧς παρέλαβεν ἀρχῆς.

(5) [321] Καὶ τάδε μὲν τοῖς Ἡρώδου υἱέσιν τῶν πατρῴων παρῆν. Σαλώμῃ δὲ πρὸς οἷς ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις ἀπονέμει, Ἰάμνεια δὲ ἦν ταῦτα καὶ Ἄζωτος καὶ Φασαηλὶς καὶ ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου μυριάδες πεντήκοντα, Καῖσαρ χαρίζεται καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι βασίλειον οἴκησιν. ἦν δὲ καὶ ταύτῃ πρόσοδος ἐκ πάντων ταλάντων ἑξήκοντα τὸ ἐπ’ ἔτος: καὶ αὐτῆς ὁ οἶκος ἦν ἐν τῇ Ἀρχελάου ἀρχῇ. [322] κομίζονται δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τοῦ βασιλέως συγγενεῖς ὁπόσα αἱ διαθῆκαι διηγόρευον. δυοῖν δ’ αὐτοῦ θυγατράσιν παρθένοις χωρὶς ὧν ὁ πατὴρ κατέλιπεν Καῖσαρ ἑκατέρᾳ δωρεὰν ἐπετίθει μυριάδων ἀνὰ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου καὶ συνῴκισεν αὐτὰς τοῖς Φερώρου υἱέσιν. [323] χαρίζεται δὲ καὶ ὁπόσα

αὐτῷ καταλέλειπτο τοῖς παισὶν τοῦ βασιλέως ὄντα πεντακοσίων ταλάντων καὶ χιλίων, ὀλίγα τῶν σκευῶν ὑπεξελόμενος οὐχ οὕτως μεγέθει τέλους ὡς μνήμῃ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῷ κεχαρισμένα.

XII

(1) [324] Τούτων δὲ ταύτῃ διαπεπραγμένων ὑπὸ Καίσαρος νεανίας Ἰουδαῖος μὲν τὸ γένος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Σιδωνίων τεθραμμένος πόλεως παρά τινι τῶν Ῥωμαικῶν ἀπελευθέρων εἰσῴκισεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Ἡρώδου συγγένειαν ὁμοιότητι μορφῆς, ἣ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτῷ τὸν ἀνῃρημένον Ἡρώδου υἱὸν ἐμαρτυρεῖτο παρὰ τοῖς θεωροῦσιν. [325] καὶ τοῦτο παρόρμημα ἦν αὐτῷ εἰς τὸ μεταποιεῖσθαι τῆς ἡγεμονίας. καὶ ὁμοπράγμονα παραλαβὼν ὁμόφυλον ἄνδρα, ἔμπειρον δὲ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸ βασίλειον πονηρόν τε ἄλλως καὶ ταράξαι μεγάλα πράγματα φύσιν ἔχοντα καὶ τοιαύτης κακίας διδάσκαλον αὐτῷ γενόμενον, [326] ἀπέφαινεν αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Ἡρώδου παῖδα ὄντα διακεκλεμμένον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν ἐσταλμένων: κτείναντα γὰρ ἑτέρους, οἳ ἀπατήσειν ἔμελλον τοὺς θεωροῦντας, αὐτόν τε περιποιῆσαι καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀριστόβουλον. [327] καὶ τούτοις αὐτός τε ἀνεπτέρωτο, καὶ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας οὐκ ἀπήλλακτο ἀπατᾶν, ἀλλὰ Κρήτῃ προσενεχθεὶς Ἰουδαίων ὁπόσοις εἰς ὁμιλίαν ἀφίκετο ἐπηγάγετο εἰς πίστιν, καὶ χρημάτων εὐπορηθεὶς δόσει τῇ ἐκείνων ἐπὶ Μήλου διῆρεν. πολὺ πλέονα δὲ ἦν ἐντεῦθεν ὁπόσα αὐτῷ προσῄει χρήματα πίστει τῆς βασιλείου συγγενείας καὶ ἐλπίδι τοῦ ἀπολαβεῖν τὴν πάτριον ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀμείψασθαι τοὺς εὐεργέτας. [328] ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἠπείγετο παραπομπῇ τῶν ἰδιοξένων, καὶ Δικαιαρχείᾳ προσβαλὼν οὐκ ἠτύχει καὶ τοὺς τῇδε Ἰουδαίους ἀφ᾽ ὁμοίας ἀπάτης προσαγαγέσθαι, προσῄεσάν τε ὥσπερ βασιλεῖ οἵ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ὁπόσοις ξενία πρὸς Ἡρώδην καὶ εὔνοια ἦν. [329] αἴτιον δὲ ἦν τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ ἡδονῇ δεχόμενον τοὺς λόγους σὺν τῷ φερεγγύῳ τῆς μορφῆς: καὶ γὰρ τοῖς πάνυ ὠμιληκόσιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πολὺ τὸ πιστὸν ἐνετίθει τοῦ μὴ οὐχ ἕτερος ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸς εἶναι, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πλησίον ὤμνυσαν, [330] ὥστε καὶ προελθόντος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην λόγου τοῦ περὶ αὐτοῦ πᾶν τὸ τῇδε Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ὑπαντιάζοντες ἐξῄεσαν τῷ παρὰ δόξαν τῆς σωτηρίας θειάζοντες τὸ ἔργον καὶ χάρμα ποιούμενοι διὰ τὸ μητρῷον αὐτῶν γένος, ὁπότε χωροίη κατὰ τοῦ στενωποῦ διφροφορούμενος: [331] καὶ πάντα βασίλειον περὶ αὐτὸν σχῆμα ἦν ἀναλώμασιν τῶν ἰδιοξένων, μεγάλαι περιστάσεις ἐγίνοντο τῆς πληθύος ἐπιβοήσεις τε εὔφημοι ὁπόσα εἰκὸς τοῖς οὕτω παρ᾽ ἐλπίδα σωθεῖσιν συντυγχάνειν οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ ἐπράσσετο.

(2) [332] Καίσαρι δὲ ὡς ἀφίκετο ἀγγελία ἡ περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἠπίστει μὲν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἂν ῥᾳδίως ἀπατηθῆναι Ἡρώδην ἐν πράγμασιν ἐπὶ μέγα ἀνήκουσιν αὐτῷ, διδοὺς δὲ τῇ ἐλπίδι Κέλαδον τῶν αὐτοῦ τινὰ ἐξελευθέρων ὠμιληκότα τοῖς μειρακίοις πέμπει κελεύσας ἀγαγεῖν εἰς ὄψιν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. ὁ δὲ ἀνῆγεν οὐδέν τι

βελτίων ἐπὶ τῇ κρίσει τῶν πολλῶν γενόμενος. [333] οὐ μὴν Καῖσάρ γε ἠπατᾶτο, ἀλλ᾽ ἦν μὲν ἐμφερής, οὐ μὴν ὥστε ἀπατῆσαι τοὺς σωφρόνως ἐκλογίζεσθαι δυναμένους: αὐτουργίᾳ τε γὰρ ἐτέτρυτο ὁ ψευδαλέξανδρος καὶ παρὰ τὸ ἐκείνῳ ῥαδαλὸν τοῦ σώματος ὑπὸ τρυφῆς καὶ γενναιότητος συνερχόμενον διὰ τὰ ἐναντία τῷδε ἐπισκληρότερον ἐξεβεβήκει τὸ σῶμα. [334] θεασάμενος οὖν συμπνευσμὸν ἐπὶ ψευδολογίᾳ διδασκάλου καὶ μαθητοῦ καὶ λόγων τολμηρῶν συγκρότησιν, ἐξήταζε περὶ Ἀριστοβούλου, τί καὶ γεγόνοι συνεκκλαπεὶς αὐτῷ, καὶ δι᾽ ἣν αἰτίαν οὐ παραγεγόνοι μεταποιούμενος τῆς ἀξίας, ἧς προσῆκε τυγχάνειν τοὺς οὕτω γεγονότας; [335] φαμένου δ᾽ ἐπὶ νήσου τῆς Κυπρίων καταλελεῖφθαι κινδύνων ὑφοράσει τῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν, εἰ περὶ αὐτῷ συσταίη τι δεινόν, μὴ παντελὲς ἐξαλείφοιτο τὸ Μαριάμμης γένος ἀλλὰ περιὼν Ἀριστόβουλος μένοι τοὺς ἐπιβεβουλευκότας, [336] ταῦτα διισχυριζομένου καὶ συνεστῶτος αὐτῷ τοῦ μηχανοποιοῦ τῆς πράξεως Καῖσαρ καταμόνας ἀπολαβὼν τὸ μειράκιον "ἀλλὰ σοὶ μισθός, ἔφη, προκείσεται τοῦ μὴ καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ ἀπάτῃ χρησομένου τὸ μὴ ἀπολούμενον τῆς σωτηρίας: φάθι δή μοι αὐτόν τε ὃς ὢν τυγχάνεις καὶ ὅς σε τοιάδε ᾔξε τολμῆσαι διανοεῖσθαι: μεῖζον γὰρ τὸ ἐπιβού [337] λευμα κακίας ἐγκεχείρηκας χρόνων οὓς γεγονὼς τυγχάνεις." καὶ δή, οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλως πράσσειν, φράζει πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα τὸ ἐπιβούλευμα, ὅν τε τρόπον καὶ ὑφ᾽ οὗ τυγχάνοι συγκείμενον. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸν μὲν ψευδαλέξανδρον, οὐ γὰρ ἐψεύσατο ὁμολογίαν τὴν πρὸς αὐτόν, δραστήριον ὁρῶν αὐτουργῆσαι τῷ σώματι ἐρέσσειν ἐν τοῖς ναύταις καταλέγει, τὸν δὲ ἀναπείσαντα κτείνει. [338] καταδίκη δ᾽ ἤρκει Μηλίοις ὁπόσα ἐτετελέκεσαν εἰς τὸν Ψευδαλέξανδρον διακενῆς ἀναλωκέναι. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸν ψευδαλέξανδρον τολμηρῶς συντεθέντα οὕτως ἀκλεῶς ἔσχεν.

XIII

(1) [339] Ἀρχέλαος δὲ τὴν ἐθναρχίαν παραλαβὼν ἐπεὶ εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἀφικνεῖται, Ἰωάζαρον τὸν Βοηθοῦ ἀφελόμενος τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἐπικαλῶν αὐτῷ συστάντι τοῖς στασιώταις Ἐλεάζαρον τὸν ἐκείνου ἐπικαθίσταται ἀδελφόν. [340] ἀνοικοδομεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἰεριχοῦντι βασίλειον ἐκπρεπῶς, τῶν τε ὑδάτων ὁπόσα Νεαρὰν τὴν κώμην ὠφελεῖ ἐπιρρέοντα ἐξ ἡμισείας ἀπέστρεψεν ἐπαγωγὴν αὐτῷ ποιούμενος τῷ πεδίῳ φοίνιξιν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πεφυτευμένῳ, κώμην τε κτίσας Ἀρχελαίδα ὄνομα αὐτῇ τίθεται. [341] καὶ τοῦ πατρίου παράβασιν ποιησάμενος Γλαφύραν τὴν Ἀρχελάου μὲν θυγατέρα, Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ γαμετὴν γενομένην, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τέκνα ἦν αὐτῇ, ἀπώμοτον ὂν Ἰουδαίοις γαμετὰς ἀδελφῶν ἄγεσθαι, γαμεῖ. διατρίβει δὲ οὐδὲ ὁ Ἐλεάζαρος ἐν τῇ ἱερωσύνῃ ἐπικατασταθέντος αὐτῷ ζῶντι Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Σεὲ παιδός.

(2) [342] Δεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀρχελάου οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔν τε Ἰουδαίοις καὶ Σαμαρεῦσι μὴ φέροντες τὴν ὠμότητα αὐτοῦ καὶ τυραννίδα κατηγοροῦσιν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Καίσαρος, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσαν αὐτὸν παραβεβηκότα τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ, ἵνα ἐπιεικῶς ἀναστραφῇ τὰ πρὸς αὐτούς. [343] ὁ τοίνυν Καῖσαρ ὡς ἤκουσεν, ὀργῇ φέρων τὸν ἐπίτροπον τὸν Ἀρχελάου τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ πραγμάτων, Ἀρχέλαος δὲ καὶ τούτῳ ὄνομα ἦν, μετακαλέσας γράφειν μὲν Ἀρχελάῳ ταπεινὸν ἡγεῖται, "σὺ δὲ παραχρῆμα, φησίν, πλέων μηδὲν [344] εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἐπαναγαγεῖν αὐτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς." καὶ ὃς ἔκπλουν ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ποιησάμενος καὶ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἰουδαίαν λαμβάνει τὸν Ἀρχέλαον ἐν εὐωχίαις ὄντα μετὰ τῶν φίλων, τήν τε διάνοιαν ἀποσημαίνει τὴν Καίσαρος καὶ ὥρμησεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἔξοδον. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀφικομένου ἐπί τινων κατηγόρων ἀκροᾶται καὶ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ἐκεῖνον μὲν φυγάδα ἐλαύνει δοὺς οἰκητήριον αὐτῷ Βίενναν πόλιν τῆς Γαλατίας, τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἀπηνέγκατο.

(3) [345] Πρότερον δὲ ἢ κληθεὶς ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἀνελθεῖν Ἀρχέλαος ὄναρ τοιόνδε ἐκδιηγεῖται τοῖς φίλοις θεασάμενος: ἀστάχυας δέκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν πλέους πυροῦ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀκμὴν ἀπειληφότας δόξα ἦν αὐτῷ βιβρωσκομένους ὑπὸ βοῶν θεωρεῖν. καὶ περιεγρόμενος φέρειν εἰς μέγα δόξαν τὴν ὄψιν αὐτῷ μεταστέλλεται τοὺς μάντεις, οἷς περὶ ὀνειράτων ἦσαν αἱ ἀναστροφαί. [346] σκιδναμένων δὲ ἑτέρων ἐφ' ἑτέροις, οὐ γὰρ εἰς ἕνα ἔκειτο πᾶσιν ἀφήγησις, Σίμων ἀνὴρ γένος Ἐσσαῖος ἀσφάλειαν αἰτησάμενος, μεταβολὴν πραγμάτων ἔλεγεν Ἀρχελάῳ φέρειν τὴν ὄψιν οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς πράγμασιν: [347] βόας μὲν γὰρ κακοπαθείας τε ἀποσαφεῖν διὰ τὸ ἔργοις ἐπιταλαιπωρεῖν τὸ ζῷον, μεταβολὰς δὲ αὖ πραγμάτων διὰ τὸ τὴν γῆν πόνῳ τῷ ἐκείνων ἀρουμένην ἐν ταὐτῷ μένειν οὐ δύνασθαι: τοὺς δὲ ἀστάχυας δέκα ὄντας τοσῶνδε ἀριθμὸν ἐνιαυτῶν ὁρίζειν, περιόδῳ γὰρ ἑνὸς παραγίνεσθαι θέρος, καὶ τὸν χρόνον ἐξήκειν Ἀρχελάῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας. [348] καὶ ὁ μὲν ταύτῃ ἐξηγήσατο τὸν ὄνειρον. πέμπτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ μεθ' ὃ τὸ πρῶτον αὐτοῦ ἡ ὄψις Ἀρχελάῳ συνῆλθεν ὁ ἀνακαλούμενος Ἀρχέλαος πεμπτὸς εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἀφίκετο.

(4) [349] Παραπλήσια δὲ καὶ Γλαφύρᾳ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ συντυγχάνει βασιλέως Ἀρχελάου θυγατρὶ οὔσῃ, ᾗ καὶ πρότερον εἶπον συνῴκει παρθένον λαβὼν Ἀλέξανδρος Ἡρώδου μὲν υἱὸς Ἀρχελάου δ' ἀδελφός. ἐπεὶ δὲ συμβαίνει τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτῆσαι, [350] Ἰόβᾳ τῷ Λιβύων βασιλεῖ γαμεῖται, μεταστάντος δὲ τοῦ Λίβυος χηρεύουσαν ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ Ἀρχέλαος ἄγεται τὴν συνοῦσαν αὐτῷ Μαριάμμην ἐκβαλών: τοσόσδε τῆς Γλαφύρας ἀνέστρεψεν ἔρως. [351] καὶ συνοικοῦσα τῷ Ἀρχελάῳ τοιόνδε ὄναρ θεᾶται: ἐδόκει τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιστάντα θεασαμένη χαίρειν καὶ περιβάλλειν προθύμως, τὸν δὲ κατάμεμψίν τε αὐτῆς ποιεῖσθαι καὶ φάναι: [352] "Γλαφύρα, συνηγορεῖς ἄρα λόγῳ, ὃς ἄπιστα ἔλεγεν εἶναι γυναιξίν, εἰ συνομόσασά τέ μοι καὶ συγκατοικισθεῖσα παρθένος παίδων ἡμῖν γεγονότων λήθῃ παραδίδως ἔρωτας

τοὺς ἐμοὺς δευτέρων ἐπιθυμίᾳ γάμων. πληθώρα δέ σοι οὐδ᾽ οὕτως ὕβρεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρίτον ἐτόλμησας σαυτῇ παρακατακλῖναι νυμφίον ἀπρεπῶς καὶ ἀναισχύντως ἐπεισιοῦσα οἴκῳ τῷ ἐμῷ, καὶ γάμον συντιθεμένη πρὸς Ἀρχέλαον ἄνδρα μὲν σεαυτῆς ἀδελφὸν δὲ ἡμέτερον. [353] ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἔγωγε λήθην ποιήσομαι εὐνοίας τῆς σῆς, ἀπαλλάξω δέ σε παντὸς τοῦ ὀνειδιοῦντος ἐμὴν ὥσπερ ἦν κατασκευασάμενος.᾽᾽ ταῦτα διηγησαμένη πρὸς τὰς συνήθεις τῶν γυναικῶν μετ᾽ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον.

(5) [354] Ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἀλλότρια νομίσας αὐτὰ τῷδε τῷ λόγῳ εἶναι διὰ τὸ περὶ τῶν βασιλέων αὐτὸν ἐνεστηκέναι καὶ ἄλλως ἐπὶ παραδείγματι φέρειν τοῦ τε ἀμφὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀθανασίας ἐμφεροῦς καὶ τοῦ θείου προμηθείᾳ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια περιειληφότος τῇ αὐτοῦ, καλῶς ἔχειν ἐνόμισα εἰπεῖν. ὅτῳ δὲ ἀπιστεῖται τὰ τοιάδε γνώμης ὀνινάμενος τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κώλυμα οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο τῷ ἐπ᾽ ἀρετὴν αὐτῷ προστιθεμένῳ. [355] τῆς δ᾽ Ἀρχελάου χώρας ὑποτελοῦς προσνεμηθείσης τῇ Σύρων πέμπεται Κυρίνιος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἀνὴρ ὑπατικὸς ἀποτιμησόμενός τε τὰ ἐν Συρίᾳ καὶ τὸν Ἀρχελάου ἀποδωσόμενος οἶκον.

Liber XVIII

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ ιη τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Ὡς Κυρίνιος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐπέμφθη τιμητὴς Συρίας καὶ Ἰουδαίας καὶ ἀποδωσόμενος τὴν Ἀρχελάου οὐσίαν.

β. ὡς Κωπώνιος ἐκ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ τάγματος ἐπέμφθη ἔπαρχος Ἰουδαίας.

γ. ὡς Ἰούδας ὁ Γαλιλαῖος ἔπεισεν τὸ πλῆθος μὴ ἀπογράψασθαι τὰς οὐσίας, μέχρις Ἰώζαρος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον ὑπακοῦσαι Ῥωμαίοις.

δ. τίνες αἱρέσεις καὶ ὁπόσαι παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις φιλοσόφων καὶ τίνες οἱ νόμοι.

ε. ὡς Ἡρώδης καὶ Φίλιππος οἱ τετράρχαι πόλεις ἔκτισαν εἰς τιμὴν Καίσαρος.

ς. ὡς Σαμαρεῖς ὀστᾶ νεκρῶν διαρρίψαντες εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸν λαὸν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἐμίαναν.

ζ. ὡς Σαλώμη ἡ ἀδελφὴ Ἡρώδου τελευτήσασα τὰ αὐτῆς κατέλιπεν Ἰουλίᾳ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος γαμετῇ.

η. ὡς Πόντιος Πιλᾶτος ἠθέλησε κρύφα εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα εἰσενέγκαι προτομὰς Καίσαρος, ὁ δὲ λαὸς οὐ κατεδέξατο στασιάσας.

θ. τὰ συμβάντα Ἰουδαίοις ἐν Ῥώμῃ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμαρέων.

ι. κατηγορία ὑπὸ Σαμαρέων Πιλάτου ἐπὶ Οὐιτελλίου καὶ ὡς Οὐιτέλλιος ἠνάγκασεν αὐτὸν ἀναβῆναι εἰς Ῥώμην λόγον τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀποδώσοντα.

ια. πόλεμος Ἡρώδου τοῦ τετράρχου πρὸς Ἀρέταν τὸν Ἀράβων βασιλέα καὶ ἥττα.

ιβ. ὡς Τιβέριος Καῖσαρ ἔγραψεν Οὐιτελλίῳ Ἀρταβάνην μὲν τὸν Πάρθον πεῖσαι ὁμήρους αὐτῷ πέμψαι, πρὸς Ἀρέταν δὲ πολεμεῖν.

ιγ. τελευτὴ Φιλίππου καὶ ὡς ἡ τετραρχία αὐτοῦ ἐπαρχία ἐγένετο.

ιδ. ἀπόπλους Ἀγρίππα εἰς Ῥώμην καὶ ὡς κατηγορηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου ἀπελευθέρου ἐδέθη.

ιε. ὃν τρόπον ἐλύθη ὑπὸ Γαίου μετὰ τὴν Τιβερίου τελευτὴν καὶ ἐγένετο βασιλεὺς τῆς Φιλίππου τετραρχίας.

ις. ὡς Ἡρώδης ἀναβὰς εἰς Ῥώμην ἐξωρίσθη καὶ ὡς τὴν τετραρχίαν αὐτοῦ ἐδωρήσατο Γάιος Ἀγρίππᾳ.

ιζ. στάσις τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ πρεσβεία ἀφ' ἑκατέρων πρὸς Γάιον.

ιη. κατηγορία Ἰουδαίων ὑπὸ Ἀπίωνος καὶ τῶν συμπρέσβεων ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ἔχειν Καίσαρος ἀνδριάντα.

ιθ. ὡς ἀγανακτήσας Γάιος πέμπει Πετρώνιον ἡγεμόνα εἰς Συρίαν πολεμῆσαι Ἰουδαίους, ἐὰν μὴ θελήσωσιν εἰσδέξασθαι αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀνδριάντα.

κ. τὴν συμβᾶσαν φθορὰν τοῖς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι Ἰουδαίοις δι᾽ Ἀσιναῖον καὶ Ἀνιλαῖον τοὺς ἀδελφούς.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν λβ.

I

(1) [1] Κυρίνιος δὲ τῶν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν συναγομένων ἀνὴρ τάς τε ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἐπιτετελεκὼς καὶ διὰ πασῶν ὁδεύσας ὕπατος γενέσθαι τά τε ἄλλα ἀξιώματι μέγας σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπὶ Συρίας παρῆν, ὑπὸ Καίσαρος δικαιοδότης τοῦ ἔθνους ἀπεσταλμένος καὶ τιμητὴς τῶν οὐσιῶν γενησόμενος, [2] Κωπώνιός τε αὐτῷ συγκαταπέμπεται τάγματος τῶν ἱππέων, ἡγησόμενος Ἰουδαίων τῇ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐξουσίᾳ. παρῆν δὲ καὶ Κυρίνιος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προσθήκην τῆς Συρίας γενομένην ἀποτιμησόμενός τε αὐτῶν τὰς οὐσίας καὶ ἀποδωσόμενος τὰ Ἀρχελάου χρήματα. [3] οἱ δὲ καίπερ τὸ κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς ἐν δεινῷ φέροντες τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς ἀκρόασιν ὑποκατέβησαν τοῦ μὴ εἰς πλέον ἐναντιοῦσθαι πείσαντος αὐτοὺς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Ἰωαζάρου, Βοηθοῦ δὲ οὗτος υἱὸς ἦν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἡττηθέντες τοῦ Ἰωαζάρου τῶν λόγων ἀπετίμων τὰ χρήματα μηδὲν ἐνδοιάσαντες: [4] Ἰούδας δὲ Γαυλανίτης ἀνὴρ ἐκ πόλεως ὄνομα Γάμαλα Σάδδωκον Φαρισαῖον προσλαβόμενος ἠπείγετο ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει, τήν τε ἀποτίμησιν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἄντικρυς δουλείαν ἐπιφέρειν λέγοντες καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐπ᾽ ἀντιλήψει παρακαλοῦντες τὸ ἔθνος: [5] ὡς παρασχὸν μὲν κατορθοῦν εἰς τὸ εὔδαιμον ἀνακειμένης τῆς κτήσεως, σφαλεῖσιν δὲ τοῦ ταύτης περιόντος ἀγαθοῦ τιμὴν καὶ κλέος ποιήσεσθαι τοῦ μεγαλόφρονος, καὶ τὸ θεῖον οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ ἐπὶ συμπράξει τῶν βουλευμάτων εἰς τὸ κατορθοῦν συμπροθυμεῖσθαι μᾶλλον, ἂν μεγάλων ἐρασταὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ καθιστάμενοι μὴ ἐξαφίωνται πόνου τοῦ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς. [6] καὶ ἡδονῇ γὰρ τὴν ἀκρόασιν ὧν λέγοιεν ἐδέχοντο οἱ ἄνθρωποι, προύκοπτεν ἐπὶ μέγα ἡ ἐπιβολὴ τοῦ τολμήματος, κακόν τε οὐκ ἔστιν, οὗ μὴ φυέντος ἐκ τῶνδε τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ περαιτέρω τοῦ εἰπεῖν ἀνεπλήσθη τὸ ἔθνος: [7] πολέμων τε ἐπαγωγαῖς οὐχ οἷον τὸ ἄπαυστον τὴν βίαν ἔχειν, καὶ ἀποστέρησιν φίλων, οἳ καὶ ἐπελαφρύνοιεν τὸν πόνον, λῃστηρίων τε μεγάλων ἐπιθέσεσιν καὶ διαφθοραῖς ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων, δόξα μὲν τοῦ ὀρθουμένου τῶν κοινῶν, ἔργῳ δὲ οἰκείων κερδῶν ἐλπίσιν. [8] ἐξ ὧν στάσεις τε ἐφύησαν δι᾽ αὐτὰς καὶ φόνος πολιτικός, ὁ μὲν ἐμφυλίοις σφαγαῖς μανίᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἴς τε ἀλλήλους καὶ αὐτοὺς χρωμένων ἐπιθυμίᾳ τοῦ μὴ λείπεσθαι τῶν ἀντικαθεστηκότων, ὁ δὲ τῶν πολεμίων, λιμός τε εἰς ὑστάτην ἀνακείμενος ἀναισχυντίαν, καὶ πόλεων ἁλώσεις καὶ κατασκαφαί, μέχρι δὴ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνείματο πυρὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἥδε ἡ στάσις. [9] οὕτως ἄρα ἡ τῶν πατρίων καίνισις καὶ μεταβολὴ μεγάλας ἔχει ῥοπὰς τοῦ ἀπολουμένου τοῖς συνελθοῦσιν, εἴ γε καὶ Ἰούδας καὶ Σάδδωκος τετάρτην φιλοσοφίαν ἐπείσακτον ἡμῖν ἐγείραντες καὶ ταύτης ἐραστῶν

εὐπορηθέντες πρός τε τὸ παρὸν θορύβων τὴν πολιτείαν ἐνέπλησαν καὶ τῶν αὖθις κακῶν κατειληφότων ῥίζας ἐφυτεύσαντο τῷ ἀσυνήθει πρότερον φιλοσοφίας τοιᾶσδε: [10] περὶ ἧς ὀλίγα βούλομαι διελθεῖν, ἄλλως τε ἐπεὶ καὶ τῷ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν σπουδασθέντι τοῖς νεωτέροις ὁ φθόρος τοῖς πράγμασι συνέτυχε.

(2) [11] Ἰουδαίοις φιλοσοφίαι τρεῖς ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου τῶν πατρίων, ἥ τε τῶν Ἐσσηνῶν καὶ ἡ τῶν Σαδδουκαίων, τρίτην δὲ ἐφιλοσόφουν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι λεγόμενοι. καὶ τυγχάνει μέντοι περὶ αὐτῶν ἡμῖν εἰρημένα ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ βίβλῳ τοῦ Ἰουδαικοῦ πολέμου, μνησθήσομαι δ᾽ ὅμως καὶ νῦν αὐτῶν ἐπ᾽ ὀλίγον.

(3) [12] Οἵ τε γὰρ Φαρισαῖοι τὴν δίαιταν ἐξευτελίζουσιν οὐδὲν ἐς τὸ μαλακώτερον ἐνδιδόντες, ὧν τε ὁ λόγος κρίνας παρέδωκεν ἀγαθῶν ἔπονται τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ περιμάχητον ἡγούμενοι τὴν φυλακὴν ὧν ὑπαγορεύειν ἠθέλησεν. τιμῆς γε τοῖς ἡλικίᾳ προήκουσιν παραχωροῦσιν οὐδ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀντιλέξει τῶν εἰσηγηθέντων ταῦτα οἱ θράσει ἐπαιρόμενοι. [13] πράσσεσθαί τε εἱμαρμένῃ τὰ πάντα ἀξιοῦντες οὐδὲ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τὸ βουλόμενον τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὁρμῆς ἀφαιροῦνται δοκῆσαν τῷ θεῷ κρίσιν γενέσθαι καὶ τῷ ἐκείνης βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῷ ἐθελήσαντι προσχωρεῖν μετ᾽ ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας. [14] ἀθάνατόν τε ἰσχὺν ταῖς ψυχαῖς πίστις αὐτοῖς εἶναι καὶ ὑπὸ χθονὸς δικαιώσεις τε καὶ τιμὰς οἷς ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας ἐπιτήδευσις ἐν τῷ βίῳ γέγονεν, καὶ ταῖς μὲν εἱργμὸν ἀίδιον προτίθεσθαι, ταῖς δὲ ῥᾳστώνην τοῦ ἀναβιοῦν. [15] καὶ δι᾽ αὐτὰ τοῖς τε δήμοις πιθανώτατοι τυγχάνουσιν καὶ ὁπόσα θεῖα εὐχῶν τε ἔχεται καὶ ἱερῶν ποιήσεως ἐξηγήσει τῇ ἐκείνων τυγχάνουσιν πρασσόμενα. εἰς τοσόνδε ἀρετῆς αὐτοῖς αἱ πόλεις ἐμαρτύρησαν ἐπιτηδεύσει τοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσι κρείσσονος ἔν τε τῇ διαίτῃ τοῦ βίου καὶ λόγοις.

(4) [16] Σαδδουκαίοις δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ὁ λόγος συναφανίζει τοῖς σώμασι, φυλακῇ δὲ οὐδαμῶς τινων μεταποίησις αὐτοῖς ἢ τῶν νόμων: πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς διδασκάλους σοφίας, ἣν μετίασιν, ἀμφιλογεῖν ἀρετὴν ἀριθμοῦσιν. [17] εἰς ὀλίγους δὲ ἄνδρας οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἀφίκετο, τοὺς μέντοι πρώτους τοῖς ἀξιώμασι, πράσσεταί τε ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν: ὁπότε γὰρ ἐπ᾽ ἀρχὰς παρέλθοιεν, ἀκουσίως μὲν καὶ κατ᾽ ἀνάγκας, προσχωροῦσι δ᾽ οὖν οἷς ὁ Φαρισαῖος λέγει διὰ τὸ μὴ ἄλλως ἀνεκτοὺς γενέσθαι τοῖς πλήθεσιν.

(5) [18] Ἐσσηνοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν θεῷ καταλείπειν φιλεῖ τὰ πάντα ὁ λόγος, ἀθανατίζουσιν δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς περιμάχητον ἡγούμενοι τοῦ δικαίου τὴν πρόσοδον. [19] εἰς δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀναθήματα στέλλοντες θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν διαφορότητι ἁγνειῶν, ἃς νομίζοιεν, καὶ δι᾽ αὐτὸ εἱργόμενοι τοῦ κοινοῦ τεμενίσματος ἐφ᾽ αὑτῶν τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν. βέλτιστοι δὲ ἄλλως [ἄνδρες] τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸ πᾶν πονεῖν ἐπὶ γεωργίᾳ τετραμμένοι. [20] ἄξιον δ᾽ αὐτῶν θαυμάσαι παρὰ πάντας τοὺς ἀρετῆς μεταποιουμένους τόδε διὰ τὸ μηδαμῶς ὑπάρξαν Ἑλλήνων ἢ βαρβάρων τισίν, ἀλλὰ μηδ᾽ εἰς ὀλίγον, ἐκείνοις ἐκ παλαιοῦ συνελθὸν ἐν τῷ ἐπιτηδεύεσθαι μὴ κεκωλῦσθαι: τὰ χρήματά τε κοινά ἐστιν αὐτοῖς, ἀπολαύει δὲ

οὐδὲν ὁ πλούσιος τῶν οἰκείων μειζόνως ἢ ὁ μηδ᾽ ὁτιοῦν κεκτημένος: καὶ τάδε πράσσουσιν ἄνδρες ὑπὲρ τετρακισχίλιοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες. [21] καὶ οὔτε γαμετὰς εἰσάγονται οὔτε δούλων ἐπιτηδεύουσιν κτῆσιν, τὸ μὲν εἰς ἀδικίαν φέρειν ὑπειληφότες, τὸ δὲ στάσεως ἐνδιδόναι ποίησιν, αὐτοὶ δ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν ζῶντες διακονίᾳ τῇ ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλοις ἐπιχρῶνται. [22] ἀποδέκτας δὲ τῶν προσόδων χειροτονοῦντες καὶ ὁπόσα ἡ γῆ φέροι ἄνδρας ἀγαθούς, ἱερεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ ποιήσει σίτου τε καὶ βρωμάτων. ζῶσι δὲ οὐδὲν παρηλλαγμένως, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι μάλιστα ἐμφέροντες Δακῶν τοῖς πλείστοις λεγομένοις.

(6) [23] Τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ τῶν φιλοσοφιῶν ὁ Γαλιλαῖος Ἰούδας ἡγεμὼν κατέστη, τὰ μὲν λοιπὰ πάντα γνώμῃ τῶν Φαρισαίων ὁμολογούσῃ, δυσνίκητος δὲ τοῦ ἐλευθέρου ἔρως ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς μόνον ἡγεμόνα καὶ δεσπότην τὸν θεὸν ὑπειληφόσιν. θανάτων τε ἰδέας ὑπομένειν παρηλλαγμένας ἐν ὀλίγῳ τίθενται καὶ συγγενῶν τιμωρίας καὶ φίλων ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδένα ἄνθρωπον προσαγορεύειν δεσπότην. [24] ἑωρακόσιν δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς τὸ ἀμετάλλακτον αὐτῶν τῆς ἐπὶ τοιούτοις ὑποστάσεως περαιτέρω διελθεῖν παρέλιπον: οὐ γὰρ δέδοικα μὴ εἰς ἀπιστίαν ὑποληφθῇ τι τῶν λεγομένων ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς, τοὐναντίον δὲ μὴ ἐλασσόνως τοῦ ἐκείνων καταφρονήματος δεχομένου τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν τῆς ἀληδόνος ὁ λόγος ἀφηγῆται. [25] ἀνοίᾳ τε τῇ ἐντεῦθεν ἤρξατο νοσεῖν τὸ ἔθνος Γεσσίου Φλώρου, ὃς ἡγεμὼν ἦν, τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ ὑβρίζειν ἀπονοήσαντος αὐτοὺς ἀποστῆναι Ῥωμαίων. καὶ φιλοσοφεῖται μὲν Ἰουδαίοις τοσάδε.

II

(1) [26] Κυρίνιος δὲ τὰ Ἀρχελάου χρήματα ἀποδόμενος ἤδη καὶ τῶν ἀποτιμήσεων πέρας ἐχουσῶν, αἳ ἐγένοντο τριακοστῷ καὶ ἑβδόμῳ ἔτει μετὰ τὴν Ἀντωνίου ἐν Ἀκτίῳ ἧτταν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος, Ἰωάζαρον τὸν ἀρχιερέα καταστασιασθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς πληθύος ἀφελόμενος τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς τιμῆς Ἄνανον τὸν Σεθὶ καθίσταται ἀρχιερέα. [27] Ἡρώδης δὲ καὶ Φίλιππος τετραρχίαν ἑκάτερος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρειληφότες καθίσταντο. καὶ Ἡρώδης Σέπφωριν τειχίσας πρόσχημα τοῦ Γαλιλαίου παντὸς ἠγόρευεν αὐτὴν Αὐτοκρατορίδα: Βηθαραμφθᾶ δέ, πόλις καὶ αὐτὴ τυγχάνει, τείχει περιλαβὼν Ἰουλιάδα ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος προσαγορεύει τῆς γυναικός. [28] Φίλιππος δὲ Πανεάδα τὴν πρὸς ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Ἰορδάνου κατασκευάσας ὀνομάζει Καισάρειαν, κώμην δὲ Βηθσαιδὰ πρὸς λίμνῃ τῇ Γεννησαρίτιδι πόλεως παρασχὼν ἀξίωμα πλήθει τε οἰκητόρων καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ δυνάμει Ἰουλίᾳ θυγατρὶ τῇ Καίσαρος ὁμώνυμον ἐκάλεσεν.

(2) [29] Κωπωνίου δὲ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν διέποντος, ὃν ἔφην Κυρινίῳ συνεκπεμφθῆναι, τάδε πράσσεται. τῶν ἀζύμων τῆς ἑορτῆς ἀγομένης, ἣν πάσχα καλοῦμεν, ἐκ μέσης νυκτὸς ἐν ἔθει τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἦν ἀνοιγνύναι τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοὺς πυλῶνας. [30] καὶ τότε οὖν ἐπεὶ τὸ πρῶτον γίνεται ἡ ἄνοιξις αὐτῶν, ἄνδρες

Σαμαρεῖται κρύφα εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐλθόντες διάρριψιν ἀνθρωπείων ὀστῶν ἐν ταῖς στοαῖς καὶ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἤρξαντο μὴ πρότερον ἐπὶ τοιούτοις νομίζοντες τά τε ἄλλα διὰ φυλακῆς μείζονος ἦγον τὸ ἱερόν. [31] καὶ Κωπώνιος μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπαναχωρεῖ, διάδοχος δ᾽ αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς παραγίνεται Μᾶρκος Ἀμβιβουχος, ἐφ᾽ οὗ καὶ Σαλώμη ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡρώδου ἀδελφὴ μεταστᾶσα Ἰουλίᾳ μὲν Ἰάμνειάν τε καταλείπει καὶ τὴν τοπαρχίαν πᾶσαν, τήν τ᾽ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Φασαηλίδα καὶ Ἀρχελαίδα, ἔνθα φοινίκων πλείστη φύτευσις καὶ καρπὸς αὐτῶν ἄριστος. [32] διαδέχεται δὲ καὶ τοῦτον Ἄννιος Ῥοῦφος, ἐφ᾽ οὗ δὴ καὶ τελευτᾷ Καῖσαρ, δεύτερος μὲν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ γενόμενος ἑπτὰ δὲ καὶ πεντήκοντα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτη, πρὸς οἷς μῆνες ἓξ ἡμέραι δυοῖν πλείονες, τούτου δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ χρόνου δεκατέσσαρα ἔτη συνῆρξεν Ἀντώνιος, βιώσας ἔτη ἑβδομηκονταεπτά. [33] διαδέχεται δὲ τῷ Καίσαρι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Τιβέριος Νέρων γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰουλίας υἱὸς ὤν, τρίτος ἤδη οὗτος αὐτοκράτωρ, καὶ πεμπτὸς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ παρῆν Ἰουδαίοις ἔπαρχος διάδοχος Ἀννίῳ Ῥούφῳ Οὐαλέριος Γρᾶτος: [34] ὃς παύσας ἱερᾶσθαι Ἄνανον Ἰσμάηλον ἀρχιερέα ἀποφαίνει τὸν τοῦ Φαβί, καὶ τοῦτον δὲ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ μεταστήσας Ἐλεάζαρον τὸν Ἀνάνου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως υἱὸν ἀποδείκνυσιν ἀρχιερέα. ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ διαγενομένου καὶ τόνδε παύσας Σίμωνι τῷ Καμίθου τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην παραδίδωσιν. [35] οὐ πλείων δὲ καὶ τῷδε ἐνιαυτοῦ τὴν τιμὴν ἔχοντι διεγένετο χρόνος, καὶ Ἰώσηπος ὁ καὶ Καιάφας διάδοχος ἦν αὐτῷ. καὶ Γρᾶτος μὲν ταῦτα πράξας εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπανεχώρει ἕνδεκα ἔτη διατρίψας ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ, Πόντιος δὲ Πιλᾶτος διάδοχος αὐτῷ ἦκεν.

(3) [36] Ἡρώδης δὲ ὁ τετράρχης, ἐπὶ μέγα γὰρ ἦν τῷ Τιβερίῳ φιλίας προελθών, οἰκοδομεῖται πόλιν ἐπώνυμον αὐτῷ Τιβεριάδα τοῖς κρατίστοις ἐπικτίσας αὐτὴν τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐπὶ λίμνῃ τῇ Γεννησαρίτιδι. θερμά τε οὐκ ἄπωθέν ἐστιν ἐν κώμῃ, Ἀμμαθοὺς ὄνομα αὐτῇ. [37] σύγκλυδες δὲ ᾤκισαν, οὐκ ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ τὸ Γαλιλαῖον ἦν, καὶ ὅσοι μὲν ἐκ τῆς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῷ γῆς ἀναγκαστοὶ καὶ πρὸς βίαν εἰς τὴν κατοικίαν ἀγόμενοι, τινὲς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει. ἐδέξατο δὲ αὐτοῖς συνοίκους καὶ τοὺς πανταχόθεν ἐπισυναγομένους ἄνδρας ἀπόρους, [38] ἔστι δ᾽ οὓς μηδὲ σαφῶς ἐλευθέρους, πολλά τε αὐτοὺς κἀπὶ πολλοῖς ἠλευθέρωσεν καὶ εὐηργέτησεν ἀνάγκασμα τοῦ μὴ ἀπολείψειν τὴν πόλιν ἐπιθείς, κατασκευαῖς τε οἰκήσεων τέλεσι τοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ γῆς ἐπιδόσει, εἰδὼς παράνομον τὸν οἰκισμὸν ὄντα καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰουδαίοις πατρίου διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ μνήμασιν, ἃ πολλὰ τῇδε ἦν, ἀνῃρημένοις τὴν ἵδρυσιν τῇ Τιβεριάδι γενέσθαι: μιαροὺς δὲ ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας εἶναι τοὺς οἰκήτορας ἀγορεύει ἡμῖν τὸ νόμιμον.

(4) [39] Τελευτᾷ δὲ καὶ Φραάτης ὁ Παρθυαίων βασιλεὺς κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐπιβουλῆς αὐτῷ γενομένης ὑπὸ Φραατάκου τοῦ υἱέος κατὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν. [40] Φραάτης παίδων αὐτῷ γενομένων γνησίων Ἰταλικῆς παιδίσκης ὄνομα αὐτῇ Θεσμοῦσα. ταύτῃ ὑπὸ Ἰουλίου Καίσαρος μετ᾽ ἄλλων δωρεῶν ἀπεσταλμένῃ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον παλλακίδι ἐχρῆτο, καταπλαγεὶς δὲ τῷ πολλῷ τῆς

εὐμορφίας προιόντος τοῦ χρόνου καὶ παιδὸς αὐτῇ τοῦ Φραατάκου γενομένου γαμετήν τε τὴν ἄνθρωπον ἀποφαίνεται καὶ τιμίαν ἦγεν. [41] ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς εἴποι πιθανὴ τῷ βασιλεῖ γεγονυῖα καὶ σπεύδουσα τῷ παιδὶ τῷ αὐτῆς γενέσθαι τὴν Πάρθων ἡγεμονίαν ἑώρα μὴ ἄλλως γενησομένην μὴ ἀποσκευῆς αὐτῇ μηχανηθείσης τῶν γνησίων τοῦ Φραάτου παίδων. [42] πείθει οὖν αὐτὸν ἐκπέμπειν εἰς Ῥώμην ἐφ᾽ ὁμηρείᾳ τοὺς γνησίους παῖδας. καὶ οὗτοι μέν, οὐ γὰρ ἀντειπεῖν εὔπορον Φραάτῃ τοῖς Θεσμούσης ἐπιτάγμασιν, ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐξεπέμποντο. Φραατάκης δὲ μόνος ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι τρεφόμενος δεινὸν ἡγεῖτο καὶ ἅμα χρόνιον τοῦ πατρὸς διδόντος τὴν ἀρχὴν λαμβάνειν, ὥστε ἐπεβούλευε τῷ πατρὶ συμπράξει τῆς μητρός, ᾗ δὴ καὶ συνιέναι λόγος εἶχεν αὐτόν. [43] καὶ δι᾽ ἀμφότερα μισηθεὶς οὐδὲν ἡσσόνως τῆς πατροκτονίας τὸ μῦσος τοῦ μητρὸς ἔρωτος τιθεμένων τῶν ὑπηκόων, στάσει περιελαθεὶς πρότερον ἢ φῦναι μέγας ἐξέπεσε τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ οὕτως θνήσκει. [44] συμφρονήσαντες δὲ οἱ γενναιότατοι Πάρθων, ὡς ἀβασιλεύτοις μὲν ἀμήχανον πολιτεύεσθαι, οἱ δὲ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῶν Ἀρσακιδῶν, οὐ γὰρ ἑτέροις ἄρχειν νόμιμον, ἀπέχρη δὲ πολλάκις καὶ μέχρι νῦν περιυβρίσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν ἔκ τε γάμων τῆς Ἰταλικῆς παλλακίδος καὶ γενέσεων, Ὁρώδην ἐκάλουν πρεσβεύσαντες εἰς δάν, ἄλλως μὲν ἐπίφθονον τῷ πλήθει καὶ ὑπαίτιον καθ᾽ ὑπερβολὰς ὠμότητος, πάνυ γὰρ ἦν σκαιὸς καὶ δυσδιάθετος εἰς ὀργήν, ἕνα δὲ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γένους. [45] τοῦτον μὲν δὴ συστάντες ἀποκτείνουσιν, ὡς μὲν ἔνιοί φασιν, ἐν σπονδαῖς καὶ τραπέζαις, μαχαιροφορεῖν γὰρ ἔθος ἅπασιν, ὡς δ᾽ ὁ πλείων κατέχει λόγος, εἰς θήραν προαγαγόντες. [46] πρεσβεύσαντες δὲ εἰς Ῥώμην ᾐτοῦντο βασιλέα τῶν ὁμηρευόντων, καὶ πέμπεται Βονώνης προκριθεὶς τῶν ἀδελφῶν: ἐδόκει γὰρ χωρεῖν τὴν τύχην, ἣν αὐτῷ δύο μέγισται τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον ἡγεμονίαι προσέφερον, ἰδία καὶ ἀλλοτρία. [47] ταχεῖα δ᾽ ἀνατροπὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ὕπεισιν ἅτε καὶ φύσει σφαλεροὺς ὄντας πρός τε τὴν ἀναξιοπάθειαν, ἀνδραπόδῳ γὰρ ἀλλοτρίῳ ποιήσειν τὸ προστασσόμενον ἠξίουν, τὴν ὁμηρείαν ἀντὶ δουλείας ὀνομάζοντες, καὶ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως τὴν ἀδοξίαν: οὐ γὰρ [ἂν] πολέμου δικαίῳ δεδόσθαι τὸν βασιλεύσοντα Πάρθοις, ἀλλά, ὃ τῷ παντὶ χεῖρον, εἰρήνης ὕβρει. [48] παραχρῆμα δ᾽ ἐκάλουν Ἀρτάβανον Μηδίας βασιλεύοντα γένος Ἀρσακίδην: πείθεται δ᾽ Ἀρτάβανος καὶ μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἔπεισιν. ὑπαντιάζει δ᾽ αὐτῷ Βονώνης: καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον συμφρονήσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Πάρθων παραταξάμενος νικᾷ, καὶ φεύγει πρὸς τοὺς ὅρους τῆς Μηδίας Ἀρτάβανος. [49] μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ συναγαγὼν συμβάλλει τε Βονώνῃ καὶ νικᾷ, καὶ Βονώνης εἰς Σελεύκειαν ἀφιππάζεται σὺν ὀλίγοις τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν. Ἀρτάβανος δὲ πολὺν τῇ τροπῇ φόνον ἐργασάμενος ὑπὲρ ἐκπλήξεως τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς Κτησιφῶντα μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἀναχωρεῖ. [50] κἀκεῖνος μὲν ἐβασίλευεν ἤδη Πάρθοις, Βονώνης δ᾽ εἰς Ἀρμενίαν διαπίπτει, καὶ κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς μὲν ἐφίετο τῆς χώρας καὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπρέσβευεν. [51] ὡς δ᾽ αὐτῷ Τιβέριος μὲν ἀπεῖπεν πρός τε τὴν

ἀνανδρίαν καὶ τοῦ Πάρθου τὰς ἀπειλάς, ἀναπρεσβεύει γὰρ δὴ πόλεμον ἀνατεινόμενος, μηχανὴ δ᾽ ἦν ἑτέρας βασιλείας οὐδεμία, καὶ γὰρ οἱ περὶ Νιφάτην δυνατοὶ τῶν Ἀρμενίων Ἀρταβάνῳ προστίθενται, [52] παραδίδωσιν αὐτὸν Σιλανῷ τῷ τῆς Συρίας στρατηγῷ. κἀκεῖνος μὲν κατὰ αἰδῶ τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ κομιδῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ παρεφυλάσσετο: τὴν δὲ Ἀρμενίαν Ὀρώδῃ δίδωσιν Ἀρτάβανος ἑνὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παίδων.

(5) [53] Ἐτελεύτησεν δὲ καὶ ὁ τῆς Κομμαγηνῆς βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος, διέστη δὲ τὸ πλῆθος πρὸς τοὺς γνωρίμους καὶ πρεσβεύουσιν ἀφ᾽ ἑκατέρου μέρους, οἱ μὲν δυνατοὶ μεταβάλλειν τὸ σχῆμα τῆς πολιτείας εἰς ἐπαρχίαν ἀξιοῦντες, τὸ πλῆθος δὲ βασιλεύεσθαι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. [54] καὶ ψηφίζεται ἡ σύγκλητος Γερμανικὸν πέμπειν διορθώσοντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν πραγματευομένης αὐτῷ τῆς τύχης εὐκαιρίαν τοῦ θανάτου: καὶ γὰρ γενόμενος κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν καὶ πάντα διορθώσας ἀνῃρέθη φαρμάκῳ ὑπὸ Πείσωνος, καθὼς ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται.

III

(1) [55] Πιλᾶτος δὲ ὁ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἡγεμὼν στρατιὰν ἐκ Καισαρείας ἀγαγὼν καὶ μεθιδρύσας χειμαδιοῦσαν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῶν νομίμων τῶν Ἰουδαικῶν ἐφρόνησε, προτομὰς Καίσαρος, αἳ ταῖς σημαίαις προσῆσαν, εἰσαγόμενος εἰς τὴν πόλιν, εἰκόνων ποίησιν ἀπαγορεύοντος ἡμῖν τοῦ νόμου. [56] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἱ πρότερον ἡγεμόνες ταῖς μὴ μετὰ τοιῶνδε κόσμων σημαίαις ἐποιοῦντο εἴσοδον τῇ πόλει. πρῶτος δὲ Πιλᾶτος ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ τὸ νύκτωρ γενέσθαι τὴν εἴσοδον ἱδρύεται τὰς εἰκόνας φέρων εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. [57] οἱ δ᾽ ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσαν κατὰ πληθὺν παρῆσαν εἰς Καισάρειαν ἱκετείαν ποιούμενοι ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ μεταθέσει τῶν εἰκόνων. καὶ μὴ συγχωροῦντος διὰ τὸ εἰς ὕβριν Καίσαρι φέρειν, ἐπείπερ οὐκ ἐξανεχώρουν λιπαρεῖν κατὰ ἕκτην ἡμέραν ἐν ὅπλοις ἀφανῶς ἐπικαθίσας τὸ στρατιωτικὸν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἦκεν. τὸ δ᾽ ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ κατεσκεύαστο, ὅπερ ἀπέκρυπτε τὸν ἐφεδρεύοντα στρατόν. [58] πάλιν δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἱκετείᾳ χρωμένων ἀπὸ συνθήματος περιστήσας τοὺς στρατιώτας ἠπείλει θάνατον ἐπιθήσειν ζημίαν ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος, εἰ μὴ παυσάμενοι θορυβεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀπίοιεν. [59] οἱ δὲ πρηνεῖς ῥίψαντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ γυμνοῦντες τὰς σφαγὰς ἡδονῇ δέξασθαι τὸν θάνατον ἔλεγον ἢ τολμήσειν τὴν σοφίαν παραβήσεσθαι τῶν νόμων. καὶ Πιλᾶτος θαυμάσας τὸ ἐχυρὸν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν νόμων παραχρῆμα τὰς εἰκόνας ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπανεκόμισεν εἰς Καισάρειαν.

(2) [60] Ὑδάτων δὲ ἐπαγωγὴν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἔπραξεν δαπάνῃ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων ἐκλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ῥεύματος ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων διακοσίων, οἱ δ᾽ οὐκ ἠγάπων τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸ ὕδωρ δρωμένοις πολλαί τε μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων συνελθόντες κατεβόων αὐτοῦ παύσασθαι τοῦ ἐπὶ τοιούτοις προθυμουμένου, τινὲς δὲ καὶ λοιδορίᾳ χρώμενοι ὕβριζον εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα, οἷα δὴ φιλεῖ πράσσειν

ὅμιλος. [61] ὁ δὲ στολῇ τῇ ἐκείνων πολὺ πλῆθος στρατιωτῶν ἀμπεχόμενον, οἳ ἐφέροντο σκυτάλας ὑπὸ ταῖς στολαῖς, διαπέμψας εἰς ὃ περιέλθοιεν αὐτούς, αὐτὸς ἐκέλευσεν ἀναχωρεῖν. τῶν δὲ ὡρμηκότων εἰς τὸ λοιδορεῖν ἀποδίδωσι τοῖς στρατιώταις ὃ προσυνέκειτο σημεῖον. [62] οἱ δὲ καὶ πολὺ μειζόνως ἢπερ ἐπέταξεν Πιλᾶτος ἐχρῶντο πληγαῖς τούς τε θορυβοῦντας ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ μὴ κολάζοντες οἱ δ᾽ εἰσεφέροντο μαλακὸν οὐδέν, ὥστε ἄοπλοι ληφθέντες ὑπ᾽ ἀνδρῶν ἐκ παρασκευῆς ἐπιφερομένων πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν ταύτῃ καὶ ἀπέθνησκον, οἱ δὲ καὶ τραυματίαι ἀνεχώρησαν. καὶ οὕτω παύεται ἡ στάσις.

(3) [63] [Γίνεται δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἰησοῦς σοφὸς ἀνήρ, εἴγε ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρή: ἦν γὰρ παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητής, διδάσκαλος ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡδονῇ τἀληθῆ δεχομένων, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐπηγάγετο: ὁ χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν. [64] καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδείξει τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν σταυρῷ ἐπιτετιμηκότος Πιλάτου οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο οἱ τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαπήσαντες: ἐφάνη γὰρ αὐτοῖς τρίτην ἔχων ἡμέραν πάλιν ζῶν τῶν θείων προφητῶν ταῦτά τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία περὶ αὐτοῦ θαυμάσια εἰρηκότων. εἰς ἔτι τε νῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὠνομασμένον οὐκ ἐπέλιπε τὸ φῦλον.]

(4) [65] Καὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ἕτερόν τι δεινὸν ἐθορύβει τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καὶ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἴσιδος τὸ ἐν Ῥώμῃ πράξεις αἰσχυνῶν οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμέναι συντυγχάνουσιν. καὶ πρότερον τοῦ τῶν Ἰσιακῶν τολμήματος μνήμην ποιησάμενος οὕτω μεταβιβῶ τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις γεγονότα. [66] Παυλῖνα ἦν τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης προγόνων τε ἀξιώματι τῶν καθ᾽ ἑαυτὴν ἐπιτηδεύοντι κόσμον ἀρετῆς ἐπὶ μέγα προιοῦσα τῷ ὀνόματι, δύναμίς τε αὐτῇ χρημάτων ἦν καὶ γεγονυῖα τὴν ὄψιν εὐπρεπὴς καὶ τῆς ὥρας ἐν ᾗ μάλιστα ἀγάλλονται αἱ γυναῖκες εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν ἀνέκειτο ἡ ἐπιτήδευσις τοῦ βίου. ἐγεγάμητο δὲ Σατορνίνῳ τῶν εἰς τὰ πάντα ἀντισουμένων τῷ περὶ αὐτὴν ἀξιολόγῳ. [67] ταύτης ἐρᾷ Δέκιος Μοῦνδος τῶν τότε ἱππέων ἐν ἀξιώματι μεγάλῳ, καὶ μείζονα οὖσαν ἀλῶναι δώροις διὰ τὸ καὶ πεμφθέντων εἰς πλῆθος περιιδεῖν ἐξῆπτο μᾶλλον, ὥστε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας δραχμῶν Ἀτθίδων ὑπισχνεῖτο εὐνῆς μιᾶς. [68] καὶ μηδ᾽ ὡς ἐπικλωμένης, οὐ φέρων τὴν ἀτυχίαν τοῦ ἔρωτος ἐνδείᾳ σιτίων θάνατον ἐπιτιμᾶν αὐτῷ καλῶς ἔχειν ἐνόμισεν ἐπὶ παύλῃ κακοῦ τοῦ κατειληφότος. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπεψήφιζέν τε τῇ οὕτω τελευτῇ καὶ πράσσειν οὐκ ἀπηλλάσσετο. [69] καὶ ἦν γὰρ ὄνομα Ἴδη πατρῷος ἀπελευθέρα τῷ Μούνδῳ παντοίων ἴδρις κακῶν, δεινῶς φέρουσα τοῦ νεανίσκου τῷ ψηφίσματι τοῦ θανεῖν, οὐ γὰρ ἀφανὴς ἦν ἀπολούμενος, ἀνεγείρει τε αὐτὸν ἀφικομένη διὰ λόγου πιθανή τε ἦν ἐλπίδων τινῶν ὑποσχέσεσιν, ὡς διαπραχθησομένων ὁμιλιῶν πρὸς τὴν Παυλῖναν αὐτῷ. [70] καὶ δεχομένου τὴν ἱκετείαν ἡδονῇ πέντε μυριάδων δεήσειν αὐτῇ μόνων ἔλεγεν ἐπὶ ἁλώσει τῆς γυναικός. καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀνεγείρασα τὸν νεανίσκον καὶ τὸ αἰτηθὲν λαβοῦσα ἀργύριον οὐ τὰς αὐτὰς ὁδοὺς ἐστέλλετο τοῖς προδεδιακονημένοις ὁρῶσα τῆς γυναικὸς τὸ μηδαμῶς χρημάτων ἁλισκόμενον,

εἰδυῖα δὲ αὐτὴν θεραπείᾳ τῆς Ἴσιδος σφόδρα ὑπηγμένην τεχνᾶταί τι τοιόνδε. [71] τῶν ἱερέων τισὶν ἀφικομένη διὰ λόγων ἐπὶ πίστεσιν μεγάλαις τὸ δὲ μέγιστον δόσει χρημάτων τὸ μὲν παρὸν μυριάδων δυοῖν καὶ ἡμίσει, λαβόντος δ' ἔκβασιν τοῦ πράγματος ἑτέρῳ τοσῷδε, διασαφεῖ τοῦ νεανίσκου τὸν ἔρωτα αὐτοῖς, κελεύουσα παντοίως ἐπὶ τῷ ληψομένῳ τὴν ἄνθρωπον σπουδάσαι. [72] οἱ δ' ἐπὶ πληγῇ τοῦ χρυσίου παραχθέντες ὑπισχνοῦντο. καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ γεραίτατος ὡς τὴν Παυλῖναν ὠσάμενος γενομένων εἰσόδων καταμόνας διὰ λόγων ἐλθεῖν ἠξίου. καὶ συγχωρηθὲν πεμπτὸς ἔλεγεν ἥκειν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀνούβιδος ἔρωτι αὐτῆς ἠσσημένου τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύοντός τε ὡς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν. [73] τῇ δὲ εὐκτὸς ὁ λόγος ἦν καὶ ταῖς τε φίλαις ἐνεκαλλωπίζετο τῇ ἐπὶ τοιούτοις ἀξιώσει τοῦ Ἀνούβιδος καὶ φράζει πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, δεῖπνόν τε αὐτῇ καὶ εὐνὴν τοῦ Ἀνούβιδος εἰσηγγέλθαι, συνεχώρει δ' ἐκεῖνος τὴν σωφροσύνην τῆς γυναικὸς ἐξεπιστάμενος. [74] χωρεῖ οὖν εἰς τὸ τέμενος, καὶ δειπνήσασα, ὡς ὕπνου καιρὸς ἦν, κλεισθεισῶν τῶν θυρῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱερέως ἔνδον ἐν τῷ νεῷ καὶ τὰ λύχνα ἐκποδὼν ἦν καὶ ὁ Μοῦνδος, προεκέκρυπτο γὰρ τῇδε, οὐχ ἡμάρτανεν ὁμιλιῶν τῶν πρὸς αὐτήν, παννύχιόν τε αὐτῷ διηκονήσατο ὑπειληφυῖα θεὸν εἶναι. [75] καὶ ἀπελθόντος πρότερον ἢ κίνησιν ἄρξασθαι τῶν ἱερέων, οἳ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ᾔδεσαν, ἡ Παυλῖνα πρωὶ ὡς τὸν ἄνδρα ἐλθοῦσα τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἐκδιηγεῖται τοῦ Ἀνούβιδος καὶ πρὸς τὰς φίλας ἐνελαμπρύνετο λόγοις τοῖς ἐπ' αὐτῷ. [76] οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἠπίστουν εἰς τὴν φύσιν τοῦ πράγματος ὁρῶντες, τὰ δ' ἐν θαύματι καθίσταντο οὐκ ἔχοντες, ὡς χρὴ ἄπιστα αὐτὰ κρίνειν, ὁπότε εἵς τε τὴν σωφροσύνην καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα ἀπίδοιεν αὐτῆς. [77] τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν ὑπαντιάσας αὐτὴν ὁ Μοῦνδος "Παυλῖνα, φησίν, ἀλλά μοι καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας διεσώσω δυναμένη οἴκῳ προσθέσθαι τῷ σαυτῆς διακονεῖσθαί τε ἐφ' οἷς προεκαλούμην οὐκ ἐνέλιπες. ἃ μέντοι εἰς Μοῦνδον ὑβρίζειν ἐπειρῶ, μηδέν μοι μελῆσαν τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος ἡδονῆς, [78] Ἀνούβιον ὄνομα ἐθέμην αὐτῷ." καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπῄει ταῦτα εἰπών, ἡ δὲ εἰς ἔννοιαν τότε πρῶτον ἐλθοῦσα τοῦ τολμήματος περιρρήγνυταί τε τὴν στολὴν καὶ τἀνδρὶ δηλώσασα τοῦ παντὸς ἐπιβουλεύματος τὸ μέγεθος ἐδεῖτο μὴ περιῶφθαι βοηθείας τυγχάνειν: [79] ὁ δὲ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ἐπεσήμηνε τὴν πρᾶξιν. καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος μαθήσεως ἀκριβοῦς αὐτῷ γενομένης ἐξετάσει τῶν ἱερέων ἐκείνους τε ἀνεσταύρωσεν καὶ τὴν Ἶδην ὀλέθρου γενομένην αἰτίαν καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐφ' ὕβρει συνθεῖσαν τῆς γυναικός, τόν τε ναὸν καθεῖλεν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἴσιδος εἰς τὸν Θύβριν ποταμὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐμβαλεῖν. Μοῦνδον δὲ φυγῆς ἐτίμησε, [80] κώλυμα τοῦ μὴ μειζόνως κολάζειν τὸ μετὰ ἔρωτος αὐτῷ ἡμαρτῆσθαι τὰ ἡμαρτημένα ἡγησάμενος. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἴσιδος τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ὑβρισμένα τοιαῦτα ἦν. ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀφήγησιν τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ Ἰουδαίοις κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον συντυχόντων, ὥς μοι καὶ προαπεσήμηνεν ὁ λόγος.

(5) [81] Ἦν ἀνὴρ Ἰουδαῖος, φυγὰς μὲν τῆς αὐτοῦ κατηγορίᾳ τε παραβάσεων νόμων τινῶν καὶ δέει τιμωρίας τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, πονηρὸς δὲ εἰς τὰ πάντα. καὶ δὴ

τότε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διαιτώμενος προσεποιεῖτο μὲν ἐξηγεῖσθαι σοφίαν νόμων τῶν Μωυσέως, [82] προσποιησάμενος δὲ τρεῖς ἄνδρας εἰς τὰ πάντα ὁμοιοτρόπους τούτοις ἐπιφοιτήσασαν Φουλβίαν τῶν ἐν ἀξιώματι γυναικῶν καὶ νομίμοις προσεληλυθυῖαν τοῖς Ἰουδαικοῖς πείθουσι πορφύραν καὶ χρυσὸν εἰς τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερὸν διαπέμψασθαι, καὶ λαβόντες ἐπὶ χρείας τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀναλώμασιν αὐτὰ ποιοῦνται, ἐφ᾽ ὅπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἡ αἴτησις ἐπράσσετο. [83] καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος, ἀποσημαίνει γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν φίλος ὢν Σατορνῖνος τῆς Φουλβίας ἀνὴρ ἐπισκήψει τῆς γυναικός, κελεύει πᾶν τὸ Ἰουδαικὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπελθεῖν. [84] οἱ δὲ ὕπατοι τετρακισχιλίους ἀνθρώπους ἐξ αὐτῶν στρατολογήσαντες ἔπεμψαν εἰς Σαρδὼ τὴν νῆσον, πλείστους δὲ ἐκόλασαν μὴ θέλοντας στρατεύεσθαι διὰ φυλακὴν τῶν πατρίων νόμων. καὶ οἱ μὲν δὴ διὰ κακίαν τεσσάρων ἀνδρῶν ἠλαύνοντο τῆς πόλεως.

IV

(1) [85] Οὐκ ἀπήλλακτο δὲ θορύβου καὶ τὸ Σαμαρέων ἔθνος: συστρέφει γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀνὴρ ἐν ὀλίγῳ τὸ ψεῦδος τιθέμενος κἀφ᾽ ἡδονῇ τῆς πληθύος τεχνάζων τὰ πάντα, κελεύων ἐπὶ τὸ Γαριζεὶν ὄρος αὐτῷ συνελθεῖν, ὃ ἀγνότατον αὐτοῖς ὀρῶν ὑπείληπται, ἰσχυρίζετό τε παραγενομένοις δείξειν τὰ ἱερὰ σκεύη τῇδε κατορωρυγμένα Μωυσέως τῇδε αὐτῶν ποιησαμένου κατάθεσιν. [86] οἱ δὲ ἐν ὅπλοις τε ἦσαν πιθανὸν ἡγούμενοι τὸν λόγον, καὶ καθίσαντες ἔν τινι κώμῃ, Τιραθανὰ λέγεται, παρελάμβανον τοὺς ἐπισυλλεγομένους ὡς μεγάλῳ πλήθει τὴν ἀνάβασιν εἰς τὸ ὄρος ποιησόμενοι. [87] φθάνει δὲ Πιλᾶτος τὴν ἄνοδον αὐτῶν προκαταλαβόμενος ἱππέων τε πομπῇ καὶ ὁπλιτῶν, οἳ συμβαλόντες τοῖς ἐν τῇ κώμῃ προσυνηθροισμένοις παρατάξεως γενομένης τοὺς μὲν ἔκτειναν, τοὺς δ᾽ εἰς φυγὴν τρέπονται ζωγρίᾳ τε πολλοὺς ἦγον, ὧν τοὺς κορυφαιοτάτους καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς φυγοῦσι δυνατωτάτους ἔκτεινε Πιλᾶτος.

(2) [88] Καταστάντος δὲ τοῦ θορύβου Σαμαρέων ἡ βουλὴ παρὰ Οὐιτέλλιον ὑπατικὸν ἴασιν ἄνδρα Συρίας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντα καὶ Πιλάτου κατηγόρουν ἐπὶ τῇ σφαγῇ τῶν ἀπολωλότων: οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ διαφυγῇ τῆς Πιλάτου ὕβρεως εἰς τὴν Τιραθανὰ παραγενέσθαι. [89] καὶ Οὐιτέλλιος Μάρκελλον τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων ἐκπέμψας ἐπιμελητὴν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις γενησόμενον Πιλᾶτον ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἀπιέναι πρὸς ἃ κατηγοροῖεν οἱ Σαμαρεῖται διδάξοντα τὸν αὐτοκράτορα. καὶ Πιλᾶτος δέκα ἔτεσιν διατρίψας ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίας εἰς Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο ταῖς Οὐιτελλίου πειθόμενος ἐντολαῖς οὐκ ὂν ἀντειπεῖν. πρὶν δ᾽ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἴσχειν αὐτὸν φθάνει Τιβέριος μεταστάς.

(3) [90] Οὐιτέλλιος δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀφικόμενος ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἀνήει, καὶ ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἑορτὴ πάτριος, πάσχα δὲ καλεῖται, δεχθεὶς μεγαλοπρεπῶς Οὐιτέλλιος τὰ τέλη τῶν ὠνουμένων καρπῶν ἀνίησιν εἰς τὸ πᾶν τοῖς ταύτῃ

κατοικοῦσιν καὶ τὴν στολὴν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τὸν πάντα αὐτοῦ κόσμον συνεχώρησεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ κειμένην ὑπὸ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἔχειν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, καθότι καὶ πρότερον ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσία. [91] τότε δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀντωνίᾳ, φρούριον δ' ἐστὶν οὕτως λεγόμενον, ἡ ἀπόθεσις αὐτῆς ἦν διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν: τῶν ἱερέων τις Ὑρκανός, πολλῶν δὲ ὄντων οἳ τόδε ἐκαλοῦντο τὸ ὄνομα ὁ πρῶτος, ἐπεὶ πλησίον τῷ ἱερῷ βᾶριν κατασκευασάμενος ταύτῃ τὰ πολλὰ τὴν δίαιταν εἶχεν καὶ τὴν στολήν, φύλαξ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῆς διὰ τὸ καὶ μόνῳ συγκεχωρῆσθαι τοῦ ἐνδύεσθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ταύτην εἶχεν ἀποκειμένην, ὁπότε εἰς τὴν πόλιν κατιὼν ἀναλαμβάνοι τὴν ἰδιωτικήν. [92] καὶ οἵ τε υἱεῖς αὐτοῦ ταῦτα πράσσειν ἐπετήδευσαν καὶ τέκνα ἐκείνων. Ἡρώδης δὲ βασιλεύσας τήν τε βᾶριν ταύτην ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ κειμένην κατασκευάσας πολυτελῶς Ἀντωνίαν καλεῖ ὀνόματι Ἀντωνίου φίλος ὤν, καὶ τὴν στολὴν ὥσπερ καὶ λαμβάνει τῇδε κειμένην κατεῖχεν, πιστεύων οὐδὲν νεωτεριεῖν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸν λαὸν διὰ τάδε. [93] ἔπρασσε δὲ ὅμοια τῷ Ἡρώδῃ καὶ ὁ ἐπικατασταθεὶς αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς Ἀρχέλαος υἱὸς ὤν, οὗ Ῥωμαῖοι παραδεξάμενοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκράτουν τῆς στολῆς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἀποκειμένης ἐν οἴκῳ λίθοις οἰκοδομηθέντι ὑπὸ σφραγῖδι τῶν τε ἱερέων καὶ τῶν γαζοφυλάκων τοῦ φρουράρχου τὸ ἐφ' ἡμέραν ἑκάστην λύχνον ἅπτοντος. [94] ἑπτὰ δ' ἡμέραις πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἀπεδίδοτο αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ φρουράρχου, καὶ ἁγνισθείσῃ χρησάμενος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς μετὰ μίαν τῆς ἑορτῆς ἡμέραν ἀπετίθετο αὖθις εἰς τὸν οἶκον, ᾗπερ ἔκειτο καὶ πρότερον. τοῦτο ἐπράττετο τρισὶν ἑορταῖς ἑκάστου ἔτους καὶ τὴν νηστείαν. [95] Οὐιτέλλιος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ πατρίῳ ποιεῖται τὴν στολήν, ᾗ τε κείσοιτο μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν ἐπισκήψας τῷ φρουράρχῳ καὶ ὁπότε δέοι χρῆσθαι. καὶ ταῦτα πράξας ἐπὶ εὐεργεσίᾳ τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ἰώσηπον τὸν Καιάφαν ἐπικαλούμενον ἀπαλλάξας τῆς ἱερωσύνης Ἰωνάθην καθίστησιν Ἀνάνου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως υἱόν. ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας δ' αὖθις ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ὁδόν.

(4) [96] Πέμπει δὲ καὶ Τιβέριος ὡς Οὐιτέλλιον γράμματα, κελεύων αὐτῷ πράσσειν φιλίαν πρὸς Ἀρτάβανον τὸν Πάρθων βασιλέα: ἐφόβει γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸς ὢν καὶ Ἀρμενίαν παρεσπασμένος μὴ ἐπὶ πλέον κακουργῇ: πιστεύειν δὲ τῇ φιλίᾳ μόνως ὁμήρων αὐτῷ διδομένων, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦ Ἀρταβάνου υἱέος. [97] ταῦτα δὲ γράφων Τιβέριος πρὸς τὸν Οὐιτέλλιον μεγάλαις δόσεσι χρημάτων πείθει καὶ τὸν Ἰβήρων καὶ τὸν Ἀλβανῶν βασιλέα πολεμεῖν Ἀρταβάνῳ μηδὲν ἐνδοιάσαι. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀντεῖχον, Ἀλανοὶ δὲ δίοδον αὐτοῖς διδόντες διὰ τῆς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς θύρας τὰς Κασπίας ἀνοίξαντες ἐπάγουσι τῷ Ἀρταβάνῳ. [98] καὶ ἥ τε Ἀρμενία ἀφῄρητο αὖθις καὶ πλησθείσης πολέμων τῆς Παρθυαίων γῆς οἵ τε πρῶτοι τῶν τῇδε ἐκτείνοντο ἀνδρῶν ἀνάστατά τε ἦν αὐτοῖς τὰ πάντα καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ὁ υἱὸς ἐκ τουτωνὶ τῶν μαχῶν ἔπεσε μετὰ πολλῶν στρατοῦ μυριάδων. [99] καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν πατέρα Ἀρτάβανον Οὐιτέλλιος πομπῇ χρημάτων εἵς τε συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους τοὺς ἐκείνου γενομένῃ ἐμέλλησε μὲν κτιννύειν διὰ τῶν τὰ δῶρα εἰληφότων, αἰσθόμενος δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ὁ Ἀρτάβανος ἄφυκτον οὖσαν διὰ

τὸ ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν συντεθεῖσαν μὴ ἀνεῖσθαι τοῦ ἐπὶ πέρας ἐλθεῖν, [100] καὶ νομίζων καὶ ὁπόσον αὐτῷ καθαρῶς συνειστήκει καὶ τόδε ἤτοι ἐφθαρμένον ἐπὶ δόλῳ τὴν εὔνοιαν προσποιεῖσθαι ἢ πείρας αὐτῷ γενομένης μετατάξεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς προαφεστηκότας, εἴς τι τῶν ἄνω σατραπειῶν ἔσωζεν αὐτόν. καὶ πολλὴν μετὰ ταῦτα στρατιὰν ἀθροίσας Δαῶν τε καὶ Σακῶν καὶ πολεμήσας τοὺς ἀνθεστηκότας κατέσχε τὴν ἀρχήν.

(5) [101] Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Τιβέριος ἠξίου φιλίαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι πρὸς τὸν Ἀρτάβανον, ἐπεὶ δὲ κἀκεῖνος προκληθεὶς ἄσμενος ἐδέχετο τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν λόγον, ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην παρῆσαν ὅ τε Ἀρτάβανος καὶ Οὐιτέλλιος. [102] καὶ ζεύξεως τοῦ ποταμοῦ γενομένης κατὰ τὸ μεσαίτατον τῆς γεφύρας ἀλλήλους ὑπηντίαζον μετὰ φυλακῆς ἑκάτερος τῆς περὶ αὐτόν. καὶ λόγων αὐτοῖς συμβατικῶν γενομένων Ἡρώδης ὁ τετράρχης εἱστίασεν αὐτοὺς κατὰ μέσον τὸν πόρον σκηνίδα ἐπισκηψάμενος τῷ πόρῳ πολυτελῆ. [103] καὶ Ἀρτάβανος πέμπει Τιβερίῳ ὅμηρον Δαρεῖον τὸν υἱὸν μετὰ πολλῶν δώρων, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἄνδρα ἐπτάπηχυν τὸ μέγεθος Ἰουδαῖον τὸ γένος Ἐλεάζαρον ὄνομα: [104] διὰ μέντοι τὸ μέγεθος Γίγας ἐκαλεῖτο. ἐπὶ τούτοις Οὐιτέλλιος μὲν ἐπ᾽ Ἀντιοχείας ᾔει, Ἀρτάβανος δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας. Ἡρώδης δὲ βουλόμενος δι᾽ αὐτοῦ πρώτου γενέσθαι πύστιν Καίσαρι τῶν ὁμήρων τῆς λήψεως ἐκπέμπει γραμματοφόρους τὰ πάντα ἀκριβῶς γράψας εἰς ἐπιστολὴν καὶ μηδὲν ὑπολιπόμενος ἐπὶ μηνύσει τῷ ὑπατικῷ. [105] πρὸς Οὐιτελλίου δὲ ἐπιπεμφθεισῶν ἐπιστολῶν καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπισημήναντος πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς δῆλα αὐτῷ γένοιτο πρότερον πύστιν περὶ αὐτῶν Ἡρώδου προτεθεικότος, ταραχθεὶς ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος μεγάλως καὶ πεπονθέναι μειζόνως ἢ ἐπέπρακτο ὑπολαμβάνων ἄδηλον τὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἔκρυπτεν ὀργήν, μέχρι δὴ καὶ μετῆλθε Γαίου τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν παρειληφότος.

(6) [106] Τότε δὲ καὶ Φίλιππος, Ἡρώδου δὲ ἦν ἀδελφός, τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον εἰκοστῷ μὲν ἐνιαυτῷ τῆς Τιβερίου ἀρχῆς, ἡγησάμενος δὲ αὐτὸς ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα τῆς Τραχωνίτιδος καὶ Γαυλανίτιδος καὶ τοῦ Βατανέων ἔθνους πρὸς αὐταῖς, μέτριον δὲ ἐν οἷς ἦρχεν παρασχὼν τὸν τρόπον καὶ ἀπράγμονα: [107] δίαιταν μὲν γὰρ τὸ πᾶν ἐν γῇ τῇ ὑποτελεῖ ἐποιεῖτο, πρόοδοι δ᾽ ἦσαν αὐτῷ σὺν ὀλίγοις τῶν ἐπιλέκτων, καὶ τοῦ θρόνου εἰς ὃν ἔκρινεν καθεζόμενος ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἑπομένου, ὁπότε τις ὑπαντιάσας ἐν χρείᾳ γένοιτο αὐτῷ ἐπιβοηθεῖν, οὐδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἱδρύσεως τοῦ θρόνου ᾗ καὶ τύχοι γενομένης καθεζόμενος ἠκροᾶτο καὶ τιμωρίας τε ἐπετίμα τοῖς ἁλοῦσι καὶ ἠφίει τοὺς ἀδίκως ἐν ἐγκλήμασι γενομένους. [108] τελευτᾷ δ᾽ ἐν Ἰουλιάδι καὶ αὐτοῦ κομισθέντος ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον, ὃ ἔτι πρότερον ᾠκοδόμησεν αὐτός, ταφαὶ γίνονται πολυτελεῖς. τὴν δ᾽ ἀρχήν, οὐ γὰρ κατελίπετο παῖδας, Τιβέριος παραλαβὼν προσθήκην ἐπαρχίας ποιεῖται τῆς Σύρων, τοὺς μέντοι φόρους ἐκέλευσε συλλεγομένους ἐν τῇ τετραρχίᾳ τῇ ἐκείνου γενομένῃ κατατίθεσθαι.

V

(1) [109] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ στασιάζουσιν Ἀρέτας τε ὁ Πετραῖος βασιλεὺς καὶ Ἡρῴδης διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν: Ἡρῴδης ὁ τετράρχης γαμεῖ τὴν Ἀρέτα θυγατέρα καὶ συνῆν χρόνον ἤδη πολύν. στελλόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης κατάγεται ἐν Ἡρῴδου ἀδελφοῦ ὄντος οὐχ ὁμομητρίου: ἐκ γὰρ τῆς Σίμωνος τοῦ ἀρχιερέως θυγατρὸς Ἡρῴδης ἐγεγόνει. [110] ἐρασθεὶς δὲ Ἡρωδιάδος τῆς τούτου γυναικός, θυγάτηρ δὲ ἦν Ἀριστοβούλου καὶ οὗτος ἀδελφὸς αὐτῶν, Ἀγρίππου δὲ ἀδελφὴ τοῦ μεγάλου, τολμᾷ λόγων ἅπτεσθαι περὶ γάμου. καὶ δεξαμένης συνθῆκαι γίνονται μετοικίσασθαι παρ᾽ αὐτόν, ὁπότε ἀπὸ Ῥώμης παραγένοιτο. ἦν δὲ ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ὥστε καὶ τοῦ Ἀρέτα τὴν θυγατέρα ἐκβαλεῖν. [111] καὶ ὁ μὲν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔπλει ταῦτα συνθέμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπανεχώρει διαπραξάμενος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐφ᾽ ἅπερ ἔσταλτο, ἡ γυνὴ πύστεως αὐτῇ τῶν πρὸς τὴν Ἡρωδιάδα συνθηκῶν γενομένης πρὶν ἔκπυστος αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὰ πάντα ἐκμαθοῦσα κελεύει πέμπειν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ Μαχαιροῦντος, μεθόριον δ᾽ ἐστὶ τῆς τε Ἀρέτα καὶ Ἡρῴδου ἀρχῆς, γνώμην οὐκ ἐκφαίνουσα τὴν αὐτῆς. [112] καὶ ὁ Ἡρῴδης ἐξέπεμψεν μηδὲν ᾐσθῆσθαι τὴν ἄνθρωπον προσδοκῶν. ἡ δέ, προαπεστάλκει γὰρ ἐκ πλείονος εἰς τὸν Μαχαιροῦντα τῷ τε πατρὶ αὐτῆς ὑποτελεῖ, πάντων εἰς τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ἡτοιμασμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἅμα τε παρῆν καὶ ἀφωρμᾶτο εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν κομιδῇ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκ διαδοχῆς παρῆν τε ὡς τὸν πατέρα ᾗ τάχος καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν Ἡρῴδου διάνοιαν ἔφραζεν. [113] ὁ δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔχθρας ταύτην ποιησάμενος περί τε ὅρων ἐν γῇ τῇ Γαμαλικῇ, καὶ δυνάμεως ἑκατέρῳ συλλεγείσης εἰς πόλεμον καθίσταντο στρατηγοὺς ἀπεσταλκότες ἀνθ᾽ ἑαυτῶν. [114] καὶ μάχης γενομένης διεφθάρη πᾶς ὁ Ἡρῴδου στρατὸς προδοσίας αὐτῷ γενομένης ὑπ᾽ ἀνδρῶν φυγάδων, οἳ ὄντες ἐκ τῆς Φιλίππου τετραρχίας Ἡρῴδῃ συνεστράτευον. [115] ταῦτα Ἡρῴδης γράφει πρὸς Τιβέριον. ὁ δὲ ὀργῇ φέρων τὴν Ἀρέτα ἐπιχείρησιν γράφει πρὸς Οὐιτέλλιον πόλεμον ἐξενεγκεῖν καὶ ἤτοι ζωὸν ἑλόντα ἀναγαγεῖν δεδεμένον ἢ κτεινομένου πέμπειν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν. καὶ Τιβέριος μὲν ταῦτα πράσσειν ἐπέστελλεν τῷ κατὰ Συρίαν στρατηγῷ.

(2) [116] Τισὶ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐδόκει ὀλωλέναι τὸν Ἡρῴδου στρατὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μάλα δικαίως τινυμένου κατὰ ποινὴν Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου βαπτιστοῦ. [117] κτείνει γὰρ δὴ τοῦτον Ἡρῴδης ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κελεύοντα ἀρετὴν ἐπασκοῦσιν καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβείᾳ χρωμένοις βαπτισμῷ συνιέναι: οὕτω γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὴν βάπτισιν ἀποδεκτὴν αὐτῷ φανεῖσθαι μὴ ἐπί τινων ἁμαρτάδων παραιτήσει χρωμένων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἁγνείᾳ τοῦ σώματος, ἅτε δὴ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς δικαιοσύνῃ προεκκεκαθαρμένης. [118] καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συστρεφομένων, καὶ γὰρ ἥσθησαν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῇ ἀκροάσει τῶν λόγων, δείσας Ἡρῴδης τὸ ἐπὶ τοσόνδε πιθανὸν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μὴ ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει τινὶ φέροι, πάντα γὰρ ἐῴκεσαν συμβουλῇ τῇ ἐκείνου πράξοντες, πολὺ κρεῖττον ἡγεῖται πρίν τι νεώτερον ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι προλαβὼν ἀνελεῖν τοῦ

μεταβολῆς γενομένης [μὴ] εἰς πράγματα ἐμπεσὼν μετανοεῖν. [119] καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑποψίᾳ τῇ Ἡρώδου δέσμιος εἰς τὸν Μαχαιροῦντα πεμφθεὶς τὸ προειρημένον φρούριον ταύτῃ κτίννυται. τοῖς δὲ Ἰουδαίοις δόξαν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ τῇ ἐκείνου τὸν ὄλεθρον ἐπὶ τῷ στρατεύματι γενέσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ κακῶσαι Ἡρώδην θέλοντος.

(3) [120] Οὐιτέλλιος δὲ παρασκευασάμενος ὡς εἰς πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Ἀρέταν δυσὶ τάγμασιν ὁπλιτῶν ὅσοι τε περὶ αὐτὰ ψιλοὶ καὶ ἱππεῖς συμμαχοῦντες ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις βασιλειῶν ἀγόμενος, ἐπὶ τῆς Πέτρας ἠπείγετο καὶ ἔσχε Πτολεμαίδα. [121] ὡρμημένῳ δ' αὐτῷ διὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἄγειν τὸν στρατὸν ὑπαντιάσαντες ἄνδρες οἱ πρῶτοι παρῃτοῦντο τὴν διὰ τῆς χώρας ὁδόν: οὐ γὰρ αὐτοῖς εἶναι πάτριον περιορᾶν εἰκόνας εἰς αὐτὴν φερομένας, πολλὰς δ' εἶναι σημαίαις ἐπικειμένας. [122] καὶ πεισθεὶς μετέβαλέν τε τῆς γνώμης τὸ ἐπὶ τοιούτοις προβουλεῦσαν καὶ διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου πεδίου κελεύσας χωρεῖν τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτὸς μετὰ Ἡρώδου τοῦ τετράρχου καὶ τῶν φίλων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀνῄει θύσων τῷ θεῷ ἑορτῆς πατρίου τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐνεστηκυίας. [123] εἰς ἣν ἀπαντήσας καὶ δεχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πλήθους ἐκπρεπῶς τρεῖς μὲν ἡμέρας ταύτῃ διατριβὴν ποιεῖται, ἐν αἷς Ἰωνάθην τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἀφελόμενος ἐγχειρίζει τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ Θεοφίλῳ, [124] τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ γραμμάτων αὐτῷ παραγενομένων, ἃ ἐδήλου τὴν Τιβερίου τελευτήν, ὥρκισεν τὴν πληθὺν ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ τῇ Γαίου. ἀνεκάλει δὲ καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἑκάστου χειμαδιᾶν πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως δυνάμενος διὰ τὸ εἰς Γάιον μεταπεπτωκέναι τὰ πράγματα. [125] ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀρέταν οἰωνοσκοπησάμενον πρὸς τὴν ἀγγελίαν τῶν Οὐιτελλίου στρατιωτῶν φάναι μηχανὴν οὐκ εἶναι τῷ στρατῷ τῆς ἐπὶ Πετραίους ὁδοῦ: τεθνήξεσθαι γὰρ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἢ τὸν πολεμεῖν κελεύσαντα ἢ τὸν γνώμῃ τῇ ἐκείνου ὡρμημένον διακονεῖσθαι ἢ ἐφ' ὃν γένοιτο ἡ παρασκευὴ τοῦ στρατεύματος. [126] καὶ Οὐιτέλλιος μὲν ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας ἀνεχώρησεν. Ἀγρίππας δὲ ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου υἱὸς ἐνιαυτῷ πρότερον ἢ τελευτῆσαι Τιβέριον ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἄνεισι πράξων τι παρὰ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι δυνάμεώς τινος αὐτῷ παραγενομένης. [127] βούλομαι οὖν εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ μακρότερον περί τε Ἡρώδου καὶ γένους αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐγένετο, ἅμα μὲν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀνήκειν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν λόγον, ἅμα δὲ καὶ παράστασιν ἔχειν τοῦ θείου, ὡς οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ πλῆθος οὐδ' ἄλλη τις ἀλκὴ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐπιτετευγμένων δίχα τῶν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβειῶν, [128] εἴ γε ἐντὸς ἑκατὸν ἐτῶν ἐξόδου συνέβη πλὴν ὀλίγων, πολλοὶ δ' ἦσαν, διαφθαρῆναι τοὺς Ἡρώδου ἀπογόνους: φέροι δ' ἄν τι καὶ πὶ σωφρονισμῷ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους τὸ τὴν δυστυχίαν αὐτῶν μαθεῖν, [129] ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν διηγήσασθαι θαύματος ἀξιώτατον γεγενημένον, ὃς ἐκ πάνυ ἰδιώτου καὶ παρὰ πᾶσαν δόξαν τῶν εἰδότων αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοσόνδε ηὐξήθη δυνάμεως. εἴρηται μὲν οὖν μοι καὶ πρότερον περὶ αὐτῶν, λεχθήσεται δὲ καὶ νῦν ἀκριβῶς.

(4) [130] Ἡρώδῃ τῷ μεγάλῳ θυγατέρες ἐκ Μαριάμμης τῆς Ὑρκανοῦ θυγατρὸς γίνονται δύο, Σαλαμψιὼ μὲν ἡ ἑτέρα, ἣ γαμεῖται Φασαήλῳ τῷ αὐτῆς ἀνεψιῷ

Φασαήλου παιδὶ ὄντι τοῦ Ἡρώδου ἀδελφοῦ δεδωκότος τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτήν, Κύπρος δὲ Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ αὐτὴ ἀνεψιῷ Ἡρώδου παιδὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς Σαλώμης. [131] καὶ Φασαήλῳ μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμψιοῦς γίνονται πέντε παῖδες Ἀντίπατρος Ἀλέξανδρος Ἡρώδης θυγατέρες τε Ἀλεξάνδρα καὶ Κύπρος, ἣν Ἀγρίππας γαμεῖ ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου. Ἀλεξάνδραν δὲ γαμεῖ μὲν Τίμιος Κύπριος ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀξιολόγων, παρ᾽ ᾧ δὴ ἄτεκνος τελευτᾷ. [132] Κύπρῳ δ᾽ ἐξ Ἀγρίππου μὲν ἄρρενες γίνονται δύο, θυγατέρες δὲ τρεῖς Βερενίκη Μαριάμμη Δρούσιλλα, Ἀγρίππας δὲ καὶ Δροῦσος τοῖς ἄρσεσιν ὀνόματα, ὧν ὁ Δροῦσος πρὶν ἡβῆσαι τελευτᾷ. [133] Τῷ δὲ πατρὶ τούτων Ἀγρίππας ἐτρέφετο μετὰ καὶ ἑτέρων ἀδελφῶν Ἡρώδης καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος: καὶ Βερενίκη καὶ οἵδε παῖδες Ἡρώδου τοῦ υἱέος τοῦ μεγάλου: ἡ δὲ Βερενίκη Κοστοβάρου καὶ Σαλώμης παῖς τῆς Ἡρώδου ἀδελφῆς. [134] τούτους Ἀριστόβουλος νηπίους λείπεται θνήσκων ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, καθὰ προειρήκαμεν. ἡβήσαντες δ᾽ ἄγονται Ἡρώδης μὲν οὗτος ὁ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ἀδελφὸς Μαριάμμην θυγατέρα Ὀλυμπιάδος τῆς Ἡρώδου βασιλέως θυγατρὸς καὶ Ἰωσήπου τοῦ Ἰωσήπου, ἀδελφὸς δὲ οὗτος Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως: ἴσχει τε ἐξ αὐτῆς υἱὸν Ἀριστόβουλον. [135] ὁ δὲ τρίτος τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ἀδελφὸς Ἀριστόβουλος γαμεῖ Ἰωτάπην Σαμψιγεράμου θυγατέρα τοῦ Ἐμεσῶν βασιλέως, θυγάτηρ τε αὐτοῖς γίνεται κωφή: ὄνομα καὶ τῇδε Ἰωτάπη. [136] καὶ τάδε μὲν τῶν ἀρσένων τέκνα. Ἡρωδιὰς δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ ἀδελφὴ γίνεται Ἡρώδῃ Ἡρώδου τοῦ μεγάλου παιδὶ γεγονότι ἐκ Μαριάμμης τῆς τοῦ Σίμωνος τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, καὶ αὐτοῖς Σαλώμη γίνεται, μεθ᾽ ἧς τὰς γονὰς Ἡρωδιὰς ἐπὶ συγχύσει φρονήσασα τῶν πατρίων Ἡρώδῃ γαμεῖται τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τῷ ὁμοπατρίῳ ἀδελφῷ διαστᾶσα ζῶντος. τὴν δὲ Γαλιλαίων τετραρχίαν οὗτος εἶχεν. [137] ἡ δὲ θυγάτηρ αὐτῆς Σαλώμη Φιλίππῳ γαμεῖται Ἡρώδου παιδὶ τῷ τετράρχῃ τῆς Τραχωνίτιδος, καὶ ἄπαιδος τελευτήσαντος Ἀριστόβουλος αὐτὴν ἄγεται Ἡρώδου παῖς τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ἀδελφοῦ. παῖδες δὲ ἐγένοντο αὐτοῖς τρεῖς Ἡρώδης Ἀγρίππας Ἀριστόβουλος. [138] τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ Φασαήλου καὶ Σαλαμψιοῦς ἐστι γένος. Κύπρῳ δ᾽ ἐξ Ἀντιπάτρου θυγάτηρ γίνεται Κύπρος, καὶ αὐτὴν Ἀλεξᾶς ὁ Ἐλκίας γαμεῖ τοῦ Ἀλεξᾶ, καὶ αὐτῆς θυγάτηρ ἦν Κύπρος. Ἡρώδης δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, οὓς ἀδελφοὺς ἔφην Ἀντιπάτρου, ἄτεκνοι τελευτῶσιν. [139] Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ τῷ Ἡρώδου παιδὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνῃρημένῳ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Τιγράνης ἐγεγόνεισαν υἱεῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἀρχελάου τοῦ Καππαδόκων βασιλέως θυγατρός. καὶ Τιγράνης μὲν βασιλεύων Ἀρμενίας κατηγοριῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης γενομένων ἄπαις τελευτᾷ. [140] Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ Τιγράνης ὁμώνυμος τῷ ἀδελφῷ γίνεται παῖς καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἀρμενίας ὑπὸ Νέρωνος ἐκπέμπεται υἱός τε Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτῷ γίνεται. γαμεῖ δ᾽ οὗτος Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Κομμαγηνῶν βασιλέως θυγατέρα Ἰωτάπην, ἡσίοδός τε τῆς ἐν Κιλικίᾳ Οὐεσπασιανὸς αὐτὸν ἵσταται βασιλέα. [141] καὶ τὸ μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου γένος εὐθὺς ἅμα τῷ φυῆναι τὴν θεραπείαν ἐξέλιπεν τῶν Ἰουδαίοις ἐπιχωρίων μεταταξάμενοι πρὸς τὰ Ἕλλησι πάτρια: ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς θυγατράσιν

Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀτέκνοις τελευτᾶν συνέπεσεν. [142] τῶν δὲ γενομένων Ἡρώδου ἀπογόνων οὓς κατέλεξα ἔμενον ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ Ἀγρίππας ὁ μέγας τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν. τούτων δέ μοι τοῦ γένους προδεδηλωμένων διέξειμι λοιπόν, ὁπόσαι Ἀγρίππᾳ τύχαι συνέλθοιεν, ὥς τε αὐτῶν διάδρασιν ποιησάμενος ἐπὶ μέγιστον ἀξιώματός τε ἅμα προκόψειεν καὶ δυνάμεως.

VI

(1) [143] Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως ὀλίγον πρὸ τῆς τελευτῆς Ἀγρίππας ἐν Ῥώμῃ διαιτώμενος καὶ ὁμοτροφίας καὶ συνηθείας αὐτῷ πολλῆς γενομένης πρὸς Δροῦσον τὸν Τιβερίου τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος υἱὸν καὶ Ἀντωνίᾳ τῇ Δρούσου τοῦ μεγάλου γυναικὶ εἰς φιλίαν ἀφίκετο, Βερενίκης τῆς μητρὸς τιμωμένης παρ᾽ αὐτῇ καὶ προαγωγῶν ἠξιωκυίας τὸν υἱόν. [144] φύσει δὲ μέγας ὢν ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ δωρεῖσθαι πολυτελὴς ζώσης μὲν τῆς μητρὸς οὐκ ἐξέφαινε τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ θέλον διαδιδράσκειν αὐτῆς ἠξιωκὼς τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις γενομένην ὀργήν, [145] ἐπεὶ δὲ Βερενίκη τελευτᾷ, γενόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτοῦ τρόπῳ, τὰ μὲν εἰς πολυτέλειαν τῆς καθ᾽ ἡμέραν διαίτης, τὰ δ᾽ εἰς τῶν δωρεῶν τὸ μὴ μέτρῳ προιέμενον ἀνάλωσε τῶν χρημάτων, τὰ πλεῖστα δ᾽ εἰς τοὺς Καίσαρος ἀπελευθέρους ἐτετέλεστο ἐλπίδι πράξεως τῆς αὐτῶν, πενία τε ἐν ὀλίγῳ περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν. [146] καὶ τοῦτο ἦν κώλυμα τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ διαίτης, καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος τοῖς φίλοις τοῦ υἱέος τετελευτηκότος ἀπειπὼν φοιτᾶν εἰς ὄψιν αὐτῷ, διὰ τὸ ἀνερεθίζεσθαι πρὸς τὸ λυπεῖσθαι μνημονεύων τοῦ παιδὸς θεωρίᾳ τῇ ἐκείνων.

(2) [147] Διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας πλέων ᾤχετο κακοπραγῶν καὶ τεταπεινωμένος ὀλέθρῳ τε ὧν εἶχεν χρημάτων καὶ ἀπορίᾳ τοῦ ἐκτίσοντος τὰ χρέα τοῖς δανεισταῖς πολλοῖς τε οὖσιν καὶ ἀλεωρὰν οὐδ᾽ ἡντινοῦν ἐνδιδοῦσιν, ὥστε ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ποιητέων καὶ αἰσχύνῃ τῇ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὑποχωρήσας εἴς τινα πύργον ἐν Μαλάθοις τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ἐν περινοίᾳ τοῦ μεταστήσοντος αὐτὸν ἦν. [148] αἰσθάνεται δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν Κύπρος ἡ γυνὴ παντοία τε ἦν ἀπείργουσα τῶν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις βουλευμάτων. διαπέμπεται δὲ καὶ ὡς τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ Ἡρωδιάδα Ἡρώδῃ τῷ τετράρχῃ συνοικοῦσαν γράμματα, δηλοῦσα τό τε ἐπὶ τοιούτοις τοῦ Ἀγρίππα προβουλεῦσαν καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην, ἣ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὰ ἐξήγαγεν: [149] ἐκέλευέν τε συγγενῆ οὖσαν βοηθεῖν θεωροῦσαν, ὡς αὐτὴ παντοίως ὡς κουφίζοι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ταῦτα ἐξ ὁμοίων ἀφορμῶν. οἱ δὲ μεταπέμψαντες αὐτὸν οἰκητήριον ἀπέδειξαν Τιβεριάδα καί τι καὶ ἀργύριον ὥρισαν εἰς τὴν δίαιταν, ἀγορανομίᾳ τε τῆς Τιβεριάδος ἐτίμησαν. [150] οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ πλεῖόν γε Ἡρώδης ἐνέμεινε τοῖς δεδογμένοις, καίτοι γε οὐδ᾽ ὡς ἀρκοῦντα ἦν: ἐν γὰρ Τύρῳ παρὰ συνουσίαν ὑπὸ οἴνου γενομένων αὐτοῖς λοιδοριῶν, ἀνεκτὸν οὐχ ἡγησάμενος Ἀγρίππας τοῦ Ἡρώδου τε ἐπονειδίσαντος εἰς ἀπορίαν καὶ τροφῆς ἀναγκαίας

μετάδοσιν, ὡς Φλάκκον τὸν ὑπατικὸν εἴσεισιν φίλον ἐπὶ Ῥώμης τὰ μάλιστα αὐτῷ γεγονότα πρότερον: Συρίαν δὲ ἐν τῷ τότε διεῖπεν.

(3) [151] Καὶ δεξαμένου Φλάκκου παρὰ τούτῳ διῆγεν παρακατεσχηκότος αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ Ἀριστοβούλου, ὃς ἀδελφὸς ὢν Ἀγρίππου διάφορός τ᾽ ἦν. οὐ μὴν ἐβλάπτοντο ἔχθρᾳ τῇ ἀλλήλων, ὥστε μὴ φιλίᾳ τοῦ ὑπατικοῦ τὰ εἰκότα τιμὴν φέρεσθαι. [152] οὐ μὴν ὅ γε Ἀριστόβουλος ἀνίει τι τοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν δυσμενοῦς μέχρι καὶ εἰς ἔχθραν αὐτὸν Φλάκκῳ καθίστησιν, αἰτίαν τοιαύτην ἐπὶ τῇ δυσμενείᾳ παραλαβών. [153] Δαμασκηνοὶ Σιδωνίοις περὶ ὅρων διάφοροι καθεστῶτες, μέλλοντος Φλάκκου περὶ τούτων ἀκροᾶσθαι μαθόντες τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ὡς παρ᾽ αὐτῷ μέγα δύναιτ᾽ ἂν ἠξίουν μερίδος τῆς αὐτῶν γενέσθαι, ἀργύριόν τε πλεῖστον ὡμολογεῖτο αὐτῷ. [154] καὶ ὁ μὲν πάντα ἐπὶ τῇ βοηθείᾳ τῶν Δαμασκηνῶν ὥρμητο πράσσειν. Ἀριστόβουλος δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἐλάνθανεν αὐτὸν ἡ ὁμολογία τῶν χρημάτων, καταγορεύει πρὸς τὸν Φλάκκον. καὶ βασανιζομένου τοῦ πράγματος ἐπεὶ φανερὰ ἦν, ἐξωθεῖ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν φιλίας τῆς πρὸς αὐτόν. [155] ὁ δὲ εἰς ὑστάτην περιωσμένος ἀπορίαν εἰς Πτολεμαίδα παρῆν, καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἄπορον τῆς ἀλλαχόθι διαίτης γνώμην ἐποιεῖτο ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας πλεῖν. εἰργόμενος δὲ χρημάτων ἀπορίᾳ ἠξίου Μαρσύαν ὄντα αὐτοῦ ἀπελεύθερον ποριστὴν γενέσθαι τῶν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις μηχανῶν δανεισάμενον παρά τινος. [156] καὶ ὁ Μαρσύας Πρῶτον κελεύει Βερενίκης ὄντα ἀπελεύθερον τῆς Ἀγρίππου μητρός, διαθήκης δὲ τῆς ἐκείνου δικαίῳ ὑποτελοῦντα τῆς Ἀντωνίας, αὐτῷ γοῦν παρασχεῖν ἐπὶ γράμματι καὶ πίστει τῇ αὐτοῦ. [157] ὁ δέ, ἐπεκάλει γὰρ τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ χρημάτων τινῶν ἀποστέρησιν, ἀναγκάζει τὸν Μαρσύαν δύο μυριάδων Ἀτθίδων συμβόλαιον ποιησάμενον πεντακοσίαις καὶ δισχιλίαις ἔλασσον λαμβάνειν. συνεχώρει δ᾽ ἐκεῖνος κατὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἄλλως ποιεῖν. [158] εἰλημμένου δὲ τοῦ χρήματος τούτου Ἀγρίππας εἰς Ἀνθηδόνα παραγενόμενος καὶ λαβὼν ναῦν ἐν ἀναγωγαῖς ἦν. καὶ γνοὺς Ἐρέννιος Καπίτων ὁ τῆς Ἰαμνείας ἐπίτροπος πέμπει στρατιώτας, οἳ εἰσπράξονται αὐτὸν ἀργυρίου τριάκοντα μυριάδας θησαυρῷ τῷ Καίσαρος ὀφειλομένας ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, ἀνάγκας τε ἐπετίθεσαν τοῦ μενοῦντος. [159] καὶ τότε μὲν πείσεσθαι τοῖς κεκελευσμένοις προσποιητὸς ἦν, νυκτὸς δ᾽ ἐπιγενομένης κόψας τὰ ἀπόγεια ᾤχετο ἐπ᾽ Ἀλεξανδρείας πλέων. ἔνθα Ἀλεξάνδρου δεῖται τοῦ ἀλαβάρχου μυριάδας εἴκοσι δάνειον αὐτῷ δοῦναι. ὁ δ᾽ ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔφη παρασχεῖν, Κύπρῳ δὲ οὐκ ἠρνεῖτο τήν τε φιλανδρίαν αὐτῆς καταπεπληγμένος καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν ἅπασαν ἀρετήν. [160] ἡ δὲ ὑπισχνεῖτο, καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος πέντε τάλαντα αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ δοὺς τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν Δικαιαρχείᾳ γενομένοις παρέξειν ἐπηγγέλλετο, δεδιὼς τοῦ Ἀγρίππου τὸ εἰς τὰ ἀναλώματα ἕτοιμον. καὶ Κύπρος μὲν ἀπαλλάξασα τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας πλευσούμενον αὐτὴ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίας ἀνέζευξεν.

(4) [161] Ἀγρίππας δὲ εἰς Ποτιόλους παραβαλὼν ἐπιστολὴν ὡς Τιβέριον τὸν Καίσαρα γράφει διαιτώμενον ἐν Καπρέαις, παρουσίαν τε τὴν αὐτοῦ δηλῶν ἐπὶ

θεραπείᾳ καὶ ὄψει τῇ ἐκείνου, καὶ ἀξιῶν ἔφεσιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι εἰς Καπρέας παραβαλεῖν. [162] Τιβέριος δὲ οὐδὲν ἐνδοιάσας τά τε ἄλλα αὐτῷ γράφει φιλανθρωπίᾳ χρώμενος, ἐκτίνει τε χάριν ἀποσημαίνων ἐπὶ τῷ σῶν ἐπανήκειν εἰς τὰς Καπρέας, ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἀφικνεῖται μηδὲν ὑφελὼν τοῦ ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι προθύμου ἠσπάζετό τε καὶ ἐξένιζεν. [163] τῇ δ᾽ ἑξῆς Καίσαρι γραμμάτων αὐτῷ παρὰ Ἐρεννίου Καπίτωνος ἀφικομένων, ὅτι Ἀγρίππας μυριάδας τριάκοντα δάνεισμα ποιήσας καὶ πρὸς τὰς καταβολὰς ἐκλιπὼν χρόνον τὸν συγκείμενον ἀπαιτήσεως γενομένης οἴχοιτο φυγὰς ἐκ τῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῷ χωρίων ἄκυρον αὐτὸν καθιστὰς τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ εἰσπραξομένῳ ἐξουσίας, [164] ταύτην ἀναγνοὺς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν περιαλγεῖ τε ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ διάκλεισιν γενέσθαι τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ κελεύει εἰσόδων τῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄχρι δὴ καταβολῆς τοῦ χρέους. ὁ δὲ μηδὲν τῇ ὀργῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος καταπλαγεὶς Ἀντωνίας δεῖται Γερμανικοῦ μητρὸς καὶ Κλαυδίου τοῦ ὕστερον γενομένου Καίσαρος, δάνεισμα αὐτῷ δοθῆναι τῶν τριάκοντα μυριάδων, ὡς φιλίας μὴ ἁμάρτοι τῆς πρὸς Τιβέριον. [165] ἡ δὲ Βερενίκης τε μνήμῃ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, σφόδρα γὰρ ἀλλήλαις ἐχρῶντο αἵδε αἱ γυναῖκες, καὶ αὐτῷ ὁμοτροφίας πρὸς τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κλαύδιον γεγενημένης, δίδωσι τὸ ἀργύριον, καὶ αὐτῷ ἀποτίσαντι τὸ χρέος ἀνεπικώλυτος ἦν ἡ φιλία τοῦ Τιβερίου. [166] αὖθις δὲ αὐτῷ Τιβέριος ὁ Καῖσαρ συνίστησιν υἱωνὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ κελεύων τὰ πάντα αὐτῷ ταῖς ἐξόδοις παρατυγχάνειν. Ἀγρίππας δὲ φιλίᾳ δεχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀντωνίας κατὰ θεραπείαν τρέπεται τὴν Γαίου υἱωνοῦ τε ὄντος αὐτῇ καὶ εὐνοίᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰς τὰ πρῶτα τιμωμένου. [167] καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλος Σαμαρεὺς γένος Καίσαρος δὲ ἀπελεύθερος: παρὰ τούτου δάνεισμα μυριάδας ἑκατὸν εὑρόμενος τῇ τε Ἀντωνίᾳ καταβάλλει τὸ ὀφειληθὲν χρέος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῷ ἀναλώματι θεραπεύων τὸν Γάιον μειζόνως ἐν ἀξιώματι ἦν παρ᾽ αὐτῷ.

(5) [168] Προιούσης δὲ ἐπὶ μέγα τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ τῆς πρὸς Γάιον φιλίας αἰωρουμένοις ποτὲ λόγος περὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου γίνεται, καὶ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου κατ᾽ εὐχὰς τραπομένου, μόνω δ᾽ ἤστην, ᾗ τάχος Τιβέριον ὑπεκστάντα τῆς ἀρχῆς Γαίῳ παραχωρεῖν ἀξιωτέρῳ τὰ πάντα ὄντι, τούτων ἀκροᾶται τῶν λόγων Εὔτυχος, Ἀγρίππου δ᾽ ἦν ἀπελεύθερος ἡνίοχος, καὶ παραχρῆμα μὲν σιγῇ παρεδίδου. [169] κλοπῆς δὲ ἱματίων αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ἐπικαλουμένης, καὶ ἀκριβῶς δὲ ἐκεκλόφει, φυγὼν καὶ ληφθεὶς ἀγωγῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Πείσωνα γενομένης, ὃς ἦν φύλαξ τῆς πόλεως, ἐρομένου τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς φυγῆς Καίσαρί φησιν ἀπορρήτους ἔχειν λόγους εἰπεῖν ἐπ᾽ ἀσφαλείᾳ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ φέροντας, ὥστε δήσας αὐτὸν ἔστελλεν εἰς τὰς Καπρέας, καὶ Τιβέριος τῷ αὐτοῦ τρόπῳ χρώμενος εἶχεν αὐτὸν δέσμιον, μελλητὴς εἰ καί τις ἕτερος βασιλέων ἢ τυράννων γενόμενος. [170] οὔτε γὰρ πρεσβειῶν ὑποδοχὰς ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἐποιεῖτο ἡγεμόσι τε ἢ ἐπιτρόποις ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ σταλεῖσιν οὐδεμία ἦν διαδοχή, ὁπότε μὴ φθαῖεν τετελευτηκότες: ὅθεν καὶ δεσμωτῶν ἀκροάσεως ἀπερίοπτος ἦν. [171] ὥστε καὶ τῶν φίλων ἐρομένων τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ ἐπὶ τοιούτοις ὀλκῇ χρωμένου, ἔφη τὰς

μὲν πρεσβείας τρίβειν, ὅπως μὴ ἀπαλλαγῆς αὐταῖς ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος γενομένης ἕτεροι πρέσβεις ἐπιχειροτονηθέντες ἐπανίοιεν ὄχλος τε αὐτῷ γίγνοιτο ἐπιδοχαῖς αὐτῶν καὶ πομπαῖς προσκειμένῳ. [172] τὰς δ᾽ ἀρχὰς συγχωρεῖν τοῖς ἅπαξ εἰς αὐτὰς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καταστᾶσιν αἰδοῦς προμηθείᾳ τῶν ὑποτελῶν: φύσει μὲν γὰρ εἶναι πᾶσαν ἡγεμονίαν οἰκείαν τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν: τὰς δὲ μὴ πατρίους, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς ὀλίγον καὶ ἄδηλον ὁπότε ἀφαιρεθεῖεν καὶ μειζόνως ἐξοτρύνειν ἐπὶ κλοπαῖς τοὺς ἔχοντας. [173] εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐφεστήκασιν εἰς πλέον, αὐτοὺς ἄδην τῶν κλοπῶν ἔξειν ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ τῶν κεκερδημένων ἀμβλυτέρως τὸ λοιπὸν αὐταῖς χρωμένους. διαδοχῆς δ᾽ ἐπιπαραγενομένης ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος μηδαμῶς ἂν ἀρκέσαι τοὺς ἆθλα τοῖς ἄρχουσι προκειμένους ἀναστροφῆς αὐτοῖς οὐ διδομένης καιρῶν, ἐν οἷς πλήρεις οἱ προειληφότες γενόμενοι ὑποδιδοῖέν τε σπουδῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ λαμβάνειν, διὰ τὸ πρὶν ἐν καιρῷ γενέσθαι μεταστῆναι. [174] παράδειγμά τε αὐτοῖς φησι τοῦτον τὸν λόγον: τραυματίᾳ τινὶ κειμένῳ μυῖαι κατὰ πλῆθος τὰς ὠτειλὰς περιέστασαν. καί τις τῶν παρατυχόντων οἰκτείρας αὐτοῦ τὴν δυστυχίαν καὶ νομίσας ἀδυναμίᾳ μὴ βοηθεῖν οἷός τ᾽ ἦν ἀποσοβεῖν αὐτὰς παραστάς. [175] καὶ δεομένου παύσασθαι τῶν ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε, ὑπολαβὼν ἤρετο τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ ἀπρομηθοῦς εἰς τὴν διαφυγὴν κακοῦ τοῦ ἐφεστηκότος. ‘‘μειζόνως γὰρ ἂν ἀδικοῖς με, εἶπε, ταύτας ἀπαγαγών. ταῖς μέν γε ἤδη πληρωθείσαις τοῦ αἵματος οὐκέθ᾽ ὁμοίως ἔπειξις ὄχλον μοι παρασχεῖν, ἀλλά πῃ καὶ ἀνίσχουσιν. αἱ δ᾽ ἀκραιφνεῖ τῷ κατ᾽ αὐτὰς λιμῷ συνελθοῦσαι καὶ τετρυμένον ἤδη παραλαμβάνουσαι κἂν ὀλέθρῳ παραδοῖεν’’. [176] διὰ τάδε οὖν καὐτὸς ὑπὸ πολλῶν τῶν κλοπῶν διεφθαρμένοις τοῖς ὑποτελέσιν προμηθὲς εἶναι μὴ συνεχὲς ἐξαποστέλλειν τοὺς ἡγησομένους, οἳ ἐν τρόπῳ μυιῶν ἐκπολεμοῖεν αὐτούς, φύσει πρὸς κέρδος ὀρωρεγμένοις σύμμαχον παραλαμβάνοντες τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ ταχέως ἀφαιρεθησομένου τὴν ἐνθένδε ἡδονήν. [177] μαρτυρήσει δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ περὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τοιούτοις φύσεως Τιβερίου τὸ ἔργον αὐτό: ἔτη γὰρ δύο πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσιν αὐτοκράτωρ γενόμενος δύο τοὺς πάντας Ἰουδαίοις ἐξέπεμψεν διοικήσοντας τὸ ἔθνος, Γρᾶτον τε καὶ Πιλᾶτον, ὃς αὐτῷ διεδέξατο τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. [178] καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ μὲν Ἰουδαίων τοιοῦτος ἦν, ἑτεροῖος δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ὑπηκόων. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν δεσμωτῶν τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀκροάσεως ἀπεσήμαινεν ὑπὸ τοῦ δικαιωθεῖσι μὲν θανάτῳ κούφισιν γενέσθαι τῶν ἐνεστηκότων κακῶν, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπ᾽ ἀρετῇ τῶν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις τύχῃ συνελθεῖν, τριβομένοις δὲ ἀχθηδόνι τῇ ἐπικειμένῃ μείζονα προσρέπειν τὴν δυστυχίαν.

(6) [179] Διὰ μὲν δὴ τάδε καὶ Εὔτυχος ἀκροάσεώς τε οὐκ ἐτύγχανε: καὶ δεσμοῖς ἐνείχετο. χρόνου δὲ ἐγγενομένου Τιβέριός τε ἐκ τῶν Καπρεῶν εἰς Τουσκουλανὸν παραγίνεται ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων ἑκατὸν τῆς Ῥώμης, καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἀξιοῖ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν διαπράξασθαι γενέσθαι τῷ Εὐτύχῳ τὴν ἀκρόασιν ἐφ᾽ οἵστισι τὴν κατηγορίαν ποιοῖτο αὐτοῦ. [180] τιμία δὲ ἦν Ἀντωνία Τιβερίῳ εἰς τὰ πάντα συγγενείας τε ἀξιώματι, Δρούσου γὰρ ἦν ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ γυνή, καὶ ἀρετῇ τοῦ σώφρονος: νέα γὰρ χηρεύειν παρέμεινεν γάμῳ τε ἀπεῖπεν τῷ πρὸς

ἕτερον καίπερ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ κελεύοντός τινι γαμεῖσθαι, καὶ λοιδοριῶν ἀπηλλαγμένον διεσώσατο αὐτῆς τὸν βίον. [181] ἰδίᾳ τε εὐεργέτις ἦν εἰς τὰ μέγιστα τοῦ Τιβερίου: ἐπιβουλῆς γὰρ μεγάλης συστάσης ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Σηιάνου φίλου τε ἀνδρὸς καὶ δύναμιν ἐν τῷ τότε μεγίστην ἔχοντος διὰ τὸ τῶν στρατευμάτων εἶναι ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῷ, καὶ τῆς τε βουλῆς οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων προσέθεντο καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν διέφθαρτο, προυκοπτέν τε ἡ ἐπιβουλὴ ἐπὶ μέγα κἂν ἐπέπρακτο Σηιάνῳ τὸ ἔργον μὴ τῆς Ἀντωνίας τόλμῃ χρησαμένης σοφωτέρᾳ τῆς Σηιάνου κακουργίας. [182] ἐπεὶ γὰρ μανθάνει τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ συντεθειμένα, γράφει πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα ἀκριβῶς καὶ Πάλλαντι ἐπιδοῦσα τὰ γράμματα τῷ πιστοτάτῳ τῶν δούλων αὐτῆς ἐκπέμπει πρὸς Τιβέριον εἰς τὰς Καπρέας. ὁ δὲ μαθὼν τόν τε Σηιᾶνον κτείνει καὶ τοὺς συνεπιβούλους, τήν τε Ἀντωνίαν καὶ πρὶν ἀξιολόγως ἄγων τιμιωτέραν τε ὑπελάμβανεν κἀπὶ τοῖς πᾶσι πιθανήν. [183] ὑπὸ δὴ ταύτης τῆς Ἀντωνίας ὁ Τιβέριος παρακαλούμενος ἐξετάσαι τὸν Εὔτυχον, “ἀλλ᾽ εἰ μὲν καταψεύσειε, φησὶν ὁ Τιβέριος, [ἔτι δε] Ἀγρίππου τὰ εἰρημένα Εὔτυχος, ἀρκοῦσαν κομίζεται παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τιμωρίαν, ἣν ἐπιτετίμηκα αὐτός: εἰ δὲ βασανιζομένου ἀληθῆ φανείη τὰ εἰρημένα, μήπου κολάζειν ποθῶν τὸν ἀπελεύθερον ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν μᾶλλον καλοίη τὴν δίκην”. [184] καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας ταῦτα φαμένης πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀντωνίας πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐπέκειτο ἀξιῶν ἐξέτασιν γενέσθαι τοῦ πράγματος, καὶ ἡ Ἀντωνία, οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει πολὺς ὢν ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἐπὶ τοῖσδε δεῖσθαι, καιρὸν παραλαβοῦσα τοιοῦτον: [185] αἰωρεῖτο μὲν Τιβέριος ἐπὶ φορείου κείμενος, προιόντων Γαίου τε τοῦ ἐκείνης υἱωνοῦ καὶ Ἀγρίππα, ἀπ᾽ ἀρίστου δ᾽ ἦσαν, παραπεριπατοῦσα τῷ φορείῳ παρεκάλει καλεῖσθαί τε τὸν Εὔτυχον καὶ ἐξετάζεσθαι. [186] ὁ δέ “ἀλλ᾽ ἴστων μὲν Ἀντωνία, εἶπεν, οἱ θεοί, ὅτι μὴ τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ γνώμῃ ἀνάγκῃ δὲ τῆς σῆς παρακλήσεως ἐξαγόμενος πράξω τὰ πραξόμενα.” ταῦτα εἰπὼν κελεύει Μάκρωνα, ὃς Σηιανοῦ διάδοχος ἦν, τὸν Εὔτυχον ἀγαγεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς παρῆν. Τιβέριος δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἤρετο, τί καὶ ἔχοι λέγειν κατ᾽ ἀνδρὸς ἐλευθερίαν αὐτῷ παρεσχηκότος. [187] ὁ δέ φησιν, “ὦ δέσποτα, αἰωροῦντο μὲν ἐφ᾽ ἁμάξης Γάιός τε οὗτος καὶ Ἀγρίππας σὺν αὐτῷ καί σφων ἐζόμην παρὰ τοῖν ποδοῖν, λόγων δὲ πολλῶν ἀνακυκλουμένων Ἀγρίππας φησὶ πρὸς Γάιον: εἰ γὰρ ἀφίκοιτό ποτε ἡμέρα, ᾗ μεταστὰς ὁ γέρων οὗτος χειροτονοίη σε ἡγεμόνα τῆς οἰκουμένης: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἡμῖν Τιβέριος ὁ υἱωνὸς αὐτοῦ γένοιτ᾽ ἂν ἐμποδὼν ὑπὸ σοῦ τελευτῶν, καὶ ἥ τε οἰκουμένη γένοιτ᾽ [188] ἂν μακαρία κἀγὼ πρὸ αὐτῆς.” Τιβέριος δὲ πιστὰ ἡγησάμενος τὰ εἰρημένα καὶ ἅμα μῆνιν ἀναφέρων τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ παλαιάν, διότι κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ θεραπεύειν Τιβέριον υἱωνόν τε αὐτοῦ γεγονότα καὶ Δρούσου παῖδα ὄντα, ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἀτίμως ἦγεν παρακροασάμενος τὰς ἐπιστολὰς καὶ πᾶς ὡς τὸν Γάιον μετεκάθιζεν, [189] “τοῦτον μὲν δή, φησί, Μάκρων, δῆσον.” Μάκρων δὲ τὰ μὲν οὐ σαφῶς ὄντινα προστάξειεν ἐξεπιστάμενος, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἂν προσδοκῶν περὶ τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ αὐτὸν κελεῦσαί τι τοιοῦτον, ἐπανεῖχεν ἀκριβωσόμενος τὰ εἰρημένα. [190]

ἐπεὶ δ’ ὁ Καῖσαρ περιοδεύσας τὸν ἱππόδρομον λαμβάνει τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἑστηκότα, “καὶ μὴν δή, φησίν, Μάκρων, τοῦτον εἶπον δεθῆναι”. τοῦ δὲ ἐπανερομένου ὅντινα, “Ἀγρίππαν γε” εἶπεν. [191] καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας τρέπεται μὲν κατὰ δεήσεις, τοῦ τε παιδὸς ᾧ συνετέθραπτο μνημονεύων καὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου τῆς ἐκτροφῆς, οὐ μὴν ἤνυέν γέ τι, ἀλλ’ ἦγον αὐτὸν ἐν πορφυρίσι δέσμιον. [192] καὶ καῦμά τε γὰρ σφοδρὸν ἦν καὶ ὑπὸ οἴνου τοῦ ἐπὶ σιτίοις μὴ πολλοῦ γεγονότος δίψος ἐξέκαιεν αὐτόν, καί τι καὶ ἡγωνία καὶ τὸ παρ’ ἀξίαν προσελάμβανεν, θεασάμενός τινα τῶν Γαίου παίδων Θαυμαστὸν ὄνομα ὕδωρ ἐν ἀγγείῳ κομίζοντα ᾔτησε πιεῖν. [193] καὶ ὀρέξαντος προθύμως πιών, “ἀλλ’ εἴπερ ἐπ’ ἀγαθοῖς, φησίν, ὦ παῖ, τὰ τῆσδέ σου τῆς διακονίας γέγονεν, διαφυγῆς μοι γενομένης τῶνδε τῶν δεσμῶν οὐκ ἂν βραδύνοιμι ἐλευθερίαν εἰσπρασσόμενός σοι παρὰ Γαίου, ὃς καὶ δεσμώτῃ μοι γενομένῳ διακονεῖσθαι καθάπερ ἐν τῷ πρότερον καθεστηκότι σχήματι τῆς περὶ ἐμὲ ἀξιώσεως οὐκ ἐνέλιπες.” καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσατο [ταῦτα εἰπών, ἀλλὰ δὴ ἠμείψατο]: [194] ἐν ὑστέρῳ γὰρ βασιλεύσας τὸν Θαυμαστὸν μειζόνως ἐλεύθερόν τε ἀφῆκε παρὰ Γαίου Καίσαρος γεγονότος λαβὼν καὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἐπίτροπον καθίστησι, τελευτῶν τε τῷ υἱεῖ Ἀγρίππᾳ καὶ Βερενίκῃ τῇ θυγατρὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις διακονησόμενον κατέλιπεν, ἐν τιμῇ τε ὢν ταύτῃ γηραιὸς τελευτᾷ. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον.

(7) [195] Ἀγρίππας δὲ τότε δεθεὶς εἱστήκει πρὸ τοῦ βασιλείου πρός τινι δένδρῳ κλιθεὶς ὑπὸ ἀθυμίας μετὰ πολλῶν οἳ ἐδέδεντο. καί τινος ὀρνέου καθίσαντος ἐπὶ τοῦ δένδρου, ᾧ Ἀγρίππας προσεκέκλιτο, βουβῶνα δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν ὄρνιν τοῦτον καλοῦσιν, τῶν δεσμωτῶν τις Γερμανὸς θεασάμενος ἤρετο τὸν στρατιώτην, ὅστις εἴη ὁ ἐν τῇ πορφυρίδι. [196] καὶ μαθὼν μὲν Ἀγρίππαν ὄνομα αὐτῷ, Ἰουδαῖον δὲ τὸ γένος καὶ τῶν ἐκείνῃ ἀξιολογωτάτων, ἠξίωσεν τὸν συνδεδεμένον αὐτῷ στρατιώτην πλησίον ἐλθεῖν διὰ λόγων: βούλεσθαι γάρ τινα ἀμφὶ τῶν πατρίων ἔρεσθαι αὐτόν. [197] καὶ τυχών, ἐπεὶ πλησίον ἵσταται, δι’ ἑρμηνέως “ὦ νεανία, φησίν, καταχθεῖ μέν σε τὸ αἰφνίδιον τῆς μεταβολῆς πολλήν τε οὕτως καὶ ἀθρόαν ἐπαγαγὸν τὴν τύχην, ἀπιστία δέ σοι λόγων, οἳ ἐπὶ διαφυγῇ κακοῦ τοῦ ἐφεστηκότος διαιροῖντο τοῦ θείου τὴν πρόνοιαν. [198] ἴσθι γε μήν, θεοὺς τοὺς ἐμοὶ πατρῴους καὶ τοὺς τοῖσδε ἐγχωρίους, οἳ τόνδε ἐπρυτάνευσαν ἡμῖν τὸν σίδηρον, ἐπομνύμενος λέξω τὰ πάντα οὔτε ἡδονῇ γλωσσάργῳ διδοὺς τὸν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς λόγον οὔτε διακενῆς εὐθυμεῖν σε ἐσπουδακώς. [199] αἱ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε προαγορεύσεις ὑστερηκότος τοῦ ἀποδείξοντος ἔργου χαλεπωτέραν προστίθενται τὴν ἀχθηδόνα τοῦ μηδ’ εἰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀκροάσαιτο αὐτῶν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν κινδύνοις παραβαλλόμενος δίκαιον ἡγησάμην σοι διασαφῆσαι τὴν προαγόρευσιν τῶν θεῶν. [200] οὐκ ἔσθ’ ὅπως οὐκ εὐθέως ἀπαλλαγή τέ σοι τῶνδε τῶν δεσμῶν παρέσται καὶ πρόοδος ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἀξιώματός τε καὶ δυνάμεως, ζηλωτός τε ἂν γένοιο πᾶσιν, οἳ νῦν δι’ οἴκτου τὰς τύχας σου λαμβάνουσιν, εὐδαίμονά τε ἂν ποιοῖο τὴν τελευτὴν παισίν, οἷς ἔσῃ τὸν βίον καταλειπόμενος.

μνημονεύειν δέ, ὁπότε εἰσαῦθις τὸν ὄρνιν θεάσαιο τοῦτον, πέντε ἡμέραις σοι τὴν τελευτὴν ἐσομένην. [201] ταῦτα πεπράξεται μὲν ἥπερ ἀποσημαίνει τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἐξαποστεῖλαν τουτονὶ τὸν ὄρνιν. προγνώσει τε αὐτῶν σύνεσιν τὴν παραγενομένην ἀποστερεῖν σε ἄδικον ἡγησάμην, ὅπως ἐπιστάμενος ἀγαθοῦ μέλλοντος λυσιτελεῖν ἐν ὀλίγῳ τὴν ἀχθηδόνα τοῦ παρόντος τιθοῖο. μνήμην δὲ ποιεῖσθαι εἰς χεῖράς σου παραγενομένου τοῦ εὐδαίμονος καὶ τοῦ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς διαφευξομένου δυστυχίαν, [202] ᾗ τανῦν σύνεσμεν.” καὶ ὁ μὲν Γερμανὸς τοσάδε προειπὼν εἰς τοσόνδε ὤφλεν τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ γέλωτα, ἐφ᾽ ὅσον ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον κατεφάνη τεθαυμάσθαι ἄξιος. ἡ δὲ Ἀντωνία χαλεπῶς φέρουσα τοῦ Ἀγρίππου τὴν δυστυχίαν τὸ μὲν Τιβερίῳ περὶ αὐτοῦ διαλέγεσθαι ἐργωδέστερον ἑώρα καὶ ἄλλως ἐπ᾽ ἀπράκτοις γενησόμενον, [203] εὑρίσκετο δ᾽ αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ Μάκρωνος στρατιωτῶν τε μετρίων ἀνδρῶν οἳ παραφυλάξειαν αὐτὸν ἐν φροντίσιν καὶ ἑκατοντάρχου τοῦ ἐφεστηξομένου τε ἐκείνοις καὶ συνδέτου ἐσομένου, λουτρά τε καθ᾽ ἡμέραν συγκεχωρῆσθαι καὶ ἀπελευθέρων καὶ φίλων εἰσόδους τήν τε ἄλλην ῥᾳστώνην, ἣ τῷ σώματι γένοιτ᾽ ἄν. [204] εἰσῄεσάν τε ὡς αὐτὸν φίλος τε Σίλας καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων Μαρσύας καὶ Στοιχεὺς τροφὰς εἰσκομίζοντες αἷς ἔχαιρεν καὶ δι᾽ ἐπιμελείας πάσης ἔχοντες, ἱμάτιά τε κομίζοντες ἐπὶ προσποιήσει πράσεως ὁπότε νὺξ γένοιτο ὑπεστρώνυσαν αὐτῷ συμπράξει τῶν στρατιωτῶν Μάκρωνος προειρηκότος: καὶ ταῦτα ἐπράσσετο ἐπὶ μῆνας ἕξ. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Ἀγρίππαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

(8) [205] Τιβέριος δ᾽ ἐπανελθὼν εἰς τὰς Καπρέας ἐμαλακίζετο τὰ μὲν πρῶτα μετρίως, ἐπιδούσης δ᾽ εἰς τὸ μᾶλλον τῆς νόσου πονηρὰς ἔχων περὶ αὐτῷ τὰς ἐλπίδας Εὔοδον, ὃς ἦν αὐτῷ τιμιώτατος τῶν ἀπελευθέρων, κελεύει τὰ τέκνα προσαγαγεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν: χρῄζειν γὰρ ἀφικέσθαι σφίσι διὰ λόγων πρὶν ἢ τελευτᾶν. [206] ἦσαν δ᾽ αὐτῷ παῖδες γνήσιοι μὲν οὐκέτι: Δροῦσος γὰρ δὴ ὁ μόνος αὐτῷ γεγονὼς ἐτύγχανεν τεθνεώς: υἱὸς δὲ τούτου κατελείπετο Τιβέριος ἐπικαλούμενος Γέμελλος, Γάιός τε Γερμανικοῦ παῖς, ἀδελφοῦ υἱὸς γεγονώς, νεανίας τε ἤδη καὶ παιδείαν ἐκπεπονηκὼς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον εὐνοίᾳ τε τοῦ δήμου τιμώμενος διὰ τὴν Γερμανικοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρετήν: [207] ἐπὶ μέγιστον γὰρ δὴ οὗτος προῆλθεν παρὰ τοῖς πλήθεσι τιμῆς εὐσταθείᾳ τρόπου καὶ δεξιότητι τοῦ ὁμιλεῖν ἀνεπαχθὴς ὢν καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν κτώμενος τῷ βούλεσθαι ἴσος πᾶσιν εἶναι. [208] ἐξ ὧν οὐ μόνον ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ βουλὴ μειζόνως ἦγον αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὑποτελῶν ἕκαστον ἐθνῶν, οἱ μὲν ὠμιληκότες ἁλισκόμενοι τῇ χάριτι τῆς ἐντεύξεως, οἱ δὲ πύστει τῆς ἐκείνων ἀφηγήσεως παραλαμβάνοντες. [209] πένθος τε αὐτοῦ τελευτήσαντος προυτέθη πᾶσιν οὐ θεραπείᾳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιψευδομένων τὴν συμφοράν, λύπῃ δὲ ἀληθεῖ οἰκειουμένων διὰ τὸ ἴδιον τυχεῖν ἑκάστοις τὴν μετάστασιν αὐτοῦ ὑπειλῆφθαι: [210] οὕτως ἀνεπαχθῶς ὡμίλησε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. ἐξ ὧν μέγα ὄφελος καὶ τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ παρὰ πᾶσιν κατελέλειπτο τοῖς τε ἄλλοις

καὶ μάλιστα τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἦρτο, ἀρετὴν ἀριθμοῦντες τὸ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνῳ περιγενησομένης, εἰ δεήσει, καὶ τελευτᾶν.

(9) [211] Ὁ δὲ Τιβέριος Εὐόδῳ πρόσταγμα ποιησάμενος κατὰ τὴν ὑστεραίαν ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω εἰσαγαγεῖν τοὺς παῖδας εὔχεται τοῖς πατρίοις θεοῖς σημεῖόν τι πρόφαντον αὐτῷ δεῖξαι περὶ τοῦ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν διαδεξομένου, σπεύδων μὲν τῷ υἱεῖ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτὴν καταλιπεῖν, μεῖζον δὲ δόξης τε καὶ βουλήσεως τῆς αὐτοῦ πεπιστευκὼς τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀποφανούμενον. [212] οἰώνισμα δ᾽ οὖν αὐτῷ προύκειτο, εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἥξειν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ὃς ἂν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἀφίκοιτο πρότερος πρὸς αὐτόν. ταῦτα διανοηθεὶς πέμπει παρὰ τοῦ υἱωνοῦ τὸν παιδαγωγὸν κελεύων ὑπὸ πρώτην ὥραν ἄγειν τὸν παῖδα ὡς αὐτόν, καταμελήσεσθαι στρατηγίας τὸν θεὸν ὑπολαμβάνων: ὁ δ᾽ ἀντεψήφιζεν αὐτοῦ τὴν χειροτονίαν. [213] ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ᾽ ἐνθυμησάμενος, ἐπεὶ τάχιστα ἡμέρα ἦν, κελεύει τὸν Εὔοδον εἰσκαλεῖν τῶν παίδων τὸν παρόντα πρότερον. ἐξελθὼν δ᾽ ἐκεῖνος καὶ τὸν Γάιον πρὸ τοῦ δωματίου καταλαβών, ὁ γὰρ Τιβέριος οὐ παρῆν μετεώρου τῆς τροφῆς αὐτῷ γενομένης, ᾔδει δὲ οὐδὲν ὧν ἐβούλετο ὁ δεσπότης, “καλεῖ σε, φησίν, ὁ πατήρ”, καὶ εἰσήγαγεν αὐτόν. [214] Τιβέριος δὲ ὡς θεᾶται Γάιον, τότε πρῶτον εἰς ἐπίνοιαν ἐλθὼν τοῦ θείου τῆς ἐξουσίας καὶ τὴν κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἡγεμονίαν παντελῶς ἀφῃρημένην ἐπικυροῦν οἷς ψηφίσαιτο δυνάμεως ἐκεῖθεν αὐτῷ μὴ παραγενομένης, πολλὰ δὴ κατολοφυράμενος αὐτὸν μὲν τοῦ ἐφ᾽ οἷς προβουλεύσειε κυροῦν ἀφῃρημένου τὸ κράτος, [215] Τιβέριον δὲ τὸν υἱωνόν, ὡς τῆς τε Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ὁμοῦ διαμάρτοι καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας κεχρημένον διὰ τὸ ἐπ᾽ ἄλλων κρειττόνων οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν εἰσηγησαμένῳ τὴν συναναστροφὴν κείσεσθαι τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτῷ τοῦ συγγενοῦς μὴ ὠφελεῖν δυναμένου, φόβῳ τε καὶ μίσει τοῦ ἐφεστηκότος χρησομένου πρὸς αὐτόν, τὰ μὲν ὡς προσεδρεύοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἀντεπιβουλεύειν ὑπέρ τε τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς ἀντιλήψεως τῶν πραγμάτων μὴ ἀφησόμενον. [216] ἦν δὲ καὶ γενεθλιαλογίᾳ Τιβέριος μάλιστα προσκείμενος καὶ κατορθούμενα αὐτῇ μειζόνως τῶν εἰς τόδε ἀνακειμένων ἑκόντων τὸν βίον ἐξηγμένος. Γάλβαν οὖν ποτε θεασάμενος ὡς αὐτὸν εἰσιόντα φησὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους αὐτῷ, ὡς παραγίνοιτο ἀνὴρ τῇ Ῥωμαίων προτιμησόμενος ἡγεμονίᾳ. [217] τά τε πάντα μαντειῶν ὁπόσα ἐχόμενα πιθανὰ ἡγούμενος ἡγεμόνων μάλιστα ἀνὴρ οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπαληθείοντος αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐχρῆτο αὐταῖς. [218] καὶ τότε ἐν χαλεποῖς ἦν συντυχίᾳ τοῦ γεγονότος, ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀπολωλότι τῷ υἱεῖ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀχθεινῶς διατιθέμενος καὶ κατάμεμψιν αὐτοῦ ποιούμενος τοῦ κατὰ τὴν οἰώνισιν προμηθοῦς: παρὸν γὰρ [ἂν] αὐτῷ λύπης ἀπηλλαγμένῳ τελευτᾶν ἀμαθίᾳ τῶν ἐσομένων, διατρίβεσθαι τῷ προεγνωκὼς τὴν ἐσομένην δυστυχίαν τῶν φιλτάτων τελευτᾶν. [219] καίπερ δὲ συντεταραγμένος τῇ παρὰ δόξαν τῆς ἀρχῆς εἰς οὓς οὐκ ἤθελεν περιόδῳ, ἄκων δὲ καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος φησὶ γοῦν πρὸς τὸν Γάιον: “ὦ παῖ, καίπερ μοι συγγενεστέρου Τιβερίου ἢ κατὰ σὲ ὄντος δόξῃ τε τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ τῷ ὁμοψήφῳ

ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ τῶν θεῶν σοὶ φέρων ἐγχειρίζω τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν. [220] ἀξιῶ δέ σε μηδὲν ἀμνημονεῖν ὁμιλήσαντα αὐτῇ μήτ᾽ εὐνοίας τῆς ἐμῆς, ὃς εἰς τοσόνδε ἀξιώματος καθίστημι μέγεθος, [221] μήτε τοῦ πρὸς Τιβέριον συγγενοῦς, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπιστάμενον, ὡς σύν τε τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτοὺς τοιῶνδέ σοι κατασταίην ἀγαθῶν ποριστής, ἀμείβεσθαί μου τὸ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς πρόθυμον καὶ ἅμα Τιβερίου φροντίζειν διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν, ἄλλως τε γινώσκειν, ὡς τεῖχός σοι καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁμοῦ καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας περιὼν γίνοιτο ἂν Τιβέριος, φροίμιον δὲ τοῦ δυστυχοῦς μεθιστάμενος. [222] αἵ τε γὰρ μονώσεις ἐπικίνδυνοι τοῖς εἰς τηλικούτων πραγμάτων ὄγκον καταστᾶσιν καὶ θεοῖς οὐκ ἀτιμώρητα ὁπόσα παρὰ δίκην πρασσόμενα ἀφανίζοι τοῦ νόμου τὸ ἑτέρως πράσσειν παρακαλοῦν.” ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Τιβέριος ἔλεγεν, [223] οὐ μὴν πιθανὸς ἦν Γαίῳ καίπερ ὑπισχνουμένῳ, ἀλλὰ καταστὰς εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τόν τε Τιβέριον μαντείαις ἀναιρεῖ ταῖς ἐκείνου καὐτὸς ἐπιβουλῶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν συντεθεισῶν μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ τελευτᾷ.

(10) [224] Τιβέριος δὲ τὸν Γάιον ἀποδείξας διάδοχον τῆς ἡγεμονίας ὀλίγας ἐπιβιοὺς ἡμέρας ἔθανεν σχὼν αὐτὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ πέντε μῆνας πρὸς ἐνιαυτοῖν δυοῖν καὶ εἴκοσι. Γάιος δὲ ἦν αὐτοκράτωρ τέταρτος. [225] Ῥωμαίοις δ᾽ ἦν μὲν πύστις τῆς Τιβερίου τελευτῆς εὐφραίνοντό τε τῷ ἀγαθῷ τῆς ἀγγελίας, οὐ μὴν πιστεύειν γε θάρσος ἦν αὐτοῖς, οὐ τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι, πρὸ πολλῶν γὰρ ἂν ἐτίμησαν χρημάτων τὸ ἐπαληθεῦσαν τῶν λόγων, δέει δὲ μὴ ψευδοῦς τῆς ἀγγελίας γενομένης προεξαναστάντες ἐπὶ δηλώσει τοῦ αὐτῶν χάρματος εἶτ᾽ ἀπολλύοιντο διαβολῆς αὐτῶν γενομένης: [226] πλεῖστα γὰρ ἀνὴρ εἷς οὗτος Ῥωμαίων τοὺς εὐπατρίδας εἰργάσατο δεινὰ δυσόργητος ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὢν καὶ ἀνήκεστος εἰς τὸ ἐργάζεσθαι καταστάς, εἰ καὶ χωρὶς λόγου τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπανέλοιτο τοῦ μισεῖν, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι μὲν οἷς κρίνοιεν ἐξαγριοῦν φύσιν ἔχων, εἰς θάνατον δὲ καὶ τῶν κουφοτάτων ἀνατιθεὶς τὴν ζημίαν. [227] ὥστε ἡδονῇ τοῦ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ λόγου φέροντος τὴν ἀκρόασιν εἰς ὅσον ἐβούλοντο ἀπολαύσματι χρῆσθαι ἐπεκεκώλυντο δείμασι κακῶν, ἃ προεωρᾶτο ψευσθεῖσι τῆς ἐλπίδος. [228] Μαρσύας δὲ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ὁ ἀπελεύθερος πυθόμενος τοῦ Τιβερίου τὴν τελευτὴν ὡθεῖτο δρομαῖος τὸν Ἀγρίππαν εὐαγγελιούμενος, καὶ καταλαβὼν ἐν ἐξόδοις ὄντα εἰς τὸ βαλανεῖον συννεύσας πρὸς αὐτὸν γλώσσῃ τῇ Ἑβραίων “τέθνηκεν ὁ λέων” φησίν. [229] ὁ δὲ σύνεσίν τε τοῦ λόγου ποιησάμενος καὶ χάρματι τῷ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ περιενεχθείς “ἀλλά σοι τῶν ἁπάντων καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷδε εὐαγγελίας χάριτες ἐν ἐμοὶ παντοῖαι γίνοιντο, μόνον ἀληθῆ τὰ λεγόμενα εἴη.” καὶ ὁ ἑκατοντάρχης, [230] ὅσπερ τῇ φυλακῇ ἐφειστήκει τοῦ Ἀγρίππου, θεώμενος τήν τε σπουδὴν μεθ᾽ οἵας ὁ Μαρσύας ἀφίκετο καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῶν λόγων χάρμα τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ συνελθόν, ὑποτοπήσας καίνωσίν τινα γεγονέναι τῶν λόγων ἤρετό σφας περὶ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἐφεστηκότος. [231] οἱ δὲ τέως μὲν παρέτρεπον, ἐγκειμένῳ δὲ ἀποσημαίνει ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ἤδη γὰρ φίλος ἦν, μηδὲν ἐνδοιάσας. ὁ δὲ ἐκοινοῦτό τε τὴν ἡδονὴν τοῦ λόγου διὰ τὸ εἰς ἀγαθὰ τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ φέρειν προυτίθει τε αὐτῷ δεῖπνον.

εὐωχουμένων δ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ πότου προιόντος παρῆν τις λέγων ζῆν τε τὸν Τιβέριον καὶ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἐπανήξειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. [232] καὶ ὁ ἑκατοντάρχης δεινῶς θορυβηθεὶς τῷ λόγῳ διὰ τὸ εἰς θάνατον ἀνακείμενα πεπραχέναι δεσμώτῃ τε καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἀγγελίᾳ θανάτου αὐτοκράτορος συνδιῃτῆσθαι μετὰ χάρματος, ἀπωθεῖταί τε τὸν Ἀγρίππαν τοῦ κλινιδίου καί "ἦπου, φησίν, λήσειν με ὑπονοεῖς θάνατον τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος κατεψευσμένος, ἀλλ᾽ [233] οὐ κεφαλῇ τῇ σῇ τοῦτον ἀναμαξόμενος τὸν λόγον;" ταῦτα εἰπὼν κελεύει δῆσαι τὸν Ἀγρίππαν λελυκὼς πρότερον αὐτὸν φυλακήν τε ἀκριβεστέραν αὐτοῦ ἢ πρότερον καθίσταται. καὶ νύκτα μὲν ἐκείνην ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἐν τοιούτοις ἦν τοῖς κακοῖς. [234] τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ λόγος τε πλείων ἦν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἰσχυριζόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ Τιβερίου, ἐθάρρουν τε οἱ ἄνθρωποι φανερῶς ἤδη θροεῖν καί τινες καὶ θυσίας ἐπετέλουν, ἐπιστολαί τε ἀφίκοντο παρὰ τοῦ Γαίου, ἡ μὲν πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον τοῦ Τιβερίου διασαφοῦσα τὴν τελευτὴν καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ παράληψιν τῆς ἡγεμονίας γενομένην, [235] ἡ δὲ πρὸς Πείσωνα τὸν φύλακα τῆς πόλεως τοῦτό τε ἀγορεύουσα, καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐκέλευεν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μεταστῆσαι εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, ἐν ᾗ πρότερον ἢ δεθῆναι δίαιταν εἶχεν. τότε ἐν θάρσει λοιπὸν ἦγεν τὰ περὶ αὐτῆς: φυλακὴ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τήρησις ἦν, μετὰ μέντοι ἀνέσεως τῆς εἰς τὴν δίαιταν. [236] Γάιος δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ Ῥώμης παρῆν ἄγων τοῦ Τιβερίου τὸ σῶμα, ταφάς τε αὐτοῦ ποιεῖται πολυτελεῖς νόμοις τοῖς πατρίοις, Ἀγρίππαν τε αὐθημερὸν λύειν ὄντα πρόθυμον κώλυμα Ἀντωνία ἦν οὔ τι μίσει τῷ πρὸς τὸν δεδεμένον προμηθείᾳ δὲ τοῦ Γαίου εὐπρεποῦς, μὴ δόξαν ἀπάγοιτο ἡδονῇ δεχομένου τὴν Τιβερίου τελευτὴν ἄνδρα ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου δεδεμένον λύων ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος. [237] διελθουσῶν μέντοι οὐ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἀποκείρει τε αὐτὸν καὶ μεταμφιέννυσιν, εἶτα δὲ τὸ διάδημα περιτίθησιν τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ βασιλέα καθίστησιν αὐτὸν τῆς Φιλίππου τετραρχίας δωρησάμενος αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν Λυσανίου τετραρχίαν, ἀλλάττει τε σιδηρᾷ ἀλύσει χρυσῆν ἰσόσταθμον. ἱππάρχην δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐκπέμπει Μάρυλλον.

(11) [238] Δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς Γαίου Καίσαρος ἡγεμονίας Ἀγρίππας ἠξίου συγχώρησιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι πλεύσαντι τήν τε ἀρχὴν καταστήσασθαι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εἰς δέον οἰκονομησαμένῳ ἐπανιέναι. [239] καὶ συγχωροῦντος τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος παρῆν παρ᾽ ἐλπίδας τε ὤφθη πᾶσι βασιλεὺς πολλήν τε τῆς τύχης ἐπεδείκνυεν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῖς θεωροῦσιν ἐκ λογισμῶν ἀπορίας τε τῆς πρότερον καὶ τοῦ ἐν τῷ παρόντι εὐδαίμονος. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐμακάριζον τοῦ μὴ διαμαρτίᾳ χρησαμένου τῶν ἐλπίδων, οἱ δ᾽ ἐν ἀπιστίᾳ περὶ τῶν γεγονότων ἦσαν.

VII

(1) [240] Ἡρωδιὰς δὲ ἡ ἀδελφὴ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου συνοικοῦσα Ἡρώδῃ, τετράρχης δὲ οὗτος ἦν Γαλιλαίας καὶ Περαίας, φθόνῳ τἀδελφοῦ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐδέχετο ὁρῶσα

ἐν πολὺ μείζονι ἀξιώματι γεγενημένον ἀνδρὸς τοῦ αὐτῆς, διὰ τὸ φυγῇ μὲν ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἔξοδον διαλῦσαι τὰ χρέα μὴ δυνάμενον, κάθοδον δὲ μετ᾽ ἀξιώματος καὶ οὕτως πολλοῦ τοῦ εὐδαίμονος. [241] ἐλυπεῖτο οὖν καὶ βαρέως ἔφερεν τῇ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῦ μεταβολῇ, καὶ μάλιστα ὁπότε θεάσαιτο μετὰ τῶν εἰωθότων παρασήμων τῆς βασιλείας ἐπιφοιτῶντά τε τοῖς πλήθεσιν, ἐπικρύπτεσθαι οὐκ ἠνείχετο τὴν δυστυχίαν τοῦ φθόνου, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐξῆρεν κελεύουσα ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης πλεῖν ἐπὶ μνηστείᾳ τῶν ἴσων: [242] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀνεκτὸν εἶναι σφίσι τὸ ζῆν, εἰ Ἀγρίππας Ἀριστοβούλου μὲν υἱὸς ὢν θανεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς κατεγνωσμένου, πενίᾳ δὲ ἀπόρῳ συνιών, ὡς τελέως αὐτῷ ἐπικουφίζεσθαι τἀναγκαῖα τοῦ ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας, φυγῇ δὲ τῶν δεδανεικότων τὸν πλοῦν πεποιημένος ἐπανεληλύθοι βασιλεύς, αὐτὸς δέ γε ὢν παῖς βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ συγγενοῦς τῆς ἀρχῆς καλοῦντος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ μεταποιήσει τῶν ἴσων καθέζοιτο ἀγαπῶν ἐν ἰδιωτείᾳ διαβιοῦν. [243] ἀλλ᾽ εἰ καὶ πρότερόν γε, Ἡρώδη, μηδὲν ἐλύπει σε τὸ ἐν ἐλάσσονι τιμῇ πατρὸς οὗ γέγονας εἶναι, νῦν γοῦν ὀρέχθητι συγγενοῦς ἀξιώματος μηδὲ ὑπόμενε ἡσσᾶσθαι προύχοντι τιμῆς ἀνδρὶ πλοῦτον τεθεραπευκότι τὸν σόν, μηδὲ πενίαν ἀποφήνῃς τὴν ἐκείνου τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐπορίας ἀρετῇ μᾶλλον χρῆσθαι δυναμένην, μηδὲ δευτερεύειν ἀνεπαίσχυντον ἡγοῦ τῶν χθές τε καὶ πρῴην ἐλέῳ τῷ σῷ διαβεβιωκότων. [244] ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἴωμεν, καὶ μήτε πόνου φειδώ τις ἔστω μήτε ἀργυρίου δαπάνης καὶ χρυσίου, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπ᾽ οὐδαμινοῖς ἐν βελτίοσιν γενέσθαι τὴν τήρησιν αὐτῶν ἀναλώσεως τῆς ἐπὶ κτήσει βασιλείας ἐσομένης.”

(2) [245] Ὁ δὲ τέως μὲν ἀπεμάχετο ἀγαπῶν τὴν ἡσυχίαν καὶ τῆς Ῥώμης τὸν ὄχλον δι᾽ ὑποψίας λαμβάνων ἀναδιδάσκειν τε αὐτὴν ἐπειρᾶτο, ἡ δ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ὅσον ἐξαναχωροῦντα ἑώρα μειζόνως ἐπέκειτο κελεύουσα μὴ ἀνιέναι πάντα πράσσειν ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ. [246] καὶ πέρας οὐκ ἀνῆκεν ἕως ἐξενίκησεν αὐτὸν ὁμογνώμονα αὐτῇ ἀκουσίως γενέσθαι διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἄλλως ἀποφυγεῖν αὐτῆς τὸ ἐπὶ τοιούτοις ψηφισάμενον, παρασκευασάμενός τε ὡς ἐνῆν πολυτελῶς καὶ φειδοῖ μηδενὸς χρώμενος ἀνήγετο ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἅμα καὶ τὴν Ἡρωδιάδα ἀγόμενος. [247] Ἀγρίππας δὲ τήν τε διάνοιαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν αἰσθόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς παρεσκευάζετο, ἐπεί τε ἐκπεπλευκότας ἀκούει, πέμπει καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης Φορτουνᾶτον αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων δῶρά τε κομίζοντα τῷ αὐτοκράτορι καὶ ἐπιστολὰς κατὰ τοῦ Ἡρώδου τὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν διδάξοντα ᾗ καιρὸς τὸν Γάιον. [248] ὁ δὲ ἐπαναχθεὶς τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην καὶ δεξιῷ χρησάμενος τῷ πλῷ τοσόνδε ἀπελίπετο τοῦ Ἡρώδου, ὥστε τὸν μὲν ἐντυχεῖν Γαίῳ, ὁ δὲ ἐπικατάγεται καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἀπεδίδου. καὶ προσέπλευσαν ἀμφότεροι Δικαιαρχείᾳ καὶ τὸν Γάιον ἐν Βαίαις λαμβάνουσιν. [249] πολύδριον δ᾽ ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦτο τῆς Καμπανίας ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων πέντε τῆς Δικαιαρχείας κείμενον, βασίλειοί τέ εἰσιν οἰκήσεις αὐτόθι πολυτελέσι κεχρημέναι κατασκευαῖς φιλοτιμηθέντος τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων ἑκάστου τοὺς προγεγονότας ὑπερβάλλεσθαι, λουτρά τε παρέχεται τὸ χωρίον

θερμὰ γῆθεν αὐτόματα ἀνιέντα ἀγαθὰ ἐπί τε ἰάσει τοῖς χρωμένοις καὶ ἄλλως τῷ ἀνειμένῳ τῆς διαίτης συμφέροντα. [250] Γάιος δὲ ἅμα τε προσαγορεύων τὸν Ἡρώδην, πρῶτον δὲ αὐτῷ ἐνετύγχανεν, ἅμα τε τοῦ Ἀγρίππου τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἐπιὼν ἐπὶ κατηγορίᾳ τῇ ἐκείνου συγκειμένας, κατηγόρει δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁμολογίαν πρὸς Σηιανὸν κατὰ τῆς Τιβερίου ἀρχῆς καὶ πρὸς Ἀρτάβανον τὸν Πάρθον ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος κατὰ τῆς Γαίου ἀρχῆς, [251] παράδειγμά τε ἦν αὐτῷ τοῦ λόγου μυριάσιν ἑπτὰ ὁπλιτῶν ἀρκέσουσα κατασκευὴ ἐν ταῖς Ἡρώδου ὁπλοθήκαις ἀποκειμένη, ἐκινεῖτό τε ὑπὸ τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ ἤρετο τὸν Ἡρώδην, εἰ ἀληθὴς ὁ περὶ τῶν ὅπλων λόγος. [252] τοῦ δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἕτερα εἰπεῖν διὰ τὸ ἀντιφθέγξασθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, εἰπόντος εἶναι τὰ ὅπλα, πιστὰ ἡγούμενος εἶναι τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποστάσει κατηγορούμενα, τὴν τετραρχίαν ἀφελόμενος αὐτὸν προσθήκην τῇ Ἀγρίππου βασιλείᾳ ποιεῖται καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὁμοίως τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ δίδωσιν, αὐτὸν δὲ φυγῇ ἀιδίῳ ἐζημίωσεν ἀποδείξας οἰκητήριον αὐτοῦ Λούγδουνον πόλιν τῆς Γαλλίας. [253] Ἡρωδιάδα δὲ μαθὼν Ἀγρίππου ἀδελφὴν οὖσαν τά τε χρήματα ἐδίδου ὁπόσα ἐκείνῃ ἰδίᾳ ἦν καὶ τοῦ μὴ κοινωνεῖν νομίσας τῷ ἀνδρὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς τεῖχος αὐτῇ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔλεγεν. [254] ἡ δέ "ἀλλὰ σὺ μέν, αὐτόκρατορ, εἶπεν, μεγαλοφρόνως τε καὶ ἀξιώματι τῷ σαυτοῦ πρεπόντως τάδε λέγεις, κώλυμα δέ μοί ἐστιν χρῆσθαί σου τῇ χάριτι τῆς δωρεᾶς εὔνοια ἡ πρὸς τὸν γεγαμηκότα, οὗ κοινωνόν με τῆς εὐδαιμονίας γενομένην οὐ δίκαιον ἐγκατα [255] λιπεῖν τὸ ἐπὶ ταῖς τύχαις καθεσταμένον." ὁ δὲ ὀργῇ τοῦ μεγαλόφρονος αὐτὴν ποιησάμενος συνήλαυνεν καὶ αὐτὴν τῷ Ἡρώδῃ καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῆς τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ δίδωσιν. Ἡρωδιάδι μὲν δὴ φθόνου τοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ Ἡρώδῃ γυναικείων ἀκροασαμένῳ κουφολογιῶν δίκην ταύτην ἐπετίμησεν ὁ θεός. [256] Γάιος δὲ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ τὸν ἑξῆς πάνυ μεγαλοφρόνως ἐχρῆτο τοῖς πράγμασιν καὶ μέτριον παρέχων αὐτὸν εἰς εὔνοιαν πολλὴν προυχώρει παρά τε Ῥωμαίοις αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις. προιὼν δ' ἐξίστατο τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φρονεῖν ὑπὸ μεγέθους τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκθειάζων ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐπ' ἀτιμίᾳ τοῦ θείου πολιτεύειν ἦρτο.

VIII

(1) [257] Καὶ δὴ στάσεως ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ γενομένης Ἰουδαίων τε οἳ ἐνοικοῦσι καὶ Ἑλλήνων τρεῖς ἀφ' ἑκατέρας τῆς στάσεως πρεσβευταὶ αἱρεθέντες παρῆσαν ὡς τὸν Γάιον. καὶ ἦν γὰρ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων πρέσβεων εἷς Ἀπίων, ὃς πολλὰ εἰς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐβλασφήμησεν ἄλλα τε λέγων καὶ ὡς τῶν Καίσαρος τιμῶν περιορῷεν: [258] πάντων γοῦν ὁπόσοι τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ὑποτελεῖς εἶεν βωμοὺς τῷ Γαίῳ καὶ νεὼς ἱδρυμένων τά τε ἄλλα πᾶσιν αὐτὸν ὥσπερ τοὺς θεοὺς δεχομένων, μόνους τούσδε ἄδοξον ἡγεῖσθαι ἀνδριᾶσι τιμᾶν καὶ ὅρκιον αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα ποιεῖσθαι. [259] πολλὰ δὲ καὶ χαλεπὰ Ἀπίωνος εἰρηκότος, ὑφ' ὧν ἀρθῆναι ἤλπιζεν τὸν Γάιον καὶ εἰκὸς ἦν, Φίλων ὁ προεστὼς τῶν Ἰουδαίων τῆς πρεσβείας,

ἀνὴρ τὰ πάντα ἔνδοξος Ἀλεξάνδρου τε τοῦ ἀλαβάρχου ἀδελφὸς ὢν καὶ φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἄπειρος, οἷός τε ἦν ἐπ᾽ ἀπολογίᾳ χωρεῖν τῶν κατηγορημένων. διακλείει δ᾽ αὐτὸν Γάιος κελεύσας ἐκποδὼν ἀπελθεῖν, [260] περιοργής τε ὢν φανερὸς ἦν ἐργασόμενός τι δεινὸν αὐτούς. ὁ δὲ Φίλων ἕξεισι περιυβρισμένος καί φησι πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, οἳ περὶ αὐτὸν ἦσαν, ὡς χρὴ θαρρεῖν, Γαίου λόγῳ μὲν αὐτοῖς ὠργισμένου, ἔργῳ δὲ ἤδη τὸν θεὸν ἀντιπαρεξάγοντος.

(2) [261] Γάιος δὲ ἐν δεινῷ φέρων εἰς τοσόνδε ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων περιῶφθαι μόνων πρεσβευτὴν ἐπὶ Συρίας ἐκπέμπει Πετρώνιον διάδοχον Οὐιτελλίῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς, κελεύων χειρὶ πολλῇ εἰσβαλόντι εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, εἰ μὲν ἑκόντες δέχοιντο, ἱστᾶν αὐτοῦ ἀνδριάντα ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰ δ᾽ ἀγνωμοσύνῃ χρῷντο, πολέμῳ κρατήσαντα τοῦτο ποιεῖν. [262] καὶ Πετρώνιος Συρίαν παραλαβὼν ἠπείγετο διακονεῖσθαι ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος, συμμαχίαν τε πλείστην ὅσην ἠδύνατο ἀθροίσας καὶ τάγματα δύο τῆς Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεως ἄγων ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίδος παρῆν αὐτόθι χειμάσων ὡς πρὸς ἔαρ τοῦ πολεμεῖν οὐκ ἀφεξόμενος, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Γάιον ἔγραφεν περὶ τῶν ἐπεγνωσμένων. ὁ δὲ ἐπῄνει τῆς προθυμίας αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκέλευεν μὴ ἀνιέναι πολεμεῖν δὲ μὴ πειθομένοις ἐντεταμένως. [263] Ἰουδαίων δὲ πολλαὶ μυριάδες παρῆσαν ὡς τὸν Πετρώνιον εἰς Πτολεμαίδα κατὰ δεήσεις μηδὲν ἐπὶ παρανομίᾳ σφᾶς ἐπαναγκάζειν καὶ παραβάσει τοῦ πατρίου νόμου. [264] εἰ δέ σοι πάντως πρόκειται τὸν ἀνδριάντα φέρειν καὶ ἱστᾶν, ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς πρότερον μεταχειρισάμενος πρᾶσσε τὰ δεδογμένα: οὐδὲ γὰρ δυνάμεθα περιόντες θεωρεῖν πράγματα ἡμῖν ἀπηγορευμένα ἀξιώματί τε τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ προπατόρων τῶν ἡμετέρων τῶν εἰς ἀρετὴν ἀνήκειν αὐτὰ κεχειροτονηκότων.” Πετρώνιος δὲ ὀργὴν λαβὼν εἶπεν: [265] “ἀλλ᾽ εἰ μὲν αὐτοκράτωρ ὢν βουλεύμασι χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ τάδε πράσσειν ἐπενόουν, κἂν δίκαιος ἦν ὑμῖν πρός με οὗτος ὁ λόγος. νυνὶ δέ μοι Καίσαρος ἐπεσταλκότος πᾶσα ἀνάγκη διακονεῖσθαι τοῖς ἐκείνῳ προανεψηφισμένοις διὰ τὸ εἰς ἀνηκεστοτέραν φέρειν ζημίαν τὴν παρακρόασιν αὐτῶν.” “ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὕτως φρονεῖς, [266] ὦ Πετρώνιε, φασὶν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, ὡς μὴ ἂν ἐπιστολὰς τὰς Γαίου παρελθεῖν, οὐδ᾽ ἂν αὐτοὶ παραβαίημεν τοῦ νόμου τὴν προαγόρευσιν θεοῦ πεισθέντες ἀρετῇ καὶ προγόνων πόνοις τῶν ἡμετέρων εἰς νῦν ἀπαράβατοι μεμενηκότες, οὐδ᾽ ἂν τολμήσαιμεν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον κακοὶ γενέσθαι, ὥστε ὁπόσα ἐκείνῳ δόξειεν μὴ πρασσόμενα ἀγαθοῦ ῥοπὴν ἡμῖν φέρειν αὐτοὶ παραβαίνειν ποτ᾽ ἂν θάνατον φοβηθέντες. [267] ὑπομενοῦμεν δὲ εἰς τύχας ἰόντες ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τε πατρίων καὶ κινδυνεύειν προθεμένοις ἐλπίδα οὖσαν ἐξεπιστάμενοι κἂν περιγενέσθαι διά τε τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ στησόμενον μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τε τῇ ἐκείνου τὰ δεινὰ ὑποδεχομένων καὶ τῆς τύχης τὸ ἐπ᾽ ἀμφότερα φιλοῦν τοῖς πράγμασι παρατυγχάνειν, [268] ἐκ δὲ τοῦ σοὶ πείθεσθαι πολλὴν μὲν λοιδορίαν τοῦ ἀνάνδρου προσκεισομένην ὡς δι᾽ αὐτὸ παράβασιν τοῦ νομίμου προσποιουμένοις, καὶ ἅμα πολλὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃς καὶ παρὰ σοὶ δικαστῇ γένοιτ᾽ ἂν βελτίων Γαίου.”

(3) [269] Καὶ ὁ Πετρώνιος ἐκ τῶν λόγων θεασάμενος δυσνίκητον αὐτῶν τὸ φρονοῦν καὶ μὴ ἂν ἀμαχεὶ δύναμιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι διακονήσασθαι Γαίῳ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν τοῦ ἀνδριάντος πολὺν δὲ ἔσεσθαι φόνον, τούς τε φίλους ἀναλαβὼν καὶ θεραπείαν, ἣ περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν, ἐπὶ Τιβεριάδος ἠπείγετο χρῄζων κατανοῆσαι τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὰ πράγματα ὡς ἔχοι. [270] καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι μέγαν ἡγούμενοι τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολέμου κίνδυνον, πολὺ μείζονα δὲ κρίνοντες τὸν ἐκ τοῦ παρανομεῖν, αὖθις πολλαὶ μυριάδες ὑπηντίαζον Πετρώνιον εἰς τὴν Τιβεριάδα γενόμενον, [271] καὶ ἱκετείᾳ χρώμενοι μηδαμῶς εἰς ἀνάγκας τοιαύτας αὐτοὺς καθιστᾶν μηδὲ μιαίνειν ἀνδριάντος ἀναθέσει τὴν πόλιν, "πολεμήσετε ἄρα Καίσαρι, Πετρώνιος ἔφη, μήτε τὴν ἐκείνου παρασκευὴν λογιζόμενοι μήτε τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀσθένειαν;" οἱ δ' "οὐδαμῶς πολεμήσαιμεν, ἔφασαν, τεθνηξόμεθα δὲ πρότερον ἢ παραβῆναι τοὺς νόμους." ἐπί τε τὰ πρόσωπα κείμενοι καὶ τὰς σφαγὰς προδεικνύντες ἕτοιμοι κτιννύεσθαι ἔλεγον εἶναι. [272] καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπράσσετο ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ τοῦ γεωργεῖν ἀπερίοπτοι τὸ λοιπὸν ἦσαν καὶ ταῦτα τῆς ὥρας οὔσης πρὸς σπόρῳ, πολλή τε ἦν προαίρεσις αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦ θνήσκειν ἐπιθυμίας πρόθεσις, ἢ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν θεάσασθαι τοῦ ἀνδριάντος.

(4) [273] Ἐν τούτοις ὄντων τῶν πραγμάτων Ἀριστόβουλος ὁ Ἀγρίππου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφὸς καὶ Ἑλκίας ὁ μέγας ἄλλοι τε οἱ κράτιστοι τῆσδε τῆς οἰκίας καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι σὺν αὐτοῖς εἰσίασιν ὡς τὸν Πετρώνιον παρακαλοῦντες αὐτόν, [274] ἐπειδὴ τὴν προθυμίαν ὁρᾷ τῆς πληθύος, μηδὲν εἰς ἀπόνοιαν αὐτῆς παρακινεῖν, ἀλλὰ γράφειν πρὸς Γάιον τὸ ἀνήκεστον αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀποδοχὴν τοῦ ἀνδριάντος, πῶς τε ἀποστάντες τοῦ γεωργεῖν ἀντικαθέζονται, πολεμεῖν μὲν οὐ βουλόμενοι διὰ τὸ μηδ' ἂν δύνασθαι, θανεῖν δ' ἔχοντες ἡδονὴν πρὶν παραβῆναι τὰ νόμιμα αὐτοῖς, ὥστε ἀσπόρου τῆς γῆς γενομένης λῃστεῖαι ἂν φύοιντο ἀδυναμίᾳ καταβολῆς τῶν φόρων. [275] ἴσως γὰρ ἂν ἐπικλασθέντα τὸν Γάιον μηδὲν ὠμὸν διανοηθῆναι μηδὲ ἐπ' ἀναστάσει φρονῆσαι τοῦ ἔθνους: ἐμμένοντος δὲ τῇ τότε βουλῇ τοῦ πολεμεῖν τότε δὴ καὐτὸν ἅπτεσθαι τοῦ πράγματος. [276] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν Πετρώνιον παρεκάλουν. Πετρώνιος δὲ τοῦτο μὲν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον παντοίως ἐπικειμένων διὰ τὸ ὑπὲρ μεγάλων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν δέησιν καὶ πάσῃ μηχανῇ χρησαμένων εἰς τὰς ἱκετείας, [277] τοῦτο δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων θεώμενος τὴν ἀντιπαράταξιν τῆς γνώμης καὶ δεινὸν ἡγούμενος τοσαῖσδε ἀνθρώπων μυριάσιν μανίᾳ τῇ Γαίου διακονούμενος ἐπαγαγὼν θάνατον ἐν αἰτίᾳ τὸ πρὸς θεὸν σεβάσμιον ἔχειν καὶ μετὰ πονηρᾶς τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα βίον ἐλπίδος διαιτᾶσθαι, πολὺ κρεῖσσον ἡγεῖτο ἐπιστείλας τῷ Γαίῳ τὸ ἀνήκεστον αὐτῶν ὀΡγὴν φέροντος μὴ ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος δεδιακονημένου αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς: [278] τάχα μὲν γὰρ καὶ πείσειν: καὶ τῇ τὸ πρῶτον μανίᾳ τῆς γνώμης ἐπιμένοντος ἄψεσθαι πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς αὐτούς, εἰ δ' ἄρα τι καὶ κατ' αὐτοῦ τρέποι τῆς ὀργῆς, καλῶς ἔχειν τοῖς ἀρετῆς

μεταποιουμένοις ὑπὲρ τοσῆσδε ἀνθρώπων πληθύος τελευτᾶν, ἔκρινε πιθανὸν ἡγεῖσθαι τῶν δεομένων τὸν λόγον.

(5) [279] Συγκαλέσας δὲ εἰς τὴν Τιβεριάδα τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, οἱ δὲ ἀφίκοντο πολλαὶ μυριάδες, καταστὰς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν τήν τε ἐν τῷ παρόντι στρατείαν οὐ γνώμης ἀπέφαινε τῆς αὐτοῦ τοῦ δὲ αὐτοκράτορος τῶν προσταγμάτων, τὴν ὀργὴν οὐδὲν εἰς ἀναβολάς, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα ἐπιφέρεσθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν τοῖς παρακροᾶσθαι θάρσος εἰσφερομένοις: ᾧ καλῶς ἔχον ἐστὶν τόν γε τιμῆς τοσαύτης ἐπιτετευχότα συγχωρήσει τῇ ἐκείνου οὐδὲν ἐναντίον πράσσειν: [280] οὐ μὴν δίκαιον ἡγοῦμαι ἀσφάλειάν τε καὶ τιμὴν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ μὴ οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὑμετέρου μὴ ἀπολουμένου τοσούτων ὄντων ἀναλοῦν διακονούμενον τῇ ἀρετῇ τοῦ νόμου, ὃν πάτριον ὄντα περιμάχητον ἡγεῖσθε, καὶ τῇ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀξιώσει καὶ δυνάμει τοῦ θεοῦ, οὗ τὸν ναὸν οὐκ ἂν περιιδεῖν τολμήσαιμι ὕβρει πεσεῖν τῆς τῶν ἡγεμονευόντων ἐξουσίας. [281] στέλλω δὲ ὡς Γάιον γνώμας τε τὰς ὑμετέρας διασαφῶν καί πῃ καὶ συνηγορίᾳ χρώμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς παρὰ γνώμην πεισομένην οἷς προύθεσθε ἀγαθοῖς. καὶ συμπράσσοι μὲν ὁ θεός, βελτίων γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνης μηχανῆς καὶ δυνάμεως ἡ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἐξουσία, πρυτανεύων ὑμῖν τε τὴν τήρησιν τῶν πατρίων καὶ αὐτῷ τὸ μηδὲν ἀνθρωπείαις παρὰ γνώμην βουλεύσεσι τιμῶν τῶν εἰωθυιῶν ἁμαρτεῖν. [282] εἰ δ᾽ ἐκπικρανθεὶς Γάιος εἰς ἐμὲ τρέψει τὸ ἀνήκεστον τῆς ὀργῆς, τλήσομαι πάντα κίνδυνον καὶ πᾶσαν ταλαιπωρίαν συνιοῦσαν τῷ σώματι καὶ τῇ τύχῃ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ὑμᾶς τοσούσδε ὄντας ἐπὶ οὕτως ἀγαθαῖς ταῖς πράξεσι διολλυμένους θεωρεῖν. [283] ἄπιτε οὖν ἐπὶ ἔργα τὰ αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι καὶ τῇ γῇ ἐπιπονεῖτε. πέμψω δ᾽ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Ῥώμης καὶ τὰ πάντα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν δι᾽ ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων οὐκ ἀποτραπήσομαι διακονεῖν.”

(6) [284] Ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ διαλύσας τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὸν σύλλογον προμηθεῖσθαι τῶν εἰς τὴν γεωργίαν ἠξίου τοὺς ἐν τέλει καὶ καθομιλεῖν τὸν λαὸν ἐλπίσι χρησταῖς. καὶ ὁ μὲν εὐθυμεῖν τὸ πλῆθος ἔσπευδεν. ὁ θεὸς δὲ παρρησίαν ἐπεδείκνυτο τὴν αὐτοῦ Πετρωνίῳ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅλοις σύλληψιν: [285] ἅμα τε γὰρ ἐπαύετο τοῦ λόγου, ὃν πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἶπεν, καὶ αὐτίκα ὑετὸν ἠφίει μέγαν παρ᾽ ἐλπίδα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις γενόμενον διὰ τὸ ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν αἴθριον ἔωθεν οὖσαν οὐδὲν ὄμβριον ἀποσημαίνειν ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἔτος αὐχμῷ μεγάλῳ κατεσχημένον ἐπ᾽ ἀπογνώσει ποιεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὕδατος τοῦ ἄνωθεν, εἰ καὶ σύννεφόν ποτε θεάσαιντο τὸν οὐρανόν. [286] ὥστε δὴ τότε πολλοῦ καὶ παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς καὶ παρὰ τὸ ἑτέρῳ δόξαν ἀφιγμένου ὕδατος τοῖς τε Ἰουδαίοις ἐλπὶς ἦν ἐπ᾽ οὐδαμοῖς ἀτυχήσειν Πετρώνιον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δεόμενον, ὅ τε Πετρώνιος κατεπέπληκτο μειζόνως ὁρῶν ἐναργῶς τὸν θεὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων προμηθούμενον καὶ πολλὴν ἀποσημήναντα τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, ὡς μηδ᾽ ἂν τοῖς ἔργῳ προθεμένοις τἀναντία φρονεῖν ἰσχὺν ἀντιλέξεως καταλελεῖφθαι. [287] ὡς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Γάιον σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς ὁπόσα ἔγραφεν, ἐπαγωγὰ δὲ ἦν τὰ πάντα καὶ παντοίως παρακαλοῦντα μὴ τοσαύτας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων ἀπονοεῖν, ἃς εἰ

κτείνοι, οὐ γὰρ δίχα γε πολέμου παραχωρήσειν τοῦ νομίμου τῆς θρησκείας, προσόδου τε τῆς ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀποστερεῖσθαι καὶ τῷ τροπαίῳ τῆς ἀρᾶς ὑποτίθεσθαι τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα. [288] κἄλλως θείου τοῦ προεστηκότος αὐτῶν τὴν δύναμιν ὡς ἀκραιφνῆ ἀπέφαινεν καὶ μηδὲν ἐνδοίαστον ἐπὶ δυνάμει τῇ αὐτῆς ἐπιδείκνυσθαι καταλείπουσαν. καὶ Πετρώνιος μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

(7) [289] Ἀγρίππας δὲ ὁ βασιλεύς, ἐτύγχανεν γὰρ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης διαιτώμενος, προύκοπτε φιλίᾳ τῇ πρὸς τὸν Γάιον μειζόνως. καί ποτε προθεὶς δεῖπνον αὐτῷ καὶ πρόνοιαν ἔχων πάντας ὑπερβαλέσθαι τέλεσί τε τοῖς εἰς τὸ δεῖπνον καὶ παρασκευῇ τοῦ εἰς ἡδονὴν φέροντος, [290] ὡς μὴ ὅπως ἄν τινα τῶν λοιπῶν, ἀλλὰ μηδ᾽ αὐτὸν Γάιον πιστεύειν ποτε ἰσωθῆναι θελήσοντα οὐχ ὅπως ὑπερβαλέσθαι: τοσοῦτον ὁ ἀνὴρ τῇ παρασκευῇ πάντας ὑπερῆρεν καὶ τῷ τὰ πάντα ἢ Καίσαρος ἐκφροντίσας παρασχεῖν. [291] καὶ ὁ Γάιος ἐκθαυμάσας τήν τε διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν, ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀρεσκείᾳ τῇ αὐτοῦ βιάζοιτο καὶ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν τῶν χρημάτων εὐπορίᾳ χρήσασθαι, βουλόμενός τε μιμήσασθαι τὴν Ἀγρίππου φιλοτιμίαν ἐφ᾽ ἡδονῇ τῇ αὐτοῦ πρασσομένην, ἀνειμένος ὑπὸ οἴνου καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν εἰς τὸ ἱλαρώτερον ἐκτετραμμένος, φησὶν ἐν συμποσίῳ παρακαλοῦντος εἰς πότον: [292] “Ἀγρίππα, καὶ πρότερον μέν σοι τιμὴν συνῄδειν ᾗ ἐχρῶ τὰ πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ πολλὴν εὔνοιαν μετὰ κινδύνων ἀποδειχθεῖσαν, οἷς ὑπὸ Τιβερίου περιέστης δι᾽ αὐτήν, ἐπιλείπεις τε οὐδὲν καὶ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν ἀρετῇ χρῆσθαι τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ὅθεν, αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ἡσσᾶσθαί με ὑπὸ τῆς σῆς σπουδῆς, ἀναλαβεῖν βούλομαι τὰ ἐλλελειμμένα πρότερον: [293] ὀλίγον γὰρ πᾶν ὁπόσον σοι δωρεῶν ἐχόμενον ἀπεμοιρασάμην. τὸ πᾶν, ὅπερ σοι ῥοπὴν ἂν προσθείη τοῦ εὐδαίμονος, δεδιακονήσεται γάρ σοι προθυμίᾳ τε καὶ ἰσχύι τῇ ἐμῇ.” καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγεν οἰόμενος γῆν τε πολλὴν τῆς προσόδου αἰτήσεσθαι ἢ καί τινων προσόδους πόλεων, [294] ὁ δὲ καίπερ τὰ πάντα ἐφ᾽ οἷς αἰτήσαι παρασκευασάμενος οὐκ ἐφανέρου τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἀμείβεται τὸν Γάιον, ὅτι μήτε πρότερον κέρδος τὸ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καραδοκῶν παρὰ τὰς Τιβερίου ἐπιστολὰς θεραπεύσειεν αὐτὸν οὔτε νῦν πράσσειν τι τῶν εἰς χάριν τὴν ἐκείνου κερδῶν οἰκείων ἔν τισι λήψεσι. [295] μεγάλα δὲ εἶναι τὰ προδεδωρημένα καὶ περαιτέρω τοῦ θράσει χρωμένου τῶν ἐλπίδων: καὶ γὰρ εἰ τῆς σῆς ἐλάττονα γέγονεν δυνάμεως, τῆς γ᾽ ἐμοῦ τοῦ εἰληφότος διανοίας τε καὶ ἀξιώ [296] σεως μείζονα.” καὶ ὁ Γάιος ἐκπλαγεὶς τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ πλειόνως ἐνέκειτο εἰπεῖν, ὅ τι χαρίζοιτ᾽ ἂν αὐτῷ παρασχόμενος. ὁ δέ, “ἐπεί περ, ὦ δέσποτα, προθυμίᾳ τῇ σῇ δωρεῶν ἄξιον ἀποφαίνεις, αἰτήσομαι τῶν μὲν εἰς ὄλβον φερόντων οὐδὲν διὰ τὸ μεγάλως με ἐνδιαπρέπειν οἷς ἤδη παρέσχες: [297] ὅ τι δ᾽ ἂν σοὶ δόξαν προσποιοῖ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς καὶ τὸ θεῖον σύμμαχον ἐφ᾽ οἷς θελήσειας παρακαλοῖ κἀμοὶ πρὸς εὐκλείας γένοιτο παρὰ τοῖς πυνθανομένοις, ὡς μηθενὸς ὢν χρησαίμην ὑπὸ τῆς σῆς ἐξουσίας ἀτυχεῖν πώποτε γνόντι: ἀξιῶ γάρ σοι τοῦ ἀνδριάντος τὴν ἀνάθεσιν,

ἢν ποιήσασθαι κελεύεις Πετρώνιον εἰς τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἱερόν, μηκέτι πράσσειν διανοεῖσθαι.”

(8) [298] Καὶ ὁ μὲν καίπερ ἐπικίνδυνον τοῦτο ἡγούμενος, εἰ γὰρ μὴ πιθανὰ ἔκρινε Γάιος, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἐς θάνατον ἔφερεν, διὰ τὸ μεγάλα νομίζειν τε καὶ εἶναι κύβον ἀναρριπτεῖν τὸν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἡγεῖτο. [299] Γάιος δὲ [καὶ] ἅμα τε τῇ θεραπείᾳ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ἀνειλημμένος καὶ ἄλλως ἀπρεπὲς ὑπολαμβάνων ἐπὶ τοσῶνδε μαρτύρων ψευδὴς γενέσθαι περὶ ὧν προθύμως ἐβιάζετο αἰτεῖσθαι τὸν Ἀγρίππαν μετὰ τοῦ ὀξέος μεταμέλῳ χρώμενος, [300] ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου τὴν ἀρετὴν θαυμάσας, ἐν ὀλίγῳ αὔξειν τὴν οἰκείαν ἀρχὴν ἤτοι προσόδοις χρημάτων ἢ ἄλλῃ δυνάμει τοῦ κοινοῦ δὲ τῆς εὐθυμίας ἐπιμελοῖτο πρεσβεύων τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸ θεῖον, συνεχώρει καὶ γράφει πρὸς τὸν Πετρώνιον, ἐκεῖνον τῆς τε ἀθροίσεως τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπαινῶν καὶ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπεσταλκότος: [301] “νῦν οὖν εἰ μὲν φθάνεις τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἑστακώς, ἑστάτω: εἰ δὲ μήπω πεποίησαι τὴν ἀνάθεσιν, μηδὲν περαιτέρω κακοπαθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τόν τε στρατὸν διάλυε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφ᾽ ἃ τὸ πρῶτόν σε ἔστειλα ἄπιθι: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔτι δέομαι τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ ἀνδριάντος Ἀγρίππᾳ χαριζόμενος ἀνδρὶ παρ᾽ ἐμοὶ τιμωμένῳ μειζόνως ἢ ὥστε με χρείᾳ τῇ [302] ἐκείνου καὶ οἷς κελεύσειεν ἀντειπεῖν.” Γάιος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα γράφει πρὸς τὸν Πετρώνιον πρότερον ἢ ἐντυχεῖν ἐΠὶ ἀποστάσει καταδόξας αὐτοὺς ἐπείγεσθαι, μηδὲν γὰρ ἕτερον ἀποσημαίνειν τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ πόλεμον ἄντικρυς Ῥωμαίοις ἀπειλεῖν. [303] καὶ περιαλγήσας ὡς ἐπὶ πείρᾳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτοῦ τετολμηκότων, ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἥσσων μὲν τοῦ αἰσχροῦ, κρείσσων δὲ τοῦ βελτίστου καὶ ἐφ᾽ οἵστισι κρίνειεν ὀργῇ χρῆσθαι παρ᾽ ὁντινοῦν ἐπειγόμενος παίδευσιν αὐτῆς οὐδ᾽ ἡντινοῦν προστιθείς, ἀλλ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἡδονῇ τιθεὶς τῇ ἐκείνης τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ εὐδαίμονος, γράφει πρὸς τὸν Πετρώνιον: [304] “ἐπειδὴ δῶρα ὁπόσα σοι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι παρέσχον ἐν μείζονι λόγῳ τῶν ἐμῶν πεποίησαι ἐντολῶν διακονεῖσθαι τὰ πάντα ἡδονῇ τῇ ἐκείνων ἀρθεὶς ἐπὶ παραβάσει τῶν ἐμῶν ἐντολῶν, κελεύω σε σαυτῷ. κριτὴν γενόμενον λογίσασθαι περὶ τοῦ ποιητέου σοι ὑποστάντα ὀργῇ τῇ ἐμῇ, ἐπεί τοι παράδειγμα ποιοῖντό σε οἵ τε νῦν πάντες καὶ ὁπόσοι ὕστεροι γένοιντ᾽ ἄν, μηδαμῶς ἀκυροῦν αὐτοκράτορος ἀνδρὸς ἐντολάς.”

(9) [305] Ταύτην μὲν γράφει Πετρωνίῳ τὴν ἐπιστολήν, οὐ μὴν φθάνει γε ζῶντος Πετρώνιος δεξάμενος αὐτὴν βραδυνθέντος τοῦ πλοῦ τοῖς φέρουσιν εἰς τοσόνδε, ὥστε Πετρωνίῳ γράμματα πρὸ αὐτῆς ἀφικέσθαι, δι᾽ ὧν μανθάνει τὴν Γαίου τελευτήν. [306] θεὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἄρ᾽ ἀμνημονήσειν ἔμελλε Πετρωνίῳ κινδύνων, οὓς ἀνειλήφει ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Ἰουδαίων χάριτι καὶ τιμῇ τῇ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὸν Γάιον ἀποσκευασάμενος ὀργῆς ὧν ἐπὶ σεβασμῷ τῷ αὐτοῦ πράσσειν ἐτόλμησε, τὸν μισθὸν χρεολυτεῖν Συνευεργετεῖν τῷ Πετρωνίῳ ἥ τε Ῥώμη καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ἀρχή, μάλιστα δ᾽ ὁπόσοι τῆς βουλῆς προύχοιεν ἀξιώματι, διὰ τὸ εἰς ἐκείνους ἀκράτῳ τῇ ὀργῇ χρῆσθαι τὸν Γάιον. [307] καὶ τελευτᾷ μὲν οὐ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον ἢ γράψαι

τῷ Πετρωνίῳ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θανεῖν ἀνακειμένην ἐπιστολήν, τὴν δ᾽ αἰτίαν, ἐξ ἧς τελευτᾷ, καὶ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τὸν τρόπον ἀφηγήσομαι προιόντος τοῦ λόγου. [308] Πετρωνίῳ δὲ προτέρα μὲν παρῆν ἡ διασαφοῦσα τοῦ Γαίου τὴν τελευτὴν ἐπιστολή, μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἡ κελεύουσα αὐτὸν τελευτᾶν αὐτόχειρα, καὶ ἥσθη τε τῇ συντυχίᾳ τοῦ ὀλέθρου, ὃς τὸν Γάιον κατέλαβεν, [309] καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν πρόνοιαν ἐξεθαύμασεν οὐδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος μισθὸν αὐτῷ τιμῆς τε τῆς εἰς τὸν ναὸς καὶ βοηθείας τῆς Ἰουδαίων σωτηρίας παρασχομένου. καὶ Πετρωνίῳ μὲν οὕτως μὴ ἂν τοπασθεὶς διεφεύχθη ῥᾳδίως ὁ κίνδυνος τοῦ θανεῖν.

IX

(1) [310] Γίνεται δὲ καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ καὶ μάλιστα τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν οἰκοῦντας Ἰουδαίους συμφορὰ δεινὴ καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς ἥττινος ἐλάσσων φόνος τε αὐτῶν πολὺς καὶ ὁπόσος οὐχ ἱστορημένος πρότερον. περὶ ὧν δὴ τὰ πάντα ἐπ᾽ ἀκριβὲς διηγησάμενος ἐκθήσομαι καὶ τὰς αἰτίας, ἀφ᾽ ὧν αὐτοῖς τὸ πάθος συνέτυχεν. [311] Νέερδα τῆς Βαβυλωνίας ἐστὶ πόλις ἄλλως τε πολυανδροῦσα καὶ χώραν ἀγαθὴν καὶ πολλὴν ἔχουσα καὶ σὺν ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀνάπλεως. ἔστιν δὲ καὶ πολεμίοις οὐκ εὐέμβολος περιόδῳ τε τοῦ Εὐφράτου πᾶσαν ἐντὸς αὐτὴν ἀπολαμβάνοντος καὶ κατασκευαῖς τειχῶν. [312] ἔστιν δὲ καὶ Νίσιβις πόλις κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦ ποταμοῦ περίρρουν, ὅθεν Ἰουδαῖοι τῇ φύσει τῶν χωρίων πεπιστευκότες τό τε δίδραχμον, ὃ τῷ θεῷ καταβάλλειν ἑκάστοις πάτριον, ταύτῃ κατετίθεντο καὶ ὁπόσα δὲ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, ἐχρῶντό τε ὥσπερ ταμιείῳ ταῖσδε ταῖς πόλεσιν. [313] ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἀνεπέμπετο ᾗ καιρός, πολλαί τε ἀνθρώπων μυριάδες τὴν κομιδὴν τῶν χρημάτων παρελάμβανον δεδιότες τὰς Παρθυαίων ἁρπαγὰς ὑποτελούσης ἐκείνοις τῆς Βαβυλωνίας. [314] καὶ ἦσαν γὰρ Ἀσιναῖος καὶ Ἀνιλαῖος Νεερδᾶται μὲν τὸ γένος, ἀλλήλων δὲ ἀδελφοί. καὶ αὐτούς, πατρὸς δ᾽ ἦσαν ὀρφανοί, ἡ μήτηρ προσέταξεν ἱστῶν μαθήσει ποιήσεως, οὐκ ὄντος ἀπρεποῦς τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ὥστε τοὺς ἄνδρας ταλασιουργεῖν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς. τούτοις ὁ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐφεστώς, καὶ γὰρ ἐμεμαθήκεσαν παρ᾽ αὐτῷ, βραδυτῆτα ἐπικαλέσας τῆς ἀφίξεως ἐκόλασε πληγαῖς. [315] οἱ δὲ ἐφ᾽ ὕβρει τὴν δικαίωσιν λογιζόμενοι, κατασπάσαντες τῶν ὅπλων πολλὰ ὁπόσα ἦν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας φυλασσόμενα ᾤχοντο εἴς τι χωρίον, διάρρηξιν μὲν ποταμῶν λεγόμενον, νομὰς δὲ ἀγαθὰς παρασχεῖν πεφυκὸς καὶ χιλὸν ὁπόσοι εἰς τὸν χειμῶνα ἀποτιθοῖντο. συνῄεσάν τε ὡς αὐτοὺς τῶν νέων οἱ ἀπορώτατοι, καὶ τούτους τοῖς ὅπλοις φραγνύντες στρατηγοί τε ἦσαν καὶ τῶν κακῶν ἡγεμόνες οὐκ ἐκωλύοντο εἶναι. [316] προελθόντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμαχον καὶ κατασκευάσαντες ἀκρόπολιν διέπεμπον πρὸς τοὺς νέμοντας φόρον αὐτοῖς κελεύοντες καταβάλλειν τῶν βοσκημάτων, ἣ ἀρκοῦσα ἐπιτροφὴ γίνοιτ᾽ ἄν, προστιθέντες φιλίαν τε πειθομένοις καὶ ἄμυναν τῶν ἀλλαχόθεν ποθὲν πολεμίων,

σφαγὰς δὲ τῶν ποιμνίων ἀπειθοῦσιν. [317] οἱ δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἕτερα παρ᾽ αὐτὰ ποιεῖν, ἠκροῶντο καὶ τῶν προβάτων ἔστελλον ὁπόσα κελευσθεῖεν, ὥστε δὴ καὶ πλείων αὐτοῖς συνελέγετο ἰσχὺς κύριοί τε ἦσαν ἐφ᾽ οἷς βουλεύσειαν ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἐλαύνοντες κακουργεῖν. θεραπεύειν τε αὐτοὺς ἦρκτο πᾶς προστυγχάνων, καὶ ἦσαν φοβεροὶ καὶ τοῖς πειρασομένοις, ὥστ᾽ ἤδη προύκοπτε λόγος περὶ αὐτῶν κἀπὶ τοῦ Πάρθων βασιλέως.

(2) [318] Ὁ δὲ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας σατράπης μαθὼν ταῦτα καὶ βουληθεὶς ἔτι φυομένους κωλῦσαι πρίν τι μεῖζον κακὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀναστῆναι, συλλέξας στρατὸν ὅσον ἐδύνατο πλεῖστον καὶ τῶν Παρθυαίων καὶ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἤλασε πρὸς αὐτούς, φθῆναι θέλων προσβαλὼν ἐξελεῖν πρὶν ἐξάγγελτος γενέσθαι κατασκευάζων τὸν στρατόν. [319] περικαθίσας δὲ τὸ ἕλος ἡσύχαζεν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν, ἦν δὲ σάββατον ἀργίας παντὸς χρήματος Ἰουδαίοις ἡμέρα, οἰόμενος οὐ τολμήσειν ἀντιστατήσειν αὐτῷ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλὰ ἀμαχεὶ λαβὼν ἄξειν δεδεμένους, κατὰ βραχὺ δὲ προσήει χρῄζων αἰφνίδιον ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπίπτωσιν. [320] Ἀσιναῖος δὲ ἐτύγχανε σὺν τοῖς ἑταίροις καθεζόμενος καὶ τὰ ὅπλα παρέκειτο αὐτοῖς "ἄνδρες, φησί, χρεμετισμός μοι ἵππων προσέπεσεν οὐ φορβάδων, ἀλλ᾽ οἷος γένοιτ᾽ ἂν ἀνδρῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπιβεβηκότων, ἐπεὶ καί τινος ἀνακρούσεως αἰσθάνομαι χαλινῶν: δέδια, μὴ λελήθασιν ἡμᾶς οἱ πολέμιοι περιστάντες. ἀλλά τις προίτω κατόπτης ἀπαγγελίαν ἡμῖν σαφῆ τῶν ἐνεστηκότων ποιησόμενος. εἴη δὲ ἐπὶ ψευδέσι μοι λελέχθαι τὰ εἰρημένα." καὶ ὁ μὲν τάδε εἶπεν, [321] καὶ ᾤχοντό τινες προσκοποῦντες τὸ γινόμενον καὶ ᾗ τάχος παρελθόντες, "καὶ οὔτε αὐτὸς ψεύδῃ σαφὴς εἰκαστὴς εἶναι τῶν πρασσομένων τοῖς πολεμίοις οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι πλειόνως ἐπιτρέψειν ἤμελλον ἡμῖν ὑβριεῖν. [322] περιειλήμμεθα δόλῳ μηδὲν βοσκημάτων διαφέροντες: τοσῆσδε ἵππου πλῆθος ἐπελαύνουσιν ἡμῖν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ χειρῶν κειμένοις διὰ τὸ κατείργεσθαι προαγο [323] ρεύσει τῶν πατρίων εἰς τὸ ἀργεῖν." Ἀσιναῖος δὲ οὐκ ἄρα γνώμῃ τοῦ κατασκόπου κρίνειν ἔμελλεν ἐπὶ τοῖς ποιητέοις, ἀλλὰ νομιμώτερον ἡγησάμενος τοῦ ἐπ᾽ ἀπράκτοις τελευτῶντας εὐφραίνειν τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ ἀλκῆς δεξάμενος αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀνάγκης εἰς ἣν ἐνεπεπτώκει παρανομεῖν τιμωρίαν ἀπολαμβάνοι, εἰ δέοι τελευτᾶν, αὐτός τε ἀναλαμβάνει τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ θάρσος ἐνεποίει τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ ὅμοια ἀρετῆς. [324] ὁμόσε ἴασι τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ πολλοὺς κτείναντες αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ καταφρονοῦντας ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτοιμα χωρεῖν εἰς φυγὴν τρέπονται τὸ λοιπόν.

(3) [325] Ὁ δὲ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλεύς, ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο αὐτῷ ἡ ἀγγελία τῆς μάχης, ἐκπλαγεὶς τῷ τολμήματι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπεθύμησεν αὐτοῖς ἐλθεῖν δι᾽ ὄψεως καὶ λόγων, καὶ πέμπει τὸν πιστότατον τῶν σωματοφυλάκων λέγοντα, [326] ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ἀρτάβανος καίπερ ἠδικημένος ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν ἐπιχειρήσεως αὐτοῦ τῇ ἀρχῇ γενομένης ἐν ἐλάσσονι τὴν καθ᾽ αὐτὸν ὀργὴν τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρετῆς ποιησάμενος ἀπέστειλέν με δεξιάς τε καὶ πίστιν δώσοντα ὑμῖν, συγχωρῶν ἄδειάν τε καὶ ἀσυλίαν ὁδῶν, χρῄζων ἐπὶ φιλίᾳ προσχωρεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν δόλου τε καὶ ἀπάτης

χωρίς, δῶρά τε δώσειν ὑπισχνεῖται καὶ τιμήν, ἥτις ὑμῖν πρὸς τῇ νῦν οὔσῃ ἀρετῇ μελλήσει δυνάμει τῇ ἐκείνου ὠφελεῖν.” Ἀσιναῖος δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπερβάλλεται ὁδοὺς τὰς ἐκεῖ, [327] τὸν ἀδελφὸν δὲ Ἀνιλαῖον ἐκπέμπει μετὰ δώρων ὁπόσα πορίσαι ἦν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ᾤχετο καὶ εἴσοδος αὐτῷ γίνεται παρὰ βασιλέα. Ἀρτάβανος δὲ ἐπεὶ θεᾶται τὸν Ἀνιλαῖον καταμόνας ἥκοντα, ἤρετο τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ καὶ τὸν Ἀσιναῖον ἐφυστερηκότος. [328] ἐπεὶ δὲ πυνθάνεται αὐτὸν δείσαντα ἐν τῷ ἕλει ὑπομένειν, ὁ δὲ τούς τε πατρῴους θεοὺς ἐπώμνυτο μηδὲν κακὸν δράσειν αὐτοὺς πίστει τῇ αὐτοῦ προσκεχωρηκότας, καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐδίδου, ὅπερ μέγιστον παρὰ πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάροις παράδειγμα τοῦ θαρσεῖν γίνεται τοῖς ὁμιλοῦσιν: [329] οὐ γὰρ ἂν ψεύσαιτό τις δεξιῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ δόσεων γενομένων οὐδὲ πιστεύειν ἐνδοιάσειεν, εἰ τοιᾶσδε ἀσφαλείας δόσις γίνοιτο παρὰ τῶν ἐν ὑποψίᾳ ἀδικήσειν καθεστηκότων. καὶ Ἀρτάβανος μὲν ταῦτα πράξας ἐκπέμπει τὸν Ἀνιλαῖον πείσοντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπανελθεῖν, [330] ἔπρασσεν δὲ ταῦτα βασιλεὺς χρῄζων ἐνστομισμάτων τῇ ἀρετῇ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀδελφῶν εἰς φιλίαν κτήσασθαι τῶν ἐκείνου σατραπειῶν ἐν ἀποστάσει τε οὐσῶν καὶ διανοίᾳ τοῦ ἀποστησομένου μέλλων ἐλάσειν ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς. [331] ἐδεδίει γάρ, μὴ καὶ περιεχομένου πολέμῳ τῷ ἐκείνῃ κατὰ χείρωσιν τῶν ἀφεστηκότων αὐξηθῶσιν ἐπὶ μέγα οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀσιναῖον καὶ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ἤτοι γε συστήσονται ἐπ᾽ ἀκροάσει τῇ αὐτῶν ἢ καὶ τούτου γε ἀποτυχόντες τοῦ κακῶσαι μειζόνως οὐ διαμάρτοιεν.

(4) [332] Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα διανοηθεὶς ἐκπέμπει τὸν Ἀνιλαῖον, ὁ δὲ πιθανὸς ἦν τῷ ἀδελφῷ τήν τε ἄλλην προθυμίαν εἰσηγούμενος τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ὅρκιον τὸ γεγενημένον, ὥστε δὴ ἠπείγοντο ὡς τὸν Ἀρτάβανον. [333] ὁ δὲ ἡδονῇ αὐτοὺς δέχεται παραγενομένους ἐθαύμαζεν τε τὸν Ἀσιναῖον τοῦ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν εὐψύχου, θεωρῶν παντελῶς ὄντα ὀφθῆναι βραχύν τε καὶ τοῖς τὸ πρῶτον ὄψει συνελθοῦσιν ἐνδοῦναι καταφρονήματος ἀφορμὰς ὡς οὐδενὶ κρίνοιεν αὐτόν, φησί τε πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, ὡς μείζονα ἐν τῇ παραθέσει παρέχοιτο τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ σώματος, παρά τε πότον δεικνὺς τὸν Ἀσιναῖον Ἀβδαγάσῃ τῷ αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδάρχῃ τό τε ὄνομα διασαφεῖ καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν ἀρετήν, ᾗ χρῷτο εἰς πόλεμον. [334] τοῦ δὲ Ἀβδαγάσου κελεύοντος συγχώρημα αὐτῷ γενέσθαι κτείναντα αὐτὸν ἄποινα ἀπολαβεῖν ὑπὲρ ὧν ὑβρίσειεν εἰς τὴν Παρθυαίων ἀρχήν “ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἄν, εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεύς, συγχώρημα διδοίην ἐπ᾽ ἀνδρὶ πίστει τῇ εἰς ἐμὲ τεθαρρηκότι καὶ προσέτι δεξιάν τε πέμψας καὶ θεῶν ὅρκοις πιθανὸς γενέσθαι σπουδάσας. [335] εἰ δὲ ἀνὴρ τυγχάνεις τὰ πολέμια ἀγαθός, μηδὲν ἐπιορκίας χρῄζων τῆς ἐμῆς Παρθυαίων ἐκδίκει τὴν ἀρχὴν περιυβρισμένην: ἐπαναχωροῦντι γὰρ ἐπιθέμενος περιγίνου κράτει τῷ [336] περὶ σὲ καὶ μετ᾽ ἀγνοίας τῆς ἐμῆς.” ἔωθεν δὲ μετακαλέσας τὸν Ἀσιναῖον “ὥρα σοι, φησίν, ὦ νεανία, χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ σαυτοῦ, μὴ καὶ πλείοσιν τῶν ἐνθάδε στρατηγῶν τὴν ὀργὴν ἐρεθίσειας ἐπιχειρεῖν σου τῇ σφαγῇ καὶ δίχα γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς. [337] παρακαταθήκην δέ σοι δίδωμι τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν γῆν ἀλῄστευτόν τε καὶ ἀπαθῆ κακῶν ἐσομένην ὑπὸ τῶν σῶν

φροντίδων. ἄξιον δέ μοι τυγχάνειν σου χρηστοῦ ἀνεπίκλητόν σοι παρασχόμενος τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ πίστιν, οὐκ [338] ἐπὶ κούφοις ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰς σωτηρίαν ἀνακειμένοις.᾽᾽ ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ δῶρα δοὺς τοτηνίκα ἐκπέμπει τὸν Ἀσιναῖον. ὁ δὲ εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν παραγενόμενος φρούρια κατασκευάζει καὶ ὁπόσα πρότερον ὠχύρου, μέγας τε ἐν ὀλίγῳ γεγόνει καὶ οἷος οὐκ ἄλλος τῶν πρότερον ἐκ τοιαύτης ἀφορμῆς ἅψασθαι πραγμάτων ἐν τόλμῃ γεγονότων, [339] Παρθυαίων τε αὐτὸν ἐθεράπευον οἱ ταύτῃ καταπεμπόμενοι στρατηγοί: μικρὸν γὰρ ἐδόκει καὶ τῆς κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἧσσον ἀρετῆς ἡ ἐκ Βαβυλωνίων προιοῦσα τιμή. ἦν τε ἐν ἀξιώματι καὶ δυνάμει, πάντα τε ἤδη τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦρτο πράγματα, προύκοπτέν τε αὐτῶν ἡ εὐδαιμονία ἐπὶ ἔτη πεντεκαίδεκα.

(5) [340] Ἀκμαζόντων δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀρχὴ αὐτοὺς ἐπικαταλαμβάνει κακῶν ἐκ τοιᾶσδε αἰτίας, ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἀρετήν, ᾗ προύκοψαν ἐπὶ μέγα δυνάμεως, ἐκτρέπουσιν εἰς ὕβριν ἐπὶ παραβάσει τῶν πατρίων ὑπὸ ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ ἡδονῆς ἐμπεσόντες τῶν Πάρθων τινί, στρατηγὸς δὲ ἀφίκετο τῶν ταύτῃ χωρίων, [341] ᾧ δὴ καὶ εἵπετο γαμετὴ τά τε ἄλλα καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐπαινεῖσθαι προειληφυῖα πασῶν καὶ μείζονα ῥοπὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ λαμβάνουσα θαύματι τοῦ εὐπρεποῦς. [342] ταύτης εἴτε ἀκοῇ τῆς εὐπρεπείας ἐκμαθὼν εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως αὐτόπτης γενόμενος Ἀνιλαῖος ὁ τοῦ Ἀσιναίου ἀδελφὸς ἐραστής τε ἐγεγόνει καὶ πολέμιος, τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ ἄλλως ἐλπίζειν ἐκπράσσεσθαι τὴν σύνοδον τῆς γυναικὸς μὴ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὡς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ κτηθείσῃ παραλαβών, τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δυσαντίλεκτον κρίνειν τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. [343] ἅμα τε οὖν πολέμιος ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἀνὴρ κεχειροτόνητο κτείνων κιτιῶν καὶ μάχης ἐπάκτου γενομένης πεσόντος ἀνῃρημένου ἁλοῦσα ἐγεγάμητο τῷ ἐραστῇ. οὐ μὴν δίχα γε μεγάλων δυστυχιῶν Ἀνιλαίῳ τε ἅμα αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀσιναίῳ ἡ γυνὴ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ σύν τινι μεγάλῳ κακῷ διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν: [344] ἐπεὶ γὰρ τἀνδρὸς τεθνηκότος αἰχμάλωτος ἤγετο, τὰ ἀφιδρύματα τῶν θεῶν, ἅπερ τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ αὐτῇ πατρῷα ἦν, ἐπιχώριον δὲ τοῖς ἐκείνῃ πᾶσίν ἐστιν ἐπί τε τῆς οἰκίας ἔχειν σεβάσματα καὶ ἰοῦσιν ἐπὶ ξένης συνεπάγεσθαι, περιστέλλουσα καὶ ταύτῃ τοῦ πατρίου τὸ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἔθος συναπήγετο, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον λεληθότως αὐτῶν θρησκείαν ἐποιεῖτο, γαμετὴ δὲ ἀποδειχθεῖσα ἤδη τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῆς εἰωθότι καὶ μεθ᾽ οἵων νομίμων ἐπὶ τοῦ προτέρου ἀνδρὸς ἐθεράπευεν αὐτούς. [345] καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων οἱ μάλιστα τιμώμενοι παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Οὐδαμῶς πράσσοι Ἑβραικὰ οὐδὲ ὁπόσα νόμοις τοῖς αὐτῶν πρόσφορα γυναῖκα ἠγμένος ἀλλόφυλον καὶ παραβαίνουσαν θυσιῶν καὶ σεβασμῶν τῶν αὐτοῖς εἰωθότων τὴν ἀκρίβειαν: ὁρᾶν οὖν, μὴ τὰ πολλὰ τῇ ἡδονῇ τοῦ σώματος συγχωρῶν ἀπολέσειε τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ εὐπρεποῦς καὶ τὴν εἰς νῦν ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου προελθοῦσαν ἐξουσίαν. [346] ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπέραινον, ἀλλὰ καί τινα αὐτῶν τὸν μάλιστα τιμώμενον ὅτι πλέονι παρρησίᾳ χρήσαιτο ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ ὃς Θεώμενος εὐνοίας τε τῶν νόμων καὶ τοῦ κτείνοντος αὐτὸν τιμωρίαν ἐπηράσατο αὐτῷ τε Ἀνιλαίῳ καὶ Ἀσιναίῳ καὶ πᾶσιν ἑταίροις ὁμοίαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπαχθεῖσαν

γενέσθαι τελευτήν, [347] τοῖς μὲν ὡς ἡγεμόσι παρανομιῶν γεγονόσι, τοῖς δέ, ὅτι μὴ βοηθοῖεν αὐτῷ τοιάδε πάσχοντι διὰ τὸ ἐκδικεῖν τοῖς νόμοις, οἱ δὲ ἐβαρύνοντο μέν, ἠνείχοντο δέ, μνημονεύοντες οὐκ ἐξ ἄλλης αἰτίας ἀλλ᾽ ἰσχύι τῇ ἐκείνων τῇ εὐδαιμονίᾳ συνελθόντες. [348] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν θεραπείαν ἀκροῶνται τῶν θεῶν τῶν Παρθυαίοις τιμωμένων, οὐκέτι ἀνεκτὸν ἡγούμενοι τοῦ Ἀνιλαίου τὸ ὑβρίζον εἰς τοὺς νόμους ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσιναῖον ἐλθόντες καὶ πλέονες ἤδη κατεβόων τοῦ Ἀνιλαίου, [349] φάμενοι καλῶς ἔχειν, εἰ μὴ πρότερον κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἑώρα τὸ ὠφελοῦν ἀλλὰ νῦν γοῦν ἐπιστροφὴν ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ γεγονότος πρὶν ἢ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐκείνῳ τε καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις γενέσθαι εἰς ὄλεθρον ἀνακειμένην, τόν τε γάμον τῆς ἀνθρώπου λέγοντες οὐ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν οὐδ᾽ αὐτοῖς εἰωθότων τεθεῖσθαι νόμων καὶ τὴν θρησκείαν ἣν ἐπιτηδεύοι ἡ γυνὴ ἐπ᾽ ἀτιμώσει θεοῦ τοῦ αὐτοῖς σεβασμίου πράσσεσθαι. [350] ὁ δὲ καὐτὸς ᾔδει μὲν τὴν ἁμαρτάδα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μεγάλων αἰτίαν οὖσαν κακῶν καὶ ἐσομένην, οὐ μὴν ἀπείχετό γε εὐνοίᾳ τοῦ συγγενοῦς νικώμενος καὶ συγγνώμην νέμων ὡς ὑπὸ κρείσσονος κακοῦ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας νικωμένου. [351] ἐπεὶ δὲ πλείους τε ὁσημέραι συνεστρέφοντο καὶ πλείους ἦσαν αἱ καταβοαί, τηνικαῦτα δή φησιν περὶ αὐτῶν πρὸς Ἀνιλαῖον τοῖς τε πρῶτον γεγονόσιν ἐπιτιμῶν καὶ παύσασθαι τὸ λοιπὸν κελεύων τὴν ἄνθρωπον ἀποπεμψάμενον εἰς τοὺς συγγενεῖς. [352] ἐπράσσετο δὲ οὐδὲν ἐκ τῶν λόγων: καὶ ἡ γυνὴ δὲ αἰσθανομένη μὲν τοῦ θροῦ τοῦ κατέχοντος τοὺς λαοὺς δι᾽ αὐτήν, δεδοικυῖα δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ἀνιλαίου, μὴ καί τι πάθοι ἔρωτι τῷ πρὸς αὐτήν, φάρμακον τῷ Ἀσιναίῳ δοῦσα ἐν τοῖς σιτίοις μεθίστατο τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀδεής τε ἦν ἐπὶ κριτῇ τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν πραχθησομένων τῷ ἐραστῇ γενομένη.

(6) [353] Ἀνιλαῖος δὲ καταμόνας ἤδη τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παραλαβὼν ἐξάγει στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὰς Μιθριδάτου κώμας ἀνδρὸς πρώτου ἐν τῇ Παρθυηνῇ καὶ βασιλέως Ἀρταβάνου τὴν θυγατέρα γεγαμηκότος, διὰ λείας τε ἦγεν αὐτάς, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν χρήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα εὑρίσκεται, πολλὰ δὲ πρόβατα ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ὁπόσα ἐπὶ προσλήψει τοῦ εὐδαίμονος ὠφελεῖ τοῖς ἔχουσιν. [354] Μιθριδάτης δέ, ἐτύγχανε γὰρ τῇδε ὤν, ἐπειδὴ ἀκούει τῶν κωμῶν τὴν ἅλωσιν ἐν δεινῷ φέρων, ὁπότε μὴ προάρξαντος ἀδικεῖν Ἀνιλαῖος ἄρξαιτο καὶ παρόντος τοῦ ἀξιώματος ὑπεριδών, ἱππέας συναγαγὼν πλείστους ὅσους ἐδύνατο καὶ τῶν πλείστων τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ παρῆν ὡς προσμίξων τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀνιλαῖον καὶ ἔν τινι κώμῃ τῶν αὐτοῦ σχὼν ἡσύχαζεν, ὡς τῇ ἐπιούσῃ μαχησόμενος διὰ τὸ εἶναι σαββάτων ἡμέραν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐν ἀργίᾳ διαγομένην. [355] Ἀνιλαῖος δὲ ταῦτα πυθόμενος παρὰ ἀνδρὸς Σύρου ἀλλοφύλου ἐξ ἑτέρας κώμης τέ τε ἄλλα φράζοντος ἀκριβῶς καὶ τὸ χωρίον, ἔνθα Μιθριδάτης ἤμελλεν δαίνυσθαι, δειπνοποιησάμενος καθ᾽ ὥραν ἤλαυνε νυκτὸς ἀμαθέσι τῶν ποιουμένων χρῄζων τοῖς Παρθυαίοις ἐπιπεσεῖν. [356] καὶ περὶ τετάρτην φυλακὴν ἐπιπεσὼν τοὺς μὲν ἔτι κοιμωμένους ἀναιρεῖ τοὺς δὲ εἰς φυγὴν τρέπει, Μιθριδάτην δὲ ζωγρίᾳ λαβὼν ἦγεν ὡς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ὄνον γυμνὸν ἀναθέμενος, ἥπερ ἀτιμιῶν μεγίστη νομίζεται παρὰ Παρθυαίοις. [357] καταγαγὼν

δὲ εἰς τὴν ὕλην μετὰ τοιοῦδε ὁρίσματος, [καὶ] κελευόντων τῶν φίλων ἀναιρεῖν τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἀνεδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς σπεύδων αὐτὸς ἐναντία: μὴ γὰρ καλῶς ἔχειν ἀναιρεῖν ἄνδρα γένους τε ὄντα τοῦ πρώτου παρὰ Παρθυαίοις καὶ ἐπιγαμίᾳ τῇ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα μειζόνως τιμώμενον: [358] νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἀνεκτὰ εἶναι τὰ πεπραγμένα: καὶ γὰρ εἰ περιύβρισται Μιθριδάτης, ἀλλ᾽ οὖν σωτηρίᾳ τῆς ψυχῆς εὐεργετούμενον χάριτος μνήσεσθαι τοῖς τὰ τοιάδε παρασχοῦσιν, [359] παθόντος δέ τι ἀνήκεστον οὐκ ἀτρεμήσειν βασιλέα μὴ οὐ μεγάλην σφαγὴν Ἰουδαίων τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ποιησάμενον, ὧν φείδεσθαι καλῶς ἔχειν διά τε τὴν συγγένειαν καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀναστροφὴν εἶναι ἂν αὐτοῖς πταίσματός τινος γενομένου τὸ κατ᾽ ἐκείνους ἀκμῆς πληθύι χρώμενον. [360] καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα διανοηθεὶς καὶ φράσας ἐν τῷ συλλόγῳ πιθανὸς ἦν ἀφίεταί τε Μιθριδάτης, ἐλθόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ὠνείδιζεν ἡ γυνή, εἰ μὴ προμηθήσεται βασιλέως τε γαμβρὸς ὢν καὶ ταύτῃ τιμωρῶν τιμωρηθήσεσθαι τοὺς ὑβρίσαντας εἰς αὐτὸν περιορώμενος, [361] ἀγαπῶν δὲ τὴν σωτηρίαν μετὰ αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνδρῶν γενομένην: καὶ νῦν ἐπανάδραμε τὴν ἀρετήν, ἢ θεοὺς ἐπόμνυμι τοὺς βασιλείους ἦ μὴν παραλυθήσεσθαι [362] τῆς πρὸς σὲ ἐπὶ γάμῳ κοινωνίας.” ὁ δὲ αὖ τοῦτο μὲν τῶν ὀνειδῶν τὴν καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἀχθηδόνα μὴ φέρων, τοῦτο δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην δεδιώς, μὴ παραλύοιτο αὐτοῦ τῶν γάμων, ἄκων μὲν καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος συνάγει δ᾽ οὖν στρατὸν ὅσον ἐδύνατο πλεῖστον καὶ ἤλαυνεν οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ὑπολαμβάνων ἔτι καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν, εἰ Παρθυαῖος ὢν ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίου περιωθοῖτο ἀντιπολεμοῦντος.

(7) [363] Ἀνιλαῖος δὲ ὡς μανθάνει προσελαύνοντα δυνάμει πολλῇ τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἄδοξον ἡγησάμενος τὸ μένειν ἐν τοῖς ἕλεσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ φθάσας ὑπαντιάζειν τοὺς πολεμίους, εὐτυχίᾳ τε τῇ πρότερον ἐλπίζων ὅμοια πράξειν καὶ τήν τε ἀρετὴν τοῖς τολμῶσι καὶ εἰωθόσιν θαρρεῖν παρατυγχάνειν, ἐξῆγε τὴν δύναμιν. [364] πολλοί τε πρὸς τῷ οἰκείῳ στρατῷ προσεγεγόνεσαν αὐτῷ καθ᾽ ἁρπαγὴν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων τραπησόμενοι καὶ ὄψει πᾶν προεκπλήξοντες τοὺς πολεμίους. [365] προιοῦσι δὲ αὐτοῖς εἰς σταδίους ἐνενήκοντα καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀνύδρου τῆς πορείας γενομένης καὶ μεσημβρίας τά τε ἄλλα περιῆν τότε τὸ δίψος καὶ Μιθριδάτης ἐπιφανεὶς προσέβαλε τεταλαιπωρημένοις ἀπορίᾳ τοῦ πιεῖν καὶ δι᾽ αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν ὥραν φέρειν τὰ ὅπλα μὴ δυναμένοις. [366] τροπή τε οὖν γίνεται τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀνιλαῖον διὰ τὸ ἀπηγορευκότας ἀκραιφνέσι προσφέρεσθαι καὶ φόνος πολὺς πολλαί τε μυριάδες ἔπεσον ἀνδρῶν, Ἀνιλαῖος δὲ καὶ ὅσον περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν συνεστηκὸς ἐπὶ τῆς ὕλης ἐπανεχώρουν φυγῇ μεγάλην νίκης τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς χαρὰν Μιθριδάτῃ παρεσχηκότες. [367] Ἀνιλαίῳ δὲ προσῆει πλῆθος ἄπορον ἀνδρῶν πονηρῶν ἐν ὀλίγῳ τὴν σωτηρίαν ποιουμένων ῥᾳστώνης χάριτι τῆς εἰς τὸ παρόν, ὥστε ἀντανίσωμα τὴν τούτων πρόσοδον γενέσθαι πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολωλότων: οὐ μὴν ὅμοιοί γε ἦσαν τοῖς πεπτωκόσι διὰ τὸ ἀμελέτητον. [368] οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύταις ἐπιφοιτᾷ ταῖς κώμαις τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἀνάστατά τε ἦν πάντα ταῦτα ὑπὸ

τῆς Ἀνιλαίου ὕβρεως. [369] καὶ οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι καὶ οἱ ὄντες ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ πέμπουσιν ἐς τὰ Νέερδα πρὸς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ Ἰουδαίους Ἀνιλαῖον ἐξαιτούμενοι, καὶ μὴ δεξομένοις τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, οὐδὲ γὰρ βουλομένοις ἔκδοτον παρασχεῖν δυνηθῆναι, εἰρήνην προυκαλοῦντο: οἱ δὲ καὐτοὶ χρῄζειν ἔλεγον τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης συμβάσεων καὶ πέμπουσι μετὰ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἄνδρας, οἳ διαλέξοιντο πρὸς τὸν Ἀνιλαῖον. [370] οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι κατοπτίας αὐτοῖς γενομένης μαθόντες τὸ χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ ἱδρυμένος ὁ Ἀνιλαῖος ἦν, ἐπιπεσόντες κρύφα νυκτὸς μεθύουσι καὶ καθ᾽ ὕπνον τετραμμένοις κτείνουσιν ἀδεῶς πάντας ὅσους ἐγκατέλαβον καὶ Ἀνιλαῖον αὐτόν.

(8) [371] Βαβυλώνιοι δὲ ἀπαλλαγέντες τῆς Ἀνιλαίου βαρύτητος, ἐπιστόμισμα γὰρ ἦν αὐτῶν μίσει τῷ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, ἀεὶ γὰρ ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ διάφοροι καθεστήκεσαν αἰτίᾳ τῆς ἐναντιώσεως τῶν νόμων καὶ ὁποτέροις παραγένοιτο θαρρεῖν πρότεροι ἀλλήλων ἥπτοντο εἰ μὴ καὶ τότε οὖν ἀπολωλότων τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀνιλαῖον ἐπετίθεντο τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι. [372] οἱ δ᾽ ἐν δεινῷ τιθέμενοι τὴν ὕβριν τὴν ἐκ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων καὶ μήτε ἀντιτάξασθαι μάχῃ δυνάμενοι μήτε ἀνεκτὸν ἡγούμενοι τὴν συνοικίαν ᾤχοντο εἰς Σελεύκειαν τῶν ἐκείνῃ πόλιν ἀξιολογωτάτην Σελεύκου κτίσαντος αὐτὴν τοῦ Νικάτορος. οἰκοῦσιν δ᾽ αὐτὴν πολλοὶ μὲν Μακεδόνων, πλεῖστοι δὲ Ἕλληνες, ἔστιν δὲ καὶ Σύρων οὐκ ὀλίγον τὸ ἐμπολιτευόμενον. [373] εἰς μὲν δὴ ταύτην καταφεύγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν πέντε ἔτη ἀπαθεῖς κακῶν ἦσαν, τῷ δὲ ἕκτῳ ἔτει μετὰ τὸ πρῶτον φθορὰ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἐγένετο αὐτῶν καὶ καιναὶ κτίσεις ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ δι᾽ αὐτὴν ἄφιξις εἰς τὴν Σελεύκειαν ἐκδέχεται μείζων αὐτοὺς συμφορὰ δι᾽ αἰτίαν, ἣν ἀφηγήσομαι.

(9) [374] Σελευκέων τοῖς Ἕλλησι πρὸς τοὺς Σύρους ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐν στάσει καὶ διχονοίᾳ ἐστὶν ὁ βίος καὶ κρατοῦσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες. τότε οὖν συνοικούντων αὐτοῖς Ἰουδαίων γενομένων ἐστασίαζον, καὶ οἱ Σύροι καθυπέρτεροι ἦσαν ὁμολογίᾳ τῇ Ἰουδαίων πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλοκινδύνων τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ πολεμεῖν προθύμως ἐντεταγμένων. [375] καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες περιωθούμενοι τῇ στάσει καὶ μίαν ὁρῶντες αὐτοῖς ἀφορμὴν τοῦ ἀνασώσασθαι τὸ πρότερον ἀξίωμα, εἰ δυνηθεῖεν παῦσαι ταὐτὸν λέγοντας Ἰουδαίους καὶ Σύρους, διελέγοντο ἕκαστοι πρὸς τῶν Σύρων τοὺς αὐτοῖς συνήθεις πρὸ τοῦ γεγονότας εἰρήνην τε καὶ φιλίαν ὑπισχνούμενοι. [376] οἱ δὲ ἐπείθοντο ἄσμενοι. ἐγίνοντο οὖν ἀφ᾽ ἑκατέρων λόγοι καὶ τῶν πρώτων παρ᾽ ἑκατέροις ἀνδρῶν προασσόντων ἐπιδιαλλαγὰς τάχιστα ἡ σύμβασις ἐγένετο, ὁμονοήσαντές τε μέγα τεκμήριον ἑκάτεροι εὐνοίας [παρ᾽] ἀλλήλοις ἠξίουν παρασχεῖν τὸ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἔχθος, ἐπιπεσόντες τε αἰφνίδιον αὐτοῖς κτείνουσι μυριάδας ὑπὲρ πέντε ἀνδρῶν, ἀπώλοντό τε πάντες πλὴν εἴ τινες ἐλέῳ φίλων ἢ γειτόνων ἐπιχωρηθὲν αὐτοῖς ἔφυγον. [377] τούτοις δὲ ἦν εἰς Κτησιφῶντα ἀποχώρησις πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα καὶ τῆς Σελευκείας πλησίον κειμένην, ἔνθα χειμάζει τε ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ πᾶν ἔτος καὶ πλείστη τῆς ἀποσκευῆς αὐτοῦ τῇδε

ἀποκειμένη τυγχάνει. ἀσύνετα δὲ ἦν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἵδρυσιν πεποιημένοις τιμῇ τῆς βασιλείας Σελευκέων πεφροντικότων. [378] ἐφοβήθη δὲ καὶ πᾶν τὸ τῇδε Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος τούς τε Βαβυλωνίους καὶ τοὺς Σελευκεῖς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁπόσον ἦν Σύρων ἐμπολιτεῦον τοῖς τόποις ταὐτὸν ἔλεγον τοῖς Σελευκεῦσιν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους. [379] καὶ συνελέγησαν ὥστε πολὺ εἵς τε τὰ Νέερδα καὶ τὴν Νίσιβιν ὀχυρότητι τῶν πόλεων κτώμενοι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, καὶ ἄλλως πληθὺς ἅπασα μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν κατοικεῖται. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Ἰουδαίους τοὺς ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ κατῳκημένους τοιαῦτα ἦν.

Liber XIX

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ ιθ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Ὡς Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ Κασσίου Χαιρέου ἀνῃρέθη καὶ ὡς Κλαύδιος ὁ θεῖος αὐτοῦ βιασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν παρέλαβεν.

β. στάσις τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατεύματα.

γ. πρεσβεία τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα πρὸς τὴν βουλήν, καὶ ὡς συνθέμενοι οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπεχώρησαν πρὸς Κλαύδιον καὶ κύριον αὐτὸν κατέστησαν τῶν πραγμάτων, ἡ δὲ βουλὴ μονωθεῖσα παρεκάλει Κλαύδιον αὐτῇ διαλλαγῆναι.

δ. ὡς Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ ἀποδίδωσιν Ἀγρίππᾳ τὴν πατρῴαν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν ἅπασαν προσθεὶς αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν Λυσανίου τετραρχίαν.

ε. προγράμματα Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκεῖ Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἐν πάσῃ αὐτοῦ ἀρχῇ.

ς. ἀπόπλους Ἀγρίππα τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς Ἰουδαίαν.

ζ. ἐπιστολὴ Πουπλίου Πετρωνίου τοῦ Συρίας ἡγεμόνος πρὸς Δωρίτας ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων.

η. ὡς βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας τὰ Ἱεροσολύμων τείχη πολυτελῶς κατασκευάζων ἀτελῆ τὴν σπουδὴν ἔσχεν μεταξὺ τελευτήσας.

θ. ὅσα ἔπραξεν ἐν τρισὶν ἔτεσιν ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὃν τρόπον τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν γ μηνῶν ς.

I

(1) [1] Γάιος δὲ οὐκ εἰς μόνους Ἰουδαίους τοὺς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ τοὺς ὁπόσοι τῇδε οἰκοῦσιν ἐπεδείκνυτο τῆς ὕβρεως τὴν μανίαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ πάσης ἐσομένην γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἔστελλεν αὐτήν, ὁπόση Ῥωμαίοις ὑπακούει, μυρίων τε ἀνέπλησεν αὐτὴν κακῶν ὁπόσα μὴ ἱστόρητο πρότερον. [2] μάλιστα δὲ ᾐσθάνετο τοῦ δεινοῦ τῶν πρασσομένων ἡ Ῥώμη κατ᾽ οὐδὲν αὐτὴν τιμιωτέραν τῶν λοιπῶν πόλεων ἡγουμένου, ἀλλὰ τούς τε ἄλλους ἄγοντος καὶ φέροντος καὶ μάλιστα τὴν σύγκλητον καὶ ὁπόσοι τούτων εὐπατρίδαι καὶ προγόνων ἐπιφανείαις τιμώμενοι. [3] μυρία τε εὑρίσκετο καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἱππέων μὲν καλουμένων, ἀξιώματι δὲ καὶ δυνάμει χρημάτων ὅμοια τοῖς συγκλητικοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀγομένων διὰ τὸ ἐκ τούτων εἰς τὴν βουλὴν εἶναι κατακλήσεις: ὧν ἀτίμωσις ἦν καὶ μετανάστασις κτεινομένων τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα συλωμένων διὰ

τὸ καὶ τὰς σφαγὰς ὡς τὸ πολὺ ἐπ᾽ ἀφαιρέσει τῶν χρημάτων αὐτοῖς συντυγχάνειν. [4] ἐξεθείαζέν τε ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὰς τιμὰς οὐκέτ᾽ ἀνθρωπίνως ἠξίου γίνεσθαι παρὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων αὐτῷ: εἵς τε τοῦ Διὸς φοιτῶν τὸ ἱερόν, ὃ Καπετώλιον μὲν καλοῦσιν τιμιώτατον δ᾽ ἄρα αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ἱερῶν, ἀδελφὸν ἐτόλμησε προσαγορεύειν τὸν Δία: [5] καὶ τἆλλα ἔπρασσεν μανίας οὐδὲν ἀπολελειμμένα, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἀπὸ Δικαιαρχείας τῆς πόλεως ἐν Καμπανίᾳ κειμένης εἰς Μισηνοὺς ἑτέραν πόλιν ἐπιθαλάσσιον, καὶ τὴν διάβασιν δεινὸν ἡγούμενος τριήρει περατοῦν, [6] καὶ ἄλλως ἐπιβάλλειν ἡγούμενος αὐτῷ δεσπότῃ ὄντι τῆς θαλάσσης ταῦτα καὶ ὁποῖα καὶ παρὰ γῆς ἀπαιτεῖν, ἀπ᾽ ἄκρων ἐπ᾽ ἄκρα σταδίους τριάκοντα μέτρον τῆς θαλάσσης [ζεύξας] καὶ εἴσω τὸν κόλπον ἀπολαβὼν πάντα ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τῇ γεφύρᾳ τὸ ἅρμα: θεῷ γὰρ ὄντι τοιαύτας ποιεῖσθαι καλῶς ἔχειν τὰς ὁδούς. [7] τῶν τε ἱερῶν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀσύλητον κατέλιπεν, ὁπόσα γραφῆς ἢ γλυφῆς ἐχόμενα καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς κατασκευὰς ἀνδριάντων καὶ ἀναθημάτων ἄγεσθαι κελεύσας παρ᾽ αὐτόν: οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἑτέρῳ τὰ καλὰ κεῖσθαι καλῶς ἔχειν ἢ ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ, τυγχάνειν δὲ τοῦτο οὖσαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν. [8] ἐκόσμει τε τοῖς ἐνθένδε ἀγομένοις τήν τε οἰκίαν καὶ τοὺς κήπους ὁπόσαι τε αὐτῷ καταγωγαὶ διὰ γῆς τῆς τῶν Ἰταλῶν. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Ὀλύμπιον τιμώμενον Δία ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ οὕτως ὠνομασμένον Ὀλύμπιον Φειδίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου πεποιηκότος ἐτόλμησε κελεῦσαι εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην μεταφέρειν. [9] οὐ μὴν ἔπραξέν γε τῶν ἀρχιτεκτόνων φαμένων πρὸς Μέμμιον Ῥῆγλον, ὃς ἐπετέτακτο τῇ κινήσει τοῦ Διός, ἀπολεῖσθαι τοὔργον κινήσεως αὐτοῦ γενομένης. λέγεται δὲ Μέμμιον διὰ ταῦτα καὶ σημείων μειζόνων γενομένων, ἢ ὡς ἄν τινα μὴ πιστὰ ἡγεῖσθαι, ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὴν ἀναίρεσιν. [10] καὶ γράφει τάδε πρὸς τὸν Γάιον ἐπ᾽ ἀπολογίᾳ τοῦ ἐκλιπεῖν ἀδιακόνητον τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ἀπολέσθαι τε ἐκ τούτων αὐτῷ κινδύνου γενομένου σώζεται φθάνοντος ἤδη Γαίου τελευτῆσαι.

(2) [11] Εἰς τοῦτο δὲ προύβη τὸ μανικὸν αὐτῷ, ὥστε δὴ καὶ θυγατρὸς αὐτῷ γενομένης ἀνακομίσας ἐπὶ τὸ Καπετώλιον ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασι κατατίθεται τοῦ ἀγάλματος, κοινὸν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῷ Διὶ γεγονέναι τὸ τέκνον καὶ δύο χειροτονεῖν αὐτῆς πατέρας, ὁπότερον μείζονα φάμενος ἐν μέσῳ τε καταλιμπάνειν. [12] καὶ τάδε ἠνείχοντο πράσσοντα αὐτὸν οἱ ἄνθρωποι. ἐπεχείρησε δὲ καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις κατηγορίας ποιεῖσθαι τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐφ᾽ οἷστισιν ἐθελήσειαν ἐγκλήμασιν: δεινὰ γὰρ πάντα ἦν, ὁπόσα μέλλοι λέγεσθαι, διὰ τὸ χάριτί τε καὶ ὑπαγορεύσει τῇ ἐκείνου τὰ πολλὰ γίνεσθαι, [13] ὥστε ἤδη καὶ Κλαυδίου ἐτόλμα ποιήσασθαι Πολυδεύκης ὁ δοῦλος κατηγορίαν, καὶ Γάιος ἠνείχετο κατὰ πατρῴου τοῦ αὐτοῦ δίκης θανάτου λεγομένης ἐπ᾽ ἀκροάσει συνελθεῖν ἐλπίδι τοῦ παραλαβεῖν δύναμιν ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν. [14] οὐ μὴν ἐξεγένετό γε αὐτῷ. ἀναπεπληρωκότι δὲ αὐτῷ συκοφαντιῶν καὶ κακῶν πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἧς ἐπῆρχεν, καὶ πολλὴν τὴν δουλοκρατίαν ἐπηρμένου τοῖς δεσπόταις ἐπιβουλαὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἤδη συνίσταντο, τῶν μὲν ἐπ᾽ ἀμύνῃ ὧν πάθοιεν ὀργὴν ποιουμένων, τῶν δὲ πρὶν ἐμπεσόντες

κακῶν τυχεῖν μεγάλων τιθεμένων τὸ μεταχειρίσασθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον. [15] ὅθεν, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς τε ἁπάντων νόμοις καὶ τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ μεγάλην συνήνεγκεν εὐδαιμονίας ῥοπὴν ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ ἔθνει τε τῷ ἡμετέρῳ οὐδὲ εἰς ὀλίγον ἐξεγεγόνει μὴ οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι μὴ ταχείας αὐτῷ τελευτῆς παραγενομένης, βούλομαι [δὲ] δι' ἀκριβείας τὸν πάντα περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον διελθεῖν, [16] ἄλλως τε ἐπειδὴ καὶ πολλὴν ἔχει πίστιν τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ παραμυθίαν τοῖς ἐν τύχαις κειμένοις καὶ σωφρονισμὸν τοῖς οἰομένοις ἀίδιον τὴν εὐτυχίαν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐπιμεταφέρειν κακῶς ἀρετῆς αὐτῇ μὴ παραγενομένης.

(3) [17] Ὁδοὺς μὲν δὴ τρεῖς ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάζετο καὶ τούτων ἑκάστης ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἶχον. Αἰμίλιός τε γὰρ Ῥῆγλος ἐκ Κορδύβης τῆς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γένος συνεῖχέν τινας ἢ δι' ἐκείνων ἢ δι' αὐτοῦ πρόθυμος ὢν ἄρασθαι Γάιον. [18] ἑτέρα δὲ αὐτοῖς συνεκροτεῖτο, ἧς Χαιρέας Κάσσιος χιλίαρχος ἡγεμὼν ἦν. Μινουκιανὸς δὲ Ἄννιος οὐκ ὀλίγη μοῖρα τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννίδα παρεσκευασμένων ἦν. [19] αἰτία δ' αὐτοῖς μίσους τοῦ πρὸς Γάιον συνελθεῖν, Ῥήγλῳ μὲν τὸ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὀργίλον καὶ μίσει χρώμενον πρὸς τὰ μετ' ἀδικίας ἐξαγόμενα: καὶ γὰρ ἔχει τι θυμοειδὲς ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ ἐλευθέριον, ὑφ' οὗ μηδὲ στέγειν προστίθεσθαι τῶν βουλευμάτων: πολλοῖς γοῦν ἀνεκοινώσατο καὶ φίλοις καὶ ἄλλοις δοκοῦσιν αὐτῷ δραστηρίοις. [20] Μινουκιανὸς δὲ τὰ μὲν Λεπίδου τε ἐκδικία, φίλον γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰ μάλιστα ὄντα τοῦτον καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν σὺν ὀλίγοις ἀναιρεῖ Γάιος, καὶ ἄλλως φοβηθεὶς τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως τὸν Γάιον ἐπὶ θάνατον ἀνακειμένην ἐπαφιέναι τὴν ὀργὴν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐγχείρησιν ἐλθεῖν. [21] Χαιρέαν δὲ αἰσχύνην φέροντα ὀνείδη τε εἰς τὴν ἀνανδρίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαίου προφερομένου, καὶ ἄλλως τὸ ἐφ' ἡμέρᾳ κινδυνεύειν φιλίᾳ καὶ θεραπείᾳ τὴν Γαίου τελευτὴν οὐ πάντ' ἐλεύθερον ὑπολαμβάνων. [22] οἱ δὲ καὶ πᾶσι κοινῇ προτεθῆναι τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι σκέψιν τήν τε ὕβριν θεωμένοις καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἀκμὴν ἐπ' ἀλλήλων ἀκμάζουσαν διαφυγεῖν ἀραμένοις τὸν Γάιον: ἴσως μὲν γὰρ ἂν κατορθῶσαι, καλῶς δὲ κατορθοῦσι τηλικούτων ἀγαθῶν σχεῖν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς τε πόλεως καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας πονοῦσι καὶ μετὰ ὀλέθρου ἅπτεσθαι τοῦ πράγματος. [23] παρὰ πάντα δὲ Χαιρέαν ἐπείγεσθαι ὀνόματός τε ἐπιθυμίᾳ μείζονος καὶ ἄλλως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδεέστερον προσιέναι τῷ Γαίῳ διὰ τὴν χιλιαρχίαν ῥᾳστώνης αὐτῷ κτείνειν ἐσομένης.

(4) [24] Ἐν τούτῳ δ' ἱπποδρομίαι ἦσαν: καὶ σπουδάζεται γὰρ Ῥωμαίοις ἥδε ἡ θεωρία δεινῶς, συνίασίν τε προθύμως εἰς τὸν ἱππόδρομον καὶ ἐφ' οἷς χρήζοιεν δέονται τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων κατὰ πλῆθος συνελθόντες, οἱ δὲ ἀναντιλέκτους τὰς δεήσεις κρίνοντες οὐδαμῶς ἀχαριστοῦσιν. [25] ἐκέλευον δὴ καὶ τὸν Γάιον ἐκθύμῳ τῇ ἱκετείᾳ χρώμενοι τῶν τε τελῶν ἐπανιέναι καὶ τῶν φόρων ἐπικουφίζειν τι τοῦ ἐπαχθοῦς. ὁ δ' οὐκ ἠνείχετο, καὶ πλέον τι τῇ βοῇ χρωμένων ἄλλους ἄλλῃ διαπέμψας κελεύει τοὺς βοῶντας λαβεῖν τε καὶ μηδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἀνελεῖν προαγαγόντας. [26] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκέλευε ταῦτα καὶ οἷς προσετέτακτο ἔπρασσον,

πλεῖστοί τε ἦσαν οἱ ἐπὶ τοιούτοις ἀποθανόντες. καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἑώρα μέν, ἠνείχετο δὲ παυσάμενος τῆς βοῆς, ἐν ὀλίγῳ ἕνεκα τῶν χρημάτων ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρῶντες τὴν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις παραίτησιν εἰς θάνατον αὐτοῖς φέρουσαν. [27] ταῦτα Χαιρέαν ἐνήγαγεν μειζόνως ἅπτεσθαί τε τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ παύειν κατὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξηγριωκότα τὸν Γάιον, καὶ πολλάκις μὲν καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἑστιάσεις ἐμέλλησεν ἐπιχειρεῖν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ ἐπείχετο λογισμῷ, τὸ μὲν κτείνειν οὐκέτ᾽ ἐνδοιαστὸν κεκρικώς, τὸν δὲ καιρὸν περισκοπῶν, ὅπως μὴ εἰς κενόν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ καταπράξει τῶν βεβουλευμένων ταῖς χερσὶ χρῷτο.

(5) [28] Ἐστρατεύετο δὲ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον οὐχ ἡδονῇ φέρων Γαίου τὴν ἀναστροφήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἵσταται Γάιος εἰσπραξόμενον τούς τε φόρους καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα καταβαλλόμενα εἰς τὸν Καίσαρος θησαυρὸν ἐφυστερήκει τοῖς καιροῖς διὰ τὸ ἐπιδιπλασιάζεσθαι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν, χρόνον ἐκεῖ ποιεῖται τῇ εἰσπράξει τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτοῦ χρώμενος μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ Γαίου προστάξει, [29] διὰ τὸ φειδοῖ χρῆσθαι τὰς τύχας οἴκτῳ λαμβάνων τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν εἴσπραξιν εἰς ὀργὴν προυκαλεῖτο τὸν Γάιον μαλακίαν ἐπικαλοῦντα αὐτῷ τοῦ σχολῇ συνάγεσθαι αὐτῷ τὰ χρήματα. καὶ δὴ τά τε ἄλλα ὕβριζεν εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ ὁπότε τὸ σημεῖον αὐτῷ τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας καθηκούσης εἰς αὐτόν, θήλεά τε ἐδίδου τὰ ὀνόματα, [30] καὶ ταῦτα αἰσχύνης ἀνάπλεα καὶ ταῦτα ἔπρασσεν αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμένος ἔν τινων τελεταῖς μυστηρίων, ἃς αὐτὸς συνίστατο, στολάς τε ἐνδυόμενος γυναικείους καί τινων περιθέσεις πλοκαμίδων ἐπινοῶν ἄλλα τε ὁπόσα ἐπικαταψεύσασθαι θηλύτητα τῆς ὄψεως ἔμελλεν, αὐτὸς τὴν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις αἰσχύνην ἐτόλμα Χαιρέᾳ προσκαλεῖν. [31] Χαιρέᾳ δὲ καὶ ὁπότε μὲν παραλαμβάνοι τὸ σημεῖον ὀργὴ παρίστατο, μειζόνως δ᾽ ὁπότε παραδιδοίη, γελώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν παραλαμβανόντων, ὥστε καὶ οἱ συγχιλίαρχοι παιδιὰν ἐποιοῦντο αὐτόν: ὁπότε γὰρ αὐτὸς μέλλοι τὸ σημεῖον παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος κομίζειν, προύλεγόν τινα τῶν εἰωθότων φέρειν εἰς παιδιάν. [32] διὰ ταῦτα δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ θάρσος παρίστατο κοινωνούς τινας παραλαμβάνειν, ὡς οὐκ ἐπ᾽ ὀλίγοις ὀργῇ χρώμενος. καὶ ἦν γὰρ Πομπήδιος συγκλητικὸς μέν, τὰς ἀρχὰς δὲ διεληλυθὼς σχεδὸν ἁπάσας, Ἐπικούρειος δ᾽ ἄλλως καὶ δι᾽ αὐτὸ ἀπράγμονος ἐπιτηδευτὴς βίου. [33] τοῦτον ἐνδείκνυσιν Τιμίδιος ἐχθρὸς ὢν ὡς λοιδορίᾳ χρησάμενον ἀπρεπεῖ κατὰ τοῦ Γαίου μάρτυρα παραλαμβάνων Κυιντιλίαν γυναῖκα τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἐπιφανείᾳ τοῦ ὡραίου περισπούδαστον πολλοῖς τε οὖσαν καὶ τῷ Πομπηδίῳ. [34] καὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπου, ψεῦδος γὰρ ἦν, δεινὸν ἡγουμένης μαρτυρίαν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ τοῦ ἐραστοῦ παρασχεῖν, βασάνων ἔχρῃζεν ὁ Τιμίδιος, καὶ Γάιος παρωξυμμένος κελεύει τὸν Χαιρέαν μηδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἀλλ᾽ εὐθέως βασανίζειν τὴν Κυιντιλίαν, χρώμενος τῷ Χαιρέᾳ πρός τε τὰ φονικὰ καὶ ὁπόσα στρεβλώσεως δέοιτο ὑπὸ τοῦ νομίζειν ὠμότερον διακονήσεσθαι τὴν λοιδορίαν φεύγοντα τῆς μαλακίας. [35] Κυιντιλία δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὴν βάσανον ἀγομένη τῶν συνιστόρων τινὸς ἐπιβαίνει τῷ ποδὶ ἀποσημαίνουσα θαρσεῖν καὶ μὴ τὰς βασάνους αὐτῆς δεδιέναι:

διοίσειν γὰρ μετ᾽ ἀνδραγαθίας. βασανίζει δ᾽ αὐτὴν ὠμῶς ὁ Χαιρέας, ἄκων μέν, κατ᾽ ἀνάγκας δὲ τὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ μηδὲν ἐνδοῦσαν ἦγεν εἰς τὴν ὄψιν τὴν Γαίου διακειμένην οὐκ ἐν ἡδονῇ τοῖς θεωροῦσι. [36] καὶ ὁ Γάιος παθών τι πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν τῆς Κυιντιλίας δεινῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλγηδόνων διακειμένης τοῦ τε ἐγκλήματος ἠφίει καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν Πομπήδιον, ἐκείνην δὲ καὶ χρημάτων δόσει τιμᾷ παραμυθίας ἐσομένων λώβης τε ἣν ἐλελώβητο εἰς τὴν εὐπρέπειαν τοῦ ἀφορήτου τῶν ἀλγηδόνων.

(6) [37] Ταῦτα δεινῶς ἠνίασεν τὸν Χαιρέαν ὡς αἴτιον ἀνθρώποις καὶ ὑπὸ Γαίου παρηγορίας ἀξίοις ἐν αἰτίᾳ κακῶν τὸ ὅσον ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς γεγενημένοις, φησίν τε πρὸς Κλήμεντά τε καὶ Παπίνιον, ὧν Κλήμης μὲν ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων, Παπίνιος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν χιλιαρχῶν, [38] "ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ φυλακῇ γε, ὦ Κλήμης, τὰ πάντα τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἡμῖν πράσσειν οὐκ ἐλλέλειπται: τῶν γὰρ συνομωμοκότων αὐτοῦ κατὰ τῆς ἡγεμονίας προνοίᾳ καὶ πόνοις τοὺς μὲν ἀπεκτείναμεν, τοὺς δὲ ἐστρεβλώσαμεν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, ὡς ἐλεεινοὺς κἀκείνῳ γενέσθαι, μετὰ πόσης τε ἀρετῆς ἡμῖν ἐξάγεται τῶν στρατιῶν;" [39] σιγήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Κλήμεντος καὶ τὸ μὲν αἰσχύνῃ φέρειν τὰ προστασσόμενα καὶ τῷ βλέμματι καὶ τῷ ἐρυθήματι παριστάντος, λόγῳ δὲ αὐτοῖς τὴν μανίαν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος προσκαλεῖν ἄδικον ἡγουμένου προνοίᾳ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς, [40] Χαιρέας ἤδη θάρσει χρώμενος ἐν λόγοις ἦν κινδύνων ἀνειμένοις πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ κατέχοντα δεινὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπεξιών, καὶ ὅτι λόγῳ μὲν εἴη Γάιος ὁ τὴν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις αἰτίαν προτιθέμενος, [41] τοῖς δὲ τἀληθὲς ἐξετάζειν πειρωμένοις ἐγώ τε, ὦ Κλήμης, καὶ οὑτοσὶ ὁ Παπίνιος καὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν σύ, ταύτας Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ τῷ παντὶ ἀνθρωπείῳ τὰς στρέβλας προσφερόμενοι, οὐκ ἐπιτάγμασιν τοῖς Γαίου διακονούμενοι, γνώμῃ δὲ τῇ αὐτῶν, [42] εἰ παρὸν παῦσαι τοσαύτῃ ἤδη χρώμενον ὕβρει εἴς τε τοὺς πολίτας καὶ τοὺς ὑπηκόους διακονούμεθα, δορυφόροι καὶ δήμιοι καθεστηκότες ἀντὶ στρατιωτῶν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ταυτὶ φέροντες οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας οὐδ᾽ ἀρχῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ δουλουμένου τά τε σώματα αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ φρονήματα, μιαινόμενοι τῷ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν αἵματι σφαγῆς καὶ βασάνου τῆς ἐκείνων, μέχρι δή τις καὶ καθ᾽ ἡμῶν διακονήσεται τοιαῦτα Γαίῳ. [43] οὐ γὰρ εὐνοίᾳ γε πολιτεύσει διὰ τάδε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, δι᾽ ὑφοράσεως δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ἄλλως τοῦ πολλοῦ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἀποδεδωκότος: οὐ γὰρ δὴ στήσεταί ποτε Γαίῳ τὰ τῆς ὀργῆς διὰ τὸ μὴ δίκην ἀλλ᾽ ἡδονὴν πέρας αὐτῆς τυγχάνειν: σκοποὶ δὲ προσκεισόμεθα καὐτοί, δέον καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν τὸ ἀνεπιβούλευτόν τε καὶ ἐλεύθερον βεβαιοῦν καὶ ἡμῖν κινδύνων ἀπαλλαγὰς ψηφίσασθαι.

(7) [44] Κλήμης δὲ τὴν μὲν διάνοιαν τὴν Χαιρέου φανερὸς ἦν ἐπαινῶν, σιγᾶν δ᾽ ἐκέλευε, μὴ καὶ φοιτῶντος εἰς πλείονας τοῦ λόγου καὶ διαχεομένων ὁπόσα κρύπτεσθαι καλῶς ἔχοι πρὶν τυχεῖν πράξαντας ἐκπύστου τοῦ ἐπιβουλεύματος γενομένου κολασθεῖεν, χρόνῳ δὲ τῷ αὖθις καὶ τῇ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐλπίδι παραδιδόναι

τὰ πάντα ὡς παραγενησομένης τινὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπικουρίας τυχαίου: [45] αὐτὸν μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ γήρως ἀφῃρῆσθαι τὴν ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε τόλμαν, τῶν μέντοι γε ὑπὸ σοῦ, Χαιρέα, συντεθέντων τε καὶ ῥηθέντων ἀσφαλέστερα μὲν ἴσως ἂν ὑποθοίμην, [46] εὐπρεπέστερα δὲ πῶς ἄν τις καὶ δύναιτο;" καὶ Κλήμης μὲν ὡς αὐτὸν ἀναλύει διὰ λογισμῶν τῶν τε ἀκροαθέντων καὶ ὁπόσων αὐτὸς εἰρήκει περιφερόμενος. Χαιρέας δὲ δείσας ὡς Κορνήλιον Σαβῖνον ἠπείγετο καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν χιλίαρχον ὄντα, ἀξιόλογον δ' ἄλλως ἐξεπιστάμενος αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ ἐλευθέρου ἐραστὴν καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τῇ καταστάσει τῶν πραγμάτων πολεμίως διακείμενον, [47] χρῄζων ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἔχεσθαι τῶν ἐγνωσμένων τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καλὰ νομίσας εἶναι προσθέσθαι καὶ δέει, μὴ ὑπὸ Κλήμεντος ἐκφοίτησις γένοιτο αὐτῶν, ἄλλως τε τὰς μελλήσεις καὶ τῶν καιρῶν τὰς ὑπερβολὰς πρὸς τῶν ὑπερβαλλομένων τιθέμενος.

(8) [48] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀσμένῳ καὶ τῷ Σαβίνῳ τὰ πάντα ἦν, ἅτε καὶ αὐτῷ γνώμης μὲν οὐχ ὑστεροῦντι τῆς ἴσης, ἀπορίᾳ δὲ πρὸς ὄντινα εἰπὼν ἀσφαλὴς εἴη τὰ πρὸς ἐκείνους σιγῇ παραδιδόντος, ἐπεί τε ἀνδρὸς ηὐπόρητο οὐ μόνον στέγειν ὧν πύθοιτο προσθησομένου, ἀλλὰ καὶ γνώμην φανεροῦντος τὴν αὐτοῦ, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἦρτο, καὶ μηδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἐδεῖτο τοῦ Χαιρέου. [49] τρέπονταί τε ὡς Μινουκιανόν, αὐτοῖς μὲν ἐπιτηδεύσει ἀρετῆς καὶ τῷ ὁμοζήλῳ τοῦ μεγαλόφρονος συγγενῆ, Γαίῳ δ' ὕποπτον τῆς Λεπίδου τελευτῆς, πάνυ γὰρ δὴ φίλοι ἐγένοντο Μινουκιανός τε καὶ Λέπιδος, καὶ δείματι κινδύνων τῶν καθ' αὐτόν. [50] πᾶσι γὰρ τοῖς ἐν τέλει φοβερὸς ἦν Γάιος, ὡς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἕκαστον καὶ πρὸς οὕστινας τῇ μανίᾳ χρῆσθαι μὴ ἀφησόμενος, [51] φανεροί τε ἀλλήλοις ἦσαν τῆς ἐπὶ πράγμασιν ἀχθηδόνος, διασαφεῖν μὲν ἀλλήλοις ἄντικρυς τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ μῖσος τὸ πρὸς Γάιον φόβῳ τε κινδύνων ἀφέμενοι ἄλλως τε αἰσθανόμενοι τοῦ ἀλλήλων μίσους πρὸς τὸν Γάιον καὶ δι' αὐτὸ εὐνοίᾳ χρῆσθαι τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους μὴ ἀπηλλαγμένοι.

(9) [52] Γενομένων δ' αὐτοῖς ἀξιώσεων ἐπείπερ συνέβαλον, εἰωθότες καὶ πρότερον ὁπότε συνέλθοιεν τίμιον ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν Μινουκιανὸν ὑπεροχῇ τε ἀξιώματος, γενναιότατος γὰρ ἦν τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐπαινουμένῳ, [53] μᾶλλον ὡς ἄπτοιτό τινος λόγου φθάσαι κἀκεῖνος εἴ ποτε Χαιρέαν, ὅ τι καὶ παραλάβοι σημεῖον τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης: ἀοίδιμος γὰρ διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἦν ἡ εἰς τὸν Χαιρέαν διὰ τῶν σημείων τῆς δόσεως πρασσομένη ὕβρις. [54] ὁ δὲ χάρματι τοῦ λόγου μηδὲν μελλήσας ἠμείβετο τοῦ Μινουκιανοῦ τὸ ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε πιστεῦσαν ὁμιλίᾳ χρήσασθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, καί "σύ μοι δίδως, εἶπεν, σημεῖον ἐλευθερίας, χάρις δέ σοι τοῦ ἀνεγείραντός με μειζόνως ἥπερ εἴωθα ἐμαυτὸν ὁρμᾶν, [55] οὐδέν μοι χρεία πλειόνων ἔτι λόγων, οἵ με θαρσοῖεν, εἰ δὴ καὶ σοὶ ταῦτα δοκεῖ, γνώμης τε τῆς αὐτῆς κοινωνοὶ καὶ πρότερον ἢ συνελθεῖν γεγόναμεν. καὶ ἓν μὲν ὑπέζωμαι ξίφος, ἀμφοῖν δ' ἂν ἀρκέσειεν. [56] ὥστε ἴθι καὶ ἔργων ἐχώμεθα, ἡγεμών τ' ἴσθι, ᾗ βούλοιο αὐτὸς κελεύων με χωρεῖν, ᾗ καὶ προσοίσομαι, ἐπικουρίᾳ τῇ σῇ συμπράσσοντος τε πίσυνος. οὐδὲ ἀπορία σιδήρου τοῖς τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς τὰ ἔργα προσφερομένοις, δι' ἣν καὶ ὁ σίδηρος δραστήριος

εἴωθεν εἶναι. [57] ὥρμηκά τε εἰς τὴν πρᾶξιν οὐχ ὧν ἂν αὐτὸς πάθοιμι ἐλπίδι περιφερόμενος: οὐ γὰρ σχολὴ κινδύνους μοι κατανοεῖν τοὺς ἐμαυτοῦ δουλώσει τε πατρίδος ἐλευθερωτάτης ἐπαλγοῦντι τῶν νόμων τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀφῃρημένης τούς τε πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὀλέθρου διὰ Γάιον κατειληφότος. [58] ἄξιος δ' ἂν εἴην παρὰ σοὶ δικαστῇ πίστεως ἐπὶ τοιούτοις τυγχάνειν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὅμοια φρονεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ σὲ μὴ ἀπηλλάχθαι."

(10) [59] Μινουκιανὸς δὲ τὴν ὁρμὴν τῶν λόγων θεασάμενος ἠσπάζετό τε ἀσμένως καὶ προσπαρίστατο τὴν τόλμαν αὐτοῦ ἐπαινέσας τε καὶ ἀσπασάμενος μετ' εὐχῶν καὶ ἱκετείας ἀπελύοντο. [60] καὶ ἰσχυρίζοντό τινες ὡς βεβαιοῦν τὰ εἰρημένα Εἰσιόντος γὰρ εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον Χαιρέου φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους γενέσθαι τινὸς ἐπ' ἐξορμήσει κελεύοντος περαίνειν μὲν δὴ τὸ πρακτέον καὶ προσλαμβάνειν τὸ δαιμόνιον. [61] καὶ τὸν Χαιρέαν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπιδέσθαι, μὴ καί τινος τῶν συνωμοτῶν προδότου γεγονότος ἁλίσκοιτο, καὶ τέλος συνέντα ἐπὶ προτροπῇ φέρειν πρῶτον εἴτε παραινέσει τῶν συνεγνωκότων ἀντισημαίνοντός τινος, εἴτε δὴ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃς ἐφορᾷ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, αἴροντος αὐτόν. [62] διεληλύθει δὲ διὰ πολλῶν τὸ ἐπιβούλευμα καὶ πάντες ἐν ὅπλοις παρῆσαν, οἱ μὲν τῶν βουλευτῶν ὄντες οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς καὶ ὁπόσοι τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ συνῄδεσαν: οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἦν, ὃς μὴ ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ ἂν ἠρίθμει τὴν Γαίου μετάστασιν: [63] καὶ δι' αὐτὸ πάντες ἠπείγοντο ὁποίῳ δύναιτό τις τρόπῳ μηδὲ ἑκὼν εἶναι τῆς ἐπὶ τοιούτοις ἀρετῆς ὑστερεῖν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔχοι προθυμίας ἢ δυνάμεως καὶ λόγοις καὶ δι' ἔργων ἦρτο ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννοκτονίᾳ, [64] ἐπεὶ καὶ Κάλλιστος, ἀπελεύθερος δ' ἦν Γαίου πλεῖστά τε ἀνὴρ εἷς οὗτος ἐπὶ μέγιστον δυνάμεως ἀφίκετο καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἰσοτύραννον εἶχε τὴν δύναμιν φόβῳ τε τῶν πάντων καὶ μεγέθει χρημάτων, ἅπερ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ: [65] δωροδοκώτατος γὰρ ἦν καὶ ὑβριστότατος παρ' ὁντινοῦν γίνεται, ἐξουσίᾳ χρησάμενος παρὰ τὸ εἰκός: καὶ ἄλλως τε τοῦ Γαίου τὴν φύσιν ἐξεπιστάμενος ἀνήκεστον οὖσαν καὶ ἐφ' οἱστισι κρίνειεν οὐδαμῶς ἀντισπάσματι χρωμένην, αὐτῷ τε πολλὰς μὲν καὶ ἄλλας αἰτίας τοῦ κινδυνεύειν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν χρημάτων: [66] ὥστε δὴ καὶ Κλαύδιον ἐθεράπευε κρυπτῶς μετακαθίζων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλπίδι τοῦ κἂν εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἥξειν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Γαίου μεταστάντος, αὐτῷ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς τιμῆς τὴν ἐφ' ὁμοίοις ἰσχὺν προκαταθέμενος χάριν καὶ φιλανθρωπίας λόγον. [67] ἐτόλμησεν γοῦν εἰπεῖν, ὡς κελευσθεὶς διαχρήσασθαι φαρμάκῳ τὸν Κλαύδιον μυρίας εὕροιτο τοῦ χρήματος τὰς ὑπερβολάς. [68] δοκεῖν δὲ προσεποιεῖτο Κάλλιστος ἐπὶ θήρᾳ τῇ Κλαυδίου τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, ἔπειτα οὔτε Γάιος ὡρμηκὼς μεταχειρίσασθαι Κλαύδιον ἠνείχετο τῶν Καλλίστου προφάσεων οὔτε Κάλλιστος κελευσθείς που τὴν πρᾶξιν εὐκτὸν ὑπελάμβανεν ἢ κακουργῶν εἰς τοῦ δεσπότου τὰς ἐπιστολὰς οὐκ ἂν ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα τὸν μισθὸν ἐκομίζετο. [69] ἀλλὰ δὴ Κλαυδίῳ μὲν ἔκ τινος θείας δυνάμεως χρήσασθαι μανιῶν τῶν Γαίου, Κάλλιστος προσποιήσασθαι χάριτος κατάθεσιν μηδαμῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενομένης.

(11) [70] Τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Χαιρέαν ὑπερβολαὶ τὸ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἦσαν ὀκνούντων πολλῶν οὐ γὰρ Χαιρέας ἔσται ἑκὼν εἶναι τοῦ πράσσειν ἀναβολὴν ἐποιεῖτο, πάντα καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον τῇ πράξει νομίζων. [71] καὶ γὰρ εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον ἀνιόντα καὶ τὰς θυσίας ὑπὲρ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἐπιτελουμένας ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαίου παρῆν πολλάκις καιρός, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἱστάμενον καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χρυσίου καὶ ἀργυρίου χρήματα διαρριπτοῦντα ὧσαι κατὰ κεφαλῆς, ὑψηλὸν δ᾽ ἐστὶ τὸ τέγος εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν φέρον, ἐπί τε τῶν μυστηρίων ταῖς ποιήσεσιν ἃ συνίστατο: [72] πάντων γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀπερίοπτον εἶναι προνοίᾳ τοῦ ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐπρεπῶς ἀναστραφησομένου καὶ ἀπογνώσει τοῦ ἐν ἐπιχειρήσει τινὶ γενέσθαι πιστεύοντα εἰ δὲ μηδὲν τίμιον ὡς τῶν θεῶν αὐτῷ δύναμιν τοῦ θανάτου παρατυγχάνειν, [73] αὐτῷ δ᾽ ἂν ἰσχὺν ἐγγενέσθαι καὶ μὴ σιδηροφορουμένῳ διαχρήσασθαι τότε Γάιον. οὕτως εὐχῆς εἶχε τοὺς συνωμότας ὁ Χαιρέας δεδιὼς τοὺς καιροὺς μὴ διαρρυεῖεν. [74] οἱ δὲ ἑώρων μὲν νομίμων τε χρῄζοντα καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθοῖς τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐπειγόμενον, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ ἠξίουν εἰς ὀλίγον γοῦν ὑπερβολῇ χρήσασθαι, μὴ καί πῃ σφάλματος τῇ ἐπιχειρήσει συνελθόντος ταράξαιεν τὴν πόλιν ζητήσεων τῶν συνεγνωκότων τὴν πρᾶξιν γινομένων καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς μελλήσουσιν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἄπορον τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν φραξαμένου Γαίου πρὸς αὐτοὺς μειζόνως. [75] καλῶς οὖν ἔχειν θεωριῶν ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ ἐπιτελουμένων ἅπτεσθαι τοῦ χρήματος: ἄγονται δὲ ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ πρώτου μεταστησαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ δήμου Καίσαρος εἰς αὐτὸν μικρόν τε πρὸ τοῦ βασιλείου καλύβης πηκτοῦ γενομένης, καὶ Ῥωμαίων τε οἱ εὐπατρίδαι θεωροῦσιν ὁμοῦ παισὶν καὶ γυναιξὶν καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ: [76] ῥᾳστώνην τε αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι πολλῶν μυριάδων ἀνθρώπων εἰς ὀλίγον χωρίον καθειργνυμένων ὥστε εἰσιόντι τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ποιήσασθαι δυνάμεως τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς, εἰ καί τινες προθυμοῖντο, μὴ παρατευξομένης αὐτῷ βοηθεῖν.

(12) [77] Εἴχετο δὲ Χαιρέας, καὶ τῶν θεωριῶν ἐπελθουσῶν τῇ πρώτῃ δεδογμένον ἅπτεσθαι τῆς πράξεως ἰσχυρότερον ἦν τοῦ κατ᾽ ἐκείνους προβεβουλευκότος τὸ τῆς τύχης συγχωροῦν ὑπερβολάς, καὶ τὰς τρεῖς ὑπερβαλλομένου ταῖς νομίμοις ἡμέραις μόλις κατὰ τὴν τελευταίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπράχθη τὸ ἔργον. [78] Χαιρέας δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς συνωμότας “πολὺς μέν, εἶπεν, καὶ ὁ παρεληλυθὼς χρόνος ὀνειδίσαι τὸ ἐπιμέλλον ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς οὕτω βουλευθεῖσιν μετ᾽ ἀρετῆς, δεινὸν δέ, εἰ καὶ μηνύματος γενομένου διαπεσεῖται ἡ πρᾶξις καὶ Γάιος ὑβριεῖ μειζόνως. [79] ἢ οὐχ ὁρῶμεν, ὡς τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀφαιροῦμεν ὁπόσας τῶν ἡμερῶν προσθήκην τῇ Γαίου τυραννίδι χαριζόμεθα, δέον αὐτούς τ᾽ ἀδεεῖς τὸ λοιπὸν εἶναι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις αἰτίαν τοῦ εὐδαίμονος παρασχόντας δι᾽ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἅπαντος τοῖς αὖθις ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ [80] καὶ τιμῇ καταστῆναι;” τῶν δὲ οὔτε ἀντειπεῖν ὡς οὐ πάνυ καλοῖς δυναμένων οὔτε τὴν πρᾶξιν ἄντικρυς δεχομένων σιγῇ δὲ καταπεπληγότων “τί, φησίν, ὦ γενναῖοι, διαμέλλομεν; ἢ οὐχ ὁρᾶτε τὴν σήμερον τῶν θεωριῶν ἡμέραν ὑστάτην οὖσαν καὶ Γάιον ἐκπλευσού [81] μενον;” ἐπὶ γὰρ Ἀλεξανδρείας παρεσκεύαστο πλεῖν κατὰ θεωρίαν τῆς Αἰγύπτου. “καλὸν δὲ ἡμῖν

προέσθαι τῶν χειρῶν τὸ ὄνειδος τῇ Ῥωμαίων μεγαλαυχίᾳ πομπεῦσον διά τε γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης. [82] πῶς δ᾽ οὐκ ἂν δικαίως κρίνοιμεν αὐτοὺς αἰσχύνῃ τῶν γενησομένων, εἴ τις αὐτὸν Αἰγύπτιος κτείνειεν τὴν ὕβριν οὐχ ἡγησάμενος ἀνασχετὸν τοῖς ἐλευθέροις γεγονόσιν; [83] ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐκέτι εἰς πλείονα ἀνέξομαι τὰς σκήψεις ὑμῶν, χωρήσω δὲ τοῖς κινδύνοις ὁμοῦ σήμερον ἡδονῇ φέρων πᾶν ὅ τι καὶ γένοιτο ἐξ αὐτῶν, οὐδ᾽ ἂν ὑπερβαλλοίμην εἴπερ εἴη: τί γὰρ δὴ καὶ γένοιτ᾽ ἂν ἀνδρὶ φρόνημα ἔχοντι τούτου σχετλιώτερον, ἕτερον Γάιον ἀναιρεῖν ἐμοῦ ζῶντος ἐμὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷδε ἀρετὴν ἀφῃρημένον;”

(13) [84] Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἰπὼν αὐτός τε ὡρμήκει πράξων τὸ ἔργον καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐνεποίησε θάρσος πᾶσίν τε ἦν ἔρως ἅπτεσθαι τοῦ ἐγχειρήματος μηδὲν ὑπερβαλλομένοις, [85] ἔωθέν τε ἐπὶ τοῦ Παλατίου εἰώθει τὸ ξίφος ὑπεζωσμένος τῶν ἱππικῶν: ἔθος γὰρ δὴ τοῖς χιλιάρχοις τοῦτο ἐζωσμένοις αἰτεῖν παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τὸ σημεῖον, ἦν τε ἡ ἡμέρα καθήκουσα εἰς αὐτὸν τῆς παραλήψεως τοῦ σημείου. [86] ἄρτι τε συνῄει πληθὺς εἰς τὸ Παλάτιον ἐπὶ προκαταλήψει θέας πολλῷ θορύβῳ καὶ ὠθισμῷ, χαρᾷ φέροντος Γαίου τὴν ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε τῶν πολλῶν σπουδήν, παρὸ καὶ διακέκριτο οὐδὲν οὔτε τῇ συγκλήτῳ χωρίον οὔτε τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν, φύρδην δὲ ἔζοντο καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὁμοῦ αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ τῷ δούλῳ ἀναμεμιγμένον τὸ ἐλεύθερον. [87] Γάιος δὲ προόδων αὐτῷ γενομένων ἔθυσε τῷ Σεβαστῷ Καίσαρι, ᾧ δὴ καὶ τὰ τῆς θεωρίας ἤγετο, καὶ πίπτοντος τῶν ἱερείων τινὸς συνέβη αἵματι τὴν Ἀσπρήνα στολὴν ἑνὸς τῶν συγκλητικῶν ἀνάπλεων γενέσθαι. τοῦτο Γαίῳ γέλωτα μὲν παρέσχεν, ἦν δ᾽ ἄρα εἰς οἰωνὸν τῷ Ἀσπρήνᾳ φανερόν: ἐπικατασφάζεται γὰρ τῷ Γαίῳ. [88] Γάιον δ᾽ ἱστορεῖται παρὰ φύσιν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ εὐπροσηγορώτατον γενέσθαι κατ᾽ ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ δεξιότητι χρώμενον ὁμιλίας πάνθ᾽ ὁντινοῦν ἐκπλῆξαι τῶν παρατυγχανόντων. [89] μετὰ δὲ τὴν θυσίαν ἐπὶ τὴν θεωρίαν τραπεὶς ἐκαθέζετο καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν τῶν ἑταίρων οἱ ἀξιολογώτατοι. [90] κατεσκεύαστο δὲ τὸ θέατρον, πηκτὸν δὲ ἐγίνετο κατὰ ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν, τοιόνδε τρόπον: θύρας ἔχει δύο φερούσας τὴν μὲν εἰς αἴθριον, τὴν δ᾽ εἰς στοὰν εἰσόδοις καὶ ἀποχωρήσεσιν, ὅπως μὴ ταράσσοιντο οἱ ἔνδον ἀπειλημμένοι, ἐκ δ᾽ αὐτῆς τῆς καλύβης ἐνδοτέρω διαφράγμασιν ἑτέραν ἀπειληφυίαις ἐπ᾽ ἀναστροφῇ τοῖς ἀνταγωνισταῖς καὶ ὁπόσα ἀκροάματα. [91] συγκαθημένης δὲ τῆς πληθύος καὶ τοῦ Χαιρέου σὺν τοῖς χιλιάρχοις οὐκ ἄπωθεν τοῦ Γαίου, δεξιὸν δὲ τοῦ θεάτρου κέρας ὁ Καῖσαρ εἶχεν, Βαθύβιός τις τῶν συγκλητικῶν ἀνὴρ ἐστρατηγηκὼς ἤρετο Κλούιον παρακαθεζόμενον αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτον ὑπατικόν, εἰ δή τις αὐτῷ νεωτέρων πραγμάτων πέρι ἀφίκοιτο πύστις, προμηθὴς γενόμενος τοῦ μὴ ἐξάκουστος εἶναι τάδε λέγων. [92] τοῦ δὲ φαμένου μηδὲν πεπύσθαι σημεῖον “τοιγαροῦν, ὦ Κλούιε, τυραννοκτονίας ἀγὼν πρόκειται.” καὶ ὁ Κλούιος “ὦ γενναῖε, φησίν, σίγα, μή τις τ᾽ ἄλλος [93] Ἀχαιῶν μῦθον ἀκούσῃ.” πολλῆς δ᾽ ὀπώρας ἐπιχεομένης τοῖς θεωροῖς καὶ πολλῶν ὀρνέων ὁπόσα τῷ σπανίῳ τίμια τοῖς κτωμένοις, ὁ Γάιος ἡδονῇ τὰς περὶ αὐτοῖς

ἐθεώρει μάχας καὶ διαρπαγὰς οἰκειουμένων αὐτὰ τῶν θεωρῶν. [94] ἔνθα δὲ καὶ σημεῖα μανθάνει δύο γενέσθαι: καὶ γὰρ μῖμος εἰσάγεται, καθ᾽ ὃν σταυροῦται ληφθεὶς ἡγεμών, ὅ τε ὀρχηστὴς δρᾶμα εἰσάγει Κινύραν, ἐν ᾧ αὐτός τε ἐκτείνετο καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ Μύρρα, αἷμά τε ἦν τεχνητὸν πολὺ καὶ περὶ τὸν σταυρωθέντα ἐκκεχυμένον καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Κινύραν. [95] ὁμολογεῖται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην γενέσθαι, ἐν ᾗ Φίλιππον τὸν Ἀμύντου Μακεδόνων βασιλέα κτείνει Παυσανίας εἷς τῶν ἑταίρων εἰς τὸ θέατρον εἰσιόντα. [96] Γαίου δ᾽ ἐνδοιάζοντος, εἴτε παραμείνειεν εἰς τέλος τῇ θεωρίᾳ διὰ τὸ τελευταίαν εἶναι τὴν ἡμέραν εἴτε λουτρῷ χρησάμενος καὶ σίτῳ εἶτα ἐπανίοι καθὰ καὶ οἱ πρότερον, Μινουκιανὸς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Γαίου καθεζόμενος καὶ δεδιώς, μὴ διαλυθείη τὰ τῶν καιρῶν εἰς κενόν, ἐξαναστὰς ἐπειδὴ καὶ Χαιρέαν ἑώρα προεξεληλυθότα, ἠπείγετο θαρσύνειν αὐτὸν προελθών. [97] λαμβάνεται δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τῆς στολῆς Γάιος κατὰ φιλοφροσύνην δῆθεν καί “ποῖ δή, φησίν, ὦ μακάριε;” καὶ ὁ μὲν αἰδοῖ δοκεῖν τοῦ Καίσαρος καθίζει, κρείσσων δ᾽ ὁ φόβος ἦν ὀλίγον τε διαλιπὼν εἶτα διανίσταται. [98] καὶ ὁ Γάιος οὐδὲν ἐμποδὼν ἦν ἐξιόντι δοκῶν ἐπί τινι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἔξοδον. Ἀμβρώνας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς παρῄνει τῷ Γαίῳ καθὸ πρότερον ὑπεξελθόντι πρός τε λουτρῷ καὶ ἀρίστῳ γενέσθαι καὶ ἔπειτα δὲ εἰσελθεῖν, χρῄζων ἐπὶ πέρας ἀχθῆναι τὰ ἐγνωσμένα.

(14) [99] Καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Χαιρέαν ἔτασσον μὲν ἀλλήλους ᾗ καιρός τε καὶ ἐχρῆν ἕκαστον στάντα ᾗ προσταχθείη μὴ ἀπολιμπάνεσθαι ἐπιπονοῦντες. ἤχθοντο δὲ τῇ διατριβῇ καὶ τῷ μέλλεσθαι τὰ ἐν χερσίν, ἐπεὶ καὶ περὶ ἑνάτην ὥραν ἤδη τὰ τῆς ἡμέρας ἦν. [100] καὶ Χαιρέας βραδύνοντος Γαίου πρόθυμος ἦν ἐπεισελθεῖν ἐν τῇ καθέδρᾳ προσπεσὼν μέντοι προῄδει τοῦτο σὺν πολλῷ φόνῳ τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ ὁπόσοι τῶν ἱππέων παρῆσαν καίπερ δεδιὼς πρόθυμος ἦν, καλῶς ἔχειν ἡγούμενος πᾶσιν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ ἐλευθερίαν ὠνούμενος ἐν ὀλίγῳ τίθεσθαι τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἀπολουμένους. [101] καὶ δὴ τετραμμένων εἰς τὸ θέατρον εἰσόδῳ σημαίνεται Γάιος ἐξαναστὰς καὶ θόρυβος ἦν, ἀνέστρεφον δὲ καὶ οἱ συνωμόται καὶ ἀνεωθοῦντο τὴν πληθύν, λόγῳ μὲν διὰ τὸ δυσχεραίνειν τὸν Γάιον, ἔργῳ δὲ ἐπ᾽ ἀδείας βουλόμενοι ἐν ἐρημίᾳ τῶν ἀμυνουμένων καταστήσαντες αὐτὸν ἅπτεσθαι τῆς σφαγῆς. [102] προεξῄεσαν δὲ Κλαύδιος μὲν ὁ πάτρως αὐτοῦ καὶ Μᾶρκος Βινίκιος ὁ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἀνὴρ ἔτι δὲ Οὐαλέριος Ἀσιατικός, οὓς οὐδὲ βουλομένοις διακλεῖσαι δύναμις ἦν αἰδοῖ τῆς ἀξιώσεως, εἵπετο δ᾽ αὐτὸς σὺν Παύλῳ Ἀρουντίῳ. [103] ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐντὸς ἦν τοῦ βασιλείου, τὰς μὲν ἐπ᾽ εὐθείας ὁδοὺς λείπει, καθ᾽ ἃς διεστήκεσαν τῶν δούλων οἱ θεραπεύοντες αὐτὸν καὶ προῄεσαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Κλαύδιον: [104] τρέπεται δὲ κατὰ στενωπὸν ἠρεμηκότα καὶ ἐπὶ τόπον πρὸς λουτροῖς γενησόμενος ἅμα καὶ παῖδας οἳ ἥκεσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας κατανοήσων, πομπῆς αὐτῶν ἐκεῖθεν γενομένης ἐπὶ ὕμνοις μυστηρίων ἃ ἐπετέλει, ἔνιοι δὲ κατὰ πυρριχισμούς, οἳ ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἔσοιντο. [105] ὑπαντιάζει δ᾽ αὐτὸν Χαιρέας καὶ ᾔτησεν σημεῖον. τοῦ δὲ τῶν εἰς χλεύην ἀνακειμένων εἰπόντος οὐδὲν

ἐνδοιάσας λοιδορίαις τε ἐχρᾶτο κατὰ τοῦ Γαίου καὶ σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἐπάγει πληγὴν σφοδράν: οὐ μήν γε ἦν καίριος. [106] καίτοι γέ φασίν τινες προνοίᾳ τοῦ Χαιρέου γενέσθαι τοῦ μὴ μιᾷ πληγῇ διεργάσασθαι τὸν Γάιον, ἀλλὰ τιμωρεῖσθαι μειζόνως πλήθει τραυμάτων. [107] οὐ μὴν ἐμοὶ πιθανὸς οὗτος ὁ λόγος διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπιχωρεῖν ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς πράξεσιν λογισμῷ χρῆσθαι τὸν φόβον, Χαιρέαν δέ, εἴπερ οὕτως ἐφρόνει, πάντων ἥγημαι μωρίᾳ διαφέρειν ἡδονὴν τῇ ὀργῇ χαριζόμενον μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἀπαλλαγὴν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς συνωμόταις κινδύνων χαριζόμενον, διὰ τὸ πολλὰς ἂν μηχανὰς ἔτι γενέσθαι βοηθειῶν Γαίῳ μὴ φθάντι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφεῖναι κἀνταῦθα Χαιρέᾳ λόγον ἂν γενέσθαι οὐ περὶ τῆς Γαίου τιμωρίας, ἀλλὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων, [108] ὅπου γε καὶ πράξαντι καλῶς ἂν εἶχε σιγῇ χρωμένῳ διαδιδράσκειν τὰς ὀργὰς τῶν ἀμυνομένων, οὐχ ὅπως ἄδηλον εἰ τύχοι κατορθῶν ἐπ᾽ ἀλόγοις χρήζειν αὐτόν τε ἀπολέσαι καὶ τὸν καιρόν. καὶ τάδε μὲν εἰκάζειν παρέστω τοῖς βουλομένοις ᾗ καὶ θέλοιεν. [109] ὁ δὲ Γάιος ἀλγηδόνι τῆς πληγῆς περιφερόμενος, μεσσηγὺς γὰρ τοῦ τε ὤμου καὶ τοῦ τραχήλου φερόμενον τὸ ξίφος ἐπέσχεν ἡ κλεὶς προσωτέρω χωρεῖν, οὔτε ἀνεβόησεν ὑπ᾽ ἐκπλήξεως οὔτε ἐπεκαλέσατό τινας τῶν φίλων εἴτε ἀπιστίᾳ εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως ἀφρονήσει, στόνῳ δὲ χρησάμενος πρὸς τῆς ἀλγηδόνος τὸ περιὸν εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ἵετο φυγῇ. [110] καὶ δεξάμενος αὐτὸν Κορνήλιος Σαβῖνος τὴν διάνοιαν ἤδη προκατειργασμένον ὠθεῖ καὶ κλιθέντα ἐπὶ γόνυ πολλοὶ περιστάντες ἀφ᾽ ἑνὸς ἐγκελεύσματος ἔκοπτον τοῖς ξίφεσιν, παρακελευσμός τε τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς ἔρις αὐτοῖς ἦν. τελευταῖα δὲ Ἀκύλας, ὁμολογεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ πάντων πληγὴν ἐπαγαγών, μεθίστησιν αὐτὸν ἀκριβῶς. [111] ἀναθείη δ᾽ ἄν τις τὴν πρᾶξιν Χαιρέᾳ: καὶ γὰρ εἰ σὺν πολλοῖς ἐπράχθη τὸ ἔργον αὐτῷ, ἀλλ᾽ οὖν πρῶτός τε ἐνεθυμήθη εἶναι μέντοι αὐτῷ ὃς προλαβὼν πολὺ τῶν ἁπάντων, [112] καὶ πρῶτος μὲν τολμηρῶς ἐξεῖπεν τοῖς λοιποῖς, δεχομένων δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ λόγον σποράδας τε ἤθροισεν καὶ τὰ πάντα φρονίμως συγκροτήσας ἔνθα γνωμῶν εἰσηγήσεως ἐχρῆν πολὺ κρείσσων ἐγίγνετο καὶ λόγοις καθωμίλησεν χρηστοῖς ὡς οὐ τολμῶντας ἠνάγκασέν τε τοὺς ἅπαντας, [113] ἐπεί τε καιρὸς ἐλάμβανεν χειρὶ χρήσασθαι, φαίνεται κἀνταῦθα πρῶτός τε ὁρμήσας καὶ ἁψάμενος ἀρετῇ τοῦ φόνου καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐεπίβατον παρασχὼν καὶ προτεθνεῶτα Γάιον, ὥστ᾽ ἂν δικαίως καὶ ὁπόσα τοῖς λοιποῖς εἴη πεπραγμένα τῇ Χαιρέου γνώμῃ τε καὶ ἀρετῇ προστίθεσθαι καὶ πόνῳ τῶν χειρῶν.

(15) [114] Καὶ Γάιος μὲν τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ χρησάμενος τῆς τελευτῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ τῶν τραυμάτων ἀποψυχθεὶς ἔκειτο. [115] οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Χαιρέαν ἐπειδὴ κατείργαστο αὐτοῖς ἤδη Γάιος, ὁδοὺς μὲν τὰς αὐτὰς ἰόντες σώζειν αὐτοὺς ἀμήχανον ἐώρων, ὅκνῳ τε τῶν γεγονότων, οὐ γὰρ μικρὸν ἦν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἀνῃρηκόσι τὸ κινδύνευμα ὑπό τε ἀνοίας τοῦ δήμου τιμώμενον καὶ ὄντα προσφιλῆ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν μὴ ἀναιμωτὶ ποιησομένων τὴν ζήτησιν αὐτοῦ, [116] ἄλλως τε στενῶν οὐσῶν τῶν ὁδῶν, καθ᾽ ἃς ἔπραξαν τὸ ἔργον, καὶ μεγάλου

πλήθους ἐμφράξαντος αὐτὰς τῆς τε θεραπείας καὶ ὁπόσοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐκείνην παρῆσαν τὴν ἡμέραν, [117] ὁδούς τε ἑτέρας χωροῦντες παρῆσαν εἰς τὴν Γερμανικοῦ μὲν οἰκίαν τοῦ Γαίου πατρός, ὃν τότε ἀνῃρήκεσαν, συνημμένη δὲ ἐκείνη, διὰ τὸ ἓν τὸ βασίλειον ὂν ἐπ᾽ οἰκοδομίαις ἑκάστου τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ γεγονότων ἀσκηθὲν ἀπὸ μέρους ὀνόματι τῶν οἰκοδομηθησομένων ἢ καί τι τῶν ἡμερῶν οἰκήσεις ἀρξάντων τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν παρασχέσθαι. [118] καὶ διεκπεσόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους τὴν ἔφοδον ἐν ἀδείᾳ τὸ παρὸν ἦσαν λανθάνοντος ἀκμὴν κακοῦ τοῦ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα παρειληφότος. [119] πρώτους δὲ εἰς τοὺς Γερμανοὺς ἡ αἴσθησις ἀφίκετο τῆς Γαίου τελευτῆς. δορυφόροι δ᾽ ἦσαν οὗτοι ὁμώνυμοι τῷ ἔθνει ἀφ᾽ οὗ κατειλέχατο Κελτικοῦ τάγμα παρεχόμενοι τὸ αὐτῶν. [120] θυμῷ δὲ χρῆσθαι πάτριόν ἐστιν αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ σπάνιον εἴ τισιν ἑτέροις βαρβάρων διὰ τὸ ἠσσόνως λογισμὸν ἐπιδέχεσθαι τῶν ποιουμένων, ῥωμαλέοι τε τοῖς σώμασι καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ ὁρμῇ συνιόντες τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὓς ἂν νομίσωσι, μεγάλα κατορθοῦντες. [121] οὗτοι οὖν πυθόμενοι τοῦ Γαίου τὴν σφαγὴν καὶ περιαλγήσαντες διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀρετῇ κρίνειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅλοις, ἀλλὰ συμφέροντι τῷ αὐτῶν, μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοῖς προσφιλὴς ἦν Γάιος δόσεσι χρημάτων τὸ εὔνουν αὐτῷ κτώμενος, [122] σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη, προειστήκει δ᾽ αὐτῶν Σαβῖνος χιλιαρχῶν οὐ δι᾽ ἀρετὴν καὶ γενναιότητα προγόνων, μονομάχος γὰρ ἦν, ἰσχύι δὲ σώματος τὴν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις κτησάμενος ἄθροισιν ἀρετήν, διεξῄεσαν τῆς οἰκίας ἀνερευνώμενοι τοὺς σφαγέας τοῦ Καίσαρος. [123] Ἀσπρήναν τε κρεουργήσασιν αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ πρώτῳ περιπεσεῖν, οὗ τὴν στολὴν μιᾶναν τὸ αἷμα τῶν θυμάτων, ὥς μοι λέλεκται πρότερον, οὐκ ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθῷ τὴν συντυχίαν ἀπεσήμαινε τοῦ γεγονότος δεύτερος, Νωρβανὸς ὑπηντίαζεν ἐν τοῖς γενναιοτάτοις τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτοκράτορας παρεχόμενος τῶν προπατόρων. [124] καὶ μηδὲν αἰδουμένων αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀξίωσιν ἰσχύι προύχων ἀφαιρεῖται τὸ ξίφος τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν ἐπιόντων συμπλακεὶς φανερός τε ἦν οὐκ ἀπραγμόνως τεθνηξόμενος, μέχρι δὴ περισχεθεὶς πολλοῖς τῶν ἐπιφερομένων ἔπεσεν ὑπὸ πλήθους τραυμάτων. [125] τρίτος δὲ Ἀντήιος τῶν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς σὺν ὀλίγοις, οὐ τυχαίως τοῖς Γερμανοῖς καθάπερ οἱ πρότερον περιπεσών, ὑπὸ δὲ φιλοθεαμοσύνης καὶ ἡδονῆς τοῦ αὐτόπτης γενόμενος Γαίου κειμένου μῖσος εὐφρᾶναι τὸ πρὸς αὐτόν: τὸν γὰρ πατέρα τοῦ Ἀντηίου καὶ ὁμώνυμον φυγάδα ἐλάσας καὶ μὴ ἀρκεσθεὶς κτείνει στρατιώτας ἀποπέμψας. [126] καὶ παρῆν μὲν διὰ τάδε εὐφρανούμενος θεωρίᾳ τοῦ νεκροῦ, θορυβουμένης δὲ τῆς οἰκίας κρύπτειν αὐτὸν ἐνθυμησάμενος οὐ διαφυγγάνει τῶν Γερμανῶν τό τε εἰς τὴν ἔρευναν ἀκριβὲς κἀπὶ τοῖς φόνοις ὁμοίως τῶν τε αἰτίων καὶ μὴ ἐξαγριωσάντων. καὶ οἵδε μὲν ταύτῃ τεθνήκεσαν.

(16) [127] Εἰς δὲ τὸ θέατρον ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο ὁ λόγος περὶ τῆς Γαίου τελευτῆς, ἔκπληξίς τε καὶ ἀπιστία ἦν: οἱ μὲν γὰρ καὶ πάνυ ἡδονῇ δεχόμενοι τὸν ὄλεθρον αὐτοῦ κἂν πρὸ πολλοῦ ἡγησάμενοι σφίσιν ἀγαθὸν συνελθεῖν ὑπὸ δέους ἐν

ἀπιστίᾳ ἦσαν. [128] εἰσὶ δ᾽ οἷς καὶ πάνυ ἀπ᾽ ἐλπίδων ἦν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐθέλειν τι τοιόνδε περὶ τῷ Γαίῳ γεγονέναι μηδὲ ἀληθείᾳ προστίθεσθαι διὰ τὸ μὴ οἷόν τε ἀνθρώπῳ εἶναι τοιᾷδε ἀρετῇ χρῆσθαι. [129] γύναια δ᾽ ἦν ταῦτα καὶ παῖδες ὁπόσοι τε δοῦλοι καί τινες τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ, οἱ μὲν διὰ τὸ μισθοφορεῖν καὶ οὐδὲν ἀλλ᾽ ἢ συντυραννοῦντες καὶ διακονίᾳ τῆς κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ὕβρεως ἐπανασειόμενοι τοῖς κρατίστοις τῶν πολιτῶν τιμῆς τε ἅμα καὶ ὠφελειῶν τυγχάνειν, [130] ἡ δὲ αὖ γυναικωνῖτις καὶ τὸ νεώτερον, ὅπερ ὄχλος φιλεῖ, θεωρίαις τε καὶ μονομαχιῶν δόσεσιν καί τινων κρεανομιῶν ἡδοναῖς ἀνειλημμένοι, ἃ ἐπράσσετο λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ τῆς πληθύος, τὸ δ᾽ ἀληθὲς ἐκπιμπλάντα τῆς μανίας Γαίου τὴν ὠμότητα: [131] οἱ δὲ δοῦλοι διὰ τὸ ἐν προσηγορίᾳ τε εἶναι καὶ καταφρονήματι τῶν δεσποτῶν, ἀποστροφῆς τῷ ὑβρίζοντι αὐτὴν οὔσης τῆς κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἐπικουρίας: ῥᾴδιον γὰρ ψευσαμένοις τε κατὰ τῶν κυρίων πεπιστεῦσθαι καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐνδείξασιν αὐτῶν ἅμα ἐλευθέροις τε εἶναι καὶ πλουσίοις μισθῷ τῶν κατηγοριῶν διὰ τὸ ἆθλα αὐτοῖς προκεῖσθαι τὰς ὀγδόας τῶν οὐσιῶν. [132] τῶν δὲ εὐπατριδῶν εἰ καί τισιν πιστὸς ὁ λόγος φανείη, τοῖς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ προειδέναι τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, τοῖς δ᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ θέλειν εὐκτὸν ἡγουμένοις, σιγῇ παρεδίδοτο οὐ μόνον ἡ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἠγγελμένοις χαρά, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ δόξα τῆς ἀκροάσεως, [133] οἱ μὲν δεδιότες, μὴ καὶ ψευσθεῖσιν ἐλπίδος τιμωρίᾳ συνέλθοιεν ὡς προεξορμήσασιν ἀποφήνασθαι τὴν διάνοιαν ἑαυτῶν, οἱ δ᾽ ἐξεπιστάμενοι διὰ τὸ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς μετασχεῖν μειζόνως ἔκρυπτον ἀλλήλων ἀγνοίᾳ καὶ δεδιότες, μὴ πρός τινα εἰπόντες, οἷς ἡ τυραννὶς ἑστῶσα ὠφέλιμος ἦν, ζῶντος Γαίου κολασθεῖεν ἐνδείξεως γενομένης. [134] ἐπεὶ καὶ ἕτερος ἐπεφοιτήκει λόγος ὡμιληκέναι μὲν τραύμασιν, οὐ μὴν ἀποθανεῖν, ἀλλὰ ζῶντα ἐν θεραπείαις ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν εἶναι. [135] ἦν τε πιστὸς οὐθεὶς οὐδενί, ᾧ κἂν θαρσήσας γνώμην ἀποφαίνοιτο τὴν αὐτοῦ: ἢ γὰρ φίλος ὢν ὕποπτος ἐγίνετο εὐνοίᾳ τῆς τυραννίδος ἢ καὶ μίσει πρὸς ἐκεῖνον χρώμενος τῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδαμόθεν εὐνοίᾳ χρωμένῳ διαφθείρειν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις πίστιν. [136] ἐλέγετο δὲ ὑπό τινων, οἳ καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς εὐπατρίδαις ἠφάνιζον τὸ εὐθυμοῦν τῆς ἐλπίδος, ἐν ἀμελείᾳ κινδύνων γεγονότα καὶ ἄφροντιν κομιδῇ τῶν τραυμάτων, ὥσπερ εἶχεν ᾑματωμένον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς διεκπεσεῖν κἂν δημηγορίαις εἶναι. [137] καὶ τάδε μὲν εἰκάζετο βουλήσει τῇ ἀλογίστῳ τῶν θροεῖν προθεμένων καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἀμφότερα δόξῃ τῶν ἀκουόντων λαμβανόμενα: οὐ μὴν τήν γ᾽ ἐνέδραν ἐξέλιπον δεδιότες τὴν ἐπενεχθησομένην προεξιοῦσιν αἰτίαν: οὐ γὰρ ἐφ᾽ ἧς ἀξιοῖεν διανοίας γενήσεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῖς τὴν κρίσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀφ᾽ ἧς εἰκάζειν ἐθελήσειαν τούς τε κατηγορήσοντας καὶ τοὺς δικάζοντας.

(17) [138] Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πλῆθος τῶν Γερμανῶν περιέσχε τὸ θέατρον ἐσπασμένων τὰ ξίφη, πᾶσι τοῖς θεωροῖς ἐλπὶς ἦν ἀπολεῖσθαι, καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν οὖτινος εἴσοδον πτοία εἶχεν αὐτούς, ὡς αὐτίκα μάλα συγκοπήσοιντο, ἐν ἀμηχάνοις τε ἦσαν οὔτ᾽ ἀπιέναι θάρσος εἰσφερόμενοι οὔτε ἀκίνδυνον τὴν διατριβὴν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ θεάτρου πεπιστευκότες. [139] εἰσπιπτόντων τε ἤδη βοὴ τοῦ θεάτρου ῥήγνυται καθ᾽ ἱκετείαν

τρεπομένου τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὡς πάντων ἀγνοίας αὐτῇ γενομένης καὶ τῶν βουλευθέντων τοῖς ἐπαναστᾶσιν, εἰ δή τις καὶ γέγονεν ἐπανάστασις, καὶ τῶν γεγονότων. [140] φείδεσθαι οὖν καὶ μὴ τόλμης ἀλλοτρίας παρὰ τῶν οὐδ' ἐν αἰτίᾳ γενομένων ἀπολαμβάνειν τιμωρίαν, παρέντας ἐρεύνην τῶν πεπραχότων ὅ τι καὶ πεπραγμένον εἴη καταστῆναι. [141] καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτά τε καὶ περαιτέρω μετὰ δακρύων καὶ τύψεως προσώπων ἐπιθειάζοντες καὶ ποτνιώμενοι ὁπόσα ἀνεδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ κίνδυνος ἑστὼς πλησίον, καὶ ὡς ἄν τις ἀγωνιζόμενος περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς εἴποι τι, ἔλεγον. [142] θραύεται δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς ταῦτα ἡ ὀργὴ καὶ μεταμελῆσαν αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖς θεωροῖς βουλεύματος, ὠμόν τε γὰρ ἦν τοῦτο καὶ ἐκείνοις καίπερ ἐξηγριωκόσιν ἐδόκει, τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀσπρήναν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀπερεισαμένοις. [143] πρὸς ἃς μειζόνως ἔπαθον οἱ θεωροὶ λογισμῷ τε ἀξιώσεως τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἐλέῳ τοῦ πάθους, ὥστε παρ' ὀλίγον καὶ αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἐλλιπεστέρως τὰ τῶν κινδύνων ὁμιλήσαντα ἐπανασεσεῖσθαι, ὧν ἄδηλον εἶναι τὴν συμφορὰν εἴπερ εἰς τέλος φευχθῆναι δύναιτ' ἄν. [144] ὥστε κἂν εἴ τινες τῶν προθύμως μισούντων καὶ μετὰ δίκης τὸν Γάιον ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ εὐφροσυνῶν τῆς χώρας, διὰ τὸ ἐν ῥοπῇ μὲν τοῦ συναπολουμένου γεγονέναι, τὸ δὲ πιστὸν τοῦ περιεῖναι μηδέπω καὶ τότε ἐχέγγυον συνελθεῖν.

(18) [145] Ἦν δὲ Εὐάρεστος Ἀρούντιος τῶν κηρυσσόντων τὰ πωλούμενα καὶ δι' αὐτὸ φωνῆς τε μεγέθει χρώμενος καὶ χρήματα περιβεβλημένος ὅμοια τοῖς Ῥωμαίων πλουσιωτάτοις, δύναμίς τε αὐτῷ ἦν ἐφ' οἷς ἐθελήσειε πράσσειν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἔν τε τῷ τότε κἀν τοῖς ὕστερον. [146] οὗτος διαθεὶς αὐτὸν ὡς ἐνῆν πενθιμώτατον, καίτοι μίσει καὶ παρ' ὀντινοῦν ἐχρῆτο πρὸς Γάιον, ἀλλὰ μὴν κρείσσων ἡ διδασκαλία τοῦ φόβου καὶ στρατηγία περὶ τοῦ κερδησομένου τὴν σωτηρίαν τῆς εἰς τὸ παρὸν ἡδονῆς, [147] πάντα κόσμον ἐπιτηδεύσας ὡς ἄν τις ἐπὶ τοῖς τιμιωτάτοις παρεσκεύαστο ἀπολωλόσιν, ἀποσημαίνει τοῦ Γαίου τὸν θάνατον ἐπὶ τὸ θέατρον παρελθὼν καὶ ἔπαυσεν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ πλέον ἀγνοίᾳ συμπεριφέρεσθαι τοῦ γεγονότος. [148] ἤδη δὲ καὶ Στήλας Ἀρούντιος παρῆν ἀνακαλῶν τοὺς Γερμανοὺς καὶ οἱ χιλίαρχοι σὺν αὐτῷ κελεύοντες κατατίθεσθαι τὸν σίδηρον καὶ διασαφοῦντες Γαίου τὴν τελευτήν. [149] τοῦτο καὶ σαφέστατα ἔσωσεν τοὺς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ συνειλεγμένους καὶ πάντας, οἳ καὶ ὁπωσοῦν τοῖς Γερμανοῖς περιτύχοιεν: ἐλπίδος γὰρ αὐτοῖς παραγενομένης ἔμπνουν κεῖσθαι τὸν Γάιον οὐκ ἔσθ' οὕτινος κακῶν ἂν ἀπέσχοντο. [150] τοσόνδε ἐπερίσσευσεν αὐτοῖς εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς κἂν μετὰ τοῦ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἀπολουμένου τῆς ψυχῆς κτήσασθαι τὸ ἀνεπιβούλευτον αὐτῷ καὶ τοσαύτῃ δυστυχίᾳ συνεσόμενον. [151] παύονται δὲ τοῦ ὠργηκότος εἰς τὴν τιμωρίαν μαθήσεως σαφοῦς παραγενομένης αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ, διά τε τὸ εἰς ἀχρεῖον ἐπιδείξεσθαι τὸ πρόθυμον τῆς εὐνοίας, ὃς ἀμείψαιτο αὐτοὺς ἀπολωλότος, καὶ δέει, μὴ καὶ περαιτέρω τῇ ὕβρει χρωμένων ἐπιστροφὴ γένοιτο ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς,

εἴπερ εἰς ἐκείνην περισταίη τὸ κράτος, ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπικαταστάντος ἄρχοντος. [152] καὶ Γερμανοὶ εἰ καὶ μόλις, ἀλλ᾽ οὖν ἐπαύσαντο λύσσης τῆς ἐπὶ Γαίου τῷ θανάτῳ καταλαμβανομένης αὐτούς.

(19) [153] Χαιρέας δέ, σφόδρα γὰρ περὶ Μινουκιανῷ ἔδεισε, μὴ διαφθαρείη μανίᾳ τῶν Γερμανῶν περιπεσών, ἕκαστόν τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν μετῄει προμηθεῖσθαι τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ δεόμενος καὶ μὴ ἀπολώλοι πολλὴν ἐξέτασιν ποιούμενος. [154] καὶ Μινουκιανὸν μὲν Κλήμης, ἀνάγεται γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦτον, μεθίησιν πολλῶν μετ᾽ ἄλλων συγκλητικῶν δικαιοσύνην τῇ πράξει συμμαρτυρῶν καὶ ἀρετὴν τοῖς ἐντεθυμημένοις καὶ πράσσειν μὴ ἀποδεδειλιακόσι: [155] τυραννίδα γὰρ εἰς ὀλίγον μὲν ἐλθεῖν ἡδονῇ τοῦ ὑβρίζειν ἐπαρθεῖσαν, εὐτυχεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἄρα ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀπαλλαγὰς τοῦ βίου μίσει τῆς ἀρετῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν χρωμένης, [156] ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοιαύτης δυστυχίας, ὁποίᾳ δὴ Γάιον συνελθεῖν πρὸ τῶν ἐπαναστάντων καὶ συνθέντων τὴν ἐπίθεσιν αὐτὸν ἐπίβουλον αὐτῷ γενόμενον καὶ διδάξαντα οἷς ὑβρίζων ἀφόρητος ἦν ἀφανίζων τοῦ νόμου τὴν πρόνοιαν πολέμῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν χρῆσθαι τοὺς φιλτάτους, καὶ νῦν λόγῳ μὲν εἶναι τούτους οἳ ἀνῃρήκασι Γάιον, ἔργῳ δὲ αὐτὸν ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ κεῖσθαι διολωλότα.

(20) [157] Ἤδη δὲ καὶ τὸ θέατρον ἐξανίστατο τῶν φυλακῶν αἳ τὸ κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς πάνυ πικραὶ ἐγένοντο ὑπανίσως. αἰτία δ᾽ ἦν τοῦ προθύμως καὶ διαφευξομένου τῶν θεωρῶν Ἀλκύων ὁ ἰατρός, συναρπασθεὶς μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ τινῶν τραυματιῶν, ἐκπέμψας δὲ τοὺς συνόντας λόγῳ μὲν ὡς καὶ μετελευσομένους ὁπόσα εἰς τὴν ἴασιν τοῖς τραυματίαις πρόσφορα, τὸ δ᾽ ἀληθὲς ὡς πείσοιντο κινδύνου τοῦ κατειληφότος. [158] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ βουλῆς τε γίνεται σύνοδος καὶ ὁ δῆμος ᾗπερ καὶ εἰώθασιν ἐκκλησιάζειν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καταστὰς ἐν ζητήσει τῶν σφαγέων τῶν Γαίου ἦσαν, ὁ μὲν δῆμος καὶ πάνυ ἐκθύμως, δοκεῖν δὲ καὶ ἡ βουλή. [159] καὶ ἦν γὰρ Ἀσιατικὸς Οὐαλέριος ὑπατικὸς ἀνήρ, οὗτος ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον καταστάς, θορυβούντων καὶ δεινὸν τιθεμένων τὸ ἔτι λανθάνον τῶν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἀπεκτονότων, ἐπεὶ προθύμως πάντες αὐτὸν ἤροντο, τίς ὁ πράξας τυγχάνει, "εἴθε γὰρ ἔγωγε" φησί. [160] καὶ προύθεσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ὕπατοι διάγραμμα Γαίου μὲν κατηγορίας ποιούμενοι, κελεύοντες δὲ τῷ τε δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἀπιέναι, τῷ μὲν δήμῳ πολλὴν ἀνέσεως ἐπαγγελλόμενοι ἐλπίδα, τῷ στρατιωτικῷ δὲ τιμῶν, εἰ ἐν κόσμῳ μείνειαν τῷ εἰωθότι μηδὲν ὑβρίζειν ἐξαγόμενοι: δέος γὰρ ἦν, μὴ ἐξαγριωσάντων ἀπολαύσειεν τοῦ κακοῦ ἡ πόλις καθ᾽ ἁρπαγὰς αὐτῶν καὶ συλήσεις τῶν ἱερῶν τρεπομένων. [161] ἐφθάκει δὲ ἤδη τῶν βουλευτῶν τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος συνειλεγμένον καὶ μάλιστα οἱ εἰς τοῦ Γαίου συνελθόντες τὸν φόνον θράσει τε ἤδη χρώμενοι κἀν καταφρονήματι μεγάλῳ ὄντες ὡς εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀνακειμένων δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων.

II

(1) [162] Ἐν τούτῳ δὴ ὄντων τῶν πραγμάτων αἰφνίδιον ἁρπάζεται Κλαύδιος ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας: οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται συνόδου γενομένης αὐτοῖς, ἀλλήλοις καὶ αὐτοῖς λόγον δόντες περὶ τοῖς ποιητέοις ἑώρων δημοκρατίαν ἀδύνατόν τε ὂν ἐν κράτει τοσῶνδε ἄν ποτε γενέσθαι πραγμάτων ἐξικομένην τε οὐκ ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθῷ τῷ αὐτῶν κτήσασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, [163] εἴ τέ τις τῶν κατὰ ἕνα σχήσοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, εἰς πάντα λυπηρὸν αὐτοῖς εἶναι μὴ οὐ συνεργοῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς καταστᾶσιν. [164] καλῶς οὖν ἔχειν ἀκρίτων ἔτι ὄντων τῶν πραγμάτων ἡγεμόνα αἱρεῖσθαι Κλαύδιον, πάτρωά τε ὄντα τοῦ τεθνεῶτος καὶ τῶν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν συλλεγομένων οὐδενὸς οὗτινος οὐκ ἀξιολογώτερον προγόνων τε ἀρετῇ καὶ τῷ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν παιδείαν μεμελετηκότι, [165] καὶ σταθέντα αὐτοκράτορα τιμήσειν τε τὰ εἰκότα καὶ ἀμείψεσθαι δωρεαῖς.” ταῦτα διανοοῦνταί τε καὶ ἔπραξαν ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα. [166] ἥρπαστο μὲν δὴ Κλαύδιος ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ. Ναῖος δὲ Σέντιος Σατορνῖνος καίτοι πεπυσμένος τὴν Κλαυδίου ἁρπαγήν, καὶ ὡς ἐπιδικάζοιτο τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄκων μὲν δοκεῖν, τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς καὶ βουλήσει τῇ αὐτοῦ, καταστὰς ἐπὶ τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ μηδὲν ἐκπλαγεὶς ἐλευθέροις τε καὶ γενναίοις ἀνδράσι πρεπόντως ποιεῖται παραίνεσιν τάδε λέγων.

(2) [167] “Εἰ καὶ ἄπιστον, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, διὰ τὸ χρόνῳ πολλῷ ἥκειν ἀνέλπιστον οὖσαν ἡμῖν, ἀλλ᾽ οὖν ἔχομεν τοῦ ἐλευθέρου τὴν ἀξίωσιν, ἄδηλον μὲν ἐφ᾽ ὁπόσον παρατείνουσαν καὶ γνώμῃ θεῶν οἳ ἐχαρίσαντο αὐτὴν κειμένην, εὐφραίνειν δὲ ἀρκοῦσαν καὶ εἴπερ ἀφαιρεθείημεν αὐτῆς εὐδαιμονίᾳ συνάγουσαν: [168] ἱκανὴ γὰρ καὶ μία ὥρα τοῖς ἀρετῆς αἰσθανομένοις καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτοτελοῦς τῆς διανοίας ἐν αὐτοδίκῳ τῇ πατρίδι καὶ μετὰ νόμων, οἷς ποτε ἤνθησε, διαιτωμένῃ βιωθεῖσα. [169] ἐμοὶ δὲ τῆς μὲν πρότερον ἐλευθερίας ἀμνημονεῖν ἔστι διὰ τὸ κατόπιν αὐτῆς γεγονέναι, τῆς δὲ νῦν ἀπλήστως πιμπλαμένῳ μακαριστούς τε ἡγεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐγγενηθέντας καὶ ἐντραφέντας αὐτῇ καὶ τῶν θεῶν οὐδὲν μειόνως ἀξίους τιμῆς τούσδε τοὺς ἄνδρας, οἳ ὀψὲ γοῦν κἀν τούτῳ τῆς ἡλικίας ἡμᾶς γεύσαντας αὐτῆς. [170] καὶ εἴη μὲν εἰς πᾶν τοῦ αἰῶνος τὸ ἐπιὸν παραμεῖναι τὴν ἄδειαν αὐτῆς, ἀρκοῦσα δ᾽ ἂν γένοιτο καὶ ἥδε ἡ ἡμέρα τοῖς τε νεωτέροις ἡμῶν καὶ ὅσοι γεγηράκαμεν αἰὼν ὑπείληπται, τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις δόντων ἀγαθῶν αὐτῆς ἐν ὁμιλίᾳ γεγονότες μετασταῖεν, τοῖς δὲ [171] νεωτέροις παίδευμα ἀρετῆς καταστάσεως ἀγαθὸν ἀνδράσι τοῖσδε ἀφ᾽ ὧν γεγόναμεν, νῦν δὲ ἤδη καὶ ἡμῖν διὰ τὴν ἄρτι ὥραν οὐδὲν προυργιαίτερον εἴη τοῦ ζῆν μετὰ ἀρετῆς, ἣ μόνη ἐκφροντίζει τῷ ἀνθρωπείῳ τὸ ἐλεύθερον: [172] ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ παλαιὰ οἶδα ἀκοῇ παραλαβών, οἷς δὲ ὄψει ὁμιλήσας ᾐσθόμην, οἵων κακῶν τὰς πολιτείας ἀναπιμπλᾶσιν αἱ τυραννίδες, κωλύουσαι μὲν πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν καὶ τοῦ μεγαλόφρονος ἀφαιρούμεναι τὸ ἐλεύθερον, κολακείας δὲ καὶ φόβου διδάσκαλοι καθιστάμεναι διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ τῶν νόμων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τῇ ὀργῇ τῶν ἐφεστηκότων καταλιπεῖν τὰ πράγματα. [173] ἀφ᾽ οὗ γὰρ Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ φρονήσας ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς δημοκρατίας καὶ διαβιασάμενος τὸν κόσμον τῶν

νόμων τὴν πολιτείαν συνετάραξεν, κρείσσων μὲν τοῦ δικαίου γενόμενος, ἥσσων δὲ τοῦ κατ᾽ ἰδίαν ἡδονὴν αὐτῷ κομιοῦντος, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι τῶν κακῶν οὐ διέτριψεν τὴν πόλιν, [174] φιλοτιμηθέντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἁπάντων, οἳ ἐκείνῳ διάδοχοι τῆς ἀρχῆς κατέστησαν, ἐπ᾽ ἀφανισμῷ τοῦ πατρίου καὶ ὡς ἂν μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν ἐρημίαν τοῦ γενναίου καταλείποιεν, διὰ τὸ οἴεσθαι πρὸς ἀσφαλείας εἶναι τῆς αὐτῶν τὸ κιβδήλοις ἀνδράσιν ὁμιλεῖν καὶ τῶν ἀρετῇ προύχειν πεπιστευμένων οὐ μόνον ὑφαιρεῖν τι τοῦ αὐχήματος, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἐπιφημίζειν αὐτῷ τοῖς ὀλέθροις [175] τῶν ἁπάντων ἀΡιθμῷ τε πολλῶν ὄντων καὶ βαρύτητα ἀνύποιστον ἐπιδειξαμένων καθ᾽ ἃ ἕκαστος ἦρξεν εἷς ὢν ὁ Γάιος ὁ σήμερον τεθνεὼς πλέω τε τῶν πάντων δεινὰ ἀπεδείξατο οὐ μόνον εἰς τοὺς συμπολίτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τοὺς συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους ἀπαίδευτον τὴν ὀργὴν ἐπαφιείς, ὁμοίως τοῖς ἅπασι καὶ μείζω κακὰ ἐντριβόμενος ἀδίκως τὴν τιμωρίαν εἰσπράσσεσθαι, ὠργικότων ὁμοίως εἴς τε ἀνθρώπους ἐξαγριώσας καὶ τοὺς θεούς. [176] τυραννίδι γὰρ οὐ κερδαίνεται τὸ ἡδὺ οὐδὲ μεθ᾽ ὕβρεως ἀποχρῆται, οὐκ εἰς τὰ χρήματα λελυπῆσθαι καὶ γαμετάς, ἀλλὰ τὸ πᾶν κέρδος ἐκ τοῦ πανοικεσίᾳ διοχλουμένου τῶν ἐχθρῶν. [177] ἐχθρὸν δὲ τυραννίδι πᾶν τὸ ἐλεύθερον, εἰς εὔνοιάν τε ἐκκαλεῖσθαι αὐτὴν καὶ τοῖς ἐν ὀλίγῳ τιθεμένοις ὁπόσα πεπόνθοιεν οὐκ ἔστιν. ἐξεπιστάμενοι γὰρ ὧν ἀναπλήσειαν κακῶν ἔστιν οὓς κἀκεῖνοι μεγαλοφρόνως καταφρονημάτων τε πρὸς τὴν τύχην, αὐτοὶ λανθάνειν αὐτοὺς ὧν πράξειαν μὴ δυνάμενοι μόνως πιστεύουσιν κτήσεσθαι τοῦ ὑπόπτου τὸ ἀδεές, εἰ παντελὲς αἱρεῖσθαι δυνηθεῖεν αὐτούς. [178] τοιούτων δὴ κακῶν ἀπογεγονότες καὶ ὑποτελεῖς ἀλλήλοις καταστάντες, αἵπερ πολιτειῶν ἐχεγγυώταται πρός τε τὸ παρὸν εὔνουν καὶ τὸ αὖθις ἀνεπιβούλευτον καὶ τὸ δόξαν οἰκείαν τῷ ὀρθουμένῳ τῆς πόλεως δικαιοί τε προνοῆσαι διὰ τὸ εἰς κοινὸν αὐτοῦ τὴν ὠφέλειαν ἁπαντᾶν καὶ ἀνταποφήνασθαι γνώμην, [179] οἷς μὴ ἀρέσκοιτο τὰ προεισηγημένα, οὐδαμῶς εἰς κίνδυνον φέρον, διὰ τὸ μὴ δεσπότην εἶναι τὸν ἐφεστηκότα, ᾧ ἀνεύθυνόν τε βλάπτοντι τὴν πόλιν καὶ αὐτοκράτορι μεταστήσασθαι τοὺς εἰρηκότας. [180] καὶ τέτροφε τὴν τυραννίδα οὐδὲν νεώτερον πλὴν ἥ τε ἀργία καὶ τὸ πρὸς οὐδὲν τῶν ἐκείνῃ θελομένων ἀντιλογίᾳ χρώμενον: [181] τῆς γὰρ εἰρήνης τοῦ τερπνοῦ ἡσσώμενοι καὶ μεμαθηκότες ἀνδραπόδων ἐν τρόπῳ ζῆν ὁπόσοι τε ἐπαίομεν συμφορὰς ἀνηκέστους κακοῖς τε τοῖς πέλας ἐπείδομεν φόβῳ τοῦ μετ᾽ ἀρετῆς τελευτᾶν μετὰ αἰσχύνης τῆς ὑστάτης ὑπομένοντες τὰς τελευτάς. [182] πρῶτον δὲ τοῖς ἀραμένοις τὸν τύραννον τιμὰς αἵτινες μέγισται ταύτας εἰσενεγκεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ Χαιρέᾳ τῷ Κασσίῳ: σὺν γὰρ τοῖς θεοῖς εἷς ἀνὴρ οὗτος πορισθὴς ἡμῖν καὶ γνώμῃ καὶ χερσὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας πέφηνεν. [183] οὐ καλὸν μὴ ἀμνημονεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τῆς τυραννίδος ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας τῆς ἡμετέρας προβεβουλευκότος τε ἅμα καὶ προκεκινδυνευκότος, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ψηφίσασθαι τὰς τιμὰς πρῶτόν τε ἀνεπιτάκτους τοῦτο ἂν ἀποφήνασθαι. [184] ἔργον δὲ κάλλιστον καὶ ἐλευθέροις ἀνδράσι πρέπον ἀμείβεσθαι τοὺς εὐεργέτας, οἷος δὴ καὶ ἀνὴρ οὗτος περὶ ἡμᾶς

πάντας γέγονεν οὐδὲν παραπλήσιος Κασσίῳ καὶ Βρούτῳ τοῖς Γάιον Ἰούλιον ἀνῃρηκόσιν, ἐπεί γε οἱ μὲν στάσεως καὶ πολέμων ἐμφυλίων ἀρχὰς ἐπανερρίπισαν τῇ πόλει, οὗτος δὲ μετὰ τῆς τυραννοκτονίας καὶ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν δεινῶν ἀπήλλαξεν τὴν πόλιν.”

(3) [185] Σέντιος μὲν τοιούτοις ἐχρῆτο τοῖς λόγοις καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἡδονῇ δεχομένων καὶ ὁπόσοι τῶν ἱππέων παρῆσαν. ἀναπηδήσας δέ τις Τρεβέλλιος Μάξιμος περιαιρεῖται τὸν δακτύλιον τοῦ Σεντίου, λίθος δὲ εἰκόνα Γαίου ἐγγεγλυμμένος ἐδεσμεύετο αὐτῷ, καὶ σπουδῇ τῶν λεγομένων καὶ ὧν ἐπενόει πράξειν, ὅπερ ᾤετο, ἐν λήθῃ γεγονότι Καὶ ἡ μὲν γλυφὴ κατάγνυται. [186] προεληλύθει δὲ ἡ νὺξ ἐπὶ μέγα, καὶ Χαιρέας δὲ σημεῖον ᾔτει τοὺς ὑπάτους, οἱ δὲ ἐλευθερίαν ἔδοσαν. ἐν θαύματι δὲ ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὅμοια ἀπιστίᾳ τὰ δρώμενα: [187] ἔτει γὰρ ἑκατοστῷ, μεθ’ ὃ τὴν δημοκρατίαν τὸ πρῶτον ἀφῃρέθησαν, ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους σημείου ἡ παράδοσις: οὗτοι γὰρ πρότερον ἢ τυραννηθῆναι τὴν πόλιν κύριοι τῶν στρατιωτικῶν ἦσαν. [188] Χαιρέας δὲ τὸ σημεῖον λαβὼν παρεδίδου τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοῖς πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον συνεστηκόσιν. ἦσαν δὲ εἰς σπείρας τέσσαρας, οἷς τὸ ἀβασίλευτον τιμιώτερον τῆς τυραννίδος προύκειτο. [189] καὶ οἵδε μὲν ἀπῄεσαν μετὰ τῶν χιλιάρχων, ἀνεχώρει δὲ ἤδη καὶ ὁ δῆμος περιχαρὴς καὶ ἐλπίδος καὶ φρονήματος ἐπὶ τῷ κτησαμένῳ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοῖς, οὐκέτι ἐπὶ τῷ ἐφεστηκότι. καὶ τὰ πάντα ἦν ὁ Χαιρέας αὐτοῖς.

(4) [190] Χαιρέας δὲ ἐν δεινῷ τιθέμενος περιεῖναι τὴν θυγατέρα Γαίου καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, ἀλλὰ μὴ πανοικὶ τὸν ὄλεθρον αὐτῷ συντυχεῖν, ἐπεὶ καὶ πᾶν ὅ τι ὑπολείποιτο αὐτῶν ἐπ’ ὀλέθρῳ τῆς πόλεως λειφθήσεσθαι καὶ τῶν νόμων, ἄλλως τε πρόθεσιν ἐσπουδακὼς τελειώσασθαι τὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ πάνυ εὐφρᾶναι μῖσος τὸ πρὸς Γάιον, Ἰούλιον ἐκπέμπει Λοῦππον ἕνα τῶν χιλιάρχων κτενοῦντα τήν τε γυναῖκα Γαίου καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα. [191] Κλήμεντος δ’ ὄντι συγγενεῖ τῷ Λούππῳ τὴν ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε προύθεσαν λειτουργίαν, ὅπως μετασχὼν κἂν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις τῆς τυραννοκτονίας ἀγάλλοιτο ἀρετῇ πρὸς τῶν πολιτικῶν, ὡς καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἐπιβουλεύματος δόξειε κοινωνεῖν τὸ πρῶτον συνθεμένων. [192] ἐνίοις δὲ τῶν συνωμοτῶν καὶ ὠμὸν ἐδόκει τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικὶ θράσει χρησόμενον αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ Γάιον φύσει τῇ αὐτοῦ χρώμενον ἢ συμβουλῇ τῇ ἐκείνης τὰ πάντα πρᾶξαι, ἐξ ὧν ἥ τε πόλις ἀπηγορεύκει τοῖς κατειληφόσι κακοῖς καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ὅ τι καὶ ἄνθος ἦν ἀπώλετο. [193] οἱ δὲ καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις ἐνεκάλουν αὐτῇ γνώμην τὸ δὲ πᾶν καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Γαίου πεπραγμένων κακῶν ἐκείνῃ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπέφερον φάρμακον τῷ Γαίῳ δοῦσαν ἐννοιῶν δούλωσιν καὶ ἐρώτων ἐπαγωγὰς αὐτῇ ψηφιούμενον, εἰς μανίαν μεταστάντος τὰ πάντα αὐτὴν εἶναι τὴν νεναυπηγημένην ἐπὶ ταῖς Ῥωμαίων τύχαις καὶ τῆς ὑποτελούσης αὐτοῖς οἰκουμένης. [194] καὶ πέρας κυρωθὲν ὥστε αὐτὴν τελευτᾶν, οὐδὲν γὰρ οἱ ἀποσπεύδοντες οἷοί τε ὠφελεῖν ἦσαν, ἐστέλλετο ὁ Λοῦππος: ἐβραδύνετο δὲ οὐδὲν μελλήσει τῇ κατ’ αὐτόν, ὥστε μὴ οὐκ εἰς καιρὸν δεδιακονῆσθαι τοῖς

ἀπεσταλκόσιν, θέλων ἐπ᾽ οὐδαμοῖς μεμπτὸς εἶναι τῶν ἐπ᾽ ὠφελείᾳ τοῦ δήμου πεποιημένων. [195] παρελθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλείου λαμβάνει τὴν Καισωνίαν, γυνὴ δ᾽ ἦν τοῦ Γαίου, παρακατακειμένην τῷ σώματι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς χαμαιπετεῖ καὶ πάντων ἐν ἀτυχίᾳ ὧν χαρίζοιτ᾽ ἂν ὁ νόμος τοῖς μεταστᾶσιν, αἵματί τε ἀναπεφυρμένην ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων καὶ πολλῇ τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ συμφερομένην τῆς θυγατρὸς παρερριμμένης: ἠκούετό τε ἐν τοῖς τοιοῖσδε οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ κατάμεμψις τοῦ Γαίου, ὡς πιθανὴν οὐ σχόντος πολλάκις προηγορευκυῖαν αὐτήν. [196] ἐπ᾽ ἀμφότερα δὲ οὗτος ὁ λόγος καὶ τότε εἰκάζετο καὶ νῦν ἐφ᾽ ὁμοίοις πρόκειται τῇ διανοίᾳ τῶν ἀκροατῶν πρὸς ὅ τι θελήσειαν ῥοπὰς τὰς αὐτοῦ προστιθέμενοι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀποσημαίνειν ἔφασαν τὸν λόγον, ὡς συμβουλευομένης ἀποστάντα μανιῶν καὶ τοῦ εἰς τοὺς πολίτας ὠμοῦ μετρίως καὶ μετ᾽ ἀρετῆς ἐξηγεῖσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀπολέσθαι τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτοῦ χρώμενον. [197] οἱ δέ, ὡς λόγου τοῦ περὶ τῶν συνωμοτῶν ἐπιφοιτήσαντος Γαίῳ κελεύσειεν μηδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος πάντας μεταχειρισάμενον αὐτούς, κἂν εἰ μηδὲν ἀδικοῖεν, ἐν ἀδεεῖ κινδύνων καταστῆναι, καὶ τοῦτ᾽ εἶναι τὸ ἐπονειδιζόμενον, ὡς προηγορευκυίας διαπράξασθαι μαλακῷ γεγονότι. [198] καὶ τὰ μὲν λεχθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς Καισωνίας καὶ ὁποῖα οἱ ἄνθρωποι περὶ αὐτῆς ἐφρόνουν ταῦτα ἦν. ἡ δὲ ἐπεὶ θεᾶται τὴν πρόσοδον τοῦ Λούππου τό τε σῶμα τοῦ Γαίου προυδείκνυεν καὶ ἅσσον ἰέναι παρεκάλει μετ᾽ ὀλοφυρμοῦ καὶ δακρύων. [199] ἐπεὶ δὲ τῇ διανοίᾳ συνεστηκότα ἑώρα τὸν Λοῦππον, καὶ μηδὲν προσιόντα ὡς ἐπὶ πρᾶξιν οὐκ αὐτῷ κεχαρισμένην, γνωρίσασα ἐφ᾽ ὅ τι ἐχώρει τήν τε σφαγὴν ἐγύμνου καὶ πάνυ προθύμως ποτνιωμένη ὁποῖα εἰκὸς τοὺς οὕτω σαφῶς ἐν ἀπογνώσει τοῦ ζῆν γεγονότας καὶ κελεύουσα μὴ μέλλειν ἐπὶ τελειώσει τοῦ δράματος οὗ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς συνέθεσαν. [200] καὶ ἥδε μὲν εὐψύχως ταύτῃ τελευτᾷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λούππου καὶ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ τὸ θυγάτριον. καὶ Λοῦππος ταῦτα προαπαγγέλλων ἔσπευδεν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Χαιρέαν.

(5) [201] Γάιος μὲν δὴ τέταρτον ἐνιαυτὸν ἡγεμονεύσας Ῥωμαίων λείποντα τεσσάρων μηνῶν οὕτως τελευτᾷ, ἀνὴρ καὶ πρότερον ἢ τῇ ἀρχῇ συνῆλθεν σκαιός τε καὶ κακοτροπίας εἰς τὸ ἄκρον ἀφιγμένος, ἡδονῇ τε ἡσσώμενος καὶ φίλος διαβολῇ, καὶ τὰ μὲν φοβερὰ καταπεπληγμένος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐφ᾽ οἷς θαρσήσειε φονικώτατος, τῆς τε ἐξουσίας ἐφ᾽ ἑνὶ μόνῳ πιμπλάμενος τῷ ὑβρίζειν, εἰς οὓς ἥκιστα ἐχρῆν ἀλόγῳ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ χρώμενος καὶ πορισταὶς ἐκ τοῦ κτείνειν καὶ παρανομεῖν. [202] καὶ τοῦ μὲν θείου καὶ νομίμου μείζων ἐσπουδακὼς εἶναί τε καὶ δοκεῖν, ἡσσώμενος δὲ ἐπαίνων τῆς πληθύος καὶ πάντα, ὁπόσα αἰσχρὰ κρίνας ὁ νόμος ἐπιτιμᾷ τιμωρίαν, ἐνόμισεν ἀρετῆς. [203] καὶ φιλίας ἀμνήμων, εἰ καὶ πλείστη τε καὶ διὰ μεγίστων γένοιτο, οἷς τότε ὀργισθείη ἐκπλήξει κολάσεως καὶ ἐλαχίσταις, πολέμιον δὲ ἡγούμενος πᾶν τὸ ἀρετῇ συνερχόμενον, ἀναντίλεκτον ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς κελεύσειε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν λαμβάνων: [204] ὅθεν καὶ ἀδελφῇ γνησίᾳ συνῆν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῷ φύεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ἤρξατο σφοδρότερον

τὸ μῖσος διὰ τὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου μὴ ἱστορημένον εἴς τε ἀπιστίαν καὶ ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς τὸν πράξαντα παρακαλεῖν. [205] ἔργον δὲ μέγα ἢ βασίλειον οὐδὲν αὐτῷ πεπραγμένον εἴποι ἄν τις ἢ ἐπ᾽ ὠφελείᾳ τῶν συνόντων καὶ αὖθις ἀνθρώπων ἐσομένων, πλήν γε τοῦ περὶ Ῥήγιον καὶ Σικελίαν ἐπινοηθέντος ἐν ὑποδοχῇ τῶν ἀπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου σιτηγῶν πλοίων: [206] τοῦτο δὲ ὁμολογουμένως μέγιστόν τε καὶ ὠφελιμώτατον τοῖς πλέουσιν: οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ τέλος γε ἀφίκετο, ἀλλ᾽ ἡμίεργον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀμβλυτέρως αὐτῷ ἐπιπονεῖν κατελείφθη. [207] αἴτιον δ᾽ ἦν ἡ περὶ τὰ ἀχρεῖα σπουδὴ καὶ τὸ δαπανῶντα εἰς ἡδονάς, αἳ καταμόνας ἔμελλον ὠφελεῖν, αὐτῷ ὑφαιρεῖν τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς κρείσσοσιν ἀνωμολογημένοις φιλοτιμίας. [208] ἄλλως δὲ ῥήτωρ τε ἄριστος καὶ γλώσσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίοις πατρίῳ σφόδρα ἠσκημένος συνίει τ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα καὶ τοῖς ὑφ᾽ ἑτέρων συντεθεῖσίν τε καὶ ἐκ πλείονος προσυγκειμένοις ἀντειπὼν ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος φανῆναι πιθανώτερος ἐν μεγίστῳ πράγματι παρ᾽ ὀντινοῦν γενόμενος, εὐκολίᾳ τε εἰς αὐτὸ τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῷ εἰς ἰσχὺν αὐτῇ προσλαβεῖν μελέτην τοῦ ἐπιπονεῖν. [209] ἀδελφοῦ γὰρ παιδὸς υἱεῖ γεγονότι Τιβερίου, οὗ καὶ διάδοχος γίνεται, μέγα ἀνάγκασμα παιδείας ἀντέχεσθαι διὰ τὸ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὰ πρῶτα ἐν αὐτῇ κατορθῶν διαπρέπειν, καὶ συνεφιλοκάλει Γάιος συγγενοῦς τε ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἡγεμόνος εἴκων ἐπιστολαῖς ἐπρώτευσέν τε τῶν κατ᾽ αὐτὸν πολιτῶν. [210] οὐ μὴν ἀντισχεῖν οἷά τε ἐγένετο αὐτῷ τὰ ἐκ τῆς παιδείας συλλεγέντα ἀγαθὰ πρὸς τὸν ἐπελθόντα ὄλεθρον αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας: οὕτως ἄρα δυσπόριστον ἡ ἀρετὴ τοῦ σωφρονεῖν, οἷς ἀνυπεύθυνον τὸ πράσσειν ῥᾳστώνῃ πάρεστιν. [211] φίλοις μὲν κεχρῆσθαι καὶ πάντα ἀξιολόγοις ὑποσπουδασθεὶς τὸ κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς ὑπό τε παιδείας καὶ δόξης ζήλου τῶν κρειττόνων, μέχρι δὴ τῷ περιόντι τοῦ ὑβρίζειν ἀπαμφίασις εὐνοίᾳ τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐχρήσαντο μίσους ὑποφυέντος ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπιβουλευθεὶς τελευτᾷ.

III

(1) [212] Κλαύδιος δέ, καθάπερ ἀνώτερον ἔφην, ἀπορρήξεως αὐτῷ τῶν Γαίου ὁδῶν γενομένης καὶ τοῦ οἴκου θορυβηθέντος πάθει τῆς Καίσαρος τελευτῆς, ἐν ἀμηχάνοις ὢν περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἔν τινι στενωπῷ κατειλημμένος ἔκρυπτεν ἑαυτὸν οὐδεμίαν κινδύνων αἰτίαν πλὴν τῆς γενναιότητος ὑφορώμενος: [213] μέτριον γὰρ ἰδιώτης ὢν ἦγεν αὐτὸν καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀρκῶν ἦν, παιδείᾳ τε συνιὼν καὶ μάλιστα τῇ Ἑλληνίδι καὶ παντὸς τοῦ εἰς θόρυβον ἀνακειμένου παντοίως ἀπαλλάσσων αὐτόν. [214] τότε δὲ πτοίας κατειληφυίας τὸν ὄχλον καὶ τοῦ βασιλείου παντὸς στρατιωτικῆς μανίας ἀνάπλεω γεγονότος καὶ δειλίας καὶ ἀταξίας ἰδιωτῶν οἷον ἀπειληφότων σωματοφυλάκων, οἱ περὶ τὸ στρατηγικὸν καλούμενον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς καθαρώτατον, ἐν βουλῇ περὶ τοῖς πρακτέοις ἦσαν, ὅσοι δὲ καὶ παρετύγχανον, τὴν μὲν Γαίου τιμωρίαν ἐν ὀλίγῳ τιθέμενοι διὰ τὸ κατὰ δίκην αὐτῷ τὰς τύχας συνελθεῖν, [215] τὰ δὲ περὶ αὐτοὺς ἀνεσκοποῦντο

μᾶλλον ὃν τρόπον σχήσοι καλῶς καὶ τῶν Γερμανῶν τε ἐν τιμωρίαις τῶν σφαγέων ὄντων ὠμότητος χάριτι τῆς ἑαυτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ συμφέροντος τοῖς πᾶσιν. [216] ὑφ᾽ ὧν ἁπάντων ὁ Κλαύδιος ἐθορυβεῖτο δεδιὼς περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας, ἄλλως τ᾽ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀσπρήναν ἐτεθέατο τὰς κεφαλὰς παραφερομένας: εἱστήκει δὲ κατά τι προσβατὸν ὀλίγαις βαθμῖσι χωρίον ὑπεσταλκὼς τῷ κατ᾽ αὐτὸ σκότῳ. [217] καὶ Γρᾶτος τῶν περὶ τὸ βασίλειόν τις στρατιωτῶν θεασάμενος καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀκριβωσομένου τὴν ὄψιν ἀμαθὴς ὢν διὰ τὸν σκότον, τοῦ δὲ ἄνθρωπον εἶναι τὸν ὑπολοχῶντα κριτὴς εἶναι μὴ ἀπηλλαγμένος, προσῄει τε ἐγγύτερον καὶ ὑποχωρεῖν ἠξιωκότος ἐπέκειτο καὶ καταλαβὼν ἐπιγνωρίζει “Γερμανικὸς μὲν οὗτος, φησὶν πρὸς τοὺς ἑπομένους, καὶ στησώμεθα τοῦτον ἡγεμόνα φερό [218] μενοι.” Κλαύδιος δὲ ἐφ᾽ ἁρπαγῇ παρεσκευασμένους ὁρῶν καὶ δείσας, μὴ κατὰ φωνὴν ἀποθάνοι τὴν Γαίου, φειδὼ σχεῖν ἠξίου τοῦ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀνεπαχθοῦς ἀνάμνησιν αὐτοῖς ὑποτιθεὶς καὶ τοῦ ἀπρομηθοῦς τῶν γεγονότων. [219] καὶ ὁ Γρᾶτος μειδιάσας ἐπισπᾶται τῆς δεξιᾶς, καί “παῦσαι, φησίν, μικρολογούμενος περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας δέον σε μεγαλοφρονεῖσθαι περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ἣν οἱ θεοὶ Γάιον ἀφῃρημένοι τῇ σῇ συνεχώρησαν ἀρετῇ πρόνοιαν τῆς οἰκουμένης λαβόντες. [220] ἀλλ᾽ ἴθι καὶ τῶν προγόνων ἀπολάμβανε τὸν θρόνον.” ἀνεβάσταζέν τε αὐτὸν οὐ πάνυ τοῖς ποσὶ βαίνειν δυνάμενον ὑπό τε φόβου καὶ χάρματος τῶν εἰρημένων.

(2) [221] Συνεστρέφοντο δὲ περὶ τὸν Γρᾶτον ἤδη καὶ πλείους τῶν σωματοφυλάκων καὶ θεωροῦντες τὸν Κλαύδιον ἀγόμενον δόξῃ τοῦ ἐπὶ κόλασιν ἕλκεσθαι Τῶν ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε ζημιῶν ὡς ἄνδρα ἀπράγμονα διὰ βίου τοῦ παντὸς καὶ κινδύνοις οὔτι μετρίως ἐπὶ τῆς Γαίου ἀρχῆς ὠμιληκότα, τινὲς δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐντρέπειν κρίσιν ἠξίουν τὴν περὶ αὐτόν. [222] καὶ πλειόνων τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ συστρεφομένων φυγαί τε ἦσαν τοῦ ὁμίλου καὶ προόδων ἀπορία τῷ Κλαυδίῳ δι᾽ ἀσθένειαν τοῦ σώματος, ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ τὸ φορεῖον αὐτοῦ φέροντες περὶ τὴν ἁρπαγὴν αὐτοῦ παραγενομένης φυγῆς ἔσωζον αὐτοὺς ἀπ᾽ ἐλπίδος θέμενοι τὴν σωτηρίαν τοῦ δεσπότου. [223] ἐν εὐρυχωρίᾳ δὲ τοῦ Παλατίου γενομένοις, πρῶτον δὲ οἰκηθῆναι τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως τοῦτο παραδίδωσιν ὁ περὶ αὐτῆς λόγος, καὶ ἤδη τοῦ δημοσίου ἀντιλαμβανομένοις πολὺ πλείων ἡ ἐπιφοίτησις ἦν τῶν στρατιωτῶν χαρᾷ τὴν ὄψιν δεχομένοις τοῦ Κλαυδίου, περὶ πλείστου τε ἦν αὐτοῖς αὐτοκράτορα στήσασθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον εὐνοίᾳ τε τῇ Γερμανικοῦ, ἀδελφὸς δὲ ἦν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ μέγα πᾶσιν τοῖς ὠμιληκόσιν καταλελοιπὼς κλέος τὸ αὐτοῦ. [224] ἀναλογισμός τε αὐτοὺς εἰσῄει τῆς τε πλεονεξίας τῶν ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ δυναστευόντων καὶ ὁπόσα ἐπὶ τῆς πρὶν ἀρχῆς ἡμάρτητο αὐτῇ. [225] πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀμήχανον τοῦ πράγματος κατενόουν, καὶ πάλιν εἰς ἑνὸς ἀρχὴν μεθισταμένων τῶν ὅλων κινδύνους αὐτοῖς φέρειν δι᾽ ἑνὸς κτησαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν [μεθισταμένων τῶν ὅλων] παρ᾽ ὃν ἐπιχωρήσει καὶ εὐνοίᾳ

τῇ αὐτῶν λαβόντα Κλαύδιον μνημονεύσεις τε χάριτος αὐτοῖς ἀποδιδόντα τιμήν, ἣ ἐπὶ τοιούτοις γένοιτ᾽ ἂν ἀρκοῦσα.

(3) [226] Ταῦτα πρός τε ἀλλήλους καὶ δι᾽ ἑαυτοὺς διεξῄεσαν καὶ τοῖς ἀεὶ προσπίπτουσιν διηγοῦντο. οἱ δὲ πυνθανόμενοι προθύμως ἐδέχοντο τὴν πρόκλησιν, συμφράξαντές τε καὶ περικλάσαντες ἦγον ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου φοράδην ἀναβαστάσαντες, ὡς μὴ ἐμποδίζοιτο αὐτοῖς ἡ ἔπειξις. [227] διειστήκεσαν δὲ αἱ γνῶμαι τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς: οἱ μὲν ἀξιώματός τε τοῦ πρότερον ὀρεγόμενοι καὶ δουλείαν ἔπακτον αὐτοῖς ὕβρει τῶν τυράννων γενομένην φιλοτιμούμενοι διαδιδράσκειν χρόνῳ παρασχόν, [228] ὁ δὲ δῆμος φθόνῳ τε πρὸς ἐκείνην καθιστάμενος καὶ τῶν πλεονεξιῶν αὐτῆς ἐπιστόμισμα τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας εἰδὼς καὶ αὐτοῦ καταφυγὴν ἔχαιρεν Κλαυδίου τῇ ἁρπαγῇ στάσιν τε ἔμφυλον, ὁποία καὶ ἐπὶ Πομπηίου γένοιτο, ἀπαλλάξειν αὐτῶν ὑπελάμβανον τοῦτον αὐτοκράτορα καθισταμένου. [229] γνοῦσα δ᾽ ἡ βουλὴ τὸν Κλαύδιον ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀφιγμένον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον πέμπει πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἄνδρας ἀρετῇ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν, οἳ διδάξειαν μὴ δεῖν ἐπὶ καθέξει τῆς ἀρχῆς βιάζεσθαι, [230] παραχωρεῖν δὲ τῇ συγκλήτῳ τοσῶνδε ἀνδρῶν ἕνα ὄντα ἡσσώμενον καὶ τῷ νόμῳ παραχωροῦντα τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς κόσμου τὴν πρόνοιαν, μνημονεύοντα ὧν οἱ πρότεροι τύραννοι κακώσειαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ὧν ὑπὸ Γαίου καὶ αὐτὸς κινδυνεύσειεν σὺν αὐτοῖς, μηδὲ μισήσαντα τὴν βαρύτητα τῆς τυραννίδος ὑφ᾽ ἑτέρων πρασσομένης τῆς ὕβρεως αὐτὸν ἐθελουσίως ἐπὶ παροινίᾳ θαρσεῖν τῆς πατρίδος. [231] καὶ πειθομένῳ μὲν τοῦ πρότερον ἀπράγμονος τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιδεικνυμένῳ βέβαιον τιμάς τε ὑπάρξειν, αἳ ὑπὸ ἐλευθέρων ψηφισθεῖεν τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ ἐπιχωρήσει τοῦ νόμου τὸ μέρος ἄρχοντά τε καὶ ἀρχόμενον κερδανεῖν ἔπαινον ἀρετῆς. [232] εἰ δὲ ἀπονοοῖτο μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς Γαίου τελευτῆς σωφρονιζόμενος οὔτι γε αὐτοὶ ἐπιτρέψειν τῆς τε γὰρ στρατιᾶς πολὺ εἶναι τὸ συνεστηκὸς αὐτοῖς ὅπλων τε εὐπορίαν καὶ πληθὺν οἰκετῶν, οἳ χρήσαιντο αὐτοῖς. [233] μέγα δὲ μέρος τήν τε ἐλπίδα εἶναι καὶ τὴν τύχην, τούς τε θεοὺς οὐκ ἄλλοις συμμαχεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μετ᾽ ἀρετῆς καὶ τοῦ καλοῦ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ποιουμένοις. εἶναι δὲ τούτους, οἳ ἂν περὶ ἐλευθερίας μάχωνται τῆς πατρίδος.

(4) [234] Καὶ οἱ μὲν πρεσβευταὶ Οὐηράνιός τε καὶ Βρόγχος, δήμαρχοι δὲ ἦσαν ἀμφότεροι, τοῖσδε ἐχρῶντο τοῖς λόγοις καὶ καθικέτευον τοῖς γόνασιν αὐτοῦ προσπεσόντες μηδαμῶς πολέμοις καὶ κακοῖς ἐμβαλεῖν τὴν πόλιν, θεωροῦντες στρατιᾶς πληθύι τὸν Κλαύδιον πεφραγμένον καὶ τὸ μηδὲν τοὺς ὑπάτους ὄντας συγκρίσει τῇ πρὸς αὐτόν. [235] εἴ τε τῆς ἀρχῆς ὀρέγοιτο, παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς δέχεσθαι διδομένην: αἰσιώτερον γὰρ καὶ εὐδαιμονέστερον χρῆσθαι τὸν μὴ μετὰ ὕβρεως ἀλλ᾽ εὐνοίᾳ τῶν διδόντων παραλαμβάνοντα.

IV

(1) [236] Κλαύδιος δέ, ἠπίστατο γὰρ μεθ᾽ οἵας αὐθαδείας ἀποσταλεῖεν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν γνώμῃ τῇ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μετριώτερον τρεπόμενος, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ περὶ αὐτοὺς φόβῳ διαναστὰς ἅμα μὲν θάρσει τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἅμα δὲ Ἀγρίππου τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύοντος μὴ προέσθαι τῶν χειρῶν τηλικαύτην ἀρχὴν ἥκουσαν αὐτόματον. [237] πράξας μὲν καὶ περὶ Γάιον οἷον εἰκὸς ἄνδρα ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ διὰ τιμῆς ἡγμένον, καὶ γὰρ τὸν νεκρὸν περιέσπεν τοῦ Γαίου καὶ ἀναθέμενος ἐπὶ κλίνης καὶ περιστείλας ἐκ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων εἰς τοὺς σωματοφύλακας ὑπεχώρει, ζῆν μὲν τὸν Γάιον ἀπαγγέλλων κακοπαθοῦντί γε ὑπὸ τραυμάτων ἰατροὺς μετέσεσθαι λέγων: [238] πυθόμενος δὲ τοῦ Κλαυδίου τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἁρπαγὴν ὠθεῖτο πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ καταλαβὼν τεταραγμένον καὶ οἷόν τε ἐκχωρεῖν τῇ συγκλήτῳ ἀνήγειρεν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι κελεύων τῆς ἡγεμονίας. [239] ταῦτα δὲ πρὸς τὸν Κλαύδιον εἰπὼν προσεχώρει πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ μετακαλούσης αὐτὸν τῆς βουλῆς χρισάμενος μύροις τὴν κεφαλὴν ὡς ἀπὸ συνουσίας γινομένης ἀναλύσεως αὐτῷ παρῆν καὶ ἤρετο τοὺς βουλευτάς, τί πέπραχε Κλαύδιος. [240] τῶν δὲ τὰ ὄντα φαμένων καὶ προσανερομένων, ἥντινα γνώμην ἔχοι περὶ τοῖς ὅλοις, τελευτᾶν μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατ᾽ ἐκείνην εὐκλεοῦς ἕτοιμος ἦν τοῖς λόγοις, σκοπεῖν δὲ ἐκέλευε περὶ τῷ συμφέροντι πᾶν ὅ τι καὶ εἰς ἡδονὴν φέροι ὑπεξελομένους: [241] χρείαν γὰρ εἶναι τοῖς ἀρχῆς μεταποιουμένοις καὶ ὅπλων καὶ στρατιωτῶν, οἳ φράξαιντο αὐτοῖς, μὴ καὶ ἀπαράσκευοι καταστάντες εἰς τάδε σφαλεῖεν. [242] ἀποκριναμένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ὅπλων τε εὐπορίαν καὶ χρήματα εἰσοίσειν, καὶ στρατιᾶς τὸ μέν τι αὐτοῖς εἶναι συνεστηκός, τὸ δὲ συγκροτήσειν ἐλευθερώσεως δούλων γενομένης. “εἴη μέν, ὦ βουλή, φησὶν ὁ Ἀγρίππας ὑποτυχών, πράσσειν ὁπόσα θυμὸς ὑμῖν, λεκτέον δὲ οὐδὲν ἐνδοιάσαντί μοι διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ φέρειν τὸν λόγον. [243] ἴστε μὴν στρατόν, ὃς ὑπὲρ Κλαυδίου μαχεῖται, πλήθει χρόνου ὁπλιτεύειν μεμελετηκότα, τὰ δ᾽ ἡμέτερα, συγκλύδων ἀνθρώπων πλῆθος δ᾽ ἔσται καὶ τῶν παρὰ δόξαν τῆς δουλείας ἀπηλλαγμένων, δυσκράτητα. πρὸς δὲ τεχνίτας μαχούμεθα προαγαγόντες ἄνδρας μηδ᾽ ὅπως σπάσαι τὰ ξίφη εἰδότας. [244] ὥστε μοι δοκεῖ πέμπειν ὡς Κλαύδιον πείσοντας κατατίθεσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, πρεσβεύειν τε ἕτοιμός εἰμι.”

(2) [245] Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπεν, καὶ συγκαταθεμένων πεμφθεὶς σὺν ἑτέροις τήν τε ταραχὴν τῆς βουλῆς διηγεῖται καταμόνας πρὸς τὸν Κλαύδιον ἐδίδασκέν τε ἡγεμονικώτερον ἀποκρίνασθαι καὶ τῷ ἀξιώματι τῆς ἐξουσίας χρώμενον. [246] ἔλεγεν οὖν Κλαύδιος, οὐ θαυμάζειν τὴν βουλὴν ἡδονῇ μὴ φέρουσαν ἄρχεσθαι διὰ τὸ ὠμότητι τετρῦσθαι τῶν πρότερον ἐπὶ τὸ ἡγεμονεύειν καταστάντων, γεύσειν τε αὐτοὺς ἐπιεικείᾳ τῇ καθ᾽ αὑτὸν μετρίων καιρῶν, ὀνόματι μὲν μόνῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐσομένης, ἔργῳ δὲ κοινῆς πᾶσι προκεισομένης εἰς μέσον. διὰ πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ποικίλων ὠδευκότι πραγμάτων ἐν ὄψει τῇ ἐκείνων καλῶς ἔχειν μὴ ἀπιστεῖν. [247] καὶ οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις τοιούτων ἀκροάσει λόγων καθομιληθέντες ἐξεπέμποντο. Κλαύδιος δὲ τῷ στρατῷ συλλεχθέντι διελέγετο ὅρκους λαμβάνων

ἢ μὴν ἐμμενεῖν πίστει τῇ πρὸς αὐτόν, δωρεῖται τοὺς σωματοφύλακας πεντακισχιλίαις δραχμαῖς κατὰ ἕκαστον ἄνδρα, τοῖς τε ἡγεμόσιν αὐτῶν ἀνάλογον τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ καὶ τοῖς ὅποι ποτὲ στρατοπέδοις ὑπισχνεῖτο τὰ ὅμοια.

(3) [248] Συνεκάλουν δὲ οἱ ὕπατοι τὴν βουλὴν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ νικηφόρου Διός: ἔτι δὲ νὺξ ἦν. τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει κλέπτοντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐνεδοίαζον πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόασιν, τοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἀγρῶν ἐγεγόνεισαν ἔξοδοι προορωμένοις ᾗ χωρήσει τὸ πᾶν ἐν ἀπογνώσει τοῦ ἐλευθέρου γεγονότος, καὶ πολὺ κρεῖττον ἐν ἀκινδύνῳ τοῦ δουλεύειν ὑπειληφότες διαβιοῦν ἀργίᾳ τοῦ πονεῖν ἢ κτώμενοι τὸ ἀξίωμα τῶν πατέρων περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀμφίβολοι καταστῆναι. [249] συνελέγησαν δ' ὅμως ἑκατὸν οὐ πλείους, καὶ διαβουλευομένων περὶ τῶν ἐν χερσὶν αἰφνίδιον αἴρεται βοὴ τοῦ συνεστηκότος αὐτοῖς στρατιωτικοῦ στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα κελευόντων τὴν βουλὴν ἑλέσθαι καὶ μὴ φθείρειν πολυαρχίᾳ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. [250] καὶ τὸ μὲν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀπεφαίνοντο περὶ τοῦ μὴ πᾶσιν, ἀλλ' ἑνὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐφέσιμον εἶναι, ὁρᾶν δὲ ἐκείνοις ἐπιτρέπειν, ὅστις τοσαύτης προστασίας ἄξιος. ὥστε ἐν ἀνίᾳ τὰ τῶν συγκλητικῶν ἦν πολὺ πλέον δι' ἁμαρτίαν μὲν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐχήματος, φόβῳ δὲ τοῦ Κλαυδίου. [251] οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἦσαν οἱ ἐφιέμενοι γένους τε ἀξιώματι καὶ οἰκειότησιν γάμου: καὶ γὰρ Μινουκιανὸς Μᾶρκον καὶ τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν γενναιότητι ἀξιόλογον ὄντα καὶ δὴ ἀδελφὴν Γαίου γεγαμηκότα Ἰουλίαν, πρόθυμός τε ἦν ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων, κατεῖχον δὲ οἱ ὕπατοι πρόφασιν ἐκ προφάσεως ἀναρτῶντες. [252] Οὐαλέριον δὲ Ἀσιατικὸν Μινουκιανὸς ἐκ τῶν Γαίου σφαγέων ἀνεῖχε τοιούτων διανοιῶν. ἐγεγόνει δ' ἂν φόνος οὗ τινος ἐλάσσων ἐπιχωρηθέντων τῶν ἐπιθυμούντων τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ὥστε ἀντιτάξασθαι Κλαυδίῳ, ἄλλως τε καὶ οἱ μονομάχοι, [253] πλῆθος δ' ἦν αὐτῶν ἀξιόλογον, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ νυκτοφυλακοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐρέται τε ὁπόσοι συνέρρεον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὥστε τῶν μετιόντων τὴν ἀρχὴν οἱ μὲν φειδοῖ τῆς πόλεως, οἱ δὲ καὶ φόβῳ τῷ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπέστησαν.

(4) [254] Ὑπὸ δὲ πρώτην ἀρχὴν τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ Χαιρέας καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ παρελθόντες ἐν ἐπιχειρήσει λόγων ἦσαν πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας. τῶν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ὡς ὁρᾷ παύοντας αὐτοὺς ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν οἵους τε ἄρχεσθαι, ἀνεθορύβησεν μὴ ἐφιέναι ὥστε εἰπεῖν διὰ τὸ ὡρμῆσθαι πάντας ἐπὶ τῷ μοναρχεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἡγησόμενον ἐκάλουν ὡς οὐκ ἀνεξόμενοι τὰς τριβάς. [255] τῇ συγκλήτῳ δὲ ἀπορία ἄρχειν τε καὶ ὃν ἀρχθεῖεν ἂν τρόπον οὔτε δεχομένων αὐτοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν Γαίου σφαγέων συγχωρεῖν τοῖς στρατιώταις οὐκ ἐφιέντων. [256] ἐν τοιούτοις δὲ ὄντων Χαιρέας τὴν ὀργὴν οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος πρὸς τὴν αἴτησιν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος δώσειν ἐπηγγέλλετο στρατηγόν, εἴ τις αὐτῷ σημεῖον παρὰ Εὐτύχου κομίσειεν. [257] ἦν δὲ ὁ Εὔτυχος οὗτος ἡνίοχος τοῦ καλουμένου πρασίνου περισπούδαστος Γαίῳ, καὶ περὶ τὰς οἰκοδομὰς τῶν στάσεων τοῦ περὶ ἐκεῖνον ἱππικοῦ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἐτρίβετο ἀτίμοις ἐργασίαις

ἐπικείμενον. [258] εἰς ἅπερ ὁ Χαιρέας ὠνείδιζεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ τοιαῦτα, τήν τε κεφαλὴν κομιεῖν τοῦ Κλαυδίου: δεινὸν γάρ, εἰ μετὰ μανίαν παραφροσύνῃ δώσουσι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. [259] οὐ μὴν διετράπησάν γε ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων, ἀλλὰ σπασάμενοι τὰς μαχαίρας καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἀράμενοι ᾤχοντο ὡς τὸν Κλαύδιον κοινωνήσοντες τοῖς ὀμνύουσιν αὐτῷ. κατελείπετο δὲ ἥ τε σύγκλητος ἐπ᾽ ἐρημίας τῶν ἀμυνούντων καὶ οἱ ὕπατοι μηδὲν ἰδιωτῶν διαφέροντες. [260] ἔκπληξίς τε καὶ κατήφεια ἦν, οὐδ᾽ ὅτι χρήσαιντο αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰδότων διὰ τὸ ἀνηρεθίσθαι τὸν Κλαύδιον ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς, ἀλλήλοις τε ἐλοιδοροῦντο, καὶ μετάμελος ἦν αὐτοῖς. [261] καὶ Σαβῖνος εἷς τῶν Γαίου σφαγέων σφάζειν πρότερον αὐτὸν ἠπείλει παρελθὼν εἰς μέσους ἢ Κλαύδιον ἄρχοντα στήσεσθαι καὶ δουλοκρατίαν ἐπόψεσθαι καταλαβοῦσαν, τόν τε Χαιρέαν εἰς φιλοψυχίαν ἐπέπλησσεν, εἰ καταφρονήσας Γαίου πρῶτος ἀγαθὸν ὑπολαμβάνοι τὸ ζῆν τῆς ἐλευθερίας οὐδ᾽ οὕτως ἀποδοθῆναι δυναμένης τῇ πατρίδι. [262] Χαιρέας δὲ περὶ μὲν τοῦ θνήσκειν ἐνδοιαστὸν οὐδὲν φρονεῖν ἔλεγεν, βούλεσθαι μέντοι διακωδωνίζειν διάνοιαν τὴν Κλαυδίου.

(5) [263] Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖσδε ἦσαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου πανταχόθεν ὠθεῖτο κατὰ θεραπείαν. καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων ὁ ἕτερος Κόιντος Πομπώνιος δι᾽ αἰτίας ἦν τῷ στρατιωτικῷ μᾶλλον ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἐλευθερίᾳ τὴν σύγκλητον παρακαλῶν, ὥρμησάν τε σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη, κἂν ἐπέπρακτο αὐτοῖς μὴ Κλαυδίου διακεκωλυκότος. [264] παρακαθίζεται δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν ὕπατον ἐξαρπάσας τοῦ κινδύνου, τῶν δὲ συγκλητικῶν ὅσον ἦν σὺν τῷ Κοίντῳ οὐ μεθ᾽ ὁμοίας ἐδέχετο τιμῆς: τινὲς δὲ καὶ πληγὰς ἔλαβον αὐτῶν ἀνωθούμενοι τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐντεύξεως, Ἀπώνιος δὲ τραυματίας ἀνεχώρει, ἦν τε κίνδυνος περὶ πάντας αὐτούς. [265] καὶ Ἀγρίππας ὁ βασιλεὺς προσελθὼν τῷ Κλαυδίῳ ἀξιοῖ τοῖς συγκλητικοῖς ἠπιώτερον καταστῆναι: γενομένου γάρ τινος κακοῦ περὶ τὴν βουλὴν οὐχ ἕξειν ὧν ἄρξειεν ἑτέρων. [266] πείθεται δὲ Κλαύδιος καὶ συγκαλεῖ τὴν βουλὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Παλατίου διὰ τῆς πόλεως φερόμενος παραπέμποντος αὐτὸν τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ σὺν πολλῇ πάνυ κακώσει τῆς πληθύος. [267] προεξῆεσαν δὲ τῶν Γαίου σφαγέων εἰς τὸ φανερώτερον Χαιρέας καὶ Σαβῖνος εἰργόμενοι προόδων κατ᾽ ἐπιστολὰς Πολλίωνος, ὃν μικρῷ πρότερον Κλαύδιος στρατηγὸν ᾔρητο τῶν σωματοφυλάκων. [268] Κλαύδιος δέ, ἐπείπερ εἰς τὸ Παλάτιον ἀφικνεῖται συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἑταίρους ψῆφον ἀνεδίδου περὶ Χαιρέου. τοῖς δὲ τὸ μὲν ἔργον λαμπρὸν ἐδόκει, ἀπιστίαν δ᾽ ἐπεκάλουν τῷ πεπραχότι καὶ αὐτῷ τιμωρίαν ἐπιβάλλειν δίκαιον ἡγοῦντο ἐπ᾽ ἀποτροπῇ τοῦ μέλλοντος χρόνου. [269] ἀπήγετο οὖν τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Λοῦππός τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων πλείους. λέγεται δὲ Χαιρέας μεγαλοφρόνως ἐνεγκεῖν τὴν συμφορὰν οὐ μόνον τῷ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀμεταπτώτῳ τοῦ σχήματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἷς ὀνειδίσειεν Λοῦππον εἰς δάκρυα ἐκτετραμμένον. [270] ἀποτιθεμένου γέ τοι τὴν στολὴν τοῦ Λούππου καὶ τὸ ῥῖγος αἰτιωμένου φησίν, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐναντία τοῦ Λούππου ποιήσαιτο πώποτε ῥῖγος.

πλήθους τε ἀνθρώπων ἑπομένου κατὰ θέαν, ὡς ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸ χωρίον, ἤρετο τὸν στρατιώτην, εἰ διὰ μελέτης αὐτῷ γεγόνοιεν αἱ σφαγαὶ ἢ εἰ πρῶτον ἔχοι τὸ ξίφος ἐΚέλευε κομίζειν ᾧ Γάιον μεταχειρίσαιτο αὐτός: [271] θνήσκει δὲ εὐδαιμόνως μιᾶς πληγῆς αὐτῷ γενομένης. Λοῦππος δὲ οὐ πάνυ δεξιῶς ὑπεξῆλθεν ἀθυμίᾳ καὶ πληγῶν πλειόνων γενομένων διὰ τὸ μαλακῶς τὸν τράχηλον παρασχεῖν.

(6) [272] Ὀλίγαις δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἐναγισμῶν ἐνεστηκότων Ῥωμαίων τὸ πλῆθος τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐπιφέροντες καὶ Χαιρέαν μοίραις ἐτίμησαν εἰς τὸ πῦρ τιθεμέναις, ἴλεων καὶ ἄμηνιν εἶναι τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀχαριστίας παρακαλοῦντες. καὶ Χαιρέᾳ μὲν τοιαύτη τελευτὴ τοῦ βίου συνέτυχεν. [273] Σαβῖνος δὲ Κλαυδίου μὴ μόνον τῆς αἰτίας παραλύοντος αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἣν εἶχεν ἐφιέντος, ἄδικον ἡγεῖτο τὴν ἐκλειπίαν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς συνωμότας πίστεως, σφάζει ἑαυτὸν περιπεσὼν τῷ ξίφει μέχρι δὴ καὶ τὴν κώπην τῷ τραύματι συνελθεῖν.

V

(1) [274] Κλαύδιος δὲ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ πᾶν ὅ τι ἦν ὕποπτον ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἀποσκευασάμενος διάγραμμα προυτίθει τήν τε ἀρχὴν Ἀγρίππα βεβαιῶν, ἣν ὁ Γάιος παρέσχε, καὶ δι᾽ ἐγκωμίων ἄγων τὸν βασιλέα. προσθήκην τε αὐτῷ ποιεῖται πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου βασιλευθεῖσαν, ὃς ἦν πάππος αὐτοῦ, Ἰουδαίαν καὶ Σαμάρειαν. [275] καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὡς ὀφειλόμενα τῇ οἰκειότητι τοῦ γένους ἀπεδίδου: Ἄβιλαν δὲ τὴν Λυσανίου καὶ ὁπόσα ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ ὄρει ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ προσετίθει, ὅρκιά τε αὐτῷ τέμνεται πρὸς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μέσης ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει. [276] Ἀντίοχον δὲ ἣν εἶχεν βασιλείαν ἀφελόμενος Κιλικίας μέρει τινὶ καὶ Κομμαγηνῇ δωρεῖται. λύει δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν ἀλαβάρχην φίλον ἀρχαῖον αὐτῷ γεγονότα καὶ Ἀντωνίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπιτροπεύσαντα τὴν μητέρα ὀργῇ τῇ Γαίου δεδεμένον, καὶ αὐτοῦ υἱὸς Βερενίκην τὴν Ἀγρίππου γαμεῖ θυγατέρα. [277] καὶ ταύτην μέν, τελευτᾷ γὰρ Μᾶρκος ὁ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸς παρθένον λαβών, ἀδελφῷ τῷ αὐτοῦ Ἀγρίππας Ἡρώδῃ δίδωσιν Χαλκίδος αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν εἶναι αἰτησάμενος παρὰ Κλαυδίου.

(2) [278] Στασιάζεται δὲ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν τὸν χρόνον Ἰουδαίων τὰ πρὸς Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλεως. τελευτήσαντος γὰρ τοῦ Γαίου τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἐπὶ ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐκείνου τεταπεινωμένον καὶ δεινῶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων ὑβρισμένον ἀνεθάρσησέ τε καὶ ἐν ὅπλοις εὐθέως ἦν. [279] καὶ Κλαύδιος ἐπιστέλλει τῷ ἐπαρχοῦντι κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὥστε τὴν στάσιν καταστεῖλαι, πέμπει δὲ καὶ διάγραμμα παρακεκληκότων αὐτὸν Ἀγρίππου τε καὶ Ἡρώδου τῶν βασιλέων εἴς τε τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ Συρίαν γεγραμμένον τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον: [280] “Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας λέγει. [281] ἐπιγνοὺς ἀνέκαθεν τοὺς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἰουδαίους Ἀλεξανδρεῖς λεγομένους συγκατοικισθέντας τοῖς πρώτοις εὐθὺ καιροῖς Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι καὶ

ἴσης πολιτείας παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων τετευχότας, καθὼς φανερὸν ἐγένετο ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν διαταγμάτων, [282] καὶ μετὰ τὸ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἡγεμονίᾳ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ὑποταχθῆναι πεφυλάχθαι αὐτοῖς τὰ δίκαια ὑπὸ τῶν πεμφθέντων ἐπάρχων κατὰ διαφόρους χρόνους μηδεμίαν τε ἀμφισβήτησιν περὶ τούτων γενομένην τῶν δικαίων αὐτοῖς, [283] ἅμα καὶ καθ᾽ ὃν καιρὸν Ἀκύλας ἦν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τελευτήσαντος τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐθνάρχου τὸν Σεβαστὸν μὴ κεκωλυκέναι ἐθνάρχας γίγνεσθαι βουλόμενον ὑποτετάχθαι ἑκάστους ἐμμένοντας τοῖς ἰδίοις ἔθεσιν καὶ μὴ παραβαίνειν ἀναγκαζομένους τὴν πάτριον θρησκείαν, [284] Ἀλεξανδρεῖς δὲ ἐπαρθῆναι κατὰ τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς Ἰουδαίων ἐπὶ τῶν Γαίου Καίσαρος χρόνων τοῦ διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἀπόνοιαν καὶ παραφροσύνην, ὅτι μὴ παραβῆναι ἠθέλησεν τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος τὴν πάτριον θρησκείαν καὶ θεὸν προσαγορεύειν αὐτόν, ταπεινώσαντος αὐτούς: [285] βούλομαι μηδὲν διὰ τὴν Γαίου παραφροσύνην τῶν δικαίων τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνει παραπεπτωκέναι, φυλάσσεσθαι δ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ πρότερον δικαιώματα ἐμμένουσι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἔθεσιν, ἀμφοτέροις τε διακελεύομαι τοῖς μέρεσι πλείστην ποιήσασθαι πρόνοιαν, ὅπως μηδεμία ταραχὴ γένηται μετὰ τὸ προτεθῆναί μου τὸ διάταγμα.᾽᾽

(3) [286] Τὸ μὲν οὖν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων διάταγμα τοῦτον ἦν τὸν τρόπον γεγραμμένον: τὸ δ᾽ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην οἰκουμένην εἶχεν οὕτως: [287] ᾽᾽Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας ὕπατος χειροτονηθεὶς τὸ δεύτερον λέγει. [288] αἰτησαμένων με βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα καὶ Ἡρώδου τῶν φιλτάτων μοι, ὅπως συγχωρήσαιμι τὰ αὐτὰ δίκαια καὶ τοῖς ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἡγεμονίᾳ Ἰουδαίοις φυλάσσεσθαι, καθὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ἥδιστα συνεχώρησα οὐ μόνον τοῦτο τοῖς αἰτησαμένοις με χαριζόμενος, [289] ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ὧν παρεκλήθην ἀξίους κρίνας διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πίστιν καὶ φιλίαν, μάλιστα δὲ δίκαιον κρίνων μηδεμίαν μηδὲ Ἑλληνίδα πόλιν τῶν δικαίων τούτων ἀποτυγχάνειν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θείου Σεβαστοῦ αὐταῖς ἦν τετηρημένα. [290] καλῶς οὖν ἔχειν καὶ Ἰουδαίους τοὺς ἐν παντὶ τῷ ὑφ᾽ ἡμᾶς κόσμῳ τὰ πάτρια ἔθη ἀνεπικωλύτως φυλάσσειν, οἷς καὶ αὐτοῖς ἤδη νῦν παραγγέλλω μου ταύτῃ τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ ἐπιεικέστερον χρῆσθαι καὶ μὴ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν δεισιδαιμονίας ἐξουθενίζειν, τοὺς ἰδίους δὲ νόμους φυλάσσειν. [291] τοῦτό μου τὸ διάταγμα τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν κολωνιῶν καὶ μουνικιπίων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἐκτός, βασιλεῖς τε καὶ δυνάστας διὰ τῶν ἰδίων πρεσβευτῶν ἐγγράψασθαι βούλομαι ἐκκείμενόν τε ἔχειν οὐκ ἔλαττον ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα ὅθεν ἐξ ἐπιπέδου καλῶς ἀναγνωσθῆναι δύναται.᾽᾽

VI

(1) [292] Τούτοις μὲν δὴ τοῖς διατάγμασιν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειάν τε καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην πᾶσαν ἀποσταλεῖσιν ἐδήλωσεν ἣν περὶ Ἰουδαίων ἔχοι γνώμην Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ: αὐτίκα δὲ Ἀγρίππαν κομιούμενον τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπὶ τιμαῖς λαμπροτέραις ἐξέπεμψε τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ἡγεμόσιν καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις διὰ γραμμάτων ἐπιστείλας ἐράσμιον ἄγειν αὐτόν. [293] ὁ δ', ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν τὸν ἐπὶ κρείττοσιν τύχαις ἀνερχόμενον, μετὰ τάχους ὑπέστρεψεν, εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα δ' ἐλθὼν χαριστηρίους ἐξεπλήρωσε θυσίας οὐδὲν τῶν κατὰ νόμον παραλιπών. [294] διὸ καὶ ναζιραίων ξυρᾶσθαι διέταξε μάλα συχνούς, τὴν δὲ χρυσῆν ἅλυσιν τὴν δοθεῖσαν αὐτῷ ὑπὸ Γαίου ἰσόσταθμον τῇ σιδηρᾷ, ᾗ τὰς ἡγεμονίδας χεῖρας ἐδέθη, τῆς στυγνῆς εἶναι τύχης ὑπόμνημα καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω μαρτυρίαν μεταβολῆς τῶν ἱερῶν ἐντὸς ἀνεκρέμασεν περιβόλων ὑπὲρ τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον, ἵν' ᾖ δεῖγμα καὶ τοῦ τὰ μεγάλα δύνασθαί ποτε πεσεῖν καὶ τοῦ τὸν θεὸν ἐγείρειν τὰ πεπτωκότα: [295] πᾶσι γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐνεφάνιζεν ἡ τῆς ἁλύσεως ἀνάθεσις, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας ἀπὸ μικρᾶς αἰτίας εἰς δεσμώτην ἀπέδυ τὸ πρὶν ἀξίωμα καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον τῆς πέδης ἐκβὰς εἰς βασιλέα τοῦ πάλαι λαμπρότερον ἠγέρθη. [296] διὰ τοῦτ' οὖν ἐννοεῖσθαι, ὅτι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως καὶ [πεσεῖν] ὀλισθάνειν τὰ μεγέθη καὶ τὰ κλιθέντα δύναται περιφανὲς λαβεῖν πάλιν ὕψος.

(2) [297] Ἐντελῶς δ' οὖν θρησκεύσας τὸν θεὸν Ἀγρίππας Θεόφιλον μὲν τὸν Ἀνάνου τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης μετέστησεν, τῷ δὲ Βοηθοῦ Σίμωνι, τούτῳ Κανθηρᾶς ἐπίκλησις ἦν, τὴν ἐκείνου προσένειμε τιμήν. δύο δ' ἦσαν ἀδελφοὶ τῷ Σίμωνι καὶ πατὴρ Βοηθός, οὗ τῇ θυγατρὶ βασιλεὺς συνῴκησεν Ἡρώδης, ὡς ἀνωτέρω δεδήλωται. [298] σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς οὖν τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἔσχεν ὁ Σίμων καὶ σὺν τῷ πατρί, καθὰ καὶ πρότερον ἔσχον οἱ Σίμωνος τοῦ Ὀνία παῖδες τρεῖς ὄντες ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀρχῆς, ὅπερ ἐν ταῖς προαγούσαις γραφαῖς παρέδομεν.

(3) [299] Καταστησάμενος δὲ τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς οὕτως ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας ἠμείψατο τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας: ἀνῆκε γοῦν αὐτοῖς τὰ ὑπὲρ ἑκάστης οἰκίας, ἐν καλῷ τιθέμενος ἀντιδοῦναι τοῖς ἠγαπηκόσιν στοργήν. ἔπαρχον δὲ ἀπέδειξεν παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος Σίλαν ἄνδρα πολλῶν αὐτῷ πόνων συμμετασχόντα. [300] παντάπασιν δὲ ὀλίγου χρόνου διελθόντος Δωρῖται νεανίσκοι τῆς ὁσιότητος προτιθέμενοι τόλμαν καὶ πεφυκότες εἶναι παραβόλως θρασεῖς Καίσαρος ἀνδριάντα κομίσαντες εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων συναγωγὴν ἀνέστησαν. [301] σφόδρα τοῦτο Ἀγρίππαν παρώξυνεν: κατάλυσιν γὰρ τῶν πατρίων αὐτοῦ νόμων ἐδύνατο. ἀμελλητὶ δὲ πρὸς Πούπλιον Πετρώνιον, ἡγεμὼν δὲ τῆς Συρίας οὗτος ἦν, παραγίνεται καὶ καταλέγει τῶν Δωριτῶν. [302] ὁ δ' οὐχ ἧττον ἐπὶ τῷ πραχθέντι χαλεπήνας, καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔκρινεν ἀσέβειαν τὴν τῶν ἐννόμων παράβασιν, τοῖς ἀποστᾶσι τῶν Δωριτῶν σὺν ὀργῇ ταῦτ' ἔγραψεν: [303] "Πούπλιος Πετρώνιος πρεσβευτὴς Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δωριέων τοῖς πρώτοις λέγει. [304] ἐπειδὴ τοσαύτῃ τόλμῃ ἀπονοίας τινὲς ἐχρήσαντο ἐξ ὑμῶν, ὥστε μηδὲ διὰ τὸ προτεθῆναι διάταγμα Κλαυδίου

Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ περὶ τοῦ ἐφίεσθαι Ἰουδαίους φυλάσσειν τὰ πάτρια πεισθῆναι ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ, [305] τἀναντία δὲ πάντα πρᾶξαι, συναγωγὴν Ἰουδαίων κωλύοντας εἶναι διὰ τὸ μεταθεῖναι ἐν αὐτῇ τὸν Καίσαρος ἀνδριάντα, παρανομοῦντας οὐκ εἰς μόνους Ἰουδαίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, οὗ ὁ ἀνδριὰς βέλτιον ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ ναῷ ἢ ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ ἐτίθετο καὶ ταῦτα ἐν τῷ τῆς συναγωγῆς τόπῳ, τοῦ φύσει δικαιοῦντος ἕνα ἕκαστον τῶν ἰδίων τόπων κυριεύειν κατὰ τὸ Καίσαρος ἐπίκριμα: [306] τοῦ γὰρ ἐμοῦ ἐπικρίματος μιμνήσκεσθαι γελοῖόν ἐστιν μετὰ τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος διάταγμα τοῦ ἐπιτρέψαντος Ἰουδαίοις τοῖς ἰδίοις ἔθεσι χρῆσθαι, ἔτι μέντοι γε καὶ συμπολιτεύεσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν κεκελευκότος: [307] τοὺς μὲν παρὰ τὸ διάταγμα τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τοιαῦτα τετολμηκότας, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἠγανάκτησαν οἱ δοκοῦντες αὐτῶν ἐξέχειν οὐ τῇ ἰδίᾳ προαιρέσει γεγενῆσθαι λέγοντες ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ πλήθους ὁρμῇ, ὑπὸ ἑκατοντάρχου Πρόκλου Οὐιτελλίου ἐκέλευσα ἐπ᾽ ἐμὲ ἀναχθῆναι τῶν πεπραγμένων λόγον ἀποδώσοντας, [308] τοῖς δὲ πρώτοις ἄρχουσι παραινῶ, εἰ μὴ βούλονται δοκεῖν κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν προαίρεσιν γεγενῆσθαι τὸ ἀδίκημα, ἐπιδεῖξαι τοὺς αἰτίους τῷ ἑκατοντάρχῃ μηδεμιᾶς στάσεως μηδὲ μάχης ἐῶντας ἀφορμὴν γενέσθαι, ἥνπερ δοκοῦσίν μοι θηρεύεσθαι διὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων, [309] κἀμοῦ καὶ τοῦ τιμιωτάτου μοι βασιλέως Ἀγρίππου οὐδενὸς μᾶλλον προνοουμένων, ἢ ἵνα μὴ ἀφορμῆς δραξάμενοι τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμύνης προφάσει συναθροισθὲν εἰς ἀπόνοιαν χωρῇ. [310] ἵνα δὲ γνωριμώτερον ᾖ, τί καὶ ὁ Σεβαστὸς περὶ ὅλου τοῦ πράγματος ἐφρόνησε, τὰ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ αὐτοῦ διατάγματα προτεθέντα προσέθηκα, ἅπερ εἰ καὶ γνώριμα πᾶσιν εἶναι δοκεῖ, τότε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἀνέγνω ὁ τιμιώτατός μοι βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας δικαιολογησάμενος περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀφαιρεθῆναι τῆς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ δωρεᾶς. [311] εἴς τε οὖν τὸ λοιπὸν παραγγέλλω μηδεμίαν πρόφασιν στάσεως μηδὲ ταραχῆς ζητεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ἑκάστους τὰ ἴδια ἔθη θρησκεύειν.”

(4) [312] Πετρώνιος μὲν οὖν οὕτω προυνόησε διορθώσεως μὲν τὸ παρανομηθὲν ἤδη τυχεῖν, γενέσθαι δὲ παραπλήσιον μηδὲν εἰς αὐτούς. [313] Ἀγρίππας δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀφείλετο μὲν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην τὸν Κανθηρᾶν Σίμωνα, Ἰωνάθην δὲ πάλιν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν ἦγεν τὸν Ἀνάνου τοῦτον ἀξιώτερον τῆς τιμῆς ὁμολογῶν εἶναι. τῷ δὲ οὐκ ἀσμενιστὸν ἐφάνη τὴν τοσαύτην ἀπολαβεῖν τιμήν, παρῃτεῖτο δ᾽ οὖν ταῦτα λέγων: [314] “σοὶ μέν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τετιμημένος χαίρω διὰ ψυχῆς ἔχων τοῦθ᾽ ὅ μοι γέρας δίδωσιν ἡ σὴ βουλὴ, καὶ πρὸς οὐδέν με τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἄξιον ἔκρινεν ὁ θεός. ἅπαξ δ᾽ ἐνδὺς στολισμὸν ἱερὸν ἀρκοῦμαι: τότε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἠμφιασάμην ὁσιώτερον ἢ νῦν ἀπολήψομαι. [315] σὺ δ᾽, εἰ βούλει τὸν ἀξιώτερον ἐμοῦ νῦν τὸ γέρας λαβεῖν, διδάχθητι: πάσης καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἁμαρτίας καὶ πρὸς σέ, βασιλεῦ, καθαρὸς ἀδελφὸς ἔστι μοι: πρέποντα τῇ τιμῇ τοῦτον [316] συνίστημι.” τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡσθεὶς τοῖς λόγοις τὸν Ἰωνάθην μὲν ἠγάσατο τῆς

γνώμης, τἀδελφῷ δὲ αὐτοῦ Ματθίᾳ τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἔδωκε. καὶ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ Πετρώνιον μὲν Μάρσος διεδέξατο καὶ διεῖπε Συρίαν.

VII

(1) [317] Σίλας δ᾽ ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔπαρχος ἐπεὶ διὰ πάσης αὐτῷ τύχης ἐγεγόνει πιστὸς οὐδένα κίνδυνόν ποτε κοινωνεῖν ἀνηνάμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς σφαλερωτάτους ὑποδὺς πολλάκις πόνους, πεποιθήσεως ἦν ἀνάπλεως, προσήκειν ὑπολαμβάνων ἰσοτιμίαν βεβαιότητι φιλίας. [318] οὐδαμῆ τοίνυν ὑποκατεκλίνετο βασιλεῖ, παρρησίαν δὲ διὰ πάσης ὁμιλίας ἦγεν, κἀν ταῖς φιλοφρονήσεσιν ἐγίνετο φορτικὸς σεμνύνων ἑαυτὸν ἀμέτρως καὶ πολλάκις τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ στυγνὰ τῆς τύχης ἄγων εἰς ἀνάμνησιν, ἵνα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τότε σπουδὴν παραδεικνύῃ, συνεχῶς δ᾽ ἦν, ὡς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κάμοι, πολλὰ διεξιών. [319] τούτων οὖν τὸ πλεονάζον ὀνειδισμὸς ἐδόκει: διὸ προσάντως ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐδέχετο τὴν ἀταμίευτον παρρησίαν τἀνδρός: οὐχ ἡδεῖαι γὰρ αἱ τῶν ἀδόξων χρόνων ἀναμνήσεις, εὐήθης δὲ ὁ διηνεκῶς ἅ ποτε ὠφέλησεν προφέρων. [320] τέλος γοῦν ἀνηρέθισε σφόδρα ὁ Σίλας τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν θυμὸν κἀκεῖνος ὀργῇ πλέον ἢ λογισμῷ διδοὺς οὐ τῆς ἐπαρχίας μόνον μετέστησε τὸν Σίλαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρέδωκεν δεθησόμενον εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου πατρίδα πέμψας. [321] χρόνῳ δὲ τὸν θυμὸν ἠμβλύνθη καὶ λογισμοῖς εἰλικρινέσι τὴν περὶ τἀνδρὸς κρίσιν ἐφῆκεν ἐν νῷ λαμβάνων ὅσους ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου πόνους ἐκεῖνος ἀνέτλη. ἡμέραν οὖν ἑορτάζων αὐτοῦ γενέθλιον, ὅτε πᾶσιν ὧν ἦρχεν εὐφροσύνη ᾗ καθίσταντο θαλίαι, τὸν Σίλαν ἀνεκάλει παραυτίκα συνέστιον αὐτῷ γενησόμενον. [322] τῷ δέ, τρόπος γὰρ ἐλευθέριος ἦν, ἐδόκει προσειληφέναι δικαίαν αἰτίαν ὀργῆς, ἣν οὐκ ἀπεκρύπτετο πρὸς τοὺς μετιόντας αὐτὸν λέγων: [323] “ἐπὶ ποίαν ὁ βασιλεὺς τιμὴν ἀνακαλεῖ με τὴν μετὰ μικρὸν ἀπολουμένην; οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ πρῶτά μοι γέρα τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας ἐτήρησεν, ἀπεσύλησεν δ᾽ ὑβρίσας. [324] ἢ πεπαῦσθαι νενόμικέ με τῆς παρρησίας, ἣν ἀπὸ ποίου συνειδότος ἔχων βοήσομαι μᾶλλον, ὅσων αὐτὸν ἐξελυσάμην δεινῶν, ὅσους ἤνεγκα πόνους ἐκείνῳ ποριζόμενος σωτηρίαν τε καὶ τιμήν, ὧν γέρας ἠνεγκάμην δεσμὰ καὶ σκότιον εἱρκτήν. [325] οὐκ ἐγώ ποτε τούτων λήσομαι: τάχα μοι τὴν τῆς ἀριστείας συνεποίσεται μνήμην καὶ μεταστᾶσα τῆς σαρκὸς ἡ ψυχή.” ταῦτα ἀνεβόα καὶ διετάττετο τῷ βασιλεῖ λέγειν. ὁ δ᾽ ὡς ἀνιάτως ἑώρα διακείμενον, πάλιν εἴασεν ἐν φρουρᾷ.

(2) [326] Τὰ δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τείχη τὰ πρὸς τὴν καινὴν νεύοντα πόλιν δημοσίαις ὠχύρου δαπάναις, τῇ μὲν εὐρύνων εἰς πλάτος τῇ δὲ εἰς ὕψος ἐξαίρων, κἂν ἐξειργάσατο ταῦτα πάσης ἀνθρωπίνης κρείττονα βίας, εἰ μὴ Μάρσος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμὼν Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι διὰ γραμμάτων ἐδήλωσε τὸ πραττόμενον. [327] καὶ νεωτερισμόν τινα Κλαύδιος ὑποπτεύσας ἐπέστειλεν Ἀγρίππᾳ μετὰ σπουδῆς παύσασθαι τῆς τῶν τειχῶν ἐξοικοδομήσεως: ὁ δ᾽ ἀπειθεῖν οὐκ ἔκρινεν.

(3) [328] Ἐπεφύκει δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος εὐεργετικὸς εἶναι ἐν δωρεαῖς καὶ μεγαλοφρονῆσαι ἔθνη φιλότιμος καὶ πολλοῖς ἀθρόως δαπανήμασιν ἀνιστὰς αὐτὸν εἰς ἐπιφάνειαν ἡδόμενος τῷ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ τῷ βιοῦν ἐν εὐφημίᾳ χαίρων, κατ' οὐδὲν Ἡρώδῃ τῷ πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ βασιλεῖ τὸν τρόπον συμφερόμενος: [329] ἐκείνῳ γὰρ πονηρὸν ἦν ἦθος ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν ἀπότομον καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀπηχθημένων ἀταμίευτον, Ἕλλησι πλέον ἢ Ἰουδαίοις οἰκείως ἔχειν ὁμολογούμενος: ἀλλοφύλων γέ τοι πόλεις ἐσέμνυνεν δόσει χρημάτων βαλανείων θεάτρων τε ἄλλοτε κατασκευαῖς, ἔστιν αἷς ναοὺς ἀνέστησε, στοὰς ἄλλαις, ἀλλὰ Ἰουδαίων οὐδεμίαν πόλιν οὐδ' ὀλίγης ἐπισκευῆς ἠξίωσεν οὐδὲ δόσεως ἀξίας μνημονευθῆναι. [330] πραὺς δ' ὁ τρόπος Ἀγρίππᾳ καὶ πρὸς πάντας τὸ εὐεργετικὸν ὅμοιον. τοῖς ἀλλοεθνέσιν ἦν φιλάνθρωπος κἀκείνοις ἐνδεικνύμενος τὸ φιλόδωρον τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις ἀναλόγως χρηστὸς καὶ συμπαθὴς μᾶλλον. [331] ἠδεῖα γοῦν αὐτῷ δίαιτα καὶ συνεχὴς ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἦν καὶ τὰ πάτρια καθαρῶς ἐτήρει. διὰ πάσης γοῦν αὐτὸν ἦγεν ἁγνείας οὐδ' ἡμέρα τις παρώδευεν αὐτῷ τὰ νόμιμα χηρεύουσα θυσίας.

(4) [332] Καὶ δή τις ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀνὴρ ἐπιχώριος ἐξακριβάζειν δοκῶν τὰ νόμιμα, Σίμων ἦν ὄνομα τούτῳ, πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἁλίσας τηνικάδε τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς Καισάρειαν ἐκδεδημηκότος ἐτόλμησεν αὐτοῦ κατειπεῖν, ὡς οὐχ ὅσιος εἴη, δικαίως δ' ἂν εἴργοιτο τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς εἰσόδου προσηκούσης τοῖς ἐγγενέσιν. [333] δηλοῦται μὲν δὴ διὰ γραμμάτων ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῆς πόλεως τῷ βασιλεῖ δημηγορήσας Σίμων ταῦτα, μεταπέμπεται δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς καί, καθέζετο γὰρ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τότε, καθεσθῆναι παρ' αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν. ἠρέμα τε καὶ πρᾴως "εἰπέ μοι, φησίν, τί τῶν ἐνθάδε [334] γινομένων ἐστὶ παράνομον;" ὁ δὲ εἰπεῖν ἔχων οὐδὲν τυχεῖν ἐδεῖτο συγγνώμης. ἀλλὰ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῷ ἢ προσεδόκησέν τις διηλλάττετο τὴν πρᾳότητα κρίνων βασιλικωτέραν ὀργῆς καὶ πρέπειν εἰδὼς τοῖς μεγέθεσι θυμοῦ πλέον ἐπιείκειαν. τὸν Σίμωνα γοῦν καὶ δωρεᾶς τινος ἀξιώσας ἀπεπέμπετο.

(5) [335] Πολλοῖς δὲ κατασκευάσας πολλὰ Βηρυτίους ἐξαιρέτως ἐτίμησεν: θέατρον γὰρ αὐτοῖς κατεσκεύασε πολυτελείᾳ τε καὶ κάλλει πολλῶν διαφέρον ἀμφιθέατρόν τε πολλῶν ἀναλωμάτων βαλανεῖα πρὸς τούτοις καὶ στοάς, ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν ἔργων στενότητι δαπανημάτων ἢ τὸ κάλλος ἀδικήσας ἢ τὸ μέγεθος. [336] ἐπεδαψιλεύσατο δ' αὐτῶν τὴν καθιέρωσιν μεγαλοπρεπῶς, ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ μὲν θεωρίας ἐπιτελῶν πάνθ' ὅσα μουσικῆς ἔργα παράγων καὶ ποικίλης ποιητικὰ τέρψεως, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀμφιθεάτρῳ πλήθει μονομάχων τὴν αὐτοῦ δεικνὺς μεγαλόνοιαν. [337] ἔνθα καὶ τὴν κατὰ πλῆθος ἀντίταξιν βουληθεὶς γενέσθαι τῶν θεωμένων τέρψιν ἑπτακοσίους ἄνδρας ἑπτακοσίοις μαχησομένους εἰσέπεμψεν κακούργους ὅσους εἶχεν ἀποτάξας εἰς τήνδε τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἵν' οἱ μὲν κολασθῶσιν, τὸ πολέμου δ' ἔργον γένηται τέρψις εἰρήνης. τούτους μὲν οὖν πασσυδὶ διέφθειρεν.

VIII

(1) [338] Ἐν Βηρυτῷ δὲ τελέσας τὰ προειρημένα μετῆλθεν εἰς Τιβεριάδα πόλιν τῆς Γαλιλαίας. ἦν δὲ ἄρα τοῖς ἄλλοις βασιλεῦσιν περίβλεπτος. ἦκε γοῦν παρ᾽ αὐτὸν Κομμαγηνῆς μὲν βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος, Ἐμεσῶν δὲ Σαμψιγέραμος καὶ Κότυς, τῆς μικρᾶς Ἀρμενίας οὗτος ἐβασίλευσεν, καὶ Πολέμων τὴν Πόντου κεκτημένος δυναστείαν Ἡρώδης τε: οὗτος ἀδελφὸς ἦν αὐτοῦ, ἦρχεν δὲ τῆς Χαλκίδος. [339] ὡμίλησε δὲ πᾶσιν κατά τε τὰς ὑποδοχὰς καὶ φιλοφρονήσεις ὡς μάλιστα διαδείξας φρονήσεως ὕψος καὶ διὰ τοῦτό γε δοκεῖν δικαίως τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως παρουσίᾳ τετιμῆσθαι. [340] ἀλλὰ γὰρ τούτων διατριβόντων ἔτι παρ᾽ αὐτῷ Μάρσος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμὼν παρεγένετο. πρὸς Ῥωμαίους οὖν τιμητικὸν τηρῶν ὑπαντησόμενος αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως ἀπωτέρω σταδίους ἑπτὰ προῆλθεν ὁ βασιλεύς. [341] τοῦτο δὲ ἄρα ἔμελλεν τῆς πρὸς Μάρσον ἀρχὴ γενήσεσθαι διαφορᾶς: συγκαθεζόμενος γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπήνης ἐπήγετο τοὺς ἄλλους βασιλέας, Μάρσῳ δ᾽ ἡ τούτων ὁμόνοια καὶ μέχρι τοσοῦδε φιλία πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπωπτεύθη συμφέρειν οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνοντι Ῥωμαίοις δυναστῶν τοσούτων συμφρόνησιν. εὐθὺς οὖν ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τινὰς πέμπων ἐπέστελλεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ δίχα μελλήσεως ἀπέρχεσθαι. [342] ταῦτα Ἀγρίππας ἀνιαρῶς ἐξεδέχετο: καὶ Μάρσῳ μὲν ἐκ τούτου διαφόρως ἔσχεν, τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην δὲ Ματθίαν ἀφελόμενος ἀντ᾽ αὐτοῦ κατέστησεν ἀρχιερέα Ἐλιωναῖον τὸν τοῦ Κιθαίρου παῖδα.

(2) [343] Τρίτον δὲ ἔτος αὐτῷ βασιλεύοντι τῆς ὅλης Ἰουδαίας πεπλήρωτο, καὶ παρῆν εἰς πόλιν Καισάρειαν, ἣ τὸ πρότερον Στράτωνος πύργος ἐκαλεῖτο. συνετέλει δ᾽ ἐνταῦθα θεωρίας εἰς τὴν Καίσαρος τιμὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου σωτηρίας ἑορτήν τινα ταύτην ἐπιστάμενος, καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτὴν ἤθροιστο τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἐν τέλει καὶ προβεβηκότων εἰς ἀξίαν πλῆθος. [344] δευτέρᾳ δὴ τῶν θεωριῶν ἡμέρᾳ στολὴν ἐνδὺς ἐξ ἀργύρου πεποιημένην πᾶσαν, ὡς θαυμάσιον ὑφὴν εἶναι, παρῆλθεν εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας. ἔνθα ταῖς πρώταις τῶν ἡλιακῶν ἀκτίνων ἐπιβολαῖς ὁ ἄργυρος καταυγασθεὶς θαυμασίως ἀπέστιλβε μαρμαίρων τι φοβερὸν καὶ τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀτενίζουσι φρικῶδες. [345] εὐθὺς δὲ οἱ κόλακες τὰς οὐδὲ ἐκείνῳ πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν φωνὰς ἀνεβόων, θεὸν προσαγορεύοντες εὐμενής τε εἴης ἐπιλέγοντες, εἰ καὶ μέχρι νῦν ὡς ἄνθρωπον ἐφοβήθημεν, ἀλλὰ τοὐντεῦθεν κρείττονά σε θνητῆς φύ [346] σεως ὁμολογοῦμεν.” οὐκ ἐπέπληξεν τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐδὲ τὴν κολακείαν ἀσεβοῦσαν ἀπετρίψατο. ἀνακύψας δ᾽ οὖν μετ᾽ ὀλίγον τὸν βουβῶνα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλῆς ὑπερκαθιζόμενον εἶδεν ἐπὶ σχοινίου τινός. ἄγγελον τοῦτον εὐθὺς ἐνόησεν κακῶν εἶναι τὸν καί ποτε τῶν ἀγαθῶν γενόμενον, καὶ διακάρδιον ἔσχεν ὀδύνην, ἄθρουν δ᾽ αὐτῷ τῆς κοιλίας προσέφυσεν ἄλγημα μετὰ σφοδρότητος ἀρξάμενον. [347] ἀναθορὼν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, “ὁ θεὸς ὑμῖν ἐγώ, φησίν, ἤδη καταστρέφειν

ἐπιτάττομαι τὸν βίον, παραχρῆμα τῆς εἱμαρμένης τὰς ἄρτι μου κατεψευσμένας φωνὰς ἐλεγχούσης: ὁ κληθεὶς ἀθάνατος ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν ἤδη θανεῖν ἀπάγομαι. δεκτέον δὲ τὴν πεπρωμένην, ᾗ θεὸς βεβούληται: καὶ γὰρ βεβιώκαμεν οὐδαμῇ φαύλως, [348] ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τῆς μακαριζομένης λαμπρότητος.” ταῦθ᾽ ἅμα λέγων ἐπιτάσει τῆς ὀδύνης κατεπονεῖτο: μετὰ σπουδῆς οὖν εἰς τὸ βασίλειον ἐκομίσθη καὶ διῇξε λόγος εἰς πάντας, ὡς ἔχοι τοῦ τεθνάναι παντάπασι μετ᾽ ὀλίγον. [349] ἡ πληθὺς δ᾽ αὐτίκα σὺν γυναιξὶν καὶ παισὶν ἐπὶ σάκκων καθεσθεῖσα τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ τὸν θεὸν ἱκέτευεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως, οἰμωγῆς δὲ πάντ᾽ ἦν ἀνάπλεα καὶ θρήνων. ἐν ὑψηλῷ δ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς δωματίῳ κατακείμενος καὶ κάτω βλέπων αὐτοὺς πρηνεῖς καταπίπτοντας ἄδακρυς οὐδ᾽ αὐτὸς διέμενεν. [350] συνεχεῖς δ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας πέντε τῷ τῆς γαστρὸς ἀλγήματι διεργασθεὶς τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν, ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἄγων πεντηκοστὸν ἔτος καὶ τέταρτον, τῆς βασιλείας δ᾽ ἕβδομον. [351] τέτταρας μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Γαίου Καίσαρος ἐβασίλευσεν ἐνιαυτοὺς τῆς Φιλίππου μὲν τετραρχίας εἰς τριετίαν ἄρξας, τῷ τετάρτῳ δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἡρώδου προσειληφώς, τρεῖς δ᾽ ἐπιλαβὼν τῆς Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος αὐτοκρατορίας, ἐν οἷς τῶν τε προειρημένων ἐβασίλευσεν καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προσέλαβεν Σαμάρειάν τε καὶ Καισάρειαν. [352] προσωδεύσατο δ᾽ ὅτι πλείστας αὐτῶν προσφορὰς διακοσίας ἐπὶ χιλίαις μυριάδας, πολλὰ μέντοι προσεδανείσατο: τῷ γὰρ φιλόδωρος εἶναι δαψιλέστερα τῶν προσιόντων ἀνήλισκεν, ἦν δὲ ἀφειδὲς αὐτοῦ τὸ φιλότιμον.

(3) [353] Ἀγνοουμένης γε μὴν τοῖς πλήθεσιν τῆς ἐκπνοῆς αὐτοῦ συμφρονήσαντες Ἡρώδης τε ὁ τῆς Χαλκίδος δυναστεύων καὶ Ἑλκίας ὁ ἔπαρχος καὶ φίλος τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀρίστωνα ἔπεμψαν τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τὸν ἐπιτήδειον καὶ Σίλαν, ἐχθρὸς γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς, ἀπέσφαξαν ὡς δὴ τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσαντος.

IX

(1) [354] Ἀγρίππας μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ κατέστρεψεν τὸν βίον, γένει δὲ αὐτῷ κατελέλειπτο υἱὸς μὲν Ἀγρίππας ἄγων ἔτος ἑπτακαιδέκατον, τρεῖς δὲ θυγατέρες, ὧν ἡ μὲν Ἡρώδῃ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀδελφῷ γεγάμητο Βερενίκη τὸ ἑκκαιδέκατον ἔτος γεγονυῖα, παρθένοι δ᾽ ἦσαν αἱ δύο Μαριάμμη τε καὶ Δρούσιλλα, δεκαετὴς μὲν ἡ ἑτέρα, ἑξαετὴς δὲ Δρούσιλλα: [355] καθωμολόγηντο δ᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς γάμον Ἰουλίῳ μὲν Ἀρχελάῳ τοῦ Χελκίου παιδὶ Μαριάμμη, Δρούσιλλα δὲ Ἐπιφανεῖ, τοῦ δὲ τῆς Κομμαγηνῆς βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου υἱὸς ἦν οὗτος. [356] ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅτε ἐγνώσθη τὸν βίον ἐκλιπὼν Ἀγρίππας, Καισαρεῖς καὶ Σεβαστηνοὶ τῶν εὐποιιῶν αὐτοῦ λαθόμενοι τὰ τῶν δυσμενεστάτων ἐποίησαν: [357] βλασφημίας τε γὰρ ἀπερρίπτουν εἰς τὸν κατοιχόμενον ἀπρεπεῖς λέγεσθαι καὶ ὅσοι στρατευόμενοι τότε ἔτυχον, συχνοὶ δ᾽ ἦσαν, οἴκαδε ἀπῆλθον καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρων ἁρπάσαντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐκόμισαν εἰς τὰ πορνεῖα καὶ στήσαντες ἐπὶ τῶν τεγῶν ὡς δυνατὸν ἦν ἀφύβριζον

ἀσχημονέστερα διηγήσεως δρῶντες, [358] ἐπί τε τοῖς δημοσίοις κατακλινόμενοι τόποις πανδήμους ἑστιάσεις ἐπετέλουν στεφανούμενοι καὶ μυριζόμενοι καὶ σπένδοντες τῷ Χάρωνι προπόσεις τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκπνοῆς ἀλλήλοις ἀνταποδιδόντες. [359] ἀμνήμονες δ' ἦσαν οὐκ Ἀγρίππα μόνον χρησαμένου πολλαῖς εἰς αὐτοὺς φιλοτιμίαις, καὶ τοῦ πάππου δὲ Ἡρώδου: τὰς πόλεις ἐκεῖνος αὐτοῖς ἔκτισεν λιμένας τε καὶ ναοὺς κατεσκεύασεν λαμπροῖς δαπανήμασιν.

(2) [360] Ὁ δὲ τοῦ τεθνεῶτος υἱὸς Ἀγρίππας ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἦν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ τρεφόμενος παρὰ Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι. [361] πυθόμενός γε μὴν Καῖσαρ, ὅτι τέθνηκεν Ἀγρίππας, Σεβαστηνοὶ δὲ καὶ Καισαρεῖς ὑβρίκασιν εἰς αὐτόν, ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἤλγησεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀχαριστήσαντας ὠργίσθη. [362] πέμπειν οὖν εὐθέως ὥρμητο τὸν νεώτερον Ἀγρίππαν τὴν βασιλείαν διαδεξόμενον ἅμα βουλόμενος ἐμπεδοῦν τοὺς ὀμωμοσμένους ὅρκους, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐξελευθέρων καὶ φίλων οἱ πολὺ παρ' αὐτῷ δυνάμενοι ἀπέτρεψαν, σφαλερὸν εἶναι λέγοντες κομιδῇ νέῳ μηδὲ τοὺς παιδὸς ἐκβεβηκότι χρόνους ἐπιτρέπειν βασιλείας τηλικοῦτον μέγεθος, ᾧ μὴ δυνατὸν τὰς τῆς διοικήσεως φροντίδας ἐνεγκεῖν, καὶ τελείῳ δ' οὖν εἶναι βαρὺ βάσταγμα βασιλείαν. [363] ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοὺς εἰκότα λέγειν ὁ Καῖσαρ. ἔπαρχον οὖν τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τῆς ἁπάσης βασιλείας ἀπέστειλεν Κούσπιον Φᾶδον τῷ κατοιχομένῳ διδοὺς τιμὴν τὸ μὴ Μάρσον ἐπαγαγεῖν εἰς βασιλείαν αὐτῷ διάφορον. [364] ἐγνώκει δὲ πρὸ πάντων ἐπιστεῖλαι τῷ Φάδῳ Καισαρεῦσιν καὶ Σεβαστηνοῖς ἐπιπλῆξαι τῆς εἰς τὸν κατοιχόμενον ὕβρεως καὶ παροινίας εἰς τὰς ἔτι ζώσας, [365] τὴν ἴλην δὲ τῶν Καισαρέων καὶ τῶν Σεβαστηνῶν καὶ τὰς πέντε σπείρας εἰς Πόντον μεταγαγεῖν, ἵν' ἐκεῖ στρατεύοιντο, τῶν δ' ἐν Συρίᾳ Ῥωμαικῶν ταγμάτων ἐπιλέξαι στρατιώτας κατ' ἀριθμοὺς καὶ τὸν ἐκείνων ἀναπληρῶσαι τόπον. [366] οὐ μὴν οἱ κελευσθέντες μετέστησαν: πρεσβευσάμενοι γὰρ Κλαύδιον ἀπεμειλίξαντο καὶ μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπέτυχον, οἳ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιοῦσι χρόνοις τῶν μεγίστων Ἰουδαίοις ἐγένοντο συμφορῶν ἀρχὴ τοῦ κατὰ Φλῶρον πολέμου σπέρματα βαλόντες. ὅθεν Οὐεσπασιανὸς κρατήσας, ὡς μετ' ὀλίγον ἐροῦμεν, ἐξήγαγεν αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐπαρχίας.

Liber XX

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ κ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Ὡς Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ μετὰ τὴν Ἀγρίππου τελευτὴν Φᾶδον ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἐπίτροπον.

β. στάσις Φιλαδελφηνῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Περαίᾳ κατοικοῦντας Ἰουδαίους περὶ ὅρων κώμης μιᾶς, καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ τούτων πολλῶν ἀναιρεθέντων Φιλαδελφηνῶν Φᾶδος ἀγανακτήσας τῶν Περαιτῶν Ἰουδαίων τοὺς πρώτους τρεῖς ἄνδρας λαβὼν ἀπέκτεινεν.

γ. ὡς Θολεμαῖος ὁ ἀρχιλῃστὴς τοὺς Ἄραβας λῃστεύων ληφθεὶς καὶ ἐπὶ Φᾶδον ἀχθεὶς ἀνῃρέθη.

δ. ὡς Φᾶδος καὶ Κάσσιος Λογγῖνος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμὼν ἀναβάντες εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκέλευσαν τὸν ποδήρη καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν στολὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀντωνίᾳ καταθέσθαι ὑπὸ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐξουσίᾳ, καθὰ καὶ πρότερον ἦν.

ε. παράκλησις ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρὸς Φᾶδον καὶ Λογγῖνον ἀξιούντων αὐτοὺς ἐπιτρέψαι πέμψαι πρεσβείαν πρὸς Καίσαρα Κλαύδιον περὶ τούτου.

ς. ὡς Φᾶδος λαβὼν ὁμήρους ἐπέτρεψεν.

ζ. ὡς Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ παρακληθεὶς ὑπ᾽ Ἀγρίππα τοῦ νεωτέρου συνεχώρησεν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τὰ αἰτήματα καὶ πρὸς Φᾶδον ἔγραψε περὶ τούτων.

η. ὃν τρόπον Ἑλένη ἡ τῶν Ἀδιαβηνῶν βασιλὶς καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτῆς Μονόβαζος καὶ Ἰζάτης καὶ τὸ πᾶν γένος αὐτῶν ἐζήλωσαν τὰ Ἰουδαίων ἔθη.

θ. ὡς Ἡρώδου τελευτήσαντος τοῦ τῆς Χαλκίδος βασιλέως Ἀγρίππας ὁ νεώτερος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν δόντος αὐτῷ Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος.

ι. ὡς Τιβέριος Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπίτροπος εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἐλθὼν τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰούδα τοῦ Γαλιλαίου τὸν ὄχλον ἀπατῶντας ἐκόλασεν.

ια. περὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ τοῦ γενομένου κατὰ τὴν χώραν.

ιβ. Κουμάνου ἄφιξις εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπιτρόπου πεμφθέντος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος.

ιγ. ὡς ἐπὶ τούτου πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀπώλοντο.

ιδ. στάσις Ἰουδαίων πρὸς Σαμαρεῖς καὶ ὡς πολλοὶ διεφθάρησαν τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν.

ιε. ὡς Μόδιος Κουαδρᾶτος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμὼν ἀκούσας ταῦτα καὶ ἀναβὰς εἰς Ἰουδαίαν τοὺς πρώτους τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ Σαμαρειτῶν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀναβῆναι, ὁμοίως καὶ Κούμανον τὸν ἐπίτροπον καὶ Κέλερα τὸν χιλίαρχον λόγον ὑφέξοντας Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων, τινὰς δὲ καὶ Ἰουδαίων αὐτὸς ἐκόλασεν.

ις. ὡς Κλαύδιος ἀκούσας αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους τῆς αἰτίας ἀπέλυσεν παρακληθεὶς ὑπὸ βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα, Κούμανον δὲ ἐξώρισε, Κέλερα δὲ τὸν χιλίαρχον καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν ἐκόλασεν.

ιζ. ὡς Φῆλιξ ἐπίτροπος πεμφθεὶς καὶ καταλαβὼν τὴν χώραν κεκακωμένην ὑπὸ τῶν λῃστῶν προυνοήσατο διαφθείρας αὐτοὺς εἰρήνην ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καταστῆσαι, τὸν δὲ πρῶτον τῶν λῃστῶν Ἐλεάζαρον ὄνομα δήσας εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνέπεμψεν.

ιη. ὡς ἐπιδημήσαντος Αἰγυπτίου τινὸς γόητος καὶ πολλῶν Ἰουδαίων ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πλανηθέντων Φῆλιξ ἐπεξελθὼν αὐτοῖς πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν.

ιθ. ὡς στασιάζοντας Ἰουδαίων τοὺς πρώτους ἐν Καισαρείᾳ πρὸς τοὺς Σύρους Φῆλιξ ὁ ἐπίτροπος ἔπαυσεν.

[κ. ὃν τρόπον Κλαυδίου τελευτήσαντος Νέρων τὴν ἀρχὴν διεδέξατο.]

κα. ὡς Πορκίου Φήστου πεμφθέντος εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἐπιτρόπου συνέβη κακωθῆναι τὴν χώραν ὑπὸ τῶν σικαρίων.

κβ. περὶ τῆς στοᾶς τοῦ ἔσωθεν ἱεροῦ καὶ ὃν τρόπον ὕψωσαν αὐτὴν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι.

κγ. ὡς Φῆστος ἀγανακτήσας ἐπὶ τούτῳ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν πρὸς Νέρωνα πείσοντας αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων.

κδ. ὡς τελευτήσαντος Φήστου ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ Ἀλβῖνος ἦλθεν διάδοχος.

κε. ὡς ἐπὶ τούτου ἐπαύσαντο οἱ σικάριοι τὴν χώραν κακοποιεῖν.

κς. ὡς Φλῶρος ἐλθὼν Ἀλβίνῳ διάδοχος τοσαῦτα διέθηκε τοὺς Ἰουδαίους κακά, ὡς ἀναγκάσαι αὐτοὺς ἐφ᾽ ὅπλα χωρῆσαι.

κζ. περὶ Ἰωσήπου καὶ γένους αὐτοῦ καὶ πολιτείας.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν κς.

I

(1) [1] Τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα, καθὼς ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης ἀπηγγέλκαμεν βίβλῳ, πέμπει Μάρσῳ διάδοχον Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Κάσσιον Λογγῖνον, μνήμῃ τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦτο χαριζόμενος, πολλὰ διὰ γραμμάτων ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ περιόντος ἀξιωθεὶς μηκέτι Μάρσον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν πραγμάτων προίστασθαι. [2] Φᾶδος δὲ ὡς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπίτροπος ἀφίκετο, καταλαμβάνει στασιάσαντας τοὺς τὴν Περαίαν κατοικοῦντας Ἰουδαίους πρὸς Φιλαδελφηνοὺς περὶ ὅρων κώμης μιᾶς λεγομένης πολεμίων ἀνδρῶν ἀνάπλεω: καὶ δὴ οἱ τῆς Περαίας χωρὶς γνώμης τῆς τῶν πρώτων παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα πολλοὺς τῶν Φιλαδελφηνῶν διαφθείρουσιν. [3] ταῦτα πυθόμενον τὸν Φᾶδον σφόδρα παρώξυνεν, ὅτι μὴ τὴν κρίσιν αὐτῷ παραλίποιεν, εἴπερ ὑπὸ τῶν Φιλαδελφηνῶν ἐνόμιζον ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ὅπλα χωρήσειαν. [4] λαβὼν οὖν τρεῖς τοὺς πρώτους αὐτῶν τοὺς καὶ τῆς στάσεως αἰτίους δῆσαι προσέταξεν, εἶτα

τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν ἀνεῖλεν, Ἀννίβας δ᾽ ἦν ὄνομα τούτῳ, Ἀμαράμῳ δὲ καὶ Ἐλεαζάρῳ τοῖς δυσὶ φυγὴν ἐπέβαλεν. [5] ἀναιρεῖται δὲ καὶ Θολομαῖος ὁ ἀρχιλῃστὴς μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἀχθεὶς ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν διατεθεικὼς μέγιστα κακὰ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν καὶ τοὺς Ἄραβας, ἐκαθάρθη τε λῃστηρίων ἅπασα τοὐντεῦθεν Ἰουδαία προνοίᾳ καὶ φροντίδι τῇ Φάδου: [6] ὃς δὴ καὶ τότε μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν παρῄνεσεν αὐτοῖς τὸν ποδήρη χιτῶνα καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν στολήν, ἣν φορεῖν μόνος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἔθος ἔχει, εἰς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν, ἥπερ ἐστὶ φρούριον, καταθέσθαι κεισομένην ὑπὸ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐξουσίᾳ, καθὰ δὴ καὶ πρότερον ἦν. [7] οἱ δὲ ἀντιλέγειν μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμων, παρεκάλουν δ᾽ ὅμως τόν τε Φᾶδον καὶ τὸν Λογγῖνον, ἀφίκετο γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πολλὴν ἐπαγόμενος δύναμιν φόβῳ τοῦ μὴ τὰ προστάγματα Φάδου τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων νεωτερίζειν ἀναγκάσῃ, πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέψαι πρέσβεις ὡς Καίσαρα πέμψαι τοὺς αἰτησομένους παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἱερὰν στολὴν ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτῶν ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν, εἶτα δὲ περιμεῖναι μέχρις ἂν γνῶσιν, τί πρὸς ταῦτα Κλαύδιος ἀποκρίναιτο. [8] οἱ δὲ ἐπιτρέψειν αὐτοῖς ἔφασαν ἀποστεῖλαι τοὺς πρέσβεις, εἰ λάβοιεν τοὺς παῖδας ὁμηρεύσοντας. ὑπακουσάντων δ᾽ ἑτοίμως ἐκείνων καὶ δόντων ἐξεπέμφθησαν οἱ πρέσβεις. [9] παραγενομένων δὲ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτῶν γνοὺς ὁ νεώτερος Ἀγρίππας ὁ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος παῖς, καθ᾽ ἣν ἤκουσιν αἰτίαν, ἐτύγχανεν δὲ ὢν παρὰ Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι, καθὼς καὶ πρότερον εἴπομεν, παρακαλεῖ τὸν Καίσαρα συγχωρῆσαι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἅπερ ἠξίουν περὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς στολῆς καὶ Φάδῳ περὶ τούτων ἐπιστεῖλαι.

(2) [10] Καλέσας δὲ Κλαύδιος τοὺς πρέσβεις ἔφη ταῦτα συγχωρεῖν καὶ ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς Ἀγρίππᾳ χάριν εἰδέναι, ταῦτα γὰρ ἐκείνου ποιεῖν ἀξιώσαντος, ἐπί τε ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν τοιαύτην ἐπιστολὴν ἔδωκεν: [11] "Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Γερμανικὸς δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ πέμπτον ὕπατος ἀποδεδειγμένος τὸ τέταρτον αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ δέκατον πατὴρ πατρίδος Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ Ἰουδαίων παντὶ ἔθνει χαίρειν. [12] Ἀγρίππα τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ὃν ἐγὼ ἔθρεψα καὶ ἔχω σὺν ἐμαυτῷ εὐσεβέστατον ὄντα, προσαγαγόντος μοι τοὺς ὑμετέρους πρέσβεις εὐχαριστοῦντας ἐφ᾽ ᾗ πεποίημαι τοῦ ἔθνους ὑμῶν κηδεμονίᾳ, καὶ αἰτησαμένων σπουδαίως καὶ φιλοτίμως τὴν ἱερὰν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὸν στέφανον ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὑμῶν εἶναι, συγχωρῶ καθὼς ὁ κράτιστος καί μοι τιμιώτατος Οὐιτέλλιος ἐποίησεν. [13] συγκατεθέμην δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ πρῶτον διὰ τὸ ἐμαυτοῦ εὐσεβὲς καὶ τὸ βούλεσθαι ἑκάστους κατὰ τὰ πάτρια θρησκεύειν, ἔπειτα δὲ εἰδώς, ὅτι καὶ αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ Ἡρώδῃ καὶ Ἀριστοβούλῳ τῷ νεωτέρῳ, ὧν τὴν πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν περὶ ὑμᾶς γινώσκω σπουδήν Ταῦτα ποιήσας, πρὸς οὓς ἔστι μοι πλεῖστα δίκαια φιλίας κρατίστους ὄντας κἀμοὶ τιμίους. [14] ἔγραψα δὲ περὶ τούτων καὶ Κουσπίῳ Φάδῳ τῷ ‘μῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ. οἱ τὰ γράμματα κομίζοντες Κορνήλιος Κέρωνος Τρύφων Θευδίωνος Δωρόθεος Ναθαναήλου Ἰωάννης

Ἰωάννου. ἐγράφη πρὸ τεσσάρων καλανδῶν ἐΠὶ ὑπάτων Ῥούφου καὶ Πομπηίου Σιλουανοῦ.”

(3) [15] Ἠιτήσατο δὲ καὶ Ἡρώδης, ὁ ἀδελφὸς μὲν Ἀγρίππα τοῦ τετελευτηκότος, Χαλκίδος δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον πεπιστευμένος, Κλαύδιον Καίσαρα τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ νεὼ καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀρχιερέων χειροτονίαν, πάντων τε ἐπέτυχεν. [16] ἐξ ἐκείνου τε πᾶσι τοῖς ἀπογόνοις αὐτοῦ παρέμεινεν ἡ ἐξουσία μέχρι τῆς τοῦ πολέμου τελευτῆς. καὶ δὴ ὁ Ἡρώδης μεθίστησιν τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης τὸν ἐπικαλούμενον Κανθήραν Ἰωσήπῳ τῷ Καμεὶ ἀντ᾽ ἐκείνου τὴν διαδοχὴν τῆς τιμῆς παρασχόμενος.

II

(1) [17] Κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τῶν Ἀδιαβηνῶν βασιλὶς Ἑλένη καὶ ὁ παῖς αὐτῆς Ἰζάτης εἰς τὰ Ἰουδαίων ἔθη τὸν βίον μετέβαλον διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν: [18] Μονόβαζος ὁ τῶν Ἀδιαβηνῶν βασιλεύς, ᾧ καὶ Βαζαῖος ἐπίκλησις ἦν, τῆς ἀδελφῆς Ἑλένης ἁλοὺς ἔρωτι τῇ πρὸς γάμου κοινωνίᾳ ἄγεται καὶ κατέστησεν ἐγκύμονα. συγκαθεύδων δέ ποτε τῇ γαστρὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τὴν χεῖρα προσαναπαύσας ἡνίκα καθύπνωσεν, φωνῆς τινος ἔδοξεν ὑπακούειν κελευούσης αἴρειν ἀπὸ τῆς νηδύος τὴν χεῖρα καὶ μὴ θλίβειν τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ βρέφος θεοῦ προνοίᾳ καὶ ἀρχῆς τυχὸν καὶ τέλους εὐτυχοῦς τευξόμενον. [19] ταραχθεὶς οὖν ὑπὸ τῆς φωνῆς εὐθὺς διεγερθεὶς ἔφραζε τῇ γυναικὶ ταῦτα, καί γε τὸν υἱὸν Ἰζάτην ἐπεκάλεσεν. [20] ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ Μονόβαζος τούτου πρεσβύτερος ἐκ τῆς Ἑλένης γενόμενος ἄλλοι τε παῖδες ἐξ ἑτέρων γυναικῶν. τὴν μέντοι πᾶσαν εὔνοιαν ὡς εἰς μονογενῆ τὸν Ἰζάτην ἔχων φανερὸς ἦν. [21] φθόνος δὲ τοὐντεῦθεν τῷ παιδὶ παρὰ τῶν ὁμοπατρίων ἀδελφῶν ἐφύετο κἀκ τούτου μῖσος ηὔξετο λυπουμένων ἁπάντων, ὅτι τὸν Ἰζάτην αὐτῶν ὁ πατὴρ προτιμᾷη. [22] ταῦτα δὲ καίπερ σαφῶς αἰσθανόμενος ὁ πατὴρ ἐκείνοις μὲν συνεγίνωσκεν ὡς μὴ διὰ κακίαν αὐτὸ πάσχουσιν ἀλλ᾽ ἤτοι παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἀξιῶν εὐνοίας τυγχάνειν, τὸν δὲ νεανίαν, σφόδρα γὰρ ἐδεδοίκει περὶ αὐτοῦ, μὴ μισούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν πάθοι τι, πολλὰ δωρησάμενος πρὸς Ἀβεννήριγον ἐκπέμπει τὸν Σπασίνου χάρακος βασιλέα, παρακατατιθέμενος ἐκείνῳ τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς σωτηρίαν. [23] ὁ δὲ Ἀβεννήριγος ἄσμενός τε δέχεται τὸν νεανίαν καὶ διὰ πολλῆς εὐνοίας ἄγων γυναῖκα μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν θυγατέρα, Σαμαχὼς δ᾽ ἦν ὄνομα ταύτῃ, δίδωσι: δωρεῖται δὲ χώραν, ἐξ ἧς μεγάλας λήψοιτο προσόδους.

(2) [24] Μονόβαζος δὲ ἤδη γηραιὸς ὢν καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ὀλίγον αὐτῷ τὸν λοιπὸν ὁρῶν χρόνον ἠθέλησεν εἰς ὄψιν ἀφικέσθαι τῷ παιδὶ πρὸ τοῦ τελευτῆσαι. μεταπεμψάμενος οὖν αὐτὸν ἀσπάζεται φιλοφρονέστατα, καὶ χώραν δίδωσιν Καρρῶν λεγομένην. [25] φέρειν δ᾽ ἡ γῆ πλεῖστον τὸ ἄμωμον ἀγαθή: ἔστι δ᾽ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τὰ λείψανα τῆς λάρνακος, ᾗ Νῶχον ἐκ τῆς ἐπομβρίας διασεσῶσθαι

λόγος ἔχει, καὶ μέχρι νῦν ταῦτα τοῖς ἰδεῖν βουλομένοις ἐπιδείκνυται. [26] διέτριβεν οὖν ὁ Ἰζάτης ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς τοῦ πατρός. ᾗ δ' ἐξέλιπεν ἡμέρᾳ τὸν βίον ὁ Μονόβαζος ἡ βασιλὶς Ἑλένη μεταπέμπεται πάντας τοὺς μεγιστᾶνας καὶ τῆς βασιλείας σατράπας καὶ τοὺς τὰς δυνάμεις πεπιστευμένους. [27] οἷς ἀφικομένοις, "ὅτι μὲν ὁ ἐμὸς ἀνήρ, εἶπε, τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῷ διάδοχον Ἰζάτην ηὔξατο γενέσθαι καὶ τοῦτον ἄξιον ἔκρινεν, οὐδ' ὑμᾶς λεληθέναι δοκῶ, περιμένω δὲ ὅμως καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν κρίσιν: μακάριος γὰρ οὐχ ὁ παρ' ἑνός, [28] ἀλλὰ πλειόνων καὶ θελόντων τὴν ἀρχὴν λαμβάνων." ἡ μὲν ταῦτ' εἶπεν ἐπὶ πείρᾳ τοῦ τί φρονοῖεν οἱ συγκληθέντες: οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες πρῶτον μὲν προσεκύνησαν τὴν βασιλίδα, καθὼς ἔθος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς, εἶτ' ἔφασαν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως γνώμην βεβαιοῦν καὶ ὑπακούσεσθαι χαίροντες Ἰζάτῃ δικαίως ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς προκριθέντι τῶν ἀδελφῶν κατὰ τὰς εὐχὰς τὰς ἁπάντων. [29] βούλεσθαί τ' ἔφασαν προαποκτεῖναι πρῶτον αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ συγγενεῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἰζάτην μετ' ἀσφαλείας κατασχεῖν: φθαρέντων γὰρ ἐκείνων καθαιρεθήσεσθαι πάντα τὸν φόβον τὸν ὑπὸ μίσους τοῦ παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ φθόνου γινόμενον. [30] πρὸς ταῦτα ἡ Ἑλένη χάριν μὲν αὐτοῖς ὡμολόγει τῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν Ἰζάτην εὐνοίας ἔχειν, παρεκάλει δ' ὅμως ἐπισχεῖν τὴν περὶ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως τῶν ἀδελφῶν γνώμην μέχρι ἂν Ἰζάτης παραγενόμενος συνδοκιμάσῃ. [31] οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἀνελεῖν συμβουλεύσαντες οὐκ ἔπεισαν, ἀλλὰ φυλάσσειν αὐτοὺς δεσμίους παρῄνουν μέχρι τῆς ἐκείνου παρουσίας ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τῆς ἑαυτῶν. συνεβούλευον δ' αὐτῇ μεταξὺ προστήσασθαί τινα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπίτροπον, ᾧ μάλιστα πιστεύει. [32] πείθεται τούτοις ἡ Ἑλένη, καὶ καθίστησι τὸν πρεσβύτατον παῖδα Μονόβαζον βασιλέα περιθεῖσα τὸ διάδημα καὶ δοῦσα τὸν σημαντῆρα τοῦ πατρὸς δακτύλιον τήν τε σαμψηρὰν ὀνομαζομένην παρ' αὐτοῖς, διοικεῖν τε τὴν βασιλείαν παρῄνεσεν μέχρι τῆς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ παρουσίας. [33] ἦκε δ' οὗτος ταχέως ἀκούσας τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν καὶ διαδέχεται τὸν ἀδελφὸν Μονόβαζον ὑπεκστάντος τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῷ.

(3) [34] Καθ' ὃν δὲ χρόνον ὁ Ἰζάτης ἐν τῷ Σπασίνου χάρακι διέτριβεν Ἰουδαῖός τις ἔμπορος Ἀνανίας ὄνομα πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας εἰσιὼν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐδίδασκεν αὐτὰς τὸν θεὸν σέβειν, ὡς Ἰουδαίοις πάτριον ἦν, [35] καὶ δὴ δι' αὐτῶν εἰς γνῶσιν ἀφικόμενος τῷ Ἰζάτῃ κἀκεῖνον ὁμοίως συνανέπεισεν μετακληθέντι τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰς τὴν Ἀδιαβηνὴν συνεξῆλθεν κατὰ πολλὴν ὑπακούσας δέησιν: συνεβεβήκει δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην ὁμοίως ὑφ' ἑτέρου τινὸς Ἰουδαίου διδαχθεῖσαν εἰς τοὺς ἐκείνων μετακεκομίσθαι νόμους. [36] ὁ δ' Ἰζάτης ὡς παρέλαβεν τὴν βασιλείαν, ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἀδιαβηνὴν καὶ θεασάμενος τούς τε ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συγγενεῖς δεδεμένους ἐδυσχέρανεν τῷ γεγονότι. [37] καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀνελεῖν ἢ φυλάττειν δεδεμένους ἀσεβὲς ἡγούμενος, τὸ δὲ μνησικακοῦντας ἔχειν σὺν αὐτῷ μὴ δεδεμένους σφαλερὸν εἶναι νομίζων, τοὺς μὲν ὁμηρεύσοντας μετὰ

τέκνων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐξέπεμψε Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς Ἀρταβάνην τὸν Πάρθον ἐφ᾽ ὁμοίαις προφάσεσιν ἀπέστειλεν.

(4) [38] Πυθόμενος δὲ πάνυ τοῖς Ἰουδαίων ἔθεσιν χαίρειν τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἔσπευσε καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς ἐκεῖνα μεταθέσθαι, νομίζων τε μὴ ἂν εἶναι βεβαίως Ἰουδαῖος, εἰ μὴ περιτέμνοιτο, πράττειν ἦν ἕτοιμος. [39] μαθοῦσα δ᾽ ἡ μήτηρ κωλύειν ἐπειρᾶτο ἐπιφέρειν αὐτῷ κίνδυνον λέγουσα: βασιλέα γὰρ εἶναι, καὶ καταστήσειν εἰς πολλὴν δυσμένειαν τοὺς ὑπηκόους μαθόντας, ὅτι ξένων ἐπιθυμήσειεν καὶ ἀλλοτρίων αὐτοῖς ἐθῶν, οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαί τε βασιλεύοντος αὐτῶν Ἰουδαίου. [40] καὶ ἡ μὲν ταῦτ᾽ ἔλεγεν καὶ παντοίως ἐκώλυεν. ὁ δ᾽ εἰς τὸν Ἀνανίαν τοὺς λόγους ἀνέφερεν. τοῦ δὲ τῇ μητρὶ συμφάσκοντος καὶ συναπειλήσαντος ὡς εἰ μὴ πείθοι καταλιπὼν ἄπεισιν: [41] δεδοικέναι γὰρ ἔλεγεν, μὴ τοῦ πράγματος ἐκδήλου πᾶσιν γενομένου κινδυνεύσειε τιμωρίαν ὑποσχεῖν ὡς αὐτὸς αἴτιος τούτων καὶ διδάσκαλος τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀπρεπῶν ἔργων γενόμενος, δυνάμενον δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἔφη καὶ χωρὶς τῆς περιτομῆς τὸ θεῖον σέβειν, εἴγε πάντως κέκρικε ζηλοῦν τὰ πάτρια τῶν Ἰουδαίων: τοῦτ᾽ εἶναι κυριώτερον τοῦ περιτέμνεσθαι: [42] συγγνώμην δ᾽ ἔξειν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν θεὸν φήσαντος μὴ πράξαντι τὸ ἔργον δι᾽ ἀνάγκην καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῶν ὑπηκόων φόβον, ἐπείσθη μὲν τότε τοῖς λόγοις ὁ βασιλεύς. [43] μετὰ ταῦτα δέ, τὴν γὰρ ἐπιθυμίαν οὐκ ἐξεβεβλήκει παντάπασιν, Ἰουδαῖός τις ἕτερος ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἀφικόμενος Ἐλεάζαρος ὄνομα πάνυ περὶ τὰ πάτρια δοκῶν ἀκριβὴς εἶναι προετρέψατο πρᾶξαι τοὖργον. [44] ἐπεὶ γὰρ εἰσῆλθεν ἀσπασόμενος αὐτὸν καὶ κατέλαβε τὸν Μωυσέος νόμον ἀναγινώσκοντα, “λανθάνεις, εἶπεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ μέγιστα τοὺς νόμους καὶ δι᾽ αὐτῶν τὸν θεὸν ἀδικῶν: οὐ γὰρ ἀναγινώσκειν σε δεῖ μόνον αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρότερον τὰ προστασσόμενα ποιεῖν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν. [45] μέχρι τίνος ἀπερίτμητος μενεῖς; ἀλλ᾽ εἰ μήπω τὸν περὶ τούτου νόμον ἀνέγνως, ἵν᾽ εἰδῇς τίς ἐστιν ἡ ἀσέβεια, νῦν [46] ἀνάγνωθι.” ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐχ ὑπερεβάλετο τὴν πρᾶξιν, μεταστὰς δ᾽ εἰς ἕτερον οἴκημα καὶ τὸν ἰατρὸν εἰσκαλεσάμενος τὸ προσταχθὲν ἐτέλει καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος τήν τε μητέρα καὶ τὸν διδάσκαλον Ἀνανίαν ἐσήμαινεν αὐτὸν πεπραχέναι τοὖργον. [47] τοὺς δ᾽ ἔκπληξις εὐθὺς ἔλαβεν καὶ φόβος οὔτι μέτριος, μὴ τῆς πράξεως εἰς ἔλεγχον ἐλθούσης κινδυνεύσειεν μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποβαλεῖν οὐκ ἀνασχομένων τῶν ὑπηκόων ἄρχειν αὐτῶν ἄνδρα τῶν παρ᾽ ἑτέροις ζηλωτὴν ἐθῶν, κινδυνεύσειαν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῆς αἰτίας ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐνεχθείσης. [48] θεὸς δ᾽ ἦν ὁ κωλύσων ἄρα τοὺς ἐκείνων φόβους ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τέλος: πολλοῖς γὰρ αὐτόν τε τὸν Ἰζάτην περιπεσόντα κινδύνοις καὶ παῖδας τοὺς ἐκείνου διέσωσεν ἐξ ἀμηχάνων πόρον εἰς σωτηρίαν παρασχών, ἐπιδεικνὺς ὅτι τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀποβλέπουσιν καὶ μόνῳ πεπιστευκόσιν ὁ καρπὸς οὐκ ἀπόλλυται ὁ τῆς εὐσεβείας. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἀπαγγελοῦμεν.

(5) [49] Ἑλένη δὲ ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως μήτηρ ὁρῶσα τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν εἰρηνευόμενα, τὸν δὲ υἱὸν αὐτῆς μακάριον καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι ζηλωτὸν καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοεθνέσι διὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν, ἐπιθυμίαν ἔσχεν εἰς τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ἀφικομένη τὸ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις περιβόητον ἱερὸν τοῦ θεοῦ προσκυνῆσαι καὶ χαριστηρίους θυσίας προσενεγκεῖν, ἐδεῖτό τε τοῦ παιδὸς ἐπιτρέψαι. [50] τοῦ δὲ πάνυ προθύμως τῇ μητρὶ παρακαλούσῃ κατανεύσαντος καὶ πολλὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν εἰς τὴν ἀποστολὴν ἑτοιμασαμένου καὶ χρήματα πλεῖστα δόντος, καταβαίνει εἰς τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν προπέμποντος ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦ παιδός. [51] γίνεται δὲ αὐτῆς ἡ ἄφιξις πάνυ συμφέρουσα τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις: λιμοῦ γὰρ αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον πιεζοῦντος καὶ πολλῶν ὑπ᾽ ἐνδείας ἀναλωμάτων φθειρομένων ἡ βασιλὶς Ἑλένη πέμπει τινὰς τῶν ἑαυτῆς, τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πολλῶν σῖτον ὠνησομένους χρημάτων, τοὺς δ᾽ εἰς Κύπρον ἰσχάδων φόρτον οἴσοντας. [52] ὡς δ᾽ ἐπανῆλθον ταχέως κομίζοντες τοῖς ἀπορουμένοις διένειμε τροφὴν καὶ μεγίστην αὐτῆς μνήμην τῆς εὐποιίας ταύτης εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἡμῶν ἔθνος καταλέλοιπε. [53] πυθόμενος δὲ καὶ ὁ παῖς αὐτῆς Ἰζάτης τὰ περὶ τὸν λιμὸν ἔπεμψε πολλὰ χρήματα τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἃ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἀγαθὰ πέπρακται μετὰ ταῦτα δηλώσομεν.

III

(1) [54] Ὁ δὲ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλεὺς Ἀρταβάνης αἰσθόμενος τοὺς σατράπας ἐπιβουλὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν συντεθεικότας, μένειν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλὲς οὐχ ὁρῶν ἔγνω πρὸς Ἰζάτην ἀπαίρειν, πόρον παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ βουλόμενος σωτηρίας εὑρέσθαι καὶ κάθοδον εἰς τὴν ἀρχήν, εἰ δυνηθείη. [55] καὶ δὴ ἀφικνεῖται συγγενῶν τε καὶ οἰκετῶν περὶ χιλίους τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπαγόμενος συντυγχάνει τε τῷ Ἰζάτῃ καθ᾽ ὁδόν. [56] αὐτός τε σαφῶς ἐκεῖνον ἐπιστάμενος, ὑπ᾽ Ἰζάτου δὲ οὐ γινωσκόμενος, πλησίον καταστὰς πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ τὸ πάτριον προσεκύνησεν αὐτόν, εἶτα “βασιλεῦ, φησίν, μὴ περιίδῃς με τὸν σὸν ἱκέτην μηδ᾽ ὑπερηφανήσῃς δεομένου: ταπεινὸς γὰρ ἐκ μεταβολῆς γενόμενος καὶ ἐκ βασιλέως ἰδιώτης τῆς σῆς ἐπικουρίας χρῄζω. [57] βλέψον οὖν εἰς τὸ τῆς τύχης ἄστατον καὶ κοινὴν εἶναι νόμισον καὶ ὑπὲρ σαυτοῦ πρόνοιαν: ἐμοῦ γὰρ ἀνεκδικήτου περιοφθέντος ἔσονται θρασύτεροι πολλοὶ καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων. [58] ὁ μὲν ταῦτ᾽ ἔλεγεν δακρύων καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κάτω νεύων, ὁ δὲ Ἰζάτης ὡς ἤκουσε τοὔνομα καὶ εἶδεν ἱκέτην αὐτῷ παρεστῶτα τὸν Ἀρταβάνην, κατεπήδησεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου καί “θάρσησον, [59] εἶπεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μηδέ σε συγχείτω τὸ παρὸν ὡς ἀνήκεστον: ταχεῖα γὰρ ἔσται τῆς λύπης ἡ μεταβολή. φίλον δέ με καὶ σύμμαχον εὑρήσεις κρείττω τῆς ἐλπίδος: ἢ γὰρ εἰς τὴν Πάρθων σε καταστήσω βασιλείαν πάλιν ἢ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐκστήσομαι.”

(2) [60] Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀνεβίβαζεν τὸν Ἀρταβάνην ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον, παρείπετο δ' αὐτὸς πεζὸς τιμὴν ἀπονέμων ταυτηνὶ ὡς ἂν μείζονι βασιλεῖ. θεασάμενος δ' Ἀρταβάνης βαρέως ἤνεγκεν καὶ τὴν ἐφεστῶσαν αὐτῷ τύχην καὶ τιμὴν ἐπωμόσατο καταβήσεσθαι μὴ ‘κείνου πάλιν ἀναβάντος καὶ προηγουμένου. [61] ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἤλατο καὶ ἀγαγὼν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν πᾶσαν τιμὴν ἀπένειμεν ἔν τε συνεδρίαις καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὰς ἑστιάσεις προκατακλίσεσιν, οὐκ εἰς τὸ παρὸν αὐτοῦ τῆς τύχης ἀποβλέπων, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πρότερον ἀξίωμα, καί τι καὶ λογισμῷ διδούς, ὡς κοιναὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἱ μεταβολαὶ τῆς τύχης. [62] γράφει τε πρὸς τοὺς Πάρθους πείθων αὐτοὺς τὸν Ἀρταβάνην ὑποδέξασθαι, πίστιν προτείνων τῆς τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀμνηστίας δεξιὰν καὶ ὅρκους καὶ μεσιτείαν τὴν αὐτοῦ. [63] τῶν δὲ Πάρθων δέξασθαι μὲν αὐτὸν θέλειν οὐκ ἀρνουμένων, μὴ δύνασθαι δὲ λεγόντων διὰ τὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἑτέρῳ πεπιστευκέναι, Κίνναμος δ' ἦν ὄνομα τῷ παρειληφότι, καὶ δεδοικέναι, μὴ στάσις αὐτοὺς ἐκ τούτου καταλάβῃ, [64] μαθὼν τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῶν ὁ Κίνναμος ταύτην αὐτὸς γράφει τῷ Ἀρταβάνῃ, τέθραπτο γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ φύσει δ' ἦν καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός, παρακαλῶν αὐτῷ πιστεύσαντα παραγενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολῃψόμενον τὴν αὐτοῦ. [65] καὶ ὁ Ἀρταβάνης πιστεύσας παρῆν. ὑπαντᾷ δ' αὐτῷ ὁ Κίνναμος καὶ προσκυνήσας βασιλέα τε προσαγορεύσας περιτίθησιν αὐτοῦ τῇ κεφαλῇ τὸ διάδημα ἀφελὼν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ.

(3) [66] Καὶ Ἀρταβάνης οὕτω διὰ Ἰζάτου πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καθίσταται πρότερον αὐτῆς ἐκπεσὼν διὰ τοὺς μεγιστᾶνας. οὐκ ἐγένετο μὴν ἀμνήμων τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν εὐεργεσιῶν, ἀλλ' ἀντιδωρεῖται τὸν Ἰζάτην ταῖς μεγίσταις τιμαῖς παρ' αὐτοῖς: [67] τήν τε γὰρ τιάραν ὀρθὴν ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτῷ φορεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ κλίνης χρυσῆς καθεύδειν, ἅπερ μόνων ἐστὶ γέρα καὶ σημεῖα τῶν Πάρθων βασιλέων. [68] ἔδωκεν δὲ καὶ χώραν πολλὴν αὐτῷ κἀγαθὴν τοῦ τῶν Ἀρμενίων βασιλέως ἀποτεμόμενος, Νίσιβις δέ ἐστιν ὄνομα τῇ γῇ, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ πρότερον Μακεδόνες ἐκτίσαντο πόλιν Ἀντιόχειαν, ἣν Ἐπιμυγδονίαν προσηγόρευσαν. ταύταις μὲν δὴ ταῖς τιμαῖς ὁ Ἰζάτης ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλέως ἐτιμήθη.

(4) [69] Μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον Ἀρταβάνης τελευτᾷ τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ παιδὶ Οὐαρδάνῃ καταλιπών. οὗτος δὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἰζάτην ἀφικόμενος ἔπειθεν αὐτὸν μέλλων πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν συστρατεύεσθαι καὶ συμμαχίαν ἑτοιμάζειν. [70] οὐ μὴν ἔπειθεν: ὁ γὰρ Ἰζάτης τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμίν τε καὶ τύχην ἐπιστάμενος ἀδυνάτοις αὐτὸν ἐνόμιζεν ἐπιχειρεῖν. [71] ἔτι τε πεπομφὼς πέντε μὲν τὸν ἀριθμὸν υἱοὺς τὴν ἡλικίαν νέους γλῶτταν τὴν παρ' ἡμῖν πάτριον καὶ παιδείαν ἀκριβῶς μαθησομένους, τὴν δὲ μητέρα προσκυνήσουσαν τὸ ἱερόν, ὡς προεῖπον, ὀκνηρότερος ἦν καὶ τὸν Οὐαρδάνην ἐκώλυεν συνεχῶς διηγούμενος τὰς Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεις τε καὶ πράξεις, διὰ τούτων οἰόμενος αὐτὸν φοβήσειν καὶ παύσειν ἐπιθυμοῦντα τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατείας. [72] παροξυνθεὶς δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Πάρθος πόλεμον εὐθὺς πρὸς Ἰζάτην κατήγγειλεν. οὐ μὴν ἔλαβεν οὐδὲ τῆς ἐπὶ

τούτῳ στρατείας ὄνησιν τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς ἐλπίδας αὐτοῦ πάσας ὑποτεμόντος: [73] μαθόντες γὰρ οἱ Πάρθοι τὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ Οὐαρδάνου καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατεύειν ἔκρινεν, αὐτὸν μὲν ἀναιροῦσιν, τὴν ἀρχὴν δὲ τῷ ἀδελφῷ Κοτάρδῃ παρέδοσαν. [74] καὶ τοῦτον δὲ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς τελευτήσαντα διαδέχεται Οὐολογέσης ὁ ἀδελφός, ὃς δὴ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοπατρίοις δυσὶν ἀδελφοῖς δυναστείας ἐπίστευσεν, Πακόρῳ μὲν τῷ καὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ τὴν Μήδων, Τιριδάτῃ δὲ τῷ νεωτέρῳ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν.

IV

(1) [75] Ὁ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφὸς Μονόβαζος καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς θεωροῦντες τὸν Ἰζάτην διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβειαν ζηλωτὸν παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις γεγενημένον ἔσχον ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ πάτρια καταλιπόντες ἔθεσι χρῆσθαι τοῖς Ἰουδαίων. [76] γίνεται δ᾽ ἡ πρᾶξις αὐτῶν κατάφωρος τοῖς ὑπηκόοις, κἀπὶ τούτῳ χαλεπήναντες οἱ μεγιστᾶνες οὐκ ἐφανέρουν μὲν τὴν ὀργήν, κατὰ νοῦν δὲ ἔχοντες καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἐζήτουν δίκην εἰσπράξασθαι σπεύδοντες παρ᾽ αὐτῶν. [77] καὶ δὴ γράφουσιν πρὸς Ἀβίαν τὸν Ἀράβων βασιλέα χρήματα πολλὰ δώσειν ὑπισχνούμενοι στρατεύσασθαι θελήσαντι κατὰ τοῦ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς βασιλέως, ἐπηγγέλλοντο δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν πρώτην συμβολὴν ἐγκαταλείψειν τὸν βασιλέα: θέλειν γὰρ αὐτὸν τιμωρήσασθαι μισήσαντα τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἔθη: καὶ ὅρκοις τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐνδησάμενοι πίστιν σπεύδειν παρεκάλουν. [78] πείθεται δὲ ὁ Ἄραψ, καὶ πολλὴν ἐπαγόμενος δύναμιν ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰζάτην. μελλούσης δὲ τῆς πρώτης συμβολῆς πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν καταλείπουσιν τὸν Ἰζάτην ἐκ συνθήματος πάντες ὡς πανικῷ δείματι κατασχεθέντες, καὶ τὰ νῶτα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐντρέψαντες ἔφευγον. [79] οὐ μὴν ὁ Ἰζάτης κατεπλάγη, νοήσας δὲ προδοσίαν ὑπὸ τῶν μεγιστάνων γεγενῆσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑπεχώρησεν, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ζητήσας ὡς ἔμαθεν συντεταγμένους πρὸς τὸν Ἄραβα, τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους ἀναιρεῖ, τῇ δ᾽ ἐπιούσῃ συμβαλὼν πλείστους μὲν ἀπέκτεινε, [80] πάντας δὲ φυγεῖν ἠνάγκασεν, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν βασιλέα διώκων εἴς τι φρούριον συνήλασεν Ἄρσαμον καλούμενον, καὶ προσμαχεσάμενος καρτερῶς εἷλε τὸ φρούριον διαρπάσας τε τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ λείαν πᾶσαν, πολλὴ δὲ ἦν, ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν Ἀδιαβηνὴν τὸν Ἀβίαν οὐ καταλαβὼν ζῶντα: περικαταλαμβανόμενος γὰρ ἑαυτὸν ἀνεῖλεν.

(2) [81] Ἀποτυχόντες δὲ οἱ τῶν Ἀδιαβηνῶν μεγιστᾶνες τῆς πρώτης ἐπιχειρήσεως παραδόντος αὐτοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ βασιλεῖ οὐδ᾽ ὡς ἠρέμουν, ἀλλὰ γράφουσιν πάλιν Οὐολογέσῃ, βασιλεὺς δὲ Πάρθων οὗτος ἦν, παρακαλοῦντες ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν τὸν Ἰζάτην, καταστῆσαι δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἕτερον δυνάστην καὶ τῷ γένει Πάρθον: μισεῖν γὰρ ἔλεγον τὸν ἑαυτῶν βασιλέα καταλύσαντα μὲν τὰ πάτρια, ξένων δ᾽ ἐραστὴν ἐθῶν γενόμενον. [82] ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Πάρθος ἐπήρθη πρὸς τὸν

πόλεμον, καὶ προφάσεως δικαίας μηδεμίαν ἀφορμὴν ἔχων τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ δοθείσας τιμὰς ἔπεμψεν ἀπαιτῶν, ἀπειθήσαντι δὲ πόλεμον κατήγγελλεν. [83] ταράσσεται δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν οὐχὶ μετρίως ὁ Ἰζάτης, ὡς ἤκουσεν ταῦτα, κατάγνωσιν μὲν φέρειν αὐτῷ νομίσας τὸ τῶν δωρεῶν ἐξίστασθαι δοκεῖν διὰ φόβον τοῦτο πράξας. [84] εἰδὼς δέ, ὅτι καὶ ἀπολαβὼν ὁ Πάρθος τὰς τιμὰς οὐκ ἂν ἠρεμήσειεν, ἔκρινεν ἐπιτρέψαι τῷ κηδεμόνι θεῷ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς κίνδυνον, [85] καὶ τοῦτον μέγιστον ἡγησάμενος ἔχειν σύμμαχον κατατίθεται μὲν τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας εἰς τὰ τῶν φρουρίων ἀσφαλέστατα, τὸν σῖτον δὲ πάντα μὲν τὸν εἰς τὰς βάρεις ἐμπίπρησιν τόν τε χόρτον καὶ τὰς νομάς, ταῦτά τε προευτρεπισάμενος ἐξεδέχετο τοὺς πολεμίους. [86] παραγενομένου δὲ τοῦ Πάρθου μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως πεζῶν τε καὶ ἱππέων θᾶττον ἐλπίδος, ὥδευσε γὰρ συντόνως, βαλλομένου τε χάρακα πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ τὴν Ἀδιαβηνὴν καὶ τὴν Μηδίαν ὁρίζοντι, τίθησι καὶ ὁ Ἰζάτης τὸ στρατόπεδον οὐκ ἄπωθεν ἔχων περὶ αὐτὸν ἱππεῖς τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἑξακισχιλίους. [87] ἀφικνεῖται δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἰζάτην ἄγγελος παρὰ τοῦ Πάρθου πεμφθείς, ὃς τὴν Πάρθων δύναμιν ὅση τίς ἐστιν ἤγγελλεν ἀπὸ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ μέχρι Βάκτρων τοὺς ὅρους αὐτῆς τιθέμενος καὶ τοὺς ὑπηκόους αὐτῆς βασιλέας καταλέγων. [88] ἠπείλει δὲ δώσειν αὐτὸν δίκας ἀχάριστον περὶ δεσπότας τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ γενόμενον, καὶ ῥύεσθαι τῶν βασιλέως αὐτὸν χειρῶν οὐδὲ τὸν θεὸν ὃν σέβει δυνήσεσθαι. [89] ταῦτα τοῦ ἀγγέλου φράσαντος ὁ Ἰζάτης εἰδέναι μὲν τὴν Πάρθων δύναμιν ἔφη πολὺ τῆς αὐτοῦ διαφέρουσαν, γινώσκειν δ' οὖν ἔτι μᾶλλον πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἔλεγεν κρείσσω τὸν θεόν. καὶ τοιαύτην δοὺς τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἱκετείαν ἐτρέπετο τοῦ θεοῦ, χαμαί τε ῥίψας αὐτὸν καὶ σποδῷ τὴν κεφαλὴν καταισχύνας μετὰ γυναικὸς καὶ τέκνων ἐνήστευεν ἀνακαλῶν τὸν θεὸν καὶ λέγων, [90] "εἰ μὴ μάτην, ὦ δέσποτα κύριε, τῆς σῆς ἐγενόμην χρηστότητος, τῶν πάντων δὲ δικαίως μόνον καὶ πρῶτον ἥγημαι κύριον, ἐλθὲ σύμμαχος οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ μόνον ἀμυνούμενος τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τῆς σῆς δυνάμεως [91] κατατετολμήκασιν." ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποτνιᾶτο δακρύων καὶ ὀδυρόμενος, ἐπήκοος δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἐγίνετο, καὶ κατ' ἐκείνην εὐθὺς τὴν νύκτα δεξάμενος Οὐολογέσης ἐπιστολάς, ἐν αἷς ἐγέγραπτο Δαῶν καὶ Σακῶν χεῖρα μεγάλην καταφρονήσασαν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀποδημίας ἐπιστρατευσαμένην διαρπάζειν τὴν Παρθυηνῶν, ἄπρακτος ἀνέζευξεν εἰς τοὐπίσω. καὶ Ἰζάτης οὕτω κατὰ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν τὰς ἀπειλὰς τοῦ Πάρθου διαφεύγει.

(3) [92] Μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον πεντηκοστὸν μὲν καὶ πέμπτον ἀπὸ γενεᾶς πληρώσας ἔτος τέταρτον δὲ πρὸς εἰκοστῷ δυναστεύσας, καταλιπὼν παῖδας ἄρρενας εἰκοσιτέσσαρας καὶ θυγατέρας εἰκοσιτέσσαρας καταστρέφει τὸν βίον. [93] τὴν μέντοι διαδοχὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Μονόβαζον ἐκέλευεν παραλαβεῖν, ἀμειβόμενος αὐτὸν ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν αὐτοῦ μετὰ τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς θάνατον πιστῶς φυλάξειεν αὐτῷ τὴν δυναστείαν. [94] ἡ δὲ μήτηρ Ἑλένη

τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς θάνατον ἀκούσασα βαρέως μὲν ἤνεγκεν ὡς εἰκὸς μητέρα στερομένην εὐσεβεστάτου παιδός, παραμυθίαν δ᾽ ὅμως εἶχεν τὴν διαδοχὴν ἀκούσασα εἰς τὸν πρεσβύτερον αὐτῆς υἱὸν ἥκουσαν, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔσπευδεν. παραγενομένη δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀδιαβηνὴν οὐ πολὺν Ἰζάτῃ τῷ παιδὶ χρόνον ἐπεβίωσεν. [95] ὁ δὲ Μονόβαζος τά τε ἐκείνης ὀστᾶ καὶ τὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ πέμψας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα θάψαι προσέταξεν ἐν ταῖς πυραμίσιν, ἃς ἡ μήτηρ κατεσκευάκει τρεῖς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τρία στάδια τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλεως ἀπεχούσας. [96] ἀλλὰ Μονόβαζος μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅσα κατὰ τὸν τῆς ζωῆς χρόνον ἔπραξεν, ὕστερον ἀπαγγελοῦμεν.

V

(1) [97] Φάδου δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπιτροπεύοντος γόης τις ἀνὴρ Θευδᾶς ὀνόματι πείθει τὸν πλεῖστον ὄχλον ἀναλαβόντα τὰς κτήσεις ἕπεσθαι πρὸς τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν αὐτῷ: προφήτης γὰρ ἔλεγεν εἶναι, καὶ προστάγματι τὸν ποταμὸν σχίσας δίοδον ἔχειν ἔφη παρέξειν αὐτοῖς ῥᾳδίαν. [98] καὶ ταῦτα λέγων πολλοὺς ἠπάτησεν. οὐ μὴν εἴασεν αὐτοὺς τῆς ἀφροσύνης ὄνασθαι Φᾶδος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξέπεμψεν ἴλην ἱππέων ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς, ἥτις ἀπροσδόκητος ἐπιπεσοῦσα πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνεῖλεν, πολλοὺς δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβεν, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Θευδᾶν ζωγρήσαντες ἀποτέμνουσι τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ κομίζουσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. [99] τὰ μὲν οὖν συμβάντα τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κατὰ τοὺς Κουσπίου Φάδου τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς χρόνους ταῦτ᾽ ἐγένετο.

(2) [100] Ἦλθε δὲ Φάδῳ διάδοχος Τιβέριος Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀλεξάνδρου παῖς τοῦ καὶ ἀλαβαρχήσαντος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ γένει τε καὶ πλούτῳ πρωτεύσαντος τῶν ἐκεῖ καθ᾽ αὐτόν. διήνεγκε καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβείᾳ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου: τοῖς γὰρ πατρίοις οὐκ ἐνέμεινεν οὗτος ἔθεσιν. [101] ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ καὶ τὸν μέγαν λιμὸν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν συνέβη γενέσθαι, καθ᾽ ὃν καὶ ἡ βασίλισσα Ἑλένη πολλῶν χρημάτων ὠνησαμένη σῖτον ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου διένειμεν τοῖς ἀπορουμένοις, ὡς προεῖπον. [102] πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ οἱ παῖδες Ἰούδα τοῦ Γαλιλαίου ἀνήχθησαν τοῦ τὸν λαὸν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστήσαντος Κυρινίου τῆς Ἰουδαίας τιμητεύοντος, ὡς ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτων δεδηλώκαμεν, Ἰάκωβος καὶ Σίμων, οὓς ἀνασταυρῶσαι προσέταξεν Ἀλέξανδρος. [103] ὁ δὲ τῆς Χαλκίδος βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης μεταστήσας τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης Ἰώσηπον τὸν τοῦ Καμοιδὶ τὴν διαδοχὴν τῆς τιμῆς Ἀνανίᾳ τῷ τοῦ Νεβεδαίου δίδωσιν. Τιβερίῳ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Κουμανὸς ἀφίκετο διάδοχος. [104] καὶ τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον Ἡρώδης ὁ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα ἀδελφὸς ὀγδόῳ τῆς Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος ἀρχῆς ἔτει, καταλιπὼν τρεῖς υἱοὺς Ἀριστόβουλον μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πρώτης αὐτῷ τεχθέντα γυναικός, ἐκ Βερενίκης δὲ τῆς τἀδελφοῦ θυγατρὸς Βερενικιανὸν καὶ Ὑρκανόν. τὴν δ᾽ ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ Καῖσαρ Κλαύδιος Ἀγρίππᾳ τῷ νεωτέρῳ δίδωσιν.

(3) [105] Στάσεως δ' ἐμπεσούσης τῇ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλει Κουμανοῦ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πράγματα διοικοῦντος ἐφθάρησαν ὑπὸ ταύτης πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. καὶ πρότερον ἀφηγήσομαι τὴν αἰτίαν, δι' ἣν ταῦτα συνέβη: [106] τῆς πάσχα προσαγορευομένης ἑορτῆς ἐνστάσης, καθ' ἣν ἔθος ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἄζυμα προσφέρεσθαι, πολλοῦ καὶ πανταχόθεν πλήθους συναχθέντος ἐπὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν δείσας ὁ Κουμανός, μὴ νεώτερόν τι παρὰ τούτων προσπέσῃ, κελεύει τῶν στρατιωτῶν μίαν τάξιν ἀναλαβοῦσαν τὰ ὅπλα ἐπὶ τῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ στοῶν ἑστάναι καταστελοῦντας τὸν νεωτερισμόν, εἰ ἄρα τις γένοιτο. [107] τοῦτο δὲ καὶ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπιτροπεύσαντες ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς ἔπραττον. [108] τετάρτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἑορτῆς στρατιώτης τις ἀνακαλύψας ἐπεδείκνυε τῷ πλήθει τὰ αἰδοῖα, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο θεασαμένων ὀργὴ καὶ θυμὸς ἦν οὐχ ἑαυτοὺς ὑβρίσθαι λεγόντων, ἀλλὰ τὸν θεὸν ἠσεβῆσθαι: τινὲς δὲ τῶν θρασυτέρων τὸν Κουμανὸν ἐβλασφήμουν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν στρατιώτην καθεῖσθαι λέγοντες. [109] Κουμανὸς δ' ἀκούσας καὶ αὐτὸς οὐ μετρίως ἐρεθίζεται πρὸς τὰς βλασφημίας, παρῄνει μέντοι παύσασθαι νεωτέρων ἐπιθυμοῦντας πραγμάτων μηδὲ στάσεις ἐξάπτειν ἐν ἑορτῇ. [110] μὴ πείθων δέ, μᾶλλον γὰρ ἐπέκειντο βλασφημοῦντες, κελεύει τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν τὰς πανοπλίας ἀναλαβὸν ἥκειν εἰς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν, φρούριον δ' ἦν τοῦτο, καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον εἴπομεν, ἐπικείμενον τῷ ἱερῷ. [111] παραγενομένους δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας θεασάμενον τὸ πλῆθος καὶ φοβηθὲν φεύγειν ὥρμησεν, τῶν δ' ἐξόδων στενῶν οὐσῶν διώκεσθαι νομίζοντες ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ συνωθούμενοι κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν πολλοὺς ἀλλήλοις ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς θλιβόμενοι διέφθειρον. [112] δύο γοῦν μυριάδες ἐξηριθμήθησαν τῶν κατὰ τὴν στάσιν ἐκείνην φθαρέντων. πένθος δ' ἦν τὸ λοιπὸν ἀντὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς, καὶ πάντες ἐκλαθόμενοι τῶν εὐχῶν καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν ἐπὶ θρήνους καὶ κλαυθμοὺς ἐτράποντο. τοιαῦτα μὲν ἑνὸς ἀσέλγεια στρατιώτου παθήματα γενέσθαι παρεσκεύασεν.

(4) [113] Οὔπω δ' αὐτῶν τὸ πρῶτον πένθος ἐπέπαυτο καὶ κακὸν ἄλλο προσέπιπτεν: τῶν γὰρ ἀφεστώτων ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ τινες κατὰ τὴν δημοσίαν ὁδὸν ὡς ἑκατὸν σταδίων ἄπωθεν τῆς πόλεως Στέφανον Καίσαρος δοῦλον ὁδοιποροῦντα λῃστεύσαντες ἅπασαν αὐτοῦ τὴν κτῆσιν διαρπάζουσιν. [114] ἀκούσας δὲ τὸ πραχθὲν ὁ Κουμανὸς εὐθὺς πέμπει στρατιώτας, κελεύσας αὐτοῖς τὰς πλησίον κώμας διαρπάσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐπιφανεστάτους αὐτῶν δήσαντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἄγειν. [115] τῆς δὲ πορθήσεως γενομένης τῶν στρατιωτῶν τις τοὺς Μωυσέως νόμους ἔν τινι κώμῃ λαβὼν κειμένους προκομίσας εἰς τὴν πάντων ὄψιν διέσχισεν ἐπιβλασφημῶν καὶ πολλὰ κατακερτομῶν. [116] Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες καὶ πολλοὶ συνδραμόντες καταβαίνουσιν εἰς Καισάρειαν, ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐτύγχανεν ὁ Κουμανὸς ὤν, ἱκετεύοντες μὴ αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ τὸν θεὸν οὗπερ οἱ νόμοι καθυβρίσθησαν ἐκδικῆσαι: ζῆν γὰρ οὐχ ὑπομένειν τῶν πατρίων αὐτοῖς οὕτως περιυβρισμένων. καὶ Κουμανὸς δείσας, [117] μὴ πάλιν νεωτερίσειεν τὸ πλῆθος,

συμβουλευσάντων καὶ τῶν φίλων τὸν ἐνυβρίσαντα τοῖς νόμοις στρατιώτην πελεκίσας ἔπαυσεν τὴν στάσιν ἐκ δευτέρου μέλλουσαν ἐξάπτεσθαι.

VI

(1) [118] Γίνεται δὲ καὶ Σαμαρείταις πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ἔχθρα δι᾽ αἰτίαν τοιαύτην: ἔθος ἦν τοῖς Γαλιλαίοις ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν παραγινομένοις ὁδεύειν διὰ τῆς Σαμαρέων χώρας. καὶ τότε καθ᾽ ὁδὸν αὐτοῖς κώμης Γιναῆς λεγομένης τῆς ἐν μεθορίῳ κειμένης Σαμαρείας τε καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου πεδίου τινὲς συνάψαντες μάχην πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀναιροῦσιν. [119] πυθόμενοι δὲ τὰ πραχθέντα τῶν Γαλιλαίων οἱ πρῶτοι πρὸς Κουμανὸν ἀφίκοντο καὶ παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν μετιέναι τῶν ἀνῃρημένων τὸν φόνον. ὁ δὲ χρήμασι πεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμαρέων ὠλιγώρησεν. [120] ἀγανακτήσαντες δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ Γαλιλαῖοι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔπειθον ἐφ᾽ ὅπλα χωρῆσαι καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀντέχεσθαι: δουλείαν γὰρ καὶ καθ᾽ αὑτὴν μὲν πικρὰν ἔλεγον εἶναι, τὴν ἐφ᾽ ὕβρει δὲ παντάπασιν ἀφόρητον. [121] τῶν δ᾽ ἐν τέλει καταπραύνειν αὐτοὺς πειρωμένων καὶ πείσειν τὸν Κουμανὸν ἐπαγγελλομένων δίκας εἰσπράξασθαι παρὰ τῶν ἀνῃρηκότων, ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐ προσέσχον, ἀναλαβόντες δὲ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ βοηθεῖν Ἐλεάζαρον τὸν τοῦ Δειναίου παρακαλέσαντες, λῃστὴς δ᾽ οὗτος ἦν ἔτη πολλὰ τὴν διατριβὴν ἐν ὄρει πεποιημένος, κώμας τινὰς τῶν Σαμαρέων ἐμπρήσαντες διαρπάζουσι. [122] Κουμανὸς δὲ τῆς πράξεως εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφικομένης ἀναλαβὼν τὴν τῶν Σεβαστηνῶν ἴλην καὶ πεζῶν τέσσαρα τάγματα τούς τε Σαμαρεῖς καθοπλίσας ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, καὶ συμβαλὼν πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν πλείους δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβεν. [123] οἱ δὲ πρῶτοι κατὰ τιμὴν καὶ γένος τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν, ὡς εἶδον εἰς οἷον κακῶν μέγεθος ἥκουσιν, μετενδυσάμενοι σάκκους καὶ σποδοῦ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀναπλήσαντες παντοῖοι τοὺς ἀφεστῶτας παρακαλοῦντες ἦσαν καὶ πείθοντες πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν θεμένους κατασκαφησομένην μὲν αὐτῶν τὴν πατρίδα, τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν πυρποληθησόμενον, αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ γυναικῶν σὺν τέκνοις ἀνδραποδισμοὺς ἐσομένους, μεταθέσθαι τὸν λογισμὸν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ῥίψαντας ἠρεμεῖν εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν ἀποχωρήσαντας εἰς τὰ αὑτῶν. [124] ταῦτα δὲ εἰπόντες ἔπεισαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν διελύθησαν, οἱ λῃσταὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχυροὺς τόπους πάλιν ἀπῆλθον. ἐξ ἐκείνου τε ἡ σύμπασα Ἰουδαία λῃστηρίων ἐπληρώθη.

(2) [125] Σαμαρέων δὲ οἱ πρῶτοι πρὸς Οὐμμίδιον Κοδρᾶτον τῆς Συρίας προεστηκότα κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐν Τύρῳ τυγχάνοντα παραγενόμενοι κατηγόρουν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὡς τὰς κώμας αὐτῶν ἐμπρήσειαν καὶ διαρπάσειαν, [126] καὶ περὶ μὲν ὧν αὐτοὶ πεπόνθασιν οὐχ οὕτως ἀγανακτεῖν ἔφασκον, ὡς ὅτι Ῥωμαίων καταφρονήσειαν, ἐφ᾽ οἷς κριτὰς ἐχρῆν αὐτοὺς εἴπερ ἠδίκουν παραγενέσθαι, ἢ νῦν ὡς οὐκ ἐχόντων ἡγεμόνας Ῥωμαίους καταδραμεῖν: ἥκειν οὖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐκδικίας τευξόμενοι. [127] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οἱ Σαμαρεῖς κατηγόρουν.

Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ καὶ τῆς στάσεως καὶ τῆς μάχης αἰτίους γεγονέναι Σαμαρεῖς ἔφασαν, πρὸ πάντων δὲ Κουμανὸν δώροις ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν φθαρέντα καὶ παρασιωπήσαντα τὸν τῶν ἀνῃρημένων φόνον. [128] καὶ Κουαδρᾶτος ἀκούσας ὑπερτίθεται τὴν κρίσιν, εἰπὼν ἀποφανεῖσθαι, ἐπειδὰν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν παραγενόμενος ἀκριβέστερον ἐπιγνῷ τὴν ἀλήθειαν. [129] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπῄεσαν ἄπρακτοι. μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον ὁ Κουαδρᾶτος ἦκεν εἰς Σαμάρειαν, ἔνθα διακούσας αἰτίους τῆς ταραχῆς ὑπέλαβε γεγονέναι τοὺς Σαμαρεῖς. Σαμαρέων δὲ καὶ Ἰουδαίων οὔστινας νεωτερίσαντας ἔμαθεν ἀνεσταύρωσεν οὓς Κουμανὸς ἔλαβεν αἰχμαλώτους. [130] κἀκεῖθεν εἰς κώμην τινὰ παραγενόμενος Λύδδαν πόλεως τὸ μέγεθος οὐκ ἀποδέουσαν καθίσας ἐπὶ βήματος κἀκ δευτέρου τῶν Σαμαρέων διακούσας διδάσκεται παρά τινος Σαμαρέως, ὅτι τῶν Ἰουδαίων τις πρῶτος ὄνομα Δόητος καί τινες σὺν αὐτῷ νεωτερισταὶ τέσσαρες τὸν ἀριθμὸν πείσειαν τὸν ὄχλον ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστάσει. [131] κἀκείνους μὲν ὁ Κουαδρᾶτος ἀνελεῖν προσέταξεν, τοὺς δὲ περὶ Ἀνανίαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἄνανον δήσας εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνέπεμψεν περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων λόγον ὑφέξοντας Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι. [132] κελεύει δὲ καὶ τοῖς τῶν Σαμαρέων πρώτοις καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις Κουμανῷ τε τῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ καὶ Κέλερι, χιλίαρχος δ᾽ ἦν οὗτος, ἐπ᾽ Ἰταλίας ἀπιέναι πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα κριθησομένους ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ περὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ζητήσεων. [133] αὐτὸς δὲ δείσας, μὴ τὸ πλῆθος πάλιν τῶν Ἰουδαίων νεωτερίσειεν, εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ἀφικνεῖται: καταλαμβάνει δ᾽ αὐτὴν εἰρηνευομένην καὶ πάτριον ἑορτὴν τῷ θεῷ τελοῦσαν. πιστεύσας οὖν μηδένα νεωτερισμὸν παρ᾽ αὐτῶν γενήσεσθαι καταλιπὼν ἑορτάζοντας ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν.

(3) [134] Οἱ περὶ Κουμανὸν δὲ καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν Σαμαρέων ἀναπεμφθέντες εἰς Ῥώμην λαμβάνουσι παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἡμέραν, καθ᾽ ἣν περὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμφισβητήσεων λέγειν ἔμελλον. [135] σπουδὴ δὲ μεγίστη τῷ Κουμανῷ καὶ τοῖς Σαμαρεῦσιν ἦν παρὰ τῶν Καίσαρος ἀπελευθέρων καὶ φίλων, κἂν περιεγένοντο τῶν Ἰουδαίων, εἰ μή περ Ἀγρίππας ὁ νεώτερος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τυγχάνων κατασπευδομένους ἰδὼν τοὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρώτους ἐδεήθη πολλὰ τῆς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος γυναικὸς Ἀγριππίνης πεῖσαι τὸν ἄνδρα διακούσαντα πρεπόντως τῇ ἑαυτοῦ δικαιοσύνῃ τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως. [136] καὶ Κλαύδιος τῇ δεήσει ταύτῃ προευτρεπισθεὶς καὶ διακούσας, ὡς εὗρε τῶν κακῶν ἀρχηγοὺς τοὺς Σαμαρείτας γενομένους, τοὺς μὲν ἀναβάντας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἀναιρεθῆναι, τῷ Κουμανῷ δὲ φυγὴν ἐπέβαλεν, Κέλερα δὲ τὸν χιλίαρχον ἐκέλευσεν ἀγαγόντας εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πάντων ὁρώντων ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν σύραντας οὕτως ἀποκτεῖναι.

VII

(1) [137] Πέμπει δὲ καὶ Κλαύδιον Φήλικα Πάλλαντος ἀδελφὸν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προστησόμενον πραγμάτων. [138] τῆς δ' ἀρχῆς δωδέκατον ἔτος ἤδη πεπληρωκὼς δωρεῖται τὸν Ἀγρίππαν τῇ Φιλίππου τετραρχίᾳ καὶ Βαταναίᾳ προσθεὶς αὐτῷ τὴν Τραχωνῖτιν σὺν Ἀβέλλᾳ: Λυσανία δ' αὕτη γεγόνει τετραρχία: τὴν Χαλκίδα δ' αὐτὸν ἀφαιρεῖται δυναστεύσαντα ταύτης ἔτη τέσσαρα. [139] λαβὼν δὲ τὴν δωρεὰν παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος Ἀγρίππας ἐκδίδωσι πρὸς γάμον Ἀζίζῳ τῷ Ἐμεσῶν βασιλεῖ περιτέμνεσθαι θελήσαντι Δρούσιλλαν τὴν ἀδελφήν: Ἐπιφανὴς γὰρ ὁ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ βασιλέως παῖς παρῃτήσατο τὸν γάμον μὴ βουληθεὶς τὰ Ἰουδαίων ἔθη μεταλαβεῖν καίπερ τοῦτο ποιήσειν προυπεσχημένος αὐτῆς τῷ πατρί. [140] καὶ Μαριάμμην δ' ἐξέδωκεν Ἀρχελάῳ τῷ Ἑλκίου παιδὶ πρότερον ὑπὸ Ἀγρίππα τοῦ πατρὸς ἁρμοσθεῖσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ γίνεται θυγάτηρ αὐτοῖς ὄνομα Βερενίκη.

(2) [141] Διαλύονται δὲ τῇ Δρουσίλλῃ πρὸς τὸν Ἄζιζον οἱ γάμοι μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον τοιαύτης ἐμπεσούσης αἰτίας: [142] καθ' ὃν χρόνον τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπετρόπευε Φῆλιξ θεασάμενος ταύτην, καὶ γὰρ ἦν κάλλει πασῶν διαφέρουσα, λαμβάνει τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπιθυμίαν, καὶ Ἄτομον ὀνόματι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων Ἰουδαῖον, Κύπριον δὲ τὸ γένος, μάγον εἶναι σκηπτόμενον πέμπων πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔπειθεν τὸν ἄνδρα καταλιποῦσαν αὐτῷ γήμασθαι, μακαρίαν ποιήσειν ἐπαγγελλόμενος μὴ ὑπερηφανήσασαν αὐτόν. [143] ἡ δὲ κακῶς πράττουσα καὶ φυγεῖν τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀδελφῆς Βερενίκης βουλομένη φθόνον αὐτῇ διὰ τὸ κάλλος παρεκάλει παρ' ἐκείνης οἰόμενος οὐκ ἐν ὀλίγοις ἔβλαπτεν, παραβῆναί τε τὰ πάτρια νόμιμα πείθεται καὶ τῷ Φήλικι γήμασθαι. [144] τεκοῦσα δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ παῖδα προσηγόρευσεν Ἀγρίππαν. ἀλλ' ὃν μὲν τρόπον ὁ νεανίας οὗτος σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν τοῦ Βεσβίου ὄρους ἐπὶ τῶν Τίτου Καίσαρος χρόνων ἠφανίσθη, μετὰ ταῦτα δηλώσω.

(3) [145] Βερενίκη δὲ μετὰ τὴν Ἡρώδου τελευτήν, ὃς αὐτῆς ἀνὴρ καὶ θεῖος ἐγεγόνει, πολὺν χρόνον ἐπιχηρεύσασα, φήμης ἐπισχούσης, ὅτι τἀδελφῷ συνείη, πείθει Πολέμωνα, Κιλικίας δὲ ἦν οὗτος βασιλεύς, περιτεμόμενον ἀγαγέσθαι πρὸς γάμον αὐτήν: οὕτως γὰρ ἐλέγξειν ᾤετο ψευδεῖς τὰς διαβολάς. [146] καὶ ὁ Πολέμων ἐπείσθη μάλιστα διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον αὐτῆς: οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ πολὺ συνέμεινεν ὁ γάμος, ἀλλ' ἡ Βερενίκη δι' ἀκολασίαν, ὡς ἔφασαν, καταλείπει τὸν Πολέμωνα. ὁ δ' ἅμα τοῦ τε γάμου καὶ τοῦ τοῖς ἔθεσι τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐμμένειν ἀπήλλακτο. [147] τῷ αὐτῷ δὲ καιρῷ καὶ Μαριάμμη παραιτησαμένη τὸν Ἀρχέλαον συνῴκησε Δημητρίῳ τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἰουδαίων πρωτεύοντι γένει τε καὶ πλούτῳ: τότε δὴ καὶ τὴν ἀλαβαρχίαν αὐτὸς εἶχεν. γενόμενον δ' αὐτῇ παιδίον ἐξ ἐκείνου Ἀγριππῖνον προσηγόρευσεν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν ἑκάστου τούτων μετὰ ἀκριβείας ὕστερον ἀπαγγελοῦμεν.

VIII

(1) [148] Τελευτᾷ δὲ Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ βασιλεύσας ἔτη δεκατρία καὶ μῆνας ὀκτὼ πρὸς ἡμέραις εἴκοσι, καὶ λόγος ἦν παρά τινων, ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς Ἀγριππίνης φαρμάκοις ἀνῄρητο. ταύτης πατὴρ μὲν ἦν Γερμανικὸς ὁ Καίσαρος ἀδελφός, ἀνὴρ δὲ γενόμενος Δομέτιος Ἠνόβαρβος ὁ τῶν ἐπισήμων κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν. [149] οὗ τελευτήσαντος χηρεύουσαν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον Κλαύδιος ἄγεται πρὸς γάμον ἐπαγομένην καὶ παῖδα Δομέτιον ὁμώνυμον τῷ πατρί. προανῃρήκει δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα Μεσσαλῖναν διὰ ζηλοτυπίαν, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ καὶ παῖδες ἐγεγόνεσαν Βρεττανικός τε καὶ Ὀκταουία. [150] ἦν γὰρ Ἀντωνιανὴ καὶ πρεσβυτάτη τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἣν ἐκ Πετίνης τῆς πρώτης γυναικὸς εἶχεν. καὶ δὴ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν ἥρμοσεν τῷ Νέρωνι: τοῦτο γὰρ ὕστερον αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσεν εἰσποιησάμενος υἱὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ.

(2) [151] Δεδοικυῖα δ᾽ ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα, μὴ ὁ Βρεττανικὸς ἀνδρωθεὶς αὐτὸς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλάβοι, τῷ δὲ αὐτῆς παιδὶ προαρπάσαι βουλομένη τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τά τε περὶ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κλαυδίου, [152] καθάπερ ἦν λόγος, διεπράξατο, καὶ παραχρῆμα πέμπει τὸν τῶν στρατευμάτων ἔπαρχον Βοῦρρον καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς χιλιάρχους τῶν τε ἀπελευθέρων τοὺς πλεῖστον δυναμένους ἀπάξοντας εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν τὸν Νέρωνα καὶ προσαγορεύσοντας αὐτὸν αὐτοκράτορα. [153] Νέρων δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν οὕτως παραλαβὼν Βρεττανικὸν μὲν ἀδήλως τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀναιρεῖ διὰ φαρμάκων, φανερῶς δ᾽ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φονεύει, ταύτην ἀμοιβὴν ἀποτίσας αὐτῇ οὐ μόνον τῆς γενέσεως ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ταῖς ἐκείνης μηχαναῖς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν παραλαβεῖν. κτείνει δὲ καὶ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν, ᾗ συνῴκει, πολλούς τε ἐπιφανεῖς ἄνδρας ὡς ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλὰς συντιθέντας.

(3) [154] Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐῶ πλείω γράφειν: πολλοὶ γὰρ τὴν περὶ Νέρωνα συντετάχασιν ἱστορίαν, ὧν οἱ μὲν διὰ χάριν εὖ πεπονθότες ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας ἠμέλησαν, οἱ δὲ διὰ μῖσος καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέχθειαν οὕτως ἀναιδῶς ἐνεπαρῴνησαν τοῖς ψεύσμασιν, ὡς ἀξίους αὐτοὺς εἶναι καταγνώσεως. [155] καὶ θαυμάζειν οὐκ ἔπεισί μοι τοὺς περὶ Νέρωνος ψευσαμένους, ὅπου μηδὲ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενομένων γράφοντες τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῆς ἱστορίας τετηρήκασιν, καίτοι πρὸς ἐκείνους αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν μῖσος ἦν ἅτε μετ᾽ αὐτοὺς πολλῷ χρόνῳ γενομένοις. [156] ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοῖς μὲν οὐ προνοουμένοις τῆς ἀληθείας ἐξέστω γράφειν ὡς θέλουσιν, τούτῳ γὰρ χαίρειν ἐοίκασιν, [157] ἡμεῖς δὲ σκοπὸν προθέμενοι τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὰ μὲν ἀπηρτημένα τῆς προκειμένης ἡμῖν πραγματείας ἐπ᾽ ὀλίγον μνήμης ἀξιοῦμεν, τὰ δ᾽ ἡμῖν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις συμπεσόντα δηλοῦμεν οὐ παρέργως μήτε τὰς συμφορὰς μήτε τὰς ἁμαρτίας διασαφεῖν ὀκνοῦντες. ἐπανήξω τοίνυν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν οἰκείων πραγμάτων διήγησιν.

(4) [158] Τῷ γὰρ πρώτῳ τῆς Νέρωνος ἀρχῆς ἔτει τελευτήσαντος τοῦ Ἐμέσων δυνάστου Ἀζίζου Σόεμος ἀδελφὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδέχεται. τὴν δὲ τῆς μικρᾶς Ἀρμενίας προστασίαν Ἀριστόβουλος Ἡρώδου τῆς Χαλκίδος βασιλέως παῖς ὑπὸ

Νέρωνος ἐγχειρίζεται. [159] καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν δὲ δωρεῖται μοίρᾳ τινὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὁ Καῖσαρ Τιβεριάδα καὶ Ταριχέας ὑπακούειν αὐτῷ κελεύσας, δίδωσι δὲ καὶ Ἰουλιάδα πόλιν τῆς Περαίας καὶ κώμας τὰς περὶ αὐτὴν δεκατέσσαρας.

(5) [160] Τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πράγματα πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ἀεὶ τὴν ἐπίδοσιν ἐλάμβανεν: λῃστηρίων γὰρ ἡ χώρα πάλιν ἀνεπλήσθη καὶ γοήτων ἀνθρώπων, οἳ τὸν ὄχλον ἠπάτων. [161] ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν ὁ Φῆλιξ πολλοὺς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν σὺν τοῖς λῃσταῖς λαμβάνων ἀνῄρει, καὶ Ἐλεάζαρον δὲ τὸν Διναίου παῖδα τὸν συστησάμενον τῶν λῃστῶν τὸ σύνταγμα δι' ἐνέδρας εἷλεν ζῶντα: πίστιν γὰρ αὐτῷ προτείνας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν πείσεσθαι κακὸν πείθει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι καὶ δήσας ἀνέπεμψεν εἰς Ῥώμην. [162] ἔχων δὲ καὶ ἀπεχθῶς πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ἰωνάθην ὁ Φῆλιξ διὰ τὸ πολλάκις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ νουθετεῖσθαι περὶ τοῦ κρειττόνως προίστασθαι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πραγμάτων, μὴ καὶ μέμψιν αὐτὸς ὀφλοίη παρὰ τοῖς πλήθεσιν αἰτησάμενος ἐκεῖνον παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος πεμφθῆναι τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπίτροπον, πρόφασιν ἐπενόει δι' ἧς μεταστήσεται τὸν συνεχῶς ὀχληρὸν αὐτῷ γινόμενον: βαρὺ γὰρ τοῖς ἀδικεῖν θέλουσιν τὸ συνεχῶς νουθετοῦν. [163] καὶ δὴ διὰ τοιαύτης αἰτίας ὁ Φῆλιξ τὸν πιστότατον τῶν Ἰωνάθου φίλων Ἱεροσολυμίτην τὸ γένος Δωρᾶν ὀνόματι πείθει πολλὰ χρήματα δώσειν ὑπισχνούμενος ἐπαγαγεῖν τῷ Ἰωνάθῃ τοὺς [λῃστὰς] ἀναιρήσοντας, κἀκεῖνος ὑπακούσας ἐμηχανήσατο διὰ τῶν λῃστῶν πραχθῆναι τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ τὸν φόνον: [164] ἀνέβησάν τινες αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὡς προσκυνήσοντες τὸν θεὸν ὑπὸ τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἔχοντες ξιφίδια καὶ συναναμιγέντες τῷ Ἰωνάθῃ κτείνουσιν αὐτόν. [165] ἀνεκδικήτου δὲ τούτου τοῦ φόνου μεμενηκότος μετὰ πάσης τὸ λοιπὸν ἀδείας ἀναβαίνοντες ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς οἱ λῃσταὶ καὶ τὸν σίδηρον ὁμοίως κεκρυμμένον ἔχοντες συναναμιγνύμενοι τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἀνῄρουν μέν τινας ἑαυτῶν ἐχθρούς, οὓς δ' ἐπὶ χρήμασιν ἄλλοις ὑπηρετοῦντες, οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐνίους: καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ σφάττειν ἐτόλμων, οὐδ' ἐν τούτῳ δοκοῦντες ἀσεβεῖν. [166] διὰ τοῦτ' οἶμαι καὶ τὸν θεὸν μισήσαντα τὴν ἀσέβειαν αὐτῶν ἀποστραφῆναι μὲν ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν, τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν οὐκέτι καθαρὸν οἰκητήριον αὐτῷ κρίναντα Ῥωμαίους ἐπαγαγεῖν ἡμῖν καὶ τῇ πόλει καθάρσιον πῦρ καὶ δουλείαν ἐπιβαλεῖν σὺν γυναιξὶν καὶ τέκνοις σωφρονίσαι ταῖς συμφοραῖς βουλόμενον ἡμᾶς.

(6) [167] Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν λῃστῶν ἔργα τοιαύτης ἀνοσιότητος ἐπλήρου τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ γόητες καὶ ἀπατεῶνες ἄνθρωποι τὸν ὄχλον ἔπειθον αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν ἕπεσθαι: [168] δείξειν γὰρ ἔφασαν ἐναργῆ τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν γινόμενα. καὶ πολλοὶ πεισθέντες τῆς ἀφροσύνης τιμωρίας ὑπέσχον: ἀναχθέντας γὰρ αὐτοὺς Φῆλιξ ἐκόλασεν. [169] ἀφικνεῖται δέ τις ἐξ Αἰγύπτου κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα προφήτης εἶναι λέγων καὶ συμβουλεύων τῷ δημοτικῷ πλήθει σὺν αὐτῷ πρὸς ὄρος τὸ προσαγορευόμενον ἐλαιῶν, ὃ τῆς πόλεως ἄντικρυς κείμενον ἀπέχει στάδια πέντε: [170] θέλειν γὰρ ἔφασκεν αὐτοῖς

ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιδεῖξαι, ὡς κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ πίπτοι τὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν τείχη, δι᾽ ὧν καὶ τὴν εἴσοδον αὐτοῖς παρέξειν ἐπηγγέλλετο. [171] Φῆλιξ δ᾽ ὡς ἐπύθετο ταῦτα, κελεύει τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν ὁρμήσας ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων προσβάλλει τοῖς περὶ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον, καὶ τετρακοσίους μὲν αὐτῶν ἀνεῖλεν, διακοσίους δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβεν. [172] ὁ δ᾽ Αἰγύπτιος αὐτὸς διαδρὰς ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο. πάλιν δ᾽ οἱ λῃσταὶ τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ἠρέθιζον μηδὲν ὑπακούειν αὐτοῖς λέγοντες, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀπειθούντων κώμας ἐμπιπράντες διήρπαζον.

(7) [173] Γίνεται δὲ καὶ τῶν Καισάρειαν οἰκούντων Ἰουδαίων στάσις πρὸς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ Σύρους περὶ ἰσοπολιτείας: οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἰουδαῖοι πρωτεύειν ἠξίουν διὰ τὸ τὸν κτίστην τῆς Καισαρείας Ἡρώδην αὐτῶν βασιλέα γεγονέναι τὸ γένος Ἰουδαῖον, Σύροι δὲ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην ὡμολόγουν, ἔφασκον δὲ τὴν Καισάρειαν Στράτωνος πύργον τὸ πρότερον καλεῖσθαι καὶ τότε μηδένα γεγονέναι τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν Ἰουδαῖον οἰκήτορα. [174] ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ τῆς χώρας ἔπαρχοι λαβόντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς στάσεως πληγαῖς ᾐκίσαντο καὶ τὴν ταραχὴν οὕτω κατέστειλαν πρὸς ὀλίγον. [175] πάλιν γὰρ οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ πλούτῳ θαρροῦντες καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καταφρονοῦντες τῶν Σύρων ἐβλασφήμουν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐρεθίσειν προσδοκῶντες. [176] οἱ δὲ χρήμασιν μὲν ἠττώμενοι, μέγα δὲ φρονοῦντες ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἐκεῖ στρατευομένων Καισαρεῖς εἶναι καὶ Σεβαστηνοὺς μέχρι μέν τινος καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους λόγῳ ὕβριζον, εἶτα λίθοις ἀλλήλους ἔβαλλον, ἕως πολλοὺς παρ᾽ ἀμφότερα τρωθῆναί τε καὶ πεσεῖν συνέβη: νικῶσί γε μὴν Ἰουδαῖοι. [177] Φῆλιξ δ᾽ ὡς ἐθεάσατο φιλονεικίαν ἐν πολέμου τρόπῳ γενομένην προπηδήσας παύεσθαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους παρεκάλει, μὴ πειθομένοις δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὁπλίσας ἐπαφίησι καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀνεῖλεν, πλείους δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβεν, οἰκίας δέ τινας τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πολλῶν πάνυ χρημάτων γεμούσας διαρπάζειν ἐφῆκεν. [178] οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπιεικέστεροι καὶ προύχοντες κατὰ τὴν ἀξίωσιν δείσαντες περὶ ἑαυτῶν παρεκάλουν τὸν Φήλικα τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀνακαλέσασθαι τῇ σάλπιγγι καὶ φείσασθαι τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτῶν δοῦναί τε μετάνοιαν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις. καὶ Φῆλιξ ἐπείσθη.

(8) [179] Κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας δίδωσιν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην Ἰσμαήλῳ: Φαβεῖ παῖς οὗτος ἦν. [180] ἐξάπτεται δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι στάσις πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν, ἕκαστός τε αὐτῶν στῖφος ἀνθρώπων τῶν θρασυτάτων καὶ νεωτεριστῶν ἑαυτῷ ποιήσας ἡγεμὼν ἦν, καὶ συρράσσοντες ἐκακολόγουν τε ἀλλήλους καὶ λίθοις ἔβαλλον. ὁ δ᾽ ἐπιπλήξων ἦν οὐδὲ εἷς, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἐν ἀπροστατήτῳ πόλει ταῦτ᾽ ἐπράσσετο μετ᾽ ἐξουσίας. [181] τοσαύτη δὲ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς κατέλαβεν ἀναίδεια καὶ τόλμα, ὥστε καὶ πέμπειν δούλους ἐτόλμων ἐπὶ τὰς ἅλωνας τοὺς ληψομένους τὰς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ὀφειλομένας δεκάτας, καὶ

συνέβαινεν τοὺς ἀπορουμένους τῶν ἱερέων ὑπ᾽ ἐνδείας τελευτᾶν. οὕτως ἐκράτει τοῦ δικαίου παντὸς ἡ τῶν στασιαζόντων βία.

(9) [182] Πορκίου δὲ Φήστου διαδόχου Φήλικι πεμφθέντος ὑπὸ Νέρωνος οἱ πρωτεύοντες τῶν τὴν Καισάρειαν κατοικούντων Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀναβαίνουσιν Φήλικος κατηγοροῦντες, καὶ πάντως ἂν ἐδεδώκει τιμωρίαν τῶν εἰς Ἰουδαίους ἀδικημάτων, εἰ μὴ πολλὰ αὐτὸν ὁ Νέρων τἀδελφῷ Πάλλαντι παρακαλέσαντι συνεχώρησεν μάλιστα δὴ τότε διὰ τιμῆς ἄγων ἐκεῖνον. [183] καὶ τῶν ἐν Καισαρείᾳ δὲ οἱ πρῶτοι Σύρων Βήρυλλον, παιδαγωγὸς δ᾽ ἦν οὗτος τοῦ Νέρωνος τάξιν τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐπιστολῶν πεπιστευμένος, πείθουσι πολλοῖς χρήμασιν αἰτήσασθαι παρὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος αὐτοῖς ἐπιστολὴν ἀκυροῦσαν τὴν Ἰουδαίων πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἰσοπολιτείαν. [184] καὶ Βήρυλλος τὸν αὐτοκράτορα παρακαλέσας ἐπέτυχε γραφῆναι τὴν ἐπιστολήν. αὕτη τῷ ἔθνει ἡμῶν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα κακῶν τὰς αἰτίας παρέσχεν: πυθόμενοι γὰρ οἱ κατὰ τὴν Καισάρειαν Ἰουδαῖοι τὰ γραφέντα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Σύρους στάσεως μᾶλλον εἴχοντο μέχρι δὴ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξῆψαν.

(10) [185] Ἀφικομένου δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν Φήστου συνέβαινεν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὑπὸ τῶν λῃστῶν κακοῦσθαι τῶν κωμῶν ἁπασῶν ἐμπιπραμένων τε καὶ διαρπαζομένων. [186] καὶ οἱ σικάριοι δὲ καλούμενοι, λῃσταὶ δέ εἰσιν οὗτοι, τότε μάλιστα ἐπλήθυον χρώμενοι ξιφιδίοις παραπλησίοις μὲν τὸ μέγεθος τοῖς τῶν Περσῶν ἀκινάκαις, ἐπικαμπέσι δὲ καὶ ὁμοίαις ταῖς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων σίκαις καλουμέναις, ἀφ᾽ ὧν καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν οἱ λῃστεύοντες ἔλαβον πολλοὺς ἀναιροῦντες. [187] ἀναμιγνύμενοι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς, καθὼς καὶ πρότερον εἴπομεν, τῷ πλήθει τῶν πανταχόθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν συρρεόντων οὓς βουληθεῖεν ῥᾳδίως ἀπέσφαττον, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ μεθ᾽ ὅπλων ἐπὶ τὰς κώμας τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀφικόμενοι διήρπαζον καὶ ἐνεπίμπρασαν. [188] πέμπει δὲ Φῆστος δύναμιν ἱππικήν τε καὶ πεζικὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπατηθέντας ὑπό τινος ἀνθρώπου γόητος σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγελλομένου καὶ παῦλαν κακῶν, εἰ βουληθεῖεν ἕπεσθαι μέχρι τῆς ἐρημίας αὐτῷ, καὶ αὐτόν τε ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἀπατήσαντα καὶ τοὺς ἀκολουθήσαντας διέφθειραν οἱ πεμφθέντες.

(11) [189] Κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας ᾠκοδομήσατο μεγέθει διαφέρον οἴκημα ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πλησίον τοῦ ξυστοῦ. [190] τὸ δὲ βασίλειον ἐγεγόνει πάλαι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀσαμωναίου παίδων, ἐφ᾽ ὑψηλοῦ δὲ τόπου κείμενον τοῖς κατοπτεύειν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ βουλομένοις τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτερπεστάτην παρεῖχεν τὴν θέαν, ἧς ἐφιέμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖθεν ἀφεώρα κατακείμενος τὰ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν πρασσόμενα. [191] ταῦτα δὲ θεασάμενοι τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν οἱ προύχοντες δεινῶς ἐχαλέπαινον: οὐ γὰρ ἦν πάτριον τὰ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν δρώμενα κατοπτεύεσθαι καὶ μάλιστα τὰς ἱερουργίας. τοῖχον οὖν ἐγείρουσιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξέδρας ὑψηλόν, ἥτις ἦν ἐν τῷ ἔσωθεν ἱερῷ τετραμμένη πρὸς δύσιν. [192] οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τρικλίνου τὴν ἄποψιν οὗτος οἰκοδομηθεὶς

ἀπετέμνετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς δυτικῆς στοᾶς τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἔξωθεν ἱερὸν οὔσης, ἔνθα τὰς φυλακὰς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ταῖς ἑορταῖς ἐποιοῦντο διὰ τὸ ἱερόν. [193] ἐπὶ τούτοις ἠγανάκτησεν ὅ τε βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας, μάλιστα δὲ Φῆστος ὁ ἔπαρχος, καὶ προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς καθελεῖν. οἱ δὲ παρεκάλεσαν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῖς δοῦναι πρεσβεῦσαι περὶ τούτου πρὸς Νέρωνα: ζῆν γὰρ οὐχ ὑπομένειν καθαιρεθέντος τινὸς μέρους τοῦ ἱεροῦ. [194] συγχωρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Φήστου πέμπουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν πρὸς Νέρωνα τοὺς πρώτους δέκα καὶ Ἰσμάηλον τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ Ἑλκίαν τὸν γαζοφύλακα. [195] Νέρων δὲ διακούσας αὐτῶν οὐ μόνον συνέγνω περὶ τοῦ πραχθέντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεχώρησεν ἐᾶν οὕτως τὴν οἰκοδομίαν, τῇ γυναικὶ Ποππαίᾳ, θεοσεβὴς γὰρ ἦν, ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων δεηθείσῃ χαριζόμενος, ἢ τοῖς μὲν δέκα προσέταξεν ἀπιέναι, τὸν δ᾽ Ἑλκίαν καὶ τὸν Ἰσμάηλον ὁμηρεύσοντας παρ᾽ ἑαυτῇ κατέσχεν. [196] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ταῦθ᾽ ὡς ἐπύθετο δίδωσιν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην Ἰωσήπῳ τῷ Σίμωνος παιδὶ ἀρχιερέως ἐπικαλουμένῳ δὲ Καβί.

IX

(1) [197] Πέμπει δὲ Καῖσαρ Ἀλβῖνον εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἔπαρχον Φήστου τὴν τελευτὴν πυθόμενος. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀφείλετο μὲν τὸν Ἰώσηπον τὴν ἱερωσύνην, τῷ δὲ Ἀνάνου παιδὶ καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀνάνῳ λεγομένῳ τὴν διαδοχὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔδωκεν. [198] τοῦτον δέ φασι τὸν πρεσβύτατον Ἄνανον εὐτυχέστατον γενέσθαι: πέντε γὰρ ἔσχε παῖδας καὶ τούτους πάντας συνέβη ἀρχιερατεῦσαι τῷ θεῷ, αὐτὸς πρότερος τῆς τιμῆς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀπολαύσας, ὅπερ οὐδενὶ συνέβη τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἀρχιερέων. [199] ὁ δὲ νεώτερος Ἄνανος, ὃν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἔφαμεν εἰληφέναι, θρασὺς ἦν τὸν τρόπον καὶ τολμητὴς διαφερόντως, αἵρεσιν δὲ μετῄει τὴν Σαδδουκαίων, οἵπερ εἰσὶ περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ὠμοὶ παρὰ πάντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, καθὼς ἤδη δεδηλώκαμεν. [200] ἅτε δὴ οὖν τοιοῦτος ὢν ὁ Ἄνανος, νομίσας ἔχειν καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον διὰ τὸ τεθνάναι μὲν Φῆστον, Ἀλβῖνον δ᾽ ἔτι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὑπάρχειν, καθίζει συνέδριον κριτῶν καὶ παραγαγὼν εἰς αὐτὸ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ, Ἰάκωβος ὄνομα αὐτῷ, καί τινας ἑτέρους, ὡς παρανομησάντων κατηγορίαν ποιησάμενος παρέδωκε λευσθησομένους. [201] ὅσοι δὲ ἐδόκουν ἐπιεικέστατοι τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν εἶναι καὶ περὶ τοὺς νόμους ἀκριβεῖς βαρέως ἤνεγκαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ πέμπουσιν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα κρύφα παρακαλοῦντες αὐτὸν ἐπιστεῖλαι τῷ Ἀνάνῳ μηκέτι τοιαῦτα πράσσειν: μηδὲ γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ὀρθῶς αὐτὸν πεποιηκέναι. [202] τινὲς δ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν Ἀλβῖνον ὑπαντιάζουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ὁδοιποροῦντα καὶ διδάσκουσιν, ὡς οὐκ ἐξὸν ἦν Ἀνάνῳ χωρὶς τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης καθίσαι συνέδριον. [203] Ἀλβῖνος δὲ πεισθεὶς τοῖς λεγομένοις γράφει μετ᾽ ὀργῆς τῷ Ἀνάνῳ λήψεσθαι παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ δίκας ἀπειλῶν. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας διὰ τοῦτο τὴν Ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀφελόμενος αὐτὸν ἄρξαντα μῆνας τρεῖς Ἰησοῦν τὸν τοῦ Δαμναίου κατέστησεν.

(2) [204] Ἐπεὶ δ’ ἦκεν ὁ Ἀλβῖνος εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν, πᾶσαν εἰσηνέγκατο σπουδὴν καὶ πρόνοιαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν χώραν εἰρηνεύεσθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν σικαρίων διαφθείρας. [205] ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀνανίας καθ’ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπὶ μέγα προύκοπτε δόξης καὶ τῆς παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν εὐνοίας τε καὶ τιμῆς ἠξιοῦτο λαμπρῶς: ἦν γὰρ χρημάτων οριστικός: καθ’ ἡμέραν γοῦν τὸν Ἀλβῖνον καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα δώροις ἐθεράπευεν. [206] εἶχεν δ’ οἰκέτας πάνυ μοχθηρούς, οἳ συναναστρεφόμενοι τοῖς θρασυτάτοις ἐπὶ τὰς ἅλωνας πορευόμενοι τὰς τῶν ἱερέων δεκάτας ἐλάμβανον βιαζόμενοι καὶ τοὺς μὴ διδόντας οὐκ ἀπείχοντο τύπτειν, [207] οἵ τε ἀρχιερεῖς ὅμοια τοῖς ἐκείνου δούλοις ἔπρασσον μηδενὸς κωλύειν δυναμένου. καὶ τῶν ἱερέων τοὺς πάλαι ταῖς δεκάταις τρεφομένους τότε συνέβαινε θνήσκειν τροφῆς ἀπορίᾳ.

(3) [208] Πάλιν δ’ οἱ σικάριοι κατὰ τὴν ἑορτήν, ἐνειστήκει γὰρ αὕτη, διὰ νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν πόλιν παρελθόντες συλλαμβάνουσι ζῶντα τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ στρατηγοῦντος Ἐλεαζάρου, παῖς δ’ ἦν οὗτος Ἀνανίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, καὶ δήσαντες ἐξήγαγον. [209] εἶτα πέμψαντες πρὸς τὸν Ἀνανίαν ἀπολύσειν ἔφασαν τὸν γραμματέα πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰ πείσειεν τὸν Ἀλβῖνον δέκα δεσμώτας τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν ληφθέντας ἀπολῦσαι. καὶ ὁ Ἀνανίας διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην πείσας τὸν Ἀλβῖνον τῆς ἀξιώσεως ἐπέτυχεν. [210] τοῦτο μειζόνων κακῶν ἦρξεν: οἱ γὰρ λῃσταὶ παντοίως ἐπεμηχανῶντο τῶν Ἀνανίου τινὰς συλλαμβάνειν οἰκείων καὶ συνεχῶς ζωγροῦντες οὐκ ἀπέλυον πρὶν ἢ τινας τῶν σικαρίων ἀπολάβοιεν γενόμενοί τε πάλιν ἀριθμὸς οὐκ ὀλίγος ἀναθαρρήσαντες τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν ἐκάκουν.

(4) [211] Κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας μείζονα τὴν Φιλίππου καλουμένην Καισάρειαν κατασκευάσας εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ Νέρωνος Νερωνιάδα προσηγόρευσεν, καὶ Βηρυτίοις δὲ θέατρον ἀπὸ πολλῶν χρημάτων κατεσκευασμένον ταῖς κατ’ ἔτος θέαις ἐδωρεῖτο πολλὰς εἰς τοῦτο μυριάδας ἀναλίσκων: [212] σῖτον γὰρ ἐδίδου τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ἔλαιον διένεμεν καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν δὲ πόλιν ἀνδριάντων ἀναθέσεσιν καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀποτύποις εἰκόσιν ἐκόσμει καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν πάντα τὸν τῆς βασιλείας κόσμον ἐκεῖ μετήνεγκεν. μῖσος οὖν αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων ηὔξετο διὰ τὸ περιαιρούμενον τὰ ἐκείνων εἰς ξένην πόλιν κοσμεῖν. [213] λαμβάνει δὲ καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Γαμαλιήλου τὴν διαδοχὴν τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰησοῦν ἀφελομένου τὸν τοῦ Δαμναίου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο στάσις αὐτῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγένετο: σύστημα γὰρ τῶν θρασυτάτων ποιησάμενοι πολλάκις μέχρι λίθων βολῆς ἀπὸ τῶν βλασφημιῶν ἐξέπιπτον. ὑπερεῖχεν δὲ Ἀνανίας τῷ πλούτῳ προσαγόμενος τοὺς λαμβάνειν ἑτοίμους. [214] Κοστόβαρος δὲ καὶ Σαοῦλος αὐτοὶ καθ’ αὑτοὺς μοχθηρὰ πλήθη συνῆγον γένους μὲν ὄντες βασιλικοῦ καὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἀγρίππαν συγγένειαν εὐνοίας τυγχάνοντες, βίαιοι δὲ καὶ ἁρπάζειν τὰ τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων ἕτοιμοι. ἐξ ἐκείνου μάλιστα τοῦ καιροῦ συνέβη τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν νοσεῖν προκοπτόντων πάντων ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον.

(5) [215] Ὡς δ’ ἤκουσεν Ἀλβῖνος διάδοχον αὐτῷ Γέσσιον Φλῶρον ἀφικνεῖσθαι, βουλόμενος δοκεῖν τι τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις παρεσχῆσθαι προαγαγὼν τοὺς δεσμώτας, ὅσοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν προδήλως θανεῖν ἄξιοι, τούτους προσέταξεν ἀναιρεθῆναι, τοὺς δ’ ἐκ μικρᾶς καὶ τῆς τυχούσης αἰτίας εἰς τὴν εἱρκτὴν κατατεθέντας χρήματα λαμβάνων αὐτὸς ἀπέλυεν. καὶ οὕτως ἡ μὲν φυλακὴ τῶν δεσμωτῶν ἐκαθάρθη, ἡ χώρα δὲ λῃστῶν ἐπληρώθη.

(6) [216] Τῶν δὲ Λευιτῶν, φυλὴ δ’ ἐστὶν αὕτη, ὅσοιπερ ἦσαν ὑμνῳδοὶ πείθουσι τὸν βασιλέα καθίσαντα συνέδριον φορεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπίσης τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐπιτρέψαι λινῆν στολήν: πρέπειν γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνοις ἔφασκον ἀφ’ ὧν μνημονευθήσεται καινοποιεῖν. [217] καὶ τῆς ἀξιώσεως οὐ διήμαρτον: ὁ γὰρ βασιλεὺς μετὰ γνώμης τῶν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἐποιχομένων συνεχώρησεν τοῖς ὑμνῳδοῖς ἀποθεμένους τὴν προτέραν ἐσθῆτα φορεῖν λινῆν οἵαν ἠθέλησαν. [218] μέρους δέ τινος τῆς φυλῆς λειτουργοῦντος κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τούτοις ἐπέτρεψεν τοὺς ὕμνους ἐκμαθεῖν, ὡς παρεκάλουν. πάντα δ’ ἦν ἐναντία ταῦτα τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις, ὧν παραβαθέντων οὐκ ἐνῆν μὴ οὐχὶ δίκας ὑποσχεῖν.

(7) [219] Ἤδη δὲ τότε καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐτετέλεστο. βλέπων οὖν ὁ δῆμος ἀργήσαντας τοὺς τεχνίτας ὑπὲρ μυρίους καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους ὄντας καὶ μισθοφορίας ἐνδεεῖς ἐσομένους διὰ τὸ τὴν τροφὴν ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐργασίας πορίζεσθαι, [220] καὶ χρήματα μὲν ἀπόθετα διὰ τὸν ἐκ Ῥωμαίων φόβον ἔχειν οὐ θέλων, προνοούμενος δὲ τῶν τεχνιτῶν καὶ εἰς τούτους ἀναλοῦν τοὺς θησαυροὺς βουλόμενος, καὶ γὰρ εἰ μίαν τις ὥραν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐργάσαιτο, τὸν μισθὸν ὑπὲρ ταύτης εὐθέως ἐλάμβανεν, ἔπειθον τὸν βασιλέα τὴν ἀνατολικὴν στοὰν ἀνεγεῖραι. [221] ἦν δὲ ἡ στοὰ τοῦ μὲν ἔξωθεν ἱεροῦ, κειμένη δ’ ἐν φάραγγι βαθείᾳ τετρακοσίων πηχῶν τοὺς τοίχους ἔχουσα ἐκ λίθου τετραγώνου κατεσκεύαστο καὶ λευκοῦ πάνυ, τὸ μὲν μῆκος ἑκάστου λίθου πήχεις εἴκοσι, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἕξ, ἔργον Σολόμωνος τοῦ βασιλέως πρώτου δειμαμένου τὸ σύμπαν ἱερόν. [222] ὁ βασιλεὺς δ’, ἐπεπίστευτο γὰρ ὑπὸ Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ, λογισάμενος παντὸς μὲν ἔργου τὴν καθαίρεσιν εἶναι ῥᾳδίαν δυσχερῆ δὲ τὴν κατασκευήν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς στοᾶς ταύτης καὶ μᾶλλον, χρόνου τε γὰρ καὶ πολλῶν χρημάτων εἰς τοῦργον δεήσειν, ἠρνήσατο μὲν περὶ τούτου δεομένοις, καταστορέσαι δὲ λευκῷ λίθῳ τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἐκώλυσεν. [223] Ἰησοῦν δὲ τὸν τοῦ Γαμαλιήλου τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀφελόμενος ἔδωκεν αὐτὴν Ματθίᾳ τῷ Θεοφίλου, καθ’ ὃν καὶ ὁ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμος Ἰουδαίοις ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν.

X

(1) [224] Ἀναγκαῖον δ’ εἶναι νομίζω καὶ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ ταύτῃ προσῆκον διηγήσασθαι περὶ τῶν ἀρχιερέων, πῶς ἀρξάμενοι καὶ τίσιν ἔξεστι τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης μεταλαμβάνειν καὶ πόσοι γεγόνασιν μέχρι τῆς τοῦ πολέμου τελευτῆς. [225]

πρῶτον μὲν οὖν πάντων λέγουσιν Ἀαρῶνα τὸν Μωυσέως ἀδελφὸν ἀρχιερατεῦσαι τῷ θεῷ, τελευτήσαντος δὲ ἐκείνου διαδέξασθαι τοὺς παῖδας εὐθὺς κἀπ᾽ ἐκείνων τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐτῶν διαμεῖναι τὴν τιμὴν ἅπασιν. [226] ὅθεν καὶ πάτριόν ἐστι μηδένα τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην λαμβάνειν ἢ τὸν ἐξ αἵματος τοῦ Ἀαρῶνος, ἑτέρου δὲ γένους οὐδ᾽ ἂν βασιλεὺς ὢν τύχῃ τεύξεται τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης. [227] ἐγένοντο οὖν πάντες τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀπὸ Ἀαρῶνος, ὡς ἔφαμεν, τοῦ πρώτου γενομένου μέχρι Φανάσου τοῦ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ὑπὸ τῶν στασιαστῶν ἀρχιερέως ἀναδειχθέντος ὀγδοήκοντα τρεῖς. [228] ἐκ τούτων κατὰ τὴν ἔρημον ἐπὶ τῶν Μωυσέως χρόνων τῆς σκηνῆς ἑστώσης, ἣν Μωυσῆς τῷ θεῷ κατεσκεύασεν, μέχρι τῆς εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἀφίξεως, ἔνθα Σολόμων ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ θεῷ τὸν ναὸν ἤγειρεν, ἀρχιεράτευσαν δεκατρεῖς. [229] τὸ γὰρ πρῶτον ἕως τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς τὰς ἀρχιερωσύνας εἶχον, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ παρὰ ζώντων διεδέχοντο. οἱ τοίνυν δεκατρεῖς οὗτοι τῶν δύο παίδων Ἀαρῶνος ὄντες ἔγγονοι κατὰ διαδοχὴν τὴν τιμὴν παρελάμβανον. ἐγένετο δὲ αὐτῶν ἀριστοκρατικὴ μὲν ἡ πρώτη πολιτεία, μετὰ ταύτην δὲ μοναρχία, βασιλέων δὲ τρίτη. [230] γίνεται δὲ τῶν ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸς ὧν ἦρξαν οἱ δεκατρεῖς ἀφ᾽ ἧς ἡμέρας οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐξέλιπον Αἴγυπτον Μωυσέως ἄγοντος μέχρι τῆς τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευῆς, ὃν Σολόμων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀνήγειρεν, ἔτη δώδεκα πρὸς τοῖς ἑξακοσίοις.

(2) [231] Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς δεκατρεῖς ἀρχιερέας ἐκείνους οἱ δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἔσχον ἀπὸ Σολόμωνος βασιλέως ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις αὐτὴν διαδεξάμενοι, μέχρι οὗ Ναβουχοδονόσορος ὁ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεὺς ἐπιστρατεύσας τῇ πόλει τὸν μὲν ναὸν ἐνέπρησεν, τὸ δὲ ἔθνος ἡμῶν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα μετήνεγκεν καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ἰωσαδάκην αἰχμάλωτον ἔλαβεν. [232] τούτων χρόνος τῆς ἱερωσύνης τετρακοσίων ἑξηκονταὲξ ἐτῶν ἐστι μηνῶν ἓξ ἡμερῶν δέκα ἤδη βασιλευομένων Ἰουδαίων. [233] μετὰ δὲ χρόνον ἐτῶν ἁλώσεως ἑβδομήκοντα τῆς ὑπὸ Βαβυλωνίων γενομένης Κῦρος ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἀπέλυσεν τοὺς ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος Ἰουδαίους ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκείαν γῆν πάλιν καὶ συνεχώρησεν τὸν ναὸν ἀνεγεῖραι. [234] τότε δὴ τῶν ὑποστρεψάντων αἰχμαλώτων Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ἰωσεδὲκ εἷς ὢν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην λαμβάνει. λαμβάνει δ᾽ οὗτος αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ἔγγονοι αὐτοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα συνάπαντες μέχρι βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Εὐπάτορος, ἐπολιτεύοντο δὲ δημοκρατικῶς ἔτη τετρακόσια δεκατέσσαρα.

(3) [235] Πρῶτος δ᾽ Ἀντίοχος ὁ προειρημένος καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς αὐτοῦ Λυσίας τὸν Ὀνίαν, ᾧ Μενέλαος ἐπίκλην, παύουσι τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἀνελόντες αὐτὸν ἐν Βεροίᾳ καὶ καθιστᾶσιν Ἰάκιμον ἀρχιερέα, γένους μὲν τοῦ Ἀαρῶνος, οὐκ ὄντα δὲ τῆς οἰκίας ταύτης. [236] διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Ὀνίας ὁ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος Ὀνίου ἐξάδελφος ὁμώνυμος τῷ πατρὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ διὰ φιλίας ἀφικόμενος Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Φιλομήτορι καὶ Κλεοπάτρᾳ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ, πείθει τούτους κατὰ τὸν Ἡλιοπολίτην νομὸν δειμαμένους τῷ θεῷ ναὸν παραπλήσιον τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις αὐτὸν ἀρχιερέα καταστῆσαι. [237] ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τοῦ ἱεροῦ

τοῦ κατασκευασθέντος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πολλάκις ἐδηλώσαμεν. ὁ δὲ Ἰάκιμος ἔτη τρία τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην κατασχὼν ἐτελεύτησεν. διεδέξατο δ' αὐτὸν οὐδείς, ἀλλὰ διετέλεσεν ἡ πόλις ἐνιαυτοὺς ἑπτὰ χωρὶς ἀρχιερέως οὖσα. [238] πάλιν δὲ οἱ τῶν Ἀσαμωναίου παίδων ἔγγονοι τὴν προστασίαν τοῦ ἔθνους πιστευθέντες καὶ πολεμήσαντες Μακεδόσιν Ἰωνάθην ἀρχιερέα καθιστᾶσιν, ὃς ἦρξεν ἐνιαυτοὺς ἑπτά. [239] τελευτήσαντος δὲ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνέδρας τῆς ὑπὸ Τρύφωνος μηχανηθείσης, ὡς ἀνωτέρω που προειρήκαμεν, λαμβάνει τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην Σίμων ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ. [240] καὶ τοῦτον δὲ δόλῳ παρὰ συμπόσιον ὑπὸ τοῦ γαμβροῦ διαφθαρέντα διεδέξατο παῖς Ὑρκανὸς ὄνομα ὃν κατασχόντα τὴν ἱερωσύνην πλείονα τἀδελφοῦ χρόνον ἐνιαυτῷ, τριακονταὲν ἔτη τῆς τιμῆς Ὑρκανὸς ἀπολαύσας τελευτᾷ γηραιὸς Ἰούδᾳ τῷ καὶ Ἀριστοβούλῳ κληθέντι τὴν διαδοχὴν καταλιπών. [241] κληρονομεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῦτον ἀδελφὸς Ἀλέξανδρος, ὑπὸ νόσου μὲν τελευτήσαντα, τὴν ἱερωσύνην δὲ κατασχόντα μετὰ βασιλείας, καὶ γὰρ διάδημα πρῶτος περιέθετο ὁ Ἰούδας, ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα.

(4) [242] Βασιλεύσας δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἱερατεύσας ἔτη εἰκοσιεπτὰ καταστρέφει τὸν βίον Ἀλεξάνδρᾳ τῇ γυναικὶ καταστῆσαι τὸν ἀρχιερατευσόμενον ἐπιτρέψας. ἡ δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀρχιερωσύνην Ὑρκανῷ δίδωσιν, αὐτὴ δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔτη ἐννέα κατασχοῦσα τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον: τὸν ἴσον δὲ χρόνον τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ὁ παῖς αὐτῆς Ὑρκανὸς ἔσχεν: [243] μετὰ γὰρ τὸν θάνατον αὐτῆς πολεμήσας πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀριστόβουλος καὶ νικήσας ἀφαιρεῖται μὲν ἐκεῖνον τὴν ἀρχήν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐβασίλευέ τε καὶ ἀρχιεράτευεν τοῦ ἔθνους. [244] ἔτει δὲ τρίτῳ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ πρὸς μησὶν τοῖς ἴσοις Πομπήιος ἐλθὼν καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος ἑλὼν αὐτὸν μὲν εἰς Ῥώμην μετὰ τῶν τέκνων δήσας ἔπεμψεν, τῷ δ' Ὑρκανῷ πάλιν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀποδοὺς τὴν μὲν τοῦ ἔθνους προστασίαν ἐπέτρεψεν, διάδημα δὲ φορεῖν ἐκώλυσεν. [245] ἦρξεν δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἐννέα τοῖς πρώτοις ὁ Ὑρκανὸς τέσσαρα καὶ εἴκοσιν. Βαζαφράνης δὲ καὶ Πάκορος οἱ τῆς Παρθυηνῆς δυνάσται διαβάντες τὸν Εὐφράτην καὶ πολεμήσαντες Ὑρκανῷ αὐτὸν μὲν ζωγρίᾳ συνέλαβον, τὸν Ἀριστοβούλου δὲ υἱὸν Ἀντίγονον κατέστησαν βασιλέα. [246] τρία δ' ἔτη καὶ τρεῖς μῆνας ἄρξαντα τοῦτον Σόσσιός τε καὶ Ἡρώδης ἐξεπολιόρκησαν, Ἀντώνιος δ' ἀνεῖλεν εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἀναχθέντα.

(5) [247] Τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν Ἡρώδης παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐγχειρισθεὶς οὐκέτι τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀσαμωναίου γένους καθίστησιν ἀρχιερεῖς, ἀλλά τισιν ἀσήμοις καὶ μόνον ἐξ ἱερέων οὖσιν πλὴν ἑνὸς Ἀριστοβούλου τὴν τιμὴν ἀπένεμεν. [248] τὸν δ' Ἀριστόβουλον Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ ὑπὸ Πάρθων ληφθέντος υἱωνὸν ὄντα καταστήσας ἀρχιερέα τῇ ἀδελφῇ αὐτοῦ συνῴκησεν Μαριάμμῃ, τὴν τοῦ πλήθους πρὸς ἑαυτὸν θηρώμενος εὔνοιαν διὰ τὴν Ὑρκανοῦ μνήμην. εἶτα φοβηθείς, μὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον πάντες ἀποκλίνωσιν, ἀνεῖλεν αὐτὸν ἐν Ἰεριχοῖ πνιγῆναι μηχανησάμενος κολυμβῶντα, καθὼς ἤδη δεδηλώκαμεν. [249] μετὰ τοῦτον οὐκέτι

τοῖς ἐγγόνοις τῶν Ἀσαμωναίου παίδων τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἐπίστευσεν. ἔπραξεν δὲ ὅμοια τῷ Ἡρώδῃ περὶ τῆς καταστάσεως τῶν ἱερέων Ἀρχέλαός τε ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον τὴν ἀρχὴν Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων παραλαβόντες. [250] εἰσὶν οὖν οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἡρώδου χρόνων ἀρχιερατεύσαντες μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας, ἧς τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὴν πόλιν Τίτος ἑλὼν ἐπυρπόλησεν, οἱ πάντες εἴκοσι καὶ ὀκτώ, χρόνος δὲ τούτων ἔτη πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν ἑπτά. [251] καὶ τινὲς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐπολιτεύσαντο ἐπί τε Ἡρώδου βασιλεύοντος καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀρχελάου τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ, μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων τελευτὴν ἀριστοκρατία μὲν ἦν ἡ πολιτεία, τὴν δὲ προστασίαν τοῦ ἔθνους οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ἐπεπίστευντο. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀρχιερέων ἱκανὰ ταῦτα.

XI

(1) [252] Γέσσιος δὲ Φλῶρος ὁ πεμφθεὶς Ἀλβίνου διάδοχος ὑπὸ Νέρωνος πολλῶν ἐνέπλησε κακῶν Ἰουδαίους. Κλαζομένιος μὲν ἦν τὸ γένος οὗτος, ἐπήγετο δὲ γυναῖκα Κλεοπάτραν, δι᾽ ἣν φίλην οὖσαν Ποππαίας τῆς Νέρωνος γυναικὸς καὶ πονηρίᾳ μηδὲν αὐτοῦ διαφέρουσαν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπέτυχεν. [253] οὕτω δὲ περὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐγένετο κακὸς καὶ βίαιος, ὥστε διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῶν κακῶν Ἀλβῖνον ἐπῄνουν ὡς εὐεργέτην Ἰουδαῖοι: [254] ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ ἐπεκρύπτετο τὴν πονηρίαν καὶ τοῦ μὴ παντάπασιν κατάφωρος εἶναι προυνόει, Γέσσιος δὲ Φλῶρος καθάπερ εἰς ἐπίδειξιν πονηρίας πεμφθεὶς τὰς εἰς τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν παρανομίας ἐπόμπευεν, μήτε ἁρπαγῆς παραλιπὼν μηδένα τρόπον μήτε ἀδίκου κολάσεως: [255] ἦν γὰρ ἄτεγκτος μὲν πρὸς ἔλεον, παντὸς δὲ κέρδους ἄπληστος, ᾧ γε μηδὲ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ὀλίγων διέφερεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λῃσταῖς ἐκοινώνησεν: ἀδεῶς γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἔπραττον ἐχέγγυον παρ᾽ ἐκείνου τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐπὶ τοῖς μέρεσιν ἔχειν πεπιστευκότες. [256] καὶ τοῦτο μέτριον οὐκ ἦν. ἀλλ᾽ οἱ δυστυχεῖς Ἰουδαῖοι μὴ δυνάμενοι τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν λῃστῶν γινομένας πορθήσεις ὑπομένειν ἠναγκάζοντο τῶν ἰδίων ἠθῶν ἐξανιστάμενοι φεύγειν ἅπαντες, ὡς κρεῖττον ὁπουδήποτε παρὰ τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις κατοικήσοντες. [257] καὶ τί δεῖ πλείω λέγειν; τὸν γὰρ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ὁ καταναγκάσας ἡμᾶς ἄρασθαι Φλῶρος ἦν κρεῖττον ἡγουμένους ἀθρόως ἢ κατ᾽ ὀλίγον ἀπολέσθαι. καὶ δὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν ὁ πόλεμος δευτέρῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς Φλώρου, δωδεκάτῳ δὲ τῆς Νέρωνος ἀρχῆς. [258] ἀλλ᾽ ὅσα μὲν δρᾶν ἠναγκάσθημεν ἢ παθεῖν ὑπεμείναμεν, ἀκριβῶς γνῶναι πάρεστιν τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐντυχεῖν ταῖς ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ περὶ τοῦ Ἰουδαικοῦ πολέμου βίβλοις γεγραμμέναις.

XII

(1) [259] Παύσεται δ᾽ ἐνταῦθά μοι τὰ τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας μεθ᾽ ἣν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἠρξάμην γράφειν. περιέχει δ᾽ αὕτη τὴν ἀπὸ πρώτης γενέσεως ἀνθρώπου

παράδοσιν μέχρι ἔτους δωδεκάτου τῆς Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας τῶν ἡμῖν συμβεβηκότων τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κατά τε τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ Συρίαν καὶ Παλαιστίνην, [260] ὅσα τε πεπόνθαμεν ὑπὸ Ἀσσυρίων τε καὶ Βαβυλωνίων, τίνα τε Πέρσαι καὶ Μακεδόνες διατεθείκασιν ἡμᾶς, καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκείνους Ῥωμαῖοι: πάντα γὰρ οἶμαι μετ᾽ ἀκριβείας συντεταχέναι. [261] τηρῆσαι δὲ πεπείραμαι καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀρχιερέων ἀναγραφὴν τῶν ἐν δισχιλίοις ἔτεσι γενομένων. ἀπλανῆ δὲ πεποίημαι καὶ τὴν περὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς διαδοχὴν τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς πολιτείας ἀπαγγέλλων μοναρχῶν τε δυναστείας, ὡς αἱ ἱεραὶ βίβλοι περὶ πάντων ἔχουσι τὴν ἀναγραφήν: τοῦτο γὰρ ποιήσειν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἱστορίας ἐπηγγειλάμην. [262] λέγω δὴ θαρσήσας ἤδη διὰ τὴν τῶν προτεθέντων συντέλειαν, ὅτι μηδεὶς ἂν ἕτερος ἠδυνήθη θελήσας μήτε Ἰουδαῖος μήτε ἀλλόφυλος τὴν πραγματείαν ταύτην οὕτως ἀκριβῶς εἰς Ἕλληνας ἐξενεγκεῖν: [263] ἔχω γὰρ ὁμολογούμενον παρὰ τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν πλεῖστον αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχώριον παιδείαν διαφέρειν καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν δὲ γραμμάτων ἐσπούδασα μετασχεῖν τὴν γραμματικὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἀναλαβών, τὴν δὲ περὶ τὴν προφορὰν ἀκρίβειαν πάτριος ἐκώλυσεν συνήθεια. [264] παρ᾽ ἡμῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἐκείνους ἀποδέχονται τοὺς πολλῶν ἐθνῶν διάλεκτον ἐκμαθόντας διὰ τὸ κοινὸν εἶναι νομίζειν τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα τοῦτο μόνον οὐκ ἐλευθέροις τοῖς τυχοῦσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν τοῖς θέλουσι, μόνοις δὲ σοφίαν μαρτυροῦσιν τοῖς τὰ νόμιμα σαφῶς ἐπισταμένοις καὶ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων δύναμιν ἑρμηνεῦσαι δυναμένοις. [265] διὰ τοῦτο πολλῶν πονησάντων περὶ τὴν ἄσκησιν ταύτην μόλις δύο τινὲς ἢ τρεῖς κατώρθωσαν καὶ τῶν πόνων τὴν ἐπικαρπίαν εὐθὺς ἔλαβον.

(2) [266] ἴσως δ᾽ οὐκ ἂν ἐπίφθονον γένοιτο καὶ περὶ γένους τοὐμοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πράξεων βραχέα διεξελθεῖν ἕως ἔχω ζῶντας ἢ τοὺς ἐλέγξοντας ἢ τοὺς μαρτυρήσοντας.

[267] Ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ καταπαύσω τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν βιβλίοις μὲν εἴκοσι περιειλημμένην, ἓξ δὲ μυριάσι στίχων, κἂν τὸ θεῖον ἐπιτρέπῃ κατὰ περιδρομὴν ὑπομνήσω πάλιν τοῦ τε πολέμου καὶ τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἡμῖν μέχρι τῆς νῦν ἐνεστώσης ἡμέρας, ἥτις ἐστὶν τρισκαιδεκάτου μὲν ἔτους τῆς Δομετιανοῦ Καίσαρος ἀρχῆς, ἐμοὶ δ᾽ ἀπὸ γενέσεως πεντηκοστοῦ τε καὶ ἕκτου. [268] προῄρημαι δὲ συγγράψαι κατὰ τὰς ἡμετέρας δόξας τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐν τέσσαρσι βίβλοις περὶ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν νόμων, διὰ τί κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς τὰ μὲν ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν ποιεῖν, τὰ δὲ κεκώλυται.

AGAINST APIO

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I

[1] Ἱκανῶς μὲν ὑπολαμβάνω καὶ διὰ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν συγγραφῆς, κράτιστε ἀνδρῶν Ἐπαφρόδιτε, τοῖς ἐντευξομένοις αὐτῇ πεποιηκέναι φανερὸν περὶ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὅτι καὶ παλαιότατόν ἐστι καὶ τὴν πρώτην ὑπόστασιν ἔσχεν ἰδίαν, καὶ πῶς τὴν χώραν ἣν νῦν ἔχομεν κατῴκησε Πεντακισχιλίων ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸν ἱστορίαν περιέχουσαν ἐκ τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἱερῶν βίβλων διὰ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς φωνῆς συνεγραψάμην. [2] ἐπεὶ δὲ συχνοὺς ὁρῶ ταῖς ὑπὸ δυσμενείας ὑπό τινων εἰρημέναις προσέχοντας βλασφημίαις καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ γεγραμμένοις ἀπιστοῦντας τεκμήριόν τε ποιουμένους τοῦ νεώτερον εἶναι τὸ γένος ἡμῶν τὸ μηδεμιᾶς παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιφανέσι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἱστοριογράφων μνήμης ἠξιῶσθαι, [3] περὶ τούτων ἁπάντων ᾠήθην δεῖν γράψαι συντόμως τῶν μὲν λοιδορούντων τὴν δυσμένειαν καὶ τὴν ἑκούσιον ἐλέγξαι ψευδολογίαν, τῶν δὲ τὴν ἄγνοιαν ἐπανορθώσασθαι, διδάξαι δὲ πάντας, ὅσοι [4] τἀληθὲς εἰδέναι βούλονται, περὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχαιότητος. χρήσομαι δὲ τῶν μὲν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ λεγομένων μάρτυσι τοῖς ἀξιοπιστοτάτοις εἶναι περὶ πάσης ἀρχαιολογίας ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κεκριμένοις, τοὺς δὲ βλασφήμως περὶ ἡμῶν καὶ ψευδῶς γεγραφότας αὐτοὺς δι᾽ ἑαυτῶν ἐλεγχομένους παρέξω. [5] πειράσομαι δὲ καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἀποδοῦναι, δι᾽ ἃς οὐ πολλοὶ τοῦ ἔθνους ἡμῶν ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις Ἕλληνες ἐμνημονεύκασιν, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τοὺς οὐ παραλιπόντας τὴν περὶ ἡμῶν ἱστορίαν ποιήσω φανεροὺς τοῖς μὴ γιγνώσκουσιν ἢ προσποιουμένοις ἀγνοεῖν.

II

[6] Πρῶτον οὖν ἐπέρχεταί μοι πάνυ θαυμάζειν τοὺς οἰομένους δεῖν περὶ τῶν παλαιοτάτων ἔργων μόνοις προσέχειν τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ παρὰ τούτων πυνθάνεσθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἀπιστεῖν: πᾶν γὰρ ἐγὼ τοὐναντίον ὁρῶ συμβεβηκός, εἴ γε δεῖ μὴ ταῖς ματαίαις δόξαις ἐπακολουθεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ [7] αὐτῶν τὸ δίκαιον τῶν πραγμάτων λαμβάνειν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἅπαντα νέα καὶ χθὲς καὶ πρῴην, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, εὕροι γεγονότα, λέγω δὲ τὰς κτίσεις τῶν πόλεων καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς ἐπινοίας τῶν τεχνῶν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς τῶν νόμων ἀναγραφάς: πάντων δὲ νεωτάτη σχεδόν ἐστι παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἡ περὶ τὸ συγγράφειν [8] τὰς ἱστορίας ἐπιμέλεια. τὰ μέντοι παρ᾽ Αἰγυπτίοις τε καὶ Χαλδαίοις καὶ Φοίνιξιν, ἐῶ γὰρ νῦν ἡμᾶς ἐκείνοις συγκαταλέγειν, αὐτοὶ δήπουθεν ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀρχαιοτάτην τε καὶ μονιμωτάτην ἔχειν τῆς [9] μνήμης τὴν παράδοσιν: καὶ γὰρ τόπους ἅπαντες οἰκοῦσιν ἥκιστα ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ περιέχοντος

φθοραῖς ὑποκειμένους καὶ πολλὴν ἐποιήσαντο πρόνοιαν τοῦ μηδὲν ἄμνηστον τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς πραττομένων παραλιπεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν δημοσίαις ἀναγραφαῖς ὑπὸ τῶν σοφωτάτων [10] ἀεὶ καθιεροῦσθαι. τὸν δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τόπον μυρίαι μὲν φθοραὶ κατέσχον ἐξαλείφουσαι τὴν μνήμην τῶν γεγονότων, ἀεὶ δὲ καινοὺς καθιστάμενοι βίους τοῦ παντὸς ἐνόμιζον ἄρχειν ἕκαστοι τῶν ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν, ὀψὲ δὲ καὶ μόλις ἔγνωσαν φύσιν γραμμάτων: οἱ γοῦν ἀρχαιοτάτην αὐτῶν τὴν χρῆσιν εἶναι θέλοντες παρὰ Φοινίκων [11] καὶ Κάδμου σεμνύνονται μαθεῖν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου δύναιτό τις ἂν δεῖξαι σωζομένην ἀναγραφὴν οὔτ᾽ ἐν ἱεροῖς οὔτ᾽ ἐν δημοσίοις ἀναθήμασιν, ὅπου γε καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίαν τοσούτοις ἔτεσι στρατευσάντων ὕστερον πολλὴ γέγονεν ἀπορία τε καὶ ζήτησις, εἰ γράμμασιν ἐχρῶντο, καὶ τἀληθὲς ἐπικρατεῖ μᾶλλον περὶ τοῦ τὴν νῦν οὖσαν τῶν γραμμάτων χρῆσιν ἐκείνους ἀγνοεῖν. [12] ὅλως δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν οὐδὲν ὁμολογούμενον εὑρίσκεται γράμμα τῆς Ὁμήρου ποιήσεως πρεσβύτερον, οὗτος δὲ καὶ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ὕστερος φαίνεται γενόμενος, καί φασιν οὐδὲ τοῦτον ἐν γράμμασι τὴν αὐτοῦ ποίησιν καταλιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ διαμνημονευομένην ἐκ τῶν ᾀσμάτων ὕστερον συντεθῆναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλὰς ἐν αὐτῇ σχεῖν [13] τὰς διαφωνίας. οἱ μέντοι τὰς ἱστορίας ἐπιχειρήσαντες συγγράφειν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς, λέγω δὲ τοὺς περὶ Κάδμον τε τὸν Μιλήσιον καὶ τὸν Ἀργεῖον Ἀκουσίλαον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον εἴ τινες ἄλλοι λέγονται γενέσθαι, βραχὺ τῆς Περσῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατείας τῷ χρόνῳ προύλαβον. [14] ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῶν οὐρανίων τε καὶ θείων πρώτους παρ᾽ Ἕλλησι φιλοσοφήσαντας, οἷον Φερεκύδην τε τὸν Σύριον καὶ Πυθαγόραν καὶ Θάλητα, πάντες συμφώνως ὁμολογοῦσιν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Χαλδαίων γενομένους μαθητὰς ὀλίγα συγγράψαι, καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εἶναι δοκεῖ πάντων ἀρχαιότατα καὶ μόλις αὐτὰ πιστεύουσιν ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνων γεγράφθαι.

III

[15] Πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλογον τετυφῶσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὡς μόνους ἐπισταμένους τἀρχαῖα καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν περὶ αὐτῶν ἀκριβῶς παραδιδόντας; ἢ τίς οὐ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἂν τῶν συγγραφέων μάθοι ῥᾳδίως, ὅτι μηδὲν βεβαίως εἰδότες συνέγραφον, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἕκαστοι περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων εἴκαζον; τὸ πλεῖον γοῦν διὰ τῶν βιβλίων ἀλλήλους ἐλέγχουσι καὶ τἀναντιώτατα περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγειν οὐκ ὀκνοῦσι. [16] περίεργος δ᾽ ἂν εἴην ἐγὼ τοὺς ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον ἐπισταμένους διδάσκων ὅσα μὲν Ἑλλάνικος Ἀκουσιλάῳ περὶ τῶν γενεαλογιῶν διαπεφώνηκεν, ὅσα δὲ διορθοῦται τὸν Ἡσίοδον Ἀκουσίλαος, ἢ τίνα τρόπον Ἔφορος μὲν Ἑλλάνικον ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις ψευδόμενον ἐπιδείκνυσιν, Ἔφορον δὲ Τίμαιος καὶ Τίμαιον οἱ μετ᾽ ἐκεῖνον γεγονότες, Ἡρόδοτον δὲ πάντες. [17] ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν Σικελικῶν τοῖς περὶ Ἀντίοχον καὶ Φίλιστον ἢ Καλλίαν Τίμαιος συμφωνεῖν ἠξίωσεν, οὐδ᾽ αὖ περὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν οἱ τὰς Ἀτθίδας συγγεγραφότες ἢ περὶ τῶν Ἀργολικῶν οἱ τὰ

περὶ Ἄργος ἱστοροῦντες ἀλλήλοις κατηκολουθήκασι. [18] καὶ τί δεῖ λέγειν περὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλεις καὶ βραχυτέρων; ὅπου γε περὶ τῆς Περσικῆς στρατείας καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πραχθέντων οἱ δοκιμώτατοι διαπεφωνήκασι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ Θουκυδίδης ὡς ψευδόμενος ὑπό τινων κατηγορεῖται καίτοι δοκῶν ἀκριβεστάτην τὴν καθ' αὐτὸν ἱστορίαν συγγράφειν.

IV

[19] Αἰτίαι δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης διαφωνίας πολλαὶ μὲν ἴσως ἂν καὶ ἕτεραι τοῖς βουλομένοις ζητεῖν ἂν φανεῖεν, ἐγὼ δὲ δυσὶ ταῖς λεχθησομέναις τὴν μεγίστην ἰσχὺν ἀνατίθημι, καὶ προτέραν ἐρῶ [20] τὴν κυριωτέραν εἶναί μοι δοκοῦσαν: τὸ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὴ σπουδασθῆναι παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι δημοσίας γίνεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἑκάστοτε πραττομένων ἀναγραφὰς τοῦτο μάλιστα δὴ καὶ τὴν πλάνην καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ ψεύδεσθαι τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα βουληθεῖσι περὶ τῶν παλαιῶν τι γράφειν παρέσχεν. [21] οὐ γὰρ μόνον παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησιν ἠμελήθη τὰ περὶ τὰς ἀναγραφάς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, οὓς αὐτόχθονας εἶναι λέγουσιν καὶ παιδείας ἐπιμελεῖς, οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον εὑρίσκεται γενόμενον, ἀλλὰ τῶν δημοσίων γραμμάτων ἀρχαιοτάτους εἶναί φασι τοὺς ὑπὸ Δράκοντος αὐτοῖς περὶ τῶν φονικῶν γραφέντας νόμους ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τῆς Πεισιστράτου τυραννίδος ἀνθρώπου γεγονότος. [22] περὶ μὲν γὰρ Ἀρκάδων τί δεῖ λέγειν αὐχούντων ἀρχαιότητα; μόλις γὰρ οὗτοι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα γράμμασιν ἐπαιδεύθησαν.

V

[23] Ἅτε δὴ τοίνυν οὐδεμιᾶς προκαταβεβλημένης ἀναγραφῆς, ἣ καὶ τοὺς μαθεῖν βουλομένους διδάξειν ἔμελλεν καὶ τοὺς ψευδομένους ἐλέγξειν, ἡ πολλὴ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγένετο διαφωνία τοῖς συγγραφεῦσι. [24] δευτέραν δὲ πρὸς ταύτῃ θετέον ἐκείνην αἰτίαν: οἱ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ γράφειν ὁρμήσαντες οὐ περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐσπούδασαν, καίτοι τοῦτο πρόχειρόν ἐστιν ἀεὶ τὸ ἐπάγγελμα, λόγων δὲ δύναμιν [25] ἐπεδείκνυντο, καὶ καθ' ὅντινα τρόπον ἐν τούτῳ παρευδοκιμήσειν τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπελάμβανον, κατὰ τοῦτον ἠρμόζοντο τινὲς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ μυθολογεῖν τραπόμενοι, τινὲς δὲ πρὸς χάριν ἢ τὰς πόλεις ἢ τοὺς βασιλέας ἐπαινοῦντες: ἄλλοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ κατηγορεῖν τῶν πράξεων ἢ τῶν γεγραφότων ἐχώρησαν ἐνευδοκιμήσειν τούτῳ νομίζοντες. [26] ὅλως δὲ τὸ πάντων ἐναντιώτατον ἱστορίᾳ πράττοντες διατελοῦσι: τῆς μὲν γὰρ ἀληθοῦς ἐστι τεκμήριον ἱστορίας, εἰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἅπαντες ταὐτὰ καὶ λέγοιεν καὶ γράφοιεν. οἱ δ' εἰ ταῦτα γράψειαν ἑτέρως, οὕτως ἐνόμιζον αὐτοὶ φανεῖσθαι πάντων ἀληθέστατοι. [27] λόγων μὲν οὖν ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς ἐν τούτοις δεινότητος δεῖ παραχωρεῖν ἡμᾶς τοῖς συγγραφεῦσι τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς, οὐ μὴν καὶ τῆς περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀληθοῦς ἱστορίας καὶ μάλιστά γε τῆς περὶ τῶν ἑκάστοις ἐπιχωρίων.

VI

[28] Ὅτι μὲν οὖν παρ᾽ Αἰγυπτίοις τε καὶ Βαβυλωνίοις ἐκ μακροτάτων ἄνωθεν χρόνων τὴν περὶ τὰς ἀναγραφὰς ἐπιμέλειαν ὅπου μὲν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἦσαν ἐγκεχειρισμένοι καὶ περὶ ταύτας ἐφιλοσόφουν, Χαλδαῖοι δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις, καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα δὴ τῶν Ἕλλησιν ἐπιμιγνυμένων ἐχρήσαντο Φοίνικες γράμμασιν εἴς τε τὰς περὶ τὸν βίον οἰκονομίας καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν κοινῶν ἔργων παράδοσιν, [29] ἐπειδὴ συγχωροῦσιν ἅπαντες, ἐάσειν μοι δοκῶ. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων ὅτι τὴν αὐτήν, ἐῶ γὰρ λέγειν εἰ καὶ πλείω τῶν εἰρημένων ἐποιήσαντο περὶ τὰς ἀναγραφὰς ἐπιμέλειαν τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι καὶ τοῖς προφήταις τοῦτο προστάξαντες, καὶ ὡς μέχρι τῶν καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς χρόνων πεφύλακται μετὰ πολλῆς ἀκριβείας, εἰ δὲ δεῖ θρασύτερον εἰπεῖν καὶ φυλαχθήσεται, πειράσομαι συντόμως διδάσκειν.

VII

[30] Οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τούτων τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ τῇ θεραπείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ προσεδρεύοντας κατέστησαν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅπως τὸ γένος [31] τῶν ἱερέων ἄμικτον καὶ καθαρὸν διαμενεῖ προυνόησαν. δεῖ γὰρ τὸν μετέχοντα τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐξ ὁμοεθνοῦς γυναικὸς παιδοποιεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ πρὸς χρήματα μηδὲ τὰς ἄλλας ἀποβλέπειν τιμὰς, ἀλλὰ τὸ γένος ἐξετάζειν ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων λαμβάνοντα τὴν διαδοχὴν [32] καὶ πολλοὺς παρεχόμενον μάρτυρας. καὶ ταῦτα πράττομεν οὐ μόνον ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς Ἰουδαίας, ἀλλ᾽ ὅπου ποτὲ σύστημα τοῦ γένους ἐστὶν ἡμῶν κἀκεῖ τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἀποσώζεται τοῖς ἱερεῦσι περὶ τοὺς γάμους: [33] λέγω δὲ τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Βαβυλῶνι καὶ εἴ που τῆς ἄλλης οἰκουμένης τοῦ γένους τῶν ἱερέων εἰσί τινες διεσπαρμένοι: πέμπουσι γὰρ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα συγγράψαντες πατρόθεν τοὔνομα τῆς τε γαμετῆς [34] καὶ τῶν ἐπάνω προγόνων καὶ τίνες οἱ μαρτυροῦντες. πόλεμος δ᾽ εἰ κατάσχοι, καθάπερ ἤδη γέγονεν πολλάκις Ἀντιόχου τε τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐμβαλόντος καὶ Πομπηίου Μάγνου καὶ Κυντιλίου [35] Οὐάρου μάλιστα δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς χρόνοις, οἱ περιλειπόμενοι τῶν ἱερέων καινὰ πάλιν ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων γραμμάτων συνίστανται καὶ δοκιμάζουσι τὰς ὑπολειφθείσας γυναῖκας. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰς αἰχμαλώτους γενομένας προσίενται πολλάκις γεγονυιῶν [36] αὐταῖς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλόφυλον κοινωνίαν ὑφορώμενοι. τεκμήριον δὲ μέγιστον τῆς ἀκριβείας: οἱ γὰρ ἀρχιερεῖς οἱ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἀπὸ δισχιλίων ἐτῶν ὀνομαστοὶ παῖδες ἐκ πατρὸς εἰσὶν ἐν ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς. τοῖς δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων ὁτιοῦν γένοιτο εἰς παράβασιν ἀπηγόρευται μήτε τοῖς βωμοῖς παρίστασθαι μήτε μετέχειν τῆς ἄλλης ἁγιστείας. [37] εἰκότως οὖν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀναγκαίως, ἅτε μήτε τὸ ὑπογράφειν αὐτεξουσίου πᾶσιν ὄντος μήτε τινὸς ἐν τοῖς γραφομένοις ἐνούσης διαφωνίας, ἀλλὰ μόνον τῶν προφητῶν τὰ μὲν ἀνωτάτω

καὶ παλαιότατα κατὰ τὴν ἐπίπνοιαν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μαθόντων, τὰ δὲ καθ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐγένετο σαφῶς συγγραφόντων,

VIII

[38] οὐ μυριάδες βιβλίων εἰσὶ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἀσυμφώνων καὶ μαχομένων, δύο δὲ μόνα πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι βιβλία τοῦ παντὸς ἔχοντα χρόνου τὴν ἀναγραφήν, τὰ δικαίως πεπιστευμένα. [39] καὶ τούτων πέντε μέν ἐστι Μωυσέως, ἃ τούς τε νόμους περιέχει καὶ τὴν ἀπ᾽ ἀνθρωπογονίας παράδοσιν μέχρι τῆς αὐτοῦ τελευτῆς: οὗτος ὁ χρόνος ἀπολείπει τρισχιλίων ὀλίγῳ ἐτῶν. [40] ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Μωυσέως τελευτῆς μέχρι τῆς Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ μετὰ Ξέρξην Περσῶν βασιλέως οἱ μετὰ Μωυσῆν προφῆται τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς πραχθέντα συνέγραψαν ἐν τρισὶ καὶ δέκα βιβλίοις: αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ τέσσαρες ὕμνους εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑποθήκας τοῦ βίου περιέχουσιν. [41] ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀρταξέρξου μέχρι τοῦ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς χρόνου γέγραπται μὲν ἕκαστα, πίστεως δ᾽ οὐχ ὁμοίας ἠξίωται τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν προφητῶν ἀκριβῆ διαδοχήν. [42] δῆλον δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἔργῳ, πῶς ἡμεῖς πρόσιμεν τοῖς ἰδίοις γράμμασι: τοσούτου γὰρ αἰῶνος ἤδη παρῳχηκότος οὔτε προσθεῖναί τις οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀφελεῖν αὐτῶν οὔτε μεταθεῖναι τετόλμηκεν, πᾶσι δὲ σύμφυτόν ἐστιν εὐθὺς ἐκ πρώτης γενέσεως Ἰουδαίοις τὸ νομίζειν αὐτὰ θεοῦ δόγματα καὶ τούτοις ἐμμένειν καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, εἰ δέοι, θνήσκειν ἡδέως. [43] ἤδη οὖν πολλοὶ πολλάκις ἑώρανται τῶν αἰχμαλώτων στρέβλας καὶ παντοίων θανάτων τρόπους ἐν θεάτροις ὑπομένοντες ἐπὶ τῷ μηδὲν ῥῆμα προέσθαι παρὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰς μετὰ τούτων ἀναγραφάς. [44] ὃ τίς ἂν ὑπομείνειεν Ἑλλήνων ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ; ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ὑπὲρ τοῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀφανισθῆναι συγγράμματα [45] τὴν τυχοῦσαν ὑποστήσεται βλάβην: λόγους γὰρ αὐτὰ νομίζουσιν εἶναι κατὰ τὴν τῶν γραψάντων βούλησιν ἐσχεδιασμένους, καὶ τοῦτο δικαίως καὶ περὶ τῶν παλαιοτέρων φρονοῦσιν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῶν νῦν ἐνίους ὁρῶσι τολμῶντας περὶ τούτων συγγράφειν, οἷς μήτ᾽ αὐτοὶ παρεγένοντο μήτε πυθέσθαι παρὰ τῶν εἰδότων ἐφιλοτιμήθησαν. [46] ἀμέλει καὶ περὶ τοῦ γενομένου νῦν ἡμῖν πολέμου τινὲς ἱστορίας ἐπιγράψαντες ἐξενηνόχασιν οὔτ᾽ εἰς τοὺς τόπους παραβαλόντες οὔτε πλησίον τούτων πραττομένων προσελθόντες, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ παρακουσμάτων ὀλίγα συνθέντες τῷ τῆς ἱστορίας ὀνόματι λίαν ἀναιδῶς ἐνεπαροίνησαν.

IX

[47] Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου παντὸς καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῷ κατὰ μέρος γενομένων ἀληθῆ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ἐποιησάμην τοῖς πράγμασιν [48] αὐτὸς ἅπασι παρατυχών: ἐστρατήγουν μὲν γὰρ τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν Γαλιλαίων ὀνομαζομένων ἕως ἀντέχειν δυνατὸν ἦν, ἐγενόμην δὲ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις συλληφθεὶς αἰχμάλωτος καί με διὰ φυλακῆς Οὐεσπασιανὸς καὶ Τίτος ἔχοντες ἀεὶ προσεδρεύειν αὐτοῖς

ἠνάγκασαν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον δεδεμένον, αὖθις δὲ λυθεὶς συνεπέμφθην ἀπὸ [49] τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας Τίτῳ πρὸς τὴν Ἱεροσολύμων πολιορκίαν. ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ γενομένην τῶν πραττομένων οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ τὴν ἐμὴν γνῶσιν διέφυγεν: καὶ γὰρ τὰ κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ῥωμαίων ὁρῶν ἐπιμελῶς ἀνέγραφον καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν αὐτομόλων ἀπαγγελλόμενα μόνος [50] αὐτὸς συνίειν. εἶτα σχολῆς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ λαβόμενος, πάσης μοι τῆς πραγματείας ἐν παρασκευῇ γεγενημένης χρησάμενός τισι πρὸς τὴν Ἑλληνίδα φωνὴν συνεργοῖς οὕτως ἐποιησάμην τῶν πράξεων τὴν παράδοσιν. τοσοῦτον δέ μοι περιῆν θάρσος τῆς ἀληθείας, ὥστε πρώτους πάντων τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας τοῦ πολέμου γενομένους Οὐεσπασιανὸν [51] καὶ Τίτον ἠξίωσα λαβεῖν μάρτυρας. πρώτοις γὰρ δέδωκα τὰ βιβλία καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκείνους πολλοῖς μὲν Ῥωμαίων τοῖς συμπεπολεμηκόσι, πολλοῖς δὲ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐπίπρασκον, ἀνδράσι καὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς σοφίας μετεσχηκόσιν, ὧν ἐστιν Ἰούλιος Ἀρχέλαος, Ἡρώδης ὁ σεμνότατος, αὐτὸς ὁ θαυμασιώτατος βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας. [52] οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἅπαντες ἐμαρτύρησαν, ὅτι τῆς ἀληθείας προύστην ἐπιμελῶς, οὐκ ἂν ὑποστειλάμενοι καὶ σιωπήσαντες, εἴ τι κατ᾽ ἄγνοιαν ἢ χαριζόμενος μετέθηκα τῶν γεγονότων ἢ παρέλιπον.

X

[53] Φαῦλοι δέ τινες ἄνθρωποι διαβάλλειν μου τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐπικεχειρήκασιν ὥσπερ ἐν σχολῇ μειρακίων γύμνασμα προκεῖσθαι νομίζοντες κατηγορίας παραδόξου καὶ διαβολῆς, δέον ἐκεῖνο γιγνώσκειν, ὅτι δεῖ τὸν ἄλλοις παράδοσιν πράξεων ἀληθινῶν ὑπισχνούμενον αὐτὸν ἐπίστασθαι ταύτας πρότερον ἀκριβῶς ἢ παρηκολουθηκότα [54] τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἢ παρὰ τῶν εἰδότων πυνθανόμενον. ὅπερ ἐγὼ μάλιστα περὶ ἀμφοτέρας νομίζω πεποιηκέναι τὰς πραγματείας: τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαιολογίαν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων μεθερμήνευκα γεγονὼς ἱερεὺς ἐκ γένους καὶ μετεσχηκὼς τῆς φιλοσοφίας [55] τῆς ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς γράμμασι: τοῦ δὲ πολέμου τὴν ἱστορίαν ἔγραψα πολλῶν μὲν αὐτουργὸς πράξεων, πλείστων δ᾽ αὐτόπτης γενόμενος, ὅλως δὲ τῶν λεχθέντων ἢ πραχθέντων οὐδοτιοῦν ἀγνοήσας. [56] πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἂν θρασεῖς τις ἡγήσαιτο τοὺς ἀνταγωνίζεσθαί μοι περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπικεχειρηκότας, οἳ κἂν τοῖς τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων ὑπομνήμασιν ἐντυχεῖν λέγωσιν, ἀλλ᾽ οὔ γε καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις τῶν ἀντιπολεμούντων πράγμασι παρέτυχον.

XI

[57] Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἀναγκαίαν ἐποιησάμην τὴν παρέκβασιν ἐπισημήνασθαι βουλόμενος τῶν ἐπαγγελλομένων τὰς ἱστορίας [58] συγγράφειν τὴν εὐχέρειαν. ἱκανῶς δὲ φανερόν, ὡς οἶμαι, πεποιηκὼς ὅτι πάτριός ἐστιν ἡ περὶ τῶν παλαιῶν ἀναγραφὴ τοῖς βαρβάροις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς Ἕλλησι, βούλομαι μικρὰ πρότερον

διαλεχθῆναι πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας νέαν ἡμῶν ἀποφαίνειν τὴν κατάστασιν ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν περὶ ἡμῶν, ὥς φασιν ἐκεῖνοι, λελέχθαι παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς συγγραφεῦσιν. [59] εἶτα δὲ τὰς μαρτυρίας τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἐκ τῶν παρ᾽ ἄλλοις γραμμάτων παρέξω καὶ τοὺς βεβλασφημηκότας ἡμῶν τὸ γένος ἀποδείξω λίαν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις βλασφημοῦντας.

XII

[60] Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν οὔτε χώραν οἰκοῦμεν παράλιον οὔτ᾽ ἐμπορίαις χαίρομεν οὐδὲ ταῖς πρὸς ἄλλους διὰ τούτων ἐπιμιξίαις, ἀλλ᾽ εἰσὶ μὲν ἡμῶν αἱ πόλεις μακρὰν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀνῳκισμέναι, χώραν δὲ ἀγαθὴν νεμόμενοι ταύτην ἐκπονοῦμεν μάλιστα δὴ πάντων περὶ παιδοτροφίαν φιλοκαλοῦντες καὶ τὸ φυλάττειν τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν κατὰ τούτους παραδεδομένην εὐσέβειαν ἔργον ἀναγκαιότατον παντὸς τοῦ βίου πεποιημένοι. [61] προσούσης τοίνυν τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν βίον ἡμῶν ἰδιότητος οὐδὲν ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς χρόνοις ποιοῦν ἡμῖν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπιμιξίαν, ὥσπερ Αἰγυπτίοις μὲν τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐξαγόμενα καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰσαγόμενα, τοῖς δὲ τὴν παράλιον τῆς Φοινίκης κατοικοῦσιν ἡ περὶ τὰς καπηλείας καὶ [62] περὶ τὰς ἐμπορίας σπουδὴ διὰ τὸ φιλοχρηματεῖν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πρὸς λῃστείας, ὥσπερ ἄλλοι τινές, ἢ τὸ πλέον ἔχειν ἀξιοῦν πολεμοῦντες ἐτράπησαν ἡμῶν οἱ πατέρες καίτοι πολλὰς τῆς χώρας ἐχούσης μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἀτόλμων. [63] διὰ τοῦτο Φοίνικες μὲν αὐτοὶ κατ᾽ ἐμπορίαν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπεισπλέοντες εὐθὺς ἐγνώσθησαν καὶ δι᾽ ἐκείνων Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ πάντες, ἀφ᾽ ὧν τὸν φόρτον εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας διεκόμιζον μεγάλα πελάγη διαίροντες. [64] Μῆδοι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ Πέρσαι φανεροὶ κατέστησαν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπάρξαντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἠπείρου Πέρσαι στρατεύσαντες. Θρᾷκες δὲ διὰ γειτονίαν καὶ τὸ Σκυθικὸν ὑπὸ τῶν εἰς τὸν Πόντον ἐγνώσθη πλεόντων. [65] ὅλως γὰρ ἅπαντες οἱ παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν καὶ τὴν πρὸς ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἑσπέριον κατοικοῦντες τοῖς συγγράφειν τι βουλομένοις γνωριμώτεροι κατέστησαν, οἱ δὲ ταύτης [66] ἀνωτέρω τὰς οἰκήσεις ἔχοντες ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἠγνοήθησαν. καὶ τοῦτο φαίνεται καὶ περὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην συμβεβηκός, ὅπου γε τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως, τοιαύτην ἐκ μακροῦ δύναμιν κεκτημένης καὶ τοιαύτας πράξεις κατορθούσης πολεμικάς, οὔθ᾽ ὁ Ἡρόδοτος οὔτε Θουκυδίδης οὔτε τῶν ἅμα τούτοις γενομένων οὐδὲ εἷς ἐμνημόνευκεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὀψέ ποτε καὶ μόλις αὐτῶν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἡ γνῶσις διεξῆλθεν. [67] περὶ μὲν γὰρ Γαλατῶν τε καὶ Ἰβήρων οὕτως ἠγνόησαν οἱ δοκοῦντες ἀκριβέστατοι συγγραφεῖς, ὧν ἐστιν Ἔφορος, ὥστε πόλιν οἴεται μίαν εἶναι τοὺς Ἴβηρας τοὺς τοσοῦτο μέρος τῆς ἑσπερίου γῆς κατοικοῦντας, καὶ τὰ μήτε γενόμενα παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἔθη μήτε λεγόμενα γράφειν ὡς ἐκείνων αὐτοῖς χρωμένων ἐτόλμησαν. [68] αἴτιον δὲ τοῦ μὲν μὴ γιγνώσκειν τἀληθὲς τὸ λίαν ἀνεπίμικτον, τοῦ δὲ γράφειν ψευδῆ τὸ βούλεσθαι δοκεῖν τι πλέον τῶν ἄλλων

ἱστορεῖν. πῶς οὖν ἔτι θαυμάζειν προσῆκεν, εἰ μηδὲ τὸ ἡμέτερον ἔθνος πολλοῖς ἐγιγνώσκετο μηδὲ τῆς ἐν τοῖς συγγράμμασι μνήμης ἀφορμὴν παρέσχεν, οὕτως μὲν ἀπῳκισμένον τῆς θαλάσσης, οὕτως δὲ βιοτεύειν προῃρημένον;

XIII

[69] Φέρε τοίνυν ἡμᾶς ἀξιοῦν τεκμηρίῳ χρῆσθαι περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὅτι μὴ παλαιόν ἐστιν αὐτῶν τὸ γένος, τῷ μηθὲν ἐν ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἀναγραφαῖς περὶ αὐτῶν εἰρῆσθαι. ἆρ᾽ οὐχὶ πάντως ἂν κατεγέλων αὐτὰς οἶμαι τὰς ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ νῦν εἰρημένας κομίζοντες αἰτίας καὶ μάρτυρας ἂν τοὺς πλησιοχώρους παρείχοντο τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχαιότητος; [70] κἀγὼ τοίνυν πειράσομαι τοῦτο ποιεῖν: Αἰγυπτίοις γὰρ καὶ Φοίνιξι μάλιστα δὴ χρήσομαι μάρτυσιν, οὐκ ἄν τινος ὡς ψευδῆ τὴν μαρτυρίαν διαβάλλειν δυνηθέντος: φαίνονται γὰρ καὶ δὴ μάλιστα πρὸς ἡμᾶς δυσμενῶς διατεθέντες κοινῇ μὲν ἅπαντες [71] Αἰγύπτιοι, Φοινίκων δὲ Τύριοι. περὶ μέντοι Χαλδαίων οὐκέτι ταὐτὸ τοῦτο δυναίμην ἂν λέγειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἀρχηγοὶ καθεστήκασιν καὶ διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν ἀναγραφαῖς Ἰουδαίων μνημονεύουσιν. [72] ὅταν δὲ τὰς περὶ τούτων πίστεις παράσχω, τότε καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συγγραφέων ἀποφανῶ τοὺς μνήμην Ἰουδαίων πεποιηκότας, ἵνα μηδὲ ταύτην ἔτι τὴν πρόφασιν οἱ βασκαίνοντες ἔχωσιν τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀντιλογίας.

XIV

[73] Ἄρξομαι δὲ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν παρ᾽ Αἰγυπτίοις γραμμάτων. αὐτὰ μὲν οὖν οὐχ οἷόν τε παρατίθεσθαι τἀκείνων, Μάνεθως δ᾽ ἦν τὸ γένος Αἰγύπτιος ἀνὴρ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς μετεσχηκὼς παιδείας, ὡς δῆλός ἐστιν: γέγραφεν γὰρ Ἑλλάδι φωνῇ τὴν πάτριον ἱστορίαν ἔκ τε τῶν ἱερῶν, ὥς φησιν αὐτός, μεταφράσας καὶ πολλὰ τὸν Ἡρόδοτον ἐλέγχει τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν ὑπ᾽ ἀγνοίας ἐψευσμένον. [74] οὗτος δὴ τοίνυν ὁ Μάνεθως ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν ταῦτα περὶ ἡμῶν γράφει. παραθήσομαι δὲ τὴν λέξιν αὐτοῦ καθάπερ αὐτὸν [75] ἐκεῖνον παραγαγὼν μάρτυρα: “ Τοῦ τίμαιος ὄνομα. ἐπὶ τούτου οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅπως θεὸς ἀντέπνευσεν καὶ παραδόξως ἐκ τῶν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν μερῶν ἄνθρωποι τὸ γένος ἄσημοι καταθαρρήσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἐστράτευσαν καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἀμαχητὶ ταύτην κατὰ κράτος εἷλον, [76] καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμονεύσαντας ἐν αὐτῇ χειρωσάμενοι τὸ λοιπὸν τάς τε πόλεις ὠμῶς ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἱερὰ κατέσκαψαν, πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἐχθρότατά πως ἐχρήσαντο τοὺς μὲν σφάζοντες, [77] τῶν δὲ καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας εἰς δουλείαν ἄγοντες. πέρας δὲ καὶ βασιλέα ἕνα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐποίησαν, ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Σάλιτις. καὶ οὗτος ἐν τῇ Μέμφιδι κατεγίνετο τήν τε ἄνω καὶ κάτω χώραν δασμολογῶν καὶ φρουρὰν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδειοτάτοις καταλιπὼν τόποις. μάλιστα δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἠσφαλίσατο μέρη προορώμενος

Ἀσσυρίων ποτὲ μεῖζον ἰσχυόντων ἐσομένην ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ἔφοδον. [78] εὑρὼν δὲ ἐν νομῷ τῷ Σεθροΐ¨τῃ πόλιν ἐπικαιροτάτην, κειμένην μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν τοῦ Βουβαστίτου ποταμοῦ, καλουμένην δ' ἀπό τινος ἀρχαίας θεολογίας Αὔαριν, ταύτην ἔκτισέν τε καὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν ὀχυρωτάτην ἐποίησεν ἐνοικίσας αὐτῇ καὶ πλῆθος ὁπλιτῶν εἰς εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρας μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν προφυλακήν. [79] ἔνθα δὲ κατὰ θέρειαν ἤρχετο τὰ μὲν σιτομετρῶν καὶ μισθοφορίαν παρεχόμενος τὰ δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἐξοπλισίαις πρὸς φόβον τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπιμελῶς γυμνάζων. ἄρξας δ' ἐννεακαίδεκα ἔτη τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησε. [80] μετὰ τοῦτον δὲ ἕτερος ἐβασίλευσεν τέσσαρα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη καλούμενος Βηών. μεθ' ὃν ἄλλος Ἀπαχνὰς ἓξ καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη καὶ μῆνας ἑπτά. ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ Ἄπωφις ἓν καὶ ἑξήκοντα [81] καὶ Ἰαννὰς πεντήκοντα καὶ μῆνα ἕνα. ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ καὶ Ἄσσις ἐννέα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ μῆνας δύο. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἓξ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐγενήθησαν πρῶτοι ἄρχοντες ποθοῦντες ἀεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον τῆς Αἰγύπτου [82] ἐξᾶραι τὴν ῥίζαν. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τὸ σύμπαν αὐτῶν ἔθνος Ὑκσώς, τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν βασιλεῖς ποιμένες: τὸ γὰρ υκ καθ' ἱερὰν γλῶσσαν βασιλέα σημαίνει, τὸ δὲ σὼς ποιμήν ἐστι καὶ ποιμένες κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν διάλεκτον, καὶ οὕτως συντιθέμενον γίνεται Ὑκσώς. [83] τινὲς δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτοὺς Ἄραβας εἶναι. ἐν δ' ἄλλῳ ἀντιγράφῳ οὐ βασιλεῖς σημαίνεσθαι διὰ τῆς υ¨κ προσηγορίας, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον αἰχμαλώτους δηλοῦσθαι ποιμένας: τὸ γὰρ ὒκ πάλιν Αἰγυπτιστὶ καὶ τὸ ἂκ δασυνόμενον αἰχμαλώτους ῥητῶς μηνύει. καὶ τοῦτο μᾶλλον [84] πιθανώτερόν μοι φαίνεται καὶ παλαιᾶς ἱστορίας ἐχόμενον. τούτους τοὺς προκατωνομασμένους βασιλέας καὶ τοὺς τῶν ποιμένων καλουμένων καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν γενομένους κρατῆσαι τῆς Αἰγύπτου [85] φησὶν ἔτη πρὸς τοῖς πεντακοσίοις ἕνδεκα. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Θηβαΐ¨δος καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων γενέσθαι φησὶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ποιμένας ἐπανάστασιν καὶ πόλεμον συρραγῆναι μέγαν [86] καὶ πολυχρόνιον. ἐπὶ δὲ βασιλέως, ᾧ ὄνομα εἶναι Μισφραγμούθωσις, ἡττωμένους φησὶ τοὺς ποιμένας ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἄλλης Αἰγύπτου πάσης ἐκπεσεῖν, κατακλεισθῆναι δ' εἰς τόπον ἀρουρῶν ἔχοντα μυρίων [87] τὴν περίμετρον: Αὔαριν ὄνομα τῷ τόπῳ. τοῦτόν φησιν ὁ Μάνεθως ἅπαντα τείχει τε μεγάλῳ καὶ ἰσχυρῷ περιβαλεῖν τοὺς ποιμένας, ὅπως τήν τε κτῆσιν ἅπασαν ἔχωσιν ἐν ὀχυρῷ καὶ τὴν [88] λείαν τὴν ἑαυτῶν. τὸν δὲ Μισφραγμουθώσεως υἱὸν Θούμμωσιν ἐπιχειρῆσαι μὲν αὐτοὺς διὰ πολιορκίας ἑλεῖν κατὰ κράτος ὀκτὼ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα μυριάσι στρατοῦ προσεδρεύσαντα τοῖς τείχεσιν: ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀπέγνω, ποιήσασθαι συμβάσεις, ἵνα τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐκλιπόντες ὅποι βούλονται πάντες ἀβλαβεῖς ἀπέλθωσι. [89] τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὁμολογίαις πανοικησίᾳ μετὰ τῶν κτήσεων οὐκ ἐλάττους μυριάδων ὄντας εἴκοσι καὶ τεσσάρων ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου [90] τὴν ἔρημον εἰς Συρίαν διοδοιπορῆσαι. φοβουμένους δὲ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων δυναστείαν, τότε γὰρ ἐκείνους τῆς Ἀσίας κρατεῖν, ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἰουδαίᾳ καλουμένῃ πόλιν οἰκοδομησαμένους τοσαύταις μυριάσιν ἀνθρώπων ἀρκέσουσαν Ἱεροσόλυμα ταύτην ὀνομάσαι. [91]

ἐν ἄλλῃ δέ τινι βίβλῳ τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν Μάνεθως τοῦτό φησιν τὸ ἔθνος τοὺς καλουμένους ποιμένας αἰχμαλώτους ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς αὐτῶν βίβλοις γεγράφθαι λέγων ὀρθῶς: καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἀνωτάτω προγόνοις ἡμῶν τὸ ποιμαίνειν πάτριον ἦν καὶ νομαδικὸν ἔχοντες τὸν βίον οὕτως ἐκαλοῦντο ποιμένες. [92] αἰχμάλωτοί τε πάλιν οὐκ ἀλόγως ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀνεγράφησαν, ἐπειδήπερ ὁ πρόγονος ἡμῶν Ἰώσηπος ἑαυτὸν ἔφη πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων αἰχμάλωτον εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὕστερον μετεπέμψατο τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιτρέψαντος. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν ἄλλοις ποιήσομαι τὴν ἐξέτασιν ἀκριβεστέραν.

XV

[93] Νυνὶ δὲ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ταύτης παρατίθεμαι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους μάρτυρας. πάλιν οὖν τὰ τοῦ Μανέθω πῶς ἔχει πρὸς τὴν τῶν χρόνων τάξιν ὑπογράψω. [94] φησὶ δὲ οὕτως: “μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τὸν λαὸν τῶν ποιμένων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ὁ ἐκβαλὼν αὐτοὺς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς Τέθμωσις ἐβασίλευσεν μετὰ ταῦτα ἔτη εἰκοσιπέντε καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν, καὶ παρέλαβεν [95] τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ αὐτοῦ υἱὸς Χέβρων ἔτη δεκατρία. μεθ’ ὃν Ἀμένωφις εἴκοσι καὶ μῆνας ἑπτά. τοῦ δὲ ἀδελφὴ Ἀμεσσὴς εἰκοσιὲν καὶ μῆνας ἐννέα. τῆς δὲ Μήφρης δώδεκα καὶ μῆνας ἐννέα. τοῦ [96] δὲ Μηφραμούθωσις εἰκοσιπέντε καὶ μῆνας δέκα. τοῦ δὲ Θμῶσις ἐννέα καὶ μῆνας ὀκτώ. τοῦ δ’ Ἀμένωφις τριάκοντα καὶ μῆνας δέκα. τοῦ δὲ Ὧρος τριακονταὲξ καὶ μῆνας πέντε. τοῦ δὲ θυγάτηρ Ἀκεγχερὴς δώδεκα καὶ μῆνα ἕνα. τῆς δὲ Ῥάθωτις ἀδελφὸς ἐννέα. [97] τοῦ δὲ Ἀκεγχήρης δώδεκα καὶ μῆνας πέντε. τοῦ δὲ Ἀκεγχήρης ἕτερος δώδεκα καὶ μῆνας τρεῖς. τοῦ δὲ Ἄρμαι¨ς τέσσαρα καὶ μῆνα ἕνα. τοῦ δὲ Ῥαμέσσης ἓν καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας. τοῦ δὲ Ἀρμέσσης Μιαμοῦν ἑξηκονταὲξ καὶ μῆνας δύο. τοῦ δὲ Ἀμένωφις δεκαεννέα [98] καὶ μῆνας ἕξ. τοῦ δὲ Σέθως ὁ καὶ Ῥαμέσσης ἱππικὴν καὶ ναυτικὴν ἔχων δύναμιν τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν Ἄρμαι¨ν ἐπίτροπον τῆς Αἰγύπτου κατέστησεν καὶ πᾶσαν μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν ἄλλην βασιλικὴν περιέθηκεν ἐξουσίαν, μόνον δὲ ἐνετείλατο διάδημα μὴ φορεῖν μηδὲ τὴν βασιλίδα μητέρα τε τῶν τέκνων ἀδικεῖν, ἀπέχεσθαι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βασιλικῶν παλλακίδων. [99] αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Κύπρον καὶ Φοινίκην καὶ πάλιν Ἀσσυρίους τε καὶ Μήδους στρατεύσας ἅπαντας τοὺς μὲν δόρατι, τοὺς δὲ ἀμαχητὶ φόβῳ δὲ τῆς πολλῆς δυνάμεως ὑποχειρίους ἔλαβε καὶ μέγα φρονήσας ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐπραγίαις ἔτι καὶ θαρσαλεώτερον ἐπεπορεύετο τὰς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς πόλεις τε καὶ χώρας καταστρεφόμενος. [100] χρόνου τε ἱκανοῦ γεγονότος Ἄρμαι¨ς ὁ καταλειφθεὶς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πάντα τἄμπαλιν οἷς ἀδελφὸς παρῄνει μὴ ποιεῖν ἀδεῶς ἔπραττεν: καὶ γὰρ τὴν βασιλίδα βιαίως ἔσχεν καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις παλλακίσιν ἀφειδῶς διετέλει χρώμενος, πειθόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων [101] διάδημα ἐφόρει καὶ ἀντῆρε τῷ

ἀδελφῷ. ὁ δὲ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερέων τῆς Αἰγύπτου γράψας βιβλίον ἔπεμψε τῷ Σεθώσει δηλῶν αὐτῷ πάντα καὶ ὅτι ἀντῆρεν ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἄρμαι¨ς. παραχρῆμα οὖν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Πηλούσιον καὶ ἐκράτησεν τῆς ἰδίας βασιλείας. [102] ἡ δὲ χώρα ἐκλήθη ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀνόματος Αἴγυπτος: λέγει γάρ, ὅτι ὁ μὲν Σέθως ἐκαλεῖτο Αἴγυπτος, Ἄρμαι¨ς δὲ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Δαναός.

XVI

[103] Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Μάνεθως. δῆλον δέ ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων ἐτῶν τοῦ χρόνου συλλογισθέντος, ὅτι οἱ καλούμενοι ποιμένες ἡμέτεροι δὲ πρόγονοι τρισὶ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίοις πρόσθεν ἔτεσιν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀπαλλαγέντες τὴν χώραν ταύτην ἐπῴκησαν ἢ Δαναὸν εἰς Ἄργος ἀφικέσθαι: καίτοι τοῦτον ἀρχαιότατον Ἀργεῖοι νομίζουσι. [104] δύο τοίνυν ὁ Μάνεθως ἡμῖν τὰ μέγιστα μεμαρτύρηκεν ἐκ τῶν παρ᾽ Αἰγυπτίοις γραμμάτων, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ἐτέρωθεν ἄφιξιν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἔπειτα δὲ τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἀπαλλαγὴν οὕτως ἀρχαίαν τοῖς χρόνοις, ὡς ἐγγύς που προτερεῖν αὐτὴν τῶν Ἰλιακῶν ἔτεσι χιλίοις. [105] ὑπὲρ ὧν δ᾽ ὁ Μάνεθως οὐκ ἐκ τῶν παρ᾽ Αἰγυπτίοις γραμμάτων, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς αὐτὸς ὡμολόγηκεν ἐκ τῶν ἀδεσπότως μυθολογουμένων προστέθεικεν, ὕστερον ἐξελέγξω κατὰ μέρος ἀποδεικνὺς τὴν ἀπίθανον αὐτοῦ ψευδολογίαν.

XVII

[106] Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἀπὸ τούτων ἤδη μετελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Φοίνιξιν ἀναγεγραμμένα περὶ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς ἐξ ἐκείνων μαρτυρίας παρασχεῖν. [107] ἔστι τοίνυν παρὰ Τυρίοις ἀπὸ παμπόλλων ἐτῶν γράμματα δημοσίᾳ γεγραμμένα καὶ πεφυλαγμένα λίαν ἐπιμελῶς περὶ τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς γενομένων καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους πραχθέντων μνήμης ἀξίων. [108] ἐν οἷς γέγραπται, ὅτι ὁ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ᾠκοδομήθη ναὸς ὑπὸ Σολομῶνος τοῦ βασιλέως ἔτεσι θᾶττον ἑκατὸν τεσσαρακοντατρισὶν καὶ μησὶν ὀκτὼ τοῦ κτίσαι Τυρίους Καρχηδόνα. [109] ἀνεγράφη δὲ παρ᾽ ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἀλόγως ἡ τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευὴ τοῦ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν: Εἴρωμος γὰρ ὁ τῶν Τυρίων βασιλεὺς φίλος ἦν τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν Σολομῶνος πατρικὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν διαδεδεγμένος. [110] οὗτος οὖν συμφιλοτιμούμενος εἰς τὴν τοῦ κατασκευάσματος τῷ Σολομῶνι λαμπρότητα χρυσίου μὲν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔδωκε τάλαντα, τεμὼν δὲ καλλίστην ὕλην ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους, ὃ καλεῖται Λίβανος, εἰς τὸν ὄροφον ἀπέστειλεν. ἀντεδωρήσατο δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Σολομὼν ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς καὶ δὴ καὶ χώραν τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐν τῇ Χαβουλῶν λεγομένῃ. [111] μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰς φιλίαν ἡ τῆς σοφίας συνῆγεν ἐπιθυμία: προβλήματα γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἀνταπέστελλον λύειν κελεύοντες, καὶ κρείττων ἐν τούτοις ἦν ὁ Σολομὼν καὶ τἆλλα σοφώτερος. σώζονται δὲ μέχρι νῦν παρὰ τοῖς Τυρίοις πολλαὶ τῶν [112] ἐπιστολῶν, ἃς ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔγραψαν. ὅτι δ᾽ οὐ λόγος

ἐστὶν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ συγκείμενος ὁ περὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Τυρίοις γραμμάτων, παραθήσομαι μάρτυρα Δῖον ἄνδρα περὶ τὴν Φοινικικὴν ἱστορίαν ἀκριβῆ γεγονέναι πεπιστευμένον. οὗτος τοίνυν ἐν ταῖς [113] περὶ Φοινίκων ἱστορίαις γράφει τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον: "Ἀβιβάλου τελευτήσαντος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Εἴρωμος ἐβασίλευσεν. οὗτος τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς μέρη τῆς πόλεως προσέχωσεν καὶ μεῖζον τὸ ἄστυ ἐποίησεν καὶ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς τὸ ἱερὸν καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸ ὂν ἐν νήσῳ χώσας τὸν μεταξὺ τόπον συνῆψε τῇ πόλει καὶ χρυσοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἐκόσμησεν, ἀναβὰς δὲ εἰς τὸν Λίβανον ὑλοτόμησεν πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν κατασκευήν. [114] τὸν δὲ τυραννοῦντα Ἱεροσολύμων Σολομῶνα πέμψαι φασὶ πρὸς τὸν Εἴρωμον αἰνίγματα καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἀξιοῦν, τὸν δὲ μὴ δυνηθέντα διακρῖναι τῷ λύσαντι χρήματα ἀποτίνειν. [115] ὁμολογήσαντα δὲ τὸν Εἴρωμον καὶ μὴ δυνηθέντα λῦσαι τὰ αἰνίγματα πολλὰ τῶν χρημάτων εἰς τὸ ἐπιζήμιον ἀναλῶσαι. εἶτα δὲ Ἀβδήμουνόν τινα Τύριον ἄνδρα τά τε προτεθέντα λῦσαι καὶ αὐτὸν ἄλλα προβαλεῖν, ἃ μὴ λύσαντα τὸν Σολομῶνα πολλὰ τῷ Εἰρώμῳ προσαποτῖσαι χρήματα." Δῖος μὲν οὕτω περὶ τῶν προειρημένων ἡμῖν μεμαρτύρηκεν.

XVIII

[116] Ἀλλὰ πρὸς τούτῳ παραθήσομαι καὶ Μένανδρον τὸν Ἐφέσιον. γέγραφεν δὲ οὗτος τὰς ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστου τῶν βασιλέων πράξεις τὰς παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις γενομένας ἐκ τῶν παρ᾽ ἑκάστοις ἐπιχωρίων γραμμάτων σπουδάσας τὴν ἱστορίαν μαθεῖν. [117] γράφων τοίνυν περὶ τῶν ἐν Τύρῳ βεβασιλευκότων ἔπειτα γενόμενος κατὰ τὸν Εἴρωμον ταῦτά φησι: "τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀβιβάλου διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ ὁ υἱὸς Εἴρωμος, ὃς βιώσας [118] ἔτη νγ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη λδ. οὗτος ἔχωσε τὸν Εὐρύχωρον τόν τε χρυσοῦν κίονα τὸν ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Διὸς ἀνέθηκεν, ἐπί τε ὕλην ξύλων ἀπελθὼν ἔκοψεν ἀπὸ τοῦ λεγομένου Λιβάνου ὄρους κέδρινα ξύλα εἰς τὰς τῶν ἱερῶν στέγας, καθελών τε τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἱερὰ καὶ [119] ναοὺς ᾠκοδόμησεν τό τε τοῦ Ἡρακλέους καὶ τῆς Ἀστάρτης, πρῶτόν τε τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἔγερσιν ἐποιήσατο ἐν τῷ Περιτίῳ μηνί, τοῖς τε Ἰτυκαίοις ἐπεστρατεύσατο μὴ ἀποδιδοῦσι τοὺς φόρους: οὓς καὶ ὑποτάξας ἑαυτῷ πάλιν ἀνέστρεψεν. [120] ἐπὶ τούτου ἦν Ἀβδήμουνος παῖς νεώτερος, ὃς ἀεὶ ἐνίκα τὰ προβλήματα, ἃ ἐπέταττε Σολομὼν ὁ Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλεύς." [121] ψηφίζεται δὲ ὁ χρόνος ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως ἄχρι Καρχηδόνος κτίσεως οὕτως: τελευτήσαντος Εἰρώμου διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν Βαλβάζερος υἱός, ὃς βιώσας ἔτη [122] μγ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ιζ. μετὰ τοῦτον Ἀβδάσταρτος υἱὸς βιώσας ἔτη λθ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη θ. τοῦτον οἱ τῆς τροφοῦ αὐτοῦ υἱοὶ τέσσαρες ἐπιβουλεύσαντες ἀπώλεσαν, ὧν ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἐβασίλευσεν Μεθουσάσταρτος ὁ Λεαστάρτου, ὃς βιώσας ἔτη νδ ἐβασίλευσεν [123] ἔτη ιβ. μετὰ τοῦτον ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀσθάρυμος βιώσας ἔτη νη ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη θ. οὗτος ἀπώλετο ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Φέλλητος,

ὃς λαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν ἦρξεν μῆνας η βιώσας ἔτη ν. τοῦτον ἀνεῖλεν Εἰθώβαλος ὁ τῆς Ἀστάρτης ἱερεύς, ὃς βιώσας ἔτη [124] μη ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη λβ. τοῦτον διεδέξατο Βαλέζωρος υἱός, ὃς [125] βιώσας ἔτη με ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ἕξ. τούτου διάδοχος γέγονε Μέττηνος υἱός, ὃς βιώσας ἔτη λβ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη κθ. τούτου διάδοχος γέγονεν Πυγμαλίων, ὃς βιώσας ἔτη νη ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη μζ. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἑβδόμῳ ἔτει ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ φυγοῦσα ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ πόλιν ᾠκοδόμησεν Καρχηδόνα. [126] συνάγεται πᾶς ὁ χρόνος ἀπὸ τῆς Εἰρώμου βασιλείας μέχρι Καρχηδόνος κτίσεως ἔτη ρνε μῆνες η. ἐπεὶ δὲ δωδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ὁ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ᾠκοδομήθη ναός, γέγονεν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκοδομήσεως τοῦ ναοῦ μέχρι Καρχηδόνος [127] κτίσεως ἔτη ρμγ μῆνες η. τῆς μὲν οὖν παρὰ Φοινίκων μαρτυρίας τί δεῖ προσθεῖναι πλέον; βλέπεται γὰρ τἀληθὲς ἰσχυρῶς ὡμολογημένον καὶ πολὺ δήπου προάγειν τῆς τοῦ νεὼ κατασκευῆς τὴν τῶν προγόνων ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν χώραν ἄφιξιν: ὅτε γὰρ αὐτὴν πᾶσαν πολέμῳ παρέλαβον, τότε τὸν νεὼν κατεσκεύασαν. καὶ ταῦτα σαφῶς ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ δεδήλωται διὰ τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας.

XIX

[128] Λέξω δὲ νῦν ἤδη τὰ παρὰ Χαλδαίοις ἀναγεγραμμένα καὶ ἱστορούμενα περὶ ἡμῶν, ἅπερ ἔχει πολλὴν ὁμολογίαν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς ἡμετέροις γράμμασι. [129] μάρτυς δὲ τούτων Βηρῶσος ἀνὴρ Χαλδαῖος μὲν τὸ γένος, γνώριμος δὲ τοῖς περὶ παιδείαν ἀναστρεφομένοις, ἐπειδὴ περί τε ἀστρονομίας καὶ περὶ τῶν παρὰ Χαλδαίοις φιλοσοφουμένων αὐτὸς εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐξήνεγκε τὰς συγγραφάς. [130] οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ Βηρῶσος ταῖς ἀρχαιοτάταις ἐπακολουθῶν ἀναγραφαῖς περί τε τοῦ γενομένου κατακλυσμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ φθορᾶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων καθάπερ Μωσῆς οὕτως ἱστόρηκεν καὶ περὶ τῆς λάρνακος, ἐν ᾗ Νῶχος ὁ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἀρχηγὸς διεσώθη προσενεχθείσης αὐτῆς ταῖς ἀκρωρείαις τῶν Ἀρμενίων ὀρῶν. [131] εἶτα τοὺς ἀπὸ Νώχου καταλέγων καὶ τοὺς χρόνους αὐτοῖς προστιθεὶς ἐπὶ Ναβοπαλάσσαρον παραγίνεται τὸν Βαβυλῶνος καὶ Χαλδαίων [132] βασιλέα καὶ τὰς τούτου πράξεις ἀφηγούμενος λέγει, τίνα τρόπον πέμψας ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν γῆν τὸν υἱὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ Ναβοκοδρόσορον μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως, ἐπειδήπερ ἀφεστῶτας αὐτοὺς ἐπύθετο, πάντων ἐκράτησεν καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐνέπρησε τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὅλως τε πάντα τὸν παρ᾽ ἡμῶν λαὸν ἀναστήσας εἰς Βαβυλῶνα μετῴκισεν, συνέβη δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐρημωθῆναι χρόνον ἐτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα μέχρι Κύρου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως. [133] κρατῆσαι δέ φησι τὸν Βαβυλώνιον Αἰγύπτου Συρίας Φοινίκης Ἀραβίας πάντας ὑπερβαλόμενον ταῖς πράξεσι τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ Χαλδαίων [134] καὶ Βαβυλωνίων βεβασιλευκότας. [εἶθ᾽ ἑξῆς ὑποκαταβὰς ὀλίγον ὁ Βηρῶσος πάλιν παρατίθεται ἐν τῇ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος

ἱστοριογραφίᾳ.] αὐτὰ δὲ παραθήσομαι τὰ τοῦ Βηρώσου τοῦτον ἔχοντα [135] τὸν τρόπον: "ἀκούσας δ' ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Ναβοπαλάσαρος, ὅτι ὁ τεταγμένος σατράπης ἔν τε Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν Συρίαν τὴν κοίλην καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην τόποις ἀποστάτης γέγονεν, οὐ δυνάμενος αὐτὸς ἔτι κακοπαθεῖν συστήσας τῷ υἱῷ Ναβοκοδροσόρῳ ὄντι [136] ἔτι ἐν ἡλικίᾳ μέρη τινὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπ' αὐτόν. συμμίξας δὲ Ναβοκοδρόσορος τῷ ἀποστάτῃ καὶ παραταξάμενος αὐτοῦ τ' ἐκράτει καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτῶν βασιλείαν ἐποιήσατο. τῷ τε πατρὶ αὐτοῦ συνέβη Ναβοπαλασάρῳ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἀρρωστήσαντι ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίων πόλει μεταλλάξαι τὸν [137] βίον ἔτη βεβασιλευκότι κα. αἰσθόμενος δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν Ναβουκοδρόσορος, καταστήσας τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον πράγματα καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν χώραν καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ Φοινίκων καὶ Σύρων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐθνῶν συντάξας τισὶ τῶν φίλων μετὰ τῆς βαρυτάτης δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ὠφελείας ἀνακομίζειν εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν, αὐτὸς ὁρμήσας [138] ὀλιγοστὸς παρεγένετο διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου εἰς Βαβυλῶνα. καταλαβὼν δὲ τὰ πράγματα διοικούμενα ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων καὶ διατηρουμένην τὴν βασιλείαν ὑπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου αὐτῶν, κυριεύσας ὁλοκλήρου τῆς πατρικῆς ἀρχῆς τοῖς μὲν αἰχμαλώτοις παραγενομένοις συνέταξεν [αὐτοῖς] κατοικίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδειοτάτοις τῆς Βαβυλωνίας τόποις [139] ἀποδεῖξαι, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου λαφύρων τό τε Βήλου ἱερὸν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κοσμήσας φιλοτίμως τήν τε ὑπάρχουσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πόλιν καὶ ἑτέραν ἔξωθεν προσχαρισάμενος καὶ ἀναγκάσας πρὸς τὸ μηκέτι δύνασθαι τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας τὸν ποταμὸν ἀναστρέφοντας ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν κατασκευάζειν, περιεβάλετο τρεῖς μὲν τῆς ἔνδον πόλεως περιβόλους, τρεῖς δὲ τῆς ἔξω, τούτων δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐξ ὀπτῆς πλίνθου καὶ ἀσφάλτου, τοὺς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς πλίνθου. [140] καὶ τειχίσας ἀξιολόγως τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς πυλῶνας κοσμήσας ἱεροπρεπῶς προσκατεσκεύασεν τοῖς πατρικοῖς βασιλείοις ἕτερα βασίλεια ἐχόμενα ἐκείνων, [ὑπὲρ] ὧν ἀνάστημα καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν πολυτέλειαν μακρὸν ἴσως ἔσται ἐάν τις ἐξηγῆται, πλὴν ὄντα γε ὑπερβολὴν ὡς μεγάλα καὶ ὑπερήφανα συνετελέσθη ἡμέραις δεκαπέντε. [141] ἐν δὲ τοῖς βασιλείοις τούτοις ἀναλήμματα λίθινα ὑψηλὰ ἀνοικοδομήσας καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἀποδοὺς ὁμοιοτάτην τοῖς ὄρεσι, καταφυτεύσας δένδρεσι παντοδαποῖς ἐξειργάσατο καὶ κατεσκεύασε τὸν καλούμενον κρεμαστὸν παράδεισον διὰ τὸ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἐπιθυμεῖν τῆς ὀρείας διαθέσεως τεθραμμένην ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Μηδίαν τόποις."

XX

[142] Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἱστόρηκεν περὶ τοῦ προειρημένου βασιλέως καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ βίβλῳ τῶν Χαλδαι¨κῶν, ἐν ᾗ μέμφεται τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς συγγραφεῦσιν ὡς μάτην οἰομένοις ὑπὸ Σεμιράμεως τῆς Ἀσσυρίας κτισθῆναι τὴν

Βαβυλῶνα καὶ τὰ θαυμάσια κατασκευασθῆναι περὶ αὐτὴν ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνης ἔργα ψευδῶς γεγραφόσι. [143] καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα τὴν μὲν τῶν Χαλδαίων ἀναγραφὴν ἀξιόπιστον ἡγητέον: οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κἀν τοῖς ἀρχείοις τῶν Φοινίκων σύμφωνα τοῖς ὑπὸ Βηρώσου λεγομένοις ἀναγέγραπται περὶ τοῦ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέως, ὅτι καὶ τὴν Συρίαν καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην ἅπασαν ἐκεῖνος κατεστρέψατο. [144] περὶ τούτων γοῦν συμφωνεῖ καὶ Φιλόστρατος ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις μεμνημένος τῆς Τύρου πολιορκίας, καὶ Μεγασθένης ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν Ἰνδικῶν, δι᾽ ἧς ἀποφαίνειν πειρᾶται τὸν προειρημένον βασιλέα τῶν Βαβυλωνίων Ἡρακλέους ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ μεγέθει πράξεων διενηνοχέναι: καταστρέψασθαι γὰρ [145] αὐτόν φησι καὶ Λιβύης τὴν πολλὴν καὶ Ἰβηρίαν. τὰ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ναοῦ προειρημένα τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, ὅτι κατεπρήσθη μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἐπιστρατευσάντων, ἤρξατο δὲ πάλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖσθαι Κύρου τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν βασιλείαν παρειληφότος, ἐκ τῶν Βηρώσου σαφῶς ἐπιδειχθήσεται παρατεθέντων: λέγει γὰρ οὕτως διὰ [146] τῆς τρίτης: “Ναβοκοδρόσορος μὲν οὖν μετὰ τὸ ἄρξασθαι τοῦ προειρημένου τείχους ἐμπεσὼν εἰς ἀρρωστίαν μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον βεβασιλευκὼς ἔτη μγ, τῆς δὲ βασιλείας κύριος ἐγένετο ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Εὐειλμαράδουχος. [147] οὗτος προστὰς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνόμως καὶ ἀσελγῶς ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ Νηριγλισάρου ἀνῃρέθη βασιλεύσας ἔτη β. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀναιρεθῆναι τοῦτον διαδεξάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ ἐπιβουλεύσας αὐτῷ Νηριγλίσαρος ἐβασίλευσεν [148] ἔτη δ. τούτου υἱὸς Λαβοροσοάρδοχος ἐκυρίευσε μὲν τῆς βασιλείας παῖς ὢν μῆνας θ, ἐπιβουλευθεὶς δὲ διὰ τὸ πολλὰ ἐμφαίνειν [149] κακοήθη ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἀπετυμπανίσθη. ἀπολομένου δὲ τούτου συνελθόντες οἱ ἐπιβουλεύσαντες αὐτῷ κοινῇ τὴν βασιλείαν περιέθηκαν Ναβοννήδῳ τινὶ τῶν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ὄντι ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπισυστάσεως. ἐπὶ τούτου τὰ περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τείχη τῆς Βαβυλωνίων πόλεως ἐξ ὀπτῆς πλίνθου καὶ ἀσφάλτου κατεκοσμήθη. [150] οὔσης δὲ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἑπτακαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει προεξεληλυθὼς Κῦρος ἐκ τῆς Περσίδος μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς καταστρεψάμενος τὴν λοιπὴν βασιλείαν πᾶσαν ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας. [151] αἰσθόμενος δὲ Ναβόννηδος τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ, ἀπαντήσας μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ παραταξάμενος, ἡττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ καὶ φυγὼν ὀλιγοστὸς [152] συνεκλείσθη εἰς τὴν Βορσιππηνῶν πόλιν, Κῦρος δὲ Βαβυλῶνα καταλαβόμενος καὶ συντάξας τὰ ἔξω τῆς πόλεως τείχη κατασκάψαι διὰ τὸ λίαν αὐτῷ πραγματικὴν καὶ δυσάλωτον φανῆναι τὴν πόλιν [153] ἀνέζευξεν ἐπὶ Βορσίππων ἐκπολιορκήσων τὸν Ναβόννηδον. τοῦ δὲ Ναβοννήδου οὐχ ὑπομείναντος τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐγχειρίσαντος αὐτὸν πρότερον, χρησάμενος Κῦρος φιλανθρώπως καὶ δοὺς οἰκητήριον αὐτῷ Καρμανίαν ἐξέπεμψεν ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας. Ναβόννηδος μὲν οὖν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ χρόνου διαγενόμενος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ χώρᾳ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον.”

XXI

[154] Ταῦτα σύμφωνον ἔχει ταῖς ἡμετέραις βίβλοις τὴν ἀλήθειαν: γέγραπται γὰρ ἐν αὐταῖς, ὅτι Ναβουχοδονόσορος ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ἔτει τὸν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ναὸν ἠρήμωσεν καὶ ἦν ἀφανὴς ἐπ᾽ ἔτη πεντήκοντα, δευτέρῳ δὲ τῆς Κύρου βασιλείας ἔτει τῶν θεμελίων ὑποβληθέντων δευτέρῳ πάλιν τῆς Δαρείου βασιλείας ἀπετελέσθη. [155] προσθήσω δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν Φοινίκων ἀναγραφάς: οὐ γὰρ παραλειπτέον τῶν ἀποδείξεων τὴν περιουσίαν: [156] ἔστι δὲ τοιαύτη τῶν χρόνων ἡ καταρίθμησις: ἐπ᾽ Ἰθωβάλου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπολιόρκησε Ναβουχοδονόσορος τὴν Τύρον ἐπ᾽ ἔτη δεκατρία. [157] μετὰ τοῦτον ἐβασίλευσε Βαὰλ ἔτη δέκα. μετὰ τοῦτον δικασταὶ κατεστάθησαν, καὶ ἐδίκασαν Ἐκνίβαλος Βασλήχου μῆνας β, Χέλβης Ἀβδαίου μῆνας ι, Ἄββαρος ἀρχιερεὺς μῆνας γ, Μύττυνος καὶ Γεράστρατος τοῦ Ἀβδηλίμου δικασταὶ ἔτη [στιγμα], ὧν μεταξὺ ἐβασίλευσε [158] Βαλάτορος ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα. τούτου τελευτήσαντος ἀποστείλαντες μετεπέμψαντο Μέρβαλον ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη δ. τούτου τελευτήσαντος μετεπέμψαντο τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Εἴρωμον, ὃς ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη εἴκοσιν. ἐπὶ τούτου Κῦρος Περσῶν ἐδυνάστευσεν. [159] οὐκοῦν ὁ σύμπας χρόνος ἔτη νδ καὶ τρεῖς μῆνες πρὸς αὐτοῖς: ἑβδόμῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔτει τῆς Ναβουχοδονοσόρου βασιλείας ἤρξατο πολιορκεῖν Τύρον, τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῳ δ᾽ ἔτει τῆς Εἰρώμου [160] Κῦρος ὁ Πέρσης τὸ κράτος παρέλαβεν. καὶ σύμφωνα μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῖς ἡμετέροις γράμμασι τὰ Χαλδαίων καὶ Τυρίων, ὡμολογημένη δὲ καὶ ἀναντίρρητος ἡ περὶ τῶν εἰρημένων μοι μαρτυρία τῆς τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἀρχαιότητος. τοῖς μὲν οὖν μὴ σφόδρα φιλονείκοις ἀρκέσειν ὑπολαμβάνω τὰ προειρημένα.

XXII

[161] Δεῖ δ᾽ ἄρα καὶ τῶν ἀπιστούντων μὲν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀναγραφαῖς μόνοις δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησι πιστεύειν ἀξιούντων ἀποπληρῶσαι τὴν ἐπιζήτησιν καὶ παρασχεῖν πολλοὺς καὶ τούτων ἐπισταμένους τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν καὶ καθ᾽ ὃ καιρὸς ἦν αὐτοῖς μνημονεύοντας παραθέσθαι ἐν ἰδίοις αὐτῶν συγγράμμασι. [162] Πυθαγόρας τοίνυν ὁ Σάμιος ἀρχαῖος ὤν, σοφίᾳ δὲ καὶ τῇ περὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείᾳ πάντων ὑπειλημμένος διενεγκεῖν τῶν φιλοσοφησάντων, οὐ μόνον ἐγνωκὼς τὰ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν δῆλός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζηλωτὴς αὐτῶν ἐκ πλείστου γεγενημένος. [163] αὐτοῦ μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ὁμολογεῖται σύγγραμμα, πολλοὶ δὲ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν ἱστορήκασι, καὶ τούτων ἐπισημότατός [164] ἐστιν Ἕρμιππος ἀνὴρ περὶ πᾶσαν ἱστορίαν ἐπιμελής. λέγει τοίνυν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν περὶ Πυθαγόρου βιβλίων, ὅτι Πυθαγόρας ἑνὸς αὐτοῦ τῶν συνουσιαστῶν τελευτήσαντος τοὔνομα Καλλιφῶντος τὸ γένος Κροτωνιάτου τὴν ἐκείνου ψυχὴν ἔλεγε συνδιατρίβειν αὐτῷ καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν: καὶ ὅτι παρεκελεύετο μὴ διέρχεσθαι τόπον, ἐφ᾽ ὃν ὄνος ὀκλάσῃ, καὶ

τῶν διψίων ὑδάτων ἀπέχεσθαι [165] καὶ πάσης ἀπέχειν βλασφημίας. εἶτα προστίθησι μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τάδε: "ταῦτα δὲ ἔπραττεν καὶ ἔλεγε τὰς Ἰουδαίων καὶ Θρᾳκῶν δόξας μιμούμενος καὶ μεταφέρων εἰς ἑαυτόν. λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος πολλὰ τῶν παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις νομίμων εἰς τὴν [166] αὐτοῦ μετενεγκεῖν φιλοσοφίαν." ἦν δὲ καὶ κατὰ πόλεις οὐκ ἄγνωστον ἡμῶν πάλαι τὸ ἔθνος, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐθῶν εἴς τινας ἤδη διαπεφοιτήκει καὶ ζήλου παρ' ἐνίοις ἠξιοῦτο. δηλοῖ δὲ ὁ Θεόφραστος [167] ἐν τοῖς περὶ νόμων: λέγει γάρ, ὅτι κωλύουσιν οἱ Τυρίων νόμοι ξενικοὺς ὅρκους ὀμνύειν, ἐν οἷς μετά τινων ἄλλων καὶ τὸν καλούμενον ὅρκον κορβὰν καταριθμεῖ. παρ' οὐδενὶ δ' ἂν οὗτος εὑρεθείη πλὴν μόνοις Ἰουδαίοις, δηλοῖ δ' ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραίων μεθερμηνευόμενος διαλέκτου δῶρον θεοῦ. [168] καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ Ἡρόδοτος ὁ Ἁλικαρνασεὺς ἠγνόηκεν ἡμῶν τὸ ἔθνος, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ τινὶ φαίνεται μεμνημένος: περὶ γὰρ Κόλχων ἱστορῶν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ [169] βίβλῳ φησὶν οὕτως: "μοῦνοι δὲ πάντων, φησί, Κόλχοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Αἰθίοπες περιτέμνονται ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὰ αἰδοῖα. Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ Σύριοι οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ καὶ οὗτοι ὁμολογοῦσι παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθηκέναι. [170] Σύριοι δὲ οἱ περὶ Θερμώδοντα καὶ Παρθένιον ποταμὸν καὶ Μάκρωνες οἱ τούτοισιν ἀστυγείτονες ὄντες ἀπὸ Κόλχων φασὶ νεωστὶ μεμαθηκέναι: οὗτοι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ περιτεμνόμενοι ἀνθρώπων μοῦνοι καὶ οὗτοι Αἰγυπτίοισι φαίνονται ποιοῦντες κατὰ ταὐτά. αὐτῶν δὲ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Αἰθιόπων οὐκ [171] ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὁπότεροι παρὰ τῶν ἑτέρων ἐξέμαθον." οὐκοῦν εἴρηκε Σύρους τοὺς ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ περιτέμνεσθαι: τῶν δὲ τὴν Παλαιστίνην κατοικούντων μόνοι τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν Ἰουδαῖοι: τοῦτο ἄρα [172] γιγνώσκων εἴρηκεν περὶ αὐτῶν. καὶ Χοιρίλος δὲ ἀρχαιότερος γενόμενος ποιητὴς μέμνηται τοῦ ἔθνους ἡμῶν, ὅτι συνεστράτευται Ξέρξῃ τῷ Περσῶν βασιλεῖ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα: καταριθμησάμενος γὰρ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τελευταῖον καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον ἐνέταξε λέγων:

[173] τῶν δ' ὄπιθεν διέβαινε γένος θαυμαστὸν ἰδέσθαι,
γλῶσσαν μὲν Φοίνισσαν ἀπὸ στομάτων ἀφιέντες,
ᾤκεον δ' ἐν Σολύμοις ὄρεσι πλατέῃ παρὰ λίμνῃ
αὐχμαλέοι κορυφὰς τροχοκουράδες, αὐτὰρ ὕπερθεν
ἵππων δαρτὰ πρόσωπ' ἐφόρουν ἐσκληκότα καπνῷ.

[174] δῆλον οὖν ἐστιν, ὡς οἶμαι, πᾶσιν ἡμῶν αὐτὸν μεμνῆσθαι τῷ καὶ τὰ Σόλυμα ὄρη ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ εἶναι χώρᾳ, ἃ κατοικοῦμεν, καὶ τὴν Ἀσφαλτῖτιν λεγομένην λίμνην: αὕτη γὰρ πασῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ [175] [λίμνη] πλατυτέρα καὶ μείζων καθέστηκεν. καὶ Χοιρίλος μὲν οὖν οὕτω μέμνηται ἡμῶν. ὅτι δὲ οὐ μόνον ἠπίσταντο τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐθαύμαζον ὅσοις αὐτῶν ἐντύχοιεν οὐχ οἱ φαυλότατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ' οἱ ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ μάλιστα τεθαυμασμένοι, ῥᾴδιον γνῶναι: [176] Κλέαρχος γὰρ ὁ Ἀριστοτέλους ὢν μαθητὴς καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ περιπάτου φιλοσόφων οὐδενὸς δεύτερος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ ὕπνου βιβλίῳ φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλην τὸν διδάσκαλον αὐτοῦ περί τινος ἀνδρὸς Ἰουδαίου ταῦτα ἱστορεῖν,

αὐτῷ τε τὸν λόγον Ἀριστοτέλει [177] παρατιθείς: ἔστι δὲ οὕτω γεγραμμένον: "ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ μακρὸν ἂν εἴη λέγειν, ὅσα δ' ἔχει τῶν ἐκείνου θαυμασιότητά τινα καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ὁμοίως διελθεῖν οὐ χεῖρον. σαφῶς δ' ἴσθι, εἶπεν, Ὑπεροχίδη, θαυμαστὸν ὀνείροις ἴσα σοι δόξω λέγειν. καὶ ὁ Ὑπεροχίδης εὐλαβούμενος, δι' αὐτὸ γάρ, ἔφη, τοῦτο καὶ ζητοῦμεν ἀκοῦσαι πάντες. [178] οὐκοῦν, εἶπεν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης, κατὰ τὸ τῶν ῥητορικῶν παράγγελμα τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ πρῶτον διέλθωμεν, ἵνα μὴ ἀπειθῶμεν τοῖς τῶν ἀπαγγελιῶν διδασκάλοις. λέγε, εἶπεν ὁ Ὑπεροχίδης, εἴ τί σοι δοκεῖ. [179] κἀκεῖνος τοίνυν τὸ μὲν γένος ἦν Ἰουδαῖος ἐκ τῆς κοίλης Συρίας. οὗτοι δέ εἰσιν ἀπόγονοι τῶν ἐν Ἰνδοῖς φιλοσόφων, καλοῦνται δέ, ὥς φασιν, οἱ φιλόσοφοι παρὰ μὲν Ἰνδοῖς Καλανοί, παρὰ δὲ Σύροις Ἰουδαῖοι τοὔνομα λαβόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου: προσαγορεύεται γὰρ ὃν κατοικοῦσι τόπον Ἰουδαία. τὸ δὲ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν ὄνομα πάνυ σκολιόν ἐστιν: Ἱερουσαλήμην γὰρ αὐτὴν καλοῦσιν. [180] οὗτος οὖν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐπιξενούμενός τε πολλοῖς κἀκ τῶν ἄνω τόπων εἰς τοὺς ἐπιθαλαττίους ὑποκαταβαίνων Ἑλληνικὸς ἦν [181] οὐ τῇ διαλέκτῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ. καὶ τότε διατριβόντων ἡμῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν παραβαλὼν εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς τόπους ἄνθρωπος ἐντυγχάνει ἡμῖν τε καί τισιν ἑτέροις τῶν σχολαστικῶν πειρώμενος αὐτῶν τῆς σοφίας. ὡς δὲ πολλοῖς τῶν ἐν παιδείᾳ συνῳκείωτο, [182] παρεδίδου τι μᾶλλον ὧν εἶχεν." ταῦτ' εἴρηκεν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης παρὰ τῷ Κλεάρχῳ καὶ προσέτι πολλὴν καὶ θαυμάσιον καρτερίαν τοῦ Ἰουδαίου ἀνδρὸς ἐν τῇ διαίτῃ καὶ σωφροσύνην διεξιών. ἔνεστι δὲ τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸ πλέον γνῶναι τοῦ βιβλίου: φυλάττομαι [183] γὰρ ἐγὼ [τὰ] πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν παρατίθεσθαι. Κλέαρχος μὲν οὖν ἐν παρεκβάσει ταῦτ' εἴρηκεν, τὸ γὰρ προκείμενον ἦν αὐτῷ καθ' ἕτερον, οὕτως ἡμῶν μνημονεῦσαι. Ἑκαταῖος δὲ ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης, ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος ἅμα καὶ περὶ τὰς πράξεις ἱκανώτατος, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ συνακμάσας καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Λάγου συγγενόμενος, οὐ παρέργως ἀλλὰ περὶ αὐτῶν Ἰουδαίων συγγέγραφε βιβλίον, ἐξ οὗ βούλομαι κεφαλαιωδῶς ἐπιδραμεῖν ἕνια τῶν εἰρημένων. [184] καὶ πρῶτον ἐπιδείξω τὸν χρόνον: μνημονεύει γὰρ τῆς Πτολεμαίου περὶ Γάζαν πρὸς Δημήτριον μάχης: αὕτη δὲ γέγονεν ἐνδεκάτῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆς, ἐπὶ δὲ ὀλυμπιάδος ἑβδόμης καὶ δεκάτης [185] καὶ ἑκατοστῆς, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Κάστωρ. προσθεὶς γὰρ ταύτην τὴν ὀλυμπιάδα φησίν: "ἐπὶ ταύτης Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου ἐνίκα κατὰ Γάζαν μάχῃ Δημήτριον τὸν Ἀντιγόνου τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Πολιορκητήν." Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ τεθνάναι πάντες ὁμολογοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἑκατοστῆς τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης ὀλυμπιάδος. δῆλον οὖν, ὅτι καὶ κατ' [186] ἐκεῖνον καὶ κατὰ Ἀλέξανδρον ἤκμαζεν ἡμῶν τὸ ἔθνος. λέγει τοίνυν ὁ Ἑκαταῖος πάλιν τάδε, ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἐν Γάζῃ μάχην ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐγένετο τῶν περὶ Συρίαν τόπων ἐγκρατής, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πυνθανόμενοι τὴν ἠπιότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου συναπαίρειν εἰς Αἴγυπτον αὐτῷ καὶ κοινωνεῖν τῶν πραγμάτων ἠβουλήθησαν. [187] ὧν εἷς ἦν, φησίν, Ἐζεκίας ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν

Ἰουδαίων, ἄνθρωπος τὴν μὲν ἡλικίαν ὡς ἐξηκονταὲξ ἐτῶν, τῷ δ᾽ ἀξιώματι τῷ παρὰ τοῖς ὁμοέθνοις μέγας καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν οὐκ ἀνόητος, ἔτι δὲ καὶ λέγειν δυνατὸς καὶ τοῖς περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, εἴπερ τις ἄλλος, ἔμπειρος. [188] καίτοι, φησίν, οἱ πάντες ἱερεῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ τὴν δεκάτην τῶν γινομένων λαμβάνοντες καὶ τὰ κοινὰ διοικοῦντες [189] περὶ χιλίους μάλιστα καὶ πεντακοσίους εἰσίν.” πάλιν δὲ τοῦ προειρημένου μνημονεύων ἀνδρός “οὗτος, φησίν, ὁ ἄνθρωπος τετευχὼς τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης καὶ συνήθης ἡμῖν γενόμενος, παραλαβών τινας τῶν μεθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ τήν τε διαφορὰν ἀνέγνω πᾶσαν αὐτοῖς: εἶχεν γὰρ [190] τὴν κατοίκησιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν γεγραμμένην.” εἶτα Ἑκαταῖος δηλοῖ πάλιν, πῶς ἔχομεν πρὸς τοὺς νόμους, ὅτι πάντα πάσχειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παραβῆναι τούτους προαιρούμεθα καὶ καλὸν εἶναι νομίζομεν. [191] τοιγαροῦν, φησί, καὶ κακῶς ἀκούοντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων καὶ τῶν εἰσαφικνουμένων πάντες καὶ προπηλακιζόμενοι πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῶν Περσικῶν βασιλέων καὶ σατραπῶν οὐ δύνανται μεταπεισθῆναι τῇ διανοίᾳ, ἀλλὰ γεγυμνωμένως περὶ τούτων καὶ αἰκίαις καὶ θανάτοις δεινοτάτοις μάλιστα πάντων ἀπαντῶσι μὴ ἀρνούμενοι [192] τὰ πάτρια.” παρέχεται δὲ καὶ τεκμήρια τῆς ἰσχυρογνωμοσύνης τῆς περὶ τῶν νόμων οὐκ ὀλίγα: φησὶ γάρ, Ἀλεξάνδρου ποτὲ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι γενομένου καὶ προελομένου τὸ τοῦ Βήλου πεπτωκὸς ἱερὸν ἀνακαθᾶραι καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτοῦ τοῖς στρατιώταις ὁμοίως φέρειν τὸν χοῦν προστάξαντος, μόνους τοὺς Ἰουδαίους οὐ προσσχεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὰς ὑπομεῖναι πληγὰς καὶ ζημίας ἀποτῖσαι μεγάλας, ἕως αὐτοῖς [193] συγγνόντα τὸν βασιλέα δοῦναι τὴν ἄδειαν. ἔτι γε μὴν τῶν εἰς τὴν χώραν, φησί, πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀφικνουμένων νεὼς καὶ βωμοὺς κατασκευασάντων ἅπαντα ταῦτα κατέσκαπτον, καὶ τῶν μὲν ζημίαν τοῖς σατράπαις ἐξέτινον, περί τινων δὲ καὶ συγγνώμης μετελάμβανον. καὶ προσεπιτίθησιν, ὅτι δίκαιον ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτούς ἐστι θαυμάζειν. [194] λέγει δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ πολυανθρωπότατον γεγονέναι ἡμῶν τὸ ἔθνος: πολλὰς μὲν γὰρ ἡμῶν, φησίν, ἀνασπάστους εἰς Βαβυλῶνα Πέρσαι πρότερον αὐτῶν ἐποίησαν μυριάδας, οὐκ ὀλίγαι δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου θάνατον εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ Φοινίκην [195] μετέστησαν διὰ τὴν ἐν Συρίᾳ στάσιν.” ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς οὗτος ἀνὴρ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς χώρας ἣν κατοικοῦμεν καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἱστόρηκεν: τριακοσίας γὰρ μυριάδας ἀρουρῶν σχεδὸν τῆς ἀρίστης καὶ παμφορωτάτης χώρας νέμονται, φησίν: ἡ γὰρ Ἰουδαία τοσαύτη πλῆθός [196] ἐστιν.” ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καλλίστην τε καὶ μεγίστην ἐκ παλαιοτάτου κατοικοῦμεν καὶ περὶ πλήθους ἀνδρῶν καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ νεὼ κατασκευῆς οὕτως αὐτὸς διηγεῖται. [197] “ἔστι γὰρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ὀχυρώματα κατὰ τὴν χώραν καὶ κῶμαι, μία δὲ πόλις ὀχυρὰ πεντήκοντα μάλιστα σταδίων τὴν περίμετρον, ἣν οἰκοῦσι μὲν ἀνθρώπων περὶ δώδεκα [198] μυριάδες, καλοῦσι δ᾽ αὐτὴν Ἱεροσόλυμα. ἐνταῦθα δ᾽ ἐστὶ κατὰ μέσον μάλιστα τῆς πόλεως περίβολος λίθινος μῆκος ὡς πεντάπλεθρος, εὖρος δὲ πηχῶν ρ, ἔχων διπλᾶς πύλας, ἐν ᾧ βωμός ἐστι τετράγωνος ἀτμήτων συλλέκτων ἀργῶν λίθων

οὕτως συγκείμενος, πλευρὰν μὲν ἑκάστην εἴκοσι πηχῶν, ὕψος δὲ δεκάπηχυ. καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτὸν οἴκημα μέγα, οὗ βωμός ἐστι καὶ λυχνίον ἀμφότερα χρυσᾶ [199] δύο τάλαντα τὴν ὁλκήν. ἐπὶ τούτων φῶς ἐστιν ἀναπόσβεστον καὶ τὰς νύκτας καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας. ἄγαλμα δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ ἀνάθημα τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲ φύτευμα παντελῶς οὐδὲν οἷον ἀλσῶδες ἤ τι τοιοῦτον. διατρίβουσι δ᾽ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς νύκτας καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἱερεῖς ἁγνείας τινὰς ἁγνεύοντες καὶ τὸ παράπαν οἶνον οὐ πίνοντες ἐν [200] τῷ ἱερῷ.” ἔτι γε μὴν ὅτι καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ συνεστρατεύσαντο καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖς διαδόχοις αὐτοῦ μεμαρτύρηκεν. οἷς δ᾽ αὐτὸς παρατυχεῖν φησιν ὑπ᾽ ἀνδρὸς Ἰουδαίου κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν γενομένοις, τοῦτο παραθήσομαι. [201] λέγει δ᾽ οὕτως: “ἐμοῦ γοῦν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν βαδίζοντος συνηκολούθει τις μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παραπεμπόντων ἡμᾶς ἱππέων Ἰουδαίων ὄνομα Μοσόλλαμος, ἄνθρωπος ἱκανῶς κατὰ ψυχὴν εὔρωστος καὶ τοξότης δὴ πάντων ὁμολογουμένως καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄριστος. [202] οὗτος οὖν ὁ ἄνθρωπος διαβαδιζόντων πολλῶν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ μάντεώς τινος ὀρνιθευομένου καὶ πάντας ἐπισχεῖν ἀξιοῦντος [203] ἠρώτησε, διὰ τί προσμένουσι. δείξαντος δὲ τοῦ μάντεως αὐτῷ τὸν ὄρνιθα καὶ φήσαντος, ἐὰν μὲν αὐτοῦ μένῃ προσμένειν συμφέρειν πᾶσιν, ἂν δ᾽ ἀναστὰς εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν πέτηται προάγειν, ἐὰν δὲ εἰς τοὔπισθεν ἀναχωρεῖν αὖθις, σιωπήσας καὶ παρελκύσας [204] τὸ τόξον ἔβαλε καὶ τὸν ὄρνιθα πατάξας ἀπέκτεινεν. ἀγανακτούντων δὲ τοῦ μάντεως καί τινων ἄλλων καὶ καταρωμένων αὐτῷ, “τί μαίνεσθε, ἔφη, κακοδαίμονες;” εἶτα τὸν ὄρνιθα λαβὼν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας, “πῶς γάρ, ἔφη, οὗτος τὴν αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν οὐ προι¨δὼν περὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας πορείας ἡμῖν ἄν τι ὑγιὲς ἀπήγγελλεν; εἰ γὰρ ἠδύνατο προγιγνώσκειν τὸ μέλλον, εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον οὐκ ἂν ἦλθε φοβούμενος, [205] μὴ τοξεύσας αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνῃ Μοσόλλαμος ὁ Ἰουδαῖος.” ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν Ἑκαταίου μαρτυριῶν ἅλις: τοῖς γὰρ βουλομένοις πλείω μαθεῖν τῷ βιβλίῳ ῥᾴδιόν ἐστιν ἐντυχεῖν. οὐκ ὀκνήσω δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπ᾽ εὐηθείας διασυρμῷ, καθάπερ αὐτὸς οἴεται, μνήμην πεποιημένον [206] ἡμῶν Ἀγαθαρχίδην ὀνομάσαι: διηγούμενος γὰρ τὰ περὶ Στρατονίκην, ὃν τρόπον ἦλθεν μὲν εἰς Συρίαν ἐκ Μακεδονίας καταλιποῦσα τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἄνδρα Δημήτριον, Σελεύκου δὲ γαμεῖν αὐτὴν οὐ θελήσαντος, ὅπερ ἐκείνη προσεδόκησεν, ποιουμένου [δὲ] τὴν ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος στρατείαν αὐτοῦ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἐνεωτέρισεν. [207] εἶθ᾽ ὡς ἀνέστρεψεν ὁ βασιλεύς, ἁλισκομένης τῆς Ἀντιοχείας εἰς Σελεύκειαν φυγοῦσα, παρὸν αὐτῇ ταχέως ἀποπλεῖν ἐνυπνίῳ [208] κωλύοντι πεισθεῖσα ἐλήφθη καὶ ἀπέθανεν. ταῦτα προειπὼν ὁ Ἀγαθαρχίδης καὶ ἐπισκώπτων τῇ Στρατονίκῃ τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν παραδείγματι χρῆται τῷ περὶ ἡμῶν λόγῳ καὶ γέγραφεν οὕτως: [209] “οἱ καλούμενοι Ἰουδαῖοι πόλιν οἰκοῦντες ὀχυρωτάτην πασῶν, ἣν καλεῖν Ἱεροσόλυμα συμβαίνει τοὺς ἐγχωρίους, ἀργεῖν εἰθισμένοι δι᾽ ἑβδόμης ἡμέρας καὶ μήτε τὰ ὅπλα βαστάζειν ἐν τοῖς εἰρημένοις χρόνοις μήτε γεωργίας ἅπτεσθαι μήτε ἄλλης ἐπιμελεῖσθαι λειτουργίας μηδεμιᾶς, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐκτετακότες

τὰς χεῖρας [210] εὔχεσθαι μέχρι τῆς ἑσπέρας, εἰσιόντος εἰς τὴν πόλιν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀντὶ τοῦ φυλάττειν τὴν πόλιν διατηρούντων τὴν ἄνοιαν, ἡ μὲν πατρὶς εἰλήφει δεσπότην πικρόν, ὁ δὲ νόμος ἐξηλέγχθη φαῦλον ἔχων ἐθισμόν. [211] τὸ δὲ συμβὰν πλὴν ἐκείνων τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας δεδίδαχε τηνικαῦτα φυγεῖν εἰς ἐνύπνια καὶ τὴν περὶ τοῦ νόμου παραδεδομένην ὑπόνοιαν, ἡνίκα ἂν τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις λογισμοῖς περὶ [212] τῶν διαπορουμένων ἐξασθενήσωσιν.” τοῦτο μὲν Ἀγαθαρχίδῃ καταγέλωτος ἄξιον δοκεῖ, τοῖς δὲ μὴ μετὰ δυσμενείας ἐξετάζουσι φαίνεται μέγα καὶ πολλῶν ἄξιον ἐγκωμίων, εἰ καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ πατρίδος ἄνθρωποί τινες νόμων φυλακὴν καὶ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν εὐσέβειαν ἀεὶ προτιμῶσιν.

XXIII

[213] Ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες ἔνιοι τῶν συγγραφέων τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ φθόνου τινὸς ἢ δι’ ἄλλας αἰτίας οὐχ ὑγιεῖς τὴν μνήμην παρέλιπον, τεκμήριον οἶμαι παρέξειν: Ἱερώνυμος γὰρ ὁ τὴν περὶ τῶν διαδόχων ἱστορίαν συγγεγραφὼς κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν μὲν ἦν Ἑκαταίῳ χρόνον, φίλος δ’ ὢν Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν Συρίαν [214] ἐπετρόπευεν: ἀλλ’ ὅμως Ἑκαταῖος μὲν καὶ βιβλίον ἔγραψεν περὶ ἡμῶν, Ἱερώνυμος δ’ οὐδαμοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐμνημόνευσε καίτοι σχεδὸν ἐν τοῖς τόποις διατετριφώς: τοσοῦτον αἱ προαιρέσεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων διήνεγκαν. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἐδόξαμεν καὶ σπουδαίας εἶναι μνήμης ἄξιοι, τῷ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν πάντως τι πάθος οὐκ εὔγνωμον ἐπεσκότησεν. [215] ἀρκοῦσι δὲ ὅμως εἰς τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ἀρχαιότητος αἵ τε Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Χαλδαίων καὶ Φοινίκων ἀναγραφαὶ [216] πρὸς ἐκείναις τε τοσοῦτοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων συγγραφεῖς: ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις Θεόφιλος καὶ Θεόδοτος καὶ Μνασέας καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης καὶ Ἑρμογένης Εὐήμερός τε καὶ Κόνων καὶ Ζωπυρίων καὶ πολλοί τινες ἄλλοι τάχα, οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε πᾶσιν ἐντετύχηκα τοῖς βιβλίοις, οὐ παρέργως ἡμῶν ἐμνημονεύκασιν. [217] οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀνδρῶν τῆς μὲν ἀληθείας τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πραγμάτων διήμαρτον, ὅτι μὴ ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἡμῶν βίβλοις ἐνέτυχον, κοινῶς μέντοι περὶ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἅπαντες μεμαρτυρήκασιν, ὑπὲρ ἧς τὰ νῦν λέγειν προεθέμην. [218] ὁ μέντοι Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος καὶ Φίλων ὁ πρεσβύτερος καὶ Εὐπόλεμος οὐ πολὺ τῆς ἀληθείας διήμαρτον. οἷς συγγιγνώσκειν ἄξιον: οὐ γὰρ ἐνῆν αὐτοῖς μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας τοῖς ἡμετέροις γράμμασι παρακολουθεῖν.

XXIV

[219] Ἓν ἔτι μοι κεφάλαιον ὑπολείπεται τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν προτεθέντων τοῦ λόγου, τὰς διαβολὰς καὶ τὰς λοιδορίας, αἷς κέχρηνταί τινες κατὰ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν, ἀποδεῖξαι ψευδεῖς καὶ τοῖς γεγραφόσι ταύτας καθ’ ἑαυτῶν χρήσασθαι μάρτυσιν. [220] ὅτι μὲν οὖν καὶ ἑτέροις τοῦτο πολλοῖς συμβέβηκε διὰ τὴν ἐνίων

δυσμένειαν, οἶμαι γιγνώσκειν τοὺς πλέον ταῖς ἱστορίαις ἐντυγχάνοντας: καὶ γὰρ ἐθνῶν τινες καὶ τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων πόλεων ῥυπαίνειν τὴν εὐγένειαν [221] καὶ τὰς πολιτείας ἐπεχείρησαν λοιδορεῖν, Θεόπομπος μὲν τὴν Ἀθηναίων, τὴν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων Πολυκράτης, ὁ δὲ τὸν Τριπολιτικὸν γράψας, οὐ γὰρ δὴ Θεόπομπός ἐστιν ὡς οἴονταί τινες, καὶ τὴν Θηβαίων πόλιν προσέλαβεν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ Τίμαιος ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις [222] περὶ τῶν προειρημένων καὶ περὶ ἄλλων βεβλασφήμηκεν. μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτο ποιοῦσι τοῖς ἐνδοξοτάτοις προσπλεκόμενοι, τινὲς μὲν διὰ φθόνον καὶ κακοήθειαν, ἄλλοι δὲ διὰ τοῦ καινολογεῖν μνήμης ἀξιωθήσεσθαι νομίζοντες. παρὰ μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἀνοήτοις ταύτης οὐ διαμαρτάνουσι τῆς ἐλπίδος, οἱ δ᾽ ὑγιαίνοντες τῇ κρίσει πολλὴν αὐτῶν μοχθηρίαν καταδικάζουσι.

XXV

[223] Τῶν δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς βλασφημιῶν ἤρξαντο μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι: βουλόμενοι δ᾽ ἐκείνοις τινὲς χαρίζεσθαι παρατρέπειν ἐπεχείρησαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὔτε τὴν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἄφιξιν ὡς ἐγένετο τῶν ἡμετέρων [224] προγόνων ὁμολογοῦντες, οὔτε τὴν ἔξοδον ἀληθεύοντες. αἰτίας δὲ πολλὰς ἔλαβον τοῦ μισεῖν καὶ φθονεῖν τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐδυνάστευσαν ἡμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι κἀκεῖθεν ἀπαλλαγέντες ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκείαν πάλιν εὐδαιμόνησαν, εἶθ᾽ ἡ τούτων ὑπεναντιότης πολλὴν αὐτοῖς ἐνεποίησεν ἔχθραν, τοσοῦτον τῆς ἡμετέρας διαφερούσης εὐσεβείας πρὸς τὴν ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνων νενομισμένην, ὅσον θεοῦ φύσις ζῴων ἀλόγων διέστηκε. [225] κοινὸν μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐστι πάτριον τὸ ταῦτα θεοὺς νομίζειν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐν ταῖς τιμαῖς αὐτῶν διαφέρονται. κοῦφοι δὲ καὶ ἀνόητοι παντάπασιν ἄνθρωποι κακῶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰθισμένοι δοξάζειν περὶ θεῶν μιμήσασθαι μὲν τὴν σεμνότητα τῆς ἡμετέρας θεολογίας οὐκ [226] ἐχώρησαν, ὁρῶντες δὲ ζηλουμένους ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐφθόνησαν. εἰς τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἦλθον ἀνοίας καὶ μικροψυχίας ἔνιοι τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς, ὥστ᾽ οὐδὲ ταῖς ἀρχαίαις αὐτῶν ἀναγραφαῖς ὤκνησαν ἐναντία λέγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐναντία γράφοντες ὑπὸ τυφλότητος τοῦ πάθους ἠγνόησαν.

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[227] Ἐφ᾽ ἑνὸς δὲ πρώτου στήσω τὸν λόγον, ᾧ καὶ μάρτυρι [228] μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἐχρησάμην. ὁ γὰρ Μανεθὼς οὗτος ὁ τὴν Αἰγυπτιακὴν ἱστορίαν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων μεθερμηνεύειν ὑπεσχημένος, προειπὼν τοὺς ἡμετέρους προγόνους πολλαῖς μυριάσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐλθόντας κρατῆσαι τῶν ἐνοικούντων, εἶτ᾽ αὐτὸς ὁμολογῶν χρόνῳ πάλιν ὕστερον ἐκπεσόντας τὴν νῦν Ἰουδαίαν κατασχεῖν καὶ κτίσαντας Ἱεροσόλυμα τὸν νεὼ κατασκευάσασθαι, [229] μέχρι μὲν τούτων ἠκολούθησε ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς. ἔπειτα δὲ δοὺς ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ

διὰ τοῦ φάναι γράψειν τὰ μυθευόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων λόγους ἀπιθάνους παρενέβαλεν, ἀναμῖξαι βουλόμενος ἡμῖν πλῆθος Αἰγυπτίων λεπρῶν καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλοις ἀρρωστήμασιν, ὥς φησι, φυγεῖν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καταγνωσθέντων. [230] Ἀμένωφιν γὰρ βασιλέα προσθεὶς ψευδὲς ὄνομα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χρόνον αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ὁρίσαι μὴ τολμήσας, καίτοι γε ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων ἀκριβῶς τὰ ἔτη προστιθείς, τούτῳ προσάπτει τινὰς μυθολογίας ἐπιλαθόμενος σχεδόν, ὅτι πεντακοσίοις ἔτεσι καὶ δεκαοκτὼ πρότερον ἱστόρηκε γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν ποιμένων ἔξοδον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. [231] Τέθμωσις γὰρ ἦν βασιλεὺς ὅτε ἐξῆεσαν, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων μεταξὺ τῶν βασιλέων κατ᾽ αὐτόν ἐστι τριακόσια ἐνενηκοντατρία ἔτη μέχρι τῶν δύο ἀδελφῶν Σέθω καὶ Ἑρμαίου, ὧν τὸν μὲν Σέθων Αἴγυπτον, τὸν δὲ Ἕρμαιον Δαναὸν μετονομασθῆναί φησιν, ὃν ἐκβαλὼν ὁ Σέθως ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη νθ καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁ πρεσβύτερος τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ Ῥάμψης ξ[στιγμα]. [232] τοσούτοις οὖν πρότερον ἔτεσιν ἀπελθεῖν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν ὡμολογηκὼς εἶτα τὸν Ἀμένωφιν εἰσποιήσας ἐμβόλιμον βασιλέα φησὶν τοῦτον ἐπιθυμῆσαι θεῶν γενέσθαι θεατήν ὥσπερ Ὧρ εἷς τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βεβασιλευκότων, ἀνενεγκεῖν δὲ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ὁμωνύμῳ μὲν αὐτῷ Ἀμενώφει πατρὸς δὲ Πάπιος ὄντι, θείας δὲ δοκοῦντι μετεσχηκέναι φύσεως [233] κατά τε σοφίαν καὶ πρόγνωσιν τῶν ἐσομένων. εἰπεῖν οὖν αὐτῷ τοῦτον τὸν ὁμώνυμον, ὅτι δυνήσεται θεοὺς ἰδεῖν, εἰ καθαρὰν ἀπό τε λεπρῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μιαρῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν ποιήσειεν. [234] ἡσθέντα δὲ τὸν βασιλέα πάντας τοὺς τὰ σώματα λελωβημένους ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου συναγαγεῖν γενέσθαι δὲ τοῦ πλήθους [235] μυριάδας ὀκτώ: καὶ τούτους εἰς τὰς λιθοτομίας τὰς ἐν τῷ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν μέρει τοῦ Νείλου ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτόν, ὅπως ἐργάζοιντο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἐγκεχωρισμένοι. εἶναι δέ τινας ἐν αὐτοῖς [236] καὶ τῶν λογίων ἱερέων φησὶ λέπρᾳ συγκεχυμένους. τὸν δὲ Ἀμένωφιν ἐκεῖνον, τὸν σοφὸν καὶ μαντικὸν ἄνδρα, ὑποδεῖσαι πρὸς αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν βασιλέα χόλον τῶν θεῶν, εἰ βιασθέντες ὀφθήσονται. καὶ προσθέμενον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι συμμαχήσουσί τινες τοῖς μιαροῖς καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου κρατήσουσιν ἐπ᾽ ἔτη δεκατρία, μὴ τολμῆσαι μὲν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν ταῦτα τῷ βασιλεῖ, γραφὴν δὲ καταλιπόντα περὶ πάντων [237] ἑαυτὸν ἀνελεῖν, ἐν ἀθυμίᾳ δὲ εἶναι τὸν βασιλέα. κἄπειτα κατὰ λέξιν οὕτως γέγραφεν: “τῶν δ᾽ ἐν ταῖς λατομίαις ὡς χρόνος ἱκανὸς διῆλθεν ταλαιπωρούντων, ἀξιωθεὶς ὁ βασιλεύς, ἵνα [πρὸς] κατάλυσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ σκέπην ἀπομερίσῃ, τὴν τότε τῶν ποιμένων ἐρημωθεῖσαν πόλιν Αὔαριν συνεχώρησεν: ἔστι δ᾽ ἡ πόλις κατὰ τὴν θεολογίαν ἄνωθεν Τυφώνιος. [238] οἱ δὲ εἰς ταύτην εἰσελθόντες καὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον [εἰς] ἀπόστασιν ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνα αὐτῶν λεγόμενόν τινα τῶν Ἡλιοπολιτῶν ἱερέων Ὀσάρσηφον ἐστήσαντο καὶ τούτῳ πειθαρχήσοντες ἐν πᾶσιν ὡρκωμότησαν. [239] ὁ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς νόμον ἔθετο μήτε προσκυνεῖν θεοὺς μήτε τῶν μάλιστα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ θεμιστευομένων ἱερῶν ζῴων ἀπέχεσθαι μηδενός, πάντα δὲ θύειν καὶ [240] ἀναλοῦν, συνάπτεσθαι δὲ μηδενὶ πλὴν τῶν

συνομωμοσμένων. τοιαῦτα δὲ νομοθετήσας καὶ πλεῖστα ἄλλα μάλιστα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐθισμοῖς ἐναντιούμενα ἐκέλευσεν πολυχειρίᾳ τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπισκευάζειν τείχη καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον ἑτοίμους γίνεσθαι τὸν πρὸς Ἀμένωφιν [241] τὸν βασιλέα. αὐτὸς δὲ προσλαβόμενος μεθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερέων καὶ συμμεμιαμμένων ἔπεμψε πρέσβεις πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὸ Τεθμώσεως ἀπελαθέντας ποιμένας εἰς πόλιν τὴν καλουμένην Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ τὰ καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς συνατιμασθέντας [242] δηλώσας ἠξίου συνεπιστρατεύειν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐπ᾽ Αἴγυπτον. ἐπάξειν μὲν οὖν αὐτοὺς ἐπηγγείλατο πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Αὔαριν τὴν προγονικὴν αὐτῶν πατρίδα καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς ὄχλοις παρέξειν ἀφθόνως, ὑπερμαχήσεσθαι δὲ ὅτε δέοι καὶ ῥᾳδίως ὑποχείριον αὐτοῖς [243] τὴν χώραν ποιήσειν. οἱ δὲ ὑπερχαρεῖς γενόμενοι πάντες προθύμως εἰς κ μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν συνεξώρμησαν καὶ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ ἦκον εἰς Αὔαριν. Ἀμένωφις δ᾽ ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς ὡς ἐπύθετο τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἔφοδον, οὐ μετρίως συνεχύθη τῆς [244] παρὰ Ἀμενώφεως τοῦ Παάπιος μνησθεὶς προδηλώσεως. καὶ πρότερον συναγαγὼν πλῆθος Αἰγυπτίων καὶ βουλευσάμενος μετὰ τῶν ἐν τούτοις ἡγεμόνων τά τε ἱερὰ ζῷα τὰ [πρῶτα] μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς τιμώμενα ὥς γ᾽ ἑαυτὸν μετεπέμψατο καὶ τοῖς κατὰ μέρος ἱερεῦσι [245] παρήγγελλεν ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα τῶν θεῶν συγκρύψαι τὰ ξόανα. τὸν δὲ υἱὸν Σέθω τὸν καὶ Ῥαμεσσῆ ἀπὸ Ῥαψηοῦς τοῦ πατρὸς ὠνομασμένον πενταέτη ὄντα ἐξέθετο πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φίλον. αὐτὸς δὲ διαβὰς Τοῖς ἄλλοις Αἰγυπτίοις οὖσιν εἰς τριάκοντα μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν μαχιμωτάτων [246] καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπαντήσας οὐ συνέβαλεν, ἀλλὰ μέλλειν θεομαχεῖν νομίσας παλινδρομήσας ἦκεν εἰς Μέμφιν ἀναλαβών τε τόν τε Ἆπιν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐκεῖσε μεταπεμφθέντα ἱερὰ ζῷα εὐθὺς εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν σὺν ἅπαντι τῷ στόλῳ καὶ πλήθει τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀνήχθη: χάριτι γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ ὑποχείριος ὁ τῶν Αἰθιόπων βασιλεύς. [247] ὃς ὑποδεξάμενος καὶ τοὺς ὄχλους πάντας ὑπολαβὼν οἷς ἔσχεν ἡ χώρα τῶν πρὸς ἀνθρωπίνην τροφὴν ἐπιτηδείων, καὶ πόλεις καὶ κώμας πρὸς τὴν τῶν πεπρωμένων τρισκαίδεκα ἐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ [εἰς τὴν] ἔκπτωσιν αὐτάρκεις, οὐχ ἧττον δὲ καὶ στρατόπεδον Αἰθιοπικὸν πρὸς φυλακὴν ἐπέταξε τοῖς παρ᾽ [248] Ἀμενώφεως τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρίων τῆς Αἰγύπτου. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν τοιαῦτα. οἱ δὲ Σολυμῖται κατελθόντες σὺν τοῖς μιαροῖς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οὕτως ἀνοσίως καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις προσηνέχθησαν, ὥστε τὴν τῶν προειρημένων κράτησιν χρυσὸν [249] φαίνεσθαι τοῖς τότε τὰ τούτων ἀσεβήματα θεωμένοις: καὶ γὰρ οὐ μόνον πόλεις καὶ κώμας ἐνέπρησαν οὐδὲ ἱεροσυλοῦντες οὐδὲ λυμαινόμενοι ξόανα θεῶν ἠρκοῦντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὀπτανίοις τῶν σεβαστευομένων ἱερῶν ζῴων χρώμενοι διετέλουν καὶ θύτας καὶ σφαγεῖς τούτων ἱερεῖς καὶ προφήτας ἠνάγκαζον γίνεσθαι [250] καὶ γυμνοὺς ἐξέβαλλον. λέγεται δέ, ὅτι τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς καταβαλόμενος ἱερεὺς τὸ γένος Ἡλιοπολίτης ὄνομα

Ὀσαρσὶφ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει θεοῦ Ὀσίρεως, ὡς μετέβη εἰς τοῦτο τὸ γένος, μετετέθη τοὔνομα καὶ προσηγορεύθη Μωυσῆς.”

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[251] Ἃ μὲν οὖν Αἰγύπτιοι φέρουσι περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ταῦτ᾽ ἐστὶ καὶ ἕτερα πλείονα, ἃ παρίημι συντομίας ἕνεκα. λέγει δὲ ὁ Μανεθὼς πάλιν, ὅτι μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπῆλθεν ὁ Ἀμένωφις ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίας μετὰ μεγάλης δυνάμεως καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ῥάμψης καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχων δύναμιν, καὶ συμβαλόντες οἱ δύο τοῖς ποιμέσι καὶ τοῖς μιαροῖς ἐνίκησαν αὐτοὺς καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείναντες ἐδίωξαν αὐτοὺς ἄχρι τῶν ὁρίων τῆς Συρίας. [252] ταῦτα μὲν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα Μανεθὼς συνέγραψεν. ὅτι δὲ ληρεῖ καὶ ψεύδεται περιφανῶς, ἐπιδείξω προδιαστειλάμενος ἐκεῖνο τῶν ὕστερον πρὸς ἄλλους λεχθησομένων ἕνεκα: δέδωκε γὰρ οὗτος ἡμῖν καὶ ὡμολόγηκεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε μὴ εἶναι τὸ γένος Αἰγυπτίους, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἔξωθεν ἐπελθόντας κρατῆσαι [253] τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ πάλιν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀπελθεῖν. ὅτι δ᾽ οὐκ ἀνεμίχθησαν ἡμῖν ὕστερον τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ τὰ σώματα λελωβημένοι, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ τούτων οὐκ ἦν Μωυσῆς ὁ τὸν λαὸν ἀγαγών, ἀλλὰ πολλαῖς ἐγεγόνει γενεαῖς πρότερον, ταῦτα πειράσομαι διὰ τῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ λεγομένων ἐλέγχειν.

XXVIII

[254] Πρώτην δὴ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ πλάσματος ὑποτίθεται καταγέλαστον: ὁ βασιλεὺς γάρ φησιν Ἀμένωφις ἐπεθύμησε τοὺς θεοὺς ἰδεῖν. ποίους; εἰ μὲν τοὺς παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς νενομοθετημένους τὸν βοῦν [255] καὶ τράγον καὶ κροκοδείλους καὶ κυνοκεφάλους, ἑώρα. τοὺς οὐρανίους δὲ πῶς ἐδύνατο; καὶ διὰ τί ταύτην ἔσχε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν; ὅτι νὴ Δία καὶ πρότερος αὐτοῦ βασιλεὺς ἄλλος ἑωράκει. παρ᾽ ἐκείνου τοίνυν ἐπέπυστο, ποταποί τινές εἰσι καὶ τίνα τρόπον αὐτοὺς εἶδεν, ὥστε καινῆς αὐτῷ τέχνης οὐκ ἔδει. [256] ἀλλὰ σοφὸς ἦν ὁ μάντις, δι᾽ οὗ τοῦτο κατορθώσειν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπελάμβανε. καὶ πῶς οὐ προέγνω τὸ ἀδύνατον αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας; οὐ γὰρ ἀπέβη. τίνα δὲ καὶ λόγον εἶχε διὰ τοὺς ἠκρωτηριασμένους ἢ λεπρῶντας ἀφανεῖς εἶναι τοὺς θεούς; ὀργίζονται γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀσεβήμασιν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐλαττώμασι τῶν σωμάτων. [257] ὀκτὼ δὲ μυριάδας τῶν λεπρῶν καὶ κακῶς διακειμένων πῶς οἷόν τε μιᾷ σχεδὸν ἡμέρᾳ συλλεγῆναι; πῶς δὲ παρήκουσεν τοῦ μάντεως ὁ βασιλεύς; ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐξορίσαι τῆς Αἰγύπτου τοὺς λελωβημένους, ὁ δ᾽ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰς λιθοτομίας ἐνέβαλεν, ὥσπερ τῶν ἐργασομένων δεόμενος, ἀλλ᾽ [258] οὐχὶ καθᾶραι τὴν χώραν προαιρούμενος. φησὶ δὲ τὸν μὲν μάντιν αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν τὴν ὀργὴν τῶν θεῶν προορώμενον καὶ τὰ συμβησόμενα περὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ γεγραμμένην τὴν πρόρρησιν καταλιπεῖν. εἶτα πῶς οὐκ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ μάντις τὸν αὐτοῦ θάνατον προηπίστατο; [259] πῶς δὲ οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀντεῖπεν τῷ βασιλεῖ βουλομένῳ τοὺς θεοὺς ἰδεῖν; πῶς δ᾽

εὔλογος ὁ φόβος τῶν μὴ παρ᾽ αὐτὸν συμβησομένων κακῶν; ἦ τι χεῖρον ἔδει παθεῖν οὐδ᾽ ἂν ἑαυτὸν ἔσπευδεν. [260] τὸ δὲ δὴ πάντων εὐηθέστατον ἴδωμεν: πυθόμενος γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων φοβηθεὶς τοὺς λελωβημένους ἐκείνους, ὧν αὐτῷ καθαρεῦσαι προείρητο τὴν Αἴγυπτον, οὐδὲ τότε τῆς χώρας ἐξήλασεν, ἀλλὰ δεηθεῖσιν αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε πόλιν, ὥς φησι, τὴν πάλαι μὲν οἰκηθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν ποιμένων, Αὔαριν δὲ καλουμένην. [261] εἰς ἣν ἀθροισθέντας αὐτοὺς ἡγεμόνα φησὶν ἐξελέσθαι τῶν ἐξ Ἡλιουπόλεως πάλαι γεγονότων ἱερέων, καὶ τοῦτον αὐτοῖς εἰσηγήσασθαι μήτε θεοὺς προσκυνεῖν μήτε τῶν ἐπ᾽ Αἰγύπτῳ θρησκευομένων ζῴων ἀπέχεσθαι, πάντα δὲ θύειν καὶ κατεσθίειν, συνάπτεσθαι δὲ μηδενὶ πλὴν τῶν συνομωμοσμένων, ὅρκοις τε τὸ πλῆθος ἐνδησάμενον, ἢ μὴν τούτοις ἐμμενεῖν τοῖς νόμοις, καὶ τειχίσαντα [262] τὴν Αὔαριν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα πόλεμον ἐξενεγκεῖν. καὶ προστίθησιν, ὅτι ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παρακαλῶν ἐκείνους αὐτοῖς συμμαχεῖν καὶ δώσειν αὐτοῖς τὴν Αὔαριν ὑπισχνούμενος, εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὴν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἀφιξομένοις προγονικήν, ἀφ᾽ ἧς [263] ὁρμωμένους αὐτοὺς πᾶσαν τὴν Αἴγυπτον καθέξειν. εἶτα τοὺς μὲν ἐπελθεῖν εἴκοσι στρατοῦ μυριάσι λέγει, τὸν βασιλέα δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Ἀμένωφιν οὐκ οἰόμενον δεῖν θεομαχεῖν εἰς τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν εὐθὺς ἀποδρᾶναι, τὸν δὲ Ἆπιν καί τινα τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν ζῴων παρατεθεικέναι τοῖς ἱερεῦσι διαφυλάττεσθαι κελεύσαντα. [264] εἶτα τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας ἐπελθόντας τάς τε πόλεις ἀνιστάναι καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ κατακαίειν καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας ἀποσφάττειν, ὅλως τε μηδεμιᾶς ἀπέχεσθαι [265] παρανομίας μηδὲ ὠμότητος. ὁ δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς καταβαλόμενος ἱερεύς, φησίν, ἦν τὸ γένος Ἡλιοπολίτης, ὄνομα δ᾽ Ὀσαρσὴφ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει θεοῦ Ὀσίρεως, [266] μεταθέμενος δὲ Μωυσῆν αὐτὸν προσηγόρευσε. τρισκαιδεκάτῳ δέ φησιν ἔτει τὸν Ἀμένωφιν, τοσοῦτον γὰρ αὐτῷ χρόνον εἶναι τῆς ἐκπτώσεως πεπρωμένον, ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας ἐπελθόντα μετὰ πολλῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ συμβαλόντα τοῖς ποιμέσι καὶ τοῖς μιαροῖς νικῆσαί τε τῇ μάχῃ καὶ κτεῖναι πολλοὺς ἐπιδιώξαντα μέχρι τῶν τῆς Συρίας ὅρων.

XXIX

[267] Ἐν τούτοις πάλιν οὐ συνίησιν ἀπιθάνως ψευδόμενος: οἱ γὰρ λεπροὶ καὶ τὸ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν πλῆθος, εἰ καὶ πρότερον ὠργίζοντο τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖς τὰ περὶ αὐτοὺς πεποιηκόσι κατὰ [τε] τὴν τοῦ μάντεως προαγόρευσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε τῶν λιθοτομιῶν ἐξῆλθον καὶ πόλιν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ χώραν ἔλαβον, πάντως ἂν γεγόνεισαν πρᾳότεροι [268] πρὸς αὐτόν. εἰ δὲ δὴ κἀκεῖνον ἐμίσουν, ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἄνω ἐπεβούλευον, οὐκ ἂν δὲ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἤραντο πόλεμον, δῆλον ὅτι πλείστας ἔχοντες [269] συγγενείας τοσοῦτοί γε τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες. ὅμως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πολεμεῖν διεγνωκότες οὐκ ἂν εἰς τοὺς αὐτῶν θεοὺς πολεμεῖν ἐτόλμησαν οὐδ᾽ ὑπεναντιωτάτους ἔθεντο νόμους τοῖς πατρίοις αὐτῶν [270] καὶ οἷς

ἐνετράφησαν. δεῖ δὲ ἡμᾶς τῷ Μανεθῶνι χάριν ἔχειν, ὅτι ταύτης τῆς παρανομίας οὐχὶ τοὺς ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐλθόντας ἀρχηγοὺς γενέσθαι φησίν, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ὄντας Αἰγυπτίους καὶ τούτων μάλιστα τοὺς ἱερέας ἐπινοῆσαί τε ταῦτα καὶ ὁρκωμοτῆσαι τὸ πλῆθος. [271] ἐκεῖνο μέντοι πῶς οὐκ ἄλογον, τῶν μὲν οἰκείων αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν φίλων συναποστῆναι οὐδένα μηδὲ τοῦ πολέμου τὸν κίνδυνον συνάρασθαι, πέμψαι δὲ τοὺς μιαροὺς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ [272] τὴν παρ᾽ ἐκείνων ἐπάγεσθαι συμμαχίαν; ποίας αὐτοῖς φιλίας ἢ τίνος αὐτοῖς οἰκειότητος πρου¨πηργμένης; τοὐναντίον γὰρ ἦσαν πολέμιοι καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσι πλεῖστον διέφερον. ὁ δέ φησιν εὐθὺς ὑπακοῦσαι τοῖς ὑπισχνουμένοις, ὅτι τὴν Αἴγυπτον καθέξουσιν, ὥσπερ αὐτῶν οὐ σφόδρα τῆς χώρας ἐμπείρως ἐχόντων, ἧς βιασθέντες ἐκπεπτώκασιν. [273] εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀπόρως ἢ κακῶς ἔπραττον, ἴσως ἂν καὶ παρεβάλλοντο, πόλιν δὲ κατοικοῦντες εὐδαίμονα καὶ χώραν πολλὴν κρείττω τῆς Αἰγύπτου καρπούμενοι, διὰ τί ποτ᾽ ἂν ἐχθροῖς μὲν πάλαι τὰ δὲ σώματα λελωβημένοις, οὓς μηδὲ τῶν οἰκείων οὐδεὶς ὑπέμενε, τούτοις ἔμελλον παρακινδυνεύσειν βοηθοῦντες; οὐ γὰρ δή [274] γε τὸν γενησόμενον προῄδεσαν δρασμὸν τοῦ βασιλέως: τοὐναντίον γὰρ αὐτὸς εἴρηκεν, ὡς ὁ παῖς τοῦ Ἀμενώφιος τριάκοντα μυριάδας ἔχων εἰς τὸ Πηλούσιον ὑπηντίαζεν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ᾔδεισαν πάντως οἱ παραγινόμενοι, τὴν δὲ μετάνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν φυγὴν πόθεν εἰκάζειν ἔμελλον; [275] εἶτα κρατήσαντάς φησι τῆς Αἰγύπτου πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ δρᾶν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπιστρατεύσαντας καὶ περὶ τούτων ὀνειδίζει καθάπερ οὐ πολεμίους αὐτοῖς ἐπαγαγὼν ἢ δέον τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἐπικληθεῖσιν ἐγκαλεῖν, ὁπότε ταῦτα πρὸ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀφίξεως ἔπραττον καὶ πράξειν ὠμωμόκεσαν οἱ τὸ γένος Αἰγύπτιοι. [276] ἀλλὰ καὶ χρόνοις ὕστερον Ἀμένωφις ἐπελθὼν ἐνίκησε μάχῃ καὶ κτείνων τοὺς πολεμίους μέχρι τῆς Συρίας ἤλασεν. οὕτω γὰρ παντάπασίν ἐστιν ἡ Αἴγυπτος τοῖς ὁποθενδηποτοῦν ἐπιοῦσιν εὐάλωτος, [277] καὶ οἱ τότε πολέμῳ κρατοῦντες αὐτὴν ζῆν πυνθανόμενοι τὸν Ἀμένωφιν οὔτε τὰς ἐκ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας ἐμβολὰς ὠχύρωσαν πολλὴν εἰς τοῦτο παρασκευὴν ἔχοντες οὔτε τὴν ἄλλην ἡτοίμασαν δύναμιν, ὁ δὲ καὶ μέχρι τῆς Συρίας ἀναιρῶν, φησίν, αὐτοὺς ἠκολούθησε διὰ τῆς ψάμμου τῆς ἀνύδρου, δῆλον ὅτι οὐ ῥᾴδιον οὐδὲ ἀμαχεὶ στρατοπέδῳ διελθεῖν.

XXX

[278] Κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὸν Μανεθῶν οὔτε ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ γένος ἡμῶν ἐστιν οὔτε τῶν ἐκεῖθέν τινες ἀνεμίχθησαν: τῶν γὰρ λεπρῶν καὶ νοσούντων πολλοὺς μὲν εἰκὸς ἐν ταῖς λιθοτομίαις ἀποθανεῖν πολὺν χρόνον ἐκεῖ γενομένους καὶ κακοπαθοῦντας, πολλοὺς δ᾽ ἐν ταῖς μετὰ ταῦτα μάχαις, πλείστους δ᾽ ἐν τῇ τελευταίᾳ καὶ τῇ φυγῇ.

XXXI

[279] Λοιπόν μοι πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν περὶ Μωυσέως. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα θαυμαστὸν μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ θεῖον νομίζουσι, βούλονται δὲ προσποιεῖν αὐτοῖς μετὰ βλασφημίας ἀπιθάνου, λέγοντες Ἡλιοπολίτην εἶναι τῶν ἐκεῖθεν ἱερέων ἕνα διὰ τὴν λέπραν συνεξεληλαμένον. [280] δείκνυται δ' ἐν ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς ὀκτωκαίδεκα σὺν τοῖς πεντακοσίοις πρότερον ἔτεσι γεγονὼς καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἐξαγαγὼν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πατέρας εἰς τὴν χώραν τὴν νῦν οἰκουμένην ὑφ' ἡμῶν. [281] ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲ συμφορᾷ τινι τοιαύτῃ περὶ τὸ σῶμα κεχρημένος ἦν, ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δῆλός ἐστι: τοῖς γὰρ λεπρῶσιν ἀπείρηκε μήτε μένειν ἐν πόλει μήτ' ἐν κώμῃ κατοικεῖν, ἀλλὰ μόνους περιπατεῖν κατεσχισμένους τὰ ἱμάτια, καὶ τὸν ἁψάμενον [282] αὐτῶν ἢ ὁμωρόφιον γενόμενον οὐ καθαρὸν ἡγεῖται. καὶ μὴν κἂν θεραπευθῇ τὸ νόσημα καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἀπολάβῃ, προείρηκέν τινας ἁγνείας καθαρμοὺς πηγαίων ὑδάτων λουτροῖς καὶ ξυρήσεις πάσης τῆς τριχός, πολλάς τε κελεύει καὶ παντοίας ἐπιτελέσαντα [283] θυσίας τότε παρελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν. καίτοι τοὐναντίον εἰκὸς ἦν προνοίᾳ τινὶ καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ χρήσασθαι τὸν ἐν τῇ συμφορᾷ [284] ταύτῃ γεγονότα πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοίως αὐτῷ δυστυχήσαντας. οὐ μόνον δὲ περὶ τῶν λεπρῶν οὕτως ἐνομοθέτησεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῖς καὶ τὸ βραχύτατόν τι τοῦ σώματος ἠκρωτηριασμένοις ἱερᾶσθαι συγκεχώρηκεν, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ μεταξύ τις ἱερώμενος τοιαύτῃ χρήσαιτο συμφορᾷ, [285] τὴν τιμὴν αὐτὸν ἀφείλετο. πῶς οὖν εἰκὸς ἐκεῖνον ταῦτα νομοθετεῖν ἀνοήτως ἀπὸ τοιούτων συμφορῶν συνειλεγμένους πρόεσθαι καθ' [286] ἑαυτῶν εἰς ὄνειδός τε καὶ βλάβην νόμους συντιθεμένους; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοὔνομα λίαν ἀπιθάνως μετατέθεικεν: Ὀσαρσὴφ γάρ, φησίν, ἐκαλεῖτο. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν μετάθεσιν οὐκ ἐναρμόζει, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ὄνομα δηλοῖ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος σωθέντα [Μωσῆν]: τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι μῶυ¨ καλοῦσιν. [287] ἱκανῶς οὖν γεγονέναι νομίζω καὶ δῆλον δ' ὅτι Μανεθὼς ἕως μὲν ἠκολούθει ταῖς ἀρχαίαις ἀναγραφαῖς οὐ πολὺ τῆς ἀληθείας διημάρτανεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀδεσπότους μύθους τραπόμενος ἢ συνέθηκεν αὐτοὺς ἀπιθάνως ἤ τισι τῶν πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν εἰρηκότων ἐπίστευσεν.

XXXII

[288] Μετὰ τοῦτον ἐξετάσαι βούλομαι Χαιρήμονα: καὶ γὰρ οὗτος Αἰγυπτιακὴν φάσκων ἱστορίαν συγγράφειν καὶ προσθεὶς ταὐτὸ ὄνομα τοῦ βασιλέως ὅπερ ὁ Μανεθὼς Ἀμένωφιν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν [289] αὐτοῦ Ῥαμεσσήν, φησὶν ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἡ Ἶσις ἐφάνη τῷ Ἀμενώφει μεμφομένη αὐτόν, ὅτι τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κατέσκαπται. Φριτιβαύτην δὲ ἱερογραμματέα φάναι, ἐὰν τῶν τοὺς μολυσμοὺς ἐχόντων ἀνδρῶν καθάρῃ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, παύσεσθαι τῆς πτοίας αὐτόν. [290] ἐπιλέξαντα δὲ τῶν ἐπισινῶν μυριάδας εἰκοσιπέντε ἐκβαλεῖν. ἡγεῖσθαι δ' αὐτῶν γραμματέας Μωσῆν τε καὶ Ἰώσηπον καὶ τοῦτον ἱερογραμματέα, Αἰγύπτια

δ’ αὐτοῖς ὀνόματα εἶναι τῷ [291] μὲν Μωσῆ Τισιθέν, τῷ δὲ Ἰωσήπῳ Πετεσήφ. τούτους δ’ εἰς Πηλούσιον ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἐπιτυχεῖν μυριάσι τριακονταοκτὼ καταλελειμμέναις ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀμενώφιος, ἃς οὐ θέλειν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον διακομίζειν: οἷς φιλίαν συνθεμένους ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον στρατεῦσαι. [292] τὸν δὲ Ἀμένωφιν οὐχ ὑπομείναντα τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν φυγεῖν καταλιπόντα τὴν γυναῖκα ἔγκυον, ἣν κρυβομένην ἔν τισι σπηλαίοις τεκεῖν παῖδα ὄνομα Ῥαμέσσην, ὃν ἀνδρωθέντα ἐκδιῶξαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἰς τὴν Συρίαν ὄντας περὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας καὶ τὸν πατέρα Ἀμένωφιν ἐκ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας καταδέξασθαι.

XXXIII

[293] Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Χαιρήμων. οἶμαι δὲ αὐτόθεν φανερὰν εἶναι ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων τὴν ἀμφοῖν ψευδολογίαν: ἀληθείας μὲν γάρ τινος ὑποκειμένης ἀδύνατον ἦν διαφωνεῖν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, οἱ δὲ τὰ ψευδῆ συντιθέντες οὐχ ἑτέροις σύμφωνα γράφουσιν, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῖς τὰ δόξαντα πλάττουσιν. [294] ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ βασιλέως, ἵνα τοὺς θεοὺς ἴδῃ, φησὶν ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι τῆς τῶν μιαρῶν ἐκβολῆς, [295] ὁ δὲ Χαιρήμων ἴδιον ὡς τῆς Ἴσιδος ἐνύπνιον συντέθεικε. κἀκεῖνος μὲν Ἀμένωφιν εἶναι λέγει τὸν προειπόντα τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸν καθαρμόν, οὗτος δὲ Φριτοβαύτην: ὁ δὲ δὴ τοῦ πλήθους ἀριθμὸς καὶ σφόδρα σύνεγγυς, ὀκτὼ μὲν μυριάδας ἐκείνου λέγοντος, τούτου δὲ [296] πέντε πρὸς ταῖς εἴκοσιν. ἔτι τοίνυν ὁ μὲν Μανεθὼς πρότερον εἰς τὰς λιθοτομίας τοὺς μιαροὺς ἐκβαλὼν εἶτα αὐτοῖς τὴν Αὔαριν δοὺς ἐγκατοικεῖν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Αἰγυπτίους ἐκπολεμώσας τότε φησὶν ἐπικαλέσασθαι τὴν παρὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν αὐτοὺς [297] ἐπικουρίαν, ὁ δὲ Χαιρήμων ἀπαλλαττομένους ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου περὶ Πηλούσιον εὑρεῖν ὀκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων καταλελειμμένας ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀμενώφιος καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνων πάλιν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐμβαλεῖν, φεύγειν δὲ τὸν Ἀμένωφιν εἰς τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν. [298] τὸ δὲ δὴ γενναιότατον, οὐδὲ τίνες ἢ πόθεν ἦσαν αἱ τοσαῦται τοῦ στρατοῦ μυριάδες εἴρηκεν εἴτε Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ γένος εἴτ’ ἔξωθεν ἥκοντες, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τὴν αἰτίαν διεσάφησε, δι’ ἣν αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀνάγειν οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ὁ περὶ τῶν λεπρῶν τὸ τῆς Ἴσιδος ἐνύπνιον συμπλάσας. [299] τῷ δὲ Μωσεῖ καὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ὁ Χαιρήμων ὡς ἐν ταὐτῷ χρόνῳ συνεξηλελαμένον προστέθεικεν τὸν πρὸ Μωυσέως πρεσβύτερον τέσσαρσι γενεαῖς τετελευτηκότα, ὧν [300] ἐστιν ἔτη σχεδὸν ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὁ Ῥαμέσσης ὁ τοῦ Ἀμενώφιος υἱὸς κατὰ μὲν τὸν Μανεθὼν νεανίας συμπολεμεῖ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ συνεκπίπτει φυγὼν εἰς τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν, οὗτος δὲ πεποίηκεν αὐτὸν μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν ἐν σπηλαίῳ τινὶ γεγενημένον καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα νικῶντα μάχῃ καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους [301] εἰς Συρίαν ἐξελαύνοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντας περὶ μυριάδας κ. ὢ τῆς εὐχερείας: οὔτε γὰρ πρότερον οἵτινες ἦσαν αἱ τριάκοντα καὶ ὀκτὼ μυριάδες εἶπεν οὔτε πῶς αἱ εἴκοσι καὶ τρεῖς

διεφθάρησαν, πότερον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κατέπεσον ἢ πρὸς τὸν Ῥαμεσσῆ μετεβάλοντο. [302] τὸ δὲ δὴ θαυμασιώτατον, οὐδὲ τίνας καλεῖ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους δυνατόν ἐστι παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ μαθεῖν ἢ ποτέροις αὐτοῖς τίθεται ταύτην τὴν προσηγορίαν, ταῖς κε μυριάσι τῶν λεπρῶν ἢ ταῖς η καὶ λ [303] ταῖς περὶ τὸ Πηλούσιον. ἀλλὰ γὰρ εὔηθες ἴσως ἂν εἴη διὰ πλειόνων ἐλέγχειν τοὺς ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν ἐληλεγμένους: τὸ γὰρ ὑπ᾽ ἄλλων ἦν μετριώτερον.

XXXIV

[304] Ἐπεισάξω δὲ τούτοις Λυσίμαχον εἰληφότα μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖς προειρημένοις ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ ψεύσματος περὶ τῶν λεπρῶν καὶ λελωβημένων, ὑπερπεπαικότα δὲ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀπιθανότητα τοῖς [305] πλάσμασι, δῆλος συντεθεικὼς κατὰ πολλὴν ἀπέχθειαν: λέγει γὰρ ἐπὶ Βοχχόρεως τοῦ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέως τὸν λαὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων λεπροὺς ὄντας καὶ ψωροὺς καὶ ἄλλα νοσήματά τινα ἐχόντων εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ καταφεύγοντας μεταιτεῖν τροφήν. παμπόλλων δὲ ἀνθρώπων νοσηλείᾳ περιπεσόντων ἀκαρπίαν ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ γενέσθαι. [306] Βόχχοριν δὲ τὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα εἰς Ἄμμωνος πέμψαι περὶ τῆς ἀκαρπίας τοὺς μαντευσομένους, τὸν θεὸν δὲ ἐρεῖν τὰ ἱερὰ καθᾶραι ἀπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων ἀνάγνων καὶ δυσσεβῶν ἐκβάλλοντα αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν εἰς τόπους ἐρήμους, τοὺς δὲ ψωροὺς καὶ λεπροὺς βυθίσαι, ὡς τοῦ ἡλίου ἀγανακτοῦντος ἐπὶ τῇ τούτων ζωῇ, [307] καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἁγνίσαι καὶ οὕτω τὴν γῆν καρποφορήσειν. τὸν δὲ Βόκχοριν τοὺς χρησμοὺς λαβόντα τούς τε ἱερεῖς καὶ ἐπιβωμίτας προσκαλεσάμενον κελεῦσαι ἐπιλογὴν ποιησαμένους τῶν ἀκαθάρτων τοῖς στρατιώταις τούτους παραδοῦναι κατάξειν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν ἔρημον, τοὺς δὲ λεπροὺς εἰς μολιβδίνους χάρτας ἐνδήσαντας, ἵνα καθῶσιν [308] εἰς τὸ πέλαγος. βυθισθέντων δὲ τῶν λεπρῶν καὶ ψωρῶν τοὺς ἄλλους συναθροισθέντας εἰς τόπους ἐρήμους ἐκτεθῆναι ἐπ᾽ ἀπωλείᾳ, συναχθέντας δὲ βουλεύσασθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιγενομένης πῦρ καὶ λύχνους καύσαντας φυλάττειν ἑαυτοὺς τήν τ᾽ ἐπιοῦσαν νύκτα νηστεύσαντας ἱλάσκεσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς περὶ τοῦ σῶσαι αὐτούς. [309] τῇ δ᾽ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ Μωσῆν τινα συμβουλεῦσαι αὐτοῖς παραβαλλομένοις μίαν ὁδὸν τέμνειν ἄχρι ἂν ὅτου ἔλθωσιν εἰς τόπους οἰκουμένους, παρακελεύσασθαί τε αὐτοῖς μήτε ἀνθρώπων τινὶ εὐνοήσειν μήτε ἄριστα συμβουλεύσειν ἀλλὰ τὰ χείρονα [310] θεῶν τε ναοὺς καὶ βωμούς, οἷς ἂν περιτύχωσιν, ἀνατρέπειν. συναινεσάντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τὰ δοχθέντα ποιοῦντας διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου πορεύεσθαι, ἱκανῶς δὲ ὀχληθέντας ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην χώραν καὶ τούς τε ἀνθρώπους ὑβρίζοντας καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ συλῶντας καὶ ἐμπρήσαντας ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν νῦν Ἰουδαίαν προσαγορευομένην, κτίσαντας [311] δὲ πόλιν ἐνταῦθα κατοικεῖν. τὸ δὲ ἄστυ τοῦτο Ἱερόσυλα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκείνων διαθέσεως ὠνομάσθαι. ὕστερον δ᾽ αὐτοὺς

ἐπικρατήσαντας χρόνῳ διαλλάξαι τὴν ὀνομασίαν πρὸς τὸ ὀνειδίζεσθαι καὶ τήν τε πόλιν Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ αὐτοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας προσαγορεύεσθαι.

XXXV

[312] Οὗτος οὐδὲ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνοις εὗρεν εἰπεῖν βασιλέα, καινότερον δ' ὄνομα συντέθεικεν καὶ παρεὶς ἐνύπνιον καὶ προφήτην Αἰγύπτιον εἰς Ἄμμωνος ἀπελήλυθεν περὶ τῶν ψωρῶν καὶ λεπρῶν [313] χρησμὸν οἴσων: φησὶ γὰρ εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ συλλέγεσθαι πλῆθος Ἰουδαίων. ἆρά γε τοῦτο τοῖς λεπροῖς ὄνομα θέμενος ἢ μόνον τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοῖς νοσήμασι περιπεσόντων; λέγει γάρ "ὁ λαὸς τῶν [314] Ἰουδαίων." ὁποῖος; ἔπηλυς ἢ τὸ γένος ἐγχώριος; διὰ τί τοίνυν Αἰγυπτίους αὐτοὺς ὄντας Ἰουδαίους καλεῖς; εἰ δὲ ξένοι, διὰ τί πόθεν οὐ λέγεις; πῶς δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν βυθίσαντος εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς εἰς ἐρήμους τόπους [315] ἐκβαλόντος, τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος ὑπελείφθησαν; ἢ τίνα τρόπον διεξῆλθον μὲν τὴν ἔρημον, ἐκράτησαν δὲ τῆς χώρας ἧς νῦν κατοικοῦμεν, ἔκτισαν δὲ καὶ πόλιν καὶ νεὼν ᾠκοδομήσαντο πᾶσι περιβόητον; [316] ἐχρῆν δὲ καὶ τοῦ νομοθέτου μὴ μόνον εἰπεῖν τοὔνομα, δηλῶσαι δὲ καὶ τὸ γένος ὅστις ἦν καὶ τίνων, διὰ τί δὲ τοιούτους [ἂν] αὐτοῖς ἐπεχείρησε τιθέναι νόμους περὶ θεῶν καὶ τῆς πρὸς [317] ἀνθρώπους ἀδικίας κατὰ τὴν πορείαν. εἴτε γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ γένος ἦσαν, οὐκ ἂν ἐκ τῶν πατρίων ἐθῶν οὕτω ῥᾳδίως μετεβάλοντο, εἴτ' ἀλλαχόθεν ἦσαν, πάντως τινὲς ὑπῆρχον αὐτοῖς νόμοι [318] διὰ μακρᾶς συνηθείας πεφυλαγμένοι. εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶν ἐξελασάντων αὐτοὺς ὤμοσαν μηδέποτε εὐνοήσειν, λόγον εἶχεν εἰκότα, πᾶσι δὲ πόλεμον ἀνθρώποις ἀκήρυκτον ἄρασθαι τούτους, εἴπερ ἔπραττον ὡς αὐτὸς λέγει κακῶς, παρὰ πάντων βοηθείας δεομένους ἄνοιαν οὐκ ἐκείνων, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ψευδομένου πάνυ πολλὴν παρίστησιν, ὅς γε καὶ τοὔνομα θέσθαι τῇ πόλει ἀπὸ τῆς ἱεροσυλίας αὐτοὺς [319] ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν, τοῦτο δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα παρατρέψαι: δῆλον γάρ, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ὕστερον γενομένοις αἰσχύνην τοὔνομα καὶ μῖσος ἔφερεν, αὐτοὶ δ' οἱ κτίζοντες τὴν πόλιν κοσμήσειν αὐτοὺς ὑπελάμβανον οὕτως ὀνομάσαντες. ὁ δὲ γενναῖος ὑπὸ πολλῆς τοῦ λοιδορεῖν ἀκρασίας οὐ συνῆκεν, ὅτι ἱεροσυλεῖν οὐ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν φωνὴν Ἰουδαῖοι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὀνομάζομεν. [320] τί οὖν ἐπὶ πλείω τις λέγοι πρὸς τὸν ψευδόμενον οὕτως ἀναισχύντως; ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ σύμμετρον ἤδη τὸ βιβλίον εἴληφε μέγεθος, ἑτέραν ποιησάμενος ἀρχὴν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν εἰς τὸ προκείμενον πειράσομαι προσαποδοῦναι.

Liber II

I

[1] Διὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ προτέρου βιβλίου, τιμιώτατέ μοι Ἐπαφρόδιτε, περί τε τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἡμῶν ἐπέδειξα τοῖς Φοινίκων καὶ Χαλδαίων καὶ Αἰγυπτίων γράμμασι πιστωσάμενος τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συγγραφεῖς παρασχόμενος μάρτυρας, τήν τε ἀντίρρησιν ἐποιησάμην πρὸς Μανεθὼν καὶ Χαιρήμονα καί τινας ἑτέρους. [2] ἄρξομαι δὲ νῦν τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους τῶν γεγραφότων τι καθ᾽ ἡμῶν ἐλέγχειν καὶ τοῖς τῆς πρὸς Ἀπίωνα τὸν γραμματικὸν ἀντιρρήσεως τετολμημένοις ἐπῆλθέ μοι διαπορεῖν, εἰ [3] χρὴ σπουδάσαι: τὰ μὲν γάρ ἐστι τῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένων τοῖς ὑπ᾽ ἄλλων εἰρημένοις ὅμοια, τὰ δὲ λίαν ψυχρῶς προστέθεικεν, τὰ πλεῖστα δὲ βωμολοχίαν ἔχει καὶ πολλήν, εἰ δεῖ τἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, ἀπαιδευσίαν ὡς ἂν ὑπ᾽ ἀνθρώπου συγκείμενα καὶ φαύλου τὸν τρόπον [4] καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον ὀχλαγωγοῦ γεγονότος. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἄνοιαν ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἁλίσκονται λόγων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν μετά τινος σπουδῆς γεγραμμένων, καὶ χαίρουσι μὲν ταῖς λοιδορίαις, ἄχθονται δὲ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην εἶναι μηδὲ τοῦτον ἀνεξέταστον καταλιπεῖν κατηγορίαν ἡμῶν ἄντικρυς ὡς ἐν δίκῃ γεγραφότα. [5] καὶ γὰρ αὖ κἀκεῖνο τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὁρῶ παρακολουθοῦν, τὸ λίαν ἐφήδεσθαι ὅταν τις ἀρξάμενος βλασφημεῖν ἕτερον αὐτὸς ἐλέγχηται περὶ τῶν αὐτῷ προσόντων κακῶν. [6] ἔστι μὲν οὖν οὐ ῥᾴδιον αὐτοῦ διελθεῖν τὸν λόγον οὐδὲ σαφῶς γνῶναι, τί λέγειν βούλεται, σχεδὸν δ᾽ ὡς ἐν πολλῇ ταραχῇ καὶ ψευσμάτων συγχύσει τὰ μὲν εἰς τὴν ὁμοίαν ἰδέαν πίπτει τοῖς προεξητασμένοις περὶ τῆς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τῶν ἡμετέρων [7] προγόνων μεταναστάσεως, τὰ δ᾽ ἐστὶ κατηγορία τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ κατοικούντων Ἰουδαίων. τρίτον δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτοις μέμικται περὶ τῆς ἁγιστείας τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νομίμων κατηγορία.

II

[8] Ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὔτε Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ γένος ἦσαν ἡμῶν οἱ πατέρες οὔτε διὰ λύμην σωμάτων ἢ τοιαύτας ἄλλας συμφοράς τινας ἐκεῖθεν ἐξηλάθησαν, οὐ μετρίως μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πέρα τοῦ συμμέτρου προαποδεδεῖχθαι νομίζω. [9] περὶ ὧν δὲ προστίθησιν ὁ Ἀπίων ἐπιμνησθήσομαι συντόμως. [10] φησὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν τάδε: “Μωσῆς, ὡς ἤκουσα παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ἦν Ἡλιοπολίτης, ὃς πατρίοις ἔθεσι κατηγγυημένος αἰθρίους προσευχὰς ἀνῆγεν εἰς οἵους εἶχεν ἥλιος περιβόλους, πρὸς ἀφηλιώτην δὲ πάσας ἀπέστρεφεν: ὧδε γὰρ καὶ Ἡλίου κεῖται πόλις. [11] ἀντὶ δὲ ὀβελῶν ἔστησε κίονας, ὑφ᾽ οἷς ἦν ἐκτύπωμα σκάφη, σκιὰ δ᾽ ἀνδρὸς ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν διακειμένη, ὡς ὅτι ἐν αἰθέρι τοῦτον

ἀεὶ τὸν [12] δρόμον ἡλίῳ συμπεριπολεῖ.” τοιαύτη μέν τις ἡ θαυμαστὴ τοῦ γραμματικοῦ φράσις: τὸ δὲ ψεῦσμα λόγων οὐ δεόμενον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων περιφανές: οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς Μωσῆς, ὅτε τὴν πρώτην σκηνὴν τῷ θεῷ κατεσκεύασεν, οὐθὲν ἐκτύπωμα τοιοῦτον εἰς αὐτὴν ἐνέθηκεν οὐδὲ ποιεῖν τοῖς ἔπειτα προσέταξεν, ὅ τε μετὰ ταῦτα κατασκευάσας τὸν ναὸν τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Σολομὼν πάσης ἀπέσχετο τοιαύτης περιεργίας οἵαν συμπέπλεκεν Ἀπίων. [13] ἀκοῦσαι δέ φησι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, ὅτι Μωσῆς ἦν Ἡλιοπολίτης, δῆλον ὅτι νεώτερος μὲν ὢν αὐτός, ἐκείνοις δὲ πιστεύσας τοῖς διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν [14] ἐπισταμένοις αὐτὸν καὶ συγγενομένοις. καὶ περὶ μὲν Ὁμήρου τοῦ ποιητοῦ γραμματικὸς ὢν αὐτὸς οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι, τίς αὐτοῦ πατρίς ἐστι, διαβεβαιωσάμενος εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ περὶ Πυθαγόρου μόνον οὐκ ἐχθὲς καὶ πρῴην γεγονότος, περὶ δὲ Μωσέως τοσούτῳ πλήθει προάγοντος ἐκείνους ἐτῶν οὕτως ἀποφαίνεται ῥᾳδίως πιστεύων ἀκοῇ πρεσβυτέρων, ὡς δῆλός ἐστι καταψευσάμενος. [15] τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν χρόνων, ἐν οἷς φησι τὸν Μωσῆν ἐξαγαγεῖν τοὺς λεπρῶντας καὶ τυφλοὺς καὶ τὰς βάσεις πεπηρωμένους, σφόδρα δὴ τοῖς πρὸ αὐτοῦ συμπεφώνηκεν, [16] ὡς οἶμαι, ὁ γραμματικὸς ὁ ἀκριβής. Μανεθὼς μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Τεθμώσιος βασιλείαν ἀπαλλαγῆναί φησιν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοὺς Ἰουδαίους πρὸ ἐτῶν τριακοσίων ἐνενηκοντατριῶν τῆς εἰς Ἄργος Δαναοῦ φυγῆς, Λυσίμαχος δὲ κατὰ Βόκχοριν τὸν βασιλέα, τουτέστι πρὸ ἐτῶν χιλίων ἑπτακοσίων, Μόλων δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς ὡς αὐτοῖς ἔδοξεν. [17] ὁ δέ γε πάντων πιστότατος Ἀπίων ὡρίσατο τὴν ἔξοδον ἀκριβῶς κατὰ τὴν ἑβδόμην ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ ταύτης ἔτος εἶναι πρῶτον, ἐν ᾧ, φησί, Καρχηδόνα Φοίνικες ἔκτισαν. τοῦτο δὲ πάντως προσέθηκε τὸ Καρχηδόνα τεκμήριον οἰόμενος αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τῆς ἀληθείας ἐναργέστατον, οὐ συνῆκε δὲ καθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ τὸν ἔλεγχον ἐπισπώμενος. [18] εἰ γὰρ περὶ τῆς ἀπιστίας πιστεύειν δεῖ ταῖς Φοινίκων ἀναγραφαῖς, ἐν ἐκείναις Εἴρωμος ὁ βασιλεὺς γέγραπται πρεσβύτερος τῆς Καρχηδόνος κτίσεως ἔτεσι πλείοσι πρὸς τοῖς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, περὶ οὗ τὰς πίστεις ἀνωτέρω παρέσχον ἐκ τῶν Φοινίκων [19] ἀναγραφῶν, ὅτι Σολομῶνι τῷ τὸν ναὸν οἰκοδομησαμένῳ τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις φίλος ἦν Εἴρωμος καὶ πολλὰ συνεβάλετο πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευήν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Σολομὼν ᾠκοδόμησε τὸν ναὸν μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοὺς Ἰουδαίους δώδεκα καὶ ἑξακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ὕστερον. [20] τὸν δὲ ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐλαθέντων τὸν αὐτὸν Λυσιμάχῳ σχεδιάσας, ἕνδεκα γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἶναί φησι μυριάδας, θαυμαστήν τινα καὶ πιθανὴν ἀποδίδωσιν αἰτίαν, ἀφ᾽ ἧς φησι τὸ σάββατον ὠνομάσθαι. [21] “ὁδεύσαντες γάρ, φησίν, ἓξ ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν βουβῶνας ἔσχον καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀνεπαύσαντο σωθέντες εἰς τὴν χώραν τὴν νῦν Ἰουδαίαν λεγομένην καὶ ἐκάλεσαν τὴν ἡμέραν σάββατον σώζοντες τὴν Αἰγυπτίων γλῶτταν: [22] τὸ γὰρ βουβῶνος ἄλγος καλοῦσιν Αἰγύπτιοι σαββάτωσις.” οὐκ ἂν οὖν τις ἢ καταγελάσειε τῆς φλυαρίας ἢ τοὐναντίον μισήσειε τὴν ἐν τῷ τοιαῦτα γράφειν ἀναίδειαν; δῆλον γάρ, ὅτι πάντες

ἐβουβωνίασαν ἕνδεκα μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων. [23] ἀλλ᾽ εἰ μὲν ἦσαν ἐκεῖνοι τυφλοὶ καὶ χωλοὶ καὶ πάντα τρόπον νοσοῦντες ὁποίους αὐτοὺς εἶναί φησιν Ἀπίων, οὐδ᾽ ἂν μιᾶς ἡμέρας προελθεῖν ὁδὸν ἠδυνήθησαν: εἰ δ᾽ οἷοι βαδίζειν διὰ πολλῆς ἐρημίας καὶ προσέτι νικᾶν τοὺς αὐτοῖς ἀνθισταμένους μαχόμενοι πάντες, οὐκ ἂν ἀθρόοι μετὰ τὴν ἕκτην [24] ἡμέραν ἐβουβωνίασαν: οὔτε γὰρ φύσει πως γίνεται τὸ τοιοῦτον τοῖς βαδίζουσιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ἀλλὰ πολλαὶ μυριάδες στρατοπέδων ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας τὸ σύμμετρον ἀεὶ βαδίζουσιν, οὔτε κατ᾽ αὐτόματον [25] εἰκὸς οὕτως συμβῆναι: πάντων γὰρ ἀλογώτατον. ὁ δὲ θαυμαστὸς Ἀπίων διὰ μὲν ἓξ ἡμερῶν αὐτοὺς ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προείρηκε, πάλιν δὲ τὸν Μωσῆν εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας ὄρος, ὃ καλεῖται Σίναιον, ἀναβάντα φησὶν ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα κρυβῆναι κἀκεῖθεν καταβάντα δοῦναι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τοὺς νόμους. καίτοι πῶς οἷόν τε τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ τεσσαράκοντα μένειν ἡμέρας ἐν ἐρήμῳ καὶ ἀνύδρῳ τόπῳ καὶ τὴν μεταξὺ πᾶσαν [26] ἐν ἡμέραις ἓξ διελθεῖν; ἡ δὲ περὶ τὴν ὀνομασίαν τοῦ σαββάτου γραμματικὴ μετάθεσις ἀναίδειαν ἔχει πολλὴν ἢ δεινὴν ἀμαθίαν: [27] τὸ γὰρ σαββὼ καὶ σάββατον πλεῖστον ἀλλήλων διαφέρει: τὸ μὲν γὰρ σάββατον κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίων διάλεκτον ἀνάπαυσίς ἐστιν ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου, τὸ δὲ σαββώ, καθάπερ ἐκεῖνός φησι, δηλοῖ παρ᾽ Αἰγυπτίοις τὸ βουβῶνος ἄλγος.

III

[28] Τοιαῦτα μέν τινα περὶ Μωσέως καὶ τῆς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου γενομένης τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀπαλλαγῆς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος Ἀπίων ἐκαινοποίησεν παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπινοήσας. καὶ τί γε δεῖ θαυμάζειν, εἰ περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ψεύδεται προγόνων λέγων αὐτοὺς εἶναι τὸ γένος Αἰγυπτίους; [29] αὐτὸς γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοὐναντίον ἐψεύδετο καὶ γεγενημένος ἐν Ὀάσει τῆς Αἰγύπτου πάντων Αἰγυπτίων πρῶτος ὤν, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, τὴν μὲν ἀληθῆ πατρίδα καὶ τὸ γένος ἐξωμόσατο, Ἀλεξανδρεὺς δὲ εἶναι καταψευδόμενος ὁμολογεῖ τὴν μοχθηρίαν τοῦ γένους. [30] εἰκότως οὖν οὓς μισεῖ καὶ βούλεται λοιδορεῖν τούτους Αἰγυπτίους καλεῖ: εἰ μὴ γὰρ φαυλοτάτους εἶναι ἐνόμιζεν Αἰγυπτίους, οὐκ ἂν τοῦ γένους αὐτὸς ἔφυγεν: ὡς οἵ γε μεγαλοφρονοῦντες ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν πατρίσι σεμνύνονται μὲν ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτοὶ χρηματίζοντες, τοὺς ἀδίκως δ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀντιποιουμένους ἐλέγχουσι. [31] πρὸς ἡμᾶς δὲ δυοῖν θάτερον Αἰγύπτιοι πεπόνθασιν: ἢ γὰρ ὡς ἐπισεμνυνόμενοι προσποιοῦνται τὴν συγγένειαν ἢ κοινωνοὺς ἡμᾶς ἐπισπῶνται τῆς αὐτῶν κακοδοξίας. [32] ὁ δὲ γενναῖος Ἀπίων δοκεῖ μὲν τὴν βλασφημίαν τὴν καθ᾽ ἡμῶν ὥσπερ τινὰ μισθὸν ἐθελῆσαι παρασχεῖν Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι τῆς δοθείσης αὐτῷ πολιτείας, καὶ τὴν ἀπέχθειαν αὐτῶν ἐπιστάμενος τὴν πρὸς τοὺς συνοικοῦντας αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας Ἰουδαίους προτέθειται μὲν ἐκείνοις

λοιδορεῖσθαι, συμπεριλαμβάνειν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας, ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἀναισχύντως ψευδόμενος.

IV

[33] Τίνα τοίνυν ἐστὶ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ σχέτλια τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ κατοικούντων Ἰουδαίων, ἃ κατηγόρηκεν αὐτῶν, ἴδωμεν. "ἐλθόντες, φησίν, ἀπὸ Συρίας ᾠκησαν πρὸς ἀλίμενον θάλασσαν γειτνιάσαντες [34] ταῖς τῶν κυμάτων ἐκβολαῖς." οὐκοῦν τόπος εἰ λοιδορίαν ἔχει, τὴν οὐ πατρίδα μὲν λεγομένην δὲ αὐτοῦ λοιδορεῖ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν: ἐκείνης γὰρ καὶ τὸ παράλιόν ἐστι μέρος, ὡς πάντες ὁμολογοῦσιν, [35] εἰς κατοίκησιν τὸ κάλλιστον. Ἰουδαῖοι δ' εἰ μὲν βιασάμενοι κατέσχον, ὡς μηδ' ὕστερον ἐκπεσεῖν, ἀνδρείας τεκμήριόν ἐστιν αὐτοῖς: εἰς κατοίκησιν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν τόπον Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἴσης παρὰ τοῖς Μακεδόσι τιμῆς ἐπέτυχον. [36] οὐκ οἶδα δέ, τί ποτ' ἂν ἔλεγεν Ἀπίων, εἰ πρὸς τῇ νεκροπόλει κατῴκουν καὶ μὴ πρὸς τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ἦσαν ἱδρυμένοι, καὶ μέχρι νῦν αὐτῶν ἡ φυλὴ τὴν προσηγορίαν εἶχεν Μακεδόνες. [37] εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀναγνοὺς τὰς ἐπιστολὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὰς Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου καὶ τῶν μετ' ἐκεῖνον τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων ἐντυχὼν τοῖς γράμμασι καὶ τὴν στήλην τὴν ἑστῶσαν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα περιέχουσαν, ἃ Καῖσαρ ὁ μέγας τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἔδωκεν, εἰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα, φημί, γιγνώσκων τἀναντία γράφειν ἐτόλμα, πονηρὸς ἦν, εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἠπίστατο τούτων, ἀπαίδευτος. [38] τὸ δὲ δὴ θαυμάζειν, πῶς Ἰουδαῖοι ὄντες Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ἐκλήθησαν, τῆς ὁμοίας ἀπαιδευσίας: πάντες γὰρ οἱ εἰς ἀποικίαν τινὰ κατακληθέντες, κἂν πλεῖστον ἀλλήλων τοῖς γένεσι διαφέρωσιν, ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιστῶν τὴν προσηγορίαν λαμβάνουσιν. [39] καὶ τί δεῖ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων λέγειν; αὐτῶν γὰρ ἡμῶν οἱ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν κατοικοῦντες Ἀντιοχεῖς ὀνομάζονται: τὴν γὰρ πολιτείαν αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν ὁ κτίστης Σέλευκος. ὁμοίως οἱ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰωνίαν τοῖς αὐθιγενέσι πολίταις ὁμωνυμοῦσιν τοῦτο παρασχόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν διαδόχων. [40] ἡ δὲ Ῥωμαίων φιλανθρωπία πᾶσιν οὐ μικροῦ δεῖν τῆς αὐτῶν προσηγορίας μεταδέδωκεν οὐ μόνον ἀνδράσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγάλοις ἔθνεσιν ὅλοις; Ἴβηρες γοῦν οἱ πάλαι [41] καὶ Τυρρηνοὶ καὶ Σαβῖνοι Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦνται. εἰ δὲ τοῦτον ἀφαιρεῖται τὸν τρόπον τῆς πολιτείας Ἀπίων, παυσάσθω λέγων αὐτὸν Ἀλεξανδρέα: γεννηθεὶς γάρ, ὡς προεῖπον, ἐν τῷ βαθυτάτῳ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πῶς ἂν Ἀλεξανδρεὺς εἴη τῆς κατὰ δόσιν πολιτείας, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἠξίωκεν, ἀναιρουμένης; καίτοι μόνοις Αἰγυπτίοις οἱ κύριοι νῦν Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς οἰκουμένης μεταλαμβάνειν ἠστινοσοῦν πολιτείας ἀπειρήκασιν. [42] ὁ δ' οὕτως ἐστὶ γενναῖος, ὡς μετέχειν ἀξιῶν αὐτὸς ὧν τυχεῖν ἐκωλύετο συκοφαντεῖν ἐπεχείρησε τοὺς δικαίως λαβόντας: οὐ γὰρ ἀπορίᾳ γε τῶν οἰκησόντων τὴν μετὰ σπουδῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πόλιν κτιζομένην Ἀλέξανδρος τῶν ἡμετέρων τινὰς ἐκεῖ συνήθροισεν, ἀλλὰ πάντας δοκιμάζων ἐπιμελῶς ἀρετῆς καὶ

[43] πίστεως τοῦτο τοῖς ἡμετέροις τὸ γέρας ἔδωκεν. ἐτίμα γὰρ ἡμῶν τὸ ἔθνος, ὡς καί φησιν Ἑκαταῖος περὶ ἡμῶν, ὅτι διὰ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν καὶ πίστιν, ἣν αὐτῷ παρέσχον Ἰουδαῖοι, τὴν Σαμαρεῖτιν χώραν προσέθηκεν ἔχειν αὐτοῖς ἀφορολόγητον. [44] ὅμοια δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ κατοικούντων ἐφρόνησεν: καὶ γὰρ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον αὐτοῖς ἐνεχείρισε φρούρια πιστῶς ἅμα καὶ γενναίως φυλάξειν ὑπολαμβάνων, καὶ Κυρήνης ἐγκρατῶς ἄρχειν βουλόμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ πόλεων [45] εἰς αὐτὰς μέρος Ἰουδαίων ἔπεμψε κατοικῆσον. ὁ δὲ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλάδελφος ἐπικληθεὶς οὐ μόνον εἴ τινες ἦσαν αἰχμάλωτοι παρ᾽ αὐτῷ τῶν ἡμετέρων πάντας ἀπέδωκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήματα πολλάκις ἐδωρήσατο καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἐπιθυμητὴς ἐγένετο τοῦ γνῶναι τοὺς ἡμετέρους νόμους καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν βίβλοις ἐντυχεῖν. [46] ἔπεμψε γοῦν ἀξιῶν ἄνδρας ἀποσταλῆναι τοὺς ἑρμηνεύσοντας αὐτῷ τὸν νόμον καὶ τοῦ γραφῆναι ταῦτα καλῶς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐπέταξεν οὐ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ Δημήτριον τὸν Φαληρέα καὶ Ἀνδρέαν καὶ Ἀριστέα, τὸν μὲν παιδείᾳ τῶν καθ᾽ [47] ἑαυτὸν διαφέροντα Δημήτριον, τοὺς δὲ τὴν τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ φυλακὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένους, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας ταύτης ἔταξεν, οὐκ ἂν δήπου τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν πάτριον ἡμῶν φιλοσοφίαν ἐπιθυμήσας ἐκμαθεῖν, εἰ τῶν χρωμένων αὐτοῖς ἀνδρῶν κατεφρόνει καὶ μὴ λίαν ἐθαύμαζεν.

V

[48] Ἀπίωνα δὲ σχεδὸν ἐφεξῆς πάντες ἔλαθον οἱ τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖς οἰκειότατα πρὸς ἡμᾶς διατεθέντες: καὶ γὰρ τρίτος Πτολεμαῖος ὁ λεγόμενος Εὐεργέτης κατασχὼν ὅλην Συρίαν κατὰ κράτος οὐ τοῖς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ θεοῖς χαριστήρια τῆς νίκης ἔθυσεν, ἀλλὰ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πολλὰς ὡς ἡμῖν νόμιμόν ἐστιν ἐπετέλεσε θυσίας τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἀνέθηκεν ἀναθήματα τῆς νίκης ἀξίως. [49] ὁ δὲ Φιλομήτωρ Πτολεμαῖος καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Κλεοπάτρα τὴν βασιλείαν ὅλην τὴν ἑαυτῶν Ἰουδαίοις ἐπίστευσαν, καὶ στρατηγοὶ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως ἦσαν Ὀνίας καὶ Δοσίθεος Ἰουδαῖοι, ὧν Ἀπίων σκώπτει τὰ ὀνόματα, δέον τὰ ἔργα θαυμάζειν καὶ μὴ λοιδορεῖν, ἀλλὰ χάριν αὐτοῖς ἔχειν, ὅτι διέσωσαν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἧς ὡς πολίτης ἀντιποιεῖται. [50] πολεμούντων γὰρ αὐτῶν τῇ βασιλίσσῃ Κλεοπάτρᾳ καὶ κινδυνευόντων ἀπολέσθαι κακῶς οὗτοι συμβάσεις ἐποίησαν καὶ τῶν ἐμφυλίων κακῶν ἀπήλλαξαν. ἀλλὰ “μετὰ ταῦτα, φησίν, Ὀνίας ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἤγαγε στρατὸν ὀλίγον ὄντος ἐκεῖ Θέρμου [51] τοῦ παρὰ Ῥωμαίων πρεσβευτοῦ καὶ παρόντος.” ὀρθῶς δὲ ποιῶν φαίην ἂν καὶ μάλα δικαίως: ὁ γὰρ Φύσκων ἐπικληθεὶς Πτολεμαῖος ἀποθανόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλομήτορος ἀπὸ Κυρήνης ἐξῆλθε Κλεοπάτραν ἐκβαλεῖν βουλόμενος τῆς βασιλείας [52] et filios

regis, ut ipse regnum iniuste sibimet applicaret; propter haec ergo Onias aduersus eum bellum pro Cleopatra suscepit et fidem, quam habuit circa reges, nequaquam in necessitate deseruit. [53] testis autem deus iustitiae eius manifestus apparuit; nam Fyscon Ptolomaeus cum aduersum exercitum quidem Oniae pugnare praesumeret, omnes uero Iudaeos in ciuitate positos cum filiis et uxoribus capiens nudos atque uinctos elephantis subiecisset, ut ab eis conculcati deficerent, et ad hoc etiam bestias ipsas debriasset, in contrarium quae praeparauerat euenerunt. [54] elephanti enim relinquentes sibi appositos Iudaeos impetu facto super amicos eius multos ex ipsis interemerunt. et post haec Ptolomaeus quidem aspectum terribilem contemplatus est prohibentem se, ut illis noceret [55] hominibus, concubina uero sua carissima, quam alii quidem Ithacam, alii uero Hirenen denominant, supplicante ne tantam impietatem perageret, ei concessit et ex his quae iam egerat uel acturus erat paenitentiam egit. unde recte hanc diem Iudaei Alexandria constituti eo quod aperte a deo salutem promeruerunt celebrare noscuntur. [56] Apion autem omnium calumniator etiam propter bellum aduersus Fysconem gestum Iudaeos accusare praesumpsit, cum eos laudare debuerit. is autem etiam ultimae Cleopatrae Alexandrinorum reginae meminit ueluti nobis improperans, quoniam circa nos fuit ingrata, et non potius illam redarguere studuit; [57] cui nihil omnino iniustitiae et malorum operum defuit uel circa generis necessarios uel circa maritos suos, qui etiam dilexerunt eam, uel in communi contra Romanos omnes et benefactores suos imperatores, quae [58] etiam sororem Arsinoe+n occidit in templo nihil sibi nocentem, peremit autem et fratrem insidiis paternosque deos et sepulcra progenitorum depopulata est, percipiensque regnum a primo Caesare eius filio et successori rebellare praesumpsit, Antoniumque corrumpens amatoriis rebus et patriae inimicum fecit et infidelem circa suos amicos instituit, alios quidem genere regali spolians, alios autem demens et ad mala gerenda compellens. [59] sed quid oportet amplius dici, cum illum ipsum in nauali certamine relinquens, id est maritum et parentem communium filiorum, tradere eum exercitum [60] et principatum et se sequi coe+git? nouissime uero Alexandria a Caesare capta ad hoc usque perducta est, ut salutem hinc sperare se iudicaret, si posset ipsa manu sua Iudaeos perimere, eo quod circa omnes crudelis et infidelis extaret. putasne gloriandum nobis non esse, si quemadmodum dicit Apion famis tempore Iudaeis triticum [61] non est mensa? sed illa quidem poenam subiit competentem, nos autem maximo Caesare utimur teste solatii atque fidei, quam circa eum contra Aegyptios gessimus, necnon et senatu eiusque dogmatibus et epistulis Caesaris Augusti, quibus nostra merita comprobantur. [62] has litteras Apionem oportebat inspicere et secundum genera examinare testimonia sub Alexandro facta et omnibus Ptolomaeis et quae a senatu constituta sunt necnon et a maximis Romanis imperatoribus. [63] si uero

Germanicus frumenta cunctis in Alexandria commorantibus metiri non potuit, hoc indicium est sterilitatis ac necessitatis frumentorum, non accusatio Iudaeorum. quid enim sapiant omnes imperatores de Iudaeis in Alexandria commorantibus, palam est; [64] nam amministratio tritici nihilo minus ab eis quam ab aliis Alexandrinis translata est, maximam uero eis fidem olim a regibus datam conseruauerunt, id est fluminis custodiam totiusque custodiae nequaquam his rebus indignos esse iudicantes.

VI

[65] Sed super haec, quomodo ergo, inquit, si sunt ciues, eosdem deos quos Alexandrini non colunt? cui respondeo, quomodo etiam, cum uos sitis Aegyptii, inter alterutros proelio magno et sine [66] foedere de religione contenditis? an certe propterea non uos omnes dicimus Aegyptios et neque communiter homines, quoniam bestias aduersantes naturae nostrae colitis multa diligentia nutrientes, cum [67] genus utique nostrorum unum itaque idem esse uideatur? si autem in uobis Aegyptiis tantae differentiae opinionum sunt, quid miraris super his, qui aliunde in Alexandriam aduenerunt, si in legibus a [68] principio constitutis circa talia permanserunt? is autem etiam seditionis causas nobis apponit, qui si cum ueritate ob hoc accusat Iudaeos in Alexandria constitutos, cur omnes nos culpat ubique positos [69] eo quod noscamur habere concordiam? porro etiam seditionis auctores quilibet inueniet Apioni similes Alexandrinorum fuisse ciues. donec enim Graeci fuerunt et Macedones hanc ciuilitatem habentes, nullam seditionem aduersus nos gesserunt, sed antiquis cessere sollemnitatibus. cum uero multitudo Aegyptiorum creuisset inter eos propter confusiones temporum, etiam hoc opus semper est additum. nostrum uero genus permansit purum. [70] ipsi igitur molestiae huius fuere principium nequaquam populo Macedonicam habente constantiam neque prudentiam Graecam, sed cunctis scilicet utentibus malis moribus Aegyptiorum et antiquas inimicitias aduersum nos exercentibus. [71] e diuerso namque factum est quod nobis improperare praesumunt; nam cum plurimi eorum non oportune ius eius ciuilitatis optineant, peregrinos uocant eos, qui hoc priuilegium ad omnes imperasse noscuntur. [72] nam Aegyptiis neque regum quisquam uidetur ius ciuilitatis fuisse largitus neque nunc quilibet imperatorum, nos autem Alexander quidem introduxit, reges autem auxerunt, Romani uero semper custodire dignati sunt. [73] itaque derogare nobis Apion conatus est, quia imperatorum non statuamus imagines tamquam illis hoc ignorantibus aut defensione Apionis indigentibus, cum potius debuerit ammirari magnanimitatem mediocritatemque Romanorum, quoniam subiectos non cogunt patria iura transcendere, sed suscipiunt honores sicut dare offerentes pium atque

legitimum est; non enim honoribus gratiam habent, qui ex necessitate et uiolentia conferuntur. [74] Graecis itaque et aliis quibusdam bonum esse creditur imagines instituere, denique et patrum et uxorum filiorumque figuras depingentes exultant, quidam uero etiam nihil sibi competentium sumunt imagines, alii uero et seruos diligentes hoc faciunt. quid ergo mirum est, si etiam principibus ac dominis hunc [75] honorem praebere uideantur? porro noster legislator, non quasi prophetans Romanorum potentiam non honorandam, sed tamquam causam neque deo neque hominibus utilem despiciens, et quoniam totius animati, multo magis dei inanimatu probatur inferius interdixit imagines fabricari. [76] aliis autem honoribus post deum colendos non prohibuit uiros bonos, quibus nos et imperatores et populum Romanorum dignitatibus ampliamus. [77] facimus autem pro eis continua sacrificia et non solum cotidianis diebus ex impensa communi omnium Iudaeorum talia celebramus, uerum cum nullas alias hostias ex communi neque pro filiis peragamus, solis imperatoribus hunc honorem praecipuum pariter exhibemus, quem hominum nulli persoluimus. [78] haec itaque communiter satisfactio posita sit aduersus Apionem pro his, quae de Alexandria dicta sunt.

VII

[79] Ammiror autem etiam eos, qui ei huiusmodi fomitem praebuerunt id est Posidonium et Apollonium Molonis, quoniam accusant quidem nos, quare nos eosdem deos cum aliis non colimus, mentientes autem pariter et de nostro templo blasphemias componentes incongruas non se putant impie agere, dum sit ualde turpissimum liberis qualibet ratione mentiri multo magis de templo apud cunctos homines nominato tanta sanctitate pollente. [80] in hoc enim sacrario Apion praesumpsit edicere asini caput collocasse Iudaeos et eum colere ac dignum facere tanta religione, et hoc affirmat fuisse depalatum, dum Antiochus Epiphanes expoliasset templum et illud caput inuentum ex auro compositum multis pecuniis dignum. [81] ad haec igitur prius equidem dico, quoniam Aegyptius, uel si aliquid tale apud nos fuisset, nequaquam debuerat increpare, cum non sit deterior asinus furonibus et hircis et aliis, quae sunt apud eos dii. [82] deinde quomodo non intellexit operibus increpatus de incredibili suo mendacio? legibus namque semper utimur hisdem, in quibus sine fine consistimus, et cum uarii casus nostram ciuitatem sicut etiam aliorum uexauerint et Pius ac Pompeius Magnus et Licinius Crassus et ad nouissimum Titus Caesar bello uincentes optinuerint templum, nihil huiusmodi illic inuenerunt, sed purissimam pietatem, de qua nihil nobis est apud alios effabile. [83] quia uero Antiochus neque iustam fecit templi depraedationem, sed egestate pecuniarum ad hoc accessit, cum non

esset hostis, et super nos auxiliatores suos et amicos adgressus est nec aliquid dignum derisione illic inuenit, [84] multi et digni conscriptores super hoc quoque testantur, Polybius Megalopolita Strabon Cappadox Nicolaus Damascenus Timagenis et Castor temporum conscriptor et Apollodorus; omnes dicunt pecuniis indigentem Antiochum transgressum foedera Iudaeorum et spoliasse templum auro argentoque plenum. [85] haec igitur Apion debuit respicere, nisi cor asini ipse potius habuisset et impudentiam canis, qui apud ipsos assolet coli; neque enim extrinsecus aliqua ratiocinatione mentitus est. [86] nos itaque asinis neque honorem neque potestatem aliquam damus, sicut Aegyptii crocodillis et aspidibus, quando eos qui ab istis mordentur et a crocodillis rapiuntur felices et deo digni arbitrantur. [87] sed sunt apud nos asini quod apud alios sapientes uiros onera sibimet imposita sustinentes, et licet ad areas accedentes comedant aut uiam propositam non adimpleant, multas ualde plagas accipiunt quippe operibus et ad agriculturam rebus necessariis ministrantes. [88] sed aut omnium gurdissimus fuit Apion ad componendum uerba fallacia aut certe ex rebus initia sumens haec implere non ualuit, quando nulla potest contra nos blasphemia prouenire.

VIII

[89] Alteram uero fabulam derogatione nostra plenam de Graecis apposuit, de quo hoc dicere sat erit, quoniam qui de pietate loqui praesumunt oportet eos non ignorare minus esse inmundum per templa transire quam sacerdotibus scelesta uerba componere. [90] isti uero magis studuerunt defendere sacrilegum regem quam iusta et ueracia de nostris et de templo conscribere; uolentes enim Antiocho praestare et infidelitatem ac sacrilegium eius tegere, quo circa gentem nostram est usus propter egestatem pecuniarum, detrahentes nobis etiam quae in futuro essent dicenda mentiti sunt. [91] propheta uero aliorum factus est Apion et dixit Antiochum in templo inuenisse lectum et hominem in eo iacentem et propositam ei mensam maritimis terrenisque et uolatilium dapibus plenam, et obstipuisset his homo. [92] illum uero mox adorasse regis ingressum tamquam maximum ei solacium praebiturum ac procidentem ad eius genua extensa dextra poposcisse libertatem; et iubente rege, ut confideret et diceret, quis esset uel cur ibidem habitaret uel quae esset causa ciborum eius, tunc hominem cum gemitu et lacrimis lamentabiliter suam narrasse necessitatem ait. [93] inquit esse quidem se Graecum, et dum peragraret prouinciam propter uitae causam direptum se subito ab alienigenis hominibus atque deductum ad templum et inclusum illic, et a nullo conspici sed cuncta dapium praeparatione saginari. [94] et primum quidem haec sibi inopinabilia beneficia prodidisse et detulisse laetitiam deinde

suspicionem postea stuporem, ac postremum consulentem a ministris ad se accedentibus audisse legem ineffabilem Iudaeorum, pro qua nutriebatur, et hoc illos facere singulis annis quodam tempore constituto. [95] et compraehendere quidem Graecum peregrinum eumque annali tempore saginare et deductum ad quandam siluam occidere quidem eum hominem eiusque corpus sacrificare secundum suas sollemnitates et gustare ex eius uisceribus et iusiurandum facere in immolatione Graeci, ut inimicitias contra Graecos haberent, et tunc in quandam foueam reliqua hominis pereuntis abicere. [96] deinde refert eum dixisse paucos iam dies debita sibimet superesse atque rogasse, ut erubescens Graecorum deos et superantes in suo sanguine insidias Iudaeorum de malis eum circumastantibus liberaret. [97] huiusmodi ergo fabula non tantum omni tragoedia plenissima est, sed etiam impudentia crudeli redundat, non tamen a sacrilegio priuat Antiochum, sicut arbitrati sunt qui haec ad illius gratiam conscripserunt; [98] non enim praesumpsit aliquid tale, ut ad templum accederet, sed sicut aiunt inuenit non sperans. fuit ergo uoluntate iniquus impius et nihilominus sine deo, quanta iussit mendacii superfluitas, quam ex ipsa re cognoscere ualde facillimum est. [99] non enim circa solos Graecos discordia legum esse dinoscitur, sed maxime aduersus Aegyptios et plurimos alios. *quem enim horum non contigit aliquando circa nos peregrinari, ut aduersus solos renouata coniuratione per [100] effusionem sanguinis egeremus? uel quomodo possibile est, ut ad has hostias omnes Iudaei colligerentur et tantis milibus ad gustandum uiscera illa sufficerent, sicut ait Apion? [101] uel cur inuentum hominem quicumque fuit, non enim suo nomine conscripsit, *aut quomodo eum in suam patriam rex non cum pompa deduxit, dum posset hoc faciens ipse quidem putari pius et Graecorum amator eximius, assumere uero contra Iudaeorum odium solacia magna cunctorum? [102] sed haec relinquo; insensatos enim non uerbis sed operibus decet arguere. sciunt igitur omnes qui uiderunt constructionem templi nostri, qualis fuerit, et intransgressibilem eius purificationis integritatem. [103] quattuor etenim habuit in circuitu porticus, et harum singulae propriam secundum legem habuere custodiam; in exteriorem itaque ingredi licebat omnibus etiam alienigenis; mulieres tantummodo menstruatae transire prohibebantur. [104] in secunda uero porticu cuncti Iudaei ingrediebantur eorumque coniuges, cum essent ab omni pollutione mundae, in tertia masculi Iudaeorum mundi existentes atque purificati, in quartam autem sacerdotes stolis induti sacerdotalibus, in adytum uero soli principes sacerdotum propria stola circumamicti. [105] tanta uero est circa omnia prouidentia pietatis, ut secundum quasdam horas sacerdotes ingredi constitutum sit; mane etenim aperto templo oportebat facientes traditas hostias introire et meridie rursus, dum clauderetur templum. [106] denique nec uas aliquod portari licet in templum, sed erant in eo solummodo posita altare mensa

turibulum candelabrum, quae omnia et in lege conscripta sunt. [107] etenim nihil amplius neque mysteriorum aliquorum ineffabilium agitur neque intus ulla epulatio ministratur; haec enim quae praedicta sunt habent totius populi testimonium manifestationemque gestorum. [108] licet enim sint tribus quattuor sacerdotum et harum tribuum singulae habeant hominum plus quam quinque milia, fit tamen obseruatio particulariter per dies certos, et his transactis alii succedentes ad sacrificia ueniunt et congregati in templum mediante die a praecedentibus claues templi et ad numerum omnia uasa percipiunt, nulla re, quae ad cibum aut potum adtineat, in templo delata.

IX

[109] talia namque etiam ad altare offerre prohibitum est praeter illa, quae ad sacrificia praeparantur. quid ergo Apionem esse dicimus nisi nihil horum examinantem uerba incredula protulisse? sed turpe est; historiae enim ueram notitiam se proferre grammaticus non promisit. [110] et sciens templi nostri pietatem hanc quidem praetermisit, hominis autem Graeci compraehensionem finxit et pabulum ineffabile et ciborum opulentissimam claritatem et seruos ingredientes ubi nec nobilissimos Iudaeorum licet intrare, nisi fuerint sacerdotes. [111] hoc ergo pessima est impietas atque mendacium spontaneum ad eorum seductionem, qui noluerint discutere ueritatem. per ea siquidem mala et ineffabilia, quae praedicta sunt, nobis detrahere temptauerunt.

X

[112] Rursumque tamquam piissimus deridet adiciens fabulae suae Mnaseam. ait enim illum retulisse, dum bellum Iudaei contra Iudaeos haberent longo quodam tempore in aliqua ciuitate Iudaeorum, qui Dorii nominantur, quendam eorum qui in ea Apollinem colebat uenisse ad Iudaeos, cuius hominis nomen dicit Zabidon deinde qui eis promisisset traditurum se eis Apollinem deum Doriensium uenturumque illum ad nostrum templum, si omnes abscederent. [113] et credidisse omnem multitudinem Iudaeorum; Zabidon uero fecisse quoddam machinamentum ligneum et circumposuisse sibi et in eo tres ordines infixisse lucernarum et ita ambulasse, ut procul stantibus appareret, quasi stellae per terram [114] τὴν πορείαν ποιουμένων, τοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους ὑπὸ τοῦ παραδόξου τῆς θέας καταπεπληγμένους πόρρω μένοντας ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, τὸν δὲ Ζάβιδον ἐπὶ πολλῆς ἡσυχίας εἰς τὸν ναὸν παρελθεῖν καὶ τὴν χρυσῆν ἀποσῦραι τοῦ κάνθωνος κεφαλήν, οὕτω γὰρ ἀστει¨ζόμενος [115] γέγραφεν, καὶ πάλιν εἰς Δῶρα τὸ τάχος ἀπελθεῖν. ἆρα οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἂν εἴποιμεν, ὅτι τὸν κάνθωνα τουτέστιν ἑαυτὸν Ἀπίων ἐπιφορτίζει καὶ ποιεῖ τῆς μωρολογίας ἅμα καὶ τῶν ψευσμάτων

κατάγομον; καὶ γὰρ τόπους οὐκ ὄντας γράφει καὶ πόλεις οὐκ εἰδὼς μετατίθησιν. [116] ἡ μὲν γὰρ Ἰδουμαία τῆς ἡμετέρας χώρας ἐστὶν ὅμορος κατὰ Γάζαν κειμένη, καὶ Δῶρα ταύτης ἐστὶν οὐδεμία πόλις, τῆς μέντοι Φοινίκης παρὰ τὸ Καρμήλιον ὄρος Δῶρα πόλις ὀνομάζεται μηδὲν ἐπικοινωνοῦσα τοῖς Ἀπίωνος φλυαρήμασι: τεσσάρων γὰρ [117] ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀφέστηκεν. τί δ' ἡμῶν ἔτι κατηγορεῖ τὸ μὴ κοινοὺς ἔχειν τοῖς ἄλλοις θεούς, εἰ ῥᾳδίως οὕτως ἐπείσθησαν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἥξειν τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄστρων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ᾠήθησαν ὁρᾶν αὐτὸν περιπατοῦντα; [118] λύχνον γὰρ οὐδέπω δῆλον ὅτι πρόσθεν ἑωράκασιν οἱ τὰς τοσαύτας καὶ τηλικαύτας λυχνοκαί¨ας ἐπιτελοῦντες, ἀλλ' οὐδέ τις αὐτῷ βαδίζοντι κατὰ τὴν χώραν τῶν τοσούτων μυριάδων ὑπήντησεν, ἔρημα δὲ καὶ τὰ τείχη φυλάκων εὗρε πολέμου συνεστηκότος, ἐῶ τἆλλα. [119] τοῦ ναοῦ δ' αἱ θύραι τὸ μὲν ὕψος ἦσαν ἑξήκοντα πηχῶν, εἴκοσι δὲ τὸ πλάτος, κατάχρυσοι δὲ πᾶσαι καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν σφυρήλατοι: ταύτας ἔκλειον οὐκ ἐλάττους ὄντες ἄνδρες διακόσιοι καθ' ἑκάστην [120] ἡμέραν καὶ τὸ καταλιπεῖν ἠνοιγμένας ἦν ἀθέμιτον. ῥᾳδίως οὖν αὐτὰς ὁ λυχνοφόρος ἐκεῖνος ἀνοίξειν οἰόμενος καὶ τὴν τοῦ κάνθωνος ὡς ᾤετο κεφαλὴν ἔχων. πότερον οὖν αὐτὴν πάλιν ὡς ἡμᾶς ἀνέστρεψεν ἢ λαβὼν ἀπιὼν αὐτὴν εἰσεκόμισεν, ἵνα Ἀντίοχος εὕρῃ

XI

[121] πρὸς δευτέραν Ἀπίωνι μυθολογίαν καταψεύσασθαί τινα καὶ ὅρκον ἡμῶν ὡς ὀμνυόντων τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν μηδενὶ εὐνοήσειν ἀλλοφύλῳ, μάλιστα [122] δὲ Ἕλλησιν. ἔδει δὲ καταψευδόμενον ἅπαξ εἰπεῖν μηδενὶ εὐνοήσειν ἀλλοφύλῳ, μάλιστα δ' Αἰγυπτίοις: οὕτως γὰρ ἂν τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ πλάσμασιν ἥρμοττεν τὰ περὶ τὸν ὅρκον, εἴπερ ἦσαν ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίων τῶν συγγενῶν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν οὐχὶ διὰ πονηρίαν [123] ἀλλ' ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς ἐξεληλαμένοι. τῶν Ἑλλήνων δὲ πλέον τοῖς τόποις ἢ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἀφεστήκαμεν, ὥστε μηδεμίαν ἡμῖν εἶναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχθραν μηδὲ ζηλοτυπίαν. τοὐναντίον μέντοι πολλοὶ παρ' αὐτῶν εἰς τοὺς ἡμετέρους νόμους συνέβησαν εἰσελθεῖν, καί τινες μὲν ἐνέμειναν, εἰσὶ δ' οἳ τὴν καρτερίαν οὐχ ὑπομείναντες πάλιν ἀπέστησαν. [124] καὶ τούτων οὐδεὶς πώποτε τὸν ὅρκον εἶπεν ἀκοῦσαι παρ' ἡμῖν ὀμωμοσμένον, ἀλλὰ μόνος Ἀπίων, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἤκουσεν: αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ συνθεὶς αὐτὸν ἦν.

XII

[125] Σφόδρα τοίνυν τῆς πολλῆς συνέσεως καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλοντι ῥηθήσεσθαι θαυμάζειν ἄξιόν ἐστιν Ἀπίωνα: τεκμήριον γὰρ εἶναί φησιν τοῦ μήτε νόμοις ἡμᾶς χρῆσθαι δικαίοις μήτε τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβεῖν ὡς προσῆκεν, δουλεύειν δὲ μᾶλλον

ἔθνεσιν [καὶ] ἄλλοτε ἄλλοις καὶ τὸ κεχρῆσθαι συμφοραῖς τισι περὶ τὴν πόλιν, αὐτοὶ δῆλον ὅτι πόλεως ἡγεμονικωτάτης Ῥωμαίοις ἐκ τῶν ἄνωθεν ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ [126] δουλεύειν συνειθισμένων: καίτοι τούτων ἄν τις ἀπόσχοιτο τοιαύτης μεγαλοψυχίας. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ἀνθρώπων οὐχ ἱκανῶς καθ᾽ αὑτοῦ φαίη τοῦτον ὑπ᾽ Ἀπίωνος λελέχθαι [127] τὸν λόγον: ὀλίγοις μὲν γὰρ ὑπῆρξεν ἐφ᾽ ἡγεμονίας διακαιροπτίας γενέσθαι, καὶ τούτους αἱ μεταβολαὶ πάλιν ἄλλοις δουλεύειν ὑπέζευξαν, [128] τὸ πλεῖστον δὲ φῦλον ἄλλων ὑπακήκοεν πολλάκις. Αἰγύπτιοι δ᾽ ἄρα μόνοι διὰ τὸ καταφυγεῖν, ὥς φασιν, εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ σωθῆναι μεταβάλλοντας εἰς μορφὰς θηρίων ἐξαίρετον γέρας εὕροντο τὸ μηδενὶ δουλεῦσαι τῶν τῆς Ἀσίας ἢ τῆς Εὐρώπης κρατησάντων, οἱ μίαν ἡμέραν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος ἐλευθερίας [129] οὐ τυχόντες ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ παρὰ τῶν οἰκοδεσποτῶν. ὄντινα μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐχρήσαντο Πέρσαι τρόπον οὐχ ἅπαξ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις πορθοῦντες τὰς πόλεις ἱερὰ κατασκάπτοντες τοὺς παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς [130] νομιζομένους θεοὺς κατασφάζοντες, οὐκ ἂν ὀνειδίσαιμι: μιμεῖσθαι γὰρ οὐ προσῆκεν τὴν Ἀπίωνος ἀπαιδευσίαν, ὃς οὔτε τὰς Ἀθηναίων τύχας οὔτε τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων ἐνενόησεν, ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἀνδρειοτάτους [131] εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ εὐσεβεστάτους τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἅπαντες λέγουσιν. ἐῶ βασιλέας τοὺς ἐπ᾽ εὐσεβείᾳ διαβοηθέντας [ὧν ἕνα Κροῖσον], οἵαις ἐχρήσαντο συμφοραῖς βίου: ἐῶ τὴν καταπρησθεῖσαν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν, τὸν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ναόν, τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς, ἄλλους μυρίους, καὶ οὐδεὶς ὠνείδισεν ταῦτα τοῖς παθοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς δράσασιν. [132] καινὸς δὲ κατήγορος ἡμῶν Ἀπίων ηὑρέθη τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοῦ περὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον κακῶν ἐκλαθόμενος, ἀλλὰ Σέσωστρις αὐτὸν ὁ μυθευόμενος Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἐτύφλωσεν: ἡμεῖς δὲ τοὺς ἡμετέρους οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμεν βασιλέας Δαυίδην καὶ Σολομῶνα πολλὰ χειρωσαμένους ἔθνη. [133] τούτους μὲν οὖν παραλίπωμεν: τὰ δὲ γνώριμα πᾶσιν Ἀπίων ἠγνόηκεν, ὅτι Περσῶν καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκείνους ἡγουμένων τῆς Ἀσίας Μακεδόνων Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν ἐδούλευον ἀνδραπόδων οὐδὲν διαφέροντες, [134] ἡμεῖς δὲ ὄντες ἐλεύθεροι προσέτι καὶ τῶν πέριξ πόλεων ἤρχομεν ἔτη σχεδὸν εἴκοσί που καὶ ρ μέχρι Μάγνου Πομπηίου, καὶ πάντων ἐκπολεμηθέντων πρὸς Ῥωμαίων τῶν πανταχοῦ βασιλέων μόνοι διὰ πίστιν οἱ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν σύμμαχοι καὶ φίλοι διεφυλάχθησαν.

XIII

[135] Ἀλλὰ θαυμαστοὺς ἄνδρας οὐ παρεσχήκαμεν οἷον τεχνῶν τινων εὑρετὰς ἢ σοφίᾳ διαφέροντας. καὶ καταριθμεῖ Σωκράτην καὶ Ζήνωνα καὶ Κλεάνθην καὶ τοιούτους τινάς. εἶτα τὸ θαυμασιώτατον τοῖς εἰρημένοις αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν προστίθησι καὶ μακαρίζει [136] τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἔχει πολίτην: ἔδει γὰρ αὐτῷ μάρτυρος ἑαυτοῦ: τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ὀχλαγωγὸς ἐδόκει

πονηρὸς εἶναι καὶ τῷ βίῳ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ διεφθαρμένος, ὥστε εἰκότως ἐλεήσαι τις ἂν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, εἴπερ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέγα ἐφρόνει. περὶ δὲ τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἀνδρῶν γεγονότων οὐδενὸς ἧττον ἐπαίνου τυγχάνειν ἀξίων ἴσασιν οἱ ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἀρχαιολογίαις ἐντυγχάνοντες.

XIV

[137] Τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ κατηγορίᾳ γεγραμμένων ἄξιον ἦν ἴσως ἀναπολόγητα παραλιπεῖν, ἵν᾽ αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων ᾖ ὁ κατηγορῶν: ἐγκαλεῖ γὰρ, ὅτι ζῷα θύομεν καὶ χοῖρον [138] οὐκ ἐσθίομεν καὶ τὴν τῶν αἰδοίων χλευάζει περιτομήν. τὸ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς τῶν ἡμέρων ζῴων ἀναιρέσεως κοινόν ἐστι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ἅπαντας, Ἀπίων δὲ τοῖς θύουσιν ἐγκαλῶν αὐτὸν ἐξήλεγξεν ὄντα τὸ γένος Αἰγύπτιον: οὐ γὰρ ἂν Ἕλλην ὢν ἢ Μακεδὼν ἐχαλέπαινεν: οὗτοι γὰρ εὔχονται θύειν ἑκατόμβας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ χρῶνται τοῖς ἱερείοις πρὸς εὐωχίαν, καὶ οὐ διὰ τοῦτο συμβέβηκεν ἐρημοῦσθαι τὸν κόσμον τῶν βοσκημάτων, ὅπερ Ἀπίων ἔδεισεν. [139] εἰ μέντοι τοῖς Αἰγυπτίων ἔθεσιν ἠκολούθουν ἅπαντες, ἠρήμωτο μὲν ἂν ὁ κόσμος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τῶν ἀγριωτάτων δὲ θηρίων ἐπληθύνθη, ἃ θεοὺς οὗτοι νομίζοντες ἐπιμελῶς ἐκτρέφουσιν. [140] καὶ μὴν εἴ τις αὐτὸν ἤρετο, τῶν πάντων Αἰγυπτίων τίνας εἶναι καὶ σοφωτάτους καὶ θεοσεβεῖς νομίζει, πάντως ἂν ὡμολόγησε [141] τοὺς ἱερεῖς: δύο γὰρ αὐτούς φασιν ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταῦτα προστετάχθαι, τὴν τῶν θεῶν θεραπείαν καὶ τῆς σοφίας τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν. ἐκεῖνοι τοίνυν ἅπαντες καὶ περιτέμνονται καὶ χοιρείων ἀπέχονται βρωμάτων, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων [142] οὐδὲ εἷς ὗν θύει τοῖς θεοῖς. ἆρ᾽ οὖν τυφλὸς ἦν τὸν νοῦν Ἀπίων ὑπὲρ Αἰγυπτίων ἡμῖν λοιδορεῖν συνθέμενος, ἐκείνων δὲ κατηγορῶν, οἵ γε μὴ μόνον χρῶνται τοῖς ὑπὸ τούτου λοιδορουμένοις ἔθεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδίδαξαν περιτέμνεσθαι, καθάπερ εἴρηκεν Ἡρόδοτος; [143] ὅθεν εἰκότως μοι δοκεῖ τῆς εἰς τοὺς πατρίους αὐτοῦ νόμους βλασφημίας δοῦναι δίκην Ἀπίων τὴν πρέπουσαν: περιετμήθη γὰρ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἑλκώσεως αὐτῷ περὶ τὸ αἰδοῖον γενομένης. καὶ μηδὲν ὠφεληθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς περιτομῆς ἀλλὰ σηπόμενος ἐν δειναῖς ὀδύναις ἀπέθανεν. [144] δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς εὖ φρονοῦντας τοῖς μὲν οἰκείοις νόμοις περὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἀκριβῶς ἐμμένειν, τοὺς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων μὴ λοιδορεῖν: ὁ δὲ τούτους μὲν ἔφυγεν, τῶν ἡμετέρων δὲ κατεψεύσατο. τοῦτο μὲν Ἀπίωνι τοῦ βίου τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο καὶ τοῦτο [παρ᾽] ἡμῶν ἐνταῦθα τὸ πέρας ἔστω τοῦ λόγου.

XV

[145] Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Μόλων καὶ Λυσίμαχος καί τινες ἄλλοι τὰ μὲν ὑπ᾽ ἀγνοίας, τὸ πλεῖστον δὲ κατὰ δυσμένειαν περί τε τοῦ νομοθετήσαντος ἡμῖν Μωσέως καὶ περὶ τῶν νόμων πεποίηνται λόγους οὔτε δικαίους οὔτε ἀληθεῖς, τὸν

μὲν ὡς γόητα καὶ ἀπατεῶνα διαβάλλοντες, τοὺς νόμους δὲ κακίας ἡμῖν καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς ἀρετῆς φάσκοντες εἶναι διδασκάλους, βούλομαι συντόμως καὶ περὶ τῆς ὅλης ἡμῶν καταστάσεως τοῦ πολιτεύματος καὶ περὶ τῶν [146] κατὰ μέρος ὡς ἂν ᾖ δυνατὸς εἰπεῖν. οἶμαι γὰρ ἔσεσθαι φανερόν, ὅτι καὶ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν καὶ πρὸς κοινωνίαν τὴν μετ᾽ ἀλλήλων καὶ πρὸς τὴν καθόλου φιλανθρωπίαν ἔτι δὲ πρὸς δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πόνοις καρτερίαν καὶ θανάτου περιφρόνησιν ἄριστα κειμένους [147] ἔχομεν τοὺς νόμους. παρακαλῶ δὲ τοὺς ἐντευξομένους τῇ γραφῇ μὴ μετὰ φθόνου ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν: οὐ γὰρ ἐγκώμιον ἡμῶν αὐτῶν προειλόμην συγγράφειν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ καὶ ψευδῆ κατηγορουμένοις ἡμῖν ταύτην ἀπολογίαν δικαιοτάτην εἶναι νομίζω τὴν [148] ἀπὸ τῶν νόμων, καθ᾽ οὓς ζῶντες διατελοῦμεν. ἄλλως τε καὶ τὴν κατηγορίαν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος οὐκ ἀθρόαν ὥσπερ ὁ Ἀπίων ἔταξεν, ἀλλὰ σποράδην, καὶ δὴ εἴπας ποτὲ μὲν ὡς ἀθέους καὶ μισανθρώπους λοιδορεῖ, ποτὲ δ᾽ αὖ δειλίαν ἡμῖν ὀνειδίζει καὶ τοὔμπαλιν ἔστιν ὅπου τόλμαν κατηγορεῖ καὶ ἀπόνοιαν. λέγει δὲ καὶ ἀφυεστάτους εἶναι τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μηδὲν εἰς τὸν βίον εὕρημα συμβεβλῆσθαι μόνους. [149] ταῦτα δὲ πάντα διελεγχθήσεσθαι νομίζω σαφῶς, εἰ τἀναντία τῶν εἰρημένων φανείη καὶ διὰ τῶν νόμων ἡμῖν προστεταγμένα καὶ πραττόμενα μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν. [150] εἰ δ᾽ ἄρα βιασθείην μνησθῆναι τῶν παρ᾽ ἑτέροις ὑπεναντίως νενομισμένων, τούτου δίκαιοι τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχειν εἰσὶν οἱ τὰ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ὡς χείρω παραβάλλειν ἀξιοῦντες: οἷς οὐδέτερον ἀπολειφθήσεσθαι νομίζω λέγειν, οὔθ᾽ ὡς οὐχὶ τούτους ἔχομεν τοὺς νόμους, ὧν ἐγὼ παραθήσομαι τοὺς κεφαλαιωδεστάτους, οὔθ᾽ ὡς οὐχὶ μάλιστα πάντων ἐμμένομεν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν νόμοις.

XVI

[151] Μικρὸν οὖν ἀναλαβὼν τὸν λόγον τοῦτ᾽ ἂν εἴποιμι πρῶτον, ὅτι τῶν ἀνόμως καὶ ἀτάκτως βιούντων οἱ τάξεως καὶ νόμου κοινωνίας ἐπιθυμηταὶ γενόμενοι καὶ πρῶτοι κατάρξαντες εἰκότως [152] ἂν ἡμερότητι καὶ φύσεως ἀρετῇ διενεγκεῖν μαρτυρηθεῖεν. ἀμέλει πειρῶνται τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἕκαστοι πρὸς τὸ ἀρχαιότατον ἀνάγειν, ἵνα μὴ μιμεῖσθαι δόξωσιν ἑτέρους, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοὶ τοῦ ζῆν νομίμως ἄλλοις ὑφηγήσασθαι. [153] τούτων δὲ τοῦτον ἐχόντων τὸν τρόπον ἀρετὴ μέν ἐστι νομοθέτου τὰ βέλτιστα συνιδεῖν καὶ πεῖσαι τοὺς χρησομένους περὶ τῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τιθεμένων, πλήθους δὲ τὸ πᾶσι τοῖς δόξασιν ἐμμεῖναι καὶ μήτε εὐτυχίαις μήτε συμφοραῖς αὐτῶν μηδὲν μεταβάλλειν. [154] φημὶ τοίνυν τὸν ἡμέτερον νομοθέτην τῶν ὁπουδηποτοῦν μνημονευομένων νομοθετῶν προάγειν ἀρχαιότητι: Λυκοῦργοι γὰρ καὶ Σόλωνες καὶ Ζάλευκος ὁ τῶν Λοκρῶν καὶ πάντες οἱ θαυμαζόμενοι παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐχθὲς δὴ καὶ πρῴην ὡς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον παραβαλλόμενοι φαίνονται γεγονότες, ὅπου γε μηδ᾽ αὐτὸ τοὔνομα [155] πάλαι

ἐγιγνώσκετο τοῦ νόμου παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι. καὶ μάρτυς Ὅμηρος οὐδαμοῦ τῆς ποιήσεως αὐτῷ χρησάμενος: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν κατὰ τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ γνώμαις ἀορίστοις τὰ πλήθη διῳκεῖτο καὶ προστάγμασι τῶν βασιλέων, ἀφ᾽ οὗ καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διέμειναν ἔθεσιν ἀγράφοις χρώμενοι καὶ πολλὰ τούτων ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ συντυγχάνον μετατιθέντες. [156] ὁ δ᾽ ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης ἀρχαιότατος γεγονώς, τοῦτο γὰρ δήπουθεν ὁμολογεῖται καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πάντα καθ᾽ ἡμῶν λέγουσιν, ἑαυτόν τε παρέσχεν ἄριστον τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἡγεμόνα καὶ σύμβουλον τήν τε κατασκευὴν αὐτοῖς ὅλην τοῦ βίου τῷ νόμῳ περιλαβὼν ἔπεισεν παραδέξασθαι καὶ βεβαιοτάτην εἰς ἀεὶ φυλαχθῆναι παρεσκεύασεν.

XVII

[157] Ἴδωμεν δὲ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ τὸ πρῶτον μεγαλεῖον: ἐκεῖνος γὰρ τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν, ἐπείπερ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐκλιποῦσιν ἐπὶ τὴν πάτριον γῆν ἐπανιέναι, πολλὰς τὰς μυριάδας παραλαβὼν ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ ἀμηχάνων διέσωσεν εἰς ἀσφάλειαν: καὶ γὰρ τὴν ἄνυδρον αὐτοὺς καὶ πολλὴν ψάμμον ἔδει διοδοιπορῆσαι καὶ νικῆσαι πολεμίους καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ λείαν ὁμοῦ σώζειν μαχομένους. [158] ἐν οἷς ἅπασι καὶ στρατηγὸς ἄριστος ἐγένετο καὶ σύμβουλος συνετώτατος καὶ πάντων κηδεμὼν ἀληθέστατος. ἅπαν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀνηρτῆσθαι παρεσκεύασεν, καὶ περὶ παντὸς ἔχων πεισθέντας [ἀντὶ τοῦ κελευσθέντος] εἰς οὐδεμίαν οἰκείαν ἔλαβεν ταῦτα πλεονεξίαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα τοῦ καιροῦ δυνάμεις μὲν αὐτοῖς περιβάλλονται καὶ τυραννίδας οἱ προεστηκότες, ἐθίζουσι [159] δὲ τὰ πλήθη μετὰ πολλῆς ζῆν ἀνομίας, ἐν τούτῳ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐκεῖνος καθεστηκὼς τοὐναντίον ᾠήθη δεῖν εὐσεβεῖν καὶ πολλὴν εὔνοιαν τοῖς λαοῖς ἐμπαρασχεῖν, οὕτως αὐτός τε τὰ μάλιστα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιδείξειν τὴν αὐτοῦ νομίζων καὶ σωτηρίαν τοῖς αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνα πεποιημένοις βεβαιοτάτην παρέξειν. [160] καλῆς οὖν αὐτῷ προαιρέσεως καὶ πράξεων μεγάλων ἐπιτυγχανομένων εἰκότως ἐνόμιζεν ἡγεμόνα τε καὶ σύμβουλον θεὸν ἔχειν, καὶ πείσας πρότερον ἑαυτὸν ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου βούλησιν ἅπαντα πράττει καὶ διανοεῖται, ταύτην ᾤετο δεῖν πρὸ παντὸς ἐμποιῆσαι τὴν ὑπόληψιν τοῖς πλήθεσιν: οἱ γὰρ πιστεύσαντες ἐπισκοπεῖν θεὸν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν βίους [161] οὐθὲν ἀνέχονται ἐξαμαρτεῖν. τοιοῦτος μὲν δή τις [αὐτὸς] ἡμῶν ὁ νομοθέτης, οὐ γόης οὐδ᾽ ἀπατεών, ἅπερ λοιδοροῦντες λέγουσιν ἀδίκως, ἀλλ᾽ οἵους παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν αὐχοῦσιν τὸν Μίνω γεγονέναι [162] καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τοὺς ἄλλους νομοθέτας: οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν τοὺς νόμους ὑποτίθενται, ὁ δέ γε Μίνως ἔλεγεν ὅτι εἰς τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ τὸ Δελφικὸν αὐτοῦ μαντεῖον τὰς τῶν νόμων μαντείας ἀνέφερεν, ἤτοι τἀληθὲς οὕτως ἔχειν νομίζοντες ἢ πείσειν ῥᾷον ὑπολαμβάνοντες. [163] τίς δ᾽ ἦν ὁ μάλιστα κατορθώσας τοὺς νόμους καὶ τῆς δικαιοτάτης περὶ θεοῦ πίστεως ἐπιτυχών, πάρεστιν ἐξ αὐτῶν κατανοεῖν τῶν νόμων ἀντιπαραβάλλοντας: ἤδη

γὰρ περὶ τούτων λεκτέον. [164] οὐκοῦν ἄπειροι μὲν αἱ κατὰ μέρος τῶν ἐθῶν καὶ τῶν νόμων παρὰ τοῖς ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις διαφοραί, Κεφαλαιωδῶς ἂν ἐπίοι τις: οἱ μὲν γὰρ μοναρχίαις, οἱ δὲ ταῖς ὀλίγων δυναστείαις, ἄλλοι δὲ [165] τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἐπέτρεψαν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῶν πολιτευμάτων. ὁ δ' ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης εἰς μὲν τούτων οὐδοτιοῦν ἀπεῖδεν, ὡς δ' ἄν τις εἴποι βιασάμενος τὸν λόγον θεοκρατίαν ἀπέδειξε τὸ πολίτευμα [166] θεῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ κράτος ἀναθείς. καὶ πείσας εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἅπαντας ἀφορᾶν ὡς αἴτιον μὲν ἁπάντων ὄντα τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἃ κοινῇ τε πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει καὶ ὅσων ἔτυχον αὐτοὶ δεηθέντες ἐν ἀμηχάνοις, λαθεῖν δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην οὐκ ἐνὸν οὔτε τῶν [167] πραττομένων οὐδὲν οὔθ' ὧν ἄν τις παρ' αὐτῷ διανοηθῇ, ἕνα αὐτὸν ἀπέφηνε καὶ ἀγένητον καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀίδιον χρόνον ἀναλλοίωτον πάσης ἰδέας θνητῆς κάλλει διαφέροντα καὶ δυνάμει μὲν ἡμῖν γνώριμον, [168] ὁποῖος δὲ κατ' οὐσίαν [ἐστὶν] ἄγνωστον. ταῦτα περὶ θεοῦ φρονεῖν οἱ σοφώτατοι παρ' Ἕλλησιν ὅτι μὲν ἐδιδάχθησαν ἐκείνου τὰς ἀρχὰς παρασχόντος, ἐῶ νῦν λέγειν, ὅτι δ' ἐστὶ καλὰ καὶ πρέποντα τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ φύσει καὶ μεγαλειότητι, σφόδρα μεμαρτυρήκασι: καὶ γὰρ Πυθαγόρας καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας καὶ Πλάτων οἵ τε μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς φιλόσοφοι καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν ἅπαντες οὕτως [169] φαίνονται περὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ φύσεως πεφρονηκότες. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πρὸς ὀλίγους φιλοσοφοῦντες εἰς πλήθη δόξαις προκατειλημμένα τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ δόγματος ἐξενεγκεῖν οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν, ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης ἅτε δὴ τὰ ἔργα παρέχων σύμφωνα τοῖς λόγοις οὐ μόνον τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν ἔπεισεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἐκείνων ἀεὶ γενησομένοις [170] τὴν περὶ θεοῦ πίστιν ἐνέφυσεν ἀμετακίνητον. αἴτιον δ' ὅτι καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς νομοθεσίας πρὸς τὸ χρήσιμον πάντων ἀεὶ πολὺ διήνεγκεν: οὐ γὰρ μέρος ἀρετῆς ἐποίησεν τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ἀλλὰ ταύτης μέρη τἆλλα, λέγω δὲ τὴν δικαιοσύνην τὴν σωφροσύνην τὴν καρτερίαν τὴν τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐν ἅπασι συμφωνίαν: [171] ἅπασαι γὰρ αἱ πράξεις καὶ διατριβαὶ καὶ λόγοι πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν ἡμῖν εὐσέβειαν ἀναφέρουσιν: οὐδὲν γὰρ τούτων ἀνεξέταστον οὐδὲ ἀόριστον παρέλιπεν. δύο μὲν γάρ εἰσιν ἁπάσης παιδείας τρόποι καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἤθη κατασκευῆς, ὧν ὁ μὲν λόγῳ [172] διδασκαλικός, ὁ δὲ διὰ τῆς ἀσκήσεως τῶν ἠθῶν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι νομοθέται ταῖς γνώμαις διέστησαν καὶ τὸν ἕτερον αὐτῶν ὃν ἔδοξεν ἑκάστοις ἑλόμενοι τὸν ἕτερον παρέλιπον, οἷον Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν καὶ Κρῆτες ἔθεσιν ἐπαίδευον, οὐ λόγοις, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ σχεδὸν οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες Ἕλληνες ἃ μὲν χρὴ πράττειν ἢ μὴ προσέτασσον διὰ τῶν νόμων, τοῦ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὰ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐθίζειν ὠλιγώρουν.

XVIII

[173] Ὁ δ' ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης ἄμφω ταῦτα συνήρμοσεν κατὰ πολλὴν ἐπιμέλειαν: οὔτε γὰρ κωφὴν ἀπέλιπε τὴν τῶν ἠθῶν ἄσκησιν οὔτε τὸν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου λόγον

ἄπρακτον εἴασεν, ἀλλ᾽ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἀρξάμενος τροφῆς καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν οἶκον ἑκάστων διαίτης οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τῶν βραχυτάτων αὐτεξούσιον ἐπὶ ταῖς βουλήσεσι [174] τῶν χρησομένων κατέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ σιτίων, ὅσων ἀπέχεσθαι χρὴ καὶ τίνα προσφέρεσθαι, καὶ περὶ τῶν κοινωνησόντων τῆς διαίτης ἔργων τε συντονίας καὶ τοὔμπαλιν ἀναπαύσεως ὅρον ἔθηκεν αὐτὸς καὶ κανόνα τὸν νόμον, ἵν᾽ ὥσπερ ὑπὸ πατρὶ τούτῳ καὶ δεσπότῃ ζῶντες μήτε βουλόμενοι μηθὲν μήθ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἀγνοίας ἁμαρτάνωμεν. [175] οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγνοίας ὑποτίμησιν κατέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κάλλιστον καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον ἀπέδειξε παίδευμα τὸν νόμον, οὐκ εἰσάπαξ ἀκροασομένοις οὐδὲ δὶς ἢ πολλάκις, ἀλλ᾽ ἑκάστης ἑβδομάδος τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων ἀφεμένους ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν ἐκέλευσε τοῦ νόμου συλλέγεσθαι καὶ τοῦτον ἀκριβῶς ἐκμανθάνειν: ὃ δὴ πάντες ἐοίκασιν οἱ νομοθέται παραλιπεῖν.

XIX

[176] Καὶ τοσοῦτον οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπέχουσι τοῦ κατὰ τοὺς οἰκείους νόμους ζῆν, ὥστε σχεδὸν αὐτοὺς οὐδ᾽ ἴσασιν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅταν ἐξαμάρτωσιν, τότε παρ᾽ ἄλλων μανθάνουσιν, ὅτι τὸν [177] νόμον παραβεβήκασιν, οἵ τε τὰς μεγίστας καὶ κυριωτάτας παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀρχὰς διοικοῦντες ὁμολογοῦσι τὴν ἄγνοιαν: ἐπιστάτας γὰρ παρακαθίστανται τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων οἰκονομίας τοὺς ἐμπειρίαν ἔχειν τῶν νόμων ὑπισχνουμένους. [178] ἡμῶν δὲ ὁντινοῦν τις ἔροιτο τοὺς νόμους ῥᾷον ἂν εἴποι πάντας ἢ τοὔνομα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ. τοιγαροῦν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης εὐθὺς αἰσθήσεως αὐτοὺς ἐκμανθάνοντες ἔχομεν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὥσπερ ἐγκεχαραγμένους, καὶ σπάνιος μὲν ὁ παραβαίνων, ἀδύνατος δ᾽ ἡ τῆς κολάσεως παραίτησις.

XX

[179] Τοῦτο πρῶτον ἁπάντων τὴν θαυμαστὴν ὁμόνοιαν ἡμῖν ἐμπεποίηκεν: τὸ γὰρ μίαν μὲν ἔχειν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν δόξαν περὶ θεοῦ, τῷ βίῳ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσι μηδὲν ἀλλήλων διαφέρειν, καλλίστην ἐν ἤθεσιν ἀνθρώπων συμφωνίαν ἀποτελεῖ. [180] παρ᾽ ἡμῖν γὰρ μόνοις οὔτε περὶ θεοῦ λόγους ἀκούσεταί τις ἀλλήλοις ὑπεναντίους, ὁποῖα πολλὰ παρ᾽ ἑτέροις οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων μόνον κατὰ τὸ προσπεσὸν ἑκάστῳ λέγεται πάθος, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρά τισι τῶν φιλοσόφων ἀποτετόλμηται, τῶν μὲν τὴν ὅλην τοῦ θεοῦ φύσιν ἀναιρεῖν τοῖς λόγοις ἐπικεχειρηκότων, ἄλλων δὲ τὴν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸν [181] πρόνοιαν ἀφαιρουμένων: οὔτ᾽ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι τῶν βίων ὄψεται διαφοράν, ἀλλὰ κοινὰ μὲν ἔργα πάντων παρ᾽ ἡμῖν, εἷς δὲ λόγος ὁ τῷ νόμῳ συμφωνῶν περὶ θεοῦ πάντα λέγων ἐκεῖνον ἐφορᾶν. καὶ μὴν περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ὅτι δεῖ πάντα τἆλλα τέλος ἔχειν τὴν εὐσέβειαν, καὶ γυναικῶν ἀκούσειεν ἄν τις καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν.

XXI

[182] Ὅθεν δὴ καὶ τὸ προφερόμενον ἡμῖν ὑπό τινων ἔγκλημα, τὸ δὴ μὴ καινῶν εὑρετὰς ἔργων ἢ λόγων ἄνδρας παρασχεῖν, ἐντεῦθεν συμβέβηκεν: οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι τὸ μηδενὶ τῶν πατρίων ἐμμένειν καλὸν εἶναι νομίζουσι καὶ τοῖς τολμῶσι ταῦτα παραβαίνειν [183] μάλιστα σοφίας δεινότητα μαρτυροῦσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ τοὐναντίον μίαν εἶναι καὶ φρόνησιν καὶ ἀρετὴν ὑπειλήφαμεν τὸ μηδὲν ὅλως ὑπεναντίον μήτε πρᾶξαι μήτε διανοηθῆναι τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς νομοθετηθεῖσιν. ὅπερ εἰκότως ἂν εἴη τεκμήριον τοῦ κάλλιστα τὸν νόμον τεθῆναι: τὰ γὰρ μὴ τοῦτον ἔχοντα τὸν τρόπον αἱ πεῖραι δεόμενα διορθώσεως ἐλέγχουσιν.

XXII

[184] Ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς πεισθεῖσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τεθῆναι τὸν νόμον κατὰ θεοῦ βούλησιν οὐδ᾽ εὐσεβὲς ἦν τοῦτον μὴ φυλάττειν: τί γὰρ αὐτοῦ τις ἂν μετακινήσειεν ἢ τί κάλλιον ἐξεῦρεν ἢ τί παρ᾽ ἑτέρων ὡς ἄμεινον μετήνεγκεν; ἆρά γε τὴν ὅλην κατάστασιν τοῦ πολιτεύματος; [185] καὶ τίς ἂν καλλίων ἢ δικαιοτέρα γένοιτο τῆς θεὸν μὲν ἡγεμόνα τῶν ὅλων πεποιημένης, τοῖς ἱερεῦσι δὲ κοινῇ μὲν τὰ μέγιστα διοικεῖν ἐπιτρεπούσης, τῷ δὲ πάντων ἀρχιερεῖ πάλιν αὖ πεπιστευκυίας [186] τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἱερέων ἡγεμονίαν; οὓς οὐ κατὰ πλοῦτον οὐδέ τισιν ἄλλαις προύχοντας αὐτομάτοις πλεονεξίαις τὸ πρῶτον εὐθὺς ὁ νομοθέτης ἐπὶ τὴν τιμὴν ἔταξεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅσοι τῶν μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ πειθοῖ τε καὶ σωφροσύνῃ τῶν ἄλλων διέφερον, τούτοις τὴν περὶ τὸν [187] θεὸν μάλιστα θεραπείαν ἐνεχείρισεν. τοῦτο δ᾽ ἦν καὶ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀκριβὴς ἐπιμέλεια: καὶ γὰρ ἐπόπται πάντων καὶ δικασταὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων καὶ κολασταὶ τῶν κατεγνωσμένων οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐτάχθησαν.

XXIII

[188] Τίς ἂν οὖν ἀρχὴ γένοιτο ταύτης ὁσιωτέρα; τίς δὲ τιμὴ θεῷ μᾶλλον ἁρμόζουσα, παντὸς μὲν τοῦ πλήθους κατεσκευασμένου πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ἐξαίρετον δὲ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν ἱερέων πεπιστευμένων, ὥσπερ δὲ τελετῆς τινος τῆς ὅλης πολιτείας οἰκονομουμένης; [189] ἃ γὰρ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐπιτηδεύοντες ἄλλοι φυλάττειν οὐ δύνανται μυστήρια καὶ τελετὰς ἐπονομάζοντες, ταῦτα μεθ᾽ ἡδονῆς καὶ γνώμης ἀμεταθέτου φυλάττομεν ἡμεῖς δι᾽ αἰῶνος. [190] τίνες οὖν εἰσιν αἱ προρρήσεις καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεις; ἁπλαῖ τε καὶ γνώριμοι. πρώτη δ᾽ ἡγεῖται ἡ περὶ θεοῦ λέγουσα, ὁ θεὸς ἔχει τὰ σύμπαντα παντελὴς καὶ μακάριος, αὐτὸς αὐτῷ καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτάρκης, ἀρχὴ καὶ μέσα καὶ τέλος οὗτος τῶν πάντων, ἔργοις μὲν καὶ χάρισιν ἐναργὴς καὶ παντὸς οὗτινος φανερώτερος, μορφὴν δὲ καὶ μέγεθος [191] ἡμῖν ἄφατος: πᾶσα μὲν ὕλη πρὸς εἰκόνα τὴν τούτου κἂν ᾖ πολυτελὴς ἄτιμος, πᾶσα δὲ τέχνη πρὸς μιμήσεως

ἐπίνοιαν ἄτεχνος. οὐδὲν ὅμοιον οὔτ᾽ εἴδομεν οὔτ᾽ ἐπινοοῦμεν οὔτ᾽ εἰκάζειν ἐστὶν ὅσιον. [192] ἔργα βλέπομεν αὐτοῦ φῶς οὐρανὸν γῆν ἥλιον ὕδατα ζῴων γενέσεις καρπῶν ἀναδόσεις. ταῦτα θεὸς ἐποίησεν οὐ χερσὶν οὐ πόνοις οὔ τινων συνεργασομένων ἐπιδεηθείς, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοῦ θελήσαντος καλῶς ἦν εὐθὺς γεγονότα. τοῦτον θεραπευτέον ἀσκοῦντας ἀρετήν: τρόπος γὰρ θεοῦ θεραπείας οὗτος ὁσιώτατος.

XXIV

[193] Εἷς ναὸς ἑνὸς θεοῦ, φίλον γὰρ ἀεὶ παντὶ τὸ ὅμοιον, κοινὸς ἁπάντων κοινοῦ θεοῦ ἁπάντων. τοῦτον θεραπεύσουσιν μὲν διὰ παντὸς οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἡγήσεται δὲ τούτων ὁ πρῶτος ἀεὶ κατὰ γένος. [194] οὗτος μετὰ τῶν συνιερέων θύσει τῷ θεῷ, φυλάξει τοὺς νόμους, δικάσει περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων, κολάσει τοὺς ἐλεγχθέντας. ὁ τούτῳ μὴ πειθόμενος ὑφέξει δίκην ὡς εἰς θεὸν αὐτὸν ἀσεβῶν. [195] θύομεν τὰς θυσίας οὐκ εἰς μέθην ἑαυτοῖς, ἀβούλητον γὰρ θεῷ τόδε, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς σωφροσύνην. [196] καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις χρὴ πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς εὔχεσθαι σωτηρίας, εἶθ᾽ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν: ἐπὶ γὰρ κοινωνίᾳ γεγόναμεν καὶ ταύτην ὁ προτιμῶν τοῦ καθ᾽ αὐτὸν ἰδίου μάλιστα θεῷ κεχαρισμένος. [197] δέησις δ᾽ ἔστω πρὸς τὸν θεόν, οὐχ ὅπως δῷ τἀγαθά, δέδωκεν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἑκὼν καὶ πᾶσιν εἰς μέσον κατατέθεικεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅπως δέχεσθαι δυνώμεθα καὶ λαβόντες φυλάττωμεν. [198] ἁγνείας ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις διείρηκεν ὁ νόμος ἀπὸ κήδους ἀπὸ λέχους ἀπὸ κοινωνίας τῆς πρὸς γυναῖκα καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων. [ἃ μακρὸν ἂν εἴη γράφειν. τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ περὶ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου θεραπείας λόγος ἡμῖν ἐστιν, ὁ δ᾽ αὐτὸς ἅμα καὶ νόμος.]

XXV

[199] Τίνες δ᾽ οἱ περὶ γάμων νόμοι; μῖξιν μόνην οἶδεν ὁ νόμος τὴν κατὰ φύσιν τὴν πρὸς γυναῖκα καὶ ταύτην, εἰ μέλλοι τέκνων ἕνεκα γίνεσθαι. τὴν δὲ πρὸς ἄρρενας ἀρρένων ἐστύγηκεν καὶ θάνατος τοὐπιτίμιον, εἴ τις ἐπιχειρήσειεν. [200] γαμεῖν δὲ κελεύει μὴ προικὶ προσέχοντας μηδὲ βιαίοις ἁρπαγαῖς μηδ᾽ αὖ δόλῳ καὶ ἀπάτῃ πείσαντας, ἀλλὰ μνηστεύειν παρὰ τοῦ δοῦναι κυρίου καὶ κατὰ συγγένειαν ἐπιτηδείου. [201] γυνὴ χείρων, φησίν, ἀνδρὸς εἰς ἅπαντα. τοιγαροῦν ὑπακουέτω, μὴ πρὸς ὕβριν, ἀλλ᾽ ἵν᾽ ἄρχηται: θεὸς γὰρ ἀνδρὶ τὸ κράτος ἔδωκεν. ταύτῃ συνεῖναι δεῖ τὸν γήμαντα μόνῃ, τὸ δὲ τὴν ἄλλου πειρᾶν ἀνόσιον. εἰ δέ τις τοῦτο πράξειεν, οὐδεμία θανάτου παραίτησις, οὔτ᾽ εἰ βιάσαιτο παρθένον ἑτέρῳ προωμολογημένην, οὔτ᾽ εἰ πείσειεν γεγαμημένην. [202] τέκνα τρέφειν ἅπαντα προσέταξεν, καὶ γυναιξὶν ἀπεῖπεν μήτ᾽ ἀμβλοῦν τὸ σπαρὲν μήτε διαφθείρειν ἀλλὰ ἢν φανείη τεκνοκτόνος ἂν εἴη ψυχὴν ἀφανίζουσα καὶ τὸ γένος ἐλαττοῦσα. τοιγαροῦν οὐδ᾽ εἴ τις ἐπὶ λέχους [203] φθορὰν παρέλθοι, καθαρὸς εἶναι τότε

προσήκει. καὶ μετὰ τὴν νόμιμον συνουσίαν ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ἀπολούσασθαι: ψυχῆς γὰρ ἔχειν τοῦτο μερισμὸν πρὸς ἄλλην χώραν ὑπέλαβεν: καὶ γὰρ ἐμφυομένη σώμασιν κακοπαθεῖ καὶ τούτων αὖ θανάτῳ διακριθεῖσα. διόπερ ἁγνείας ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τοιούτοις ἔταξεν.

XXVI

[204] Οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν παίδων γενέσεσιν ἐπέτρεψεν εὐωχίας συντελεῖν καὶ προφάσεις ποιεῖσθαι μέθης, ἀλλὰ σώφρονα τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς τῆς τροφῆς ἔταξε. καὶ γράμματα παιδεύειν ἐκέλευσεν τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τῶν προγόνων τὰς πράξεις ἐπίστασθαι, τὰς μὲν ἵνα μιμῶνται, τοῖς δ' ἵνα συντρεφόμενοι μήτε παραβαίνωσι μήτε σκῆψιν ἀγνοίας ἔχωσι.

XXVII

[205] Τῆς εἰς τοὺς τετελευτηκότας προυνόησεν ὁσίας οὐ πολυτελείαις ἐνταφίων οὐ κατασκευαῖς μνημείων ἐπιφανῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὴν κηδείαν τοῖς οἰκειοτάτοις ἐπιτελεῖν, πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς παριοῦσι καὶ προσελθεῖν καὶ συναποδύρασθαι. καθαίρειν δὲ καὶ τὸν οἶκον καὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἀπὸ κήδους, ἵνα πλεῖστον ἀπέχῃ τοῦ δοκεῖν καθαρὸς εἶναί τις φόνον ἐργασάμενος.

XXVIII

[206] Γονέων τιμὴν μετὰ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν δευτέραν ἔταξεν καὶ τὸν οὐκ ἀμειβόμενον τὰς παρ' αὐτῶν χάριτας ἀλλ' εἰς ὁτιοῦν ἐλλείποντα λευσθησόμενον παραδίδωσι. καὶ παντὸς τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τιμὴν ἔχειν τοὺς νέους φησίν, ἐπεὶ πρεσβύτατον ὁ θεός. [207] κρύπτειν οὐδὲν ἐᾷ πρὸς φίλους: οὐ γὰρ εἶναι φιλίαν τὴν μὴ πάντα πιστεύουσαν. κἂν συμβῇ τις ἔχθρα, τἀπόρρητα λέγειν κεκώλυκε. δικάζων εἰ δῶρα τις λάβοι, θάνατος ἡ ζημία. περιορῶν ἱκέτην [208] βοηθεῖν ἐνὸν ὑπεύθυνος. ὃ μὴ κατέθηκέν τις οὐκ ἀναιρήσεται, τῶν ἀλλοτρίων οὐδενὸς ἅψεται, τόκον οὐ λήψεται. [ταῦτα καὶ πολλὰ τούτοις ὅμοια τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡμῶν συνέχει κοινωνίαν]

XXIX

[209] Πῶς δὲ καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλοφύλους ἐπιεικείας ἐφρόντισεν ὁ νομοθέτης, ἄξιον ἰδεῖν, [φανεῖται γὰρ ἄριστα πάντων προνοησάμενος] ὅπως μήτε τὰ οἰκεῖα διαφθείρωμεν μήτε φθονήσωμεν τοῖς μετέχειν τῶν ἡμετέρων προαιρουμένοις. [210] ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ θέλουσιν ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν νόμους ζῆν ὑπελθόντες δέχεται φιλοφρόνως, οὐ τῷ γένει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει τοῦ βίου νομίζων εἶναι τὴν οἰκειότητα. τοὺς δ' ἐκ παρέργου προσιόντας ἀναμίγνυσθαι τῇ συνηθείᾳ οὐκ ἠθέλησεν.

XXX

[211] Τἆλλα δὲ προείρηκεν, ὧν ἡ μετάδοσίς ἐστιν ἀναγκαία: πᾶσι παρέχειν τοῖς δεομένοις πῦρ ὕδωρ τροφήν, ὁδοὺς φράζειν, ἄταφον μὴ περιορᾶν, ἐπιεικεῖς δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους [212] κριθέντας εἶναι οὐ γὰρ ἐᾷ τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν πυρπολεῖν οὐδὲ τέμνειν ἥμερα δένδρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ σκυλεύειν ἀπείρηκεν τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεσόντας, καὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων προυνόησεν, ὅπως αὐτῶν ὕβρις ἀπῇ, [213] μάλιστα δὲ γυναικῶν. οὕτως δ' ἡμερότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν ἡμᾶς ἐξεπαίδευσεν, ὡς μηδὲ τῶν ἀλόγων ζῴων ὀλιγωρεῖν, ἀλλὰ μόνην ἐφῆκε τούτων χρῆσιν τὴν νόμιμον, πᾶσαν δ' ἑτέραν ἐκώλυσεν: ἃ δ' ὥσπερ ἱκετεύοντα προσφεύγει ταῖς οἰκίαις ἀπεῖπεν ἀνελεῖν. οὐδὲ νεοττοῖς τοὺς γονέας αὐτῶν ἐπέτρεψε συνεξαιρεῖν, φείδεσθαι δὲ κἀν τῇ πολεμίᾳ τῶν ἐργαζομένων ζῴων [214] καὶ μὴ φονεύειν. οὕτως πανταχόθεν τὰ πρὸς ἐπιείκειαν περιεσκέψατο, διδασκαλικοῖς μὲν τοῖς προειρημένοις χρησάμενος νόμοις, τοὺς δ' αὖ κατὰ τῶν παραβαινόντων τιμωρητικοὺς τάξας ἄνευ προφάσεως.

XXXI

[215] Ζημία γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν παραβαινόντων ὁ θάνατος, ἂν μοιχεύσῃ τις, ἂν βιάσηται κόρην, ἂν ἄρρενι τολμήσῃ πεῖραν προσφέρειν, ἂν ὑπομείνῃ παθεῖν ὁ πειρασθείς. ἔστι δὲ [216] καὶ ἐπὶ δούλοις ὁμοίως ὁ νόμος ἀπαραίτητος. ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ μέτρων ἤν τις κακουργήσῃ ἢ σταθμῶν ἢ περὶ πράσεως ἀδίκου καὶ δόλῳ γενομένης, κἂν ὑφέληταί τις ἀλλότριον, κἂν ὃ μὴ κατέθηκεν ἀνέληται, πάντων εἰσὶ κολάσεις οὐχ οἷαι παρ' ἑτέροις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ [217] τὸ μεῖζον. περὶ μὲν γὰρ γονέων ἀδικίας ἢ τῆς εἰς θεὸν ἀσεβείας κἂν μελλήσῃ τις, εὐθὺς ἀπόλλυται. τοῖς μέντοι γε νομίμως βιοῦσι γέρας ἐστὶν οὐκ ἄργυρος οὐδὲ χρυσὸς οὐ κοτίνου στέφανος ἢ σελίνου [218] καὶ τοιαύτη τις ἀνακήρυξις, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἕκαστος αὑτῷ τὸ συνειδὸς ἔχων μαρτυροῦν πεπίστευκεν, τοῦ μὲν νομοθέτου προφητεύσαντος, τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ τὴν πίστιν ἰσχυρὰν παρεσχηκότος, ὅτι τοῖς τοὺς νόμους διαφυλάξασι κἂν εἰ δέοι θνήσκειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν προθύμως ἀποθανεῖν ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς γενέσθαι τε πάλιν καὶ βίον ἀμείνω λαβεῖν ἐκ περιτροπῆς. [219] ὤκνουν δ' ἂν ἐγὼ ταῦτα γράφειν, εἰ μὴ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἅπασιν ἦν φανερόν, ὅτι πολλοὶ καὶ πολλάκις ἤδη τῶν ἡμετέρων περὶ τοῦ μηδὲ ῥῆμα φθέγξασθαι παρὰ τὸν νόμον πάντα παθεῖν γενναίως προείλοντο.

XXXII

[220] [Κἂν τε τι μὴ συμβεβήκει γνώριμον ἡμῶν τὸ ἔθνος ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει κἀν φανερῷ κεῖσθαι τὴν ἐθελούσιον [221] ἡμῶν τοῖς νόμοις ἀκολουθίαν,] ἀλλά τις ἢ συγγράψαι λόγος αὐτοῖς ἀνεγίνωσκε τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἢ που περιτυχεῖν ἔξω τῆς γινωσκομένης γῆς ἔφασκεν ἀνθρώποις τοιαύτην μὲν ἔχουσι δόξαν οὕτω

σεμνὴν περὶ θεοῦ, τοιούτοις δὲ νόμοις πολὺν αἰῶνα βεβαίως ἐμμεμενηκόσι, πάντας ἂν οἶμαι θαυμάσαι διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς μεταβολάς. [222] ἀμέλει τῶν γράψαι τι παραπλήσιον εἰς πολιτείαν καὶ νόμους ἐπιχειρησάντων ὡς θαυμαστὰ συνθέντων κατηγοροῦσι, φάσκοντες αὐτοὺς λαβεῖν ἀδυνάτους ὑποθέσεις. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους παραλείπω φιλοσόφους, ὅσοι τι τοιοῦτον ἐν τοῖς γράμμασιν ἐπραγματεύσαντο, [223] Πλάτων δὲ θαυμαζόμενος παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὡς καὶ σεμνότητι βίου διενεγκὼν καὶ δυνάμει λόγων καὶ πειθοῖ πάντας ὑπεράρας τοὺς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ γεγονότας, ὑπὸ τῶν φασκόντων δεινῶν εἶναι τὰ πολιτικὰ μικροῦ δεῖν χλευαζόμενος καὶ κωμῳδούμενος διατελεῖ. [224] καίτοι τἀκείνου σκοπῶν συχνῶς τις ἂν εὕροι ῥᾷον καὶ ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν ἔγγιον συνηθείαις, αὐτὸς δὲ Πλάτων ὡμολόγηκεν, ὅτι τὴν ἀληθῆ περὶ θεοῦ δόξαν εἰς τὴν τῶν ὄχλων ἄνοιαν οὐκ ἦν [225] ἀσφαλὲς ἐξενεγκεῖν. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν Πλάτωνος λόγους τινὲς εἶναι κενοὺς νομίζουσι κατὰ πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν κεκαλλιγραφημένους, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν νομοθετῶν Λυκοῦργον τεθαυμάκασι καὶ τὴν Σπάρτην ἅπαντες ὑμνοῦσιν, ὅτι τοῖς ἐκείνου νόμοις ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐνεκαρτέρησαν. [226] οὐκοῦν τοῦτο μὲν ὡμολογήσθω τεκμήριον ἀρετῆς εἶναι τὸ πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις: οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους θαυμάζοντες τὸν ἐκείνων χρόνον ἀντιπαραβαλλέτωσαν τοῖς πλείοσιν ἢ δισχιλίοις [227] ἔτεσι τῆς ἡμετέρας πολιτείας, καὶ προσέτι λογιζέσθωσαν, ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅσον ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν χρόνον εἶχον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀκριβῶς ἔδοξαν τοὺς νόμους διαφυλάττειν, ἐπεὶ μέντοι περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐγένοντο μεταβολαὶ τῆς τύχης, μικροῦ δεῖν ἁπάντων ἐπελάθοντο τῶν νόμων. [228] ἡμεῖς δ᾽ ἐν τύχαις γεγονότες μυρίαις διὰ τὰς τῶν βασιλευσάντων τῆς Ἀσίας μεταβολὰς οὐδ᾽ ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις τῶν δεινῶν τοὺς νόμους προύδομεν οὐκ ἀργίας οὐδὲ τρυφῆς αὐτοὺς χάριν περιέποντες, ἀλλ᾽ εἴ τις ἐθέλοι σκοπεῖν, πολλῷ τινι τῆς δοκούσης ἐπιτετάχθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις καρτερίας μείζονας ἄθλους καὶ πόνους ἡμῖν ἐπιτεθέντας [229] Οἱ μέν γε μήτε γῆν ἐργαζόμενοι μήτε περὶ τέχνας πονοῦντες ἀλλὰ πάσης ἐργασίας ἄφετοι λιπαροὶ καὶ τὰ σώματα [230] πρὸς κάλλος ἀσκοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως διῆγον, ἄλλοις ὑπηρέταις πρὸς ἅπαντα τὰ τοῦ βίου χρώμενοι καὶ τὴν τροφὴν ἑτοίμην παρ᾽ ἐκείνων λαμβάνοντες, ἐφ ἣν δὴ τοῦτο μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἔργον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἅπαντα καὶ πράττειν καὶ πάσχειν ὑπομένοντες [231] τὸ κρατεῖν πάντων, ἐφ᾽ οὓς ἂν στρατεύωσιν. ὅτι δὲ μηδὲ τοῦτο κατώρθωσαν, ἐῶ λέγειν: οὐ γὰρ καθ᾽ ἕνα μόνον, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ πολλάκις ἀθρόως τῶν τοῦ νόμου προσταγμάτων ἀμελήσαντες αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων παρέδοσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις.

XXXIII

[232] Ἆρ᾽ οὖν καὶ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν, οὐ λέγω τοσούτους, ἀλλὰ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἔγνω τις προδότας γενομένους τῶν νόμων ἢ θάνατον φοβηθέντας, οὐχὶ τὸν ῥᾷστον

ἐκεῖνον λέγω τὸν συμβαίνοντα τοῖς μαχομένοις, ἀλλὰ τὸν μετὰ λύμης τῶν σωμάτων, ὁποῖος εἶναι δοκεῖ πάντων χαλεπώτατος; [233] ὃν ἔγωγε νομίζω τινὰς κρατήσαντας ἡμῶν οὐχ ὑπὸ μίσους προσφέρειν τοῖς ὑποχειρίοις, ἀλλὰ [ὡς] θαυμαστόν τι θέαμα βουλομένους ἰδεῖν, εἴ τινές εἰσιν ἄνθρωποι μόνον εἶναι κακὸν αὐτοῖς πεπιστευκότες, εἰ πρᾶξαί τι παρὰ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νόμους εἰ λόγον εἰπεῖν παρ᾽ ἐκείνοις παραβιασθεῖεν. [234] οὐ χρὴ δὲ θαυμάζειν, εἰ πρὸς θάνατον ἀνδρείως ἔχομεν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας: οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ ῥᾷστα δοκοῦντα τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἄλλοι ῥᾳδίως ὑπομένουσιν, αὐτουργίαν λέγω καὶ τροφῆς λιτότητα καὶ τὸ μηδὲν εἰκῆ μηδ᾽ ὡς ἔτυχεν ἕκαστος ἐπιτεθυμηκὼς φαγεῖν ἢ πιεῖν ἢ συνουσίᾳ προσελθεῖν ἢ πολυτελείᾳ [235] καὶ πάλιν ἀργίας ὑπομεῖναι τάξιν ἀμετακίνητον. ἀλλ᾽ οἱ τοῖς ξίφεσιν ὁμόσε χωροῦντες καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξ ἐφόδου τρεπόμενοι τοῖς προστάγμασιν τοῖς περὶ διαίτης οὐκ ἀντέβλεψαν. ἡμῖν δὲ πάλιν ἐκ τοῦ περὶ ταῦτα τῷ νόμῳ πειθαρχεῖν ἡδέως κἀκεῖ περίεστιν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὸ γενναῖον.

XXXIV

[236] Εἶτα Λυσίμαχοι καὶ Μόλωνες καὶ τοιοῦτοί τινες ἄλλοι συγγραφεῖς, ἀδόκιμοι σοφισταί, μειρακίων ἀπατεῶνες, ὡς πάνυ ἡμᾶς φαυλοτάτους ἀνθρώπων λοιδοροῦσιν. [237] ἐγὼ δ᾽ οὐκ ἂν ἐβουλόμην περὶ τῶν παρ᾽ ἑτέροις νομίμων ἐξετάζειν: τὰ γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡμῖν φυλάττειν πάτριόν ἐστιν, οὐ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων κατηγορεῖν. καὶ περί γε τοῦ μήτε χλευάζειν μήτε βλασφημεῖν τοὺς νομιζομένους θεοὺς παρ᾽ ἑτέροις ἄντικρυς ἡμῖν ὁ νομοθέτης ἀπείρηκεν αὐτῆς ἕνεκα προσηγορίας τοῦ θεοῦ. [238] τῶν δὲ κατηγόρων διὰ τῆς ἀντιπαραθέσεως ἡμᾶς ἐλέγχειν οἰομένων οὐχ οἷόν τε κατασιωπᾶν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ λόγου μέλλοντος οὐχ ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἐλεγχθήσεσθαι νῦν αὐτῶν συντιθέντων, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ πολλῶν εἰρημένου καὶ λίαν εὐδοκιμούντων. [239] τίς γὰρ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ τεθαυμασμένων οὐκ ἐπιτετίμηκεν καὶ ποιητῶν τοῖς ἐπεφανεστάτοις καὶ νομοθετῶν τοῖς μάλιστα πεπιστευμένοις, ὅτι τοιαύτας δόξας περὶ θεῶν [240] ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἐγκατέσπειραν, ἀριθμῷ μὲν ὁπόσους ἂν αὐτοὶ θελήσωσιν ἀποφαινόμενοι ἐξ ἀλλήλων δὲ γινομένους καὶ κατὰ παντοίους τρόπους γενέσεων, τούτους δὲ καὶ διαιροῦντες τόποις καὶ διαίταις, ὥσπερ τῶν ζῴων τὰ γένη, τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ γῆν, τοὺς δὲ ἐν θαλάττῃ, τοὺς μέντοι πρεσβυτάτους αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ταρτάρῳ δεδεμένους [241] ὅΣοις δὲ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπένειμαν τούτοις πατέρα μὲν τῷ λόγῳ, τύραννον δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ δεσπότην ἐφιστάντες, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο συνισταμένην ἐπιβουλὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ γυναικὸς καὶ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ θυγατρός, ἣν ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλῆς ἐγέννησεν, ἵνα δὴ συλλαβόντες αὐτὸν καθείρξωσιν, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ.

XXXV

[242] Ταῦτα δικαίως μέμψεως πολλῆς ἀξιοῦσιν οἱ φρονήσει διαφέροντες καὶ πρὸς τούτοις καταγελῶσιν, εἰ τῶν θεῶν τοὺς μὲν ἀγενείους καὶ μειράκια, τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ γενειῶντας εἶναι χρὴ δοκεῖν, ἄλλους δὲ τετάχθαι πρὸς ταῖς τέχναις, χαλκεύοντά τινα, τὴν δὲ ὑφαίνουσαν, τὸν δὲ πολεμοῦντα καὶ μετὰ ἀνθρώπων μαχόμενον, [243] τοὺς δὲ κιθαρίζοντας ἢ τοξικῇ χαίροντας, εἶτ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐγγιγνομένας πρὸς ἀλλήλους στάσεις καὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπων φιλονεικίας μέχρι τοῦ μὴ μόνον ἀλλήλοις τὰς χεῖρας προσφέρειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων [244] τραυματιζομένους ὀδύρεσθαι καὶ κακοπαθεῖν. τὸ δὲ δὴ πάντων ἀσελγέστερον, τὴν περὶ τὰς μίξεις ἀκρασίαν καὶ τοὺς ἔρωτας πῶς οὐκ ἄτοπον μικροῦ δεῖν ἅπασι προσάψαι καὶ τοῖς ἄρρεσι [245] τῶν θεῶν καὶ ταῖς θηλείαις; εἶθ᾽ οἱ γενναιότατοι καὶ πρῶτος αὐτὸς ὁ πατὴρ τὰς ἀπατηθείσας ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ γενομένας ἐγκύους καθειργνυμένας ἢ καταποντιζομένας περιορᾷ καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγονότας οὔτε σώζειν δύναται κρατούμενος ὑπὸ τῆς εἱμαρμένης [246] οὔτ᾽ ἀδακρυτὶ τοὺς θανάτους αὐτῶν ὑπομένειν. καλά γε ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἑπόμενα, μοιχείας μὲν ἐν οὐρανῷ βλεπομένης οὕτως ἀναισχύντως ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν, ὥστε τινὰς καὶ ζηλοῦν ὁμολογεῖν τοὺς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ δεδεμένους: τί γὰρ οὐκ ἔμελλον, ὁπότε μηδ᾽ ὁ πρεσβύτατος καὶ βασιλεὺς ἠδυνήθη τῆς πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα μίξεως ἐπισχεῖν [247] τὴν ὁρμὴν ὅσον γοῦν εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον ἀπελθεῖν; οἱ δὲ δὴ δουλεύοντες τοῖς ἀνθρώποις θεοὶ καὶ νῦν μὲν οἰκοδομοῦντες ἐπὶ μισθῷ νῦν δὲ ποιμαίνοντες, ἄλλοι δὲ τρόπον κακούργων ἐν χαλκῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ δεδεμένοι, τίνα τῶν εὖ φρονούντων οὐκ ἂν παροξύνειαν, ὡς τοῖς ταῦτα συνθεῖσιν ἐπιπλῆξαι καὶ πολλὴν εὐήθειαν καταγνῶναι τῶν προσεμένων; [248] οἱ δὲ καὶ δεῖμόν τινα καὶ φόβον ἤδη δὲ καὶ λύσσαν καὶ ἀπάτην καὶ τί γὰρ οὐχὶ τῶν κακίστων παθῶν εἰς θεοῦ φύσιν καὶ μορφὴν ἀνέπλασαν: τοῖς δὲ εὐφημοτέροις τούτων καὶ [249] θύειν τὰς πόλεις ἔπεισαν. τοιγαροῦν εἰς πολλὴν ἀνάγκην καθίστανται τοὺς μέν τινας τῶν θεῶν νομίζειν δοτῆρας ἀγαθῶν, τοὺς δὲ καλεῖν ἀποτροπαίους, εἶτα δὲ τούτους ὥσπερ τοὺς πονηροτάτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων χάρισι καὶ δώροις ἀποσείονται, μέγα τι λήψεσθαι κακὸν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν προσδοκῶντες, εἰ μὴ μισθὸν αὐτοῖς παράσχοιεν.

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[250] Τί τοίνυν τὸ αἴτιον τῆς τοσαύτης ἀνωμαλίας καὶ περὶ τὸ θεῖον πλημμελείας; ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπολαμβάνω τὸ μήτε τὴν ἀληθῆ τοῦ θεοῦ φύσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς συνιδεῖν αὐτῶν τοὺς νομοθέτας μήθ᾽ ὅσον καὶ λαβεῖν ἠδυνήθησαν ἀκριβῆ γνῶσιν διορίσαντας πρὸς τοῦτο [251] ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἄλλην τάξιν τοῦ πολιτεύματος, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν φαυλοτάτων ἐφῆκαν τοῖς μὲν ποιηταῖς οὕστινας ἂν βούλωνται θεοὺς εἰσάγειν πάντα πάσχοντας, τοῖς δὲ ῥήτορσι πολιτογραφεῖν [252] κατὰ ψήφισμα τῶν ξένων θεῶν τὸν ἐπιτήδειον: πολλῆς δὲ καὶ ζωγράφοι καὶ πλάσται τῆς εἰς τοῦτο παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπέλαυσαν ἐξουσίας, αὐτὸς ἕκαστός

τινα μορφὴν ἐπινοῶν, ὁ μὲν ἐκ πηλοῦ πλάττων, ὁ δὲ γράφων, οἱ δὲ μάλιστα δὴ θαυμαζόμενοι τῶν δημιουργῶν τὸν ἐλέφαντα καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν ἔχουσι τῆς ἀεὶ καινουργίας [253] τὴν ὑπόθεσιν. [καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν ἱερῶν ἐν ἐρημίᾳ παντελῶς εἰσιν, τὰ δὲ ἐμπερισπούδαστα καθάρσεσι παντοδαπαῖς περικοσμούμενα.] εἶθ᾽ οἱ μὲν πρότερον ἐν ταῖς τιμαῖς ἀκμάσαντες θεοὶ γεγηράκασιν: [οἱ δὲ ὑπακμάζοντες τούτων ἐν δευτέρᾳ τάξει [254] ὑποβέβληνται] οὕτω γὰρ εὐφημότερον λέγειν: ἄλλοι δὲ καινοί τινες εἰσαγόμενοι θρησκείας τυγχάνουσιν, [ὡς ἐν παρεκβάσει ὧν προείπομεν τοὺς τόπους ἐρημωθέντας καταλιπεῖν] καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ μὲν ἐρημοῦται, τὰ δὲ νεωστὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν βούλησιν ἕκαστος ἱδρύεται, δέον [τοίνυν] τοὐναντίον τὴν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξαν αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν τιμὴν ἀμετακίνητον διαφυλάττειν.

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[255] Ἀπολλώνιος μὲν οὖν ὁ Μόλων τῶν ἀνοήτων εἷς ἦν καὶ τετυφωμένων, τοὺς μέντοι κατ᾽ ἀλήθειαν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς φιλοσοφήσαντας οὔτε τῶν προειρημένων οὐδὲν διέλαθεν οὔτε τὰς ψυχρὰς προφάσεις τῶν ἀλληγοριῶν ἠγνόησαν, διόπερ τῶν μὲν εἰκότως κατεφρόνησαν, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀληθῆ καὶ πρέπουσαν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξαν ἡμῖν συνεφώνησαν. [256] ἀφ᾽ ἧς ὁρμηθεὶς ὁ Πλάτων οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων οὐδένα ποιητῶν φησι δεῖν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν παραδέχεσθαι καὶ τὸν Ὅμηρον εὐφήμως ἀποπέμπεται στεφανώσας καὶ μύρον αὐτοῦ καταχέας, ἵνα δὴ μὴ τὴν ὀρθὴν δόξαν περὶ θεοῦ τοῖς μύθοις ἀφανίσειε. [257] μάλιστα δὲ Πλάτων μεμίμηται τὸν ἡμέτερον νομοθέτην κἀν τῷ μηδὲν οὕτω παίδευμα προστάττειν τοῖς πολίταις ὡς τὸ πάντας ἀκριβῶς τοὺς νόμους ἐκμανθάνειν, καὶ μὴν καὶ περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν ὡς ἔτυχεν ἐπιμίγνυσθαί τινας ἔξωθεν, ἀλλ᾽ εἶναι καθαρὸν [258] τὸ πολίτευμα τῶν ἐμμενόντων τοῖς νόμοις προυνόησεν. ὧν οὐδὲν λογισάμενος ὁ Μόλων Ἀπολλώνιος ἡμῶν κατηγόρησεν, ὅτι μὴ παραδεχόμεθα τοὺς ἄλλαις προκατειλημμένους δόξαις περὶ θεοῦ μηδὲ κοινωνεῖν ἐθέλομεν τοῖς καθ᾽ ἑτέραν συνήθειαν βίου ζῆν προαιρουμένοις. [259] ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τοῦτ᾽ ἔστιν ἴδιον ἡμῶν, κοινὸν δὲ πάντων, οὐχ Ἑλλήνων δὲ μόνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εὐδοκιμωτάτων: Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ ξενηλασίας ποιούμενοι διετέλουν καὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν ἀποδημεῖν πολίταις οὐκ ἐπέτρεπον διαφθορὰν ἐξ [260] ἀμφοῖν ὑφορώμενοι γενήσεσθαι περὶ τοὺς νόμους. ἐκείνοις μὲν οὖν τάχ᾽ ἂν δυσκολίαν τις ὀνειδίσειεν εἰκότως: οὐδενὶ γὰρ οὔτε [261] τῆς πολιτείας οὔτε τῆς παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς μετεδίδοσαν διατριβῆς: ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ζηλοῦν οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν, τοὺς μέντοι μετέχειν τῶν ἡμετέρων βουλομένους ἡδέως δεχόμεθα. καὶ τοῦτο ἂν εἴη τεκμήριον, οἶμαι, φιλανθρωπίας ἅμα καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας.

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[262] Ἐῶ περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπὶ πλείω λέγειν. οἱ δὲ κοινὴν εἶναι τὴν ἑαυτῶν δόξαντες πόλιν Ἀθηναῖοι πῶς περὶ τούτων εἶχον, Ἀπολλώνιος ἠγνόησεν, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ῥῆμα μόνον παρὰ τοὺς ἐκείνων [263] νόμους φθεγξαμένους περὶ θεῶν ἀπαραιτήτως ἐκόλασαν. τίνος γὰρ ἑτέρου χάριν Σωκράτης ἀπέθανεν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ προεδίδου τὴν πόλιν τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐδὲ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐσύλησεν οὐδέν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι καινοὺς ὅρκους ὤμνυεν καί τι δαιμόνιον αὐτῷ σημαίνειν ἔφασκεν ἢ διαπαίζων, ὡς ἔνιοι λέγουσι, διὰ ταῦτα κατεγνώσθη κώνειον πιὼν ἀποθανεῖν. [264] καὶ διαφθείρειν δὲ τοὺς νέους ὁ κατήγορος αὐτὸν ᾐτιᾶτο, τῆς πατρίου πολιτείας καὶ τῶν νόμων ὅτι προῆγεν αὐτοὺς καταφρονεῖν. Σωκράτης μὲν οὖν πολίτης Ἀθηναίων τοιαύτην ὑπέμεινε τιμωρίαν. [265] Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ Κλαζομένιος ἦν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι νομιζόντων Ἀθηναίων τὸν ἥλιον εἶναι θεὸν ὅδ᾽ αὐτὸν ἔφη μύδρον εἶναι διάπυρον, θάνατον αὐτοῦ παρ᾽ ὀλίγας ψήφους κατέγνωσαν. [266] καὶ Διαγόρᾳ τῷ Μηλίῳ τάλαντον ἐπεκήρυξαν, εἴ τις αὐτὸν ἀνέλοι, ἐπεὶ τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς μυστήρια χλευάζειν ἐλέγετο. καὶ Πρωταγόρας εἰ μὴ θᾶττον ἔφυγε, συλληφθεὶς ἂν ἐτεθνήκει γράψαι τι δόξας [267] οὐχ ὁμολογούμενον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις περὶ θεῶν. τί δὲ δεῖ θαυμάζειν, εἰ πρὸς ἄνδρας οὕτως ἀξιοπίστους διετέθησαν, οἵ γε μηδὲ γυναικῶν ἐφείσαντο; νῦν γὰρ τὴν ἱέρειαν ἀπέκτειναν, ἐπεί τις αὐτῆς κατηγόρησεν, ὅτι ξένους ἐμύει θεούς: νόμῳ δ᾽ ἦν τοῦτο παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς κεκωλυμένον καὶ τιμωρία κατὰ τῶν ξένον εἰσαγόντων [268] θεὸν ὥριστο θάνατος. οἱ δὲ τοιούτῳ νόμῳ χρώμενοι δῆλον ὅτι τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ἐνόμιζον εἶναι θεούς: οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτοῖς πλειόνων ἀπολαύειν ἐφθόνουν. [269] τὰ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναίων ἐχέτω καλῶς. Σκύθαι δὲ φόνοις χαίροντες ἀνθρώπων καὶ βραχὺ τῶν θηρίων διαφέροντες, ὅμως τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς οἴονται δεῖν περιστέλλειν, καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ θαυμασθέντα τὸν Ἀνάχαρσιν ἐπανελθόντα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνεῖλον, ἐπεὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐθῶν ἔδοξεν ἥκειν ἀνάπλεως, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ παρὰ Πέρσαις ἄν τις εὕροι [270] καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν κεκολασμένους. ἀλλὰ δῆλον ὅτι τοῖς Περσῶν ἔχαιρε νόμοις ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος κἀκείνους ἐθαύμαζεν, ὅτι τῆς ἀνδρείας αὐτῶν ἀπέλαυσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ τῆς ὁμογνωμοσύνης ἧς εἶχον περὶ θεῶν, ταύτης μὲν [οὖν] ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἷς κατέπρησαν, τῆς ἀνδρείας δὲ δουλεῦσαι παρὰ μικρὸν ἐλθόντες, ἁπάντων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων μιμητὴς ἐγένετο τῶν Περσικῶν γυναῖκας ἀλλοτρίας [271] ὑβρίζων καὶ παῖδας ἐκτέμνων. παρ᾽ ἡμῖν δὲ θάνατος ὥρισται, κἂν ἄλογόν τις οὕτω ζῷον ἀδικῇ: καὶ τούτων ἡμᾶς τῶν νόμων ἀπαγαγεῖν οὔτε φόβος ἴσχυσεν τῶν κρατησάντων οὔτε ζῆλος τῶν [272] παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις τετιμημένων. οὐδὲ τὴν ἀνδρείαν ἠσκήσαμεν ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμους ἄρασθαι χάριν πλεονεξίας, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς νόμους διαφυλάττειν. τὰς γοῦν ἄλλας ἐλαττώσεις πράως ὑπομένοντες, ἐπειδάν τινες ἡμᾶς τὰ νόμιμα κινεῖν ἀναγκάζωσι, τότε καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν αἱρούμεθα πολέμους καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἐγκαρτεροῦμεν. [273] διὰ τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ ζηλώσαιμεν τοὺς ἑτέρων νόμους ὁρῶντες μηδὲ παρὰ τοῖς θεμένοις αὐτοὺς τετηρημένους; πῶς γὰρ οὐκ

ἔμελλον Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν τῆς ἀνεπιμίκτου καταγνώσεσθαι πολιτείας καὶ τῆς περὶ τοὺς γάμους ὀλιγωρίας, Ἠλεῖοι δὲ καὶ Θηβαῖοι τῆς παρὰ φύσιν καὶ [ἄγαν] ἀνέδην πρὸς τοὺς ἄρρενας μίξεως; [274] ἃ γοῦν πάλαι κάλλιστα καὶ συμφορώτατα πράττειν ὑπελάμβανον, ταῦτ᾽ εἰ καὶ μὴ παντάπασι τοῖς ἔργοις πεφεύγασιν, οὐχ [275] ὁμολογοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτῶν νόμους ἀπόμνυνται τοσοῦτόν ποτε παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἰσχύσαντας, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς τὰς τῶν ἀρρένων μίξεις ἐπεφήμισαν, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ λόγον καὶ τοὺς τῶν γνησίων ἀδελφῶν γάμους, ταύτην ἀπολογίαν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀτόπων καὶ παρὰ φύσιν ἡδονῶν συντιθέντες.

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[276] Ἐῶ νῦν περὶ τῶν τιμωριῶν λέγειν, ὅσας μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔδοσαν οἱ πλεῖστοι νομοθέται τοῖς πονηροῖς διαλύσεις, ἐπὶ μοιχείας μὲν ζημίας χρημάτων, ἐπὶ φθορᾶς δὲ καὶ γάμους νομοθετήσαντες, ὅσας δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀσεβείας προφάσεις περιέχουσιν ἀρνήσεως, εἰ καί τις ἐπιχειρήσειεν ἐξετάζειν: ἤδη γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς πλείοσι μελέτη [277] γέγονε τοῦ παραβαίνειν τοὺς νόμους. οὐ μὴν καὶ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ κἂν πλούτου καὶ πόλεων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν στερηθῶμεν, ὁ γοῦν νόμος ἡμῖν ἀθάνατος διαμένει, καὶ οὐδεὶς Ἰουδαίων οὔτε μακρὰν οὕτως ἂν ἀπέλθοι τῆς πατρίδος οὔτε πικρὸν φοβηθήσεται [278] δεσπότην, ὡς μὴ πρὸ ἐκείνου δεδιέναι τὸν νόμον. εἰ μὲν οὖν διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν νόμων οὕτως πρὸς αὐτοὺς διακείμεθα, συγχωρησάτωσαν ὅτι κρατίστους ἔχομεν νόμους. εἰ δὲ φαύλοις οὕτως ἡμᾶς ἐμμένειν ὑπολαμβάνουσι, τί οὐκ ἂν αὐτοὶ δικαίως πάθοιεν τοὺς κρείττονας οὐ φυλάττοντες; [279] ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ὁ πολὺς χρόνος πιστεύεται πάντων εἶναι δοκιμαστὴς ἀληθέστατος, τοῦτον ἂν ποιησαίμην ἐγὼ μάρτυρα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἡμῶν τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ τῆς ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου φήμης περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ παραδοθείσης: ἀπείρου γὰρ τοῦ χρόνου γεγονότος, εἴ τις αὐτὸν παραβάλλοι ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἡλικίαις νομοθετῶν, παρὰ πάντας εὕροι τοῦτον

XL

[280] ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν τε διηλέγχθησαν οἱ νόμοι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν [281] ἀνθρώποις ἀεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ζῆλον ἐμπεποιήκασι. πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ οἱ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι φιλοσοφήσαντες τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν τὰ πάτρια διεφύλαττον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τῷ φιλοσοφεῖν ἐκείνῳ κατηκολούθησαν, ὅμοια μὲν περὶ θεοῦ φρονοῦντες, εὐτέλειαν δὲ [282] βίου καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους κοινωνίαν διδάσκοντες. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πλήθεσιν ἤδη πολὺς ζῆλος γέγονεν ἐκ μακροῦ τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐσεβείας, οὐδ᾽ ἔστιν οὐ πόλις Ἑλλήνων οὐδητισοῦν οὐδὲ βάρβαρον οὐδὲ ἓν ἔθνος, ἔνθα μὴ τὸ τῆς ἑβδομάδος, ἣν ἀργοῦμεν ἡμεῖς, τὸ ἔθος [δὲ] διαπεφοίτηκεν καὶ αἱ νηστεῖαι καὶ λύχνων ἀνακαύσεις καὶ πολλὰ τῶν εἰς βρῶσιν ἡμῖν οὐ νενομισμένων παρατετήρηται. [283] μιμεῖσθαι δὲ πειρῶνται καὶ τὴν πρὸς

ἀλλήλους ἡμῶν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων ἀνάδοσιν καὶ τὸ φιλεργὸν ἐν ταῖς τέχναις καὶ [284] τὸ καρτερικὸν ἐν ταῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων ἀνάγκαις: τὸ γὰρ θαυμασιώτατον, ὅτι χωρὶς τοῦ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἐπαγωγοῦ δελέατος αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἴσχυσεν ὁ νόμος, καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ θεὸς διὰ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου πεφοίτηκεν, οὕτως ὁ νόμος διὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων βεβάδικεν. αὐτὸς δέ τις ἕκαστος τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸν οἶκον ἐπισκοπῶν τὸν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λεγομένοις οὐκ ἀπιστήσει. [285] χρὴ τοίνυν πάντων ἀνθρώπων καταγνῶναι πονηρίαν ἐθελούσιον, εἰ τἀλλότρια καὶ φαῦλα πρὸ τῶν οἰκείων καὶ καλῶν ζηλοῦν ἐπιτεθυμήκασιν, ἢ παύσασθαι [286] βασκαίνοντας ἡμῖν τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπιφθόνου τινὸς ἀντιποιούμεθα πράγματος τὸν αὐτῶν τιμῶντες νομοθέτην καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνου προφητευθεῖσι περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πεπιστευκότες: καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ συνίεμεν αὐτοὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῶν νόμων, ἁπάντων ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ζηλούντων μέγα φρονεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς προήχθημεν.

XLI

[287] Ἀλλὰ γὰρ περὶ μὲν τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς πολιτείας τὴν ἀκριβῆ πεποίημαι παράδοσιν ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἀρχαιολογίας μοι γραφεῖσι. νυνὶ δ' αὐτῶν ἐπεμνήσθην ἐφ' ὅσον ἦν ἀναγκαῖον, οὔτε τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ψέγειν οὔτε τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐγκωμιάζειν προθέμενος, ἀλλ' ἵνα τοὺς περὶ ἡμῶν ἀδίκως γεγραφότας ἐλέγξω πρὸς αὐτὴν [288] ἀναιδῶς τὴν ἀλήθειαν πεφιλονεικηκότας. καὶ δή μοι δοκῶ πεπληρῶσθαι διὰ τῆς γραφῆς ἱκανῶς ἃ πρου¨πεσχόμην: καὶ γὰρ ἀρχαιότητι πρου¨πάρχον ἐπέδειξα τὸ γένος, τῶν κατηγόρων ὅτι νεώτατόν ἐστιν εἰρηκότων, [καὶ γὰρ] καὶ πολλοὺς ἐν τοῖς συγγράμμασιν ἐμνημονευκότας ἡμῶν ἀρχαίους παρέσχομεν μάρτυρας, ἐκείνων ὅτι μηδείς ἐστιν διαβεβαιουμένων. [289] ἀλλὰ μὴν Αἰγυπτίους ἔφασαν ἡμῶν τοὺς προγόνους: ἐδείχθησαν δ' εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐλθόντες ἑτέρωθεν. διὰ δὲ λύμην σωμάτων αὐτοὺς ἐκβληθῆναι κατεψεύσαντο: προαιρέσει καὶ περιουσίᾳ ῥώμης ἐφάνησαν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκείαν ὑποστρέψαντες γῆν. [290] οἱ μὲν ὡς φαυλότατον ἡμῶν τὸν νομοθέτην ἐλοιδόρησαν: τῷ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς πάλαι μὲν ὁ θεός, μετ' ἐκεῖνον δὲ μάρτυς ὁ χρόνος εὕρηται γεγενημένος.

XLII

[291] Περὶ τῶν νόμων οὐκ ἐδέησε λόγου πλείονος: αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἑωράθησαν δι' αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀσέβειαν μὲν εὐσέβειαν δ' ἀληθεστάτην διδάσκοντες, οὐδ' ἐπὶ μισανθρωπίαν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων κοινωνίαν παρακαλοῦντες, ἀδικίας ἐχθροί, δικαιοσύνης ἐπιμελεῖς, ἀργίαν καὶ πολυτέλειαν ἐξορίζοντες, αὐτάρκεις καὶ φιλοπόνους εἶναι [292] διδάσκοντες, πολέμων μὲν ἀπείργοντες εἰς πλεονεξίαν, ἀνδρείους δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἶναι παρασκευάζοντες, ἀπαραίτητοι πρὸς τὰς τιμωρίας, ἀσόφιστοι λόγων παρασκευαῖς, τοῖς ἔργοις ἀεὶ βεβαιούμενοι: ταῦτα

γὰρ [ἀεὶ] ἡμεῖς παρέχομεν τῶν γραμμάτων ἐναργέστερα. [293] διόπερ ἐγὼ θαρσήσας ἂν εἴποιμι πλείστων ἅμα καὶ καλλίστων ἡμᾶς εἰσηγητὰς τοῖς ἄλλοις γεγονέναι: τί γὰρ εὐσεβείας ἀπαραβάτου κάλλιον; τί δὲ τοῦ πειθαρχεῖν τοῖς νόμοις δικαιότερον; [294] ἢ τί συμφορώτερον τοῦ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμονοεῖν καὶ μήτ᾽ ἐν συμφοραῖς διίστασθαι μήτ᾽ ἐν εὐτυχίαις στασιάζειν ἐξυβρίζοντας, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν πολέμῳ μὲν θανάτου καταφρονεῖν, ἐν εἰρήνῃ δὲ τέχναις ἢ γεωργίαις προσανέχειν, πάντα δὲ καὶ πανταχοῦ πεπεῖσθαι τὸν θεὸν ἐποπτεύοντα διέπειν; [295] ταῦτ᾽ εἰ μὲν παρ᾽ ἑτέροις ἢ ἐγράφη πρότερον ἢ ἐφυλάχθη βεβαιότερον, ἡμεῖς ἂν ἐκείνοις χάριν ὠφείλομεν ὡς μαθηταὶ γεγονότες: εἰ δὲ καὶ χρώμενοι μάλιστα πάντων βλεπόμεθα καὶ τὴν πρώτην εὕρεσιν αὐτῶν ἡμετέραν οὖσαν ἐπεδείξαμεν, Ἀπίωνες μὲν καὶ Μόλωνες καὶ πάντες ὅσοι τῷ ψεύδεσθαι [296] καὶ λοιδορεῖν χαίρουσιν ἐξεληλέγχθωσαν. σοὶ δέ, Ἐπαφρόδιτε, μάλιστα τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀγαπῶντι καὶ διὰ σὲ τοῖς ὁμοίως βουλησομένοις περὶ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν εἰδέναι τοῦτο καὶ τὸ πρὸ αὐτοῦ γεγράφθω βιβλίον.

LIFE OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

I

[1] Ἐμοὶ δὲ γένος ἐστὶν οὐκ ἄσημον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ ἱερέων ἄνωθεν καταβεβηκός. Ὥσπερ δ᾽ ἡ παρ᾽ ἑκάστοις ἄλλη τίς ἐστιν εὐγενείας ὑπόθεσις, οὕτως παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἡ τῆς ἱερωσύνης μετουσία τεκμήριόν ἐστιν γένους λαμπρότητος. [2] Ἐμοὶ δ᾽ οὐ μόνον ἐξ ἱερέων ἐστὶν τὸ γένος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρώτης ἐφημερίδος τῶν εἰκοσιτεσσάρων, πολλὴ δὲ κἀν τούτῳ διαφορά, καὶ τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ φυλῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀρίστης. Ὑπάρχω δὲ καὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους ἀπὸ τῆς μητρός· οἱ γὰρ Ἀσαμωναίου παῖδες, ὧν ἔγγονος ἐκείνη, τοῦ ἔθνους ἡμῶν ἐπὶ μήκιστον χρόνον ἠρχιεράτευσαν καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν. [3] Ἐρῶ δὲ τὴν διαδοχήν· ὁ πρόπαππος ἡμῶν Σίμων ὁ Ψελλὸς ἐπικαλούμενος. Οὗτος ἐγένετο καθ᾽ ὃν καιρὸν ἠρχιεράτευσεν Σίμωνος ἀρχιερέως ὁ παῖς, ὃς πρῶτος ἀρχιερέων Ὑρκανὸς ὠνομάσθη. [4] Γίνονται δὲ τῷ Ψελλῷ Σίμωνι παῖδες ἐννέα· τούτων ἐστὶν Ματθίας ὁ Ἠφαίου λεγόμενος· οὗτος ἠγάγετο πρὸς γάμον θυγατέρα Ἰωνάθου ἀρχιερέως τοῦ πρώτου ἐκ τῶν Ἀσαμωναίου παίδων γένους ἀρχιερατεύσαντος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Σίμωνος τἀρχιερέως, καὶ γίνεται παῖς αὐτῷ Ματθίας ὁ Κυρτὸς ἐπικληθεὶς ἄρχοντος Ὑρκανοῦ τὸν πρῶτον ἐνιαυτόν. [5] Τούτου γίνεται Ἰώσηπος ἐνάτῳ ἔτει τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρας ἀρχῆς, καὶ Ἰωσήπου Ματθίας βασιλεύοντος Ἀρχελάου τὸ δέκατον, Ματθία δὲ ἐγὼ τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς Γαΐου Καίσαρος ἡγεμονίας. Ἐμοὶ δὲ παῖδές εἰσιν τρεῖς, Ὑρκανὸς μὲν ὁ πρεσβύτατος ἔτει τετάρτῳ τῆς Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Καίσαρος ἡγεμονίας, ἑβδόμῳ δὲ Ἰοῦστος, ἐνάτῳ δὲ Ἀγρίππας. [6] Τὴν μὲν τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν διαδοχήν, ὡς ἐν ταῖς δημοσίαις δέλτοις ἀναγεγραμμένην εὗρον, οὕτως παρατίθεμαι τοῖς διαβάλλειν ἡμᾶς πειρωμένοις χαίρειν φράσας.

II

[7] Ὁ πατὴρ δέ μου Ματθίας οὐ διὰ μόνην τὴν εὐγένειαν ἐπίσημος ἦν, ἀλλὰ πλέον διὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἐπῃνεῖτο, γνωριμώτατος ὢν ἐν τῇ μεγίστῃ πόλει τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις. [8] Ἐγὼ δὲ συμπαιδευόμενος ἀδελφῷ Ματθίᾳ τοὔνομα, γεγόνει γάρ μοι γνήσιος ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τῶν γονέων, εἰς μεγάλην παιδείας προύκοπτον ἐπίδοσιν μνήμῃ τε καὶ συνέσει δοκῶν διαφέρειν, [9] ἔτι δ᾽ ἀντίπαις ὢν περὶ τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατον ἔτος διὰ τὸ φιλογράμματον ὑπὸ πάντων ἐπῃνούμην συνιόντων ἀεὶ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ τῶν τῆς πόλεως πρώτων ὑπὲρ τοῦ παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ περὶ τῶν νομίμων ἀκριβέστερόν τι γνῶναι. [10] Περὶ δὲ ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτη γενόμενος ἐβουλήθην τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν αἱρέσεων ἐμπειρίαν λαβεῖν· τρεῖς δ᾽ εἰσὶν αὗται, Φαρισαίων μὲν ἡ πρώτη, καὶ Σαδδουκαίων ἡ δευτέρα, τρίτη δ᾽ Ἐσσηνῶν, καθὼς πολλάκις εἴπομεν· οὕτως γὰρ ᾤμην αἱρήσεσθαι τὴν ἀρίστην, εἰ πάσας

καταμάθοιμι. [11] Σκληραγωγήσας οὖν ἐμαυτὸν καὶ πολλὰ πονηθεὶς τὰς τρεῖς διῆλθον, καὶ μηδὲ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἐμπειρίαν ἱκανὴν ἐμαυτῷ νομίσας εἶναι πυθόμενός τινα Βάννουν ὄνομα κατὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν διατρίβειν, ἐσθῆτι μὲν ἀπὸ δένδρων χρώμενον, τροφὴν δὲ τὴν αὐτομάτως φυομένην προσφερόμενον, ψυχρῷ δὲ ὕδατι τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν νύκτα πολλάκις λουόμενον πρὸς ἁγνείαν, ζηλωτὴς ἐγενόμην αὐτοῦ. [12] Καὶ διατρίψας παρ᾽ αὐτῷ ἐνιαυτοὺς τρεῖς καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τελειώσας εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑπέστρεφον. Ἐννεακαιδέκατον δ᾽ ἔτος ἔχων ἠρξάμην τε πολιτεύεσθαι τῇ Φαρισαίων αἱρέσει κατακολουθῶν, ἣ παραπλήσιός ἐστι τῇ παρ᾽ Ἕλλησιν Στωϊκῇ λεγομένῃ.

III

[13] Μετ᾽ εἰκοστὸν δὲ καὶ ἕκτον ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς Ῥώμην μοι συνέπεσεν ἀναβῆναι διὰ τὴν λεχθησομένην αἰτίαν· καθ᾽ ὃν χρόνον Φῆλιξ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπετρόπευεν ἱερεῖς τινας συνήθεις ἐμοὶ καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς διὰ μικρὰν καὶ τὴν τυχοῦσαν αἰτίαν δήσας εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔπεμψε λόγον ὑφέξοντας τῷ Καίσαρι. [14] Οἷς ἐγὼ πόρον εὑρέσθαι βουλόμενος σωτηρίας, μάλιστα δὲ πυθόμενος ὅτι καίπερ ἐν κακοῖς ὄντες οὐκ ἐπελάθοντο τῆς εἰς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείας, διατρέφοιντο δὲ σύκοις καὶ καρύοις, ἀφικόμην εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην πολλὰ κινδυνεύσας κατὰ θάλασσαν. [15] Βαπτισθέντος γὰρ ἡμῶν τοῦ πλοίου κατὰ μέσον τὸν Ἀδρίαν περὶ ἑξακοσίους τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες δι᾽ ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐνηξάμεθα, καὶ περὶ ἀρχομένην ἡμέραν ἐπιφανέντος ἡμῖν κατὰ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν Κυρηναϊκοῦ πλοίου φθάσαντες τοὺς ἄλλους ἐγώ τε καί τινες ἕτεροι περὶ ὀγδοήκοντα σύμπαντες ἀνελήφθημεν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον. [16] Διασωθεὶς δ᾽ εἰς τὴν Δικαιάρχειαν, ἣν Ποτιόλους Ἰταλοὶ καλοῦσιν, διὰ φιλίας ἀφικόμην Ἀλιτύρῳ, μιμολόγος δ᾽ ἦν οὗτος μάλιστα τῷ Νέρωνι καταθύμιος Ἰουδαῖος τὸ γένος, καὶ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ Ποππαίᾳ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος γυναικὶ γνωσθεὶς προνοῷ ὡς τάχιστα παρακαλέσας αὐτὴν τοὺς ἱερεῖς λυθῆναι. Μεγάλων δὲ δωρεῶν πρὸς τῇ εὐεργεσίᾳ ταύτῃ τυχὼν παρὰ τῆς Ποππαίας ὑπέστρεφον ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκείαν.

IV

[17] Καταλαμβάνω δ᾽ ἤδη νεωτερισμῶν ἀρχὰς καὶ πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστάσει μέγα φρονοῦντας. Καταστέλλειν οὖν ἐπειρώμην τοὺς στασιώδεις καὶ μετανοεῖν ἔπειθον ποιησαμένους πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν πρὸς οὓς πολεμήσουσιν, ὅτι Ῥωμαίων οὐ κατ᾽ ἐμπειρίαν μόνον πολεμικήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ᾽ εὐτυχίαν ἐλαττοῦνται· [18] καὶ μὴ προπετῶς καὶ παντάπασιν ἀνοήτως πατρίσι καὶ γενεαῖς καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὸν περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων κακῶν κίνδυνον ἐπάγειν. [19] Ταῦτα δ᾽ ἔλεγον καὶ λιπαρῶς ἐνεκείμην ἀποτρέπων, δυστυχέστατον ἡμῖν τοῦ πολέμου τὸ

τέλος γενήσεσθαι προορώμενος. Οὐ μὴν ἔπεισα· πολὺ γὰρ ἡ τῶν ἀπονοηθέντων ἐπεκράτησεν μανία.

V

[20] Δείσας οὖν, μὴ ταῦτα συνεχῶς λέγων διὰ μίσους ἀφικοίμην καὶ ὑποψίας ὡς τὰ τῶν πολεμίων φρονῶν καὶ κινδυνεύσω ληφθεὶς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀναιρεθῆναι, ἐχομένης ἤδη τῆς Ἀντωνίας, ὅπερ ἦν φρούριον, εἰς τὸ ἐνδοτέρω ἱερὸν ὑπεχώρησα. [21] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν Μαναήμου καὶ τῶν πρώτων τοῦ λῃστρικοῦ στίφους ὑπεξελθὼν τοῦ ἱεροῦ πάλιν τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν Φαρισαίων συνδιέτριβον. [22] Φόβος δ᾽ οὔτι μέτριος εἶχεν ἡμᾶς ὁρῶντας τὸν μὲν δῆμον ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις, αὐτοὶ δ᾽ ὄντες ἐν ἀπόρῳ, τί ποιήσομεν, καὶ τοὺς νεωτεριστὰς παύειν οὐ δυνάμενοι, προδήλου δ᾽ ἡμῖν τοῦ κινδύνου παρεστῶτος, συγκατανεύειν μὲν αὐτῶν ταῖς γνώμαις ἐλέγομεν, συνεβουλεύομεν δὲ μένειν ἐφ᾽ αὐτῶν, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπελθόντας ἐᾶν, ἵνα τοῦ δικαίως ἀνταίρειν ὅπλα πίστιν εὕρωνται. [23] Ταῦτα δ᾽ ἐπράττομεν ἐλπίζοντες οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν Κέστιον μετὰ μεγάλης δυνάμεως ἀναβάντα παύσειν τὸν νεωτερισμόν.

VI

[24] Ὁ δ᾽ ἐπελθὼν καὶ συμβαλὼν μάχῃ ἐνικήθη πολλῶν τῶν μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ πεσόντων. Καὶ γίνεται τὸ Κεστίου πταῖσμα συμφορὰ τοῦ σύμπαντος ἡμῶν ἔθνους· ἐπήρθησαν γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μᾶλλον οἱ τὸν πόλεμον ἀγαπήσαντες καὶ νικήσαντες τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εἰς τέλος ἤλπισαν προσγενομένης καὶ ἑτέρας τινὸς τοιαύτης αἰτίας·

[25] οἱ τὰς πέριξ τῆς Συρίας πόλεις κατοικοῦντες τοὺς παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῖς Ἰουδαίους συλλαμβάνοντες σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἀνῄρουν οὐδεμίαν αὐτοῖς αἰτίαν ἐπικαλεῖν ἔχοντες· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστάσει νεώτερόν τι πεφρονήκεσαν οὔτε πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ἐχθρὸν ἢ ἐπίβουλον. [26] Σκυθοπολῖται δὲ πάντων ἀσεβέστατα καὶ παρανομώτατα διεπράξαντο· ἐπελθόντων γὰρ αὐτοῖς Ἰουδαίων ἔξωθεν πολεμίων τοὺς παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς Ἰουδαίους ἐβιάσαντο κατὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων ὅπλα λαβεῖν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἀθέμιτον, καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκείνων συμβαλόντες ἐκράτησαν τῶν ἐπελθόντων· ἐπειδὴ δ᾽ ἐνίκησαν, ἐκλαθόμενοι τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἐνοίκους καὶ συμμάχους πίστεως πάντας αὐτοὺς διεχρήσαντο πολλὰς μυριάδας ὄντας. [27] Ὅμοια δ᾽ ἔπαθον καὶ οἱ Δαμασκὸν Ἰουδαῖοι κατοικοῦντες. Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἀκριβέστερον ἐν ταῖς περὶ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου βίβλοις δεδηλώκαμεν· νῦν δ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπεμνήσθην βουλόμενος παραστῆσαι τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσιν, ὅτι οὐ προαίρεσις ἐγένετο τοῦ πολέμου πρὸς Ῥωμαίους Ἰουδαίοις, ἀλλὰ τὸ πλέον ἀνάγκη.

VII

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[28] Νικηθέντος οὖν, ὡς ἔφαμεν, τοῦ Κεστίου, τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν οἱ πρῶτοι θεασάμενοι τοὺς μὲν λῃστὰς ἅμα τοῖς νεωτερισταῖς εὐπορουμένους ὅπλων, δείσαντες δ᾽ αὐτοὶ μὴ ἄνοπλοι καθεστηκότες ὑποχείριοι γένωνται τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ὃ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συνέβη, καὶ πυθόμενοι τὴν Γαλιλαίαν οὔπω πᾶσαν Ῥωμαίων ἀφεστάναι, μέρος δ᾽ αὐτῆς ἠρεμεῖν ἔτι, [29] πέμπουσιν ἐμὲ καὶ δύο ἄλλους τῶν ἱερέων καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, Ἰώζαρον καὶ Ἰούδαν, πείσοντας τοὺς πονηροὺς καταθέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα καὶ διδάξοντας, ὡς ἔστιν ἄμεινον τοῖς κρατίστοις τοῦ ἔθνους αὐτὰ τηρεῖσθαι. Ἔγνωστο δὲ τούτοις ἀεὶ μὲν ἔχειν τὰ ὅπλα πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἕτοιμα, περιμένειν δέ, τί πράξουσιν Ῥωμαῖοι, μαθεῖν.

VIII

[30] Λαβὼν οὖν ἐγὼ τὰς ὑποθήκας ταύτας ἀφικόμην εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν. Καὶ Σεπφωρίτας μὲν οὐκ ἐν ὀλίγῳ περὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἀγῶνι καθεστῶτας εὗρον, διαρπάσαι κεκρικότων αὐτὴν τῶν Γαλιλαίων διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐκείνων φιλίαν καὶ ὅτι Κεστίῳ Γάλλῳ τῷ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμονεύοντι δεξιάν τε καὶ πίστιν προτείνειαν. [31] Ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν ἐγὼ πάντας ἀπήλλαξα τοῦ φόβου πείσας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τὰ πλήθη καὶ ἐπιτρέψας ὅσα καὶ θέλουσι διαπέμπεσθαι διὰ τοὺς ἐν Δώροις οἰκείους ὁμηρεύοντας Κεστίῳ. Τὰ δὲ Δῶρα πόλις ἐστὶν τῆς Φοινίκης. Τοὺς ἐν Τιβεριάδι δὲ κατοικοῦντας εὗρον ἐφ᾽ ὅπλα κεχωρηκότας ἤδη δι᾽ αἰτίαν τοιαύτην·

IX

[32] Στάσεις τρεῖς ἦσαν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, μία μὲν ἀνδρῶν εὐσχημόνων, ἦρχε δ᾽ αὐτῆς Ἰούλιος Κάπελλος. [33] Οὗτος δὴ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πάντες, Ἡρώδης ὁ Μιαροῦ καὶ Ἡρώδης ὁ τοῦ Γαμάλου καὶ Κομψὸς ὁ τοῦ Κομψοῦ· Κρίσπος γὰρ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως γενόμενός ποτε ἔπαρχος ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις κτήσεσιν ἐτύγχανεν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου· [34] πάντες οὖν οἱ προειρημένοι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐμμένειν συνεβούλευον τῇ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καὶ τὸν βασιλέα πίστει. Τῇ γνώμῃ δ᾽ οὐ συνηρέσκετο Πιστὸς παραγόμενος ὑπὸ Ἰούστου τοῦ παιδός· καὶ γὰρ ἦν φύσει πως ἐπιμανής. [35] Ἡ δευτέρα δὲ στάσις ἐξ ἀσημοτάτων συνεστηκυῖα πολεμεῖν ἔκρινεν. [36] Ἰοῦστος δ᾽ ὁ Πιστοῦ παῖς ὁ τῆς τρίτης μερίδος πρῶτος ὑπεκρίνετο μὲν ἐνδοιάζειν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, νεωτέρων δ᾽ ἐπεθύμει πραγμάτων ἐκ τῆς μεταβολῆς οἰόμενος δύναμιν ἑαυτῷ περιποιήσειν. [37] Παρελθὼν οὖν εἰς μέσους διδάσκειν ἐπειρᾶτο τὸ πλῆθος, ὡς ἡ πόλις ἀεὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἄρξειεν ἐπί γε τῶν Ἡρώδου χρόνων τοῦ τετράρχου καὶ κτίστου γενομένου, βουληθέντος αὐτοῦ τὴν Σεπφωριτῶν πόλιν τῇ Τιβεριέων ὑπακούειν, ἀποβαλεῖν δὲ τὸ πρωτεῖον αὐτοὺς μηδὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα τοῦ πατρὸς, διαμεῖναι δὲ καὶ μέχρι Φήλικος προεσταμένου τῆς Ἰουδαίας. [38] Νῦν δὲ ἔλεγεν

αὐτοὺς ἠτυχηκέναι τῷ νεωτέρῳ δωρεὰν Ἀγρίππᾳ δοθέντας ὑπὸ Νέρωνος· ἄρξαι γὰρ εὐθὺς τὴν μὲν Σέπφωριν, ἐπειδὴ Ῥωμαίοις ὑπήκουσεν, τῆς Γαλιλαίας, καταλυθῆναι δὲ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς τήν τε βασιλικὴν τράπεζαν καὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα. [39] Ταῦτα καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἕτερα πολλὰ κατὰ βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα λέγων ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἐρεθίσαι, προσετίθει νῦν εἶναι καιρὸν ἀραμένους ὅπλα καὶ Γαλιλαίους συμμάχους προσλαβόντας, ἄρξειν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἑκόντων διὰ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς Σεπφωρίτας μῖσος ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πίστιν διαφυλάσσουσιν, μεγάλῃ χειρὶ πρὸς τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τιμωρίαν τραπέσθαι. [40] Ταῦτα λέγων προετρέψατο τὸ πλῆθος· ἦν γὰρ ἱκανὸς δημαγωγεῖν καὶ τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων τὰ βελτίω περιεῖναι γοητείᾳ καὶ ἀπάτῃ τῇ διὰ λόγων· καὶ γὰρ οὐδ᾽ ἄπειρος ἦν παιδείας τῆς παρ᾽ Ἕλλησιν, ᾗ θαρρῶν ἐπεχείρησεν καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν πραγμάτων τούτων ἀναγράφειν, ὡς τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ περιεσόμενος τῆς ἀληθείας. [41] Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὡς φαῦλος τὸν βίον ἐγένετο καὶ ὡς σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ μικροῦ δεῖν καταστροφῆς αἴτιος ὑπῆρξεν, προϊόντος τοῦ λόγου δηλώσομεν. [42] Τότε δὲ πείσας ὁ Ἰοῦστος τοὺς πολίτας ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ὅπλα πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ μὴ θελήσαντας ἀναγκάσας, ἐξελθὼν σὺν πᾶσιν τούτοις ἐμπίπρησιν τάς τε Γαδαρηνῶν καὶ Ἱππηνῶν κώμας, αἳ δὴ μεθόριοι τῆς Τιβεριάδος καὶ τῆς τῶν Σκυθοπολιτῶν γῆς ἐτύγχανον κείμεναι.

X

[43] Καὶ Τιβεριὰς μὲν ἐν τοιούτοις ἦν. Τὰ περὶ Γίσχαλα δὲ εἶχε τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· Ἰωάννης ὁ τοῦ Ληουεῖ τῶν πολιτῶν τινας ὁρῶν διὰ τὴν ἀποστασίαν τὴν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων μέγα φρονοῦντας κατέχειν αὐτοὺς ἐπειρᾶτο καὶ τὴν πίστιν ἠξίου διαφυλάττειν. [44] Οὐ μὴν ἠδυνήθη καίτοι πάνυ προθυμούμενος· τὰ γὰρ πέριξ ἔθνη, Γαδαρηνοὶ καὶ βαραγαναῖοι καὶ Τύριοι, πολλὴν ἀθροίσαντες δύναμιν καὶ τοῖς Γισχάλοις ἐπιπεσόντες λαμβάνουσι τὰ Γίσχαλα κατὰ κράτος, καὶ πυρπολήσαντες εἶτα δὲ προσκατασκάψαντες εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀνέζευξαν. [45] Ἰωάννης δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ παροξυνθεὶς ὁπλίζει πάντας τοὺς μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ συμβαλὼν τοῖς προειρημένοις ἔθνεσιν τά τε Γίσχαλα κρείττονα πάλιν ἀνακτίσας τείχεσιν ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τῆς εἰς ὕστερον ὠχύρωσεν.

XI

[46] Γάμαλα δὲ πίστει τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐνέμεινε δι᾽ αἰτίαν τοιαύτην· Φίλιππος ὁ Ἰακείμου παῖς ἔπαρχος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα, σωθεὶς παρὰ δόξαν ἐκ τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς πολιορκουμένης καὶ διαφυγών, εἰς ἕτερον ἐνέπεσε κίνδυνον, ὥστε ὑπὸ Μαναήμου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ λῃστῶν ἀναιρεθῆναι. [47] Διεκώλυσαν δὲ Βαβυλώνιοί τινες συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὄντες πρᾶξαι τοὺς λῃστὰς τὸ ἔργον. Ἐπιμείνας οὖν ἡμέρας τέσσαρας ὁ Φίλιππος ἐκεῖ

τῇ πέμπτῃ φεύγει περιθετῇ χρησάμενος κόμῃ τοῦ μὴ κατάδηλος γενέσθαι, καὶ παραγενόμενος εἴς τινα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ κωμῶν κατὰ τοὺς ὅρους Γάμαλα τοῦ φρουρίου κειμένην πέμπει πρός τινας τῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν προστάσσων ὡς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι τὴν Φιλίππου. [48] Ταῦτα δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐννοούμενον ἐμποδίζει τὸ θεῖον ἐπὶ συμφέροντι· μὴ γὰρ τούτου γενομένου πάντως ἂν ἀπωλώλει· πυρετοῦ δὴ κατασχόντος αὐτὸν ἐξαίφνης γράψας ἐπιστολὰς τοῖς παισὶν Ἀγρίππᾳ καὶ Βερενίκῃ δίδωσιν τῶν ἐξελευθέρων τινὶ κομίζειν πρὸς Οὔαρον. [49] Ἦν δ᾽ οὗτος κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον ὁ τὴν βασιλείαν διοικῶν καταστησάντων αὐτὸν τῶν βασιλέων· αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰς Βηρυτὸν ἀφικνοῦντο ὑπαντῆσαι βουλόμενοι Κεστίῳ. [50] Λαβὼν οὖν Οὔαρος τὰ παρὰ Φιλίππου γράμματα καὶ πυθόμενος αὐτὸν διασεσῶσθαι βαρέως ἤνεγκεν, ἀχρεῖος τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτὸς νομίζων φανεῖσθαι τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἀφικομένου τοῦ Φιλίππου. Προαγαγὼν οὖν εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τὸν τὰς ἐπιστολὰς κομίζοντα καὶ πλαστογραφίαν ἐπικαλέσας ψεύδεσθαί τε φήσας αὐτὸν ἀπαγγείλαντα Φίλιππον ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις μετὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων Ῥωμαίοις πολεμεῖν ἀπέκτεινεν. [51] Μὴ ὑποστρέψαντος δὴ τοῦ ἐξελευθέρου Φίλιππος ἀπορῶν τὴν αἰτίαν δεύτερον ἐκπέμπει μετ᾽ ἐπιστολῶν πάλιν τὸν ἀπαγγελοῦντα πρὸς αὐτόν, τί τὸ συμβεβηκὸς εἴη τῷ ἀποσταλέντι, δι᾽ ὃ βραδύνειεν. [52] Καὶ τοῦτον δὲ παραγενόμενον ὁ Οὔαρος συκοφαντήσας ἀνεῖλεν· καὶ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Καισαρείᾳ Σύρων ἐπῆρτο μέγα φρονεῖν, ἀναιρεθήσεσθαι μὲν λεγόντων ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων τὸν Ἀγρίππαν διὰ τὰς ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἁμαρτίας, λήψεσθαι δ᾽ αὐτὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ βασιλέων ὄντα· καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὁμολογουμένως ὁ Οὔαρος βασιλικοῦ γένους ἔγγονος Σοέμου τοῦ περὶ τὸν Λίβανον τετραρχοῦντος. [53] Διὰ τοῦτ᾽ οὖν ὁ Οὔαρος τυφούμενος τὰς μὲν ἐπιστολὰς παρ᾽ ἑαυτῷ κατέσχεν μηχανώμενος μὴ ἐντυχεῖν τοῖς γράμμασι τὸν βασιλέα, τὰς ἐξόδους δὲ πάσας ἐφρούρει, μὴ διαδράς τις ἀπαγγείλειε τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ πραττόμενα. Καὶ δὴ χαριζόμενος τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Καισάρειαν Σύροις πολλοὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπέκτεινεν. [54] Ἐβουλήθη δὲ καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐν Βατανέᾳ Τραχωνιτῶν ἀναλαβὼν τὰ ὅπλα ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις Βαβυλωνίους Ἰουδαίους, ταύτην γὰρ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἔχουσιν, ὁρμῆσαι. [55] Καλέσας οὖν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Καισάρειαν Ἰουδαίων δώδεκα τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους προσέτασσεν αὐτοῖς ἀφικομένοις εἰς Ἐκβάτανα πρὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖ κατοικοῦντας αὐτῶν ὁμοφύλους εἰπεῖν, ὅτι Οὔαρος ἀκούσας ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ βασιλέα μέλλειν ὁρμᾶν καὶ μὴ πιστεύσας πέπομφεν ἡμᾶς πείσοντας ὑμᾶς τὰ ὅπλα καταθέσθαι· τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῷ τεκμήριον ἔσεσθαι καὶ τοῦ καλῶς μὴ πιστεῦσαι τοῖς περὶ ὑμῶν λέγουσιν. [56] Ἐκέλευε δὲ καὶ τοὺς πρώτους αὐτῶν ἄνδρας ἑβδομήκοντα πέμπειν ἀπολογησομένους περὶ τῆς ἐπενηνεγμένης αἰτίας. Ἐλθόντες οὖν οἱ δώδεκα πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις ὁμοφύλους καὶ καταλαβόντες αὐτοὺς μηδὲν ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ φρονοῦντας ἔπεισαν καὶ τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα πέμπειν. [57] Οἱ δὲ μηδὲν ὑποπτεύσαντες τοιοῦτον οἷον ἔμελλεν ἀποβήσεσθαι ἐξαπέστειλαν. Καταβαίνουσιν δ᾽ οὗτοι μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα πρέσβεων εἰς τὴν Καισάρειαν.

Ὑπαντήσας οὖν ὁ Οὔαρος μετὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς δυνάμεως σὺν τοῖς πρέσβεσιν πάντας ἀπέκτεινεν καὶ τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις Ἰουδαίους ἐποιεῖτο. [58] Φθάσας δέ τις ἐκ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα σωθεὶς ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς, κἀκεῖνοι τὰ ὅπλα λαβόντες σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις εἰς Γάμαλα τὸ φρούριον ὑπεχώρησαν, καταλιπόντες τὰς κώμας πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν πλήρεις καὶ βοσκημάτων πολλὰς μυριάδας ἐχούσας. [59] Φίλιππος δὲ πυθόμενος ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς Γάμαλα τὸ φρούριον ἦκεν. Παραγενομένου δὲ κατεβόα τὸ πλῆθος, ἄρχειν αὐτὸν παρακαλοῦντες καὶ πολεμεῖν πρὸς Οὔαρον καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Καισαρείᾳ Σύρους. Διαδέδοκτο γὰρ ὑπὸ τούτων τὸν βασιλέα τεθνάναι. [60] Φίλιππος δ᾽ αὐτῶν κατεῖχε τὰς ὁρμὰς ὑπομιμνήσκων τῶν τε τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς αὐτοὺς εὐεργεσιῶν, καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων διηγούμενος ὅση τίς ἐστι δύναμις συμφέρειν οὐκ ἔλεγεν ἄρασθαι πρὸς τούτους πόλεμον, καὶ τέλος ἔπεισεν. [61] Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς πυθόμενος, ὅτι Οὔαρος μέλλει τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς Καισαρείας Ἰουδαίους σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις πολλὰς ὄντας μυριάδας ἀναιρεῖν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ, μεταπέμπεται πρὸς αὐτὸν Αἴκουον Μονόδιον πέμψας αὐτῷ διάδοχον, ὡς ἐν ἄλλοις ἐδηλώσαμεν. Ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος Γάμαλα τὸ φρούριον κατέσχεν καὶ τὴν πέριξ χώραν πίστει τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐμμένουσαν.

XII

[62] Ἐπεὶ δ᾽ εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἀφικόμην ἐγὼ καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν ἀπαγγειλάντων ἔμαθον, γράφω τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν περὶ τούτων καὶ τί με πράττειν κελεύουσιν ἐρωτῶ. Οἱ δὲ προσμεῖναι παρεκάλεσαν καὶ τοὺς συμπρέσβεις. Εἰ θέλοιεν, κατασχόντα πρόνοιαν ποιήσασθαι τῆς Γαλιλαίας. [63] Οἱ δὲ συμπρέσβεις εὐπορήσαντες πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐκ τῶν διδομένων αὐτοῖς δεκατῶν, ἃς ὄντες ἱερεῖς ὀφειλομένας ἀπελάμβανον, εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ὑποστρέφειν ἔκριναν. Ἐμοῦ δ᾽ αὐτοὺς προσμεῖναι παρακαλέσαντος ἕως οὗ τὰ πράγματα καταστήσωμεν, πείθονται. [64] Ἄρας οὖν μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Σεπφωριτῶν πόλεως εἰς κώμην τινὰ Βηθμαοῦς λεγομένην ἀπέχουσαν Τιβεριάδος στάδια τέσσαρα παραγίνομαι, καὶ πέμψας ἐντεῦθεν πρὸς τὴν Τιβεριέων βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τοῦ δήμου παρεκάλουν ἀφικέσθαι πρός με. [65] Καὶ παραγενομένων, ἐληλύθει δὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἰοῦστος, ἔλεγον ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πρεσβεύσων μετὰ τούτων πεπόμφθαι πρὸς αὐτούς, πείσων καθαιρεθῆναι τὸν οἶκον τὸν ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου τοῦ τετράρχου κατασκευασθέντα ζῴων μορφὰς ἔχοντα τῶν νόμων οὕτως τι κατασκευάζειν ἀπαγορευόντων, καὶ παρεκάλουν αὐτοὺς ἐᾶν ἡμᾶς ᾗ τάχος τοῦτο πράττειν. [66] Ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν οὖν οἱ περὶ τὸν Καπέλλαν καὶ τοὺς πρώτους αὐτῶν ἐπιτρέπειν οὐκ ἤθελον, βιαζόμενοι δ᾽ ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν συγκατατίθενται. Φθάνει δ᾽ Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Σαπφία παῖς, ὢν τῆς τῶν ναυτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀπόρων στάσεως πρῶτον ἔφαμεν ἄρξαι, παραλαβών τινας Γαλιλαίους καὶ

τὴν πᾶσαν αὐλὴν ἐμπρήσας, πολλῶν οἰόμενος εὐπορήσειν ἐξ αὐτῆς χρημάτων, ἐπειδή τινας οἴκων ὀροφὰς κεχρυσωμένας εἶδεν. [67] Καὶ διήρπασαν πολλὰ παρὰ γνώμην τὴν ἡμετέραν πράξαντες· ἡμεῖς γὰρ μετὰ τὴν πρὸς Καπέλλαν καὶ τοὺς πρώτους Τιβεριέων ὁμιλίαν εἰς τὴν ἄνω Γαλιλαίαν ἀπὸ Βηθμαῶν ἀνεχωρήσαμεν. Ἀναιροῦσιν δ᾽ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν πάντας τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας Ἕλληνας ὅσοι τε πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου γεγόνεισαν αὐτῶν ἐχθροί.

XIII

[68] Πυθόμενος δ᾽ ἐγὼ ταῦτα παρωξύνθην σφόδρα, καὶ καταβὰς εἰς Τιβεριάδα πρόνοιαν εἰσηνεγκάμην τῶν βασιλικῶν σκευῶν ὅσα δυνατὸν ἦν τοὺς ἁρπάσαντας ἀφελέσθαι· λυχνίαι δ᾽ ἦσαν Κορίνθιαι ταῦτα καὶ τράπεζαι τῶν βασιλικῶν καὶ ἀσήμου ἀργυρίου σταθμὸς ἱκανός· πάντα δ᾽, ὅσα παρέλαβον, φυλάσσειν ἔκρινα τῷ βασιλεῖ. [69] Μεταπεμψάμενος οὖν τοὺς τῆς βουλῆς πρώτους δέκα καὶ Καπέλλαν τὸν Ἀντύλλου τὰ σκεύη παρέδωκα, μηδενὶ παραγγείλας ἑτέρῳ πλὴν ἐμοῦ δοῦναι. [70] Κἀκεῖθεν εἰς τὰ Γίσχαλα πρὸς τὸν Ἰωάννην μετὰ τῶν συμπρέσβεων ἀφικόμην βουλόμενος γνῶναι, τί ποτε φρονεῖ. Κατεῖδον δ᾽ αὐτὸν ταχέως νεωτέρων ὀρεγόμενον πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχοντα· [71] παρεκάλει γάρ με τὸν Καίσαρος σῖτον κείμενον ἐν ταῖς τῆς ἄνωθεν Γαλιλαίας κώμαις ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ δοῦναι ἐκφορῆσαι· θέλειν γὰρ ἔφασκεν εἰς ἐπισκευὴν τῶν τῆς πατρίδος τειχῶν αὐτὸν ἀναλῶσαι. [72] Κατανοήσας δὲ ἐγὼ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τί διανοοῖτο πράσσειν, οὐκ ἔφην αὐτῷ συγχωρεῖν· ἢ γὰρ Ῥωμαίοις αὐτὸν ἐνενοούμην φυλάττειν ἢ ‘μαυτῷ διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῶν ἐκεῖ πραγμάτων αὐτὸς παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πεπιστεῦσθαι. [73] Μὴ πείθων δὲ περὶ τούτων ἐπὶ τοὺς συμπρέσβεις ἐτράπετο· καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἀπρονόητοι τῶν ἐσομένων καὶ λαβεῖν ἑτοιμότατοι· φθείρει δὲ χρήμασιν αὐτοὺς ψηφίσασθαι πάντα τὸν σῖτον αὐτῷ παραδοθῆναι τὸν ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐπαρχίᾳ κείμενον. [74] Κἀγὼ μόνος ἠττώμενος ὑποδὺς τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἤγαγον. Καὶ δευτέραν Ἰωάννης ἐπεισέφερεν πανουργίαν· ἔφη γὰρ Ἰουδαίους τοὺς τὴν Φιλίππου Καισάρειαν κατοικοῦντας συγκεκλεισμένους κατὰ προσταγὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ὑποδίκου τοῦ τὴν δυναστείαν διοικοῦντος πεπομφέναι πρὸς αὐτὸν παρακαλοῦντας, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἔλαιον ᾧ χρήσονται καθαρόν, ποιησάμενον πρόνοιαν εὐπορίαν αὐτοῖς τούτου παρασχεῖν, μὴ δι᾽ ἀνάγκην Ἑλληνικῷ χρώμενοι τὰ νόμιμα παραβαίνωσιν. [75] Ταῦτα δ᾽ οὐχ ὑπ᾽ εὐσεβείας ἔλεγεν Ἰωάννης, δι᾽ αἰσχροκέρδειαν δὲ φανερωτάτην· γινώσκων γὰρ παρὰ μὲν ἐκείνοις κατὰ τὴν Καισάρειαν τοὺς δύο ξέστας δραχμῆς μιᾶς πωλουμένους, ἐν δὲ τοῖς Γισχάλοις τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντα ξέστας δραχμῶν τεσσάρων, πᾶν τὸ ἔλαιον ὅσον ἦν ἐκεῖ διεπέμψατο λαβὼν ἐξουσίαν καὶ παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ τὸ δοκεῖν· [76] οὐ γὰρ ἑκὼν ἐπέτρεπον, ἀλλὰ διὰ φόβον

τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, μὴ κωλύων καταλευσθείην ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν. Συγχωρήσαντος οὖν μου πλείστων χρημάτων ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐκ τῆς κακουργίας ταύτης εὐπόρησε.

XIV

[77] Τοὺς δὲ συμπρέσβεις ἀπὸ τῶν Γισχάλων ἀπολύσας εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πρόνοιαν ἐποιούμην ὅπλων τε κατασκευῆς καὶ πόλεων ἐχυρότητος. Μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ τῶν λῃστῶν τοὺς ἀνδρειοτάτους ἀφελέσθαι μὲν αὐτῶν τὰ ὅπλα οὐχ οἷόν τε ὂν ἑώρων, ἔπεισα δὲ τὸ πλῆθος μισθοφορὰν αὐτοῖς παρέχειν, ἄμεινον εἶναι λέγων ἑκόντας ὀλίγα διδόναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς κτήσεις διαρπαζομένας ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν περιορᾶν. [78] Καὶ λαβὼν παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ὅρκους μὴ ἀφίξεσθαι πρότερον εἰς τὴν χώραν, ἐὰν μὴ μετακληθῶσιν ἢ ὅταν τὸν μισθὸν μὴ λάβωσιν, ἀπέλυσα παραγγείλας μήτε Ῥωμαίοις πολεμεῖν μήτε τοῖς περιοίκοις· εἰρηνεύεσθαι γὰρ πρὸ πάντων τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐφρόντιζον. [79] Τοὺς δ᾽ ἐν τέλει τῶν Γαλιλαίων ὅσον ἑβδομήκοντα πάντας βουλόμενος ἐν προφάσει φιλίας καθάπερ ὅμηρα τῆς πίστεως ἔχειν φίλους τε καὶ συνεκδήμους ἐποιησάμην ἐπί τε κρίσεις παρελάμβανον καὶ μετὰ γνώμης τῆς ἐκείνων τὰς ἀποφάσεις ἐποιούμην, μήτε προπετείᾳ πειρώμενος τοῦ δικαίου διαμαρτάνειν καθαρεύειν τε παντὸς ἐπ᾽ αὐταῖς λήμματος.

XV

[80] Περὶ τριακοστὸν γοῦν ἔτος ὑπάρχων, ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ, κἂν ἀπέχηταί τις τῶν παρανόμων ἐπιθυμιῶν, δύσκολον τὰς ἐκ τοῦ φθόνου διαβολὰς φεύγειν ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐξουσίας ὄντα μεγάλης, γυναῖκα μὲν πᾶσαν ἀνύβριστον ἐφύλαξα, πάντων δὲ τῶν διδομένων ὡς μὴ χρῄζων κατεφρόνησα, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τὰς ὀφειλομένας μοι ὡς ἱερεῖ δεκάτας ἀπελάμβανον παρὰ τῶν κομιζόντων· [81] ἐκ μέντοι τῶν λαφύρων μέρος τοὺς Σύρους τοὺς τὰς πέριξ πόλεις κατοικοῦντας νικήσας ἔλαβον, ἃ καὶ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τοῖς συγγενέσιν ὁμολογῶ πεπομφέναι. [82] Καὶ δὶς μὲν κατὰ κράτος ἑλὼν Σεπφωρίτας, Τιβεριεῖς τετράκις, Γαδαρεῖς δ᾽ ἅπαξ, καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην πολλάκις ἐπιβουλεύσαντά μοι λαβὼν ὑποχείριον οὔτ᾽ αὐτὸν οὔτε τινὰς τῶν προειρημένων ἐθνῶν ἐτιμωρησάμην, ὡς προϊὼν ὁ λόγος παραστήσει. [83] Διὰ τοῦτ᾽ οἶμαι καὶ τὸν θεόν, οὐ γὰρ λελήθασιν αὐτὸν οἱ τὰ δέοντα πράττοντες, καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνων ῥύσασθαί με χειρὸς καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πολλοῖς περιπεσόντα κινδύνοις διαφυλάξαι, περὶ ὧν ὕστερον ἀπαγγελοῦμεν.

XVI

[84] Τοσαύτη δ᾽ ἦν ἡ πρός με τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Γαλιλαίων εὔνοια καὶ πίστις, ὥστε ληφθεισῶν αὐτῶν κατὰ κράτος τῶν πόλεων, γυναικῶν δὲ καὶ τέκνων ἀνδραποδισθέντων, οὐχ οὕτως ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐπεστέναξαν συμφοραῖς, ὥσπερ τῆς

ἐμῆς ἐφρόντισαν σωτηρίας. [85] Ταῦτα δ᾽ ὁρῶν Ἰωάννης ἐφθόνησε, καὶ γράφει πρός με παρακαλῶν ἐπιτρέψαι καταβάντι χρήσασθαι τοῖς ἐν Τιβεριάδι θερμοῖς ὕδασι τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἕνεκα θεραπείας. [86] Κἀγὼ μηδὲν ὑποπτεύσας πράξειν αὐτὸν πονηρὸν οὐκ ἐκώλυσα· πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοῖς τῆς Τιβεριάδος τὴν διοίκησιν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ πεπιστευμένοις κατ᾽ ὄνομα γράφω κατάλυσιν ἑτοιμάσαι τῷ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ τοῖς ἀφιξομένοις σὺν αὐτῷ πάντων τε [τῶν ἐπιτηδείων] ἀφθονίαν παρασχεῖν. Διέτριβον δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐν κώμῃ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, ἣ προσαγορεύεται Κανά.

XVII

[87] Ὁ δ᾽ Ἰωάννης ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν Τιβεριέων πόλιν ἔπειθε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀποστάντας τῆς πρός με πίστεως προστίθεσθαι αὐτῷ. Καὶ πολλοὶ τὴν παράκλησιν ἡδέως ἐδέξαντο νεωτέρων ἐπιθυμοῦντες αἰεὶ πραγμάτων καὶ φύσει πρὸς μεταβολὰς ἐπιτηδείως ἔχοντες καὶ στάσεσι χαίροντες. [88] Μάλιστα δὲ Ἰοῦστος καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Πιστὸς ὡρμήκεσαν ἀποστάντες ἐμοῦ προσθέσθαι τῷ Ἰωάννῃ. [89] Διεκώλυσα δ᾽ αὐτοὺς φθάσας· ἦκεν γὰρ ἄγγελός μοι παρὰ Σίλα, ὃν ἐγὼ καθεστάκειν τῆς Τιβεριάδος στρατηγόν, ὡς προεῖπον, τὴν τῶν Τιβεριέων γνώμην ἀπαγγέλλων κἀμὲ σπεύδειν παρακαλῶν· βραδύναντος γὰρ ὑπὸ τὴν ἑτέρων ἐξουσίαν γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν. [90] Ἐντυχὼν οὖν τοῖς γράμμασι τοῦ Σίλα καὶ διακοσίους ἀναλαβὼν ἄνδρας δι᾽ ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς τὴν πορείαν ἐποιούμην, προπέμψας ἄγγελον τὸν τὴν ἐμὴν παρουσίαν τοῖς ἐν τῇ Τιβεριάδι σημανοῦντα. [91] Πρωῒ δὲ πλησιάζοντος ἐμοῦ τῇ πόλει τὸ πλῆθος ὑπηντίαζεν καὶ Ἰωάννης σὺν αὐτοῖς, καὶ πάνυ με τεταραγμένως ἀσπασάμενος, δείσας μὴ εἰς ἔλεγχον αὐτοῦ τῆς πράξεως ἀφικομένης ἀπολέσθαι κινδυνεύσῃ, ὑπεχώρησε μετὰ σπουδῆς εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κατάλυσιν. [92] Κἀγὼ δὲ γενόμενος κατὰ τὸ στάδιον τοὺς περὶ ἐμὲ σωματοφύλακας ἀπολύσας πλὴν ἑνὸς καὶ μετὰ τούτου κατασχὼν δέκα τῶν ὁπλιτῶν δημηγορεῖν ἐπειρώμην τῷ πλήθει τῶν Τιβεριέων στὰς ἐπὶ τριγχοῦ τινος ὑψηλοῦ, παρεκάλουν τε μὴ οὕτως αὐτοὺς ταχέως ἀφίστασθαι· [93] κατάγνωσιν γὰρ αὐτοῖς οἴσειν τὴν μεταβολήν, καὶ τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα προϊσταμένῳ δι᾽ ὑποψίας γενήσεσθαι δικαίας, ὡς μηδὲ τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον πίστιν φυλαξόντων.

XVIII

[94] Οὔπω δέ μοι πάντα λελάλητο, καί τινος ἐξήκουσα τῶν οἰκείων καταβαίνειν κελεύοντος· οὐ γάρ μοι καιρὸν εἶναι φροντίζειν τῆς παρὰ Τιβεριέων εὐνοίας, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας σωτηρίας καὶ πῶς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς φύγω. [95] Πεπόμφει δ᾽ ὁ Ἰωάννης τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ὁπλιτῶν ἐπιλέξας τοὺς πιστοτάτους ἐκ τῶν χιλίων, οἵπερ ἦσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ προσέταξεν τοῖς πεμφθεῖσιν ἀνελεῖν με πεπυσμένος ὡς εἴην μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων μεμονωμένος. [96] Ἦκον δ᾽ οἱ πεμφθέντες, κἂν

ἐπεπράχεισαν, εἰ μὴ τοῦ τριγχοῦ θᾶττον ἀφαλόμενος ἐγὼ μετὰ τοῦ σωματοφύλακος Ἰακώβου καὶ ὑπό τινος Τιβεριέως Ἡρώδου προσανακουφισθείς, ὁδηγηθεὶς ὑπὸ τούτου ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην καὶ πλοίου λαβόμενος καὶ ἐπιβὰς παρὰ δόξαν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς διαφυγὼν εἰς Ταριχέας ἀφικόμην.

XIX

[97] Οἱ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην κατοικοῦντες ὡς ἐπύθοντο τὴν τῶν Τιβεριέων ἀπιστίαν, σφόδρα παρωξύνθησαν. Ἁρπάσαντες οὖν τὰ ὅπλα παρεκάλουν σφᾶς ἄγειν ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς· θέλειν γὰρ ἔφασκον ὑπὲρ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ δίκας λαβεῖν παρ᾽ αὐτῶν. [98] Διήγγελλον δὲ τὰ γεγονότα καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν πᾶσαν ἐρεθίσαι καὶ τούτους κατὰ τῶν Τιβεριέων διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχοντες, παρεκάλουν τε πλείστους συναχθέντας ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς αὐτούς, ἵνα μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πράττωσιν τὸ δόξαν. [99] Ἦκον οὖν οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι πολλοὶ πανταχόθεν μεθ᾽ ὅπλων καὶ παρεκελεύοντό μοι προσβαλεῖν τῇ Τιβεριάδι καὶ κατὰ κράτος αὐτὴν ἐξελεῖν καὶ πᾶσαν ἔδαφος ποιήσαντα τοὺς ἐνοίκους σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἀνδραποδίσασθαι. Συνεβούλευον δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν φίλων οἱ ἐκ τῆς Τιβεριάδος διασωθέντες. [100] Ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ συνεπένευον δεινὸν ἡγούμενος ἐμφυλίου πολέμου κατάρχειν· μέχρι λόγων γὰρ ᾤμην εἶναι δεῖν τὴν φιλονεικίαν. Καὶ μὴν οὐδ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἔφασκον συμφέρειν τοῦτο πρᾶξαι Ῥωμαίων ταῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους στάσεσιν αὐτοὺς ἀπολέσθαι προσδοκώντων. Ταῦτα δὲ λέγων ἔπαυσα τῆς ὀργῆς τοὺς Γαλιλαίους.

XX

[101] Ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης ἀπράκτου τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς αὐτῷ γενομένης ἔδεισε περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ὁπλίτας ἀναλαβὼν ἀπῆρεν ἐκ τῆς Τιβεριάδος εἰς τὰ Γίσχαλα, καὶ γράφει πρός με περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπολογούμενος ὡς μὴ κατὰ γνώμην τὴν αὐτοῦ γενομένων, παρακαλεῖ τε μηδὲν ὑπονοεῖν κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ προστιθεὶς ὅρκους καὶ δεινάς τινας ἀράς, δι᾽ ὧν ᾤετο πιστευθήσεσθαι περὶ ὧν ἐπέστειλεν.

XXI

[102] Οἱ δὲ Γαλιλαῖοι, πολλοὶ γὰρ ἕτεροι πάλιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας πάσης ἀνήχθησαν μεθ᾽ ὅπλων, εἰδότες τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὡς πονηρός ἐστιν καὶ ἐπίορκος, παρεκάλουν ἀγαγεῖν σφᾶς ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν, ἄρδην ἀφανίσειν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ Γίσχαλα. [103] Χάριν μὲν οὖν ἔχειν αὐτῶν ταῖς προθυμίαις ὡμολόγουν ἐγὼ καὶ νικήσειν αὐτῶν τὴν εὔνοιαν ἐπηγγελλόμην, παρεκάλουν δ᾽ ὅμως ἐπισχεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀξιῶν καὶ συγγινώσκειν μοι δεόμενος προῃρημένῳ τὰς ταραχὰς χωρὶς

φόνων καταστέλλειν. Καὶ πείσας τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Γαλιλαίων εἰς τὴν Σέπφωριν ἀφικνούμην.

XXII

[104] Οἱ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην κατοικοῦντες ἄνδρες κεκρικότες τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐμμεῖναι πίστει, δεδιότες δὲ τὴν ἐμὴν ἄφιξιν, ἐπειράθησαν ἑτέρᾳ με πράξει περισπάσαντες ἀδεεῖς εἶναι περὶ ἑαυτῶν. [105] Καὶ δὴ πέμψαντες πρὸς Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἀρχιλῃστὴν εἰς τὴν Πτολεμαΐδος μεθορίαν ὑπέσχοντο δώσειν πολλὰ χρήματα θελήσαντι μετὰ τῆς σὺν αὐτῷ δυνάμεως, ἦσαν δ᾽ ὀκτακόσιοι τὸν ἀριθμόν, πόλεμον ἐξάψαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς. [106] Ὁ δ᾽ ὑπακούσας αὐτῶν ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν ἠθέλησεν ἐπιπεσεῖν ἡμῖν ἀνετοίμοις καὶ μηδὲν προγινώσκουσιν. Πέμψας γοῦν πρός με παρεκάλει λαβεῖν ἐξουσίαν ἀσπασόμενον ἀφικέσθαι. Συγχωρήσαντος δέ μου, τῆς γὰρ ἐπιβουλῆς οὐδὲν προηπιστάμην, ἀναλαβὼν τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν λῃστῶν ἔσπευδεν ἐπ᾽ ἐμέ. [107] Οὐ μὴν ἔφθασεν αὐτοῦ τέλος λαβεῖν ἡ κακουργία· πλησιάζοντος γὰρ ἤδη τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ τις αὐτομολήσας ἦκεν πρός με τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν αὐτοῦ φράζων, κἀγὼ πυθόμενος ταῦτα προῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν σκηψάμενος ἀγνοεῖν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν· ἐπηγόμην δὲ πολλοὺς ὁπλίτας Γαλιλαίους, τινὰς δὲ καὶ Τιβεριέων. [108] Εἶτα προστάξας τὰς ὁδοὺς πάσας ἀσφαλέστατα φρουρεῖσθαι παρήγγειλα τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν πυλῶν μόνον Ἰησοῦν, ἐπειδὰν παραγένηται, μετὰ τῶν πρώτων εἰσελθεῖν ἐᾶσαι, ἀποκλεῖσαι δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους, βιαζομένους δὲ τύπτειν. [109] Τῶν δὲ τὸ προσταχθὲν ποιησάντων εἰσῆλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς μετ᾽ ὀλίγων. Καὶ κελεύσαντος ἐμοῦ ῥῖψαι τὰ ὅπλα θᾶττον, εἰ γὰρ ἀπειθοίη τεθνήξεσθαι, περιεστῶτας ἰδὼν πανταχόθεν αὐτῷ τοὺς ὁπλίτας φοβηθεὶς ὑπήκουσεν· οἱ δ᾽ ἀποκλεισθέντες τῶν ἐπακολουθούντων αὐτῷ πυθόμενοι τὴν σύλληψιν ἔφυγον. [110] Κἀγὼ τὸν Ἰησοῦν προσκαλεσάμενος κατ᾽ ἰδίαν οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν ἔφην τὴν ἐπ᾽ ἐμὲ συσκευασθεῖσαν ἐπιβουλὴν οὐδ᾽ ὑπὸ τίνων πεμφθείη, συγγνώσεσθαι δ᾽ ὅμως αὐτῷ τῶν πεπραγμένων, εἰ μέλλοι μετανοήσειν καὶ πιστὸς ἐμοὶ γενήσεσθαι. [111] Ὑπισχνουμένου δὲ πάντα ποιήσειν ἐκείνου ἀπέλυσα συγχωρήσας αὐτῷ συναγαγεῖν πάλιν οὓς πρότερον εἶχεν. Σεπφωρίταις δ᾽ ἠπείλησα, εἰ μὴ παύσαιντο τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης, λήψεσθαι παρ᾽ αὐτῶν δίκας.

XXIII

[112] Κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἀφικνοῦνται πρός με δύο μεγιστᾶνες τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκ τῆς τῶν Τραχωνιτῶν χώρας ἐπαγόμενοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἵππους καὶ ὅπλα, χρήματα δ᾽ ὑποκομίζοντες. [113] Τούτους περιτέμνεσθαι τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀναγκαζόντων, εἰ θέλουσιν εἶναι παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς, οὐκ εἴασα βιασθῆναι, φάσκων δεῖν ἕκαστον κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ προαίρεσιν τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ

μετὰ βίας, χρῆναι δὲ τούτους δι᾽ ἀσφάλειαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς καταφυγόντας μὴ μετανοεῖν. Πεισθέντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τοῖς ἥκουσιν ἀνδράσιν τὰ πρὸς τὴν συνήθη δίαιταν ἅπαντα παρεῖχον δαψιλῶς.

XXIV

[114] Πέμπει δ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας δύναμιν καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς Αἴκουον Μόδιον Γάμαλα τὸ φρούριον ἐξαιρήσοντας. Οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες κυκλώσασθαι μὲν τὸ φρούριον οὐκ ἤρκεσαν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς φανεροῖς τῶν τόπων ἐφεδρεύοντες ἐπολιόρκουν τὰ Γάμαλα. [115] Αἰβούτιος δὲ ὁ δεκάδαρχος, ὁ τοῦ μεγάλου πεδίου τὴν προστασίαν πεπιστευμένος, ἀκούσας ὅτι παρείην εἰς Σιμωνιάδα κώμην ἐν μεθορίοις κειμένην τῆς Γαλιλαίας, αὐτοῦ δ᾽ ἀπέχουσαν ἑξήκοντα σταδίους, νυκτὸς ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ἑκατὸν ἱππεῖς, οὓς εἶχεν σὺν αὐτῷ, καί τινας πεζοὺς περὶ διακοσίους, καὶ τοὺς ἐν Γάβα πόλει κατοικοῦντας ἐπαγόμενος συμμάχους, νυκτὸς ὁδεύσας ἦκεν εἰς τὴν κώμην, ἐν ᾗ διέτριβον. [116] Ἀντιπαραταξαμένου δὲ κἀμοῦ μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς ὁ μὲν Αἰβούτιος εἰς τὸ πεδίον ὑπάγειν ἡμᾶς ἐπειρᾶτο· σφόδρα γὰρ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐπεποίθει. Οὐ μὴν ὑπηκούσαμεν· ἐγὼ γὰρ τὸ πλεονέκτημα συνιδὼν τὸ γενησόμενον τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν, εἰ καταβαίημεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον, πεζοὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς σύμπαντες ἦμεν, ἔγνων αὐτοῦ τοῖς πολεμίοις συνάπτειν. [117] Καὶ μέχρι μέν τινος γενναίως ἀντέσχεν σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Αἰβούτιος, ἀχρεῖον δ᾽ ὁρῶν κατὰ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον οὖσαι αὐτῷ τὴν ἱππικὴν δύναμιν ἀναζεύγνυσιν ἄπρακτος εἰς Γάβαν πόλιν, τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἀποβαλὼν κατὰ τὴν μάχην. [118] Εἰπόμην δὲ κατὰ πόδας ἐγὼ δισχιλίους ἐπαγόμενος ὁπλίτας, καὶ περὶ Βήσαραν πόλιν γενόμενος ἐν μεθορίῳ μὲν τῆς Πτολεμαΐδος κειμένην, εἴκοσι δ᾽ ἀπέχουσαν στάδια τῆς Γάβας, ἔνθα διέτριβεν Αἰβούτιος, στήσας τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἔξωθεν τῆς κώμης καὶ φρουρεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλῶς τὰς ὁδοὺς προστάξας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἐνοχλῆσαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἡμῖν ἕως τὸν σῖτον ἐκφορήσομεν, [119] πολὺς γὰρ ἀπέκειτο Βερενίκης τῆς βασιλίδος ἐκ τῶν πέριξ κωμῶν εἰς τὴν Βήσαραν συλλεγόμενος, πληρώσας τὰς καμήλους καὶ τοὺς ὄνους, πολλοὺς ἐπηγόμην, διέπεμψα τὸν σῖτον εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν. [120] Τοῦτο δὲ πράξας προεκαλούμην εἰς μάχην τὸν Αἰβούτιον, οὐχ ὑπακούσαντος δ᾽ ἐκείνου, κατεπέπληκτο γὰρ τὴν [ἡμετέραν] ἑτοιμότητα καὶ τὸ θράσος, ἐπὶ Νεοπολιτανὸν ἐτραπόμην τὴν Τιβεριέων χώραν ἀκούσας ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ λεηλατεῖσθαι. [121] Ἦν δὲ Νεοπολιτανὸς ἴλης μὲν ἔπαρχος, παρειλήφει δὲ τὴν Σκυθόπολιν εἰς φυλακὴν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. Τοῦτον οὖν κωλύσας ἐπὶ πλέον τὴν Τιβεριέων κακοῦν περὶ τὴν τῆς Γαλιλαίας πρόνοιαν ἐγινόμην.

XXV

[122] Ὁ δὲ τοῦ Λευεῖ παῖς Ἰωάννης, ὃν ἔφαμεν ἐν τοῖς Γισχάλοις διατρίβειν, πυθόμενος πάντα κατὰ νοῦν μοι προχωρεῖν, καὶ δι᾽ εὐνοίας μὲν εἶναί με τοῖς ὑπηκόοις, τοῖς πολεμίοις δὲ δι᾽ ἐκπλήξεως, οὐκ εὖ τὴν γνώμην ἐτέθη, κατάλυσιν δ᾽ αὐτῷ τὴν ἐμὴν εὐπραγίαν φέρειν νομίζων εἰς φθόνον ἐξώκειλεν οὔτι μέτριον. [123] Καὶ παύσειν με τῆς εὐτυχίας ἐλπίσας, εἰ παρὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων μῖσος ἐξάψειεν, ἔπειθεν τοὺς τὴν Τιβεριάδα κατοικοῦντας καὶ τοὺς τὴν Σέπφωριν [νομίζων] πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ τοὺς Γάβαρα, πόλεις δ᾽ εἰσὶν αὗται τῶν κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν αἱ μέγισται, τῆς πρός με πίστεως ἀποστάντας αὐτῷ προστίθεσθαι· κρεῖττον γὰρ ἐμοῦ στρατηγήσειν αὐτῶν ἔφασκεν. [124] Καὶ Σεπφωρεῖς μέν, οὐδετέρῳ γὰρ ἡμῶν προσεῖχον διὰ τὸ Ῥωμαίους ᾑρῆσθαι δεσπότας, οὐκ ἐπένευον αὐτῷ, Τιβεριεῖς δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀπόστασιν οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, αὐτοῦ δὲ συγκατένευον γενέσθαι φίλοι, οἱ δὲ Γάβαρα κατοικοῦντες προστίθενται τῷ Ἰωάννῃ· Σίμων δ᾽ ἦν ὁ παρακαλῶν αὐτούς, πρωτεύων μὲν τῆς πόλεως, ὡς φίλῳ δὲ καὶ ἑταίρῳ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ χρώμενος. [125] Ἐκ μὲν οὖν τοῦ φανεροῦ τὴν ἀπόστασιν οὐχ ὡμολόγουν· σφόδρα γὰρ ἐδεδοίκεσαν τοὺς Γαλιλαίους ἅτε δὴ πεῖραν αὐτῶν τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς πολλάκις εὐνοίας λαβόντες· ἐκ τοῦ λεληθότος δὲ καιρὸν παραφυλάσσοντες ἐπιτήδειον ἐπεβούλευον, καὶ δὴ ἀφικόμην εἰς κίνδυνον τὸν μέγιστον διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν.

XXVI

[126] Νεανίσκοι τινὲς θρασεῖς Δαβαριττηνοὶ γένος ἐπιτηρήσαντες τὴν Πτολεμαίου γυναῖκα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιτρόπου μετὰ πολλῆς παρασκευῆς καί τινων ἱππέων ἀσφαλείας χάριν ἑπομένων διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου πεδίου τὴν πορείαν ποιουμένην ἐκ τῆς τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ὑποτελοῦς χώρας εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐπικράτειαν, ἐπιπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς ἄφνω. [127] Καὶ τὴν μὲν γυναῖκα φυγεῖν ἠνάγκασαν, ὅσα δ᾽ ἐπεφέρετο πάντα διήρπασαν, καὶ ἦκον εἰς Ταριχέας πρός με τέσσαρας ἡμιόνους καταφόρτους ἄγοντες ἐσθῆτος καὶ σκευῶν· ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀργυρίου σταθμὸς οὐκ ὀλίγος καὶ χρυσοῦ πεντακόσιοι. [128] Ταῦτ᾽ ἐγὼ βουλόμενος διαφυλάξαι τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὁμόφυλος, ἀπηγόρευται δ᾽ ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων μηδὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀποστερεῖν, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς κομίσαντας ἔφην φυλάττειν αὐτὰ δεῖν, ἵν᾽ ἐκ τῆς πράσεως αὐτῶν ἐπισκευασθῇ τὰ τείχη τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, [129] οἱ δὲ νεανίαι χαλεπῶς ἔσχον οὐ λαβόντες μοῖραν ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων, καθάπερ προσεδόκησαν, καὶ πορευθέντες εἰς τὰς πέριξ τῆς Τιβεριάδος κώμας προδιδόναι μέλλειν με Ῥωμαίοις τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἔλεγον· [130] κεχρῆσθαι γὰρ σοφίσματι πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγοντα τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἁρπαγῆς κομισθέντα φυλάττειν εἰς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν τῶν τειχῶν τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλεως, ἐγνωκέναι δὲ πάλιν τῷ δεσπότῃ ἀποδοῦναι [τὰ ἡρπασμένα]. [131] Καὶ κατὰ τοῦτό γε τῆς ἐμῆς γνώμης οὐ διήμαρτον· ἀπαλλαγέντων γὰρ αὐτῶν μεταπεμψάμενος δύο τοὺς πρώτους Δασσίωνα καὶ Ἰανναῖον τὸν τοῦ Ληουΐ, φίλους ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τοῦ βασιλέως

καθεστῶτας, τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἁρπαγῆς σκεύη λαβόντας διαπέμψασθαι πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐκέλευον, θάνατον ἀπειλήσας αὐτοῖς τὴν ζημίαν, εἰ πρὸς ἕτερον ταῦτα ἀπαγγελοῦσιν.

XXVII

[132] Ἐπισχούσης δὲ φήμης τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἅπασαν, ὡς τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν μελλούσης ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προδίδοσθαι καὶ πάντων παροξυνθέντων ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμὴν τιμωρίαν, οἱ τὰς Ταριχέας κατοικοῦντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς νεανίσκους ἀληθεύειν ὑπολαβόντες πείθουσι τοὺς σωματοφύλακας καὶ τοὺς ὁπλίτας κοιμώμενόν με καταλιπόντας παραγενέσθαι θᾶττον εἰς ἱππόδρομον, ὡς ἐκεῖ βουλευσομένους μετὰ πάντων περὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. [133] Πειθομένων δὲ τούτων καὶ συνελθόντων πολὺς ὄχλος ἤδη προσυνήθροιστο, μίαν τε πάντες ἐποιοῦντο φωνήν, κολάζειν τὸν προδότην πονηρὸν περὶ αὐτοὺς γεγενημένον. [134] Μάλιστα δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐξέκαιεν ὁ τοῦ Σαπίθα παῖς Ἰησοῦς ἄρχων τότε τῆς Τιβεριάδος, πονηρὸς ἄνθρωπος καὶ ταράξαι μεγάλα πράγματα φύσιν ἔχων στασιοποιός τε καὶ νεωτεριστὴς ὡς οὐχ ἕτερος, καὶ δὴ τότε λαβὼν εἰς χεῖρας τοὺς Μωυσέως νόμους καὶ προελθὼν εἰς μέσον, [135] “Εἰ μὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ἔφη, πολῖται, μισεῖν δύνασθε Ἰώσηπον, εἰς τοὺς πατρίους ἀποβλέψαντες νόμους, ὧν ὁ πρῶτος ὑμῶν στρατηγὸς προδότης ἔμελλε γίνεσθαι, καὶ μισοπονηρήσαντες ὑπὲρ τούτων τιμωρήσασθε τὸν τοιαῦτα τολμήσαντα.”

XXVIII

[136] Ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπιβοήσαντος ἀναλαβών τινας ὁπλίτας ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν, ἐν ᾗ κατηγόμην, ἔσπευδεν ὡς ἀναιρήσων. Ἐγὼ δ᾽ οὐδὲν προαισθόμενος διὰ κόπον πρὸ τῆς ταραχῆς κατεσχήμην. [137] Σίμων δ᾽ ὁ τοῦ σώματός μου τὴν φυλακὴν πεπιστευμένος, ὁ καὶ μόνος παραμείνας, ἰδὼν τὴν ἐπιδρομὴν τῶν πολιτῶν διήγειρέ με καὶ τὸν ἐφεστῶτά μοι κίνδυνον ἐξήγγειλεν, ἠξίου τε γενναίως θνήσκειν ὡς στρατηγὸν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πρὶν δὴ ἐλθεῖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀναγκάσοντας ἢ κτενοῦντας. [138] Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγεν, ἐγὼ δὲ τῷ θεῷ τὰ κατ᾽ ἐμαυτὸν ἐπιτρέψας εἰς τὸ πλῆθος ὡρμήθην προελθεῖν. Μετενδὺς οὖν μέλαιναν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὸ ξίφος ἀπαρτησάμενος ἐκ τοῦ αὐχένος καθ᾽ ὁδὸν ἑτέραν, ᾗ μηδένα μοι τῶν πολεμίων ὑπαντιάσειν ᾤμην, ἦειν εἰς τὸν ἱππόδρομον, ἄφνω τε φανεὶς καὶ πρηνὴς πεσὼν καὶ τὴν γῆν δάκρυσιν φύρων ἐλεεινὸς ἔδοξα πᾶσιν. [139] Συνεὶς δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τὴν μεταβολὴν διιστάναι τὰς γνώμας αὐτῶν ἐπειρώμην πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας ὑποστρέψαι. Καὶ συνεχώρουν μὲν ἀδικεῖν, ὡς αὐτοὶ νομίζουσιν, ἐδεόμην δὲ διδάξαι πρότερον, εἰς τίνα χρείαν ἐφύλαττον τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἁρπαγῆς κομισθέντα χρήματα καὶ τότε θνήσκειν, εἰ κελεύοιεν. [140] Τοῦ δὲ πλήθους λέγειν κελεύοντος ἐπῆλθον οἱ ὁπλῖται καὶ θεασάμενοί με προσέτρεχον

ὡς κτενοῦντες.῎Επισχεῖν δὲ τοῦ πλήθους κελεύοντος ἐπείσθησαν προσδοκῶντες, ἐπειδὰν ὁμολογήσω πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὰ χρήματα τῷ βασιλεῖ τετηρηκέναι, ὡς ὡμολογηκότα τὴν προδοσίαν ἀναιρήσειν.

XXIX

[141] Σιγῆς οὖν παρὰ πάντων γενομένης, ‘‘ἄνδρες, εἶπον, ὁμόφυλοι, θανεῖν μέν, εἰ δίκαιόν ἐστιν, οὐ παραιτοῦμαι. Βούλομαι δ᾽ ὅμως πρὸ τοῦ τελευτῆσαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν φράσαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς· [142] τὴν γὰρ πόλιν ταύτην φιλοξενωτάτην οὖσαν ἐπιστάμενος πληθύουσάν τε προθύμως τοσούτων ἀνδρῶν, οἳ τὰς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδας καταλιπόντες ἀφίκοντο κοινωνοὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενόμενοι τύχης, ἐβουλήθην τείχη κατασκευάσαι ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων, περὶ ὧν ἡ παρ᾽ ὑμῶν ἐστιν ὀργή, [143] δαπανωμένων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν αὐτῶν.’’ Πρὸς ταῦτα παρὰ μὲν τῶν Ταριχεωτῶν καὶ ξένων ἐγείρεται φωνὴ χάριν ἔχειν ὁμολογούντων καὶ θαρρεῖν προτρεπομένων, Γαλιλαῖοι δὲ καὶ Τιβεριεῖς τοῖς θυμοῖς ἐπέμενον, καὶ γίνεται στάσις πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν μὲν κολάσειν ἀπειλούντων με τῶν δὲ καταφρονεῖν. [144] ᾽Επεὶ δ᾽ ἐπηγγειλάμην καὶ Τιβεριάδι κατασκευάσειν τείχη καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν αὐτῶν ταῖς ἀναγκαίαις, πιστεύσαντες ὑπεχώρουν ἕκαστος εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ. Κἀγὼ παρὰ πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα διαφυγὼν τὸν προειρημένον κίνδυνον μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ ὁπλιτῶν εἴκοσιν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ὑπέστρεψα.

XXX

[145] Πάλιν δ᾽ οἱ λῃσταὶ καὶ τῆς στάσεως αἴτιοι δείσαντες περὶ ἑαυτῶν, μὴ δίκας εἰσπραχθῶσιν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ τῶν πεπραγμένων, ἀναλαβόντες ἑξακοσίους ὁπλίτας ἦκον ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἔνθα διέτριβον ἐμπρήσοντες αὐτήν. [146] Ἀπαγγελθείσης δέ μοι τῆς ἐφόδου φεύγειν μὲν ἀπρεπὲς ἡγησάμην, ἔκρινα δὲ παραβαλόμενος χρήσασθαί τι καὶ τόλμῃ. Προστάξας οὖν ἀποκλεῖσαι τῆς οἰκίας τὰς θύρας αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ ὑπερῷον ἀναβὰς παρεκάλουν εἰσπέμψαι τινὰς ληψομένους τὰ χρήματα· παύσεσθαι γὰρ οὕτως τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτοὺς ἔφην. [147] Εἰσπεμψάντων δὲ τὸν θρασύτατον αὐτῶν μάστιξιν αἰκισάμενος τὴν ἑτέραν τε τῶν χειρῶν ἀποκόψαι κελεύσας καὶ κρεμάσαι ἐκ τοῦ τραχήλου τοιοῦτον ἐξέβαλον πρὸς τοὺς ἐξαποστείλαντας. [148] Τοὺς δ᾽ ἔλαβεν ἔκπληξις καὶ φόβος οὔτι μέτριος. Δείσαντες οὖν καὶ αὐτοὶ ταὐτὰ πείσεσθαι, εἰ μένοιεν, εἴκαζον γὰρ ἔνδον ἔχειν με πλείους αὐτῶν, εἰς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν. Κἀγὼ τοιούτῳ στρατηγήματι χρησάμενος τὴν δευτέραν ἐπιβουλὴν διέφυγον.

XXXI

[149] Πάλιν δὲ τὸν ὄχλον τινὲς ἠρέθιζον τοὺς ἀφικομένους πρός με βασιλικοὺς μεγιστᾶνας οὐκ ὀφείλειν ζῆν λέγοντες μὴ μεταβῆναι θέλοντας εἰς τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς

ἔθη, πρὸς οὓς σωθησόμενοι πάρεισι· διέβαλλόν τε φαρμακέας εἶναι λέγοντες τοὺς Ῥωμαίους παραγενέσθαι. Ταχὺ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπείθετο ταῖς τῶν λεγομένων πρὸς χάριν αὐτοῖς πιθανότησιν ἀπατώμενοι. [150] Πυθόμενος δὲ περὶ τούτων ἐγὼ πάλιν τὸν δῆμον ἀνεδίδασκον μὴ δεῖν διώκεσθαι τοὺς καταφυγόντας πρὸς αὐτούς· τὸν δὲ φλύαρον τῆς περὶ τῶν φαρμάκων αἰτίας διέσυρον, οὐκ ἂν τοσαύτας μυριάδας στρατιωτῶν Ῥωμαίους λέγων τρέφειν, εἰ διὰ φαρμάκων ἦν νικᾶν τοὺς πολεμίους. [151] Ταῦτα λέγοντος ἐμοῦ πρὸς ὀλίγον μὲν ἐπείθοντο, πάλιν δ᾽ ἀναχωρήσαντες ὑπὸ τῶν πονηρῶν ἐξηρεθίζοντο κατὰ τῶν μεγιστάνων, καί ποτε μεθ᾽ ὅπλων ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐν Ταριχέᾳ ἀπῆλθον ὡς ἀναιρήσοντες. [152] Ἔδεισα δ᾽ ἐγὼ πυθόμενος, μὴ τοῦ μύσους τέλος λαβόντος ἀνεπίβατος γένηται τοῖς καταφυγεῖν εἰς αὐτὴν θέλουσιν. [153] Παρεγενόμην οὖν εἰς τὴν τῶν μεγιστάνων οἰκίαν μετά τινων ἑτέρων, καὶ κλείσας διώρυγά τε ποιήσας ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην ἄγουσαν μεταπεμψάμενός τε πλοῖον καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐμβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν μεθόριον τῶν Ἱππηνῶν διεπέρασα, καὶ δοὺς αὐτοῖς τὴν τιμὴν τῶν ἵππων, οὐ γὰρ ἠδυνήθην αὐτοὺς ἐπαγαγέσθαι τοιαύτης γενομένης τῆς ἀποδράσεως, ἀπέλυσα πολλὰ παρακαλέσας τὴν προσπεσοῦσαν ἀνάγκην γενναίως ἐνεγκεῖν. [154] Αὐτός τε μεγάλως ἠχθόμην βιασθεὶς τοὺς προσφυγόντας ἐκθεῖναι πάλιν εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν, ἄμεινον δὲ νομίσας παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἀποθανεῖν αὐτούς, εἰ συμπέσοι, μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν χώραν. Οἱ δ᾽ ἄρα διεσώθησαν· συνεχώρησεν γὰρ αὐτοῖς βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας τὰ ἡμαρτημένα. Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ ἐκείνους τοῦτ᾽ ἔσχε τὸ τέλος.

XXXII

[155] Οἱ δὲ τὴν τῶν Τιβεριέων πόλιν κατοικοῦντες γράφουσιν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα παρακαλοῦντες πέμψαι δύναμιν τὴν φυλάξουσαν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν· θέλειν γὰρ αὐτῷ προστίθεσθαι. Κἀκείνῳ μὲν ταῦτ᾽ ἔγραφον. [156] Ἀφικόμενον δέ με πρὸς αὐτοὺς παρεκάλουν τὰ τείχη κατασκευάζειν αὐτοῖς, ὡς ὑπεσχήμην· ἠκηκόεισαν δὲ τὰς Ταριχέας ἤδη τετειχίσθαι. Κατανεύσας οὖν ἐγὼ καὶ πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν παρασκευασάμενος τοὺς ἀρχιτέκτονας ἐκέλευον ἐνεργεῖν. [157] Μετὰ δὲ τρίτην ἡμέραν εἰς Ταριχέας ἀπερχομένου μου τῆς Τιβεριάδος ἀπεχούσας στάδια τριάκοντα, συνέβη τινὰς Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῖς οὐ πόρρωθεν τῆς πόλεως ὁδοιποροῦντας ὀφθῆναι, οἳ δόξαν παρέσχον τὴν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως δύναμιν ἥκειν. [158] Εὐθέως γοῦν εἰς μὲν τὸν βασιλέα μετὰ πολλῶν ἐπαίνων ἠφίεσαν φωνάς, κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ δὲ βλασφήμους. Καὶ ἐπιδραμών τις ἀπήγγειλέν μοι τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, ὡς ἀφίστασθαί μου διεγνώκασιν. [159] Ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἀκούσας ἐταράχθην μὲν σφόδρα· τοὺς γὰρ ὁπλίτας ἔτυχον ἐκ τῶν Ταριχεῶν ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτῶν οἰκήσεις ἀφεικὼς διὰ τὸ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν σάββατον ὑπάρχειν· οὐ γὰρ ἐβουλόμην ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ πλήθους ἐνοχλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς Ταριχέαις.

[160] Ὁσάκις γοῦν ἐν αὐταῖς διέτριβον οὐδὲ τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα φυλακῆς ἐποιούμην πρόνοιαν, πεῖραν παρὰ τῶν ἐνοικούντων τῆς πρός με πίστεως λαβὼν πολλάκις. [161] Μόνους δ᾽ ἔχων περὶ ἐμαυτὸν ἑπτὰ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἠπόρουν, ὃ πράξω· μεταπέμψασθαι γὰρ τὴν ἐμὴν δύναμιν διὰ τὸ λήγειν ἤδη τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἡμέραν οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζον· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀφικομένης αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ὅπλα λαβεῖν κωλυόντων ἡμᾶς τῶν νόμων, κἂν μεγάλη τις ἐπείγειν ἀνάγκη δοκῇ. [162] Εἰ δὲ τοῖς Ταριχεώταις καὶ τοῖς παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ξένοις ἐπιτρέψαιμι τὴν πόλιν διαρπάζειν, ἑώρων οὐχ ἱκανοὺς ἐσομένους, τὴν ἐμὴν ὑπέρθεσιν ἑώρων μακροτάτην· φθήσεσθαι γὰρ καὶ τὴν παρὰ βασιλέως δύναμιν ἀφικομένην, καὶ ἐκπεσεῖσθαι τῆς πόλεως ᾠόμην. [163] Ἐβουλευόμην οὖν στρατηγήματι χρῆσθαί τινι κατ᾽ αὐτῶν. Παραχρῆμα δὴ τοὺς πιστοτάτους τῶν φίλων ταῖς πύλαις τῶν Ταριχεῶν ἐπιστήσας φυλάξοντας μετ᾽ ἀσφαλείας τοὺς ἐξιέναι θέλοντας καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν οἴκων προσκαλεσάμενος, αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἐκέλευσα καθελκύσαντα πλοῖον ἐμβάντα συνεπαγόμενον τὸν κυβερνήτην ἕπεσθαί μοι πρὸς τὴν Τιβεριέων πόλιν. [164] Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν, οὓς ἔφην ἑπτὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἶναι, ἐμβὰς ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν Τιβεριάδα.

XXXIII

[165] Τιβεριεῖς δὲ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως δύναμιν ὡς ἔγνωσαν οὐχ ἥκουσαν αὐτοῖς, πλοίων δὲ τὴν λίμνην πᾶσαν ἐθεάσαντο πλήρη, δείσαντες περὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ καταπλαγέντες ὡς ἐπιβατῶν πλήρεις εἶναι νέας, μετατίθενται τὰς γνώμας. [166] Ῥίψαντες οὖν τὰ ὅπλα μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων ὑπηντίαζον πολλὰς μετ᾽ ἐπαίνων εἰς ἐμὲ φωνὰς ἀφιέντες, εἴκαζον γὰρ οὐ προπεπύσθαι με τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, καὶ παρεκάλουν φείσασθαι τῆς πόλεως. [167] Ἐγὼ δὲ πλησίον γενόμενος ἀγκύρας μὲν ἔτι πόρρω τῆς γῆς ἐκέλευον βαλέσθαι τοὺς κυβερνήτας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ κατάδηλα τοῖς Τιβεριεῦσιν εἶναι τὰ πλοῖα κενὰ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν ὄντα, πλησιάσας δ᾽ αὐτὸς ἔν τινι πλοίῳ κατεμεμφόμην αὐτῶν τὴν ἄγνοιαν, καὶ ὅτι δὴ οὕτως εὐχερεῖς εἶεν πάσης δικαίας ἄνευ προφάσεως ἐξίστασθαι τῆς πρός με πίστεως. [168] Ὡμολόγουν δ᾽ εἵς τε τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτοῖς συγγνώσεσθαι βεβαίως, εἰ πέμψειαν δέκα τοῦ πλήθους προεστῶτας. Ὑπακουσάντων δ᾽ ἑτοίμως καὶ πεμψάντων ἄνδρας οὓς προεῖπον, ἐμβιβάσας ἀπέλυον εἰς Ταριχέας φυλαχθησομένους.

XXXIV

[169] Τῷ στρατηγήματι δὲ τούτῳ τὴν βουλὴν πᾶσαν κατ᾽ ὀλίγους λαβὼν εἰς τὴν προειρημένην πόλιν καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς τοῦ δήμου πρώτους ἄνδρας οὐκ ἐλάττους ἐκείνων ὄντας διεπεμψάμην. [170] Τὸ δὲ πλῆθος, ὡς εἶδον εἰς οἷον κακῶν ἥκουσι μέγεθος, παρεκάλουν με τὸν αἴτιον τῆς στάσεως τιμωρήσασθαι.

Κλεῖτος δ᾽ ἦν ὄνομα τούτῳ, θρασύς τε καὶ προπετὴς νεανίας. [171] Ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν οὐχ ὅσιον ἡγούμενος ὁμόφυλον ἄνδρα, κολάσαι δ᾽ ἀνάγκην ἔχων, τῶν περὶ ἐμέ τινι σωματοφυλάκων Ληουεῖ προσέταξα προελθόντι κόψαι τοῦ Κλείτου τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν χειρῶν. [172] Δείσαντος δὲ τοῦ κελευσθέντος εἰς τοσοῦτο πλῆθος προελθεῖν μόνου, τὴν δειλίαν τοῦ στρατιώτου μὴ βουληθεὶς κατάδηλον γενέσθαι τοῖς Τιβεριεῦσιν, αὐτὸν Κλεῖτον φωνήσας "ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἄξιος, εἶπον, ὑπάρχεις ἀμφοτέρας τὰς χεῖρας ἀποβαλεῖν οὕτως ἀχάριστος εἰς ἐμὲ γενόμενος, γενοῦ σαυτοῦ δημόσιος, μὴ καὶ ἀπειθήσας χείρονα τιμωρίαν ὑπόσχῃς." [173] Τοῦ δὲ τὴν ἑτέραν αὐτῷ συγχωρῆσαι πολλὰ δεομένου μόλις κατένευσα. Κἀκεῖνος ἄσμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὰς δύο χεῖρας ἀποβαλεῖν λαβὼν μάχαιραν κόπτει τὴν ἀριστερὰν ἑαυτοῦ. Καὶ τοῦτο τὴν στάσιν ἔπαυσεν.

XXXV

[174] Τιβεριεῖς δέ, ὡς εἰς τὰς Ταριχέας ἀφικόμην γνόντες τὴν στρατηγίαν, ᾗ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐχρησάμην, ἀπεθαύμαζον ὅτι χωρὶς φόνων ἔπαυσα τὴν ἀγνωμοσύνην αὐτῶν. [175] Ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς εἱρκτῆς μεταπεμψάμενος τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Τιβεριέων, ἦν δὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἰοῦστος καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Πιστός, συνδείπνους ἐποιησάμην, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἑστίασιν ἔλεγον, ὅτι τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν οὐδ᾽ αὐτὸς ἀγνοῶ πασῶν διαφέρουσαν, σιγῴην μέντοι περὶ αὐτῆς διὰ τοὺς λῃστάς. [176] Καὶ αὐτοῖς δὲ ταῦτα συνεβούλευον ποιεῖν τὸν ἐπιτήδειον περιμένουσι καιρὸν καὶ μὴ δυσανασχετεῖν ἐμοὶ στρατηγῷ· μηδενὸς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἑτέρου δυνήσεσθαι ῥᾳδίως ἐπιεικοῦς ὁμοίως τυχεῖν. [177] Τὸν Ἰοῦστον δὲ καὶ ὑπεμίμνησκον, ὅτι πρόσθεν ἤ με παραγενέσθαι ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι τἀδελφοῦ τὰς χεῖρας ἀποκόψειαν αὐτοῦ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου πλαστῶν αὐτῷ γραμμάτων κακουργίαν ἐπικαλέσαντες, καὶ ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τὴν Φιλίππου Γαμαλῖται πρὸς Βαβυλωνίους στασιάζοντες ἀνέλοιεν Χάρητα, συγγενὴς δ᾽ ἦν οὗτος τοῦ Φιλίππου, [178] καὶ ὡς Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἄνδρα τῆς ἀδελφῆς Ἰούστου σωφρόνως κολάσειαν. Ταῦτα παρὰ τὴν ἑστίασιν διαλεχθεὶς τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰοῦστον ἔωθεν ἐκέλευσα πάντας τῆς φυλακῆς ἀπολυθῆναι.

XXXVI

[179] Πρὸ δὲ τούτων συνέβη τὸν Ἰακίμου Φίλιππον ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ Γάμαλα τοῦ φρουρίου τοιαύτης αἰτίας γενομένης· [180] Φίλιππος πυθόμενος μεθεστάναι μὲν Οὔαρον ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα, διάδοχον δὲ ἀφῖχθαι Μόδιον Αἴκουον ἄνδρα φίλον αὐτῷ καὶ συνήθη πάλαι, γράφει πρὸς τοῦτον τὰς καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν τύχας ἀπαγγέλλων καὶ παρακαλῶν τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντα γράμματα πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέας ἀποστεῖλαι. [181] Καὶ Μόδιος δεξάμενος τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἐχάρη σφόδρα

σώζεσθαι τὸν Φίλιππον ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπιγνούς, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέας ἔπεμψε τὰ γράμματα περὶ Βηρυτὸν ὄντας. [182] Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας ὡς ἔγνω ψευδῆ τὴν περὶ Φιλίππου φήμην γενομένην, λόγος γὰρ διῆλθεν, ὡς στρατηγοίη τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον, ἔπεμψεν ἱππεῖς τοὺς παραπέμψοντας τὸν Φίλιππον. [183] Καὶ παραγενόμενον ἀσπάζεταί τε φιλοφρόνως τοῖς τε Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμόσιν ἐπεδείκνυεν, ὅτι δὴ Φίλιππος οὗτός ἐστιν, περὶ οὗ διεξῄει λόγος ὡς Ῥωμαίων ἀποστάντος. Κελεύει δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἱππεῖς τινας ἀναλαβόντα θᾶττον εἰς Γάμαλα τὸ φρούριον πορευθῆναι τοὺς οἰκείους αὐτῷ πάντας ἐκεῖθεν ἐξάξοντα καὶ τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους εἰς τὴν Βατανέαν πάλιν ἀποκαταστήσοντα. [184] Παρήγγειλε δὲ καὶ πᾶσαν ποιήσασθαι πρόνοιαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι τινὰ νεωτερισμὸν παρὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων. Φίλιππος μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιστείλαντος ἔσπευδε ποιήσων ἃ προσέταξεν.

XXXVII

[185] Ἰώσηπος δὲ τῆς ἰατρίνης πολλοὺς νεανίσκους θρασεῖς προτρεψάμενος αὐτῷ συνάρασθαι καὶ ἐπαναστὰς τοῖς ἐν Γάμαλα πρώτοις ἔπειθεν αὐτοὺς ἀφίστασθαι τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ὅπλα ὡς διὰ τούτων τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολῃψομένους. Καὶ τινὰς μὲν ἐβιάσαντο, τοὺς δὲ μὴ συναρεσκομένους αὐτῶν ταῖς γνώμαις ἀνῄρουν. [186] Κτείνουσι δὲ καὶ Χάρητα, καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ τινα τῶν συγγενῶν Ἰησοῦν καὶ Ἰούστου δὲ τοῦ Τιβεριέως ἀδελφὴν ἀνεῖλον, καθὼς ἤδη προείπομεν, γράφουσι δὲ καὶ πρός με παρακαλοῦντες πέμψαι καὶ δύναμιν αὐτοῖς ὁπλιτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀναστήσοντας αὐτῶν τῇ πόλει τείχη. [187] Κἀγὼ πρὸς οὐδέτερον ἀντεῖπον ὧν ἠξίωσαν. Ἀφίσταται δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἡ Γαυλανῖτις χώρα μέχρι κώμης Σολύμης. Σελευκείᾳ δὲ καὶ Σωγάνῃ φύσει κώμαις ὀχυρωτάταις ᾠκοδόμησα τείχη, τάς τε κατὰ τὴν ἄνω Γαλιλαίαν κώμας καὶ πάνυ πετρώδεις οὔσας ἐτείχισα παραπλησίως. [188] Ὀνόματα δ᾽ αὐταῖς Ἰάμνια Ἀμηρὼθ Ἀχαράβη. Ὠχύρωσα δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ κάτω Γαλιλαίᾳ πόλεις μὲν Ταριχέας Τιβεριάδα Σέπφωριν, κώμας δὲ Ἀρβήλων σπήλαιον, Βηρσουβαί, Σελαμήν, Ἰωτάπατα, Καφαραθ᾽ κωμος σωγαναι παφα καὶ τὸ Ἰταβύριον ὄρος. Εἰς ταύτας καὶ σῖτον ἀπεθέμην πολὺν καὶ ὅπλα πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα.

XXXVIII

[189] Ἰωάννῃ δὲ τῷ τοῦ Ληουεῖ τὸ κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ μῖσος προσηύξετο βαρέως φέροντι τὴν ἐμὴν εὐπραγίαν. Προθέμενος οὖν πάντως ἐκποδών με ποιήσασθαι τῇ μὲν αὐτοῦ πατρίδι τοῖς Γισχάλοις κατασκευάζει τείχη, [190] τὸν ἀδελφὸν δὲ Σίμωνα καὶ τὸν τοῦ Σισέννα Ἰωνάθην ὁπλιτῶν περὶ ἑκατὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πέμπει πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Γαμαλιήλου Σίμωνα παρακαλέσοντας αὐτὸν πεῖσαι τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφελομένους ἐμὲ τῶν Γαλιλαίων αὐτῷ ψηφίσασθαι

τὴν ἐξουσίαν τούτων. [191] Ὁ δὲ Σίμων οὗτος ἦν πόλεως μὲν Ἱεροσολύμων, γένους δὲ σφόδρα λαμπροῦ, τῆς δὲ Φαρισαίων αἱρέσεως, οἳ περὶ τὰ πάτρια νόμιμα δοκοῦσιν τῶν ἄλλων ἀκριβείᾳ διαφέρειν. [192] Ἦν δ᾽ οὗτος ἀνὴρ πλήρης συνέσεως καὶ λογισμοῦ δυνάμενός τε πράγματα κακῶς κείμενα φρονήσει τῇ ἑαυτοῦ διορθώσασθαι, φίλος τε παλαιὸς τῷ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ συνήθης, πρὸς ἐμὲ δὲ τότε διαφόρως εἶχεν. [193] Δεξάμενος οὖν τὴν παράκλησιν ἔπειθεν τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς Ἄνανον καὶ Ἰησοῦν τὸν τοῦ Γαμαλᾶ τινάς τε τῶν τῆς αὐτῶν στάσεως ἐκείνους ἐκκόπτειν με φυόμενον καὶ μὴ περιιδεῖν ἐπὶ μήκιστον αὐξηθέντα δόξης, συνοίσειν αὐτοῖς λέγων, εἰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἀφαιρεθείην· μὴ μέλλειν δὲ παρεκάλει τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἄνανον, μὴ καὶ φθάσας γνῶναι μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπέλθω τῇ πόλει δυνάμεως. [194] Ὁ μὲν Σίμων ταῦτα συνεβούλευεν· ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἄνανος οὐ ῥᾴδιον εἶναι τὸ ἔργον ἀπέφαινεν· πολλοὺς γὰρ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ τοῦ πλήθους προεστῶτας μαρτυρεῖν, ὅτι καλῶς ἐγὼ στρατηγῶ· ποιεῖσθαι δὲ κατηγορίαν ἀνδρός, καθ᾽ οὗ μηδὲν λέγειν δύνανται δίκαιον, φαύλων ἔργον εἶναι.

XXXIX

[195] Σίμων δ᾽ ὡς ἤκουσεν ταῦτα παρὰ τοῦ Ἀνάνου, σιωπᾶν μὲν ἐκείνους ἠξίωσεν μηδ᾽ εἰς πολλοὺς ἐκφέρειν τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν· προνοήσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔφασκεν, ἵνα θᾶττον μετασταθείην ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας· προσκαλεσάμενος δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Ἰωάννου προσέταξεν πέμπειν δωρεὰς τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἄνανον· τάχα γὰρ οὕτως ἔφη πείσειν αὐτοὺς μεταθέσθαι τὰς γνώμας. [196] Καὶ τέλος ἔπραξεν ὁ Σίμων ὃ προύθετο· ὁ γὰρ Ἄνανος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τοῖς χρήμασιν διαφθαρέντες συντίθενται τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐκβαλεῖν με μηδενὸς ἄλλου τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τοῦτο γινώσκοντος. Καὶ δὴ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς πέμπειν ἄνδρας κατὰ γένος μὲν διαφέροντας, τῇ παιδείᾳ δ᾽ ὁμοίους. [197] Ἦσαν δ᾽ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν δύο δημοτικοί, Ἰωνάθης καὶ Ἀνανίας Φαρισαῖοι τὴν αἵρεσιν, ὁ δὲ τρίτος Γόζορος ἱερατικοῦ γένους, Φαρισαῖος καὶ αὐτός· Σίμων δ᾽ ἐξ ἀρχιερέων νεώτατος ἐκείνων. [198] Τούτους ἐκέλευον ἀφικομένους εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Γαλιλαίων πυθέσθαι παρ᾽ αὐτῶν τὴν αἰτίαν, δι᾽ ἣν ἐμὲ φιλοῦσιν· εἰ δὲ φαῖεν, ὅτι πόλεως εἴην τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνων λέγειν ὑπάρχειν τοὺς τέσσαρας, εἰ δὲ διὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν τῶν νόμων, μηδ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀγνοεῖν ἔθη τὰ πάτρια φάσκειν, εἰ δ᾽ αὖ διὰ τὴν ἱερωσύνην λέγοιεν ἀγαπᾶν με, καὶ αὐτῶν ἀποκρίνεσθαι δύο ἱερεῖς ὑπάρχειν.

XL

[199] Ταῦθ᾽ ὑποθέμενοι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην τέσσαρας μυριάδας ἀργυρίου διδόασιν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων. [200] Ἐπεὶ δέ τινα Γαλιλαῖον ἤκουσαν Ἰησοῦν ὄνομα περὶ αὐτὸν τάξιν ἑξακοσίων ὁπλιτῶν ἔχειν ἐπιδημοῦντα τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις, τότε μεταπεμψάμενοι τοῦτον καὶ τριῶν μηνῶν μισθὸν δόντες

ἐκέλευον ἕπεσθαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην πειθαρχοῦντα αὐτοῖς, καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν δὲ τριακοσίοις ἀνδράσιν δόντες ἀργύριον εἰς τροφὴν τῶν ὅλων προσέταξαν ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς πρέσβεσιν. [201] Πεισθέντων οὖν αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον εὐτρεπισθέντων ἐξῄεσαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην σὺν τούτοις ἐπαγόμενοι καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Ἰωάννου καὶ ὁπλίτας ἑκατόν, [202] λαβόντες ἐντολὰς παρὰ τῶν πεμψάντων, εἰ μὲν ἑκὼν καταθείμην τὰ ὅπλα, ζῶντα πέμπειν εἰς τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν, εἰ δ᾽ ἀντιτασσοίμην, ἀποκτεῖναι μηδὲν δεδιότας· αὐτῶν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ πρόσταγμα. [203] Ἐγεγράφεισαν δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ πρὸς τὸν κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ πόλεμον ἑτοιμάζεσθαι, τοῖς τε Σέπφωριν καὶ Γάβαρα κατοικοῦσιν καὶ Τιβεριεῦσιν προσέταττον συμμαχίαν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ πέμπειν.

XLI

[204] Ταῦτά μοι τοῦ πατρὸς γράψαντος, ἐξεῖπε δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Γαμαλᾶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ βουλῇ γενομένων εἷς, φίλος ὢν καὶ συνήθης ἐμοί, σφόδρα περιήλγησα τούς τε πολίτας οὕτως περὶ ἐμὲ γενομένους ἀχαρίστους ἐπιγνοὺς διὰ φθόνον ἀναιρεθῆναί με προστάξαι, καὶ τῷ τὸν πατέρα διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων πολλά με παρακαλεῖν ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν· ποθεῖν γὰρ ἔφη θεάσασθαι τὸν υἱὸν πρὸ τοῦ τελευτῆσαι. [205] Ταῦτα δὴ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἶπον καὶ ὅτι μετὰ τρίτην ἡμέραν καταλιπὼν τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα πορευσοίμην. Λύπη δ᾽ ἅπαντας τοὺς κἀκούσαντας κατέσχε παρεκάλουν τε κλαίοντες μὴ ἐγκαταλιπεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀπολουμένους, εἰ τῆς ἐμῆς στρατηγίας ἀποστερηθεῖεν. [206] Οὐ κατανεύοντος δέ μου ταῖς ἱκετείαις αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ φροντίζοντος σωτηρίας, δείσαντες οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι, μὴ ἀπελθόντος εὐκαταφρόνητοι τοῖς λῃσταῖς γένοιντο, πέμπουσιν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἅπασαν τοὺς σημανοῦντας τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην περὶ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς. [207] Πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πανταχόθεν συνήχθησαν, ὡς ἤκουσαν, μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων, οὐ πόθῳ, δοκῶ μοι, τῷ πρὸς ἐμὲ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ περὶ αὐτῶν δέει τοῦτο πράττοντες· ἐμοῦ γὰρ παραμένοντος πείσεσθαι κακὸν οὐδὲν ὑπελάμβανον. Ἦκον οὖν πάντες εἰς τὸ μέγα πεδίον, ἐν ᾧ διέτριβον· Ἀσωχίς ἐστιν ὄνομα αὐτῷ.

XLII

[208] Διὰ δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης θαυμάσιον οἷον ὄνειρον ἐθεασάμην· ἐπεὶ γὰρ εἰς κοίτην ἐτραπόμην διὰ τὰ γραφέντα λυπούμενος καὶ τεταραγμένος, [209] ἔδοξά τινα λέγειν ἐπιστάντα μοι, “παῦσαι τὴν ψυχήν, ὦ οὗτος, ἀλγῶν, παντὸς δ᾽ ἀπαλλάσσου φόβου· τὰ γὰρ λυποῦντά σε μέγιστον ποιήσει καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν εὐτυχέστατον, κατορθώσεις δ᾽ οὐ μόνον ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα. Μὴ κάμνε δή, [210] μέμνησο δ᾽ ὅτι καὶ Ῥωμαίοις δεῖ σε πολεμῆσαι.” Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ὄνειρον θεασάμενος διανίσταμαι καταβῆναι προθυμούμενος εἰς τὸ πεδίον. Πρὸς

δὲ τὴν ἐμὴν ὄψιν πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Γαλιλαίων, ἦσαν δ᾽ ἐν αὐτοῖς γυναῖκές τε καὶ παῖδες, ἐπὶ στόμα ῥίψαντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ δακρύοντες ἱκέτευον μὴ σφᾶς ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις, μηδ᾽ ἀπελθεῖν ἐάσαντα τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐνύβρισμα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐσομένην. [211] Ὡς δὲ ταῖς δεήσεσιν οὐκ ἔπειθον, κατηνάγκαζον ὅρκοις μένειν παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῖς ἐλοιδοροῦντό τε τῷ δήμῳ πολλὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ὡς εἰρηνεύεσθαι τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐῶντι.

XLIII

[212] Ταῦτα δὴ καὶ ἐπακούων αὐτῶν καὶ βλέπων τοῦ πλήθους τὴν κατήφειαν ἐκλάσθην πρὸς ἔλεον, ἄξιον εἶναι νομίζων ὑπὲρ τοσούτου πλήθους καὶ προδήλους κινδύνους ὑπομένειν. Κατανεύω δὴ μένειν, καὶ πεντακισχιλίους ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁπλίτας ἥκειν κελεύσας ἔχοντας ἑαυτοῖς τροφὰς ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκήσεις διαφῆκα τοὺς ἄλλους. [213] Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ πεντακισχίλιοι παρεγένοντο, τούτους ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τρισχιλίους τοὺς σὺν ἐμαυτῷ στρατιώτας, ἱππεῖς δ᾽ ὀγδοήκοντα, τὴν πορείαν εἰς Χαβωλὼ κώμην Πτολεμαΐδος μεθόριον οὖσαν ἐποιησάμην, κἀκεῖ τὰς δυνάμεις συνεῖχον ἑτοιμάζεσθαι σκηπτόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Πλάκιδον πόλεμον. [214] Ἀφίκετο δ᾽ οὗτος μετὰ δύο σπειρῶν πεζοῦ στρατεύματος καὶ ἱππέων ἴλης μιᾶς ὑπὸ Κεστίου Γάλλου πεμφθείς, ἵν᾽ ἐμπρήσῃ τὰς κώμας τῶν Γαλιλαίων, αἳ πλησίον ἦσαν Πτολεμαΐδος. Βαλλομένου δ᾽ ἐκείνου χάρακα πρὸ τῆς Πτολεμαέων πόλεως τίθεμαι κἀγὼ στρατόπεδον τῆς κώμης ὅσον ἑξήκοντα σταδίους ἀποσχών. [215] Πολλάκις μὲν οὖν τὰς δυνάμεις προηγάγομεν ὡς εἰς μάχην, πλέον δ᾽ οὐδὲν ἀκροβολισμῶν ἐπράξαμεν· ὁ γὰρ Πλάκιδος ὅσῳπερ ἐγίνωσκεν σπεύδοντά με πρὸς μάχην αὐτὸς καταπληττόμενος ὑπεστέλλετο· τῆς μέντοι Πτολεμαΐδος οὐκ ἐχωρίζετο.

XLIV

[216] Κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἀφικόμενος Ἰωνάθης μετὰ τῶν συμπρέσβεων, οὓς ἔφαμεν ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Σίμωνα καὶ Ἄνανον τὸν ἀρχιερέα πεπέμφθαι, λαβεῖν δι᾽ ἐνέδρας ἐπεβούλευεν· φανερῶς γὰρ ἐπιχειρεῖν οὐκ ἐτόλμα. [217] Γράφει δὲ πρός με τοιαύτην ἐπιστολήν· “Ἰωνάθης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν Ἰωσήπῳ χαίρειν. Ἡμεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πρώτων ἀκουσάντων τὸν ἀπὸ Γισχάλων Ἰωάννην ἐπιβεβουλευκέναι σοι πολλάκις ἐπέμφθημεν ἐπιπλήξοντες αὐτῷ καὶ παραινέσοντες εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν ὑπακούειν σοι. [218] Βουλεύσασθαι δὲ σὺν σοὶ θέλοντες περὶ τῶν κοινῇ πρακτέων παρακαλοῦμεν ἥκειν θᾶττον πρὸς ἡμᾶς μὴ μετὰ πολλῶν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ κώμη δύναιτ᾽ ἂν στρατιωτῶν πλῆθος ἐπιδέξασθαι.” [219] Ταῦτα δ᾽ ἔγραφον προσδοκῶντες δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ ὅτι χωρὶς ὅπλων ἀφικόμενον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἕξουσιν ὑποχείριον, ἢ πολλοὺς ἐπαγόμενον κρινοῦσι

πολέμιον. [220] Ἦκεν δέ μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἱππεὺς κομίζων θρασὺς ἄλλως νεανίας τῶν παρὰ βασιλεῖ ποτε στρατευσαμένων. Ἦν δ᾽ ὥρα νυκτὸς ἤδη δευτέρα, καθ᾽ ἣν ἐτύγχανον μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν τῆς Γαλιλαίας πρώτων ἑστιώμενος. [221] Οὗτος δὴ προσαγγείλαντος οἰκέτου μοι ἥκειν τινὰ ἱππέα Ἰουδαῖον, εἰσκληθεὶς ἐμοῦ κελεύσαντος ἠσπάσατο μὲν οὐδ᾽ ὅλως, τὴν δὲ ἐπιστολὴν προτείνας, “ταύτην, εἶπεν, οἱ ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ἥκοντες πεπόμφασί σοι. Γράφε δὴ τάχιστα καὶ σύ· καὶ [222] γὰρ ἐπείγομαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑποστρέφειν.” Οἱ μὲν οὖν κατακείμενοι τὴν τοῦ στρατιώτου τόλμαν ἐθαύμασαν, ἐγὼ δὲ καθέζεσθαι παρεκάλουν καὶ συνδειπνεῖν ἡμῖν. Ἀρνησαμένου δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐπιστολὴν μετὰ χεῖρας εἶχον ὡς ἐδεξάμην, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς φίλους περὶ πραγμάτων ἑτέρων τὴν ὁμιλίαν ἐποιούμην. [223] Μετ᾽ οὐ πολλὴν δ᾽ ὥραν ἐξαναστὰς καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀπολύσας ἐπὶ κοίτην, τέσσαρας δέ μοι μόνον τῶν ἀναγκαίων φίλων προσμεῖναι κελεύσας καὶ τῷ παιδὶ προστάξας οἶνον ἑτοιμάσαι, τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀναπτύξας μηδενὸς ἐμβλέποντος κἀξ αὐτῆς ταχὺ συνεὶς τὴν τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐπίνοιαν, πάλιν αὐτὴν ἐσημηνάμην. [224] Καὶ ὡς μὴ προανεγνωκώς, ἀλλὰ μετὰ χεῖρας αὐτὴν ἔχων, προσέταξα τῷ στρατιώτῃ δραχμὰς εἴκοσι ἐφόδιον δοθῆναι. Τοῦ δὲ λαβόντος καὶ χάριν ἔχειν φήσαντος συνεὶς τὴν αἰσχροκέρδειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡς ταύτῃ μάλιστά ἐστιν ἁλώσιμος, “ἀλλ᾽ εἰ συμπιεῖν ἡμῖν, ἔφην, θελήσειας, λήψει κατὰ κύαθον δραχμὴν μίαν.” Ὁ δ᾽ ἄσμενος ὑπήκουσεν, [225] καὶ πολὺν τὸν οἶνον προσφερόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλέον λαβεῖν τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ μεθυσθεὶς οὐκέτι τὰ ἀπόρρητα στέγειν ἐδύνατο, ἀλλ᾽ ἔφραζεν οὐκ ἐρωτώμενος τήν τε συνεσκευασμένην ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ ὡς κατεψηφισμένος εἴην θάνατον παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς. [226] Ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας ἀντιγράφω τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· “Ἰώσηπος Ἰωνάθῃ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ χαίρειν. Ἐρρωμένους ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἥκειν πυθόμενος ἥδομαι, μάλιστα δ᾽ ὅτι δυνήσομαι παραδοὺς ὑμῖν τὴν τῶν ἐνθάδε πραγμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα πορευθῆναι· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ πάλαι ποιεῖν ἤθελον. [227] Ἔδει μὲν οὖν μὴ μόνον εἰς Ξαλὼθ παραγενέσθαι με πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ πόρρω καὶ μηδὲ κελευσάντων, συγγνώμης δὲ τυχεῖν ἀξιῶ μὴ δυνάμενος τοῦτο ποιῆσαι παραφυλάσσων ἐν Χαβωλὼ Πλάκιδον εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἀναβῆναι δι᾽ ἐννοίας ἔχοντα. Ἥκετε οὖν ὑμεῖς πρός με τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀναγνόντες. Ἔρρωσθε.”

XLV

[228] Ταῦτα γράψας δοὺς τῷ στρατιώτῃ φέρειν συνεξέπεμψα τριάκοντα τῶν Γαλιλαίων δοκιμωτάτους, ὑποθέμενος αὐτοῖς ἀσπάσασθαι μὲν ἐκείνους, ἕτερον δὲ μηδὲν λέγειν. Ἔταξα δὲ καθ᾽ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν πιστῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἕνα παραφυλάξοντα, μή τις τοῖς πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ὁμιλία γένηται. [229] Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύθησαν. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην τῆς πρώτης πείρας ἁμαρτόντες ἑτέραν ἐπιστολήν μοι τοιαύτην ἔπεμψαν· “Ἰωνάθης καὶ οἱ

σὺν αὐτῷ Ἰωσήπῳ χαίρειν. Παραγγέλλομέν σοι χωρὶς ὁπλιτῶν εἰς τρίτην παραγενέσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰς Γαβαρὼθ κώμην, ἵνα διακούσωμεν τῶν πρὸς Ἰωάννην ἐγκλημάτων σοι γεγονότων.” Ταῦτα γράψαντες καὶ ἀσπασάμενοι τοὺς Γαλιλαίους, [230] οὓς πεπόμφειν, ἀφίκοντο εἰς Ἰαφὰν κώμην μεγίστην οὖσαν τῶν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ, τείχεσιν ὀχυρωτάτην καὶ πολλῶν οἰκητόρων μεστήν. Ὑπηντίαζεν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτοὺς μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων καὶ κατεβόων κελεύοντες ἀπιέναι καὶ μὴ φθονεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀγαθοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. [231] Παρηρεθίζοντο δὲ ταῖς φωναῖς οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην, καὶ φανεροῦν μὲν τὴν ὀργὴν οὐκ ἐτόλμων, οὐκ ἀξιώσαντες δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀποκρίσεως εἰς τὰς ἄλλας κώμας ἐπορεύοντο. Ὅμοιαι δ᾽ ὑπήντων αὐτοῖς παρὰ πάντων αἱ καταβοήσεις μεταπείσειν αὐτοὺς βοώντων οὐδένα περὶ τοῦ μὴ στρατηγὸν ἔχειν Ἰώσηπον. [232] Ἄπρακτοι δὲ παρὰ τούτων ἀπελθόντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην εἰς Σέπφωριν μεγίστην τῶν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ πόλιν ἀφικνοῦνται. Οἱ δ᾽ ἐντεῦθεν ἄνθρωποι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ταῖς γνώμαις ἀποβλέποντες, ἐκείνοις μὲν ὑπήντων, ἐμὲ δὲ οὔτε ἐπῄνουν οὔτ᾽ ἐβλασφήμουν. [233] Παρὰ δὲ Σεπφωριτῶν εἰς Ἀσωχὶν καταβάντες οἱ ἐντεῦθεν παραπλησίως τοῖς Ἰαφηνοῖς κατεβόων αὐτῶν. Οἱ δὲ τὴν ὀργὴν οὐκέτι κατασχόντες κελεύουσιν τοῖς μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ὁπλίταις τύπτειν ξύλοις τοὺς καταβοῶντας. Κατὰ Γάβαρα δὲ γενομένους ὑπαντιάζει μετὰ τρισχιλίων ὁπλιτῶν ὁ Ἰωάννης. [234] Ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἤδη συνεικώς, ὅτι διεγνώκασι πρός με πολεμεῖν, ἀναστὰς ἀπὸ Χαβώλων μετὰ τρισχιλίων ὁπλιτῶν, καταλιπὼν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὸν πιστότατον τῶν φίλων εἰς Ἰωτάπατα παρεγενόμην πλησίον αὐτῶν εἶναι βουλόμενος ὅσον ἀπὸ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων, καὶ γράφω πρὸς αὐτοὺς τάδε· [235] “εἰ πάντως με πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν βούλεσθε, διακόσιαι καὶ τέσσαρες κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν εἰσὶν πόλεις καὶ κῶμαι. Τούτων εἰς ἣν θελήσετε παραγενήσομαι χωρὶς Γαβάρων καὶ Γισχάλων· ἡ μὲν γὰρ πατρίς ἐστιν Ἰωάννου, ἡ δὲ σύμμαχος αὐτῷ καὶ φίλη.”

XLVI

[236] Ταῦτα τὰ γράμματα λαβόντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην οὐκέτι μὲν ἀντιγράφουσιν· συνέδριον δὲ τῶν φίλων καθίσαντες καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην παραλαβόντες ἐβουλεύοντο, τίνα τρόπον ἐπιχειρήσωσί μοι. [237] Καὶ Ἰωάννῃ μὲν ἐδόκει γράφειν πρὸς πάσας τὰς ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ πόλεις καὶ κώμας, εἶναι γὰρ ἐν ἑκάστῃ πάντως ἕνα γοῦν καὶ δεύτερον διάφορον ἐμοί, καὶ καλεῖν τούτους ὡς ἐπὶ πολέμιον ἐκελεύετο πέμπειν τὸ δόγμα τοῦτο καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν, ἵνα κἀκεῖνοι γνόντες ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλιλαίων κεκρίσθαι με πολέμιον καὶ αὐτοὶ ψηφίσωνται· γενομένου γὰρ τούτου καὶ τοὺς εὖνως ἔχοντάς μοι Γαλιλαίους ἐγκαταλείψειν ἔφη φοβηθέντας. [238] Ταῦτα συμβουλεύσαντος Ἰωάννου σφόδρα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἤρεσεν τὰ λεχθέντα. [239] Περὶ δ᾽ ὥραν τῆς νυκτὸς τρίτην εἰς

γνῶσιν ἦκέ μοι ταῦτα, Σακχαίου τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς τινος αὐτομολήσαντος πρός με καὶ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν αὐτῶν ἀπαγγείλαντος· οὐκέτι δὴ δεῖν ὑπερτίθεσθαι τὸν καιρόν. [240] Ἄξιον δὲ κρίνας Ἰάκωβον ὁπλίτην τῶν περὶ ἐμὲ πιστὸν κελεύω διακοσίους ὁπλίτας λαβόντα φρουρεῖν τὰς ἀπὸ Γαβάρων εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐξόδους, καὶ τοὺς παριόντας συλλαμβάνοντα πρὸς ἐμὲ πέμπειν, μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς μετὰ γραμμάτων ἁλισκομένους· [241] Ἱερεμίαν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν φίλων μου μεθ᾽ ἑξακοσίων ὁπλιτῶν εἰς τὴν μεθόριον τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἔπεμψα τὰς ἀπὸ ταύτης εἰς τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ὁδοὺς παραφυλάξοντα, πρόσταγμα δοὺς κἀκείνῳ τοὺς μετ᾽ ἐπιστολῶν ὁδεύοντας συλλαμβάνειν καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας ἐν δεσμοῖς ἐπὶ τόπου φυλάττειν, τὰ δὲ γράμματα πρὸς ἐμὲ διαπέμπειν.

XLVII

[242] Ταῦτα τοῖς πεμπομένοις ἐντειλάμενος Γαλιλαίοις διήγγειλα κελεύων εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τριῶν ἡμερῶν τροφὴν εἰς Γαβαρὼθ κώμην παραγενέσθαι πρός με. Τῶν δὲ περὶ ἐμὲ ὁπλιτῶν μοίρας τέτταρας νείμας τοὺς πιστοτάτους αὐτῶν περὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος φυλακὴν ἔταξα, ταξιάρχους αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας καὶ φροντίζειν κελεύσας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδένα στρατιώτην ἄγνωστον αὐτοῖς συναναμίγνυσθαι. [243] Τῇ δ᾽ ἐπιούσῃ περὶ πέμπτην ὥραν ἐν Γαβαρὼθ γενόμενος εὑρίσκω πᾶν τὸ πεδίον τὸ πρὸ τῆς κώμης ὁπλιτῶν πλῆρες τῶν ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐπὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν παρόντων, ὡς αὐτοῖς παρηγγέλκειν· πολὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν ὄχλος συνέτρεχεν. [244] Ἐπεὶ δὲ καταστὰς εἰς αὐτοὺς λέγειν ἠρξάμην, ἐβόων ἅπαντες εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν καλοῦντες. Κἀγὼ χάριν αὐτοῖς ἔχειν ὁμολογήσας συνεβούλευον πρὸς μηδένα μήτε πολεμεῖν μήτε ἁρπαγῇ μολύνειν τὰς χεῖρας, ἀλλὰ σκηνοῦν κατὰ τὸ πεδίον ἀρκουμένους τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐφοδίοις· θέλειν γὰρ ἔφασκον τὰς ταραχὰς χωρὶς φόνων καταστεῖλαι. [245] Συνέβη δ᾽ αὐθημερὸν εἰς τὰς ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ κατασταθείσας τῶν ὁδῶν φυλακὰς τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Ἰωνάθου πεμφθέντας μετὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἐμπεσεῖν. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες ἐφυλάχθησαν ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων, ὡς παρήγγειλα, τοῖς δὲ γράμμασιν ἐντυχὼν πλήρεσι βλασφημιῶν καὶ ψευσμάτων, οὐδενὶ ταῦτα φράσας ὁρμᾶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς διενοούμην.

XLVIII

[246] Ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀφίξεως τοὺς ἰδίους πάντας ἀναλαβόντες καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ὑπεχώρησαν εἰς τὴν Ἰησοῦ οἰκίαν· βᾶρις δ᾽ ἦν αὕτη μεγάλη καὶ οὐδὲν ἀκροπόλεως ἀποδέουσα. Κρύψαντες οὖν λόχον ὁπλιτῶν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀποκλείσαντες θύρας, μίαν δὲ ἀνοίξαντες, προσεδόκων ἥκειν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ με πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀσπασόμενον. [247] Καὶ δὴ διδόασιν ἐντολὰς τοῖς ὁπλίταις, ἐπειδὰν παραγένωμαι, μόνον εἰσελθεῖν ἐᾶσαι

τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπείρξαντας· οὕτως γὰρ ᾤοντό με γενήσεσθαι ῥᾳδίως αὐτοῖς ὑποχείριον. [248] Ἐψεύσθησαν δὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος· ἐγὼ γὰρ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν προαισθόμενος, ὡς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ παρεγενόμην καταλύσας ἄντικρυς αὐτῶν καθεύδειν ἐσκηπτόμην. [249] Καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ὑπολαμβάνοντες ὄντως ἀναπαύεσθαί με καθυπνωμένον ὥρμησαν καταβάντες εἰς τὸ πλῆθος μεταπείθειν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐμοῦ κακῶς στρατηγοῦντος. [250] Τἀναντία δὲ αὐτοῖς συνέπεσεν· ὀφθέντων γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐγένετο βοὴ παρὰ τῶν Γαλιλαίων πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν εὐνοίας ἀξία, κατάμεμψίν τε ἐποιοῦντο τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην, ὅτι πάρεισιν οὐδὲν μὲν αὐτοὶ κακὸν προπεπονθότες, ἀνατρέψοντες δὲ τὰ ἐκείνων πράγματα, καὶ παρεκελεύοντο ἀπιέναι· μὴ γὰρ ἄν ποτε μεταπεισθῆναι προστάτην ἕτερον ἀντ᾽ ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν. [251] Τούτων ἀπαγγελθέντων μοι προελθεῖν εἰς μέσους οὐκ ὤκνησα. Κατέβαινον οὖν εὐθέως, αὐτὸς τί λέγουσιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἀκουσόμενος. Προελθόντος δέ μου κρότος παρὰ παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους εὐθὺς ἦν καὶ μετ᾽ εὐφημιῶν ἐπιβοήσεις χάριν ἔχειν ὁμολογούντων τῇ ‘μῇ στρατηγίᾳ.

XLIX

[252] Ταῦτα δ᾽ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἀκούοντες ἐφοβήθησαν, μὴ καὶ κινδυνεύσωσιν ἀποθανεῖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὁρμησάντων τῶν Γαλιλαίων κατὰ τὴν πρὸς ἐμὲ χάριν· δρασμὸν οὖν ἐπενόουν. Μὴ δυνηθέντες δὲ ἀπελθεῖν, προσμεῖναι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἠξίωσα, κατηφεῖς ἑστησάμενοι τῷ λόγῳ. [253] Προστάξας οὖν τῷ μὲν πλήθει τὰς εὐφημίας ἐπισχεῖν, καὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν τοὺς πιστοτάτους ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐπιστήσας ὑπὲρ τοῦ φρουρεῖν, μὴ ἀπροσδοκήτως ἡμῖν ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐπιπέσῃ, παραινέσας δὲ καὶ τοῖς Γαλιλαίοις ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ὅπλα, μὴ πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον τῶν πολεμίων, ἐὰν γένηταί τις αἰφνίδιος ταραχθῶσιν, πρῶτον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ὑπεμίμνησκον, [254] ὃν τρόπον γράψειαν ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πεπέμφθαι διαλύσοντές μου τὰς πρὸς τὸν Ἰωάννην φιλονεικίας, ὡς παρακαλέσειάν τέ με πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀφικέσθαι. [255] Καὶ ταῦτα διεξιὼν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν εἰς μέσους προύτεινον, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀρνήσασθαι δυνηθῶσιν ἐλεγχόντων αὐτοὺς τῶν γραμμάτων. [256] “Καὶ μήν, ἔφην, Ἰωνάθη ὑμεῖς τε οἱ συμπρέσβεις, εἰ πρὸς Ἰωάννην κρινόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ παραστῆσαι τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ βίον δύο τινὰς ἢ τρεῖς μάρτυρας καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς ἤγαγον, δῆλον ὡς ἀνάγκην ἂν εἴχετε προεξετάσαντες καὶ τοὺς τούτων βίους ἀπαλλάξαι με τῶν ἐγκλημάτων. [257] Ἵν᾽ οὖν γνῶτε καλῶς πεπρᾶχθαί μοι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, τρεῖς μὲν μάρτυρας ὀλίγους εἶναι νομίζω τῷ καλῶς βεβιωκότι, τούτους δὲ πάντας ὑμῖν δίδωμι. [258] Παρὰ τούτων οὖν πύθεσθε, τίνα τρόπον ἐβίωσα, εἰ μετὰ πάσης σεμνότητος καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς ἐνθάδε πεπολίτευμαι. Καὶ δὴ ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς, ὦ Γαλιλαῖοι, μηδὲν ἐπικρύψασθαι τῆς ἀληθείας, λέγειν δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτων ὡς δικαστῶν, εἴ τι μὴ καλῶς πέπρακται.”

L

[259] Ταῦτ᾽ ἔτι λέγοντος κοιναὶ παρὰ πάντων ἐγένοντο φωναὶ καλούντων εὐεργέτην με καὶ σωτῆρα, καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐμαρτύρουν, περὶ δὲ τῶν πραχθησομένων παρεκάλουν, πάντες δ᾽ ὤμνυον ἀνυβρίστους μὲν ἔχειν τὰς γυναῖκας, λελυπῆσθαι δὲ μηδέποτε μηδὲν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ. [260] Μετὰ τοῦτο δύο τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, ἃς οἱ κατασταθέντες ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ φρουροὶ πεμφθείσας ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἑλόντες ἀπεστάλκεισαν πρὸς ἐμέ, παρανεγίνωσκον τοῖς Γαλιλαίοις πολλῶν βλασφημιῶν πλήρεις καὶ καταψευδομένας, ὅτι τυραννίδι μᾶλλον ἢ στρατηγίᾳ χρῶμαι κατ᾽ αὐτῶν. [261] Ἕτερά τε πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις ἐνεγέγραπτο μηδὲν παραλιπόντων ἀναισχύντου ψευδολογίας. Ἔφην δ᾽ ἐγὼ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τὰ γράμματα λαβεῖν δόντων ἑκουσίως τῶν κομιζόντων· οὐ γὰρ ἐβουλόμην αὐτοὺς τὰ περὶ τὰς φρουρὰς τοὺς ἐναντίους εἰδέναι, μὴ δείσαντες τοῦ γράφειν ἀποστῶσιν.

LI

[262] Ταῦτ᾽ ἀκοῦσαν τὸ πλῆθος σφόδρα παροξυνθὲν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ὥρμα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ συμπαρόντας ὡς διαφθεροῦντες· κἂν ἐπεπράχεισαν τὸ ἔργον, εἰ μὴ τοὺς μὲν Γαλιλαίους ἔπαυσα τῆς ὀργῆς, τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην δ᾽ ἔφην συγγινώσκειν τῶν ἤδη πεπραγμένων, εἰ μέλλοιεν μετανοήσειν καὶ πορευθέντες εἰς τὴν πατρίδα λέγοιεν τοῖς πέμψασι τἀληθῆ περὶ τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπολιτευμένων. [263] Ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν ἀπέλυον αὐτοὺς καίτοι γιγνώσκων, ὅτι μηδὲν ὧν ὑπέσχοντο ποιήσουσιν. Τὸ πλῆθος δ᾽ εἰς ὀργὴν ἐξεκαίετο κατ᾽ αὐτῶν κἀμὲ παρεκάλουν ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτοῖς τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς τοιαῦτα τολμήσαντας. [264] Παντοῖος μὲν [οὖν] ἐγινόμην πείθων αὐτοὺς φείσασθαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν· πᾶσαν γὰρ ᾔδειν στάσιν ὄλεθρον οὖσαν τοῦ κοινῇ συμφέροντος· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἔσχεν τὴν κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ὀργὴν ἀμετάβλητον, καὶ πάντες ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν, ἐν ᾗ κατήγοντο οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην. [265] Ἐγὼ δὲ συνορῶν τὴν ὁρμὴν οὖσαν αὐτῶν ἀνεπίσχετον ἀναπηδήσας ἐφ᾽ ἵππον ἐκέλευσα τοῖς πλήθεσιν πρὸς Σωγάνην κώμην ἔπεσθαι Γαβάρων ἀπέχουσαν εἴκοσι στάδια. Καὶ τοιούτῳ στρατηγήματι χρησάμενος παρέσχον ἐμαυτῷ τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν ἐμφυλίου πολέμου κατάρχειν.

LII

[266] Ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ τὰς Σωγανέας ἐγενόμην, ἐπιστήσας τὸ πλῆθος καὶ παραινέσει χρησάμενος περὶ τοῦ μὴ πρὸς τὰς ὀργὰς καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀνηκέστοις τιμωρίαις ὀξέως φέρεσθαι, κελεύω τοὺς καθ᾽ ἡλικίαν ἤδη προβεβηκότας καὶ πρώτους παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας ὡς πορευσομένους εἰς τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν εὐτρεπίζεσθαι, μέμψιν ποιησομένους ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν τὴν χώραν διαστασιαζόντων. [267] “Καὶ ἐὰν ἐπικλασθῶσιν, ἔφην, πρὸς τοὺς λόγους ὑμῶν,

παρακαλέσατε τὸ κοινὸν γράψαι πρὸς ἐμὲ μένειν κελεύοντας ἐπὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, [268] τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἀναχωρεῖν ἐκεῖθεν.” Ταύτας αὐτοῖς τὰς ὑποθήκας δοὺς ἐναρμοσαμένων τε ταχέως ἐκείνων ἡμέρᾳ τρίτῃ μετὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἀποστολὴν ἐποιησάμην, συμπέμψας ὁπλίτας πεντακοσίους. [269] Ἔγραψα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ φίλοις προνοήσασθαι τοῦ ἀσφαλῆ γενέσθαι τὴν πορείαν αὐτοῖς· ἤδη γὰρ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἦν ἡ Σαμάρεια καὶ πάντως ἔδει τοὺς ταχὺ βουλομένους ἀπελθεῖν δι᾽ ἐκείνης πορεύεσθαι· τρισὶν [γὰρ] ἡμέραις ἀπὸ Γαλιλαίας ἔνεστιν οὕτως εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καταλῦσαι. [270] Συμπαρέπεμψα δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις κἀγὼ μέχρι τῶν τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὅρων φύλακας ἐπιστήσας ταῖς ὁδοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ῥᾳδίως τινὰ μαθεῖν ἀπαλλαττομένους. Καὶ ταῦτα πράξας ἐν Ἰάφοις τὴν διατριβὴν ἐποιούμην.

LIII

[271] Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην διαμαρτόντες τῆς κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ πράξεως Ἰωάννην ἀπέλυσαν εἰς τὰ Γίσχαλα, αὐτοὶ δ᾽ εἰς τὴν Τιβεριέων πόλιν πεπόρευντο λήψεσθαι προσδοκῶντες αὐτὴν ὑποχείριον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Ἰησοῦς κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἐγεγράφει πρὸς αὐτοὺς πείσειν ἐπαγγελλόμενος τὸ πλῆθος ἐλθόντας ὑποδέχεσθαι καὶ αὐτοῖς ἑλέσθαι προστεθῆναι. [272] Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοιαύταις ἐλπίσιν ἀπῆλθον, ἀπαγγέλλει δέ μοι ταῦτα Σίλας διὰ γραμμάτων, ὃν ἔφην τῆς Τιβεριάδος ἐπιμελητὴν καταλελοιπέναι, καὶ σπεύδειν ἠξίου. Κἀγὼ ταχέως ὑπακούσας αὐτῷ καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς κίνδυνον ἀπωλείας κατέστην ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης. [273] Οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην γενόμενοι παρὰ τοῖς Τιβεριεῦσιν καὶ πολλοὺς πείσαντες ἀποστῆναί μου διαφόρους ὄντας, ὡς ἤκουσαν τὴν ἐμὴν παρουσίαν, δείσαντες περὶ ἑαυτῶν ἦκον πρὸς ἐμέ, καὶ ἀσπασάμενοι μακαρίζειν ἔλεγον οὕτως περὶ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἀναστραφέντα, συνήδεσθαί τε διὰ τιμῆς ἀγομένῳ· [274] κόσμον γὰρ ἑαυτῶν εἶναι τὴν ἐμὴν δόξαν ἔφασαν, ὡς ἂν διδασκάλων τέ μου γενομένων καὶ πολιτῶν ὄντων, δικαιοτέραν τε τῆς Ἰωάννου τὴν ἐμὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν ὑπάρχειν ἔλεγον, καὶ σπεύδειν μὲν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπελθεῖν, περιμένειν δ᾽ ἕως ὑποχείριον τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐμοὶ ποιήσωσιν. [275] Καὶ ταῦτα λέγοντες ἐπώμοσαν τοὺς φρικωδεστάτους ὅρκους παρ᾽ ἡμῖν, δι᾽ οὓς ἀπιστεῖν οὐ θεμιτὸν ἡγούμην. Καὶ δὴ παρακαλοῦσίν με τὴν κατάλυσιν ἀλλαχοῦ ποιήσασθαι διὰ τὸ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν εἶναι σάββατον· ὀχλεῖσθαι δὲ μὴ δεῖν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν τῶν Τιβεριέων ἔφασκον.

LIV

[276] Κἀγὼ μηδὲν ὑπονοήσας ἐς τὰς Ταριχέας ἀπῆλθον καταλιπὼν ὅμως ἐν τῇ πόλει τοὺς πολυπραγμονήσοντας, τί περὶ ἡμῶν λέγοιτο. Διὰ πάσης δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἀπὸ Ταριχεῶν εἰς Τιβεριάδα φερούσης ἐπέστησα πολλούς, ἵνα μοι δι᾽

ἀλλήλων σημαίνωσιν ἅπερ ἂν παρὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καταλειφθέντων πύθωνται. [277] Κατὰ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν οὖν ἡμέραν συνάγονται πάντες εἰς τὴν προσευχὴν μέγιστον οἴκημα καὶ πολὺν ὄχλον ἐπιδέξασθαι δυνάμενον. Εἰσελθὼν δὲ ὁ Ἰωνάθης φανερῶς μὲν περὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως οὐκ ἐτόλμα λέγειν, ἔφη δὲ στρατηγοῦ κρείττονος χρείαν τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἔχειν. [278] Ἰησοῦς δ᾽ ὁ ἄρχων οὐδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος ἀναφανδὸν εἶπεν· “Ἄμεινόν ἐστιν, ὦ πολῖται, τέσσαρσιν ἡμᾶς ἀνδράσιν ὑπακούειν ἢ ἑνί, καὶ κατὰ γένος λαμπροῖς καὶ κατὰ σύνεσιν οὐκ ἀδόξοις.” Ὑπεδείκνυε δὲ τοὺς περὶ Ἰωνάθην. [279] Ταῦτ᾽ εἰπόντα τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπῄνει παρελθὼν Ἰοῦστος καί τινας ἐκ τοῦ δήμου συνέπειθεν. Οὐκ ἠρέσκετο δὲ τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ πάντως ἂν εἰς στάσιν ἐχώρησαν, εἰ μὴ τὴν σύνοδον διέλυσεν ἐπελθοῦσα ἕκτη ὥρα, καθ᾽ ἣν τοῖς σάββασιν ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι νόμιμόν ἐστιν ἡμῖν, καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ὑπερθέμενοι τὴν βουλὴν ἀπῄεσαν ἄπρακτοι. [280] Εὐθὺς δέ μοι τούτων ἀπαγγελθέντων πρωῒ διέγνων εἰς τὴν Τιβεριέων πόλιν ἀφικέσθαι, καὶ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ περὶ τὴν ὥραν ἦκον ἀπὸ τῶν Ταριχεῶν, καταλαμβάνω δὲ συναγόμενον ἤδη τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τὴν προσευχήν· ἐφ᾽ ὅ τι δ᾽ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἡ σύνοδος οὐκ ἐγίνωσκον οἱ συλλεγόμενοι. [281] Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἀπροσδοκήτως θεασάμενοί με παρόντα διεταράχθησαν. Εἶτ᾽ ἐπινοοῦσιν διαδοῦναι λόγον, ὅτι Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῖς ἐν τῇ μεθορίῳ πόρρω τριάκοντα σταδίων ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως κατὰ τόπον λεγόμενον Ὁμόνοιαν εἰσὶν ἑωραμένοι. [282] Καὶ προσαγγελθέντων τούτων ἐξ ὑποβολῆς παρεκάλουν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην μὴ περιιδεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων λεηλατουμένην αὐτῶν τὴν γῆν. Ταῦτα δ᾽ ἔλεγον δι᾽ ἐννοίας ἔχοντες ἐμὲ προφάσει τῆς κατεπειγούσης βοηθείας μεταστήσαντες αὐτοὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐχθράν μοι κατασκευάσαι.

LV

[283] Ἐγὼ δὲ καίπερ εἰδὼς αὐτῶν τὸ ἐνθύμημα ὅμως ὑπήκουσα, μὴ δόξαν παράσχω τοῖς Τιβεριεῦσιν οὐ προνοούμενος αὐτῶν τῆς ἀσφαλείας. Ἐξῆλθον οὖν, καὶ γενόμενος κατὰ τὸν τόπον, ὡς οὐδ᾽ ἴχνος πολεμίων εὗρον, [284] ὑποστρέφω συντόνως ὁδεύσας, καὶ καταλαμβάνω τήν τε βουλὴν πᾶσαν συνεληλυθυῖαν καὶ τὸν δημοτικὸν ὄχλον ποιουμένους τε πολλὴν κατηγορίαν μου τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην, ὡς τοῦ μὲν τὸν πόλεμον ἐπελαφρύνειν αὐτοῖς ἀμελοῦντος, ἐν τρυφαῖς δὲ διάγοντος. [285] Ταῦτα δὲ λέγοντες προύφερον ἐπιστολὰς τέσσαρας ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ μεθορίᾳ τῆς Γαλιλαίας γεγραμμένας πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ βοήθειαν ἥκειν παρακαλούντων, Ῥωμαίων γὰρ δύναμιν μέλλειν ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν εἰς τρίτην ἡμέραν τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν λεηλατεῖν, ἐπισπεύδειν τε καὶ μὴ περιοφθῆναι δεομένων. [286] Ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Τιβεριεῖς λέγειν ἀληθῆ δόξαντες αὐτοὺς καταβοήσεις ἐποιοῦντο, μὴ καθέζεσθαί με δεῖν λέγοντες, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπελθεῖν ἐπικουρήσοντα τοῖς ὁμοεθνέσιν αὐτῶν. [287] Πρὸς ταῦτ᾽

ἐγώ, συνῆκα γὰρ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην, ὑπακούσεσθαι μὲν ἔφην ἑτοίμως καὶ χωρὶς ἀναβολῆς ὁρμήσειν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐπηγγειλάμην, συνεβούλευον δ᾽ ὅμως, ἐπεὶ τὰ γράμματα κατὰ τέσσαρας τόπους Ῥωμαίους σημαίνει προσβαλεῖν, εἰς πέντε μοίρας διελόντας τὴν δύναμιν ἑκάστῃ τούτων ἐπιστῆσαι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην καὶ τοὺς ἑταίρους αὐτοῦ· [288] πρέπειν γὰρ ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς μὴ μόνον συμβουλεύειν, ἀλλὰ χρείας ἐπειγούσης ἡγουμένους βοηθεῖν· ἐγὼ γὰρ πλὴν μιᾶς μοίρας οὐκ ἔφην ἀφηγεῖσθαι δυνατὸς εἶναι. [289] Σφόδρα τῷ πλήθει συνήρεσεν ἡ ‘μὴ συμβουλία· κἀκείνους οὖν ἠνάγκαζον ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξιέναι. Τοῖς δ᾽ οὕτι μετρίως συνεχύθησαν αἱ γνῶμαι μὴ κατεργασαμένοις ἃ διενοήθησαν ἐμοῦ τοῖς ἐπιχειρήμασιν αὐτῶν ἀντιστρατηγήσαντος.

LVI

[290] Εἷς δέ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν Ἀνανίας τοὔνομα, πονηρὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ κακοῦργος, εἰσηγεῖτο τοῖς πλήθεσι πανδημεὶ νηστείαν εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν τῷ θεῷ προθέσθαι καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὥραν ἐκέλευεν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον ἀνόπλους παρεῖναι τῷ θεῷ φανερὸν ποιήσοντας, ὅτι μὴ τῆς παρ᾽ ἐκείνου τυγχάνοντες βοηθείας πᾶν ὅπλον ἄχρηστον εἶναι νομίζουσιν. [291] Ταῦτα δ᾽ ἔλεγεν οὐ δι᾽ εὐσέβειαν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαβεῖν ἄνοπλόν με καὶ τοὺς ἐμούς. Κἀγὼ δι᾽ ἀνάγκην ὑπήκουον, μὴ δόξω καταφρονεῖν τῆς περὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ὑποθήκης. [292] Ὡς οὖν ἀνεχωρήσαμεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην γράφουσι τῷ Ἰωάννῃ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἕωθεν ἀφικέσθαι κελεύοντες μεθ᾽ ὅσων ἂν στρατιωτῶν δυνηθῇ· λήψεσθαι γὰρ εὖ ἐμὲ ὑποχείριον καὶ ποιήσειν ὅπερ ἔχει δι᾽ εὐχῆς. Δεξάμενος δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐκεῖνος ὑπακούειν ἔμελλεν. [293] Ἐγὼ δὲ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας δύο τῶν περὶ ἐμὲ σωματοφυλάκων τοὺς κατ᾽ ἀνδρείαν δοκιμωτάτους καὶ κατὰ πίστιν βεβαίους κελεύω ξιφίδια κρύψαντας ὑπὸ τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἐμοὶ συμπροελθεῖν, ἵν᾽ εἰ γένοιτο παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπίθεσις ἀμυνώμεθα. Θώρακα δ᾽ ἔλαβον αὐτὸς καὶ μάχαιραν ὑπεζωσάμην ὡς οἷόν τ᾽ ἦν ἀφανέστατα καὶ ἦλθον εἰς τὴν προσευχήν.

LVII

[294] Τοὺς μὲν οὖν σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντας ἐκκλεῖσαι προσέταξεν Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἄρχων, αὐτὸς γὰρ ταῖς θύραις ἐφειστήκει, μόνον δ᾽ ἐμὲ μετὰ τῶν φίλων εἰσελθεῖν εἴασεν. [295] Ἤδη δ᾽ ἡμῶν τὰ νόμιμα ποιούντων καὶ πρὸς εὐχὰς τραπομένων ἀναστὰς Ἰησοῦς περὶ τῶν ληφθέντων ἐκ τοῦ ἐμπρησμοῦ τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς σκευῶν τοῦ ἀσήμου ἀργυρίου ἐπυνθάνετό μου, παρὰ τίνι τυγχάνει κείμενα. Ταῦτα δ᾽ ἔλεγεν διατρίβειν τὸν χρόνον βουλόμενος, ἕως ἂν ὁ Ἰωάννης παραγένηται. [296] Κἀγὼ πάντα Καπέλλαν ἔχειν εἶπον καὶ τοὺς δέκα πρώτους Τιβεριέων· “Ἀνάκριναι δ᾽ αὐτός, ἔφην, οὐ ψεύδομαι”. Τῶν δὲ παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῖς εἶναι λεγόντων “Οἱ δ᾽ εἴκοσιν,

εἶπεν, χρυσοῖ, οὓς ἔλαβες πωλήσας τινὰ σταθμὸν ἀσήμου, [297] τί γεγόνασιν;" καὶ τούτους ἔφην δεδωκέναι πρέσβεσιν αὐτῶν ἐφόδιον πεμφθεῖσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. Πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην οὐ καλῶς ἔφασαν πεποιηκέναι με δόντα τοῖς πρέσβεσιν τὸν μισθὸν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ. [298] Παροξυνθέντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐνόησαν γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν πονηρίαν, συνεὶς ἐγὼ στάσιν μέλλουσαν ἐξάπτεσθαι καὶ προσεξερεθίσαι μᾶλλον βουλόμενος τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, "Ἀλλ᾽ εἴ γε μὴ ὀρθῶς, εἶπον, ἔπραξα δοὺς τὸν μισθὸν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ὑμῶν, παύεσθε χαλεπαίνοντες· ἐγὼ γὰρ τοὺς εἴκοσι χρυσοῦς αὐτὸς ἀποτίσω."

LVIII

[299] Ταῦτ᾽ εἰπόντος, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἡσύχασαν, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἔτι μᾶλλον κατ᾽ αὐτῶν παρωξύνθη φανερὰν ἐπιδεικνυμένων τὴν ἄδικον πρὸς ἐμὲ δυσμένειαν. [300] Συνιδὼν δὲ τὴν μεταβολὴν αὐτῶν Ἰησοῦς τὸν μὲν δῆμον ἐκέλευεν ἀναχωρεῖν, προσμεῖναι δὲ τὴν βουλὴν ἠξίωσεν· οὐ γὰρ δύνασθαι θορυβουμένους περὶ πραγμάτων τοιούτων τὴν ἐξέτασιν ποιεῖσθαι. [301] Τοῦ δὲ δήμου βοῶντος μὴ καταλείψειν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐμὲ μόνον, ἦκέν τις ἀγγέλλων κρύφα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν Ἰωάννην μετὰ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν πλησιάζειν. Καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην οὐκέτι κατασχόντες αὐτούς, τάχα καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ προνοοῦντος τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας, μὴ γὰρ ἂν γενομένου τούτου πάντως ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωάννου διεφθάρην, [302] "Παύσασθε, ἔφη, ὦ Τιβεριεῖς, τὴν ζήτησιν εἴκοσι χρυσῶν ἕνεκεν· διὰ τούτους μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἄξιός ἐστιν Ἰώσηπος ἀποθανεῖν, ὅτι δὲ τυραννεῖν ἐπεθύμησεν καὶ τὰ τῶν Γαλιλαίων πλήθη λόγοις ἀπατήσας τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ κατεκτήσατο." Ταῦτα λέγοντος εὐθύς μοι τὰς χεῖρας ἐπέβαλον ἀναιρεῖν τ᾽ ἐπειρῶντο. [303] Ὡς δ᾽ εἶδον οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον, σπασάμενοι τὰς μαχαίρας καὶ παίειν ἀπειλήσαντες, εἰ βιάζοιντο, τοῦ τε δήμου λίθους ἀραμένου καὶ βάλλειν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ὁρμήσαντος ἐξαρπάζουσί με τῆς τῶν πολεμίων βίας.

LIX

[304] Ἐπεὶ δὲ προελθὼν ὀλίγον ὑπαντιάζειν ἔμελλον τῷ Ἰωάννῃ προσιόντι μετὰ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν, δείσας ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἐξέκλινα, διὰ στενωποῦ δέ τινος ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην σωθεὶς καὶ πλοίου λαβόμενος, ἐμβὰς εἰς τὰς Ταριχέας διεπεραιώθην ἀπροσδοκήτως τὸν κίνδυνον διαφυγών. [305] Μεταπέμπομαί τ᾽ εὐθὺς τοὺς πρωτεύοντας τῶν Γαλιλαίων καὶ φράζω τὸν τρόπον, ᾧ παρασπονδηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην καὶ τοὺς Τιβεριεῖς παρ᾽ ὀλίγον παρ᾽ αὐτῶν διαφθαρείην. [306] Ὀργισθὲν δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτοις τῶν Γαλιλαίων τὸ πλῆθος παρεκελεύετό μοι μηκέτι μέλλειν τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτοῖς ἐλθοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἄρδην αὐτὸν ἀφανίσαι καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην. [307] Ἐπεῖχον δ᾽

ὅμως αὐτοὺς ἐγὼ καίπερ οὕτως ὀργιζομένους, περιμένειν αὐτοὺς κελεύων ἕως μάθωμεν, τί οἱ πεμφθέντες ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ἀπαγγελοῦσιν· μετὰ τῆς ἐκείνων γὰρ γνώμης τὰ δοκοῦντα πράξειν αὐτοὺς ἔφην. [308] Καὶ ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν ἔπεισα. Τότε δὴ καὶ Ἰωάννης οὐ λαβούσης αὐτοῦ τέλος τῆς ἐνέδρας ἀνεζεύγνυεν εἰς τὰ Γίσχαλα.

LX

[309] Μετ᾽ οὐ πολλὰς δ᾽ ἡμέρας ἀφικνοῦνται πάλιν οὓς ἐπέμψαμεν καὶ ἀπήγγελλον σφόδρα τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἄνανον καὶ τὸν Σίμωνα τὸν τοῦ Γαμαλιήλου παρωξύνθαι, ὅτι χωρὶς γνώμης τοῦ κοινοῦ πέμψαντες εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐκπεσεῖν με ταύτης παρεσκεύασαν. [310] Ἔφασαν δ᾽ οἱ πρέσβεις, ὅτι καὶ τὰς οἰκίας αὐτῶν ὁ δῆμος ὥρμησεν ἐμπιπράναι. Ἔφερον δὲ καὶ γράμματα, δι᾽ ὧν οἱ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πρῶτοι πολλὰ τοῦ δήμου δεηθέντος αὐτῶν ἐμοὶ μὲν τὴν τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἀρχὴν ἐβεβαίουν, τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην δὲ προσέτασσον εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ὑποστρέφειν θᾶσσον. [311] Ἐντυχὼν οὖν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς εἰς Ἄρβηλα κώμην ἀφικόμην, ἔνθα σύνοδον τῶν Γαλιλαίων ποιησάμενος ἐκέλευσα τοὺς πρέσβεις διηγεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ὀργὴν καὶ μισοπονηρίαν, [312] καὶ ὡς κυρώσειαν ἐμοὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν τὴν προστασίαν, τά τε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην γεγραμμένα περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς, πρὸς οὓς δὴ καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν εὐθέως διεπεμψάμην πολυπραγμονῆσαι τὸν κομίσαντα κελεύσας, τί ποιεῖν μέλλουσιν.

LXI

[313] Δεξάμενοι δ᾽ ἐκεῖνοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ ταραχθέντες οὐχὶ μετρίως μεταπέμπονται τὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς τῶν Τιβεριέων τούς τε πρωτεύοντας Γαβάρων, βουλήν τε προτιθέασιν σκοπεῖσθαι κελεύοντες, τί πρακτέον ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς. [314] Τιβεριεῦσι μὲν οὖν ἀντέχεσθαι μᾶλλον ἐδόκει τῶν πραγμάτων· οὐ δεῖν γὰρ ἔφασαν ἐγκαταλιπέσθαι τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἅπαξ ἐκείνοις προστεθειμένην, ἄλλως τε μηδ᾽ ἐμοῦ μέλλοντος αὐτῶν ἀφέξεσθαι· τοῦτο γὰρ ὡς ἠπειληκότος ἐμοῦ κατεψεύδοντο. [315] Ὁ δ᾽ Ἰωάννης οὐ μόνον τούτοις συνηρέσκετο, καὶ πορευθῆναι δὲ συνεβούλευεν αὐτῶν τοὺς δύο κατηγορήσοντάς μου πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος, ὅτι μὴ καλῶς τὰ κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν διοικῶ, καὶ πείσειν ῥᾳδίως αὐτοὺς ἔφη διά τε τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ παντὸς πλήθους εὐτρέπτως ἔχοντος. [316] Δόξαντος οὖν τοῦ Ἰωάννου κρατίστην εἰσενηνοχέναι γνώμην, ἔδοξε δύο μὲν ἀπιέναι πρὸς τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας, Ἰωνάθην καὶ Ἀνανίαν, τοὺς ἑτέρους δὲ δύο μένοντας ἐν τῇ Τιβεριάδι καταλιπεῖν. Συνεπηγάγοντο δὲ φυλακῆς ἕνεκα τῆς ἑαυτῶν ὁπλίτας ἑκατόν.

LXII

[317] Τιβεριεῖς δὲ τὰ μὲν τείχη προυνόησαν ἀσφαλισθῆναι, τοὺς ἐνοίκους δὲ κελεύουσιν ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ παρὰ Ἰωάννου δὲ μετεπέμψαντο στρατιώτας οὐκ ὀλίγους συμμαχήσοντας, εἰ δεήσειεν, αὐτοῖς τὰ πρὸς ἐμέ. [318] Ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐν Γισχάλοις. Οἱ τοίνυν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἀναζεύξαντες ἀπὸ τῆς Τιβεριάδος, ὡς ἦκον εἰς Δαβάριττα κώμην ἐν ταῖς ἐσχατιαῖς τῆς Γαλιλαίας κειμένην ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ, περὶ μέσην νύκτα τοῖς ἐμοῖς φύλαξιν ἐμπίπτουσιν, οἳ καὶ κελεύσαντες αὐτοὺς τὰ ὅπλα καταθέσθαι ἐφύλασσον ἐν δεσμοῖς ἐπὶ τόπου καθὼς αὐτοῖς ἐντετάλμην. [319] Γράφει δὲ πρὸς ἐμὲ ταῦτα δηλῶν Λευίς, ᾧ τὴν φυλακὴν πεπιστεύκειν. Παραλιπὼν οὖν ἡμέρας δύο καὶ μηδὲν ἐγνωκέναι προσποιησάμενος, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς Τιβεριεῖς συνεβούλευον αὐτοῖς τὰ ὅπλα καταθεμένοις ἀπολύειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν. [320] Οἱ δέ, δόξαν γὰρ εἶχον περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἤδη διαπεπορεῦσθαι, βλασφήμους ἐποιήσαντο τὰς ἀποκρίσεις· μὴ καταπλαγεὶς δ᾽ ἐγὼ καταστρατηγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐπενόουν. [321] Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοὺς πολίτας ἐξάπτειν πόλεμον οὐκ ἐνόμιζον εὐσεβὲς εἶναι, βουλόμενος δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀποσπάσαι τῶν Τιβεριέων, μυρίους ὁπλίτας τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐπιλέξας εἰς τρεῖς μοίρας διεῖλον, καὶ τούτους μὲν ἀφανῶς ἐν δώμαις προσέταξα λοχῶντας περιμένειν, [322] χιλίους δ᾽ εἰς ἑτέραν κώμην ὀρεινὴν μὲν ὁμοίως, ἀπέχουσαν δὲ τῆς Τιβεριάδος τέσσαρας σταδίους, εἰσήγαγον κελεύσας ἐκείνους ἐπειδὰν λάβωσιν σημεῖον εὐθὺς καταβαίνειν· αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς κώμης προελθὼν ἐν προύπτῳ καθεζόμην. [323] Οἱ δὲ Τιβεριεῖς ὁρῶντες ἐξέτρεχον συνεχῶς καὶ πολλὰ κατεκερτόμουν· τοσαύτη γοῦν ἀφροσύνη κατέσχεν αὐτούς, ὥστε ποιήσαντες εὐτρεπῆ κλίνην προύθεσαν καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν ἱστάμενοι ὠδύροντό με μετὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ γέλωτος. Διετιθέμην δ᾽ ἐγὼ τὴν ψυχὴν ἡδέως τὴν ἄνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐπιβλέπων.

LXIII

[324] Βουλόμενος δὲ δι᾽ ἐνέδρας λαβεῖν τὸν Σίμωνα καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Ἰώζαρον, πέμψας πρὸς αὐτοὺς παρεκάλουν ὀλίγον τῆς πόλεως πόρρω μετὰ φίλων πολλῶν τῶν παραφυλαξόντων αὐτοὺς ἐλθεῖν· βούλεσθαι γὰρ ἔφην καταβὰς σπείσασθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ διανείμασθαι τὴν προστασίαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας. [325] Σίμων μὲν οὖν διὰ νεότητα καὶ πρὸς ἐλπίδα κέρδους ἀπατηθεὶς οὐκ ὤκνησεν ἐλθεῖν, ὁ δ᾽ Ἰώζαρος ἐνέδραν ὑποπτεύσας ἔμεινεν. Ἀναβάντα δὴ τὸν Σίμωνα μετὰ φίλων τῶν παραφυλασσόντων αὐτὸν ὑπαντιάσας ἠσπαζόμην τε φιλοφρόνως καὶ χάριν ἔχειν ὡμολόγουν ἀναβάντι. [326] Μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ συμπεριπατῶν ὡς κατὰ μόνας τι βουλόμενος εἰπεῖν, ἐπεὶ πορρωτέρω τῶν φίλων ἀπήγαγον, μέσον ἀράμενος ἀγαγεῖν εἰς τὴν κώμην τοῖς μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ φίλοις ἔδωκα, τοὺς ὁπλίτας δὲ καταβῆναι κελεύσας προσέβαλλον μετ᾽ αὐτῶν τῇ Τιβεριάδι. [327] Μάχης δὲ γενομένης ἀμφοτέρωθεν καρτερᾶς καὶ ὅσον οὔπω τῶν Τιβεριέων νικώντων, πεφεύγεισαν

γὰρ οἱ παρ᾽ ἡμῶν ὁπλῖται, τὸ γινόμενον ἰδὼν καὶ τοὺς μετ᾽ ἐμαυτοῦ παρακαλέσας νικῶντας ἤδη τοὺς Τιβεριεῖς εἰς τὴν πόλιν συνεδίωξα. Ἑτέραν δὲ δύναμιν εἰσπέμψας διὰ τῆς λίμνης προσέταξα τὴν πρώτην λαβοῦσιν οἰκίαν ἐμπρῆσαι. [328] Τούτου γενομένου νομίσαντες οἱ Τιβεριεῖς εἰλῆφθαι κατὰ κράτος αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν, ὑπὸ φόβου ῥίπτουσιν τὰ ὅπλα, μετὰ γυναικῶν δὲ καὶ τέκνων ἱκέτευον φείσασθαι τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν. [329] Ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τὰς δεήσεις ἐπικλασθεὶς τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας τῆς ὁρμῆς ἐπέσχον, αὐτὸς δέ, καὶ γὰρ ἑσπέρα κατέλαβεν, μετὰ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πολιορκίας ὑποστρέψας περὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος θεραπείαν ἐγινόμην. [330] Καλέσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίασιν τὸν Σίμωνα παρεμυθούμην περὶ τῶν γεγονότων ὑπισχνούμην τε δοὺς ἐφόδια αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ παραπέμψειν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας.

LVIX

[331] Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν μυρίους ἐπαγόμενος ὁπλίτας ἦκον εἰς τὴν Τιβεριάδα, καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος εἰς τὸ στάδιον τοὺς πρώτους αὐτῶν τοῦ πλήθους ἐκέλευσα φράζειν, οἵτινες εἶεν αἴτιοι τῆς ἀποστάσεως. [332] Ἐνδειξαμένων δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκείνους μὲν δεδεμένους εἰς τὴν Ἰωταπάτην πόλιν ἐξέπεμψα, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην καὶ Ἀνανίαν λύσας τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ δοὺς ἐφόδια μετὰ Σίμωνος καὶ Ἰωζάρου καὶ ὁπλιτῶν πεντακοσίων, οἳ παραφυλάξουσιν αὐτούς, ἐξέπεμψα εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. [333] Τιβεριεῖς δὲ πάλιν προσελθόντες συγγινώσκειν αὐτοῖς παρεκάλουν περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων, ἐπανορθώσεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας τῇ μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς ἐμὲ πίστει λέγοντες, τὰ δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς διαρπαγῆς περισσεύσαντα σῶσαί με τοῖς ἀπολέσασιν ἐδέοντο. [334] Κἀγὼ τοῖς ἔχουσιν προσέταττον εἰς μέσον πάντα φέρειν, ἀπειθούντων δὲ μέχρι πολλοῦ, θεασάμενός τινα τῶν περὶ ἐμὲ στρατιωτῶν λαμπροτέραν τοῦ συνήθους περικείμενον στολὴν ἐπυθόμην, πόθεν ἔχοι. [335] Εἰπόντος δὲ ἐκ τῆς κατὰ πόλιν ἁρπαγῆς, ἐκεῖνον μὲν πληγαῖς ἐκόλασα, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἠπείλησα μείζω τιμωρίαν ἐπιθήσειν μὴ κομίσασιν εἰς τοὐμφανὲς ὅσα ἡρπάκεισαν. Πολλῶν δὲ συνενεχθέντων ἑκάστῳ τῶν Τιβεριέων τὸ ἐπιγνωσθὲν ἀπέδωκα.

LXV

[336] Γεγονὼς δ᾽ ἐνταῦθα τῆς διηγήσεως βούλομαι πρὸς Ἰοῦστον καὶ αὐτὸν τὴν περὶ τούτων πραγματείαν γεγραφότα πρός τε τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἱστορίαν μὲν γράφειν ὑπισχνουμένους, περὶ δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὀλιγώρους καὶ δι᾽ ἔχθραν ἢ χάριν τὸ ψεῦδος οὐκ ἐντρεπομένους, [μικρὰ διελθεῖν]. [337] Πράττουσι μὲν γὰρ ὅμοιόν τι τοῖς περὶ συμβολαίων πλαστὰ γράμματα συντεθεικόσι, τῷ δὲ μηδεμίαν ὁμοίως τιμωρίαν ἐκείνοις δεδιέναι καταφρονοῦσι τῆς ἀληθείας. [338] Ἰοῦστος γοῦν συγγράφειν τὰς περὶ τούτων ἐπιχειρήσας πράξεις τὸν πόλεμον, ὑπὲρ τοῦ δοκεῖν

φιλόπονος εἶναι ἐμοῦ μὲν κατέψευσται, ἠλήθευσε δὲ οὐδὲ περὶ τῆς πατρίδος. Ὅθεν ἀπολογήσασθαι γὰρ νῦν ἀνάγκην ἔχω καταψευδομαρτυρούμενος, ἐρῶ τὰ μέχρι νῦν σεσιωπημένα. [339] Καὶ μὴ θαυμάσῃ τις, ὅτι μὴ πάλαι περὶ τούτων ἐδήλωσα· τῷ γὰρ ἱστορίαν ἀναγράφοντι τὸ μὲν ἀληθεύειν ἀναγκαῖον, ἔξεστιν δ᾽ ὅμως μὴ πικρῶς τὰς τινῶν πονηρίας ἐλέγχειν, οὐ διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνους χάριν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ μετριότητα. [340] Πῶς οὖν, ἵνα φῶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς παρόντα, Ἰοῦστε δεινότατε συγγραφέων, τοῦτο γὰρ αὐχεῖς περὶ σεαυτοῦ, αἴτιοι γεγόναμεν ἐγώ τε καὶ Γαλιλαῖοι τῇ πατρίδι σου τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους καὶ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα στάσεως; [341] πρότερον γὰρ ἢ ἐμὲ τῆς Γαλιλαίας στρατηγὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν χειροτονηθῆναι σὺ καὶ πάντες Τιβεριεῖς οὐ μόνον ἀνειλήφατε τὰ ὅπλα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ δέκα πόλεις ἐπολεμεῖτε· σὺ γοῦν τὰς κώμας αὐτῶν ἐνέπρησας καὶ ὁ σὸς οἰκέτης ἐπὶ τῆς παρατάξεως ἐκείνης ἔπεσεν. [342] Ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἐγὼ λέγω μόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς Οὐεσπασιανοῦ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὑπομνήμασιν οὕτως γέγραπται, καὶ τίνα τρόπον ἐν Πτολεμαΐδι Οὐεσπασιανοῦ κατεβόησαν οἱ τῶν δέκα πόλεων ἔνοικοι τιμωρίαν ὑποσχεῖν σε τὸν αἴτιον ἀξιοῦντες. [343] Καὶ δεδώκεις ἂν δίκην Οὐεσπασιανοῦ κελεύσαντος, εἰ μὴ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας λαβὼν ἐξουσίαν ἀποκτεῖναί σε, πολλὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς Βερενίκης δεηθείσης οὐκ ἀνελὼν δεδεμένον ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐφύλαξεν. [344] Καὶ αἱ μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ πολιτεῖαί σου σαφῶς ἐμφανίζουσιν τόν τε βίον τὸν ἄλλον καὶ ὅτι σὺ τὴν πατρίδα Ῥωμαίων ἀπέστησας, ὧν τὰ τεκμήρια κἀγὼ δηλώσω μετ᾽ ὀλίγον. [345] Βούλομαι δ᾽ εἰπεῖν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Τιβεριεῖς ὀλίγα διὰ σὲ καὶ παραστῆσαι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνειν μέλλουσιν ταῖς ἱστορίαις, ὅτι μήτε φιλορώμαιοι μήτε φιλοβασιλεῖς γεγόνατε· [346] τῶν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ πόλεων αἱ μέγισται Σέπφωρις καὶ Τιβεριὰς ἡ σὴ πατρίς, ὦ Ἰοῦστε. Ἀλλὰ Σέπφωρις μὲν ἐν τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ τῆς Γαλιλαίας κειμένη καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν κώμας ἔχουσα πολλὰς καί τι καὶ θρασύνεσθαι δυναμένη πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εἴπερ ἠθέλησεν εὐχερῶς, διεγνωκυῖα τῇ πρὸς τοὺς δεσπότας ἐμμένειν πίστει κἀμὲ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν ἐξέκλεισε καὶ στρατεύσασθαί τινα τῶν πολιτῶν Ἰουδαίοις ἐκώλυσεν. [347] Ὅπως δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀσφαλεῖς εἶεν, ἠπάτησάν με τείχεσιν αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν ὀχυρῶσαι προτρέψαντες, καὶ παρὰ Κεστίου Γάλλου τοῦ τῶν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ Ῥωμαϊκῶν ταγμάτων ἡγεμονεύοντος φρουρὰν ἑκόντες ἐδέξαντο, καταφρονήσαντες ἐμοῦ τότε μέγα δυναμένου καὶ πᾶσιν δι᾽ ἐκπλήξεως ὄντος. [348] Πολιορκουμένης τε τῆς μεγίστης ἡμῶν πόλεως Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ πάντων ἱεροῦ κινδυνεύοντος ἐν τῇ τῶν πολεμίων ἐξουσίᾳ γενέσθαι συμμαχίαν οὐκ ἔπεμψαν μὴ βουλόμενοι δοκεῖν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ὅπλα λαβεῖν. [349] Ἡ δὲ σὴ πατρίς, ὦ Ἰοῦστε, κειμένη ἐν τῇ Γεννησαρίδι λίμνῃ καὶ ἀπέχουσα Ἵππου μὲν στάδια τριάκοντα, Γαδάρων δὲ ἑξήκοντα, Σκυθοπόλεως δὲ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τῆς ὑπηκόου βασιλεῖ, μηδεμιᾶς δὲ πόλεως Ἰουδαίων παρακειμένης, εἰ ἤθελεν τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πίστιν φυλάττειν, ῥᾳδίως ἐδύνατο. [350] Καὶ γὰρ πολὺς ἦτε δῆμος

καὶ ὅπλων εὐπορεῖτε. Ἀλλ᾽, ὡς σὺ φῄς, αἴτιος ὑμῖν ἐγὼ τότε. Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τίς, ὦ Ἰοῦστε; πρὸ γὰρ τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων πολιορκίας οἶδας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἐμὲ γενόμενον, καὶ Ἰωτάπατα κατὰ κράτος ληφθέντα φρούριά τε πολλά, πολύν τε Γαλιλαίων ὄχλον κατὰ τὴν μάχην πεσόντα. [351] Τότ᾽ οὖν ἐχρῆν ὑμᾶς παντὸς ἀπηλλαγμένους τοῦ δι᾽ ἐμὲ φόβου ῥῖψαί τε τὰ ὅπλα καὶ παραστῆσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις, ὅτι δὴ οὐχ ἑκόντες, ἀλλ᾽ ἀναγκασθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὡρμήσατε πόλεμον. [352] Ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ περιεμείνατε Οὐεσπασιανόν, ἕως αὐτὸς ἀφικόμενος μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως προσέλθοι τοῖς τείχεσιν, καὶ τότε διὰ φόβον τὰ ὅπλα κατέθεσθε· καὶ πάντως ἂν ὑμῶν ἡ πόλις ἥλω κατὰ κράτος, εἰ μὴ τῷ βασιλεῖ δεομένῳ καὶ τὴν ἄνοιαν ὑμῶν παραιτουμένῳ συνεχώρησεν Οὐεσπασιανός. Οὐκ ἐγὼ τοίνυν αἴτιος, ἀλλ᾽ ὑμεῖς οἱ πολεμικὰ φρονήσαντες. [353] Ἢ οὐ μέμνησθε, ὅτι τοσαυτάκις ὑμῶν ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος οὐδένα διέφθειρα, στασιάζοντες δ᾽ ὑμεῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὐ διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους καὶ τὸν βασιλέα εὔνοιαν, διὰ δὲ τὴν ὑμετέραν αὐτῶν πονηρίαν ἑκατὸν ὀγδοηκονταπέντε τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπεκτείνατε, κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐμοῦ πολιορκουμένου ἐν Ἰωταπάτοις ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. [354] Τί δ᾽ οὐχὶ καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων πολιορκίαν δισχίλιοι Τιβεριέων ἐξητάσθησαν, οἱ μὲν πεπτωκότες, οἱ δὲ ληφθέντες αἰχμάλωτοι; ἀλλὰ σὺ πολέμιος οὐ γεγονέναι φήσεις, ὅτι πρὸς βασιλέα τότ᾽ ἔφυγες. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ διὰ τὸν ἐξ ἐμοῦ φόβον φημί σε πεποιηκέναι. [355] Κἀγὼ μὲν πονηρός, ὡς λέγεις, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας, ὁ τὴν ψυχήν σοι συγχωρήσας ὑπὸ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ θανεῖν κατακριθέντι, ὁ τοσούτοις δωρησάμενος χρήμασιν, τίνος ἕνεκεν ὕστερον δὶς μὲν ἔδησε, τοσαυτάκις δὲ φυγεῖν τὴν πατρίδα προσέταξεν, καὶ ἀποθανεῖν δὲ κελεύσας ἅπαξ τῇ ἀδελφῇ Βερενίκῃ πολλὰ δεηθείσῃ τὴν σὴν σωτηρίαν ἐχαρίσατο; [356] καὶ μετὰ τοσαῦτα δέ σου κακουργήματα τάξιν ἐπιστολῶν σοι πιστεύσας, ὡς καὶ ταύταις εὗρε ῥᾳδιουργόν, ἀπήλασε τῆς ὄψεως. Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐλέγχειν ἐπ᾽ ἀκριβὲς ἐῶ. [357] Θαυμάζειν δ᾽ ἔπεισί μοι τὴν σὴν ἀναίδειαν, ὅτι τολμᾷς λέγειν ἁπάντων τῶν τὴν πραγματείαν ταύτην γεγραφότων αὐτὸς ἄμεινον ἐξηγγελκέναι, μήτε τὰ πραχθέντα κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐπιστάμενος, ἧς γὰρ ἐν Βηρυτῷ τότε παρὰ βασιλεῖ, μηθ᾽ ὅσα ἔπαθον Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰωταπάτων πολιορκίας ἢ ἔδρασαν ἡμᾶς παρακολουθήσας, μήθ᾽ ὅσα κατ᾽ ἐμαυτὸν ἔπραξα πολιορκούμενος δυνηθεὶς πυθέσθαι· πάντες γὰρ οἱ ἀπαγγείλαντες ἂν διεφθάρησαν ἐπὶ τῆς παρατάξεως ἐκείνης. [358] Ἀλλ᾽ ἴσως τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἱεροσόλυμα πραχθέντα μετὰ ἀκριβείας φήσεις συγγεγραφέναι. Καὶ πῶς οἷόν τε; οὔτε γὰρ τῷ πολέμῳ παρέτυχες οὔτε τὰ Καίσαρος ἀνέγνως ὑπομνήματα. Μέγιστον δὲ τεκμήριον· τοῖς γὰρ Καίσαρος ὑπομνήμασιν ἐναντίαν πεποίησαι τὴν γραφήν. [359] Εἰ δὲ θαρρεῖς ἄμεινον ἁπάντων συγγεγραφέναι, διὰ τί ζώντων Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καὶ Τίτου τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων τῶν τὸν πόλεμον κατεργασαμένων καὶ βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα περιόντος ἔτι καὶ τῶν ἐκ γένους αὐτοῦ πάντων, ἀνδρῶν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας

ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἡκόντων, τὴν ἱστορίαν οὐκ ἔφερες εἰς μέσον; [360] πρὸ γὰρ εἴκοσι ἐτῶν εἶχες γεγραμμένην καὶ παρ᾽ εἰδότων ἔμελλες τῆς ἀκριβείας τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἀποφέρεσθαι· νῦν δ᾽, ὅτ᾽ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐκέτ᾽ εἰσὶν μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν, ἐλεγχθῆναι δ᾽ οὐ νομίζεις, τεθάρρηκας. [361] Οὐ μὴν ἐγώ σοι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον περὶ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ γραφῆς ἔδεισα, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐπέδωκα τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσι τὰ βιβλία μόνον οὐ τῶν ἔργων ἔτι βλεπομένων· συνῄδειν γὰρ ἐμαυτῷ τετηρηκότι τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας παράδοσιν, ἐφ᾽ ᾗ μαρτυρίας τεύξεσθαι προσδοκήσας οὐ διήμαρτον. [362] Καὶ ἄλλοις δὲ πολλοῖς εὐθὺς ἐπέδωκα τὴν ἱστορίαν, ὧν ἔνιοι καὶ παρατετεύχεισαν τῷ πολέμῳ, καθάπερ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας καί τινες αὐτοῦ τῶν συγγενῶν. [363] Ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοκράτωρ Τίτος ἐκ μόνων αὐτῶν ἐβουλήθη τὴν γνῶσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παραδοῦναι τῶν πράξεων, ὥστε χαράξας τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ τὰ βιβλία δημοσιῶσαι προσέταξεν, [364] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας ἑξηκονταδύο γέγραφεν ἐπιστολὰς τῇ τῆς ἀληθείας παραδόσει μαρτυρῶν. Ὧν δὴ καὶ δύο ὑπέταξα καὶ βουληθέντι σοι τὰ γεγραμμένα γνῶναι πάρεστιν ἐξ αὐτῶν· [365] “Βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας Ἰωσήπῳ τῷ φιλτάτῳ χαίρειν. Ἥδιστα διῆλθον τὴν βύβλον, καί μοι πολὺ ἐπιμελέστερον ἔδοξας τῶν ταῦτα συγγραψάντων ἠκριβωκέναι. [366] Πέμπε δέ μοι καὶ τὰς λοιπάς. Ἔρρωσο. Βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας Ἰωσήπῳ τῷ φιλτάτῳ χαίρειν. Ἐξ ὧν ἔγραψας οὐδεμιᾶς ἔοικας χρῄζειν διδασκαλίας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μαθεῖν ἡμᾶς ὅλους ἀρχῆθεν. Ὅταν μέντοι συντύχῃς μοι, καὶ αὐτός σε πολλὰ κατηχήσω τῶν ἀγνοουμένων.” [367] Ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀπαρτισθείσης τῆς ἱστορίας ἀληθείᾳ οὐ κολακεύων, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπέβαλλεν αὐτῷ, οὐδὲ εἰρωνευόμενος, ὡς σὺ φήσεις, πόρρω γὰρ ἦν ἐκεῖνος τοιαύτης κακοηθείας, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐμαρτύρει, καθάπερ πάντες οἱ ταῖς ἱστορίαις ἐντυγχάνοντες. Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρὸς Ἰοῦστον ἀναγκαίαν λαβόντα τὴν παρέκβασιν μέχρι τούτων ἡμῖν λελέχθω.

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[368] Διοικήσας δ᾽ ἐγὼ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Τιβεριάδα καὶ καθίσας τῶν φίλων συνέδριον ἐβουλευόμην περὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἰωάννην πραχθησομένων. Ἐδόκει μὲν οὖν πᾶσι τοῖς Γαλιλαίοις ὁπλίσαντα πάντας ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ λαβεῖν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ δίκας ὡς πάσης τῆς στάσεως αἰτίου γεγονότος. [369] Οὐκ ἠρεσκόμην δ᾽ ἐγὼ ταῖς γνώμαις αὐτῶν προαίρεσιν ἔχων τὰς ταραχὰς χωρὶς φόνου καταστέλλειν. Ὅθεν δὴ παρῄνεσα πᾶσαν εἰσενέγκασθαι πρόνοιαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γνῶναι τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν Ἰωάννην ὄντων. [370] Ποιησάντων δ᾽ ἐκείνων γνοὺς ἐγὼ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οἵτινες ἦσαν ἐξέθηκα πρόγραμμα, διὰ τούτου πίστιν καὶ δεξιὰν προτείνων τοῖς μετὰ Ἰωάννου θελήσασιν λαβεῖν μετάνοιαν, καὶ ἡμερῶν εἴκοσι χρόνον προέτεινα τοῖς βουλεύσασθαι θέλουσιν περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῖς συμφερόντων. Ἠπείλουν δέ, εἰ μὴ ῥίψουσιν τὰ ὅπλα, καταπρήσειν αὐτῶν τὰς οἰκήσεις καὶ δημοσιώσειν τὰς οὐσίας. [371] Ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ταραχθέντες

οὔ τι μετρίως καταλείπουσιν μὲν τὸν Ἰωάννην, τὰ δ᾽ ὅπλα ῥίψαντες ἦκον πρός με τετρακισχίλιοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες. [372] Μόνοι δὲ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ παρέμειναν οἱ πολῖται καὶ ξένοι τινὲς ἐκ τῆς Τυρίων μητροπόλεως ὡς χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. Ἰωάννης μὲν οὖν οὕτω καταστρατηγηθεὶς ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι περίφοβος ἔμεινεν.

LXVII

[373] Κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν Σεπφωρῖται θαρρήσαντες ἀναλαμβάνουσιν ὅπλα πεποιθότες τῇ τε τῶν τειχῶν ὀχυρότητι καὶ τῷ πρὸς ἑτέροις ὄντα με ὁρᾶν. Πέμπουσι δὴ πρὸς Κέστιον Γάλλον, Συρίας δ᾽ ἦν οὗτος ἡγεμών, παρακαλοῦντες ἢ αὐτὸν ἥκειν θᾶττον παραληψόμενον αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν ἢ πέμψαι τοὺς φρουρήσοντας. [374] Ὁ δὲ Γάλλος ἐλεύσεσθαι μὲν ὑπέσχετο, πότε δὲ οὐ διεσάφησεν. Κἀγὼ ταῦτα πυθόμενος, ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς σὺν ἐμοὶ στρατιώτας καὶ ὁρμήσας ἐπὶ τοὺς Σεπφωρίτας εἷλον αὐτῶν κατὰ κράτος τὴν πόλιν. [375] Λαβόμενοι δ᾽ ἀφορμῆς οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι καὶ παρεῖναι τοῦ μίσους τὸν καιρὸν οὐ βουληθέντες, εἶχον γὰρ ἀπεχθῶς καὶ πρὸς ταύτην τὴν πόλιν, ὥρμησαν ὡς ἄρδην ἀφανίσοντες πάντας σὺν τοῖς ἐποίκοις. [376] Εἰσδραμόντες οὖν ἐνεπίμπρασαν αὐτῶν τὰς οἰκίας ἐρήμους καταλαμβάνοντες· οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι δείσαντες εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν συνέφυγον· διήρπαζον δὲ πάντα καὶ τρόπον οὐδένα πορθήσεως κατὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων παρελίμπανον. [377] Ταῦτ᾽ ἐγὼ θεασάμενος σφόδρα διετέθην ἀνιαρῶς καὶ παύεσθαι προσέταττον αὐτοῖς, ὑπομιμνήσκων ὅτι τοιαῦτα δρᾶν ὁμοφύλους οὐκ ἔστιν ὅσιον. [378] Ἐπεὶ δ᾽ οὔτε παρακαλοῦντος οὔτε προστάσσοντος ἤκουον, ἐνίκα δὲ τὸ μῖσος τὰς παραινέσεις, τοὺς πιστοτάτους τῶν περὶ ἐμὲ φίλων ἐκέλευσα διαδοῦναι λόγους, ὡς Ῥωμαίων μετὰ μεγάλης δυνάμεως κατὰ τὸ ἕτερον μέρος τῆς πόλεως εἰσβεβληκότων. [379] Ταῦτα δ᾽ ἐποίουν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῆς φήμης ἐμπεσούσης ἐπισχεῖν μὲν τῶν Γαλιλαίων τὰς ὁρμάς, διασῶσαι δὲ τὴν τῶν Σεπφωριτῶν πόλιν. Καὶ τέλος προυχώρησε τὸ στρατήγημα· [380] τῆς γὰρ ἀγγελίας ἀκούσαντες ἐφοβήθησαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν· καὶ καταλιπόντες τὰς ἁρπαγὰς ἔφευγον, μάλιστα δ᾽, ἐπεὶ κἀμὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἑώρων ταῦτα ποιοῦντα· πρὸς γὰρ τὸ πιστὸν τῆς φήμης ἐσκηπτόμην ὁμοίως αὐτοῖς διατεθεῖσθαι. Σεπφωρῖται δὲ παρ᾽ ἐλπίδα τὴν ἑαυτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ σοφίσματος ἐσώθησαν.

LXVIII

[381] Καὶ Τιβεριὰς δὲ παρ᾽ ὀλίγον ἀνηρπάσθη ὑπὸ Γαλιλαίων τοιαύτης αἰτίας ὑποπεσούσης· τῶν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς οἱ πρῶτοι γράφουσι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα παρακαλοῦντες ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς παραληψόμενον τὴν πόλιν. [382] Ὑπέσχετο δ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔρχεσθαι, καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἀντιγράφει καὶ τῶν περὶ

τὸν κοιτῶνα τινί, Κρίσπῳ μὲν τοὔνομα, τὸ δὲ γένος Ἰουδαίῳ, δίδωσι πρὸς τοὺς Τιβεριεῖς φέρειν. [383] Τοῦτον κομίσαντα τὰ γράμματα γνωρίσαντες οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι καὶ συλλαβόντες ἄγουσιν ἐπ᾽ ἐμέ. Τὸ δὲ πᾶν πλῆθος, ὡς ἤκουσεν, παροξυνθὲν ἐφ᾽ ὅπλα τρέπεται. [384] Συναχθέντες δὲ πολλοὶ πολλαχόθεν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἦκον εἰς Ἄσωχιν πόλιν, ἔνθα δὴ τὴν κατάλυσιν ἐποιούμην, καταβοήσεις τε σφόδρα ἐποιοῦντο, προδότιν ἀποκαλοῦντες τὴν Τιβεριάδα καὶ βασιλέως φίλην, ἐπιτρέπειν τε ἠξίουν αὐτοῖς καταβᾶσιν ἄρδην ἀφανίσαι· καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς Τιβεριεῖς εἶχον ἀπεχθῶς, ὡς πρὸς τοὺς Σεπφωρίτας.

LXIX

[385] Ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἀκούσας ἠπόρουν, τίνα τρόπον ἐξαρπάσω τὴν Τιβεριάδα τῆς Γαλιλαίων ὀργῆς. Ἀρνήσασθαι γὰρ οὐκ ἐδυνάμην μὴ γεγραφέναι τοὺς Τιβεριεῖς καλοῦντας τὸν βασιλέα· ἤλεγχον γὰρ αἱ παρ᾽ ἐκείνου πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀντιγραφαὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν. [386] Σύννους οὖν πολλὴν γενόμενος ὥραν, “Ὅτι μὲν ἠδικήκασιν, εἶπον, Τιβεριεῖς, οἶδα κἀγώ, τὴν πόλιν δ᾽ αὐτῶν ὑμᾶς οὐ κωλύσω διαρπάσαι. Δεῖ δ᾽ ὅμως καὶ μετὰ κρίσεως τὰ τηλικαῦτα πράττειν· οὐ γὰρ μόνοι Τιβεριεῖς προδόται τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἡμῶν γεγόνασιν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἐν Γαλιλαίᾳ δοκιμωτάτων. [387] Προσμείνατε δὴ μέχρι τοὺς αἰτίους ἀκριβῶς ἐκμάθω, καὶ τότε πάντας ὑποχειρίους ἕξετε καὶ ὅσους ἰδίᾳ ἐπάξαι δυνήσεσθε”. [388] Ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν ἔπεισα τὸ πλῆθος καὶ παυσάμενοι τῆς ὀργῆς διελύθησαν. Τὸν παρὰ βασιλέως δὲ πεμφθέντα δῆσαι κελεύσας, μετ᾽ οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐπί τινα τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ χρειῶν ἐπείγουσαν σκηψάμενος ἐκδημεῖν τῆς βασιλείας, καλέσας τὸν Κρῖσπον λάθρα προσέταξα μεθύσαι τὸν στρατιώτην φύλακα καὶ φυγεῖν πρὸς βασιλέα· μὴ γὰρ διωχθήσεσθαι. [389] Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῖς ὑποθήκαις πεισθεὶς διέφυγε· Τιβεριὰς δὲ μέλλουσα δεύτερον ἀφανίζεσθαι στρατηγίᾳ τῇ ἐμῇ καὶ προνοίᾳ τῇ περὶ αὐτῆς ὀξὺν οὕτως κίνδυνον διέφυγεν.

LXX

[390] Κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν Ἰοῦστος ὁ Πιστοῦ παῖς λαθὼν ἐμὲ διαδιδράσκει πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. Τὴν αἰτίαν δὲ δι᾽ ἣν τοῦτ᾽ ἔπραξεν ἀφηγήσομαι. [391] Λαβόντος ἀρχὴν Ἰουδαίοις τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολέμου Τιβεριεῖς διεγνώκεισαν ὑπακούειν βασιλεῖ καὶ Ῥωμαίων μὴ ἀφίστασθαι. Πείθει δ᾽ αὐτοὺς Ἰοῦστος ἐφ᾽ ὅπλα χωρῆσαι νεωτέρων αὐτὸς ἐφιέμενος πραγμάτων καὶ δι᾽ ἐλπίδος ἔχων ἄρξειν Γαλιλαίων τε καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος. [392] Οὐ μὴν τῶν προσδοκηθέντων ἐπέτυχεν· Γαλιλαῖοί τε γὰρ ἐχθρῶς ἔχοντες πρὸς τοὺς Τιβεριεῖς διὰ μῆνιν ὧν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου πεπόνθεισαν, [393] οὐκ ἠνείχοντο στρατηγοῦντος αὐτῶν Ἰούστου, κἀγὼ δὲ τὴν προστασίαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας πιστευθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν, πολλάκις εἰς τοσαύτην ἦκον ὀργήν, ὡς ὀλίγου δεῖν ἀποκτεῖναι

τὸν Ἰοῦστον, φέρειν αὐτοῦ τὴν μοχθηρίαν οὐ δυνάμενος. Δείσας οὖν ἐκεῖνος, μὴ καὶ λάβῃ τέλος ἅπαξ ὁ θυμός, ἔπεμψε πρὸς βασιλέα Κρῖσπον ἀσφαλέστερον οἰκήσειν παρ᾽ ἐκείνῳ νομίζων.

LXXI

[394] Σεπφωρῖται δὲ παραδόξως τὸν πρῶτον κίνδυνον διαφυγόντες πρὸς Κέστιον Γάλλον ἔπεμψαν ἥκειν παρακαλοῦντες ὡς αὐτοὺς θᾶττον παραληψόμενον τὴν πόλιν, ἢ πέμπειν δύναμιν τὴν ἀνακόψουσαν τὰς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιδρομάς· καὶ τέλος ἔπεισαν τὸν Γάλλον πέμψαι δύναμιν αὐτοῖς ἱππικήν τε καὶ πεζικήν, ἣν ἐλθοῦσαν νυκτὸς εἰσεδέξαντο. [395] Κακουμένης δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς [πέριξ] χώρας ἀναλαβὼν ἐγὼ τοὺς περὶ ἐμὲ στρατιώτας ἦκον εἰς Γαρεις κώμην. Ἔνθα βαλόμενος χάρακα πόρρω τῆς Σεπφωριτῶν πόλεως ἀπὸ σταδίων εἴκοσι νυκτὸς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ προσέμιξα καὶ τοῖς τείχεσι προσέβαλλον, [396] καὶ διὰ κλιμάκων ἐμβιβάσας συχνοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐγκρατὴς τοῦ πλείστου τῆς πόλεως μέρους ἐγενόμην, μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν τόπων ἄγνοιαν ἀναγκασθέντες ὑπεχωρήσαμεν, ἀνελόντες Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἱππεῖς δύο, πεζοὺς δὲ δέκα, ὀλίγους δὲ Σεπφωριτῶν, αὐτοὶ δ᾽ ἕνα μόνον ἀπεβάλομεν. [397] Γενομένης δ᾽ ὕστερον ἡμῖν κατὰ τὸ πεδίον μάχης πρὸς τοὺς ἱππεῖς μέχρι πολλοῦ καρτερῶς διακινδυνεύσαντες ἡττήθημεν· περιελθόντων γὰρ τῶν Ῥωμαίων οἱ μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ δείσαντες ἔφυγον εἰς τοὐπίσω. Πίπτει δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῆς παρατάξεως ἐκείνης εἷς τῶν πεπιστευμένων τὴν τοῦ σώματός μου φυλακὴν Ἰοῦστος τοὔνομα καὶ παρὰ βασιλεῖ ποτε τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν ἐσχηκώς. [398] Κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἡ παρὰ βασιλέως δύναμις ἦκεν ἱππική τε καὶ πεζικὴ καὶ Σύλλας ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἡγεμὼν ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων. Οὗτος οὖν βαλόμενος στρατόπεδον Ἰουλιάδος ἀπέχον σταδίους πέντε φρουρὰν ἐφίστησιν ταῖς ὁδοῖς, τῇ τε εἰς Σελεύκειαν ἀγούσῃ καὶ τῇ εἰς Γάμαλα τὸ φρούριον, ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰς παρὰ τῶν Γαλιλαίων ὠφελείας τοῖς ἐνοίκοις ἀποκλείειν.

LXXII

[399] Ταῦτα δ᾽ ὡς ἐπυθόμην ἐγὼ πέμπω δισχιλίους ὁπλίτας καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Ἱερεμίαν, οἳ δὴ καὶ χάρακα θέντες ἀπὸ σταδίου τῆς Ἰουλιάδος πλησίον τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ πλέον ἀκροβολισμῶν οὐδὲν ἔπραξαν, μέχρι τρισχιλίους στρατιώτας αὐτὸς ἀναλαβὼν ἦκον πρὸς αὐτούς. [400] Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν ἔν τινι φάραγγι καθίσας λόχον οὐκ ἄπωθεν αὐτῶν τοῦ χάρακος προεκαλούμην τοὺς βασιλικοὺς εἰς μάχην, παραινέσας τοῖς μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ στρατιώταις στρέψαι τὰ νῶτα, μέχρις ἂν ἐπισπάσωνται τοὺς πολεμίους προελθεῖν· ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο. [401] Σύλλας γὰρ εἰκάσας ταῖς ἀληθείαις τοὺς ἡμετέρους φεύγειν προελθὼν ἐπιδιώκειν οἷός τε ἦν, κατὰ νώτου δ᾽ αὐτὸν

λαμβάνουσιν οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας καὶ σφόδρα πάντας ἐθορύβησαν. [402] Ἐγὼ δ᾽ εὐθὺς ὀξείᾳ χρησάμενος ὑποστροφῇ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ὑπήντησα τοῖς βασιλικοῖς καὶ εἰς φυγὴν ἔτρεψα. Κἂν κατώρθωτό μοι κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἡ πρᾶξις μὴ ἐμποδὼν γενομένου δαίμονός τινος· [403] ὁ γὰρ ἵππος, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ τὴν μάχην ἐποιούμην, εἰς τελματώδη τόπον ἐμπεσὼν συγκατήνεγκέ με ἐπὶ τοὔδαφος. Θραύσεως δὲ τῶν ἄρθρων γενομένης ἐπὶ τὸν ταρσὸν τῆς χειρὸς ἐκομίσθην εἰς κώμην Κεφαρνωκὸν λεγομένην. [404] Οἱ δὲ ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσαντες καὶ δεδοικότες, μή τι χεῖρον ἔπαθον, τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ πλέον διώξεως ἀπέσχοντο, ὑπέστρεφον δὲ περὶ ἐμὲ λίαν ἀγωνιῶντες. Μεταπεμψάμενος οὖν ἰατροὺς καὶ θεραπευθεὶς τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ κατέμεινα πυρέξας, δόξαν τε τοῖς ἰατροῖς τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς Ταριχέας μετεκομίσθην.

LXXIII

[405] Σύλλας δὲ καὶ οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ πυθόμενοι τὰ κατ᾽ ἐμὲ πάλιν ἐθάρρησαν, καὶ γνόντες ἀμελεῖσθαι τὰ περὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τοῦ στρατοπέδου διὰ νυκτὸς ἱππέων λόχον ἱδρύσαντες ἐν τῷ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, γενομένης ἡμέρας εἰς μάχην ἡμᾶς προεκαλέσαντο. [406] Τῶν δ᾽ ὑπακουσάντων καὶ μέχρι τοῦ πεδίου προελθόντων ἐπιφανέντες οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἱππεῖς καὶ ταράξαντες αὐτοὺς εἰς φυγὴν ἔτρεψαν ἔξ τε τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπέκτειναν, οὐ μὴν μέχρι τέλους τὴν νίκην ἤγαγον· καταπεπλευκέναι γάρ τινας ὁπλίτας ἀκούσαντες ἀπὸ Ταριχεῶν εἰς Ἰουλιάδα φοβηθέντες ἀνεχώρησαν.

LXXIV

[407] Μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον Οὐεσπασιανὸς εἰς Τύρον ἀφικνεῖται καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας. Καὶ οἱ Τύριοι βλασφημεῖν ἤρξαντο τὸν βασιλέα Τυρίων αὐτὸν καλοῦντες καὶ Ῥωμαίων πολέμιον· τὸν γὰρ στρατοπεδάρχην αὐτοῦ Φίλιππον ἔλεγον προδεδωκέναι τὴν βασιλικὴν αὐλὴν καὶ τὰς Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεις τὰς οὔσας ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ πρόσταξιν. [408] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ἀκούσας Τυρίοις μὲν ἐπέπληξεν ὑβρίζουσιν ἄνδρα καὶ βασιλέα καὶ Ῥωμαίοις φίλον, τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ παρῄνεσεν πέμψαι Φίλιππον εἰς Ῥώμην ὑφέξοντα λόγον Νέρωνι περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων. [409] Φίλιππος δὲ πεμφθεὶς οὐχ ἧκεν εἰς ὄψιν Νέρωνι· καταλαβὼν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ὄντα διὰ τὰς ἐμπεσούσας ταραχὰς καὶ τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ὑπέστρεψε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. [410] Ἐπεὶ δὲ Οὐεσπασιανὸς εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα παρεγένετο, οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν τῆς Συρίας δέκα πόλεων κατεβόων Ἰούστου τοῦ Τιβεριέως, ὅτι τὰς κώμας αὐτῶν ἐμπρήσειεν. Παρέδωκεν οὖν αὐτὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸς τῷ βασιλεῖ κολασθησόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς βασιλείας ὑποτελῶν· ὁ βασιλεὺς δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἔδησεν ἐπικρυψάμενος τοῦτο Οὐεσπασιανόν, ὡς ἀνωτέρω δεδηλώκαμεν. [411] Σεπφωρῖται δ᾽ ὑπαντήσαντες καὶ

ἀσπασάμενοι Οὐεσπασιανὸν λαμβάνουσι δύναμιν καὶ στρατηγὸν Πλάκιδον, ἀναβάντες δὲ μετὰ τούτων ἑπομένου μου * ἄχρι τῆς εἰς Γαλιλαίαν Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἀφίξεως. [412] Περὶ ἧς τίνα τρόπον ἐγένετο, καὶ πῶς περὶ Γάρις κώμην τὴν πρώτην πρὸς ἐμὲ μάχην ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ὡς ἐκεῖθεν εἰς τὰ Ἰωτάπατα ἀνεχώρησα, καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα μοι κατὰ τὴν ταύτης πολιορκίαν, καὶ ὃν τρόπον ζῶν ληφθεὶς ἐδέθην καὶ πῶς ἐλύθην, πάντα τε τὰ πεπραγμένα μοι κατὰ τὸν Ἰουδαϊκὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὴν Ἱεροσολύμων πολιορκίαν μετ᾽ ἀκριβείας ἐν ταῖς περὶ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου βίβλοις ἀπήγγελκα. [413] Ἀναγκαῖον δ᾽ ἐστίν, ὡς οἶμαι, καὶ ὅσα μὴ κατὰ τὸν Ἰουδαϊκὸν πόλεμον ἀνέγραψα τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ μου πεπραγμένων νῦν προσαναγράψαι.

LXXV

[414] Τῆς γὰρ τῶν Ἰωταπάτων πολιορκίας λαβούσης τέλος γενόμενος παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας ἐφυλασσόμην τὰ πολλὰ διὰ τιμῆς ἄγοντός με Οὐεσπασιανοῦ, καὶ δὴ κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ ἠγαγόμην τινὰ παρθένον ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλωτίδων τῶν κατὰ Καισάρειαν ἁλουσῶν ἐγχώριον. [415] Οὐ παρέμενεν δ᾽ αὕτη μοι πολὺν χρόνον, ἀλλὰ λυθέντος καὶ μετὰ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ πορευθέντος εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀπηλλάγη· γυναῖκα δ᾽ ἑτέραν ἠγαγόμην κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. [416] Κἀκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων πολιορκίαν συμπεμφθεὶς Τίτῳ πολλάκις ἀποθανεῖν ἐκινδύνευσα, τῶν τε Ἰουδαίων διὰ σπουδῆς ἐχόντων ὑποχείριόν με λαβεῖν τιμωρίας ἕνεκα καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὁσάκι νικηθεῖεν πάσχειν τοῦτο κατ᾽ ἐμὴν προδοσίαν δοκούντων συνεχεῖς καταβοήσεις ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐγίγνοντο κολάζειν με ὡς καὶ αὐτῶν προδότην ἀξιούντων. [417] Τίτος δὲ Καῖσαρ τὰς πολέμου τύχας οὐκ ἀγνοῶν σιγῇ τὰς ἐπ᾽ ἐμὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐξέλυεν ὁρμάς. Ἤδη δὲ κατὰ κράτος τῆς τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλεως ἐχομένης Τίτος Καῖσαρ ἔπειθέν με πολλάκις ἐκ τῆς κατασκαφῆς τῆς πατρίδος πᾶν ὅ τι θέλοιμι λαβεῖν· συγχωρεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔφασκεν. [418] Ἐγὼ δὲ τῆς πατρίδος πεσούσης μηδὲν ἔχων τιμιώτερον, ὃ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ συμφορῶν εἰς παραμυθίαν λαβὼν φυλάξαιμι, σωμάτων ἐλευθέρων τὴν αἴτησιν ἐποιούμην Τίτον καὶ βιβλίων ἱερῶν ἔλαβον χαρισαμένου Τίτου. [419] Μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν μετὰ πεντήκοντα φίλων αἰτησάμενος οὐκ ἀπέτυχον. Καὶ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν δὲ πορευθεὶς Τίτου τὴν ἐξουσίαν δόντος, ἔνθα πολὺ πλῆθος αἰχμαλώτων ἐγκέκλειστο γυναικῶν τε καὶ τέκνων, ὅσους ἐπέγνων φίλων ἐμῶν καὶ συνήθων ὑπάρχοντας ἐρρυσάμην περὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἐνενήκοντα ὄντας τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ οὐδὲ λύτρα καταθεμένους ἀπέλυσα συγχωρήσας αὐτοὺς τῇ προτέρᾳ τύχῃ. [420] Πεμφθεὶς δ᾽ ὑπὸ Τίτου Καίσαρος σὺν Κερεαλίῳ καὶ χιλίοις ἱππεῦσιν εἰς κώμην τινὰ Θεκῶαν λεγομένην προκατανοήσων, εἰ τόπος ἐπιτήδειός ἐστιν χάρακα δέξασθαι, ὡς ἐκεῖθεν ὑποστρέφων εἶδον πολλοὺς αἰχμαλώτους

ἀνεσταυρωμένους καὶ τρεῖς ἐγνώρισα συνήθεις μοι γενομένους, ἤλγησά τε τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ μετὰ δακρύων προσελθὼν Τίτῳ εἶπον. [421] Ὁ δ᾽ εὐθὺς ἐκέλευσεν καθαιρεθέντας αὐτοὺς θεραπείας ἐπιμελεστάτης τυχεῖν. Καὶ οἱ μὲν δύο τελευτῶσιν θεραπευόμενοι, ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἔζησεν.

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[422] Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπαυσεν τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ταραχὰς Τίτος, εἰκάσας τοὺς ἀγροὺς οὓς εἶχον ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀνονήτους ἐσομένους μοι διὰ τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐκεῖ Ῥωμαίων φρουρὰν ἐγκαθέζεσθαι, ἔδωκεν ἑτέραν χώραν ἐν πεδίῳ, μέλλων τε ἀπαίρειν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην σύμπλουν ἐδέξατο πᾶσαν τιμὴν ἀπονέμων. [423] Ἐπεὶ δ᾽ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἥκομεν, πολλῆς ἔτυχον παρὰ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ προνοίας· καὶ γὰρ καὶ κατάλυσιν ἔδωκεν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῇ πρὸ τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτῷ γενομένῃ πολιτείᾳ τε Ῥωμαίων ἐτίμησεν καὶ σύνταξιν χρημάτων ἔδωκεν καὶ τιμῶν διετέλει μέχρι τῆς ἐκ τοῦ βίου μεταστάσεως οὐδὲν τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ χρηστότητος ὑφελών, [ὅ μοι] διὰ τὸν φθόνον ἤνεγκε κίνδυνον· [424] Ἰουδαῖος γάρ τις Ἰωνάθης τοὔνομα στάσιν ἐξεγείρας ἐν Κυρήνῃ καὶ δισχιλίους τῶν ἐγχωρίων συναναπείσας, ἐκείνοις μὲν αἴτιος ἀπωλείας ἐγένετο, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς χώρας ἡγεμονεύοντος δεθεὶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα πεμφθεὶς ἔφασκεν ἐμὲ αὐτῷ ὅπλα πεπομφέναι καὶ χρήματα. [425] Οὐ μὴν Οὐεσπασιανὸν ψευδόμενος ἔλαθεν, ἀλλὰ κατέγνω θάνατον αὐτοῦ, καὶ παραδοθεὶς ἀπέθανεν. Πολλάκις δὲ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν βασκαινόντων μοι τῆς εὐτυχίας κατηγορίας ἐπί με συνθέντων θεοῦ προνοίᾳ πάσας διέφυγον. Ἔλαβον δὲ παρὰ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ δωρεὰν γῆν οὐκ ὀλίγην ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ. [426] Καθ᾽ ὃν δὴ καιρὸν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα μὴ ἀρεσκόμενος αὐτῆς τοῖς ἤθεσιν ἀπεπεμψάμην τριῶν παίδων γενομένην μητέρα, ὧν οἱ μὲν δύο ἐτελεύτησαν, εἷς δέ, ὃν Ὑρκανὸν προσηγόρευσα, περίεστιν. [427] Μετὰ ταῦτα ἠγαγόμην γυναῖκα κατῳκηκυῖαν μὲν ἐν Κρήτῃ, τὸ δὲ γένος Ἰουδαίαν, γονέων εὐγενεστάτων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπιφανεστάτων, ἤθει πολλῶν γυναικῶν διαφέρουσαν, ὡς ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα βίος αὐτῆς ἀπέδειξεν. Ἐκ ταύτης δή μοι γίνονται παῖδες δύο, πρεσβύτερος μὲν Ἰοῦστος, Σιμωνίδης δὲ μετ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ὁ καὶ Ἀγρίππας ἐπικληθείς. [428] Ταῦτα μέν μοι τὰ κατὰ τὸν οἶκον. Διέμεινεν δὲ ὅμοια καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων· Οὐεσπασιανοῦ γὰρ τελευτήσαντος Τίτος τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδεξάμενος ὁμοίαν τῷ πατρὶ τὴν τιμήν μοι διεφύλαξεν πολλάκις τε κατηγορηθέντος οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν. [429] διαδεξάμενος δὲ Τίτον Δομετιανὸς καὶ προσηύξησεν τὰς εἰς ἐμὲ τιμάς· τούς τε γὰρ κατηγορήσαντάς μου Ἰουδαίους ἐκόλασεν καὶ δοῦλον εὐνοῦχον παιδαγωγὸν τοῦ παιδός μου κατηγορήσαντα κολασθῆναι προσέταξεν, ἐμοὶ δὲ τῆς ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ χώρας ἀτέλειαν ἔδωκεν, ἥπερ ἐστὶ μεγίστη τιμὴ τῷ λαβόντι. Καὶ πολλὰ δ᾽ ἡ τοῦ Καίσαρος γυνὴ Δομετία διετέλεσεν εὐεργετοῦσά με. [430] Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ πεπραγμένα μοι διὰ παντὸς τοῦ

βίου ἐστίν, κρινέτωσαν δ᾽ ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸ ἦθος ὅπως ἂν ἐθέλωσιν ἕτεροι. Σοὶ δ᾽ ἀποδεδωκώς, κράτιστε ἀνδρῶν Ἐπαφρόδιτε, τὴν πᾶσαν τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας ἀναγραφὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐνταῦθα καταπαύω τὸν λόγον.

The Dual Texts

Site of ancient Yodfat — Josephus was drafted as a commander of the Galilean forces when Yodfat fell under siege by the Romans. Trapped in a cave with forty of his companions in July AD 67, Josephus suggested a method of collective suicide: they drew lots and killed each other, one by one, counting to every third person. The sole survivor of this process was Josephus (this method as a mathematical problem is referred to as the 'Josephus problem'. Josephus surrendered to the Roman forces and became a prisoner. In 69 he was released. According to his account, he acted as a negotiator with the defenders during the Siege of Jerusalem in 70, in which his parents and first wife died.

Memorial to the Jewish defenders of Yodfat, which fell to Roman forces on July 20, AD 67

DUAL GREEK AND ENGLISH TEXTS

Translated by William Whiston

In this section, readers can view a section by section text of Josephus' works, alternating between the original Greek and Whiston's English translation.

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PREFACE

(1) [1] Ἐπειδὴ τὸν Ἰουδαίων πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον συστάντα μέγιστον οὐ μόνον τῶν καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ὧν ἀκοῇ παρειλήφαμεν ἢ πόλεων πρὸς πόλεις ἢ ἐθνῶν ἔθνεσι συρραγέντων, οἱ μὲν οὐ παρατυχόντες τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀκοῇ συλλέγοντες εἰκαῖα καὶ ἀσύμφωνα διηγήματα σοφιστικῶς ἀναγράφουσιν, [2] οἱ παραγενόμενοι δὲ ἢ κολακείᾳ τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἢ μίσει τῷ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους καταψεύδονται τῶν πραγμάτων, περιέχει δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅπου μὲν κατηγορίαν ὅπου δὲ ἐγκώμιον τὰ συγγράμματα, τὸ δ᾽ ἀκριβὲς τῆς ἱστορίας οὐδαμοῦ, [3] προυθέμην ἐγὼ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν Ἕλλάδι γλώσσῃ μεταβαλὼν ἃ τοῖς ἄνω βαρβάροις τῇ πατρίῳ συντάξας ἀνέπεμψα πρότερον ἀφηγήσασθαι Ἰώσηπος Ματθίου παῖς ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ἱερεύς, αὐτός τε Ῥωμαίους πολεμήσας τὰ πρῶτα καὶ τοῖς ὕστερον παρατυχὼν ἐξ ἀνάγκης:

1. Whereas the war which the Jews made with the Romans hath been the greatest of all those, not only that have been in our times, but, in a manner, of those that ever were heard of; both of those wherein cities have fought against cities, or nations against nations; while some men who were not concerned in the affairs themselves have gotten together vain and contradictory stories by hearsay, and have written them down after a sophistical manner; and while those that were there present have given false accounts of things, and this either out of a humor of flattery to the Romans, or of hatred towards the Jews; and while their writings contain sometimes accusations, and sometimes encomiums, but no where the accurate truth of the facts; I have proposed to myself, for the sake of such as live under the government of the Romans, to translate those books into the Greek tongue, which I formerly composed in the language of our country, and sent to the Upper Barbarians; Joseph, the son of Matthias, by birth a Hebrew, a priest also, and one who at first fought against the Romans myself, and was forced to be present at what was done afterwards, [am the author of this work].

(2) [4] γενομένου γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, μεγίστου τοῦδε τοῦ κινήματος ἐν Ῥωμαίοις μὲν ἐνόσει τὰ οἰκεῖα, Ἰουδαίων δὲ τὸ νεωτερίζον τότε τεταραγμένοις ἐπανέστη τοῖς καιροῖς ἀκμάζον κατά τε χεῖρα καὶ χρήμασιν, ὡς δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν θορύβων τοῖς μὲν ἐν ἐλπίδι κτήσεως τοῖς δ᾽ ἐν ἀφαιρέσεως δέει γίνεσθαι τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολήν, [5] ἐπειδὴ Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν ἅπαν τὸ ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην ὁμόφυλον συνεπαρθήσεσθαι σφίσιν ἤλπισαν, Ῥωμαίους δὲ οἵ τε γείτονες Γαλάται παρεκίνουν καὶ τὸ Κελτικὸν οὐκ ἠρέμει, μεστὰ δ᾽ ἦν πάντα θορύβων μετὰ Νέρωνα, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν βασιλειᾶν ὁ καιρὸς ἀνέπειθεν, τὰ στρατιωτικὰ δὲ ἥρα μεταβολῆς ἐλπίδι λημμάτων: [6] ἄτοπον ἡγησάμενος περιιδεῖν πλαζομένην ἐπὶ

τηλικούτοις πράγμασι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ Πάρθους μὲν καὶ Βαβυλωνίους Ἀράβων τε τοὺς πορρωτάτω καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην ὁμόφυλον ἡμῖν Ἀδιαβηνούς τε γνῶναι διὰ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐπιμελείας ἀκριβῶς, ὅθεν τε ἤρξατο καὶ δι᾽ ὅσων ἐχώρησεν παθῶν ὁ πόλεμος καὶ ὅπως κατέστρεψεν, ἀγνοεῖν δὲ Ἕλληνας ταῦτα καὶ Ῥωμαίων τοὺς μὴ ἐπιστρατευσαμένους, ἐντυγχάνοντας ἢ κολακείαις ἢ πλάσμασι.

2. Now at the time when this great concussion of affairs happened, the affairs of the Romans were themselves in great disorder. Those Jews also who were for innovations, then arose when the times were disturbed; they were also in a flourishing condition for strength and riches, insomuch that the affairs of the East were then exceeding tumultuous, while some hoped for gain, and others were afraid of loss in such troubles; for the Jews hoped that all of their nation which were beyond Euphrates would have raised an insurrection together with them. The Gauls also, in the neighborhood of the Romans, were in motion, and the Geltin were not quiet; but all was in disorder after the death of Nero. And the opportunity now offered induced many to aim at the royal power; and the soldiery affected change, out of the hopes of getting money. I thought it therefore an absurd thing to see the truth falsified in affairs of such great consequence, and to take no notice of it; but to suffer those Greeks and Romans that were not in the wars to be ignorant of these things, and to read either flatteries or fictions, while the Parthians, and the Babylonians, and the remotest Arabians, and those of our nation beyond Euphrates, with the Adiabeni, by my means, knew accurately both whence the war begun, what miseries it brought upon us, and after what manner it ended.

(3) [7] Καίτοι γε ἱστορίας αὐτὰς ἐπιγράφειν τολμῶσιν, ἐν αἷς πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν ὑγιὲς δηλοῦν καὶ τοῦ σκοποῦ δοκοῦσιν ἔμοιγε διαμαρτάνειν. βούλονται μὲν γὰρ μεγάλους τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀποδεικνύειν, καταβάλλουσιν δὲ ἀεὶ τὰ Ἰουδαίων καὶ ταπεινοῦσιν: [8] οὐχ ὁρῶ δέ, πῶς ἂν εἶναι μεγάλοι δοκοῖεν οἱ μικροὺς νενικηκότες: καὶ οὔτε τὸ μῆκος αἰδοῦνται τοῦ πολέμου οὔτε τὸ πλῆθος τῆς Ῥωμαίων καμούσης στρατιᾶς οὔτε τὸ μέγεθος τῶν στρατηγῶν, οἳ πολλὰ περὶ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱδρώσαντες οἶμαι ταπεινουμένου τοῦ κατορθώματος αὐτοῖς ἀδοξοῦσιν.

3. It is true, these writers have the confidence to call their accounts histories; wherein yet they seem to me to fail of their own purpose, as well as to relate nothing that is sound. For they have a mind to demonstrate the greatness of the Romans, while they still diminish and lessen the actions of the Jews, as not discerning how it cannot be that those must appear to be great who have only

conquered those that were little. Nor are they ashamed to overlook the length of the war, the multitude of the Roman forces who so greatly suffered in it, or the might of the commanders, whose great labors about Jerusalem will be deemed inglorious, if what they achieved be reckoned but a small matter.

(4) [9] Οὐ μὴν ἐγὼ τοῖς ἐπαίρουσι τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀντιφιλονεικῶν αὔξειν τὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων διέγνων, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἔργα μετ᾽ ἀκριβείας ἀμφοτέρων διέξειμι, τοὺς δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι λόγους ἀνατίθημι τῇ διαθέσει καὶ τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ πάθεσι διδοὺς ἐπολοφύρεσθαι ταῖς τῆς πατρίδος συμφοραῖς. [10] ὅτι γὰρ αὐτὴν στάσις οἰκεία καθεῖλεν, καὶ τὰς Ῥωμαίων χεῖρας ἀκούσας καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ τὸν ναὸν εἵλκυσαν οἱ Ἰουδαίων τύραννοι, μάρτυς αὐτὸς ὁ πορθήσας Καῖσαρ Τίτος, ἐν παντὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τὸν μὲν δῆμον ἐλεήσας ὑπὸ τῶν στασιαστῶν φρουρούμενον, πολλάκις δὲ ἑκὼν τὴν ἅλωσιν τῆς πόλεως ὑπερτιθέμενος καὶ διδοὺς τῇ πολιορκίᾳ χρόνον εἰς μετάνοιαν τῶν αἰτίων. [11] εἰ δή τις ὅσα πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους ἢ τὸ λῃστρικὸν αὐτῶν κατηγορικῶς λέγοιμεν ἢ τοῖς δυστυχήμασι τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιστένοντες συκοφαντοίη, διδότω παρὰ τὸν τῆς ἱστορίας νόμον συγγνώμην τῷ πάθει: πόλιν μὲν γὰρ δὴ τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις πασῶν τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐπὶ πλεῖστόν τε εὐδαιμονίας συνέβη προελθεῖν καὶ πρὸς ἔσχατον συμφορῶν αὖθις καταπεσεῖν: [12] τὰ γοῦν πάντων ἀπ᾽ αἰῶνος ἀτυχήματα πρὸς τὰ Ἰουδαίων ἡττῆσθαι δοκῶ κατὰ σύγκρισιν: καὶ τούτων αἴτιος οὐδεὶς ἀλλόφυλος, ὥστε ἀμήχανον ἦν ὀδυρμῶν ἐπικρατεῖν. εἰ δέ τις οἴκτου σκληρότερος εἴη δικαστής, τὰ μὲν πράγματα τῇ ἱστορίᾳ προσκρινέτω, τὰς δ᾽ ὀλοφύρσεις τῷ γράφοντι.

4. However, I will not go to the other extreme, out of opposition to those men who extol the Romans nor will I determine to raise the actions of my countrymen too high; but I will prosecute the actions of both parties with accuracy. Yet shall I suit my language to the passions I am under, as to the affairs I describe, and must be allowed to indulge some lamentations upon the miseries undergone by my own country. For that it was a seditious temper of our own that destroyed it, and that they were the tyrants among the Jews who brought the Roman power upon us, who unwillingly attacked us, and occasioned the burning of our holy temple, Titus Caesar, who destroyed it, is himself a witness, who, daring the entire war, pitied the people who were kept under by the seditious, and did often voluntarily delay the taking of the city, and allowed time to the siege, in order to let the authors have opportunity for repentance. But if any one makes an unjust accusation against us, when we speak so passionately about the tyrants, or the robbers, or sorely bewail the misfortunes of our country, let him indulge my affections herein, though it be contrary to the rules for writing history; because it had so come to pass, that our city Jerusalem had arrived at a higher degree of felicity than any other city under the Roman

government, and yet at last fell into the sorest of calamities again. Accordingly, it appears to me that the misfortunes of all men, from the beginning of the world, if they be compared to these of the Jews are not so considerable as they were; while the authors of them were not foreigners neither. This makes it impossible for me to contain my lamentations. But if any one be inflexible in his censures of me, let him attribute the facts themselves to the historical part, and the lamentations to the writer himself only.

(5) [13] Καίτοι γε ἐπιτιμήσαιμ᾽ ἂν αὐτὸς δικαίως τοῖς Ἑλλήνων λογίοις, οἳ τηλικούτων κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς πραγμάτων γεγενημένων, ἃ κατὰ σύγκρισιν ἐλαχίστους ἀποδείκνυσι τοὺς πάλαι πολέμους, τούτων μὲν κάθηνται κριταὶ τοῖς φιλοτιμουμένοις ἐπηρεάζοντες, ὧν εἰ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ πλεονεκτοῦσι, λείπονται τῇ προαιρέσει: αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Μήδων συγγράφουσιν ὥσπερ ἧττον καλῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων συγγραφέων ἀπηγγελμένα. [14] καίτοι τοσούτῳ τῆς ἐκείνων ἡττῶνται δυνάμεως ἐν τῷ γράφειν, ὅσῳ καὶ τῆς γνώμης: τὰ γὰρ κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐσπούδαζον ἕκαστοι γράφειν, ὅπου καὶ τὸ παρατυχεῖν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐποίει τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν ἐναργῆ καὶ τὸ ψεύδεσθαι παρ᾽ εἰδόσιν αἰσχρὸν ἦν. [15] τό γε μὴν μνήμῃ τὰ προιστορηθέντα διδόναι καὶ τὰ τῶν ἰδίων χρόνων τοῖς μετ᾽ αὐτὸν συνιστάνειν ἐπαίνου καὶ μαρτυρίας ἄξιον: φιλόπονος δὲ οὐχ ὁ μεταποιῶν οἰκονομίαν καὶ τάξιν ἀλλοτρίαν, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μετὰ τοῦ καινὰ λέγειν καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἱστορίας κατασκευάζων ἴδιον. [16] κἀγὼ μὲν ἀναλώμασι καὶ πόνοις μεγίστοις ἀλλόφυλος ὢν Ἕλλησί τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις τὴν μνήμην τῶν κατορθωμάτων ἀνατίθημι: τοῖς δὲ γνησίοις πρὸς μὲν τὰ λήμματα καὶ τὰς δίκας κέχηνεν εὐθέως τὸ στόμα καὶ γλῶσσα λέλυται, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἱστορίαν, ἔνθα χρὴ τἀληθῆ λέγειν καὶ μετὰ πολλοῦ πόνου τὰ πράγματα συλλέγειν, πεφίμωνται παρέντες τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις καὶ μηδὲ γινώσκουσι τὰς πράξεις τῶν ἡγεμόνων γράφειν. τιμάσθω δὴ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν τὸ τῆς ἱστορίας ἀληθές, ἐπεὶ παρ᾽ Ἕλλησιν ἠμέληται.

5. However, I may justly blame the learned men among the Greeks, who, when such great actions have been done in their own times, which, upon the comparison, quite eclipse the old wars, do yet sit as judges of those affairs, and pass bitter censures upon the labors of the best writers of antiquity; which moderns, although they may be superior to the old writers in eloquence, yet are they inferior to them in the execution of what they intended to do. While these also write new histories about the Assyrians and Medes, as if the ancient writers had not described their affairs as they ought to have done; although these be as far inferior to them in abilities as they are different in their notions from them. For of old every one took upon them to write what happened in his own time; where their immediate concern in the actions made their promises of value; and where it must be reproachful to write lies, when they must be known by the

readers to be such. But then, an undertaking to preserve the memory Of what hath not been before recorded, and to represent the affairs of one's own time to those that come afterwards, is really worthy of praise and commendation. Now he is to be esteemed to have taken good pains in earnest, not who does no more than change the disposition and order of other men's works, but he who not only relates what had not been related before, but composes an entire body of history of his own: accordingly, I have been at great charges, and have taken very great pains [about this history], though I be a foreigner; and do dedicate this work, as a memorial of great actions, both to the Greeks and to the Barbarians. But for some of our own principal men, their mouths are wide open, and their tongues loosed presently, for gain and law-suits, but quite muzzled up when they are to write history, where they must speak truth and gather facts together with a great deal of pains; and so they leave the writing such histories to weaker people, and to such as are not acquainted with the actions of princes. Yet shall the real truth of historical facts be preferred by us, how much soever it be neglected among the Greek historians.

(6) [17] Ἀρχαιολογεῖν μὲν δὴ τὰ Ἰουδαίων, τίνες τε ὄντες καὶ ὅπως ἀπανέστησαν Αἰγυπτίων, χώραν τε ὅσην ἐπῆλθον ἀλώμενοι καὶ πόσα ἐξῆς κατέλαβον καὶ ὅπως μετανέστησαν, νῦν τε ἄκαιρον ᾠήθην εἶναι καὶ ἄλλως περιττόν, ἐπειδήπερ καὶ Ἰουδαίων πολλοὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ τὰ τῶν προγόνων συνετάξαντο μετ' ἀκριβείας καί τινες Ἑλλήνων ἐκεῖνα τῇ πατρίῳ φωνῇ μεταβαλόντες οὐ πολὺ τῆς ἀληθείας διήμαρτον. [18] ὅπου δ' οἵ τε τούτων συγγραφεῖς ἐπαύσαντο καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι προφῆται, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκεῖθεν ποιήσομαι τῆς συντάξεως: τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν τοῦ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν πολέμου διεξοδικώτερον καὶ μεθ' ὅσης ἂν ἐξεργασίας δύνωμαι δίειμι, τὰ δὲ προγενέστερα τῆς ἐμῆς ἡλικίας ἐπιδραμῶ συντόμως,

6. To write concerning the Antiquities of the Jews, who they were [originally], and how they revolted from the Egyptians, and what country they traveled over, and what countries they seized upon afterward, and how they were removed out of them, I think this not to be a fit opportunity, and, on other accounts, also superfluous; and this because many Jews before me have composed the histories of our ancestors very exactly; as have some of the Greeks done it also, and have translated our histories into their own tongue, and have not much mistaken the truth in their histories. But then, where the writers of these affairs and our prophets leave off, thence shall I take my rise, and begin my history. Now as to what concerns that war which happened in my own time, I will go over it very largely, and with all the diligence I am able; but for what preceded mine own age, that I shall run over briefly.

(7) [19] ὡς Ἀντίοχος ὁ κληθεὶς Ἐπιφανὴς ἑλὼν κατὰ κράτος Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ κατασχὼν ἔτεσι τρισὶ καὶ μησὶν ἓξ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀσαμωναίου παίδων ἐκβάλλεται τῆς χώρας, ἔπειθ᾽ ὡς οἱ τούτων ἔγγονοι περὶ τῆς βασιλείας διαστασιάσαντες εἵλκυσαν εἰς τὰ πράγματα Ῥωμαίους καὶ Πομπήιον. καὶ ὡς Ἡρώδης ὁ Ἀντιπάτρου κατέλυσε τὴν δυναστείαν αὐτῶν ἐπαγαγὼν Σόσσιον, [20] ὅπως τε ὁ λαὸς μετὰ τὴν Ἡρώδου τελευτὴν κατεστασίασεν Αὐγούστου μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονεύοντος, Κυιντιλίου δὲ Οὐάρου κατὰ τὴν χώραν ὄντος, καὶ ὡς ἔτει δωδεκάτῳ τῆς Νέρωνος ἀρχῆς ὁ πόλεμος ἀνερράγη τά τε συμβάντα κατὰ Κέστιον καὶ ὅσα κατὰ τὰς πρώτας ὁρμὰς ἐπῆλθον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοῖς ὅπλοις,

7. [For example, I shall relate] how Antiochus, who was named Epiphanes, took Jerusalem by force, and held it three years and three months, and was then ejected out of the country by the sons of Asamoneus: after that, how their posterity quarreled about the government, and brought upon their settlement the Romans and Pompey; how Herod also, the son of Antipater, dissolved their government, and brought Sosins upon them; as also how our people made a sedition upon Herod's death, while Augustus was the Roman emperor, and Quintilius Varus was in that country; and how the war broke out in the twelfth year of Nero, with what happened to Cestius; and what places the Jews assaulted in a hostile manner in the first sallies of the war.

(8) [21] ὅπως τε τὰς περιοίκους ἐτειχίσαντο, καὶ ὡς Νέρων ἐπὶ τοῖς Κεστίου πταίσμασι δείσας περὶ τῶν ὅλων Οὐεσπασιανὸν ἐφίστησι τῷ πολέμῳ, καὶ ὡς οὗτος μετὰ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τῶν παίδων εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίων χώραν ἐνέβαλεν ὅσῃ τε χρώμενος Ῥωμαίων στρατιᾷ καὶ ὅσοι σύμμαχοι ἐκόπησαν εἰς ὅλην τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, καὶ ὡς τῶν πόλεων αὐτῆς ἃς μὲν ὁλοσχερῶς καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἃς δὲ δι᾽ ὁμολογίας ἔλαβεν: [22] ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐν πολέμοις εὐταξίας καὶ τὴν ἄσκησιν τῶν ταγμάτων, τῆς τε Γαλιλαίας ἑκατέρας τὰ διαστήματα καὶ τὴν φύσιν καὶ τοὺς τῆς Ἰουδαίας ὅρους, ἔτι τε τῆς χώρας τὴν ἰδιότητα, λίμνας τε καὶ πηγὰς τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ τὰ περὶ ἑκάστην πόλιν τῶν ἁλισκομένων πάθη μετὰ ἀκριβείας, ὡς εἶδον ἢ ἔπαθον, δίειμι. οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ τι συμφορῶν ἀποκρύψομαι μέλλων γε πρὸς εἰδότας ἐρεῖν.

8. As also [I shall relate] how they built walls about the neighboring cities; and how Nero, upon Cestius's defeat, was in fear of the entire event of the war, and thereupon made Vespasian general in this war; and how this Vespasian, with the elder of his sons made an expedition into the country of Judea; what was the number of the Roman army that he made use of; and how many of his auxiliaries were cut off in all Galilee; and how he took some of its cities entirely, and by force, and others of them by treaty, and on terms. Now, when I am come so far, I

shall describe the good order of the Romans in war, and the discipline of their legions; the amplitude of both the Galilees, with its nature, and the limits of Judea. And, besides this, I shall particularly go over what is peculiar to the country, the lakes and fountains that are in them, and what miseries happened to every city as they were taken; and all this with accuracy, as I saw the things done, or suffered in them. For I shall not conceal any of the calamities I myself endured, since I shall relate them to such as know the truth of them.

(9) [23] Ἔπειθ' ὡς ἤδη καμνόντων Ἰουδαίοις τῶν πραγμάτων θνήσκει μὲν Νέρων, Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ὡρμημένος ὑπὸ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀνθέλκεται: τά τε γενόμενα περὶ ταύτης αὐτῷ σημεῖα καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ Ῥώμης μεταβολάς, [24] καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἄκων αὐτοκράτωρ ἀποδείκνυται, καὶ ἀποχωρήσαντος ἐπὶ διοικήσει τῶν ὅλων εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐστασιάσθη τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὅπως τε ἐπανέστησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ τύραννοι, καὶ τὰς τούτων πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφοράς.

9. After this, [I shall relate] how, When the Jews' affairs were become very bad, Nero died, and Vespasian, when he was going to attack Jerusalem, was called back to take the government upon him; what signs happened to him relating to his gaining that government, and what mutations of government then happened at Rome, and how he was unwillingly made emperor by his soldiers; and how, upon his departure to Egypt, to take upon him the government of the empire, the affairs of the Jews became very tumultuous; as also how the tyrants rose up against them, and fell into dissensions among themselves.

(10) [25] Καὶ ὡς ἄρας ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου Τίτος δεύτερον εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐνέβαλεν, ὅπως τε τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ ὅπου συνήγαγε καὶ ὁπόσας, καὶ ὅπως ἐκ τῆς στάσεως ἡ πόλις διέκειτο παρόντος αὐτοῦ, προσβολάς τε ὅσας ἐποιήσατο καὶ ὁπόσα χώματα, περιβόλους τε τῶν τριῶν τειχῶν καὶ τὰ μέτρα τούτων, τήν τε τῆς πόλεως ὀχυρότητα καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τὴν διάθεσιν, [26] ἔτι δὲ τούτων καὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὰ μέτρα πάντα μετ' ἀκριβείας, ἔθη τε ἑορτῶν ἔνια καὶ τὰς ἑπτὰ ἁγνείας καὶ τὰς τῶν ἱερέων λειτουργίας, ἔτι δὲ τὰς ἐσθῆτας τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, καὶ οἷον ἦν τοῦ ναοῦ τὸ ἅγιον, οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀποκρυπτόμενος οὔτε προστιθεὶς τοῖς πεφωραμένοις.

10. Moreover, [I shall relate] how Titus marched out of Egypt into Judea the second time; as also how, and where, and how many forces he got together; and in what state the city was, by the means of the seditious, at his coming; what attacks he made, and how many ramparts he cast up; of the three walls that encompassed the city, and of their measures; of the strength of the city, and the structure of the temple and holy house; and besides, the measures of those

edifices, and of the altar, and all accurately determined. A description also of certain of their festivals, and seven purifications of purity, and the sacred ministrations of the priests, with the garments of the priests, and of the high priests; and of the nature of the most holy place of the temple; without concealing any thing, or adding any thing to the known truth of things.

(11) [27] Ἔπειτα διέξειμι τήν τε τῶν τυράννων πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους ὠμότητα καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων φειδὼ πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους, καὶ ὁσάκις Τίτος σῶσαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐπιθυμῶν ἐπὶ δεξιὰς τοὺς στασιάζοντας προυκαλέσατο, διακρινῶ δὲ τὰ πάθη τοῦ δήμου καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς ὅσα τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ὅσα ὑπὸ τῆς στάσεως καὶ ὅσα ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ κακωθέντες ἑάλωσαν. [28] παραλείψω δὲ οὐδὲ τὰς τῶν αὐτομόλων ἀτυχίας οὐδὲ τὰς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων κολάσεις, ὅπως τε ὁ ναὸς ἄκοντος ἐνεπρήσθη Καίσαρος καὶ ὅσα τῶν ἱερῶν κειμηλίων ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἡρπάγη τήν τε τῆς ὅλης πόλεως ἅλωσιν καὶ τὰ πρὸ ταύτης σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα καὶ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν τῶν τυράννων τῶν τε ἀνδραποδισθέντων τὸ πλῆθος καὶ εἰς ἣν ἕκαστοι τύχην διενεμήθησαν: [29] καὶ ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐπεξῆλθον τὰ λείψανα τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τὰ ἐρύματα τῶν χωρίων καθεῖλον, Τίτος δὲ πᾶσαν ἐπελθὼν τὴν χώραν κατεστήσατο, τήν τε ὑποστροφὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰς Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὸν θρίαμβον.

11. After this, I shall relate the barbarity of the tyrants towards the people of their own nation, as well as the indulgence of the Romans in sparing foreigners; and how often Titus, out of his desire to preserve the city and the temple, invited the seditious to come to terms of accommodation. I shall also distinguish the sufferings of the people, and their calamities; how far they were afflicted by the sedition, and how far by the famine, and at length were taken. Nor shall I omit to mention the misfortunes of the deserters, nor the punishments inflicted on the captives; as also how the temple was burnt, against the consent of Caesar; and how many sacred things that had been laid up in the temple were snatched out of the fire; the destruction also of the entire city, with the signs and wonders that went before it; and the taking the tyrants captives, and the multitude of those that were made slaves, and into what different misfortunes they were every one distributed. Moreover, what the Romans did to the remains of the wall; and how they demolished the strong holds that were in the country; and how Titus went over the whole country, and settled its affairs; together with his return into Italy, and his triumph.

(12) [30] Ταῦτα πάντα περιλαβὼν ἐν ἑπτὰ βιβλίοις καὶ μηδεμίαν τοῖς ἐπισταμένοις τὰ πράγματα καὶ παρατυχοῦσι τῷ πολέμῳ καταλιπὼν ἢ μέμψεως ἀφορμὴν ἢ

κατηγορίας, τοῖς γε τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀγαπῶσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀνέγραψα. ποιήσομαι δὲ ταύτην τῆς ἐξηγήσεως ἀρχήν, ἣν καὶ τῶν κεφαλαίων ἐποιησάμην.

12. I have comprehended all these things in seven books, and have left no occasion for complaint or accusation to such as have been acquainted with this war; and I have written it down for the sake of those that love truth, but not for those that please themselves [with fictitious relations]. And I will begin my account of these things with what I call my First Chapter.

Liber I

BOOK I.

Containing The Interval Of One Hundred And Sixty-Seven Years.

From The Taking Of Jerusalem By Antiochus Epiphanes, To The Death Of Herod The Great.

I

CHAPTER 1.

How The City Jerusalem Was Taken, And The Temple Pillaged [By Antiochus Epiphanes]. As Also Concerning The Actions Of The Maccabees, Matthias And Judas; And Concerning The Death Of Judas.

(1) [31] Στάσεως τοῖς δυνατοῖς Ἰουδαίων ἐμπεσούσης καθ᾽ ὃν καιρὸν Ἀντίοχος ὁ κληθεὶς Ἐπιφανὴς διεφέρετο περὶ ὅλης Συρίας πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν ἕκτον, ἡ φιλοτιμία δ᾽ ἦν αὐτοῖς περὶ δυναστείας ἑκάστου τῶν ἐν ἀξιώματι μὴ φέροντος τοῖς ὁμοίοις ὑποτετάχθαι, Ὀνίας μὲν εἷς τῶν ἀρχιερέων ἐπικρατήσας ἐξέβαλε τῆς πόλεως τοὺς Τωβία υἱούς. [32] οἱ δὲ καταφυγόντες πρὸς Ἀντίοχον ἱκέτευσαν αὐτοῖς ἡγεμόσι χρώμενον εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐμβαλεῖν. πείθεται δ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὡρμημένος πάλαι, καὶ μετὰ πλείστης δυνάμεως αὐτὸς ὁρμήσας τήν τε πόλιν αἱρεῖ κατὰ κράτος καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος τῶν Πτολεμαίῳ προσεχόντων ἀναιρεῖ, ταῖς τε ἁρπαγαῖς ἀνέδην ἐπαφιεὶς τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτὸς καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐσύλησε καὶ τὸν ἐνδελεχισμὸν τῶν καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐναγισμῶν ἔπαυσεν ἐπ᾽ ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἕξ. [33] ὁ δ᾽ ἀρχιερεὺς Ὀνίας πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον διαφυγὼν καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ λαβὼν τόπον ἐν τῷ Ἡλιοπολίτῃ νομῷ πολίχνην τε τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀπεικασμένην καὶ ναὸν ἔκτισεν ὅμοιον: περὶ ὧν αὖθις κατὰ χώραν δηλώσομεν.

1. At the same time that Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, had a quarrel with the sixth Ptolemy about his right to the whole country of Syria, a great sedition fell among the men of power in Judea, and they had a contention about obtaining the government; while each of those that were of dignity could not endure to be subject to their equals. However, Onias, one of the high priests, got the better, and cast the sons of Tobias out of the city; who fled to Antiochus, and besought him to make use of them for his leaders, and to make an expedition into Judea. The king being thereto disposed beforehand, complied with them, and came upon the Jews with a great army, and took their city by force, and slew a great

multitude of those that favored Ptolemy, and sent out his soldiers to plunder them without mercy. He also spoiled the temple, and put a stop to the constant practice of offering a daily sacrifice of expiation for three years and six months. But Onias, the high priest, fled to Ptolemy, and received a place from him in the Nomus of Heliopolis, where he built a city resembling Jerusalem, and a temple that was like its temple concerning which we shall speak more in its proper place hereafter.

(2) [34] Ἀντιόχῳ γε μὴν οὔτε τὸ παρ᾽ ἐλπίδα κρατῆσαι τῆς πόλεως οὔτε αἱ ἁρπαγαὶ καὶ ὁ τοσοῦτος φόνος ἤρκεσεν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀκρασίας παθῶν καὶ κατὰ μνήμην ὧν παρὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἔπαθεν ἠνάγκαζεν Ἰουδαίους καταλύσαντας τὰ πάτρια βρέφη τε αὐτῶν φυλάττειν ἀπερίτμητα καὶ σῦς ἐπιθύειν τῷ βωμῷ: [35] πρὸς ἃ ἅπαντες μὲν ἠπείθουν, ἐσφάττοντο δὲ οἱ δοκιμώτατοι. καὶ Βακχίδης ὁ πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀντιόχου φρούραρχος, τῇ φυσικῇ προσλαβὼν ὠμότητι τὰ ἀσεβῆ παραγγέλματα παρανομίας οὐδεμίαν κατέλιπεν ὑπερβολὴν καὶ κατ᾽ ἄνδρα τοὺς ἀξιολόγους αἰκιζόμενος καὶ κοινῇ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐνδεικνύμενος ὄψιν ἁλώσεως τῇ πόλει, μέχρι ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς τῶν ἀδικημάτων τοὺς πάσχοντας εἰς ἀμύνης τόλμαν ἠρέθισε.

2. Now Antiochus was not satisfied either with his unexpected taking the city, or with its pillage, or with the great slaughter he had made there; but being overcome with his violent passions, and remembering what he had suffered during the siege, he compelled the Jews to dissolve the laws of their country, and to keep their infants uncircumcised, and to sacrifice swine’s flesh upon the altar; against which they all opposed themselves, and the most approved among them were put to death. Bacchides also, who was sent to keep the fortresses, having these wicked commands, joined to his own natural barbarity, indulged all sorts of the extremest wickedness, and tormented the worthiest of the inhabitants, man by man, and threatened their city every day with open destruction, till at length he provoked the poor sufferers by the extremity of his wicked doings to avenge themselves.

(3) [36] Ματθίας γοῦν υἱὸς Ἀσαμωναίου τῶν ἱερέων εἷς ἀπὸ κώμης Μωδεεὶν ὄνομα, συνασπίσας μετὰ χειρὸς οἰκείας, πέντε γὰρ υἱεῖς ἦσαν αὐτῷ, κοπίσιν ἀναιρεῖ τὸν Βακχίδην. καὶ παραχρῆμα μὲν δείσας τὸ πλῆθος τῶν φρουρῶν εἰς τὰ ὄρη καταφεύγει: [37] προσγενομένων δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου πολλῶν ἀναθαρσήσας κάτεισι καὶ συμβαλὼν μάχῃ νικᾷ τε τοὺς Ἀντιόχου στρατηγοὺς καὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐξελαύνει. παρελθὼν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς εὐπραγίας εἰς δυναστείαν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἀλλοφύλων ἄρξας τῶν σφετέρων ἑκόντων, τελευτᾷ Ἰούδᾳ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν παίδων καταλιπὼν τὴν ἀρχήν.

3. Accordingly Matthias, the son of Asamoneus, one of the priests who lived in a village called Modin, armed himself, together with his own family, which had five sons of his in it, and slew Bacchides with daggers; and thereupon, out of the fear of the many garrisons [of the enemy], he fled to the mountains; and so many of the people followed him, that he was encouraged to come down from the mountains, and to give battle to Antiochus's generals, when he beat them, and drove them out of Judea. So he came to the government by this his success, and became the prince of his own people by their own free consent, and then died, leaving the government to Judas, his eldest son.

(4) [38] Ὁ δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἠρεμήσειν Ἀντίοχον ὑπελάμβανε, τάς τε ἐπιχωρίους συγκροτεῖ δυνάμεις, καὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πρῶτος ἐποιήσατο φιλίαν, καὶ τὸν Ἐπιφανῆ πάλιν εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐμβάλλοντα μετὰ καρτερᾶς πληγῆς ἀνέστειλεν. [39] ἀπὸ δὲ θερμοῦ τοῦ κατορθώματος ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει φρουράν, οὔπω γὰρ ἐκκέκοπτο, καὶ ἐκβαλὼν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄνω πόλεως συνωθεῖ τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς τὴν κάτω: τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ ἄστεος τὸ μέρος Ἄκρα κέκληται: κυριεύσας δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τόν τε χῶρον ἐκάθηρε πάντα καὶ περιετείχισε καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας σκεύη καινὰ κατασκευάσας εἰς τὸν ναὸν εἰσήνεγκεν ὡς τῶν προτέρων μεμιαμμένων, βωμόν τε ᾠκοδόμησεν ἕτερον καὶ τῶν ἐναγισμῶν ἤρξατο. [40] λαμβανούσης δὲ ἄρτι τὸ ἱερὸν κατάστημα τῆς πόλεως τελευτᾷ μὲν Ἀντίοχος, κληρονόμος δὲ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ἀπεχθείας ὁ υἱὸς Ἀντίοχος γίνεται.

4. Now Judas, supposing that Antiochus would not lie still, gathered an army out of his own countrymen, and was the first that made a league of friendship with the Romans, and drove Epiphanes out of the country when he had made a second expedition into it, and this by giving him a great defeat there; and when he was warmed by this great success, he made an assault upon the garrison that was in the city, for it had not been cut off hitherto; so he ejected them out of the upper city, and drove the soldiers into the lower, which part of the city was called the Citadel. He then got the temple under his power, and cleansed the whole place, and walled it round about, and made new vessels for sacred ministrations, and brought them into the temple, because the former vessels had been profaned. He also built another altar, and began to offer the sacrifices; and when the city had already received its sacred constitution again, Antiochus died; whose son Antiochus succeeded him in the kingdom, and in his hatred to the Jews also.

(5) [41] Συναγαγὼν γοῦν πεζῶν μὲν μυριάδας πέντε, ἱππεῖς δὲ πεντακισχιλίους, ἐλέφαντας δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα ἐμβάλλει διὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίας εἰς τὴν ὀρεινήν. Βηθσουρὸν μὲν οὖν πολίχνην αἱρεῖ, κατὰ δὲ τόπον, ὃς καλεῖται Βεθζαχαρία στενῆς οὔσης τῆς παρόδου Ἰούδας ὑπαντᾷ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. [42] πρὶν δὲ

συνάψαι τὰς φάλαγγας Ἐλεάζαρος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ προιδὼν τὸν ὑψηλότατον τῶν ἐλεφάντων πύργῳ τε μεγάλῳ καὶ περιχρύσοις προτειχίσμασι κεκοσμημένον, ὑπολαβὼν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀντίοχον εἶναι, τῶν τε ἰδίων ἐκτρέχει πολὺ καὶ διακόψας τὸ στῖφος τῶν πολεμίων ἐπὶ τὸν ἐλέφαντα διήνυσεν. [43] ἐφικέσθαι μὲν οὖν τοῦ δοκοῦντος εἶναι βασιλέως οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν διὰ τὸ ὕψος, ὁ δὲ τὸ θηρίον ὑπὸ τὴν γαστέρα πλήξας ἐπικατέσεισεν ἑαυτῷ καὶ συντριβεὶς ἐτελεύτησεν, μηδὲν πλέον δράσας τοῦ τοῖς μεγάλοις ἐπιβαλέσθαι θέμενος εὐκλείας ἐν δευτέρῳ τὸ ζῆν. [44] ὅ γε μὴν κυβερνῶν τὸν ἐλέφαντα ἰδιώτης ἦν: κἂν εἰ συνέβη δὲ εἶναι τὸν Ἀντίοχον, οὐδὲν πλέον ἤνυσεν ὁ τολμήσας τοῦ δοκεῖν ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι μόνῃ λαμπροῦ κατορθώματος ἐλέσθαι τὸν θάνατον. [45] γίνεται δὲ καὶ κληδὼν τἀδελφῷ τῆς ὅλης παρατάξεως: καρτερῶς μὲν γὰρ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διηγωνίσαντο, πλήθει δὲ ὑπερέχοντες οἱ βασιλικοὶ καὶ δεξιᾷ χρησάμενοι τύχῃ κρατοῦσι, καὶ πολλῶν ἀναιρεθέντων τοὺς λοιποὺς ἔχων Ἰούδας εἰς τὴν Γοφνιτικὴν τοπαρχίαν φεύγει. [46] Ἀντίοχος δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ καθίσας ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἐν αὐτῇ κατὰ σπάνιν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπανίσταται, καταλιπὼν μὲν φρουρὰν ὅσην ἀποχρήσειν ὑπελάμβανε, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν δύναμιν ἀπαγαγὼν χειμεριοῦσαν εἰς τὴν Συρίαν.

5. So this Antiochus got together fifty thousand footmen, and five thousand horsemen, and fourscore elephants, and marched through Judea into the mountainous parts. He then took Bethsura, which was a small city; but at a place called Bethzacharis, where the passage was narrow, Judas met him with his army. However, before the forces joined battle, Judas's brother Eleazar, seeing the very highest of the elephants adorned with a large tower, and with military trappings of gold to guard him, and supposing that Antiochus himself was upon him, he ran a great way before his own army, and cutting his way through the enemy's troops, he got up to the elephant; yet could he not reach him who seemed to be the king, by reason of his being so high; but still he ran his weapon into the belly of the beast, and brought him down upon himself, and was crushed to death, having done no more than attempted great things, and showed that he preferred glory before life. Now he that governed the elephant was but a private man; and had he proved to be Antiochus, Eleazar had performed nothing more by this bold stroke than that it might appear he chose to die, when he had the bare hope of thereby doing a glorious action; nay, this disappointment proved an omen to his brother [Judas] how the entire battle would end. It is true that the Jews fought it out bravely for a long time, but the king's forces, being superior in number, and having fortune on their side, obtained the victory. And when a great many of his men were slain, Judas took the rest with him, and fled to the toparchy of Gophna. So Antiochus went to Jerusalem, and staid there but a few

days, for he wanted provisions, and so he went his way. He left indeed a garrison behind him, such as he thought sufficient to keep the place, but drew the rest of his army off, to take their winter-quarters in Syria.

(6) [47] Πρὸς δὲ τὴν ὑποχώρησιν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰούδας οὐκ ἠρέμει, προσγενομένων δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους πολλῶν καὶ τοὺς διασωθέντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐπισυγκροτήσας κατὰ κώμην Ἀκέδασαν συμβάλλει τοῖς Ἀντιόχου στρατηγοῖς, καὶ φανεὶς ἄριστος κατὰ τὴν μάχην πολλούς τε τῶν πολεμίων ἀποκτείνας ἀναιρεῖται καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννης ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ Ἀντιόχου φρονούντων τελευτᾷ.

6. Now, after the king was departed, Judas was not idle; for as many of his own nation came to him, so did he gather those that had escaped out of the battle together, and gave battle again to Antiochus's generals at a village called Adasa; and being too hard for his enemies in the battle, and killing a great number of them, he was at last himself slain also. Nor was it many days afterward that his brother John had a plot laid against him by Antiochus's party, and was slain by them.

II

CHAPTER 2.

Concerning The Successors Of Judas, Who Were Jonathan And Simon, And John Hyrcanus.

(1) [48] Διαδεξάμενος δὲ τοῦτον ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἰωνάθης τά τε ἄλλα πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους διὰ φυλακῆς ἦγεν ἑαυτὸν καὶ τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίᾳ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκρατύνατο πρός τε τὸν Ἀντιόχου παῖδα διαλλαγὰς ἐποιήσατο. οὐ μήν τι τούτων ἤρκεσεν αὐτῷ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν: [49] Τρύφων γὰρ ὁ τύραννος, ἐπίτροπος μὲν ὢν τοῦ Ἀντιόχου παιδὸς ἐπιβουλεύων δ' αὐτῷ καὶ πρόσθεν, ἀποσκευάζεσθαι τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ πειρώμενος ἥκοντα τὸν Ἰωνάθην σὺν ὀλίγοις εἰς Πτολεμαίδα πρὸς Ἀντίοχον δόλῳ συλλαμβάνει καὶ δήσας ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίαν στρατεύει: εἶτ' ἀπελαθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σίμωνος, ὃς ἦν ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Ἰωνάθου, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἧτταν ὠργισμένος κτείνει τὸν Ἰωνάθην.

1. When Jonathan, who was Judas's brother, succeeded him, he behaved himself with great circumspection in other respects, with relation to his own people; and he corroborated his authority by preserving his friendship with the Romans. He also made a league with Antiochus the son. Yet was not all this sufficient for his security; for the tyrant Trypho, who was guardian to Antiochus's son, laid a plot against him; and besides that, endeavored to take off his friends, and caught

Jonathan by a wile, as he was going to Ptolemais to Antiochus, with a few persons in his company, and put him in bonds, and then made an expedition against the Jews; but when he was afterward driven away by Simon, who was Jonathan's brother, and was enraged at his defeat, he put Jonathan to death.

(2) [50] Σίμων δὲ γενναίως ἀφηγούμενος τῶν πραγμάτων αἱρεῖ μὲν Γάζαρά τε καὶ Ἰόππην καὶ Ἰάμνειαν τῶν προσοίκων, κατέσκαψε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἄκραν τῶν φρουρῶν κρατήσας. αὖθις δὲ γίνεται καὶ Ἀντιόχῳ σύμμαχος κατὰ Τρύφωνος, ὃν ἐν Δώροις πρὸ τῆς ἐπὶ Μήδους στρατείας ἐπολιόρκει. [51] ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξεδυσώπησεν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως πλεονεξίαν Τρύφωνα συνεξελών: μετ' οὐ πολὺ γὰρ Ἀντίοχος Κενδεβαῖον τὸν αὐτοῦ στρατηγὸν μετὰ δυνάμεως δῃώσοντα τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἔπεμψεν καὶ καταδουλωσόμενον Σίμωνα. [52] ὁ δὲ καίτοι γε γηραλέος ὢν νεανικώτερον ἀφηγήσατο τοῦ πολέμου: τοὺς μέντοι γε υἱεῖς αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἐρρωμενεστάτων προεκπέμπει, αὐτὸς δὲ μοῖραν τῆς δυνάμεως ἀναλαβὼν ἐπῄει κατ' ἄλλο μέρος. [53] πολλοὺς δὲ πολλαχοῦ κἀν τοῖς ὄρεσι προλοχίσας πάσαις κρατεῖ ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς καὶ νικήσας λαμπρῶς ἀρχιερεὺς ἀποδείκνυται καὶ τῆς Μακεδόνων ἐπικρατείας μετὰ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη Ἰουδαίους ἀπαλλάττει.

2. However, Simon managed the public affairs after a courageous manner, and took Gazara, and Joppa, and Jamnia, which were cities in his neighborhood. He also got the garrison under, and demolished the citadel. He was afterward an auxiliary to Antiochus, against Trypho, whom he besieged in Dora, before he went on his expedition against the Medes; yet could not he make the king ashamed of his ambition, though he had assisted him in killing Trypho; for it was not long ere Antiochus sent Cendebeus his general with an army to lay waste Judea, and to subdue Simon; yet he, though he was now in years, conducted the war as if he were a much younger man. He also sent his sons with a band of strong men against Antiochus, while he took part of the army himself with him, and fell upon him from another quarter. He also laid a great many men in ambush in many places of the mountains, and was superior in all his attacks upon them; and when he had been conqueror after so glorious a manner, he was made high priest, and also freed the Jews from the dominion of the Macedonians, after one hundred and seventy years of the empire [of Seleucus].

(3) [54] Θνήσκει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ἐν συμποσίῳ ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ γαμβροῦ, ὃς αὐτοῦ τήν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς δύο παῖδας ἐγκαθείρξας ἐπὶ τὸν τρίτον Ἰωάννην, ὃς καὶ Ὑρκανὸς ἐκαλεῖτο, τοὺς ἀναιρήσοντας ἔπεμψεν. [55] προγνοὺς δὲ τὴν ἔφοδον ὁ νεανίσκος παραγενέσθαι εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἠπείγετο, πλεῖστον τῷ λαῷ πεποιθὼς κατά τε μνήμην τῶν πατρῴων κατορθωμάτων καὶ

μῖσος τῆς Πτολεμαίου παρανομίας. ὥρμησε δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος εἰσελθεῖν καθ' ἑτέραν πύλην, ἐξεκρούσθη γε μὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ταχέως δεδεγμένων ἤδη τὸν Ὑρκανόν. [56] καὶ ὁ μὲν παραχρῆμα ἀνεχώρησεν εἴς τι τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἰεριχοῦντος ἐρυμάτων, ὃ Δαγὼν καλεῖται: κομισάμενος δὲ τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρχιερωσύνην Ὑρκανὸς καὶ θύσας τῷ θεῷ μετὰ τάχους ἐπὶ Πτολεμαῖον ὥρμησεν βοηθήσων τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, καὶ προσβαλὼν τῷ φρουρίῳ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κρείττων ἦν,

3. This Simon also had a plot laid against him, and was slain at a feast by his son-in-law Ptolemy, who put his wife and two sons into prison, and sent some persons to kill John, who was also called Hyrcanus. But when the young man was informed of their coming beforehand, he made haste to get to the city, as having a very great confidence in the people there, both on account of the memory of the glorious actions of his father, and of the hatred they could not but bear to the injustice of Ptolemy. Ptolemy also made an attempt to get into the city by another gate; but was repelled by the people, who had just then admitted of Hyrcanus; so he retired presently to one of the fortresses that were about Jericho, which was called Dagon. Now when Hyrcanus had received the high priesthood, which his father had held before, and had offered sacrifice to God, he made great haste to attack Ptolemy, that he might afford relief to his mother and brethren.

(4) [57] ἠττᾶτο δὲ δικαίου πάθους: ὁ γὰρ Πτολεμαῖος ὁπότε καταπονοῖτο, τήν τε μητέρα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ προάγων ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους εἰς εὐσύνοπτον ἠκίζετο καὶ κατακρημνιεῖν, εἰ μὴ θᾶττον ἀπανασταίη, διηπείλει. [58] πρὸς ἃ τὸν μὲν Ὑρκανὸν ὀργῆς πλείων οἶκτος εἰσῄει καὶ δέος, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ οὐδὲν οὔτε πρὸς τὰς αἰκίας οὔτε πρὸς τὸν ἀπειλούμενον αὐτῇ θάνατον ἐνδιδοῦσα χεῖρας ὤρεγε καὶ κατηντιβόλει τὸν παῖδα μήτι πρὸς τὴν αὐτῆς ὕβριν ἐπικλασθέντα φείσασθαι τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς, ὡς αὐτῇ γε κρείττονα τὸν ἐκ Πτολεμαίου θάνατον ἀθανασίας εἶναι δόντος δίκας ἐφ' οἷς εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῶν παρηνόμησεν. [59] ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης ὁπότε μὲν ἐνθυμηθείη τὸ παράστημα τῆς μητρὸς καὶ κατακούσειε τῆς ἱκεσίας, ὥρμητο προσβάλλειν, ἐπειδὰν δὲ κατίδοι τυπτομένην τε καὶ σπαραττομένην, ἐθηλύνετο καὶ τοῦ πάθους ὅλος ἦν. [60] τριβομένης δὲ διὰ ταῦτα τῆς πολιορκίας ἐπέστη τὸ ἀργὸν ἔτος, ὃ κατὰ ἑπταετίαν ἀργεῖται παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις ὁμοίως ταῖς ἑβδομάσιν ἡμέραις. κἀν τούτῳ Πτολεμαῖος ἀνεθεὶς τῆς πολιορκίας ἀναιρεῖ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς Ἰωάννου σὺν τῇ μητρὶ καὶ φεύγει πρὸς Ζήνωνα τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Κοτυλᾶν: Φιλαδελφείας δ' ἦν τύραννος.

4. So he laid siege to the fortress, and was superior to Ptolemy in other respects, but was overcome by him as to the just affection [he had for his relations]; for when Ptolemy was distressed, he brought forth his mother, and his brethren, and

set them upon the wall, and beat them with rods in every body's sight, and threatened, that unless he would go away immediately, he would throw them down headlong; at which sight Hyrcanus's commiseration and concern were too hard for his anger. But his mother was not dismayed, neither at the stripes she received, nor at the death with which she was threatened; but stretched out her hands, and prayed her son not to be moved with the injuries that she suffered to spare the wretch; since it was to her better to die by the means of Ptolemy, than to live ever so long, provided he might be punished for the injuries he done to their family. Now John's case was this: When he considered the courage of his mother, and heard her entreaty, he set about his attacks; but when he saw her beaten, and torn to pieces with the stripes, he grew feeble, and was entirely overcome by his affections. And as the siege was delayed by this means, the year of rest came on, upon which the Jews rest every seventh year as they do on every seventh day. On this year, therefore, Ptolemy was freed from being besieged, and slew the brethren of John, with their mother, and fled to Zeno, who was also called Cotylas, who was tyrant of Philadelphia.

(5) [61] Ἀντίοχος δὲ κατ' ὀργὴν ὧν ὑπὸ Σίμωνος ἔπαθεν, στρατεύσας εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπολιόρκει τὸν Ὑρκανὸν προσκαθεζόμενος τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις. ὁ δὲ τὸν Δαυίδου τάφον ἀνοίξας, ὃς δὴ πλουσιώτατος βασιλέων ἐγένετο, καὶ ὑφελόμενος ὑπὲρ τρισχίλια τάλαντα χρημάτων τόν τε Ἀντίοχον ἀνίστησι τῆς πολιορκίας πείσας τριακοσίοις ταλάντοις καὶ δὴ καὶ ξενοτροφεῖν πρῶτος Ἰουδαίων ἐκ τῆς περιουσίας ἤρξατο.

5. And now Antiochus was so angry at what he had suffered from Simon, that he made an expedition into Judea, and sat down before Jerusalem and besieged Hyrcanus; but Hyrcanus opened the sepulcher of David, who was the richest of all kings, and took thence about three thousand talents in money, and induced Antiochus, by the promise of three thousand talents, to raise the siege. Moreover, he was the first of the Jews that had money enough, and began to hire foreign auxiliaries also.

(6) [62] Αὖθίς γε μὴν Ἀντίοχος ἐπὶ Μήδους στρατεύσας καιρὸν ἀμύνης αὐτῷ παρεῖχεν: εὐθέως γὰρ ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν Συρίᾳ πόλεις, κενάς, ὅπερ ἦν, ὑπολαμβάνων τῶν μαχιμωτέρων εὑρήσειν. [63] Μεδάβην μὲν οὖν καὶ Σαμαγὰν ἅμα ταῖς πλησίον, ἔτι δὲ Σίκιμα καὶ Ἀργαρίζειν αὐτὸς αἱρεῖ, πρὸς αἷς τὸ Χουθαίων γένος, οἳ περιῴκουν τὸ εἰκασθὲν τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερῷ. αἱρεῖ δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ἄλλας τε οὐκ ὀλίγας καὶ Ἀδωρεὸν καὶ Μάρισαν.

6. However, at another time, when Antiochus was gone upon an expedition against the Medes, and so gave Hyrcanus an opportunity of being revenged upon

him, he immediately made an attack upon the cities of Syria, as thinking, what proved to be the case with them, that he should find them empty of good troops. So he took Medaba and Samea, with the towns in their neighborhood, as also Shechem, and Gerizzim; and besides these, [he subdued] the nation of the Cutheans, who dwelt round about that temple which was built in imitation of the temple at Jerusalem; he also took a great many other cities of Idumea, with Adoreon and Marissa.

(7) [64] Προελθὼν δὲ καὶ μέχρι Σαμαρείας, ἔνθα νῦν ἐστιν Σεβαστὴ πόλις ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου κτισθεῖσα τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ πάντοθεν αὐτὴν ἀποτειχίσας τοὺς υἱεῖς ἐπέστησε τῇ πολιορκίᾳ Ἀριστόβουλον καὶ Ἀντίγονον: ὧν οὐδὲν ἀνιέντων λιμοῦ μὲν εἰς τοσοῦτον προῆλθον οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἅψασθαι καὶ τῶν ἀηθεστάτων. [65] ἐπικαλοῦνται δὲ βοηθὸν Ἀντίοχον τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Ἀσπένδιον: κἀκεῖνος ἑτοίμως ὑπακούσας ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἀριστόβουλον ἡττᾶται. καὶ ὁ μὲν μέχρι Σκυθοπόλεως διωχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐκφεύγει, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Σαμαρεῖς ὑποστρέψαντες τό τε πλῆθος πάλιν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος συγκλείουσιν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἑλόντες αὐτήν τε κατασκάπτουσιν καὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐξηνδραποδίσαντο. [66] προχωρούντων δὲ τῶν κατορθωμάτων τὴν ὁρμὴν οὐ κατέψυξαν, ἀλλὰ προελθόντες ἅμα τῇ δυνάμει μέχρι τῆς Σκυθοπόλεως ταύτην τε κατέδραμον καὶ τὴν ἐντὸς Καρμήλου τοῦ ὄρους χώραν ἅπασαν κατενείμαντο.

7. He also proceeded as far as Samaria, where is now the city Sebaste, which was built by Herod the king, and encompassed it all round with a wall, and set his sons, Aristobulus and Antigonus, over the siege; who pushed it on so hard, that a famine so far prevailed within the city, that they were forced to eat what never was esteemed food. They also invited Antiochus, who was called Cyzicenus, to come to their assistance; whereupon he got ready, and complied with their invitation, but was beaten by Aristobulus and Antigonus; and indeed he was pursued as far as Scythopolis by these brethren, and fled away from them. So they returned back to Samaria, and shut the multitude again within the wall; and when they had taken the city, they demolished it, and made slaves of its inhabitants. And as they had still great success in their undertakings, they did not suffer their zeal to cool, but marched with an army as far as Scythopolis, and made an incursion upon it, and laid waste all the country that lay within Mount Carmel.

(8) [67] Πρὸς δὲ τὰς εὐπραγίας αὐτοῦ τε Ἰωάννου καὶ τῶν παίδων φθόνος ἐγείρει στάσιν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, καὶ πολλοὶ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν συνελθόντες οὐκ ἠρέμουν, μέχρι καὶ πρὸς φανερὸν πόλεμον ἐκριπισθέντες ἡττῶνται. [68] τὸ λοιπὸν δ᾽ ἐπιβιοὺς ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ Ἰωάννης καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν κάλλιστα διοικήσας ἐν τρισὶν ὅλοις

καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτεσιν ἐπὶ πέντε υἱοῖς τελευτᾷ, μακαριστὸς ὄντως καὶ κατὰ μηδὲν ἐάσας ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῷ μεμφθῆναι τὴν τύχην. τρία γοῦν τὰ κρατιστεύοντα μόνος εἶχεν, τήν τε ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην καὶ προφητείαν: [69] ὡμίλει γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ δαιμόνιον ὡς μηδὲν τῶν μελλόντων ἀγνοεῖν, ὅς γε καὶ περὶ δύο τῶν πρεσβυτέρων υἱῶν ὅτι μὴ διαμενοῦσι κύριοι τῶν πραγμάτων προεῖδέν τε καὶ προεφήτευσεν: ὧν τὴν καταστροφὴν ἄξιον ἀφηγήσασθαι, παρ᾽ ὅσον τῆς πατρῴας εὐδαιμονίας ἀπέκλιναν.

8. But then these successes of John and of his sons made them be envied, and occasioned a sedition in the country; and many there were who got together, and would not be at rest till they brake out into open war, in which war they were beaten. So John lived the rest of his life very happily, and administered the government after a most extraordinary manner, and this for thirty-three entire years together. He died, leaving five sons behind him. He was certainly a very happy man, and afforded no occasion to have any complaint made of fortune on his account. He it was who alone had three of the most desirable things in the world, — the government of his nation, and the high priesthood, and the gift of prophecy. For the Deity conversed with him, and he was not ignorant of any thing that was to come afterward; insomuch that he foresaw and foretold that his two eldest sons would not continue masters of the government; and it will highly deserve our narration to describe their catastrophe, and how far inferior these men were to their father in felicity.

III

CHAPTER 3.

How Aristobulus Was The First That Put A Diadem About His Head; And After He Had Put His Mother And Brother To Death, Died Himself, When He Had Reigned No More Than A Year.

(1) [70] Μετὰ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν ὁ πρεσβύτερος αὐτῶν Ἀριστόβουλος τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς βασιλείαν μετατιθεὶς περιτίθεται μὲν διάδημα πρῶτος μετὰ τετρακοσιοστὸν καὶ ἑβδομηκοστὸν πρῶτον ἔτος, πρὸς δὲ μῆνας τρεῖς, ἐξ οὗ κατῆλθεν ὁ λαὸς εἰς τὴν χώραν ἀπαλλαγεὶς τῆς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι δουλείας: [71] τῶν δὲ ἀδελφῶν τὸν μὲν μεθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν Ἀντίγονον, ἐδόκει γὰρ ἀγαπᾶν, ἦγεν ἰσοτίμως, τοὺς δ᾽ ἄλλους εἴργνυσι δήσας. δεσμεῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα διενεχθεῖσαν περὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας, ταύτην γὰρ κυρίαν τῶν ὅλων ὁ Ἰωάννης ἀπολελοίπει, καὶ μέχρι τοσαύτης ὠμότητος προῆλθεν, ὥστε καὶ λιμῷ διαφθεῖραι δεδεμένην.

1. For after the death of their father, the elder of them, Aristobulus, changed the government into a kingdom, and was the first that put a diadem upon his head, four hundred seventy and one years and three months after our people came down into this country, when they were set free from the Babylonian slavery. Now, of his brethren, he appeared to have an affection for Antigonus, who was next to him, and made him his equal; but for the rest, he bound them, and put them in prison. He also put his mother in bonds, for her contesting the government with him; for John had left her to be the governess of public affairs. He also proceeded to that degree of barbarity as to cause her to be pined to death in prison.

(2) [72] Περιέρχεται δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ τίσις εἰς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀντίγονον, ὃν ἠγάπα τε καὶ τῆς βασιλείας κοινωνὸν εἶχεν: κτείνει γὰρ καὶ τοῦτον ἐκ διαβολῶν, ἃς οἱ πονηροὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ βασίλειον ἐνεσκευάσαντο. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα διηπίστει τοῖς λεγομένοις ὁ Ἀριστόβουλος ἅτε δὴ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀγαπῶν καὶ διδοὺς φθόνῳ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν λογοποιουμένων. [73] ὡς δ' ὁ Ἀντίγονος λαμπρὸς ἀπὸ στρατείας ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν, ἐν ᾗ σκηνοποιεῖσθαι πάτριον τῷ θεῷ, συνέβη μὲν κατ' ἐκείνας τὰς ἡμέρας νόσῳ χρήσασθαι τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον, τὸν δὲ Ἀντίγονον ἐπὶ τέλει τῆς ἑορτῆς ἀναβάντα μετὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ὁπλιτῶν ὡς ἐνῆν μάλιστα κεκοσμημένον προσκυνῆσαι τὸ πλέον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ. [74] κἀν τούτῳ προσιόντες οἱ πονηροὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τήν τε πομπὴν τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἐδήλουν καὶ τὸ παράστημα τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου μεῖζον ἢ κατ' ἰδιώτην, ὅτι τε παρείη μετὰ μεγίστου συντάγματος ἀναιρήσων αὐτόν: οὐ γὰρ ἀνέχεσθαι τιμὴν μόνον ἐκ βασιλείας ἔχων, παρὸν αὐτὴν κατασχεῖν.

2. But vengeance circumvented him in the affair of his brother Antigonus, whom he loved, and whom he made his partner in the kingdom; for he slew him by the means of the calumnies which ill men about the palace contrived against him. At first, indeed, Aristobulus would not believe their reports, partly out of the affection he had for his brother, and partly because he thought that a great part of these tales were owing to the envy of their relaters: however, as Antigonus came once in a splendid manner from the army to that festival, wherein our ancient custom is to make tabernacles for God, it happened, in those days, that Aristobulus was sick, and that, at the conclusion of the feast, Antigonus came up to it, with his armed men about him; and this when he was adorned in the finest manner possible; and that, in a great measure, to pray to God on the behalf of his brother. Now at this very time it was that these ill men came to the king, and told him in what a pompous manner the armed men came, and with what insolence Antigonus marched, and that such his insolence was too great for a private person, and that accordingly he was come with a great band of men to kill him;

for that he could not endure this bare enjoyment of royal honor, when it was in his power to take the kingdom himself.

(3) [75] Τούτοις κατὰ μικρὸν ἄκων ἐπίστευσεν ὁ Ἀριστόβουλος, καὶ προνοῶν τοῦ μήθ' ὑποπτεύων φανερὸς γενέσθαι καὶ προησφαλίσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἄδηλον καθίστησι μὲν τοὺς σωματοφύλακας ἔν τινι τῶν ὑπογαίων ἀλαμπεῖ, κατέκειτο δ' ἐν τῇ βάρει πρότερον αὖθις δ' Ἀντωνίᾳ μετονομασθείσῃ, προστάξας ἀνόπλου μὲν ἀπέχεσθαι, κτείνειν δὲ τὸν Ἀντίγονον, εἰ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων προσίοι, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔπεμψεν τοὺς προεροῦντας ἄνοπλον ἐλθεῖν. [76] πρὸς τοῦτο πάνυ πανούργως ἡ βασίλισσα συντάσσεται μετὰ τῶν ἐπιβούλων: τοὺς γὰρ πεμφθέντας πείθουσιν τὰ μὲν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως σιωπῆσαι, λέγειν δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίγονον ὡς ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἀκούσας ὅπλα τε αὐτῷ παρεσκευακέναι κάλλιστα καὶ πολεμικὸν κόσμον ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ διὰ μὲν τὴν ἀσθένειαν αὐτὸς ἐπιδεῖν ἕκαστα κωλυθείη, νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ καὶ χωρίζεσθαι μέλλοις, θεάσαιτ' ἂν ἥδιστά σε ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις.

3. Now Aristobulus, by degrees, and unwillingly, gave credit to these accusations; and accordingly he took care not to discover his suspicion openly, though he provided to be secure against any accidents; so he placed the guards of his body in a certain dark subterranean passage; for he lay sick in a place called formerly the Citadel, though afterwards its name was changed to Antonia; and he gave orders that if Antigonus came unarmed, they should let him alone; but if he came to him in his armor, they should kill him. He also sent some to let him know beforehand that he should come unarmed. But, upon this occasion, the queen very cunningly contrived the matter with those that plotted his ruin, for she persuaded those that were sent to conceal the king's message; but to tell Antigonus how his brother had heard he had got a very the suit of armor made with fine martial ornaments, in Galilee; and because his present sickness hindered him from coming and seeing all that finery, he very much desired to see him now in his armor; because, said he, in a little time thou art going away from me.

(4) [77] Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Ἀντίγονος, ἐνῆγεν δ' ἡ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ διάθεσις μηδὲν ὑποπτεύειν πονηρόν, ἐχώρει μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ὡς πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν. γενόμενος δὲ κατὰ τὴν σκοτεινὴν πάροδον, Στράτωνος ἐκαλεῖτο πύργος, ὑπὸ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἀναιρεῖται, βέβαιον ἀποδείξας ὅτι πᾶσαν εὔνοιαν καὶ φύσιν κόπτει διαβολὴ καὶ οὐδὲν οὕτως τῶν ἀγαθῶν παθῶν ἰσχυρόν, ὃ τῷ φθόνῳ μέχρι παντὸς ἀντέχει.

4. As soon as Antigonus heard this, the good temper of his brother not allowing him to suspect any harm from him, he came along with his armor on, to show it to his brother; but when he was going along that dark passage which was called

Strato's Tower, he was slain by the body guards, and became an eminent instance how calumny destroys all good-will and natural affection, and how none of our good affections are strong enough to resist envy perpetually.

(5) [78] Θαυμάσαι δ' ἄν τις ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Ἰούδαν, Ἐσσαῖος ἦν γένος οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε πταίσας ἢ ψευσθεὶς ἐν τοῖς προαπαγγέλμασιν, ὃς ἐπειδὴ καὶ τότε τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἐθεάσατο παριόντα διὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, πρὸς τοὺς γνωρίμους ἀνέκραγεν, ἦσαν δ' οὐκ ὀλίγοι παρεδρεύοντες αὐτῷ τῶν μανθανόντων, [79] "παπαί, νῦν ἐμοὶ καλόν, ἔφη, τὸ θανεῖν, ὅτε μου προτέθνηκεν ἡ ἀλήθεια καί τι τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ προρρηθέντων διέψευσται: ζῇ γὰρ Ἀντίγονος οὐτοσὶ σήμερον ὀφείλων ἀνῃρῆσθαι. χωρίον δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς σφαγὴν Στράτωνος πύργος εἵμαρτο: καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἀπὸ ἑξακοσίων ἐντεῦθεν σταδίων ἐστίν, ὧραι δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἤδη τέσσαρες: [80] ὁ δὴ χρόνος ἐκκρούει τὸ μάντευμα." ταῦτα εἰπὼν σκυθρωπὸς ἐπὶ συννοίας ὁ γέρων διεκαρτέρει, καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ἀνῃρημένος Ἀντίγονος ἠγγέλλετο κατὰ τὸ ὑπόγαιον χωρίον, ὃ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸ Στράτωνος ἐκαλεῖτο πύργος ὁμωνυμοῦν τῇ παραλίῳ Καισαρείᾳ. τοῦτο γοῦν τὸν μάντιν διετάραξεν.

5. And truly any one would be surprised at Judas upon this occasion. He was of the sect of the Essens, and had never failed or deceived men in his predictions before. Now this man saw Antigonus as he was passing along by the temple, and cried out to his acquaintance, [they were not a few who attended upon him as his scholars,] "O strange!" said he, "it is good for me to die now, since truth is dead before me, and somewhat that I have foretold hath proved false; for this Antigonus is this day alive, who ought to have died this day; and the place where he ought to be slain, according to that fatal decree, was Strato's Tower, which is at the distance of six hundred furlongs from this place; and yet four hours of this day are over already; which point of time renders the prediction impossible to be fill filled." And when the old man had said this, he was dejected in his mind, and so continued. But in a little time news came that Antigonus was slain in a subterraneous place, which was itself also called Strato's Tower, by the same name with that Cesarea which lay by the sea-side; and this ambiguity it was which caused the prophet's disorder.

(6) [81] Ἀριστοβούλῳ γε μὴν εὐθὺς ἡ περὶ τοῦ μύσους μεταμέλεια νόσον ἐνσκήπτει καὶ πρὸς ἔννοιαν τοῦ φόνου τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχων ἀεὶ τεταραγμένην συνετήκετο, μέχρι τῶν σπλάγχνων ὑπ' ἀκράτου τῆς λύπης σπαραττομένων ἄθρουν αἷμα ἀναβάλλει. [82] τοῦτό τις τῶν ἐν τῇ θεραπείᾳ παίδων ἐκφέρων δαιμονίῳ προνοίᾳ σφάλλεται καθ' ὃν τόπον Ἀντίγονος ἔσφακτο καὶ φαινομένοις ἔτι τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ φόνου σπίλοις τὸ αἷμα τοῦ κτείναντος ἐπέχεεν. ἤρθη δ' εὐθὺς οἰμωγὴ τῶν θεασαμένων ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες τοῦ παιδὸς ἐκεῖ ἐπικατασπείσαντος τὸ αἷμα. [83] τῆς

δὲ βοῆς ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπυνθάνετο καὶ μηδενὸς τολμῶντος εἰπεῖν μᾶλλον ἐνέκειτο μαθεῖν ἐθέλων: τέλος δὲ ἀπειλοῦντι καὶ βιαζομένῳ τἀληθὲς εἶπον. ὁ δὲ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐμπίπλησι δακρύων καὶ στενάξας ὅσον ἦν αὐτῷ δύναμις εἶπεν: [84] "οὐκ ἄρα θεοῦ μέγαν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐπ' ἔργοις ἀθεμίτοις λήσειν ἔμελλον, ἀλλά με ταχεῖα μέτεισι δίκη φόνου συγγενοῦς. μέχρι τοῦ μοι, σῶμα ἀναιδέστατον, τὴν ἀδελφῷ καὶ μητρὶ κατάκριτον ψυχὴν καθέξεις; μέχρι τοῦ δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπισπείσω κατὰ μέρος τοὐμὸν αἷμα; λαβέτωσαν ἀθρόον τοῦτο, καὶ μηκέτι ταῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν σπλάγχνων χοαῖς ἐπειρωνευέσθω τὸ δαιμόνιον." ταῦτα εἰπὼν εὐθέως τελευτᾷ βασιλεύσας οὐ πλεῖον ἐνιαυτοῦ.

6. Hereupon Aristobulus repented of the great crime he had been guilty of, and this gave occasion to the increase of his distemper. He also grew worse and worse, and his soul was constantly disturbed at the thoughts of what he had done, till his very bowels being torn to pieces by the intolerable grief he was under, he threw up a great quantity of blood. And as one of those servants that attended him carried out that blood, he, by some supernatural providence, slipped and fell down in the very place where Antigonus had been slain; and so he spilt some of the murderer's blood upon the spots of the blood of him that had been murdered, which still appeared. Hereupon a lamentable cry arose among the spectators, as if the servant had spilled the blood on purpose in that place; and as the king heard that cry, he inquired what was the cause of it; and while nobody durst tell him, he pressed them so much the more to let him know what was the matter; so at length, when he had threatened them, and forced them to speak out, they told; whereupon he burst into tears, and groaned, and said, "So I perceive I am not like to escape the all-seeing eye of God, as to the great crimes I have committed; but the vengeance of the blood of my kinsman pursues me hastily. O thou most impudent body! how long wilt thou retain a soul that ought to die on account of that punishment it ought to suffer for a mother and a brother slain! How long shall I myself spend my blood drop by drop? let them take it all at once; and let their ghosts no longer be disappointed by a few parcels of my bowels offered to them." As soon as he had said these words, he presently died, when he had reigned no longer than a year.

IV

CHAPTER 4.

What Actions Were Done By Alexander Janneus, Who Reigned

Twenty-Seven Years.

(1) [85] Λύσασα δ᾽ ἡ γυνὴ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ βασιλέα καθίστησιν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν καὶ καθ᾽ ἡλικίαν καὶ μετριότητι προύχειν δοκοῦντα. ὁ δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὸν ἕτερον μὲν τῶν ἀδελφῶν βασιλειῶντα κτείνει, τὸν δὲ καταλιμπανόμενον ἀγαπῶντα τὸ ζῆν δίχα πραγμάτων εἶχεν.

1. And now the king's wife loosed the king's brethren, and made Alexander king, who appeared both elder in age, and more moderate in his temper than the rest; who, when he came to the government, slew one of his brethren, as affecting to govern himself; but had the other of them in great esteem, as loving a quiet life, without meddling with public affairs.

(2) [86] Γίνεται δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Λάθουρον ἐπικληθέντα Πτολεμαῖον συμβολὴ πόλιν Ἀσωχὶν ᾑρηκότα, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνεῖλεν τῶν πολεμίων, ἡ δὲ νίκη πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον ἔρρεψεν. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Κλεοπάτρας διωχθεὶς εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀνεχώρησεν, Ἀλέξανδρος Γαδάρων τε πολιορκίᾳ κρατεῖ καὶ Ἀμαθοῦντος, ὃ δὴ μέγιστον μὲν ἦν ἔρυμα τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἰορδάνην, τὰ τιμιώτατα δὲ τῶν Θεοδώρου τοῦ Ζήνωνος κτημάτων ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ. [87] ἐπελθὼν δ᾽ ἐξαίφνης ὁ Θεόδωρος τά τε σφέτερα καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποσκευὴν αἱρεῖ, τῶν δ᾽ Ἰουδαίων εἰς μυρίους κτείνει. γίνεται δ᾽ ἐπάνω τῆς πληγῆς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τραπόμενος εἰς τὴν παράλιον αἱρεῖ Γάζαν τε καὶ Ῥάφειαν καὶ Ἀνθηδόνα τὴν αὖθις ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀγριππιάδα ἐπικληθεῖσαν.

2. Now it happened that there was a battle between him and Ptolemy, who was called Lathyrus, who had taken the city Asochis. He indeed slew a great many of his enemies, but the victory rather inclined to Ptolemy. But when this Ptolemy was pursued by his mother Cleopatra, and retired into Egypt, Alexander besieged Gadara, and took it; as also he did Amathus, which was the strongest of all the fortresses that were about Jordan, and therein were the most precious of all the possessions of Theodorus, the son of Zeno. Whereupon Theodopus marched against him, and took what belonged to himself as well as the king's baggage, and slew ten thousand of the Jews. However, Alexander recovered this blow, and turned his force towards the maritime parts, and took Raphia and Gaza, with Anthedon also, which was afterwards called Agrippias by king Herod.

(3) [88] Ἐξανδραποδισαμένῳ δὲ ταύτας ἐπανίσταται τὸ Ἰουδαικὸν ἐν ἑορτῇ: μάλιστα γὰρ ἐν ταῖς εὐωχίαις αὐτῶν στάσις ἅπτεται. καὶ δοκεῖ μὴ ἂν κρείττων γενέσθαι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, εἰ μὴ τὸ ξενικὸν αὐτῷ παρεβοήθει: Πισίδαι καὶ Κίλικες ἦσαν: Σύρους γὰρ οὐκ ἐδέχετο μισθοφόρους διὰ τὴν ἔμφυτον αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος ἀπέχθειαν. [89] κτείνας δὲ τῶν ἐπαναστάντων ὑπὲρ ἑξακισχιλίους Ἀραβίας ἥπτετο καὶ ταύτης ἑλὼν Γαλααδίτας καὶ Μωαβίτας φόρον τε αὐτοῖς ἐπιτάξας

ἀνέστρεψεν ἐπὶ Ἀμαθοῦν. Θεοδώρου δὲ πρὸς τὰς εὐπραγίας αὐτὸν καταπλαγέντος ἔρημον λαβὼν τὸ φρούριον κατέσκαψεν.

3. But when he had made slaves of the citizens of all these cities, the nation of the Jews made an insurrection against him at a festival; for at those feasts seditions are generally begun; and it looked as if he should not be able to escape the plot they had laid for him, had not his foreign auxiliaries, the Pisidians and Cilicians, assisted him; for as to the Syrians, he never admitted them among his mercenary troops, on account of their innate enmity against the Jewish nation. And when he had slain more than six thousand of the rebels, he made an incursion into Arabia; and when he had taken that country, together with the Gileadires and Moabites, he enjoined them to pay him tribute, and returned to Areathus; and as Theodorus was surprised at his great success, he took the fortress, and demolished it.

(4) [90] Ἔπειτα συμβαλὼν Ὀβαίδᾳ τῷ Ἀράβων βασιλεῖ προλοχίσαντι κατὰ τὴν Γαυλάνην ἐνέδρας αὐτῷ γενομένης πᾶσαν ἀποβάλλει τὴν στρατιὰν συνωσθεῖσαν κατὰ βαθείας φάραγγος καὶ πλήθει καμήλων συντριβεῖσαν. διαφυγὼν δ᾽ αὐτὸς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τῷ μεγέθει τῆς συμφορᾶς πάλαι μισοῦν τὸ ἔθνος ἠρέθισεν εἰς ἐπανάστασιν. [91] γίνεται δὲ καὶ τότε κρείττων καὶ μάχαις ἐπαλλήλοις οὐκ ἔλαττον πεντακισμυρίων Ἰουδαίων ἀνεῖλεν ἐν ἓξ ἔτεσιν: οὐ μὴν εὐφραίνετό γε ταῖς νίκαις τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείαν ἀναλίσκων: ὅθεν παυσάμενος τῶν ὅπλων λόγοις ἐπεχείρει διαλύεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους. [92] οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐμίσουν τὴν μετάνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ τρόπου τὸ ἀνώμαλον, πυνθανομένῳ τε τὸ αἴτιον, τί ἂν ποιήσας καταστείλειεν αὐτούς, ἀποθανών, ἔλεγον: νεκρῷ γὰρ ἂν διαλλαγῆναι μόλις τῷ τοσαῦτα δράσαντι. ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἄκαιρον ἐπικληθέντα Δημήτριον ἐπεκαλοῦντο. ῥᾳδίως δὲ ὑπακούσαντος κατ᾽ ἐλπίδα μειζόνων καὶ μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἥκοντος συνέμισγον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοῖς συμμάχοις περὶ Σίκιμα.

4. However, when he fought with Obodas, king of the Arabians, who had laid an ambush for him near Golan, and a plot against him, he lost his entire army, which was crowded together in a deep valley, and broken to pieces by the multitude of camels. And when he had made his escape to Jerusalem, he provoked the multitude, which hated him before, to make an insurrection against him, and this on account of the greatness of the calamity that he was under. However, he was then too hard for them; and, in the several battles that were fought on both sides, he slew not fewer than fifty thousand of the Jews in the interval of six years. Yet had he no reason to rejoice in these victories, since he did but consume his own kingdom; till at length he left off fighting, and endeavored to come to a composition with them, by talking with his subjects.

But this mutability and irregularity of his conduct made them hate him still more. And when he asked them why they so hated him, and what he should do in order to appease them, they said, by killing himself; for that it would be then all they could do to be reconciled to him, who had done such tragical things to them, even when he was dead. At the same time they invited Demetrius, who was called Eucerus, to assist them; and as he readily complied with their requests, in hopes of great advantages, and came with his army, the Jews joined with those their auxiliaries about Shechem.

(5) [93] Δέχεται δ' ἑκατέρους Ἀλέξανδρος ἱππεῦσι μὲν χιλίοις, μισθοφόροις δὲ πεζοῖς ὀκτακισχιλίοις: παρῆν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ εὐνοοῦν Ἰουδαικὸν εἰς μυρίους. τῶν δ' ἐναντίων ἱππεῖς μὲν ἦσαν τρισχίλιοι, πεζῶν δὲ μύριοι τετρακισχίλιοι. καὶ πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν διακηρύσσοντες οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐπειρῶντο τῶν παρ' ἀλλήλοις ἀποστάσεων, Δημήτριος μὲν τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου μισθοφόρους, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τοὺς ἅμα Δημητρίῳ Ἰουδαίους μεταπείσειν ἐλπίσας. [94] ὡς δ' οὔτε Ἰουδαῖοι θυμῶν οὔτε οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπαύσαντο πίστεως, διεκρίνοντο ἤδη τοῖς ὅπλοις συμπεσόντες. [95] κρατεῖ δὲ τῇ μάχῃ Δημήτριος καίτοι πολλὰ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου μισθοφόρων καὶ ψυχῆς ἔργα καὶ χειρὸς ἐπιδειξαμένων. χωρεῖ δὲ τὸ τέλος τῆς παρατάξεως παρὰ δόξαν ἀμφοτέροις: οὔτε γὰρ Δημητρίῳ παρέμειναν νικῶντι οἱ καλέσαντες, καὶ κατὰ οἶκτον τῆς μεταβολῆς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προσεχώρησαν εἰς τὰ ὄρη καταφυγόντι Ἰουδαίων ἑξακισχίλιοι. ταύτην τὴν ῥοπὴν οὐκ ἤνεγκεν Δημήτριος, ἀλλ' ὑπολαβὼν ἤδη μὲν ἀξιόμαχον εἶναι πάλιν Ἀλέξανδρον, μεταρρεῖν δὲ καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἔθνος εἰς αὐτόν, ἀνεχώρησεν.

5. Yet did Alexander meet both these forces with one thousand horsemen, and eight thousand mercenaries that were on foot. He had also with him that part of the Jews which favored him, to the number of ten thousand; while the adverse party had three thousand horsemen, and fourteen thousand footmen. Now, before they joined battle, the kings made proclamation, and endeavored to draw off each other's soldiers, and make them revolt; while Demetrius hoped to induce Alexander's mercenaries to leave him, and Alexander hoped to induce the Jews that were with Demetrius to leave him. But since neither the Jews would leave off their rage, nor the Greeks prove unfaithful, they came to an engagement, and to a close fight with their weapons. In which battle Demetrius was the conqueror, although Alexander's mercenaries showed the greatest exploits, both in soul and body. Yet did the upshot of this battle prove different from what was expected, as to both of them; for neither did those that invited Demetrius to come to them continue firm to him, though he was conqueror; and six thousand Jews, out of pity to the change of Alexander's condition, when he was fled to the mountains, came over to him. Yet could not Demetrius bear this turn of affairs;

but supposing that Alexander was already become a match for him again, and that all the nation would [at length] run to him, he left the country, and went his way.

(6) [96] Οὐ μὴν τό γε λοιπὸν πλῆθος ὑποχωρησάντων τῶν συμμάχων κατέθεντο τὰς διαφοράς, συνεχὴς δὲ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἦν αὐτοῖς ὁ πόλεμος, μέχρι πλείστους ἀποκτείνας τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀπήλασεν εἰς Βεμέσελιν πόλιν καὶ ταύτην καταστρεψάμενος αἰχμαλώτους ἀνήγαγεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. [97] προύκοψεν δὲ αὐτῷ δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν ὀργῆς εἰς ἀσέβειαν τὸ τῆς ὠμότητος: τῶν γὰρ ληφθέντων ὀκτακοσίους ἀνασταυρώσας ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει γυναῖκάς τε καὶ τέκνα αὐτῶν ἀπέσφαξεν ταῖς ὄψεσι: καὶ ταῦτα πίνων καὶ συγκατακείμενος ταῖς παλλακίσιν ἀφεώρα. [98] τοσαύτη δὲ κατάπληξις ἔσχεν τὸν δῆμον, ὥστε τῶν ἀντιστασιαστῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν νύκτα φυγεῖν ὀκτακισχιλίους ἔξω Ἰουδαίας ὅλης, οἷς ὅρος τῆς φυγῆς ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου θάνατος κατέστη. τοιούτοις ἔργοις ὀψὲ καὶ μόλις ἡσυχίαν τῇ βασιλείᾳ πορίσας ἀνεπαύσατο τῶν ὅπλων.

6. However, the rest of the [Jewish] multitude did not lay aside their quarrels with him, when the [foreign] auxiliaries were gone; but they had a perpetual war with Alexander, until he had slain the greatest part of them, and driven the rest into the city Berneselis; and when he had demolished that city, he carried the captives to Jerusalem. Nay, his rage was grown so extravagant, that his barbarity proceeded to the degree of impiety; for when he had ordered eight hundred to be hung upon crosses in the midst of the city, he had the throats of their wives and children cut before their eyes; and these executions he saw as he was drinking and lying down with his concubines. Upon which so deep a surprise seized on the people, that eight thousand of his opposers fled away the very next night, out of all Judea, whose flight was only terminated by Alexander's death; so at last, though not till late, and with great difficulty, he, by such actions, procured quiet to his kingdom, and left off fighting any more.

(7) [99] Γίνεται δὲ πάλιν ἀρχὴ θορύβων Ἀντίοχος ὁ καὶ Διόνυσος ἐπικληθείς, Δημητρίου μὲν ἀδελφὸς ὤν, τελευταῖος δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ Σελεύκου: τοῦτον γὰρ δείσας στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἄραβας ὡρμημένον τὸ μὲν μεταξὺ τῆς ὑπὲρ Ἀντιπατρίδος παρωρείου καὶ τῶν Ἰόππης αἰγιαλῶν διαταφρεύει φάραγγι βαθείᾳ, πρὸ δὲ τῆς τάφρου τεῖχος ἤγειρεν ὑψηλὸν καὶ ξυλίνους πύργους ἐτεκτήνατο τὰς εὐμαρεῖς ἐμβολὰς ἀποφράττων. [100] οὐ μὴν εἶρξαί γε τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἴσχυσεν: ἐμπρήσας γὰρ τοὺς πύργους καὶ τὴν τάφρον χώσας διήλαυνε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. θέμενος δὲ ἐν δευτέρῳ τὴν πρὸς τὸν κωλύσαντα ἄμυναν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἄραβας ἦει. [101] τῶν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναχωρῶν εἰς τὰ χρησιμώτερα τῆς χώρας πρὸς τὴν μάχην, ἔπειτα τὴν ἵππον ἐξαίφνης ἐπιστρέψας, μυρία δ᾽ ἦν τὸν ἀριθμόν,

ἀτάκτοις ἐπιπίπτει τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον. καρτερᾶς δὲ μάχης γενομένης ἕως μὲν περιῆν Ἀντίοχος ἀντεῖχεν ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ καίπερ ἀνέδην ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀράβων φονευόμενοι: [102] πεσόντος δέ, καὶ γὰρ προεκινδύνευεν ἀεὶ τοῖς ἡττωμένοις παραβοηθῶν, ἐγκλίνουσιν πάντες, καὶ τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον αὐτῶν ἐπί τε τῆς παρατάξεως κἀν τῇ φυγῇ διαφθείρεται, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς καταφυγόντας εἰς Κανὰ κώμην σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀναλωθῆναι συνέβη πλὴν ὀλίγων ἅπαντας.

7. Yet did that Antiochus, who was also called Dionysius, become an origin of troubles again. This man was the brother of Demetrius, and the last of the race of the Seleucidae. Alexander was afraid of him, when he was marching against the Arabians; so he cut a deep trench between Antipatris, which was near the mountains, and the shores of Joppa; he also erected a high wall before the trench, and built wooden towers, in order to hinder any sudden approaches. But still he was not able to exclude Antiochus, for he burnt the towers, and filled up the trenches, and marched on with his army. And as he looked upon taking his revenge on Alexander, for endeavoring to stop him, as a thing of less consequence, he marched directly against the Arabians, whose king retired into such parts of the country as were fittest for engaging the enemy, and then on the sudden made his horse turn back, which were in number ten thousand, and fell upon Antiochus's army while they were in disorder, and a terrible battle ensued. Antiochus's troops, so long as he was alive, fought it out, although a mighty slaughter was made among them by the Arabians; but when he fell, for he was in the forefront, in the utmost danger, in rallying his troops, they all gave ground, and the greatest part of his army were destroyed, either in the action or the flight; and for the rest, who fled to the village of Cana, it happened that they were all consumed by want of necessaries, a few only excepted.

(8) [103] Ἐκ τούτου Δαμασκηνοὶ διὰ τὸ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Μενναίου μῖσος Ἀρέταν ἐπάγονται καὶ καθιστῶσιν κοίλης Συρίας βασιλέα. στρατεύεται δ' οὗτος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ μάχῃ νικήσας Ἀλέξανδρον κατὰ συνθήκας ἀνεχώρησεν. [104] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Πέλλαν ἑλὼν ἐπὶ Γέρασαν ᾔει πάλιν τῶν Θεοδώρου κτημάτων γλιχόμενος, καὶ τρισὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς περιβόλοις ἀποτειχίσας διὰ μάχης τὸ χωρίον παραλαμβάνει. [105] καταστρέφεται δὲ καὶ Γαυλάνην καὶ Σελεύκειαν καὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχου φάραγγα καλουμένην, πρὸς οἷς Γάμαλα φρούριον καρτερὸν ἑλών, τὸν ἄρχοντα Δημήτριον ἐν αὐτῷ παραλύσας ἐκ πολλῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἐπάνεισιν εἰς Ἰουδαίαν, τρία πληρώσας ἔτη τῆς στρατείας. ἀσμένως δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους ἐδέχθη διὰ τὴν εὐπραγίαν, καὶ λαμβάνει τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν τοῦ πολεμεῖν ἀρχὴν νόσου. [106] τεταρταίαις δὲ περιόδοις πυρετῶν ἐνοχλούμενος ᾠήθη διακρούσεσθαι τὴν νόσον πάλιν ἀψάμενος πραγμάτων. διὸ δὴ στρατείαις ἀκαίροις ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδιδοὺς καὶ βιαζόμενος παρὰ δύναμιν τὸ σῶμα πρὸς τὰς

ἐνεργείας ἀπήλλαξεν. τελευτᾷ γοῦν ἐν μέσοις τοῖς θορύβοις στρεφόμενος βασιλεύσας ἑπτὰ πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσιν ἔτη.

8. About this time it was that the people of Damascus, out of their hatred to Ptolemy, the son of Menhens, invited Aretas [to take the government], and made him king of Celesyria. This man also made an expedition against Judea, and beat Alexander in battle; but afterwards retired by mutual agreement. But Alexander, when he had taken Pella, marched to Gerasa again, out of the covetous desire he had of Theodorus's possessions; and when he had built a triple wall about the garrison, he took the place by force. He also demolished Golan, and Seleucia, and what was called the Valley of Antiochus; besides which, he took the strong fortress of Gamala, and stripped Demetrius, who was governor therein, of what he had, on account of the many crimes laid to his charge, and then returned into Judea, after he had been three whole years in this expedition. And now he was kindly received of the nation, because of the good success he had. So when he was at rest from war, he fell into a distemper; for he was afflicted with a quartan ague, and supposed that, by exercising himself again in martial affairs, he should get rid of this distemper; but by making such expeditions at unseasonable times, and forcing his body to undergo greater hardships than it was able to bear, he brought himself to his end. He died, therefore, in the midst of his troubles, after he had reigned seven and twenty years.

V

CHAPTER 5.

Alexandra Reigns Nine Years, During Which Time The Pharisees

Were The Real Rulers Of The Nation.

(1) [107] Καταλείπει δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀλεξάνδρᾳ τῇ γυναικὶ πεπεισμένος ταύτῃ μάλιστ᾽ ἂν ὑπακοῦσαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, ἐπειδὴ τῆς ὠμότητος αὐτοῦ μακρὰν ἀποδέουσα καὶ ταῖς παρανομίαις ἀνθισταμένη τὸν δῆμον εἰς εὔνοιαν προσηγάγετο. [108] καὶ οὐ διήμαρτεν τῆς ἐλπίδος: ἐκράτησεν γὰρ τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ γύναιον διὰ δόξαν εὐσεβείας: ἠκρίβου γὰρ δὴ μάλιστα τοῦ νόμου τὰ πάτρια καὶ τοὺς πλημμελοῦντας εἰς τοὺς ἱεροὺς νόμους ἐξ ἀρχῆς προεβάλλετο. [109] δύο δ᾽ αὐτῇ παίδων ὄντων ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν μὲν πρεσβύτερον Ὑρκανὸν διά τε τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀποδείκνυσιν ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἄλλως ὄντα νωθέστερον ἢ ὥστε ἐνοχλεῖν περὶ τῶν ὅλων, τὸν δὲ νεώτερον Ἀριστόβουλον διὰ θερμότητα κατεῖχεν ἰδιώτην.

1. Now Alexander left the kingdom to Alexandra his wife, and depended upon it that the Jews would now very readily submit to her, because she had been very

averse to such cruelty as he had treated them with, and had opposed his violation of their laws, and had thereby got the good-will of the people. Nor was he mistaken as to his expectations; for this woman kept the dominion, by the opinion that the people had of her piety; for she chiefly studied the ancient customs of her country, and cast those men out of the government that offended against their holy laws. And as she had two sons by Alexander, she made Hyrcanus the elder high priest, on account of his age, as also, besides that, on account of his inactive temper, no way disposing him to disturb the public. But she retained the younger, Aristobulus, with her as a private person, by reason of the warmth of his temper.

(2) [110] Παραφύονται δὲ αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν Φαρισαῖοι, σύνταγμά τι Ἰουδαίων δοκοῦν εὐσεβέστερον εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἀκριβέστερον ἀφηγεῖσθαι. [111] τούτοις περισσὸν δή τι προσεῖχεν ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρα σεσοβημένη περὶ τὸ θεῖον. οἱ δὲ τὴν ἁπλότητα τῆς ἀνθρώπου κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπιόντες ἤδη καὶ διοικηταὶ τῶν ὅλων ἐγίνοντο διώκειν τε καὶ κατάγειν οὓς ἐθέλοιεν, λύειν τε καὶ δεσμεῖν. καθόλου δὲ αἱ μὲν ἀπολαύσεις τῶν βασιλείων ἐκείνων ἦσαν, τὰ δ' ἀναλώματα καὶ αἱ δυσχέρειαι τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρας. [112] δεινὴ δ' ἦν τὰ μείζω διοικεῖν, δύναμίν τε ἀεὶ συγκροτοῦσα διπλασίονα κατέστησεν καὶ ξενικὴν συνήγαγεν οὐκ ὀλίγην, ὡς μὴ μόνον κρατύνεσθαι τὸ οἰκεῖον ἔθνος, φοβερὰν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἔξωθεν εἶναι δυνάσταις. ἐκράτει δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων αὐτή, Φαρισαῖοι δ' αὐτῆς.

2. And now the Pharisees joined themselves to her, to assist her in the government. These are a certain sect of the Jews that appear more religious than others, and seem to interpret the laws more accurately. low Alexandra hearkened to them to an extraordinary degree, as being herself a woman of great piety towards God. But these Pharisees artfully insinuated themselves into her favor by little and little, and became themselves the real administrators of the public affairs: they banished and reduced whom they pleased; they bound and loosed [men] at their pleasure; and, to say all at once, they had the enjoyment of the royal authority, whilst the expenses and the difficulties of it belonged to Alexandra. She was a sagacious woman in the management of great affairs, and intent always upon gathering soldiers together; so that she increased the army the one half, and procured a great body of foreign troops, till her own nation became not only very powerful at home, but terrible also to foreign potentates, while she governed other people, and the Pharisees governed her.

(3) [113] Διογένην γοῦν τινα τῶν ἐπισήμων φίλον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γεγενημένον κτείνουσιν αὐτοὶ σύμβουλον ἐγκαλοῦντες γεγονέναι περὶ τῶν ἀνασταυρωθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ὀκτακοσίων. ἐνῆγον δὲ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν εἰς τὸ καὶ τοὺς

ἄλλους διαχειρίσασθαι τῶν παροξυνάντων ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνους τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον: ἐνδιδούσης δ᾽ ὑπὸ δεισιδαιμονίας ἀνῄρουν οὓς ἐθέλοιεν αὐτοί. [114] προσφεύγουσι δὲ Ἀριστοβούλῳ τῶν κινδυνευόντων οἱ προύχειν δοκοῦντες, κἀκεῖνος πείθει τὴν μητέρα φείσασθαι μὲν διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἐκπέμψαι δ᾽ αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ καθαροὺς ὑπείληφεν, ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. οἱ μὲν οὖν δοθείσης ἀδείας ἐσκεδάσθησαν ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν: [115] Ἀλεξάνδρα δὲ ἐκπέμψασα ἐπὶ Δαμασκὸν στρατιάν, πρόφασις δ᾽ ἦν Πτολεμαῖος ἀεὶ θλίβων τὴν πόλιν, ταύτην μὲν ὑπεδέξατο μηθὲν ἀξιόλογον ἐργασαμένην. [116] Τιγράνην δὲ τὸν Ἀρμενίων βασιλέα προσκαθεζόμενον Πτολεμαίδι καὶ πολιορκοῦντα Κλεοπάτραν συνθήκαις καὶ δώροις ὑπηγάγετο. φθάνει δ᾽ ἐκεῖνος ἀπαναστὰς διὰ τὰς οἴκοι ταραχὰς ἐμβεβληκότος εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν Λευκόλλου.

3. Accordingly, they themselves slew Diogenes, a person of figure, and one that had been a friend to Alexander; and accused him as having assisted the king with his advice, for crucifying the eight hundred men [before mentioned.] They also prevailed with Alexandra to put to death the rest of those who had irritated him against them. Now she was so superstitious as to comply with their desires, and accordingly they slew whom they pleased themselves. But the principal of those that were in danger fled to Aristobulus, who persuaded his mother to spare the men on account of their dignity, but to expel them out of the city, unless she took them to be innocent; so they were suffered to go unpunished, and were dispersed all over the country. But when Alexandra sent out her army to Damascus, under pretense that Ptolemy was always oppressing that city, she got possession of it; nor did it make any considerable resistance. She also prevailed with Tigranes, king of Armenia, who lay with his troops about Ptolemais, and besieged Cleopatra, by agreements and presents, to go away. Accordingly, Tigranes soon arose from the siege, by reason of those domestic tumults which happened upon Lucullus's expedition into Armenia.

(4) [117] Κἀν τούτῳ νοσούσης Ἀλεξάνδρας ὁ νεώτερος τῶν παίδων Ἀριστόβουλος τὸν καιρὸν ἁρπάσας μετὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν, εἶχεν δὲ πολλοὺς καὶ πάντας εὔνους διὰ τὴν θερμότητα, κρατεῖ μὲν τῶν ἐρυμάτων ἁπάντων, τοῖς δ᾽ ἐκ τούτων χρήμασιν μισθοφόρους ἀθροίσας ἑαυτὸν ἀποδείκνυσι βασιλέα. [118] πρὸς ταῦτα ὀδυρόμενον τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ἡ μήτηρ οἰκτείρασα τήν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας Ἀριστοβούλου καθείργνυσιν εἰς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν: φρούριον δ᾽ ἦν τῷ βορείῳ κλίματι τοῦ ἱεροῦ προσκείμενον, πάλαι μέν, ὡς ἔφην, βᾶρις ὀνομαζόμενον, αὖθις δὲ ταύτης τυχὸν τῆς προσηγορίας ἐπικρατήσαντος Ἀντωνίου, καθάπερ ἀπό τε τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Ἀγρίππα Σεβαστὴ καὶ Ἀγριππιὰς πόλεις ἐπωνομάσθησαν. [119] πρὶν δὲ ἐπεξελθεῖν Ἀλεξάνδρα τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον τῆς τἀδελφοῦ καταλύσεως τελευτᾷ διοικήσασα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔτεσιν ἐννέα.

4. In the mean time, Alexandra fell sick, and Aristobulus, her younger son, took hold of this opportunity, with his domestics, of which he had a great many, who were all of them his friends, on account of the warmth of their youth, and got possession of all the fortresses. He also used the sums of money he found in them to get together a number of mercenary soldiers, and made himself king; and besides this, upon Hyrcanus's complaint to his mother, she compassionated his case, and put Aristobulus's wife and sons under restraint in Antonia, which was a fortress that joined to the north part of the temple. It was, as I have already said, of old called the Citadel; but afterwards got the name of Antonia, when Antony was [lord of the East], just as the other cities, Sebaste and Agrippias, had their names changed, and these given them from Sebastus and Agrippa. But Alexandra died before she could punish Aristobulus for his disinheriting his brother, after she had reigned nine years.

VI

CHAPTER 6.

When Hyrcanus Who Was Alexander's Heir, Receded From His Claim To The Crown Aristobulus Is Made King; And Afterward The Same Hyrcanus By The Means Of Antipater, Is Brought Back By Abetas. At Last Pompey Is Made The Arbitrator Of The Dispute Between The Brothers.

(1) [120] Καὶ κληρονόμος μὲν ἦν τῶν ὅλων Ὑρκανός, ᾧ καὶ ζῶσα τὴν βασιλείαν ἐνεχείρισεν, δυνάμει δὲ καὶ φρονήματι προεῖχεν ὁ Ἀριστόβουλος. γενομένης δὲ αὐτοῖς περὶ τῶν ὅλων συμβολῆς περὶ Ἰεριχοῦντα καταλιπόντες οἱ πολλοὶ τὸν Ὑρκανὸν μεταβαίνουσιν πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον. [121] ὁ δὲ μετὰ τῶν συμμεινάντων φθάνει συμφυγὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν καὶ κυριεύσας τῶν πρὸς σωτηρίαν ὁμήρων: ταῦτα δ' ἦν ἡ Ἀριστοβούλου γυνὴ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων. ἀμέλει πρὶν ἀνηκέστου πάθους διελύθησαν, ὥστε βασιλεύειν μὲν Ἀριστόβουλον, Ὑρκανὸν δὲ ἐκστάντα τῆς ἄλλης ἀπολαύειν τιμῆς ὥσπερ ἀδελφὸν βασιλέως. [122] ἐπὶ τούτοις διαλλαγέντες ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ περιεστῶτος φιλοφρόνως ἀλλήλους ἀσπασάμενοι διήμειψαν τὰς οἰκίας: Ἀριστόβουλος μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, Ὑρκανὸς δὲ ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου οἰκίαν.

1. Now Hyrcanus was heir to the kingdom, and to him did his mother commit it before she died; but Aristobulus was superior to him in power and magnanimity; and when there was a battle between them, to decide the dispute about the

kingdom, near Jericho, the greatest part deserted Hyrcanus, and went over to Aristobulus; but Hyrcanus, with those of his party who staid with him, fled to Antonia, and got into his power the hostages that might be for his preservation [which were Aristobulus's wife, with her children]; but they came to an agreement before things should come to extremities, that Aristobulus should be king, and Hyrcanus should resign that up, but retain all the rest of his dignities, as being the king's brother. Hereupon they were reconciled to each other in the temple, and embraced one another in a very kind manner, while the people stood round about them; they also changed their houses, while Aristobulus went to the royal palace, and Hyrcanus retired to the house of Aristobulus.

(2) [123] Δέος δὲ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις τῶν Ἀριστοβούλου διαφόρων ἐμπίπτει παρ᾽ ἐλπίδα κρατήσαντος καὶ μάλιστα Ἀντιπάτρῳ πάλαι διαμισουμένῳ. γένος δ᾽ ἦν Ἰδουμαῖος προγόνων τε ἕνεκα καὶ πλούτου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἰσχύος πρωτεύων τοῦ ἔθνους. [124] οὗτος ἅμα καὶ τὸν Ὑρκανὸν Ἀρέτᾳ προσφυγόντα τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἀνακτήσασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν ἔπειθεν καὶ τὸν Ἀρέταν δέξασθαί τε τὸν Ὑρκανὸν καὶ καταγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, πολλὰ μὲν τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον εἰς τὸ ἦθος διαβάλλων, πολλὰ δ᾽ ἐπαινῶν τὸν Ὑρκανὸν [παρήνει δέξασθαι], καὶ ὡς πρέπον εἴη τὸν οὕτω λαμπρᾶς προεστῶτα βασιλείας ὑπερέχειν χεῖρα τῷ ἀδικουμένῳ: ἀδικεῖσθαι δὲ τὸν Ὑρκανὸν στερηθέντα τῆς κατὰ τὸ πρεσβεῖον αὐτῷ προσηκούσης ἀρχῆς. [125] προκατασκευάσας δὲ ἀμφοτέρους, νύκτωρ ἀναλαβὼν τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀποδιδράσκει καὶ συντόνῳ φυγῇ χρώμενος εἰς τὴν καλουμένην Πέτραν διασώζεται: βασίλειον αὕτη τῆς Ἀραβίας ἐστίν. [126] ἔνθα τῷ Ἀρέτᾳ τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ἐγχειρίσας καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καθομιλήσας, πολλοῖς δὲ δώροις ὑπελθὼν δοῦναι δύναμιν αὐτῷ πείθει τὴν κατάξουσαν αὐτόν: ἦν δ᾽ αὕτη πεζῶν τε καὶ ἱππέων πέντε μυριάδες, πρὸς ἣν οὐκ ἀντέσχεν Ἀριστόβουλος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συμβολῇ λειφθεὶς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα συνελαύνεται. [127] κἂν ἔφθη κατὰ κράτος ληφθείς, εἰ μὴ Σκαῦρος ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς ἐπαναστὰς αὐτῶν τοῖς καιροῖς ἔλυσε τὴν πολιορκίαν: ὃς ἐπέμφθη μὲν εἰς Συρίαν ἀπὸ Ἀρμενίας ὑπὸ Πομπηίου Μάγνου πολεμοῦντος πρὸς Τιγράνην, παραγενόμενος δὲ εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἑαλωκυῖαν προσφάτως ὑπὸ Μετέλλου καὶ Λολλίου καὶ τούτους μεταστήσας, ἐπειδὴ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπύθετο, καθάπερ ἐφ᾽ ἕρμαιον ἠπείχθη.

2. Now those other people which were at variance with Aristobulus were afraid upon his unexpected obtaining the government; and especially this concerned Antipater whom Aristobulus hated of old. He was by birth an Idumean, and one of the principal of that nation, on account of his ancestors and riches, and other authority to him belonging: he also persuaded Hyrcanus to fly to Aretas, the king of Arabia, and to lay claim to the kingdom; as also he persuaded Aretas to

receive Hyrcanus, and to bring him back to his kingdom: he also cast great reproaches upon Aristobulus, as to his morals, and gave great commendations to Hyrcanus, and exhorted Aretas to receive him, and told him how becoming a filing it would be for him, who ruled so great a kingdom, to afford his assistance to such as are injured; alleging that Hyrcanus was treated unjustly, by being deprived of that dominion which belonged to him by the prerogative of his birth. And when he had predisposed them both to do what he would have them, he took Hyrcanus by night, and ran away from the city, and, continuing his flight with great swiftness, he escaped to the place called Petra, which is the royal seat of the king of Arabia, where he put Hyrcanus into Aretas's hand; and by discoursing much with him, and gaining upon him with many presents, he prevailed with him to give him an army that might restore him to his kingdom. This army consisted of fifty thousand footmen and horsemen, against which Aristobulus was not able to make resistance, but was deserted in his first onset, and was driven to Jerusalem; he also had been taken at first by force, if Scaurus, the Roman general, had not come and seasonably interposed himself, and raised the siege. This Scaurus was sent into Syria from Armenia by Pompey the Great, when he fought against Tigranes; so Scaurus came to Damascus, which had been lately taken by Metellus and Lollius, and caused them to leave the place; and, upon his hearing how the affairs of Judea stood, he made haste thither as to a certain booty.

(3) [128] Παρελθόντος γοῦν εἰς τὴν χώραν πρέσβεις εὐθέως ἦκον παρὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἑκατέρου δεομένου βοηθεῖν αὐτῷ. γίνεται δ' ἐπίπροσθεν τοῦ δικαίου τὰ παρὰ Ἀριστοβούλου τριακόσια τάλαντα: τοσοῦτον γὰρ λαβὼν Σκαῦρος ἐπικηρυκεύεται πρός τε Ὑρκανὸν καὶ τοὺς Ἄραβας ἀπειλῶν Ῥωμαίους καὶ Πομπήιον, εἰ μὴ λύσειαν τὴν πολιορκίαν. [129] ἀνεχώρει δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας εἰς Φιλαδέλφειαν Ἀρέτας καταπλαγείς, καὶ πάλιν εἰς Δαμασκὸν Σκαῦρος. [130] Ἀριστοβούλῳ δ' οὐκ ἀπέχρησεν τὸ μὴ ἁλῶναι, πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπισυλλέξας εἵπετο τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ περὶ τὸν καλούμενον Παπυρῶνα συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ ἑξακισχιλίους κτείνει, μεθ' ὧν καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Ἀντιπάτρου Φαλλίωνα.

3. As soon, therefore, as he was come into the country, there came ambassadors from both the brothers, each of them desiring his assistance; but Aristobulus's three hundred talents had more weight with him than the justice of the cause; which sum, when Scaurus had received, he sent a herald to Hyrcanus and the Arabians, and threatened them with the resentment of the Romans and of Pompey, unless they would raise the siege. So Aretas was terrified, and retired out of Judea to Philadelphia, as did Scaurus return to Damascus again; nor was

Aristobulus satisfied with escaping [out of his brother's hands,] but gathered all his forces together, and pursued his enemies, and fought them at a place called Papyron, and slew about six thousand of them, and, together with them Antipater's brother Phalion.

(4) [131] Ὑρκανὸς δὲ καὶ Ἀντίπατρος τῶν Ἀράβων ἀφαιρεθέντες μετέφερον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους τὴν ἐλπίδα, καὶ ἐπειδὴ Πομπήιος ἐπιὼν τὴν Συρίαν εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἦκεν, ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν καταφεύγουσιν καὶ δίχα δωρεῶν αἷς καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀρέταν δικαιολογίαις χρώμενοι κατηντιβόλουν μισῆσαι μὲν τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου βίαν, κατάγειν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τὸν καὶ τρόπῳ καὶ καθ᾽ ἡλικίαν προσήκοντα. [132] οὐ μὴν οὐδ᾽ Ἀριστόβουλος ὑστέρει πεποιθὼς τῇ Σκαύρου δωροδοκίᾳ παρῆν τε καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς οἷόν τε βασιλικώτατα κεκοσμηκὼς ἑαυτόν. ἀδοξήσας δὲ πρὸς τὰς θεραπείας καὶ μὴ φέρων δουλεύειν ταῖς χρείαις ταπεινότερον τοῦ σχήματος ἀπὸ διὸς ἡλίου πόλεως χωρίζεται.

4. When Hyrcanus and Antipater were thus deprived of their hopes from the Arabians, they transferred the same to their adversaries; and because Pompey had passed through Syria, and was come to Damascus, they fled to him for assistance; and, without any bribes, they made the same equitable pleas that they had used to Aretas, and besought him to hate the violent behavior of Aristobulus, and to bestow the kingdom on him to whom it justly belonged, both on account of his good character and on account of his superiority in age. However, neither was Aristobulus wanting to himself in this case, as relying on the bribes that Scaurus had received: he was also there himself, and adorned himself after a manner the most agreeable to royalty that he was able. But he soon thought it beneath him to come in such a servile manner, and could not endure to serve his own ends in a way so much more abject than he was used to; so he departed from Diospolis.

(5) [133] Πρὸς ταῦτ᾽ ἀγανακτήσας Πομπήιος πολλὰ καὶ τῶν περὶ Ὑρκανὸν ἱκετευόντων ὥρμησεν ἐπ᾽ Ἀριστόβουλον, ἀναλαβὼν τήν τε Ῥωμαικὴν δύναμιν καὶ πολλοὺς ἐκ τῆς Συρίας συμμάχους. [134] ἐπεὶ δὲ παρελαύνων Πέλλαν καὶ Σκυθόπολιν ἦκεν εἰς Κορέας. ὅθεν ἡ Ἰουδαίων ἄρχεται χώρα κατὰ τὴν μεσόγειον ἀνιόντων, ἀκούσας συμπεφευγέναι τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειον, τοῦτο δ᾽ ἐστὶν φρούριον τῶν πάνυ φιλοτίμως ἐξησκημένων ὑπὲρ ὄρους ὑψηλοῦ κείμενον, πέμψας καταβαίνειν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν. [135] τῷ δ᾽ ἦν μὲν ὁρμὴ καλουμένῳ δεσποτικώτερον διακινδυνεύειν μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπακοῦσαι, καθεώρα δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ὀρρωδοῦν, καὶ παρήνουν οἱ φίλοι σκέπτεσθαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἰσχὺν οὖσαν ἀνυπόστατον. οἷς πεισθεὶς κάτεισιν πρὸς Πομπήιον καὶ πολλὰ περὶ τοῦ δικαίως ἄρχειν ἀπολογηθεὶς ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὸ ἔρυμα. [136] πάλιν

τε τἀδελφοῦ προκαλουμένου καταβὰς καὶ διαλεχθεὶς περὶ τῶν δικαίων ἄπεισιν μὴ κωλύοντος τοῦ Πομπηίου. μέσος δ᾽ ἦν ἐλπίδος καὶ δέους, καὶ κατῄει μὲν ὡς δυσωπήσων Πομπήιον πάντ᾽ ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῷ, πάλιν δὲ ἀνέβαινεν εἰς τὴν ἄκραν, ὡς μὴ προκαταλύειν δόξειεν αὐτόν. [137] ἐπεὶ μέντοι Πομπήιος ἐξίστασθαί τε τῶν φρουρίων ἐκέλευεν αὐτῷ καὶ παράγγελμα τῶν φρουράρχων ἐχόντων μόναις πειθαρχεῖν ταῖς αὐτογράφοις ἐπιστολαῖς, ἠνάγκαζεν αὐτὸν ἑκάστοις γράφειν ἐκχωρεῖν, ποιεῖ μὲν τὰ προσταχθέντα, ἀγανακτήσας δὲ ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ παρεσκευάζετο πολεμεῖν πρὸς Πομπήιον.

5. At this his behavior Pompey had great indignation; Hyrcanus also and his friends made great intercessions to Pompey; so he took not only his Roman forces, but many of his Syrian auxiliaries, and marched against Aristobulus. But when he had passed by Pella and Scythopolis, and was come to Corea, where you enter into the country of Judea, when you go up to it through the Mediterranean parts, he heard that Aristobulus was fled to Alexandrium, which is a strong hold fortified with the utmost magnificence, and situated upon a high mountain; and he sent to him, and commanded him to come down. Now his inclination was to try his fortune in a battle, since he was called in such an imperious manner, rather than to comply with that call. However, he saw the multitude were in great fear, and his friends exhorted him to consider what the power of the Romans was, and how it was irresistible; so he complied with their advice, and came down to Pompey; and when he had made a long apology for himself, and for the justness of his cause in taking the government, he returned to the fortress. And when his brother invited him again [to plead his cause], he came down and spake about the justice of it, and then went away without any hinderance from Pompey; so he was between hope and fear. And when he came down, it was to prevail with Pompey to allow him the government entirely; and when he went up to the citadel, it was that he might not appear to debase himself too low. However, Pompey commanded him to give up his fortified places, and forced him to write to every one of their governors to yield them up; they having had this charge given them, to obey no letters but what were of his own hand-writing. Accordingly he did what he was ordered to do; but had still an indignation at what was done, and retired to Jerusalem, and prepared to fight with Pompey.

(6) [138] Ὁ δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἐδίδου χρόνον ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, εὐθέως εἵπετο, καὶ προσεπέρρωσεν τὴν ὁρμὴν ὁ Μιθριδάτου θάνατος ἀγγελθεὶς αὐτῷ περὶ Ἰεριχοῦντα, ἔνθα τῆς Ἰουδαίας τὸ πιότατον φοίνικά τε πάμπολυν καὶ βάλσαμον τρέφει. τοῦτο λίθοις ὀξέσιν ἐπιτέμνοντες τὰ πρέμνα συνάγουσιν κατὰ τὰς τομὰς ἐκδακρῦον. [139] καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενος ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ μίαν ἐσπέραν ἔωθεν

ἠπείγετο πρὸς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. καταπλαγεὶς δὲ τὴν ἔφοδον Ἀριστόβουλος ἱκέτης ἀπαντᾷ χρημάτων τε ὑποσχέσει καὶ τῷ μετὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτρέπειν καὶ ἑαυτὸν χαλεπαίνοντα καταστέλλει τὸν Πομπήιον. [140] οὐ μήν τι τῶν ὡμολογημένων ἐγένετο: τὸν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν κομιδὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἐκπεμφθέντα Γαβίνιον οἱ τὰ Ἀριστοβούλου φρονοῦντες οὐδὲ τῇ πόλει δέχονται.

6. But Pompey did not give him time to make any preparations [for a siege], but followed him at his heels; he was also obliged to make haste in his attempt, by the death of Mithridates, of which he was informed about Jericho. Now here is the most fruitful country of Judea, which bears a vast number of palm trees besides the balsam tree, whose sprouts they cut with sharp stones, and at the incisions they gather the juice, which drops down like tears. So Pompey pitched his camp in that place one night, and then hasted away the next morning to Jerusalem; but Aristobulus was so affrighted at his approach, that he came and met him by way of supplication. He also promised him money, and that he would deliver up both himself and the city into his disposal, and thereby mitigated the anger of Pompey. Yet did not he perform any of the conditions he had agreed to; for Aristobulus's party would not so much as admit Gabinius into the city, who was sent to receive the money that he had promised.

VII

CHAPTER 7.

How Pompey Had The City Of Jerusalem Delivered Up To Him But Took The Temple By Force. How He Went Into The Holy Of Holies; As Also What Were His Other Exploits In Judea.

(1) [141] Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀγανακτήσας Πομπήιος Ἀριστόβουλον μὲν ἐφρούρει, πρὸς δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐλθὼν περιεσκόπει ὅπως δεῖ προσβαλεῖν, τήν τε ὀχυρότητα τῶν τειχῶν δυσμεταχείριστον ὁρῶν καὶ τὴν πρὸ τούτων φάραγγα φοβερὰν τό τε ἱερὸν ἐντὸς τῆς φάραγγος ὀχυρώτατα τετειχισμένον, ὥστε τοῦ ἄστεος ἁλισκομένου δευτέραν εἶναι καταφυγὴν τοῦτο τοῖς πολεμίοις.

1. At this treatment Pompey was very angry, and took Aristobulus into custody. And when he was come to the city, he looked about where he might make his attack; for he saw the walls were so firm, that it would be hard to overcome them; and that the valley before the walls was terrible; and that the temple, which was within that valley, was itself encompassed with a very strong wall, insomuch that if the city were taken, that temple would be a second place of refuge for the enemy to retire to.

(2) [142] Διαποροῦντος δ᾽ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον στάσις τοῖς ἔνδον ἐμπίπτει, τῶν μὲν Ἀριστοβούλου πολεμεῖν ἀξιούντων καὶ ῥύεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα, τῶν δὲ τὰ Ὑρκανοῦ φρονούντων ἀνοίγειν Πομπηίῳ τὰς πύλας: πολλοὺς δὲ τούτους ἐποίει τὸ δέος ἀφορῶντας εἰς τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων εὐταξίαν. [143] ἡττώμενον δὲ τὸ Ἀριστοβούλου μέρος εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνεχώρησεν καὶ τὴν συνάπτουσαν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τῇ πόλει γέφυραν ἀποκόψαντες ἀντισχεῖν εἰς ἔσχατον παρεσκευάζοντο. τῶν δὲ ἑτέρων δεχομένων Ῥωμαίους τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ βασίλεια παραδιδόντων ἐπὶ μὲν ταῦτα Πομπήιος ἕνα τῶν ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτῷ στρατηγῶν Πείσωνα εἰσπέμπει μετὰ στρατιᾶς: [144] ὃς διαλαβὼν φρουραῖς τὴν πόλιν, ἐπειδὴ τῶν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καταφυγόντων οὐδένα λόγοις ἔπειθεν συμβῆναι, τὰ πέριξ εἰς προσβολὰς εὐτρέπιζεν ἔχων τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ὑρκανὸν εἵς τε τὰς ἐπινοίας καὶ τὰς ὑπηρεσίας προθύμους.

2. Now as he was long in deliberating about this matter, a sedition arose among the people within the city; Aristobulus's party being willing to fight, and to set their king at liberty, while the party of Hyrcanus were for opening the gates to Pompey; and the dread people were in occasioned these last to be a very numerous party, when they looked upon the excellent order the Roman soldiers were in. So Aristobulus's party was worsted, and retired into the temple, and cut off the communication between the temple and the city, by breaking down the bridge that joined them together, and prepared to make an opposition to the utmost; but as the others had received the Romans into the city, and had delivered up the palace to him, Pompey sent Piso, one of his great officers, into that palace with an army, who distributed a garrison about the city, because he could not persuade any one of those that had fled to the temple to come to terms of accommodation; he then disposed all things that were round about them so as might favor their attacks, as having Hyrcanus's party very ready to afford them both counsel and assistance.

(3) [145] Αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ τὸ προσάρκτιον κλίμα τήν τε τάφρον ἔχου καὶ τὴν φάραγγα πᾶσαν ὕλην συμφορούσης τῆς δυνάμεως. χαλεπὸν δ᾽ ἦν τὸ ἀναπληροῦν διὰ βάθος ἄπειρον καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πάντα τρόπον εἰργόντων ἄνωθεν, [146] κἂν ἀτέλεστος ἔμεινεν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὁ πόνος, εἰ μὴ τὰς ἑβδομάδας ἐπιτηρῶν ὁ Πομπήιος, ἐν αἷς παντὸς ἔργου διὰ τὴν θρησκείαν χεῖρας ἀπίσχουσιν Ἰουδαῖοι, τὸ χῶμα ὕψου τῆς κατὰ χεῖρα συμβολῆς εἴργων τοὺς στρατιώτας: ὑπὲρ μόνου γὰρ τοῦ σώματος ἀμύνονται τοῖς σαββάτοις. [147] ἤδη δὲ ἀναπεπληρωμένης τῆς φάραγγος πύργους ὑψηλοὺς ἐπιστήσας τῷ χώματι καὶ προσαγαγὼν τὰς ἐκ Τύρου κομισθείσας μηχανὰς ἐπειρᾶτο τοῦ τείχους: ἀνέστελλον δὲ αἱ πετροβόλοι τοὺς καθύπερθεν κωλύοντας. ἀντεῖχον δ᾽ ἐπὶ πλεῖον οἱ κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος πύργοι μεγέθει τε καὶ κάλλει διαφέροντες.

3. But Pompey himself filled up the ditch that was oil the north side of the temple, and the entire valley also, the army itself being obliged to carry the materials for that purpose. And indeed it was a hard thing to fill up that valley, by reason of its immense depth, especially as the Jews used all the means possible to repel them from their superior situation; nor had the Romans succeeded in their endeavors, had not Pompey taken notice of the seventh days, on which the Jews abstain from all sorts of work on a religious account, and raised his bank, but restrained his soldiers from fighting on those days; for the Jews only acted defensively on sabbath days. But as soon as Pompey had filled up the valley, he erected high towers upon the bank, and brought those engines which they had fetched from Tyre near to the wall, and tried to batter it down; and the slingers of stones beat off those that stood above them, and drove them away; but the towers on this side of the city made very great resistance, and were indeed extraordinary both for largeness and magnificence.

(4) [148] Ἔνθα δὴ πολλὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κακοπαθούντων ὁ Πομπήιος τά τε ἄλλα τῆς καρτερίας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀπεθαύμαζεν καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ μηδὲν παραλῦσαι: τῆς θρησκείας ἐν μέσοις τοῖς βέλεσιν ἀνειλημένους: ὥσπερ γὰρ εἰρήνης βαθείας κατεχούσης τὴν πόλιν αἵ τε θυσίαι καθ᾽ ἡμέραν καὶ οἱ ἐναγισμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θεραπεία κατὰ τἀκριβὲς ἐξετελεῖτο τῷ θεῷ, καὶ οὐδὲ κατ᾽ αὐτὴν τὴν ἅλωσιν περὶ τῷ βωμῷ φονευόμενοι τῶν καθ᾽ ἡμέραν νομίμων εἰς τὴν θρησκείαν ἀπέστησαν. [149] τρίτῳ γὰρ μηνὶ τῆς πολιορκίας μόλις ἕνα τῶν πύργων καταρρίψαντες εἰσέπιπτον εἰς τὸ ἱερόν. ὁ δὲ πρῶτος ὑπερβῆναι τολμήσας τὸ τεῖχος Σύλλα παῖς ἦν Φαῦστος Κορνήλιος καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν ἑκατοντάρχαι δύο Φούριος καὶ Φάβιος. εἵπετο δὲ ἑκάστῳ τὸ ἴδιον στῖφος, καὶ περισχόντες πανταχοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν ἔκτεινον οὓς μὲν τῷ ναῷ προσφεύγοντας, οὓς δὲ ἀμυνομένους πρὸς ὀλίγον.

4. Now here it was that, upon the many hardships which the Romans underwent, Pompey could not but admire not only at the other instances of the Jews' fortitude, but especially that they did not at all intermit their religious services, even when they were encompassed with darts on all sides; for, as if the city were in full peace, their daily sacrifices and purifications, and every branch of their religious worship, was still performed to God with the utmost exactness. Nor indeed when the temple was actually taken, and they were every day slain about the altar, did they leave off the instances of their Divine worship that were appointed by their law; for it was in the third month of the siege before the Romans could even with great difficulty overthrow one of the towers, and get into the temple. Now he that first of all ventured to get over the wall, was Faustus Cornelius the son of Sylla; and next after him were two centurions, Furius and Fabius; and every one of these was followed by a cohort of his own,

who encompassed the Jews on all sides, and slew them, some of them as they were running for shelter to the temple, and others as they, for a while, fought in their own defense.

(5) [150] Ἔνθα πολλοὶ τῶν ἱερέων ξιφήρεις τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιόντας βλέποντες ἀθορύβως ἐπὶ τῆς θρησκείας ἔμειναν, σπένδοντες δὲ ἀπεσφάττοντο καὶ θυμιῶντες καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον θεραπείας ἐν δευτέρῳ τὴν σωτηρίαν τιθέμενοι. πλεῖστοι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἀντιστασιαστῶν ἀνῃροῦντο καὶ κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ἔρριπτον ἑαυτοὺς ἄπειροι: καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸ τεῖχος δ' ἔνιοι μανιῶντες ἐν ταῖς ἀμηχανίαις ὑπέπρησαν καὶ συγκατεφλέγοντο. [151] Ἰουδαίων μὲν οὖν ἀνῃρέθησαν μύριοι καὶ δισχίλιοι, Ῥωμαίων δὲ ὀλίγοι μὲν πάνυ νεκροί, τραυματίαι δ' ἐγένοντο πλείους.

5. And now did many of the priests, even when they saw their enemies assailing them with swords in their hands, without any disturbance, go on with their Divine worship, and were slain while they were offering their drink-offerings, and burning their incense, as preferring the duties about their worship to God before their own preservation. The greatest part of them were slain by their own countrymen, of the adverse faction, and an innumerable multitude threw themselves down precipices; nay, some there were who were so distracted among the insuperable difficulties they were under, that they set fire to the buildings that were near to the wall, and were burnt together with them. Now of the Jews were slain twelve thousand; but of the Romans very few were slain, but a greater number was wounded.

(6) [152] Οὐδὲν δὲ οὕτως ἐν ταῖς τότε συμφοραῖς καθήψατο τοῦ ἔθνους ὡς τὸ τέως ἀόρατον ἅγιον ἐκκαλυφθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων: παρελθὼν γοῦν σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Πομπήιος εἰς τὸν ναόν, ἔνθα μόνῳ θεμιτὸν ἦν παριέναι τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, τὰ ἔνδον ἐθεάσατο, λυχνίαν τε καὶ λύχνους καὶ τράπεζαν καὶ σπονδεῖα καὶ θυμιατήρια, ὁλόχρυσα πάντα, πλῆθός τε ἀρωμάτων σεσωρευμένον καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων εἰς τάλαντα δισχίλια. [153] οὔτε δὲ τούτων οὔτε ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν ἱερῶν κειμηλίων ἥψατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ μίαν τῆς ἁλώσεως ἡμέραν καθᾶραι τὸ ἱερὸν τοῖς νεωκόροις προσέταξεν καὶ τὰς ἐξ ἔθους ἐπιτελεῖν θυσίας. αὖθις δ' ἀποδείξας Ὑρκανὸν ἀρχιερέα τά τε ἄλλα προθυμότατον ἑαυτὸν ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ παρασχόντα καὶ διότι τὸ κατὰ τὴν χώραν πλῆθος ἀπέστησεν Ἀριστοβούλῳ συμπολεμεῖν ὡρμημένον, ἐκ τούτων, ὅπερ ἦν προσῆκον ἀγαθῷ στρατηγῷ, τὸν λαὸν εὐνοίᾳ πλέον ἢ δέει προσηγάγετο. [154] ἐν δὲ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἐλήφθη καὶ ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου πενθερός, ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἦν καὶ θεῖος αὐτῷ. καὶ τοὺς αἰτιωτάτους μὲν τοῦ πολέμου πελέκει κολάζει, Φαῦστον δὲ καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ γενναίως

ἀγωνισαμένους λαμπροῖς ἀριστείοις δωρησάμενος τῇ τε χώρᾳ καὶ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπιτάσσει φόρον.

6. But there was nothing that affected the nation so much, in the calamities they were then under, as that their holy place, which had been hitherto seen by none, should be laid open to strangers; for Pompey, and those that were about him, went into the temple itself whither it was not lawful for any to enter but the high priest, and saw what was reposited therein, the candlestick with its lamps, and the table, and the pouring vessels, and the censers, all made entirely of gold, as also a great quantity of spices heaped together, with two thousand talents of sacred money. Yet did not he touch that money, nor any thing else that was there reposited; but he commanded the ministers about the temple, the very next day after he had taken it, to cleanse it, and to perform their accustomed sacrifices. Moreover, he made Hyrcanus high priest, as one that not only in other respects had showed great alacrity, on his side, during the siege, but as he had been the means of hindering the multitude that was in the country from fighting for Aristobulus, which they were otherwise very ready to have done; by which means he acted the part of a good general, and reconciled the people to him more by benevolence than by terror. Now, among the Captives, Aristobulus's father-in-law was taken, who was also his uncle: so those that were the most guilty he punished with decollatlon; but rewarded Faustus, and those with him that had fought so bravely, with glorious presents, and laid a tribute upon the country, and upon Jerusalem itself.

(7) [155] Ἀφελόμενος δὲ τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τὰς ἐν κοίλῃ Συρίᾳ πόλεις, ἃς εἶλον, ὑπέταξεν τῷ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνο Ῥωμαίων στρατηγῷ κατατεταγμένῳ καὶ μόνοις αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἰδίοις ὅροις περιέκλεισεν. ἀνακτίζει δὲ καὶ Γάδαρα ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων κατεστραμμένην Γαδαρεῖ τινὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπελευθέρων Δημητρίῳ χαριζόμενος. [156] ἠλευθέρωσεν δὲ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ πόλεις, ὅσας μὴ φθάσαντες κατέσκαψαν, Ἵππον Σκυθόπολίν τε καὶ Πέλλαν καὶ Σαμάρειαν καὶ Ἰάμνειαν καὶ Μάρισαν Ἄζωτόν τε καὶ Ἀρέθουσαν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς παραλίους Γάζαν Ἰόππην Δῶρα καὶ τὴν πάλαι μὲν Στράτωνος πύργον καλουμένην, ὕστερον δὲ μετακτισθεῖσάν τε ὑφ᾽ Ἡρώδου βασιλέως λαμπροτάτοις κατασκευάσμασιν καὶ μετονομασθεῖσαν Καισάρειαν. [157] ἃς πάσας τοῖς γνησίοις ἀποδοὺς πολίταις κατέταξεν εἰς τὴν Συριακὴν ἐπαρχίαν. παραδοὺς δὲ ταύτην τε καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ τὰ μέχρις Αἰγύπτου καὶ Εὐφράτου Σκαύρῳ διέπειν καὶ δύο τῶν ταγμάτων, αὐτὸς διὰ Κιλικίας εἰς Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ἄγων μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς αἰχμάλωτον. [158] δύο δ᾽ ἦσαν αὐτῷ θυγατέρες καὶ δύο υἱεῖς, ὧν ὁ ἕτερος μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ διαδιδράσκει, σὺν δὲ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς ὁ νεώτερος Ἀντίγονος εἰς Ῥώμην ἐκομίζετο.

7. He also took away from the nation all those cities that they had formerly taken, and that belonged to Celesyria, and made them subject to him that was at that time appointed to be the Roman president there; and reduced Judea within its proper bounds. He also rebuilt Gadara, that had been demolished by the Jews, in order to gratify one Demetrius, who was of Gadara, and was one of his own freed-men. He also made other cities free from their dominion, that lay in the midst of the country, such, I mean, as they had not demolished before that time; Hippos, and Scythopolis, as also Pella, and Samaria, and Marissa; and besides these Ashdod, and Jamnia, and Arethusa; and in like manner dealt he with the maritime cities, Gaza, and Joppa, and Dora, and that which was anciently called Strato's Tower, but was afterward rebuilt with the most magnificent edifices, and had its name changed to Cesarea, by king Herod. All which he restored to their own citizens, and put them under the province of Syria; which province, together with Judea, and the countries as far as Egypt and Euphrates, he committed to Scaurus as their governor, and gave him two legions to support him; while he made all the haste he could himself to go through Cilicia, in his way to Rome, having Aristobulus and his children along with him as his captives. They were two daughters and two sons; the one of which sons, Alexander, ran away as he was going; but the younger, Antigonus, with his sisters, were carried to Rome.

VIII

CHAPTER 8.

Alexander, The Son Of Aristobulus, Who Ran Away From Pompey,

Makes An Expedition Against Hyrcanus; But Being Overcome By

Gabinius He Delivers Up The Fortresses To Him. After This

Aristobulus Escapes From Rome And Gathers An Army Together;

But Being Beaten By The Romans, He Is Brought Back To Rome;

With Other Things Relating To Gabinius, Crassus And Cassius.

(1) [159] Κἀν τούτῳ Σκαῦρος εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἐμβαλὼν τῆς μὲν Πέτρας εἴργετο ταῖς δυσχωρίαις, ἐπόρθει δὲ τὰ πέριξ πολλὰ κἀν τούτῳ κακοπαθῶν: ἐλίμωττεν γὰρ ἡ στρατιά. καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο Ὑρκανὸς ἐπεβοήθει διὰ Ἀντιπάτου τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πέμπων. ὃν καὶ καθίησι Σκαῦρος ὄντα συνήθη πρὸς Ἀρέταν, ὅπως ἐπὶ χρήμασιν διαλύσαιτο τὸν πόλεμον. πείθεται δὲ ὁ Ἄραψ τριακόσια δοῦναι τάλαντα, κἀπὶ τούτοις Σκαῦρος ἐξῆγεν τῆς Ἀραβίας τὴν δύναμιν.

1. In the mean time, Scaurus made an expedition into Arabia, but was stopped by the difficulty of the places about Petra. However, he laid waste the country about Pella, though even there he was under great hardship; for his army was afflicted with famine. In order to supply which want, Hyrcanus afforded him some assistance, and sent him provisions by the means of Antipater; whom also Scaurus sent to Aretas, as one well acquainted with him, to induce him to pay him money to buy his peace. The king of Arabia complied with the proposal, and gave him three hundred talents; upon which Scaurus drew his army out of Arabia

(2) [160] Ὁ δ᾽ ἀποδρὰς τῶν Ἀριστοβούλου παίδων Πομπήιον Ἀλέξανδρος χρόνῳ συναγαγὼν χεῖρα συχνὴν βαρὺς ἦν Ὑρκανῷ καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν κατέτρεχεν, ἐδόκει τε ἂν καταλῦσαι ταχέως αὐτόν, ὅς γε ἤδη καὶ τὸ καταρριφθὲν ὑπὸ Πομπηίου τεῖχος ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀνακτίζειν ἐθάρρει προσελθών, εἰ μὴ Γαβίνιος εἰς Συρίαν πεμφθεὶς Σκαύρῳ διάδοχος τά τε ἄλλα γενναῖον ἀπέδειξεν ἑαυτὸν ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ ἐπ᾽ Ἀλέξανδρον ὥρμησεν. [161] ὁ δὲ δείσας πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον δύναμίν τε πλείω συνέλεγεν, ὡς γενέσθαι μυρίους μὲν ὁπλίτας χιλίους δὲ καὶ πεντακοσίους ἱππεῖς, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῶν χωρίων ἐτείχιζε Ἀλεξάνδρειόν τε καὶ Ὑρκάνειον καὶ Μαχαιροῦντα πρὸς τοῖς Ἀραβίοις ὄρεσιν.

2. But as for Alexander, that son of Aristobulus who ran away from Pompey, in some time he got a considerable band of men together, and lay heavy upon Hyrcanus, and overran Judea, and was likely to overturn him quickly; and indeed he had come to Jerusalem, and had ventured to rebuild its wall that was thrown down by Pompey, had not Gabinius, who was sent as successor to Scaurus into Syria, showed his bravery, as in many other points, so in making an expedition against Alexander; who, as he was afraid that he would attack him, so he got together a large army, composed of ten thousand armed footmen, and fifteen hundred horsemen. He also built walls about proper places; Alexandrium, and Hyrcanium, and Machaerus, that lay upon the mountains of Arabia.

(3) [162] Γαβίνιος δὲ μετὰ μέρους τῆς στρατιᾶς Μᾶρκον Ἀντώνιον προπέμψας αὐτὸς εἵπετο τὴν ὅλην ἔχων δύναμιν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ἐπίλεκτοι καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τάγμα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὧν Μάλιχος ἦρχεν καὶ Πειθόλαος, συμμίξαντες τοῖς περὶ Μᾶρκον Ἀντώνιον ἡγεμόσιν ὑπήντων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. καὶ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ παρῆν ἅμα τῇ φάλαγγι Γαβίνιος. [163] ἐνουμένην δὲ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων δύναμιν οὐχ ὑπομείνας Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνεχώρει καὶ πλησίον ἤδη Ἱεροσολύμων γενόμενος ἀναγκάζεται συμβαλεῖν καὶ κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἑξακισχιλίους ἀποβαλών, ὧν τρισχίλιοι μὲν ἔπεσον τρισχίλιοι δὲ ἐζωγρήθησαν, φεύγει σὺν τοῖς καταλειφθεῖσιν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειον.

3. However, Gabinius sent before him Marcus Antonius, and followed himself with his whole army; but for the select body of soldiers that were about Antipater, and another body of Jews under the command of Malichus and Pitholaus, these joined themselves to those captains that were about Marcus Antonius, and met Alexander; to which body came Gabinius with his main army soon afterward; and as Alexander was not able to sustain the charge of the enemies' forces, now they were joined, he retired. But when he was come near to Jerusalem, he was forced to fight, and lost six thousand men in the battle; three thousand of which fell down dead, and three thousand were taken alive; so he fled with the remainder to Alexandrium.

(4) [164] Γαβίνιος δὲ πρὸς τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρειον ἐλθὼν ἐπειδὴ πολλοὺς εὗρεν ἐστρατοπεδευμένους, ἐπειρᾶτο συγγνώμης ὑποσχέσει περὶ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων πρὸ μάχης αὐτοὺς προσαγαγέσθαι: μηδὲν δὲ μέτριον φρονούντων ἀποκτείνας πολλοὺς τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀπέκλεισεν εἰς τὸ ἔρυμα. [165] κατὰ ταύτην ἀριστεύει τὴν μάχην ὁ ἡγεμὼν Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος, πανταχοῦ μὲν γενναῖος ἀεὶ φανείς, οὐδαμοῦ δ' οὕτως. Γαβίνιος δὲ τοὺς ἐξαιρήσοντας τὸ φρούριον καταλιπὼν αὐτὸς ἐπῄει τὰς μὲν ἀπορθήτους πόλεις καθιστάμενος, τὰς δὲ κατεστραμμένας ἀνακτίζων. [166] συνεπολίσθησαν γοῦν τούτου κελεύσαντος Σκυθόπολίς τε καὶ Σαμάρεια καὶ Ἀνθηδὼν καὶ Ἀπολλωνία καὶ Ἰάμνεια καὶ Ῥάφεια Μάρισά τε καὶ Ἀδώρεος καὶ Γάβαλα καὶ Ἄζωτος καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαί, τῶν οἰκητόρων ἀσμένως ἐφ' ἑκάστην συνθεόντων.

4. Now when Gabinius was come to Alexandrium, because he found a great many there en-camped, he tried, by promising them pardon for their former offenses, to induce them to come over to him before it came to a fight; but when they would hearken to no terms of accommodation, he slew a great number of them, and shut up a great number of them in the citadel. Now Marcus Antonius, their leader, signalized himself in this battle, who, as he always showed great courage, so did he never show it so much as now; but Gabinius, leaving forces to take the citadel, went away himself, and settled the cities that had not been demolished, and rebuilt those that had been destroyed. Accordingly, upon his injunctions, the following cities were restored: Scythopolis, and Samaria, and Anthedon, and Apollonia, and Jamnia, and Raphia, and Mariassa, and Adoreus, and Gamala, and Ashdod, and many others; while a great number of men readily ran to each of them, and became their inhabitants.

(5) [167] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων ἐπιμέλειαν ἐπανελθὼν πρὸς τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρειον ἐπέρρωσεν τὴν πολιορκίαν, ὥστε Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπογνοὺς περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἐπικηρυκεύεται πρὸς αὐτόν, συγγνωσθῆναί τε τῶν ἡμαρτημένων δεόμενος καὶ

τὰ συλληφθέντα φρούρια παραδιδοὺς Ὑρκάνειον καὶ Μαχαιροῦντα: αὖθις δὲ καὶ τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρειον ἐνεχείρισεν. [168] ἃ πάντα Γαβίνιος ἐναγούσης τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου μητρὸς κατέστρεψεν, ὡς μὴ πάλιν ὁρμητήριον γένοιτο δευτέρου πολέμου: παρῆν δὲ μειλισσομένη τὸν Γαβίνιον κατὰ δέος τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης αἰχμαλώτων, τοῦ τε ἀνδρὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τέκνων. [169] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα Γαβίνιος Ὑρκανὸν καταγαγὼν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ παραδοὺς κηδεμονίαν αὐτῷ καθίστατο τὴν ἄλλην πολιτείαν ἐπὶ προστασίᾳ τῶν ἀρίστων. [170] διεῖλεν δὲ πᾶν τὸ ἔθνος εἰς πέντε συνόδους, τὸ μὲν Ἱεροσολύμοις προστάξας, τὸ δὲ Γαδάροις, οἱ δὲ ἵνα συντελῶσιν εἰς Ἀμαθοῦντα, τὸ δὲ τέταρτον εἰς Ἱεριχοῦντα κεκλήρωτο, καὶ τῷ πέμπτῳ Σέπφωρις ἀπεδείχθη πόλις τῆς Γαλιλαίας. ἀσμένως δὲ τῆς ἐξ ἑνὸς ἐπικρατείας ἐλευθερωθέντες τὸ λοιπὸν ἀριστοκρατίᾳ διῳκοῦντο.

5. When Gabinius had taken care of these cities, he returned to Alexandrium, and pressed on the siege. So when Alexander despaired of ever obtaining the government, he sent ambassadors to him, and prayed him to forgive what he had offended him in, and gave up to him the remaining fortresses, Hyrcanium and Machaerus, as he put Alexandrium into his hands afterwards; all which Gabinius demolished, at the persuasion of Alexander's mother, that they might not be receptacles of men in a second war. She was now there in order to mollify Gabinius, out of her concern for her relations that were captives at Rome, which were her husband and her other children. After this Gabinius brought Hyrcanus to Jerusalem, and committed the care of the temple to him; but ordained the other political government to be by an aristocracy. He also parted the whole nation into five conventions, assigning one portion to Jerusalem, another to Gadara, that another should belong to Amathus, a fourth to Jericho, and to the fifth division was allotted Sepphoris, a city of Galilee. So the people were glad to be thus freed from monarchical government, and were governed for the future by all aristocracy.

(6) [171] Μετ' οὐ πολύ γε μὴν αὐτοῖς ἀρχὴ γίνεται θορύβων Ἀριστόβουλος ἀποδρὰς ἐκ Ῥώμης, ὃς αὖθις πολλοὺς Ἰουδαίων ἐπισυνίστη, τοὺς μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦντας μεταβολῆς, τοὺς δὲ ἀγαπῶντας αὐτὸν πάλαι. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καταλαβόμενος τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρειον ἀνατειχίζειν ἐπειρᾶτο: ὡς δὲ Γαβίνιος ὑπὸ Σισέννᾳ καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ Σερουιανῷ στρατιὰν ἔπεμψεν ἐπ' αὐτόν. γνοὺς ἀνεχώρει ἐπὶ Μαχαιροῦντος. [172] καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄχρηστον ὄχλον ἀπεφορτίσατο, μόνους δὲ ἐπήγετο τοὺς ὡπλισμένους ὄντας εἰς ὀκτακισχιλίους, ἐν οἷς καὶ Πειθόλαος ἦν ὁ ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ὑποστράτηγος αὐτομολήσας μετὰ χιλίων. Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἐπηκολούθουν, καὶ γενομένης συμβολῆς μέχρι πολλοῦ μὲν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον διεκαρτέρουν γενναίως ἀγωνιζόμενοι, τέλος δὲ βιασθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πίπτουσι μὲν πεντακισχίλιοι, περὶ δὲ δισχιλίους ἀνέφυγον εἴς τινα

λόφον, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ χίλιοι σὺν Ἀριστοβούλῳ διακόψαντες τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἰς Μαχαιροῦντα συνελαύνονται. [173] ἔνθα δὴ τὴν πρώτην ἐσπέραν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς ἐρειπίοις ἐναυλισάμενος ἐν ἐλπίσι μὲν ἦν ἄλλην συναθροίσειν δύναμιν ἀνοχὴν τοῦ πολέμου διδόντος καὶ τὸ φρούριον κακῶς ὠχύρου: προσπεσόντων δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας ἀντισχὼν ὑπὲρ δύναμιν ἁλίσκεται καὶ μετ᾽ Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ παιδός, ὃς ἀπὸ Ῥώμης αὐτῷ συναπέδρα, δεσμώτης ἐπὶ Γαβίνιον ἀνήχθη καὶ ἀπὸ Γαβινίου πάλιν εἰς Ῥώμην. [174] τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἡ σύγκλητος εἶρξεν, τὰ τέκνα δ᾽ αὐτοῦ διῆγεν εἰς Ἰουδαίαν Γαβινίου δι᾽ ἐπιστολῶν δηλώσαντος τῇ Ἀριστοβούλου γυναικὶ τοῦτο ἀντὶ τῆς παραδόσεως τῶν ἐρυμάτων ὡμολογηκέναι.

6. Yet did Aristobulus afford another foundation for new disturbances. He fled away from Rome, and got together again many of the Jews that were desirous of a change, such as had borne an affection to him of old; and when he had taken Alexandrium in the first place, he attempted to build a wall about it; but as soon as Gabinius had sent an army against him under Siscuria, and Antonius, and Servilius, he was aware of it, and retreated to Machaerus. And as for the unprofitable multitude, he dismissed them, and only marched on with those that were armed, being to the number of eight thousand, among whom was Pitholaus, who had been the lieutenant at Jerusalem, but deserted to Aristobulus with a thousand of his men; so the Romans followed him, and when it came to a battle, Aristobulus's party for a long time fought courageously; but at length they were overborne by the Romans, and of them five thousand fell down dead, and about two thousand fled to a certain little hill, but the thousand that remained with Aristobulus brake through the Roman army, and marched together to Machaerus; and when the king had lodged the first night upon its ruins, he was in hopes of raising another army, if the war would but cease a while; accordingly, he fortified that strong hold, though it was done after a poor manner. But the Romans falling upon him, he resisted, even beyond his abilities, for two days, and then was taken, and brought a prisoner to Gabinius, with Antigonus his son, who had fled away together with him from Rome; and from Gabinius he was carried to Rome again. Wherefore the senate put him under confinement, but returned his children back to Judea, because Gabinius informed them by letters that he had promised Aristobulus's mother to do so, for her delivering the fortresses up to him.

(7) [175] Γαβινίῳ δ᾽ ἐπὶ Πάρθους ὡρμημένῳ στρατεύειν γίνεται Πτολεμαῖος ἐμπόδιον: ὃς ὑποστρέψας ἀπ᾽ Εὐφράτου κατῆγεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐπιτηδείοις εἰς ἅπαντα χρώμενος κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν Ὑρκανῷ καὶ Ἀντιπάτρῳ: καὶ γὰρ χρήματα καὶ ὅπλα καὶ σῖτον καὶ ἐπικούρους Ἀντίπατρος προσῆγεν, καὶ τοὺς ταύτῃ

Ἰουδαίους φρουροῦντας τὰς κατὰ τὸ Πηλούσιον ἐμβολὰς παρεῖναι Γαβίνιον ἔπεισεν. [176] τῆς δ᾽ ἄλλης Συρίας πρὸς τὸν Γαβινίου χωρισμὸν κινηθείσης καὶ Ἰουδαίους πάλιν ἀπέστησεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου, μεγίστην δὲ συγκροτήσας δύναμιν ὥρμητο πάντας τοὺς κατὰ τὴν χώραν Ῥωμαίους ἀνελεῖν. [177] πρὸς ὃ Γαβίνιος δείσας, ἤδη δὲ παρῆν ἀπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου τοῖς τῇδε θορύβοις ἠπειγμένος, ἐπὶ τινὰς μὲν τῶν ἀφεστώτων Ἀντίπατρον προπέμψας μετέπεισεν, συνέμενον δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τρεῖς μυριάδες, κἀκεῖνος ὥρμητο πολεμεῖν. οὕτως ἔξεισιν πρὸς μάχην. ὑπήντων δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ συμβαλόντων περὶ τὸ Ἰταβύριον ὄρος μύριοι μὲν ἀναιροῦνται, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἐσκεδάσθη φυγῇ. [178] καὶ Γαβίνιος ἐλθὼν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς τὸ Ἀντιπάτρου βούλημα κατεστήσατο τὴν πολιτείαν. ἔνθεν ὁρμήσας Ναβαταίων τε μάχῃ κρατεῖ καὶ Μιθριδάτην καὶ Ὀρσάνην φυγόντας ἐκ Πάρθων κρύφα μὲν ἀπέπεμψεν, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔλεγεν ἀποδρᾶναι.

7. But now as Gabinius was marching to the war against the Parthians, he was hindered by Ptolemy, whom, upon his return from Euphrates, he brought back into Egypt, making use of Hyrcanus and Antipater to provide every thing that was necessary for this expedition; for Antipater furnished him with money, and weapons, and corn, and auxiliaries; he also prevailed with the Jews that were there, and guarded the avenues at Pelusium, to let them pass. But now, upon Gabinius's absence, the other part of Syria was in motion, and Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, brought the Jews to revolt again. Accordingly, he got together a very great army, and set about killing all the Romans that were in the country; hereupon Gabinius was afraid, [for he was come back already out of Egypt, and obliged to come back quickly by these tumults,] and sent Antipater, who prevailed with some of the revolters to be quiet. However, thirty thousand still continued with Alexander, who was himself eager to fight also; accordingly, Gabinius went out to fight, when the Jews met him; and as the battle was fought near Mount Tabor, ten thousand of them were slain, and the rest of the multitude dispersed themselves, and fled away. So Gabinius came to Jerusalem, and settled the government as Antipater would have it; thence he marched, and fought and beat the Nabateans: as for Mithridates and Orsanes, who fled out of Parthin, he sent them away privately, but gave it out among the soldiers that they had run away.

(8) [179] Κἀν τούτῳ Κράσσος αὐτῷ διάδοχος ἐλθὼν παραλαμβάνει Συρίαν. οὗτος εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ Πάρθους στρατείαν τόν τε ἄλλον τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ναοῦ χρυσὸν πάντα περιεῖλεν καὶ τὰ δισχίλια τάλαντα ἦρεν, ὧν ἀπέσχετο Πομπήιος. διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Εὐφράτην αὐτός τε ἀπώλετο καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, περὶ ὧν οὐ νῦν καιρὸς λέγειν.

8. In the mean time, Crassus came as successor to Gabinius in Syria. He took away all the rest of the gold belonging to the temple of Jerusalem, in order to furnish himself for his expedition against the Parthians. He also took away the two thousand talents which Pompey had not touched; but when he had passed over Euphrates, he perished himself, and his army with him; concerning which affairs this is not a proper time to speak [more largely].

(9) [180] Πάρθους δὲ μετὰ τὸν Κράσσον ἐπιδιαβαίνειν εἰς Συρίαν ὡρμημένους ἀνέκοπτεν Κάσσιος εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν διαφυγών. περιποιησάμενος δὲ αὐτὴν ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίους ἠπείγετο, καὶ Ταριχέας μὲν ἑλὼν εἰς τρεῖς μυριάδας Ἰουδαίων ἀνδραποδίζεται, κτείνει δὲ καὶ Πειθόλαον τοὺς Ἀριστοβούλου στασιαστὰς ἐπισυνιστάντα: τοῦ φόνου δὲ ἦν σύμβουλος Ἀντίπατρος. [181] τούτῳ γήμαντι γυναῖκα τῶν ἐπισήμων ἐξ Ἀραβίας Κύπρον τοὔνομα τέσσαρες μὲν υἱεῖς γίνονται, Φασάηλος καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὖθις Ἡρώδης, πρὸς οἷς Ἰώσηπος καὶ Φερώρας καὶ Σαλώμη θυγάτηρ. ἐξῳκειωμένος δὲ τοὺς πανταχοῦ δυνατοὺς φιλίαις τε καὶ ξενίαις μάλιστα προσηγάγετο τὸν Ἀράβων βασιλέα διὰ τὴν ἐπιγαμβρίαν, κἀπειδὴ τὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ἀνείλετο πόλεμον, ἐκείνῳ παρακαταθήκην ἔπεμψεν τὰ τέκνα. [182] Κάσσιος δὲ κατὰ συνθήκας ἡσυχάζειν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀναγκάσας ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ὑπέστρεψεν Πάρθους διαβαίνειν ἀνείρξων, περὶ ὧν ἐν ἑτέροις ἐροῦμεν.

9. But now Cassius, after Crassus, put a stop to the Parthians, who were marching in order to enter Syria. Cassius had fled into that province, and when he had taken possession of the same, he made a hasty march into Judea; and, upon his taking Taricheae, he carried thirty thousand Jews into slavery. He also slew Pitholaus, who had supported the seditious followers of Aristobulus; and it was Antipater who advised him so to do. Now this Antipater married a wife of an eminent family among the Arabisus, whose name was Cypros, and had four sons born to him by her, Phasaelus and Herod, who was afterwards king, and, besides these, Joseph and Pheroras; and he had a daughter whose name was Salome. Now as he made himself friends among the men of power every where, by the kind offices he did them, and the hospitable manner that he treated them; so did he contract the greatest friendship with the king of Arabia, by marrying his relation; insomuch that when he made war with Aristobulus, he sent and intrusted his children with him. So when Cassius had forced Alexander to come to terms and to be quiet, he returned to Euphrates, in order to prevent the Parthians from repassing it; concerning which matter we shall speak elsewhere.

IX

CHAPTER 9.

Aristobulus Is Taken Off By Pompey's Friends, As Is His Son Alexander By Scipio. Antipater Cultivates A Friendship With Caesar, After Pompey's Death; He Also Performs Great Actions In That War, Wherein He Assisted Mithridates.

(1) [183] Καῖσαρ δὲ Πομπηίου καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου φυγόντων ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰόνιον Ῥώμης καὶ τῶν ὅλων κρατήσας ἀνίησι μὲν τῶν δεσμῶν τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον, παραδοὺς δ' αὐτῷ δύο τάγματα κατὰ τάχος ἔπεμψεν εἰς Συρίαν, ταύτην τε ῥᾳδίως ἐλπίσας καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν δι' αὐτοῦ προσάξεσθαι. [184] φθάνει δ' ὁ φθόνος καὶ τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου προθυμίαν καὶ τὰς Καίσαρος ἐλπίδας: φαρμάκῳ γοῦν ἀναιρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ Πομπηίου φρονούντων μέχρι πολλοῦ μὲν οὐδὲ ταφῆς ἐν τῇ πατρῴᾳ χώρᾳ μετεῖχεν, ἔκειτο δὲ μέλιτι συντηρούμενος ὁ νεκρὸς αὐτοῦ, ἕως ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου Ἰουδαίοις ἐπέμφθη τοῖς βασιλικοῖς μνημείοις ἐνταφησόμενος.

1. Now, upon the flight of Pompey and of the senate beyond the Ionian Sea, Caesar got Rome and the empire under his power, and released Aristobulus from his bonds. He also committed two legions to him, and sent him in haste into Syria, as hoping that by his means he should easily conquer that country, and the parts adjoining to Judea. But envy prevented any effect of Aristobulus's alacrity, and the hopes of Caesar; for he was taken off by poison given him by those of Pompey's party; and, for a long while, he had not so much as a burial vouchsafed him in his own country; but his dead body lay [above ground], preserved in honey, until it was sent to the Jews by Antony, in order to be buried in the royal sepulchers.

(2) [185] Ἀναιρεῖται δὲ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξανδρος πελέκει ὑπὸ Σκιπίωνος ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ Πομπηίου τοῦτ' ἐπιστείλαντος καὶ γενομένης κατηγορίας πρὸ τοῦ βήματος ὧν Ῥωμαίους ἔβλαψεν. τοὺς δ' ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Μενναίου παραλαβών, ὃς ἐκράτει τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ Λιβάνῳ Χαλκίδος, Φιλιππίωνα τὸν υἱὸν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εἰς Ἀσκάλωνα πέμπει. [186] κἀκεῖνος ἀποσπάσας τῆς Ἀριστοβούλου γυναικὸς Ἀντίγονον καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀνήγαγεν. ἁλοὺς δ' ἔρωτι γαμεῖ τὴν ἑτέραν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς δι' αὐτὴν κτείνεται: γαμεῖ γὰρ Πτολεμαῖος τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν ἀνελὼν τὸν υἱὸν καὶ διὰ τὸν γάμον κηδεμονικώτερος αὐτὸς ἦν πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς.

2. His son Alexander also was beheaded by Sci-pio at Antioch, and that by the command of Pompey, and upon an accusation laid against him before his

tribunal, for the mischiefs he had done to the Romans. But Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, who was then ruler of Chalcis, under Libanus, took his brethren to him by sending his son Philippio for them to Ascalon, who took Antigonus, as well as his sisters, away from Aristobulus's wife, and brought them to his father; and falling in love with the younger daughter, he married her, and was afterwards slain by his father on her account; for Ptolemy himself, after he had slain his son, married her, whose name was Alexandra; on the account of which marriage he took the greater care of her brother and sister.

(3) [187] Ἀντίπατρος δὲ μετὰ τὴν Πομπηίου τελευτὴν μεταβὰς ἐθεράπευεν Καίσαρα, κἀπειδὴ Μιθριδάτης ὁ Περγαμηνὸς μεθ' ἧς ἦγεν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον δυνάμεως εἰργόμενος τῶν κατὰ τὸ Πηλούσιον ἐμβολῶν ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι κατείχετο, τούς τε Ἄραβας ξένος ὢν ἔπεισεν ἐπικουρῆσαι καὶ αὐτὸς ἦκεν ἄγων Ἰουδαίων εἰς τρισχιλίους ὁπλίτας. [188] παρώρμησεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν Συρίᾳ δυνατοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν βοήθειαν τόν τε ἔποικον τοῦ Λιβάνου Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Ἰάμβλιχον, δι' οὓς αἱ ταύτῃ πόλεις ἑτοίμως συνεφήψαντο τοῦ πολέμου. [189] καὶ θαρρῶν ἤδη Μιθριδάτης τῇ προσγενομένῃ δι' Ἀντίπατρον ἰσχύι πρὸς τὸ Πηλούσιον ἐξελαύνει κωλυόμενός τε διελθεῖν ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν. γίνεται δὲ κἀν τῇ προσβολῇ διασημότατος Ἀντίπατρος: τὸ γὰρ κατ' αὐτὸν μέρος τοῦ τείχους διαρρήξας πρῶτος εἰσεπήδησεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ.

3. Now, after Pompey was dead, Antipater changed sides, and cultivated a friendship with Caesar. And since Mithridates of Pergamus, with the forces he led against Egypt, was excluded from the avenues about Pelusium, and was forced to stay at Asealon, he persuaded the Arabians, among whom he had lived, to assist him, and came himself to him, at the head of three thousand armed men. He also encouraged the men of power in Syria to come to his assistance, as also of the inhabitants of Libanus, Ptolemy, and Jamblicus, and another Ptolemy; by which means the cities of that country came readily into this war; insomuch that Mithridates ventured now, in dependence upon the additional strength that he had gotten by Antipater, to march forward to Pelusium; and when they refused him a passage through it, he besieged the city; in the attack of which place Antipater principally signalized himself, for he brought down that part of the wall which was over against him, and leaped first of all into the city, with the men that were about him.

(4) [190] Καὶ τὸ Πηλούσιον μὲν ἑάλω, πρόσω δ' αὐτὸν ἰόντα εἶργον αὖθις οἱ τὴν Ὀνίου προσαγορευομένην χώραν κατέχοντες: ἦσαν δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι Αἰγύπτιοι. τούτους Ἀντίπατρος οὐ μόνον μὴ κωλύειν ἔπεισεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῇ δυνάμει παρασχεῖν: ὅθεν οὐδὲ οἱ κατὰ Μέμφιν ἔτι εἰς χεῖρας ἦλθον, ἑκούσιοι δὲ

προσέθεντο Μιθριδάτῃ. [191] κἀκεῖνος ἤδη τὸ Δέλτα περιελθὼν συνέβαλλεν τοῖς λοιποῖς Αἰγυπτίοις εἰς μάχην κατὰ χῶρον, ὃς Ἰουδαίων στρατόπεδον καλεῖται. κινδυνεύοντα δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ παρατάξει σὺν ὅλῳ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι ῥύεται περιελθὼν Ἀντίπατρος παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τοῦ ποταμοῦ: [192] τῶν γὰρ καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ἐκράτει τὸ λαιὸν ἔχων κέρας: ἔπειτα προσπεσὼν τοῖς διώκουσι Μιθριδάτην ἀπέκτεινεν πολλοὺς καὶ μέχρι τοσούτου τοὺς καταλειπομένους ἐδίωξεν ὡς καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν ἑλεῖν. ὀγδοήκοντα δὲ μόνους τῶν ἰδίων ἀπέβαλεν, καὶ Μιθριδάτης ἐν τῇ τροπῇ περὶ ὀκτακοσίους. σωθεὶς δ᾽ αὐτὸς παρ᾽ ἐλπίδα μάρτυς ἀβάσκανος γίνεται πρὸς Καίσαρα τῶν Ἀντιπάτρου κατορθωμάτων.

4. Thus was Pelusium taken. But still, as they were marching on, those Egyptian Jews that inhabited the country called the country of Onias stopped them. Then did Antipater not only persuade them not to stop them, but to afford provisions for their army; on which account even the people about Memphis would not fight against them, but of their own accord joined Mithridates. Whereupon he went round about Delta, and fought the rest of the Egyptians at a place called the Jews' Camp; nay, when he was in danger in the battle with all his right wing, Antipater wheeled about, and came along the bank of the river to him; for he had beaten those that opposed him as he led the left wing. After which success he fell upon those that pursued Mithridates, and slew a great many of them, and pursued the remainder so far that he took their camp, while he lost no more than fourscore of his own men; as Mithridates lost, during the pursuit that was made after him, about eight hundred. He was also himself saved unexpectedly, and became an unreproachable witness to Caesar of the great actions of Antipater.

(5) [193] Ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν τὸν ἄνδρα τοῖς ἐπαίνοις καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν εἰς τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κινδύνους ἐπέρρωσεν, ἐν οἷς πᾶσιν παραβολώτατος ἀγωνιστὴς γενόμενος καὶ πολλὰ τρωθεὶς ἐφ᾽ ὅλου σχεδὸν τοῦ σώματος εἶχεν τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀρετῆς. [194] αὖθις δὲ καταστησάμενος τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὡς ἐπανῆκεν εἰς Συρίαν, πολιτείᾳ τε αὐτὸν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐδωρήσατο καὶ ἀτελείᾳ τῆς τε ἄλλης τιμῆς καὶ φιλοφρονήσεως ἕνεκεν ζηλωτὸν ἐποίησεν καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην δὲ δι᾽ αὐτὸν ἐπεκύρωσεν Ὑρκανῷ.

5. Whereupon Caesar encouraged Antipater to undertake other hazardous enterprises for him, and that by giving him great commendations and hopes of reward. In all which enterprises he readily exposed himself to many dangers, and became a most courageous warrior; and had many wounds almost all over his body, as demonstrations of his valor. And when Caesar had settled the affairs of Egypt, and was returning into Syria again, he gave him the privilege of a Roman

citizen, and freedom from taxes, and rendered him an object of admiration by the honors and marks of friendship he bestowed upon him. On this account it was that he also confirmed Hyrcanus in the high priesthood.

X

CHAPTER 10.

Caesar Makes Antipater Procurator Of Judea; As Does Antipater Appoint Phasaelus To Be Governor Of Jerusalem, And Herod Governor Of Galilee; Who, In Some Time, Was Called To Answer For Himself [Before The Sanhedrim], Where He Is Acquitted. Sextus Caesar Is Treacherously Killed By Bassus And Is Succeeded By Marcus.

(1) [195] Κατ᾽ αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ Ἀντίγονος ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα παρὼν γίνεται παραδόξως Ἀντιπάτρῳ μείζονος προκοπῆς αἴτιος: δέον γὰρ ἀποδύρεσθαι περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς πεφαρμάχθαι δοκοῦντος ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Πομπήιον διαφορῶν καὶ περὶ τἀδελφοῦ τὴν Σκιπίωνος ὠμότητα μέμφεσθαι καὶ μηδὲν εἰς τὸν ἔλεον παραμῖξαι φθονερὸν πάθος, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις Ὑρκανοῦ καὶ Ἀντιπάτρου κατηγόρει παρελθών, [196] ὡς παρανομώτατα μὲν αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν πάσης ἀπελαύνοιεν τῆς πατρίου γῆς, πολλὰ δ᾽ εἰς τὸ ἔθνος αὐτοὶ διὰ κόρον ἐξυβρίζοιεν, καὶ ὅτι τὴν εἰς Αἴγυπτον συμμαχίαν οὐκ ἐπ᾽ εὐνοίᾳ αὐτῷ πέμψειαν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ δέος τῶν πάλαι διαφορῶν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον φιλίαν ἀποσκευαζόμενοι.

1. About this time it was that Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, came to Caesar, and became, in a surprising manner, the occasion of Antipater's further advancement; for whereas he ought to have lamented that his father appeared to have been poisoned on account of his quarrels with Pompey, and to have complained of Scipio's barbarity towards his brother, and not to mix any invidious passion when he was suing for mercy; besides those things, he came before Caesar, and accused Hyrcanus and Antipater, how they had driven him and his brethren entirely out of their native country, and had acted in a great many instances unjustly and extravagantly with relation to their nation; and that as to the assistance they had sent him into Egypt, it was not done out of good-will to him, but out of the fear they were in from former quarrels, and in order to gain pardon for their friendship to [his enemy] Pompey.

(2) [197] Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἀντίπατρος ἀπορρίψας τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὸ πλῆθος ἐπεδείκνυεν τῶν τραυμάτων, καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς εἰς Καίσαρα εὐνοίας οὐκ ἔφη λόγου δεῖν αὐτῷ: κεκραγέναι γὰρ τὸ σῶμα σιωπῶντος: [198] Ἀντιγόνου δὲ θαυμάζειν τὴν τόλμαν, εἰ πολεμίου Ῥωμαίων υἱὸς ὢν καὶ Ῥωμαίων δραπέτου καὶ τὸ νεωτεροποιὸς εἶναι καὶ στασιώδης αὐτὸς πατρῷον ἔχων, παρὰ τῷ Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμόνι κατηγορεῖν ἐπικεχείρηκεν ἑτέρων καὶ πειρᾶται τυχεῖν ἀγαθοῦ τινος, δέον ἀγαπᾶν ὅτι ζῇ: καὶ γὰρ νῦν ἐφίεσθαι πραγμάτων οὐ τοσοῦτον δι᾽ ἀπορίαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα Ἰουδαίους διαστασιάσῃ παρελθὼν καὶ χρήσηται κατὰ τῶν δόντων ταῖς ἀφορμαῖς.

2. Hereupon Antipater threw away his garments, and showed the multitude of the wounds he had, and said, that as to his good-will to Caesar, he had no occasion to say a word, because his body cried aloud, though he said nothing himself; that he wondered at Antigonus's boldness, while he was himself no other than the son of an enemy to the Romans, and of a fugitive, and had it by inheritance from his father to be fond of innovations and seditions, that he should undertake to accuse other men before the Roman governor, and endeavor to gain some advantages to himself, when he ought to be contented that he was suffered to live; for that the reason of his desire of governing public affairs was not so much because he was in want of it, but because, if he could once obtain the same, he might stir up a sedition among the Jews, and use what he should gain from the Romans to the disservice of those that gave it him.

(3) [199] Τούτων Καῖσαρ ἀκούσας Ὑρκανὸν μὲν ἀξιώτερον τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἀπεφήνατο, Ἀντιπάτρῳ δὲ δυναστείας αἵρεσιν ἔδωκεν. ὁ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῷ τιμήσαντι τὸ μέτρον τῆς τιμῆς θέμενος πάσης ἐπίτροπος Ἰουδαίας ἀποδείκνυται καὶ προσεπιτυγχάνει τὰ τείχη τῆς πατρίδος ἀνακτίσαι κατεστραμμένα. [200] τὰς μὲν δὴ τιμὰς ταύτας Καῖσαρ ἐπέστελλεν ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ χαραχθῆναι τῆς τε αὐτοῦ δικαιοσύνης σημεῖον καὶ τῆς τἀνδρὸς ἐσομένας ἀρετῆς.

3. When Caesar heard this, he declared Hyrcanus to be the most worthy of the high priesthood, and gave leave to Antipater to choose what authority he pleased; but he left the determination of such dignity to him that bestowed the dignity upon him; so he was constituted procurator of all Judea, and obtained leave, moreover, to rebuild those walls of his country that had been thrown down. These honorary grants Caesar sent orders to have engraved in the Capitol, that they might stand there as indications of his own justice, and of the virtue of Antipater.

(4) [201] Ἀντίπατρος δὲ Καίσαρα προπέμψας ἐκ τῆς Συρίας εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ὑπέστρεψεν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὸ τεῖχος ἀνεδείματο τῆς πατρίδος ὑπὸ Πομπηίου κατεστραμμένον καὶ τοὺς ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν θορύβους ἐπιὼν κατέστελλεν,

ἀπειλητὴς ἅμα καὶ σύμβουλος ὢν ἑκάστοις, ὅτι τὰ μὲν Ὑρκανοῦ φρονοῦντες ἐν ὅλβῳ καὶ καθ᾽ ἡσυχίαν βιώσονται τῶν τε ἰδίων κτημάτων καὶ κοινῆς εἰρήνης ἀπολαύοντες: [202] εἰ δὲ πείθοιντο ταῖς ψυχραῖς ἐλπίσιν τῶν νεωτερίζειν ἐπὶ κέρδεσιν οἰκείοις ἐθελόντων, ὡς αὐτόν τε πειράσουσιν ἀντὶ κηδεμόνος δεσπότην καὶ Ὑρκανὸν ἀντὶ βασιλέως τύραννον, Ῥωμαίους γε μὴν καὶ Καίσαρα πολεμίους ἀνθ᾽ ἡγεμόνων καὶ φίλων: οὐ γὰρ ἀνέξεσθαι μετακινούμενον ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὃν αὐτοὶ κατέστησαν. [203] ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα λέγων καὶ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ καθίστατο τὴν χώραν ὁρῶν τὸν Ὑρκανὸν νωθῆ τε καὶ βασιλείας ἀτονώτερον. Φασάηλον μὲν δὴ τῶν παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τῶν πέριξ στρατηγὸν καθίστησιν, τὸν δὲ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἡρώδην ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις ἔστειλεν εἰς Γαλιλαίαν κομιδῇ νέον.

4. But as soon as Antipater had conducted Caesar out of Syria he returned to Judea, and the first thing he did was to rebuild that wall of his own country [Jerusalem] which Pompey had overthrown, and then to go over the country, and to quiet the tumults that were therein; where he partly threatened, and partly advised, every one, and told them that in case they would submit to Hyrcanus, they would live happily and peaceably, and enjoy what they possessed, and that with universal peace and quietness; but that in case they hearkened to such as had some frigid hopes by raising new troubles to get themselves some gain, they should then find him to be their lord instead of their procurator; and find Hyrcanus to be a tyrant instead of a king; and both the Romans and Caesar to be their enemies, instead of rulers; for that they would not suffer him to be removed from the government, whom they had made their governor. And, at the same time that he said this, he settled the affairs of the country by himself, because he saw that Hyrcanus was inactive, and not fit to manage the affairs of the kingdom. So he constituted his eldest son, Phasaelus, governor of Jerusalem, and of the parts about it; he also sent his next son, Herod, who was very young, with equal authority into Galilee.

(5) [204] Ὁ δὲ ὢν φύσει δραστήριος ὕλην εὐθέως εὑρίσκει τῷ φρονήματι. καταλαβὼν οὖν Ἐζεκίαν τὸν ἀρχιλῃστὴν τὰ προσεχῆ τῇ Συρίᾳ κατατρέχοντα μετὰ μεγίστου στίφους αὐτόν τε συλλαβὼν ἀποκτείνει καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν λῃστῶν. [205] ὃ δὴ μάλιστα τοῖς Σύροις ἠγεῖτο κεχαρισμένον: ὑμνεῖτο γοῦν ἀνά τε τὰς κώμας καὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν Ἡρώδης ὡς εἰρήνην αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰς κτήσεις ἀνασεσωκώς. γίνεται δ᾽ ἐκ τούτου καὶ Σέξτῳ Καίσαρι γνώριμος ὄντι συγγενεῖ τοῦ μεγάλου Καίσαρος καὶ διοικοῦντι τὴν Συρίαν. [206] πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν εὐδοκιμοῦντα καὶ Φασάηλος ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἔριν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις εὐνουστέρους καθιστάμενος καὶ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ μὲν ἔχων τὴν πόλιν μηδὲν δὲ ἀπειροκάλως εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐξυβρίζων. [207] ἐντεῦθεν Ἀντιπάτρῳ θεραπεία τε ἦν ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους βασιλικὴ καὶ τιμαὶ παρὰ πάντων ὡς δεσπότῃ τῶν ὅλων: οὐ μὴν αὐτὸς τῆς πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν εὐνοίας ἢ πίστεώς τι μετεκίνησεν.

5. Now Herod was an active man, and soon found proper materials for his active spirit to work upon. As therefore he found that Hezekias, the head of the robbers, ran over the neighboring parts of Syria with a great band of men, he caught him and slew him, and many more of the robbers with him; which exploit was chiefly grateful to the Syrians, insomuch that hymns were sung in Herod's commendation, both in the villages and in the cities, as having procured their quietness, and having preserved what they possessed to them; on which occasion he became acquainted with Sextus Caesar, a kinsman of the great Caesar, and

president of Syria. A just emulation of his glorious actions excited Phasaelus also to imitate him. Accordingly, he procured the good-will of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, by his own management of the city affairs, and did not abuse his power in any disagreeable manner; whence it came to pass that the nation paid Antipater the respects that were due only to a king, and the honors they all yielded him were equal to the honors due to an absolute lord; yet did he not abate any part of that good-will or fidelity which he owed to Hyrcanus.

(6) [208] Ἀμήχανον δ' ἐν εὐπραγίαις φθόνον διαφυγεῖν: Ὑρκανὸς γοῦν ἤδη μὲν καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἡσυχῇ πρὸς τὸ κλέος τῶν νεανίσκων ἐδάκνετο, μάλιστα δὲ ἐλύπει τὰ Ἡρώδου κατορθώματα καὶ κήρυκες ἐπάλληλοι τῆς καθ' ἕκαστον εὐδοξίας προστρέχοντες πολλοὶ [δὲ] τῶν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις βασκάνων ἠρέθιζον, οἷς ἢ τὸ τῶν παίδων ἢ τὸ Ἀντιπάτρου σωφρονικὸν προσίστατο, [209] λέγοντες ὡς Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ παραχωρήσας τῶν πραγμάτων καθέζοιτο τοὔνομα μόνον βασιλέως ἔχων ἔρημον ἐξουσίας. καὶ μέχρι τοῦ πλανηθήσεται καθ' ἑαυτοῦ βασιλεῖς ἐπιτρέφων; οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰρωνεύεσθαι τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν αὐτοὺς ἔτι, φανεροὺς δὲ εἶναι δεσπότας παρωσαμένους ἐκεῖνον, εἴ γε μήτε ἐντολὰς δόντος μήτε ἐπιστείλαντος αὐτοῦ τοσούτους παρὰ τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων νόμον ἀνῄρηκεν Ἡρώδης: ὅν, εἰ μὴ βασιλεύς ἐστιν ἀλλ' ἔτι ἰδιώτης, δεῖν ἐπὶ δίκην ἥκειν ἀποδώσοντα λόγον αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις, οἳ κτείνειν ἀκρίτους οὐκ ἐφιᾶσιν.

6. However, he found it impossible to escape envy in such his prosperity; for the glory of these young men affected even Hyrcanus himself already privately, though he said nothing of it to any body; but what he principally was grieved at was the great actions of Herod, and that so many messengers came one before another, and informed him of the great reputation he got in all his undertakings. There were also many people in the royal palace itself who inflamed his envy at him; those, I mean, who were obstructed in their designs by the prudence either of the young men, or of Antipater. These men said, that by committing the public affairs to the management of Antipater and of his sons, he sat down with nothing but the bare name of a king, without any of its authority; and they asked him how long he would so far mistake himself, as to breed up kings against his own interest; for that they did not now conceal their government of affairs any longer, but were plainly lords of the nation, and had thrust him out of his authority; that this was the case when Herod slew so many men without his giving him any command to do it, either by word of mouth, or by his letter, and this in contradiction to the law of the Jews; who therefore, in case he be not a king, but a private man, still ought to come to his trial, and answer it to him, and

to the laws of his country, which do not permit any one to be killed till he hath been condemned in judgment.

(7) [210] Τούτοις κατὰ μικρὸν Ὑρκανὸς ἐξεκαίετο καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν τελευταῖον ἐκρήξας ἐκάλει κριθησόμενον τὸν Ἡρώδην. ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς παραινοῦντος καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων διδόντων παρρησίαν ἀνῄει φρουραῖς διαλαβὼν πρότερον τὴν Γαλιλαίαν. ἦει δὲ μετὰ καρτεροῦ στίφους, ὡς μήτε καταλύειν δόξειεν Ὑρκανὸν λαμπρὰν ἄγων δύναμιν μήτε γυμνὸς ἐμπέσοι τῷ φθόνῳ. [211] Σέξτος δὲ Καῖσαρ δείσας περὶ τῷ νεανίᾳ, μή τι παρὰ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀποληφθεὶς πάθῃ, πέμπει πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν τοὺς παραγγελοῦντας διαρρήδην ἀπολύειν Ἡρώδην τῆς φονικῆς δίκης. ὁ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ὡρμημένος, ἠγάπα γὰρ Ἡρώδην, ἀποψηφίζεται.

7. Now Hyrcanus was, by degrees, inflamed with these discourses, and at length could bear no longer, but he summoned Herod to take his trial. Accordingly, by his father's advice, and as soon as the affairs of Galilee would give him leave, he came up to [Jerusalem], when he had first placed garrisons in Galilee; however, he came with a sufficient body of soldiers, so many indeed that he might not appear to have with him an army able to overthrow Hyrcanus's government, nor yet so few as to expose him to the insults of those that envied him. However, Sextus Caesar was in fear for the young man, lest he should be taken by his enemies, and brought to punishment; so he sent some to denounce expressly to Hyrcanus that he should acquit Herod of the capital charge against him; who acquitted him accordingly, as being otherwise inclined also so to do, for he loved Herod.

(8) [212] Καὶ ὃς ὑπολαμβάνων ἄκοντος τοῦ βασιλέως διαφυγεῖν εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἀνεχώρησεν πρὸς Σέξτον παρασκευαζόμενος οὐδὲ αὖθις ὑπακοῦσαι καλοῦντι. καὶ πάλιν οἱ πονηροὶ παρώξυνον τὸν Ὑρκανὸν κατ᾽ ὀργήν τε οἴχεσθαι τὸν Ἡρώδην λέγοντες καὶ παρεσκευασμένον κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ: πιστεύων δ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐκ εἶχεν ὅ τι χρὴ δρᾶν. [213] ὡς ἑώρα μείζονα τὸν διάφορον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπὸ Σέξτου Καίσαρος στρατηγὸς ἀνεδείχθη κοίλης Συρίας καὶ Σαμαρείας οὐ μόνον τε κατ᾽ εὔνοιαν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους ἀλλὰ καὶ δυνάμει φοβερὸς ἦν. εἰς ἔσχατον δέους κατέπεσεν Ὑρκανός, ὅσον οὔπω προσδοκῶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁρμήσειν μετὰ στρατιᾶς.

8. But Herod, supposing that he had escaped punishment without the consent of the king, retired to Sextus, to Damascus, and got every thing ready, in order not to obey him if he should summon him again; whereupon those that were evil-disposed irritated Hyrcanus, and told him that Herod was gone away in anger, and was prepared to make war upon him; and as the king believed what they said, he knew not what to do, since he saw his antagonist was stronger than he was himself. And now, since Herod was made general of Coelesyria and

Samaria by Sextus Caesar, he was formidable, not only from the good-will which the nation bore him, but by the power he himself had; insomuch that Hyrcanus fell into the utmost degree of terror, and expected he would presently march against him with his army.

(9) [214] Καὶ οὐ διήμαρτεν τῆς οἰήσεως: ὁ γὰρ Ἡρώδης κατ᾽ ὀργὴν τῆς περὶ τὴν δίκην ἀπειλῆς στρατιὰν ἀθροίσας ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἦγεν καταλύσων τὸν Ὑρκανόν. κἂν ἔφθη τοῦτο ποιήσας, εἰ μὴ προεξελθόντες ὅ τε πατὴρ καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἔκλασαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ὁρμὴν παρακαλοῦντες καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπειλῇ καὶ ἀνατάσει μόνῃ μετρῆσαι τὴν ἄμυναν, φείσασθαι δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὑφ᾽ οὗ μέχρι τοσαύτης δυνάμεως προῆλθεν: δεῖν τε, εἰ κληθεὶς ἐπὶ δίκην παρώξυνται, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀφέσεως εὐχαριστεῖν καὶ μὴ πρὸς μὲν τὸ σκυθρωπὸν ἀπαντᾶν, περὶ δὲ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀχάριστον εἶναι. [215] εἰ δὲ δὴ λογιστέον εἴη καὶ πολέμου ῥοπὰς βραβεύεσθαι θεῷ, πλέον εἶναι τῆς στρατείας τὸ ἄδικον. διὸ δὴ καὶ περὶ τῆς νίκης οὐ χρὴ κατὰ πᾶν εὔελπιν εἶναι, μέλλοντά γε συμβαλεῖν βασιλεῖ καὶ συντρόφῳ καὶ πολλάκις μὲν εὐεργέτῃ, χαλεπῷ δὲ οὐδέποτε, πλὴν ὅσον πονηροῖς συμβούλοις χρώμενος ἐπισείσειεν αὐτῷ σκιὰν ἀδικήματος. πείθεται τούτοις Ἡρώδης ὑπολαβὼν εἰς τὰς ἐλπίδας αὔταρκες εἶναι καὶ τὸ τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐπιδείξασθαι τῷ ἔθνει.

9. Nor was he mistaken in the conjecture he made; for Herod got his army together, out of the anger he bare him for his threatening him with the accusation in a public court, and led it to Jerusalem, in order to throw Hyrcanus down from his kingdom; and this he had soon done, unless his father and brother had gone out together and broken the force of his fury, and this by exhorting him to carry his revenge no further than to threatening and affrighting, but to spare the king, under whom he had been advanced to such a degree of power; and that he ought not to be so much provoked at his being tried, as to forget to be thankful that he was acquitted; nor so long to think upon what was of a melancholy nature, as to be ungrateful for his deliverance; and if we ought to reckon that God is the arbitrator of success in war, an unjust cause is of more disadvantage than an army can be of advantage; and that therefore he ought not to be entirely confident of success in a case where he is to fight against his king, his supporter, and one that had often been his benefactor, and that had never been severe to him, any otherwise than as he had hearkened to evil counselors, and this no further than by bringing a shadow of injustice upon him. So Herod was prevailed upon by these arguments, and supposed that what he had already done was sufficient for his future hopes, and that he had enough shown his power to the nation.

(10) [216] Κἀν τούτῳ γίνεται περὶ Ἀπάμειαν ταραχὴ Ῥωμαίων καὶ πόλεμος ἐμφύλιος, Καικιλίου μὲν Βάσσου διὰ τὴν εἰς Πομπήιον εὔνοιαν δολοφονήσαντος Σέξτον Καίσαρα καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν παραλαβόντος, τῶν δ' ἄλλων Καίσαρος στρατηγῶν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ τοῦ φόνου μετὰ δυνάμεως συνελθόντων. [217] οἷς καὶ διὰ τὸν ἀνῃρημένον καὶ διὰ τὸν περιόντα Καίσαρα φίλους ὄντας ἀμφοτέρους ὁ Ἀντίπατρος διὰ τῶν παίδων ἔπεμψεν συμμαχίαν. μηκυνομένου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου Μοῦρκος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας Σέξτου παραγίνεται διάδοχος,

10. In the mean time, there was a disturbance among the Romans about Apamia, and a civil war occasioned by the treacherous slaughter of Sextus Caesar, by Cecilius Bassus, which he perpetrated out of his good-will to Pompey; he also took the authority over his forces; but as the rest of Caesar's commanders attacked Bassus with their whole army, in order to punish him for the murder of Caesar, Antipater also sent them assistance by his sons, both on account of him that was murdered, and on account of that Caesar who was still alive, both of which were their friends; and as this war grew to be of a considerable length, Marcus came out of Italy as successor to Sextus.

XI

CHAPTER 11.

Herod Is Made Procurator Of All Syria; Malichus Is Afraid Of Him, And Takes Antipater Off By Poison; Whereupon The Tribunes Of The Soldiers Are Prevailed With To Kill Him.

(1) [218] συνίσταται δὲ Ῥωμαίοις κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ὁ μέγας πόλεμος Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου κτεινάντων δόλῳ Καίσαρα κατασχόντα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπ' ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἑπτά. μεγίστου δ' ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ γενομένου κινήματος καὶ διαστασιασθέντων τῶν δυνατῶν ἕκαστος ἐλπίσιν οἰκείαις ἐχώρει πρὸς ὃ συμφέρειν ὑπελάμβανεν, καὶ δὴ καὶ Κάσσιος εἰς Συρίαν καταληψόμενος τὰς περὶ Ἀπάμειαν δυνάμεις. [219] ἔνθα Βάσσῳ τε Μοῦρκον καὶ τὰ διεστῶτα τάγματα διαλλάξας ἐλευθεροῖ μὲν Ἀπάμειαν τῆς πολιορκίας, ἡγούμενος δ' αὐτὸς τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπῄει φορολογῶν τὰς πόλεις καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν τὰς εἰσπράξεις ποιούμενος.

1. There, was at this time a mighty war raised among the Romans upon the sudden and treacherous slaughter of Caesar by Cassius and Brutus, after he had held the government for three years and seven months. Upon this murder there were very great agitations, and the great men were mightily at difference one

with another, and every one betook himself to that party where they had the greatest hopes of their own, of advancing themselves. Accordingly, Cassius came into Syria, in order to receive the forces that were at Apamia, where he procured a reconciliation between Bassus and Marcus, and the legions which were at difference with him; so he raised the siege of Apamia, and took upon him the command of the army, and went about exacting tribute of the cities, and demanding their money to such a degree as they were not able to bear.

(2) [220] Κελευσθὲν δὲ καὶ Ἰουδαίοις εἰσενεγκεῖν ἑπτακόσια τάλαντα δείσας Ἀντίπατρος τὴν ἀπειλὴν τοῦ Κασσίου τοῖς τε υἱοῖς διεῖλεν εἰσπράττειν τὰ χρήματα καί τισιν ἄλλοις τῶν ἐπιτηδείων κατὰ τάχος, ἐν οἷς καὶ Μαλίχῳ τινὶ τῶν διαφόρων: οὕτως ἤπειγεν ἡ ἀνάγκη. [221] πρῶτος δ’ ἀπεμειλίξατο Κάσσιον Ἡρώδης τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μοῖραν ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας κομίσας ἑκατὸν τάλαντα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα φίλος ἦν. τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς εἰς βραδυτῆτα κακίσας αὐταῖς ἐθυμοῦτο ταῖς πόλεσιν. [222] Γόφνα γοῦν καὶ Ἀμμαοῦν καὶ δύο ἑτέρας τῶν ταπεινοτέρων ἐξανδραποδισάμενος ἐχώρει μὲν ὡς καὶ Μάλιχον ἀναιρήσων, ὅτι μὴ σπεύσας εἰσέπραξεν, ἐπέσχεν δὲ τὴν τούτου καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων ἀπώλειαν Ἀντίπατρος ταχέως ἑκατὸν ταλάντοις θεραπεύσας Κάσσιον.

2. So he gave command that the Jews should bring in seven hundred talents; whereupon Antipater, out of his dread of Cassius’s threats, parted the raising of this sum among his sons, and among others of his acquaintance, and to be done immediately; and among them he required one Malichus, who was at enmity with him, to do his part also, which necessity forced him to do. Now Herod, in the first place, mitigated the passion of Cassius, by bringing his share out of Galilee, which was a hundred talents, on which account he was in the highest favor with him; and when he reproached the rest for being tardy, he was angry at the cities themselves; so he made slaves of Gophna and Emmaus, and two others of less note; nay, he proceeded as if he would kill Malichus, because he had not made greater haste in exacting his tribute; but Antipater prevented the ruin of this man, and of the other cities, and got into Cassius’s favor by bringing in a hundred talents immediately.

(3) [223] Οὐ μὴν Μάλιχος ἀναχωρήσαντος Κασσίου τῆς χάριτος ἀπεμνημόνευσεν Ἀντιπάτρῳ, κατὰ δὲ τοῦ πολλάκις σωτῆρος ἐπιβουλὴν ἐνεσκευάζετο σπεύδων ἀνελεῖν τὸν ἐμπόδιον αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν Ἀντίπατρος δὲ τήν τε ἰσχὺν καὶ τὸ πανοῦργον τἀνδρὸς ὑποδείσας διαβαίνει τὸν Ἰορδάνην στρατὸν ἀθροίσων εἰς τὴν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἄμυναν. [224] φωραθεὶς δὲ Μάλιχος ἀναιδείᾳ τῶν Ἀντιπάτρου παίδων περιγίνεται: τόν τε γὰρ Ἱεροσολύμων φρουρὸν Φασάηλον καὶ Ἡρώδην πεπιστευμένον τὰ ὅπλα πολλαῖς ἀπολογίαις καὶ ὅρκοις ἐκγοητεύσας διαλλακτὰς

αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα πείθει γίνεσθαι. πάλιν γοῦν ὑπ᾽ Ἀντιπάτρου σώζεται πείσαντος Μοῦρκον τὸν τότε στρατηγοῦντα Συρίας, ὃς ὥρμητο κτεῖναι Μάλιχον ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐνεωτέρισεν.

3. However, when Cassius was gone Malichus forgot the kindness that Antipater had done him, and laid frequent plots against him that had saved him, as making haste to get him out of the way, who was an obstacle to his wicked practices; but Antipater was so much afraid of the power and cunning of the man, that he went beyond Jordan, in order to get an army to guard himself against his treacherous designs; but when Malichus was caught in his plot, he put upon Antipater's sons by his impudence, for he thoroughly deluded Phasaelus, who was the guardian of Jerusalem, and Herod who was intrusted with the weapons of war, and this by a great many excuses and oaths, and persuaded them to procure his reconciliation to his father. Thus was he preserved again by Antipater, who dissuaded Marcus, the then president of Syria, from his resolution of killing Malichus, on account of his attempts for innovation.

(4) [225] Συστάντος δὲ τοῦ πρὸς Κάσσιον καὶ Βροῦτον πολέμου Καίσαρί τε τῷ νέῳ καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ Κάσσιος καὶ Μοῦρκος στρατιὰν ἀθροίσαντες ἐκ τῆς Συρίας, ἐπειδὴ μέγα μέρος εἰς τὰς χρείας Ἡρώδης ἔδοξε, τότε μὲν αὐτὸν Συρίας ἁπάσης ἐπιμελητὴν καθιστᾶσιν δύναμιν πεζήν τε καὶ ἱππικὴν δόντες, μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου κατάλυσιν ἀποδείξειν Κάσσιος ὑπέσχετο καὶ Ἰουδαίας βασιλέα. [226] συνέβη δ᾽ Ἀντιπάτρῳ τήν τε ἰσχὺν τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα αἰτίαν ἀπωλείας γενέσθαι: ταῦτα γὰρ δείσας ὁ Μάλιχος διαφθείρει τινὰ τῶν βασιλικῶν οἰνοχόων χρήμασιν δοῦναι φάρμακον Ἀντιπάτρῳ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀγώνισμα τῆς Μαλίχου παρανομίας γενόμενος μετὰ τὸ συμπόσιον θνήσκει τά τε ἄλλα δραστήριος ἀνὴρ ἐν ἀφηγήσει πραγμάτων καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνακτησάμενός τε Ὑρκανῷ καὶ διαφυλάξας:

4. Upon the war between Cassius and Brutus on one side, against the younger Caesar [Augustus] and Antony on the other, Cassius and Marcus got together an army out of Syria; and because Herod was likely to have a great share in providing necessaries, they then made him procurator of all Syria, and gave him an army of foot and horse. Cassius promised him also, that after the war was over, he would make him king of Judea. But it so happened that the power and hopes of his son became the cause of his perdition; for as Malichus was afraid of this, he corrupted one of the king's cup-bearers with money to give a poisoned potion to Antipater; so he became a sacrifice to Malichus's wickedness, and died at a feast. He was a man in other respects active in the management of affairs,

and one that recovered the government to Hyrcanus, and preserved it in his hands.

(5) [227] Μάλιχος δὲ καθ᾽ ὑπόνοιαν τῆς φαρμακείας ὀργιζόμενον τὸ πλῆθος ἀρνούμενος ἔπειθεν καὶ δυνατώτερον ἑαυτὸν κατεσκεύαζεν ὁπλίτας συγκροτῶν: οὐ γὰρ ἠρεμήσειν Ἡρώδην ὑπελάμβανεν, ὃς δὴ καὶ παρῆν αὐτίκα στρατὸν ἄγων ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ τοῦ πατρός. [228] Φασαήλου δὲ τἀδελφοῦ συμβουλεύσαντος αὐτῷ μὴ φανερῶς τὸν ἄνδρα μετιέναι, διαστασιάσειν γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος, τότε μὲν ἀπολογούμενόν τε προσίεται τὸν Μάλιχον καὶ τῆς ὑπονοίας ἀπολύειν ὡμολόγει, λαμπρὰν δὲ πομπὴν ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ κηδείας ἐτέλεσεν.

5. However, Malichus, when he was suspected of poisoning Antipater, and when the multitude was angry with him for it, denied it, and made the people believe he was not guilty. He also prepared to make a greater figure, and raised soldiers; for he did not suppose that Herod would be quiet, who indeed came upon him with an army presently, in order to revenge his father's death; but, upon hearing the advice of his brother Phasaelus, not to punish him in an open manner, lest the multitude should fall into a sedition, he admitted of Malichus's apology, and professed that he cleared him of that suspicion; he also made a pompous funeral for his father.

(6) [229] Τραπεὶς δ᾽ ἐπὶ Σαμάρειαν στάσει τεταραγμένην κατεστήσατο τὴν πόλιν: ἔπειτα καθ᾽ ἑορτὴν ὑπέστρεφεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἄγων. καὶ πέμπων Ὑρκανός, ἐνῆγεν γὰρ δεδοικὼς τὴν ἔφοδον Μάλιχος, ἐκώλυεν τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους εἰσαγαγεῖν ἐφ᾽ ἁγνεύοντας τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους. ὁ δὲ τῆς προφάσεως καταφρονήσας καὶ τοῦ προστάσσοντος εἰσέρχεται διὰ νυκτός. [230] καὶ πάλιν Μάλιχος προσιὼν ἔκλαιεν Ἀντίπατρον: ἀνθυπεκρίνετο δὲ μόλις Ἡρώδης τὸν θυμὸν ἐπέχων καὶ Κασσίῳ δι᾽ ἐπιστολῶν τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀναίρεσιν ἀπωδύρετο μισοῦντι καὶ ἄλλως Μάλιχον. ὁ δ᾽ αὐτῷ μετιέναι τὸν φονέα τοῦ πατρὸς ἀντεπιστείλας καὶ τοῖς ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτὸν χιλιάρχοις λάθρα προσέταξεν Ἡρώδῃ βοηθεῖν εἰς πρᾶξιν δικαίαν.

6. So Herod went to Samaria, which was then in a tumult, and settled the city in peace; after which at the [Pentecost] festival, he returned to Jerusalem, having his armed men with him: hereupon Hyrcanus, at the request of Malichus, who feared his reproach, forbade them to introduce foreigners to mix themselves with the people of the country while they were purifying themselves; but Herod despised the pretense, and him that gave that command, and came in by night. Upon which Malithus came to him, and bewailed Antipater; Herod also made him believe [he admitted of his lamentations as real], although he had much ado to restrain his passion at him; however, he did himself bewail the murder of his father in his letters to Cassius, who, on other accounts, also hated Malichus.

Cassius sent him word back that he should avenge his father's death upon him, and privately gave order to the tribunes that were under him, that they should assist Herod in a righteous action he was about.

(7) [231] Καὶ ἐπειδὴ Λαοδίκειαν ἑλόντος αὐτοῦ συνῆσαν οἱ πανταχόθεν δυνατοὶ δωρεάς τε καὶ στεφάνους φέροντες, Ἡρώδης μὲν τοῦτον τῇ τιμωρίᾳ τὸν καιρὸν ἀφώρισεν, Μάλιχος δὲ ὑποπτεύσας, ὡς ἐν Τύρῳ γίνεται, τόν τε υἱὸν ὁμηρεύοντα παρὰ τοῖς Τυρίοις ὑπεξαγαγεῖν ἔγνω λάθρα καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀποδρᾶναι παρεσκευάζετο: [232] παρώξυνεν δ' αὐτὸν ἡ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀπόγνωσις ἐνθυμεῖσθαι καὶ μείζονα: τό τε γὰρ ἔθνος ἐπαναστήσειν Ῥωμαίοις ἤλπισεν Κασσίου τῷ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον πολέμῳ περισπωμένου καὶ βασιλεύσειν αὐτὸς Ὑρκανὸν καταλύσας εὐμαρῶς.

7. And because, upon the taking of Laodicea by Cassius, the men of power were gotten together from all quarters, with presents and crowns in their hands, Herod allotted this time for the punishment of Malichus. When Malichus suspected that, and was at Tyre, he resolved to withdraw his son privately from among the Tyrians, who was a hostage there, while he got ready to fly away into Judea; the despair he was in of escaping excited him to think of greater things; for he hoped that he should raise the nation to a revolt from the Romans, while Cassius was busy about the war against Antony, and that he should easily depose Hyrcanus, and get the crown for himself.

(8) [233] Ἐπεγέλα δ' ἄρα τὸ χρεὼν αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν. ὁ γοῦν Ἡρώδης προιδόμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν ὁρμὴν τόν τε Ὑρκανὸν κἀκεῖνον ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐκάλει, παρεστῶτας ἔπειτα τῶν οἰκετῶν τινας πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰσέπεμψεν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ δείπνου παρασκευήν, τῷ δὲ ὄντι προειπεῖν τοῖς χιλιάρχοις ἐξελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐνέδραν. [234] κἀκεῖνοι τῶν Κασσίου προσταγμάτων ἀναμνησθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως αἰγιαλὸν ἐξῆεσαν ξιφήρεις, ἔνθα περιστάντες τὸν Μάλιχον πολλοῖς τραύμασιν ἀναιροῦσιν. Ὑρκανὸς δὲ παραχρῆμα μὲν λυθεὶς ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως ἔπεσεν, μόλις δὲ ἀνενεγκὼν Ἡρώδην διηρώτα, τίς ὁ κτείνας εἴη Μάλιχον. [235] ἀποκριναμένου δέ τινος τῶν χιλιάρχων "τὸ Κασσίου πρόσταγμα", "Κάσσιος ἄρα, ἔφη, κἀμὲ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα μου σώζει τὸν ἀμφοτέρων ἐπίβουλον ἀνελών." εἴτε δὲ φρονῶν Ὑρκανὸς οὕτως εἰθ' ὑπὸ δέους ὁμόσε τῇ πράξει χωρῶν εἶπεν, ἄδηλον ἦν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ Μάλιχον μὲν οὕτως Ἡρώδης μετῆλθεν.

8. But fate laughed at the hopes he had; for Herod foresaw what he was so zealous about, and invited both Hyrcanus and him to supper; but calling one of the principal servants that stood by him to him, he sent him out, as though it were to get things ready for supper, but in reality to give notice beforehand about the plot that was laid against him; accordingly they called to mind what orders

Cassius had given them, and went out of the city with their swords in their hands upon the sea-shore, where they encompassed Malichus round about, and killed him with many wounds. Upon which Hyrcanus was immediately affrighted, till he swooned away and fell down at the surprise he was in; and it was with difficulty that he was recovered, when he asked who it was that had killed Malichus. And when one of the tribunes replied that it was done by the command of Cassius, "Then," said he, "Cassius hath saved both me and my country, by cutting off one that was laying plots against them both." Whether he spake according to his own sentiments, or whether his fear was such that he was obliged to commend the action by saying so, is uncertain; however, by this method Herod inflicted punishment upon Malichus.

XII

CHAPTER 12.

Phasaelus Is Too Hard For Felix; Herod Also Overcomes

Antigonus In Rattle; And The Jews Accuse Both Herod And

Phasaelus But Antonius Acquits Them, And Makes Them

Tetrarchs.

(1) [236] Κασσίου δὲ ἀναχωρήσαντος ἐκ Συρίας πάλιν στάσις ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις γίνεται Ἔλικος μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπαναστάντος Φασαήλῳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑπὲρ Μαλίχου τιμωρίαν ἀμύνεσθαι θέλοντος Ἡρώδην εἰς τὸν ἀδελφόν. Ἡρώδης δὲ ἔτυχεν μὲν ὢν παρὰ Φαβίῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ κατὰ Δαμασκόν, ὡρμημένος δὲ βοηθεῖν ὑπὸ νόσου κατείχετο. [237] κἀν τούτῳ Φασάηλος καθ' ἑαυτὸν Ἔλικος περιγενόμενος Ὑρκανὸν ὠνείδιζεν εἰς ἀχαριστίαν ὧν τε Ἔλικι συμπράξειεν, καὶ ὅτι περιορῴη τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Μαλίχου τὰ φρούρια καταλαμβάνοντα: πολλὰ γὰρ δὴ κατείληπτο, καὶ τὸ πάντων ὀχυρώτατον Μασάδαν.

1. When Cassius was gone out of Syria, another sedition arose at Jerusalem, wherein Felix assaulted Phasaelus with an army, that he might revenge the death of Malichus upon Herod, by falling upon his brother. Now Herod happened then to be with Fabius, the governor of Damascus, and as he was going to his brother's assistance, he was detained by sickness; in the mean time, Phasaelus was by himself too hard for Felix, and reproached Hyrcanus on account of his ingratitude, both for what assistance he had afforded Malichus, and for overlooking Malichus's brother, when he possessed himself of the fortresses; for he had gotten a great many of them already, and among them the strongest of them all, Masada.

(2) [238] Οὐ μὴν αὐτῷ τι πρὸς τὴν Ἡρώδου βίαν ἤρκεσεν, ὃς ἀναρρωσθεὶς τά τε ἄλλα παραλαμβάνει κἀκεῖνον ἐκ τῆς Μασάδας ἱκέτην ἀφῆκεν. ἐξήλασεν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας Μαρίωνα τὸν Τυρίων τύραννον ἤδη τρία κατεσχηκότα τῶν ἐρυμάτων, τοὺς δὲ ληφθέντας Τυρίους ἔσωσεν μὲν πάντας, ἦσαν δ' οὓς καὶ δωρησάμενος ἀπέπεμψεν εὔνοιαν ἑαυτῷ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῷ τυράννῳ μῖσος παρασκευαζόμενος. [239] ὁ δὲ Μαρίων ἠξίωτο μὲν τῆς τυραννίδος ὑπὸ Κασσίου τυραννίσιν πᾶσαν διαλαβόντος τὴν Συρίαν, κατὰ δὲ τὸ πρὸς Ἡρώδην ἔχθος συγκατήγαγεν Ἀντίγονον τὸν Ἀριστοβούλου, καὶ τὸ πλέον διὰ Φάβιον, ὃν Ἀντίγονος χρήμασιν προσποιησάμενος βοηθὸν εἶχεν τῆς καθόδου: χορηγὸς δ' ἦν ἁπάντων ὁ κηδεστὴς Πτολεμαῖος Ἀντιγόνῳ.

2. However, nothing could be sufficient for him against the force of Herod, who, as soon as he was recovered, took the other fortresses again, and drove him out of Masada in the posture of a supplicant; he also drove away Marion, the tyrant of the Tyrians, out of Galilee, when he had already possessed himself of three fortified places; but as to those Tyrians whom he had caught, he preserved them all alive; nay, some of them he gave presents to, and so sent them away, and thereby procured good-will to himself from the city, and hatred to the tyrant. Marion had indeed obtained that tyrannical power of Cassius, who set tyrants over all Syria and out of hatred to Herod it was that he assisted Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, and principally on Fabius's account, whom Antigonus had made his assistant by money, and had him accordingly on his side when he made his descent; but it was Ptolemy, the kinsman of Antigonus, that supplied all that he wanted.

(3) [240] Πρὸς οὓς Ἡρώδης ἀντιπαραταξάμενος ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμβολῶν τῆς Ἰουδαίας κρατεῖ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἐξελάσας ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πᾶσιν ἀγαπητὸς ὢν ἐπὶ τῷ κατορθώματι: καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὴ προσέχοντες πάλαι τότε ᾠκείωντο διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν ἐπιγαμίαν αὐτῷ. [241] πρότερον μὲν γὰρ ἦκτο γυναῖκα τῶν ἐπιχωρίων οὐκ ἄσημον, Δωρὶς ἐκαλεῖτο, ἐξ ἧς ἐγέννησεν Ἀντίπατρον, τότε δὲ γήμας τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου θυγατέρα, θυγατριδῆν δὲ Ὑρκανοῦ Μαριάμην οἰκεῖος τῷ βασιλεῖ γίνεται.

3. When Herod had fought against these in the avenues of Judea, he was conqueror in the battle, and drove away Antigonus, and returned to Jerusalem, beloved by every body for the glorious action he had done; for those who did not before favor him did join themselves to him now, because of his marriage into the family of Hyrcanus; for as he had formerly married a wife out of his own country of no ignoble blood, who was called Doris, of whom he begat Antipater; so did he now marry Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander, the son of

Aristobulus, and the granddaughter of Hyrcanus, and was become thereby a relation of the king.

(4) [242] Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κάσσιον περὶ Φιλίππους ἀνελόντες ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς μὲν Ἰταλίαν Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἀντώνιος, πρεσβευομένων τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων πρὸς Ἀντώνιον εἰς Βιθυνίαν ἦκον καὶ Ἰουδαίων οἱ δυνατοὶ κατηγοροῦντες Φασαήλου καὶ Ἡρώδου, βίᾳ μὲν αὐτοὺς κρατεῖν τῶν πραγμάτων, ὄνομα δὲ μόνον περιεῖναι Ὑρκανῷ τίμιον. πρὸς ἃ παρὼν Ἡρώδης καὶ τεθεραπευκὼς οὐκ ὀλίγοις Ἀντώνιον χρήμασιν οὕτως διέθηκεν, ὡς μηδὲ λόγου τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀνασχέσθαι.

4. But when Caesar and Antony had slain Cassius near Philippi, and Caesar was gone to Italy, and Antony to Asia, amongst the rest of the cities which sent ambassadors to Antony unto Bithynia, the great men of the Jews came also, and accused Phasaelus and Herod, that they kept the government by force, and that Hyrcanus had no more than an honorable name. Herod appeared ready to answer this accusation; and having made Antony his friend by the large sums of money which he gave him, he brought him to such a temper as not to hear the others speak against him; and thus did they part at this time.

(5) [243] καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτως διελύθησαν, αὖθις δὲ οἱ ἐν τέλει Ἰουδαίων ἑκατὸν ἄνδρες ἦκον εἰς τὴν πρὸς Ἀντιόχειαν Δάφνην ἐπ᾽ Ἀντώνιον ἤδη τῷ Κλεοπάτρας ἔρωτι δεδουλωμένον: οἳ προστησάμενοι τοὺς ἀξιώματι καὶ λόγῳ σφῶν δυνατωτάτους κατηγόρουν τῶν ἀδελφῶν. ὑπήντα δὲ Μεσσάλας ἀπολογούμενος συμπαρεστῶτος Ὑρκανοῦ διὰ τὸ κῆδος. [244] καὶ Ἀντώνιος ἀκούσας ἑκατέρων Ὑρκανοῦ διεπυνθάνετο τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτέρους ὄντας ἄρχειν: τοῦ δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην προκρίνοντος, ἡσθείς, ἦν γὰρ δὴ καὶ ξένος αὐτοῖς πατρῷος δεχθεὶς ὑπ᾽ Ἀντιπάτρου φιλοφρόνως ὅτε εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν σὺν Γαβινίῳ παρέβαλλεν, τετράρχας ἀποδείκνυσιν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς πᾶσαν διοικεῖν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπιτρέπων.

5. However, after this, there came a hundred of the principal men among the Jews to Daphne by Antioch to Antony, who was already in love with Cleopatra to the degree of slavery; these Jews put those men that were the most potent, both in dignity and eloquence, foremost, and accused the brethren. But Messala opposed them, and defended the brethren, and that while Hyrcanus stood by him, on account of his relation to them. When Antony had heard both sides, he asked Hyrcanus which party was the fittest to govern, who replied that Herod and his party were the fittest. Antony was glad of that answer, for he had been formerly treated in an hospitable and obliging manner by his father Antipater, when he marched into Judea with Gabinius; so he constituted the brethren tetrarchs, and committed to them the government of Judea.

(6) [245] Προσαγανακτούντων δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων πεντεκαίδεκα μὲν συλλαβὼν εἴργνυσιν, οὓς καὶ ἀνελεῖν ὥρμησεν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς μεθ᾽ ὕβρεως ἀπήλασεν. πρὸς ὃ μείζων ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις γίνεται ταραχή: χιλίους γοῦν πάλιν ἔπεμψαν πρέσβεις εἰς Τύρον, ἔνθα διέτριβεν Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ὡρμημένος. ἐπὶ τούτους κεκραγότας ἐκπέμπει τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν Τυρίων κολάζειν προστάξας οὓς ἂν λάβῃ, συγκατασκευάζειν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κατασταθεῖσιν τετράρχαις.

6. But when the ambassadors had indignation at this procedure, Antony took fifteen of them, and put them into custody, whom he was also going to kill presently, and the rest he drove away with disgrace; on which occasion a still greater tumult arose at Jerusalem; so they sent again a thousand ambassadors to Tyre, where Antony now abode, as he was marching to Jerusalem; upon these men who made a clamor he sent out the governor of Tyre, and ordered him to punish all that he could catch of them, and to settle those in the administration whom he had made tetrarchs.

(7) [246] Πρὸ δὲ τούτου πολλὰ παρῄνει προελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν Ἡρώδης σὺν Ὑρκανῷ μήθ᾽ ἑαυτοῖς ἀπωλείας αἰτίους μήτε τῇ πατρίδι πολέμου γίνεσθαι φιλονεικοῦντας ἀκρίτως. τῶν δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀγανακτούντων Ἀντώνιος ἐκπέμψας ὁπλίτας πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν, πολλοὺς δὲ ἔτρωσεν: ὧν οἵ τε πεσόντες ταφῆς καὶ οἱ τραυματίαι θεραπείας ἠξιώθησαν ὑπὸ Ὑρκανοῦ. [247] οὐ μὴν οἱ διαφυγόντες ἠρέμουν, ἀλλὰ τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν συνταράσσοντες παρώξυναν Ἀντώνιον ὥστε καὶ τοὺς δεσμώτας ἀποκτεῖναι.

7. But before this, Herod and Hyrcanus went out upon the sea-shore, and earnestly desired of these ambassadors that they would neither bring ruin upon themselves, nor war upon their native country, by their rash contentions; and when they grew still more outrageous, Antony sent out armed men, and slew a great many, and wounded more of them; of whom those that were slain were buried by Hyrcanus, as were the wounded put under the care of physicians by him; yet would not those that had escaped be quiet still, but put the affairs of the city into such disorder, and so provoked Antony, that he slew those whom he had in bonds also.

XIII

CHAPTER 13.

The Parthians Bring Antigonus Back Into Judea, And Cast Hyrcanus And Phasaelus Into Prison. The Flight Of Herod, And

The Taking Of Jerusalem And What Hyrcanus And Phasaelus Suffered.

(1) [248] Μετὰ δὲ ἔτη δύο Βαζαφράνου τοῦ Πάρθων σατράπου σὺν Πακόρῳ τῷ βασιλέως υἱῷ Συρίαν κατασχόντος Λυσανίας ἀναδεδεγμένος ἤδη τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτήσαντος, Πτολεμαῖος δ' ἦν οὗτος ὁ Μενναίου, πείθει τὸν σατράπην ὑποσχέσει χιλίων ταλάντων καὶ πεντακοσίων γυναικῶν καταγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια τὸν Ἀντίγονον, καταλῦσαι δὲ τὸν Ὑρκανόν. [249] τούτοις ὑπαχθεὶς Πάκορος αὐτὸς μὲν ᾔει κατὰ τὴν παράλιον, Βαζαφράνην δὲ διὰ τῆς μεσογείου προσέταξεν ἐμβαλεῖν. τῶν δ' ἐπιθαλαττίων Τύριοι Πάκορον οὐκ ἐδέξαντο καίτοι Πτολεμαιῶν καὶ Σιδωνίων δεδεγμένων. ὁ δ' οἰνοχόῳ τινὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν ὁμωνύμῳ μοῖραν τῆς ἵππου παραδοὺς προεμβαλεῖν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν κατασκεψόμενόν τε τὰ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ πρὸς ἃ δέοι βοηθήσοντα Ἀντιγόνῳ.

1. Now two years afterward, when Barzapharnes, a governor among the Parthians, and Paeorus, the king's son, had possessed themselves of Syria, and when Lysanias had already succeeded upon the death of his father Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, in the government [of Chalcis], he prevailed with the governor, by a promise of a thousand talents, and five hundred women, to bring back Antigonus to his kingdom, and to turn Hyrcanus out of it. Pacorus was by these means induced so to do, and marched along the sea-coast, while he ordered Barzapharnes to fall upon the Jews as he went along the Mediterranean part of the country; but of the maritime people, the Tyrians would not receive Pacorus, although those of Ptolemais and Sidon had received him; so he committed a troop of his horse to a certain cup-bearer belonging to the royal family, of his own name [Pacorus], and gave him orders to march into Judea, in order to learn the state of affairs among their enemies, and to help Antigonus when he should want his assistance.

(2) [250] Τῶν δὲ λῃζομένων τὸν Κάρμηλον πολλοὶ Ἰουδαῖοι συνδραμόντες πρὸς Ἀντίγονον προθύμους ἑαυτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν εἰσβολὴν παρεῖχον. ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν καλούμενον Δρυμὸν προέπεμψεν τὸ χωρίον καταλαβεῖν: ἐν ᾧ γενομένης συμβολῆς ὠσάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ διώξαντες ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἔθεον γενόμενοί τε πλείους μέχρι τῶν βασιλείων προῆλθον. [251] Ὑρκανοῦ δὲ καὶ Φασαήλου δεξαμένων αὐτοὺς καρτερῷ στίφει μάχη κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν συρρήγνυται, καθ' ἣν τρεψάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους οἱ περὶ Ἡρώδην κατακλείουσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ φρουροὺς αὐτῶν ἄνδρας ἑξήκοντα ταῖς πλησίον οἰκίαις ἐγκατέστησαν. [252] τούτους μὲν ὁ στασιάζων πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς λαὸς ἐπελθὼν ἐμπίπρησιν, Ἡρώδης δὲ τοῦ δήμου πολλοὺς κατ' ὀργὴν τῶν

ἀπολωλότων ἀναιρεῖ συμβαλών, καὶ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐπεκθεόντων ἀλλήλοις κατὰ λόχους φόνος ἦν ἀδιάλειπτος.

2. Now as these men were ravaging Carmel, many of the Jews ran together to Antigonus, and showed themselves ready to make an incursion into the country; so he sent them before into that place called Drymus, [the woodland] to seize upon the place; whereupon a battle was fought between them, and they drove the enemy away, and pursued them, and ran after them as far as Jerusalem, and as their numbers increased, they proceeded as far as the king's palace; but as Hyrcanus and Phasaelus received them with a strong body of men, there happened a battle in the market-place, in which Herod's party beat the enemy, and shut them up in the temple, and set sixty men in the houses adjoining as a guard to them. But the people that were tumultuous against the brethren came in, and burnt those men; while Herod, in his rage for killing them, attacked and slew many of the people, till one party made incursions on the other by turns, day by day, in the way of ambushes, and slaughters were made continually among them.

(3) [253] Ἐνστάσης δ᾽ ἑορτῆς, ἣ πεντηκοστὴ καλεῖται, τά τε περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πάντα καὶ ἡ πόλις ὅλη πλήθους τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ἀναπίμπλαται τὸ πλέον ὁπλιτῶν. καὶ Φασάηλος μὲν τὸ τεῖχος, Ἡρώδης δ᾽ οὐ μετὰ πολλῶν ἐφρούρει τὰ βασίλεια: καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπεκδραμὼν ἀσυντάκτοις κατὰ τὸ προάστειον πλείστους μὲν ἀναιρεῖ, τρέπεται δὲ πάντας καὶ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, τοὺς δὲ εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, τοὺς δὲ εἰς τὸ ἔξω χαράκωμα ἐγκλείει. [254] κἀν τούτῳ διαλλακτὴν μὲν Ἀντίγονος παρακαλεῖ Πάκορον εἰσαφεῖναι, Φασάηλος δὲ πεισθεὶς τῇ τε πόλει καὶ ξενίᾳ τὸν Πάρθον εἰσδέχεται μετὰ πεντακοσίων ἱππέων, προφάσει μὲν ἥκοντα τοῦ παῦσαι τὴν στάσιν. [255] τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς Ἀντιγόνῳ βοηθόν. τὸν γοῦν Φασάηλον ἐνεδρεύων ἀνέπεισεν πρὸς Βαζαφράνην πρεσβεύσασθαι περὶ καταλύσεως, καίτοι γε πολλὰ ἀποτρέποντος Ἡρώδου καὶ παραινοῦντος ἀναιρεῖν τὸν ἐπίβουλον, ἀλλὰ μὴ ταῖς ἐπιβουλαῖς ἑαυτὸν ἐκδιδόναι, φύσει γὰρ ἀπίστους εἶναι τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἔξεισιν Ὑρκανὸν παραλαβών, καὶ Πάκορος, ὡς ἧττον ὑποπτεύοιτο, καταλιπὼν παρ᾽ Ἡρώδῃ τινὰς τῶν καλουμένων Ἐλευθέρων ἱππέων τοῖς λοιποῖς προέπεμψεν Φασάηλον.

3. Now when that festival which we call Pentecost was at hand, all the places about the temple, and the whole city, was full of a multitude of people that were come out of the country, and which were the greatest part of them armed also, at which time Phasaelus guarded the wall, and Herod, with a few, guarded the royal palace; and when he made an assault upon his enemies, as they were out of their ranks, on the north quarter of the city, he slew a very great number of them, and put them all to flight; and some of them he shut up within the city, and others

within the outward rampart. In the mean time, Antigonus desired that Pacorus might be admitted to be a reconciler between them; and Phasaelus was prevailed upon to admit the Parthian into the city with five hundred horse, and to treat him in an hospitable manner, who pretended that he came to quell the tumult, but in reality he came to assist Antigonus; however, he laid a plot for Phasaelus, and persuaded him to go as an ambassador to Barzapharnes, in order to put an end to the war, although Herod was very earnest with him to the contrary, and exhorted him to kill the plotter, but not expose himself to the snares he had laid for him, because the barbarians are naturally perfidious. However, Pacorus went out and took Hyrcanus with him, that he might be the less suspected; he also left some of the horsemen, called the Freemen, with Herod, and conducted Phasaelus with the rest.

(4) [256] Ὡς δ᾽ ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, τοὺς μὲν ἐπιχωρίους ἀφεστῶτας κἀν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὄντας καταλαμβάνουσιν, τῷ σατράπῃ δὲ ἐνετύγχανον πανούργῳ σφόδρα καὶ ταῖς φιλοφρονήσεσιν τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν καλύπτοντι: δῶρα γοῦν δοὺς αὐτοῖς ἔπειτα ἀναχωροῦντας ἐλόχα. [257] τοῖς δ᾽ αἴσθησις γίνεται τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς καταχθεῖσιν εἴς τι τῶν παραθαλασσίων χωρίων, ὃ καλεῖται Ἐκδίππων: ἐκεῖ γὰρ τήν τε ὑπόσχεσιν τῶν χιλίων ἤκουσαν ταλάντων καὶ ὡς Ἀντίγονος τὰς πλείστας τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς γυναικῶν ἐν ταῖς πεντακοσίαις καθοσιώσειεν Πάρθοις, [258] ὅτι τε προλοχίζοιντο μὲν αὐτοῖς αἱ νύκτες ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀεί, πάλαι δ᾽ ἂν καὶ συνελήφθησαν, εἰ μὴ περιέμενον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἡρώδην πρότερον λαβεῖν, ὡς μὴ προπυθόμενος τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς φυλάξαιτο. ταῦτ᾽ οὐκέτι λόγος ἦν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φυλακὰς ἤδη πόρρωθεν ἑαυτῶν ἔβλεπον.

4. But now, when they were come to Galilee, they found that the people of that country had revolted, and were in arms, who came very cunningly to their leader, and besought him to conceal his treacherous intentions by an obliging behavior to them; accordingly, he at first made them presents; and afterward, as they went away, laid ambushes for them; and when they were come to one of the maritime cities called Ecdippon, they perceived that a plot was laid for them; for they were there informed of the promise of a thousand talents, and how Antigonus had devoted the greatest number of the women that were there with them, among the five hundred, to the Parthians; they also perceived that an ambush was always laid for them by the barbarians in the night time; they had also been seized on before this, unless they had waited for the seizure of Herod first at Jerusalem, because if he were once informed of this treachery of theirs, he would take care of himself; nor was this a mere report, but they saw the guards already not far off them.

(5) [259] Οὐ μὴν Φασάηλος καίτοι πολλὰ παραινοῦντος Ὀφελλίου φεύγειν, πέπυστο γὰρ οὗτος παρὰ Σαραμάλλα τοῦ πλουσιωτάτου τότε Σύρων τὴν σύνταξιν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ὅλην, καταλιπεῖν Ὑρκανὸν ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ σατράπῃ προσελθὼν ἄντικρυς ὠνείδιζεν τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ μάλισθ᾽ ὅτι γένοιτο τοιοῦτος χρημάτων ἕνεκεν: πλείω γε μὴν αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας δώσειν ὧν Ἀντίγονος ὑπὲρ βασιλείας ὑπέσχετο. [260] πρὸς ταῦτα πανούργως ὁ Πάρθος ἀπολογίαις τε καὶ ὅρκοις ἀποσκευασάμενος τὴν ὑποψίαν ᾤχετο πρὸς Πάκορον. εὐθέως δὲ τῶν καταλειφθέντων Πάρθων οἷς προσετέτακτο Φασάηλόν τε καὶ Ὑρκανὸν συνελάμβανον τά τε ἄλλα πρὸς τὴν ἐπιορκίαν καὶ τὸ ἄπιστον αὐτοῖς καταρωμένους.

5. Nor would Phasaelus think of forsaking Hyrcanus and flying away, although Ophellius earnestly persuaded him to it; for this man had learned the whole scheme of the plot from Saramalla, the richest of all the Syrians. But Phasaelus went up to the Parfilian governor, and reproached him to his face for laying this treacherous plot against them, and chiefly because he had done it for money; and he promised him that he would give him more money for their preservation, than Antigonus had promised to give for the kingdom. But the sly Parthian endeavored to remove all this suspicion by apologies and by oaths, and then went [to the other] Pacorus; immediately after which those Parthians who were left, and had it in charge, seized upon Phasaelus and Hyrcanus, who could do no more than curse their perfidiousness and their perjury.

(6) [261] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην ὁ πεμφθεὶς οἰνοχόος ἐπεβούλευε συλλαβεῖν ἔξω τοῦ τείχους ἀπατήσας προελθεῖν, ὥσπερ ἐντολὰς εἶχεν. ὁ δὲ ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς ὑποπτεύων τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ τότε πεπυσμένος εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐμπεπτωκέναι τὰ μηνύοντα τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν αὐτῷ γράμματα, προελθεῖν οὐκ ἠβούλετο καίτοι μάλα ἀξιοπίστως τοῦ Πακόρου φάσκοντος δεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπαντῆσαι τοῖς τὰς ἐπιστολὰς κομίζουσιν: οὔτε γὰρ ἐαλωκέναι τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτὰς καὶ περιέχειν οὐκ ἐπιβουλήν, ἀλλ᾽ ὁπόσα διεπράξατο Φασάηλος. [262] ἔτυχεν δὲ παρ᾽ ἄλλων προακηκοὼς τὸν ἀδελφὸν συνειλημμένον, καὶ προσῄει Ὑρκανοῦ θυγάτηρ Μαριάμμη, συνετωτάτη γυναικῶν, καταντιβολοῦσα μὴ προιέναι μηδ᾽ ἐμπιστεύειν ἑαυτὸν ἤδη φανερῶς ἐπιχειροῦσι τοῖς βαρβάροις.

6. In the mean time, the cup-bearer was sent [back], and laid a plot how to seize upon Herod, by deluding him, and getting him out of the city, as he was commanded to do. But Herod suspected the barbarians from the beginning; and having then received intelligence that a messenger, who was to bring him the letters that informed him of the treachery intended, had fallen among the enemy, he would not go out of the city; though Pacorus said very positively that he

ought to go out, and meet the messengers that brought the letters, for that the enemy had not taken them, and that the contents of them were not accounts of any plots upon them, but of what Phasaelus had done; yet had he heard from others that his brother was seized; and Alexandra the shrewdest woman in the world, Hyrcanus's daughter, begged of him that he would not go out, nor trust himself to those barbarians, who now were come to make an attempt upon him openly.

(7) [263] Ἔτι δὲ τῶν περὶ Πάκορον σκεπτομένων, πῶς ἂν κρύφα τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἀπαρτίσειαν, οὐ γὰρ ἐκ φανεροῦ οἷόν τε ἦν ἀνδρὸς οὕτω δυνατοῦ περιγενέσθαι, προλαβὼν Ἡρώδης μετὰ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων προσώπων νύκτωρ ἐπὶ Ἰδουμαίας ἐχώρει λάθρα τῶν πολεμίων. [264] αἰσθόμενοι δ' οἱ Πάρθοι κατεδίωκον. κἀκεῖνος τὴν μὲν μητέρα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τὴν καθωμολογημένην παῖδα μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τοῦ νεωτάτου τῶν ἀδελφῶν προστάξας ὁδεύειν αὐτὸς ἀσφαλῶς μετὰ τῶν θεραπόντων ἀνέκοπτε τοὺς βαρβάρους: καὶ πολλοὺς κατὰ πᾶσαν προσβολὴν ἀποκτείνας εἰς Μασάδαν τὸ φρούριον ἠπείγετο.

7. Now as Pacorus and his friends were considering how they might bring their plot to bear privately, because it was not possible to circumvent a man of so great prudence by openly attacking him, Herod prevented them, and went off with the persons that were the most nearly related to him by night, and this without their enemies being apprized of it. But as soon as the Parthians perceived it, they pursued after them; and as he gave orders for his mother, and sister, and the young woman who was betrothed to him, with her mother, and his youngest brother, to make the best of their way, he himself, with his servants, took all the care they could to keep off the barbarians; and when at every assault he had slain a great many of them, he came to the strong hold of Masada.

(8) [265] Βαρυτέρους δὲ κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν Πάρθων Ἰουδαίους ἐπείρασεν, ἐνοχλήσαντας μὲν διηνεκῶς, ἀπὸ δὲ ἑξήκοντα τῆς πόλεως σταδίων καὶ παραταξαμένους ἐπιεικῶς πολὺν χρόνον. ἔνθα κρατήσας Ἡρώδης καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνας αὖθις εἰς μνήμην τοῦ κατορθώματος ἔκτισεν τὸ χωρίον καὶ βασιλείοις πολυτελεστάτοις ἐκόσμησεν καὶ ἀκρόπολιν ὀχυρωτάτην ἀνεδείματο Ἡρώδειόν τε ἐκάλεσεν ἀπὸ ἑαυτοῦ. [266] τηνικαῦτά γε μὴν φεύγοντι καθ' ἡμέραν αὐτῷ προσεγίνοντο πολλοί, καὶ κατὰ Ῥῆσαν γενομένῳ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας Ἰώσηπος ἀδελφὸς ὑπαντήσας συνεβούλευεν τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἑπομένων ἀποφορτίσασθαι: μὴ γὰρ ἂν τοσοῦτον ὄχλον δέξασθαι τὴν Μασάδαν. [267] ἦσαν δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐννακισχιλίους. πεισθεὶς Ἡρώδης τοὺς μὲν βαρυτέρους τῆς χρείας διαφῆκεν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν δοὺς ἐφόδια, μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων τοὺς ἀλκιμωτάτους κατασχὼν εἰς τὸ φρούριον διασώζεται. καταλιπὼν δὲ ἐνταῦθα

ταῖς γυναιξὶν ὀκτακοσίους φύλακας καὶ διαρκῆ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πρὸς πολιορκίαν αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν Ἀραβικὴν Πέτραν ἠπείγετο.

8. Nay, he found by experience that the Jews fell more heavily upon him than did the Parthians, and created him troubles perpetually, and this ever since he was gotten sixty furlongs from the city; these sometimes brought it to a sort of a regular battle. Now in the place where Herod beat them, and killed a great number of them, there he afterward built a citadel, in memory of the great actions he did there, and adorned it with the most costly palaces, and erected very strong fortifications, and called it, from his own name, Herodium. Now as they were in their flight, many joined themselves to him every day; and at a place called Thressa of Idumea his brother Joseph met him, and advised him to ease himself of a great number of his followers, because Masada would not contain so great a multitude, which were above nine thousand. Herod complied with this advice, and sent away the most cumbersome part of his retinue, that they might go into Idumea, and gave them provisions for their journey; but he got safe to the fortress with his nearest relations, and retained with him only the stoutest of his followers; and there it was that he left eight hundred of his men as a guard for the women, and provisions sufficient for a siege; but he made haste himself to Petra of Arabia.

(9) [268] Πάρθοι δ' ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐφ' ἁρπαγὴν τραπόμενοι τῶν φυγόντων εἰς τὰς οἰκίας εἰσέπιπτον καὶ τὸ βασίλειον ἀπεχόμενοι μόνων τῶν Ὑρκανοῦ χρημάτων: ἦν δ' οὐ πλείω τριακοσίων ταλάντων. ἐπετύγχανον δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐχ ὅσοις ἤλπισαν: ὁ γὰρ Ἡρώδης ἐκ πολλοῦ τὴν ἀπιστίαν τῶν βαρβάρων ὑφορώμενος εἰς τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν τὰ λαμπρότατα τῶν κειμηλίων προανεσκεύαστο, καὶ τῶν αὐτῷ προσεχόντων ὁμοίως ἕκαστος. [269] Πάρθοι δὲ μετὰ τὰς ἁρπαγὰς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὕβρεως ἐχώρησαν ὡς ἐμπλῆσαι μὲν ἀκηρύκτου πολέμου τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν, ἀνάστατον δὲ ποιῆσαι τὴν Μαρισαίων πόλιν, μὴ μόνον δὲ καταστῆσαι βασιλέα Ἀντίγονον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παραδοῦναι αὐτῷ Φασάηλόν τε καὶ Ὑρκανὸν δεσμώτας αἰκίσασθαι. [270] ὁ δὲ Ὑρκανοῦ μὲν προσπεσὼν αὐτὸς τὰ ὦτα λωβᾶται τοῖς ὀδοῦσιν, ὡς μηδὲ αὖθις ἐν μεταβολῇ ποτε δύναιτο τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀπολαβεῖν:

9. As for the Parthians in Jerusalem, they betook themselves to plundering, and fell upon the houses of those that were fled, and upon the king's palace, and spared nothing but Hyrcanus's money, which was not above three hundred talents. They lighted on other men's money also, but not so much as they hoped for; for Herod having a long while had a suspicion of the perfidiousness of the barbarians, had taken care to have what was most splendid among his treasures conveyed into Idumea, as every one belonging to him had in like manner done

also. But the Parthians proceeded to that degree of injustice, as to fill all the country with war without denouncing it, and to demolish the city Marissa, and not only to set up Antigonus for king, but to deliver Phasaelus and Hyrcanus bound into his hands, in order to their being tormented by him. Antigonus himself also bit off Hyrcanus's ears with his own teeth, as he fell down upon his knees to him, that so he might never be able upon any mutation of affairs to take the high priesthood again, for the high priests that officiated were to be complete, and without blemish.

(10) [271] δεῖ γὰρ ὁλοκλήρους ἀρχιερᾶσθαι: τῆς Φασαήλου δὲ ἀρετῆς ὑστερίζει φθάσαντος πέτρᾳ προσρῆξαι τὴν κεφαλήν, ὡς καὶ σιδήρου καὶ χειρῶν εἴργετο. κἀκεῖνος μὲν Ἡρώδου γνήσιον ἑαυτὸν ἀποδείξας ἀδελφὸν καὶ Ὑρκανὸν ἀγεννέστατον, ἀνδρειότατα θνήσκει ποιησάμενος τὴν καταστροφὴν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον ἔργοις πρέπουσαν: [272] κατέχει δὲ καὶ ἄλλος λόγος, ὡς ἀνενέγκαι μὲν ἐκ τῆς τότε πληγῆς, πεμφθεὶς δὲ ἰατρὸς ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου θεραπεῦσαι δῆθεν αὐτὸν ἐμπλήσειεν τὸ τραῦμα δηλητηρίων φαρμάκων καὶ διαφθείρειεν αὐτόν. ὁπότερον δ' ἂν ἀληθὲς ᾖ, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχει λαμπράν. φασὶν γοῦν αὐτὸν καὶ πρὶν ἐκπνεῦσαι πυθόμενον παρὰ γυναίου τινὸς ὡς Ἡρώδης διαπεφεύγοι, "νῦν, εἰπεῖν, εὔθυμος ἄπειμι τὸν μετελευσόμενον τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καταλιπὼν ζῶντα."

10. However, he failed in his purpose of abusing Phasaelus, by reason of his courage; for though he neither had the command of his sword nor of his hands, he prevented all abuses by dashing his head against a stone; so he demonstrated himself to be Herod's own brother, and Hyrcanus a most degenerate relation, and died with great bravery, and made the end of his life agreeable to the actions of it. There is also another report about his end, *viz.* that he recovered of that stroke, and that a surgeon, who was sent by Antigonus to heal him, filled the wound with poisonous ingredients, and so killed him; whichsoever of these deaths he came to, the beginning of it was glorious. It is also reported that before he expired he was informed by a certain poor woman how Herod had escaped out of their hands, and that he said thereupon, "I now die with comfort, since I leave behind me one alive that will avenge me of mine enemies."

(11) [273] Ὁ μὲν οὖν οὕτως τελευτᾷ. Πάρθοι δὲ καίτοι διημαρτηκότες ὧν μάλιστα ἐπεθύμουν γυναικῶν καθιστᾶσιν μὲν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἀντιγόνῳ τὰ πράγματα, δεσμώτην δ' Ὑρκανὸν ἀνάγουσιν εἰς τὴν Παρθυηνήν.

11. This was the death of Phasaelus; but the Parthians, although they had failed of the women they chiefly desired, yet did they put the government of Jerusalem into the hands of Antigonus, and took away Hyrcanus, and bound him, and carried him to Parthia.

XIV

CHAPTER 14.

When Herod Is Rejected In Arabia, He Makes Haste To Rome

Where Antony And Caesar Join Their Interest To Make Him King

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(1) [274] Ἡρώδης δὲ συντονώτερον ἤλαυνεν εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν ὡς ἔτι τἀδελφοῦ ζῶντος ἐπειγόμενος χρήματα παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως λαβεῖν, οἷς μόνοις πείσειν ὑπὲρ Φασαήλου τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ἤλπιζεν πλεονεξίαν. ἐλογίζετο γάρ, εἰ τῆς πατρῴας φιλίας ἀμνημονέστερος ὁ Ἄραψ γένοιτο καὶ τοῦ δοῦναι δωρεὰν μικρολογώτερος, δανείσασθαι παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὰ λύτρα ῥύσιον θεὶς τὸν τοῦ λυτρουμένου παῖδα: [275] καὶ γὰρ ἐπήγετο τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν ὄντα ἐτῶν ἑπτά: τάλαντα δ᾽ ἦν ἕτοιμος τριακόσια δοῦναι προστησάμενος Τυρίους παρακαλοῦντας. τὸ χρεὼν δ᾽ ἄρα τὴν αὐτοῦ σπουδὴν ἐφθάκει καὶ Φασαήλου τεθνηκότος εἰς κενὸν Ἡρώδης φιλάδελφος ἦν: οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ παρὰ Ἄραψιν εὑρίσκει φιλίαν οὖσαν. [276] ὁ γοῦν βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν Μάλχος προπέμψας ἐκ τῆς χώρας κατὰ τάχος προσέτασσεν ἀναστρέφειν, προφάσει μὲν χρώμενος Πάρθοις, ἐπικηρυκεύσασθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐκβαλεῖν Ἡρώδην τῆς Ἀραβίας, τῷ δὲ ὄντι κατασχεῖν προαιρούμενος τὰ παρ᾽ Ἀντιπάτρου χρέα καὶ μηδὲν εἰς τὰς ἐκείνου δωρεὰς ἀντιπαρασχεῖν χρῄζουσιν τοῖς τέκνοις δυσωπεῖσθαι. συμβούλοις δ᾽ ἐχρῆτο τῆς ἀναιδείας τοῖς ὁμοίως ἀποστερεῖν τὰς Ἀντιπάτρου παρακαταθήκας θέλουσιν: ἦσαν δὲ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν οἱ δυνατώτατοι.

1. Now Herod did the more zealously pursue his journey into Arabia, as making haste to get money of the king, while his brother was yet alive; by which money alone it was that he hoped to prevail upon the covetous temper of the barbarians to spare Phasaelus; for he reasoned thus with himself: — that if the Arabian king was too forgetful of his father’s friendship with him, and was too covetous to make him a free gift, he would however borrow of him as much as might redeem his brother, and put into his hands, as a pledge, the son of him that was to be redeemed. Accordingly he led his brother’s son along with him, who was of the age of seven years. Now he was ready to give three hundred talents for his brother, and intended to desire the intercession of the Tyrians, to get them accepted; however, fate had been too quick for his diligence; and since Phasaelus was dead, Herod’s brotherly love was now in vain. Moreover, he was not able to find any lasting friendship among the Arabians; for their king, Malichus, sent to him immediately, and commanded him to return back out of his country, and used the name of the Parthians as a pretense for so doing, as

though these had denounced to him by their ambassadors to cast Herod out of Arabia; while in reality they had a mind to keep back what they owed to Antipater, and not be obliged to make requitals to his sons for the free gifts the father had made them. He also took the impudent advice of those who, equally with himself, were willing to deprive Herod of what Antipater had deposited among them; and these men were the most potent of all whom he had in his kingdom.

(2) [277] Ἡρώδης μὲν δὴ πολεμίους τοὺς Ἄραβας εὑρὼν δι᾽ ἃ φιλτάτους ἤλπισεν καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἀποκρινάμενος ὡς ὑπηγόρευε τὸ πάθος ὑπέστρεψεν ἐπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου. καὶ τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἑσπέραν κατά τι τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἱερὸν αὐλίζεται τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἀναλαβών, τῇ δ᾽ ἑξῆς εἰς Ῥινοκούρουρα προελθόντι τὰ περὶ τὴν τἀδελφοῦ τελευτὴν ἀπαγγέλλεται. [278] προσλαβὼν δὲ πένθους ὅσον ἀπεθήκατο φροντίδων ᾖει προσωτέρω. καὶ δὴ βραδέως ὁ Ἄραψ μετανοήσας ἔπεμψεν διὰ τάχους τοὺς ἀνακαλέσοντας τὸν ὑβρισμένον. ἔφθανεν δὲ καὶ τούτους Ἡρώδης εἰς Πηλούσιον ἀφικόμενος, ἔνθα τῆς παρόδου μὴ τυγχάνων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφορμούντων τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐντυγχάνει: κἀκεῖνοι τήν τε φήμην καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τἀνδρὸς αἰδεσθέντες προπέμπουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. [279] ὁ δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐδέχθη μὲν λαμπρῶς ὑπὸ Κλεοπάτρας στρατηγὸν ἐλπιζούσης ἕξειν εἰς ἃ παρεσκευάζετο: διακρουσάμενος δὲ τὰς παρακλήσεις τῆς βασιλίδος καὶ μήτε τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ὑποδείσας μήτε τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν θορύβους ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἔπλει.

2. So when Herod had found that the Arabians were his enemies, and this for those very reasons whence he hoped they would have been the most friendly, and had given them such an answer as his passion suggested, he returned back, and went for Egypt. Now he lodged the first evening at one of the temples of that country, in order to meet with those whom he left behind; but on the next day word was brought him, as he was going to Rhinocurura, that his brother was dead, and how he came by his death; and when he had lamented him as much as his present circumstances could bear, he soon laid aside such cares, and proceeded on his journey. But now, after some time, the king of Arabia repented of what he had done, and sent presently away messengers to call him back: Herod had prevented them, and was come to Pelusium, where he could not obtain a passage from those that lay with the fleet, so he besought their captains to let him go by them; accordingly, out of the reverence they bore to the fame and dignity of the man, they conducted him to Alexandria; and when he came into the city, he was received by Cleopatra with great splendor, who hoped he might be persuaded to be commander of her forces in the expedition she was now about; but he rejected the queen’s solicitations, and being neither afrighted

at the height of that storm which then happened, nor at the tumults that were now in Italy, he sailed for Rome.

(3) [280] Κινδυνεύσας δὲ περὶ Παμφυλίαν καὶ τοῦ φόρτου τὸ πλεῖον ἐκβαλὼν μόλις εἰς Ῥόδον διασώζεται σφόδρα τῷ πρὸς Κάσσιον πολέμῳ τετρυχωμένην, δεχθεὶς ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Σαπφινίου τῶν φίλων. καίπερ δὲ ὢν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ χρημάτων ναυπηγεῖται τριήρη μεγίστην, [281] ἐν ᾗ μετὰ τῶν φίλων εἰς Βρεντέσιον καταπλεύσας κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπειχθεὶς πρώτῳ διὰ τὴν πατρῴαν φιλίαν ἐνετύγχανεν Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ τάς τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ γένους συμφορὰς ἐκδιηγεῖτο, ὅτι τε τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἐν φρουρίῳ καταλιπὼν πολιορκουμένους διὰ χειμῶνος πλεύσειεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἱκέτης.

3. But as he was in peril about Pamphylia, and obliged to cast out the greatest part of the ship's lading, he with difficulty got safe to Rhodes, a place which had been grievously harassed in the war with Cassius. He was there received by his friends, Ptolemy and Sappinius; and although he was then in want of money, he fitted up a three-decked ship of very great magnitude, wherein he and his friends sailed to Brundusium, and went thence to Rome with all speed; where he first of all went to Antony, on account of the friendship his father had with him, and laid before him the calamities of himself and his family; and that he had left his nearest relations besieged in a fortress, and had sailed to him through a storm, to make supplication to him for assistance.

(4) [282] Ἀντωνίου δὲ ἥπτετο πρὸς τὴν μεταβολὴν οἶκτος, καὶ κατὰ μνήμην μὲν τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου ξενίας, τὸ δὲ ὅλον καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ παρόντος ἀρετὴν ἔγνω καὶ τότε βασιλέα καθιστᾶν Ἰουδαίων ὃν πρότερον αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν τετράρχην. ἐνῆγεν δὲ οὐκ ἔλαττον τῆς εἰς Ἡρώδην φιλοτιμίας ἡ πρὸς Ἀντίγονον διαφορά: τοῦτον γὰρ δὴ στασιώδη τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐχθρὸν ὑπελάμβανεν. [283] Καίσαρα μὲν οὖν εἶχεν ἑτοιμότερον αὐτοῦ τὰς Ἀντιπάτρου στρατείας ἀνανεούμενον, ἃς κατ᾽ Αἴγυπτον αὐτοῦ τῷ πατρὶ συνδιήνεγκεν, τήν τε ξενίαν καὶ τὴν ἐν ἅπασιν εὔνοιαν, ὁρῶντά γε μὴν καὶ τὸ Ἡρώδου δραστήριον: [284] συνήγαγεν δὲ τὴν βουλήν, ἐν ᾗ Μεσσάλας καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἀτρατῖνος παραστησάμενοι τὸν Ἡρώδην τάς τε πατρῴας εὐεργεσίας καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εὔνοιαν διεξῆεσαν, ἀποδεικνύντες ἅμα καὶ πολέμιον τὸν Ἀντίγονον οὐ μόνον ἐξ ὧν διηνέχθη τάχιον, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι καὶ τότε διὰ Πάρθων λάβοι τὴν ἀρχὴν Ῥωμαίους ὑπεριδών. τῆς δὲ συγκλήτου πρὸς ταῦτα κεκινημένης ὡς παρελθὼν Ἀντώνιος καὶ πρὸς τὸν κατὰ Πάρθων πόλεμον βασιλεύειν Ἡρώδην συμφέρειν ἔλεγεν, ἐπιψηφίζονται πάντες. [285] λυθείσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς Ἀντώνιος μὲν καὶ Καῖσαρ μέσον ἔχοντες Ἡρώδην ἐξῆεσαν, προῆγον δὲ σὺν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρχαῖς οἱ ὕπατοι θύσοντές τε καὶ τὸ δόγμα

ἀναθήσοντες εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον. τὴν δὲ πρώτην Ἡρώδῃ τῆς βασιλείας ἡμέραν Ἀντώνιος εἱστία.

4. Hereupon Antony was moved to compassion at the change that had been made in Herod's affairs, and this both upon his calling to mind how hospitably he had been treated by Antipater, but more especially on account of Herod's own virtue; so he then resolved to get him made king of the Jews, whom he had himself formerly made tetrarch. The contest also that he had with Antigonus was another inducement, and that of no less weight than the great regard he had for Herod; for he looked upon Antigonus as a seditious person, and an enemy of the Romans; and as for Caesar, Herod found him better prepared than Antony, as remembering very fresh the wars he had gone through together with his father, the hospitable treatment he had met with from him, and the entire good-will he had showed to him; besides the activity which he saw in Herod himself. So he called the senate together, wherein Messalas, and after him Atratinus, produced Herod before them, and gave a full account of the merits of his father, and his own good-will to the Romans. At the same time they demonstrated that Antigonus was their enemy, not only because he soon quarreled with them, but because he now overlooked the Romans, and took the government by the means of the Parthians. These reasons greatly moved the senate; at which juncture Antony came in, and told them that it was for their advantage in the Parthian war that Herod should be king; so they all gave their votes for it. And when the senate was separated, Antony and Caesar went out, with Herod between them; while the consul and the rest of the magistrates went before them, in order to offer sacrifices, and to lay the decree in the Capitol. Antony also made a feast for Herod on the first day of his reign.

XV

CHAPTER 15.

Antigonus Besieges Those That Were In Masada, Whom Herod

Frees From Confinement When He Came Back From Rome, And

Presently Marches To Jerusalem Where He Finds Silo Corrupted

By Bribes.

(1) [286] Παρὰ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Ἀντίγονος ἐπολιόρκει τοὺς ἐν Μασάδᾳ, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἐπιτηδείοις διαρκουμένους, σπανίζοντας δὲ ὕδατος: διὸ καὶ Ἰώσηπος ἀδελφὸς Ἡρώδου σὺν διακοσίοις τῶν οἰκείων δρασμὸν ἐβουλεύετο εἰς Ἄραβας ἀκηκοὼς τῶν εἰς Ἡρώδην ἁμαρτημάτων Μάλχῳ μεταμέλειν. [287] κἂν ἔφθη

καταλιπὼν τὸ φρούριον, εἰ μὴ περὶ τὴν νύκτα τῆς ἐξόδου συνέβη πλεῖστον ὗσαι: τῶν γὰρ ἐκδοχείων ὕδατος ἀναπλησθέντων οὐκέτ᾽ ἔχρῃζεν φυγῆς, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεξῄεσαν ἤδη τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον καὶ τὰ μὲν φανερῶς συμπλεκόμενοι, τὰ δὲ λοχῶντες συχνοὺς διέφθειρον. οὐ μὴν ἐν ἅπασιν εὐστόχουν, ἔστιν δ᾽ ὅπου καὶ αὐτοὶ πταίοντες ἀνέστρεφον.

1. Now during this time Antigonus besieged those that were in Masada, who had all other necessaries in sufficient quantity, but were in want of water; on which account Joseph, Herod's brother, was disposed to run away to the Arabians, with two hundred of his own friends, because he had heard that Malichus repented of his offenses with regard to Herod; and he had been so quick as to have been gone out of the fortress already, unless, on that very night when he was going away, there had fallen a great deal of rain, insomuch that his reservoirs were full of water, and so he was under no necessity of running away. After which, therefore, they made an irruption upon Antigonus's party, and slew a great many of them, some in open battles, and some in private ambush; nor had they always success in their attempts, for sometimes they were beaten, and ran away.

(2) [288] Κἀν τούτῳ Βεντίδιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς πεμφθεὶς ἐκ Συρίας Πάρθους ἀνείργειν μετ᾽ ἐκείνους εἰς Ἰουδαίαν παρέβαλεν λόγῳ μὲν ὡς βοηθήσων τοῖς περὶ Ἰώσηπον, ἔργῳ δ᾽ Ἀντίγονον ἀργυριούμενος. [289] ἔγγιστα γοῦν Ἱεροσολύμων αὐλισάμενος ὡς ἐνεπλήσθη χρημάτων, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀνεχώρει μετὰ τῆς πλείστης δυνάμεως, Σίλωνα δὲ σὺν μέρει καταλέλοιπεν, ὡς μὴ κατάφωρον τὸ λῆμμα ποιήσειεν πάντας ἀπαναστήσας. Ἀντίγονος δὲ πάλιν ἐλπίζων Πάρθους ἐπαμυνεῖν καὶ Σίλωνα τέως ἐθεράπευεν, ὡς μηδὲν ἐνοχλοίη πρὸ τῆς ἐλπίδος.

2. In the mean time Ventidius, the Roman general, was sent out of Syria, to restrain the incursions of the Parthians; and after he had done that, he came into Judea, in pretense indeed to assist Joseph and his party, but in reality to get money of Antigonus; and when he had pitched his camp very near to Jerusalem, as soon as he had got money enough, he went away with the greatest part of his forces; yet still did he leave Silo with some part of them, lest if he had taken them all away, his taking of bribes might have been too openly discovered. Now Antigonus hoped that the Parthians would come again to his assistance, and therefore cultivated a good understanding with Silo in the mean time, lest any interruption should be given to his hopes.

(3) [290] Ἤδη δὲ Ἡρώδης καταπεπλευκὼς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς Πτολεμαίδα καὶ συναγηοχὼς δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην ξένων τε καὶ ὁμοφύλων ἤλαυνεν διὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐπ᾽ Ἀντίγονον συλλαμβανόντων Βεντιδίου καὶ Σίλωνος, οὓς Δέλλιος ὑπ᾽ Ἀντωνίου πεμφθεὶς Ἡρώδην συγκαταγαγεῖν ἔπεισεν. [291] ἐτύγχανεν δὲ

Βεντίδιος μὲν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν τὰς διὰ Πάρθους ταραχὰς καθιστάμενος, Σίλων δὲ ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ χρήμασιν ὑπ᾽ Ἀντιγόνου διεφθαρμένος. οὐ μὴν Ἡρώδης ἰσχύος ἠπόρει, προιόντι δ᾽ αὐτῷ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ηὐξεῖτο τὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ πλὴν ὀλίγων πᾶσα ἡ Γαλιλαία προσέθετο. [292] προύκειτο μὲν οὖν τὸ ἀναγκαιότατον ἀγώνισμα Μασάδα καὶ τὸ ῥύσασθαι πρῶτον τοὺς οἰκείους ἐκ τῆς πολιορκίας, γίνεται δ᾽ ἐμπόδιον Ἰόππη: ταύτην γὰρ ἐχρῆν πολεμίαν οὖσαν ἐξελεῖν πρότερον, ὡς μὴ χωροῦντος ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων κατὰ νώτου τι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἔρυμα καταλείποιτο. συνῆπτεν δὲ καὶ Σίλων ἀσμένως τῆς ἀπαναστάσεως πρόφασιν εὑρών, ᾧ προσέκειντο Ἰουδαῖοι διώκοντες. ἐπὶ τούτους Ἡρώδης ἐκδραμὼν μετ᾽ ὀλίγου στίφους τρέπεται ταχέως καὶ Σίλωνα διασώζει κακῶς ἀμυνόμενον.

3. Now by this time Herod had sailed out of Italy, and was come to Ptolemais; and as soon as he had gotten together no small army of foreigners, and of his own countrymen, he marched through Galilee against Antigonus, wherein he was assisted by Ventidius and Silo, both whom Dellius, a person sent by Antony, persuaded to bring Herod [into his kingdom]. Now Ventidius was at this time among the cities, and composing the disturbances which had happened by means of the Parthians, as was Silo in Judea corrupted by the bribes that Antigonus had given him; yet was not Herod himself destitute of power, but the number of his forces increased every day as he went along, and all Galilee, with few exceptions, joined themselves to him. So he proposed to himself to set about his most necessary enterprise, and that was Masada, in order to deliver his relations from the siege they endured. But still Joppa stood in his way, and hindered his going thither; for it was necessary to take that city first, which was in the enemies' hands, that when he should go to Jerusalem, no fortress might be left in the enemies' power behind him. Silo also willingly joined him, as having now a plausible occasion of drawing off his forces [from Jerusalem]; and when the Jews pursued him, and pressed upon him, [in his retreat,] Herod made all excursion upon them with a small body of his men, and soon put them to flight, and saved Silo when he was in distress.

(4) [293] Ἔπειτα Ἰόππην ἑλὼν πρὸς τὴν Μασάδα ῥυσόμενος τοὺς οἰκείους ἠπείγετο. καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων οὓς μὲν πατρῴα φιλία προσῆγεν, οὓς δὲ τὸ αὐτοῦ κλέος, οὓς δὲ τῆς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν εὐεργεσίας ἀμοιβή, πλείστους γε μὴν ἐλπὶς ὡς ἐκ βασιλέως βεβαίου, δυσκίνητός τε ἤδη δύναμις ἤθροιστο. [294] προιόντα δ᾽ Ἀντίγονος ἐνήδρευεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῶν παρόδων προλοχίζων, ἐν οἷς οὐδὲν ἢ μικρὰ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔβλαπτεν. Ἡρώδης δὲ τοὺς ἐκ Μασάδας οἰκείους παραλαβὼν ῥᾳδίως καὶ Ῥῆσαν τὸ φρούριον ᾔει πρὸς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα: συνῆπτε δ᾽ αὐτῷ τὸ μετὰ Σίλωνος στρατιωτικὸν καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὴν ἰσχὺν καταπλαγέντες.

4. After this Herod took Joppa, and then made haste to Masada to free his relations. Now, as he was marching, many came in to him, induced by their friendship to his father, some by the reputation he had already gained himself, and some in order to repay the benefits they had received from them both; but still what engaged the greatest number on his side, was the hopes from him when he should be established in his kingdom; so that he had gotten together already an army hard to be conquered. But Antigonus laid an ambush for him as he marched out, in which he did little or no harm to his enemies. However, he easily recovered his relations again that were in Masada, as well as the fortress Ressa, and then marched to Jerusalem, where the soldiers that were with Silo joined themselves to his own, as did many out of the city, from a dread of his power.

(5) [295] Στρατοπεδευσαμένους δὲ κατὰ τὸ πρὸς δύσιν κλίμα τοῦ ἄστεος οἱ ταύτῃ φύλακες ἐτόξευόν τε καὶ ἐξηκόντιζον αὐτούς, ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ στῖφος ἐκθέοντες ἀπεπειρῶντο τῶν προτεταγμένων. Ἡρώδης δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κηρύσσειν περὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐκέλευεν ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθῷ τε παρείη τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς πόλεως, μηδὲν μηδὲ τοὺς φανεροὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀμυνούμενος, δώσων δὲ καὶ τοῖς διαφορωτάτοις ἀμνηστίαν. [296] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀντιπαρηγοροῦντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον οὔτε κατακούειν τῶν κηρυγμάτων εἴων τινὰς οὔτε μεταβάλλεσθαι, τὸ λοιπὸν ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐπέτρεπεν τοῖς σφετέροις: οἱ δὲ ταχέως ἅπαντας ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἐτρέψαντο τοῖς βέλεσιν.

5. Now when he had pitched his camp on the west side of the city, the guards that were there shot their arrows and threw their darts at them, while others ran out in companies, and attacked those in the forefront; but Herod commanded proclamation to be made at the wall, that he was come for the good of the people and the preservation of the city, without any design to be revenged on his open enemies, but to grant oblivion to them, though they had been the most obstinate against him. Now the soldiers that were for Antigonus made a contrary clamor, and did neither permit any body to hear that proclamation, nor to change their party; so Antigonus gave order to his forces to beat the enemy from the walls; accordingly, they soon threw their darts at them from the towers, and put them to flight.

(6) [297] Ἔνθα δὴ καὶ Σίλων ἀπεκαλύψατο τὴν δωροδοκίαν: ἐπισκευασάμενος γὰρ πολλοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν σπάνιν ἐπιτηδείων ἀναβοᾶν καὶ χρήματα εἰς τροφὰς ἀπαιτεῖν ἀπάγειν τε σφᾶς χειμεριοῦντας εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους τόπους, ἐπειδὴ τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἦν ἔρημα πάντα τῶν περὶ Ἀντίγονον προανεσκευασμένων, ἐκίνει τε τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο. [298] Ἡρώδης δ᾽ ἐντυγχάνων τοῖς τε ὑπὸ

τὸν Σίλωνα ἡγεμόσιν καὶ κατὰ πλῆθος τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐδεῖτο μὴ καταλιπεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπό τε Καίσαρος καὶ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου προπεμφθέντα: λύσειν γὰρ αὐθημερὸν αὐτῶν τὰς ἀπορίας. [299] καὶ μετὰ τὴν δέησιν [εὐθέως] ὁρμήσας αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν χώραν τοσαύτην αὐτοῖς ἐπιτηδείων ἀφθονίαν ἐκόμισεν, ὡς πάσας ἀποκόψαι τὰς Σίλωνος προφάσεις, εἵς τε τὰς ἑξῆς ἡμέρας μὴ διαλιπεῖν τὴν χορηγίαν προνοούμενος ἐπέστελλεν τοῖς περὶ Σαμάρειαν, ᾠκείωτο δ᾽ ἡ πόλις αὐτῷ, σῖτον καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ βοσκήματα κατάγειν εἰς Ἰεριχοῦντα. [300] ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας Ἀντίγονος διέπεμψεν περὶ τὴν χώραν εἴργειν καὶ λοχᾶν τοὺς σιτηγοὺς κελεύων. οἱ δ᾽ ὑπήκουον, καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος ὁπλιτῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἰεριχοῦντα συνηθροίσθη: διεκαθέζοντο δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρῶν παραφυλάσσοντες τοὺς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐκκομίζοντας. [301] οὐ μὴν Ἡρώδης ἠρέμει, δέκα δὲ σπείρας ἀναλαβών, ὧν πέντε μὲν Ῥωμαίων πέντε δὲ Ἰουδαίων ἦσαν ἔχουσαι καὶ μισθοφόρους μιγάδας πρὸς οἷς ὀλίγους τῶν ἱππέων, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰεριχοῦντα παραγίνεται, καὶ τὴν μὲν πόλιν καταλελειμμένην εὑρίσκει, πεντακοσίους δὲ τὰ ἄκρα κατειληφότας σὺν γυναιξὶν καὶ γενεαῖς. [302] αὐτοὺς μὲν οὖν ἀπολύει λαβών, Ῥωμαῖοι δ᾽ εἰσπεσόντες τὸ λοιπὸν ἄστυ διήρπασαν πλήρεις καταλαμβάνοντες τὰς οἰκίας παντοίων κειμηλίων. Ἰεριχοῦντος μὲν οὖν φρουρὰν ὁ βασιλεὺς καταλιπὼν ὑπέστρεψεν καὶ χειμεριοῦσαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων στρατιὰν εἰς τὰς προσκεχωρηκυίας διαφῆκεν Ἰδουμαίαν καὶ Γαλιλαίαν καὶ Σαμάρειαν. ἐπέτυχεν δὲ καὶ Ἀντίγονος παρὰ τῆς Σίλωνος δωροδοκίας ὑποδέξασθαι τοῦ στρατοῦ μοῖραν ἐν Λύδδοις θεραπεύων Ἀντώνιον.

6. And here it was that Silo discovered he had taken bribes; for he set many of the soldiers to clamor about their want of necessaries, and to require their pay, in order to buy themselves food, and to demand that he would lead them into places convenient for their winter quarters; because all the parts about the city were laid waste by the means of Antigonus's army, which had taken all things away. By this he moved the army, and attempted to get them off the siege; but Herod went to the captains that were under Silo, and to a great many of the soldiers, and begged of them not to leave him, who was sent thither by Caesar, and Antony, and the senate; for that he would take care to have their wants supplied that very day. After the making of which entreaty, he went hastily into the country, and brought thither so great an abundance of necessaries, that he cut off all Silo's pretenses; and in order to provide that for the following days they should not want supplies, he sent to the people that were about Samaria [which city had joined itself to him] to bring corn, and wine, and oil, and cattle to Jericho. When Antigonus heard of this, he sent some of his party with orders to hinder, and lay ambushes for these collectors of corn. This command was obeyed, and a great multitude of armed men were gathered together about Jericho, and lay upon the

mountains, to watch those that brought the provisions. Yet was Herod not idle, but took with him ten cohorts, five of them were Romans, and five were Jewish cohorts, together with some mercenary troops intermixed among them, and besides those a few horsemen, and came to Jericho; and when he came, he found the city deserted, but that there were five hundred men, with their wives and children, who had taken possession of the tops of the mountains; these he took, and dismissed them, while the Romans fell upon the rest of the city, and plundered it, having found the houses full of all sorts of good things. So the king left a garrison at Jericho, and came back, and sent the Roman army into those cities which were come over to him, to take their winter quarters there, *viz.* into Judea, [or Idumea,] and Galilee, and Samaria. Antigonus also by bribes obtained of Silo to let a part of his army be received at Lydda, as a compliment to Antonius.

XVI

CHAPTER 16.

Herod Takes Sepphoris And Subdues The Robbers That Were In The Caves; He After That Avenges Himself Upon Machaerus, As Upon An Enemy Of His And Goes To Antony As He Was Besieging Samosata.

(1) [303] Καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐν ἀφθόνοις διῆγον ἀνειμένοι τῶν ὅπλων, Ἡρώδης δ' οὐκ ἠρέμει, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν Ἰδουμαίαν δισχιλίοις πεζοῖς καὶ τετρακοσίοις ἱππεῦσιν διαλαμβάνει πέμψας τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰώσηπον, ὡς μή τι νεωτερισθείη πρὸς Ἀντίγονον αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν μητέρα καὶ ὅσους ἐκ Μασάδας οἰκείους ἐξήγαγεν μεταγαγὼν εἰς Σαμάρειαν καὶ καταστησάμενος ἀσφαλῶς ᾔει τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας καταστρεψόμενος καὶ τὰς Ἀντιγόνου φρουρὰς ἐξελάσων.

1. So the Romans lived in plenty of all things, and rested from war. However, Herod did not lie at rest, but seized upon Idumea, and kept it, with two thousand footmen, and four hundred horsemen; and this he did by sending his brother Joseph thither, that no innovation might be made by Antigonus. He also removed his mother, and all his relations, who had been in Masada, to Samaria; and when he had settled them securely, he marched to take the remaining parts of Galilee, and to drive away the garrisons placed there by Antigonus.

(2) [304] Πρὸς δὲ τὴν Σέπφωριν ἐν νιφετῷ σφοδροτάτῳ διανύσας ἀκονιτὶ παραλαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν πρὸ τῆς ἐφόδου τῶν φυλάκων ἐκφυγόντων. ἔνθα τοὺς

ἑπομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος κακωθέντας ἀναλαβών, πολλὴ δ᾽ ἦν ἀφθονία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις ὥρμητο λῃστάς, οἳ πολλὴν τῆς χώρας κατατρέχοντες οὐκ ἐλάττω κακὰ πολέμου διετίθεσαν τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους. [305] προπέμψας δὲ πεζῶν τρία τέλη καὶ μίαν ἴλην ἱππέων πρὸς Ἄρβηλα κώμην αὐτὸς μετὰ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας ἐπῆλθεν μετὰ τῆς λοιπῆς δυνάμεως. οὐ μὴν πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον ἔδεισαν οἱ πολέμιοι, μετὰ δὲ τῶν ὅπλων ἀπήντων ἐμπειρίαν μὲν πολεμικὴν ἔχοντες, τὸ δὲ θράσος λῃστρικόν. [306] συμβαλόντες γοῦν τῷ σφετέρῳ δεξιῷ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας τῶν Ἡρώδου τρέπονται. περιελθὼν δὲ ταχέως Ἡρώδης ἐκ τοῦ καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν δεξιοῦ προσεβοήθει καὶ τὸ μὲν οἰκεῖον ἐπέστρεφεν ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς, τοῖς δὲ διώκουσιν ἐμπίπτων ἀνέκοπτεν τὴν ὁρμὴν μέχρι τὰς κατὰ στόμα προσβολὰς μὴ φέροντες ἐξέκλιναν.

2. But when Herod had reached Sepphoris, in a very great snow, he took the city without any difficulty; the guards that should have kept it flying away before it was assaulted; where he gave an opportunity to his followers that had been in distress to refresh themselves, there being in that city a great abundance of necessaries. After which he hasted away to the robbers that were in the caves, who overran a great part of the country, and did as great mischief to its inhabitants as a war itself could have done. Accordingly, he sent beforehand three cohorts of footmen, and one troop of horsemen, to the village Arbela, and came himself forty days afterwards with the rest of his forces Yet were not the enemy affrighted at his assault but met him in arms; for their skill was that of warriors, but their boldness was the boldness of robbers: when therefore it came to a pitched battle, they put to flight Herod’s left wing with their right one; but Herod, wheeling about on the sudden from his own right wing, came to their assistance, and both made his own left wing return back from its flight, and fell upon the pursuers, and cooled their courage, till they could not bear the attempts that were made directly upon them, and so turned back and ran away.

(3) [307] Ὁ δὲ ἕως Ἰορδάνου κτείνων εἵπετο καὶ πολὺ μὲν αὐτῶν μέρος διέφθειρεν, οἱ λοιποὶ δ᾽ ὑπὲρ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐσκεδάσθησαν, ὥστε τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐκκεκαθάρθαι φόβων, πλὴν καθόσον οἱ τοῖς σπηλαίοις ἐμφωλεύοντες ὑπελείποντο: κἀπὶ τούτοις ἔδει διατριβῆς. [308] διὸ δὴ πρῶτον τοῖς στρατιώταις τὰς ἐκ τῶν πεπονημένων ἐπικαρπίας ἀπεδίδου διανέμων ἑκάστῳ δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα ἀργυρίου καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν πολυπλασίονα διέπεμψεν εἰς οὓς ἐχειμέριζον σταθμούς. Φερώρᾳ δὲ τῷ νεωτάτῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπέστελλεν τῆς τε ἀγορᾶς αὐτοῖς ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν καὶ τειχίζειν Ἀλεξάνδρειον. κἀκεῖνος ἀμφοτέρων ἐπεμελήθη.

3. But Herod followed them, and slew them as he followed them, and destroyed a great part of them, till those that remained were scattered beyond the river [Jordan;] and Galilee was freed from the terrors they had been under, excepting from those that remained, and lay concealed in caves, which required longer time ere they could be conquered. In order to which Herod, in the first place, distributed the fruits of their former labors to the soldiers, and gave every one of them a hundred and fifty drachmae of silver, and a great deal more to their commanders, and sent them into their winter quarters. He also sent to his youngest brother Pheroas, to take care of a good market for them, where they might buy themselves provisions, and to build a wall about Alexandrium; who took care of both those injunctions accordingly.

(4) [309] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ περὶ μὲν Ἀθήνας διῆγεν Ἀντώνιος, Βεντίδιος δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Πάρθους πόλεμον Σίλωνά τε καὶ Ἡρώδην μετεπέμπετο καταστήσασθαι πρότερον ἐπιστέλλων τὰ περὶ Ἰουδαίαν. Ἡρώδης δὲ ἀσμένως Σίλωνα πρὸς Βεντίδιον ἀπολύσας αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις ἐστράτευσεν. [310] τὰ δὲ σπήλαια ταῦτα πρὸς ἀποκρήμνοις ὄρεσιν ἦν οὐδαμόθεν προσιτά, πλαγίας δὲ ἀνόδους μόνον ἔχοντα στενοτάτας. ἡ δὲ κατὰ μέτωπον αὐτῶν πέτρα κατέτεινεν εἰς βαθυτάτας φάραγγας ὄρθιος ἐπιρρέπουσα ταῖς χαράδραις, ὥστε τὸν βασιλέα μέχρι πολλοῦ μὲν ἀπορεῖν πρὸς τὸ ἀμήχανον τοῦ τόπου, τελευταῖον δ' ἐπινοίᾳ χρήσασθαι σφαλερωτάτῃ. [311] τοὺς γοῦν ἀλκίμους καθιμῶν ἐν λάρναξιν ἐνίει τοῖς στομίοις, οἱ δὲ ἀπέσφαττόν τε αὐτοὺς σὺν γενεαῖς καὶ πῦρ ἐνίεσαν τοῖς ἀμυνομένοις. βουληθεὶς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ περισῶσαί τινας Ἡρώδης ἐκήρυξεν ἀναχωρεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν. τῶν δὲ ἐθελουσίως μὲν οὐδεὶς προσέθετο, καὶ τῶν βιαζομένων δὲ πολλοὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας προείλοντο θάνατον. [312] ἔνθα καὶ τῶν γηραιῶν τις ἑπτὰ παίδων πατὴρ μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς δεομένους τοὺς παῖδας ἐπιτρέψαι σφίσιν ἐξελθεῖν ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ κτείνει τρόπῳ τοιῷδε: καθ' ἕνα προιέναι κελεύσας αὐτὸς ἵστατο ἐπὶ τὸ στόμιον καὶ τὸν ἀεὶ προιόντα τῶν υἱῶν ἀπέσφαττεν. ἐξ ἀπόπτου δὲ Ἡρώδης ἐπιβλέπων τῷ τε πάθει συνείχετο καὶ τῷ πρεσβύτῃ δεξιὰν ὤρεγεν φείσασθαι τῶν τέκνων παρακαλῶν. [313] ὁ δὲ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐνδοὺς τῶν λεγομένων ἀλλὰ καὶ προσονειδίσας τὸν Ἡρώδην εἰς ταπεινότητα ἐπὶ τοῖς παισὶν ἀναιρεῖ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ καταβαλὼν κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ τοὺς νεκροὺς τελευταῖον ἑαυτὸν ἔρριψεν.

4. In the mean time Antony abode at Athens, while Ventidius called for Silo and Herod to come to the war against the Parthians, but ordered them first to settle the affairs of Judea; so Herod willingly dismissed Silo to go to Ventidius, but he made an expedition himself against those that lay in the caves. Now these caves were in the precipices of craggy mountains, and could not be come at from any side, since they had only some winding pathways, very narrow, by which they

got up to them; but the rock that lay on their front had beneath it valleys of a vast depth, and of an almost perpendicular declivity; insomuch that the king was doubtful for a long time what to do, by reason of a kind of impossibility there was of attacking the place. Yet did he at length make use of a contrivance that was subject to the utmost hazard; for he let down the most hardy of his men in chests, and set them at the mouths of the dens. Now these men slew the robbers and their families, and when they made resistance, they sent in fire upon them [and burnt them]; and as Herod was desirous of saving some of them, he had proclamation made, that they should come and deliver themselves up to him; but not one of them came willingly to him; and of those that were compelled to come, many preferred death to captivity. And here a certain old man, the father of seven children, whose children, together with their mother, desired him to give them leave to go out, upon the assurance and right hand that was offered them, slew them after the following manner: He ordered every one of them to go out, while he stood himself at the cave's mouth, and slew that son of his perpetually who went out. Herod was near enough to see this sight, and his bowels of compassion were moved at it, and he stretched out his right hand to the old man, and besought him to spare his children; yet did not he relent at all upon what he said, but over and above reproached Herod on the lowness of his descent, and slew his wife as well as his children; and when he had thrown their dead bodies down the precipice, he at last threw himself down after them.

(5) [314] Χειροῦται μὲν οὕτως τὰ σπήλαια καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς Ἡρώδης: καταλιπὼν δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ μοῖραν ὅσην ἀποχρήσειν ὑπελάμβανεν πρὸς τὰς ἐπαναστάσεις καὶ Θολεμαῖον ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἐπὶ Σαμαρείας ὑπέστρεφεν, ὁπλίτας μὲν τρισχιλίους ἱππεῖς δ᾽ ἄγων ἑξακοσίους ἐπ᾽ Ἀντίγονον. [315] ἔνθα πρὸς τὴν ἀποχώρησιν αὐτοῦ λαβόντες ἄδειαν οἷς ἔθος ἦν θορυβεῖν τὴν Γαλιλαίαν κτείνουσιν μὲν Θολεμαῖον τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀδοκήτως προσπεσόντες, ἐπόρθουν δὲ τὴν χώραν ποιούμενοι τὰς ἀναφυγὰς εἰς τὰ ἕλη καὶ τὰ δυσερεύνητα τῶν χωρίων. [316] πυθόμενος δὲ Ἡρώδης τὴν ἐπανάστασιν διὰ τάχους ἐπεβοήθει καὶ πολὺ μὲν αὐτῶν πλῆθος διαφθείρει, τὰ φρούρια δὲ πάντα πολιορκίαις ἐξελὼν ἐπιτίμιον τῆς μεταβολῆς εἰσεπράξατο παρὰ τῶν πόλεων ἑκατὸν τάλαντα.

5. By this means Herod subdued these caves, and the robbers that were in them. He then left there a part of his army, as many as he thought sufficient to prevent any sedition, and made Ptolemy their general, and returned to Samaria; he led also with him three thousand armed footmen, and six hundred horsemen, against Antigonus. Now here those that used to raise tumults in Galilee, having liberty so to do upon his departure, fell unexpectedly upon Ptolemy, the general of his forces, and slew him; they also laid the country waste, and then retired to the

bogs, and to places not easily to be found. But when Herod was informed of this insurrection, he came to the assistance of the country immediately, and destroyed a great number of the seditions, and raised the sieges of all those fortresses they had besieged; he also exacted the tribute of a hundred talents of his enemies, as a penalty for the mutations they had made in the country.

(6) [317] Ἤδη δὲ Πάρθων μὲν ἐξεληλαμένων, ἀνῃρημένου δὲ Πακόρου Βεντίδιος ἐπιστείλαντος Ἀντωνίου πέμπει συμμάχους Ἡρῴδῃ κατ᾽ Ἀντιγόνου χιλίους ἱππεῖς καὶ δύο τάγματα. τούτων δὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν Μαχαιρᾶν Ἀντίγονος ἱκέτευσεν δι᾽ ἐπιστολῶν ἑαυτῷ βοηθὸν ἀφικέσθαι πολλά τε περὶ τῆς Ἡρῴδου βίας ἀποδυρόμενος καὶ χρήματα δώσειν ὑπισχνούμενος. [318] ὁ δέ, οὐ γὰρ κατεφρόνει τοῦ πέμψαντος ἄλλως τε καὶ πλείον᾽ Ἡρῴδου διδόντος, εἰς μὲν τὴν προδοσίαν οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, ὑποκρινόμενος δὲ φιλίαν κατάσκοπος ἦει τῶν Ἀντιγόνου πραγμάτων Ἡρῴδῃ μὴ πεισθεὶς ἀποτρέποντι. [319] προαισθόμενος δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν Ἀντίγονος τήν τε πόλιν ἀπέκλεισεν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ὡς πολέμιον ἠμύνατο, μέχρις αἰδούμενος Μαχαιρᾶς εἰς Ἀμμαοῦντα πρὸς Ἡρῴδην ἀναχωρεῖ καὶ πρὸς τὴν διαμαρτίαν θυμούμενος ὅσοις ἐπετύγχανεν Ἰουδαίοις ἀνῄρει, μηδεμίαν τῶν Ἡρωδείων φειδὼ ποιούμενος, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς Ἀντιγονείοις χρώμενος ἅπασιν.

6. By this time [the Parthians being already driven out of the country, and Pacorus slain] Ventidius, by Antony's command, sent a thousand horsemen, and two legions, as auxiliaries to Herod, against Antigonus. Now Antigonus besought Machaerus, who was their general, by letter, to come to his assistance, and made a great many mournful complaints about Herod's violence, and about the injuries he did to the kingdom; and promised to give him money for such his assistance; but he complied not with his invitation to betray his trust, for he did not contemn him that sent him, especially while Herod gave him more money [than the other offered]. So he pretended friendship to Antigonus, but came as a spy to discover his affairs; although he did not herein comply with Herod, who dissuaded him from so doing. But Antigonus perceived what his intentions were beforehand, and excluded him out of the city, and defended himself against him as against an enemy, from the walls; till Machaerus was ashamed of what he had done, and retired to Emmaus to Herod; and as he was in a rage at his disappointment, he slew all the Jews whom he met with, without sparing those that were for Herod, but using them all as if they were for Antigonus.

(7) [320] Ἐφ᾽ οἷς χαλεπήνας Ἡρῴδης ὥρμησεν μὲν ἀμύνασθαι Μαχαιρᾶν ὡς πολέμιον, κρατήσας δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς ἤλαυνεν πρὸς Ἀντώνιον κατηγορήσων τῆς Μαχαιρᾶ παρανομίας. ὁ δ᾽ ἐν διαλογισμῷ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων γενόμενος ταχέως

μεταδιώκει τε τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πολλὰ δεηθεὶς ἑαυτῷ διαλλάττει. [321] οὐ μὴν Ἡρώδης ἐπαύσατο τῆς πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ὁρμῆς: ἀκηκοὼς δ᾽ αὐτὸν μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως προσπολεμοῦντα Σαμοσάτοις, πόλις δ᾽ ἐστὶν Εὐφράτου πλησίον καρτερά, θᾶττον ἠπείγετο τὸν καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον ὁρῶν πρός τε ἐπίδειξιν ἀνδρείας καὶ τοῦ μᾶλλον ἀρέσασθαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον. [322] γίνεται γοῦν ἐπελθὼν τέλος αὐτοῖς τῆς πολιορκίας, πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἀποκτείνας, πολλὴν δὲ ἀποτεμόμενος λείαν, ὥστε τὸν μὲν Ἀντώνιον θαυμάζοντα καὶ πάλαι τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτὸν τότε μᾶλλον οὕτως ἔχειν καὶ προσθεῖναι πολὺ ταῖς τε ἄλλαις τιμαῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐλπίσιν, Ἀντίοχον δὲ τὸν βασιλέα ἀναγκασθῆναι παραδοῦναι τὰ Σαμόσατα.

7. Hereupon Herod was very angry at him, and was going to fight against Machaerus as his enemy; but he restrained his indignation, and marched to Antony to accuse Machaerus of maladministration. But Machaerus was made sensible of his offenses, and followed after the king immediately, and earnestly begged and obtained that he would be reconciled to him. However, Herod did not desist from his resolution of going to Antony; but when he heard that he was besieging Samosata with a great army, which is a strong city near to Euphrates, he made the greater haste; as observing that this was a proper opportunity for showing at once his courage, and for doing what would greatly oblige Antony. Indeed, when he came, he soon made an end of that siege, and slew a great number of the barbarians, and took from them a large prey; insomuch that Antony, who admired his courage formerly, did now admire it still more. Accordingly, he heaped many more honors upon him, and gave him more assured hopes that he should gain his kingdom; and now king Antiochus was forced to deliver up Samosata.

XVII

CHAPTER 17.

The Death Of Joseph [Herod's Brother] Which Had Been Signified To Herod In Dreams. How Herod Was Preserved Twice After A Wonderful Manner. He Cuts Off The Head Of Pappus, Who Was The Murderer Of His Brother And Sends That Head To [His Other Brother] Pheroras, And In No Long Time He Besieges Jerusalem And Marries Mariamne.

(1) [323] Κἀν τούτῳ θραύεται τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν Ἡρώδου πράγματα. κατελελοίπει μὲν γὰρ Ἰώσηπον τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅλων παραγγείλας μηδὲν μέχρι τῆς ὑποστροφῆς αὐτοῦ παρακινεῖν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον: οὐ γὰρ δὴ βέβαιον εἶναι Μαχαιρῶν σύμμαχον ἐξ ὧν ἔδρασεν. ὁ δὲ ὡς ἤκουσεν ὄντα πορρωτάτω τὸν ἀδελφόν, ἀμελήσας τῶν παραγγελμάτων ἐπὶ Ἰεριχοῦντος ἐχώρει μετὰ πέντε σπειρῶν, ἃς συνέπεμψεν Μαχαιρᾶς: ᾖει δὲ τὸν σῖτον ἁρπάσων ἐν ἀκμῇ τοῦ θέρους. [324] ἐπιθεμένων δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν καὶ ταῖς δυσχωρίαις τῶν ἐναντίων αὐτός τε θνήσκει μάλα γενναῖος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ φανείς, καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαικὸν πᾶν διαφθείρεται: νεοσύλλεκτοι γὰρ ἦσαν ἐκ τῆς Συρίας αἱ σπεῖραι, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐταῖς ἐνεκέκρατο τῶν πάλαι στρατιωτῶν καλουμένων ἐπαμύνειν τοῖς ἀπείροις πολέμου δυνάμενον.

1. In the mean time, Herod's affairs in Judea were in an ill state. He had left his brother Joseph with full power, but had charged him to make no attempts against Antigonus till his return; for that Machaerus would not be such an assistant as he could depend on, as it appeared by what he had done already; but as soon as Joseph heard that his brother was at a very great distance, he neglected the charge he had received, and marched towards Jericho with five cohorts, which Machaerus sent with him. This movement was intended for seizing on the corn, as it was now in the midst of summer; but when his enemies attacked him in the mountains, and in places which were difficult to pass, he was both killed himself, as he was very bravely fighting in the battle, and the entire Roman cohorts were destroyed; for these cohorts were new-raised men, gathered out of Syria, and here was no mixture of those called veteran soldiers among them, who might have supported those that were unskillful in war.

(2) [325] Ἀντιγόνῳ δὲ οὐκ ἀπέχρησεν ἡ νίκη, προῆλθεν δὲ εἰς τοσοῦτον ὀργῆς, ὥστε καὶ νεκρὸν αἰκίσασθαι τὸν Ἰώσηπον: κρατήσας γοῦν τῶν σωμάτων ἀποτέμνει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, καίτοι πεντήκοντα τάλαντα λύτρον αὐτῆς Φερώρα τἀδελφοῦ διδόντος. [326] τὰ δὲ τῆς Γαλιλαίας μετὰ τὴν Ἀντιγόνου νίκην ἐνεωτερίσθη εἰς τοσοῦτον, ὥστε τοὺς τὰ Ἡρώδου φρονοῦντας τῶν δυνατῶν προαγαγόντες εἰς τὴν λίμνην κατέδυσαν οἱ προσέχοντες Ἀντιγόνῳ. μετεβάλλετο δὲ πολλὰ καὶ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας, ἔνθα Μαχαιρᾶς ἀνετείχιζέν τι τῶν ἐρυμάτων, Γιτθὰ καλεῖται. [327] τούτων δὲ οὔπω πέπυστο Ἡρώδης: μετὰ γὰρ τὴν Σαμοσάτων ἅλωσιν Ἀντώνιος μὲν καταστήσας ἐπὶ τῆς Συρίας Σόσσιον καὶ προστάξας Ἡρώδῃ βοηθεῖν ἐπ᾽ Ἀντίγονον αὐτὸς εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀνεχώρησεν, Σόσσιος δὲ δύο μὲν τάγματα προαπέστειλεν εἰς Ἰουδαίαν Ἡρώδῃ συμμαχῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς λοιπῆς δυνάμεως ἠκολούθει σχεδόν.

2. This victory was not sufficient for Antigonus; but he proceeded to that degree of rage, as to treat the dead body of Joseph barbarously; for when he had got possession of the bodies of those that were slain, he cut off his head, although his brother Pheroras would have given fifty talents as a price of redemption for it. And now the affairs of Galilee were put in such disorder after this victory of Antigonus's, that those of Antigonus's party brought the principal men that were on Herod's side to the lake, and there drowned them. There was a great change made also in Idumea, where Machaerus was building a wall about one of the fortresses, which was called Gittha. But Herod had not yet been informed of these things; for after the taking of Samosata, and when Antony had set Sosius over the affairs of Syria, and had given him orders to assist Herod against Antigonus, he departed into Egypt; but Sosius sent two legions before him into Judea to assist Herod, and followed himself soon after with the rest of his army.

(3) [328] Ὄντι δ' Ἡρώδῃ κατὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἀντιόχειαν Δάφνην ὄνειροι σαφεῖς τὸν τἀδελφοῦ θάνατον προσημαίνουσιν, καὶ μετὰ ταραχῆς ἐκθορόντι τῆς κοίτης εἰσῄεσαν ἄγγελοι τῆς συμφορᾶς. ὁ δὲ ὀλίγον μὲν προσοιμώξας τῷ πάθει, τὸ πλεῖον δὲ τοῦ πένθους ὑπερθέμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἠπείγετο ποιούμενος τὴν πορείαν ὑπὲρ δύναμιν. [329] καὶ διανύσας ἐπὶ τὸν Λίβανον ὀκτακοσίους μὲν τῶν περὶ τὸ ὄρος προσλαμβάνει συμμάχους, Ῥωμαίων δὲ ἓν τάγμα ταύτῃ συνῆψεν. μεθ' ὧν οὐ περιμείνας ἡμέραν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐνέβαλεν τούς τε πολεμίους ὑπαντιάσαντας εἰς ὃ καταλελοίπεσαν χωρίον τρέπεται. [330] καὶ προσέβαλλεν μὲν συνεχῶς τῷ φρουρίῳ, πρὶν δὲ ἑλεῖν χειμῶνι βιασθεὶς χαλεπωτάτῳ ταῖς πλησίον ἐνστρατοπεδεύεται κώμαις. ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτῷ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας καὶ τὸ δεύτερον παρὰ Ἀντωνίου τάγμα συνέμιξεν, δείσαντες τὴν ἰσχὺν οἱ πολέμιοι διὰ νυκτὸς ἐξέλιπον τὸ ἔρυμα.

3. Now when Herod was at Daphne, by Antioch, he had some dreams which clearly foreboded his brother's death; and as he leaped out of his bed in a disturbed manner, there came messengers that acquainted him with that calamity. So when he had lamented this misfortune for a while, he put off the main part of his mourning, and made haste to march against his enemies; and when he had performed a march that was above his strength, and was gone as far as Libanus, he got him eight hundred men of those that lived near to that mountain as his assistants, and joined with them one Roman legion, with which, before it was day, he made an irruption into Galilee, and met his enemies, and drove them back to the place which they had left. He also made an immediate and continual attack upon the fortress. Yet was he forced by a most terrible storm to pitch his camp in the neighboring villages before he could take it. But when, after a few days' time, the second legion, that came from Antony, joined

themselves to him, the enemy were affrighted at his power, and left their fortifications in the night time.

(4) [331] Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν διὰ Ἰεριχοῦντος ᾔει σπεύδων ᾗ τάχιστα τοὺς τἀδελφοῦ φονεῖς μετελθεῖν: ἔνθα καὶ δαιμόνιόν τι αὐτῷ συμβαίνει τέρας, ἐξ οὗ παρ᾽ ἐλπίδα σωθεὶς ἀνδρὸς θεοφιλεστάτου δόξαν ἀπηνέγκατο: πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ τῶν ἐν τέλει συνειστιάθησαν κατ᾽ ἐκείνην τὴν ἑσπέραν, διαλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ συμποσίου μετὰ τὸ πάντας ἐξελθεῖν ὁ οἶκος εὐθέως συνέπεσεν. [332] τοῦτο καὶ κινδύνων καὶ σωτηρίας κοινὸν ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλοντι πολέμῳ κρίνας εἶναι σημεῖον ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω διεκίνει τὴν στρατιάν. καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν κατατρέχοντες ἀπεπειρῶντο τῶν προτεταγμένων, κατὰ χεῖρα μὲν συμπλέκεσθαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις οὐ σφόδρα θαρροῦντες, πόρρωθεν δὲ χερμάσιν καὶ παλτοῖς ἔβαλλον, ὥστε συχνοὺς κατατιτρώσκειν. ἐν ᾧ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἡρώδης παρελαύνων παλτῷ κατὰ τὴν πλευρὰν ἀκοντίζεται.

4. After this he marched through Jericho, as making what haste he could to be avenged on his brother's murderers; where happened to him a providential sign, out of which, when he had unexpectedly escaped, he had the reputation of being very dear to God; for that evening there feasted with him many of the principal men; and after that feast was over, and all the guests were gone out, the house fell down immediately. And as he judged this to be a common signal of what dangers he should undergo, and how he should escape them in the war that he was going about, he, in the morning, set forward with his army, when about six thousand of his enemies came running down from the mountains, and began to fight with those in his forefront; yet durst they not be so very bold as to engage the Romans hand to hand, but threw stones and darts at them at a distance; by which means they wounded a considerable number; in which action Herod's own side was wounded with a dart.

(5) [333] Βουλόμενος δὲ Ἀντίγονος μὴ μόνον τόλμῃ τῶν σφετέρων ἀλλὰ καὶ πλήθει περιεῖναι δοκεῖν, Πάππον τινὰ τῶν ἑταίρων μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ Σαμάρειαν περιπέμπει. [334] τούτῳ μὲν οὖν ἦν Μαχαιρᾶς ἀγώνισμα, Ἡρώδης δὲ τὴν πολεμίαν καταδραμὼν πέντε μὲν πολίχνας καταστρέφεται, δισχιλίους δὲ τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς διαφθείρει καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἐμπρήσας ὑπέστρεψεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον: ηὔλιστο δὲ περὶ τὴν καλουμένην Κανᾶ κώμην.

5. Now as Antigonus had a mind to appear to exceed Herod, not only in the courage, but in the number of his men, he sent Pappus, one of his companions, with an army against Samaria, whose fortune it was to oppose Machaerus; but Herod overran the enemy's country, and demolished five little cities, and

destroyed two thousand men that were in them, and burned their houses, and then returned to his camp; but his head-quarters were at the village called Cana.

(6) [335] Προσεγίνετο δ᾽ αὐτῷ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν πολὺ πλῆθος Ἰουδαίων ἔκ τε αὐτῆς Ἰεριχοῦντος καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης χώρας, οἱ μὲν διὰ μῖσος τὸ πρὸς Ἀντίγονον, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ κατορθώμασιν κεκινημένοι: τούς γε μὴν πολλοὺς ἐνῆγεν ἐπιθυμία μεταβολῆς ἄλογος. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἠπείγετο συμβαλεῖν, οἱ δὲ περὶ Πάππον οὔτε πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος οὔτε πρὸς τὴν ὁρμὴν ὑποδείσαντες αὐτοῦ προθύμως ἀντεπεξῆλθον. [336] γενομένης δὲ τῆς παρατάξεως τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μέρη πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀντέσχεν, Ἡρώδης δὲ κατὰ μνήμην τοῦ φονευθέντος ἀδελφοῦ παραβαλλόμενος, ὡς ἂν τίσαιτο τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ φόνου, ταχέως τῶν καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ἐκράτει καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκείνους ἐπὶ τὸ συνεστὸς ἀεὶ τρεπόμενος ἅπαντας διώκει. [337] φόνος δ᾽ ἦν πολύς, τῶν μὲν εἰς τὴν κώμην συνεξωθουμένων ἐξ ἧς ὥρμηντο, τοῦ δὲ προσκειμένου τοῖς ὑστάτοις καὶ κτείνοντος ἀπείρους. συνεισπίπτει δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις εἴσω, καὶ πᾶσα μὲν ὁπλιτῶν οἰκία νένακτο, τὰ τέγη δ᾽ ἦν ὕπερθεν ἀμυνομένων κατάπλεα. [338] κἀπειδὴ περιῆν τῶν ἔξωθεν, τὰς οἰκήσεις σπαράττων εἶλκεν τοὺς ἔνδοθεν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς ἐπικατασείων τοὺς ὀρόφους ἀθρόους ἀνῄρει, τοὺς ὑποφεύγοντας δὲ τῶν ἐρειπίων οἱ στρατιῶται ξιφήρεις ἀνεδέχοντο, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐσωρεύθη νεκρῶν πλῆθος, ὥστε τὰς ὁδοὺς ἀποφραγῆναι τοῖς κρατοῦσιν. [339] ταύτην τὴν πληγὴν οὐκ ἤνεγκαν οἱ πολέμιοι: τὸ γοῦν ἐπισυλλεγόμενον αὐτῶν πλῆθος ὡς ἐθεάσατο τοὺς ἀνὰ τὴν κώμην διεφθαρμένους, εἰς φυγὴν διεσκεδάσθη, κἂν εὐθέως τῇ νίκῃ τεθαρρηκὼς Ἡρώδης ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἤλασεν, εἰ μὴ χειμῶνι διεκωλύθη σφοδροτάτῳ. τοῦτ᾽ ἐμπόδιον ἐκείνῳ τε παντελοῦς κατορθώματος καὶ ἥττης Ἀντιγόνῳ κατέστη βουλευομένῳ καταλιπεῖν ἤδη τὴν πόλιν.

6. Now a great multitude of Jews resorted to him every day, both out of Jericho and the other parts of the country. Some were moved so to do out of their hatred to Antigonus, and some out of regard to the glorious actions Herod had done; but others were led on by an unreasonable desire of change; so he fell upon them immediately. As for Pappus and his party, they were not terrified either at their number or at their zeal, but marched out with great alacrity to fight them; and it came to a close fight. Now other parts of their army made resistance for a while; but Herod, running the utmost hazard, out of the rage he was in at the murder of his brother, that he might be avenged on those that had been the authors of it, soon beat those that opposed him; and after he had beaten them, he always turned his force against those that stood to it still, and pursued them all; so that a great slaughter was made, while some were forced back into that village whence they came out; he also pressed hard upon the hindermost, and slew a vast number of them; he also fell into the village with the enemy, where every house

was filled with armed men, and the upper rooms were crowded above with soldiers for their defense; and when he had beaten those that were on the outside, he pulled the houses to pieces, and plucked out those that were within; upon many he had the roofs shaken down, whereby they perished by heaps; and as for those that fled out of the ruins, the soldiers received them with their swords in their hands; and the multitude of those slain and lying on heaps was so great, that the conquerors could not pass along the roads. Now the enemy could not bear this blow, so that when the multitude of them which was gathered together saw that those in the village were slain, they dispersed themselves, and fled away; upon the confidence of which victory, Herod had marched immediately to Jerusalem, unless he tad been hindered by the depth of winter's [coming on]. This was the impediment that lay in the way of this his entire glorious progress, and was what hindered Antigonus from being now conquered, who was already disposed to forsake the city.

(7) [340] Ἡρώδης δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέραν [ἤδη] τοὺς φίλους κεκμηκότας ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ τοῦ σώματος διαφεὶς καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς ἦν ἔτι θερμὸς ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων λουσόμενος ᾔει στρατιωτικώτερον: εἷς γοῦν αὐτῷ παῖς εἵπετο. καὶ πρὶν εἰς τὸ βαλανεῖον εἰσελθεῖν ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ τις ἐκτρέχει τῶν πολεμίων ξιφήρης, ἔπειτα δεύτερος καὶ τρίτος, ἑξῆς δὲ πλείους. [341] οὗτοι καταπεφεύγεσαν μὲν ἐκ τῆς παρατάξεως εἰς τὸ βαλανεῖον ὡπλισμένοι, τέως δ' ὑποπεπτηχότες καὶ διαλανθάνοντες ὡς ἐθεάσαντο τὸν βασιλέα, λυθέντες ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως αὐτὸν μὲν παρέτρεχον γυμνὸν ὄντα τρέμοντες, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς ἐξόδους ἐχώρουν. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων οὐδεὶς παρῆν κατὰ τύχην ὁ συλληψόμενος τοὺς ἄνδρας, Ἡρώδῃ δ' ἀπέχρη τὸ μηδὲν παθεῖν, ὥστε διαφεύγουσιν πάντες.

7. Now when at the evening Herod had already dismissed his friends to refresh themselves after their fatigue, and when he was gone himself, while he was still hot in his armor, like a common soldier, to bathe himself, and had but one servant that attended him, and before he was gotten into the bath, one of the enemies met him in the face with a sword in his hand, and then a second, and then a third, and after that more of them; these were men who had run away out of the battle into the bath in their armor, and they had lain there for some time in, great terror, and in privacy; and when they saw the king, they trembled for fear, and ran by him in a flight, although he was naked, and endeavored to get off into the public road. Now there was by chance nobody else at hand that might seize upon these men; and for Herod, he was contented to have come to no harm himself, so that they all got away in safety.

(8) [342] Τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ Πάππον μὲν τὸν Ἀντιγόνου στρατηγὸν καρατομήσας, ἀνῄρητο δ’ ἐπὶ τῆς παρατάξεως, πέμπει τὴν κεφαλὴν Φερώρᾳ τἀδελφῷ ποινὴν τοῦ φονευθέντος αὐτῶν ἀδελφοῦ: καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἦν ὁ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἀνελών. [343] λωφήσαντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ μέχρι τοῦ τείχους ἀγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν, συνήγετο δ’ αὐτῷ τρίτον ἔτος ἐξ οὗ βασιλεὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀπεδέδεικτο, πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ στρατοπεδεύεται: ταύτῃ γὰρ ἦν ἐπίμαχον, καθ’ ὃ καὶ πρὶν εἷλεν Πομπήιος τὴν πόλιν. [344] διελὼν δὲ εἰς ἔργα τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ τεμὼν τὰ προάστεια τρία μὲν ἐγείρειν χώματα καὶ πύργους ἐποικοδομεῖν αὐτοῖς κελεύει, καταλιπὼν δὲ τοὺς ἀνυτικωτάτους τῶν ἑταίρων ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων αὐτὸς εἰς Σαμάρειαν ᾔει τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου μετιὼν θυγατέρα καθωμολογημένην ὡς ἔφαμεν αὐτῷ καὶ πάρεργον ποιούμενος τῆς πολιορκίας τὸν γάμον: ἤδη γὰρ ὑπερηφάνει τοὺς πολεμίους.

8. But on the next day Herod had Pappus’s head cut off, who was the general for Antigonus, and was slain in the battle, and sent it to his brother Pheroras, by way of punishment for their slain brother; for he was the man that slew Joseph. Now as winter was going off, Herod marched to Jerusalem, and brought his army to the wall of it; this was the third year since he had been made king at Rome; so he pitched his camp before the temple, for on that side it might be besieged, and there it was that Pompey took the city. So he parted the work among the army, and demolished the suburbs, end raised three banks, and gave orders to have towers built upon those banks, and left the most laborious of his acquaintance at the works. But he went himself to Samaria, to take the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, to wife, who had been betrothed to him before, as we have already said; and thus he accomplished this by the by, during the siege of the city, for he had his enemies in great contempt already.

(9) [345] Γήμας δὲ ὑπέστρεψεν ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων μετὰ μείζονος δυνάμεως: συνῆπτε δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ Σόσσιος μετὰ πλείστης στρατιᾶς ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν, ἣν προεκπέμψας διὰ τῆς μεσογείου τὴν πορείαν αὐτὸς διὰ Φοινίκης ἐποιήσατο. [346] συναθροισθείσης δὲ τῆς ὅλης δυνάμεως εἰς ἕνδεκα μὲν τέλη πεζῶν, ἱππεῖς δὲ ἑξακισχιλίους δίχα τῶν ἀπὸ Συρίας συμμάχων, οἳ μέρος οὐκ ὀλίγον ἦσαν, καταστρατοπεδεύονται τοῦ βορείου τείχους πλησίον, αὐτὸς μὲν πεποιθὼς τοῖς τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμασιν, δι’ ὧν βασιλεὺς ἀπεδέδεικτο, Σόσσιος δὲ Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ πέμψαντι τὴν ὑπ’ αὐτῷ στρατιὰν Ἡρώδῃ σύμμαχον.

9. When he had thus married Mariamne, he came back to Jerusalem with a greater army. Sosius also joined him with a large army, both of horsemen and footmen, which he sent before him through the midland parts, while he marched himself along Phoenicia; and when the whole army was gotten together, which were

eleven regiments of footmen, and six thousand horsemen, besides the Syrian auxiliaries, which were no small part of the army, they pitched their camp near to the north wall. Herod's dependence was upon the decree of the senate, by which he was made king; and Sosius relied upon Antony, who sent the army that was under him to Herod's assistance.

XVIII

CHAPTER 18.

How Herod And Sosius Took Jerusalem By Force; And What Death Antigonus Came To. Also Concerning Cleopatra's Avaricious Temper.

(1) [347] Τῶν δ' ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν Ἰουδαίων τὸ πλῆθος ποικίλως ἐτετάρακτο: καὶ γὰρ περὶ τὸν ναὸν ἀθροιζόμενον τὸ ἀσθενέστερον ἐδαιμονία καὶ πολλὰ θειωδέστερον πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς ἐλογοποίει, καὶ τῶν τολμηροτέρων κατὰ στῖφος ἦσαν λῃστεῖαι πολύτροποι, μάλιστα τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἁρπαζόντων ἐπιτήδεια καὶ μήτε ἵπποις μήτε ἀνδράσιν ὑπολειπομένων τροφήν. [348] τοῦ γε μὴν μαχίμου τὸ εὐτακτότερον ἐτέτακτο πρὸς ἄμυναν τῆς πολιορκίας τούς τε χωννύντας εἶργον ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους καὶ τοῖς ὀργάνοις ἀντιμηχανώμενον ἀεί τι κώλυμα καινότερον: ἐν οὐδενὶ δ' οὕτως ὡς ἐν ταῖς μεταλλείαις περιῆσαν τῶν πολεμίων.

1. Now the multitude of the Jews that were in the city were divided into several factions; for the people that crowded about the temple, being the weaker part of them, gave it out that, as the times were, he was the happiest and most religious man who should die first. But as to the more bold and hardy men, they got together in bodies, and fell a robbing others after various manners, and these particularly plundered the places that were about the city, and this because there was no food left either for the horses or the men; yet some of the warlike men, who were used to fight regularly, were appointed to defend the city during the siege, and these drove those that raised the banks away from the wall; and these were always inventing some engine or another to be a hinderance to the engines of the enemy; nor had they so much success any way as in the mines under ground.

(2) [349] Τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ πρὸς μὲν τὰς λῃστείας ἀντεπενοήθησαν λόχοι δι' ὧν ἀνέστελλεν τὰς διεκδρομάς, πρὸς δὲ τὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπορίαν αἱ πόρρωθεν συγκομιδαί, τῶν δὲ μαχομένων περιῆν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐμπειρίᾳ καίτοι τόλμης οὐδεμίαν καταλιπόντων ὑπερβολήν: [350] φανερῶς μέν γε συνερρήγνυντο τοῖς

Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ προύπτῳ τῷ θανεῖν, διὰ δὲ τῶν ὑπονόμων ἐν μέσοις αὐτοῖς ἐξαπίνης ἐφαίνοντο, καὶ πρὶν κατασεισθῆναί τι τοῦ τείχους ἕτερον ἀντωχύρουν: καθόλου τε οὔτε χερσὶν οὔτ᾽ ἐπινοίαις ἔκαμνον εἰς ἔσχατον ἀντισχεῖν διεγνωκότες. [351] ἀμέλει τηλικαύτης δυνάμεως περικαθεζομένης πέντε μησὶν διήνεγκαν τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἕως τῶν Ἡρώδου τινὲς ἐπιλέκτων ἐπιβῆναι τοῦ τείχους θαρσήσαντες εἰσπίπτουσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἑκατοντάρχαι Σοσσίου. πρῶτα δὲ τὰ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἡλίσκετο, καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπεισχυθείσης πανταχοῦ φόνος ἦν μυρίος, τῶν μὲν Ῥωμαίων τῇ τριβῇ τῆς πολιορκίας διωργισμένων, τοῦ δὲ περὶ Ἡρώδην Ἰουδαικοῦ μηδὲν ὑπολιπέσθαι σπουδάζοντος ἀντίπαλον. [352] ἐσφάττοντο δὲ παμπληθεῖς ἔν τε τοῖς στενωποῖς καὶ κατὰ τὰς οἰκίας συνωθούμενοι καὶ τῷ ναῷ προσφεύγοντες: ἦν τε οὔτε νηπίων οὔτε γήρως ἔλεος οὔτε ἀσθενείας γυναικῶν, ἀλλὰ καίτοι περιπέμποντος τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ φείδεσθαι παρακαλοῦντος οὐδεὶς ἐκράτησεν τῆς δεξιᾶς, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ μεμηνότες πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν ἐπεξῄεσαν. [353] ἔνθα καὶ Ἀντίγονος μήτε τῆς πάλαι μήτε τῆς τότε τύχης ἔννοιαν λαβὼν κάτεισιν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς βάρεως, προσπίπτει δὲ τοῖς Σοσσίου ποσίν. κἀκεῖνος μηδὲν αὐτὸν οἰκτείρας πρὸς τὴν μεταβολὴν ἐπεγέλασέν τε ἀκρατῶς καὶ Ἀντιγόνην ἐκάλεσεν: οὐ μὴν ὡς γυναῖκά γε καὶ φρουρᾶς ἐλεύθερον ἀφῆκεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν δεθεὶς ἐφυλάττετο.

2. Now as for the robberies which were committed, the king contrived that ambushes should be so laid, that they might restrain their excursions; and as for the want of provisions, he provided that they should be brought to them from great distances. He was also too hard for the Jews, by the Romans' skill in the art of war; although they were bold to the utmost degree, now they durst not come to a plain battle with the Romans, which was certain death; but through their mines under ground they would appear in the midst of them on the sudden, and before they could batter down one wall, they built them another in its stead; and to sum up all at once, they did not show any want either of painstaking or of contrivances, as having resolved to hold out to the very last. Indeed, though they had so great an army lying round about them, they bore a siege of five months, till some of Herod's chosen men ventured to get upon the wall, and fell into the city, as did Sosius's centurions after them; and now they first of all seized upon what was about the temple; and upon the pouring in of the army, there was slaughter of vast multitudes every where, by reason of the rage the Romans were in at the length of this siege, and by reason that the Jews who were about Herod earnestly endeavored that none of their adversaries might remain; so they were cut to pieces by great multitudes, as they were crowded together in narrow streets, and in houses, or were running away to the temple; nor was there any mercy showed either to infants, or to the aged, or to the weaker sex; insomuch

that although the king sent about and desired them to spare the people, nobody could be persuaded to withhold their right hand from slaughter, but they slew people of all ages, like madmen. Then it was that Antigonus, without any regard to his former or to his present fortune, came down from the citadel, and fell at Sosius's feet, who without pitying him at all, upon the change of his condition, laughed at him beyond measure, and called him Antigona. Yet did he not treat him like a woman, or let him go free, but put him into bonds, and kept him in custody.

(3) [354] Πρόνοια δ' ἦν Ἡρώδῃ κρατοῦντι τῶν πολεμίων τότε κρατῆσαι καὶ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων συμμάχων: ὥρμητο γὰρ τὸ ξενικὸν πλῆθος ἐπὶ θέαν τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν ναὸν ἁγίων. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοὺς μὲν παρακαλῶν τοῖς δ' ἀπειλούμενος ἔστιν δ' οὓς καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀνέστειλεν, ἥττης χαλεπωτέραν τὴν νίκην ὑπολαμβάνων, εἴ τι τῶν ἀθεάτων παρ' αὐτῶν ὀφθείη. [355] διεκώλυσεν δὲ ἤδη καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἁρπαγάς, πολλὰ διατεινόμενος πρὸς Σόσσιον, εἰ χρημάτων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν τὴν πόλιν Ῥωμαῖοι κενώσαντες καταλείψουσιν αὐτὸν ἐρημίας βασιλέα, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τοσούτων πολιτῶν φόνῳ βραχὺ καὶ τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡγεμονίαν ἀντάλλαγμα κρίνοι. [356] τοῦ δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς πολιορκίας τὰς ἁρπαγὰς δικαίως τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπιτρέπειν φαμένου, αὐτὸς ἔφη διανεμεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χρημάτων τοὺς μισθοὺς ἑκάστοις. οὕτως τε τὴν λοιπὴν ἐξωνησάμενος πατρίδα τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἐπλήρωσεν: λαμπρῶς μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστον στρατιώτην, ἀναλόγως δὲ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, βασιλικώτατα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐδωρήσατο Σόσσιον, ὡς μηδένα χρημάτων ἀπελθεῖν δεόμενον. [357] Σόσσιος δὲ χρυσοῦν ἀναθεὶς τῷ θεῷ στέφανον ἀνέζευξεν ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων ἄγων δεσμώτην Ἀντίγονον Ἀντωνίῳ. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν φιλοψυχήσαντα μέχρις ἐσχάτου διὰ ψυχρᾶς ἐλπίδος ἄξιος τῆς ἀγεννείας πέλεκυς ἐκδέχεται.

3. But Herod's concern at present, now he had gotten his enemies under his power, was to restrain the zeal of his foreign auxiliaries; for the multitude of the strange people were very eager to see the temple, and what was sacred in the holy house itself; but the king endeavored to restrain them, partly by his exhortations, partly by his threatenings, nay, partly by force, as thinking the victory worse than a defeat to him, if any thing that ought not to be seen were seen by them. He also forbade, at the same time, the spoiling of the city, asking Sosius in the most earnest manner, whether the Romans, by thus emptying the city of money and men, had a mind to leave him king of a desert, — and told him that he judged the dominion of the habitable earth too small a compensation for the slaughter of so many citizens. And when Sosius said that it was but just to allow the soldiers this plunder as a reward for what they suffered during the siege, Herod made answer, that he would give every one of the soldiers a reward

out of his own money. So he purchased the deliverance of his country, and performed his promises to them, and made presents after a magnificent manner to each soldier, and proportionably to their commanders, and with a most royal bounty to Sosius himself, whereby nobody went away but in a wealthy condition. Hereupon Sosius dedicated a crown of gold to God, and then went away from Jerusalem, leading Antigonus away in bonds to Antony; then did the axe bring him to his end, who still had a fond desire of life, and some frigid hopes of it to the last, but by his cowardly behavior well deserved to die by it.

(4) [358] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἡρώδης διακρίνας τὸ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πλῆθος τοὺς μὲν τὰ αὐτοῦ φρονήσαντας εὐνουστέρους ταῖς τιμαῖς καθίστατο, τοὺς δ᾽ Ἀντιγονείους ἀνῄρει. καὶ κατὰ σπάνιν ἤδη χρημάτων ὅσον εἶχεν κόσμον κατανομιστεύσας Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνέπεμψεν. [359] οὐ μὴν εἰς ἅπαν ἐξωνήσατο τὸ μηδὲν παθεῖν: ἤδη γὰρ Ἀντώνιος τῷ Κλεοπάτρας ἔρωτι διεφθαρμένος ἥττων ἦν ἐν πᾶσιν τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, Κλεοπάτρα δὲ διεξελθοῦσα τὴν γενεὰν τὴν ἑαυτῆς ὡς μηδένα τῶν ἀφ᾽ αἵματος ὑπολείπεσθαι, [360] τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔξωθεν ἐφόνα, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τέλει Σύρων διαβάλλουσα πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀναιρεῖν ἔπειθεν ὡς ἂν τῶν κτήσεων ἑκάστου ῥᾳδίως γινομένη δεσπότις, ἔτι δὲ ἐκτείνουσα τὴν πλεονεξίαν ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίους καὶ Ἄραβας ὑπειργάζετο τοὺς ἑκατέρων βασιλεῖς Ἡρώδην καὶ Μάλχον ἀναιρεθῆναι.

4. Hereupon king Herod distinguished the multitude that was in the city; and for those that were of his side, he made them still more his friends by the honors he conferred on them; but for those of Antigonus's party, he slew them; and as his money ran low, he turned all the ornaments he had into money, and sent it to Antony, and to those about him. Yet could he not hereby purchase an exemption from all sufferings; for Antony was now bewitched by his love to Cleopatra, and was entirely conquered by her charms. Now Cleopatra had put to death all her kindred, till no one near her in blood remained alive, and after that she fell a slaying those no way related to her. So she calumniated the principal men among the Syrians to Antony, and persuaded him to have them slain, that so she might easily gain to be mistress of what they had; nay, she extended her avaricious humor to the Jews and Arabians, and secretly labored to have Herod and Malichus, the kings of both those nations, slain by his order.

(5) [361] Ἐν μέρει γοῦν τῶν προσταγμάτων ἐπινήψας Ἀντώνιος τὸ κτεῖναι μὲν ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ βασιλεῖς τηλικούτους ἀνόσιον ἡγήσατο, τὸ δὲ τούτων ἔγγιον φίλους διεκρούσατο, πολλὰ δὲ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ἀποτεμόμενος καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἰεριχοῦντι φοινικῶνα, ἐν ᾧ γεννᾶται τὸ βάλσαμον, δίδωσιν αὐτῇ πόλεις τε πλὴν Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος τὰς ἐντὸς Ἐλευθέρου ποταμοῦ πάσας. [362] ὧν

γενομένη κυρία καὶ προπέμψασα μέχρις Εὐφράτου τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπιστρατεύοντα Πάρθοις ἦλθεν εἰς Ἰουδαίαν δι᾽ Ἀπαμείας καὶ Δαμασκοῦ. κἀνταῦθα μεγάλαις μὲν αὐτῆς τὴν δυσμένειαν δωρεαῖς Ἡρώδης ἐκμειλίσσεται, μισθοῦται δὲ καὶ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἀπορραγέντα χωρία διακοσίων ταλάντων εἰς ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν, προπέμπει δ᾽ αὐτὴν μέχρι Πηλουσίου πάσῃ θεραπείᾳ καταχρώμενος. [363] καὶ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ παρῆν ἐκ Πάρθων Ἀντώνιος ἄγων αἰχμάλωτον Ἀρταβάζην τὸν Τιγράνου παῖδα δῶρον Κλεοπάτρᾳ: μετὰ γὰρ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τῆς λείας ἁπάσης ὁ Πάρθος εὐθὺς ἐχαρίσθη.

5. Now is to these her injunctions to Antony, he complied in part; for though he esteemed it too abominable a thing to kill such good and great kings, yet was he thereby alienated from the friendship he had for them. He also took away a great deal of their country; nay, even the plantation of palm trees at Jericho, where also grows the balsam tree, and bestowed them upon her; as also all the cities on this side the river Eleutherus, Tyre and Sidon excepted. And when she was become mistress of these, and had conducted Antony in his expedition against the Parthians as far as Euphrates, she came by Apamia and Damascus into Judea and there did Herod pacify her indignation at him by large presents. He also hired of her those places that had been torn away from his kingdom, at the yearly rent of two hundred talents. He conducted her also as far as Pelusium, and paid her all the respects possible. Now it was not long after this that Antony was come back from Parthia, and led with him Artabazes, Tigranes's son, captive, as a present for Cleopatra; for this Parthian was presently given her, with his money, and all the prey that was taken with him.

XIX

CHAPTER 19.

How Antony At The Persuasion Of Cleopatra Sent Herod To Fight Against The Arabians; And Now After Several Battles, He At Length Got The Victory. As Also Concerning A Great Earthquake.

(1) [364] Τοῦ δ' Ἀκτιακοῦ πολέμου συνερρωγότος παρεσκεύαστο μὲν Ἡρώδης Ἀντωνίῳ συνεξορμᾶν ἤδη τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν κατὰ Ἰουδαίαν ἀπηλλαγμένος θορύβων καὶ κεκρατηκὼς Ὑρκανίας, ὃ δὴ χωρίον ἡ Ἀντιγόνου κατεῖχεν ἀδελφή. [365] διεκλείσθη γε μὴν πανούργως ὑπὸ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας συμμετασχεῖν τῶν κινδύνων Ἀντωνίῳ: τοῖς γὰρ βασιλεῦσιν, ὡς ἔφαμεν, ἐπιβουλεύουσα πείθει τὸν Ἀντώνιον Ἡρώδῃ διαπιστεῦσαι τὸν πρὸς Ἄραβας πόλεμον, ἵν' ἢ κρατήσαντος Ἀραβίας ἢ κρατηθέντος Ἰουδαίας γένηται δεσπότις καὶ θατέρῳ τῶν δυναστῶν καταλύσῃ τὸν ἕτερον.

1. Now when the war about Actium was begun, Herod prepared to come to the assistance of Antony, as being already freed from his troubles in Judea, and having gained Hyrcania, which was a place that was held by Antigonus's sister. However, he was cunningly hindered from partaking of the hazards that Antony went through by Cleopatra; for since, as we have already noted, she had laid a

plot against the kings [of Judea and Arabia], she prevailed with Antony to commit the war against the Arabians to Herod; that so, if he got the better, she might become mistress of Arabia, or, if he were worsted, of Judea; and that she might destroy one of those kings by the other.

(2) [366] Ἔρρεψεν μέντοι καθ᾽ Ἡρώδην τὸ βούλευμα: πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ῥύσια κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἄγων καὶ πολὺ συγκροτήσας ἱππικὸν ἐπαφίησιν αὐτοῖς περὶ Διόσπολιν ἐκράτησέν τε καίτοι καρτερῶς ἀντιπαραταξαμένων. πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἧτταν μέγα γίνεται κίνημα τῶν Ἀράβων, καὶ συναθροισθέντες εἰς Κάναθα τῆς κοίλης Συρίας ἄπειροι τὸ πλῆθος τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἔμενον. [367] ἔνθα μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως Ἡρώδης ἐπελθὼν ἐπειρᾶτο προμηθέστερον ἀφηγεῖσθαι τοῦ πολέμου καὶ στρατόπεδον ἐκέλευε τειχίζειν. οὐ μὴν ὑπήκουσεν τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλὰ τῇ προτέρᾳ νίκῃ τεθαρρηκότες ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἄραβας καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὴν πρώτην ἐμβολὴν τραπέντας ἐδίωκον, ἐπιβουλεύεται δὲ Ἡρώδης ἐν τῇ διώξει τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Κανάθων ἐπιχωρίους ἀνέντος Ἀθηνίωνος, ὃς ἦν αὐτῷ τῶν Κλεοπάτρας στρατηγῶν αἰεὶ διάφορος: [368] πρὸς γὰρ τὴν τούτων ἐπίθεσιν ἀναθαρρήσαντες οἱ Ἄραβες ἐπιστρέφονται καὶ συνάψαντες τὸ πλῆθος περὶ πετρώδη καὶ δύσβατα χωρία τοὺς Ἡρώδου τρέπονται πλεῖστόν τε αὐτῶν φόνον εἰργάσαντο. οἱ δὲ διασωθέντες ἐκ τῆς μάχης εἰς Ὄρμιζα καταφεύγουσιν, ὅπου καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν περισχόντες αὖτανδρον εἷλον οἱ Ἄραβες.

2. However, this contrivance tended to the advantage of Herod; for at the very first he took hostages from the enemy, and got together a great body of horse, and ordered them to march against them about Diespous; and he conquered that army, although it fought resolutely against him. After which defeat, the Arabians were in great motion, and assembled themselves together at Kanatha, a city of Celesyria, in vast multitudes, and waited for the Jews. And when Herod was come thither, he tried to manage this war with particular prudence, and gave orders that they should build a wall about their camp; yet did not the multitude comply with those orders, but were so emboldened by their foregoing victory, that they presently attacked the Arabians, and beat them at the first onset, and then pursued them; yet were there snares laid for Herod in that pursuit; while Athenio, who was one of Cleopatra’s generals, and always an antagonist to Herod, sent out of Kanatha the men of that country against him; for, upon this fresh onset, the Arabians took courage, and returned back, and both joined their numerous forces about stony places, that were hard to be gone over, and there put Herod’s men to the rout, and made a great slaughter of them; but those that escaped out of the battle fled to Ormiza, where the Arabians surrounded their camp, and took it, with all the men in it.

(3) [369] Μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς βοήθειαν ἄγων Ἡρώδης παρῆν τῆς χρείας ὑστέραν. ταύτης τῆς πληγῆς αἴτιον αὐτῷ τὸ τῶν ταξιάρχων ἀπειθὲς κατέστη: μὴ γὰρ ἐξαπιναίου τῆς συμβολῆς γενομένης οὐδ᾽ ἂν Ἀθηνίων εὗρεν καιρὸν ἐπιβουλῆς. ἐτιμωρήσατο μέντοι τοὺς Ἄραβας αὖθις ἀεὶ τὴν χώραν κατατρέχων, ὡς ἀνακαλέσασθαι τὴν μίαν αὐτοῖς νίκην πολλάκις. [370] ἀμυνομένῳ δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπιπίπτει συμφορὰ δαιμόνιος ἄλλη, κατ᾽ ἔτος μὲν τῆς βασιλείας ἕβδομον, ἀκμάζοντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀκτίου πολέμου. ἀρχομένου γὰρ ἔαρος ἡ γῆ σεισθεῖσα βοσκημάτων μὲν ἄπειρον πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων δὲ τρεῖς διέφθειρεν μυριάδας, τὸ δὲ στρατιωτικὸν ἔμεινεν ἀβλαβές: ὕπαιθρον γὰρ ηὐλίζετο. [371] κἀν τούτῳ τοὺς Ἄραβας ἐπὶ μεῖζον θράσος ἦρεν ἡ φήμη προσλογοποιοῦσα τοῖς σκυθρωποῖς ἀεί τι χαλεπώτερον: ὡς γοῦν ἁπάσης Ἰουδαίας κατερριμμένης οἰηθέντες ἐρήμου τῆς χώρας κρατήσειν ὥρμησαν εἰς αὐτὴν προθυσάμενοι τοὺς πρέσβεις, οἳ παρὰ Ἰουδαίων ἔτυχον ἥκοντες πρὸς αὐτούς. [372] πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐμβολὴν καταπλαγὲν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ μεγέθει συμφορῶν ἐπαλλήλων ἔκλυτον συναγαγὼν Ἡρώδης ἐπειρᾶτο παρορμᾶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμυναν λέγων τοιάδε:

3. In a little time after this calamity, Herod came to bring them succors; but he came too late. Now the occasion of that blow was this, that the officers would not obey orders; for had not the fight begun so suddenly, Athenio had not found a proper season for the snares he laid for Herod: however, he was even with the Arabians afterward, and overran their country, and did them more harm than their single victory could compensate. But as he was avenging himself on his enemies, there fell upon him another providential calamity; for in the seventh year of his reign, when the war about Actium was at the height, at the beginning of the spring, the earth was shaken, and destroyed an immense number of cattle, with thirty thousand men; but the army received no harm, because it lay in the open air. In the mean time, the fame of this earthquake elevated the Arabians to greater courage, and this by augmenting it to a fabulous height, as is constantly the case in melancholy accidents, and pretending that all Judea was overthrown. Upon this supposal, therefore, that they should easily get a land that was destitute of inhabitants into their power, they first sacrificed those ambassadors who were come to them from the Jews, and then marched into Judea immediately. Now the Jewish nation were affrighted at this invasion, and quite dispirited at the greatness of their calamities one after another; whom yet Herod got together, and endeavored to encourage to defend themselves by the following speech which he made to them:

(4) [373] “Παραλογώτατά μοι δοκεῖ τὸ παρὸν ὑμῶν καθάπτεσθαι δέος: πρὸς μέν γε τὰς δαιμονίους πληγὰς ἀθυμεῖν εἰκὸς ἦν, τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρωπίνην ἔφοδον πάσχειν ἀνάνδρων. ἐγὼ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἀποδέω κατεπτηχέναι τοὺς

πολεμίους μετὰ τὸν σεισμόν, ὥσθ᾽ ὑπολαμβάνειν τὸν θεὸν Ἄραψιν δέλεαρ τοῦτο καθεικέναι τοῦ δοῦναι δίκας ἡμῖν: οὐ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ὅπλοις ἢ χερσὶν πεποιθότες ὅσον ταῖς αὐτομάτοις ἡμῶν συμφοραῖς ἦκον: σφαλερὰ δ᾽ ἐλπὶς οὐκ ἐξ οἰκείας ἰσχύος ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ ἀλλοτρίας ἠρτημένη κακοπραγίας. [374] οὔτε δὲ τὸ δυστυχεῖν οὔτε τοὐναντίον ἐν ἀνθρώποις βέβαιον, ἀλλ᾽ ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἐπαμειβομένην εἰς ἑκάτερα τὴν τύχην. καὶ τοῦτο μάθοιτ᾽ ἂν ἐξ οἰκείων ὑποδειγμάτων: τῇ γοῦν προτέρᾳ μάχῃ κρατούντων ἐκράτησαν ἡμῶν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς νῦν ἁλώσονται κρατήσειν δοκοῦντες: τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄγαν πεποιθὸς ἀφύλακτον, οἱ φόβοι δὲ διδάσκουσιν προμήθειαν: ὥστε ἔμοιγε κἀκ τοῦ δεδοικότος ὑμῶν παρίσταται θαρρεῖν. [375] ὅτε γὰρ ἐθρασύνεσθε πέρα τοῦ δέοντος καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρὰ τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην ἐξωρμήσατε, καιρὸν ἔσχεν ἡ Ἀθηνίωνος ἐνέδρα: νυνὶ δὲ ὁ ὄκνος ὑμῶν καὶ τὸ δοκοῦν ἄθυμον ἀσφάλειαν ἐμοὶ νίκης ἐγγυᾶται. [376] χρὴ μέντοι γε μέχρι τοῦ μέλλειν οὕτως ἔχειν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐγεῖραι τὰ φρονήματα καὶ πεῖσαι τοὺς ἀσεβεστάτους, ὡς οὔτ᾽ ἀνθρώπειόν τι κακὸν οὔτε δαιμόνιον ταπεινώσει ποτὲ τὴν Ἰουδαίων ἀνδραγαθίαν, ἐφ᾽ ὅσον τὰς ψυχὰς ἔχουσιν, οὐδὲ περιόψεταί τις Ἄραβα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἀγαθῶν δεσπότην γενόμενον, ὃν παρ᾽ ὀλίγον πολλάκις αἰχμάλωτον ἔλαβεν. [377] μηδ᾽ ὑμᾶς ταρασσέτω τὰ τῶν ἀψύχων κινήματα μηδ᾽ ὑπολαμβάνετε τὸν σεισμὸν ἑτέρας συμφορᾶς τέρας γεγονέναι: φυσικὰ γὰρ τὰ τῶν στοιχείων πάθη καὶ οὐδὲν ἀνθρώποις πλέον ἢ τὴν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς βλάβην ἐπιφέρεται: λοιμοῦ μὲν γὰρ καὶ λιμοῦ καὶ τῶν χθονίων βρασμῶν προγένοιτ᾽ ἄν τι σημεῖον βραχύτερον, αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα περιγραφὴν ἔχει τὸ μέγεθος: ἐπεὶ τί δύναται μεῖζον ἡμᾶς τοῦ σεισμοῦ βλάψαι καὶ κρατήσας ὁ πόλεμος; [378] τέρας μέντοι μέγιστον ἁλώσεως γέγονεν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς οὐκ αὐτομάτως οὐδὲ διὰ χειρὸς ἀλλοτρίας, οἳ πρέσβεις ἡμετέρους παρὰ τὸν πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμον ὠμῶς ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τοιαῦτα τῷ θεῷ θύματα περὶ τοῦ πολέμου κατέστεψαν. ἀλλ᾽ οὐ διαφεύξονται τὸν μέγαν ὀφθαλμὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀνίκητον δεξιάν, δώσουσιν δ᾽ ἡμῖν αὐτίκα δίκας, ἂν τοῦ πατρίου φρονήματος ἤδη σπάσαντες τιμωροὶ τῶν παρεσπονδημένων ἀναστῶμεν. [379] ἴτω τις οὐχ ὑπὲρ γυναικὸς οὐδ᾽ ὑπὲρ τέκνων οὐδ᾽ ὑπὲρ κινδυνευούσης πατρίδος, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ τῶν πρέσβεων ἀμυνόμενος: ἐκεῖνοι στρατηγήσουσιν τοῦ πολέμου τῶν ζώντων ἄμεινον. προκινδυνεύσω δὲ κἀγὼ χρώμενος ὑμῖν πειθηνίοις: εὖ γὰρ ἴστε τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀνδρείαν ἀνυπόστατον, ἐὰν μὴ προπετείᾳ τινὶ βλαβῆτε.”

4. “The present dread you are under seems to me to have seized upon you very unreasonably. It is true, you might justly be dismayed at that providential chastisement which hath befallen you; but to suffer yourselves to be equally terrified at the invasion of men is unmanly. As for myself, I am so far from being affrighted at our enemies after this earthquake, that I imagine that God hath thereby laid a bait for the Arabians, that we may be avenged on them; for their

present invasion proceeds more from our accidental misfortunes, than that they have any great dependence on their weapons, or their own fitness for action. Now that hope which depends not on men's own power, but on others' ill success, is a very ticklish thing; for there is no certainty among men, either in their bad or good fortunes; but we may easily observe that fortune is mutable, and goes from one side to another; and this you may readily learn from examples among yourselves; for when you were once victors in the former fight, your enemies overcame you at last; and very likely it will now happen so, that these who think themselves sure of beating you will themselves be beaten. For when men are very confident, they are not upon their guard, while fear teaches men to act with caution; insomuch that I venture to prove from your very timorousness that you ought to take courage; for when you were more bold than you ought to have been, and than I would have had you, and marched on, Athenio's treachery took place; but your present slowness and seeming dejection of mind is to me a pledge and assurance of victory. And indeed it is proper beforehand to be thus provident; but when we come to action, we ought to erect our minds, and to make our enemies, be they ever so wicked, believe that neither any human, no, nor any providential misfortune, can ever depress the courage of Jews while they are alive; nor will any of them ever overlook an Arabian, or suffer such a one to become lord of his good things, whom he has in a manner taken captive, and that many times also. And do not you disturb yourselves at the quaking of inanimate creatures, nor do you imagine that this earthquake is a sign of another calamity; for such affections of the elements are according to the course of nature, nor does it import any thing further to men, than what mischief it does immediately of itself. Perhaps there may come some short sign beforehand in the case of pestilences, and famines, and earthquakes; but these calamities themselves have their force limited by themselves [without foreboding any other calamity]. And indeed what greater mischief can the war, though it should be a violent one, do to us than the earthquake hath done? Nay, there is a signal of our enemies' destruction visible, and that a very great one also; and this is not a natural one, nor derived from the hand of foreigners neither, but it is this, that they have barbarously murdered our ambassadors, contrary to the common law of mankind; and they have destroyed so many, as if they esteemed them sacrifices for God, in relation to this war. But they will not avoid his great eye, nor his invincible right hand; and we shall be revenged of them presently, in case we still retain any of the courage of our forefathers, and rise up boldly to punish these covenant-breakers. Let every one therefore go on and fight, not so much for his wife or his children, or for the danger his country is in, as for these ambassadors of ours; those dead ambassadors will conduct this war of ours

better than we ourselves who are alive. And if you will be ruled by me, I will myself go before you into danger; for you know this well enough, that your courage is irresistible, unless you hurt yourselves by acting rashly."

(5) [380] Τούτοις παρακροτήσας τὸν στρατὸν ὡς ἑώρα προθύμους, ἔθυεν τῷ θεῷ καὶ μετὰ τὴν θυσίαν διέβαινεν τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. στρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ περὶ Φιλαδέλφειαν ἐγγὺς τῶν πολεμίων περὶ τοῦ μεταξὺ φρουρίου πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἠκροβολίζετο βουλόμενος ἐν τάχει συμβαλεῖν: ἔτυχον γὰρ κἀκεῖνοί τινας προπεπομφότες τοὺς καταληψομένους τὸ ἔρυμα. [381] τούτους μὲν οὖν ἀπεκρούσαντο ταχέως οἱ πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὸν λόφον κατέσχον, αὐτὸς δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν προάγων τὴν δύναμιν εἰς μάχην παρετάσσετο καὶ προεκαλεῖτο τοὺς Ἄραβας. ὡς δ' οὐδεὶς ἐπεξῄει, δεινὴ γάρ τις αὐτοὺς κατάπληξις εἶχε καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πλήθους ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἔλθεμος αὖος ἦν τῷ δέει, προσελθὼν ἐσπάραττεν αὐτῶν τὸ χαράκωμα. [382] κἀν τούτῳ συναναγκασθέντες ἐξίασιν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ἄτακτοι καὶ πεφυρμένοι τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν οἱ πεζοί. πλήθει μὲν οὖν τῶν Ἰουδαίων περιῆσαν, ἐλείποντο δὲ ταῖς προθυμίαις καίτοι διὰ τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν τῆς νίκης ὄντες καὶ αὐτοὶ παράβολοι.

5. When Herod had encouraged them by this speech, and he saw with what alacrity they went, he offered sacrifice to God; and after that sacrifice, he passed over the river Jordan with his army, and pitched his camp about Philadelphia, near the enemy, and about a fortification that lay between them. He then shot at them at a distance, and was desirous to come to an engagement presently; for some of them had been sent beforehand to seize upon that fortification: but the king sent some who immediately beat them out of the fortification, while he himself went in the forefront of the army, which he put in battle-array every day, and invited the Arabians to fight. But as none of them came out of their camp, for they were in a terrible fright, and their general, Elthemus, was not able to say a word for fear, — so Herod came upon them, and pulled their fortification to pieces, by which means they were compelled to come out to fight, which they did in disorder, and so that the horsemen and foot-men were mixed together. They were indeed superior to the Jews in number, but inferior in their alacrity, although they were obliged to expose themselves to danger by their very despair of victory.

(6) [383] Διὸ μέχρι μὲν ἀντεῖχον οὐ πολὺς ἦν αὐτῶν φόνος, ὡς δ' ὑπέδειξαν τὰ νῶτα, πολλοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν συμπατούμενοι διεφθείροντο: πεντακισχίλιοι γοῦν ἔπεσον ἐν τῇ τροπῇ, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἔφθη συνωσθὲν εἰς τὸ χαράκωμα. τούτους περισχὼν ἐπολιόρκει, καὶ μέλλοντας ἁλώσεσθαι τοῖς ὅπλοις προκατήπειγεν ἡ δίψα τῶν ὑδάτων ἐπιλειπόντων. [384]

ὑπερηφάνει δὲ πρεσβευομένους ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ λύτρα διδόντων πεντακόσια τάλαντα μᾶλλον ἐνέκειτο. τοῦ δὲ δίψους ἐκκαίοντος ἐξιόντες κατὰ πλῆθος ἐνεχείριζον σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἑκόντες, ὡς πέντε μὲν ἡμέραις τετρακισχιλίους δεθῆναι, τῇ δ᾽ ἕκτῃ τὸ λειπόμενον πλῆθος ὑπ᾽ ἀπογνώσεως ἐξελθεῖν ἐπὶ μάχην: οἷς συμβαλὼν Ἡρώδης πάλιν εἰς ἑπτακισχιλίους κτείνει. [385] τηλικαύτῃ πληγῇ τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἀμυνάμενος καὶ σβέσας τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰ φρονήματα προύκοψεν ὥστε καὶ προστάτης ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους αἱρεθῆναι.

6. Now while they made opposition, they had not a great number slain; but as soon as they turned their backs, a great many were trodden to pieces by the Jews, and a great many by themselves, and so perished, till five thousand were fallen down dead in their flight, while the rest of the multitude prevented their immediate death, by crowding into the fortification. Herod encompassed these around, and besieged them; and while they were ready to be taken by their enemies in arms, they had another additional distress upon them, which was thirst and want of water; for the king was above hearkening to their ambassadors; and when they offered five hundred talents, as the price of their redemption, he pressed still harder upon them. And as they were burnt up by their thirst, they came out and voluntarily delivered themselves up by multitudes to the Jews, till in five days' time four thousand of them were put into bonds; and on the sixth day the multitude that were left despaired of saving themselves, and came out to fight: with these Herod fought, and slew again about seven thousand, insomuch that he punished Arabia so severely, and so far extinguished the spirits of the men, that he was chosen by the nation for their ruler.

XX

CHAPTER 20.

Herod Is Confirmed In His Kingdom By Caesar, And Cultivates A Friendship With The Emperor By Magnificent Presents; While Caesar Returns His Kindness By Bestowing On Him That Part Of His Kingdom Which Had Been Taken Away From It By Cleopatra With The Addition Of Zenodoruss Country Also.

(1) [386] Μεταλαμβάνει δὲ αὐτὸν εὐθέως ἡ περὶ τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων φροντὶς διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἀντώνιον φιλίαν Καίσαρος περὶ Ἄκτιον νενικηκότος. παρεῖχεν μέντοι δέους πλέον ἢ ἔπασχεν: οὔπω γὰρ ἐαλωκέναι Καῖσαρ Ἀντώνιον ἔκρινεν Ἡρώδου συμμένοντος. [387] ὅ γε μὴν βασιλεὺς ὁμόσε χωρῆσαι τῷ κινδύνῳ

διέγνω, καὶ πλεύσας εἰς Ῥόδον, ἔνθα διέτριβεν Καῖσαρ, πρόσεισιν αὐτῷ δίχα διαδήματος, τὴν μὲν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὸ σχῆμα ἰδιώτης, τὸ δὲ φρόνημα βασιλεύς: μηδὲν γοῦν τῆς ἀληθείας ὑποστειλάμενος ἄντικρυς εἶπεν: [388] "ἐγώ, Καῖσαρ, ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου βασιλεὺς γενόμενος ἐν πᾶσιν ὁμολογῶ γεγονέναι χρήσιμος Ἀντωνίῳ. καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἂν ὑποστειλαίμην εἰπεῖν, ὅτι πάντως ἄν με μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐπείρασας εὐχάριστον, εἰ μὴ διεκώλυσαν Ἄραβες. καὶ συμμαχίαν μέντοι γε αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ σίτου πολλὰς ἔπεμψα μυριάδας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ἀκτίῳ πληγὴν κατέλιπον τὸν εὐεργέτην, [389] ἐγενόμην δὲ σύμβουλος ἄριστος, ὡς οὐκέτι χρήσιμος ἤμην σύμμαχος, μίαν εἶναι λέγων τῶν πταισθέντων διόρθωσιν τὸν Κλεοπάτρας θάνατον: ἣν ἀνελόντι καὶ χρήματα καὶ τείχη πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ στρατιὰν καὶ ἐμαυτὸν ὑπισχνούμην κοινωνὸν τοῦ πρὸς σὲ πολέμου. [390] τοῦ δ' ἄρα τὰς ἀκοὰς ἀπέφραξαν οἱ Κλεοπάτρας ἵμεροι καὶ θεὸς ὁ σοὶ τὸ κρατεῖν χαριζόμενος. συνήττημαι δ' Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ τέθεικα μετὰ τῆς ἐκείνου τύχης τὸ διάδημα. πρὸς σὲ δὲ ἦλθον ἔχων τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα καὶ προλαβὼν ἐξετασθήσεσθαι, ποταπὸς φίλος, οὐ τίνος, ἐγενόμην."

1. But now Herod was under immediate concern about a most important affair, on account of his friendship with Antony, who was already overcome at Actium by Caesar; yet he was more afraid than hurt; for Caesar did not think he had quite undone Antony, while Herod continued his assistance to him. However, the king resolved to expose himself to dangers: accordingly he sailed to Rhodes, where Caesar then abode, and came to him without his diadem, and in the habit and appearance of a private person, but in his behavior as a king. So he concealed nothing of the truth, but spoke thus before his face: "O Caesar, as I was made king of the Jews by Antony, so do I profess that I have used my royal authority in the best manner, and entirely for his advantage; nor will I conceal this further, that thou hadst certainly found me in arms, and an inseparable companion of his, had not the Arabians hindered me. However, I sent him as many auxiliaries as I was able, and many ten thousand [cori] of corn. Nay, indeed, I did not desert my benefactor after the bow that was given him at Actium; but I gave him the best advice I was able, when I was no longer able to assist him in the war; and I told him that there was but one way of recovering his affairs, and that was to kill Cleopatra; and I promised him that, if she were once dead, I would afford him money and walls for his security, with an army and myself to assist him in his war against thee: but his affections for Cleopatra stopped his ears, as did God himself also who hath bestowed the government on thee. I own myself also to be overcome together with him; and with his last fortune I have laid aside my diadem, and am come hither to thee, having my hopes of safety in thy virtue; and

I desire that thou wilt first consider how faithful a friend, and not whose friend, I have been."

(2) [391] Πρὸς ταῦτα Καῖσαρ "ἀλλὰ σώζου γε, ἔφη, καὶ βασίλευε νῦν βεβαιότερον: ἄξιος γὰρ εἶ πολλῶν ἄρχειν οὕτω φιλίας προιστάμενος. πειρῶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς εὐτυχεστέροις διαμένειν πιστός, ὡς ἔγωγε λαμπροτάτας ὑπὲρ τοῦ σοῦ φρονήματος ἐλπίδας ἔχω. καλῶς μέντοι γε ἐποίησεν Ἀντώνιος Κλεοπάτρᾳ πεισθεὶς μᾶλλον ἢ σοί: καὶ γὰρ σὲ κεκερδήκαμεν ἐκ τῆς ἀνοίας αὐτοῦ. [392] κατάρχεις δ', ὡς ἔοικεν, εὐποιίας δι' ὧν μοι γράφει καὶ Βεντίδιος συμμαχίαν σε πεπομφέναι πρὸς τοὺς μονομάχους αὐτῷ. νῦν μὲν οὖν δόγματι τὸ βέβαιόν σοι τῆς βασιλείας ἐξαγγέλλω. πειράσομαι δὲ καὶ αὖθις ἀγαθόν τί σε ποιεῖν, ὡς μὴ ζητοίης Ἀντώνιον."

2. Caesar replied to him thus: "Nay, thou shalt not only be in safety, but thou shalt be a king; and that more firmly than thou wast before; for thou art worthy to reign over a great many subjects, by reason of the fastness of thy friendship; and do thou endeavor to be equally constant in thy friendship to me, upon my good success, which is what I depend upon from the generosity of thy disposition. However, Antony hath done well in preferring Cleopatra to thee; for by this means we have gained thee by her madness, and thus thou hast begun to be my friend before I began to be thine; on which account Quintus Didius hath written to me that thou sentest him assistance against the gladiators. I do therefore assure thee that I will confirm the kingdom to thee by decree: I shall also endeavor to do thee some further kindness hereafter, that thou mayst find no loss in the want of Antony."

(3) [393] Τούτοις φιλοφρονησάμενος τὸν βασιλέα καὶ περιθεὶς αὐτῷ τὸ διάδημα δόγματι διεσήμαινεν τὴν δωρεάν, ἐν ᾧ πολλὰ μεγαλοφρόνως εἰς ἔπαινον τἀνδρὸς ἐφθέγξατο. ὁ δὲ δώροις ἐπιμειλιξάμενος αὐτὸν ἐξῃτεῖτό τινα τῶν Ἀντωνίου φίλων Ἀλεξᾶν ἱκέτην γενόμενον: ἐνίκα δὲ ἡ Καίσαρος ὀργὴ πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ μεμφομένου τὸν ἐξαιτούμενον οἷς διεκρούσατο τὴν δέησιν. [394] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πορευόμενον ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον διὰ Συρίας Καίσαρα παντὶ τῷ βασιλικῷ πλούτῳ δεξάμενος Ἡρώδης τότε πρῶτον καὶ συνιππάσατο ποιουμένου περὶ Πτολεμαίδα τῆς δυνάμεως ἐξέτασιν εἰστίασέν τε σὺν ἅπασιν τοῖς φίλοις: μεθ' οὓς καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ στρατιᾷ πρὸς εὐωχίαν πάντα διέδωκεν. [395] προυνόησεν δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀνύδρου πορευομένοις μέχρι Πηλουσίου παρασχεῖν ὕδωρ ἄφθονον ἐπανιοῦσί τε ὁμοίως, οὐδὲ ἔστιν ὅ τι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐνεδέησεν τῇ δυνάμει. δόξα γοῦν αὐτῷ τε Καίσαρι καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις παρέστη πολλῷ βραχυτέραν περιεῖναι Ἡρώδῃ βασιλείαν πρὸς ἃ παρέσχεν. [396] διὰ τοῦτο, ὡς ἦκεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἤδη Κλεοπάτρας καὶ Ἀντωνίου τεθνεώτων, οὐ μόνον αὐτοῦ ταῖς

ἄλλαις τιμαῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ προσέθηκεν τήν τε ὑπὸ Κλεοπάτρας ἀποτμηθεῖσαν χώραν καὶ ἔξωθεν Γάδαρα καὶ Ἵππον καὶ Σαμάρειαν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τῶν παραλίων Γάζαν καὶ Ἀνθηδόνα καὶ Ἰόππην καὶ Στράτωνος πύργον: [397] ἐδωρήσατο δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς φυλακὴν τοῦ σώματος τετρακοσίους Γαλάτας, οἳ πρότερον ἐδορυφόρουν Κλεοπάτραν. οὐδὲν δὲ οὕτως ἐνῆγεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὰς δωρεὰς ὡς τὸ μεγαλόφρον τοῦ λαμβάνοντος.

3. When Caesar had spoken such obliging things to the king, and had put the diadem again about his head, he proclaimed what he had bestowed on him by a decree, in which he enlarged in the commendation of the man after a magnificent manner. Whereupon Herod obliged him to be kind to him by the presents he gave him, and he desired him to forgive Alexander, one of Antony's friends, who was become a supplicant to him. But Caesar's anger against him prevailed, and he complained of the many and very great offenses the man whom he petitioned for had been guilty of; and by that means he rejected his petition. After this Caesar went for Egypt through Syria, when Herod received him with royal and rich entertainments; and then did he first of all ride along with Caesar, as he was reviewing his army about Ptolemais, and feasted him with all his friends, and then distributed among the rest of the army what was necessary to feast them withal. He also made a plentiful provision of water for them, when they were to march as far as Pelusium, through a dry country, which he did also in like manner at their return thence; nor were there any necessaries wanting to that army. It was therefore the opinion, both of Caesar and of his soldiers, that Herod's kingdom was too small for those generous presents he made them; for which reason, when Caesar was come into Egypt, and Cleopatra and Antony were dead, he did not only bestow other marks of honor upon him, but made an addition to his kingdom, by giving him not only the country which had been taken from him by Cleopatra, but besides that, Gadara, and Hippos, and Samaria; and moreover, of the maritime cities, Gaza and Anthedon, and Joppa, and Strato's Tower. He also made him a present of four hundred Galls [Galatians] as a guard for his body, which they had been to Cleopatra before. Nor did any thing so strongly induce Caesar to make these presents as the generosity of him that received them.

(4) [398] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν πρώτην ἀκτιάδα προστίθησιν αὐτοῦ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τόν τε Τράχωνα καλούμενον καὶ τὴν προσεχῆ Βαταναίαν τε καὶ τὴν Αὐρανῖτιν χώραν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιᾶσδε: Ζηνόδωρος ὁ τὸν Λυσανίου μεμισθωμένος οἶκον οὐ διέλειπεν ἐπαφεὶς τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Τράχωνος λῃστὰς Δαμασκηνοῖς. οἱ δ᾽ ἐπὶ Οὐάρρωνα τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῆς Συρίας καταφυγόντες ἐδεήθησαν δηλῶσαι τὴν συμφορὰν αὐτῶν Καίσαρι: Καῖσαρ δὲ γνοὺς ἀντεπέστελλεν ἐξαιρεθῆναι τὸ λῃστήριον. [399]

στρατεύσας οὖν Οὐάρρων καθαίρει τε τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν γῆν καὶ ἀφαιρεῖται Ζηνόδωρον: ἣν ὕστερον Καῖσαρ, ὡς μὴ γένοιτο πάλιν ὁρμητήριον τοῖς λῃσταῖς ἐπὶ τὴν Δαμασκόν, Ἡρώδῃ δίδωσιν. κατέστησεν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Συρίας ὅλης ἐπίτροπον ἔτι δεκάτῳ πάλιν ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, ὡς μηδὲν ἐξεῖναι δίχα τῆς ἐκείνου συμβουλίας τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις διοικεῖν. [400] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτελεύτα Ζηνόδωρος, προσένειμεν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν μεταξὺ Τράχωνος καὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας γῆν ἅπασαν. ὃ δὲ τούτων Ἡρώδῃ μεῖζον ἦν, ὑπὸ μὲν Καίσαρος ἐφιλεῖτο μετ᾽ Ἀγρίππαν, ὑπ᾽ Ἀγρίππα δὲ μετὰ Καίσαρα. ἔνθεν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον μὲν εὐδαιμονίας προύκοψεν, εἰς μεῖζον δ᾽ ἐξήρθη φρόνημα καὶ τὸ πλέον τῆς μεγαλονοίας ἐπέτεινεν εἰς εὐσέβειαν.

4. Moreover, after the first games at Actium, he added to his kingdom both the region called Trachonitis, and what lay in its neighborhood, Batanea, and the country of Auranitis; and that on the following occasion: Zenodorus, who had hired the house of Lysanias, had all along sent robbers out of Trachonitis among the Damascenes; who thereupon had recourse to Varro, the president of Syria, and desired of him that he would represent the calamity they were in to Caesar. When Caesar was acquainted with it, he sent back orders that this nest of robbers should be destroyed. Varro therefore made an expedition against them, and cleared the land of those men, and took it away from Zenodorus. Caesar did also afterward bestow it on Herod, that it might not again become a receptacle for those robbers that had come against Damascus. He also made him a procurator of all Syria, and this on the tenth year afterward, when he came again into that province; and this was so established, that the other procurators could not do any thing in the administration without his advice: but when Zenodorus was dead, Caesar bestowed on him all that land which lay between Trachonitis and Galilee. Yet, what was still of more consequence to Herod, he was beloved by Caesar next after Agrippa, and by Agrippa next after Caesar; whence he arrived at a very great degree of felicity. Yet did the greatness of his soul exceed it, and the main part of his magnanimity was extended to the promotion of piety.

XXI

CHAPTER 21.

Of The [Temple And] Cities That Were Built By Herod And Erected From The Very Foundations; As Also Of Those Other Edifices That Were Erected By Him; And What Magnificence He Showed To Foreigners; And How Fortune Was In All Things

Favorable To Him.

(1) [401] Πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ γοῦν ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτόν τε τὸν ναὸν ἐπεσκεύασεν καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνετειχίσατο χώραν τῆς οὔσης διπλασίονα, ἀμέτροις μὲν χρησάμενος τοῖς ἀναλώμασιν ἀνυπερβλήτῳ δὲ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ. τεκμήριον δὲ ἦσαν αἱ μεγάλαι στοαὶ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ βόρειον ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ φρούριον: ἃς μὲν γὰρ ἀνῳκοδόμησεν ἐκ θεμελίων, ὃ δ᾽ ἐπισκευάσας πλούτῳ δαψιλεῖ κατ᾽ οὐδὲν τῶν βασιλείων ἔλαττον Ἀντωνίαν ἐκάλεσεν εἰς τὴν Ἀντωνίου τιμήν. [402] τό γε μὴν ἑαυτοῦ βασίλειον κατὰ τὴν ἄνω δειμάμενος πόλιν δύο τοὺς μεγίστους καὶ περικαλλεστάτους οἴκους, οἷς οὐδὲ ναός πῃ συνεκρίνετο, προσηγόρευσεν ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων τὸν μὲν Καισάρειον τὸν δὲ Ἀγρίππειον.

1. Accordingly, in the fifteenth year of his reign, Herod rebuilt the temple, and encompassed a piece of land about it with a wall, which land was twice as large as that before enclosed. The expenses he laid out upon it were vastly large also, and the riches about it were unspeakable. A sign of which you have in the great cloisters that were erected about the temple, and the citadel which was on its north side. The cloisters he built from the foundation, but the citadel he repaired at a vast expense; nor was it other than a royal palace, which he called Antonia, in honor of Antony. He also built himself a palace in the Upper city, containing two very large and most beautiful apartments; to which the holy house itself could not be compared [in largeness]. The one apartment he named Caesareum, and the other Agrippium, from his [two great] friends.

(2) [403] Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ οἴκοις μόνον αὐτῶν τὴν μνήμην καὶ τὰς ἐπικλήσεις περιέγραψεν, διέβη δὲ εἰς ὅλας πόλεις αὐτῷ τὸ φιλότιμον. ἐν μέν γε τῇ Σαμαρείτιδι πόλιν καλλίστῳ περιβόλῳ τειχισάμενος ἐπὶ σταδίους εἴκοσι καὶ καταγαγὼν ἑξακισχιλίους εἰς αὐτὴν οἰκήτορας, γῆν δὲ τούτοις προσνείμας λιπαρωτάτην καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῷ κτίσματι ναόν τε ἐνιδρυσάμενος μέγιστον καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν τέμενος ἀποδείξας τῷ Καίσαρι τριῶν ἡμισταδίων, τὸ ἄστυ Σεβαστὴν ἐκάλεσεν: ἐξαίρετον δὲ τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ παρέσχεν εὐνομίαν.

2. Yet did he not preserve their memory by particular buildings only, with their names given them, but his generosity went as far as entire cities; for when he had built a most beautiful wall round a country in Samaria, twenty furlongs long, and had brought six thousand inhabitants into it, and had allotted to it a most fruitful piece of land, and in the midst of this city, thus built, had erected a very large temple to Caesar, and had laid round about it a portion of sacred land of three furlongs and a half, he called the city Sebaste, from Sebastus, or Augustus, and settled the affairs of the city after a most regular manner.

(3) [404] Ἐπὶ τούτοις δωρησαμένου τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτὸν ἑτέρας προσθέσει χώρας, ὁ δὲ κἀνταῦθα ναὸν αὐτῷ λευκῆς μαρμάρου καθιδρύσατο παρὰ τὰς Ἰορδάνου πηγάς: καλεῖται δὲ Πάνειον ὁ τόπος: [405] ἔνθα κορυφὴ μέν τις ὄρους εἰς ἄπειρον ὕψος ἀνατείνεται, παρὰ δὲ τὴν ὑπόρειον λαγόνα συνηρεφὲς ἄντρον ὑπανοίγει, δι᾽ οὗ βαραθρώδης κρημνὸς εἰς ἀμέτρητον ἀπορρῶγα βαθύνεται πλήθει τε ὕδατος ἀσαλεύτου καὶ τοῖς καθιμῶσίν τι πρὸς ἔρευναν γῆς οὐδὲν μῆκος ἐξαρκεῖ. [406] τοῦ δὲ ἄντρου κατὰ τὰς ἔξωθεν ῥίζας ἀνατέλλουσιν αἱ πηγαί: καὶ γένεσις μέν, ὡς ἔνιοι δοκοῦσιν, ἔνθεν Ἰορδάνου, τὸ δ᾽ ἀκριβὲς ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς δηλώσομεν.

3. And when Caesar had further bestowed upon him another additional country, he built there also a temple of white marble, hard by the fountains of Jordan: the place is called Panium, where is a top of a mountain that is raised to an immense height, and at its side, beneath, or at its bottom, a dark cave opens itself; within which there is a horrible precipice, that descends abruptly to a vast depth; it contains a mighty quantity of water, which is immovable; and when any body lets down any thing to measure the depth of the earth beneath the water, no length of cord is sufficient to reach it. Now the fountains of Jordan rise at the roots of this cavity outwardly; and, as some think, this is the utmost origin of Jordan: but we shall speak of that matter more accurately in our following history.

(4) [407] Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐν Ἰεριχοῖ μεταξὺ Κύπρου τοῦ φρουρίου καὶ τῶν προτέρων βασιλείων ἄλλα κατασκευάσας ἀμείνω καὶ χρησιμώτερα πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδημίας ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ὠνόμασεν φίλων. καθόλου δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ὅντινα τῆς βασιλείας ἐπιτήδειον τόπον τῆς πρὸς Καίσαρα τιμῆς γυμνὸν εἴασεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν χώραν ἐπλήρωσεν ναῶν, εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν αὐτοῦ τὰς τιμὰς ὑπερεξέχεεν καὶ πολλαῖς πόλεσιν ἐνιδρύσατο Καισάρεια.

4. But the king erected other places at Jericho also, between the citadel Cypros and the former palace, such as were better and more useful than the former for travelers, and named them from the same friends of his. To say all at once, there was not any place of his kingdom fit for the purpose that was permitted to be without somewhat that was for Caesar’s honor; and when he had filled his own country with temples, he poured out the like plentiful marks of his esteem into his province, and built many cities which he called Cesareas.

(5) [408] Κατιδὼν δὲ κἀν τοῖς παραλίοις πόλιν ἤδη μὲν κάμνουσαν, Στράτωνος ἐκαλεῖτο πύργος, διὰ δὲ εὐφυίαν τοῦ χωρίου δέξασθαι δυναμένην τὸ φιλότιμον αὐτοῦ, πᾶσαν ἀνέκτισεν λευκῷ λίθῳ καὶ λαμπροτάτοις ἐκόσμησεν βασιλείοις, ἐν ᾗ μάλιστα τὸ φύσει μεγαλόνουν ἐπεδείξατο. [409] μεταξὺ γὰρ Δώρων καὶ Ἰόππης, ὧν ἡ πόλις μέση κεῖται, πᾶσαν εἶναι συμβέβηκεν τὴν παράλιον ἀλίμενον, ὡς

πάντα τὸν τὴν Φοινίκην ἐπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου παραπλέοντα σαλεύειν ἐν πελάγει διὰ τὴν ἐκ λιβὸς ἀπειλήν, ᾧ καὶ μετρίως ἐπαυρίζοντι τηλικοῦτον ἐπεγείρεται κῦμα πρὸς ταῖς πέτραις, ὥστε τὴν ὑποστροφὴν τοῦ κύματος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐξαγριοῦν τὴν θάλασσαν. [410] ἀλλ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς ἀναλώμασιν καὶ τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ νικήσας τὴν φύσιν μείζονα μὲν τοῦ Πειραιῶς λιμένα κατεσκεύασεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς μυχοῖς αὐτοῦ βαθεῖς ὅρμους ἑτέρους.

5. And when he observed that there was a city by the sea-side that was much decayed, [its name was Strato's Tower,] but that the place, by the happiness of its situation, was capable of great improvements from his liberality, he rebuilt it all with white stone, and adorned it with several most splendid palaces, wherein he especially demonstrated his magnanimity; for the case was this, that all the sea-shore between Dora and Joppa, in the middle, between which this city is situated, had no good haven, insomuch that every one that sailed from Phoenicia for Egypt was obliged to lie in the stormy sea, by reason of the south winds that threatened them; which wind, if it blew but a little fresh, such vast waves are raised, and dash upon the rocks, that upon their retreat the sea is in a great ferment for a long way. But the king, by the expenses he was at, and the liberal disposal of them, overcame nature, and built a haven larger than was the Pyrecum [at Athens]; and in the inner retirements of the water he built other deep stations [for the ships also].

(6) [411] Καθάπαν δ᾽ ἔχων ἀντιπράσσοντα τὸν τόπον ἐφιλονείκησεν πρὸς τὴν δυσχέρειαν, ὡς τὴν μὲν ὀχυρότητα τῆς δομήσεως δυσάλωτον εἶναι τῇ θαλάσσῃ, τὸ δὲ κάλλος ὡς ἐπὶ μηδενὶ δυσκόλῳ κεκοσμῆσθαι: συμμετρησάμενος γὰρ ὅσον εἰρήκαμεν τῷ λιμένι μέγεθος καθίει λίθους ἐπ᾽ ὀργυιὰς εἴκοσιν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, ὧν ἦσαν οἱ πλεῖστοι μῆκος ποδῶν πεντήκοντα, βάθος ἐννέα, εὖρος δέκα, τινὲς δὲ καὶ μείζους. [412] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεπληρώθη τὸ ὕφαλον, οὕτως ἤδη τὸ ὑπερέχον τοῦ πελάγους τεῖχος ἐπὶ διακοσίους πόδας ηὐρύνετο: ὧν οἱ μὲν ἑκατὸν προδεδόμηντο πρὸς τὴν ἀνακοπὴν τοῦ κύματος, προκυμία γοῦν ἐκλήθη, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ὑπόκειται τῷ περιθέοντι λιθίνῳ τείχει. τοῦτο δὲ πύργοις τε διείληπται μεγίστοις, ὧν ὁ προύχων καὶ περικαλλέστατος ἀπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος προγόνου Δρούσιον κέκληται,

6. Now although the place where he built was greatly opposite to his purposes, yet did he so fully struggle with that difficulty, that the firmness of his building could not easily be conquered by the sea; and the beauty and ornament of the works were such, as though he had not had any difficulty in the operation; for when he had measured out as large a space as we have before mentioned, he let down stones into twenty fathom water, the greatest part of which were fifty feet

in length, and nine in depth, and ten in breadth, and some still larger. But when the haven was filled up to that depth, he enlarged that wall which was thus already extant above the sea, till it was two hundred feet wide; one hundred of which had buildings before it, in order to break the force of the waves, whence it was called Procumatia, or the first breaker of the waves; but the rest of the space was under a stone wall that ran round it. On this wall were very large towers, the principal and most beautiful of which was called Drusium, from Drusus, who was son-in-law to Caesar.

(7) [413] ψαλίδες τε πυκναὶ πρὸς καταγωγὴν τῶν ἐνορμιζομένων καὶ τὸ πρὸ αὐτῶν πᾶν κύκλῳ νάγμα τοῖς ἀποβαίνουσιν πλατὺς περίπατος. ὁ δ' εἴσπλους βόρειος, αἰθριώτατος γὰρ ἀνέμων τῷ τόπῳ βορέας: καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος κολοσσοὶ τρεῖς ἑκατέρωθεν ὑπεστηριγμένοι κίοσιν, ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἐκ λαιᾶς χειρὸς εἰσπλεόντων πύργος ναστὸς ἀνέχει, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ δεξιοῦ δύο ὀρθοὶ λίθοι συνεζευγμένοι τοῦ κατὰ θάτερον χεῖλος πύργου μείζονες. [414] προσεχεῖς δ' οἰκίαι τῷ λιμένι λευκοῦ καὶ αὗται λίθου, καὶ κατατείνοντες ἐπ' αὐτὸν οἱ στενωποὶ τοῦ ἄστεος πρὸς ἓν διάστημα μεμετρημένοι. καὶ τοῦ στόματος ἀντικρὺ ναὸς Καίσαρος ἐπὶ γηλόφου κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει διάφορος: ἐν δ' αὐτῷ κολοσσὸς Καίσαρος οὐκ ἀποδέων τοῦ Ὀλυμπίασιν Διός, ᾧ καὶ προσείκασται, Ῥώμης δὲ ἴσος Ἥρᾳ τῇ κατ' Ἄργος. ἀνέθηκεν δὲ τῇ μὲν ἐπαρχίᾳ τὴν πόλιν, τοῖς ταύτῃ δὲ πλοιζομένοις τὸν λιμένα, Καίσαρι δὲ τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ κτίσματος: Καισάρειαν γοῦν ὠνόμασεν αὐτήν.

7. There were also a great number of arches, where the mariners dwelt; and all the places before them round about was a large valley, or walk, for a quay [or landing-place] to those that came on shore; but the entrance was on the north, because the north wind was there the most gentle of all the winds. At the mouth of the haven were on each side three great Colossi, supported by pillars, where those Colossi that are on your left hand as you sail into the port are supported by a solid tower; but those on the right hand are supported by two upright stones joined together, which stones were larger than that tower which was on the other side of the entrance. Now there were continual edifices joined to the haven, which were also themselves of white stone; and to this haven did the narrow streets of the city lead, and were built at equal distances one from another. And over against the mouth of the haven, upon an elevation, there was a temple for Caesar, which was excellent both in beauty and largeness; and therein was a Colossus of Caesar, not less than that of Jupiter Olympius, which it was made to resemble. The other Colossus of Rome was equal to that of Juno at Argos. So he dedicated the city to the province, and the haven to the sailors there; but the honor of the building he ascribed to Caesar, and named it Cesarea accordingly.

(8) [415] Τά γε μὴν λοιπὰ τῶν ἔργων, ἀμφιθέατρον καὶ θέατρον καὶ ἀγοράς, ἄξια τῆς προσηγορίας ἐνιδρύσατο. καὶ πενταετηρικοὺς ἀγῶνας καταστησάμενος ὁμοίως ἐκάλεσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἆθλα μέγιστα προθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς ἑκατοστῆς ἐνενηκοστῆς δευτέρας ὀλυμπιάδος, ἐν οἷς οὐ μόνον οἱ νικῶντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ τρίτοι τοῦ βασιλικοῦ πλούτου μετελάμβανον. [416] ἀνακτίσας δὲ καὶ Ἀνθηδόνα τὴν παράλιον καταρριφθεῖσαν ἐν πολέμῳ Ἀγρίππειον προσηγόρευσε: τοῦ δ᾽ αὐτοῦ φίλου δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν εὐνοίας καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς πύλης ἐχάραξεν τὸ ὄνομα, ἣν αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ ναῷ κατεσκεύασεν.

8. He also built the other edifices, the amphitheater, and theater, and market-place, in a manner agreeable to that denomination; and appointed games every fifth year, and called them, in like manner, Caesar’s Games; and he first himself proposed the largest prizes upon the hundred ninety-second olympiad; in which not only the victors themselves, but those that came next to them, and even those that came in the third place, were partakers of his royal bounty. He also rebuilt Anthedon, a city that lay on the coast, and had been demolished in the wars, and named it Agrippeum. Moreover, he had so very great a kindness for his friend Agrippa, that he had his name engraved upon that gate which he had himself erected in the temple.

(9) [417] Φιλοπάτωρ γε μήν, εἰ καί τις ἕτερος: καὶ γὰρ τῷ πατρὶ μνημεῖον κατέθηκεν πόλιν, ἣν ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ τῆς βασιλείας πεδίῳ κτίσας ποταμοῖς τε καὶ δένδρεσιν πλουσίαν ὠνόμασεν Ἀντιπατρίδα, καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ Ἰεριχοῦντος φρούριον ὀχυρότητι καὶ κάλλει διάφορον τειχίσας ἀνέθηκεν τῇ μητρὶ προσειπὼν Κύπρον. [418] Φασαήλῳ δὲ τἀδελφῷ τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὁμώνυμον πύργον, οὗ τό τε σχῆμα καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ μεγέθει πολυτέλειαν διὰ τῶν ἑξῆς δηλώσομεν. καὶ πόλιν ἄλλην κτίσας κατὰ τὸν ἀπὸ Ἰεριχοῦς ἰόντων αὐλῶνα πρὸς βορέαν Φασαηλίδα ὠνόμασεν.

9. Herod was also a lover of his father, if any other person ever was so; for he made a monument for his father, even that city which he built in the finest plain that was in his kingdom, and which had rivers and trees in abundance, and named it Antipatris. He also built a wall about a citadel that lay above Jericho, and was a very strong and very fine building, and dedicated it to his mother, and called it Cypros. Moreover, he dedicated a tower that was at Jerusalem, and called it by the name of his brother Phasaelus, whose structure, largeness, and magnificence we shall describe hereafter. He also built another city in the valley that leads northward from Jericho, and named it Phasaelis.

(10) [419] Παραδοὺς δ᾽ αἰῶνι τούς τε οἰκείους καὶ φίλους οὐδὲ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μνήμης ἠμέλησεν, ἀλλὰ φρούριον μὲν ἐπιτειχίσας τῷ πρὸς Ἀραβίαν ὄρει

προσηγόρευσεν Ἡρώδειον ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ, τὸν δὲ μαστοειδῆ κολωνὸν ὄντα χειροποίητον ἑξήκοντα σταδίων ἄπωθεν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκάλεσεν μὲν ὁμοίως, ἐξήσκησεν δὲ φιλοτιμότερον. [420] στρογγύλοις μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἄκραν πύργοις περιέσχεν, ἐπλήρωσεν δὲ τὸν περίβολον βασιλείοις πολυτελεστάτοις, ὡς μὴ μόνον τὴν ἔνδον τῶν οἰκημάτων ὄψιν εἶναι λαμπράν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔξωθεν τοίχοις καὶ θριγκοῖς καὶ στέγαις περικεχύσθαι τὸν πλοῦτον δαψιλῆ: πόρρωθεν δὲ μεγίστοις ἀναλώμασιν ὑδάτων πλῆθος εἰσήγαγεν καὶ βαθμοῖς διακοσίοις λευκοτάτης μαρμάρου τὴν ἄνοδον διέλαβεν: ἦν γὰρ δὴ τὸ γήλοφον ἐπιεικῶς ὑψηλὸν καὶ πᾶν χειροποίητον. [421] κατεσκεύασεν δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς ῥίζας ἄλλα βασίλεια τήν τε ἀποσκευὴν καὶ τοὺς φίλους δέξασθαι δυνάμενα, ὥστε τῷ μὲν πάντα ἔχειν πόλιν εἶναι δοκεῖν τὸ ἔρυμα, τῇ περιγραφῇ δὲ βασίλειον.

10. And as he transmitted to eternity his family and friends, so did he not neglect a memorial for himself, but built a fortress upon a mountain towards Arabia, and named it from himself, Herodium and he called that hill that was of the shape of a woman's breast, and was sixty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, by the same name. He also bestowed much curious art upon it, with great ambition, and built round towers all about the top of it, and filled up the remaining space with the most costly palaces round about, insomuch that not only the sight of the inner apartments was splendid, but great wealth was laid out on the outward walls, and partitions, and roofs also. Besides this, he brought a mighty quantity of water from a great distance, and at vast charges, and raised an ascent to it of two hundred steps of the whitest marble, for the hill was itself moderately high, and entirely factitious. He also built other palaces about the roots of the hill, sufficient to receive the furniture that was put into them, with his friends also, insomuch that, on account of its containing all necessaries, the fortress might seem to be a city, but, by the bounds it had, a palace only.

(11) [422] Τοσαῦτα συγκτίσας πλείσταις καὶ τῶν ἔξω πόλεων τὸ μεγαλόψυχον ἐπεδείξατο. Τριπόλει μὲν γὰρ καὶ Δαμασκῷ καὶ Πτολεμαίδι γυμνάσια, Βύβλῳ δὲ τεῖχος, ἐξέδρας τε καὶ στοὰς καὶ ναοὺς καὶ ἀγορὰς Βηρυτῷ κατασκευάσας καὶ Τύρῳ, Σιδῶνί γε μὴν καὶ Δαμασκῷ θέατρα, Λαοδικεῦσι δὲ τοῖς παραλίοις ὑδάτων εἰσαγωγήν, Ἀσκαλωνίταις δὲ βαλανεῖα καὶ κρήνας πολυτελεῖς, πρὸς δὲ περίστυλα θαυμαστὰ τήν τε ἐργασίαν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος: εἰσὶ δ᾽ οἷς ἄλση καὶ λειμῶνας ἀνέθηκεν. [423] πολλαὶ δὲ πόλεις ὥσπερ κοινωνοὶ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ χώραν ἔλαβον παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ: γυμνασιαρχίαις δ᾽ ἄλλας ἐπετησίοις τε καὶ διηνεκέσιν ἐδωρήσατο προσόδους κατατάξας, ὥσπερ Κῴοις, ἵνα μηδέποτε ἐκλείπῃ τὸ γέρας. [424] σῖτόν γε μὴν πᾶσιν ἐχορήγησεν τοῖς δεομένοις, καὶ τῇ Ῥόδῳ χρήματα μὲν εἰς ναυτικοῦ κατασκευὴν παρέσχεν πολλαχοῦ καὶ πολλάκις, ἐμπρησθὲν δὲ τὸ Πύθιον ἰδίοις ἀναλώμασιν ἄμεινον ἀνεδείματο. [425] καὶ τί δεῖ

λέγειν τὰς εἰς Λυκίους ἢ Σαμίους δωρεὰς ἢ τὴν δι᾽ ὅλης τῆς Ἰωνίας ἐν οἷς ἐδεήθησαν ἕκαστοι δαψίλειαν; ἀλλ᾽ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Νικοπολῖταί τε καὶ τὸ κατὰ Μυσίαν Πέργαμον οὐ τῶν Ἡρώδου γέμουσιν ἀναθημάτων; τὴν δ᾽ Ἀντιοχέων τῶν ἐν Συρίᾳ πλατεῖαν οὐ φευκτὴν οὖσαν ὑπὸ βορβόρου κατέστρωσέν τε σταδίων εἴκοσι τὸ μῆκος οὖσαν ξεστῇ μαρμάρῳ καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ὑετῶν ἀποφυγὰς ἐκόσμησεν ἰσομήκει στοᾷ.

11. And when he had built so much, he showed the greatness of his soul to no small number of foreign cities. He built palaces for exercise at Tripoli, and Damascus, and Ptolemais; he built a wall about Byblus, as also large rooms, and cloisters, and temples, and market-places at Berytus and Tyre, with theatres at Sidon and Damascus. He also built aqueducts for those Laodiceans who lived by the sea-side; and for those of Ascalon he built baths and costly fountains, as also cloisters round a court, that were admirable both for their workmanship and largeness. Moreover, he dedicated groves and meadows to some people; nay, not a few cities there were who had lands of his donation, as if they were parts of his own kingdom. He also bestowed annual revenues, and those for ever also, on the settlements for exercises, and appointed for them, as well as for the people of Cos, that such rewards should never be wanting. He also gave corn to all such as wanted it, and conferred upon Rhodes large sums of money for building ships; and this he did in many places, and frequently also. And when Apollo's temple had been burnt down, he rebuilt it at his own charges, after a better manner than it was before. What need I speak of the presents he made to the Lycians and Samnians? or of his great liberality through all Ionia? and that according to every body's wants of them. And are not the Athenians, and Lacedemonians, and Nicopolitans, and that Pergamus which is in Mysia, full of donations that Herod presented them withal? And as for that large open place belonging to Antioch in Syria, did not he pave it with polished marble, though it were twenty furlongs long? and this when it was shunned by all men before, because it was full of dirt and filthiness, when he besides adorned the same place with a cloister of the same length.

(12) [426] Ταῦτα μὲν ἄν τις εἴποι ἴδια τῶν εὖ παθόντων δήμων ἑκάστου, τὸ δὲ Ἠλείοις χαρισθὲν οὐ μόνον κοινὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλλ᾽ ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης δῶρον, εἰς ἣν ἡ δόξα τῶν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἀγώνων διικνεῖται. [427] τούτους γὰρ δὴ καταλυομένους ἀπορίᾳ χρημάτων ὁρῶν καὶ τὸ μόνον λείψανον τῆς ἀρχαίας Ἑλλάδος ὑπορρέον, οὐ μόνον ἀγωνοθέτης ἧς ἐπέτυχεν πενταετηρίδος εἰς Ῥώμην παραπλέων ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ διηνεκὲς πόρους χρημάτων ἀπέδειξεν, ὡς μηδέποτε ἀγωνοθετοῦσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν μνήμην ἀπολιπεῖν. [428] ἀνήνυτον ἂν εἴη χρεῶν διαλύσεις ἢ φόρων ἐπεξιέναι, καθάπερ Φασηλίταις καὶ Βαλανεώταις καὶ

τοῖς περὶ τὴν Κιλικίαν πολιχνίοις τὰς ἐτησίους εἰσφορὰς ἐπεξεκούφισεν. πλεῖστόν γε μὴν αὐτοῦ τῆς μεγαλονοίας ἔθραυσεν ὁ φόβος, ὡς μὴ δόξειεν ἐπίφθονος ἤ τι θηρᾶσθαι μεῖζον εὐεργετῶν τὰς πόλεις πλέον τῶν ἐχόντων.

12. It is true, a man may say, these were favors peculiar to those particular places on which he bestowed his benefits; but then what favors he bestowed on the Eleans was a donation not only in common to all Greece, but to all the habitable earth, as far as the glory of the Olympic games reached. For when he perceived that they were come to nothing, for want of money, and that the only remains of ancient Greece were in a manner gone, he not only became one of the combatants in that return of the fifth-year games, which in his sailing to Rome he happened to be present at, but he settled upon them revenues of money for perpetuity, insomuch that his memorial as a combatant there can never fail. It would be an infinite task if I should go over his payments of people's debts, or tributes, for them, as he eased the people of Phasaelis, of Batanea, and of the small cities about Cilicia, of those annual pensions they before paid. However, the fear he was in much disturbed the greatness of his soul, lest he should be exposed to envy, or seem to hunt after greater filings than he ought, while he bestowed more liberal gifts upon these cities than did their owners themselves.

(13) [429] Ἐχρήσατο δὲ καὶ σώματι πρὸς τὴν ψυχὴν ἀναλόγῳ, κυνηγέτης μὲν ἄριστος ἀεὶ γενόμενος, ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα δι' ἐμπειρίαν ἱππικῆς ἐπετύγχανεν: μιᾷ γοῦν ἡμέρᾳ ποτὲ τεσσαράκοντα θηρίων ἐκράτησεν: ἔστι δὲ καὶ συοτρόφος μὲν ἡ χώρα, τὸ πλέον δ' ἐλάφων καὶ ὀνάγρων εὔπορος: πολεμιστὴς δ' ἀνυπόστατος. [430] πολλοὶ γοῦν κἀν ταῖς γυμνασίαις αὐτὸν κατεπλάγησαν ἀκοντιστήν τε ἰθυβολώτατον καὶ τοξότην εὐστοχώτατον ἰδόντες. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς ψυχικοῖς καὶ τοῖς σωματικοῖς προτερήμασιν ἐχρήσατο καὶ δεξιᾷ τύχῃ: καὶ γὰρ σπάνιον ἔπταισεν ἐν πολέμῳ, καὶ τῶν πταισμάτων οὐκ αὐτὸς αἴτιος, ἀλλ' ἢ προδοσίᾳ τινῶν ἢ προπετείᾳ στρατιωτῶν ἐγένετο.

13. Now Herod had a body suited to his soul, and was ever a most excellent hunter, where he generally had good success, by the means of his great skill in riding horses; for in one day he caught forty wild beasts: that country breeds also bears, and the greatest part of it is replenished with stags and wild asses. He was also such a warrior as could not be withstood: many men, therefore, there are who have stood amazed at his readiness in his exercises, when they saw him throw the javelin directly forward, and shoot the arrow upon the mark. And then, besides these performances of his depending on his own strength of mind and body, fortune was also very favorable to him; for he seldom failed of success in his wars; and when he failed, he was not himself the occasion of such failings,

but he either was betrayed by some, or the rashness of his own soldiers procured his defeat.

XXII

CHAPTER 22.

The Murder Of Aristobulus And Hyrcanus, The High Priests, As

Also Of Mariamne The Queen.

(1) [431] Τάς γε μὴν ὑπαίθρους εὐπραγίας ἡ τύχη τοῖς κατ᾽ οἶκον ἀνιαροῖς ἐνεμέσησεν, καὶ κακοδαιμονεῖν ἐκ γυναικὸς ἤρξατο περὶ ἣν μάλιστα ἐσπούδασεν. [432] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν παρῆλθεν, ἀποπεμψάμενος ἣν ἰδιώτης ἦκτο γαμετήν, γένος ἦν ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων Δωρὶς ὄνομα, γαμεῖ Μαριάμμην τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου θυγατέρα, δι᾽ ἣν αὐτῷ στασιασθῆναι συνέβη τὸν οἶκον καὶ τάχιον μέν, μάλιστα δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Ῥώμης ἄφιξιν. [433] πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὸν ἐκ τῆς Δωρίδος υἱὸν Ἀντίπατρον διὰ τοὺς ἐκ Μαριάμμης ἐφυγάδευσεν τῆς πόλεως μόναις ταῖς ἑορταῖς ἀφεὶς κατιέναι: ἔπειτα τὸν πάππον τῆς γυναικὸς Ὑρκανὸν ἐκ Πάρθων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα δι᾽ ὑπόνοιαν ἐπιβουλῆς ἀνεῖλεν, ὃν ᾐχμαλωτίσατο μὲν Βαζαφράνης καταδραμὼν Συρίαν, ἐξῃτήσαντο δὲ κατὰ οἶκτον οἱ ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην ὁμοεθνεῖς. [434] καὶ εἴ γε τούτοις ἐπείσθη παραινοῦσιν μὴ διαβῆναι πρὸς Ἡρώδην, οὐκ ἂν παραπώλετο: δέλεαρ δ᾽ αὐτῷ θανάτου τῆς υἱωνῆς ὁ γάμος κατέστη: τούτῳ γὰρ πεποιθὼς καὶ περισσόν τι τῆς πατρίδος ἐφιέμενος ἦκεν. παρώξυνεν δὲ Ἡρώδην οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀντιποιούμενος βασιλείας, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ τὸ βασιλεύειν ἐπέβαλλεν αὐτῷ.

1. However, fortune was avenged on Herod in his external great successes, by raising him up domestical troubles; and he began to have wild disorders in his family, on account of his wife, of whom he was so very fond. For when he came to the government, he sent away her whom he had before married when he was a private person, and who was born at Jerusalem, whose name was Doris, and married Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus; on whose account disturbances arose in his family, and that in part very soon, but chiefly after his return from Rome. For, first of all, he expelled Antipater the son of Doris, for the sake of his sons by Mariamne, out of the city, and permitted him to come thither at no other times than at the festivals. After this he slew his wife’s grandfather, Hyrcanus, when he was returned out of Parthin to him, under this pretense, that he suspected him of plotting against him. Now this Hyrcanus had been carried captive to Barzapharnes, when he overran Syria; but those of his own country beyond Euphrates were desirous he would stay with them, and this

out of the commiseration they had for his condition; and had he complied with their desires, when they exhorted him not to go over the river to Herod, he had not perished: but the marriage of his granddaughter [to Herod] was his temptation; for as he relied upon him, and was over-fond of his own country, he came back to it. Herod's provocation was this, — not that Hyrcanus made any attempt to gain the kingdom, but that it was fitter for him to be their king than for Herod.

(2) [435] Τῶν δὲ ἐκ Μαριάμμης πέντε τέκνων γενομένων δύο μὲν θυγατέρες, τρεῖς δ' ἦσαν υἱεῖς. καὶ τούτων ὁ νεώτατος μὲν ἐν Ῥώμῃ παιδευόμενος τελευτᾷ, δύο δὲ τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους βασιλικῶς ἦγεν διά τε τὴν μητρῴαν εὐγένειαν καὶ ὅτι βασιλεύοντι γεγόνεισαν αὐτῷ. [436] τὸ δὲ τούτων ἰσχυρότερον ὁ Μαριάμμης ἔρως συνήργει καθ' ἡμέραν ἑκκαίων Ἡρώδην λαβρότερος, ὡς μηδενὸς τῶν διὰ τὴν στεργομένην λυπηρῶν αἰσθάνεσθαι: τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἦν μῖσος εἰς αὐτὸν τῆς Μαριάμμης, ὅσος ἐκείνου πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔρως. [437] ἔχουσα δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀπέχθειαν ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων εὔλογον, τὴν δὲ παρρησίαν ἐκ τοῦ φιλεῖσθαι, φανερῶς ὠνείδιζεν αὐτῷ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πάππον Ὑρκανὸν καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰωνάθην: οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτου καίπερ ὄντος παιδὸς ἐφείσατο, δοὺς μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἑπτακαιδεκαέτει, μετὰ δὲ τὴν τιμὴν κτείνας εὐθέως, ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἱερὰν ἐσθῆτα λαβόντι καὶ τῷ βωμῷ προσελθόντι καθ' ἑορτὴν ἄθρουν ἐπεδάκρυσεν τὸ πλῆθος. πέμπεται μὲν οὖν ὁ παῖς διὰ νυκτὸς εἰς Ἰεριχοῦντα, ἐκεῖ δὲ κατ' ἐντολὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλατῶν βαπτιζόμενος ἐν κολυμβήθρᾳ τελευτᾷ.

2. Now of the five children which Herod had by Mariamne, two of them were daughters, and three were sons; and the youngest of these sons was educated at Rome, and there died; but the two eldest he treated as those of royal blood, on account of the nobility of their mother, and because they were not born till he was king. But then what was stronger than all this was the love that he bare to Mariamne, and which inflamed him every day to a great degree, and so far conspired with the other motives, that he felt no other troubles, on account of her he loved so entirely. But Mariamne's hatred to him was not inferior to his love to her. She had indeed but too just a cause of indignation from what he had done, while her boldness proceeded from his affection to her; so she openly reproached him with what he had done to her grandfather Hyrcanus, and to her brother Aristobulus; for he had not spared this Aristobulus, though he were but a child; for when he had given him the high priesthood at the age of seventeen, he slew him quickly after he had conferred that dignity upon him; but when Aristobulus had put on the holy vestments, and had approached to the altar at a festival, the multitude, in great crowds, fell into tears; whereupon the child was sent by night

to Jericho, and was there dipped by the Galls, at Herod's command, in a pool till he was drowned.

(3) [438] Διὰ ταῦθ' Ἡρώδην μὲν ὠνείδιζεν ἡ Μαριάμμη, καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα δειναῖς ἐξύβριζεν λοιδορίαις. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν πεφίμωτο τοῖς ἱμέροις, δεινὴ δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας ἀγανάκτησις εἰσῄει, καὶ πρὸς ὃ μάλιστα κινήσειν τὸν Ἡρώδην ἔμελλον, εἰς μοιχείαν διέβαλλον αὐτήν, [439] ἄλλα τε πολλὰ πρὸς τὸ πιθανὸν ἐνσκευαζόμεναι καὶ κατηγοροῦσαι διότι τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν ἑαυτῆς πέμψειεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ δι' ὑπερβολὴν ἀσελγείας ἀποῦσαν δείξειεν ἑαυτὴν ἀνθρώπῳ γυναικομανοῦντι καὶ βιάζεσθαι δυναμένῳ. [440] τοῦθ' ὥσπερ σκηπτὸς ἐμπεσὼν ἐτάραξεν Ἡρώδην, μάλιστα μὲν διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα ζηλοτύπως ἔχοντα, λογιζόμενον δὲ καὶ τὴν Κλεοπάτρας δεινότητα, δι' ἣν Λυσανίας τε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνῄρητο καὶ Μάλχος ὁ Ἄραψ: οὐ γὰρ ἀφαιρέσει γαμετῆς ἐμέτρει τὸν κίνδυνον, ἀλλὰ θανάτῳ.

3. For these reasons Mariamne reproached Herod, and his sister and mother, after a most contumelious manner, while he was dumb on account of his affection for her; yet had the women great indignation at her, and raised a calumny against her, that she was false to his bed; which thing they thought most likely to move Herod to anger. They also contrived to have many other circumstances believed, in order to make the thing more credible, and accused her of having sent her picture into Egypt to Antony, and that her lust was so extravagant, as to have thus showed herself, though she was absent, to a man that ran mad after women, and to a man that had it in his power to use violence to her. This charge fell like a thunderbolt upon Herod, and put him into disorder; and that especially, because his love to her occasioned him to be jealous, and because he considered with himself that Cleopatra was a shrewd woman, and that on her account Lysanias the king was taken off, as well as Malichus the Arabian; for his fear did not only extend to the dissolving of his marriage, but to the danger of his life.

(4) [441] Μέλλων οὖν ἀποδημήσειν Ἰωσήπῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ Σαλώμης τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ, πιστὸς δὲ ἦν καὶ διὰ τὸ κῆδος εὔνους, παρατίθεται τὴν γυναῖκα, κρύφα δοὺς ἐντολὰς ἀναιρεῖν αὐτήν, εἰ κἀκεῖνον Ἀντώνιος. ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος, οὔτι κακοήθως, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἔρωτα τοῦ βασιλέως παραστῆσαι τῇ γυναικὶ βουλόμενος, ὡς οὐδὲ ἀποθανὼν αὐτῆς ὑπομένοι διαζευχθῆναι, τὸ ἀπόρρητον ἐκφαίνει. [442] κἀκείνη πρὸς ἐπανήκοντα τὸν Ἡρώδην πολλά τε περὶ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὴν συμπαθοῦς ἐν ταῖς ὁμιλίαις ἐπομνύμενον, ὡς οὐδ' ἐρασθείη ποτὲ γυναικὸς ἄλλης, "πάνυ γοῦν, εἶπεν, ταῖς πρὸς τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐντολαῖς ἐπεδείξω τὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔρωτα κτεῖναί με προστάξας."

4. When therefore he was about to take a journey abroad, he committed his wife to Joseph, his sister Salome's husband, as to one who would be faithful to him, and bare him good-will on account of their kindred; he also gave him a secret injunction, that if Antony slew him, he should slay her. But Joseph, without any ill design, and only in order to demonstrate the king's love to his wife, how he could not bear to think of being separated from her, even by death itself, discovered this grand secret to her; upon which, when Herod was come back, and as they talked together, and he confirmed his love to her by many oaths, and assured her that he had never such an affection for any other woman as he had for her— "Yes," says she, "thou didst, to be sure, demonstrate thy love to me by the injunctions thou gavest Joseph, when thou commandedst him to kill me."

(5) [443] Ἔκφρων εὐθέως ἀκούσας τὸ ἀπόρρητον ἦν, καὶ οὐκ ἄν ποτε τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐξαγγεῖλαι τὴν ἐντολὴν φάμενος εἰ μὴ διαφθείρειεν αὐτήν, ἐνεθουσία τῷ πάθει καὶ τῆς κοίτης ἐξαλλόμενος ἀνέδην ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀνειλεῖτο. καὶ τοῦτον Σαλώμη ἡ ἀδελφὴ τὸν καιρὸν εἰς τὰς διαβολὰς ἁρπάσασα τὴν εἰς τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐπεβεβαίωσεν ὑποψίαν. ὁ δ' ὑπ' ἀκράτου ζηλοτυπίας ἐκμανεὶς παραχρῆμα κτείνειν προσέταξεν ἀμφοτέρους. [444] μετάνοια δ' εὐθέως εἵπετο τῷ πάθει, καὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ πεσόντος ὁ ἔρως πάλιν ἀνεζωπυρεῖτο. τοσαύτη δ' ἦν φλεγμονὴ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ὡς μηδὲ τεθνάναι δοκεῖν αὐτήν, ὑπὸ δὲ κακώσεως ὡς ζώσῃ προσλαλεῖν, μέχρι τῷ χρόνῳ διδαχθεὶς τὸ πένθος ἀνάλογον τὴν λύπην ἔσχεν τῇ πρὸς περιοῦσαν διαθέσει.

5. When he heard that this grand secret was discovered, he was like a distracted man, and said that Joseph would never have disclosed that injunction of his, unless he had debauched her. His passion also made him stark mad, and leaping out of his bed, he ran about the palace after a wild manner; at which time his sister Salome took the opportunity also to blast her reputation, and confirmed his suspicion about Joseph; whereupon, out of his ungovernable jealousy and rage, he commanded both of them to be slain immediately; but as soon as ever his passion was over, he repented of what he had done, and as soon as his anger was worn off, his affections were kindled again. And indeed the flame of his desires for her was so ardent, that he could not think she was dead, but would appear, under his disorders, to speak to her as if she were still alive, till he were better instructed by time, when his grief and trouble, now she was dead, appeared as great as his affection had been for her while she was living.

XXIII

CHAPTER 23.

Calumnies Against The Sons Of Mariamne. Antipateris Preferred Before Them. They Are Accused Before Caesar, And Herod Is Reconciled To Them.

(1) [445] Κληρονομοῦσι δὲ τῆς μητρῴας οἱ παῖδες ὀργῆς καὶ τοῦ μύσους ἔννοιαν λαμβάνοντες ὡς πολέμιον ὑφεώρων τὸν πατέρα, καὶ τὸ πρότερον μὲν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης παιδευόμενοι, πλέον δ' ὡς εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ὑπέστρεψαν: συνηνδροῦτο δ' αὐτῶν ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἡ διάθεσις. [446] καὶ ἐπειδὴ γάμων ἔχοντες ὥραν ὁ μὲν τῆς τηθίδος Σαλώμης, ἣ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν κατηγόρησεν, ὁ δ' ἔγημεν Ἀρχελάου τοῦ Καππαδόκων βασιλέως θυγατέρα, προσελάμβανον ἤδη τῷ μίσει καὶ παρρησίαν. [447] ἐκ δὲ τοῦ θράσους αὐτῶν ἀφορμὰς οἱ διαβάλλοντες ἐλάμβανον, καὶ φανερώτερον ἤδη τῷ βασιλεῖ διελέγοντό τινες ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοιτο μὲν ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν υἱῶν, ὁ δὲ Ἀρχελάῳ κηδεύσας καὶ φυγὴν παρασκευάζοιτο τῷ πενθερῷ πεποιθώς, ἵν' ἐπὶ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ κατηγορήσειεν. [448] ἀναπλησθεὶς δὲ τῶν διαβολῶν Ἡρώδης ὥσπερ ἐπιτείχισμα τοῖς υἱοῖς κατάγει τὸν ἐκ τῆς Δωρίδος Ἀντίπατρον καὶ πάντα τρόπον προτιμᾶν ἄρχεται.

1. Now Mariamne's sons were heirs to that hatred which had been borne their mother; and when they considered the greatness of Herod's crime towards her, they were suspicious of him as of an enemy of theirs; and this first while they were educated at Rome, but still more when they were returned to Judea. This temper of theirs increased upon them as they grew up to be men; and when they were Come to an age fit for marriage, the one of them married their aunt Salome's daughter, which Salome had been the accuser of their mother; the other married the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. And now they used boldness in speaking, as well as bore hatred in their minds. Now those that calumniated them took a handle from such their boldness, and certain of them spake now more plainly to the king that there were treacherous designs laid against him by both his sons; and he that was son-in-law to Archelaus, relying upon his father-in-law, was preparing to fly away, in order to accuse Herod before Caesar; and when Herod's head had been long enough filled with these calumnies, he brought Antipater, whom he had by Doris, into favor again, as a defense to him against his other sons, and began all the ways he possibly could to prefer him before them.

(2) [449] Τοῖς δ' ἀφόρητος ἦν ἡ μεταβολή, καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἰδιώτιδος μητρὸς ὁρῶντες προκόπτοντα διὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν εὐγένειαν οὐκ ἐκράτουν τῆς ἀγανακτήσεως, ἐφ' ἑκάστου δὲ τῶν ἀνιαρῶν τὴν ὀργὴν ἐξέφαινον, [450] ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν καθ' ἡμέραν προσίσταντο μᾶλλον, ὁ δ' Ἀντίπατρος ἤδη καὶ δι' αὐτὸν ἐσπουδάζετο,

δεινότατος μὲν ὢν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα κολακείαις, διαβολὰς δὲ κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ποικίλας ἐνσκευαζόμενος καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς λογοποιῶν, τὰ δὲ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους φημίζειν καθιείς, μέχρι παντάπασιν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἀπέρρηξεν τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐλπίδος: [451] καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις καὶ φανερῶς αὐτὸς ἦν ἤδη διάδοχος: ὡς βασιλεὺς γοῦν ἐπέμφθη καὶ πρὸς Καίσαρα τῷ τε κόσμῳ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις θεραπείαις πλὴν διαδήματος χρώμενος. χρόνῳ δ' ἐξίσχυσεν εἰσαγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν Μαριάμμης κοίτην τὴν μητέρα. δυσὶ δ' ὅπλοις κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν χρώμενος, κολακείᾳ καὶ διαβολῇ, τὸν βασιλέα καὶ περὶ θανάτου τῶν υἱῶν ὑπειργάσατο.

2. But these sons were not able to bear this change in their affairs; but when they saw him that was born of a mother of no family, the nobility of their birth made them unable to contain their indignation; but whensoever they were uneasy, they showed the anger they had at it. And as these sons did day after day improve in that their anger, Antipater already exercised all his own abilities, which were very great, in flattering his father, and in contriving many sorts of calumnies against his brethren, while he told some stories of them himself, and put it upon other proper persons to raise other stories against them, till at length he entirely cut his brethren off from all hopes of succeeding to the kingdom; for he was already publicly put into his father's will as his successor. Accordingly, he was sent with royal ornaments, and other marks of royalty, to Caesar, excepting the diadem. He was also able in time to introduce his mother again into Mariamne's bed. The two sorts of weapons he made use of against his brethren were flattery and calumny, whereby he brought matters privately to such a pass, that the king had thoughts of putting his sons to death.

(3) [452] Τὸν γοῦν Ἀλέξανδρον σύρας μέχρι Ῥώμης ὁ πατὴρ τῆς ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ φαρμακείας ἔκρινεν ἐπὶ Καίσαρος. ὁ δ' εὑρὼν μόλις ὀλοφυρμοῦ παρρησίαν καὶ δικαστὴν ἐμπειρότατον Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ Ἡρώδου φρονιμώτερον, τὰ μὲν ἁμαρτήματα τοῦ πατρὸς αἰδημόνως ὑπεστείλατο, τὰς δ' αὐτοῦ διαβολὰς ἰσχυρῶς ἀπελύσατο. [453] καθαρὸν δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀποδείξας κοινωνοῦντα τῶν κινδύνων, οὕτως ἤδη τό τε Ἀντιπάτρου πανοῦργον καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀτιμίαν ἀπωδύρετο. συνήργει δ' αὐτῷ μετὰ καθαροῦ τοῦ συνειδότος ἡ περὶ λόγους ἰσχύς: ἦν γὰρ δὴ δεινότατος εἰπεῖν. [454] καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον φάμενος ὡς τῷ πατρὶ κτείνειν αὐτοὺς ἔστιν † ἡδὺ καὶ προτίθεται τὸ ἔγκλημα, προήγαγεν μὲν εἰς δάκρυα πάντας, τὸν δὲ Καίσαρα διέθηκεν οὕτως ὡς ἀπογνῶναι μὲν αὐτῶν τὰ κατηγορημένα, διαλλάξαι δὲ Ἡρώδην εὐθέως. αἱ διαλλαγαὶ δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἦσαν, ὥστε ἐκείνους μὲν τῷ πατρὶ πάντα πειθαρχεῖν, τὸν δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν καταλιπεῖν ᾧ βούλεται.

3. So the father drew Alexander as far as Rome, and charged him with an attempt of poisoning him before Caesar. Alexander could hardly speak for lamentation; but having a judge that was more skillful than Antipater, and more wise than Herod, he modestly avoided laying any imputation upon his father, but with great strength of reason confuted the calumnies laid against him; and when he had demonstrated the innocency of his brother, who was in the like danger with himself, he at last bewailed the craftiness of Antipater, and the disgrace they were under. He was enabled also to justify himself, not only by a clear conscience, which he carried within him, but by his eloquence; for he was a shrewd man in making speeches. And upon his saying at last, that if his father objected this crime to them, it was in his power to put them to death, he made all the audience weep; and he brought Caesar to that pass, as to reject the accusations, and to reconcile their father to them immediately. But the conditions of this reconciliation were these, that they should in all things be obedient to their father, and that he should have power to leave the kingdom to which of them he pleased.

(4) [455] Μετὰ ταῦτα δ᾽ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ὑπέστρεφεν ὁ βασιλεύς, τῶν μὲν ἐγκλημάτων ἀφιέναι τοὺς υἱοὺς δοκῶν, τῆς δ᾽ ὑπονοίας οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμένος: παρηκολούθει γὰρ Ἀντίπατρος ἡ τοῦ μίσους ὑπόθεσις. ἀλλ᾽ εἴς γε τὸ φανερὸν τὴν ἀπέχθειαν οὐκ ἐξέφερεν τὸν διαλλακτὴν αἰδούμενος. [456] ὡς δὲ τὴν Κιλικίαν παραπλέων κατῆρεν εἰς Ἐλεοῦσαν, ἑστιᾷ μὲν αὐτὸν φιλοφρόνως Ἀρχέλαος ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ γαμβροῦ σωτηρίας εὐχαριστῶν καὶ ταῖς διαλλαγαῖς ἐφηδόμενος, ὡς ἂν καὶ τάχιον γεγραφὼς τοῖς ἐπὶ Ῥώμης φίλοις συλλαμβάνεσθαι περὶ τὴν δίκην Ἀλεξάνδρῳ: προπέμπει δὲ μέχρι Ζεφυρίου δῶρα δοὺς μέχρι τριάκοντα ταλάντων.

4. After this the king came back from Rome, and seemed to have forgiven his sons upon these accusations; but still so that he was not without his suspicions of them. They were followed by Antipater, who was the fountain-head of those accusations; yet did not he openly discover his hatred to them, as revering him that had reconciled them. But as Herod sailed by Cilicia, he touched at Eleusa, where Archelaus treated them in the most obliging manner, and gave him thanks for the deliverance of his son-in-law, and was much pleased at their reconciliation; and this the more, because he had formerly written to his friends at Rome that they should be assisting to Alexander at his trial. So he conducted Herod as far as Zephyrium, and made him presents to the value of thirty talents.

(5) [457] Ὡς δ᾽ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα Ἡρώδης ἀφικνεῖται, συναγαγὼν τὸν λαὸν καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς υἱοὺς παραστησάμενος ἀπελογεῖτο περὶ τῆς ἀποδημίας, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν

εὐχαρίστει τῷ θεῷ, πολλὰ δὲ Καίσαρι καταστησαμένῳ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ τεταραγμένον καὶ μεῖζόν τι τοῖς υἱοῖς βασιλείας παρασχόντι τὴν ὁμόνοιαν, [458] ἣν αὐτός, ἔφη, συναρμόσω μᾶλλον: ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐμὲ κύριον τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ δικαστὴν διαδόχου κατέστησεν, ἐγὼ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἐμαυτῷ κἀκεῖνον ἀμείβομαι. τούσδε τοὺς τρεῖς παῖδας ἀποδείκνυμι βασιλεῖς, καὶ τῆς γνώμης πρῶτον τὸν θεὸν σύμψηφον, ἔπειτα καὶ ὑμᾶς παρακαλῶ γενέσθαι. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἡλικία, τοῖς δ' εὐγένεια τὴν διαδοχὴν προξενεῖ, τό γε μὴν μέγεθος τῆς βασιλείας ἀρκεῖ καὶ πλείοσιν. [459] οὓς δὲ Καῖσαρ μὲν ἤνωσεν, καθίστησιν δὲ πατήρ, ὑμεῖς τηρήσατε μήτε ἀδίκους μήτε ἀνωμάλους τὰς τιμὰς διδόντες, ἑκάστῳ δὲ κατὰ τὸ πρεσβεῖον: οὐ γὰρ τοσοῦτον εὐφρανεῖ τις τὸν παρ' ἡλικίαν θεραπευόμενον, ὅσον ὀδυνήσει τὸν ἀτιμούμενον. [460] οὕς γε μὴν ἑκάστῳ συνεῖναι δεήσει συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους, ἐγὼ διανεμῶ καὶ τῆς ὁμονοίας ἐγγυητὰς ἐκείνους καταστήσομαι, σαφῶς ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι τὰς στάσεις καὶ τὰς φιλονεικίας γεννῶσιν αἱ τῶν συνδιατριβόντων κακοήθειαι, κἂν ὦσιν οὗτοι χρηστοί, τηροῦσιν τὰς στοργάς. [461] ἀξιῶ δ' οὐ μόνον τούτους ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ μου ταξιάρχους ἐν ἐμοὶ μόνον τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχειν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος: οὐ γὰρ βασιλείαν, ἀλλὰ τιμὴν βασιλείας τοῖς υἱοῖς παραδίδωμι, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἡδέων ὡς ἄρχοντες ἀπολαύσουσιν, τὸ βάρος δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐμόν ἐστιν, κἂν μὴ θέλω. [462] σκεπτέσθω δ' ἕκαστος τήν τε ἡλικίαν μου καὶ τὴν ἀγωγὴν τοῦ βίου καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν: οὔτε γὰρ οὕτως εἰμὶ γέρων ὥστ' ἂν ἀπελπισθῆναι ταχέως, οὔτε εἰς τρυφὴν ἐκδιαιτώμενος, ἣ καὶ νέους ἐπιτέμνεται: τὸ δὲ θεῖον οὕτως τεθεραπεύκαμεν ὥστ' ἂν ἐπὶ μήκιστον βίου προελθεῖν. [463] ὁ δὴ τοὺς ἐμοὺς παῖδας θεραπεύων ἐπὶ τῇ ἐμῇ καταλύσει δώσει μοι καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων δίκας: οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ φθονῶν τοῖς ἐξ ἐμοῦ γεγενημένοις ἀνακόπτω τὴν εἰς αὐτοὺς φιλοτιμίαν, ἐπιστάμενος δὲ τοῖς νέοις γίνεσθαι τὰς σπουδὰς θράσους ἐφόδιον. [464] εἴ γε μὴν ἕκαστος ἐνθυμηθείη τῶν προσιόντων, ὅτι χρηστὸς μὲν ὢν παρ' ἐμοῦ λήψεται τὴν ἀμοιβήν, στασιάζων δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῷ θεραπευομένῳ τὸ κακόηθες ἀνόνητον ἕξει, πάντας οἶμαι τὰ ἐμὰ φρονήσειν, τουτέστιν τὰ τῶν ἐμῶν υἱῶν: καὶ γὰρ τούτοις συμφέρει κρατεῖν ἐμὲ κἀμοὶ τούτους ὁμονοεῖν. [465] ὑμεῖς δέ, ὦ παῖδες ἀγαθοί, πρῶτον μὲν ἐνθυμούμενοι τὴν ἱερὰν φύσιν, ἧς καὶ παρὰ θηρίοις αἱ στοργαὶ μένουσιν, ἔπειτα τὸν ποιησάμενον ἡμῶν τὰς διαλλαγὰς Καίσαρα, τρίτον ἐμὲ τὸν ἐν οἷς ἔξεστιν ἐπιτάσσειν παρακαλοῦντα, μείνατε ἀδελφοί. δίδωμι δὲ ὑμῖν ἐσθῆτα ἤδη καὶ θεραπείαν βασιλικήν: ἐπεύχομαι δὲ καὶ τῷ θεῷ τηρῆσαι τὴν ἐμὴν κρίσιν, [466] ἂν ὁμονοῆτε." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ φιλοφρόνως ἕκαστον τῶν υἱῶν κατασπασάμενος διέλυσεν τὸ πλῆθος, τοὺς μὲν συνευχομένους τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ὅσοι δ' ἐπεθύμουν μεταβολῆς, μηδ' ἀκηκοέναι προσποιουμένους.

5. Now when Herod was come to Jerusalem, he gathered the people together, and presented to them his three sons, and gave them an apologetic account of his

absence, and thanked God greatly, and thanked Caesar greatly also, for settling his house when it was under disturbances, and had procured concord among his sons, which was of greater consequence than the kingdom itself,— "and which I will render still more firm; for Caesar hath put into my power to dispose of the government, and to appoint my successor. Accordingly, in way of requital for his kindness, and in order to provide for mine own advantage, I do declare that these three sons of mine shall be kings. And, in the first place, I pray for the approbation of God to what I am about; and, in the next place, I desire your approbation also. The age of one of them, and the nobility of the other two, shall procure them the succession. Nay, indeed, my kingdom is so large that it may be sufficient for more kings. Now do you keep those in their places whom Caesar hath joined, and their father hath appointed; and do not you pay undue or unequal respects to them, but to every one according to the prerogative of their births; for he that pays such respects unduly, will thereby not make him that is honored beyond what his age requires so joyful, as he will make him that is dishonored sorrowful. As for the kindred and friends that are to converse with them, I will appoint them to each of them, and will so constitute them, that they may be securities for their concord; as well knowing that the ill tempers of those with whom they converse will produce quarrels and contentions among them; but that if these with whom they converse be of good tempers, they will preserve their natural affections for one another. But still I desire that not these only, but all the captains of my army, have for the present their hopes placed on me alone; for I do not give away my kingdom to these my sons, but give them royal honors only; whereby it will come to pass that they will enjoy the sweet parts of government as rulers themselves, but that the burden of administration will rest upon myself whether I will or not. And let every one consider what age I am of, how I have conducted my life, and what piety I have exercised; for my age is not so great that men may soon expect the end of my life; nor have I indulged such a luxurious way of living as cuts men off when they are young; and we have been so religious towards God, that we [have reason to hope we] may arrive at a very great age. But for such as cultivate a friendship with my sons, so as to aim at my destruction, they shall be punished by me on their account. I am not one who envy my own children, and therefore forbid men to pay them great respect; but I know that such [extravagant] respects are the way to make them insolent. And if every one that comes near them does but revolve this in his mind, that if he prove a good man, he shall receive a reward from me, but that if he prove seditious, his ill-intended complaisance shall get him nothing from him to whom it is shown, I suppose they will all be of my side, that is, of my sons' side; for it will be for their advantage that I reign, and that I be at concord with them. But

do you, O my good children, reflect upon the holiness of nature itself, by whose means natural affection is preserved, even among wild beasts; in the next place, reflect upon Caesar, who hath made this reconciliation among us; and in the third place, reflect upon me, who entreat you to do what I have power to command you, — continue brethren. I give you royal garments, and royal honors; and I pray to God to preserve what I have determined, in case you be at concord one with another." When the king had thus spoken, and had saluted every one of his sons after an obliging manner, he dismissed the multitude; some of which gave their assent to what he had said, and wished it might take effect accordingly; but for those who wished for a change of affairs, they pretended they did not so much as hear what he said.

XXIV

CHAPTER 24.

The Malice Of Antipater And Doris. Alexander Is Very Uneasy On Glaphyras Account. Herod Pardons Pheroras, Whom He Suspected, And Salome Whom He Knew To Make Mischief Among Them. Herod's Eunuchs Are Tortured And Alexander Is Bound.

(1) [467] Συναπῄει δὲ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἡ στάσις, καὶ χείρους τὰς ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ὑπονοίας ἔχοντες ἀπηλλάγησαν, Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος ὀδυνώμενοι κεκυρωμένου Ἀντιπάτρῳ τοῦ πρεσβείου, Ἀντίπατρος δὲ καὶ τοῦ δευτερεύειν νεμεσῶν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. [468] ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ποικιλώτατος ὢν τὸ ἦθος ἐχεμυθεῖν τε ᾔδει καὶ πολλῷ τῷ πανούργῳ τὸ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκάλυπτε μῖσος, τοῖς δὲ δι' εὐγένειαν πᾶν τὸ νοηθὲν ἦν ἐπὶ γλώσσης: καὶ παροξύνοντες μὲν ἐνέκειντο πολλοί, πλείους δὲ τῶν φίλων παρεδύοντο κατάσκοποι. [469] πᾶν δὲ τὸ παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ λαληθὲν εὐθέως ἦν παρ' Ἀντιπάτρῳ, καὶ μετὰ προσθήκης μετέβαινεν ἀπὸ Ἀντιπάτρου πρὸς Ἡρώδην: οὔτε γὰρ ἁπλῶς φθεγξάμενος ὁ νεανίας ἀνυπεύθυνος ἦν, ἀλλὰ εἰς διαβολὴν τὸ ῥηθὲν ἐστρέφετο, καὶ μετρίως παρρησιασαμένου μέγιστα τοῖς ἐλαχίστοις προσεπλάττετο. [470] καθίει δ' Ἀντίπατρος ἀεὶ τοὺς ἐρεθίσοντας, ὅπως αὐτῷ τὸ ψεῦδος ἔχοι τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἀληθεῖς: καὶ τῶν φημιζομένων ἕν τι διελεγχθὲν ἅπασιν πίστιν ἐπετίθει. καὶ τῶν μὲν αὐτοῦ φίλων ἢ φύσει στεγανώτατος ἦν ἕκαστος ἢ κατεσκευάζετο δωρεαῖς ὡς μηδὲν ἐκφέρεσθαι τῶν ἀπορρήτων, καὶ τὸν Ἀντιπάτρου βίον οὐκ ἂν ἥμαρτέν τις εἰπὼν κακίας μυστήριον: τοὺς δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνόντας χρήμασιν διαφθείρων ἢ κολακείαις ὑπιὼν ἐς πάντα κατειργάσατο καὶ πεποιήκει προδότας καὶ τῶν πραττομένων ἢ λαλουμένων φῶρας. [471] πάντα δὲ περιεσκεμμένως

δραματουργῶν τὰς πρὸς Ἡρώδην ὁδοὺς ταῖς διαβολαῖς ἐποιεῖτο τεχνικωτάτας, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀδελφοῦ προσωπεῖον ἐπικείμενος, καθιεὶς δὲ μηνυτὰς ἑτέρους. κἀπειδὰν ἀπαγγελθείη τι κατ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδρου, παρελθὼν ὑπεκρίνετο καὶ διασύρειν τὸ ῥηθὲν ἀρξάμενος ἔπειτα κατεσκεύαζεν ἡσυχῇ καὶ πρὸς ἀγανάκτησιν ἐξεκαλεῖτο τὸν βασιλέα. [472] πάντα δὲ εἰς ἐπιβουλὴν ἀνήγετο καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν τῇ σφαγῇ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐφεδρεύειν Ἀλέξανδρον: οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως πίστιν ἐχορήγει ταῖς διαβολαῖς, ὡς ἀπολογούμενος Ἀντίπατρος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ.

1. But now the quarrel that was between them still accompanied these brethren when they parted, and the suspicions they had one of the other grew worse. Alexander and Aristobulus were much grieved that the privilege of the first-born was confirmed to Antipater; as was Antipater very angry at his brethren that they were to succeed him. But then this last being of a disposition that was mutable and politic, he knew how to hold his tongue, and used a great deal of cunning, and thereby concealed the hatred he bore to them; while the former, depending on the nobility of their births, had every thing upon their tongues which was in their minds. Many also there were who provoked them further, and many of their [seeming] friends insinuated themselves into their acquaintance, to spy out what they did. Now every thing that was said by Alexander was presently brought to Antipater, and from Antipater it was brought to Herod with additions. Nor could the young man say any thing in the simplicity of his heart, without giving offense, but what he said was still turned to calumny against him. And if he had been at any time a little free in his conversation, great imputations were forged from the smallest occasions. Antipater also was perpetually setting some to provoke him to speak, that the lies he raised of him might seem to have some foundation of truth; and if, among the many stories that were given out, but one of them could be proved true, that was supposed to imply the rest to be true also. And as to Antipater's friends, they were all either naturally so cautious in speaking, or had been so far bribed to conceal their thoughts, that nothing of these grand secrets got abroad by their means. Nor should one be mistaken if he called the life of Antipater a mystery of wickedness; for he either corrupted Alexander's acquaintance with money, or got into their favor by flatteries; by which two means he gained all his designs, and brought them to betray their master, and to steal away, and reveal what he either did or said. Thus did he act a part very cunningly in all points, and wrought himself a passage by his calumnies with the greatest shrewdness; while he put on a face as if he were a kind brother to Alexander and Aristobulus, but suborned other men to inform of what they did to Herod. And when any thing was told against Alexander, he would come in, and pretend [to be of his side], and would begin to contradict

what was said; but would afterward contrive matters so privately, that the king should have an indignation at him. His general aim was this, — to lay a plot, and to make it believed that Alexander lay in wait to kill his father; for nothing afforded so great a confirmation to these calumnies as did Antipater's apologies for him.

(2) [473] Τούτοις Ἡρώδης ἐξαγριούμενος ὅσον ὑφῄρει καθ' ἡμέραν τῆς πρὸς τὰ μειράκια στοργῆς, τοσοῦτον Ἀντιπάτρῳ προσετίθει. συναπέκλιναν δὲ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ βασίλειον οἱ μὲν ἑκόντες οἱ δ' ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος, ὥσπερ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τιμιώτατος τῶν φίλων, οἵ τε ἀδελφοὶ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ πᾶσα ἡ γενεά: πάντα γὰρ Ἀντίπατρος ἦν, καὶ τὰ πικρότατον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, πάντα ἦν ἡ Ἀντιπάτρου μήτηρ, σύμβουλος κατ' αὐτῶν μητρυιᾶς χαλεπωτέρα καὶ πλεῖόν τι προγόνων μισοῦσα τοὺς ἐκ βασιλίδος. [474] πάντες μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐθεράπευον Ἀντίπατρον ἤδη, συναφίστα δ' ἕκαστον τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως προστάγματα, παραγγείλαντος τοῖς τιμιωτάτοις μήτε προσιέναι μήτε προσέχειν τοῖς περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον. φοβερὸς δ' ἦν οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔξωθεν φίλοις: οὐδενὶ γὰρ βασιλέων Καῖσαρ τοσαύτην ἔδωκεν ἐξουσίαν, ὥστε τὸν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ φυγόντα καὶ μὴ προσηκούσης πόλεως ἐξαγαγεῖν. [475] τὰ δὲ μειράκια τὰς μὲν διαβολὰς ἠγνόει, παρὸ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀφυλάκτως ἐνέπιπτον αὐταῖς: οὐδὲν γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ φανερῶς ἀπεμέμφετο: συνίει δὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ψύγματος καὶ πρὸς τὸ λυποῦν μᾶλλον ἐτραχύνετο. διέθηκεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ τὸν θεῖον Φερώραν Ἀντίπατρος ἐχθρωδῶς καὶ τὴν τηθίδα Σαλώμην, ὡς ἂν † γαμετὴν οὖσαν, καθομιλῶν ἀεὶ καὶ παροξύνων. [476] συνήργει δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ταύτης ἀπέχθειαν ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου γυνὴ Γλαφύρα γενεαλογοῦσα τὴν ἑαυτῆς εὐγένειαν, καὶ ὡς πασῶν τῶν κατὰ τὸ βασίλειον εἴη δεσπότις, κατὰ πατέρα μὲν ἀπὸ Τημένου, κατὰ μητέρα δὲ ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπεως οὖσα. [477] πολλὰ δὲ ὠνείδιζεν εἰς ἀγένειαν τήν τε ἀδελφὴν τὴν Ἡρώδου καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, ὧν ἑκάστη δι' εὐμορφίαν οὐκ ἀπὸ γένους ᾑρέθη. πολλαὶ δ' ἦσαν, ὡς ἂν ἐφειμένου τε πατρίως Ἰουδαίοις γαμεῖν πλείους καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἡδομένου πλείοσιν, αἳ πᾶσαι διὰ τὸ μεγάλαυχον τὸ Γλαφύρας καὶ τὰς λοιδορίας ἐμίσουν Ἀλέξανδρον.

2. By these methods Herod was inflamed, and as much as his natural affection to the young men did every day diminish, so much did it increase towards Antipater. The courtiers also inclined to the same conduct, some of their own accord, and others by the king's injunction, as particularly did Ptolemy, the king's dearest friend, as also the king's brethren, and all his children; for Antipater was all in all; and what was the bitterest part of all to Alexander, Antipater's mother was also all in all; she was one that gave counsel against them, and was more harsh than a step-mother, and one that hated the queen's sons more than is usual to hate sons-in-law. All men did therefore already pay

their respects to Antipater, in hopes of advantage; and it was the king's command which alienated every body [from the brethren], he having given this charge to his most intimate friends, that they should not come near, nor pay any regard, to Alexander, or to his friends. Herod was also become terrible, not only to his domestics about the court, but to his friends abroad; for Caesar had given such a privilege to no other king as he had given to him, which was this, — that he might fetch back any one that fled from him, even out of a city that was not under his own jurisdiction. Now the young men were not acquainted with the calumnies raised against them; for which reason they could not guard themselves against them, but fell under them; for their father did not make any public complaints against either of them; though in a little time they perceived how things were by his coldness to them, and by the great uneasiness he showed upon any thing that troubled him. Antipater had also made their uncle Pheroras to be their enemy, as well as their aunt Salome, while he was always talking with her, as with a wife, and irritating her against them. Moreover, Alexander's wife, Glaphyra, augmented this hatred against them, by deriving her nobility and genealogy [from great persons], and pretending that she was a lady superior to all others in that kingdom, as being derived by her father's side from Temenus, and by her mother's side from Darius, the son of Hystaspes. She also frequently reproached Herod's sister and wives with the ignobility of their descent; and that they were every one chosen by him for their beauty, but not for their family. Now those wives of his were not a few; it being of old permitted to the Jews to marry many wives, and this king delighting in many; all which hated Alexander, on account of Glaphyra's boasting and reproaches.

(3) [478] Τὴν δὲ δὴ Σαλώμην καίτοι πενθερὰν οὖσαν αὐτὸς Ἀριστόβουλος ἑαυτῷ διεστασίασεν ὠργισμένην καὶ πρόσθεν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐκ Γλαφύρας βλασφημίαις: ὠνείδιζεν γὰρ τῇ γυναικὶ συνεχῶς τὴν ταπεινότητα, καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ἰδιῶτιν, ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξανδρος γήμαι βασιλίδα. [479] τοῦτο κλαίουσα τῇ Σαλώμῃ διήγγειλεν ἡ θυγάτηρ, προσετίθει δ' ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀδελφῶν τὰς μὲν μητέρας ἀπειλοῖεν οἱ περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐπειδὰν παραλάβωσιν τὴν βασιλείαν, ἱστουργοὺς ἅμα ταῖς δούλαις ποιήσειν, αὐτοὺς δὲ κωμῶν γραμματεῖς, ἐπισκώπτοντες ὡς πεπαιδευμένους ἐπιμελῶς. πρὸς ἃ τὴν ὀργὴν οὐ κατασχοῦσα Σαλώμη πάντα διήγγειλεν Ἡρώδῃ: σφόδρα δ' ἦν ἀξιόπιστος κατὰ γαμβροῦ λέγουσα. [480] καί τις ἑτέρα διαβολὴ συνέδραμεν ἡ τὸν θυμὸν ὑπεκκαύσασα τοῦ βασιλέως: ἤκουσεν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀνακαλεῖσθαι μὲν συνεχῶς τὴν μητέρα καὶ κατοιμώζειν ἐπαρωμένους αὐτῷ, πολλάκις δ' αὐτοῦ διαδιδόντος τῶν Μαριάμμης ἐσθήτων τινὰ ταῖς μεταγενεστέραις γυναιξὶν ἀπειλεῖν, ὡς ἀντὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐν τάχει περιθήσουσιν αὐταῖς ἐκ τριχῶν πεποιημένας.

3. Nay, Aristobulus had raised a quarrel between himself and Salome, who was his mother-in-law, besides the anger he had conceived at Glaphyra's reproaches; for he perpetually upbraided his wife with the meanness of her family, and complained, that as he had married a woman of a low family, so had his brother Alexander married one of royal blood. At this Salome's daughter wept, and told it her with this addition, that Alexander threatened the mothers of his other brethren, that when he should come to the crown, he would make them weave with their maidens, and would make those brothers of his country schoolmasters; and brake this jest upon them, that they had been very carefully instructed, to fit them for such an employment. Hereupon Salome could not contain her anger, but told all to Herod; nor could her testimony be suspected, since it was against her own son-in-law There was also another calumny that ran abroad and inflamed the king's mind; for he heard that these sons of his were perpetually speaking of their mother, and, among their lamentations for her, did not abstain from cursing him; and that when he made presents of any of Mariamne's garments to his later wives, these threatened that in a little time, instead of royal garments, they would clothe theft in no better than hair-cloth.

(4) [481] Διὰ ταῦτα καίτοι τὸ φρόνημα τῶν νεανίσκων ὑποδείσας, ὅμως οὐκ ἀπέκοπτε τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς διορθώσεως, ἀλλὰ προσκαλεσάμενος αὐτούς, καὶ γὰρ εἰς Ῥώμην ἐκπλεύσειν ἔμελλεν, βραχέα μὲν ἠπείλησεν ὡς βασιλεύς, τὰ πολλὰ δὲ ἐνουθέτησεν ὡς πατήρ, καὶ φιλεῖν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς παρεκάλει διδοὺς τῶν προημαρτημένων ἄφεσιν, εἰ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἀμείνους γένοιντο. [482] οἱ δὲ τὰς μὲν διαβολὰς ἀπεσκευάζοντο ψευδεῖς εἶναι λέγοντες, πιστώσεσθαι δὲ τὴν ἀπολογίαν τοῖς ἔργοις ἔφασκον: δεῖν μέντοι κἀκεῖνον ἀποφράττειν τὰς λογοποιίας τῷ μὴ πιστεύειν ῥᾳδίως: οὐ γὰρ ἐπιλείψειν τοὺς καταψευσομένους αὐτῶν, ἕως ἂν ὁ πειθόμενος ᾖ.

4. Now upon these accounts, though Herod was somewhat afraid of the young men's high spirit, yet did he not despair of reducing them to a better mind; but before he went to Rome, whither he was now going by sea, he called them to him, and partly threatened them a little, as a king; but for the main, he admonished them as a father, and exhorted them to love their brethren, and told them that he would pardon their former offenses, if they would amend for the time to come. But they refuted the calumnies that had been raised of them, and said they were false, and alleged that their actions were sufficient for their vindication; and said withal, that he himself ought to shut his ears against such tales, and not be too easy in believing them, for that there would never be wanting those that would tell lies to their disadvantage, as long as any would give ear to them.

(5) [483] Τούτοις ὡς πατέρα πείσαντες ταχέως τὸν μὲν ἐν χερσὶν φόβον διεκρούσαντο, τὴν δ᾽ εἰς τὰ μέλλοντα λύπην προσέλαβον: ἔγνωσαν γὰρ τήν τε Σαλώμην ἐχθρὰν καὶ τὸν θεῖον Φερώραν: ἦσαν δὲ βαρεῖς [μὲν] ἀμφότεροι καὶ χαλεποί, Φερώρας δὲ μείζων, ὃς πάσης μὲν ἐκοινώνει τῆς βασιλείας πλὴν διαδήματος, προσόδους δὲ ἰδίας εἶχεν ἑκατὸν τάλαντα, τὴν δὲ πέραν Ἰορδάνου πᾶσαν ἐκαρποῦτο χώραν λαβὼν παρὰ τἀδελφοῦ δῶρον, ὃς αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν καὶ τετράρχην αἰτησάμενος παρὰ Καίσαρος, βασιλικῶν τε γάμων ἠξίωσεν συνοικίσας ἀδελφὴν τῆς ἰδίας γυναικός: μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνης τελευτὴν καθωσίωσε τὴν πρεσβυτάτην τῶν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρων ἐπὶ προικὶ τριακοσίοις ταλάντοις. [484] ἀλλ᾽ ἀπέδρα Φερώρας τὸν βασιλικὸν γάμον πρὸς ἔρωτα δούλης, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ χαλεπήνας Ἡρώδης τὴν μὲν θυγατέρα τῷ πρὸς Πάρθων ὕστερον ἀναιρεθέντι συνέζευξεν ἀδελφιδῷ: Φερώρᾳ δὲ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ τὴν ὀργὴν ἀνίει διδοὺς συγγνώμην τῇ νόσῳ.

5. When they had thus soon pacified him, as being their father, they got clear of the present fear they were in. Yet did they see occasion for sorrow in some time afterward; for they knew that Salome, as well as their uncle Pheroras, were their enemies; who were both of them heavy and severe persons, and especially Pheroras, who was a partner with Herod in all the affairs of the kingdom, excepting his diadem. He had also a hundred talents of his own revenue, and enjoyed the advantage of all the land beyond Jordan, which he had received as a gift from his brother, who had asked of Caesar to make him a tetrarch, as he was made accordingly. Herod had also given him a wife out of the royal family, who was no other than his own wife's sister, and after her death had solemnly espoused to him his own eldest daughter, with a dowry of three hundred talents; but Pheroras refused to consummate this royal marriage, out of his affection to a maidservant of his. Upon which account Herod was very angry, and gave that daughter in marriage to a brother's son of his, [Joseph,] who was slain afterward by the Parthians; but in some time he laid aside his anger against Pheroras, and pardoned him, as one not able to overcome his foolish passion for the maidservant.

(6) [485] Διεβάλλετο δὲ καὶ πάλαι μὲν ἔτι ζώσης τῆς βασιλίδος ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ φαρμάκοις, τότε δὲ πλεῖστοι μηνυταὶ προσῆσαν, ὡς καίπερ φιλαδελφότατον ὄντα τὸν Ἡρώδην εἰς πίστιν ὑπαχθῆναι τῶν λεγομένων καὶ δέος. πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ βασανίσας τελευταῖον ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Φερώρου φίλους. [486] ὧν ἐπιβουλὴν μὲν ἄντικρυς ὡμολόγησεν οὐδείς, ὅτι δὲ τὴν ἐρωμένην ἁρπασάμενος εἰς Πάρθους ἀποδρᾶναι παρεσκευάζετο, συμμέτοχοι δὲ τοῦ σκέμματος αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς φυγῆς Κοστόβαρος ὁ Σαλώμης ἀνήρ, ᾧ συνῴκισεν αὐτὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ τοῦ προτέρου διαφθαρέντος. [487] ἦν δ᾽ ἐλευθέρα διαβολῆς οὐδὲ Σαλώμη:

καὶ γὰρ αὐτῆς Φερώρας ἀδελφὸς κατηγόρει συνθήκας περὶ γάμου πρὸς Συλλαῖον τὸν Ὀβαίδα τοῦ Ἀράβων βασιλέως ἐπίτροπον, ὃς ἦν ἐχθρότατος Ἡρώδῃ. διελεγχθεῖσα δὲ καὶ τοῦτο καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα Φερώρας ἐνεκάλει, συγγινώσκεται: καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ Φερώραν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπέλυσεν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων.

6. Nay, Pheroras had been accused long before, while the queen [Mariamne] was alive, as if he were in a plot to poison Herod; and there came then so great a number of informers, that Herod himself, though he was an exceeding lover of his brethren, was brought to believe what was said, and to be afraid of it also. And when he had brought many of those that were under suspicion to the torture, he came at last to Pheroras's own friends; none of which did openly confess the crime, but they owned that he had made preparation to take her whom he loved, and run away to the Parthians. Costobarus also, the husband of Salome, to whom the king had given her in marriage, after her former husband had been put to death for adultery, was instrumental in bringing about this contrivance and flight of his. Nor did Salome escape all calumny upon herself; for her brother Pheroras accused her that she had made an agreement to marry Silleus, the procurator of Obodas, king of Arabia, who was at bitter enmity with Herod; but when she was convicted of this, and of all that Pheroras had accused her of, she obtained her pardon. The king also pardoned Pheroras himself the crimes he had been accused of.

(7) [488] Μετέβαινεν δὲ ἐπ' Ἀλέξανδρον ὁ χειμὼν τῆς οἰκίας καὶ περὶ τὴν ἐκείνου κεφαλὴν ὅλος ἀπηρείσατο. τρεῖς ἦσαν εὐνοῦχοι τιμιώτατοι τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ δῆλον ἐξ ὧν ἐλειτούργουν: τῷ μὲν γὰρ οἰνοχοεῖν προσετέτακτο, τῷ δὲ δεῖπνον προσφέρειν, ὁ δ' αὐτὸν κατεκοίμιζέν τε καὶ συγκατεκλίνετο. [489] τούτους εἰς τὰ παιδικὰ δώροις μεγάλοις ὑπηγάγετο ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος. μηνυθὲν δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ διηλέγχοντο βασάνοις, καὶ τὴν μὲν συνουσίαν εὐθέως ὡμολόγουν, ἐξέφερον δὲ καὶ τὰς εἰς αὐτὴν ὑποσχέσεις, ὃν τρόπον ἀπατηθεῖεν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου λέγοντος, [490] ὡς οὐκ ἐν Ἡρώδῃ δέοι τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχειν ἀναιδεῖ γέροντι καὶ βαπτομένῳ τὰς κόμας, εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτὸν οἴονται καὶ νέον, αὐτῷ δὲ προσέχειν, ὃς καὶ παρὰ ἄκοντος διαδέξεται τὴν βασιλείαν οὐκ εἰς μακράν τε τοὺς μὲν ἐχθροὺς ἀμυνεῖται, τοὺς φίλους δ' εὐδαίμονας ποιήσει καὶ μακαρίους, πρὸ πάντων δὲ αὐτούς: [491] εἶναι δὲ καὶ θεραπείαν τῶν δυνατῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον λαθραίαν, τούς τε ἡγεμόνας τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ καὶ τοὺς ταξιάρχους κρύφα πρὸς αὐτὸν συνιέναι.

7. But the storm of the whole family was removed to Alexander, and all of it rested upon his head. There were three eunuchs who were in the highest esteem with the king, as was plain by the offices they were in about him; for one of

them was appointed to be his butler, another of them got his supper ready for him, and the third put him into bed, and lay down by him. Now Alexander had prevailed with these men, by large gifts, to let him use them after an obscene manner; which, when it was told to the king, they were tortured, and found guilty, and presently confessed the criminal conversation he had with them. They also discovered the promises by which they were induced so to do, and how they were deluded by Alexander, who had told them that they ought not to fix their hopes upon Herod, an old man, and one so shameless as to color his hair, unless they thought that would make him young again; but that they ought to fix their attention to him who was to be his successor in the kingdom, whether he would or not; and who in no long time would avenge himself on his enemies, and make his friends happy and blessed, and themselves in the first place; that the men of power did already pay respects to Alexander privately, and that the captains of the soldiery, and the officers, did secretly come to him.

(8) [492] Ταῦτα τὸν Ἡρώδην οὕτως ἐξεφόβησεν, ὡς μηδὲ παραχρῆμα τολμῆσαι τὰς μηνύσεις ἐκφέρειν, ἀλλὰ κατασκόπους ὑποπέμπων νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἕκαστα τῶν πραττομένων ἢ λεγομένων διηρεύνα καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ὑποψίαις εὐθέως ἀνῄρει. [493] δεινῆς δὲ ἀνομίας ἐνεπλήσθη τὸ βασίλειον: κατὰ γὰρ ἔχθραν ἢ μῖσος ἴδιον ἕκαστος ἔπλασσεν τὰς διαβολάς, καὶ πολλοὶ πρὸς τοὺς διαφόρους φονῶντι τῷ βασιλικῷ θυμῷ κατεχρῶντο. καὶ τὸ μὲν ψεῦδος εἶχεν παραχρῆμα πίστιν, αἱ κολάσεις δὲ τῶν διαβολῶν ἦσαν ὠκύτεραι. κατηγορεῖτο γοῦν τις ἄρτι κατηγορήσας, καὶ τῷ πρὸς αὐτοῦ διελεγχθέντι συναπήγετο: τὰς γὰρ ἐξετάσεις τοῦ βασιλέως ὁ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς κίνδυνος ἐπετέμνετο. [494] προύβη δ᾽ εἰς τοσοῦτον πικρίας, ὡς μηδὲ τῶν ἀκαταιτιάτων τινὶ προσβλέπειν ἡμέρως, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τοῖς φίλοις ἀπηνέστατος: πολλοῖς γοῦν αὐτῶν ἀπεῖπεν τὸ βασίλειον, καὶ πρὸς οὓς οὐκ εἶχεν χειρὸς ἐξουσίαν τῷ λόγῳ χαλεπὸς ἦν. [495] συνεπέβη δὲ Ἀντίπατρος ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ στῖφος ποιήσας τῶν συγγενῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἥντινα διαβολὴν παρέλιπεν. προήχθη γέ τοι πρὸς τοσοῦτον δέος ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τῆς τερατείας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν συνταγμάτων, ὡς ἐφεστάναι δοκεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ξιφήρη. [496] συλλαβὼν οὖν αὐτὸν ἐξαπίνης ἔδησεν καὶ πρὸς βάσανον ἐχώρει τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ. σιγῶντες δὲ ἀπέθνησκον πολλοὶ καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὲρ τὸ συνειδὸς εἰπόντες: οἱ δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλγηδόνων ψεύσασθαι βιασθέντες ἔλεγον, ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοι τε αὐτῷ μετὰ Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ παραφυλάττει κυνηγοῦντα κτείνας εἰς Ῥώμην ἀποδρᾶναι. [497] τούτοις καίπερ οὐ πιθανοῖς οὖσιν ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἐσχεδιασμένοις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπίστευσεν ἡδέως, παραμυθίαν λαμβάνων τοῦ δῆσαι τὸν υἱὸν τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν ἀδίκως.

8. These confessions did so terrify Herod, that he durst not immediately publish them; but he sent spies abroad privately, by night and by day, who should make

a close inquiry after all that was done and said; and when any were but suspected [of treason], he put them to death, insomuch that the palace was full of horribly unjust proceedings; for every body forged calumnies, as they were themselves in a state of enmity or hatred against others; and many there were who abused the king's bloody passion to the disadvantage of those with whom they had quarrels, and lies were easily believed, and punishments were inflicted sooner than the calumnies were forged. He who had just then been accusing another was accused himself, and was led away to execution together with him whom he had convicted; for the danger the king was in of his life made examinations be very short. He also proceeded to such a degree of bitterness, that he could not look on any of those that were not accused with a pleasant countenance, but was in the most barbarous disposition towards his own friends. Accordingly, he forbade a great many of them to come to court, and to those whom he had not power to punish actually he spake harshly. But for Antipater, he insulted Alexander, now he was under his misfortunes, and got a stout company of his kindred together, and raised all sorts of calumny against him; and for the king, he was brought to such a degree of terror by those prodigious slanders and contrivances, that he fancied he saw Alexander coming to him with a drawn sword in his hand. So he caused him to be seized upon immediately, and bound, and fell to examining his friends by torture, many of whom died [under the torture], but would discover nothing, nor say any thing against their consciences; but some of them, being forced to speak falsely by the pains they endured, said that Alexander, and his brother Aristobulus, plotted against him, and waited for an opportunity to kill him as he was hunting, and then fly away to Rome. These accusations though they were of an incredible nature, and only framed upon the great distress they were in, were readily believed by the king, who thought it some comfort to him, after he had bound his son, that it might appear he had not done it unjustly.

XXV

CHAPTER 25.

Archelaus Procures A Reconciliation Between Alexander

Pheroras, And Herod.

(1) [498] Ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπεὶ τὸν πατέρα μεταπείθειν ἀμήχανον ἑώρα, τοῖς δεινοῖς ὁμόσε χωρεῖν διέγνω, καὶ τέσσαρας κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν βίβλους συνταξάμενος προσωμολόγει μὲν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, κοινωνοὺς δ' ἀπεδείκνυεν τοὺς πλείστους αὐτῶν, πρὸ δὲ πάντων Φερώραν καὶ Σαλώμην: ταύτην γὰρ δὴ καὶ μιγῆναί ποτε αὐτῷ μὴ θέλοντι νύκτωρ εἰσβιασαμένην. [499] αἵ τε οὖν βίβλοι

παρῆσαν εἰς χεῖρας Ἡρώδῃ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ κατὰ τῶν δυνατωτάτων βοῶσαι, καὶ διὰ τάχους εἰς Ἰουδαίαν Ἀρχέλαος ἀφικνεῖται περὶ τῷ γαμβρῷ καὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ δείσας. γίνεται δὲ βοηθὸς αὐτοῖς μάλα προμηθὴς καὶ τέχνῃ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπειλὴν διεκρούσατο. [500] συμβαλὼν γὰρ εὐθέως αὐτῷ "ποῦ ποτέ ἐστιν ὁ ἀλιτήριός μου γαμβρός, ἐβόα, ποῦ δὲ τὴν πατροκτόνον ὄψομαι κεφαλήν, ἣν ταῖς ἐμαυτοῦ χερσὶν διασπαράξω; προσθήσω δὲ καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα μου τῷ καλῷ νυμφίῳ: καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ κεκοινώνηκεν τοῦ σκέμματος, ὅτι τοιούτου γυνὴ γέγονεν, μεμίανται. [501] θαυμάζω δὲ καὶ σὲ τὸν ἐπιβουλευθέντα τῆς ἀνεξικακίας, εἰ ζῇ μέχρι νῦν Ἀλέξανδρος: ἐγὼ γὰρ ἠπειγόμην ἀπὸ Καππαδοκίας ὡς τὸν μὲν εὑρήσων πάλαι δεδωκότα δίκας, μετὰ δὲ σοῦ περὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἐξετάσων, ἣν ἐκείνῳ γε πρὸς τὸ σὸν ἀξίωμα βλέπων ἐνεγγύησα. νῦν δὲ περὶ ἀμφοῖν ἡμῖν βουλευτέον, κἂν ᾖς πατὴρ λίαν ἢ τοῦ κολάζειν υἱὸν ἀτονώτερος ἐπίβουλον, ἀμείψωμεν τὰς δεξιὰς καὶ γενώμεθα τῆς ἀλλήλων ὀργῆς διάδοχοι."

1. Now as to Alexander, since he perceived it impossible to persuade his father [that he was innocent], he resolved to meet his calamities, how severe soever they were; so he composed four books against his enemies, and confessed that he had been in a plot; but declared withal that the greatest part [of the courtiers] were in a plot with him, and chiefly Pheroras and Salome; nay, that Salome once came and forced him to lie with her in the night time, whether he would or no. These books were put into Herod's hands, and made a great clamor against the men in power. And now it was that Archelaus came hastily into Judea, as being affrighted for his son-in-law and his daughter; and he came as a proper assistant, and in a very prudent manner, and by a stratagem he obliged the king not to execute what he had threatened; for when he was come to him, he cried out, "Where in the world is this wretched son-in-law of mine? Where shall I see the head of him which contrived to murder his father, which I will tear to pieces with my own hands? I will do the same also to my daughter, who hath such a fine husband; for although she be not a partner in the plot, yet, by being the wife of such a creature, she is polluted. And I cannot but admire at thy patience, against whom this plot is laid, if Alexander be still alive; for as I came with what haste I could from Cappadocia, I expected to find him put to death for his crimes long ago; but still, in order to make an examination with thee about my daughter, whom, out of regard to thee and by dignity, I had espoused to him in marriage; but now we must take counsel about them both; and if thy paternal affection be so great, that thou canst not punish thy son, who hath plotted against thee, let us change our right hands, and let us succeed one to the other in expressing our rage upon this occasion."

(2) [502] Τούτοις περικομπήσας καίπερ παρατεταγμένον Ἡρώδην ὑπάγεται: δίδωσι γοῦν αὐτῷ τὰς συνταχθείσας ὑπ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδρου βίβλους ἀναγνῶναι καὶ καθ᾽ ἕκαστον ἐφιστὰς κεφάλαιον συνεσκέπτετο. λαμβάνει δ᾽ Ἀρχέλαος ἀφορμὴν τοῦ στρατηγήματος καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς τοὺς ἐγγεγραμμένους καὶ Φερώραν μετήγαγεν τὰς αἰτίας. [503] ὡς δ᾽ ἑώρα πιστεύοντα τὸν βασιλέα, "σκεπτέον, ἔφη, μή ποτε τὸ μειράκιον ὑπὸ τοσούτων εἴη πονηρῶν ἐπιβουλευόμενον, οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ μειρακίου σύ: καὶ γὰρ οὐχ ὁρᾶν αἰτίαν, ἐξ ἧς ἂν εἰς τηλικοῦτον μύσος προέπεσεν, ἀπολαύων μὲν ἤδη βασιλείας, ἐλπίζων δὲ καὶ διαδοχήν, εἰ μή τινες ἦσαν ἀναπείθοντες καὶ τὸ τῆς ἡλικίας εὔκολον ἐπὶ κακῷ μεταχειριζόμενοι. διὰ γὰρ τῶν τοιούτων ἐξαπατᾶσθαι μὲν οὐκ ἐφήβους μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ γέροντας, οἴκους δὲ λαμπροτάτους καὶ βασιλείας ὅλας ἀνατρέπεσθαι."

2. When he had made this pompous declaration, he got Herod to remit of his anger, though he were in disorder, who thereupon gave him the books which Alexander had composed to be read by him; and as he came to every head, he considered of it, together with Herod. So Archelaus took hence the occasion for that stratagem which he made use of, and by degrees he laid the blame on those men whose names were in these books, and especially upon Pheroras; and when he saw that the king believed him [to be in earnest], he said, "We must consider whether the young man be not himself plotted against by such a number of wicked wretches, and not thou plotted against by the young man; for I cannot see any occasion for his falling into so horrid a crime, since he enjoys the advantages of royalty already, and has the expectation of being one of thy successors; I mean this, unless there were some persons that persuade him to it, and such persons as make an ill use of the facility they know there is to persuade young men; for by such persons, not only young men are sometimes imposed upon, but old men also, and by them sometimes are the most illustrious families and kingdoms overturned."

(3) [504] Συνῆνει τοῖς λεγομένοις Ἡρώδης, καὶ τὴν μὲν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ὀργὴν ἐπανίει πρὸς ὀλίγον, πρὸς δὲ Φερώραν παρωξύνετο: τῶν γὰρ τεσσάρων βίβλων οὗτος ἦν ὑπόθεσις. ὃς κατιδὼν τό τε τοῦ βασιλέως ὀξύρροπον καὶ τὴν Ἀρχελάου φιλίαν παρ᾽ αὐτῷ πάντων κρατοῦσαν, ὡς οὐκ ἐνῆν εὐσχήμονι σωτηρία, τὴν δι᾽ ἀναιδείας ἐπορίζετο: καταλείψας γοῦν Ἀλέξανδρον προσέφυγεν Ἀρχελάῳ. [505] κἀκεῖνος οὐχ ὁρᾶν ἔφη, πῶς ἂν αὐτὸν ἐξαιτήσαιτο τοσούτοις ἐνεχόμενον ἐγκλήμασιν, ἐξ ὧν σαφῶς ἀποδείκνυται τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπίβουλος καὶ τῶν παρόντων τῷ μειρακίῳ κακῶν αἴτιος γεγονώς, εἰ μὴ βούλεται τὸ πανοῦργον καὶ τὰς ἀρνήσεις ἀφεὶς προσομολογῆσαι μὲν τὰ κατηγορημένα, συγγνώμην δ᾽ αἰτήσασθαι παρὰ τἀδελφοῦ καὶ φιλοῦντος: εἰς γὰρ τοῦτο πάντα τρόπον αὐτὸς συνεργήσειν.

3. Herod assented to what he had said, and, by degrees, abated of his anger against Alexander, but was more angry at Pheroras; for the principal subject of the four books was Pheroras; who perceiving that the king's inclinations changed on a sudden, and that Archelaus's friendship could do every thing with him, and that he had no honorable method of preserving himself, he procured his safety by his impudence. So he left Alexander, and had recourse to Archelaus, who told him that he did not see how he could get him excused, now he was directly caught in so many crimes, whereby it was evidently demonstrated that he had plotted against the king, and had been the cause of those misfortunes which the young man was now under, unless he would moreover leave off his cunning knavery, and his denials of what he was charged withal, and confess the charge, and implore pardon of his brother, who still had a kindness for him; but that if he would do so, he would afford him all the assistance he was able.

(4) [506] Πείθεται Φερώρας, καὶ κατασκευάσας ἑαυτόν, ὡς ἂν οἰκτρότατος φανείη, μελαίνῃ τε ἐσθῆτι καὶ δακρύοις προσπίπτει τοῖς Ἡρώδου ποσίν, ὡς πολλάκις ἔτυχεν συγγνώμης αἰτούμενος καὶ μιαρὸν μὲν ἑαυτὸν ὁμολογῶν, δεδρακέναι γὰρ πάντα, ὅσα κατηγοροῖτο, παρακοπὴν δὲ φρενῶν καὶ μανίαν ὀδυρόμενος, ἧς αἴτιον εἶναι τὸν ἔρωτα τῆς γυναικὸς ἔλεγεν. [507] παραστήσας δὴ κατήγορον καὶ μάρτυν ἑαυτοῦ Φερώραν Ἀρχέλαος οὕτως ἤδη παρῃτεῖτο καὶ τὴν Ἡρώδου κατέστελλεν ὀργὴν χρώμενος οἰκείοις ὑποδείγμασιν: καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς πολλῷ χαλεπώτερα πάσχων ὑπὸ τἀδελφοῦ τῆς ἀμύνης ἐπίπροσθεν τίθεσθαι τὸ τῆς φύσεως δίκαιον: ἐν γὰρ ταῖς βασιλείαις ὥσπερ ἐν μεγάλοις σώμασιν ἀεί τι μέρος φλεγμαίνειν ὑπὸ τοῦ βάρους, ὅπερ ἀποκόπτειν μὲν οὐ χρῆναι, θεραπεύειν δὲ πρᾳότερον.

4. With this advice Pheroras complied, and putting himself into such a habit as might most move compassion, he came with black cloth upon his body, and tears in his eyes, and threw himself down at Herod's feet, and begged his pardon for what he had done, and confessed that he had acted very wickedly, and was guilty of every thing that he had been accused of, and lamented that disorder of his mind, and distraction which his love to a woman, he said, had brought him to. So when Archelaus had brought Pheroras to accuse and bear witness against himself, he then made an excuse for him, and mitigated Herod's anger towards him, and this by using certain domestical examples; for that when he had suffered much greater mischiefs from a brother of his own, he prefered the obligations of nature before the passion of revenge; because it is in kingdoms as it is in gross bodies, where some member or other is ever swelled by the body's weight, in which case it is not proper to cut off such member, but to heal it by a gentle method of cure.

(5) [508] Πολλὰ τοιαῦτα λέγων Ἡρώδην μὲν ἐπὶ Φερώρᾳ μειλίσσεται, διέμενε δ' αὐτὸς ἀγανακτῶν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα διαζεύξας ἀπάξειν ἔφασκεν, ἕως περιέστησεν Ἡρώδην ἀντιπαρακαλεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μειρακίου καὶ πάλιν αὐτῷ μνηστεύεσθαι τὴν θυγατέρα. σφόδρα δὲ ἀξιοπίστως Ἀρχέλαος ᾧ βούλεται συνοικίζειν αὐτὴν ἐπέτρεπεν πλὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου: περὶ πλείστου γὰρ ποιεῖσθαι τηρεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ τῆς ἐπιγαμίας δίκαια. [509] φαμένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως δῶρον ἕξειν παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸν υἱόν, εἰ μὴ λύσειεν τὸν γάμον, ὄντων μὲν αὐτοῖς ἤδη καὶ τέκνων, στεργομένης δ' οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ μειρακίου τῆς γυναικός, ἣν παραμένουσαν μὲν ἔσεσθαι δυσώπημα τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, ἀπορραγεῖσαν δὲ αἰτίαν τῆς εἰς ἅπαντα ἀπογνώσεως: μαλακωτέρας γὰρ γίνεσθαι τὰς τόλμας πάθεσιν οἰκείοις περισπωμένας: [510] κατανεύει μόλις Ἀρχέλαος διαλλάσσεταί τε καὶ διαλλάσσει τῷ νεανίσκῳ τὸν πατέρα: δεῖν μέντοι πάντως ἔφη πέμπειν αὐτὸν εἰς Ῥώμην Καίσαρι διαλεξόμενον: γεγραφέναι γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐκείνῳ περὶ πάντων.

5. Upon Arehelaus's saying this, and much more to the same purpose, Herod's displeasure against Pheroras was mollified; yet did he persevere in his own indignation against Alexander, and said he would have his daughter divorced, and taken away from him, and this till he had brought Herod to that pass, that, contrary to his former behavior to him, he petitioned Archelaus for the young man, and that he would let his daughter continue espoused to him: but Archelaus made him strongly believe that he would permit her to be married to any one else, but not to Alexander, because he looked upon it as a very valuable advantage, that the relation they had contracted by that affinity, and the privileges that went along with it, might be preserved. And when the king said that his son would take it for a great favor to him, if he would not dissolve that marriage, especially since they had already children between the young man and her, and since that wife of his was so well beloved by him, and that as while she remains his wife she would be a great preservative to him, and keep him from offending, as he had formerly done; so if she should be once torn away from him, she would be the cause of his falling into despair, because such young men's attempts are best mollified when they are diverted from them by settling their affections at home. So Arehelaus complied with what Herod desired, but not without difficulty, and was both himself reconciled to the young man, and reconciled his father to him also. However, he said he must, by all means, be sent to Rome to discourse with Caesar, because he had already written a full account to him of this whole matter.

(6) [511] Τὸ μὲν οὖν Ἀρχελάου στρατήγημα, δι' οὗ τὸν γαμβρὸν ἐρρύσατο, πέρας εἶχεν, μετὰ δὲ τὰς διαλλαγὰς ἐν εὐωχίαις καὶ φιλοφρονήσεσιν διῆγον. ἀπιόντα δ' αὐτὸν Ἡρώδης δωρεῖται ταλάντων ἑβδομήκοντα δώροις θρόνῳ τε χρυσῷ διαλίθῳ καὶ εὐνούχοις καὶ παλλακίδι, ἥτις ἐκαλεῖτο Παννυχίς, τῶν τε φίλων ἐτίμησεν κατ' ἀξίαν ἕκαστον. [512] ὁμοίως τε καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς

προστάξαντος τοῦ βασιλέως πάντες Ἀρχελάῳ δῶρα λαμπρὰ ἔδοσαν, προεπέμφθη τε ὑπό τε Ἡρώδου καὶ τῶν δυνατῶν ἕως Ἀντιοχείας.

6. Thus a period was put to Archelaus's stratagem, whereby he delivered his son-in-law out of the dangers he was in; but when these reconciliations were over, they spent their time in feastings and agreeable entertainments. And when Archelaus was going away, Herod made him a present of seventy talents, with a golden throne set with precious stones, and some eunuchs, and a concubine who was called Pannychis. He also paid due honors to every one of his friends according to their dignity. In like manner did all the king's kindred, by his command, make glorious presents to Archelaus; and so he was conducted on his way by Herod and his nobility as far as Antioch.

XXVI

CHAPTER 26.

How Eurycles Calumniated The Sons Of Mariamne; And How

Euaratus Of Cos's Apology For Them Had No Effect.

(1) [513] Μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν παρέβαλεν ἀνὴρ πολὺ τῶν Ἀρχελάου στρατηγημάτων δυνατώτερος, ὃς οὐ μόνον τὰς ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου πολιτευθείσας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ διαλλαγὰς ἀνέτρεψεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπωλείας αἴτιος αὐτῷ κατέστη. γένος ἦν Λάκων, Εὐρυκλῆς τοὔνομα, πόθῳ χρημάτων εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν εἰσφθαρείς: οὐ γὰρ ἀντεῖχεν ἔτι ἡ Ἑλλὰς αὐτοῦ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ. [514] λαμπρὰ δ᾽ Ἡρώδῃ δῶρα προσενεγκὼν δέλεαρ ὧν ἐθηρᾶτο καὶ παραχρῆμα πολλαπλασίω λαβὼν οὐδὲν ἡγεῖτο τὴν καθαρὰν δόσιν, εἰ μὴ δι᾽ αἵματος ἐμπορεύσεται τὴν βασιλείαν. [515] περιέρχεται γοῦν τὸν βασιλέα κολακείᾳ καὶ δεινότητι λόγων καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ψευδέσιν ἐγκωμίοις. ταχέως δὲ συνιδὼν τὸν Ἡρώδου τρόπον καὶ πάντα λέγων τε καὶ πράττων τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν αὐτῷ φίλος ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις γίνεται: καὶ γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς διὰ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ πάντες οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ἡδέως προετίμων τὸν Σπαρτιάτην.

1. Now a little afterward there came into Judea a man that was much superior to Arehelaus's stratagems, who did not only overturn that reconciliation that had been so wisely made with Alexander, but proved the occasion of his ruin. He was a Lacedemonian, and his name was Eurycles. He was so corrupt a man, that out of the desire of getting money, he chose to live under a king, for Greece could not suffice his luxury. He presented Herod with splendid gifts, as a bait which he laid in order to compass his ends, and quickly received them back again manifold; yet did he esteem bare gifts as nothing, unless he imbrued the

kingdom in blood by his purchases. Accordingly, he imposed upon the king by flattering him, and by talking subtlely to him, as also by the lying encomiums which he made upon him; for as he soon perceived Herod's blind side, so he said and did every thing that might please him, and thereby became one of his most intimate friends; for both the king and all that were about him had a great regard for this Spartan, on account of his country.

(2) [516] Ὁ δ’ ἐπεὶ τὰ σαθρὰ τῆς οἰκίας κατέμαθεν, τάς τε τῶν ἀδελφῶν διαφορὰς καὶ ὅπως διέκειτο πρὸς ἕκαστον ὁ πατήρ, Ἀντιπάτρου μὲν ξενίᾳ προκατείληπτο, φιλίᾳ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ὑποκρίνεται ψευσάμενος ἑταῖρον ἑαυτὸν εἶναι καὶ Ἀρχελάου πάλαι: διὸ δὴ καὶ ταχέως ὡς δεδοκιμασμένος ἐδέχθη, συνίστησιν δ’ αὐτὸν εὐθέως καὶ Ἀριστοβούλῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ. [517] πάντων δ’ ἀποπειραθεὶς τῶν προσώπων ἄλλον ἄλλως ὑπῄει, γίνεται δὲ προηγουμένως μισθωτὸς Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ προδότης Ἀλεξάνδρου, τῷ μὲν ὀνειδίζων, εἰ πρεσβύτατος ὢν περιόψεται τοὺς ἐφεδρεύοντας αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δέ, εἰ γεγενημένος ἐκ βασιλίδος καὶ βασιλίδι συνοικῶν ἐάσει διαδέχεσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸν ἐξ ἰδιώτιδος, καὶ ταῦτα μεγίστην ἀφορμὴν ἔχων Ἀρχέλαον. [518] ἦν δὲ πιστὸς τῷ μειρακίῳ σύμβουλος τὴν Ἀρχελάου φιλίαν πλασάμενος: διὸ μηδὲν ὑποστελλόμενος Ἀλέξανδρος τά τε κατ’ Ἀντίπατρον ἀπωδύρετο πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ὡς Ἡρώδης αὐτῶν τὴν μητέρα κτείνας οὐ παράδοξον εἰ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν ἐκείνης βασιλείαν: ἐφ’ οἷς ὁ Εὐρυκλῆς οἰκτείρειν τε καὶ συναλγεῖν ὑπεκρίνετο. [519] τὰ δ’ αὐτὰ καὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον εἰπεῖν δελεάσας καὶ ταῖς κατὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μέμψεσιν ἐνδησάμενος ἀμφοτέρους ᾤχετο φέρων Ἀντιπάτρῳ τὰ ἀπόρρητα: προσεπιψεύδεται δ’ ἐπιβουλὴν ὡς ἐνεδρευόντων αὐτὸν τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐπιφερόντων ἤδη τὰ ξίφη. λαβὼν δ’ ἐπὶ τούτοις χρημάτων πλῆθος ἐπαινέτης ἦν Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. [520] τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ἐργολαβήσας τὸν Ἀριστοβούλου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου θάνατον κατήγορος αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς γίνεται καὶ προσελθὼν ἀντιδιδόναι τὸ ζῆν ἔφασκεν Ἡρώδῃ τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν εὐεργεσιῶν καὶ τὸ φῶς ἀμοιβὴν τῆς ξενίας ἀντιπαρέχειν: πάλαι γὰρ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἠκονῆσθαι ξίφος καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τετονῶσθαι δεξιάν, ἐμποδὼν δ’ αὐτὸς γεγονέναι τῷ τάχει συνεργεῖν ὑποκριθείς: [521] φάναι γὰρ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς οὐκ ἀγαπᾷ βασιλεύσας αὐτὸς Ἡρώδης ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις καὶ μετὰ τὸν τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν φόνον τὴν ἐκείνης ἀρχὴν σπαθήσας, ἀλλ’ ἔτι καὶ νόθον εἰσάγεται διάδοχον Ἀντιπάτρῳ τῷ φθόρῳ τὴν παππῴαν αὐτῶν βασιλείαν προτείνων. τιμωρήσειν γε μὴν αὐτὸς τοῖς Ὑρκανοῦ καὶ τοῖς Μαριάμμης δαίμοσιν: οὐδὲ γὰρ πρέπειν αὐτὸν διαδέξασθαι παρὰ τοιούτου πατρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν δίχα φόνου. [522] πολλὰ δ’ εἶναι τὰ παροξύνοντα καθ’ ἡμέραν, ὥστε μηδὲ λαλιᾶς τινα τρόπον ἀσυκοφάντητον καταλελεῖφθαι: περὶ μὲν γὰρ εὐγενείας ἑτέρων μνείας γενομένης αὐτὸς ἀλόγως ὑβρίζεσθαι, τοῦ πατρὸς λέγοντος “ὁ μόνος εὐγενὴς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τὸν πατέρα δι’ ἀγένειαν ἀδοξῶν”: κατὰ δὲ τὰς θήρας προσκρούειν μὲν σιωπῶν, ἐπαινέσας δὲ προσακούειν εἴρων. [523] πανταχοῦ δ’ ἀμείλικτον εὑρίσκειν τὸν πατέρα καὶ μόνῳ φιλόστοργον Ἀντιπάτρῳ, δι’ ὃν ἡδέως καὶ τεθνήξεσθαι μὴ κρατήσας τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς. κτείναντι δὲ εἶναι σωτηρίας ἀφορμὴν πρῶτον μὲν Ἀρχέλαον ὄντα κηδεστήν, πρὸς ὃν διαφεύξεσθαι ῥᾳδίως, ἔπειτα Καίσαρα μέχρι νῦν ἀγνοοῦντα τὸν Ἡρώδου τρόπον: [524] οὐ γὰρ ὡς

πρότερον αὐτῷ παραστήσεσθαι πεφρικὼς τὸν ἐφεστῶτα πατέρα οὐδὲ φθέγξεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ μόνον ἐγκλημάτων, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν κηρύξειν τὰς τοῦ ἔθνους συμφορὰς καὶ τοὺς μέχρι ψυχῆς φορολογουμένους, ἔπειτ᾽ εἰς οἵας τρυφὰς καὶ πράξεις τὰ δι᾽ αἵματος πορισθέντα χρήματα ἀνηλώθη, τούς τε ἐξ ἡμῶν πλουτήσαντας οἷοι, καὶ τὰς θεραπευθείσας πόλεις ἐπὶ τίσιν. [525] ζητήσειν δὲ καὶ τὸν πάππον ἐκεῖ καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας μύση πάντα κηρύξειν, ἐφ᾽ οἷς οὐ κριθήσεσθαι πατροκτόνος.

2. Now as soon as this fellow perceived the rotten parts of the family, and what quarrels the brothers had one with another, and in what disposition the father was towards each of them, he chose to take his lodging at the first in the house of Antipater, but deluded Alexander with a pretense of friendship to him, and falsely claimed to be an old acquaintance of Archelaus; for which reason he was presently admitted into Alexander's familiarity as a faithful friend. He also soon recommended himself to his brother Aristobulus. And when he had thus made trial of these several persons, he imposed upon one of them by one method, and upon another by another. But he was principally hired by Antipater, and so betrayed Alexander, and this by reproaching Antipater, because, while he was the eldest son he overlooked the intrigues of those who stood in the way of his expectations; and by reproaching Alexander, because he who was born of a queen, and was married to a king's daughter, permitted one that was born of a mean woman to lay claim to the succession, and this when he had Archelaus to support him in the most complete manner. Nor was his advice thought to be other than faithful by the young man, because of his pretended friendship with Archelaus; on which account it was that Alexander lamented to him Antipater's behavior with regard to himself, and this without concealing any thing from him; and how it was no wonder if Herod, after he had killed their mother, should deprive them of her kingdom. Upon this Eurycles pretended to commiserate his condition, and to grieve with him. He also, by a bait that he laid for him, procured Aristobulus to say the same things. Thus did he inveigle both the brothers to make complaints of their father, and then went to Antipater, and carried these grand secrets to him. He also added a fiction of his own, as if his brothers had laid a plot against him, and were almost ready to come upon him with their drawn swords. For this intelligence he received a great sum of money, and on that account he commended Antipater before his father, and at length undertook the work of bringing Alexander and Aristobulus to their graves, and accused them before their father. So he came to Herod, and told him that he would save his life, as a requital for the favors he had received from him, and would preserve his light [of life] by way of retribution for his kind

entertainment; for that a sword had been long whetted, and Alexander's right hand had been long stretched out against him; but that he had laid impediments in his way, prevented his speed, and that by pretending to assist him in his design: how Alexander said that Herod was not contented to reign in a kingdom that belonged to others, and to make dilapidations in their mother's government after he had killed her; but besides all this, that he introduced a spurious successor, and proposed to give the kingdom of their ancestors to that pestilent fellow Antipater: — that he would now appease the ghosts of Hyrcanus and Mariamne, by taking vengeance on him; for that it was not fit for him to take the succession to the government from such a father without bloodshed: that many things happen every day to provoke him so to do, insomuch that he can say nothing at all, but it affords occasion for calumny against him; for that if any mention be made of nobility of birth, even in other cases, he is abused unjustly, while his father would say that nobody, to be sure, is of noble birth but Alexander, and that his father was inglorious for want of such nobility. If they be at any time hunting, and he says nothing, he gives offense; and if he commends any body, they take it in way of jest. That they always find their father unmercifully severe, and have no natural affection for any of them but for Antipater; on which accounts, if this plot does not take, he is very willing to die; but that in case he kill his father, he hath sufficient opportunities for saving himself. In the first place, he hath Archelaus his father-in-law to whom he can easily fly; and in the next place, he hath Caesar, who had never known Herod's character to this day; for that he shall not appear then before him with that dread he used to do when his father was there to terrify him; and that he will not then produce the accusations that concerned himself alone, but would, in the first place, openly insist on the calamities of their nation, and how they are taxed to death, and in what ways of luxury and wicked practices that wealth is spent which was gotten by bloodshed; what sort of persons they are that get our riches, and to whom those cities belong upon whom he bestows his favors; that he would have inquiry made what became of his grandfather [Hyrcanus], and his mother [Mariamne], and would openly proclaim the gross wickedness that was in the kingdom; on which accounts he should not be deemed a parricide.

(3) [526] Τοιαῦτα κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τερατευσάμενος Εὐρυκλῆς ἐπήνει πολλὰ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον, ὡς ἄρα μόνος τε εἴη φιλοπάτωρ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μέχρι νῦν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐμπόδιος. μήπω δὲ καλῶς ἐπὶ τοῖς πρώτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς κατεσταλμένος εἰς ἀνήκεστον ὀργὴν ἐξαγριοῦται. [527] καὶ πάλιν λαβὼν καιρὸν Ἀντίπατρος ἑτέρους κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑπέπεμπεν κατηγόρους λέγειν, ὅτι Ἰουκούνδῳ καὶ Τυράννῳ λάθρα διαλέγοιντο τοῖς ἱππάρχοις μέν ποτε τοῦ βασιλέως γενομένοις,

τότε δ᾽ ἔκ τινων προσκρουσμάτων ἀποπεπτωκόσι τῆς τάξεως. ἐφ᾽ οἷς Ἡρώδης ὑπεραγανακτήσας εὐθέως ἐβασάνισεν τοὺς ἄνδρας. [528] ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν διαβληθέντων ὡμολόγουν, προεκομίσθη δέ τις πρὸς τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείου φρούραρχον ἐπιστολὴ παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου παρακαλοῦντος, ἵνα αὐτὸν δέξηται τῷ φρουρίῳ μετὰ Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ κτείναντα τὸν πατέρα, καὶ παράσχῃ τοῖς ὅπλοις χρήσασθαι καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀφορμαῖς. [529] ταύτην Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ἔλεγεν τέχνασμα εἶναι Διοφάντου: γραμματεὺς δ᾽ ἦν ὁ Διόφαντος τοῦ βασιλέως, τολμηρὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ δεινὸς μιμήσασθαι πάσης χειρὸς γράμματα: πολλὰ γοῦν παραχαράξας τελευταῖον ἐπὶ τούτῳ [καὶ] κτείνεται. βασανίσας δὲ τὸν φρούραρχον Ἡρώδης οὐδὲν ἤκουσεν οὐδὲ παρ᾽ ἐκείνου τῶν διαβεβλημένων.

3. When Eurycles had made this portentous speech, he greatly commended Antipater, as the only child that had an affection for his father, and on that account was an impediment to the other's plot against him. Hereupon the king, who had hardly repressed his anger upon the former accusations, was exasperated to an incurable degree. At which time Antipater took another occasion to send in other persons to his father to accuse his brethren, and to tell him that they had privately discoursed with Jucundus and Tyrannus, who had once been masters of the horse to the king, but for some offenses had been put out of that honorable employment. Herod was in a very great rage at these informations, and presently ordered those men to be tortured; yet did not they confess any thing of what the king had been informed; but a certain letter was produced, as written by Alexander to the governor of a castle, to desire him to receive him and Aristobulus into the castle when he had killed his father, and to give them weapons, and what other assistance he could, upon that occasion. Alexander said that this letter was a forgery of Diophantus. This Diophantus was the king's secretary, a bold man, and cunning in counterfeiting any one's hand; and after he had counterfeited a great number, he was at last put to death for it. Herod did also order the governor of the castle to be tortured, but got nothing out of him of what the accusations suggested.

(4) [530] Ἀλλὰ καίτοι τοὺς ἐλέγχους εὑρίσκων ἀσθενεῖς τοὺς υἱοὺς ἐκέλευσεν τηρεῖν, ἔτι μέντοι λελυμένους, τὸν δὲ λυμεῶνα τῆς οἰκίας καὶ δραματουργὸν ὅλου τοῦ μύσους Εὐρυκλέα σωτῆρα καὶ εὐεργέτην καλῶν πεντήκοντα δωρεῖται ταλάντοις. ὁ δὲ τὴν ἀκριβῆ φήμην φθάσας εἰς Καππαδοκίαν ἀργυρίζεται καὶ παρὰ Ἀρχελάου, τολμήσας εἰπεῖν ὅτι καὶ διαλλάξειεν Ἡρώδην Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. [531] διάρας δ᾽ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοῖς ἐκ κακῶν κτηθεῖσιν εἰς ὅμοια κατεχρήσατο: δὶς γοῦν ἐπὶ Καίσαρος κατηγορηθεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ στάσεως ἐμπλῆσαι τὴν Ἀχαίαν καὶ περιδύειν τὰς πόλεις φυγαδεύεται. κἀκεῖνον μὲν οὕτως ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου ποινὴ περιῆλθεν.

4. However, although Herod found the proofs too weak, he gave order to have his sons kept in custody; for till now they had been at liberty. He also called that pest of his family, and forger of all this vile accusation, Eurycles, his savior and benefactor, and gave him a reward of fifty talents. Upon which he prevented any accurate accounts that could come of what he had done, by going immediately into Cappadocia, and there he got money of Archelaus, having the impudence to pretend that he had reconciled Herod to Alexander. He thence passed over into Greece, and used what he had thus wickedly gotten to the like wicked purposes. Accordingly, he was twice accused before Caesar, that he had filled Achaia with sedition, and had plundered its cities; and so he was sent into banishment. And thus was he punished for what wicked actions he had been guilty of about Aristobulus and Alexander.

(5) [532] Ἄξιον δὲ ἀντιθεῖναι τὸν Κῷον Εὐάρεστον τῷ Σπαρτιάτῃ: καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ὢν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα φίλοις Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν Εὐρυκλεῖ καιρὸν ἐπιδημήσας πυνθανομένῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ περὶ ὧν ἐκεῖνος διέβαλλεν ὅρκοις τὸ μηδὲν ἀκηκοέναι τῶν μειρακίων ἐπιστώσατο. [533] οὐ μὴν ὤνησέν γέ τι τοὺς ἀθλίους: μόνων γὰρ ἦν τῶν κακῶν ἀκροατὴς ἑτοιμότατος Ἡρώδης καὶ κεχαρισμένος αὐτῷ πᾶς ὁ συμπιστεύων καὶ συναγανακτῶν.

5. But it will now be worth while to put Euaratus of Cos in opposition to this Spartan; for as he was one of Alexander's most intimate friends, and came to him in his travels at the same time that Eurycles came; so the king put the question to him, whether those things of which Alexander was accused were true? He assured him upon oath that he had never heard any such things from the young men; yet did this testimony avail nothing for the clearing those miserable creatures; for Herod was only disposed and most ready to hearken to what made against them, and every one was most agreeable to him that would believe they were guilty, and showed their indignation at them.

XXVII

CHAPTER 27.

Herod By Caesars Direction Accuses His Sons At Eurytus. They Are Not Produced Before The Courts But Yet Are Condemned; And In A Little Time They Are Sent To Sebaste, And Strangled There.

(1) [534] Παρώξυνεν δ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ Σαλώμη τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ὠμότητα: ταύτην γὰρ συνδήσασθαι τοῖς κινδύνοις ὁ Ἀριστόβουλος θέλων οὖσαν ἐκυρὰν καὶ τηθίδα, διαπέμπεται σώζειν ἑαυτὴν παραινῶν: παρεσκευάσθαι γὰρ βασιλέα κτείνειν αὐτὴν διαβληθεῖσαν ἐφ᾽ οἷς καὶ πρότερον, ὅτι Συλλαίῳ τῷ Ἄραβι γήμασθαι σπουδάζουσα λάθρα τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπόρρητα διαγγέλλοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν ὄντα. [535] τοῦτο δ᾽ ὥσπερ τελευταία θύελλα χειμαζομένους τοὺς νεανίσκους ἐπεβάπτισεν: ἡ γὰρ Σαλώμη δραμοῦσα πρὸς βασιλέα τὴν παραίνεσιν ἐμήνυσεν. κἀκεῖνος οὐκέτι καρτερήσας δεσμεῖ μὲν ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς υἱεῖς καὶ διεχώρισεν ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων, πέμπει δὲ πρὸς Καίσαρα διὰ τάχους Οὐολούμνιόν τε τὸν στρατοπεδάρχην καὶ τῶν φίλων Ὄλυμπον ἐγγράφους τὰς μηνύσεις φέροντας. [536] οἱ δ᾽ ὡς εἰς Ῥώμην πλεύσαντες ἀπέδοσαν τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως γράμματα, σφόδρα μὲν ἠχθέσθη Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τοῖς νεανίσκοις, οὐ μὴν ᾤετο δεῖν ἀφελέσθαι τὸν πατέρα τὴν περὶ τῶν υἱῶν ἐξουσίαν. [537] ἀντιγράφει γοῦν κύριον μὲν αὐτὸν καθιστάς, εὖ μέντοι ποιήσειν λέγων, εἰ μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν τε ἰδίων συγγενῶν καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἡγεμόνων ἐξετάσειεν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν: κἂν μὲν ἐνέχωνται, κτείνειν, ἐὰν δὲ μόνον ᾖσιν δρασμὸν βεβουλευμένοι, κολάζειν μετριώτερον.

1. Moreover, Salome exasperated Herod’s cruelty against his sons; for Aristobulus was desirous to bring her, who was his mother-in-law and his aunt, into the like dangers with themselves; so he sent to her to take care of her own safety, and told her that the king was preparing to put her to death, on account of the accusation that was laid against her, as if when she formerly endeavored to marry herself to Sylleus the Arabian, she had discovered the king’s grand secrets to him, who was the king’s enemy; and this it was that came as the last storm, and entirely sunk the young men when they were in great danger before. For Salome came running to the king, and informed him of what admonition had been given her; whereupon he could bear no longer, but commanded both the young men to be bound, and kept the one asunder from the other. He also sent Volumnius, the general of his army, to Caesar immediately, as also his friend Olympus with him, who carried the informations in writing along with them. Now as soon as they had sailed to Rome, and delivered the king’s letters to Caesar, Caesar was mightily troubled at the case of the young men; yet did not he think he ought to take the power from the father of condemning his sons; so he wrote back to him, and appointed him to have the power over his sons; but said withal, that he would do well to make an examination into this matter of the plot against him in a public court, and to take for his assessors his own kindred, and the governors of the province. And if those sons be found guilty, to put them

to death; but if they appear to have thought of no more than flying away from him, that he should moderate their punishment.

(2) [538] Τούτοις Ἡρώδης πείθεται, καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Βηρυτόν, ἔνθα προσέταξεν Καῖσαρ, συνῆγε τὸ δικαστήριον. προκαθίζουσίν τε οἱ ἡγεμόνες γραφὲν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ Καίσαρος, Σατορνῖνός τε καὶ οἱ περὶ Πεδάνιον πρέσβεις, σὺν οἷς [καὶ] Οὐολούμνιος ἐπίτροπος, ἔπειθ᾽ οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλοι, Σαλώμη τε καὶ Φερώρας, μεθ᾽ οὓς οἱ πάσης Συρίας ἄριστοι πλὴν Ἀρχελάου τοῦ βασιλέως: τοῦτον γὰρ ὄντα κηδεστὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου δι᾽ ὑποψίας εἶχεν Ἡρώδης. [539] τούς γε μὴν υἱοὺς οὐ προήγαγεν εἰς τὴν δίκην μάλα προμηθῶς: ἤδει γάρ, ὅτι καὶ μόνον ὀφθέντες ἐλεηθήσονται πάντως: εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ λόγου μεταλάβοιεν, ῥᾳδίως Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπολύσεσθαι τὰς αἰτίας. ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν ἐν Πλατάνῃ κώμῃ Σιδωνίων ἐφρουροῦντο.

2. With these directions Herod complied, and came to Berytus, where Caesar had ordered the court to be assembled, and got the judicature together. The presidents sat first, as Caesar's letters had appointed, who were Saturninus and Pedanius, and their lieutenants that were with them, with whom was the procurator Volumnius also; next to them sat the king's kinsmen and friends, with Salome also, and Pheroras; after whom sat the principal men of all Syria, excepting Archelaus; for Herod had a suspicion of him, because he was Alexander's father-in-law. Yet did not he produce his sons in open court; and this was done very cunningly, for he knew well enough that had they but appeared only, they would certainly have been pitied; and if withal they had been suffered to speak, Alexander would easily have answered what they were accused of; but they were in custody at Platane, a village of the Sidontans.

(3) [540] Καταστὰς δ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὡς πρὸς παρόντας διετείνετο κατηγόρει τε τὴν μὲν ἐπιβουλὴν ἀσθενῶς ὡς ἂν ἀπορούμενος εἰς αὐτὴν ἐλέγχων, λοιδορίας δὲ καὶ σκώμματα καὶ ὕβρεις καὶ πλημμελείας μυρίας εἰς αὐτόν, ἃ καὶ θανάτου χαλεπώτερα τοῖς συνέδροις ἀπέφηνεν. ἔπειτα μηδενὸς ἀντιλέγοντος ἐποικτισάμενος, ὡς αὐτὸς ἁλίσκοιτο καὶ νικῶν νίκην πικρὰν κατὰ τῶν τέκνων, ἐπηρώτα τὴν γνώμην ἑκάστου. [541] καὶ πρῶτος Σατορνῖνος ἀπεφήνατο κατακρίνειν μὲν τῶν νεανίσκων, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ θάνατον: οὐ γὰρ εἶναι θεμιτὸν αὐτῷ τριῶν παρεστώτων τέκνων ἑτέρου τέκνοις ἀπώλειαν ἐπιψηφίσασθαι. σύμψηφοι δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ δύο πρεσβευταὶ γίνονται, καὶ τούτοις ἕτεροί τινες ἠκολούθησαν. [542] Οὐολούμνιος δὲ τῆς σκυθρωπῆς ἀποφάσεως ἤρξατο, καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν πάντες θάνατον κατακρίνουσιν τῶν μειρακίων, οἱ μὲν κολακεύοντες, οἱ δὲ μισοῦντες Ἡρώδην καὶ οὐδεὶς δι᾽ ἀγανάκτησιν. [543] ἔνθα δὴ μετέωρος ἥ τε Συρία πᾶσα καὶ τὸ Ἰουδαικὸν ἦν ἐκδεχομένων τὸ τέλος τοῦ δράματος: οὐδεὶς μέντοι

ὑπελάμβανεν ἔσεσθαι μέχρι τεκνοκτονίας ὠμὸν Ἡρώδην. ὁ δὲ σύρας τοὺς υἱοὺς εἰς Τύρον κἀκεῖθεν διαπλεύσας εἰς Καισάρειαν τρόπον ἀναιρέσεως τοῖς μειρακίοις ἐσκέπτετο.

3. So the king got up, and inveighed against his sons, as if they were present; and as for that part of the accusation that they had plotted against him, he urged it but faintly, because he was destitute of proofs; but he insisted before the assessors on the reproaches, and jests, and injurious carriage, and ten thousand the like offenses against him, which were heavier than death itself; and when nobody contradicted him, he moved them to pity his case, as though he had been condemned himself, now he had gained a bitter victory against his sons. So he asked every one's sentence, which sentence was first of all given by Saturninus, and was this: That he condemned the young men, but not to death; for that it was not fit for him, who had three sons of his own now present, to give his vote for the destruction of the sons of another. The two lieutenants also gave the like vote; some others there were also who followed their example; but Volumnius began to vote on the more melancholy side, and all those that came after him condemned the young men to die, some out of flattery, and some out of hatred to Herod; but none out of indignation at their crimes. And now all Syria and Judea was in great expectation, and waited for the last act of this tragedy; yet did nobody, suppose that Herod would be so barbarous as to murder his children: however, he carried them away to Tyre, and thence sailed to Cesarea, and deliberated with himself what sort of death the young men should suffer.

(4) [544] Παλαιὸς δέ τις τοῦ βασιλέως στρατιώτης, ὄνομα Τίρων, ἔχων υἱὸν σφόδρα συνήθη καὶ φίλον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ἠγαπηκὼς ἰδίᾳ τὰ μειράκια, δι' ὑπερβολὴν ἀγανακτήσεως ἔκφρων ἐγίνετο, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐβόα περιιὼν πεπατῆσθαι τὸ δίκαιον, ἀπολωλέναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, συγκεχύσθαι τὴν φύσιν, ἀνομίας γέμειν τὸν βίον, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα μὴ φειδομένῳ τοῦ ζῆν ὑπηγόρευε τὸ πάθος. [545] τέλος δὲ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τολμήσας προσελθεῖν "ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μέν, ἔφη, κακοδαιμονέστατος εἶναι δοκεῖς, ὅστις κατὰ τῶν φιλτάτων πείθῃ τοῖς πονηροτάτοις, εἴ γε Φερώρα καὶ Σαλώμης καταγνοὺς πολλάκις θάνατον πιστεύεις τούτοις κατὰ τῶν τέκνων, οἵ σε τῶν γνησίων περικόπτοντες διαδόχων ἐπ' Ἀντιπάτρῳ καταλείπουσι μόνῳ, τὸν ἑαυτοῖς εὐμεταχείριστον αἱρούμενοι βασιλέα. [546] σκέψαι μέντοι γε, μή ποτε κἀκείνῳ γένηται μῖσος ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις ὁ τῶν ἀδελφῶν θάνατος: οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅστις οὐκ ἐλεεῖ τὰ μειράκια, τῶν δὲ ἡγεμόνων καὶ φανερῶς ἀγανακτοῦσιν πολλοί." ταῦθ' ἅμα λέγων ὠνόμαζεν τοὺς ἀγανακτοῦντας. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς εὐθέως ἐκείνους τε καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ συνελάμβανεν.

4. Now there was a certain old soldier of the king's, whose name was Tero, who had a son that was very familiar with and a friend to Alexander, and who himself particularly loved the young men. This soldier was in a manner distracted, out of the excess of the indignation he had at what was doing; and at first he cried out aloud, as he went about, that justice was trampled under foot; that truth was perished, and nature confounded; and that the life of man was full of iniquity, and every thing else that passion could suggest to a man who spared not his own life; and at last he ventured to go to the king, and said, "Truly I think thou art a most miserable man, when thou hearkenest to most wicked wretches, against those that ought to be dearest to thee; since thou hast frequently resolved that Pheroras and Salome should be put to death, and yet believest them against thy sons; while these, by cutting off the succession of thine own sons, leave all wholly to Antipater, and thereby choose to have thee such a king as may be thoroughly in their own power. However, consider whether this death of Antipater's brethren will not make him hated by the soldiers; for there is nobody but commiserates the young men; and of the captains, a great many show their indignation at it openly." Upon his saying this, he named those that had such indignation; but the king ordered those men, with Tero himself and his son, to be seized upon immediately.

(5) [547] Ἐφ' ᾧ τῶν ἐκ τῆς αὐλῆς τις κουρέων, Τρύφων ὄνομα, προεκπηδήσας ἔκ τινος θεοβλαβείας ἑαυτοῦ μηνυτὴς γίνεται. "κἀμὲ γάρ, ἔφη, Τίρων οὗτος ἀνέπειθεν, ὅταν θεραπεύω τῷ ξυρῷ σε διαχειρίσασθαι, μεγάλας τέ μοι παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου δωρεὰς ὑπισχνεῖτο." [548] ταῦτ' ἀκούσας Ἡρώδης τόν τε Τίρωνα σὺν τῷ παιδὶ καὶ τὸν κουρέα βασάνοις διήλεγχεν, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀρνουμένων, τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν πλέον λέγοντος, στρεβλοῦν ἐκέλευσεν τὸν Τίρωνα σφοδρότερον. [549] ὁ δ' υἱὸς οἰκτείρας ὑπέσχετο τῷ βασιλεῖ πάντα μηνύσειν, εἰ χαρίσαιτο τὸν πατέρα αὐτῷ. κἀκείνου δόντος εἶπεν, ὡς ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ πεισθεὶς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ θελήσειεν αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν. τοῦθ' οἱ μὲν εἰς ἀπαλλαγὴν τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς αἰκίας πεπλάσθαι, τινὲς δὲ ἀληθὲς ἔλεγον.

5. At which time there was a certain barber, whose name was Trypho. This man leaped out from among the people in a kind of madness, and accused himself, and said, "This Tero endeavored to persuade me also to cut thy throat with my razor, when I trimmed thee, and promised that Alexander should give me large presents for so doing." When Herod heard this, he examined Tero, with his son and the barber, by the torture; but as the others denied the accusation, and he said nothing further, Herod gave order that Tero should be racked more severely; but his son, out of pity to his father, promised to discover the whole to the king, if he would grant [that his father should be no longer tortured]. When he had

agreed to this, he said that his father, at the persuasion of Alexander, had an intention to kill him. Now some said this was forged, in order to free his father from his torments; and some said it was true.

(6) [550] Ἡρώδης γε μὴν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν τε ἡγεμόνων καὶ Τίρωνος κατηγορήσας τὸν λαὸν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐστρατολόγησεν: αὐτόθι γοῦν ἀναιροῦνται μετὰ τοῦ κουρέως ξύλοις βαλλόμενοι καὶ λίθοις. [551] πέμψας δὲ καὶ τοὺς υἱεῖς εἰς Σεβαστὴν οὖσαν οὐ πόρρω τῆς Καισαρείας προσέταξεν ἀποπνῖξαι. καὶ τελεσθέντος αὐτῷ ταχέως τοῦ προστάγματος τοὺς νεκροὺς εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειον ἐκέλευσεν ἀνακομισθῆναι τὸ φρούριον συνταφησομένους Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ μητροπάτορι. τὸ μὲν οὖν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου τέλος τοιοῦτον.

6. And now Herod accused the captains and Tero in an assembly of the people, and brought the people together in a body against them; and accordingly there were they put to death, together with [Trypho] the barber; they were killed by the pieces of wood and the stones that were thrown at them. He also sent his sons to Sebaste, a city not far from Cesarea, and ordered them to be there strangled; and as what he had ordered was executed immediately, so he commanded that their dead bodies should be brought to the fortress Alexandrium, to be buried with Alexander, their grandfather by the mother's side. And this was the end of Alexander and Aristobulus.

XXVIII

CHAPTER 28.

How Antipater Is Hated Of All Men; And How The King Espouses

The Sons Of Those That Had Been Slain To His Kindred; But

That Antipater Made Him Change Them For Other Women. Of

Herod's Marriages, And Children.

(1) [552] Ἀντιπάτρῳ δὲ ἀδήριτον ἔχοντι τὴν διαδοχὴν μῖσος μὲν ἀφόρητον ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους ἐπεγείρεται πάντων ἐπισταμένων, ὅτι τὰς διαβολὰς τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς πάσας ἐπισυντάξειεν οὗτος, ὑποικούρει δὲ καὶ δέος οὐ μέτριον αὐξανομένην ὁρῶντι τὴν τῶν ἀνῃρημένων γενεάν: ἦσαν γὰρ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μὲν ἐκ Γλαφύρας υἱεῖς δύο Τιγράνης καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἀριστοβούλῳ δ᾽ ἐκ Βερνίκης τῆς Σαλώμης Ἡρώδης μὲν καὶ Ἀγρίππας καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος υἱοί, θυγατέρες δὲ Ἡρωδιὰς καὶ Μαριάμμη. [553] τὴν μὲν οὖν Γλαφύραν μετὰ τῆς προικὸς Ἡρώδης ἀπέπεμψεν εἰς Καππαδοκίαν, ὡς ἀνεῖλεν Ἀλέξανδρον, τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου δὲ Βερνίκην συνῴκισεν θείῳ πρὸς μητρὸς Ἀντιπάτρου: τὴν γὰρ Σαλώμην οὖσαν διάφορον

ἐξοικειούμενος ὁ Ἀντίπατρος τοῦτον ἐπραγματεύσατο τὸν γάμον. [554] περιῄει δὲ καὶ τὸν Φερώραν δώροις τε καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις θεραπείαις καὶ τοὺς Καίσαρος φίλους οὐκ ὀλίγα πέμπων ἐπὶ Ῥώμης χρήματα. οἵ γε μὴν περὶ Σατορνῖνον ἐν Συρίᾳ πάντες ἐνεπλήσθησαν τῶν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ δωρεῶν. ἐμισεῖτο δὲ διδοὺς πλεῖον, ὡς ἂν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ μεγαλοψύχου χαριζόμενος ἀλλ᾽ ἀναλίσκων κατὰ δέος. [555] συνέβαινεν δὲ τοὺς μὲν λαμβάνοντας οὐδὲν μᾶλλον εὔνους γίνεσθαι, χαλεπωτέρους δ᾽ ἐχθροὺς οἷς μὴ διδοίη. λαμπροτέρας δὲ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διαδόσεις ὁρῶν τὸν βασιλέα παρ᾽ ἃς αὐτὸς ἐλπίδας εἶχεν ἐπιμελούμενον τῶν ὀρφανῶν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνῃρημένοις μετάνοιαν ἐμφαίνοντα δι᾽ ὧν ἠλέει τοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνων.

1. But an intolerable hatred fell upon Antipater from the nation, though he had now an indisputable title to the succession, because they all knew that he was the person who contrived all the calumnies against his brethren. However, he began to be in a terrible fear, as he saw the posterity of those that had been slain growing up; for Alexander had two sons by Glaphyra, Tigranes and Alexander; and Aristobulus had Herod, and Agrippa, and Aristobulus, his sons, with Herodias and Mariamne, his daughters, and all by Bernice, Salome's daughter. As for Glaphyra, Herod, as soon as he had killed Alexander, sent her back, together with her portion, to Cappadocia. He married Bernice, Aristobulus's daughter, to Antipater's uncle by his mother, and it was Antipater who, in order to reconcile her to him, when she had been at variance with him, contrived this match; he also got into Pheroras's favor, and into the favor of Caesar's friends, by presents, and other ways of obsequiousness, and sent no small sums of money to Rome; Saturninus also, and his friends in Syria, were all well replenished with the presents he made them; yet the more he gave, the more he was hated, as not making these presents out of generosity, but spending his money out of fear. Accordingly, it so fell out that the receivers bore him no more good-will than before, but that those to whom he gave nothing were his more bitter enemies. However, he bestowed his money every day more and more profusely, on observing that, contrary to his expectations, the king was taking care about the orphans, and discovering at the same time his repentance for killing their fathers, by his commiseration of those that sprang from them.

(2) [556] Συναγαγὼν γάρ ποτε Ἡρώδης συγγενεῖς τε καὶ φίλους παραστησάμενός τε τὰ παιδία καὶ δακρύων ἐμπλήσας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς εἶπεν: "ἐμὲ τοὺς μὲν τούτων πατέρας δαίμων σκυθρωπὸς ἀφείλετο, ταῦτα δέ μοι μετὰ τῆς φύσεως συνίστησιν ἔλεος ὀρφανίας. πειρῶμαι δ᾽, εἰ καὶ πατὴρ ἐγενόμην ἀτυχέστατος, πάππος γοῦν γενέσθαι κηδεμονικώτερος καὶ μετ᾽ ἐμὲ ἡγεμόνας αὐτοῖς ἀπολιπεῖν τοὺς ἐμοὶ φιλτάτους. [557] ἐγγυῶ δὲ τὴν μὲν σήν, ὦ Φερώρα, θυγατέρα τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν

ἀδελφῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου παίδων, ἵνα ᾖς αὐτῷ κηδεμὼν ἀναγκαῖος, τῷ δὲ σῷ παιδί, Ἀντίπατρε, τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου θυγατέρα: γένοιο γὰρ ἂν οὕτω πατὴρ τῆς ὀρφανῆς. καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς ὁ ἐμὸς Ἡρώδης λήψεται πρὸς μητρὸς ὢν ἀρχιερέως πάππου. [558] τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐμὰ ταύτην ἐχέτω τὴν κρίσιν, ἣν διακόψῃ μηδεὶς τῶν ἐμὲ φιλούντων: ἐπεύχομαι δὲ καὶ τῷ θεῷ συναρμόσαι τοὺς γάμους ἐπὶ συμφέροντι τῆς ἐμῆς βασιλείας καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐκγόνων τά τε παιδία ταυτὶ γαληνοτέροις ἐπιδεῖν ὄμμασιν ἢ τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν."

2. Accordingly, Herod got together his kindred and friends, and set before them the children, and, with his eyes full of tears, said thus to them: "It was an unlucky fate that took away from me these children's fathers, which children are recommended to me by that natural commiseration which their orphan condition requires; however, I will endeavor, though I have been a most unfortunate father, to appear a better grandfather, and to leave these children such curators after myself as are dearest to me. I therefore betroth thy daughter, Pheroras, to the elder of these brethren, the children of Alexander, that thou mayst be obliged to take care of them. I also betroth to thy son, Antipater, the daughter of Aristobulus; be thou therefore a father to that orphan; and my son Herod [Philip] shall have her sister, whose grandfather, by the mother's side, was high priest. And let every one that loves me be of my sentiments in these dispositions, which none that hath an affection for me will abrogate. And I pray God that he will join these children together in marriage, to the advantage of my kingdom, and of my posterity; and may he look down with eyes more serene upon them than he looked upon their fathers."

(3) [559] [ἐπειδὴ] ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπεδάκρυσέν τε καὶ τῶν παίδων συνήρμοσεν τὰς δεξιάς, ἔπειτα κατασπασάμενος ἕκαστον φιλοφρόνως διέλυσεν τὸ συνέδριον. ἐπαχνώθη δ' εὐθὺς Ἀντίπατρος καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἅπασιν ὀδυνώμενος: ὑπελάμβανεν γὰρ εἶναι παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ τὴν τῶν ὀρφανῶν τιμὴν ἑαυτοῦ κατάλυσιν αὖθίς τε κινδυνεύσειν περὶ τῶν ὅλων, εἰ πρὸς Ἀρχελάῳ καὶ Φερώραν ὄντα τετράρχην βοηθὸν ἔχοιεν οἱ Ἀλεξάνδρου παῖδες. [560] συνελογίζετο δὲ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μῖσος καὶ τὸν τῶν ὀρφανῶν ἔλεον ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους, ὅση τε σπουδὴ ζώντων καὶ ὅση μνήμη παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις τῶν δι' αὐτὸν ἀπολωλότων ἦν ἀδελφῶν. ἔγνω δὴ πάντα τρόπον διακόπτειν τὰς ἐγγύας.

3. While he spake these words he wept, and joined the children's right hands together; after which he embraced them every one after an affectionate manner, and dismissed the assembly. Upon this, Antipater was in great disorder immediately, and lamented publicly at what was done; for he supposed that this dignity which was conferred on these orphans was for his own destruction, even

in his father's lifetime, and that he should run another risk of losing the government, if Alexander's sons should have both Archelaus [a king], and Pheroras a tetrarch, to support them. He also considered how he was himself hated by the nation, and how they pitied these orphans; how great affection the Jews bare to those brethren of his when they were alive, and how gladly they remembered them now they had perished by his means. So he resolved by all the ways possible to get these espousals dissolved.

(4) [561] Καὶ τὸ μὲν ὑπιέναι πανούργως ἔδεισε τὸν πατέρα χαλεπὸν ὄντα καὶ πρὸς τὰς ὑποψίας κινούμενον ὀξέως, ἐτόλμησεν δὲ προσελθὼν ἱκετεύειν ἄντικρυς μὴ στερίσκειν αὐτὸν ἧς ἠξίωσεν τιμῆς, μηδὲ αὐτῷ μὲν ὄνομα βασιλείας, δύναμιν δὲ ὑπάρχειν ἄλλοις: οὐ γὰρ κρατήσειν τῶν πραγμάτων, εἰ πρὸς Ἀρχελάῳ πάππῳ καὶ Φερώραν κηδεστὴν ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου παῖς προσλάβοι. [562] κατηντιβόλει δὲ πολλῆς οὔσης γενεᾶς κατὰ τὸ βασίλειον μεταθεῖναι τοὺς γάμους: ἦσαν γὰρ τῷ βασιλεῖ γυναῖκες μὲν ἐννέα, τέκνα δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἑπτά, αὐτὸς μὲν Ἀντίπατρος ἐκ Δωρίδος, Ἡρώδης δ' ἐκ Μαριάμμης τῆς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως θυγατρός, Ἀντίπας δὲ καὶ Ἀρχέλαος ἐκ Μαλθάκης τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος, καὶ θυγάτηρ Ὀλυμπιάς, ἣν ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς αὐτοῦ Ἰώσηπος εἶχεν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἱεροσολυμίτιδος Κλεοπάτρας Ἡρώδης καὶ Φίλιππος, ἐκ δὲ Παλλάδος Φασάηλος. [563] ἐγένοντο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλαι θυγατέρες Ῥωξάνη τε καὶ Σαλώμη, ἡ μὲν ἐκ Φαίδρας, ἡ δὲ ἐξ Ἐλπίδος. δύο δ' εἶχεν ἀτέκνους, ἀνεψιάν τε καὶ ἀδελφιδῆν. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων δύο ἀδελφὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου τὰς ἐκ Μαριάμμης. οὔσης δὲ πολυπροσώπου τῆς γενεᾶς ὁ Ἀντίπατρος ἐδεῖτο μετατεθῆναι τοὺς γάμους.

4. Now he was afraid of going subtlely about this matter with his father, who was hard to be pleased, and was presently moved upon the least suspicion: so he ventured to go to him directly, and to beg of him before his face not to deprive him of that dignity which he had been pleased to bestow upon him; and that he might not have the bare name of a king, while the power was in other persons; for that he should never be able to keep the government, if Alexander's son was to have both his grandfather Archelaus and Pheroras for his curators; and he besought him earnestly, since there were so many of the royal family alive, that he would change those [intended] marriages. Now the king had nine wives, and children by seven of them; Antipater was himself born of Doris, and Herod Philip of Mariamne, the high priest's daughter; Antipas also and Archelaus were by Malthace, the Samaritan, as was his daughter Olympias, which his brother Joseph's son had married. By Cleopatra of Jerusalem he had Herod and Philip; and by Pallas, Phasaelus; he had also two daughters, Roxana and Salome, the one by Phedra, and the other by Elpis; he had also two wives that had no children, the one his first cousin, and the other his niece; and besides these he

had two daughters, the sisters of Alexander and Aristobulus, by Mariamne. Since, therefore, the royal family was so numerous, Antipater prayed him to change these intended marriages.

(5) [564] Χαλεπῶς δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἠγανάκτησεν καταμαθὼν αὐτοῦ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ὀρφανοὺς ἦθος, ἔννοιά τε αὐτῷ παρέστη περὶ τῶν ἀνηρημένων, μή ποτε κἀκεῖνοι γένοιντο τῶν Ἀντιπάτρου διαβολῶν ἀγώνισμα. [565] τότε μὲν οὖν πολλὰ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀποκρινάμενος ἀπελαύνει τὸν Ἀντίπατρον, αὖθις δὲ ὑπαχθεὶς αὐτοῦ ταῖς κολακείαις μεθηρμόσατο, καὶ αὐτῷ μὲν τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου συνῴκισεν θυγατέρα, τὸν δὲ υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τῇ Φερώρα θυγατρί.

5. When the king perceived what disposition he was in towards these orphans, he was angry at it, and a suspicion came into his mind as to those sons whom he had put to death, whether that had not been brought about by the false tales of Antipater; so that at that time he made Antipater a long and a peevish answer, and bid him begone. Yet was he afterwards prevailed upon cunningly by his flatteries, and changed the marriages; he married Aristobulus's daughter to him, and his son to Pheroras's daughter.

(6) [566] Καταμάθοι δ' ἄν τις, ὅσον ἴσχυσεν ἐν τούτοις κολακεύων Ἀντίπατρος, ἐκ τοῦ Σαλώμην ἐν ὁμοίοις ἀποτυχεῖν. ταύτην γὰρ δὴ καίπερ οὖσαν ἀδελφὴν καὶ πολλὰ διὰ Λιουίας τῆς γυναικὸς Καίσαρος ἱκετεύουσαν γαμηθῆναι τῷ Ἄραβι Συλλαίῳ, διωμόσατο μὲν ἐχθροτάτην ἕξειν, εἰ μὴ παύσαιτο τῆς σπουδῆς, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ἄκουσαν Ἀλεξᾷ τινι τῶν φίλων συνῴκισεν καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων αὐτῆς τὴν μὲν τῷ Ἀλεξᾶ παιδί, τὴν δ' ἑτέραν τῷ πρὸς μητρὸς Ἀντιπάτρου θείῳ. τῶν δ' ἐκ Μαριάμμης θυγατέρων ἡ μὲν ἀδελφῆς υἱὸν Ἀντίπατρον εἶχεν, ἡ δὲ ἀδελφοῦ Φασάηλον.

6. Now one may learn, in this instance, how very much this flattering Antipater could do, — even what Salome in the like circumstances could not do; for when she, who was his sister, and who, by the means of Julia, Caesar's wife, earnestly desired leave to be married to Sylleus the Arabian, Herod swore he would esteem her his bitter enemy, unless she would leave off that project: he also caused her, against her own consent, to be married to Alexas, a friend of his, and that one of her daughters should be married to Alexas's son, and the other to Antipater's uncle by the mother's side. And for the daughters the king had by Mariamne, the one was married to Antipater, his sister's son, and the other to his brother's son, Phasaelus.

XXIX

CHAPTER 29.

Antipater Becomes Intolerable. He Is Sent To Rome, And Carries Herod's Testament With Him; Pheroras Leaves His Brother, That He May Keep His Wife. He Dies At Home.

(1) [567] Διακόψας δὲ τὰς τῶν ὀρφανῶν ἐλπίδας ὁ Ἀντίπατρος καὶ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον αὐτῷ τὰς ἐπιγαμίας ποιησάμενος ὡς ἐπὶ βεβαίοις μὲν ὥρμει ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, προσλαβὼν δὲ τῇ κακίᾳ τὸ πεποιθὸς ἀφόρητος ἦν: τὸ γὰρ παρ᾽ ἑκάστῳ μῖσος ἀποσκευάσασθαι μὴ δυνάμενος ἐκ τοῦ φοβερὸς εἶναι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἐπορίζετο. [568] συνήργει δὲ καὶ Φερώρας ὡς ἂν ἤδη καὶ βασιλεῖ βεβαίῳ. γίνεται δὲ καὶ γυναικῶν σύνταγμα κατὰ τὴν αὐλήν, ὃ νεωτέρους ἐκίνησεν θορύβους: ἡ γὰρ Φερώρα γυνὴ μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς προσλαβοῦσα καὶ τὴν Ἀντιπάτρου μητέρα πολλὰ μὲν ἠσέλγαινεν κατὰ τὸ βασίλειον, ἐτόλμησεν δὲ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ὑβρίσαι δύο θυγατέρας, δι᾽ ἃ δὴ μάλιστα ταύτην ἐκεῖνος προβέβλητο: μισούμεναί γε μὴν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπεκράτουν. [569] μόνη δὲ τῆς ὁμονοίας αὐτῶν ἀντίπαλος ἦν Σαλώμη καὶ βασιλεῖ διέβαλλεν τὴν σύνοδον ὡς οὐκ ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθῷ τῶν αὐτοῦ πραγμάτων εἴη. γνοῦσαι δ᾽ ἐκεῖναι τὴν διαβολὴν καὶ ὡς ἀγανακτήσειεν Ἡρώδης, τῆς μὲν φανερᾶς συνόδου καὶ τῶν φιλοφρονήσεων ἐπαύσαντο, τοὐναντίον δ᾽ ὑπεκρίνοντο καὶ διαφέρεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἀκούοντος βασιλέως: αἷς συνυπεκρίνετο καὶ Ἀντίπατρος ἐν τῷ φανερῷ προσκρούων Φερώρᾳ. [570] συνουσίαι δὲ ἦσαν αὐτῶν λάθρα καὶ κῶμοι νυκτερινοί, τήν τε ὁμόνοιαν ἡ παρατήρησις ἐπέτεινεν. ἠγνόει δὲ οὐδὲν Σαλώμη τῶν πραττομένων καὶ πάντα Ἡρώδῃ διήγγελλεν.

1. Now when Antipater had cut off the hopes of the orphans, and had contracted such affinities as would be most for his own advantage, he proceeded briskly, as having a certain expectation of the kingdom; and as he had now assurance added to his wickedness, he became intolerable; for not being able to avoid the hatred of all people, he built his security upon the terror he struck into them. Pheroras also assisted him in his designs, looking upon him as already fixed in the kingdom. There was also a company of women in the court, which excited new disturbances; for Pheroras's wife, together with her mother and sister, as also Antipater's mother, grew very impudent in the palace. She also was so insolent as to affront the king's two daughters, on which account the king hated her to a great degree; yet although these women were hated by him, they domineered over others: there was only Salome who opposed their good agreement, and informed the king of their meetings, as not being for the advantage of his affairs. And when those women knew what calumnies she had raised against them, and

how much Herod was displeased, they left off their public meetings, and friendly entertainments of one another; nay, on the contrary, they pretended to quarrel one with another when the king was within hearing. The like dissimulation did Antipater make use of; and when matters were public, he opposed Pheroras; but still they had private cabals and merry meetings in the night time; nor did the observation of others do any more than confirm their mutual agreement. However, Salome knew every thing they did, and told every thing to Herod.

(2) [571] Ἐξεκαίετο δ' ἐκεῖνος εἰς ὀργὴν καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τὴν Φερώρου γυναῖκα: ταύτην γὰρ πλέον ἡ Σαλώμη διέβαλλεν. ἀθροίσας οὖν συνέδριον τῶν τε φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ τῆς ἀνθρώπου κατηγόρει καὶ τὴν εἰς τὰς ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρας ὕβριν, ὅτι τε Φαρισαίοις μὲν χορηγήσειεν μισθοὺς κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῷ κατασκευάσειεν πολέμιον ἐνδησαμένη φαρμάκοις. [572] τελευταῖον δ' εἰς Φερώραν ἀπέστρεφεν τὸν λόγον, δυοῖν θάτερον ἐλέσθαι λέγων, ἢ ἑαυτὸν ἀδελφὸν ἢ τὴν γυναῖκα. τοῦ δὲ θᾶττον ἀπολείψειν τὸ ζῆν ἢ τὴν γυναῖκα φήσαντος, οὐκ ἔχων ὅ τι χρὴ δρᾶν μετέβαινεν ἐπ' Ἀντίπατρον, ᾧ παρήγγειλεν μήτε τῇ Φερώρα γυναικὶ μήτε αὐτῷ μήτ' ἄλλῳ τινὶ τῶν ἐκείνης διαλέγεσθαι. ὁ δὲ φανερῶς μὲν οὐ μετέβαινεν τὸ πρόσταγμα, λάθρα δὲ διενυκτέρευεν σὺν ἐκείνοις. [573] καὶ δεδοικὼς τὴν ἐπιτηροῦσαν Σαλώμην πραγματεύεται διὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας φίλων τὴν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀποδημίαν αὐτῷ: γραψάντων γὰρ ἐκείνων δεῖν Ἀντίπατρον διὰ χρόνου πεμφθῆναι πρὸς Καίσαρα, ὁ δὲ οὔ τι μελλήσας ἐξέπεμψεν θεραπείαν τε λαμπρὰν καὶ πλεῖστα δοὺς χρήματα τήν τε διαθήκην κομίζειν, ἐν ᾗ βασιλεὺς μὲν Ἀντίπατρος ἐγέγραπτο, Ἀντιπάτρου δὲ Ἡρώδης διάδοχος ὁ ἐκ Μαριάμμης τῆς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως θυγατρὸς γεγονώς.

2. But he was inflamed with anger at them, and chiefly at Pheroras's wife; for Salome had principally accused her. So he got an assembly of his friends and kindred together, and there accused this woman of many things, and particularly of the affronts she had offered his daughters; and that she had supplied the Pharisees with money, by way of rewards for what they had done against him, and had procured his brother to become his enemy, by giving him love potions. At length he turned his speech to Pheroras, and told him that he would give him his choice of these two things: Whether he would keep in with his brother, or with his wife? And when Pheroras said that he would die rather than forsake his wife, Herod, not knowing what to do further in that matter, turned his speech to Antipater, and charged him to have no intercourse either with Pheroras's wife, or with Pheroras himself, or with any one belonging to her. Now though Antipater did not transgress that his injunction publicly, yet did he in secret come to their night meetings; and because he was afraid that Salome observed what he did, he procured, by the means of his Italian friends, that he might go and live at Rome;

for when they wrote that it was proper for Antipater to be sent to Caesar for some time, Herod made no delay, but sent him, and that with a splendid attendance, and a great deal of money, and gave him his testament to carry with him, — wherein Antipater had the kingdom bequeathed to him, and wherein Herod was named for Antipater's successor; that Herod, I mean, who was the son of Mariamne, the high priest's daughter.

(3) [574] Ἔπλευσεν δὲ καὶ Συλλαῖος ὁ Ἄραψ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης, ἠμεληκὼς μὲν τῶν Καίσαρος προσταγμάτων, ἀνταγωνιούμενος δὲ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον περὶ ὧν δεδίκαστο Νικολάῳ τάχιον. οὐ μικρὸς δ' αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς Ἀρέταν ἦν ἀγὼν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βασιλέα: τούτου γὰρ ἄλλους τε φίλους ἀνῃρήκει καὶ Σόαιμον τῶν ἐν Πέτρᾳ δυνατωτάτων. [575] πείσας δὲ πολλοῖς χρήμασιν Φάβατον τὸν Καίσαρος διοικητὴν ἐχρῆτο βοηθῷ καὶ καθ' Ἡρώδου. πλείονα δὲ δοὺς Ἡρώδης ἀφίστησίν τε ἀπὸ Συλλαίου Φάβατον καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ κελευσθέντα ὑπὸ Καίσαρος εἰσέπραττεν. ὁ δὲ μηδὲν ἀποδοὺς ἔτι καὶ κατηγόρει Φαβάτου παρὰ Καίσαρι, διοικητὴν εἶναι λέγων οὐ τῶν ἐκείνῳ, τῶν δὲ Ἡρώδῃ συμφερόντων. [576] ἐφ' οἷς ὀργισθεὶς Φάβατος, ἦν δ' ἔτι παρὰ Ἡρώδῃ μάλιστα τιμώμενος, γίνεται προδότης Συλλαίου τῶν ἀπορρήτων τῷ τε βασιλεῖ φησιν, ὅτι Συλλαῖος διαφθείρειεν αὐτοῦ τὸν σωματοφύλακα Κόρινθον χρήμασιν, ὃν δεῖ φυλάττεσθαι. πείθεται δ' ὁ βασιλεύς: καὶ γὰρ τέθραπτο μὲν ὁ Κόρινθος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ, γένος δ' ἦν Ἄραψ. [577] συλλαμβάνει δ' εὐθέως οὐκ αὐτὸν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ δύο ἑτέρους Ἄραβας εὑρὼν παρ' αὐτῷ, τὸν μὲν φίλον Συλλαίου τὸν δὲ φύλαρχον. οἱ δὲ βασανιζόμενοι πεῖσαι Κόρινθον ὡμολόγησαν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς χρήμασιν Ἡρώδην ἀνελεῖν. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἀνακριθέντες καὶ παρὰ Σατορνίνῳ τῷ διέποντι τὴν Συρίαν ἀνεπέμφθησαν εἰς Ῥώμην.

3. Sylleus also, the Arabian, sailed to Rome, without any regard to Caesar's injunctions, and this in order to oppose Antipater with all his might, as to that law-suit which Nicolaus had with him before. This Sylleus had also a great contest with Aretas his own king; for he had slain many others of Aretas's friends, and particularly Sohemus, the most potent man in the city Petra. Moreover, he had prevailed with Phabatus, who was Herod's steward, by giving him a great sum of money, to assist him against Herod; but when Herod gave him more, he induced him to leave Sylleus, and by this means he demanded of him all that Caesar had required of him to pay. But when Sylleus paid nothing of what he was to pay, and did also accuse Phabatus to Caesar, and said that he was not a steward for Caesar's advantage, but for Herod's, Phabatus was angry at him on that account, but was still in very great esteem with Herod, and discovered Sylleus's grand secrets, and told the king that Sylleus had corrupted Corinthus, one of the guards of his body, by bribing him, and of whom he must

therefore have a care. Accordingly, the king complied; for this Corinthus, though he was brought up in Herod's kingdom, yet was he by birth an Arabian; so the king ordered him to be taken up immediately, and not only him, but two other Arabians, who were caught with him; the one of them was Sylleus's friend, the other the head of a tribe. These last, being put to the torture, confessed that they had prevailed with Corinthus, for a large sum of money, to kill Herod; and when they had been further examined before Saturninus, the president of Syria, they were sent to Rome.

(4) [578] Ἡρώδης δὲ οὐκ ἀνίει Φερώραν βιαζόμενος ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς γυναικὸς οὐδ' ἐπενόει μηχανὴν δι' ἧς ἂν τιμωρήσαιτο τὴν ἄνθρωπον πολλὰς τοῦ μίσους ἔχων αἰτίας, ἕως ὑπεραγανακτήσας σὺν αὐτῇ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐκβάλλει. [579] Φερώρας δὲ ἀγαπήσας τὴν ὕβριν ἀπαλλάσσεται μὲν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τετραρχίαν ὀμόσας ὅρον ἕξειν ἕνα τῆς φυγῆς τὸν Ἡρώδου θάνατον καὶ μηδέποτε πρὸς ζῶντα ὑποστρέψειν, ἐπανῆλθεν δὲ οὐδὲ πρὸς νοσοῦντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν καίτοι λιπαρῶς μεταπεμπόμενον: ἐβούλετο γὰρ αὐτῷ τινας ἐντολὰς καταλείψειν ὡς τεθνηξόμενος. [580] ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν παρ' ἐλπίδα σώζεται, μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ νοσεῖ Φερώρας, εὑρίσκετο δὲ Ἡρώδης μετριώτερος: καὶ γὰρ ἥκει πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ συμπαθῶς ἐθεράπευεν. οὐ μὴν ὑπερίσχυσεν τοῦ πάθους: μετὰ γὰρ ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἀποθνήσκει Φερώρας. [581] ὃν καίπερ ἀγαπήσας Ἡρώδης μέχρι τελευταίας ἡμέρας ὅμως καὶ αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν ἐφημίσθη φαρμάκῳ. τόν γε μὴν νεκρὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα κομίσας πένθος τε μέγιστον ὅλῳ τῷ ἔθνει κατήγγειλεν καὶ κηδείας ἠξίωσεν λαμπροτάτης. ἕνα μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου φονέων τοιοῦτον περιέρχεται τέλος.

4. However, Herod did not leave off importuning Pheroras, but proceeded to force him to put away his wife; yet could he not devise any way by which he could bring the woman herself to punishment, although he had many causes of hatred to her; till at length he was in such great uneasiness at her, that he cast both her and his brother out of his kingdom. Pheroras took this injury very patiently, and went away into his own tetrarchy, [Perea beyond Jordan,] and sware that there should be but one end put to his flight, and that should be Herod's death; and that he would never return while he was alive. Nor indeed would he return when his brother was sick, although he earnestly sent for him to come to him, because he had a mind to leave some injunctions with him before he died; but Herod unexpectedly recovered. A little afterward Pheroras himself fell sick, when Herod showed great moderation; for he came to him, and pitied his case, and took care of him; but his affection for him did him no good, for Pheroras died a little afterward. Now though Herod had so great an affection for him to the last day of his life, yet was a report spread abroad that he had killed

him by poison. However, he took care to have his dead body carried to Jerusalem, and appointed a very great mourning to the whole nation for him, and bestowed a most pompous funeral upon him. And this was the end that one of Alexander's and Aristobulus's murderers came to.

XXX

CHAPTER 30.

When Herod Made Inquiry About Pheroras's Death A Discovery Was Made That Antipater Had Prepared A Poisonous Draught For Him. Herod Casts Doris And Her Accomplices, As Also Mariamne, Out Of The Palace And Blots Her Son Herod Out Of His Testament.

(1) [582] Μετέβαινεν δ' ἐπὶ τὸν αὐθέντην Ἀντίπατρον ἡ ποινὴ τὸν Φερώρα θάνατον ἀρχὴν λαβοῦσα. τῶν τούτου γάρ τινες ἀπελευθέρων κατηφεῖς τῷ βασιλεῖ προσελθόντες τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ διεφθάρθαι φαρμάκοις ἔλεγον: προσενεγκεῖν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ τι τὴν γυναῖκα τῶν οὐ συνήθως ἐσκευασμένων, φαγόντα δ' εὐθέως εἰς τὴν νόσον καταπεσεῖν. [583] ἀγηοχέναι τε πρὸ δυοῖν ἡμερῶν τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν γύναιον ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίας φαρμάκων ἔμπειρον, ὅπως φίλτρον σκευάσῃ τῷ Φερώρᾳ, δεδωκέναι δὲ ἀντὶ τούτου θανάσιμον Συλλαίου πραγματευσαμένου: τούτῳ γὰρ ἦν γνώριμον.

1. But now the punishment was transferred unto the original author, Antipater, and took its rise from the death of Pheroras; for certain of his freed-men came with a sad countenance to the king, and told him that his brother had been destroyed by poison, and that his wife had brought him somewhat that was prepared after an unusual manner, and that, upon his eating it, he presently fell into his distemper; that Antipater's mother and sister, two days before, brought a woman out of Arabia that was skillful in mixing such drugs, that she might prepare a love potion for Pheroras; and that instead of a love potion, she had given him deadly poison; and that this was done by the management of Sylleus, who was acquainted with that woman.

(2) [584] Πληγεὶς οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑποψίαις πλείοσιν θεραπαίνας τε καί τινας τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἐβασάνιζεν. ἐβόα δέ τις ἐν ταῖς ἀλγηδόσιν "θεὸς ὁ γῆν καὶ οὐρανὸν διέπων μετέλθοι τὴν τούτων ἡμῖν τῶν κακῶν αἰτίαν, τὴν Ἀντιπάτρου μητέρα." ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς λαβόμενος ἐπεξῄει πρόσω τὴν ἀλήθειαν. [585] ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τήν τε φιλίαν τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου μητρὸς πρὸς Φερώραν καὶ τὰς ἐκείνου

γυναῖκας ἐδήλου καὶ τὰς λαθραίας αὐτῶν συνόδους, ὅτι τε Φερώρας καὶ Ἀντίπατρος σὺν ἐκείναις πίνοιεν ὑποστρέφοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως δι᾽ ὅλης νυκτὸς μηδένα μήτε οἰκέτην μήτε θεράπαιναν ἐῶντες παρατυγχάνειν. μία δὴ τῶν ἐλευθέρων ταῦτα μηνύει.

2. The king was deeply affected with so many suspicions, and had the maidservants and some of the free women also tortured; one of which cried out in her agonies, “May that God that governs the earth and the heaven punish this author of all these our miseries, Antipater’s mother!” The king took a handle from this confession, and proceeded to inquire further into the truth of the matter. So this woman discovered the friendship of Antipater’s mother to Pheroras, and Antipater’s women, as also their secret meetings, and that Pheroras and Antipater had drunk with them for a whole night together as they returned from the king, and would not suffer any body, either man-servant or maidservant, to be there; while one of the free women discovered the matter.

(3) [586] Τὰς δὲ δούλας χωρὶς ἑκάστην Ἡρώδης ἐβασάνιζεν. ἐρρήθη δὲ παρὰ πάσαις τὰ προειρημένα σύμφωνα, καὶ διότι κατὰ συνθήκην Ἀντίπατρος μὲν εἰς Ῥώμην, Φερώρας δ᾽ ὑποχωρήσειεν εἰς τὴν Περαίαν: πολλάκις γὰρ αὐτοὺς διαλαλεῖν, ὡς μετ᾽ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Ἀριστόβουλον ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς Ἡρώδης μεταβήσεται καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας. οὐ γὰρ φείσεσθαι μετὰ Μαριάμμην καὶ τοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνης ἑτέρου τινός, ὥστε ἄμεινον εἶναι φεύγειν ὡς πορρωτάτω τοῦ θηρίου. [587] πολλάκις δὲ ἀποδυρόμενον πρὸς τὴν μητέρα τὸν Ἀντίπατρον εἰπεῖν, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν εἴη πολιὸς ἤδη, νεάζοι δὲ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ὁ πατήρ, φθάσαι δ᾽ ἂν τάχα καὶ τελευτήσας πρὶν ἄρξασθαι βασιλείας ἀληθοῦς. εἰ δὲ καί ποτε ἐκεῖνος τελευτήσειεν: πότε δ᾽ ἂν γένοιτο τοῦτο; παντάπασιν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τῆς διαδοχῆς γίνεσθαι σύντομον. [588] ὑποβλαστάνειν δὲ τὰς τῆς ὕδρας κεφαλάς, τοὺς Ἀριστοβούλου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου παῖδας. ἀφῃρῆσθαι δ᾽ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τέκνοις ἐλπίδα: διάδοχον γὰρ οὐ τῶν αὐτοῦ τινα παίδων μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐκ Μαριάμμης Ἡρώδην γεγραφέναι. καὶ κατὰ τοῦτό γε παντάπασιν παραγηρᾶν οἰόμενον αὐτοῦ καὶ διαθήκας μενεῖν κυρίας: αὐτὸν γὰρ προνοήσειν μηδένα τῆς γενεᾶς ἀπολιπεῖν. [589] ὄντα γε μὴν τῶν πώποτε πατέρων μισοτεκνότατον Ἡρώδην πολὺ μᾶλλον εἶναι μισάδελφον: δοῦναι γοῦν αὐτῷ πρῴην ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ διαλέγεσθαι Φερώρᾳ. τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος “τί γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐβλάπτομεν;” ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸν Ἀντίπατρον “εἴθε πάντα ἡμᾶς ἀφελόμενος γυμνοὺς ἐάσειεν ζῶντας. ἀλλ᾽ ἀμήχανον ἐκφυγεῖν οὕτω φονικὸν θηρίον, παρ᾽ ᾧ μηδὲ φιλεῖν τινας ἔξεστι φανερῶς. λάθρα γοῦν νῦν ἀλλήλοις σύνεσμεν, ἐξέσται δὲ φανερῶς, ἐὰν σχῶμέν ποτε ἀνδρῶν φρόνημα καὶ χεῖρας.”

3. Upon this Herod tortured the maidservants every one by themselves separately, who all unanimously agreed in the foregoing discoveries, and that accordingly by agreement they went away, Antipater to Rome, and Pheroras to Perea; for that they oftentimes talked to one another thus: That after Herod had slain Alexander and Aristobulus, he would fall upon them, and upon their wives, because, after he Mariamne and her children he would spare nobody; and that for this reason it was best to get as far off the wild beast as they were able: — and that Antipater oftentimes lamented his own case before his mother, and said to her, that he had already gray hairs upon his head, and that his father grew younger again every day, and that perhaps death would overtake him before he should begin to be a king in earnest; and that in case Herod should die, which yet nobody knew when it would be, the enjoyment of the succession could certainly be but for a little time; for that these heads of Hydra, the sons of Alexander and Aristobulus, were growing up: that he was deprived by his father of the hopes of being succeeded by his children, for that his successor after his death was not to be any one of his own sons, but Herod the son of Mariamne: that in this point Herod was plainly distracted, to think that his testament should therein take place; for he would take care that not one of his posterity should remain, because he was of all fathers the greatest hater of his children. Yet does he hate his brother still worse; whence it was that he a while ago gave himself a hundred talents, that he should not have any intercourse with Pheroras. And when Pheroras said, Wherein have we done him any harm? Antipater replied, “I wish he would but deprive us of all we have, and leave us naked and alive only; but it is indeed impossible to escape this wild beast, who is thus given to murder, who will not permit us to love any person openly, although we be together privately; yet may we be so openly too, if we have but the courage and the hands of men.”

(4) [590] Ταῦτ’ ἔλεγον αἱ βασανιζόμεναι, καὶ ὅτι Φερώρας βουλεύσαιτο φυγεῖν μετ’ αὐτῶν εἰς Πέτραν. ἐπίστευσεν δ’ Ἡρώδης πᾶσιν τοῖς λεγομένοις ἐκ τῶν ἑκατὸν ταλάντων: μόνῳ γὰρ Ἀντιπάτρῳ διείλεκτο περὶ αὐτῶν. ἀποσκήπτει δ’ εἰς πρώτην ὁ θυμὸς Δωρίδα τὴν Ἀντιπάτρου μητέρα: καὶ γυμνώσας αὐτὴν παντὸς οὗ δεδώρητο κόσμου, πολλῶν δ’ ἦν ταλάντων, ἐκβάλλει δεύτερον. [591] τὰς δὲ Φερώρου γυναῖκας ἀπὸ τῶν βασάνων ἐτημέλει διηλλαγμένος. ἐπτόητο δὲ τῷ φόβῳ καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ὑπόνοιαν ἐξερριπίζετο πολλούς τε τῶν οὐκ αἰτίων εἶλκεν εἰς βασάνους δεδοικώς, μή τινα τῶν αἰτίων παραλίπῃ.

4. These things were said by the women upon the torture; as also that Pheroras resolved to fly with them to Perea. Now Herod gave credit to all they said, on account of the affair of the hundred talents; for he had no discourse with any body about them, but only with Antipater. So he vented his anger first of all

against Antipater's mother, and took away from her all the ornaments which he had given her, which cost a great many talents, and cast her out of the palace a second time. He also took care of Pheroras's women after their tortures, as being now reconciled to them; but he was in great consternation himself, and inflamed upon every suspicion, and had many innocent persons led to the torture, out of his fear lest he should leave any guilty person untortured.

(5) [592] Κἀν τούτῳ τρέπεται πρὸς τὸν Σαμαρείτην Ἀντίπατρον, ὃς ἦν ἐπίτροπος Ἀντιπάτρου. βασανίζων δὲ αὐτὸν ἤκουσεν ὅτι μετεπέμψατο μὲν Ἀντίπατρος ἐξ Αἰγύπτου δηλητήριον φάρμακον ἐπ' αὐτὸν διά τινος τῶν ἑταίρων Ἀντιφίλου, λάβοι δὲ παρ' ἐκείνου Θευδίων ὁ θεῖος Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ παραδοίη Φερώρᾳ: τούτῳ γὰρ ἐντείλασθαι τὸν Ἀντίπατρον Ἡρώδην ἀνελεῖν ἕως αὐτός ἐστιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῆς ὑπονοίας κεχωρισμένος: Φερώραν δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ παραθέσθαι τὸ φάρμακον. [593] ταύτην ὁ βασιλεὺς μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτίκα τὸ ληφθὲν ἐκέλευσεν κομίζειν. ἡ δ' ἔξεισι μὲν ὡς κομιοῦσα, ῥίπτει δ' ἑαυτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους τόν τε ἔλεγχον καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως αἰκίαν φθάνουσα: προνοίᾳ δ', ὡς ἔοικεν, θεοῦ μετιόντος Ἀντίπατρον οὐκ ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ἀλλ' ἐπὶ θάτερα πεσοῦσα διασώζεται. [594] κομισθεῖσαν δ' αὐτὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνακτησάμενος, κεκάρωτο γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ πτώματος, ἠρώτα δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ῥίψειεν ἑαυτήν, εἰ μὲν εἴποι τἀληθές, ἀφήσειν πάσης τιμωρίας ἐπομνύμενος, εἰ δ' ὑποστείλαιτο, δαπανήσειν αὐτῆς ἐν βασάνοις τὸ σῶμα καὶ μηδὲ τάφῳ καταλείψειν.

5. And now it was that he betook himself to examine Antipater of Samaria, who was the steward of [his son] Antipater; and upon torturing him, he learned that Antipater had sent for a potion of deadly poison for him out of Egypt, by Antiphilus, a companion of his; that Theudio, the uncle of Antipater, had it from him, and delivered it to Pheroras; for that Antipater had charged him to take his father off while he was at Rome, and so free him from the suspicion of doing it himself: that Pheroras also committed this potion to his wife. Then did the king send for her, and bid her bring to him what she had received immediately. So she came out of her house as if she would bring it with her, but threw herself down from the top of the house, in order to prevent any examination and torture from the king. However, it came to pass, as it seems by the providence of God, when he intended to bring Antipater to punishment, that she fell not upon her head, but upon other parts of her body, and escaped. The king, when she was brought to him, took care of her, [for she was at first quite senseless upon her fall,] and asked her why she had thrown herself down; and gave her his oath, that if she would speak the real truth, he would excuse her from punishment; but that if she concealed any thing, he would have her body torn to pieces by torments, and leave no part of it to be buried.

(6) [595] Πρὸς ταῦθ’ ἡ γυνὴ μικρὸν διαλιποῦσα “καὶ τί γάρ, εἶπεν, ἔτι φείδομαι τῶν ἀπορρήτων Φερώρα τεθνεῶτος ἢ σώζουσα τὸν ἀπολέσαντα πάντας ἡμᾶς Ἀντίπατρον; ἄκουε, βασιλεῦ, καὶ μετὰ σοῦ θεὸς ὁ μάρτυς ἐμοὶ τῆς ἀληθείας πλανηθῆναι μὴ δυνάμενος: [596] ὅτε ἀποθνήσκοντι Φερώρᾳ παρεκαθέζου δεδακρυμένος, τότε με προσκαλεσάμενος ἐκεῖνος “ἦ πολύ γε, ἔφη, ὦ γύναι, τῆς εἰς ἐμαυτὸν διανοίας τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ διήμαρτον, τὸν οὕτως στέργοντα μισήσας καὶ κτεῖναι βουλευσάμενος τὸν οὕτως ἐπ’ ἐμοὶ μηδὲ τεθνεῶτί πω συγχεόμενον. ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπέχω τῆς ἀσεβείας τὸ ἐπιτίμιον, σὺ δ’ ὃ φυλάσσεις κατ’ αὐτοῦ φάρμακον ὑπ’ Ἀντιπάτρου καταλειφθὲν ἡμῖν φέρε καὶ βλέποντός μου ταχέως ἀφάνισον, ἵνα μὴ καὶ καθ’ [597] ᾅδου φέροιμι τὸν ἀλάστορα.” καὶ κελεύσαντος ἐκόμισα καὶ πλεῖστον μὲν εἰς τὸ πῦρ ὁρῶντος αὐτοῦ κατεκένωσα, βραχὺ δὲ ἐμαυτῇ πρὸς τὰ ἄδηλα καὶ τὸν ἐκ σοῦ φόβον ἐτήρησα.”

6. Upon this the woman paused a little, and then said, “Why do I spare to speak of these grand secrets, now Pheroras is dead? that would only tend to save Antipater, who is all our destruction. Hear then, O king, and be thou, and God himself, who cannot be deceived, witnesses to the truth of what I am going to say. When thou didst sit weeping by Pheroras as he was dying,” then it was that he called me to him, and said, “My dear wife, I have been greatly mistaken as to the disposition of my brother towards me, and have hated him that is so affectionate to me, and have contrived to kill him who is in such disorder for me before I am dead. As for myself, I receive the recompence of my impiety; but do thou bring what poison was left with us by Antipater, and which thou keepest in order to destroy him, and consume it immediately in the fire in my sight, that I may not be liable to the avenger in the invisible world.” This I brought as he bid me, and emptied the greatest part of it into the fire, but reserved a little of it for my own use against uncertain futurity, and out of my fear of thee.

(7) [598] Ταῦτ’ εἰποῦσα προκομίζει τὴν πυξίδα παντάπασιν ἔχουσαν τοῦ φαρμάκου βραχύ. βασιλεὺς δ’ ἐπὶ τὴν μητέρα τὴν Ἀντιφίλου καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὰς βασάνους μετέφερεν, κἀκεῖνοι τὸν Ἀντίφιλον κομίσαι τε ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου τὴν πυξίδα ὡμολόγουν καὶ λαβεῖν παρ’ ἀδελφοῦ τὸ φάρμακον ἔφασκον ἰατρεύοντος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ. [599] περιιόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου δαίμονες ἅπαν τὸ βασίλειον ἐρευνηταί τε καὶ μηνυταὶ τῶν ἀδήλων ἐγίνοντο τούς τε πορρωτάτω τῆς ὑποψίας ὄντας ἔσυρον εἰς τοὺς ἐλέγχους. εὑρίσκεται γοῦν καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως θυγάτηρ Μαριάμμη τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς συνίστωρ: [600] βασανιζόμενοι γὰρ τοῦτ’ ἀπέδειξαν αὐτῆς οἱ ἀδελφοί. βασιλεὺς δὲ τῆς μητρῴας τόλμης καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἠμύνατο: τὸν γοῦν ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἡρώδην ὄντα διάδοχον Ἀντιπάτρου τῆς διαθήκης ἐξήλειψεν.

7. When she had said this, she brought the box, which had a small quantity of this potion in it: but the king let her alone, and transferred the tortures to Antiphilus's mother and brother; who both confessed that Antiphilus brought the box out of Egypt, and that they had received the potion from a brother of his, who was a physician at Alexandria. Then did the ghosts of Alexander and Aristobulus go round all the palace, and became the inquisitors and discoverers of what could not otherwise have been found out and brought such as were the freest from suspicion to be examined; whereby it was discovered that Mariamne, the high priest's daughter, was conscious of this plot; and her very brothers, when they were tortured, declared it so to be. Whereupon the king avenged this insolent attempt of the mother upon her son, and blotted Herod, whom he had by her, out of his tretament, who had been before named therein as successor to Antipater.

XXXI

CHAPTER 31.

Antipater Is Convicted By Bathyllus; But He Still Returns From Rome Without Knowing It. Herod Brings Him To His Trial.

(1) [601] Ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ Βάθυλλος εἰς τοὺς ἐλέγχους συνέδραμεν, ἡ τελευταία πίστις τῶν Ἀντιπάτρῳ βεβουλευμένων: ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἀπελεύθερος αὐτοῦ, κομίζων δ' ἦκεν ἄλλο δηλητήριον ἰοὺς ἀσπίδων καὶ χυλοὺς ἑτέρων ἑρπετῶν, ἵνα εἰ τὸ πρῶτον ἀσθενήσει φάρμακον, τούτῳ Φερώρας μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ὁπλίσαιτο κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως. [602] πάρεργον δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα τόλμης ἐκόμιζεν τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐσκευωρημένας ἐπιστολὰς ὑπ' Ἀντιπάτρου: ἦσαν γὰρ Ἀρχέλαος καὶ Φίλιππος βασιλέως παῖδες ἐπὶ Ῥώμης παιδευόμενοι μειράκιά τε ἤδη καὶ φρονήματος μεστοί. [603] τούτους ἐπανακύπτοντας αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἀποσκευάσασθαι σπεύδων Ἀντίπατρος ἃς μὲν πλάττεται κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπιστολὰς ἐξ ὀνόματος τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης φίλων, οὓς δὲ ἔπειθεν γράψαι διαφθείρας χρήμασιν, ὡς πολλὰ μὲν βλασφημοῖεν τὸν πατέρα, φανερῶς δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Ἀριστόβουλον ὀδύροιντο, πρὸς δὲ τὴν μετάκλησιν ἀγανακτοῖεν: ἤδη δ' αὐτοὺς ὁ πατὴρ μετεπέμπετο, καὶ τοῦτο ἦν τὸ μάλιστα ταράσσον Ἀντίπατρον.

1. After these things were over, Bathyllus came under examination, in order to convict Antipater, who proved the concluding attestation to Antipater's designs; for indeed he was no other than his freed-man. This man came, and brought another deadly potion, the poison of asps, and the juices of other serpents, that if the first potion did not do the business, Pheroras and his wife might be armed with this also to destroy the king. He brought also an addition to Antipater's

insolent attempt against his father, which was the letters which he wrote against his brethren, Archelaus and Philip, which were the king's sons, and educated at Rome, being yet youths, but of generous dispositions. Antipater set himself to get rid of these as soon as he could, that they might not be prejudicial to his hopes; and to that end he forged letters against them in the name of his friends at Rome. Some of these he corrupted by bribes to write how they grossly reproached their father, and did openly bewail Alexander and Aristobulus, and were uneasy at their being recalled; for their father had already sent for them, which was the very thing that troubled Antipater.

(2) [604] Ἔτι δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀποδημίας ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ μένων τοιαύτας κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἠγόραζεν ἐπιστολὰς προσιών τε ὡς ἀνύποπτος εἴη τῷ πατρὶ περὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀπελογεῖτο, τὰ μὲν ψευδῆ λέγων εἶναι τῶν γραφομένων, ἃ δὲ νεότητος ἁμαρτήματα. [605] τηνικαῦτά γε μὴν τοῖς γράφουσιν κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν πλεῖστα δοὺς χρήματα συμφύρειν ἐπειρᾶτο τὸν ἔλεγχον, ἐσθῆτάς τε πολυτελεῖς καὶ στρωμνὰς ποικίλας ἐκπώματά τε ἀργυρᾶ καὶ χρυσᾶ συνωνούμενος ἄλλα τε πολλὰ τῶν κειμηλίων, ἵνα τῷ πλήθει τῆς εἰς ταῦτα δαπάνης τοὺς εἰς ἐκεῖνα μισθοὺς ἐγκαταγράψῃ: διακόσια γοῦν ἀναλώματος ἀνήνεγκεν τάλαντα, καὶ τούτων μεγίστη πρόφασις ἦν ἡ πρὸς Συλλαῖον δίκη. [606] πάντων δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τότε καὶ τῶν βραχυτέρων ἐν τῷ μείζονι κακῷ διακαλυφθέντων, ὅθ᾽ αἱ μὲν βάσανοι πᾶσαι τὴν πατροκτονίαν, αἱ δ᾽ ἐπιστολαὶ δευτέρας ἀδελφοκτονίας κεκράγεσαν, ὅμως οὐδεὶς τῶν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀφικνουμένων ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτῷ τὰς ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ τύχας καίτοι μεταξὺ τῶν ἐλέγχων καὶ τῆς ἐπανόδου διελθόντων ἑπτὰ μηνῶν: τοσοῦτον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ πάντων μῖσος ἦν. [607] τάχα καὶ τοὺς ἀπαγγέλλειν προῃρημένους οἱ τῶν ἀνῃρημένων δαίμονες ἀδελφῶν ἐφίμουν: γράφει γοῦν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἄφιξιν ἑαυτοῦ ταχεῖαν εὐαγγελιζόμενος, καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ Καίσαρος μετὰ τιμῆς ἀπολυθείη.

2. Nay, indeed, while Antipater was in Judea, and before he was upon his journey to Rome, he gave money to have the like letters against them sent from Rome, and then came to his father, who as yet had no suspicion of him, and apologized for his brethren, and alleged on their behalf that some of the things contained in those letters were false, and others of them were only youthful errors. Yet at the same time that he expended a great deal of his money, by making presents to such as wrote against his brethren, did he aim to bring his accounts into confusion, by buying costly garments, and carpets of various contextures, with silver and gold cups, and a great many more curious things, that so, among the view great expenses laid out upon such furniture, he might conceal the money he had used in hiring men [to write the letters]; for he brought in an account of his expenses, amounting to two hundred talents, his main pretense for which was

file law-suit he had been in with Sylleus. So while all his rogueries, even those of a lesser sort also, were covered by his greater villainy, while all the examinations by torture proclaimed his attempt to murder his father, and the letters proclaimed his second attempt to murder his brethren; yet did no one of those that came to Rome inform him of his misfortunes in Judea, although seven months had intervened between his conviction and his return, so great was the hatred which they all bore to him. And perhaps they were the ghosts of those brethren of his that had been murdered that stopped the mouths of those that intended to have told him. He then wrote from Rome, and informed his [friends] that he would soon come to them, and how he was dismissed with honor by Caesar.

(3) [608] Ὁ βασιλεὺς δὲ εἰς χεῖρας λαβεῖν σπεύδων τὸν ἐπίβουλον καὶ δεδοικὼς μή ποτε προγνοὺς φυλάξηται, δι᾽ ἐπιστολῆς ἀνθυπεκρίνετο τά τε ἄλλα φιλοφρονούμενος καὶ σπεύδειν παρακαλῶν: θήσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς πρὸς τὴν μητέρα μέμψεις ἐπειχθέντος: οὐ γὰρ ἠγνόει τὴν ἐκβολὴν τῆς μητρὸς Ἀντίπατρος. [609] πρότερον μὲν οὖν εἰλήφει τὴν περὶ τῆς Φερώρα τελευτῆς ἐπιστολὴν ἐν Τάραντι καὶ μέγιστον ἐποιήσατο πένθος, ὅ τινες ὡς ἐπὶ θείῳ καθύμνουν, ἦν δ᾽, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐπὶ διαμαρτίᾳ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἡ σύγχυσις καὶ οὐ Φερώραν κλαίοντος, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὑπηρέτην: ἤδη δὲ καὶ φόβος ἐπῄει τις αὐτὸν τῶν τετελεσμένων, μή ποτε φωραθείη τὸ φάρμακον. [610] τότε δ᾽ ἐν Κιλικίᾳ λαβὼν ἣν προειρήκαμεν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιστολὴν παραχρῆμα μὲν ἔσπευδεν, ὡς δὲ εἰς Κελένδεριν κατέπλει, λαμβάνει τις αὐτὸν ἔννοια τῶν περὶ τὴν μητέρα κακῶν προμαντευομένης ἤδη καὶ καθ᾽ ἑαυτὴν τῆς ψυχῆς. [611] οἱ μὲν οὖν προμηθέστεροι τῶν φίλων συνεβούλευον μὴ πρότερον ἐμπίπτειν τῷ πατρὶ πρὶν πυθέσθαι σαφῶς δι᾽ ἃς αἰτίας ἐξέβαλεν αὐτοῦ τὴν μητέρα: δεδιέναι γάρ, μή ποτε προσθήκη γένοιτο τῶν κατ᾽ ἐκείνης διαβολῶν. [612] οἱ δὲ ἀσκεπτότεροι καὶ τὴν πατρίδα σπεύδοντες ἰδεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ συμφέρον Ἀντιπάτρῳ σκοποῦντες, ἐπείγεσθαι παρῄνουν καὶ μὴ τῇ μελλήσει παρασχεῖν τῷ πατρὶ μὲν ὑποψίαν φαύλην, τοῖς διαβάλλουσι δὲ ἀφορμήν: καὶ γὰρ νῦν, εἴ τι κεκίνηται κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ, παρὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν γέγονεν: μηδὲ γὰρ ἂν τολμῆσαι παρόντος: ἄτοπον δ᾽ εἶναι δι᾽ ἀδήλους ὑποψίας προδήλων ἀγαθῶν στερίσκεσθαι, καὶ μὴ θᾶττον ἀποδοῦναι μὲν ἑαυτὸν τῷ πατρί, κομίσασθαι δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ μόνῳ σαλεύουσαν. [613] πείθεται τούτοις, ἐνῆγεν γὰρ τὸ δαιμόνιον, καὶ διαπεράσας εἰς τὸν Σεβαστὸν λιμένα τῆς Καισαρείας κατάγεται.

3. Now the king, being desirous to get this plotter against him into his hands, and being also afraid lest he should some way come to the knowledge how his affairs stood, and be upon his guard, he dissembled his anger in his epistle to him, as in other points he wrote kindly to him, and desired him to make haste, because if he

came quickly, he would then lay aside the complaints he had against his mother; for Antipater was not ignorant that his mother had been expelled out of the palace. However, he had before received a letter, which contained an account of the death of Pheroras, at Tarentum, and made great lamentations at it; for which some commended him, as being for his own uncle; though probably this confusion arose on account of his having thereby failed in his plot [on his father's life]; and his tears were more for the loss of him that was to have been subservient therein, than for [an uncle] Pheroras: moreover, a sort of fear came upon him as to his designs, lest the poison should have been discovered. However, when he was in Cilicia, he received the forementioned epistle from his father, and made great haste accordingly. But when he had sailed to Celenderis, a suspicion came into his mind relating to his mother's misfortunes; as if his soul foreboded some mischief to itself. Those therefore of his friends which were the most considerate advised him not rashly to go to his father, till he had learned what were the occasions why his mother had been ejected, because they were afraid that he might be involved in the calumnies that had been cast upon his mother: but those that were less considerate, and had more regard to their own desires of seeing their native country, than to Antipater's safety, persuaded him to make haste home, and not, by delaying his journey, afford his father ground for an ill suspicion, and give a handle to those that raised stories against him; for that in case any thing had been moved to his disadvantage, it was owing to his absence, which durst not have been done had he been present. And they said it was absurd to deprive himself of certain happiness, for the sake of an uncertain suspicion, and not rather to return to his father, and take the royal authority upon him, which was in a state of fluctuation on his account only. Antipater complied with this last advice, for Providence hurried him on [to his destruction]. So he passed over the sea, and landed at Sebastus, the haven of Cesarea.

(4) [614] Παρυπήντησεν δ' αὐτῷ παρὰ δόξαν ἐρημία πολλὴ πάντων ἐκτρεπομένων καὶ μηδενὸς προσιέναι τολμῶντος: ἐμισεῖτο μὲν γὰρ ἐπίσης, καὶ τότε φανῆναι τὸ μῖσος ἔσχεν παρρησίαν, πολλοὺς δὲ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως φόβος ἀπέστρεψεν, ἐπειδὴ πᾶσα πόλις ἤδη τῆς κατ' Ἀντιπάτρου φήμης πεπλήρωτο καὶ μόνος ἠγνόει τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν Ἀντίπατρος: οὔτε δὲ προεπέμφθη λαμπρότερόν τις ἐκείνου πλέοντος ἐπὶ Ῥώμης οὔτε ἀτιμότερον ὑπεδέχθη. [615] ὁ δὲ ἤδη μὲν ἐνενόει τὰς οἴκοι συμφοράς, ἔτι δὲ ἐκ πανουργίας ὑπεκρύπτετο καὶ τῷ δέει τεθνηκὼς ἔνδοθεν σοβαρὸς εἶναι τὸ πρόσωπον ἐβιάζετο. [616] φυγὴ δ' οὐκέτι ἦν οὐδ' ἐκ τῶν περιεχόντων ἀνάδυσις, καὶ σαφὲς μὲν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖ τι τῶν οἴκοθεν ἀπηγγέλλετο διὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπειλήν, ὑπελείπετο δὲ ἐλπὶς ἱλαρωτέρα, τάχα μὲν

μηδὲν πεφωρᾶσθαι, τάχα δ', εἴ τι καὶ πεφώραται, διασκευάσειν ἀναιδείᾳ καὶ δόλοις, ἅπερ ἦν αὐτῷ μόνα τὰ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐφόδια.

4. And here he found a perfect and unexpected solitude, while ever body avoided him, and nobody durst come at him; for he was equally hated by all men; and now that hatred had liberty to show itself, and the dread men were in at the king's anger made men keep from him; for the whole city [of Jerusalem] was filled with the rumors about Antipater, and Antipater himself was the only person who was ignorant of them; for as no man was dismissed more magnificently when he began his voyage to Rome so was no man now received back with greater ignominy. And indeed he began already to suspect what misfortunes there were in Herod's family; yet did he cunningly conceal his suspicion; and while he was inwardly ready to die for fear, he put on a forced boldness of countenance. Nor could he now fly any whither, nor had he any way of emerging out of the difficulties which encompassed him; nor indeed had he even there any certain intelligence of the affairs of the royal family, by reason of the threats the king had given out: yet had he some small hopes of better tidings; for perhaps nothing had been discovered; or if any discovery had been made, perhaps he should be able to clear himself by impudence and artful tricks, which were the only things he relied upon for his deliverance.

(5) [617] Φραξάμενος οὖν αὐτοῖς ἦκεν εἰς τὸ βασίλειον δίχα τῶν φίλων: οὗτοι γὰρ ὑβρισθέντες ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου πυλῶνος εἴρχθησαν: ἔτυχεν δ' ἔνδον ὢν Οὔαρος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμών. ὁ δὲ εἴσεισι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τῇ τόλμῃ παρακροτήσας ἑαυτὸν ἤγγιζεν ὡς ἀσπασόμενος. [618] κἀκεῖνος τὰς χεῖρας προβαλὼν καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν παρακλίνας, "ἔστιν, ἐξεβόησεν, καὶ τοῦτο πατροκτόνου τὸ περιπλέκεσθαί μοι θέλειν ἐν τηλικαύταις αἰτίαις ὄντα. φθείρου, δυσσεβεστάτη κεφαλή, μηδέ μου ψαύσῃς πρὶν ἀποσκευάσασθαι τὰ ἐγκλήματα. δίδωμι δέ σοι δικαστήριον καὶ δικαστὴν εὐκαίρως ἥκοντα Οὔαρον. ἴθι καὶ σκέπτου τὴν ἀπολογίαν εἰς αὔριον: παρέχω γάρ σου καιρὸν [619] τοῖς πανουργεύμασιν." πρὸς ταῦτα μηδὲν ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως ἀποκρίνασθαι δυνηθεὶς αὐτὸς ὑπέστρεψεν, παραγενόμεναι δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκδιηγήσαντο πάντας τοὺς ἐλέγχους ἥ τε μήτηρ καὶ ἡ γυνή. καὶ τότε μὲν ἀνανήψας ἐν σκέψει τῆς ἀπολογίας ἦν.

5. And with these hopes did he screen himself, till he came to the palace, without any friends with him; for these were affronted, and shut out at the first gate. Now Varus, the president of Syria, happened to be in the palace [at this juncture]; so Antipater went in to his father, and, putting on a bold face, he came near to salute him. But Herod Stretched out his hands, and turned his head away from him, and cried out, "Even this is an indication of a parricide, to be desirous to get

me into his arms, when he is under such heinous accusations. God confound thee, thou vile wretch; do not thou touch me, till thou hast cleared thyself of these crimes that are charged upon thee. I appoint thee a court where thou art to be judged, and this Varus, who is very seasonably here, to be thy judge; and get thou thy defense ready against tomorrow, for I give thee so much time to prepare suitable excuses for thyself." And as Antipater was so confounded, that he was able to make no answer to this charge, he went away; but his mother and wife came to him, and told him of all the evidence they had gotten against him. Hereupon he recollected himself, and considered what defense he should make against the accusations.

XXXII

CHAPTER 32.

Antipater Is Accused Before Varus, And Is Convicted Of Laying A Plot [Against His Father] By The Strongest Evidence. Herod Puts Off His Punishment Till He Should Be Recovered, And In The Mean Time Alters His Testament.

(1) [620] Τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ συνέδριον μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀθροίζει τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ φίλων, εἰσκαλεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἀντιπάτρου φίλους. προκαθέζεται δὲ αὐτὸς ἅμα Οὐάρῳ καὶ τοὺς μηνυτὰς πάντας ἐκέλευσεν εἰσαγαγεῖν, ἐν οἷς εἰσήχθησαν καὶ τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου μητρὸς οἰκέται τινὲς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ συνειλημμένοι, κομίζοντες γράμματα παρ' αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν τοιάδε: "ἐπεὶ πεφώραται πάντα ἐκεῖνα τῷ πατρί σου, μὴ παραγίνου πρὸς αὐτόν, ἂν μή τινα πορίσῃ παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος [621] δύναμιν." τούτων σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰσηγμένων Ἀντίπατρος εἰσέρχεται καὶ πεσὼν πρηνὴς πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ πατρός, "ἱκετεύω, πάτερ, ἔφη, μηδέν μου προκατεγνωκέναι, παρασχεῖν δέ μοι τὰς ἀκοὰς ἀκεραίους εἰς τὴν ἀπολογίαν: ἀποδείξω γὰρ ἐμαυτὸν καθαρόν, ἂν σὺ θέλῃς."

1. Now the day following the king assembled a court of his kinsmen and friends, and called in Antipater's friends also. Herod himself, with Varus, were the presidents; and Herod called for all the witnesses, and ordered them to be brought in; among whom some of the domestic servants of Antipater's mother were brought in also, who had but a little while before been caught, as they were carrying the following letter from her to her son: "Since all those things have been already discovered to thy father, do not thou come to him, unless thou canst procure some assistance from Caesar." When this and the other witnesses were introduced, Antipater came in, and falling on his face before his father's feet, he

said, “Father, I beseech thee, do not condemn me beforehand, but let thy ears be unbiassed, and attend to my defense; for if thou wilt give me leave, I will demonstrate that I am innocent.”

(2) [622] Ὁ δ’ αὐτῷ σιγᾶν ἐγκραγὼν πρὸς τὸν Οὔαρον εἶπεν: “ἀλλ’ ὅτι μὲν καὶ σύ, Οὔαρε, καὶ πᾶς δικαστὴς ὅσιος Ἀντίπατρον ἐξώλη κρινεῖ, πέπεισμαι. δέδοικα δέ, μὴ κἀμοῦ μισήσῃς τὴν τύχην κἀμὲ κρίνῃς πάσης ἄξιον συμφορᾶς τοιούτους υἱοὺς γεγεννηκότα. χρὴ δέ με διὰ τοῦτο ἐλεεῖσθαι πλέον, ὅτι πρὸς οὕτω μιαροὺς καὶ φιλοστοργότατος πατὴρ ἐγενόμην. [623] τοὺς μὲν γὰρ προτέρους βασιλείας τε ἔτι νέους ἀξιώσας καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ τροφείοις φίλους Καίσαρος, ζηλωτοὺς δὲ ποιήσας βασιλεῦσιν ἑτέροις, εὗρον ἐπιβούλους, οἳ τεθνήκασι τὸ πλέον Ἀντιπάτρῳ: νέῳ γὰρ ὄντι καὶ διαδόχῳ τούτῳ μάλιστα τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἐποριζόμην. [624] τὸ δὲ μιαρὸν τοῦτο θηρίον τῆς ἐμῆς ὑπερεμπλησθὲν ἀνεξικακίας ἤνεγκεν κατ’ ἐμοῦ τὸν κόρον: ἔδοξα γὰρ αὐτῷ πολὺν ζῆν χρόνον, καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν γῆρας ἐβαρύνθη βασιλεύς τε οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν εἰ μὴ διὰ πατροκτονίας γενέσθαι, δίκαια γοῦν βουλευσάμενος, ὅτι καταγαγὼν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ἀπερριμμένον καὶ παρωσάμενος τοὺς ἐκ βασιλίδος μοι γεγενημένους ἀπέδειξα τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχον. [625] ἐξομολογοῦμαί σοι, Οὔαρε, τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ φρενοβλάβειαν: ἐγὼ τοὺς υἱοὺς ἐκείνους κατ’ ἐμαυτοῦ παρώξυνα δικαίας αὐτῶν ἀποκόψας ἐλπίδας δι’ Ἀντίπατρον. καὶ τί μὲν ἐκείνους εὐεργέτησα τηλικοῦτον, ἡλίκον τοῦτον; ᾧ γε ζῶν μὲν ὀλίγου δεῖν παρεχώρησα τῆς ἐξουσίας, φανερῶς δὲ ταῖς διαθήκαις ἐνέγραψα τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχον καὶ πρόσοδον μὲν ἰδίᾳ πεντήκοντα ταλάντων ἔνειμα, τῶν δ’ ἐμῶν ἐχορήγησα χρημάτων ἀνέδην, πλέοντι δὲ νῦν εἰς Ῥώμην ἔδωκα τριακόσια τάλαντα, Καίσαρι δ’ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς γενεᾶς μόνον ὡς σωτῆρα τοῦ πατρὸς παρεθέμην. [626] τί δ’ ἐκεῖνοι τοιοῦτον ἠσέβησαν, οἷον Ἀντίπατρος; ἢ τίς ἔλεγχος ἠνέχθη κατ’ αὐτῶν, ἡλίκος ἀποδείκνυσιν τοῦτον ἐπίβουλον; [627] ἀλλὰ φθέγγεσθαί τι τετόλμηκεν ὁ πατροκτόνος καὶ πάλιν δόλοις τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐπικαλύψειν ἐλπίζει. Οὔαρε, σοὶ φυλακτέον: ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶδα τὸ θηρίον καὶ προορῶμαι τὴν μέλλουσαν ἀξιοπιστίαν καὶ τὸν ἐπίπλαστον ὀλοφυρμόν: οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ παραινῶν ἐμοί ποτε φυλάττεσθαι ζῶντα Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ μὴ πᾶσιν πιστεύειν τὸ σῶμα: οὗτος ὁ μέχρι τῆς κοίτης εἰσάγων καὶ μή μέ τις ἐνεδρεύοι περιβλέπων: οὗτος ὁ ταμίας τῶν ὕπνων καὶ χορηγὸς τῆς ἀμεριμνίας, ὁ παραμυθούμενος τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνῃρημένοις λύπην καὶ διακρίνων τὴν τῶν ζώντων εὔνοιαν ἀδελφῶν, ὁ ὑπερασπιστὴς ὁ ἐμός, ὁ σωματοφύλαξ. [628] ὅταν ἀναμνησθῶ, Οὔαρε, τὸ πανοῦργον ἐν ἑκάστῳ καὶ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν, ἀπιστία με τοῦ ζῆν εἰσέρχεται καὶ θαυμάζω, πῶς βαρὺν οὕτως ἐπίβουλον διέφυγον. ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ δαίμων τις ἐξερημοῖ τὸν ἐμὸν οἶκον καί μοι τοὺς φιλτάτους ἐπανίστησιν ἀεί, κλαύσομαι μὲν ἐγὼ τὴν ἄδικον εἱμαρμένην καὶ κατ’ ἐμαυτὸν στενάξω τὴν

ἐρημίαν, διαφεύξεται δ’ οὐδεὶς διψήσας τοὐμὸν αἷμα, κἂν διὰ πάντων μου τῶν τέκνων ὁ ἔλεγχος ἔλθῃ.”

2. Hereupon Herod cried out to him to hold his peace, and spake thus to Varus: “I cannot but think that thou, Varus, and every other upright judge, will determine that Antipater is a vile wretch. I am also afraid that thou wilt abhor my ill fortune, and judge me also myself worthy of all sorts of calamity for begetting such children; while yet I ought rather to be pitied, who have been so affectionate a father to such wretched sons; for when I had settled the kingdom on my former sons, even when they were young, and when, besides the charges of their education at Rome, I had made them the friends of Caesar, and made them envied by other kings, I found them plotting against me. These have been put to death, and that, in great measure, for the sake of Antipater; for as he was then young, and appointed to be my successor, I took care chiefly to secure him from danger: but this profligate wild beast, when he had been over and above satiated with that patience which I showed him, he made use of that abundance I had given him against myself; for I seemed to him to live too long, and he was very uneasy at the old age I was arrived at; nor could he stay any longer, but would be a king by parricide. And justly I am served by him for bringing him back out of the country to court, when he was of no esteem before, and for thrusting out those sons of mine that were born of the queen, and for making him a successor to my dominions. I confess to thee, O Varus, the great folly I was guilty for I provoked those sons of mine to act against me, and cut off their just expectations for the sake of Antipater; and indeed what kindness did I do them; that could equal what I have done to Antipater? to I have, in a manner, yielded up my royal while I am alive, and whom I have openly named for the successor to my dominions in my testament, and given him a yearly revenue of his own of fifty talents, and supplied him with money to an extravagant degree out of my own revenue; and’ when he was about to sail to Rome, I gave him three talents, and recommended him, and him alone of all my children, to Caesar, as his father’s deliverer. Now what crimes were those other sons of mine guilty of like these of Antipater? and what evidence was there brought against them so strong as there is to demonstrate this son to have plotted against me? Yet does this parricide presume to speak for himself, and hopes to obscure the truth by his cunning tricks. Thou, O Varus, must guard thyself against him; for I know the wild beast, and I foresee how plausibly he will talk, and his counterfeit lamentation. This was he who exhorted me to have a care of Alexander when he was alive, and not to intrust my body with all men! This was he who came to my very bed, and looked about lest any one should lay snares for me! This was he

who took care of my sleep, and secured me from fear of danger, who comforted me under the trouble I was in upon the slaughter of my sons, and looked to see what affection my surviving brethren bore me! This was my protector, and the guardian of my body! And when I call to mind, O Varus, his craftiness upon every occasion, and his art of dissembling, I can hardly believe that I am still alive, and I wonder how I have escaped such a deep plotter of mischief. However, since some fate or other makes my house desolate, and perpetually raises up those that are dearest to me against me, I will, with tears, lament my hard fortune, and privately groan under my lonesome condition; yet am I resolved that no one who thirsts after my blood shall escape punishment, although the evidence should extend itself to all my sons."

(3) [629] Τοιαῦτα λέγων αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπὸ συγχύσεως ἐνεκόπη, Νικολάῳ δ' ἐνὶ τῶν φίλων λέγειν τὰς ἀποδείξεις ἔνευσεν. μεταξὺ δ' ὁ Ἀντίπατρος ἐπάρας τὴν κεφαλήν, ἔμενεν γὰρ δὴ βεβλημένος πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ πατρός, ἐκβοᾷ: [630] "σύ, πάτερ, ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ πεποίηκας τὴν ἀπολογίαν: πῶς γὰρ ἐγὼ πατροκτόνος, ὃν ὁμολογεῖς φύλακα διὰ παντὸς ἐσχηκέναι; τερατείαν δέ μου καὶ ὑπόκρισιν λέγεις τὴν εὐσέβειαν. πῶς ὁ πανοῦργος ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις οὕτως ἄφρων ἐγενόμην, ὡς μὴ νοεῖν, ὅτι λαθεῖν οὐδ' ἀνθρώπους ῥᾴδιον τηλικοῦτον μύσος ἐνσκευαζόμενον, τὸν δ' ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ δικαστὴν ἀμήχανον, ὃς ἐφορᾷ πάντα καὶ πανταχοῦ πάρεστιν; [631] ἢ τὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τέλος ἠγνόουν, οὓς ὁ θεὸς οὕτως μετῆλθε τῆς εἰς σὲ κακοβουλίας; τί δέ με καὶ παρώξυνεν κατὰ σοῦ; βασιλείας ἐλπίς; ἀλλ' ἐβασίλευον. ὑπόνοια μίσους; οὐ γὰρ ἐστεργόμην; φόβος ἐκ σοῦ τις ἄλλος: ἀλλὰ μὴν σὲ τηρῶν ἑτέροις φοβερὸς ἦμην. ἔνδεια χρημάτων; [632] καὶ τίνι μᾶλλον ἐξῆν ἀναλίσκειν; εἰ γὰρ ἐξωλέστατος πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐγενόμην καὶ θηρίου ψυχὴν εἶχον ἀνημέρου, πάτερ, οὐκ ἂν ταῖς σαῖς εὐεργεσίαις ἐνικήθην, ὃν κατήγαγες μέν, ὡς ἔφης αὐτός, προέκρινας δὲ τοσούτων τέκνων, ἀπέδειξας δὲ ζῶν βασιλέα, δι' ὑπερβολὴν δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ἐποίησας ἐπίφθονον; [633] ὢ τάλας ἐγὼ τῆς πικρᾶς ἀποδημίας, ὡς πολὺν ἔδωκα καιρὸν τῷ φθόνῳ καὶ μακρὰν τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύουσι διωρίαν. σοὶ δέ, πάτερ, καὶ τοῖς σοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἀπεδήμουν, ἵνα μὴ Συλλαῖος τοῦ σοῦ γήρως καταφρονήσῃ. Ῥώμη μοι μάρτυς τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης προστάτης Καῖσαρ, ὁ φιλοπάτορα πολλάκις με εἰπών. λάβε, πάτερ, τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ γράμματα. ταῦτα τῶν ἐνθάδε διαβολῶν πιστότερα, ταῦτα ἀπολογία μοι μόνη, τούτοις τῆς εἰς σὲ φιλοστοργίας τεκμηρίοις χρῶμαι. [634] μέμνησο δὲ ὡς οὐχ ἑκὼν ἔπλεον ἐπιστάμενος τὴν ἐμφωλεύουσαν τῇ βασιλείᾳ κατ' ἐμοῦ δυσμένειαν. σὺ δέ με, πάτερ, ἄκων ἀπώλεσας, ἀναγκάσας καιρὸν διαβολῆς δοῦναι τῷ φθόνῳ. πάρειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐλέγχους, πάρειμι διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ παθὼν ὁ πατροκτόνος. [635] ἀλλὰ μήπω με τούτῳ φίλει τῷ τεκμηρίῳ: κατέγνωσμαι γὰρ καὶ παρὰ θεῷ καὶ παρὰ σοί, πάτερ.

κατεγνωσμένος δὲ δέομαι μὴ ταῖς ἄλλων βασάνοις πιστεύειν, ἀλλὰ κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ φερέσθω τὸ πῦρ, ὀδευέτω διὰ τῶν ἐμῶν σπλάγχνων τὰ ὄργανα, μὴ φειδέσθω ὀλοφυρμὸς τοῦ μιαροῦ σώματος: εἰ γὰρ εἰμὶ πατροκτόνος, [636] οὐκ ὀφείλω θνήσκειν ἀβασάνιστος.” τοιαῦτα μετ᾽ ὀλοφυρμοῦ καὶ δακρύων ἐκβοῶν τούς τε ἄλλους ἅπαντας καὶ τὸν Οὔαρον εἰς οἶκτον προυκαλέσατο, μόνον δὲ ὁ θυμὸς Ἡρώδην ἄδακρυν διεκράτει τοὺς ἐλέγχους ἀληθεῖς ἐπιστάμενον.

3. Upon Herod’s saying this, he was interrupted by the confusion he was in; but ordered Nicolaus, one of his friends, to produce the evidence against Antipater. But in the mean time Antipater lifted up his head, [for he lay on the ground before his father’s feet,] and cried out aloud, “Thou, O father, hast made my apology for me; for how can I be a parricide, whom thou thyself confessest to have always had for thy guardian? Thou callest my filial affection prodigious lies and hypocrisy! how then could it be that I, who was so subtle in other matters, should here be so mad as not to understand that it was not easy that he who committed so horrid a crime should be concealed from men, but impossible that he should be concealed from the Judge of heaven, who sees all things, and is present every where? or did not I know what end my brethren came to, on whom God inflicted so great a punishment for their evil designs against thee? And indeed what was there that could possibly provoke me against thee? Could the hope of being king do it? I was a king already. Could I suspect hatred from thee? No. Was not I beloved by thee? And what other fear could I have? Nay, by preserving thee safe, I was a terror to others. Did I want money? No; for who was able to expend so much as myself? Indeed, father, had I been the most execrable of all mankind, and had I had the soul of the most cruel wild beast, must I not have been overcome with the benefits thou hadst bestowed upon me? whom, as thou thyself sayest, thou broughtest [into the palace]; whom thou didst prefer before so many of thy sons; whom thou madest a king in thine own lifetime, and, by the vast magnitude of the other advantages thou bestowedst on me, thou madest me an object of envy. O miserable man! that thou shouldst undergo this bitter absence, and thereby afford a great opportunity for envy to arise against thee, and a long space for such as were laying designs against thee! Yet was I absent, father, on thy affairs, that Sylleus might not treat thee with contempt in thine old age. Rome is a witness to my filial affection, and so is Caesar, the ruler of the habitable earth, who oftentimes called me Philopater. Take here the letters he hath sent thee, they are more to be believed than the calumnies raised here; these letters are my only apology; these I use as the demonstration of that natural affection I have to thee. Remember that it was against my own choice that I sailed [to Rome], as knowing the latent hatred that

was in the kingdom against me. It was thou, O father, however unwillingly, who hast been my ruin, by forcing me to allow time for calumnies against me, and envy at me. However, I am come hither, and am ready to hear the evidence there is against me. If I be a parricide, I have passed by land and by sea, without suffering any misfortune on either of them: but this method of trial is no advantage to me; for it seems, O father, that I am already condemned, both before God and before thee; and as I am already condemned, I beg that thou wilt not believe the others that have been tortured, but let fire be brought to torment me; let the racks march through my bowels; have no regard to any lamentations that this polluted body can make; for if I be a parricide, I ought not to die without torture." Thus did Antipater cry out with lamentation and weeping, and moved all the rest, and Varus in particular, to commiserate his case. Herod was the only person whose passion was too strong to permit him to weep, as knowing that the testimonies against him were true.

(4) [637] Ἐν τούτῳ Νικόλαος τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσαντος πολλὰ πρὸς τὸ πανοῦργον τὸ Ἀντιπάτρου προειπὼν καὶ τὸν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ διαχέας ἔλεον, ἔπειτα πικρὰν κατηγορίαν κατετείνατο, πάντα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν κακουργήματα περιτιθεὶς αὐτῷ, μάλιστα δὲ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἀποδεικνὺς ταῖς ἐκείνου διαβολαῖς ἀπολωλότας. ἐπιβουλεύειν δὲ αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν καὶ τοῖς περιοῦσιν ὡς ἐφέδροις τῆς διαδοχῆς: τὸν γὰρ παρασκευάσαντα πατρὶ φάρμακον ἢ πού γ᾽ ἂν ἀδελφῶν ἀποσχέσθαι. [638] προελθὼν δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸν ἔλεγχον τῆς φαρμακείας τάς τε μηνύσεις [ἐξῆς] ἐπεδείκνυεν καὶ περὶ Φερώρα κατεσχετλίαζεν, ὅτι κἀκεῖνον Ἀντίπατρος ποιήσειεν ἀδελφοκτόνον καὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους τῷ βασιλεῖ διαφθείρας ὅλον τοῦ μύσους ἀναπλήσειεν τὸν οἶκον, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις εἰπὼν καὶ ἀποδείξας καταπαύει τὸν λόγον.

4. And now it was that, at the king's command, Nicolaus, when he had premised a great deal about the craftiness of Antipater, and had prevented the effects of their commiseration to him, afterwards brought in a bitter and large accusation against him, ascribing all the wickedness that had been in the kingdom to him, and especially the murder of his brethren; and demonstrated that they had perished by the calumnies he had raised against them. He also said that he had laid designs against them that were still alive, as if they were laying plots for the succession; and [said he] how can it be supposed that he who prepared poison for his father should abstain from mischief as to his brethren? He then proceeded to convict him of the attempt to poison Herod, and gave an account in order of the several discoveries that had been made; and had great indignation as to the affair of Pheroras, because Antipater had been for making him murder his brother, and had corrupted those that were dearest to the king, and filled the

whole palace with wickedness; and when he had insisted on many other accusations, and the proofs for them, he left off.

(5) [639] Οὔαρος δὲ ἀπολογεῖσθαι κελεύσας τὸν Ἀντίπατρον, ὡς οὐδὲν πλέον εἰπὼν ἢ "θεός ἐστίν μοι τοῦ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν μάρτυς" ἔκειτο σιγῶν, αἰτήσας τὸ φάρμακον δίδωσί τινι τῶν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ κατακρίτων δεσμώτῃ πιεῖν. [640] τοῦ δὲ παραχρῆμα τελευτήσαντος ὁ μὲν ἀπορρήτους ποιήσας τὰς πρὸς Ἡρώδην ὁμιλίας καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸ συνέδριον Καίσαρι γράψας μετὰ μίαν ἡμέραν χωρίζεται. δεσμεῖ δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίπατρον καὶ πρὸς Καίσαρα τοὺς δηλώσοντας τὴν συμφορὰν ἐξέπεμψεν.

5. Then Varus bid Antipater make his defense; but he lay along in silence, and said no more but this, "God is my witness that I am entirely innocent." So Varus asked for the potion, and gave it to be drunk by a condemned malefactor, who was then in prison, who died upon the spot. So Varus, when he had had a very private discourse with Herod, and had written an account of this assembly to Caesar, went away, after a day's stay. The king also bound Antipater, and sent away to inform Caesar of his misfortunes.

(6) [641] Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ κατὰ Σαλώμης ἐπίβουλος Ἀντίπατρος εὑρίσκεται: τῶν γὰρ Ἀντιφίλου τις οἰκετῶν ἦκεν ἐπιστολὰς κομίζων ἀπὸ Ῥώμης παρὰ Λιουίας θεραπαινίδος Ἀκμῆς τοὔνομα. καὶ παρὰ μὲν ταύτης ἐπέσταλτο βασιλεῖ τὰς παρὰ Σαλώμης ἐπιστολὰς ἐν τοῖς Λιουίας εὑρηκέναι γράμμασιν, πεπομφέναι δὲ αὐτῷ λάθρα δι' εὔνοιαν. [642] αἱ δὲ τῆς Σαλώμης λοιδορίας τε τοῦ βασιλέως περιεῖχον πικροτάτας καὶ κατηγορίαν μεγίστην. ταύτας δὲ πλάσας Ἀντίπατρος καὶ τὴν Ἀκμὴν διαφθείρας ἔπεισεν Ἡρώδῃ πέμψαι. [643] διηλέγχθη δὲ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολῆς: καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τὸ γύναιον ἔγραψεν: "ὡς ἐβουλήθης, ἔγραψά σου τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἐκείνας ἔπεμψα πεπεισμένη τὸν βασιλέα μὴ φείσεσθαι τῆς ἀδελφῆς, ὅταν ἀναγνῷ. καλῶς δὲ ποιήσεις, ἐπειδὰν ἀπαρτισθῇ πάντα, μνημονεύσας ὧν ὑπέσχου."

6. Now after this it was discovered that Antipater had laid a plot against Salome also; for one of Antiphilus's domestic servants came, and brought letters from Rome, from a maidservant of Julia, [Caesar's wife,] whose name was Acme. By her a message was sent to the king, that she had found a letter written by Salome, among Julia's papers, and had sent it to him privately, out of her good-will to him. This letter of Salome contained the most bitter reproaches of the king, and the highest accusations against him. Antipater had forged this letter, and had corrupted Acme, and persuaded her to send it to Herod. This was proved by her letter to Antipater, for thus did this woman write to him: "As thou desirest, I have written a letter to thy father, and have sent that letter, and am persuaded

that the king will not spare his sister when he reads it. Thou wilt do well to remember what thou hast promised when all is accomplished."

(7) [644] Ταύτης φωραθείσης τῆς ἐπιστολῆς καὶ τῶν κατὰ Σαλώμης ἐνσκευασθεισῶν ἔννοια μὲν ἐμπίπτει τῷ βασιλεῖ τάχα καὶ κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρου πλασθῆναι γράμματα, περιαλγὴς δ' ἦν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους ὡς παρ' ὀλίγον καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἀποκτείνας δι' Ἀντίπατρον: [645] οὐκέτι οὖν ἀνεβάλλετο λαβεῖν τιμωρίαν ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων. ὡρμημένος δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ἐπεσχέθη νόσῳ χαλεπῇ: περὶ μέντοι τῆς Ἀκμῆς καὶ τῶν κατὰ Σαλώμης ἐσκευωρημένων ἐπέστειλεν Καίσαρι. [646] τήν τε διαθήκην αἰτήσας μετέγραφεν, καὶ βασιλέα μὲν ἀπεδείκνυεν Ἀντίπαν ἀμελῶν τῶν πρεσβυτάτων Ἀρχελάου καὶ Φιλίππου: διαβεβλήκει γὰρ καὶ τούτους Ἀντίπατρος: Καίσαρι δὲ σὺν τοῖς διὰ χρημάτων δώροις χίλια τάλαντα, τῇ δὲ γυναικὶ καὶ τέκνοις αὐτοῦ καὶ φίλοις καὶ ἀπελευθέροις περὶ πεντακόσια, ἀπένειμεν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν τῆς τε χώρας οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ τῶν χρημάτων: λαμπροτάταις δὲ δωρεαῖς ἐτίμα Σαλώμην τὴν ἀδελφήν. ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς διαθήκαις ταῦτα διωρθώσατο.

7. When this epistle was discovered, and what the epistle forged against Salome contained, a suspicion came into the king's mind, that perhaps the letters against Alexander were also forged: he was moreover greatly disturbed, and in a passion, because he had almost slain his sister on Antipater's account. He did no longer delay therefore to bring him to punishment for all his crimes; yet when he was eagerly pursuing Antipater, he was restrained by a severe distemper he fell into. However, he sent all account to Caesar about Acme, and the contrivances against Salome; he sent also for his testament, and altered it, and therein made Antipas king, as taking no care of Archelaus and Philip, because Antipater had blasted their reputations with him; but he bequeathed to Caesar, besides other presents that he gave him, a thousand talents; as also to his wife, and children, and friends, and freed-men about five hundred: he also bequeathed to all others a great quantity of land, and of money, and showed his respects to Salome his sister, by giving her most splendid gifts. And this was what was contained in his testament, as it was now altered.

XXXIII

CHAPTER 33.

The Golden Eagle Is Cut To Pieces. Herod's Barbarity When He Was Ready To Die. He Attempts To Kill Himself. He Commands Antipater To Be Slain. He Survives Him Five Days And Then

Dies.

(1) [647] Προῄει δ’ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ χαλεπώτερον ἡ νόσος ἅτε δὴ τῶν ἀρρωστημάτων ἐν γήρᾳ καὶ ἀθυμίᾳ ἐπιπεσόντων: ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἤδη σχεδὸν ἐτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα, τεταπείνωτο δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ταῖς περὶ τῶν τέκνων συμφοραῖς, ὡς μηδ’ ἐν ὑγιείᾳ τι τῶν ἡδέων προσίεσθαι. τῆς νόσου δ’ ἦν ἐπίτασις ζῶν Ἀντίπατρος, ὃν οὐκ ἐν παρέργῳ, ῥαίσας δὲ προῄρητο ἀνελεῖν.

1. Now Herod’s distemper became more and more severe to him, and this because these his disorders fell upon him in his old age, and when he was in a melancholy condition; for he was already seventy years of age, and had been brought by the calamities that happened to him about his children, whereby he had no pleasure in life, even when he was in health; the grief also that Antipater was still alive aggravated his disease, whom he resolved to put to death now not at random, but as soon as he should be well again, and resolved to have him slain [in a public manner].

(2) [648] Γίνεται δ’ ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς αὐτῷ καὶ δημοτική τις ἐπανάστασις. δύο ἦσαν σοφισταὶ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν μάλιστα δοκοῦντες ἀκριβοῦν τὰ πάτρια καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν παντὶ τῷ ἔθνει μεγίστης ἠξιωμένοι δόξης, Ἰούδας τε υἱὸς Σεπφεραίου καὶ Ματθίας ἕτερος Μαργάλου. [649] τούτοις οὐκ ὀλίγοι προσῄεσαν τῶν νέων ἐξηγουμένοις τοὺς νόμους, καὶ συνεῖχον ὁσημέραι τῶν ἠβώντων στρατόπεδον. οἳ τότε τὸν βασιλέα πυνθανόμενοι ταῖς ἀθυμίαις ὑπορρέοντα καὶ τῇ νόσῳ λόγον καθίεσαν εἰς τοὺς γνωρίμους, ὡς ἄρα καιρὸς ἐπιτηδειότατος εἴη τιμωρεῖν ἤδη τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὰ κατασκευασθέντα παρὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους ἔργα κατασπᾶν. [650] ἀθέμιτον γὰρ εἶναι κατὰ τὸν ναὸν ἢ εἰκόνας ἢ προτομὰς ἢ ζῴου τινὸς ἐπώνυμον ἔργον εἶναι: κατεσκευάκει δ’ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπὲρ τὴν μεγάλην πύλην ἀετὸν χρυσοῦν: ὃν δὴ τότε παρῄνουν ἐκκόπτειν οἱ σοφισταί, καλὸν εἶναι λέγοντες, εἰ καί τις γένοιτο κίνδυνος, ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρίου νόμου θνήσκειν: τοῖς γὰρ οὕτω τελευτῶσιν ἀθάνατόν τε τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν ἐν ἀγαθοῖς αἴσθησιν αἰώνιον παραμένειν, τοὺς δὲ ἀγενεῖς καὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν σοφίας ἀπείρους ἀγνοοῦντας φιλοψυχεῖν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ δι’ ἀρετῆς τὸν ἐκ νόσου θάνατον αἱρεῖσθαι.

2. There also now happened to him, among his other calamities, a certain popular sedition. There were two men of learning in the city [Jerusalem,] who were thought the most skillful in the laws of their country, and were on that account had in very great esteem all over the nation; they were, the one Judas, the son of Sepphoris, and the other Matthias, the son of Margalus. There was a great concourse of the young men to these men when they expounded the laws, and there got together every day a kind of an army of such as were growing up to be men. Now when these men were informed that the king was wearing away with

melancholy, and with a distemper, they dropped words to their acquaintance, how it was now a very proper time to defend the cause of God, and to pull down what had been erected contrary to the laws of their country; for it was unlawful there should be any such thing in the temple as images, or faces, or the like representation of any animal whatsoever. Now the king had put up a golden eagle over the great gate of the temple, which these learned men exhorted them to cut down; and told them, that if there should any danger arise, it was a glorious thing to die for the laws of their country; because that the soul was immortal, and that an eternal enjoyment of happiness did await such as died on that account; while the mean-spirited, and those that were not wise enough to show a right love of their souls, preferred a death by a disease, before that which is the result of a virtuous behavior.

(3) [651] Ἅμα δὲ τοῖς ἐκείνων λόγοις διεφημίσθη καὶ θνήσκειν ὁ βασιλεύς, ὥστε θαρραλεώτερον ἥπτοντο τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως οἱ νέοι. μέσης γοῦν ἡμέρας καὶ πολλῶν κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀναστρεφομένων σχοίνοις παχείαις καθιμήσαντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους τὸν χρυσοῦν ἀετὸν ἐξέκοπτον πελέκεσιν. [652] ἠγγέλθη δ' εὐθέως τῷ βασιλέως στρατηγῷ, κἀκεῖνος μετὰ χειρὸς οὐκ ὀλίγης ἀναδραμὼν περὶ τεσσαράκοντα νεανίας συλλαμβάνει καὶ κατήγαγεν πρὸς βασιλέα. [653] πυνθανομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ πρῶτον, εἰ τολμήσειαν τὸν χρυσοῦν ἀετὸν ἐκκόπτειν, ὡμολόγουν. ἔπειτα, τίνος κελεύσαντος, ἀπεκρίναντο τοῦ πατρίου νόμου. τί δ' οὕτως γεγήθασιν διερωτήσαντος, ἀναιρεῖσθαι μέλλοντες ἔλεγον, ὅτι πλειόνων ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύσουσιν μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν.

3. At the same time that these men made this speech to their disciples, a rumor was spread abroad that the king was dying, which made the young men set about the work with greater boldness; they therefore let themselves down from the top of the temple with thick cords, and this at midday, and while a great number of people were in the temple, and cut down that golden eagle with axes. This was presently told to the king's captain of the temple, who came running with a great body of soldiers, and caught about forty of the young men, and brought them to the king. And when he asked them, first of all, whether they had been so hardy as to cut down the golden eagle, they confessed they had done so; and when he asked them by whose command they had done it, they replied, at the command of the law of their country; and when he further asked them how they could be so joyful when they were to be put to death, they replied, because they should enjoy greater happiness after they were dead.

(4) [654] Ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς δι' ὑπερβολὴν ὀργῆς κρείττων τῆς νόσου γενόμενος πρόεισιν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν κατηγορήσας ὡς

ἱεροσύλων καὶ προφάσει τοῦ νόμου πειραζόντων τι μεῖζον ἠξίου κολάζειν ὡς ἀσεβεῖς. [655] ὁ δὲ δῆμος δείσας μὴ διὰ πολλῶν ὁ ἔλεγχος ἔλθῃ, παρεκάλει πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς ὑποθεμένους τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἔπειτα τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ συλληφθέντας κολάσαντα τοῖς λοιποῖς τὴν ὀργὴν ἀφιέναι. πείθεται μόλις ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ τοὺς μὲν καθιμήσαντας ἑαυτοὺς ἅμα τοῖς σοφισταῖς κατέκαυσε ζῶντας, τοὺς λοιποὺς δὲ τῶν συλληφθέντων παρέδωκεν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις ἀνελεῖν.

4. At this the king was in such an extravagant passion, that he overcame his disease [for the time,] and went out, and spake to the people; wherein he made a terrible accusation against those men, as being guilty of sacrilege, and as making greater attempts under pretense of their law, and he thought they deserved to be punished as impious persons. Whereupon the people were afraid lest a great number should be found guilty and desired that when he had first punished those that put them upon this work, and then those that were caught in it, he would leave off his anger as to the rest. With this the king complied, though not without difficulty, and ordered those that had let themselves down, together with their Rabbins, to be burnt alive, but delivered the rest that were caught to the proper officers, to be put to death by them.

(5) [656] Ἔνθεν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα πᾶν ἡ νόσος διαλαβοῦσα ποικίλοις πάθεσιν ἐμερίζετο: πυρετὸς μὲν γὰρ ἦν οὐ λάβρος, κνησμὸς δὲ ἀφόρητος τῆς ἐπιφανείας ὅλης καὶ κόλου συνεχεῖς ἀλγηδόνες περί τε τοὺς πόδας ὥσπερ ὑδρωπιῶντος οἰδήματα τοῦ τε ἤτρου φλεγμονὴ καὶ δὴ αἰδοίου σηπεδὼν σκώληκας γεννῶσα, πρὸς τούτοις ὀρθόπνοια καὶ δύσπνοια καὶ σπασμοὶ πάντων τῶν μελῶν, ὥστε τοὺς ἐπιθειάζοντας ποινὴν εἶναι τῶν σοφιστῶν τὰ νοσήματα λέγειν. [657] ὁ δὲ παλαίων τοσούτοις πάθεσιν ὅμως τοῦ ζῆν ἀντείχετο σωτηρίαν τε ἤλπιζεν καὶ θεραπείας ἐπενόει: διαβὰς γοῦν τὸν Ἰορδάνην τοῖς κατὰ Καλλιρρόην ἐχρῆτο θερμοῖς: ταῦτα δ’ ἔξεισι μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀσφαλτῖτιν λίμνην, ὑπὸ γλυκύτητος δ’ ἐστὶ καὶ πότιμα. δόξαν δὲ ἐνταῦθα τοῖς ἰατροῖς ἐλαίῳ θερμῷ πᾶν ἀναθάλψαι τὸ σῶμα χαλασθὲν εἰς πλήρη πύελον ἐκλύει καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὡς τεθνεὼς ἀνέστρεψεν. [658] θορύβου δὲ τῶν θεραπευόντων γενομένου πρὸς μὲν τὴν φωνὴν ἀνήνεγκεν, εἰς δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπογνοὺς τὴν σωτηρίαν τοῖς τε στρατιώταις ἀνὰ πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς ἐκέλευσεν διανεῖμαι καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα τοῖς ἡγεμόσι καὶ τοῖς φίλοις.

5. After this, the distemper seized upon his whole body, and greatly disordered all its parts with various symptoms; for there was a gentle fever upon him, and an intolerable itching over all the surface of his body, and continual pains in his colon, and dropsical turnouts about his feet, and an inflammation of the abdomen, and a putrefaction of his privy member, that produced worms. Besides which he had a difficulty of breathing upon him, and could not breathe but when

he sat upright, and had a convulsion of all his members, insomuch that the diviners said those diseases were a punishment upon him for what he had done to the Rabbins. Yet did he struggle with his numerous disorders, and still had a desire to live, and hoped for recovery, and considered of several methods of cure. Accordingly, he went over Jordan, and made use of those hot baths at Callirrhoe, which ran into the lake Asphaltites, but are themselves sweet enough to be drunk. And here the physicians thought proper to bathe his whole body in warm oil, by letting it down into a large vessel full of oil; whereupon his eyes failed him, and he came and went as if he was dying; and as a tumult was then made by his servants, at their voice he revived again. Yet did he after this despair of recovery, and gave orders that each soldier should have fifty drachmae a-piece, and that his commanders and friends should have great sums of money given them.

(6) [659] Αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποστρέφων εἰς Ἰεριχοῦντα παραγίνεται μελαγχολῶν ἤδη, καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἀπειλῶν αὐτῷ τῷ θανάτῳ προέκοπτεν εἰς ἐπιβολὴν ἀθεμίτου πράξεως: τοὺς γὰρ ἀφ᾽ ἑκάστης κώμης ἐπισήμους ἄνδρας ἐξ ὅλης Ἰουδαίας συναγαγὼν εἰς τὸν καλούμενον ἱππόδρομον ἐκέλευσεν συγκλεῖσαι. [660] προσκαλεσάμενος δὲ Σαλώμην τὴν ἀδελφὴν καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ταύτης Ἀλεξᾶν "οἶδα, ἔφη, Ἰουδαίους τὸν ἐμὸν ἑορτάσοντας θάνατον, δύναμαι δὲ πενθεῖσθαι δι᾽ ἑτέρων καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐπιτάφιον ἔχειν, ἂν ὑμεῖς θελήσητε ταῖς ἐμαῖς ἐντολαῖς ὑπουργῆσαι. τούσδε τοὺς φρουρουμένους ἄνδρας ἐπειδὰν ἐκπνεύσω τάχιστα κτείνατε περιστήσαντες τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἵνα πᾶσα Ἰουδαία καὶ πᾶς οἶκος ἄκων ἐπ᾽ ἐμοὶ δακρύσῃ."

6. He then returned back and came to Jericho, in such a melancholy state of body as almost threatened him with present death, when he proceeded to attempt a horrid wickedness; for he got together the most illustrious men of the whole Jewish nation, out of every village, into a place called the Hippodrome, and there shut them in. He then called for his sister Salome, and her husband Alexas, and made this speech to them: "I know well enough that the Jews will keep a festival upon my death however, it is in my power to be mourned for on other accounts, and to have a splendid funeral, if you will but be subservient to my commands. Do you but take care to send soldiers to encompass these men that are now in custody, and slay them immediately upon my death, and then all Judea, and every family of them, will weep at it, whether they will or no."

(7) [661] Ταῦτα ἐνετέλλετο, καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ πρέσβεων ἦκον ἐπιστολαί, δι᾽ ὧν Ἀκμὴ μὲν ἀνῃρημένη κελεύσαντος Καίσαρος ἐδηλοῦτο, θανάτῳ δ᾽ Ἀντίπατρος κατάκριτος: ἔγραφόν γε μὴν ὡς, εἰ καὶ φυγαδεύειν αὐτὸν ἐθελήσειεν

ὁ πατήρ, ἐπιτρέποι Καῖσαρ. [662] ὁ δὲ βραχὺ μὲν πρὸς τὴν εὐθυμίαν ἀνήνεγκεν, αὖθις δέ, καὶ γὰρ ἐνδείᾳ τροφῆς καὶ βηχὶ σπασμώδει διετείνετο, τῶν ἀλγηδόνων ἡσσηθεὶς φθάσαι τὴν εἱμαρμένην ἐπεβάλλετο. λαβὼν δὲ μῆλον ᾔτησεν καὶ μαχαίριον, εἰώθει γὰρ ἀποτέμνων ἐσθίειν, ἔπειτα περιαθρήσας μή τις ὁ κωλύων εἴη, ἐπῆρεν τὴν δεξιὰν ὡς πλήξων ἑαυτόν. προσδραμὼν δὲ ἐκώλυσεν Ἀχίαβος ὁ ἀνεψιὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν χεῖρα κατασχών. [663] οἰμωγὴ δ᾽ εὐθέως ἤρθη μεγίστη κατὰ τὸ βασίλειον ὡς οἰχομένου βασιλέως, καὶ ταχέως ἀκούσας Ἀντίπατρος ἀναθαρρεῖ τε καὶ γεγηθὼς τοὺς φύλακας ἱκέτευεν ἐπὶ χρήμασιν ἐξαφεῖναι λύσαντας αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ ἡγεμὼν οὐ μόνον ἐκώλυσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλεῖ δραμὼν ἀνήγγειλεν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν. [664] ἀνέκραγεν δ᾽ ἐκεῖνος ἰσχυρότερον τῆς νόσου καὶ παραχρῆμα πέμψας τοὺς δορυφόρους ἀποκτείνει τὸν Ἀντίπατρον. θάψαι δὲ τὸν νεκρὸν αὐτοῦ προστάξας ἐν Ὑρκανίᾳ πάλιν τὰς διαθήκας ἐπανορθοῦται, καὶ διάδοχον μὲν Ἀρχέλαον τὸν πρεσβύτατον υἱὸν ἀδελφὸν δὲ Ἀντιπάτρου γράφει, τετράρχην δὲ Ἀντίπαν.

7. These were the commands he gave them; when there came letters from his ambassadors at Rome, whereby information was given that Acme was put to death at Caesar’s command, and that Antipater was condemned to die; however, they wrote withal, that if Herod had a mind rather to banish him, Caesar permitted him so to do. So he for a little while revived, and had a desire to live; but presently after he was overborne by his pains, and was disordered by want of food, and by a convulsive cough, and endeavored to prevent a natural, death; so he took an apple, and asked for a knife for he used to pare apples and eat them; he then looked round about to see that there was nobody to hinder him, and lift up his right hand as if he would stab himself; but Achiabus, his first cousin, came running to him, and held his hand, and hindered him from so doing; on which occasion a very great lamentation was made in the palace, as if the king were expiring. As soon as ever Antipater heard that, he took courage, and with joy in his looks, besought his keepers, for a sum of money, to loose him and let him go; but the principal keeper of the prison did not only obstruct him in that his intention, but ran and told the king what his design was; hereupon the king cried out louder than his distemper would well bear, and immediately sent some of his guards and slew Antipater; he also gave order to have him buried at Hyrcanium, and altered his testament again, and therein made Archelaus, his eldest son, and the brother of Antipas, his successor, and made Antipas tetrarch.

(8) [665] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τοῦ παιδὸς ἐπιβιοὺς πέντε ἡμέρας τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας ἀφ᾽ οὗ μὲν ἀποκτείνας Ἀντίγονον ἐκράτησεν τῶν πραγμάτων ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ τριάκοντα, ἀφ᾽ οὗ δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀπεδείχθη βασιλεὺς ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα, καὶ κατὰ μὲν τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τύχῃ δεξιᾷ χρησάμενος, εἰ καί τις ἄλλος,

ὅστις κατεκτήσατο βασιλείαν ἰδιώτης ὢν καὶ τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ φυλάξας ἰδίοις τέκνοις κατέλιπεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατ᾽ οἶκον ἀτυχέστατος. [666] πρὶν δὲ γνῶναι τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν προελθοῦσα μετὰ τἀνδρὸς ἡ Σαλώμη διαφῆκεν τοὺς δεσμώτας, οὓς κτείνειν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐνετείλατο, μεταπεισθῆναι τὸν βασιλέα λέγουσα καὶ πάλιν ἀναπέμπειν ἕκαστον εἰς τὰ ἴδια. τούτων δ᾽ οἰχομένων ἐδήλουν ἤδη τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ συνῆγον αὐτοὺς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ πλήθους ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἰεριχοῦντα ἀμφιθεάτρῳ. [667] ἔνθα παρελθὼν Πτολεμαῖος ὁ καὶ τὸν σημαντῆρα δακτύλιον παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως πεπιστευμένος τόν τε βασιλέα κατευδαιμονίζει καὶ τὸ πλῆθος παρακαλεῖ καὶ τὴν ἀπολειφθεῖσαν τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀνεγίνωσκεν ἐπιστολήν, ἐν ᾗ πολλὰ περὶ τῆς εἰς τὸν διάδοχον εὐνοίας παρεκάλει. [668] μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν λύσας τὰς ἐπιδιαθήκας ἀνεγίνωσκεν, ἐν αἷς Φίλιππος μὲν τοῦ Τράχωνος καὶ τῶν γειτνιώντων χωρίων κληρονόμος, τετράρχης δ᾽, ὡς προείπαμεν, Ἀντίπας, βασιλεὺς δ᾽ Ἀρχέλαος ἀπεδείκνυτο. [669] τούτῳ δὲ τόν τε δακτύλιον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ Καίσαρι φέρειν ἐνετέλλετο καὶ τὰς διοικήσεις τῆς βασιλείας σεσημασμένας: κύριον γὰρ ἁπάντων ὢν διατάξειεν καὶ βεβαιωτὴν τῶν διαθηκῶν εἶναι Καίσαρα: τά γε μὴν λοιπὰ κατὰ τὰς προτέρας διαθήκας φυλάττειν.

8. So Herod, having survived the slaughter of his son five days, died, having reigned thirty-four years since he had caused Antigonus to be slain, and obtained his kingdom; but thirty-seven years since he had been made king by the Romans. Now as for his fortune, it was prosperous in all other respects, if ever any other man could be so, since, from a private man, he obtained the kingdom, and kept it so long, and left it to his own sons; but still in his domestic affairs he was a most unfortunate man. Now, before the soldiers knew of his death, Salome and her husband came out and dismissed those that were in bonds, whom the king had commanded to be slain, and told them that he had altered his mind, and would have every one of them sent to their own homes. When these men were gone, Salome, told the soldiers [the king was dead], and got them and the rest of the multitude together to an assembly, in the amphitheater at Jericho, where Ptolemy, who was intrusted by the king with his signet ring, came before them, and spake of the happiness the king had attained, and comforted the multitude, and read the epistle which had been left for the soldiers, wherein he earnestly exhorted them to bear good-will to his successor; and after he had read the epistle, he opened and read his testament, wherein Philip was to inherit Trachonitis, and the neighboring countries, and Antipas was to be tetrarch, as we said before, and Archelaus was made king. He had also been commanded to carry Herod’s ring to Caesar, and the settlements he had made, sealed up, because Caesar was to be lord of all the settlements he had made, and was to

confirm his testament; and he ordered that the dispositions he had made were to be kept as they were in his former testament.

(9) [670] Βοὴ δ᾽ εὐθὺς ἐγένετο τῶν Ἀρχελάῳ συνηδομένων, καὶ κατὰ στῖφος οἱ στρατιῶται μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους προσιόντες ὑπισχνοῦντο μὲν τὴν ἑαυτῶν εὔνοιαν, συνηύχοντο δὲ καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς ταφὴν ἐτρέποντο τοῦ βασιλέως. [671] παρέλιπεν δ᾽ οὐδὲν Ἀρχέλαος εἰς πολυτέλειαν, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὸν βασιλικὸν κόσμον προήνεγκεν συμπομπεύσοντα τῷ νεκρῷ: κλίνη μὲν γὰρ ὁλόχρυσος ἦν διάλιθος, στρωμνὴ δὲ ἁλουργὶς ποικίλη, τὸ σῶμα δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς πορφύρᾳ κεκαλυμμένον, καὶ διάδημα μὲν ἐπέκειτο τῇ κεφαλῇ, στέφανος δ᾽ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ χρυσοῦς, τὸ δὲ σκῆπτρον παρὰ τὴν δεξιάν. [672] καὶ περὶ τὴν κλίνην οἵ τε υἱεῖς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συγγενῶν, ἐφ᾽ οἷς οἱ δορυφόροι καὶ τὸ Θρᾴκιον στῖφος Γερμανοί τε καὶ Γαλάται διεσκευασμένοι πάντες ὡς εἰς πόλεμον. [673] προῆγεν δ᾽ ἡ λοιπὴ δύναμις ὡπλισμένη τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν καὶ ταξιάρχοις ἀκολουθοῦντες ἐν κόσμῳ, πεντακόσιοι δὲ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς τῶν οἰκετῶν καὶ ἀπελευθέρων ἀρωματοφόροι. σταδίους δ᾽ ἐκομίσθη τὸ σῶμα ἑβδομήκοντα εἰς Ἡρώδειον, ὅπου κατὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς ἐτάφη. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἡρώδην τοιοῦτον ἔσχεν πέρας.

9. So there was an acclamation made to Archelaus, to congratulate him upon his advancement; and the soldiers, with the multitude, went round about in troops, and promised him their good-will, and besides, prayed God to bless his government. After this, they betook themselves to prepare for the king's funeral; and Archelaus omitted nothing of magnificence therein, but brought out all the royal ornaments to augment the pomp of the deceased. There was a bier all of gold, embroidered with precious stones, and a purple bed of various contexture, with the dead body upon it, covered with purple; and a diadem was put upon his head, and a crown of gold above it, and a sceptre in his right hand; and near to the bier were Herod's sons, and a multitude of his kindred; next to which came his guards, and the regiment of Thracians, the Germans also and Gauls, all accounted as if they were going to war; but the rest of the army went foremost, armed, and following their captains and officers in a regular manner; after whom five hundred of his domestic servants and freed-men followed, with sweet spices in their hands: and the body was carried two hundred furlongs, to Herodium, where he had given order to be buried. And this shall suffice for the conclusion of the life of Herod.

Liber II

BOOK II.

Containing The Interval Of Sixty-Nine Years.

From The Death Of Herod Till Vespasian Was Sent To Subdue

The Jews By Nero.

I

CHAPTER 1.

Archelaus Makes A Funeral Feast For The People, On The

Account Of Herod. After Which A Great Tumult Is Raised By

The Multitude And He Sends The Soldiers Out Upon Them, Who

Destroy About Three Thousand Of Them.

(1) [1] Ἀρχελάῳ δὲ νέων ἦρξε θορύβων ἡ τῆς ἐπὶ Ῥώμην ἀποδημίας ἀνάγκη. πενθήσας γὰρ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν ἐπιτάφιον ἑστίασιν πολυτελῆ τῷ πλήθει παρασχών: ἔθος δὲ τοῦτο παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις πολλοῖς πενίας αἴτιον διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἑστιᾶν οὐκ ἄνευ ἀνάγκης: εἰ γὰρ παραλείποι τις, οὐχ ὅσιος: μεταλαμβάνει μὲν ἐσθῆτα λευκήν, πρόεισι δὲ εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, ἔνθα ποικίλαις αὐτὸν εὐφημίαις ὁ λαὸς ἐκδέχεται. [2] κἀκεῖνος τὸ πλῆθος ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ βήματος καὶ χρυσοῦ θρόνου δεξιωσάμενος τῆς τε σπουδῆς, ἣν ἐνεδείξαντο περὶ τὴν κηδείαν τοῦ πατρός, εὐχαριστεῖ καὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν θεραπείας ὡς πρὸς βέβαιον ἤδη βασιλέα: φείδεσθαί γε μὴν οὐ μόνον ἔφη τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἕως ἂν αὐτῷ Καῖσαρ ἐπικυρώσῃ τὴν διαδοχήν, ὁ καὶ κατὰ τὰς διαθήκας τῶν ὅλων δεσπότης: [3] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν Ἰεριχοῦντι τῆς στρατιᾶς τὸ διάδημα περιαπτούσης αὐτῷ δεδέχθαι: τοῦ μέντοι προθύμου καὶ τῆς εὐνοίας ὥσπερ τοῖς στρατιώταις οὕτω καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πλήρεις ἀποδώσειν τὰς ἀμοιβάς, ὁπόταν ὑπὸ τῶν κρατούντων βασιλεὺς ἀποδειχθῇ βέβαιος: σπουδάσειν γὰρ ἐν πᾶσιν πρὸς αὐτοὺς φανῆναι τοῦ πατρὸς ἀμείνων.

1. Now the necessity which Archelaus was under of taking a journey to Rome was the occasion of new disturbances; for when he had mourned for his father seven days, and had given a very expensive funeral feast to the multitude, [which custom is the occasion of poverty to many of the Jews, because they are forced to feast the multitude; for if any one omits it, he is not esteemed a holy person,] he put on a white garment, and went up to the temple, where the people

accosted him with various acclamations. He also spake kindly to the multitude from an elevated seat and a throne of gold, and returned them thanks for the zeal they had shown about his father's funeral, and the submission they had made to him, as if he were already settled in the kingdom; but he told them withal, that he would not at present take upon him either the authority of a king, or the names thereto belonging, until Caesar, who is made lord of this whole affair by the testament, confirm the succession; for that when the soldiers would have set the diadem on his head at Jericho, he would not accept of it; but that he would make abundant requitals, not to the soldiers only, but to the people, for their alacrity and good-will to him, when the superior lords [the Romans] should have given him a complete title to the kingdom; for that it should be his study to appear in all things better than his father.

(2) [4] Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡδόμενον τὸ πλῆθος εὐθέως ἀπεπειρᾶτο τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῦ μεγάλοις αἰτήμασιν: οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐβόων ἐπικουφίζειν τὰς εἰσφοράς, οἱ δὲ ἀναιρεῖν τὰ τέλη, τινὲς δὲ ἀπολύειν τοὺς δεσμώτας. ἐπένευσε δ' ἑτοίμως ἅπασι θεραπεύων τὸ πλῆθος. [5] ἔπειτα θύσας ἐν εὐωχίᾳ μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἦν. ἔνθα δὴ περὶ δείλην ἀθροισθέντες οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν νεωτερίζειν προῃρημένων ἤρξαντο ἰδίου πένθους, ὅτε τὸ κοινὸν ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ πέπαυτο, κατολοφυρόμενοι τοὺς κολασθέντας ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου διὰ τὸν ἐκκοπέντα χρυσοῦν ἀετὸν τῆς πύλης τοῦ ναοῦ. [6] ἦν δὲ τὸ πένθος οὐχ ὑπεσταλμένον, ἀλλ' οἰμωγαὶ διαπρύσιοι καὶ θρῆνος ἐγκέλευστος κοπετοί τε περιηχοῦντες ὅλην τὴν πόλιν ὡς ἂν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν, οὓς ἔφασκον ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρίων νόμων καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ πυρὶ παραπολέσθαι. [7] τιμωρεῖν δ' αὐτοῖς ἀνεβόων ἐκ τῶν ὑφ' Ἡρώδου τετιμημένων χρῆναι καὶ πρῶτον τὸν ὑπ' ἐκείνου κατασταθέντα παύειν ἀρχιερέα: προσήκειν γὰρ αὐτοῖς εὐσεβέστερον αἱρεῖσθαι καὶ καθαρώτερον.

2. Upon this the multitude were pleased, and presently made a trial of what he intended, by asking great things of him; for some made a clamor that he would ease them in their taxes; others, that he would take off the duties upon commodities; and some, that he would loose those that were in prison; in all which cases he answered readily to their satisfaction, in order to get the good-will of the multitude; after which he offered [the proper] sacrifices, and feasted with his friends. And here it was that a great many of those that desired innovations came in crowds towards the evening, and began then to mourn on their own account, when the public mourning for the king was over. These lamented those that were put to death by Herod, because they had cut down the golden eagle that had been over the gate of the temple. Nor was this mourning of a private nature, but the lamentations were very great, the mourning solemn, and the weeping such as was loudly heard all over the city, as being for those men

who had perished for the laws of their country, and for the temple. They cried out that a punishment ought to be inflicted for these men upon those that were honored by Herod; and that, in the first place, the man whom he had made high priest should be deprived; and that it was fit to choose a person of greater piety and purity than he was.

(3) [8] Πρὸς ἃ παρωξύνετο μὲν Ἀρχέλαος, ἐπεῖχε δὲ τὴν ἄμυναν ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἔξοδον ἐπείξεως, δεδοικὼς μή ποτε τὸ πλῆθος ἐκπολεμώσας κατασχεθείη τῷ κινήματι. διὸ πειθοῖ μᾶλλον ἢ βίᾳ καταστέλλειν ἐπειρᾶτο τοὺς νεωτερίζοντας καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ὑποπέμψας παύσασθαι παρεκάλει. [9] τοῦτον εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν παρελθόντα πρὶν φθέγξασθαί τι λίθοις ἀπήλαυνον οἱ στασιασταὶ καὶ τοὺς μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ σωφρονισμῷ προσιόντας, ἐνίει δὲ πολλοὺς ὁ Ἀρχέλαος, καὶ πάντα πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀπεκρίναντο δῆλοί τε ἦσαν οὐκ ἠρεμήσοντες εἰ πλήθους ἐπιλάβοιντο. [10] καὶ δὴ τῆς τῶν ἀζύμων ἐνστάσης ἑορτῆς, ἣ πάσχα παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις καλεῖται πολύ τι θυμάτων πλῆθος ἐκδεχομένη, κάτεισι μὲν ἐκ τῆς χώρας λαὸς ἄπειρος ἐπὶ τὴν θρησκείαν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς σοφιστὰς πενθοῦντες ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ συνειστήκεσαν τροφὴν τῇ στάσειποριζόμενοι. [11] πρὸς ὃ δείσας Ἀρχέλαος πρὶν δι᾽ ὅλου τοῦ πλήθους διαδραμεῖν τὴν νόσον ὑποπέμπει μετὰ σπείρας χιλίαρχον προστάξας βίᾳ τοὺς ἐξάρχοντας τῆς στάσεως κατασχεῖν. πρὸς οὓς τὸ πλῆθος ἅπαν παροξύνεται καὶ τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς τῆς σπείρας βάλλοντες λίθοις διέφθειρον, ὁ δὲ χιλίαρχος ἐκφεύγει τραυματίας μόλις. [12] ἔπειθ᾽ οἱ μὲν ὡς μηδενὸς δεινοῦ γεγονότος ἐτρέποντο πρὸς θυσίαν: οὐ μὴν Ἀρχελάῳ δίχα φόνου καθεκτὸν ἔτι τὸ πλῆθος ἐφαίνετο, τὴν δὲ στρατιὰν ἐπαφίησιν αὐτοῖς ὅλην, τοὺς μὲν πεζοὺς διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀθρόους, τοὺς δὲ ἱππεῖς ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον: [13] οἳ θύουσιν ἑκάστοις ἐξαίφνης προσπεσόντες διαφθείρουσι μὲν περὶ τρισχιλίους, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος εἰς τὰ πλησίον ὄρη διεσκέδασαν. εἵποντο δὲ Ἀρχελάου κήρυκες κελεύοντες ἕκαστον ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπ᾽ οἴκου, καὶ πάντες ᾤχοντο τὴν ἑορτὴν ἀπολιπόντες.

3. At these clamors Archelaus was provoked, but restrained himself from taking vengeance on the authors, on account of the haste he was in of going to Rome, as fearing lest, upon his making war on the multitude, such an action might detain him at home. Accordingly, he made trial to quiet the innovators by persuasion, rather than by force, and sent his general in a private way to them, and by him exhorted them to be quiet. But the seditious threw stones at him, and drove him away, as he came into the temple, and before he could say any thing to them. The like treatment they showed to others, who came to them after him, many of which were sent by Archelaus, in order to reduce them to sobriety, and these answered still on all occasions after a passionate manner; and it openly appeared that they would not be quiet, if their numbers were but considerable. And indeed,

at the feast of unleavened bread, which was now at hand, and is by the Jews called the Passover, and used to be celebrated with a great number of sacrifices, an innumerable multitude of the people came out of the country to worship; some of these stood in the temple bewailing the Rabbins [that had been put to death], and procured their sustenance by begging, in order to support their sedition. At this Archelaus was affrighted, and privately sent a tribune, with his cohort of soldiers, upon them, before the disease should spread over the whole multitude, and gave orders that they should constrain those that began the tumult, by force, to be quiet. At these the whole multitude were irritated, and threw stones at many of the soldiers, and killed them; but the tribune fled away wounded, and had much ado to escape so. After which they betook themselves to their sacrifices, as if they had done no mischief; nor did it appear to Archelaus that the multitude could be restrained without bloodshed; so he sent his whole army upon them, the footmen in great multitudes, by the way of the city, and the horsemen by the way of the plain, who, falling upon them on the sudden, as they were offering their sacrifices, destroyed about three thousand of them; but the rest of the multitude were dispersed upon the adjoining mountains: these were followed by Archelaus's heralds, who commanded every one to retire to their own homes, whither they all went, and left the festival.

II

CHAPTER 2.

Archelaus Goes To Rome With A Great Number Of His Kindred.

He Is There Accused Before Caesar By Antipater; But Is

Superior To His Accusers In Judgment By The Means Of That

Defense Which Nicolaus Made For Him.

(1) [14] Αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῶν φίλων Ποπλᾶ καὶ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Νικολάου κατῆει πρὸς θάλασσαν καταλιπὼν ἐπίτροπόν τε τῶν βασιλείων καὶ κηδεμόνα τῶν οἰκείων Φίλιππον. [15] συνεξῄει δ' ἅμα τοῖς τέκνοις Σαλώμη καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφιδοῖ τε καὶ γαμβροί, τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν συναγωνιούμενοι περὶ τῆς διαδοχῆς Ἀρχελάῳ, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς κατηγορήσοντες περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν παρανομηθέντων.

1. Archelaus went down now to the sea-side, with his mother and his friends, Poplas, and Ptolemy, and Nicolaus, and left behind him Philip, to be his steward in the palace, and to take care of his domestic affairs. Salome went also along with him with her sons, as did also the king's brethren and sons-in-law. These, in

appearance, went to give him all the assistance they were able, in order to secure his succession, but in reality to accuse him for his breach of the laws by what he had done at the temple.

(2) [16] Συναντᾷ δ᾽ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν Καισάρειαν Σαβῖνος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἐπίτροπος εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἀνιὼν ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν Ἡρώδου χρημάτων. τοῦτον ἐπέσχεν προσωτέρω χωρεῖν ἐπελθὼν Οὔαρος, ὃν διὰ Πτολεμαίου πολλὰ δεηθεὶς Ἀρχέλαος μετεπέμψατο. [17] τότε μὲν οὖν Σαβῖνος Οὐάρῳ χαριζόμενος οὔτ᾽ ἐπὶ τὰς ἄκρας ἔσπευσεν οὔτε τὰ ταμιεῖα τῶν πατρῴων χρημάτων ἀπέκλεισεν Ἀρχελάῳ, μέχρι δὲ τῆς Καίσαρος διαγνώσεως ἠρεμήσειν ὑπέσχετο καὶ διέτριβεν ἐπὶ τῆς Καισαρείας. [18] ὡς δὲ τῶν ἐμποδιζόντων ὁ μὲν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἀπῆρεν, Ἀρχέλαος δὲ εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνήχθη, διὰ τάχους ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ὁρμήσας παραλαμβάνει τὰ βασίλεια καὶ μεταπεμπόμενος τούς τε φρουράρχους καὶ διοικητὰς ἐπειρᾶτο διερευνᾶν τοὺς τῶν χρημάτων ἀναλογισμοὺς τάς τε ἄκρας παραλαμβάνειν. [19] οὐ μὴν οἱ φύλακες τῶν Ἀρχελάου κατημέλουν ἐντολῶν, ἔμενον δὲ φρουροῦντες ἕκαστα καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν ἀνατιθέντες Καίσαρι μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀρχελάῳ.

2. But as they were come to Cesarea, Sabinus, the procurator of Syria, met them; he was going up to Judea, to secure Herod's effects; but Varus, [president of Syria,] who was come thither, restrained him from going any farther. This Varus Archelaus had sent for, by the earnest entreaty of Ptolemy. At this time, indeed, Sabinus, to gratify Varus, neither went to the citadels, nor did he shut up the treasuries where his father's money was laid up, but promised that he would lie still, until Caesar should have taken cognizance of the affair. So he abode at Cesarea; but as soon as those that were his hinderance were gone, when Varus was gone to Antioch, and Archelaus was sailed to Rome, he immediately went on to Jerusalem, and seized upon the palace. And when he had called for the governors of the citadels, and the stewards [of the king's private affairs], he tried to sift out the accounts of the money, and to take possession of the citadels. But the governors of those citadels were not unmindful of the commands laid upon them by Archelaus, and continued to guard them, and said the custody of them rather belonged to Caesar than to Archelaus.

(3) [20] Κἀν τούτῳ πάλιν Ἀντίπας ἀμφισβητῶν περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐπέξεισιν ἀξιῶν τῆς ἐπιδιαθήκης κυριωτέραν εἶναι τὴν διαθήκην, ἐν ᾗ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς ἐγέγραπτο. συλλήψεσθαι δ᾽ αὐτῷ προυπέσχετο Σαλώμη καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν σὺν Ἀρχελάῳ πλεόντων συγγενῶν. [21] ἐπήγετο δὲ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Νικολάου Πτολεμαῖον ῥοπὴν εἶναι δοκοῦντα διὰ τὴν παρὰ Ἡρώδῃ πίστιν: γεγόνει γὰρ δὴ τῶν φίλων ἐκείνου τιμιώτατος: πλεῖστον μέντοι πεποίθει διὰ δεινότητα λόγων

Εἰρηναίῳ τῷ ῥήτορι, διὸ καὶ τοὺς νουθετοῦντας εἴκειν Ἀρχελάῳ κατὰ τὸ πρεσβεῖον καὶ τὰς ἐπιδιαθήκας διεκρούσατο. [22] μεθίστατο δὲ ἐν Ῥώμῃ πάντων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ σπουδὴ τῶν συγγενῶν, οἷς διὰ μίσους ἦν Ἀρχέλαος, καὶ προηγουμένως ἕκαστος αὐτονομίας ἐπεθύμει στρατηγῷ Ῥωμαίων διοικουμένης, εἰ δὲ τοῦτο διαμαρτάνοι, βασιλεύειν Ἀντίπαν ἤθελεν.

3. In the mean time, Antipas went also to Rome, to strive for the kingdom, and to insist that the former testament, wherein he was named to be king, was valid before the latter testament. Salome had also promised to assist him, as had many of Archelaus's kindred, who sailed along with Archelaus himself also. He also carried along with him his mother, and Ptolemy, the brother of Nicolaus, who seemed one of great weight, on account of the great trust Herod put in him, he having been one of his most honored friends. However, Antipas depended chiefly upon Ireneus, the orator; upon whose authority he had rejected such as advised him to yield to Archelaus, because he was his elder brother, and because the second testament gave the kingdom to him. The inclinations also of all Archelaus's kindred, who hated him, were removed to Antipas, when they came to Rome; although in the first place every one rather desired to live under their own laws [without a king], and to be under a Roman governor; but if they should fail in that point, these desired that Antipas might be their king.

(4) [23] Συνήργει δ' αὐτοῖς εἰς τοῦτο καὶ Σαβῖνος δι' ἐπιστολῶν κατηγορήσας μὲν Ἀρχελάου παρὰ Καίσαρι, πολλὰ δ' ἐπαινέσας Ἀντίπαν. [24] συντάξαντες δὲ τὰ ἐγκλήματα οἱ περὶ Σαλώμην ἐνεχείρισαν Καίσαρι, καὶ μετὰ τούτους Ἀρχέλαος τά τε κεφάλαια τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δικαίων γράψας καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοὺς λόγους εἰσπέμπει διὰ Πτολεμαίου. [25] προσκεψάμενος δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὰ παρ' ἀμφοῖν κατ' ἰδίαν τό τε μέγεθος τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς προσόδου, πρὸς οἷς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῆς Ἡρώδου γενεᾶς, προαναγνοὺς δὲ καὶ τὰ παρὰ Οὐάρου καὶ Σαβίνου περὶ τούτων ἐπεσταλμένα, συνέδριον μὲν ἀθροίζει τῶν ἐν τέλει Ῥωμαίων, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸν ἐξ Ἀγρίππα καὶ Ἰουλίας τῆς θυγατρὸς θετὸν παῖδα Γάιον πρώτως ἐκάθισεν, ἀποδίδωσι δὲ λόγον αὐτοῖς.

4. Sabinus did also afford these his assistance to the same purpose by letters he sent, wherein he accused Archelaus before Caesar, and highly commended Antipas. Salome also, and those with her, put the crimes which they accused Archelaus of in order, and put them into Caesar's hands; and after they had done that, Archelaus wrote down the reasons of his claim, and, by Ptolemy, sent in his father's ring, and his father's accounts. And when Caesar had maturely weighed by himself what both had to allege for themselves, as also had considered of the great burden of the kingdom, and largeness of the revenues, and withal the

number of the children Herod had left behind him, and had moreover read the letters he had received from Varus and Sabinus on this occasion, he assembled the principal persons among the Romans together, [in which assembly Caius, the son of Agrippa, and his daughter Julias, but by himself adopted for his own son, sat in the first seat,] and gave the pleaders leave to speak.

(5) [26] Ἔνθα καταστὰς ὁ Σαλώμης υἱὸς Ἀντίπατρος, ἦν δὲ τῶν ἐναντιουμένων Ἀρχελάῳ δεινότατος εἰπεῖν, κατηγόρει φάσκων τοῖς μὲν λόγοις ἀμφισβητεῖν ἄρτι βασιλείας Ἀρχέλαον, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις πάλαι γεγονέναι βασιλέα, κατειρωνεύεσθαι δὲ νῦν τῶν Καίσαρος ἀκοῶν, [27] ὃν δικαστὴν τῆς διαδοχῆς οὐ περιέμεινεν, εἴ γε μετὰ τὴν Ἡρώδου τελευτὴν ἐγκαθέτους μὲν ὑποπέμψας τοὺς περιθήσοντας αὐτῷ τὸ διάδημα, προκαθίσας δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ χρηματίσας βασιλεὺς τάξεις τε τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀμείψας καὶ προκοπὰς χαρισάμενος, [28] ἔτι δὲ τῷ δήμῳ πάντα κατανεύσας ὅσων ὡς παρὰ βασιλέως τυχεῖν ἠξίουν καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ μεγίσταις αἰτίαις παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς δεδεμένους λύσας, νῦν ἥκει παρὰ τοῦ δεσπότου σκιὰν αἰτησόμενος βασιλείας, ἧς ἥρπασεν ἑαυτῷ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ποιῶν οὐ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀλλὰ τῶν ὀνομάτων κύριον Καίσαρα. [29] προσωνείδιζεν δ' ὡς καὶ τὸ πένθος κατειρωνεύσατο τοῦ πατρός, μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν ἐπισχηματίζων τὸ πρόσωπον εἰς λύπην, νύκτωρ δὲ μέχρις κώμων μεθυσκόμενος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὴν ταραχὴν τοῦ πλήθους ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀγανακτήσεως ἔλεγεν γεγονέναι. [30] καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦ λόγου παντὸς ἐναπηρείσατο τῷ πλήθει τῶν περὶ τὸν ναὸν φονευθέντων, οὓς ἐληλυθέναι μὲν ἐφ' ἑορτήν, παρὰ δὲ ταῖς ἰδίαις θυσίαις ὠμῶς ἀπεσφάχθαι: καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ σεσωρεῦσθαι νεκρῶν πλῆθος, ὅσον οὐδ' ἂν ἀλλόφυλος ἐσώρευσεν πόλεμος ἐπελθὼν ἀκήρυκτος. [31] ταύτην μέντοι τὴν ὠμότητα προσκεψάμενον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν πατέρα μηδ' ἐλπίδος αὐτόν ποτε ἀξιῶσαι βασιλικῆς ἢ ὅτε χεῖρον τὴν ψυχὴν κάμνων τοῦ σώματος ἀκρατὴς ἦν ὑγιαίνοντος λογισμοῦ καὶ οὐδ' ὃν ἔγραφεν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιδιαθήκαις ᾔδει διάδοχον, καὶ ταῦτα μηδὲν τὸν ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις μέμψασθαι δυνάμενος, ἃς ἔγραψεν ὑγιαίνων μὲν τὸ σῶμα, καθαρὰν δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχων πάθους παντός. [32] εἰ μέντοι καὶ κυριωτέραν τὴν τοῦ κάμνοντος κρίσιν τιθείη τις, ἀποκεχειροτονῆσθαι βασιλείας Ἀρχέλαον ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς εἰς αὐτὴν παρανομηθεῖσιν: ποταπὸν γὰρ ἂν γενέσθαι λαβόντα τὴν ἀρχὴν παρὰ Καίσαρος τὸν πρὶν λαβεῖν τοσούτους ἀνῃρηκότα;

5. Then stood up Salome's son, Antipater, [who of all Archelaus's antagonists was the shrewdest pleader,] and accused him in the following speech: That Archelaus did in words contend for the kingdom, but that in deeds he had long exercised royal authority, and so did but insult Caesar in desiring to be now heard on that account, since he had not staid for his determination about the succession, and since he had suborned certain persons, after Herod's death, to

move for putting the diadem upon his head; since he had set himself down in the throne, and given answers as a king, and altered the disposition of the army, and granted to some higher dignities; that he had also complied in all things with the people in the requests they had made to him as to their king, and had also dismissed those that had been put into bonds by his father for most important reasons. Now, after all this, he desires the shadow of that royal authority, whose substance he had already seized to himself, and so hath made Caesar lord, not of things, but of words. He also reproached him further, that his mourning for his father was only pretended, while he put on a sad countenance in the day time, but drank to great excess in the night; from which behavior, he said, the late disturbance among the multitude came, while they had an indignation thereat. And indeed the purport of his whole discourse was to aggravate Archelaus's crime in slaying such a multitude about the temple, which multitude came to the festival, but were barbarously slain in the midst of their own sacrifices; and he said there was such a vast number of dead bodies heaped together in the temple, as even a foreign war, that should come upon them [suddenly], before it was denounced, could not have heaped together. And he added, that it was the foresight his father had of that his barbarity which made him never give him any hopes of the kingdom, but when his mind was more infirm than his body, and he was not able to reason soundly, and did not well know what was the character of that son, whom in his second testament he made his successor; and this was done by him at a time when he had no complaints to make of him whom he had named before, when he was sound in body, and when his mind was free from all passion. That, however, if any one should suppose Herod's judgment, when he was sick, was superior to that at another time, yet had Archelaus forfeited his kingdom by his own behavior, and those his actions, which were contrary to the law, and to its disadvantage. Or what sort of a king will this man be, when he hath obtained the government from Caesar, who hath slain so many before he hath obtained it!

(6) [33] Πολλὰ τοιαῦτα διεξελθὼν Ἀντίπατρος καὶ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν συγγενῶν παραστησάμενος ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ τῶν κατηγορημένων μάρτυρας καταπαύει τὸν λόγον. [34] ἀνίσταται δὲ Νικόλαος ὑπὲρ Ἀρχελάου, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ φόνον ἀναγκαῖον ἀπέφηνεν: πολεμίους γὰρ γεγονέναι τοὺς ἀνῃρημένους οὐ τῆς βασιλείας μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ δικάζοντος αὐτὴν Καίσαρος. [35] τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐγκλημάτων συμβούλους ἀπεδείκνυεν αὐτοὺς τοὺς κατηγόρους γεγονέναι. τήν γε μὴν ἐπιδιαθήκην ἠξίου διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα εἶναι κυρίαν, ὅτι βεβαιωτὴν ἐν αὐτῇ Καίσαρα καθίστατο τοῦ διαδόχου: [36] ὁ γὰρ σωφρονῶν ὥστε τῷ δεσπότῃ τῶν ὅλων παραχωρεῖν τῆς ἐξουσίας οὐ δή που περὶ κληρονόμου κρίσιν

ἐσφάλλετο, σωφρονῶν δ’ ᾔρεῖτο καὶ τὸν καθιστάμενον ὁ γινώσκων τὸν καθιστάντα.

6. When Antipater had spoken largely to this purpose, and had produced a great number of Archelaus’s kindred as witnesses, to prove every part of the accusation, he ended his discourse. Then stood up Nicolaus to plead for Archelaus. He alleged that the slaughter in the temple could not be avoided; that those that were slain were become enemies not to Archelaus’s kingdom, only, but to Caesar, who was to determine about him. He also demonstrated that Archelaus’s accusers had advised him to perpetrate other things of which he might have been accused. But he insisted that the latter testament should, for this reason, above all others, be esteemed valid, because Herod had therein appointed Caesar to be the person who should confirm the succession; for he who showed such prudence as to recede from his own power, and yield it up to the lord of the world, cannot be supposed mistaken in his judgment about him that was to be his heir; and he that so well knew whom to choose for arbitrator of the succession could not be unacquainted with him whom he chose for his successor.

(7) [37] Διεξελθόντος δὲ πάντα καὶ Νικολάου παρελθὼν Ἀρχέλαος προπίπτει τῶν Καίσαρος γονάτων ἡσυχῆ. κἀκεῖνος αὐτὸν μάλα φιλοφρόνως ἀναστήσας ἐνέφηνεν μὲν ὡς ἄξιος εἴη τῆς πατρῴας διαδοχῆς, οὐ μήν τι βέβαιον ἀπεφήνατο. [38] διαλύσας δὲ τοὺς συνέδρους ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας καθ’ ἑαυτὸν περὶ ὧν διήκουσεν ἐσκέπτετο, εἴτε χρὴ τῶν ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις καταστῆσαί τινα διάδοχον, εἴτε καὶ πάσῃ τῇ γενεᾷ διανεῖμαι τὴν ἀρχήν: ἐδόκει γὰρ ἐπικουρίας τὸ πλῆθος τῶν προσώπων χρήζειν.

7. When Nicolaus had gone through all he had to say, Archelaus came, and fell down before Caesar’s knees, without any noise; — upon which he raised him up, after a very obliging manner, and declared that truly he was worthy to succeed his father. However, he still made no firm determination in his case; but when he had dismissed those assessors that had been with him that day, he deliberated by himself about the allegations which he had heard, whether it were fit to constitute any of those named in the testaments for Herod’s successor, or whether the government should be parted among all his posterity, and this because of the number of those that seemed to stand in need of support therefrom.

III

CHAPTER 3.

The Jews Fight A Great Battle With Sabinus's Soldiers, And A Great Destruction Is Made At Jerusalem.

(1) [39] Πρὶν δὲ ὁρίσαι τι περὶ τούτων Καίσαρα τελευτᾷ μὲν ἡ Ἀρχελάου μήτηρ Μαλθακὴ νοσήσασα, παρὰ Οὐάρου δ' ἐκομίσθησαν ἐκ Συρίας ἐπιστολαὶ περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀποστάσεως, [40] ἣν προιδόμενος ὁ Οὔαρος, ἀνέβη γὰρ μετὰ τὸν Ἀρχελάου πλοῦν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τοὺς παρακινοῦντας καθέξων, ἐπειδὴ πρόδηλον ἦν τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ ἠρεμῆσον, ἓν τῶν τριῶν ἀπὸ Συρίας ταγμάτων, ὅπερ ἄγων ἦκεν, ἐν τῇ πόλει καταλείπει. [41] καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, ἐπελθὼν δὲ ὁ Σαβῖνος ἀφορμὴν αὐτοῖς παρέσχεν νεωτεροποιίας: τούς τε γὰρ φρουροὺς παραδιδόναι τὰς ἄκρας ἐβιάζετο καὶ πικρῶς τὰ βασιλικὰ χρήματα διηρεύνα, πεποιθὼς οὐ μόνον τοῖς ὑπὸ Οὐάρου καταλειφθεῖσι στρατιώταις, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλήθει δούλων ἰδίων, οὓς ἅπαντας ὁπλίσας ὑπηρέταις ἐχρῆτο τῆς πλεονεξίας. [42] ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς, οὕτω καλοῦσίν τινα ἑορτὴν Ἰουδαῖοι παρ' ἑπτὰ γινομένην ἑβδομάδας καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἡμερῶν προσηγορίαν ἔχουσαν, οὐχ ἡ συνήθης θρησκεία συνήγαγεν τὸν δῆμον, ἀλλ' ἡ ἀγανάκτησις. [43] συνέδραμεν γοῦν πλῆθος ἄπειρον ἔκ τε τῆς Γαλιλαίας καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας Ἰεριχοῦντός τε καὶ τῆς ὑπὲρ Ἰορδάνην Περαίας, ὑπερεῖχεν δὲ πλήθει καὶ προθυμίαις ἀνδρῶν ὁ γνήσιος ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἰουδαίας λαός. [44] διανείμαντες δὲ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς τρία μέρη τριχῆ στρατοπεδεύονται, πρός τε τῷ βορείῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κλίματι καὶ πρὸς τῷ μεσημβρινῷ κατὰ τὸν ἱππόδρομον, ἡ δὲ τρίτη μοῖρα πρὸς τοῖς βασιλείοις κατὰ δύσιν. περικαθεζόμενοι δὲ πανταχόθεν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπολιόρκουν.

1. Now before Caesar had determined any thing about these affairs, Malthace, Arehelaus's mother, fell sick and died. Letters also were brought out of Syria from Varus, about a revolt of the Jews. This was foreseen by Varus, who accordingly, after Archelaus was sailed, went up to Jerusalem to restrain the promoters of the sedition, since it was manifest that the nation would not be at rest; so he left one of those legions which he brought with him out of Syria in the city, and went himself to Antioch. But Sabinus came, after he was gone, and gave them an occasion of making innovations; for he compelled the keepers of the citadels to deliver them up to him, and made a bitter search after the king's money, as depending not only on the soldiers which were left by Varus, but on the multitude of his own servants, all which he armed and used as the instruments of his covetousness. Now when that feast, which was observed after seven weeks, and which the Jews called Pentecost, [i. e. the 50th day,] was at hand, its name being taken from the number of the days [after the passover], the people got together, but not on account of the accustomed Divine worship, but of

the indignation they had [‘at the present state of affairs’]. Wherefore an immense multitude ran together, out of Galilee, and Idumea, and Jericho, and Perea, that was beyond Jordan; but the people that naturally belonged to Judea itself were above the rest, both in number, and in the alacrity of the men. So they distributed themselves into three parts, and pitched their camps in three places; one at the north side of the temple, another at the south side, by the Hippodrome, and the third part were at the palace on the west. So they lay round about the Romans on every side, and besieged them.

(2) [45] Ὁ δὲ Σαβῖνος πρός τε τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ὑποδείσας καὶ τὰ φρονήματα συνεχεῖς μὲν ἀγγέλους ἔπεμπεν πρὸς Οὔαρον ἐπαμύνειν ἐν τάχει δεόμενος ὡς εἰ βραδύνοι κατακοπησομένου τοῦ τάγματος: [46] αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ὑψηλότατον τοῦ φρουρίου πύργον ἀναβάς, ὃς ἐκαλεῖτο Φασάηλος ἐπώνυμον ἔχων ἀδελφὸν Ἡρώδου διαφθαρέντα ὑπὸ Πάρθων, ἐντεῦθεν κατέσειεν τοῖς ἐν τῷ τάγματι στρατιώταις ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις: δι’ ἔκπληξιν γὰρ οὐδ’ εἰς τοὺς σφετέρους καταβαίνειν ἐθάρρει. [47] παραπεισθέντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται προπηδῶσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ μάχην καρτερὰν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις συνάπτουσιν, ἐν ᾗ μέχρι μὲν οὐδεὶς καθύπερθεν ἐπήμυνεν περιῆσαν ἐμπειρίᾳ πολέμου τῶν ἀπείρων: [48] ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὶ Ἰουδαίων ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὰς στοὰς κατὰ κεφαλῆς αὐτῶν ἠφίεσαν τὰ βέλη, συνετρίβοντο πολλοὶ καὶ οὔτε τοὺς ἄνωθεν βάλλοντας ἀμύνεσθαι ῥᾴδιον ἦν οὔτε τοὺς συστάδην μαχομένους ὑπομένειν.

2. Now Sabinus was affrighted, both at their multitude, and at their courage, and sent messengers to Varus continually, and besought him to come to his succor quickly; for that if he delayed, his legion would be cut to pieces. As for Sabinus himself, he got up to the highest tower of the fortress, which was called Phasaelus; it is of the same name with Herod’s brother, who was destroyed by the Parthians; and then he made signs to the soldiers of that legion to attack the enemy; for his astonishment was so great, that he durst not go down to his own men. Hereupon the soldiers were prevailed upon, and leaped out into the temple, and fought a terrible battle with the Jews; in which, while there were none over their heads to distress them, they were too hard for them, by their skill, and the others’ want of skill, in war; but when once many of the Jews had gotten up to the top of the cloisters, and threw their darts downwards, upon the heads of the Romans, there were a great many of them destroyed. Nor was it easy to avenge themselves upon those that threw their weapons from on high, nor was it more easy for them to sustain those who came to fight them hand to hand.

(3) [49] Καταπονούμενοι μὲν πρὸς ἀμφοτέρων ὑποπιμπρᾶσιν τὰς στοάς, ἔργα θαυμάσια μεγέθους τε καὶ πολυτελείας ἕνεκεν: οἱ δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ἐξαίφνης ὑπὸ τῆς

φλογὸς περισχεθέντες πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ διεφθάρησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πηδῶντες εἰς αὐτούς, τινὲς δ᾽ εἰς τοὐπίσω κατὰ τοῦ τείχους ἐκρημνίζοντο, ἔνιοι δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἀμηχανίας τοῖς ἰδίοις ξίφεσιν τὸ πῦρ ἔφθανον: [50] ὅσοι δὲ καθερπύσαντες ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ᾖξαν εἰς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εὐμεταχείριστοι διὰ τὴν ἔκπληξιν ἦσαν. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀπολωλότων, τῶν δ᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους σκεδασθέντων ἐρήμῳ τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ θησαυρῷ προσπεσόντες οἱ στρατιῶται περὶ τετρακόσια τάλαντα διήρπασαν, ὧν ὅσα μὴ διεκλάπη Σαβῖνος ἤθροισεν.

3. Since therefore the Romans were sorely afflicted by both these circumstances, they set fire to the cloisters, which were works to be admired, both on account of their magnitude and costliness. Whereupon those that were above them were presently encompassed with the flame, and many of them perished therein; as many of them also were destroyed by the enemy, who came suddenly upon them; some of them also threw themselves down from the walls backward, and some there were who, from the desperate condition they were in, prevented the fire, by killing themselves with their own swords; but so many of them as crept out from the walls, and came upon the Romans, were easily mastered by them, by reason of the astonishment they were under; until at last some of the Jews being destroyed, and others dispersed by the terror they were in, the soldiers fell upon the treasure of God, which w now deserted, and plundered about four hundred talents, Of which sum Sabinus got together all that was not carried away by the soldiers.

(4) [51] Ἰουδαίους δὲ ἥ τε τῶν ἔργων καὶ ἀνδρῶν φθορὰ πολὺ πλείους καὶ μαχιμωτέρους ἐπισυνέστησεν Ῥωμαίοις καὶ περισχόντες τὰ βασίλεια πάντας ἠπείλουν διαφθείρειν, εἰ μὴ θᾶττον ἀπίοιεν: ὑπισχνοῦντο γὰρ ἄδειαν τῷ Σαβίνῳ βουλομένῳ μετὰ τοῦ τάγματος ἐξιέναι. [52] συνελάμβανον δ᾽ αὐτοῖς οἱ πλείους τῶν βασιλικῶν αὐτομολήσαντες. τὸ μέντοι πολεμικώτατον μέρος, Σεβαστηνοὶ τρισχίλιοι Ῥοῦφός τε καὶ Γρᾶτος ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὁ μὲν τοὺς πεζοὺς τῶν βασιλικῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἔχων, Ῥοῦφος δὲ τοὺς ἱππεῖς, ὧν ἑκάτερος καὶ χωρὶς ὑπηκόου δυνάμεως δι᾽ ἀλκὴν καὶ σύνεσιν πολέμου ῥοπή, προσέθεντο Ῥωμαίοις. [53] Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν οὖν ἐνέκειντο τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τῶν τειχῶν ἅμα πειρώμενοι τοῦ φρουρίου καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Σαβῖνον ἐμβοῶντες ἀπιέναι μηδ᾽ ἐμποδὼν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι διὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ κομιζομένοις τὴν πάτριον αὐτονομίαν. [54] Σαβίνῳ δ᾽ ἀγαπητὸν μὲν ἦν ὑπεξελθεῖν, ἠπίστει δὲ ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν καὶ τὸ πρᾷον αὐτῶν δέλεαρ εἰς ἐνέδραν ὑπώπτευεν: ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ Οὐάρου βοήθειαν ἐλπίζων διέτριβεν τὴν πολιορκίαν.

4. However, this destruction of the works [about the temple], and of the men, occasioned a much greater number, and those of a more warlike sort, to get

together, to oppose the Romans. These encompassed the palace round, and threatened to deploy all that were in it, unless they went their ways quickly; for they promised that Sabinus should come to no harm, if he would go out with his legion. There were also a great many of the king's party who deserted the Romans, and assisted the Jews; yet did the most warlike body of them all, who were three thousand of the men of Sebaste, go over to the Romans. Rufus also, and Gratus, their captains, did the same, [Gratus having the foot of the king's party under him, and Rufus the horse,] each of whom, even without the forces under them, were of great weight, on account of their strength and wisdom, which turn the scales in war. Now the Jews in the siege, and tried to break down walls of the fortress, and cried out to Sabinus and his party, that they should go their ways, and not prove a hinderance to them, now they hoped, after a long time, to recover that ancient liberty which their forefathers had enjoyed. Sabinus indeed was well contented to get out of the danger he was in, but he distrusted the assurances the Jews gave him, and suspected such gentle treatment was but a bait laid as a snare for them: this consideration, together with the hopes he had of succor from Varus, made him bear the siege still longer.

IV

CHAPTER 4.

Herod's Veteran Soldiers Become Tumultuous. The Robberies Of

Judas. Simon And Athronoeus Take The Name Of King Upon Them.

(1) [55] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν πολλαχόθεν ἐταράσσετο, καὶ συχνοὺς βασιλειᾶν ὁ καιρὸς ἀνέπειθεν. κατὰ μέν γε τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν δισχίλιοι τῶν ὑπὸ Ἡρώδῃ πάλαι στρατευσαμένων συστάντες ἔνοπλοι διεμάχοντο τοῖς βασιλικοῖς, οἷς Ἀχίαβος ἀνεψιὸς βασιλέως ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρυμνοτάτων χωρίων ἐπολέμει ὑποφεύγων τὴν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις συμπλοκήν: [56] ἐν δὲ Σεπφώρει τῆς Γαλιλαίας Ἰούδας υἱὸς Ἐζεκία τοῦ κατατρέχοντός ποτε τὴν χώραν ἀρχιληστοῦ καὶ χειρωθέντος ὑφ' Ἡρώδου βασιλέως συστήσας πλῆθος οὐκ ὀλίγον ἀναρρήγνυσιν τὰς βασιλικὰς ὁπλοθήκας καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ὁπλίσας τοῖς τὴν δυναστείαν ζηλοῦσιν ἐπεχείρει.

1. At this time there were great disturbances in the country, and that in many places; and the opportunity that now offered itself induced a great many to set up for kings. And indeed in Idumea two thousand of Herod's veteran soldiers got together, and armed and fought against those of the king's party; against whom Achiabus, the king's first cousin, fought, and that out of some of the places that

were the most strongly fortified; but so as to avoid a direct conflict with them in the plains. In Sepphoris also, a city of Galilee, there was one Judas [the son of that arch-robber Hezekias, who formerly overran the country, and had been subdued by king Herod]; this man got no small multitude together, and brake open the place where the royal armor was laid up, and armed those about him, and attacked those that were so earnest to gain the dominion.

(2) [57] Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Περαίαν Σίμων τις τῶν βασιλικῶν δούλων εὐμορφίᾳ σώματος καὶ μεγέθει πεποιθὼς περιτίθησιν μὲν ἑαυτῷ διάδημα, περιὼν δὲ μεθ' ὧν συνήθροισεν λῃστῶν τά τε ἐν Ἰεριχοῖ βασίλεια καταπίμπρησιν καὶ πολλὰς ἑτέρας τῶν πολυτελῶν ἐπαύλεις, ἁρπαγὰς ῥᾳδίως ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς αὐτῷ ποριζόμενος. [58] κἂν ἔφθη πᾶσαν οἴκησιν εὐπρεπῆ καταφλέξας, εἰ μὴ Γρᾶτος ὁ τῶν βασιλικῶν πεζῶν ἡγεμὼν τούς τε Τραχωνίτας τοξότας καὶ τὸ μαχιμώτατον τῶν Σεβαστηνῶν ἀναλαβὼν ὑπαντιάζει τὸν ἄνδρα. [59] τῶν μὲν οὖν Περαίων συχνοὶ διεφθάρησαν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, τὸν Σίμωνα δ' αὐτὸν ἀναφεύγοντα δι' ὀρθίου φάραγγος ὁ Γρᾶτος ὑποτέμνεται καὶ φεύγοντος ἐκ πλαγίου τὸν αὐχένα πλήξας ἀπέρραξε. κατεφλέγη δὲ καὶ τὰ πλησίον Ἰορδάνου βασίλεια κατὰ βηθαραμινενθα συστάντων ἑτέρων τινῶν ἐκ τῆς Περαίας.

2. In Perea also, Simon, one of the servants to the king, relying upon the handsome appearance and tallness of his body, put a diadem upon his own head also; he also went about with a company of robbers that he had gotten together, and burnt down the royal palace that was at Jericho, and many other costly edifices besides, and procured himself very easily spoils by rapine, as snatching them out of the fire. And he had soon burnt down all the fine edifices, if Gratus, the captain of the foot of the king's party, had not taken the Trachonite archers, and the most warlike of Sebaste, and met the man. His footmen were slain in the battle in abundance; Gratus also cut to pieces Simon himself, as he was flying along a strait valley, when he gave him an oblique stroke upon his neck, as he ran away, and brake it. The royal palaces that were near Jordan at Betharamptha were also burnt down by some other of the seditious that came out of Perea.

(3) [60] Τότε καὶ ποιμήν τις ἀντιποιηθῆναι βασιλείας ἐτόλμησεν: Ἀθρογγαῖος ἐκαλεῖτο, προυξένει δ' αὐτῷ τὴν ἐλπίδα σώματος ἰσχὺς καὶ ψυχὴ θανάτου καταφρονοῦσα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀδελφοὶ τέσσαρες ὅμοιοι. [61] τούτων ἑκάστῳ λόχον ὑποζεύξας ἔνοπλον ὥσπερ στρατηγοῖς ἐχρῆτο καὶ σατράπαις ἐπὶ τὰς καταδρομάς, αὐτὸς δὲ καθάπερ βασιλεὺς τῶν σεμνοτέρων ἥπτετο πραγμάτων. [62] τότε μὲν οὖν ἑαυτῷ περιτίθησιν διάδημα, διέμεινεν δ' ὕστερον οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον τὴν χώραν κατατρέχων σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς: καὶ τὸ κτείνειν αὐτοῖς προηγούμενον ἦν Ῥωμαίους τε καὶ τοὺς βασιλικούς, διέφευγεν δὲ οὐδὲ

Ἰουδαίων εἴ τις εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθοι φέρων κέρδος. [63] ἐτόλμησαν δέ ποτε Ῥωμαίων λόχον ἄθρουν περισχεῖν κατ᾽ Ἀμμαοῦντα: σῖτα δ᾽ οὗτοι καὶ ὅπλα διεκόμιζον τῷ τάγματι. τὸν μὲν οὖν ἑκατοντάρχην αὐτῶν Ἄρειον καὶ τεσσαράκοντα τοὺς γενναιοτάτους κατηκόντισαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ κινδυνεύοντες ταὐτὸ παθεῖν Γράτου σὺν τοῖς Σεβαστηνοῖς ἐπιβοηθήσαντος ἐξέφυγον. [64] πολλὰ τοιαῦτα τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους καὶ τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους παρ᾽ ὅλον τὸν πόλεμον ἐργασάμενοι μετὰ χρόνον οἱ μὲν τρεῖς ἐχειρώθησαν, ὑπ᾽ Ἀρχελάου μὲν ὁ πρεσβύτατος, οἱ δ᾽ ἑξῆς δύο Γράτῳ καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ περιπεσόντες: ὁ δὲ τέταρτος Ἀρχελάῳ προσεχώρησεν κατὰ δεξιάν. [65] τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ τέλος ὕστερον αὐτοὺς ἐξεδέχετο, τότε δὲ λῃστρικοῦ πολέμου τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πᾶσαν ἐνεπίμπλασαν.

3. At this time it was that a certain shepherd ventured to set himself up for a king; he was called Athrongeus. It was his strength of body that made him expect such a dignity, as well as his soul, which despised death; and besides these qualifications, he had four brethren like himself. He put a troop of armed men under each of these his brethren, and made use of them as his generals and commanders, when he made his incursions, while he did himself act like a king, and meddled only with the more important affairs; and at this time he put a diadem about his head, and continued after that to overrun the country for no little time with his brethren, and became their leader in killing both the Romans and those of the king's party; nor did any Jew escape him, if any gain could accrue to him thereby. He once ventured to encompass a whole troop of Romans at Emmaus, who were carrying corn and weapons to their legion; his men therefore shot their arrows and darts, and thereby slew their centurion Arius, and forty of the stoutest of his men, while the rest of them, who were in danger of the same fate, upon the coming of Gratus, with those of Sebaste, to their assistance, escaped. And when these men had thus served both their own countrymen and foreigners, and that through this whole war, three of them were, after some time, subdued; the eldest by Archelaus, the two next by falling into the hands of Gratus and Ptolemeus; but the fourth delivered himself up to Archelaus, upon his giving him his right hand for his security. However, this their end was not till afterward, while at present they filled all Judea with a piratic war.

V

CHAPTER 5.

Varus Composes The Tumults In Judea And Crucifies About Two Thousand Of The Seditious.

(1) [66] Οὐάρῳ δὲ δεξαμένῳ τὰ παρὰ Σαβίνου καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων γράμματα δεῖσαί τε περὶ τοῦ τάγματος ὅλου παρέστη καὶ σπεύδειν ἐπὶ τὴν βοήθειαν. [67] ἀναλαβὼν δὴ τὰ λοιπὰ δύο τάγματα καὶ τὰς σὺν αὐτοῖς τέσσαρας ἴλας ἱππέων ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίδος ᾔει, προστάξας ἐκεῖ καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ δυναστῶν ἐπικούρους συνελθεῖν: προσέλαβεν δὲ καὶ παρὰ Βηρυτίων διερχόμενος τὴν πόλιν χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους ὁπλίτας. [68] ἐπεὶ δ᾽ εἰς τὴν Πτολεμαίδα τό τε ἄλλο συμμαχικὸν πλῆθος αὐτῷ παρῆν καὶ κατὰ τὸ πρὸς Ἡρώδην ἔχθος Ἀρέτας ὁ Ἄραψ οὐκ ὀλίγην ἄγων δύναμιν ἱππικήν τε καὶ πεζικήν, μέρος τῆς στρατιᾶς εὐθέως ἔπεμπεν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν γειτνιῶσαν τῇ Πτολεμαίδι καὶ Γάιον ἡγεμόνα τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων, ὃς τούς τε ὑπαντιάσαντας τρέπεται καὶ Σέπφωριν πόλιν ἑλὼν αὐτὴν μὲν ἐμπίπρησι, τοὺς δ᾽ ἐνοικοῦντας ἀνδραποδίζεται. [69] μετὰ δὲ τῆς ὅλης δυνάμεως αὐτὸς Οὔαρος εἰς Σαμάρειαν ἐλάσας τῆς μὲν πόλεως ἀπέσχετο μηδὲν ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων θορύβοις παρακεκινηκυῖαν εὑρών, αὐλίζεται δὲ περί τινα κώμην Ἀροῦν καλουμένην: κτῆμα δὲ ἦν Πτολεμαίου καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀράβων διηρπάσθη μηνιόντων καὶ τοῖς Ἡρώδου φίλοις. [70] ἔνθεν εἰς Σαπφὼ πρόεισιν κώμην ἑτέραν ἐρυμνήν, ἣν ὁμοίως διήρπασαν τάς τε προσόρους πάσας ὅσαις ἐπετύγχανον. πυρὸς δὲ καὶ φόνου πεπλήρωτο πάντα καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἁρπαγὰς τῶν Ἀράβων οὐδὲν ἀντεῖχεν. [71] κατεφλέγη δὲ καὶ Ἀμμαοῦς φυγόντων τῶν οἰκητόρων, Οὐάρου δι᾽ ὀργὴν τῶν περὶ Ἄρειον ἀποσφαγέντων κελεύσαντος.

1. Upon Varus's reception of the letters that were written by Sabinus and the captains, he could not avoid being afraid for the whole legion [he had left there]. So he made haste to their relief, and took with him the other two legions, with the four troops of horsemen to them belonging, and marched to Ptolenlais; having given orders for the auxiliaries that were sent by the kings and governors of cities to meet him there. Moreover, he received from the people of Berytus, as he passed through their city, fifteen hundred armed men. Now as soon as the other body of auxiliaries were come to Ptolemais, as well as Aretas the Arabian, [who, out of the hatred he bore to Herod, brought a great army of horse and foot,] Varus sent a part of his army presently to Galilee, which lay near to Ptolemais, and Caius, one of his friends, for their captain. This Caius put those that met him to flight, and took the city Sepphoris, and burnt it, and made slaves of its inhabitants; but as for Varus himself, he marched to Samaria with his whole army, where he did not meddle with the city itself, because he found that it had made no commotion during these troubles, but pitched his camp about a certain village which was called Aras. It belonged to Ptolemy, and on that account was plundered by the Arabians, who were very angry even at Herod's friends also. He thence marched on to the village Sampho, another fortified place, which they plundered, as they had done the other. As they carried off all

the money they lighted upon belonging to the public revenues, all was now full of fire and bloodshed, and nothing could resist the plunders of the Arabians. Emnaus was also burnt, upon the flight of its inhabitants, and this at the command of Varus, out of his rage at the slaughter of those that were about Arias.

(2) [72] Ἐνθένδε εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα προελθὼν ὀφθείς τε μόνον μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως τὰ στρατόπεδα τῶν Ἰουδαίων διεσκέδασεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ᾤχοντο φυγόντες ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν: [73] δεξάμενοι δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀπεσκευάζοντο τὰς αἰτίας τῆς ἀποστάσεως, αὐτοὶ μὲν οὐδὲν παρακινῆσαι λέγοντες, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἀναγκαίως δεξάμενοι τὸ πλῆθος συμπολιορκηθῆναι μᾶλλον Ῥωμαίοις ἢ συμπολεμῆσαι τοῖς ἀποστᾶσιν. [74] προυπηντήκεισαν δὲ αὐτῷ Ἰώσηπος ὁ ἀνεψιὸς Ἀρχελάου καὶ σὺν Γράτῳ Ῥοῦφος, ἄγοντες ἅμα τῷ βασιλικῷ στρατῷ καὶ τοὺς Σεβαστηνούς, οἵ τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Ῥωμαικοῦ τάγματος τὸν συνήθη τρόπον κεκοσμημένοι: Σαβῖνος μὲν γὰρ οὐδ᾽ εἰς ὄψιν ὑπομείνας ἐλθεῖν Οὐάρῳ προεξῆλθεν τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. [75] Οὔαρος δὲ κατὰ μοῖραν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ κινήματος ἔπεμψεν περὶ τὴν χώραν, καὶ πολλῶν ἀγομένων τοὺς μὲν ἧττον θορυβώδεις φανέντας ἐφρούρει, τοὺς δὲ αἰτιωτάτους ἀνεσταύρωσεν περὶ δισχιλίους.

2. Thence he marched on to Jerusalem, and as soon as he was but seen by the Jews, he made their camps disperse themselves; they also went away, and fled up and down the country. But the citizens received him, and cleared themselves of having any hand in this revolt, and said that they had raised no commotions, but had only been forced to admit the multitude, because of the festival, and that they were rather besieged together with the Romans, than assisted those that had revolted. There had before this met him Joseph, the first cousin of Archelaus, and Gratus, together with Rufus, who led those of Sebaste, as well as the king's army: there also met him those of the Roman legion, armed after their accustomed manner; for as to Sabinus, he durst not come into Varus's sight, but was gone out of the city before this, to the sea-side. But Varus sent a part of his army into the country, against those that had been the authors of this commotion, and as they caught great numbers of them, those that appeared to have been the least concerned in these tumults he put into custody, but such as were the most guilty he crucified; these were in number about two thousand.

(3) [76] Ἠγγέλθη δ᾽ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν ἔτι συμμένειν μυρίους ὁπλίτας. ὁ δὲ τοὺς μὲν Ἄραβας εὑρὼν οὐ συμμάχων ἦθος ἔχοντας, ἀλλ᾽ ἰδίῳ πάθει στρατευομένους καὶ πέρα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προαιρέσεως τὴν χώραν κακοῦντας ἔχθει τῷ πρὸς Ἡρώδην ἀποπέμπεται, μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἰδίων ταγμάτων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀφεστῶτας

ἠπείγετο. [77] κἀκεῖνοι πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν Ἀχιάβου συμβουλεύσαντος σφᾶς αὐτοὺς παρέδοσαν, Οὔαρος δὲ τῷ πλήθει μὲν ἠφίει τὰς αἰτίας, τοὺς δὲ ἡγεμόνας ἐξετασθησομένους ἔπεμπεν ἐπὶ Καίσαρα. [78] Καῖσαρ δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις συνέγνω, τινὰς δὲ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως συγγενῶν, ἦσαν γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔνιοι προσήκοντες Ἡρώδῃ κατὰ γένος, κολάσαι προσέταξεν, ὅτι κατ᾽ οἰκείου βασιλέως ἐστρατεύσαντο. [79] Οὔαρος μὲν οὖν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον καταστησάμενος τὰ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ φρουρὰν καταλιπὼν τὸ καὶ πρότερον τάγμα εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπάνεισιν.

3. He was also informed that there continued in Idumea ten thousand men still in arms; but when he found that the Arabians did not act like auxiliaries, but managed the war according to their own passions, and did mischief to the country otherwise than he intended, and this out of their hatred to Herod, he sent them away, but made haste, with his own legions, to march against those that had revolted; but these, by the advice of Achiabus, delivered themselves up to him before it came to a battle. Then did Varus forgive the multitude their offenses, but sent their captains to Caesar to be examined by him. Now Caesar forgave the rest, but gave orders that certain of the king's relations [for some of those that were among them were Herod's kinsmen] should be put to death, because they had engaged in a war against a king of their own family. When therefore Varus had settled matters at Jerusalem after this manner, and had left the former legion there as a garrison, he returned to Antioch.

VI

CHAPTER 6.

The Jews Greatly Complain Of Archelaus And Desire That They May Be Made Subject To Roman Governors. But When Caesar Had Heard What They Had To Say, He Distributed Herod's Dominions Among His Sons According To His Own Pleasure.

(1) [80] Ἀρχελάῳ δ᾽ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης πάλιν ἄλλη συνίσταται δίκη πρὸς Ἰουδαίους, οἳ πρὸ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἐπιτρέψαντος Οὐάρου πρέσβεις ἐξεληλύθεσαν περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἔθνους αὐτονομίας: ἦσαν δὲ πεντήκοντα μὲν οἱ παρόντες, συμπαρίσταντο δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης Ἰουδαίων ὑπὲρ ὀκτακισχιλίους. [81] ἀθροίσαντος δὲ Καίσαρος συνέδριον τῶν ἐν τέλει Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν φίλων ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸ Παλάτιον Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερῷ, κτίσμα δ᾽ ἦν ἴδιον αὐτοῦ θαυμασίῳ πολυτελείᾳ κεκοσμημένον, μετὰ μὲν τῶν πρεσβευτῶν τὸ Ἰουδαικὸν πλῆθος ἔστη, [82] σὺν δὲ τοῖς φίλοις ἄντικρυς Ἀρχέλαος, τῶν δὲ τούτου συγγενῶν οἱ φίλοι παρ᾽

οὐδετέροις, συμπαρίστασθαι μὲν Ἀρχελάῳ διὰ μῖσος καὶ φθόνον οὐχ ὑπομένοντες, ὀφθῆναι δὲ μετὰ τῶν κατηγόρων ὑπὸ Καίσαρος αἰδούμενοι. [83] τούτοις παρῆν καὶ Φίλιππος ἀδελφὸς Ἀρχελάου, προπεμφθεὶς κατ᾽ εὔνοιαν ὑπὸ Οὐάρου δυοῖν ἕνεκα, Ἀρχελάῳ τε συναγωνίσασθαι, κἂν διανέμῃ τὸν Ἡρώδου Καῖσαρ οἶκον πᾶσι τοῖς ἐγγόνοις, κλήρου τινὸς ἀξιωθῆναι.

1. But now came another accusation from the Jews against Archelaus at Rome, which he was to answer to. It was made by those ambassadors who, before the revolt, had come, by Varus's permission, to plead for the liberty of their country; those that came were fifty in number, but there were more than eight thousand of the Jews at Rome who supported them. And when Caesar had assembled a council of the principal Romans in Apollo's temple, that was in the palace, [this was what he had himself built and adorned, at a vast expense,] the multitude of the Jews stood with the ambassadors, and on the other side stood Archelaus, with his friends; but as for the kindred of Archelaus, they stood on neither side; for to stand on Archelaus's side, their hatred to him, and envy at him, would not give them leave, while yet they were afraid to be seen by Caesar with his accusers. Besides these, there were present Archelaus's brother Philip, being sent thither beforehand, out of kindness by Varus, for two reasons: the one was this, that he might be assisting to Archelaus; and the other was this, that in case Caesar should make a distribution of what Herod possessed among his posterity, he might obtain some share of it.

(2) [84] Ἐπιτραπὲν δὲ λέγειν τοῖς κατηγόροις τὰς Ἡρώδου παρανομίας πρῶτον διεξῆεσαν, οὐ βασιλέα λέγοντες ἀλλὰ τῶν πώποτε τυραννησάντων ὠμότατον ἐνηνοχέναι τύραννον: πλείστων γοῦν ἀνῃρημένων ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοιαῦτα πεπονθέναι τοὺς καταλειφθέντας, ὥστε μακαρίζεσθαι τοὺς ἀπολωλότας: [85] βεβασανικέναι γὰρ οὐ μόνον τὰ σώματα τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πόλεις: τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἰδίας λελωβῆσθαι, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων κεκοσμηκέναι καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας αἷμα κεχαρίσθαι τοῖς ἔξωθεν δήμοις. [86] ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς παλαιᾶς εὐδαιμονίας καὶ τῶν πατρίων νόμων πενίας τὸ ἔθνος καὶ παρανομίας ἐσχάτης πεπληρωκέναι, καθόλου δὲ πλείους ὑπομεμενηκέναι τὰς ἐξ Ἡρώδου συμφορὰς ἐν ὀλίγοις ἔτεσιν Ἰουδαίους ὧν ἐν παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἀναχώρησιν ἔπαθον οἱ πρόγονοι Ξέρξου βασιλεύοντος ἀπαναστάντες. [87] εἰς τοσοῦτον μέντοι μετριότητος καὶ τοῦ δυστυχεῖν ἔθους προελθεῖν, ὥστε ὑπομεῖναι τῆς πικρᾶς δουλείας καὶ διαδοχὴν αὐθαίρετον: [88] Ἀρχέλαον γοῦν τὸν τηλικούτου τυράννου παῖδα μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν βασιλέα τε προσειπεῖν ἑτοίμως καὶ συμπενθῆσαι τὸν Ἡρώδου θάνατον αὐτῷ καὶ συνεύξασθαι περὶ τῆς διαδοχῆς. [89] τὸν δ᾽ ὥσπερ ἀγωνιάσαντα, μὴ νόθος υἱὸς εἶναι δόξειεν Ἡρώδου, προοιμιάσασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν τρισχιλίων πολιτῶν φόνῳ,

καὶ τοσαῦτα μὲν παρεστακέναι θύματα περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ θεῷ, τοσούτοις δ' ἐμπεπληκέναι νεκροῖς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐν ἑορτῇ. [90] τοὺς μέντοι περιλειφθέντας ἐκ τοσούτων κακῶν εἰκότως ἐπεστράφθαι ποτὲ ἤδη πρὸς τὰς συμφορὰς καὶ πολέμου νόμῳ τὰς πληγὰς ἐθέλειν κατὰ πρόσωπον δέχεσθαι, δεῖσθαι δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐλεῆσαι τά τε τῆς Ἰουδαίας λείψανα καὶ μὴ τὸ περισσὸν αὐτῆς ὑπορρῖψαι τοῖς ὠμῶς σπαράττουσιν, [91] συνάψαντας δὲ τῇ Συρίᾳ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν διοικεῖν ἐπ' ἰδίοις ἡγεμόσιν: ἐπιδείξεσθαι γάρ, ὡς οἱ νῦν στασιώδεις διαβαλλόμενοι καὶ πολεμικοὶ φέρειν οἴδασιν μετρίους ἡγεμόνας. [92] Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῆς κατηγορίας κατέληξαν εἰς τοιαύτην ἀξίωσιν, ἀναστὰς δὲ Νικόλαος ἀπελύσατο μὲν τὰς εἰς τοὺς βασιλεῖς αἰτίας, κατηγόρει δὲ τοῦ ἔθνους τό τε δύσαρκτον καὶ τὸ δυσπειθὲς φύσει πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς. συνδιέβαλλε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἀρχελάου συγγενεῖς, ὅσοι πρὸς τοὺς κατηγόρους ἀφεστήκεσαν.

2. And now, upon the permission that was given the accusers to speak, they, in the first place, went over Herod's breaches of their law, and said that he was not a king, but the most barbarous of all tyrants, and that they had found him to be such by the sufferings they underwent from him; that when a very great number had been slain by him, those that were left had endured such miseries, that they called those that were dead happy men; that he had not only tortured the bodies of his subjects, but entire cities, and had done much harm to the cities of his own country, while he adorned those that belonged to foreigners; and he shed the blood of Jews, in order to do kindnesses to those people that were out of their bounds; that he had filled the nation full of poverty, and of the greatest iniquity, instead of that happiness and those laws which they had anciently enjoyed; that, in short, the Jews had borne more calamities from Herod, in a few years, than had their forefathers during all that interval of time that had passed since they had come out of Babylon, and returned home, in the reign of Xerxes that, however, the nation was come to so low a condition, by being inured to hardships, that they submitted to his successor of their own accord, though he brought them into bitter slavery; that accordingly they readily called Archelaus, though he was the son of so great a tyrant, king, after the decease of his father, and joined with him in mourning for the death of Herod, and in wishing him good success in that his succession; while yet this Archelaus, lest he should be in danger of not being thought the genuine son of Herod, began his reign with the murder of three thousand citizens; as if he had a mind to offer so many bloody sacrifices to God for his government, and to fill the temple with the like number of dead bodies at that festival: that, however, those that were left after so many miseries, had just reason to consider now at last the calamities they had undergone, and to oppose themselves, like soldiers in war, to receive those

stripes upon their faces [but not upon their backs, as hitherto]. Whereupon they prayed that the Romans would have compassion upon the [poor] remains of Judea, and not expose what was left of them to such as barbarously tore them to pieces, and that they would join their country to Syria, and administer the government by their own commanders, whereby it would [soon] be demonstrated that those who are now under the calumny of seditious persons, and lovers of war, know how to bear governors that are set over them, if they be but tolerable ones. So the Jews concluded their accusation with this request. Then rose up Nicolaus, and confuted the accusations which were brought against the kings, and himself accused the Jewish nation, as hard to be ruled, and as naturally disobedient to kings. He also reproached all those kinsmen of Archelaus who had left him, and were gone over to his accusers.

(3) [93] Τότε μὲν οὖν Καῖσαρ ἀκούσας ἑκατέρων διέλυσε τὸ συνέδριον, μετὰ δ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ τῆς βασιλείας Ἀρχελάῳ δίδωσιν ἐθνάρχην προσειπών, ὑποσχόμενος δὲ καὶ βασιλέα ποιήσειν, [94] εἰ ἄξιον ἑαυτὸν παράσχοι, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἥμισυ διελὼν εἰς δύο τετραρχίας δυσὶν ἑτέροις παισὶν Ἡρώδου δίδωσιν, τὴν μὲν Φιλίππῳ, τὴν δὲ Ἀντίπᾳ τῷ πρὸς Ἀρχέλαον ἀμφισβητοῦντι περὶ τῆς βασιλείας. [95] ἐγένετο δὲ ὑπὸ τούτῳ μὲν ἥ τε Περαία καὶ Γαλιλαία, πρόσοδος διακόσια τάλαντα, Βατανέα δὲ καὶ Τράχων Αὐρανῖτίς τε καὶ μέρη τινὰ τοῦ Ζήνωνος οἴκου τὰ περὶ ἰννάνω, πρόσοδον ἔχοντα ταλάντων ἑκατόν, ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ τέτακτο. [96] τῆς Ἀρχελάου δ' ἐθναρχίας Ἰδουμαία τε καὶ Ἰουδαία πᾶσα καὶ Σαμαρεῖτις ἦν κεκουφισμένη τετάρτῳ μέρει τῶν φόρων εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ μὴ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστῆναι. [97] πόλεις δ' ὑπηκόους παρέλαβεν Στράτωνος πύργον καὶ Σεβαστὴν καὶ Ἰόππην καὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα: τὰς γὰρ Ἑλληνίδας Γάζαν καὶ Γάδαρα καὶ Ἵππον ἀποτεμόμενος τῆς βασιλείας προσέθηκεν Συρίᾳ. πρόσοδος ἦν τῆς Ἀρχελάῳ δοθείσης χώρας τετρακοσίων ταλάντων. [98] Σαλώμη δὲ πρὸς οἷς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις κατέλιπεν Ἰαμνείας τε καὶ Ἀζώτου καὶ Φασαηλίδος ἀποδείκνυται δεσπότις, χαρίζεται δ' αὐτῇ Καῖσαρ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι βασίλεια: συνήγετο δ' ἐκ πάντων ἑξήκοντα προσόδου τάλαντα: τὸν δὲ οἶκον αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τὴν Ἀρχελάου τοπαρχίαν ἔταξεν. [99] τῆς δ' ἄλλης Ἡρώδου γενεᾶς ἕκαστος τὸ καταλειφθὲν ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις ἐκομίζετο. δυσὶ δ' αὐτοῦ θυγατράσι παρθένοις Καῖσαρ ἔξωθεν χαρίζεται πεντήκοντα μυριάδας ἀργυρίου καὶ συνῴκισεν αὐτὰς τοῖς Φερώρα παισίν. [100] μετὰ δὲ τὸν οἶκον ἐπιδιένειμεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἑαυτῷ καταλειφθεῖσαν ὑφ' Ἡρώδου δωρεὰν οὖσαν χιλίων ταλάντων, εὐτελῆ τινα τῶν κειμηλίων εἰς τὴν τοῦ κατοιχομένου τιμὴν ἐξελόμενος.

3. So Caesar, after he had heard both sides, dissolved the assembly for that time; but a few days afterward, he gave the one half of Herod's kingdom to Archelaus, by the name of Ethnarch, and promised to make him king also afterward, if he

rendered himself worthy of that dignity. But as to the other half, he divided it into two tetrarchies, and gave them to two other sons of Herod, the one of them to Philip, and the other to that Antipas who contested the kingdom with Archelaus. Under this last was Perea and Galilee, with a revenue of two hundred talents; but Batanea, and Trachonitis, and Auranitis, and certain parts of Zeno's house about Jamnia, with a revenue of a hundred talents, were made subject to Philip; while Idumea, and all Judea, and Samaria were parts of the ethnarchy of Archelaus, although Samaria was eased of one quarter of its taxes, out of regard to their not having revolted with the rest of the nation. He also made subject to him the following cities, *viz.* Strato's Tower, and Sebaste, and Joppa, and Jerusalem; but as to the Grecian cities, Gaza, and Gadara, and Hippos, he cut them off from the kingdom, and added them to Syria. Now the revenue of the country that was given to Archelaus was four hundred talents. Salome also, besides what the king had left her in his testaments, was now made mistress of Jamnia, and Ashdod, and Phasaelis. Caesar did moreover bestow upon her the royal palace of Ascalon; by all which she got together a revenue of sixty talents; but he put her house under the ethnarchy of Archelaus. And for the rest of Herod's offspring, they received what was bequeathed to them in his testaments; but, besides that, Caesar granted to Herod's two virgin daughters five hundred thousand [drachmae] of silver, and gave them in marriage to the sons of Pheroras: but after this family distribution, he gave between them what had been bequeathed to him by Herod, which was a thousand talents, reserving to himself only some inconsiderable presents, in honor of the deceased.

VII

CHAPTER 7.

The History Of The Spurious Alexander. Archelaus Is Banished

And Glaphyra Dies, After What Was To Happen To Both Of Them

Had Been Showed Them In Dreams.

(1) [101] Κἀν τούτῳ νεανίας τις Ἰουδαῖος μὲν τὸ γένος, τραφεὶς δὲ ἐν Σιδῶνι παρά τῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπελευθέρῳ, δι' ὁμοιότητα μορφῆς ψευδόμενος ἑαυτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν ἀναιρεθέντα ὑφ' Ἡρώδου κατ' ἐλπίδα τοῦ λήσειν ἦκεν εἰς Ῥώμην. [102] συνεργὸς δ' ἦν τις ὁμόφυλος αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπιστάμενος, ὑφ' οὗ διδαχθεὶς ἔλεγεν, ὡς οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου δι' οἶκτον ἐκκλέψειαν αὐτοὺς ὁμοίων ὑποβολῇ σωμάτων. [103] τούτοις γοῦν τοὺς ἐν Κρήτῃ Ἰουδαίους ἐξαπατήσας καὶ λαμπρῶς

ἐφοδιασθεὶς διέπλευσεν εἰς Μῆλον: ἔνθα συναγείρας πολλῷ πλέον δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν ἀξιοπιστίας ἀνέπεισεν καὶ τοὺς ἰδιοξένους εἰς Ῥώμην αὐτῷ συνεκπλεῦσαι. [104] καταχθεὶς δὲ εἰς Δικαιάρχειαν δῶρά τε παμπληθῆ παρὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ Ἰουδαίων λαμβάνει καὶ καθάπερ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν πατρῴων προεπέμφθη φίλων. προεληλύθει δ᾽ εἰς τοσοῦτον πίστεως τὸ τῆς μορφῆς ὅμοιον, ὥστε τοὺς ἑωρακότας Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ σαφῶς ἐπισταμένους διόμνυσθαι τοῦτον εἶναι. [105] τό γε μὴν Ἰουδαικὸν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἅπαν ἐξεχύθη πρὸς τὴν θέαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πλῆθος ἄπειρον ἦν περὶ τοὺς στενωπούς, δι᾽ ὧν ἐκομίζετο: καὶ γὰρ προῆλθον εἰς τοσοῦτον φρενοβλαβείας οἱ Μήλιοι, ὥστε φορείῳ τε αὐτὸν κομίζειν καὶ θεραπείαν βασιλικὴν ἰδίοις παρασχεῖν ἀναλώμασιν.

1. In the meantime, there was a man, who was by birth a Jew, but brought up at Sidon with one of the Roman freed-men, who falsely pretended, on account of the resemblance of their countenances, that he was that Alexander who was slain by Herod. This man came to Rome, in hopes of not being detected. He had one who was his assistant, of his own nation, and who knew all the affairs of the kingdom, and instructed him to say how those that were sent to kill him and Aristobulus had pity upon them, and stole them away, by putting bodies that were like theirs in their places. This man deceived the Jews that were at Crete, and got a great deal of money of them for traveling in splendor; and thence sailed to Melos, where he was thought so certainly genuine, that he got a great deal more money, and prevailed with those that had treated him to sail along with him to Rome. So he landed at Dicearchia, [Puteoli,] and got very large presents from the Jews who dwelt there, and was conducted by his father's friends as if he were a king; nay, the resemblance in his countenance procured him so much credit, that those who had seen Alexander, and had known him very well, would take their oaths that he was the very same person. Accordingly, the whole body of the Jews that were at Rome ran out in crowds to see him, and an innumerable multitude there was which stood in the narrow places through which he was carried; for those of Melos were so far distracted, that they carried him in a sedan, and maintained a royal attendance for him at their own proper charges.

(2) [106] Καῖσαρ δὲ γινώσκων [ἀκριβῶς] τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου χαρακτῆρας, κατηγόρητο γὰρ ὑφ᾽ Ἡρώδου παρ᾽ αὐτῷ, συνεώρα μὲν καὶ πρὶν ἰδεῖν τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὴν τῆς ὁμοιότητος ἀπάτην, διδοὺς δέ τι καὶ πίστεως ταῖς ἱλαρωτέραις ἐλπίσιν Κέλαδόν τινα πέμπει τῶν σαφῶς ἐπισταμένων Ἀλέξανδρον, κελεύσας ἀγαγεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν νεανίσκον. [107] ὁ δὲ ὡς εἶδεν, ἐτεκμήρατο μὲν τάχιστα καὶ τὰς διαφορὰς τοῦ προσώπου τό τε ὅλον σῶμα σκληρότερόν τε καὶ δουλοφανὲς καταμαθὼν ἐνόησεν πᾶν τὸ σύνταγμα, [108] πάνυ δὲ αὐτὸν παρώξυνεν ἡ τόλμα

τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ λεγομένων: τοῖς γὰρ πυνθανομένοις περὶ Ἀριστοβούλου σώζεσθαι μὲν κἀκεῖνον ἔλεγεν, ἀπολελεῖφθαι δὲ ἐπίτηδες ἐν Κύπρῳ τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς φυλασσόμενον: ἧττον γὰρ ἐπιχειρεῖσθαι διεζευγμένους. [109] ἀπολαβόμενος οὖν αὐτὸν κατ᾽ ἰδίαν "μισθόν, ἔφη, παρὰ Καίσαρος ἔχεις τὸ ζῆν τοῦ μηνῦσαι τὸν ἀναπείσαντά σε πλανᾶσθαι τηλικαῦτα." κἀκεῖνος αὐτῷ δηλώσειν εἰπὼν ἔπεται πρὸς Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν Ἰουδαῖον ἐνδείκνυται καταχρησάμενον αὐτοῦ τῇ ὁμοιότητι πρὸς ἐργασίαν: τοσαῦτα γὰρ εἰληφέναι δῶρα καθ᾽ ἑκάστην πόλιν ὅσα ζῶν Ἀλέξανδρος οὐκ ἔλαβεν. [110] γελάσας δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν μὲν ψευδαλέξανδρον δι᾽ εὐεξίαν σώματος ἐγκατέταξεν τοῖς ἐρέταις, τὸν ἀναπείσαντα δὲ ἐκέλευσεν ἀναιρεθῆναι: Μηλίοις δ᾽ ἤρκεσεν ἐπιτίμιον τῆς ἀνοίας τὰ ἀναλώματα.

2. But Caesar, who knew perfectly well the lineaments of Alexander's face, because he had been accused by Herod before him, discerned the fallacy in his countenance, even before he saw the man. However, he suffered the agreeable fame that went of him to have some weight with him, and sent Celadus, one who well knew Alexander, and ordered him to bring the young man to him. But when Caesar saw him, he immediately discerned a difference in his countenance; and when he had discovered that his whole body was of a more robust texture, and like that of a slave, he understood the whole was a contrivance. But the impudence of what he said greatly provoked him to be angry at him; for when he was asked about Aristobulus, he said that he was also preserved alive, and was left on purpose in Cyprus, for fear of treachery, because it would be harder for plotters to get them both into their power while they were separate. Then did Caesar take him by himself privately, and said to him, "I will give thee thy life, if thou wilt discover who it was that persuaded thee to forge such stories." So he said that he would discover him, and followed Caesar, and pointed to that Jew who abused the resemblance of his face to get money; for that he had received more presents in every city than ever Alexander did when he was alive. Caesar laughed at the contrivance, and put this spurious Alexander among his rowers, on account of the strength of his body, but ordered him that persuaded him to be put to death. But for the people of Melos, they had been sufficiently punished for their folly, by the expenses they had been at on his account.

(3) [111] Παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἐθναρχίαν Ἀρχέλαος καὶ κατὰ μνήμην τῶν πάλαι διαφορῶν οὐ μόνον Ἰουδαίοις ἀλλὰ καὶ Σαμαρεῦσι χρησάμενος ὠμῶς, πρεσβευσαμένων ἑκατέρων κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ πρὸς Καίσαρα ἔτει τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐνάτῳ φυγαδεύεται μὲν αὐτὸς εἰς Βίενναν πόλιν τῆς Γαλλίας, ἡ οὐσία δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῖς Καίσαρος θησαυροῖς ἐγκατατάσσεται. [112] πρὶν κληθῆναι δ᾽ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄναρ ἰδεῖν φασιν τοιόνδε: ἔδοξεν ὁρᾶν στάχυς ἐννέα πλήρεις καὶ

μεγάλους ὑπὸ βοῶν καταβιβρωσκομένους. μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ τοὺς μάντεις καὶ τῶν Χαλδαίων τινὰς ἐπυνθάνετο, τί σημαίνειν δοκοῖεν. [113] ἄλλων δ' ἄλλως ἐξηγουμένων Σίμων τις Ἐσσαῖος τὸ γένος ἔφη τοὺς μὲν στάχυς ἐνιαυτοὺς νομίζειν, βόας δὲ μεταβολὴν πραγμάτων διὰ τὸ τὴν χώραν ἀροτριῶντας ἀλλάσσειν: ὥστε βασιλεύσειν μὲν αὐτὸν τὸν τῶν ἀσταχύων ἀριθμόν, ἐν ποικίλαις δὲ πραγμάτων μεταβολαῖς γενόμενον τελευτήσειν. ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ἀρχέλαος μετὰ πέντε ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὴν δίκην ἐκλήθη.

3. And now Archelaus took possession of his ethnarchy, and used not the Jews only, but the Samaritans also, barbarously; and this out of his resentment of their old quarrels with him. Whereupon they both of them sent ambassadors against him to Caesar; and in the ninth year of his government he was banished to Vienna, a city of Gaul, and his effects were put into Caesar's treasury. But the report goes, that before he was sent for by Caesar, he seemed to see nine ears of corn, full and large, but devoured by oxen. When, therefore, he had sent for the diviners, and some of the Chaldeans, and inquired of them what they thought it portended; and when one of them had one interpretation, and another had another, Simon, one of the sect of Essens, said that he thought the ears of corn denoted years, and the oxen denoted a mutation of things, because by their ploughing they made an alteration of the country. That therefore he should reign as many years as there were ears of corn; and after he had passed through various alterations of fortune, should die. Now five days after Archelaus had heard this interpretation he was called to his trial.

(4) [114] Ἄξιον δὲ μνήμης ἡγησάμην καὶ τὸ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Γλαφύρας ὄναρ, ἥπερ ἦν θυγάτηρ μὲν Ἀρχελάου τοῦ Καππαδόκων βασιλέως, γυνὴ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου γεγονυῖα τὸ πρῶτον, ὃς ἦν ἀδελφὸς Ἀρχελάου περὶ οὗ διέξιμεν, υἱὸς δὲ Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως, ὑφ' οὗ καὶ ἀνῃρέθη, καθάπερ δεδηλώκαμεν. [115] μετὰ δὲ τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον συνῴκησεν Ἰόβᾳ τῷ βασιλεύοντι Λιβύης, οὗ τελευτήσαντος ἐπανελθοῦσαν αὐτὴν καὶ χηρεύουσαν παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ θεασάμενος ὁ ἐθνάρχης Ἀρχέλαος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἔρωτος ἦλθεν, ὥστε παραχρῆμα τὴν συνοικοῦσαν αὐτῷ Μαριάμμην ἀποπεμψάμενος ἐκείνην ἀγαγέσθαι. [116] παραγενομένη τοίνυν εἰς Ἰουδαίαν μετ' ὀλίγον τῆς ἀφίξεως χρόνον ἔδοξεν ἐπιστάντα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτῇ λέγειν "ἀπέχρη μὲν ὁ κατὰ Λιβύην σοι γάμος, σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἀρκεσθεῖσα τούτῳ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνακάμπτεις ἑστίαν, τρίτον ἄνδρα καὶ ταῦτα τὸν ἀδελφόν, ὦ τολμηρά, τὸν ἐμὸν ἠρημένη. πλὴν οὐ περιόψομαι τὴν ὕβριν, ἀπολήψομαι δέ σε καὶ μὴ θέλουσαν." τοῦτο διηγησαμένη τὸ ὄναρ μόλις δύο ἡμέρας ἐβίω.

4. I cannot also but think it worthy to be recorded what dream Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, had, who had at first been wife to Alexander, who was the brother of Archelaus, concerning whom we have been discoursing. This Alexander was the son of Herod the king, by whom he was put to death, as we have already related. This Glaphyra was married, after his death, to Juba, king of Libya; and, after his death, was returned home, and lived a widow with her father. Then it was that Archelaus, the ethnarch, saw her, and fell so deeply in love with her, that he divorced Mariamne, who was then his wife, and married her. When, therefore, she was come into Judea, and had been there for a little while, she thought she saw Alexander stand by her, and that he said to her; "Thy marriage with the king of Libya might have been sufficient for thee; but thou wast not contented with him, but art returned again to my family, to a third husband; and him, thou impudent woman, hast thou chosen for thine husband, who is my brother. However, I shall not overlook the injury thou hast offered me; I shall [soon] have thee again, whether thou wilt or no." Now Glaphyra hardly survived the narration of this dream of hers two days.

VIII

CHAPTER 8.

Archelaus's Ethnarchy Is Reduced Into A [Roman] Province.

The Sedition Of Judas Of Galilee. The Three Sects.

(1) [117] Τῆς δὲ Ἀρχελάου χώρας εἰς ἐπαρχίαν περιγραφείσης ἐπίτροπος τῆς ἱππικῆς παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις τάξεως Κωπώνιος πέμπεται μέχρι τοῦ κτείνειν λαβὼν παρὰ Καίσαρος ἐξουσίαν. [118] ἐπὶ τούτου τις ἀνὴρ Γαλιλαῖος Ἰούδας ὄνομα εἰς ἀπόστασιν ἐνῆγε τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους κακίζων, εἰ φόρον τε Ῥωμαίοις τελεῖν ὑπομενοῦσιν καὶ μετὰ τὸν θεὸν οἵσουσι θνητοὺς δεσπότας. ἦν δ' οὗτος σοφιστὴς ἰδίας αἱρέσεως οὐδὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις προσεοικώς.

1. And now Archelaus's part of Judea was reduced into a province, and Coponius, one of the equestrian order among the Romans, was sent as a procurator, having the power of [life and] death put into his hands by Caesar. Under his administration it was that a certain Galilean, whose name was Judas, prevailed with his countrymen to revolt, and said they were cowards if they would endure to pay a tax to the Romans and would after God submit to mortal men as their lords. This man was a teacher of a peculiar sect of his own, and was not at all like the rest of those their leaders.

(2) [119] Τρία γὰρ παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις εἴδη φιλοσοφεῖται, καὶ τοῦ μὲν αἱρετισταὶ Φαρισαῖοι, τοῦ δὲ Σαδδουκαῖοι, τρίτον δέ, ὃ δὴ καὶ δοκεῖ σεμνότητα ἀσκεῖν, Ἐσσηνοὶ καλοῦνται, Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν γένος ὄντες, φιλάλληλοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλέον. [120] οὗτοι τὰς μὲν ἡδονὰς ὡς κακίαν ἀποστρέφονται, τὴν δὲ ἐγκράτειαν καὶ τὸ μὴ τοῖς πάθεσιν ὑποπίπτειν ἀρετὴν ὑπολαμβάνουσιν. καὶ γάμου μὲν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὑπεροψία, τοὺς δ᾽ ἀλλοτρίους παῖδας ἐκλαμβάνοντες ἁπαλοὺς ἔτι πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα συγγενεῖς ἡγοῦνται καὶ τοῖς ἤθεσιν αὐτῶν ἐντυποῦσι, [121] τὸν μὲν γάμον καὶ τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ διαδοχὴν οὐκ ἀναιροῦντες, τὰς δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν ἀσελγείας φυλαττόμενοι καὶ μηδεμίαν τηρεῖν πεπεισμένοι τὴν πρὸς ἕνα πίστιν.

2. For there are three philosophical sects among the Jews. The followers of the first of which are the Pharisees; of the second, the Sadducees; and the third sect, which pretends to a severer discipline, are called Essens. These last are Jews by birth, and seem to have a greater affection for one another than the other sects have. These Essens reject pleasures as an evil, but esteem continence, and the conquest over our passions, to be virtue. They neglect wedlock, but choose out other persons children, while they are pliable, and fit for learning, and esteem them to be of their kindred, and form them according to their own manners. They do not absolutely deny the fitness of marriage, and the succession of mankind thereby continued; but they guard against the lascivious behavior of women, and are persuaded that none of them preserve their fidelity to one man.

(3) [122] Καταφρονηταὶ δὲ πλούτου, καὶ θαυμάσιον αὐτοῖς τὸ κοινωνικόν, οὐδὲ ἔστιν εὑρεῖν κτήσει τινὰ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὑπερέχοντα: νόμος γὰρ τοὺς εἰς τὴν αἵρεσιν εἰσιόντας δημεύειν τῷ τάγματι τὴν οὐσίαν, ὥστε ἐν ἅπασιν μήτε πενίας ταπεινότητα φαίνεσθαι μήθ᾽ ὑπεροχὴν πλούτου, τῶν δ᾽ ἑκάστου κτημάτων ἀναμεμιγμένων μίαν ὥσπερ ἀδελφοῖς ἅπασιν οὐσίαν εἶναι. [123] κηλῖδα δ᾽ ὑπολαμβάνουσι τὸ ἔλαιον, κἂν ἀλειφθῇ τις ἄκων, σμήχεται τὸ σῶμα: τὸ γὰρ αὐχμεῖν ἐν καλῷ τίθενται λευχειμονεῖν τε διαπαντός. χειροτονητοὶ δ᾽ οἱ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμεληταὶ καὶ ἀδιαίρετοι πρὸς ἁπάντων εἰς τὰς χρείας ἕκαστοι.

3. These men are despisers of riches, and so very communicative as raises our admiration. Nor is there any one to be found among them who hath more than another; for it is a law among them, that those who come to them must let what they have be common to the whole order, — insomuch that among them all there is no appearance of poverty, or excess of riches, but every one's possessions are intermingled with every other's possessions; and so there is, as it were, one patrimony among all the brethren. They think that oil is a defilement; and if any one of them be anointed without his own approbation, it is wiped off his body; for they think to be sweaty is a good thing, as they do also to be clothed in white

garments. They also have stewards appointed to take care of their common affairs, who every one of them have no separate business for any, but what is for the uses of them all.

(4) [124] Μία δ᾽ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῶν πόλις ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ἑκάστῃ μετοικοῦσιν πολλοί. καὶ τοῖς ἑτέρωθεν ἥκουσιν αἱρετισταῖς πάντ᾽ ἀναπέπταται τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως ὥσπερ ἴδια, καὶ πρὸς οὓς οὐ πρότερον εἶδον εἰσίασιν ὡς συνηθεστάτους: [125] διὸ καὶ ποιοῦνται τὰς ἀποδημίας οὐδὲν μὲν ὅλως ἐπικομιζόμενοι, διὰ δὲ τοὺς λῃστὰς ἔνοπλοι. κηδεμὼν δ᾽ ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει τοῦ τάγματος ἐξαιρέτως τῶν ξένων ἀποδείκνυται ταμιεύων ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. [126] καταστολὴ δὲ καὶ σχῆμα σώματος ὅμοιον τοῖς μετὰ φόβου παιδαγωγουμένοις παισίν. οὔτε δὲ ἐσθῆτας οὔτε ὑποδήματα ἀμείβουσι πρὶν διαρραγῆναι τὸ πρότερον παντάπασιν ἢ δαπανηθῆναι τῷ χρόνῳ. [127] οὐδὲν δ᾽ ἐν ἀλλήλοις οὔτ᾽ ἀγοράζουσιν οὔτε πωλοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ χρῄζοντι διδοὺς ἕκαστος τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτῷ τὸ παρ᾽ ἐκείνου χρήσιμον ἀντικομίζεται: καὶ χωρὶς δὲ τῆς ἀντιδόσεως ἀκώλυτος ἡ μετάληψις αὐτοῖς παρ᾽ ὧν ἂν θέλωσιν.

4. They have no one certain city, but many of them dwell in every city; and if any of their sect come from other places, what they have lies open for them, just as if it were their own; and they go in to such as they never knew before, as if they had been ever so long acquainted with them. For which reason they carry nothing at all with them when they travel into remote parts, though still they take their weapons with them, for fear of thieves. Accordingly, there is, in every city where they live, one appointed particularly to take care of strangers, and to provide garments and other necessaries for them. But the habit and management of their bodies is such as children use who are in fear of their masters. Nor do they allow of the change of garments or of shoes till be first torn to pieces, or worn out by time. Nor do they either buy or sell any thing to one another; but every one of them gives what he hath to him that wanteth it, and receives from him again in lieu of it what may be convenient for himself; and although there be no requital made, they are fully allowed to take what they want of whomsoever they please.

(5) [128] Πρός γε μὴν τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβεῖς ἰδίως: πρὶν γὰρ ἀνασχεῖν τὸν ἥλιον οὐδὲν φθέγγονται τῶν βεβήλων, πατρίους δέ τινας εἰς αὐτὸν εὐχὰς ὥσπερ ἱκετεύοντες ἀνατεῖλαι. [129] καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς ἃς ἕκαστοι τέχνας ἴσασιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν διαφίενται, καὶ μέχρι πέμπτης ὥρας ἐργασάμενοι συντόνως πάλιν εἰς ἓν συναθροίζονται χωρίον, ζωσάμενοί τε σκεπάσμασιν λινοῖς οὕτως ἀπολούονται τὸ σῶμα ψυχροῖς ὕδασιν, καὶ μετὰ ταύτην τὴν ἁγνείαν εἰς ἴδιον οἴκημα συνίασιν, ἔνθα μηδενὶ τῶν ἑτεροδόξων ἐπιτέτραπται παρελθεῖν: αὐτοί τε

καθαροὶ καθάπερ εἰς ἅγιόν τι τέμενος παραγίνονται τὸ δειπνητήριον. [130] καὶ καθισάντων μεθ᾽ ἡσυχίας ὁ μὲν σιτοποιὸς ἐν τάξει παρατίθησι τοὺς ἄρτους, ὁ δὲ μάγειρος ἓν ἀγγεῖον ἐξ ἑνὸς ἐδέσματος ἑκάστῳ παρατίθησιν. [131] προκατεύχεται δ᾽ ὁ ἱερεὺς τῆς τροφῆς, καὶ γεύσασθαί τινα πρὶν τῆς εὐχῆς ἀθέμιτον: ἀριστοποιησάμενος δ᾽ ἐπεύχεται πάλιν: ἀρχόμενοί τε καὶ παυόμενοι γεραίρουσι θεὸν ὡς χορηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς. ἔπειθ᾽ ὡς ἱερὰς καταθέμενοι τὰς ἐσθῆτας πάλιν ἐπ᾽ ἔργα μέχρι δείλης τρέπονται. [132] δειπνοῦσι δ᾽ ὁμοίως ὑποστρέψαντες συγκαθεζομένων τῶν ξένων, εἰ τύχοιεν αὐτοῖς παρόντες. οὔτε δὲ κραυγή ποτε τὸν οἶκον οὔτε θόρυβος μιαίνει, τὰς δὲ λαλιὰς ἐν τάξει παραχωροῦσιν ἀλλήλοις. [133] καὶ τοῖς ἔξωθεν ὡς μυστήριόν τι φρικτὸν ἡ τῶν ἔνδον σιωπὴ καταφαίνεται, τούτου δ᾽ αἴτιον ἡ διηνεκὴς νῆψις καὶ τὸ μετρεῖσθαι παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς τροφὴν καὶ ποτὸν μέχρι κόρου.

5. And as for their piety towards God, it is very extraordinary; for before sun-rising they speak not a word about profane matters, but put up certain prayers which they have received from their forefathers, as if they made a supplication for its rising. After this every one of them are sent away by their curators, to exercise some of those arts wherein they are skilled, in which they labor with great diligence till the fifth hour. After which they assemble themselves together again into one place; and when they have clothed themselves in white veils, they then bathe their bodies in cold water. And after this purification is over, they every one meet together in an apartment of their own, into which it is not permitted to any of another sect to enter; while they go, after a pure manner, into the dining-room, as into a certain holy temple, and quietly set themselves down; upon which the baker lays them loaves in order; the cook also brings a single plate of one sort of food, and sets it before every one of them; but a priest says grace before meat; and it is unlawful for any one to taste of the food before grace be said. The same priest, when he hath dined, says grace again after meat; and when they begin, and when they end, they praise God, as he that bestows their food upon them; after which they lay aside their [white] garments, and betake themselves to their labors again till the evening; then they return home to supper, after the same manner; and if there be any strangers there, they sit down with them. Nor is there ever any clamor or disturbance to pollute their house, but they give every one leave to speak in their turn; which silence thus kept in their house appears to foreigners like some tremendous mystery; the cause of which is that perpetual sobriety they exercise, and the same settled measure of meat and drink that is allotted them, and that such as is abundantly sufficient for them.

(6) [134] Τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι μὴ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν προσταξάντων ἐνεργοῦσι, δύο δὲ ταῦτα παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς αὐτεξούσια, ἐπικουρία καὶ ἔλεος: βοηθεῖν

τε γὰρ τοῖς ἀξίοις, ὁπόταν δέωνται, καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐφίεται καὶ τροφὰς ἀπορουμένοις ὀρέγειν. τὰς δὲ εἰς τοὺς συγγενεῖς μεταδόσεις οὐκ ἔξεστι ποιεῖσθαι δίχα τῶν ἐπιτρόπων. [135] ὀργῆς ταμίαι δίκαιοι, θυμοῦ καθεκτικοί, πίστεως προστάται, εἰρήνης ὑπουργοί. καὶ πᾶν μὲν τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἰσχυρότερον ὅρκου, τὸ δὲ ὀμνύειν αὐτοῖς περιίσταται χεῖρον τῆς ἐπιορκίας ὑπολαμβάνοντες: ἤδη γὰρ κατεγνῶσθαί φασιν τὸν ἀπιστούμενον δίχα θεοῦ. [136] σπουδάζουσι δ' ἐκτόπως περὶ τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν συντάγματα μάλιστα τὰ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος ἐκλέγοντες: ἔνθεν αὐτοῖς πρὸς θεραπείαν παθῶν ῥίζαι τε ἀλεξητήριον καὶ λίθων ἰδιότητες ἀνερευνῶνται.

6. And truly, as for other things, they do nothing but according to the injunctions of their curators; only these two things are done among them at everyone's own free-will, which are to assist those that want it, and to show mercy; for they are permitted of their own accord to afford succor to such as deserve it, when they stand in need of it, and to bestow food on those that are in distress; but they cannot give any thing to their kindred without the curators. They dispense their anger after a just manner, and restrain their passion. They are eminent for fidelity, and are the ministers of peace; whatsoever they say also is firmer than an oath; but swearing is avoided by them, and they esteem it worse than perjury for they say that he who cannot be believed without [swearing by] God is already condemned. They also take great pains in studying the writings of the ancients, and choose out of them what is most for the advantage of their soul and body; and they inquire after such roots and medicinal stones as may cure their distempers.

(7) [137] Τοῖς δὲ ζηλοῦσιν τὴν αἵρεσιν αὐτῶν οὐκ εὐθὺς ἡ πάροδος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ἔξω μένοντι τὴν αὐτὴν ὑποτίθενται δίαιταν ἀξινάριόν τε καὶ τὸ προειρημένον περίζωμα καὶ λευκὴν ἐσθῆτα δόντες. [138] ἐπειδὰν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ πεῖραν ἐγκρατείας δῷ, πρόσεισιν μὲν ἔγγιον τῇ διαίτῃ καὶ καθαρωτέρων τῶν πρὸς ἁγνείαν ὑδάτων μεταλαμβάνει, παραλαμβάνεται δὲ εἰς τὰς συμβιώσεις οὐδέπω. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν τῆς καρτερίας ἐπίδειξιν δυσὶν ἄλλοις ἔτεσιν τὸ ἦθος δοκιμάζεται καὶ φανεὶς ἄξιος οὕτως εἰς τὸν ὅμιλον ἐγκρίνεται. [139] πρὶν δὲ τῆς κοινῆς ἅψασθαι τροφῆς ὅρκους αὐτοῖς ὄμνυσι φρικώδεις, πρῶτον μὲν εὐσεβήσειν τὸ θεῖον, ἔπειτα τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους δίκαια φυλάξειν καὶ μήτε κατὰ γνώμην βλάψειν τινὰ μήτε ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος, μισήσειν δ' ἀεὶ τοὺς ἀδίκους καὶ συναγωνιεῖσθαι τοῖς δικαίοις: [140] τὸ πιστὸν ἀεὶ πᾶσιν παρέξειν, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς κρατοῦσιν: οὐ γὰρ δίχα θεοῦ περιγενέσθαι τινὶ τὸ ἄρχειν: κἂν αὐτὸς ἄρχῃ, μηδέποτε ἐξυβρίσειν εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν μηδ' ἐσθῆτί τινι ἢ πλείονι κόσμῳ τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους ὑπερλαμπρύνεσθαι. [141] τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀγαπᾶν ἀεὶ καὶ τοὺς ψευδομένους προβάλλεσθαι: χεῖρας κλοπῆς καὶ ψυχὴν ἀνοσίου κέρδους

καθαρὰν φυλάξειν καὶ μήτε κρύψειν τι τοὺς αἱρετιστὰς μήθ᾽ ἑτέροις αὐτῶν τι μηνύσειν, κἂν μέχρι θανάτου τις βιάζηται. [142] πρὸς τούτοις ὄμνυσιν μηδενὶ μὲν μεταδοῦναι τῶν δογμάτων ἑτέρως ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς μετέλαβεν, ἀφέξεσθαι δὲ λῃστείας καὶ συντηρήσειν ὁμοίως τά τε τῆς αἱρέσεως αὐτῶν βιβλία καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ὀνόματα. τοιούτοις μὲν ὅρκοις τοὺς προσιόντας ἐξασφαλίζονται.

7. But now if any one hath a mind to come over to their sect, he is not immediately admitted, but he is prescribed the same method of living which they use for a year, while he continues excluded'; and they give him also a small hatchet, and the fore-mentioned girdle, and the white garment. And when he hath given evidence, during that time, that he can observe their continence, he approaches nearer to their way of living, and is made a partaker of the waters of purification; yet is he not even now admitted to live with them; for after this demonstration of his fortitude, his temper is tried two more years; and if he appear to be worthy, they then admit him into their society. And before he is allowed to touch their common food, he is obliged to take tremendous oaths, that, in the first place, he will exercise piety towards God, and then that he will observe justice towards men, and that he will do no harm to any one, either of his own accord, or by the command of others; that he will always hate the wicked, and be assistant to the righteous; that he will ever show fidelity to all men, and especially to those in authority, because no one obtains the government without God's assistance; and that if he be in authority, he will at no time whatever abuse his authority, nor endeavor to outshine his subjects either in his garments, or any other finery; that he will be perpetually a lover of truth, and propose to himself to reprove those that tell lies; that he will keep his hands clear from theft, and his soul from unlawful gains; and that he will neither conceal any thing from those of his own sect, nor discover any of their doctrines to others, no, not though anyone should compel him so to do at the hazard of his life. Moreover, he swears to communicate their doctrines to no one any otherwise than as he received them himself; that he will abstain from robbery, and will equally preserve the books belonging to their sect, and the names of the angels [or messengers]. These are the oaths by which they secure their proselytes to themselves.

(8) [143] Τοὺς δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀξιοχρέοις ἁμαρτήμασιν ἁλόντας ἐκβάλλουσι τοῦ τάγματος. ὁ δ᾽ ἐκκριθεὶς οἰκτίστῳ πολλάκις μόρῳ διαφθείρεται: τοῖς γὰρ ὅρκοις καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσιν ἐνδεδεμένος οὐδὲ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις τροφῆς δύναται μεταλαμβάνειν, ποηφαγῶν δὲ καὶ λιμῷ τὸ σῶμα τηκόμενος διαφθείρεται. [144] διὸ δὴ πολλοὺς ἐλεήσαντες ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἀναπνοαῖς ἀνέλαβον, ἱκανὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν αὐτῶν τὴν μέχρι θανάτου βάσανον ἡγούμενοι.

8. But for those that are caught in any heinous sins, they cast them out of their society; and he who is thus separated from them does often die after a miserable manner; for as he is bound by the oath he hath taken, and by the customs he hath been engaged in, he is not at liberty to partake of that food that he meets with elsewhere, but is forced to eat grass, and to famish his body with hunger, till he perish; for which reason they receive many of them again when they are at their last gasp, out of compassion to them, as thinking the miseries they have endured till they came to the very brink of death to be a sufficient punishment for the sins they had been guilty of.

(9) [145] Περὶ δὲ τὰς κρίσεις ἀκριβέστατοι καὶ δίκαιοι, καὶ δικάζουσι μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν ἑκατὸν συνελθόντες, τὸ δ᾽ ὁρισθὲν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀκίνητον. σέβας δὲ μέγα παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς μετὰ τὸν θεὸν τοὔνομα τοῦ νομοθέτου, κἂν βλασφημήσῃ τις εἰς τοῦτον κολάζεται θανάτῳ. [146] τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέροις ὑπακούουσιν καὶ τοῖς πλείοσιν ἐν καλῷ: δέκα γοῦν συγκαθεζομένων οὐκ ἂν λαλήσειέν τις ἀκόντων τῶν ἐννέα. [147] καὶ τὸ πτύσαι δὲ εἰς μέσους ἢ τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος φυλάσσονται καὶ ταῖς ἑβδομάσιν ἔργων ἐφάπτεσθαι διαφορώτατα Ἰουδαίων ἁπάντων: οὐ μόνον γὰρ τροφὰς ἑαυτοῖς πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας παρασκευάζουσιν, ὡς μὴ πῦρ ἐναύοιεν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ σκεῦός τι μετακινῆσαι θαρροῦσιν οὐδὲ ἀποπατεῖν. [148] ταῖς δ᾽ ἄλλαις ἡμέραις βόθρον ὀρύσσοντες βάθος ποδιαῖον τῇ σκαλίδι, τοιοῦτον γάρ ἐστιν τὸ διδόμενον ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀξινίδιον τοῖς νεοσυστάτοις, καὶ περικαλύψαντες θοιμάτιον, ὡς μὴ τὰς αὐγὰς ὑβρίζοιεν τοῦ θεοῦ, θακεύουσιν εἰς αὐτόν. [149] ἔπειτα τὴν ἀνορυχθεῖσαν γῆν ἐφέλκουσιν εἰς τὸν βόθρον: καὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦσι τοὺς ἐρημοτέρους τόπους ἐκλεγόμενοι. καίπερ δὴ φυσικῆς οὔσης τῆς τῶν λυμάτων ἐκκρίσεως ἀπολούεσθαι μετ᾽ αὐτὴν καθάπερ μεμιασμένοις ἔθιμον.

9. But in the judgments they exercise they are most accurate and just, nor do they pass sentence by the votes of a court that is fewer than a hundred. And as to what is once determined by that number, it is unalterable. What they most of all honor, after God himself, is the name of their legislator [Moses], whom if any one blaspheme he is punished capitally. They also think it a good thing to obey their elders, and the major part. Accordingly, if ten of them be sitting together, no one of them will speak while the other nine are against it. They also avoid spitting in the midst of them, or on the right side. Moreover, they are stricter than any other of the Jews in resting from their labors on the seventh day; for they not only get their food ready the day before, that they may not be obliged to kindle a fire on that day, but they will not remove any vessel out of its place, nor go to stool thereon. Nay, on other days they dig a small pit, a foot deep, with a paddle [which kind of hatchet is given them when they are first admitted among them];

and covering themselves round with their garment, that they may not affront the Divine rays of light, they ease themselves into that pit, after which they put the earth that was dug out again into the pit; and even this they do only in the more lonely places, which they choose out for this purpose; and although this easement of the body be natural, yet it is a rule with them to wash themselves after it, as if it were a defilement to them.

(10) [150] Διῄρηνται δὲ κατὰ χρόνον τῆς ἀσκήσεως εἰς μοίρας τέσσαρας, καὶ τοσοῦτον οἱ μεταγενέστεροι τῶν προγενεστέρων ἐλαττοῦνται, ὥστ᾽ εἰ ψαύσειαν αὐτῶν, ἐκείνους ἀπολούεσθαι καθάπερ ἀλλοφύλῳ συμφυρέντας. [151] καὶ μακρόβιοι μέν, ὡς τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑκατὸν παρατείνειν ἔτη, διὰ τὴν ἁπλότητα τῆς διαίτης ἔμοιγε δοκεῖν καὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν, καταφρονηταὶ δὲ τῶν δεινῶν, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀλγηδόνας νικῶντες τοῖς φρονήμασιν, τὸν δὲ θάνατον, εἰ μετ᾽ εὐκλείας πρόσεισι, νομίζοντες ἀθανασίας ἀμείνονα. [152] διήλεγξεν δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν ἅπασιν τὰς ψυχὰς ὁ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμος, ἐν ᾧ στρεβλούμενοί τε καὶ λυγιζόμενοι καιόμενοί τε καὶ κλώμενοι καὶ διὰ πάντων ὁδεύοντες τῶν βασανιστηρίων ὀργάνων, ἵν᾽ ἢ βλασφημήσωσιν τὸν νομοθέτην ἢ φάγωσίν τι τῶν ἀσυνήθων, οὐδέτερον ὑπέμειναν παθεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ κολακεῦσαί ποτε τοὺς αἰκιζομένους ἢ δακρῦσαι. [153] μειδιῶντες δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἀλγηδόσιν καὶ κατειρωνευόμενοι τῶν τὰς βασάνους προσφερόντων εὔθυμοι τὰς ψυχὰς ἠφίεσαν ὡς πάλιν κομιούμενοι.

10. Now after the time of their preparatory trial is over, they are parted into four classes; and so far are the juniors inferior to the seniors, that if the seniors should be touched by the juniors, they must wash themselves, as if they had intermixed themselves with the company of a foreigner. They are long-lived also, insomuch that many of them live above a hundred years, by means of the simplicity of their diet; nay, as I think, by means of the regular course of life they observe also. They contemn the miseries of life, and are above pain, by the generosity of their mind. And as for death, if it will be for their glory, they esteem it better than living always; and indeed our war with the Romans gave abundant evidence what great souls they had in their trials, wherein, although they were tortured and distorted, burnt and torn to pieces, and went through all kinds of instruments of torment, that they might be forced either to blaspheme their legislator, or to eat what was forbidden them, yet could they not be made to do either of them, no, nor once to flatter their tormentors, or to shed a tear; but they smiled in their very pains, and laughed those to scorn who inflicted the torments upon them, and resigned up their souls with great alacrity, as expecting to receive them again.

(11) [154] Καὶ γὰρ ἔρρωται παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἥδε ἡ δόξα, φθαρτὰ μὲν εἶναι τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν ὕλην οὐ μόνιμον αὐτῶν, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἀθανάτους ἀεὶ διαμένειν, καὶ συμπλέκεσθαι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ λεπτοτάτου φοιτώσας αἰθέρος ὥσπερ εἱρκταῖς τοῖς σώμασιν ἴυγγί τινι φυσικῇ κατασπωμένας, [155] ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀνεθῶσι τῶν κατὰ σάρκα δεσμῶν, οἷα δὴ μακρᾶς δουλείας ἀπηλλαγμένας τότε χαίρειν καὶ μετεώρους φέρεσθαι. καὶ ταῖς μὲν ἀγαθαῖς ὁμοδοξοῦντες παισὶν Ἑλλήνων ἀποφαίνονται τὴν ὑπὲρ ὠκεανὸν δίαιταν ἀποκεῖσθαι καὶ χῶρον οὔτε ὄμβροις οὔτε νιφετοῖς οὔτε καύμασι βαρυνόμενον, ἀλλ᾽ ὃν ἐξ ὠκεανοῦ πραὺς ἀεὶ ζέφυρος ἐπιπνέων ἀναψύχει: ταῖς δὲ φαύλαις ζοφώδη καὶ χειμέριον ἀφορίζονται μυχὸν γέμοντα τιμωριῶν ἀδιαλείπτων. [156] δοκοῦσι δέ μοι κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔννοιαν Ἕλληνες τοῖς τε ἀνδρείοις αὐτῶν, οὓς ἥρωας καὶ ἡμιθέους καλοῦσιν, τὰς μακάρων νήσους ἀνατεθεικέναι, ταῖς δὲ τῶν πονηρῶν ψυχαῖς καθ᾽ ᾅδου τὸν ἀσεβῶν χῶρον, ἔνθα καὶ κολαζομένους τινὰς μυθολογοῦσιν, Σισύφους καὶ Ταντάλους Ἰξίονάς τε καὶ Τιτυούς, πρῶτον μὲν ἀιδίους ὑφιστάμενοι τὰς ψυχάς, ἔπειτα εἰς προτροπὴν ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας ἀποτροπήν. [157] τούς τε γὰρ ἀγαθοὺς γίνεσθαι κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀμείνους ἐλπίδι τιμῆς καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν, τῶν τε κακῶν ἐμποδίζεσθαι τὰς ὁρμὰς δέει προσδοκώντων, εἰ καὶ λάθοιεν ἐν τῷ ζῆν, μετὰ τὴν διάλυσιν ἀθάνατον τιμωρίαν ὑφέξειν. [158] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Ἐσσηνοὶ περὶ ψυχῆς θεολογοῦσιν ἄφυκτον δέλεαρ τοῖς ἅπαξ γευσαμένοις τῆς σοφίας αὐτῶν καθιέντες.

11. For their doctrine is this: That bodies are corruptible, and that the matter they are made of is not permanent; but that the souls are immortal, and continue for ever; and that they come out of the most subtile air, and are united to their bodies as to prisons, into which they are drawn by a certain natural enticement; but that when they are set free from the bonds of the flesh, they then, as released from a long bondage, rejoice and mount upward. And this is like the opinions of the Greeks, that good souls have their habitations beyond the ocean, in a region that is neither oppressed with storms of rain or snow, or with intense heat, but that this place is such as is refreshed by the gentle breathing of a west wind, that is perpetually blowing from the ocean; while they allot to bad souls a dark and tempestuous den, full of never-ceasing punishments. And indeed the Greeks seem to me to have followed the same notion, when they allot the islands of the blessed to their brave men, whom they call heroes and demi-gods; and to the souls of the wicked, the region of the ungodly, in Hades, where their fables relate that certain persons, such as Sisyphus, and Tantalus, and Ixion, and Tityus, are punished; which is built on this first supposition, that souls are immortal; and thence are those exhortations to virtue and dehortations from wickedness collected; whereby good men are bettered in the conduct of their life by the hope

they have of reward after their death; and whereby the vehement inclinations of bad men to vice are restrained, by the fear and expectation they are in, that although they should lie concealed in this life, they should suffer immortal punishment after their death. These are the Divine doctrines of the Essens about the soul, which lay an unavoidable bait for such as have once had a taste of their philosophy.

(12) [159] Εἰσὶν δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς οἳ καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα προγινώσκειν ὑπισχνοῦνται, βίβλοις ἱεραῖς καὶ διαφόροις ἁγνείαις καὶ προφητῶν ἀποφθέγμασιν ἐμπαιδοτριβούμενοι: σπάνιον δ' εἴ ποτε ἐν ταῖς προαγορεύσεσιν ἀστοχοῦσιν.

12. There are also those among them who undertake to foretell things to come, by reading the holy books, and using several sorts of purifications, and being perpetually conversant in the discourses of the prophets; and it is but seldom that they miss in their predictions.

(13) [160] Ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ἕτερον Ἐσσηνῶν τάγμα, δίαιταν μὲν καὶ ἔθη καὶ νόμιμα τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁμοφρονοῦν, διεστὼς δὲ τῇ κατὰ γάμον δόξῃ: μέγιστον γὰρ ἀποκόπτειν οἴονται τοῦ βίου μέρος, τὴν διαδοχήν, τοὺς μὴ γαμοῦντας, μᾶλλον δέ, εἰ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ φρονήσειαν, ἐκλιπεῖν ἂν τὸ γένος τάχιστα. [161] δοκιμάζοντες μέντοι τριετίᾳ τὰς γαμετάς, ἐπειδὰν τρὶς καθαρθῶσιν εἰς πεῖραν τοῦ δύνασθαι τίκτειν, οὕτως ἄγονται. ταῖς δ' ἐγκύμοσιν οὐχ ὁμιλοῦσιν, ἐνδεικνύμενοι τὸ μὴ δι' ἡδονὴν ἀλλὰ τέκνων χρείαν γαμεῖν. λουτρὰ δὲ ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἀμπεχομέναις ἐνδύματα, καθάπερ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐν περιζώματι. τοιαῦτα μὲν ἔθη τοῦδε τοῦ τάγματος.

13. Moreover, there is another order of Essens, who agree with the rest as to their way of living, and customs, and laws, but differ from them in the point of marriage, as thinking that by not marrying they cut off the principal part of human life, which is the prospect of succession; nay, rather, that if all men should be of the same opinion, the whole race of mankind would fail. However, they try their spouses for three years; and if they find that they have their natural purgations thrice, as trials that they are likely to be fruitful, they then actually marry them. But they do not use to accompany with their wives when they are with child, as a demonstration that they do not many out of regard to pleasure, but for the sake of posterity. Now the women go into the baths with some of their garments on, as the men do with somewhat girded about them. And these are the customs of this order of Essens.

(14) [162] Δύο δὲ τῶν προτέρων Φαρισαῖοι μὲν οἱ μετὰ ἀκριβείας δοκοῦντες ἐξηγεῖσθαι τὰ νόμιμα καὶ τὴν πρώτην ἀπάγοντες αἵρεσιν εἱμαρμένῃ τε καὶ θεῷ προσάπτουσι πάντα, [163] καὶ τὸ μὲν πράττειν τὰ δίκαια καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον

ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κεῖσθαι, βοηθεῖν δὲ εἰς ἕκαστον καὶ τὴν εἱμαρμένην: ψυχήν τε πᾶσαν μὲν ἄφθαρτον, μεταβαίνειν δὲ εἰς ἕτερον σῶμα τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν μόνην, τὰς δὲ τῶν φαύλων ἀιδίῳ τιμωρίᾳ κολάζεσθαι. [164] Σαδδουκαῖοι δέ, τὸ δεύτερον τάγμα, τὴν μὲν εἱμαρμένην παντάπασιν ἀναιροῦσιν καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἔξω τοῦ δρᾶν τι κακὸν ἢ ἐφορᾶν τίθενται: [165] φασὶν δ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων ἐκλογῇ τό τε καλὸν καὶ τὸ κακὸν προκεῖσθαι καὶ κατὰ γνώμην ἑκάστου τούτων ἑκατέρῳ προσιέναι. ψυχῆς τε τὴν διαμονὴν καὶ τὰς καθ' ᾅδου τιμωρίας καὶ τιμὰς ἀναιροῦσιν. [166] καὶ Φαρισαῖοι μὲν φιλάλληλοί τε καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ὁμόνοιαν ἀσκοῦντες, Σαδδουκαίων δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὸ ἦθος ἀγριώτερον αἵ τε ἐπιμιξίαι πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοίους ἀπηνεῖς ὡς πρὸς ἀλλοτρίους. τοιαῦτα μὲν περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰουδαίοις φιλοσοφούντων εἶχον εἰπεῖν.

14. But then as to the two other orders at first mentioned, the Pharisees are those who are esteemed most skillful in the exact explication of their laws, and introduce the first sect. These ascribe all to fate [or providence], and to God, and yet allow, that to act what is right, or the contrary, is principally in the power of men, although fate does co-operate in every action. They say that all souls are incorruptible, but that the souls of good men only are removed into other bodies, — but that the souls of bad men are subject to eternal punishment. But the Sadducees are those that compose the second order, and take away fate entirely, and suppose that God is not concerned in our doing or not doing what is evil; and they say, that to act what is good, or what is evil, is at men's own choice, and that the one or the other belongs so to every one, that they may act as they please. They also take away the belief of the immortal duration of the soul, and the punishments and rewards in Hades. Moreover, the Pharisees are friendly to one another, and are for the exercise of concord, and regard for the public; but the behavior of the Sadducees one towards another is in some degree wild, and their conversation with those that are of their own party is as barbarous as if they were strangers to them. And this is what I had to say concerning the philosophic sects among the Jews.

IX

CHAPTER 9.

The Death Of Salome. The Cities Which Herod And Philip Built. Pilate Occasions Disturbances. Tiberius Puts Agrippa Into Bonds But Caius Frees Him From Them, And Makes Him King. Herod Antipas Is Banished.

(1) [167] Τῆς Ἀρχελάου δ' ἐθναρχίας μεταπεσούσης εἰς ἐπαρχίαν οἱ λοιποί, Φίλιππος καὶ Ἡρώδης ὁ κληθεὶς Ἀντίπας, διῴκουν τὰς ἑαυτῶν τετραρχίας: Σαλώμη γὰρ τελευτῶσα Ἰουλίᾳ τῇ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ γυναικὶ τήν τε αὐτῆς τοπαρχίαν καὶ Ἰάμνειαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν Φασαηλίδι φοινικῶνας κατέλιπεν. [168] μεταβάσης δὲ εἰς Τιβέριον τὸν Ἰουλίας υἱὸν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας μετὰ τὴν Αὐγούστου τελευτήν, ἀφηγησαμένου τῶν πραγμάτων ἔτεσιν ἑπτὰ καὶ πεντήκοντα πρὸς δὲ μησὶν ἓξ καὶ ἡμέραις δύο, διαμείναντες ἐν ταῖς τετραρχίαις ὅ τε Ἡρώδης καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος, ὁ μὲν πρὸς ταῖς τοῦ Ἰορδάνου πηγαῖς ἐν Πανεάδι πόλιν κτίζει Καισάρειαν κἀν τῇ κάτω Γαυλανιτικῇ Ἰουλιάδα, Ἡρώδης δ' ἐν μὲν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ Τιβεριάδα, ἐν δὲ τῇ Περαίᾳ φερώνυμον Ἰουλίας.

1. And now as the ethnarchy of Archelaus was fallen into a Roman province, the other sons of Herod, Philip, and that Herod who was called Antipas, each of them took upon them the administration of their own tetrarchies; for when Salome died, she bequeathed to Julia, the wife of Augustus, both her toparchy, and Jamriga, as also her plantation of palm trees that were in Phasaelis. But when the Roman empire was translated to Tiberius, the son of Julia, upon the death of Augustus, who had reigned fifty-seven years, six months, and two days, both Herod and Philip continued in their tetrarchies; and the latter of them built the city Cesarea, at the fountains of Jordan, and in the region of Paneas; as also the city Julias, in the lower Gaulonitis. Herod also built the city Tiberius in Galilee, and in Perea [beyond Jordan] another that was also called Julias.

(2) [169] Πεμφθεὶς δὲ εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἐπίτροπος ὑπὸ Τιβερίου Πιλᾶτος νύκτωρ κεκαλυμμένας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα εἰσκομίζει τὰς Καίσαρος εἰκόνας, αἳ σημαῖαι καλοῦνται. [170] τοῦτο μεθ' ἡμέραν μεγίστην ταραχὴν ἤγειρεν Ἰουδαίοις: οἵ τε γὰρ ἐγγὺς πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἐξεπλάγησαν ὡς πεπατημένων αὐτοῖς τῶν νόμων, οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀξιοῦσιν ἐν τῇ πόλει δείκηλον τίθεσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀγανάκτησιν τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἄθρους ὁ ἐκ τῆς χώρας λαὸς συνέρρευσεν. [171] ὁρμήσαντες δὲ πρὸς Πιλᾶτον εἰς Καισάρειαν ἱκέτευον ἐξενεγκεῖν ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων τὰς σημαίας καὶ τηρεῖν αὐτοῖς τὰ πάτρια. Πιλάτου δὲ ἀρνουμένου περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν πρηνεῖς καταπεσόντες ἐπὶ πέντε ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας ἴσας ἀκίνητοι διεκαρτέρουν.

2. Now Pilate, who was sent as procurator into Judea by Tiberius, sent by night those images of Caesar that are called ensigns into Jerusalem. This excited a very among great tumult among the Jews when it was day; for those that were near them were astonished at the sight of them, as indications that their laws were trodden under foot; for those laws do not permit any sort of image to be brought into the city. Nay, besides the indignation which the citizens had themselves at this procedure, a vast number of people came running out of the

country. These came zealously to Pilate to Cesarea, and besought him to carry those ensigns out of Jerusalem, and to preserve them their ancient laws inviolable; but upon Pilate's denial of their request, they fell down prostrate upon the ground, and continued immovable in that posture for five days and as many nights.

(3) [172] Τῇ δ' ἑξῆς ὁ Πιλᾶτος καθίσας ἐπὶ βήματος ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ σταδίῳ καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τὸ πλῆθος ὡς ἀποκρίνασθαι δῆθεν αὐτοῖς θέλων, δίδωσιν τοῖς στρατιώταις σημεῖον ἐκ συντάγματος κυκλώσασθαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. [173] περιστάσης δὲ τριστιχεὶ τῆς φάλαγγος Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν ἀχανεῖς ἦσαν πρὸς τὸ ἀδόκητον τῆς ὄψεως, Πιλᾶτος δὲ κατακόψειν εἰπὼν αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ προσδέξαιντο τὰς Καίσαρος εἰκόνας, γυμνοῦν τὰ ξίφη τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔνευσεν. [174] οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι καθάπερ ἐκ συνθήματος ἀθρόοι καταπεσόντες καὶ τοὺς αὐχένας παρακλίναντες ἑτοίμους ἀναιρεῖν σφᾶς ἐβόων μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν νόμον παραβῆναι. ὑπερθαυμάσας δὲ ὁ Πιλᾶτος τὸ τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας ἄκρατον ἐκκομίσαι μὲν αὐτίκα τὰς σημαίας Ἱεροσολύμων κελεύει.

3. On the next day Pilate sat upon his tribunal, in the open market-place, and called to him the multitude, as desirous to give them an answer; and then gave a signal to the soldiers, that they should all by agreement at once encompass the Jews with their weapons; so the band of soldiers stood round about the Jews in three ranks. The Jews were under the utmost consternation at that unexpected sight. Pilate also said to them that they should be cut in pieces, unless they would admit of Caesar's images, and gave intimation to the soldiers to draw their naked swords. Hereupon the Jews, as it were at one signal, fell down in vast numbers together, and exposed their necks bare, and cried out that they were sooner ready to be slain, than that their law should be transgressed. Hereupon Pilate was greatly surprised at their prodigious superstition, and gave order that the ensigns should be presently carried out of Jerusalem.

(4) [175] Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ταραχὴν ἑτέραν ἐκίνει τὸν ἱερὸν θησαυρόν, καλεῖται δὲ κορβωνᾶς, εἰς καταγωγὴν ὑδάτων ἐξαναλίσκων: κατῆγεν δὲ ἀπὸ τετρακοσίων σταδίων. πρὸς τοῦτο τοῦ πλήθους ἀγανάκτησις ἦν, καὶ τοῦ Πιλάτου παρόντος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα περιστάντες τὸ βῆμα κατεβόων. [176] ὁ δέ, προῄδει γὰρ αὐτῶν τὴν ταραχήν, τῷ πλήθει τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐνόπλους ἐσθῆσιν ἰδιωτικαῖς κεκαλυμμένους ἐγκαταμίξας καὶ ξίφει μὲν χρήσασθαι κωλύσας, ξύλοις δὲ παίειν τοὺς κεκραγότας ἐγκελευσάμενος σύνθημα δίδωσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος. [177] τυπτόμενοι δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πολλοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πληγῶν, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ καταπατηθέντες ἀπώλοντο. πρὸς δὲ τὴν συμφορὰν τῶν ἀνῃρημένων καταπλαγὲν τὸ πλῆθος ἐσιώπησεν.

4. After this he raised another disturbance, by expending that sacred treasure which is called Corban upon aqueducts, whereby he brought water from the distance of four hundred furlongs. At this the multitude had indignation; and when Pilate was come to Jerusalem, they came about his tribunal, and made a clamor at it. Now when he was apprized aforehand of this disturbance, he mixed his own soldiers in their armor with the multitude, and ordered them to conceal themselves under the habits of private men, and not indeed to use their swords, but with their staves to beat those that made the clamor. He then gave the signal from his tribunal [to do as he had bidden them]. Now the Jews were so sadly beaten, that many of them perished by the stripes they received, and many of them perished as trodden to death by themselves; by which means the multitude was astonished at the calamity of those that were slain, and held their peace.

(5) [178] Κἀν τούτῳ κατήγορος Ἡρώδου τοῦ τετραρχοῦντος Ἀγρίππας υἱὸς Ἀριστοβούλου, ὃν ὁ πατὴρ Ἡρώδης ἀπέκτεινεν, παραγίνεται πρὸς Τιβέριον. τοῦ δὲ μὴ προσδεξαμένου τὴν κατηγορίαν μένων ἐπὶ Ῥώμης τούς τε ἄλλους τῶν γνωρίμων ἐθεράπευεν καὶ μάλιστα τὸν Γερμανικοῦ παῖδα Γάιον ἰδιώτην ἔτι ὄντα. [179] καὶ δή ποτε ἑστιῶν αὐτὸν τά τε ἄλλα ποικίλως ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο καὶ τελευταῖον τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας φανερῶς ηὔξατο θᾶττον αὐτὸν θεάσασθαι τῶν ὅλων δεσπότην ἀποθανόντος Τιβερίου. [180] τοῦτό τις τῶν οἰκετῶν αὐτοῦ διαγγέλλει τῷ Τιβερίῳ, καὶ ὃς ἀγανακτήσας εἴργνυσιν τὸν Ἀγρίππαν καὶ μετ᾽ αἰκίας εἶχεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ μῆνας ἓξ ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ, μέχρις αὐτὸς ἐτελεύτησεν ἡγεμονεύσας ἔτη δύο πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι καὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ μησὶν ἕξ.

5. In the mean time Agrippa, the son of that Aristobulus who had been slain by his father Herod, came to Tiberius, to accuse Herod the tetrarch; who not admitting of his accusation, he staid at Rome, and cultivated a friendship with others of the men of note, but principally with Caius the son of Germanicus, who was then but a private person. Now this Agrippa, at a certain time, feasted Caius; and as he was very complaisant to him on several other accounts, he at length stretched out his hands, and openly wished that Tiberius might die, and that he might quickly see him emperor of the world. This was told to Tiberius by one of Agrippa's domestics, who thereupon was very angry, and ordered Agrippa to be bound, and had him very ill-treated in the prison for six months, until Tiberius died, after he had reigned twenty-two years, six months, and three days.

(6) [181] Ἀποδειχθεὶς δὲ Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἀνίησίν τε τῶν δεσμῶν τὸν Ἀγρίππαν καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου τετραρχίας, θνήσκει γὰρ οὗτος, καθίστησι βασιλέα. παραγενόμενος δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀγρίππας φθόνῳ τὰς Ἡρώδου τοῦ τετράρχου διήγειρεν ἐπιθυμίας. [182] ἐνῆγε δὲ μάλιστα τοῦτον εἰς ἐλπίδα βασιλείας Ἡρωδιὰς

ἡ γυνὴ κατονειδίζουσα τὴν ἀργίαν καὶ φαμένη παρὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι πλεῖν ἐπὶ Καίσαρα στερίσκεσθαι μείζονος ἀρχῆς: ὅπου μὲν γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν ἐξ ἰδιώτου βασιλέα πεποίηκεν, ἧπου γ᾽ ἂν ἐκεῖνον διστάσειεν ἐκ τετράρχου; τούτοις ἀναπεισθεὶς Ἡρώδης ἦκεν πρὸς Γάιον, [183] ὑφ᾽ οὗ τῆς πλεονεξίας ἐπιτιμᾶται φυγῇ εἰς Γαλλίαν: ἠκολούθησεν γὰρ αὐτῷ κατήγορος Ἀγρίππας, ᾧ καὶ τὴν τετραρχίαν τὴν ἐκείνου προσέθηκεν Γάιος. καὶ Ἡρώδης μὲν ἐν Γαλλίᾳ συμφυγούσης αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τελευτᾷ.

6. But when Caius was made Caesar, he released Agrippa from his bonds, and made him king of Philip's tetrarchy, who was now dead; but when Agrippa had arrived at that degree of dignity, he inflamed the ambitious desires of Herod the tetrarch, who was chiefly induced to hope for the royal authority by his wife Herodias, who reproached him for his sloth, and told him that it was only because he would not sail to Caesar that he was destitute of that great dignity; for since Caesar had made Agrippa a king, from a private person, much mole would he advance him from a tetrarch to that dignity. These arguments prevailed with Herod, so that he came to Caius, by whom he was punished for his ambition, by being banished into Spain; for Agrippa followed him, in order to accuse him; to whom also Caius gave his tetrarchy, by way of addition. So Herod died in Spain, whither his wife had followed him.

X

CHAPTER 10.

Caius Commands That His Statue Should Be Set Up In The Temple Itself; And What Petronius Did Thereupon.

(1) [184] Γάιος δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξύβρισεν εἰς τὴν τύχην, ὥστε θεὸν ἑαυτὸν καὶ δοκεῖν βούλεσθαι καὶ καλεῖσθαι τῶν τε εὐγενεστάτων ἀνδρῶν ἀκροτομῆσαι τὴν πατρίδα, ἐκτεῖναι δὲ τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίαν. [185] Πετρώνιον μὲν οὖν μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἔπεμψεν ἐγκαθιδρύσοντα τῷ ναῷ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας αὐτοῦ, προστάξας, εἰ μὴ δέχοιντο Ἰουδαῖοι, τούς τε κωλύοντας ἀνελεῖν καὶ πᾶν τὸ λοιπὸν ἔθνος ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι. [186] θεῷ δ᾽ ἄρα τῶν προσταγμάτων ἔμελεν. καὶ Πετρώνιος μὲν σὺν τρισὶ τάγμασι καὶ πολλοῖς ἐκ τῆς Συρίας συμμάχοις εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἤλαυνεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας, [187] Ἰουδαίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἠπίστουν ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου φήμαις, οἱ δὲ πιστεύοντες ἦσαν ἐν ἀμηχάνῳ πρὸς τὴν ἄμυναν: ταχὺ δ᾽ ἐχώρει διὰ πάντων τὸ δέος ἤδη παρούσης εἰς Πτολεμαίδα τῆς στρατιᾶς.

1. Now Caius Caesar did so grossly abuse the fortune he had arrived at, as to take himself to be a god, and to desire to be so called also, and to cut off those of the greatest nobility out of his country. He also extended his impiety as far as the Jews. Accordingly, he sent Petronius with an army to Jerusalem, to place his statues in the temple, and commanded him that, in case the Jews would not admit of them, he should slay those that opposed it, and carry all the rest of the nation into captivity: but God concerned himself with these his commands. However, Petronius marched out of Antioch into Judea, with three legions, and many Syrian auxiliaries. Now as to the Jews, some of them could not believe the stories that spake of a war; but those that did believe them were in the utmost distress how to defend themselves, and the terror diffused itself presently through them all; for the army was already come to Ptolemais.

(2) [188] Πόλις δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη τῆς Γαλιλαίας παράλιος κατὰ τὸ μέγα πεδίον ἐκτισμένη, περιέχεται δὲ ὄρεσιν ἐκ μὲν τοῦ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν κλίματος ἀπὸ σταδίων ἑξήκοντα τῷ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ μεσημβρινοῦ τῷ Καρμήλῳ διέχοντι σταδίους ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι, τῷ δ' ὑψηλοτάτῳ κατ' ἄρκτον, ὃ καλοῦσιν κλίμακα Τυρίων οἱ ἐπιχώριοι: [189] καὶ τοῦτο δὲ σταδίους ἀφέστηκεν ἑκατόν. τοῦ δ' ἄστεος ὅσον ἀπὸ δύο σταδίων ὁ καλούμενος Βήλεος ποταμὸς παραρρεῖ παντάπασιν ὀλίγος, παρ' ᾧ τὸ Μέμνονος μνημεῖόν ἐστιν ἔχον ἐγγὺς αὐτοῦ τόπον ἑκατονταπήχη θαύματος ἄξιον: [190] κυκλοτερὴς μὲν γάρ ἐστιν καὶ κοῖλος, ἀναδίδωσιν δὲ τὴν ὑελίνην ψάμμον, ἣν ὅταν ἐκκενώσῃ πολλὰ πλοῖα προσσχόντα, πάλιν ἀντιπληροῦται τὸ χωρίον, κατασυρόντων μὲν ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες τότε τῶν ἀνέμων εἰς αὐτὸ τὴν ἔξωθεν ἀργὴν ψάμμον, τοῦ δὲ μετάλλου πᾶσαν εὐθέως μεταβάλλοντος εἰς ὕελον. [191] θαυμασιώτερον δὲ τούτου μοι δοκεῖ τὸ τὴν ὑπερχυθεῖσαν ὕελον ἐκ τοῦ τόπου πάλιν ψάμμον γίνεσθαι εἰκαίαν. τὸ μὲν οὖν χωρίον τοῦτο τοιαύτην εἴληχεν φύσιν.

2. This Ptolemais is a maritime city of Galilee, built in the great plain. It is encompassed with mountains: that on the east side, sixty furlongs off, belongs to Galilee; but that on the south belongs to Carmel, which is distant from it a hundred and twenty furlongs; and that on the north is the highest of them all, and is called by the people of the country, The Ladder of the Tyrians, which is at the distance of a hundred furlongs. The very small river Belus runs by it, at the distance of two furlongs; near which there is Menmon's monument, and hath near it a place no larger than a hundred cubits, which deserves admiration; for the place is round and hollow, and affords such sand as glass is made of; which place, when it hath been emptied by the many ships there loaded, it is filled again by the winds, which bring into it, as it were on purpose, that sand which lay remote, and was no more than bare common sand, while this mine presently

turns it into glassy sand. And what is to me still more wonderful, that glassy sand which is superfluous, and is once removed out of the place, becomes bare common sand again. And this is the nature of the place we are speaking of.

(3) [192] Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων ἀθροισθέντες εἰς τὸ πεδίον τὸ πρὸς Πτολεμαίδι καθικέτευον τὸν Πετρώνιον ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρίων νόμων πρῶτον, ἔπειτα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ πρός τε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰς δεήσεις ἐνδοὺς τοὺς μὲν ἀνδριάντας καὶ τὰς στρατιὰς ἐν Πτολεμαίδι λείπει, [193] προελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν καὶ συγκαλέσας τό τε πλῆθος καὶ τοὺς γνωρίμους πάντας εἰς Τιβεριάδα τήν τε Ῥωμαίων διεξῆει δύναμιν καὶ τὰς Καίσαρος ἀπειλάς, ἔτι δὲ τὴν ἀξίωσιν ἀπέφαινεν ἀγνώμονα: [194] πάντων γὰρ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ἐθνῶν κατὰ πόλιν συγκαθιδρυκότων τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς καὶ τὰς Καίσαρος εἰκόνας τὸ μόνους ἐκείνους ἀντιτάσσεσθαι πρὸς τοῦτο σχεδὸν ἀφισταμένων εἶναι καὶ μεθ᾽ ὕβρεως.

3. But now the Jews got together in great numbers with their wives and children into that plain that was by Ptolemais, and made supplication to Petronius, first for their laws, and, in the next place, for themselves. So he was prevailed upon by the multitude of the supplicants, and by their supplications, and left his army and the statues at Ptolemais, and then went forward into Galilee, and called together the multitude and all the men of note to Tiberias, and showed them the power of the Romans, and the threatenings of Caesar; and, besides this, proved that their petition was unreasonable, because while all the nations in subjection to them had placed the images of Caesar in their several cities, among the rest of their gods, for them alone to oppose it, was almost like the behavior of revolters, and was injurious to Caesar.

(4) [195] Τῶν δὲ τὸν νόμον καὶ τὸ πάτριον ἔθος προτεινομένων καὶ ὡς οὐδὲ θεοῦ τι δείκηλον, οὐχ ὅπως ἀνδρός, οὐ κατὰ τὸν ναὸν μόνον ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ ἐν εἰκαίῳ τινὶ τόπῳ τῆς χώρας θέσθαι θεμιτὸν εἴη, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Πετρώνιος “ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἐμοὶ φυλακτέος ὁ τοὐμοῦ δεσπότου νόμος”, ἔφη: “παραβὰς γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ φεισάμενος ὑμῶν ἀπολοῦμαι δικαίως. πολεμήσει δ᾽ ὑμᾶς ὁ πέμψας με καὶ οὐκ ἐγώ: [196] καὶ γὰρ αὐτός, ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς, ἐπιτάσσομαι.” πρὸς ταῦτα τὸ πλῆθος πάντ᾽ ἐβόα πρὸ τοῦ νόμου πάσχειν ἑτοίμως ἔχειν. καταστείλας δ᾽ αὐτῶν ὁ Πετρώνιος τὴν βοήν, “πολεμήσετε, εἶπεν, ἄρα [197] Καίσαρι;” καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι περὶ μὲν Καίσαρος καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ῥωμαίων δὶς τῆς ἡμέρας θύειν ἔφασαν, εἰ δὲ βούλεται τὰς εἰκόνας ἐγκαθιδρύειν, πρότερον αὐτὸν δεῖν ἅπαν τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος προθύσασθαι: παρέχειν δὲ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἑτοίμους εἰς τὴν σφαγὴν ἅμα τέκνοις καὶ γυναιξίν. [198] ἐπὶ τούτοις θαῦμα καὶ οἶκτος εἰσῄει τὸν Πετρώνιον τῆς τε ἀνυπερβλήτου θρησκείας τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ πρὸς θάνατον ἑτοίμου παραστήματος. καὶ τότε μὲν ἄπρακτοι διελύθησαν.

4. And when they insisted on their law, and the custom of their country, and how it was not only not permitted them to make either an image of God, or indeed of a man, and to put it in any despicable part of their country, much less in the temple itself, Petronius replied, "And am not I also," said he, "bound to keep the law of my own lord? For if I transgress it, and spare you, it is but just that I perish; while he that sent me, and not I, will commence a war against you; for I am under command as well as you." Hereupon the whole multitude cried out that they were ready to suffer for their law. Petronius then quieted them, and said to them, "Will you then make war against Caesar?" The Jews said, "We offer sacrifices twice every day for Caesar, and for the Roman people;" but that if he would place the images among them, he must first sacrifice the whole Jewish nation; and that they were ready to expose themselves, together with their children and wives, to be slain. At this Petronius was astonished, and pitied them, on account of the inexpressible sense of religion the men were under, and that courage of theirs which made them ready to die for it; so they were dismissed without success.

(5) [199] Ταῖς δ' ἑξῆς ἀθρόους τε τοὺς δυνατοὺς κατ' ἰδίαν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐν κοινῷ συλλέγων ποτὲ μὲν παρεκάλει, ποτὲ δὲ συνεβούλευεν, τὸ πλέον μέντοι διηπείλει τήν τε Ῥωμαίων ἐπανατεινόμενος ἰσχὺν καὶ τοὺς Γαίου θυμοὺς τήν τε ἰδίαν πρὸς τούτοις ἀνάγκην. [200] πρὸς δὲ μηδεμίαν πεῖραν ἐνδιδόντων ὡς ἑώρα καὶ τὴν χώραν κινδυνεύουσαν ἄσπορον μεῖναι, κατὰ γὰρ ὥραν σπόρου πεντήκοντα ἡμέρας ἀργὰ προσδιέτριβεν αὐτῷ τὰ πλήθη, τελευταῖον ἀθροίσας αὐτοὺς καὶ "παρακινδυνευτέον ἐμοὶ μᾶλλον, [201] εἰπών, ἢ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ συνεργοῦντος πείσας Καίσαρα σωθήσομαι μεθ' ὑμῶν ἡδέως ἢ παροξυνθέντος ὑπὲρ τοσούτων ἑτοίμως ἐπιδώσω τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ψυχήν", διαφῆκεν τὸ πλῆθος πολλὰ κατευχομένων αὐτῷ, καὶ παραλαβὼν τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκ τῆς Πτολεμαίδος ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν. [202] ἔνθεν εὐθέως ἐπέστελλεν Καίσαρι τήν τε ἐμβολὴν τὴν εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἱκεσίας τοῦ ἔθνους, ὅτι τε, εἰ μὴ βούλεται πρὸς τοῖς ἀνδράσιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀπολέσαι, δέοι φυλάττειν τε αὐτοὺς τὸν νόμον καὶ παριέναι τὸ πρόσταγμα. [203] ταύταις ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς οὐ σφόδρα μετρίως ἀντέγραψεν ὁ Γάιος, ἀπειλῶν Πετρωνίῳ θάνατον, ὅτι τῶν προσταγμάτων αὐτοῦ βραδὺς ὑπηρέτης ἐγίνετο. ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν τούτων γραμματοφόρους συνέβη χειμασθῆναι τρεῖς μῆνας ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, τὸν δὲ Γαίου θάνατον ἄλλοι καταγγέλλοντες εὐπλόουν. ἔφθη γοῦν τὰς περὶ τούτων Πετρώνιος λαβὼν ἐπιστολὰς ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέραις ἢ τὰς καθ' ἑαυτοῦ.

5. But on the following days he got together the men of power privately, and the multitude publicly, and sometimes he used persuasions to them, and sometimes he gave them his advice; but he chiefly made use of threatenings to them, and insisted upon the power of the Romans, and the anger of Caius; and besides, upon the necessity he was himself under [to do as he was enjoined]. But as they could be no way prevailed upon, and he saw that the country was in danger of lying without tillage; [for it was about seed time that the multitude continued for fifty days together idle;] so he at last got them together, and told them that it was best for him to run some hazard himself; "for either, by the Divine assistance, I shall prevail with Caesar, and shall myself escape the danger as well as you, which will be matter of joy to us both; or, in case Caesar continue in his rage, I will be ready to expose my own life for such a great number as you are." Whereupon he dismissed the multitude, who prayed greatly for his prosperity; and he took the army out of Ptolemais, and returned to Antioch; from whence he presently sent an epistle to Caesar, and informed him of the irruption he had made into Judea, and of the supplications of the nation; and that unless he had a mind to lose both the country and the men in it, he must permit them to keep their law, and must countermand his former injunction. Caius answered that epistle in a violent-way, and threatened to have Petronius put to death for his being so tardy in the execution of what he had commanded. But it happened that those who brought Caius's epistle were tossed by a storm, and were detained on the sea for three months, while others that brought the news of Caius's death had a good voyage. Accordingly, Petronins received the epistle concerning Caius seven and twenty days before he received that which was against himself.

XI

CHAPTER 11.

Concerning The Government Of Claudius, And The Reign Of Agrippa. Concerning The Deaths Of Agrippa And Of Herod And What Children They Both Left Behind Them.

(1) [204] Γαίου δὲ ἡγεμονεύσαντος ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ὀκτὼ καὶ δολοφονηθέντος ἁρπάζεται μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ στρατευμάτων [εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν] Κλαύδιος, [205] ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἐξηγουμένων τῶν ὑπάτων Σεντίου Σατορνίνου καὶ Πομπωνίου Σεκούνδου τρισὶν ταῖς συμμενούσαις σπείραις ἐπιτρέψασα φυλάττειν τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον ἠθροίσθη καὶ διὰ τὴν ὠμότητα τὴν Γαίου Κλαυδίῳ πολεμεῖν

ἐψηφίζετο: καταστήσεσθαι γὰρ δι᾽ ἀριστοκρατίας, ὥσπερ οὖν πάλαι διῳκεῖτο, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἢ κρινεῖν ψήφῳ τὸν ἄξιον τῆς ἡγεμονίας.

1. Now when Caius had reigned three years and eight months, and had been slain by treachery, Claudius was hurried away by the armies that were at Rome to take the government upon him; but the senate, upon the reference of the consuls, Sentis Saturninus, and Pomponius Secundus, gave orders to the three regiments of soldiers that staid with them to keep the city quiet, and went up into the capitol in great numbers, and resolved to oppose Claudius by force, on account of the barbarous treatment they had met with from Caius; and they determined either to settle the nation under an aristocracy, as they had of old been governed, or at least to choose by vote such a one for emperor as might be worthy of it.

(2) [206] Συνέβη τηνικαῦτα πρὸς ἐπιδημοῦντα τὸν Ἀγρίππαν τήν τε σύγκλητον καλοῦσαν εἰς συμβουλίαν πέμψαι καὶ Κλαύδιον ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς, ὅπως πρὸς ἃ δέοι χρήσιμος αὐτοῖς γένοιτο. κἀκεῖνος συνιδὼν τὸν ἤδη τῇ δυνάμει Καίσαρα πρὸς Κλαύδιον ἄπεισιν. [207] ὁ δ᾽ αὐτὸν πρεσβευτὴν πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἀναπέμπει δηλοῦντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ προαίρεσιν, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἄκων ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἁρπαγείη, καὶ οὔτε τὴν ἐκείνων σπουδὴν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν δίκαιον οὔτε ἀσφαλὲς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τύχην κρίνοι: καὶ γὰρ τὸ τυχεῖν τῆς ἡγεμονικῆς κλήσεως ἐπικίνδυνον εἶναι: [208] ἔπειθ᾽ ὅτι διοικήσει τὴν ἀρχὴν ὥσπερ ἀγαθὸς προστάτης, οὐχ ὡς τύραννος: ἀρκεῖσθαι γὰρ τῇ τιμῇ τῆς προσηγορίας, τὴν δ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστῳ τῶν πραγμάτων βουλὴν πᾶσιν ἀποδώσειν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ φύσει μέτριος ἦν, ἱκανὸν ὑπόδειγμα σωφροσύνης αὐτῷ προκεῖσθαι τὸν Γαίου θάνατον.

2. Now it happened that at this time Agrippa sojourned at Rome, and that both the senate called him to consult with them, and at the same time Claudius sent for him out of the camp, that he might be serviceable to him, as he should have occasion for his service. So he, perceiving that Claudius was in effect made Caesar already, went to him, who sent him as an ambassador to the senate, to let them know what his intentions were: that, in the first place, it was without his seeking that he was hurried away by the soldiers; moreover, that he thought it was not just to desert those soldiers in such their zeal for him, and that if he should do so, his own fortune would be in uncertainty; for that it was a dangerous case to have been once called to the empire. He added further, that he would administer the government as a good prince, and not like a tyrant; for that he would be satisfied with the honor of being called emperor, but would, in every one of his actions, permit them all to give him their advice; for that although he had not been by nature for moderation, yet would the death of Caius afford him a sufficient demonstration how soberly he ought to act in that station.

(3) [209] Ταῦτ᾽ ἀπήγγειλεν Ἀγρίππας. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ ἀπεκρίνατο καὶ στρατῷ καὶ γνώμαις ἀγαθαῖς πεποιθυῖα δουλείαν ἑκούσιον οὐχ ὑπομενεῖν. καὶ Κλαύδιος ὡς ἤκουσεν τὰ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς, πάλιν ἔπεμψεν τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἀπαγγελοῦντα αὐτοῖς ὅτι προδοῦναι μὲν τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν ὁμονοήσαντας οὐχ ὑπομένοι, πολεμήσειν δ᾽ ἄκων πρὸς οὓς ἥκιστα βούλοιτο. [210] δεῖν μέντοι προαποδειχθῆναι τῷ πολέμῳ χωρίον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως: οὐ γὰρ ὅσιον διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν κακοβουλίαν ὁμοφύλῳ φόνῳ μιαίνεσθαι τὰ τεμένη τῆς πατρίδος. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀκούσας ταῦτα τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἀπήγγειλεν.

3. This message was delivered by Agrippa; to which the senate replied, that since they had an army, and the wisest counsels on their side, they would not endure a voluntary slavery. And when Claudius heard what answer the senate had made, he sent Agrippa to them again, with the following message: That he could not bear the thoughts of betraying them that had given their oaths to be true to him; and that he saw he must fight, though unwillingly, against such as he had no mind to fight; that, however, [if it must come to that,] it was proper to choose a place without the city for the war, because it was not agreeable to piety to pollute the temples of their own city with the blood of their own countrymen, and this only on occasion of their imprudent conduct. And when Agrippa had heard this message, he delivered it to the senators.

(4) [211] Μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν μετὰ τῆς συγκλήτου στρατιωτῶν τις σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος “ἄνδρες, ἐβόησεν, συστρατιῶται, τί παθόντες ἀδελφοκτονεῖν βουλόμεθα καὶ κατὰ τῶν μετὰ Κλαυδίου συγγενῶν ὁρμᾶν, ἔχοντες μὲν αὐτοκράτορα μηδὲν μεμφθῆναι δυνάμενον, τοσαῦτα δὲ [212] τὰ δίκαια πρὸς οὓς μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων χωρεῖν μέλλομεν;” ταῦτα εἰπὼν διὰ μέσης ὥρμησεν τῆς βουλῆς πάντας τοὺς συστρατιώτας ἐφελκόμενος. οἱ δ᾽ εὐπατρίδαι παραχρῆμα μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἀπόλειψιν περιδεῶς ἔσχον, αὖθις δ᾽ ὡς ἀποστροφὴ σωτήριος οὐ κατεφαίνετο, τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁδὸν ἠπείγοντο πρὸς Κλαύδιον. [213] ὑπήντων δ᾽ αὐτοῖς πρὸ τοῦ τείχους γυμνοῖς τοῖς ξίφεσιν οἱ σφοδρότερον κολακεύοντες τὴν τύχην: κἂν συνέβη κινδυνεῦσαι τοὺς προάγοντας πρὶν γνῶναι τὴν ὁρμὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν Κλαύδιον, εἰ μὴ προσδραμὼν Ἀγρίππας αὐτῷ τὸ κινδύνευμα τῆς πράξεως ἐδήλωσεν, ὅτι τε εἰ μὴ κατάσχοι τὴν ὁρμὴν τῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς εὐπατρίδας λελυσσηκότων, ἀπολέσας δι᾽ οὓς τὸ κρατεῖν ἐστι περίοπτον ἐρημίας ἔσοιτο βασιλεύς.

4. In the mean time, one of the soldiers belonging to the senate drew his sword, and cried out, “O my fellow soldiers, what is the meaning of this choice of ours, to kill our brethren, and to use violence to our kindred that are with Claudius? while we may have him for our emperor whom no one can blame, and who hath

so many just reasons [to lay claim to the government]; and this with regard to those against whom we are going to fight." When he had said this, he marched through the whole senate, and carried all the soldiers along with him. Upon which all the patricians were immediately in a great fright at their being thus deserted. But still, because there appeared no other way whither they could turn themselves for deliverance, they made haste the same way with the soldiers, and went to Claudius. But those that had the greatest luck in flattering the good fortune of Claudius betimes met them before the walls with their naked swords, and there was reason to fear that those that came first might have been in danger, before Claudius could know what violence the soldiers were going to offer them, had not Agrippa ran before, and told him what a dangerous thing they were going about, and that unless he restrained the violence of these men, who were in a fit of madness against the patricians, he would lose those on whose account it was most desirable to rule, and would be emperor over a desert.

(5) [214] Ταῦτ' ἀκούσας Κλαύδιος κατέσχεν τὰς ὁρμὰς τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ προσδέχεταί τε τὴν σύγκλητον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ φιλοφρονησάμενος ἐξῄει σὺν αὐτοῖς αὐτίκα θύσων τῷ θεῷ τὰ περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας χαριστήρια. [215] καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν εὐθέως ἐδωρεῖτο τῇ πατρῴᾳ βασιλείᾳ πάσῃ προστιθεὶς ἔξωθεν καὶ τὰς ὑπ' Αὐγούστου δοθείσας Ἡρώδῃ Τραχωνῖτιν καὶ Αὐρανῖτιν, χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἑτέραν βασιλείαν τὴν Λυσανίου καλουμένην. [216] καὶ τῷ μὲν δήμῳ διατάγματι τὴν δωρεὰν ἐδήλου, τοῖς ἄρχουσιν δὲ προσέταξεν ἐγχαράξαντας δέλτοις χαλκαῖς τὴν δόσιν εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον ἀναθεῖναι: [217] δωρεῖται δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἡρώδην, ὁ δ' αὐτὸς καὶ γαμβρὸς ἦν Βερνίκῃ συνοικῶν, βασιλείᾳ τῇ Χαλκίδι.

5. When Claudius heard this, he restrained the violence of the soldiery, and received the senate into the camp, and treated them after an obliging manner, and went out with them presently to offer their thank-offerings to God, which were proper upon, his first coming to the empire. Moreover, he bestowed on Agrippa his whole paternal kingdom immediately, and added to it, besides those countries that had been given by Augustus to Herod, Trachonitis and Auranitis, and still besides these, that kingdom which was called the kingdom of Lysanius. This gift he declared to the people by a decree, but ordered the magistrates to have the donation engraved on tables of brass, and to be set up in the capitol. He bestowed on his brother Herod, who was also his son-in-law, by marrying [his daughter] Bernice, the kingdom of Chalcis.

(6) [218] Ταχέως δ' ὡς ἂν ἐκ τοσαύτης ἀρχῆς πλοῦτος Ἀγρίππᾳ προσέρρει, καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν αὐτὸς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν κατεχρήσατο: τηλικοῦτον γὰρ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις περιβαλεῖν ἤρξατο τεῖχος, ἡλίκον ἂν τελεσθὲν ἀνήνυτον Ῥωμαίοις

ἐποίησεν τὴν πολιορκίαν. [219] ἀλλ᾽ ἔφθη πρὶν ὑψῶσαι τὸ ἔργον τελευτήσας ἐν Καισαρείᾳ, βεβασιλευκὼς μὲν ἔτη τρία, πρότερον δὲ τῶν τετραρχιῶν τρισὶν ἑτέροις ἔτεσιν ἀφηγησάμενος. [220] καταλείπει δὲ τρεῖς μὲν θυγατέρας ἐκ Κύπρου γεγενημένας, Βερνίκην καὶ Μαριάμμην καὶ Δρουσίλλαν, υἱὸν δὲ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς Ἀγρίππαν. οὗ παντάπασιν ὄντος νηπίου πάλιν τὰς βασιλείας Κλαύδιος ἐπαρχίαν ποιήσας ἐπίτροπον πέμπει Κούσπιον Φᾶδον, ἔπειτα Τιβέριον Ἀλέξανδρον, οἳ μηδὲν παρακινοῦντες τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐθῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὸ ἔθνος διεφύλαξαν. [221] μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὁ βασιλεύων τῆς Χαλκίδος Ἡρώδης τελευτᾷ, καταλιπὼν ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἀδελφιδῆς Βερνίκης δύο παῖδας Βερνικιανόν τε καὶ Ὑρκανόν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς προτέρας Μαριάμμης Ἀριστόβουλον. τεθνήκει δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ ἕτερος ἀδελφὸς Ἀριστόβουλος ἰδιώτης καταλιπὼν Ἰωτάπην θυγατέρα. [222] οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἦσαν, ὡς προεῖπον, Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ Ἡρώδου παῖδες, Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκ Μαριάμμης Ἡρώδῃ γεγόνεισαν υἱεῖς, οὓς ὁ πατὴρ ἀνεῖλεν: ἡ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου γενεὰ τῆς μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας ἐβασίλευσεν.

6. So now riches flowed in to Agrippa by his enjoyment of so large a dominion; nor did he abuse the money he had on small matters, but he began to encompass Jerusalem with such a wall, which, had it been brought to perfection, had made it impracticable for the Romans to take it by siege; but his death, which happened at Cesarea, before he had raised the walls to their due height, prevented him. He had then reigned three years, as he had governed his tetrarchies three other years. He left behind him three daughters, born to him by Cypros, Bernice, Mariamne, and Drusilla, and a son born of the same mother, whose name was Agrippa: he was left a very young child, so that Claudius made the country a Roman province, and sent Cuspius Fadus to be its procurator, and after him Tiberius Alexander, who, making no alterations of the ancient laws, kept the nation in tranquillity. Now after this, Herod the king of Chalcis died, and left behind him two sons, born to him of his brother's daughter Bernice; their names were Bernie Janus and Hyrcanus. [He also left behind him] Aristobulus, whom he had by his former wife Mariamne. There was besides another brother of his that died a private person, his name was also Aristobulus, who left behind him a daughter, whose name was Jotape: and these, as I have formerly said, were the children of Aristobulus the son of Herod, which Aristobulus and Alexander were born to Herod by Mariamne, and were slain by him. But as for Alexander's posterity, they reigned in Armenia.

XII

CHAPTER 12.

Many Tumults Under Cumanus, Which Were Composed By Quadratus. Felix Is Procurator Of Judea. Agrippa Is Advanced From Chalcis To A Greater Kingdom.

(1) [223] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἡρώδου τελευτήν, ὃς ἦρχε τῆς Χαλκίδος, καθίστησιν Κλαύδιος εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θείου τὸν Ἀγρίππαν υἱὸν Ἀγρίππα: τῆς δ' ἄλλης ἐπαρχίας διαδέχεται τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου Κουμανός, ἐφ' οὗ θόρυβοί τε ἤρξαντο καὶ φθορὰ πάλιν Ἰουδαίων ἐγένετο. [224] συνεληλυθότος γὰρ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν τῶν ἀζύμων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαικῆς σπείρας ὑπὲρ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ στοὰν ἐφεστώσης, ἔνοπλοι δ' ἀεὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς παραφυλάττουσιν, ὡς μή τι νεωτερίζοι τὸ πλῆθος ἠθροισμένον, εἷς τις τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀνασυράμενος τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ κατακύψας ἀσχημόνως προσαπέστρεψεν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τὴν ἕδραν καὶ τῷ σχήματι φωνὴν ὁμοίαν ἐπεφθέγξατο. [225] πρὸς τοῦτο ἅπαν μὲν τὸ πλῆθος ἠγανάκτησεν, καὶ κατεβόων τοῦ Κουμανοῦ κολάζειν τὸν στρατιώτην, οἱ δὲ ἧττον νήφοντες τῶν νέων καὶ τὸ φύσει στασιῶδες ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ μάχην λίθους τε ἁρπάσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἔβαλλον. [226] καὶ Κουμανὸς δείσας μὴ τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁρμὴ γένοιτο, πλείους ὁπλίτας μεταπέμπεται. τῶν δὲ ταῖς στοαῖς ἐπιχεομένων φόβος ἐμπίπτει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀκατάσχετος, καὶ τραπέντες ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ διέφευγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν. [227] τοσαύτη δὲ περὶ τὰς ἐξόδους βία συνωθουμένων ἐγένετο, ὥστε πατηθέντας ὑπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ συντριβέντας ὑπὲρ τρισμυρίους ἀποθανεῖν, γενέσθαι δὲ τὴν ἑορτὴν πένθος μὲν ὅλῳ τῷ ἔθνει θρῆνον δὲ καθ' ἑκάστην οἰκίαν.

1. Now after the death of Herod, king of Chalcis, Claudius set Agrippa, the son of Agrippa, over his uncle's kingdom, while Cumanus took upon him the office of procurator of the rest, which was a Roman province, and therein he succeeded Alexander; under which Cumanus began the troubles, and the Jews' ruin came on; for when the multitude were come together to Jerusalem, to the feast of unleavened bread, and a Roman cohort stood over the cloisters of the temple, [for they always were armed, and kept guard at the festivals, to prevent any innovation which the multitude thus gathered together might make,] one of the soldiers pulled back his garment, and cowering down after an indecent manner, turned his breech to the Jews, and spake such words as you might expect upon such a posture. At this the whole multitude had indignation, and made a clamor to Cumanus, that he would punish the soldier; while the rasher part of the youth, and such as were naturally the most tumultuous, fell to fighting, and caught up stones, and threw them at the soldiers. Upon which Cumanus was afraid lest all the people should make an assault upon him, and sent to call for more armed men, who, when they came in great numbers into the cloisters, the Jews were in a very great consternation; and being beaten out of the temple, they ran into the city; and the violence with which they crowded to get out was so great, that they trod upon each other, and squeezed one another, till ten thousand of them were killed, insomuch that this feast became the cause of mourning to the whole nation, and every family lamented their own relations.

(2) [228] Μετελάμβανεν δὲ ταύτην τὴν συμφορὰν ἄλλος λῃστρικὸς θόρυβος. κατὰ γὰρ τὴν Βαιθωρὼ δημοσίαν ὁδὸν Στεφάνου τινὸς δούλου Καίσαρος ἀποσκευὴν κομιζομένην διήρπασαν λῃσταὶ προσπεσόντες. [229] Κουμανὸς δὲ περιπέμψας τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πλησίον κωμῶν δεσμώτας ἐκέλευσεν ἀνάγεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐπικαλῶν ὅτι μὴ διώξαντες τοὺς λῃστὰς συλλάβοιεν. ἔνθα τῶν στρατιωτῶν τις εὑρὼν ἔν τινι κώμῃ τὸν ἱερὸν νόμον διέρρηξέν τε τὸ βιβλίον καὶ εἰς πῦρ κατέβαλεν. [230] Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ ὡς ὅλης αὐτοῖς τῆς χώρας καταφλεγείσης συνεχύθησαν, καὶ καθάπερ ὀργάνῳ τινὶ τῇ δεισιδαιμονίᾳ συνελκόμενοι πρὸς ἓν κήρυγμα πάντες εἰς Καισάρειαν ἐπὶ Κουμανὸν συνέδραμον ἱκετεύοντες τὸν οὕτως εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὸν νόμον αὐτῶν ἐξυβρίσαντα μὴ περιιδεῖν ἀτιμώρητον. [231] ὁ δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἠρέμει τὸ πλῆθος, εἰ μὴ τύχοι παραμυθίας, ἠξίου τε προάγειν τὸν στρατιώτην καὶ διὰ μέσων τῶν αἰτιωμένων ἀπαχθῆναι τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ κελεύει. καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν ἀνεχώρουν.

2. Now there followed after this another calamity, which arose from a tumult made by robbers; for at the public road at Beth-boron, one Stephen, a servant of Caesar, carried some furniture, which the robbers fell upon and seized. Upon this Cumanus sent men to go round about to the neighboring villages, and to bring their inhabitants to him bound, as laying it to their charge that they had not pursued after the thieves, and caught them. Now here it was that a certain soldier, finding the sacred book of the law, tore it to pieces, and threw it into the fire. Hereupon the Jews were in great disorder, as if their whole country were in a flame, and assembled themselves so many of them by their zeal for their religion, as by an engine, and ran together with united clamor to Cesarea, to Cumanus, and made supplication to him that he would not overlook this man, who had offered such an affront to God, and to his law; but punish him for what he had done. Accordingly, he, perceiving that the multitude would not be quiet unless they had a comfortable answer from him, gave order that the soldier should be brought, and drawn through those that required to have him punished, to execution, which being done, the Jews went their ways.

(3) [232] Αὖθις δὲ Γαλιλαίων καὶ Σαμαρέων γίνεται συμβολή. κατὰ γὰρ Γήμαν καλουμένην κώμην, ἥτις ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ κεῖται τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος, πολλῶν ἀναβαινόντων Ἰουδαίων ἐπὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἀναιρεῖταί τις Γαλιλαῖος. [233] πρὸς τοῦτο πλεῖστοι μὲν ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας συνέδραμον ὡς πολεμήσοντες τοῖς Σαμαρεῦσιν, οἱ γνώριμοι δ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐλθόντες πρὸς Κουμανὸν ἠντιβόλουν πρὶν ἀνηκέστου πάθους εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν διαβάντα τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ φόνου: μόνως γὰρ ἂν οὕτως διαλυθῆναι πρὸ πολέμου τὸ πλῆθος. Κουμανὸς μὲν οὖν ἐν δευτέρῳ τὰς ἐκείνων ἱκεσίας τῶν ἐν χειρὶ πραγμάτων θέμενος ἀπράκτους ἀπέπεμψεν τοὺς ἱκέτας.

3. After this there happened a fight between the Galileans and the Samaritans; it happened at a village called Geman, which is situate in the great plain of Samaria; where, as a great number of Jews were going up to Jerusalem to the feast [of tabernacles,] a certain Galilean was slain; and besides, a vast number of people ran together out of Galilee, in order to fight with the Samaritans. But the principal men among them came to Cumanus, and besought him that, before the evil became incurable, he would come into Galilee, and bring the authors of this murder to punishment; for that there was no other way to make the multitude separate without coming to blows. However, Cumanus postponed their supplications to the other affairs he was then about, and sent the petitioners away without success.

(4) [234] Ἀγγελθὲν δὲ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τὸ πάθος τοῦ πεφονευμένου τὰ πλήθη συνετάραξεν καὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἀφέμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαμάρειαν ἐξώρμων ἀστρατήγητοι καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων κατέχοντι πειθόμενοι. [235] τοῦ λῃστρικοῦ δ' αὐτῶν καὶ στασιώδους Δειναίου τις υἱὸς Ἐλεάζαρος καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐξῆρχον, οἳ τοῖς ὁμόροις τῆς Ἀκραβατηνῆς τοπαρχίας προσπεσόντες αὐτούς τε ἀνῄρουν μηδεμιᾶς ἡλικίας φειδὼ ποιούμενοι καὶ τὰς κώμας ἐνεπίμπρασαν.

4. But when the affair of this murder came to be told at Jerusalem, it put the multitude into disorder, and they left the feast; and without any generals to conduct them, they marched with great violence to Samaria; nor would they be ruled by any of the magistrates that were set over them, but they were managed by one Eleazar, the son of Dineus, and by Alexander, in these their thievish and seditious attempts. These men fell upon those that were in the neighborhood of the Acrabatene toparchy, and slew them, without sparing any age, and set the villages on fire.

(5) [236] Κουμανὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν ἀπὸ τῆς Καισαρείας μίαν ἴλην ἱππέων καλουμένην Σεβαστηνῶν ἐξεβοήθει τοῖς πορθουμένοις καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον πολλοὺς μὲν συνέλαβεν, πλείστους δ' ἀπέκτεινεν. [237] πρὸς δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος τῶν πολεμεῖν τοῖς Σαμαρεῦσιν ὡρμημένων οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκδραμόντες σάκκους ἀμπεχόμενοι καὶ τέφραν τῶν κεφαλῶν καταχέοντες ἱκέτευον ἀναχωρεῖν καὶ μὴ διὰ τὴν εἰς Σαμαρεῖς ἄμυναν ἐπὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα Ῥωμαίους παροξύνειν, ἐλεῆσαί τε τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸν ναὸν τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκας ἰδίας, ἃ πάντα κινδυνεύειν δι' ἑνὸς ἐκδικίαν Γαλιλαίου παραπολέσθαι. [238] τούτοις πεισθέντες Ἰουδαῖοι διελύθησαν. ἐτράποντο δὲ πολλοὶ πρὸς λῃστείαν διὰ τὴν ἄδειαν, καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν ἁρπαγαί τε ἦσαν καὶ τῶν θρασυτέρων ἐπαναστάσεις. [239] καὶ τῶν Σαμαρέων οἱ δυνατοὶ πρὸς

Οὐμμίδιον Κουαδρᾶτον, ὃς ἦν ἡγεμὼν τῆς Συρίας, εἰς Τύρον παραγενόμενοι δίκην τινὰ παρὰ τῶν πορθησάντων τὴν χώραν ἠξίουν λαβεῖν. [240] παρόντες δὲ καὶ οἱ γνώριμοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰωνάθης υἱὸς Ἀνάνου κατάρξαι μὲν ἔλεγον τῆς ταραχῆς Σαμαρέας διὰ τὸν φόνον, αἴτιον δὲ τῶν ἀποβεβηκότων Κουμανὸν γεγονέναι μὴ θελήσαντα τοὺς αὐθέντας τοῦ σφαγέντος ἐπεξελθεῖν.

5. But Cumanus took one troop of horsemen, called the troop of Sebaste, out of Cesarea, and came to the assistance of those that were spoiled; he also seized upon a great number of those that followed Eleazar, and slew more of them. And as for the rest of the multitude of those that went so zealously to fight with the Samaritans, the rulers of Jerusalem ran out clothed with sackcloth, and having ashes on their head, and begged of them to go their ways, lest by their attempt to revenge themselves upon the Samaritans they should provoke the Romans to come against Jerusalem; to have compassion upon their country and temple, their children and their wives, and not bring the utmost dangers of destruction upon them, in order to avenge themselves upon one Galilean only. The Jews complied with these persuasions of theirs, and dispersed themselves; but still there were a great number who betook themselves to robbing, in hopes of impunity; and rapines and insurrections of the bolder sort happened over the whole country. And the men of power among the Samaritans came to Tyre, to Ummidius Quadratus, the president of Syria, and desired that they that had laid waste the country might be punished: the great men also of the Jews, and Jonathan the son of Ananus the high priest, came thither, and said that the Samaritans were the beginners of the disturbance, on account of that murder they had committed; and that Cumanus had given occasion to what had happened, by his unwillingness to punish the original authors of that murder.

(6) [241] Κουαδρᾶτος δὲ τότε μὲν ἑκατέρους ὑπερτίθεται φήσας, ἐπειδὰν εἰς τοὺς τόπους παραγένηται, διερευνήσειν ἕκαστα, αὖθις δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς Καισάρειαν τοὺς ὑπὸ Κουμανοῦ ζωγρηθέντας ἀνεσταύρωσεν πάντας. [242] ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Λύδδα παραγενόμενος πάλιν διήκουσεν τῶν Σαμαρέων, καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος ὀκτωκαίδεκα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, οὓς ἐπέπυστο μετεσχηκέναι τῆς μάχης, πελέκει διεχειρίσατο: [243] δύο δ᾽ ἑτέρους τῶν δυνατωτάτων καὶ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς Ἰωνάθην καὶ Ἀνανίαν τόν τε τούτου παῖδα Ἄνανον καί τινας ἄλλους Ἰουδαίων γνωρίμους ἀνέπεμψεν ἐπὶ Καίσαρα, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Σαμαρέων τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους. [244] παρήγγειλεν δὲ καὶ Κουμανῷ καὶ Κέλερι τῷ χιλιάρχῳ πλεῖν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης δώσοντας Κλαυδίῳ λόγον ὑπὲρ τῶν γεγενημένων. ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἀπὸ Λύδδων ἀνέβαινεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ καταλαβὼν τὸ πλῆθος ἄγον τὴν τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτὴν ἀθορύβως εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπανῆει.

6. But Quadratus put both parties off for that time, and told them, that when he should come to those places, he would make a diligent inquiry after every circumstance. After which he went to Cesarea, and crucified all those whom Cumanus had taken alive; and when from thence he was come to the city Lydda, he heard the affair of the Samaritans, and sent for eighteen of the Jews, whom he had learned to have been concerned in that fight, and beheaded them; but he sent two others of those that were of the greatest power among them, and both Jonathan and Ananias, the high priests, as also Artanus the son of this Ananias, and certain others that were eminent among the Jews, to Caesar; as he did in like manner by the most illustrious of the Samaritans. He also ordered that Cumanus [the procurator] and Celer the tribune should sail to Rome, in order to give an account of what had been done to Caesar. When he had finished these matters, he went up from Lydda to Jerusalem, and finding the multitude celebrating their feast of unleavened bread without any tumult, he returned to Antioch.

(7) [245] Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην Καῖσαρ ἀκούσας Κουμανοῦ καὶ Σαμαρέων, παρῆν δὲ καὶ Ἀγρίππας ἐκθύμως ὑπεραγωνιζόμενος Ἰουδαίων ἐπειδὴ καὶ Κουμανῷ πολλοὶ τῶν δυνατῶν παρίσταντο, Σαμαρέων μὲν καταγνοὺς τρεῖς ἀνελεῖν προσέταξεν τοὺς δυνατωτάτους, Κουμανὸν δὲ ἐφυγάδευσεν. [246] Κέλερα δὲ δεσμώτην ἀναπέμψας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παραδοθῆναι Ἰουδαίοις πρὸς αἰκίαν ἐκέλευσεν καὶ περισυρέντα τὴν πόλιν οὕτω τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποκοπῆναι.

7. Now when Caesar at Rome had heard what Cumanus and the Samaritans had to say, [where it was done in the hearing of Agrippa, who zealously espoused the cause of the Jews, as in like manner many of the great men stood by Cumanus,] he condemned the Samaritans, and commanded that three of the most powerful men among them should be put to death; he banished Cumanus, and sent Celer bound to Jerusalem, to be delivered over to the Jews to be tormented; that he should be drawn round the city, and then beheaded.

(8) [247] Μετὰ ταῦτα Ἰουδαίας μὲν ἐπίτροπον Φήλικα τὸν Πάλλαντος ἀδελφὸν ἐκπέμπει τῆς τε Σαμαρείας καὶ Γαλιλαίας καὶ Περαίας, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Χαλκίδος Ἀγρίππαν εἰς μείζονα βασιλείαν μετατίθησιν, δοὺς αὐτῷ τήν τε Φιλίππου γενομένην ἐπαρχίαν, αὕτη δ’ ἦν Τραχωνῖτις καὶ Βατανέα καὶ Γαυλανῖτις, προσέθηκεν δὲ τήν τε Λυσανίου βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν Οὐάρου γενομένην τετραρχίαν. [248] αὐτὸς δὲ διοικήσας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔτεσι τρισκαίδεκα, πρὸς δὲ μησὶν ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέραις τελευτᾷ καταλιπὼν Νέρωνα τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχον, [249] ὃν ταῖς Ἀγριππίνης τῆς γυναικὸς ἀπάταις ἐπὶ κληρονομίᾳ τῆς ἀρχῆς εἰσεποιήσατο καίπερ υἱὸν ἔχων γνήσιον Βρεττανικὸν ἐκ Μεσσαλίνης τῆς

προτέρας γυναικὸς καὶ Ὀκταουίαν θυγατέρα τὴν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ζευχθεῖσαν Νέρωνι: γεγόνει δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκ Παιτίνης Ἀντωνία.

8. After this Caesar sent Felix, the brother of Pallas, to be procurator of Galilee, and Samaria, and Perea, and removed Agrippa from Chalcis unto a greater kingdom; for he gave him the tetrarchy which had belonged to Philip, which contained Batanae, Trachonitis, and Gaulonitis: he added to it the kingdom of Lysanias, and that province [Abilene] which Varus had governed. But Claudius himself, when he had administered the government thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days, died, and left Nero to be his successor in the empire, whom he had adopted by his Wife Agrippina's delusions, in order to be his successor, although he had a son of his own, whose name was Britannicus, by Messalina his former wife, and a daughter whose name was Octavia, whom he had married to Nero; he had also another daughter by Petina, whose name was Antonia.

XIII

CHAPTER 13.

Nero Adds Four Cities To Agrippas Kingdom; But The Other

Parts Of Judea Were Under Felix. The Disturbances Which Were

Raised By The Sicarii The Magicians And An Egyptian False

Prophet. The Jews And Syrians Have A Contest At Cesarea.

(1) [250] Ὅσα μὲν οὖν Νέρων δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν εὐδαιμονίας τε καὶ πλούτου παραφρονήσας ἐξύβρισεν εἰς τὴν τύχην, ἢ τίνα τρόπον τόν τε ἀδελφὸν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν μητέρα διεξῆλθεν, ἀφ᾽ ὧν ἐπὶ τοὺς εὐγενεστάτους μετήνεγκεν τὴν ὠμότητα, [251] καὶ ὡς τελευταῖον ὑπὸ φρενοβλαβείας ἐξώκειλεν εἰς σκηνὴν καὶ θέατρον, ἐπειδὴ δι᾽ ὄχλου πᾶσίν ἐστιν, παραλείψω, τρέψομαι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ Ἰουδαίοις κατ᾽ αὐτὸν γενόμενα.

1. Now as to the many things in which Nero acted like a madman, out of the extravagant degree of the felicity and riches which he enjoyed, and by that means used his good fortune to the injury of others; and after what manner he slew his brother, and wife, and mother, from whom his barbarity spread itself to others that were most nearly related to him; and how, at last, he was so distracted that he became an actor in the scenes, and upon the theater, — I omit to say any more about them, because there are writers enough upon those subjects every where; but I shall turn myself to those actions of his time in which the Jews were concerned.

(2) [252] Τὴν μὲν οὖν μικρὰν Ἀρμενίαν δίδωσιν βασιλεύειν Ἀριστοβούλῳ τῷ Ἡρώδου, τῇ δ' Ἀγρίππα βασιλείᾳ τέσσαρας πόλεις προστίθησιν σὺν ταῖς τοπαρχίαις, Ἄβελα μὲν καὶ Ἰουλιάδα κατὰ τὴν Περαίαν, Ταριχέας δὲ καὶ Τιβεριάδα τῆς Γαλιλαίας, εἰς δὲ τὴν λοιπὴν Ἰουδαίαν Φήλικα κατέστησεν ἐπίτροπον. [253] οὗτος τόν τε ἀρχιλῃστὴν Ἐλεάζαρον ἔτεσιν εἴκοσι τὴν χώραν λῃσάμενον καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ζωγρήσας ἀνέπεμψεν εἰς Ῥώμην: τῶν δ' ἀνασταυρωθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λῃστῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ κοινωνίᾳ φωραθέντων δημοτῶν οὓς ἐκόλασεν, ἄπειρόν τι πλῆθος ἦν.

2. Nero therefore bestowed the kingdom of the Lesser Armenia upon Aristobulus, Herod's son, and he added to Agrippa's kingdom four cities, with the toparchies to them belonging; I mean Abila, and that Julias which is in Perea, Tarichea also, and Tiberias of Galilee; but over the rest of Judea he made Felix procurator. This Felix took Eleazar the arch-robber, and many that were with him, alive, when they had ravaged the country for twenty years together, and sent them to Rome; but as to the number of the robbers whom he caused to be crucified, and of those who were caught among them, and whom he brought to punishment, they were a multitude not to be enumerated.

(3) [254] Καθαρθείσης δὲ τῆς χώρας ἕτερον εἶδος λῃστῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπεφύετο, οἱ καλούμενοι σικάριοι, μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει φονεύοντες ἀνθρώπους, [255] μάλιστα [δὲ] ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς μισγόμενοι τῷ πλήθει καὶ ταῖς ἐσθῆσιν ὑποκρύπτοντες μικρὰ ξιφίδια, τούτοις ἔνυττον τοὺς διαφόρους, ἔπειτα πεσόντων μέρος ἐγίνοντο τῶν ἐπαγανακτούντων οἱ πεφονευκότες, διὸ καὶ παντάπασιν ὑπὸ ἀξιοπιστίας ἦσαν ἀνεύρετοι. [256] πρῶτος μὲν οὖν ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἰωνάθης ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἀποσφάττεται, μετὰ δ' αὐτὸν καθ' ἡμέραν ἀνῃροῦντο πολλοί: καὶ τῶν συμφορῶν ὁ φόβος ἦν χαλεπώτερος, ἑκάστου καθάπερ ἐν πολέμῳ καθ' ὥραν τὸν θάνατον προσδεχομένου. [257] προεσκοποῦντο δὲ πόρρωθεν τοὺς διαφόρους, καὶ οὐδὲ τοῖς φίλοις προσιοῦσιν πίστις ἦν, ἐν μέσαις δὲ ταῖς ὑπονοίαις καὶ ταῖς φυλακαῖς ἀνῃροῦντο: τοσοῦτον τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων τὸ τάχος ἦν καὶ τοῦ λαθεῖν ἡ τέχνη.

3. When the country was purged of these, there sprang up another sort of robbers in Jerusalem, which were called Sicarii, who slew men in the day time, and in the midst of the city; this they did chiefly at the festivals, when they mingled themselves among the multitude, and concealed daggers under their garments, with which they stabbed those that were their enemies; and when any fell down dead, the murderers became a part of those that had indignation against them; by which means they appeared persons of such reputation, that they could by no means be discovered. The first man who was slain by them was Jonathan the

high priest, after whose death many were slain every day, while the fear men were in of being so served was more afflicting than the calamity itself; and while every body expected death every hour, as men do in war, so men were obliged to look before them, and to take notice of their enemies at a great distance; nor, if their friends were coming to them, durst they trust them any longer; but, in the midst of their suspicions and guarding of themselves, they were slain. Such was the celerity of the plotters against them, and so cunning was their contrivance.

(4) [258] Συνέστη δὲ πρὸς τούτοις στῖφος ἕτερον πονηρῶν χειρὶ μὲν καθαρώτερον, ταῖς γνώμαις δὲ ἀσεβέστερον, ὅπερ οὐδὲν ἧττον τῶν σφαγέων τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τῆς πόλεως ἐλυμήνατο. [259] πλάνοι γὰρ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἀπατεῶνες προσχήματι θειασμοῦ νεωτερισμοὺς καὶ μεταβολὰς πραγματευόμενοι δαιμονᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἔπειθον καὶ προῆγον εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν ὡς ἐκεῖ τοῦ θεοῦ δείξοντος αὐτοῖς σημεῖα ἐλευθερίας. [260] ἐπὶ τούτοις Φῆλιξ, ἐδόκει γὰρ ἀποστάσεως εἶναι καταβολή, πέμψας ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοὺς ὁπλίτας πολὺ πλῆθος διέφθειρεν.

4. There was also another body of wicked men gotten together, not so impure in their actions, but more wicked in their intentions, which laid waste the happy state of the city no less than did these murderers. These were such men as deceived and deluded the people under pretense of Divine inspiration, but were for procuring innovations and changes of the government; and these prevailed with the multitude to act like madmen, and went before them into the wilderness, as pretending that God would there show them the signals of liberty. But Felix thought this procedure was to be the beginning of a revolt; so he sent some horsemen and footmen both armed, who destroyed a great number of them.

(5) [261] Μείζονι δὲ τούτου πληγῇ Ἰουδαίους ἐκάκωσεν ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ψευδοπροφήτης: παραγενόμενος γὰρ εἰς τὴν χώραν ἄνθρωπος γόης καὶ προφήτου πίστιν ἐπιθεὶς ἑαυτῷ περὶ τρισμυρίους μὲν ἀθροίζει τῶν ἠπατημένων, [262] περιαγαγὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἐρημίας εἰς τὸ ἐλαιῶν καλούμενον ὄρος ἐκεῖθεν οἷός τε ἦν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παρελθεῖν βιάζεσθαι καὶ κρατήσας τῆς τε Ῥωμαικῆς φρουρᾶς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τυραννεῖν χρώμενος τοῖς συνεισπεσοῦσιν δορυφόροις. [263] φθάνει δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ὁρμὴν Φῆλιξ ὑπαντήσας μετὰ τῶν Ῥωμαικῶν ὁπλιτῶν, καὶ πᾶς ὁ δῆμος συνεφήψατο τῆς ἀμύνης, ὥστε συμβολῆς γενομένης τὸν μὲν Αἰγύπτιον φυγεῖν μετ' ὀλίγων, διαφθαρῆναι δὲ καὶ ζωγρηθῆναι πλείστους τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος σκεδασθὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστον διαλαθεῖν.

5. But there was an Egyptian false prophet that did the Jews more mischief than the former; for he was a cheat, and pretended to be a prophet also, and got together thirty thousand men that were deluded by him; these he led round about

from the wilderness to the mount which was called the Mount of Olives, and was ready to break into Jerusalem by force from that place; and if he could but once conquer the Roman garrison and the people, he intended to domineer over them by the assistance of those guards of his that were to break into the city with him. But Felix prevented his attempt, and met him with his Roman soldiers, while all the people assisted him in his attack upon them, insomuch that when it came to a battle, the Egyptian ran away, with a few others, while the greatest part of those that were with him were either destroyed or taken alive; but the rest of the multitude were dispersed every one to their own homes, and there concealed themselves.

(6) [264] Κατεσταλμένων δὲ καὶ τούτων ὥσπερ ἐν νοσοῦντι σώματι πάλιν ἕτερον μέρος ἐφλέγμαινεν. οἱ γὰρ γόητες καὶ λῃστρικοὶ συναχθέντες πολλοὺς εἰς ἀπόστασιν ἐνῆγον καὶ πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν παρεκρότουν θάνατον ἐπιτιμῶντες τοῖς πειθαρχοῦσιν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίᾳ καὶ πρὸς βίαν ἀφαιρήσεσθαι λέγοντες τοὺς ἑκουσίως δουλεύειν προαιρουμένους. [265] μεριζόμενοι δὲ εἰς τὴν χώραν κατὰ λόχους διήρπαζόν τε τὰς τῶν δυνατῶν οἰκίας καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀνῄρουν καὶ τὰς κώμας ἐνεπίμπρασαν, ὥστε τῆς ἀπονοίας αὐτῶν πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀναπίμπλασθαι. καὶ οὗτος μὲν ὁ πόλεμος καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἀνερριπίζετο.

6. Now when these were quieted, it happened, as it does in a diseased body, that another part was subject to an inflammation; for a company of deceivers and robbers got together, and persuaded the Jews to revolt, and exhorted them to assert their liberty, inflicting death on those that continued in obedience to the Roman government, and saying, that such as willingly chose slavery ought to be forced from such their desired inclinations; for they parted themselves into different bodies, and lay in wait up and down the country, and plundered the houses of the great men, and slew the men themselves, and set the villages on fire; and this till all Judea was filled with the effects of their madness. And thus the flame was every day more and more blown up, till it came to a direct war.

(7) [266] Ἑτέρα δὲ ταραχὴ συνίσταται περὶ Καισάρειαν τῶν ἀναμεμιγμένων Ἰουδαίων πρὸς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ Σύρους στασιασάντων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἠξίουν σφετέραν εἶναι τὴν πόλιν Ἰουδαῖον γεγονέναι τὸν κτίστην αὐτῆς λέγοντες: ἦν δὲ Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεύς: οἱ δὲ ἕτεροι τὸν οἰκιστὴν μὲν προσωμολόγουν Ἰουδαῖον, αὐτὴν μέντοι γε τὴν πόλιν Ἑλλήνων ἔφασαν: οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἀνδριάντας καὶ ναοὺς ἐγκαθιδρῦσαι Ἰουδαίοις αὐτὴν ἀνατιθέντα. [267] διὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἠμφισβήτουν ἑκάτεροι: προῆει δ᾽ αὐτοῖς τὸ φιλόνεικον εἰς ὅπλα καὶ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν οἱ θρασύτεροι παρ᾽ ἀμφοῖν προεπήδων ἐπὶ μάχην: οὔτε γὰρ Ἰουδαίων οἱ γεραιοὶ τοὺς ἰδίους στασιαστὰς κατέχειν οἷοί τε ἦσαν καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν αἶσχος ἐδόκει Ἰουδαίων ἐλαττοῦσθαι.

[268] προεῖχον δ᾽ οἱ μὲν πλούτῳ καὶ σωμάτων ἀλκῇ, τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν τῇ παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀμύνῃ: τὸ γὰρ πλέον Ῥωμαίοις τῆς ἐκεῖ δυνάμεως ἐκ Συρίας ἦν κατειλεγμένον καὶ καθάπερ συγγενεῖς ἦσαν πρὸς τὰς βοηθείας ἕτοιμοι. [269] τοῖς γε μὴν ἐπάρχοις φροντὶς ἦν ἀναστέλλειν τὴν ταραχὴν καὶ τοὺς μαχιμωτέρους ἀεὶ συλλαμβάνοντες ἐκόλαζον μάστιξι καὶ δεσμοῖς. οὐ μὴν τὰ πάθη τῶν συλλαμβανομένων ἐνεποίει τοῖς καταλειπομένοις ἀνακοπὴν ἢ δέος, ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι μᾶλλον παρωξύνοντο πρὸς τὴν στάσιν. [270] νικῶντας δέ ποτε τοὺς Ἰουδαίους προελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ὁ Φῆλιξ μετ᾽ ἀπειλῆς ἐκέλευσεν ἀναχωρεῖν. τῶν δὲ μὴ πειθομένων ἐπιπέμψας τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀναιρεῖ συχνούς, ὧν διαρπαγῆναι συνέβη καὶ τὰς οὐσίας. μενούσης δὲ τῆς στάσεως ἐπιλέξας ἑκατέρωθεν τοὺς γνωρίμους ἔπεμψεν πρέσβεις ἐπὶ Νέρωνα διαλεξομένους περὶ τῶν δικαίων.

7. There was also another disturbance at Cesarea, — those Jews who were mixed with the Syrians that lived there rising a tumult against them. The Jews pretended that the city was theirs, and said that he who built it was a Jew, meaning king Herod. The Syrians confessed also that its builder was a Jew; but they still said, however, that the city was a Grecian city; for that he who set up statues and temples in it could not design it for Jews. On which account both parties had a contest with one another; and this contest increased so much, that it came at last to arms, and the bolder sort of them marched out to fight; for the elders of the Jews were not able to put a stop to their own people that were disposed to be tumultuous, and the Greeks thought it a shame for them to be overcome by the Jews. Now these Jews exceeded the others in riches and strength of body; but the Grecian part had the advantage of assistance from the soldiery; for the greatest part of the Roman garrison was raised out of Syria; and being thus related to the Syrian part, they were ready to assist it. However, the governors of the city were concerned to keep all quiet, and whenever they caught those that were most for fighting on either side, they punished them with stripes and bands. Yet did not the sufferings of those that were caught affright the remainder, or make them desist; but they were still more and more exasperated, and deeper engaged in the sedition. And as Felix came once into the market-place, and commanded the Jews, when they had beaten the Syrians, to go their ways, and threatened them if they would not, and they would not obey him, he sent his soldiers out upon them, and slew a great many of them, upon which it fell out that what they had was plundered. And as the sedition still continued, he chose out the most eminent men on both sides as ambassadors to Nero, to argue about their several privileges.

XIV

CHAPTER 14.

Festus Succeeds Felix Who Is Succeeded By Albinus As He Is By Florus; Who By The Barbarity Of His Government Forces The Jews Into The War.

(1) [271] Διαδεξάμενος δὲ παρὰ τούτου τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ὁ Φῆστος τὸ μάλιστα λυμαινόμενον τὴν χώραν ἐπεξῄει: τῶν γοῦν λῃστῶν συνέλαβέν τε πλείστους καὶ διέφθειρεν οὐκ ὀλίγους. [272] ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ ὁ μετὰ Φῆστον Ἀλβῖνος τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐξηγήσατο τῶν πραγμάτων, οὐκ ἔστιν δὲ ἥντινα κακουργίας ἰδέαν παρέλειπεν. [273] οὐ μόνον γοῦν ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς πράγμασιν ἔκλεπτεν καὶ διήρπαζεν τὰς ἑκάστων οὐσίας, οὐδὲ τὸ πᾶν ἔθνος ἐβάρει ταῖς εἰσφοραῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ λῃστείᾳ δεδεμένους ὑπὸ τῆς παρ᾽ ἑκάστοις βουλῆς ἢ τῶν προτέρων ἐπιτρόπων ἀπελύτρου τοῖς συγγενέσιν, καὶ μόνος ὁ μὴ δοὺς τοῖς δεσμωτηρίοις ὡς πονηρὸς ἐγκατελείπετο. [274] τηνικαῦτα καὶ τῶν νεωτερίζειν βουλομένων ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐθάρσησαν αἱ τόλμαι, καὶ χρήμασιν μὲν οἱ δυνατοὶ τὸν Ἀλβῖνον προσελάμβανον ὥστε τοῦ στασιάζειν αὐτοῖς παρέχειν ἄδειαν, τοῦ δημοτικοῦ δὲ τὸ μὴ χαῖρον ἡσυχίᾳ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀλβίνου κοινωνοὺς ἀπέκλινεν. [275] ἕκαστος δὲ τῶν πονηρῶν ἴδιον στῖφος ὑπεζωσμένος αὐτὸς μὲν ὥσπερ ἀρχιλῃστὴς ἢ τύραννος προανεῖχεν ἐκ τοῦ λόχου, τοῖς δορυφοροῦσι δὲ πρὸς ἁρπαγὰς τῶν μετρίων κατεχρῆτο. [276] συνέβαινεν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀφῃρημένους ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀγανακτεῖν ἐχρῆν σιωπᾶν, τοὺς ἅπληγας δὲ δέει τοῦ μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ παθεῖν καὶ κολακεύειν τὸν ἄξιον κολάσεως. καθόλου δὲ ἡ μὲν παρρησία πάντων περικέκοπτο, τυραννὶς δ᾽ ἦν διὰ πλειόνων, καὶ τὰ σπέρματα τῆς μελλούσης ἁλώσεως ἔκτοτε τῇ πόλει κατεβάλλετο.

1. Now it was that Festus succeeded Felix as procurator, and made it his business to correct those that made disturbances in the country. So he caught the greatest part of the robbers, and destroyed a great many of them. But then Albinus, who succeeded Festus, did not execute his office as the other had done; nor was there any sort of wickedness that could be named but he had a hand in it. Accordingly, he did not only, in his political capacity, steal and plunder every one's substance, nor did he only burden the whole nation with taxes, but he permitted the relations of such as were in prison for robbery, and had been laid there, either by the senate of every city, or by the former procurators, to redeem them for money; and no body remained in the prisons as a malefactor but he who gave him nothing. At this time it was that the enterprises of the seditious at Jerusalem were very formidable; the principal men among them purchasing leave of Albinus to go on with their seditious practices; while that part of the people who delighted in disturbances joined themselves to such as had fellowship with Albinus; and

every one of these wicked wretches were encompassed with his own band of robbers, while he himself, like an arch-robber, or a tyrant, made a figure among his company, and abused his authority over those about him, in order to plunder those that lived quietly. The effect of which was this, that those who lost their goods were forced to hold their peace, when they had reason to show great indignation at what they had suffered; but those who had escaped were forced to flatter him that deserved to be punished, out of the fear they were in of suffering equally with the others. Upon the Whole, nobody durst speak their minds, but tyranny was generally tolerated; and at this time were those seeds sown which brought the city to destruction.

(2) [277] Τοιοῦτον δ' ὄντα τὸν Ἀλβῖνον ἀπέδειξεν ὁ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐλθὼν Γέσσιος Φλῶρος ἀγαθώτατον κατὰ σύγκρισιν. ὁ μέν γε λάθρα τὰ πολλὰ καὶ μεθ' ὑποστολῆς ἐκακούργησεν, Γέσσιος δὲ τὰς εἰς τὸ ἔθνος παρανομίας ἐπόμπευσεν καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ κατακρίτων πεμφθεὶς δήμιος οὔτε ἁρπαγῆς τινα τρόπον οὔτε αἰκίας παρέλιπεν. [278] ἦν δὲ ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἐλεεινοῖς ὠμότατος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς αἰσχροῖς ἀναιδέστατος. οὔτε δὲ πλείω τις ἀπιστίαν τῆς ἀληθείας κατέχεεν οὔτε ἐν τῷ πανουργεῖν δολιωτέρας ὁδοὺς ἐπενόησεν. ᾧ τὸ μὲν κατ' ἄνδρα κερδαίνειν μικρὸν ἐδόκει, πόλεις δ' ὅλας ἐξεδίδυσκε καὶ δήμους ἀθρόους ἐλυμαίνετο καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐκήρυξεν ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν πᾶσιν ἐξεῖναι ληστεύειν ἐφ' ᾧ μέρος αὐτὸς λήψεται τῶν λαφύρων. [279] διὰ γοῦν τὴν ἐκείνου πλεονεξίαν πάσας ἐρημωθῆναι συνέβη τὰς πόλεις καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πατρίων ἠθῶν ἐξαναστάντας φυγεῖν εἰς τὰς ἀλλοφύλους ἐπαρχίας.

2. And although such was the character of Albinus, yet did Gessius Florus who succeeded him, demonstrate him to have been a most excellent person, upon the comparison; for the former did the greatest part of his rogueries in private, and with a sort of dissimulation; but Gessius did his unjust actions to the harm of the nation after a pompous manner; and as though he had been sent as an executioner to punish condemned malefactors, he omitted no sort of rapine, or of vexation; where the case was really pitiable, he was most barbarous, and in things of the greatest turpitude he was most impudent. Nor could any one outdo him in disguising the truth; nor could any one contrive more subtle ways of deceit than he did. He indeed thought it but a petty offense to get money out of single persons; so he spoiled whole cities, and ruined entire bodies of men at once, and did almost publicly proclaim it all the country over, that they had liberty given them to turn robbers, upon this condition, that he might go shares with them in the spoils they got. Accordingly, this his greediness of gain was the occasion that entire toparchies were brought to desolation, and a great many of the people left their own country, and fled into foreign provinces.

(3) [280] Μέχρι μὲν οὖν ἐν Συρίᾳ Κέστιος Γάλλος ἦν διέπων τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, οὐδὲ πρεσβεύσασθαί τις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐτόλμησεν κατὰ τοῦ Φλώρου: παραγενόμενον δὲ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τῆς τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτῆς ἐνεστώσης περιστὰς ὁ δῆμος οὐκ ἐλάττους τριακοσίων μυριάδων ἱκέτευον ἐλεῆσαι τὰς τοῦ ἔθνους συμφορὰς καὶ τὸν λυμεῶνα τῆς χώρας Φλῶρον ἐκεκράγεσαν: [281] ὁ δὲ παρὼν καὶ τῷ Κεστίῳ παρεστὼς διεχλεύαζεν τὰς φωνάς. ὅ γε μὴν Κέστιος τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ πλήθους καταστείλας καὶ δοὺς ἔμφασιν ὡς πρὸς τὸ μέλλον αὐτοῖς τὸν Φλῶρον κατασκευάσειεν μετριώτερον, ὑπέστρεφεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν. [282] προέπεμπε δὲ αὐτὸν μέχρι Καισαρείας Φλῶρος ἐξαπατῶν καὶ πόλεμον ἤδη τῷ ἔθνει σκοπούμενος, ᾧ μόνῳ συγκρύψειν τὰς ἑαυτοῦ παρανομίας ὑπελάμβανεν: [283] εἰρήνης μὲν γὰρ οὔσης κατηγόρους ἕξειν ἐπὶ Καίσαρος Ἰουδαίους προσεδόκα, πραγματευσάμενος δὲ ἀπόστασιν αὐτῶν τῷ μείζονι κακῷ περισπάσειν τὸν ἔλεγχον ἀπὸ τῶν μετριωτέρων. ὁ μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἂν ἀπορραγείη τὸ ἔθνος, καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπέτεινεν αὐτοῖς τὰς συμφοράς.

3. And truly, while Cestius Gallus was president of the province of Syria, nobody durst do so much as send an embassage to him against Florus; but when he was come to Jerusalem, upon the approach of the feast of unleavened bread, the people came about him not fewer in number than three millions these besought him to commiserate the calamities of their nation, and cried out upon Florus as the bane of their country. But as he was present, and stood by Cestius, he laughed at their words. However, Cestius, when he had quieted the multitude, and had assured them that he would take care that Florus should hereafter treat them in a more gentle manner, returned to Antioch. Florus also conducted him as far as Cesarea, and deluded him, though he had at that very time the purpose of showing his anger at the nation, and procuring a war upon them, by which means alone it was that he supposed he might conceal his enormities; for he expected that if the peace continued, he should have the Jews for his accusers before Caesar; but that if he could procure them to make a revolt, he should divert their laying lesser crimes to his charge, by a misery that was so much greater; he therefore did every day augment their calamities, in order to induce them to a rebellion.

(4) [284] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ Καισαρέων Ἕλληνες νικήσαντες παρὰ Νέρωνι τῆς πόλεως ἄρχειν τὰ τῆς κρίσεως ἐκόμισαν γράμματα, καὶ προσελάμβανεν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ πόλεμος δωδεκάτῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας, ἑπτακαιδεκάτῳ δὲ τῆς Ἀγρίππα βασιλείας, Ἀρτεμισίου μηνός. [285] πρὸς δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ συμφορῶν οὐκ ἀξίαν ἔσχεν πρόφασιν: οἱ γὰρ ἐν Καισαρείᾳ Ἰουδαῖοι, συναγωγὴν ἔχοντες παρὰ χωρίον, οὗ δεσπότης ἦν τις Ἕλλην Καισαρεύς, πολλάκις μὲν κτήσασθαι τὸν τόπον ἐσπούδασαν τιμὴν πολλαπλασίονα τῆς ἀξίας

διδόντες: [286] ὡς δ᾽ ὑπερορῶν τὰς δεήσεις πρὸς ἐπήρειαν ἔτι καὶ παρῳκοδόμει τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνος ἐργαστήρια κατασκευαζόμενος στενήν τε καὶ παντάπασιν βιαίαν πάροδον ἀπέλειπεν αὐτοῖς, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ θερμότεροι τῶν νέων προπηδῶντες οἰκοδομεῖν ἐκώλυον. [287] ὡς δὲ τούτους εἶργεν τῆς βίας Φλῶρος, ἀμηχανοῦντες οἱ δυνατοὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, σὺν οἷς Ἰωάννης ὁ τελώνης. πείθουσι τὸν Φλῶρον ἀργυρίου ταλάντοις ὀκτὼ διακωλῦσαι τὸ ἔργον. [288] ὁ δὲ πρὸς μόνον τὸ λαβεῖν ὑποσχόμενος πάντα συμπράξειν, λαβὼν ἔξεισιν τῆς Καισαρείας εἰς Σεβαστὴν καὶ καταλείπει τὴν στάσιν αὐτεξούσιον, ὥσπερ ἄδειαν πεπρακὼς Ἰουδαίοις τοῦ μάχεσθαι.

4. Now at this time it happened that the Grecians at Cesarea had been too hard for the Jews, and had obtained of Nero the government of the city, and had brought the judicial determination: at the same time began the war, in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, and the seventeenth of the reign of Agrippa, in the month of Artemisius [Jyar.] Now the occasion of this war was by no means proportionable to those heavy calamities which it brought upon us. For the Jews that dwelt at Cesarea had a synagogue near the place, whose owner was a certain Cesarean Greek: the Jews had endeavored frequently to have purchased the possession of the place, and had offered many times its value for its price; but as the owner overlooked their offers, so did he raise other buildings upon the place, in way of affront to them, and made working-shops of them, and left them but a narrow passage, and such as was very troublesome for them to go along to their synagogue. Whereupon the warmer part of the Jewish youth went hastily to the workmen, and forbade them to build there; but as Florus would not permit them to use force, the great men of the Jews, with John the publican, being in the utmost distress what to do, persuaded Florus, with the offer of eight talents, to hinder the work. He then, being intent upon nothing but getting money, promised he would do for them all they desired of him, and then went away from Cesarea to Sebaste, and left the sedition to take its full course, as if he had sold a license to the Jews to fight it out.

(5) [289] Τῆς δ᾽ ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας ἑβδομάδος οὔσης τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν συναθροισθέντων στασιαστής τις Καισαρεὺς γάστραν καταστρέψας καὶ παρὰ τὴν εἴσοδον αὐτῶν θέμενος ἐπέθυεν ὄρνεις. τοῦτο τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀνηκέστως παρώξυνεν ὡς ὑβρισμένων μὲν αὐτοῖς τῶν νόμων, μεμιασμένου δὲ τοῦ χωρίου. [290] τὸ μὲν οὖν εὐσταθὲς καὶ πρᾷον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἀναφεύγειν ᾤετο χρῆναι, τὸ στασιῶδες δὲ καὶ ἐν νεότητι φλεγμαῖνον ἐξεκαίετο πρὸς μάχην. παρεσκευασμένοι δὲ εἱστήκεσαν οἱ τῶν Καισαρέων στασιασταί, τὸν γὰρ ἐπιθύσοντα προπεπόμφεσαν ἐκ συντάγματος, καὶ ταχέως ἐγένετο συμβολή. [291] προσελθὼν δὲ Ἰούκουνδος ὁ διακωλύειν τεταγμένος ἱππάρχης τήν τε γάστραν

αἴρει καὶ καταπαύειν ἐπειρᾶτο τὴν στάσιν. ἡττωμένου δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τῆς τῶν Καισαρέων βίας Ἰουδαῖοι τοὺς νόμους ἁρπάσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς Νάρβατα: χώρα τις αὐτῶν οὕτω καλεῖται σταδίους ἑξήκοντα διέχουσα τῆς Καισαρείας: [292] οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην δυνατοὶ δώδεκα πρὸς Φλῶρον ἐλθόντες εἰς Σεβαστὴν ἀπωδύροντο περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ βοηθεῖν ἱκέτευον, αἰδημόνως ὑπομιμνήσκοντες τῶν ὀκτὼ ταλάντων. ὁ δὲ καὶ συλλαβὼν ἔδησεν τοὺς ἄνδρας αἰτιώμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοὺς νόμους ἐξενεγκεῖν τῆς Καισαρείας.

5. Now on the next day, which was the seventh day of the week, when the Jews were crowding apace to their synagogue, a certain man of Cesarea, of a seditious temper, got an earthen vessel, and set it with the bottom upward, at the entrance of that synagogue, and sacrificed birds. This thing provoked the Jews to an incurable degree, because their laws were affronted, and the place was polluted. Whereupon the sober and moderate part of the Jews thought it proper to have recourse to their governors again, while the seditious part, and such as were in the fervor of their youth, were vehemently inflamed to fight. The seditions also among the Gentiles of Cesarea stood ready for the same purpose; for they had, by agreement, sent the man to sacrifice beforehand [as ready to support him;] so that it soon came to blows. Hereupon Jucundus, the master of the horse, who was ordered to prevent the fight, came thither, and took away the earthen vessel, and endeavored to put a stop to the sedition; but when he was overcome by the violence of the people of Cesarea, the Jews caught up their books of the law, and retired to Narbata, which was a place to them belonging, distant from Cesarea sixty furlongs. But John, and twelve of the principal men with him, went to Florus, to Sebaste, and made a lamentable complaint of their case, and besought him to help them; and with all possible decency, put him in mind of the eight talents they had given him; but he had the men seized upon, and put in prison, and accused them for carrying the books of the law out of Cesarea.

(6) [293] Πρὸς τοῦτο τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀγανάκτησις ἦν, ἔτι μέντοι τοὺς θυμοὺς κατεῖχον. ὁ δὲ Φλῶρος ὥσπερ ἠργολαβηκὼς ἐκριπίζειν τὸν πόλεμον, πέμψας εἰς τὸν ἱερὸν θησαυρὸν ἐξαιρεῖ δεκαεπτὰ τάλαντα σκηψάμενος εἰς τὰς Καίσαρος χρείας. [294] σύγχυσις δ᾽ εὐθέως εἶχεν τὸν δῆμον, καὶ συνδραμόντες εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν βοαῖς διαπρυσίοις τὸ Καίσαρος ἀνεκάλουν ὄνομα καὶ τῆς Φλώρου τυραννίδος ἐλευθεροῦν σφᾶς ἱκέτευον. [295] ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν στασιαστῶν λοιδορίας αἰσχίστους εἰς τὸν Φλῶρον ἐκεκράγεσαν καὶ κανοῦν περιφέροντες ἀπῄτουν αὐτῷ κέρματα καθάπερ ἀκλήρῳ καὶ ταλαιπώρῳ. τούτοις οὐκ ἀνετράπη τὴν φιλαργυρίαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸ μᾶλλον χρηματίσασθαι παρωργίσθη. [296] δέον γοῦν εἰς Καισάρειαν ἐλθόντα σβέσαι τὸ τοῦ πολέμου πῦρ ἐκεῖθεν ἀρχόμενον καὶ τῆς ταραχῆς ἀνελεῖν τὰς αἰτίας, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ καὶ μισθὸν ἔλαβεν, ὁ δὲ μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἱππικῆς τε καὶ πεζικῆς

ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ὥρμησεν, ἵνα τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ὅπλοις ἐργάσηται καὶ τῷ δέει καὶ ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς περιδύσῃ τὴν πόλιν.

6. Moreover, as to the citizens of Jerusalem, although they took this matter very ill, yet did they restrain their passion; but Florus acted herein as if he had been hired, and blew up the war into a flame, and sent some to take seventeen talents out of the sacred treasure, and pretended that Caesar wanted them. At this the people were in confusion immediately, and ran together to the temple, with prodigious clamors, and called upon Caesar by name, and besought him to free them from the tyranny of Florus. Some also of the seditious cried out upon Florus, and cast the greatest reproaches upon him, and carried a basket about, and begged some spills of money for him, as for one that was destitute of possessions, and in a miserable condition. Yet was not he made ashamed hereby of his love of money, but was more enraged, and provoked to get still more; and instead of coming to Cesarea, as he ought to have done, and quenching the flame of war, which was beginning thence, and so taking away the occasion of any disturbances, on which account it was that he had received a reward [of eight talents], he marched hastily with an army of horsemen and footmen against Jerusalem, that he might gain his will by the arms of the Romans, and might, by his terror, and by his threatenings, bring the city into subjection.

(7) [297] Ὁ δὲ δῆμος προδυσωπῆσαι τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτοῦ βουλόμενος ὑπαντᾷ τοῖς στρατιώταις μετ᾽ εὐφημίας καὶ τὸν Φλῶρον θεραπευτικῶς ἐκδέχεσθαι παρεσκευάσατο. [298] κἀκεῖνος προπέμψας σὺν ἱππεῦσιν πεντήκοντα Καπίτωνα ἑκατοντάρχην ἀναχωρεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν καὶ μὴ πρὸς ὃν οὕτως ἐλοιδόρησαν αἰσχρῶς εἰρωνεύεσθαι τὰς νῦν φιλοφρονήσεις: [299] δεῖν γὰρ αὐτούς, εἴπερ γενναῖοί εἰσιν καὶ παρρησιασταί, σκώπτειν μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ παρόντα, φαίνεσθαι δὲ μὴ μόνον ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ἀλλὰ κἀν τοῖς ὅπλοις φιλελευθέρους. [300] τούτοις καταπλαγὲν τὸ πλῆθος, ἅμα καὶ τῶν περὶ Καπίτωνα ἱππέων εἰς μέσον φερομένων, διεσκεδάσθη πρὶν ἀσπάσασθαι τὸν Φλῶρον ἢ τοῖς στρατιώταις φανερὸν ποιῆσαι τὸ πειθήνιον. ἀναχωρήσαντες δὲ εἰς τὰς οἰκίας μετὰ δέους καὶ ταπεινότητος ἐνυκτέρευσαν.

7. But the people were desirous of making Florus ashamed of his attempt, and met his soldiers with acclamations, and put themselves in order to receive him very submissively. But he sent Capito, a centurion, beforehand, with fifty soldiers, to bid them go back, and not now make a show of receiving him in an obliging manner, whom they had so foully reproached before; and said that it was incumbent on them, in case they had generous souls, and were free speakers, to jest upon him to his face, and appear to be lovers of liberty, not only in words,

but with their weapons also. With this message was the multitude amazed; and upon the coming of Capito's horsemen into the midst of them, they were dispersed before they could salute Florus, or manifest their submissive behavior to him. Accordingly, they retired to their own houses, and spent that night in fear and confusion of face.

(8) [301] Φλῶρος δὲ τότε μὲν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις αὐλίζεται, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ βῆμα πρὸ αὐτῶν θέμενος καθέζεται, καὶ προσελθόντες οἵ τε ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ δυνατοὶ τό τε γνωριμώτατον τῆς πόλεως παρέστησαν τῷ βήματι. [302] τούτοις ὁ Φλῶρος ἐκέλευσεν τοὺς λοιδορήσαντας αὐτὸν ἐκδοῦναι, φάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀπολαύσειν τῆς ἀμύνης, εἰ μὴ προάγοιεν τοὺς αἰτίους. οἱ δὲ τὸν μὲν δῆμον ἀπέφηναν εἰρηνικὰ φρονοῦντα, τοῖς δὲ παραφθεγξαμένοις ᾐτοῦντο συγγνώμην: [303] ἐν γὰρ τοσούτῳ πλήθει θαυμαστὸν μὲν οὐδὲν εἶναί τινας θρασυτέρους καὶ δι' ἡλικίαν ἄφρονας, ἀμήχανον δὲ τῶν ἡμαρτηκότων τὴν διάκρισιν ἑκάστου μετανοοῦντος καὶ δι' ἃ δέδρακεν ἀρνουμένου. [304] δεῖν μέντοι γε ἐκεῖνον, εἰ προνοεῖ τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἔθνος εἰρήνης καὶ βούλεται Ῥωμαίοις περισώζειν τὴν πόλιν, μᾶλλον διὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀκαταιτιάτους συγγνῶναι καὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις πλημμελήσασιν ἢ δι' ὀλίγους πονηροὺς ταράξαι δῆμον ἀγαθὸν τοσοῦτον.

8. Now at this time Florus took up his quarters at the palace; and on the next day he had his tribunal set before it, and sat upon it, when the high priests, and the men of power, and those of the greatest eminence in the city, came all before that tribunal; upon which Florus commanded them to deliver up to him those that had reproached him, and told them that they should themselves partake of the vengeance to them belonging, if they did not produce the criminals; but these demonstrated that the people were peaceably disposed, and they begged forgiveness for those that had spoken amiss; for that it was no wonder at all that in so great a multitude there should be some more daring than they ought to be, and, by reason of their younger age, foolish also; and that it was impossible to distinguish those that offended from the rest, while every one was sorry for what he had done, and denied it out of fear of what would follow: that he ought, however, to provide for the peace of the nation, and to take such counsels as might preserve the city for the Romans, and rather for the sake of a great number of innocent people to forgive a few that were guilty, than for the sake of a few of the wicked to put so large and good a body of men into disorder.

(9) [305] Πρὸς ταῦτα μᾶλλον παροξυνθεὶς ἐμβοᾷ τοῖς στρατιώταις διαρπάζειν τὴν ἄνω καλουμένην ἀγορὰν καὶ κτείνειν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας. οἱ δ' ἐπιθυμίᾳ κέρδους προσλαβόντες ἡγεμονικὴν παρακέλευσιν οὐ μόνον ἐφ' ὃν ἐπέμφθησαν τόπον ἥρπαζον, ἀλλ' εἰς πάσας ἐμπηδῶντες τὰς οἰκίας ἔσφαζον τοὺς οἰκήτορας.

[306] φυγὴ δ’ ἦν ἐκ τῶν στενωπῶν καὶ φόνος τῶν καταλαμβανομένων, τρόπος τε ἁρπαγῆς οὐδεὶς παρελείπετο, καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν μετρίων συλλαβόντες ἐπὶ τὸν Φλῶρον ἀνῆγον: οὓς μάστιξιν προαικισάμενος ἀνεσταύρωσεν. [307] ὁ δὲ σύμπας τῶν ἐκείνης ἀπολομένων τῆς ἡμέρας ἀριθμὸς σὺν γυναιξὶν καὶ τέκνοις, οὐδὲ γὰρ νηπίων ἀπέσχοντο, περὶ τριάκοντα καὶ ἑξακοσίους συνήχθη. [308] βαρυτέραν τε ἐποίει τὴν συμφορὰν τὸ καινὸν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ὠμότητος: ὃ γὰρ μηδεὶς πρότερον τότε Φλῶρος ἐτόλμησεν, ἄνδρας ἱππικοῦ τάγματος μαστιγῶσαί τε πρὸ τοῦ βήματος καὶ σταυρῷ προσηλῶσαι, ὧν εἰ καὶ τὸ γένος Ἰουδαίων ἀλλὰ γοῦν τὸ ἀξίωμα Ῥωμαικὸν ἦν.

9. Florus was more provoked at this, and called out aloud to the soldiers to plunder that which was called the Upper Market-place, and to slay such as they met with. So the soldiers, taking this exhortation of their commander in a sense agreeable to their desire of gain, did not only plunder the place they were sent to, but forcing themselves into every house, they slew its inhabitants; so the citizens fled along the narrow lanes, and the soldiers slew those that they caught, and no method of plunder was omitted; they also caught many of the quiet people, and brought them before Florus, whom he first chastised with stripes, and then crucified. Accordingly, the whole number of those that were destroyed that day, with their wives and children, [for they did not spare even the infants themselves,] was about three thousand and six hundred. And what made this calamity the heavier was this new method of Roman barbarity; for Florus ventured then to do what no one had done before, that is, to have men of the equestrian order whipped and nailed to the cross before his tribunal; who, although they were by birth Jews, yet were they of Roman dignity notwithstanding.

XV

CHAPTER 15.

Concerning Bernice’s Petition To Florus, To Spare The Jews,

But In Vain; As Also How, After The Seditious Flame Was

Quenched, It Was Kindled Again By Florus.

(1) [309] Κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας ἔτυχεν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πεπορευμένος, ὅπως Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνησθείη πεπιστευμένῳ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὑπὸ Νέρωνος καὶ πεμφθέντι διέπειν. [310] τὴν ἀδελφὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ Βερνίκην παροῦσαν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ τὴν παρανομίαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν θεωμένην δεινὸν εἰσῄει πάθος, καὶ πολλάκις τούς τε ἱππάρχους ἑαυτῆς καὶ

σωματοφύλακας πέμπουσα πρὸς Φλῶρον ἐδέετο παύσασθαι τοῦ φόνου. [311] καὶ ὁ μὲν οὔτε εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀναιρουμένων οὔτε εἰς τὴν εὐγένειαν τῆς παρακαλούσης, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς μόνον τὸ λυσιτελὲς τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἁρπαγῶν ἀποβλέπων παρήκουσεν. [312] ἡ δ᾽ ὁρμὴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐλύσσησεν καὶ κατὰ τῆς βασιλίδος: οὐ μόνον γοῦν ἐν ὄμμασιν αὐτῆς ᾐκίζοντο τοὺς ἁλισκομένους καὶ διέφθειρον, ἀλλὰ κἂν αὐτὴν ἀνεῖλον, εἰ μὴ καταφυγεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν αὐλὴν ἔφθη, κἀκεῖ διενυκτέρευσεν μετὰ φυλακῆς δεδοικυῖα τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔφοδον. [313] ἐπεδήμει δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις εὐχὴν ἐκτελοῦσα τῷ θεῷ: τοὺς γὰρ ἢ νόσῳ καταπονουμένους ἤ τισιν ἄλλαις ἀνάγκαις ἔθος εὔχεσθαι πρὸ τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν ἧς ἀποδώσειν μέλλοιεν θυσίας οἴνου τε ἀφέξεσθαι καὶ ξυρήσεσθαι τὰς κόμας. [314] ἃ δὴ καὶ τότε τελοῦσα Βερνίκη γυμνόπους τε πρὸ τοῦ βήματος ἱκέτευε τὸν Φλῶρον καὶ πρὸς τῷ μὴ τυχεῖν αἰδοῦς αὐτὴν τὸν περὶ τοῦ ζῆν κίνδυνον ἐπείρασεν.

1. About this very time king Agrippa was going to Alexandria, to congratulate Alexander upon his having obtained the government of Egypt from Nero; but as his sister Bernice was come to Jerusalem, and saw the wicked practices of the soldiers, she was sorely affected at it, and frequently sent the masters of her horse and her guards to Florus, and begged of him to leave off these slaughters; but he would not comply with her request, nor have any regard either to the multitude of those already slain, or to the nobility of her that interceded, but only to the advantage he should make by this plundering; nay, this violence of the soldiers brake out to such a degree of madness, that it spent itself on the queen herself; for they did not only torment and destroy those whom they had caught under her very eyes, but indeed had killed herself also, unless she had prevented them by flying to the palace, and had staid there all night with her guards, which she had about her for fear of an insult from the soldiers. Now she dwelt then at Jerusalem, in order to perform a vow which she had made to God; for it is usual with those that had been either afflicted with a distemper, or with any other distresses, to make vows; and for thirty days before they are to offer their sacrifices, to abstain from wine, and to shave the hair of their head. Which things Bernice was now performing, and stood barefoot before Florus's tribunal, and besought him [to spare the Jews]. Yet could she neither have any reverence paid to her, nor could she escape without some danger of being slain herself.

(2) [315] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἑξκαιδεκάτῃ μηνὸς Ἀρτεμισίου συνηνέχθη, τῇ δ᾽ ἐπιούσῃ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ὑπερπαθῆσαν εἰς τὴν ἄνω συνέρρευσεν ἀγορὰν καὶ βοαῖς ἐξαισίοις περὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἀνωδύρετο: τὸ πλέον δὲ ἦσαν εἰς τὸν Φλῶρον ἐπίφθονοι φωναί. [316] πρὸς ὃ δείσαντες οἱ δυνατοὶ σὺν τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν τὰς ἐσθῆτας περιερρήξαντο καὶ προσπίπτοντες ἕκαστος ἐδέοντο παύσασθαι καὶ μὴ

πρὸς οἷς πεπόνθασιν εἰς ἀνήκεστόν τι τὸν Φλῶρον ἐρεθίζειν. [317] ἐπείσθη δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ταχέως αἰδοῖ τε τῶν παρακαλούντων καὶ κατ᾽ ἐλπίδα τοῦ μηδὲν ἔτι τὸν Φλῶρον εἰς αὐτοὺς παρανομήσειν.

2. This happened upon the sixteenth day of the month Artemisius [Jyar]. Now, on the next day, the multitude, who were in a great agony, ran together to the Upper Market-place, and made the loudest lamentations for those that had perished; and the greatest part of the cries were such as reflected on Florus; at which the men of power were affrighted, together with the high priests, and rent their garments, and fell down before each of them, and besought them to leave off, and not to provoke Florus to some incurable procedure, besides what they had already suffered. Accordingly, the multitude complied immediately, out of reverence to those that had desired it of them, and out of the hope they had that Florus would do them no more injuries.

(3) [318] Ὁ δὲ σβεσθείσης τῆς ταραχῆς ἤχθετο καὶ πάλιν αὐτὴν ἀνάψαι πραγματευόμενος τούς τε ἀρχιερεῖς σὺν τοῖς γνωρίμοις μεταπέμπεται καὶ μόνον ἔφη τεκμήριον ἔσεσθαι τοῦ μηδὲν ἔτι τὸν δῆμον νεωτερίσειν, εἰ προελθόντες ὑπαντήσουσιν τοῖς ἀπὸ Καισαρείας ἀνιοῦσιν στρατιώταις: παρεγίνοντο δὲ δύο σπεῖραι. [319] τῶν δ᾽ ἔτι συγκαλούντων τὸ πλῆθος προπέμψας διεδήλου τοῖς τῶν σπειρῶν ἑκατοντάρχοις, ὅπως παραγγείλωσιν τοῖς ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτοὺς μήτε ἀντασπάσασθαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους κἄν τι κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ φθέγξωνται, χρήσασθαι τοῖς ὅπλοις. [320] οἱ δ᾽ ἀρχιερεῖς εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὴν πληθὺν συναγαγόντες ὑπαντᾶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις παρεκάλουν καὶ πρὸ ἀνηκέστου πάθους τὰς σπείρας δεξιοῦσθαι. τούτοις τὸ στασιῶδες ἠπείθει, καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἀπολωλότας τὸ πλῆθος ἔρρεπεν πρὸς τοὺς θρασυτέρους.

3. So Florus was troubled that the disturbances were over, and endeavored to kindle that flame again, and sent for the high priests, with the other eminent persons, and said the only demonstration that the people would not make any other innovations should be this, that they must go out and meet the soldiers that were ascending from Cesarea, whence two cohorts were coming; and while these men were exhorting the multitude so to do, he sent beforehand, and gave directions to the centurions of the cohorts, that they should give notice to those that were under them not to return the Jews' salutations; and that if they made any reply to his disadvantage, they should make use of their weapons. Now the high priests assembled the multitude in the temple, and desired them to go and meet the Romans, and to salute the cohorts very civilly, before their miserable case should become incurable. Now the seditious part would not comply with

these persuasions; but the consideration of those that had been destroyed made them incline to those that were the boldest for action.

(4) [321] Ἔνθα δὴ πᾶς μὲν ἱερεὺς πᾶς δ᾽ ὑπηρέτης τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ ἅγια σκεύη προκομίσαντες καὶ τὸν κόσμον, ἐν ᾧ λειτουργεῖν ἔθος ἦν αὐτοῖς, ἀναλαβόντες κιθαρισταί τε καὶ ὑμνῳδοὶ μετὰ τῶν ὀργάνων προσέπιπτον καὶ κατηντιβόλουν φυλάξαι τὸν ἱερὸν κόσμον αὐτοῖς καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἁρπαγὴν τῶν θείων κειμηλίων Ῥωμαίους ἐρεθίσαι. [322] τοὺς δ᾽ ἀρχιερεῖς αὐτοὺς ἦν ἰδεῖν καταμωμένους μὲν τὴν κεφαλὴν κόνει, γυμνοὺς δὲ τὰ στέρνα τῶν ἐσθήτων διερρηγμένων. ὀνομαστὶ δ᾽ ἕκαστον τῶν γνωρίμων καὶ κοινῇ τὸ πλῆθος ἱκέτευον μὴ δι᾽ ἐλαχίστης πλημμελείας προδοῦναι τὴν πατρίδα τοῖς ἐπιθυμοῦσιν πορθῆσαι: [323] τίνα γὰρ ἢ τοῖς στρατιώταις φέρειν ὠφέλειαν τὸν ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀσπασμὸν ἢ διόρθωσιν αὐτοῖς τῶν συμβεβηκότων τὸ μὴ νῦν προελθεῖν; [324] εἰ δὲ δὴ δεξιώσαιντο τοὺς προσιόντας ὡς ἔθος, Φλώρῳ μὲν ἀποκοπήσεσθαι τὴν ἀφορμὴν τοῦ πολέμου, κερδήσειν δ᾽ αὐτοὺς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸ μηδὲν παθεῖν πλέον. ἄλλως τε καὶ τὸ πείθεσθαι στασιάζουσιν ὀλίγοις, δέον αὐτοὺς δῆμον ὄντας τοσοῦτον συναναγκάζειν κἀκείνους συνευγνωμονεῖν, δεινῆς ἀκρασίας εἶναι.

4. At this time it was that every priest, and every servant of God, brought out the holy vessels, and the ornamental garments wherein they used to minister in sacred things. The harpers also, and the singers of hymns, came out with their instruments of music, and fell down before the multitude, and begged of them that they would preserve those holy ornaments to them, and not provoke the Romans to carry off those sacred treasures. You might also see then the high priests themselves, with dust sprinkled in great plenty upon their heads, with bosoms deprived of any covering but what was rent; these besought every one of the eminent men by name, and the multitude in common, that they would not for a small offense betray their country to those that were desirous to have it laid waste; saying, “What benefit will it bring to the soldiers to have a salutation from the Jews? or what amendment of your affairs will it bring you, if you do not now go out to meet them? and that if they saluted them civilly, all handle would be cut off from Florus to begin a war; that they should thereby gain their country, and freedom from all further sufferings; and that, besides, it would be a sign of great want of command of themselves, if they should yield to a few seditious persons, while it was fitter for them who were so great a people to force the others to act soberly.”

(5) [325] Τούτοις μειλισσόμενοι τὸ πλῆθος ἅμα καὶ τῶν στασιαστῶν οὓς μὲν ἀπειλαῖς οὓς δὲ αἰδοῖ κατέστειλαν. ἔπειτα ἐξηγούμενοι μεθ᾽ ἡσυχίας τε καὶ κόσμου τοῖς στρατιώταις ὑπήντων καὶ πλησίον γενομένους ἠσπάσαντο: τῶν δὲ

μηδὲν ἀποκριναμένων οἱ στασιασταὶ Φλώρου κατεβόων. [326] τοῦτο ἦν σύνθημα κατ᾽ αὐτῶν δεδομένον: αὐτίκα γοῦν οἱ στρατιῶται περισχόντες αὐτοὺς ἔπαιον ξύλοις, καὶ φεύγοντας οἱ ἱππεῖς καταδιώκοντες συνεπάτουν. ἔπιπτον δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων τυπτόμενοι, πλείους δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἀλλήλων βιαζόμενοι. [327] δεινὸς δὲ περὶ τὰς πύλας ὠθισμὸς ἦν, καὶ φθάνειν ἑκάστου σπεύδοντος βραδυτέρα μὲν ἡ φυγὴ πᾶσιν ἐγίνετο, τῶν δὲ σφαλέντων ἀπώλεια δεινή: πνιγόμενοι γὰρ καὶ κλώμενοι πλήθει τῶν ἐπιβαινόντων ἠφανίζοντο, καὶ οὐδὲ πρὸς ταφήν τις γνώριμος τοῖς ἰδίοις κατελείπετο. [328] συνέπιπτον δὲ καὶ στρατιῶται παίοντες ἀνέδην τοὺς καταλαμβανομένους καὶ διὰ τῆς Βεθεζὰ καλουμένης ἀνεώθουν τὸ πλῆθος βιαζόμενοι παρελθεῖν καὶ κρατῆσαι τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ καὶ τῆς Ἀντωνίας: ὧν καὶ Φλῶρος ἐφιέμενος ἐξῆγε τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς τὸ φρούριον ἐλθεῖν ἠγωνίζετο. [329] διήμαρτέν γε μὴν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς: ὁ γὰρ δῆμος ἄντικρυς ἐπιστραφεὶς εἶργεν τῆς ὁρμῆς, καὶ διαστάντες ἐπὶ τῶν τεγῶν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἔβαλλον. καταπονούμενοι δὲ τοῖς ὕπερθεν βέλεσιν καὶ διακόψαι τὸ τοὺς στενωποὺς ἐμφράξαν πλῆθος ἀσθενήσαντες ἀνεχώρουν εἰς τὸ πρὸς τοῖς βασιλείοις στρατόπεδον.

5. By these persuasions, which they used to the multitude and to the seditious, they restrained some by threatenings, and others by the reverence that was paid them. After this they led them out, and they met the soldiers quietly, and after a composed manner, and when they were come up with them, they saluted them; but when they made no answer, the seditious exclaimed against Florus, which was the signal given for falling upon them. The soldiers therefore encompassed them presently, and struck them with their clubs; and as they fled away, the horsemen trampled them down, so that a great many fell down dead by the strokes of the Romans, and more by their own violence in crushing one another. Now there was a terrible crowding about the gates, and while every body was making haste to get before another, the flight of them all was retarded, and a terrible destruction there was among those that fell down, for they were suffocated, and broken to pieces by the multitude of those that were uppermost; nor could any of them be distinguished by his relations in order to the care of his funeral; the soldiers also who beat them, fell upon those whom they overtook, without showing them any mercy, and thrust the multitude through the place called Bezetha, as they forced their way, in order to get in and seize upon the temple, and the tower Antonia. Florus also being desirous to get those places into his possession, brought such as were with him out of the king's palace, and would have compelled them to get as far as the citadel [Antonia;] but his attempt failed, for the people immediately turned back upon him, and stopped the violence of his attempt; and as they stood upon the tops of their houses, they

threw their darts at the Romans, who, as they were sorely galled thereby, because those weapons came from above, and they were not able to make a passage through the multitude, which stopped up the narrow passages, they retired to the camp which was at the palace.

(6) [330] Οἱ δὲ στασιασταὶ δείσαντες μὴ πάλιν ἐπελθὼν ὁ Φλῶρος κρατήσῃ τοῦ ἱεροῦ διὰ τῆς Ἀντωνίας, ἀναβάντες εὐθέως τὰς συνεχεῖς στοὰς τοῦ ἱεροῦ πρὸς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν διέκοψαν. [331] τοῦτ᾽ ἔψυξεν τὴν Φλώρου πλεονεξίαν: τῶν γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ θησαυρῶν ἐφιέμενος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παρελθεῖν ἐπιθυμῶν εἰς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν, ὡς ἀπερράγησαν αἱ στοαί, τὴν ὁρμὴν ἀνετράπη, καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος τούς τε ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ τὴν βουλὴν αὐτὸς μὲν ἐξιέναι τῆς πόλεως ἔφη, φρουρὰν δ᾽ ἐγκαταλείψειν αὐτοῖς ὅσην ἂν ἀξιώσωσιν. [332] τῶν δὲ πάντα περὶ ἀσφαλείας καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν νεωτερίσειν ὑποσχομένων, εἰ μίαν αὐτοῖς καταλείποι σπεῖραν, μὴ μέντοι τὴν μαχεσαμένην: πρὸς γὰρ ταύτην ἀπεχθῶς δι᾽ ἃ πέπονθεν ἔχειν τὸ πλῆθος: ἀλλάξας τὴν σπεῖραν, ὡς ἠξίουν, μετὰ τῆς λοιπῆς δυνάμεως ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Καισάρειαν.

6. But for the seditious, they were afraid lest Florus should come again, and get possession of the temple, through Antonia; so they got immediately upon those cloisters of the temple that joined to Antonia, and cut them down. This cooled the avarice of Florus; for whereas he was eager to obtain the treasures of God [in the temple], and on that account was desirous of getting into Antonia, as soon as the cloisters were broken down, he left off his attempt; he then sent for the high priests and the sanhedrim, and told them that he was indeed himself going out of the city, but that he would leave them as large a garrison as they should desire. Hereupon they promised that they would make no innovations, in case he would leave them one band; but not that which had fought with the Jews, because the multitude bore ill-will against that band on account of what they had suffered from it; so he changed the band as they desired, and, with the rest of his forces, returned to Cesarea.

XVI

CHAPTER 16.

Cestius Sends Neopolitanus The Tribune To See In What

Condition The Affairs Of The Jews Were. Agrippa Makes A

Speech To The People Of The Jews That He May Divert Them

From Their Intentions Of Making War With The Romans.

(1) [333] Ἑτέραν δὲ ἐπιβολὴν τῷ πολέμῳ ποριζόμενος ἐπέστελλεν Κεστίῳ Ἰουδαίων ἀπόστασιν καταψευδόμενος τήν τε ἀρχὴν τῆς μάχης περιθεὶς αὐτοῖς καὶ δρᾶσαι λέγων ἐκείνους ἃ πεπόνθεσαν. οὐ μὴν οὐδ᾽ οἱ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἄρχοντες ἐσίγησαν, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοί τε καὶ Βερνίκη τῷ Κεστίῳ περὶ ὧν Φλῶρος εἰς τὴν πόλιν παρηνόμησεν ἔγραφον. [334] ὁ δὲ τὰ παρ᾽ ἀμφοῖν ἀναγνοὺς μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐβουλεύετο. τοῖς μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ἐδόκει Κέστιον μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἀναβαίνειν ἢ τιμωρησόμενον τὴν ἀπόστασιν, εἰ γέγονεν, ἢ βεβαιοτέρους καταστήσοντα Ἰουδαίους καὶ συμμένοντας, αὐτῷ δὲ προπέμψαι τῶν ἑταίρων τὸν κατασκεψόμενον τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὰ φρονήματα τῶν Ἰουδαίων πιστῶς ἀναγγελοῦντα. [335] πέμπει δή τινα τῶν χιλιάρχων Νεαπολιτανόν, ὃς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ὑποστρέφοντι περιτυχὼν Ἀγρίππᾳ τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ Ἰάμνειαν τόν τε πέμψαντα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἐδήλωσεν.

1. However, Florus contrived another way to oblige the Jews to begin the war, and sent to Cestius, and accused the Jews falsely of revolting [from the Roman government], and imputed the beginning of the former fight to them, and pretended they had been the authors of that disturbance, wherein they were only the sufferers. Yet were not the governors of Jerusalem silent upon this occasion, but did themselves write to Cestius, as did Bernice also, about the illegal practices of which Florus had been guilty against the city; who, upon reading both accounts, consulted with his captains [what he should do]. Now some of them thought it best for Cestius to go up with his army, either to punish the revolt, if it was real, or to settle the Roman affairs on a surer foundation, if the Jews continued quiet under them; but he thought it best himself to send one of his intimate friends beforehand, to see the state of affairs, and to give him a faithful account of the intentions of the Jews. Accordingly, he sent one of his tribunes, whose name was Neopolitanus, who met with king Agrippa as he was returning from Alexandria, at Jamnia, and told him who it was that sent him, and on what errands he was sent.

(2) [336] Ἔνθα καὶ Ἰουδαίων οἵ τε ἀρχιερεῖς ἅμα τοῖς δυνατοῖς καὶ ἡ βουλὴ παρῆν δεξιουμένη τὸν βασιλέα. μετὰ δὲ τὴν εἰς ἐκεῖνον θεραπείαν ἀπωδύροντο τὰς ἑαυτῶν συμφορὰς καὶ τὴν Φλώρου διεξῆεσαν ὠμότητα. [337] πρὸς ἣν ἠγανάκτει μὲν Ἀγρίππας, στρατηγικῶς δὲ τὴν ὀργὴν εἰς οὓς ἠλέει Ἰουδαίους μετέφερεν, ταπεινοῦν αὐτῶν βουλόμενος τὰ φρονήματα καὶ τῷ μὴ δοκεῖν ἀδίκως τι παθεῖν τῆς ἀμύνης ἀποτρέπων. [338] οἱ μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἂν ὄντες ἔκκριτοι καὶ διὰ τὰς ἑαυτῶν κτήσεις ἐπιθυμοῦντες εἰρήνης, συνίεσαν εὐνοικὴν τὴν ἐπίπληξιν τοῦ βασιλέως: ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπὶ ἑξήκοντα προελθὼν σταδίους ἐδεξιοῦτο τὸν Ἀγρίππαν καὶ τὸν Νεαπολιτανόν. [339] ἐκώκυον δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀπεσφαγμένων αἱ γυναῖκες προεκθέουσαι, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τούτων οἰμωγὴν ὁ δῆμος εἰς ὀλοφυρμοὺς

τραπόμενος ἐπικουρεῖν τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἱκέτευεν, τοῦ τε Νεαπολιτανοῦ κατεβόων ὅσα πάθοιεν ὑπὸ Φλώρου καὶ παρελθοῦσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν τήν τε ἀγορὰν ἠρημωμένην ἐπεδείκνυσαν καὶ πεπορθημένας τὰς οἰκίας. [340] ἔπειτα δι᾽ Ἀγρίππα πείθουσι τὸν Νεαπολιτανὸν σὺν ἑνὶ θεράποντι περιελθεῖν μέχρι τοῦ Σιλωᾶ τὴν πόλιν, ἵνα γνῷ Ἰουδαίους τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις Ῥωμαίοις ἅπασιν εἴκοντας, μόνῳ δ᾽ ἀπεχθανομένους Φλώρῳ δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς ὠμότητος. ὁ δὲ ὡς διοδεύσας πεῖραν ἱκανὴν ἔλαβεν τῆς πραότητος αὐτῶν, εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀναβαίνει. [341] ἔνθα συγκαλέσας τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν εἰς πίστιν αὐτοὺς τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπαινέσας, πολλὰ δὲ εἰς τὸ τηρεῖν τὴν εἰρήνην προτρεψάμενος καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ προσκυνήσας ὅθεν ἐξῆν τὰ ἅγια πρὸς Κέστιον ἐπανῄει.

2. And here it was that the high priests, and men of power among the Jews, as well as the sanhedrim, came to congratulate the king [upon his safe return]; and after they had paid him their respects, they lamented their own calamities, and related to him what barbarous treatment they had met with from Florus. At which barbarity Agrippa had great indignation, but transferred, after a subtle manner, his anger towards those Jews whom he really pitied, that he might beat down their high thoughts of themselves, and would have them believe that they had not been so unjustly treated, in order to dissuade them from avenging themselves. So these great men, as of better understanding than the rest, and desirous of peace, because of the possessions they had, understood that this rebuke which the king gave them was intended for their good; but as to the people, they came sixty furlongs out of Jerusalem, and congratulated both Agrippa and Neopolitanus; but the wives of those that had been slain came running first of all and lamenting. The people also, when they heard their mourning, fell into lamentations also, and besought Agrippa to assist them: they also cried out to Neopolitanus, and complained of the many miseries they had endured under Florus; and they showed them, when they were come into the city, how the market-place was made desolate, and the houses plundered. They then persuaded Neopolitanus, by the means of Agrippa, that he would walk round the city, with one only servant, as far as Siloam, that he might inform himself that the Jews submitted to all the rest of the Romans, and were only displeased at Florus, by reason of his exceeding barbarity to them. So he walked round, and had sufficient experience of the good temper the people were in, and then went up to the temple, where he called the multitude together, and highly commended them for their fidelity to the Romans, and earnestly exhorted them to keep the peace; and having performed such parts of Divine worship at the temple as he was allowed to do, he returned to Cestius.

(3) [342] Τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπί τε τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς τραπόμενον πέμπειν κατὰ Φλώρου πρέσβεις ἠξίου πρὸς Νέρωνα καὶ μὴ σιωπῶντας ἐπὶ τοσούτῳ φόνῳ καταλιπεῖν ἑαυτοῖς ὑπόνοιαν ἀποστάσεως: δόξειν γὰρ αὐτοὶ κατάρξαι τῶν ὅπλων, εἰ μὴ φθάσαντες ἐνδείξαιντο τὸν κατάρξαντα: [343] φανεροὶ δ᾽ ἦσαν οὐκ ἠρεμήσοντες, εἰ τὴν πρεσβείαν τις ἀποκωλύει. Ἀγρίππᾳ δὲ τὸ μὲν χειροτονεῖν Φλώρου κατηγόρους ἐπίφθονον, τὸ περιιδεῖν δὲ Ἰουδαίους εἰς πόλεμον ἐκριπισθέντας οὐδὲ αὐτῷ λυσιτελὲς κατεφαίνετο. [344] προσκαλεσάμενος δὲ εἰς τὸν ξυστὸν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ παραστησάμενος ἐν περιόπτῳ τὴν ἀδελφὴν Βερνίκην ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσαμωναίων οἰκίας, αὕτη γὰρ ἦν ἐπάνω τοῦ ξυστοῦ πρὸς τὸ πέραν τῆς ἄνω πόλεως, καὶ γέφυρα τῷ ξυστῷ τὸ ἱερὸν συνῆπτεν, Ἀγρίππας ἔλεξεν τοιάδε.

3. But as for the multitude of the Jews, they addressed themselves to the king, and to the high priests, and desired they might have leave to send ambassadors to Nero against Florus, and not by their silence afford a suspicion that they had been the occasions of such great slaughters as had been made, and were disposed to revolt, alleging that they should seem to have been the first beginners of the war, if they did not prevent the report by showing who it was that began it; and it appeared openly that they would not be quiet, if any body should hinder them from sending such an embassage. But Agrippa, although he thought it too dangerous a thing for them to appoint men to go as the accusers of Florus, yet did he not think it fit for him to overlook them, as they were in a disposition for war. He therefore called the multitude together into a large gallery, and placed his sister Bernice in the house of the Asamoneans, that she might be seen by them, [which house was over the gallery, at the passage to the upper city, where the bridge joined the temple to the gallery,] and spake to them as follows:

(4) [345] "Εἰ μὲν ἑώρων πάντας ὑμᾶς πολεμεῖν Ῥωμαίοις ὡρμημένους καὶ μὴ τοῦ δήμου τὸ καθαρώτατον καὶ εἰλικρινέστατον εἰρήνην ἄγειν προῃρημένους, οὔτ᾽ ἂν παρῆλθον εἰς ὑμᾶς οὔτε συμβουλεύειν ἐθάρρησα: περισσὸς γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν πᾶς λόγος, ὅταν ᾖ τῶν ἀκουόντων πάντων [ἡ] πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ὁμόνοια. [346] ἐπεὶ δὲ τινὰς μὲν ἡλικία τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ κακῶν ἄπειρος, τινὰς δὲ ἐλπὶς ἀλόγιστος ἐλευθερίας, ἐνίους δὲ πλεονεξία τις παροξύνει καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων, ἐὰν τὰ πράγματα συγχυθῇ, κέρδος, ὅπως αὐτοί τε σωφρονισθέντες μεταβάλωνται καὶ μὴ τῆς ἐνίων κακοβουλίας οἱ ἀγαθοὶ παραπολαύσωσιν, ᾠήθην δεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πάντας ὑμᾶς συναγαγὼν εἰπεῖν ἃ νομίζω συμφέρειν. [347] θορυβήσῃ δέ μοι μηδείς, ἐὰν μὴ τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀκούῃ: τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀνηκέστως ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπόστασιν ὡρμημένοις ἔνεστι καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐμὴν παραίνεσιν ταῦτα φρονεῖν, ἐμοὶ δὲ διαπίπτει καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούειν ἐθέλοντας ὁ λόγος, ἐὰν μὴ παρὰ πάντων ἡσυχία γένηται. [348] οἶδα μὲν οὖν ὅτι πολλοὶ τὰς ἐκ

τῶν ἐπιτρόπων ὕβρεις καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐγκώμια τραγῳδοῦσιν, ἐγὼ δὲ πρὶν ἐξετάζειν τίνες ὄντες καὶ τίσιν ἐπιχειρεῖτε πολεμεῖν, πρῶτον διαζεύξω τὴν συμπλοκὴν τῶν προφάσεων. [349] εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀμύνεσθε τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας, τί σεμνύνετε τὴν ἐλευθερίαν; εἰ δὲ τὸ δουλεύειν ἀφόρητον ἡγεῖσθε, περισσὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἡ μέμψις: καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων μετριαζόντων αἰσχρὸν ὁμοίως τὸ δουλεύειν. [350] σκοπεῖτε δὲ καὶ καθ᾽ ἕκαστον τούτων ὡς ἔστιν μικρὰ τοῦ πολεμεῖν ἡ ὑπόθεσις, καὶ πρῶτά γε τὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων ἐγκλήματα: θεραπεύειν γάρ, οὐκ ἐρεθίζειν χρὴ τὰς ἐξουσίας: [351] ὅταν δὲ τῶν μικρῶν ἁμαρτημάτων τοὺς ἐξονειδισμοὺς ποιῆσθε μεγάλους, καθ᾽ ἑαυτῶν τοὺς ὀνειδιζομένους ἀπελέγχετε, καὶ παρέντες τὸ λάθρα καὶ μετ᾽ αἰδοῦς ὑμᾶς βλάπτειν πορθοῦσι φανερῶς. οὐδὲν δὲ οὕτως τὰς πληγὰς ὡς τὸ φέρειν ἀναστέλλει, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἡσύχιον τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι γίνεται διατροπή. [352] φέρε δ᾽ εἶναι τοὺς Ῥωμαίων ὑπηρέτας ἀνηκέστως χαλεπούς: οὔπω Ῥωμαῖοι πάντες ἀδικοῦσιν ὑμᾶς οὐδὲ Καῖσαρ, πρὸς οὓς αἱρεῖσθε τὸν πόλεμον: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐξ ἐντολῆς ἥκει τις πονηρὸς ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνων, οὐδέ γε τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν ἀνατολὴν οἱ ἀφ᾽ ἑσπέρας ἐπιβλέπουσιν: ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ ἀκούειν ταχέως τὰ ἐντεῦθεν ἐκεῖ ῥᾴδιον. [353] ἄτοπον δὲ καὶ δι᾽ ἕνα πολλοῖς καὶ διὰ μικρὰς αἰτίας τηλικούτοις καὶ μηδὲ γινώσκουσιν ἃ μεμφόμεθα πολεμεῖν. [354] καὶ τῶν μὲν ἡμετέρων ἐγκλημάτων ταχεῖα γένοιτ᾽ ἂν διόρθωσις: οὔτε γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐπίτροπος μένει διὰ παντός, καὶ τοὺς διαδεξομένους εἰκὸς ἐλεύσεσθαι μετριωτέρους: κινηθέντα δ᾽ ἅπαξ τὸν πόλεμον οὔτε ἀποθέσθαι ῥᾴδιον δίχα συμφορῶν οὔτε βαστάζειν. [355] ἀλλὰ μὴν τό γε νῦν ἐλευθερίας ἐπιθυμεῖν ἄωρον, δέον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲ ἀποβαλεῖν αὐτὴν ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρότερον: ἡ γὰρ πεῖρα τῆς δουλείας χαλεπή, καὶ περὶ τοῦ μηδ᾽ ἄρξασθαι ταύτης ὁ ἀγὼν δίκαιος. [356] ὁ δ᾽ ἅπαξ χειρωθείς, ἔπειτα ἀφιστάμενος, αὐθάδης δοῦλός ἐστιν, οὐ φιλελεύθερος. τότε τοιγαροῦν ἐχρῆν πάνθ᾽ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ δέξασθαι Ῥωμαίους ποιεῖν, ὅτε ἐπέβαινεν τῆς χώρας Πομπήιος. [357] ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν καὶ χρήμασιν καὶ σώμασιν καὶ ψυχαῖς ἄμεινον ὑμῶν πολλῷ διακείμενοι πρὸς μοῖραν ὀλίγην τῆς Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεως οὐκ ἀντέσχον: ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ τὸ μὲν ὑπακούειν ἐκ διαδοχῆς παρειληφότες, τοῖς πράγμασιν δὲ τῶν πρώτων ὑπακουσάντων τοσοῦτον ἐλαττούμενοι, πρὸς ὅλην ἀνθίστασθε τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν; [358] καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οἱ περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας παραδόντες ποτὲ καὶ πυρὶ τὴν πόλιν, οἱ τὸν ὑπερήφανον Ξέρξην διὰ γῆς πλεύσαντα καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης ὁδεύσαντα καὶ μὴ χωρούμενον μὲν τοῖς πελάγεσιν, πλατυτέραν δὲ τῆς Εὐρώπης τὴν στρατιὰν ἄγοντα, οἷα δραπέτην ἐπὶ μιᾶς νηὸς διώξαντες, περὶ δὲ τῇ μικρᾷ Σαλαμῖνι τὴν τοσαύτην Ἀσίαν κλάσαντες νῦν δουλεύουσιν Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίδα τῆς Ἑλλάδος πόλιν διοικεῖ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας προστάγματα. [359] Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ μετὰ Θερμοπύλας καὶ Πλαταιὰς καὶ τὸν ἐρευνήσαντα τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀγησίλαον ἀγαπῶσιν τοὺς αὐτοὺς δεσπότας, [360] καὶ Μακεδόνες ἔτι φανταζόμενοι Φίλιππον καὶ τὴν σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ

παρασπείρουσαν αὐτοῖς τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡγεμονίαν ὁρῶντες, φέρουσιν τὴν τοσαύτην μεταβολὴν καὶ πρὸς οὓς μεταβέβηκεν ἡ τύχη προσκυνοῦσιν. [361] ἄλλα τε ἔθνη μυρία πλείονος γέμοντα πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν παρρησίας εἴκει: μόνοι δ' ὑμεῖς ἀδοξεῖτε δουλεύειν οἷς ὑποτέτακται τὰ πάντα. ποίᾳ στρατιᾷ ποίοις πεποιθότες ὅπλοις; ποῦ μὲν ὁ στόλος ὑμῖν διαληψόμενος τὰς Ῥωμαίων θαλάσσας; ποῦ δ' οἱ ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς ἐξαρκέσοντες θησαυροί; [362] πρὸς Αἰγυπτίους ἄρα καὶ πρὸς Ἄραβας οἴεσθε κινεῖν τὸν πόλεμον; οὐ περισκέψεσθε τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν; οὐ μετρήσετε τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀσθένειαν; οὐ τὰ μὲν ἡμέτερα καὶ τῶν προσοίκων ἐθνῶν ἡττήθη πολλάκις, ἡ δὲ ἐκείνων ἰσχὺς διὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀνίκητος; [363] μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ταύτης ἐζήτησάν τι πλέον: οὐ γὰρ ἐξήρκεσεν αὐτοῖς ὅλος Εὐφράτης ὑπὸ τὴν ἀνατολὴν οὐδὲ τῶν προσαρκτίων ὁ Ἴστρος ἥ τε μεσημβρινὴ μέχρι τῶν ἀοικήτων ἐρευνηθεῖσα Λιβύη καὶ Γάδειρα πρὸς ἑσπέραν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὠκεανὸν ἑτέραν ἐζήτησαν οἰκουμένην καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἀνιστορήτων πρότερον Βρεττανῶν διήνεγκαν τὰ ὅπλα. [364] τί οὖν; ὑμεῖς πλουσιώτεροι Γαλατῶν, ἰσχυρότεροι Γερμανῶν, Ἑλλήνων συνετώτεροι, πλείους τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐστὲ πάντων; τί τὸ πεποιθὸς ὑμᾶς κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐπαίρει; χαλεπὸν τὸ δουλεύειν, ἐρεῖ τις. [365] πόσῳ μᾶλλον Ἕλλησιν, οἳ τῶν ὑφ' ἡλίῳ πάντων προύχοντες εὐγενείᾳ καὶ τοσαύτην νεμόμενοι χώραν ἓξ Ῥωμαίων ὑπείκουσιν ῥάβδοις, τοσαύταις δὲ καὶ Μακεδόνες οἱ δικαιότερον ὑμῶν ὀφείλοντες ἐλευθερίας ἀντιποιεῖσθαι. [366] τί δ' αἱ πεντακόσιαι τῆς Ἀσίας πόλεις; οὐ δίχα φρουρᾶς ἕνα προσκυνοῦσιν ἡγεμόνα καὶ τὰς ὑπατικὰς ῥάβδους; τί χρὴ λέγειν Ἠνιόχους τε καὶ Κόλχους καὶ τὸ τῶν Ταύρων φῦλον, Βοσπορανούς τε καὶ τὰ περίοικα τοῦ Πόντου καὶ τῆς Μαιώτιδος ἔθνη; [367] παρ' οἷς πρὶν μὲν οὐδ' οἰκεῖος ἐγιγνώσκετο δεσπότης, νῦν δὲ τρισχιλίοις ὁπλίταις ὑποτάσσεται, καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς μακραὶ τὴν πρὶν ἄπλωτον καὶ ἀγρίαν εἰρηνεύουσι θάλασσαν. [368] πόσα Βιθυνία καὶ Καππαδοκία καὶ τὸ Παμφύλιον ἔθνος Λύκιοί τε καὶ Κίλικες ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἔχοντες εἰπεῖν χωρὶς ὅπλων φορολογοῦνται; τί δαί; Θρᾷκες οἱ πέντε μὲν εὖρος ἑπτὰ δὲ μῆκος ἡμερῶν χώραν διειληφότες, τραχυτέραν τε καὶ πολλῷ τῆς ὑμετέρας ὀχυρωτέραν καὶ βαθεῖ κρυμῷ τοὺς ἐπιστρατεύσοντας ἀνακόπτουσαν, οὐχὶ δισχιλίοις Ῥωμαίων ὑπακούουσιν φρουροῖς; [369] οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τούτων Ἰλλυριοὶ τὴν μέχρι Δαλματίας ἀποτεμνομένην Ἴστρῳ κατοικοῦντες, οὐ δυσὶν μόνοις τάγμασιν ὑπείκουσιν, μεθ' ὧν αὐτοὶ τὰς Δακῶν ἀνακόπτουσιν ὁρμάς; [370] οἱ δὲ τοσαυτάκις πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν ἀναχαιτίσαντες Δαλμάται καὶ πρὸς τὸ μόνον ἀεὶ χειρωθέντες τότε συλλεξάμενοι τὴν ἰσχὺν πάλιν ἀποστῆναι, νῦν οὐχ ὑφ' ἑνὶ τάγματι Ῥωμαίων ἡσυχίαν ἄγουσιν; [371] ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ γέ τινας εἰς ἀπόστασιν ὤφειλον ἀφορμαὶ μεγάλαι παροξύνειν, μάλιστα Γαλάτας ἐχρῆν τοὺς οὕτως ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως τετειχισμένους, ἐξ ἀνατολῆς μὲν ταῖς Ἄλπεσιν πρὸς ἄρκτῳ δὲ Ῥήνῳ ποταμῷ, μεσημβρινοῖς δὲ τοῖς Πυρηναίοις ὄρεσιν, ὠκεανῷ δὲ πρὸς δυσμῶν. [372] ἀλλὰ καίτοι τηλικαῦτα μὲν

ἔρκη περιβεβλημένοι, πέντε δὲ καὶ τριακοσίοις πληθύοντες ἔθνεσιν, τὰς δὲ πηγάς, ὡς ἄν τις εἴποι, τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἐπιχωρίους ἔχοντες καὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς σχεδὸν ὅλην ἐπικλύζοντες τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἀνέχονται Ῥωμαίων πρόσοδος ὄντες καὶ ταμιευόμενοι παρ᾽ αὐτῶν τὴν οἰκείαν εὐδαιμονίαν. [373] καὶ τοῦθ᾽ ὑπομένουσιν οὐ διὰ φρονημάτων μαλακίαν οὐδὲ δι᾽ ἀγένειαν, οἵ γε διήνεγκαν ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη πόλεμον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὴν τύχην καταπλαγέντες, ἥτις αὐτοῖς κατορθοῖ πλείονα τῶν ὅπλων. τοιγαροῦν ὑπὸ χιλίοις καὶ διακοσίοις στρατιώταις δουλεύουσιν, ὧν ὀλίγου δεῖν πλείους ἔχουσι πόλεις. [374] οὐδὲ Ἴβηρσιν ὁ γεωργούμενος χρυσὸς εἰς τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐξήρκεσεν πόλεμον οὐδὲ τὸ τοσοῦτον ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης διάστημα φῦλά τε Λουσιτανῶν καὶ Καντάβρων ἀρειμάνια οὐδὲ γείτων ὠκεανὸς φοβερὰν καὶ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἄμπωτιν ἐπάγων, [375] ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἡρακλείους στήλας ἐκτείναντες τὰ ὅπλα καὶ διὰ νεφῶν ὁδεύσαντες τὰ Πυρηναῖα ὄρη καὶ τούτους ἐδουλώσαντο Ῥωμαῖοι: φρουρὰ δ᾽ ἤρκεσεν τῶν οὕτως δυσμάχων καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀπῳκισμένων ἓν τάγμα. [376] τίς ὑμῶν οὐκ ἀκοῇ παρείληφεν τὸ Γερμανῶν πλῆθος; ἀλκὴν μὲν γὰρ καὶ μεγέθη σωμάτων εἴδετε δήπου πολλάκις, ἐπεὶ πανταχοῦ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς τούτων αἰχμαλώτους ἔχουσιν. [377] ἀλλ᾽ οὗτοι γῆν μὲν ἄπειρον νεμόμενοι, μείζω δὲ τῶν σωμάτων ἔχοντες τὰ φρονήματα καὶ τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν θανάτου καταφρονοῦσαν, τοὺς δὲ θυμοὺς τῶν ἀγριωτάτων θηρίων σφοδροτέρους, Ῥῆνον τῆς ὁρμῆς ὅρον ἔχουσιν καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὀκτὼ τάγμασιν δαμαζόμενοι δουλεύουσιν μὲν ἁλόντες, τὸ δ᾽ ὅλον αὐτῶν ἔθνος φυγῇ διασώζεται. [378] σκέψασθε δὲ καὶ τὸ Βρεττανῶν τεῖχος οἱ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμων τείχεσιν πεποιθότες: καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνους περιβεβλημένους ὠκεανὸν καὶ τῆς καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένης οὐκ ἐλάσσονα νῆσον οἰκοῦντας πλεύσαντες ἐδουλώσαντο Ῥωμαῖοι, τέσσαρα δὲ τάγματα τὴν τοσαύτην νῆσον φυλάσσει. [379] καὶ τί δεῖ πολλὰ λέγειν, ὅπου καὶ Πάρθοι, τὸ πολεμικώτατον φῦλον, τοσούτων ἄρχοντες ἐθνῶν καὶ τηλικαύτην περιβεβλημένοι δύναμιν ὁμήρους πέμπουσιν Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἰδεῖν ἐν εἰρήνης προφάσει δουλεύουσαν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς εὐγένειαν. [380] πάντων δὴ σχεδὸν τῶν ὑφ᾽ ἡλίῳ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὅπλα προσκυνούντων ὑμεῖς μόνοι πολεμήσετε μηδὲ τὸ Καρχηδονίων τέλος σκοποῦντες, οἳ τὸν μέγαν αὐχοῦντες Ἀννίβαν καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ Φοινίκων εὐγένειαν ὑπὸ τὴν Σκιπίωνος δεξιὰν ἔπεσον; [381] οὔτε δὲ Κυρηναῖοι, τὸ Λακώνων γένος, οὔτε Μαρμαρίδαι, τὸ μέχρι τῆς διψάδος ἐκτεταμένον φῦλον, οὔθ᾽ αἱ φοβεραὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν Σύρτεις Νασαμῶνές τε καὶ Μαῦροι καὶ τὸ Νομάδων ἄπειρον πλῆθος τὰς Ῥωμαίων ἀνέκοψαν ἀρετάς. [382] τὴν δὲ τρίτην τῆς οἰκουμένης μοῖραν, ἧς οὐδὲ ἐξαριθμήσασθαι τὰ ἔθνη ῥᾴδιον, ὁριζομένην Ἀτλαντικῷ τε πελάγει καὶ στήλαις Ἡρακλείοις καὶ μέχρι τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης τοὺς ἀπείρους νέμουσαν Αἰθίοπας ἐχειρώσαντο μὲν ὅλην, [383] χωρὶς δὲ τῶν ἐτησίων καρπῶν, οἳ μησὶν ὀκτὼ τὸ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην πλῆθος τρέφουσιν, καὶ ἔξωθεν

παντοίως φορολογοῦνται καὶ ταῖς χρείαις τῆς ἡγεμονίας παρέχουσιν ἑτοίμους τὰς εἰσφοράς, οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπιταγμάτων ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς ὕβριν ἡγούμενοι καίπερ ἑνὸς τάγματος αὐτοῖς παραμένοντος. [384] καὶ τί δεῖ πόρρωθεν ὑμῖν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ὑποδεικνύναι δύναμιν παρὸν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τῆς γειτνιώσης, [385] ἥτις ἐκτεινομένη μέχρις Αἰθιόπων καὶ τῆς εὐδαίμονος Ἀραβίας ὅρμος τε οὖσα τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, πεντήκοντα πρὸς ταῖς ἑπτακοσίαις ἔχουσα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων δίχα τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν κατοικούντων, ὡς ἔνεστιν ἐκ τῆς καθ᾽ ἑκάστην κεφαλὴν εἰσφορᾶς τεκμήρασθαι, τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν οὐκ ἀδοξεῖ, καίτοι πηλίκον ἀποστάσεως κέντρον ἔχουσα τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πλήθους τε ἀνδρῶν ἕνεκα καὶ πλούτου πρὸς δὲ μεγέθους: [386] μῆκος μέν γε αὐτῆς τριάκοντα σταδίων, εὖρος δ᾽ οὐκ ἔλαττον δέκα, τοῦ δὲ ἐνιαυσιαίου παρ᾽ ὑμῶν φόρου καθ᾽ ἕνα μῆνα πλέον Ῥωμαίοις παρέχει καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἔξωθεν τῇ Ῥώμῃ σῖτον μηνῶν τεσσάρων: τετείχισται δὲ πάντοθεν ἢ δυσβάτοις ἐρημίαις ἢ θαλάσσαις ἀλιμένοις ἢ ποταμοῖς ἢ ἕλεσιν. [387] ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲν τούτων ἰσχυρότερον εὑρέθη τῆς Ῥωμαίων τύχης, δύο δ᾽ ἐγκαθήμενα τῇ πόλει τάγματα τὴν βαθεῖαν Αἴγυπτον ἅμα τῇ Μακεδόνων εὐγενείᾳ χαλινοῖ. [388] τίνας οὖν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκ τῆς ἀοικήτου παραλήψεσθε συμμάχους; οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης πάντες εἰσὶν Ῥωμαῖοι, εἰ μή τις ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην ἐκτείνει τὰς ἐλπίδας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀδιαβηνῆς ὁμοφύλους οἴεται προσαμυνεῖν, [389] οἱ δ᾽ οὔτε δι᾽ αἰτίαν ἄλογον τηλικούτῳ πολέμῳ συνεμπλέξουσιν ἑαυτούς, οὔτε βουλευσαμένοις κακῶς ὁ Πάρθος ἐπιτρέψει: πρόνοια γὰρ αὐτῷ τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐκεχειρίας, καὶ παραβαίνειν οἰήσεται τὰς σπονδάς, ἄν τις τῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἴῃ. [390] λοιπὸν οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ συμμαχίαν καταφευκτέον. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις τέτακται: δίχα γὰρ θεοῦ συστῆναι τηλικαύτην ἡγεμονίαν ἀδύνατον. [391] σκέψασθε δ᾽ ὡς ὑμῖν τὸ τῆς θρησκείας ἄκρατον, εἰ καὶ πρὸς εὐχειρώτους πολεμοίητε, δυσδιοίκητον, καὶ δι᾽ ἃ μᾶλλον τὸν θεὸν ἐλπίζετε σύμμαχον, ταῦτ᾽ ἀναγκαζόμενοι παραβαίνειν ἀποστρέψετε. [392] τηροῦντές γε μὴν τὰ τῶν ἑβδομάδων ἔθη καὶ πρὸς μηδεμίαν πρᾶξιν κινούμενοι ῥᾳδίως ἁλώσεσθε, καθάπερ οἱ πρόγονοι Πομπηίῳ ταύτας μάλιστα τὰς ἡμέρας ἐνεργοὺς ποιησαμένῳ τῆς πολιορκίας, ἐν αἷς ἤργουν οἱ πολιορκούμενοι: [393] παραβαίνοντες δὲ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τὸν πάτριον νόμον οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὑπὲρ ὅτου λοιπὸν ποιήσεσθε τὸν ἀγῶνα: σπουδὴ γὰρ ὑμῖν μία τὸ μὴ τῶν πατρίων τι καταλῦσαι. [394] πῶς δὲ ἐπικαλέσεσθε τὸ θεῖον πρὸς τὴν ἄμυναν οἱ παραβάντες ἑκουσίως τὴν εἰς αὐτὸ θεραπείαν; ἐπαναιροῦνται δὲ ἕκαστοι πόλεμον ἢ θείᾳ πεποιθότες ἢ ἀνθρωπίνῃ βοηθείᾳ: ὅταν δὲ τὴν παρ᾽ ἀμφοῖν τὸ εἰκὸς ἀποκόπτῃ, φανερὰν ἅλωσιν οἱ πολεμοῦντες αἱροῦνται. [395] τί δὴ κωλύει ταῖς ἑαυτῶν χερσὶν διαχρήσασθαι τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν περικαλλεστάτην πατρίδα ταύτην καταφλέξαι; μανέντες γὰρ οὕτως τό γε τῆς ἥττης ὄνειδος κερδήσετε. καλόν, [396] ὦ φίλοι, καλόν, ἕως ἔτι ἐν ὅρμῳ τὸ σκάφος προσκέπτεσθαι τὸν μέλλοντα χειμῶνα μηδ᾽ εἰς μέσας τὰς θυέλλας

ἀπολουμένους ἀναχθῆναι: τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀδήλων ἐπιπεσοῦσιν δεινοῖς τὸ γοῦν ἐλεεῖσθαι περίεστιν, ὁ δ᾽ εἰς πρόδηλον ἀπώλειαν ὁρμήσας καὶ προσονειδίζεται. [397] πλὴν εἰ μή τις ὑπολαμβάνει κατὰ συνθήκας πολεμήσειν καὶ Ῥωμαίους κρατήσαντας ὑμῶν μετριάσειν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ εἰς ὑπόδειγμα τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν καταφλέξειν μὲν τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν, ἀναιρήσειν δὲ πᾶν ὑμῶν τὸ φῦλον: οὐδὲ γὰρ περιλειφθέντες φυγῆς εὑρήσετε τόπον ἁπάντων ἐχόντων Ῥωμαίους δεσπότας ἢ δεδοικότων σχεῖν. [398] ὁ δὲ κίνδυνος οὐ τῶν ἐνθάδε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας κατοικούντων πόλεις: οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης δῆμος ὁ μὴ μοῖραν ἡμετέραν ἔχων. [399] οὓς ἅπαντας πολεμησάντων ὑμῶν κατασφάξουσιν οἱ διάφοροι, καὶ δι᾽ ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν κακοβουλίαν πᾶσα πλησθήσεται πόλις Ἰουδαικοῦ φόνου. καὶ συγγνώμη μὲν τοῖς τοῦτο πράξασιν: ἂν δὲ μὴ πραχθῇ, λογίσασθε, πῶς πρὸς οὕτω φιλανθρώπους ὅπλα κινεῖν ἀνόσιον. [400] εἰσελθέτω δ᾽ οἶκτος ὑμᾶς εἰ καὶ μὴ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν, ἀλλὰ τῆς γε μητροπόλεως ταύτης καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν περιβόλων. φείσασθε τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἑαυτοῖς μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων τηρήσατε: ἀφέξονται γὰρ οὐκέτι Ῥωμαῖοι τούτων κρατήσαντες, ὧν φεισάμενοι πρότερον ἠχαρίστηνται. [401] μαρτύρομαι δὲ ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμῶν τὰ ἅγια καὶ τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἀγγέλους τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρίδα τὴν κοινήν, ὡς οὐδὲν τῶν σωτηρίων ὑμῖν καθυφηκάμην, ὑμεῖς δὲ βουλευσάμενοι μὲν τὰ δέοντα κοινὴν σὺν ἐμοὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἕξετε, προαχθέντες δὲ τοῖς θυμοῖς χωρὶς ἐμοῦ κινδυνεύσετε.”

4. “Had I perceived that you were all zealously disposed to go to war with the Romans, and that the purer and more sincere part of the people did not propose to live in peace, I had not come out to you, nor been so bold as to give you counsel; for all discourses that tend to persuade men to do what they ought to do are superfluous, when the hearers are agreed to do the contrary. But because some are earnest to go to war because they are young, and without experience of the miseries it brings, and because some are for it out of an unreasonable expectation of regaining their liberty, and because others hope to get by it, and are therefore earnestly bent upon it, that in the confusion of your affairs they may gain what belongs to those that are too weak to resist them, I have thought proper to get you all together, and to say to you what I think to be for your advantage; that so the former may grow wiser, and change their minds, and that the best men may come to no harm by the ill conduct of some others. And let not any one be tumultuous against me, in case what they hear me say do not please them; for as to those that admit of no cure, but are resolved upon a revolt, it will still be in their power to retain the same sentiments after my exhortation is over; but still my discourse will fall to the ground, even with a relation to those that have a mind to hear me, unless you will all keep silence. I am well aware that

many make a tragical exclamation concerning the injuries that have been offered you by your procurators, and concerning the glorious advantages of liberty; but before I begin the inquiry, who you are that must go to war, and who they are against whom you must fight, I shall first separate those pretenses that are by some connected together; for if you aim at avenging yourselves on those that have done you injury, why do you pretend this to be a war for recovering your liberty? but if you think all servitude intolerable, to what purpose serve your complaint against your particular governors? for if they treated you with moderation, it would still be equally an unworthy thing to be in servitude. Consider now the several cases that may be supposed, how little occasion there is for your going to war. Your first occasion is the accusations you have to make against your procurators; now here you ought to be submissive to those in authority, and not give them any provocation; but when you reproach men greatly for small offenses, you excite those whom you reproach to be your adversaries; for this will only make them leave off hurting you privately, and with some degree of modesty, and to lay what you have waste openly. Now nothing so much damps the force of strokes as bearing them with patience; and the quietness of those who are injured diverts the injurious persons from afflicting. But let us take it for granted that the Roman ministers are injurious to you, and are incurably severe; yet are they not all the Romans who thus injure you; nor hath Caesar, against whom you are going to make war, injured you: it is not by their command that any wicked governor is sent to you; for they who are in the west cannot see those that are in the east; nor indeed is it easy for them there even to hear what is done in these parts. Now it is absurd to make war with a great many for the sake of one, to do so with such mighty people for a small cause; and this when these people are not able to know of what you complain: nay, such crimes as we complain of may soon be corrected, for the same procurator will not continue for ever; and probable it is that the successors will come with more moderate inclinations. But as for war, if it be once begun, it is not easily laid down again, nor borne without calamities coming therewith. However, as to the desire of recovering your liberty, it is unseasonable to indulge it so late; whereas you ought to have labored earnestly in old time that you might never have lost it; for the first experience of slavery was hard to be endured, and the struggle that you might never have been subject to it would have been just; but that slave who hath been once brought into subjection, and then runs away, is rather a refractory slave than a lover of liberty; for it was then the proper time for doing all that was possible, that you might never have admitted the Romans [into your city], when Pompey came first into the country. But so it was, that our ancestors and their kings, who were in much better

circumstances than we are, both as to money, and strong bodies, and [valiant] souls, did not bear the onset of a small body of the Roman army. And yet you, who have now accustomed yourselves to obedience from one generation to another, and who are so much inferior to those who first submitted, in your circumstances will venture to oppose the entire empire of the Romans. While those Athenians, who, in order to preserve the liberty of Greece, did once set fire to their own city; who pursued Xerxes, that proud prince, when he sailed upon the land, and walked upon the sea, and could not be contained by the seas, but conducted such an army as was too broad for Europe; and made him run away like a fugitive in a single ship, and brake so great a part of Asia at the Lesser Salamis; are yet at this time servants to the Romans; and those injunctions which are sent from Italy become laws to the principal governing city of Greece. Those Lacedemonians also who got the great victories at Thermopylae and Platea, and had Agesilaus [for their king], and searched every corner of Asia, are contented to admit the same lords. Those Macedonians also, who still fancy what great men their Philip and Alexander were, and see that the latter had promised them the empire over the world, these bear so great a change, and pay their obedience to those whom fortune hath advanced in their stead. Moreover, ten thousand ether nations there are who had greater reason than we to claim their entire liberty, and yet do submit. You are the only people who think it a disgrace to be servants to those to whom all the world hath submitted. What sort of an army do you rely on? What are the arms you depend on? Where is your fleet, that may seize upon the Roman seas? and where are those treasures which may be sufficient for your undertakings? Do you suppose, I pray you, that you are to make war with the Egyptians, and with the Arabians? Will you not carefully reflect upon the Roman empire? Will you not estimate your own weakness? Hath not your army been often beaten even by your neighboring nations, while the power of the Romans is invincible in all parts of the habitable earth? nay, rather they seek for somewhat still beyond that; for all Euphrates is not a sufficient boundary for them on the east side, nor the Danube on the north; and for their southern limit, Libya hath been searched over by them, as far as countries uninhabited, as is Cadiz their limit on the west; nay, indeed, they have sought for another habitable earth beyond the ocean, and have carried their arms as far as such British islands as were never known before. What therefore do you pretend to? Are you richer than the Gauls, stronger than the Germans, wiser than the Greeks, more numerous than all men upon the habitable earth? What confidence is it that elevates you to oppose the Romans? Perhaps it will be said, It is hard to endure slavery. Yes; but how much harder is this to the Greeks, who were esteemed the noblest of all people under the sun! These, though they

inhabit in a large country, are in subjection to six bundles of Roman rods. It is the same case with the Macedonians, who have juster reason to claim their liberty than you have. What is the case of five hundred cities of Asia? Do they not submit to a single governor, and to the consular bundle of rods? What need I speak of the Henlochi, and Colchi and the nation of Tauri, those that inhabit the Bosphorus, and the nations about Pontus, and Meotis, who formerly knew not so much as a lord of their own, but are now subject to three thousand armed men, and where forty long ships keep the sea in peace, which before was not navigable, and very tempestuous? How strong a plea may Bithynia, and Cappadocia, and the people of Pamphylia, the Lycians, and Cilicians, put in for liberty! But they are made tributary without an army. What are the circumstances of the Thracians, whose country extends in breadth five days' journey, and in length seven, and is of a much more harsh constitution, and much more defensible, than yours, and by the rigor of its cold sufficient to keep off armies from attacking them? do not they submit to two thousand men of the Roman garrisons? Are not the Illyrlans, who inhabit the country adjoining, as far as Dalmatia and the Danube, governed by barely two legions? by which also they put a stop to the incursions of the Daeians. And for the Dalmatians, who have made such frequent insurrections in order to regain their liberty, and who could never before be so thoroughly subdued, but that they always gathered their forces together again, revolted, yet are they now very quiet under one Roman legion. Moreover, if eat advantages might provoke any people to revolt, the Gauls might do it best of all, as being so thoroughly walled round by nature; on the east side by the Alps, on the north by the river Rhine, on the south by the Pyrenean mountains, and on the west by the ocean. Now although these Gauls have such obstacles before them to prevent any attack upon them, and have no fewer than three hundred and five nations among them, nay have, as one may say, the fountains of domestic happiness within themselves, and send out plentiful streams of happiness over almost the whole world, these bear to be tributary to the Romans, and derive their prosperous condition from them; and they undergo this, not because they are of effeminate minds, or because they are of an ignoble stock, as having borne a war of eighty years in order to preserve their liberty; but by reason of the great regard they have to the power of the Romans, and their good fortune, which is of greater efficacy than their arms. These Gauls, therefore, are kept in servitude by twelve hundred soldiers, which are hardly so many as are their cities; nor hath the gold dug out of the mines of Spain been sufficient for the support of a war to preserve their liberty, nor could their vast distance from the Romans by land and by sea do it; nor could the martial tribes of the Lusitanians and Spaniards escape; no more could the ocean,

with its tide, which yet was terrible to the ancient inhabitants. Nay, the Romans have extended their arms beyond the pillars of Hercules, and have walked among the clouds, upon the Pyrenean mountains, and have subdued these nations. And one legion is a sufficient guard for these people, although they were so hard to be conquered, and at a distance so remote from Rome. Who is there among you that hath not heard of the great number of the Germans? You have, to be sure, yourselves seen them to be strong and tall, and that frequently, since the Romans have them among their captives every where; yet these Germans, who dwell in an immense country, who have minds greater than their bodies, and a soul that despises death, and who are in rage more fierce than wild beasts, have the Rhine for the boundary of their enterprises, and are tamed by eight Roman legions. Such of them as were taken captive became their servants; and the rest of the entire nation were obliged to save themselves by flight. Do you also, who depend on the walls of Jerusalem, consider what a wall the Britons had; for the Romans sailed away to them, an subdued them while they were encompassed by the ocean, and inhabited an island that is not less than the [continent of this] habitable earth; and four legions are a sufficient guard to so large all island And why should I speak much more about this matter, while the Parthians, that most warlike body of men, and lords of so many nations, and encompassed with such mighty forces, send hostages to the Romans? whereby you may see, if you please, even in Italy, the noblest nation of the East, under the notion of peace, submitting to serve them. Now when almost all people under the sun submit to the Roman arms, will you be the only people that make war against them? and this without regarding the fate of the Carthaginians, who, in the midst of their brags of the great Hannibal, and the nobility of their Phoenician original, fell by the hand of Scipio. Nor indeed have the Cyrenians, derived from the Lacedemonians, nor the Marmaridite, a nation extended as far as the regions uninhabitable for want of water, nor have the Syrtes, a place terrible to such as barely hear it described, the Nasamons and Moors, and the immense multitude of the Numidians, been able to put a stop to the Roman valor. And as for the third part of the habitable earth, [Akica,] whose nations are so many that it is not easy to number them, and which is bounded by the Atlantic Sea and the pillars of Hercules, and feeds an innumerable multitude of Ethiopians, as far as the Red Sea, these have the Romans subdued entirely. And besides the annual fruits of the earth, which maintain the multitude of the Romans for eight months in the year, this, over and above, pays all sorts of tribute, and affords revenues suitable to the necessities of the government. Nor do they, like you, esteem such injunctions a disgrace to them, although they have but one Roman legion that abides among them. And indeed what occasion is

there for showing you the power of the Romans over remote countries, when it is so easy to learn it from Egypt, in your neighborhood? This country is extended as far as the Ethiopians, and Arabia the Happy, and borders upon India; it hath seven millions five hundred thousand men, besides the inhabitants of Alexandria, as may be learned from the revenue of the poll tax; yet it is not ashamed to submit to the Roman government, although it hath Alexandria as a grand temptation to a revolt, by reason it is so full of people and of riches, and is besides exceeding large, its length being thirty furlongs, and its breadth no less than ten; and it pays more tribute to the Romans in one month than you do in a year; nay, besides what it pays in money, it sends corn to Rome that supports it for four months [in the year]: it is also walled round on all sides, either by almost impassable deserts, or seas that have no havens, or by rivers, or by lakes; yet have none of these things been found too strong for the Roman good fortune; however, two legions that lie in that city are a bridle both for the remoter parts of Egypt, and for the parts inhabited by the more noble Macedonians. Where then are those people whom you are to have for your auxiliaries? Must they come from the parts of the world that are uninhabited? for all that are in the habitable earth are [under the] Romans. Unless any of you extend his hopes as far as beyond the Euphrates, and suppose that those of your own nation that dwell in Adiabene will come to your assistance; but certainly these will not embarrass themselves with an unjustifiable war, nor, if they should follow such ill advice, will the Parthians permit them so to do; for it is their concern to maintain the truce that is between them and the Romans, and they will be supposed to break the covenants between them, if any under their government march against the Romans. What remains, therefore, is this, that you have recourse to Divine assistance; but this is already on the side of the Romans; for it is impossible that so vast an empire should be settled without God's providence. Reflect upon it, how impossible it is for your zealous observations of your religious customs to be here preserved, which are hard to be observed even when you fight with those whom you are able to conquer; and how can you then most of all hope for God's assistance, when, by being forced to transgress his law, you will make him turn his face from you? and if you do observe the custom of the sabbath days, and will not be revealed on to do any thing thereon, you will easily be taken, as were your forefathers by Pompey, who was the busiest in his siege on those days on which the besieged rested. But if in time of war you transgress the law of your country, I cannot tell on whose account you will afterward go to war; for your concern is but one, that you do nothing against any of your forefathers; and how will you call upon God to assist you, when you are voluntarily transgressing against his religion? Now all men that go to war do it either as depending on

Divine or on human assistance; but since your going to war will cut off both those assistances, those that are for going to war choose evident destruction. What hinders you from slaying your children and wives with your own hands, and burning this most excellent native city of yours? for by this mad prank you will, however, escape the reproach of being beaten. But it were best, O my friends, it were best, while the vessel is still in the haven, to foresee the impending storm, and not to set sail out of the port into the middle of the hurricanes; for we justly pity those who fall into great misfortunes without foreseeing them; but for him who rushes into manifest ruin, he gains reproaches [instead of commiseration]. But certainly no one can imagine that you can enter into a war as by agreement, or that when the Romans have got you under their power, they will use you with moderation, or will not rather, for an example to other nations, burn your holy city, and utterly destroy your whole nation; for those of you who shall survive the war will not be able to find a place whither to flee, since all men have the Romans for their lords already, or are afraid they shall have hereafter. Nay, indeed, the danger concerns not those Jews that dwell here only, but those of them which dwell in other cities also; for there is no people upon the habitable earth which have not some portion of you among them, whom your enemies will slay, in case you go to war, and on that account also; and so every city which hath Jews in it will be filled with slaughter for the sake of a few men, and they who slay them will be pardoned; but if that slaughter be not made by them, consider how wicked a thing it is to take arms against those that are so kind to you. Have pity, therefore, if not on your children and wives, yet upon this your metropolis, and its sacred walls; spare the temple, and preserve the holy house, with its holy furniture, for yourselves; for if the Romans get you under their power, they will no longer abstain from them, when their former abstinence shall have been so ungratefully requited. I call to witness your sanctuary, and the holy angels of God, and this country common to us all, that I have not kept back any thing that is for your preservation; and if you will follow that advice which you ought to do, you will have that peace which will be common to you and to me; but if you indulge four passions, you will run those hazards which I shall be free from."

(5) [402] Τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπεδάκρυσέν τε μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ πολὺ τῆς ὁρμῆς αὐτῶν ἔπαυσεν τοῖς δακρύοις. ἀνεβόων δὲ οὐ Ῥωμαίοις, ἀλλὰ Φλώρῳ δι' ἃ πεπόνθασιν πολεμεῖν. [403] πρὸς τοῦτο βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας "ἀλλὰ τὰ ἔργα, ἔφη, Ῥωμαίοις ἤδη πολεμούντων ἐστίν: οὔτε γὰρ Καίσαρι δεδώκατε τὸν φόρον καὶ τὰς στοὰς ἀπεκόψατε τῆς Ἀντωνίας. [404] ἀποσκευάσαισθε δ' ἂν τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς

ἀποστάσεως, εἰ ταύτας τε συνάψετε πάλιν καὶ τελέσετε τὴν εἰσφοράν: οὐ γὰρ δή γε Φλώρου τὸ φρούριόν ἐστιν ἢ Φλώρῳ τὰ χρήματα δώσετε.”

5. When Agrippa had spoken thus, both he and his sister wept, and by their tears repressed a great deal of the violence of the people; but still they cried out, that they would not fight against the Romans, but against Florus, on account of what they had suffered by his means. To which Agrippa replied, that what they had already done was like such as make war against the Romans; "for you have not paid the tribute which is due to Caesar and you have cut off the cloisters [of the temple] from joining to the tower Antonia. You will therefore prevent any occasion of revolt if you will but join these together again, and if you will but pay your tribute; for the citadel does not now belong to Florus, nor are you to pay the tribute money to Florus."

XVII

CHAPTER 17.

How The War Of The Jews With The Romans Began, And

Concerning Manahem.

(1) [405] Τούτοις ὁ δῆμος ἐπείθετο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς τε Βερνίκης ἀναβάντες εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν κατήρξαντο τῆς τῶν στοῶν δομήσεως, εἰς δὲ τὰς κώμας οἵ τε ἄρχοντες καὶ βουλευταὶ μερισθέντες τοὺς φόρους συνέλεγον. ταχέως δὲ τὰ τεσσαράκοντα τάλαντα, τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἔλειπεν, ἠθροίσθη. [406] καὶ τοῦ μὲν πολέμου τότε οὕτω τὴν ἀπειλὴν κατεῖχεν Ἀγρίππας, αὖθις δὲ ἐπειρᾶτο πείθειν τὸ πλῆθος ὑπακούειν Φλώρῳ, μέχρις ἀντ᾽ αὐτοῦ πέμψει Καῖσαρ διάδοχον: πρὸς ὃ παροξυνθέντες ἐβλασφήμουν εἰς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τῆς πόλεως αὐτὸν ἐξεκήρυσσον, ἐτόλμων δέ τινες τῶν στασιαστῶν καὶ λίθους ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν βάλλειν. [407] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἰδὼν τὴν ὁρμὴν ἤδη τῶν νεωτεριζόντων ἀκατάσχετον καὶ χαλεπήνας ἐφ᾽ οἷς προπεπηλάκισται, τοὺς μὲν ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν ἅμα τοῖς δυνατοῖς ἔπεμπε πρὸς Φλῶρον εἰς Καισάρειαν, ἵν᾽ ἐκεῖνος ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποδείξῃ τοὺς τὴν χώραν φορολογήσοντας, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν.

1. This advice the people hearkened to, and went up into the temple with the king and Bernice, and began to rebuild the cloisters; the rulers also and senators divided themselves into the villages, and collected the tributes, and soon got together forty talents, which was the sum that was deficient. And thus did Agrippa then put a stop to that war which was threatened. Moreover, he attempted to persuade the multitude to obey Florus, until Caesar should send one to succeed him; but they were hereby more provoked, and cast reproaches upon the king, and got him excluded out of the city; nay, some of the seditious had the impudence to throw stones at him. So when the king saw that the violence of

those that were for innovations was not to be restrained, and being very angry at the contumelies he had received, he sent their rulers, together with their men of power, to Florus, to Cesarea, that he might appoint whom he thought fit to collect the tribute in the country, while he retired into his own kingdom.

(2) [408] Κἀν τούτῳ τινὲς τῶν μάλιστα κινούντων τὸν πόλεμον συνελθόντες ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ φρούριόν τι καλούμενον Μασάδαν, καὶ καταλαβόντες αὐτὸ λάθρα τοὺς μὲν Ῥωμαίων φρουροὺς ἀπέσφαξαν, ἑτέρους δ' ἐγκατέστησαν ἰδίους. [409] ἅμα δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν Ἐλεάζαρος υἱὸς Ἀνανία τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, νεανίας θρασύτατος, στρατηγῶν τότε τοὺς κατὰ τὴν λατρείαν λειτουργοῦντας ἀναπείθει μηδενὸς ἀλλοτρίου δῶρον ἢ θυσίαν προσδέχεσθαι. τοῦτο δ' ἦν τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολέμου καταβολή: τὴν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τούτων θυσίαν Καίσαρος ἀπέρριψαν. [410] καὶ πολλὰ τῶν τε ἀρχιερέων καὶ τῶν γνωρίμων παρακαλούντων μὴ παραλιπεῖν τὸ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἔθος οὐκ ἐνέδοσαν, πολὺ μὲν καὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ πλήθει πεποιθότες, καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἀκμαιότατον τῶν νεωτεριζόντων συνήργει, μάλιστα δ' ἀφορῶντες εἰς τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον στρατηγοῦντα.

2. And at this time it was that some of those that principally excited the people to go to war made an assault upon a certain fortress called Masada. They took it by treachery, and slew the Romans that were there, and put others of their own party to keep it. At the same time Eleazar, the son of Ananias the high priest, a very bold youth, who was at that time governor of the temple, persuaded those that officiated in the Divine service to receive no gift or sacrifice for any foreigner. And this was the true beginning of our war with the Romans; for they rejected the sacrifice of Caesar on this account; and when many of the high priests and principal men besought them not to omit the sacrifice, which it was customary for them to offer for their princes, they would not be prevailed upon. These relied much upon their multitude, for the most flourishing part of the innovators assisted them; but they had the chief regard to Eleazar, the governor of the temple.

(3) [411] Συνελθόντες γοῦν οἱ δυνατοὶ τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν εἰς ταὐτὸ καὶ τοῖς τῶν Φαρισαίων γνωρίμοις ὡς ἐπ' ἀνηκέστοις ἤδη συμφοραῖς ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ τῶν ὅλων: καὶ δόξαν ἀποπειραθῆναι τῶν στασιαστῶν λόγοις πρὸ τῆς χαλκῆς πύλης ἀθροίζουσι τὸν δῆμον, ἥτις ἦν τοῦ ἔνδον ἱεροῦ τετραμμένη πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἡλίου. [412] καὶ πρῶτον αὐτῶν πολλὰ πρὸς τὴν τόλμαν τῆς ἀποστάσεως χαλεπήναντες καὶ τὸ τηλικοῦτον ἐπισείειν τῇ πατρίδι πόλεμον, ἔπειτα τὸ τῆς προφάσεως ἄλογον διήλεγχον, φάμενοι τοὺς μὲν προγόνους αὐτῶν κεκοσμηκέναι τὸν ναὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων τὸ πλέον ἀεὶ προσδεχομένους τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐθνῶν δωρεάς, [413] καὶ οὐ μόνον οὐ διακεκωλυκέναι θυσίας

τινῶν, τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἀσεβέστατον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ βλεπόμενα καὶ τὰ παραμένοντα τοσοῦτον χρόνον ἀναθήματα περὶ τῷ ἱερῷ καθιδρυκέναι. [414] αὐτοὺς δὲ νῦν ἐρεθίζοντας τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὅπλα καὶ μνηστευομένους τὸν ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνων πόλεμον καινοτομεῖν θρησκείαν ξένην καὶ μετὰ τοῦ κινδύνου καταψηφίσασθαι τῆς πόλεως ἀσέβειαν, εἰ παρὰ μόνοις Ἰουδαίοις οὔτε θύσει τις ἀλλότριος οὔτε προσκυνήσει. [415] κἂν μὲν ἐπὶ ἰδιώτου τις ἑνὸς τοῦτον εἰσφέρῃ τὸν νόμον, ἀγανακτεῖν ὡς ὁριζομένης ἀπανθρωπίας, περιορᾶν δ᾽ ὅτε Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔκσπονδος γίνεται. [416] δεδοικέναι μέντοι, μὴ τὰς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ἀπορρίψαντες θυσίας κωλυθῶσι θύειν καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν γένηταί τε ἔκσπονδος τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἡ πόλις, εἰ μὴ ταχέως σωφρονήσαντες ἀποδώσουσιν τὰς θυσίας καὶ πρὶν ἐξελθεῖν ἐφ᾽ οὓς ὑβρίκασιν τὴν φήμην διορθώσονται τὴν ὕβριν.

3. Hereupon the men of power got together, and conferred with the high priests, as did also the principal of the Pharisees; and thinking all was at stake, and that their calamities were becoming incurable, took counsel what was to be done. Accordingly, they determined to try what they could do with the seditious by words, and assembled the people before the brazen gate, which was that gate of the inner temple [court of the priests] which looked toward the sun-rising. And, in the first place, they showed the great indignation they had at this attempt for a revolt, and for their bringing so great a war upon their country; after which they confuted their pretense as unjustifiable, and told them that their forefathers had adorned their temple in great part with donations bestowed on them by foreigners, and had always received what had been presented to them from foreign nations; and that they had been so far from rejecting any person's sacrifice [which would be the highest instance of impiety,] that they had themselves placed those donation about the temple which were still visible, and had remained there so long a time; that they did now irritate the Romans to take arms against them, and invited them to make war upon them, and brought up novel rules of a strange Divine worship, and determined to run the hazard of having their city condemned for impiety, while they would not allow any foreigner, but Jews only, either to sacrifice or to worship therein. And if such a law should be introduced in the case of a single private person only, he would have indignation at it, as an instance of inhumanity determined against him; while they have no regard to the Romans or to Caesar, and forbid even their oblations to be received also; that however they cannot but fear, lest, by thus rejecting their sacrifices, they shall not be allowed to offer their own; and that this city will lose its principality, unless they grow wiser quickly, and restore the sacrifices as formerly, and indeed amend the injury [they have offered

foreigners] before the report of it comes to the ears of those that have been injured.

(4) [417] Ἅμα ταῦτα λέγοντες παρῆγον τοὺς ἐμπείρους τῶν πατρίων ἱερεῖς ἀφηγουμένους, ὅτι πάντες οἱ πρόγονοι τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἀλλογενῶν θυσίας ἀπεδέχοντο. προσεῖχεν δὲ οὐδεὶς τῶν νεωτεριζόντων, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ προσίεσαν οἱ λῃστρικοὶ καὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου καταβολὴν ἐνσκευαζόμενοι. [418] συνιδόντες οὖν οἱ δυνατοὶ τήν τε στάσιν ἤδη δυσκαθαίρετον ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν οὖσαν καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων κίνδυνον ἐπὶ πρώτους αὐτοὺς ἀφιξόμενον ἀπεσκευάζοντο τὰς αἰτίας, καὶ πρέσβεις οὓς μὲν πρὸς Φλῶρον ἔπεμπον, ὧν ἦρχεν υἱὸς Ἀνανίου Σίμων, οὓς δὲ πρὸς Ἀγρίππαν, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν ἐπίσημοι Σαῦλός τε καὶ Ἀντίπας καὶ Κοστόβαρος προσήκοντες τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ γένος. [419] ἐδέοντο δὲ ἀμφοτέρων ἀναβῆναι μετὰ δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ πρὶν γενέσθαι δυσκαθαίρετον ἐπικόψαι τὴν στάσιν. [420] Φλώρῳ μὲν οὖν δεινὸν εὐαγγέλιον ἦν, καὶ προῃρημένος ἐξάπτειν τὸν πόλεμον οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς: [421] Ἀγρίππας δὲ κηδόμενος ἐπίσης τῶν τε ἀφισταμένων καὶ πρὸς οὓς ὁ πόλεμος ἠγείρετο, βουλόμενός τε Ῥωμαίοις μὲν Ἰουδαίους σώζεσθαι, Ἰουδαίοις δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὴν μητρόπολιν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἑαυτῷ λυσιτελήσειν τὴν ταραχὴν ἐπιστάμενος, ἔπεμπεν τοὺς ἐπαμυνοῦντας τῷ δήμῳ δισχιλίους ἱππεῖς, Αὐρανίτας τε καὶ Βαταναίους καὶ Τραχωνίτας, ὑπὸ Δαρείῳ μὲν ἱππάρχῃ, στρατηγῷ δὲ τῷ Ἰακίμου Φιλίππῳ.

4. And as they said these things, they produced those priests that were skillful in the customs of their country, who made the report that all their forefathers had received the sacrifices from foreign nations. But still not one of the innovators would hearken to what was said; nay, those that ministered about the temple would not attend their Divine service, but were preparing matters for beginning the war. So the men of power perceiving that the sedition was too hard for them to subdue, and that the danger which would arise from the Romans would come upon them first of all, endeavored to save themselves, and sent ambassadors, some to Florus, the chief of which was Simon the son of Ananias; and others to Agrippa, among whom the most eminent were Saul, and Antipas, and Costobarus, who were of the king's kindred; and they desired of them both that they would come with an army to the city, and cut off the seditious before it should be too hard to be subdued. Now this terrible message was good news to Florus; and because his design was to have a war kindled, he gave the ambassadors no answer at all. But Agrippa was equally solicitous for those that were revolting, and for those against whom the war was to be made, and was desirous to preserve the Jews for the Romans, and the temple and metropolis for the Jews; he was also sensible that it was not for his own advantage that the disturbances should proceed; so he sent three thousand horsemen to the

assistance of the people out of Auranitis, and Batanea, and Trachonitis, and these under Darius, the master of his horse, and Philip the son of Jacimus, the general of his army.

(5) [422] Τούτοις θαρσήσαντες οἱ δυνατοὶ σὺν τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ πᾶν ὅσον τοῦ πλήθους εἰρήνην ἠγάπα τὴν ἄνω καταλαμβάνονται πόλιν: τῆς κάτω γὰρ τὸ στασιάζον ἐκράτει καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ. [423] χερμάσιν μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῖς ἐκηβόλοις ἀδιαλείπτως ἐχρῶντο, καὶ συνεχεῖς ἦσαν βελῶν ἀφέσεις ἐξ ἑκατέρων τῶν κλιμάτων: ἔστιν δ' ὅτε καὶ κατὰ λόχους ἐκτρέχοντες συστάδην ἐμάχοντο, τόλμαις μὲν οἱ στασιασταὶ προέχοντες, ἐμπειρίᾳ δὲ οἱ βασιλικοί. [424] καὶ τούτοις μὲν ἦν ἀγὼν τοῦ ἱεροῦ κρατῆσαι μάλιστα καὶ τοὺς μιαίνοντας τὸν ναὸν ἐξελάσαι, τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον στασιασταῖς πρὸς οἷς ἔσχον καὶ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν προσλαβεῖν. ἑπτὰ μὲν οὖν ἡμέραις συχνὸς ἀμφοτέρων φόνος ἐγίνετο, καὶ οὐδέτεροι τοῦ καταληφθέντος μέρους εἶκον.

5. Upon this the men of power, with the high priests, as also all the part of the multitude that were desirous of peace, took courage, and seized upon the upper city [Mount Sion;] for the seditious part had the lower city and the temple in their power; so they made use of stones and slings perpetually against one another, and threw darts continually on both sides; and sometimes it happened that they made incursions by troops, and fought it out hand to hand, while the seditious were superior in boldness, but the king's soldiers in skill. These last strove chiefly to gain the temple, and to drive those out of it who profaned it; as did the seditious, with Eleazar, besides what they had already, labor to gain the upper city. Thus were there perpetual slaughters on both sides for seven days' time; but neither side would yield up the parts they had seized on.

(6) [425] Τῇ δ' ἑξῆς τῆς τῶν ξυλοφορίων ἑορτῆς οὔσης, ἐν ᾗ πᾶσιν ἔθος ἦν ὕλην τῷ βωμῷ προσφέρειν, ὅπως μήποτε τροφὴ τῷ πυρὶ λείποι, διαμένει γὰρ ἄσβεστον ἀεί, τοὺς μὲν διαφόρους τῆς θρησκείας ἐξέκλεισαν, τῷ δ' ἀσθενεῖ λαῷ συνεισρυέντας πολλοὺς τῶν σικαρίων, οὕτως γὰρ ἐκάλουν τοὺς λῃστὰς ἔχοντας ὑπὸ τοῖς κόλποις ξίφη, προσλαβόντες θαρραλεώτερον ἥπτοντο τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως. [426] ἠττῶντο δ' οἱ βασιλικοὶ πλήθει τε καὶ τόλμῃ, καὶ βιασαμένοις εἶκον ἐκ τῆς ἄνω πόλεως. οἱ δὲ ἐπιπεσόντες τήν τε Ἀνανίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως οἰκίαν καὶ τὰ Ἀγρίππα καὶ Βερνίκης ὑποπιμπρᾶσιν βασίλεια: [427] μεθ' ἃ τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα ἔφερον ἀφανίσαι σπεύδοντες τὰ συμβόλαια τῶν δεδανεικότων καὶ τὰς εἰσπράξεις ἀποκόψαι τῶν χρεῶν, ὅπως αὐτοί τε πλῆθος προσλάβωσιν τῶν ὠφεληθέντων καὶ μετ' ἀδείας τοῖς εὐπόροις ἐπαναστήσωσι τοὺς ἀπόρους. φυγόντων δὲ τῶν πρὸς τῷ γραμματοφυλακείῳ τὸ πῦρ ἐνίεσαν. [428] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ νεῦρα τῆς πόλεως καταφλέξαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐχώρουν, ἔνθα δὴ τῶν

δυνατῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρχιερέων οἱ μὲν εἰς τοὺς ὑπονόμους καταδύντες διελάνθανον, [429] οἱ δὲ σὺν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς εἰς τὴν ἀνωτέρω καταφυγόντες αὐλὴν ταχέως ἀπέκλεισαν τὰς θύρας, σὺν οἷς Ἀνανίας ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἐζεκίας τε ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ πρεσβεύσαντες πρὸς Ἀγρίππαν ἦσαν. τότε μὲν οὖν τῇ νίκῃ καὶ τοῖς ἐμπρησθεῖσιν ἀρκεσθέντες ἀνεπαύσαντο.

6. Now the next day was the festival of Xylophory; upon which the custom was for every one to bring wood for the altar [that there might never be a want of fuel for that fire which was unquenchable and always burning]. Upon that day they excluded the opposite party from the observation of this part of religion. And when they had joined to themselves many of the Sicarii, who crowded in among the weaker people, [that was the name for such robbers as had under their bosoms swords called Sicae,] they grew bolder, and carried their undertaking further; insomuch that the king's soldiers were overpowered by their multitude and boldness; and so they gave way, and were driven out of the upper city by force. The others then set fire to the house of Ananias the high priest, and to the palaces of Agrippa and Bernice; after which they carried the fire to the place where the archives were reposited, and made haste to burn the contracts belonging to their creditors, and thereby to dissolve their obligations for paying their debts; and this was done in order to gain the multitude of those who had been debtors, and that they might persuade the poorer sort to join in their insurrection with safety against the more wealthy; so the keepers of the records fled away, and the rest set fire to them. And when they had thus burnt down the nerves of the city, they fell upon their enemies; at which time some of the men of power, and of the high priests, went into the vaults under ground, and concealed themselves, while others fled with the king's soldiers to the upper palace, and shut the gates immediately; among whom were Ananias the high priest, and the ambassadors that had been sent to Agrippa. And now the seditious were contented with the victory they had gotten, and the buildings they had burnt down, and proceeded no further.

(7) [430] Τῇ δ' ἑξῆς, πεντεκαιδεκάτη δ' ἦν Λώου μηνός, ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ φρουροὺς δυσὶν ἡμέραις πολιορκήσαντες αὐτούς τε εἷλον καὶ κατέσφαξαν καὶ τὸ φρούριον ἐνέπρησαν. [431] ἔπειτα μετέβαινον εἰς τὴν αὐλήν, εἰς ἣν οἱ βασιλικοὶ κατέφυγον, καὶ διανείμαντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη τῶν τειχῶν ἐπειρῶντο. τῶν δ' ἔνδον πρὸς ἐκδρομὴν μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐθάρρει διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐφεστώτων, διιστάμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ θωράκια καὶ τοὺς πύργους ἔβαλλον τοὺς προσιόντας, καὶ συχνοὶ τῶν λῃστῶν ὑπὸ τοῖς τείχεσιν ἔπιπτον. [432] οὔτε δὲ νυκτὸς οὔτε ἡμέρας διέλειπεν ἡ συμβολὴ τῶν μὲν

στασιαστῶν ἀπαγορεύσειν τοὺς ἔνδον οἰομένων ἐνδείᾳ τροφῆς, τῶν δ᾽ ἔνδοθεν καμάτῳ τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας.

7. But on the next day, which was the fifteenth of the month Lous, [Ab,] they made an assault upon Antonia, and besieged the garrison which was in it two days, and then took the garrison, and slew them, and set the citadel on fire; after which they marched to the palace, whither the king's soldiers were fled, and parted themselves into four bodies, and made an attack upon the walls. As for those that were within it, no one had the courage to sally out, because those that assaulted them were so numerous; but they distributed themselves into the breast-works and turrets, and shot at the besiegers, whereby many of the robbers fell under the walls; nor did they cease to fight one with another either by night or by day, while the seditious supposed that those within would grow weary for want of food, and those without supposed the others would do the like by the tediousness of the siege.

(8) [433] Κἀν τούτῳ Μανάημός τις, υἱὸς Ἰούδα τοῦ καλουμένου Γαλιλαίου, σοφιστὴς δεινότατος, ὁ καὶ ἐπὶ Κυρινίου ποτὲ Ἰουδαίους ὀνειδίσας ὅτι Ῥωμαίοις ὑπετάσσοντο μετὰ τὸν θεόν, ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς γνωρίμους ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Μασάδαν, [434] ἔνθα τὴν Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως ὁπλοθήκην ἀναρρήξας καὶ πρὸς τοῖς δημόταις ἑτέρους λῃστὰς καθοπλίσας τούτοις τε χρώμενος δορυφόροις, οἷα δὴ βασιλεὺς ἐπάνεισιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ γενόμενος ἡγεμὼν τῆς στάσεως διέτασσεν τὴν πολιορκίαν. [435] ἀπορία δ᾽ ἦν ὀργάνων, καὶ φανερῶς ὑπορύττειν τὸ τεῖχος οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν ἄνωθεν βαλλομένους: ὑπόνομον δὴ πόρρωθεν ἐφ᾽ ἕνα τῶν πύργων ὑπορύξαντες ἀνεκρήμνισαν αὐτόν, ἔπειτα τὴν ἀνέχουσαν ὕλην ἐμπρήσαντες ἐξῆλθον. [436] ὑποκαέντων δὲ τῶν στηριγμάτων ὁ μὲν πύργος ἐξαίφνης κατασείεται, τεῖχος δ᾽ ἕτερον ἔνδοθεν ἀνῳκοδομημένον διεφάνη: τὴν γὰρ ἐπιβουλὴν αὐτῶν προαισθόμενοι, τάχα καὶ τοῦ πύργου κινηθέντος ὡς ὑπωρύττετο, δεύτερον ἑαυτοῖς ἔρυμα κατεσκεύασαν. [437] πρὸς ὃ τῶν ἀδοκήτως ἰδόντων καὶ κρατεῖν ἤδη πεπεισμένων κατάπληξις ἦν. οἱ δὲ ἔνδοθεν πρός τε τὸν Μανάημον καὶ τοὺς ἐξάρχοντας τῆς στάσεως ἔπεμπον ἀξιοῦντες ἐξελθεῖν ὑπόσπονδοι, καὶ δοθὲν μόνοις τοῖς βασιλικοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις οἱ μὲν ἐξῄεσαν. [438] ἀθυμία δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καταλειφθέντας μόνους ὑπέλαβεν: οὔτε γὰρ βιάσασθαι τοσοῦτον πλῆθος ἐδύναντο καὶ τὸ δεξιὰς αἰτεῖν ὄνειδος ὑπελάμβανον, πρὸς τῷ μηδὲ πιστεύειν εἰ διδοῖτο. [439] καταλιπόντες δὴ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὡς εὐάλωτον ἐπὶ τοὺς βασιλικοὺς ἀνέφυγον πύργους, τόν τε Ἱππικὸν καλούμενον καὶ Φασάηλον καὶ Μαριάμμην. [440] οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Μανάημον εἰσπεσόντες ὅθεν οἱ στρατιῶται διέφυγον ὅσους τε αὐτῶν κατελάμβανον μὴ φθάσαντας ἐκδραμεῖν διέφθειραν, καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς

διαρπάσαντες ἐνέπρησαν τὸ στρατόπεδον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἕκτῃ Γορπιαίου μηνὸς ἐπράχθη.

8. In the mean time, one Manahem, the son of Judas, that was called the Galilean, [who was a very cunning sophister, and had formerly reproached the Jews under Cyrenius, that after God they were subject to the Romans,] took some of the men of note with him, and retired to Masada, where he broke open king Herod's armory, and gave arms not only to his own people, but to other robbers also. These he made use of for a guard, and returned in the state of a king to Jerusalem; he became the leader of the sedition, and gave orders for continuing the siege; but they wanted proper instruments, and it was not practicable to undermine the wall, because the darts came down upon them from above. But still they dug a mine from a great distance under one of the towers, and made it totter; and having done that, they set on fire what was combustible, and left it; and when the foundations were burnt below, the tower fell down suddenly. Yet did they then meet with another wall that had been built within, for the besieged were sensible beforehand of what they were doing, and probably the tower shook as it was undermining; so they provided themselves of another fortification; which when the besiegers unexpectedly saw, while they thought they had already gained the place, they were under some consternation. However, those that were within sent to Manahem, and to the other leaders of the sedition, and desired they might go out upon a capitulation: this was granted to the king's soldiers and their own countrymen only, who went out accordingly; but the Romans that were left alone were greatly dejected, for they were not able to force their way through such a multitude; and to desire them to give them their right hand for their security, they thought it would be a reproach to them; and besides, if they should give it them, they durst not depend upon it; so they deserted their camp, as easily taken, and ran away to the royal towers, — that called Hippicus, that called Phasaelus, and that called Mariamne. But Manahem and his party fell upon the place whence the soldiers were fled, and slew as many of them as they could catch, before they got up to the towers, and plundered what they left behind them, and set fire to their camp. This was executed on the sixth day of the month Gorpieus [Elul].

(9) [441] Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ὅ τε ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀνανίας περὶ τὸν τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς εὔριπον διαλανθάνων ἁλίσκεται καὶ πρὸς τῶν ληστῶν ἀναιρεῖται σὺν Ἐζεκίᾳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, καὶ τοὺς πύργους περισχόντες οἱ στασιασταὶ παρεφύλαττον, μή τις τῶν στρατιωτῶν διαφύγοι. [442] τὸν δὲ Μανάημον ἥ τε τῶν ὀχυρῶν καταστροφὴ χωρίων καὶ ὁ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Ἀνανίου θάνατος ἐτύφωσεν εἰς ὠμότητα καὶ μηδένα νομίζων ἔχειν ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀντίπαλον ἀφόρητος ἦν

τύραννος. [443] ἐπανίστανται δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον αὐτῷ, καὶ λόγον ἀλλήλοις δόντες, ὡς οὐ χρὴ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστάντας δι᾽ ἐλευθερίας πόθον καταπροέσθαι ταύτην οἰκείῳ δήμῳ καὶ δεσπότην φέρειν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν πράττοι βίαιον, ἀλλ᾽ οὖν ἑαυτῶν ταπεινότερον: εἰ γὰρ καὶ δέοι τινὰ τῶν ὅλων ἀφηγεῖσθαι, παντὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκείνῳ προσήκειν, συντίθενται καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπεχείρουν αὐτῷ: [444] σοβαρὸς γὰρ ἀναβεβήκει προσκυνήσων ἐσθῆτί τε βασιλικῇ κεκοσμημένος καὶ τοὺς ζηλωτὰς ἐνόπλους ἐφελκόμενος. [445] ὡς δ᾽ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ὥρμησαν, ὅ τε λοιπὸς δῆμος ἐπὶ τὰς ὀργὰς λίθους ἁρπάσαντες τὸν σοφιστὴν ἔβαλλον, οἰόμενοι τούτου καταλυθέντος διατρέψειν ὅλην τὴν στάσιν, [446] πρὸς ὀλίγον οἱ περὶ τὸν Μανάημον ἀντισχόντες ὡς εἶδον πᾶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς τὸ πλῆθος ὁρμῆσαν, ἔφυγον ὅπη τις ἴσχυσεν, καὶ φόνος μὲν ἦν τῶν καταληφθέντων, ἔρευνα δὲ τῶν ἀποκρυπτομένων. [447] καὶ διεσώθησαν ὀλίγοι λάθρα διαδράντες εἰς Μασάδαν, σὺν οἷς Ἐλεάζαρος υἱὸς Ἰαείρου, προσήκων τῷ Μαναήμῳ κατὰ γένος, ὃς ὕστερον ἐτυράννησεν τῆς Μασάδας. [448] αὐτόν τε τὸν Μανάημον εἰς τὸν καλούμενον Ὀφλᾶν συμφυγόντα κἀκεῖ ταπεινῶς ὑπολανθάνοντα ζωγρήσαντες εἰς τὸ φανερὸν ἐξείλκυσαν καὶ πολλαῖς αἰκισάμενοι βασάνοις ἀνεῖλον, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνας τόν τε ἐπισημότατον τῆς τυραννίδος ὑπηρέτην Ἀψάλωμον.

9. But on the next day the high priest was caught where he had concealed himself in an aqueduct; he was slain, together with Hezekiah his brother, by the robbers: hereupon the seditious besieged the towers, and kept them guarded, lest any one of the soldiers should escape. Now the overthrow of the places of strength, and the death of the high priest Ananias, so puffed up Manahem, that he became barbarously cruel; and as he thought he had no antagonist to dispute the management of affairs with him, he was no better than an insupportable tyrant; but Eleazar and his party, when words had passed between them, how it was not proper when they revolted from the Romans, out of the desire of liberty, to betray that liberty to any of their own people, and to bear a lord, who, though he should be guilty of no violence, was yet meaner than themselves; as also, that in case they were obliged to set some one over their public affairs, it was fitter they should give that privilege to any one rather than to him; they made an assault upon him in the temple; for he went up thither to worship in a pompous manner, and adorned with royal garments, and had his followers with him in their armor. But Eleazar and his party fell violently upon him, as did also the rest of the people; and taking up stones to attack him withal, they threw them at the sophister, and thought, that if he were once ruined, the entire sedition would fall to the ground. Now Manahem and his party made resistance for a while; but when they perceived that the whole multitude were falling upon them, they fled

which way every one was able; those that were caught were slain, and those that hid themselves were searched for. A few there were of them who privately escaped to Masada, among whom was Eleazar, the son of Jairus, who was of kin to Manahem, and acted the part of a tyrant at Masada afterward. As for Manahem himself, he ran away to the place called Ophla, and there lay skulking in private; but they took him alive, and drew him out before them all; they then tortured him with many sorts of torments, and after all slew him, as they did by those that were captains under him also, and particularly by the principal instrument of his tyranny, whose name was Apsalom.

(10) [449] Ὁ μὲν οὖν δῆμος, ὡς ἔφην, εἰς ταῦτα συνήργησεν ἐλπίζων τινὰ τῆς ὅλης στάσεως διόρθωσιν: οἱ δ᾽ οὐ καταλῦσαι τὸν πόλεμον σπεύδοντες, ἀλλ᾽ ἀδεέστερον πολεμεῖν Μανάημον ἀνῃρήκεσαν. [450] ἀμέλει πολλὰ τοῦ δήμου τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀνεῖναι τὴν πολιορκίαν παρακαλοῦντος, οἱ δὲ προσέκειντο χαλεπώτερον, μέχρι μηκέτι ἀντέχοντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Μετίλιον, οὗτος γὰρ ἦν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔπαρχος, διαπέμπονται πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον ἐξαιτούμενοι μόνας τὰς ψυχὰς ὑποσπόνδους, τὰ δ᾽ ὅπλα καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν κτῆσιν παραδώσειν λέγοντες. [451] οἱ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἱκεσίαν ἁρπάσαντες ἀνέπεμψαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς Γωρίονά τε Νικομήδους υἱὸν καὶ Ἀνανίαν Σαδούκι καὶ Ἰούδαν Ἰωνάθου δεξιάν τε καὶ ὅρκους δώσοντας. ὧν γενομένων κατῆγεν τοὺς στρατιώτας ὁ Μετίλιος. [452] οἱ δὲ μέχρι μὲν ἦσαν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις, οὔτ᾽ ἐπεχείρει τις τῶν στασιαστῶν αὐτοῖς οὔτ᾽ ἐνέφαινεν ἐπιβουλήν: ὡς δὲ κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἅπαντες ἀπέθεντο τοὺς θυρεοὺς καὶ τὰ ξίφη καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι ὑποπτεύοντες ἀνεχώρουν, [453] ὥρμησαν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον καὶ περισχόντες ἀνῄρουν οὔτε ἀμυνομένους οὔτε ἱκετεύοντας, μόνας δὲ τὰς συνθήκας καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους ἀναβοῶντας. [454] οἱ μὲν οὖν οὕτως ὠμῶς ἀπεσφάγησαν ἅπαντες πλὴν Μετιλίου, τοῦτον γὰρ ἱκετεύσαντα καὶ μέχρι περιτομῆς ἰουδαίσειν ὑποσχόμενον διέσωσαν μόνον, τὸ δὲ πάθος Ῥωμαίοις μὲν ἦν κοῦφον, ἐκ γὰρ ἁπλέτου δυνάμεως ἀπαναλώθησαν ὀλίγοι, Ἰουδαίων δὲ προοίμιον ἀλώσεως ἔδοξεν. [455] καὶ κατιδόντες ἀνηκέστους μὲν ἤδη τὰς αἰτίας τοῦ πολέμου, τὴν δὲ πόλιν τηλικούτῳ μιάσματι πεφυρμένην, ἐξ οὗ δαιμόνιόν τι μήνιμα προσδοκᾶν εἰκὸς ἦν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὴν ἐκ Ῥωμαίων ἄμυναν, ἐπένθουν δημοσίᾳ, καὶ πλήρης μὲν κατηφείας ἦν ἡ πόλις, ἕκαστος δὲ τῶν μετρίων ὡς αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ τῶν στασιαστῶν δίκας δώσων τετάρακτο. [456] καὶ γὰρ δὴ σαββάτῳ συνέβη πραχθῆναι τὸν φόνον, ἐν ᾧ διὰ τὴν θρησκείαν καὶ τῶν ὁσίων ἔργων ἔχουσιν ἐκεχειρίαν.

10. And, as I said, so far truly the people assisted them, while they hoped this might afford some amendment to the seditious practices; but the others were not in haste to put an end to the war, but hoped to prosecute it with less danger, now they had slain Manahem. It is true, that when the people earnestly desired that

they would leave off besieging the soldiers, they were the more earnest in pressing it forward, and this till Metilius, who was the Roman general, sent to Eleazar, and desired that they would give them security to spare their lives only; but agreed to deliver up their arms, and what else they had with them. The others readily complied with their petition, sent to them Gorion, the son of Nicodemus, and Ananias, the son of Sadduk, and Judas, the son of Jonathan, that they might give them the security Of their right hands, and of their oaths; after which Metilius brought down his soldiers; which soldiers, while they were in arms, were not meddled with by any of the seditious, nor was there any appearance of treachery; but as soon as, according to the articles of capitulation, they had all laid down their shields and their swords, and were under no further suspicion of any harm, but were going away, Eleazar's men attacked them after a violent manner, and encompassed them round, and slew them, while they neither defended themselves, nor entreated for mercy, but only cried out upon the breach of their articles of capitulation and their oaths. And thus were all these men barbarously murdered, excepting Metilius; for when he entreated for mercy, and promised that he would turn Jew, and be circumcised, they saved him alive, but none else. This loss to the Romans was but light, there being no more than a few slain out of an immense army; but still it appeared to be a prelude to the Jews' own destruction, while men made public lamentation when they saw that such occasions were afforded for a war as were incurable; that the city was all over polluted with such abominations, from which it was but reasonable to expect some vengeance, even though they should escape revenge from the Romans; so that the city was filled with sadness, and every one of the moderate men in it were under great disturbance, as likely themselves to undergo punishment for the wickedness of the seditious; for indeed it so happened that this murder was perpetrated on the sabbath day, on which day the Jews have a respite from their works on account of Divine worship.

XVIII

CHAPTER 18.

The Calamities And Slaughters That Came Upon The Jews.

(1) [457] Τῆς δ' αὐτῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ὥρας ὥσπερ ἐκ δαιμονίου προνοίας ἀνῄρουν Καισαρεῖς τοὺς παρ' ἑαυτοῖς Ἰουδαίους, ὡς ὑπὸ μίαν ὥραν ἀποσφαγῆναι μὲν ὑπὲρ δισμυρίους, κενωθῆναι δὲ πᾶσαν Ἰουδαίων τὴν Καισάρειαν: καὶ γὰρ τοὺς διαφεύγοντας ὁ Φλῶρος συλλαβὼν κατῆγεν δεσμώτας εἰς τὰ νεώρια. [458] πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Καισαρείας πληγὴν ὅλον τὸ ἔθνος ἐξαγριοῦται, καὶ διαμερισθέντες

τάς τε κώμας τῶν Σύρων καὶ τὰς προσεχούσας ἐπόρθουν πόλεις, Φιλαδέλφειάν τε καὶ Ἐσεβωνῖτιν καὶ Γέρασα καὶ Πέλλαν καὶ Σκυθόπολιν. [459] ἔπειτα Γαδάροις καὶ Ἵππῳ καὶ τῇ Γαυλανίτιδι προσπεσόντες τὰ μὲν καταστρεψάμενοι, τὰ δ' ὑποπρήσαντες ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ Κάδασα τὴν Τυρίων καὶ Πτολεμαίδα Γάβαν τε καὶ Καισάρειαν. [460] ἀντέσχον δὲ οὔτε Σεβαστὴ ταῖς ὁρμαῖς αὐτῶν οὔτε Ἀσκάλων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ταύταις πυρποληθείσαις Ἀνθηδόνα καὶ Γάζαν κατέσκαπτον. πολλαὶ δὲ καθ' ἑκάστην τούτων τῶν πόλεων ἀνηρπάζοντο κῶμαι, καὶ τῶν ἁλισκομένων ἀνδρῶν φόνος ἦν ἄπειρος.

1. Now the people of Cesarea had slain the Jews that were among them on the very same day and hour [when the soldiers were slain], which one would think must have come to pass by the direction of Providence; insomuch that in one hour's time above twenty thousand Jews were killed, and all Cesarea was emptied of its Jewish inhabitants; for Florus caught such as ran away, and sent them in bonds to the galleys. Upon which stroke that the Jews received at Cesarea, the whole nation was greatly enraged; so they divided themselves into several parties, and laid waste the villages of the Syrians, and their neighboring cities, Philadelphia, and Sebonitis, and Gerasa, and Pella, and Scythopolis, and after them Gadara, and Hippos; and falling upon Gaulonitis, some cities they destroyed there, and some they set on fire, and then went to Kedasa, belonging to the Tyrians, and to Ptolemais, and to Gaba, and to Cesarea; nor was either Sebaste [Samaria] or Askelon able to oppose the violence with which they were attacked; and when they had burnt these to the ground; they entirely demolished Anthedon and Gaza; many also of the villages that were about every one of those cities were plundered, and an immense slaughter was made of the men who were caught in them.

(2) [461] Οὐ μὴν οἱ Σύροι τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔλαττον πλῆθος ἀνῄρουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν λαμβανομένους ἀπέσφαττον οὐ μόνον κατὰ μῖσος, ὡς πρότερον, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τὸν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς κίνδυνον φθάνοντες. [462] δεινὴ δὲ ὅλην τὴν Συρίαν ἐπεῖχεν ταραχή, καὶ πᾶσα πόλις εἰς δύο διῄρητο στρατόπεδα, σωτηρία δὲ τοῖς ἑτέροις ἦν τὸ τοὺς ἑτέρους φθάσαι. [463] καὶ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας ἐν αἵματι διῆγον, τὰς δὲ νύκτας δέει χαλεπωτέρας: καὶ γὰρ ἀπεσκευάσθαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους δοκοῦντες ἕκαστοι τοὺς ἰουδαΐζοντας εἶχον ἐν ὑποψίᾳ, καὶ τὸ παρ' ἑκάστοις ἀμφίβολον οὔτε ἀνελεῖν τις προχείρως ὑπέμενεν καὶ μεμιγμένον ὡς βεβαίως ἀλλόφυλον ἐφοβεῖτο. [464] προεκαλεῖτο δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς σφαγὰς τῶν διαφόρων καὶ τοὺς πάλαι πραοτάτους πάνυ δοκοῦντας ἡ πλεονεξία: τὰς γὰρ οὐσίας τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων ἀδεῶς διήρπαζον καὶ καθάπερ ἐκ παρατάξεως τὰ σκῦλα τῶν ἀνῃρημένων εἰς τοὺς σφετέρους οἴκους μετέφερον, ἔνδοξός τε ἦν ὁ πλεῖστα κερδάνας ὡς κατισχύσας πλειόνων. [465] ἦν δὲ ἰδεῖν τὰς πόλεις μεστὰς ἀτάφων

σωμάτων καὶ νεκροὺς ἅμα νηπίοις γέροντας ἐρριμμένους γύναιά τε μηδὲ τῆς ἐπ᾽ αἰδοῖ σκέπης μετειληφότα, καὶ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν ἐπαρχίαν μεστὴν ἀδιηγήτων συμφορῶν, μείζονα δὲ τῶν ἑκάστοτε τολμωμένων τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπειλουμένοις ἀνάτασιν.

2. However, the Syrians were even with the Jews in the multitude of the men whom they slew; for they killed those whom they caught in their cities, and that not only out of the hatred they bare them, as formerly, but to prevent the danger under which they were from them; so that the disorders in all Syria were terrible, and every city was divided into two armies, encamped one against another, and the preservation of the one party was in the destruction of the other; so the day time was spent in shedding of blood, and the night in fear, which was of the two the more terrible; for when the Syrians thought they had ruined the Jews, they had the Judaizers in suspicion also; and as each side did not care to slay those whom they only suspected on the other, so did they greatly fear them when they were mingled with the other, as if they were certainly foreigners. Moreover, greediness of gain was a provocation to kill the opposite party, even to such as had of old appeared very mild and gentle towards them; for they without fear plundered the effects of the slain, and carried off the spoils of those whom they slew to their own houses, as if they had been gained in a set battle; and he was esteemed a man of honor who got the greatest share, as having prevailed over the greatest number of his enemies. It was then common to see cities filled with dead bodies, still lying unburied, and those of old men, mixed with infants, all dead, and scattered about together; women also lay amongst them, without any covering for their nakedness: you might then see the whole province full of inexpressible calamities, while the dread of still more barbarous practices which were threatened was every where greater than what had been already perpetrated.

(3) [466] Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τούτων Ἰουδαίοις πρὸς τὸ ἀλλόφυλον ἦσαν προσβολαί, κατατρέχοντες δὲ εἰς Σκυθόπολιν τοὺς παρ᾽ ἐκείνοις Ἰουδαίους ἐπείρασαν πολεμίους: ταξάμενοι γὰρ μετὰ τῶν Σκυθοπολιτῶν καὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀσφαλείας ἐν δευτέρῳ θέμενοι τὴν συγγένειαν ὁμόσε τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις ἐχώρουν. ὑπωπτεύθη δ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ λίαν πρόθυμον: [467] οἱ γοῦν Σκυθοπολῖται δείσαντες μὴ νύκτωρ ἐπιχειρήσωσι τῇ πόλει καὶ μετὰ μεγάλης αὐτῶν συμφορᾶς τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀπολογήσωνται περὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως, ἐκέλευον αὐτούς, εἰ βούλονται τὴν ὁμόνοιαν βεβαιῶσαι καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοεθνεῖς πιστὸν ἐπιδείξασθαι, μεταβαίνειν ἅμα ταῖς γενεαῖς εἰς τὸ ἄλσος. [468] τῶν δὲ ποιησάντων τὸ προσταχθὲν χωρὶς ὑποψίας. δύο μὲν ἡμέρας ἠρέμησαν οἱ Σκυθοπολῖται τὴν πίστιν αὐτῶν δελεάζοντες, τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ νυκτὶ παρατηρήσαντες τοὺς μὲν

ἀφυλάκτους οὓς δὲ κοιμωμένους ἅπαντας ἀπέσφαξαν ὄντας τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὑπὲρ μυρίους καὶ τρισχιλίους, τὰς δὲ κτήσεις διήρπασαν ἁπάντων.

3. And thus far the conflict had been between Jews and foreigners; but when they made excursions to Scythopolis, they found Jew that acted as enemies; for as they stood in battle-array with those of Scythopolis, and preferred their own safety before their relation to us, they fought against their own countrymen; nay, their alacrity was so very great, that those of Scythopolis suspected them. These were afraid, therefore, lest they should make an assault upon the city in the night time, and, to their great misfortune, should thereby make an apology for themselves to their own people for their revolt from them. So they commanded them, that in case they would confirm their agreement and demonstrate their fidelity to them, who were of a different nation, they should go out of the city, with their families to a neighboring grove; and when they had done as they were commanded, without suspecting any thing, the people of Scythopolis lay still for the interval of two days, to tempt them to be secure; but on the third night they watched their opportunity, and cut all their throats, some as they lay unguarded, and some as they lay asleep. The number that was slain was above thirteen thousand, and then they plundered them of all that they had.

(4) [469] Ἄξιον δ' ἀφηγήσασθαι καὶ τὸ Σίμωνος πάθος, ὃς υἱὸς μὲν ἦν Σαούλου τινὸς τῶν οὐκ ἀσήμων, ῥώμῃ δὲ σώματος καὶ τόλμῃ διαφέρων ἐπὶ κακῷ τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἀμφοτέροις κατεχρήσατο: [470] προιὼν γοῦν ὀσημέραι πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνῄρει τῶν πρὸς τῇ Σκυθοπόλει Ἰουδαίων, τρεπόμενος δὲ πολλάκις αὐτοὺς ἅπαντας μόνος ἦν ῥοπὴ τῆς παρατάξεως. [471] περιέρχεται δ' αὐτὸν ἀξία ποινὴ τοῦ συγγενικοῦ φόνου: ἐπεὶ γὰρ περισχόντες οἱ Σκυθοπολῖται κατηκόντιζον αὐτοὺς ἀνὰ τὸ ἄλσος, σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἐπ' οὐδένα μὲν ὥρμησεν τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ γὰρ ἑώρα τὸ πλῆθος ἀνήνυτον, ἀναβοήσας δὲ μάλα ἐκπαθῶς "ἄξιά γε ὧν ἔδρασα πάσχω, [472] Σκυθοπολῖται, καθ' ὑμῶν, οἳ τοσούτῳ φόνῳ συγγενῶν τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὔνοιαν ἐπιστωσάμεθα. τοιγαροῦν οἷς ἄπιστον μὲν εὐλόγως εὕρηται τὸ ἀλλόφυλον, ἠσέβηται δὲ [εἰς ἔσχατα] τὸ οἰκεῖον, θνήσκωμεν ὡς ἐναγεῖς χερσὶν ἰδίαις: οὐ γὰρ πρέπον ἐν ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων. [473] τὸ αὐτὸ δ' ἂν εἴη μοι καὶ ποινὴ τοῦ μιάσματος ἀξία καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρείαν ἔπαινος, ἵνα μηδεὶς τῶν ἐχθρῶν τὴν ἐμὴν αὐχήσῃ σφαγὴν μηδ' ἐπαλαζονεύσηται πεσόντι." [474] ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐλεοῦσιν ἅμα καὶ τεθυμωμένοις ὄμμασιν περισκέπτεται τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γενεάν: ἦν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ γυνὴ καὶ τέκνα καὶ γηραιοὶ γονεῖς. [475] ὁ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τὸν πατέρα τῆς πολιᾶς ἐπισπασάμενος διελαύνει τῷ ξίφει, μεθ' ὃν οὐκ ἄκουσαν τὴν μητέρα κἀπὶ τούτοις τήν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα, μόνον οὐχ ὑπαπαντῶντος ἑκάστου τῷ ξίφει καὶ σπεύδοντος φθάσαι τοὺς πολεμίους. [476] ὁ δὲ διελθὼν πᾶσαν τὴν γενεὰν καὶ περίοπτος ἐπιστὰς τοῖς σώμασιν τήν τε δεξιὰν ἀνατείνας,

ὡς μηδένα λαθεῖν, ὅλον εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σφαγὴν ἐβάπτισεν τὸ ξίφος, ἄξιος μὲν ἐλέους νεανίας δι᾽ ἀλκὴν σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς παράστημα, τῆς δὲ πρὸς ἀλλοφύλους πίστεως ἕνεκεν ἀκολούθοις πάθεσι χρησάμενος.

4. It will deserve our relation what befell Simon; he was the son of one Saul, a man of reputation among the Jews. This man was distinguished from the rest by the strength of his body, and the boldness of his conduct, although he abused them both to the mischieving of his countrymen; for he came every day and slew a great many of the Jews of Scythopolis, and he frequently put them to flight, and became himself alone the cause of his army's conquering. But a just punishment overtook him for the murders he had committed upon those of the same nation with him; for when the people of Scythopolis threw their darts at them in the grove, he drew his sword, but did not attack any of the enemy; for he saw that he could do nothing against such a multitude; but he cried out after a very moving manner, and said, "O you people of Scythopolis, I deservedly suffer for what I have done with relation to you, when I gave you such security of my fidelity to you, by slaying so many of those that were related to me. Wherefore we very justly experience the perfidiousness of foreigners, while we acted after a most wicked manner against our own nation. I will therefore die, polluted wretch as I am, by mine own hands; for it is not fit I should die by the hand of our enemies; and let the same action be to me both a punishment for my great crimes, and a testimony of my courage to my commendation, that so no one of our enemies may have it to brag of, that he it was that slew me, and no one may insult upon me as I fall." Now when he had said this, he looked round about him upon his family with eyes of commiseration and of rage [that family consisted of a wife and children, and his aged parents]; so, in the first place, he caught his father by his grey hairs, and ran his sword through him, and after him he did the same to his mother, who willingly received it; and after them he did the like to his wife and children, every one almost offering themselves to his sword, as desirous to prevent being slain by their enemies; so when he had gone over all his family, he stood upon their bodies to be seen by all, and stretching out his right hand, that his action might be observed by all, he sheathed his entire sword into his own bowels. This young man was to be pitied, on account of the strength of his body and the courage of his soul; but since he had assured foreigners of his fidelity [against his own countrymen], he suffered deservedly.

(5) [477] Πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐν Σκυθοπόλει φθορὰν αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις ἐπανίσταντο τοῖς καθ᾽ ἑαυτὴν Ἰουδαίοις ἑκάστη, καὶ πεντακοσίους μὲν ἐπὶ δισχιλίοις Ἀσκαλωνῖται, Πτολεμαεῖς δὲ δισχιλίους ἀνεῖλον ἔδησάν τ᾽ οὐκ ὀλίγους. [478] καὶ Τύριοι συχνοὺς μὲν διεχειρίσαντο, πλείστους δ᾽ αὐτῶν δεσμώτας ἐφρούρουν, Ἱππηνοί

τε καὶ Γαδαρεῖς ὁμοίως τοὺς μὲν θρασυτέρους ἀπεσκευάσαντο, τοὺς δὲ φοβεροὺς διὰ φυλακῆς εἶχον, αἵ τε λοιπαὶ πόλεις τῆς Συρίας, ὅπως ἑκάστη πρὸς τὸ Ἰουδαικὸν ἢ μίσους ἢ δέους εἶχον. [479] μόνοι δὲ Ἀντιοχεῖς καὶ Σιδώνιοι καὶ Ἀπαμεῖς ἐφείσαντο τῶν μετοικούντων καὶ οὔτε ἀνελεῖν τινας Ἰουδαίων ὑπέμειναν οὔτε δῆσαι, τάχα μὲν καὶ διὰ τὸ σφέτερον πλῆθος ὑπερορῶντες αὐτῶν πρὸς τὰ κινήματα, τὸ πλέον δὲ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖν οἴκτῳ πρὸς οὓς οὐδὲν ἑώρων νεωτερίζοντας. [480] Γερασηνοί τε οὔτε εἰς τοὺς ἐμμείναντας ἐπλημμέλησαν καὶ τοὺς ἐξελθεῖν ἐθελήσαντας προέπεμψαν μέχρι τῶν ὅρων.

5. Besides this murder at Scythopolis, the other cities rose up against the Jews that were among them; those of Askelon slew two thousand five hundred, and those of Ptolemais two thousand, and put not a few into bonds; those of Tyre also put a great number to death, but kept a greater number in prison; moreover, those of Hippos, and those of Gadara, did the like while they put to death the boldest of the Jews, but kept those of whom they were afraid in custody; as did the rest of the cities of Syria, according as they every one either hated them or were afraid of them; only the Antiochtans the Sidontans, and Apamians spared those that dwelt with them, and would not endure either to kill any of the Jews, or to put them in bonds. And perhaps they spared them, because their own number was so great that they despised their attempts. But I think the greatest part of this favor was owing to their commiseration of those whom they saw to make no innovations. As for the Gerasans, they did no harm to those that abode with them; and for those who had a mind to go away, they conducted them as far as their borders reached.

(6) [481] Συνέστη δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀγρίππα βασιλείαν ἐπιβουλὴ κατὰ Ἰουδαίων. αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐπεπόρευτο πρὸς Κέστιον Γάλλον εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, καταλέλειπτο δὲ διοικεῖν τὰ πράγματα τούτου τῶν ἑταίρων τις τοὔνομα Νόαρος, Σοαίμῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ προσήκων κατὰ γένος. [482] ἦκον δ’ ἐκ τῆς Βαταναίας ἑβδομήκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἄνδρες οἱ κατὰ γένος καὶ σύνεσιν τῶν πολιτῶν δοκιμώτατοι στρατιὰν αἰτοῦντες, ἵν’ εἴ τι γένοιτο κίνημα καὶ περὶ σφᾶς, ἔχοιεν ἀξιόχρεω φυλακὴν κωλύειν τοὺς ἐπανισταμένους. [483] τούτους ὁ Νόαρος ἐκπέμψας νύκτωρ τῶν βασιλικῶν τινας ὁπλιτῶν ἅπαντας ἀναιρεῖ, τολμήσας μὲν τοὔργον δίχα τῆς Ἀγρίππα γνώμης, διὰ δὲ φιλαργυρίαν ἄμετρον εἰς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους ἑλόμενος ἀσεβεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν διέφθειρεν: διετέλει τε ὠμῶς εἰς τὸ ἔθνος παρανομῶν, μέχρι πυθόμενος Ἀγρίππας ἀνελεῖν μὲν αὐτὸν ᾐδέσθη διὰ Σόαιμον, ἔπαυσεν δὲ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς. [484] οἱ δὲ στασιασταὶ καταλαβόμενοί τι φρούριον, ὃ καλεῖται μὲν Κύπρος, καθύπερθεν δ’ ἦν Ἰεριχοῦντος, τοὺς μὲν φρουροὺς ἀπέσφαξαν, τὰ δ’ ἐρύματα κατέρριψαν εἰς γῆν. [485] κατὰ δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας καὶ τῶν ἐν Μαχαιροῦντι Ἰουδαίων τὸ πλῆθος ἔπειθεν τοὺς φρουροῦντας Ῥωμαίους

ἐκλείπειν τὸ φρούριον καὶ παραδιδόναι σφίσιν. [486] οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐκ βίας ἀφαίρεσιν εὐλαβηθέντες συντίθενται πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκχωρήσειν ὑπόσπονδοι, καὶ λαβόντες τὰ πιστὰ παραδιδόασι τὸ φρούριον, ὅπερ φυλακῇ κρατυνάμενοι κατεῖχον οἱ Μαχαιρῖται.

6. There was also a plot laid against the Jews in Agrippa's kingdom; for he was himself gone to Cestius Gallus, to Antioch, but had left one of his companions, whose name was Noarus, to take care of the public affairs; which Noarus was of kin to king Sohemus. Now there came certain men seventy in number, out of Batanea, who were the most considerable for their families and prudence of the rest of the people; these desired to have an army put into their hands, that if any tumult should happen, they might have about them a guard sufficient to restrain such as might rise up against them. This Noarus sent out some of the king's armed men by night, and slew all those [seventy] men; which bold action he ventured upon without the consent of Agrippa, and was such a lover of money, that he chose to be so wicked to his own countrymen, though he brought ruin on the kingdom thereby; and thus cruelly did he treat that nation, and this contrary to the laws also, until Agrippa was informed of it, who did not indeed dare to put him to death, out of regard to Sohemus; but still he put an end to his procuratorship immediately. But as to the seditious, they took the citadel which was called Cypros, and was above Jericho, and cut the throats of the garrison, and utterly demolished the fortifications. This was about the same time that the multitude of the Jews that were at Machaerus persuaded the Romans who were in garrison to leave the place, and deliver it up to them. These Romans being in great fear, lest the place should be taken by force, made an agreement with them to depart upon certain conditions; and when they had obtained the security they desired, they delivered up the citadel, into which the people of Machaerus put a garrison for their own security, and held it in their own power.

(7) [487] Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀεὶ μὲν ἦν στάσις πρὸς τὸ Ἰουδαικὸν τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἀφ' οὗ χρησάμενος προθυμοτάτοις κατὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Ἰουδαίοις Ἀλέξανδρος γέρας τῆς συμμαχίας ἔδωκεν τὸ μετοικεῖν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐξ ἴσου † μοίρας πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. [488] διέμεινεν δ' αὐτοῖς ἡ τιμὴ καὶ παρὰ τῶν διαδόχων, οἳ καὶ τόπον ἴδιον αὐτοῖς ἀφώρισαν, ὅπως καθαρωτέραν ἔχοιεν τὴν δίαιταν ἧττον ἐπιμισγομένων τῶν ἀλλοφύλων, καὶ χρηματίζειν ἐπέτρεψαν Μακεδόνας, ἐπεί τε Ῥωμαῖοι κατεκτήσαντο τὴν Αἴγυπτον, οὔτε Καῖσαρ ὁ πρῶτος οὔτε τῶν μετ' αὐτόν τις ὑπέμεινεν τὰς ἀπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τιμὰς Ἰουδαίων ἐλαττῶσαι. [489] συμβολαὶ δ' ἦσαν αὐτῶν ἀδιάλειπτοι πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων πολλοὺς ὁσημέραι παρ' ἀμφοῖν κολαζόντων ἡ στάσις μᾶλλον παρωξύνετο. [490] τότε δ' ὡς καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐτετάρακτο, μᾶλλον ἐξήφθη τὰ

παρ᾽ ἐκείνοις. καὶ δὴ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησιαζόντων περὶ ἧς ἔμελλον ἐκπέμπειν πρεσβείας ἐπὶ Νέρωνα συνερρύησαν μὲν εἰς τὸ ἀμφιθέατρον ἅμα τοῖς Ἕλλησιν συχνοὶ Ἰουδαίων, [491] κατιδόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ διάφοροι παραχρῆμα ἀνεβόων πολεμίους καὶ κατασκόπους λέγοντες: ἔπειτα ἀναπηδήσαντες ἐπέβαλλον τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς. οἱ μὲν οὖν λοιποὶ φεύγοντες διεσπάρησαν, τρεῖς δὲ ἄνδρας συλλαβόντες ἔσυρον ὡς ζῶντας καταφλέξοντες. [492] ἤρθη δὲ πᾶν τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμυναν, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον λίθοις τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔβαλλον, αὖθις δὲ λαμπάδας ἁρπασάμενοι πρὸς τὸ ἀμφιθέατρον ὥρμησαν ἀπειλοῦντες ἐν αὐτῷ καταφλέξειν τὸν δῆμον αὐτανδρον. κἂν ἔφθησαν τοῦτο δράσαντες, εἰ μὴ τοὺς θυμοὺς αὐτῶν ἀνέκοψεν Τιβέριος Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἡγεμών. [493] οὐ μὴν οὗτός γε ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων ἤρξατο σωφρονίζειν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑποπέμψας τοὺς γνωρίμους αὐτοῖς παύσασθαι παρεκάλει καὶ μὴ καθ᾽ ἑαυτῶν ἐρεθίζειν τὸ Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα. καταχλευάζοντες δὲ τῆς παρακλήσεως οἱ στασιώδεις ἐβλασφήμουν τὸν Τιβέριον.

7. But for Alexandria, the sedition of the people of the place against the Jews was perpetual, and this from that very time when Alexander [the Great], upon finding the readiness of the Jews in assisting him against the Egyptians, and as a reward for such their assistance, gave them equal privileges in this city with the Grecians themselves; which honorary reward Continued among them under his successors, who also set apart for them a particular place, that they might live without being polluted [by the Gentiles], and were thereby not so much intermixed with foreigners as before; they also gave them this further privilege, that they should be called Macedonians. Nay, when the Romans got possession of Egypt, neither the first Caesar, nor any one that came after him, thought of diminishing the honors which Alexander had bestowed on the Jews. But still conflicts perpetually arose with the Grecians; and although the governors did every day punish many of them, yet did the sedition grow worse; but at this time especially, when there were tumults in other places also, the disorders among them were put into a greater flame; for when the Alexandrians had once a public assembly, to deliberate about an embassage they were sending to Nero, a great number of Jews came flocking to the theater; but when their adversaries saw them, they immediately cried out, and called them their enemies, and said they came as spies upon them; upon which they rushed out, and laid violent hands upon them; and as for the rest, they were slain as they ran away; but there were three men whom they caught, and hauled them along, in order to have them burnt alive; but all the Jews came in a body to defend them, who at first threw stones at the Grecians, but after that they took lamps, and rushed with violence into the theater, and threatened that they would burn the people to a man; and

this they had soon done, unless Tiberius Alexander, the governor of the city, had restrained their passions. However, this man did not begin to teach them wisdom by arms, but sent among them privately some of the principal men, and thereby entreated them to be quiet, and not provoke the Roman army against them; but the seditious made a jest of the entreaties of Tiberius, and reproached him for so doing.

(8) [494] Κἀκεῖνος συνιδὼν ὡς χωρὶς μεγάλης συμφορᾶς οὐκ ἂν παύσαιντο νεωτερίζοντες, ἐπαφίησιν αὐτοῖς τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν Ῥωμαίων δύο τάγματα καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς δισχιλίους στρατιώτας κατὰ τύχην παρόντας εἰς τὸν Ἰουδαίων ὄλεθρον ἐκ Λιβύης: ἐπέτρεψεν δὲ οὐ μόνον ἀναιρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς κτήσεις αὐτῶν διαρπάζειν καὶ τὰς οἰκίας καταφλέγειν. [495] οἱ δ' ὁρμήσαντες εἰς τὸ καλούμενον Δέλτα, συνῴκιστο γὰρ ἐκεῖ τὸ Ἰουδαικόν, ἐτέλουν τὰς ἐντολάς, οὐ μὴν ἀναιμωτί: συστραφέντες γὰρ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ τοὺς ἄμεινον ὡπλισμένους ἑαυτῶν προταξάμενοι μέχρι πλείστου μὲν ἀντέσχον, ἅπαξ δ' ἐγκλίναντες ἀνέδην διεφθείροντο. [496] καὶ παντοῖος ἦν αὐτῶν ὄλεθρος, τῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καταλαμβανομένων, τῶν δ' εἰς τὰς οἰκίας συνωθουμένων. ὑπεπίμπρασαν δὲ καὶ ταύτας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι προδιαρπάζοντες τὰ ἔνδον, καὶ οὔτε νηπίων ἔλεος αὐτοὺς οὔτε αἰδὼς εἰσήει γερόντων, [497] ἀλλὰ διὰ πάσης ἡλικίας ἐχώρουν κτείνοντες, ὡς ἐπικλυσθῆναι μὲν αἵματι πάντα τὸν χῶρον, πέντε δὲ μυριάδες ἐσωρεύθησαν νεκρῶν, περιελείφθη δ' ἂν οὐδὲ τὸ λοιπόν, εἰ μὴ πρὸς ἱκετηρίας ἐτράποντο. κατοικτείρας δ' αὐτοὺς Ἀλέξανδρος ἀναχωρεῖν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐκέλευσεν. [498] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἔθους τὸ πειθήνιον ἔχοντες ἅμα νεύματι τοῦ φονεύειν ἐπαύσαντο, τὸ δημοτικὸν δὲ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων δι' ὑπερβολὴν μίσους δυσανάκλητον ἦν καὶ μόλις ἀπεσπᾶτο τῶν σωμάτων.

8. Now when he perceived that those who were for innovations would not be pacified till some great calamity should overtake them, he sent out upon them those two Roman legions that were in the city, and together with them five thousand other soldiers, who, by chance, were come together out of Libya, to the ruin of the Jews. They were also permitted not only to kill them, but to plunder them of what they had, and to set fire to their houses. These soldiers rushed violently into that part of the city that was called Delta, where the Jewish people lived together, and did as they were bidden, though not without bloodshed on their own side also; for the Jews got together, and set those that were the best armed among them in the forefront, and made a resistance for a great while; but when once they gave back, they were destroyed unmercifully; and this their destruction was complete, some being caught in the open field, and others forced into their houses, which houses were first plundered of what was in them, and then set on fire by the Romans; wherein no mercy was shown to the infants, and

no regard had to the aged; but they went on in the slaughter of persons of every age, till all the place was overflowed with blood, and fifty thousand of them lay dead upon heaps; nor had the remainder been preserved, had they not be-taken themselves to supplication. So Alexander commiserated their condition, and gave orders to the Romans to retire; accordingly, these being accustomed to obey orders, left off killing at the first intimation; but the populace of Alexandria bare so very great hatred to the Jews, that it was difficult to recall them, and it was a hard thing to make them leave their dead bodies.

(9) [499] Τοιοῦτον μὲν τὸ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πάθος συνηνέχθη: Κεστίῳ δὲ οὐκέτι ἠρεμεῖν ἐδόκει πανταχοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκπεπολεμωμένων. [500] ἀναλαβὼν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας τὸ μὲν δωδέκατον τάγμα πλῆρες, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνὰ δισχιλίους ἐπιλέκτους, πεζῶν τε ἓξ σπείρας καὶ τέσσαρας ἴλας ἱππέων, πρὸς αἷς τὰς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων συμμαχίας, Ἀντιόχου μὲν δισχιλίους ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοὺς τρισχιλίους τοξότας πάντας, Ἀγρίππα δὲ πεζοὺς μὲν τοὺς ἴσους ἱππεῖς δὲ δισχιλίων ἐλάττους, [501] εἵπετο δὲ καὶ Σόαιμος μετὰ τετρακισχιλίων, ὧν ἦσαν ἱππεῖς ἡ τρίτη μοῖρα καὶ τὸ πλέον τοξόται, προῆλθεν εἰς Πτολεμαίδα. [502] πλεῖστοι δὲ κἀκ τῶν πόλεων ἐπίκουροι συνελέγησαν, ἐμπειρίᾳ μὲν ἠττώμενοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ταῖς δὲ προθυμίαις καὶ τῷ κατὰ Ἰουδαίων μίσει τὸ λεῖπον ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις ἀντιπληροῦντες. παρῆν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀγρίππας Κεστίῳ τῆς τε ὁδοῦ καὶ τῶν συμφερόντων ἐξηγούμενος. [503] ἀναλαβὼν δὲ μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως Κέστιος ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ πόλιν καρτερὰν τῆς Γαλιλαίας Χαβουλών, ἣ καλεῖται ἀνδρῶν, διορίζει δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους τὴν Πτολεμαίδα. [504] καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτὴν ἔρημον μὲν ἀνδρῶν, ἀναπεφεύγει γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τὰ ὄρη, πλήρη δὲ παντοίων κτημάτων, τὰ μὲν ἐφῆκεν τοῖς στρατιώταις διαρπάζειν, τὸ δὲ ἄστυ καίτοι θαυμάσας τοῦ κάλλους ἔχον τὰς οἰκίας ὁμοίως ταῖς ἐν Τύρῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι καὶ Βηρυτῷ δεδομημένας, ἐνέπρησεν. [505] ἔπειτα τὴν χώραν καταδραμὼν καὶ διαρπάσας μὲν πᾶν τὸ προσπῖπτον καταφλέξας δὲ τὰς πέριξ κώμας ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν Πτολεμαίδα. [506] πρὸς δὲ ταῖς ἁρπαγαῖς ἔτι τῶν Σύρων ὄντων καὶ τὸ πλέον Βηρυτίων ἀναθαρσήσαντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ γὰρ ἀποκεχωρηκότα συνίεσαν Κέστιον, τοῖς ἀπολειφθεῖσιν ἀδοκήτως ἐπέπεσον καὶ περὶ δισχιλίους αὐτῶν διέφθειραν.

9. And this was the miserable calamity which at this time befell the Jews at Alexandria. Hereupon Cestius thought fit no longer to lie still, while the Jews were everywhere up in arms; so he took out of Antioch the twelfth legion entire, and out of each of the rest he selected two thousand, with six cohorts of footmen, and four troops of horsemen, besides those auxiliaries which were sent by the kings; of which Antiochus sent two thousand horsemen, and three thousand footmen, with as many archers; and Agrippa sent the same number of footmen,

and one thousand horsemen; Sohemus also followed with four thousand, a third part whereof were horsemen, but most part were archers, and thus did he march to Ptolemais. There were also great numbers of auxiliaries gathered together from the [free] cities, who indeed had not the same skill in martial affairs, but made up in their alacrity and in their hatred to the Jews what they wanted in skill. There came also along with Cestius Agrippa himself, both as a guide in his march over the country, and a director what was fit to be done; so Cestius took part of his forces, and marched hastily to Zabulon, a strong city of Galilee, which was called the City of Men, and divides the country of Ptolemais from our nation; this he found deserted by its men, the multitude having fled to the mountains, but full of all sorts of good things; those he gave leave to the soldiers to plunder, and set fire to the city, although it was of admirable beauty, and had its houses built like those in Tyre, and Sidon, and Berytus. After this he overran all the country, and seized upon whatsoever came in his way, and set fire to the villages that were round about them, and then returned to Ptolemais. But when the Syrians, and especially those of Berytus, were busy in plundering, the Jews pulled up their courage again, for they knew that Cestius was retired, and fell upon those that were left behind unexpectedly, and destroyed about two thousand of them.

(10) [507] Ὁ δὲ Κέστιος ἀναζεύξας ἀπὸ τῆς Πτολεμαίδος αὐτὸς μὲν εἰς Καισάρειαν ἀφικνεῖται, μοῖραν δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς προέπεμψεν εἰς Ἰόππην, προστάξας, εἰ μὲν καταλαβέσθαι δυνηθεῖεν τὴν πόλιν, φρουρεῖν, εἰ δὲ προαίσθοιντο τὴν ἔφοδον, περιμένειν αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν. [508] τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν κατὰ θάλασσαν οἱ δὲ κατὰ γῆν ἐπειχθέντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν αἱροῦσιν τὴν πόλιν ῥᾳδίως: καὶ μηδὲ φυγεῖν φθασάντων τῶν οἰκητόρων, οὐχ ὅπως παρασκευάσασθαι πρὸς μάχην, ἐμπεσόντες ἅπαντας ἀνεῖλον σὺν ταῖς γενεαῖς καὶ τὴν πόλιν διαρπάσαντες ἐνέπρησαν: [509] ὁ δὲ ἀριθμὸς τῶν φονευθέντων τετρακόσιοι πρὸς ὀκτακισχιλίοις. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν ὅμορον τῆς Καισαρείας Ναρβατηνὴν τοπαρχίαν ἔπεμψεν συχνοὺς τῶν ἱππέων, οἳ τήν τε γῆν ἔτεμον καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος διέφθειραν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τάς τε κτήσεις διήρπασαν καὶ τὰς κώμας κατέφλεξαν.

10. And now Cestius himself marched from Ptolemais, and came to Cesarea; but he sent part of his army before him to Joppa, and gave order, that if they could take that city [by surprise] they should keep it; but that in case the citizens should perceive they were coming to attack them, that they then should stay for him, and for the rest of the army. So some of them made a brisk march by the sea-side, and some by land, and so coming upon them on both sides, they took the city with ease; and as the inhabitants had made no provision beforehand for a flight, nor had gotten any thing ready for fighting, the soldiers fell upon them,

and slew them all, with their families, and then plundered and burnt the city. The number of the slain was eight thousand four hundred. In like manner, Cestius sent also a considerable body of horsemen to the toparchy of Narbatene, that adjoined to Cesarea, who destroyed the country, and slew a great multitude of its people; they also plundered what they had, and burnt their villages.

(11) [510] Εἰς δὲ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἀπέστειλεν Καισέννιον Γάλλον ἡγεμόνα τοῦ δωδεκάτου τάγματος παραδοὺς δύναμιν ὅσην ἀρκέσειν πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος ὑπελάμβανεν. [511] τοῦτον ἡ καρτερωτάτη τῆς Γαλιλαίας πόλις Σέπφωρις μετ' εὐφημίας δέχεται, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ταύτης εὐβουλίαν αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις ἠρέμουν. τὸ δὲ στασιῶδες καὶ ληστρικὸν πᾶν ἔφυγεν εἰς τὸ μεσαίτατον τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὄρος, ὃ κεῖται μὲν ἀντικρὺ τῆς Σεπφώρεως, καλεῖται δὲ Ἀσαμών. τούτοις ὁ Γάλλος ἐπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν. [512] οἱ δὲ ἕως μὲν ἦσαν ὑπερδέξιοι, ῥᾳδίως τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἠμύναντο προσιόντας καὶ πρὸς διακοσίους αὐτῶν ἀνεῖλον, περιελθόντων δὲ καὶ γενομένων ἐν τοῖς ὑψηλοτέροις ἡττῶντο ταχέως, καὶ οὔτε γυμνῆτες ὁπλίτας συστάδην ἔφερον οὔτε ἐν τῇ τροπῇ τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἐξέφευγον, ὥστε ὀλίγους μὲν ἐν ταῖς δυσχωρίαις διαλαθεῖν, ἀναιρεθῆναι δὲ ὑπὲρ δισχιλίους.

11. But Cestius sent Gallus, the commander of the twelfth legion, into Galilee, and delivered to him as many of his forces as he supposed sufficient to subdue that nation. He was received by the strongest city of Galilee, which was Sepphoris, with acclamations of joy; which wise conduct of that city occasioned the rest of the cities to be in quiet; while the seditious part and the robbers ran away to that mountain which lies in the very middle of Galilee, and is situated over against Sepphoris; it is called Asamon. So Gallus brought his forces against them; but while those men were in the superior parts above the Romans, they easily threw their darts upon the Romans, as they made their approaches, and slew about two hundred of them. But when the Romans had gone round the mountains, and were gotten into the parts above their enemies, the others were soon beaten; nor could they who had only light armor on sustain the force of them that fought them armed all over; nor when they were beaten could they escape the enemies' horsemen; insomuch that only some few concealed themselves in certain places hard to be come at, among the mountains, while the rest, above two thousand in number, were slain.

XIX

CHAPTER 19.

What Cestius Did Against The Jews; And How, Upon His

Besieging Jerusalem, He Retreated From The City Without Any Just Occasion In The World. As Also What Severe Calamities He Under Went From The Jews In His Retreat.

(1) [513] Γάλλος μὲν οὖν ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι ἑώρα κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν νεωτεριζόμενον, ὑπέστρεφεν μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς εἰς Καισάρειαν: Κέστιος δὲ μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως ἀναζεύξας ἐνέβαλεν εἰς Ἀντιπατρίδα, καὶ πυθόμενος ἔν τινι πύργῳ Ἀφεκοῦ καλουμένῳ συνηθροῖσθαι Ἰουδαίων δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην προέπεμπεν τοὺς συμβαλοῦντας. [514] οἱ δὲ πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν δέει τοὺς Ἰουδαίους διεσκέδασαν, ἐπελθόντες δὲ ἔρημον τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὰς πέριξ κώμας ἐνέπρησαν. [515] ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀντιπατρίδος Κέστιος εἰς Λύδδα προελθὼν κενὴν ἀνδρῶν τὴν πόλιν καταλαμβάνει: διὰ γὰρ τὴν τῆς σκηνοπηγίας ἑορτὴν ἀναβεβήκει πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. [516] πεντήκοντα δὲ τῶν παραφανέντων διαφθείρας καὶ τὸ ἄστυ κατακαύσας ἐχώρει πρόσω, καὶ διὰ Βαιθώρων ἀναβὰς στρατοπεδεύεται κατά τινα χῶρον Γαβαὼ καλούμενον, ἀπέχοντα τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων πεντήκοντα σταδίους.

1. And now Gallus, seeing nothing more that looked towards an innovation in Galilee, returned with his army to Cesarea: but Cestius removed with his whole army, and marched to Antipatris; and when he was informed that there was a great body of Jewish forces gotten together in a certain tower called Aphek, he sent a party before to fight them; but this party dispersed the Jews by affrighting them before it came to a battle: so they came, and finding their camp deserted, they burnt it, as well as the villages that lay about it. But when Cestius had marched from Antipatris to Lydda, he found the city empty of its men, for the whole multitude were gone up to Jerusalem to the feast of tabernacles; yet did he destroy fifty of those that showed themselves, and burnt the city, and so marched forwards; and ascending by Betboron, he pitched his camp at a certain place called Gabao, fifty furlongs distant from Jerusalem.

(2) [517] Οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι κατιδόντες ἤδη πλησιάζοντα τῇ μητροπόλει τὸν πόλεμον, ἀφέμενοι τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ μέγα τῷ πλήθει θαρροῦντες ἄτακτοι μετὰ κραυγῆς ἐξεπήδων ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην μηδὲ τῆς ἀργῆς ἑβδομάδος ἔννοιαν λαβόντες: ἦν γὰρ δὴ τὸ μάλιστα παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς θρησκευόμενον σάββατον. [518] ὁ δ᾽ ἐκσείσας αὐτοὺς τῆς εὐσεβείας θυμὸς ἐποίησεν πλεονεκτῆσαι καὶ κατὰ τὴν μάχην: μετὰ τοσαύτης γοῦν ὁρμῆς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσέπεσον, ὡς διαρρῆξαι τὰς τάξεις αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ μέσων χωρεῖν ἀναιροῦντας. [519] εἰ δὲ μὴ τῷ χαλασθέντι τῆς φάλαγγος οἵ τε ἱππεῖς ἐκπεριελθόντες ἐπήμυναν καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ μὴ σφόδρα κάμνον, κἂν ἐκινδύνευσεν ὅλῃ τῇ δυνάμει Κέστιος. ἀπέθανον δὲ Ῥωμαίων

πεντακόσιοι δεκαπέντε: τούτων ἦσαν οἱ τετρακόσιοι πεζοί, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἱππεῖς: τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων δύο πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι. [520] γενναιότατοι δ' αὐτῶν ἔδοξαν οἱ Μονοβάζου τοῦ τῆς Ἀδιαβηνῆς βασιλέως συγγενεῖς, Μονόβαζός τε καὶ Κενεδαῖος, μεθ' οὓς ὁ Περαίτης Νίγερ καὶ Σίλας ὁ Βαβυλώνιος αὐτομολήσας εἰς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀπ' Ἀγρίππα τοῦ βασιλέως: [521] ἐστρατεύετο γὰρ παρ' αὐτῷ. κατὰ πρόσωπον μὲν οὖν ἀνακοπέντες Ἰουδαῖοι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ὑπέστρεφον, κατόπιν δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ τὴν Βεθώραν ἀνιοῦσιν προσπεσὼν ὁ τοῦ Γιώρα Σίμων πολὺ τῆς οὐραγίας ἐσπάραξεν καὶ συχνὰ τῶν σκευοφόρων ἀποσπάσας ἤγαγεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. [522] μένοντος δὲ τοῦ Κεστίου κατὰ χώραν τρισὶν ἡμέραις οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τὰ μετέωρα κατειληφότες ἐπετήρουν τὰς παρόδους δῆλοί τε ἦσαν οὐκ ἠρεμήσοντες ἀρξαμένων τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁδεύειν.

2. But as for the Jews, when they saw the war approaching to their metropolis, they left the feast, and betook themselves to their arms; and taking courage greatly from their multitude, went in a sudden and disorderly manner to the fight, with a great noise, and without any consideration had of the rest of the seventh day, although the Sabbath was the day to which they had the greatest regard; but that rage which made them forget the religious observation [of the sabbath] made them too hard for their enemies in the fight: with such violence therefore did they fall upon the Romans, as to break into their ranks, and to march through the midst of them, making a great slaughter as they went, insomuch that unless the horsemen, and such part of the footmen as were not yet tired in the action, had wheeled round, and succored that part of the army which was not yet broken, Cestius, with his whole army, had been in danger: however, five hundred and fifteen of the Romans were slain, of which number four hundred were footmen, and the rest horsemen, while the Jews lost only twenty-two, of whom the most valiant were the kinsmen of Monobazus, king of Adiabene, and their names were Monobazus and Kenedeus; and next to them were Niger of Perea, and Silas of Babylon, who had deserted from king Agrippa to the Jews; for he had formerly served in his army. When the front of the Jewish army had been cut off, the Jews retired into the city; but still Simon, the son of Giora, fell upon the backs of the Romans, as they were ascending up Bethoron, and put the hindmost of the army into disorder, and carried off many of the beasts that carried the weapons of war, and led Shem into the city. But as Cestius tarried there three days, the Jews seized upon the elevated parts of the city, and set watches at the entrances into the city, and appeared openly resolved not to rest when once the Romans should begin to march.

(3) [523] Ἔνθα δὴ κατιδὼν Ἀγρίππας οὐδὲ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀκίνδυνα πλήθους ἀπείρου πολεμίων τὰ ὄρη περισχόντος ἔκρινεν ἀποπειραθῆναι τῶν Ἰουδαίων λόγοις: ἢ

γὰρ πάντας πείσειν καταθέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἢ τῶν ἐναντιωθέντων ἀποστήσειν τὸ μὴ συμφρονοῦν. [524] ἔπεμψεν οὖν τῶν παρ᾽ ἑαυτῷ τοὺς μάλιστα γνωρίμους ἐκείνοις Βόρκιόν τε καὶ Φοῖβον, δεξιάς τε παρὰ Κεστίου καὶ συγγνώμην παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἀσφαλῆ περὶ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων ὑπισχνούμενος, εἰ τὰ ὅπλα ῥίψαντες πρὸς αὐτοὺς μεταβάλοιντο. [525] δείσαντες δὲ οἱ στασιασταὶ μὴ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἀδείας ἐλπίδι πρὸς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν μεταβάληται, τοὺς ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πρεσβεύοντας ὥρμησαν ἀνελεῖν. [526] καὶ πρὶν ἢ φθέγξασθαι τὸν μὲν Φοῖβον διέφθειραν, ὁ δὲ Βόρκιος τρωθεὶς ἔφθη διαφυγεῖν: τοῦ δήμου δὲ τοὺς ἀγανακτήσαντας λίθοις καὶ ξύλοις παίοντες εἰς τὸ ἄστυ συνήλασαν.

3. And now when Agrippa observed that even the affairs of the Romans were likely to be in danger, while such an immense multitude of their enemies had seized upon the mountains round about, he determined to try what the Jews would agree to by words, as thinking that he should either persuade them all to desist from fighting, or, however, that he should cause the sober part of them to separate themselves from the opposite party. So he sent Borceus and Phebus, the persons of his party that were the best known to them, and promised them that Cestius should give them his right hand, to secure them of the Romans' entire forgiveness of what they had done amiss, if they would throw away their arms, and come over to them; but the seditious, fearing lest the whole multitude, in hopes of security to themselves, should go over to Agrippa, resolved immediately to fall upon and kill the ambassadors; accordingly they slew Phebus before he said a word, but Borceus was only wounded, and so prevented his fate by flying away. And when the people were very angry at this, they had the seditious beaten with stones and clubs, and drove them before them into the city.

(4) [527] Κέστιος δὲ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτῶν ταραχὴν εὔκαιρον ἰδὼν εἰς ἐπίθεσιν ἅπασαν ἐπῆγεν τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τραπέντας μέχρι Ἱεροσολύμων κατεδίωξεν. [528] στρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ καλουμένου Σκοποῦ, διέχει δ᾽ οὗτος ἑπτὰ τῆς πόλεως σταδίους, τρισὶ μὲν ἡμέραις οὐκ ἐπεχείρει τῇ πόλει τάχα τι παρὰ τῶν ἔνδον ἐνδοθήσεσθαι προσδοκῶν, εἰς δὲ τὰς πέριξ κώμας ἐφ᾽ ἁρπαγὴν σίτου πολλοὺς διαφῆκεν τῶν στρατιωτῶν: τῇ τετάρτῃ δέ, ἥτις ἦν τριακὰς Ὑπερβερεταίου μηνός, διατάξας τὴν στρατιὰν εἰσῆγεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. [529] ὁ μὲν οὖν δῆμος ὑπὸ τοῖς στασιασταῖς ἔμφρουρος ἦν, οἱ δὲ στασιασταὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων καταπλαγέντες τῶν μὲν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως μερῶν εἶκον, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐνδοτέρω καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνεχώρουν. [530] Κέστιος δὲ παρελθὼν ὑποπίμπρησιν τήν τε Βεθεζὰν προσαγορευομένην καὶ τὴν Καινόπολιν καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Δοκῶν ἀγοράν, ἔπειτα πρὸς τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἐλθὼν ἀντικρὺ τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς ἐστρατοπεδεύετο. [531] κἂν εἴπερ ἠθέλησεν κατ᾽ αὐτὴν ἐκείνην τὴν ὥραν ἐντὸς τῶν τειχέων βιάσασθαι, παραυτίκα τὴν πόλιν ἔσχεν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον συνέβη

καταλελύσθαι: ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅ τε στρατοπεδάρχης Τυράννιος Πρῖσκος καὶ τῶν ἱππάρχων οἱ πλεῖστοι χρήμασιν ὑπὸ Φλώρου δεκασθέντες ἀπέστρεψαν αὐτὸν τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως. [532] καὶ παρὰ τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην ὅ τε πόλεμος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον μῆκος προύβη καὶ ἀνηκέστων Ἰουδαίους συμφορῶν ἀναπλησθῆναι συνέπεσεν.

4. But now Cestius, observing that the disturbances that were begun among the Jews afforded him a proper opportunity to attack them, took his whole army along with him, and put the Jews to flight, and pursued them to Jerusalem. He then pitched his camp upon the elevation called Scopus, [or watch-tower,] which was distant seven furlongs from the city; yet did not he assault them in three days' time, out of expectation that those within might perhaps yield a little; and in the mean time he sent out a great many of his soldiers into neighboring villages, to seize upon their corn. And on the fourth day, which was the thirtieth of the month Hyperbereteus, [Tisri,] when he had put his army in array, he brought it into the city. Now for the people, they were kept under by the seditious; but the seditious themselves were greatly affrighted at the good order of the Romans, and retired from the suburbs, and retreated into the inner part of the city, and into the temple. But when Cestius was come into the city, he set the part called Bezetha, which is called Cenopolis, [or the new city,] on fire; as he did also to the timber market; after which he came into the upper city, and pitched his camp over against the royal palace; and had he but at this very time attempted to get within the walls by force, he had won the city presently, and the war had been put an end to at once; but Tyrannius Priseus, the muster-master of the army, and a great number of the officers of the horse, had been corrupted by Florus, and diverted him from that his attempt; and that was the occasion that this war lasted so very long, and thereby the Jews were involved in such incurable calamities.

(5) [533] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ πολλοὶ τῶν γνωρίμων δημοτῶν Ἀνάνῳ τῷ Ἰωνάθου παιδὶ πεισθέντες ἐκάλουν τὸν Κέστιον ὡς ἀνοίξοντες αὐτῷ τὰς πύλας. [534] ὁ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν ὑπεριδὼν καὶ μὴ πάνυ πιστεύσας διεμέλλησεν, ἕως οἱ στασιασταὶ τὴν προδοσίαν αἰσθόμενοι τοὺς μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἄνανον ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους κατέβαλον καὶ λίθοις παίοντες συνήλασαν εἰς τὰς οἰκίας, αὐτοὶ δὲ διαστάντες ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων τοὺς ἀποπειρωμένους τοῦ τείχους ἔβαλλον. [535] πέντε μὲν οὖν ἡμέραις πάντοθεν ἐπιχειροῦσιν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀμήχανος ἦν ἡ προσβολή, τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ ἀναλαβὼν ὁ Κέστιος τῶν τε ἐπιλέκτων συχνοὺς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας κατὰ τὸ προσάρκτιον ἐπεχείρει κλίμα τῷ ἱερῷ. [536] Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς εἶργον, καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ἀπεκρούσαντο τοὺς τῷ τείχει προσελθόντας, τέλος δὲ τῷ πλήθει τῶν βελῶν ἀνακοπέντες ὑπεχώρησαν. [537] τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων οἱ πρῶτοι τοὺς θυρεοὺς ἐξερείσαντες εἰς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ κατὰ τούτων οἱ κατόπιν ἄλλους οἵ τε ἐξῆς

ὁμοίως τὴν καλουμένην παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς χελώνην ἐφράξαντο, καθ᾽ ἧς τὰ βέλη φερόμενα περιωλίσθανεν ἄπρακτα, μηδὲν δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται κακούμενοι τὸ τεῖχος ὑπέσυρον καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὴν πύλην ὑποπιμπράναι παρεσκευάζοντο.

5. In the mean time, many of the principal men of the city were persuaded by Ananus, the son of Jonathan, and invited Cestius into the city, and were about to open the gates for him; but he overlooked this offer, partly out of his anger at the Jews, and partly because he did not thoroughly believe they were in earnest; whence it was that he delayed the matter so long, that the seditious perceived the treachery, and threw Ananus and those of his party down from the wall, and, pelting them with stones, drove them into their houses; but they stood themselves at proper distances in the towers, and threw their darts at those that were getting over the wall. Thus did the Romans make their attack against the wall for five days, but to no purpose. But on the next day Cestius took a great many of his choicest men, and with them the archers, and attempted to break into the temple at the northern quarter of it; but the Jews beat them off from the cloisters, and repulsed them several times when they were gotten near to the wall, till at length the multitude of the darts cut them off, and made them retire; but the first rank of the Romans rested their shields upon the wall, and so did those that were behind them, and the like did those that were still more backward, and guarded themselves with what they call Testudo, [the back of] a tortoise, upon which the darts that were thrown fell, and slided off without doing them any harm; so the soldiers undermined the wall, without being themselves hurt, and got all things ready for setting fire to the gate of the temple.

(6) [538] Δεινὴ δὲ τοὺς στασιαστὰς ἔκπληξις κατέλαβεν: ἤδη δὲ πολλοὶ διεδίδρασκον ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ὡς ἁλωσομένης αὐτίκα. τὸν δὲ δῆμον ἐπὶ τούτοις συνέβαινεν θαρρεῖν, καὶ καθὸ παρείκοιεν οἱ πονηροί, προσῄεσαν αὐτοὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξοντες καὶ δεξόμενοι τὸν Κέστιον ὡς εὐεργέτην. [539] ὃς εἰ βραχὺ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ προσελιπάρησεν, κἂν εὐθέως τὴν πόλιν παρέλαβεν: ἀλλ᾽ οἶμαι διὰ τοὺς πονηροὺς ἀπεστραμμένος ὁ θεὸς ἤδη καὶ τὰ ἅγια τέλος λαβεῖν ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκώλυσεν τὸν πόλεμον.

6. And now it was that a horrible fear seized upon the seditious, insomuch that many of them ran out of the city, as though it were to be taken immediately; but the people upon this took courage, and where the wicked part of the city gave ground, thither did they come, in order to set open the gates, and to admit Cestius as their benefactor, who, had he but continued the siege a little longer, had certainly taken the city; but it was, I suppose, owing to the aversion God had

already at the city and the sanctuary, that he was hindered from putting an end to the war that very day.

(7) [540] Ὁ γοῦν Κέστιος οὔτε τὴν τῶν πολιορκουμένων ἀπόγνωσιν οὔτε τοῦ δήμου τὸ φρόνημα συνιδὼν ἐξαίφνης ἀνεκάλεσεν τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ καταγνοὺς ἐπ᾽ οὐδεμιᾷ πληγῇ τῶν ἐλπίδων παραλογώτατα ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀνέζευξεν. [541] πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀδόκητον αὐτοῦ τροπὴν ἀναθαρσήσαντες οἱ λῃσταὶ κατὰ τῶν ὑστάτων ἐπεξέδραμον καὶ συχνοὺς τῶν ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν διέφθειραν. [542] τότε μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸν Σκοπὸν αὐλίζεται στρατοπέδῳ Κέστιος, τῇ δ᾽ ἐπιούσῃ προσωτέρω χωριζόμενος μᾶλλον ἐξεκαλέσατο τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τοὺς ὑστάτους αὐτῶν προσκείμενοι διέφθειρον καὶ καθ᾽ ἑκάτερον τῆς ὁδοῦ περιιόντες ἠκόντιζον εἰς πλαγίους. [543] οὔτε δὲ ἐπιστραφῆναι πρὸς τοὺς κατόπιν τιτρώσκοντας ἐθάρρουν οἱ τελευταῖοι ἄπειρόν τι πλῆθος οἰόμενοι διώκειν καὶ τοὺς κατὰ πλευρὸν ἐγκειμένους ἀναστέλλειν οὐχ ὑπέμενον, αὐτοὶ μὲν ὄντες βαρεῖς καὶ δεδοικότες τὴν τάξιν διασπᾶν, τοὺς δὲ Ἰουδαίους ὀρῶντες κούφους καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδρομὰς εὐκόλους: ὥστε συνέβαινεν αὐτοῖς πολλὰ κακοῦσθαι μηδὲν ἀντιβλάπτουσιν τοὺς ἐχθρούς. [544] παρ᾽ ὅλην δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν παιόμενοι καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος ἐκσειόμενοι κατέπιπτον, μέχρι πολλῶν διαφθαρέντων, ἐν οἷς ἦν Πρῖσκος μὲν στρατάρχης τάγματος ἕκτου, Λογγῖνος δὲ χιλίαρχος, ἔπαρχος δὲ ἴλης Αἰμίλιος Ἰούκουνδος ὄνομα, μόλις εἰς Γαβαὼν κατήντησαν ἐπὶ τὸ πρότερον στρατόπεδον, τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τῶν σκευῶν ἀποβαλόντες. [545] ἔνθα δύο μὲν ἡμέρας ἐπέμεινεν ὁ Κέστιος ἀμηχανῶν, ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν, τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ πολλῷ πλείους τοὺς πολεμίους θεασάμενος καὶ πάντα τὰ κύκλῳ μεστὰ Ἰουδαίων ἔγνω καθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ τε βραδύνας κἂν ἔτι μείνῃ πλείοσιν χρησόμενος ἐχθροῖς.

7. It then happened that Cestius was not conscious either how the besieged despaired of success, nor how courageous the people were for him; and so he recalled his soldiers from the place, and by despairing of any expectation of taking it, without having received any disgrace, he retired from the city, without any reason in the world. But when the robbers perceived this unexpected retreat of his, they resumed their courage, and ran after the hinder parts of his army, and destroyed a considerable number of both their horsemen and footmen; and now Cestius lay all night at the camp which was at Scopus; and as he went off farther next day, he thereby invited the enemy to follow him, who still fell upon the hindmost, and destroyed them; they also fell upon the flank on each side of the army, and threw darts upon them obliquely, nor durst those that were hindmost turn back upon those who wounded them behind, as imagining that the multitude of those that pursued them was immense; nor did they venture to drive away those that pressed upon them on each side, because they were heavy with their arms, and were afraid of breaking their ranks to pieces, and because they saw the

Jews were light, and ready for making incursions upon them. And this was the reason why the Romans suffered greatly, without being able to revenge themselves upon their enemies; so they were galled all the way, and their ranks were put into disorder, and those that were thus put out of their ranks were slain; among whom were Priscus, the commander of the sixth legion, and Longinus, the tribune, and Emilius Secundus, the commander of a troop of horsemen. So it was not without difficulty that they got to Gabao, their former camp, and that not without the loss of a great part of their baggage. There it was that Cestius staid two days, and was in great distress to know what he should do in these circumstances; but when on the third day he saw a still much greater number of enemies, and all the parts round about him full of Jews, he understood that his delay was to his own detriment, and that if he staid any longer there, he should have still more enemies upon him.

(8) [546] Ἵνα δὲ συντονωτέρᾳ χρήσαιτο φυγῇ, τὰ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀνθέλκοντα περικόπτειν προσέταξεν. διαφθαρέντων δὲ τῶν τε ὀρέων καὶ τῶν ὄνων ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων πλὴν ὅσα βέλη παρεκόμιζεν καὶ μηχανάς, τούτων γὰρ διὰ τὴν χρείαν περιείχοντο καὶ μάλιστα δεδοικότες, μὴ Ἰουδαίοις κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ἁλῷ, προῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ Βεθώρων. [547] οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι κατὰ μὲν τὰς εὐρυχωρίας ἧττον ἐπέκειντο, συνειληθέντων δὲ εἰς τὰ στενὰ καὶ τὴν κατάβασιν οἱ μὲν φθάσαντες εἶργον αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐξόδου, ἄλλοι δὲ τοὺς ὑστάτους κατεώθουν εἰς τὴν φάραγγα, τὸ δὲ πᾶν πλῆθος παρεκταθὲν ὑπὲρ τὸν αὐχένα τῆς ὁδοῦ κατεκάλυπτε τὴν φάλαγγα τοῖς βέλεσιν. [548] ἔνθα καὶ τῶν πεζῶν ἀμηχανούντων προσαμύνειν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπισφαλέστερος τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ὁ κίνδυνος ἦν: οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τάξει κατὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ βαδίζειν ἐδύναντο βαλλόμενοι, καὶ τὸ πρόσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἱππάσιμον οὐκ ἦν: [549] τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα κρημνοὶ καὶ φάραγγες, εἰς οὓς ἀποσφαλέντες κατεφθείροντο, καὶ οὔτε φυγῆς τις τόπον οὔτε ἀμύνης εἶχεν ἐπίνοιαν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἀμηχανίας ἐπ᾽ οἰμωγὴν ἐτράποντο καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἀπογνώσεσιν ὀδυρμούς: ἀντήχει δ᾽ αὐτοῖς τὸ παρὰ Ἰουδαίων ἐγκέλευσμα καὶ κραυγὴ χαιρόντων ἅμα καὶ τεθυμωμένων. [550] ὀλίγου δὲ δεῖν πᾶσαν ἀνήρπασαν τὴν ἅμα Κεστίῳ δύναμιν, εἰ μὴ νὺξ ἐπέλαβεν, ἐν ᾗ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν εἰς τὴν Βεθώραν κατέφυγον, Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ πάντα τὰ κύκλῳ περισχόντες ἐφρούρουν αὐτῶν τὴν ἔξοδον.

8. That therefore he might fly the faster, he gave orders to cast away what might hinder his army's march; so they killed the mules and other creatures, excepting those that carried their darts and machines, which they retained for their own use, and this principally because they were afraid lest the Jews should seize upon them. He then made his army march on as far as Bethoron. Now the Jews did not so much press upon them when they were in large open places; but when they

were penned up in their descent through narrow passages, then did some of them get before, and hindered them from getting out of them; and others of them thrust the hinder-most down into the lower places; and the whole multitude extended themselves over against the neck of the passage, and covered the Roman army with their darts. In which circumstances, as the footmen knew not how to defend themselves, so the danger pressed the horsemen still more, for they were so pelted, that they could not march along the road in their ranks, and the ascents were so high, that the cavalry were not able to march against the enemy; the precipices also and valleys into which they frequently fell, and tumbled down, were such on each side of them, that there was neither place for their flight, nor any contrivance could be thought of for their defense; till the distress they were at last in was so great, that they betook themselves to lamentations, and to such mournful cries as men use in the utmost despair: the joyful acclamations of the Jews also, as they encouraged one another, echoed the sounds back again, these last composing a noise of those that at once rejoiced and were in a rage. Indeed, things were come to such a pass, that the Jews had almost taken Cestius's entire army prisoners, had not the night come on, when the Romans fled to Bethoron, and the Jews seized upon all the places round about them, and watched for their coming out [in the morning].

(9) [551] Ἔνθα δὴ Κέστιος τὴν φανερὰν ὁδὸν ἀπογνοὺς δρασμὸν ἐβουλεύετο καὶ διακρίνας τοὺς εὐψυχοτάτους στρατιώτας ὡσεὶ τετρακοσίους ἐπέστησεν τῶν δωμάτων, προστάξας ἀναβοᾶν τὰ σημεῖα τῶν ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις φυλάκων, ὅπως Ἰουδαῖοι πᾶσαν οἴωνται τὴν δύναμιν κατὰ χώραν μένειν: αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀναλαβὼν ἡσυχῇ τριάκοντα πρόεισιν σταδίους. [552] ἕωθεν δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι κατιδόντες ἔρημον τὴν ἔπαυλιν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐξαπατήσαντας τετρακοσίους ἔδραμον, κἀκείνους μὲν ταχέως κατηκόντισαν, ἐδίωκον δὲ τὸν Κέστιον. [553] ὁ δὲ τῆς τε νυκτὸς οὐκ ὀλίγον προειλήφει καὶ συντονώτερον ἔφευγεν μεθ' ἡμέραν, ὥστε τοὺς στρατιώτας ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως καὶ δέους τάς τε ἐλεπόλεις καὶ τοὺς ὀξυβελεῖς καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὀργάνων καταλιπεῖν, ἃ τότε Ἰουδαῖοι λαβόντες αὖθις ἐχρήσαντο κατὰ τῶν ἀφέντων. [554] προῆλθον δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διώκοντες μέχρι Ἀντιπατρίδος. ἔπειθ' ὡς οὐ κατελάμβανον, ὑποστρέφοντες τάς τε μηχανὰς ᾖρον καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐσύλων τήν τε ἀπολειφθεῖσαν λείαν συνῆγον καὶ μετὰ παιάνων εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν ἐπαλινδρόμουν, [555] αὐτοὶ μὲν ὀλίγους ἀποβεβλημένοι παντάπασιν, τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων πεζοὺς μὲν πεντακισχιλίους καὶ τριακοσίους ἀνῃρηκότες, ἱππεῖς δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίους. τάδε μὲν οὖν ἐπράχθη Δίου μηνὸς ὀγδόῃ δωδεκάτῳ τῆς Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας ἔτει.

9. And then it was that Cestius, despairing of obtaining room for a public march, contrived how he might best run away; and when he had selected four hundred of the most courageous of his soldiers, he placed them at the strongest of their fortifications, and gave order, that when they went up to the morning guard, they should erect their ensigns, that the Jews might be made to believe that the entire army was there still, while he himself took the rest of his forces with him, and marched, without any noise, thirty furlongs. But when the Jews perceived, in the morning, that the camp was empty, they ran upon those four hundred who had deluded them, and immediately threw their darts at them, and slew them; and then pursued after Cestius. But he had already made use of a great part of the night in his flight, and still marched quicker when it was day; insomuch that the soldiers, through the astonishment and fear they were in, left behind them their engines for sieges, and for throwing of stones, and a great part of the instruments of war. So the Jews went on pursuing the Romans as far as Antipatris; after which, seeing they could not overtake them, they came back, and took the engines, and spoiled the dead bodies, and gathered the prey together which the Romans had left behind them, and came back running and singing to their metropolis; while they had themselves lost a few only, but had slain of the Romans five thousand and three hundred footmen, and three hundred and eighty horsemen. This defeat happened on the eighth day of the month Dius, [Marchesvan,] in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero.

XX

CHAPTER 20.

Cestius Sends Ambassadors To Nero. The People Of Damascus Slay Those Jews That Lived With Them. The People Of Jerusalem After They Had [Left Off] Pursuing Cestius, Return To The City And Get Things Ready For Its Defense And Make A Great Many Generals For Their Armies And Particularly Josephus The Writer Of These Books. Some Account Of His Administration.

(1) [556] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Κεστίου συμφορὰν πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν Ἰουδαίων ὥσπερ βαπτιζομένης νηὸς ἀπενήχοντο τῆς πόλεως. Κοστόβαρος γοῦν καὶ Σάουλος ἀδελφοὶ σὺν Φιλίππῳ τῷ Ἰακίμου, στρατοπεδάρχης δ' ἦν οὗτος Ἀγρίππα τοῦ βασιλέως, διαδράντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ᾤχοντο πρὸς Κέστιον: [557] ὁ δὲ σὺν τούτοις

κατὰ τὴν βασιλικὴν αὐλὴν πολιορκηθεὶς Ἀντίπας ὑπεριδὼν τὴν φυγὴν αὖθις ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν στασιαστῶν διεφθάρη δηλώσομεν. [558] Κέστιος δὲ τοὺς περὶ Σάουλον ἀξιώσαντας ἀνέπεμψεν εἰς Ἀχαίαν πρὸς Νέρωνα τήν τε αὐτῶν δηλώσοντας ἀνάγκην καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τοῦ πολέμου τρέψοντας εἰς Φλῶρον: τὴν γὰρ ἐπ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ὀργὴν κουφίσειν καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ κινδύνους ἤλπισεν.

1. After this calamity had befallen Cestius, many of the most eminent of the Jews swam away from the city, as from a ship when it was going to sink; Costobarus, therefore, and Saul, who were brethren, together with Philip, the son of Jacimus, who was the commander of king Agrippa's forces, ran away from the city, and went to Cestius. But then how Antipas, who had been besieged with them in the king's palace, but would not fly away with them, was afterward slain by the seditious, we shall relate hereafter. However, Cestius sent Saul and his friends, at their own desire, to Achaia, to Nero, to inform him of the great distress they were in, and to lay the blame of their kindling the war upon Florus, as hoping to alleviate his own danger, by provoking his indignation against Florus.

(2) [559] Κἀν τούτῳ Δαμασκηνοὶ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων φθορὰν πυθόμενοι τοὺς παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῖς Ἰουδαίους ἀνελεῖν ἐσπούδασαν. [560] καὶ καθὸ μὲν εἶχον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ συνηθροισμένους πάλαι διὰ τὰς ὑποψίας τοῦτο πραγματευσάμενοι, ῥᾴστην τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἐδόκουν: ἐδεδοίκεισαν δὲ τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας ἁπάσας πλὴν ὀλίγων ὑπηγμένας τῇ Ἰουδαϊκῇ θρησκείᾳ: [561] διὸ μέγιστος αὐτοῖς ἀγὼν ἐγένετο λαθεῖν ἐκείνας. τοὺς δὲ Ἰουδαίους ὡς ἂν ἐν στενῷ χωρίῳ τὸν ἀριθμὸν μυρίους καὶ πεντακοσίους πάντας ἀνόπλους ἐπελθόντες ὑπὸ μίαν ὥραν ἀδεῶς ἀπέσφαξαν.

2. In the mean time, the people of Damascus, when they were informed of the destruction of the Romans, set about the slaughter of those Jews that were among them; and as they had them already cooped up together in the place of public exercises, which they had done out of the suspicion they had of them, they thought they should meet with no difficulty in the attempt; yet did they distrust their own wives, which were almost all of them addicted to the Jewish religion; on which account it was that their greatest concern was, how they might conceal these things from them; so they came upon the Jews, and cut their throats, as being in a narrow place, in number ten thousand, and all of them unarmed, and this in one hour's time, without any body to disturb them.

(3) [562] Οἱ δὲ διώξαντες τὸν Κέστιον ὡς ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, τοὺς μὲν βίᾳ τῶν ἔτι ῥωμαιζόντων τοὺς δὲ πειθοῖ προσήγοντο, καὶ συναθροισθέντες εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν στρατηγοὺς ἀπεδείκνυσαν τοῦ πολέμου πλείονας. [563] ᾑρέθη δὲ Ἰώσηπός τε υἱὸς Γωρίονος καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἄνανος τῶν τε κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἁπάντων

αὐτοκράτορες καὶ μάλιστα τὰ τείχη τῆς πόλεως ἀνεγείρειν: [564] τὸν γὰρ τοῦ Σίμωνος υἱὸν Ἐλεάζαρον καίπερ ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτῷ πεποιημένον τὴν Ῥωμαίων λείαν καὶ τὰ ἁρπαγέντα Κεστίου χρήματα, πρὸς οἷς πολλὰ τῶν δημοσίων θησαυρῶν, ὅμως οὐκ ἐπέστησαν ταῖς χρείαις αὐτόν τε τυραννικὸν ὁρῶντες καὶ τοὺς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῷ ζηλωτὰς δορυφόρων ἔθεσι χρωμένους. [565] κατ᾽ ὀλίγον γε μὴν ἥ τε χρεία τῶν χρημάτων καὶ γοητεύων Ἐλεάζαρος ἐκπεριῆλθε τὸν δῆμον ὥστε αὐτῷ πειθαρχεῖν περὶ τῶν ὅλων.

3. But as to those who had pursued after Cestius, when they were returned back to Jerusalem, they overbore some of those that favored the Romans by violence, and some them persuaded [by entreaties] to join with them, and got together in great numbers in the temple, and appointed a great many generals for the war. Joseph also, the son of Gorion, and Ananus the high priest, were chosen as governors of all affairs within the city, and with a particular charge to repair the walls of the city; for they did not ordain Eleazar the son of Simon to that office, although he had gotten into his possession the prey they had taken from the Romans, and the money they had taken from Cestius, together with a great part of the public treasures, because they saw he was of a tyrannical temper, and that his followers were, in their behavior, like guards about him. However, the want they were in of Eleazar's money, and the subtle tricks used by him, brought all so about, that the people were circumvented, and submitted themselves to his authority in all public affairs.

(4) [566] Εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν ἑτέρους ἐπελέξαντο στρατηγοὺς Ἰησοῦν υἱὸν Σαπφᾶ τῶν ἀρχιερέων ἕνα καὶ Ἐλεάζαρον ἀρχιερέως υἱὸν Νέου: τῷ δ᾽ ἄρχοντι τότε τῆς Ἰδουμαίας Νίγερι, γένος δ᾽ ἦν ἐκ τῆς περὶ Ἰορδάνην Περαίας, διὸ καὶ Περαίτης ἐκαλεῖτο, προσέταξαν ὑποτάσσεσθαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. [567] ἠμέλουν δὲ οὐδὲ τῆς ἄλλης χώρας, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς μὲν Ἰεριχοῦν Ἰώσηπος ὁ Σίμωνος, εἰς δὲ τὴν Περαίαν Μανασσῆς, Θαμνᾶ δὲ τοπαρχίας Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἐσσαῖος στρατηγήσων ἐπέμφθη: προσκεκλήρωτο δ᾽ αὐτῷ Λύδδα καὶ Ἰόππη καὶ Ἀμμαοῦς. [568] τῆς δὲ Γοφνιτικῆς καὶ Ἀκραβεττηνῆς ὁ Ἀνανίου Ἰωάννης ἡγεμὼν ἀποδείκνυται καὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἑκατέρας Ἰώσηπος Ματθίου: προσώριστο δὲ τῇ τούτου στρατηγίᾳ καὶ Γάμαλα τῶν ταύτῃ πόλεων ὀχυρωτάτη.

4. They also chose other generals for Idumea; Jesus, the son of Sapphias, one of the high priests; and Eleazar, the son of Ananias, the high priest; they also enjoined Niger, the then governor of Idumea, who was of a family that belonged to Perea, beyond Jordan, and was thence called the Peraite, that he should be obedient to those fore-named commanders. Nor did they neglect the care of other parts of the country; but Joseph the son of Simon was sent as general to

Jericho, as was Manasseh to Perea, and John, the Esscue, to the toparchy of Thamna; Lydda was also added to his portion, and Joppa, and Emmaus. But John, the son of Matthias, was made governor of the toparchies of Gophnitica and Acrabattene; as was Josephus, the son of Matthias, of both the Galilees. Gamala also, which was the strongest city in those parts, was put under his command.

(5) [569] Τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν ἕκαστος ὡς εἶχεν προθυμίας ἢ συνέσεως διῴκει τὰ πεπιστευμένα: Ἰώσηπος δὲ εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐλθὼν πρῶτον ἐφρόντισεν τῆς εἰς ἑαυτὸν εὐνοίας τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, εἰδὼς ὅτι ταύτῃ πλεῖστα κατορθώσει, κἂν τἆλλα διαμαρτάνῃ. [570] συνιδὼν δὲ ὅτι τοὺς μὲν δυνατοὺς οἰκειώσεται μεταδιδοὺς τῆς ἐξουσίας αὐτοῖς, τὸ δὲ πᾶν πλῆθος εἰ δι᾽ ἐπιχωρίων καὶ συνήθων τὰ πολλὰ προστάσσοι, τῶν μὲν γηραιῶν ἑβδομήκοντα τοὺς σωφρονεστάτους ἐπιλέξας ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους κατέστησεν ἄρχοντας ὅλης τῆς Γαλιλαίας, [571] ἑπτὰ δὲ ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει δικαστὰς τῶν εὐτελεστέρων διαφόρων: τὰ γὰρ μείζω πράγματα καὶ τὰς φονικὰς δίκας ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ἀναπέμπειν ἐκέλευσεν καὶ τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα.

5. So every one of the other commanders administered the affairs of his portion with that alacrity and prudence they were masters of; but as to Josephus, when he came into Galilee, his first care was to gain the good-will of the people of that country, as sensible that he should thereby have in general good success, although he should fail in other points. And being conscious to himself that if he communicated part of his power to the great men, he should make them his fast friends; and that he should gain the same favor from the multitude, if he executed his commands by persons of their own country, and with whom they were well acquainted; he chose out seventy of the most prudent men, and those elders in age, and appointed them to be rulers of all Galilee, as he chose seven judges in every city to hear the lesser quarrels; for as to the greater causes, and those wherein life and death were concerned, he enjoined they should be brought to him and the seventy elders.

(6) [572] Καταστησάμενος δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους νόμιμα τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔξωθεν αὐτῶν ἀσφάλειαν ἐχώρει. [573] καὶ γινώσκων Ῥωμαίους προεμβαλοῦντας εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῶν χωρίων ἐτείχιζεν, Ἰωτάπατα μὲν καὶ Βηρσαβὲ καὶ Σελάμην, ἔτι δὲ Καφαρεκχὼ καὶ Ἰαφὰ καὶ Σιγὼφ τό τε Ἰταβύριον καλούμενον ὄρος καὶ Ταριχέας καὶ Τιβεριάδα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὰ περὶ Γεννησὰρ τὴν λίμνην σπήλαια κατὰ τὴν κάτω καλουμένην Γαλιλαίαν ἐτειχίσατο, τῆς δὲ ἄνω Γαλιλαίας τήν τε προσαγορευομένην Ἀκχαβάρων πέτραν καὶ Σὲπφ καὶ Ἰαμνεὶθ καὶ Μηρώ. [574] κατὰ δὲ τὴν Γαυλανιτικὴν Σελεύκειάν τε καὶ Σωγαναίαν

καὶ Γάμαλαν ὠχύρωσεν: μόνοις δὲ Σεπφωρίταις ἐφῆκε καθ᾽ ἑαυτοὺς τεῖχος ἀναδείμασθαι χρημάτων τε εὐπόρους ὁρῶν ὄντας καὶ προθύμους ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον δίχα προστάγματος. [575] ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Γίσχαλα Ἰωάννης ὁ Ληίου καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ἐτείχιζεν Ἰωσήπου κελεύσαντος: τοῖς δ᾽ ἄλλοις ἐρύμασιν ἅπασιν αὐτὸς συμπονῶν ἅμα καὶ προστάσσων παρῆν. [576] κατέλεξεν δὲ καὶ δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὑπὲρ δέκα μυριάδας νέων ἀνδρῶν, οὓς πάντας ἔκ τε τῶν συλλεγομένων παλαιῶν ὅπλων ἐγκατασκευαζόμενος ὥπλιζεν.

6. Josephus also, when he had settled these rules for determining causes by the law, with regard to the people's dealings one with another, betook himself to make provisions for their safety against external violence; and as he knew the Romans would fall upon Galilee, he built walls in proper places about Jotapata, and Bersabee, and Selamis; and besides these, about Capharecco, and Japha, and Sigo, and what they call Mount Tabor, and Taricheae, and Tiberias. Moreover, he built walls about the caves near the lake of Gennesar, which places lay in the Lower Galilee; the same he did to the places of Upper Galilee, as well as to the rock called the Rock of the Achabari, and to Seph, and Jamnith, and Meroth; and in Gaulonitis he fortified Seleucia, and Sogane, and Gamala; but as to those of Sepphoris, they were the only people to whom he gave leave to build their own walls, and this because he perceived they were rich and wealthy, and ready to go to war, without standing in need of any injunctions for that purpose. The case was the same with Gischala, which had a wall built about it by John the son of Levi himself, but with the consent of Josephus; but for the building of the rest of the fortresses, he labored together with all the other builders, and was present to give all the necessary orders for that purpose. He also got together an army out of Galilee, of more than a hundred thousand young men, all of which he armed with the old weapons which he had collected together and prepared for them.

(7) [577] Ἔπειτα συνιδὼν ἀήττητον τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἰσχὺν γεγενημένην εὐπειθείᾳ μάλιστα καὶ μελέτῃ τῶν ὅπλων, τὴν μὲν διδασκαλίαν ἀπέγνω τῇ χρείᾳ διωκομένην, τὸ δ᾽ εὐπειθὲς ὁρῶν περιγινόμενον ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἡγεμόνων ῥωμαικώτερον ἔτεμνεν τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ πλείους καθίστατο ταξιάρχους. [578] στρατιωτῶν τε γὰρ ἀπεδείκνυεν διαφοράς, καὶ τούτους μὲν ὑπέτασσεν δεκαδάρχαις καὶ ἑκατοντάρχαις ἔπειτα χιλιάρχοις, κἀπὶ τούτοις ἡγεμόνας ταγμάτων ἀδροτέρων ἀφηγουμένους. [579] ἐδίδασκεν δὲ σημείων παραδόσεις καὶ σάλπιγγος προκλήσεις τε καὶ ἀνακλήσεις προσβολάς τε κεράτων καὶ περιαγωγάς, καὶ πῶς δεῖ πρὸς μὲν τὸ κάμνον ἐπιστρέφειν ἐκ τοῦ περιόντος, ἐν δὲ τῷ πονοῦντι συμπαθεῖν. [580] ὅσα τε εἰς παράστασιν ψυχῆς ἢ καρτερίαν συνετέλει σώματος ἀφηγεῖτο: μάλιστα δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἤσκει πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον παρ᾽ ἕκαστα τὴν

Ῥωμαίων εὐταξίαν διηγούμενος, καὶ ὡς πολεμήσουσιν πρὸς ἄνδρας, οἳ δι᾽ ἀλκὴν σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς παράστημα πάσης ὀλίγου δεῖν τῆς οἰκουμένης κρατοῦσιν. [581] ἔφη δὲ πεῖραν αὐτῶν λήψεσθαι τῆς κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον πειθαρχίας καὶ πρὸ παρατάξεως, εἰ τῶν συνήθων ἀδικημάτων ἀπόσχοιντο, κλοπῆς τε καὶ λῃστείας καὶ ἁρπαγῆς τοῦ τε ἐξαπατᾶν τὸ ὁμόφυλον τοῦ τε κέρδος οἰκεῖον ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν βλάβην τῶν συνηθεστάτων: [582] διοικεῖσθαι γὰρ κάλλιστα τοὺς πολέμους παρ᾽ οἷς ἂν ἀγαθὸν τὸ συνειδὸς ἔχωσιν πάντες οἱ στρατευόμενοι, τοὺς δὲ οἴκοθεν φαύλους οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἐπιοῦσιν ἐχθροῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ θεῷ χρῆσθαι πολεμίῳ.

7. And when he had considered that the Roman power became invincible, chiefly by their readiness in obeying orders, and the constant exercise of their arms, he despaired of teaching these his men the use of their arms, which was to be obtained by experience; but observing that their readiness in obeying orders was owing to the multitude of their officers, he made his partitions in his army more after the Roman manner, and appointed a great many subalterns. He also distributed the soldiers into various classes, whom he put under captains of tens, and captains of hundreds, and then under captains of thousands; and besides these, he had commanders of larger bodies of men. He also taught them to give the signals one to another, and to call and recall the soldiers by the trumpets, how to expand the wings of an army, and make them wheel about; and when one wing hath had success, to turn again and assist those that were hard set, and to join in the defense of what had most suffered. He also continually instructed them in what concerned the courage of the soul, and the hardiness of the body; and, above all, he exercised them for war, by declaring to them distinctly the good order of the Romans, and that they were to fight with men who, both by the strength of their bodies and courage of their souls, had conquered in a manner the whole habitable earth. He told them that he should make trial of the good order they would observe in war, even before it came to any battle, in case they would abstain from the crimes they used to indulge themselves in, such as theft, and robbery, and rapine, and from defrauding their own countrymen, and never to esteem the harm done to those that were so near of kin to them to be any advantage to themselves; for that wars are then managed the best when the warriors preserve a good conscience; but that such as are ill men in private life will not only have those for enemies which attack them, but God himself also for their antagonist.

(8) [583] Πολλὰ τοιαῦτα παραινῶν διετέλει. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἕτοιμον εἰς παράταξιν αὐτῷ συνεκεκρότητο πεζῶν μὲν ἓξ μυριάδες, ἱππεῖς δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακόσιοι, χωρὶς δὲ τούτων οἷς ἐπεποίθει μάλιστα μισθοφόροι περὶ τετρακισχιλίους καὶ

πεντακοσίους: ἐπιλέκτους δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχεν ἑξακοσίους φύλακας τοῦ σώματος. [584] ἔτρεφον δὲ πλὴν τῶν μισθοφόρων τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν αἱ πόλεις ῥᾳδίως: τῶν γὰρ καταλεγέντων ἑκάστη τοὺς ἡμίσεις ἐπὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκπέμπουσα τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπὶ συμπορισμὸν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων κατεῖχον, ὡς τοὺς μὲν εἰς ὅπλα, τοὺς δὲ εἰς ἐργασίαν διῃρῆσθαι, καὶ τοῖς τὰ σῖτα πέμπουσιν ἀντιχορηγεῖσθαι παρὰ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν.

8. And thus did he continue to admonish them. Now he chose for the war such an army as was sufficient, *i.e.* sixty thousand footmen, and two hundred and fifty horsemen; and besides these, on which he put the greatest trust, there were about four thousand five hundred mercenaries; he had also six hundred men as guards of his body. Now the cities easily maintained the rest of his army, excepting the mercenaries, for every one of the cities enumerated above sent out half their men to the army, and retained the other half at home, in order to get provisions for them; insomuch that the one part went to the war, and the other part to their work, and so those that sent out their corn were paid for it by those that were in arms, by that security which they enjoyed from them.

XXI

CHAPTER 21.

Concerning John Of Gichala. Josephus Uses Stratagems Against

The Plots John Laid Against Him And Recovers Certain Cities

Which Had Revolted From Him.

(1) [585] Διοικοῦντι δ' οὕτως τῷ Ἰωσήπῳ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν παρανίσταταί τις ἐπίβουλος ἀνὴρ ἀπὸ Γισχάλων, υἱὸς Ληίου, Ἰωάννης ὄνομα, πανουργότατος μὲν καὶ δολιώτατος τῶν ἐπισήμων ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς πονηρεύμασιν ἁπάντων, πένης δὲ τὰ πρῶτα καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ κώλυμα σχὼν τῆς κακίας τὴν ἀπορίαν, [586] ἕτοιμος μὲν ψεύσασθαι, δεινὸς δ' ἐπιθεῖναι πίστιν τοῖς ἐψευσμένοις, ἀρετὴν ἡγούμενος τὴν ἀπάτην καὶ ταύτῃ κατὰ τῶν φιλτάτων χρώμενος, ὑποκριτὴς φιλανθρωπίας καὶ δι' ἐλπίδα κέρδους φονικώτατος, [587] ἀεὶ μὲν ἐπιθυμήσας μεγάλων, τρέφων δὲ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐκ τῶν ταπεινῶν κακουργημάτων: λῃστὴς γὰρ ἦν μονότροπος, ἔπειτα καὶ συνοδίαν εὗρεν τῆς τόλμης τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀλίγην, προκόπτων δ' ἀεὶ πλείονα. [588] φροντὶς δ' ἦν αὐτῷ μηδένα προσλαμβάνειν εὐάλωτον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς εὐεξίᾳ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς παραστήματι καὶ πολέμων ἐμπειρίᾳ διαφέροντας ἐξελέγετο, μέχρι καὶ τετρακοσίων ἀνδρῶν στῖφος συνεκρότησεν, οἳ τὸ πλέον ἐκ τῆς Τυρίων χώρας καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ κωμῶν φυγάδες ἦσαν: [589] δι' ὧν πᾶσαν

ἐλῄζετο τὴν Γαλιλαίαν καὶ μετεώρους ὄντας ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλοντι πολέμῳ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐσπάρασσεν.

1. Now as Josephus was thus engaged in the administration of the affairs of Galilee, there arose a treacherous person, a man of Gischala, the son of Levi, whose name was John. His character was that of a very cunning and very knavish person, beyond the ordinary rate of the other men of eminence there, and for wicked practices he had not his fellow any where. Poor he was at first, and for a long time his wants were a hinderance to him in his wicked designs. He was a ready liar, and yet very sharp in gaining credit to his fictions: he thought it a point of virtue to delude people, and would delude even such as were the dearest to him. He was a hypocritical pretender to humanity, but where he had hopes of gain, he spared not the shedding of blood: his desires were ever carried to great things, and he encouraged his hopes from those mean wicked tricks which he was the author of. He had a peculiar knack at thieving; but in some time he got certain companions in his impudent practices; at first they were but few, but as he proceeded on in his evil course, they became still more and more numerous. He took care that none of his partners should be easily caught in their rogueries, but chose such out of the rest as had the strongest constitutions of body, and the greatest courage of soul, together with great skill in martial affairs; as he got together a band of four hundred men, who came principally out of the country of Tyre, and were vagabonds that had run away from its villages; and by the means of these he laid waste all Galilee, and irritated a considerable number, who were in great expectation of a war then suddenly to arise among them.

(2) [590] Ἤδη δ' αὐτὸν στρατηγιῶντα καὶ μειζόνων ἐφιέμενον ἔνδεια χρημάτων κατεῖχεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ὁρῶν αὐτοῦ [σφόδρα] χαίροντα τῷ δραστηρίῳ πείθει πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῷ πιστεῦσαι τὸ τεῖχος ἀνοικοδομῆσαι τῆς πατρίδος, ἐν ᾧ πολλὰ παρὰ τῶν πλουσίων ἐκέρδανεν: [591] ἔπειτα συνθεὶς σκηνὴν πανουργοτάτην, ὡς ἄρα φυλάττοιντο πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν Ἰουδαῖοι ἐλαίῳ χρῆσθαι μὴ δι' ὁμοφύλων ἐγκεχειρισμένῳ, πέμπειν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν μεθορίαν ἐξῃτήσατο. [592] συνωνούμενος δὲ τοῦ Τυρίου νομίσματος, ὃ τέσσαρας Ἀττικὰς δύναται, τέσσαρας ἀμφορεῖς, τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπίπρασκεν τιμῆς ἡμιαμφόριον. οὔσης δὲ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐλαιοφόρου μάλιστα καὶ τότε εὐφορηκυίας, εἰς σπανίζοντας εἰσπέμπων πολὺ καὶ μόνος ἄπειρόν τι πλῆθος συνῆγεν χρημάτων, οἷς εὐθέως ἐχρῆτο κατὰ τοῦ τὴν ἐργασίαν παρασχόντος. [593] καὶ ὑπολαβών, εἰ καταλύσειεν τὸν Ἰώσηπον, αὐτὸς ἡγήσεσθαι τῆς Γαλιλαίας, τοῖς μὲν ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν λῃσταῖς προσέταξεν εὐτονώτερον ἐγχειρεῖν ταῖς ἁρπαγαῖς, ὅπως πολλῶν νεωτεριζομένων κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἢ διαχρήσαιτό που τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐκβοηθοῦντα λοχήσας ἢ περιορῶντα τοὺς λῃστὰς διαβάλλοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους. [594] ἔπειτα διεφήμιζεν

πόρρωθεν, ὡς ἄρα προδιδοίη τὰ πράγματα Ῥωμαίοις Ἰώσηπος, καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς κατάλυσιν τἀνδρὸς ἐπραγματεύετο.

2. However, John's want of money had hitherto restrained him in his ambition after command, and in his attempts to advance himself. But when he saw that Josephus was highly pleased with the activity of his temper, he persuaded him, in the first place, to intrust him with the repairing of the walls of his native city, [Gischala,] in which work he got a great deal of money from the rich citizens. He after that contrived a very shrewd trick, and pretending that the Jews who dwelt in Syria were obliged to make use of oil that was made by others than those of their own nation, he desired leave of Josephus to send oil to their borders; so he bought four amphorae with such Tyrian money as was of the value of four Attic drachmae, and sold every half-amphora at the same price. And as Galilee was very fruitful in oil, and was peculiarly so at that time, by sending away great quantities, and having the sole privilege so to do, he gathered an immense sum of money together, which money he immediately used to the disadvantage of him who gave him that privilege; and, as he supposed, that if he could once overthrow Josephus, he should himself obtain the government of Galilee; so he gave orders to the robbers that were under his command to be more zealous in their thievish expeditions, that by the rise of many that desired innovations in the country, he might either catch their general in his snares, as he came to the country's assistance, and then kill him; or if he should overlook the robbers, he might accuse him for his negligence to the people of the country. He also spread abroad a report far and near that Josephus was delivering up the administration of affairs to the Romans; and many such plots did he lay, in order to ruin him.

(3) [595] Καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἀπὸ Δεβαρίθθων κώμης νεανίσκοι τινὲς τῶν ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ καθεζομένων φυλάκων ἐνεδρεύσαντες Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Ἀγρίππα καὶ Βερνίκης ἐπίτροπον ἀφείλοντο πᾶσαν ὅσην ἦγεν ἀποσκευήν, ἐν ᾗ πολυτελεῖς τε ἐσθῆτες οὐκ ὀλίγαι καὶ πλῆθος ἐκπωμάτων ἀργυρῶν χρυσοῖ τε ἦσαν ἑξακόσιοι. [596] μὴ δυνάμενοι δὲ διαθέσθαι κρύφα τὴν ἁρπαγὴν πάντα πρὸς Ἰώσηπον εἰς Ταριχέας ἐκόμισαν. [597] ὁ δὲ μεμψάμενος αὐτῶν τὸ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλικοὺς βίαιον τίθησιν τὰ κομισθέντα παρὰ τῷ δυνατωτάτῳ τῶν Ταριχεατῶν Ἀνναίῳ, πέμψαι κατὰ καιρὸν τοῖς δεσπόταις προαιρούμενος: ὃ δὴ μέγιστον αὐτῷ κίνδυνον ἐπήγαγεν. [598] οἱ γὰρ ἁρπάσαντες ἅμα μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ μηδεμιᾶς τυχεῖν μερίδος ἐκ τῶν κεκομισμένων ἀγανακτοῦντες, ἅμα δὲ καὶ προσκεψάμενοι τοῦ Ἰωσήπου τὴν διάνοιαν, ὅτι μέλλοι τὸν πόνον αὐτῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν χαρίζεσθαι. νύκτωρ εἰς τὰς κώμας διέδραμον καὶ πᾶσιν ἐνεδείκνυντο τὸν Ἰώσηπον ὡς προδότην: ἐνέπλησαν δὲ καὶ τὰς πλησίον πόλεις ταραχῆς, ὥστε ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω δέκα μυριάδας

ὁπλιτῶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν συνδραμεῖν. [599] καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ταριχέας ἱπποδρόμῳ συνηθροισμένον πολλὰ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀνεβόα καὶ καταλεύειν οἱ δὲ καίειν τὸν προδότην ἐκεκράγεσαν: παρώξυνεν δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὁ Ἰωάννης καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Ἰησοῦς τις υἱὸς Σαπφία, τότε ἄρχων τῆς Τιβεριάδος. [600] οἱ μὲν οὖν φίλοι καὶ σωματοφύλακες τοῦ Ἰωσήπου καταπλαγέντες τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ πλήθους ἔφυγον πλὴν τεσσάρων πάντες, αὐτὸς δὲ κοιμώμενος ἤδη προσφερομένου τοῦ πυρὸς διανίσταται, [601] καὶ παραινούντων φεύγειν τῶν τεσσάρων, οἳ παρέμειναν, οὔτε πρὸς τὴν καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ἐρημίαν οὔτε πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐφεστώτων καταπλαγεὶς προπηδᾷ, περιρρηξάμενος μὲν τὴν ἐσθῆτα, καταπασάμενος δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς κόνιν, ἀποστρέψας δὲ ὀπίσω τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὸ ἴδιον ξίφος ἐπιδήσας τῷ τένοντι. [602] πρὸς ταῦτα τῶν μὲν οἰκείως ἐχόντων, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν Ταριχεατῶν, οἰκτος ἦν, οἱ δ᾽ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν πλησίον ὅσοις ἐδόκει φορτικὸς ἐβλασφήμουν, προφέρειν τε τὰ κοινὰ χρήματα θᾶττον ἐκέλευον καὶ τὰς προδοτικὰς συνθήκας ἐξομολογεῖσθαι: [603] προειλήφεσαν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ σχήματος οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἀρνήσεσθαι τῶν ὑπονοηθέντων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ συγγνώμης πορισμῷ πάντα πεποιηκέναι τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἔλεον. [604] τῷ δ᾽ ἦν ἡ ταπείνωσις προπαρασκευὴ στρατηγήματος, καὶ τεχνιτεύων τοὺς ἀγανακτοῦντας κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ κατ᾽ ἀλλήλων στασιάσαι, ἐφ᾽ οἷς ὠργίζοντο πάνθ᾽ ὁμολογήσων, [605] ἔπειτα δοθὲν αὐτῷ λέγειν, “ἐγὼ ταῦτα, ἔφη, τὰ χρήματα οὔτε ἀναπέμπειν Ἀγρίππᾳ προῃρούμην οὔτε κερδαίνειν αὐτός: μὴ γὰρ ἡγησαίμην ποτὲ ἢ φίλον τὸν ὑμῖν διάφορον ἢ κέρδος τὸ φέρον τῷ κοινῷ βλάβην. [606] ὁρῶν δέ, ὦ Ταριχεᾶται, μάλιστα τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν ἀσφαλείας δεομένην καὶ πρὸς κατασκευὴν τείχους χρῄζουσαν ἀργυρίου, δεδοικὼς δὲ τὸν Τιβεριέων δῆμον καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἐφεδρευούσας τοῖς ἡρπαγμένοις, κατασχεῖν ἡσυχῇ τὰ χρήματα προειλόμην, ἵνα ὑμῖν περιβάλωμαι τεῖχος. [607] εἰ μὴ δοκεῖ, προφέρω τὰ κεκομισμένα καὶ παρέχω διαρπάζειν: εἰ μὴ καλῶς ὑμῖν ἐβουλευσάμην, κολάζετε τὸν εὐεργέτην.”

3. Now at the same time that certain young men of the village Dabaritta, who kept guard in the Great Plain laid snares for Ptolemy, who was Agrippa’s and Bernice’s steward, and took from him all that he had with him; among which things there were a great many costly garments, and no small number of silver cups, and six hundred pieces of gold; yet were they not able to conceal what they had stolen, but brought it all to Josephus, to Taricheae. Hereupon he blamed them for the violence they had offered to the king and queen, and deposited what they brought to him with Eneas, the most potent man of Taricheae, with an intention of sending the things back to the owners at a proper time; which act of Josephus brought him into the greatest danger; for those that had stolen the things had an indignation at him, both because they gained no share of it for themselves, and because they perceived beforehand what was Josephus’s

intention, and that he would freely deliver up what had cost them so much pains to the king and queen. These ran away by night to their several villages, and declared to all men that Josephus was going to betray them: they also raised great disorders in all the neighboring cities, insomuch that in the morning a hundred thousand armed men came running together; which multitude was crowded together in the hippodrome at Taricheae, and made a very peevish clamor against him; while some cried out, that they should depose the traitor; and others, that they should burn him. Now John irritated a great many, as did also one Jesus, the son of Sapphias, who was then governor of Tiberias. Then it was that Josephus's friends, and the guards of his body, were so affrighted at this violent assault of the multitude, that they all fled away but four; and as he was asleep, they awaked him, as the people were going to set fire to the house. And although those four that remained with him persuaded him to run away, he was neither surprised at his being himself deserted, nor at the great multitude that came against him, but leaped out to them with his clothes rent, and ashes sprinkled on his head, with his hands behind him, and his sword hanging at his neck. At this sight his friends, especially those of Taricheae, commiserated his condition; but those that came out of the country, and those in their neighborhood, to whom his government seemed burdensome, reproached him, and bid him produce the money which belonged to them all immediately, and to confess the agreement he had made to betray them; for they imagined, from the habit in which he appeared, that he would deny nothing of what they suspected concerning him, and that it was in order to obtain pardon that he had put himself entirely into so pitiable a posture. But this humble appearance was only designed as preparatory to a stratagem of his, who thereby contrived to set those that were so angry at him at variance one with another about the things they were angry at. However, he promised he would confess all: hereupon he was permitted to speak, when he said, "I did neither intend to send this money back to Agrippa, nor to gain it myself; for I did never esteem one that was your enemy to be my friend, nor did I look upon what would tend to your disadvantage to be my advantage. But, O you people of Tarieheae, I saw that your city stood in more need than others of fortifications for your security, and that it wanted money in order for the building it a wall. I was also afraid lest the people of Tiberias and other cities should lay a plot to seize upon these spoils, and therefore it was that I intended to retain this money privately, that I might encompass you with a wall. But if this does not please you, I will produce what was brought me, and leave it to you to plunder it; but if I have conducted myself so well as to please you, you may if you please punish your benefactor."

(4) [608] Ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ Ταριχεῶται μὲν αὐτὸν ἀνευφήμουν, οἱ δ᾽ ἀπὸ τῆς Τιβεριάδος σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκάκιζον καὶ διηπείλουν: καταλιπόντες δ᾽ ἑκάτεροι τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἀλλήλοις διεφέροντο. κἀκεῖνος θαρρῶν ἤδη τοῖς ᾠκειωμένοις, ἦσαν δὲ εἰς τετρακισμυρίους Ταριχεᾶται, παντὶ τῷ πλήθει παρρησιαστικώτερον ὡμίλει. [609] καὶ πολλὰ τὴν προπέτειαν αὐτῶν κατονειδίσας ἐκ μὲν τῶν παρόντων Ταριχέας ἔφη τειχίσειν, ἀσφαλιεῖσθαι δὲ ὁμοίως καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις: οὐ γὰρ ἀπορήσειν χρημάτων, ἐὰν ὁμονοῶσιν ἐφ᾽ οἷς δεῖ πορίζειν καὶ μὴ παροξύνωνται κατὰ τοῦ πορίζοντος.

4. Hereupon the people of Taricheae loudly commended him; but those of Tiberias, with the rest of the company, gave him hard names, and threatened what they would do to him; so both sides left off quarrelling with Josephus, and fell on quarrelling with one another. So he grew bold upon the dependence he had on his friends, which were the people of Taricheae, and about forty thousand in number, and spake more freely to the whole multitude, and reproached them greatly for their rashness; and told them, that with this money he would build walls about Taricheae, and would put the other cities in a state of security also; for that they should not want money, if they would but agree for whose benefit it was to be procured, and would not suffer themselves to be irritated against him who procured it for them.

(5) [610] Ἔνθα δὴ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πλῆθος τῶν ἠπατημένων ἀνεχώρει καίτοι διωργισμένον, δισχίλιοι δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ὥρμησαν ἔνοπλοι, καὶ φθάσαντος εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον παρελθεῖν ἀπειλοῦντες ἐφεστήκεσαν. [611] ἐπὶ τούτοις Ἰώσηπος ἀπάτῃ δευτέρᾳ χρῆται: ἀναβὰς γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ τέγος καὶ τῇ δεξιᾷ καταστείλας τὸν θόρυβον αὐτῶν ἀγνοεῖν ἔφη τίνων ἀξιοῦσιν τυχεῖν: οὐ γὰρ κατακούειν διὰ τὴν τῆς βοῆς σύγχυσιν: ὅσα δ᾽ ἂν κελεύσωσιν πάντα ποιήσειν, εἰ τοὺς διαλεξομένους ἡσυχῇ πέμψειαν εἴσω πρὸς αὐτόν. [612] ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ γνώριμοι σὺν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν εἰσῄεσαν. ὁ δὲ σύρας αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ μυχαίτατον τῆς οἰκίας καὶ τὴν αὔλειον ἀποκλείσας ἐμαστίγωσεν, μέχρι πάντων τὰ σπλάγχνα γυμνῶσαι: περιειστήκει δὲ τέως τὸ πλῆθος δικαιολογεῖσθαι μακρότερα τοὺς εἰσελθόντας οἰόμενον. [613] ὁ δὲ τὰς θύρας ἐξαπίνης ἀνοίξας ἠμαγμένους ἐξαφῆκεν τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τοσαύτην τοῖς ἀπειλοῦσιν ἐνειργάσατο κατάπληξιν, ὥστε ῥίψαντας τὰ ὅπλα φεύγειν.

5. Hereupon the rest of the multitude that had been deluded retired; but yet so that they went away angry, and two thousand of them made an assault upon him in their armor; and as he was already gone to his own house, they stood without and threatened him. On which occasion Josephus again used a second stratagem to escape them; for he got upon the top of his house, and with his right hand desired them to be silent, and said to them, “I cannot tell what you would have,

nor can hear what you say, for the confused noise you make;" but he said that he would comply with all their demands, in case they would but send some of their number in to him that might talk with him about it. And when the principal of them, with their leaders, heard this, they came into the house. He then drew them to the most retired part of the house, and shut the door of that hall where he put them, and then had them whipped till every one of their inward parts appeared naked. In the mean time the multitude stood round the house, and supposed that he had a long discourse with those that were gone in about what they claimed of him. He had then the doors set open immediately, and sent the men out all bloody, which so terribly affrighted those that had before threatened him, that they threw away their arms and ran away.

(6) [614] Πρὸς ταῦτα Ἰωάννης ἐπέτεινεν τὸν φθόνον καὶ δευτέραν ἤρτυσεν ἐπιβουλὴν κατὰ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου. σκηψάμενος δὴ νόσον ἱκέτευσεν δι᾽ ἐπιστολῆς τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐπιτρέψαι πρὸς θεραπείαν αὐτῷ χρήσασθαι τοῖς ἐν Τιβεριάδι θερμοῖς ὕδασιν. [615] ὁ δέ, οὔπω γὰρ ὑπώπτευεν τὸν ἐπίβουλον, γράφει τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὑπάρχοις ξενίαν τε καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια Ἰωάννῃ παρασχεῖν. ὧν ἀπολαύσας μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας ἐφ᾽ ὃ παρῆν διεπράττετο, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀπάταις τοὺς δὲ χρήμασι διαφθείρων ἀνέπειθεν ἀποστῆναι Ἰωσήπου. [616] καὶ γνοὺς ταῦτα Σίλας ὁ φυλάσσειν τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ Ἰωσήπου καθεσταμένος γράφει τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν αὐτῷ κατὰ τάχος. ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος ὡς ἔλαβεν τὴν ἐπιστολήν, νυκτὸς ὁδεύσας συντόνως ἑωθινὸς παρῆν πρὸς τὴν Τιβεριάδα. [617] καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πλῆθος αὐτῷ ὑπήντα, Ἰωάννης δὲ καίτοι τὴν παρουσίαν ὑποπτεύσας ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ὅμως πέμψας τινὰ τῶν γνωρίμων ὑπεκρίνατο τὴν ἀσθένειαν καὶ κλινήρης ὢν ὑστερῆσαι τῆς θεραπείας ἔλεγεν. [618] ὡς δὲ εἰς τὸ στάδιον τοὺς Τιβεριεῖς ἀθροίσας ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἐπειρᾶτο διαλέγεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἐπεσταλμένων, ὑποπέμψας ὁπλίτας προσέταξεν αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν. [619] τούτους τὰ ξίφη γυμνοῦντας ὁ δῆμος προιδὼν ἀνεβόησεν: πρὸς δὲ τὴν κραυγὴν ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἐπιστραφεὶς καὶ θεασάμενος ἐπὶ τῆς σφαγῆς ἤδη τὸν σίδηρον ἀπεπήδησεν εἰς τὸν αἰγιαλόν: εἱστήκει δὲ δημηγορῶν ἐπὶ βουνοῦ τινος ἐξαπήχους τὸ ὕψος: καὶ παρορμοῦντος ἐπιπηδήσας σκάφους σὺν δυσὶν σωματοφύλαξιν εἰς μέσην τὴν λίμνην ἀνέφυγεν.

6. But as for John, his envy grew greater [upon this escape of Josephus], and he framed a new plot against him; he pretended to be sick, and by a letter desired that Josephus would give him leave to use the hot baths that were at Tiberias, for the recovery of his health. Hereupon Josephus, who hitherto suspected nothing of John’s plots against him, wrote to the governors of the city, that they would provide a lodging and necessaries for John; which favors, when he had made use of, in two days’ time he did what he came about; some he corrupted with delusive frauds, and others with money, and so persuaded them to revolt from Josephus. This Silas, who was appointed guardian of the city by Josephus, wrote to him immediately, and informed him of the plot against him; which epistle when Josephus had received, he marched with great diligence all night, and came early in the morning to Tiberias; at which time the rest of the multitude met him. But John, who suspected that his coming was not for his advantage, sent however one of his friends, and pretended that he was sick, and that being confined to his bed, he could not come to pay him his respects. But as soon as Josephus had got the people of Tiberias together in the stadium, and tried to discourse with them about the letters that he had received, John privately sent some armed men, and gave them orders to slay him. But when the people saw that the armed men were about to draw their swords, they cried out; at which cry

Josephus turned himself about, and when he saw that the swords were just at his throat, he marched away in great haste to the sea-shore, and left off that speech which he was going to make to the people, upon an elevation of six cubits high. He then seized on a ship which lay in the haven, and leaped into it, with two of his guards, and fled away into the midst of the lake.

(7) [620] Οἱ στρατιῶται δ᾽ αὐτοῦ ταχέως ἁρπάσαντες τὰ ὅπλα κατὰ τῶν ἐπιβούλων ἐχώρουν. ἔνθα δείσας ὁ Ἰώσηπος, μὴ πολέμου κινηθέντος ἐμφυλίου δι᾽ ὀλίγων φθόνον παραναλώσῃ τὴν πόλιν, πέμπει τοῖς σφετέροις ἄγγελον μόνης προνοεῖν τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀσφαλείας, μήτε δὲ κτείνειν τινὰ μήτ᾽ ἀπελέγχειν τῶν αἰτίων. [621] καὶ οἱ μὲν τῷ παραγγέλματι πεισθέντες ἠρέμησαν, οἱ δ᾽ ἀνὰ τὴν πέριξ χώραν πυθόμενοι τήν τε ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ τὸν συσκευάσαντα συνηθροίζοντο κατὰ Ἰωάννου: φθάνει δ᾽ ἐκεῖνος εἰς Γίσχαλα φυγὼν τὴν πατρίδα. [622] συνέρρεον δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἰώσηπον οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι κατὰ πόλεις, καὶ πολλαὶ μυριάδες ὁπλιτῶν γενόμεναι παρεῖναι σφᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην τὸν κοινὸν ἐπίβουλον ἐβόων: συγκαταφλέξειν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ὑποδεξαμένην πατρίδα. [623] ὁ δὲ ἀποδέχεσθαι μὲν αὐτῶν ἔφασκεν τὴν εὔνοιαν, ἀνεῖργεν δὲ τὴν ὁρμήν, χειρώσασθαι συνέσει τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μᾶλλον ἢ κτεῖναι προαιρούμενος. [624] ἐκλαβὼν δὲ τοὺς ἀφ᾽ ἑκάστης πόλεως Ἰωάννῃ συναφεστῶτας κατ᾽ ὄνομα, προθύμως δὲ ἐνεδείκνυντο τοὺς σφετέρους οἱ δημόται, καὶ διὰ κηρύκων ἀπειλήσας ἐντὸς ἡμέρας πέμπτης τῶν μὴ καταλιπόντων Ἰωάννην τάς τε οὐσίας διαρπάσειν καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἅμα ταῖς γενεαῖς καταφλέξειν, [625] τρισχιλίους μὲν ἀπέστησεν εὐθέως, οἳ παραγενόμενοι τὰ ὅπλα παρὰ τοῖς ποσὶν ἔρριψαν αὐτοῦ, σὺν δὲ τοῖς καταλειφθεῖσιν, ἦσαν δ᾽ ὅσον εἰς δισχιλίους Σύρων φυγάδες, ἀνέστελλεν Ἰωάννης πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰς λαθραίους ἐπιβουλὰς ἐκ τῶν φανερωτέρων. [626] κρύφα γοῦν ἔπεμπεν ἀγγέλους εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα διαβάλλων τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐπὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς δυνάμεως, φάσκων ὅσον οὐδέπω τύραννον ἐλεύσεσθαι τῆς μητροπόλεως, εἰ μὴ προκαταληφθείη. [627] ταῦθ᾽ ὁ μὲν δῆμος προειδὼς οὐ προσεῖχεν, οἱ δυνατοὶ δὲ κατὰ φθόνον καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων τινὲς λάθρα τῷ Ἰωάννῃ χρήματα πρὸς συλλογὴν μισθοφόρων ἔπεμψαν, ὅπως πολεμῇ πρὸς Ἰώσηπον: ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καθ᾽ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ μετακαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατηγίας. [628] οὐ μὴν ἠξίουν ἀποχρήσειν τὸ δόγμα: δισχιλίους δὲ καὶ πεντακοσίους ὁπλίτας καὶ τέσσαρας τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἄνδρας ἔστειλαν, τόν τε τοῦ Νομικοῦ Ἰώεσδρον καὶ Ἀνανίαν Σαδούκι καὶ Σίμωνα καὶ Ἰούδην Ἰωνάθου, πάντας εἰπεῖν δυνατωτάτους, ἵν᾽ οὗτοι τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἰώσηπον εὔνοιαν ἀποστρέψωσιν, κἂν μὲν ἑκὼν παραγένηται, λόγον ὑποσχεῖν ἐᾶν αὐτόν, εἰ δὲ βιάζοιτο μένειν, ὡς πολεμίῳ χρῆσθαι. [629] Ἰωσήπῳ δὲ παραγίνεσθαι μὲν στρατιὰν ἐπεστάλκεσαν οἱ φίλοι, τὴν δ᾽ αἰτίαν οὐ προεδήλουν ἅτε δὴ λάθρα τῶν ἐχθρῶν βεβουλευμένων. διὸ καὶ μὴ προφυλαξαμένου τέσσαρες πόλεις εὐθέως πρὸς τοὺς διαφόρους ἀπέστησαν ἐλθόντας, Σέπφωρίς τε καὶ Γάβαρα καὶ

Γίσχαλα καὶ Τιβεριάς. [630] ταχέως δὲ καὶ ταύτας προσηγάγετο δίχα τῶν ὅπλων καὶ χειρωσάμενος στρατηγήμασιν τοὺς τέσσαρας ἡγεμόνας τῶν τε ὁπλιτῶν τοὺς δυνατωτάτους ἀνέπεμψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. [631] πρὸς οὓς ὁ δῆμος οὐ μετρίως ἠγανάκτησεν καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ὥρμησεν τοὺς προπέμψαντας ἀνελεῖν, εἰ μὴ φθάσαντες ἀπέδρασαν.

7. But now the soldiers he had with him took up their arms immediately, and marched against the plotters; but Josephus was afraid lest a civil war should be raised by the envy of a few men, and bring the city to ruin; so he sent some of his party to tell them, that they should do no more than provide for their own safety; that they should not kill any body, nor accuse any for the occasion they had afforded [of disorder]. Accordingly, these men obeyed his orders, and were quiet; but the people of the neighboring country, when they were informed of this plot, and of the plotter, they got together in great multitudes to oppose John. But he prevented their attempt, and fled away to Gischala, his native city, while the Galileans came running out of their several cities to Josephus; and as they were now become many ten thousands of armed men, they cried out, that they were come against John the common plotter against their interest, and would at the same time burn him, and that city which had received him. Hereupon Josephus told them that he took their good-will to him kindly, but still he restrained their fury, and intended to subdue his enemies by prudent conduct, rather than by slaying them; so he excepted those of every city which had joined in this revolt with John, by name, who had readily been shown him by these that came from every city, and caused public proclamation to be made, that he would seize upon the effects of those that did not forsake John within five days' time, and would burn both their houses and their families with fire. Whereupon three thousand of John's party left him immediately, who came to Josephus, and threw their arms down at his feet. John then betook himself, together with his two thousand Syrian runagates, from open attempts, to more secret ways of treachery. Accordingly, he privately sent messengers to Jerusalem, to accuse Josephus, as having to great power, and to let them know that he would soon come as a tyrant to their metropolis, unless they prevented him. This accusation the people were aware of beforehand, but had no regard to it. However, some of the grandees, out of envy, and some of the rulers also, sent money to John privately, that he might be able to get together mercenary soldiers, in order to fight Josephus; they also made a decree of themselves, and this for recalling him from his government, yet did they not think that decree sufficient; so they sent withal two thousand five hundred armed men, and four persons of the highest rank amongst them; Joazar the son of Nomicus, and Ananias the son of Sadduk,

as also Simon and Judas the sons of Jonathan, all very able men in speaking, that these persons might withdraw the good-will of the people from Josephus. These had it in charge, that if he would voluntarily come away, they should permit him to [come and] give an account of his conduct; but if he obstinately insisted upon continuing in his government, they should treat him as an enemy. Now Josephus's friends had sent him word that an army was coming against him, but they gave him no notice beforehand what the reason of their coming was, that being only known among some secret councils of his enemies; and by this means it was that four cities revolted from him immediately, Sepphoris, and Gamala, and Gischala, and Tiberias. Yet did he recover these cities without war; and when he had routed those four commanders by stratagems, and had taken the most potent of their warriors, he sent them to Jerusalem; and the people [of Galilee] had great indignation at them, and were in a zealous disposition to slay, not only these forces, but those that sent them also, had not these forces prevented it by running away.

(8) [632] Ἰωάννην δὲ λοιπὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ Γισχάλων τείχους ὁ παρὰ Ἰωσήπου φόβος ἐφρούρει. καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας πάλιν ἀπέστη Τιβεριὰς ἐπικαλεσαμένων τῶν ἔνδον Ἀγρίππαν τὸν βασιλέα. [633] καὶ τοῦ μὲν μὴ καταντήσαντος ἐφ' ἣν συντέτακτο προθεσμίαν, Ῥωμαικῶν δ' ὀλίγων ἱππέων κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν παραφανέντων, τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐξεκήρυσσον. [634] τῶν δ' ἠγγέλη μὲν εἰς Ταριχέας ἡ ἀπόστασις εὐθέως, ἐκπεπομφὼς δὲ πάντας τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπὶ σίτου συλλογὴν οὔτε μόνος ἐξορμᾶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀποστάντας οὔτε μένειν ὑπέμενεν, δεδοικὼς μὴ βραδύναντος αὐτοῦ φθάσωσιν οἱ βασιλικοὶ παρελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν: οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν ἐνεργὸν ἕξειν ἔμελλεν ἐπέχοντος σαββάτου. [635] δόλῳ δὴ περιελθεῖν ἐπενόει τοὺς ἀποστάντας. καὶ τὰς μὲν πύλας τῶν Ταριχεῶν ἀποκλεῖσαι κελεύσας, ὡς μὴ προεξαγγείλειέ τις τὸ σκέμμα τοῖς ἐπιχειρουμένοις, τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς λίμνης σκάφη πάντα συναθροίσας, τριάκοντα δ' εὑρέθησαν καὶ τριακόσια, καὶ ναῦται τεσσάρων οὐ πλείους ἦσαν ἐν ἑκάστῳ, διὰ τάχους ἐλαύνει πρὸς τὴν Τιβεριάδα. [636] καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀποσχὼν τῆς πόλεως ἐξ ὅσου συνιδεῖν οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἦν κενὰς τὰς ἁλιάδας μετεώρους σαλεύειν ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ μόνους ἑπτὰ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἀνόπλους ἔχων ἔγγιον ὀφθῆναι προσῄει. [637] θεασάμενοι δ' αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἔτι βλασφημοῦντες οἱ διάφοροι καὶ διὰ τὴν ἔκπληξιν πάντα τὰ σκάφη γέμειν ὁπλιτῶν νομίσαντες ἔρριψαν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ κατασείοντες ἱκετηρίας ἐδέοντο φείσασθαι τῆς πόλεως.

8. Now John was detained afterward within the walls of Gischala, by the fear he was in of Josephus; but within a few days Tiberias revolted again, the people within it inviting king Agrippa [to return to the exercise of his authority there]. And when he did not come at the time appointed, and when a few Roman

horsemen appeared that day, they expelled Josephus out of the city. Now this revolt of theirs was presently known at Taricheae; and as Josephus had sent out all the soldiers that were with him to gather corn, he knew not how either to march out alone against the revolters, or to stay where he was, because he was afraid the king's soldiers might prevent him if he tarried, and might get into the city; for he did not intend to do any thing on the next day, because it was the sabbath day, and would hinder his proceeding. So he contrived to circumvent the revolters by a stratagem; and in the first place he ordered the gates of Taricheae to be shut, that nobody might go out and inform [those of Tiberias], for whom it was intended, what stratagem he was about; he then got together all the ships that were upon the lake, which were found to be two hundred and thirty, and in each of them he put no more than four mariners. So he sailed to Tiberias with haste, and kept at such a distance from the city, that it was not easy for the people to see the vessels, and ordered that the empty vessels should float up and down there, while himself, who had but seven of his guards with him, and those unarmed also, went so near as to be seen; but when his adversaries, who were still reproaching him, saw him from the walls, they were so astonished that they supposed all the ships were full of armed men, and threw down their arms, and by signals of intercession they besought him to spare the city.

(9) [638] Ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος πολλὰ διαπειλησάμενος αὐτοῖς καὶ κατονειδίσας, εἰ πρῶτον μὲν ἀράμενοι τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον εἰς στάσεις ἐμφυλίους προαναλίσκουσιν τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ τὰ εὐκταιότατα δρῶσιν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ἔπειτα τὸν κηδεμόνα τῆς ἀσφαλείας αὐτῶν ἀναρπάσαι σπεύδουσιν καὶ κλείειν οὐκ αἰδοῦνται τὴν πόλιν αὐτῷ τῷ τειχίσαντι, προσδέχεσθαι τοὺς ἀπολογησομένους ἔφασκεν καὶ δι' ὧν βεβαιώσεται τὴν πόλιν. [639] κατέβαινον δ' εὐθέως δέκα τῶν Τιβεριέων οἱ δυνατώτατοι: καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀναλαβὼν μιᾷ τῶν ἁλιάδων ἀνήγαγεν πορρωτέρω, πεντήκοντα δ' ἑτέρους τῆς βουλῆς τοὺς μάλιστα γνωρίμους κελεύει προελθεῖν ὡς καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων πίστιν τινὰ βουλόμενος λαβεῖν. [640] ἔπειτα καινοτέρας σκήψεις ἐπινοῶν ἄλλους ἐπ' ἄλλοις ὡς ἐπὶ συνθήκαις προυκαλεῖτο. [641] τοῖς δὲ κυβερνήταις ἐκέλευσεν τῶν πληρουμένων διὰ τάχους εἰς Ταριχέας ἀναπλεῖν καὶ συγκλείειν τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, μέχρι πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν βουλὴν οὖσαν ἑξακοσίων, περὶ δὲ δισχιλίους τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου συλλαβὼν ἀνήγαγεν σκάφεσιν εἰς Ταριχέας.

9. Upon this Josephus threatened them terribly, and reproached them, that when they were the first that took up arms against the Romans, they should spend their force beforehand in civil dissensions, and do what their enemies desired above all things; and that besides they should endeavor so hastily to seize upon him, who took care of their safety, and had not been ashamed to shut the gates of their

city against him that built their walls; that, however, he would admit of any intercessors from them that might make some excuse for them, and with whom he would make such agreements as might be for the city's security. Hereupon ten of the most potent men of Tiberias came down to him presently; and when he had taken them into one of his vessels, he ordered them to be carried a great way off from the city. He then commanded that fifty others of their senate, such as were men of the greatest eminence, should come to him, that they also might give him some security on their behalf. After which, under one new pretense or another, he called forth others, one after another, to make the leagues between them. He then gave order to the masters of those vessels which he had thus filled to sail away immediately for Taricheae, and to confine those men in the prison there; till at length he took all their senate, consisting of six hundred persons, and about two thousand of the populace, and carried them away to Taricheae.

(10) [642] Βοώντων δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν αἴτιον εἶναι μάλιστα τῆς ἀποστάσεως Κλεῖτόν τινα καὶ παρακαλούντων εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἀπερείδεσθαι τὴν ὀργήν, ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἀνελεῖν μὲν οὐδένα προῄρητο, Ληουὶν δέ τινα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φυλάκων ἐκέλευσεν ἐξελθεῖν, ἵνα ἀποκόψῃ τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ Κλείτου. [643] δείσας δὲ ἐκεῖνος εἰς ἐχθρῶν στῖφος ἀποβήσεσθαι μόνος οὐκ ἔφη. σχετλιάζοντα δὲ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐπὶ τοῦ σκάφους ὁ Κλεῖτος ὁρῶν καὶ προθυμούμενον αὐτὸν ἐπιπηδᾶν ἐπὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν ἱκέτευεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκτῆς τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν χειρῶν καταλιπεῖν. [644] κἀκείνου κατανεύσαντος ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν ἑτέραν αὐτὸς ἀποκόψειεν ἑαυτοῦ, σπασάμενος τῇ δεξιᾷ τὸ ξίφος ἀπέκοψεν τὴν λαιάν: εἰς τοσοῦτον δέους ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου προήχθη. [645] τότε μὲν δὴ κενοῖς σκάφεσιν καὶ δορυφόροις ἑπτὰ τὸν δῆμον αἰχμαλωτισάμενος πάλιν Τιβεριάδα προσηγάγετο, μετὰ δ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας Σεπφωρίταις συναποστᾶσαν εὐρὼν ἐπέτρεψεν διαρπάσαι τοῖς στρατιώταις. [646] συναγαγὼν μέντοι πάντα τοῖς δημόταις ἔδωκεν τοῖς τε κατὰ Σέπφωριν ὁμοίως: καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνους χειρωσάμενος νουθετῆσαι διὰ τῆς ἁρπαγῆς ἠθέλησεν, τῇ δ' ἀποδόσει τῶν χρημάτων πάλιν εἰς εὔνοιαν προσηγάγετο.

10. And when the rest of the people cried out, that it was one Clitus that was the chief author of this revolt, they desired him to spend his anger upon him [only]; but Josephus, whose intention it was to slay nobody, commanded one Levius, belonging to his guards, to go out of the vessel, in order to cut off both Clitus's hands; yet was Levius afraid to go out by himself alone to such a large body of enemies, and refused to go. Now Clitus saw that Josephus was in a great passion in the ship, and ready to leap out of it, in order to execute the punishment himself; he begged therefore from the shore, that he would leave him one of his hands; which Josephus agreed to, upon condition that he would himself cutoff the other hand; accordingly he drew his sword, and with his right hand cut off

his left, so great was the fear he was in of Josephus himself. And thus he took the people of Tiberias prisoners, and recovered the city again with empty ships and seven of his guard. Moreover, a few days afterward he retook Gischala, which had revolted with the people of Sepphoris, and gave his soldiers leave to plunder it; yet did he get all the plunder together, and restored it to the inhabitants; and the like he did to the inhabitants of Sepphoris and Tiberias. For when he had subdued those cities, he had a mind, by letting them be plundered, to give them some good instruction, while at the same time he regained their good-will by restoring them their money again.

XXII

CHAPTER 22.

The Jews Make All Ready For The War; And Simon, The Son Of

Gioras, Falls To Plundering.

(1) [647] Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ Γαλιλαίαν ἐπέπαυτο κινήματα, καὶ τῶν ἐμφυλίων παυσάμενοι θορύβων ἐπὶ τὰς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐτράποντο παρασκευάς: [648] ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἄνανός τε ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ τῶν δυνατῶν ὅσοι μὴ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐφρόνουν τό τε τεῖχος ἐπεσκεύαζον καὶ πολλὰ τῶν πολεμιστηρίων ὀργάνων. [649] καὶ διὰ πάσης μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἐχαλκεύετο βέλη καὶ πανοπλία, πρὸς ἀτάκτοις δὲ γυμνασίαις τὸ τῶν νέων πλῆθος ἦν, καὶ μεστὰ πάντα θορύβου, δεινὴ δὲ κατήφεια τῶν μετρίων, καὶ πολλοὶ τὰς μελλούσας προορώμενοι συμφορὰς ἀπωλοφύροντο. [650] θειασμοί τε τοῖς εἰρήνην ἀγαπῶσιν δύσφημοι, τοῖς δὲ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξάψασιν ἐσχεδιάζοντο πρὸς ἡδονήν, καὶ τὸ κατάστημα τῆς πόλεως πρὶν ἐπελθεῖν Ῥωμαίους ἦν οἷον ἀπολουμένης. [651] Ἀνάνῳ γε μὴν φροντὶς ἦν κατὰ μικρὸν ἀφισταμένῳ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευῶν κάμψαι πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον τούς τε στασιαστὰς καὶ τὴν τῶν κληθέντων ζηλωτῶν ἀφροσύνην, ἠττήθη δὲ τῆς βίας, κἀν τοῖς ἑξῆς οἵου τέλους ἔτυχεν δηλώσομεν.

1. And thus were the disturbances of Galilee quieted, when, upon their ceasing to prosecute their civil dissensions, they betook themselves to make preparations for the war with the Romans. Now in Jerusalem the high priest Artanus, and as many of the men of power as were not in the interest of the Romans, both repaired the walls, and made a great many warlike instruments, insomuch that in all parts of the city darts and all sorts of armor were upon the anvil. Although the multitude of the young men were engaged in exercises, without any regularity, and all places were full of tumultuous doings; yet the moderate sort were exceedingly sad; and a great many there were who, out of the prospect they had

of the calamities that were coming upon them, made great lamentations. There were also such omens observed as were understood to be forerunners of evils by such as loved peace, but were by those that kindled the war interpreted so as to suit their own inclinations; and the very state of the city, even before the Romans came against it, was that of a place doomed to destruction. However, Ananus's concern was this, to lay aside, for a while, the preparations for the war, and to persuade the seditious to consult their own interest, and to restrain the madness of those that had the name of zealots; but their violence was too hard for him; and what end he came to we shall relate hereafter.

(2) [652] Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀκραβετηνὴν τοπαρχίαν ὁ Γιώρα Σίμων πολλοὺς τῶν νεωτεριζόντων συστησάμενος ἐφ' ἁρπαγὰς ἐτράπετο καὶ οὐ μόνον τὰς οἰκίας ἐσπάρασσεν τῶν πλουσίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ σώματα κατηκίζετο δῆλός τε ἦν ἤδη πόρρωθεν ἀρχόμενος τυραννεῖν. [653] πεμφθείσης δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὑπ' Ἀνάνου καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων στρατιᾶς πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Μασάδᾳ λῃστὰς μεθ' ὧν εἶχεν κατέφυγεν, κἀκεῖ μέχρι τῆς Ἀνάνου καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἐχθρῶν ἀναιρέσεως μένων συνελήζετο τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν: [654] ὥστε τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοῦ ἔθνους διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν φονευομένων καὶ τὰς συνεχεῖς ἁρπαγὰς στρατιὰν ἀθροίσαντας ἐμφρούρους τὰς κώμας ἔχειν. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

2. But as for the Acrabbene toparchy, Simon, the son of Gioras, got a great number of those that were fond of innovations together, and betook himself to ravage the country; nor did he only harass the rich men's houses, but tormented their bodies, and appeared openly and beforehand to affect tyranny in his government. And when an army was sent against him by Artanus, and the other rulers, he and his band retired to the robbers that were at Masada, and staid there, and plundered the country of Idumea with them, till both Ananus and his other adversaries were slain; and until the rulers of that country were so afflicted with the multitude of those that were slain, and with the continual ravage of what they had, that they raised an army, and put garrisons into the villages, to secure them from those insults. And in this state were the affairs of Judea at that time.

Liber III

BOOK III.

Containing The Interval Of About One Year.

From Vespasian's Coming To Subdue The Jews To The Taking Of Gamala.

I

CHAPTER 1.

Vespasian Is Sent Into Syria By Nero In Order To Make War With The Jews.

(1) [1] Νέρωνι δ' ὡς ἠγγέλη τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πταίσματα, λεληθυῖα μὲν ὡς εἰκὸς ἔκπληξις ἐμπίπτει καὶ δέος, φανερῶς δὲ ὑπερηφάνει καὶ προσωργίζετο, [2] στρατηγῶν μὲν ῥᾳστώνῃ μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἀρεταῖς γεγονέναι τὰ συμβάντα λέγων, πρέπειν δ' ἡγούμενος ἑαυτῷ διὰ τὸν ὄγκον τῆς ἡγεμονίας κατασοβαρεύεσθαι τῶν σκυθρωπῶν καὶ δοκεῖν δεινοῦ παντὸς ἐπάνω τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχειν.

1. When Nero was informed of the Romans' ill success in Judea, a concealed consternation and terror, as is usual in such cases, fell upon him; although he openly looked very big, and was very angry, and said that what had happened was rather owing to the negligence of the commander, than to any valor of the enemy: and as he thought it fit for him, who bare the burden of the whole empire, to despise such misfortunes, he now pretended so to do, and to have a soul superior to all such sad accidents whatsoever. Yet did the disturbance that was in his soul plainly appear by the solicitude he was in [how to recover his affairs again].

(2) [3] διηλέγχετό γε μὴν ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς θόρυβος ὑπὸ τῶν φροντίδων σκεπτομένου τίνι πιστεύσει κινουμένην τὴν ἀνατολήν, ὃς τιμωρήσεται μὲν τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπανάστασιν, προκαταλήψεται δ' αὐτοῖς ἤδη καὶ τὰ πέριξ ἔθνη συννοσοῦντα. [4] μόνον εὑρίσκει Οὐεσπασιανὸν ταῖς χρείαις ἀναλογοῦντα καὶ τηλικούτου πολέμου μέγεθος ἀναδέξασθαι δυνάμενον, ἄνδρα ταῖς ἀπὸ νεότητος στρατείαις ἐγγεγηρακότα καὶ προειρηνεύσαντα μὲν πάλαι Ῥωμαίοις τὴν ἑσπέραν ὑπὸ Γερμανῶν ταρασσομένην, προσκτησάμενον δὲ τοῖς ὅπλοις Βρεττανίαν τέως λανθάνουσαν, [5] ὅθεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ Κλαυδίῳ παρέσχε χωρὶς ἱδρῶτος ἰδίου θρίαμβον καταγαγεῖν.

2. And as he was deliberating to whom he should commit the care of the East, now it was in so great a commotion, and who might be best able to punish the Jews for their rebellion, and might prevent the same distemper from seizing upon the neighboring nations also, — he found no one but Vespasian equal to the task, and able to undergo the great burden of so mighty a war, seeing he was growing an old man already in the camp, and from his youth had been exercised in warlike exploits: he was also a man that had long ago pacified the west, and made it subject to the Romans, when it had been put into disorder by the Germans; he had also recovered to them Britain by his arms, which had been little known before whereby he procured to his father Claudius to have a triumph bestowed on him without any sweat or labor of his own.

(3) [6] Ταῦτά τε δὴ προκληδονιζόμενος καὶ σταθερὰν μετ᾽ ἐμπειρίας τὴν ἡλικίαν ὁρῶν, μέγα δὲ πίστεως αὐτοῦ τοὺς υἱοὺς ὅμηρον καὶ τὰς τούτων ἀκμὰς χεῖρα τῆς πατρῴας συνέσεως, τάχα τι καὶ περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἤδη τοῦ θεοῦ προοικονομουμένου, [7] πέμπει τὸν ἄνδρα ληψόμενον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν ἐπὶ Συρίας στρατευμάτων, πολλὰ πρὸς τὸ ἐπεῖγον οἷα κελεύουσιν αἱ ἀνάγκαι μειλιξάμενός τε καὶ προθεραπεύσας. [8] ὁ δ᾽ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀχαίας, ἔνθα συνῆν τῷ Νέρωνι, τὸν μὲν υἱὸν Τίτον ἀπέστειλεν ἐπ᾽ Ἀλεξανδρείας τὸ πέμπτον καὶ δέκατον ἐκεῖθεν ἀναστήσοντα τάγμα, περάσας δ᾽ αὐτὸς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πεζὸς εἰς Συρίαν ἀφικνεῖται κἀκεῖ τάς τε Ῥωμαικὰς δυνάμεις συνήγαγε καὶ συχνοὺς παρὰ τῶν γειτνιώντων βασιλέων συμμάχους.

3. So Nero esteemed these circumstances as favorable omens, and saw that Vespasian's age gave him sure experience, and great skill, and that he had his sons as hostages for his fidelity to himself, and that the flourishing age they were in would make them fit instruments under their father's prudence. Perhaps also there was some interposition of Providence, which was paving the way for Vespasian's being himself emperor afterwards. Upon the whole, he sent this man to take upon him the command of the armies that were in Syria; but this not without great encomiums and flattering compellations, such as necessity required, and such as might mollify him into complaisance. So Vespasian sent his son Titus from Achaia, where he had been with Nero, to Alexandria, to bring back with him from thence the fifth and the tenth legions, while he himself, when he had passed over the Hellespont, came by land into Syria, where he gathered together the Roman forces, with a considerable number of auxiliaries from the kings in that neighborhood.

II

CHAPTER 2.

A Great Slaughter About Ascalon. Vespasian Comes To Ptolemais.

(1) [9] Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ μετὰ τὴν Κεστίου πληγὴν ἐπηρμένοι ταῖς ἀδοκήτοις εὐπραγίαις ἀκρατεῖς ἦσαν ὁρμῆς καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκριπιζόμενοι τῇ τύχῃ προσωτέρω τὸν πόλεμον ἐξῆγον: πᾶν γοῦν εὐθέως ὅσον ἦν μαχιμώτατον αὐτοῖς ἀθροισθέντες ὥρμησαν ἐπ᾽ Ἀσκάλωνα. [10] πόλις ἐστὶν ἀρχαία τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων εἴκοσι πρὸς τοῖς πεντακοσίοις ἀπέχουσα σταδίους ἀεὶ διὰ μίσους Ἰουδαίοις γεγενημένη, διὸ καὶ τότε ταῖς πρώταις ὁρμαῖς ἐγγίων ἔδοξεν. [11] ἐξηγοῦντο δὲ τῆς καταδρομῆς τρεῖς ἄνδρες ἀλκήν τε κορυφαῖοι καὶ συνέσει, Νίγερ τε ὁ Περαίτης καὶ ὁ Βαβυλώνιος Σίλας, πρὸς οἷς Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἐσσαῖος. [12] ἡ δὲ Ἀσκάλων ἐτετείχιστο μὲν καρτερῶς, βοηθείας δὲ ἦν σχεδὸν ἔρημος: ἐφρουρεῖτο γὰρ ὑπό τε σπείρας πεζῶν καὶ ὑπὸ μιᾶς ἴλης ἱππέων, ἧς ἐπῆρχεν Ἀντώνιος.

1. Now the Jews, after they had beaten Cestius, were so much elevated with their unexpected success, that they could not govern their zeal, but, like people blown up into a flame by their good fortune, carried the war to remoter places. Accordingly, they presently got together a great multitude of all their most hardy soldiers, and marched away for Ascalon. This is an ancient city that is distant from Jerusalem five hundred and twenty furlongs, and was always an enemy to the Jews; on which account they determined to make their first effort against it, and to make their approaches to it as near as possible. This excursion was led on by three men, who were the chief of them all, both for strength and sagacity; Niger, called the Persite, Silas of Babylon, and besides them John the Essene. Now Ascalon was strongly walled about, but had almost no assistance to be relied on [near them], for the garrison consisted of one cohort of footmen, and one troop of horsemen, whose captain was Antonius.

(2) [13] Οἱ μὲν οὖν πολὺ ταῖς ὁρμαῖς συντονώτερον ὁδεύσαντες ὡς ἐγγύθεν ὡρμημένοι καὶ δὴ παρῆσαν: [14] ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος, οὐ γὰρ ἠγνόει μέλλουσαν ἔτι τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν, προεξήγαγε τοὺς ἱππεῖς καὶ οὐδὲν οὔτε πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος οὔτε τὴν τόλμαν ὑποδείσας τῶν πολεμίων καρτερῶς τὰς πρώτας ὁρμὰς ἀνεδέξατο καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὠθουμένους ἀνέστειλεν. [15] οἱ δὲ πρὸς ἐμπείρους πολέμων ἄπειροι καὶ πεζοὶ πρὸς ἱππεῖς, ἀσύντακτοί τε πρὸς ἡνωμένους καὶ πρὸς ὁπλίτας ἐξηρτυμένους εἰκαιότερον ὡπλισμένοι, θυμῷ τε πλέον ἢ βουλῇ στρατηγούμενοι πρὸς εὐπειθεῖς καὶ νεύματι πάντα πράττοντας ἀντιτασσόμενοι πονοῦσιν ῥᾳδίως: [16] ὡς γὰρ αὐτῶν ἅπαξ ἤδη συνεταράχθησαν αἱ πρῶται φάλαγγες, ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου τρέπονται, καὶ τοῖς κατόπιν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος βιαζομένοις περιπίπτοντες

ἀλλήλων ἦσαν πολέμιοι, μέχρι πάντες ταῖς τῶν ἱππέων ἐμβολαῖς εἴξαντες ἐσκεδάσθησαν ἀνὰ πᾶν τὸ πεδίον: τὸ δὲ ἦν πολὺ καὶ πᾶν ἱππάσιμον. [17] ὃ δὴ καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις συνεργῆσαν πλεῖστον εἰργάσατο τῶν Ἰουδαίων φόνον: τούς τε γὰρ φεύγοντας αὐτῶν φθάνοντες ἐπέστρεφον καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δρόμου συνειλουμένων διεκπαίοντες ἀπείρους ἀνῄρουν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλους ὅπῃ τρέποιντο κυκλούμενοι καὶ περιελαύνοντες κατηκόντιζον ῥᾳδίως. [18] καὶ τοῖς μὲν Ἰουδαίοις τὸ ἴδιον πλῆθος ἐρημία παρὰ τὰς ἀμηχανίας κατεφαίνετο, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἐν ταῖς εὐπραγίαις καίπερ ὄντες ὀλίγοι τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ περισσεύειν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑπελάμβανον. [19] καὶ τῶν μὲν προσφιλονεικούντων τοῖς πταίσμασιν αἰδοῖ τε φυγῆς ταχείας καὶ μεταβολῆς ἐλπίδι, τῶν δὲ μὴ κοπιώντων ἐν οἷς εὐτύχουν, παρέτεινεν ἡ μάχη μέχρι δείλης, ἕως ἀνῃρέθησαν μὲν μύριοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἄνδρες καὶ δύο τῶν ἡγεμόνων, Ἰωάννης τε καὶ Σίλας: [20] οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ τραυματίαι τὸ πλέον σὺν τῷ περιλειπομένῳ τῶν ἡγεμόνων Νίγερι τῆς Ἰδουμαίας εἰς πολίχνην τινά, Χάαλλις καλεῖται, συνέφυγον. [21] ὀλίγοι δέ τινες καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ τῆσδε τῆς παρατάξεως ἐτρώθησαν.

2. These Jews, therefore, out of their anger, marched faster than ordinary, and, as if they had come but a little way, approached very near the city, and were come even to it; but Antonius, who was not unapprized of the attack they were going to make upon the city, drew out his horsemen beforehand, and being neither daunted at the multitude, nor at the courage of the enemy, received their first attacks with great bravery; and when they crowded to the very walls, he beat them off. Now the Jews were unskillful in war, but were to fight with those who were skillful therein; they were footmen to fight with horsemen; they were in disorder, to fight those that were united together; they were poorly armed, to fight those that were completely so; they were to fight more by their rage than by sober counsel, and were exposed to soldiers that were exactly obedient; and did every thing they were bidden upon the least intimation. So they were easily beaten; for as soon as ever their first ranks were once in disorder, they were put to flight by the enemy's cavalry, and those of them that came behind such as crowded to the wall fell upon their own party's weapons, and became one another's enemies; and this so long till they were all forced to give way to the attacks of the horsemen, and were dispersed all the plain over, which plain was wide, and all fit for the horsemen; which circumstance was very commodious for the Romans, and occasioned the slaughter of the greatest number of the Jews; for such as ran away, they could overrun them, and make them turn back; and when they had brought them back after their flight, and driven them together, they ran them through, and slew a vast number of them, insomuch that others encompassed others of them, and drove them before them whithersoever they

turned themselves, and slew them easily with their arrows; and the great number there were of the Jews seemed a solitude to themselves, by reason of the distress they were in, while the Romans had such good success with their small number, that they seemed to themselves to be the greater multitude. And as the former strove zealously under their misfortunes, out of the shame of a sudden flight, and hopes of the change in their success, so did the latter feel no weariness by reason of their good fortune; insomuch that the fight lasted till the evening, till ten thousand men of the Jews' side lay dead, with two of their generals, John and Silas, and the greater part of the remainder were wounded, with Niger, their remaining general, who fled away together to a small city of Idumea, called Sallis. Some few also of the Romans were wounded in this battle.

(3) [22] Οὐ μὴν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τηλικαύτῃ συμφορᾷ κατεστάλησαν τὰ φρονήματα, μᾶλλον δ' αὐτῶν τὸ πάθος ἤγειρε τὰς τόλμας, ὑπερορῶντές τε τοὺς ἐν ποσὶ νεκροὺς ἐδελεάζοντο τοῖς προτέροις κατορθώμασιν ἐπὶ πληγὴν δευτέραν. [23] διαλιπόντες γοῦν οὐδ' ὅσον ἰάσασθαι τὰ τραύματα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν πᾶσαν ἐπισυλλέξαντες ὀργιλώτερον καὶ πολλῷ πλείους ἐπαλινδρόμουν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσκάλωνα. [24] παρείπετο δ' αὐτοῖς μετά τε τῆς ἀπειρίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πρὸς πόλεμον ἐλασσωμάτων ἡ προτέρα τύχη: [25] τοῦ γὰρ Ἀντωνίου τὰς παρόδους προλοχίσαντος ἀδόκητοι ταῖς ἐνέδραις ἐμπεσόντες καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων πρὶν εἰς μάχην συντάξασθαι κυκλωθέντες, πάλιν πίπτουσι μὲν ὑπὲρ ὀκτακισχιλίους, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ πάντες ἔφυγον, σὺν οἷς καὶ Νίγερ, πολλὰ κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν εὐτολμίας ἐπιδειξάμενος ἔργα, συνελαύνονταί τε προσκειμένων τῶν πολεμίων εἴς τινα πύργον ὀχυρὸν κώμης Βελζεδὲκ καλουμένης. [26] οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὡς μήτε τρίβοιντο περὶ τὸν πύργον ὄντα δυσάλωτον μήτε ζῶντα τὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ γενναιότατον τῶν πολεμίων περιίδοιεν, ὑποπιμπρᾶσι τὸ τεῖχος. [27] φλεγομένου δὲ τοῦ πύργου Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἀναχωροῦσι γεγηθότες ὡς διεφθαρμένου καὶ Νίγερος, ὁ δὲ εἰς τὸ μυχαίτατον τοῦ φρουρίου σπήλαιον καταπηδήσας ἐκ τοῦ πύργου διασώζεται, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας τρεῖς τοῖς μετ' ὀλοφυρμοῦ πρὸς κηδείαν αὐτὸν ἐρευνῶσιν ὑποφθέγγεται. [28] προελθὼν δὲ χαρᾶς ἀνελπίστου πάντας ἐπλήρωσεν Ἰουδαίους ὡς προνοίᾳ θεοῦ σωθεὶς αὐτοῖς στρατηγὸς εἰς τὰ μέλλοντα.

3. Yet were not the spirits of the Jews broken by so great a calamity, but the losses they had sustained rather quickened their resolution for other attempts; for, overlooking the dead bodies which lay under their feet, they were enticed by their former glorious actions to venture on a second destruction; so when they had lain still so little a while that their wounds were not yet thoroughly cured, they got together all their forces, and came with greater fury, and in much greater numbers, to Ascalon. But their former ill fortune followed them, as the

consequence of their unskilfulness, and other deficiencies in war; for Antonius laid ambushes for them in the passages they were to go through, where they fell into snares unexpectedly, and where they were encompassed about with horsemen, before they could form themselves into a regular body for fighting, and were above eight thousand of them slain; so all the rest of them ran away, and with them Niger, who still did a great many bold exploits in his flight. However, they were driven along together by the enemy, who pressed hard upon them, into a certain strong tower belonging to a village called Bezedeh However, Antonius and his party, that they might neither spend any considerable time about this tower, which was hard to be taken, nor suffer their commander, and the most courageous man of them all, to escape from them, they set the wall on fire; and as the tower was burning, the Romans went away rejoicing, as taking it for granted that Niger was destroyed; but he leaped out of the tower into a subterraneous cave, in the innermost part of it, and was preserved; and on the third day afterward he spake out of the ground to those that with great lamentation were searching for him, in order to give him a decent funeral; and when he was come out, he filled all the Jews with an unexpected joy, as though he were preserved by God's providence to be their commander for the time to come.

(4) [29] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀναλαβὼν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας, ἣ μητρόπολίς ἐστι τῆς Συρίας, μεγέθους τε ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὐδαιμονίας τρίτον ἀδηρίτως ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις οἰκουμένης ἔχουσα τόπον, ἔνθα μετὰ πάσης τῆς ἰδίας ἰσχύος ἐκδεχόμενον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἄφιξιν καὶ Ἀγρίππαν τὸν βασιλέα κατειλήφει, ἐπὶ Πτολεμαΐδος ἠπείγετο. [30] καὶ κατὰ ταύτην ὑπαντῶσιν αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν οἱ τῆς Γαλιλαίας Σέπφωριν νεμόμενοι πόλιν, μόνοι τῶν τῇδε εἰρηνικὰ φρονοῦντες: [31] οἳ καὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἰσχύος οὐκ ἀπρονόητοι πρὶν ἀφικέσθαι Οὐεσπασιανὸν Καισεννίῳ Γάλλῳ πίστεις τε ἔδοσαν καὶ δεξιὰς ἔλαβον καὶ παρεδέξαντο φρουράν. [32] τότε γε μὴν φιλοφρόνως ἐκδεξάμενοι τὸν ἡγεμόνα προθύμως σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑπέσχοντο κατὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων συμμάχους: [33] οἷς ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀξιώσασι τέως πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ἱππεῖς τε καὶ πεζοὺς παραδίδωσιν ὅσους ἀνθέξειν ταῖς καταδρομαῖς, εἴ τι Ἰουδαῖοι παρακινοῖεν, ὑπελάμβανον: [34] καὶ γὰρ οὐ μικρὸν ἐδόκει τὸ κινδύνευμα πρὸς τὸν μέλλοντα πόλεμον ἀφαιρεθῆναι τὴν Σέπφωριν, μεγίστην μὲν οὖσαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας πόλιν, ἐρυμνοτάτῳ δ' ἐπιτετειχισμένην χωρίῳ καὶ φρουρὰν ὅλου τοῦ ἔθνους ἐσομένην.

4. And now Vespasian took along with him his army from Antioch, [which is the metropolis of Syria, and without dispute deserves the place of the third city in the habitable earth that was under the Roman empire, both in magnitude, and other marks of prosperity,] where he found king Agrippa, with all his forces,

waiting for his coming, and marched to Ptolemais. At this city also the inhabitants of Sepphoris of Galilee met him, who were for peace with the Romans. These citizens had beforehand taken care of their own safety, and being sensible of the power of the Romans, they had been with Cestius Gallus before Vespasian came, and had given their faith to him, and received the security of his right hand, and had received a Roman garrison; and at this time withal they received Vespasian, the Roman general, very kindly, and readily promised that they would assist him against their own countrymen. Now the general delivered them, at their desire, as many horsemen and footmen as he thought sufficient to oppose the incursions of the Jews, if they should come against them. And indeed the danger of losing Sepphoris would be no small one, in this war that was now beginning, seeing it was the largest city of Galilee, and built in a place by nature very strong, and might be a security of the whole nation's [fidelity to the Romans].

III

CHAPTER 3.

A Description Of Galilee, Samaria, And Judea.

(1) [35] Δύο δ' οὔσας τὰς Γαλιλαίας, τήν τε ἄνω καὶ τὴν κάτω προσαγορευομένην, περιίσχει μὲν ἡ Φοινίκη τε καὶ Συρία, διορίζει δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν δύσεως ἡλίου Πτολεμαὶς τοῖς τῆς χώρας τέρμασι καὶ Κάρμηλος, τὸ πάλαι μὲν Γαλιλαίων, νῦν δὲ Τυρίων ὄρος: [36] ᾧ προσίσχει Γαβαά, πόλις ἱππέων, οὕτω προσαγορευομένη διὰ τὸ τοὺς ὑφ' Ἡρώδου βασιλέως ἀπολυομένους ἱππεῖς ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικεῖν: [37] ἀπὸ δὲ μεσημβρίας Σαμαρεῖτίς τε καὶ Σκυθόπολις μέχρι τῶν Ἰορδάνου ναμάτων. πρὸς ἕω δὲ Ἱππηνῇ τε καὶ Γαδάροις ἀποτέμνεται καὶ τῇ Γαυλωνίτιδι: ταύτῃ καὶ τῆς Ἀγρίππα βασιλείας ὅροι. [38] τὰ προσάρκτια δ' αὐτῆς Τύρῳ τε καὶ τῇ Τυρίων χώρᾳ περατοῦται. καὶ τῆς μὲν κάτω καλουμένης Γαλιλαίας ἀπὸ Τιβεριάδος μέχρι Χαβουλών, ἧς ἐν τοῖς παραλίοις Πτολεμαΐς γείτων, τὸ μῆκος ἐκτείνεται. [39] πλατύνεται δ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ κειμένης κώμης, Ἐξαλὼθ καλεῖται, μέχρι Βηρσάβης, ἣ καὶ τῆς ἄνω Γαλιλαίας εἰς εὖρος ἀρχὴ μέχρι Βακὰ κώμης: αὕτη δὲ τὴν Τυρίων γῆν ὁρίζει. [40] μηκύνεται δὲ μέχρι Μηρὼθ ἀπὸ Θελλᾶ κώμης Ἰορδάνου γείτονος.

1. Now Phoenicia and Syria encompass about the Galilees, which are two, and called the Upper Galilee and the Lower. They are bounded toward the sun-setting, with the borders of the territory belonging to Ptolemais, and by Carmel; which mountain had formerly belonged to the Galileans, but now belonged to the Tyrians; to which mountain adjoins Gaba, which is called the City of

Horsemen, because those horsemen that were dismissed by Herod the king dwelt therein; they are bounded on the south with Samaria and Scythopolis, as far as the river Jordan; on the east with Hippeae and Gadaris, and also with Ganlonitis, and the borders of the kingdom of Agrippa; its northern parts are hounded by Tyre, and the country of the Tyrians. As for that Galilee which is called the Lower, it, extends in length from Tiberias to Zabulon, and of the maritime places Ptolemais is its neighbor; its breadth is from the village called Xaloth, which lies in the great plain, as far as Bersabe, from which beginning also is taken the breadth of the Upper Galilee, as far as the village Baca, which divides the land of the Tyrians from it; its length is also from Meloth to Thella, a village near to Jordan.

(2) [41] Τηλικαῦται δ' οὖσαι τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τοσούτοις ἔθνεσιν ἀλλοφύλοις κεκυκλωμέναι πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀεὶ πολέμου πεῖραν ἀντέσχον: [42] μάχιμοί τε γὰρ ἐκ νηπίων καὶ πολλοὶ Γαλιλαῖοι πάντοτε, καὶ οὔτε δειλία ποτὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας οὔτε λιπανδρία τὴν χώραν κατέσχεν, ἐπειδὴ πίων τε πᾶσα καὶ εὔβοτος καὶ δένδρεσι παντοίοις κατάφυτος, ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς εὐπετείας προκαλέσασθαι καὶ τὸν ἥκιστα γῆς φιλόπονον. [43] προσησκήθη γοῦν ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκητόρων πᾶσα, καὶ μέρος αὐτῆς ἀργὸν οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις πυκναὶ καὶ τὸ τῶν κωμῶν πλῆθος πανταχοῦ πολυάνθρωπον διὰ τὴν εὐθηνίαν, ὡς τὴν ἐλαχίστην ὑπὲρ πεντακισχιλίους πρὸς τοῖς μυρίοις ἔχειν οἰκήτορας.

2. These two Galilees, of so great largeness, and encompassed with so many nations of foreigners, have been always able to make a strong resistance on all occasions of war; for the Galileans are inured to war from their infancy, and have been always very numerous; nor hath the country been ever destitute of men of courage, or wanted a numerous set of them; for their soil is universally rich and fruitful, and full of the plantations of trees of all sorts, insomuch that it invites the most slothful to take pains in its cultivation, by its fruitfulness; accordingly, it is all cultivated by its inhabitants, and no part of it lies idle. Moreover, the cities lie here very thick, and the very many villages there are here are every where so full of people, by the richness of their soil, that the very least of them contain above fifteen thousand inhabitants.

(3) [44] Καθόλου δέ, εἰ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τις ἐλαττώσειε τῆς Περαίας τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, προέλοιτο δ' ἂν τῇ δυνάμει: ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐνεργὸς ὅλη καὶ συνεχής ἐστιν καρποφόρος, ἡ Περαία δὲ πολὺ μὲν μείζων, ἔρημος δὲ καὶ τραχεῖα τὸ πλέον πρός τε καρπῶν ἡμέρων αὔξησιν ἀγριωτέρα, [45] τό γε μὴν μαλθακὸν αὐτῆς καὶ πάμφορον, καὶ τὰ πεδία δένδρεσι ποικίλοις κατάφυτα τὸ πλεῖστόν τε ἐλαίαν [τε] καὶ ἄμπελον καὶ φοινικῶνας ἥσκηται, διαρδομένη χειμάρροις τε τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν

ὀρῶν καὶ πηγαῖς ἀεννάοις ἅλις, εἴ ποτ᾽ ἐκεῖνοι σειρίῳ φθίνοιεν. [46] μῆκος μὲν [οὖν] αὐτῆς ἀπὸ Μαχαιροῦντος εἰς Πέλλαν, εὖρος δ᾽ ἀπὸ Φιλαδελφείας μέχρι Ἰορδάνου. [47] καὶ Πέλλῃ μέν, ἣν προειρήκαμεν, τὰ πρὸς ἄρκτον ὁρίζεται, πρὸς ἑσπέραν δὲ Ἰορδάνῃ: μεσημβρινὸν δ᾽ αὐτῆς πέρας ἡ Μωαβῖτις, καὶ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν Ἀραβίᾳ τε καὶ Σιλωνίτιδι, πρὸς δὲ Φιλαδελφηνῇ καὶ Γεράσοις ἀποτέμνεται.

3. In short, if any one will suppose that Galilee is inferior to Perea in magnitude, he will be obliged to prefer it before it in its strength; for this is all capable of cultivation, and is every where fruitful; but for Perea, which is indeed much larger in extent, the greater part of it is desert and rough, and much less disposed for the production of the milder kinds of fruits; yet hath it a moist soil [in other parts], and produces all kinds of fruits, and its plains are planted with trees of all sorts, while yet the olive tree, the vine, and the palm tree are chiefly cultivated there. It is also sufficiently watered with torrents, which issue out of the mountains, and with springs that never fail to run, even when the torrents fail them, as they do in the dog-days. Now the length of Perea is from Machaerus to Pella, and its breadth from Philadelphia to Jordan; its northern parts are bounded by Pella, as we have already said, as well as its Western with Jordan; the land of Moab is its southern border, and its eastern limits reach to Arabia, and Silbonitis, and besides to Philadelphene and Gerasa.

(4) [48] Ἡ δὲ Σαμαρεῖτις χώρα μέση μὲν τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας: ἀρχομένη γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κειμένης Γηνεὼς ὄνομα κώμης ἐπιλήγει τῆς Ἀκραβετηνῶν τοπαρχίας: φύσιν δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίας κατ᾽ οὐδὲν διάφορος. [49] ἀμφότεραι γὰρ ὀρειναὶ καὶ πεδιάδες, εἵς τε γεωργίαν μαλθακαὶ καὶ πολύφοροι κατάδενδροί τε καὶ ὀπώρας ὀρεινῆς καὶ ἡμέρου μεσταί, παρ᾽ ὅσον οὐδαμοῦ φύσει διψάδες, ὕονται δὲ τὸ πλέον: [50] γλυκὺ δὲ νᾶμα πᾶν διαφόρως ἐν αὐταῖς, καὶ διὰ πλῆθος πόας ἀγαθῆς τὰ κτήνη πλέον ἢ παρ᾽ ἄλλοις γαλακτοφόρα. μέγιστόν γε μὴν τεκμήριον ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐθηνίας τὸ πληθύειν ἀνδρῶν ἑκατέραν.

4. Now as to the country of Samaria, it lies between Judea and Galilee; it begins at a village that is in the great plain called Ginea, and ends at the Acrabbene toparchy, and is entirely of the same nature with Judea; for both countries are made up of hills and valleys, and are moist enough for agriculture, and are very fruitful. They have abundance of trees, and are full of autumnal fruit, both that which grows wild, and that which is the effect of cultivation. They are not naturally watered by many rivers, but derive their chief moisture from rain-water, of which they have no want; and for those rivers which they have, all their waters are exceeding sweet: by reason also of the excellent grass they have, their

cattle yield more milk than do those in other places; and, what is the greatest sign of excellency and of abundance, they each of them are very full of people.

(5) [51] Μεθόριος δ' αὐτῶν ἡ Ἀνουάθου Βόρκαιος προσαγορευομένη κώμη: πέρας αὕτη τῆς Ἰουδαίας τὰ πρὸς βορέαν, τὰ νότια δ' αὐτῆς ἐπὶ μῆκος μετρουμένης ὁρίζει προσκυροῦσα τοῖς Ἀράβων ὅροις κώμη, καλοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν Ἰορδὰν οἱ τῇδε Ἰουδαῖοι. εὖρός γε μὴν ἀπὸ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ μέχρις Ἰόππης ἀναπέπταται. [52] μεσαιτάτη δ' αὐτῆς πόλις τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα κεῖται, παρ' ὃ καί τινες οὐκ ἀσκόπως ὀμφαλὸν τὸ ἄστυ τῆς χώρας ἐκάλεσαν. [53] ἀφῄρηται δ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκ θαλάσσης τερπνῶν ἡ Ἰουδαία τοῖς παραλίοις κατατείνουσα μέχρι Πτολεμαίδος. [54] μερίζεται δ' εἰς ἕνδεκα κληρουχίας, ὧν ἄρχει μὲν βασίλειον τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα προανίσχουσα τῆς περιοίκου πάσης ὥσπερ ἡ κεφαλὴ σώματος: αἱ λοιπαὶ δὲ μετ' αὐτὴν διῄρηνται τὰς τοπαρχίας. [55] Γοφνὰ δευτέρα καὶ μετὰ ταύτην Ἀκραβετά, Θαμνὰ πρὸς ταύταις καὶ Λύδδα, Ἀμμαοῦς καὶ Πέλλη καὶ Ἰδουμαία καὶ Ἐνγαδδαὶ καὶ Ἡρώδειον καὶ Ἱεριχοῦς, [56] μεθ' ἃς Ἰάμνεια καὶ Ἰόππη τῶν περιοίκων ἀφηγοῦνται, κἀπὶ ταύταις ἥ τε Γαμαλιτικὴ καὶ Γαυλανῖτις Βαταναία τε καὶ Τραχωνῖτις, αἳ καὶ τῆς Ἀγρίππα βασιλείας εἰσὶ μοῖραι. [57] ἀρχομένη δὲ ἀπὸ Λιβάνου ὄρους καὶ τῶν Ἰορδάνου πηγῶν ἡ χώρα μέχρι τῆς πρὸς Τιβεριάδα λίμνης εὐρύνεται, ἀπὸ δὲ κώμης καλουμένης Ἀρφᾶς μέχρις Ἰουλιάδος ἐκτείνεται τὸ μῆκος. οἰκοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν μιγάδες Ἰουδαῖοί τε καὶ Σύροι. [58] τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ πέριξ χώρας ὡς ἐνῆν μάλιστα συντόμως ἀπηγγέλκαμεν.

5. In the limits of Samaria and Judea lies the village Anuath, which is also named Borceos. This is the northern boundary of Judea. The southern parts of Judea, if they be measured lengthways, are bounded by a Village adjoining to the confines of Arabia; the Jews that dwell there call it Jordan. However, its breadth is extended from the river Jordan to Joppa. The city Jerusalem is situated in the very middle; on which account some have, with sagacity enough, called that city the Navel of the country. Nor indeed is Judea destitute of such delights as come from the sea, since its maritime places extend as far as Ptolemais: it was parted into eleven portions, of which the royal city Jerusalem was the supreme, and presided over all the neighboring country, as the head does over the body. As to the other cities that were inferior to it, they presided over their several toparchies; Gophna was the second of those cities, and next to that Acrabatta, after them Thamna, and Lydda, and Emmaus, and Pella, and Idumea, and Engaddi, and Herodium, and Jericho; and after them came Jamnia and Joppa, as presiding over the neighboring people; and besides these there was the region of Gamala, and Gaulonitis, and Batanea, and Trachonitis, which are also parts of the kingdom of Agrippa. This [last] country begins at Mount Libanus, and the fountains of Jordan, and reaches breadthways to the lake of Tiberias; and in

length is extended from a village called Arpha, as far as Julias. Its inhabitants are a mixture of Jews and Syrians. And thus have I, with all possible brevity, described the country of Judea, and those that lie round about it.

IV

CHAPTER 4.

Josephus Makes An Attempt Upon Sepphoris But Is Repelled.

Titus Comes With A Great Army To Ptolemais.

(1) [59] Ἡ δ’ ὑπὸ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ πεμφθεῖσα Σεπφωρίταις βοήθεια, χίλιοι μὲν ἱππεῖς ἑξακισχίλιοι δὲ πεζοί, Πλακίδου χιλιαρχοῦντος αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι διαιροῦνται, καὶ τὸ μὲν πεζὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει πρὸς φυλακὴν αὐτῆς, τὸ δ’ ἱππικὸν ἐπὶ τῆς παρεμβολῆς αὐλίζεται. [60] προιόντες δὲ ἑκατέρωθεν συνεχῶς καὶ τὰ πέριξ τῆς χώρας κατατρέχοντες μεγάλα τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐκάκουν ἀτρεμοῦντα τάς τε πόλεις ἔξωθεν λῃζόμενοι καὶ προθέοντας ὁπότε θαρρήσειαν ἀνακόπτοντες. [61] ὥρμησέ γε μὴν Ἰώσηπος ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν αἱρήσειν ἐλπίσας, ἣν αὐτὸς πρὶν ἀποστῆναι Γαλιλαίων ἐτείχισεν ὡς καὶ Ῥωμαίοις δυσάλωτον εἶναι: διὸ καὶ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀφήμαρτεν τοῦ τε βιάζεσθαι καὶ τοῦ μεταπείθειν Σεπφωρίτας ἀσθενέστερος εὑρεθείς. [62] παρώξυνεν δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, καὶ οὔτε νύκτωρ οὔτε μεθ’ ἡμέραν ὀργῇ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διέλιπον δῃοῦντες αὐτῶν τὰ πεδία καὶ διαρπάζοντες τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας κτήματα, καὶ κτείνοντες μὲν ἀεὶ τὸ μάχιμον, ἀνδραποδιζόμενοι δὲ τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς. [63] πυρὶ δὲ ἡ Γαλιλαία καὶ αἵματι πεπλήρωτο πᾶσα πάθους τε οὐδενὸς ἢ συμφορᾶς ἀπείρατος ἦν: μία γὰρ καταφυγὴ διωκομένοις αἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου τειχισθεῖσαι πόλεις ἦσαν.

1. Now the auxiliaries which were sent to assist the people of Sepphoris, being a thousand horsemen, and six thousand footmen, under Placidus the tribune, pitched their camp in two bodies in the great plain. The foot were put into the city to be a guard to it, but the horse lodged abroad in the camp. These last, by marching continually one way or other, and overrunning the parts of the adjoining country, were very troublesome to Josephus and his men; they also plundered all the places that were out of the city’s liberty, and intercepted such as durst go abroad. On this account it was that Josephus marched against the city, as hoping to take what he had lately encompassed with so strong a wall, before they revolted from the rest of the Galileans, that the Romans would have much ado to take it; by which means he proved too weak, and failed of his hopes, both as to the forcing the place, and as to his prevailing with the people of

Sepphoris to deliver it up to him. By this means he provoked the Romans to treat the country according to the law of war; nor did the Romans, out of the anger they bore at this attempt, leave off, either by night or by day, burning the places in the plain, and stealing away the cattle that were in the country, and killing whatsoever appeared capable of fighting perpetually, and leading the weaker people as slaves into captivity; so that Galilee was all over filled with fire and blood; nor was it exempted from any kind of misery or calamity, for the only refuge they had was this, that when they were pursued, they could retire to the cities which had walls built them by Josephus.

(2) [64] Ὁ δὲ Τίτος περαιωθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀχαίας εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὠκύτερον ἢ κατὰ χειμῶνος ὥραν, παραλαμβάνει μὲν ἐφ᾽ ἣν ἔσταλτο δύναμιν, συντόνῳ δὲ χρώμενος πορείᾳ διὰ τάχους εἰς Πτολεμαίδα ἀφικνεῖται. [65] κἀκεῖ καταλαβὼν τὸν πατέρα δυσὶ τοῖς ἅμα αὐτῷ τάγμασιν, ἦν δὲ τὰ ἐπισημότατα τὸ πέμπτον καὶ τὸ δέκατον, ζεύγνυσι τὸ ἀχθὲν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πεντεκαιδέκατον. [66] τούτοις εἵποντο ὀκτωκαίδεκα σπεῖραι: προσεγένοντο δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Καισαρείας πέντε καὶ ἱππέων ἴλη μία, πέντε δ᾽ ἕτεραι τῶν ἀπὸ Συρίας ἱππέων. [67] τῶν δὲ σπειρῶν αἱ δέκα μὲν εἶχον ἀνὰ χιλίους πεζούς, αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ δεκατρεῖς ἀνὰ ἑξακοσίους μὲν πεζούς, ἱππεῖς δὲ ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν. συχνὸν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων συνήχθη συμμαχικόν, [68] Ἀντιόχου μὲν καὶ Ἀγρίππα καὶ Σοαίμου παρασχομένων ἀνὰ δισχιλίους πεζοὺς τοξότας καὶ χιλίους ἱππεῖς, τοῦ δὲ Ἄραβος Μάλχου χιλίους πέμψαντος ἱππεῖς ἐπὶ πεζοῖς πεντακισχιλίοις, ὧν τὸ πλέον ἦσαν τοξόται, [69] ὡς τὴν πᾶσαν δύναμιν συνεξαριθμουμένων τῶν βασιλικῶν ἱππέας τε καὶ πεζοὺς εἰς ἓξ ἀθροίζεσθαι μυριάδας δίχα θεραπόντων, οἳ παμπληθεῖς μὲν εἵποντο, διὰ δὲ συνάσκησιν πολεμικὴν οὐκ ἂν ἀποτάσσοιντο τοῦ μαχίμου, κατὰ μὲν εἰρήνην ἐν ταῖς μελέταις τῶν δεσποτῶν ἀεὶ στρεφόμενοι, συγκινδυνεύοντες δ᾽ ἐν πολέμοις, ὡς μήτ᾽ ἐμπειρίᾳ μήτ᾽ ἀλκῇ τινος πλὴν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐλαττοῦσθαι.

2. But as to Titus, he sailed over from Achaia to Alexandria, and that sooner than the winter season did usually permit; so he took with him those forces he was sent for, and marching with great expedition, he came suddenly to Ptolemais, and there finding his father, together with the two legions, the fifth and the tenth, which were the most eminent legions of all, he joined them to that fifteenth legion which was with his father; eighteen cohorts followed these legions; there came also five cohorts from Cesarea, with one troop of horsemen, and five other troops of horsemen from Syria. Now these ten cohorts had severally a thousand footmen, but the other thirteen cohorts had no more than six hundred footmen apiece, with a hundred and twenty horsemen. There were also a considerable number of auxiliaries got together, that came from the kings Antiochus, and Agrippa, and Sohemus, each of them contributing one thousand footmen that

were archers, and a thousand horsemen. Malchus also, the king of Arabia, sent a thousand horsemen, besides five thousand footmen, the greatest part of which were archers; so that the whole army, including the auxiliaries sent by the kings, as well horsemen as footmen, when all were united together, amounted to sixty thousand, besides the servants, who, as they followed in vast numbers, so because they had been trained up in war with the rest, ought not to be distinguished from the fighting men; for as they were in their masters' service in times of peace, so did they undergo the like dangers with them in times of war, insomuch that they were inferior to none, either in skill or in strength, only they were subject to their masters.

V

CHAPTER 5.

A Description Of The Roman Armies And Roman Camps And Of

Other Particulars For Which The Romans Are Commended.

(1) [70] Κἀν τούτῳ μὲν οὖν θαυμάσαι τις ἂν Ῥωμαίων τὸ προμηθὲς κατασκευαζομένων ἑαυτοῖς τὸ οἰκετικὸν οὐ μόνον εἰς τὰς τοῦ βίου διακονίας ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους χρήσιμον. [71] εἰ δέ τις αὐτῶν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην σύνταξιν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπίδοι, γνώσεται τὴν τοσήνδε ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοὺς ἀρετῆς κτῆμα ἔχοντας, οὐ δῶρον τύχης. [72] οὐ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀρχὴ τῶν ὅπλων πόλεμος, οὐδ' ἐπὶ μόνας τὰς χρείας τὼ χεῖρε κινοῦσιν ἐν εἰρήνῃ προηργηκότες, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ συμπεφυκότες τοῖς ὅπλοις οὐδέποτε τῆς ἀσκήσεως λαμβάνουσιν ἐκεχειρίαν οὐδὲ ἀναμένουσιν τοὺς καιρούς. [73] αἱ μελέται δ' αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν τῆς κατὰ ἀλήθειαν εὐτονίας ἀποδέουσιν, ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ὁσημέραι στρατιώτης πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ καθάπερ ἐν πολέμῳ γυμνάζεται. [74] διὸ κουφότατα τὰς μάχας διαφέρουσιν: οὔτε γὰρ ἀταξία διασκίδνησιν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν ἕθει συντάξεως οὔτε δέος ἐξίστησιν οὔτε δαπανᾷ πόνος, ἔπεται δὲ τὸ κρατεῖν ἀεὶ κατὰ τῶν οὐχ ὁμοίων βέβαιον. [75] καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοι τις εἰπὼν τὰς μὲν μελέτας αὐτῶν χωρὶς αἵματος παρατάξεις, τὰς παρατάξεις δὲ μεθ' αἵματος μελέτας. [76] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς εὐάλωτοι πολεμίοις: ὅπῃ δ' ἂν ἐμβάλωσιν εἰς ἐχθρῶν γῆν, οὐ πρὶν ἅπτονται μάχης ἢ τειχίσαι στρατόπεδον. [77] τὸ δὲ οὐκ εἰκαῖον οὐδὲ ἀνώμαλον ἐγείρουσιν οὐδὲ πάντες ἢ ἀτάκτως διαλαβόντες, ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἀνώμαλος ὢν τύχοι χῶρος, ἐξομαλίζεται: διαμετρεῖται δὲ παρεμβολὴ τετράγωνος αὐτοῖς. [78] καὶ τεκτόνων πλῆθος ἕπεται τῶν τε πρὸς τὴν δόμησιν ἐργαλείων.

1. Now here one cannot but admire at the precaution of the Romans, in providing themselves of such household servants, as might not only serve at other times for

the common offices of life, but might also be of advantage to them in their wars. And, indeed, if any one does but attend to the other parts of their military discipline, he will be forced to confess that their obtaining so large a dominion hath been the acquisition of their valor, and not the bare gift of fortune; for they do not begin to use their weapons first in time of war, nor do they then put their hands first into motion, while they avoided so to do in times of peace; but, as if their weapons did always cling to them, they have never any truce from warlike exercises; nor do they stay till times of war admonish them to use them; for their military exercises differ not at all from the real use of their arms, but every soldier is every day exercised, and that with great diligence, as if it were in time of war, which is the reason why they bear the fatigue of battles so easily; for neither can any disorder remove them from their usual regularity, nor can fear affright them out of it, nor can labor tire them; which firmness of conduct makes them always to overcome those that have not the same firmness; nor would he be mistaken that should call those their exercises unbloody battles, and their battles bloody exercises. Nor can their enemies easily surprise them with the suddenness of their incursions; for as soon as they have marched into an enemy's land, they do not begin to fight till they have walled their camp about; nor is the fence they raise rashly made, or uneven; nor do they all abide in it, nor do those that are in it take their places at random; but if it happens that the ground is uneven, it is first leveled: their camp is also four-square by measure, and carpenters are ready, in great numbers, with their tools, to erect their buildings for them.

(2) [79] Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔνδον εἰς σκηνὰς διαλαμβάνουσιν, ἔξωθεν δ' ὁ κύκλος τείχους ὄψιν ἐπίχει πύργοις ἐξ ἴσου διαστήματος κεκοσμημένος. [80] ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν μεταπυργίων τούς τε ὀξυβελεῖς καὶ καταπέλτας καὶ λιθοβόλα καὶ πᾶν ἀφετήριον ὄργανον τιθέασιν, πάντα πρὸς τὰς βολὰς ἕτοιμα. [81] πύλαι δὲ ἐνοικοδομοῦνται τέσσαρες καθ' ἕκαστον τοῦ περιβόλου κλίμα, πρός τε εἰσόδους τῶν ὑποζυγίων εὐμαρεῖς καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐκδρομὰς αὐτῶν, εἰ κατεπείγοι, πλατεῖαι. [82] ῥυμοτομοῦσι δ' εὐδιαθέτως εἴσω τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ μέσας μὲν τὰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων σκηνὰς τίθενται, μεσαίτατον δὲ τούτων τὸ στρατήγιον ναῷ παραπλήσιον: [83] ὥσπερ δὲ ἐν σχεδίῳ πόλις καὶ ἀγορά τις ἀποδείκνυται καὶ χειροτέχναις χωρίον θῶκοί τε λοχαγοῖς καὶ ταξιάρχοις, ὅπῃ δικάζοιεν, εἴ τινες διαφέροιντο. [84] τειχίζεται δὲ ὁ περίβολος καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα θᾶττον ἐπινοίας πλήθει καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ τῶν πονούντων: εἰ δ' ἐπείγοι, καὶ τάφρος ἔξωθεν περιβάλλεται βάθος τετράπηχυς καὶ εὖρος ἴση.

2. As for what is within the camp, it is set apart for tents, but the outward circumference hath the resemblance to a wall, and is adorned with towers at

equal distances, where between the towers stand the engines for throwing arrows and darts, and for slinging stones, and where they lay all other engines that can annoy the enemy, all ready for their several operations. They also erect four gates, one at every side of the circumference, and those large enough for the entrance of the beasts, and wide enough for making excursions, if occasion should require. They divide the camp within into streets, very conveniently, and place the tents of the commanders in the middle; but in the very midst of all is the general's own tent, in the nature of a temple, insomuch, that it appears to be a city built on the sudden, with its market-place, and place for handicraft trades, and with seats for the officers superior and inferior, where, if any differences arise, their causes are heard and determined. The camp, and all that is in it, is encompassed with a wall round about, and that sooner than one would imagine, and this by the multitude and the skill of the laborers; and, if occasion require, a trench is drawn round the whole, whose depth is four cubits, and its breadth equal.

(3) [85] Φραξάμενοι δ' αὐλίζονται κατὰ συντάξεις ἕκαστοι μεθ' ἡσυχίας τε καὶ κόσμου. πάντα δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μετ' εὐταξίας ἀνύεται καὶ ἀσφαλείας, ξυλεία τε καὶ ἐπισιτισμός, εἰ δέοιντο, καὶ ὑδρεία κατὰ συντάξεις ἑκάστοις. [86] οὐδὲ γὰρ δεῖπνον ἢ ἄριστον ὁπότε θελήσειαν αὐτεξούσιον ἑκάστῳ, πᾶσιν δ' ὁμοῦ, τούς τε ὕπνους αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰς φυλακὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξεγέρσεις σάλπιγγες προσημαίνουσιν, οὐδ' ἔστιν ὅ τι γίνεται δίχα παραγγέλματος. [87] ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἕω τὸ στρατιωτικὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑκατοντάρχας ἕκαστοι, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς χιλιάρχους οὗτοι συνίασιν ἀσπασόμενοι, μεθ' ὧν πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν ὅλων οἱ ταξίαρχοι πάντες. [88] ὁ δ' αὐτοῖς τό τε ἐξ ἔθους σημεῖον καὶ τἆλλα παραγγέλματα δίδωσιν διαφέρειν εἰς τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους: ὃ δὴ κἀπὶ παρατάξεως πράττοντες ἐπιστρέφονταί τε ταχέως, ἵνα δέοι, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐφόδους αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀνακλήσεις ὑποχωροῦσιν ἀθρόοι.

3. When they have thus secured themselves, they live together by companies, with quietness and decency, as are all their other affairs managed with good order and security. Each company hath also their wood, and their corn, and their water brought them, when they stand in need of them; for they neither sup nor dine as they please themselves singly, but all together. Their times also for sleeping, and watching, and rising are notified beforehand by the sound of trumpets, nor is any thing done without such a signal; and in the morning the soldiery go every one to their centurions, and these centurions to their tribunes, to salute them; with whom all the superior officers go to the general of the whole army, who then gives them of course the watchword and other orders, to be by them carried to all that are under their command; which is also observed when

they go to fight, and thereby they turn themselves about on the sudden, when there is occasion for making sallies, as they come back when they are recalled in crowds also.

(4) [89] Ἐξιέναι δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου δέον ὑποσημαίνει μὲν ἡ σάλπιγξ, ἠρεμεῖ δ' οὐδείς, ἀλλ' ἅμα νεύματι τὰς μὲν σκηνὰς ἀναιροῦσιν, πάντα δ' ἐξαρτύονται πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον. [90] καὶ πάλιν αἱ σάλπιγγες ὑποσημαίνουσιν παρεσκευάσθαι. οἱ δ' ἐν τάχει τοῖς τε ὀρεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἐπιθέντες τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἑστᾶσιν ὥσπερ ἐφ' ὕσπληγος ἐξορμᾶν ἕτοιμοι, ὑποπιμπρᾶσίν τε ἤδη τὴν παρεμβολὴν ὡς αὐτοῖς μὲν ὂν ῥᾴδιον ἐκεῖ πάλιν τειχίσασθαι, μὴ γένοιτο δ' ἐκεῖνό ποτε τοῖς πολεμίοις χρήσιμον. [91] καὶ τρίτον δ' ὅμως αἱ σάλπιγγες προσημαίνουσιν τὴν ἔξοδον ἐπισπέρχουσαι τοὺς δι' αἰτίαν τινὰ βραδύναντας, ὡς μή τις ἀπολειφθείη τάξεως. [92] ὅ τε κῆρυξ δεξιὸς τῷ πολεμάρχῳ παραστάς, εἰ πρὸς πόλεμόν εἰσιν ἕτοιμοι, τῇ πατρίῳ γλώσσῃ τρὶς ἀναπυνθάνεται. κἀκεῖνοι τοσαυτάκις ἀντιβοῶσιν μέγα τι καὶ πρόθυμον ἕτοιμοι λέγοντες εἶναι, φθάνουσιν δὲ τὸν ἐπερωτῶντα, καί τινος ἀρηίου πνεύματος ὑποπιμπλάμενοι τῇ βοῇ συνεξαίρουσιν τὰς δεξιάς.

4. Now when they are to go out of their camp, the trumpet gives a sound, at which time nobody lies still, but at the first intimation they take down their tents, and all is made ready for their going out; then do the trumpets sound again, to order them to get ready for the march; then do they lay their baggage suddenly upon their mules, and other beasts of burden, and stand, as at the place of starting, ready to march; when also they set fire to their camp, and this they do because it will be easy for them to erect another camp, and that it may not ever be of use to their enemies. Then do the trumpets give a sound the third time, that they are to go out, in order to excite those that on any account are a little tardy, that so no one may be out of his rank when the army marches. Then does the crier stand at the general's right hand, and asks them thrice, in their own tongue, whether they be now ready to go out to war or not? To which they reply as often, with a loud and cheerful voice, saying, "We are ready." And this they do almost before the question is asked them: they do this as filled with a kind of martial fury, and at the same time that they so cry out, they lift up their right hands also.

(5) [93] Ἔπειτα προιόντες ὁδεύουσιν ἡσυχῇ καὶ μετὰ κόσμου πάντες, ὥσπερ ἐν πολέμῳ τὴν ἰδίαν τάξιν ἕκαστος φυλάσσων, οἱ μὲν πεζοὶ θώραξιν πεφραγμένοι καὶ κράνεσιν καὶ μαχαιροφοροῦντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν. [94] μακρότερον δ' αὐτῶν τὸ λαιὸν ξίφος πολλῷ: τὸ γὰρ κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν σπιθαμῆς οὐ πλέον ἔχει τὸ μῆκος. [95] φέρουσι δ' οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐπίλεκτοι πεζοὶ λόγχην καὶ ἀσπίδα, ἡ δὲ λοιπὴ φάλαγξ ξυστόν τε καὶ θυρεὸν ἐπιμήκη, πρὸς οἷς πρίονα καὶ κόφινον ἄμην

τε καὶ πέλεκυν, πρὸς δὲ ἱμάντα καὶ δρέπανον καὶ ἄλυσιν, ἡμερῶν τε τριῶν ἐφόδιον: ὡς ὀλίγον ἀποδεῖν τῶν ἀχθοφορούντων ὀρέων τὸν πεζόν. [96] τοῖς δὲ ἱππεῦσιν μάχαιρα μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν μακρὰ καὶ κοντὸς ἐπιμήκης ἐν χειρί, θυρεὸς δὲ παρὰ πλευρὸν ἵππου πλάγιος, καὶ κατὰ γωρυτοῦ παρήρτηνται τρεῖς ἢ πλείους ἄκοντες, πλατεῖς μὲν αἰχμάς, οὐκ ἀποδέοντες δὲ δοράτων μέγεθος: [97] κράνη δὲ καὶ θώρακες ὁμοίως τοῖς πεζοῖς ἅπασιν. οὐδενὶ δὲ ὅπλων διαλλάττουσιν οἱ περὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἔκκριτοι τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἴλαις ἱππέων. κλήρῳ δὲ τῶν ταγμάτων ἀεὶ τὸ λαχὸν ἡγεῖται.

5. When, after this, they are gone out of their camp, they all march without noise, and in a decent manner, and every one keeps his own rank, as if they were going to war. The footmen are armed with breastplates and head-pieces, and have swords on each side; but the sword which is upon their left side is much longer than the other, for that on the right side is not longer than a span. Those footmen also that are chosen out from the rest to be about the general himself have a lance and a buckler, but the rest of the foot soldiers have a spear and a long buckler, besides a saw and a basket, a pick-axe and an axe, a thong of leather and a hook, with provisions for three days, so that a footman hath no great need of a mule to carry his burdens. The horsemen have a long sword on their right sides, axed a long pole in their hand; a shield also lies by them obliquely on one side of their horses, with three or more darts that are borne in their quiver, having broad points, and not smaller than spears. They have also head-pieces and breastplates, in like manner as have all the footmen. And for those that are chosen to be about the general, their armor no way differs from that of the horsemen belonging to other troops; and he always leads the legions forth to whom the lot assigns that employment.

(6) [98] Τοιαῦται μὲν οὖν αἱ Ῥωμαίων πορεῖαί τε καὶ καταλύσεις, πρὸς δὲ ὅπλων διαφοραί, οὐδὲν δὲ ἀπροβούλευτον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις οὐδὲ αὐτοσχέδιον, ἀλλὰ γνώμη μὲν ἀεὶ παντὸς ἔργου προάγει, τοῖς δοχθεῖσι δὲ ἕπεται τὰ ἔργα: [99] παρ᾽ ὃ καὶ σφάλλονται μὲν ἥκιστα, κἂν πταίσωσι δέ, ῥᾳδίως ἀναλαμβάνουσι τὰ σφάλματα. [100] ἡγοῦνταί τε τῶν ἀπὸ τύχης ἐπιτευγμάτων ἀμείνους τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς προβουλευθεῖσιν διαμαρτίας, ὡς τοῦ μὲν αὐτομάτου καλοῦ δελεάζοντος εἰς ἀπρομήθειαν, τῆς σκέψεως δέ, κἂν ἀτυχήσῃ ποτέ, πρὸς τὸ μὴ αὖθις καλὴν ἐχούσης μελέτην: [101] καὶ τῶν μὲν αὐτομάτων ἀγαθῶν οὐ τὸν λαβόντα αἴτιον εἶναι, τῶν δὲ παρὰ γνώμην προσπεσόντων σκυθρωπῶν παραμυθίαν τό γε προσηκόντως βεβουλεῦσθαι.

6. This is the manner of the marching and resting of the Romans, as also these are the several sorts of weapons they use. But when they are to fight, they leave

nothing without forecast, nor to be done off-hand, but counsel is ever first taken before any work is begun, and what hath been there resolved upon is put in execution presently; for which reason they seldom commit any errors; and if they have been mistaken at any time, they easily correct those mistakes. They also esteem any errors they commit upon taking counsel beforehand to be better than such rash success as is owing to fortune only; because such a fortuitous advantage tempts them to be inconsiderate, while consultation, though it may sometimes fail of success, hath this good in it, that it makes men more careful hereafter; but for the advantages that arise from chance, they are not owing to him that gains them; and as to what melancholy accidents happen unexpectedly, there is this comfort in them, that they had however taken the best consultations they could to prevent them.

(7) [102] Παρασκευάζουσι μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς μελέταις τῶν ὅπλων οὐ τὰ σώματα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀλκίμους, προσασκοῦνται δὲ καὶ τῷ φόβῳ. [103] οἵ τε γὰρ νόμοι παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς οὐ λιποταξίου μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥᾳστώνης ὀλίγης θανατικοὶ οἵ τε στρατηγοὶ τῶν νόμων φοβερώτεροι: ταῖς γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τιμαῖς ῥύονται τὸ δοκεῖν ὠμοὶ πρὸς τοὺς κολαζομένους. [104] τοσοῦτον δ᾽ αὐτῶν τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας πειθήνιον, ὡς ἕν τε εἰρήνῃ κόσμον εἶναι καὶ ἐπὶ παρατάξεως ἓν σῶμα τὴν ὅλην στρατιάν. [105] οὕτως αὐτῶν ἀσφαλεῖς μὲν αἱ τάξεις, εὔστροφοι δ᾽ εἰσὶν αἱ περιαγωγαί, ὀξεῖαι δ᾽ ἀκοαὶ μὲν παραγγέλμασιν, ὄψεις δὲ σημείοις, ἔργοις δὲ χεῖρες. [106] ὅθεν δρᾶσαι μὲν ἀεὶ ταχεῖς, βραδύτατοι δὲ παθεῖν εἰσιν, οὐδ᾽ ἔστιν ὅπου σταθέντες ἢ πλήθους ἡσσήθησαν ἢ στρατηγημάτων ἢ δυσχωρίας, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τύχης: καὶ γὰρ ταύτης αὐτοῖς τὸ κρατεῖν βεβαιότερον. [107] οἷς οὖν βουλὴ μὲν ἄρχει παρατάξεως, ἕπεται δὲ τοῖς βεβουλευμένοις στρατὸς οὕτω δραστήριος, τί θαυμαστόν, εἰ πρὸς ἕω μὲν Εὐφράτης, ὠκεανὸς δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέραν, μεσημβρινὸν δὲ Λιβύης τὸ πιότατον καὶ πρὸς ἄρκτον Ἴστρος τε καὶ Ῥῆνος τῆς ἡγεμονίας ὅροι; δεόντως γὰρ ἄν τις εἴποι τὸ κτῆμα τῶν κτησαμένων ἔλασσον.

7. Now they so manage their preparatory exercises of their weapons, that not the bodies of the soldiers only, but their souls may also become stronger: they are moreover hardened for war by fear; for their laws inflict capital punishments, not only for soldiers running away from the ranks, but for slothfulness and inactivity, though it be but in a lesser degree; as are their generals more severe than their laws, for they prevent any imputation of cruelty toward those under condemnation, by the great rewards they bestow on the valiant soldiers; and the readiness of obeying their commanders is so great, that it is very ornamental in peace; but when they come to a battle, the whole army is but one body, so well coupled together are their ranks, so sudden are their turnings about, so sharp

their hearing as to what orders are given them, so quick their sight of the ensigns, and so nimble are their hands when they set to work; whereby it comes to pass that what they do is done quickly, and what they suffer they bear with the greatest patience. Nor can we find any examples where they have been conquered in battle, when they came to a close fight, either by the multitude of the enemies, or by their stratagems, or by the difficulties in the places they were in; no, nor by fortune neither, for their victories have been surer to them than fortune could have granted them. In a case, therefore, where counsel still goes before action, and where, after taking the best advice, that advice is followed by so active an army, what wonder is it that Euphrates on the east, the ocean on the west, the most fertile regions of Libya on the south, and the Danube and the Rhine on the north, are the limits of this empire? One might well say that the Roman possessions are not inferior to the Romans themselves.

(8) [108] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν διεξῆλθον οὐ Ῥωμαίους ἐπαινέσαι προαιρούμενος τοσοῦτον, ὅσον εἴς τε παραμυθίαν τῶν κεχειρωμένων καὶ εἰς ἀποτροπὴν τῶν νεωτεριζόντων: [109] εἴη δ' ἂν τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσιν τῶν φιλοκαλούντων καὶ πρὸς ἐμπειρίας ἡ ἀγωγὴ τῆς Ῥωμαίων στρατιᾶς. ἐπάνειμι δ' ὅθεν ἐπὶ ταῦτ' ἐξέβην.

8. This account I have given the reader, not so much with the intention of commending the Romans, as of comforting those that have been conquered by them, and for the deterring others from attempting innovations under their government. This discourse of the Roman military conduct may also perhaps be of use to such of the curious as are ignorant of it, and yet have a mind to know it. I return now from this digression.

VI

CHAPTER 6.

Placidus Attempts To Take Jotapata And Is Beaten Off.

Vespasian Marches Into Galilee.

(1) [110] Οὐεσπασιανὸς μὲν ἅμα τῷ παιδὶ Τίτῳ διατρίβων τέως ἐν τῇ Πτολεμαίδι συνέτασσεν τὰς δυνάμεις, ὁ δὲ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν κατατρέχων Πλάκιδος ἐπεὶ πολὺ μὲν πλῆθος ἀνῃρήκει τῶν καταλαμβανομένων, τοῦτο δ' ἦν τὸ ἀσθενέστερον Γαλιλαίων καὶ ταῖς φυγαῖς ἐναποκάμνον, [111] ὁρῶν δὲ συμφεῦγον ἀεὶ τὸ μάχιμον εἰς τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου τειχισθείσας πόλεις ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν ὀχυρωτάτην αὐτῶν Ἰωταπάταν, οἰόμενος ἐξ ἐφόδου μὲν αἱρήσειν ῥᾳδίως, μέγα δὲ κλέος αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν κἀκείνοις ὄφελος εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ παρέξειν: προσχωρήσειν γὰρ δέει τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις τῆς καρτερωτάτης ἐχομένης. [112] πολύ

γε μὴν διήμαρτεν τῆς ἐλπίδος: ἐπιόντα γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰωταπατηνοὶ προαισθόμενοι πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐκδέχονται, καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις συρραγέντες ἀδοκήτοις πολλοὶ καὶ πρὸς μάχην ἕτοιμοι πρόθυμοί τε ὡς ἂν ὑπὲρ κινδυνευούσης πατρίδος καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων, τρέπονται ταχέως. [113] καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τιτρώσκουσι τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἑπτὰ δὲ ἀναιροῦσιν διὰ τὸ μήτε ἄτακτον αὐτῶν τὴν ὑποχώρησιν γενέσθαι καὶ τὰς πληγὰς ἐπιπολαίους πεφραγμένων πάντοθεν τῶν σωμάτων, τούς τε Ἰουδαίους πόρρωθεν βάλλειν πλέον ἢ συμπλέκεσθαι θαρρεῖν γυμνῆτας ὁπλίταις. [114] ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τρεῖς ἄνδρες καὶ ἐτρώθησαν ὀλίγοι. Πλάκιδος μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁρμῆς ἀτονώτερος εὑρεθεὶς φεύγει.

1. And now Vespasian, with his son Titus, had tarried some time at Ptolemais, and had put his army in order. But when Placidus, who had overrun Galilee, and had besides slain a number of those whom he had caught, [which were only the weaker part of the Galileans, and such as were of timorous souls,] saw that the warriors ran always to those cities whose walls had been built by Josephus, he marched furiously against Jotapata, which was of them all the strongest, as supposing he should easily take it by a sudden surprise, and that he should thereby obtain great honor to himself among the commanders, and bring a great advantage to them in their future campaign; because if this strongest place of them all were once taken, the rest would be so affrighted as to surrender themselves. But he was mightily mistaken in his undertaking; for the men of Jotapata were apprized of his coming to attack them, and came out of the city, and expected him there. So they fought the Romans briskly when they least expected it, being both many in number, and prepared for fighting, and of great alacrity, as esteeming their country, their wives, and their children to be in danger, and easily put the Romans to flight, and wounded many of them, and slew seven of them; because their retreat was not made in a disorderly manner, because the strokes only touched the surface of their bodies, which were covered with their armor in all parts, and because the Jews did rather throw their weapons upon them from a great distance, than venture to come hand to hand with them, and had only light armor on, while the others were completely armed. However, three men of the Jews' side were slain, and a few wounded; so Placidus, finding himself unable to assault the city, ran away.

(2) [115] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ὡρμημένος αὐτὸς ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐξελαύνει τῆς Πτολεμαίδος διατάξας τὴν στρατιὰν ὁδεύειν καθὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἔθος. [116] τοὺς μέν γε ψιλοὺς τῶν ἐπικούρων καὶ τοξότας προάγειν ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς ἀνακόπτοιεν τὰς ἐξαπιναίους τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιδρομὰς καὶ διερευνῷεν τὰς ὑπόπτους καὶ λοχᾶσθαι δυναμένας ὕλας, οἷς εἵπετο καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὁπλιτικὴ μοῖρα πεζοί τε καὶ ἱππεῖς. [117] τούτοις ἀφ' ἑκάστης ἑκατονταρχίας ἠκολούθουν δέκα τήν τε ἑαυτῶν

σκευὴν καὶ τὰ μέτρα τῆς παρεμβολῆς φέροντες, [118] καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὁδοποιοί, τά τε σκολιὰ τῆς λεωφόρου κατευθύνειν καὶ χθαμαλοῦν τὰ δύσβατα καὶ τὰς ἐμποδίους ὕλας προανακόπτειν, ὡς μὴ ταλαιπωροῖτο δυσποροῦν τὸ στράτευμα. [119] κατόπιν δὲ τούτων τάς τε ἰδίας καὶ τὰς τῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνων ἔταξεν ἀποσκευὰς καὶ συχνοὺς ἐπὶ τούτοις πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τῶν ἱππέων. [120] μεθ᾽ οὓς αὐτὸς ἐξήλαυνεν τούς τε ἐπιλέκτους τῶν πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων καὶ τοὺς λογχοφόρους ἔχων. εἵπετο δ᾽ αὐτῷ τὸ ἴδιον τοῦ τάγματος ἱππικόν: ἴδιοι γὰρ ἑκάστου τάγματος εἴκοσι πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν ἱππεῖς. [121] τούτοις δ᾽ ἠκολούθουν οἱ τὰς ἐλεπόλεις φέροντες ὀρεῖς καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μηχανήματα. [122] μετὰ τούτους ἡγεμόνες τε καὶ σπειρῶν ἔπαρχοι σὺν χιλιάρχοις, ἐπιλέκτους περὶ σφᾶς στρατιώτας ἔχοντες: [123] ἔπειτα αἱ σημαῖαι περιίσχουσαι τὸν ἀετόν, ὃς παντὸς ἄρχει Ῥωμαίοις τάγματος, βασιλεύς τε οἰωνῶν ἁπάντων καὶ ἀλκιμώτατος ὤν: ὃ δὴ καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας τεκμήριον αὐτοῖς καὶ κληδών, ἐφ᾽ οὓς ἂν ἴωσιν, τοῦ κρατήσειν δοκεῖ. [124] τοῖς δὲ ἱεροῖς ἠκολούθουν οἱ σαλπιγκταί, καὶ κατόπιν αὐτῶν ἡ φάλαγξ τὸ στῖφος εἰς ἓξ πλατύνασα. τούτοις παρείπετό τις ἑκατόνταρχος ἐξ ἔθους τὴν τάξιν ἐπισκοπούμενος. [125] τὸ δ᾽ οἰκετικὸν ἑκάστου τάγματος ἅπαν τοῖς πεζοῖς εἵπετο, τὰς ἀποσκευὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀρεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἄγοντες: [126] κατόπιν δὲ πάντων [τῶν ταγμάτων] ὁ μίσθιος ὄχλος, οἷς οὐραγοὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ἠκολούθουν πεζοί τε καὶ ὁπλῖται καὶ τῶν ἱππέων συχνοί.

2. But as Vespasian had a great mind to fall upon Galilee, he marched out of Ptolemais, having put his army into that order wherein the Romans used to march. He ordered those auxiliaries which were lightly armed, and the archers, to march first, that they might prevent any sudden insults from the enemy, and might search out the woods that looked suspiciously, and were capable of ambuscades. Next to these followed that part of the Romans which was completely armed, both footmen and horsemen. Next to these followed ten out of every hundred, carrying along with them their arms, and what was necessary to measure out a camp withal; and after them, such as were to make the road even and straight, and if it were any where rough and hard to be passed over, to plane it, and to cut down the woods that hindered their march, that the army might not be in distress, or tired with their march. Behind these he set such carriages of the army as belonged both to himself and to the other commanders, with a considerable number of their horsemen for their security. After these he marched himself, having with him a select body of footmen, and horsemen, and pikemen. After these came the peculiar cavalry of his own legion, for there were a hundred and twenty horsemen that peculiarly belonged to every legion. Next to these came the mules that carried the engines for sieges, and the other warlike

machines of that nature. After these came the commanders of the cohorts and tribunes, having about them soldiers chosen out of the rest. Then came the ensigns encompassing the eagle, which is at the head of every Roman legion, the king, and the strongest of all birds, which seems to them a signal of dominion, and an omen that they shall conquer all against whom they march; these sacred ensigns are followed by the trumpeters. Then came the main army in their squadrons and battalions, with six men in depth, which were followed at last by a centurion, who, according to custom, observed the rest. As for the servants of every legion, they all followed the footmen, and led the baggage of the soldiers, which was borne by the mules and other beasts of burden. But behind all the legions came the whole multitude of the mercenaries; and those that brought up the rear came last of all for the security of the whole army, being both footmen, and those in their armor also, with a great number of horsemen.

(3) [127] Οὕτως ὁδεύσας Οὐεσπασιανὸς μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς τοὺς ὅρους ἀφικνεῖται τῆς Γαλιλαίας, ἔνθα καταστρατοπεδευσάμενος ὡρμημένους εἰς πόλεμον τοὺς στρατιώτας κατεῖχεν, ἐπιδεικνύμενος τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς κατάπληξιν τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ μετανοίας καιρὸν διδούς, εἰ πρὸ μάχης μεταβάλοιντο: ἅμα δὲ καὶ πρὸς πολιορκίαν τῶν ἐρυμάτων ἐξηρτύετο. [128] μετάνοιαν μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀποστάσεως ὀφθεὶς ὁ στρατηγὸς πολλοῖς ἐνειργάσατο, κατάπληξιν δὲ πᾶσιν: [129] οἱ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐστρατοπεδευκότες οὐκ ἄπωθεν τῆς Σεπφώρεως παρὰ πόλιν Γαρὶν καλουμένην ἐπεὶ πλησιάζοντα τὸν πόλεμον ἤκουσαν ὅσον τε οὔπω τοὺς Ῥωμαίους συμμίξοντας σφίσιν, οὐ μόνον πρὸ μάχης, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὶν ἰδεῖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς διασκίδνανται φυγῇ. [130] καταλείπεται δ’ ὁ Ἰώσηπος μετ’ ὀλίγων, καὶ κατιδὼν ὡς οὔτε δέχεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἀρκετὴν ἔχει δύναμιν καὶ πεπτώκοι τὰ φρονήματα τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἄσμενοί τ’ ἄν, εἰ πιστεύοιντο, χωροῖεν οἱ πλείους ἐπὶ σπονδάς, ἐδεδίει μὲν ἤδη περὶ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου, [131] τότε δ’ ὡς πορρωτάτω χωρίζεσθαι τῶν κινδύνων ἔκρινεν. ἀναλαβὼν δὲ τοὺς συμμείναντας εἰς Τιβεριάδα καταφεύγει.

3. And thus did Vespasian march with his army, and came to the bounds of Galilee, where he pitched his camp and restrained his soldiers, who were eager for war; he also showed his army to the enemy, in order to affright them, and to afford them a season for repentance, to see whether they would change their minds before it came to a battle, and at the same time he got things ready for besieging their strong minds. And indeed this sight of the general brought many to repent of their revolt, and put them all into a consternation; for those that were in Josephus’s camp, which was at the city called Garis, not far from Sepphoris, when they heard that the war was come near them, and that the Romans would suddenly fight them hand to hand, dispersed themselves and fled, not only before

they came to a battle, but before the enemy ever came in sight, while Josephus and a few others were left behind; and as he saw that he had not an army sufficient to engage the enemy, that the spirits of the Jews were sunk, and that the greater part would willingly come to terms, if they might be credited, he already despaired of the success of the whole war, and determined to get as far as he possibly could out of danger; so he took those that staid along with him, and fled to Tiberias.

VII

CHAPTER 7.

Vespasian, When He Had Taken The City Gadaea Marches To Jotapata. After A Long Siege The City Is Betrayed By A Deserter, And Taken By Vespasian.

(1) [132] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ τῇ πόλει τῶν Γαδάρων ἐπελθὼν αἱρεῖ τε κατὰ πρώτην ἔφοδον αὐτὴν μαχίμου πλήθους ἔρημον καταλαβών, [133] καὶ παρελθὼν εἴσω πάντας ἡβηδὸν ἀναιρεῖ μηδεμιᾶς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡλικίας ἔλεον ποιουμένων μίσει πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος καὶ μνήμῃ τῆς κατὰ τὸν Κέστιον αὐτῶν παρανομίας. [134] ἐμπίμπρησιν δὲ οὐ μόνον αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πέριξ κώμας πάσας τε καὶ πολίχνας, ἃς μὲν παντελῶς ἐκλελειμμένας, ἔστιν δ᾽ ἃς αὐτὸς ἐξανδραποδιζόμενος.

1. So Vespasian marched to the city Gadara, and took it upon the first onset, because he found it destitute of any considerable number of men grown up and fit for war. He came then into it, and slew all the youth, the Romans having no mercy on any age whatsoever; and this was done out of the hatred they bore the nation, and because of the iniquity they had been guilty of in the affair of Cestius. He also set fire not only to the city itself, but to all the villas and small cities that were round about it; some of them were quite destitute of inhabitants, and out of some of them he carried the inhabitants as slaves into captivity.

(2) [135] Ὁ δ᾽ Ἰώσηπος ἣν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν εἵλετο πόλιν αὐτὸς ἐνέπλησεν δέους καταφυγών. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Τιβεριάδος οὐκ ἄν, εἰ μὴ πρὸς τὸ πᾶν ἀπεγνώκει τὸν πόλεμον, τραπῆναί ποτε αὐτὸν ᾠοντο. [136] καὶ κατὰ τοῦτό γε οὐ διημάρτανον αὐτοῦ τῆς γνώμης: ἑώρα μὲν γάρ, ποῖ ῥέψει τὰ Ἰουδαίων τέλους, καὶ μίαν αὐτῶν ᾔδει σωτηρίαν, εἰ μεταβάλοιντο. [137] αὐτὸς δὲ καίπερ συγγνωσθήσεσθαι παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις προσδοκῶν, ὅμως τεθνάναι μᾶλλον εἵλετο πολλάκις ἢ καταπροδοὺς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἐμπιστευθεῖσαν αὐτῷ στρατηγίαν ὑβρίσας εὐτυχεῖν παρ᾽ οἷς πολεμήσων ἐπέμφθη. [138] γράφειν οὖν τοῖς ἐν τέλει τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων διέγνω

μετὰ ἀκριβείας τὰ πράγματα, ὡς μήτ᾽ ἐπὶ μεῖζον ἐξάρας τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἰσχὺν αὖθις εἰς δειλίαν κακίζοιτο μήτε ἐνδεέστερον ἀπαγγείλας κἂν μετανοήσαντας ἴσως θρασύνοιεν, [139] ἵνα τε ἢ σπονδὰς αἱρούμενοι ταχέως ἀντιγράψωσιν ἢ πολεμεῖν ἐγνωκότες πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀξιόμαχον αὐτῷ πέμψωσι δύναμιν. [140] ὁ μὲν οὖν ταῦτ᾽ ἐπιστείλας πέμπει διὰ τάχους ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων τοὺς τὰ γράμματα κομίζοντας.

2. As to Josephus, his retiring to that city which he chose as the most fit for his security, put it into great fear; for the people of Tiberias did not imagine that he would have run away, unless he had entirely despaired of the success of the war. And indeed, as to that point, they were not mistaken about his opinion; for he saw whither the affairs of the Jews would tend at last, and was sensible that they had but one way of escaping, and that was by repentance. However, although he expected that the Romans would forgive him, yet did he choose to die many times over, rather than to betray his country, and to dishonor that supreme command of the army which had been intrusted with him, or to live happily under those against whom he was sent to fight. He determined, therefore, to give an exact account of affairs to the principal men at Jerusalem by a letter, that he might not, by too much aggrandizing the power of the enemy, make them too timorous; nor, by relating that their power beneath the truth, might encourage them to stand out when they were perhaps disposed to repentance. He also sent them word, that if they thought of coming to terms, they must suddenly write him an answer; or if they resolved upon war, they must send him an army sufficient to fight the Romans. Accordingly, he wrote these things, and sent messengers immediately to carry his letter to Jerusalem.

(3) [141] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ὡρμημένος ἐξαιρεῖν τὴν Ἰωταπάταν, πέπυστο γὰρ εἰς αὐτὴν πλείστους τῶν πολεμίων συμπεφευγέναι καὶ ἄλλως ὁρμητήριον ἰσχυρὸν οὖσαν αὐτῶν, πέμπει πεζούς τε καὶ ἱππεῖς τοὺς προεξομαλιοῦντας τὴν ὁδὸν ὀρεινὴν ὑπάρχουσαν καὶ πετρώδη, δύσβατον δὲ καὶ πεζοῖς, ἱππεῦσιν δ᾽ ἀμήχανον. [142] οἱ μὲν οὖν τέσσαρσιν ἡμέραις ἐξειργάσαντο καὶ πλατεῖαν ἤνοιξαν τῇ στρατιᾷ λεωφόρον: τῇ πέμπτῃ δ᾽ ὁ Ἰώσηπος, αὕτη δ᾽ ἦν Ἀρτεμισίου μηνὸς μία καὶ εἰκάς, φθάνει παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν Ἰωταπάταν ἐκ τῆς Τιβεριάδος καὶ πεπτωκότα τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐγείρει τὰ φρονήματα. [143] Οὐεσπασιανῷ δέ τις εὐαγγελίζεται τὴν μετάβασιν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτόμολος καὶ κατήπειγεν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὡς μετ᾽ ἐκείνης αἱρήσοντα πᾶσαν Ἰουδαίαν, εἰ λάβοι τὸν Ἰώσηπον ὑποχείριον. [144] ὁ δ᾽ ἁρπάσας ὥσπερ μέγιστον εὐτύχημα τὴν ἀγγελίαν, καὶ προνοίᾳ θεοῦ τὸν συνετώτατον εἶναι δοκοῦντα τῶν πολεμίων οἰόμενος εἰς εἱρκτὴν αὐθαίρετον παρελθεῖν, εὐθέως μὲν σὺν χιλίοις ἱππεῦσιν πέμπει

Πλάκιδον καὶ δεκαδάρχην Αἰβούτιον, ἄνδρα τῶν ἐπισήμων κατὰ χεῖρα καὶ σύνεσιν, περικατασχεῖν κελεύσας τὴν πόλιν, ὡς μὴ λάθοι διαδρὰς ὁ Ἰώσηπος.

3. Now Vespasian was very desirous of demolishing Jotapata, for he had gotten intelligence that the greatest part of the enemy had retired thither, and that it was, on other accounts, a place of great security to them. Accordingly, he sent both footmen and horsemen to level the road, which was mountainous and rocky, not without difficulty to be traveled over by footmen, but absolutely impracticable for horsemen. Now these workmen accomplished what they were about in four days' time, and opened a broad way for the army. On the fifth day, which was the twenty-first of the month Artemisius, [Jyar,] Josephus prevented him, and came from Tiberias, and went into Jotapata, and raised the drooping spirits of the Jews. And a certain deserter told this good news to Vespasian, that Josephus had removed himself thither, which made him make haste to the city, as supposing that with taking that he should take all Judea, in case he could but withal get Josephus under his power. So he took this news to be of the vastest advantage to him, and believed it to be brought about by the providence of God, that he who appeared to be the most prudent man of all their enemies, had, of his own accord, shut himself up in a place of sure custody. Accordingly, he sent Placidus with a thousand horsemen, and Ebutius a decurion, a person that was of eminency both in council and in action, to encompass the city round, that Josephus might not escape away privately.

(4) [145] Αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ μίαν ἡμέραν ἀναλαβὼν πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν εἵπετο καὶ μέχρι δείλης ὁδεύσας πρὸς τὴν Ἰωταπάταν ἀφικνεῖται. [146] ἀναλαβὼν δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὸ προσάρκτιον αὐτῆς μέρος ἔν τινι λόφῳ στρατοπεδεύεται διέχοντι σταδίους ἑπτὰ τῆς πόλεως, πειρώμενος ὡς μάλιστα τοῖς πολεμίοις εὐσύνοπτος εἶναι πρὸς ἔκπληξιν: [147] ἣ καὶ παραχρῆμα τοσαύτη τοὺς Ἰουδαίους κατέσχεν, ὡς μηδένα τοῦ τείχους τολμῆσαι προελθεῖν. [148] Ῥωμαῖοι δ' εὐθὺς μὲν ἀπώκνησαν προσβαλεῖν δι' ὅλης ὠδευκότες ἡμέρας, διπλῇ δὲ τῇ φάλαγγι κυκλοῦνται τὴν πόλιν καὶ τρίτην ἔξωθεν περιιστᾶσιν τὴν ἵππον, πάσας ἀποφράσσοντες αὐτοῖς τὰς ἐξόδους. [149] τοῦτ' ἐν ἀπογνώσει σωτηρίας παρώξυνε τοὺς Ἰουδαίους πρὸς τόλμαν: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀνάγκης ἐν πολέμῳ μαχιμώτερον.

4. Vespasian also, the very next day, took his whole army and followed them, and by marching till late in the evening, arrived then at Jotapata; and bringing his army to the northern side of the city, he pitched his camp on a certain small hill which was seven furlongs from the city, and still greatly endeavored to be well seen by the enemy, to put them into a consternation; which was indeed so terrible to the Jews immediately, that no one of them durst go out beyond the

wall. Yet did the Romans put off the attack at that time, because they had marched all the day, although they placed a double row of battalions round the city, with a third row beyond them round the whole, which consisted of cavalry, in order to stop up every way for an exit; which thing making the Jews despair of escaping, excited them to act more boldly; for nothing makes men fight so desperately in war as necessity.

(5) [150] Γενομένης δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν προσβολῆς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Ἰουδαῖοι κατὰ χώραν μένοντες ἀντεῖχον ἀντικρὺ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐστρατοπεδευκότες πρὸ τοῦ τείχους: [151] ὡς δὲ Οὐεσπασιανὸς τούτοις μὲν τοὺς τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ πᾶν τὸ τῶν ἐκηβόλων πλῆθος ἐπιστήσας ἐπέτρεψεν βάλλειν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν πεζῶν εἰς τὸ πρόσαντες ἀνώθει καθ' ὃ τὸ τεῖχος ἦν εὐάλωτον, δείσας ὁ Ἰώσηπος περὶ τῇ πόλει προπηδᾷ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ πᾶν τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πλῆθος. [152] συμπεσόντες δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀθρόοι τοῦ μὲν τείχους ἀνέστειλαν αὐτούς, πολλὰ δ' ἐπεδείκνυντο χειρῶν ἔργα καὶ τόλμης. [153] οὐκ ἔλασσόν γε μὴν ὧν ἔδρων ἀντέπασχον: ὅσον γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἡ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀπόγνωσις, τοσοῦτο τοὺς Ῥωμαίους αἰδὼς παρεκρότει, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐμπειρία μετ' ἀλκῆς, τοὺς δὲ θράσος ὥπλιζε τῷ θυμῷ στρατηγουμένους. [154] παραταξάμενοι δὲ δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας νυκτὶ διαλύονται, τρώσαντες μὲν πλείστους Ῥωμαίων, δεκατρεῖς δ' ἀνελόντες: αὐτῶν δ' ἔπεσον μὲν δεκαεπτά, τραυματίαι δ' ἐγένοντο ἑξακόσιοι.

5. Now when the next day an assault was made by the Romans, the Jews at first staid out of the walls and opposed them, and met them, as having formed themselves a camp before the city walls. But when Vespasian had set against them the archers and slingers, and the whole multitude that could throw to a great distance, he permitted them to go to work, while he himself, with the footmen, got upon an acclivity, whence the city might easily be taken. Josephus was then in fear for the city, and leaped out, and all the Jewish multitude with him; these fell together upon the Romans in great numbers, and drove them away from the wall, and performed a great many glorious and bold actions. Yet did they suffer as much as they made the enemy suffer; for as despair of deliverance encouraged the Jews, so did a sense of shame equally encourage the Romans. These last had skill as well as strength; the other had only courage, which armed them, and made them fight furiously. And when the fight had lasted all day, it was put an end to by the coming on of the night. They had wounded a great many of the Romans, and killed of them thirteen men; of the Jews' side seventeen were slain, and six hundred wounded.

(6) [155] Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ πάλιν προσβάλλουσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπεξελθόντες καὶ πολὺ καρτερώτερον ἀντιπαρετάξαντο, θαρραλεώτεροι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ παρὰ λόγον

ἀντισχεῖν τῇ προτέρᾳ γεγενημένοι, χρώμενοι δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις μαχιμωτέροις: [156] ὑπὸ γὰρ αἰδοῦς εἰς ὀργὴν ἐξεκαίοντο τὸ μὴ ταχέως νικᾶν ἦτταν ἡγούμενοι. [157] καὶ μέχρι πέμπτης ἡμέρας προσβολαὶ μὲν ἐγίνοντο τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀδιάλειπτοι, ἐκδρομαὶ δὲ τῶν Ἰωταπατηνῶν καὶ τειχομαχίαι καρτερώτεραι, καὶ οὔτε Ἰουδαῖοι τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἰσχὺν κατωρρώδουν οὔτε Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς τὸ τῆς πόλεως δυσάλωτον ἀπέκαμνον.

6. On the next day the Jews made another attack upon the Romans, and went out of the walls and fought a much more desperate battle with them than before. For they were now become more courageous than formerly, and that on account of the unexpected good opposition they had made the day before, as they found the Romans also to fight more desperately; for a sense of shame inflamed these into a passion, as esteeming their failure of a sudden victory to be a kind of defeat. Thus did the Romans try to make an impression upon the Jews till the fifth day continually, while the people of Jotapata made sallies out, and fought at the walls most desperately; nor were the Jews affrighted at the strength of the enemy, nor were the Romans discouraged at the difficulties they met with in taking the city.

(7) [158] Ἔστιν δ' Ἰωταπάτα πλὴν ὀλίγου πᾶσα κρημνός, ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων μερῶν πάντοθεν φάραγξιν ἀπείροις ἀπότομος, ὡς τῶν κατιδεῖν πειρωμένων τὰς ὄψεις προεξασθενεῖν τοῦ βάθους, ἀπὸ βορέου δὲ προσιτὴ μόνον, καθ' ὃ λήγοντι τῷ ὄρει πλαγίῳ προσέκτισται. [159] καὶ τοῦτο δ' ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἐμπεριειλήφει τειχίζων τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἀκατάληπτον εἶναι πολεμίοις τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀκρώρειαν. [160] κυκλόθεν δ' ἄλλοις ὄρεσιν καλυπτομένη, πρὶν εἰσαφίκοιτό τις εἰς αὐτήν, παντελῶς ἀόρατος ἦν. εἶχε μὲν οὖν οὕτως ὀχυρότητος Ἰωταπάτη:

7. Now Jotapata is almost all of it built on a precipice, having on all the other sides of it every way valleys immensely deep and steep, insomuch that those who would look down would have their sight fail them before it reaches to the bottom. It is only to be come at on the north side, where the utmost part of the city is built on the mountain, as it ends obliquely at a plain. This mountain Josephus had encompassed with a wall when he fortified the city, that its top might not be capable of being seized upon by the enemies. The city is covered all round with other mountains, and can no way be seen till a man comes just upon it. And this was the strong situation of Jotapata.

(8) [161] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ τῇ τε φύσει τοῦ χωρίου καὶ ταῖς τόλμαις τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀντιφιλονεικῶν ἔγνω καρτερώτερον ἅπτεσθαι τῆς πολιορκίας, καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνας ἐβουλεύετο περὶ τῆς προσβολῆς. [162] δόξαν δὲ χῶσαι τὸ προσιτὸν τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ συγκομιδὴν ὕλης ἐκπέμπει πᾶν

τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ κοπέντων τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν ὀρῶν συναλισθείσης τε ἅμα τοῖς ξύλοις ἀπείρου χερμάδος, [163] οἱ μὲν πρὸς ἀλεωρὰν τῶν ὕπερθεν ἀφιεμένων βελῶν γέρρα διατείναντες ὑπὲρ χαρακωμάτων ἔχουν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἢ μικρὰ βλαπτόμενοι ταῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους βολαῖς: [164] οἱ δὲ τοὺς πλησίον ὄχθους ἀνασπῶντες γῆν αὐτοῖς ἀδιαλείπτως ἔφερον, καὶ τριχῆ διῃρημένων ἀργὸς ἦν οὐδείς. [165] οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι πέτρας τε μεγάλας ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν τοῖς σκεπάσμασιν αὐτῶν ἐπηφίεσαν καὶ πᾶν εἶδος βελῶν: ἦν δὲ καὶ μὴ διικνουμένων πολὺς ὁ ψόφος καὶ φοβερὸς ἐμπόδιον τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις.

8. Vespasian, therefore, in order to try how he might overcome the natural strength of the place, as well as the bold defense of the Jews, made a resolution to prosecute the siege with vigor. To that end he called the commanders that were under him to a council of war, and consulted with them which way the assault might be managed to the best advantage. And when the resolution was there taken to raise a bank against that part of the wall which was practicable, he sent his whole army abroad to get the materials together. So when they had cut down all the trees on the mountains that adjoined to the city, and had gotten together a vast heap of stones, besides the wood they had cut down, some of them brought hurdles, in order to avoid the effects of the darts that were shot from above them. These hurdles they spread over their banks, under cover whereof they formed their bank, and so were little or nothing hurt by the darts that were thrown upon them from the wall, while others pulled the neighboring hillocks to pieces, and perpetually brought earth to them; so that while they were busy three sorts of ways, nobody was idle. However, the Jews cast great stones from the walls upon the hurdles which protected the men, with all sorts of darts also; and the noise of what could not reach them was yet so terrible, that it was some impediment to the workmen.

(9) [166] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ἐν κύκλῳ τὰς ἀφετηρίους μηχανὰς ἐπιστήσας, τὰ πάντα δ᾽ ἦν ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα ὄργανα, βάλλειν ἐκέλευσεν τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους. [167] ὁμοῦ δὲ οἵ τε καταπέλται τὰς λόγχας ἀνερροίζουν καὶ ταλαντιαῖοι λίθοι μέγεθος ἐκ τῶν πετροβόλων ἐβάλλοντο πῦρ τε καὶ πλῆθος ἀθρόων οἰστῶν, ἅπερ οὐ μόνον τὸ τεῖχος ἀνεπίβατον τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐντὸς ὅσης ἐφικνεῖτο χώρας: [168] καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἀράβων τοξοτῶν πλῆθος ἀκοντισταί τε καὶ σφενδονῆται πάντες ἅμα τοῖς μηχανήμασιν ἔβαλλον. [169] οὐ μὴν εἰργόμενοι τῆς καθύπερθεν ἀμύνης ἠρέμουν: ἐκτρέχοντες γὰρ λῃστρικώτερον κατὰ λόχους περιέσπων τε τῶν ἐργαζομένων τὰς σκέπας καὶ τοὺς γυμνουμένους ἔπαιον, καὶ καθ᾽ ὃ παρείκοιεν ἐκεῖνοι διερρίπτουν τε τὸ χῶμα καὶ τὰ χαρακώματα σὺν τοῖς γέρροις ἐνεπίμπρασαν, [170] μέχρι συνεὶς Οὐεσπασιανὸς τὴν διαίρεσιν τῶν ἔργων αἰτίαν εἶναι τῆς βλάβης, τὰ γὰρ διαστήματα τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις προσβολῆς παρεῖχεν

τόπον, ἐνοῖ τὰ σκεπάσματα, καὶ συναφθείσης ἅμα αὐτοῖς τῆς δυνάμεως ἀνείρχθησαν αἱ τῶν Ἰουδαίων παραδύσεις.

9. Vespasian then set the engines for throwing stones and darts round about the city. The number of the engines was in all a hundred and sixty, and bid them fall to work, and dislodge those that were upon the wall. At the same time such engines as were intended for that purpose threw at once lances upon them with a great noise, and stones of the weight of a talent were thrown by the engines that were prepared for that purpose, together with fire, and a vast multitude of arrows, which made the wall so dangerous, that the Jews durst not only not come upon it, but durst not come to those parts within the walls which were reached by the engines; for the multitude of the Arabian archers, as well also as all those that threw darts and slung stones, fell to work at the same time with the engines. Yet did not the others lie still, when they could not throw at the Romans from a higher place; for they then made sallies out of the city, like private robbers, by parties, and pulled away the hurdles that covered the workmen, and killed them when they were thus naked; and when those workmen gave way, these cast away the earth that composed the bank, and burnt the wooden parts of it, together with the hurdles, till at length Vespasian perceived that the intervals there were between the works were of disadvantage to him; for those spaces of ground afforded the Jews a place for assaulting the Romans. So he united the hurdles, and at the same time joined one part of the army to the other, which prevented the private excursions of the Jews.

(10) [171] Ἐγειρομένου δὲ τοῦ χώματος ἤδη καὶ ταῖς ἐπάλξεσιν ὅσον οὔπω πλησιάζοντος δεινὸν ὁ Ἰώσηπος νομίσας, εἰ μηδὲν ἀντιμηχανήσαιτο τῇ πόλει σωτήριον, συναθροίζει τέκτονας καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐκέλευσεν ὑψοῦν. [172] τῶν δ' ἀδύνατον εἶναι φαμένων οἰκοδομεῖν τοσούτοις βέλεσι βαλλομένους, σκέπην αὐτοῖς ἐπινοεῖ τοιάνδε: [173] δρυφάκτους πήξασθαι κελεύσας ἐμπετάσαι τε βύρσας νεοδόρους βοῶν, ὡς ἀναδέχοιντο μὲν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πετροβόλων λίθους κολπούμεναι, περιολισθάνοι δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ βέλη καὶ τὸ πῦρ ὑπὸ τῆς ἰκμάδος εἴργοιτο, προανίστησιν τῶν τεκτόνων. [174] ὑφ' οἷς ἀσφαλῶς ἐργαζόμενοι δι' ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἤγειραν εἰς εἴκοσι πήχεις τὸ ὕψος, καὶ συχνοὺς μὲν πύργους ἐνῳκοδόμησαν αὐτῷ, καρτερὰν δὲ ἔπαλξιν ἐφηρμόσαντο. [175] τοῦτο τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἤδη τῆς πόλεως ἐντὸς οἰομένοις εἶναι πολλὴν ἐποίησεν ἀθυμίαν, καὶ πρός τε τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τοῦ Ἰωσήπου καὶ τὸ παράστημα τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως κατεπλάγησαν.

10. And when the bank was now raised, and brought nearer than ever to the battlements that belonged to the walls, Josephus thought it would be entirely

wrong in him if he could make no contrivances in opposition to theirs, and that might be for the city's preservation; so he got together his workmen, and ordered them to build the wall higher; and while they said that this was impossible to be done while so many darts were thrown at them, he invented this sort of cover for them: He bid them fix piles, and expand before them the raw hides of oxen newly killed, that these hides by yielding and hollowing themselves when the stones were thrown at them might receive them, for that the other darts would slide off them, and the fire that was thrown would be quenched by the moisture that was in them. And these he set before the workmen, and under them these workmen went on with their works in safety, and raised the wall higher, and that both by day and by night, till it was twenty cubits high. He also built a good number of towers upon the wall, and fitted it to strong battlements. This greatly discouraged the Romans, who in their own opinions were already gotten within the walls, while they were now at once astonished at Josephus's contrivance, and at the fortitude of the citizens that were in the city.

(11) [176] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ πανοῦργον τοῦ στρατηγήματος καὶ πρὸς τὰς τόλμας παρωξύνετο τῶν Ἰωταπατηνῶν: [177] πάλιν γὰρ ἀναθαρσήσαντες ἐπὶ τῷ τειχισμῷ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπεξέθεον, καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐγίνοντο συμπλοκαὶ κατὰ λόχους ἐπίνοιά τε λῃστρικὴ πᾶσα καὶ τῶν προστυχόντων ἁρπαγαὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων πυρπολήσεις, [178] ἕως Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἀναπαύσας τὴν στρατιὰν μάχης διέγνω προσκαθεζόμενος σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων αἱρεῖν τὴν πόλιν: [179] ἢ γὰρ ἀναγκαζομένους ταῖς ἀπορίαις ἱκετεύσειν αὐτὸν ἢ μέχρι παντὸς ἀπαυθαδισαμένους διαφθαρήσεσθαι λιμῷ. [180] πολύ τε ῥᾴοσιν αὐτοῖς ἠξίου χρήσεσθαι κατὰ τὴν μάχην, εἰ διαλιπὼν αὖθις ἐκτετρυχωμένοις ἐπιπέσοι. φρουρεῖν δὴ πάσας αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσεν τὰς ἐξόδους.

11. And now Vespasian was plainly irritated at the great subtlety of this stratagem, and at the boldness of the citizens of Jotapata; for taking heart again upon the building of this wall, they made fresh sallies upon the Romans, and had every day conflicts with them by parties, together with all such contrivances, as robbers make use of, and with the plundering of all that came to hand, as also with the setting fire to all the other works; and this till Vespasian made his army leave off fighting them, and resolved to lie round the city, and to starve them into a surrender, as supposing that either they would be forced to petition him for mercy by want of provisions, or if they should have the courage to hold out till the last, they should perish by famine: and he concluded he should conquer them the more easily in fighting, if he gave them an interval, and then fell upon them when they were weakened by famine; but still he gave orders that they should guard against their coming out of the city.

(12) [181] Τοῖς δὲ σίτου μὲν πλῆθος ἦν ἔνδον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλὴν ἁλὸς ἁπάντων, ἔνδεια δὲ ὕδατος ὡς ἂν πηγῆς μὲν οὐκ οὔσης κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, τῷ δ' ὀμβρίῳ διαρκουμένων τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ: σπάνιον δ' εἴ ποτε τὸ κλίμα θέρους ὕεται. [182] καὶ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ὥραν πολιορκουμένων ἀθυμία δεινὴ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ δίψους ἐπίνοιαν ἦν, ἀσχαλλόντων ἤδη ὡς καθάπαν ἐπιλελοιπότος ὕδατος: [183] ὁ γὰρ Ἰώσηπος τήν τε πόλιν ὁρῶν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων εὔπορον καὶ τὰ φρονήματα γενναῖα τῶν ἀνδρῶν, βουλόμενός τε παρ' ἐλπίδα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐκτεῖναι τὴν πολιορκίαν, μέτρῳ τὸ ποτὸν αὐτοῖς διένειμεν εὐθέως. [184] οἱ δὲ τὸ ταμιεύεσθαι χαλεπώτερον ἐνδείας ὑπελάμβανον, καὶ τὸ μὴ αὐτεξούσιον αὐτῶν πλέον ἐκίνει τὴν ὄρεξιν, καὶ καθάπερ εἰς ἔσχατον ἤδη δίψους προήκοντες ἀπέκαμνον. διακείμενοι δὲ οὕτως οὐκ ἐλάνθανον τοὺς Ῥωμαίους: [185] ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ κατάντους ἑώρων αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τὸ τεῖχος ἐφ' ἕνα συρρέοντας τόπον καὶ μετρουμένους τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐφ' ὃν καὶ τοῖς ὀξυβελέσιν ἐξικνούμενοι πολλοὺς ἀνῄρουν.

12. Now the besieged had plenty of corn within the city, and indeed of all necessaries, but they wanted water, because there was no fountain in the city, the people being there usually satisfied with rain water; yet is it a rare thing in that country to have rain in summer, and at this season, during the siege, they were in great distress for some contrivance to satisfy their thirst; and they were very sad at this time particularly, as if they were already in want of water entirely, for Josephus seeing that the city abounded with other necessaries, and that the men were of good courage, and being desirous to protract the siege to the Romans longer than they expected, ordered their drink to be given them by measure; but this scanty distribution of water by measure was deemed by them as a thing more hard upon them than the want of it; and their not being able to drink as much as they would made them more desirous of drinking than they otherwise had been; nay, they were as much disheartened hereby as if they were come to the last degree of thirst. Nor were the Romans unacquainted with the state they were in, for when they stood over against them, beyond the wall, they could see them running together, and taking their water by measure, which made them throw their javelins thither the place being within their reach, and kill a great many of them.

(13) [186] Καὶ Οὐεσπασιανὸς μὲν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τῶν ἐκδοχείων κενωθέντων ἤλπιζεν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης αὐτῷ παραδοθήσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν: [187] ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος κλάσαι τὴν ἐλπίδα ταύτην αὐτῷ προαιρούμενος ἐμβρέξαι κελεύει πλείστους τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ κατακρεμάσαι περὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις, ὥστε περιρρεῖσθαι πᾶν ἐξαπίνης τὸ τεῖχος. [188] πρὸς τοῦτ' ἀθυμία τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ κατάπληξις ἦν θεασαμένων εἰς χλεύην τοσοῦτον παραναλίσκοντας ὕδατος οὓς οὐδὲ ποτὸν ἔχειν ὑπελάμβανον,

ὥστε καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀπογνόντα τὴν δι᾽ ἐνδείας ἅλωσιν τρέπεσθαι πάλιν πρὸς ὅπλα καὶ βίαν. [189] ὃ δὴ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις δι᾽ ἐπιθυμίας ἦν: ἀπεγνωκότες γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν πρὸ λιμοῦ καὶ δίψης τὸν ἐν πολέμῳ θάνατον ᾑροῦντο.

13. Hereupon Vespasian hoped that their receptacles of water would in no long time be emptied, and that they would be forced to deliver up the city to him; but Josephus being minded to break such his hope, gave command that they should wet a great many of their clothes, and hang them out about the battlements, till the entire wall was of a sudden all wet with the running down of the water. At this sight the Romans were discouraged, and under consternation, when they saw them able to throw away in sport so much water, when they supposed them not to have enough to drink themselves. This made the Roman general despair of taking the city by their want of necessaries, and to betake himself again to arms, and to try to force them to surrender, which was what the Jews greatly desired; for as they despaired of either themselves or their city being able to escape, they preferred a death in battle before one by hunger and thirst.

(14) [190] Ὁ μέντοι γε Ἰώσηπος πρὸς τῷδε τῷ στρατηγήματι καὶ ἕτερον ἐπενόησεν εἰς περιουσίαν αὐτῷ: [191] διά τινος χαράδρας δυσβάτου καὶ διὰ τοῦθ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν φυλάκων ἀμελουμένης κατὰ τὰ πρὸς δύσιν μέρη τῆς φάραγγος ἐκπέμπων τινὰς γράμματά τε πρὸς οὓς ἠβούλετο τῶν ἔξω Ἰουδαίων διεπέμψατο καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐλάμβανεν, παντός τε ἐπιτηδείου τῶν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιλελοιπότων εὐπόρησεν, [192] ἕρπειν τὰ πολλὰ παρὰ τὰς φυλακὰς κελεύσας τοῖς ἐξιοῦσιν καὶ τὰ νῶτα καλύπτειν νάκεσιν, ὡς εἰ καὶ κατίδοι τις αὐτοὺς νύκτωρ, φαντασίαν παρέχοιεν κυνῶν, μέχρι συναισθόμενοι τὴν ἐπίνοιαν οἱ φρουροὶ περιίσχουσιν τὴν χαράδραν.

14. However, Josephus contrived another stratagem besides the foregoing, to get plenty of what they wanted. There was a certain rough and uneven place that could hardly be ascended, and on that account was not guarded by the soldiers; so Josephus sent out certain persons along the western parts of the valley, and by them sent letters to whom he pleased of the Jews that were out of the city, and procured from them what necessaries soever they wanted in the city in abundance; he enjoined them also to creep generally along by the watch as they came into the city, and to cover their backs with such sheep-skins as had their wool upon them, that if any one should spy them out in the night time, they might be believed to be dogs. This was done till the watch perceived their contrivance, and encompassed that rough place about themselves.

(15) [193] Καὶ τόθ᾽ ὁ Ἰώσηπος μὲν τὴν πόλιν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ὁρῶν ἀνθέξειν, ἐν ἀπόρῳ δὲ τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν εἰ μένοι, δρασμὸν ἅμα τοῖς δυνατοῖς

ἐβουλεύετο. συναισθόμενοι δὲ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ περιχυθὲν αὐτῷ κατηντιβόλουν μὴ σφᾶς περιιδεῖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ μόνῳ κειμένους: [194] εἶναι γὰρ τῇ πόλει καὶ σωτηρίας μὲν ἐλπὶς παραμένων, παντὸς ἀγωνισομένου δι᾽ αὐτὸν προθύμως, κἂν ἁλῶσιν δέ, παραμυθίαν. [195] πρέπειν δ᾽ αὐτῷ μήτε φυγεῖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μήτ᾽ ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τοὺς φίλους μήτ᾽ ἀποπηδᾶν ὥσπερ χειμαζομένης νεώς, εἰς ἣν ἐν γαλήνῃ παρῆλθεν: [196] ἐπιβαπτίσειν γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὴν πόλιν μηδενὸς ἔτι τοῖς πολεμίοις τολμῶντος ἀνθίστασθαι δι᾽ ὃν ἂν θαρσοῖεν οἰχομένου.

15. And now it was that Josephus perceived that the city could not hold out long, and that his own life would be in doubt if he continued in it; so he consulted how he and the most potent men of the city might fly out of it. When the multitude understood this, they came all round about him, and begged of him not to overlook them while they entirely depended on him, and him alone; for that there was still hope of the city's deliverance, if he would stay with them, because every body would undertake any pains with great cheerfulness on his account, and in that case there would be some comfort for them also, though they should be taken: that it became him neither to fly from his enemies, nor to desert his friends, nor to leap out of that city, as out of a ship that was sinking in a storm, into which he came when it was quiet and in a calm; for that by going away he would be the cause of drowning the city, because nobody would then venture to oppose the enemy when he was once gone, upon whom they wholly confided.

(16) [197] Ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος τὸ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀσφαλὲς ὑποστελλόμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἔφασκεν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἔξοδον: [198] μένων μὲν γὰρ οὔτ᾽ ἂν ὠφελῆσαί τι μέγα σωζομένους, κἂν ἁλίσκωνται, συναπολεῖσθαι περιττῶς, ἐκδὺς δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας ἔξωθεν αὐτοὺς ὠφελήσειν μέγιστα: [199] τούς τε γὰρ ἐκ τῆς χώρας Γαλιλαίους συναθροίσειν ᾗ τάχος καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἑτέρῳ πολέμῳ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν ἀντιπερισπάσειν. [200] οὐχ ὁρᾶν δέ, τί παρακαθεζόμενος αὐτοῖς χρήσιμος εἴη νῦν, πλὴν εἰ μὴ Ῥωμαίους παροξύνων μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν, οὓς περὶ πλείστου ποιεῖσθαι λαβεῖν αὐτόν: εἰ δ᾽ ἐκδράντα πύθοιντο, πολὺ τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁρμῆς ἀνήσειν. [201] οὐκ ἔπειθεν δὲ τούτοις, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐξέκαυσεν τὸ πλῆθος αὐτοῦ περιέχεσθαι: παιδία γοῦν καὶ γέροντες καὶ γύναια μετὰ νηπίων ὀδυρόμενα προσέπιπτον αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ποσὶν ἐμπλεκόμενοι πάντες εἴχοντο, [202] καὶ μετὰ κωκυτῶν κοινωνὸν σφίσι τῆς τύχης μένειν ἱκέτευον, οὐ φθόνῳ τῆς ἐκείνου σωτηρίας, ἔμοιγε δοκεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐλπίδι τῆς ἑαυτῶν: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἠξίουν πείσεσθαι δεινὸν Ἰωσήπου μένοντος.

16. Hereupon Josephus avoided letting them know that he was to go away to provide for his own safety, but told them that he would go out of the city for their sakes; for that if he staid with them, he should be able to do them little good

while they were in a safe condition; and that if they were once taken, he should only perish with them to no purpose; but that if he were once gotten free from this siege, he should be able to bring them very great relief; for that he would then immediately get the Galileans together, out of the country, in great multitudes, and draw the Romans off their city by another war. That he did not see what advantage he could bring to them now, by staying among them, but only provoke the Romans to besiege them more closely, as esteeming it a most valuable thing to take him; but that if they were once informed that he was fled out of the city, they would greatly remit of their eagerness against it. Yet did not this plea move the people, but inflamed them the more to hang about him. Accordingly, both the children and the old men, and the women with their infants, came mourning to him, and fell down before him, and all of them caught hold of his feet, and held him fast, and besought him, with great lamentations, that he would take his share with them in their fortune; and I think they did this, not that they envied his deliverance, but that they hoped for their own; for they could not think they should suffer any great misfortune, provided Josephus would but stay with them.

(17) [203] Ὁ δὲ πειθομένῳ μὲν ἱκετηρίαν ταῦτα νομίσας, βιαζομένῳ δὲ φρουράν, πολὺ δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τῆς εἰς τὴν ἀπόλειψιν ὁρμῆς καὶ ὁ τῶν ὀδυρομένων ἔκλασεν οἶκτος, [204] μένειν τε ἔγνω, καὶ τὴν κοινὴν τῆς πόλεως ἀπόγνωσιν ὁπλισάμενος, "νῦν καιρός, εἰπών, ἄρχεσθαι μάχης, ὅτ᾽ ἐλπὶς οὐκ ἔστι σωτηρίας: καλὸν εὔκλειαν ἀντικαταλλαξάμενον τοῦ βίου καὶ δράσαντά τι γενναῖον εἰς μνήμην ὀψιγενῶν πεσεῖν", ἐπ᾽ ἔργα τρέπεται. [205] καὶ προελθὼν μετὰ τῶν μαχιμωτάτων διεσκίδνα τε τοὺς φρουροὺς καὶ μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατέτρεχεν, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν χωμάτων δέρρεις, αἷς ὑπεσκήνουν, διέσπα, τοῖς δὲ ἔργοις ἐνέβαλλεν πῦρ. [206] τῇ τε ἑξῆς ὁμοίως καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ ἐπὶ συχνὰς ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας πολεμῶν οὐκ ἔκαμνεν.

17. Now Josephus thought, that if he resolved to stay, it would be ascribed to their entreaties; and if he resolved to go away by force, he should be put into custody. His commiseration also of the people under their lamentations had much broken that his eagerness to leave them; so he resolved to stay, and arming himself with the common despair of the citizens, he said to them, "Now is the time to begin to fight in earnest, when there is no hope of deliverance left. It is a brave thing to prefer glory before life, and to set about some such noble undertaking as may be remembered by late posterity." Having said this, he fell to work immediately, and made a sally, and dispersed the enemies' out-guards, and ran as far as the Roman camp itself, and pulled the coverings of their tents to pieces, that were upon their banks, and set fire to their works. And this was the manner in which

he never left off fighting, neither the next day, nor the day after it, but went on with it for a considerable number of both days and nights.

(18) [207] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ τῶν [τε] Ῥωμαίων κακουμένων ταῖς ἐκδρομαῖς, τρέπεσθαί τε γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ᾐδοῦντο καὶ τραπέντων ἐπιδιώκειν βάρει τῶν ὅπλων ἦσαν βραδεῖς, οἵ τε Ἰουδαῖοι πρίν τι παθεῖν ἀεὶ δρῶντες ἀνέφευγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, [208] τοῖς μὲν ὁπλίταις τὰς ὁρμὰς αὐτῶν ἐκκλίνειν ἐκέλευσεν καὶ μὴ συμπλέκεσθαι θανατῶσιν ἀνθρώποις: [209] οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀλκιμώτερον εἶναι τῆς ἀπογνώσεως, περισβέννυσθαι δὲ αὐτῶν τὰς ὁρμὰς σκοπῶν ἀπορουμένας ὥσπερ ὕλης τὸ πῦρ: [210] προσήκειν γε μὴν καὶ Ῥωμαίοις μετὰ ἀσφαλείας καὶ τὸ νικᾶν, ὡς ἂν οὐκ ἐξ ἀνάγκης πολεμοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ προσκτωμένοις. [211] τοῖς δὲ τῶν Ἀράβων τοξόταις καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας σφενδονήταις καὶ λιθοβόλοις τὰ πολλὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀνέστελλεν: ἠρέμει δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν ἀφετηρίων ὀργάνων τὸ πλῆθος. [212] οἱ δὲ τούτοις μὲν εἶκον κακούμενοι, τῶν δὲ πόρρω βαλλομένων ἐνδοτέρω γινόμενοι προσέκειντο τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις χαλεποὶ καὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος ἀφειδοῦντες ἐμάχοντο, ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἑκάτεροι τὸ κεκμηκὸς ἑαυτῶν ἀναλαμβάνοντες.

18. Upon this, Vespasian, when he saw the Romans distressed by these sallies, [though they were ashamed to be made to run away by the Jews; and when at any time they made the Jews run away, their heavy armor would not let them pursue them far; while the Jews, when they had performed any action, and before they could be hurt themselves, still retired into the city,] ordered his armed men to avoid their onset, and not fight it out with men under desperation, while nothing is more courageous than despair; but that their violence would be quenched when they saw they failed of their purposes, as fire is quenched when it wants fuel; and that it was proper for the Romans to gain their victories as cheap as they could, since they are not forced to fight, but only to enlarge their own dominions. So he repelled the Jews in great measure by the Arabian archers, and the Syrian slingers, and by those that threw stones at them, nor was there any intermission of the great number of their offensive engines. Now the Jews suffered greatly by these engines, without being able to escape from them; and when these engines threw their stones or javelins a great way, and the Jews were within their reach, they pressed hard upon the Romans, and fought desperately, without sparing either soul or body, one part succoring another by turns, when it was tired down.

(19) [213] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ἡγούμενος τῷ μήκει τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ταῖς ἐκδρομαῖς ἀντιπολιορκεῖσθαι, τῶν χωμάτων ἤδη τοῖς τείχεσι πελαζόντων προσάγειν ἔγνω τὸν κριόν. [214] ὁ δ᾽ ἐστὶν ὑπερμεγέθης δοκὸς ἱστῷ νηὸς παραπλήσιος: ἐστόμωται

δὲ παχεῖ σιδήρῳ κατ᾽ ἄκρον εἰς κριοῦ προτομήν, ἀφ᾽ οὗ καὶ καλεῖται, τετυπωμένῳ. [215] καταιωρεῖται δὲ κάλοις μέσος ὥσπερ ἀπὸ πλάστιγγος ἑτέρας δοκοῦ, σταυροῖς ἑκατέρωθεν ἑδραίοις ὑπεστηριγμένης. [216] ἀνωθούμενος δὲ ὑπὸ πλήθους ἀνδρῶν εἰς τὸ κατόπιν, τῶν αὐτῶν ἀθρόως πάλιν εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν ἐπιβρισάντων τύπτει τὰ τείχη τῷ προανέχοντι σιδήρῳ. [217] καὶ οὐδεὶς οὕτως καρτερὸς πύργος ἢ περίβολος πλατύς, ὃς κἂν τὰς πρώτας πληγὰς ἐνέγκῃ κατίσχυσεν τῆς ἐπιμονῆς. [218] ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν πεῖραν ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων μετέβαινεν βίᾳ τὴν πόλιν ἑλεῖν σπεύδων, ὡς τὸ προσκαθέζεσθαι βλαβερὸν ἦν Ἰουδαίων οὐκ ἠρεμούντων. [219] οἱ μὲν οὖν τούς τε καταπέλτας καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἀφετηρίων, ὡς ἐξικνοῖτο τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους κωλύειν πειρωμένων, ἔγγιον προσαγαγόντες ἔβαλλον: ὁμοίως δὲ συνήγγιζον οἱ τοξόται καὶ σφενδονῆται. [220] διὰ δὲ ταῦτα μηδενὸς τῶν περιβόλων ἐπιβῆναι τολμῶντος προσῆγον ἕτεροι τὸν κριὸν γέρροις τε διηνεκέσι καὶ καθύπερθεν πεφραγμένον δέρρει πρός τε αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ μηχανήματος ἀσφάλειαν. [221] καὶ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην πληγὴν διεσείσθη μὲν τὸ τεῖχος, κραυγὴ δὲ μεγίστη παρὰ τῶν ἔνδον ἤρθη καθάπερ ἐαλωκότων ἤδη.

19. When, therefore, Vespasian looked upon himself as in a manner besieged by these sallies of the Jews, and when his banks were now not far from the walls, he determined to make use of his battering ram. This battering ram is a vast beam of wood like the mast of a ship, its forepart is armed with a thick piece of iron at the head of it, which is so carved as to be like the head of a ram, whence its name is taken. This ram is slung in the air by ropes passing over its middle, and is hung like the balance in a pair of scales from another beam, and braced by strong beams that pass on both sides of it, in the nature of a cross. When this ram is pulled backward by a great number of men with united force, and then thrust forward by the same men, with a mighty noise, it batters the walls with that iron part which is prominent. Nor is there any tower so strong, or walls so broad, that can resist any more than its first batteries, but all are forced to yield to it at last. This was the experiment which the Roman general betook himself to, when he was eagerly bent upon taking the city; but found lying in the field so long to be to his disadvantage, because the Jews would never let him be quiet. So these Romans brought the several engines for galling an enemy nearer to the walls, that they might reach such as were upon the wall, and endeavored to frustrate their attempts; these threw stones and javelins at them; in the like manner did the archers and slingers come both together closer to the wall. This brought matters to such a pass that none of the Jews durst mount the walls, and then it was that the other Romans brought the battering ram that was cased with hurdles all over, and in the tipper part was secured by skins that covered it, and this both for the

security of themselves and of the engine. Now, at the very first stroke of this engine, the wall was shaken, and a terrible clamor was raised by the people within the city, as if they were already taken.

(20) [222] Πολλάκις δὲ εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν παίοντας τόπον ὁ Ἰώσηπος ὁρῶν ὅσον οὔπω καταρριφθησόμενον τὸ τεῖχος, σοφίζεται κατ᾽ ὀλίγον τὴν βίαν τοῦ μηχανήματος. [223] σάκκους ἀχύρων πληρώσαντας ἐκέλευσεν καθιμᾶν καθ᾽ ὃ φερόμενον ἀεὶ τὸν κριὸν ὁρῷεν, ὡς πλάζοιτό τε ἡ ἐμβολή, καὶ δεχόμενοι τὰς πληγὰς ἐκκενοῖεν τῇ χαυνότητι. [224] τοῦτο πλείστην διατριβὴν παρέσχεν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, καθ᾽ ὃ μὲν τρέποιεν τὴν μηχανὴν ἀντιπαραγόντων τοὺς σάκκους τῶν ὕπερθεν, ὑποβαλλόντων δὲ ταῖς ἐμβολαῖς, ὡς μηδὲν κατ᾽ ἀντιτυπίαν βλάπτεσθαι τὸ τεῖχος: [225] ἕως ἀντεπινοήσαντες κοντοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μακροὺς καὶ δρέπανα δήσαντες ἐπ᾽ ἄκρων τοὺς σάκους ἀπέτεμνον. [226] ἐνεργοῦς δὲ οὕτω τῆς ἑλεπόλεως γενομένης καὶ τοῦ τείχους, νεοπαγὲς γὰρ ἦν, ἐνδιδόντος ἤδη, τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκ πυρὸς ἄμυναν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ὥρμησαν. [227] ἀψάμενοι δὲ ὅσον αὖης εἶχον ὕλης τριχόθεν ἐπεκθέουσιν, καὶ τά τε μηχανήματα καὶ τὰ γέρρα καὶ τὰ χώματα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπεπίμπρασαν. [228] οἱ δὲ κακῶς ἐπεβοήθουν πρός τε τὴν τόλμαν αὐτῶν καταπεπληγότες καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς φλογὸς τὰς ἀμύνας φθανόμενοι: ξηρᾶς γὰρ ὕλης, πρὸς δὲ ἀσφάλτου τε καὶ πίσσης, ἔτι δὲ θείου διίπτατο τὸ πῦρ ἐπινοίας τάχιον, καὶ τὰ πολλῷ καμάτῳ πεπονημένα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ μιᾶς ὥρας ἐνέμετο.

20. And now, when Josephus saw this ram still battering the same place, and that the wall would quickly be thrown down by it, he resolved to elude for a while the force of the engine. With this design he gave orders to fill sacks with chaff, and to hang them down before that place where they saw the ram always battering, that the stroke might be turned aside, or that the place might feel less of the strokes by the yielding nature of the chaff. This contrivance very much delayed the attempts of the Romans, because, let them remove their engine to what part they pleased, those that were above it removed their sacks, and placed them over against the strokes it made, insomuch that the wall was no way hurt, and this by diversion of the strokes, till the Romans made an opposite contrivance of long poles, and by tying hooks at their ends, cut off the sacks. Now when the battering ram thus recovered its force, and the wall having been but newly built, was giving way, Josephus and those about him had afterward immediate recourse to fire, to defend themselves withal; whereupon they took what materials soever they had that were but dry, and made a sally three ways, and set fire to the machines, and the hurdles, and the banks of the Romans themselves; nor did the Romans well know how to come to their assistance, being at once under a consternation at the Jews' boldness, and being prevented

by the flames from coming to their assistance; for the materials being dry with the bitumen and pitch that were among them, as was brimstone also, the fire caught hold of every thing immediately, and what cost the Romans a great deal of pains was in one hour consumed.

(21) [229] Ἔνθα καὶ ἀνήρ τις ἐξεφάνη Ἰουδαίων λόγου καὶ μνήμης ἄξιος: Σαμίου μὲν παῖς ἦν, Ἐλεάζαρος δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο, Σαβὰ δὲ πατρὶς αὐτῷ τῆς Γαλιλαίας: [230] ὑπερμεγέθη δὲ πέτραν ἀράμενος ἀφίησιν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ τὴν ἑλέπολιν μετὰ τοσαύτης βίας, ὥστε ἀπορρῆξαι τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ μηχανήματος, ἣν καὶ καταπηδήσας ἐκ μέσων αἴρεται τῶν πολεμίων καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀδείας ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἔφερεν. [231] σκοπὸς δὲ πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς γενόμενος καὶ γυμνῷ τῷ σώματι τὰς πληγὰς δεξάμενος πέντε μὲν διαπείρεται βέλεσιν, [232] πρὸς οὐδὲν δὲ τούτων ἐπιστραφείς, ὅτε τὸ τεῖχος ἀνέβη καὶ περίοπτος πᾶσιν τῆς εὐτολμίας ἔστη, τότε ἰλυσπώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν τραυμάτων μετὰ τοῦ κριοῦ κατέπεσεν. [233] ἄριστοι μετ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐφάνησαν ἀδελφοὶ δύο Νετείρας καὶ Φίλιππος, ἀπὸ Ῥούμας κώμης, Γαλιλαῖοι καὶ αὐτοί, οἳ προπηδῶσι μὲν εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ δεκάτου τάγματος, τοσούτῳ δὲ ῥοίζῳ καὶ βίᾳ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις συνέπεσον, ὡς διαρρῆξαί τε τὰς τάξεις καὶ τρέψασθαι καθ᾽ οὓς ἐφορμήσειαν ἅπαντας.

21. And here a certain Jew appeared worthy of our relation and commendation; he was the son of Sameas, and was called Eleazar, and was born at Saab, in Galilee. This man took up a stone of a vast bigness, and threw it down from the wall upon the ram, and this with so great a force, that it broke off the head of the engine. He also leaped down, and took up the head of the ram from the midst of them, and without any concern carried it to the top of the wall, and this while he stood as a fit mark to be pelted by all his enemies. Accordingly, he received the strokes upon his naked body, and was wounded with five darts; nor did he mind any of them while he went up to the top of the wall, where he stood in the sight of them all, as an instance of the greatest boldness; after which he drew himself on a heap with his wounds upon him, and fell down together with the head of the ram. Next to him, two brothers showed their courage; their names were Netir and Philip, both of them of the village Ruma, and both of them Galileans also; these men leaped upon the soldiers of the tenth legion, and fell upon the Romans with such a noise and force as to disorder their ranks, and to put to flight all upon whomsoever they made their assaults.

(22) [234] Μετὰ τούτους ὅ τε Ἰώσηπος καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἀράμενοι πῦρ πάλιν τὰ μηχανήματα καὶ τὰς ὑποδύσεις ἅμα τοῖς ἔργοις ὑφῆψαν τοῦ τε πέμπτου καὶ τοῦ δεκάτου τραπέντος τάγματος, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ φθάσαντες καὶ τὰ ὄργανα καὶ πᾶσαν ὕλην κατέχωσαν. [235] περὶ δὲ δείλην πάλιν ἀναστήσαντες προσῆγον τὸν κριὸν ᾗ

προπεπονήκει τυπτόμενον τὸ τεῖχος. [236] ἔνθα τις τῶν ἀμυνομένων ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ βάλλει τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν βέλει κατὰ τὸν ταρσὸν τοῦ ποδὸς καὶ τιτρώσκει μὲν ἐπιπολαίως προεκλύσαντος τὸ βληθὲν τοῦ διαστήματος, μέγιστον δὲ θόρυβον ἐνεποίησεν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις: [237] πρὸς γὰρ τὸ αἷμα ταραχθέντων τῶν πλησίον φήμη διὰ παντὸς ἐπῄει τοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ τῆς πολιορκίας οἱ πλείους ἀφέμενοι μετ᾽ ἐκπλήξεως καὶ δέους ἐπὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν συνέθεον. [238] πρὸ δὲ πάντων Τίτος δείσας περὶ τῷ πατρὶ παρῆν, ὡς τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸν ἡγούμενον εὐνοίᾳ καὶ τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀγωνίᾳ συγχυθῆναι. ῥᾷστα μέντοι τόν τε υἱὸν ὁ πατὴρ δεδιότα καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἔπαυσεν τοῦ θορύβου: [239] τῶν γὰρ ἀλγηδόνων ἐπάνω γενόμενος καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐπτοημένοις δι᾽ αὐτὸν ὀφθῆναι σπουδάσας χαλεπώτερον Ἰουδαίοις ἐπῆρεν τὸν πόλεμον: ἕκαστος γὰρ ὡς τιμωρὸς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ προκινδυνεύειν ἤθελεν, καὶ βοῇ παρακροτοῦντες ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὥρμων.

22. After these men's performances, Josephus, and the rest of the multitude with him, took a great deal of fire, and burnt both the machines and their coverings, with the works belonging to the fifth and to the tenth legion, which they put to flight; when others followed them immediately, and buried those instruments and all their materials under ground. However, about the evening, the Romans erected the battering ram again, against that part of the wall which had suffered before; where a certain Jew that defended the city from the Romans hit Vespasian with a dart in his foot, and wounded him a little, the distance being so great, that no mighty impression could be made by the dart thrown so far off. However, this caused the greatest disorder among the Romans; for when those who stood near him saw his blood, they were disturbed at it, and a report went abroad, through the whole army, that the general was wounded, while the greatest part left the siege, and came running together with surprise and fear to the general; and before them all came Titus, out of the concern he had for his father, insomuch that the multitude were in great confusion, and this out of the regard they had for their general, and by reason of the agony that the son was in. Yet did the father soon put an end to the son's fear, and to the disorder the army was under, for being superior to his pains, and endeavoring soon to be seen by all that had been in a fright about him, he excited them to fight the Jews more briskly; for now every body was willing to expose himself to danger immediately, in order to avenge their general; and then they encouraged one another with loud voices, and ran hastily to the walls.

(23) [240] Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον καίπερ ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλοις πίπτοντες ὑπὸ τῶν καταπελτικῶν καὶ τῶν πετροβόλων, ὅμως οὐκ ἀπετρέποντο τοῦ τείχους, ἀλλὰ πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ καὶ πέτροις τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ γέρρα τὸν κριὸν ἐπιβρίθοντας ἔβαλλον. [241] καὶ ἤνυον μὲν οὐδὲν ἢ μικρόν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀδιαλείπτως ἔπιπτον ὑπὸ μὴ

βλεπομένων καθορώμενοι: [242] αὐτοί τε γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς σφετέρας περιλαμπόμενοι φλογὸς σκοπὸς ἦσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις εὐσύνοπτος ὥσπερ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ τῶν ὀργάνων πόρρωθεν μὴ βλεπομένων δυσφύλακτον ἦν τὸ βαλλόμενον. [243] ἥ τε οὖν τῶν ὀξυβελῶν καὶ καταπελτῶν βία πολλοὺς ἅμα διήλαυνεν, καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς μηχανῆς ἀφιεμένων πετρῶν ὁ ῥοῖζος ἐπάλξεις τε ἀπέσυρεν καὶ γωνίας ἀπέθρυπτε πύργων. [244] ἀνδρῶν μὲν γὰρ † οὕτως ἰσχυρὸν στῖφος, ὃ μὴ μέχρις ἐσχάτης στρώννυται φάλαγγος βίᾳ τε καὶ μεγέθει τοῦ λίθου. [245] μάθοι δ' ἄν τις τὴν τοῦ μηχανήματος ἀλκὴν ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆσδε τῆς νυκτὸς γενομένων: πληγεὶς γάρ τις ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἑστώτων ἀνὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἀπαράσσεται τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑπὸ τῆς πέτρας, καὶ τὸ κρανίον ἀπὸ τριῶν ἐσφενδονήθη σταδίων. [246] γυναικός τε μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐγκύμονος πληγείσης τὴν γαστέρα, προῆει δὲ νέον ἐξ οἰκίας, ἐξέσεισεν ἐφ' ἡμιστάδιον τὸ βρέφος: τοσαύτη ἦν ἡ τοῦ λιθοβόλου βία. [247] τῶν οὖν ὀργάνων φοβερώτερος ὁ ῥοῖζος, τῶν δὲ βαλλομένων ἦν [ὁ] ψόφος. [248] ἐπάλληλοι δὲ ἐκτύπουν οἱ νεκροὶ κατὰ τοῦ τείχους ῥιπτόμενοι, καὶ δεινὴ μὲν ἔνδοθεν κραυγὴ γυναικῶν ἠγείρετο, συνήχουν δ' ἔξωθεν οἰμωγαὶ φονευομένων. [249] αἵματι δ' ἐρρεῖτο πᾶς ὁ πρὸ τῆς μάχης περίβολος, καὶ προσβατὸν ὑπὸ πτωμάτων τὸ τεῖχος ἐγίνετο. [250] φοβερωτέραν δὲ ἐποίουν τὴν βοὴν περιηχοῦντα τὰ ὄρη, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς οὔτε εἰς ἀκοῆς οὔτε εἰς ὄψεως κατάπληξιν ἀπελείπετο. [251] πλεῖστοι μέν γε τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰωταπάτης ἀγωνιζόμενοι γενναίως ἔπεσον, πλεῖστοι δ' ἐγένοντο τραυματίαι, καὶ μόλις περὶ τὴν ἑωθινὴν φυλακὴν ἐνδίδωσι τοῖς μηχανήμασι τὸ τεῖχος ἀδιαλείπτως τυπτόμενον: [252] οἱ δὲ φραξάμενοι τοῖς σώμασι καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις τὸ καταρριφθὲν ἀντωχύρωσαν πρὶν βληθῆναι τὰς ἐπιβατηρίους ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μηχανάς.

23. But still Josephus and those with him, although they fell down dead one upon another by the darts and stones which the engines threw upon them, yet did not they desert the wall, but fell upon those who managed the ram, under the protection of the hurdles, with fire, and iron weapons, and stones; and these could do little or nothing, but fell themselves perpetually, while they were seen by those whom they could not see, for the light of their own flame shone about them, and made them a most visible mark to the enemy, as they were in the day time, while the engines could not be seen at a great distance, and so what was thrown at them was hard to be avoided; for the force with which these engines threw stones and darts made them hurt several at a time, and the violent noise of the stones that were cast by the engines was so great, that they carried away the pinnacles of the wall, and broke off the corners of the towers; for no body of men could be so strong as not to be overthrown to the last rank by the largeness of the stones. And any one may learn the force of the engines by what happened this very night; for as one of those that stood round about Josephus was near the

wall, his head was carried away by such a stone, and his skull was flung as far as three furlongs. In the day time also, a woman with child had her belly so violently struck, as she was just come out of her house, that the infant was carried to the distance of half a furlong, so great was the force of that engine. The noise of the instruments themselves was very terrible, the sound of the darts and stones that were thrown by them was so also; of the same sort was that noise the dead bodies made, when they were dashed against the wall; and indeed dreadful was the clamor which these things raised in the women within the city, which was echoed back at the same time by the cries of such as were slain; while the whole space of ground whereon they fought ran with blood, and the wall might have been ascended over by the bodies of the dead carcasses; the mountains also contributed to increase the noise by their echoes; nor was there on that night any thing of terror wanting that could either affect the hearing or the sight: yet did a great part of those that fought so hard for Jotapata fall manfully, as were a great part of them wounded. However, the morning watch was come ere the wall yielded to the machines employed against it, though it had been battered without intermission. However, those within covered their bodies with their armor, and raised works over against that part which was thrown down, before those machines were laid by which the Romans were to ascend into the city.

(24) [253] Ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἕω Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐπὶ τὴν κατάληψιν τῆς πόλεως συνῆγεν τὴν στρατιὰν ὀλίγον ἀπὸ τοῦ νυκτερινοῦ πόνου διαναπαύσας. [254] βουλόμενος δ' ἀπὸ τῶν καταρριφθέντων περισπάσαι τοὺς εἴργοντας τοὺς μὲν γενναιοτάτους τῶν ἱππέων ἀποβήσας [τῶν ἵππων] τριχῇ διέταξεν κατὰ τὰ πεπτωκότα τοῦ τείχους, πάντοθεν πεφραγμένους τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ τοὺς κοντοὺς προίσχοντας, ὡς ὁπότε τὰς ἐπιβατηρίους βάλλοιεν μηχανὰς κατάρχοιντο τῆς εἰσόδου: [255] κατόπιν δὲ αὐτῶν ἔταξεν τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ ἀκμαιότατον, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἱππικὸν ἀντιπαρεξέτεινεν τῷ τείχει κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ὀρεινὴν πρὸς τὸ μηδένα τῶν ἀναφευγόντων ἐκ τῆς ἁλώσεως διαλαθεῖν. [256] κατόπιν δὲ τούτων περιέστησεν τοὺς τοξότας ἔχειν κελεύσας ἕτοιμα τὰ βέλη πρὸς ἄφεσιν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν μηχανημάτων, [257] ἑτέρους δὲ κλίμακας ἀραμένους προσφέρειν ἐπάνω τοῖς ἀκεραίοις τείχεσιν, ἵν' οἱ μὲν τούτους κωλύειν πειρώμενοι καταλίποιεν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς καταρριφθεῖσιν φυλακήν, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ ὑπ' ἀθρόων βιαζόμενοι τῶν βελῶν εἴξωσιν τῆς εἰσόδου.

24. In the morning Vespasian got his army together, in order to take the city [by storm], after a little recreation upon the hard pains they had been at the night before; and as he was desirous to draw off those that opposed him from the places where the wall had been thrown down, he made the most courageous of

the horsemen get off their horses, and placed them in three ranks over against those ruins of the wall, but covered with their armor on every side, and with poles in their hands, that so these might begin their ascent as soon as the instruments for such ascent were laid; behind them he placed the flower of the footmen; but for the rest of the horse, he ordered them to extend themselves over against the wall, upon the whole hilly country, in order to prevent any from escaping out of the city when it should be taken; and behind these he placed the archers round about, and commanded them to have their darts ready to shoot. The same command he gave to the slingers, and to those that managed the engines, and bid them to take up other ladders, and have them ready to lay upon those parts of the wall which were yet untouched, that the besieged might be engaged in trying to hinder their ascent by them, and leave the guard of the parts that were thrown down, while the rest of them should be overborne by the darts cast at them, and might afford his men an entrance into the city.

(25) [258] Ἰώσηπος δὲ συνιεὶς τὴν ἐπίνοιαν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ μένοντος τείχους σὺν τοῖς κεκμηκόσιν ἵστησι τοὺς γηραιοὺς ὡς μηδὲν ταύτῃ βλαβησομένους, εἰς δὲ τὰ παρερρωγότα τοῦ τείχους τοὺς δυνατωτάτους καὶ πρὸ πάντων ἀνὰ ἓξ ἄνδρας, μεθ᾽ ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸ προκινδυνεύειν ἐκληρώσατο. [259] ἐκέλευσέν τε πρὸς μὲν τὸν ἀλαλαγμὸν τῶν ταγμάτων ἀποφράξαι τὰς ἀκοάς, ὡς ἂν μὴ καταπλαγεῖεν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν βελῶν συνοκλάσαντας καλύψασθαι καθύπερθεν τοῖς θυρεοῖς ὑποχωρῆσαί τε πρὸς ὀλίγον, ἕως τὰς φαρέτρας κενώσωσιν οἱ τοξόται. [260] βαλλόντων δὲ τὰς ἐπιβατηρίους μηχανὰς αὐτοὺς προπηδᾶν καὶ διὰ τῶν ἰδίων ὀργάνων ἁπαντᾶν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀγωνίζεσθαί τε ἕκαστον οὐχ ὡς ὑπὲρ σωθησομένης, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ὑπὲρ ἀπολωλυίας ἤδη τῆς πατρίδος ἀμυνόμενον, [261] λαμβάνειν τε πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν σφαγησομένους γέροντας καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας ἀναιρεθησομένας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὅσον οὐδέπω, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς μελλούσαις συμφοραῖς θυμὸν προαλίσαντας ἐναφεῖναι τοῖς δράσουσιν αὐτάς.

25. But Josephus, understanding the meaning of Vespasian’s contrivance, set the old men, together with those that were tired out, at the sound parts of the wall, as expecting no harm from those quarters, but set the strongest of his men at the place where the wall was broken down, and before them all six men by themselves, among whom he took his share of the first and greatest danger. He also gave orders, that when the legions made a shout, they should stop their ears, that they might not be affrighted at it, and that, to avoid the multitude of the enemy’s darts, they should bend down on their knees, and cover themselves with their shields, and that they should retreat a little backward for a while, till the archers should have emptied their quivers; but that When the Romans should lay

their instruments for ascending the walls, they should leap out on the sudden, and with their own instruments should meet the enemy, and that every one should strive to do his best, in order not to defend his own city, as if it were possible to be preserved, but in order to revenge it, when it was already destroyed; and that they should set before their eyes how their old men were to be slain, and their children and wives were to be killed immediately by the enemy; and that they would beforehand spend all their fury, on account of the calamities just coming upon them, and pour it out on the actors.

(26) [262] Ἔταξεν μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἑκάτερον: τὸ δ᾽ ἀργὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως: πλῆθος, γύναια καὶ παῖδες, ὡς ἐθεάσαντο τριπλῇ μὲν φάλαγγι τὴν πόλιν ἐζωσμένην, οὐδὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν μάχην μετακεκίνητο τῶν πάλαι φυλακῶν, πρὸς δὲ τοῖς βεβλημένοις τείχεσιν τοὺς πολεμίους ξιφήρεις καὶ τὴν καθύπερθεν ὀρεινὴν λαμπομένην ὅπλοις, τά τε βέλη τοῖς τοξόταις ἐπανέχοντα τῶν Ἀράβων, ὕστατόν τινα κωκυτὸν ἀλώσεως συνήχησαν ὡς οὐκ ἀπειλουμένων ἔτι τῶν κακῶν ἀλλ᾽ ἤδη παρόντων. [263] ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας, ὡς μὴ θηλύνοιεν οἴκτῳ τὰς ὁρμὰς τῶν σφετέρων, κατακλείει ταῖς οἰκίαις μετ᾽ ἀπειλῆς ἡσυχάζειν κελεύσας: αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐρειφθέντων ᾗ ἔλαχεν παρῄει. [264] τοῖς μὲν οὖν καθ᾽ ἕτερα προσφέρουσι τὰς κλίμακας οὐ προσεῖχεν, ἀπεκαραδόκει δὲ τὴν ὁρμὴν τῶν βελῶν.

26. And thus did Josephus dispose of both his bodies of men; but then for the useless part of the citizens, the women and children, when they saw their city encompassed by a threefold army, [for none of the usual guards that had been fighting before were removed,] when they also saw, not only the walls thrown down, but their enemies with swords in their hands, as also the hilly country above them shining with their weapons, and the darts in the hands of the Arabian archers, they made a final and lamentable outcry of the destruction, as if the misery were not only threatened, but actually come upon them already. But Josephus ordered the women to be shut up in their houses, lest they should render the warlike actions of the men too effeminate, by making them commiserate their condition, and commanded them to hold their peace, and threatened them if they did not, while he came himself before the breach, where his allotment was; for all those who brought ladders to the other places, he took no notice of them, but earnestly waited for the shower of arrows that was coming.

(27) [265] Ὁμοῦ δ' οἵ τε σαλπικταὶ τῶν ταγμάτων ἁπάντων συνήχησαν καὶ δεινὸν ἐπηλάλαξεν ἡ στρατιά, καὶ πάντοθεν ἀφιεμένων ἀπὸ συνθήματος τῶν βελῶν τὸ φῶς ὑπετέμνετο. [266] μεμνημένοι γε μὴν τῶν τοῦ Ἰωσήπου προσταγμάτων οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τάς τε ἀκοὰς πρὸς τὴν βοὴν καὶ τὰ σώματα πρὸς τὰς ἀφέσεις ἐφράξαντο, [267] καὶ βαλλόντων τὰς μηχανὰς ἐπεξέδραμον δι' αὐτῶν πρὶν ἐπιβῆναι τοὺς βαλόντας, [268] συμπλεκόμενοί τε τοῖς ἀνιοῦσιν παντοῖα καὶ χειρῶν ἔργα καὶ ψυχῆς ἐναπεδείκνυντο, πειρώμενοι παρὰ τὰς ἐσχάτας συμφορὰς μὴ χείρους φαίνεσθαι τῶν ἐν ἀκινδύνῳ τῷ κατὰ σφᾶς ἀνδριζομένων: [269] ὥστε οὐ πρότερον ἀπερρήγνυντο τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρὶν ἢ πεσεῖν ἢ διαφθεῖραι. [270] ὡς δ' οἱ μὲν ἔκαμνον διηνεκῶς ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ τοὺς προμάχους ἀμείβειν οὐκ ἔχοντες, τὸ κεκμηκὸς δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀκραιφνεῖς διεδέχοντο καὶ ταχέως ἀντὶ τῶν ἀποβιασθέντων ἐπέβαινον ἕτεροι, παρακελευσάμενοί τε ἀλλήλοις καὶ πλευρὰν μὲν ἑνώσαντες, τοῖς δὲ θυρεοῖς καθύπερθεν φραξάμενοι στῖφος ἄρρηκτον ἐγένοντο καὶ καθάπερ ἑνὶ σώματι πάσῃ τῇ φάλαγγι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀνωθοῦντες ἤδη τοῦ τείχους ἐπέβαινον.

27. And now the trumpeters of the several Roman legions sounded together, and the army made a terrible shout; and the darts, as by order, flew so last, that they intercepted the light. However, Josephus's men remembered the charges he had given them, they stopped their ears at the sounds, and covered their bodies against the darts; and as to the engines that were set ready to go to work, the Jews ran out upon them, before those that should have used them were gotten upon them. And now, on the ascending of the soldiers, there was a great conflict,

and many actions of the hands and of the soul were exhibited; while the Jews did earnestly endeavor, in the extreme danger they were in, not to show less courage than those who, without being in danger, fought so stoutly against them; nor did they leave struggling with the Romans till they either fell down dead themselves, or killed their antagonists. But the Jews grew weary with defending themselves continually, and had not enough to come in their places, and succor them; while, on the side of the Romans, fresh men still succeeded those that were tired; and still new men soon got upon the machines for ascent, in the room of those that were thrust down; those encouraging one another, and joining side to side with their shields, which were a protection to them, they became a body of men not to be broken; and as this band thrust away the Jews, as though they were themselves but one body, they began already to get upon the wall.

(28) [271] Ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος ἐν ταῖς ἀμηχανίαις σύμβουλον λαβὼν τὴν ἀνάγκην, ἡ δέ ἐστιν δεινὴ πρὸς ἐπίνοιαν, ὅταν αὐτὴν ἀπόγνωσις ἐρεθίζῃ, ζέον ἔλαιον ἐκέλευσεν καταχέειν τῶν συνησπικότων. [272] οἱ δ' ὡς παρεσκευασμένον ἔχοντες μετὰ τάχους πολλοὶ καὶ πολὺ πάντοθεν τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατέχεον συνεπαφιέντες καὶ τὰ ἀγγεῖα βρασσόμενα τῇ θέρμῃ. [273] τοῦτο καιομένων τῶν Ῥωμαίων διεσκέδασεν τὴν τάξιν, καὶ μετὰ δεινῶν ἀλγηδόνων ἀπεκυλινδοῦντο τοῦ τείχους: [274] ῥᾷστα μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἔλαιον ἀπὸ κορυφῆς μέχρι ποδῶν ὑπὸ τὰς πανοπλίας διέρρει τοῦ σώματος ὅλου καὶ τὴν σάρκα φλογὸς οὐδὲν ἔλασσον ἐπεβόσκετο, θερμαινόμενόν τε φύσει ταχέως καὶ ψυχόμενον βραδέως διὰ τὴν πιότητα. [275] τοῖς δὲ θώραξιν καὶ τοῖς κράνεσιν ἐνδεδεμένων ἀπαλλαγὴ τῆς καύσεως οὐκ ἦν, πηδῶντες δὲ καὶ συνειλούμενοι ταῖς ἀλγηδόσιν ἀπὸ τῶν γεφυρωμάτων ἔπιπτον: οἱ δὲ τραπέντες εἰς τοὺς σφετέρους πρόσω βιαζομένους εὐχείρωτοι τοῖς κατόπιν τιτρώσκουσιν ἦσαν.

28. Then did Josephus take necessity for his counselor in this utmost distress, [which necessity is very sagacious in invention when it is irritated by despair,] and gave orders to pour scalding oil upon those whose shields protected them. Whereupon they soon got it ready, being many that brought it, and what they brought being a great quantity also, and poured it on all sides upon the Romans, and threw down upon them their vessels as they were still hissing from the heat of the fire: this so burnt the Romans, that it dispersed that united band, who now tumbled clown from the wall with horrid pains, for the oil did easily run down the whole body from head to foot, under their entire armor, and fed upon their flesh like flame itself, its fat and unctuous nature rendering it soon heated and slowly cooled; and as the men were cooped up in their head-pieces and breastplates, they could no way get free from this burning oil; they could only leap and roll about in their pains, as they fell down from the bridges they had

laid. And as they thus were beaten back, and retired to their own party, who still pressed them forward, they were easily wounded by those that were behind them.

(29) [276] Ἐπέλιπεν δὲ οὔτε Ῥωμαίους ἐν ταῖς κακοπραγίαις ἰσχὺς οὔτε τοὺς Ἰουδαίους σύνεσις, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν καίπερ οἰκτρὰ πάσχοντας ὁρῶντες τοὺς καταχυθέντας ὅμως εἰς τοὺς καταχέοντας ἐφέροντο τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ κακίζων ἕκαστος ὡς ἐμπόδιον ὄντα τῆς ῥώμης: [277] οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι δόλῳ δευτέρῳ τὰς προσβάσεις αὐτῶν ἐπέσφαλλον τῆλιν ἐφθὴν ὑποχέοντες ταῖς σανίσιν, ἧς ἐπολισθάνοντες ὑπεσύροντο; [278] καὶ οὔτε τῶν τρεπομένων οὔτε τῶν προσβαινόντων τις ὀρθὸς ἔμενεν, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν ὑπτιαζόμενοι τῶν ἐπιβατηρίων μηχανῶν συνεπατοῦντο, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ χῶμα κατέπιπτον. [279] ἐπαίοντο δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ πεσόντες: ἐσφαλμένων γὰρ τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὗτοι τῆς κατὰ χεῖρα συμπλοκῆς ἐλευθερωθέντες εἰς τὰς βολὰς εὐσχόλουν. [280] πολλὰ δὲ κακουμένους ἐν τῇ προσβολῇ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὁ στρατηγὸς περὶ δείλην ἀνεκάλει. [281] ἔπεσον δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ πλείους ἐτρώθησαν, τῶν δ᾽ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωταπάτης ἀπέθανον μὲν ἓξ ἄνδρες, τραυματίαι δ᾽ ὑπὲρ τριακοσίους ἀνεκομίσθησαν. [282] εἰκάδι μὲν Δαισίου μηνὸς ἡ παράταξις ἦν.

29. However, in this ill success of the Romans, their courage did not fail them, nor did the Jews want prudence to oppose them; for the Romans, although they saw their own men thrown down, and in a miserable condition, yet were they vehemently bent against those that poured the oil upon them; while every one reproached the man before him as a coward, and one that hindered him from exerting himself; and while the Jews made use of another stratagem to prevent their ascent, and poured boiling fenugreek upon the boards, in order to make them slip and fall down; by which means neither could those that were coming up, nor those that were going down, stand on their feet; but some of them fell backward upon the machines on which they ascended, and were trodden upon; many of them fell down upon the bank they had raised, and when they were fallen upon it were slain by the Jews; for when the Romans could not keep their feet, the Jews being freed from fighting hand to hand, had leisure to throw their darts at them. So the general called off those soldiers in the evening that had suffered so sorely, of whom the number of the slain was not a few, while that of the wounded was still greater; but of the people of Jotapata no more than six men were killed, although more than three hundred were carried off wounded. This fight happened on the twentieth day of the month Desius [Sivan].

(30) [283] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι τὴν στρατιὰν παραμυθούμενος, ὡς θυμουμένους ἑώρα καὶ οὐ προτροπῆς ἀλλ᾽ ἔργων δεομένους, [284]

προσυψῶσαι μὲν τὰ χώματα, πύργους δὲ τρεῖς πεντήκοντα ποδῶν τὸ ὕψος ἕκαστον κατασκευάσαι κελεύσας πάντοθεν σιδήρῳ κεκαλυμμένους, ὡς ἑδραῖοί τε εἶεν ὑπὸ βρίθους καὶ δυσάλωτοι πυρί, [285] τῶν χωμάτων ἐπέστησεν, συνεπιβήσας αὐτοῖς ἀκοντιστάς τε καὶ τοξότας καὶ τῶν ἀφετηρίων ὀργάνων τὰ κουφότερα, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ῥωμαλεωτάτους σφενδονήτας: [286] οἳ μὴ καθορώμενοι διὰ τὸ ὕψος καὶ τὰ θωράκια τῶν πύργων εἰς καθορωμένους τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους ἔβαλλον. [287] οἱ δὲ μήτε κατὰ κόρσης φερομένων τῶν βελῶν ἐκκλίνειν ῥᾳδίως δυνάμενοι μήτε τοὺς ἀφανεῖς ἀμύνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ μὲν ὕψος τῶν πύργων δυσέφικτον ὁρῶντες ἐκ χειρὸς βέλει, πυρὶ δὲ τὸν περὶ αὐτοῖς σίδηρον ἀνάλωτον, ἔφευγον ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους καὶ προσβάλλειν πειρωμένοις ἐπεξέθεον. [288] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰωταπάτης ἀντεῖχον οὕτως, ἀναιρούμενοί τε καθ᾽ ἡμέραν πολλοὶ καὶ μηδὲν ἀντικακοῦν τοὺς πολεμίους, ὅτι μὴ μετὰ κινδύνων ἀνείργειν ἔχοντες.

30. Hereupon Vespasian comforted his army on occasion of what happened, and as he found them angry indeed, but rather wanting somewhat to do than any further exhortations, he gave orders to raise the banks still higher, and to erect three towers, each fifty feet high, and that they should cover them with plates of iron on every side, that they might be both firm by their weight, and not easily liable to be set on fire. These towers he set upon the banks, and placed upon them such as could shoot darts and arrows, with the lighter engines for throwing stones and darts also; and besides these, he set upon them the stoutest men among the slingers, who not being to be seen by reason of the height they stood upon, and the battlements that protected them, might throw their weapons at those that were upon the wall, and were easily seen by them. Hereupon the Jews, not being easily able to escape those darts that were thrown down upon their heads, nor to avenge themselves on those whom they could not see, and perceiving that the height of the towers was so great, that a dart which they threw with their hand could hardly reach it, and that the iron plates about them made it very hard to come at them by fire, they ran away from the walls, and fled hastily out of the city, and fell upon those that shot at them. And thus did the people of Jotapata resist the Romans, while a great number of them were every day killed, without their being able to retort the evil upon their enemies; nor could they keep them out of the city without danger to themselves.

(31) [289] Κατὰ δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐπί τινα τῶν τῆς Ἰωταπάτης ἀστυγειτόνων πόλιν, Ἴαφα καλεῖται, νεωτερίζουσαν καὶ τῶν Ἰωταπατηνῶν παρὰ δόξαν ἀντεχόντων ἐπαιρομένην, Τραιανὸν ὄντα τοῦ δεκάτου τάγματος ἡγεμόνα ἐκπέμπει παραδοὺς αὐτῷ χιλίους μὲν ἱππεῖς πεζοὺς δὲ δισχιλίους. [290] ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν πόλιν δυσάλωτον καταλαβών, πρὸς γὰρ τῷ φύσει καρτερὰ τυγχάνειν οὖσα καὶ διπλῷ περιβόλῳ τετείχιστο, προαπηντηκότας δὲ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς ἑτοίμους εἰς

μάχην ἰδὼν συμβάλλει καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀντισχόντας ἐδίωκεν. [291] συμφυγόντων δὲ εἰς τὸ πρῶτον τεῖχος οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ πόδας προσκείμενοι συνεισέπεσον. [292] ὁρμήσαντας δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὸ δεύτερον τεῖχος ἀποκλείουσιν τῆς πόλεως οἱ σφέτεροι δείσαντες μὴ συνεισβάλωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι. [293] θεὸς δ' ἦν ἄρα ὁ Ῥωμαίοις τὰ Γαλιλαίων πάθη χαριζόμενος, ὃς καὶ τότε τὸν τῆς πόλεως λαὸν αὐτάνδρον χερσὶν οἰκείαις ἐκκλεισθέντα πρὸς ἀπώλειαν ἔκδοτον φονῶσιν ἐχθροῖς παρέστησεν. [294] ἐμπίπτοντες γὰρ ἀθρόοι ταῖς πύλαις καὶ πολλὰ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὀνομαστὶ καλοῦντες ἐν μέσαις ἀπεσφάττοντο ταῖς ἱκεσίαις. [295] καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτοῖς τεῖχος οἱ πολέμιοι, τὸ δεύτερον δ' ἔκλεισαν οἱ σφέτεροι, [296] μέσοι δὲ τοῖν δυοῖν κατειλούμενοι περιβόλων βύζην, πολλοὶ μὲν τοῖς ἀλλήλων, πολλοὶ δὲ τοῖς ἰδίοις περιεπείροντο ξίφεσιν, ἄπειροι δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἔπιπτον οὐδὲ ὅσον εἰς ἄμυναν ἀναθαρροῦντες: πρὸς γὰρ τῷ καταπεπλῆχθαι τοὺς πολεμίους τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἔκλασεν ἡ τῶν οἰκείων προδοσία. [297] πέρας ἔθνησκον οὐ Ῥωμαίοις ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἰδίοις καταρώμενοι, μέχρι πάντες ἀπώλοντο μύριοι καὶ δισχίλιοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες. [298] κενὴν δὲ μαχίμων λογιζόμενος εἶναι τὴν πόλιν ὁ Τραιανός, εἰ δὲ καί τινες ἔνδον εἶεν, οἰόμενος μηδὲν αὐτοὺς τολμήσειν ὑπὸ δέους, ἀνετίθει τῷ στρατηγῷ τὴν ἅλωσιν, καὶ στείλας ἀγγέλους πρὸς Οὐεσπασιανὸν ἠτεῖτο πέμψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῷ Τίτον ἐπιθήσοντα τῇ νίκῃ τέλος. [299] ὁ δὲ συμβαλὼν ὑπολείπεσθαί τινα πόνον μετὰ στρατιᾶς τὸν υἱὸν ἐπιπέμπει πεντακοσίων μὲν ἱππέων χιλίων δὲ πεζῶν. [300] ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐλθὼν διὰ τάχους καὶ διατάξας τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ λαιοῦ κέρως τὸν Τραιανὸν ἵστησιν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν ἔχων ἐξηγεῖτο πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν. [301] τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν κλίμακας πάντοθεν τῷ τείχει προσφερόντων πρὸς ὀλίγον οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι καθύπερθεν ἀμυνόμενοι λείπουσιν τὸν περίβολον, [302] ἐπιπηδήσαντες δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Τίτον τῆς μὲν πόλεως ἐκράτησαν ταχέως, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἔνδον αὐτοῖς συστραφέντας καρτερὰ μάχη συρρήγνυται: [303] καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς οἱ δυνατοὶ προσέπιπτον καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν αἱ γυναῖκες ἔβαλλον πᾶν τὸ προστυχὸν αὐταῖς. [304] καὶ μέχρι μὲν ἓξ ὡρῶν ἀντεῖχον μαχόμενοι, δαπανηθέντων δὲ τῶν μαχίμων τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἔν τε τοῖς ὑπαίθροις καὶ κατὰ τὰς οἰκίας ἀπεσφάττοντο νέοι τε ὁμοῦ καὶ γέροντες: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄρρεν ὑπελείφθη δίχα νηπίων, ἃ μετὰ γυναικῶν ἐξηνδραποδίσαντο. [305] τῶν μὲν οὖν ἀναιρεθέντων ἀνά τε τὴν πόλιν κἀπὶ τῆς προτέρας παρατάξεως ἀριθμὸς μύριοι πρὸς τοῖς πεντακισχιλίοις ἦν, τὰ δ' αἰχμάλωτα δισχίλια ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα. [306] τοῦτο συνέβη τὸ πάθος Γαλιλαίοις πέμπτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι Δαισίου μηνός.

31. About this time it was that Vespasian sent out Trajan against a city called Japha, that lay near to Jotapata, and that desired innovations, and was puffed up with the unexpected length of the opposition of Jotapata. This Trajan was the commander of the tenth legion, and to him Vespasian committed one thousand

horsemen, and two thousand footmen. When Trajan came to the city, he found it hard to be taken, for besides the natural strength of its situation, it was also secured by a double wall; but when he saw the people of this city coming out of it, and ready to fight him, he joined battle with them, and after a short resistance which they made, he pursued after them; and as they fled to their first wall, the Romans followed them so closely, that they fell in together with them: but when the Jews were endeavoring to get again within their second wall, their fellow citizens shut them out, as being afraid that the Romans would force themselves in with them. It was certainly God therefore who brought the Romans to punish the Galileans, and did then expose the people of the city every one of them manifestly to be destroyed by their bloody enemies; for they fell upon the gates in great crowds, and earnestly calling to those that kept them, and that by their names also, yet had they their throats cut in the very midst of their supplications; for the enemy shut the gates of the first wall, and their own citizens shut the gates of the second, so they were enclosed between two walls, and were slain in great numbers together; many of them were run through by swords of their own men, and many by their own swords, besides an immense number that were slain by the Romans. Nor had they any courage to revenge themselves; for there was added to the consternation they were in from the enemy, their being betrayed by their own friends, which quite broke their spirits; and at last they died, cursing not the Romans, but their own citizens, till they were all destroyed, being in number twelve thousand. So Trajan gathered that the city was empty of people that could fight, and although there should a few of them be therein, he supposed that they would be too timorous to venture upon any opposition; so he reserved the taking of the city to the general. Accordingly, he sent messengers to Vespasian, and desired him to send his son Titus to finish the victory he had gained. Vespasian hereupon imagining there might be some pains still necessary, sent his son with an army of five hundred horsemen, and one thousand footmen. So he came quickly to the city, and put his army in order, and set Trajan over the left wing, while he had the right himself, and led them to the siege: and when the soldiers brought ladders to be laid against the wall on every side, the Galileans opposed them from above for a while; but soon afterward they left the walls. Then did Titus's men leap into the city, and seized upon it presently; but when those that were in it were gotten together, there was a fierce battle between them; for the men of power fell upon the Romans in the narrow streets, and the women threw whatsoever came next to hand at them, and sustained a fight with them for six hours' time; but when the fighting men were spent, the rest of the multitude had their throats cut, partly in the open air, and partly in their own houses, both young and old together. So there were no males now remaining, besides infants,

which, with the women, were carried as slaves into captivity; so that the number of the slain, both now in the city and at the former fight, was fifteen thousand, and the captives were two thousand one hundred and thirty. This calamity befell the Galileans on the twenty-fifth day of the month Desius [Sivan.]

(32) [307] Ἔμειναν δὲ οὐδὲ Σαμαρεῖς ἀπείρατοι συμφορῶν: ἀθροισθέντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ Γαριζεὶν καλούμενον ὄρος, ὅπερ αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ἅγιον, κατὰ χώραν μὲν ἔμενον, πολέμου δ᾽ εἶχεν ἀπειλὴν ἥ τε σύνοδος αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ φρονήματα. [308] καὶ οὐδὲ τοῖς γειτνιῶσι κακοῖς ἐσωφρονίζοντο, πρὸς δὲ τὰς Ῥωμαίων εὐπραγίας ἐν ἀλογίστῳ τὴν κατὰ σφᾶς ἀσθένειαν ᾤδουν καὶ μετέωροι πρὸς ταραχὴν ὑπῆρχον. [309] ἐδόκει δὲ Οὐεσπασιανῷ φθάσαι τὸ κίνημα καὶ τὰς ὁρμὰς αὐτῶν ὑποτέμνεσθαι: καὶ γὰρ φρουραῖς ἡ Σαμαρεῖτις ὅλη διείληπτο τό τε πλῆθος τῶν ἐληλυθότων καὶ ἡ σύνταξις ἦν φοβερά. [310] Κερεάλιον οὖν ἔπαρχον ὄντα τοῦ πέμπτου τάγματος μετὰ ἑξακοσίων ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν τρισχιλίων πέμπει. [311] τούτῳ προσβαίνειν μὲν τὸ ὄρος καὶ συνάπτειν μάχην οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἔδοξεν πολλῶν καθύπερθεν τῶν πολεμίων ὄντων, κυκλωσάμενος δὲ τῇ δυνάμει πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπόρειον δι᾽ ὅλης αὐτοὺς ἐφρούρει τῆς ἡμέρας. [312] συνέβη δὲ ὕδατος ἀπορουμένων τῶν Σαμαρέων ἐκφλεγῆναι τότε καὶ καῦμα δεινόν, ὥρα δ᾽ ἦν θέρους καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τὸ πλῆθος ἀπαράσκευον, [313] ὡς τοὺς μὲν αὐθημερὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δίψους ἀποθανεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀπωλείας τὸ δουλεύειν προαιρουμένους Ῥωμαίοις προσφυγεῖν. [314] ἐξ ὧν συνεὶς ὁ Κερεάλιος καὶ τοὺς ἔτι συμμένοντας ὑπὸ τῶν δεινῶν κατεαγότας ἐπαναβαίνει τῷ ὄρει, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐν κύκλῳ περιστήσας τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπὶ δεξιὰς προυκαλεῖτο καὶ σώζεσθαι παρεκάλει διαβεβαιούμενος ἀσφάλειαν τὰ ὅπλα ῥίψασιν: [315] ὡς δ᾽ οὐκ ἔπειθεν, προσπεσὼν ἀπέκτεινεν πάντας, χιλίους ἑξακοσίους ἐπὶ μυρίοις ὄντας: ἑβδόμῃ καὶ εἰκάδι Δαισίου μηνὸς ἐπράχθη. καὶ τοιαύταις μὲν συμφοραῖς Σαμαρεῖται ἐχρήσαντο.

32. Nor did the Samaritans escape their share of misfortunes at this time; for they assembled themselves together upon the mountain called Gerizzim, which is with them a holy mountain, and there they remained; which collection of theirs, as well as the courageous minds they showed, could not but threaten somewhat of war; nor were they rendered wiser by the miseries that had come upon their neighboring cities. They also, notwithstanding the great success the Romans had, marched on in an unreasonable manner, depending on their own weakness, and were disposed for any tumult upon its first appearance. Vespasian therefore thought it best to prevent their motions, and to cut off the foundation of their attempts. For although all Samaria had ever garrisons settled among them, yet did the number of those that were come to Mount Gerizzim, and their conspiracy together, give ground for fear what they would be at; he therefore sent thither

Cerealis, the commander of the fifth legion, with six hundred horsemen, and three thousand footmen, who did not think it safe to go up to the mountain, and give them battle, because many of the enemy were on the higher part of the ground; so he encompassed all the lower part of the mountain with his army, and watched them all that day. Now it happened that the Samaritans, who were now destitute of water, were inflamed with a violent heat, [for it was summer time, and the multitude had not provided themselves with necessaries,] insomuch that some of them died that very day with heat, while others of them preferred slavery before such a death as that was, and fled to the Romans; by whom Cerealis understood that those which still staid there were very much broken by their misfortunes. So he went up to the mountain, and having placed his forces round about the enemy, he, in the first place, exhorted them to take the security of his right hand, and come to terms with him, and thereby save themselves; and assured them, that if they would lay down their arms, he would secure them from any harm; but when he could not prevail with them, he fell upon them and slew them all, being in number eleven thousand and six hundred. This was done on the twenty-seventh day of the month Desius [Sivan]. And these were the calamities that befell the Samaritans at this time.

(33) [316] Τῶν δ' ἀνὰ τὰ Ἰωτάπατα καρτερούντων καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδα τοῖς δεινοῖς ἀντεχόντων τεσσαρακοστῇ μὲν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἑβδόμῃ τὰ χώματα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπερήρθη τὸ τεῖχος, [317] αὐτομολεῖ δέ τις πρὸς τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας τήν τε ὀλιγότητα τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐξαγγέλλων καὶ τὴν ἀσθένειαν, [318] καὶ ὡς ἀγρυπνίᾳ διηνεκεῖ καὶ μάχαις ἐπαλλήλοις δεδαπανημένοι δυνατοὶ μὲν εἶεν οὐδὲ βιαζομένους ἔτι φέρειν, καὶ δόλῳ δ' ἂν ἁλοῖεν, εἴ τις ἐπιθοῖτο: [319] περὶ γὰρ τὴν ἐσχάτην φυλακήν, καθ' ἣν ἄνεσίν τε τῶν δεινῶν ἐδόκουν ἔχειν καὶ καθάπτεται μάλιστα κεκοπωμένων ἑωθινὸς ὕπνος, καταδαρθάνειν ἔφασκεν τοὺς φύλακας συνεβούλευέν τε κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ὥραν ἐπελθεῖν. [320] τῷ δ' ἦν μὲν δι' ὑπονοίας ὁ αὐτόμολος τό τε πρὸς ἀλλήλους πιστὸν εἰδότι τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὰς κολάσεις ὑπεροψίαν, [321] ἐπειδὴ καὶ πρότερον ληφθείς τις τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωταπάτης πρὸς πᾶσαν αἰκίαν βασάνων ἀντέσχεν καὶ μηδὲν διὰ πυρὸς ἐξερευνῶσι τοῖς πολεμίοις περὶ τῶν ἔνδον εἰπὼν ἀνεσταυρώθη τοῦ θανάτου καταμειδιῶν: [322] τά γε μὴν εἰκότα πιστὸν ἐποίει τὸν προδότην, καὶ τάχα μὲν ἀληθεύειν ἐκεῖνον, μηδὲν δ' αὐτὸς ἐξ ἐνέδρας πείσεσθαι μέγα προσδοκῶν, τὸν μὲν φυλάσσειν ἐκέλευσεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν κατάληψιν τῆς πόλεως παρεσκεύαζε τὴν στρατιάν.

33. But as the people of Jotapata still held out manfully, and bore up under their miseries beyond all that could be hoped for, on the forty-seventh day [of the siege] the banks cast up by the Romans were become higher than the wall; on

which day a certain deserter went to Vespasian, and told him how few were left in the city, and how weak they were, and that they had been so worn out with perpetual watching, and as perpetual fighting, that they could not now oppose any force that came against them, and that they might be taken by stratagem, if any one would attack them; for that about the last watch of the night, when they thought they might have some rest from the hardships they were under, and when a morning sleep used to come upon them, as they were thoroughly weary, he said the watch used to fall asleep; accordingly his advice was, that they should make their attack at that hour. But Vespasian had a suspicion about this deserter, as knowing how faithful the Jews were to one another, and how much they despised any punishments that could be inflicted on them; this last because one of the people of Jotapata had undergone all sorts of torments, and though they made him pass through a fiery trial of his enemies in his examination, yet would he inform them nothing of the affairs within the city, and as he was crucified, smiled at them. However, the probability there was in the relation itself did partly confirm the truth of what the deserter told them, and they thought he might probably speak truth. However, Vespasian thought they should be no great sufferers if the report was a sham; so he commanded them to keep the man in custody, and prepared the army for taking the city.

(34) [323] Κατὰ δὲ τὴν μηνυθεῖσαν ὥραν ἦεσαν ἡσυχῆ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος. [324] καὶ πρῶτος ἐπιβαίνει Τίτος σὺν ἑνὶ τῶν χιλιάρχων Δομετίῳ Σαβίνῳ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πέμπτου καὶ δεκάτου τάγματος ὀλίγους ἄγων: [325] ἀποσφάξαντες δὲ τοὺς φύλακας εἰσίασιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, μεθ᾽ οὓς Σέκστος τις Καλουάριος χιλίαρχος καὶ Πλάκιδος τοὺς ὑπὸ σφίσι τεταγμένους εἰσῆγον. [326] κατειλημμένης δὲ τῆς ἄκρας καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐν μέσῳ στρεφομένων, ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἡμέρας οὔσης, ὅμως οὔπω τῆς ἁλώσεως τοῖς κρατουμένοις αἴσθησις ἦν: [327] καμάτῳ τε γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ὕπνῳ διαλέλυντο, καὶ τῶν διανισταμένων ὁμίχλη τὰς ὄψεις ἀπήμβλυνεν πολλὴ κατὰ τύχην τότε τῇ πόλει περιχυθεῖσα, [328] μέχρι πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς εἰσπεσούσης πρὸς μόνην τὴν τῶν κακῶν αἴσθησιν ἐξανέστησαν καὶ τὴν ἅλωσιν ἐπίστευον ἀναιρούμενοι. [329] Ῥωμαίους δὲ κατὰ μνήμην ὧν ἐκ τῆς πολιορκίας ἔπαθον οὔτε φειδὼ εἰσῄει τινὸς οὔτ᾽ ἔλεος, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς τὸ κάταντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας τὸν λεὼ συνωθοῦντες ἐφόνευον. [330] ἔνθα καὶ τοὺς ἔτι μάχεσθαι δυναμένους ἡ δυσχωρία τὴν ἄμυναν ἀφείλετο: θλιβόμενοι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς καὶ κατὰ τοῦ πρανοῦς ὑπολισθάνοντες ῥέοντι κατ᾽ ἄκρας ἐκαλύπτοντο τῷ πολέμῳ. [331] τοῦτο πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐπιλέκτων ἐπ᾽ αὐτοχειρίαν παρώξυνεν: κατιδόντες γάρ, ὡς οὐδένα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀνελεῖν δύνανται, τό γε πεσεῖν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων προέλαβον καὶ συναθροισθέντες ἐπὶ τὰ καταλήγοντα τῆς πόλεως σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀνεῖλον.

34. According to which resolution they marched without noise, at the hour that had been told them, to the wall; and it was Titus himself that first got upon it, with one of his tribunes, Domitius Sabinus, and had a few of the fifteenth legion along with him. So they cut the throats of the watch, and entered the city very quietly. After these came Cerealis the tribune, and Placidus, and led on those that were tinder them. Now when the citadel was taken, and the enemy were in the very midst of the city, and when it was already day, yet was not the taking of the city known by those that held it; for a great many of them were fast asleep, and a great mist, which then by chance fell upon the city, hindered those that got up from distinctly seeing the case they were in, till the whole Roman army was gotten in, and they were raised up only to find the miseries they were under; and as they were slaying, they perceived the city was taken. And for the Romans, they so well remembered what they had suffered during the siege, that they spared none, nor pitied any, but drove the people down the precipice from the citadel, and slew them as they drove them down; at which time the difficulties of the place hindered those that were still able to fight from defending themselves; for as they were distressed in the narrow streets, and could not keep their feet sure along the precipice, they were overpowered with the crowd of those that came fighting them down from the citadel. This provoked a great many, even of those chosen men that were about Josephus, to kill themselves with their own hands; for when they saw that they could kill none of the Romans, they resolved to prevent being killed by the Romans, and got together in great numbers in the utmost parts of the city, and killed themselves.

(35) [332] Ὅσοι γε μὴν ὑπὸ πρώτην τῆς καταλήψεως αἴσθησιν τῶν φυλάκων διαφυγεῖν ἔφθασαν ἀναβάντες εἴς τινα τῶν προσαρκτίων πύργων μέχρι μέν τινος ἀπημύναντο, περισχεθέντες δὲ πλήθει τῶν πολεμίων ὀψὲ παρεῖσαν τὰς δεξιὰς καὶ τοῖς ἐφεστῶσιν τὴν σφαγὴν εὔθυμοι παρέσχον. [333] ἀναίμακτον δ’ ἂν ἦν αὐχῆσαι Ῥωμαίοις τὸ τέλος τῆς πολιορκίας, εἰ μὴ κατὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν εἷς ἔπεσέν τις: ἑκατοντάρχης ἦν Ἀντώνιος, θνήσκει δ’ ἐξ ἑνέδρας. [334] τῶν γὰρ εἰς τὰ σπήλαιά τις συμπεφευγότων, πολλοὶ δ’ οὗτοι πλῆθος ἦσαν, ἱκετεύει τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὀρέξαι δεξιὰν αὐτῷ πίστιν τε σωτηρίας καὶ βοήθειαν πρὸς ἄνοδον: [335] ὁ δ’ ἀφυλάκτως ὤρεγε τὴν χεῖρα, καὶ φθάσας αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνος νύττει κάτωθεν ὑπὸ τὸν βουβῶνα δόρατι καὶ παραχρῆμα διεργάζεται.

35. However, such of the watch as at the first perceived they were taken, and ran away as fast as they could, went up into one of the towers on the north side of the city, and for a while defended themselves there; but as they were encompassed with a multitude of enemies, they tried to use their right hands when it was too late, and at length they cheerfully offered their necks to be cut

off by those that stood over them. And the Romans might have boasted that the conclusion of that siege was without blood [on their side] if there had not been a centurion, Antonius, who was slain at the taking of the city. His death was occasioned by the following treachery; for there was one of those that were fled into the caverns, which were a great number, who desired that this Antonius would reach him his right hand for his security, and would assure him that he would preserve him, and give him his assistance in getting up out of the cavern; accordingly, he incautiously reached him his right hand, when the other man prevented him, and stabbed him under his loins with a spear, and killed him immediately.

(36) [336] Κατ᾽ ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν τὸ φανερὸν πλῆθος ἀνεῖλον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ταῖς δ᾽ ἐπιούσαις ἀνερευνώμενοι τὰς καταδύσεις τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὑπονόμοις καὶ τοῖς σπηλαίοις ἐπεξῄεσαν καὶ διὰ πάσης ἐχώρουν ἡλικίας πλὴν νηπίων καὶ γυναικῶν. [337] καὶ τὰ μὲν αἰχμάλωτα χίλια πρὸς τοῖς διακοσίοις συνήχθη, νεκροὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν καὶ τὰς πρότερον μάχας συνηριθμήθησαν τετρακισμύριοι. [338] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ τήν τε πόλιν κατασκάψαι κελεύει καὶ τὰ φρούρια πάντα προσεμπίπρησιν αὐτῆς. [339] Ἰωτάπατα μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἑάλω τρεισκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας ἔτει Πανέμου νουμηνίᾳ.

36. And on this day it was that the Romans slew all the multitude that appeared openly; but on the following days they searched the hiding-places, and fell upon those that were under ground, and in the caverns, and went thus through every age, excepting the infants and the women, and of these there were gathered together as captives twelve hundred; and as for those that were slain at the taking of the city, and in the former fights, they were numbered to be forty thousand. So Vespasian gave order that the city should be entirely demolished, and all the fortifications burnt down. And thus was Jotapata taken, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero, on the first day of the month Panemus [Tamuz].

VIII

CHAPTER 8.

How Josephus Was Discovered By A Woman, And Was Willing To Deliver Himself Up To The Romans; And What Discourse He Had With His Own Men, When They Endeavored To Hinder Him; And What He Said To Vespasian, When He Was Brought To Him; And After What Manner Vespasian Used Him Afterward.

(1) [340] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἀναζητοῦντες κατά τε ὀργὴν σφετέραν καὶ σφόδρα τοῦ στρατηγοῦ φιλοτιμουμένου, μεγίστη γὰρ ἦν μοῖρα τοῦ πολέμου ληφθείς, τούς τε νεκροὺς διηρεύνων καὶ τοὺς ἀποκρύφους. [341] ὁ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἁλισκομένης δαιμονίῳ τινὶ συνεργίᾳ χρησάμενος μέσον μὲν ἑαυτὸν ἐκκλέπτει τῶν πολεμίων, καθάλλεται δὲ εἴς τινα βαθὺν λάκκον, ᾧ πλατὺ σπήλαιον διέζευκτο κατὰ πλευρὰν τοῖς ἄνωθεν ἀόρατον. [342] ἔνθα τεσσαράκοντα μὲν τῶν ἐπισήμων ἄνδρας καταλαμβάνει λανθάνοντας, παρασκευὴν δ' ἐπιτηδείων οὐκ ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις διαρκεῖν δυναμένην. [343] μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν οὖν ὑπεστέλλετο τῶν πολεμίων πάντα διειληφότων, νυκτὸς δ' ἀνιὼν ἐζήτει δρασμοῦ διάδυσιν καὶ τὰς φυλακὰς κατεσκέπτετο. φρουρουμένων δὲ πανταχόθεν πάντων δι' αὐτὸν ὡς λαθεῖν οὐκ ἦν, αὖθις εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον κατῄει. [344] δύο μὲν οὖν ἡμέραις διαλανθάνει, τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ γυναικὸς ἁλούσης τῶν ἅμα αὐτοῖς μηνύεται, καὶ Οὐεσπασιανὸς αὐτίκα μετὰ σπουδῆς πέμπει δύο χιλιάρχους Παυλῖνον καὶ Γαλλικανόν, δεξιάς τε τῷ Ἰωσήπῳ δοῦναι κελεύσας καὶ προτρεψομένους ἀνελθεῖν.

1. And now the Romans searched for Josephus, both out of the hatred they bore him, and because their general was very desirous to have him taken; for he reckoned that if he were once taken, the greatest part of the war would be over. They then searched among the dead, and looked into the most concealed recesses of the city; but as the city was first taken, he was assisted by a certain supernatural providence; for he withdrew himself from the enemy when he was in the midst of them, and leaped into a certain deep pit, whereto there adjoined a large den at one side of it, which den could not be seen by those that were above ground; and there he met with forty persons of eminency that had concealed themselves, and with provisions enough to satisfy them for not a few days. So in the day time he hid himself from the enemy, who had seized upon all places, and in the night time he got up out of the den and looked about for some way of escaping, and took exact notice of the watch; but as all places were guarded every where on his account, that there was no way of getting off unseen, he went down again into the den. Thus he concealed himself two days; but on the third day, when they had taken a woman who had been with them, he was discovered. Whereupon Vespasian sent immediately and zealously two tribunes, Paulinus and Gallicanus, and ordered them to give Josephus their right hands as a security for his life, and to exhort him to come up.

(2) [345] Ἀφικόμενοι γοῦν παρεκάλουν οὗτοι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ πίστεις περὶ σωτηρίας ἐδίδοσαν, οὐ μὴν ἔπειθον: [346] ἐκ γὰρ ὧν εἰκὸς ἦν τοσαῦτα δράσαντα παθεῖν, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ φύσει τῶν παρακαλούντων ἡμέρου τὰς ὑποψίας συνέλεγεν ἐδεδίει τε ὡς ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν προκαλουμένους, ἕως Οὐεσπασιανὸς τρίτον ἐπιπέμπει

χιλίαρχον Νικάνορα γνώριμον τῷ Ἰωσήπῳ καὶ συνήθη πάλαι. [347] παρελθὼν δ' οὗτος τό τε φύσει Ῥωμαίων χρηστὸν πρὸς οὓς ἂν ἅπαξ ἕλωσι διεξῇει, καὶ ὡς δι' ἀρετὴν αὐτὸς θαυμάζοιτο μᾶλλον ἢ μισοῖτο πρὸς τῶν ἡγεμόνων, [348] σπουδάζειν τε τὸν στρατηγὸν οὐκ ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν ἀναγαγεῖν αὐτόν, εἶναι γὰρ ταύτην καὶ παρὰ μὴ προιόντος λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ σῶσαι προαιρούμενον ἄνδρα γενναῖον. [349] προσετίθει δ' ὡς οὔτ' ἂν Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐνεδρεύων φίλον ἔπεμπεν, ἵνα τοῦ κακίστου πράγματος προστήσηται τὸ κάλλιστον, ἀπιστίας φιλίαν, οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἀπατήσων ἄνδρα φίλον ὑπήκουσεν ἐλθεῖν.

2. So they came and invited the man to come up, and gave him assurances that his life should be preserved: but they did not prevail with him; for he gathered suspicions from the probability there was that one who had done so many things against the Romans must suffer for it, though not from the mild temper of those that invited him. However, he was afraid that he was invited to come up in order to be punished, until Vespasian sent besides these a third tribune, Nicanor, to him; he was one that was well known to Josephus, and had been his familiar acquaintance in old time. When he was come, he enlarged upon the natural mildness of the Romans towards those they have once conquered; and told him that he had behaved himself so valiantly, that the commanders rather admired than hated him; that the general was very desirous to have him brought to him, not in order to punish him, for that he could do though he should not come voluntarily, but that he was determined to preserve a man of his courage. He moreover added this, that Vespasian, had he been resolved to impose upon him, would not have sent to him a friend of his own, nor put the fairest color upon the vilest action, by pretending friendship and meaning perfidiousness; nor would he have himself acquiesced, or come to him, had it been to deceive him.

(3) [350] Ἐνδοιάζοντος δὲ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου καὶ πρὸς τὸν Νικάνορα τὸ μὲν στρατιωτικὸν ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἐκκαίειν τὸ σπήλαιον ὥρμητο, κατεῖχεν δ' αὐτοὺς ὁ πολέμαρχος ζωγρῆσαι τὸν ἄνδρα φιλοτιμούμενος. [351] ὡς δ' ὅ τε Νικάνωρ προσέκειτο λιπαρῶν καὶ τὰς ἀπειλὰς τοῦ πολεμίου πλήθους ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἔμαθεν, ἀνάμνησις αὐτὸν τῶν διὰ νυκτὸς ὀνείρων εἰσέρχεται, δι' ὧν ὁ θεὸς τάς τε μελλούσας αὐτῷ συμφορὰς προεσήμαινεν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖς ἐσόμενα. [352] ἦν δὲ καὶ περὶ κρίσεις ὀνείρων ἱκανὸς συμβαλεῖν τὰ ἀμφιβόλως ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου λεγόμενα, τῶν γε μὴν ἱερῶν βίβλων οὐκ ἠγνόει τὰς προφητείας ὡς ἂν αὐτός τε ὢν ἱερεὺς καὶ ἱερέων ἔγγονος: [353] ὧν ἐπὶ τῆς τότε ὥρας ἔνθους γενόμενος καὶ τὰ φρικώδη τῶν προσφάτων ὀνείρων σπάσας φαντάσματα προσφέρει τῷ θεῷ λεληθυῖαν εὐχήν, [354] κἀπειδὴ τὸ Ἰουδαίων, ἔφη, φῦλον ὀκλάσαι δοκεῖ σοι τῷ κτίσαντι, μετέβη δὲ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἡ τύχη πᾶσα,

καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν ἐπελέξω τὰ μέλλοντα εἰπεῖν, δίδωμι μὲν Ῥωμαίοις τὰς χεῖρας ἑκὼν καὶ ζῶ, μαρτύρομαι δὲ ὡς οὐ προδότης, ἀλλὰ σὸς εἶμι διάκονος.”

3. Now as Josephus began to hesitate with himself about Nicanor’s proposal, the soldiery were so angry, that they ran hastily to set fire to the den; but the tribune would not permit them so to do, as being very desirous to take the man alive. And now, as Nicanor lay hard at Josephus to comply, and he understood how the multitude of the enemies threatened him, he called to mind the dreams which he had dreamed in the night time, whereby God had signified to him beforehand both the future calamities of the Jews, and the events that concerned the Roman emperors. Now Josephus was able to give shrewd conjectures about the interpretation of such dreams as have been ambiguously delivered by God. Moreover, he was not unacquainted with the prophecies contained in the sacred books, as being a priest himself, and of the posterity of priests: and just then was he in an ecstasy; and setting before him the tremendous images of the dreams he had lately had, he put up a secret prayer to God, and said, “Since it pleaseth thee, who hast created the Jewish nation, to depress the same, and since all their good fortune is gone over to the Romans, and since thou hast made choice of this soul of mine to foretell what is to come to pass hereafter, I willingly give them my hands, and am content to live. And I protest openly that I do not go over to the Romans as a deserter of the Jews, but as a minister from thee.”

(4) [355] Ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ἐνεδίδου τῷ Νικάνορι. καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ συγκαταφυγόντες ὡς τὸν Ἰώσηπον συνίεσαν εἴκοντα τοῖς παρακαλοῦσιν, [356] ἀθρόοι περιστάντες, “ἦ μεγάλα γ’ ἂν στενάξειαν, ἐβόων, οἱ πάτριοι νόμοι, οὓς κατέφησεν θεὸς Ἰουδαίοις ὁ κτίσας ψυχὰς θανάτου καταφρονούσας. [357] φιλοζωεῖς, ὦ Ἰώσηπε, καὶ φῶς ὑπομένεις ὁρᾶν δοῦλον; ὡς ταχέως ἐπελάθου σαυτοῦ. πόσους ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἀποθνήσκειν ἔπεισας. [358] ψευδῆ μὲν ἄρα δόξαν ἀνδρείας, ψευδῆ δὲ καὶ συνέσεως εἶχες, εἴ γε σωτηρίαν μὲν ἔχειν ἐλπίζεις παρ’ οἷς οὕτως ἐπολέμησας, σώζεσθαι δὲ ὑπ’ ἐκείνων, κἂν ᾖ βέβαιον, θέλεις. [359] ἀλλ’ εἰ καὶ σοὶ λήθην σεαυτοῦ κατέχεεν ἡ Ῥωμαίων τύχη, προνοητέον ἡμῖν τοῦ πατρίου κλέους. χρήσομέν σοι δεξιὰν καὶ ξίφος: σὺ δ’ ἂν μὲν ἑκὼν θνήσκῃς, Ἰουδαίων στρατηγός, ἂν δ’ ἄκων, προδότης [360] τεθνήξῃ.” ταῦθ’ ἅμα λέγοντες ἐπανετείναντο τὰ ξίφη καὶ διηπείλουν ἀναιρήσειν αὐτόν, εἰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐνδιδοίη.

4. When he had said this, he complied with Nicanor’s invitation. But when those Jews who had fled with him understood that he yielded to those that invited him to come up, they came about him in a body, and cried out, “Nay, indeed, now may the laws of our forefathers, which God ordained himself, well groan to

purpose; that God we mean who hath created the souls of the Jews of such a temper, that they despise death. O Josephus! art thou still fond of life? and canst thou bear to see the light in a state of slavery? How soon hast thou forgotten thyself! How many hast thou persuaded to lose their lives for liberty! Thou hast therefore had a false reputation for manhood, and a like false reputation for wisdom, if thou canst hope for preservation from those against whom thou hast fought so zealously, and art however willing to be preserved by them, if they be in earnest. But although the good fortune of the Romans hath made thee forget thyself, we ought to take care that the glory of our forefathers may not be tarnished. We will lend thee our right hand and a sword; and if thou wilt die willingly, thou wilt die as general of the Jews; but if unwillingly, thou wilt die as a traitor to them." As soon as they said this, they began to thrust their swords at him, and threatened they would kill him, if he thought of yielding himself to the Romans.

(5) [361] Δείσας δὲ τὴν ἔφοδον ὁ Ἰώσηπος καὶ προδοσίαν ἡγούμενος εἶναι τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ προσταγμάτων, εἰ προαποθάνοι τῆς διαγγελίας, ἤρχετο πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνάγκης: [362] "τί γὰρ τοσοῦτον, ἔφη, σφῶν αὐτῶν, ἑταῖροι, φονῶμεν; ἢ τί τὰ φίλτατα διαστασιάζομεν, σῶμα καὶ ψυχήν; ἠλλάχθαι τις ἐμέ φησιν. [363] ἀλλ' οἴδασιν Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦτό γε. καλὸν ἐν πολέμῳ θνήσκειν, ἀλλὰ πολέμου νόμῳ, τουτέστιν ὑπὸ τῶν κρατούντων. [364] εἰ μὲν οὖν τὸν Ῥωμαίων ἀποστρέφομαι σίδηρον, ἄξιος ἀληθῶς εἰμι τοὐμοῦ ξίφους καὶ χειρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς: εἰ δ' ἐκείνους εἰσέρχεται φειδὼ πολεμίου, πόσῳ δικαιότερον ἂν ἡμᾶς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν εἰσέλθοι; καὶ γὰρ ἠλίθιον ταῦτα δρᾶν σφᾶς αὐτούς, περὶ ὧν πρὸς ἐκείνους διιστάμεθα. [365] καλὸν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀποθνήσκειν: φημὶ κἀγώ, μαχομένους μέντοι, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀφαιρουμένων αὐτήν. νῦν δ' οὔτ' εἰς μάχην ἀντιάζουσιν ἡμῖν οὔτ' ἀναιροῦσιν ἡμᾶς: δειλὸς δὲ ὁμοίως ὅ τε μὴ βουλόμενος θνήσκειν ὅταν δέῃ καὶ ὁ βουλόμενος, ὅταν μὴ δέῃ. [366] τί δὲ καὶ δεδοικότες πρὸς Ῥωμαίους οὐκ ἄνιμεν; [367] ἆρ' οὐχὶ θάνατον; εἶθ' ὃν δεδοίκαμεν ἐκ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑποπτευόμενον ἑαυτοῖς βέβαιον ἐπιστήσομεν; ἀλλὰ δουλείαν, ἐρεῖ τις. πάνυ γοῦν νῦν ἐσμὲν ἐλεύθεροι. [368] γενναῖον γὰρ ἀνελεῖν ἑαυτόν, φήσει τις. οὐ μὲν οὖν, ἀλλ' ἀγενέστατον, ὡς ἔγωγε καὶ κυβερνήτην ἡγοῦμαι δειλότατον, ὅστις χειμῶνα δεδοικὼς πρὸ τῆς θυέλλης ἐβάπτισεν ἑκὼν τὸ σκάφος. [369] ἀλλὰ μὴν ἡ αὐτοχειρία καὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἁπάντων ζῴων φύσεως ἀλλότριον καὶ πρὸς τὸν κτίσαντα θεὸν ἡμᾶς ἐστιν ἀσέβεια. [370] τῶν μέν γε ζῴων οὐδέν ἐστιν ὃ θνήσκει μετὰ προνοίας ἢ δι' αὐτοῦ: φύσεως γὰρ νόμος ἰσχυρὸς ἐν ἅπασιν τὸ ζῆν ἐθέλειν: διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς φανερῶς ἀφαιρουμένους ἡμᾶς τούτου πολεμίους ἡγούμεθα καὶ τοὺς ἐξ ἐνέδρας τιμωρούμεθα. [371] τὸν δὲ θεὸν οὐκ οἴεσθε ἀγανακτεῖν, ὅταν ἄνθρωπος αὐτοῦ τὸ δῶρον ὑβρίζῃ; καὶ γὰρ εἰλήφαμεν παρ' ἐκείνου τὸ εἶναι καὶ

τὸ μηκέτι εἶναι πάλιν ἐκείνῳ δίδομεν. [372] τὰ μέν γε σώματα θνητὰ πᾶσιν καὶ ἐκ φθαρτῆς ὕλης δεδημιούργηται, ψυχὴ δὲ ἀθάνατος ἀεὶ καὶ θεοῦ μοῖρα τοῖς σώμασιν ἐνοικίζεται: εἶτ᾽ ἐὰν μὲν ἀφανίσῃ τις ἀνθρώπου παρακαταθήκην ἢ διαθῆται κακῶς, πονηρὸς εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ ἄπιστος, εἰ δέ τις τοῦ σφετέρου σώματος ἐκβάλλει τὴν παρακαταθήκην τοῦ θεοῦ, λεληθέναι δοκεῖ τὸν ἀδικούμενον; [373] καὶ κολάζειν μὲν τοὺς ἀποδράντας οἰκέτας δίκαιον νενόμισται κἂν πονηροὺς καταλείπωσι δεσπότας, αὐτοὶ δὲ κάλλιστον δεσπότην ἀποδιδράσκοντες τὸν θεὸν οὐ δοκοῦμεν ἀσεβεῖν; [374] ἆρ᾽ οὐκ ἴστε ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἐξιόντων τοῦ βίου κατὰ τὸν τῆς φύσεως νόμον καὶ τὸ ληφθὲν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ χρέος ἐκτινύντων, ὅταν ὁ δοὺς κομίσασθαι θέλῃ, κλέος μὲν αἰώνιον, οἶκοι δὲ καὶ γενεαὶ βέβαιοι, καθαραὶ δὲ καὶ ἐπήκοοι μένουσιν αἱ ψυχαί, χῶρον οὐράνιον λαχοῦσαι τὸν ἁγιώτατον, ἔνθεν ἐκ περιτροπῆς αἰώνων ἀγνοῖς πάλιν ἀντενοικίζονται σώμασιν: [375] ὅσοις δὲ καθ᾽ ἑαυτῶν ἐμάνησαν αἱ χεῖρες, τούτων ᾅδης μὲν δέχεται τὰς ψυχὰς σκοτεινότερος, ὁ δὲ τούτων πατὴρ θεὸς εἰς ἐγγόνους τιμωρεῖται τοὺς τῶν πατέρων ὑβριστάς. [376] διὰ τοῦτο μεμίσηται παρὰ θεῷ τοῦτο καὶ παρὰ τῷ σοφωτάτῳ κολάζεται νομοθέτῃ: [377] τοὺς γοῦν ἀναιροῦντας ἑαυτοὺς παρὰ μὲν ἡμῖν μέχρις ἡλίου δύσεως ἀτάφους ἐκρίπτειν ἔκριναν καίτοι καὶ πολεμίους θάπτειν θεμιτὸν ἡγούμενοι, [378] παρ᾽ ἑτέροις δὲ καὶ τὰς δεξιὰς τῶν τοιούτων νεκρῶν ἀποκόπτειν ἐκέλευσαν, αἷς ἐστρατεύσαντο καθ᾽ ἑαυτῶν, ἡγούμενοι καθάπερ τὸ σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς ἀλλότριον, οὕτως καὶ τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ σώματος. [379] καλὸν οὖν, ἑταῖροι, δίκαια φρονεῖν καὶ μὴ ταῖς ἀνθρωπίναις συμφοραῖς προσθεῖναι τὴν εἰς τὸν κτίσαντα ἡμᾶς δυσσέβειαν. [380] εἰ σώζεσθαι δοκεῖ, σωζώμεθα: καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἄδοξος ἡ σωτηρία παρ᾽ οἷς διὰ τοσούτων ἔργων ἐπεδειξάμεθα τὰς ἀρετάς: εἰ τεθνάναι, καλὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἑλόντων. [381] οὐ μεταβήσομαι δ᾽ ἐγὼ εἰς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων τάξιν, ἵν᾽ ἐμαυτοῦ προδότης γένωμαι: καὶ γὰρ ἂν εἴην πολὺ τῶν αὐτομολούντων πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἠλιθιώτερος, εἴ γ᾽ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦτο πράττουσιν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ ἀπωλείᾳ, καί γε τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ. [382] τὴν μέντοι Ῥωμαίων ἐνέδραν εὔχομαι: μετὰ γὰρ δεξιὰν ἀναιρούμενος ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν εὔθυμος τεθνήξομαι, τὴν τῶν ψευσαμένων ἀπιστίαν νίκης μείζονα ἀποφέρων παραμυθίαν.”

5. Upon this Josephus was afraid of their attacking him, and yet thought he should be a betrayer of the commands of God, if he died before they were delivered. So he began to talk like a philosopher to them in the distress he was then in, when he said thus to them: “O my friends, why are we so earnest to kill ourselves? and why do we set our soul and body, which are such dear companions, at such variance? Can any one pretend that I am not the man I was formerly? Nay, the Romans are sensible how that matter stands well enough. It is a brave thing to die in war; but so that it be according to the law of war, by the hand of

conquerors. If, therefore, I avoid death from the sword of the Romans, I am truly worthy to be killed by my own sword, and my own hand; but if they admit of mercy, and would spare their enemy, how much more ought we to have mercy upon ourselves, and to spare ourselves? For it is certainly a foolish thing to do that to ourselves which we quarrel with them for doing to us. I confess freely that it is a brave thing to die for liberty; but still so that it be in war, and done by those who take that liberty from us; but in the present case our enemies do neither meet us in battle, nor do they kill us. Now he is equally a coward who will not die when he is obliged to die, and he who will die when he is not obliged so to do. What are we afraid of, when we will not go up to the Romans? Is it death? If so, what we are afraid of, when we but suspect our enemies will inflict it on us, shall we inflict it on ourselves for certain? But it may be said we must be slaves. And are we then in a clear state of liberty at present? It may also be said that it is a manly act for one to kill himself. No, certainly, but a most unmanly one; as I should esteem that pilot to be an arrant coward, who, out of fear of a storm, should sink his ship of his own accord. Now self-murder is a crime most remote from the common nature of all animals, and an instance of impiety against God our Creator; nor indeed is there any animal that dies by its own contrivance, or by its own means, for the desire of life is a law engraven in them all; on which account we deem those that openly take it away from us to be our enemies, and those that do it by treachery are punished for so doing. And do not you think that God is very angry when a man does injury to what he hath bestowed on him? For from him it is that we have received our being, and we ought to leave it to his disposal to take that being away from us. The bodies of all men are indeed mortal, and are created out of corruptible matter; but the soul is ever immortal, and is a portion of the divinity that inhabits our bodies. Besides, if any one destroys or abuses a depositum he hath received from a mere man, he is esteemed a wicked and perfidious person; but then if any one cast out of his body this Divine depositum, can we imagine that he who is thereby affronted does not know of it? Moreover, our law justly ordains that slaves which run away from their master shall be punished, though the masters they run away from may have been wicked masters to them. And shall we endeavor to run away from God, who is the best of all masters, and not guilty of impeity? Do not you know that those who depart out of this life according to the law of nature, and pay that debt which was received from God, when he that lent it us is pleased to require it back again, enjoy eternal fame; that their houses and their posterity are sure, that their souls are pure and obedient, and obtain a most holy place in heaven, from whence, in the revolutions of ages, they are again sent into pure bodies; while the souls of those whose hands have acted madly against

themselves are received by the darkest place in Hades, and while God, who is their Father, punishes those that offend against either of them in their posterity? for which reason God hates such doings, and the crime is punished by our most wise legislator. Accordingly, our laws determine that the bodies of such as kill themselves should be exposed till the sun be set, without burial, although at the same time it be allowed by them to be lawful to bury our enemies [sooner]. The laws of other nations also enjoin such men's hands to be cut off when they are dead, which had been made use of in destroying themselves when alive, while they reckoned that as the body is alien from the soul, so is the hand alien from the body. It is therefore, my friends, a right thing to reason justly, and not add to the calamities which men bring upon us impiety towards our Creator. If we have a mind to preserve ourselves, let us do it; for to be preserved by those our enemies, to whom we have given so many demonstrations of our courage, is no way inglorious; but if we have a mind to die, it is good to die by the hand of those that have conquered us. For my part, I will not run over to our enemies' quarters, in order to be a traitor to myself; for certainly I should then be much more foolish than those that deserted to the enemy, since they did it in order to save themselves, and I should do it for destruction, for my own destruction. However, I heartily wish the Romans may prove treacherous in this matter; for if, after their offer of their right hand for security, I be slain by them, I shall die cheerfully, and carry away with me the sense of their perfidiousness, as a consolation greater than victory itself."

(6) [383] Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰώσηπος πολλὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀποτροπὴν τῆς αὐτοχειρίας ἔλεγεν: [384] οἱ δὲ πεφραγμένας ἀπογνώσει τὰς ἀκοὰς ἔχοντες ὡς ἂν πάλαι καθοσιώσαντες ἑαυτοὺς τῷ θανάτῳ παρωξύνοντο πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ προστρέχων ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν ξιφήρεις ἐκάκιζόν τε εἰς ἀνανδρίαν καὶ ὡς ἕκαστος αὐτίκα πλήξων δῆλος ἦν. [385] ὁ δὲ τὸν μὲν ὀνομαστὶ καλῶν, τῷ δὲ στρατηγικώτερον ἐμβλέπων, τοῦ δὲ δρασσόμενος τῆς δεξιᾶς, ὃν δὲ δεήσει δυσωπῶν, καὶ ποικίλοις διαιρούμενος πάθεσιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνάγκης εἶργεν ἀπὸ τῆς σφαγῆς πάντων τὸν σίδηρον, ὥσπερ τὰ κυκλωθέντα τῶν θηρίων ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸν καθαπτόμενον ἀντιστρεφόμενος. [386] τῶν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἐσχάτας συμφορὰς ἔτι τὸν στρατηγὸν αἰδουμένων παρελύοντο μὲν αἱ δεξιαί, περιωλίσθανεν δὲ τὰ ξίφη, καὶ πολλοὶ τὰς ῥομφαίας ἐπιφέροντες αὐτομάτως παρεῖσαν.

6. Now these and many the like motives did Josephus use to these men to prevent their murdering themselves; but desperation had shut their ears, as having long ago devoted themselves to die, and they were irritated at Josephus. They then ran upon him with their swords in their hands, one from one quarter, and another from another, and called him a coward, and everyone of them appeared openly

as if he were ready to smite him; but he calling to one of them by name, and looking like a general to another, and taking a third by the hand, and making a fourth ashamed of himself, by praying him to forbear, and being in this condition distracted with various passions, [as he well might in the great distress he was then in,] he kept off every one of their swords from killing him, and was forced to do like such wild beasts as are encompassed about on every side, who always turn themselves against those that last touched them. Nay, some of their right hands were debilitated by the reverence they bare to their general in these his fatal calamities, and their swords dropped out of their hands; and not a few of them there were, who, when they aimed to smite him with their swords, they were not thoroughly either willing or able to do it.

(7) [387] Ὁ δ' ἐν ταῖς ἀμηχανίαις οὐκ ἠπόρησεν ἐπινοίας, ἀλλὰ πιστεύων τῷ κηδεμόνι θεῷ τὴν σωτηρίαν παραβάλλεται, [388] κἀπεὶ δέδοκται τὸ θνήσκειν, ἔφη, φέρε κλήρῳ τὰς ἀλλήλων σφαγὰς ἐπιτρέψωμεν, [389] ὁ λαχὼν δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ μετ' αὐτὸν πιπτέτω, καὶ διοδεύσει πάντων οὕτως ἡ τύχη, μηδ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας κείσθω δεξιᾶς ἕκαστος: ἄδικον γὰρ οἰχομένων τινὰ τῶν ἄλλων μετανοήσαντα σωθῆναι." πιστὸς ἔδοξεν ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ συνεκληροῦτο πείσας. [390] ἑτοίμην δ' ὁ λαχὼν τῷ μεθ' αὐτὸν παρεῖχεν τὴν σφαγὴν ὡς αὐτίκα τεθνηξομένου καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ: ζωῆς γὰρ ἡδίω τὸν μετὰ [τοῦ] Ἰωσήπου θάνατον ἡγοῦντο. [391] καταλείπεται δ' οὗτος εἴτε ὑπὸ τύχης χρὴ λέγειν, εἴτε ὑπὸ θεοῦ προνοίας σὺν ἑτέρῳ, καὶ σπουδάζων μήθ' ὑπὸ τοῦ κλήρου καταδικασθῆναι μήτε, εἰ τελευταῖος λείποιτο, μιᾶναι τὴν δεξιὰν ὁμοφύλῳ φόνῳ πείθει κἀκεῖνον ἐπὶ πίστει ζῆν.

7. However, in this extreme distress, he was not destitute of his usual sagacity; but trusting himself to the providence of God, he put his life into hazard [in the manner following]: "And now," said he, "since it is resolved among you that you will die, come on, let us commit our mutual deaths to determination by lot. He whom the lot falls to first, let him be killed by him that hath the second lot, and thus fortune shall make its progress through us all; nor shall any of us perish by his own right hand, for it would be unfair if, when the rest are gone, somebody should repent and save himself." This proposal appeared to them to be very just; and when he had prevailed with them to determine this matter by lots, he drew one of the lots for himself also. He who had the first lot laid his neck bare to him that had the next, as supposing that the general would die among them immediately; for they thought death, if Josephus might but die with them, was sweeter than life; yet was he with another left to the last, whether we must say it happened so by chance, or whether by the providence of God. And as he was very desirous neither to be condemned by the lot, nor, if he had been left to the

last, to imbrue his right hand in the blood of his countrymen, he persuaded him to trust his fidelity to him, and to live as well as himself.

(8) [392] Ὁ μὲν οὖν οὕτως τόν τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὸν οἰκείων διαφυγὼν πόλεμον ἐπὶ Οὐεσπασιανὸν ἤγετο ὑπὸ [τοῦ] Νικάνορος. [393] οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι πάντες ἐπὶ θέαν αὐτοῦ συνέτρεχον, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους συνθλιβομένου περὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ θόρυβος ἦν ποικίλος, τῶν μὲν γεγηθότων ἐπὶ τῷ ληφθέντι, τῶν δ᾽ ἀπειλούντων, τῶν δ᾽ ἐγγύθεν ἰδεῖν βιαζομένων. [394] καὶ οἱ μὲν πόρρωθεν κολάζειν ἐβόων τὸν πολέμιον, τῶν δὲ πλησίον ἀνάμνησις αὐτοῦ τῶν ἔργων εἰσῄει καὶ πρὸς τὴν μεταβολὴν θάμβος, [395] τῶν τε ἡγεμόνων οὐδεὶς ἦν, ὃς εἰ καὶ πρότερον ὠργίζετο, τότε πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν οὐκ ἐνέδωκεν αὐτοῦ. [396] μάλιστα δὲ τὸν Τίτον ἐξαιρέτως τό τε καρτερικὸν ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἦρει τοῦ Ἰωσήπου καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἡλικίαν ἔλεος, ἀναμιμνησκομένῳ τε τὸν πάλαι μαχόμενον καὶ τὸν ἐν χερσὶν ἐχθρῶν ἄρτι κείμενον ὁρῶντι παρῆν [δὲ] νοεῖν, ὅσον δύναται τύχη, καὶ ὡς ὀξεῖα μὲν πολέμου ῥοπή, τῶν δ᾽ ἀνθρωπίνων οὐδὲν βέβαιον: [397] παρὸ καὶ τότε συνδιέθηκεν μὲν πλείστους ἑαυτῷ καὶ πρὸς οἶκτον τοῦ Ἰωσήπου, πλείστη δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ μοῖρα σωτηρίας ἐγένετο. [398] ὁ μέντοι Οὐεσπασιανὸς φρουρεῖν αὐτὸν μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας προσέταττεν ὡς ἀναπέμψων αὐτίκα Νέρωνι.

8. Thus Josephus escaped in the war with the Romans, and in this his own war with his friends, and was led by Nicanor to Vespasian. But now all the Romans ran together to see him; and as the multitude pressed one upon another about their general, there was a tumult of a various kind; while some rejoiced that Josephus was taken, and some threatened him, and some crowded to see him very near; but those that were more remote cried out to have this their enemy put to death, while those that were near called to mind the actions he had done, and a deep concern appeared at the change of his fortune. Nor were there any of the Roman commanders, how much soever they had been enraged at him before, but relented when they came to the sight of him. Above all the rest, Titus's own valor, and Josephus's own patience under his afflictions, made him pity him, as did also the commiseration of his age, when he recalled to mind that but a little while ago he was fighting, but lay now in the hands of his enemies, which made him consider the power of fortune, and how quick is the turn of affairs in war, and how no state of men is sure; for which reason he then made a great many more to be of the same pitiful temper with himself, and induced them to commiserate Josephus. He was also of great weight in persuading his father to preserve him. However, Vespasian gave strict orders that he should be kept with great caution, as though he would in a very little time send him to Nero.

(9) [399] Τοῦτο ἀκούσας ὁ Ἰώσηπος μόνῳ τι διαλεχθῆναι θέλειν ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ. μεταστησαμένου δ' ἐκείνου πλὴν τοῦ παιδὸς Τίτου καὶ δυοῖν φίλων τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας "σὺ μέν, [400] ἔφη, Οὐεσπασιανέ, νομίζεις αἰχμάλωτον αὐτὸ μόνον εἰληφέναι Ἰώσηπον, ἐγὼ δὲ ἄγγελος ἥκω σοι μειζόνων. μὴ γὰρ ὑπὸ θεοῦ προπεμπόμενος ᾔδειν τὸν Ἰουδαίων νόμον, καὶ πῶς στρατηγοῖς ἀποθνήσκειν πρέπει. [401] Νέρωνί με πέμπεις: τί γάρ; Οἱ μετὰ Νέρωνα μέχρι σοῦ διάδοχοι μενοῦσιν. σὺ Καῖσαρ, Οὐεσπασιανέ, καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ, σὺ καὶ παῖς ὁ σὸς οὗτος. [402] δέσμει δέ με νῦν ἀσφαλέστερον, καὶ τήρει σεαυτῷ: δεσπότης μὲν γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἐμοῦ σὺ Καῖσαρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης καὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων γένους, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν δέομαι φρουρᾶς μείζονος, [403] εἰ κατασχεδιάζω καὶ θεοῦ." ταῦτ' εἰπόντος παραχρῆμα μὲν Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἀπιστεῖν ἐδόκει καὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ὑπελάμβανεν ταῦτα περὶ σωτηρίας πανουργεῖν, [404] κατὰ μικρὸν δὲ εἰς πίστιν ὑπήγετο τοῦ θεοῦ διεγείροντος αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἤδη καὶ τὰ σκῆπτρα δι' ἑτέρων σημείων προδεικνύντος. [405] ἀτρεκῆ δὲ τὸν Ἰώσηπον καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις κατελάμβανεν: τῶν γὰρ τοῖς ἀπορρήτοις παρατυχόντων φίλων ὁ ἕτερος θαυμάζειν ἔφη πῶς οὔτε τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰωταπάτων περὶ ἁλώσεως, οὔθ' ἑαυτῷ προμαντεύσαιτο αἰχμαλωσίαν, εἰ μὴ ταῦτα λῆρος εἴη διακρουομένου τὰς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὀργάς. [406] ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος καὶ τοῖς Ἰωταπατηνοῖς ὅτι μετὰ τεσσαρακοστὴν ἑβδόμην ἡμέραν ἁλώσονται προειπεῖν ἔφη, καὶ ὅτι πρὸς Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸς ζωγρηθήσεται. [407] ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων κατ' ἰδίαν ὁ Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐκπυθόμενος ὡς εὕρισκεν ἀληθῆ, οὕτω πιστεύειν περὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἦρκτο. [408] φρουρᾶς μὲν οὖν καὶ δεσμῶν οὐκ ἀνίει τὸν Ἰώσηπον, ἐδωρεῖτο δ' ἐσθῆτι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κειμηλίοις φιλοφρονούμενός τε καὶ περιέπων διετέλει τὰ πολλὰ Τίτου τῇ τιμῇ συνεργοῦντος.

9. When Josephus heard him give those orders, he said that he had somewhat in his mind that he would willingly say to himself alone. When therefore they were all ordered to withdraw, excepting Titus and two of their friends, he said, "Thou, O Vespasian, thinkest no more than that thou hast taken Josephus himself captive; but I come to thee as a messenger of greater tidings; for had not I been sent by God to thee, I knew what was the law of the Jews in this case? and how it becomes generals to die. Dost thou send me to Nero? For why? Are Nero's successors till they come to thee still alive? Thou, O Vespasian, art Caesar and emperor, thou, and this thy son. Bind me now still faster, and keep me for thyself, for thou, O Caesar, are not only lord over me, but over the land and the sea, and all mankind; and certainly I deserve to be kept in closer custody than I now am in, in order to be punished, if I rashly affirm any thing of God." When he had said this, Vespasian at present did not believe him, but supposed that Josephus said this as a cunning trick, in order to his own preservation; but in a

little time he was convinced, and believed what he said to be true, God himself erecting his expectations, so as to think of obtaining the empire, and by other signs fore-showing his advancement. He also found Josephus to have spoken truth on other occasions; for one of those friends that were present at that secret conference said to Josephus, “I cannot but wonder how thou couldst not foretell to the people of Jotapata that they should be taken, nor couldst foretell this captivity which hath happened to thyself, unless what thou now sayest be a vain thing, in order to avoid the rage that is risen against thyself.” To which Josephus replied, “I did foretell to the people of Jotapata that they would be taken on the forty-seventh day, and that I should be caught alive by the Romans.” Now when Vespasian had inquired of the captives privately about these predictions, he found them to be true, and then he began to believe those that concerned himself. Yet did he not set Josephus at liberty from his hands, but bestowed on him suits of clothes, and other precious gifts; he treated him also in a very obliging manner, and continued so to do, Titus still joining his interest in the honors that were done him.

IX

CHAPTER 9.

How Joppa Was Taken, And Tiberias Delivered Up.

(1) [409] Τετάρτῃ δὲ Πανέμου μηνὸς ἀναζεύξας εἰς Πτολεμαίδα κἀκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν παράλιον ἀφικνεῖται Καισάρειαν, μεγίστην τῆς τε Ἰουδαίας πόλιν καὶ τὸ πλέον ὑφ᾽ Ἑλλήνων οἰκουμένην. [410] ἐδέχοντο δὲ καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν μετὰ πάσης εὐφημίας καὶ φιλοφροσύνης οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, καὶ κατ᾽ εὔνοιαν μὲν τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, τὸ δὲ πλέον ἔχθει τῶν κατεστραμμένων: διὸ καὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἀθρόοι καταβοῶντες ἠξίουν κολάζειν. [411] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ τὴν περὶ τούτου δέησιν ὡς ὑπ᾽ ἀκρίτου γινομένην πλήθους ἐξέλυσεν ἡσυχίᾳ: [412] τῶν δὲ ταγμάτων τὰ μὲν δύο χειμερίσοντα ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ τῆς Καισαρείας ἐπιτήδειον ὁρῶν τὴν πόλιν, τὸ δέκατον δὲ καὶ πέμπτον εἰς Σκυθόπολιν, ὡς μὴ θλίβοι παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ τὴν Καισάρειαν. [413] ἀλεεινὴ δ᾽ ἦν κἀκείνη χειμῶνος ὥρᾳ καθ᾽ ὅσον πνιγώδης θέρους ὑπὸ καυμάτων, πεδιὰς οὖσα καὶ παράλιος.

1. Now Vespasian returned to Ptolemais on the fourth day of the month Panemus, [Tamus] and from thence he came to Cesarea, which lay by the sea-side. This was a very great city of Judea, and for the greatest part inhabited by Greeks: the citizens here received both the Roman army and its general, with all sorts of acclamations and rejoicings, and this partly out of the good-will they bore to the Romans, but principally out of the hatred they bore to those that were conquered

by them; on which account they came clamoring against Josephus in crowds, and desired he might be put to death. But Vespasian passed over this petition concerning him, as offered by the injudicious multitude, with a bare silence. Two of the legions also he placed at Cesarea, that they might there take their winter-quarters, as perceiving the city very fit for such a purpose; but he placed the tenth and the fifth at Scythopolis, that he might not distress Cesarea with the entire army. This place was warm even in winter, as it was suffocating hot in the summer time, by reason of its situation in a plain, and near to the sea [of Galilee].

(2) [414] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ συναθροισθέντες οἵ τε κατὰ στάσιν ἐκπίπτοντες τῶν πόλεων καὶ οἱ διαφυγόντες ἐκ τῶν κατεστραμμένων, πλῆθος οὐκ ὀλίγον, ἀνακτίζουσιν Ἰόππην ὁρμητήριον σφίσιν, ἐρημωθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Κεστίου πρότερον, [415] καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐκπεπολεμωμένης ἀνειργόμενοι μεταβαίνειν ἔγνωσαν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. [416] πηξάμενοί τε πειρατικὰ σκάφη πλεῖστα τόν τε Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ τὸν ἐπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου πόρον ἐλῄστευον, ἄπλωτά τε πᾶσιν ἐποίουν τὰ τῇδε πελάγη. [417] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ὡς ἔγνω τὴν σύνταξιν αὐτῶν, πέμπει πεζούς τε καὶ ἱππεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰόππην, οἳ νύκτωρ ὡς ἀφύλακτον εἰσέρχονται τὴν πόλιν. [418] οἱ δ᾽ ἐν αὐτῇ προῄσθοντο μὲν τὴν εἰσβολὴν καὶ καταδείσαντες τοῦ μὲν εἴργειν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀπετρέποντο, συμφυγόντες δὲ εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐξωτέρω βέλους διενυκτέρευσαν.

2. In the mean time, there were gathered together as well such as had seditiously got out from among their enemies, as those that had escaped out of the demolished cities, which were in all a great number, and repaired Joppa, which had been left desolate by Cestius, that it might serve them for a place of refuge; and because the adjoining region had been laid waste in the war, and was not capable of supporting them, they determined to go off to sea. They also built themselves a great many piratical ships, and turned pirates upon the seas near to Syria, and Phoenicia, and Egypt, and made those seas unnavigable to all men. Now as soon as Vespasian knew of their conspiracy, he sent both footmen and horsemen to Joppa, which was unguarded in the night time; however, those that were in it perceived that they should be attacked, and were afraid of it; yet did they not endeavor to keep the Romans out, but fled to their ships, and lay at sea all night, out of the reach of their darts.

(3) [419] Ἀλιμένου δ᾽ οὔσης φύσει τῆς Ἰόππης, αἰγιαλῷ γὰρ ἐπιλήγει τραχεῖ καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πᾶν ὀρθίῳ, βραχὺ δὲ συννεύοντι κατὰ τὰς κεραίας ἑκατέρωθεν: [420] αἱ δέ εἰσιν κρημνοὶ βαθεῖς καὶ προύχουσαι σπιλάδες εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, ἔνθα καὶ τῶν Ἀνδρομέδας δεσμῶν ἔτι δεικνύμενοι τύποι πιστοῦνται τὴν ἀρχαιότητα τοῦ μύθου, [421] τύπτων δὲ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐναντίος βορέας καὶ πρὸς ταῖς δεχομέναις

πέτραις ὑψηλὸν ἀναπέμπων τὸ κῦμα σφαλερώτερον ἐρημίας τὸν ὅρμον ἀπεργάζεται: [422] κατὰ τοῦτον σαλεύουσιν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰόππης ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω πνεῦμα βίαιον ἐπιπίπτει: μελαμβόριον ὑπὸ τῶν ταύτῃ πλοιζομένων καλεῖται: [423] καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀλλήλαις τῶν νεῶν αὐτόθι συνήραξεν, τὰς δὲ πρὸς ταῖς πέτραις, πολλὰς δὲ πρὸς ἀντίον κῦμα βιαζομένας εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, τόν τε γὰρ αἰγιαλὸν ὄντα πετρώδη καὶ τοὺς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πολεμίους ἐδεδοίκεσαν, μετέωρος ὑπεραρθεὶς ὁ κλύδων ἐβάπτιζεν. [424] ἦν δ᾽ οὔτε φυγῆς τόπος οὔτε μένουσιν σωτηρία, βίᾳ μὲν ἀνέμου τῆς θαλάσσης ἐξωθουμένοις, Ῥωμαίων δὲ τῆς πόλεως. καὶ πολλὴ μὲν οἰμωγὴ συρρηγνυμένων ἐγίνετο τῶν σκαφῶν, πολὺς δ᾽ ἀγνυμένων ὁ ψόφος. [425] καὶ τοῦ πλήθους οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων καλυπτόμενοι διεφθείροντο, πολλοὶ δὲ τοῖς ναυαγίοις ἐμπλεκόμενοι: τινὲς δὲ ὡς κουφοτέρῳ τὴν θάλατταν ἔφθανον τῷ σιδήρῳ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀναιροῦντες. [426] τό γε μὴν πλεῖστον ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων ἐκφερόμενον περιεξαίνετο ταῖς ἀπορρῶξιν, ὡς αἱμαχθῆναι μὲν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τὸ πέλαγος, πληρωθῆναι δὲ νεκρῶν τὴν παράλιον: καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐκφερομένους ἐφεστῶτες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διέφθειρον. [427] ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῶν ἐκβρασθέντων σωμάτων τετρακισχίλιοι πρὸς τοῖς διακοσίοις ἦν. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ λαβόντες ἀμαχητὶ τὴν πόλιν κατασκάπτουσιν.

3. Now Joppa is not naturally a haven, for it ends in a rough shore, where all the rest of it is straight, but the two ends bend towards each other, where there are deep precipices, and great stones that jut out into the sea, and where the chains wherewith Andromeda was bound have left their footsteps, which attest to the antiquity of that fable. But the north wind opposes and beats upon the shore, and dashes mighty waves against the rocks which receive them, and renders the haven more dangerous than the country they had deserted. Now as those people of Joppa were floating about in this sea, in the morning there fell a violent wind upon them; it is called by those that sail there “the black north wind,” and there dashed their ships one against another, and dashed some of them against the rocks, and carried many of them by force, while they strove against the opposite waves, into the main sea; for the shore was so rocky, and had so many of the enemy upon it, that they were afraid to come to land; nay, the waves rose so very high, that they drowned them; nor was there any place whither they could fly, nor any way to save themselves; while they were thrust out of the sea, by the violence of the wind, if they staid where they were, and out of the city by the violence of the Romans. And much lamentation there was when the ships were dashed against one another, and a terrible noise when they were broken to pieces; and some of the multitude that were in them were covered with waves, and so perished, and a great many were embarrassed with shipwrecks. But some of them thought that to die by their own swords was lighter than by the sea, and

so they killed themselves before they were drowned; although the greatest part of them were carried by the waves, and dashed to pieces against the abrupt parts of the rocks, insomuch that the sea was bloody a long way, and the maritime parts were full of dead bodies; for the Romans came upon those that were carried to the shore, and destroyed them; and the number of the bodies that were thus thrown out of the sea was four thousand and two hundred. The Romans also took the city without opposition, and utterly demolished it.

(4) [428] Ἰόππη μὲν οὖν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ δεύτερον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἑάλω. [429] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ὡς μὴ πάλιν οἱ πειραταὶ συναλισθεῖεν εἰς αὐτήν, στρατόπεδόν τε ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐγείρει καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν ἐν αὐτῷ καταλείπει μετὰ πεζῶν ὀλίγων, [430] ἵν' οὗτοι μὲν κατὰ χώραν μένοντες φρουρῶσι τὸ στρατόπεδον, οἱ δ' ἱππεῖς προνομεύωσι τὴν πέριξ καὶ τὰς περιοίκους κώμας τε καὶ πολίχνας ἐξαιρῶσιν τῆς Ἰόππης. [431] οἱ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὰ προσταχθέντα τὴν χώραν κατατρέχοντες καθ' ἡμέραν ἔτεμνόν τε καὶ ἠρήμουν ἅπασαν.

4. And thus was Joppa taken twice by the Romans in a little time; but Vespasian, in order to prevent these pirates from coming thither any more, erected a camp there, where the citadel of Joppa had been, and left a body of horse in it, with a few footmen, that these last might stay there and guard the camp, and the horsemen might spoil the country that lay round it, and might destroy the neighboring villages and smaller cities. So these troops overran the country, as they were ordered to do, and every day cut to pieces and laid desolate the whole region.

(5) [432] Ὡς δὲ εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα τὸ κατὰ τὴν Ἰωταπάτην πάθος ἠγγέλη, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἠπίστουν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς συμφορᾶς καὶ διὰ τὸ μηδένα τῶν λεγομένων αὐτόπτην παρεῖναι: [433] διεσώθη γὰρ οὐδὲ ἄγγελος, ἀλλ' αὐτοματὶ διεκήρυσσεν φήμη τὴν ἅλωσιν οἰκεία φύσει τῶν σκυθρωποτέρων. [434] κατ' ὀλίγον δὲ διὰ τῶν προσχώρων ὥδευε τἀληθὲς καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀμφιβολίας ἦν ἤδη βεβαιότερον, προσεσχεδιάζετό γε μὴν τοῖς πεπραγμένοις καὶ τὰ μὴ γενόμενα: τεθνεὼς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἁλώσεως καὶ ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἠγγέλλετο. [435] τοῦτο μεγίστου τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πένθους ἐπλήρωσεν: κατὰ μέν γε οἴκους καὶ κατὰ συγγενείας οἷς προσήκων ἕκαστος ἦν τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἐθρηνεῖτο, [436] τὸ δ' ἐπὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ πένθος ἐδημεύθη, καὶ οἱ μὲν ξένους, οἱ δὲ συγγενεῖς, οἱ δὲ φίλους ἐθρήνουν, τὸν Ἰώσηπον δὲ πάντες, [437] ὡς ἐπὶ τριακοστὴν μὲν ἡμέραν μὴ διαλιπεῖν τὰς ὀλοφύρσεις ἐν τῇ πόλει, πλείστους δὲ μισθοῦσθαι τοὺς αὐλητάς, οἳ θρήνων αὐτοῖς ἐξῆρχον.

5. But now, when the fate of Jotapata was related at Jerusalem, a great many at the first disbelieved it, on account of the vastness of the calamity, and because

they had no eye-witness to attest the truth of what was related about it; for not one person was saved to be a messenger of that news, but a fame was spread abroad at random that the city was taken, as such fame usually spreads bad news about. However, the truth was known by degrees, from the places near Jotapata, and appeared to all to be too true. Yet were there fictitious stories added to what was really done; for it was reported that Josephus was slain at the taking of the city, which piece of news filled Jerusalem full of sorrow. In every house also, and among all to whom any of the slain were allied, there was a lamentation for them; but the mourning for the commander was a public one; and some mourned for those that had lived with them, others for their kindred, others for their friends, and others for their brethren, but all mourned for Josephus; insomuch that the lamentation did not cease in the city before the thirtieth day; and a great many hired mourners, with their pipes, who should begin the melancholy ditties for them.

(6) [438] Ὡς δὲ τἀληθῆ διεκαλύπτετο τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰωταπάτην ὥσπερ εἶχεν, ἐσχεδιασμένον δὲ τὸ κατὰ τὸν Ἰώσηπον πάθος εὑρίσκετο, ζῆν δ' αὐτὸν ἔγνωσαν καὶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ὄντα καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἡγεμόνων πλέον ἢ κατ' αἰχμαλώτου τύχην περιέπεσθαι, τοσοῦτον ὀργῆς ἐπὶ ζῶντος ὅσον εὐνοίας ἐπὶ τεθνάναι δοκοῦντος πρότερον ἀνελάμβανον. [439] καὶ παρ' οἷς μὲν εἰς ἀνανδρίαν, παρ' οἷς δὲ εἰς προδοσίαν ἐκακίζετο, πλήρης τε ἀγανακτήσεως ἦν καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτοῦ βλασφημιῶν ἡ πόλις. [440] παρωξύνοντο δὲ ταῖς πληγαῖς καὶ προσεξεκαίοντο ταῖς κακοπραγίαις: τό γε μὴν πταίειν, ὃ γίνεται τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν ἀσφαλείας καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων φυλακῆς αἴτιον, ἐκείνοις κέντρον ἐτέρων ἐγίνετο συμφορῶν: καὶ τὸ τέλος ἀεὶ τῶν κακῶν αὖθις ἀρχή: [441] μᾶλλον γοῦν ὥρμων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὡς καὶ Ἰώσηπον ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀμυνούμενοι. [442] τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τοιοῦτοι θόρυβοι κατεῖχον.

6. But as the truth came out in time, it appeared how the affairs of Jotapata really stood; yet was it found that the death of Josephus was a fiction; and when they understood that he was alive, and was among the Romans, and that the commanders treated him at another rate than they treated captives, they were as vehemently angry at him now as they had showed their good-will before, when he appeared to have been dead. He was also abused by some as having been a coward, and by others as a deserter; and the city was full of indignation at him, and of reproaches cast upon him; their rage was also aggravated by their afflictions, and more inflamed by their ill success; and what usually becomes an occasion of caution to wise men, I mean affliction, became a spur to them to venture on further calamities, and the end of one misery became still the beginning of another; they therefore resolved to fall on the Romans the more

vehemently, as resolving to be revenged on him in revenging themselves on the Romans. And this was the state of Jerusalem as to the troubles which now came upon it.

(7) [443] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ καθ᾽ ἱστορίαν τῆς Ἀγρίππα βασιλείας, ἐνῆγεν γὰρ βασιλεὺς αὐτόν, ἅμα καὶ δεξιώσασθαι τὸν ἡγεμόνα σὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ τῷ κατὰ τὸν οἶκον ὅλβῳ προαιρούμενος καὶ καταστεῖλαι δι᾽ αὐτῶν τὰ νοσοῦντα τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἄρας ἀπὸ τῆς παράλου Καισαρείας εἰς τὴν Φιλίππου καλουμένην μεταβαίνει Καισάρειαν. [444] ἔνθα μέχρι μὲν ἡμερῶν εἴκοσι τὴν στρατιὰν διαναπαύων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν εὐωχίαις ἦν, ἀποδιδοὺς τῷ θεῷ χαριστήρια τῶν κατωρθωμένων. [445] ὡς δ᾽ αὐτῷ Τιβεριὰς μὲν νεωτερίζειν, ἀφεστάναι δὲ ἠγγέλλοντο Ταριχέαι, μοῖρα δὲ τῆς Ἀγρίππα βασιλείας ἦσαν ἀμφότεραι, πανταχόθεν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καταστρέφεσθαι διεγνωκὼς τὴν ἐπὶ τούτους στρατείαν εὔκαιρον ἡγεῖτο καὶ δι᾽ Ἀγρίππαν, ὡς εἰς ξενίας ἀμοιβὴν σωφρονίσων αὐτῷ τὰς πόλεις. [446] πέμπει δὴ τὸν υἱὸν Τίτον εἰς Καισάρειαν μετάξοντα τὴν ἐκεῖθεν στρατιὰν εἰς Σκυθόπολιν: ἡ δ᾽ ἐστὶν μεγίστη τῆς δεκαπόλεως καὶ γειτων τῆς Τιβεριάδος. [447] ἔνθα καὶ αὐτὸς παραγενόμενος ἐκδέχεται τὸν υἱὸν καὶ μετὰ τριῶν ταγμάτων προελθὼν στρατοπεδεύεται μὲν ἀπὸ τριάκοντα τῆς Τιβεριάδος σταδίων κατά τινα σταθμὸν εὐσύνοπτον τοῖς νεωτερίζουσιν: [448] Ἔνναβρις ὀνομάζεται. πέμπει δὲ δεκαδάρχην Οὐαλεριανὸν σὺν ἱππεῦσιν πεντήκοντα διαλεχθησόμενον εἰρηνικὰ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ προτρεψόμενον ἐπὶ πίστεις: ἀκηκόει γάρ, ὡς ἐπιθυμοίη μὲν εἰρήνης ὁ δῆμος, καταστασιάζοιτο δ᾽ ὑπό τινων πολεμεῖν βιαζομένων. [449] προσελάσας δὲ Οὐαλεριανὸς ἐπεὶ πλησίον ἦν τοῦ τείχους, αὐτός τε καταβαίνει καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν ἱππέων ἀπέβησεν, ὡς μὴ δοκοῖεν ἀκροβολιζόμενοι παρεῖναι. καὶ πρὶν εἰς λόγους ἐλθεῖν [450] ἐπεκθέουσιν αὐτῷ τῶν στασιαστῶν οἱ δυνατώτατοι μεθ᾽ ὅπλων. ἐξηγεῖτο δ᾽ αὐτῶν Ἰησοῦς τις ὄνομα παῖς Τοῦφα τοῦ λῃστρικοῦ στίφους ὁ κορυφαιότατος. [451] Οὐαλεριανὸς δὲ οὔτε παρὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ συμβαλεῖν ἀσφαλὲς ἡγούμενος, εἰ καὶ τὸ νικᾶν εἴη βέβαιον, καὶ σφαλερὸν τὸ μάχεσθαι πολλοῖς μετ᾽ ὀλίγων ἀπαρασκευάστοις τε πρὸς ἑτοίμους, [452] καὶ ἄλλως ἐκπλαγεὶς τὴν ἀδόκητον τῶν Ἰουδαίων τόλμαν, φεύγει πεζός, ἕτεροί τε ὁμοίως πέντε τοὺς ἵππους ἀπέλιπον, οὓς οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπήγαγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν γεγηθότες ὡς μάχῃ ληφθέντας οὐκ ἐνέδρᾳ.

7. But Vespasian, in order to see the kingdom of Agrippa, while the king persuaded himself so to do, [partly in order to his treating the general and his army in the best and most splendid manner his private affairs would enable him to do, and partly that he might, by their means, correct such things as were amiss in his government,] he removed from that Cesarea which was by the sea-side, and went to that which is called Cesarea Philippi and there he refreshed his army for twenty days, and was himself feasted by king Agrippa, where he also

returned public thanks to God for the good success he had had in his undertakings. But as soon as he was informed that Tiberias was fond of innovations, and that Taricheae had revolted, both which cities were parts of the kingdom of Agrippa, and was satisfied within himself that the Jews were every where perverted [from their obedience to their governors], he thought it seasonable to make an expedition against these cities, and that for the sake of Agrippa, and in order to bring his cities to reason. So he sent away his son Titus to [the other] Cesarea, that he might bring the army that lay there to Seythopous, which is the largest city of Decapolis, and in the neighborhood of Tiberias, whither he came, and where he waited for his son. He then came with three legions, and pitched his camp thirty furlongs off Tiberias, at a certain station easily seen by the innovators; it is named Sennabris. He also sent Valerian, a decurion, with fifty horsemen, to speak peaceably to those that were in the city, and to exhort them to give him assurances of their fidelity; for he had heard that the people were desirous of peace, but were obliged by some of the seditious part to join with them, and so were forced to fight for them. When Valerian had marched up to the place, and was near the wall, he alighted off his horse, and made those that were with him to do the same, that they might not be thought to come to skirmish with them; but before they could come to a discourse one with another, the most potent men among the seditious made a sally upon them armed; their leader was one whose name was Jesus, the son of Shaphat, the principal head of a band of robbers. Now Valerian, neither thinking it safe to fight contrary to the commands of the general, though he were secure of a victory, and knowing that it was a very hazardous undertaking for a few to fight with many, for those that were unprovided to fight those that were ready, and being on other accounts surprised at this unexpected onset of the Jews, he ran away on foot, as did five of the rest in like manner, and left their horses behind them; which horses Jesus led away into the city, and rejoiced as if they had taken them in battle, and not by treachery.

(8) [453] Τοῦτο καταδείσαντες οἱ γηραιοὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ προύχειν δοκοῦντες φεύγουσι μὲν εἰς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον, [454] ἐπαγόμενοι δὲ τὸν βασιλέα προσπίπτουσιν ἱκέται Οὐεσπασιανῷ, μὴ σφᾶς περιδεῖν δεόμενοι, μηδὲ τὴν ὀλίγων ἀπόνοιαν ἡγήσασθαι τῆς πόλεως ὅλης: [455] φείσασθαι δὲ τοῦ δήμου Ῥωμαίοις φίλα φρονοῦντος ἀεί, καὶ τοὺς αἰτίους τιμωρήσασθαι τῆς ἀποστάσεως, ὑφ᾽ ὧν αὐτοὶ φρουρηθῆναι μέχρι νῦν ἐπὶ δεξιὰς ἐπειγόμενοι πάλαι. [456] ταύταις ἐνεδίδου ταῖς ἱκεσίαις ὁ στρατηγὸς καίτοι διὰ τὴν ἁρπαγὴν τῶν ἵππων ἐφ᾽ ὅλην ὠργισμένος τὴν πόλιν: καὶ γὰρ ἀγωνιῶντα περὶ αὐτῆς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἑώρα. [457] λαβόντων δὲ τούτων τῷ δήμῳ δεξιὰς οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν οὐκέτι ἀσφαλὲς

ἡγούμενοι μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς Τιβεριάδος εἰς Ταριχέας ἀποδιδράσκουσιν. [458] καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν Οὐεσπασιανὸς σὺν ἱππεῦσιν προπέμπει πρὸς τὴν ἀκρώρειαν Τραιανὸν ἀποπειραθῆναι τοῦ πλήθους, εἰ πάντες εἰρηνικὰ φρονοῖεν. [459] ὡς δ' ἔγνω τὸν δῆμον ὁμοφρονοῦντα τοῖς ἱκέταις, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ᾔει πρὸς τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ τάς τε πύλας ἀνοίγουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ μετ' εὐφημιῶν ὑπήντων σωτῆρα καὶ εὐεργέτην ἀνακαλοῦντες. [460] τῆς δὲ στρατιᾶς τριβομένης περὶ τὴν τῶν εἰσόδων στενότητα παραρρῆξαι τοῦ κατὰ μεσημβρίαν τείχους Οὐεσπασιανὸς κελεύσας πλατύνει τὴν εἰσβολὴν αὐτοῖς. [461] ἁρπαγῆς μέντοι καὶ ὕβρεως ἀπέχεσθαι παρήγγειλεν τῷ βασιλεῖ χαριζόμενος, τῶν τε τειχῶν διὰ τοῦτον ἐφείσατο συμμενεῖν πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ἐγγυωμένου τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ πολλὰ κεκακωμένην τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῆς στάσεως ἀνελάμβανεν.

8. Now the seniors of the people, and such as were of principal authority among them, fearing what would be the issue of this matter, fled to the camp of the Romans; they then took their king along with them, and fell down before Vespasian, to supplicate his favor, and besought him not to overlook them, nor to impute the madness of a few to the whole city, to spare a people that have been ever civil and obliging to the Romans; but to bring the authors of this revolt to due punishment, who had hitherto so watched them, that though they were zealous to give them the security of their right hands of a long time, yet could they not accomplish the same. With these supplications the general complied, although he were very angry at the whole city about the carrying off his horses, and this because he saw that Agrippa was under a great concern for them. So when Vespasian and Agrippa had accepted of their right hands by way of security, Jesus and his party thought it not safe for them to continue at Tiberias, so they ran away to Taricheae. The next day Vespasian sent Trajan before with some horsemen to the citadel, to make trial of the multitude, whether they were all disposed for peace; and as soon as he knew that the people were of the same mind with the petitioner, he took his army, and went to the city; upon which the citizens opened to him their gates, and met him with acclamations of joy, and called him their savior and benefactor. But as the army was a great while in getting in at the gates, they were so narrow, Vespasian commanded the south wall to be broken down, and so made a broad passage for their entrance. However, he charged them to abstain from rapine and injustice, in order to gratify the king; and on his account spared the rest of the wall, while the king undertook for them that they should continue [faithful to the Romans] for the time to come. And thus did he restore this city to a quiet state, after it had been grievously afflicted by the sedition.

X

CHAPTER 10.

How Taricheae Was Taken. A Description Of The River Jordan,

And Of The Country Of Gennesareth.

(1) [462] Ἔπειτα προελθὼν αὐτῆς τε μεταξὺ καὶ Ταριχεῶν στρατοπεδεύεται, τειχίζει τε τὴν παρεμβολὴν ὀχυρωτέραν ὑφορώμενος ἐκεῖ πολέμου τριβὴν αὐτῷ γενησομένην: [463] συνέρρει γὰρ εἰς τὰς Ταριχέας πᾶν τὸ νεωτερίζον, τῇ τε τῆς πόλεως ὀχυρότητι καὶ τῇ λίμνῃ πεποιθότες, ἣ καλεῖται Γεννησὰρ πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων. [464] ἡ μὲν γὰρ πόλις, ὥσπερ ἡ Τιβεριὰς ὑπόρειος οὖσα, καθὰ μὴ τῇ λίμνῃ προσεκλύζετο πάντοθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου τετείχιστο καρτερῶς, ἔλασσον μέντοι τῆς Τιβεριάδος: [465] τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖ περίβολον ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἀποστάσεως δαψιλείᾳ χρημάτων καὶ δυνάμεως ἐκρατύνατο, Ταριχέαι δ’ αὐτοῦ τὰ λείψανα τῆς φιλοτιμίας μετέλαβον. [466] σκάφη δ’ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς λίμνης παρεσκευασμένα πολλὰ πρός τε τὸ συμφεύγειν ἐπὶ γῆς ἡττωμένους, κἂν εἰ δέοι, διαναυμαχεῖν ἐξηρτυμένα. [467] περιβαλλομένων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὸ στρατόπεδον οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν οὔτε πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος οὔτε πρὸς τὴν εὐταξίαν τῶν πολεμίων ὑποδείσαντες προθέουσιν, [468] καὶ πρὸς τὴν πρώτην ἔφοδον τῶν τειχοποιῶν σκεδασθέντων ὀλίγα τῆς δομήσεως σπαράξαντες, ὡς ἑώρων τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἀθροιζομένους, πρίν τι παθεῖν εἰς τοὺς σφετέρους ἀνέφευγον: ἐπιδιώξαντες δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι συνελαύνουσιν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ σκάφη. [469] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀναχθέντες εἰς ὅσον ἐξικνεῖσθαι τῶν Ῥωμαίων βάλλοντες δύναιντο τάς τε ἀγκύρας ἔβαλλον καὶ πυκνώσαντες ὥσπερ φάλαγγα τὰς ναῦς ἐπαλλήλους τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς πολεμίοις διεναυμάχουν: [470] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ τὸ πολὺ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἠθροισμένον ἀκούων ἐν τῷ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως πεδίῳ πέμπει τὸν υἱὸν σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ἑξακοσίοις ἐπιλέκτοις.

1. And now Vespasian pitched his camp between this city and Taricheae, but fortified his camp more strongly, as suspecting that he should be forced to stay there, and have a long war; for all the innovators had gotten together at Taricheae, as relying upon the strength of the city, and on the lake that lay by it. This lake is called by the people of the country the Lake of Gennesareth. The city itself is situated like Tiberias, at the bottom of a mountain, and on those sides which are not washed by the sea, had been strongly fortified by Josephus, though not so strongly as Tiberias; for the wall of Tiberias had been built at the beginning of the Jews’ revolt, when he had great plenty of money, and great power, but Taricheae partook only the remains of that liberality, Yet had they a great number of ships gotten ready upon the lake, that, in case they were beaten at land, they might retire to them; and they were so fitted up, that they might

undertake a Sea-fight also. But as the Romans were building a wall about their camp, Jesu and his party were neither affrighted at their number, nor at the good order they were in, but made a sally upon them; and at the very first onset the builders of the wall were dispersed; and these pulled what little they had before built to pieces; but as soon as they saw the armed men getting together, and before they had suffered any thing themselves, they retired to their own men. But then the Romans pursued them, and drove them into their ships, where they launched out as far as might give them the opportunity of reaching the Romans with what they threw at them, and then cast anchor, and brought their ships close, as in a line of battle, and thence fought the enemy from the sea, who were themselves at land. But Vespasian hearing that a great multitude of them were gotten together in the plain that was before the city, he thereupon sent his son, with six hundred chosen horsemen, to disperse them.

(2) [471] Ὁ δ᾽ ὑπέρογκον εὑρὼν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων πληθὺν πρὸς μὲν τὸν πατέρα πέμπει πλείονος δυνάμεως αὐτῷ δεῖν λέγων. αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς μὲν πλείους τῶν ἱππέων ὡρμημένους ὁρῶν καὶ πρὶν ἀφικέσθαι βοήθειαν, ἔστιν δ᾽ οὓς ἡσυχῇ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων καταπεπληγότας, ἐν ἐπηκόῳ στὰς ἔλεξεν ὧδε: [472] “ἄνδρες, ἔφη, Ῥωμαῖοι, καλὸν γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν λόγων ὑπομνῆσαι τοῦ γένους ὑμᾶς, ἵν᾽ εἰδῆτε, τίνες ὄντες πρὸς τίνας μάχεσθαι μέλλομεν. [473] τὰς μέν γε ἡμετέρας χεῖρας οὐδὲν εἰς τοῦτο τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης διαπέφευγεν, Ἰουδαῖοι δέ, ἵν᾽ εἴπωμεν καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, μέχρι νῦν οὐ κοπιῶσιν ἡττώμενοι. καὶ δεινὸν ἐκείνων ἑστώτων ἐν ταῖς κακοπραγίαις ἡμᾶς τοῖς εὐτυχήμασιν ἐγκάμνειν. [474] προθυμίας μὲν εἰς τὸ φανερὸν ὑμᾶς εὖ ἔχοντας χαίρω βλέπων, δέδοικα δὲ μή τινι τῶν πολεμίων τὸ πλῆθος κατάπληξιν λεληθυῖαν ἐνεργάσηται. [475] λογισάσθω δὴ πάλιν οἷος πρὸς οἵους παρατάξεται, καὶ διότι Ἰουδαῖοι μέν, εἰ καὶ σφόδρα τολμηταὶ καὶ θανάτου καταφρονοῦντες, ἀλλ᾽ ἀσύντακτοί τε καὶ πολέμων ἄπειροι καὶ ὄχλος ἂν ἄλλως, οὐ στρατιὰ λέγοιντο: τὰ δὲ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐμπειρίας καὶ τάξεως τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν; ἐπὶ τοῦτο μέντοι γε μόνοι καὶ κατ᾽ εἰρήνην ἀσκούμεθα τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἵν᾽ ἐν πολέμῳ μὴ πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἀριθμῶμεν ἑαυτούς. [476] ἐπεὶ τίς ὄνησις τῆς διηνεκοῦς στρατείας, ἂν ἴσοι πρὸς ἀστρατεύτους ἀντιτασσώμεθα; [477] λογίζεσθε δέ, ὅτι καὶ πρὸς γυμνῆτας ὁπλῖται καὶ ἱππεῖς πρὸς πεζοὺς καὶ στρατηγούμενοι πρὸς ἀστρατηγήτους διαγωνίζεσθε, καὶ ὡς ὑμᾶς μὲν ταῦτα πολλαπλασίους ποιεῖ τὰ πλεονεκτήματα, πολὺ δὲ τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων ἀριθμοῦ [παραιρεῖται τὰ ἐλαττώματα]. [478] κατορθοῖ δὲ τοὺς πολέμους οὐ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων, κἂν ᾖ μάχιμον, ἀνδρεία δέ, κἂν ἐν ὀλίγοις: οἱ μέν γε καὶ τάξασθαι ῥᾴδιοι καὶ προσαμύνειν ἑαυτοῖς, αἱ δ᾽ ὑπέρογκοι δυνάμεις ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν βλάπτονται πλέον ἢ τῶν πολεμίων. [479] Ἰουδαίων μὲν οὖν τόλμα καὶ θράσος ἡγεῖται καὶ ἀπόνοια, πάθη κατὰ μὲν τὰς εὐπραγίας εὔτονα, σβεννύμενα δὲ ἐν

ἐλαχίστοις σφάλμασιν: ἡμῶν δ᾽ ἀρετὴ καὶ εὐπείθεια καὶ τὸ γενναῖον, ὃ κἀν τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐτυχήμασιν ἀκμάζει κἀν τοῖς πταίσμασιν οὐ μέχρι τέλους σφάλλεται. [480] καὶ ὑπὲρ μειζόνων δὲ ἢ Ἰουδαῖοι διαγωνιεῖσθε: καὶ γὰρ εἰ περὶ ἐλευθερίας καὶ πατρίδων ἐκείνοις ὁ πόλεμος κινδυνεύεται, τί μεῖζον ἡμῖν εὐδοξίας καὶ τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν μετὰ τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡγεμονίαν ἐν ἀντιπάλῳ τὰ Ἰουδαίων τίθεσθαι; [481] σκεπτέον δ᾽ ὅτι καὶ παθεῖν μὲν οὐδὲν ἀνήκεστον ἡμῖν φόβος: πολλοὶ γὰρ οἱ βοηθήσοντες καὶ πλησίον: ἁρπάσαι δὲ τὴν νίκην δυνάμεθα, καὶ χρὴ τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς πεμπομένους ἡμῖν συμμάχους φθάνειν, ἵν᾽ ἀκοινώνητόν τε ᾖ τὸ κατόρθωμα καὶ μεῖζον. [482] νομίζω δ᾽ ἔγωγε ἐπὶ τῆσδε τῆς ὥρας καὶ τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν κρίνεσθαι κἀμὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς, εἰ τῶν μὲν προκατωρθωμένων ἄξιος ἐκεῖνος, ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἐκείνου παῖς, στρατιῶται δ᾽ ὑμεῖς ἐμοῦ: καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τὸ νικᾶν ἔθος, κἀγὼ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑποστρέφειν οὐκ ἂν ὑπομείναιμι λειφθείς. [483] ὑμεῖς δὲ πῶς οὐκ ἂν αἰσχύνοισθε προκινδυνεύοντος ἡγεμόνος ἡττώμενοι; προκινδυνεύσω γάρ, εὖ ἴστε, καὶ πρῶτος εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐμβαλῶ. [484] μὴ λείπεσθε δ᾽ ὑμεῖς ἐμοῦ πεπεισμένοι τὴν ἐμὴν ὁρμὴν παρακροτεῖσθαι θεῷ συμμάχῳ, καὶ προγινώσκετε σαφῶς, ὅτι τῆς ἔξω μάχης πλέον τι κατορθώσομεν.”

2. But when Titus perceived that the enemy was very numerous, he sent to his father, and informed him that he should want more forces. But as he saw a great many of the horsemen eager to fight, and that before any succors could come to them, and that yet some of them were privately under a sort of consternation at the multitude of the Jews, he stood in a place whence he might be heard, and said to them, “My brave Romans! for it is right for me to put you in mind of what nation you are, in the beginning of my speech, that so you may not be ignorant who you are, and who they are against whom we are going to fight. For as to us, Romans, no part of the habitable earth hath been able to escape our hands hitherto; but as for the Jews, that I may speak of them too, though they have been already beaten, yet do they not give up the cause; and a sad thing it would be for us to grow wealthy under good success, when they bear up under their misfortunes. As to the alacrity which you show publicly, I see it, and rejoice at it; yet am I afraid lest the multitude of the enemy should bring a concealed fright upon some of you: let such a one consider again, who we are that are to fight, and who those are against whom we are to fight. Now these Jews, though they be very bold and great despisers of death, are but a disorderly body, and unskillful in war, and may rather be called a rout than an army; while I need say nothing of our skill and our good order; for this is the reason why we Romans alone are exercised for war in time of peace, that we may not think of number for number when we come to fight with our enemies: for what

advantage should we reap by our continual sort of warfare, if we must still be equal in number to such as have not been used to war. Consider further, that you are to have a conflict with men in effect unarmed, while you are well armed; with footmen, while you are horsemen; with those that have no good general, while you have one; and as these advantages make you in effect manifold more than you are, so do their disadvantages mightily diminish their number. Now it is not the multitude of men, though they be soldiers, that manages wars with success, but it is their bravery that does it, though they be but a few; for a few are easily set in battle-array, and can easily assist one another, while over-numerous armies are more hurt by themselves than by their enemies. It is boldness and rashness, the effects of madness, that conduct the Jews. Those passions indeed make a great figure when they succeed, but are quite extinguished upon the least ill success; but we are led on by courage, and obedience, and fortitude, which shows itself indeed in our good fortune, but still does not for ever desert us in our ill fortune. Nay, indeed, your fighting is to be on greater motives than those of the Jews; for although they run the hazard of war for liberty, and for their country, yet what can be a greater motive to us than glory? and that it may never be said, that after we have got dominion of the habitable earth, the Jews are able to confront us. We must also reflect upon this, that there is no fear of our suffering any incurable disaster in the present case; for those that are ready to assist us are many, and at hand also; yet it is in our power to seize upon this victory ourselves; and I think we ought to prevent the coming of those my father is sending to us for our assistance, that our success may be peculiar to ourselves, and of greater reputation to us. And I cannot but think this an opportunity wherein my father, and I, and you shall be all put to the trial, whether he be worthy of his former glorious performances, whether I be his son in reality, and whether you be really my soldiers; for it is usual for my father to conquer; and for myself, I should not bear the thoughts of returning to him if I were once taken by the enemy. And how will you be able to avoid being ashamed, if you do not show equal courage with your commander, when he goes before you into danger? For you know very well that I shall go into the danger first, and make the first attack upon the enemy. Do not you therefore desert me, but persuade yourselves that God will be assisting to my onset. Know this also before we begin, that we shall now have better success than we should have, if we were to fight at a distance."

(3) [485] Ταῦτα τοῦ Τίτου διεξιόντος προθυμία δαιμόνιος ἐμπίπτει τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, καὶ προσγενομένου πρὶν συμβαλεῖν Τραιανοῦ μετὰ τετρακοσίων ἱππέων ἤσχαλλον ὡς μειουμένης τῆς νίκης αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν. [486] ἔπεμψεν δὲ

Οὐεσπασιανὸς καὶ Ἀντώνιον Σίλωνα σὺν δισχιλίοις τοξόταις κελεύσας καταλαβόντας τὸ ἀντικρὺ τῆς πόλεως ὄρος τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους ἀνείργειν. [487] καὶ οἱ μὲν ὡς προσετέτακτο τοὺς ταύτῃ πειρωμένους ἐκβοηθεῖν περιέσχον, ὁ δὲ Τίτος πρῶτος τὸν ἵππον ἤλαυνεν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ σὺν κραυγῇ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν οἱ λοιποὶ παρεκτείναντες ἑαυτοὺς εἰς ὅσον ἐπεῖχον οἱ πολέμιοι τὸ πεδίον: παρὸ καὶ πολὺ πλείους ἔδοξαν. [488] οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι καίτοι τήν τε ὁρμὴν καὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν αὐτῶν καταπλαγέντες πρὸς ὀλίγον μὲν ἀντέσχον ταῖς ἐμβολαῖς, νυσσόμενοι δὲ τοῖς κοντοῖς καὶ τῷ ῥοίζῳ τῶν ἱππέων ἀνατρεπόμενοι συνεπατοῦντο. [489] πολλῶν δὲ πανταχοῦ φονευομένων διασκίδνανται καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ὡς ἕκαστος εἶχεν τάχους ἔφευγον. [490] Τίτος δὲ τοὺς μὲν κατόπιν προσκείμενος ἀνῄρει, τῶν δὲ διεκπαίων ἀθρόων, οὓς δὲ φθάνων κατὰ στόμα διήλαυνεν, πολλοὺς δὲ συνηλοία περὶ ἀλλήλοις πεσόντας ἐμπηδῶν, [491] πᾶσιν δὲ τὰς πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος φυγὰς ὑπετέμνετο καὶ πρὸς τὸ πεδίον ἀπέστρεφεν, ἕως τῷ πλήθει βιασάμενοι καὶ διεκπεσόντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν συνέφευγον.

3. As Titus was saying this, an extraordinary fury fell upon the men; and as Trajan was already come before the fight began, with four hundred horsemen, they were uneasy at it, because the reputation of the victory would be diminished by being common to so many. Vespasian had also sent both Antonius and Silo, with two thousand archers, and had given it them in charge to seize upon the mountain that was over against the city, and repel those that were upon the wall; which archers did as they were commanded, and prevented those that attempted to assist them that way; And now Titus made his own horse march first against the enemy, as did the others with a great noise after him, and extended themselves upon the plain as wide as the enemy which confronted them; by which means they appeared much more numerous than they really were. Now the Jews, although they were surprised at their onset, and at their good order, made resistance against their attacks for a little while; but when they were pricked with their long poles, and overborne by the violent noise of the horsemen, they came to be trampled under their feet; many also of them were slain on every side, which made them disperse themselves, and run to the city, as fast as every one of them were able. So Titus pressed upon the hindmost, and slew them; and of the rest, some he fell upon as they stood on heaps, and some he prevented, and met them in the mouth, and run them through; many also he leaped upon as they fell one upon another, and trod them down, and cut off all the retreat they had to the wall, and turned them back into the plain, till at last they forced a passage by their multitude, and got away, and ran into the city.

(4) [492] Ἐκδέχεται δὲ αὐτοὺς πάλιν στάσις ἔσω χαλεπή: τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐπιχωρίοις διά τε τὰς κτήσεις καὶ τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἐδόκει πολεμεῖν ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς καὶ τότε διὰ τὴν

ἦτταν πλέον: [493] ὁ δ’ ἔπηλυς πολὺς ὢν πλεῖον ἐβιάζετο, καὶ διωργισμένων ἐπ’ ἀλλήλοις κραυγή τε ἦν καὶ θόρυβος ὡς ὅσον οὔπω φερομένων εἰς ὅπλα. [494] κατακούσας δὲ τῆς ταραχῆς Τίτος, οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄπωθεν τοῦ τείχους, “οὗτος ἦν ὁ καιρός, ἐκβοᾷ, καὶ τί, συστρατιῶται, μέλλομεν ἐκδιδόντος ἡμῖν Ἰουδαίους θεοῦ; δέξασθε τὴν νίκην. [495] οὐκ ἀκούετε βοῆς; στασιάζουσιν οἱ τὰς χεῖρας ἡμῶν διεκφυγόντες. ἔχομεν τὴν πόλιν, ἐὰν ταχύνωμεν: δεῖ δὲ πόνου πρὸς τῷ τάχει καὶ λήματος: οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν μεγάλων φιλεῖ δίχα κινδύνου κατορθοῦσθαι. [496] φθάνειν δ’ οὐ μόνον χρὴ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ὁμόνοιαν, οὓς ἀνάγκη διαλλάξει ταχέως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἡμετέρων βοήθειαν, ἵνα πρὸς τῷ νικῆσαι τοσοῦτον πλῆθος ὀλίγοι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἕλωμεν μόνοι.”

4. But now there fell out a terrible sedition among them within the city; for the inhabitants themselves, who had possessions there, and to whom the city belonged, were not disposed to fight from the very beginning; and now the less so, because they had been beaten; but the foreigners, which were very numerous, would force them to fight so much the more, insomuch that there was a clamor and a tumult among them, as all mutually angry one at another. And when Titus heard this tumult, for he was not far from the wall, he cried out, “Fellow soldiers, now is the time; and why do we make any delay, when God is giving up the Jews to us? Take the victory which is given you: do not you hear what a noise they make? Those that have escaped our hands are in an uproar against one another. We have the city if we make haste; but besides haste, we must undergo some labor, and use some courage; for no great thing uses to be accomplished without danger: accordingly, we must not only prevent their uniting again, which necessity will soon compel them to do, but we must also prevent the coming of our own men to our assistance, that, as few as we are, we may conquer so great a multitude, and may ourselves alone take the city.”

(5) [497] Ταῦθ’ ἅμα λέγων ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνεπήδα καὶ καθηγεῖται πρὸς τὴν λίμνην, δι’ ἧς ἐλάσας πρῶτος εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσέρχεται καὶ μετ’ αὐτὸν οἱ λοιποί. [498] δέος δὲ πρὸς τὴν τόλμαν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἐνέπεσεν, καὶ μάχεσθαι μὲν ἢ διακωλύειν οὐδεὶς ὑπέμεινεν, λιπόντες δὲ τὴν φρουρὰν οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν διὰ τῆς χώρας ἔφευγον, [499] οἱ δ’ ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην καταθέοντες ὑπαντιάζουσιν τοῖς πολεμίοις περιέπιπτον: ἐκτείνοντο δ’ οἱ μὲν ἐπιβαίνοντες τῶν σκαφῶν, οἱ δὲ τοῖς ἀναχθεῖσιν προσπίπτειν πειρώμενοι. πολὺς δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἦν φόνος, [500] τῶν μὲν ἐπηλύδων ὅσοι μὴ διαφυγεῖν ἔφθασαν ἀντιτασσομένων, ἀμαχητὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων: κατὰ γὰρ ἐλπίδα δεξιᾶς καὶ τὸ συνειδὸς τοῦ μὴ βεβουλεῦσθαι πολεμεῖν μάχης ἀπετρέποντο, [501] μέχρι Τίτος τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους ἀνελών, οἰκτείρας δὲ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ἀνεπαύσατο φόνου. [502] καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν λίμνην

καταφυγόντες ἐπεὶ τὴν πόλιν εἶδον ἐαλωκυῖαν, ὡς πορρωτάτω τῶν πολεμίων ἀνήχθησαν:

5. As soon as ever Titus had said this, he leaped upon his horse, and rode apace down to the lake; by which lake he marched, and entered into the city the first of them all, as did the others soon after him. Hereupon those that were upon the walls were seized with a terror at the boldness of the attempt, nor durst any one venture to fight with him, or to hinder him; so they left guarding the city, and some of those that were about Jesus fled over the country, while others of them ran down to the lake, and met the enemy in the teeth, and some were slain as they were getting up into the ships, but others of them as they attempted to overtake those that were already gone aboard. There was also a great slaughter made in the city, while those foreigners that had not fled away already made opposition; but the natural inhabitants were killed without fighting: for in hopes of Titus's giving them his right hand for their security, and out of a consciousness that they had not given any consent to the war, they avoided fighting, till Titus had slain the authors of this revolt, and then put a stop to any further slaughters, out of commiseration of these inhabitants of the place. But for those that had fled to the lake, upon seeing the city taken, they sailed as far as they possibly could from the enemy.

(6) [503] Τίτος δ' ἐκπέμψας τινὰ τῶν ἱππέων εὐαγγελίζεται τῷ πατρὶ τὸ ἔργον. [504] ὁ δ', ὡς εἰκός, ὑπερησθεὶς τῇ τε τοῦ παιδὸς ἀρετῇ καὶ τῷ κατορθώματι, μεγίστη γὰρ ἐδόκει καθῃρῆσθαι μοῖρα τοῦ πολέμου, τότε μὲν ἐλθὼν περισχόντας τὴν πόλιν φρουρεῖν ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς μὴ διαλάθοι τις ἐξ αὐτῆς, καὶ κτείνειν προσέταξεν [505] τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ πρὸς τὴν λίμνην καταβὰς σχεδίας ἐκέλευσεν πήσσειν ἐπὶ τοὺς καταπεφευγότας: αἱ δ' ἐγίνοντο ταχέως ἀφθονίᾳ τε ὕλης καὶ πλήθει τεχνιτῶν.

6. Hereupon Titus sent one of his horsemen to his father, and let him know the good news of what he had done; at which, as was natural, he was very joyful, both on account of the courage and glorious actions of his son; for he thought that now the greatest part of the war was over. He then came thither himself, and set men to guard the city, and gave them command to take care that nobody got privately out of it, but to kill such as attempted so to do. And on the next day he went down to the lake, and commanded that vessels should be fitted up, in order to pursue those that had escaped in the ships. These vessels were quickly gotten ready accordingly, because there was great plenty of materials, and a great number of artificers also.

(7) [506] Ἡ δὲ λίμνη Γεννησὰρ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς προσεχοῦς χώρας καλεῖται, σταδίων δ' εὖρος οὖσα τεσσαράκοντα καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἑτέρων ἑκατὸν τὸ μῆκος γλυκεῖά τε ὅμως ἐστὶ καὶ ποτιμωτάτη: [507] καὶ γὰρ τῆς ἑλώδους παχύτητος ἔχει τὸ νᾶμα λεπτότερον καθαρά τ' ἐστὶν πάντοθεν αἰγιαλοῖς ἐπιλήγουσα καὶ ψάμμῳ, πρὸς δὲ εὔκρατος ἀρύσασθαι, ποταμοῦ μὲν ἢ κρήνης προσηνεστέρα, ψυχροτέρα δὲ ἢ κατὰ λίμνης διάχυσιν ἀεὶ μένουσα. [508] τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὕδωρ οὐκ ἀπᾴδει χιόνος ἐξαιθριασθέν, ὅπερ θέρους νυκτὸς ποιεῖν ἔθος τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις, γένη δὲ ἰχθύων ἐν αὐτῇ διάφορα πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλαχοῦ γεῦσίν τε καὶ ἰδέαν. [509] μέση δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου τέμνεται. καὶ δοκεῖ μὲν Ἰορδάνου πηγὴ τὸ Πάνειον, φέρεται δ' ὑπὸ γῆν εἰς τοῦτο κρυπτῶς ἐκ τῆς καλουμένης Φιάλης: [510] ἡ δ' ἐστὶν ἀνιόντων εἰς τὴν Τραχωνῖτιν ἀπὸ σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι Καισαρείας τῆς ὁδοῦ κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος οὐκ ἄπωθεν. [511] ἐκ μὲν οὖν τῆς περιφερείας ἐτύμως Φιάλη καλεῖται τροχοειδὴς οὖσα λίμνη, μένει δ' ἐπὶ χείλους αὐτῆς ἀεὶ τὸ ὕδωρ μήθ' ὑπονοστοῦν μήθ' ὑπερχεόμενον. [512] ἀγνοούμενος δὲ τέως ὁ Ἰορδάνης ἐντεῦθεν ἄρχεσθαι διὰ τοῦ τετραρχήσαντος Τραχωνιτῶν ἠλέγχθη Φιλίππου: [513] βαλὼν γὰρ οὗτος εἰς τὴν Φιάλην ἄχυρα κατὰ τὸ Πάνειον, ἔνθεν ἐδόκουν οἱ παλαιοὶ γεννᾶσθαι τὸν ποταμόν, εὗρεν ἀνενεχθέντα. [514] τοῦ μὲν οὖν Πανείου τὸ φυσικὸν κάλλος ὑπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς προσεξήσκηται πολυτελείας τῷ Ἀγρίππα πλούτῳ κεκοσμημένον: [515] ἀρχόμενος δὲ φανεροῦ ῥεύματος ὁ Ἰορδάνης ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ ἄντρου κόπτει μὲν τὰ τῆς Σεμεχωνίτιδος λίμνης ἕλη καὶ τέλματα, διαμείψας δ' ἑτέρους ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι σταδίους μετὰ πόλιν Ἰουλιάδα διεκπαίει τὴν Γεννησὰρ μέσην, ἔπειτα πολλὴν ἀναμετρούμενος ἐρημίαν εἰς τὴν Ἀσφαλτῖτιν ἔξεισι λίμνην.

7. Now this lake of Gennesareth is so called from the country adjoining to it. Its breadth is forty furlongs, and its length one hundred and forty; its waters are sweet, and very agreeable for drinking, for they are finer than the thick waters of other fens; the lake is also pure, and on every side ends directly at the shores, and at the sand; it is also of a temperate nature when you draw it up, and of a more gentle nature than river or fountain water, and yet always cooler than one could expect in so diffuse a place as this is. Now when this water is kept in the open air, it is as cold as that snow which the country people are accustomed to make by night in summer. There are several kinds of fish in it, different both to the taste and the sight from those elsewhere. It is divided into two parts by the river Jordan. Now Panium is thought to be the fountain of Jordan, but in reality it is carried thither after an occult manner from the place called Phiala: this place lies as you go up to Trachonitis, and is a hundred and twenty furlongs from Cesarea, and is not far out of the road on the right hand; and indeed it hath its name of Phiala [vial or bowl] very justly, from the roundness of its circumference, as being round like a wheel; its water continues always up to its

edges, without either sinking or running over. And as this origin of Jordan was formerly not known, it was discovered so to be when Philip was tetrarch of Trachonitis; for he had chaff thrown into Phiala, and it was found at Paninto, where the ancients thought the fountain-head of the river was, whither it had been therefore carried [by the waters]. As for Panium itself, its natural beauty had been improved by the royal liberality of Agrippa, and adorned at his expenses. Now Jordan's visible stream arises from this cavern, and divides the marshes and fens of the lake Semechonitis; when it hath run another hundred and twenty furlongs, it first passes by the city Julias, and then passes through the middle of the lake Gennesareth; after which it runs a long way over a desert, and then makes its exit into the lake Asphaltites.

(8) [516] Παρατείνει δὲ τὴν Γεννησὰρ ὁμώνυμος χώρα θαυμαστὴ φύσιν τε καὶ κάλλος: οὔτε γὰρ αὐτή τι φυτὸν ἀρνεῖται διὰ τὴν πιότητα, καὶ πᾶν πεφυτεύκασιν οἱ νεμόμενοι, τοῦ δ' ἀέρος τὸ εὔκρατον ἁρμόζει καὶ τοῖς διαφόροις. [517] καρύαι μέν γε φυτῶν τὸ χειμεριώτατον ἄπειροι τεθήλασιν ἔνθα φοίνικες, οἳ καύματι τρέφονται, συκαῖ δὲ καὶ ἐλαῖαι πλησίον τούτων, αἷς μαλθακώτερος ἀὴρ ἀποδέδεικται. [518] φιλοτιμίαν ἄν τις εἴποι τῆς φύσεως βιασαμένης εἰς ἓν συναγαγεῖν τὰ μάχιμα καὶ τῶν ὡρῶν ἀγαθὴν ἔριν ἑκάστης ὥσπερ ἀντιποιουμένης τοῦ χωρίου: καὶ γὰρ οὐ μόνον τρέφει παρὰ δόξαν τὰς διαφόρους ὀπώρας ἀλλὰ καὶ διαφυλάσσει. [519] τὰ μέν γε βασιλικώτατα σταφυλήν τε καὶ σῦκον δέκα μησὶν ἀδιαλείπτως χορηγεῖ, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς καρποὺς δι' ἔτους ὅλου περιγηράσκοντας ἑαυτοῖς: πρὸς γὰρ τῇ τῶν ἀέρων εὐκρασίᾳ καὶ πηγῇ διάρδεται γονιμωτάτῃ, Καφαρναοὺμ αὐτὴν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καλοῦσιν. [520] ταύτην φλέβα τινὲς τοῦ Νείλου ἔδοξαν, ἐπεὶ γεννᾷ τῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρέων λίμνην κορακίνῳ παραπλήσιον. [521] μῆκος δὲ τοῦ χωρίου παρατείνει κατὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τῆς ὁμωνύμου λίμνης ἐπὶ σταδίους τριάκοντα, καὶ εὖρος εἴκοσι. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως φύσεως ἔχει.

8. The country also that lies over against this lake hath the same name of Gennesareth; its nature is wonderful as well as its beauty; its soil is so fruitful that all sorts of trees can grow upon it, and the inhabitants accordingly plant all sorts of trees there; for the temper of the air is so well mixed, that it agrees very well with those several sorts, particularly walnuts, which require the coldest air, flourish there in vast plenty; there are palm trees also, which grow best in hot air; fig trees also and olives grow near them, which yet require an air that is more temperate. One may call this place the ambition of nature, where it forces those plants that are naturally enemies to one another to agree together; it is a happy contention of the seasons, as if every one of them laid claim to this country; for it not only nourishes different sorts of autumnal fruit beyond men's expectation,

but preserves them a great while; it supplies men with the principal fruits, with grapes and figs continually, during ten months of the year and the rest of the fruits as they become ripe together through the whole year; for besides the good temperature of the air, it is also watered from a most fertile fountain. The people of the country call it Capharnaum. Some have thought it to be a vein of the Nile, because it produces the Coracin fish as well as that lake does which is near to Alexandria. The length of this country extends itself along the banks of this lake that bears the same name for thirty furlongs, and is in breadth twenty, And this is the nature of that place.

(9) [522] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δέ, ἐπεὶ παρεσκευάσθησαν αἱ σχεδίαι, τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπιβήσας ὅσον ᾤετο τοῖς κατὰ τὴν λίμνην ἀνταρκέσειν ἐπανήγετο. τοῖς δὲ συνελαυνομένοις οὔτ᾽ ἐπὶ γῆν διαφεύγειν ἦν ἐκπεπολεμωμένων πάντων οὔτ᾽ ἐξ ἴσου διαναυμαχεῖν: [523] τά τε γὰρ σκάφη μικρὰ ὄντα καὶ ληστρικὰ πρὸς τὰς σχεδίας ἦν ἀσθενῆ, καὶ καθ᾽ ἕκαστον ἐμπλέοντες ὀλίγοι πρὸς ἀθρόους ἐφεστῶτας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐγγίζειν ἐδεδοίκεισαν. [524] ὅμως δ᾽ οὖν ἐκπεριπλέοντες τὰς σχεδίας, ἔστιν δ᾽ ὅπου καὶ πλησιάζοντες, πόρρωθεν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἔβαλλον λίθοις καὶ παραξύοντες ἐγγύθεν ἔπαιον. [525] ἐκακοῦντο δ᾽ αὐτοὶ πλέον κατ᾽ ἀμφότερα: ταῖς τε γὰρ χερμάσιν οὐδὲν δρῶντες ὅτι μὴ κτύπον ἐπάλληλον, εἰς γὰρ πεφραγμένους ἔβαλλον, ἐφικτοὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἐγίνοντο βέλεσιν, καὶ πλησιάζειν τολμῶντες πρὶν δρᾶσαί τι παθεῖν ἔφθανον καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐβαπτίζοντο τοῖς σκάφεσιν. [526] τῶν δὲ διεκπαίειν πειρωμένων πολλοὺς μὲν ἐφικνούμενοι κοντοῖς διέπειρον, οὓς δὲ ξιφήρεις ἐπιπηδῶντες εἰς τὰ σκάφη, τινὰς δὲ συντρεχούσαις ταῖς σχεδίαις ἐναποληφθέντας μέσους εἶλον ἅμα ταῖς ἁλιάσιν. [527] τῶν δὲ βαπτισθέντων τοὺς ἀνανεύοντας ἢ βέλος ἔφθανεν ἢ σχεδία κατελάμβανεν, καὶ προσβαίνειν ὑπ᾽ ἀμηχανίας εἰς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς πειρωμένων ἢ κεφαλὰς ἢ χεῖρας ἀπέκοπτον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι. [528] πολλή τε ἦν αὐτῶν καὶ ποικίλη φθορὰ πανταχοῦ, μέχρι τραπέντες εἰς γῆν ἐξεώσθησαν οἱ λοιποὶ κεκυκλωμένων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἁλιάδων. [529] ἐκχεόμενοι δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ κατηκοντίζοντο τῇ λίμνῃ, πολλοὺς δ᾽ ἐκπηδήσαντας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διέφθειραν ἐπὶ γῆς. ἦν δ᾽ ἰδεῖν κεκερασμένην μὲν αἵματι, πεπληρωμένην δὲ νεκρῶν τὴν λίμνην ἅπασαν: διεσώθη γὰρ οὐδείς. [530] δεινὴ δὲ ταῖς ἑξῆς ἡμέραις περιεῖχε τὴν χώραν ὀδμή τε καὶ ὄψις: οἱ μὲν γὰρ αἰγιαλοὶ ναυαγίων ἅμα καὶ διοιδούντων ἔγεμον σωμάτων, ἐκκαιόμενοι δὲ καὶ μυδῶντες οἱ νεκροὶ τὸν ἀέρα διέφθειρον, ὡς μὴ μόνον οἰκτρὸν Ἰουδαίοις γενέσθαι τὸ πάθος, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ μίσους τοῖς δράσασιν ἐλθεῖν. [531] τοῦτο μὲν ἐκείνης τῆς ναυμαχίας τὸ τέλος, ἀπέθανον δὲ σὺν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως πρότερον πεσοῦσιν ἑξακισχίλιοι ἑπτακόσιοι.

9. But now, when the vessels were gotten ready, Vespasian put upon ship-board as many of his forces as he thought sufficient to be too hard for those that were

upon the lake, and set sail after them. Now these which were driven into the lake could neither fly to the land, where all was in their enemies' hand, and in war against them; nor could they fight upon the level by sea, for their ships were small and fitted only for piracy; they were too weak to fight with Vespasian's vessels, and the mariners that were in them were so few, that they were afraid to come near the Romans, who attacked them in great numbers. However, as they sailed round about the vessels, and sometimes as they came near them, they threw stones at the Romans when they were a good way off, or came closer and fought them; yet did they receive the greatest harm themselves in both cases. As for the stones they threw at the Romans, they only made a sound one after another, for they threw them against such as were in their armor, while the Roman darts could reach the Jews themselves; and when they ventured to come near the Romans, they became sufferers themselves before they could do any harm to the ether, and were drowned, they and their ships together. As for those that endeavored to come to an actual fight, the Romans ran many of them through with their long poles. Sometimes the Romans leaped into their ships, with swords in their hands, and slew them; but when some of them met the vessels, the Romans caught them by the middle, and destroyed at once their ships and themselves who were taken in them. And for such as were drowning in the sea, if they lifted their heads up above the water, they were either killed by darts, or caught by the vessels; but if, in the desperate case they were in, they attempted to swim to their enemies, the Romans cut off either their heads or their hands; and indeed they were destroyed after various manners every where, till the rest being put to flight, were forced to get upon the land, while the vessels encompassed them about [on the sea]: but as many of these were repulsed when they were getting ashore, they were killed by the darts upon the lake; and the Romans leaped out of their vessels, and destroyed a great many more upon the land: one might then see the lake all bloody, and full of dead bodies, for not one of them escaped. And a terrible stink, and a very sad sight there was on the following days over that country; for as for the shores, they were full of shipwrecks, and of dead bodies all swelled; and as the dead bodies were inflamed by the sun, and putrefied, they corrupted the air, insomuch that the misery was not only the object of commiseration to the Jews, but to those that hated them, and had been the authors of that misery. This was the upshot of the sea-fight. The number of the slain, including those that were killed in the city before, was six thousand and five hundred.

(10) [532] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ μετὰ τὴν μάχην καθίζει μὲν ἐπὶ βήματος ἐν Ταριχέαις, διακρίνων δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τὸν ἔπηλυν λεώ, κατάρξαι γὰρ οὗτος ἐδόκει

πολέμου, μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων εἰ χρὴ καὶ τούτους σώζειν ἐσκέπτετο. [533] φαμένων δὲ τούτων βλαβερὰν ἔσεσθαι τὴν ἄφεσιν αὐτῶν, οὐ γὰρ ἠρεμήσειν ἀπολυθέντας ἀνθρώπους ἐστερημένους μὲν τῶν πατρίδων, βιάζεσθαι δὲ καὶ πρὸς οὓς ἂν καταφύγωσιν πολεμεῖν δυναμένους, [534] Οὐεσπασιανὸς ὡς μὲν οὔτ᾽ ἄξιοι σωτηρίας εἶεν καὶ διαφεύξονται κατὰ τῶν ἀφέντων ἐγίνωσκεν, τὸν δὲ τρόπον αὐτῶν τῆς ἀναιρέσεως διενοεῖτο. [535] καὶ γὰρ αὐτόθι κτείνων ἐκπολεμώσειν ὑφωρᾶτο τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους, οὐ γὰρ ἀνέξεσθαι φονευομένων ἱκετῶν τοσούτων παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς, καὶ μετὰ πίστεις ἐπιθέσθαι προελθοῦσιν οὐχ ὑπέμενεν. [536] ἐξενίκων δ᾽ οἱ φίλοι μηδὲν κατὰ Ἰουδαίων ἀσεβὲς εἶναι λέγοντες καὶ χρῆναι τὸ συμφέρον αἱρεῖσθαι πρὸ τοῦ πρέποντος, ὅταν ᾖ μὴ δυνατὸν ἄμφω. [537] κατανεύσας οὖν αὐτοῖς ἄδειαν ἀμφίβολον ἐπέτρεψεν ἐξιέναι διὰ μόνης τῆς ἐπὶ Τιβεριάδα φερούσης ὁδοῦ. [538] τῶν δὲ ταχέως πιστευσάντων οἷς ἤθελον καὶ μετὰ φανερῶν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ τῶν χρημάτων ἧπερ ἐπετράπη χωρούντων, διαλαμβάνουσιν μὲν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν μέχρι Τιβεριάδος πᾶσαν, ὡς μή τις ἀποκλίνειεν, συγκλείουσι δ᾽ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν. [539] καὶ Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐπελθὼν ἵστησι πάντας ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ, καὶ γηραιοὺς μὲν ἅμα τοῖς ἀχρήστοις διακοσίους ἐπὶ χιλίοις ὄντας ἀνελεῖν ἐκέλευσεν, [540] τῶν δὲ νέων ἐπιλέξας τοὺς ἰσχυροτάτους ἑξακισχιλίους ἔπεμψεν εἰς τὸν ἰσθμὸν Νέρωνι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος εἰς τρισμυρίους καὶ τετρακοσίους ὄντας πιπράσκει χωρὶς τῶν Ἀγρίππᾳ χαρισθέντων: [541] τοὺς γὰρ ἐκ τῆς τούτου βασιλείας ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτῷ ποιεῖν εἴ τι βούλοιτο: πιπράσκει δὲ καὶ τούτους ὁ βασιλεύς. [542] ὁ μέντοι γε ἄλλος ὄχλος Τραχωνῖται καὶ Γαυλανῖται καὶ Ἱππηνοὶ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Γαδαρίτιδος τὸ πλέον ὡς στασιασταὶ καὶ φυγάδες καὶ οἷς τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης ὀνείδη τὸν πόλεμον προυξένει ἐάΛωσαν δὲ Γορπιαίου μηνὸς ὀγδόῃ.

10. After this fight was over, Vespasian sat upon his tribunal at Taricheae, in order to distinguish the foreigners from the old inhabitants; for those foreigners appear to have begun the war. So he deliberated with the other commanders, whether he ought to save those old inhabitants or not. And when those commanders alleged that the dismission of them would be to his own disadvantage, because, when they were once set at liberty, they would not be at rest, since they would be people destitute of proper habitations, and would be able to compel such as they fled to fight against us, Vespasian acknowledged that they did not deserve to be saved, and that if they had leave given them to fly away, they would make use of it against those that gave them that leave. But still he considered with himself after what manner they should be slain for if he had them slain there, he suspected the people of the country would thereby become his enemies; for that to be sure they would never bear it, that so many that had been supplicants to him should be killed; and to offer violence to them, after he had given them assurances of their lives, he could not himself bear to do it. However, his friends were too hard for him, and pretended that nothing against Jews could be any impiety, and that he ought to prefer what was profitable before what was fit to be done, where both could not be made consistent. So he gave them an ambiguous liberty to do as they advised, and permitted the prisoners to go along no other road than that which led to Tiberias only. So they readily believed what they desired to be true, and went along securely, with their effects, the way which was allowed them, while the Romans seized upon all the road that led to Tiberias, that none of them might go out of it, and shut them up in the city. Then came Vespasian, and ordered them all to stand in the stadium, and commanded them to kill the old men, together with the others that were useless, which were in number a thousand and two hundred. Out of the young men he chose six thousand of the strongest, and sent them to Nero, to dig through the Isthmus, and sold the remainder for slaves, being thirty thousand and four hundred, besides such as he made a present of to Agrippa; for as to those that belonged to his kingdom, he gave him leave to do what he pleased with them; however, the king sold these also for slaves; but for the rest of the multitude, who were Trachonites, and Gaulanites, and of Hippos, and some of Gadara, the greatest part of them were seditious persons and fugitives, who were of such shameful characters, that they preferred war before peace. These prisoners were taken on the eighth day of the month Gorpieus [Elul].

Liber IV

BOOK IV.

Containing The Interval Of About One Year.

From The Siege Of Gamala To The Coming Of Titus To Besiege Jerusalem.

I

CHAPTER 1.

The Siege And Taking Of Gamala.

(1) [1] Ὅσοι δὲ μετὰ τὴν Ἰωταπάτων ἅλωσιν Γαλιλαῖοι Ῥωμαίων ἀφεστήκεσαν, οὗτοι τῶν ἐν Ταριχέαις ἡττηθέντων προσεχώρουν, καὶ παρέλαβον πάντα Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ φρούρια καὶ τὰς πόλεις πλὴν Γισχάλων καὶ τῶν τὸ Ἰταβύριον ὄρος κατειληφότων. [2] συνέστη δὲ τούτοις καὶ Γάμαλα πόλις Ταριχεῶν ἄντικρυς ὑπὲρ τὴν λίμνην κειμένη. τῆς δ' Ἀγρίππα λήξεως αὕτη τε ἦν καὶ Σωγάνη καὶ Σελεύκεια, καὶ αἱ μὲν [ἐκ] τῆς Γαυλανίτιδος ἀμφότεραι: τοῦ γὰρ ἄνω καλουμένου Γαυλανᾶ μέρος ἦν ἡ Σωγάνη, τοῦ κάτω δ' ἡ Γάμαλα: Σελεύκεια δὲ πρὸς τῇ Σεμεχωνιτῶν λίμνῃ. [3] ταύτῃ τριάκοντα μὲν εὖρος, ἑξήκοντα δὲ μῆκος στάδιοι: διατείνει δ' αὐτῆς τὰ ἕλη μέχρι Δάφνης χωρίου τά τε ἄλλα τρυφεροῦ καὶ πηγὰς ἔχοντος, αἳ τρέφουσαι τὸν μικρὸν καλούμενον Ἰόρδανον ὑπὸ τὸν τῆς χρυσῆς βοὸς νεὼ προπέμπουσι τῷ μεγάλῳ. [4] τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Σωγάνην καὶ Σελεύκειαν ὑπὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἀποστάσεως δεξιαῖς Ἀγρίππας προσηγάγετο, Γάμαλα δ' οὐ προσεχώρει πεποιθυῖα τῇ δυσχωρίᾳ πλέον τῶν Ἰωταπάτων. [5] τραχὺς γὰρ αὐχὴν ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ κατατείνων ὄρους μέσον ἐπαίρει τένοντα, μηκύνεται δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὑπεροχῆς εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν ἐκκλίνων ὅσον κατόπιν, ὡς εἰκάζεσθαι καμήλῳ τὸ σχῆμα, παρ' ἣν ὠνόμασται τὸ τρανὸν τῆς κλήσεως οὐκ ἐξακριβούντων τῶν ἐπιχωρίων. [6] κατὰ πλευρὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ πρόσωπον εἰς φάραγγας ἀβάτους περισχίζεται, τὸ κατ' οὐρὰν δὲ ὀλίγον ἀναφεύγει τῆς δυσχωρίας, ὅθεν ἀπήρτηται τοῦ ὄρους: καὶ τοῦτο δ' ἐπικαρσίᾳ παρακόψαντες τάφρῳ δύσβατον οἱ ἐπιχώριοι κατεσκεύασαν. [7] πρὸς ὀρθίῳ δὲ τῇ λαγόνι δεδομημέναι πεπύκνωντο δεινῶς ἐπ' ἀλλήλαις αἱ οἰκίαι, κρημνιζομένῃ τε ἡ πόλις ἐοικυῖα κατέτρεχεν εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ὀξύτητος. [8] καὶ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν μὲν ἔκλινεν, ὁ νότιος δ' αὐτῆς ὄχθος εἰς ἄπειρον ὕψος ἀνατείνων ἄκρα τῆς πόλεως ἦν, ἀτείχιστος δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν κρημνὸς εἰς τὴν βαθυτάτην κατατείνων φάραγγα: πηγὴ δ' ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους, ἐφ' ἣν τὸ ἄστυ κατέληγεν.

1. Now all those Galileans who, after the taking of Jotapata, had revolted from the Romans, did, upon the conquest of Taricheae, deliver themselves up to them again. And the Romans received all the fortresses and the cities, excepting Gischala and those that had seized upon Mount Tabor; Gamala also, which is a city ever against Taricheae, but on the other side of the lake, conspired with them. This city lay upon the borders of Agrippa's kingdom, as also did Sogana and Seleucia. And these were both parts of Gaulanitis; for Sogana was a part of that called the Upper Gaulanitis, as was Gamala of the Lower; while Seleucia was situated at the lake Semechouitis, which lake is thirty furlongs in breadth, and sixty in length; its marshes reach as far as the place Daphne, which in other respects is a delicious place, and hath such fountains as supply water to what is called Little Jordan, under the temple of the golden calf, where it is sent into Great Jordan. Now Agrippa had united Sogana and Seleucia by leagues to himself, at the very beginning of the revolt from the Romans; yet did not Gamala accede to them, but relied upon the difficulty of the place, which was greater than that of Jotapata, for it was situated upon a rough ridge of a high mountain, with a kind of neck in the middle: where it begins to ascend, it lengthens itself, and declines as much downward before as behind, insomuch that it is like a camel in figure, from whence it is so named, although the people of the country do not pronounce it accurately. Both on the side and the face there are abrupt parts divided from the rest, and ending in vast deep valleys; yet are the parts behind, where they are joined to the mountain, somewhat easier of ascent than the other; but then the people belonging to the place have cut an oblique ditch there, and made that hard to be ascended also. On its acclivity, which is straight, houses are built, and those very thick and close to one another. The city also hangs so strangely, that it looks as if it would fall down upon itself, so sharp is it at the top. It is exposed to the south, and its southern mount, which reaches to an immense height, was in the nature of a citadel to the city; and above that was a precipice, not walled about, but extending itself to an immense depth. There was also a spring of water within the wall, at the utmost limits of the city.

(2) [9] Οὕτως οὖσαν φύσει δυσμήχανον τὴν πόλιν τειχίζων ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἐποίησεν ὀχυρωτέραν ὑπονόμοις τε καὶ διώρυξιν. [10] οἱ δ' ἐν αὐτῇ φύσει μὲν τοῦ χωρίου θαρραλεώτεροι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰωταπάτην ἦσαν, πολὺ δ' ἐλάττους μάχιμοι, καὶ τῷ τόπῳ πεποιθότες οὐδὲ πλείονας ὑπελάμβανον Πεπλήρωτο γὰρ ἡ πόλις διὰ τὴν ὀχυρότητα συμφυγόντων: παρὸ καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' Ἀγρίππα προπεμφθεῖσιν ἐπὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀντεῖχεν ἐπὶ μῆνας ἑπτά.

2. As this city was naturally hard to be taken, so had Josephus, by building a wall about it, made it still stronger, as also by ditches and mines under ground. The

people that were in it were made more bold by the nature of the place than the people of Jotapata had been, but it had much fewer fighting men in it; and they had such a confidence in the situation of the place, that they thought the enemy could not be too many for them; for the city had been filled with those that had fled to it for safety, on account of its strength; on which account they had been able to resist those whom Agrippa sent to besiege it for seven months together.

(3) [11] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δ' ἄρας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀμμαθοῦς, ἔνθα πρὸ τῆς Τιβεριάδος ἐστρατοπεδεύκει: μεθερμηνευομένη δ' Ἀμμαθοῦς θερμὰ λέγοιτ' ἄν, ἔστι γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ πηγὴ θερμῶν ὑδάτων πρὸς ἄκεσιν ἐπιτηδείων: ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὴν Γάμαλαν. [12] καὶ πᾶσαν μὲν κυκλώσασθαι φυλακῇ τὴν πόλιν οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν οὕτως διακειμένην, πρὸς δὲ τοῖς δυνατοῖς φρουροὺς καθίστησι καὶ τὸ ὑπερκείμενον ὄρος καταλαμβάνεται. [13] τειχισαμένων δὲ ὥσπερ ἔθος τῶν ταγμάτων ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ στρατόπεδα χωμάτων ἤρχετο κατ' οὐράν, καὶ τὸ μὲν κατ' ἀνατολὰς αὐτῷ μέρος, ᾗπερ ὁ ἀνωτάτω τῆς πόλεως πύργος ἦν, ἐφ' οὗ τὸ πέμπτον καὶ δέκατον τάγμα, καὶ τὸ πέμπτον μὲν κατὰ μέσην ἐξειργάζετο τὴν πόλιν, τὰς δὲ διώρυγας ἀνεπλήρου καὶ τὰς φάραγγας τὸ δέκατον. [14] κἀν τούτῳ προσελθόντα τοῖς τείχεσιν Ἀγρίππαν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ περὶ παραδόσεως τοῖς ἐφεστῶσι πειρώμενον διαλέγεσθαι βάλλει τις τῶν σφενδονητῶν κατὰ τὸν δεξιὸν ἀγκῶνα λίθῳ. [15] καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων θᾶττον περιεσχέθη, Ῥωμαίους δὲ ἐπήγειρεν εἰς τὴν πολιορκίαν ὀργή τε περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν δέος: [16] οὐ γὰρ ἀπολείψειν ὠμότητος ὑπερβολὴν κατ' ἀλλοφύλων καὶ πολεμίων τοὺς πρὸς ὁμόφυλον καὶ τῶν συμφερόντων αὐτοῖς σύμβουλον οὕτως ἀγριωθέντας.

3. But Vespasian removed from Emmaus, where he had last pitched his camp before the city Tiberias, [now Emmaus, if it be interpreted, may be rendered "a warm bath," for therein is a spring of warm water, useful for healing,] and came to Gamala; yet was its situation such that he was not able to encompass it all round with soldiers to watch it; but where the places were practicable, he set men to watch it, and seized upon the mountain which was over it. And as the legions, according to their usual custom, were fortifying their camp upon that mountain, he began to cast up banks at the bottom, at the part towards the east, where the highest tower of the whole city was, and where the fifteenth legion pitched their camp; while the fifth legion did duty over against the midst of the city, and whilst the tenth legion filled up the ditches and the valleys. Now at this time it was that as king Agrippa was come nigh the walls, and was endeavoring to speak to those that were on the walls about a surrender, he was hit with a stone on his right elbow by one of the slingers; he was then immediately surrounded with his own men. But the Romans were excited to set about the

siege, by their indignation on the king's account, and by their fear on their own account, as concluding that those men would omit no kinds of barbarity against foreigners and enemies, who where so enraged against one of their own nation, and one that advised them to nothing but what was for their own advantage.

(4) [17] Συντελεσθέντων οὖν τῶν χωμάτων θᾶττον πλήθει χειρῶν καὶ τῶν πραττομένων ἔθει προσῆγον τὰς μηχανάς. [18] οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Χάρητα καὶ Ἰώσηπον, οὗτοι γὰρ ἦσαν τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν δυνατώτατοι, καίπερ καταπεπληγότας τοὺς ὁπλίτας τάττουσιν, ἐπειδὴ μέχρι πολλοῦ πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀνθέξειν οὐχ ὑπελάμβανον ὕδατι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτηδείοις μὴ διαρκούμενοι. [19] παρακροτήσαντες δ' ὅμως ἐξήγαγον ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον μὲν ἀπημύναντο τοὺς προσάγοντας τὰς μηχανάς, βαλλόμενοι δὲ τοῖς καταπελτικοῖς καὶ τοῖς πετροβόλοις ἀνεχώρουν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. [20] καὶ προσάγοντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τριχόθεν τοὺς κριοὺς διασείουσι μὲν τὸ τεῖχος, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν ἐρειφθέντων εἰσχεόμενοι μετὰ πολλοῦ σαλπίγγων ἤχου καὶ κτύπου τῶν ὅπλων αὐτοί τ' ἐπαλαλάζοντες συνερρήγνυντο τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν. [21] οἱ δὲ τέως μὲν κατὰ τὰς πρώτας εἰσόδους ἐνιστάμενοι προσωτέρω χωρεῖν ἐκώλυον καὶ καρτερῶς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀνεῖργον: [22] βιαζόμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ πάντοθεν τρέπονται πρὸς τὰ ὑψηλὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ προσκειμένοις τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς ἐπιπεσόντες συνώθουν εἰς τὸ κάταντες καὶ τῇ στενότητι καὶ δυσχωρίᾳ θλιβομένους ἀνῄρουν. [23] οἱ δὲ μήτε τοὺς κατὰ κορυφὴν ἀμύνασθαι δυνάμενοι μήτε διεκπαίειν τῶν σφετέρων πρόσω βιαζομένων ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν πολεμίων, πρόσγειοι γὰρ ἦσαν, ἀνέφευγον. [24] αἱ δὲ ταχέως κατηρείποντο πληρούμεναι καὶ τὸ βάρος μὴ στέγουσαι, κατέσειε δὲ πολλὰς μία τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῆς πεσοῦσα καὶ πάλιν ἐκεῖναι τὰς ὑπ' αὐτάς. [25] τοῦτο πλείστους διέφθειρε τῶν Ῥωμαίων: ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀμηχανίας καίτοι συνιζανούσας ὁρῶντες ἐπεπήδων ταῖς στέγαις, καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν κατεχώννυντο τοῖς ἐρειπίοις, πολλοὶ δ' ὑποφεύγοντες μέρη τοῦ σώματος κατελαμβάνοντο, πλείστους δὲ ὁ κονιορτὸς ἄγχων ἀνῄρει. [26] συνεργίαν θεοῦ τοῦτο Γαμαλεῖς ὑπελάμβανον καὶ τῆς κατὰ σφᾶς ἀμελοῦντες βλάβης ἐπέκειντο, πρός τε τὰ στέγη τοὺς πολεμίους ἀνωθοῦντες καί τοι κατολισθάνοντας ἐν ὀξέσι τοῖς στενωποῖς καὶ ἀεὶ τοὺς πίπτοντας ὕπερθεν βάλλοντες ἔκτεινον. [27] καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐρείπια χερμάδων πλέα ἦν αὐτοῖς, σίδηρον δὲ παρεῖχον οἱ τῶν πολεμίων νεκροί: παρασπῶντες γὰρ τὰ τῶν πεσόντων ξίφη κατὰ τῶν δυσθανατούντων ἐχρῶντο. [28] πολλοὶ δ' ἀπὸ πιπτόντων ἤδη τῶν δωμάτων σφᾶς αὐτοὺς βάλλοντες ἔθνησκον. [29] ἦν δ' οὐδὲ τραπέντων ἡ φυγὴ ῥᾴδιος: κατὰ γὰρ ἄγνοιαν τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ παχύτητα τοῦ κονιορτοῦ μηδὲ ἀλλήλους ἐπιγινώσκοντες ἀνειλοῦντο καὶ περὶ σφᾶς ἔπιπτον.

4. Now when the banks were finished, which was done on the sudden, both by the multitude of hands, and by their being accustomed to such work, they brought

the machines; but Chares and Joseph, who were the most potent men in the city, set their armed men in order, though already in a fright, because they did not suppose that the city could hold out long, since they had not a sufficient quantity either of water, or of other necessaries. However, these their leaders encouraged them, and brought them out upon the wall, and for a while indeed they drove away those that were bringing the machines; but when those machines threw darts and stones at them, they retired into the city; then did the Romans bring battering rams to three several places, and made the wall shake [and fall]. They then poured in over the parts of the wall that were thrown down, with a mighty sound of trumpets and noise of armor, and with a shout of the soldiers, and brake in by force upon those that were in the city; but these men fell upon the Romans for some time, at their first entrance, and prevented their going any further, and with great courage beat them back; and the Romans were so overpowered by the greater multitude of the people, who beat them on every side, that they were obliged to run into the upper parts of the city. Whereupon the people turned about, and fell upon their enemies, who had attacked them, and thrust them down to the lower parts, and as they were distressed by the narrowness and difficulty of the place, slew them; and as these Romans could neither beat those back that were above them, nor escape the force of their own men that were forcing their way forward, they were compelled to fly into their enemies' houses, which were low; but these houses being thus full, of soldiers, whose weight they could not bear, fell down suddenly; and when one house fell, it shook down a great many of those that were under it, as did those do to such as were under them. By this means a vast number of the Romans perished; for they were so terribly distressed, that although they saw the houses subsiding, they were compelled to leap upon the tops of them; so that a great many were ground to powder by these ruins, and a great many of those that got from under them lost some of their limbs, but still a greater number were suffocated by the dust that arose from those ruins. The people of Gamala supposed this to be an assistance afforded them by God, and without regarding what damage they suffered themselves, they pressed forward, and thrust the enemy upon the tops of their houses; and when they stumbled in the sharp and narrow streets, and were perpetually falling down, they threw their stones or darts at them, and slew them. Now the very ruins afforded them stones enow; and for iron weapons, the dead men of the enemies' side afforded them what they wanted; for drawing the swords of those that were dead, they made use of them to despatch such as were only half dead; nay, there were a great number who, upon their falling down from the tops of the houses, stabbed themselves, and died after that manner; nor indeed was it easy for those that were beaten back to fly away; for they were so

unacquainted with the ways, and the dust was so thick, that they wandered about without knowing one another, and fell down dead among the crowd.

(5) [30] Οἱ μὲν οὖν μόλις εὑρίσκοντες τὰς ἐξόδους ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως: [31] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δ᾽ ἀεὶ προσμένων τοῖς πονουμένοις, δεινὸν γάρ τι πάθος αὐτὸν εἰσῄει κατερειπομένην ὁρῶντα περὶ τῷ στρατῷ τὴν πόλιν, ἐν λήθῃ τοῦ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀσφαλοῦς γενόμενος λανθάνει κατὰ μικρὸν ἀνωτάτω τῆς πόλεως προελθών, ἔνθα μέσοις ἐγκαταλείπεται τοῖς κινδύνοις μετ᾽ ὀλίγων παντελῶς: [32] οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ παῖς αὐτῷ Τίτος τότε συμπαρῆν τηνικαῦτα πρὸς Μουκιανὸν εἰς Συρίαν ἀπεσταλμένος. [33] τραπῆναι μὲν οὖν οὔτε ἀσφαλὲς οὔτε πρέπον ἡγήσατο, μνησθεὶς δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ νεότητος αὐτῷ πεπονημένων καὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετῆς, ὥσπερ ἔνθους γενόμενος, συνασπίζει μὲν τοὺς ἅμ᾽ αὐτῷ τά τε σώματα καὶ τὰς πανοπλίας, [34] ὑφίσταται δὲ κατὰ κορυφὴν ἐπιρρέοντα τὸν πόλεμον καὶ οὔτε ἀνδρῶν πλῆθος οὔτε βελῶν ὑποπτήξας ἐπέμενε, μέχρι δαιμόνιον τὸ παράστημα τῆς ψυχῆς συννοήσαντες οἱ πολέμιοι ταῖς ὁρμαῖς ἐνέδοσαν. [35] ἀτονώτερον δὲ προσκειμένων αὐτὸς ὑπὸ πόδα ἀνεχώρει νῶτα μὴ δεικνὺς ἕως ἔξω τοῦ τείχους ἐγένετο. [36] πλεῖστοι μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων κατὰ ταύτην ἔπεσον τὴν μάχην, ἐν οἷς ὁ δεκαδάρχης Αἰβούτιος, ἀνὴρ οὐ μόνον ἐφ᾽ ἧς ἔπεσε παρατάξεως, ἀλλὰ πανταχοῦ καὶ πρότερον γενναιότατος φανεὶς καὶ πλεῖστα κακὰ Ἰουδαίους ἐργασάμενος. [37] ἑκατοντάρχης δέ τις, Γάλλος ὀνόματι, μετὰ στρατιωτῶν δέκα περισχεθεὶς ἐν τῇ ταραχῇ κατέδυ μὲν εἴς τινος οἰκίαν, [38] τῶν δ᾽ ἐν αὐτῇ διαλαλούντων παρὰ δεῖπνον ὅσα κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἢ περὶ σφῶν ὁ δῆμος ἐβουλεύετο κατακροασάμενος, ἦν δὲ αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ Σύροι, νύκτωρ ἐπανίσταται καὶ πάντας ἀποσφάξας μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἰς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διασώζεται.

5. Those therefore that were able to find the ways out of the city retired. But now Vespasian always staid among those that were hard set; for he was deeply affected with seeing the ruins of the city falling upon his army, and forgot to take care of his own preservation. He went up gradually towards the highest parts of the city before he was aware, and was left in the midst of dangers, having only a very few with him; for even his son Titus was not with him at that time, having been then sent into Syria to Mucianus. However, he thought it not safe to fly, nor did he esteem it a fit thing for him to do; but calling to mind the actions he had done from his youth, and recollecting his courage, as if he had been excited by a divine fury, he covered himself and those that were with him with their shields, and formed a testudo over both their bodies and their armor, and bore up against the enemy's attacks, who came running down from the top of the city; and without showing any dread at the multitude of the men or of their darts, he endured all, until the enemy took notice of that divine courage that was within

him, and remitted of their attacks; and when they pressed less zealously upon him, he retired, though without showing his back to them till he was gotten out of the walls of the city. Now a great number of the Romans fell in this battle, among whom was Ebutius, the decurion, a man who appeared not only in this engagement, wherein he fell, but every where, and in former engagements, to be of the truest courage, and one that had done very great mischief to the Jews. But there was a centurion whose name was Gallus, who, during this disorder, being encompassed about, he and ten other soldiers privately crept into the house of a certain person, where he heard them talking at supper, what the people intended to do against the Romans, or about themselves [for both the man himself and those with him were Syrians]. So he got up in the night time, and cut all their throats, and escaped, together with his soldiers, to the Romans.

(6) [39] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δ᾽ ἀθυμοῦσαν τὴν στρατιὰν ἀνοίᾳ πταισμάτων καὶ διότι τέως οὐδαμοῦ τηλικαύτῃ συμφορᾷ κέχρηντο, τό γε μὴν πλέον αἰδουμένους ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν στρατηγὸν μόνον τοῖς κινδύνοις ἐγκαταλιπεῖν παρεμυθεῖτο, [40] περὶ μὲν τοῦ καθ᾽ αὑτὸν ὑποστελλόμενος, ὡς μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν μέμφεσθαι δοκοίη, δεῖν δὲ τὰ κοινὰ λέγων ἀνδρείως φέρειν τὴν τοῦ πολέμου φύσιν ἐννοοῦντας, ὡς οὐδαμοῦ τὸ νικᾶν ἀναιμωτὶ περιγίνεται, δαπανᾷ δ᾽ ἡ τύχη τι καὶ παρίσταται. [41] τοσαύτας μέντοι μυριάδας Ἰουδαίων ἀνελόντας αὐτοὺς ὀλίγην τῷ δαίμονι δεδωκέναι συμβολήν. [42] εἶναι δ᾽ ὥσπερ ἀπειροκάλων τὸ λίαν ἐπαίρεσθαι ταῖς εὐπραγίαις, οὕτως ἀνάνδρων τὸ καταπτήσσειν ἐν τοῖς πταίσμασιν: ὀξεῖα γὰρ ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἡ μεταβολή, κἀκεῖνος ἄριστος ὁ κὰν τοῖς εὐτυχήμασιν νήφων, ἵνα μένῃ καὶ δι᾽ εὐθυμίας ἀναπαλαίων τὰ σφάλματα. [43] τὰ μέντοι συμβεβηκότα νῦν οὔτε μαλακισθέντων ὑμῶν οὔτε παρὰ τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρετὴν γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ κἀκείνοις τοῦ πλεονεκτῆσαι καὶ τοῦ διαμαρτεῖν ἡμῖν αἴτιον ἡ δυσχωρία. [44] καθ᾽ ἣν ἄν τις ὑμῶν μέμψαιτο τῆς ὁρμῆς τὸ ἀταμίευτον: ἀναφυγόντων γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ τῶν πολεμίων αὐτοὺς ὑποστέλλειν ἐχρῆν, καὶ μὴ κατὰ κορυφὴν ἱσταμένοις τοῖς κινδύνοις ἔπεσθαι, κρατοῦντας δὲ τῆς κάτω πόλεως κατ᾽ ὀλίγον προκαλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀναφεύγοντας εἰς ἀσφαλῆ καὶ ἑδραίαν μάχην. νυνὶ δὲ ἀκρατῶς ἐπὶ τὴν νίκην ἐπειγόμενοι τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἠμελήσατε. [45] τὸ δ᾽ ἀπερίσκεπτον ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ τῆς ὁρμῆς μανιῶδες οὐ πρὸς Ῥωμαίων, οἳ πάντα ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ τάξει κατορθοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ βαρβαρικόν, καὶ ᾧ μάλιστα Ἰουδαῖοι κρατοῦνται. [46] χρὴ τοίνυν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν ἀναδραμεῖν καὶ θυμοῦσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ προσαθυμεῖν τῷ παρ᾽ ἀξίαν πταίσματι. [47] τὴν δ᾽ ἀρίστην ἕκαστος ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας χειρὸς ἐπιζητείτω παραμυθίαν: οὕτω γὰρ τοῖς τε ἀπολωλόσι τιμωρήσεσθε καὶ τοὺς ἀνελόντας ἀμυνεῖσθε. [48] πειράσομαι δ᾽ ἐγώ, καθάπερ νῦν, ἐπὶ πάσης μάχης προάγειν τε ὑμῶν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τελευταῖος ἀποχωρεῖν.”

6. And now Vespasian comforted his army, which was much dejected by reflecting on their ill success, and because they had never before fallen into such a calamity, and besides this, because they were greatly ashamed that they had left their general alone in great dangers. As to what concerned himself, he avoided to say any thing, that he might by no means seem to complain of it; but he said that "we ought to bear manfully what usually falls out in war, and this, by considering what the nature of war is, and how it can never be that we must conquer without bloodshed on our own side; for there stands about us that fortune which is of its own nature mutable; that while they had killed so many ten thousands of the Jews, they had now paid their small share of the reckoning to fate; and as it is the part of weak people to be too much puffed up with good success, so is it the part of cowards to be too much affrighted at that which is ill; for the change from the one to the other is sudden on both sides; and he is the best warrior who is of a sober mind under misfortunes, that he may continue in that temper, and cheerfully recover what had been lost formerly; and as for what had now happened, it was neither owing to their own effeminacy, nor to the valor of the Jews, but the difficulty of the place was the occasion of their advantage, and of our disappointment. Upon reflecting on which matter one might blame your zeal as perfectly ungovernable; for when the enemy had retired to their highest fastnesses, you ought to have restrained yourselves, and not, by presenting yourselves at the top of the city, to be exposed to dangers; but upon your having obtained the lower parts of the city, you ought to have provoked those that had retired thither to a safe and settled battle; whereas, in rushing so hastily upon victory, you took no care of your safety. But this incautiousness in war, and this madness of zeal, is not a Roman maxim. While we perform all that we attempt by skill and good order, that procedure is the part of barbarians, and is what the Jews chiefly support themselves by. We ought therefore to return to our own virtue, and to be rather angry than any longer dejected at this unlucky misfortune, and let every one seek for his own consolation from his own hand; for by this means he will avenge those that have been destroyed, and punish those that have killed them. For myself, I will endeavor, as I have now done, to go first before you against your enemies in every engagement, and to be the last that retires from it."

(7) [49] Ὁ μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα λέγων τὴν στρατιὰν ἀνελάμβανεν, τοῖς δὲ Γαμαλεῦσιν πρὸς ὀλίγον μὲν θαρρῆσαι τῷ κατορθώματι παρέστη παραλόγως τε συμβάντι καὶ μεγάλως, [50] λογιζόμενοι δ' ὕστερον ἀφῃρῆσθαι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ δεξιᾶς ἐλπίδας τό τε μὴ δύνασθαι διαφεύγειν ἐννοοῦντες, ἤδη γὰρ ἐπέλιπε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, δεινῶς ἠθύμουν καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀναπεπτώκεσαν. [51] οὐ μὴν εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν ἠμέλουν

σωτηρίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ παραρρηχθέντα τοῦ τείχους οἱ γενναιότατοι καὶ τὰ μένοντα περισχόντες ἐφύλασσον οἱ λοιποί. [52] τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐπιρρωννύντων τὰ χώματα καὶ πάλιν πειρωμένων προσβολῆς οἱ πολλοὶ διεδίδρασκον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως κατά τε δυσβάτων φαράγγων, ᾗπερ οὐκ ἔκειντο φυλακαί, καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑπονόμων. [53] ὅσοι γε μὴν δέει τοῦ ληφθῆναι παρέμενον, [ἐν] ἐνδείᾳ διεφθείροντο: πανταχόθεν γὰρ τροφὴ τοῖς μάχεσθαι δυναμένοις συνηθροίζετο.

7. So Vespasian encouraged his army by this speech; but for the people of Gamala, it happened that they took courage for a little while, upon such great and unaccountable success as they had had. But when they considered with themselves that they had now no hopes of any terms of accommodation, and reflecting upon it that they could not get away, and that their provisions began already to be short, they were exceedingly cast down, and their courage failed them; yet did they not neglect what might be for their preservation, so far as they were able, but the most courageous among them guarded those parts of the wall that were beaten down, while the more infirm did the same to the rest of the wall that still remained round the city. And as the Romans raised their banks, and attempted to get into the city a second time, a great many of them fled out of the city through impracticable valleys, where no guards were placed, as also through subterraneous caverns; while those that were afraid of being caught, and for that reason staid in the city, perished for want of food; for what food they had was brought together from all quarters, and reserved for the fighting men.

(8) [54] Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τοιούτοις πάθεσι διεκαρτέρουν, Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ πάρεργον ἐποιεῖτο τῆς πολιορκίας τοὺς τὸ Ἰταβύριον κατειληφότας ὄρος, ὅ ἐστι τοῦ μεγάλου πεδίου καὶ Σκυθοπόλεως μέσον: [55] οὗ τὸ μὲν ὕψος ἐπὶ τριάκοντα σταδίους ἀνίσχει, μόλις προσβατὸν κατὰ τὸ προσάρκτιον κλίμα, πεδίον δ' ἐστὶν ἡ κορυφὴ σταδίων ἓξ καὶ εἴκοσι, πᾶν τετειχισμένον. [56] ἤγειρε δὲ τοσοῦτον ὄντα τὸν περίβολον ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἐν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραις τῇ τε ἄλλῃ χορηγούμενος ὕλῃ κάτωθεν καὶ ὕδατι: καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἐποίκοις μόνον ἦν ὄμβριον. [57] πολλοῦ οὖν πλήθους ἐπὶ τοῦτο συνειλεγμένου Οὐεσπασιανὸς Πλάκιδον σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ἑξακοσίοις πέμπει. [58] τούτῳ τὸ μὲν προσβαίνειν ἀμήχανον ἦν, ἐλπίδι δὲ δεξιῶν καὶ παρακλήσεως πρὸς εἰρήνην τοὺς πολλοὺς προεκαλεῖτο. [59] κατῄεσαν δὲ ἀντεπιβουλεύοντες: ὅ τε γὰρ Πλάκιδος ὠμίλει πρᾳότερον σπουδάζων αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ λαβεῖν, κἀκεῖνοι κατῄεσαν ὡς πειθόμενοι δῆθεν, ἵνα ἀφυλάκτῳ προσπέσωσιν. [60] ἐνίκα μέντοι τὸ Πλακίδου πανοῦργον: ἀρξαμένων γὰρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων μάχης φυγὴν ὑπεκρίνετο καὶ διώκοντας ἑλκύσας ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦ πεδίου τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἐπιστρέφει, τρεψάμενος δὲ πλείστους μὲν αὐτῶν ἀναιρεῖ, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ὑποτεμόμενος εἴργει τῆς ἀνόδου. [61] καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸ Ἰταβύριον

καταλιπόντες ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἔφευγον, οἱ δὲ ἐπιχώριοι πίστεις λαβόντες, ἐπιλελοίπει δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὕδωρ, τό τε ὄρος καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς Πλακίδῳ παρέδοσαν.

8. And these were the hard circumstances that the people of Gamala were in. But now Vespasian went about other work by the by, during this siege, and that was to subdue those that had seized upon Mount Tabor, a place that lies in the middle between the great plain and Scythopolis, whose top is elevated as high as thirty furlongs and is hardly to be ascended on its north side; its top is a plain of twenty-six furlongs, and all encompassed with a wall. Now Josephus erected this so long a wall in forty days' time, and furnished it with other materials, and with water from below, for the inhabitants only made use of rain water. As therefore there was a great multitude of people gotten together upon this mountain, Vespasian sent Placidus with six hundred horsemen thither. Now, as it was impossible for him to ascend the mountain, he invited many of them to peace, by the offer of his right hand for their security, and of his intercession for them. Accordingly they came down, but with a treacherous design, as well as he had the like treacherous design upon them on the other side; for Placidus spoke mildly to them, as aiming to take them, when he got them into the plain; they also came down, as complying with his proposals, but it was in order to fall upon him when he was not aware of it: however, Placidus's stratagem was too hard for theirs; for when the Jews began to fight, he pretended to run away, and when they were in pursuit of the Romans, he enticed them a great way along the plain, and then made his horsemen turn back; whereupon he beat them, and slew a great number of them, and cut off the retreat of the rest of the multitude, and hindered their return. So they left Tabor, and fled to Jerusalem, while the people of the country came to terms with him, for their water failed them, and so they delivered up the mountain and themselves to Placidus.

(9) [62] Τῶν δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῆς Γαμάλας οἱ παραβολώτεροι μὲν φεύγοντες διελάνθανον, οἱ δ᾽ ἀσθενεῖς διεφθείροντο λιμῷ: [63] τὸ μάχιμον δ᾽ ἀντεῖχεν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ, μέχρι δευτέρᾳ καὶ εἰκάδι μηνὸς Ὑπερβερεταίου τρεῖς τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πέμπτου καὶ δεκάτου τάγματος στρατιῶται περὶ τὴν ἑωθινὴν φυλακὴν ὑποδύντες τὸν προύχοντα κατὰ τούτους πύργον ὑπορύσσουσιν ἡσυχῇ. [64] τοῖς δ᾽ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φύλαξιν οὔτε προσιόντων αἴσθησις, νὺξ γὰρ ἦν, οὔτε προσελθόντων ἐγένετο. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται φειδόμενοι τοῦ ψόφου καὶ πέντε τοὺς κραταιοτάτους ἐκκυλίσαντες λίθους ὑποπηδῶσι. [65] κατηρείπετο δὲ ὁ πύργος ἐξαίφνης μετὰ μεγίστου ψόφου, καὶ συγκατακρημνίζονται μὲν οἱ φύλακες αὐτῷ, θορυβηθέντες δὲ οἱ κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας φυλακὰς ἔφευγον: [66] καὶ πολλοὺς διεκπαίειν τολμῶντας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διέφθειραν, ἐν οἷς καὶ Ἰώσηπόν τις ὑπὲρ τὸ παρερρηγμένον τοῦ τείχους ἐκδιδράσκοντα βαλὼν ἀναιρεῖ. [67] τῶν δ᾽ ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν διασεισθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ

ψόφου διαδρομή τε ἦν καὶ πτόα πολλὴ καθάπερ εἰσπεπαικότων πάντων τῶν πολεμίων. [68] ἔνθα καὶ Χάρης κατακείμενος καὶ νοσηλευόμενος ἐκλείπει πολλοῦ δέους συνεργήσαντος εἰς θάνατον τῇ νόσῳ. [69] Ῥωμαῖοί γε μὴν μεμνημένοι τοῦ προτέρου πταίσματος οὐκ εἰσέβαλλον ἕως τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ προειρημένου μηνός.

9. But of the people of Gamala, those that were of the bolder sort fled away and hid themselves, while the more infirm perished by famine; but the men of war sustained the siege till the two and twentieth day of the month Hyperbereteus, [Tisri,] when three soldiers of the fifteenth legion, about the morning watch, got under a high tower that was near them, and undermined it, without making any noise; nor when they either came to it, which was in the night time, nor when they were under it, did those that guarded it perceive them. These soldiers then upon their coming avoided making a noise, and when they had rolled away five of its strongest stones, they went away hastily; whereupon the tower fell down on a sudden, with a very great noise, and its guard fell headlong with it; so that those that kept guard at other places were under such disturbance, that they ran away; the Romans also slew many of those that ventured to oppose them, among whom was Joseph, who was slain by a dart, as he was running away over that part of the wall that was broken down: but as those that were in the city were greatly affrighted at the noise, they ran hither and thither, and a great consternation fell upon them, as though all the enemy had fallen in at once upon them. Then it was that Chares, who was ill, and under the physician's hands, gave up the ghost, the fear he was in greatly contributing to make his distemper fatal to him. But the Romans so well remembered their former ill success, that they did not enter the city till the three and twentieth day of the forementioned month.

(10) [70] Τίτος δέ, ἤδη γὰρ παρῆν, ὀργῇ τῆς πληγῆς ἣν παρ' αὐτὸν ἐπλήγησαν ἀπόντα Ῥωμαῖοι, τῶν ἱππέων ἐπιλέξας διακοσίους, πρὸς οἷς πεζοὺς , Εἰσέρχεται τὴν πόλιν ἡσυχῇ. [71] καὶ παρελθόντος οἱ μὲν φύλακες αἰσθόμενοι μετὰ βοῆς ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα, δήλης δὲ τῆς εἰσβολῆς ταχέως καὶ τοῖς εἴσω γενομένης, οἱ μὲν ἁρπάζοντες τὰ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας ἐπισυρόμενοι πρὸς τὴν ἄκραν ἀνέφευγον μετὰ κωκυτοῦ καὶ βοῆς, οἱ δὲ τὸν Τίτον ὑπαντιάζοντες ἀδιαλείπτως ἔπιπτον: [72] ὅσοι δὲ ἀπεκωλύθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν ἀναδραμεῖν ὑπ' ἀμηχανίας εἰς τὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων φρουρὰς ἐξέπιπτον. ἄπειρος δ' ἦν πανταχοῦ φονευομένων ὁ στόνος, καὶ τὸ αἷμα πᾶσαν ἐπέκλυζε τὴν πόλιν κατὰ πρανοῦς χεόμενον. [73] πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀναφεύγοντας εἰς τὴν ἄκραν ἐπεβοήθει Οὐεσπασιανὸς πᾶσαν εἰσαγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν. [74] ἦν δ' ἥ τε κορυφὴ πάντοθεν πετρώδης καὶ δύσβατος, εἰς ἄπειρον ὕψος ἐπηρμένη, καὶ πανταχόθεν † τοῦ βάθους κατέγεμεν περιειλημμένη

κρημνοῖς κατέτεμνόν τε. [75] ἐνταῦθα τοὺς προσβαίνοντας οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις βέλεσι καὶ πέτρας κατακυλινδοῦντες ἐκάκουν: αὐτοὶ δὲ δι᾽ ὕψος ἦσαν δυσέφικτοι βέλει. [76] γίνεται δὲ πρὸς ἀπώλειαν αὐτῶν ἄντικρυς θύελλα δαιμόνιος, ἣ τὰ μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἔφερεν εἰς αὐτοὺς βέλη, τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀνέστρεφεν καὶ πλάγια παρέσυρεν. [77] οὔτε δὲ τοῖς ὑποκρήμνοις ἐφίστασθαι διὰ τὴν βίαν ἐδύναντο τοῦ πνεύματος μηδὲν ἑδραῖον ἔχοντες, οὔτε τοὺς προσβαίνοντας καθορᾶν. [78] ἐπαναβαίνουσι δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ περισχόντες οὓς μὲν ἀμυνομένους ἔφθανον, οὓς δὲ χεῖρας προίσχοντας: ἐτόνου δὲ τὸν θυμὸν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ πάντας ἡ μνήμη τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης εἰσβολῆς ἀπολωλότων. [79] ἀπογινώσκοντες δὲ τὴν σωτηρίαν πανταχόθεν οἱ πολλοὶ περισχόμενοι τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας αὐτούς τε κατεκρήμνιζον εἰς τὴν φάραγγα: βαθυτάτη δ᾽ αὕτη κατὰ τὴν ἄκραν ὑπορώρυκτο. [80] συνέβη δὲ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ὀργὴν τῆς εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἀπονοίας τῶν ἁλόντων πρᾳοτέραν φανῆναι: τετρακισχίλιοι μέν γε ὑπὸ τούτων ἐσφάγησαν, οἱ δὲ ῥίψαντες ἑαυτοὺς ὑπὲρ πεντακισχιλίους εὑρέθησαν. [81] διεσώθη δὲ πλὴν δύο γυναικῶν οὐδείς: τῆς Φιλίππου δὲ ἦσαν ἀδελφῆς θυγατέρες αὗται, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Φίλιππος Ἰακίμου τινὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐπισήμου, τετραρχήσαντος Ἀγρίππᾳ τῷ βασιλεῖ. [82] διεσώθησαν δὲ τὰς παρὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν ὀργὰς Ῥωμαίων λαθοῦσαι: τότε γὰρ οὐδὲ νηπίων ἐφείδοντο, πολλὰ δ᾽ ἑκάστοτε ἁρπάζοντες ἐσφενδόνων ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας. [83] Γάμαλα μὲν οὕτως ἑάλω τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι μηνὸς Ὑπερβερεταίου τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἀρξαμένης Γορπιαίου μηνὸς τετάρτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι.

10. At which time Titus, who was now returned, out of the indignation he had at the destruction the Romans had undergone while he was absent, took two hundred chosen horsemen and some footmen with him, and entered without noise into the city. Now as the watch perceived that he was coming, they made a noise, and betook themselves to their arms; and as that his entrance was presently known to those that were in the city, some of them caught hold of their children and their wives, and drew them after them, and fled away to the citadel, with lamentations and cries, while others of them went to meet Titus, and were killed perpetually; but so many of them as were hindered from running up to the citadel, not knowing what in the world to do, fell among the Roman guards, while the groans of those that were killed were prodigiously great every where, and blood ran down over all the lower parts of the city, from the upper. But then Vespasian himself came to his assistance against those that had fled to the citadel, and brought his whole army with him; now this upper part of the city was every way rocky, and difficult of ascent, and elevated to a vast altitude, and very full of people on all sides, and encompassed with precipices, whereby the Jews cut off those that came up to them, and did much mischief to others by their darts, and the large stones which they rolled down upon them, while they

were themselves so high that the enemy's darts could hardly reach them. However, there arose such a Divine storm against them as was instrumental to their destruction; this carried the Roman darts upon them, and made those which they threw return back, and drove them obliquely away from them; nor could the Jews indeed stand upon their precipices, by reason of the violence of the wind, having nothing that was stable to stand upon, nor could they see those that were ascending up to them; so the Romans got up and surrounded them, and some they slew before they could defend themselves, and others as they were delivering up themselves; and the remembrance of those that were slain at their former entrance into the city increased their rage against them now; a great number also of those that were surrounded on every side, and despaired of escaping, threw their children and their wives, and themselves also, down the precipices, into the valley beneath, which, near the citadel, had been dug hollow to a vast depth; but so it happened, that the anger of the Romans appeared not to be so extravagant as was the madness of those that were now taken, while the Romans slew but four thousand, whereas the number of those that had thrown themselves down was found to be five thousand: nor did any one escape except two women, who were the daughters of Philip, and Philip himself was the son of a certain eminent man called Jacimus, who had been general of king Agrippa's army; and these did therefore escape, because they lay concealed from the rage of the Romans when the city was taken; for otherwise they spared not so much as the infants, of which many were flung down by them from the citadel. And thus was Gamala taken on the three and twentieth day of the month Hyperbereteus, [Tisri,] whereas the city had first revolted on the four and twentieth day of the month Gorpieus [Elul].

II

CHAPTER 2.

The Surrender Of Gischala; While John Flies Away From It To Jerusalem.

(1) [84] Μόνη δὲ Γίσχαλα πολίχνη τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἀχείρωτος κατελείπετο, τοῦ μὲν πλήθους εἰρηνικὰ φρονοῦντος, καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν τὸ πλέον γεωργοὶ καὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν ἐλπίσιν ἀεὶ προσανέχοντες, παρεισεφθαρμένου δ' αὐτοῖς οὐκ ὀλίγου λῃστρικοῦ τάγματος, ᾧ τινες καὶ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ συνενόσουν. [85] ἐνῆγε δὲ τούτους εἰς τὴν ἀπόστασιν καὶ συνεκρότει Ληΐου τινὸς υἱὸς Ἰωάννης, γόης ἀνὴρ καὶ ποικιλώτατος τὸ ἦθος, πρόχειρος μὲν ἐλπίσαι μεγάλα, δεινὸς δὲ τῶν ἐλπισθέντων περιγενέσθαι παντί τε ὢν δῆλος ἀγαπᾶν τὸν πόλεμον εἰς

δυναστείας ἐπίθεσιν. [86] ὑπὸ τούτῳ τὸ στασιῶδες ἐν τοῖς Γισχάλοις ἐτέτακτο, δι᾽ οὓς τυχὸν καὶ πρεσβευσάμενον περὶ παραδόσεως τὸ δημοτικὸν ἐν πολέμου μοίρᾳ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἔφοδον ἐξεδέχετο. [87] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τούτους Τίτον ἐκπέμπει σὺν χιλίοις ἱππεῦσιν, τὸ δέκατον δὲ τάγμα ἀπαίρει εἰς Σκυθόπολιν. [88] αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν δυσὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Καισάρειαν, τοῦ τε συνεχοῦς καμάτου διδοὺς ἀνάπαυσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ δι᾽ εὐθηνίαν τῶν πόλεων τά τε σώματα καὶ τὸ πρόθυμον ὑποθρέψειν οἰόμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς μέλλοντας ἀγῶνας: [89] οὐ γὰρ ὀλίγον αὐτῷ πόνον ἑώρα περὶ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις λειπόμενον, ἅτε δὴ βασιλείου μὲν οὔσης τῆς πόλεως καὶ προανεχούσης ὅλου τοῦ ἔθνους, συρρεόντων δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου διαδιδρασκόντων. [90] τό γε μὴν φύσει τε ὀχυρὸν αὐτῆς καὶ διὰ κατασκευὴν τειχῶν ἀγωνίαν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἐνεποίει: τὰ δὲ φρονήματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὰς τόλμας δυσμεταχειρίστους καὶ δίχα τειχῶν ὑπελάμβανεν. [91] διὸ δὴ τοὺς στρατιώτας καθάπερ ἀθλητὰς προήσκει τῶν ἀγώνων.

1. Now no place of Galilee remained to be taken but the small city of Gischala, whose multitude yet were desirous of peace; for they were generally husbandmen, and always applied themselves to cultivate the fruits of the earth. However, there were a great number that belonged to a band of robbers, that were already corrupted, and had crept in among them, and some of the governing part of the citizens were sick of the same distemper. It was John, the son of a certain man whose name was Levi, that drew them into this rebellion, and encouraged them in it. He was a cunning knave, and of a temper that could put on various shapes; very rash in expecting great things, and very sagacious in bringing about what he hoped for. It was known to every body that he was fond of war, in order to thrust himself into authority; and the seditious part of the people of Gischala were under his management, by whose means the populace, who seemed ready to send ambassadors in order to surrender, waited for the coming of the Romans in battle-array. Vespasian sent against them Titus, with a thousand horsemen, but withdrew the tenth legion to Scythopolis, while he returned to Cesarea with the two other legions, that he might allow them to refresh themselves after their long and hard campaign, thinking withal that the plenty which was in those cities would improve their bodies and their spirits, against the difficulties they were to go through afterwards; for he saw there would be occasion for great pains about Jerusalem, which was not yet taken, because it was the royal city, and the principal city of the whole nation, and because those that had run away from the war in other places got all together thither. It was also naturally strong, and the walls that were built round it made him not a little concerned about it. Moreover, he esteemed the men that were in

it to be so courageous and bold, that even without the consideration of the walls, it would be hard to subdue them; for which reason he took care of and exercised his soldiers beforehand for the work, as they do wrestlers before they begin their undertaking.

(2) [92] Τίτῳ δὲ προσιππασαμένῳ τοῖς Γισχάλοις εὐπετὲς μὲν ἦν ἐξ ἐφόδου τὴν πόλιν ἑλεῖν, εἰδὼς δέ, εἰ βίᾳ ληφθείη, διαφθαρησόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀνέδην τὸ πλῆθος, ἦν δ' αὐτῷ κόρος ἤδη φόνων καὶ δι' οἴκτου τὸ πλέον ἀκρίτως συναπολλύμενον τοῖς αἰτίοις, ἐβούλετο μᾶλλον ὁμολογίαις παραστήσασθαι τὴν πόλιν. [93] καὶ δὴ τοῦ τείχους ἀνδρῶν καταγέμοντος, οἳ τὸ πλέον ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ διεφθαρμένου τάγματος, θαυμάζειν ἔφη πρὸς αὐτούς, τίνι πεποιθότες πάσης ἐαλωκυίας πόλεως μόνοι τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὅπλα μένουσιν, [94] ἐωρακότες μὲν ὀχυρωτέρας πολλῷ πόλεις ὑπὸ μίαν προσβολὴν κατεστραμμένας, ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ δὲ τῶν ἰδίων κτημάτων ἀπολαύοντας ὅσοι ταῖς Ῥωμαίων δεξιαῖς ἐπίστευσαν, ἃς καὶ νῦν προτείνειν αὐτοῖς μηδὲν μνησικακῶν τῆς αὐθαδείας. [95] εἶναι γὰρ συγγνωστὸν ἐλευθερίας ἐλπίδα, μηκέτι μέντοι τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις ἐπιμονήν: [96] εἰ γὰρ οὐ πεισθήσονται λόγοις φιλανθρώποις καὶ δεξιαῖς πίστεως, πειράσειν αὐτοὺς ἀφειδῆ τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ ὅσον οὐδέπω † γνωσθήσεσθαι πιεζόμενον τοῖς Ῥωμαίων μηχανήμασιν τὸ τεῖχος, ᾧ πεποιθότες ἐπιδείκνυνται μόνοι Γαλιλαίων, ὅτι εἰσὶν αὐθάδεις αἰχμάλωτοι.

2. Now Titus, as he rode out to Gischala, found it would be easy for him to take the city upon the first onset; but knew withal, that if he took it by force, the multitude would be destroyed by the soldiers without mercy. [Now he was already satiated with the shedding of blood, and pitied the major part, who would then perish, without distinction, together with the guilty.] So he was rather desirous the city might be surrendered up to him on terms. Accordingly, when he saw the wall full of those men that were of the corrupted party, he said to them, That he could not but wonder what it was they depended on, when they alone staid to fight the Romans, after every other city was taken by them, especially when they have seen cities much better fortified than theirs is overthrown by a single attack upon them; while as many as have intrusted themselves to the security of the Romans' right hands, which he now offers to them, without regarding their former insolence, do enjoy their own possessions in safety; for that while they had hopes of recovering their liberty, they might be pardoned; but that their continuance still in their opposition, when they saw that to be impossible, was inexcusable; for that if they will not comply with such humane offers, and right hands for security, they should have experience of such a war as would spare nobody, and should soon be made sensible that their wall would be but a trifle, when battered by the Roman machines; in depending on

which they demonstrate themselves to be the only Galileans that were no better than arrogant slaves and captives.

(3) [97] Πρὸς ταῦτα τῶν μὲν δημοτικῶν οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀποκρίνεσθαί τινι μετῆν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀναβῆναι: προδιείληπτο γὰρ ἅπαν τοῖς λῃστρικοῖς, καὶ φύλακες τῶν πυλῶν ἦσαν, ὡς μή τινες ἢ προέλθοιεν ἐπὶ τὰς σπονδὰς ἢ δέξαιντό τινας τῶν ἱππέων εἰς τὴν πόλιν: [98] ὁ δ᾽ Ἰωάννης αὐτός τε ἀγαπᾶν ἔφη τὰς προκλήσεις καὶ τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας ἢ πείσειν ἢ συναναγκάσειν: [99] δεῖν μέντοι τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτὸν ἐκείνην, ἑβδομὰς γὰρ ἦν, χαρίσασθαι τῷ Ἰουδαίων νόμῳ, καθ᾽ ἣν ὥσπερ ὅπλα κινεῖν αὐτοῖς, οὕτω καὶ τὸ συντίθεσθαι περὶ εἰρήνης ἀθέμιτον. [100] οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν δὲ οὐδὲ Ῥωμαίους, ὡς ἀργὴ πάντων αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ἡ τῆς ἑβδομάδος περίοδος, ἔν τε τῷ παραβαίνειν αὐτὴν οὐχ ἧττον ἀσεβεῖν τῶν βιασθέντων τὸν βιασάμενον. φέρειν δ᾽ ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐδεμίαν βλάβην τὰ τῆς ὑπερθέσεως: [101] τί γὰρ ἄν τις ἐν νυκτὶ βουλεύσαιτο δρασμοῦ πλέον ἐξὸν περιστρατοπεδεύσαντα παραφυλάξαι; [102] μέγα δὲ κέρδος αὐτοῖς τὸ μηδὲν παραβῆναι τῶν πατρίων ἐθῶν. πρέπει δὲ τῷ παρὰ προσδοκίαν εἰρήνην χαριζομένῳ τοῖς σωζομένοις τηρεῖν καὶ τοὺς νόμους.᾽᾽ [103] τοιούτοις ἐσοφίζετο τὸν Τίτον, οὐ τοσοῦτον τῆς ἑβδομάδος στοχαζόμενος, ὅσον τῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας: ἐδεδοίκει δὲ ἐγκαταληφθῆναι παραχρῆμα τῆς πόλεως ἁλούσης ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ φυγῇ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχων τοῦ βίου. [104] θεοῦ δ᾽ ἦν ἔργον ἄρα τοῦ σώζοντος τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ὄλεθρον τὸ μὴ μόνον πεισθῆναι Τίτον τῇ σκήψει τῆς ὑπερθέσεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς πόλεως πορρωτέρω στρατοπεδεύσασθαι πρὸς Κυδασοῖς: [105] μεσόγειος δέ ἐστι Τυρίων κώμη καρτερά, διὰ μίσους ἀεὶ καὶ πολέμου Γαλιλαίοις, ἔχουσα πλῆθός τε οἰκητόρων καὶ τὴν ὀχυρότητα τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος διαφορᾶς ἐφόδια.

3. Now none of the populace durst not only make a reply, but durst not so much as get upon the wall, for it was all taken up by the robbers, who were also the guard at the gates, in order to prevent any of the rest from going out, in order to propose terms of submission, and from receiving any of the horsemen into the city. But John returned Titus this answer: That for himself he was content to hearken to his proposals, and that he would either persuade or force those that refused them. Yet he said that Titus ought to have such regard to the Jewish law, as to grant them leave to celebrate that day, which was the seventh day of the week, on which it was unlawful not only to remove their arms, but even to treat of peace also; and that even the Romans were not ignorant how the period of the seventh day was among them a cessation from all labors; and that he who should compel them to transgress the law about that day would be equally guilty with those that were compelled to transgress it: and that this delay could be of no disadvantage to him; for why should any body think of doing any thing in the

night, unless it was to fly away? which he might prevent by placing his camp round about them; and that they should think it a great point gained, if they might not be obliged to transgress the laws of their country; and that it would be a right thing for him, who designed to grant them peace, without their expectation of such a favor, to preserve the laws of those they saved inviolable. Thus did this man put a trick upon Titus, not so much out of regard to the seventh day as to his own preservation, for he was afraid lest he should be quite deserted if the city should be taken, and had his hopes of life in that night, and in his flight therein. Now this was the work of God, who therefore preserved this John, that he might bring on the destruction of Jerusalem; as also it was his work that Titus was prevailed with by this pretense for a delay, and that he pitched his camp further off the city at Cydessa. This Cydessa was a strong Mediterranean village of the Tyrians, which always hated and made war against the Jews; it had also a great number of inhabitants, and was well fortified, which made it a proper place for such as were enemies to the Jewish nation.

(4) [106] Νυκτὸς δ᾽ ὁ Ἰωάννης ὡς οὐδεμίαν περὶ τῇ πόλει Ῥωμαίων ἑώρα φυλακήν, τὸν καιρὸν ἁρπασάμενος οὐ μόνον τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ὁπλίτας ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀργοτέρων συχνοὺς ἅμα ταῖς γενεαῖς ἀναλαβὼν ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἔφευγε. [107] μέχρι μὲν οὖν εἴκοσι σταδίων οἷόν τε ἦν συνεξαγαγεῖν γυναικῶν καὶ παιδίων ὄχλον ἀνθρώπῳ κατασπερχομένῳ τοῖς ὑπὲρ αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ τοῦ ζῆν φόβοις, περαιτέρω δὲ προκόπτοντος ἀπελείποντο, καὶ δειναὶ τῶν ἐωμένων ἦσαν ὀλοφύρσεις: [108] ὅσον γὰρ ἕκαστος τῶν οἰκείων ἐγίνετο πορρωτέρω, τοσοῦτον ἐγγὺς ὑπελάμβανεν εἶναι τῶν πολεμίων, παρεῖναί τε ἤδη τοὺς αἰχμαλωτισομένους δοκοῦντες ἐπτόηντο, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀλλήλων ἐκ τοῦ δρόμου ψόφον ἐπεστρέφοντο καθάπερ ἤδη παρόντων οὓς ἔφευγον: [109] ἀνοδίαις τ᾽ ἐνέπιπτον οἱ πολλοί, καὶ περὶ τὴν λεωφόρον ἡ τῶν φθανόντων ἔρις συνέτριβεν τοὺς πολλούς. [110] οἰκτρὸς δὲ γυναικῶν καὶ παιδίων ὄλεθρος ἦν, καί τινες πρὸς ἀνακλήσεις ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ συγγενῶν ἐθάρσησαν μετὰ κωκυτῶν ἱκετεύουσαι περιμένειν. [111] ἀλλ᾽ ἐνίκα τὸ Ἰωάννου παρακέλευσμα σώζειν ἑαυτοὺς ἐμβοῶντος καὶ καταφεύγειν ἔνθα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀπολειπομένων ἀμυνοῦνται Ῥωμαίους ἂν ἁρπαγῶσι. τὸ μὲν οὖν τῶν διαδιδρασκόντων πλῆθος ὡς ἕκαστος ἰσχύος εἶχεν ἢ τάχους ἐσκέδαστο.

4. Now, in the night time, when John saw that there was no Roman guard about the city, he seized the opportunity directly, and, taking with him not only the armed men that were about him, but a considerable number of those that had little to do, together with their families, he fled to Jerusalem. And indeed, though the man was making haste to get away, and was tormented with fears of being a captive, or of losing his life, yet did he prevail with himself to take out of the

city along with him a multitude of women and children, as far as twenty furlongs; but there he left them as he proceeded further on his journey, where those that were left behind made sad lamentations; for the farther every one of them was come from his own people, the nearer they thought themselves to be to their enemies. They also affrighted themselves with this thought, that those who would carry them into captivity were just at hand, and still turned themselves back at the mere noise they made themselves in this their hasty flight, as if those from whom they fled were just upon them. Many also of them missed their ways, and the earnestness of such as aimed to outgo the rest threw down many of them. And indeed there was a miserable destruction made of the women and children; while some of them took courage to call their husbands and kinsmen back, and to beseech them, with the bitterest lamentations, to stay for them; but John's exhortation, who cried out to them to save themselves, and fly away, prevailed. He said also, that if the Romans should seize upon those whom they left behind, they would be revenged on them for it. So this multitude that run thus away was dispersed abroad, according as each of them was able to run, one faster or slower than another.

(5) [112] Τίτος δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τὰς συνθήκας πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος παρῆν. [113] ἀνοίγει δ' αὐτῷ τὰς πύλας ὁ δῆμος, καὶ μετὰ τῶν γενεῶν προελθόντες ἀνευφήμουν ὡς εὐεργέτην καὶ φρουρᾶς ἐλευθερώσαντα τὴν πόλιν: [114] ἐδήλουν γὰρ ἅμα τὴν τοῦ Ἰωάννου φυγὴν καὶ παρεκάλουν φείσασθαί τε αὐτῶν καὶ παρελθόντα τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους τῶν νεωτεριζόντων κολάσαι. [115] ὁ δὲ τὰς τοῦ δήμου δεήσεις ἐν δευτέρῳ θέμενος μοῖραν ἔπεμπε τῶν ἱππέων Ἰωάννην διώξουσαν, οἳ τὸν μὲν οὐ καταλαμβάνουσιν, ἔφθη γὰρ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα διαφυγών, τῶν δὲ συναπαράντων ἀποκτείνουσι μὲν εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους, γύναια δὲ καὶ παιδία τρισχιλίων ὀλίγον ἀποδέοντα περιελάσαντες ἀνήγαγον. [116] ὁ δὲ Τίτος ἤχθετο μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ παραχρῆμα τιμωρήσασθαι τὸν Ἰωάννην τῆς ἀπάτης, ἱκανὸν δὲ ἀστοχήσαντι τῷ θυμῷ παραμύθιον ἔχων τὸ πλῆθος τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καὶ τοὺς διεφθαρμένους εἰσῄει τε ἀνευφημούμενος εἰς τὴν πόλιν, [117] καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ὀλίγον τοῦ τείχους παρασπάσαι κελεύσας νόμῳ καταλήψεως ἀπειλαῖς μᾶλλον ἢ κολάσει τοὺς ταράσσοντας τὴν πόλιν ἀνέστελλε: [118] πολλοὺς γὰρ ἂν καὶ διὰ τὰ οἰκεῖα μίση καὶ διαφορὰς ἰδίας ἐνδείξασθαι τοὺς ἀναιτίους, εἰ διακρίνοι τοὺς τιμωρίας ἀξίους: ἄμεινον δ' εἶναι μετέωρον ἐν φόβῳ τὸν αἴτιον καταλιπεῖν ἤ τινα τῶν οὐκ ἀξίων αὐτῷ συναπολεῖν: [119] τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἴσως καὶ σωφρονῆσαι δέει κολάσεως τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς παρῳχηκόσι συγγνώμην αἰδούμενον, ἀδιόρθωτον δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς παραναλωθεῖσι τιμωρίαν εἶναι. [120] φρουρᾷ μέντοι τὴν πόλιν ἠσφαλίσατο, δι' ἧς τούς τε νεωτερίζοντας ἐφέξειν καὶ τοὺς εἰρηνικὰ φρονοῦντας θαρραλεωτέρους

καταλείψειν ἔμελλεν. Γαλιλαία μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἑάλω πᾶσα, πολλοῖς ἱδρῶσι προγυμνάσασα Ῥωμαίους ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα.

5. Now on the next day Titus came to the wall, to make the agreement; whereupon the people opened their gates to him, and came out to him, with their children and wives, and made acclamations of joy to him, as to one that had been their benefactor, and had delivered the city out of custody; they also informed him of John's flight, and besought him to spare them, and to come in, and bring the rest of those that were for innovations to punishment. But Titus, not so much regarding the supplications of the people, sent part of his horsemen to pursue after John, but they could not overtake him, for he was gotten to Jerusalem before; they also slew six thousand of the women and children who went out with him, but returned back, and brought with them almost three thousand. However, Titus was greatly displeased that he had not been able to bring this John, who had deluded him, to punishment; yet he had captives enough, as well as the corrupted part of the city, to satisfy his anger, when it missed of John. So he entered the city in the midst of acclamations of joy; and when he had given orders to the soldiers to pull down a small part of the wall, as of a city taken in war, he repressed those that had disturbed the city rather by threatenings than by executions; for he thought that many would accuse innocent persons, out of their own private animosities and quarrels, if he should attempt to distinguish those that were worthy of punishment from the rest; and that it was better to let a guilty person alone in his fears, that to destroy with him any one that did not deserve it; for that probably such a one might be taught prudence, by the fear of the punishment he had deserved, and have a shame upon him for his former offenses, when he had been forgiven; but that the punishment of such as have been once put to death could never be retrieved. However, he placed a garrison in the city for its security, by which means he should restrain those that were for innovations, and should leave those that were peaceably disposed in greater security. And thus was all Galilee taken, but this not till after it had cost the Romans much pains before it could be taken by them.

III

CHAPTER 3.

Concerning John Of Gischala. Concerning The Zealots And The High Priest Ananus; As Also How The Jews Raise Seditions One Against Another [In Jerusalem].

(1) [121] Πρὸς δὲ τὴν εἴσοδον τοῦ Ἰωάννου ὁ πᾶς δῆμος ἐξεκέχυτο, καὶ περὶ ἕκαστον τῶν συμπεφευγότων μυρίος ὅμιλος συνηθροισμένοι τὰς ἔξωθεν συμφορὰς ἀνεπυνθάνοντο. [122] τῶν δὲ τὸ μὲν ἆσθμα θερμὸν ἔτι κοπτόμενον ἐδήλου τὴν ἀνάγκην, ἠλαζονεύοντο δὲ κἀν κακοῖς, οὐ πεφευγέναι Ῥωμαίους φάσκοντες, ἀλλ᾽ ἥκειν πολεμήσοντες αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἀσφαλοῦς: [123] ἀλογίστων γὰρ εἶναι καὶ ἀχρήστων παραβόλως προκινδυνεύειν περὶ Γίσχαλα καὶ πολίχνας ἀσθενεῖς, δέον τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰς ἀκμὰς ταμιεύεσθαι τῇ μητροπόλει καὶ συμφυλάσσειν. [124] ἔνθα δὴ παρεδήλουν τὴν ἅλωσιν τῶν Γισχάλων, καὶ τὴν λεγομένην εὐσχημόνως ὑποχώρησιν αὐτῶν οἱ πολλοὶ δρασμὸν ἐνενόουν. [125] ὡς μέντοι τὰ περὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλωτισθέντας ἠκούσθη, σύγχυσις οὐ μετρία κατέσχε τὸν δῆμον, καὶ μεγάλα τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἁλώσεως συνελογίζοντο τὰ τεκμήρια. [126] Ἰωάννης δ᾽ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς καταληφθεῖσιν ἧττον ἠρυθρία, περιιὼν δ᾽ ἑκάστους ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐνῆγεν ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, τὰ μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἀσθενῆ κατασκευάζων, τὴν δ᾽ οἰκείαν δύναμιν ἐξαίρων, [127] καὶ κατειρωνευόμενος τῆς τῶν ἀπείρων ἀγνοίας, ὡς οὐδ᾽ ἂν πτερὰ λαβόντες ὑπερβαῖέν ποτε Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ Ἱεροσολύμων τεῖχος οἱ περὶ ταῖς Γαλιλαίων κώμαις κακοπαθοῦντες καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἐκεῖ τείχεσι κατατρίψαντες τὰς μηχανάς.

1. Now upon John's entry into Jerusalem, the whole body of the people were in an uproar, and ten thousand of them crowded about every one of the fugitives that were come to them, and inquired of them what miseries had happened abroad, when their breath was so short, and hot, and quick, that of itself it declared the great distress they were in; yet did they talk big under their misfortunes, and pretended to say that they had not fled away from the Romans, but came thither in order to fight them with less hazard; for that it would be an unreasonable and a fruitless thing for them to expose themselves to desperate hazards about Gischala, and such weak cities, whereas they ought to lay up their weapons and their zeal, and reserve it for their metropolis. But when they related to them the taking of Gischala, and their decent departure, as they pretended, from that place, many of the people understood it to be no better than a flight; and especially when the people were told of those that were made captives, they were in great confusion, and guessed those things to be plain indications that they should be taken also. But for John, he was very little concerned for those whom he had left behind him, but went about among all the people, and persuaded them to go to war, by the hopes he gave them. He affirmed that the affairs of the Romans were in a weak condition, and extolled his own power. He also jested upon the ignorance of the unskillful, as if those Romans, although they should take to themselves wings, could never fly over the wall of

Jerusalem, who found such great difficulties in taking the villages of Galilee, and had broken their engines of war against their walls.

(2) [128] Τούτοις τὸ πολὺ τῶν νέων προσδιεφθείρετο καὶ πρὸς [μὲν] τὸν πόλεμον ἦρτο, τῶν δὲ σωφρονούντων καὶ γηραιῶν οὐκ ἦν ὅστις οὐ τὰ μέλλοντα προορώμενος ὡς ἤδη τῆς πόλεως οἰχομένης ἐπένθει. [129] ὁ μὲν οὖν δῆμος ἦν ἐν τοιαύτῃ συγχύσει, προδιέστη δὲ τὸ κατὰ τὴν χώραν πλῆθος τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις στάσεως. [130] ὁ μὲν γὰρ Τίτος ἀπὸ Γισχάλων εἰς Καισάρειαν, Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ἀπὸ Καισαρείας εἰς Ἰάμνειαν καὶ Ἄζωτον ἀφικόμενος παρίσταταί τε αὐτὰς καὶ φρουροὺς ἐγκαταστήσας ὑπέστρεψε πολὺ πλῆθος ἐπαγόμενος τῶν ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ προσκεχωρηκότων. [131] ἐκινεῖτο δ' ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει ταραχὴ καὶ πόλεμος ἐμφύλιος, ὅσον τε ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀνέπνεον εἰς ἀλλήλους τὰς χεῖρας ἐπέστρεφον. ἦν δὲ τῶν ἐρώντων τοῦ πολέμου πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιθυμοῦντας εἰρήνης ἔρις χαλεπή. [132] καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐν οἰκίαις ἥπτετο τῶν ὁμονοούντων πάλαι τὸ φιλόνεικον, ἔπειτα ἀφηνιάζοντες ἀλλήλων οἱ φίλτατοι [λαοὶ] καὶ συνιὼν ἕκαστος πρὸς τοὺς τὰ αὐτὰ προαιρουμένους ἤδη κατὰ πλῆθος ἀντετάσσοντο. [133] καὶ στάσις μὲν ἦν πανταχοῦ, τὸ νεωτερίζον δὲ καὶ τῶν ὅπλων ἐπιθυμοῦν ἐπεκράτει νεότητι καὶ τόλμῃ γηραιῶν καὶ σωφρόνων. [134] ἐτράποντο δὲ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς ἁρπαγὰς ἕκαστοι τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἔπειτα συντασσόμενοι κατὰ λόχους ἐπὶ λῃστείαν τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν, ὡς ὠμότητος καὶ παρανομίας ἕνεκεν αὐτοῖς μηδὲν Ῥωμαίων τοὺς ὁμοφύλους διαφέρειν καὶ πολὺ τοῖς πορθουμένοις κουφοτέραν δοκεῖν τὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἅλωσιν.

2. These harangues of John's corrupted a great part of the young men, and puffed them up for the war; but as to the more prudent part, and those in years, there was not a man of them but foresaw what was coming, and made lamentation on that account, as if the city was already undone; and in this confusion were the people. But then it must be observed, that the multitude that came out of the country were at discord before the Jerusalem sedition began; for Titus went from Gischala to Cesates, and Vespasian from Cesarea to Jamnia and Azotus, and took them both; and when he had put garrisons into them, he came back with a great number of the people, who were come over to him, upon his giving them his right hand for their preservation. There were besides disorders and civil wars in every city; and all those that were at quiet from the Romans turned their hands one against another. There was also a bitter contest between those that were fond of war, and those that were desirous for peace. At the first this quarrelsome temper caught hold of private families, who could not agree among themselves; after which those people that were the dearest to one another brake through all restraints with regard to each other, and every one associated with those of his own opinion, and began already to stand in opposition one to another; so that

seditions arose every where, while those that were for innovations, and were desirous of war, by their youth and boldness, were too hard for the aged and prudent men. And, in the first place, all the people of every place betook themselves to rapine; after which they got together in bodies, in order to rob the people of the country, insomuch that for barbarity and iniquity those of the same nation did no way differ from the Romans; nay, it seemed to be a much lighter thing to be ruined by the Romans than by themselves.

(3) [135] Οἱ φρουροὶ δὲ τῶν πόλεων τὰ μὲν ὄκνῳ τοῦ κακοπαθεῖν, τὰ δὲ μίσει τοῦ ἔθνους οὐδὲν ἢ μικρὰ προσήμυνον τοῖς κακουμένοις, μέχρι κόρῳ τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἁρπαγῶν ἀθροισθέντες οἱ τῶν πανταχοῦ συνταγμάτων ἀρχιλῃσταὶ καὶ γενόμενοι πονηρίας στῖφος εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα παρεισφθείρονται, [136] πόλιν ἀστρατήγητον καὶ πατρίῳ μὲν ἔθει πᾶν ἀπαρατηρήτως δεχομένην τὸ ὁμόφυλον, τότε δ᾽ οἰομένων ἁπάντων τοὺς ἐπιχεομένους πάντας ἀπ᾽ εὐνοίας ἥκειν συμμάχους. [137] ὃ δὴ καὶ δίχα τῆς στάσεως ὕστερον ἐβάπτισεν τὴν πόλιν: πλήθει γὰρ ἀχρήστῳ καὶ ἀργῷ προεξαναλώθη τὰ τοῖς μαχίμοις διαρκεῖν δυνάμενα, καὶ πρὸς τῷ πολέμῳ στάσιν τε ἑαυτοῖς καὶ λιμὸν ἐπικατεσκεύασαν.

3. Now the Roman garrisons, which guarded the cities, partly out of their uneasiness to take such trouble upon them, and partly out of the hatred they bare to the Jewish nation, did little or nothing towards relieving the miserable, till the captains of these troops of robbers, being satiated with rapines in the country, got all together from all parts, and became a band of wickedness, and all together crept into Jerusalem, which was now become a city without a governor, and, as the ancient custom was, received without distinction all that belonged to their nation; and these they then received, because all men supposed that those who came so fast into the city came out of kindness, and for their assistance, although these very men, besides the seditions they raised, were otherwise the direct cause of the city's destruction also; for as they were an unprofitable and a useless multitude, they spent those provisions beforehand which might otherwise have been sufficient for the fighting men. Moreover, besides the bringing on of the war, they were the occasions of sedition and famine therein.

(4) [138] Ἄλλοι τε ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας λῃσταὶ παρελθόντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς ἔνδον προσλαβόντες χαλεπωτέρους οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν δεινῶν παρίεσαν: [139] οἵ γε οὐ μόνον ἁρπαγαῖς καὶ λωποδυσίαις τὴν τόλμαν ἐμέτρουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέχρι φόνων ἐχώρουν, οὐ νυκτὸς ἢ λαθραίως ἢ ἐπὶ τοὺς τυχόντας, ἀλλὰ φανερῶς καὶ μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν καὶ τῶν ἐπισημοτάτων καταρχόμενοι. [140] πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ Ἀντίπαν, ἄνδρα τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν δυνατωτάτων, ὡς καὶ τοὺς δημοσίους θησαυροὺς πεπιστεῦσθαι, συλλαβόντες εἶρξαν: [141] ἐπὶ τούτῳ

Ληουίαν τινὰ τῶν ἐπισήμων καὶ Συφὰν υἱὸν Ἀρεγέτου, βασιλικὸν δ᾽ ἦν καὶ τούτων τὸ γένος, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν χώραν προύχειν δοκοῦντας. [142] δεινὴ δὲ κατάπληξις εἶχε τὸν δῆμον, καὶ καθάπερ κατειλημμένης τῆς πόλεως πολέμῳ τὴν καθ᾽ αὐτὸν ἕκαστος σωτηρίαν ἠγάπα.

4. There were besides these other robbers that came out of the country, and came into the city, and joining to them those that were worse than themselves, omitted no kind of barbarity; for they did not measure their courage by their rapines and plunderings only, but preceded as far as murdering men; and this not in the night time or privately, or with regard to ordinary men, but did it openly in the day time, and began with the most eminent persons in the city; for the first man they meddled with was Antipas, one of the royal lineage, and the most potent man in the whole city, insomuch that the public treasures were committed to his care; him they took and confined; as they did in the next place to Levias, a person of great note, with Sophas, the son of Raguel, both which were of royal lineage also. And besides these, they did the same to the principal men of the country. This caused a terrible consternation among the people, and everyone contented himself with taking care of his own safety, as they would do if the city had been taken in war.

(5) [143] Τοῖς δ᾽ οὐκ ἀπέχρη τὰ δεσμὰ τῶν συνειλημμένων, οὐδὲ ἀσφαλὲς ᾤοντο τὸ μέχρι πολλοῦ δυνατοὺς ἄνδρας οὕτω φυλάσσειν: [144] ἱκανοὺς μὲν γὰρ εἶναι καὶ τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῶν πρὸς ἄμυναν οὐκ ὀλιγάνδρους ὄντας, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐπαναστήσεσθαι τάχα κινηθέντα πρὸς τὴν παρανομίαν. [145] δόξαν οὖν ἀναιρεῖν αὐτοὺς Ἰωάννην τινὰ πέμπουσιν τὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς φόνους προχειρότατον: Δορκάδος οὗτος ἐκαλεῖτο παῖς κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχώριον γλῶσσαν: ᾧ δέκα συνελθόντες εἰς τὴν εἱρκτὴν ξιφήρεις ἀποσφάττουσιν τοὺς συνειλημμένους. [146] παρανομήματι δ᾽ ἐν τηλικούτῳ μεγάλως ἀπεψεύδοντο καὶ προφάσεις [ἀνέπλαττον]: διαλεχθῆναι γὰρ αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίοις περὶ παραδόσεως τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, καὶ προδότας ἀνῃρηκέναι τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας ἔφασκον, καθόλου τ᾽ ἐπηλαζονεύοντο τοῖς τολμήμασιν ὡς εὐεργέται καὶ σωτῆρες τῆς πόλεως γεγενημένοι.

5. But these were not satisfied with the bonds into which they had put the men forementioned; nor did they think it safe for them to keep them thus in custody long, since they were men very powerful, and had numerous families of their own that were able to avenge them. Nay, they thought the very people would perhaps be so moved at these unjust proceedings, as to rise in a body against them; it was therefore resolved to have them slain accordingly, they sent one John, who was the most bloody-minded of them all, to do that execution: this

man was also called "the son of Dorcas," in the language of our country. Ten more men went along with him into the prison, with their swords drawn, and so they cut the throats of those that were in custody there. The grand lying pretence these men made for so flagrant an enormity was this, that these men had had conferences with the Romans for a surrender of Jerusalem to them; and so they said they had slain only such as were traitors to their common liberty. Upon the whole, they grew the more insolent upon this bold prank of theirs, as though they had been the benefactors and saviors of the city.

(6) [147] Συνέβη δὲ εἰς τοσοῦτον τὸν μὲν δῆμον ταπεινότητος καὶ δέους, ἐκείνους δὲ ἀπονοίας προελθεῖν, ὡς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς εἶναι καὶ τὰς χειροτονίας τῶν ἀρχιερέων. [148] ἄκυρα γοῦν τὰ γένη ποιήσαντες, ἐξ ὧν κατὰ διαδοχὰς οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ἀπεδείκνυντο, καθίστασαν ἀσήμους καὶ ἀγενεῖς, ἵν᾽ ἔχοιεν συνεργοὺς τῶν ἀσεβημάτων: [149] τοῖς γὰρ παρ᾽ ἀξίαν ἐπιτυχοῦσι τῆς ἀνωτάτω τιμῆς ὑπακούειν ἦν ἀνάγκη τοῖς παρασχοῦσι. [150] συνέκρουον δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τέλει ποικίλαις ἐπινοίαις καὶ λογοποιίαις, καιρὸν ἑαυτοῖς ἐν ταῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν κωλυόντων φιλονεικίαις ποιούμενοι, μέχρι τῶν εἰς ἀνθρώπους ὑπερεμπλησθέντες ἀδικημάτων ἐπὶ τὸ θεῖον μετήνεγκαν τὴν ὕβριν καὶ μεμιασμένοις τοῖς ποσὶ παρῆσαν εἰς τὸ ἅγιον.

6. Now the people were come to that degree of meanness and fear, and these robbers to that degree of madness, that these last took upon them to appoint high priests. So when they had disannulled the succession, according to those families out of which the high priests used to be made, they ordained certain unknown and ignoble persons for that office, that they might have their assistance in their wicked undertakings; for such as obtained this highest of all honors, without any desert, were forced to comply with those that bestowed it on them. They also set the principal men at variance one with another, by several sorts of contrivances and tricks, and gained the opportunity of doing what they pleased, by the mutual quarrels of those who might have obstructed their measures; till at length, when they were satiated with the unjust actions they had done towards men, they transferred their contumelious behavior to God himself, and came into the sanctuary with polluted feet.

(7) [151] Ἐπανισταμένου τε αὐτοῖς ἤδη τοῦ πλήθους, ἐνῆγε γὰρ ὁ γεραίτατος τῶν ἀρχιερέων Ἄνανος, ἀνὴρ σωφρονέστατος καὶ τάχα ἂν διασώσας τὴν πόλιν, εἰ τὰς τῶν ἐπιβούλων χεῖρας ἐξέφυγεν, οἱ δὲ τὸν νεὼν τοῦ θεοῦ φρούριον αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου ταραχῶν ποιοῦνται καταφυγήν, καὶ τυραννεῖον ἦν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἅγιον. παρεκίρνατο δὲ τοῖς δεινοῖς εἰρωνεία, [152] τὸ τῶν ἐνεργουμένων ἀλγεινότερον: [153] ἀποπειρώμενοι γὰρ τῆς τοῦ δήμου καταπλήξεως καὶ τὴν

αὐτῶν δοκιμάζοντες ἰσχὺν κληρωτοὺς ἐπεχείρησαν ποιεῖν τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς οὔσης, ὡς ἔφαμεν, κατὰ γένος αὐτῶν τῆς διαδοχῆς. [154] ἦν δὲ πρόσχημα μὲν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἔθος ἀρχαῖον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ πάλαι κληρωτὴν ἔφασαν εἶναι τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην, τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς τοῦ βεβαιοτέρου [νόμου] κατάλυσις καὶ τέχνη πρὸς δυναστείαν τὰς ἀρχὰς δι' αὐτῶν καθισταμένοις.

7. And now the multitude were going to rise against them already; for Ananus, the ancientest of the high priests, persuaded them to it. He was a very prudent man, and had perhaps saved the city if he could but have escaped the hands of those that plotted against him. These men made the temple of God a strong hold for them, and a place whither they might resort, in order to avoid the troubles they feared from the people; the sanctuary was now become a refuge, and a shop of tyranny. They also mixed jesting among the miseries they introduced, which was more intolerable than what they did; for in order to try what surprise the people would be under, and how far their own power extended, they undertook to dispose of the high priesthood by casting lots for it, whereas, as we have said already, it was to descend by succession in a family. The pretense they made for this strange attempt was an ancient practice, while they said that of old it was determined by lot; but in truth, it was no better than a dissolution of an undeniable law, and a cunning contrivance to seize upon the government, derived from those that presumed to appoint governors as they themselves pleased.

(8) [155] Καὶ δὴ μεταπεμψάμενοι μίαν τῶν ἀρχιερατικῶν φυλήν, Ἐνιάχιν καλεῖται, διεκλήρουν ἀρχιερέα, λαγχάνει δ' ἀπὸ τύχης ὁ μάλιστα διαδείξας αὐτῶν τὴν παρανομίαν, Φαννί τις ὄνομα, υἱὸς Σαμουήλου κώμης Ἀφθίας, ἀνὴρ οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐξ ἀρχιερέων, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπιστάμενος σαφῶς τί ποτ' ἦν ἀρχιερωσύνη δι' ἀγροικίαν. [156] ἀπὸ γοῦν τῆς χώρας αὐτὸν ἄκοντα σύραντες ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἀλλοτρίῳ κατεκόσμουν προσωπείῳ τήν τ' ἐσθῆτα περιτιθέντες τὴν ἱερὰν καὶ τὸ τί δεῖ ποιεῖν ἐπὶ καιροῦ διδάσκοντες. [157] χλεύη δ' ἦν ἐκείνοις καὶ παιδιὰ τὸ τηλικοῦτον ἀσέβημα, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἱερεῦσιν ἐπιθεωμένοις πόρρωθεν παιζόμενον τὸν νόμον δακρύειν ἐπήει καὶ κατέστενον τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν τιμῶν κατάλυσιν.

8. Hereupon they sent for one of the pontifical tribes, which is called Eniachim, and cast lots which of it should be the high priest. By fortune the lot so fell as to demonstrate their iniquity after the plainest manner, for it fell upon one whose name was Phannias, the son of Samuel, of the village Aphtha. He was a man not only unworthy of the high priesthood, but that did not well know what the high priesthood was, such a mere rustic was he! yet did they hail this man, without his

own consent, out of the country, as if they were acting a play upon the stage, and adorned him with a counterfeit tree; they also put upon him the sacred garments, and upon every occasion instructed him what he was to do. This horrid piece of wickedness was sport and pastime with them, but occasioned the other priests, who at a distance saw their law made a jest of, to shed tears, and sorely lament the dissolution of such a sacred dignity.

(9) [158] Ταύτην τὴν τόλμαν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἤνεγκεν ὁ δῆμος, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τυραννίδος κατάλυσιν ὥρμηντο πάντες: [159] καὶ γὰρ οἱ προύχειν αὐτῶν δοκοῦντες, Γωρίων τε υἱὸς Ἰωσήπου καὶ ὁ Γαμαλιήλου Συμεών, παρεκρότουν ἔν τε ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀθρόους καὶ κατ᾽ ἰδίαν περιιόντες ἕκαστον ἤδη ποτὲ τίσασθαι τοὺς λυμεῶνας τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ καθᾶραι τῶν μιαιφόνων τὸ ἅγιον, [160] οἵ τε δοκιμώτατοι τῶν ἀρχιερέων, Γαμάλα μὲν υἱὸς Ἰησοῦς Ἀνάνου δὲ Ἄνανος, πολλὰ τὸν δῆμον εἰς νωθείαν κατονειδίζοντες ἐν ταῖς συνόδοις ἐπήγειρον τοῖς ζηλωταῖς: [161] τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐκάλεσαν ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἀλλ᾽ οὐχὶ ζηλώσαντες τὰ κάκιστα τῶν ἔργων [καὶ] ὑπερβαλλόμενοι.

9. And now the people could no longer bear the insolence of this procedure, but did all together run zealously, in order to overthrow that tyranny; and indeed they were Gorion the son of Josephus, and Symeon the son of Gamaliel, who encouraged them, by going up and down when they were assembled together in crowds, and as they saw them alone, to bear no longer, but to inflict punishment upon these pests and plagues of their freedom, and to purge the temple of these bloody polluters of it. The best esteemed also of the high priests, Jesus the son of Gamalas, and Ananus the son of Ananus when they were at their assemblies, bitterly reproached the people for their sloth, and excited them against the zealots; for that was the name they went by, as if they were zealous in good undertakings, and were not rather zealous in the worst actions, and extravagant in them beyond the example of others.

(10) [162] Καὶ δὴ συνελθόντος τοῦ πλήθους εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ πάντων ἀγανακτούντων μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ καταλήψει τῶν ἁγίων ταῖς τε ἁρπαγαῖς καὶ τοῖς πεφονευμένοις, οὔπω δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἄμυναν ὡρμημένων τῷ δυσεπιχειρήτους, ὅπερ ἦν, τοὺς ζηλωτὰς ὑπολαμβάνειν, καταστὰς ἐν μέσοις ὁ Ἄνανος καὶ πολλάκις εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀπιδὼν ἐμπλήσας τε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δακρύων "ἦ καλόν γε, [163] εἶπεν, ἦν ἐμοὶ τεθνάναι πρὶν ἐπιδεῖν τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ τοσούτοις ἄγεσι καταγέμοντα καὶ τὰς ἀβάτους καὶ ἁγίας χώρας ποσὶ μιαιφόνων στενοχωρουμένας. [164] ἀλλὰ περικείμενος τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὸ τιμιώτατον καλούμενος τῶν σεβασμίων ὀνομάτων, ζῶ καὶ φιλοψυχῶ, μηδ᾽ ὑπὲρ τοὐμοῦ γήρως ὑπομένων εὐκλεῆ θάνατον † εἰ δεῖ μὴ μόνος εἰμὶ καὶ καθάπερ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ

ψυχὴν ἐπιδώσω μόνην ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ. [165] τί γὰρ καὶ δεῖ ζῆν ἐν δήμῳ συμφορῶν ἀναισθητοῦντι καὶ παρ᾽ οἷς ἀπόλωλεν ἡ τῶν ἐν χερσὶ παθῶν ἀντίληψις; ἁρπαζόμενοι γοῦν ἀνέχεσθε καὶ τυπτόμενοι σιωπᾶτε, καὶ τοῖς φονευομένοις οὐδ᾽ ἐπιστένει τις ἀναφανδόν. [166] ὢ τῆς πικρᾶς τυραννίδος. τί [δὲ] μέμφομαι τοὺς τυράννους; μὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἐτράφησαν ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀνεξικακίας; [167] μὴ γὰρ οὐχ ὑμεῖς περιιδόντες τοὺς πρώτους συνισταμένους, ἔτι δ᾽ ἦσαν ὀλίγοι, πλείους ἐποιήσατε τῇ σιωπῇ καὶ καθοπλιζομένων ἠρεμοῦντες καθ᾽ ἑαυτῶν ἐπεστρέψατε τὰ ὅπλα, [168] δέον τὰς πρώτας αὐτῶν ἐπικόπτειν ὁρμάς, ὅτε λοιδορίαις καθήπτοντο τῶν συγγενῶν, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀμελήσαντες ἐφ᾽ ἁρπαγὰς παρωξύνατε τοὺς ἀλιτηρίους, καὶ πορθουμένων οἴκων λόγος ἦν οὐδείς: τοιγαροῦν αὐτοὺς ἥρπαζον τοὺς δεσπότας, καὶ συρομένοις διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως οὐδεὶς ἐπήμυνεν. [169] οἱ δὲ καὶ δεσμοῖς ᾑκίσαντο τοὺς ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν προδοθέντας, ἐῶ λέγειν πόσους καὶ ποδαπούς: ἀλλ᾽ ἀκαταιτιάτοις ἀκρίτοις οὐδεὶς ἐβοήθησε τοῖς δεδεμένοις. [170] ἀκόλουθον ἦν ἐπιδεῖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς φονευομένους. ἐπείδομεν καὶ τοῦτο καθάπερ ἐξ ἀγέλης ζῴων ἀλόγων ἑλκομένου τοῦ κρατιστεύοντος ἀεὶ θύματος, οὐδὲ φωνήν τις ἀφῆκεν οὐχ ὅπως ἐκίνησε τὴν δεξιάν. [171] φέρετε δὴ [τοίνυν], φέρετε πατούμενα βλέποντες τὰ ἅγια καὶ πάντας ὑποθέντες αὐτοὶ τοῖς ἀνοσίοις τοὺς τῶν τολμημάτων βαθμοὺς μὴ βαρύνεσθε τὴν ὑπεροχήν: καὶ γὰρ νῦν πάντως ἂν ἐπὶ μεῖζον προύκοψαν, εἴ τι τῶν ἁγίων καταλῦσαι μεῖζον εἶχον. [172] κεκράτηται μὲν οὖν τὸ ὀχυρώτατον τῆς πόλεως: λεγέσθω γὰρ νῦν τὸ ἱερὸν ὡς ἄκρα τις ἢ φρούριον: ἔχοντες δ᾽ ἐπιτετειχισμένην τυραννίδα τοσαύτην καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑπὲρ κορυφὴν βλέποντες, τί βουλεύεσθε καὶ τίσι τὰς γνώμας προσθάλπετε; [173] Ῥωμαίους ἄρα περιμενεῖτε, ἵν᾽ ἡμῶν βοηθήσωσι τοῖς ἁγίοις; ἔχει μὲν οὕτως τὰ πράγματα τῇ πόλει, καὶ πρὸς τοσοῦτον ἥκομεν συμφορῶν, ἵνα ἡμᾶς ἐλεήσωσι καὶ πολέμιοι. [174] οὐκ ἐξαναστήσεσθε, ὦ τλημονέστατοι, καὶ πρὸς τὰς πληγὰς ἐπιστραφέντες, ὃ κἀπὶ τῶν θηρίων ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, τοὺς τύπτοντας ἀμυνεῖσθε; οὐκ ἀναμνήσεσθε τῶν ἰδίων ἕκαστος συμφορῶν οὐδὲ ἃ πεπόνθατε πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν θέμενοι τὰς ψυχὰς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς θήξετε πρὸς τὴν ἄμυναν; [175] ἀπόλωλεν ἄρα παρ᾽ ὑμῖν τὸ τιμιώτατον τῶν παθῶν καὶ φυσικώτατον, ἐλευθερίας ἐπιθυμία, φιλόδουλοι δὲ καὶ φιλοδέσποτοι γεγόναμεν ὥσπερ ἐκ προγόνων τὸ ὑποτάσσεσθαι παραλαβόντες. [176] ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνοί γε πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτονομίας πολέμους διήνεγκαν καὶ οὔτε τῆς Αἰγυπτίων οὔτε τῆς Μήδων δυναστείας ἠττήθησαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ποιεῖν τὸ κελευόμενον. [177] καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ τῶν προγόνων λέγειν; ἀλλ᾽ ὁ νῦν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμος, ἐῶ διελέγχειν πότερον λυσιτελὴς ὢν καὶ σύμφορος ἢ τοὐναντίον, τίνα δ᾽ οὖν ἔχει πρόφασιν; [178] οὐ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν; εἶτα τοὺς τῆς οἰκουμένης δεσπότας μὴ φέροντες τῶν ὁμοφύλων τυράννων ἀνεξόμεθα; [179] καίτοι τὸ μὲν τοῖς ἔξωθεν ὑπακούειν ἀνενέγκαι τις ἂν εἰς τὴν ἅπαξ ἡττήσασαν τύχην, τὸ δὲ τοῖς οἰκείοις εἴκειν πονηροῖς ἀγεννῶν ἐστι καὶ προαιρουμένων. [180]

ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἅπαξ ἐμνήσθην Ῥωμαίων, οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν ὃ μεταξὺ τῶν λόγων ἐμπεσὸν ἐπέστρεψε τὴν διάνοιαν, ὅτι κἂν ἁλῶμεν ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνοις, ἀπείη δὲ ἡ πεῖρα τοῦ λόγου, χαλεπώτερον οὐδὲν παθεῖν ἔχομεν ὧν ἡμᾶς διατεθείκασιν οὗτοι. [181] πῶς δὲ οὐ δακρύων ἄξιον ἐκείνων μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ ἀναθήματα βλέπειν, τῶν δὲ ὁμοφύλων τὰ σκῦλα σεσυληκότων καὶ ἀνελόντων τὴν τῆς μητροπόλεως εὐγένειαν, καὶ πεφονευμένους ἄνδρας ὧν ἀπέσχοντο ἂν κἀκεῖνοι κρατήσαντες; [182] καὶ Ῥωμαίους μὲν μηδέποτε ὑπερβῆναι τὸν ὅρον τῶν βεβήλων μηδὲ παραβῆναί τι τῶν ἱερῶν ἐθῶν, πεφρικέναι δὲ πόρρωθεν ὁρῶντας τοὺς τῶν ἁγίων περιβόλους, [183] γενηθέντας δέ τινας ἐν τῇδε τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τραφέντας ὑπὸ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἔθεσι καὶ Ἰουδαίους καλουμένους ἐμπεριπατεῖν μέσοις τοῖς ἁγίοις θερμὰς ἔτι τὰς χεῖρας ἐξ ὁμοφύλων ἔχοντας φόνων; [184] εἶτά τις δέδοικεν τὸν ἔξωθεν πόλεμον καὶ τοὺς ἐν συγκρίσει πολλῷ τῶν οἰκείων ἡμῖν μετριωτέρους; καὶ γὰρ ἄν, εἰ ἐτύμους δεῖ τοῖς πράγμασι τὰς κλήσεις ἐφαρμόζειν, τάχα ἂν εὕροι τις Ῥωμαίους μὲν ἡμῖν βεβαιωτὰς τῶν νόμων, πολεμίους δὲ τοὺς ἔνδον. [185] ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι μὲν ἐξώλεις οἱ ἐπίβουλοι τῆς ἐλευθερίας, καὶ πρὸς ἃ δεδράκασιν οὐκ ἄν τις ἐπινοήσειεν δίκην ἀξίαν κατ᾽ αὐτῶν, οἶμαι πάντας ἥκειν πεπεισμένους οἴκοθεν καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων παρωξύνθαι τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς, ἃ πεπόνθατε. [186] καταπλήσσονται δ᾽ ἴσως οἱ πολλοὶ τό τε πλῆθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν τόλμαν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ τόπου πλεονεξίαν. [187] ταῦτα δ᾽ ὥσπερ συνέστη διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀμέλειαν, καὶ νῦν αὐξηθήσεται πλέον ὑπερθεμένων: καὶ γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέφεται καθ᾽ ἡμέραν παντὸς πονηροῦ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοίους αὐτομολοῦντος, [188] καὶ τὴν τόλμαν ἐξάπτει μέχρι νῦν μηδὲν ἐμπόδιον, τῷ τε τόπῳ καθύπερθεν ὄντες χρήσαιντο καὶ μετὰ παρασκευῆς, ἂν ἡμεῖς χρόνον δῶμεν. [189] πιστεύσατε δὲ ὡς, ἐὰν προσβαίνωμεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς, ἔσονται τῇ συνειδήσει ταπεινότεροι, καὶ τὸ πλεονέκτημα τοῦ ὕψους ὁ λογισμὸς ἀπολεῖ. [190] τάχα τὸ θεῖον ὑβρισμένον ἀναστρέψει κατ᾽ αὐτῶν τὰ βαλλόμενα, καὶ τοῖς σφετέροις διαφθαρήσονται βέλεσιν οἱ δυσσεβεῖς. μόνον ὀφθῶμεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ καταλέλυνται. [191] καλὸν δέ, κἂν προσῇ τις κίνδυνος, ἀποθνήσκειν πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς πυλῶσι καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν εἰ καὶ μὴ πρὸ παίδων ἢ γυναικῶν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἁγίων προέσθαι. [192] προστήσομαι δ᾽ ἐγὼ γνώμῃ τε καὶ χειρί, καὶ οὔτε ἐπίνοιά τις ὑμῖν λείψει πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ἐξ ἡμῶν οὔτε τοῦ σώματος ὄψεσθε φειδόμενον.”

10. And now, when the multitude were gotten together to an assembly, and every one was in indignation at these men’s seizing upon the sanctuary, at their rapine and murders, but had not yet begun their attacks upon them, [the reason of which was this, that they imagined it to be a difficult thing to suppress these zealots, as indeed the case was,] Ananus stood in the midst of them, and casting his eyes frequently at the temple, and having a flood of tears in his eyes, he said,

“Certainly it had been good for me to die before I had seen the house of God full of so many abominations, or these sacred places, that ought not to be trodden upon at random, filled with the feet of these blood-shedding villains; yet do I, who am clothed with the vestments of the high priesthood, and am called by that most venerable name [of high priest], still live, and am but too fond of living, and cannot endure to undergo a death which would be the glory of my old age; and if I were the only person concerned, and as it were in a desert, I would give up my life, and that alone for God’s sake; for to what purpose is it to live among a people insensible of their calamities, and where there is no notion remaining of any remedy for the miseries that are upon them? for when you are seized upon, you bear it! and when you are beaten, you are silent! and when the people are murdered, nobody dare so much as send out a groan openly! O bitter tyranny that we are under! But why do I complain of the tyrants? Was it not you, and your sufferance of them, that have nourished them? Was it not you that overlooked those that first of all got together, for they were then but a few, and by your silence made them grow to be many; and by conniving at them when they took arms, in effect armed them against yourselves? You ought to have then prevented their first attempts, when they fell a reproaching your relations; but by neglecting that care in time, you have encouraged these wretches to plunder men. When houses were pillaged, nobody said a word, which was the occasion why they carried off the owners of those houses; and when they were drawn through the midst of the city, nobody came to their assistance. They then proceeded to put those whom you have betrayed into their hands into bonds. I do not say how many and of what characters those men were whom they thus served; but certainly they were such as were accused by none, and condemned by none; and since nobody succored them when they were put into bonds, the consequence was, that you saw the same persons slain. We have seen this also; so that still the best of the herd of brute animals, as it were, have been still led to be sacrificed, when yet nobody said one word, or moved his right hand for their preservation. Will you bear, therefore, will you bear to see your sanctuary trampled on? and will you lay steps for these profane wretches, upon which they may mount to higher degrees of insolence? Will not you pluck them down from their exaltation? for even by this time they had proceeded to higher enormities, if they had been able to overthrow any thing greater than the sanctuary. They have seized upon the strongest place of the whole city; you may call it the temple, if you please, though it be like a citadel or fortress. Now, while you have tyranny in so great a degree walled in, and see your enemies over your heads, to what purpose is it to take counsel? and what have you to support your minds withal? Perhaps you wait for the Romans, that they may protect our holy places: are our

matters then brought to that pass? and are we come to that degree of misery, that our enemies themselves are expected to pity us? O wretched creatures! will not you rise up and turn upon those that strike you? which you may observe in wild beasts themselves, that they will avenge themselves on those that strike them. Will you not call to mind, every one of you, the calamities you yourselves have suffered? nor lay before your eyes what afflictions you yourselves have undergone? and will not such things sharpen your souls to revenge? Is therefore that most honorable and most natural of our passions utterly lost, I mean the desire of liberty? Truly we are in love with slavery, and in love with those that lord it over us, as if we had received that principle of subjection from our ancestors; yet did they undergo many and great wars for the sake of liberty, nor were they so far overcome by the power of the Egyptians, or the Medes, but that still they did what they thought fit, notwithstanding their commands to the contrary. And what occasion is there now for a war with the Romans? [I meddle not with determining whether it be an advantageous and profitable war or not.] What pretense is there for it? Is it not that we may enjoy our liberty? Besides, shall we not bear the lords of the habitable earth to be lords over us, and yet bear tyrants of our own country? Although I must say that submission to foreigners may be borne, because fortune hath already doomed us to it, while submission to wicked people of our own nation is too unmanly, and brought upon us by our own consent. However, since I have had occasion to mention the Romans, I will not conceal a thing that, as I am speaking, comes into my mind, and affects me considerably; it is this, that though we should be taken by them, [God forbid the event should be so!] yet can we undergo nothing that will be harder to be borne than what these men have already brought upon us. How then can we avoid shedding of tears, when we see the Roman donations in our temple, while we withal see those of our own nation taking our spoils, and plundering our glorious metropolis, and slaughtering our men, from which enormities those Romans themselves would have abstained? to see those Romans never going beyond the bounds allotted to profane persons, nor venturing to break in upon any of our sacred customs; nay, having a horror on their minds when they view at a distance those sacred walls; while some that have been born in this very country, and brought up in our customs, and called Jews, do walk about in the midst of the holy places, at the very time when their hands are still warm with the slaughter of their own countrymen. Besides, can any one be afraid of a war abroad, and that with such as will have comparatively much greater moderation than our own people have? For truly, if we may suit our words to the things they represent, it is probable one may hereafter find the Romans to be the supporters of our laws, and those within ourselves the subverters of them. And now I am

persuaded that every one of you here comes satisfied before I speak that these overthrowers of our liberties deserve to be destroyed, and that nobody can so much as devise a punishment that they have not deserved by what they have done, and that you are all provoked against them by those their wicked actions, whence you have suffered so greatly. But perhaps many of you are affrighted at the multitude of those zealots, and at their audaciousness, as well as at the advantage they have over us in their being higher in place than we are; for these circumstances, as they have been occasioned by your negligence, so will they become still greater by being still longer neglected; for their multitude is every day augmented, by every ill man's running away to those that are like to themselves, and their audaciousness is therefore inflamed, because they meet with no obstruction to their designs. And for their higher place, they will make use of it for engines also, if we give them time to do so; but be assured of this, that if we go up to fight them, they will be made tamer by their own consciences, and what advantages they have in the height of their situation they will lose by the opposition of their reason; perhaps also God himself, who hath been affronted by them, will make what they throw at us return against themselves, and these impious wretches will be killed by their own darts: let us but make our appearance before them, and they will come to nothing. However, it is a right thing, if there should be any danger in the attempt, to die before these holy gates, and to spend our very lives, if not for the sake of our children and wives, yet for God's sake, and for the sake of his sanctuary. I will assist you both with my counsel and with my hand; nor shall any sagacity of ours be wanting for your support; nor shall you see that I will be sparing of my body neither."

(11) [193] Τούτοις ὁ Ἄνανος παρακροτεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τοὺς ζηλωτάς, οὐκ ἀγνοῶν μὲν ὡς εἶεν ἤδη δυσκατάλυτοι πλήθει τε καὶ νεότητι καὶ παραστήματι ψυχῆς, τὸ πλέον δὲ συνειδήσει τῶν εἰργασμένων: οὐ γὰρ ἐνδώσειν αὐτοὺς εἰς ἐσχάτην συγγνώμην ἐφ' οἷς ἔδρασαν ἐλπίσαντας: [194] ὅμως δὲ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν παθεῖν προῃρεῖτο μᾶλλον ἢ περιιδεῖν ἐν τοιαύτῃ τὰ πράγματα συγχύσει. [195] τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἄγειν αὐτοὺς ἐβόα καθ' ὧν παρεκάλει, καὶ προκινδυνεύειν ἕκαστος ἦν ἑτοιμότατος.

11. By these motives Ananus encouraged the multitude to go against the zealots, although he knew how difficult it would be to disperse them, because of their multitude, and their youth, and the courage of their souls; but chiefly because of their consciousness of what they had done, since they would not yield, as not so much as hoping for pardon at the last for those their enormities. However, Ananus resolved to undergo whatever sufferings might come upon him, rather than overlook things, now they were in such great confusion. So the multitude

cried out to him, to lead them on against those whom he had described in his exhortation to them, and every one of them was most readily disposed to run any hazard whatsoever on that account.

(12) [196] Ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ ὁ Ἄνανος κατέλεγέ τε καὶ συνέτασσε τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους πρὸς μάχην, οἱ ζηλωταὶ πυνθανόμενοι τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν, παρῆσαν γὰρ οἱ ἀγγέλλοντες αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου, παροξύνονται κἀκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ προπηδῶντες ἀθρόοι τε καὶ κατὰ λόχους οὐδενὸς ἐφείδοντο τῶν προστυγχανόντων. [197] ἀθροίζεται δὲ ὑπ᾽ Ἀνάνου ταχέως τὸ δημοτικόν, πλήθει μὲν ὑπερέχον, ὅπλοις δὲ καὶ τῷ μὴ συγκεκροτῆσθαι λειπόμενον τῶν ζηλωτῶν. [198] τὸ πρόθυμον δὲ παρ᾽ ἑκατέροις ἀνεπλήρου τὰ λείποντα, τῶν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀνειληφότων ὀργὴν ἰσχυροτέραν τῶν ὅπλων, τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τόλμαν παντὸς πλήθους ὑπερέχουσαν: [199] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀοίκητον ὑπολαμβάνοντες αὐτοῖς τὴν πόλιν εἰ μὴ τοὺς λῃστὰς ἐκκόψειαν αὐτῆς, οἱ ζηλωταὶ δὲ εἰ μὴ κρατοῖεν οὐκ ἔστιν ἥστινος ὑστερήσειν τιμωρίας, [200] συνερρήγνυντο στρατηγούμενοι τοῖς πάθεσι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ λίθοις βάλλοντες ἀλλήλους καὶ πόρρωθεν διακοντιζόμενοι, κατὰ δὲ τὰς τροπὰς οἱ κρατοῦντες ἐχρῶντο τοῖς ξίφεσι: καὶ πολὺς ἦν ἑκατέρων φόνος, τραυματίαι τε ἐγίνοντο συχνοί. [201] καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου διεκόμιζον εἰς τὰς οἰκίας οἱ προσήκοντες, ὁ δὲ βληθεὶς τῶν ζηλωτῶν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνῄει καθαιμάσσων τὸ θεῖον ἔδαφος: καὶ μόνον ἄν τις εἴποι τὸ ἐκείνων αἷμα μιᾶναι τὰ ἅγια. [202] κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὰς συμβολὰς ἐκτρέχοντες ἀεὶ περιῆσαν οἱ λῃστρικοί, τεθυμωμένοι δὲ οἱ δημοτικοὶ καὶ πλείους ἀεὶ γινόμενοι, κακίζοντες τοὺς ἐνδιδόντας καὶ μὴ διδόντες τοῖς τρεπομένοις ἀναχώρησιν οἱ κατόπιν βιαζόμενοι, πᾶν μὲν ἐπιστρέφουσι τὸ σφέτερον εἰς τοὺς ὑπεναντίους: [203] κἀκείνων μηκέτ᾽ ἀντεχόντων τῇ βίᾳ, κατὰ μικρὸν δ᾽ ἀναχωρούντων εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν συνεισπίπτουσιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄνανον. [204] τοῖς δὲ κατάπληξις ἐμπίπτει στερομένοις τοῦ πρώτου περιβόλου, καὶ καταφυγόντες εἰς τὸ ἐνδοτέρω ταχέως ἀποκλείουσι τὰς πύλας. [205] τῷ δ᾽ Ἀνάνῳ προσβαλεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἐδόκει τοῖς ἱεροῖς πυλῶσιν ἄλλως τε κἀκείνων βαλλόντων ἄνωθεν, ἀθέμιτον δ᾽ ἡγεῖτο, κἂν κρατήσῃ, μὴ προηγνευκὸς εἰσαγαγεῖν τὸ πλῆθος: [206] διακληρώσας δ᾽ ἐκ πάντων εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους ὁπλίτας καθίστησιν ἐπὶ ταῖς στοαῖς φρουρούς: [207] διεδέχοντο δὲ ἄλλοι τούτους, καὶ παντὶ μὲν ἀνάγκη παρεῖναι πρὸς τὴν φυλακὴν ἐκ περιόδου, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν ἀξιώμασιν ἐφεθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἄρχειν δοκούντων μισθούμενοι πενιχροτέρους ἀνθ᾽ ἑαυτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν φρουρὰν ἔπεμπον.

12. Now while Ananus was choosing out his men, and putting those that were proper for his purpose in array for fighting, the zealots got information of his undertaking, [for there were some who went to them, and told them all that the people were doing,] and were irritated at it, and leaping out of the temple in

crowds, and by parties, spared none whom they met with. Upon this Ananus got the populace together on the sudden, who were more numerous indeed than the zealots, but inferior to them in arms, because they had not been regularly put into array for fighting; but the alacrity that every body showed supplied all their defects on both sides, the citizens taking up so great a passion as was stronger than arms, and deriving a degree of courage from the temple more forcible than any multitude whatsoever; and indeed these citizens thought it was not possible for them to dwell in the city, unless they could cut off the robbers that were in it. The zealots also thought that unless they prevailed, there would be no punishment so bad but it would be inflicted on them. So their conflicts were conducted by their passions; and at the first they only cast stones at each other in the city, and before the temple, and threw their javelins at a distance; but when either of them were too hard for the other, they made use of their swords; and great slaughter was made on both sides, and a great number were wounded. As for the dead bodies of the people, their relations carried them out to their own houses; but when any of the zealots were wounded, he went up into the temple, and defiled that sacred floor with his blood, insomuch that one may say it was their blood alone that polluted our sanctuary. Now in these conflicts the robbers always sallied out of the temple, and were too hard for their enemies; but the populace grew very angry, and became more and more numerous, and reproached those that gave back, and those behind would not afford room to those that were going off, but forced them on again, till at length they made their whole body to turn against their adversaries, and the robbers could no longer oppose them, but were forced gradually to retire into the temple; when Ananus and his party fell into it at the same time together with them. This horribly affrighted the robbers, because it deprived them of the first court; so they fled into the inner court immediately, and shut the gates. Now Ananus did not think fit to make any attack against the holy gates, although the other threw their stones and darts at them from above. He also deemed it unlawful to introduce the multitude into that court before they were purified; he therefore chose out of them all by lot six thousand armed men, and placed them as guards in the cloisters; so there was a succession of such guards one after another, and every one was forced to attend in his course; although many of the chief of the city were dismissed by those that then took on them the government, upon their hiring some of the poorer sort, and sending them to keep the guard in their stead.

(13) [208] Γίνεται δὲ τούτοις πᾶσιν ὀλέθρου παραίτιος Ἰωάννης, ὃν ἔφαμεν ἀπὸ Γισχάλων διαδρᾶναι, δολιώτατος ἀνὴρ καὶ δεινὸν ἔρωτα τυραννίδος ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ περιφέρων, ὃς πόρρωθεν ἐπεβούλευε τοῖς πράγμασιν. [209] καὶ δὴ τότε τὰ τοῦ

δήμου φρονεῖν ὑποκρινόμενος συμπεριῄει μὲν τῷ Ἀνάνῳ βουλευομένῳ σὺν τοῖς δυνατοῖς μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ ἐπιόντι τὰς φυλακάς, διήγγελλε δὲ τὰ ἀπόρρητα τοῖς ζηλωταῖς, καὶ πᾶν σκέμμα τοῦ δήμου πρὶν καλῶς βουλευθῆναι παρὰ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐγινώσκετο δι᾽ αὐτοῦ. [210] μηχανώμενος δὲ τὸ μὴ δι᾽ ὑποψίας ἐλθεῖν ἀμέτροις ἐχρῆτο ταῖς θεραπείαις εἰς τόν τε Ἄνανον καὶ τοὺς τοῦ δήμου προεστῶτας. [211] ἐχώρει δ᾽ εἰς τοὐναντίον αὐτῷ τὸ φιλότιμον: διὰ γὰρ τὰς ἀλόγους κολακείας μᾶλλον ὑπωπτεύετο, καὶ τὸ πανταχοῦ παρεῖναι μὴ καλούμενον ἔμφασιν προδοσίας τῶν ἀπορρήτων παρεῖχε. [212] συνεώρων μὲν γὰρ αἰσθανομένους ἅπαντα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς βουλευμάτων, πιθανώτερος δ᾽ οὐδεὶς ἦν Ἰωάννου πρὸς ὑποψίας τοῦ διαγγέλλειν. [213] ἀποσκευάσασθαι μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἦν ῥᾴδιον ὄντα δυνατὸν ἐκ πονηρίας καὶ ἄλλως οὐ τῶν ἀσήμων ὑπεζωσμένον τε πολλοὺς τῶν συνεδρευόντων τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἐδόκει δὲ αὐτὸν ὅρκοις πιστώσασθαι πρὸς εὔνοιαν. [214] ὤμνυε δ᾽ ὁ Ἰωάννης ἑτοίμως εὐνοήσειν τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ μήτε βουλήν τινα μήτε πρᾶξιν προδώσειν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, συγκαταλύσειν δὲ τοὺς ἐπιτιθεμένους καὶ χειρὶ καὶ γνώμῃ. [215] οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἄνανον πιστεύσαντες τοῖς ὅρκοις ἤδη χωρὶς ὑπονοίας εἰς τὰς συμβουλίας αὐτὸν παρελάμβανον, καὶ δὴ καὶ πρεσβευτὴν εἰσπέμπουσι πρὸς τοὺς ζηλωτὰς περὶ διαλύσεων: ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς σπουδὴ τὸ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς μὴ μιᾶναι τὸ ἱερὸν μηδέ τινα τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἐν αὐτῷ πεσεῖν.

13. Now it was John who, as we told you, ran away from Gischala, and was the occasion of all these being destroyed. He was a man of great craft, and bore about him in his soul a strong passion after tyranny, and at a distance was the adviser in these actions; and indeed at this time he pretended to be of the people's opinion, and went all about with Ananus when he consulted the great men every day, and in the night time also when he went round the watch; but he divulged their secrets to the zealots, and every thing that the people deliberated about was by his means known to their enemies, even before it had been well agreed upon by themselves. And by way of contrivance how he might not be brought into suspicion, he cultivated the greatest friendship possible with Ananus, and with the chief of the people; yet did this overdoing of his turn against him, for he flattered them so extravagantly, that he was but the more suspected; and his constant attendance every where, even when he was not invited to be present, made him strongly suspected of betraying their secrets to the enemy; for they plainly perceived that they understood all the resolutions taken against them at their consultations. Nor was there any one whom they had so much reason to suspect of that discovery as this John; yet was it not easy to get quit of him, so potent was he grown by his wicked practices. He was also supported by many of those eminent men, who were to be consulted upon all

considerable affairs; it was therefore thought reasonable to oblige him to give them assurance of his good-will upon oath; accordingly John took such an oath readily, that he would be on the people's side, and would not betray any of their counsels or practices to their enemies, and would assist them in overthrowing those that attacked them, and that both by his hand and his advice. So Ananus and his party believed his oath, and did now receive him to their consultations without further suspicion; nay, so far did they believe him, that they sent him as their ambassador into the temple to the zealots, with proposals of accommodation; for they were very desirous to avoid the pollution of the temple as much as they possibly could, and that no one of their nation should be slain therein.

(14) [216] Ὁ δ' ὥσπερ τοῖς ζηλωταῖς ὑπὲρ εὐνοίας ὀμόσας καὶ οὐ κατ' αὐτῶν, παρελθὼν εἴσω καὶ καταστὰς εἰς μέσους πολλάκις μὲν ἔφη κινδυνεῦσαι δι' αὐτούς, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀγνοήσωσι τῶν ἀπορρήτων, ὅσα κατ' αὐτῶν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄνανον ἐβουλεύσαντο: [217] νῦν δὲ τὸν μέγιστον ἀναρριπτεῖν κίνδυνον σὺν πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς, εἰ μή τις προσγένοιτο βοήθεια δαιμόνιος. [218] οὐ γὰρ ἔτι μέλλειν Ἄνανον, ἀλλὰ πείσαντα μὲν τὸν δῆμον πεπομφέναι πρέσβεις πρὸς Οὐεσπασιανόν, ἵν' ἐλθὼν κατὰ τάχος παραλάβῃ τὴν πόλιν, ἀγνείαν δὲ παρηγγελκέναι κατ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἑξῆς ἡμέραν, ἵν' ἢ κατὰ θρησκείαν εἰσελθόντες ἢ καὶ βιασάμενοι συμμίξωσιν αὐτοῖς. [219] οὐχ ὁρᾶν δὲ μέχρι τίνος ἢ τὴν φρουρὰν οἵσουσιν ἢ παρατάξονται πρὸς τοσούτους. προσετίθει δ' ὡς αὐτὸς εἰσπεμφθείη κατὰ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν ὡς πρεσβευτὴς περὶ διαλύσεων: τὸν γὰρ Ἄνανον ταύτας αὐτοῖς προτείνειν, ὅπως ἀνυποπτοτέροις ἐπέλθῃ. [220] δεῖν οὖν ἢ τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ ζῆν τοὺς φρουροῦντας ἱκετεύειν ἢ πορίζεσθαί τινα παρὰ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπικουρίαν: [221] τοὺς δὲ θαλπομένους ἐλπίδι συγγνώμης εἰ κρατηθεῖεν, ἐπιλελῆσθαι τῶν ἰδίων τολμημάτων ἢ νομίζειν ἅμα τῷ μετανοεῖν τοὺς δεδρακότας εὐθέως ὀφείλειν διηλλάχθαι καὶ τοὺς παθόντας. [222] ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἀδικησάντων διὰ μίσους πολλάκις γίνεσθαι καὶ τὴν μεταμέλειαν, τοῖς ἀδικηθεῖσι δὲ τὰς ὀργὰς ἐπ' ἐξουσίας χαλεπωτέρας: [223] ἐφεδρεύειν δέ γε ἐκείνοις φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς τῶν ἀπολωλότων καὶ δῆμον τοσοῦτον ὑπὲρ καταλύσεως νόμων καὶ δικαστηρίων τεθυμωμένον, ὅπου κἂν ᾖ τι μέρος τὸ ἐλεοῦν, ὑπὸ πλείονος ἂν αὐτὸ τοῦ διαγανακτοῦντος ἀφανισθῆναι.

14. But now this John, as if his oath had been made to the zealots, and for confirmation of his good-will to them, and not against them, went into the temple, and stood in the midst of them, and spake as follows: That he had run many hazards on their accounts, and in order to let them know of every thing that was secretly contrived against them by Ananus and his party; but that both he and they should be cast into the most imminent danger, unless some

providential assistance were afforded them; for that Ananus made no longer delay, but had prevailed with the people to send ambassadors to Vespasian, to invite him to come presently and take the city; and that he had appointed a fast for the next day against them, that they might obtain admission into the temple on a religious account, or gain it by force, and fight with them there; that he did not see how long they could either endure a siege, or how they could fight against so many enemies. He added further, that it was by the providence of God he was himself sent as an ambassador to them for an accommodation; for that Artanus did therefore offer them such proposals, that he might come upon them when they were unarmed; that they ought to choose one of these two methods, either to intercede with those that guarded them, to save their lives, or to provide some foreign assistance for themselves; that if they fostered themselves with the hopes of pardon, in case they were subdued, they had forgotten what desperate things they had done, or could suppose, that as soon as the actors repented, those that had suffered by them must be presently reconciled to them; while those that have done injuries, though they pretend to repent of them, are frequently hated by the others for that sort of repentance; and that the sufferers, when they get the power into their hands, are usually still more severe upon the actors; that the friends and kindred of those that had been destroyed would always be laying plots against them; and that a large body of people were very angry on account of their gross breaches of their laws, and [illegal] judicatures, insomuch that although some part might commiserate them, those would be quite overborne by the majority.

IV

CHAPTER 4.

The Idumeans Being Sent For By The Zealots, Came Immediately To Jerusalem; And When They Were Excluded Out Of The City, They Lay All Night There. Jesus One Of The High Priests Makes A Speech To Them; And Simon The Idumean Makes A Reply To It.

(1) [224] Τοιαῦτα μὲν ἐποίκιλλεν ἀθρόως δεδισσόμενος, καὶ τὴν ἔξωθεν βοήθειαν ἀναφανδὸν μὲν οὐκ ἐθάρρει λέγειν, ἠνίσσετο δὲ τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους: ἵνα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν ζηλωτῶν ἰδίᾳ παροξύνῃ, τὸν Ἄνανον εἴς τε ὠμότητα διέβαλλε καὶ ἀπειλεῖν ἐκείνοις ἐξαιρέτως ἔλεγεν. [225] ἦσαν δὲ Ἐλεάζαρος μὲν υἱὸς Γίωνος, ὃς δὴ καὶ πιθανώτατος ἐδόκει τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς νοῆσαί τε τὰ δέοντα

καὶ τὰ νοηθέντα πρᾶξαι, Ζαχαρίας δέ τις υἱὸς Ἀμφικάλλει, γένος ἐκ τῶν ἱερέων ἑκάτερος. [226] οὗτοι πρὸς ταῖς κοιναῖς τὰς ἰδίας καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἀπειλὰς ἀκούσαντες, ἔτι δ' ὡς οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄνανον δυναστείαν αὐτοῖς περιποιούμενοι Ῥωμαίους ἐπικαλοῖντο, καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο Ἰωάννης προσεψεύσατο, μέχρι πολλοῦ μὲν ἠποροῦντο, τί χρὴ πράττειν εἰς ὀξὺν οὕτως καιρὸν συνεωσμένους: [227] παρεσκευάσθαι μὲν γὰρ τὸν δῆμον ἐπιχειρεῖν αὐτοῖς οὐκ εἰς μακράν, αὐτῶν δὲ τὸ σύντομον τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ὑποτετμῆσθαι τὰς ἔξωθεν ἐπικουρίας: πάντα γὰρ ἂν φθῆναι παθεῖν πρὶν καὶ πυθέσθαι τινὰ τῶν συμμάχων. [228] ἔδοξε δ' ὅμως ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους, καὶ γράψαντες ἐπιστολὴν σύντομον, ὡς Ἄνανος μὲν προδιδοίη Ῥωμαίοις τὴν μητρόπολιν ἐξαπατήσας τὸν δῆμον, αὐτοὶ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀποστάντες ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ φρουροῖντο, [229] ὀλίγος δ' ἔτι χρόνος αὐτοῖς βραβεύοι τὴν σωτηρίαν, εἰ δὲ μὴ βοηθήσουσιν ἐκεῖνοι κατὰ τάχος, αὐτοὶ μὲν ὑπ' Ἀνάνῳ τε καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ἡ πόλις δ' ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους φθάσει γενομένη. τὰ δὲ πολλὰ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἐνετέλλοντο πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν Ἰδουμαίων διαλέγεσθαι. [230] προεβλήθησαν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγγελίαν δύο τῶν δραστηρίων ἀνδρῶν εἰπεῖν τε ἱκανοὶ καὶ πεῖσαι περὶ πραγμάτων, τὸ δὲ τούτων χρησιμώτερον, ὠκύτητι ποδῶν διαφέροντες: [231] τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Ἰδουμαίους αὐτόθεν ᾔδεισαν πεισθησομένους, ἅτε θορυβῶδες καὶ ἄτακτον ἔθνος αἰεί τε μετέωρον πρὸς τὰ κινήματα καὶ μεταβολαῖς χαῖρον, πρὸς ὀλίγην τε κολακείαν τῶν δεομένων τὰ ὅπλα κινοῦν καὶ καθάπερ εἰς ἑορτὴν εἰς τὰς παρατάξεις ἐπειγόμενον. [232] ἔδει δὲ τάχους εἰς τὴν ἀγγελίαν: εἰς ὃ μηδὲν ἐλλείποντες προθυμίας οἱ πεμφθέντες, ἐκαλεῖτο δ' αὐτῶν Ἀνανίας ἑκάτερος, καὶ δὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν Ἰδουμαίων παρῆσαν.

1. Now, by this crafty speech, John made the zealots afraid; yet durst he not directly name what foreign assistance he meant, but in a covert way only intimated at the Idumeans. But now, that he might particularly irritate the leaders of the zealots, he calumniated Ananus, that he was about a piece of barbarity, and did in a special manner threaten them. These leaders were Eleazar, the son of Simon, who seemed the most plausible man of them all, both in considering what was fit to be done, and in the execution of what he had determined upon, and Zacharias, the son of Phalek; both of whom derived their families from the priests. Now when these two men had heard, not only the common threatenings which belonged to them all, but those peculiarly leveled against themselves; and besides, how Artanus and his party, in order to secure their own dominion, had invited the Romans to come to them, for that also was part of John's lie; they hesitated a great while what they should do, considering the shortness of the time by which they were straitened; because the people were prepared to attack them very soon, and because the suddenness of the plot laid against them had almost

cut off all their hopes of getting any foreign assistance; for they might be under the height of their afflictions before any of their confederates could be informed of it. However, it was resolved to call in the Idumeans; so they wrote a short letter to this effect: That Ananus had imposed on the people, and was betraying their metropolis to the Romans; that they themselves had revolted from the rest, and were in custody in the temple, on account of the preservation of their liberty; that there was but a small time left wherein they might hope for their deliverance; and that unless they would come immediately to their assistance, they should themselves be soon in the power of Artanus, and the city would be in the power of the Romans. They also charged the messengers to tell many more circumstances to the rulers of the Idumeans. Now there were two active men proposed for the carrying this message, and such as were able to speak, and to persuade them that things were in this posture, and, what was a qualification still more necessary than the former, they were very swift of foot; for they knew well enough that these would immediately comply with their desires, as being ever a tumultuous and disorderly nation, always on the watch upon every motion, delighting in mutations; and upon your flattering them ever so little, and petitioning them, they soon take their arms, and put themselves into motion, and make haste to a battle, as if it were to a feast. There was indeed occasion for quick despatch in the carrying of this message, in which point the messengers were no way defective. Both their names were Ananias; and they soon came to the rulers of the Idumeans.

(2) [233] Οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τὰ ῥηθέντα παρὰ τῶν ἀφιγμένων ἐκπλαγέντες, ὥσπερ ἐμμανεῖς περιέθεόν τε τὸ ἔθνος καὶ διεκήρυσσον τὴν στρατείαν. [234] ἤθροιστο δ' ἡ πληθὺς τάχιον τοῦ παραγγέλματος, καὶ πάντες ὡς ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἥρπαζον τὰ ὅπλα. [235] συνταχθέντες δὲ εἰς δύο μυριάδας παραγίνονται πρὸς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, χρώμενοι τέσσαρσιν ἡγεμόσιν Ἰωάννῃ τε καὶ Ἰακώβῳ παιδὶ Σωσᾶ, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἦν Σίμων υἱὸς Θακήου καὶ Φινέας Κλουσώθ.

2. Now these rulers were greatly surprised at the contents of the letter, and at what those that came with it further told them; whereupon they ran about the nation like madmen, and made proclamation that the people should come to war; so a multitude was suddenly got together, sooner indeed than the time appointed in the proclamation, and every body caught up their arms, in order to maintain the liberty of their metropolis; and twenty thousand of them were put into battle-array, and came to Jerusalem, under four commanders, John, and Jacob the son of Sosas; and besides these were Simon, the son of Cathlas, and Phineas, the son of Clusothus.

(3) [236] Τὸν δὲ Ἄνανον ἡ μὲν ἔξοδος τῶν ἀγγέλων ὥσπερ καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς ἔλαθεν, ἡ δ᾽ ἔφοδος τῶν Ἰδουμαίων οὐκέτι: προγνοὺς γὰρ ἀπέκλειέ τε τὰς πύλας αὐτοῖς καὶ διὰ φυλακῆς εἶχε τὰ τείχη. [237] καθάπαν γε μὴν αὐτοὺς ἐκπολεμεῖν οὐκ ἔδοξεν, ἀλλὰ λόγοις πείθειν πρὸ τῶν ὅπλων. [238] στὰς οὖν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄντικρυς αὐτῶν πύργον ὁ μετὰ Ἄνανον γεραίτατος τῶν ἀρχιερέων Ἰησοῦς, πολλῶν ἔφη καὶ ποικίλων τὴν πόλιν κατεσχηκότων θορύβων ἐν οὐδενὶ θαυμάσαι τὴν τύχην οὕτως, ὡς τῷ συμπράττειν τοῖς πονηροῖς καὶ τὰ παράδοξα: [239] παρεῖναι γοῦν ὑμᾶς ἀνθρώποις ἐξωλεστάτοις μετὰ τοσαύτης προθυμίας ἐπαμυνοῦντας καθ᾽ ἡμῶν, μεθ᾽ ὅσης εἰκὸς ἦν ἐλθεῖν οὐδὲ τῆς μητροπόλεως καλούσης ἐπὶ βαρβάρους. [240] καὶ εἰ μὲν ἑώρων τὴν σύνταξιν ὑμῶν ἐξ ὁμοίων τοῖς καλέσασιν ἀνδρῶν, οὐκ ἂν ἄλογον τὴν ὁρμὴν ὑπελάμβανον: οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως συνίστησι τὰς εὐνοίας ὡς τρόπων συγγένεια: νῦν δ᾽, εἰ μέν τις αὐτοὺς ἐξετάζοι καθ᾽ ἕνα, μυρίων ἕκαστος εὑρεθήσεται θανάτων ἄξιος. [241] τὰ γὰρ θύματα καὶ καθάρματα τῆς πόλεως ὅλης, κατασωτευσάμενα τὰς ἰδίας οὐσίας καὶ προγυμνάσαντα τὴν ἀπόνοιαν ἐν ταῖς πέριξ κώμαις τε καὶ πόλεσι, τελευταῖα λεληθότως παρεισέρρευσαν εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν, [242] λῃσταὶ δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν ἀσεβημάτων μιαίνοντες καὶ τὸ ἀβέβηλον ἔδαφος, οὓς ὁρᾶν ἔστι νῦν ἀδεεῖς ἐμμεθυσκομένους τοῖς ἁγίοις καὶ τὰ σκῦλα τῶν πεφονευμένων καταναλίσκοντας εἰς τὰς ἀπλήστους γαστέρας. [243] τὸ δ᾽ ὑμέτερον πλῆθος καὶ τὸν κόσμον τῶν ὅπλων ὁρᾶν ἔστιν οἷος ἔπρεπεν καλούσης μὲν τῆς μητροπόλεως κοινῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, συμμάχους δὲ κατ᾽ ἀλλοφύλων. τί ἂν οὖν εἴποι τοῦτό τις ἢ τύχης ἐπήρειαν, ὅταν λογάσι πονηροῖς αὔτανδρον ἔθνος ὁρᾷ συνασπίζον [αὐτοῖς]; [244] μέχρι πολλοῦ μὲν ἀπορῶ, τί δή ποτε καὶ τὸ κινῆσαν ὑμᾶς οὕτω ταχέως ἐγένετο: μὴ γὰρ ἂν δίχα μεγάλης αἰτίας ἀναλαβεῖν τὰς πανοπλίας ὑπὲρ λῃστῶν καὶ κατὰ δήμου συγγενοῦς: [245] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἠκούσαμεν Ῥωμαίους καὶ προδοσίαν, ταῦτα γὰρ ὑμῶν ἐθορύβουν τινὲς ἀρτίως, καὶ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐπ᾽ ἐλευθερώσει παρεῖναι, πλέον τῶν ἄλλων τολμημάτων ἐθαυμάσαμεν τοὺς ἀλιτηρίους τῆς περὶ τοῦτο ψευδοῦς ἐπινοίας: [246] ἄνδρας γὰρ φύσει φιλελευθέρους καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα τοῖς ἔξωθεν πολεμίοις μάχεσθαι παρεσκευασμένους οὐκ ἐνῆν ἄλλως ἐξαγριῶσαι καθ᾽ ἡμῶν ἢ λογοποιήσαντας προδοσίαν τῆς ποθουμένης ἐλευθερίας. [247] ἀλλ᾽ ὑμᾶς γε χρὴ σκέπτεσθαι τούς τε διαβάλλοντας καὶ καθ᾽ ὧν, συνάγειν τε τὴν ἀλήθειαν οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιπλάστων λόγων ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων. [248] τί γὰρ δὴ καὶ παθόντες ἂν ἡμεῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσπωλοῖμεν ἑαυτοὺς νῦν, παρὸν ἢ μηδὲ ἀποστῆναι τὸ πρῶτον ἢ προσχωρῆσαι ταχέως ἀποστάντας ὄντων ἔτι τῶν πέριξ ἀπορθήτων; [249] νῦν μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ βουλομένοις διαλύσασθαι ῥᾴδιον, ὅτε Ῥωμαίους μὲν ὑπερόπτας πεποίηκεν ὑποχείριος ἡ Γαλιλαία, φέρει δ᾽ αἰσχύνην ἡμῖν θανάτου χαλεπωτέραν τὸ θεραπεύειν αὐτοὺς ὄντας ἤδη πλησίον. [250] καὶ ἐγὼ καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν μὲν ἂν εἰρήνην προτιμήσαιμι θανάτου, πολεμούμενος δ᾽ ἅπαξ καὶ συμβαλὼν θάνατον εὐκλεᾶ τοῦ ζῆν αἰχμάλωτος. [251] πότερον δέ φασιν ἡμᾶς

τοὺς τοῦ δήμου προεστῶτας πέμψαι κρύφα πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἢ καὶ τὸν δῆμον κοινῇ ψηφισάμενον; [252] εἰ μὲν ἡμᾶς, εἰπάτωσαν τοὺς πεμφθέντας φίλους, τοὺς διακονήσαντας τὴν προδοσίαν οἰκέτας. ἐφωράθη τις ἀπιών; ἀνακομιζόμενος ἑάλω; [253] γραμμάτων γεγόνασιν ἐγκρατεῖς; πῶς δὲ τοὺς μὲν τοσούτους πολίτας ἐλάθομεν, οἷς κατὰ πᾶσαν ὥραν συναναστρεφόμεθα, τοῖς δὲ ὀλίγοις καὶ φρουρουμένοις καὶ μηδ' εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ προελθεῖν δυναμένοις ἐγνώσθη τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν λαθραίως ἐνεργούμενα; [254] νῦν δ' ἔγνωσαν, ὅτε δεῖ δοῦναι δίκας τῶν τετολμημένων, ἕως δ' ἦσαν ἀδεεῖς αὐτοί, προδότης ἡμῶν οὐδεὶς ὑπωπτεύετο; [255] εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀναφέρουσι τὴν αἰτίαν, ἐν φανερῷ δήπουθεν ἐβουλεύσαντο, οὐδεὶς ἀπεστάτει τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὥστε τάχιον ἂν τῆς μηνύσεως ἔσπευσεν ἡ φήμη πρὸς ὑμᾶς φανερωτέρα. [256] τί δέ; οὐχὶ καὶ πρέσβεις ἔδει πέμπειν ψηφισαμένους τὰς διαλύσεις; καὶ τίς ὁ χειροτονηθείς; εἰπάτωσαν. [257] ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν δυσθανατούντων καὶ πλησίον οὔσας τὰς τιμωρίας διακρουομένων σκῆψίς ἐστιν: εἰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ προδοθῆναι τὴν πόλιν εἵμαρτο, μόνους ἂν τολμῆσαι καὶ τοῦτο τοὺς διαβάλλοντας, ὧν τοῖς τολμήμασιν ἓν μόνον [κακὸν] λείπει, προδοσία. [258] χρὴ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἐπειδήπερ ἅπαξ πάρεστε μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων, τὸ μὲν δικαιότατον, ἀμύνειν τῇ μητροπόλει καὶ συνεξαιρεῖν τοὺς τὰ δικαστήρια καταλύσαντας τυράννους, οἳ πατήσαντες τοὺς νόμους ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν ξίφεσι πεποίηνται τὰς κρίσεις. [259] ἄνδρας γοῦν ἀκαταιτιάτους τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐκ μέσης τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἁρπάσαντες δεσμοῖς τε προῃκίσαντο καὶ μηδὲ φωνῆς μηδ' ἱκεσίας ἀνασχόμενοι διέφθειραν. [260] ἔξεστιν δ' ὑμῖν παρελθοῦσιν εἴσω μὴ πολέμου νόμῳ θεάσασθαι τὰ τεκμήρια τῶν λεγομένων, οἴκους ἠρημωμένους ταῖς ἐκείνων ἁρπαγαῖς καὶ γύναια καὶ γενεὰς τῶν ἀπεσφαγμένων μελανειμονούσας, κωκυτὸν δὲ καὶ θρῆνον ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην: οὐδεὶς γάρ ἐστιν, ὃς οὐ γέγευται τῆς τῶν ἀνοσίων καταδρομῆς: [261] οἵ γε ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξώκειλαν ἀπονοίας, ὥστε μὴ μόνον ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν πόλεων ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὅλου τοῦ ἔθνους μετενεγκεῖν τὴν λῃστρικὴν τόλμαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερόν. [262] ὁρμητήριον γοῦν αὐτοῖς τοῦτο καὶ καταφυγὴ ταμιεῖόν τε τῶν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς παρασκευῶν γέγονεν, ὁ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης προσκυνούμενος χῶρος καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ περάτων γῆς ἀλλοφύλοις ἀκοῇ τετιμημένος παρὰ τῶν γενηθέντων ἐνθάδε θηρίων καταπατεῖται: [263] νεανιεύονταί τε ἐν ταῖς ἀπογνώσεσιν ἤδη δήμους τε δήμοις καὶ πόλεσι πόλεις συγκρούειν καὶ κατὰ τῶν σπλάγχνων τῶν ἰδίων τὸ ἔθνος στρατολογεῖν. [264] ἀνθ' ὧν τὸ μὲν κάλλιστον καὶ πρέπον, ὡς ἔφην, ὑμῖν συνεξαιρεῖν τοὺς ἀλιτηρίους καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀπάτης ἀμυνομένους, ὅτι συμμάχους ἐτόλμησαν καλεῖν οὓς ἔδει τιμωροὺς δεδιέναι: [265] εἰ δὲ αἰδεῖσθε τὰς τῶν τοιούτων ἐπικλήσεις, ἀλλά τοι πάρεστι θεμένοις τὰ ὅπλα καὶ παρελθοῦσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν σχήματι συγγενῶν ἀναλαβεῖν τὸ μέσον συμμάχων τε καὶ πολεμίων ὄνομα δικαστὰς γενομένους. [266] καίτοι λογίσασθε, πόσον κερδήσουσιν ἐφ' ὁμολογουμένοις καὶ τηλικούτοις κρινόμενοι παρ' ὑμῖν οἱ τοῖς

ἀκαταιτιάτοις μηδὲ λόγου μεταδόντες: λαμβανέτωσαν δ᾽ οὖν ταύτην ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀφίξεως τὴν χάριν. [267] εἰ δ᾽ οὔτε συναγανακτεῖν ἡμῖν οὔτε κρίνεσθαι δεῖ, τρίτον ἐστὶ καταλιπεῖν ἑκατέρους καὶ μήτε ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἐπιβαίνειν συμφοραῖς μήτε τοῖς ἐπιβούλοις τῆς μητροπόλεως συνέρχεσθαι. [268] εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα Ῥωμαίοις ὑποπτεύετε διειλέχθαι τινάς, παρατηρεῖν ἔξεστι τὰς ἐφόδους, κἄν τι τῶν διαβεβλημένων ἔργῳ διακαλύπτηται, τότε φρουρεῖν τὴν μητρόπολιν ἐλθόντας κολάζειν τε τοὺς αἰτίους πεφωραμένους: οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑμᾶς φθάσειαν οἱ πολέμιοι τῇ πόλει προσῳκημένους. [269] εἰ δ᾽ οὐδὲν ὑμῖν τούτων εὔγνωμον ἢ μέτριον δοκεῖ, μὴ θαυμάζετε τὰ κλεῖθρα τῶν πυλῶν, ἕως ἂν φέρητε τὰ ὅπλα.᾽᾽

3. Now this exit of the messengers was not known either to Ananus or to the guards, but the approach of the Idumeans was known to him; for as he knew of it before they came, he ordered the gates to be shut against them, and that the walls should be guarded. Yet did not he by any means think of fighting against them, but, before they came to blows, to try what persuasions would do. Accordingly, Jesus, the eldest of the high priests next to Artanus, stood upon the tower that was over against them, and said thus: "Many troubles indeed, and those of various kinds, have fallen upon this city, yet in none of them have I so much wondered at her fortune as now, when you are come to assist wicked men, and this after a manner very extraordinary; for I see that you are come to support the vilest of men against us, and this with so great alacrity, as you could hardly put on the like, in case our metropolis had called you to her assistance against barbarians. And if I had perceived that your army was composed of men like unto those who invited them, I had not deemed your attempt so absurd; for nothing does so much cement the minds of men together as the alliance there is between their manners. But now for these men who have invited you, if you were to examine them one by one, every one of them would be found to have deserved ten thousand deaths; for the very rascality and offscouring of the whole country, who have spent in debauchery their own substance, and, by way of trial beforehand, have madly plundered the neighboring villages and cities, in the upshot of all, have privately run together into this holy city. They are robbers, who by their prodigious wickedness have profaned this most sacred floor, and who are to be now seen drinking themselves drunk in the sanctuary, and expending the spoils of those whom they have slaughtered upon their unsatiable bellies. As for the multitude that is with you, one may see them so decently adorned in their armor, as it would become them to be had their metropolis called them to her assistance against foreigners. What can a man call this procedure of yours but the sport of fortune, when he sees a whole nation coming to protect a sink of wicked wretches? I have for a good while been in doubt what it could possibly be that should move you to do this so suddenly; because certainly you would not take on your armor on the behalf of robbers, and against a people of kin to you, without some very great cause for your so doing. But we have an item that the Romans are pretended, and that we are supposed to be going to betray this city to them; for some of your men have lately made a clamor about those matters, and have said they are come to set their metropolis free. Now we cannot but admire at these wretches in their devising such a lie as this against us; for they knew there was no other way to irritate against us men that were naturally desirous of liberty, and on that account the best disposed to

fight against foreign enemies, but by framing a tale as if we were going to betray that most desirable thing, liberty. But you ought to consider what sort of people they are that raise this calumny, and against what sort of people that calumny is raised, and to gather the truth of things, not by fictitious speeches, but out of the actions of both parties; for what occasion is there for us to sell ourselves to the Romans, while it was in our power not to have revolted from them at the first, or when we had once revolted, to have returned under their dominion again, and this while the neighboring countries were not yet laid waste? whereas it is not an easy thing to be reconciled to the Romans, if we were desirous of it, now they have subdued Galilee, and are thereby become proud and insolent; and to endeavor to please them at the time when they are so near us, would bring such a reproach upon us as were worse than death. As for myself, indeed, I should have preferred peace with them before death; but now we have once made war upon them, and fought with them, I prefer death, with reputation, before living in captivity under them. But further, whether do they pretend that we, who are the rulers of the people, have sent thus privately to the Romans, or hath it been done by the common suffrages of the people? If it be ourselves only that have done it, let them name those friends of ours that have been sent, as our servants, to manage this treachery. Hath any one been caught as he went out on this errand, or seized upon as he came back? Are they in possession of our letters? How could we be concealed from such a vast number of our fellow citizens, among whom we are conversant every hour, while what is done privately in the country is, it seems, known by the zealots, who are but few in number, and under confinement also, and are not able to come out of the temple into the city. Is this the first time that they are become sensible how they ought to be punished for their insolent actions? For while these men were free from the fear they are now under, there was no suspicion raised that any of us were traitors. But if they lay this charge against the people, this must have been done at a public consultation, and not one of the people must have dissented from the rest of the assembly; in which case the public fame of this matter would have come to you sooner than any particular indication. But how could that be? Must there not then have been ambassadors sent to confirm the agreements? And let them tell us who this ambassador was that was ordained for that purpose. But this is no other than a pretense of such men as are loath to die, and are laboring to escape those punishments that hang over them; for if fate had determined that this city was to be betrayed into its enemies' hands, no other than these men that accuse us falsely could have the impudence to do it, there being no wickedness wanting to complete their impudent practices but this only, that they become traitors. And now you Idumeans are come hither already with your arms, it is your duty, in the

first place, to be assisting to your metropolis, and to join with us in cutting off those tyrants that have infringed the rules of our regular tribunals, that have trampled upon our laws, and made their swords the arbitrators of right and wrong; for they have seized upon men of great eminence, and under no accusation, as they stood in the midst of the market-place, and tortured them with putting them into bonds, and, without bearing to hear what they had to say, or what supplications they made, they destroyed them. You may, if you please, come into the city, though not in the way of war, and take a view of the marks still remaining of what I now say, and may see the houses that have been depopulated by their rapacious hands, with those wives and families that are in black, mourning for their slaughtered relations; as also you may hear their groans and lamentations all the city over; for there is nobody but hath tasted of the incursions of these profane wretches, who have proceeded to that degree of madness, as not only to have transferred their impudent robberies out of the country, and the remote cities, into this city, the very face and head of the whole nation, but out of the city into the temple also; for that is now made their receptacle and refuge, and the fountain-head whence their preparations are made against us. And this place, which is adored by the habitable world, and honored by such as only know it by report, as far as the ends of the earth, is trampled upon by these wild beasts born among ourselves. They now triumph in the desperate condition they are already in, when they hear that one people is going to fight against another people, and one city against another city, and that your nation hath gotten an army together against its own bowels. Instead of which procedure, it were highly fit and reasonable, as I said before, for you to join with us in cutting off these wretches, and in particular to be revenged on them for putting this very cheat upon you; I mean, for having the impudence to invite you to assist them, of whom they ought to have stood in fear, as ready to punish them. But if you have some regard to these men's invitation of you, yet may you lay aside your arms, and come into the city under the notion of our kindred, and take upon you a middle name between that of auxiliaries and of enemies, and so become judges in this case. However, consider what these men will gain by being called into judgment before you, for such undeniable and such flagrant crimes, who would not vouchsafe to hear such as had no accusations laid against them to speak a word for themselves. However, let them gain this advantage by your coming. But still, if you will neither take our part in that indignation we have at these men, nor judge between us, the third thing I have to propose is this, that you let us both alone, and neither insult upon our calamities, nor abide with these plotters against their metropolis; for though you should have ever so great a suspicion that some of us have discoursed with the Romans, it is in your power

to watch the passages into the city; and in case any thing that we have been accused of is brought to light, then to come and defend your metropolis, and to inflict punishment on those that are found guilty; for the enemy cannot prevent you who are so near to the city. But if, after all, none of these proposals seem acceptable and moderate, do not you wonder that the gates are shut against you, while you bear your arms about you."

(4) [270] Τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἔλεγε: τῶν δὲ Ἰδουμαίων οὔτε τὸ πλῆθος προσεῖχεν, ἀλλὰ τεθύμωτο μὴ τυχὸν ἑτοίμης τῆς εἰσόδου, καὶ διηγανάκτουν οἱ στρατηγοὶ πρὸς ἀπόθεσιν τῶν ὅπλων αἰχμαλωσίαν ἡγούμενοι τὸ κελευόντων τινῶν αὐτὰ ῥῖψαι. [271] Σίμων δὲ υἱὸς Κααθὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων εἷς, μόλις τῶν οἰκείων καταστείλας τὸν θόρυβον καὶ στὰς εἰς ἐπήκοον τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν, [272] οὐκέτι θαυμάζειν ἔφη φρουρουμένων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῶν προμάχων τῆς ἐλευθερίας, εἴ γε καὶ τῷ ἔθνει κλείουσί τινες ἤδη τὴν κοινὴν πόλιν, [273] καὶ Ῥωμαίους μὲν εἰσδέχεσθαι παρασκευάζονται τάχα καὶ στεφανώσαντες τὰς πύλας, Ἰδουμαίοις δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων διαλέγονται καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὅπλα κελεύουσι ῥῖψαι, [274] μὴ πιστεύοντες δὲ τοῖς συγγενέσι τὴν τῆς μητροπόλεως φυλακὴν τοὺς αὐτοὺς δικαστὰς ποιοῦνται τῶν διαφόρων, καὶ κατηγοροῦντές τινων ὡς ἀποκτείνειαν ἀκρίτους, αὐτοὶ καταδικάζοιεν ὅλου τοῦ ἔθνους ἀτιμίαν: [275] τὴν γοῦν ἅπασι τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις ἀναπεπταμένην εἰς θρησκείαν πόλιν τοῖς οἰκείοις νῦν ἀποτετείχισθε. [276] πάνυ γὰρ ἐπὶ σφαγὰς ἐσπεύδομεν καὶ τὸν κατὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων πόλεμον οἱ διὰ τοῦτο ταχύναντες, ἵν' ὑμᾶς τηρήσωμεν ἐλευθέρους. [277] τοιαῦτα μέντοι καὶ πρὸς τῶν φρουρουμένων ἠδίκησθε, καὶ πιθανὰς οὕτως ὑποψίας οἶμαι κατ' ἐκείνων συνελέξατε. [278] ἔπειτα τῶν ἔνδον φρουρᾷ κρατοῦντες ὅσοι κήδονται τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ τοῖς συγγενεστάτοις ἔθνεσιν ἀθρόοις ἀποκλείσαντες μὲν τὴν πόλιν ὑβριστικὰ δ' οὕτως προστάγματα κελεύοντες, τυραννεῖσθαι λέγετε καὶ τὸ τῆς δυναστείας ὄνομα τοῖς ὑφ' ὑμῶν τυραννουμένοις περιάπτετε. [279] τίς ἂν ἐνέγκαι τὴν εἰρωνείαν τῶν λόγων ἀφορῶν εἰς τὴν ἐναντιότητα τῶν πραγμάτων; εἰ μὴ καὶ νῦν ὑμᾶς ἀποκλείουσιν Ἰδουμαῖοι τῆς μητροπόλεως, οὓς αὐτοὶ τῶν πατρίων ἱερῶν εἴργετε. [280] μέμψαιτ' ἂν εἰκότως τις τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ πολιορκουμένους, ὅτι θαρσήσαντες τοὺς προδότας κολάζειν, οὓς ὑμεῖς ἄνδρας ἐπισήμους καὶ ἀκαταιτιάτους λέγετε διὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν, οὐκ ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἤρξαντο καὶ τὰ καιριώτατα τῆς προδοσίας μέρη προαπέκοψαν. [281] ἀλλ' εἰ κἀκεῖνοι τῆς χρείας ἐγένοντο μαλακώτεροι, τηρήσομεν Ἰδουμαῖοι τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς κοινῆς πατρίδος προπολεμήσομεν ἅμα τούς τε ἔξωθεν ἐπιόντας καὶ τοὺς ἔνδον προδιδόντας ἀμυνόμενοι πολεμίους. [282] ἐνθάδε πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν μενοῦμεν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἕως ἂν Ῥωμαῖοι κάμωσι προσέχοντες ὑμῖν ἢ ὑμεῖς ἐλεύθερα φρονήσαντες μεταβάλησθε."

4. Thus spake Jesus; yet did not the multitude of the Idumeans give any attention to what he said, but were in a rage, because they did not meet with a ready entrance into the city. The generals also had indignation at the offer of laying down their arms, and looked upon it as equal to a captivity, to throw them away at any man's injunction whomsoever. But Simon, the son of Cathlas, one of their commanders, with much ado quieted the tumult of his own men, and stood so that the high priests might hear him, and said as follows: "I can no longer wonder that the patrons of liberty are under custody in the temple, since there are those that shut the gates of our common city to their own nation, and at the same time are prepared to admit the Romans into it; nay, perhaps are disposed to crown the gates with garlands at their coming, while they speak to the Idumeans from their own towers, and enjoin them to throw down their arms which they have taken up for the preservation of its liberty. And while they will not intrust the guard of our metropolis to their kindred, profess to make them judges of the differences that are among them; nay, while they accuse some men of having slain others without a legal trial, they do themselves condemn a whole nation after an ignominious manner, and have now walled up that city from their own nation, which used to be open to even all foreigners that came to worship there. We have indeed come in great haste to you, and to a war against our own countrymen; and the reason why we have made such haste is this, that we may preserve that freedom which you are so unhappy as to betray. You have probably been guilty of the like crimes against those whom you keep in custody, and have, I suppose, collected together the like plausible pretenses against them also that you make use of against us; after which you have gotten the mastery of those within the temple, and keep them in custody, while they are only taking care of the public affairs. You have also shut the gates of the city in general against nations that are the most nearly related to you; and while you give such injurious commands to others, you complain that you have been tyrannized over by them, and fix the name of unjust governors upon such as are tyrannized over by yourselves. Who can bear this your abuse of words, while they have a regard to the contrariety of your actions, unless you mean this, that those Idumeans do now exclude you out of your metropolis, whom you exclude from the sacred offices of your own country? One may indeed justly complain of those that are besieged in the temple, that when they had courage enough to punish those tyrants whom you call eminent men, and free from any accusations, because of their being your companions in wickedness, they did not begin with you, and thereby cut off beforehand the most dangerous parts of this treason. But if these men have been more merciful than the public necessity required, we that are Idumeans will preserve this house of God, and will fight for our common

country, and will oppose by war as well those that attack them from abroad, as those that betray them from within. Here will we abide before the walls in our armor, until either the Romans grow weary in waiting for you, or you become friends to liberty, and repent of what you have done against it."

(5) [283] Τούτοις τὸ μὲν τῶν Ἰδουμαίων ἐπεβόα πλῆθος, ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀθυμῶν ἀνεχώρει τοὺς μὲν Ἰδουμαίους μηδὲν φρονοῦντας ὁρῶν μέτριον, διχόθεν δὲ τὴν πόλιν πολεμουμένην. [284] ἦν δὲ οὐδὲ τοῖς Ἰδουμαίοις ἐν ἠρεμίᾳ τὰ φρονήματα: καὶ γὰρ τεθύμωντο πρὸς τὴν ὕβριν εἰρχθέντες τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὰ τῶν ζηλωτῶν ἰσχυρὰ δοκοῦντες ὡς οὐδὲν ἐπαμύνοντας ἑώρων, ἠποροῦντο καὶ μετενόουν πολλοὶ τὴν ἄφιξιν. [285] ἡ δὲ αἰδὼς τοῦ τέλεον ἀπράκτους ὑποστρέφειν ἐνίκα τὴν μεταμέλειαν, ὥστε μένειν αὐτόθι πρὸ τοῦ τείχους κακῶς αὐλιζομένους: [286] διὰ γὰρ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀμήχανος ἐκρήγνυται χειμὼν ἄνεμοί τε βίαιοι σὺν ὄμβροις λαβροτάτοις καὶ συνεχεῖς ἀστραπαὶ βρονταί τε φρικώδεις καὶ μυκήματα σειομένης τῆς γῆς ἐξαίσια. [287] πρόδηλον δὲ ἦν ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων ὀλέθρῳ τὸ κατάστημα τῶν ὅλων συγκεχυμένον, καὶ οὐχὶ μικροῦ τις ἂν εἰκάσαι συμπτώματος τὰ τέρατα.

5. And now did the Idumeans make an acclamation to what Simon had said; but Jesus went away sorrowful, as seeing that the Idumeans were against all moderate counsels, and that the city was besieged on both sides. Nor indeed were the minds of the Idumeans at rest; for they were in a rage at the injury that had been offered them by their exclusion out of the city; and when they thought the zealots had been strong, but saw nothing of theirs to support them, they were in doubt about the matter, and many of them repented that they had come thither. But the shame that would attend them in case they returned without doing any thing at all, so far overcame that their repentance, that they lay all night before the wall, though in a very bad encampment; for there broke out a prodigious storm in the night, with the utmost violence, and very strong winds, with the largest showers of rain, with continued lightnings, terrible thunderings, and amazing concussions and bellowings of the earth, that was in an earthquake. These things were a manifest indication that some destruction was coming upon men, when the system of the world was put into this disorder; and any one would guess that these wonders foreshowed some grand calamities that were coming.

(6) [288] Μία δὲ τοῖς Ἰδουμαίοις καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει παρέστη δόξα, τοῖς μὲν ὀργίζεσθαι τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τῇ στρατείᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἂν διαφυγεῖν ἐπενεγκόντας ὅπλα τῇ μητροπόλει, τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἄνανον νενικηκέναι χωρὶς παρατάξεως καὶ τὸν θεὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν στρατηγεῖν. [289] κακοὶ δ' ἦσαν ἄρα τῶν μελλόντων στοχασταὶ καὶ κατεμαντεύοντο τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἃ τοῖς ἰδίοις αὐτῶν ἐπῄει παθεῖν. [290] οἱ μὲν γὰρ

Ἰδουμαῖοι συσπειραθέντες τοῖς σώμασιν ἀλλήλους ἀντέθαλπον καὶ τοὺς θυρεοὺς ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς συμφράξαντες ἧττον ἐκακοῦντο τοῖς ὑετοῖς, [291] οἱ δὲ ζηλωταὶ μᾶλλον τοῦ καθ' αὑτοὺς κινδύνου ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ἐβασανίζοντο καὶ συνελθόντες ἐσκόπουν, εἴ τινα μηχανὴν αὐτοῖς ἀμύνης ἐπινοήσειαν. [292] τοῖς μὲν οὖν θερμοτέροις ἐδόκει μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων βιάζεσθαι τοὺς παραφυλάσσοντας, ἔπειτα δ' εἰσπεσόντας εἰς μέσον τῆς πόλεως ἀναφανδὸν ἀνοίγειν τοῖς συμμάχοις τὰς πύλας: [293] τούς τε γὰρ φύλακας εἴξειν πρὸς τὸ ἀδόκητον αὐτῶν τεταραγμένους ἄλλως τε καὶ τοὺς πλείονας [αὐτῶν] ὄντας ἀνόπλους καὶ πολέμων ἀπείρους, καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν δυσσύνακτον ἔσεσθαι τὸ πλῆθος κατειλημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος εἰς τὰς οἰκίας. [294] εἰ δὲ καί τις γένοιτο κίνδυνος, πρέπειν αὐτοῖς πᾶν ὁτιοῦν παθεῖν ἢ περιιδεῖν τοσοῦτον πλῆθος δι' αὐτοὺς αἰσχρῶς ἀπολλύμενον. [295] οἱ δὲ συνετώτεροι βιάζεσθαι μὲν ἀπεγίνωσκον ὁρῶντες οὐ μόνον τὴν αὐτῶν φρουρὰν πληθύουσαν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῆς πόλεως τεῖχος διὰ τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους ἐπιμελῶς φυλασσόμενον, [296] ᾠοντό τε πανταχοῦ τὸν Ἄνανον παρεῖναι καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν ὥραν ἐπισκέπτεσθαι τὰς φυλακάς: [297] ὃ δὴ ταῖς μὲν ἄλλαις νυξὶν οὕτως εἶχεν, ἀνείθη δὲ κατ' ἐκείνην, οὐ κατὰ τὴν Ἀνάνου ῥᾳθυμίαν, ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἀπόλοιτο καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν φυλάκων στρατηγούσης τῆς εἱμαρμένης, [298] ἣ δὴ καὶ τότε τῆς νυκτὸς προκοπτούσης καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐπακμάζοντος κοιμίζει μὲν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ στοᾷ φρουρούς, τοῖς δὲ ζηλωταῖς ἐπίνοιαν ἐμβάλλει τῶν ἱερῶν αἴροντας πριόνων ἐκτεμεῖν τοὺς μοχλοὺς τῶν πυλῶν. [299] συνήργησε δ' αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸ μὴ κατακουσθῆναι τὸν ψόφον ὅ τε τῶν ἀνέμων ἦχος καὶ τὸ τῶν βροντῶν ἐπάλληλον.

6. Now the opinion of the Idumeans and of the citizens was one and the same. The Idumeans thought that God was angry at their taking arms, and that they would not escape punishment for their making war upon their metropolis. Ananus and his party thought that they had conquered without fighting, and that God acted as a general for them; but truly they proved both ill conjectures at what was to come, and made those events to be ominous to their enemies, while they were themselves to undergo the ill effects of them; for the Idumeans fenced one another by uniting their bodies into one band, and thereby kept themselves warm, and connecting their shields over their heads, were not so much hurt by the rain. But the zealots were more deeply concerned for the danger these men were in than they were for themselves, and got together, and looked about them to see whether they could devise any means of assisting them. The hotter sort of them thought it best to force their guards with their arms, and after that to fall into the midst of the city, and publicly open the gates to those that came to their assistance; as supposing the guards would be in disorder, and give way at such an unexpected attempt of theirs, especially as the greater part of them were

unarmed and unskilled in the affairs of war; and that besides the multitude of the citizens would not be easily gathered together, but confined to their houses by the storm: and that if there were any hazard in their undertaking, it became them to suffer any thing whatsoever themselves, rather than to overlook so great a multitude as were miserably perishing on their account. But the more prudent part of them disapproved of this forcible method, because they saw not only the guards about them very numerous, but the walls of the city itself carefully watched, by reason of the Idumeans. They also supposed that Ananus would be every where, and visit the guards every hour; which indeed was done upon other nights, but was omitted that night, not by reason of any slothfulness of Ananus, but by the overbearing appointment of fate, that so both he might himself perish, and the multitude of the guards might perish with him; for truly, as the night was far gone, and the storm very terrible, Ananus gave the guards in the cloisters leave to go to sleep; while it came into the heads of the zealots to make use of the saws belonging to the temple, and to cut the bars of the gates to pieces. The noise of the wind, and that not inferior sound of the thunder, did here also conspire with their designs, that the noise of the saws was not heard by the others.

(7) [300] Διαλανθάνοντες δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ παραγίνονται πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς πρίοσι χρώμενοι τὴν κατὰ τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους ἀνοίγουσι πύλην. [301] τοῖς δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐμπίπτει ταραχὴ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἄνανον ἐπιχειρεῖν οἰηθεῖσι, καὶ πᾶς ἐπὶ τοῦ ξίφους ἔσχε τὴν δεξιὰν ὡς ἀμυνούμενος: ταχέως δὲ γνωρίζοντες τοὺς ἥκοντας εἰσήεσαν. [302] εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐτράποντο περὶ τὴν πόλιν, οὐδὲν ἐκώλυσεν ἂν ἀπολωλέναι τὸν δῆμον αὔτανδρον: οὕτως εἶχον ὀργῆς: νῦν δὲ πρώτους τοὺς ζηλωτὰς σπεύδοντες τῆς φρουρᾶς ἐξελέσθαι, δεομένων πολλὰ καὶ τῶν εἰσδεξαμένων μὴ περιιδεῖν δι᾽ οὓς ἦλθον ἐν μέσοις τοῖς δεινοῖς μηδ᾽ αὐτοῖς χαλεπώτερον ἐπισεῖσαι τὸν κίνδυνον: [303] τῶν μὲν γὰρ φρουρῶν ἁλόντων ῥᾴδιον αὐτοῖς εἶναι χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, εἰ δ᾽ ἅπαξ ταύτην προκινήσειαν, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι ἐκείνων κρατῆσαι: [304] πρὸς γὰρ τὴν αἴσθησιν συντάξεσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς ἀνόδους ἀποφράξειν:

7. So they secretly went out of the temple to the wall of the city, and made use of their saws, and opened that gate which was over against the Idumeans. Now at first there came a fear upon the Idumeans themselves, which disturbed them, as imagining that Ananus and his party were coming to attack them, so that every one of them had his right hand upon his sword, in order to defend himself; but they soon came to know who they were that came to them, and were entered the city. And had the Idumeans then fallen upon the city, nothing could have hindered them from destroying the people every man of them, such was the rage

they were in at that time; but as they first of all made haste to get the zealots out of custody, which those that brought them in earnestly desired them to do, and not to overlook those for whose sakes they were come, in the midst of their distresses, nor to bring them into a still greater danger; for that when they had once seized upon the guards, it would be easy for them to fall upon the city; but that if the city were once alarmed, they would not then be able to overcome those guards, because as soon as they should perceive they were there, they would put themselves in order to fight them, and would hinder their coming into the temple.

V

CHAPTER V.

The Cruelty Of The Idumeans When They Were Gotten Into The Temple During The Storm; And Of The Zealots. Concerning The Slaughter Of Ananus, And Jesus, And Zacharias; And How The Idumeans Retired Home.

(1) [305] Συνεδόκει ταῦτα τοῖς Ἰδουμαίοις, καὶ διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀνέβαινον πρὸς τὸ ἱερόν, μετέωροί τε οἱ ζηλωταὶ τὴν ἄφιξιν αὐτῶν ἐκαραδόκουν. καὶ παριόντων εἴσω καὶ αὐτοὶ θαρροῦντες προῄεσαν ἐκ τοῦ ἐνδοτέρου ἱεροῦ. [306] μιγέντες δὲ τοῖς Ἰδουμαίοις προσέβαλλον ταῖς φυλακαῖς, καὶ τινὰς μὲν τῶν προκοιτούντων ἀπέσφαξαν κοιμωμένους, πρὸς δὲ τὴν τῶν ἐγρηγορότων βοὴν διανέστη πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκπλήξεως ἁρπάζοντες τὰ ὅπλα πρὸς τὴν ἄμυναν ἐχώρουν. [307] ἕως μὲν οὖν μόνους τοὺς ζηλωτὰς ἐπιχειρεῖν ὑπελάμβανον, ἐθάρρουν ὡς τῷ πλήθει περιεσόμενοι, κατιδόντες δὲ ἔξωθεν ἐπιχεομένους ἄλλους ᾔσθοντο τὴν εἰσβολὴν τῶν Ἰδουμαίων, [308] καὶ τὸ μὲν πλέον αὐτῶν ἅμα ταῖς ψυχαῖς κατέβαλλε τὰ ὅπλα καὶ πρὸς οἰμωγαῖς ἦν, φραξάμενοι δὲ ὀλίγοι τῶν νέων γενναίως ἐδέχοντο τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ τὴν ἀργοτέραν πληθὺν ἔσκεπον. [309] οἱ δὲ κραυγῇ διεσήμαινον τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τὰς συμφοράς, κἀκείνων ἀμῦναι μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν, ὡς ἔμαθον εἰσπεπαικότας τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους, ἀργὰ δ᾽ ἀντεβόων καὶ ἀντωλοφύροντο, καὶ πολὺς κωκυτὸς γυναικῶν ἠγείρετο κινδυνεύοντος ἑκάστῃ τινὸς τῶν φυλάκων. [310] οἱ δὲ ζηλωταὶ τοῖς Ἰδουμαίοις συνεπηλάλαζον καὶ τὴν ἐκ πάντων βοὴν ὁ χειμὼν ἐποίει φοβερωτέραν. ἐφείδοντό τε οὐδενὸς Ἰδουμαῖοι φύσει τε ὠμότατοι φονεύειν ὄντες καὶ τῷ χειμῶνι κεκακωμένοι κατὰ τῶν ἀποκλεισάντων ἐχρῶντο τοῖς θυμοῖς: [311] ἦσαν δ᾽ ὅμοιοι τοῖς ἱκετεύουσι καὶ τοῖς ἀμυνομένοις καὶ πολλοὺς τήν τε συγγένειαν ἀναμιμνήσκοντας καὶ δεομένους τοῦ κοινοῦ ἱεροῦ λαβεῖν

αἰδῶ διήλαυνον τοῖς ξίφεσιν. [312] ἦν δὲ φυγῆς μὲν οὐδεὶς τόπος οὐδὲ σωτηρίας ἐλπίς, συνωθούμενοι δὲ περὶ ἀλλήλους κατεκόπτοντο, καὶ τὸ πλέον ἐκβιαζόμενοι. ὡς οὐκέτ᾽ ἦν ὑποχωρήσεως τόπος ἐπῄεσαν δὲ οἱ φονεύοντες, ὑπ᾽ ἀμηχανίας κατεκρήμνιζον ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οἰκτρότερον ἔμοιγε δοκεῖν οὗ διέφευγον ὀλέθρου τὸν αὐθαίρετον ὑπομένοντες. [313] ἐπεκλύσθη δὲ τὸ ἔξωθεν ἱερὸν πᾶν αἵματι, καὶ νεκροὺς ὀκτακισχιλίους πεντακοσίους ἡ ἡμέρα κατελάμβανεν.

1. This advice pleased the Idumeans, and they ascended through the city to the temple. The zealots were also in great expectation of their coming, and earnestly waited for them. When therefore these were entering, they also came boldly out of the inner temple, and mixing themselves among the Idumeans, they attacked the guards; and some of those that were upon the watch, but were fallen asleep, they killed as they were asleep; but as those that were now awakened made a cry, the whole multitude arose, and in the amazement they were in caught hold of their arms immediately, and betook themselves to their own defense; and so long as they thought they were only the zealots who attacked them, they went on boldly, as hoping to overpower them by their numbers; but when they saw others pressing in upon them also, they perceived the Idumeans were got in; and the greatest part of them laid aside their arms, together with their courage, and betook themselves to lamentations. But some few of the younger sort covered themselves with their armor, and valiantly received the Idumeans, and for a while protected the multitude of old men. Others, indeed, gave a signal to those that were in the city of the calamities they were in; but when these were also made sensible that the Idumeans were come in, none of them durst come to their assistance, only they returned the terrible echo of wailing, and lamented their misfortunes. A great howling of the women was excited also, and every one of the guards were in danger of being killed. The zealots also joined in the shouts raised by the Idumeans; and the storm itself rendered the cry more terrible; nor did the Idumeans spare any body; for as they are naturally a most barbarous and bloody nation, and had been distressed by the tempest, they made use of their weapons against those that had shut the gates against them, and acted in the same manner as to those that supplicated for their lives, and to those that fought them, insomuch that they ran through those with their swords who desired them to remember the relation there was between them, and begged of them to have regard to their common temple. Now there was at present neither any place for flight, nor any hope of preservation; but as they were driven one upon another in heaps, so were they slain. Thus the greater part were driven together by force, as there was now no place of retirement, and the murderers were upon them; and,

having no other way, threw themselves down headlong into the city; whereby, in my opinion, they underwent a more miserable destruction than that which they avoided, because that was a voluntary one. And now the outer temple was all of it overflowed with blood; and that day, as it came on, they saw eight thousand five hundred dead bodies there.

(2) [314] Οὐκ ἐκορέσθησαν δὲ τούτοις οἱ θυμοὶ τῶν Ἰδουμαίων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν τραπόμενοι πᾶσαν μὲν οἰκίαν διήρπαζον, ἔκτεινον δὲ τὸν περιτυχόντα. [315] καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πλῆθος αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει παρανάλωμα, τοὺς δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς ἀνεζήτουν, καὶ κατ᾽ ἐκείνων ἦν τοῖς πλείστοις ἡ φορά. [316] ταχέως δ᾽ ἁλόντες διεφθείροντο, καὶ τοῖς νεκροῖς αὐτῶν ἐπιστάντες τὸν μὲν Ἄνανον τῆς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὐνοίας. [317] τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους λόγων ἐπέσκωπτον. προῆλθον δὲ εἰς τοσοῦτον ἀσεβείας ὥστε καὶ ἀτάφους ῥῖψαι, καίτοι τοσαύτην Ἰουδαίων περὶ τὰς ταφὰς πρόνοιαν ποιουμένων, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ καταδίκης ἀνεσταυρωμένους πρὸ δύντος ἡλίου καθελεῖν τε καὶ θάπτειν. [318] οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοιμι δ᾽ εἰπὼν ἀλώσεως ἄρξαι τῇ πόλει τὸν Ἀνάνου θάνατον, καὶ ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἀνατραπῆναι τὸ τεῖχος καὶ διαφθαρῆναι τὰ πράγματα Ἰουδαίοις, ἐν ᾗ τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἡγεμόνα τῆς ἰδίας σωτηρίας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ μέσης τῆς πόλεως εἶδον ἀπεσφαγμένον. [319] ἦν γὰρ δὴ τά τε ἄλλα σεμνὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ δικαιότατος. καὶ παρὰ τὸν ὄγκον τῆς τε εὐγενείας καὶ τῆς ἀξίας καὶ ἧς εἶχε τιμῆς ἠγαπηκὼς τὸ ἰσότιμον καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ταπεινοτάτους, φιλελεύθερός τε ἐκτόπως καὶ δημοκρατίας ἐραστής, [320] πρό τε τῶν ἰδίων λυσιτελῶν τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον ἀεὶ τιθέμενος καὶ περὶ παντὸς ποιούμενος τὴν εἰρήνην: ἄμαχα γὰρ ᾔδει τὰ Ῥωμαίων: προσκοπούμενος δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἀνάγκης καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον, ὅπως, εἰ μὴ διαλύσαιντο Ἰουδαῖοι, δεξιῶς διαφέροιντο. [321] καθόλου δ᾽ εἰπεῖν, ζῶντος Ἀνάνου πάντως ἂν διελύθησαν: δεινὸς γὰρ ἦν εἰπεῖν τε καὶ πεῖσαι τὸν δῆμον, ἤδη δὲ ἐχειροῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἐμποδίζοντας: ἢ πολεμοῦντες πλείστην ἂν τριβὴν Ῥωμαίοις παρέσχον ὑπὸ τοιούτῳ στρατηγῷ. [322] παρέζευκτο δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, αὐτοῦ μὲν λειπόμενος κατὰ σύγκρισιν, προύχων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων. [323] ἀλλ᾽ οἶμαι κατακρίνας ὁ θεὸς ὡς μεμιασμένης τῆς πόλεως ἀπώλειαν καὶ πυρὶ βουλόμενος ἐκκαθαρθῆναι τὰ ἅγια τοὺς ἀντεχομένους αὐτῶν καὶ φιλοστοργοῦντας περιέκοπτεν. [324] οἱ δὲ πρὸ ὀλίγου τὴν ἱερὰν ἐσθῆτα περικείμενοι καὶ τῆς κοσμικῆς θρησκείας κατάρχοντες προσκυνούμενοί τε τοῖς ἐκ τῆς οἰκουμένης παραβάλλουσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐρριμμένοι γυμνοὶ βορὰ κυνῶν καὶ θηρίων ἐβλέποντο. [325] αὐτὴν ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνοις στενάξαι τοῖς ἀνδράσι δοκῶ τὴν ἀρετήν, ὀλοφυρομένην ὅτι τοσοῦτον ἥττητο τῆς κακίας. ἀλλὰ [γὰρ] τὸ μὲν Ἀνάνου καὶ Ἰησοῦ τέλος τοιοῦτον ἀπέβη.

2. But the rage of the Idumeans was not satiated by these slaughters; but they now betook themselves to the city, and plundered every house, and slew every one they met; and for the other multitude, they esteemed it needless to go on with

killing them, but they sought for the high priests, and the generality went with the greatest zeal against them; and as soon as they caught them they slew them, and then standing upon their dead bodies, in way of jest, upbraided Ananus with his kindness to the people, and Jesus with his speech made to them from the wall. Nay, they proceeded to that degree of impiety, as to cast away their dead bodies without burial, although the Jews used to take so much care of the burial of men, that they took down those that were condemned and crucified, and buried them before the going down of the sun. I should not mistake if I said that the death of Ananus was the beginning of the destruction of the city, and that from this very day may be dated the overthrow of her wall, and the ruin of her affairs, whereon they saw their high priest, and the procurer of their preservation, slain in the midst of their city. He was on other accounts also a venerable, and a very just man; and besides the grandeur of that nobility, and dignity, and honor of which he was possessed, he had been a lover of a kind of parity, even with regard to the meanest of the people; he was a prodigious lover of liberty, and an admirer of a democracy in government; and did ever prefer the public welfare before his own advantage, and preferred peace above all things; for he was thoroughly sensible that the Romans were not to be conquered. He also foresaw that of necessity a war would follow, and that unless the Jews made up matters with them very dexterously, they would be destroyed; to say all in a word, if Ananus had survived, they had certainly compounded matters; for he was a shrewd man in speaking and persuading the people, and had already gotten the mastery of those that opposed his designs, or were for the war. And the Jews had then put abundance of delays in the way of the Romans, if they had had such a general as he was. Jesus was also joined with him; and although he was inferior to him upon the comparison, he was superior to the rest; and I cannot but think that it was because God had doomed this city to destruction, as a polluted city, and was resolved to purge his sanctuary by fire, that he cut off these their great defenders and well-wishers, while those that a little before had worn the sacred garments, and had presided over the public worship; and had been esteemed venerable by those that dwelt on the whole habitable earth when they came into our city, were cast out naked, and seen to be the food of dogs and wild beasts. And I cannot but imagine that virtue itself groaned at these men's case, and lamented that she was here so terribly conquered by wickedness. And this at last was the end of Ananus and Jesus.

(3) [326] Μετὰ δ' ἐκείνους οἵ τε ζηλωταὶ καὶ τῶν Ἰδουμαίων τὸ πλῆθος τὸν λαὸν ὥσπερ ἀνοσίων ζῴων ἀγέλην ἐπιόντες ἔσφαζον. [327] καὶ τὸ μὲν εἰκαῖον ἐφ' οὗ καταληφθείη τόπου διεφθείρετο, τοὺς δὲ εὐγενεῖς καὶ νέους συλλαμβάνοντες εἰς

εἱρκτὴν κατέκλειον δεδεμένους, κατ᾽ ἐλπίδα τοῦ προσθήσεσθαί τινας αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ὑπερτιθέμενοι. [328] προσέσχε δ᾽ οὐδείς, ἀλλὰ πάντες τοῦ τάξασθαι μετὰ τῶν πονηρῶν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος προείλοντο τὸν θάνατον. [329] δεινὰς δὲ τῆς ἀρνήσεως αἰκίας ὑπέμενον μαστιγούμενοί τε καὶ στρεβλούμενοι, μετὰ δὲ τὸ μηκέτ᾽ ἀρκεῖν τὸ σῶμα ταῖς βασάνοις μόλις ἠξιοῦντο τοῦ ξίφους. [330] οἱ συλληφθέντες δὲ μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἀνῃροῦντο νύκτωρ, καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐκφοροῦντες ἔρριπτον, ὡς ἑτέροις εἴη δεσμώταις τόπος. [331] ἦν δὲ τοσαύτη τοῦ δήμου κατάπληξις, ὡς μηδένα τολμῆσαι μήτε κλαίειν φανερῶς τὸν προσήκοντα νεκρὸν μήτε θάπτειν, ἀλλὰ λαθραῖα μὲν ἦν αὐτῶν κατακεκλεισμένων τὰ δάκρυα καὶ μετὰ περισκέψεως, μή τις ἐπακούσῃ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἔστενον: [332] ἴσα γὰρ τοῖς πενθουμένοις ὁ πενθήσας εὐθὺς ἔπασχε: νύκτωρ δὲ κόνιν αἴροντες χεροῖν ὀλίγην ἐπερρίπτουν τοῖς σώμασι, καὶ μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν εἴ τις παράβολος. [333] μύριοι καὶ δισχίλιοι τῶν εὐγενῶν νέων οὕτως διεφθάρησαν.

3. Now after these were slain, the zealots and the multitude of the Idumeans fell upon the people as upon a flock of profane animals, and cut their throats; and for the ordinary sort, they were destroyed in what place soever they caught them. But for the noblemen and the youth, they first caught them and bound them, and shut them up in prison, and put off their slaughter, in hopes that some of them would turn over to their party; but not one of them would comply with their desires, but all of them preferred death before being enrolled among such wicked wretches as acted against their own country. But this refusal of theirs brought upon them terrible torments; for they were so scourged and tortured, that their bodies were not able to sustain their torments, till at length, and with difficulty, they had the favor to be slain. Those whom they caught in the day time were slain in the night, and then their bodies were carried out and thrown away, that there might be room for other prisoners; and the terror that was upon the people was so great, that no one had courage enough either to weep openly for the dead man that was related to him, or to bury him; but those that were shut up in their own houses could only shed tears in secret, and durst not even groan without great caution, lest any of their enemies should hear them; for if they did, those that mourned for others soon underwent the same death with those whom they mourned for. Only in the night time they would take up a little dust, and throw it upon their bodies; and even some that were the most ready to expose themselves to danger would do it in the day time: and there were twelve thousand of the better sort who perished in this manner.

(4) [334] Οἱ δὲ ἤδη διαμεμισηκότες τὸ φονεύειν ἀνέδην εἰρωνεύοντο δικαστήρια καὶ κρίσεις. [335] καὶ δή τινα τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀποκτείνειν προθέμενοι Ζαχαρίαν υἱὸν Βάρεις: παρώξυνε δὲ αὐτοὺς τὸ λίαν τἀνδρὸς μισοπόνηρον καὶ

φιλελεύθερον, ἦν δὲ καὶ πλούσιος, ὥστε μὴ μόνον ἐλπίζειν τὴν ἁρπαγὴν τῆς οὐσίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσαποσκευάσεσθαι δυνατὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν κατάλυσιν: [336] συγκαλοῦσι μὲν ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ἑβδομήκοντα τῶν ἐν τέλει δημοτῶν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, περιθέντες δ' αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς σχῆμα δικαστῶν ἔρημον ἐξουσίας τοῦ Ζαχαρίου κατηγόρουν, ὡς ἐνδιδοίη τὰ πράγματα Ῥωμαίοις καὶ περὶ προδοσίας διαπέμψαιτο πρὸς Οὐεσπασιανόν. [337] ἦν δὲ οὔτ' ἔλεγχός τις τῶν κατηγορουμένων οὔτε τεκμήριον, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ πεπεῖσθαι καλῶς ἔφασαν καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι πίστιν τῆς ἀληθείας ἠξίουν. [338] ὅ γε μὴν Ζαχαρίας συνιδὼν μηδεμίαν αὐτῷ καταλειπομένην σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα, κεκλῆσθαι γὰρ κατ' ἐνέδραν εἰς εἱρκτήν, οὐκ ἐπὶ δικαστήριον, ἐποιήσατο τὴν τοῦ ζῆν ἀπόγνωσιν οὐκ ἀπαρρησίαστον, ἀλλὰ καταστὰς τὸ μὲν πιθανὸν τῶν κατηγορημένων διεχλεύασε καὶ διὰ βραχέων ἀπελύσατο τὰς ἐπιφερομένας αἰτίας. [339] ἔπειτα δὲ τὸν λόγον εἰς τοὺς κατηγόρους ἀποστρέψας ἑξῆς πάσας αὐτῶν διεξῄει τὰς παρανομίας καὶ πολλὰ περὶ τῆς συγχύσεως κατωλοφύρατο τῶν πραγμάτων. [340] οἱ ζηλωταὶ δ' ἐθορύβουν καὶ μόλις τῶν ξιφῶν ἀπεκράτουν, τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν εἰρωνείαν τοῦ δικαστηρίου μέχρι τέλους παῖξαι προαιρούμενοι, καὶ ἄλλως πειράσαι θέλοντες τοὺς δικαστάς, εἰ παρὰ τὸν αὐτῶν κίνδυνον μνησθήσονται τοῦ δικαίου. [341] φέρουσι δὲ οἱ ἑβδομήκοντα τῷ κρινομένῳ τὰς ψήφους ἅπαντες καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ προείλοντο τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν τὴν ἐπιγραφήν. [342] ἤρθη δὲ βοὴ τῶν ζηλωτῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀπόλυσιν, καὶ πάντων μὲν ἦν ἀγανάκτησις ἐπὶ τοῖς δικασταῖς ὡς μὴ συνιεῖσι τὴν εἰρωνείαν τῆς δοθείσης αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίας, [343] δύο δὲ τολμηρότατοι προσπεσόντες ἐν μέσῳ τῷ ἱερῷ διαφθείρουσι τὸν Ζαχαρίαν καὶ πεσόντι ἐπιχλευάσαντες ἔφασαν "καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν τὴν ψῆφον ἔχεις καὶ βεβαιοτέραν ἀπόλυσιν" ῥίπτουσί τε αὐτὸν [εὐθέως] ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατὰ τῆς ὑποκειμένης φάραγγος. [344] τοὺς δὲ δικαστὰς πρὸς ὕβριν ἀπεστραμμένους τοῖς ξίφεσι τύπτοντες ἐξέωσαν τοῦ περιβόλου, δι' ἓν τοῦτο φεισάμενοι τῆς σφαγῆς αὐτῶν, ἵνα σκεδασθέντες ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ἄγγελοι πᾶσι τῆς δουλείας γένωνται.

4. And now these zealots and Idumeans were quite weary of barely killing men, so they had the impudence of setting up fictitious tribunals and judicatures for that purpose; and as they intended to have Zacharias the son of Baruch, one of the most eminent of the citizens, slain, so what provoked them against him was, that hatred of wickedness and love of liberty which were so eminent in him: he was also a rich man, so that by taking him off, they did not only hope to seize his effects, but also to get rid of a mall that had great power to destroy them. So they called together, by a public proclamation, seventy of the principal men of the populace, for a show, as if they were real judges, while they had no proper authority. Before these was Zacharias accused of a design to betray their polity to the Romans, and having traitorously sent to Vespasian for that purpose. Now

there appeared no proof or sign of what he was accused; but they affirmed themselves that they were well persuaded that so it was, and desired that such their affirmation might be taken for sufficient evidence. Now when Zacharias clearly saw that there was no way remaining for his escape from them, as having been treacherously called before them, and then put in prison, but not with any intention of a legal trial, he took great liberty of speech in that despair of his life he was under. Accordingly he stood up, and laughed at their pretended accusation, and in a few words confuted the crimes laid to his charge; after which he turned his speech to his accusers, and went over distinctly all their transgressions of the law, and made heavy lamentation upon the confusion they had brought public affairs to: in the mean time, the zealots grew tumultuous, and had much ado to abstain from drawing their swords, although they designed to preserve the appearance and show of judicature to the end. They were also desirous, on other accounts, to try the judges, whether they would be mindful of what was just at their own peril. Now the seventy judges brought in their verdict that the person accused was not guilty, as choosing rather to die themselves with him, than to have his death laid at their doors; hereupon there arose a great clamor of the zealots upon his acquittal, and they all had indignation at the judges for not understanding that the authority that was given them was but in jest. So two of the boldest of them fell upon Zacharias in the middle of the temple, and slew him; and as he fell down dead, they bantered him, and said, "Thou hast also our verdict, and this will prove a more sure acquittal to thee than the other." They also threw him down from the temple immediately into the valley beneath it. Moreover, they struck the judges with the backs of their swords, by way of abuse, and thrust them out of the court of the temple, and spared their lives with no other design than that, when they were dispersed among the people in the city, they might become their messengers, to let them know they were no better than slaves.

(5) [345] Τοῖς δὲ Ἰδουμαίοις ἤδη τῆς παρουσίας μετέμελε καὶ προσίστατο τὰ πραττόμενα. [346] συναγαγὼν δὲ αὐτούς τις ἀπὸ τῶν ζηλωτῶν κατ᾽ ἰδίαν ἐλθὼν ἐνεδείκνυτο τὰ συμπαρανομηθέντα τοῖς καλέσασι καὶ τὸ κατὰ τῆς μητροπόλεως διεξῄει: [347] παρατάσσεσθαι μὲν γὰρ ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχιερέων προδιδομένης Ῥωμαίοις τῆς μητροπόλεως, εὑρηκέναι δὲ προδοσίας μὲν τεκμήριον οὐδέν, τοὺς δ᾽ ἐκείνην ὑποκρινομένους φυλάττεσθαι καὶ πολέμου καὶ τυραννίδος ἔργα τολμῶντας. [348] προσήκειν μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς διακωλύειν ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς: ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἅπαξ εἰς κοινωνίαν ἐμφυλίου φόνου προέπεσον, ὅρον γοῦν ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασι καὶ μὴ παραμένειν χορηγοῦντας ἰσχὺν τοῖς καταλύουσι τὰ πάτρια. [349] καὶ γὰρ εἴ τινες χαλεπαίνουσι τὸ κλεισθῆναι τὰς πύλας καὶ μὴ δοθῆναι μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων

αὐτοῖς ἑτοίμην τὴν εἴσοδον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς εἴρξαντας τετιμωρῆσθαι: καὶ τεθνάναι μὲν Ἄνανον, διεφθάρθαι δὲ ἐπὶ μιᾶς νυκτὸς ὀλίγου δεῖν πάντα τὸν δῆμον: [350] ἐφ᾽ οἷς τῶν μὲν οἰκείων πολλοὺς αἰσθάνεσθαι μετανοοῦντας, τῶν ἐπικαλεσαμένων δὲ ὁρᾶν ἄμετρον τὴν ὠμότητα μηδὲ δι᾽ οὓς ἐσώθησαν αἰδουμένων: [351] ἐν ὄμμασι γοῦν τῶν συμμάχων τὰ αἴσχιστα τολμᾶν, καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων παρανομίας Ἰδουμαίοις προσάπτεσθαι, μέχρις ἂν μήτε κωλύῃ τις μήτε χωρίζηται τῶν δρωμένων. [352] δεῖν οὖν, ἐπειδὴ διαβολὴ μὲν πέφηνε τὰ τῆς προδοσίας, ἔφοδος δὲ Ῥωμαίων οὐδεμία προσδοκᾶται, δυναστεία δ᾽ ἐπιτετείχισται τῇ πόλει δυσκατάλυτος, αὐτοὺς ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπ᾽ οἴκου καὶ τῷ μὴ κοινωνεῖν τοῖς φαύλοις ἁπάντων ἀπολογήσασθαι πέρι, ὧν φενακισθέντες μετάσχοιεν.

5. But by this time the Idumeans repented of their coming, and were displeased at what had been done; and when they were assembled together by one of the zealots, who had come privately to them, he declared to them what a number of wicked pranks they had themselves done in conjunction with those that invited them, and gave a particular account of what mischiefs had been done against their metropolis. He said that they had taken arms, as though the high priests were betraying their metropolis to the Romans, but had found no indication of any such treachery; but that they had succored those that had pretended to believe such a thing, while they did themselves the works of war and tyranny, after an insolent manner. It had been indeed their business to have hindered them from such their proceedings at the first, but seeing they had once been partners with them in shedding the blood of their own countrymen, it was high time to put a stop to such crimes, and not continue to afford any more assistance to such as are subverting the laws of their forefathers; for that if any had taken it ill that the gates had been shut against them, and they had not been permitted to come into the city, yet that those who had excluded them have been punished, and Ananus is dead, and that almost all those people had been destroyed in one night's time. That one may perceive many of themselves now repenting for what they had done, and might see the horrid barbarity of those that had invited them, and that they had no regard to such as had saved them; that they were so impudent as to perpetrate the vilest things, under the eyes of those that had supported them, and that their wicked actions would be laid to the charge of the Idumeans, and would be so laid to their charge till somebody obstructs their proceedings, or separates himself from the same wicked action; that they therefore ought to retire home, since the imputation of treason appears to be a Calumny, and that there was no expectation of the coming of the Romans at this time, and that the government of the city was secured by such walls as cannot

easily be thrown down; and, by avoiding any further fellowship with these bad men, to make some excuse for themselves, as to what they had been so far deluded, as to have been partners with them hitherto.

VI

CHAPTER 6.

How The Zealots When They Were Freed From The Idumeans, Slew A Great Many More Of The Citizens; And How Vespasian Dissuaded The Romans When They Were Very Earnest To March Against The Jews From Proceeding In The War At That Time.

(1) [353] Τούτοις πεισθέντες οἱ Ἰδουμαῖοι πρῶτον μὲν λύουσι τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δεσμωτηρίοις περὶ δισχιλίους δημότας, οἳ παραχρῆμα φυγόντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀφικνοῦνται πρὸς Σίμωνα, περὶ οὗ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν: ἔπειτα ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ᾽ οἴκου. [354] καὶ συνέβη τὸν χωρισμὸν αὐτῶν γενέσθαι παράδοξον ἀμφοτέροις: ὅ τε γὰρ δῆμος ἀγνοῶν τὴν μετάνοιαν ἀνεθάρσησε πρὸς ὀλίγον ὡς ἐχθρῶν κεκουφισμένος, [355] οἵ τε ζηλωταὶ μᾶλλον ἐπανέστησαν, οὐχ ὡς ὑπὸ συμμάχων καταλειφθέντες, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπηλλαγμένοι τῶν δυσωπούντων καὶ διατρεπόντων παρανομεῖν. [356] οὐκέτι γοῦν μέλλησις ἢ σκέψις ἦν τῶν ἀδικημάτων, ἀλλ᾽ ὀξυτάταις μὲν ἐχρῶντο ταῖς ἐπινοίαις εἰς ἕκαστα, τὰ δοχθέντα δὲ τάχιον καὶ τῆς ἐπινοίας ἐνήργουν. [357] μάλιστα δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀνδρείαν τε καὶ εὐγένειαν ἐφόνων, τὴν μὲν φθόνῳ λυμαινόμενοι, τὸ δὲ γενναῖον δέει: μόνην γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀσφάλειαν ὑπελάμβανον τὸ μηδένα τῶν δυνατῶν καταλιπεῖν. [358] ἀνῃρέθη γοῦν σὺν πολλοῖς ἑτέροις καὶ Γουρίων, ἀξιώματι μὲν καὶ γένει προύχων, δημοκρατικὸς δὲ καὶ φρονήματος ἐλευθερίου μεστός, εἰ καί τις ἕτερος Ἰουδαίων: ἀπώλεσε δὲ αὐτὸν ἡ παρρησία μάλιστα πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις πλεονεκτήμασιν. [359] οὐδ᾽ ὁ Περαίτης Νίγερ αὐτῶν τὰς χεῖρας διέφυγεν, ἀνὴρ ἄριστος ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολέμοις γενόμενος: ὃς καὶ βοῶν πολλάκις τάς τε ὠτειλὰς ἐπιδεικνὺς διὰ μέσης ἐσύρετο τῆς πόλεως. [360] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔξω τῶν πυλῶν ἦκτο, τὴν σωτηρίαν ἀπογνοὺς περὶ ταφῆς ἱκέτευεν: οἱ δὲ προαπειλήσαντες ἧς ἐπεθύμει μάλιστα γῆς μὴ μεταδώσειν αὐτῷ, τὸν φόνον ἐνήργουν. [361] ἀναιρούμενος δὲ ὁ Νίγερ τιμωροὺς Ῥωμαίους αὐτοῖς ἐπηράσατο λιμόν τε καὶ λοιμὸν ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ πρὸς ἅπασι τὰς ἀλλήλων χεῖρας: [362] ἃ δὴ πάντα κατὰ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐκύρωσεν ὁ θεός, καὶ τὸ δικαιότατον, ὅτι γεύσασθαι τῆς ἀλλήλων ἀπονοίας ἔμελλον οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν στασιάσαντες. [363] Νίγερ μὲν οὖν ἀνῃρημένος τοὺς περὶ τῆς καταλύσεως αὐτῶν φόβους ἐπεκούφισε, τοῦ λαοῦ δὲ μέρος οὐδὲν ἦν, ᾧ μὴ πρὸς ἀπώλειαν ἐπενοεῖτο πρόφασις. [364] τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν διενεχθέν

τινι πάλαι διέφθαρτο, τὸ δὲ μὴ προσκροῦσαν κατ᾽ εἰρήνην ἐπικαίρους ἐλάμβανε τὰς αἰτίας: καὶ ὁ μὲν μηδ᾽ ὅλως αὐτοῖς προσιὼν ὡς ὑπερήφανος, ὁ προσιὼν δὲ μετὰ παρρησίας ὡς καταφρονῶν, ὁ θεραπεύων δ᾽ ὡς ἐπίβουλος ὑπωπτεύετο. [365] μία δὲ ἦν τῶν τε μεγίστων καὶ μετριωτάτων ἐγκλημάτων τιμωρία θάνατος: καὶ διέφυγεν οὐδείς, εἰ μὴ σφόδρα τις ἦν ταπεινὸς ἢ δι᾽ ἀγένειαν ἢ διὰ τύχην.

1. The Idumeans complied with these persuasions; and, in the first place, they set those that were in the prisons at liberty, being about two thousand of the populace, who thereupon fled away immediately to Simon, one whom we shall speak of presently. After which these Idumeans retired from Jerusalem, and went home; which departure of theirs was a great surprise to both parties; for the people, not knowing of their repentance, pulled up their courage for a while, as eased of so many of their enemies, while the zealots grew more insolent not as deserted by their confederates, but as freed from such men as might hinder their designs, and plot some stop to their wickedness. Accordingly, they made no longer any delay, nor took any deliberation in their enormous practices, but made use of the shortest methods for all their executions and what they had once resolved upon, they put in practice sooner than any one could imagine. But their thirst was chiefly after the blood of valiant men, and men of good families; the one sort of which they destroyed out of envy, the other out of fear; for they thought their whole security lay in leaving no potent men alive; on which account they slew Gorion, a person eminent in dignity, and on account of his family also; he was also for democracy, and of as great boldness and freedom of spirit as were any of the Jews whosoever; the principal thing that ruined him, added to his other advantages, was his free speaking. Nor did Niger of Peres escape their hands; he had been a man of great valor in their war with the Romans, but was now drawn through the middle of the city, and, as he went, he frequently cried out, and showed the scars of his wounds; and when he was drawn out of the gates, and despaired of his preservation, he besought them to grant him a burial; but as they had threatened him beforehand not to grant him any spot of earth for a grave, which he chiefly desired of them, so did they slay him [without permitting him to be buried]. Now when they were slaying him, he made this imprecation upon them, that they might undergo both famine and pestilence in this war, and besides all that, they might come to the mutual slaughter of one another; all which imprecations God confirmed against these impious men, and was what came most justly upon them, when not long afterward they tasted of their own madness in their mutual seditions one against another. So when this Niger was killed, their fears of being overturned were diminished; and indeed there was no part of the people but they found out some

pretense to destroy them; for some were therefore slain, because they had had differences with some of them; and as to those that had not opposed them in times of peace, they watched seasonable opportunities to gain some accusation against them; and if any one did not come near them at all, he was under their suspicion as a proud man; if any one came with boldness, he was esteemed a contemner of them; and if any one came as aiming to oblige them, he was supposed to have some treacherous plot against them; while the only punishment of crimes, whether they were of the greatest or smallest sort, was death. Nor could any one escape, unless he were very inconsiderable, either on account of the meanness of his birth, or on account of his fortune.

(2) [366] Ῥωμαίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἡγεμόνες ἕρμαιον ἡγούμενοι τὴν στάσιν τῶν πολεμίων ὥρμηντο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν ἤπειγον ὡς ἂν ὄντα κύριον τῶν ὅλων, φάμενοι πρόνοιαν θεοῦ σύμμαχον σφίσι τῷ τετράφθαι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κατ᾽ ἀλλήλων: [367] εἶναι μέντοι τὴν ῥοπὴν ὀξεῖαν, καὶ ταχέως Ἰουδαίους ὁμονοήσειν [ἡμῖν] ἢ κοπιάσαντας ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις κακοῖς ἢ μετανοήσαντας. [368] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ πλεῖστον αὐτοὺς ἔφη τοῦ δέοντος ἁμαρτάνειν, ὥσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ χειρῶν τε καὶ ὅπλων ἐπίδειξιν ποιήσασθαι γλιχομένους οὐκ ἀκίνδυνον, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ συμφέρον καὶ τἀσφαλὲς σκοποῦντας. [369] εἰ μὲν γὰρ εὐθέως ὁρμήσειεν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, αἴτιος ὁμονοίας ἔσεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτῶν ἀκμάζουσαν ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ἐπιστρέψειν: εἰ δὲ περιμείνειεν, ὀλιγωτέροις χρήσεσθαι δαπανηθεῖσιν ἐν τῇ στάσει. [370] στρατηγεῖν μὲν γὰρ ἄμεινον αὐτοῦ τὸν θεὸν ἀπονητὶ Ῥωμαίοις παραδιδόντα Ἰουδαίους καὶ τὴν νίκην ἀκινδύνως τῇ στρατιᾷ χαριζόμενον: [371] ὥστε χρῆναι διαφθειρομένων χερσὶν οἰκείαις τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ τῷ μεγίστῳ κακῷ στάσει χρωμένων θεατὰς μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἀποκαθῆσθαι τῶν κινδύνων ἢ θανατῶσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ λελυσσηκόσιν κατ᾽ ἀλλήλων χεῖρα μίσγειν. [372] εἰ δέ τις οἴεται τὴν δόξαν τῆς νίκης ἐωλοτέραν ἔσεσθαι δίχα μάχης, γνώτω τοῦ διὰ τῶν ὅπλων σφαλεροῦ τὸ μετὰ ἡσυχίας κατόρθωμα λυσιτελέστερον: [373] καὶ γὰρ οὐχ ἧττον εὐκλεεῖς οἴεσθαι χρὴ τῶν κατὰ χεῖρα λαμπρῶν τοὺς ἐγκρατείᾳ καὶ συνέσει τὰ ἴσα πράξαντας. ἅμα μέντοι μειουμένων τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν ἀναληφθεῖσαν ἐκ τῶν συνεχῶν πόνων ἐρρωμενέστερον ἄξειν. [374] ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν στοχαζομένων τῆς περὶ τὴν νίκην λαμπρότητος οὐ τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν καιρόν: [375] οὐ γὰρ περὶ κατασκευὴν ὅπλων ἢ τειχῶν οὐδὲ περὶ συλλογὴν ἐπικούρων Ἰουδαίους ἀσχολεῖσθαι, καὶ τὴν ὑπέρθεσιν ἔσεσθαι κατὰ τῶν διδόντων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐμφυλίῳ πολέμῳ καὶ διχονοίᾳ τραχηλιζομένους καθ᾽ ἡμέραν οἰκτρότερα πάσχειν ὧν ἂν ἐπελθόντες αὐτοὶ διαθεῖεν αὐτοὺς ἁλόντας. [376] εἴτ᾽ οὖν τἀσφαλές τις σκοποίη, χρῆναι τοὺς ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν ἀναλισκομένους ἐᾶν, εἴτε τὸ εὐκλεέστερον

τοῦ κατορθώματος, οὐ δεῖν τοῖς οἴκοι νοσοῦσιν ἐπιχειρεῖν: ῥηθήσεσθαι γὰρ εὐλόγως οὐκ αὐτῶν τὴν νίκην ἀλλὰ τῆς στάσεως.

2. And now all the rest of the commanders of the Romans deemed this sedition among their enemies to be of great advantage to them, and were very earnest to march to the city, and they urged Vespasian, as their lord and general in all cases, to make haste, and said to him, that "the providence of God is on our side, by setting our enemies at variance against one another; that still the change in such cases may be sudden, and the Jews may quickly be at one again, either because they may be tired out with their civil miseries, or repent them of such doings." But Vespasian replied, that they were greatly mistaken in what they thought fit to be done, as those that, upon the theater, love to make a show of their hands, and of their weapons, but do it at their own hazard, without considering, what was for their advantage, and for their security; for that if they now go and attack the city immediately, "they shall but occasion their enemies to unite together, and shall convert their force, now it is in its height, against themselves. But if they stay a while, they shall have fewer enemies, because they will be consumed in this sedition: that God acts as a general of the Romans better than he can do, and is giving the Jews up to them without any pains of their own, and granting their army a victory without any danger; that therefore it is their best way, while their enemies are destroying each other with their own hands, and falling into the greatest of misfortunes, which is that of sedition, to sit still as spectators of the dangers they run into, rather than to fight hand to hand with men that love murdering, and are mad one against another. But if any one imagines that the glory of victory, when it is gotten without fighting, will be more insipid, let him know this much, that a glorious success, quietly obtained, is more profitable than the dangers of a battle; for we ought to esteem these that do what is agreeable to temperance and prudence no less glorious than those that have gained great reputation by their actions in war: that he shall lead on his army with greater force when their enemies are diminished, and his own army refreshed after the continual labors they had undergone. However, that this is not a proper time to propose to ourselves the glory of victory; for that the Jews are not now employed in making of armor or building of walls, nor indeed in getting together auxiliaries, while the advantage will be on their side who give them such opportunity of delay; but that the Jews are vexed to pieces every day by their civil wars and dissensions, and are under greater miseries than, if they were once taken, could be inflicted on them by us. Whether therefore any one hath regard to what is for our safety, he ought to suffer these Jews to destroy one another; or whether he hath regard to the greater glory of the action, we ought by

no means to meddle with those men, now they are afflicted with a distemper at home; for should we now conquer them, it would be said the conquest was not owing to our bravery, but to their sedition."

(3) [377] Ταῦτα Οὐεσπασιανῷ λέγοντι συνῄνουν οἱ ἡγεμόνες, καὶ παραχρῆμα τὸ στρατηγικὸν τῆς γνώμης ἀνεφαίνετο: πολλοὶ γοῦν καθ' ἡμέραν ηὐτομόλουν τοὺς ζηλωτὰς διαδιδράσκοντες. [378] χαλεπὴ δ' ἦν ἡ φυγὴ φρουραῖς διειληφότων τὰς διεξόδους πάσας καὶ τὸν ὀπωσοῦν ἐν αὐταῖς ἁλισκόμενον ὡς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀπιόντα διαχρωμένων. [379] ὅ γε μὴν χρήματα δοὺς ἐξηφίετο καὶ μόνος ἦν ὁ μὴ διδοὺς προδότης, ὥστε κατελείπετο τῶν εὐπόρων τὴν φυγὴν ὠνουμένων μόνους ἐναποσφάττεσθαι τοὺς πένητας. [380] νεκροὶ δὲ κατὰ τὰς λεωφόρους πάσας ἐσωρεύοντο παμπληθεῖς, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ὁρμωμένων αὐτομολεῖν πάλιν τὴν ἔνδον ἀπώλειαν ᾑροῦντο: τὸν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίδος θάνατον ἐλπὶς ταφῆς ἐποίει δοκεῖν μετριώτερον. [381] οἱ δὲ εἰς τοσοῦτον ὠμότητος ἐξώκειλαν, ὡς μήτε τοῖς ἔνδον ἀναιρουμένοις μήτε τοῖς ἀνὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς μεταδοῦναι γῆς, [382] ἀλλὰ καθάπερ συνθήκας πεποιημένοι τοῖς τῆς πατρίδος συγκαταλῦσαι καὶ τοὺς τῆς φύσεως νόμους ἅμα τε τοῖς εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἀδικήμασιν συμμιᾶναι καὶ τὸ θεῖον, ὑφ' ἡλίῳ τοὺς νεκροὺς μυδῶντας ἀπέλειπον. [383] τοῖς δὲ θάπτουσί τινα τῶν προσηκόντων ὃ καὶ τοῖς αὐτομολοῦσιν ἐπιτίμιον θάνατος ἦν, καὶ δεῖσθαι παραχρῆμα ταφῆς ἔδει τὸν ἑτέρῳ χαριζόμενον. [384] καθόλου τε εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲν οὕτως ἀπολώλει χρηστὸν πάθος ἐν ταῖς τότε συμφοραῖς ὡς ἔλεος: ἃ γὰρ ἐχρῆν οἰκτείρειν, ταῦτα παρώξυνε τοὺς ἁλιτηρίους, καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ζώντων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνῃρημένους, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ζῶντας τὰς ὀργὰς μετέφερον: [385] καὶ δι' ὑπερβολὴν δέους ὁ περιὼν τοὺς προληφθέντας ὡς ἀναπαυσαμένους ἐμακάριζεν οἵ τε ἐν τοῖς δεσμωτηρίοις αἰκιζόμενοι κατὰ σύγκρισιν καὶ τοὺς ἀτάφους ἀπέφαινον εὐδαίμονας. [386] κατεπατεῖτο μὲν οὖν πᾶς αὐτοῖς θεσμὸς ἀνθρώπων, ἐγελᾶτο δὲ τὰ θεῖα, καὶ τοὺς τῶν προφητῶν χρησμοὺς ὥσπερ ἀγυρτικὰς λογοποιίας ἐχλεύαζον. [387] πολλὰ δ' οὗτοι περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας προεθέσπισαν, ἃ παραβάντες οἱ ζηλωταὶ καὶ τὴν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος προφητείαν τέλους ἠξίωσαν. [388] ἦν γὰρ δή τις παλαιὸς λόγος ἀνδρῶν † ἔνθα τότε τὴν πόλιν ἁλώσεσθαι καὶ καταφλέξεσθαι τὸ ἁγιώτατον νόμῳ πολέμου, στάσις ἐὰν κατασκήψῃ καὶ χεῖρες οἰκεῖαι προμιάνωσι τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τέμενος: οἷς οὐκ ἀπιστήσαντες οἱ ζηλωταὶ διακόνους αὐτοὺς ἐπέδοσαν.

3. And now the commanders joined in their approbation of what Vespasian had said, and it was soon discovered how wise an opinion he had given. And indeed many there were of the Jews that deserted every day, and fled away from the zealots, although their flight was very difficult, since they had guarded every passage out of the city, and slew every one that was caught at them, as taking it for granted they were going over to the Romans; yet did he who gave them

money get clear off, while he only that gave them none was voted a traitor. So the upshot was this, that the rich purchased their flight by money, while none but the poor were slain. Along all the roads also vast numbers of dead bodies lay in heaps, and even many of those that were so zealous in deserting at length chose rather to perish within the city; for the hopes of burial made death in their own city appear of the two less terrible to them. But these zealots came at last to that degree of barbarity, as not to bestow a burial either on those slain in the city, or on those that lay along the roads; but as if they had made an agreement to cancel both the laws of their country and the laws of nature, and, at the same time that they defiled men with their wicked actions, they would pollute the Divinity itself also, they left the dead bodies to putrefy under the sun; and the same punishment was allotted to such as buried any as to those that deserted, which was no other than death; while he that granted the favor of a grave to another would presently stand in need of a grave himself. To say all in a word, no other gentle passion was so entirely lost among them as mercy; for what were the greatest objects of pity did most of all irritate these wretches, and they transferred their rage from the living to those that had been slain, and from the dead to the living. Nay, the terror was so very great, that he who survived called them that were first dead happy, as being at rest already; as did those that were under torture in the prisons, declare, that, upon this comparison, those that lay unburied were the happiest. These men, therefore, trampled upon all the laws of men, and laughed at the laws of God; and for the oracles of the prophets, they ridiculed them as the tricks of jugglers; yet did these prophets foretell many things concerning [the rewards of] virtue, and [punishments of] vice, which when these zealots violated, they occasioned the fulfilling of those very prophecies belonging to their own country; for there was a certain ancient oracle of those men, that the city should then be taken and the sanctuary burnt, by right of war, when a sedition should invade the Jews, and their own hand should pollute the temple of God. Now while these zealots did not [quite] disbelieve these predictions, they made themselves the instruments of their accomplishment.

VII

CHAPTER 7.

How John Tyrannized Over The Rest; And What Mischiefs The Zealots Did At Masada. How Also Vespasian Took Gadara; And What Actions Were Performed By Placidus.

(1) [389] Ἤδη δὲ Ἰωάννῃ τυραννιῶντι τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοίους ἰσότιμον ἠδοξεῖτο, καὶ κατ᾽ ὀλίγους προσποιούμενος τῶν πονηροτέρων ἀφηνίαζε τοῦ συντάγματος. [390] ἀεὶ δὲ τοῖς μὲν τῶν ἄλλων δόγμασιν ἀπειθῶν, τὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ προστάσσων δεσποτικώτερον, δῆλος ἦν μοναρχίας ἀντιποιούμενος. [391] εἶκον δ᾽ αὐτῷ τινὲς μὲν δέει, τινὲς δὲ κατ᾽ εὔνοιαν, δεινὸς γὰρ ἦν ἀπάτῃ καὶ λόγῳ προσαγαγέσθαι, πολλοὶ δὲ πρὸς ἀσφαλείας ἡγούμενοι τῆς αὐτῶν τὰς αἰτίας ἤδη τῶν τολμωμένων ἐφ᾽ ἕνα καὶ μὴ πολλοὺς ἀναφέρεσθαι. [392] τό γε μὴν δραστήριον αὐτοῦ κατά τε χεῖρα καὶ κατὰ γνώμην δορυφόρους εἶχεν οὐκ ὀλίγους. [393] πολλὴ δὲ μοῖρα τῶν ἀντικαθισταμένων ἀπελείπετο, παρ᾽ οἷς ἴσχυε μὲν καὶ φθόνος δεινὸν ἡγουμένων ὑποτετάχθαι τὸ πρὶν ἰσοτίμῳ, τὸ πλέον δ᾽ εὐλάβεια τῆς μοναρχίας ἀπέτρεπεν: [394] οὔτε γὰρ καταλύσειν ῥᾳδίως ἤλπιζον αὐτὸν ἅπαξ κρατήσαντα, καὶ καθ᾽ αὑτῶν πρόφασιν ἕξειν τὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀντιπρᾶξαι: προῃρεῖτο δ᾽ οὖν πολεμῶν ἕκαστος ὁτιοῦν παθεῖν ἢ δουλεύσας ἑκουσίως ἐν ἀνδραπόδου μοίρᾳ παραπολέσθαι. [395] διαιρεῖται μὲν οὖν ἡ στάσις ἐκ τούτων, καὶ τοῖς ἐναντιωθεῖσιν Ἰωάννης ἀντεβασίλευσεν. [396] ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτοῖς διὰ φυλακῆς ἦν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἢ μικρὸν εἴ ποτε διηκροβολίζοντο τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἤριζον δὲ κατὰ τοῦ δήμου καὶ πότεροι πλείονα λείαν ἄξουσιν ἀντεφιλονείκουν. [397] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ πόλις τρισὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις κακοῖς ἐχειμάζετο, πολέμῳ καὶ τυραννίδι καὶ στάσει, κατὰ σύγκρισιν μετριώτερον ἦν τοῖς δημοτικοῖς ὁ πόλεμος: ἀμέλει διαδιδράσκοντες ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων ἔφευγον πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους καὶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἧς ἀπήλπισαν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις σωτηρίας ἠξιοῦντο.

1. By this time John was beginning to tyrannize, and thought it beneath him to accept of barely the same honors that others had; and joining to himself by degrees a party of the wickedest of them all, he broke off from the rest of the faction. This was brought about by his still disagreeing with the opinions of others, and giving out injunctions of his own, in a very imperious manner; so that it was evident he was setting up a monarchical power. Now some submitted to him out of their fear of him, and others out of their good-will to him; for he was a shrewd man to entice men to him, both by deluding them and putting cheats upon them. Nay, many there were that thought they should be safer themselves, if the causes of their past insolent actions should now be reduced to one head, and not to a great many. His activity was so great, and that both in action and in counsel, that he had not a few guards about him; yet was there a great party of his antagonists that left him; among whom envy at him weighed a great deal, while they thought it a very heavy thing to be in subjection to one that was formerly their equal. But the main reason that moved men against him was the dread of monarchy, for they could not hope easily to put an end to his power, if he had once obtained it; and yet they knew that he would have this pretense

always against them, that they had opposed him when he was first advanced; while every one chose rather to suffer any thing whatsoever in war, than that, when they had been in a voluntary slavery for some time, they should afterward perish. So the sedition was divided into two parts, and John reigned in opposition to his adversaries over one of them: but for their leaders, they watched one another, nor did they at all, or at least very little, meddle with arms in their quarrels; but they fought earnestly against the people, and contended one with another which of them should bring home the greatest prey. But because the city had to struggle with three of the greatest misfortunes, war, and tyranny, and sedition, it appeared, upon the comparison, that the war was the least troublesome to the populace of them all. Accordingly, they ran away from their own houses to foreigners, and obtained that preservation from the Romans which they despaired to obtain among their own people.

(2) [398] Τέταρτον δὲ ἄλλο κακὸν ἐκινεῖτο πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἔθνους κατάλυσιν. [399] φρούριον ἦν οὐ πόρρω Ἱεροσολύμων καρτερώτατον, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων βασιλέων εἵς τε ὑπέκθεσιν κτήσεως ἐν πολέμου ῥοπαῖς καὶ σωμάτων ἀσφάλειαν κατεσκευασμένον, ὃ ἐκαλεῖτο Μασάδα. [400] τοῦτο κατειληφότες οἱ προσαγορευόμενοι σικάριοι τέως μὲν τὰς πλησίον χώρας κατέτρεχον οὐδὲν πλέον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ποριζόμενοι: [401] δέει γὰρ ἀνεστέλλοντο τῆς πλείονος ἁρπαγῆς: ὡς [δὲ] τὴν Ῥωμαίων στρατιὰν ἠρεμοῦσαν, στάσει δὲ καὶ τυραννίδι ἰδίᾳ τοὺς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἰουδαίους ἐπύθοντο διῃρημένους, ἀδροτέρων ἥπτοντο τολμημάτων. [402] καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν τῶν ἀζύμων, ἣν ἄγουσιν Ἰουδαῖοι σωτήρια ἐξ οὗ τῆς ὑπ᾽ Αἰγυπτίοις δουλείας ἀνεθέντες εἰς τὴν πάτριον γῆν κατῆλθον, νύκτωρ τοὺς ἐμποδὼν ὄντας διαλαθόντες πολίχνην τινὰ κατατρέχουσιν καλουμένην Ἐνγαδδί, [403] ἐν ᾗ τὸ μὲν ἀμύνεσθαι δυνάμενον πρὶν ὅπλων ἅψασθαι καὶ συνελθεῖν φθάσαντες ἐσκέδασαν καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐξέβαλον, τὸ δὲ φυγεῖν ἧττον ὄν, γύναιά τε καὶ παῖδας, ὑπὲρ ἑπτακοσίους ἀναιροῦσιν. [404] ἔπειτα τούς τε οἴκους ἐξεσκευασμένοι καὶ τῶν καρπῶν τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους ἁρπάσαντες ἀνήνεγκαν εἰς τὴν Μασάδαν. [405] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐλῄζοντο πάσας τὰς περὶ τὸ φρούριον κώμας καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθουν ἅπασαν προσδιαφθειρομένων αὐτοῖς καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἑκασταχόθεν οὐκ ὀλίγων: [406] ἐκινεῖτο δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἄλλα τῆς Ἰουδαίας κλίματα τὸ τέως ἠρεμοῦν τὸ λῃστρικόν, καθάπερ δὲ ἐν σώματι τοῦ κυριωτάτου φλεγμαίνοντος πάντα τὰ μέλη συνενόσει: [407] διὰ γοῦν τὴν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει στάσιν καὶ ταραχὴν ἄδειαν ἔσχον οἱ κατὰ τὴν χώραν πονηροὶ τῶν ἁρπαγῶν καὶ τὰς οἰκείας ἕκαστος κώμας ἁρπάζοντες ἔπειτα εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν ἀφίσταντο. [408] συναθροιζόμενοί τε καὶ συνομνύμενοι κατὰ λόχους στρατιᾶς μὲν ὀλιγώτεροι πλείους δὲ λῃστηρίου προσέπιπτον ἱεροῖς καὶ πόλεσιν, [409] καὶ κακοῦσθαι μὲν συνέβαινεν ἐφ᾽ οὓς ὁρμήσειαν ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ καταληφθέντας,

φθάνεσθαι δὲ τὰς ἀμύνας ὡς λῃστῶν ἅμα ταῖς ἁρπαγαῖς ἀποδιδρασκόντων. οὐδὲν δὲ μέρος ἦν τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ὃ μὴ τῇ προανεχούσῃ πόλει συναπώλλυτο.

2. And now a fourth misfortune arose, in order to bring our nation to destruction. There was a fortress of very great strength not far from Jerusalem, which had been built by our ancient kings, both as a repository for their effects in the hazards of war, and for the preservation of their bodies at the same time. It was called Masada. Those that were called Sicarii had taken possession of it formerly, but at this time they overran the neighboring countries, aiming only to procure to themselves necessaries; for the fear they were then in prevented their further ravages. But when once they were informed that the Roman army lay still, and that the Jews were divided between sedition and tyranny, they boldly undertook greater matters; and at the feast of unleavened bread, which the Jews celebrate in memory of their deliverance from the Egyptian bondage, when they were sent back into the country of their forefathers, they came down by night, without being discovered by those that could have prevented them, and overran a certain small city called Engaddi: — in which expedition they prevented those citizens that could have stopped them, before they could arm themselves, and fight them. They also dispersed them, and cast them out of the city. As for such as could not run away, being women and children, they slew of them above seven hundred. Afterward, when they had carried every thing out of their houses, and had seized upon all the fruits that were in a flourishing condition, they brought them into Masada. And indeed these men laid all the villages that were about the fortress waste, and made the whole country desolate; while there came to them every day, from all parts, not a few men as corrupt as themselves. At that time all the other regions of Judea that had hitherto been at rest were in motion, by means of the robbers. Now as it is in a human body, if the principal part be inflamed, all the members are subject to the same distemper; so, by means of the sedition and disorder that was in the metropolis,. had the wicked men that were in the country opportunity to ravage the same. Accordingly, when every one of them had plundered their own villages, they then retired into the desert; yet were these men that now got together, and joined in the conspiracy by parties, too small for an army, and too many for a gang of thieves: and thus did they fall upon the holy places and the cities; yet did it now so happen that they were sometimes very ill treated by those upon whom they fell with such violence, and were taken by them as men are taken in war: but still they prevented any further punishment as do robbers, who, as soon as their ravages [are discovered], run their way. Nor was there now any part of Judea that was not in a miserable condition, as well as its most eminent city also.

(3) [410] Ταῦτα Οὐεσπασιανῷ παρὰ τῶν αὐτομόλων διηγγέλλετο. καίπερ γὰρ φρουρούντων τὰς ἐξόδους τῶν στασιαστῶν ἁπάσας καὶ διαφθειρόντων τοὺς ὁπωσοῦν προσιόντας, ὅμως ἦσαν οἳ διελάνθανον καὶ καταφεύγοντες εἰς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐνῆγον ἀμῦναι τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ τοῦ δήμου περισῶσαι λείψανα: [411] διὰ γὰρ τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εὔνοιαν ἀνῃρῆσθαί τε τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ κινδυνεύειν τοὺς περιόντας. [412] ὁ δὲ οἰκτείρων ἤδη τὰς συμφορὰς αὐτῶν τὸ μὲν δοκεῖν ἐκπολιορκήσων ἐφίσταται τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς ἀπαλλάξων πολιορκίας. [413] ἔδει μὲν προκαταστρέψασθαι τὰ λειπόμενα καὶ μηδὲν ἔξωθεν ἐμπόδιον τῇ πολιορκίᾳ καταλιπεῖν: ἐλθὼν οὖν ἐπὶ τὰ Γάδαρα μητρόπολιν τῆς Περαίας καρτερὰν τετράδι Δύστρου μηνὸς εἴσεισιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν: [414] καὶ γὰρ ἔτυχον οἱ δυνατοὶ λάθρα τῶν στασιωδῶν πρεσβευσάμενοι πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ παραδόσεως πόθῳ τε εἰρήνης καὶ διὰ τὰς οὐσίας: πολλοὶ δὲ τὰ Γάδαρα κατῴκουν πλούσιοι. [415] τούτων τὴν πρεσβείαν ἠγνοήκεσαν οἱ διάφοροι, πλησίον δὲ ἤδη ὄντος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ διεπύθοντο, καὶ κατασχεῖν μὲν αὐτοὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀπέγνωσαν δύνασθαι τῶν τε ἔνδον ἐχθρῶν πλήθει λειπόμενοι καὶ Ῥωμαίους ὁρῶντες οὐ μακρὰν τῆς πόλεως, φεύγειν δὲ κρίνοντες ἠδόξουν ἀναιμωτὶ καὶ μηδεμίαν παρὰ τῶν αἰτίων εἰσπραξάμενοι τιμωρίαν. [416] συλλαβόντες δὴ τὸν Δόλεσον, οὗτος γὰρ ἦν οὐ μόνον ἀξιώματι καὶ γένει τῆς πόλεως πρῶτος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐδόκει καὶ τῆς πρεσβείας αἴτιος, κτείνουσί τε αὐτὸν καὶ δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν ὀργῆς νεκρὸν αἰκισάμενοι διέδρασαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. [417] ἐπιούσης δὲ ἤδη τῆς Ῥωμαικῆς δυνάμεως ὅ τε δῆμος τῶν Γαδαρέων μετ᾽ εὐφημίας τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν εἰσδεξάμενοι δεξιὰς παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ πίστεως ἔλαβον καὶ φρουρὰν ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν πρὸς τὰς τῶν φυγάδων καταδρομάς: [418] τὸ γὰρ τεῖχος αὐτοὶ πρὶν ἀξιῶσαι Ῥωμαίους καθεῖλον, ὅπως εἴη πίστις αὐτοῖς τοῦ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀγαπᾶν τὸ μηδὲ βουληθέντας δύνασθαι πολεμεῖν.

3. These things were told Vespasian by deserters; for although the seditious watched all the passages out of the city, and destroyed all, whosoever they were, that came thither, yet were there some that had concealed themselves, and when they had fled to the Romans, persuaded their general to come to their city's assistance, and save the remainder of the people; informing him withal, that it was upon account of the people's good-will to the Romans that many of them were already slain, and the survivors in danger of the same treatment. Vespasian did indeed already pity the calamities these men were in, and arose, in appearance, as though he was going to besiege Jerusalem, but in reality to deliver them from a [worse] siege they were already under. However, he was obliged first to overthrow what remained elsewhere, and to leave nothing out of Jerusalem behind him that might interrupt him in that siege. Accordingly, he marched against Gadara, the metropolis of Perea, which was a place of strength,

and entered that city on the fourth day of the month Dystrus [Adar]; for the men of power had sent an embassage to him, without the knowledge of the seditious, to treat about a surrender; which they did out of the desire they had of peace, and for saving their effects, because many of the citizens of Gadara were rich men. This embassy the opposite party knew nothing of, but discovered it as Vespasian was approaching near the city. However, they despaired of keeping possession of the city, as being inferior in number to their enemies who were within the city, and seeing the Romans very near to the city; so they resolved to fly, but thought it dishonorable to do it without shedding some blood, and revenging themselves on the authors of this surrender; so they seized upon Dolesus, [a person not only the first in rank and family in that city, but one that seemed the occasion of sending such an embassy,] and slew him, and treated his dead body after a barbarous manner, so very violent was their anger at him, and then ran out of the city. And as now the Roman army was just upon them, the people of Gadara admitted Vespasian with joyful acclamations, and received from him the security of his right hand, as also a garrison of horsemen and footmen, to guard them against the excursions of the runagates; for as to their wall, they had pulled it down before the Romans desired them so to do, that they might thereby give them assurance that they were lovers of peace, and that, if they had a mind, they could not now make war against them.

(4) [419] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς διαδράντας ἐκ τῶν Γαδάρων Πλάκιδον σὺν ἱππεῦσιν πεντακοσίοις καὶ πεζοῖς τρισχιλίοις πέμπει, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης στρατιᾶς ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Καισάρειαν. [420] οἱ δὲ φυγάδες ὡς αἰφνίδιον τοὺς διώκοντας ἱππεῖς ἐθεάσαντο, πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν εἴς τινα κώμην συνειλοῦνται Βηθενναβρὶν προσαγορευομένην: [421] ἐν ᾗ νέων πλῆθος οὐκ ὀλίγον εὑρόντες καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἑκόντας τοὺς δὲ βίᾳ καθοπλίσαντες εἰκαίως, προπηδῶσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Πλάκιδον. [422] οἱ δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὴν πρώτην ἐμβολὴν ὀλίγον εἶξαν ἅμα καὶ προκαλέσασθαι τεχνιτεύοντες αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους πορρωτέρω, [423] λαβόντες δ’ εἰς ἐπιτήδειον περιήλαυνόν τε καὶ κατηκόντιζον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν φυγάδας αὐτῶν οἱ ἱππεῖς ὑπετέμνοντο, τὰς συμπλοκὰς δὲ τὸ πεζὸν εὐτόνως διέφθειρον. [424] οὐ μέντοι πλέον τι τόλμης ἐπιδεικνύμενοι Ἰουδαῖοι διεφθείροντο: πεπυκνωμένοις γὰρ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσπίπτοντες καὶ ταῖς πανοπλίαις ὥσπερ τετειχισμένοις, αὐτοὶ μὲν οὐχ εὕρισκον βέλους παράδυσιν οὐδ’ ηὐτόνουν ῥῆξαι τὴν φάλαγγα, [425] περιεπείροντο δὲ τοῖς ἐκείνων βέλεσι καὶ τοῖς ἀγριωτάτοις παραπλήσιοι θηρίοις ὥρμων ἐπὶ τὸν σίδηρον, διεφθείροντο δ’ οἱ μὲν κατὰ στόμα παιόμενοι τοῖς ξίφεσιν, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων σκεδαννύμενοι.

4. And now Vespasian sent Placidus against those that had fled from Gadara, with five hundred horsemen, and three thousand footmen, while he returned himself

to Cesarea, with the rest of the army. But as soon as these fugitives saw the horsemen that pursued them just upon their backs, and before they came to a close fight, they ran together to a certain village, which was called Bethennabris, where finding a great multitude of young men, and arming them, partly by their own consent, partly by force, they rashly and suddenly assaulted Placidus and the troops that were with him. These horsemen at the first onset gave way a little, as contriving to entice them further off the wall; and when they had drawn them into a place fit for their purpose, they made their horse encompass them round, and threw their darts at them. So the horsemen cut off the flight of the fugitives, while the foot terribly destroyed those that fought against them; for those Jews did no more than show their courage, and then were destroyed; for as they fell upon the Romans when they were joined close together, and, as it were, walled about with their entire armor, they were not able to find any place where the darts could enter, nor were they any way able to break their ranks, while they were themselves run through by the Roman darts, and, like the wildest of wild beasts, rushed upon the point of others' swords; so some of them were destroyed, as cut with their enemies' swords upon their faces, and others were dispersed by the horsemen.

(5) [426] Σπουδὴ γὰρ ἦν τῷ Πλακίδῳ τὰς ἐπὶ τὴν κώμην ὁρμὰς αὐτῶν διακλείειν. [427] καὶ συνεχῶς παρελαύνων κατ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ μέρος, ἔπειτα ἐπιστρέφων ἅμα καὶ τοῖς βέλεσι χρώμενος εὐστόχως ἀνῄρει τοὺς πλησιάζοντας καὶ δέει τοὺς πόρρωθεν ἀνέστρεφεν, μέχρι βίᾳ διεκπεσόντες οἱ γενναιότατοι πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος διέφευγον. [428] ἀπορία δ' εἶχε τοὺς φύλακας: οὔτε γὰρ ἀποκλεῖσαι τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Γαδάρων ὑπέμενον διὰ τοὺς σφετέρους καὶ δεξάμενοι συναπολεῖσθαι προσεδόκων. [429] ὃ δὴ καὶ συνέβη: συνωσθέντων γὰρ αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος παρ' ὀλίγον μὲν οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῖς συνεισέπεσον, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ φθασάντων ἀποκλεῖσαι τὰς πύλας προσβαλὼν ὁ Πλάκιδος καὶ μέχρι δείλης γενναίως ἀγωνισάμενος τοῦ τείχους καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ἐκράτει. [430] τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀργὰ πλήθη διεφθείρετο, φυγὴ δὲ ἦν τῶν δυνατωτέρων, τὰς δ' οἰκίας οἱ στρατιῶται διήρπασαν καὶ τὴν κώμην ἐνέπρησαν. [431] οἱ δὲ διαδράντες ἐξ αὐτῆς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν χώραν συνανέστησαν, καὶ τὰς μὲν αὐτῶν συμφορὰς ἐξαίροντες ἐπὶ μεῖζον, τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν ἐπιέναι λέγοντες πάντας πανταχόθεν ἐξέσεισαν τῷ δέει, γενόμενοί τε παμπληθεῖς ἔφευγον ἐπὶ Ἰεριχοῦντος: [432] αὕτη γὰρ ἔτι μόνη τὰς ἐλπίδας αὐτῶν ἔθαλπε τῆς σωτηρίας καρτερὰ πλήθει γε οἰκητόρων. [433] Πλάκιδος δὲ τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ ταῖς προαγούσαις εὐπραγίαις τεθαρρηκὼς εἵπετο, καὶ μέχρι μὲν Ἰορδάνου τοὺς ἀεὶ καταλαμβανομένους ἀνῄρει, συνελάσας δὲ πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος εἰργομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥεύματος, τραφὲν γὰρ ὑπ' ὄμβρων ἄβατον ἦν, ἀντικρὺ παρετάσσετο. [434]

παρώξυνε δ᾽ ἡ ἀνάγκη πρὸς μάχην τοὺς φυγῆς τόπον οὐκ ἔχοντας, καὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις ἐπὶ μήκιστον παρεκτείναντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐδέχοντο τὰ βέλη καὶ τὰς τῶν ἱππέων ἐμβολάς, οἳ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν παίοντες εἰς τὸ ῥεῦμα κατέβαλον. [435] καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν χερσὶν αὐτῶν διαφθαρὲν μύριοι πεντακισχίλιοι, τὸ δὲ βιασθὲν ἐμπηδῆσαι εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην πλῆθος ἐκουσίως ἄπειρον ἦν. [436] ἐάλωσαν δὲ περὶ δισχιλίους καὶ διακοσίους λεία τε παμπληθὴς ὄνων τε καὶ προβάτων καὶ καμήλων καὶ βοῶν.

5. Now Placidus's concern was to exclude them in their flight from getting into the village; and causing his horse to march continually on that side of them, he then turned short upon them, and at the same time his men made use of their darts, and easily took their aim at those that were the nearest to them, as they made those that were further off turn back by the terror they were in, till at last the most courageous of them brake through those horsemen and fled to the wall of the village. And now those that guarded the wall were in great doubt what to do; for they could not bear the thoughts of excluding those that came from Gadara, because of their own people that were among them; and yet, if they should admit them, they expected to perish with them, which came to pass accordingly; for as they were crowding together at the wall, the Roman horsemen were just ready to fall in with them. However, the guards prevented them, and shut the gates, when Placidus made an assault upon them, and fighting courageously till it was dark, he got possession of the wall, and of the people that were in the city, when the useless multitude were destroyed; but those that were more potent ran away, and the soldiers plundered the houses, and set the village on fire. As for those that ran out of the village, they stirred up such as were in the country, and exaggerating their own calamities, and telling them that the whole army of the Romans were upon them, they put them into great fear on every side; so they got in great numbers together, and fled to Jericho, for they knew no other place that could afford them any hope of escaping, it being a city that had a strong wall, and a great multitude of inhabitants. But Placidus, relying much upon his horsemen, and his former good success, followed them, and slew all that he overtook, as far as Jordan; and when he had driven the whole multitude to the river-side, where they were stopped by the current, [for it had been augmented lately by rains, and was not fordable,] he put his soldiers in array over against them; so the necessity the others were in provoked them to hazard a battle, because there was no place whither they could flee. They then extended themselves a very great way along the banks of the river, and sustained the darts that were thrown at them, as well as the attacks of the horsemen, who beat many of them, and pushed them into the current. At which fight, hand to

hand, fifteen thousand of them were slain, while the number of those that were unwillingly forced to leap into Jordan was prodigious. There were besides two thousand and two hundred taken prisoners. A mighty prey was taken also, consisting of asses, and sheep, and camels, and oxen.

(6) [437] Ἰουδαίοις μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ἐλάττων ἦδε ἡ πληγὴ προσπεσοῦσα καὶ μείζων ἔδοξεν ἑαυτῆς διὰ τὸ μὴ μόνον τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν δι᾽ ἧς ἔφευγον πληρωθῆναι φόνου μηδὲ νεκροῖς διαβατὸν γενέσθαι τὸν Ἰορδάνην, ἐμπλησθῆναι δὲ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τὴν Ἀσφαλτικὴν λίμνην, εἰς ἣν παμπληθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατεσύρησαν. [438] Πλάκιδος δὲ δεξιᾷ τύχῃ χρώμενος ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὰς πέριξ πολίχνας τε καὶ κώμας, καταλαμβανόμενός τε Ἄβιλα καὶ Ἰουλιάδα καὶ Βησιμὼ τάς τε μέχρι [τῆς] Ἀσφαλτίτιδος πάσας ἐγκαθίστησιν ἑκάστῃ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους τῶν αὐτομόλων. [439] ἔπειτα σκάφεσιν ἐπιβήσας τοὺς στρατιώτας αἱρεῖ τοὺς εἰς τὴν λίμνην καταφεύγοντας. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Περαίαν προσεχώρησεν ἢ ἑάλω πάντα μέχρι Μαχαιροῦντος.

6. Now this destruction that fell upon the Jews, as it was not inferior to any of the rest in itself, so did it still appear greater than it really was; and this, because not only the whole country through which they fled was filled with slaughter, and Jordan could not be passed over, by reason of the dead bodies that were in it, but because the lake Asphaltites was also full of dead bodies, that were carried down into it by the river. And now Placidus, after this good success that he had, fell violently upon the neighboring smaller cities and villages; when he took Abila, and Julias, and Bezemoth, and all those that lay as far as the lake Asphaltites, and put such of the deserters into each of them as he thought proper. He then put his soldiers on board the ships, and slew such as had fled to the lake, insomuch that all Perea had either surrendered themselves, or were taken by the Romans, as far as Machaerus.

VIII

CHAPTER 8.

How Vespasian Upon Hearing Of Some Commotions In Gall,

Made Haste To Finish The Jewish War. A Description Of

Jericho, And Of The Great Plain; With An Account Besides Of

The Lake Asphaltites.

(1) [440] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τὸ περὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν ἀγγέλλεται κίνημα καὶ Οὐίνδιξ ἅμα τοῖς δυνατοῖς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἀφεστὼς Νέρωνος, περὶ ὧν ἐν ἀκριβεστέροις

ἀναγέγραπται. [441] Οὐεσπασιανὸν δ' ἐπήγειρεν εἰς τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ πολέμου τὰ ἠγγελμένα προορώμενον ἤδη τοὺς μέλλοντας ἐμφυλίους πολέμους καὶ τὸν ὅλης κίνδυνον τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ἐν ᾧ προειρηνεύσας τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἐπικουφίσειν ᾤετο τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν φόβους. [442] ἕως μὲν οὖν ἐπεῖχεν ὁ χειμὼν τὰς ὑπηγμένας διησφαλίζετο κώμας τε καὶ πολίχνας φρουραῖς, δεκαδάρχας μὲν κώμαις ἐγκαθιστάς, ἑκατοντάρχας δὲ πόλεσι: πολλὰ δὲ ἀνῴκιζε καὶ τῶν πεπορθημένων. [443] ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἔαρος ἀναλαβὼν τὸ πλέον τῆς δυνάμεως ἦγαγεν ἀπὸ τῆς Καισαρείας ἐπὶ Ἀντιπατρίδος, ἔνθα δυσὶν ἡμέραις καταστησάμενος τὴν πόλιν τῇ τρίτῃ προῆει πορθῶν καὶ καίων τὰς πέριξ πάσας. [444] καταστρεψάμενος δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν Θαμνὰ τοπαρχίαν ἐπὶ Λύδδων καὶ Ἰαμνείας ἐχώρει καὶ προκεχειρωμέναις ἑκατέραις ἐγκαταστήσας οἰκήτορας τῶν προσκεχωρηκότων ἱκανοὺς εἰς Ἀμμαοῦντα ἀφικνεῖται. [445] καταλαβόμενος δὲ τὰς ἐπὶ τὴν μητρόπολιν αὐτῶν εἰσβολὰς στρατόπεδόν τε τειχίζει καὶ τὸ πέμπτον ἐν αὐτῇ τάγμα καταλιπὼν πρόεισι μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὴν Βεθλεπτηνφῶν τοπαρχίαν. [446] πυρὶ δὲ αὐτήν τε καὶ τὴν γειτνιῶσαν ἀνελὼν καὶ τὰ πέριξ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας φρούρια τοῖς ἐπικαίροις τόποις ἐπετείχισε: [447] καταλαβόμενος δὲ δύο κώμας τὰς μεσαιτάτας τῆς Ἰδουμαίας, Βήταβριν καὶ Καφάρτοβαν, κτείνει μὲν ὑπὲρ μυρίους, [448] αἰχμαλωτίζεται δὲ ὑπὲρ χιλίους, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἐξελάσας ἐγκαθίστησιν τῆς οἰκείας δυνάμεως οὐκ ὀλίγην, οἳ κατατρέχοντες ἐπόρθουν ἅπασαν τὴν ὀρεινήν. [449] αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς λοιπῆς δυνάμεως ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἀμμαοῦν, ὅθεν διὰ τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος καὶ παρὰ τὴν Νέαν πόλιν καλουμένην, Μαβαρθὰ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, καταβὰς εἰς Κορέαν δευτέρᾳ Δαισίου μηνὸς στρατοπεδεύεται. [450] τῇ δ' ἑξῆς εἰς Ἰεριχοῦντα ἀφικνεῖται, καθ' ἣν αὐτῷ συμμίσγει Τραιανὸς εἷς τῶν ἡγεμόνων τὴν ἐκ τῆς Περαίας ἄγων δύναμιν ἤδη τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰορδάνην κεχειρωμένων.

1. In the mean time, an account came that there were commotions in Gall, and that Vindex, together with the men of power in that country, had revolted from Nero; which affair is more accurately described elsewhere. This report, thus related to Vespasian, excited him to go on briskly with the war; for he foresaw already the civil wars which were coming upon them, nay, that the very government was in danger; and he thought, if he could first reduce the eastern parts of the empire to peace, he should make the fears for Italy the lighter; while therefore the winter was his hinderance [from going into the field], he put garrisons into the villages and smaller cities for their security; he put decurions also into the villages, and centurions into the cities: he besides this rebuilt many of the cities that had been laid waste; but at the beginning of the spring he took the greatest part of his army, and led it from Cesarea to Antipatris, where he spent two days in settling the affairs of that city, and then, on the third day, he

marched on, laying waste and burning all the neighboring villages. And when he had laid waste all the places about the toparchy of Thamnas, he passed on to Lydda and Jamnia; and when both these cities had come over to him, he placed a great many of those that had come over to him [from other places] as inhabitants therein, and then came to Emmaus, where he seized upon the passage which led thence to their metropolis, and fortified his camp, and leaving the fifth legion therein, he came to the toparchy of Bethletephon. He then destroyed that place, and the neighboring places, by fire, and fortified, at proper places, the strong holds all about Idumea; and when he had seized upon two villages, which were in the very midst of Idumea, Betaris and Caphartobas, he slew above ten thousand of the people, and carried into captivity above a thousand, and drove away the rest of the multitude, and placed no small part of his own forces in them, who overran and laid waste the whole mountainous country; while he, with the rest of his forces, returned to Emmaus, whence he came down through the country of Samaria, and hard by the city, by others called Neapolis, [or Sichem,] but by the people of that country Mabortha, to Corea, where he pitched his camp, on the second day of the month Desius [Sivan]; and on the day following he came to Jericho; on which day Trajan, one of his commanders, joined him with the forces he brought out of Perea, all the places beyond Jordan being subdued already.

(2) [451] Τὸ μὲν οὖν πολὺ πλῆθος ἐκ τῆς Ἰεριχοῦς φθάσαν τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἄντικρυς Ἱεροσολύμων ὀρεινὴν διαπεφεύγει, καταλειφθὲν δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγον διαφθείρεται. [452] τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἔρημον κατειλήφεσαν, ἥτις ἵδρυται μὲν ἐν πεδίῳ, ψιλὸν δὲ ὑπέρκειται αὐτῇ καὶ ἄκαρπον ὄρος μήκιστον: [453] κατὰ γὰρ τὸ βόρειον κλίμα μέχρι τῆς Σκυθοπολιτῶν γῆς ἐκτείνεται, κατὰ δὲ τὸ μεσημβρινὸν μέχρι τῆς Σοδομιτῶν χώρας καὶ τῶν περάτων τῆς Ἀσφαλτίτιδος. ἔστιν δὲ ἀνώμαλόν τε πᾶν καὶ ἀοίκητον διὰ τὴν ἀγονίαν. [454] ἀντίκειται δὲ τούτῳ τὸ περὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην ὄρος ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ Ἰουλιάδος καὶ τῶν βορείων κλιμάτων, παρατεῖνον δὲ εἰς μεσημβρίαν ἕως Σομόρων, ἥπερ ὁρίζει τὴν Πέτραν τῆς Ἀραβίας. ἐν τούτῳ δ’ ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Σιδηροῦν καλούμενον ὄρος μηκυνόμενον μέχρι τῆς Μωαβίτιδος. [455] ἡ μέση δὲ τῶν δύο ὀρέων χώρα τὸ μέγα πεδίον καλεῖται, ἀπὸ κώμης Γινναβρὶν διῆκον μέχρι τῆς Ἀσφαλτίτιδος. [456] ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ μῆκος μὲν σταδίων χιλίων διακοσίων, εὖρος δ’ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ μέσον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου τέμνεται λίμνας τε ἔχει τήν τε Ἀσφαλτῖτιν καὶ τὴν Τιβεριέων φύσιν ἐναντίας: ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἁλμυρώδης καὶ ἄγονος, ἡ Τιβεριέων δὲ γλυκεῖα καὶ γόνιμος. [457] ἐκπυροῦται δὲ ὥρᾳ θέρους τὸ πεδίον καὶ δι’ ὑπερβολὴν αὐχμοῦ περιέχει νοσώδη τὸν ἀέρα: [458] πᾶν γὰρ ἄνυδρον πλὴν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, παρὸ καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις

φοινικῶνας εὐθαλεστέρους καὶ πολυφορωτέρους εἶναι συμβέβηκεν, ἧττον δὲ τοὺς πόρρω κεχωρισμένους.

2. Hereupon a great multitude prevented their approach, and came out of Jericho, and fled to those mountainous parts that lay over against Jerusalem, while that part which was left behind was in a great measure destroyed; they also found the city desolate. It is situated in a plain; but a naked and barren mountain, of a very great length, hangs over it, which extends itself to the land about Scythopolis northward, but as far as the country of Sodom, and the utmost limits of the lake Asphaltites, southward. This mountain is all of it very uneven and uninhabited, by reason of its barrenness: there is an opposite mountain that is situated over against it, on the other side of Jordan; this last begins at Julias, and the northern quarters, and extends itself southward as far as Somorrhon, which is the bounds of Petra, in Arabia. In this ridge of mountains there is one called the Iron Mountain, that runs in length as far as Moab. Now the region that lies in the middle between these ridges of mountains is called the Great Plain; it reaches from the village Ginnabris, as far as the lake Asphaltites; its length is two hundred and thirty furlongs, and its breadth a hundred and twenty, and it is divided in the midst by Jordan. It hath two lakes in it, that of Asphaltites, and that of Tiberias, whose natures are opposite to each other; for the former is salt and unfruitful, but that of Tiberias is sweet and fruitful. This plain is much burnt up in summer time, and, by reason of the extraordinary heat, contains a very unwholesome air; it is all destitute of water excepting the river Jordan, which water of Jordan is the occasion why those plantations of palm trees that are near its banks are more flourishing, and much more fruitful, as are those that are remote from it not so flourishing, or fruitful.

(3) [459] Παρὰ μέντοι τὴν Ἰεριχοῦν ἐστι πηγὴ δαψιλής τε καὶ πρὸς ἀρδείας λιπαρωτάτη παρὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ἀναβλύζουσα πόλιν, ἣν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναυῆ παῖς στρατηγὸς Ἑβραίων πρώτην εἶλε γῆς Χαναναίων δορίκτητον. [460] ταύτην τὴν πηγὴν λόγος ἔχει κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς οὐ μόνον γῆς καὶ δένδρων καρποὺς ἀπαμβλύνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναικῶν γονάς, καθόλου τε πᾶσιν εἶναι νοσώδη τε καὶ φθαρτικήν, ἐξημερωθῆναι δὲ καὶ γενέσθαι τοὐναντίον ὑγιεινοτάτην τε καὶ γονιμωτάτην ὑπὸ Ἐλισσαίου τοῦ προφήτου: γνώριμος δ᾽ ἦν οὗτος Ἠλία καὶ διάδοχος: [461] ὃς ἐπιξενωθεὶς τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰεριχοῦν, περισσὸν δή τι φιλοφρονησαμένων αὐτὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων αὐτούς τε ἀμείβεται καὶ τὴν χώραν αἰωνίῳ χάριτι. [462] προελθὼν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν καὶ καταβαλὼν εἰς τὸ ῥεῦμα πλῆρες ἁλῶν ἀγγεῖον κεράμου, ἔπειτα εἰς οὐρανὸν δεξιὰν ἀνατείνας δικαίαν κἀπὶ γῆς σπονδὰς μειλικτηρίους χεόμενος, τὴν μὲν ᾐτεῖτο μαλάξαι τὸ ῥεῦμα καὶ γλυκυτέρας φλέβας ἀνοῖξαι, [463] τὸν δὲ ἐγκεράσασθαι τῷ ῥεύματι γονιμωτέρους [τε] ἀέρας δοῦναί τε ἅμα καὶ

καρπῶν εὐθηνίαν τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις καὶ τέκνων διαδοχήν, μηδ᾽ ἐπιλιπεῖν αὐτοῖς τὸ τούτων γεννητικὸν ὕδωρ, ἕως μένουσι δίκαιοι. [464] ταύταις ταῖς εὐχαῖς πολλὰ προσχειρουργήσας ἐξ ἐπιστήμης ἔτρεψε τὴν πηγήν, καὶ τὸ πρὶν ὀρφανίας αὐτοῖς καὶ λιμοῦ παραίτιον ὕδωρ ἔκτοτε εὐτεκνίας καὶ κόρου χορηγὸν κατέστη. [465] τοσαύτην γοῦν ἐν ταῖς ἀρδείαις ἔχει δύναμιν ὡς, εἰ καὶ μόνον ἐφάψαιτο τῆς χώρας, νοστιμώτερον εἶναι τῶν μέχρι κόρου χρονιζόντων. [466] παρὸ καὶ τῶν [μὲν] δαψιλεστέρως χρωμένων ἡ ὄνησίς ἐστιν ὀλίγη, τούτου δὲ τοῦ ὀλίγου χορηγία δαψιλής. [467] ἄρδει γοῦν πλέονα τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων, καὶ πεδίον μὲν ἔπεισιν ἑβδομήκοντα σταδίων μῆκος εὖρος δ᾽ εἴκοσιν, ἐκτρέφει δ᾽ ἐν αὐτῷ παραδείσους καλλίστους τε καὶ πυκνοτάτους. [468] τῶν δὲ φοινίκων ἐπαρδομένων γένη πολλὰ ταῖς γεύσεσι καὶ ταῖς παρηγορίαις διάφορα: τούτων οἱ πιότεροι πατούμενοι καὶ μέλι δαψιλὲς ἀνιᾶσιν οὐ πολλῷ τοῦ λοιποῦ χεῖρον. [469] καὶ μελιττοτρόφος δὲ ἡ χώρα: φέρει δὲ καὶ ὀποβάλσαμον, ὃ δὴ τιμιώτατον τῶν τῇδε καρπῶν, κύπρον τε καὶ μυροβάλανον, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἁμαρτεῖν τινα εἰπόντα θεῖον εἶναι τὸ χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ δαψιλῆ τὰ σπανιώτατα καὶ κάλλιστα γεννᾶται. [470] τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων αὐτῷ καρπῶν ἕνεκεν οὐκ ἂν ῥᾳδίως τι παραβληθείη κλίμα τῆς οἰκουμένης: οὕτως τὸ καταβληθὲν πολύχουν ἀναδίδωσιν. [471] αἴτιόν μοι δοκεῖ τὸ θερμὸν τῶν ἀέρων καὶ τὸ τῶν ὑδάτων εὔτονον, τῶν μὲν προκαλουμένων τὰ φυόμενα καὶ διαχεόντων, τῆς δὲ ἰκμάδος ῥιζούσης ἕκαστον ἰσχυρῶς καὶ χορηγούσης τὴν ἐν θέρει δύναμιν: περικαὲς δέ ἐστιν οὕτως τὸ χωρίον, ὡς μηδένα ῥᾳδίως προιέναι. [472] τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ πρὸ ἀνατολῆς ἀντλούμενον, ἔπειτα ἐξαιθριασθὲν γίνεται ψυχρότατον καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν πρὸς τὸ περιέχον φύσιν λαμβάνει, χειμῶνος δὲ ἀνάπαλιν χλιαίνεται καὶ τοῖς ἐμβαίνουσι γίνεται προσηνέστατον. [473] ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὸ περιέχον οὕτως εὔκρατον, ὡς λινοῦν ἀμφιέννυσθαι τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους νιφομένης τῆς ἄλλης Ἰουδαίας. [474] ἀπέχει δὲ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων μὲν σταδίους ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα, τοῦ δὲ Ἰορδάνου ἑξήκοντα, καὶ τὸ μὲν μέχρι Ἱεροσολύμων αὐτῆς ἔρημον καὶ πετρῶδες, τὸ δὲ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰορδάνου καὶ τῆς Ἀσφαλτίτιδος χθαμαλώτερον μέν, ἔρημον δὲ ὁμοίως καὶ ἄκαρπον. [475] ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἰεριχοῦν εὐδαιμονεστάτην οὖσαν ἀποχρώντως δεδήλωται.

3. Notwithstanding which, there is a fountain by Jericho, that runs plentifully, and is very fit for watering the ground; it arises near the old city, which Joshua, the son of Naue, the general of the Hebrews, took the first of all the cities of the land of Canaan, by right of war. The report is, that this fountain, at the beginning, caused not only the blasting of the earth and the trees, but of the children born of women, and that it was entirely of a sickly and corruptive nature to all things whatsoever; but that it was made gentle, and very wholesome and fruitful, by the prophet Elisha. This prophet was familiar with Elijah, and was his successor,

who, when he once was the guest of the people at Jericho, and the men of the place had treated him very kindly, he both made them amends as well as the country, by a lasting favor; for he went out of the city to this fountain, and threw into the current an earthen vessel full of salt; after which he stretched out his righteous hand unto heaven, and, pouring out a mild drink-offering, he made this supplication, That the current might be mollified, and that the veins of fresh water might be opened; that God also would bring into the place a more temperate and fertile air for the current, and would bestow upon the people of that country plenty of the fruits of the earth, and a succession of children; and that this prolific water might never fail them, while they continued to be righteous. To these prayers Elisha joined proper operations of his hands, after a skillful manner, and changed the fountain; and that water, which had been the occasion of barrenness and famine before, from that time did supply a numerous posterity, and afforded great abundance to the country. Accordingly, the power of it is so great in watering the ground, that if it do but once touch a country, it affords a sweeter nourishment than other waters do, when they lie so long upon them, till they are satiated with them. For which reason, the advantage gained from other waters, when they flow in great plenty, is but small, while that of this water is great when it flows even in little quantities. Accordingly, it waters a larger space of ground than any other waters do, and passes along a plain of seventy furlongs long, and twenty broad; wherein it affords nourishment to those most excellent gardens that are thick set with trees. There are in it many sorts of palm trees that are watered by it, different from each other in taste and name; the better sort of them, when they are pressed, yield an excellent kind of honey, not much inferior in sweetness to other honey. This country withal produces honey from bees; it also bears that balsam which is the most precious of all the fruits in that place, cypress trees also, and those that bear myrobalanum; so that he who should pronounce this place to be divine would not be mistaken, wherein is such plenty of trees produced as are very rare, and of the must excellent sort. And indeed, if we speak of those other fruits, it will not be easy to light on any climate in the habitable earth that can well be compared to it, what is here sown comes up in such clusters; the cause of which seems to me to be the warmth of the air, and the fertility of the waters; the warmth calling forth the sprouts, and making them spread, and the moisture making every one of them take root firmly, and supplying that virtue which it stands in need of in summer time. Now this country is then so sadly burnt up, that nobody cares to come at it; and if the water be drawn up before sun-rising, and after that exposed to the air, it becomes exceeding cold, and becomes of a nature quite contrary to the ambient air; as in winter again it becomes warm; and if you go into it, it appears very gentle. The

ambient air is here also of so good a temperature, that the people of the country are clothed in linen-only, even when snow covers the rest of Judea. This place is one hundred and fifty furlongs from Jerusalem, and sixty from Jordan. The country, as far as Jerusalem, is desert and stony; but that as far as Jordan and the lake Asphaltites lies lower indeed, though it be equally desert and barren. But so much shall suffice to have said about Jericho, and of the great happiness of its situation.

(4) [476] Ἄξιον δὲ ἀφηγήσασθαι καὶ τὴν φύσιν τῆς Ἀσφαλτίτιδος λίμνης, ἥτις ἐστὶ μέν, ὡς ἔφην, πικρὰ καὶ ἄγονος, ὑπὸ δὲ κουφότητος καὶ τὰ βαρύτατα τῶν εἰς αὐτὴν ῥιφέντων ἀναφέρει, καταδῦναι δ᾽ εἰς τὸν βυθὸν οὐδὲ ἐπιτηδεύσαντα ῥᾴδιον. [477] ἀφικόμενος γοῦν καθ᾽ ἱστορίαν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐκέλευσέ τινας τῶν νεῖν οὐκ ἐπισταμένων δεθέντας ὀπίσω τὰς χεῖρας ῥιφῆναι κατὰ τοῦ βυθοῦ, καὶ συνέβη πάντας ἐπινήξασθαι καθάπερ ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἄνω βιαζομένους. [478] ἔστι δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἡ τῆς χρόας μεταβολὴ θαυμάσιος: τρὶς γὰρ ἑκάστης ἡμέρας τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἀλλάσσεται καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἡλιακὰς ἀκτῖνας ἀνταυγεῖ ποικίλως. [479] τῆς μέντοι ἀσφάλτου κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη βώλους μελαίνας ἀναδίδωσιν: αἱ δ᾽ ἐπινήχονται τό τε σχῆμα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ταύροις ἀκεφάλοις παραπλήσιαι. [480] προσελαύνοντες δὲ οἱ τῆς λίμνης ἐργάται καὶ δρασσόμενοι τοῦ συνεστῶτος ἕλκουσιν εἰς τὰ σκάφη, πληρώσασι δὲ ἀποκόπτειν οὐ ῥᾴδιον, ἀλλὰ δι᾽ εὐτονίαν προσήρτηται τῷ μηρύματι τὸ σκάφος, ἕως ἂν ἐμμηνίῳ γυναικῶν αἵματι καὶ οὔρῳ διαλύσωσιν αὐτήν, οἷς μόνοις εἴκει. [481] καὶ χρήσιμος δὲ οὐ μόνον εἰς ἁρμονίας νεῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἄκεσιν σωμάτων: εἰς πολλὰ γοῦν τῶν φαρμάκων παραμίσγεται. [482] ταύτης τῆς λίμνης μῆκος μὲν ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ πεντακόσιοι στάδιοι, καθὸ δὴ μέχρι Ζοάρων τῆς Ἀραβίας ἐκτείνεται, εὖρος δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. [483] γειτνιᾷ δ᾽ ἡ Σοδομῖτις αὐτῇ, πάλαι μὲν εὐδαίμων γῆ καρπῶν τε ἕνεκεν καὶ τῆς κατὰ πόλιν περιουσίας, νῦν δὲ κεκαυμένη πᾶσα. [484] φασὶ δὲ ὡς δι᾽ ἀσέβειαν οἰκητόρων κεραυνοῖς καταφλεγῆναι: ἔστι γοῦν ἔτι λείψανα τοῦ θείου πυρός, καὶ πέντε μὲν πόλεων ἰδεῖν σκιάς, ἔτι δὲ κἀν τοῖς καρποῖς σποδιὰν ἀναγεννωμένην, οἳ χροιὰν μὲν ἔχουσι τῶν ἐδωδίμων ὁμοίαν, δρεψαμένων δὲ χερσὶν εἰς καπνὸν διαλύονται καὶ τέφραν. [485] τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ τὴν Σοδομῖτιν μυθευόμενα τοιαύτην ἔχει πίστιν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψεως.

4. The nature of the lake Asphaltites is also worth describing. It is, as I have said already, bitter and unfruitful. It is so light [or thick] that it bears up the heaviest things that are thrown into it; nor is it easy for any one to make things sink therein to the bottom, if he had a mind so to do. Accordingly, when Vespasian went to see it, he commanded that some who could not swim should have their hands tied behind them, and be thrown into the deep, when it so happened that they all swam as if a wind had forced them upwards. Moreover, the change of

the color of this lake is wonderful, for it changes its appearance thrice every day; and as the rays of the sun fall differently upon it, the light is variously reflected. However, it casts up black clods of bitumen in many parts of it; these swim at the top of the water, and resemble both in shape and bigness headless bulls; and when the laborers that belong to the lake come to it, and catch hold of it as it hangs together, they draw it into their ships; but when the ship is full, it is not easy to cut off the rest, for it is so tenacious as to make the ship hang upon its clods till they set it loose with the menstrual blood of women, and with urine, to which alone it yields. This bitumen is not only useful for the caulking of ships, but for the cure of men's bodies; accordingly, it is mixed in a great many medicines. The length of this lake is five hundred and eighty furlongs, where it is extended as far as Zoar in Arabia; and its breadth is a hundred and fifty. The country of Sodom borders upon it. It was of old a most happy land, both for the fruits it bore and the riches of its cities, although it be now all burnt up. It is related how, for the impiety of its inhabitants, it was burnt by lightning; in consequence of which there are still the remainders of that Divine fire, and the traces [or shadows] of the five cities are still to be seen, as well as the ashes growing in their fruits; which fruits have a color as if they were fit to be eaten, but if you pluck them with your hands, they dissolve into smoke and ashes. And thus what is related of this land of Sodom hath these marks of credibility which our very sight affords us.

IX

CHAPTER 9.

That Vespasian, After He Had Taken Gadara Made Preparation For The Siege Of Jerusalem; But That, Upon His Hearing Of The Death Of Nero, He Changed His Intentions. As Also Concerning Simon Of Geras.

(1) [486] Ὁ δὲ Οὐεσπασιανὸς πανταχόθεν περιτειχίζων τοὺς ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἔν τε τῇ Ἰεριχοῖ καὶ ἐν Ἀδίδοις ἐγείρει στρατόπεδα καὶ φρουροὺς ἀμφοτέραις ἐγκαθίστησιν ἔκ τε τοῦ Ῥωμαικοῦ καὶ συμμαχικοῦ συντάγματος. [487] πέμπει δὲ καὶ εἰς Γέρασα Λούκιον Ἄννιον παραδοὺς μοῖραν ἱππέων καὶ συχνοὺς πεζούς. [488] ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἐφόδου τὴν πόλιν ἑλὼν ἀποκτείνει μὲν χιλίους τῶν νέων, ὅσοι μὴ διαφυγεῖν ἔφθασαν, γενεὰς δὲ ᾐχμαλωτίσατο καὶ τὰς κτήσεις διαρπάσαι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπέτρεψεν: ἔπειτα τὰς οἰκίας ἐμπρήσας ἐπὶ τὰς πέριξ κώμας ἐχώρει. [489] φυγαὶ δ' ἦσαν τῶν δυνατῶν καὶ φθοραὶ τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων, τὸ καταλειφθὲν

δὲ πᾶν ἐνεπίμπρατο. [490] καὶ διειληφότος τοῦ πολέμου τήν τε ὀρεινὴν ὅλην καὶ τὴν πεδιάδα πάσας οἱ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις τὰς ἐξόδους ἀφῄρηντο: τοὺς μέν γε αὐτομολεῖν προαιρουμένους οἱ ζηλωταὶ παρεφυλάσσοντο, τοὺς δὲ οὔπω τὰ Ῥωμαίων φρονοῦντας εἶργεν ἡ στρατιὰ πανταχόθεν τὴν πόλιν περιέχουσα.

1. And now Vespasian had fortified all the places round about Jerusalem, and erected citadels at Jericho and Adida, and placed garrisons in them both, partly out of his own Romans, and partly out of the body of his auxiliaries. He also sent Lucius Annius to Gerasa, and delivered to him a body of horsemen, and a considerable number of footmen. So when he had taken the city, which he did at the first onset, he slew a thousand of those young men who had not prevented him by flying away; but he took their families captive, and permitted his soldiers to plunder them of their effects; after which he set fire to their houses, and went away to the adjoining villages, while the men of power fled away, and the weaker part were destroyed, and what was remaining was all burnt down. And now the war having gone through all the mountainous country, and all the plain country also, those that were at Jerusalem were deprived of the liberty of going out of the city; for as to such as had a mind to desert, they were watched by the zealots; and as to such as were not yet on the side of the Romans, their army kept them in, by encompassing the city round about on all sides.

(2) [491] Οὐεσπασιανῷ δ᾽ εἰς Καισάρειαν ἐπιστρέψαντι καὶ παρασκευαζομένῳ μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐξελαύνειν ἀγγέλλεται Νέρων ἀνῃρημένος, τρία καὶ δέκα βασιλεύσας ἔτη καὶ ἡμέρας ὀκτώ. [492] περὶ οὗ λέγειν ὃν τρόπον εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐξύβρισεν πιστεύσας τὰ πράγματα τοῖς πονηροτάτοις, Νυμφιδίῳ καὶ Τιγελλίνῳ, [493] τοῖς τε ἀναξίοις τῶν ἐξελευθέρων, καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ τούτων ἐπιβουλευθεὶς κατελείφθη μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν φυλάκων ἁπάντων, διαδρὰς δὲ σὺν τέτρασι τῶν πιστῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἐν τοῖς προαστείοις ἑαυτὸν ἀνεῖλεν, καὶ ὡς οἱ καταλύσαντες αὐτὸν μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον δίκας ἔδοσαν, [494] τόν τε κατὰ τὴν Γαλατίαν πόλεμον ὡς ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ πῶς Γάλβας ἀποδειχθεὶς αὐτοκράτωρ εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπανῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς Ἱσπανίας, καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν αἰτιαθεὶς ἐπὶ ταπεινοφροσύνῃ ἐδολοφονήθη κατὰ μέσην τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀγορὸν ἀπεδείχθη τε αὐτοκράτωρ Ὄθων: [495] τήν τε τούτου στρατείαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Οὐιτελλίου στρατηγοὺς καὶ κατάλυσιν, ἔπειτα τοὺς κατὰ Οὐιτέλλιον ταράχους καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ Καπετώλιον συμβολήν, ὅπως τε Ἀντώνιος Πρῖμος καὶ Μουκιανὸς διαφθείραντες Οὐιτέλλιον καὶ τὰ Γερμανικὰ τάγματα κατέστειλαν τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον. [496] πάντα ταῦτα διεξιέναι μὲν ἐπ᾽ ἀκριβὲς παρῃτησάμην, ἐπειδὴ δι᾽ ὄχλου πᾶσίν ἐστιν καὶ πολλοῖς Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀναγέγραπται, συναφείας δὲ ἕνεκεν τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τοῦ μὴ διηρτῆσθαι τὴν ἱστορίαν κεφαλαιωδῶς ἕκαστον ἐπισημαίνομαι.

[497] Οὐεσπασιανὸς τοίνυν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀνεβάλλετο τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων στρατείαν, καραδοκῶν πρὸς τίνα ῥέψει τὸ κρατεῖν μετὰ Νέρωνα: [498] αὖθις δὲ Γάλβαν ἀκούσας αὐτοκράτορα, πρὶν ἐπιστεῖλαί τι περὶ τοῦ πολέμου κἀκεῖνον, οὐκ ἐπεχείρει, πέμπει δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Τίτον ἀσπασόμενόν τε καὶ ληψόμενον τὰς περὶ Ἰουδαίων ἐντολάς. διὰ δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς αἰτίας ἅμα Τίτῳ καὶ Ἀγρίππας ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς Γάλβαν ἔπλει. [499] καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἀχαίας, χειμῶνος γὰρ ἦν ὥρα, μακραῖς ναυσὶ περιπλεόντων φθάνει Γάλβας ἀναιρεθεὶς μετὰ μῆνας ἑπτὰ καὶ ἴσας ἡμέρας: ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρέλαβεν Ὄθων ἀντιποιούμενος τῶν πραγμάτων. [500] ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀγρίππας εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφικέσθαι διέγνω μηδὲν ὀρρωδήσας πρὸς τὴν μεταβολήν: [501] Τίτος δὲ κατὰ δαιμόνιον ὁρμὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἰς τὴν Συρίαν ἀνέπλει καὶ κατὰ τάχος εἰς Καισάρειαν ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. [502] καὶ οἱ μὲν μετέωροι περὶ τῶν ὅλων ὄντες ὡς ἂν σαλευομένης τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας ὑπερεώρων τὴν ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίους στρατείαν, καὶ διὰ τὸν περὶ τῆς πατρίδος φόβον τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους ὁρμὴν ἄωρον ἐνόμιζον.

2. Now as Vespasian was returned to Cesarea, and was getting ready with all his army to march directly to Jerusalem, he was informed that Nero was dead, after he had reigned thirteen years and eight days. But as to any narration after what manner he abused his power in the government, and committed the management of affairs to those vile wretches, Nymphidius and Tigellinus, his unworthy freed-men; and how he had a plot laid against him by them, and was deserted by all his guards, and ran away with four of his most trusty freed-men, and slew himself in the suburbs of Rome; and how those that occasioned his death were in no long time brought themselves to punishment; how also the war in Gall ended; and how Galba was made emperor and returned out of Spain to Rome; and how he was accused by the soldiers as a pusillanimous person, and slain by treachery in the middle of the market-place at Rome, and Otho was made emperor; with his expedition against the commanders of Vitellius, and his destruction thereupon; and besides what troubles there were under Vitellius, and the fight that was about the capitol; as also how Antonius Primus and Mucianus slew Vitellius, and his German legions, and thereby put an end to that civil war; I have omitted to give an exact account of them, because they are well known by all, and they are described by a great number of Greek and Roman authors; yet for the sake of the connexion of matters, and that my history may not be incoherent, I have just touched upon every thing briefly. Wherefore Vespasian put off at first his expedition against Jerusalem, and stood waiting whither the empire would be transferred after the death of Nero. Moreover, when he heard that Galba was made emperor, he attempted nothing till he also should send him some directions about the war: however, he sent his son Titus to him, to salute him, and to

receive his commands about the Jews. Upon the very same errand did king Agrippa sail along with Titus to Galba; but as they were sailing in their long ships by the coasts of Achaia, for it was winter time, they heard that Galba was slain, before they could get to him, after he had reigned seven months and as many days. After whom Otho took the government, and undertook the management of public affairs. So Agrippa resolved to go on to Rome without any terror; on account of the change in the government; but Titus, by a Divine impulse, sailed back from Greece to Syria, and came in great haste to Cesarea, to his father. And now they were both in suspense about the public affairs, the Roman empire being then in a fluctuating condition, and did not go on with their expedition against the Jews, but thought that to make any attack upon foreigners was now unseasonable, on account of the solicitude they were in for their own country.

(3) [503] Ἐπανίσταται δὲ ἄλλος τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις πόλεμος. υἱὸς ἦν Γιώρα Σίμων τις, Γερασηνὸς τὸ γένος, νεανίας πανουργίᾳ μὲν ἡττώμενος Ἰωάννου τοῦ προκατέχοντος ἤδη τὴν πόλιν, ἀλκῇ δὲ σώματος καὶ τόλμῃ διαφέρων, [504] δι᾽ ἣν καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀνάνου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως φυγαδευθεὶς ἐξ ἧς εἶχε τοπαρχίας Ἀκραβετηνῆς πρὸς τοὺς κατειληφότας τὴν Μασάδαν ληστὰς παραγίνεται. [505] τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἦν αὐτοῖς δι᾽ ὑποψίας: εἰς τὸ κατωτέρω γοῦν φρούριον ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτῷ παρελθεῖν ἅμα ταῖς γυναιξίν, ἃς ἄγων ἦκεν, αὐτοὶ τὸ ὑψηλότερον οἰκοῦντες: [506] αὖθις δὲ διὰ συγγένειαν ἠθῶν καὶ ὅτι πιστὸς ἐδόκει, συμπροενόμευε γοῦν αὐτοῖς ἐξιὼν καὶ συνεπόρθει τὰ περὶ τὴν Μασάδαν . [507] οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ τὰ μείζω παρακαλῶν ἔπεισεν: οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἕθει ὄντες τῷ φρουρίῳ, [508] καθάπερ φωλεοῦ χωρίζεσθαι μακρὰν ἐδεδοίκεσαν, ὁ δὲ τυραννιῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἐφιέμενος ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὴν Ἀνάνου τελευτὴν ἤκουσεν, εἰς τὴν ὀρεινὴν ἀφίσταται, καὶ προκηρύξας δούλοις μὲν ἐλευθερίαν, γέρας δὲ ἐλευθέροις τοὺς πανταχόθεν πονηροὺς συνήθροιζεν.

3. And now there arose another war at Jerusalem. There was a son of Giora, one Simon, by birth of Gerasa, a young man, not so cunning indeed as John [of Gisehala], who had already seized upon the city, but superior in strength of body and courage; on which account, when he had been driven away from that Acrabattene toparchy, which he once had, by Ananus the high priest, he came to those robbers who had seized upon Masada. At the first they suspected him, and only permitted him to come with the women he brought with him into the lower part of the fortress, while they dwelt in the upper part of it themselves. However, his manner so well agreed with theirs, and he seemed so trusty a man, that he went out with them, and ravaged and destroyed the country with them about Masada; yet when he persuaded them to undertake greater things, he could not

prevail with them so to do; for as they were accustomed to dwell in that citadel, they were afraid of going far from that which was their hiding-place; but he affecting to tyrannize, and being fond of greatness, when he had heard of the death of Ananus, he left them, and went into the mountainous part of the country. So he proclaimed liberty to those in slavery, and a reward to those already free, and got together a set of wicked men from all quarters.

(4) [509] Ὡς δ' ἦν αὐτῷ καρτερὸν ἤδη τὸ σύνταγμα, τὰς ἀνὰ τὴν ὀρεινὴν κώμας κατέτρεχεν, ἀεὶ δὲ προσγινομένων πλειόνων ἐθάρρει καταβαίνειν εἰς τὰ χθαμαλώτερα. [510] κἀπειδὴ πόλεσιν ἤδη φοβερὸς ἦν, πολλοὶ πρὸς τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ τὴν εὔροιαν τῶν κατορθωμάτων ἐφθείροντο δυνατοί, καὶ οὐκέτι ἦν δούλων μόνων οὐδὲ λῃστῶν στρατός, ἀλλὰ καὶ δημοτικῶν οὐκ ὀλίγων ὡς πρὸς βασιλέα πειθαρχεῖν. [511] κατέτρεχε δὲ τήν τε Ἀκραβετηνὴν τοπαρχίαν καὶ τὰ μέχρι τῆς μεγάλης Ἰδουμαίας: κατὰ γὰρ κώμην τινὰ καλουμένην Ἀὶν τεῖχος κατασκευάσας ὥσπερ φρουρίῳ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ἐχρῆτο, [512] κατὰ δὲ τὴν φάραγγα προσαγορευομένην Φερεταὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἀνευρύνας σπήλαια, πολλὰ δ' εὑρὼν ἕτοιμα ταμιείοις ἐχρῆτο θησαυρῶν καὶ τῆς λείας ἐκδοχείοις. [513] ἀνετίθει δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἁρπαζομένους εἰς αὐτὰ καρπούς, οἵ τε πολλοὶ τῶν λόχων δίαιταν εἶχον ἐν ἐκείνοις: δῆλος δ' ἦν τό τε σύνταγμα προγυμνάζων καὶ τὰς παρασκευὰς κατὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων.

4. And as he had now a strong body of men about him, he overran the villages that lay in the mountainous country, and when there were still more and more that came to him, he ventured to go down into the lower parts of the country, and since he was now become formidable to the cities, many of the men of power were corrupted by him; so that his army was no longer composed of slaves and robbers, but a great many of the populace were obedient to him as to their king. He then overran the Acrabattene toparchy, and the places that reached as far as the Great Idumea; for he built a wall at a certain village called Nain, and made use of that as a fortress for his own party's security; and at the valley called Paran, he enlarged many of the caves, and many others he found ready for his purpose; these he made use of as repositories for his treasures, and receptacles for his prey, and therein he laid up the fruits that he had got by rapine; and many of his partizans had their dwelling in them; and he made no secret of it that he was exercising his men beforehand, and making preparations for the assault of Jerusalem.

(5) [514] Ὅθεν οἱ ζηλωταὶ δείσαντες αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ προλαβεῖν βουλόμενοι τὸν κατ᾽ αὐτῶν τρεφόμενον ἐξίασι μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων οἱ πλείους: ὑπαντιάζει δὲ Σίμων, καὶ παραταξάμενος συχνοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀναιρεῖ, συνελαύνει δὲ τοὺς λοιποὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν. [515] οὔπω δὲ θαρρῶν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ μὲν τοῖς τείχεσιν προσβάλλειν ἀπετράπη, χειρώσασθαι δὲ πρότερον τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν ἐπεβάλετο: καὶ δὴ δισμυρίους ἔχων ὁπλίτας ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρους αὐτῆς. [516] οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες τῆς Ἰδουμαίας κατὰ τάχος ἀθροίσαντες ἐκ τῆς χώρας τὸ μαχιμώτατον περὶ πεντακισχιλίους καὶ δισμυρίους, τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς ἐάσαντες φρουρεῖν τὰ σφέτερα διὰ τὰς τῶν ἐν Μασάδᾳ σικαρίων καταδρομάς, ἐδέχοντο τὸν Σίμωνα πρὸς τοῖς ὅροις. [517] ἔνθα συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς καὶ δι᾽ ὅλης πολεμήσας ἡμέρας, οὔτε νενικηκὼς οὔτε νενικημένος διεκρίθη, καὶ ὁ μὲν εἰς τὴν Ναίν, οἱ δὲ Ἰδουμαῖοι διελύθησαν ἐπ᾽ οἴκου. [518] καὶ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ Σίμων μείζονι δυνάμει πάλιν εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ὥρμητο, στρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ κατά τινα κώμην, Θεκουὲ καλεῖται, πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἡρωδείῳ φρουρούς, ὅπερ ἦν πλησίον, Ἐλεάζαρόν τινα τῶν ἑταίρων ἔπεμψε πείσοντα παραδοῦναι τὸ ἔρυμα. [519] τοῦτον οἱ φύλακες προθύμως ἐδέξαντο τὴν αἰτίαν ἀγνοοῦντες δι᾽ ἣν ἥκοι, φθεγξάμενον δὲ περὶ παραδόσεως ἐδίωκον σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη, μέχρι φυγῆς τόπον οὐκ ἔχων ἔρριψεν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν ὑποκειμένην φάραγγα. [520] καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτίκα τελευτᾷ, τοῖς δ᾽ Ἰδουμαίοις ἤδη κατορρωδοῦσι τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῦ Σίμωνος ἔδοξε πρὸ τοῦ συμβαλεῖν κατασκέψασθαι τὴν στρατιὰν τῶν πολεμίων.

5. Whereupon the zealots, out of the dread they were in of his attacking them, and being willing to prevent one that was growing up to oppose them, went out against him with their weapons. Simon met them, and joining battle with them, slew a considerable number of them, and drove the rest before him into the city, but durst not trust so much upon his forces as to make an assault upon the walls; but he resolved first to subdue Idumea, and as he had now twenty thousand armed men, he marched to the borders of their country. Hereupon the rulers of the Idumeans got together on the sudden the most warlike part of their people, about twenty-five thousand in number, and permitted the rest to be a guard to their own country, by reason of the incursions that were made by the Sicarii that were at Masada. Thus they received Simon at their borders, where they fought him, and continued the battle all that day; and the dispute lay whether they had conquered him, or been conquered by him. So he went back to Nain, as did the Idumeans return home. Nor was it long ere Simon came violently again upon their country; when he pitched his camp at a certain village called Thecoe, and sent Eleazar, one of his companions, to those that kept garrison at Herodium, and in order to persuade them to surrender that fortress to him. The garrison received this man readily, while they knew nothing of what he came about; but as soon as

he talked of the surrender of the place, they fell upon him with their drawn swords, till he found that he had no place for flight, when he threw himself down from the wall into the valley beneath; so he died immediately: but the Idumeans, who were already much afraid of Simon's power, thought fit to take a view of the enemy's army before they hazarded a battle with them.

(6) [521] Εἰς τοῦτο δὲ ὑπηρέτην αὐτὸν ἑτοίμως ἐπεδίδου Ἰάκωβος, εἷς τῶν ἡγεμόνων, προδοσίαν ἐνθυμούμενος. [522] ὁρμήσας γοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλούρου, κατὰ γὰρ ταύτην συνήθροιστο τὴν κώμην τότε τῶν Ἰδουμαίων τὸ στράτευμα, [523] παραγίνεται πρὸς Σίμωνα, καὶ πρώτην αὐτῷ παραδώσειν συντίθεται τὴν αὐτοῦ πατρίδα, λαβὼν ὅρκους ὡς ἀεὶ τίμιος ὢν διατελέσει, συνεργήσειν δὲ ὑπέσχετο καὶ περὶ τῆς ὅλης Ἰδουμαίας. [524] ἐφ' οἷς ἑστιαθεὶς φιλοφρόνως ὑπὸ τοῦ Σίμωνος καὶ λαμπραῖς ἐπαρθεὶς ὑποσχέσεσιν, ἐπειδήπερ εἰς τοὺς σφετέρους ὑπέστρεψε, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πολλαπλασίονα τὴν στρατιὰν ἐψεύδετο τοῦ Σίμωνος, [525] ἔπειτα δεξιούμενος τούς τε ἡγεμόνας καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐνῆγεν ὥστε δέξασθαι τὸν Σίμωνα καὶ παραδοῦναι δίχα μάχης αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀρχήν. [526] ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα διαπραττόμενος καὶ Σίμωνα δι' ἀγγέλων ἐκάλει σκεδάσειν ὑπισχνούμενος τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους: ὃ δὴ παρέσχεν. [527] ὡς γὰρ ἦν ἤδη πλησίον ἡ στρατιά, πρῶτος ἀναπηδήσας ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον μετὰ τῶν συνδιεφθαρμένων ἔφευγε. [528] πτοία δ' ἐμπίπτει παντὶ τῷ πλήθει, καὶ πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν λυθέντες ἐκ τῆς τάξεως ἀνεχώρουν ἕκαστοι πρὸς τὰ ἴδια.

6. Now there was one of their commanders named Jacob, who offered to serve them readily upon that occasion, but had it in his mind to betray them. He went therefore from the village Alurus, wherein the army of the Idumeans were gotten together, and came to Simon, and at the very first he agreed to betray his country to him, and took assurances upon oath from him that he should always have him in esteem, and then promised him that he would assist him in subduing all Idumea under him; upon which account he was feasted after an obliging manner by Simon, and elevated by his mighty promises; and when he was returned to his own men, he at first belied the army of Simon, and said it was manifold more in number than what it was; after which, he dexterously persuaded the commanders, and by degrees the whole multitude, to receive Simon, and to surrender the whole government up to him without fighting. And as he was doing this, he invited Simon by his messengers, and promised him to disperse the Idumeans, which he performed also; for as soon as their army was nigh them, he first of all got upon his horse, and fled, together with those whom he had corrupted; hereupon a terror fell upon the whole multitude; and before it came to a close fight, they broke their ranks, and every one retired to his own home.

(7) [529] Σίμων δὲ παρὰ δόξαν εἰς τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν εἰσήλασεν ἀναιμωτὶ καὶ προσβαλὼν ἀδοκήτως πρώτην αἱρεῖ τὴν πολίχνην Χεβρών, ἐν ᾗ πλείστης ἐκράτησε λείας, πάμπολυν δὲ διήρπασε καρπόν. [530] ὡς δέ φασιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τὴν Χεβρὼν οὐ μόνον τῶν τῇδε πόλεων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Μέμφεως ἀρχαιοτέραν: δισχίλια γοῦν αὐτῇ καὶ τριακόσια ἔτη συναριθμεῖται. [531] μυθεύουσι δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ οἰκητήριον Ἀβράμου τοῦ Ἰουδαίων προγόνου γεγονέναι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἀπανάστασιν, τούς τε παῖδας αὐτοῦ λέγουσι καταβῆναι εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἔνθεν: [532] ὧν καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα μέχρι νῦν ἐν τῇδε τῇ πολίχνῃ δείκνυται πάνυ καλῆς μαρμάρου καὶ φιλοτίμως εἰργασμένα. [533] δείκνυται δ' ἀπὸ σταδίων ἓξ τοῦ ἄστεος τερέβινθος μεγίστη, καὶ φασὶ τὸ δένδρον ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως μέχρι νῦν διαμένειν. [534] ἔνθεν ὁ Σίμων ἐχώρει διὰ πάσης τῆς Ἰδουμαίας, οὐ μόνον κώμας καὶ πόλεις πορθῶν, λυμαινόμενος δὲ καὶ τὴν χώραν: δίχα γὰρ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν τέσσαρες αὐτῷ συνείποντο μυριάδες, ὡς μηδὲ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐξαρκούντων πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος. [535] προσῆν δὲ ταῖς χρείαις ὠμότης τε αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὸ γένος ὀργή, δι' ἃ μᾶλλον ἐξερημοῦσθαι συνέβαινε τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν. [536] καθάπερ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκρίδων κατόπιν ὕλην ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἐψιλωμένην πᾶσαν, οὕτω τὸ κατὰ νώτου τῆς Σίμωνος στρατιᾶς ἐρημία κατελείπετο: [537] καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐμπιπρῶντες τὰ δὲ κατασκάπτοντες, πᾶν δὲ τὸ πεφυκὸς ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν ἢ συμπατοῦντες ἠφάνιζον ἢ νεμόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐνεργὸν ὑπὸ τῆς πορείας σκληροτέραν ἐποίουν τῆς ἀκάρπου, καθόλου τε εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲ σημεῖόν τι κατελείπετο τοῖς πορθουμένοις τοῦ γεγονέναι.

7. Thus did Simon unexpectedly march into Idumea, without bloodshed, and made a sudden attack upon the city Hebron, and took it; wherein he got possession of a great deal of prey, and plundered it of a vast quantity of fruit. Now the people of the country say that it is an ancienter city, not only than any in that country, but than Memphis in Egypt, and accordingly its age is reckoned at two thousand and three hundred years. They also relate that it had been the habitation of Abram, the progenitor of the Jews, after he had removed out of Mesopotamia; and they say that his posterity descended from thence into Egypt, whose monuments are to this very time showed in that small city; the fabric of which monuments are of the most excellent marble, and wrought after the most elegant manner. There is also there showed, at the distance of six furlongs from the city, a very large turpentine tree and the report goes, that this tree has continued ever since the creation of the world. Thence did Simon make his progress over all Idumea, and did not only ravage the cities and villages, but lay waste the whole country; for, besides those that were completely armed, he had forty thousand men that followed him, insomuch that he had not provisions enough to suffice such a multitude. Now, besides this want of provisions that he

was in, he was of a barbarous disposition, and bore great anger at this nation, by which means it came to pass that Idumea was greatly depopulated; and as one may see all the woods behind despoiled of their leaves by locusts, after they have been there, so was there nothing left behind Simon's army but a desert. Some places they burnt down, some they utterly demolished, and whatsoever grew in the country, they either trod it down or fed upon it, and by their marches they made the ground that was cultivated harder and more untractable than that which was barren. In short, there was no sign remaining of those places that had been laid waste, that ever they had had a being.

(8) [538] Ταῦτα πάλιν τοὺς ζηλωτὰς ἐπήγειρεν, καὶ φανερῶς μὲν ἀντιπαρατάξασθαι κατέδεισαν, προλοχίσαντες δ' ἐν ταῖς παρόδοις ἁρπάζουσι τοῦ Σίμωνος τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν θεραπείας συχνούς. [539] ἔπειτα ὡς αὐτὸν αἰχμαλωτισάμενοι τὸν Σίμωνα γεγηθότες εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑπέστρεψαν καὶ ὅσον οὐδέπω προσεδόκων καταθέμενον τὰ ὅπλα περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἱκετεύσειν. [540] τὸν δὲ οὐκ ἔλεος εἰσῆλθεν ἀλλ' ὀργὴ περὶ τῆς ἡρπασμένης, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐλθὼν καθάπερ τὰ τρωθέντα τῶν θηρίων, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς τρώσαντας οὐ κατέλαβεν, ἐφ' οὓς εὗρε τὸν θυμὸν ἠφίει. [541] ὅσοι γοῦν λαχανείας ἕνεκεν ἢ φρυγανισμοῦ προεληλύθεσαν ἔξω πυλῶν ἀνόπλους καὶ γέροντας συλλαμβάνων ἠκίζετο καὶ διέφθειρεν, δι' ὑπερβολὴν ἀγανακτήσεως μονονουχὶ καὶ νεκρῶν γευόμενος τῶν σωμάτων. [542] πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ χειροκοπήσας εἰσέπεμπε καταπλήξασθαι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἅμα καὶ διαστῆσαι τὸν δῆμον ἐπιχειρῶν πρὸς τοὺς αἰτίους. [543] ἐντέταλτο δ' αὐτοῖς λέγειν, ὅτι Σίμων θεὸν ὄμνυσι τὸν πάντων ἔφορον, εἰ μὴ θᾶττον ἀποδώσουσιν αὐτῷ τὴν γυναῖκα, ῥήξας τὸ τεῖχος τοιαῦτα διαθήσειν πάντας τοὺς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, μηδεμιᾶς φεισάμενος ἡλικίας μηδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναιτίων διακρίνας τοὺς αἰτίους. [544] τούτοις οὐ μόνον ὁ δῆμος ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ζηλωταὶ καταπλαγέντες ἀποπέμπουσιν αὐτῷ τὴν γυναῖκα: καὶ τότε μὲν ἐκμειλιχθεὶς ὀλίγον ἀνεπαύσατο τοῦ συνεχοῦς φόνου.

8. This success of Simon excited the zealots afresh; and though they were afraid to fight him openly in a fair battle, yet did they lay ambushes in the passes, and seized upon his wife, with a considerable number of her attendants; whereupon they came back to the city rejoicing, as if they had taken Simon himself captive, and were in present expectation that he would lay down his arms, and make supplication to them for his wife; but instead of indulging any merciful affection, he grew very angry at them for seizing his beloved wife; so he came to the wall of Jerusalem, and, like wild beasts when they are wounded, and cannot overtake those that wounded them, he vented his spleen upon all persons that he met with. Accordingly, he caught all those that were come out of the city gates, either to gather herbs or sticks, who were unarmed and in years; he then tormented them

and destroyed them, out of the immense rage he was in, and was almost ready to taste the very flesh of their dead bodies. He also cut off the hands of a great many, and sent them into the city to astonish his enemies, and in order to make the people fall into a sedition, and desert those that had been the authors of his wife's seizure. He also enjoined them to tell the people that Simon swore by the God of the universe, who sees all things, that unless they will restore him his wife, he will break down their wall, and inflict the like punishment upon all the citizens, without sparing any age, and without making any distinction between the guilty and the innocent. These threatenings so greatly affrighted, not the people only, but the zealots themselves also, that they sent his wife back to him; when he became a little milder, and left off his perpetual blood-shedding.

(9) [545] Οὐ μόνον δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν στάσις ἦν καὶ πόλεμος ἐμφύλιος, ἀλλὰ κἀπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας. [546] ἀνῄρητο μὲν γὰρ κατὰ μέσην τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀγορὰν Γάλβας, ἀποδεδειγμένος δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ Ὄθων ἐπολέμει Οὐιτελλίῳ βασιλειῶντι: τοῦτον γὰρ ᾔρητο τὰ κατὰ Γερμανίαν τάγματα. [547] καὶ γενομένης συμβολῆς κατὰ Φρηγδίακον τῆς Γαλατίας πρός τε Οὐάλεντα καὶ Καικίνναν τοὺς Οὐιτελλίου στρατηγούς, τῇ πρώτῃ μὲν ἡμέρᾳ περιῆν Ὄθων, τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ τὸ Οὐιτελλίου στρατιωτικόν: [548] καὶ πολλοῦ φόνου γενομένου διεχρήσατο μὲν Ὄθων αὐτὸν ἐν Βριξέλλῳ τὴν ἦτταν πυθόμενος ἡμέρας δύο καὶ τρεῖς μῆνας κρατήσας τῶν πραγμάτων, [549] προσεχώρησε δὲ τοῖς Οὐιτελλίου στρατηγοῖς ἡ στρατιά, καὶ κατέβαινεν αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. [550] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἀναστὰς ἐκ τῆς Καισαρείας πέμπτῃ Δαισίου μηνὸς ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὰ μηδέπω κατεστραμμένα τῶν τῆς Ἰουδαίας χωρίων. [551] ἀναβὰς δὲ εἰς τὴν ὀρεινὴν αἱρεῖ δύο τοπαρχίας, τήν τε Γοφνιτικὴν καὶ τὴν Ἀκραβετηνὴν καλουμένην, μεθ' ἃς Βήθηγά τε καὶ Ἐφραὶμ πολίχνια, οἷς φρουροὺς ἐγκαταστήσας μέχρι Ἱεροσολύμων ἱππάζετο: φθορὰ δ' ἦν πολλῶν καταλαμβανομένων καὶ συχνοὺς ᾐχμαλωτίζετο. [552] Κερεάλιος δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν ἡγεμόνων μοῖραν ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν ἀναλαβὼν τὴν ἄνω καλουμένην Ἰδουμαίαν ἐπόρθει, καὶ Κάφεθρα μὲν ψευδοπολίχνιον ἐξ ἐφόδου λαβὼν ἐμπίπρησιν, ἑτέραν δὲ καλουμένην Χαραβὶν προσβαλὼν ἐπολιόρκει. [553] πάνυ δ' ἦν ἰσχυρὸν τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ τρίψεσθαι προσδοκῶντι πλείω χρόνον αἰφνιδίως ἀνοίγουσιν οἱ ἔνδον τὰς πύλας καὶ μεθ' ἱκετηριῶν προελθόντες ἑαυτοὺς παρέδοσαν. [554] Κερεάλιος δὲ τούτους παραστησάμενος ἐπὶ Χεβρὼν ἑτέρας πόλεως ἀρχαιοτάτης ἐχώρει: κεῖται δ', ὡς ἔφην, αὕτη κατὰ τὴν ὀρεινὴν οὐ πόρρω Ἱεροσολύμων: βιασάμενος δὲ τὰς εἰσόδους τὸ μὲν ἐγκαταληφθὲν πλῆθος ἠβηδὸν ἀναιρεῖ, τὸ δ' ἄστυ καταπίμπρησι. [555] καὶ πάντων ἤδη κεχειρωμένων πλὴν Ἡρωδείου καὶ Μασάδας καὶ Μαχαιροῦντος, ταῦτα δ' ὑπὸ τῶν λῃστῶν κατείληπτο, σκοπὸς ἤδη τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα προύκειτο Ῥωμαίοις.

9. But now sedition and civil war prevailed, not only over Judea, but in Italy also; for now Galba was slain in the midst of the Roman market-place; then was Otho made emperor, and fought against Vitellius, who set up for emperor also; for the legions in Germany had chosen him. But when he gave battle to Valens and Cecinna, who were Vitellius's generals, at Betriacum, in Gaul, Otho gained the advantage on the first day, but on the second day Vitellius's soldiers had the victory; and after much slaughter Otho slew himself, when he had heard of this defeat at Brixia, and after he had managed the public affairs three months and two days. Otho's army also came over to Vitellius's generals, and he came himself down to Rome with his army. But in the mean time Vespasian removed from Cesarea, on the fifth day of the month Desius, [Sivan,] and marched against those places of Judea which were not yet overthrown. So he went up to the mountainous country, and took those two toparchies that were called the Gophnitick and Acrabattene toparchies. After which he took Bethel and Ephraim, two small cities; and when he had put garrisons into them, he rode as far as Jerusalem, in which march he took many prisoners, and many captives; but Cerealis, one of his commanders, took a body of horsemen and footmen, and laid waste that part of Idumea which was called the Upper Idumea, and attacked Caphethra, which pretended to be a small city, and took it at the first onset, and burnt it down. He also attacked Caphatabira, and laid siege to it, for it had a very strong wall; and when he expected to spend a long time in that siege, those that were within opened their gates on the sudden, and came to beg pardon, and surrendered themselves up to him. When Cerealis had conquered them, he went to Hebron, another very ancient city. I have told you already that this city is situated in a mountainous country not far off Jerusalem; and when he had broken into the city by force, what multitude and young men were left therein he slew, and burnt down the city; so that as now all the places were taken, excepting Herodlum, and Masada, and Machaerus, which were in the possession of the robbers, so Jerusalem was what the Romans at present aimed at.

(10) [556] Ὁ δὲ Σίμων ὡς ἐρρύσατο παρὰ τῶν ζηλωτῶν τὴν γυναῖκα, πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ λείψανα τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ὑπέστρεψεν, καὶ περιελαύνων πανταχόθεν τὸ ἔθνος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τοὺς πολλοὺς φεύγειν συνηνάγκασεν. [557] εἵπετο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ κυκλωσάμενος αὖθις τὸ τεῖχος ὅντινα λάβοι τῶν προιόντων κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐργατῶν διέφθειρεν. [558] ἦν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ Σίμων μὲν ἔξωθεν Ῥωμαίων φοβερώτερος, οἱ ζηλωταὶ δ' ἔνδον ἑκατέρων χαλεπώτεροι, κἀν τούτοις ἐπινοίᾳ κακῶν καὶ τόλμῃ τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν Γαλιλαίων διέφερεν: [559] τόν τε γὰρ Ἰωάννην παρήγαγον εἰς ἰσχὺν οὗτοι, κἀκεῖνος αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἧς περιεποιήσατο δυναστείας ἠμείβετο πάντα ἐπιτρέπων δρᾶν ὧν ἕκαστος ἐπεθύμει. [560] πόθοι δ' ἦσαν

ἁρπαγῆς ἀπλήρωτοι καὶ τῶν πλουσίων οἴκων ἔρευνα φόνος τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ὕβρεις ἐπαίζοντο, [561] μεθ᾽ αἵματός τε τὰ συληθέντα κατέπινον καὶ μετ᾽ ἀδείας ἐνεθηλυπάθουν τῷ κόρῳ, κόμας συνθετιζόμενοι καὶ γυναικείας ἐσθῆτας ἀναλαμβάνοντες, καταντλούμενοι δὲ μύροις καὶ πρὸς εὐπρέπειαν ὑπογράφοντες ὀφθαλμούς. [562] οὐ μόνον δὲ κόσμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάθη γυναικῶν ἐμιμοῦντο καὶ δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν ἀσελγείας ἀθεμίτους. ἐπενόησαν ἔρωτας: ἐνηλινδοῦντο δ᾽ ὡς πορνείῳ τῇ πόλει καὶ πᾶσαν ἀκαθάρτοις ἐμίαναν ἔργοις. [563] γυναικιζόμενοι δὲ τὰς ὄψεις ἐφόνων ταῖς δεξιαῖς θρυπτόμενοί τε τοῖς βαδίσμασιν ἐπιόντες ἐξαπίνης ἐγίνοντο πολεμισταὶ τά τε ξίφη προφέροντες ἀπὸ τῶν βεβαμμένων χλανιδίων τὸν προστυχόντα διήλαυνον. [564] τοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας δὲ Ἰωάννην Σίμων φονικώτερον ἐξεδέχετο, καὶ διαφυγών τις τὸν ἐντὸς τείχους τύραννον ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸ πυλῶν διεφθείρετο. [565] πᾶσα δὲ φυγῆς ὁδὸς τοῖς αὐτομολεῖν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους βουλομένοις ἀπεκέκοπτο.

10. And now, as soon as Simon had set his wife free, and recovered her from the zealots, he returned back to the remainders of Idumea, and driving the nation all before him from all quarters, he compelled a great number of them to retire to Jerusalem; he followed them himself also to the city, and encompassed the wall all round again; and when he lighted upon any laborers that were coming thither out of the country, he slew them. Now this Simon, who was without the wall, was a greater terror to the people than the Romans themselves, as were the zealots who were within it more heavy upon them than both of the other; and during this time did the mischievous contrivances and courage [of John] corrupt the body of the Galileans; for these Galileans had advanced this John, and made him very potent, who made them suitable requital from the authority he had obtained by their means; for he permitted them to do all things that any of them desired to do, while their inclination to plunder was insatiable, as was their zeal in searching the houses of the rich; and for the murdering of the men, and abusing of the women, it was sport to them. They also devoured what spoils they had taken, together with their blood, and indulged themselves in feminine wantonness, without any disturbance, till they were satiated therewith; while they decked their hair, and put on women's garments, and were besmeared over with ointments; and that they might appear very comely, they had paints under their eyes, and imitated not only the ornaments, but also the lusts of women, and were guilty of such intolerable uncleanness, that they invented unlawful pleasures of that sort. And thus did they roll themselves up and down the city, as in a brothel-house, and defiled it entirely with their impure actions; nay, while their faces looked like the faces of women, they killed with their right hands; and when their gait was effeminate, they presently attacked men, and became

warriors, and drew their swords from under their finely dyed cloaks, and ran every body through whom they alighted upon. However, Simon waited for such as ran away from John, and was the more bloody of the two; and he who had escaped the tyrant within the wall was destroyed by the other that lay before the gates, so that all attempts of flying and deserting to the Romans were cut off, as to those that had a mind so to do.

(11) [566] Διεστασιάζετο δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἰωάννην ἡ δύναμις, καὶ πᾶν ὅσον [ἦν] Ἰδουμαίων ἐν αὐτῇ χωρισθὲν ἐπεχείρει τῷ τυράννῳ φθόνῳ τε τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ καὶ μίσει τῆς ὠμότητος. [567] συμβαλόντες δὲ ἀναιροῦσί τε πολλοὺς τῶν ζηλωτῶν καὶ συνελαύνουσι τοὺς λοιποὺς εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν αὐλὴν κατασκευασθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Γραπτῆς: [568] συγγενὴς δὲ ἦν αὕτη τοῦ τῶν Ἀδιαβηνῶν βασιλέως Ἰζᾶ: συνεισπίπτουσι δὲ οἱ Ἰδουμαῖοι, κἀκεῖθεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐξώσαντες τοὺς ζηλωτὰς ἐφ᾽ ἁρπαγὴν ἐτράποντο τῶν Ἰωάννου χρημάτων: [569] κατὰ γὰρ τὴν προειρημένην αὐλὴν αὐτός τε † ὢν ἐκεῖ καὶ τὰ λάφυρα τῆς τυραννίδος κατέθετο. [570] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τὸ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐσκεδασμένον πλῆθος τῶν ζηλωτῶν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν πρὸς τοὺς διαπεφευγότας ἠθροίσθη, καὶ κατάγειν αὐτοὺς παρεσκευάσατο Ἰωάννης ἐπί τε τὸν δῆμον καὶ τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους. [571] τοῖς δὲ οὐχ οὕτω τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν καταδεῖσαι παρέστη μαχιμωτέροις οὖσιν ὡς τὴν ἀπόνοιαν, μὴ νύκτωρ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ παρεισδύντες αὐτούς τε διαφθείρωσι καὶ τὸ ἄστυ καταπιμπρῶσι. [572] συνελθόντες οὖν μετὰ τῶν ἀρχιερέων ἐβουλεύοντο, τίνα χρὴ τρόπον φυλάξασθαι τὴν ἐπίθεσιν. [573] θεὸς δὲ ἄρα τὰς γνώμας αὐτῶν εἰς κακὸν ἔτρεψε, καὶ χαλεπώτερον ἀπωλείας ἐπενόησαν τὸ πρὸς σωτηρίαν φάρμακον: ἵνα γοῦν καταλύσωσιν Ἰωάννην, ἔκριναν δέχεσθαι Σίμωνα καὶ μετὰ ἱκετηριῶν δεύτερον εἰσαγαγεῖν ἑαυτοῖς τύραννον. [574] ἐπεραίνετο δ᾽ ἡ βουλή, καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ματθίαν πέμψαντες ἐδέοντο Σίμωνι εἰσελθεῖν ὃν πολλὰ ἔδεισαν: συμπαρεκάλουν δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τοὺς ζηλωτὰς φεύγοντες πόθῳ τῶν οἴκων καὶ τῶν κτημάτων. [575] ὁ δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὑπερηφάνως κατανεύσας τὸ δεσπόζειν εἰσέρχεται μὲν ὡς ἀπαλλάξων τῶν ζηλωτῶν τὴν πόλιν σωτὴρ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ κηδεμὼν εὐφημούμενος, [576] παρελθὼν δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐσκόπει τὰ περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δυναστείας καὶ τοὺς καλέσαντας οὐχ ἧττον ἐχθροὺς ἐνόμιζεν ἢ καθ᾽ ὧν ἐκέκλητο.

11. Yet did the army that was under John raise a sedition against him, and all the Idumeans separated themselves from the tyrant, and attempted to destroy him, and this out of their envy at his power, and hatred of his cruelty; so they got together, and slew many of the zealots, and drove the rest before them into that royal palace that was built by Grapte, who was a relation of Izates, the king of Adiabene; the Idumeans fell in with them, and drove the zealots out thence into the temple, and betook themselves to plunder John’s effects; for both he himself

was in that palace, and therein had he laid up the spoils he had acquired by his tyranny. In the mean time, the multitude of those zealots that were dispersed over the city ran together to the temple unto those that fled thither, and John prepared to bring them down against the people and the Idumeans, who were not so much afraid of being attacked by them [because they were themselves better soldiers than they] as at their madness, lest they should privately sally out of the temple and get among them, and not only destroy them, but set the city on fire also. So they assembled themselves together, and the high priests with them, and took counsel after what manner they should avoid their assault. Now it was God who turned their opinions to the worst advice, and thence they devised such a remedy to get themselves free as was worse than the disease itself. Accordingly, in order to overthrow John, they determined to admit Simon, and earnestly to desire the introduction of a second tyrant into the city; which resolution they brought to perfection, and sent Matthias, the high priest, to beseech this Simon to come in to them, of whom they had so often been afraid. Those also that had fled from the zealots in Jerusalem joined in this request to him, out of the desire they had of preserving their houses and their effects. Accordingly he, in an arrogant manner, granted them his lordly protection, and came into the city, in order to deliver it from the zealots. The people also made joyful acclamations to him, as their savior and their preserver; but when he was come in, with his army, he took care to secure his own authority, and looked upon those that had invited him in to be no less his enemies than those against whom the invitation was intended.

(12) [577] Σίμων μὲν οὕτως ἐνιαυτῷ τρίτῳ τοῦ πολέμου Ξανθικῷ μηνὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐγκρατὴς γίνεται: Ἰωάννης δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν ζηλωτῶν πλῆθος εἰργόμενοι τῶν ἐξόδων τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀπολωλεκότες, παραχρῆμα γὰρ τὰ ἐκείνων οἱ περὶ τὸν Σίμωνα διήρπασαν, ἐν ἀπόρῳ τὴν σωτηρίαν εἶχον. [578] προσέβαλλε δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ Σίμων τοῦ δήμου βοηθοῦντος, κἀκεῖνοι καταστάντες ἐπὶ τῶν στοῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπάλξεων ἠμύνοντο τὰς προσβολάς. [579] συχνοὶ δ' ἔπιπτον τῶν περὶ Σίμωνα καὶ πολλοὶ τραυματίαι κατεφέροντο: ῥᾳδίως γὰρ ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου τὰς βολὰς οἱ ζηλωταὶ καὶ οὐκ ἀστόχους ἐποιοῦντο. [580] πλεονεκτοῦντες δὲ τῷ τόπῳ καὶ πύργους ἔτι προσκατεσκεύασαν τέσσαρας μεγίστους, ὡς ἀφ' ὑψηλοτέρων ποιοῖντο τὰς ἀφέσεις, τὸν μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολικὴν καὶ βόρειον γωνίαν, [581] τὸν δὲ τοῦ ξυστοῦ καθύπερθεν, τὸν δὲ τρίτον κατὰ γωνίαν ἄλλην ἀντικρὺ τῆς κάτω πόλεως: [582] ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς ὑπὲρ τὴν κορυφὴν κατεσκεύαστο τῶν παστοφορίων, ἔνθα τῶν ἱερέων εἷς ἐξ ἔθους ἱστάμενος ἑκάστην ἑβδομάδα εἰσιοῦσαν προεσήμαινε σάλπιγγι δείλης καὶ τελεσθεῖσαν αὖθις περὶ ἑσπέραν, ὅτε μὲν ἀνέργειαν τῷ λαῷ καταγγέλλων, ὅτε δ' ἔργων ἔχεσθαι. [583] διέστησαν δ' ἐπὶ τῶν πύργων ὀξυβελεῖς τε καὶ λιθοβόλους μηχανὰς τούς τε τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας.

[584] ἔνθα δὴ τὰς μὲν προσβολὰς ὀκνηροτέρας ἐποιεῖτο ὁ Σίμων μαλακιζομένων αὐτῷ τῶν πλειόνων, ἀντεῖχε δ' ὅμως περιουσίᾳ δυνάμεως: τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀργάνων βέλη πορρωτέρω φερόμενα πολλοὺς τῶν μαχομένων ἀνῄρει.

12. And thus did Simon get possession of Jerusalem, in the third year of the war, in the month Xanthicus [Nisan]; whereupon John, with his multitude of zealots, as being both prohibited from coming out of the temple, and having lost their power in the city, [for Simon and his party had plundered them of what they had,] were in despair of deliverance. Simon also made an assault upon the temple, with the assistance of the people, while the others stood upon the cloisters and the battlements, and defended themselves from their assaults. However, a considerable number of Simon's party fell, and many were carried off wounded; for the zealots threw their darts easily from a superior place, and seldom failed of hitting their enemies; but having the advantage of situation, and having withal erected four very large towers aforehand, that their darts might come from higher places, one at the north-east corner of the court, one above the Xystus, the third at another corner over against the lower city, and the last was erected above the top of the Pastophoria, where one of the priests stood of course, and gave a signal beforehand, with a trumpet at the beginning of every seventh day, in the evening twilight, as also at the evening when that day was finished, as giving notice to the people when they were to leave off work, and when they were to go to work again. These men also set their engines to cast darts and stones withal, upon those towers, with their archers and slingers. And now Simon made his assault upon the temple more faintly, by reason that the greatest part of his men grew weary of that work; yet did he not leave off his opposition, because his army was superior to the others, although the darts which were thrown by the engines were carried a great way, and slew many of those that fought for him.

X

CHAPTER 10.

How The Soldiers, Both In Judea And Egypt, Proclaimed

Vespasian Emperor; And How Vespasian Released Josephus From

His Bonds.

(1) [585] Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν περιέσχε καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην πάθη χαλεπά. [586] παρῆν μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ Γερμανίας Οὐιτέλλιος ἅμα τῷ στρατιωτικῷ πολὺ πλῆθος ἐπισυρόμενος ἕτερον, μὴ χωρούμενος δὲ τοῖς ἀποδεδειγμένοις εἰς τοὺς

στρατιώτας περιβόλοις ὅλην ἐποιήσατο τὴν Ῥώμην στρατόπεδον καὶ πᾶσαν οἰκίαν ὁπλιτῶν ἐπλήρωσεν. [587] οἱ δὲ ἀήθεσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸν Ῥωμαίων πλοῦτον θεασάμενοι καὶ περιλαμφθέντες πάντοθεν ἀργύρῳ τε καὶ χρυσῷ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας μόλις κατεῖχον, ὥστε μὴ ἐφ᾽ ἁρπαγὰς τρέπεσθαί τε καὶ τοὺς ἐμποδὼν γινομένους ἀναιρεῖν. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

1. Now about this very time it was that heavy calamities came about Rome on all sides; for Vitellius was come from Germany with his soldiery, and drew along with him a great multitude of other men besides. And when the spaces allotted for soldiers could not contain them, he made all Rome itself his camp, and filled all the houses with his armed men; which men, when they saw the riches of Rome with those eyes which had never seen such riches before, and found themselves shone round about on all sides with silver and gold, they had much ado to contain their covetous desires, and were ready to betake themselves to plunder, and to the slaughter of such as should stand in their way. And this was the state of affairs in Italy at that time.

(2) [588] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ὡς τὰ πλησίον Ἱεροσολύμων καταστρεψάμενος ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Καισάρειαν, ἀκούει τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην ταραχὰς καὶ Οὐιτέλλιον αὐτοκράτορα. [589] τοῦτο αὐτὸν καίπερ ἄρχεσθαι καθάπερ ἄρχειν καλῶς ἐπιστάμενον εἰς ἀγανάκτησιν προήγαγεν, καὶ τὸν μὲν ὡς ἐρήμου καταμανέντα τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἠδόξει δεσπότην, [590] περιαλγήσας δὲ τῷ πάθει καρτερεῖν τὴν βάσανον οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν καὶ τῆς πατρίδος πορθουμένης ἑτέροις προσευσχολεῖν πολέμοις. [591] ἀλλ᾽ ὅσον ὁ θυμὸς ἤπειγεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμυναν, τοσοῦτον εἶργεν ἔννοια τοῦ διαστήματος: πολλὰ γὰρ φθάσαι πανουργήσασαν τὴν τύχην πρὶν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περαιωθῆναι καὶ ταῦτα χειμῶνος ὥρᾳ πλέοντα: σφαδάζουσαν ἤδη κατεῖχεν τὴν ὀργήν.

2. But when Vespasian had overthrown all the places that were near to Jerusalem, he returned to Cesarea, and heard of the troubles that were at Rome, and that Vitellius was emperor. This produced indignation in him, although he well knew how to be governed as well as to govern, and could not, with any satisfaction, own him for his lord who acted so madly, and seized upon the government as if it were absolutely destitute of a governor. And as this sorrow of his was violent, he was not able to support the torments he was under, nor to apply himself further in other wars, when his native country was laid waste; but then, as much as his passion excited him to avenge his country, so much was he restrained by the consideration of his distance therefrom; because fortune might prevent him, and do a world of mischief before he could himself sail over the sea to Italy,

especially as it was still the winter season; so he restrained his anger, how vehement soever it was at this time.

(3) [592] Συνιόντες δὲ οἵ τε ἡγεμόνες καὶ στρατιῶται καθ᾽ ἑταιρίαν φανερῶς ἤδη μεταβολὴν ἐβουλεύοντο καὶ διαγανακτοῦντες ἐβόων, ὡς οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης στρατιῶται τρυφῶντες καὶ μηδ᾽ ἀκούειν πολέμου φήμην ὑπομένοντες διαχειροτονοῦσιν οἷς βούλονται τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ πρὸς ἐλπίδα λημμάτων ἀποδεικνύουσιν αὐτοκράτορας, [593] αὐτοὶ δὲ διὰ τοσούτων κεχωρηκότες πόνων καὶ γηρῶντες ὑπὸ τοῖς κράνεσιν ἑτέροις χαρίζονται τὴν ἐξουσίαν καὶ ταῦτα τὸν ἀξιώτερον ἄρχειν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες. [594] ᾧ τίνα δικαιοτέραν ποτὲ τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς εὐνοίας ἀποδώσειν ἀμοιβήν, εἰ τὴν νῦν καταπροοῖντο; τοσούτῳ δ᾽ εἶναι Οὐεσπασιανὸν ἡγεμονεύειν Οὐιτελλίου δικαιότερον, ὅσῳ καὶ αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐκεῖνον ἀποδειξάντων: [595] οὐ γὰρ δὴ μικροτέρους τῶν ἀπὸ Γερμανίας διενηνοχέναι πολέμους οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκεῖθεν καταγαγόντων τὸν τύραννον ἡττῆσθαι τοῖς ὅπλοις. [596] ἀγῶνος δὲ ἐνδεήσειν οὐδέν: οὐ γὰρ τὴν σύγκλητον ἢ τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον ἀνέξεσθαι τῆς Οὐιτελλίου λαγνείας ἀντὶ τῆς Οὐεσπασιανοῦ σωφροσύνης, οὐδ᾽ ἀντὶ μὲν ἡγεμόνος ἀγαθοῦ τύραννον ὠμότατον, ἄπαιδα δὲ ἀντὶ πατρὸς αἱρήσεσθαι προστάτην: μέγιστον γὰρ δὴ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν εἰρήνης εἶναι τὰς γνησίους τῶν βασιλέων διαδοχάς. [597] εἴτε οὖν ἐμπειρίᾳ γήρως προσήκει τὸ ἄρχειν, Οὐεσπασιανὸν αὐτοὺς ἔχειν, εἴτε νεότητος ἀλκῇ, Τίτον: κραθήσεσθαι γὰρ τῆς παρ᾽ ἀμφοῖν ἡλικίας τὸ ὠφέλιμον. [598] χορηγήσειν δὲ οὐ μόνον αὐτοὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῖς ἀποδειχθεῖσι τρία τάγματα καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων συμμαχίας ἔχοντες συνετηρήσαμεν τά τε πρὸς ἕω πάντα καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης ὅσα τῶν ἀπὸ Οὐιτελλίου φόβων κεχώρισται, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας δὲ συμμάχους, [599] ἀδελφὸν Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καὶ παῖδα ἕτερον, ὧν τῷ μὲν προσθήσεσθαι πολλοὺς τῶν ἐν ἀξιώματι νέων, τὸν δὲ καὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως φυλακὴν πεπιστεῦσθαι, μέρος οὐκ ὀλίγον εἰς ἐπιβολὴν ἡγεμονίας. [600] καθόλου τε ἂν βραδύνωσιν αὐτοί, τάχα τὴν σύγκλητον ἀποδείξειν τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν συντετηρηκότων στρατιωτῶν ἀτιμούμενον.

3. But now his commanders and soldiers met in several companies, and consulted openly about changing the public affairs; and, out of their indignation, cried out, how "at Rome there are soldiers that live delicately, and when they have not ventured so much as to hear the fame of war, they ordain whom they please for our governors, and in hopes of gain make them emperors; while you, who have gone through so many labors, and are grown into years under your helmets, give leave to others to use such a power, when yet you have among yourselves one more worthy to rule than any whom they have set up. Now what juster opportunity shall they ever have of requiting their generals, if they do not make use of this that is now before them? while there is so much juster reasons for

Vespasian's being emperor than for Vitellius; as they are themselves more deserving than those that made the other emperors; for that they have undergone as great wars as have the troops that come from Germany; nor are they inferior in war to those that have brought that tyrant to Rome, nor have they undergone smaller labors than they; for that neither will the Roman senate, nor people, bear such a lascivious emperor as Vitellius, if he be compared with their chaste Vespasian; nor will they endure a most barbarous tyrant, instead of a good governor, nor choose one that hath no child to preside over them, instead of him that is a father; because the advancement of men's own children to dignities is certainly the greatest security kings can have for themselves. Whether, therefore, we estimate the capacity of governing from the skill of a person in years, we ought to have Vespasian, or whether from the strength of a young man, we ought to have Titus; for by this means we shall have the advantage of both their ages, for that they will afford strength to those that shall be made emperors, they having already three legions, besides other auxiliaries from the neighboring kings, and will have further all the armies in the east to support them, as also those in Europe, so they as they are out of the distance and dread of Vitellius, besides such auxiliaries as they may have in Italy itself; that is, Vespasian's brother, and his other son [Domitian]; the one of whom will bring in a great many of those young men that are of dignity, while the other is intrusted with the government of the city, which office of his will be no small means of Vespasian's obtaining the government. Upon the whole, the case may be such, that if we ourselves make further delays, the senate may choose an emperor, whom the soldiers, who are the saviors of the empire, will have in contempt."

(4) [601] Τοιαῦτα κατὰ συστροφὰς οἱ στρατιῶται διελάλουν: ἔπειτα συναθροισθέντες καὶ παρακροτήσαντες ἀλλήλους ἀναγορεύουσι τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ σώζειν τὴν κινδυνεύουσαν ἡγεμονίαν παρεκάλουν. [602] τῷ δὲ φροντὶς μὲν ἦν πάλαι περὶ τῶν ὅλων, οὔτι γε μὴν αὐτὸς ἄρχειν προήρητο, τοῖς μὲν ἔργοις ἑαυτὸν ἄξιον ἡγούμενος, προκρίνων δὲ τῶν ἐν λαμπρότητι κινδύνων τὴν ἐν ἰδιώταις ἀσφάλειαν. [603] ἀρνουμένῳ δὲ μᾶλλον οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἐπέκειντο καὶ περιχυθέντες οἱ στρατιῶται ξιφήρεις ἀναιρεῖν αὐτὸν ἠπείλουν, εἰ μὴ βούλοιτο ζῆν ἀξίως. [604] πολλὰ δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς διατεινάμενος ἐξ ὧν διωθεῖτο τὴν ἀρχὴν τελευταῖον, ὡς οὐκ ἔπειθεν, εἴκει τοῖς ὀνομάσασι.

4. These were the discourses the soldiers had in their several companies; after which they got together in a great body, and, encouraging one another, they declared Vespasian emperor, and exhorted him to save the government, which was now in danger. Now Vespasian's concern had been for a considerable time about the public, yet did he not intend to set up for governor himself, though his

actions showed him to deserve it, while he preferred that safety which is in a private life before the dangers in a state of such dignity; but when he refused the empire, the commanders insisted the more earnestly upon his acceptance; and the soldiers came about him, with their drawn swords in their hands, and threatened to kill him, unless he would now live according to his dignity. And when he had shown his reluctance a great while, and had endeavored to thrust away this dominion from him, he at length, being not able to persuade them, yielded to their solicitations that would salute him emperor.

(5) [605] Προτρεπομένων δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἤδη Μουκιανοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων ὡς αὐτοκράτορα καὶ τῆς ἄλλης στρατιᾶς ἄγειν ἐπὶ πᾶν τὸ ἀντίπαλον, ὁ δὲ πρῶτον τῶν ἐπ᾽ Ἀλεξανδρείας εἴχετο πραγμάτων, εἰδὼς πλεῖστον τῆς ἡγεμονίας μέρος τὴν Αἴγυπτον οὖσαν διὰ τὴν τοῦ σίτου χορηγίαν, [606] ἧς κρατήσας εἰ παρέλκοι καὶ βίᾳ καθαιρήσειν ἤλπιζεν Οὐιτέλλιον, οὐ γὰρ ἀνέξεσθαι πείνης ἐπὶ Ῥώμης τὸ πλῆθος, τὰ δύο τε ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας τάγματα προσποιήσασθαι βουλόμενος. [607] ἐνεθυμεῖτο δὲ καὶ πρόβλημα τὴν χώραν ἔχειν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης ἀδήλων: ἔστι γὰρ κατά τε γῆν δυσέμβολος καὶ τὰ πρὸς θαλάσσης ἀλίμενος, [608] κατὰ μὲν ἑσπέραν προβεβλημένη τὰ ἄνυδρα τῆς Λιβύης, κατὰ δὲ μεσημβρίαν τὴν διορίζουσαν ἀπὸ Αἰθιόπων τὴν Συήνην καὶ τοὺς ἀπλώτους τοῦ ποταμοῦ καταράκτας, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἀνατολῆς τὴν ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν ἀναχεομένην μέχρι Κοπτοῦ. [609] βόρειον δὲ τεῖχος αὐτῇ ἥ τε μέχρι Συρίας γῆ καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Αἰγύπτιον πέλαγος, πᾶν ἄπορον ὅρμων. [610] τετείχισται μὲν οὕτως ἡ Αἴγυπτος πάντοθεν: τὸ μεταξὺ δὲ Πηλουσίου καὶ Συήνης μῆκος αὐτῆς σταδίων δισχιλίων, ὅ τε ἀπὸ τῆς Πλινθίνης ἀνάπλους εἰς τὸ Πηλούσιον σταδίων τρισχιλίων ἑξακοσίων. [611] ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος ἀναπλεῖται μέχρι τῆς Ἐλεφάντων καλουμένης πόλεως, ὑπὲρ ἣν εἴργουσι προσωτέρω χωρεῖν οὓς προειρήκαμεν καταράκτας. [612] δυσπρόσιτος δὲ λιμὴν ναυσὶ καὶ κατ᾽ εἰρήνην Ἀλεξανδρείας: στενός τε γὰρ εἴσπλους καὶ πέτραις ὑφάλοις τὸν ἐπ᾽ εὐθὺ καμπτόμενος δρόμον. [613] καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀριστερὸν αὐτοῦ μέρος πέφρακται χειροκμήτοις σκέλεσιν, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ ἡ προσαγορευομένη Φάρος νῆσος πρόκειται, πύργον ἔχουσα μέγιστον ἐκπυρσεύοντα τοῖς καταπλέουσιν ἐπὶ τριακοσίους σταδίους, ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ πόρρωθεν ὁρμίζοιντο πρὸς τὴν δυσχέρειαν τοῦ κατάπλου. [614] περὶ ταύτην τὴν νῆσον καταβέβληται χειροποίητα τείχη μέγιστα, προσαρασσόμενον δὲ τούτοις τὸ πέλαγος καὶ τοῖς ἄντικρυς ἔρκεσιν ἀμφαγνυμένον ἐκτραχύνει τὸν πόρον καὶ σφαλερὰν διὰ στενοῦ τὴν εἴσοδον ἀπεργάζεται. [615] ὁ μέντοι γε λιμὴν ἀσφαλέστατος ἔνδον καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίων τὸ μέγεθος, εἰς ὃν τά τε λείποντα τῇ χώρᾳ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν κατάγεται καὶ τὰ περισσεύοντα τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἀγαθῶν εἰς πᾶσαν χωρίζεται τὴν οἰκουμένην.

5. So upon the exhortations of Mucianus, and the other commanders, that he would accept of the empire, and upon that of the rest of the army, who cried out that they were willing to be led against all his opposers, he was in the first place intent upon gaining the dominion over Alexandria, as knowing that Egypt was of the greatest consequence, in order to obtain the entire government, because of its supplying of corn [to Rome]; which corn, if he could be master of, he hoped to dethrone Vitellius, supposing he should aim to keep the empire by force [for he would not be able to support himself, if the multitude at Rome should once be in want of food]; and because he was desirous to join the two legions that were at Alexandria to the other legions that were with him. He also considered with himself, that he should then have that country for a defense to himself against the uncertainty of fortune; for Egypt is hard to be entered by land, and hath no good havens by sea. It hath on the west the dry deserts of Libya; and on the south Siene, that divides it from Ethiopia, as well as the cataracts of the Nile, that cannot be sailed over; and on the east the Red Sea extended as far as Coptus; and it is fortified on the north by the land that reaches to Syria, together with that called the Egyptian Sea, having no havens in it for ships. And thus is Egypt walled about on every side. Its length between Pelusium and Siene is two thousand furlongs, and the passage by sea from Plinthine to Pelusium is three thousand six hundred furlongs. Its river Nile is navigable as far as the city called Elephantine, the forenamed cataracts hindering ships from going any farther, The haven also of Alexandria is not entered by the mariners without difficulty, even in times of peace; for the passage inward is narrow, and full of rocks that lie under the water, which oblige the mariners to turn from a straight direction: its left side is blocked up by works made by men's hands on both sides; on its right side lies the island called Pharus, which is situated just before the entrance, and supports a very great tower, that affords the sight of a fire to such as sail within three hundred furlongs of it, that ships may cast anchor a great way off in the night time, by reason of the difficulty of sailing nearer. About this island are built very great piers, the handiwork of men, against which, when the sea dashes itself, and its waves are broken against those boundaries, the navigation becomes very troublesome, and the entrance through so narrow a passage is rendered dangerous; yet is the haven itself, when you are got into it, a very safe one, and of thirty furlongs in largeness; into which is brought what the country wants in order to its happiness, as also what abundance the country affords more than it wants itself is hence distributed into all the habitable earth.

(6) [616] Ἐφίετο μὲν οὖν εἰκότως τῶν ταύτῃ πραγμάτων Οὐεσπασιανὸς εἰς βεβαίωσιν τῆς ὅλης ἡγεμονίας, ἐπιστέλλει δ' εὐθὺς τῷ διέποντι τὴν Αἴγυπτον

καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν Τιβερίῳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, δηλῶν τὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς πρόθυμον, καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς ὑποδὺς ἀναγκαίως τὸ βάρος τῆς ἡγεμονίας συνεργὸν αὐτὸν καὶ βοηθὸν προσλαμβάνοι. [617] παραναγνοὺς δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν Ἀλέξανδρος προθύμως τά τε τάγματα καὶ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς αὐτὸν ὥρκωσεν. ἑκάτεροι δὲ ἀσμένως ὑπήκουσαν τὴν ἀρετὴν τἀνδρὸς ἐκ τῆς ἐγγὺς στρατηγίας εἰδότες. [618] καὶ ὁ μὲν πεπιστευμένος ἤδη τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν προπαρεσκεύαζεν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἄφιξιν, τάχιον δ' ἐπινοίας διήγγελλον αἱ φῆμαι τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνατολῆς αὐτοκράτορα, καὶ πᾶσα μὲν πόλις ἑώρταζεν εὐαγγέλια [δὲ] καὶ θυσίας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐπετέλει. [619] τὰ δὲ κατὰ Μυσίαν καὶ Παννονίαν τάγματα, μικρῷ πρόσθεν κεκινημένα πρὸς τὴν Οὐιτελλίου τόλμαν, μείζονι χαρᾷ Οὐεσπασιανῷ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὤμνυον. [620] ὁ δ' ἀναζεύξας ἀπὸ Καισαρείας εἰς Βηρυτὸν παρῆν, ἔνθα πολλαὶ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας αὐτῷ, πολλαὶ δὲ κἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπαρχιῶν πρεσβεῖαι συνήντων, στεφάνους παρ' ἑκάστης πόλεως καὶ συγχαρτικὰ προσφέρουσαι ψηφίσματα. [621] παρῆν δὲ καὶ Μουκιανὸς ὁ τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἡγεμὼν τὸ πρόθυμον τῶν δήμων καὶ τοὺς κατὰ πόλιν ὅρκους ἀπαγγέλλων.

6. Justly, therefore, did Vespasian desire to obtain that government, in order to corroborate his attempts upon the whole empire; so he immediately sent to Tiberius Alexander, who was then governor of Egypt and of Alexandria, and informed him what the army had put upon him, and how he, being forced to accept of the burden of the government, was desirous to have him for his confederate and supporter. Now as soon as ever Alexander had read this letter, he readily obliged the legions and the multitude to take the oath of fidelity to Vespasian, both which willingly complied with him, as already acquainted with the courage of the man, from that his conduct in their neighborhood. Accordingly Vespasian, looking upon himself as already intrusted with the government, got all things ready for his journey [to Rome]. Now fame carried this news abroad more suddenly than one could have thought, that he was emperor over the east, upon which every city kept festivals, and celebrated sacrifices and oblations for such good news; the legions also that were in Mysia and Pannonia, who had been in commotion a little before, on account of this insolent attempt of Vitellius, were very glad to take the oath of fidelity to Vespasian, upon his coming to the empire. Vespasian then removed from Cesarea to Berytus, where many embassages came to him from Syria, and many from other provinces, bringing with them from every city crowns, and the congratulations of the people. Mucianus came also, who was the president of the province, and told him with what alacrity the people [received the news of his advancement], and how the people of every city had taken the oath of fidelity to him.

(7) [622] Προχωρούσης δὲ πανταχοῦ κατὰ νοῦν τῆς τύχης καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων συννενευκότων ἐκ τοῦ πλείστου μέρους, ἤδη παρίστατο τῷ Οὐεσπασιανῷ νοεῖν, ὡς οὐ δίχα δαιμονίου προνοίας ἅψαιτο τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀλλὰ δικαία τις εἱμαρμένη περιαγάγοι τὸ κρατεῖν τῶν ὅλων ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν: [623] ἀναμιμνήσκεται γὰρ τά τε ἄλλα σημεῖα, πολλὰ δ᾽ αὐτῷ γεγόνει πανταχοῦ προφαίνοντα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, καὶ τὰς τοῦ Ἰωσήπου φωνάς, ὃς αὐτὸν ἔτι ζῶντος Νέρωνος αὐτοκράτορα προσειπεῖν ἐθάρσησεν. [624] ἐξεπέπληκτο δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα δεσμώτην ἔτι ὄντα παρ᾽ αὐτῷ, καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος Μουκιανὸν ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγεμόσι καὶ φίλοις πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸ δραστήριον ἐκδιηγεῖτο καὶ ὅσα περὶ τοῖς Ἰωταπάτοις δι᾽ αὐτὸν ἔκαμον, [625] ἔπειτα τὰς μαντείας, ἃς αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπώπτευσε τότε πλάσματα τοῦ δέους, ἀποδειχθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων θείας. [626] "αἰσχρὸν οὖν, ἔφη, τὸν προθεσπίσαντά μοι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ διάκονον τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ φωνῆς ἔτι αἰχμαλώτου τάξιν ἢ δεσμώτου τύχην ὑπομένειν" καὶ καλέσας τὸν Ἰώσηπον λυθῆναι κελεύει. [627] τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἡγεμόσιν ἐκ τῆς εἰς τὸν ἀλλόφυλον ἀμοιβῆς λαμπρὰ καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐλπίζειν παρέστη, συνὼν δὲ τῷ πατρὶ Τίτος "δίκαιον, [628] ὦ πάτερ, ἔφη, τοῦ Ἰωσήπου καὶ τὸ ὄνειδος ἀφαιρεθῆναι σὺν τῷ σιδήρῳ: γενήσεται γὰρ ὅμοιος τῷ μὴ δεθέντι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἂν αὐτοῦ μὴ λύσωμεν ἀλλὰ κόψωμεν τὰ δεσμά." τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν μὴ δεόντως δεθέντων πράττεται. [629] συνεδόκει ταῦτα, καὶ παρελθών τις πελέκει διέκοψε τὴν ἅλυσιν. ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος εἰληφὼς περὶ τῶν προειρημένων γέρας τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν ἤδη καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἀξιόπιστος ἦν.

7. So Vespasian's good fortune succeeded to his wishes every where, and the public affairs were, for the greatest part, already in his hands; upon which he considered that he had not arrived at the government without Divine Providence, but that a righteous kind of fate had brought the empire under his power; for as he called to mind the other signals, which had been a great many every where, that foretold he should obtain the government, so did he remember what Josephus had said to him when he ventured to foretell his coming to the empire while Nero was alive; so he was much concerned that this man was still in bonds with him. He then called for Mucianus, together with his other commanders and friends, and, in the first place, he informed them what a valiant man Josephus had been, and what great hardships he had made him undergo in the siege of Jotapata. After that he related those predictions of his which he had then suspected as fictions, suggested out of the fear he was in, but which had by time been demonstrated to be Divine. "It is a shameful thing [said he] that this man, who hath foretold my coming to the empire beforehand, and been the minister of a Divine message to me, should still be retained in the condition of a captive or prisoner." So he called for Josephus, and commanded that he should be set at

liberty; whereupon the commanders promised themselves glorious things, froth this requital Vespasian made to a stranger. Titus was then present with his father, and said, “O father, it is but just that the scandal [of a prisoner] should be taken off Josephus, together with his iron chain. For if we do not barely loose his bonds, but cut them to pieces, he will be like a man that had never been bound at all.” For that is the usual method as to such as have been bound without a cause. This advice was agreed to by Vespasian also; so there came a man in, and cut the chain to pieces; while Josephus received this testimony of his integrity for a reward, and was moreover esteemed a person of credit as to futurities also.

XI

CHAPTER 11.

That Upon The Conquest And Slaughter Of Vitellius Vespasian Hastened His Journey To Rome; But Titus His Son Returned To Jerusalem.

(1) [630] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ταῖς πρεσβείαις χρηματίσας καὶ καταστησάμενος ἑκάστοις τὰς ἀρχὰς δικαίως καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀξίων εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἀφικνεῖται. [631] καὶ βουλευόμενος, ποῖ τρέπεσθαι, προυργιαίτερα τῆς εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὁρμῆς τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην ἔκρινε, τὴν μὲν βέβαιον οὖσαν ὁρῶν, τὰ δ’ ὑπὸ Οὐιτελλίου ταρασσόμενα. [632] πέμπει δὴ Μουκιανὸν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν παραδοὺς ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν συχνὴν δύναμιν. ὁ δὲ διὰ τὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ἀκμὴν δείσας τὸ πλεῖν πεζῇ τὴν στρατιὰν ἦγε διὰ Καππαδοκίας καὶ Φρυγίας.

1. And now, when Vespasian had given answers to the embassages, and had disposed of the places of power justly, and according to every one’s deserts, he came to Antioch, and consulting which way he had best take, he preferred to go for Rome, rather than to march to Alexandria, because he saw that Alexandria was sure to him already, but that the affairs at Rome were put into disorder by Vitellius; so he sent Mucianus to Italy, and committed a considerable army both of horsemen and footmen to him; yet was Mucianus afraid of going by sea, because it was the middle of winter, and so he led his army on foot through Cappadocia and Phrygia.

(2) [633] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Ἀντώνιος Πρῖμος ἀναλαβὼν τὸ τρίτον τάγμα τῶν κατὰ Μυσίαν, ἔτυχεν δ’ ἡγεμονεύων αὐτόθι, Οὐιτελλίῳ παραταξόμενος ἠπείγετο. [634] Οὐιτέλλιος δὲ αὐτῷ συναντήσοντα μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως Καικίναν Ἀλιηνὸν ἐκπέμπει, μέγα θαρρῶν τἀνδρὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπ’ Ὄθωνι νίκην. ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐλαύνων διὰ τάχους περὶ Κρέμωνα τῆς Γαλατίας τὸν Ἀντώνιον καταλαμβάνει:

μεθόριος δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις αὕτη τῆς Ἰταλίας. [635] κατιδὼν δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν, συμβαλεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἐθάρρει, σφαλερὰν δὲ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν λογιζόμενος προδοσίαν ἐβουλεύετο. [636] συναγαγὼν δὲ τοὺς ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἑκατοντάρχας καὶ χιλιάρχους ἐνῆγεν μεταβῆναι πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ταπεινῶν μὲν τὰ Οὐιτελλίου πράγματα, τὴν Οὐεσπασιανοῦ δ᾽ ἰσχὺν ἐπαίρων, [637] καὶ παρ᾽ ᾧ μὲν εἶναι λέγων μόνον τῆς ἀρχῆς ὄνομα, παρ᾽ ᾧ δὲ τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ αὐτοὺς δὲ ἄμεινον προλαβόντας τὴν ἀνάγκην ποιῆσαι χάριν καὶ μέλλοντας ἡττᾶσθαι τοῖς ὅπλοις ταῖς γνώμαις τὸν κίνδυνον φθάσαι: [638] Οὐεσπασιανὸν μὲν γὰρ ἱκανὸν εἶναι καὶ χωρὶς αὐτῶν προσκτήσασθαι καὶ τὰ λείποντα, Οὐιτέλλιον δ᾽ οὐδὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς τηρῆσαι τὰ ὄντα.

2. In the mean time, Antonius Primus took the third of the legions that were in Mysia, for he was president of that province, and made haste, in order to fight Vitellius; whereupon Vitellius sent away Cecinna, with a great army, having a mighty confidence in him, because of his having beaten Otho. This Cecinna marched out of Rome in great haste, and found Antonius about Cremona in Gall, which city is in the borders of Italy; but when he saw there that the enemy were numerous and in good order, he durst not fight them; and as he thought a retreat dangerous, so he began to think of betraying his army to Antonius. Accordingly, he assembled the centurions and tribunes that were under his command, and persuaded them to go over to Antonius, and this by diminishing the reputation of Vitellius, and by exaggerating the power of Vespasian. He also told them that with the one there was no more than the bare name of dominion, but with the other was the power of it; and that it was better for them to prevent necessity, and gain favor, and, while they were likely to be overcome in battle, to avoid the danger beforehand, and go over to Antonius willingly; that Vespasian was able of himself to subdue what had not yet submitted without their assistance, while Vitellius could not preserve what he had already with it.

(3) [639] Πολλὰ τοιαῦτα λέγων ἔπεισε καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον αὐτομολεῖ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. [640] τῆς δ᾽ αὐτῆς νυκτὸς ἐμπίπτει μετάνοια τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ δέος τοῦ προπέμψαντος, εἰ κρείσσων γένοιτο: σπασάμενοι δὲ τὰ ξίφη τὸν Καικίναν ὥρμησαν ἀνελεῖν, κἂν ἐπράχθη τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς, εἰ μὴ προσπίπτοντες οἱ χιλίαρχοι καθικέτευσαν αὐτούς. [641] οἱ δὲ τοῦ μὲν κτείνειν ἀπέσχοντο, δήσαντες δὲ τὸν προδότην οἷοί τε ἦσαν πέμπειν Οὐιτελλίῳ. ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας ὁ Πρῖμος αὐτίκα τοὺς σφετέρους ἀνίστησι καὶ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀποστάντας. [642] οἱ δὲ παραταξάμενοι πρὸς ὀλίγον μὲν ἀντέσχον, αὖθις δὲ τραπέντες ἔφευγον εἰς τὴν Κρέμωνα. τοὺς δὲ ἱππεῖς ἀναλαβὼν Πρῖμος ὑποτέμνεται τὰς εἰσόδους αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸ μὲν πολὺ πλῆθος κυκλωσάμενος πρὸ τῆς πόλεως διαφθείρει, τῷ δὲ λοιπῷ συνεισπεσὼν διαρπάσαι τὸ ἄστυ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐφῆκεν. [643] ἔνθα δὴ

πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν ξένων ἔμποροι, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἀπώλοντο, πᾶσα δὲ καὶ ἡ Οὐιτελλίου στρατιά, μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν τρεῖς καὶ διακόσιοι: τῶν δ᾽ ἀπὸ τῆς Μυσίας Ἀντώνιος τετρακισχιλίους ἀποβάλλει καὶ πεντακοσίους. [644] λύσας δὲ τὸν Καικίναν πέμπει πρὸς Οὐεσπασιανὸν ἀγγελοῦντα τὰ πεπραγμένα. καὶ ὃς ἐλθὼν ἀπεδέχθη τε ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ τῆς προδοσίας ὀνείδη ταῖς παρ᾽ ἐλπίδα τιμαῖς ἐπεκάλυψεν.

3. Cecinna said this, and much more to the same purpose, and persuaded them to comply with him; and both he and his army deserted; but still the very same night the soldiers repented of what they had done, and a fear seized on them, lest perhaps Vitellius who sent them should get the better; and drawing their swords, they assaulted Cecinna, in order to kill him; and the thing had been done by them, if the tribunes had not fallen upon their knees, and besought them not to do it; so the soldiers did not kill him, but put him in bonds, as a traitor, and were about to send him to Vitellius. When [Antonius] Primus heard of this, he raised up his men immediately, and made them put on their armor, and led them against those that had revolted; hereupon they put themselves in order of battle, and made a resistance for a while, but were soon beaten, and fled to Cremona; then did Primus take his horsemen, and cut off their entrance into the city, and encompassed and destroyed a great multitude of them before the city, and fell into the city together with the rest, and gave leave to his soldiers to plunder it. And here it was that many strangers, who were merchants, as well as many of the people of that country, perished, and among them Vitellius's whole army, being thirty thousand and two hundred, while Antonius lost no more of those that came with him from Mysia than four thousand and five hundred: he then loosed Cecinna, and sent him to Vespasian to tell him the good news. So he came, and was received by him, and covered the scandal of his treachery by the unexpected honors he received from Vespasian.

(4) [645] Ἀνεθάρσει δὲ ἤδη καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην Σαβῖνος, ὡς πλησίον Ἀντώνιος ὢν ἀπηγγέλλετο, καὶ συναθροίσας τὰ τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων στρατιωτῶν τάγματα νύκτωρ καταλαμβάνει τὸ Καπετώλιον. [646] μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν δ᾽ αὐτῷ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπισήμων προσεγένοντο καὶ Δομετιανὸς ὁ τἀδελφοῦ παῖς, μεγίστη μοῖρα τῶν εἰς τὸ κρατεῖν ἐλπίδων. [647] Οὐιτελλίῳ δὲ Πρίμου μὲν ἐλάττων φροντὶς ἦν, τεθύμωτο δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοὺς συναποστάντας τῷ Σαβίνῳ, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἔμφυτον ὠμότητα διψῶν αἵματος εὐγενοῦς τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ τὴν συγκατελθοῦσαν αὐτῷ δύναμιν ἐπαφίησι τῷ Καπετωλίῳ. [648] πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἔκ τε ταύτης καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ μαχομένων ἐτολμήθη, τέλος δὲ τῷ πλήθει περιόντες οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Γερμανίας ἐκράτησαν τοῦ λόφου. [649] καὶ Δομετιανὸς μὲν σὺν πολλοῖς τῶν ἐν τέλει Ῥωμαίων δαιμονιώτερον διασώζεται, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἅπαν κατεκόπη, καὶ

Σαβῖνος ἀναχθεὶς ἐπὶ Οὐιτέλλιον ἀναιρεῖται διαρπάσαντές τε οἱ στρατιῶται τὰ ἀναθήματα τὸν ναὸν ἐνέπρησαν. [650] καὶ μετὰ μίαν ἡμέραν εἰσελαύνει μὲν Ἀντώνιος μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, ὑπήντων δ' οἱ Οὐιτελλίου καὶ τριχῆ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν συμβαλόντες ἀπώλοντο πάντες. [651] προέρχεται δὲ μεθύων ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου Οὐιτέλλιος καὶ δαψιλέστερον ὥσπερ ἐν ἐσχάτοις τῆς ἀσώτου τραπέζης κεκορεσμένος. [652] συρεὶς δὲ διὰ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ παντοδαπαῖς αἰκίαις ἐξυβρισθεὶς ἐπὶ μέσης τῆς Ῥώμης ἀποσφάττεται, μῆνας ὀκτὼ κρατήσας καὶ ἡμέρας πέντε, ὃν εἰ συνέβη πλείω βιῶσαι χρόνον, ἐπιλιπεῖν ἂν αὐτοῦ τῇ λαγνείᾳ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν οἶμαι. [653] τῶν δ' ἄλλων νεκρῶν ὑπὲρ πέντε μυριάδες ἠριθμήθησαν. [654] ταῦτα μὲν τρίτῃ μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου πέπρακτο, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ Μουκιανὸς εἴσεισι μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ τοὺς σὺν Ἀντωνίῳ παύσας τοῦ κτείνειν, ἔτι γὰρ ἐξερευνώμενοι τὰς οἰκίας πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν Οὐιτελλίου στρατιωτῶν πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν δημοτικῶν ὡς ἐκείνου ἀνῄρουν φθάνοντες τῷ θυμῷ τὴν ἀκριβῆ διάκρισιν, προαγαγὼν δὲ τὸν Δομετιανὸν συνίστησι τῷ πλήθει μέχρι τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀφίξεως ἡγεμόνα. [655] ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἀπηλλαγμένος ἤδη τῶν φόβων αὐτοκράτορα Οὐεσπασιανὸν εὐφήμει, καὶ ἅμα τήν τε τούτου βεβαίωσιν ἑώρταζε καὶ τὴν Οὐιτελλίου κατάλυσιν.

4. And now, upon the news that Antonius was approaching, Sabinus took courage at Rome, and assembled those cohorts of soldiers that kept watch by night, and in the night time seized upon the capitol; and, as the day came on, many men of character came over to him, with Domitian, his brother's son, whose encouragement was of very great weight for the compassing the government. Now Vitellius was not much concerned at this Primus, but was very angry with those that had revolted with Sabinus; and thirsting, out of his own natural barbarity, after noble blood, he sent out that part of the army which came along with him to fight against the capitol; and many bold actions were done on this side, and on the side of those that held the temple. But at last, the soldiers that came from Germany, being too numerous for the others, got the hill into their possession, where Domitian, with many other of the principal Romans, providentially escaped, while the rest of the multitude were entirely cut to pieces, and Sabinus himself was brought to Vitellius, and then slain; the soldiers also plundered the temple of its ornaments, and set it on fire. But now within a day's time came Antonius, with his army, and were met by Vitellius and his army; and having had a battle in three several places, the last were all destroyed. Then did Vitellius come out of the palace, in his cups, and satiated with an extravagant and luxurious meal, as in the last extremity, and being drawn along through the multitude, and abused with all sorts of torments, had his head cut off in the midst of Rome, having retained the government eight months and five

days and had he lived much longer, I cannot but think the empire would not have been sufficient for his lust. Of the others that were slain, were numbered above fifty thousand. This battle was fought on the third day of the month Apelleus [Casleu]; on the next day Mucianus came into the city with his army, and ordered Antonius and his men to leave off killing; for they were still searching the houses, and killed many of Vitellius's soldiers, and many of the populace, as supposing them to be of his party, preventing by their rage any accurate distinction between them and others. He then produced Domitian, and recommended him to the multitude, until his father should come himself; so the people being now freed from their fears, made acclamations of joy for Vespasian, as for their emperor, and kept festival days for his confirmation, and for the destruction of Vitellius.

(5) [656] Εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀφιγμένῳ τῷ Οὐεσπασιανῷ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης εὐαγγέλια ἦκε καὶ πρέσβεις ἐκ πάσης τῆς ἰδίας οἰκουμένης συνηδόμενοι: μεγίστη τε οὖσα μετὰ τὴν Ῥώμην ἡ πόλις στενοτέρα τοῦ πλήθους ἠλέγχετο. [657] κεκυρωμένης δὲ ἤδη τῆς ἀρχῆς ἁπάσης καὶ σεσωσμένων παρ' ἐλπίδα Ῥωμαίοις τῶν πραγμάτων Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐπὶ τὰ λείψανα τῆς Ἰουδαίας τὸν λογισμὸν ἐπέστρεφεν. [658] αὐτὸς μέντοι γε εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ὥρμητο λήξαντος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἀνάγεσθαι καὶ τάχος τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν διῴκει, τὸν δὲ υἱὸν Τίτον μετὰ τῆς ἐκκρίτου δυνάμεως ἀπέστειλεν ἐξαιρήσοντα τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. [659] ὁ δὲ προελθὼν πεζῇ μέχρι Νικοπόλεως, εἴκοσι δὲ αὕτη διέχει τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας σταδίους, κἀκεῖθεν ἐπιβήσας τὴν στρατιὰν μακρῶν πλοίων ἀναπλεῖ διὰ τοῦ Νείλου κατὰ τὸν Μενδήσιον νομὸν μέχρι πόλεως Θμούεως. [660] ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἀποβὰς ὁδεύει καὶ κατὰ πολίχνην Τάνιν αὐλίζεται. δεύτερος αὐτῷ σταθμὸς Ἡρακλέους πόλις καὶ τρίτος Πηλούσιον γίνεται. [661] δυσὶ δ' ἡμέραις ἐνταῦθα τὴν στρατιὰν ἀναλαβὼν τῇ τρίτῃ διέξεισι τὰς ἐμβολὰς τοῦ Πηλουσίου, καὶ προελθὼν σταθμὸν ἕνα διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Κασίου Διὸς ἱερῷ στρατοπεδεύεται, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ κατὰ τὴν Ὀστρακίνην: οὗτος ὁ σταθμὸς ἦν ἄνυδρος, ἐπεισάκτοις δὲ ὕδασιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι χρῶνται. [662] μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς Ῥινοκουρούροις ἀναπαύεται, κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Ῥάφειαν προελθὼν σταθμὸν τέταρτον, ἔστι δ' ἡ πόλις αὕτη Συρίας ἀρχή, [663] τὸ πέμπτον ἐν Γάζῃ τίθεται στρατόπεδον, μεθ' ἣν εἰς Ἀσκάλωνα κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Ἰάμνειαν, ἔπειτα εἰς Ἰόππην κἀξ Ἰόππης εἰς Καισάρειαν ἀφικνεῖται διεγνωκὼς αὐτόθι τὰς ἄλλας δυνάμεις ἀθροίζειν.

5. And now, as Vespasian was come to Alexandria, this good news came from Rome, and at the same time came embassies from all his own habitable earth, to congratulate him upon his advancement; and though this Alexandria was the greatest of all cities next to Rome, it proved too narrow to contain the multitude

that then came to it. So upon this confirmation of Vespasian's entire government, which was now settled, and upon the unexpected deliverance of the public affairs of the Romans from ruin, Vespasian turned his thoughts to what remained unsubdued in Judea. However, he himself made haste to go to Rome, as the winter was now almost over, and soon set the affairs of Alexandria in order, but sent his son Titus, with a select part of his army, to destroy Jerusalem. So Titus marched on foot as far as Nicopolis, which is distant twenty furlongs from Alexandria; there he put his army on board some long ships, and sailed upon the river along the Mendesian Nomus, as far as the city Tumuis; there he got out of the ships, and walked on foot, and lodged all night at a small city called Tanis. His second station was Heracleopolis, and his third Pelusium; he then refreshed his army at that place for two days, and on the third passed over the mouths of the Nile at Pelusium; he then proceeded one station over the desert, and pitched his camp at the temple of the Casian Jupiter, and on the next day at Ostracine. This station had no water, but the people of the country make use of water brought from other places. After this he rested at Rhinocolura, and from thence he went to Raphia, which was his fourth station. This city is the beginning of Syria. For his fifth station he pitched his camp at Gaza; after which he came to Ascalon, and thence to Jamnia, and after that to Joppa, and from Joppa to Cesarea, having taken a resolution to gather all his other forces together at that place.

Liber V

BOOK V.

Containing The Interval Of Near Six Months.

From The Coming Of Titus To Besiege Jerusalem, To The Great

Extremity To Which The Jews Were Reduced.

I

CHAPTER 1.

Concerning The Seditions At Jerusalem And What Terrible

Miseries Afflicted The City By Their Means.

(1) [1] Ὁ μὲν Τίτος ὃν προειρήκαμεν τρόπον διοδεύσας τὴν ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου μέχρι Συρίας ἐρημίαν εἰς Καισάρειαν παρῆν ταύτῃ διεγνωκὼς προσυντάξασθαι τὰς δυνάμεις. [2] ἔτι δ᾽ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν συγκαθισταμένου τῷ πατρὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν νέον αὐτοῖς ἐγκεχειρισμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ συνέβη καὶ τὴν ἐν [τοῖς] Ἱεροσολύμοις στάσιν ἀνακμάσασαν τριμερῆ γενέσθαι καὶ καθ᾽ αὑτοῦ θάτερον ἐπιστρέψαι μέρος, ὅπερ ἄν τις ὡς ἐν κακοῖς ἀγαθὸν εἴποι καὶ δίκης ἔργον. [3] ἡ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τοῦ δήμου τῶν ζηλωτῶν ἐπίθεσις, ἥπερ κατῆρξεν ἁλώσεως τῇ πόλει, προδεδήλωται μετὰ ἀκριβείας ὅθεν τε ἔφυ καὶ πρὸς ὅσον κακῶν ηὐξήθη: [4] ταύτην δ᾽ οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοι τις εἰπὼν στάσει στάσιν ἐγγενέσθαι, καὶ καθάπερ θηρίον λυσσῆσαν ἐνδείᾳ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἰδίας ἤδη σάρκας ὁρμᾷ,

1. When therefore Titus had marched over that desert which lies between Egypt and Syria, in the manner forementioned, he came to Cesarea, having resolved to set his forces in order at that place, before he began the war. Nay, indeed, while he was assisting his father at Alexandria, in settling that government which had been newly conferred upon them by God, it so happened that the sedition at Jerusalem was revived, and parted into three factions, and that one faction fought against the other; which partition in such evil cases may be said to be a good thing, and the effect of Divine justice. Now as to the attack the zealots made upon the people, and which I esteem the beginning of the city's destruction, it hath been already explained after an accurate manner; as also whence it arose, and to how great a mischief it was increased. But for the present sedition, one should not mistake if he called it a sedition begotten by another sedition, and to be like a wild beast grown mad, which, for want of food from abroad, fell now upon eating its own flesh.

(2) [5] οὕτως Ἐλεάζαρος ὁ τοῦ Σίμωνος, ὃς δὴ καὶ τὰ πρῶτα τοῦ δήμου τοὺς ζηλωτὰς ἀπέστησεν εἰς τὸ τέμενος ὡς ἀγανακτῶν δῆθεν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀσημέραι τῷ Ἰωάννῃ τολμωμένοις, οὐ γὰρ ἀνεπαύετο φονῶν οὗτος, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς αὐτοῦ μεταγενεστέρῳ τυράννῳ μὴ φέρων ὑποτετάχθαι, πόθῳ τῶν ὅλων καὶ δυναστείας ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίᾳ διίσταται, [6] παραλαβὼν Ἰούδην τε τὸν Χέλικα καὶ Σίμωνα τὸν Ἐσρῶνος τῶν δυνατῶν, πρὸς οἷς Ἐζεκίας Χωβαρεῖ παῖς οὐκ ἄσημος. [7] καθ' ἕκαστον δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν ζηλωτῶν ἠκολούθησαν, καὶ καταλαβόμενοι τὸν ἐνδότερον τοῦ νεὼ περίβολον ὑπὲρ τὰς ἱερὰς πύλας ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγίων μετώπων τίθενται τὰ ὅπλα. [8] πλήρεις μὲν οὖν ἐπιτηδείων ὄντες ἐθάρρουν, καὶ γὰρ ἀφθονία τῶν ἱερῶν ἐγίνετο πραγμάτων τοῖς γε μηδὲν ἀσεβὲς ἡγουμένοις, ὀλιγότητι δὲ τῇ κατὰ σφᾶς ὀρρωδοῦντες ἐγκαθήμενοι τὰ πολλὰ κατὰ χώραν ἔμενον. [9] ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης ὅσον ἀνδρῶν ὑπερεῖχε πλήθει, τοσοῦτον ἐλείπετο τῷ τόπῳ καὶ κατὰ κορυφὴν ἔχων τοὺς πολεμίους οὔτ' ἀδεεῖς ἐποιεῖτο τὰς προσβολὰς οὔτε δι' ὀργὴν ἠρέμει, [10] κακούμενος δὲ πλέον ἢπερ διατιθεὶς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον ὅμως οὐκ ἀνίει, συνεχεῖς δ' ἐκδρομαὶ καὶ βελῶν ἀφέσεις ἐγίνοντο, καὶ φόνοις ἐμιαίνετο πανταχοῦ τὸ ἱερόν.

2. For Eleazar, the son of Simon, who made the first separation of the zealots from the people, and made them retire into the temple, appeared very angry at John's insolent attempts, which he made everyday upon the people; for this man never left off murdering; but the truth was, that he could not bear to submit to a tyrant who set up after him. So he being desirous of gaining the entire power and dominion to himself, revolted from John, and took to his assistance Judas the son of Chelcias, and Simon the son of Ezron, who were among the men of greatest power. There was also with him Hezekiah, the son of Chobar, a person of eminence. Each of these were followed by a great many of the zealots; these seized upon the inner court of the temple and laid their arms upon the holy gates, and over the holy fronts of that court. And because they had plenty of provisions, they were of good courage, for there was a great abundance of what was consecrated to sacred uses, and they scrupled not the making use of them; yet were they afraid, on account of their small number; and when they had laid up their arms there, they did not stir from the place they were in. Now as to John, what advantage he had above Eleazar in the multitude of his followers, the like disadvantage he had in the situation he was in, since he had his enemies over his head; and as he could not make any assault upon them without some terror, so was his anger too great to let them be at rest; nay, although he suffered more mischief from Eleazar and his party than he could inflict upon them, yet would he not leave off assaulting them, insomuch that there were continual sallies made

one against another, as well as darts thrown at one another, and the temple was defiled every where with murders.

(3) [11] Ὁ δὲ τοῦ Γιώρα Σίμων, ὃν ἐν ταῖς ἀμηχανίαις ἐπίκλητον αὐτῷ τύραννον ὁ δῆμος ἐλπίδι βοηθείας προσεισήγαγε, τήν τε ἄνω πόλιν ἔχων καὶ τῆς κάτω πολὺ μέρος ἐρρωμενέστερον ἤδη τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην προσέβαλλεν ὡς ἂν καὶ καθύπερθεν πολεμουμένοις: [12] ἦν δ' ὑπὸ χεῖρα προσιὼν αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι τοῖς ἄνωθεν. καὶ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ διχόθεν πολεμουμένῳ συνέβαινε βλάπτεσθαί τε καὶ βλάπτειν εὐκόλως, καὶ καθ' ὅσον ἡττᾶτο τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον ὢν ταπεινότερος, τοσοῦτον ἐπλεονέκτει τῷ ὑψηλῷ τοῦ Σίμωνος. [13] παρὸ καὶ χειρὶ μὲν τὰς κάτωθεν προσβολὰς ἰσχυρῶς εἶργε, τοὺς δὲ ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατακοντίζοντας ἀνέστελλε τοῖς ὀργάνοις: [14] ὀξυβελεῖς τε γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ καταπέλται παρῆσαν οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ λιθοβόλοι, δι' ὧν οὐ μόνον ἠμύνετο τοὺς πολεμοῦντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ἱερουργούντων ἀνῄρει. [15] καίπερ γὰρ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀσέβειαν ἐκλελυσσηκότες, ὅμως τοὺς θύειν ἐθέλοντας εἰσηφίεσαν, μεθ' ὑποψιῶν μὲν καὶ φυλακῆς τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους, διερευνώμενοι δὲ τοὺς ξένους: οἳ καίπερ περὶ τὰς εἰσόδους δυσωπήσαντες αὐτῶν τὴν ὠμότητα παρανάλωμα τῆς στάσεως ἐγίνοντο. [16] τὰ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀργάνων βέλη μέχρι τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ τοῦ νεὼ διὰ τὴν βίαν ὑπερφερόμενα τοῖς τε ἱερεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἱερουργοῦσιν ἐνέπιπτε, [17] καὶ πολλοὶ σπεύσαντες ἀπὸ γῆς περάτων περὶ τὸν διώνυμον καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις χῶρον ἅγιον πρὸ τῶν θυμάτων ἔπεσον αὐτοὶ καὶ τὸν Ἕλλησι πᾶσι καὶ βαρβάροις σεβάσμιον βωμὸν κατέσπεισαν ἰδίῳ φόνῳ, [18] νεκροῖς δ' ἐπιχωρίοις ἀλλόφυλοι καὶ ἱερεῦσι βέβηλοι συνεφύροντο, καὶ παντοδαπῶν αἷμα πτωμάτων ἐν τοῖς θείοις περιβόλοις ἐλιμνάζετο. [19] τί τηλικοῦτον, ὦ τλημονεστάτη πόλις, πέπονθας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, οἵ σου τὰ ἐμφύλια μύση πυρὶ καθαροῦντες εἰσῆλθον: θεοῦ μὲν γὰρ οὔτε ἦς ἔτι χῶρος οὔτε μένειν ἐδύνασο, τάφος οἰκείων γενομένη σωμάτων καὶ πολέμου τὸν ναὸν ἐμφυλίου ποιήσασα πολυάνδριον: δύναιο δ' ἂν γενέσθαι πάλιν ἀμείνων, εἴγε ποτὲ τὸν πορθήσαντα θεὸν ἐξιλάσῃ. [20] ἀλλὰ καθεκτέον γὰρ καὶ τὰ πάθη τῷ νόμῳ τῆς γραφῆς, ὡς οὐκ ὀλοφυρμῶν οἰκείων ὁ καιρός, ἀλλ' ἀφηγήσεως πραγμάτων. δίειμι δὲ τὰ ἑξῆς ἔργα τῆς στάσεως.

3. But now the tyrant Simon, the son of Gioras, whom the people had invited in, out of the hopes they had of his assistance in the great distresses they were in, having in his power the upper city, and a great part of the lower, did now make more vehement assaults upon John and his party, because they were fought against from above also; yet was he beneath their situation when he attacked them, as they were beneath the attacks of the others above them. Whereby it came to pass that John did both receive and inflict great damage, and that easily, as he was fought against on both sides; and the same advantage that Eleazar and

his party had over him, since he was beneath them, the same advantage had he, by his higher situation, over Simon. On which account he easily repelled the attacks that were made from beneath, by the weapons thrown from their hands only; but was obliged to repel those that threw their darts from the temple above him, by his engines of war; for he had such engines as threw darts, and javelins, and stones, and that in no small number, by which he did not only defend himself from such as fought against him, but slew moreover many of the priests, as they were about their sacred ministrations. For notwithstanding these men were mad with all sorts of impiety, yet did they still admit those that desired to offer their sacrifices, although they took care to search the people of their own country beforehand, and both suspected and watched them; while they were not so much afraid of strangers, who, although they had gotten leave of them, how cruel soever they were, to come into that court, were yet often destroyed by this sedition; for those darts that were thrown by the engines came with that force, that they went over all the buildings, and reached as far as the altar, and the temple itself, and fell upon the priests, and those that were about the sacred offices; insomuch that many persons who came thither with great zeal from the ends of the earth, to offer sacrifices at this celebrated place, which was esteemed holy by all mankind, fell down before their own sacrifices themselves, and sprinkled that altar which was venerable among all men, both Greeks and Barbarians, with their own blood; till the dead bodies of strangers were mingled together with those of their own country, and those of profane persons with those of the priests, and the blood of all sorts of dead carcasses stood in lakes in the holy courts themselves. And now, "O most wretched city, what misery so great as this didst thou suffer from the Romans, when they came to purify thee from thy intestine hatred! 'For thou couldst be no longer a place fit for God, nor couldst thou long continue in being, after thou hadst been a sepulcher for the bodies of thy own people, and hadst made the holy house itself a burying-place in this civil war of thine. Yet mayst thou again grow better, if perchance thou wilt hereafter appease the anger of that God who is the author of thy destruction." But I must restrain myself from these passions by the rules of history, since this is not a proper time for domestical lamentations, but for historical narrations; I therefore return to the operations that follow in this sedition.

(4) [21] Τριχῇ τῶν ἐπιβούλων τῆς πόλεως διῃρημένων οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον τὰς ἱερὰς ἀπαρχὰς διαφυλάσσοντες κατὰ τοῦ Ἰωάννου τὴν μέθην ἔφερον, οἱ δὲ σὺν τούτῳ διαρπάζοντες τοὺς δημότας ἠγείροντο κατὰ τοῦ Σίμωνος: ἦν δὲ κἀκείνῳ τροφὴ κατὰ τῶν ἀντιστασιαστῶν ἡ πόλις. [22] ὁπότε μὲν οὖν

ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐπιχειροῖτο, τοὺς συνόντας ὁ Ἰωάννης ἀντέστρεφε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀνιόντας ἀπὸ τῶν στοῶν βάλλων, τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατακοντίζοντας ἠμύνετο τοῖς ὀργάνοις: [23] εἰ δ' ἐλευθερωθείη ποτὲ τῶν καθύπερθεν ἐπικειμένων, διανέπαυε δ' αὐτοὺς πολλάκις μέθη καὶ κάματος, ἀδεέστερον τοῖς περὶ τὸν Σίμωνα μετὰ πλειόνων ἐπεξέθεεν. [24] ἀεὶ δ' ἐφ' ὅσον τρέψαιτο τῆς πόλεως ὑπεπίμπρη τὰς οἰκίας σίτου μεστὰς καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἐπιτηδείων: τὸ δ' αὐτὸ πάλιν ὑποχωροῦντος ἐπιὼν ὁ Σίμων ἔπραττεν, ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες Ῥωμαίοις διαφθείροντες ἃ παρεσκευάσατο πρὸς πολιορκίαν ἡ πόλις, καὶ τὰ νεῦρα τῆς αὐτῶν ὑποκόπτοντες δυνάμεως. [25] συνέβη γοῦν τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πάντα συμφλεγῆναι καὶ μεταίχμιον ἐρημίας γενέσθαι παρατάξεως οἰκείας τὴν πόλιν, κατακαῆναι δὲ πλὴν ὀλίγου πάντα τὸν σῖτον, ὃς ἂν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐπ' ὀλίγα διήρκεσεν ἔτη πολιορκουμένοις. [26] λιμῷ γοῦν ἑάλωσαν, ὅπερ ἥκιστα δυνατὸν ἦν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτον αὐτοῖς προπαρεσκεύασαν.

4. And now there were three treacherous factions in the city, the one parted from the other. Eleazar and his party, that kept the sacred first-fruits, came against John in their cups. Those that were with John plundered the populace, and went out with zeal against Simon. This Simon had his supply of provisions from the city, in opposition to the seditious. When, therefore, John was assaulted on both sides, he made his men turn about, throwing his darts upon those citizens that came up against him, from the cloisters he had in his possession, while he opposed those that attacked him from the temple by his engines of war. And if at any time he was freed from those that were above him, which happened frequently, from their being drunk and tired, he sallied out with a great number upon Simon and his party; and this he did always in such parts of the city as he could come at, till he set on fire those houses that were full of corn, and of all other provisions. The same thing was done by Simon, when, upon the other's retreat, he attacked the city also; as if they had, on purpose, done it to serve the Romans, by destroying what the city had laid up against the siege, and by thus cutting off the nerves of their own power. Accordingly, it so came to pass, that all the places that were about the temple were burnt down, and were become an intermediate desert space, ready for fighting on both sides of it; and that almost all that corn was burnt, which would have been sufficient for a siege of many years. So they were taken by the means of the famine, which it was impossible they should have been, unless they had thus prepared the way for it by this procedure.

(5) [27] Πανταχόθεν δὲ τῆς πόλεως πολεμουμένης ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιβούλων καὶ συγκλύδων μέσος ὁ δῆμος ὥσπερ μέγα σῶμα διεσπαράσσετο. [28] γηραιοὶ δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες ὑπ' ἀμηχανίας τῶν εἴσω κακῶν ηὔχοντο Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τὸν ἔξωθεν

πόλεμον ἐπ᾽ ἐλευθερίᾳ τῶν εἴσω κακῶν ἐκαραδόκουν. [29] κατάπληξις δὲ δεινὴ καὶ δέος ἦν τοῖς γνησίοις, καὶ οὔτε βουλῆς καιρὸς εἰς μεταβολὴν οὔτε συμβάσεως ἐλπὶς οὔτε φυγὴ τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν: [30] ἐφρουρεῖτο γὰρ πάντα, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ στασιάζοντες οἱ ἀρχιλῃσταὶ τοὺς εἰρηνικὰ Ῥωμαίοις φρονοῦντας ἢ πρὸς αὐτομολίαν ὑπόπτους ὡς κοινοὺς πολεμίους ἀνῄρουν καὶ μόνον ὠμονόουν τὸ φονεύειν τοὺς σωτηρίας ἀξίους. [31] καὶ τῶν μὲν μαχομένων ἀδιάλειπτος ἦν κραυγὴ μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν τε καὶ νύκτωρ, δεινότεροι δὲ οἱ τῶν πενθούντων ὀδυρμοὶ δέει. [32] καὶ θρήνων μὲν αἰτίας ἐπαλλήλους αἱ συμφοραὶ προσέφερον, τὰς δ᾽ οἰμωγὰς ἐνέκλειεν ἡ κατάπληξις αὐτῶν, φιμούμενοι δὲ τά γε πάθη τῷ φόβῳ μεμυκόσι τοῖς στεναγμοῖς ἐβασανίζοντο. [33] καὶ οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας ἦν αἰδὼς ἔτι τοῖς προσήκουσιν οὔτε πρόνοια τῶν ἀπολωλότων ταφῆς. αἴτιον δὲ ἀμφοτέρων ἡ καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ἀπόγνωσις ἑκάστου: παρεῖσαν γὰρ εἰς πάντα τὰς προθυμίας οἱ μὴ στασιάζοντες ὡς ἀπολούμενοι πάντως ὅσον οὐδέπω. [34] πατοῦντες δὴ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλοις σεσωρευμένους οἱ στασιασταὶ συνεπλέκοντο καὶ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ποσὶ πτωμάτων σπῶντες ἦσαν ἀγριώτεροι. [35] προσεξευρίσκοντες δ᾽ ἀεί τι καθ᾽ αὑτῶν ὀλέθριον καὶ πᾶν τὸ δοχθὲν ἀφειδῶς δρῶντες οὐδεμίαν οὔτ᾽ αἰκίας ὁδὸν οὔτε ὠμότητος παρέλειπον. [36] ἀμέλει Ἰωάννης τὴν ἱερὰν ὕλην εἰς πολεμιστηρίων κατασκευὴν ὀργάνων ἀπεχρήσατο: δόξαν γάρ ποτε τῷ λαῷ καὶ τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν ὑποστηρίξαντας τὸν ναὸν εἴκοσι πήχεις προσυψῶσαι, κατάγει μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Λιβάνου μεγίστοις ἀναλώμασι καὶ πόνοις τὴν χρήσιμον ὕλην ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας, ξύλα θέας ἄξια τήν τε εὐθύτητα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος: [37] μεσολαβήσαντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τὸ ἔργον Ἰωάννης τεμὼν αὐτὰ πύργους κατεσκεύασεν ἐξαρκοῦν τὸ μῆκος εὐρὼν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ καθύπερθεν ἱεροῦ μαχομένους, [38] ἵστησί τε προσαγαγὼν κατόπιν τοῦ περιβόλου τῆς πρὸς δύσιν ἐξέδρας ἄντικρυς, ᾗπερ καὶ μόνῃ δυνατὸν ἦν τῶν ἄλλων μερῶν βαθμοῖς πόρρωθεν διειλημμένων.

5. And now, as the city was engaged in a war on all sides, from these treacherous crowds of wicked men, the people of the city, between them, were like a great body torn in pieces. The aged men and the women were in such distress by their internal calamities, that they wished for the Romans, and earnestly hoped for an external war, in order to their delivery from their domestical miseries. The citizens themselves were under a terrible consternation and fear; nor had they any opportunity of taking counsel, and of changing their conduct; nor were there any hopes of coming to an agreement with their enemies; nor could such as had a mind flee away; for guards were set at all places, and the heads of the robbers, although they were seditious one against another in other respects, yet did they agree in killing those that were for peace with the Romans, or were suspected of an inclination to desert them, as their common enemies. They agreed in nothing

but this, to kill those that were innocent. The noise also of those that were fighting was incessant, both by day and by night; but the lamentations of those that mourned exceeded the other; nor was there ever any occasion for them to leave off their lamentations, because their calamities came perpetually one upon another, although the deep consternation they were in prevented their outward wailing; but being constrained by their fear to conceal their inward passions, they were inwardly tormented, without daring to open their lips in groans. Nor was any regard paid to those that were still alive, by their relations; nor was there any care taken of burial for those that were dead; the occasion of both which was this, that every one despaired of himself; for those that were not among the seditious had no great desires of any thing, as expecting for certain that they should very soon be destroyed; but for the seditious themselves, they fought against each other, while they trod upon the dead bodies as they lay heaped one upon another, and taking up a mad rage from those dead bodies that were under their feet, became the fiercer thereupon. They, moreover, were still inventing somewhat or other that was pernicious against themselves; and when they had resolved upon any thing, they executed it without mercy, and omitted no method of torment or of barbarity. Nay, John abused the sacred materials, and employed them in the construction of his engines of war; for the people and the priests had formerly determined to support the temple, and raise the holy house twenty cubits higher; for king Agrippa had at a very great expense, and with very great pains, brought thither such materials as were proper for that purpose, being pieces of timber very well worth seeing, both for their straightness and their largeness; but the war coming on, and interrupting the work, John had them cut, and prepared for the building him towers, he finding them long enough to oppose from them those his adversaries that thought him from the temple that was above him. He also had them brought and erected behind the inner court over against the west end of the cloisters, where alone he could erect them; whereas the other sides of that court had so many steps as would not let them come nigh enough the cloisters.

(6) [39] Καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῖς κατασκευασθεῖσιν ἐξ ἀσεβείας ὀργάνοις κρατήσειν ἤλπισε τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἄχρηστον αὐτῷ τὸν πόνον ἀπέδειξε πρὶν ἐπιστῆσαί τινα τῶν πύργων Ῥωμαίους ἐπαγαγών. [40] ὁ γὰρ δὴ Τίτος ἐπειδὴ τὰ μὲν συνήγαγε τῆς δυνάμεως πρὸς αὐτόν, τοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων συναντᾶν ἐπέστειλεν, ἐξήλαυνε τῆς Καισαρείας. [41] ἦν δὲ τρία μὲν τὰ πρότερον αὐτοῦ τῷ πατρὶ συνδῃώσαντα τὴν Ἰουδαίαν τάγματα καὶ τὸ πάλαι σὺν Κεστίῳ πταῖσαν δωδέκατον, ὅπερ καὶ ἄλλως ἐπίσημον δι᾽ ἀνδρείαν ὑπάρχον τότε κατὰ μνήμην ὧν ἔπαθεν εἰς ἄμυναν ἦει προθυμότερον. [42] τούτων μὲν οὖν τὸ πέμπτον δι᾽ Ἀμμαοῦς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ

συναντᾶν καὶ διὰ Ἰεριχοῦντος τὸ δέκατον ἀναβαίνειν, αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἀνέζευξε μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν, πρὸς οἷς αἵ τε τῶν βασιλέων συμμαχίαι πολὺ πλείους καὶ συχνοὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας ἐπίκουροι συνῆλθον. [43] ἀνεπληρώθη δὲ καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ταγμάτων ὅσον Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐπιλέξας Μουκιανῷ συνέπεμψεν εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐκ τῶν ἐπελθόντων μετὰ Τίτου. [44] δισχίλιοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ τῶν ἀπ᾽ Ἀλεξανδρείας στρατευμάτων ἐπίλεκτοι, τρισχίλιοι δὲ συνείποντο τῶν ἀπ᾽ Εὐφράτου φυλάκων. [45] φίλων δὲ δοκιμώτατος εὔνοιάν τε καὶ σύνεσιν Τιβέριος Ἀλέξανδρος, πρότερον μὲν αὐτοῖς τὴν Αἴγυπτον διέπων, [46] τότε δὲ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἄρχων, κριθεὶς ἄξιος ἐξ ὧν ἐδεξιώσατο πρῶτος ἐγειρομένην ἄρτι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ μετὰ πίστεως λαμπρᾶς ἐξ ἀδήλου τῇ τύχῃ προσέθετο, σύμβουλός γε μὴν ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου χρείαις ἡλικίᾳ τε προύχων καὶ κατ᾽ ἐμπειρίαν εἵπετο.

6. Thus did John hope to be too hard for his enemies by these engines constructed by his impiety; but God himself demonstrated that his pains would prove of no use to him, by bringing the Romans upon him, before he had reared any of his towers; for Titus, when he had gotten together part of his forces about him, and had ordered the rest to meet him at Jerusalem, marched out of Cesarea. He had with him those three legions that had accompanied his father when he laid Judea waste, together with that twelfth legion which had been formerly beaten with Cestius; which legion, as it was otherwise remarkable for its valor, so did it march on now with greater alacrity to avenge themselves on the Jews, as remembering what they had formerly suffered from them. Of these legions he ordered the fifth to meet him, by going through Emmaus, and the tenth to go up by Jericho; he also moved himself, together with the rest; besides whom, marched those auxiliaries that came from the kings, being now more in number than before, together with a considerable number that came to his assistance from Syria. Those also that had been selected out of these four legions, and sent with Mucianus to Italy, had their places filled up out of these soldiers that came out of Egypt with Titus; who were two thousand men, chosen out of the armies at Alexandria. There followed him also three thousand drawn from those that guarded the river Euphrates; as also there came Tiberius Alexander, who was a friend of his, most valuable, both for his goodwill to him, and for his prudence. He had formerly been governor of Alexandria, but was now thought worthy to be general of the army [under Titus]. The reason of this was, that he had been the first who encouraged Vespasian very lately to accept this his new dominion, and joined himself to him with great fidelity, when things were uncertain, and fortune had not yet declared for him. He also followed Titus as a counselor, very useful to him in this war, both by his age and skill in such affairs.

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CHAPTER 2.

How Titus Marched To Jerusalem, And How He Was In Danger As He Was Taking A View Of The City Of The Place Also Where He Pitched His Camp

(1) [47] Προιόντι δὲ εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν Τίτῳ προῆγον μὲν οἱ βασιλικοὶ καὶ πᾶν τὸ συμμαχικόν, ἐφ᾽ οἷς ὁδοποιοὶ καὶ μετρηταὶ στρατοπέδων, ἔπειτα τὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων σκευοφόρα καὶ μετὰ τοὺς τούτων ὁπλίτας αὐτὸς τούς τε ἄλλους ἐπιλέκτους καὶ τοὺς λογχοφόρους ἔχων, κατόπιν δ᾽ αὐτῷ τοῦ τάγματος τὸ ἱππικόν: [48] οὗτοι δὲ πρὸ τῶν μηχανημάτων, κἀπ᾽ ἐκείνοις μετ᾽ ἐπιλέκτων χιλίαρχοι καὶ σπειρῶν ἔπαρχοι, μετὰ δὲ τούτους περὶ τὸν αἰετὸν αἱ σημαῖαι, καὶ ἔμπροσθεν οἱ σαλπικταὶ τῶν σημαιῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἡ φάλαγξ τὸ στῖφος εἰς ἓξ πλατύνασα. [49] τὸ δ᾽ οἰκετικὸν ἑκάστου τάγματος ὀπίσω καὶ πρὸ τούτων τὰ σκευοφόρα, τελευταῖοι δὲ πάντων οἱ μίσθιοι καὶ τούτων φύλακες οὐραγοί. [50] προάγων δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐν κόσμῳ, καθὰ Ῥωμαίοις σύνηθες, ἐμβάλλει διὰ τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος εἰς Γόφνα κατειλημμένην τε πρότερον ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τότε φρουρουμένην: [51] ἔνθα μίαν ἑσπέραν αὐλισάμενος ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω πρόεισι, καὶ διανύσας ἡμέρας σταθμὸν στρατοπεδεύεται κατὰ τὸν ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων πατρίως Ἀκανθῶν αὐλῶνα καλούμενον πρός τινι κώμῃ Γαβὰθ Σαοὺλ λεγομένῃ, σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο λόφον Σαούλου, διέχων ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ὅσον ἀπὸ τριάκοντα σταδίων. [52] ἀναλαβὼν δ᾽ ἐντεῦθεν ὅσον εἰς ἑξακοσίους τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἱππέων ᾔει τήν τε πόλιν περισκεψόμενος, ὅπως ὀχυρότητος ἔχοι, καὶ τὰ φρονήματα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, εἰ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ὑποδείσαντες ἐνδοῖεν: [53] πέπυστο γάρ, ὅπερ ἦν ἀληθές, τοῖς στασιώδεσι καὶ λῃστρικοῖς τὸν δῆμον ὑποπεπτηχότα ποθεῖν μὲν εἰρήνην, ἀσθενέστερον δὲ ὄντα τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως ἠρεμεῖν.

1. Now, as Titus was upon his march into the enemy’s country, the auxiliaries that were sent by the kings marched first, having all the other auxiliaries with them; after whom followed those that were to prepare the roads and measure out the camp; then came the commander’s baggage, and after that the other soldiers, who were completely armed to support them; then came Titus himself, having with him another select body; and then came the pikemen; after whom came the horse belonging to that legion. All these came before the engines; and after these engines came the tribunes and the leaders of the cohorts, with their select bodies; after these came the ensigns, with the eagle; and before those ensigns came the trumpeters belonging to them; next these came the main body of the army in their ranks, every rank being six deep; the servants belonging to every legion

came after these; and before these last their baggage; the mercenaries came last, and those that guarded them brought up the rear. Now Titus, according to the Roman usage, went in the front of the army after a decent manner, and marched through Samaria to Gophna, a city that had been formerly taken by his father, and was then garrisoned by Roman soldiers; and when he had lodged there one night, he marched on in the morning; and when he had gone as far as a day's march, he pitched his camp at that valley which the Jews, in their own tongue, call "the Valley of Thorns," near a certain village called Gabaothsath, which signifies "the Hill of Saul," being distant from Jerusalem about thirty furlongs. There it was that he chose out six hundred select horsemen, and went to take a view of the city, to observe what strength it was of, and how courageous the Jews were; whether, when they saw him, and before they came to a direct battle, they would be affrighted and submit; for he had been informed what was really true, that the people who were fallen under the power of the seditious and the robbers were greatly desirous of peace; but being too weak to rise up against the rest, they lay still.

(2) [54] Ἕως μὲν οὖν ὄρθιον ἱππάζετο τὴν λεωφόρον κατατείνουσαν πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος οὐδεὶς προυφαίνετο τῶν πυλῶν, [55] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ψήφινον πύργον ἀποκλίνας πλάγιον ἦγε τὸ τῶν ἱππέων στῖφος, προπηδήσαντες ἐξαίφνης ἄπειροι κατὰ τοὺς Γυναικείους καλουμένους πύργους διὰ τῆς ἀντικρὺ τῶν Ἑλένης μνημείων πύλης διεκπαίουσι τῆς ἵππου, [56] καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἔτι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν θέοντας ἀντιμέτωποι στάντες ἐκώλυσαν συνάψαι τοῖς ἐκκλίνασι, τὸν δὲ Τίτον ἀποτέμνονται σὺν ὀλίγοις. [57] τῷ δὲ πρόσω μὲν ἦν χωρεῖν ἀδύνατον: ἐκτετάφρευτο γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους περὶ τὰς κηπείας ἅπαντα τοίχοις τε ἐπικαρσίοις καὶ πολλοῖς ἕρκεσι διειλημμένα: [58] τὴν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς σφετέρους ἀναδρομὴν πλήθει τῶν ἐν μέσῳ πολεμίων ἀμήχανον ἑώρα καὶ τραπέντας τοὺς ἀνὰ τὴν λεωφόρον, ὧν οἱ πολλοὶ μηδὲ γινώσκοντες τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως κίνδυνον, ἀλλ' οἰόμενοι συναναστραφῆναι κἀκεῖνον ἀνέφευγον. [59] ὁ δὲ κατιδὼν ὡς ἐν μόνῃ τῇ καθ' αὐτὸν ἀλκῇ κεῖται τὸ σώζεσθαι τόν τε ἵππον ἐπιστρέφει καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐμβοήσας ἔπεσθαι μέσοις ἐμπηδᾷ τοῖς πολεμίοις διεκπαῖσαι πρὸς τοὺς σφετέρους βιαζόμενος. [60] ἔνθα δὴ μάλιστα παρέστη νοεῖν, ὅτι καὶ πολέμων ῥοπαὶ καὶ βασιλέων κίνδυνοι μέλονται θεῷ: [61] τοσούτων γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν Τίτον ἀφιεμένων βελῶν μήτε κράνος ἔχοντα μήτε θώρακα, προῆλθε γὰρ ὡς ἔφην οὐ πολεμιστὴς ἀλλὰ κατάσκοπος, οὐδὲν ἥψατο τοῦ σώματος, κενὰ δ' ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες ἀστοχούντων παρερροιζεῖτο πάντα. [62] ὁ δὲ ξίφει τοὺς κατὰ πλευρὸν ἀεὶ διαστέλλων καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ἀντιπροσώπων ἀνατρέπων ἤλαυνεν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐρειπομένους τὸν ἵππον. [63] τῶν δὲ κραυγή τε ἦν πρὸς τὸ παράστημα τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ παρακέλευσις ὁρμᾶν ἐπ' αὐτόν, φυγὴ δὲ καὶ χωρισμὸς ἄθρους

καθ' οὓς ἐπελαύνων γένοιτο. [64] συνῆπτον δὲ οἱ τοῦ κινδύνου μετέχοντες κατὰ νῶτα καὶ κατὰ πλευρὰν νυσσόμενοι: μία γὰρ ἐλπὶς ἦν σωτηρίας ἑκάστῳ τὸ συνεξανύτειν τῷ Τίτῳ καὶ μὴ φθάσαντα κυκλωθῆναι. [65] δύο γοῦν τῶν ἀπωτέρω τὸν μὲν σὺν τῷ ἵππῳ περισχόντες κατηκόντισαν, θάτερον δὲ καταπηδήσαντα διαφθείραντες τὸν ἵππον ἀπήγαγον, μετὰ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Τίτος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον διασώζεται. [66] τοῖς μὲν οὖν Ἰουδαίοις πλεονεκτήσασι κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἐπίθεσιν ἐπήγειρε τὰς διανοίας ἄσκεπτος ἐλπίς, καὶ πολὺ θάρσος αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἡ πρόσκαιρος ῥοπὴ προυξένει.

2. Now, so long as he rode along the straight road which led to the wall of the city, nobody appeared out of the gates; but when he went out of that road, and declined towards the tower Psephinus, and led the band of horsemen obliquely, an immense number of the Jews leaped out suddenly at the towers called the "Women's Towers," through that gate which was over against the monuments of queen Helena, and intercepted his horse; and standing directly opposite to those that still ran along the road, hindered them from joining those that had declined out of it. They intercepted Titus also, with a few other. Now it was here impossible for him to go forward, because all the places had trenches dug in them from the wall, to preserve the gardens round about, and were full of gardens obliquely situated, and of many hedges; and to return back to his own men, he saw it was also impossible, by reason of the multitude of the enemies that lay between them; many of whom did not so much as know that the king was in any danger, but supposed him still among them. So he perceived that his preservation must be wholly owing to his own courage, and turned his horse about, and cried out aloud to those that were about him to follow him, and ran with violence into the midst of his enemies, in order to force his way through them to his own men. And hence we may principally learn, that both the success of wars, and the dangers that kings are in, are under the providence of God; for while such a number of darts were thrown at Titus, when he had neither his head-piece on, nor his breastplate, [for, as I told you, he went out not to fight, but to view the city,] none of them touched his body, but went aside without hurting him; as if all of them missed him on purpose, and only made a noise as they passed by him. So he diverted those perpetually with his sword that came on his side, and overturned many of those that directly met him, and made his horse ride over those that were overthrown. The enemy indeed made a shout at the boldness of Caesar, and exhorted one another to rush upon him. Yet did these against whom he marched fly away, and go off from him in great numbers; while those that were in the same danger with him kept up close to him, though they were wounded both on their backs and on their sides; for they had each of

them but this one hope of escaping, if they could assist Titus in opening himself a way, that he might not be encompassed round by his enemies before he got away from them. Now there were two of those that were with him, but at some distance; the one of which the enemy compassed round, and slew him with their darts, and his horse also; but the other they slew as he leaped down from his horse, and carried off his horse with them. But Titus escaped with the rest, and came safe to the camp. So this success of the Jews' first attack raised their minds, and gave them an ill-grounded hope; and this short inclination of fortune, on their side, made them very courageous for the future.

(3) [67] Καῖσαρ δ' ὡς αὐτῷ συνέμιξε διὰ νυκτὸς τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀμμαοῦς τάγμα, μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐκεῖθεν ἄρας ἐπὶ τὸν Σκοπὸν καλούμενον πρόεισιν, ἔνθεν ἥ τε πόλις ἤδη κατεφαίνετο καὶ τὸ τοῦ ναοῦ μέγεθος ἐκλάμπον, καθὰ τῷ βορείῳ κλίματι τῆς πόλεως χθαμαλὸς συνάπτων ὁ χῶρος ἐτύμως Σκοπὸς ὠνόμασται. [68] τῆς δὲ πόλεως σταδίους ἑπτὰ διέχων ἐκέλευσε περιβαλέσθαι στρατόπεδον τοῖς δύο τάγμασιν ὁμοῦ, τὸ δὲ πέμπτον τούτων ὀπίσω τρισὶ σταδίοις: κόπῳ γὰρ τῆς διὰ νυκτὸς πορείας τετρυμένους ἐδόκει σκέπης ἀξίους εἶναι, ὡς ἂν ἀδεέστερον τειχίσαιντο. [69] καταρχομένων δ' ἄρτι τῆς δομήσεως καὶ τὸ δέκατον τάγμα διὰ Ἰεριχοῦντος ἤδη παρῆν, ἔνθα καθῆστό τις ὁπλιτικὴ μοῖρα φρουροῦσα τὴν ἐμβολὴν ὑπὸ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ προκατειλημμένην. [70] προσετέτακτο δ' αὐτοῖς ἓξ ἀπέχοντας τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων σταδίους στρατοπεδεύσασθαι κατὰ τὸ Ἐλαιῶν καλούμενον ὄρος, ὃ τῇ πόλει πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἀντίκειται μέσῃ φάραγγι βαθείᾳ διειργόμενον, ἣ Κεδρὼν ὠνόμασται.

3. But now, as soon as that legion that had been at Emmaus was joined to Caesar at night, he removed thence, when it was day, and came to a place called Seopus; from whence the city began already to be seen, and a plain view might be taken of the great temple. Accordingly, this place, on the north quarter of the city, and joining thereto, was a plain, and very properly named Scopus, [the prospect,] and was no more than seven furlongs distant from it. And here it was that Titus ordered a camp to be fortified for two legions that were to be together; but ordered another camp to be fortified, at three furlongs farther distance behind them, for the fifth legion; for he thought that, by marching in the night, they might be tired, and might deserve to be covered from the enemy, and with less fear might fortify themselves; and as these were now beginning to build, the tenth legion, who came through Jericho, was already come to the place, where a certain party of armed men had formerly lain, to guard that pass into the city, and had been taken before by Vespasian. These legions had orders to encamp at the distance of six furlongs from Jerusalem, at the mount called the Mount of

Olives which lies over against the city on the east side, and is parted from it by a deep valley, interposed between them, which is named Cedron.

(4) [71] Τῶν δ᾽ ἀνὰ τὸ ἄστυ συρρηγνυμένων ἀδιαλείπτως τότε πρῶτον ἀνέπαυσεν τὴν ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλοις ἔριν ὁ ἔξωθεν πόλεμος ἐξαίφνης πολὺς ἐπελθών: [72] καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκπλήξεως οἱ στασιασταὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀφορῶντες στρατοπεδευομένους τριχῆ κακῆς ὁμονοίας κατήρχοντο καὶ λόγον ἀλλήλοις ἐδίδοσαν, [73] τί μένοιεν ἢ τί παθόντες ἀνέχοιντο τρία ταῖς ἀναπνοαῖς αὐτῶν ἐπιφρασσόμενα τείχη, καὶ τοῦ πολέμου μετ᾽ ἀδείας ἀντιπολίζοντος ἑαυτόν, οἱ δ᾽ ὥσπερ θεαταὶ καλῶν καὶ συμφόρων ἔργων καθέζοιντο τειχήρεις τὼ χεῖρε καὶ τὰς πανοπλίας παρέντες; [74] “καθ᾽ αὐτῶν ἄρα γενναῖοι μόνον ἡμεῖς, ἐξεβόησαν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας στάσεως κερδήσουσιν ἀναιμωτὶ τὴν πόλιν.” τούτοις ἀθροίζοντες ἀλλήλους παρεκρότουν, [75] καὶ τὰς πανοπλίας ἁρπάσαντες αἰφνιδίως ἐπεκθέουσι τῷ δεκάτῳ τάγματι καὶ διὰ τῆς φάραγγος ᾄξαντες μετὰ κραυγῆς ἐξαισίου τειχιζομένοις προσπίπτουσι τοῖς πολεμίοις. [76] οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον διῃρημένοι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰ πολλὰ τεθεικότες τῶν ὅπλων, οὔτε γὰρ θαρρήσειν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους πρὸς ἐκδρομὴν ὑπελάμβανον καὶ προθυμουμένων περισπασθήσεσθαι τὰς ὁρμὰς τῇ στάσει, [77] συνεταράχθησαν ἀδοκήτως, καὶ τῶν ἔργων ἀφέμενοι τινὲς μὲν ἀνεχώρουν εὐθέως, πολλοὶ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα θέοντες πρὶν ἐπιστραφῆναι πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐφθάνοντο παιόμενοι. [78] προσεγίνοντο δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀεὶ πλείους ἐπὶ τῷ κρατεῖν τοὺς πρώτους τεθαρρηκότες, καὶ τῶν ὄντων πολλαπλασίους ἐδόκουν σφίσι τε καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις δεξιᾷ χρώμενοι τῇ τύχῃ. [79] μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς ἐν ἕθει συντάξεως ὄντας καὶ μετὰ κόσμου καὶ παραγγελμάτων πολεμεῖν εἰδότας ἀταξία φθάσασα θορυβεῖ. διὸ καὶ τότε προληφθέντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ταῖς ἐμβολαῖς εἶκον. [80] καὶ ὁπότε μὲν ἐπιστραφεῖεν οἱ καταλαμβανόμενοι, τοῦ τε δρόμου τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐπεῖχον καὶ διὰ τὴν ὁρμὴν ἧττον φυλαττομένους ἐτίτρωσκον, ἀεὶ δὲ πληθυούσης τῆς ἐκδρομῆς μᾶλλον ταραττόμενοι τελευταῖον ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τρέπονται. [81] καὶ δοκεῖ τότε ἂν κινδυνεῦσαι τὸ τάγμα πᾶν, εἰ μὴ Τίτος ἀγγελθὲν αὐτῷ τάχος ἐπεβοήθησε, καὶ πολλὰ ὀνειδίσας εἰς ἀνανδρίαν ἐπιστρέφει μὲν τοὺς φεύγοντας, [82] αὐτὸς δὲ πλαγίοις τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις προσπεσὼν μεθ᾽ ὧν ἦκεν ἐπιλέκτων συχνοὺς μὲν ἀναιρεῖ, τιτρώσκει δὲ πλείους, τρέπεται δὲ πάντας καὶ συνωθεῖ κατὰ τῆς φάραγγος. [83] οἱ δ᾽ ἐν τῷ κατάντει πολλὰ κακωθέντες ὡς διεξέπεσον, ἄντικρυς ἐπιστρέφονται καὶ μέσην ἔχοντες τὴν χαράδραν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις διεμάχοντο. [84] μέχρι μὲν δὴ μέσης ἡμέρας οὕτως ἐπολέμουν, ὀλίγον δ᾽ ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ἐκκλίνοντος ἤδη, Τίτος τοὺς μεθ᾽ αὐτοῦ προσβοηθήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν σπειρῶν τοῖς ἐκτρέχουσιν ἀντιπαρατάξας τὸ λοιπὸν τάγμα πρὸς τὸν τειχισμὸν ἀνέπεμπεν εἰς τὴν ἀκρώρειαν.

4. Now when hitherto the several parties in the city had been dashing one against another perpetually, this foreign war, now suddenly come upon them after a violent manner, put the first stop to their contentions one against another; and as the seditious now saw with astonishment the Romans pitching three several camps, they began to think of an awkward sort of concord, and said one to another, "What do we here, and what do we mean, when we suffer three fortified walls to be built to coop us in, that we shall not be able to breathe freely? while the enemy is securely building a kind of city in opposition to us, and while we sit still within our own walls, and become spectators only of what they are doing, with our hands idle, and our armor laid by, as if they were about somewhat that was for our good and advantage. We are, it seems, [so did they cry out,] only courageous against ourselves, while the Romans are likely to gain the city without bloodshed by our sedition." Thus did they encourage one another when they were gotten together, and took their armor immediately, and ran out upon the tenth legion, and fell upon the Romans with great eagerness, and with a prodigious shout, as they were fortifying their camp. These Romans were caught in different parties, and this in order to perform their several works, and on that account had in great measure laid aside their arms; for they thought the Jews would not have ventured to make a sally upon them; and had they been disposed so to do, they supposed their sedition would have distracted them. So they were put into disorder unexpectedly; when some of them left their works they were about, and immediately marched off, while many ran to their arms, but were smitten and slain before they could turn back upon the enemy. The Jews became still more and more in number, as encouraged by the good success of those that first made the attack; and while they had such good fortune, they seemed both to themselves and to the enemy to be many more than they really were. The disorderly way of their fighting at first put the Romans also to a stand, who had been constantly used to fight skillfully in good order, and with keeping their ranks, and obeying the orders that were given them; for which reason the Romans were caught unexpectedly, and were obliged to give way to the assaults that were made upon them. Now when these Romans were overtaken, and turned back upon the Jews, they put a stop to their career; yet when they did not take care enough of themselves through the vehemency of their pursuit, they were wounded by them; but as still more and more Jews sallied out of the city, the Romans were at length brought into confusion, and put to flight, and ran away from their camp. Nay, things looked as though the entire legion would have been in danger, unless Titus had been informed of the case they were in, and had sent them succors immediately. So he reproached them for their cowardice, and brought those back that were running away, and fell himself upon the Jews on

their flank, with those select troops that were with him, and slew a considerable number, and wounded more of them, and put them all to flight, and made them run away hastily down the valley. Now as these Jews suffered greatly in the declivity of the valley, so when they were gotten over it, they turned about, and stood over against the Romans, having the valley between them, and there fought with them. Thus did they continue the fight till noon; but when it was already a little after noon, Titus set those that came to the assistance of the Romans with him, and those that belonged to the cohorts, to prevent the Jews from making any more sallies, and then sent the rest of the legion to the upper part of the mountain, to fortify their camp.

(5) [85] Ἰουδαίοις δὲ τοῦτ᾽ ἐδόκει φυγή, καὶ τοῦ σκοποῦ κατασείσαντος θοιμάτιον, ὃς αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους καθῆστο, προπηδῶσι πλῆθος ἀκραιφνέστερον μετὰ τοσαύτης ὁρμῆς, ὡς τὸν δρόμον αὐτῶν τοῖς ἀγριωτάτοις εἰκάζειν θηρίοις. [86] ἀμέλει τῶν ἀντιπαραταχθέντων οὐδεὶς ἔμεινεν τὴν συμβολήν, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ ἐξ ὀργάνου παιόμενοι διέρρηξαν τὴν τάξιν καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τραπέντες ἀνέφευγον. [87] λείπεται δ᾽ ἐν μέσῳ τῷ προσάντει Τίτος μετ᾽ ὀλίγων, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν φίλων παραινούντων, ὅσοι δι᾽ αἰδῶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα τοῦ κινδύνου καταφρονήσαντες ἔστησαν, [88] εἶξαι θανατῶσιν Ἰουδαίοις καὶ μὴ προκινδυνεύειν τούτων, οὓς ἐχρῆν πρὸ αὐτοῦ μένειν, λαμβάνειν δὲ ἔννοιαν τῆς καθ᾽ αὐτὸν τύχης καὶ μὴ στρατιώτου τάξιν ἀποπληροῦν ὄντα καὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης δεσπότην, μηδ᾽ ὀξεῖαν οὕτως ὑφίστασθαι ῥοπὴν ἐν ᾧ σαλεύει τὰ πάντα, [89] τούτων οὐδ᾽ ἀκούειν ἔδοξε, τοῖς δὲ καθ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀνατρέχουσιν ἀνθίσταται καὶ κατὰ στόμα παίων βιαζομένους ἀνῄρει κατά τε τοῦ πρανοῦς ἀθρόοις ἐμπίπτων ἀνεώθει τὸ πλῆθος. [90] οἱ δὲ πρός τε τὸ παράστημα καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν καταπλαγέντες οὐδ᾽ οὕτως μὲν ἀνέφευγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καθ᾽ ἕτερον δ᾽ ἐκκλίνοντες ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀνωτέρω φεύγουσι προσέκειντο. καὶ τούτοις δὲ κατὰ πλευρὰν προσβάλλων τὰς ὁρμὰς ὑπετέμνετο. [91] κἀν τούτῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄνω τειχίζουσι τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὡς ἐθεάσαντο τοὺς κάτω φεύγοντας, [92] πάλιν ἐμπίπτει ταραχὴ καὶ δέος, καὶ διασκίδναται πᾶν τὸ τάγμα, δοκούντων ἀνυπόστατον μὲν εἶναι τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκδρομήν, τετράφθαι δ᾽ αὐτὸν Τίτον: οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποτε τοὺς ἄλλους φεύγειν ἐκείνου μένοντος. [93] καὶ καθάπερ πανικῷ δείματι κυκλωθέντες ἄλλος ἀλλαχῆ διεφέροντο, μέχρι τινὲς κατιδόντες ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ πολέμου τὸν ἡγεμόνα στρεφόμενον καὶ μέγα δείσαντες ἀμφ᾽ αὐτῷ διαβοῶσι τὸν κίνδυνον ὅλῳ τῷ τάγματι. [94] τοὺς δ᾽ αἰδὼς ἐπέστρεφε, καὶ πλεῖόν τι φυγῆς κακίζοντες ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ τῷ καταλιπεῖν Καίσαρα πάσῃ βίᾳ κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐχρῶντο καὶ κλίναντες ἅπαξ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατάντους συνώθουν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ κοῖλον. [95] οἱ δ᾽ ὑπὸ πόδα χωροῦντες ἐμάχοντο, καὶ πλεονεκτοῦντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῷ καθύπερθεν εἶναι συνελαύνουσι πάντας εἰς τὴν φάραγγα. [96] προσέκειτο δὲ τοῖς

καθ' αὐτὸν ὁ Τίτος καὶ τὸ μὲν τάγμα πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν τειχοποιίαν ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν οἷς πρότερον ἀντιστὰς εἶργε τοὺς πολεμίους: [97] ὥστ', εἰ χρὴ μήτε θεραπείᾳ τι προστιθέντα μήθ' ὑφελόντα φθόνῳ τἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, αὐτὸς Καῖσαρ δὶς μὲν ἐρρύσατο κινδυνεῦσαν ὅλον τὸ τάγμα καὶ τοῦ περιβαλέσθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῖς ἄδειαν παρέσχε.

5. This march of the Romans seemed to the Jews to be a flight; and as the watchman who was placed upon the wall gave a signal by shaking his garment, there came out a fresh multitude of Jews, and that with such mighty violence, that one might compare it to the running of the most terrible wild beasts. To say the truth, none of those that opposed them could sustain the fury with which they made their attacks; but, as if they had been cast out of an engine, they brake the enemies' ranks to pieces, who were put to flight, and ran away to the mountain; none but Titus himself, and a few others with him, being left in the midst of the acclivity. Now these others, who were his friends, despised the danger they were in, and were ashamed to leave their general, earnestly exhorting him to give way to these Jews that are fond of dying, and not to run into such dangers before those that ought to stay before him; to consider what his fortune was, and not, by supplying the place of a common soldier, to venture to turn back upon the enemy so suddenly; and this because he was general in the war, and lord of the habitable earth, on whose preservation the public affairs do all depend. These persuasions Titus seemed not so much as to hear, but opposed those that ran upon him, and smote them on the face; and when he had forced them to go back, he slew them: he also fell upon great numbers as they marched down the hill, and thrust them forward; while those men were so amazed at his courage and his strength, that they could not fly directly to the city, but declined from him on both sides, and pressed after those that fled up the hill; yet did he still fall upon their flank, and put a stop to their fury. In the mean time, a disorder and a terror fell again upon those that were fortifying their camp at the top of the hill, upon their seeing those beneath them running away; insomuch that the whole legion was dispersed, while they thought that the sallies of the Jews upon them were plainly insupportable, and that Titus was himself put to flight; because they took it for granted, that, if he had staid, the rest would never have fled for it. Thus were they encompassed on every side by a kind of panic fear, and some dispersed themselves one way, and some another, till certain of them saw their general in the very midst of an action, and being under great concern for him, they loudly proclaimed the danger he was in to the entire legion; and now shame made them turn back, and they reproached one another that they did worse than run away, by deserting Caesar. So they used their utmost force against the Jews,

and declining from the straight declivity, they drove them on heaps into the bottom of the valley. Then did the Jews turn about and fight them; but as they were themselves retiring, and now, because the Romans had the advantage of the ground, and were above the Jews, they drove them all into the valley. Titus also pressed upon those that were near him, and sent the legion again to fortify their camp; while he, and those that were with him before, opposed the enemy, and kept them from doing further mischief; insomuch that, if I may be allowed neither to add any thing out of flattery, nor to diminish any thing out of envy, but to speak the plain truth, Caesar did twice deliver that entire legion when it was in jeopardy, and gave them a quiet opportunity of fortifying their camp.

III

CHAPTER 3.

How The Sedition Was Again Revived Within Jerusalem And Yet

The Jews Contrived Snares For The Romans. How Titus Also

Threatened His Soldiers For Their Ungovernable Rashness.

(1) [98] Λωφήσαντος δὲ πρὸς βραχὺ τοῦ θύραζε πολέμου πάλιν τὸν ἔνδον ἡ στάσις ἐπήγειρεν. [99] καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀζύμων ἐνστάσης ἡμέρας τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ Ξανθικοῦ μηνός, ἐν ᾗ δοκοῦσιν Ἰουδαῖοι τὸν πρῶτον ἀπαλλαγῆναι καιρὸν Αἰγυπτίων, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον παρανοίγοντες τὰς πύλας ἐδέχοντο ἐκ τοῦ δήμου τοὺς προσκυνεῖν ἐθέλοντας εἴσω, [100] Ἰωάννης δὲ προκάλυμμα τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ποιησάμενος τὴν ἑορτὴν τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ κρυπτοῖς ὅπλοις ἐνσκευάσας τοὺς ἀσημοτέρους, ὧν οἱ πλείους ἦσαν ἄναγνοι, διὰ σπουδῆς παρεισπέμπει προκαταληψομένους τὸ ἱερόν. οἱ δ’ ὡς ἔνδον ἐγένοντο, τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἀπορρίψαντες ἐφάνησαν ἐξαπίνης ὁπλῖται. [101] ταραχὴ δὲ μεγίστη περὶ τὸν ναὸν αὐτίκα καὶ θόρυβος ἦν, τοῦ μὲν ἔξω τῆς στάσεως λαοῦ κατὰ πάντων ἄκριτον οἰομένων εἶναι τὴν ἐπίθεσιν, τῶν δὲ ζηλωτῶν ἐπὶ σφίσι μόνοις. [102] ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν ἀφέμενοι τὸ φρουρεῖν ἔτι τὰς πύλας καὶ τῶν ἐπάλξεων καταπηδήσαντες πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν εἰς τοὺς ὑπονόμους τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατέφυγον: οἱ δ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ καταπτήσσοντες καὶ περὶ τὸν ναὸν συνειλούμενοι κατεπατοῦντο ξύλοις τε ἀνέδην παιόμενοι καὶ σιδήρῳ. [103] πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν ἡσυχίων κατ’ ἔχθραν καὶ μῖσος ἴδιον ὡς ἀντιστασιαστὰς ἀνῄρουν οἱ διάφοροι, καὶ πᾶς ὁ προσκρούσας τῳ τῶν ἐπιβούλων πάλαι τηνικαῦτα ἐπιγνωσθεὶς ὡς ζηλωτὴς πρὸς αἰκίαν ἀνήγετο. [104] πολλὰ δὲ δεινὰ τοὺς ἀναιτίους διαθέντες ἐκεχειρίαν τοῖς αἰτίοις ἔδοσαν, καὶ προελθόντας ἐκ τῶν ὑπονόμων διίεσαν. αὐτοὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐνδότερον ἱερὸν κατασχόντες καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ παρασκευὰς πάσας κατεθάρρουν

ἤδη τοῦ Σίμωνος. [105] ἡ μὲν οὖν στάσις οὕτω τριμερὴς οὖσα πρότερον εἰς δύο μοίρας περιίσταται.

1. As now the war abroad ceased for a while, the sedition within was revived; and on the feast of unleavened bread, which was now come, it being the fourteenth day of the month Xanthicus, [Nisan,] when it is believed the Jews were first freed from the Egyptians, Eleazar and his party opened the gates of this [inmost court of the] temple, and admitted such of the people as were desirous to worship God into it. But John made use of this festival as a cloak for his treacherous designs, and armed the most inconsiderable of his own party, the greater part of whom were not purified, with weapons concealed under their garments, and sent them with great zeal into the temple, in order to seize upon it; which armed men, when they were gotten in, threw their garments away, and presently appeared in their armor. Upon which there was a very great disorder and disturbance about the holy house; while the people, who had no concern in the sedition, supposed that this assault was made against all without distinction, as the zealots thought it was made against themselves only. So these left off guarding the gates any longer, and leaped down from their battlements before they came to an engagement, and fled away into the subterranean caverns of the temple; while the people that stood trembling at the altar, and about the holy house, were rolled on heaps together, and trampled upon, and were beaten both with wooden and with iron weapons without mercy. Such also as had differences with others slew many persons that were quiet, out of their own private enmity and hatred, as if they were opposite to the seditious; and all those that had formerly offended any of these plotters were now known, and were now led away to the slaughter; and when they had done abundance of horrid mischief to the guiltless, they granted a truce to the guilty, and let those go off that came out of the caverns. These followers of John also did now seize upon this inner temple, and upon all the warlike engines therein, and then ventured to oppose Simon. And thus that sedition, which had been divided into three factions, was now reduced to two.

(2) [106] Ὁ δὲ Τίτος ἔγγιον ἀπὸ τοῦ Σκοποῦ τῇ πόλει παραστρατοπεδεύσασθαι προαιρούμενος πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἐκτρέχοντας ἔστησεν ἐπιλέξας ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν ὅσους ἀρκέσειν ὑπελάμβανεν, τῇ δ' ὅλῃ δυνάμει προσέταξεν ἐξομαλίζειν τὸ μέχρι τοῦ τείχους διάστημα. καταβληθέντος δὲ παντὸς ἔρκους καὶ περιφράγματος, [107] ὅσα κήπων προανεστήσαντο καὶ δένδρων οἱ οἰκήτορες, ὕλης τε ἡμέρου τῆς μεταξὺ πάσης ἐκκοπείσης ἀνεπλήσθη μὲν τὰ κοῖλα καὶ χαραδρώδη τοῦ τόπου, [108] τὰς δὲ πετρώδεις ἐξοχὰς σιδήρῳ κατεργαζόμενοι

χθαμαλὸν ἐποίουν πάντα τὸν τόπον ἀπὸ τοῦ Σκοποῦ μέχρι τῶν Ἡρώδου μνημείων, ἃ προσέχει τῇ τῶν ὄφεων ἐπικαλουμένῃ κολυμβήθρᾳ.

2. But Titus, intending to pitch his camp nearer to the city than Scopus, placed as many of his choice horsemen and footmen as he thought sufficient opposite to the Jews, to prevent their sallying out upon them, while he gave orders for the whole army to level the distance, as far as the wall of the city. So they threw down all the hedges and walls which the inhabitants had made about their gardens and groves of trees, and cut down all the fruit trees that lay between them and the wall of the city, and filled up all the hollow places and the chasms, and demolished the rocky precipices with iron instruments; and thereby made all the place level from Scopus to Herod's monuments, which adjoined to the pool called the Serpent's Pool.

(3) [109] Καὶ κατὰ ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας ἐνέδραν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων συσκευάζονται τοιάνδε. [110] τῶν στασιαστῶν οἱ τολμηροὶ προελθόντες ἔξω τῶν Γυναικείων καλουμένων πύργων, ὡς ἐκβεβλημένοι δῆθεν ὑπὸ τῶν εἰρηνικὰ φρονούντων καὶ δεδοικότες τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔφοδον ἀνειλοῦντο καὶ παρ' ἀλλήλους ὑπέπτησσον. [111] οἱ δὲ διαστάντες ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους δῆμος εἶναι δοκῶν εἰρήνην ἐβόων καὶ δεξιὰν ᾐτοῦντο καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐκάλουν ἀνοίξειν ὑπισχνούμενοι τὰς πύλας: ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα κεκραγότες καὶ τοὺς σφετέρους ἔβαλλον λίθοις ὡς ἀπελαύνοντες τῶν πυλῶν. [112] κἀκεῖνοι βιάζεσθαι τὰς εἰσόδους ὑπεκρίνοντο καὶ τοὺς ἔνδον ἱκετεύειν, συνεχῶς τε πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὁρμήσαντας ἐπιστρεφόμενοι ταραττομένοις προσεῴκεισαν. [113] παρὰ μὲν οὖν τοῖς στρατιώταις τὸ πανοῦργον αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐλείπετο πίστεως, ἀλλ' ὡς τοὺς μὲν ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες ἑτοίμους πρὸς τιμωρίαν, τοὺς δὲ ἀνοίξειν τὴν πόλιν ἐλπίζοντες ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν. [114] Τίτῳ δὲ δι' ὑποψίας ἦν τὸ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως παράλογον: καὶ γὰρ πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας προκαλούμενος αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ συμβάσεις διὰ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου μέτριον οὐδὲν εὗρισκε: καὶ τότε τοὺς στρατιώτας κατὰ χώραν μένειν ἐκέλευσεν. [115] ἔφθασαν δέ τινες τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις προτεταγμένων ἁρπάσαντες τὰ ὅπλα πρὸς τὰς πύλας ἐκδραμεῖν. [116] τούτοις οἱ μὲν ἐκβεβλῆσθαι δοκοῦντες τὸ πρῶτον ὑπεχώρουν, ἐπεὶ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν τῆς πύλης ἐγίνοντο πύργων, ἐκθέοντες ἐκυκλοῦντό σφας καὶ προσέκειντο κατόπιν: [117] οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους πλῆθος χερμάδων καὶ βελῶν παντοίων ἄθρουν κατέχεαν, ὡς συχνοὺς μὲν ἀνελεῖν, τρῶσαι δὲ πλείστους. [118] ἦν γὰρ οὐ ῥᾴδιον τοῦ τείχους διαφυγεῖν τῶν κατόπιν βιαζομένων, καὶ ἄλλως αἰδὼς τῆς διαμαρτίας καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων δέος παρεκελεύετο τῷ πταίσματι προσλιπαρεῖν. [119] διὸ δὴ μέχρι πλείστου διαδορατιζόμενοι καὶ πολλὰς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων λαμβάνοντες πληγάς, ἀμέλει δ' οὐκ ἐλάττους ἀντιδιδόντες, τέλος ἀνωθοῦσι τοὺς κυκλωσαμένους: ὑποχωροῦσι δ' αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ μέχρι τῶν Ἑλένης μνημείων εἵποντο βάλλοντες.

3. Now at this very time the Jews contrived the following stratagem against the Romans. The bolder sort of the seditious went out at the towers, called the Women's Towers, as if they had been ejected out of the city by those who were for peace, and rambled about as if they were afraid of being assaulted by the Romans, and were in fear of one another; while those that stood upon the wall, and seemed to be of the people's side, cried out aloud for peace, and entreated they might have security for their lives given them, and called for the Romans, promising to open the gates to them; and as they cried out after that manner, they threw stones at their own people, as though they would drive them away from the gates. These also pretended that they were excluded by force, and that they petitioned those that were within to let them in; and rushing upon the Romans perpetually, with violence, they then came back, and seemed to be in great disorder. Now the Roman soldiers thought this cunning stratagem of theirs was to be believed real, and thinking they had the one party under their power, and could punish them as they pleased, and hoping that the other party would open their gates to them, set to the execution of their designs accordingly. But for Titus himself, he had this surprising conduct of the Jews in suspicion; for whereas he had invited them to come to terms of accommodation, by Josephus, but one day before, he could then receive no civil answer from them; so he ordered the soldiers to stay where they were. However, some of them that were set in the front of the works prevented him, and catching up their arms ran to the gates; whereupon those that seemed to have been ejected at the first retired; but as soon as the soldiers were gotten between the towers on each side of the gate, the Jews ran out and encompassed them round, and fell upon them behind, while that multitude which stood upon the wall threw a heap of stones and darts of all kinds at them, insomuch that they slew a considerable number, and wounded many more; for it was not easy for the Romans to escape, by reason those behind them pressed them forward; besides which, the shame they were under for being mistaken, and the fear they were in of their commanders, engaged them to persevere in their mistake; wherefore they fought with their spears a great while, and received many blows from the Jews, though indeed they gave them as many blows again, and at last repelled those that had encompassed them about, while the Jews pursued them as they retired, and followed them, and threw darts at them as far as the monuments of queen Helena.

(4) [120] Ἔπειθ' οἱ μὲν ἀπειροκάλως ἐξυβρίζοντες εἰς τὴν τύχην ἔσκωπτόν τε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους δελεασθέντας ἀπάτῃ καὶ τοὺς θυρεοὺς ἀνασείοντες ἐσκίρτων καὶ μετὰ χαρᾶς ἀνεβόων. [121] τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ἀπειλή τε τῶν ταξιάρχων καὶ χαλεπαίνων Καῖσαρ τούτοις ἐξεδέχετο, φάσκων ὡς Ἰουδαῖοι μέν, οἷς ἀπόνοια

μόνη στρατηγεῖ, πάντα μετὰ προνοίας πράττουσι καὶ σκέψεως ἐπιβουλάς τε συντάσσοντες καὶ λόχους, ἔπεται δ᾽ αὐτῶν ταῖς ἐνέδραις καὶ τύχη διὰ τὸ πειθήνιον καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους εὔνοιάν τε καὶ πίστιν: [122] Ῥωμαῖοι δέ, οἷς δι᾽ εὐταξίαν καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας εὐπειθὲς ἀεὶ δουλεύει καὶ τύχη, νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων πταίουσι καὶ διὰ χειρῶν ἀκρασίαν ἁλίσκονται, τὸ πάντων αἴσχιστον, ἀστρατήγητοι μαχόμενοι παρόντος Καίσαρος. [123] ἦ μεγάλα μὲν στενάξειν ἔφη τοὺς τῆς στρατείας νόμους, μεγάλα δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν πατέρα τήνδε τὴν πληγὴν πυθόμενον, [124] εἴ γε ὁ μὲν ἐν πολέμοις γηράσας οὐδέποτ᾽ ἔπταισεν οὕτως, οἱ νόμοι δ᾽ ἀεὶ καὶ τοὺς βραχύ τι τῆς τάξεως παρακινήσαντας θανάτῳ κολάζουσιν, νῦν δ᾽ ὅλην στρατιὰν ἑωράκασι λιποτάκτην. [125] γνώσεσθαί γε μὴν αὐτίκα τοὺς ἀπαυθαδισαμένους, ὅτι καὶ τὸ νικᾶν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις δίχα παραγγέλματος ἀδοξεῖται. [126] τοιαῦτα διατεινάμενος πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας δῆλος ἦν κατὰ πάντων χρήσεσθαι τῷ νόμῳ. καὶ οἱ μὲν παρεῖσαν τὰς ψυχὰς ὡς ὅσον οὔπω τεθνηξόμενοι δικαίως, [127] περιχυθέντα δὲ τὰ τάγματα τῷ Τίτῳ περὶ τῶν συστρατιωτῶν ἱκέτευε καὶ τὴν ὀλίγων προπέτειαν χαρίσασθαι τῇ πάντων εὐπειθείᾳ κατηντιβόλουν: ἀναλήψεσθαι γὰρ τὸ παρὸν πταῖσμα ταῖς εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἀρεταῖς.

4. After this these Jews, without keeping any decorum, grew insolent upon their good fortune, and jested upon the Romans for being deluded by the trick they had put upon them, and making a noise with beating their shields, leaped for gladness, and made joyful exclamations; while these soldiers were received with threatenings by their officers, and with indignation by Caesar himself, [who spake to them thus]: These Jews, who are only conducted by their madness, do every thing with care and circumspection; they contrive stratagems, and lay ambushes, and fortune gives success to their stratagems, because they are obedient, and preserve their goodwill and fidelity to one another; while the Romans, to whom fortune uses to be ever subservient, by reason of their good order, and ready submission to their commanders, have now had ill success by their contrary behavior, and by not being able to restrain their hands from action, they have been caught; and that which is the most to their reproach, they have gone on without their commanders, in the very presence of Caesar. "Truly," says Titus, "the laws of war cannot but groan heavily, as will my father also himself, when he shall be informed of this wound that hath been given us, since he who is grown old in wars did never make so great a mistake. Our laws of war do also ever inflict capital punishment on those that in the least break into good order, while at this time they have seen an entire army run into disorder. However, those that have been so insolent shall be made immediately sensible, that even they who conquer among the Romans without orders for fighting are to be under disgrace." When Titus had enlarged upon this matter before the commanders, it

appeared evident that he would execute the law against all those that were concerned; so these soldiers' minds sunk down in despair, as expecting to be put to death, and that justly and quickly. However, the other legions came round about Titus, and entreated his favor to these their fellow soldiers, and made supplication to him, that he would pardon the rashness of a few, on account of the better obedience of all the rest; and promised for them that they should make amends for their present fault, by their more virtuous behavior for the time to come.

(5) [128] Πείθεται Καῖσαρ ἅμα ταῖς τε ἱκεσίαις καὶ τῷ συμφέροντι: τὴν μὲν γὰρ καθ' ἑνὸς τιμωρίαν ᾤετο χρῆναι μέχρις ἔργου προκόπτειν, τὴν δ' ἐπὶ πλήθους μέχρι λόγου. [129] τοῖς μὲν οὖν στρατιώταις διηλλάττετο πολλὰ νουθετήσας αὖθις εἶναι φρονιμωτέρους, αὐτὸς δ' ὅπως ἀμυνεῖται τὴν Ἰουδαίων ἐπιβουλὴν ἐσκόπει. [130] τέσσαρσι δ' ἡμέραις ἐξισωθέντος τοῦ μέχρι τῶν τειχῶν διαστήματος, βουλόμενος μετὰ ἀσφαλείας τάς τε ἀποσκευὰς καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος παράγειν τὸ καρτερώτατον τῆς δυνάμεως ἀντιπαρεξέτεινεν τῷ τείχει κατὰ τὸ βόρειον κλίμα καὶ πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἐφ' ἑπτὰ βαθύνας τὴν φάλαγγα, τῶν τε πεζῶν προτεταγμένων καὶ κατόπιν τῶν ἱππέων, [131] τριστοίχων ἑκατέρων, ἕβδομοι κατὰ μέσον εἱστήκεσαν οἱ τοξόται. [132] τοσούτῳ δὲ στίφει πεφραγμένων Ἰουδαίοις τῶν ἐκδρομῶν τά τε ὑποζύγια τῶν τριῶν ταγμάτων καὶ ἡ πληθὺς ἀδεῶς παρώδευσεν. [133] αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν Τίτος ἀπέχων ὅσον εἰς σταδίους δύο τοῦ τείχους κατὰ τὸ γωνιαῖον αὐτοῦ μέρος ἀντικρὺ τοῦ καλουμένου Ψηφίνου πύργου στρατοπεδεύεται, πρὸς ὃν ὁ κύκλος τοῦ τείχους ἀπ' ἄρκτων καθήκων ἀνακάμπτει πρὸς δύσιν: [134] ἡ δ' ἑτέρα μοῖρα τῆς στρατιᾶς κατὰ τὸν Ἱππικὸν προσαγορευθέντα πύργον τειχίζεται διεστῶσα τῆς πόλεως ὁμοίως δύο σταδίους. [135] τὸ μέντοι δέκατον τάγμα κατὰ χώραν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἐλαιῶν ὄρους ἔμενε.

5. So Caesar complied with their desires, and with what prudence dictated to him also; for he esteemed it fit to punish single persons by real executions, but that the punishment of great multitudes should proceed no further than reproofs; so he was reconciled to the soldiers, but gave them a special charge to act more wisely for the future; and he considered with himself how he might be even with the Jews for their stratagem. And now when the space between the Romans and the wall had been leveled, which was done in four days, and as he was desirous to bring the baggage of the army, with the rest of the multitude that followed him, safely to the camp, he set the strongest part of his army over against that wall which lay on the north quarter of the city, and over against the western part of it, and made his army seven deep, with the footmen placed before them, and the horsemen behind them, each of the last in three ranks, whilst the archers stood in the midst in seven ranks. And now as the Jews were prohibited, by so

great a body of men, from making sallies upon the Romans, both the beasts that bare the burdens, and belonged to the three legions, and the rest of the multitude, marched on without any fear. But as for Titus himself, he was but about two furlongs distant from the wall, at that part of it where was the corner and over against that tower which was called Psephinus, at which tower the compass of the wall belonging to the north bended, and extended itself over against the west; but the other part of the army fortified itself at the tower called Hippicus, and was distant, in like manner, by two furlongs from the city. However, the tenth legion continued in its own place, upon the Mount of Olives.

IV

CHAPTER 4.

The Description Of Jerusalem.

(1) [136] Τρισὶ δ' ὠχυρωμένη τείχεσιν ἡ πόλις καθ' ἣν μὴ ταῖς ἀβάτοις φάραγξι κεκύκλωτο, ταύτῃ γὰρ εἷς ἦν περίβολος, αὐτὴ μὲν ὑπὲρ δύο λόφων ἀντιπρόσωπος ἔκτιστο μέσῃ φάραγγι διῃρημένων, εἰς ἣν ἐπάλληλοι κατέληγον αἱ οἰκίαι. [137] τῶν δὲ λόφων ὁ μὲν τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἔχων ὑψηλότερός τε πολλῷ καὶ τὸ μῆκος ἰθύτερος ἦν: διὰ γοῦν τὴν ὀχυρότητα φρούριον μὲν ὑπὸ Δαυίδου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκαλεῖτο, πατὴρ Σολομῶνος ἦν οὗτος τοῦ τὸν πρῶτον ναὸν κτίσαντος, ἡ ἄνω δὲ ἀγορὰ πρὸς ἡμῶν: ἄτερος δὲ ὁ καλούμενος Ἄκρα καὶ τὴν κάτω πόλιν ὑφεστὼς ἀμφίκυρτος. [138] τούτου δ' ἄντικρυς τρίτος ἦν λόφος, ταπεινότερός τε φύσει τῆς Ἄκρας καὶ πλατείᾳ φάραγγι διειργόμενος ἄλλῃ πρότερον. [139] αὖθίς γε μὴν καθ' οὓς οἱ Ἀσαμωναῖοι χρόνους ἐβασίλευον τήν τε φάραγγα ἔχωσαν συνάψαι βουλόμενοι τῷ ἱερῷ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῆς Ἄκρας κατεργασάμενοι τὸ ὕψος ἐποίησαν χθαμαλώτερον, ὡς ὑπερφαίνοιτο καὶ ταύτῃ τὸ ἱερόν. [140] ἡ δὲ τῶν τυροποιῶν προσαγορευομένη φάραγξ, ἣν ἔφαμεν τόν τε τῆς ἄνω πόλεως καὶ τὸν κάτω λόφον διαστέλλειν, καθήκει μέχρι Σιλωᾶς: οὕτω γὰρ τὴν πηγὴν γλυκεῖάν τε καὶ πολλὴν οὖσαν ἐκαλοῦμεν. [141] ἔξωθεν δ' οἱ τῆς πόλεως δύο λόφοι βαθείαις φάραγξιν περιείχοντο, καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἑκατέρωθεν κρημνοὺς προσιτὸν οὐδαμόθεν ἦν.

1. The city of Jerusalem was fortified with three walls, on such parts as were not encompassed with unpassable valleys; for in such places it had but one wall. The city was built upon two hills, which are opposite to one another, and have a valley to divide them asunder; at which valley the corresponding rows of houses on both hills end. Of these hills, that which contains the upper city is much higher, and in length more direct. Accordingly, it was called the "Citadel," by king David; he was the father of that Solomon who built this temple at the first;

but it is by us called the "Upper Market-place." But the other hill, which was called "Acra," and sustains the lower city, is of the shape of a moon when she is horned; over against this there was a third hill, but naturally lower than Acra, and parted formerly from the other by a broad valley. However, in those times when the Asamoneans reigned, they filled up that valley with earth, and had a mind to join the city to the temple. They then took off part of the height of Acra, and reduced it to be of less elevation than it was before, that the temple might be superior to it. Now the Valley of the Cheesemongers, as it was called, and was that which we told you before distinguished the hill of the upper city from that of the lower, extended as far as Siloam; for that is the name of a fountain which hath sweet water in it, and this in great plenty also. But on the outsides, these hills are surrounded by deep valleys, and by reason of the precipices to them belonging on both sides they are every where unpassable.

(2) [142] Τῶν δὲ τριῶν τειχῶν τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον διά τε τὰς φάραγγας καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων λόφον, ἐφ' οὗ κατεσκεύαστο, δυσάλωτον ἦν: [143] πρὸς δὲ τῷ πλεονεκτήματι τοῦ τόπου καὶ καρτερῶς ἐδεδόμητο, Δαυίδου τε καὶ Σολομῶνος, ἔτι δὲ τῶν μεταξὺ τούτων βασιλέων φιλοτιμηθέντων περὶ τὸ ἔργον. [144] ἀρχόμενον δὲ κατὰ βορρᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἱππικοῦ καλουμένου πύργου καὶ διατεῖνον ἐπὶ τὸν ξυστόν, ἔπειτα τῇ βουλῇ συνάπτον ἐπὶ τὴν ἑσπέριον τοῦ ἱεροῦ στοὰν ἀπηρτίζετο. [145] κατὰ θάτερα δὲ πρὸς δύσιν, ἀπὸ ταὐτοῦ μὲν ἀρχόμενον, διὰ δὲ τοῦ Βησοῦ καλουμένου χώρου κατατεῖνον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐσσηνῶν πύλην, κἄπειτα πρὸς νότον ὑπὲρ τὴν Σιλωὰν ἐπιστρέφον πηγήν, ἔνθεν τε πάλιν ἐκκλίνον πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Σολομῶνος κολυμβήθραν καὶ διῆκον μέχρι χώρου τινός, ὃν καλοῦσιν Ὀφλάς, τῇ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν στοᾷ τοῦ ἱεροῦ συνῆπτε. [146] τὸ δὲ δεύτερον τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ πύλης εἶχεν, ἣν Γενὰθ ἐκάλουν τοῦ πρώτου τείχους οὖσαν, κυκλούμενον δὲ τὸ προσάρκτιον κλίμα μόνον ἀνῄει μέχρι τῆς Ἀντωνίας. [147] τῷ τρίτῳ δ' ἀρχὴ ἦν ὁ Ἱππικὸς πύργος, ὅθεν μέχρι τοῦ βορείου κλίματος κατατεῖνον ἐπὶ τὸν Ψήφινον πύργον, ἔπειτα καθῆκον ἀντικρὺ τῶν Ἑλένης μνημείων, Ἀδιαβηνὴ βασιλὶς ἦν αὕτη Ἰζάτου βασιλέως θυγάτηρ, καὶ διὰ σπηλαίων βασιλικῶν μηκυνόμενον ἐκάμπτετο μὲν γωνιαίῳ πύργῳ κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Γναφέως προσαγορευόμενον μνῆμα, τῷ δ' ἀρχαίῳ περιβόλῳ συνάπτον εἰς τὴν Κεδρῶνα καλουμένην φάραγγα κατέληγεν. [148] τοῦτο τῇ προσκτισθείσῃ πόλει περιέθηκεν Ἀγρίππας, ἥπερ ἦν πᾶσα γυμνή: πλήθει γὰρ ὑπερχεομένη κατὰ μικρὸν ἐξεῖρπε τῶν περιβόλων. [149] καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὰ προσάρκτια πρὸς τῷ λόφῳ συμπολίζοντες ἐπ' οὐκ ὀλίγον προῆλθον καὶ τέταρτον περιοικηθῆναι λόφον, ὃς καλεῖται Βεζεθά, κείμενος μὲν ἀντικρὺ τῆς Ἀντωνίας, ἀποτεμνόμενος δὲ ὀρύγματι βαθεῖ: [150] διεταφρεύθη γὰρ ἐπίτηδες, ὡς μὴ τῷ λόφῳ συνάπτοντες οἱ θεμέλιοι τῆς Ἀντωνίας εὐπρόσιτοί τε εἶεν καὶ ἧττον ὑψηλοί: [151] διὸ δὴ καὶ πλεῖστον ὕψος

τοῖς πύργοις προσεδίδου τὸ βάθος τῆς τάφρου. ἐκλήθη δ᾽ ἐπιχωρίως Βεζεθὰ τὸ νεόκτιστον μέρος, ὃ μεθερμηνευόμενον Ἑλλάδι γλώσσῃ καινὴ λέγοιτ᾽ ἂν πόλις. [152] δεομένων οὖν τῶν ταύτῃ σκέπης ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ νῦν βασιλέως καὶ ὁμώνυμος Ἀγρίππας ἄρχεται μὲν οὗ προείπομεν τείχους, δείσας δὲ Κλαύδιον Καίσαρα, μὴ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς κατασκευῆς ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ πραγμάτων ὑπονοήσῃ καὶ στάσεως, παύεται θεμελίους μόνον βαλόμενος. [153] καὶ γὰρ οὐδ᾽ ἂν ἦν ἁλώσιμος ἡ πόλις, εἰ προύκοπτε τὸ τεῖχος ὡς ἤρξατο: λίθοις μὲν γὰρ εἰκοσαπήχεσι τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὸ εὖρος δεκαπήχεσι συνηρμόζετο μήθ᾽ ὑπορυγῆναι σιδήρῳ ῥᾳδίως μήθ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ὀργάνοις διασεισθῆναι δυνάμενον, [154] δέκα δὲ πήχεις αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐπλατύνετο, καὶ τὸ ὕψος πλεῖον μὲν ἄν, ὡς εἰκός, ἔσχε μὴ διακωλυθείσης τῆς τοῦ καταρξαμένου φιλοτιμίας. [155] αὖθις δὲ καίτοι μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐγειρόμενον ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων εἰς εἴκοσι πήχεις ἀνέστη, καὶ διπήχεις μὲν τὰς ἐπάλξεις, τριπήχεις δὲ τοὺς προμαχῶνας εἶχεν, ὡς τὸ πᾶν ὕψος εἰς εἰκοσιπέντε πήχεις ἀνατετάσθαι.

2. Now, of these three walls, the old one was hard to be taken, both by reason of the valleys, and of that hill on which it was built, and which was above them. But besides that great advantage, as to the place where they were situated, it was also built very strong; because David and Solomon, and the following kings, were very zealous about this work. Now that wall began on the north, at the tower called "Hippicus," and extended as far as the "Xistus," a place so called, and then, joining to the council-house, ended at the west cloister of the temple. But if we go the other way westward, it began at the same place, and extended through a place called "Bethso," to the gate of the Essens; and after that it went southward, having its bending above the fountain Siloam, where it also bends again towards the east at Solomon's pool, and reaches as far as a certain place which they called "Ophlas," where it was joined to the eastern cloister of the temple. The second wall took its beginning from that gate which they called "Gennath," which belonged to the first wall; it only encompassed the northern quarter of the city, and reached as far as the tower Antonia. The beginning of the third wall was at the tower Hippicus, whence it reached as far as the north quarter of the city, and the tower Psephinus, and then was so far extended till it came over against the monuments of Helena, which Helena was queen of Adiabene, the daughter of Izates; it then extended further to a great length, and passed by the sepulchral caverns of the kings, and bent again at the tower of the corner, at the monument which is called the "Monument of the Fuller," and joined to the old wall at the valley called the "Valley of Cedron." It was Agrippa who encompassed the parts added to the old city with this wall, which had been all naked before; for as the city grew more populous, it gradually crept beyond its old limits, and those parts of it that stood northward of the temple, and joined

that hill to the city, made it considerably larger, and occasioned that hill, which is in number the fourth, and is called "Bezetha," to be inhabited also. It lies over against the tower Antonia, but is divided from it by a deep valley, which was dug on purpose, and that in order to hinder the foundations of the tower of Antonia from joining to this hill, and thereby affording an opportunity for getting to it with ease, and hindering the security that arose from its superior elevation; for which reason also that depth of the ditch made the elevation of the towers more remarkable. This new-built part of the city was called "Bezetha," in our language, which, if interpreted in the Grecian language, may be called "the New City." Since, therefore, its inhabitants stood in need of a covering, the father of the present king, and of the same name with him, Agrippa, began that wall we spoke of; but he left off building it when he had only laid the foundations, out of the fear he was in of Claudius Caesar, lest he should suspect that so strong a wall was built in order to make some innovation in public affairs; for the city could no way have been taken if that wall had been finished in the manner it was begun; as its parts were connected together by stones twenty cubits long, and ten cubits broad, which could never have been either easily undermined by any iron tools, or shaken by any engines. The wall was, however, ten cubits wide, and it would probably have had a height greater than that, had not his zeal who began it been hindered from exerting itself. After this, it was erected with great diligence by the Jews, as high as twenty cubits, above which it had battlements of two cubits, and turrets of three cubits altitude, insomuch that the entire altitude extended as far as twenty-five cubits.

(3) [156] Τοῦ δὲ τείχους ὑπερεῖχον οἱ πύργοι πήχεις εἴκοσι μὲν εἰς εὖρος, εἴκοσι δὲ εἰς ὕψος, τετράγωνοί τε καὶ πλήρεις ὥσπερ αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος ὄντες: ἥ γε μὴν ἁρμονία καὶ τὸ κάλλος τῶν λίθων οὐδὲν ἀπέδει ναοῦ. [157] μετὰ δὲ τὸ ναστὸν ὕψος τῶν πύργων, ὅπερ ἦν εἰκοσάπηχυ, πολυτελεῖς ἦσαν οἶκοι, καὶ καθύπερθεν ὑπερῷα, δεξαμεναί τε πρὸς τὰς τῶν ὑετῶν ὑποδοχάς, ἕλικές τε καὶ πλατεῖαι καθ' ἕκαστον ἄνοδοι. [158] τοιούτους μὲν οὖν πύργους τὸ τρίτον τεῖχος εἶχεν ἐνενήκοντα, τὰ μεταπύργια δὲ τούτων ἀνὰ πήχεις διακοσίους: τὸ δ' αὖ μέσον εἰς τέσσαρας καὶ δέκα πύργους, τὸ δ' ἀρχαῖον εἰς ἑξήκοντα μεμέριστο. [159] τῆς πόλεως δ' ὁ πᾶς κύκλος σταδίων ἦν τριακοντατριῶν. θαυμασίου δ' ὄντος ὅλου τοῦ τρίτου τείχους θαυμασιώτερος ἀνεῖχε κατὰ γωνίαν βόρειός τε καὶ πρὸς δύσιν ὁ Ψήφινος πύργος, καθ' ὃν ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο Τίτος. [160] ἐπὶ γὰρ ἑβδομήκοντα πήχεις ὑψηλὸς ὢν Ἀραβίαν τε ἀνίσχοντος ἡλίου παρεῖχεν ἀφορᾶν καὶ μέχρι θαλάττης τὰ τῆς Ἑβραίων κληρουχίας ἔσχατα: [161] ὀκτάγωνος δὲ ἦν. τούτου δ' ἄντικρυς ὁ Ἱππικὸς καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν δύο κατεσκευάσθησαν μὲν ὑφ' Ἡρώδου βασιλέως ἐν τῷ ἀρχαίῳ τείχει, μέγεθος δὲ καὶ κάλλος ἦσαν καὶ ὀχυρότητα τῶν

κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην διάφοροι: [162] πρὸς γὰρ τῷ φύσει μεγαλοψύχῳ καὶ τῇ περὶ τὴν πόλιν φιλοτιμίᾳ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τῶν ἔργων ὁ βασιλεὺς πάθεσιν οἰκείοις ἐχαρίζετο καὶ τρισὶ τοῖς ἠδίστοις προσώποις, ἀφ᾽ ὧν ὠνόμασε τοὺς πύργους, ἀδελφῷ καὶ φίλῳ καὶ γυναικί, τὴν μνήμην ἀνέθηκε, τὴν μὲν ὡς προειρήκαμεν κτείνας δι᾽ ἔρωτα, τοὺς δὲ ἀποβαλὼν ἐν πολέμῳ γενναίως ἀγωνισαμένους. [163] ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἱππικὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ φίλου προσαγορευθεὶς τετράγωνος μὲν ἦν, εὖρος δὲ καὶ μῆκος εἰκοσιπέντε πηχῶν ἕκαστον καὶ ὕψος τριάκοντα, οὐδαμοῦ διάκενος. [164] ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ πλῆρες καὶ ταῖς πέτραις συνηνωμένον εἰς ἐκδοχὴν ὄμβρων εἰκοσάπηχυς λάκκος ἦν τὸ βάθος, [165] ἐπάνω δὲ τούτου δίστεγος οἶκος ἦν εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε πηχῶν τὸ ὕψος εἰς ποικίλα τέγη διῃρημένος, ὑπὲρ ὃν τύρσεις μὲν διπήχεις προμαχῶνες δὲ περιβέβληντο τριπήχεις, ὡς τὸ πᾶν ὕψος εἰς ὀγδοήκοντα πήχεις συναριθμεῖσθαι. [166] ὁ δὲ δεύτερος πύργος, ὃν ὠνόμασεν ἀπὸ τἀδελφοῦ Φασάηλον, τὸ μὲν πλάτος καὶ τὸ μῆκος ἴσον εἶχεν, τεσσαράκοντα πηχῶν ἕκαστον, ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὸ ναστὸν ἦν ὕψος. [167] ἐπάνω δὲ αὐτοῦ περιῄει στοὰ δεκάπηχυς τὸ ὕψος θωρακίοις τε καὶ προβόλοις σκεπομένη. [168] μέσην δὲ ὑπερῳκοδόμητο τὴν στοὰν πύργος ἕτερος εἵς τε οἴκους πολυτελεῖς καὶ δὴ καὶ βαλανεῖον διῃρημένος, ὡς μηδὲν ἐνδέοι τῷ πύργῳ βασίλειον δοκεῖν. τὰ δ᾽ ἄκρα τοῖς προμαχῶσι καὶ ταῖς τύρσεσιν † ἡ περιαυτοῦ κεκόσμητο. [169] πηχῶν δ᾽ ἦν τὸ πᾶν ὕψος ὡς ἐνενήκοντα, καὶ τὸ μὲν σχῆμα παρεῴκει τῷ κατὰ τὴν Φάρον ἐκπυρσεύοντι τοῖς ἐπὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας πλέουσι, τῇ περιοχῇ δὲ πολὺ μείζων ἦν: τηνικαῦτά γε μὴν τυραννεῖον ἀπεδείχθη τοῦ Σίμωνος. [170] ὁ δὲ τρίτος πύργος ἡ Μαριάμμη, τοῦτο γὰρ ἡ βασιλὶς ἐκαλεῖτο, μέχρι μὲν εἴκοσι πηχῶν ναστὸς ἦν, εἴκοσι δὲ πήχεις εἰς εὖρος διέβαινε καὶ μῆκος ἴσον, [171] πολυτελεστέραν δὲ καὶ ποικιλωτέραν τῶν ἄλλων τὴν οἴκησιν εἶχεν ἐπάνω, τοῦ βασιλέως οἰκεῖον ὑπολαβόντος τὸν ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ὀνομασθέντα κεκοσμῆσθαι πλέον ἢ τοὺς ἀπ᾽ ἀνδρῶν, ὥσπερ ἐκείνους τοῦ τῆς γυναικὸς ἰσχυροτέρους. τούτου τὸ πᾶν ὕψος πεντήκοντα καὶ πέντε πηχῶν ἦν.

3. Now the towers that were upon it were twenty cubits in breadth, and twenty cubits in height; they were square and solid, as was the wall itself, wherein the niceness of the joints, and the beauty of the stones, were no way inferior to those of the holy house itself. Above this solid altitude of the towers, which was twenty cubits, there were rooms of great magnificence, and over them upper rooms, and cisterns to receive rain-water. They were many in number, and the steps by which you ascended up to them were every one broad: of these towers then the third wall had ninety, and the spaces between them were each two hundred cubits; but in the middle wall were forty towers, and the old wall was parted into sixty, while the whole compass of the city was thirty-three furlongs. Now the third wall was all of it wonderful; yet was the tower Psephinus elevated

above it at the north-west corner, and there Titus pitched his own tent; for being seventy cubits high it both afforded a prospect of Arabia at sun-rising, as well as it did of the utmost limits of the Hebrew possessions at the sea westward. Moreover, it was an octagon, and over against it was the tower Hipplicus, and hard by two others were erected by king Herod, in the old wall. These were for largeness, beauty, and strength beyond all that were in the habitable earth; for besides the magnanimity of his nature, and his magnificence towards the city on other occasions, he built these after such an extraordinary manner, to gratify his own private affections, and dedicated these towers to the memory of those three persons who had been the dearest to him, and from whom he named them. They were his brother, his friend, and his wife. This wife he had slain, out of his love [and jealousy], as we have already related; the other two he lost in war, as they were courageously fighting. Hippicus, so named from his friend, was square; its length and breadth were each twenty-five cubits, and its height thirty, and it had no vacuity in it. Over this solid building, which was composed of great stones united together, there was a reservoir twenty cubits deep, over which there was a house of two stories, whose height was twenty-five cubits, and divided into several parts; over which were battlements of two cubits, and turrets all round of three cubits high, insomuch that the entire height added together amounted to fourscore cubits. The second tower, which he named from his brother Phasaelus, had its breadth and its height equal, each of them forty cubits; over which was its solid height of forty cubits; over which a cloister went round about, whose height was ten cubits, and it was covered from enemies by breast-works and bulwarks. There was also built over that cloister another tower, parted into magnificent rooms, and a place for bathing; so that this tower wanted nothing that might make it appear to be a royal palace. It was also adorned with battlements and turrets, more than was the foregoing, and the entire altitude was about ninety cubits; the appearance of it resembled the tower of Pharus, which exhibited a fire to such as sailed to Alexandria, but was much larger than it in compass. This was now converted to a house, wherein Simon exercised his tyrannical authority. The third tower was Mariamne, for that was his queen's name; it was solid as high as twenty cubits; its breadth and its length were twenty cubits, and were equal to each other; its upper buildings were more magnificent, and had greater variety, than the other towers had; for the king thought it most proper for him to adorn that which was denominated from his wife, better than those denominated from men, as those were built stronger than this that bore his wife's name. The entire height of this tower was fifty cubits.

(4) [172] Τηλικοῦτοι δ' ὄντες οἱ τρεῖς τὸ μέγεθος πολὺ μείζονες ἐφαίνοντο διὰ τὸν τόπον: [173] αὐτό τε γὰρ τὸ ἀρχαῖον τεῖχος, ἐν ᾧ ἦσαν, ἐφ' ὑψηλῷ λόφῳ δεδόμητο, καὶ τοῦ λόφου καθάπερ κορυφή τις ὑψηλοτέρα προανεῖχεν εἰς τριάκοντα πήχεις, ὑπὲρ ἣν οἱ πύργοι κείμενοι πολὺ δή τι τοῦ μετεώρου προσελάμβανον. [174] θαυμάσιον δὲ καὶ τῶν λίθων ἦν τὸ μέγεθος: οὐ γὰρ ἐξ εἰκαίας χερμάδος οὐδὲ φορητῶν ἀνθρώποις πετρῶν συνειστήκεσαν, λευκὴ δὲ μάρμαρος ἐτμήθη: [175] καὶ τὸ μὲν μῆκος ἑκάστης πηχῶν ἦν εἴκοσι, δέκα δὲ εὖρος καὶ βάθος πέντε, συνήνωντο δ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ὡς δοκεῖν ἕκαστον πύργον μίαν εἶναι πέτραν ἀναπεφυκυῖαν, ἔπειτα δὲ περιεξέσθαι χερσὶ τεχνιτῶν εἰς σχῆμα καὶ γωνίας: οὕτως οὐδαμόθεν ἡ συνάφεια τῆς ἁρμονίας διεφαίνετο. [176] κειμένοις δὲ πρὸς ἄρκτον αὐτοῖς ἔνδοθεν ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐλὴ προσέζευκτο, παντὸς λόγου κρείσσων: [177] οὔτε γὰρ πολυτελείας οὔτε κατασκευῆς τινος ἔλειπεν ὑπερβολήν, ἀλλὰ τετείχιστο μὲν ἅπασα τριάκοντα πήχεις τὸ ὕψος κύκλῳ κατ' ἴσον διάστημα, κεκοσμημένοις δὲ πύργοις διείληπτο ἀνδρῶσί τε μεγίστοις καὶ εἰς ξενῶνας ἑκατοντακλίνους: [178] ἐν οἷς ἀδιήγητος μὲν ἡ ποικιλία τῶν λίθων ἦν, συνῆκτο γὰρ πολὺς ὁ πανταχοῦ σπάνιος, θαυμασταὶ δὲ ὀροφαὶ μήκει τε δοκῶν καὶ λαμπρότητι προκοσμημάτων, [179] οἴκων δὲ πλῆθος καὶ διαφοραὶ σχημάτων περὶ τούτους μυρίαι, πᾶσίν γε μὴν ἀποσκευαὶ πλήρεις, καὶ τὰ πλείω τῶν ἐν ἑκάστοις κειμένων ἐξ ἀργύρου τε καὶ χρυσοῦ. [180] περίστοα δὲ δι' ἀλλήλων ἐν κύκλῳ πολλά, καὶ στῦλοι πρὸς ἑκάστῳ διάφοροι, τά γε μὴν τούτων ὕπαιθρα πάντα χλοερά, [181] καὶ ποικίλαι μὲν ὕλαι μακροὶ δὲ δι' αὐτῶν περίπατοι καὶ περὶ τούτους εὔριποι βαθεῖς δεξαμεναί τε πανταχοῦ χαλκουργημάτων περίπλεοι, δι' ὧν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐξεχεῖτο, καὶ πολλοὶ περὶ τὰ νάματα πύργοι πελειάδων ἡμέρων. [182] ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔθ' ἑρμηνεῦσαι δυνατὸν ἀξίως τὰ βασίλεια, καὶ φέρει βάσανον ἡ μνήμη τὰς τοῦ λῃστρικοῦ πυρὸς δαπάνας ἀναφέρουσα: [183] οὐ γὰρ ταῦτα Ῥωμαῖοι κατέφλεξαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἔνδον ἐπιβούλων, ὡς προειρήκαμεν, ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Ἀντωνίας ἤρξατο τὸ πῦρ, μετέβη δ' ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τῶν τριῶν πύργων τὰς στέγας ἐπενεμήθη.

4. Now as these towers were so very tall, they appeared much taller by the place on which they stood; for that very old wall wherein they were was built on a high hill, and was itself a kind of elevation that was still thirty cubits taller; over which were the towers situated, and thereby were made much higher to appearance. The largeness also of the stones was wonderful; for they were not made of common small stones, nor of such large ones only as men could carry, but they were of white marble, cut out of the rock; each stone was twenty cubits in length, and ten in breadth, and five in depth. They were so exactly united to one another, that each tower looked like one entire rock of stone, so growing naturally, and afterward cut by the hand of the artificers into their present shape

and corners; so little, or not at all, did their joints or connexion appear low as these towers were themselves on the north side of the wall, the king had a palace inwardly thereto adjoined, which exceeds all my ability to describe it; for it was so very curious as to want no cost nor skill in its construction, but was entirely walled about to the height of thirty cubits, and was adorned with towers at equal distances, and with large bed-chambers, that would contain beds for a hundred guests a-piece, in which the variety of the stones is not to be expressed; for a large quantity of those that were rare of that kind was collected together. Their roofs were also wonderful, both for the length of the beams, and the splendor of their ornaments. The number of the rooms was also very great, and the variety of the figures that were about them was prodigious; their furniture was complete, and the greatest part of the vessels that were put in them was of silver and gold. There were besides many porticoes, one beyond another, round about, and in each of those porticoes curious pillars; yet were all the courts that were exposed to the air every where green. There were, moreover, several groves of trees, and long walks through them, with deep canals, and cisterns, that in several parts were filled with brazen statues, through which the water ran out. There were withal many dove-courts of tame pigeons about the canals. But indeed it is not possible to give a complete description of these palaces; and the very remembrance of them is a torment to one, as putting one in mind what vastly rich buildings that fire which was kindled by the robbers hath consumed; for these were not burnt by the Romans, but by these internal plotters, as we have already related, in the beginning of their rebellion. That fire began at the tower of Antonia, and went on to the palaces, and consumed the upper parts of the three towers themselves.

V

CHAPTER 5.

A Description Of The Temple.

(1) [184] Τὸ δ’ ἱερὸν ἵδρυτο μέν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἐπὶ λόφου καρτεροῦ, κατ’ ἀρχὰς δὲ μόλις ἐξήρκει τὸ ἀνωτάτω χθαμαλὸν αὐτοῦ τῷ τε ναῷ καὶ τῷ βωμῷ: τὰ γὰρ πέριξ ἀπόκρημνος ἦν καὶ κατάντης. [185] τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως Σολομῶνος, ὃς δὴ καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἔκτισεν, τὸ κατ’ ἀνατολὰς μέρος ἐκτειχίσαντος, ἐπετέθη μία στοὰ τῷ χώματι: καὶ κατά γε τὰ λοιπὰ μέρη γυμνὸς ὁ ναὸς ἦν. τοῖς δ’ ἑξῆς αἰῶσιν ἀεί τι τοῦ λαοῦ προσχωννύντος ἀνισούμενος ὁ λόφος ηὐρύνετο. [186] διακόψαντες δὲ καὶ τὸ προσάρκτιον τεῖχος τοσοῦτον προσελάμβανον ὅσον ὕστερον ἐπεῖχεν ὁ τοῦ παντὸς ἱεροῦ περίβολος. [187] τειχίσαντες δ’ ἐκ ῥίζης τριχῆ κυκλόθεν τὸν

λόφον καὶ μεῖζον ἐλπίδος ἐκπονήσαντες ἔργον, εἰς ὃ μακροὶ μὲν ἐξαναλώθησαν αἰῶνες αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ ἱεροὶ δὲ θησαυροὶ πάντες, οὓς ἀνεπίμπλασαν οἱ παρὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης δασμοὶ πεμπόμενοι τῷ θεῷ, τούς τε ἄνω περιβόλους καὶ τὸ κάτω ἱερὸν ἀμφεδείμαντο. [188] τούτου τὸ ταπεινότατον ἀπὸ τριακοσίων ἀνετειχίσαντο πηχῶν, κατὰ δέ τινας τόπους καὶ πλείονος. οὐ μέντοι πᾶν τὸ βάθος ἐφαίνετο τῶν θεμελίων: ἐπὶ πολὺ γὰρ ἔχωσαν τὰς φάραγγας ἀνισοῦν βουλόμενοι τοὺς στενωποὺς τοῦ ἄστεος. [189] πέτραι δὲ τεσσαρακονταπήχεις τὸ μέγεθος ἦσαν τοῦ δομήματος: ἥ τε γὰρ δαψίλεια τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ φιλοτιμία λόγου μείζονας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς ἐπιβολάς, καὶ τὸ μηδὲ ἐλπισθὲν ἔξειν πέρας ἐπιμονῇ καὶ χρόνοις ἦν ἀνύσιμον.

1. Now this temple, as I have already said, was built upon a strong hill. At first the plain at the top was hardly sufficient for the holy house and the altar, for the ground about it was very uneven, and like a precipice; but when king Solomon, who was the person that built the temple, had built a wall to it on its east side, there was then added one cloister founded on a bank cast up for it, and on the other parts the holy house stood naked. But in future ages the people added new banks, and the hill became a larger plain. They then broke down the wall on the north side, and took in as much as sufficed afterward for the compass of the entire temple. And when they had built walls on three sides of the temple round about, from the bottom of the hill, and had performed a work that was greater than could be hoped for, [in which work long ages were spent by them, as well as all their sacred treasures were exhausted, which were still replenished by those tributes which were sent to God from the whole habitable earth,] they then encompassed their upper courts with cloisters, as well as they [afterward] did the lowest [court of the] temple. The lowest part of this was erected to the height of three hundred cubits, and in some places more; yet did not the entire depth of the foundations appear, for they brought earth, and filled up the valleys, as being desirous to make them on a level with the narrow streets of the city; wherein they made use of stones of forty cubits in magnitude; for the great plenty of money they then had, and the liberality of the people, made this attempt of theirs to succeed to an incredible degree; and what could not be so much as hoped for as ever to be accomplished, was, by perseverance and length of time, brought to perfection.

(2) [190] Ἦν δὲ ἄξια τῶν τηλικούτων θεμελίων καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἔργα διπλαῖ μὲν γὰρ αἱ στοαὶ πᾶσαι, κίονες δ' αὐταῖς εἰκοσιπέντε πηχῶν τὸ ὕψος ἐφεστήκεσαν μονόλιθοι λευκοτάτης μαρμάρου, κεδρίνοις δὲ φατνώμασιν ὠρόφωντο. [191] τούτων ἡ μὲν φυσικὴ πολυτέλεια καὶ τὸ εὔξεστον καὶ τὸ ἁρμόνιον παρεῖχε θεωρίαν ἀξιόλογον, οὐδενὶ δὲ ἔξωθεν οὔτε ζωγραφίας οὔτε γλυφίδος ἔργῳ

προσηγλάιστο. [192] καὶ πλατεῖαι μὲν ἦσαν ἐπὶ τριάκοντα πήχεις, ὁ δὲ πᾶς κύκλος αὐτῶν εἰς ἓξ σταδίους συνεμετρεῖτο περιλαμβανομένης καὶ τῆς Ἀντωνίας: τὸ δ' ὕπαιθρον ἅπαν πεποίκιλτο παντοδαπῷ λίθῳ κατεστρωμένον. [193] διὰ τούτου προιόντων ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἱερὸν δρύφακτος περιβέβλητο λίθινος, τρίπηχυς μὲν ὕψος, πάνυ δὲ χαριέντως διειργασμένος: [194] ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ εἱστήκεσαν ἐξ ἴσου διαστήματος στῆλαι τὸν τῆς ἁγνείας προσημαίνουσαι νόμον αἱ μὲν Ἑλληνικοῖς αἱ δὲ Ῥωμαικοῖς γράμμασιν μηδένα ἀλλόφυλον ἐντὸς τοῦ ἁγίου παριέναι: [195] τὸ γὰρ δεύτερον ἱερὸν ἅγιον ἐκαλεῖτο. καὶ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα [μὲν] βαθμοῖς ἦν ἀναβατὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου, τετράγωνον δὲ ἄνω καὶ τείχει περιπεφραγμένον ἰδίῳ. [196] τούτου τὸ μὲν ἔξωθεν ὕψος καίπερ τεσσαράκοντα πηχῶν ὑπάρχον ὑπὸ τῶν βαθμῶν ἐκαλύπτετο, τὸ δὲ ἔνδον εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε πηχῶν ἦν: πρὸς γὰρ ὑψηλοτέρῳ δεδομημένου τοῦ βαθμοῦ οὐκέτ' ἦν ἅπαν εἴσω καταφανὲς καλυπτόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ λόφου. [197] μετὰ δὲ τοὺς δεκατέσσαρας βαθμοὺς τὸ μέχρι τοῦ τείχους διάστημα πηχῶν ἦν δέκα, πᾶν ἰσόπεδον. [198] ἔνθεν ἄλλοι πάλιν πεντέβαθμοι κλίμακες ἀνῆγον ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας, αἳ ἀπὸ μὲν ἄρκτου καὶ μεσημβρίας ὀκτώ, καθ' ἑκάτερον τέσσαρες, δύο δ' ἦσαν ἐξ ἀνατολῆς κατ' ἀνάγκην: διατετειχισμένου γὰρ κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ κλίμα ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἰδίου πρὸς θρησκείαν χώρου ἔδει δευτέραν εἶναι πύλην: τέτμητο δ' αὕτη τῆς πρώτης ἄντικρυς. [199] κἀκ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ κλιμάτων μία μεσημβρινὴ πύλη καὶ μία βόρειος, δι' ἧς εἰς τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν εἰσῆγον: κατὰ γὰρ τὰς ἄλλας οὐκ ἐξῆν παρελθεῖν γυναιξίν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κατὰ τὴν σφετέραν ὑπερβῆναι τὸ διατείχισμα. ἀνεῖτό γε μὴν ταῖς τ' ἐπιχωρίοις καὶ ταῖς ἔξωθεν ὁμοφύλοις ἐν ἴσῳ πρὸς θρησκείαν ὁ χῶρος. [200] τὸ δὲ πρὸς δύσιν μέρος οὐκ εἶχε πύλην, ἀλλὰ διηνεκὲς ἐδεδόμητο ταύτῃ τὸ τεῖχος. αἱ στοαὶ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν πυλῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἔνδον ἐστραμμέναι πρὸ τῶν γαζοφυλακίων σφόδρα μὲν καλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ἀνείχοντο κίοσιν, ἦσαν δ' ἁπλαῖ, καὶ πλὴν τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν κάτω κατ' οὐδὲν ἀπελείποντο.

2. Now for the works that were above these foundations, these were not unworthy of such foundations; for all the cloisters were double, and the pillars to them belonging were twenty-five cubits in height, and supported the cloisters. These pillars were of one entire stone each of them, and that stone was white marble; and the roofs were adorned with cedar, curiously graven. The natural magnificence, and excellent polish, and the harmony of the joints in these cloisters, afforded a prospect that was very remarkable; nor was it on the outside adorned with any work of the painter or engraver. The cloisters [of the outmost court] were in breadth thirty cubits, while the entire compass of it was by measure six furlongs, including the tower of Antonia; those entire courts that were exposed to the air were laid with stones of all sorts. When you go through these [first] cloisters, unto the second [court of the] temple, there was a partition

made of stone all round, whose height was three cubits: its construction was very elegant; upon it stood pillars, at equal distances from one another, declaring the law of purity, some in Greek, and some in Roman letters, that "no foreigner should go within that sanctuary" for that second [court of the] temple was called "the Sanctuary," and was ascended to by fourteen steps from the first court. This court was four-square, and had a wall about it peculiar to itself; the height of its buildings, although it were on the outside forty cubits, was hidden by the steps, and on the inside that height was but twenty-five cubits; for it being built over against a higher part of the hill with steps, it was no further to be entirely discerned within, being covered by the hill itself. Beyond these thirteen steps there was the distance of ten cubits; this was all plain; whence there were other steps, each of five cubits a-piece, that led to the gates, which gates on the north and south sides were eight, on each of those sides four, and of necessity two on the east. For since there was a partition built for the women on that side, as the proper place wherein they were to worship, there was a necessity for a second gate for them: this gate was cut out of its wall, over against the first gate. There was also on the other sides one southern and one northern gate, through which was a passage into the court of the women; for as to the other gates, the women were not allowed to pass through them; nor when they went through their own gate could they go beyond their own wall. This place was allotted to the women of our own country, and of other countries, provided they were of the same nation, and that equally. The western part of this court had no gate at all, but the wall was built entire on that side. But then the cloisters which were betwixt the gates extended from the wall inward, before the chambers; for they were supported by very fine and large pillars. These cloisters were single, and, excepting their magnitude, were no way inferior to those of the lower court.

(3) [201] Τῶν δὲ πυλῶν αἱ μὲν ἐννέα χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ κεκαλυμμέναι πανταχόθεν ἦσαν ὁμοίως τε αἵ τε παραστάδες καὶ τὰ ὑπέρθυρα, μία δ' ἡ ἔξωθεν τοῦ νεὼ Κορινθίου χαλκοῦ πολὺ τῇ τιμῇ τὰς καταργύρους καὶ περιχρύσους ὑπεράγουσα. [202] καὶ δύο μὲν ἑκάστου πυλῶνος θύραι, τριάκοντα δὲ πηχῶν τὸ ὕψος ἑκάστης καὶ τὸ πλάτος ἦν πεντεκαίδεκα. [203] μετὰ μέντοι τὰς εἰσόδους ἐνδοτέρω πλατυνόμενοι παρ' ἑκάτερον τριακονταπήχεις ἐξέδρας εἶχον εὖρός τε καὶ μῆκος πυργοειδεῖς, ὑψηλὰς δ' ὑπὲρ τεσσαράκοντα πήχεις: δύο δ' ἀνεῖχον ἑκάστην κίονες δώδεκα πηχῶν τὴν περιοχὴν ἔχοντες. [204] καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἴσον ἦν τὸ μέγεθος, ἡ δ' ὑπὲρ τὴν Κορινθίαν ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἐξ ἀνατολῆς ἀνοιγομένη τῆς τοῦ ναοῦ πύλης ἀντικρὺ πολὺ μείζων: [205] πεντήκοντα γὰρ πηχῶν οὖσα τὴν ἀνάστασιν τεσσαρακονταπήχεις τὰς θύρας εἶχε καὶ τὸν κόσμον πολυτελέστερον ἐπὶ δαψιλὲς πάχος ἀργύρου τε καὶ χρυσοῦ. τοῦτον δὲ ταῖς ἐννέα

πύλαις ἐπέχεεν ὁ Τιβερίου πατὴρ Ἀλέξανδρος. [206] βαθμοὶ δὲ δεκαπέντε πρὸς τὴν μείζονα πύλην ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν γυναικῶν διατειχίσματος ἀνῆγον: τῶν γὰρ κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας πέντε βαθμῶν ἦσαν βραχύτεροι.

3. Now nine of these gates were on every side covered over with gold and silver, as were the jambs of their doors and their lintels; but there was one gate that was without the [inward court of the] holy house, which was of Corinthian brass, and greatly excelled those that were only covered over with silver and gold. Each gate had two doors, whose height was severally thirty cubits, and their breadth fifteen. However, they had large spaces within of thirty cubits, and had on each side rooms, and those, both in breadth and in length, built like towers, and their height was above forty cubits. Two pillars did also support these rooms, and were in circumference twelve cubits. Now the magnitudes of the other gates were equal one to another; but that over the Corinthian gate, which opened on the east over against the gate of the holy house itself, was much larger; for its height was fifty cubits; and its doors were forty cubits; and it was adorned after a most costly manner, as having much richer and thicker plates of silver and gold upon them than the other. These nine gates had that silver and gold poured upon them by Alexander, the father of Tiberius. Now there were fifteen steps, which led away from the wall of the court of the women to this greater gate; whereas those that led thither from the other gates were five steps shorter.

(4) [207] Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ ναὸς κατὰ μέσον κείμενος, τὸ ἅγιον ἱερόν, δώδεκα βαθμοῖς ἦν ἀναβατός, καὶ τὸ μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον ὕψος τε καὶ εὖρος ἴσον ἀνὰ πήχεις ἑκατόν, κατόπιν δὲ τεσσαράκοντα πήχεσι στενότερος: ἔμπροσθεν γὰρ ὥσπερ ὦμοι παρ᾽ ἑκάτερον εἰκοσαπήχεις διέβαινον. [208] ἡ πρώτη δ᾽ αὐτοῦ πύλη πηχῶν ἑβδομήκοντα τὸ ὕψος οὖσα καὶ εὖρος εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε, θύρας οὐκ εἶχε: τοῦ γὰρ οὐρανοῦ τὸ ἀφανὲς καὶ ἀδιάκλειστον ἐνέφαινε: κεχρύσωτο δὲ τὰ μέτωπα πάντα, καὶ δι᾽ αὐτῆς ὅ τε πρῶτος οἶκος ἔξωθεν πᾶς κατεφαίνετο μέγιστος ὤν, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν εἴσω πύλην πάντα λαμπόμενα χρυσῷ τοῖς ὁρῶσιν ὑπέπιπτεν. [209] τοῦ δὲ ναοῦ ὄντος εἴσω διστέγου μόνος ὁ πρῶτος οἶκος προύκειτο καὶ διηνεκὲς εἰς τὸ ὕψος, ἀνατεινόμενος μὲν ἐπ᾽ ἐνενήκοντα πήχεις, μηκυνόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ διαβαίνων ἐπ᾽ εἴκοσιν. [210] ἡ δὲ διὰ τοῦ οἴκου πύλη κεχρύσωτο μέν, ὡς ἔφην, πᾶσα καὶ ὅλος ὁ περὶ αὐτὴν τοῖχος, εἶχε δὲ καὶ τὰς χρυσᾶς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀμπέλους, ἀφ᾽ ὧν βότρυες ἀνδρομήκεις κατεκρέμαντο. [211] ὄντος δὲ ἤδη τοῦ ναοῦ διστέγου, ταπεινοτέρα τῆς ἔξωθεν ὄψεως ἡ ἔνδον ἦν καὶ θύρας εἶχε χρυσᾶς πεντηκονταπέντε πήχεων τὸ ὕψος εὖρος δ᾽ ἑκκαίδεκα. [212] πρὸ δὲ τούτων ἰσόμηκες καταπέτασμα πέπλος ἦν Βαβυλώνιος ποικιλτὸς ἐξ ὑακίνθου καὶ βύσσου κόκκου τε καὶ πορφύρας, θαυμαστῶς μὲν εἰργασμένος, οὐκ ἀθεώρητον δὲ τῆς ὕλης τὴν κρᾶσιν ἔχων, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ εἰκόνα τῶν ὅλων: [213]

ἐδόκει γὰρ αἰνίττεσθαι τῇ κόκκῳ μὲν τὸ πῦρ, τῇ βύσσῳ δὲ τὴν γῆν, τῇ δ' ὑακίνθῳ τὸν ἀέρα, καὶ τῇ πορφύρᾳ τὴν θάλασσαν, τῶν μὲν ἐκ τῆς χροίας ὁμοιουμένων, τῆς δὲ βύσσου καὶ τῆς πορφύρας διὰ τὴν γένεσιν, ἐπειδὴ τὴν μὲν ἀναδίδωσιν ἡ γῆ, τὴν δ' ἡ θάλασσα. [214] κατεγέγραπτο δ' ὁ πέπλος ἅπασαν τὴν οὐράνιον θεωρίαν πλὴν ζῳδίων.

4. As to the holy house itself, which was placed in the midst [of the inmost court], that most sacred part of the temple, it was ascended to by twelve steps; and in front its height and its breadth were equal, and each a hundred cubits, though it was behind forty cubits narrower; for on its front it had what may be styled shoulders on each side, that passed twenty cubits further. Its first gate was seventy cubits high, and twenty-five cubits broad; but this gate had no doors; for it represented the universal visibility of heaven, and that it cannot be excluded from any place. Its front was covered with gold all over, and through it the first part of the house, that was more inward, did all of it appear; which, as it was very large, so did all the parts about the more inward gate appear to shine to those that saw them; but then, as the entire house was divided into two parts within, it was only the first part of it that was open to our view. Its height extended all along to ninety cubits in height, and its length was fifty cubits, and its breadth twenty. But that gate which was at this end of the first part of the house was, as we have already observed, all over covered with gold, as was its whole wall about it; it had also golden vines above it, from which clusters of grapes hung as tall as a man's height. But then this house, as it was divided into two parts, the inner part was lower than the appearance of the outer, and had golden doors of fifty-five cubits altitude, and sixteen in breadth; but before these doors there was a veil of equal largeness with the doors. It was a Babylonian curtain, embroidered with blue, and fine linen, and scarlet, and purple, and of a contexture that was truly wonderful. Nor was this mixture of colors without its mystical interpretation, but was a kind of image of the universe; for by the scarlet there seemed to be enigmatically signified fire, by the fine flax the earth, by the blue the air, and by the purple the sea; two of them having their colors the foundation of this resemblance; but the fine flax and the purple have their own origin for that foundation, the earth producing the one, and the sea the other. This curtain had also embroidered upon it all that was mystical in the heavens, excepting that of the [twelve] signs, representing living creatures.

(5) [215] Παριόντας δ' εἴσω τὸ ἐπίπεδον τοῦ ναοῦ μέρος ἐξεδέχετο. τούτου τοίνυν τὸ μὲν ὕψος ἑξήκοντα πηχῶν καὶ τὸ μῆκος ἴσον, εἴκοσι δὲ πηχῶν τὸ πλάτος ἦν. [216] τὸ δ' ἑξηκοντάπηχυ πάλιν διῄρητο, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον μέρος ἀποτετμημένον ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα πήχεις εἶχεν ἐν αὑτῷ τρία θαυμασιώτατα καὶ περιβόητα πᾶσιν

ἀνθρώποις ἔργα, λυχνίαν τράπεζαν θυμιατήριον. [217] ἐνέφαινον δ᾽ οἱ μὲν ἑπτὰ λύχνοι τοὺς πλανήτας: τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς διήρηντο τῆς λυχνίας: οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης ἄρτοι δώδεκα τὸν ζῳδιακὸν κύκλον καὶ τὸν ἐνιαυτόν. [218] τὸ θυμιατήριον δὲ διὰ τῶν τρισκαίδεκα θυμιαμάτων, οἷς ἐκ θαλάσσης ἀνεπίμπλατο καὶ τῆς τε ἀοικήτου καὶ οἰκουμένης, ἐσήμαινεν ὅτι τοῦ θεοῦ πάντα καὶ τῷ θεῷ. [219] τὸ δ᾽ ἐνδοτάτω μέρος εἴκοσι μὲν πηχῶν ἦν: διείργετο δὲ ὁμοίως καταπετάσματι πρὸς τὸ ἔξωθεν. ἔκειτο δὲ οὐδὲν ὅλως ἐν αὐτῷ, ἄβατον δὲ καὶ ἄχραντον καὶ ἀθέατον ἦν πᾶσιν, ἁγίου δὲ ἅγιον ἐκαλεῖτο. [220] περὶ δὲ τὰ πλευρὰ τοῦ κάτω ναοῦ δι᾽ ἀλλήλων ἦσαν οἶκοι τρίστεγοι πολλοί, καὶ παρ᾽ ἑκάτερον εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πύλης εἴσοδοι. [221] τὸ δ᾽ ὑπερῷον μέρος τούτους μὲν οὐκέτι εἶχεν τοὺς οἴκους παρόσον ἦν καὶ στενότερον, ὑψηλὸν δ᾽ ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα πήχεις καὶ λιτότερον τοῦ κάτω: συνάγεται γὰρ οὕτως πρὸς ἑξήκοντα τοῖς τοῦ ἐπιπέδου πηχῶν ἑκατὸν τὸ πᾶν ὕψος.

5. When any persons entered into the temple, its floor received them. This part of the temple therefore was in height sixty cubits, and its length the same; whereas its breadth was but twenty cubits: but still that sixty cubits in length was divided again, and the first part of it was cut off at forty cubits, and had in it three things that were very wonderful and famous among all mankind, the candlestick, the table [of shew-bread], and the altar of incense. Now the seven lamps signified the seven planets; for so many there were springing out of the candlestick. Now the twelve loaves that were upon the table signified the circle of the zodiac and the year; but the altar of incense, by its thirteen kinds of sweet-smelling spices with which the sea replenished it, signified that God is the possessor of all things that are both in the uninhabitable and habitable parts of the earth, and that they are all to be dedicated to his use. But the inmost part of the temple of all was of twenty cubits. This was also separated from the outer part by a veil. In this there was nothing at all. It was inaccessible and inviolable, and not to be seen by any; and was called the Holy of Holies. Now, about the sides of the lower part of the temple, there were little houses, with passages out of one into another; there were a great many of them, and they were of three stories high; there were also entrances on each side into them from the gate of the temple. But the superior part of the temple had no such little houses any further, because the temple was there narrower, and forty cubits higher, and of a smaller body than the lower parts of it. Thus we collect that the whole height, including the sixty cubits from the floor, amounted to a hundred cubits.

(6) [222] Τὸ δ᾽ ἔξωθεν αὐτοῦ πρόσωπον οὐδὲν οὔτ᾽ εἰς ψυχῆς οὔτ᾽ εἰς ὀμμάτων ἔκπληξιν ἀπέλειπεν: πλαξὶ γὰρ χρυσοῦ στιβαραῖς κεκαλυμμένος πάντοθεν ὑπὸ τὰς πρώτας ἀνατολὰς πυρωδεστάτην ἀπέπαλλεν αὐγὴν καὶ τῶν βιαζομένων ἰδεῖν

τὰς ὄψεις ὥσπερ ἡλιακαῖς ἀκτῖσιν ἀπέστρεφεν. [223] τοῖς γε μὴν ἀφικνουμένοις ξένοις πόρρωθεν ὅμοιος ὄρει χιόνος πλήρει κατεφαίνετο: καὶ γὰρ καθὰ μὴ κεχρύσωτο λευκότατος ἦν. [224] κατὰ κορυφὴν δὲ χρυσέους ὀβελοὺς ἀνεῖχεν τεθηγμένους, ὡς μή τινι προσκαθεζομένῳ μολύνοιτο τῶν ὀρνέων. τῶν δ' ἐν αὐτῷ λίθων ἔνιοι μῆκος πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα πηχῶν ἦσαν, ὕψος πέντε, εὖρος δ' ἕξ. [225] πρὸ αὐτοῦ δ' ὁ βωμὸς πεντεκαίδεκα μὲν ὕψος ἦν πήχεων, εὖρος δὲ καὶ μῆκος ἐκτείνων ἴσον ἀνὰ πεντήκοντα πήχεις τετράγωνος ἵδρυτο, κερατοειδεῖς προανέχων γωνίας, καὶ ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἄνοδος ἠρέμα προσάντης ὑπτίαστο. κατεσκευάσθη δὲ ἄνευ σιδήρου, καὶ οὐδέποτ' ἔψαυεν αὐτοῦ σίδηρος. [226] περιέστεφε δὲ τόν τε ναὸν καὶ τὸν βωμὸν εὔλιθόν τι καὶ χαρίεν γείσιον ὅσον πηχυαῖον ὕψος, ὃ διεῖργεν ἐξωτέρω τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερέων. [227] γονορροίοις μὲν δὴ καὶ λεπροῖς ἡ πόλις ὅλη, τὸ δ' ἱερὸν γυναικῶν ἐμμήνοις ἀπεκέκλειστο, παρελθεῖν δὲ ταύταις οὐδὲ καθαραῖς ἐξῆν ὃν προείπαμεν ὅρον. ἀνδρῶν δ' οἱ μὴ καθάπαν ἡγνευκότες εἴργοντο τῆς ἔνδον αὐλῆς, καὶ τῶν ἱερέων πάλιν οἱ [μὴ] καθαρεύοντες εἴργοντο.

6. Now the outward face of the temple in its front wanted nothing that was likely to surprise either men's minds or their eyes; for it was covered all over with plates of gold of great weight, and, at the first rising of the sun, reflected back a very fiery splendor, and made those who forced themselves to look upon it to turn their eyes away, just as they would have done at the sun's own rays. But this temple appeared to strangers, when they were coming to it at a distance, like a mountain covered with snow; for as to those parts of it that were not gilt, they were exceeding white. On its top it had spikes with sharp points, to prevent any pollution of it by birds sitting upon it. Of its stones, some of them were forty-five cubits in length, five in height, and six in breadth. Before this temple stood the altar, fifteen cubits high, and equal both in length and breadth; each of which dimensions was fifty cubits. The figure it was built in was a square, and it had corners like horns; and the passage up to it was by an insensible acclivity. It was formed without any iron tool, nor did any such iron tool so much as touch it at any time. There was also a wall of partition, about a cubit in height, made of fine stones, and so as to be grateful to the sight; this encompassed the holy house and the altar, and kept the people that were on the outside off from the priests. Moreover, those that had the gonorrhea and the leprosy were excluded out of the city entirely; women also, when their courses were upon them, were shut out of the temple; nor when they were free from that impurity, were they allowed to go beyond the limit before-mentioned; men also, that were not thoroughly pure, were prohibited to come into the inner [court of the] temple; nay, the priests themselves that were not pure were prohibited to come into it also.

(7) [228] Τῶν δ’ ἀπὸ γένους ἱερέων ὅσοι διὰ πήρωσιν οὐκ ἐλειτούργουν παρῆσάν τε ἅμα τοῖς ὁλοκλήροις ἐνδοτέρω τοῦ γεισίου καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους ἐλάμβανον μερίδας, ταῖς γε μὴν ἐσθῆσιν ἰδιωτικαῖς ἐχρῶντο: τὴν γὰρ ἱερὰν ὁ λειτουργῶν ἠμφιέννυτο μόνος. [229] ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἀνέβαινον οἱ τῶν ἱερέων ἄμωμοι, βύσσον μὲν ἀμπεχόμενοι, μάλιστα δὲ ἀπὸ ἀκράτου νήφοντες δέει τῆς θρησκείας, ὡς μή τι παραβαῖεν ἐν τῇ λειτουργίᾳ. [230] ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς ἀνῄει μὲν σὺν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀεί, ταῖς δ’ ἑβδομάσι καὶ νουμηνίαις καὶ εἴ τις ἑορτὴ πάτριος ἢ πανήγυρις ἦν πάνδημος ἀγομένη δι’ ἔτους. [231] ἐλειτούργει δὲ τοὺς μηροὺς μέχρις αἰδοίου διαζώματι καλύπτων λινοῦν τε ὑποδύτην ἔνδοθεν λαμβάνων καὶ ποδήρη καθύπερθεν ὑακίνθινον, ἔνδυμα στρογγύλον θυσανωτόν: τῶν δὲ θυσάνων ἀπήρτηντο κώδωνες χρύσεοι καὶ ῥοαὶ παράλληλοι, βροντῆς μὲν οἱ κώδωνες, ἀστραπῆς δ’ αἱ ῥοαὶ σημεῖον. [232] ἡ δὲ τὸ ἔνδυμα τῷ στέρνῳ προσηλοῦσα ταινία πέντε διηνθισμένη ζώναις πεποίκιλτο, χρυσοῦ τε καὶ πορφύρας καὶ κόκκου πρὸς δὲ βύσσου καὶ ὑακίνθου, δι’ ὧν ἔφαμεν καὶ τὰ τοῦ ναοῦ καταπετάσματα συνυφάνθαι. [233] τούτοις δὲ καὶ ἐπωμίδα κεκραμένην εἶχεν, ἐν ᾗ πλείων χρυσὸς ἦν. σχῆμα μὲν οὖν ἐνδυτοῦ θώρακος εἶχεν, δύο δ’ αὐτὴν ἐνεπόρπων ἀσπιδίσκαι χρυσαῖ, κατεκέκλειντο δ’ ἐν ταύταις κάλλιστοί τε καὶ μέγιστοι σαρδόνυχες, τοὺς ἐπωνύμους τῶν τοῦ ἔθνους φυλῶν ἐπιγεγραμμέναι. [234] κατὰ δὲ θάτερον ἄλλοι προσήρτηντο λίθοι δώδεκα, κατὰ τρεῖς εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη διῃρημένοι, σάρδιον τόπαζος σμάραγδος, ἄνθραξ ἴασπις σάπφειρος, ἀχάτης ἀμέθυστος λιγύριον, ὄνυξ βήρυλλος χρυσόλιθος, ὧν ἐφ’ ἑκάστου πάλιν εἷς τῶν ἐπωνύμων ἐγέγραπτο. [235] τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν βυσσίνη μὲν ἔσκεπεν τιάρα, κατέστεπτο δ’ ὑακίνθῳ, περὶ ἣν χρυσοῦς ἄλλος ἦν στέφανος ἔκτυπα φέρων τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα: ταῦτα δ’ ἐστὶ φωνήεντα τέσσαρα. [236] ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἐσθῆτα οὐκ ἐφόρει χρόνιον, λιτοτέραν δ’ ἀνελάμβανεν, ὁπότε δ’ εἰσίοι εἰς τὸ ἄδυτον: εἰσῄει δ’ ἅπαξ κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν μόνος ἐν ᾗ νηστεύειν ἔθος ἡμέρᾳ πάντας τῷ θεῷ. [237] καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τῶν τε περὶ τοῦτον ἐθῶν καὶ νόμων αὖθις ἀκριβέστερον ἐροῦμεν: οὐ γὰρ ὀλίγος περὶ αὐτῶν καταλείπεται λόγος.

7. Now all those of the stock of the priests that could not minister by reason of some defect in their bodies, came within the partition, together with those that had no such imperfection, and had their share with them by reason of their stock, but still made use of none except their own private garments; for nobody but he that officiated had on his sacred garments; but then those priests that were without any blemish upon them went up to the altar clothed in fine linen. They abstained chiefly from wine, out of this fear, lest otherwise they should transgress some rules of their ministration. The high priest did also go up with them; not always indeed, but on the seventh days and new moons, and if any

festivals belonging to our nation, which we celebrate every year, happened. When he officiated, he had on a pair of breeches that reached beneath his privy parts to his thighs, and had on an inner garment of linen, together with a blue garment, round, without seam, with fringe work, and reaching to the feet. There were also golden bells that hung upon the fringes, and pomegranates intermixed among them. The bells signified thunder, and the pomegranates lightning. But that girdle that tied the garment to the breast was embroidered with five rows of various colors, of gold, and purple, and scarlet, as also of fine linen and blue, with which colors we told you before the veils of the temple were embroidered also. The like embroidery was upon the ephod; but the quantity of gold therein was greater. Its figure was that of a stomacher for the breast. There were upon it two golden buttons like small shields, which buttoned the ephod to the garment; in these buttons were enclosed two very large and very excellent sardonyxes, having the names of the tribes of that nation engraved upon them: on the other part there hung twelve stones, three in a row one way, and four in the other; a sardius, a topaz, and an emerald; a carbuncle, a jasper, and a sapphire; an agate, an amethyst, and a ligure; an onyx, a beryl, and a chrysolite; upon every one of which was again engraved one of the forementioned names of the tribes. A mitre also of fine linen encompassed his head, which was tied by a blue ribbon, about which there was another golden crown, in which was engraven the sacred name [of God]: it consists of four vowels. However, the high priest did not wear these garments at other times, but a more plain habit; he only did it when he went into the most sacred part of the temple, which he did but once in a year, on that day when our custom is for all of us to keep a fast to God. And thus much concerning the city and the temple; but for the customs and laws hereto relating, we shall speak more accurately another time; for there remain a great many things thereto relating which have not been here touched upon.

(8) [238] Ἡ δ’ Ἀντωνία κατὰ γωνίαν μὲν δύο στοῶν ἔκειτο τοῦ πρώτου ἱεροῦ, τῆς τε πρὸς ἑσπέραν καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἄρκτον, δεδόμητο δὲ ὑπὲρ πέτρας πεντηκονταπήχους μὲν ὕψος, περικρήμνου δὲ πάσης: ἔργον δ’ ἦν Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα τὸ φύσει μεγαλόνουν ἐπεδείξατο. [239] πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐκ ῥίζης ἡ πέτρα πλαξὶ κεκάλυπτο λείαις λίθων, εἵς τε κάλλος καὶ ὡς ἀπολισθάνοι πᾶς ὁ προσβαίνειν ἢ κατιέναι πειρώμενος. [240] ἔπειτα πρὸ τῆς τοῦ πύργου δομήσεως τριῶν πηχῶν τεῖχος ἦν, ἐνδοτέρω δὲ τούτου τὸ πᾶν ἀνάστημα τῆς Ἀντωνίας ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα πήχεις ἠγείρετο. [241] τὸ δ’ ἔνδον βασιλείων εἶχε χώραν καὶ διάθεσιν: μεμέριστο γὰρ εἰς πᾶσαν οἴκων ἰδέαν τε καὶ χρῆσιν περίστοά τε καὶ βαλανεῖα καὶ στρατοπέδων αὐλαῖς πλατείαις, ὡς τῷ μὲν πάντ’ ἔχειν τὰ χρειώδη πόλις εἶναι δοκεῖν, τῇ πολυτελείᾳ δὲ βασίλειον. [242] πυργοειδὴς

δὲ οὖσα τὸ πᾶν σχῆμα κατὰ γωνίαν τέσσαρσιν ἑτέροις διείληπτο πύργοις, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πεντήκοντα τὸ ὕψος, ὁ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῇ μεσημβρινῇ καὶ κατὰ ἀνατολὴν γωνίᾳ κείμενος ἑβδομήκοντα πηχῶν ἦν, ὡς καθορᾶν ὅλον ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἱερόν. [243] καθὰ δὲ συνῆπτε ταῖς τοῦ ἱεροῦ στοαῖς εἰς ἀμφοτέρας εἶχε καταβάσεις, δι᾽ ὧν κατῄεσαν οἱ φρουροί: [244] καθῆστο γὰρ [ἀεὶ] ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς τάγμα Ῥωμαίων, καὶ διιστάμενοι περὶ τὰς στοὰς μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς τὸν δῆμον, ὡς μή τι νεωτερισθείη, παρεφύλαττον: [245] φρούριον γὰρ ἐπέκειτο τῇ πόλει μὲν τὸ ἱερόν, τῷ ἱερῷ δ᾽ ἡ Ἀντωνία, κατὰ δὲ ταύτην οἱ τῶν τριῶν φύλακες ἦσαν: καὶ τῆς ἄνω δὲ πόλεως ἴδιον φρούριον ἦν τὰ Ἡρώδου βασίλεια. [246] ἡ Βεζαθὰ δὲ λόφος διῄρητο μέν, ὡς ἔφην, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντωνίας, πάντων δ᾽ ὑψηλότατος ὢν μέρει τῆς καινῆς πόλεως προσῴκιστο. [247] καὶ μόνος τὸ ἱερὸν κατ᾽ ἄρκτον ἐπεσκότει. περὶ μὲν δὴ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν τειχῶν αὖθις εἰπεῖν ἀκριβέστερον ἕκαστα προτεθειμένοις ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀπόχρη.

8. Now as to the tower of Antonia, it was situated at the corner of two cloisters of the court of the temple; of that on the west, and that on the north; it was erected upon a rock of fifty cubits in height, and was on a great precipice; it was the work of king Herod, wherein he demonstrated his natural magnanimity. In the first place, the rock itself was covered over with smooth pieces of stone, from its foundation, both for ornament, and that any one who would either try to get up or to go down it might not be able to hold his feet upon it. Next to this, and before you come to the edifice of the tower itself, there was a wall three cubits high; but within that wall all the space of the tower of Antonia itself was built upon, to the height of forty cubits. The inward parts had the largeness and form of a palace, it being parted into all kinds of rooms and other conveniences, such as courts, and places for bathing, and broad spaces for camps; insomuch that, by having all conveniences that cities wanted, it might seem to be composed of several cities, but by its magnificence it seemed a palace. And as the entire structure resembled that of a tower, it contained also four other distinct towers at its four corners; whereof the others were but fifty cubits high; whereas that which lay upon the southeast corner was seventy cubits high, that from thence the whole temple might be viewed; but on the corner where it joined to the two cloisters of the temple, it had passages down to them both, through which the guard [for there always lay in this tower a Roman legion] went several ways among the cloisters, with their arms, on the Jewish festivals, in order to watch the people, that they might not there attempt to make any innovations; for the temple was a fortress that guarded the city, as was the tower of Antonia a guard to the temple; and in that tower were the guards of those three . There was also a peculiar fortress belonging to the upper city, which was Herod’s palace; but for

the hill Bezetha, it was divided from the tower Antonia, as we have already told you; and as that hill on which the tower of Antonia stood was the highest of these three, so did it adjoin to the new city, and was the only place that hindered the sight of the temple on the north. And this shall suffice at present to have spoken about the city and the walls about it, because I have proposed to myself to make a more accurate description of it elsewhere.

VI

CHAPTER 6.

Concerning The Tyrants Simon And John. How Also As Titus Was Going Round The Wall Of This City Nicanor Was Wounded By A Dart; Which Accident Provoked Titus To Press On The Siege.

(1) [248] Τὸ μάχιμον δ' ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ στασιάζον πλῆθος περὶ Σίμωνα μὲν ἦσαν μύριοι δίχα τῶν Ἰδουμαίων, πεντήκοντα δ' ἡγεμόνες τῶν μυρίων, ἐφ' οἷς οὗτος κύριος τῶν ὅλων. [249] Ἰδουμαῖοι δ' αὐτῷ συντελοῦντες εἰς πεντακισχιλίους ἄρχοντας εἶχον δέκα: τούτων προύχειν ἐδόκουν ὅ τε τοῦ Σωσᾶ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Σίμων υἱὸς Καθλᾶ. [250] Ἰωάννης δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν κατειληφὼς ἑξακισχιλίους ὁπλίτας εἶχεν ὑφ' ἡγεμόνας εἴκοσι. προσεγένοντο δὲ αὐτῷ τότε καὶ οἱ ζηλωταὶ παυσάμενοι τοῦ διαφέρεσθαι, δισχίλιοι μὲν ὄντες καὶ τετρακόσιοι, χρώμενοι δ' ἄρχοντι τῷ καὶ πρότερον Ἐλεαζάρῳ καὶ Σίμωνι τῷ τοῦ Ἀρινοῦ. [251] πολεμούντων δὲ τούτων, ὡς ἔφαμεν, ἆθλον ὁ δῆμος ἦν ἑκατέρων, καὶ τὸ μὴ συναδικοῦν τοῦ λαοῦ μέρος ὑπ' ἀμφοῖν διηρπάζετο. [252] κατεῖχεν δ' ὁ μὲν Σίμων τήν τε ἄνω πόλιν καὶ τὸ μέγα τεῖχος ἄχρι τοῦ Κεδρῶνος τοῦ τε ἀρχαίου τείχους ὅσον ἀπὸ τῆς Σιλωᾶς ἀνακάμπτον εἰς ἀνατολὴν μέχρι τῆς Μονοβάζου κατέβαινεν αὐλῆς: [253] βασιλεὺς δ' οὗτος ἦν τῶν ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην Ἀδιαβηνῶν: κατεῖχε δὲ καὶ τὴν πηγὴν καὶ τῆς Ἄκρας, αὕτη δ' ἦν ἡ κάτω πόλις, τὰ μέχρι τῶν Ἑλένης βασιλείων τῆς τοῦ Μονοβάζου μητρός, [254] ὁ δ' Ἰωάννης τό θ' ἱερὸν καὶ τὰ πέριξ ἐπ' οὐκ ὀλίγον τόν τε Ὀφλᾶν καὶ τὴν Κεδρῶνα καλουμένην φάραγγα. τὸ μεταξὺ δὲ τούτων ἐμπρήσαντες τῷ πρὸς ἀλλήλους πολέμῳ χώραν ἀνεῖσαν: [255] οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸς τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐστρατοπεδευμένων Ῥωμαίων ἔνδον ἡ στάσις ἠρέμει, βραχὺ δὲ πρὸς τὴν πρώτην ὑπονήψαντες ἐκδρομὴν ἀνενόσουν καὶ κατὰ σφᾶς πάλιν διαστάντες ἐμάχοντο, τὰ κατ' εὐχήν τε πάντα τοῖς πολιορκοῦσιν ἔπραττον. [256] οὔτε γοῦν αὐτοί τι χεῖρον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἔπαθον ὧν ἀλλήλους ἔδρασαν, οὔτε μετὰ τούτους ἡ πόλις ἐπειράθη καινοτέρου πάθους, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν χαλεπώτερόν τι πρὸ τοῦ πεσεῖν ἠτύχησεν, οἱ δ' ἑλόντες αὐτὴν κατώρθωσάν τι μεῖζον. [257] φημὶ γὰρ ὡς τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἡ στάσις, Ῥωμαῖοι δ' εἷλον τὴν στάσιν, ἥπερ ἦν πολὺ τῶν τειχῶν

ὀχυρωτέρα: καὶ τὸ μὲν σκυθρωπὸν τοῖς οἰκείοις, τὸ δίκαιον δ᾽ ἄν τις εὐλόγως Ῥωμαίοις προσγράφοι. νοείτω δὲ ὅπῃ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἕκαστος ἄγεται.

1. Now the warlike men that were in the city, and the multitude of the seditious that were with Simon, were ten thousand, besides the Idumeans. Those ten thousand had fifty commanders, over whom this Simon was supreme. The Idumeans that paid him homage were five thousand, and had eight commanders, among whom those of greatest fame were Jacob the son of Sosas, and Simon the son of Cathlas. Jotre, who had seized upon the temple, had six thousand armed men under twenty commanders; the zealots also that had come over to him, and left off their opposition, were two thousand four hundred, and had the same commander that they had formerly, Eleazar, together with Simon the son of Arinus. Now, while these factions fought one against another, the people were their prey on both sides, as we have said already; and that part of the people who would not join with them in their wicked practices were plundered by both factions. Simon held the upper city, and the great wall as far as Cedron, and as much of the old wall as bent from Siloam to the east, and which went down to the palace of Monobazus, who was king of the Adiabeni, beyond Euphrates; he also held that fountain, and the Acra, which was no other than the lower city; he also held all that reached to the palace of queen Helena, the mother of Monobazus. But John held the temple, and the parts thereto adjoining, for a great way, as also Ophla, and the valley called "the Valley of Cedron;" and when the parts that were interposed between their possessions were burnt by them, they left a space wherein they might fight with each other; for this internal sedition did not cease even when the Romans were encamped near their very wall. But although they had grown wiser at the first onset the Romans made upon them, this lasted but a while; for they returned to their former madness, and separated one from another, and fought it out, and did everything that the besiegers could desire them to do; for they never suffered any thing that was worse from the Romans than they made each other suffer; nor was there any misery endured by the city after these men's actions that could be esteemed new. But it was most of all unhappy before it was overthrown, while those that took it did it a greater kindness for I venture to affirm that the sedition destroyed the city, and the Romans destroyed the sedition, which it was a much harder thing to do than to destroy the walls; so that we may justly ascribe our misfortunes to our own people, and the just vengeance taken on them to the Romans; as to which matter let every one determine by the actions on both sides.

(2) [258] Τῶν γε μὴν ἔνδον οὕτως διακειμένων ὁ Τίτος μετ' ἐπιλέκτων ἱππέων περιιὼν ἔξωθεν ᾗ προσβάλλοι τοῖς τείχεσι κατεσκέπτετο. [259] ἀπορουμένῳ δὲ πάντοθεν, οὔτε γὰρ κατὰ τὰς φάραγγας ἦν προσιτὸν καὶ κατὰ θάτερα τὸ πρῶτον τεῖχος ἐφαίνετο τῶν ὀργάνων στερεώτερον, ἐδόκει κατὰ τὸ Ἰωάννου τοῦ

ἀρχιερέως μνημεῖον προσβαλεῖν: [260] ταύτῃ γὰρ τό τε πρῶτον ἦν ἔρυμα χθαμαλώτερον καὶ τὸ δεύτερον οὐ συνῆπτεν ἀμεληsάντων καθὰ μὴ λίαν ἡ καινὴ πόλις συνῴκιστο τειχίζειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸ τρίτον ἦν εὐπέτεια, δι᾽ οὗ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἀντωνίας τὸ ἱερὸν αἱρήσειν ἐπενόει. [261] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ περιιόντος αὐτοῦ τοξεύεταί τις τῶν φίλων, ὄνομα Νικάνωρ, κατὰ τὸν λαιὸν ὦμον, ἔγγιον μετὰ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου προσελθὼν καὶ πειρώμενος εἰρηνικὰ τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους, οὐ γὰρ ἄγνωστος ἦν, διαλέγεσθαι. [262] διὰ τούτου τὰς ὁρμὰς αὐτῶν ἐπιγνοὺς Καῖσαρ, εἰ μηδὲ τῶν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ προσιόντων ἀπέχοιντο, παροξύνεται πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἅμα τε καὶ τοῖς τάγμασι δηοῦν τὰ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἠφίει καὶ συμφέροντας ἐκέλευσε τὴν ὕλην ἐγείρειν χώματα. [263] τριχῆ δὲ διατάξας τὴν στρατιὰν πρὸς τὰ ἔργα μέσους ἵστησι τῶν χωμάτων τούς τε ἀκοντιστὰς καὶ τοξότας καὶ πρὸ τούτων τοὺς ὀξυβελεῖς καὶ καταπέλτας καὶ τὰς λιθοβόλους μηχανάς, ὡς τάς τε ἐκδρομὰς εἴργοι τῶν πολεμίων ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους κωλύειν πειρωμένους. [264] κοπτομένων δὲ τῶν δένδρων τὰ προάστεια μὲν ἐν τάχει γεγύμνωτο, συμφερομένων δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὰ χώματα τῶν ξύλων καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἁπάσης ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ὡρμημένης οὐδὲ τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἠρέμει. [265] τὸν μὲν οὖν δῆμον ἐν ἁρπαγαῖς ὄντα καὶ φόνοις συνέβαινε τότε θαρρεῖν: ἀναπνεύσειν τε γὰρ περισπωμένων πρὸς τοὺς ἔξωθεν ὑπελάμβανον καὶ λήψεσθαι παρὰ τῶν αἰτίων αὐτοὶ δίκας, εἰ Ῥωμαῖοι περιγένοιντο.

2. Now when affairs within the city were in this posture, Titus went round the city on the outside with some chosen horsemen, and looked about for a proper place where he might make an impression upon the walls; but as he was in doubt where he could possibly make an attack on any side, [for the place was no way accessible where the valleys were, and on the other side the first wall appeared too strong to be shaken by the engines,] he thereupon thought it best to make his assault upon the monument of John the high priest; for there it was that the first fortification was lower, and the second was not joined to it, the builders neglecting to build strong where the new city was not much inhabited; here also was an easy passage to the third wall, through which he thought to take the upper city, and, through the tower of Antonia, the temple itself But at this time, as he was going round about the city, one of his friends, whose name was Nicanor, was wounded with a dart on his left shoulder, as he approached, together with Josephus, too near the wall, and attempted to discourse to those that were upon the wall, about terms of peace; for he was a person known by them. On this account it was that Caesar, as soon as he knew their vehemence, that they would not hear even such as approached them to persuade them to what tended to their own preservation, was provoked to press on the siege. He also at the same time gave his soldiers leave to set the suburbs on fire, and ordered that they should

bring timber together, and raise banks against the city; and when he had parted his army into three parts, in order to set about those works, he placed those that shot darts and the archers in the midst of the banks that were then raising; before whom he placed those engines that threw javelins, and darts, and stones, that he might prevent the enemy from sallying out upon their works, and might hinder those that were upon the wall from being able to obstruct them. So the trees were now cut down immediately, and the suburbs left naked. But now while the timber was carrying to raise the banks, and the whole army was earnestly engaged in their works, the Jews were not, however, quiet; and it happened that the people of Jerusalem, who had been hitherto plundered and murdered, were now of good courage, and supposed they should have a breathing time, while the others were very busy in opposing their enemies without the city, and that they should now be avenged on those that had been the authors of their miseries, in case the Romans did but get the victory.

(3) [266] Ἰωάννης δὲ καίτοι χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔξωθεν πολεμίους τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ὡρμημένων, δέει τοῦ Σίμωνος ἔμενεν. [267] οὐ μὴν ὁ Σίμων ἠρέμει, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἐγγίων τῇ πολιορκίᾳ, τὰ δ᾽ ἀφετήρια διίστησιν ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους, ὅσα Κέστιόν τε ἀφῄρηντο πρότερον καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντωνίας φρουρὰν ἑλόντες ἔλαβον. [268] ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀχρεῖος ἡ κτῆσις ἦν δι᾽ ἀπειρίαν: ὀλίγοι δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτομόλων διδαχθέντες ἐχρῶντο κακῶς τοῖς ὀργάνοις, χερμάσι δὲ καὶ τόξοις τοὺς χωννύντας ἔβαλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους καὶ κατὰ συντάξεις ἐκτρέχοντες αὐτοῖς συνεπλέκοντο. [269] τοῖς δὲ ἐργαζομένοις ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν βελῶν ἦν σκέπη γέρρα τῶν χαρακωμάτων ὑπερτεταμένα, τὰ δ᾽ ἀφετήρια πρὸς τοὺς ἐκθέοντας: θαυμαστὰ δὲ πᾶσι μὲν κατεσκεύαστο τοῖς τάγμασι, διαφόρως δὲ τῷ δεκάτῳ βιαιότεροί τε ὀξυβελεῖς καὶ μείζονα λιθοβόλα, δι᾽ ὧν οὐ μόνον τὰς ἐκδρομὰς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους ἀνέτρεπον. [270] ταλαντιαῖοι μὲν γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ βαλλόμεναι πέτραι, δύο δὲ καὶ πλείονας ᾔεσαν σταδίους: ἡ πληγὴ δ᾽ οὐ τοῖς προεντυχοῦσι μόνον, ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ καὶ τοῖς μετ᾽ ἐκείνους ἦν ἀνυπόστατος. [271] οἵ γε μὴν Ἰουδαῖοι τὸ πρῶτον ἐφυλάττοντο τὴν πέτραν: λευκὴ γὰρ ἦν, ὥστε μὴ τῷ ῥοίζῳ σημαίνεσθαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ λαμπρότητι προορᾶσθαι. [272] σκοποὶ οὖν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν πύργων καθεζόμενοι προεμήνυον, ὁπότε σχασθείη τὸ ὄργανον καὶ ἡ πέτρα φέροιτο, τῇ πατρίῳ γλώσσῃ βοῶντες “ὁ υἱὸς ἔρχεται.” διίσταντο δὲ καθ᾽ οὓς ᾔει καὶ προκατεκλίνοντο, καὶ συνέβαινε φυλαττομένων ἄπρακτον διεκπίπτειν τὴν πέτραν. [273] ἀντεπινοοῦσι δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι μελαίνειν αὐτήν: τότε γὰρ οὐκέθ᾽ ὁμοίως προορωμένης εὐστόχουν καὶ πολλοὺς ἅμα βολῇ μιᾷ διέφθειρον. [274] ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ κακούμενοι μετ᾽ ἀδείας παρεῖχον Ῥωμαίοις ἐγείρειν τὰ χώματα, πάσῃ δ᾽ ἐπινοίᾳ καὶ τόλμῃ χρώμενοι καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν εἶργον.

3. However, John staid behind, out of his fear of Simon, even while his own men were earnest in making a sally upon their enemies without. Yet did not Simon lie still, for he lay near the place of the siege; he brought his engines of war, and disposed of them at due distances upon the wall, both those which they took from Cestius formerly, and those which they got when they seized the garrison that lay in the tower Antonia. But though they had these engines in their possession, they had so little skill in using them, that they were in great measure useless to them; but a few there were who had been taught by deserters how to use them, which they did use, though after an awkward manner. So they cast stones and arrows at those that were making the banks; they also ran out upon them by companies, and fought with them. Now those that were at work covered themselves with hurdles spread over their banks, and their engines were opposed to them when they made their excursions. The engines, that all the legions had ready prepared for them, were admirably contrived; but still more extraordinary ones belonged to the tenth legion: those that threw darts and those that threw stones were more forcible and larger than the rest, by which they not only repelled the excursions of the Jews, but drove those away that were upon the walls also. Now the stones that were cast were of the weight of a talent, and were carried two furlongs and further. The blow they gave was no way to be sustained, not only by those that stood first in the way, but by those that were beyond them for a great space. As for the Jews, they at first watched the coming of the stone, for it was of a white color, and could therefore not only be perceived by the great noise it made, but could be seen also before it came by its brightness; accordingly the watchmen that sat upon the towers gave them notice when the engine was let go, and the stone came from it, and cried out aloud, in their own country language, The Stone Cometh so those that were in its way stood off, and threw themselves down upon the ground; by which means, and by their thus guarding themselves, the stone fell down and did them no harm. But the Romans contrived how to prevent that by blacking the stone, who then could aim at them with success, when the stone was not discerned beforehand, as it had been till then; and so they destroyed many of them at one blow. Yet did not the Jews, under all this distress, permit the Romans to raise their banks in quiet; but they shrewdly and boldly exerted themselves, and repelled them both by night and by day.

(4) [275] Τῶν δ’ ἔργων συντετελεσμένων μολιβίδι μὲν καὶ λίνῳ διαμετροῦσιν οἱ τέκτονες τὸ διάστημα πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος, ἀπὸ τῶν χωμάτων ῥίψαντες: οὐ γὰρ ἐνῆν ἄλλως ἄνωθεν βαλλομένοις: εὑρόντες δ’ ἐξικνεῖσθαι δυναμένας τὰς ἐλεπόλεις προσῆγον. [276] καὶ Τίτος ἐγγυτέρω τὰ ἀφετήρια διαστήσας, ὡς μὴ τοὺς κριοὺς

εἴργοιεν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, ἐκέλευσε τύπτειν. [277] τριχόθεν δ᾽ ἐξαισίου κτύπου περιηχήσαντος αἰφνιδίως τὴν πόλιν κραυγή τε παρὰ τῶν ἔνδον ἤρθη καὶ τοῖς στασιασταῖς ἴσον ἐμπίπτει δέος. κοινὸν δ᾽ ἑκάτεροι τὸν κίνδυνον ἰδόντες κοινὴν ἐπενόουν ἤδη ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν ἄμυναν. [278] διαβοώντων δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν διαφόρων ὡς πάντα πράττοιεν ὑπὲρ τῶν πολεμίων, δέον, εἰ καὶ μὴ διηνεκῆ δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς ὁμόνοιαν ὁ θεός, ἐν γοῦν τῷ παρόντι τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλονεικίαν ὑπερθεμένους κατὰ Ῥωμαίων συνελθεῖν, κηρύσσει μὲν ἄδειαν ὁ Σίμων τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ παρελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος, ἐπιτρέπει δὲ καίπερ ἀπιστῶν ὁ Ἰωάννης. [279] οἱ δὲ τοῦ μίσους καὶ τῶν ἰδίων διαφόρων λαβόντες ἀμνηστίαν ἓν σῶμα γίνονται, καὶ τὸ μὲν τεῖχος περισχόντες ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πυρά τε παμπληθῆ κατὰ τῶν μηχανημάτων ἔσαν καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβρίθοντας τὰς ἑλεπόλεις ἀδιαλείπτως ἔβαλλον, [280] οἱ τολμηρότεροι δὲ κατὰ στίφη προπηδῶντες τὰ γέρρα τῶν μηχανημάτων ἐσπάραττον καὶ τοῖς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν προσπίπτοντες ἐπιστήμῃ μὲν ὀλίγα, τόλμῃ δὲ τὰ πλείω περιεγίνοντο. [281] προσεβοήθει δὲ τοῖς πονοῦσιν αὐτὸς ἀεὶ Τίτος, καὶ παρ᾽ ἑκάτερον τῶν ὀργάνων τούς τε ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς τοξότας διαστήσας εἶργεν μὲν τοὺς τὸ πῦρ ἐπιφέροντας, ἀνέστελλεν δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων βάλλοντας, ἐνεργοὺς δ᾽ ἐποίει τὰς ἑλεπόλεις. [282] οὐ μὴν ταῖς πληγαῖς ὑπήκουε τὸ τεῖχος, εἰ μὴ καθόσον ὁ τοῦ πεντεκαιδεκάτου τάγματος κριὸς γωνίαν διεκίνησε πύργου. [283] τὸ δὲ τεῖχος ἀκέραιον ἦν: οὐδὲ γὰρ εὐθέως συνεκινδύνευε τῷ πύργῳ προύχοντι πολὺ καὶ μὴ δυναμένῳ συναπορρῆξαί τι ῥᾳδίως τοῦ περιβόλου.

4. And now, upon the finishing the Roman works, the workmen measured the distance there was from the wall, and this by lead and a line, which they threw to it from their banks; for they could not measure it any otherwise, because the Jews would shoot at them, if they came to measure it themselves; and when they found that the engines could reach the wall, they brought them thither. Then did Titus set his engines at proper distances, so much nearer to the wall, that the Jews might not be able to repel them, and gave orders they should go to work; and when thereupon a prodigious noise echoed round about from three places, and that on the sudden there was a great noise made by the citizens that were within the city, and no less a terror fell upon the seditious themselves; whereupon both sorts, seeing the common danger they were in, contrived to make a like defense. So those of different factions cried out one to another, that they acted entirely as in concert with their enemies; whereas they ought however, notwithstanding God did not grant them a lasting concord, in their present circumstances, to lay aside their enmities one against another, and to unite together against the Romans. Accordingly, Simon gave those that came from the temple leave, by proclamation, to go upon the wall; John also himself,

though he could not believe Simon was in earnest, gave them the same leave. So on both sides they laid aside their hatred and their peculiar quarrels, and formed themselves into one body; they then ran round the walls, and having a vast number of torches with them, they threw them at the machines, and shot darts perpetually upon those that impelled those engines which battered the wall; nay, the bolder sort leaped out by troops upon the hurdles that covered the machines, and pulled them to pieces, and fell upon those that belonged to them, and beat them, not so much by any skill they had, as principally by the boldness of their attacks. However, Titus himself still sent assistance to those that were the hardest set, and placed both horsemen and archers on the several sides of the engines, and thereby beat off those that brought the fire to them; he also thereby repelled those that shot stones or darts from the towers, and then set the engines to work in good earnest; yet did not the wall yield to these blows, excepting where the battering ram of the fifteenth legion moved the corner of a tower, while the wall itself continued unhurt; for the wall was not presently in the same danger with the tower, which was extant far above it; nor could the fall of that part of the tower easily break down any part of the wall itself together with it.

(5) [284] Παυσάμενοι δὲ τῶν ἐκδρομῶν πρὸς ὀλίγον καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιτηρήσαντες ἐσκεδασμένους ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα καὶ κατὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα, καμάτῳ γὰρ ἀναχωρῆσαι καὶ δέει τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἠξίουν, ἐκθέουσι κατὰ τὸν Ἱππικὸν πύργον διὰ πύλης ἀφανοῦς πάντες πῦρ τε τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπιφέροντες καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἐρυμάτων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους προελθεῖν ὡρμημένοι. [285] πρὸς δὲ τὴν κραυγὴν αὐτῶν οἵ τε πλησίον συνίσταντο ταχέως καὶ οἱ πόρρωθεν συνέθεον. ἔφθανε δ' ἡ Ἰουδαίων τόλμα τὴν Ῥωμαίων εὐταξίαν, καὶ τοὺς προεντυγχάνοντας τρεψάμενοι προσέκειντο καὶ τοῖς συλλεγομένοις. [286] δεινὴ δὲ περὶ τὰς μηχανὰς συμπίπτει μάχη, τῶν μὲν ὑποπιμπράναι, τῶν δὲ κωλύειν βιαζομένων, κραυγή τε παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀσήμαντος ἦν, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν προαγωνιζομένων ἔπιπτον. [287] Ἰουδαῖοι δ' ὑπερεῖχον ἀπονοίᾳ, καὶ τῶν ἔργων ἥπτετο τὸ πῦρ, καταφλεγῆναί τ' ἂν ἐκινδύνευσε πάντα μετὰ τῶν ὀργάνων, εἰ μὴ τῶν ἀπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπιλέκτων ἀντέστησαν οἱ πολλοὶ παρὰ τὴν σφετέραν ὑπόληψιν ἀνδρισάμενοι: καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐνδοξοτέρων διήνεγκαν κατὰ ταύτην τὴν μάχην: μέχρι Καῖσαρ τοὺς τῶν ἱππέων δυνατωτάτους ἀναλαβὼν ἐμβάλλει τοῖς πολεμίοις. [288] καὶ δώδεκα μὲν αὐτὸς τῶν προμάχων ἀναιρεῖ, πρὸς δὲ τὸ τούτων πάθος ἐγκλίνοντος τοῦ λοιποῦ πλήθους ἑπόμενος συνελαύνει πάντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν κἀκ τοῦ πυρὸς διασώζει τὰ ἔργα. [289] συνέβη δ' ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ ζωγρηθῆναί τινα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὃν ὁ Τίτος ἀνασταυρῶσαι πρὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐκέλευσεν, εἴ τι πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἐνδοῖεν οἱ λοιποὶ καταπλαγέντες. [290] μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ τῶν Ἰδουμαίων ἡγεμὼν πρὸ τοῦ τείχους γνωρίμῳ τινὶ στρατιώτῃ διαλεγόμενος

ὑπό τινος τῶν Ἀράβων κατὰ τοῦ στέρνου τοξεύεται καὶ παραχρῆμα θνήσκει, μέγιστον τοῖς τε Ἰδουμαίοις πένθος καὶ λύπην τοῖς στασιασταῖς ἀπολιπών: καὶ γὰρ κατά τε χεῖρα καὶ συνέσει διάσημος ἦν.

5. And now the Jews intermitted their sallies for a while; but when they observed the Romans dispersed all abroad at their works, and in their several camps, [for they thought the Jews had retired out of weariness and fear,] they all at once made a sally at the tower Hippicus, through an obscure gate, and at the same time brought fire to burn the works, and went boldly up to the Romans, and to their very fortifications themselves, where, at the cry they made, those that were near them came presently to their assistance, and those farther off came running after them; and here the boldness of the Jews was too hard for the good order of the Romans; and as they beat those whom they first fell upon, so they pressed upon those that were now gotten together. So this fight about the machines was very hot, while the one side tried hard to set them on fire, and the other side to prevent it; on both sides there was a confused cry made, and many of those in the forefront of the battle were slain. However, the Jews were now too hard for the Romans, by the furious assaults they made like madmen; and the fire caught hold of the works, and both all those works, and the engines themselves, had been in danger of being burnt, had not many of these select soldiers that came from Alexandria opposed themselves to prevent it, and had they not behaved themselves with greater courage than they themselves supposed they could have done; for they outdid those in this fight that had greater reputation than themselves before. This was the state of things till Caesar took the stoutest of his horsemen, and attacked the enemy, while he himself slew twelve of those that were in the forefront of the Jews; which death of these men, when the rest of the multitude saw, they gave way, and he pursued them, and drove them all into the city, and saved the works from the fire. Now it happened at this fight that a certain Jew was taken alive, who, by Titus's order, was crucified before the wall, to see whether the rest of them would be affrighted, and abate of their obstinacy. But after the Jews were retired, John, who was commander of the Idumeans, and was talking to a certain soldier of his acquaintance before the wall, was wounded by a dart shot at him by an Arabian, and died immediately, leaving the greatest lamentation to the Jews, and sorrow to the seditious. For he was a man of great eminence, both for his actions and his conduct also.

VII

CHAPTER 7.

How One Of The Towers Erected By The Romans Fell Down Of Its Own Accord; And How The Romans After Great Slaughter Had Been Made Got Possession Of The First Wall. How Also Titus Made His Assaults Upon The Second Wall; As Also Concerning Longinus The Roman, And Castor The Jew.

(1) [291] Τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ ταραχὴ καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐμπίπτει παράλογος. [292] τοῦ γὰρ Τίτου πύργους τρεῖς κατασκευάσαι κελεύσαντος πεντηκονταπήχεις, ἵν' ἑκάστου χώματος ἐπιστήσας ἀπὸ τούτων τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους τρέποιτο, συνέβη πεσεῖν αὐτομάτως ἕνα μέσης νυκτός. [293] μεγίστου δὲ ἀρθέντος ψόφου δέος ἐμπίπτει τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιχειρεῖν σφίσι δόξαντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα πάντες ἔθεον. [294] ταραχὴ δὲ τῶν ταγμάτων καὶ θόρυβος ἦν, καὶ τὸ συμβὰν οὐδενὸς εἰπεῖν ἔχοντος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀποδυρόμενοι διεφέροντο μηδενός τε φαινομένου πολεμίου δι' ἀλλήλων ἐπτοοῦντο, [295] καὶ τὸ σύνθημα μετὰ σπουδῆς ἕκαστος τὸν πλησίον ἐπηρώτα καθάπερ Ἰουδαίων ἐμβεβληκότων εἰς τὰ στρατόπεδα, πανικῷ τε δείματι κυκλουμένοις παρεφκεσαν, ἄχρι μαθὼν τὸ συμβὰν Τίτος διαγγέλλειν ἐκέλευσε πᾶσι, καὶ μόλις ἐπαύσαντο τῆς ταραχῆς.

1. Now, on the next night, a surprising disturbance fell upon the Romans; for whereas Titus had given orders for the erection of three towers of fifty cubits high, that by setting men upon them at every bank, he might from thence drive those away who were upon the wall, it so happened that one of these towers fell down about midnight; and as its fall made a very great noise, fear fell upon the army, and they, supposing that the enemy was coming to attack them, ran all to their arms. Whereupon a disturbance and a tumult arose among the legions, and as nobody could tell what had happened, they went on after a disconsolate manner; and seeing no enemy appear, they were afraid one of another, and every one demanded of his neighbor the watchword with great earnestness, as though the Jews had invaded their camp. And now were they like people under a panic fear, till Titus was informed of what had happened, and gave orders that all should be acquainted with it; and then, though with some difficulty, they got clear of the disturbance they had been under.

(2) [296] Ἰουδαίους γε μὴν πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ καρτερῶς ἀντέχοντας ἐκάκωσαν οἱ πύργοι: καὶ γὰρ τῶν ὀργάνων τοῖς κουφοτέροις ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐβάλλοντο καὶ τοῖς ἀκοντισταῖς καὶ τοξόταις καὶ λιθοβόλοις. [297] οὔτε δὲ τούτων αὐτοὶ διὰ τὸ ὕψος ἐφικνοῦντο καὶ τοὺς πύργους ἦν ἀμήχανον ἑλεῖν, μήτ' ἀνατραπῆναι ῥᾳδίως διὰ τὸ βρῖθος μήτ' ἐμπρησθῆναι διὰ τὸν σίδηρον δυναμένους, ᾧ κατεκαλύπτοντο. [298] τρεπόμενοι δὲ ἐξωτέρω βέλους οὐκέτι ἐκώλυον τῶν κριῶν τὰς ἐμβολάς, οἳ

ἀδιαλείπτως παίοντες ἤνυον κατ᾽ ὀλίγον. [299] ἤδη δὲ τῷ Νίκωνι τοῦ τείχους ἐνδιδόντος, αὐτοὶ γὰρ τοῦτο Ἰουδαῖοι τὴν μεγίστην ἐκάλεσαν Ῥωμαίων ἑλέπολιν ἀπὸ τοῦ πάντα νικᾶν, ἀπέκαμνον μὲν πάλαι πρός τε τὰς μάχας καὶ τὰς φυλακὰς πόρρωθεν τῆς πόλεως διανυκτερεύοντες, [300] ἄλλως δ᾽ ὑπὸ ῥᾳστώνης καὶ τοῦ βουλεύεσθαι πάντα κακῶς περιττὸν αὐτοῖς δόξαν τὸ τεῖχος ἑτέρων μετ᾽ αὐτὸ λειπομένων δύο, μαλακισθέντες ἀνεχώρουν οἱ πολλοί. [301] καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιβάντων καθὸ παρέρρηξεν ὁ Νίκων, καταλιπόντες τὰς φυλακὰς πάντες εἰς τὸ δεύτερον τεῖχος ἀναφεύγουσιν. οἱ δ᾽ ὑπερβάντες τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντες πᾶσαν εἰσδέχονται τὴν στρατιάν. [302] καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὕτω τοῦ πρώτου τείχους πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ κρατήσαντες ἡμέρᾳ, ἑβδόμῃ δὲ ἦν Ἀρτεμισίου μηνός, αὐτοῦ τε πολὺ κατασκάπτουσι καὶ τὰ προσάρκτια τῆς πόλεως, ἃ καὶ πρότερον Κέστιος.

2. Now these towers were very troublesome to the Jews, who otherwise opposed the Romans very courageously; for they shot at them out of their lighter engines from those towers, as they did also by those that threw darts, and the archers, and those that flung stones. For neither could the Jews reach those that were over them, by reason of their height; and it was not practicable to take them, nor to overturn them, they were so heavy, nor to set them on fire, because they were covered with plates of iron. So they retired out of the reach of the darts, and did no longer endeavor to hinder the impression of their rams, which, by continually beating upon the wall, did gradually prevail against it; so that the wall already gave way to the Nico, for by that name did the Jews themselves call the greatest of their engines, because it conquered all things. And now they were for a long while grown weary of fighting, and of keeping guards, and were retired to lodge in the night time at a distance from the wall. It was on other accounts also thought by them to be superfluous to guard the wall, there being besides that two other fortifications still remaining, and they being slothful, and their counsels having been ill concerted on all occasions; so a great many grew lazy and retired. Then the Romans mounted the breach, where Nico had made one, and all the Jews left the guarding that wall, and retreated to the second wall; so those that had gotten over that wall opened the gates, and received all the army within it. And thus did the Romans get possession of this first wall, on the fifteenth day of the siege, which was the seventh day of the month Artemisius, [Jyar,] when they demolished a great part of it, as well as they did of the northern parts of the city, which had been demolished also by Cestius formerly.

(3) [303] Μεταστρατοπεδεύεται δὲ Τίτος εἴσω κατὰ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων παρεμβολὴν καλουμένην, ἐπισχὼν πᾶν τὸ μεταξὺ μέχρι τοῦ Κεδρῶνος, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου τείχους ὅσον ἐξωτέρω βέλους εἶναι: [304] προσβολὰς δ᾽ εὐθέως ἐποιεῖτο. ἐμμερισθέντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καρτερῶς ἀπημύναντο τοῦ τείχους, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν

Ἰωάννην ἀπό τε τῆς Ἀντωνίας καὶ τῆς προσαρκτίου στοᾶς τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ πρὸ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν μνημείων μαχόμενοι, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Σίμωνος τάγμα τὴν παρὰ τὸ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως μνημεῖον ἐμβολὴν διαλαβόντες ἐφράξαντο μέχρι πύλης καθ᾽ ἣν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἱππικὸν πύργον εἰσῆκτο. [305] προπηδῶντές τε πολλάκις ἐκ τῶν πυλῶν συστάδην ἐπολέμουν καὶ συνδιωχθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους κατὰ μὲν τὰς συμπλοκὰς ἡττῶντο τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπιστήμης ὄντες ἄπειροι, περιῆσαν δ᾽ ἐν ταῖς τειχομαχίαις. [306] καὶ τοὺς μὲν μετ᾽ ἰσχύος ἐμπειρία παρεκρότει, Ἰουδαίους δὲ τόλμα δέει τρεφομένη καὶ τὸ φύσει καρτερικὸν ἐν συμφοραῖς: προσῆν δ᾽ ἐλπὶς ἔτι σωτηρίας ἡ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις τοῦ ταχέως κρατήσειν. [307] οὐδετέρων δὲ ἥπτετο κόπος, ἀλλὰ προσβολαὶ καὶ τειχομαχίαι καὶ κατὰ λόχους ἐκδρομαὶ συνεχεῖς δι᾽ ὅλης ἡμέρας ἦσαν, οὐδ᾽ ἔστιν ἥτις ἰδέα μάχης ἀπελείπετο. [308] νὺξ δὲ ἀνέπαυε μόλις ἕωθεν ἀρχομένους: ἦν δ᾽ ἄυπνος ἀμφοτέροις καὶ χαλεπωτέρα τῆς ἡμέρας, δέει τῶν μὲν ὅσον οὔπω καταληφθήσεσθαι τὸ τεῖχος, τῶν δ᾽ ἐπιθήσεσθαι Ἰουδαίους τοῖς στρατοπέδοις, ἔν τε τοῖς ὅπλοις ἑκάτεροι διανυκτερεύοντες ὑπὸ τὰς πρώτας αὐγὰς ἕτοιμοι πρὸς μάχην ἦσαν. [309] καὶ παρὰ μὲν Ἰουδαίοις ἔρις ἦν ὅστις προκινδυνεύσας χαρίσαιτο τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦ Σίμωνος αἰδὼς ἦν καὶ δέος, οὕτως τε προσεῖχεν ἕκαστος αὐτῷ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων, ὡς καὶ πρὸς αὐτοχειρίαν ἑτοιμότατος εἶναι κελεύσαντος: [310] Ῥωμαίοις δὲ ἐπ᾽ ἀνδρείαν ἦν προτροπὴ τοῦ τε κρατεῖν ἔθος καὶ ἥττης ἀήθεια συνεχής τε στρατεία καὶ διηνεκεῖς μελέται καὶ μέγεθος ἡγεμονίας, πρὸ δὲ πάντων Τίτος ἀεὶ πᾶσιν πανταχοῦ παρατυγχάνων. [311] τό τε γὰρ μαλακισθῆναι παρόντος καὶ συναγωνιζομένου Καίσαρος δεινὸν ἐδόκει, καὶ τῷ καλῶς ἀγωνισαμένῳ μάρτυς αὐτὸς ὁ καὶ τιμήσων παρῆν: κέρδος δ᾽ ἦν ἤδη καὶ τὸ γνωσθῆναι Καίσαρι γενναῖον ὄντα. διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὶ τῆς κατὰ σφᾶς ἰσχύος ἀμείνους τῇ προθυμίᾳ διεφάνησαν. [312] παραταξαμένων γοῦν κατὰ ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρὸ τοῦ τείχους καρτερῷ στίφει καὶ διακοντιζομένων ἔτι πόρρωθεν τῶν ταγμάτων ἑκατέρων Λογγῖνός τις τῶν ἱππέων ἐξαλλόμενος τῆς Ῥωμαικῆς τάξεως ἐμπηδᾷ μέσῃ τῇ τῶν Ἰουδαίων φάλαγγι, [313] καὶ διασκεδασθέντων πρὸς τὴν ἐμβολὴν δύο τοὺς γενναιοτάτους ἀναιρεῖ, τὸν μὲν κατὰ στόμα πλήξας ὑπαντιάσαντα, τὸν δ᾽ ἀνασπάσας ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου τὸ δόρυ κατὰ πλευρὰν διαπείρει τραπόμενον, ἐκ μέσων τε τῶν πολεμίων ἄτρωτος εἰς τοὺς σφετέρους ἔδραμεν. [314] ὁ μὲν οὖν δι᾽ ἀρετὴν ἐπίσημος ἦν, ζηλωταὶ δὲ τῆς ἀνδρείας ἐγίνοντο πολλοί. [315] καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν ἀμελοῦντες τοῦ παθεῖν τὸ διαθεῖναι μόνον ἐσκόπουν, ὅ τε θάνατος αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει κουφότατος εἰ μετὰ τοῦ κτεῖναί τινα τῶν πολεμίων προσπέσοι: [316] Τίτος δὲ τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀσφαλείας οὐχ ἧττον τοῦ κρατεῖν προυνόει, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀπερίσκεπτον ὁρμὴν ἀπόνοιαν λέγων, μόνην δ᾽ ἀρετὴν τὴν μετὰ προνοίας καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν τὸν δρῶντα παθεῖν, ἐν ἀκινδύνῳ τῷ κατὰ σφᾶς ἐκέλευσεν ἀνδρίζεσθαι.

3. And now Titus pitched his camp within the city, at that place which was called "the Camp of the Assyrians," having seized upon all that lay as far as Cedron, but took care to be out of the reach of the Jews' darts. He then presently began his attacks, upon which the Jews divided themselves into several bodies, and courageously defended that wall; while John and his faction did it from the tower of Antonia, and from the northern cloister of the temple, and fought the Romans before the monuments of king Alexander; and Sireoh's army also took for their share the spot of ground that was near John's monument, and fortified it as far as to that gate where water was brought in to the tower Hippicus. However, the Jews made violent sallies, and that frequently also, and in bodies together out of the gates, and there fought the Romans; and when they were pursued all together to the wall, they were beaten in those fights, as wanting the skill of the Romans. But when they fought them from the walls, they were too hard for them; the Romans being encouraged by their power, joined to their skill, as were the Jews by their boldness, which was nourished by the fear they were in, and that hardiness which is natural to our nation under calamities; they were also encouraged still by the hope of deliverance, as were the Romans by their hopes of subduing them in a little time. Nor did either side grow weary; but attacks and rightings upon the wall, and perpetual sallies out in bodies, were there all the day long; nor were there any sort of warlike engagements that were not then put in use. And the night itself had much ado to part them, when they began to fight in the morning; nay, the night itself was passed without sleep on both sides, and was more uneasy than the day to them, while the one was afraid lest the wall should be taken, and the other lest the Jews should make sallies upon their camps; both sides also lay in their armor during the night time, and thereby were ready at the first appearance of light to go to the battle. Now among the Jews the ambition was who should undergo the first dangers, and thereby gratify their commanders. Above all, they had a great veneration and dread of Simon; and to that degree was he regarded by every one of those that were under him, that at his command they were very ready to kill themselves with their own hands. What made the Romans so courageous was their usual custom of conquering and disuse of being defeated, their constant wars, and perpetual warlike exercises, and the grandeur of their dominion; and what was now their chief encouragement — Titus who was present every where with them all; for it appeared a terrible thing to grow weary while Caesar was there, and fought bravely as well as they did, and was himself at once an eye-witness of such as behaved themselves valiantly, and he who was to reward them also. It was, besides, esteemed an advantage at present to have any one's valor known by Caesar; on which account many of them appeared to have more alacrity than

strength to answer it. And now, as the Jews were about this time standing in array before the wall, and that in a strong body, and while both parties were throwing their darts at each other, Longinus, one of the equestrian order, leaped out of the army of the Romans, and leaped into the very midst of the army of the Jews; and as they dispersed themselves upon the attack, he slew two of their men of the greatest courage; one of them he struck in his mouth as he was coming to meet him, the other was slain by him by that very dart which he drew out of the body of the other, with which he ran this man through his side as he was running away from him; and when he had done this, he first of all ran out of the midst of his enemies to his own side. So this man signalized himself for his valor, and many there were who were ambitious of gaining the like reputation. And now the Jews were unconcerned at what they suffered themselves from the Romans, and were only solicitous about what mischief they could do them; and death itself seemed a small matter to them, if at the same time they could but kill any one of their enemies. But Titus took care to secure his own soldiers from harm, as well as to have them overcome their enemies. He also said that inconsiderate violence was madness, and that this alone was the true courage that was joined with good conduct. He therefore commanded his men to take care, when they fought their enemies, that they received no harm from them at the same time, and thereby show themselves to be truly valiant men.

(4) [317] Προσάγει δ' αὐτὸς τοῦ βορείου τείχους τῷ μέσῳ πύργῳ τὴν ἑλέπολιν, ἐν ᾧ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τις ἀνὴρ γόης ὄνομα Κάστωρ ἑλόχα μεθ' ὁμοίων δέκα, τῶν λοιπῶν φυγόντων διὰ τοὺς τοξότας. [318] οὗτοι μέχρι μέν τινος ὑπεπτηχότες τοῖς θωρακίοις ἠρέμουν, λυομένου δὲ τοῦ πύργου διανίστανται, καὶ προτείνας ὁ Κάστωρ τὰς χεῖρας ὡς ἱκετεύων δῆθεν ἐκάλει τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ τῇ φωνῇ κατοικτιζόμενος ἐλεῆσαι σφᾶς παρεκάλει. [319] πιστεύσας δ' ἐξ ἁπλότητος ὁ Τίτος καὶ μετανοεῖν ἤδη τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐλπίσας, ἐπέχει μὲν τοῦ κριοῦ τὴν ἐμβολὴν κωλύει τε τοξεύειν τοὺς ἱκέτας, λέγειν δ' ἐκέλευσεν ὅ τι βούλεται τῷ Κάστορι. [320] τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ καταβῆναι θέλειν, ὁ Τίτος συνήδεσθαι μὲν αὐτῷ τῆς εὐβουλίας ἔφη, συνήδεσθαι δὲ εἰ πάντες ταῦτα ἤδη φρονοῦσι καὶ τῇ πόλει διδόναι τε πίστιν ἑτοίμως. [321] τῶν δέκα δὲ οἱ πέντε μὲν αὐτῷ συνυπεκρίνοντο τὴν ἱκετηρίαν, οἱ λοιποὶ δ' οὐκ ἄν ποτε δουλεύσειν Ῥωμαίοις ἐβόων παρὸν ἐλευθέρους ἀποθανεῖν. [322] καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διαφερομένων ἐτρίβετο μὲν ἡ προσβολή, πέμπων δ' ὁ Κάστωρ πρὸς τὸν Σίμωνα σχολῇ βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἐπειγόντων ἔλεγεν, ὡς οὐκ ἐπ' ὀλίγον αὐτὸς διαπαίζοι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν. ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα πέμπων καταφανὴς ἦν καὶ τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας ἐπὶ τὴν δεξιὰν παρακαλῶν. [323] οἱ δὲ ὥσπερ ἀγανακτοῦντες ὑπὲρ τὰ θωράκια διήρουν τε τὰ ξίφη γυμνὰ καὶ τοὺς θώρακας αὐτῶν πλήξαντες ὡς ἀπεσφαγμένοι

κατέπεσον. [324] θάμβος δὲ τὸν Τίτον καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν εἰσῆει τοῦ τῶν ἀνδρῶν παραστήματος, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενοι κάτωθεν ἀκριβῶς τὸ γεγενημένον ἰδεῖν ἐθαύμαζόν τε τῆς εὐτολμίας αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῦ πάθους ἠλέουν. [325] τοξεύει δέ τις ἐν τούτῳ παρὰ τὴν ῥῖνα τὸν Κάστορα, κἀκεῖνος εὐθέως ἀνασπάσας τὸ βέλος ἐπεδείκνυ τῷ Τίτῳ καὶ ὡς οὐ δίκαια πάσχων κατεμέμφετο. πρὸς δὲ τὸν βαλόντα σχετλιάσας Καῖσαρ ἔπεμπε παρεστῶτα τὸν Ἰώσηπον δοῦναι τῷ Κάστορι δεξιάν. [326] ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν οὔτ᾽ αὐτὸς ἔφη προσελεύσεσθαι, φρονεῖν γὰρ οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς τοὺς δεομένους, καὶ τοὺς ὡρμημένους τῶν φίλων κατέσχεν: Αἰνείας δέ τις τῶν αὐτομόλων αὐτὸς ἔφη προσελεύσεσθαι. [327] καὶ τοῦ Κάστορος καλοῦντος, ὅπως δέξαιτό τις καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον ὃ φέροι μεθ᾽ αὑτοῦ, σπουδαιότερον ὁ Αἰνείας διαπετάσας τὸν κόλπον προσέδραμεν. [328] ἀράμενος δὲ ὁ Κάστωρ πέτραν ἐπαφίησιν αὐτῷ, καὶ τούτου μὲν διήμαρτε φυλαξαμένου, τιτρώσκει δὲ στρατιώτην ἕτερον προσελθόντα. [329] συννοήσας δὲ Καῖσαρ τὴν ἀπάτην πρὸς βλάβης μὲν ἔγνω τὸν ἐν πολέμοις ἔλεον, τὸ γὰρ ἀπηνέστερον ἧττον ὑποπίπτειν τῷ πανούργῳ, τὰς δ᾽ ἐμβολὰς τῆς ἑλεπόλεως ὀργῇ τῆς χλεύης ἐποιεῖτο δυνατωτέρας. [330] ὑποδιδόντα δὲ τὸν πύργον ἐμπιπρᾶσιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Κάστορα, καὶ διὰ τῆς φλογὸς εἰς τὴν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῷ κρυπτὴν ἀλλόμενοι πάλιν δόξαν ἀνδρείας Ῥωμαίοις παρέσχον ὡς ῥίψαντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ πῦρ.

4. And now Titus brought one of his engines to the middle tower of the north part of the wall, in which a certain crafty Jew, whose name was Castor, lay in ambush, with ten others like himself, the rest being fled away by reason of the archers. These men lay still for a while, as in great fear, under their breastplates; but when the tower was shaken, they arose, and Castor did then stretch out his hand, as a petitioner, and called for Caesar, and by his voice moved his compassion, and begged of him to have mercy upon them; and Titus, in the innocency of his heart, believing him to be in earnest, and hoping that the Jews did now repent, stopped the working of the battering ram, and forbade them to shoot at the petitioners, and bid Castor say what he had a mind to say to him. He said that he would come down, if he would give him his right hand for his security. To which Titus replied, that he was well pleased with such his agreeable conduct, and would be well pleased if all the Jews would be of his mind, and that he was ready to give the like security to the city. Now five of the ten dissembled with him, and pretended to beg for mercy, while the rest cried out aloud that they would never be slaves to the Romans, while it was in their power to die in a state of freedom. Now while these men were quarrelling for a long while, the attack was delayed; Castor also sent to Simon, and told him that they might take some time for consultation about what was to be done, because he would elude the power of the Romans for a considerable time. And at the same

time that he sent thus to him, he appeared openly to exhort those that were obstinate to accept of Titus's hand for their security; but they seemed very angry at it, and brandished their naked swords upon the breast-works, and struck themselves upon their breast, and fell down as if they had been slain. Hereupon Titus, and those with him, were amazed at the courage of the men; and as they were not able to see exactly what was done, they admired at their great fortitude, and pitied their calamity. During this interval, a certain person shot a dart at Castor, and wounded him in his nose; whereupon he presently pulled out the dart, and showed it to Titus, and complained that this was unfair treatment; so Caesar reproved him that shot the dart, and sent Josephus, who then stood by him, to give his right hand to Castor. But Josephus said that he would not go to him, because these pretended petitioners meant nothing that was good; he also restrained those friends of his who were zealous to go to him. But still there was one Eneas, a deserter, who said he would go to him. Castor also called to them, that somebody should come and receive the money which he had with him; this made Eneas the more earnestly to run to him with his bosom open. Then did Castor take up a great stone, and threw it at him, which missed him, because he guarded himself against it; but still it wounded another soldier that was coming to him. When Caesar understood that this was a delusion, he perceived that mercy in war is a pernicious thing, because such cunning tricks have less place under the exercise of greater severity. So he caused the engine to work more strongly than before, on account of his anger at the deceit put upon him. But Castor and his companions set the tower on fire when it began to give way, and leaped through the flame into a hidden vault that was under it, which made the Romans further suppose that they were men of great courage, as having cast themselves into the fire.

VIII

CHAPTER 8.

How The Romans Took The Second Wall Twice, And Got All Ready

For Taking The Third Wall.

(1) [331] Αἱρεῖ δὲ Καῖσαρ ταύτῃ τὸ τεῖχος ἡμέρᾳ πέμπτῃ μετὰ τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων φυγόντων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ παρέρχεται μετὰ χιλίων ἔνδον ὁπλιτῶν καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιλέκτων, καθὸ καὶ τῆς καινῆς πόλεως ἐριοπώλιά τε ἦν καὶ χαλκεῖα καὶ ἱματίων ἀγορά, πρός τε τὸ τεῖχος πλάγιοι κατέτεινον οἱ στενωποί. [332] εἰ μὲν οὖν ἢ τοῦ τείχους εὐθέως πλέον διέλυσεν ἢ πολέμου νόμῳ παρελθὼν ἐπόρθει τὸ ληφθέν, οὐκ ἂν οἶμαί τις ἐμίγη βλάβη τῷ κράτει. [333] νῦν δὲ Ἰουδαίους μὲν

ἐλπίσας δυσωπήσειν ἐξὸν κακοῦν τῷ μὴ θέλειν, πρὸς δ᾽ ἀναχώρησιν εὐμαρῆ τὴν εἰσβολὴν οὐκ ἐπλάτυνεν: οὐ γὰρ ἐπιβουλεύσειν οὓς εὐεργετεῖν ὑπελάμβανεν. [334] παρελθὼν γοῦν οὔτε κτείνειν τινὰ τῶν καταλαμβανομένων ἐπέτρεψεν οὔτε ὑποπιμπράναι τὰς οἰκίας, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν στασιασταῖς εἰ βούλοιντο μάχεσθαι δίχα τῆς τοῦ δήμου βλάβης ἄδειαν ἐξόδου, τῷ δήμῳ δὲ τὰς κτήσεις ὑπισχνεῖτο δώσειν: περὶ πλείστου γὰρ ἐποιεῖτο σῶσαι τὴν μὲν πόλιν αὐτῷ, τὸν δὲ ναὸν τῇ πόλει. [335] τὸν μὲν οὖν λαὸν ἕτοιμον εἶχεν εἰς ἃ προύτρεπεν καὶ πάλαι, τοῖς μαχίμοις δ᾽ ἐδόκει τὸ φιλάνθρωπον ἀσθένεια, καὶ τὸν Τίτον ἀδυναμίᾳ τοῦ τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν ἑλεῖν ταῦτα προτείνειν ὑπελάμβανον. [336] διαπειλοῦντες δὲ τοῖς δημόταις θάνατον, εἰ περὶ παραδόσεως μνησθείη τις αὐτῶν, καὶ τοὺς παραφθεγγομένους εἰρήνην ἀποσφάττοντες, ἐπιτίθενται καὶ τοῖς εἰσελθοῦσι Ῥωμαίων, οἱ μὲν κατὰ τοὺς στενωποὺς ὑπαντιάσαντες, οἱ δ᾽ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν, ἄλλοι δ᾽ ἔξω τοῦ τείχους κατὰ τὰς ἄνω προπηδήσαντες πύλας. [337] πρὸς οὓς ταραχθέντες οἱ φρουροὶ τοῦ τείχους καθαλλόμενοι τῶν πύργων ἀνεχώρουν εἰς τὰ στρατόπεδα. [338] κραυγὴ δ᾽ ἦν τῶν μὲν εἴσω πάντοθεν πολεμίοις κεκυκλωμένων, τῶν δ᾽ ἔξωθεν περὶ τοῖς ἀπολειφθεῖσι δεδοικότων. πληθύνοντες δ᾽ ἀεὶ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ πολλὰ πλεονεκτοῦντες κατ᾽ ἐμπειρίαν τῶν στενωπῶν ἐτίτρωσκόν τε πολλοὺς καὶ προσπίπτοντες ἐξώθουν. [339] οἱ δὲ κατ᾽ ἀνάγκην τὸ πλέον ἀντεῖχον, οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀθρόους διαφυγεῖν διὰ στενοῦ τοῦ τείχους, δοκοῦσί τε ἂν κατακοπῆναι πάντες οἱ παρελθόντες μὴ προσαμύναντος τοῦ Τίτου. [340] διαστήσας γὰρ ἐπ᾽ ἄκροις τοῖς στενωποῖς τοὺς τοξότας καὶ κατὰ τὸν μάλιστα πληθύοντα σταθεὶς αὐτός, ἀνέστελλε τοῖς βέλεσι τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Δομέτιος Σαβῖνος, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ κατὰ ταύτην φανεὶς τὴν μάχην. [341] παρέμεινε δὲ συνεχῶς τοξεύων Καῖσαρ καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους κωλύων παρελθεῖν, μέχρι πάντες ἀνεχώρησαν οἱ στρατιῶται.

1. Now Caesar took this wall there on the fifth day after he had taken the first; and when the Jews had fled from him, he entered into it with a thousand armed men, and those of his choice troops, and this at a place where were the merchants of wool, the braziers, and the market for cloth, and where the narrow streets led obliquely to the wall. Wherefore, if Titus had either demolished a larger part of the wall immediately, or had come in, and, according to the law of war, had laid waste what was left, his victory would not, I suppose, have been mixed with any loss to himself. But now, out of the hope he had that he should make the Jews ashamed of their obstinacy, by not being willing, when he was able, to afflict them more than he needed to do, he did not widen the breach of the wall, in order to make a safer retreat upon occasion; for he did not think they would lay snares for him that did them such a kindness. When therefore he came in, he did not permit his soldiers to kill any of those they caught, nor to set fire to

their houses neither; nay, he gave leave to the seditious, if they had a mind, to fight without any harm to the people, and promised to restore the people's effects to them; for he was very desirous to preserve the city for his own sake, and the temple for the sake of the city. As to the people, he had them of a long time ready to comply with his proposals; but as to the fighting men, this humanity of his seemed a mark of his weakness, and they imagined that he made these proposals because he was not able to take the rest of the city. They also threatened death to the people, if they should any one of them say a word about a surrender. They moreover cut the throats of such as talked of a peace, and then attacked those Romans that were come within the wall. Some of them they met in the narrow streets, and some they fought against from their houses, while they made a sudden sally out at the upper gates, and assaulted such Romans as were beyond the wall, till those that guarded the wall were so affrighted, that they leaped down from their towers, and retired to their several camps: upon which a great noise was made by the Romans that were within, because they were encompassed round on every side by their enemies; as also by them that were without, because they were in fear for those that were left in the city. Thus did the Jews grow more numerous perpetually, and had great advantages over the Romans, by their full knowledge of those narrow lanes; and they wounded a great many of them, and fell upon them, and drove them out of the city. Now these Romans were at present forced to make the best resistance they could; for they were not able, in great numbers, to get out at the breach in the wall, it was so narrow. It is also probable that all those that were gotten within had been cut to pieces, if Titus had not sent them succors; for he ordered the archers to stand at the upper ends of these narrow lanes, and he stood himself where was the greatest multitude of his enemies, and with his darts he put a stop to them; as with him did Domitius Sabinus also, a valiant man, and one that in this battle appeared so to be. Thus did Caesar continue to shoot darts at the Jews continually, and to hinder them from coming upon his men, and this until all his soldiers had retreated out of the city.

(2) [342] Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὕτως κρατήσαντες τοῦ δευτέρου τείχους ἐξεώσθησαν, τῶν δ' ἀνὰ τὸ ἄστυ μαχίμων ἐπήρθη τὰ φρονήματα, καὶ μετέωροι πρὸς τὴν εὐπραγίαν ἦσαν, οὔτ' ἂν Ῥωμαίους εἰς τὴν πόλιν τολμήσειν ἔτι παρελθεῖν οὔτ' αὐτοὶ παρελθόντων ἡττηθήσεσθαι δοκοῦντες. [343] ἐπεσκότει γὰρ αὐτῶν ταῖς γνώμαις διὰ τὰς παρανομίας ὁ θεός, καὶ οὔτε τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἰσχὺν ὅσῳ πλείων κατελείπετο τῆς ἐξελαθείσης ἔβλεπον οὔτε τὸν ὑφέρποντα λιμὸν αὐτοῖς: [344] ἔτι γὰρ παρῆν ἐσθίειν ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων κακῶν καὶ τὸ τῆς πόλεως αἷμα πίνειν: ἔνδεια δὲ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἐπεῖχε πάλαι, καὶ σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων διελύοντο

πολλοί. [345] τὴν δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ φθορὰν ἑαυτῶν οἱ στασιασταὶ κουφισμὸν ὑπελάμβανον: μόνους γὰρ ἠξίουν σώζεσθαι τοὺς μὴ ζητοῦντας εἰρήνην καὶ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ζῆν προῃρημένους, τὸ δ' ἐναντίον πλῆθος ὥσπερ βάρβαρον ἥδοντο δαπανώμενον. [346] τοιοῦτοι μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἔνδον ἦσαν: Ῥωμαίους δὲ πάλιν τῆς εἰσόδου πειρωμένους ἐκώλυον φραξάμενοι καὶ τὸ καταρριφθὲν ἀντιτειχίσαντες τοῖς σώμασι τρισὶ μὲν ἀντέσχον ἡμέραις καρτερῶς ἀμυνόμενοι, τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ προσβαλόντα γενναίως Τίτον οὐκ ἤνεγκαν, ἀλλὰ βιασθέντες ᾗ καὶ πρότερον ἀναφεύγουσιν. [347] ὁ δὲ πάλιν τοῦ τείχους κρατήσας τὸ προσάρκτιον μὲν εὐθέως κατέρριψε πᾶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ κατὰ μεσημβρίαν φρουρὰς τοῖς πύργοις ἐγκαταστήσας τῷ τρίτῳ προσβάλλειν ἐπενόει.

2. And thus were the Romans driven out, after they had possessed themselves of the second wall. Whereupon the fighting men that were in the city were lifted up in their minds, and were elevated upon this their good success, and began to think that the Romans would never venture to come into the city any more; and that if they kept within it themselves, they should not be any more conquered. For God had blinded their minds for the transgressions they had been guilty of, nor could they see how much greater forces the Romans had than those that were now expelled, no more than they could discern how a famine was creeping upon them; for hitherto they had fed themselves out of the public miseries, and drank the blood of the city. But now poverty had for a long time seized upon the better part, and a great many had died already for want of necessaries; although the seditious indeed supposed the destruction of the people to be an easement to themselves; for they desired that none others might be preserved but such as were against a peace with the Romans, and were resolved to live in opposition to them, and they were pleased when the multitude of those of a contrary opinion were consumed, as being then freed from a heavy burden. And this was their disposition of mind with regard to those that were within the city, while they covered themselves with their armor, and prevented the Romans, when they were trying to get into the city again, and made a wall of their own bodies over against that part of the wall that was cast down. Thus did they valiantly defend themselves for three days; but on the fourth day they could not support themselves against the vehement assaults of Titus but were compelled by force to fly whither they had fled before; so he quietly possessed himself again of that wall, and demolished it entirely. And when he had put a garrison into the towers that were on the south parts of the city, he contrived how he might assault the third wall.

IX

CHAPTER 9.

Titus When The Jews Were Not At All Mollified By His Leaving Off The Siege For A While, Set Himself Again To Prosecute The Same; But Soon Sent Josephus To Discourse With His Own Countrymen About Peace.

(1) [348] Δόξαν δ' ἐπανεῖναι πρὸς ὀλίγον τὴν πολιορκίαν καὶ διωρίαν βουλῆς τοῖς στασιασταῖς παρέχειν, εἴ τι πρὸς τὴν καθαίρεσιν ἐνδοῖεν τοῦ δευτέρου τείχους ἢ καὶ τὸν λιμὸν ὑποδείσαντες, οὐ γὰρ εἰς πολὺ τὰς ἁρπαγὰς αὐτοῖς ἐξαρκέσειν, εἰς δέον κατεχρῆτο τὴν ἄνεσιν: [349] ἐνστάσης γὰρ τῆς προθεσμίας, καθ' ἣν ἔδει διαδοῦναι τοῖς στρατιώταις τροφάς, ἐν ἀπόπτῳ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐκτάξαντας τὴν δύναμιν ἀπαριθμεῖν ἑκάστῳ τἀργύριον. [350] οἱ δέ, ὥσπερ ἔθος, ἀποκαλύψαντες τὰ ὅπλα θήκαις ἐσκεπασμένα τέως κατάφρακτοι προῄεσαν καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἄγοντες οἱ ἱππεῖς κεκοσμημένους. [351] ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὲ τὰ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ περιελάμπετο, καὶ τῆς ὄψεως ἐκείνης οὐδὲν οὔτε τοῖς σφετέροις ἐπιτερπέστερον οὔτε τοῖς πολεμίοις παρέστη φοβερώτερον. [352] κατεπλήσθη γὰρ ἀφορώντων τό τε ἀρχαῖον τεῖχος ἅπαν καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ βόρειον κλίμα, τάς τε οἰκίας μεστὰς ἦν προκυπτόντων ἰδεῖν, καὶ τῆς πόλεως οὐδὲν ὃ μὴ κεκάλυπτο πλήθει διεφαίνετο. [353] κατάπληξις δὲ δεινὴ καὶ τοῖς τολμηροτάτοις ἐνέπεσε τήν τε δύναμιν ἐπὶ ταὐτὸ πᾶσαν ὁρῶσι καὶ τὸ κάλλος τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν: [354] δοκοῦσί τε ἄν μοι πρὸς ἐκείνην οἱ στασιασταὶ μεταβαλέσθαι τὴν ὄψιν, εἰ μὴ δι' ὑπερβολὴν ὧν τὸν δῆμον ἔδρασαν κακῶν συγγνώμην παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἀπήλπιζον. [355] ἀποκειμένου δὲ τοῦ μετὰ κολάσεως, εἰ παύσαιντο, πολὺ κρείττονα τὸν ἐν πολέμῳ θάνατον ἡγοῦντο. καὶ τὸ χρεὼν δ' ἐκράτει τούς τε ἀναιτίους τοῖς αἰτίοις συναπολέσθαι καὶ τῇ στάσει τὴν πόλιν.

1. A Resolution was now taken by Titus to relax the siege for a little while, and to afford the seditious an interval for consideration, and to see whether the demolishing of their second wall would not make them a little more compliant, or whether they were not somewhat afraid of a famine, because the spoils they had gotten by rapine would not be sufficient for them long; so he made use of this relaxation in order to compass his own designs. Accordingly, as the usual appointed time when he must distribute subsistence money to the soldiers was now come, he gave orders that the commanders should put the army into battle-array, in the face of the enemy, and then give every one of the soldiers their pay. So the soldiers, according to custom, opened the cases wherein their arms before lay covered, and marched with their breastplates on, as did the horsemen lead

their horses in their fine trappings. Then did the places that were before the city shine very splendidly for a great way; nor was there any thing so grateful to Titus's own men, or so terrible to the enemy, as that sight. For the whole old wall, and the north side of the temple, were full of spectators, and one might see the houses full of such as looked at them; nor was there any part of the city which was not covered over with their multitudes; nay, a very great consternation seized upon the hardiest of the Jews themselves, when they saw all the army in the same place, together with the fineness of their arms, and the good order of their men. And I cannot but think that the seditious would have changed their minds at that sight, unless the crimes they had committed against the people had been so horrid, that they despaired of forgiveness from the Romans; but as they believed death with torments must be their punishment, if they did not go on in the defense of the city, they thought it much better to die in war. Fate also prevailed so far over them, that the innocent were to perish with the guilty, and the city was to be destroyed with the seditious that were in it.

(2) [356] Τέσσαρσιν μὲν οὖν ἡμέραις οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καθ' ἕκαστον τάγμα διετέλεσαν τὰς τροφὰς κομιζόμενοι, τῇ πέμπτῃ δ' ὡς οὐδὲν ἀπήντα παρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰρηνικόν, διχῇ διελὼν τὰ τάγματα Τίτος ἤρχετο τῶν χωμάτων κατά τε τὴν Ἀντωνίαν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἰωάννου μνημεῖον, ταύτῃ μὲν τὴν ἄνω πόλιν αἱρήσειν ἐπινοῶν, τὸ δ' ἱερὸν κατὰ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν: [357] τούτου γὰρ μὴ ληφθέντος οὐδὲ τὸ ἄστυ κατέχειν ἀκίνδυνον ἦν: πρὸς ἑκατέρῳ δὲ μέρει δύο χώματα ἠγείρετο καθ' ἓν ἑκάστου τάγματος. [358] καὶ τοὺς μὲν παρὰ τὸ μνημεῖον ἐργαζομένους οἵ τε Ἰδουμαῖοι καὶ τὸ μετὰ τοῦ Σίμωνος ὁπλιτικὸν εἶργον ἐπεκθέοντες, τοὺς δὲ πρὸ τῆς Ἀντωνίας οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ τὸ τῶν ζηλωτῶν πλῆθος. [359] ἐπλεονέκτουν δὲ οὐ κατὰ χεῖρα μόνον ἀφ' ὑψηλοτέρων μαχόμενοι, καὶ τοῖς ὀργάνοις δὲ ἤδη χρῆσθαι μεμαθηκότες: ἡ γὰρ καθ' ἡμέραν τριβὴ κατὰ μικρὸν ἔθρεψε τὴν ἐμπειρίαν. εἶχον δ' ὀξυβελεῖς μὲν τριακοσίους, τεσσαράκοντα δὲ τῶν λιθοβόλων, δι' ὧν τὰ χώματα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐποίουν δυσέργαστα. [360] Τίτος δὲ σώζεσθαί τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀπόλλυσθαι εἰδὼς ἑαυτῷ, ἅμα καὶ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ προσέκειτο καὶ τοῦ παραινεῖν Ἰουδαίοις μετάνοιαν οὐκ ἠμέλει, [361] τοῖς δ' ἔργοις ἀνέμισγε συμβουλίαν, καὶ πολλάκις γινώσκων ἀνυτικώτερον ὅπλων τὸν λόγον αὐτός τε σώζεσθαι παρεκάλει παραδόντας τὴν πόλιν ἤδη παρειλημμένην καὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον καθίει τῇ πατρίῳ γλώσσῃ διαλέγεσθαι, τάχ' ἂν ἐνδοῦναι πρὸς ὁμόφυλον δοκῶν αὐτούς.

2. Thus did the Romans spend four days in bringing this subsistence-money to the several legions. But on the fifth day, when no signs of peace appeared to come from the Jews, Titus divided his legions, and began to raise banks, both at the tower of Antonia and at John's monument. Now his designs were to take the

upper city at that monument, and the temple at the tower of Antonia; for if the temple were not taken, it would be dangerous to keep the city itself; so at each of these parts he raised him banks, each legion raising one. As for those that wrought at John's monument, the Idumeans, and those that were in arms with Simon, made sallies upon them, and put some stop to them; while John's party, and the multitude of zealots with them, did the like to those that were before the tower of Antonia. These Jews were now too hard for the Romans, not only in direct fighting, because they stood upon the higher ground, but because they had now learned to use their own engines; for their continual use of them one day after another did by degrees improve their skill about them; for of one sort of engines for darts they had three hundred, and forty for stones; by the means of which they made it more tedious for the Romans to raise their banks. But then Titus, knowing that the city would be either saved or destroyed for himself, did not only proceed earnestly in the siege, but did not omit to have the Jews exhorted to repentance; so he mixed good counsel with his works for the siege. And being sensible that exhortations are frequently more effectual than arms, he persuaded them to surrender the city, now in a manner already taken, and thereby to save themselves, and sent Josephus to speak to them in their own language; for he imagined they might yield to the persuasion of a countryman of their own.

(3) [362] Οὗτος περιιὼν τὸ τεῖχος καὶ πειρώμενος ἔξω τε βέλους εἶναι καὶ ἐν ἐπηκόῳ, πολλὰ κατηντιβόλει φείσασθαι μὲν αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ δήμου, φείσασθαι δὲ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ μηδὲ γενέσθαι πρὸς ταῦτα τῶν ἀλλοφύλων ἀπαθεστέρους. [363] Ῥωμαίους μέν γε τοὺς μὴ μετέχοντας ἐντρέπεσθαι τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἅγια καὶ μέχρι νῦν τὰς χεῖρας ἐπέχειν, τοὺς δ' ἐντραφέντας αὐτοῖς κἂν περισωθῇ μόνους ἔξοντας ὡρμῆσθαι πρὸς ἀπώλειαν αὐτῶν. [364] ἦ μὴν τὰ καρτερώτερα μὲν αὐτῶν ὁρᾶν τείχη πεπτωκότα, λειπόμενον δὲ τὸ τῶν ἑαλωκότων ἀσθενέστερον: γινώσκειν δὲ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἰσχὺν ἀνυπόστατον καὶ τὸ δουλεύειν τούτοις οὐκ ἀπείρατον αὐτοῖς. [365] εἰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ πολεμεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας καλόν, χρῆναι τὸ πρῶτον: τὸ δ' ἅπαξ ὑποπεσόντας καὶ μακροῖς εἴξαντας χρόνοις ἔπειτα ἀποσείεσθαι τὸν ζυγὸν δυσθανατούντων, οὐ φιλελευθέρων εἶναι. [366] δεῖν μέντοι καὶ δεσπότας ἀδοξεῖν ταπεινοτέρους, οὐχ οἷς ὑποχείρια τὰ πάντα. τί γὰρ Ῥωμαίους διαπεφευγέναι, πλὴν εἰ μή τι διὰ θάλπος ἢ κρύος ἄχρηστον; [367] μεταβῆναι γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς πάντοθεν τὴν τύχην, καὶ κατὰ ἔθνος τὸν θεὸν ἐμπεριάγοντα τὴν ἀρχὴν νῦν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας εἶναι. νόμον γε μὴν ὡρίσθαι καὶ παρὰ θηρσὶν ἰσχυρότατον καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώποις, εἴκειν τοῖς δυνατωτέροις καὶ τὸ κρατεῖν παρ' οἷς ἀκμὴ τῶν ὅπλων εἶναι. [368] διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς προγόνους αὐτῶν καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἔτι δὲ καὶ ταῖς

ἄλλαις ἀφορμαῖς ἀμείνους ὄντας εἶξαι Ῥωμαίοις, οὐκ ἂν εἰ μὴ τὸν θεὸν ἥδεσαν σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῦθ᾽ ὑπομείναντας. [369] αὐτοὺς δὲ τίνι καὶ πεποιθότας ἀντέχειν, ἐαλωκυίας μὲν ἐκ πλείστου τῆς πόλεως μέρους, τῶν δ᾽ ἔνδον, εἰ καὶ τὰ τείχη παρέμενεν, ἀλώσεως χεῖρον διακειμένων; [370] οὐ γὰρ λανθάνειν Ῥωμαίους τὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει λιμόν, ᾧ νῦν μὲν τὸν δῆμον, μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ διαφθαρήσεσθαι καὶ τοὺς μαχίμους. [371] εἰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ παύσαιντο Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς πολιορκίας μηδ᾽ ἐπιπίπτοιεν τῇ πόλει ξιφήρεις, αὐτοῖς γε τὸν ἄμαχον πόλεμον ἔνδον παρακαθῆσθαι καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ὥραν τρεφόμενον, εἰ μὴ καὶ πρὸς τὸν λιμὸν ἆραι τὰ ὅπλα καὶ μάχεσθαι δύνανται μόνοι τε καὶ παθῶν ἐπικρατεῖν. [372] προσετίθει δὲ ὡς καλὸν πρὸ ἀνηκέστου συμφορᾶς μεταβαλέσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ σωτήριον ἕως ἔξεστι ῥέψαι: καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ μνησικακήσειν αὐτοῖς Ῥωμαίους τῶν γεγενημένων, εἰ μὴ μέχρι τέλους ἀπαυθαδίσαιντο: φύσει τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ κρατεῖν ἡμέρους εἶναι καὶ πρὸ τῶν θυμῶν θήσεσθαι τὸ συμφέρον. [373] τοῦτο δ᾽ εἶναι μήτε τὴν πόλιν ἀνδρῶν κενὴν μήτε τὴν χώραν ἔρημον ἔχειν. διὸ καὶ νῦν Καίσαρα βούλεσθαι δεξιὰν αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν: οὐ γὰρ ἂν σῶσαί τινα βίᾳ λαβόντα τὴν πόλιν, καὶ μάλιστα μηδ᾽ ἐν ἐσχάταις συμφοραῖς ὑπακουσάντων παρακαλοῦντι. [374] τοῦ γε μὴν ταχέως τὸ τρίτον τεῖχος ἁλώσεσθαι τὰ προεαλωκότα πίστιν εἶναι: κἂν ἄρρηκτον δὲ ᾖ τὸ ἔρυμα, τὸν λιμὸν ὑπὲρ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοῖς μαχεῖσθαι.

3. So Josephus went round about the wall, and tried to find a place that was out of the reach of their darts, and yet within their hearing, and besought them, in many words, to spare themselves, to spare their country and their temple, and not to be more obdurate in these cases than foreigners themselves; for that the Romans, who had no relation to those things, had a reverence for their sacred rites and places, although they belonged to their enemies, and had till now kept their hands off from meddling with them; while such as were brought up under them, and, if they be preserved, will be the only people that will reap the benefit of them, hurry on to have them destroyed. That certainly they have seen their strongest walls demolished, and that the wall still remaining was weaker than those that were already taken. That they must know the Roman power was invincible, and that they had been used to serve them; for, that in case it be allowed a right thing to fight for liberty, that ought to have been done at first; but for them that have once fallen under the power of the Romans, and have now submitted to them for so many long years, to pretend to shake off that yoke afterward, was the work of such as had a mind to die miserably, not of such as were lovers of liberty. Besides, men may well enough grudge at the dishonor of owning ignoble masters over them, but ought not to do so to those who have all things under their command; for what part of the world is there that hath escaped the Romans, unless it be such as are of no use for violent heat, or for violent

cold? And evident it is that fortune is on all hands gone over to them; and that God, when he had gone round the nations with this dominion, is now settled in Italy. That, moreover, it is a strong and fixed law, even among brute beasts, as well as among men, to yield to those that are too strong for them; and to suffer those to have the dominion who are too hard for the rest in war; for which reason it was that their forefathers, who were far superior to them, both in their souls and bodies, and other advantages, did yet submit to the Romans, which they would not have suffered, had they not known that God was with them. As for themselves, what can they depend on in this their opposition, when the greatest part of their city is already taken? and when those that are within it are under greater miseries than if they were taken, although their walls be still standing? For that the Romans are not unacquainted with that famine which is in the city, whereby the people are already consumed, and the fighting men will in a little time be so too; for although the Romans should leave off the siege, and not fall upon the city with their swords in their hands, yet was there an insuperable war that beset them within, and was augmented every hour, unless they were able to wage war with famine, and fight against it, or could alone conquer their natural appetites. He added this further, how right a thing it was to change their conduct before their calamities were become incurable, and to have recourse to such advice as might preserve them, while opportunity was offered them for so doing; for that the Romans would not be mindful of their past actions to their disadvantage, unless they persevered in their insolent behavior to the end; because they were naturally mild in their conquests, and preferred what was profitable, before what their passions dictated to them; which profit of theirs lay not in leaving the city empty of inhabitants, nor the country a desert; on which account Caesar did now offer them his right hand for their security. Whereas, if he took the city by force, he would not save any of them, and this especially, if they rejected his offers in these their utmost distresses; for the walls that were already taken could not but assure them that the third wall would quickly be taken also. And though their fortifications should prove too strong for the Romans to break through them, yet would the famine fight for the Romans against them.

(4) [375] Ταῦτα τὸν Ἰώσηπον παραινοῦντα πολλοὶ μὲν ἔσκωπτον ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, πολλοὶ δ' ἐβλασφήμουν, ἔνιοι δ' ἔβαλλον. ὁ δ' ὡς ταῖς φανεραῖς οὐκ ἔπειθε συμβουλίαις, ἐπὶ τὰς ὁμοφύλους μετέβαινεν ἱστορίας "ἆ δειλοί, [376] βοῶν, καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἀμνήμονες συμμάχων, ὅπλοις καὶ χερσὶ πολεμεῖτε Ῥωμαίοις; τίνα γὰρ ἄλλον οὕτως ἐνικήσαμεν; [377] πότε δ' οὐ θεὸς ὁ κτίσας ἂν ἀδικῶνται Ἰουδαίων ἔκδικος; οὐκ ἐπιστραφέντες ὄψεσθε πόθεν ὁρμώμενοι μάχεσθε καὶ πηλίκον

ἐμιάνατε σύμμαχον; οὐκ ἀναμνήσεσθε πατέρων ἔργα δαιμόνια, καὶ τὸν ἅγιον τόνδε χῶρον ἡλίκους ἡμῖν πάλαι πολέμους καθεῖλεν; [378] ἐγὼ μὲν φρίττω τὰ ἔργα τοῦ θεοῦ λέγων εἰς ἀναξίους ἀκοάς: ἀκούετε δ᾽ ὅμως, ἵνα γνῶτε μὴ μόνον Ῥωμαίοις πολεμοῦντες ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ θεῷ. [379] βασιλεὺς ὁ τότε Νεχαὼς Αἰγυπτίων, ὁ δ᾽ αὐτὸς ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ Φαραώ, μυρίᾳ χειρὶ καταβὰς ἥρπασε Σάρραν βασιλίδα, τὴν μητέρα τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν. [380] τί οὖν ὁ ταύτης ἀνὴρ Ἀβραάμ, προπάτωρ δὲ ἡμέτερος; ἆρα τὸν ὑβριστὴν ἠμύνατο τοῖς ὅπλοις, καίτοι ὀκτωκαίδεκα μὲν καὶ τριακοσίους ὑπάρχους ἔχων, δύναμιν δὲ ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστῳ τούτων ἄπειρον; ἢ αὐτοὺς μὲν ἐρημίαν ἡγήσατο μὴ συμπαρόντος θεοῦ, καθαρὰς δ᾽ ἀνατείνας τὰς χεῖρας εἰς ὃν νῦν ἐμιάνατε χῶρον ὑμεῖς τὸν ἀνίκητον αὐτῷ βοηθὸν ἐστρατολόγησεν; [381] οὐ μετὰ μίαν ἑσπέραν ἄχραντος μὲν ἡ βασίλισσα ἀνεπέμφθη πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, προσκυνῶν δὲ τὸν ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν αἱμαχθέντα χῶρον ὁμοφύλῳ φόνῳ καὶ τρέμων ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν νυκτὶ φαντασμάτων ἔφευγεν ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, ἀργύρῳ δὲ καὶ χρυσῷ τοὺς θεοφιλεῖς Ἑβραίους ἐδωρεῖτο; [382] εἶπω τὴν εἰς Αἴγυπτον μετοικίαν τῶν πατέρων; οὐ τυραννούμενοι καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἀλλοφύλοις ὑποπεπτωκότες τετρακοσίοις ἔτεσι παρὸν ὅπλοις ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ χερσὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπέτρεψαν τῷ θεῷ; [383] τίς οὐκ οἶδεν τὴν παντὸς θηρίου καταπλησθεῖσαν Αἴγυπτον καὶ πάσῃ φθαρεῖσαν νόσῳ, τὴν ἄκαρπον [γῆν], τὸν ἐπιλείποντα Νεῖλον, τὰς ἐπαλλήλους δέκα πληγάς, τοὺς διὰ ταῦτα μετὰ φρουρᾶς προπεμπομένους πατέρας ἡμῶν ἀναιμάκτους ἀκινδύνους, οὓς ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ νεωκόρους ἦγεν; [384] ἀλλὰ τὴν ὑπὸ Σύρων ἁρπαγεῖσαν ἁγίαν ἡμῖν λάρνακα οὐκ ἐστέναξε μὲν ἡ Παλαιστίνη καὶ Δαγὼν τὸ ξόανον, ἐστέναξε δὲ πᾶν τὸ τῶν ἁρπασαμένων ἔθνος, [385] σηπόμενοι δὲ τὰ κρυπτὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ δι᾽ αὐτῶν τὰ σπλάγχνα μετὰ τῶν σιτίων καταφέροντες, χερσὶ ταῖς λῃσαμέναις ἀνεκόμισαν κυμβάλων καὶ τυμπάνων ἤχῳ καὶ πᾶσι μειλικτηρίοις ἱλασκόμενοι τὸ ἅγιον; [386] θεὸς ἦν ὁ ταῦτα πατράσιν ἡμετέροις στρατηγῶν, ὅτι τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὰ ὅπλα παρέντες αὐτῷ κρῖναι τὸ ἔργον ἐπέτρεψαν. [387] βασιλεὺς Ἀσσυρίων Σενναχηρεὶμ ὅτε πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπισυρόμενος τήνδε περιεστρατοπεδεύσατο τὴν πόλιν, ἆρα χερσὶν ἀνθρωπίναις ἔπεσεν; [388] οὐχ αἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων ἠρεμοῦσαι ἐν προσευχαῖς ἦσαν, ἄγγελος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ μιᾷ νυκτὶ τὴν ἄπειρον στρατιὰν ἐλυμήνατο, καὶ μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἀναστὰς ὁ Ἀσσύριος ὀκτωκαίδεκα μυριάδας ἐπὶ πεντακισχιλίοις νεκρῶν εὗρε, μετὰ δὲ τῶν καταλειπομένων ἀνόπλους καὶ μὴ διώκοντας Ἑβραίους ἔφυγεν; [389] ἴστε καὶ τὴν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι δουλείαν, ἔνθα μετανάστης ὁ λαὸς ὢν ἔτεσιν ἑβδομήκοντα οὐ πρότερον εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἀνεχαίτισεν ἢ Κῦρον τοῦτο χαρίσασθαι τῷ θεῷ: προυπέμφθησαν γοῦν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάλιν τὸν αὐτῶν σύμμαχον ἐνεωκόρουν. [390] καθόλου δ᾽ εἰπεῖν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι κατώρθωσαν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἢ δίχα τούτων διήμαρτον ἐπιτρέψαντες τῷ θεῷ: μένοντες μέν γε κατὰ χώραν ἐνίκων ὡς ἐδόκει τῷ κριτῇ, μαχόμενοι δὲ ἔπταισαν ἀεί. [391] τοῦτο μέν, ἡνίκα βασιλεὺς Βαβυλωνίων

ἐπολιόρκει ταύτην τὴν πόλιν, συμβαλὼν Σεδεκίας ὁ ἡμέτερος βασιλεὺς παρὰ τὰς Ἱερεμίου προφητείας αὐτός τε ἑάλω καὶ τὸ ἄστυ μετὰ τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκαπτόμενον εἶδε: καίτοι πόσῳ μετριώτερος ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖνος τῶν ὑμετέρων ἡγεμόνων ἦν, ὁ δ' ὑπ' αὐτῷ λαὸς ὑμῶν. [392] βοῶντα γοῦν τὸν Ἱερεμίαν, ὡς ἀπέχθοιντο μὲν τῷ θεῷ διὰ τὰς εἰς αὐτὸν πλημμελείας, ἀλώσοιντο δ' εἰ μὴ παραδοῖεν τὴν πόλιν, οὔθ' ὁ βασιλεὺς οὔθ' ὁ δῆμος ἀνεῖλεν. [393] ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς, ἵν' ἐάσω τἄνδον, οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἑρμηνεῦσαι δυναίμην τὰς παρανομίας ὑμῶν ἀξίως, ἐμὲ τὸν παρακαλοῦντα πρὸς σωτηρίαν ὑμᾶς βλασφημεῖτε καὶ βάλλετε, παροξυνόμενοι πρὸς τὰς ὑπομνήσεις τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ μηδὲ τοὺς λόγους φέροντες ὧν τἆργα δρᾶτε καθ' ἡμέραν. [394] τοῦτο δ', ἡνίκα Ἀντιόχου τοῦ κληθέντος Ἐπιφανοῦς προσκαθεζομένου τῇ πόλει πολλὰ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἐξυβρικότος, οἱ πρόγονοι μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων προῆλθον, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀπεσφάγησαν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, διηρπάγη δὲ τὸ ἄστυ τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἠρημώθη δ' ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἓξ τὸ ἅγιον. καὶ τί δεῖ τἆλλα λέγειν; [395] ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαίους τίς ἐστρατολόγησε κατὰ τοῦ ἔθνους; οὐχ ἡ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἀσέβεια; πόθεν δ' ἠρξάμεθα δουλείας; [396] ἆρ' οὐχὶ ἐκ στάσεως τῶν προγόνων, ὅτε ἡ Ἀριστοβούλου καὶ Ὑρκανοῦ μανία καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔρις Πομπήιον ἐπήγαγεν τῇ πόλει καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὑπέταξεν ὁ θεὸς τοὺς οὐκ ἀξίους ἐλευθερίας; [397] τρισὶ γοῦν μησὶ πολιορκηθέντες ἑαυτοὺς παρέδοσαν, οὔθ' ἁμαρτόντες εἰς τὰ ἅγια καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἡλίκα ὑμεῖς καὶ πολὺ μείζοσιν ἀφορμαῖς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον χρώμενοι. [398] τὸ δ' Ἀντιγόνου τέλος τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου παιδὸς οὐκ ἴσμεν, οὗ βασιλεύοντος ὁ θεὸς ἀλώσει πάλιν τὸν λαὸν ἥλαυνε πλημμελοῦντα, καὶ Ἡρώδης μὲν ὁ Ἀντιπάτρου Σόσσιον, Σόσσιος δὲ Ῥωμαίων στρατιὰν ἤγαγεν, περισχεθέντες δ' ἐπὶ μῆνας ἓξ ἐπολιορκοῦντο, μέχρι δίκας τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν δόντες ἑάλωσαν καὶ διηρπάγη τοῖς πολεμίοις ἡ πόλις; [399] οὕτως οὐδέποτε τῷ ἔθνει τὰ ὅπλα δέδοται, τῷ δὲ πολεμεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ ἁλώσεσθαι πάντως πρόσεστι. [400] δεῖ γάρ, οἶμαι, τοὺς χωρίον ἅγιον νεμομένους ἐπιτρέπειν πάντα τῷ θεῷ δικάζειν καὶ καταφρονεῖν τότε χειρὸς ἀνθρωπίνης, ὅταν αὐτοὶ πείθωσι τὸν ἄνω δικαστήν. [401] ὑμῖν δὲ τί τῶν εὐλογηθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ νομοθέτου πέπρακται; τί δὲ τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου κατηραμένων παραλέλειπται; πόσῳ δ' ἐστὲ τῶν τάχιον ἁλόντων ἀσεβέστεροι; [402] οὐ τὰ κρυπτὰ μὲν τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἠδοξήκατε, κλοπὰς λέγω καὶ ἐνέδρας καὶ μοιχείας, ἁρπαγαῖς δ' ἐρίζετε καὶ φόνοις καὶ ξένας καινοτομεῖτε κακίας ὁδούς, ἐκδοχεῖον δὲ πάντων τὸ ἱερὸν γέγονεν καὶ χερσὶν ἐμφυλίοις ὁ θεῖος μεμίανται χῶρος, ὃν καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι πόρρωθεν προσεκύνουν, πολλὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἐθῶν εἰς τὸν ὑμέτερον παραλύοντες νόμον. [403] εἶτ' ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν ἀσεβηθέντα σύμμαχον προσδοκᾶτε; πάνυ γοῦν ἐστὲ δίκαιοι ἱκέται καὶ χερσὶ καθαραῖς τὸν βοηθὸν ὑμῶν παρακαλεῖτε. [404] τοιαύταις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν ἱκέτευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσσύριον, ὅτε τὸν μέγαν ἐκεῖνον στρατὸν μιᾷ νυκτὶ κατέστρωσεν ὁ θεός; ὅμοια δὲ τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ Ῥωμαῖοι δρῶσιν, ἵνα καὶ ἄμυναν ὑμεῖς ὁμοίαν ἐλπίσητε; [405] οὐχ ὁ μὲν χρήματα παρὰ τοῦ

βασιλέως ἡμῶν λαβὼν ἐφ᾽ ᾧ μὴ πορθήσει τὴν πόλιν κατέβη παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους ἐμπρῆσαι τὸν ναόν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τὸν συνήθη δασμὸν αἰτοῦσιν, ὃν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν τοῖς ἐκείνων πατράσι παρέσχον; [406] καὶ τούτου τυχόντες οὔτε πορθοῦσι τὴν πόλιν οὔτε ψαύουσι τῶν ἁγίων, διδόασι δὲ ὑμῖν τὰ ἄλλα, γενεάς τ᾽ ἐλευθέρας καὶ κτήσεις τὰς ἑαυτῶν νέμεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἱεροὺς νόμους σώζουσι. [407] μανία δὴ τὸν θεὸν προσδοκᾶν ἐπὶ δικαίοις οἷος ἐπ᾽ ἀδίκοις ἐφάνη. καὶ παραχρῆμα δὲ ἀμύνειν οἶδεν ὅταν δέῃ: τοὺς γοῦν Ἀσσυρίους κατὰ νύκτα τὴν πρώτην παραστρατοπεδευσαμένους ἔκλασεν: [408] ὥστ᾽ εἰ καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν γενεὰν ἐλευθερίας ἢ Ῥωμαίους κολάσεως ἀξίους ἔκρινε, κἂν παραχρῆμα καθάπερ τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις ἐνέσκηψεν, ὅτε τοῦ ἔθνους ἥπτετο Πομπήιος, ὅτε μετ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀνῄει Σόσσιος, ὅτε Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐπόρθει τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, τὰ τελευταῖα νῦν, ὅτε ἤγγιζε Τίτος τῇ πόλει. [409] καίτοι Μάγνος μὲν καὶ Σόσσιος πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν παθεῖν καὶ ἀνὰ κράτος ἔλαβον τὴν πόλιν, Οὐεσπασιανὸς δ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς πολέμου καὶ βασιλείας ἤρξατο: Τίτῳ μὲν γὰρ καὶ πηγαὶ πλουσιώτεραι ῥέουσιν αἱ ξηρανθεῖσαι πρότερον ὑμῖν: [410] πρὸ γοῦν τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας τήν τε Σιλωὰν ἐπιλείπουσαν ἴστε καὶ τὰς πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος ἁπάσας, ὥστε πρὸς ἀμφορέας ὠνεῖσθαι τὸ ὕδωρ: τὸ δὲ νῦν οὕτως πληθύουσι τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑμῶν, ὡς μὴ μόνον αὐτοῖς καὶ κτήνεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κήποις διαρκεῖν. [411] τό γε μὴν τέρας τοῦτο πεπείραται καὶ πρότερον ἐφ᾽ ἁλώσει τῆς πόλεως γεγενημένον, ὅτε ὁ προειρημένος Βαβυλώνιος ἐπεστράτευσεν, ὃς τήν τε πόλιν ἑλὼν ἐνέπρησε καὶ τὸν ναόν, οὐδὲν οἶμαι τῶν τότε ἠσεβηκότων τηλικοῦτον ἡλίκα ὑμεῖς: [412] ὥστε ἐγὼ πεφευγέναι μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων οἶμαι τὸ θεῖον, ἑστάναι δὲ παρ᾽ οἷς πολεμεῖτε νῦν. [413] ἀλλ᾽ ἀνὴρ μὲν ἀγαθὸς οἰκίαν ἀσελγῆ φεύξεται καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ στυγήσει, τὸν δὲ θεὸν ἔτι πείθεσθε τοῖς οἰκείοις κακοῖς παραμένειν, ὃς τά τε κρυπτὰ πάντα ἐφορᾷ καὶ τῶν σιγωμένων ἀκούει; [414] τί δὲ σιγᾶται παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ἢ τί κρύπτεται; τί δ᾽ οὐχὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς φανερὸν γέγονε; πομπεύετε γὰρ παρανομοῦντες καὶ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐρίζετε, τίς χείρων γένηται, τῆς ἀδικίας ὥσπερ ἀρετῆς ἐπίδειξιν ποιούμενοι. [415] καταλείπεται δὲ ὅμως ἔτι σωτηρίας ὁδός, ἐὰν θέλητε, καὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐδιάλλακτον ἐξομολογουμένοις καὶ μετανοοῦσιν. [416] ὦ σιδήρειοι, ῥίψατε τὰς πανοπλίας, λάβετε ἤδη κατερειπομένης αἰδῶ πατρίδος, ἐπιστράφητε καὶ θεάσασθε τὸ κάλλος ἧς προδίδοτε, οἷον ἄστυ, οἷον ἱερόν, ὅσων ἐθνῶν δῶρα. [417] ἐπὶ ταῦτά τις ὁδηγεῖ φλόγα; ταῦτά τις μηκέτ᾽ εἶναι θέλει; καὶ τί σώζεσθαι τούτων ἀξιώτερον, ἄτεγκτοι καὶ λίθων ἀπαθέστεροι. [418] καὶ εἰ μὴ ταῦτα γνησίοις ὄμμασιν βλέπετε, γενεὰς γοῦν ὑμετέρας οἰκτείρατε, καὶ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἑκάστῳ γενέσθω τέκνα καὶ γυνὴ καὶ γονεῖς, οὓς ἀναλώσει μετὰ μικρὸν ἢ λιμὸς ἢ πόλεμος. [419] οἶδ᾽ ὅτι μοι συγκινδυνεύει μήτηρ καὶ γυνὴ καὶ γένος οὐκ ἄσημον καὶ πάλαι λαμπρὸς οἶκος, καὶ τάχα δοκῶ διὰ ταῦτα συμβουλεύειν. ἀποκτείνατε αὐτούς, λάβετε μισθὸν τῆς ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίας τὸ ἐμὸν αἷμα: κἀγὼ θνήσκειν ἕτοιμος, εἰ μετ᾽ ἐμὲ σωφρονεῖν μέλλετε.”

4. While Josephus was making this exhortation to the Jews, many of them jested upon him from the wall, and many reproached him; nay, some threw their darts at him: but when he could not himself persuade them by such open good advice, he betook himself to the histories belonging to their own nation, and cried out aloud, “O miserable creatures! are you so unmindful of those that used to assist you, that you will fight by your weapons and by your hands against the Romans? When did we ever conquer any other nation by such means? and when was it that God, who is the Creator of the Jewish people, did not avenge them when they had been injured? Will not you turn again, and look back, and consider whence it is that you fight with such violence, and how great a Supporter you have profanely abused? Will not you recall to mind the prodigious things done for your forefathers and this holy place, and how great enemies of yours were by him subdued under you? I even tremble myself in declaring the works of God before your ears, that are unworthy to hear them; however, hearken to me, that you may be informed how you fight not only against the Romans, but against God himself. In old times there was one Necao, king of Egypt, who was also called Pharaoh; he came with a prodigious army of soldiers, and seized queen Sarah, the mother of our nation. What did Abraham our progenitor then do? Did he defend himself from this injurious person by war, although he had three hundred and eighteen captains under him, and an immense army under each of them? Indeed he deemed them to be no number at all without God’s assistance, and only spread out his hands towards this holy place, which you have now polluted, and reckoned upon him as upon his invincible supporter, instead of his own army. Was not our queen sent back, without any defilement, to her husband, the very next evening? — while the king of Egypt fled away, adoring this place which you have defiled by shedding thereon the blood of your own countrymen; and he also trembled at those visions which he saw in the night season, and bestowed both silver and gold on the Hebrews, as on a people beloved by God. Shall I say nothing, or shall I mention the removal of our fathers into Egypt, who, when they were used tyrannically, and were fallen under the power of foreign kings for four hundred years together, and might have defended themselves by war and by fighting, did yet do nothing but commit themselves to God! Who is there that does not know that Egypt was overrun with all sorts of wild beasts, and consumed by all sorts of distempers? how their land did not bring forth its fruit? how the Nile failed of water? how the ten plagues of Egypt followed one upon another? and how by those means our fathers were sent away under a guard, without any bloodshed, and without running any dangers, because God conducted them as his peculiar servants? Moreover, did not Palestine groan under the ravage the Assyrians made, when they carried away our sacred ark? as

did their idol Dagon, and as also did that entire nation of those that carried it away, how they were smitten with a loathsome distemper in the secret parts of their bodies, when their very bowels came down together with what they had eaten, till those hands that stole it away were obliged to bring it back again, and that with the sound of cymbals and timbrels, and other oblations, in order to appease the anger of God for their violation of his holy ark. It was God who then became our General, and accomplished these great things for our fathers, and this because they did not meddle with war and fighting, but committed it to him to judge about their affairs. When Sennacherib, king of Assyria, brought along with him all Asia, and encompassed this city round with his army, did he fall by the hands of men? were not those hands lifted up to God in prayers, without meddling with their arms, when an angel of God destroyed that prodigious army in one night? when the Assyrian king, as he rose the next day, found a hundred fourscore and five thousand dead bodies, and when he, with the remainder of his army, fled away from the Hebrews, though they were unarmed, and did not pursue them. You are also acquainted with the slavery we were under at Babylon, where the people were captives for seventy years; yet were they not delivered into freedom again before God made Cyrus his gracious instrument in bringing it about; accordingly they were set free by him, and did again restore the worship of their Deliverer at his temple. And, to speak in general, we can produce no example wherein our fathers got any success by war, or failed of success when without war they committed themselves to God. When they staid at home, they conquered, as pleased their Judge; but when they went out to fight, they were always disappointed: for example, when the king of Babylon besieged this very city, and our king Zedekiah fought against him, contrary to what predictions were made to him by Jeremiah the prophet, he was at once taken prisoner, and saw the city and the temple demolished. Yet how much greater was the moderation of that king, than is that of your present governors, and that of the people then under him, than is that of you at this time! for when Jeremiah cried out aloud, how very angry God was at them, because of their transgressions, and told them they should be taken prisoners, unless they would surrender up their city, neither did the king nor the people put him to death; but for you, [to pass over what you have done within the city, which I am not able to describe as your wickedness deserves,] you abuse me, and throw darts at me, who only exhort you to save yourselves, as being provoked when you are put in mind of your sins, and cannot bear the very mention of those crimes which you every day perpetrate. For another example, when Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, lay before this city, and had been guilty of many indignities against God, and our forefathers met him in arms, they then were slain in the battle, this

city was plundered by our enemies, and our sanctuary made desolate for three years and six months. And what need I bring any more examples? Indeed what can it be that hath stirred up an army of the Romans against our nation? Is it not the impiety of the inhabitants? Whence did our servitude commence? Was it not derived from the seditions that were among our forefathers, when the madness of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, and our mutual quarrels, brought Pompey upon this city, and when God reduced those under subjection to the Romans who were unworthy of the liberty they had enjoyed? After a siege, therefore, of three months, they were forced to surrender themselves, although they had not been guilty of such offenses, with regard to our sanctuary and our laws, as you have; and this while they had much greater advantages to go to war than you have. Do not we know what end Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, came to, under whose reign God provided that this city should be taken again upon account of the people's offenses? When Herod, the son of Antipater, brought upon us Sosius, and Sosius brought upon us the Roman army, they were then encompassed and besieged for six months, till, as a punishment for their sins, they were taken, and the city was plundered by the enemy. Thus it appears that arms were never given to our nation, but that we are always given up to be fought against, and to be taken; for I suppose that such as inhabit this holy place ought to commit the disposal of all things to God, and then only to disregard the assistance of men when they resign themselves up to their Arbitrator, who is above. As for you, what have you done of those things that are recommended by our legislator? and what have you not done of those things that he hath condemned? How much more impious are you than those who were so quickly taken! You have not avoided so much as those sins that are usually done in secret; I mean thefts, and treacherous plots against men, and adulteries. You are quarrelling about rapines and murders, and invent strange ways of wickedness. Nay, the temple itself is become the receptacle of all, and this Divine place is polluted by the hands of those of our own country; which place hath yet been reverenced by the Romans when it was at a distance from them, when they have suffered many of their own customs to give place to our law. And, after all this, do you expect Him whom you have so impiously abused to be your supporter? To be sure then you have a right to be petitioners, and to call upon Him to assist you, so pure are your hands! Did your king [Hezekiah] lift up such hands in prayer to God against the king of Assyria, when he destroyed that great army in one night? And do the Romans commit such wickedness as did the king of Assyria, that you may have reason to hope for the like vengeance upon them? Did not that king accept of money from our king on this condition, that he should not destroy the city, and yet, contrary to the oath he had taken, he came down to burn the temple? while

the Romans do demand no more than that accustomed tribute which our fathers paid to their fathers; and if they may but once obtain that, they neither aim to destroy this city, nor to touch this sanctuary; nay, they will grant you besides, that your posterity shall be free, and your possessions secured to you, and will preserve our holy laws inviolate to you. And it is plain madness to expect that God should appear as well disposed towards the wicked as towards the righteous, since he knows when it is proper to punish men for their sins immediately; accordingly he brake the power of the Assyrians the very first night that they pitched their camp. Wherefore, had he judged that our nation was worthy of freedom, or the Romans of punishment, he had immediately inflicted punishment upon those Romans, as he did upon the Assyrians, when Pompey began to meddle with our nation, or when after him Sosius came up against us, or when Vespasian laid waste Galilee, or, lastly, when Titus came first of all near to this city; although Magnus and Sosius did not only suffer nothing, but took the city by force; as did Vespasian go from the war he made against you to receive the empire; and as for Titus, those springs that were formerly almost dried up when they were under your power since he is come, run more plentifully than they did before; accordingly, you know that Siloam, as well as all the other springs that were without the city, did so far fail, that water was sold by distinct measures; whereas they now have such a great quantity of water for your enemies, as is sufficient not only for drink both for themselves and their cattle, but for watering their gardens also. The same wonderful sign you had also experience of formerly, when the forementioned king of Babylon made war against us, and when he took the city, and burnt the temple; while yet I believe the Jews of that age were not so impious as you are. Wherefore I cannot but suppose that God is fled out of his sanctuary, and stands on the side of those against whom you fight. Now even a man, if he be but a good man, will fly from an impure house, and will hate those that are in it; and do you persuade yourselves that God will abide with you in your iniquities, who sees all secret things, and hears what is kept most private? Now what crime is there, I pray you, that is so much as kept secret among you, or is concealed by you? nay, what is there that is not open to your very enemies? for you show your transgressions after a pompous manner, and contend one with another which of you shall be more wicked than another; and you make a public demonstration of your injustice, as if it were virtue. However, there is a place left for your preservation, if you be willing to accept of it; and God is easily reconciled to those that confess their faults, and repent of them. O hard-hearted wretches as you are! cast away all your arms, and take pity of your country already going to ruin; return from your wicked ways, and have regard to the excellency of that city which you

are going to betray, to that excellent temple with the donations of so many countries in it. Who could bear to be the first that should set that temple on fire? who could be willing that these things should be no more? and what is there that can better deserve to be preserved? O insensible creatures, and more stupid than are the stones themselves! And if you cannot look at these things with discerning eyes, yet, however, have pity upon your families, and set before every one of your eyes your children, and wives, and parents, who will be gradually consumed either by famine or by war. I am sensible that this danger will extend to my mother, and wife, and to that family of mine who have been by no means ignoble, and indeed to one that hath been very eminent in old time; and perhaps you may imagine that it is on their account only that I give you this advice; if that be all, kill them; nay, take my own blood as a reward, if it may but procure your preservation; for I am ready to die, in case you will but return to a sound mind after my death."

X

CHAPTER 10.

How A Great Many Of The People Earnestly Endeavored To Desert To The Romans; As Also What Intolerable Things Those That Staid Behind Suffered By Famine, And The Sad Consequences Thereof.

(1) [420] Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Ἰωσήπου μετὰ δακρύων ἐμβοῶντος οἱ στασιασταὶ μὲν οὔτε ἐνέδοσαν οὔτ' ἀσφαλῆ τὴν μεταβολὴν ἔκριναν, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐκινήθη πρὸς αὐτομολίαν. [421] καὶ οἱ μὲν τὰς κτήσεις ἐλαχίστου πωλοῦντες, οἱ δὲ τὰ πολυτελέστερα τῶν κειμηλίων, τοὺς μὲν χρυσοῦς, ὡς μὴ φωραθεῖεν ὑπὸ τῶν λῃστῶν, κατέπινον, ἔπειτα πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διαδιδράσκοντες, ὁπότε κατενέγκαιεν εὐπόρουν πρὸς ἃ δέοιντο. [422] διηφίει γὰρ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὁ Τίτος εἰς τὴν χώραν ὅποι βούλοιτο ἕκαστος, καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ μᾶλλον πρὸς αὐτομολίαν παρεκάλει τῶν μὲν εἴσω κακῶν στερησομένους, μὴ δουλεύσοντας δὲ Ῥωμαίοις. [423] οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ τὸν Σίμωνα περιεφύλαττον τὰς τούτων ἐξόδους πλέον ἢ τὰς Ῥωμαίων εἰσόδους, καὶ σκιάν τις ὑπονοίας παρασχὼν μόνον εὐθέως ἀπεσφάττετο.

1. As Josephus was speaking thus with a loud voice, the seditious would neither yield to what he said, nor did they deem it safe for them to alter their conduct; but as for the people, they had a great inclination to desert to the Romans; accordingly, some of them sold what they had, and even the most precious

things that had been laid up as treasures by them, for every small matter, and swallowed down pieces of gold, that they might not be found out by the robbers; and when they had escaped to the Romans, went to stool, and had wherewithal to provide plentifully for themselves; for Titus let a great number of them go away into the country, whither they pleased. And the main reasons why they were so ready to desert were these: That now they should be freed from those miseries which they had endured in that city, and yet should not be in slavery to the Romans: however, John and Simon, with their factions, did more carefully watch these men's going out than they did the coming in of the Romans; and if any one did but afford the least shadow of suspicion of such an intention, his throat was cut immediately.

(2) [424] Τοῖς γε μὴν εὐπόροις καὶ τὸ μένειν πρὸς ἀπώλειαν ἴσον ἦν: προφάσει γὰρ αὐτομολίας ἀνῃρεῖτό τις διὰ τὴν οὐσίαν. τῷ λιμῷ δ' ἡ ἀπόνοια τῶν στασιαστῶν συνήκμαζε, καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀμφότερα προσεξεκαίετο τὰ δεινά. [425] φανερὸς μὲν γὰρ οὐδαμοῦ σῖτος ἦν, ἐπεισπηδῶντες δὲ διηρεύνων τὰς οἰκίας, ἔπειθ' εὑρόντες μὲν ὡς ἀρνησαμένους ἠκίζοντο, μὴ εὑρόντες δ' ὡς ἐπιμελέστερον κρύψαντας ἐβασάνιζον. [426] τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦ τ' ἔχειν καὶ μὴ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀθλίων, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἔτι συνεστῶτες εὐπορεῖν τροφῆς ἐδόκουν, οἱ τηκόμενοι δὲ ἤδη παρωδεύοντο, καὶ κτείνειν ἄλογον ἐδόκει τοὺς ὑπ' ἐνδείας τεθνηξομένους αὐτίκα. [427] πολλοὶ δὲ λάθρα τὰς κτήσεις ἑνὸς ἀντηλλάξαντο μέτρου πυρῶν μὲν εἰ πλουσιώτεροι τυγχάνοιεν ὄντες, οἱ δὲ πενέστεροι κριθῆς, ἔπειτα κατακλείοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ μυχαίτατα τῶν οἰκιῶν τινὲς μὲν ὑπ' ἄκρας ἐνδείας ἀνέργαστον τὸν σῖτον ἤσθιον, οἱ δ' ἔπεσσον ὡς ἥ τε ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ δέος παρήνει. [428] καὶ τράπεζα μὲν οὐδαμοῦ παρετίθετο, τοῦ δὲ πυρὸς ὑφέλκοντες ἔτ' ὠμὰ τὰ σιτία διήρπαζον.

2. But as for the richer sort, it proved all one to them whether they staid in the city, or attempted to get out of it; for they were equally destroyed in both cases; for every such person was put to death under this pretense, that they were going to desert, but in reality that the robbers might get what they had. The madness of the seditious did also increase together with their famine, and both those miseries were every day inflamed more and more; for there was no corn which any where appeared publicly, but the robbers came running into, and searched men's private houses; and then, if they found any, they tormented them, because they had denied they had any; and if they found none, they tormented them worse, because they supposed they had more carefully concealed it. The indication they made use of whether they had any or not was taken from the bodies of these miserable wretches; which, if they were in good case, they supposed they were in no want at all of food; but if they were wasted away, they

walked off without searching any further; nor did they think it proper to kill such as these, because they saw they would very soon die of themselves for want of food. Many there were indeed who sold what they had for one measure; it was of wheat, if they were of the richer sort; but of barley, if they were poorer. When these had so done, they shut themselves up in the inmost rooms of their houses, and ate the corn they had gotten; some did it without grinding it, by reason of the extremity of the want they were in, and others baked bread of it, according as necessity and fear dictated to them: a table was no where laid for a distinct meal, but they snatched the bread out of the fire, half-baked, and ate it very hastily.

(3) [429] Ἐλεεινὴ δὲ ἦν ἡ τροφὴ καὶ δακρύων ἄξιος ἡ θέα, τῶν μὲν δυνατωτέρων πλεονεκτούντων, τῶν δ' ἀσθενῶν ὀδυρομένων. πάντων μὲν δὴ παθῶν ὑπερίσταται λιμός, οὐδὲν δ' οὕτως ἀπόλλυσιν ὡς αἰδῶ: τὸ γὰρ ἄλλως ἐντροπῆς ἄξιον ἐν τούτῳ καταφρονεῖται. [430] γυναῖκες γοῦν ἀνδρῶν καὶ παῖδες πατέρων, καὶ τὸ οἰκτρότατον, μητέρες νηπίων ἐξήρπαζον ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν στομάτων τὰς τροφάς, καὶ τῶν φιλτάτων ἐν χερσὶ μαραινομένων οὐκ ἦν φειδὼ τοὺς τοῦ ζῆν ἀφελέσθαι σταλαγμούς. [431] τοιαῦτα δ' ἐσθίοντες ὅμως οὐ διελάνθανον, πανταχοῦ δ' ἐφίσταντο οἱ στασιασταὶ καὶ τούτων ταῖς ἁρπαγαῖς. [432] ὁπότε γὰρ κατίδοιεν ἀποκεκλεισμένην οἰκίαν, σημεῖον ἦν τοῦτο τοὺς ἔνδον προσφέρεσθαι τροφῆς: εὐθέως δ' ἐξαράξαντες τὰς θύρας εἰσεπήδων, καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐκ τῶν φαρύγγων ἀναθλίβοντες τὰς ἀκόλους ἀνέφερον. [433] ἐτύπτοντο δὲ γέροντες ἀντεχόμενοι τῶν σιτίων, καὶ κόμης ἐσπαράττοντο γυναῖκες συγκαλύπτουσαι τὰ ἐν χερσίν. οὐδέ τις ἦν οἶκτος πολιᾶς ἢ νηπίων, ἀλλὰ συνεπαίροντες τὰ παιδία τῶν ψωμῶν ἐκκρεμάμενα κατέσειον εἰς ἔδαφος. [434] τοῖς δὲ φθάσασι τὴν εἰσδρομὴν αὐτῶν καὶ προκαταπιοῦσι τὸ ἁρπαγησόμενον ὡς ἀδικηθέντες ἦσαν ὠμότεροι. [435] δεινὰς δὲ βασάνων ὁδοὺς ἐπενόουν πρὸς ἔρευναν τροφῆς, ὀρόβοις μὲν ἐμφράττοντες τοῖς ἀθλίοις τοὺς τῶν αἰδοίων πόρους, ῥάβδοις δ' ὀξείαις ἀναπείροντες τὰς ἕδρας, τὰ φρικτὰ δὲ καὶ ἀκοαῖς ἔπασχέ τις εἰς ἐξομολόγησιν ἑνὸς ἄρτου καὶ ἵνα μηνύσῃ δράκα μίαν κεκρυμμένην ἀλφίτων. [436] οἱ βασανισταὶ δ' οὐκ ἐπείνων, καὶ γὰρ ἧττον ἂν ὠμὸν ἦν τὸ μετ' ἀνάγκης, γυμνάζοντες δὲ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν καὶ προπαρασκευάζοντες αὐτοῖς εἰς τὰς ἑξῆς ἡμέρας ἐφόδια. [437] τοῖς δ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων φρουρὰν νύκτωρ ἐξερπύσασιν ἐπὶ λαχάνων συλλογὴν ἀγρίων καὶ πόας ὑπαντῶντες, ὅτ' ἤδη διαπεφευγέναι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδόκουν, ἀφήρπαζον τὰ κομισθέντα, [438] καὶ πολλάκις ἱκετευόντων καὶ τὸ φρικτὸν ἐπικαλουμένων ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ μεταδοῦναί τι μέρος αὐτοῖς ὧν κινδυνεύσαντες ἤνεγκαν, οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν μετέδοσαν: ἀγαπητὸν δ' ἦν τὸ μὴ καὶ προσαπολέσθαι σεσυλημένον.

3. It was now a miserable case, and a sight that would justly bring tears into our eyes, how men stood as to their food, while the more powerful had more than

enough, and the weaker were lamenting [for want of it.] But the famine was too hard for all other passions, and it is destructive to nothing so much as to modesty; for what was otherwise worthy of reverence was in this case despised; insomuch that children pulled the very morsels that their fathers were eating out of their very mouths, and what was still more to be pitied, so did the mothers do as to their infants; and when those that were most dear were perishing under their hands, they were not ashamed to take from them the very last drops that might preserve their lives: and while they ate after this manner, yet were they not concealed in so doing; but the seditious every where came upon them immediately, and snatched away from them what they had gotten from others; for when they saw any house shut up, this was to them a signal that the people within had gotten some food; whereupon they broke open the doors, and ran in, and took pieces of what they were eating almost up out of their very throats, and this by force: the old men, who held their food fast, were beaten; and if the women hid what they had within their hands, their hair was torn for so doing; nor was there any commiseration shown either to the aged or to the infants, but they lifted up children from the ground as they hung upon the morsels they had gotten, and shook them down upon the floor. But still they were more barbarously cruel to those that had prevented their coming in, and had actually swallowed down what they were going to seize upon, as if they had been unjustly defrauded of their right. They also invented terrible methods of torments to discover where any food was, and they were these to stop up the passages of the privy parts of the miserable wretches, and to drive sharp stakes up their fundaments; and a man was forced to bear what it is terrible even to hear, in order to make him confess that he had but one loaf of bread, or that he might discover a handful of barley-meal that was concealed; and this was done when these tormentors were not themselves hungry; for the thing had been less barbarous had necessity forced them to it; but this was done to keep their madness in exercise, and as making preparation of provisions for themselves for the following days. These men went also to meet those that had crept out of the city by night, as far as the Roman guards, to gather some plants and herbs that grew wild; and when those people thought they had got clear of the enemy, they snatched from them what they had brought with them, even while they had frequently entreated them, and that by calling upon the tremendous name of God, to give them back some part of what they had brought; though these would not give them the least crumb, and they were to be well contented that they were only spoiled, and not slain at the same time.

(4) [439] Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταπεινότεροι τοιαῦτα πρὸς τῶν δορυφόρων ἔπασχον, οἱ δ' ἐν ἀξιώματι καὶ πλούτῳ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους ἀνήγοντο. τούτων οἱ μὲν ἐπιβουλὰς ψευδεῖς ἐπικαλούμενοι διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ ὡς προδιδοῖεν Ῥωμαίοις τὴν πόλιν, τὸ δ' ἑτοιμότατον ἦν μηνυτὴς ὑπόβλητος ὡς αὐτομολεῖν διεγνωκότων. [440] ὁ δ' ὑπὸ Σίμωνος γυμνωθεὶς πρὸς Ἰωάννην ἀνεπέμπετο, καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου σεσυλημένον ὁ Σίμων μετελάμβανεν: ἀντιπροέπινον δὲ ἀλλήλοις τὸ αἷμα τῶν δημοτῶν καὶ τὰ πτώματα τῶν ἀθλίων διεμερίζοντο. [441] καὶ τοῦ μὲν κρατεῖν στάσις ἦν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις, τῶν δ' ἀσεβημάτων ὁμόνοια: καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὴ μεταδοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων κακῶν θατέρῳ μονοτρόπως ἐδόκει πονηρός, καὶ ὁ μὴ μεταλαβὼν ὡς ἀγαθοῦ τινος ἤλγει τὸν νοσφισμὸν τῆς ὠμότητος.

4. These were the afflictions which the lower sort of people suffered from these tyrants' guards; but for the men that were in dignity, and withal were rich, they were carried before the tyrants themselves; some of whom were falsely accused of laying treacherous plots, and so were destroyed; others of them were charged with designs of betraying the city to the Romans; but the readiest way of all was this, to suborn somebody to affirm that they were resolved to desert to the enemy. And he who was utterly despoiled of what he had by Simon was sent back again to John, as of those who had been already plundered by Jotre, Simon got what remained; insomuch that they drank the blood of the populace to one another, and divided the dead bodies of the poor creatures between them; so that although, on account of their ambition after dominion, they contended with each other, yet did they very well agree in their wicked practices; for he that did not communicate what he got by the miseries of others to the other tyrant seemed to be too little guilty, and in one respect only; and he that did not partake of what was so communicated to him grieved at this, as at the loss of what was a valuable thing, that he had no share in such barbarity.

(5) [442] Καθ' ἕκαστον μὲν οὖν ἐπεξιέναι τὴν παρανομίαν αὐτῶν ἀδύνατον, συνελόντα δὲ εἰπεῖν, μήτε πόλιν ἄλλην τοιαῦτα πεπονθέναι μήτε γενεὰν ἐξ αἰῶνος γεγονέναι κακίας γονιμωτέραν, [443] οἵ γε τελευταῖον καὶ τὸ γένος ἐφαύλιζον τῶν Ἑβραίων, ὡς ἧττον ἀσεβεῖς δοκοῖεν πρὸς ἀλλοτρίους, ἐξωμολογήσαντο δ' ὅπερ ἦσαν εἶναι δοῦλοι καὶ σύγκλυδες καὶ νόθα τοῦ ἔθνους φθάρματα. [444] τὴν μέν γε πόλιν ἀνέτρεψαν αὐτοί, Ῥωμαίους δ' ἄκοντας ἠνάγκασαν ἐπιγραφῆναι σκυθρωπῷ κατορθώματι καὶ μόνον οὐχ εἵλκυσαν ἐπὶ τὸν ναὸν βραδῦνον τὸ πῦρ. [445] ἀμέλει καιόμενον ἐκ τῆς ἄνω πόλεως ἀφορῶντες οὔτ' ἤλγησαν οὔτ' ἐδάκρυσαν, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα τὰ πάθη παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις εὑρέθη. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ χώραν ὕστερον μετ' ἀποδείξεως τῶν πραγμάτων ἐροῦμεν.

5. It is therefore impossible to go distinctly over every instance of these men's iniquity. I shall therefore speak my mind here at once briefly: — That neither did any other city ever suffer such miseries, nor did any age ever breed a generation more fruitful in wickedness than this was, from the beginning of the world. Finally, they brought the Hebrew nation into contempt, that they might themselves appear comparatively less impious with regard to strangers. They confessed what was true, that they were the slaves, the scum, and the spurious and abortive offspring of our nation, while they overthrew the city themselves, and forced the Romans, whether they would or no, to gain a melancholy reputation, by acting gloriously against them, and did almost draw that fire upon the temple, which they seemed to think came too slowly; and indeed when they saw that temple burning from the upper city, they were neither troubled at it, nor did they shed any tears on that account, while yet these passions were discovered among the Romans themselves; which circumstances we shall speak of hereafter in their proper place, when we come to treat of such matters.

XI

CHAPTER 11.

How The Jews Were Crucified Before The Walls Of The City

Concerning Antiochus Epiphanes; And How The Jews Overthrew

The Banks That Had Been Raised By The Romans.

(1) [446] Τίτῳ δὲ τὰ μὲν χώματα προύκοπτεν καίτοι πολλὰ κακουμένων ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους τῶν στρατιωτῶν, πέμψας δ' αὐτὸς μοῖραν τῶν ἱππέων ἐκέλευσεν τοὺς κατὰ τὰς φάραγγας ἐπὶ συγκομιδῇ τροφῆς ἐξιόντας ἐνεδρεύειν. [447] ἦσαν δέ τινες καὶ τῶν μαχίμων οὐκέτι διαρκούμενοι ταῖς ἁρπαγαῖς, τὸ δὲ πλέον ἐκ τοῦ δήμου πένητες, οὓς αὐτομολεῖν ἀπέτρεπε τὸ περὶ τῶν οἰκείων δέος: [448] οὔτε γὰρ λήσεσθαι τοὺς στασιαστὰς ἤλπιζον μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ παιδίων διαδιδράσκοντες καὶ καταλιπεῖν τοῖς λῃσταῖς ταῦτα οὐχ ὑπέμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν σφαγησόμενα: [449] τολμηροὺς δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἐξόδους ὁ λιμὸς ἐποίει, καὶ κατελείπετο λανθάνοντας τοὺς πολεμίους ἁΛίσκεσθαι. λαμβανόμενοι δὲ κατ' ἀνάγκην ἠμύνοντο, καὶ μετὰ μάχην ἱκετεύειν ἄωρον ἐδόκει. μαστιγούμενοι δὴ καὶ προβασανιζόμενοι τοῦ θανάτου πᾶσαν αἰκίαν ἀνεσταυροῦντο τοῦ τείχους ἀντικρύ. [450] Τίτῳ μὲν οὖν οἰκτρὸν τὸ πάθος κατεφαίνετο πεντακοσίων ἑκάστης ἡμέρας ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ πλειόνων ἁλισκομένων, οὔτε δὲ τοὺς βίᾳ ληφθέντας ἀφεῖναι ἀσφαλὲς καὶ φυλάττειν τοσούτους φρουρὰν τῶν φυλαξόντων ἑώρα: τό γε μὴν πλέον οὐκ ἐκώλυεν τάχ' ἂν ἐνδοῦναι πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἐλπίσας αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ παραδοῖεν, ὅμοια

πεισομένους. [451] προσήλουν δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται δι᾽ ὀργὴν καὶ μῖσος τοὺς ἁλόντας ἄλλον ἄλλῳ σχήματι πρὸς χλεύην, καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος χώρα τε ἐνέλειπε τοῖς σταυροῖς καὶ σταυροὶ τοῖς σώμασιν.

1. So now Titus's banks were advanced a great way, notwithstanding his soldiers had been very much distressed from the wall. He then sent a party of horsemen, and ordered they should lay ambushes for those that went out into the valleys to gather food. Some of these were indeed fighting men, who were not contented with what they got by rapine; but the greater part of them were poor people, who were deterred from deserting by the concern they were under for their own relations; for they could not hope to escape away, together with their wives and children, without the knowledge of the seditious; nor could they think of leaving these relations to be slain by the robbers on their account; nay, the severity of the famine made them bold in thus going out; so nothing remained but that, when they were concealed from the robbers, they should be taken by the enemy; and when they were going to be taken, they were forced to defend themselves for fear of being punished; as after they had fought, they thought it too late to make any supplications for mercy; so they were first whipped, and then tormented with all sorts of tortures, before they died, and were then crucified before the wall of the city. This miserable procedure made Titus greatly to pity them, while they caught every day five hundred Jews; nay, some days they caught more: yet it did not appear to be safe for him to let those that were taken by force go their way, and to set a guard over so many he saw would be to make such as great deal them useless to him. The main reason why he did not forbid that cruelty was this, that he hoped the Jews might perhaps yield at that sight, out of fear lest they might themselves afterwards be liable to the same cruel treatment. So the soldiers, out of the wrath and hatred they bore the Jews, nailed those they caught, one after one way, and another after another, to the crosses, by way of jest, when their multitude was so great, that room was wanting for the crosses, and crosses wanting for the bodies.

(2) [452] Οἱ στασιασταὶ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀπεδέησαν τοῦ μεταβαλέσθαι πρὸς τὸ πάθος, ὥστε καὶ τοὐναντίον αὐτοὶ σοφίσασθαι πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος. [453] σύροντες γὰρ τοὺς τῶν αὐτομόλων οἰκείους ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τῶν δημοτῶν τοὺς ἐπὶ πίστιν ὡρμημένους, οἷα πάσχουσιν οἱ Ῥωμαίοις προσφεύγοντες ἐπεδείκνυσαν καὶ τοὺς κεκρατημένους ἱκέτας ἔλεγον, οὐκ αἰχμαλώτους. [454] τοῦτο πολλοὺς τῶν αὐτομολεῖν ὡρμημένων μέχρι τἀληθὲς ἐγνώσθη κατέσχεν: εἰσὶ δ᾽ οἳ καὶ παραχρῆμα διέδρασαν ὡς ἐπὶ βέβαιον τιμωρίαν, ἀνάπαυσιν ἡγούμενοι τὸν ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων θάνατον ἐν λιμοῦ συγκρίσει. [455] πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ χειροκοπῆσαι κελεύσας Τίτος τῶν ἐαλωκότων, ὡς μὴ δοκοῖεν αὐτόμολοι καὶ πιστεύοιντο διὰ

τὴν συμφοράν, εἰσέπεμψε πρὸς τὸν Σίμωνα καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην, [456] νῦν γε ἤδη παύσασθαι παραινῶν καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν τῆς πόλεως αὐτὸν βιάζεσθαι, κερδῆσαι δ' ἐκ τῆς ἐν ὑστάτοις μεταμελείας τάς τε αὐτῶν ψυχὰς καὶ τηλικαύτην πατρίδα καὶ ναὸν ἀκοινώνητον ἄλλοις. [457] περιιὼν δὲ τὰ χώματα τοὺς ἐργαζομένους ἅμα κατήπειγεν ὡς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀκολουθήσων ἔργοις τῷ λόγῳ. [458] πρὸς ταῦτα αὐτόν τε ἐβλασφήμουν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῦ μὲν θανάτου καταφρονεῖν ἐβόων, ᾑρῆσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸν πρὸ δουλείας καλῶς, ἐργάσεσθαι δὲ ὅσα ἂν δύνωνται κακὰ Ῥωμαίους ἕως ἐμπνέωσι, πατρίδος δὲ οὐ μέλειν τῆς ὡς αὐτός φησιν ἀπολουμένης, καὶ ναοῦ [ἀπολομένου] ἀμείνω τούτου τῷ θεῷ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι. [459] σωθήσεσθαί γε μὴν καὶ τοῦτον ὑπὸ τοῦ κατοικοῦντος, ὃν καὶ αὐτοὶ σύμμαχον ἔχοντες πᾶσαν χλευάσειν ἀπειλὴν ὑστεροῦσαν ἔργων: τὸ γὰρ τέλος εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ. τοιαῦτα ταῖς λοιδορίαις ἀναμίσγοντες ἐκεκράγεσαν.

2. But so far were the seditious from repenting at this sad sight, that, on the contrary, they made the rest of the multitude believe otherwise; for they brought the relations of those that had deserted upon the wall, with such of the populace as were very eager to go over upon the security offered them, and showed them what miseries those underwent who fled to the Romans; and told them that those who were caught were supplicants to them, and not such as were taken prisoners. This sight kept many of those within the city who were so eager to desert, till the truth was known; yet did some of them run away immediately as unto certain punishment, esteeming death from their enemies to be a quiet departure, if compared with that by famine. So Titus commanded that the hands of many of those that were caught should be cut off, that they might not be thought deserters, and might be credited on account of the calamity they were under, and sent them in to John and Simon, with this exhortation, that they would now at length leave off [their madness], and not force him to destroy the city, whereby they would have those advantages of repentance, even in their utmost distress, that they would preserve their own lives, and so find a city of their own, and that temple which was their peculiar. He then went round about the banks that were cast up, and hastened them, in order to show that his words should in no long time be followed by his deeds. In answer to which the seditious cast reproaches upon Caesar himself, and upon his father also, and cried out, with a loud voice, that they contemned death, and did well in preferring it before slavery; that they would do all the mischief to the Romans they could while they had breath in them; and that for their own city, since they were, as he said, to be destroyed, they had no concern about it, and that the world itself was a better temple to God than this. That yet this temple would be preserved by him that inhabited therein,

whom they still had for their assistant in this war, and did therefore laugh at all his threatenings, which would come to nothing, because the conclusion of the whole depended upon God only. These words were mixed with reproaches, and with them they made a mighty clamor.

(3) [460] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Ἐπιφανὴς Ἀντίοχος παρῆν ἄλλους τε ὁπλίτας συχνοὺς ἔχων καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν στῖφος Μακεδόνων καλούμενον, ἥλικας πάντας, ὑψηλούς, ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ ἀντίπαιδας, τὸν Μακεδονικὸν τρόπον ὡπλισμένους τε καὶ πεπαιδευμένους, ὅθεν καὶ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν εἶχον ὑστεροῦντες οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦ γένους. [461] εὐδαιμονῆσαι γὰρ δὴ μάλιστα τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις βασιλέων τὸν Κομμαγηνὸν συνέβη πρὶν γεύσασθαι μεταβολῆς: ἀπέφηνε δὲ κἀκεῖνος ἐπὶ γήρως, ὡς οὐδένα χρὴ λέγειν πρὸ θανάτου μακάριον. [462] ἀλλ᾽ ὅ γε παῖς ἀκμάζοντος αὐτοῦ τηνικαῦτα παρὼν θαυμάζειν ἔφασκε, τί δήποτε Ῥωμαῖοι κατοκνοῖεν προσιέναι τῷ τείχει: πολεμιστὴς δέ τις αὐτὸς ἦν καὶ φύσει παράβολος κατά τε ἀλκὴν τοσοῦτος, ὡς ὀλίγῳ τὰ τῆς τόλμης διαμαρτάνειν. [463] μειδιάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Τίτου καὶ “κοινὸς ὁ πόνος” εἰπόντος, ὡς εἶχεν ὥρμησεν ὁ Ἀντίοχος μετὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος. [464] αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν διά τε ἰσχὺν καὶ κατ᾽ ἐμπειρίαν ἐφυλάττετο τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βέλη τοξεύων εἰς αὐτούς, τὰ μειράκια δὲ αὐτῷ συνετρίβη πάντα πλὴν ὀλίγων: διὰ γὰρ αἰδῶ τῆς ὑποσχέσεως προσεφιλονείκει μαχόμενα: [465] καὶ τέλος ἀνεχώρουν τραυματίαι πολλοί, συννοοῦντες ὅτι καὶ τοῖς ἀληθῶς Μακεδόσιν, εἰ μέλλοιεν κρατεῖν, δεῖ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχης.

3. In the mean time Antiochus Epiphanes came to the city, having with him a considerable number of other armed men, and a band called the Macedonian band about him, all of the same age, tall, and just past their childhood, armed, and instructed after the Macedonian manner, whence it was that they took that name. Yet were many of them unworthy of so famous a nation; for it had so happened, that the king of Commagene had flourished more than any other kings that were under the power of the Romans, till a change happened in his condition; and when he was become an old man, he declared plainly that we ought not to call any man happy before he is dead. But this son of his, who was then come thither before his father was decaying, said that he could not but wonder what made the Romans so tardy in making their attacks upon the wall. Now he was a warlike man, and naturally bold in exposing himself to dangers; he was also so strong a man, that his boldness seldom failed of having success. Upon this Titus smiled, and said he would share the pains of an attack with him. However, Antiochus went as he then was, and with his Macedonians made a sudden assault upon the wall; and, indeed, for his own part, his strength and skill were so great, that he guarded himself from the Jewish darts, and yet shot his

darts at them, while yet the young men with him were almost all sorely galled; for they had so great a regard to the promises that had been made of their courage, that they would needs persevere in their fighting, and at length many of them retired, but not till they were wounded; and then they perceived that true Macedonians, if they were to be conquerors, must have Alexander's good fortune also.

(4) [466] Τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἀρξαμένοις δωδεκάτῃ μηνὸς Ἀρτεμισίου συνετελέσθη τὰ χώματα μόλις ἐνάτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι ταῖς δεχεπτὰ συνεχῶς πονουμένων ἡμέραις: [467] μέγιστα γὰρ ἐχώσθη τὰ τέσσαρα, καὶ θάτερον μὲν τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πέμπτου τάγματος ἐβλήθη κατὰ μέσον τῆς Στρουθίου καλουμένης κολυμβήθρας, τὸ δ' ἕτερον ὑπὸ τοῦ δωδεκάτου διεστῶτος ὅσον εἰς πήχεις εἴκοσι. [468] τῷ δεκάτῳ δὲ τάγματι διέχοντι πολὺ τούτων κατὰ τὸ βόρειον κλίμα τὸ ἔργον ἦν καὶ κολυμβήθραν Ἀμύγδαλον προσαγορευομένην: τούτου δὲ τὸ πεντεκαιδέκατον ἀπὸ τριάκοντα πηχῶν ἔχου κατὰ τὸ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως μνημεῖον. [469] προσαγομένων δὲ ἤδη αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν Ἰωάννης ἔνδοθεν ὑπορύξας τὸ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν μέχρι τῶν χωμάτων καὶ διαλαβὼν σταυροῖς τοὺς ὑπονόμους ἀνακρήμνησιν τὰ ἔργα, πίσσῃ δὲ καὶ ἀσφάλτῳ διακεχρισμένην τὴν ὕλην εἰσκομίσας ἐνίησι πῦρ. [470] καὶ τῶν σταυρῶν ὑποκαέντων ἥ τε διώρυξ ἐνέδωκεν ἀθρόα, καὶ μετὰ μεγίστου ψόφου κατεσείσθη τὰ χώματα εἰς αὐτήν. [471] τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον μετὰ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ καπνὸς ἠγείρετο βαθὺς πνιγομένου τῷ πταίσματι τοῦ πυρός, τῆς δὲ θλιβούσης ὕλης διαβιβρωσκομένης ἤδη φανερὰ φλὸξ ἐρρήγνυτο. [472] καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἔκπληξις μὲν πρὸς τὸ αἰφνίδιον, ἀθυμία δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐπίνοιαν ἐμπίπτει, καὶ κρατήσειν οἰομένοις ἤδη τὸ συμβὰν καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἔψυξε τὴν ἐλπίδα: τὸ δὲ ἀμύνειν ἀχρεῖον ἐδόκει πρὸς τὸ πῦρ, καὶ εἰ σβεσθείη τῶν χωμάτων καταποθέντων.

4. Now as the Romans began to raise their banks on the twelfth day of the month Artemisius, [Jyar,] so had they much ado to finish them by the twenty-ninth day of the same month, after they had labored hard for seventeen days continually. For there were now four great banks raised, one of which was at the tower Antonia; this was raised by the fifth legion, over against the middle of that pool which was called Struthius. Another was cast up by the twelfth legion, at the distance of about twenty cubits from the other. But the labors of the tenth legion, which lay a great way off these, were on the north quarter, and at the pool called Amygdalon; as was that of the fifteenth legion about thirty cubits from it, and at the high priest's monument. And now, when the engines were brought, John had from within undermined the space that was over against the tower of Antonia, as far as the banks themselves, and had supported the ground over the mine with beams laid across one another, whereby the Roman works stood upon an

uncertain foundation. Then did he order such materials to be brought in as were daubed over with pitch and bitumen, and set them on fire; and as the cross beams that supported the banks were burning, the ditch yielded on the sudden, and the banks were shaken down, and fell into the ditch with a prodigious noise. Now at the first there arose a very thick smoke and dust, as the fire was choked with the fall of the bank; but as the suffocated materials were now gradually consumed, a plain flame brake out; on which sudden appearance of the flame a consternation fell upon the Romans, and the shrewdness of the contrivance discouraged them; and indeed this accident coming upon them at a time when they thought they had already gained their point, cooled their hopes for the time to come. They also thought it would be to no purpose to take the pains to extinguish the fire, since if it were extinguished, the banks were swallowed up already [and become useless to them].

(5) [473] Μετὰ δ᾽ ἡμέρας δύο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτίθενται χώμασιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Σίμωνα: καὶ γὰρ δὴ προσαγαγόντες ταύτῃ τὰς ἑλεπόλεις οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διέσειον τὸ τεῖχος. [474] Τεφθέος δέ τις ἀπὸ Γάρις πόλεως τῆς Γαλιλαίας, καὶ Μαγάσσαρος τῶν βασιλικῶν Μαριάμμης θεράπων, μεθ᾽ ὧν Ἀδιαβηνός τις υἱὸς Ναβαταίου, τοὔνομα κληθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης καὶ ἀγίρας, ὅπερ σημαίνει χωλός, ἁρπάσαντες λαμπάδας προεπήδησαν ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανάς. [475] τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὔτε τολμηρότεροι κατὰ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐφάνησαν οὔτε φοβερώτεροι: [476] καθάπερ γὰρ εἰς φίλους ἐκτρέχοντες οὐ πολεμίων στῖφος οὔτ᾽ ἐμέλλησαν οὔτ᾽ ἀπέστησαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ μέσων ἐνθορόντες τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑφῆψαν τὰς μηχανάς. [477] βαλλόμενοι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἀνωθούμενοι πάντοθεν οὐ πρότερον ἐκ τοῦ κινδύνου μετεκινήθησαν ἢ δράξασθαι τῶν ὀργάνων τὸ πῦρ. [478] αἰρομένης δὲ ἤδη τῆς φλογὸς Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν στρατοπέδων συνθέοντες ἐβοήθουν, Ἰουδαῖοι δ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ἐκώλυον καὶ τοῖς σβεννύειν πειρωμένοις συνεπλέκοντο κατὰ μηδὲν τῶν ἰδίων φειδόμενοι σωμάτων. [479] καὶ οἱ μὲν εἶλκον ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς τὰς ἑλεπόλεις τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτὰς γέρρων φλεγομένων, οἱ δ᾽ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ διὰ τῆς φλογὸς ἀντελαμβάνοντο καὶ τοῦ σιδήρου ζέοντος δρασσόμενοι τοὺς κριοὺς οὐ μεθίεσαν: διέβαινε δ᾽ ἀπὸ τούτων ἐπὶ τὰ χώματα τὸ πῦρ καὶ τοὺς ἀμύνοντας προελάμβανεν. [480] ἐν τούτῳ δ᾽ οἱ μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι κυκλούμενοι τῇ φλογὶ καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν τῶν ἔργων ἀπογνόντες ἀνεχώρουν ἐπὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα, [481] Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ προσέκειντο πλείους ἀεὶ γινόμενοι τῶν ἔνδοθεν προσβοηθούντων καὶ τῷ κρατεῖν τεθαρρηκότες ἀταμιεύτοις ἐχρῶντο ταῖς ὀργαῖς, προελθόντες δὲ μέχρι τῶν ἐρυμάτων ἤδη συνεπλέκοντο τοῖς φρουροῖς. [482] τάξις ἐστὶν ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἱσταμένη πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ δεινὸς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ Ῥωμαίων νόμος τὸν ὑποχωρήσαντα καθ᾽ ἣν δήποτ᾽ οὖν αἰτίαν θνήσκειν. [483] οὗτοι τοῦ μετὰ κολάσεως τὸν μετ᾽ ἀρετῆς θάνατον προκρίναντες ἵστανται, καὶ

πρὸς τὴν τούτων ἀνάγκην πολλοὶ τῶν τραπέντων ἐπεστράφησαν αἰδούμενοι. [484] διαθέντες δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὀξυβελεῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους εἶργον τὸ προσγινόμενον πλῆθος ἐκ τῆς πόλεως οὐδὲν εἰς ἀσφάλειαν ἢ φυλακὴν τῶν σωμάτων προνοουμένους: συνεπλέκοντο γὰρ Ἰουδαῖοι τοῖς προστυχοῦσι καὶ ταῖς αἰχμαῖς ἀφυλάκτως ἐμπίπτοντες αὐτοῖς τοῖς σώμασι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἔπαιον. [485] οὔτε δὲ ἔργοις αὐτοὶ πλέον ἢ τῷ θαρρεῖν περιῆσαν καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ τόλμῃ πλέον εἶκον ἢ τῷ κακοῦσθαι.

5. Two days after this, Simon and his party made an attempt to destroy the other banks; for the Romans had brought their engines to bear there, and began already to make the wall shake. And here one Tephtheus, of Garsis, a city of Galilee, and Megassarus, one who was derived from some of queen Mariamne's servants, and with them one from Adiabene, he was the son of Nabateus, and called by the name of Chagiras, from the ill fortune he had, the word signifying "a lame man," snatched some torches, and ran suddenly upon the engines. Nor were there during this war any men that ever sallied out of the city who were their superiors, either in their boldness, or in the terror they struck into their enemies. For they ran out upon the Romans, not as if they were enemies, but friends, without fear or delay; nor did they leave their enemies till they had rushed violently through the midst of them, and set their machines on fire. And though they had darts thrown at them on every side, and were on every side assaulted with their enemies' swords, yet did they not withdraw themselves out of the dangers they were in, till the fire had caught hold of the instruments; but when the flame went up, the Romans came running from their camp to save their engines. Then did the Jews hinder their succors from the wall, and fought with those that endeavored to quench the fire, without any regard to the danger their bodies were in. So the Romans pulled the engines out of the fire, while the hurdles that covered them were on fire; but the Jews caught hold of the battering rams through the flame itself, and held them fast, although the iron upon them was become red hot; and now the fire spread itself from the engines to the banks, and prevented those that came to defend them; and all this while the Romans were encompassed round about with the flame; and, despairing of saving their works from it, they retired to their camp. Then did the Jews become still more and more in number by the coming of those that were within the city to their assistance; and as they were very bold upon the good success they had had, their violent assaults were almost irresistible; nay, they proceeded as far as the fortifications of the enemies' camp, and fought with their guards. Now there stood a body of soldiers in array before that camp, which succeeded one another by turns in their armor; and as to those, the law of the Romans was terrible, that he who left his post there, let the occasion be whatsoever it might be, he was to die for it; so that body of soldiers, preferring rather to die in fighting courageously, than as a punishment for their cowardice, stood firm; and at the necessity these men were in of standing to it, many of the others that had run away, out of shame, turned back again; and when they had set the engines against the wall, they put the multitude from coming more of them out of the city, [which they could the more easily do] because they had made no provision

for preserving or guarding their bodies at this time; for the Jews fought now hand to hand with all that came in their way, and, without any caution, fell against the points of their enemies' spears, and attacked them bodies against bodies; for they were now too hard for the Romans, not so much by their other warlike actions, as by these courageous assaults they made upon them; and the Romans gave way more to their boldness than they did to the sense of the harm they had received from them.

(6) [486] Παρῆν δ' ἤδη Τίτος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντωνίας, ὅπου κεχώριστο κατασκεπτόμενος τόπον ἄλλοις χώμασι, καὶ πολλὰ τοὺς στρατιώτας φαυλίσας, εἰ κρατοῦντες τῶν πολεμίων τειχῶν κινδυνεύουσι τοῖς ἰδίοις καὶ πολιορκουμένων ὑπομένουσιν αὐτοὶ τύχην ὥσπερ ἐκ δεσμωτηρίου καθ' αὐτῶν Ἰουδαίους ἀνέντες, περιῄει μετὰ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων κατὰ πλευρὰ τοὺς πολεμίους αὐτός. [487] οἱ δὲ κατὰ στόμα παιόμενοι καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον ἐπιστραφέντες ἐκαρτέρουν. μιγείσης δὲ τῆς παρατάξεως ὁ μὲν κονιορτὸς τῶν ὀμμάτων, ἡ κραυγὴ δὲ τῶν ἀκοῶν ἐπεκράτει, καὶ οὐδετέρῳ παρῆν ἔτι τεκμήρασθαι τὸ ἐχθρὸν ἢ τὸ φίλιον. [488] Ἰουδαίων δὲ οὐ τοσοῦτον ἔτι κατ' ἀλκὴν ὅσον ἀπογνώσει σωτηρίας παραμενόντων καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐτόνωσεν αἰδὼς δόξης τε καὶ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ προκινδυνεύοντος Καίσαρος: [489] ὥστε μοι δοκοῦσι τὰ τελευταῖα δι' ὑπερβολὴν θυμῶν κἂν ἁρπάσαι τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πλῆθος, εἰ μὴ τὴν ῥοπὴν τῆς παρατάξεως φθάσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. [490] διεφθαρμένων δὲ τῶν χωμάτων Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἦσαν ἐν ἀθυμίαις τὸν μακρὸν κάματον ἐπὶ μιᾶς ὥρας ἀπολέσαντες: καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ταῖς συνήθεσι μηχαναῖς ἀπήλπιζον ἁλώσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν.

6. And now Titus was come from the tower of Antonia, whither he was gone to look out for a place for raising other banks, and reproached the soldiers greatly for permitting their own walls to be in danger, when they had taken the wails of their enemies, and sustained the fortune of men besieged, while the Jews were allowed to sally out against them, though they were already in a sort of prison. He then went round about the enemy with some chosen troops, and fell upon their flank himself; so the Jews, who had been before assaulted in their faces, wheeled about to Titus, and continued the fight. The armies also were now mixed one among another, and the dust that was raised so far hindered them from seeing one another, and the noise that was made so far hindered them from hearing one another, that neither side could discern an enemy from a friend. However, the Jews did not flinch, though not so much from their real strength, as from their despair of deliverance. The Romans also would not yield, by reason of the regard they had to glory, and to their reputation in war, and because Caesar himself went into the danger before them; insomuch that I cannot but think the Romans would in the conclusion have now taken even the whole

multitude of the Jews, so very angry were they at them, had these not prevented the upshot of the battle, and retired into the city. However, seeing the banks of the Romans were demolished, these Romans were very much cast down upon the loss of what had cost them so long pains, and this in one hour's time. And many indeed despaired of taking the city with their usual engines of war only.

XII

CHAPTER 12.

Titus Thought Fit To Encompass The City Round With A Wall;

After Which The Famine Consumed The People By Whole Houses

And Families Together.

(1) [491] Τίτος δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐβουλεύετο, καὶ τοῖς μὲν θερμοτέροις πᾶσαν ἐδόκει προσφέρειν τὴν δύναμιν ἀποπειρᾶσθαί τε τοῦ τείχους βίᾳ: [492] μέχρι μὲν γὰρ νῦν κατὰ σπάσμα Ἰουδαίοις συμπεπλέχθαι, προσιόντων δ' ἀθρόων οὐδὲ τὴν ἔφοδον οἴσειν: [493] καταχωσθήσεσθαι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν βελῶν. τῶν δ' ἀσφαλεστέρων οἱ μὲν καὶ τὰ χώματα ποιεῖν πάλιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ δίχα τούτων προσκαθέζεσθαι μόνον παραφυλάττοντας τάς τε ἐξόδους αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς εἰσκομιδὰς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων παρήνουν καὶ τῷ λιμῷ καταλείπειν τὴν πόλιν, μηδὲ συμπλέκεσθαι κατὰ χεῖρα τοῖς πολεμίοις: [494] ἄμαχον γὰρ εἶναι τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν οἷς εὐχὴ μὲν τὸ σιδήρῳ πεσεῖν, ἀπόκειται δὲ καὶ δίχα τούτου πάθος χαλεπώτερον. [495] αὐτῷ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀργεῖν καθόλου μετὰ τοσαύτης δυνάμεως οὐκ ἐδόκει πρέπειν καὶ τὸ μάχεσθαι περιττὸν πρὸς ἀλλήλων φθαρησομένοις, [496] βάλλεσθαι δὲ χώματα δύσεργον ἀπέφαινεν ὕλης ἀπορίᾳ καὶ τὸ παραφυλάττειν τὰς ἐξόδους δυσεργότερον: κυκλώσασθαί τε γὰρ τῇ στρατιᾷ τὴν πόλιν διὰ μέγεθος καὶ δυσχωρίαν οὐκ εὐμαρὲς εἶναι καὶ σφαλερὸν ἄλλως πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθέσεις. [497] τῶν δὲ φανερῶν φυλαττομένων ἀφανεῖς ἐπινοεῖσθαι Ἰουδαίοις ὁδοὺς κατά τε ἀνάγκην καὶ δι' ἐμπειρίαν: εἰ δέ τι λάθρα παρεισκομισθήσοιτο, τριβὴν ἔσεσθαι πλείονα τῇ πολιορκίᾳ. [498] δεδιέναι τε μὴ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ κατορθώματος αὐτῷ τὸ μῆκος ἐλαττώσῃ τοῦ χρόνου: τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ εἶναι πᾶν ἀνύσιμον, πρὸς δὲ τῆς εὐκλείας τὸ τάχος. [499] δεῖν γε μήν, εἰ καὶ τῷ τάχει μετ' ἀσφαλείας βούλοιτο χρήσασθαι, περιτειχίζειν ὅλην τὴν πόλιν: μόνως γὰρ οὕτως ἂν πάσας ἀποφράξαι τὰς ἐξόδους, καὶ Ἰουδαίους ἢ πρὸς ἅπαντα ἀπογνόντας τὴν σωτηρίαν παραδώσειν τὴν πόλιν ἢ λιμώττοντας χειρωθήσεσθαι ῥᾳδίως: [500] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἠρεμήσειν αὐτὸς ἄλλως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν χωμάτων ἐπιμελήσεσθαι πάλιν χρώμενος τοῖς κωλύουσιν ἀτονωτέροις. [501] εἰ δέ τῳ μέγα δοκεῖ καὶ δυσήνυτον τὸ ἔργον, χρῆναι σκοπεῖν,

ὡς οὔτε Ῥωμαίοις τι μικρὸν ἐνεργεῖν πρέπει, καὶ δίχα πόνου κατορθοῦν τι τῶν μεγάλων οὐδενὶ ῥᾴδιον.

1. And now did Titus consult with his commanders what was to be done. Those that were of the warmest tempers thought he should bring the whole army against the city and storm the wall; for that hitherto no more than a part of their army had fought with the Jews; but that in case the entire army was to come at once, they would not be able to sustain their attacks, but would be overwhelmed by their darts. But of those that were for a more cautious management, some were for raising their banks again; and others advised to let the banks alone, but to lie still before the city, to guard against the coming out of the Jews, and against their carrying provisions into the city, and so to leave the enemy to the famine, and this without direct fighting with them; for that despair was not to be conquered, especially as to those who are desirous to die by the sword, while a more terrible misery than that is reserved for them. However, Titus did not think it fit for so great an army to lie entirely idle, and that yet it was in vain to fight with those that would be destroyed one by another; he also showed them how impracticable it was to cast up any more banks, for want of materials, and to guard against the Jews coming out still more impracticable; as also, that to encompass the whole city round with his army was not very easy, by reason of its magnitude, and the difficulty of the situation, and on other accounts dangerous, upon the sallies the Jews might make out of the city. For although they might guard the known passages out of the place, yet would they, when they found themselves under the greatest distress, contrive secret passages out, as being well acquainted with all such places; and if any provisions were carried in by stealth, the siege would thereby be longer delayed. He also owned that he was afraid that the length of time thus to be spent would diminish the glory of his success; for though it be true that length of time will perfect every thing, yet that to do what we do in a little time is still necessary to the gaining reputation. That therefore his opinion was, that if they aimed at quickness joined with security, they must build a wall round about the whole city; which was, he thought, the only way to prevent the Jews from coming out any way, and that then they would either entirely despair of saving the city, and so would surrender it up to him, or be still the more easily conquered when the famine had further weakened them; for that besides this wall, he would not lie entirely at rest afterward, but would take care then to have banks raised again, when those that would oppose them were become weaker. But that if any one should think such a work to be too great, and not to be finished without much difficulty, he ought to

consider that it is not fit for Romans to undertake any small work, and that none but God himself could with ease accomplish any great thing whatsoever.

(2) [502] Τούτοις πείσας τοὺς ἡγεμόνας διανέμειν ἐκέλευσε τὰς δυνάμεις ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον. ὁρμὴ δέ τις ἐμπίπτει δαιμόνιος τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ μερισαμένων τὸν περίβολον οὐ μόνον τῶν ταγμάτων ἦν ἔρις, [503] ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τάξεων πρὸς ἀλλήλας, καὶ στρατιώτης μὲν δεκαδάρχην, δεκαδάρχης δ' ἑκατοντάρχην, οὗτος δ' ἐσπούδαζεν ἀρέσασθαι χιλίαρχον, τῶν δὲ χιλιάρχων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἔτεινεν ἡ φιλοτιμία καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τὴν ἅμιλλαν ἐβράβευε Καῖσαρ: περιιὼν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἑκάστης ἡμέρας πολλάκις ἐπεσκόπει τὸ ἔργον. [504] ἀρξάμενος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσσυρίων παρεμβολῆς, καθ' ἣν αὐτὸς ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο, ἐπὶ τὴν κατωτέρω Καινόπολιν ἦγε τὸ τεῖχος, ἔνθεν διὰ τοῦ Κεδρῶνος ἐπὶ τὸ Ἐλαιῶν ὄρος: [505] εἶτ' ἀνακάμπτων κατὰ μεσημβρίαν περιλαμβάνει τὸ ὄρος ἄχρι τῆς Περιστερεῶνος καλουμένης πέτρας τόν τε ἐξῆς λόφον, ὃς ἐπίκειται τῇ κατὰ τὴν Σιλωὰμ φάραγγι, κἀκεῖθεν ἐκκλίνας πρὸς δύσιν εἰς τὴν τῆς πηγῆς κατῆει φάραγγα. [506] μεθ' ἣν ἀναβαίνων κατὰ τὸ Ἀνάνου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως μνημεῖον καὶ διαλαβὼν τὸ ὄρος, ἔνθα Πομπήιος ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο, πρὸς κλίμα βόρειον ἐπέστρεφε, [507] καὶ προελθὼν μέχρι κώμης τινός, Ἐρεβίνθων οἶκος καλεῖται, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνην τὸ Ἡρώδου μνημεῖον περισχὼν κατὰ ἀνατολὴν τῷ ἰδίῳ στρατοπέδῳ συνῆπτεν, ὅθεν ἤρξατο. [508] τὸ μὲν οὖν τεῖχος ἑνὸς δέοντος τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων ἦν, ἔξωθεν δ' αὐτῷ προσῳκοδομήθη τρισκαίδεκα φρούρια, καὶ τούτων οἱ κύκλοι δέκα συνηριθμοῦντο σταδίων. [509] τρισὶ δ' ᾠκοδομήθη τὸ πᾶν ἡμέραις, ὡς τὸ μὲν ἔργον μηνῶν [εἶναι] ἄξιον, τὸ τάχος δ' ἡττᾶσθαι πίστεως. [510] περικλείσας δὲ τῷ τείχει τὴν πόλιν καὶ δύναμιν τοῖς φρουρίοις ἐγκαταστήσας τὴν μὲν πρώτην φυλακὴν τῆς νυκτὸς περιιὼν αὐτὸς ἐπεσκέπτετο, τὴν δευτέραν δ' ἐπέτρεψεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, τὴν τρίτην δ' ἔλαχον οἱ τῶν ταγμάτων ἡγεμόνες. [511] διεκληροῦντο δ' οἱ φύλακες τοὺς ὕπνους, καὶ δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς περιῄεσαν κατὰ διαστήματα τῶν φρουρίων.

2. These arguments prevailed with the commanders. So Titus gave orders that the army should be distributed to their several shares of this work; and indeed there now came upon the soldiers a certain divine fury, so that they did not only part the whole wall that was to be built among them, nor did only one legion strive with another, but the lesser divisions of the army did the same; insomuch that each soldier was ambitious to please his decurion, each decurion his centurion, each centurion his tribune, and the ambition of the tribunes was to please their superior commanders, while Caesar himself took notice of and rewarded the like contention in those commanders; for he went round about the works many times every day, and took a view of what was done. Titus began the wall from the camp of the Assyrians, where his own camp was pitched, and drew it down to

the lower parts of Cenopolis; thence it went along the valley of Cedron, to the Mount of Olives; it then bent towards the south, and encompassed the mountain as far as the rock called Peristereon, and that other hill which lies next it, and is over the valley which reaches to Siloam; whence it bended again to the west, and went down to the valley of the Fountain, beyond which it went up again at the monument of Ananus the high priest, and encompassing that mountain where Pompey had formerly pitched his camp, it returned back to the north side of the city, and was carried on as far as a certain village called "The House of the Erebinthi;" after which it encompassed Herod's monument, and there, on the east, was joined to Titus's own camp, where it began. Now the length of this wall was forty furlongs, one only abated. Now at this wall without were erected thirteen places to keep garrison in, whose circumferences, put together, amounted to ten furlongs; the whole was completed in three days; so that what would naturally have required some months was done in so short an interval as is incredible. When Titus had therefore encompassed the city with this wall, and put garrisons into proper places, he went round the wall, at the first watch of the night, and observed how the guard was kept; the second watch he allotted to Alexander; the commanders of legions took the third watch. They also cast lots among themselves who should be upon the watch in the night time, and who should go all night long round the spaces that were interposed between the garrisons.

(3) [512] Ἰουδαίοις δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐξόδων ἀπεκόπη πᾶσα σωτηρίας ἐλπίς, καὶ βαθύνας αὐτὸν ὁ λιμὸς κατ᾽ οἴκους καὶ γενεὰς τὸν δῆμον ἐπεβόσκετο. [513] καὶ τὰ μὲν τέγη πεπλήρωτο γυναικῶν καὶ βρεφῶν λελυμένων, οἱ στενωποὶ δὲ γερόντων νεκρῶν, παῖδες δὲ καὶ νεανίαι διοιδοῦντες ὥσπερ εἴδωλα κατὰ τὰς ἀγορὰς ἀνειλοῦντο καὶ κατέπιπτον ὅπη τινὰ τὸ πάθος καταλαμβάνοι. [514] θάπτειν δὲ τοὺς προσήκοντας οὔτε ἴσχυον οἱ κάμνοντες καὶ τὸ διευτονοῦν ὤκνει διά τε πλῆθος τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ διὰ τὸ κατὰ σφᾶς ἄδηλον: πολλοὶ γοῦν τοῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν θαπτομένοις ἐπαπέθνησκον, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς θήκας πρὶν ἐπιστῆναι τὸ χρεὼν προῆλθον. [515] οὔτε δὲ θρῆνος ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς οὔτ᾽ ὀλοφυρμὸς ἦν, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ λιμὸς ἤλεγχε τὰ πάθη, ξηροῖς δὲ τοῖς ὄμμασι καὶ σεσηρόσι τοῖς στόμασιν οἱ δυσθανατοῦντες ἐφεώρων τοὺς φθάσαντας ἀναπαύσασθαι, βαθεῖα δὲ περιεῖχεν τὴν πόλιν σιγὴ καὶ νὺξ θανάτου γέμουσα καὶ τούτων οἱ λῃσταὶ χαλεπώτεροι. [516] τυμβωρυχοῦντες γοῦν τὰς οἰκίας ἐσύλων τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ τὰ καλύμματα τῶν σωμάτων περισπῶντες μετὰ γέλωτος ἐξῄεσαν, τάς τε ἀκμὰς τῶν ξιφῶν ἐδοκίμαζον ἐν τοῖς πτώμασιν, καί τινας τῶν ἐρριμμένων ἔτι ζῶντας διήλαυνον ἐπὶ πείρᾳ τοῦ σιδήρου: [517] τοὺς δ᾽ ἱκετεύοντας χρῆσαι σφίσι δεξιὰν καὶ ξίφος τῷ λιμῷ κατέλειπον ὑπερηφανοῦντες, καὶ τῶν ἐκπνεόντων ἕκαστος ἀτενίσας εἰς τὸν ναὸν

ἀφεώρα τοὺς στασιαστὰς ζῶντας ἀπολιπών. [518] οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου θησαυροῦ τοὺς νεκροὺς θάπτειν ἐκέλευον τὴν ὀσμὴν οὐ φέροντες, ἔπειθ' ὡς οὐ διήρκουν ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἔρριπτον εἰς τὰς φάραγγας.

3. So all hope of escaping was now cut off from the Jews, together with their liberty of going out of the city. Then did the famine widen its progress, and devoured the people by whole houses and families; the upper rooms were full of women and children that were dying by famine, and the lanes of the city were full of the dead bodies of the aged; the children also and the young men wandered about the market-places like shadows, all swelled with the famine, and fell down dead, wheresoever their misery seized them. As for burying them, those that were sick themselves were not able to do it; and those that were hearty and well were deterred from doing it by the great multitude of those dead bodies, and by the uncertainty there was how soon they should die themselves; for many died as they were burying others, and many went to their coffins before that fatal hour was come. Nor was there any lamentations made under these calamities, nor were heard any mournful complaints; but the famine confounded all natural passions; for those who were just going to die looked upon those that were gone to rest before them with dry eyes and open mouths. A deep silence also, and a kind of deadly night, had seized upon the city; while yet the robbers were still more terrible than these miseries were themselves; for they brake open those houses which were no other than graves of dead bodies, and plundered them of what they had; and carrying off the coverings of their bodies, went out laughing, and tried the points of their swords in their dead bodies; and, in order to prove what metal they were made of they thrust some of those through that still lay alive upon the ground; but for those that entreated them to lend them their right hand and their sword to despatch them, they were too proud to grant their requests, and left them to be consumed by the famine. Now every one of these died with their eyes fixed upon the temple, and left the seditious alive behind them. Now the seditious at first gave orders that the dead should be buried out of the public treasury, as not enduring the stench of their dead bodies. But afterwards, when they could not do that, they had them cast down from the walls into the valleys beneath.

(4) [519] Περιὼν δὲ ταύτας ὁ Τίτος ὡς ἐθεάσατο πεπλησμένας τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ βαθὺν ἰχῶρα μυδώντων ὑπορρέοντα τῶν σωμάτων, ἐστέναξέ τε καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας κατεμαρτύρατο τὸν θεόν, ὡς οὐκ εἴη τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ. [520] τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν εἶχεν οὕτως, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ μηδενὸς ἔτι τῶν στασιαστῶν ἐκτρέχοντος, ἤδη γὰρ καὶ τούτων ἀθυμία καὶ λιμὸς ἐφήπτετο, ἐπ' εὐθυμίαις ἦσαν σίτου τε ἀφθονίαν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων ἐκ τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῶν

πλησίον ἐπαρχιῶν ἔχοντες: [521] ἱστάμενοι δὲ πολλοὶ τοῦ τείχους πλησίον καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος τῶν: ἐδωδίμων ἐπιδεικνύμενοι τῷ κατὰ σφᾶς κόρῳ τὸν λιμὸν τῶν πολεμίων ἐξέκαιον. [522] πρὸς δὲ τὸ πάθος τῶν στασιαστῶν μηδὲν ἐνδιδόντων Τίτος οἰκτείρων τὰ λείψανα τοῦ δήμου καὶ σπουδάζων τὸ γοῦν περιὸν ἐξαρπάσαι, πάλιν ἤρχετο χωμάτων χαλεπῶς αὐτῷ τῆς ὕλης ποριζομένης: [523] ἡ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὴν πόλιν πᾶσα τοῖς προτέροις ἔργοις ἐκέκοπτο, συνεφόρουν δὲ ἄλλην ἀπ᾽ ἐνενήκοντα σταδίων οἱ στρατιῶται. καὶ πρὸς μόνης ὕψουν τῆς Ἀντωνίας κατὰ μέρη τέσσαρα πολὺ μείζονα τῶν προτέρων χώματα. [524] περιιὼν δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὰ τάγματα καὶ κατεπείγων τὸ ἔργον ἐπεδείκνυ τοῖς λῃσταῖς, ὡς ἐν χερσὶν εἴησαν αὐτοῦ. [525] μόνοις δὲ ἐκείνοις ἄρα κακῶν ἀπολώλει μεταμέλεια, καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς χωρίσαντες ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων ἀμφοτέροις ὡς ἀλλοτρίοις ἐχρῶντο. [526] οὔτε γὰρ πάθος αὐτῶν ἡμέρου τὴν ψυχὴν οὔτ᾽ ἀλγηδὼν ἥπτετο τοῦ σώματος, οἵ γε καὶ νεκρὸν τὸν δῆμον ὥσπερ κύνες ἐσπάραττον καὶ τὰ δεσμωτήρια τῶν ἀρρώστων ἐνεπίμπλασαν.

4. However, when Titus, in going his rounds along those valleys, saw them full of dead bodies, and the thick putrefaction running about them, he gave a groan; and, spreading out his hands to heaven, called God to witness that this was not his doing; and such was the sad case of the city itself. But the Romans were very joyful, since none of the seditious could now make sallies out of the city, because they were themselves disconsolate, and the famine already touched them also. These Romans besides had great plenty of corn and other necessaries out of Syria, and out of the neighboring provinces; many of whom would stand near to the wall of the city, and show the people what great quantities of provisions they had, and so make the enemy more sensible of their famine, by the great plenty, even to satiety, which they had themselves. However, when the seditious still showed no inclinations of yielding, Titus, out of his commiseration of the people that remained, and out of his earnest desire of rescuing what was still left out of these miseries, began to raise his banks again, although materials for them were hard to be come at; for all the trees that were about the city had been already cut down for the making of the former banks. Yet did the soldiers bring with them other materials from the distance of ninety furlongs, and thereby raised banks in four parts, much greater than the former, though this was done only at the tower of Antonia. So Caesar went his rounds through the legions, and hastened on the works, and showed the robbers that they were now in his hands. But these men, and these only, were incapable of repenting of the wickednesses they had been guilty of; and separating their souls from their bodies, they used them both as if they belonged to other folks, and not to themselves. For no gentle affection could touch their souls, nor could any pain affect their bodies, since

they could still tear the dead bodies of the people as dogs do, and fill the prisons with those that were sick.

XIII

CHAPTER 13.

The Great Slaughters And Sacrilege That Were In Jerusalem.

(1) [527] Σίμων γοῦν οὐδὲ Ματθίαν, δι᾽ ὃν κατέσχε τὴν πόλιν, ἀβασάνιστον ἀνεῖλε: Βοηθοῦ παῖς ἦν οὗτος ἐκ τῶν ἀρχιερέων ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τῷ δήμῳ πιστὸς καὶ τίμιος: [528] ὃς ὑπὸ τοῖς ζηλωταῖς κακουμένου τοῦ πλήθους, οἷς ἤδη καὶ Ἰωάννης προσῆν, πείθει τὸν δῆμον εἰσαφεῖναι τὸν Σίμωνα βοηθόν, οὐδὲν οὔτε προσυνθέμενος οὔτε προσδοκήσας φαῦλον ἐξ αὐτοῦ. [529] παρελθὼν δ᾽ ἐκεῖνος ὡς ἐκράτησε τῆς πόλεως, ἐχθρὸν ἐν ἴσῳ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγεῖτο καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ σύμβουλον ὡς ἂν ἐξ ἁπλότητος γεγενημένον. [530] ἀχθέντα δὲ τηνικαῦτα καὶ κατηγορούμενον τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων φρονεῖν κατακρίνει μὲν θανάτῳ μηδ᾽ ἀπολογίας ἀξιώσας σὺν τρισὶν υἱοῖς: ὁ γὰρ τέταρτος ἔφθη διαδρὰς πρὸς Τίτον: ἱκετεύοντα δὲ ἀναιρεθῆναι πρὸ τῶν τέκνων καὶ ταύτην αἰτούμενον τὴν χάριν ἀνθ᾽ ὧν ἀνοίξειεν αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν, τελευταῖον ἀνελεῖν ἐκέλευσεν. [531] ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐν ὄψει φονευθεῖσιν ἐπεσφάγη τοῖς παισὶν ἄντικρυς Ῥωμαίων προαχθείς: οὕτω γὰρ ὁ Σίμων Ἀνάνῳ τῷ Βαγαδάτου προσέταξεν, ὃς ἦν ὠμότατος αὐτῷ τῶν δορυφόρων, ἐπειρωνευόμενος, εἴ τι βοηθήσουσιν αὐτῷ πρὸς οὓς ἐξελθεῖν εἵλετο: θάπτειν τ᾽ ἀπεῖπε τὰ σώματα. [532] μετὰ τούτους ἱερεύς τις Ἀνανίας υἱὸς Μασβάλου τῶν ἐπισήμων καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς Ἀριστεύς, γένος ἐξ Ἀμμαοῦς, καὶ σὺν τούτοις πεντεκαίδεκα τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου λαμπρῶν ἀναιροῦνται. [533] τὸν δὲ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου πατέρα συγκλείσαντες ἐφύλαττον, κηρύττουσι δὲ μηδένα τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν μήτε συνομιλεῖν μήτε ἐπὶ ταὐτὸ συναθροίζεσθαι δέει προδοσίας, καὶ τοὺς συνολοφυρομένους πρὸ ἐξετάσεως ἀνῄρουν.

1. Accordingly Simon would not suffer Matthias, by whose means he got possession of the city, to go off without torment. This Matthias was the son of Boethus, and was one of the high priests, one that had been very faithful to the people, and in great esteem with them; he, when the multitude were distressed by the zealots, among whom John was numbered, persuaded the people to admit this Simon to come in to assist them, while he had made no terms with him, nor expected any thing that was evil from him. But when Simon was come in, and had gotten the city under his power, he esteemed him that had advised them to admit him as his enemy equally with the rest, as looking upon that advice as a piece of his simplicity only; so he had him then brought before him, and

condemned to die for being on the side of the Romans, without giving him leave to make his defense. He condemned also his three sons to die with him; for as to the fourth, he prevented him by running away to Titus before. And when he begged for this, that he might be slain before his sons, and that as a favor, on account that he had procured the gates of the city to be opened to him, he gave order that he should be slain the last of them all; so he was not slain till he had seen his sons slain before his eyes, and that by being produced over against the Romans; for such a charge had Simon given to Artanus, the son of Bamadus, who was the most barbarous of all his guards. He also jested upon him, and told him that he might now see whether those to whom he intended to go over would send him any succors or not; but still he forbade their dead bodies should be buried. After the slaughter of these, a certain priest, Ananias, the son of Masambalus, a person of eminency, as also Aristens, the scribe of the sanhedrim, and born at Emmaus, and with them fifteen men of figure among the people, were slain. They also kept Josephus's father in prison, and made public proclamation, that no citizen whosoever should either speak to him himself, or go into his company among others, for fear he should betray them. They also slew such as joined in lamenting these men, without any further examination.

(2) [534] Ταῦτα ὁρῶν Ἰούδης τις υἱὸς Ἰούδου, τῶν ὑπάρχων τοῦ Σίμωνος εἷς ὢν καὶ πεπιστευμένος ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πύργον φυλάττειν, τάχα μέν τι καὶ οἴκτῳ τῶν ὠμῶς ἀπολλυμένων, τὸ δὲ πλέον αὐτοῦ προνοίᾳ, [535] συγκαλέσας τοὺς πιστοτάτους τῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν δέκα, "μέχρι τίνος ἀνθέξομεν, ἔφη, τοῖς κακοῖς; ἢ τίνα σωτηρίας ἔχομεν ἐλπίδα πιστοὶ πονηρῷ μένοντες; [536] οὐχ ὁ μὲν λιμὸς ἤδη καθ᾽ ἡμῶν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ παρὰ μικρὸν ἔνδον, Σίμων δὲ καὶ πρὸς εὐεργέτας ἄπιστος, καὶ δέος μὲν ἤδη παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ κολάσεως, ἡ δὲ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις δεξιὰ βέβαιος; [537] φέρε, παραδόντες τὸ τεῖχος σώσωμεν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν. πείσεται δὲ οὐδὲν δεινὸν Σίμων, ἐὰν ἀπεγνωκὼς ἑαυτὸν τάχιον δῷ [538] δίκην." τούτοις τῶν δέκα πεισθέντων ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω τοὺς λοιποὺς τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ἄλλον ἀλλαχόσε διέπεμπεν, ὡς μὴ φωραθείη τι τῶν βεβουλευμένων, αὐτὸς δὲ περὶ τρίτην ὥραν ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐκάλει. [539] τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν ὑπερηφάνουν, οἱ δὲ ἠπίστουν, οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ ὤκνουν ὡς μετὰ μικρὸν ἀκινδύνως ληψόμενοι τὴν πόλιν. [540] ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ Τίτος μεθ᾽ ὁπλιτῶν παρῄει πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος, ἔφθη γνοὺς ὁ Σίμων, καὶ μετὰ τάχους τόν τε πύργον προκαταλαμβάνει καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας συλλαβὼν ἐν ὄψει τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀναιρεῖ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τείχους λωβησάμενος ἔρριψε τὰ σώματα.

2. Now when Judas, the son of Judas, who was one of Simon's under officers, and a person intrusted by him to keep one of the towers, saw this procedure of Simon, he called together ten of those under him, that were most faithful to him,

[perhaps this was done partly out of pity to those that had so barbarously been put to death, but principally in order to provide for his own safety,] and spoke thus to them: "How long shall we bear these miseries? or what hopes have we of deliverance by thus continuing faithful to such wicked wretches? Is not the famine already come against us? Are not the Romans in a manner gotten within the city? Is not Simon become unfaithful to his benefactors? and is there not reason to fear he will very soon bring us to the like punishment, while the security the Romans offer us is sure? Come on, let us surrender up this wall, and save ourselves and the city. Nor will Simon be very much hurt, if, now he despairs of deliverance, he be brought to justice a little sooner than he thinks on." Now these ten were prevailed upon by those arguments; so he sent the rest of those that were under him, some one way, and some another, that no discovery might be made of what they had resolved upon. Accordingly, he called to the Romans from the tower about the third hour; but they, some of them out of pride, despised what he said, and others of them did not believe him to be in earnest, though the greatest number delayed the matter, as believing they should get possession of the city in a little time, without any hazard. But when Titus was just coming thither with his armed men, Simon was acquainted with the matter before he came, and presently took the tower into his own custody, before it was surrendered, and seized upon these men, and put them to death in the sight of the Romans themselves; and when he had mangled their dead bodies, he threw them down before the wall of the city.

(3) [541] Κἀν τούτῳ περιιὼν Ἰώσηπος, οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει παρακαλῶν, βάλλεται τὴν κεφαλὴν λίθῳ καὶ παραχρῆμα πίπτει καρωθείς. ἐκδρομὴ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ πτῶμα τῶν Ἰουδαίων γίνεται, κἂν ἔφθη συρεὶς εἰς τὴν πόλιν, εἰ μὴ ταχέως Καῖσαρ ἔπεμψε τοὺς ὑπερασπίζοντας. [542] μαχομένων δὲ τούτων ὁ Ἰώσηπος μὲν αἴρεται βραχύ τι τῶν πραττομένων ἐπαίων, οἱ στασιασταὶ δ' ὡς ἀνελόντες ὃν ἐπεθύμουν μάλιστα μετὰ χαρᾶς ἀνεβόων. [543] διαγγέλλεταί τε εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὸ καταλειπόμενον πλῆθος ἐπέσχεν ἀθυμία πεπεισμένους οἴχεσθαι τῷ ὄντι δι' ὃν αὐτομολεῖν ἐθάρρουν. [544] ἀκούσασα δὲ ἡ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου μήτηρ ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τεθνάναι τὸν υἱόν, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς φύλακας ἀπὸ Ἰωταπάτων τοῦτο ἔφη πεπεῖσθαι: καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ζῶντος ἀπολαύειν: [545] ἰδίᾳ δὲ ὀλοφυρομένη πρὸς τὰς θεραπαινίδας τοῦτον εἰληφέναι τῆς εὐτεκνίας ἔλεγε καρπὸν τὸ μηδὲ θάψαι τὸν υἱόν, ὑφ' οὗ ταφήσεσθαι προσεδόκησεν. [546] ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔτε ταύτην ἐπὶ πλέον ὠδύνα τὸ ψεῦδος οὔτε τοὺς λῃστὰς ἔθαλπε: ταχέως γὰρ ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς ἀνήνεγκεν ὁ Ἰώσηπος, καὶ προελθὼν τοὺς μὲν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐβόα δίκας αὐτῷ δώσειν τοῦ τραύματος, τὸν δὲ δῆμον ἐπὶ πίστιν πάλιν προυκαλεῖτο. [547] θάρσος δὲ τῷ λαῷ καὶ τοῖς στασιασταῖς ἔκπληξις ἐμπίπτει πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ.

3. In the mean time, Josephus, as he was going round the city, had his head wounded by a stone that was thrown at him; upon which he fell down as giddy. Upon which fall of his the Jews made a sally, and he had been hurried away into the city, if Caesar had not sent men to protect him immediately; and as these men were fighting, Josephus was taken up, though he heard little of what was done. So the seditious supposed they had now slain that man whom they were the most desirous of killing, and made thereupon a great noise, in way of rejoicing. This accident was told in the city, and the multitude that remained became very disconsolate at the news, as being persuaded that he was really dead, on whose account alone they could venture to desert to the Romans. But when Josephus's mother heard in prison that her son was dead, she said to those that watched about her, That she had always been of opinion, since the siege of Jotapata, [that he would be slain,] and she should never enjoy him alive any more. She also made great lamentation privately to the maid-servants that were about her, and said, That this was all the advantage she had of bringing so extraordinary a person as this son into the world; that she should not be able even to bury that son of hers, by whom she expected to have been buried herself. However, this false report did not put his mother to pain, nor afford merriment to the robbers, long; for Josephus soon recovered of his wound, and came out, and cried out aloud, That it would not be long ere they should be punished for this wound they had given him. He also made a fresh exhortation to the people to come out upon the security that would be given them. This sight of Josephus encouraged the people greatly, and brought a great consternation upon the seditious.

(4) [548] Τῶν δ' αὐτομόλων οἱ μὲν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐπήδων ταχέως, οἱ δὲ προιόντες ὡς ἐπὶ μάχῃ μετὰ χερμάδων ἔπειτα πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἔφευγον. συνείπετο δὲ τούτοις τύχη τῶν εἴσω χαλεπωτέρα, καὶ τοῦ παρὰ σφίσι λιμοῦ συντονώτερον εὕρισκον πρὸς ὄλεθρον τὸν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις κόρον. [549] παρεγίνοντο μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας πεφυσημένοι καὶ ὥσπερ ὑδρωπιῶντες, ἔπειτα ἀθρόως κενοῖς ὑπερεμπιπλάμενοι τοῖς σώμασιν ἐρρήγνυντο πλὴν τῶν δι' ἐμπειρίαν ταμιευσαμένων τὰς ὀρέξεις καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον προσθέντων τροφὴν ἀπειθισμένῳ τῷ σώματι φέρειν. [550] καὶ τοὺς οὕτω δὲ σωζομένους ἑτέρα πληγὴ μετελάμβανε: τῶν γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς Σύροις τις αὐτομόλων φωρᾶται τῶν τῆς γαστρὸς λυμάτων χρυσοῦς ἐκλέγων: καταπίνοντες δέ, ὡς ἔφαμεν, αὐτοὺς προῄεσαν, ἐπειδὴ διηρεύνων πάντας οἱ στασιασταί, καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει χρυσοῦ: δώδεκα γοῦν Ἀττικῶν ὠνοῦντο πρότερον ἰσχύοντας πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν. [551] ἀλλά τοι τῆς ἐπινοίας ἐλεγχθείσης δι' ἑνὸς ἀναπίμπλαται μὲν φήμης τὰ στρατόπεδα, ὡς μεστοὶ χρυσίου παρεῖεν οἱ αὐτόμολοι, τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἀράβων

πλῆθος καὶ οἱ Σύροι τοὺς ἱκέτας ἀνατέμνοντες ἠρεύνων τὰς γαστέρας. [552] καὶ τούτου τοῦ πάθους οὐδὲν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ συμβῆναι Ἰουδαίοις χαλεπώτερον: μιᾷ γοῦν ἀνεσχίσθησαν νυκτὶ πρὸς δισχιλίους.

4. Hereupon some of the deserters, having no other way, leaped down from the wall immediately, while others of them went out of the city with stones, as if they would fight them; but thereupon they fled away to the Romans. But here a worse fate accompanied these than what they had found within the city; and they met with a quicker despatch from the too great abundance they had among the Romans, than they could have done from the famine among the Jews; for when they came first to the Romans, they were puffed up by the famine, and swelled like men in a dropsy; after which they all on the sudden overfilled those bodies that were before empty, and so burst asunder, excepting such only as were skillful enough to restrain their appetites, and by degrees took in their food into bodies unaccustomed thereto. Yet did another plague seize upon those that were thus preserved; for there was found among the Syrian deserters a certain person who was caught gathering pieces of gold out of the excrements of the Jews' bellies; for the deserters used to swallow such pieces of gold, as we told you before, when they came out, and for these did the seditious search them all; for there was a great quantity of gold in the city, insomuch that as much was now sold [in the Roman camp] for twelve Attic [drams], as was sold before for twenty-five. But when this contrivance was discovered in one instance, the fame of it filled their several camps, that the deserters came to them full of gold. So the multitude of the Arabians, with the Syrians, cut up those that came as supplicants, and searched their bellies. Nor does it seem to me that any misery befell the Jews that was more terrible than this, since in one night's time about two thousand of these deserters were thus dissected.

(5) [553] Καὶ γνοὺς τὴν παρανομίαν Τίτος ὀλίγου μὲν ἐδέησε τὸ ἱππικὸν περιστήσας κατακοντίσαι τοὺς αἰτίους, εἰ μὴ πολὺ πλῆθος ἐνείχετο καὶ τῶν ἀνηρημένων πολλαπλασίους ἦσαν οἱ κολασθησόμενοι. [554] συγκαλέσας δὲ τοὺς τῶν συμμάχων ἡγεμόνας καὶ τοὺς τῶν ταγμάτων, συνδιεβάλλοντο γὰρ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινές, πρὸς ἑκατέρους ἀγανακτεῖν ἔλεγεν, [555] εἰ τῶν μὲν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατευομένων τινὲς τοιαῦτα δρῶσιν κέρδους ἕνεκεν ἀδήλου, μηδὲ τὰ ὅπλα σφῶν αὐτῶν αἰδούμενοι πεποιημένα ἀργύρου τε καὶ χρυσοῦ, [556] τοῖς δὲ Ἄραψι καὶ [τοῖς] Σύροις, εἰ πρῶτον μὲν ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ πολέμῳ τοῖς πάθεσιν αὐτεξουσίως χρῶνται, ἔπειτα τῇ περὶ φόνους ὠμότητι καὶ τῷ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους μίσει Ῥωμαίους ἐπιγράφουσι: καὶ γὰρ νῦν ἐνίους αὐτῷ τῶν στρατιωτῶν συναπολαύειν τῆς κακοδοξίας. [557] τούτοις μὲν οὖν διηπείλησε θάνατον, εἴ τις εὑρεθείη πάλιν τὸ αὐτὸ τολμῶν, τοῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ταγμάτων ἐπέστελλεν ἐρευνήσαντας τοὺς

ὑπόπτους ἀνάγειν ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν. [558] κατεφρόνει δ᾽, ὡς ἔοικε, φιλοχρηματία πάσης κολάσεως, καὶ δεινὸς ἐμπέφυκεν ἀνθρώποις τοῦ κερδαίνειν ἔρως, οὐδέν τε οὕτως πάθος πλεονεξία παραβάλλεται. [559] ἢ ταῦτα μὲν ἄλλως καὶ μέτρον ἔχει καὶ φόβοις ὑποτάσσεται, θεὸς δὲ ἦν ὁ τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς κατακρίνας καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτοῖς σωτηρίας ὁδὸν εἰς ἀπώλειαν ἀποστρέφων. [560] ὃ γοῦν μετ᾽ ἀπειλῆς ἀπεῖπεν ὁ Καῖσαρ λάθρα κατὰ τῶν αὐτομόλων ἐτολμᾶτο, καὶ τοὺς διαδιδράσκοντας πρὶν πᾶσιν ὀφθῆναι προαπαντῶντες ἔσφαττον οἱ βάρβαροι, περισκοπούμενοι δὲ μή τις ἐπίδοι Ῥωμαίων, ἀνέσχιζον κἀκ τῶν σπλάγχνων τὸ μιαρὸν κέρδος εἶλκον. [561] ὀλίγοις δ᾽ ἐνευρίσκετο, καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς παρανήλισκεν ἐλπὶς μόνη. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ πάθος πολλοὺς τῶν αὐτομόλων ἐπανήγαγεν.

5. When Titus came to the knowledge of this wicked practice, he had like to have surrounded those that had been guilty of it with his horse, and have shot them dead; and he had done it, had not their number been so very great, and those that were liable to this punishment would have been manifold more than those whom they had slain. However, he called together the commanders of the auxiliary troops he had with him, as well as the commanders of the Roman legions, [for some of his own soldiers had been also guilty herein, as he had been informed,] and had great indignation against both sorts of them, and said to them, "What! have any of my own soldiers done such things as this out of the uncertain hope of gain, without regarding their own weapons, which are made of silver and gold? Moreover, do the Arabians and Syrians now first of all begin to govern themselves as they please, and to indulge their appetites in a foreign war, and then, out of their barbarity in murdering men, and out of their hatred to the Jews, get it ascribed to the Romans?" for this infamous practice was said to be spread among some of his own soldiers also. Titus then threatened that he would put such men to death, if any of them were discovered to be so insolent as to do so again; moreover, he gave it in charge to the legions, that they should make a search after such as were suspected, and should bring them to him. But it appeared that the love of money was too hard for all their dread of punishment, and a vehement desire of gain is natural to men, and no passion is so venturesome as covetousness; otherwise such passions have certain bounds, and are subordinate to fear. But in reality it was God who condemned the whole nation, and turned every course that was taken for their preservation to their destruction. This, therefore, which was forbidden by Caesar under such a threatening, was ventured upon privately against the deserters, and these barbarians would go out still, and meet those that ran away before any saw them, and looking about them to see that no Roman spied them, they dissected them,

and pulled this polluted money out of their bowels; which money was still found in a few of them, while yet a great many were destroyed by the bare hope there was of thus getting by them, which miserable treatment made many that were deserting to return back again into the city.

(6) [562] Ἰωάννης δ' ὡς ἐπέλειπον αἱ ἁρπαγαὶ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου, πρὸς ἱεροσυλίαν ἐτρέπετο, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀναθημάτων κατεχώνευε τοῦ ναοῦ, πολλὰ δὲ τῶν πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας ἀναγκαίων σκεύη, κρατῆρας καὶ πίνακας καὶ τραπέζας: ἀπέσχετο δ' οὐδὲ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντων ἀκρατοφόρων. [563] οἱ μέν γε Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖς ἐτίμησάν τε καὶ προσεκόσμησαν τὸ ἱερὸν ἀεί, τότε δὲ ὁ Ἰουδαῖος καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων κατέσπα. [564] πρὸς δὲ τοὺς συνόντας ἔλεγεν, ὡς δεῖ μετ' ἀδείας καταχρήσασθαι τοῖς θείοις ὑπὲρ τοῦ θείου καὶ τοὺς τῷ ναῷ στρατευομένους ἐξ αὐτοῦ τρέφεσθαι. [565] διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν ἱερὸν οἶνον καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον, ὃ τοῖς ὁλοκαυτώμασιν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐφύλαττον [ἐπιχεῖν], ἐκκενώσας, ἦν δ' ἐν τῷ ἔνδον ἱερῷ, διένεμε τῷ πλήθει, κἀκεῖνοι δίχα φρίκης ἠλείφοντο καὶ ἔπινον [ἐξ αὐτῶν]. [566] οὐκ ἂν ὑποστειλαίμην εἰπεῖν ἅ μοι κελεύει τὸ πάθος: οἶμαι Ῥωμαίων βραδυνόντων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀλιτηρίους ἢ καταποθῆναι ἂν ὑπὸ χάσματος ἢ κατακλυσθῆναι τὴν πόλιν ἢ τοὺς τῆς Σοδομηνῆς μεταλαβεῖν κεραυνούς: πολὺ γὰρ τῶν ταῦτα παθόντων ἤνεγκε γενεὰν ἀθεωτέραν: τῇ γοῦν τούτων ἀπονοίᾳ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς συναπώλετο.

6. But as for John, when he could no longer plunder the people, he betook himself to sacrilege, and melted down many of the sacred utensils, which had been given to the temple; as also many of those vessels which were necessary for such as ministered about holy things, the caldrons, the dishes, and the tables; nay, he did not abstain from those pouring vessels that were sent them by Augustus and his wife; for the Roman emperors did ever both honor and adorn this temple; whereas this man, who was a Jew, seized upon what were the donations of foreigners, and said to those that were with him, that it was proper for them to use Divine things, while they were fighting for the Divinity, without fear, and that such whose warfare is for the temple should live of the temple; on which account he emptied the vessels of that sacred wine and oil, which the priests kept to be poured on the burnt-offerings, and which lay in the inner court of the temple, and distributed it among the multitude, who, in their anointing themselves and drinking, used [each of them] above an hin of them. And here I cannot but speak my mind, and what the concern I am under dictates to me, and it is this: I suppose, that had the Romans made any longer delay in coming against these villains, that the city would either have been swallowed up by the ground opening upon them, or been overflowed by water, or else been destroyed by such thunder as the country of Sodom perished by, for it had brought forth a

generation of men much more atheistical than were those that suffered such punishments; for by their madness it was that all the people came to be destroyed.

(7) [567] Καὶ τί δεῖ κατὰ μέρος ἐκδιηγεῖσθαι τὰς συμφοράς; ἀλλὰ πρὸς Τίτον ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις Μαννέος ὁ Λαζάρου φυγὼν διὰ μιᾶς ἔλεγεν ἐκκεκομίσθαι πύλης, ἣν αὐτὸς ἐπεπίστευτο, μυριάδας ἕνδεκα νεκρῶν ἐπὶ πεντακισχιλίοις ὀκτακοσίοις ὀγδοήκοντα, ἀφ' ἧς αὐτοῖς ἡμέρας παρεστρατοπεδεύσατο τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ Ξανθικοῦ μηνὸς ἄχρι Πανέμου νουμηνίας. [568] τοῦτο δ' ἦν πλῆθος ἀπόρων: καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἐφεστώς, ἀλλὰ δημοσίᾳ μισθὸν διδοὺς ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἠρίθμει. τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς οἱ προσήκοντες ἔθαπτον: ταφὴ δ' ἦν τὸ προκομίσαντας ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος ῥῖψαι. [569] μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον διαδράντες πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπισήμων τὰς πάσας τῶν ἀπόρων νεκρῶν ἀπήγγελλον μυριάδας ἑξήκοντα διὰ τῶν πυλῶν ἐκριφῆναι, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἀνεξερεύνητον εἶναι τὸν ἀριθμόν. [570] μηκέτι δ' εὐτονούντων τοὺς πτωχοὺς ἐκφέρειν [ἔλεγον] συσσωρεύοντας εἰς τοὺς μεγίστους οἴκους τὰ πτώματα ἀποκλείειν. [571] καὶ τοῦ μὲν σίτου τὸ μέτρον πραθῆναι ταλάντου, μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ὡς οὐδὲ ποηλογεῖν ἔθ' οἷόν τ' ἦν περιτειχισθείσης τῆς πόλεως, προελθεῖν τινας εἰς τοσοῦτον ἀνάγκης, ὥστε τὰς ἀμάρας ἐρευνῶντας καὶ παλαιὸν ὄνθον βοῶν προσφέρεσθαι τὰ ἐκ τούτων σκύβαλα, καὶ τὸ μηδ' ὄψει φορητὸν πάλαι τότε γενέσθαι τροφήν. [572] ταῦτα Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἀκούοντες ἠλέησαν, οἱ στασιασταὶ δὲ καὶ βλέποντες οὐ μετενόουν, ἀλλ' ἠνείχοντο μέχρις αὐτῶν προελθεῖν: πεπήρωντο γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρεών, ὃ τῇ τε πόλει καὶ αὐτοῖς ἤδη παρῆν.

7. And, indeed, why do I relate these particular calamities? while Manneus, the son of Lazarus, came running to Titus at this very time, and told him that there had been carried out through that one gate, which was intrusted to his care, no fewer than a hundred and fifteen thousand eight hundred and eighty dead bodies, in the interval between the fourteenth day of the month Xanthicus, [Nisan,] when the Romans pitched their camp by the city, and the first day of the month Panemus [Tamuz]. This was itself a prodigious multitude; and though this man was not himself set as a governor at that gate, yet was he appointed to pay the public stipend for carrying these bodies out, and so was obliged of necessity to number them, while the rest were buried by their relations; though all their burial was but this, to bring them away, and cast them out of the city. After this man there ran away to Titus many of the eminent citizens, and told him the entire number of the poor that were dead, and that no fewer than six hundred thousand were thrown out at the gates, though still the number of the rest could not be discovered; and they told him further, that when they were no longer able to carry out the dead bodies of the poor, they laid their corpses on heaps in very

large houses, and shut them up therein; as also that a medimnus of wheat was sold for a talent; and that when, a while afterward, it was not possible to gather herbs, by reason the city was all walled about, some persons were driven to that terrible distress as to search the common sewers and old dunghills of cattle, and to eat the dung which they got there; and what they of old could not endure so much as to see they now used for food. When the Romans barely heard all this, they commiserated their case; while the seditious, who saw it also, did not repent, but suffered the same distress to come upon themselves; for they were blinded by that fate which was already coming upon the city, and upon themselves also.

Liber VI

BOOK VI.

Containing The Interval Of About One Month.

From The Great Extremity To Which The Jews Were Reduced To

The Taking Of Jerusalem By Titus.

I

CHAPTER 1.

That The Miseries Still Grew Worse; And How The Romans Made

An Assault Upon The Tower Of Antonia.

(1) [1] Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων πάθη προύκοπτεν καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον τῶν τε στασιαστῶν μᾶλλον παροξυνομένων ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ μετὰ τὸν δῆμον ἤδη κἀκείνους νεμομένου. [2] τό γε μὴν πλῆθος τῶν σεσωρευμένων ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν πτωμάτων ὄψει τε φρικῶδες ἦν καὶ λοιμώδη προσέβαλλεν ὀσμὴν πρός τε τὰς ἐκδρομὰς ἐμπόδιον τοῖς μαχομένοις: ὥσπερ γὰρ διὰ παρατάξεως φόνῳ μυρίῳ γεγυμνασμένης χωροῦντας ἔδει τὰ σώματα πατεῖν. [3] οἱ δ᾽ ἐπιβαίνοντες οὔτ᾽ ἔφριττον οὔτ᾽ ἠλέουν οὔτε κληδόνα κακὴν σφῶν αὐτῶν ὑπελάμβανον τὴν εἰς τοὺς κατοιχομένους ὕβριν, [4] πεφυρμένοι δ᾽ ὁμοφύλῳ φόνῳ τὰς δεξιὰς ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους πόλεμον ἐξέθεον, ὀνειδίζοντες, ἔμοιγε δοκεῖν, τὸ θεῖον εἰς βραδυτῆτα τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν κολάσεως: οὐ γὰρ ἐλπίδι νίκης ὁ πόλεμος, ἤδη δὲ ἀπογνώσει σωτηρίας ἐθρασύνετο. [5] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καίτοι πολλὰ περὶ τὴν τῆς ὕλης συγκομιδὴν ταλαιπωρούμενοι τὰ χώματα διήγειραν μιᾷ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέραις, κείραντες, ὡς προείρηται, τὴν περὶ τὸ ἄστυ χώραν ἐπ᾽ ἐνενήκοντα σταδίους ἐν κύκλῳ πᾶσαν. [6] ἦν δ᾽ ἐλεεινὴ καὶ τῆς γῆς ἡ θέα: τὰ γὰρ πάλαι δένδρεσι καὶ παραδείσοις κεκοσμημένα τότε πανταχόθεν ἠρήμωτο καὶ περικέκοπτο τὴν ὕλην, [7] οὐδείς τε τὴν πάλαι Ἰουδαίαν καὶ τὰ περικαλλῆ προάστεια τῆς πόλεως ἑωρακὼς ἀλλόφυλος, ἔπειτα τὴν τότε βλέπων ἐρημίαν οὐκ ὠλοφύρατο καὶ κατεστέναξεν τὴν μεταβολὴν παρ᾽ ὅσον γένοιτο: [8] πάντα γὰρ ἐλυμήνατο τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ κάλλους ὁ πόλεμος, καὶ οὐκ ἄν τις ἐξαπίνης ἐπιστὰς τῶν προεγνωκότων ἐγνώρισε τὸν τόπον, ἀλλὰ παρὼν ἐζήτει τὴν πόλιν.

1. Thus did the miseries of Jerusalem grow worse and worse every day, and the seditious were still more irritated by the calamities they were under, even while the famine preyed upon themselves, after it had preyed upon the people. And

indeed the multitude of carcasses that lay in heaps one upon another was a horrible sight, and produced a pestilential stench, which was a hinderance to those that would make sallies out of the city, and fight the enemy: but as those were to go in battle-array, who had been already used to ten thousand murders, and must tread upon those dead bodies as they marched along, so were not they terrified, nor did they pity men as they marched over them; nor did they deem this affront offered to the deceased to be any ill omen to themselves; but as they had their right hands already polluted with the murders of their own countrymen, and in that condition ran out to fight with foreigners, they seem to me to have cast a reproach upon God himself, as if he were too slow in punishing them; for the war was not now gone on with as if they had any hope of victory; for they gloried after a brutish manner in that despair of deliverance they were already in. And now the Romans, although they were greatly distressed in getting together their materials, raised their banks in one and twenty days, after they had cut down all the trees that were in the country that adjoined to the city, and that for ninety furlongs round about, as I have already related. And truly the very view itself of the country was a melancholy thing; for those places which were before adorned with trees and pleasant gardens were now become a desolate country every way, and its trees were all cut down: nor could any foreigner that had formerly seen Judea and the most beautiful suburbs of the city, and now saw it as a desert, but lament and mourn sadly at so great a change: for the war had laid all the signs of beauty quite waste: nor if any one that had known the place before, had come on a sudden to it now, would he have known it again; but though he were at the city itself, yet would he have inquired for it notwithstanding.

(2) [9] Ῥωμαίοις δὲ καὶ Ἰουδαίοις τὸ τέλος τῶν χωμάτων ἴσην ἐνεποίει δέους ἀρχήν: [10] οἱ μὲν γάρ, εἰ μὴ καὶ ταῦτα καύσειαν, ἁλώσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν προσεδόκων, Ῥωμαῖοι δ’ οὐκ [ἂν] ἔθ’ αἱρήσειν κἀκείνων διαφθαρέντων. [11] ὕλης τε γὰρ ἦν ἀπορία, καὶ τῶν μὲν πόνων ἤδη τὸ σῶμα, τῶν δὲ ἐπαλλήλων πταισμάτων αἱ ψυχαὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐλείποντο. [12] τάς γε μὴν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν συμφορὰς Ῥωμαίοις πλέον εἶναι συνέβαινε πρὸς ἀθυμίας ἢ τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ: παρὰ γὰρ τὰ τηλικαῦτα πάθη τοῖς μαχομένοις οὐδὲν ἐχρῶντο μαλακωτέροις, [13] ἀλλ’ ἐθραύοντο πάντοτε τὰς ἐλπίδας, τῶν μὲν χωμάτων ταῖς ἐπιβουλαῖς, τῶν δ’ ὀργάνων στερρότητι τοῦ τείχους, τῆς δὲ κατὰ χεῖρα μάχης ταῖς τῶν συμπλεκομένων τόλμαις πλεονεκτούμενοι, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, στάσεώς τε καὶ λιμοῦ καὶ πολέμου καὶ τοσούτων κακῶν εὑρίσκοντες ἐπάνω τὸ παράστημα τῆς ψυχῆς Ἰουδαίους ἔχοντας. [14] ὑπελάμβανόν τε τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀμάχους μὲν τὰς ὁρμάς, ἀνάλωτον δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς εὐθυμίαν εἶναι: τί γὰρ ἂν μὴ ὑποστῆναι δεξιᾷ

τύχῃ χρωμένους τοὺς ὑπὸ κακῶν πρὸς ἀλκὴν τρεπομένους; οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐρρωμενεστέρας διὰ ταῦτα τῶν χωμάτων ἐποιοῦντο τὰς φυλακάς.

2. And now the banks were finished, they afforded a foundation for fear both to the Romans and to the Jews; for the Jews expected that the city would be taken, unless they could burn those banks, as did the Romans expect that, if these were once burnt down, they should never be able to take it; for there was a mighty scarcity of materials, and the bodies of the soldiers began to fail with such hard labors, as did their souls faint with so many instances of ill success; nay, the very calamities themselves that were in the city proved a greater discouragement to the Romans than those within the city; for they found the fighting men of the Jews to be not at all mollified among such their sore afflictions, while they had themselves perpetually less and less hopes of success, and their banks were forced to yield to the stratagems of the enemy, their engines to the firmness of their wall, and their closest fights to the boldness of their attack; and, what was their greatest discouragement of all, they found the Jews' courageous souls to be superior to the multitude of the miseries they were under, by their sedition, their famine, and the war itself; insomuch that they were ready to imagine that the violence of their attacks was invincible, and that the alacrity they showed would not be discouraged by their calamities; for what would not those be able to bear if they should be fortunate, who turned their very misfortunes to the improvement of their valor! These considerations made the Romans to keep a stronger guard about their banks than they formerly had done.

(3) [15] Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην κατὰ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν ἅμα καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον, εἰ καταρριφθείη τὸ τεῖχος, ἠσφαλίζοντο καὶ πρὶν ἐπιστῆναι τοὺς κριοὺς ἐπέθεντο τοῖς ἔργοις. [16] οὐ μὴν ἐκράτησάν γε τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως, ἀλλὰ προελθόντες μετὰ λαμπάδων πρὶν ἐγγίσαι τοῖς χώμασι ψυχρότεροι τῆς ἐλπίδος ὑπέστρεψαν. [17] πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὐδ' ὁμονοεῖν ἡ σκέψις αὐτῶν ἐᾠκει κατὰ μέρος ἐκπηδώντων κἀκ διαλειμμάτων καὶ μεμελλημένως μετὰ δέους καθόλου τε εἰπεῖν οὐκ Ἰουδαικῶς: τὰ γὰρ ἴδια τοῦ ἔθνους ὑστέρητο ἅμα ἡ τόλμα καὶ ὁρμὴ καὶ δρόμος ὁμοῦ πάντων καὶ τὸ μηδὲ πταίοντας ἀναστρέφειν. [18] ἀτονώτεροι δ' ἑαυτῶν προελθόντες καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εὗρον ἐρρωμενέστερον τοῦ συνήθους παρατεταγμένους: [19] τοῖς μέν γε σώμασι καὶ ταῖς πανοπλίαις οὕτως ἐφράξαντο τὰ χώματα πάντοθεν ὡς τῷ πυρὶ μηδαμόθεν καταλιπεῖν παράδυσιν, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ἐτόνωσαν ἕκαστος μὴ μετακινηθῆναι τῆς τάξεως πρὸ θανάτου. [20] πρὸς γὰρ τῷ πάσας αὐτῶν ὑποκόπτεσθαι τὰς ἐλπίδας, εἰ κἀκεῖνα καταφλεγείη τὰ ἔργα, δεινὴ τοὺς στρατιώτας εἶχεν αἰδώς, εἰ πάντα κρατήσειαν πανουργία μὲν ἀρετῆς, ἀπόνοια δ' ὅπλων, πλῆθος δ' ἐμπειρίας, Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ Ῥωμαίων. [21] ἅμα δὲ τἀφετήρια συνήργει τῶν προπηδώντων ἐφικνούμενα, καὶ πεσών τις τῷ μεθ'

αὐτὸν ἐμπόδιον ἦν, ὅ τε κίνδυνος τοῦ πρόσω χωρεῖν ἐποίει μαλακωτέρους. [22] τῶν δ' ἐνδοτέρω βέλους ὑποδραμόντων οἱ μὲν πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν τὴν εὐταξίαν καὶ τὸ πύκνωμα τῶν πολεμίων καταπλαγέντες, οἱ δὲ νυττόμενοι τοῖς ξυστοῖς ἐπαλινδρόμουν: καὶ τέλος ἀλλήλους κακίζοντες εἰς δειλίαν ἀνεχώρουν ἄπρακτοι. νουμηνίᾳ Πανέμου μηνὸς ἡ ἐπιχείρησις ἦν. [23] ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων προσῆγον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς ἑλεπόλεις, βαλλόμενοι πέτραις τε ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντωνίας καὶ πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ καὶ παντὶ τῷ χορηγουμένῳ Ἰουδαίοις ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης βέλει: [24] καίπερ γὰρ πολὺ τῷ τείχει πεποιθότες καὶ τῶν ὀργάνων καταφρονοῦντες ὅμως ἐκώλυον τοὺς Ῥωμαίους προσάγειν. [25] οἱ δὲ τὴν σπουδὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοῦ μὴ πληγῆναι τὴν Ἀντωνίαν ὑπολαμβάνοντες γίνεσθαι δι' ἀσθένειαν τοῦ τείχους καὶ σαθροὺς ἐλπίσαντες εἶναι τοὺς θεμελίους ἀντεφιλονείκουν. [26] οὐ μὴν ὑπήκουε τὸ τυπτόμενον, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν συνεχῶς βαλλόμενοι καὶ πρὸς μηδένα τῶν καθύπερθεν κινδύνων ἐνδιδόντες ἐνεργοὺς παρεῖχον τὰς ἑλεπόλεις: [27] ὡς δ' ἦσαν ἐλάττους καὶ περιεθραύοντο ταῖς πέτραις, ἕτεροι τοὺς θυρεοὺς ὀροφώσαντες ὑπὲρ τῶν σωμάτων χερσὶ καὶ μοχλοῖς ὑπώρυττον τοὺς θεμελίους, καὶ τέσσαράς γε λίθους προσκαρτερήσαντες ἐξέσεισαν. [28] ἀνέπαυσε δὲ νὺξ ἑκατέρους, κἂν ταύτῃ τὸ τεῖχος ὑπὸ τῶν κριῶν σεσαλευμένον, καὶ καθ' ὃ τοῖς προτέροις ἐπιβουλεύων χώμασιν ὁ Ἰωάννης ὑπώρυξεν ἐνδούσης τῆς διώρυχος, ἐξαπίνης κατερείπεται.

3. But now John and his party took care for securing themselves afterward, even in case this wall should be thrown down, and fell to their work before the battering rams were brought against them. Yet did they not compass what they endeavored to do, but as they were gone out with their torches, they came back under great discouragement before they came near to the banks; and the reasons were these: that, in the first place, their conduct did not seem to be unanimous, but they went out in distinct parties, and at distinct intervals, and after a slow manner, and timorously, and, to say all in a word, without a Jewish courage; for they were now defective in what is peculiar to our nation, that is, in boldness, in violence of assault, and in running upon the enemy all together, and in persevering in what they go about, though they do not at first succeed in it; but they now went out in a more languid manner than usual, and at the same time found the Romans set in array, and more courageous than ordinary, and that they guarded their banks both with their bodies and their entire armor, and this to such a degree on all sides, that they left no room for the fire to get among them, and that every one of their souls was in such good courage, that they would sooner die than desert their ranks; for besides their notion that all their hopes were cut off, in case these their works were once burnt, the soldiers were greatly ashamed that subtlety should quite be too hard for courage, madness for armor,

multitude for skill, and Jews for Romans. The Romans had now also another advantage, in that their engines for sieges co-operated with them in throwing darts and stones as far as the Jews, when they were coming out of the city; whereby the man that fell became an impediment to him that was next to him, as did the danger of going farther make them less zealous in their attempts; and for those that had run under the darts, some of them were terrified by the good order and closeness of the enemies' ranks before they came to a close fight, and others were pricked with their spears, and turned back again; at length they reproached one another for their cowardice, and retired without doing any thing. This attack was made upon the first day of the month Panemus [Tamuz.] So when the Jews were retreated, the Romans brought their engines, although they had all the while stones thrown at them from the tower of Antonia, and were assaulted by fire and sword, and by all sorts of darts, which necessity afforded the Jews to make use of; for although these had great dependence on their own wall, and a contempt of the Roman engines, yet did they endeavor to hinder the Romans from bringing them. Now these Romans struggled hard, on the contrary, to bring them, as deeming that this zeal of the Jews was in order to avoid any impression to be made on the tower of Antonia, because its wall was but weak, and its foundations rotten. However, that tower did not yield to the blows given it from the engines; yet did the Romans bear the impressions made by the enemies' darts which were perpetually cast at them, and did not give way to any of those dangers that came upon them from above, and so they brought their engines to bear. But then, as they were beneath the other, and were sadly wounded by the stones thrown down upon them, some of them threw their shields over their bodies, and partly with their hands, and partly with their bodies, and partly with crows, they undermined its foundations, and with great pains they removed four of its stones. Then night came upon both sides, and put an end to this struggle for the present; however, that night the wall was so shaken by the battering rams in that place where John had used his stratagem before, and had undermined their banks, that the ground then gave way, and the wall fell down suddenly.

(4) [29] Τούτου συμβάντος παραδόξως ἑκατέροις διετέθη τὰ φρονήματα: [30] Ἰουδαίους μὲν γάρ, οὓς ἀθυμεῖν εἰκὸς ἦν, τῷ μὴ παρ' ἐλπίδα γενέσθαι τὸ πτῶμα καὶ προησφαλίσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸ θαρρεῖν ὡς μενούσης συνέβαινε τῆς Ἀντωνίας: [31] Ῥωμαίων δέ γε τὴν παρ' ἐλπίδα χαρὰν ἐπὶ τῷ καταρριφθέντι ταχέως ἔσβεσεν ὄψις ἑτέρου τείχους, ὅπερ ἔνδοθεν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἀντῳκοδομήκεσαν. [32] εὐμαρεστέρα γε μὴν τῆς πρότερον ἡ προσβολὴ κατεφαίνετο: τό τε γὰρ ἀναβῆναι διὰ τῶν καταρριφθέντων ῥᾷον ἐδόκει, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀσθενέστερόν τε πολλῷ τῆς

Ἀντωνίας καὶ ταχέως τῷ πρόσκαιρον εἶναι λύειν ὑπελάμβανον. οὐ μὴν ἐτόλμα τις ἀναβῆναι: προῦπτος γὰρ τοῖς ἀρξαμένοις ἦν ἀπώλεια.

4. When this accident had unexpectedly happened, the minds of both parties were variously affected; for though one would expect that the Jews would be discouraged, because this fall of their wall was unexpected by them, and they had made no provision in that case, yet did they pull up their courage, because the tower of Antonia itself was still standing; as was the unexpected joy of the Romans at this fall of the wall soon quenched by the sight they had of another wall, which John and his party had built within it. However, the attack of this second wall appeared to be easier than that of the former, because it seemed a thing of greater facility to get up to it through the parts of the former wall that were now thrown down. This new wall appeared also to be much weaker than the tower of Antonia, and accordingly the Romans imagined that it had been erected so much on the sudden, that they should soon overthrow it: yet did not any body venture now to go up to this wall; for that such as first ventured so to do must certainly be killed.

(5) [33] Νομίζων δὲ ὁ Τίτος ἐγείρεσθαι μάλιστα τὰς τῶν πολεμούντων προθυμίας ἐλπίδι καὶ λόγῳ, τάς τε προτροπὰς καὶ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις πολλάκις μὲν λήθην ἐνεργάζεσθαι τῶν κινδύνων, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ θανάτου καταφρόνησιν, συναγαγὼν ἐπὶ ταὐτὸ τοὺς ἀλκίμους ἐπειρᾶτο τῶν ἀνδρῶν, [34] "ὦ συστρατιῶται, λέγων, τὸ μὲν παρακελεύειν ἐπὶ τὰ μὴ φέροντα κίνδυνον αὐτόθεν τοῖς παρακελευομένοις ἀκλεές, ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ τῷ παρακελεύοντι φέρει κατάγνωσιν ἀνανδρίας. [35] δεῖ δέ, οἶμαι, προτροπῆς εἰς μόνα τὰ σφαλερὰ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὡς ἐκεῖνά γε καθ' αὑτοὺς πράττειν ἄξιον. [36] ὥστ' ἔγωγε τὸ μὲν ὑπάρχειν χαλεπὴν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἄνοδον αὐτὸς ὑμῖν προτίθημι: τὸ δ' ὅτι μάλιστα προσήκει μάχεσθαι τοῖς δυσκόλοις τοὺς ἀρετῆς ἐφιεμένους καὶ ὅτι καλὸν ἐν εὐκλείᾳ τελευτὴ καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἄκαρπον ἔσται τοῖς καταρξαμένοις τὸ γενναῖον, διέξειμι. [37] πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὑμῶν γενέσθω προτροπὴ τό τινας ἴσως ἀποτρέπον, ἡ Ἰουδαίων μακροθυμία καὶ τὸ καρτερικὸν ἐν οἷς κακοπαθοῦσιν: [38] αἰσχρὸν γὰρ Ῥωμαίους τε ὄντας καὶ στρατιώτας ἐμούς, καὶ διδακτὸν μὲν ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὸ πολεμεῖν, ἔθιμον δὲ ἐν πολέμῳ τὸ κρατεῖν ἔχοντας, ἡττᾶσθαι κατὰ χεῖρα Ἰουδαίων ἢ κατὰ ψυχήν, καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς νίκης καὶ συνεργουμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. [39] τὰ γὰρ ἡμέτερα πταίσματα τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἐστὶν ἀπονοίας, τὰ δ' ἐκείνων πάθη ταῖς τε ὑμετέραις ἀρεταῖς καὶ ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ συνεργίαις αὔξεται: [40] στάσις γὰρ καὶ λιμὸς καὶ πολιορκία καὶ δίχα μηχανημάτων πίπτοντα τείχη τί ἂν ἀλλ' ἢ θεοῦ μὲν εἴη μῆνις ἐκείνοις, βοήθεια δὲ ἡμετέρα; [41] τὸ τοίνυν μὴ μόνον ἐλαττοῦσθαι χειρόνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν θείαν συμμαχίαν προδιδόναι πρὸς ἡμῶν οὐκ ἂν εἴη. [42] πῶς δ' οὐκ αἰσχρὸν Ἰουδαίους μέν, οἷς οὐ πολλὴν αἰσχύνην φέρει τὸ λείπεσθαι μαθοῦσι

δουλεύειν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηκέτι τοῦτο πάσχειν θανάτου καταφρονεῖν καὶ πολλάκις εἰς μέσους ἡμᾶς ἐκτρέχειν, οὐκ ἐλπίδι τοῦ κρατήσειν ἀλλὰ διὰ ψιλὴν ἐπίδειξιν ἀνδρείας: [43] ὑμᾶς δὲ τοὺς γῆς ὀλίγου δεῖν ἁπάσης καὶ θαλάσσης κρατοῦντας, οἷς καὶ τὸ μὴ νικᾶν ὄνειδος, μηδ' ἅπαξ εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους παραβάλλεσθαι, [44] περιμένειν δὲ τὸν λιμὸν κατ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν τύχην ἀργοὺς καθεζομένους μετὰ τοιούτων ὅπλων, καὶ ταῦτα δι' ὀλίγου τοῦ παραβόλου τὸ πᾶν κατορθῶσαι δυναμένους; [45] ἀναβάντες γοῦν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν ἔχομεν τὴν πόλιν: καὶ γὰρ ἂν γίνηταί τις ἔτι πρὸς τοὺς ἔνδον, ὅπερ οὐκ οἶμαι, μάχη, τό γε κατὰ κορυφὴν εἶναι καὶ ταῖς ἀναπνοαῖς ἐπικαθῆσθαι τῶν πολεμίων ταχέως τὴν ὁλοσχερῆ νίκην ἐγγυᾶται. [46] καὶ ἔγωγε τὸ μὲν ὑμνεῖν ἄρτι τὴν ἐν πολέμῳ τελευτὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀρειμανίοις πεσοῦσιν ἀθανασίαν παραλιπὼν ἐπαρασαίμην ἂν τοῖς ἄλλως ἔχουσι τὸν κατ' εἰρήνην ἐκ νόσου θάνατον, οἷς μετὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ τάφῳ κατακρίνεται. [47] τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ὅτι τὰς μὲν ἐν παρατάξει ψυχὰς σιδήρῳ τῶν σαρκῶν ἀπολυθείσας τὸ καθαρώτατον στοιχεῖον αἰθὴρ ξενοδοχῶν ἄστροις ἐγκαθιδρύει, δαίμονες δ' ἀγαθοὶ καὶ ἥρωες εὐμενεῖς ἰδίοις ἐγγόνοις ἐμφανίζονται, τὰς δὲ ἐν νοσοῦσι τοῖς σώμασι συντακείσας, [48] κἂν τὰ μάλιστα κηλίδων ἢ μιασμάτων ὦσι καθαραί, νὺξ ὑπόγειος ἀφανίζει καὶ λήθη βαθεῖα δέχεται, λαμβανούσας ἅμα τοῦ τε βίου καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἔτι δὲ τῆς μνήμης περιγραφήν; [49] εἰ δὲ κέκλωσται μὲν ἀνθρώποις ἀναγκαία τελευτή, κουφότερον δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν νόσου πάσης σίδηρος ὑπηρέτης, πῶς οὐκ ἀγεννὲς μὴ διδόναι ταῖς χρείαις ὃ τῷ χρεὼν ἀποδώσομεν; [50] καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὡς οὐ δυναμένων σωθῆναι τῶν ἐπιχειρησόντων διεξῆλθον: ἔνεστι δὲ σώζεσθαι τοῖς ἀνδριζομένοις κἀκ τῶν σφαλερωτάτων. [51] πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὸ καταρριφθὲν εὐεπίβατον, ἔπειτα πᾶν τὸ οἰκοδομηθὲν εὐδιάλυτον, ὑμεῖς τε πλείους θαρσήσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀλλήλοις προτροπὴ καὶ βοήθεια γίνεσθε, καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ ὑμέτερον παράστημα ταχέως κλάσει τὰ φρονήματα. [52] καὶ τάχα ἂν ὑμῖν ἀναίμακτον τὸ κατόρθωμα γένοιτο μόνον καταρξαμένοις: ἀναβαίνοντας μὲν γὰρ κωλύειν πειράσονται κατὰ τὸ εἰκός, λαθόντας δὲ καὶ βιασαμένους ἅπαξ οὐκ ἂν ὑποσταῖεν ἔτι, κἂν ὀλίγοι φθάσητε. [53] τὸν δὲ καταρξάμενον αἰσχυνοίμην ἂν εἰ μὴ ποιήσαιμι ζηλωτὸν ἐν ταῖς ἐπικαρπίαις, καὶ ὁ μὲν ζῶν ἄρξει τῶν νῦν ὁμοίων, μακαριστὰ δ' ἀκολουθήσει καὶ τοῖς πεσοῦσι τὰ ἀριστεῖα."

5. And now Titus, upon consideration that the alacrity of soldiers in war is chiefly excited by hopes and by good words, and that exhortations and promises do frequently make men to forget the hazards they run, nay, sometimes to despise death itself, got together the most courageous part of his army, and tried what he could do with his men by these methods. "O fellow soldiers," said he, "to make an exhortation to men to do what hath no peril in it, is on that very account inglorious to such to whom that exhortation is made; and indeed so it is in him

that makes the exhortation, an argument of his own cowardice also. I therefore think that such exhortations ought then only to be made use of when affairs are in a dangerous condition, and yet are worthy of being attempted by every one themselves; accordingly, I am fully of the same opinion with you, that it is a difficult task to go up this wall; but that it is proper for those that desire reputation for their valor to struggle with difficulties in such cases as will then appear, when I have particularly shown that it is a brave thing to die with glory, and that the courage here necessary shall not go unrewarded in those that first begin the attempt. And let my first argument to move you to it be taken from what probably some would think reasonable to dissuade you, I mean the constancy and patience of these Jews, even under their ill successes; for it is unbecoming you, who are Romans and my soldiers, who have in peace been taught how to make wars, and who have also been used to conquer in those wars, to be inferior to Jews, either in action of the hand, or in courage of the soul, and this especially when you are at the conclusion of your victory, and are assisted by God himself; for as to our misfortunes, they have been owing to the madness of the Jews, while their sufferings have been owing to your valor, and to the assistance God hath afforded you; for as to the seditions they have been in, and the famine they are under, and the siege they now endure, and the fall of their walls without our engines, what can they all be but demonstrations of God's anger against them, and of his assistance afforded us? It will not therefore be proper for you, either to show yourselves inferior to those to whom you are really superior, or to betray that Divine assistance which is afforded you. And, indeed, how can it be esteemed otherwise than a base and unworthy thing, that while the Jews, who need not be much ashamed if they be deserted, because they have long learned to be slaves to others, do yet despise death, that they may be so no longer; and do make sallies into the very midst of us frequently, not in hopes of conquering us, but merely for a demonstration of their courage; we, who have gotten possession of almost all the world that belongs to either land or sea, to whom it will be a great shame if we do not conquer them, do not once undertake any attempt against our enemies wherein there is much danger, but sit still idle, with such brave arms as we have, and only wait till the famine and fortune do our business themselves, and this when we have it in our power, with some small hazard, to gain all that we desire! For if we go up to this tower of Antonia, we gain the city; for if there should be any more occasion for fighting against those within the city, which I do not suppose there will, since we shall then be upon the top of the hill and be upon our enemies before they can have taken breath, these advantages promise us no less than a certain and sudden victory. As for myself, I shall at present wave any commendation of those who

die in war, and omit to speak of the immortality of those men who are slain in the midst of their martial bravery; yet cannot I forbear to imprecate upon those who are of a contrary disposition, that they may die in time of peace, by some distemper or other, since their souls are condemned to the grave, together with their bodies. For what man of virtue is there who does not know, that those souls which are severed from their fleshly bodies in battles by the sword are received by the ether, that purest of elements, and joined to that company which are placed among the stars; that they become good demons, and propitious heroes, and show themselves as such to their posterity afterwards? while upon those souls that wear away in and with their distempered bodies comes a subterranean night to dissolve them to nothing, and a deep oblivion to take away all the remembrance of them, and this notwithstanding they be clean from all spots and defilements of this world; so that, in this ease, the soul at the same time comes to the utmost bounds of its life, and of its body, and of its memorial also. But since he hath determined that death is to come of necessity upon all men, a sword is a better instrument for that purpose than any disease whatsoever. Why is it not then a very mean thing for us not to yield up that to the public benefit which we must yield up to fate? And this discourse have I made, upon the supposition that those who at first attempt to go upon this wall must needs be killed in the attempt, though still men of true courage have a chance to escape even in the most hazardous undertakings. For, in the first place, that part of the former wall that is thrown down is easily to be ascended; and for the new-built wall, it is easily destroyed. Do you, therefore, many of you, pull up your courage, and set about this work, and do you mutually encourage and assist one another; and this your bravery will soon break the hearts of your enemies; and perhaps such a glorious undertaking as yours is may be accomplished without bloodshed. For although it be justly to be supposed that the Jews will try to hinder you at your first beginning to go up to them; yet when you have once concealed yourselves from them, and driven them away by force, they will not be able to sustain your efforts against them any longer, though but a few of you prevent them, and get over the wall. As for that person who first mounts the wall, I should blush for shame if I did not make him to be envied of others, by those rewards I would bestow upon him. If such a one escape with his life, he shall have the command of others that are now but his equals; although it be true also that the greatest rewards will accrue to such as die in the attempt."

(6) [54] Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Τίτου διεξιόντος τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πλῆθος ἔδεισε τοῦ κινδύνου τὸ μέγεθος, τῶν δ' ἐν ταῖς σπείραις στρατευομένων Σαβῖνος τοὔνομα, γένος ἀπὸ Συρίας, ἀνὴρ καὶ κατὰ χεῖρα καὶ κατὰ ψυχὴν ἄριστος ἐφάνη. [55] καίτοι προιδὼν

ἄν τις αὐτὸν ἀπό γε τῆς σωματικῆς ἕξεως οὐδ᾽ εἰκαῖον εἶναι στρατιώτην ἔδοξε: μέλας μὲν γὰρ ἦν τὴν χροίαν, ἰσχνός, τὴν σάρκα πεπιλημένος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐνῴκει τις ἡρωικὴ ψυχὴ λεπτῷ σώματι καὶ πολὺ τῆς ἰδίας ἀλκῆς στενοτέρῳ. [56] πρῶτος γοῦν ἀναστάς "ἐπιδίδωμί σοι, Καῖσαρ, ἔφη, προθύμως ἐμαυτόν. [57] πρῶτος ἀναβαίνω τὸ τεῖχος. καὶ εὔχομαι μέν μου τῇ τε ἰσχύι καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ τὴν σὴν ἀκολουθῆσαι τύχην, εἰ δὲ νεμεσηθείην τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, ἴσθι μή με πταίσαντα παρ᾽ ἐλπίδας, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ σοῦ [58] κρίσει τὸν θάνατον ᾑρημένον." ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ τῇ μὲν ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ τὸν θυρεὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀνατείνας, τῇ δεξιᾷ δὲ τὸ ξίφος σπασάμενος ἐχώρει πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος περὶ ὥραν μάλιστα τῆς ἡμέρας ἕκτην. [59] εἵποντο δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕνδεκα μόνοι ζηλωταὶ τῆς ἀνδρείας γενόμενοι: προῆγε δὲ πολὺ πάντων ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁρμῇ τινι δαιμονίῳ χρώμενος. [60] οἱ φρουροὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους κατηκόντιζόν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ βέλεσι πάντοθεν ἀπείροις ἔβαλλον καὶ πέτρας ἐξαισίους κατεκύλιον, [61] αἳ ἐκ τῶν μὲν ἕνδεκα παρέσυραν ἐνίους, ὁ δὲ Σαβῖνος ἁπάντων τοῖς ἀφιεμένοις καὶ καταχωννύμενος ὑπὸ τῶν βελῶν οὐ πρότερον ἐπέσχε τὴν ὁρμὴν ἢ γενέσθαι τε ἐπ᾽ ἄκρῳ καὶ τρέψασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους: [62] καταπλαγέντες γὰρ αὐτοῦ τήν τε δύναμιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ τὸ παράστημα τῆς ψυχῆς, ἅμα δὲ καὶ πλείους ἀναβεβηκέναι δόξαντες ἐτράπησαν. [63] ἔνθα δὴ καταμέμψαιτ᾽ ἄν τις ὡς φθονερὰν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς τὴν τύχην καὶ κωλύουσαν ἀεὶ τὰ παράδοξα τῶν κατορθωμάτων. [64] ὁ γοῦν ἀνὴρ οὗτος ὅτ᾽ ἐκράτησε τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, ἐσφάλη καὶ πταίσας πρός τινι πέτρᾳ πρηνὴς ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν μετὰ μεγίστου ψόφου κατέπεσεν: ἐπιστραφέντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ κατιδόντες μόνον τε αὐτὸν καὶ πεπτωκότα, πάντοθεν ἔβαλλον. [65] ὁ δ᾽ ἐς γόνυ διαναστὰς καὶ προκαλυψάμενος τὸν θυρεὸν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἠμύνετο καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πλησιασάντων ἔτρωσεν: [66] αὖθις δ᾽ ὑπὸ πλήθους τραυμάτων παρῆκε τὴν δεξιὰν καὶ τέλος πρὶν ἀποδοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν κατεχώσθη τοῖς βέλεσιν, ἀνὴρ ἄξιος μὲν ἀμείνονι χρῆσθαι δι᾽ ἀνδρείαν καὶ τύχῃ, πεσὼν δὲ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἀναλόγως. [67] τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τρεῖς μὲν τοὺς ἤδη πρὸς τοῖς ἄκροις ὄντας συντρίψαντες ἀπέκτειναν τοῖς λίθοις, οἱ δὲ ὀκτὼ τραυματίαι κατασυρέντες ἀνεκομίσθησαν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τρίτῃ μηνὸς Πανέμου ἐπράχθη.

6. Upon this speech of Titus, the rest of the multitude were afrighted at so great a danger. But there was one, whose name was Sabinus, a soldier that served among the cohorts, and a Syrian by birth, who appeared to be of very great fortitude, both in the actions he had done, and the courage of his soul he had shown; although any body would have thought, before he came to his work, that he was of such a weak constitution of body, that he was not fit to be a soldier; for his color was black, his flesh was lean and thin, and lay close together; but there was a certain heroic soul that dwelt in this small body, which body was indeed much too narrow for that peculiar courage which was in him.

Accordingly he was the first that rose up, when he thus spake: “I readily surrender up myself to thee, O Caesar; I first ascend the wall, and I heartily wish that my fortune may follow my courage and my resolution And if some ill fortune grudge me the success of my undertaking, take notice that my ill success will not be unexpected, but that I choose death voluntarily for thy sake.” When he had said this, and had spread out his shield over his head with his left hand, and had, with his right hand, drawn his sword, he marched up to the wall, just about the sixth hour of the day. There followed him eleven others, and no more, that resolved to imitate his bravery; but still this was the principal person of them all, and went first, as excited by a divine fury. Now those that guarded the wall shot at them from thence, and cast innumerable darts upon them from every side; they also rolled very large stones upon them, which overthrew some of those eleven that were with him. But as for Sabinus himself, he met the darts that were cast at him and though he was overwhelmed with them, yet did he not leave off the violence of his attack before he had gotten up on the top of the wall, and had put the enemy to flight. For as the Jews were astonished at his great strength, and the bravery of his soul, and as, withal, they imagined more of them had got upon the wall than really had, they were put to flight. And now one cannot but complain here of fortune, as still envious at virtue, and always hindering the performance of glorious achievements: this was the case of the man before us, when he had just obtained his purpose; for he then stumbled at a certain large stone, and fell down upon it headlong, with a very great noise. Upon which the Jews turned back, and when they saw him to be alone, and fallen down also, they threw darts at him from every side. However, he got upon his knee, and covered himself with his shield, and at the first defended himself against them, and wounded many of those that came near him; but he was soon forced to relax his right hand, by the multitude of the wounds that had been given him, till at length he was quite covered over with darts before he gave up the ghost. He was one who deserved a better fate, by reason of his bravery; but, as might be expected, he fell under so vast an attempt. As for the rest of his partners, the Jews dashed three of them to pieces with stones, and slew them as they were gotten up to the top of the wall; the other eight being wounded, were pulled down, and carried back to the camp. These things were done upon the third day of the month Panemus [Tamuz].

(7) [68] Μετὰ δ’ ἡμέρας δύο τῶν προκοιτούντων τινὲς ἐπὶ τοῖς χώμασι φυλάκων εἴκοσι συνελθόντες προσποιοῦνται μὲν τὸν τοῦ πέμπτου τάγματος σημαιαφόρον καὶ δύο τινὰς τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἴλαις ἱππέων καὶ σαλπικτὴν ἕνα, κατὰ δὲ ὥραν τῆς νυκτὸς ἐνάτην προσβαίνουσι μὲν ἡσυχῇ διὰ τῶν ἐρειπίων ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν,

ἀποσφάξαντες δὲ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν φρουρῶν κοιμωμένους κρατοῦσι τοῦ τείχους καὶ τῷ σαλπικτῇ σημαίνειν ἐκέλευσαν. [69] πρὸς ὃ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων φυλάκων ἐξανάστασις αἰφνίδιος ἦν καὶ φυγὴ πρίν τινα τὸ πλῆθος ἐπιδεῖν τῶν ἐπιβεβηκότων: ὅ τε γὰρ φόβος καὶ ἡ σάλπιγξ φαντασίαν αὐτοῖς τοῦ πλῆθος ἀναβεβηκέναι πολεμίων παρεῖχε. [70] Καῖσαρ δὲ τοῦ σημείου κατακούσας ἐξοπλίζει τήν τε δύναμιν διὰ τάχους καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων πρῶτος ἀναβαίνει τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους ἔχων. [71] καταπεφευγότων δὲ Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ τῆς διώρυγος εἰσέπιπτον, ἣν ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐπὶ τὰ χώματα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπώρυξε. [72] καὶ διαστάντες ἀπ᾽ ἀμφοτέρων οἱ στασιασταὶ τῶν ταγμάτων, τοῦ τε Ἰωάννου καὶ τοῦ Σίμωνος, εἶργον αὐτοὺς οὐδεμίαν οὔτε ἰσχύος οὔτε προθυμίας ἐλλείποντες ὑπερβολήν: [73] πέρας γὰρ ἁλώσεως ὑπελάμβανον τὸ Ῥωμαίους παρελθεῖν εἰς τὸ ἅγιον, ὃ δὴ κἀκεῖνοι τοῦ κρατεῖν ἀρχήν. [74] συρρήγνυται δὲ περὶ τὰς εἰσόδους μάχη καρτερά, τῶν μὲν καταλαβέσθαι καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν εἰσβιαζομένων, τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων ἐξωθούντων αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν. [75] καὶ τὰ βέλη μὲν ἦν ἀμφοτέροις ἄχρηστα καὶ τὰ δόρατα, σπασάμενοι δὲ τὰ ξίφη συνεπλέκοντο, καὶ περὶ τὴν συμβολὴν ἄκριτον ἦν ὁποτέρωθεν ἕκαστοι μάχοιντο, πεφυρμένων μὲν τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ περὶ τὴν στενοχωρίαν διηλλαγμένων, τῆς δὲ βοῆς ἀσημάντου προσπιπτούσης διὰ τὸ μέγεθος. [76] φόνος τε ἦν ἑκατέρωθεν πολύς, καὶ τῶν πεσόντων τά τε σώματα καὶ τὰς πανοπλίας πατοῦντες ἔθραυον οἱ μαχόμενοι. [77] ἀεὶ δ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ὁπότερον βρίσειεν ῥέων ὁ πόλεμος, παρακέλευσις μὲν ἦν τῶν πλεονεκτούντων, οἰμωγαὶ δὲ τῶν τρεπομένων. οὔτε δὲ αἱ φυγαὶ τόπον εἶχον οὔτε αἱ διώξεις, ἀλλ᾽ ἀγχώμαλοι ῥοπαὶ καὶ μετακλίσεις μεμιγμένης ἐγίνοντο τῆς παρατάξεως. [78] τοῖς δ᾽ ἔμπροσθεν γινομένοις ἢ τοῦ θνήσκειν ἢ τοῦ κτείνειν ἀνάγκη παρῆν οὐκ οὔσης ἀναφυγῆς: οἱ γὰρ κατὰ νώτου πρόσω βιαζόμενοι τοὺς σφετέρους παρ᾽ ἀμφοῖν οὐδὲ τῇ μάχῃ μεταίχμιον κατέλειπον. [79] πλεονεκτούντων δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοῖς θυμοῖς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐμπειρίαν καὶ κλινομένης καθάπαν ἤδη τῆς παρατάξεως, ἀπὸ γὰρ ἑνάτης ὥρας τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς ἑβδόμην τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπολέμουν, [80] οἱ μὲν ἀθρόοι καὶ τὸν τῆς ἁλώσεως κίνδυνον ἔχοντες ἀνδρείας ἐφόδιον Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ μέρει τῆς δυνάμεως, οὔπω γὰρ ἐπαναβεβήκει τὰ τάγματα, κἀκείνοις ἐπανεῖχον οἱ μαχόμενοι τότε, κρατεῖν τῆς Ἀντωνίας ἀποχρῆν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐδόκει.

7. Now two days afterward twelve of those men that were on the forefront, and kept watch upon the banks, got together, and called to them the standard-bearer of the fifth legion, and two others of a troop of horsemen, and one trumpeter; these went without noise, about the ninth hour of the night, through the ruins, to the tower of Antonia; and when they had cut the throats of the first guards of the place, as they were asleep, they got possession of the wall, and ordered the trumpeter to sound his trumpet. Upon which the rest of the guard got up on the

sudden, and ran away, before any body could see how many they were that were gotten up; for, partly from the fear they were in, and partly from the sound of the trumpet which they heard, they imagined a great number of the enemy were gotten up. But as soon as Caesar heard the signal, he ordered the army to put on their armor immediately, and came thither with his commanders, and first of all ascended, as did the chosen men that were with him. And as the Jews were flying away to the temple, they fell into that mine which John had dug under the Roman banks. Then did the seditious of both the bodies of the Jewish army, as well that belonging to John as that belonging to Simon, drive them away; and indeed were no way wanting as to the highest degree of force and alacrity; for they esteemed themselves entirely ruined if once the Romans got into the temple, as did the Romans look upon the same thing as the beginning of their entire conquest. So a terrible battle was fought at the entrance of the temple, while the Romans were forcing their way, in order to get possession of that temple, and the Jews were driving them back to the tower of Antonia; in which battle the darts were on both sides useless, as well as the spears, and both sides drew their swords, and fought it out hand to hand. Now during this struggle the positions of the men were undistinguished on both sides, and they fought at random, the men being intermixed one with another, and confounded, by reason of the narrowness of the place; while the noise that was made fell on the ear after an indistinct manner, because it was so very loud. Great slaughter was now made on both sides, and the combatants trod upon the bodies and the armor of those that were dead, and dashed them to pieces. Accordingly, to which side soever the battle inclined, those that had the advantage exhorted one another to go on, as did those that were beaten make great lamentation. But still there was no room for flight, nor for pursuit, but disorderly revolutions and retreats, while the armies were intermixed one with another; but those that were in the first ranks were under the necessity of killing or being killed, without any way for escaping; for those on both sides that came behind forced those before them to go on, without leaving any space between the armies. At length the Jews' violent zeal was too hard for the Romans' skill, and the battle already inclined entirely that way; for the fight had lasted from the ninth hour of the night till the seventh hour of the day, While the Jews came on in crowds, and had the danger the temple was in for their motive; the Romans having no more here than a part of their army; for those legions, on which the soldiers on that side depended, were not come up to them. So it was at present thought sufficient by the Romans to take possession of the tower of Antonia.

(8) [81] Ἰουλιανὸς δέ τις ἑκατοντάρχης τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Βιθυνίας, οὐκ ἄσημος ὢν ἀνήρ, ὧν ἐγὼ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἱστόρησα τὸν πόλεμον ὅπλων τε ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ ἀλκῇ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς παραστήματι πάντων ἄριστος, [82] ὁρῶν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐνδιδόντας ἤδη καὶ κακῶς ἀμυνομένους, παρειστήκει δὲ Τίτῳ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν, προπηδᾷ καὶ νικῶντας ἤδη τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τρέπεται μόνος μέχρι τῆς τοῦ ἐνδοτέρω ἱεροῦ γωνίας. ἔφευγε δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ἄθρουν, οὔτε τὴν ἰσχὺν οὔτε τὴν τόλμαν ἀνθρωπίνην ὑπολαμβάνοντες. [83] ὁ δὲ διὰ μέσων τῶν σκεδαννυμένων ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ διᾴττων ἐφόνευε τοὺς καταλαμβανομένους, καὶ τῆς ὄψεως ἐκείνης οὐδὲν οὔτε τῷ Καίσαρι θαυμασιώτερον οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις παρέστη φρικωδέστερον. [84] ἐδιώκετο δὲ ἄρα καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τῆς εἱμαρμένης, ἣν ἀμήχανον διαφυγεῖν θνητὸν ὄντα. [85] τὰ γὰρ ὑποδήματα πεπαρμένα πυκνοῖς καὶ ὀξέσιν ἥλοις ἔχων, ὥσπερ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστος, καὶ κατὰ λιθοστρώτου τρέχων ὑπολισθάνει, πεσὼν δὲ ὕπτιος μετὰ μεγίστου τῆς πανοπλίας ἤχου τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐπιστρέφει. [86] καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντωνίας Ῥωμαίων ἤρθη βοὴ περὶ τἀνδρὶ δεισάντων, οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι περιστάντες αὐτὸν ἀθρόοι τοῖς τε ξυστοῖς καὶ ταῖς ῥομφαίαις πάντοθεν ἔπαιον. [87] ὁ δὲ πολὺν μὲν τῷ θυρεῷ σίδηρον ἐξεδέχετο, πολλάκις δὲ ἀναστῆναι πειράσας ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν τυπτόντων ἀνετράπη, καὶ κείμενος δ᾽ ὅμως ἔνυττε τῷ ξίφει πολλούς: [88] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀνῃρέθη ταχέως τῷ τε κράνει καὶ τῷ θώρακι πεφραγμένος πάντα τὰ καίρια πρὸς σφαγὴν καὶ τὸν αὐχένα συνέλκων: μέχρι κοπτομένων αὐτῷ τῶν ἄλλων μελῶν καὶ μηδενὸς προσαμῦναι τολμῶντος ἐνέδωκε. [89] δεινὸν δὲ πάθος εἰσῄει Καίσαρα ἀνδρὸς οὕτως ἐναρέτου καὶ ἐν ὄψει τοσούτων φονευομένου: καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν ὁ τόπος διέκλειε βοηθεῖν θέλοντα, τοὺς δυναμένους δὲ κατάπληξις. [90] Ἰουλιανὸς μὲν οὖν πολλὰ δυσθανατήσας καὶ τῶν κτεινόντων ὀλίγους ἀπλῆγας καταλιπὼν μόλις ἀποσφάττεται, μέγιστον οὐ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καίσαρι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις κλέος καταλιπών: [91] Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἁρπασάμενοι πάλιν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τρέπονται καὶ κατακλείουσιν εἰς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν. [92] ἠγωνίσαντο δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπισήμως κατὰ ταύτην τὴν μάχην Ἀλεξᾶς μέν τις καὶ Γυφθέος τοῦ Ἰωάννου τάγματος, ἐκ δὲ τῶν περὶ Σίμωνα Μαλαχίας τε καὶ ὁ τοῦ Μέρτωνος Ἰούδας, καὶ Σωσᾶ υἱὸς Ἰάκωβος τῶν Ἰδουμαίων ἡγεμών, τῶν δὲ ζηλωτῶν ἀδελφοὶ δύο, παῖδες Ἀρί, Σίμων τε καὶ Ἰούδης.

8. But there was one Julian, a centurion, that came from Bithynia, a man he was of great reputation, whom I had formerly seen in that war, and one of the highest fame, both for his skill in war, his strength of body, and the courage of his soul. This man, seeing the Romans giving ground, and in a sad condition, [for he stood by Titus at the tower of Antonia,] leaped out, and of himself alone put the Jews to flight, when they were already conquerors, and made them retire as far as the corner of the inner court of the temple; from him the multitude fled away

in crowds, as supposing that neither his strength nor his violent attacks could be those of a mere man. Accordingly, he rushed through the midst of the Jews, as they were dispersed all abroad, and killed those that he caught. Nor, indeed, was there any sight that appeared more wonderful in the eyes of Caesar, or more terrible to others, than this. However, he was himself pursued by fate, which it was not possible that he, who was but a mortal man, should escape; for as he had shoes all full of thick and sharp nails as had every one of the other soldiers, so when he ran on the pavement of the temple, he slipped, and fell down upon his back with a very great noise, which was made by his armor. This made those that were running away to turn back; whereupon those Romans that were in the tower of Antonia set up a great shout, as they were in fear for the man. But the Jews got about him in crowds, and struck at him with their spears and with their swords on all sides. Now he received a great many of the strokes of these iron weapons upon his shield, and often attempted to get up again, but was thrown down by those that struck at him; yet did he, as he lay along, stab many of them with his sword. Nor was he soon killed, as being covered with his helmet and his breastplate in all those parts of his body where he might be mortally wounded; he also pulled his neck close to his body, till all his other limbs were shattered, and nobody durst come to defend him, and then he yielded to his fate. Now Caesar was deeply affected on account of this man of so great fortitude, and especially as he was killed in the sight of so many people; he was desirous himself to come to his assistance, but the place would not give him leave, while such as could have done it were too much terrified to attempt it. Thus when Julian had struggled with death a great while, and had let but few of those that had given him his mortal wound go off unhurt, he had at last his throat cut, though not without some difficulty, and left behind him a very great fame, not only among the Romans, and with Caesar himself, but among his enemies also; then did the Jews catch up his dead body, and put the Romans to flight again, and shut them up in the tower of Antonia. Now those that most signalized themselves, and fought most zealously in this battle of the Jewish side, were one Alexas and Gyphtheus, of John’s party, and of Simon’s party were Malachias, and Judas the son of Merto, and James the son of Sosas, the commander of the Idumeans; and of the zealots, two brethren, Simon and Judas, the sons of Jairus.

II

CHAPTER 2.

How Titus Gave Orders To Demolish The Tower Of Antonia And

Then Persuaded Josephus To Exhort The Jews Again [To A Surrender].

(1) [93] Τίτος δὲ τοῖς μὲν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιώταις κατασκάπτειν προσέταξε τοὺς θεμελίους τῆς Ἀντωνίας καὶ τῇ δυνάμει πάσῃ ῥᾳδίαν τὴν ἄνοδον εὐτρεπίζειν, [94] αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν Ἰώσηπον παραστησάμενος: ἐπέπυστο γὰρ ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας, Πανέμου δ᾽ ἦν ἑπτακαιδεκάτη, τὸν ἐνδελεχισμὸν καλούμενον ἀνδρῶν ἀπορίᾳ διαλελοιπέναι τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ τούτῳ δεινῶς ἀθυμεῖν: [95] λέγειν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ πάλιν ἐκέλευσεν ἃ καὶ πρότερον, ὡς εἰ καί τις αὐτὸν ἔρως κακὸς ἔχοι τοῦ μάχεσθαι, προελθόντι μεθ᾽ ὅσων βούλεται πολεμεῖν ἐξείη δίχα τοῦ συναπολέσθαι τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὸν ναὸν αὐτῷ, μηκέτι μέντοι μιαίνειν τὸ ἅγιον μηδὲ εἰς τὸν θεὸν πλημμελεῖν, παρεῖναι δ᾽ αὐτῷ τὰς ἐπιλελοιπυίας θυσίας ἐκτελεῖν δι᾽ ὧν ἂν ἐπιλέξηται Ἰουδαίων. [96] καὶ ὁ Ἰώσηπος, ὡς ἂν εἴη μὴ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐν ἐπηκόῳ, τά τε τοῦ Καίσαρος διήγγελλεν ἑβραίζων, [97] καὶ πολλὰ προσηντιβόλει φείσασθαι τῆς πατρίδος καὶ διασκεδάσαι τοῦ ναοῦ γευόμενον ἤδη τὸ πῦρ, τούς τ᾽ ἐναγισμοὺς ἀποδοῦναι τῷ θεῷ. [98] πρὸς ταῦτα τοῦ δήμου μὲν ἦν κατήφεια καὶ σιγή, πολλὰ δ᾽ ὁ τύραννος λοιδορηθείς τε τῷ Ἰωσήπῳ καὶ καταρασάμενος τὸ τελευταῖον προσέθηκεν, ὡς οὐκ ἄν ποτε δείσειεν ἅλωσιν: θεοῦ γὰρ ὑπάρχειν τὴν πόλιν. [99] καὶ ὁ Ἰώσηπος πρὸς ταῦτα ἀνέκραγεν “πάνυ γοῦν καθαρὰν τῷ θεῷ τετήρηκας αὐτήν, ἀμίαντον δὲ μένει τὸ ἅγιον, εἰς ὅν τ᾽ ἐλπίζεις σύμμαχον οὐδὲν ἠσέβησας, τὰς δ᾽ ἐθίμους θυσίας ἀπολαμβάνει. [100] κἂν μὲν σοῦ τις ἀφέλῃ τὴν καθ᾽ ἡμέραν τροφήν, ἀσεβέστατε, τοῦτον ἥγησαι πολέμιον, αὐτὸν δ᾽ ὃν τῆς αἰωνίου θρησκείας ἐστέρησας θεὸν ἐλπίζεις σύμμαχον ἔχειν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ; [101] καὶ Ῥωμαίοις τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἀνατίθης, οἳ μέχρι νῦν κήδονται τῶν ἡμετέρων νόμων καὶ τὰς ὑπὸ σοῦ διακοπείσας θυσίας ἀποδίδοσθαι τῷ θεῷ βιάζονται; [102] τίς οὐκ ἂν στενάξειε καὶ κατολοφύραιτο τῆς παραδόξου μεταβολῆς τὴν πόλιν, εἴ γε ἀλλόφυλοι μὲν καὶ πολέμιοι τὴν σὴν ἀσέβειαν ἐπανορθοῦνται, σὺ δ᾽ ὁ Ἰουδαῖος, ὁ τοῖς νόμοις ἐντραφείς, κἀκείνων πρὸς αὐτοὺς γίνῃ χαλεπώτερος; [103] ἀλλά τοι, Ἰωάννη, καὶ μετανοῆσαι μὲν ἐκ κακῶν οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ἐν ἐσχάτοις καὶ καλὸν ὑπόδειγμα βουλομένῳ σώζειν τὴν πατρίδα σοι πρόκειται βασιλεὺς Ἰουδαίων Ἰεχονίας, [104] ὅς ποτε στρατεύσαντι τῷ Βαβυλωνίῳ δι᾽ αὐτὸν ἑκὼν ἐξέστη πρὶν ἁλῶναι τῆς πόλεως καὶ μετὰ γενεᾶς αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑπέμεινεν ἐθελούσιον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παραδοῦναι ταῦτα πολεμίοις τὰ ἅγια καὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ περιιδεῖν φλεγόμενον. [105] διὰ τοῦτο λόγος τε αὐτὸν πρὸς ἁπάντων Ἰουδαίων ἱερὸς ὑμνεῖ καὶ μνήμη ῥέουσα δι᾽ αἰῶνος ἀεὶ νέα τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις παραδίδωσιν ἀθάνατον. [106] καλόν, ὦ Ἰωάννη, ὑπόδειγμα, κἂν προσῇ κίνδυνος: ἐγὼ δέ σοι καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων συγγνώμην ἐγγυῶμαι. [107] μέμνησο δ᾽ ὡς ὁμόφυλος ὢν παραινῶ καὶ Ἰουδαῖος ὢν ἐπαγγέλλομαι, καὶ χρὴ σκοπεῖν τίς ὁ συμβουλεύων καὶ πόθεν. μὴ

γὰρ ἔγωγέ ποτε γενοίμην ζῶν οὕτως αἰχμάλωτος, ἵνα παύσωμαι τοῦ γένους ἢ τῶν πατρίων ἐπιλάθωμαι. [108] πάλιν ἀγανακτεῖς καὶ κέκραγάς μοι λοιδορούμενος, ἀξίῳ γε καὶ χαλεπωτέρων, ὃς ἀντικρὺς εἱμαρμένης τι παραινῶ καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ βιάζομαι κατακρίτους σώζειν. [109] τίς οὐκ οἶδεν τὰς τῶν παλαιῶν προφητῶν ἀναγραφὰς καὶ τὸν ἐπιρρέποντα τῇ τλήμονι πόλει χρησμὸν ἤδη ἐνεστῶτα; τότε γὰρ ἅλωσιν αὐτῆς προεῖπον, ὅταν ὁμοφύλου τις ἄρξῃ φόνου. [110] τῶν ὑμετέρων δὲ πτωμάτων οὐχ ἡ πόλις καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν δὲ πᾶν πεπλήρωται; θεὸς ἄρα, θεὸς αὐτὸς ἐπάγει μετὰ Ῥωμαίων κάθαρσιν αὐτῷ πῦρ καὶ τὴν τοσούτων μιασμάτων γέμουσαν πόλιν ἀναρπάζει."

1. And now Titus gave orders to his soldiers that were with him to dig up the foundations of the tower of Antonia, and make him a ready passage for his army to come up; while he himself had Josephus brought to him, [for he had been informed that on that very day, which was the seventeenth day of Panemus, [Tamuz,] the sacrifice called "the Daily Sacrifice" had failed, and had not been offered to God, for want of men to offer it, and that the people were grievously troubled at it,] and commanded him to say the same things to John that he had said before, that if he had any malicious inclination for fighting, he might come out with as many of his men as he pleased, in order to fight, without the danger of destroying either his city or temple; but that he desired he would not defile the temple, nor thereby offend against God. That he might, if he pleased, offer the sacrifices which were now discontinued by any of the Jews whom he should pitch upon. Upon this Josephus stood in such a place where he might be heard, not by John only, but by many more, and then declared to them what Caesar had given him in charge, and this in the Hebrew language. So he earnestly prayed them to spare their own city, and to prevent that fire which was just ready to seize upon the temple, and to offer their usual sacrifices to God therein. At these words of his a great sadness and silence were observed among the people. But the tyrant himself cast many reproaches upon Josephus, with imprecations besides; and at last added this withal, that he did never fear the taking of the city, because it was God's own city. In answer to which Josephus said thus with a loud voice: "To be sure thou hast kept this city wonderfully pure for God's sake; the temple also continues entirely unpolluted! Nor hast thou been guilty of any impiety against him for whose assistance thou hopest! He still receives his accustomed sacrifices! Vile wretch that thou art! if any one should deprive thee of thy daily food, thou wouldst esteem him to be an enemy to thee; but thou hopest to have that God for thy supporter in this war whom thou hast deprived of his everlasting worship; and thou imputest those sins to the Romans, who to this very time take care to have our laws observed, and almost compel these

sacrifices to be still offered to God, which have by thy means been intermitted! Who is there that can avoid groans and lamentations at the amazing change that is made in this city? since very foreigners and enemies do now correct that impiety which thou hast occasioned; while thou, who art a Jew, and wast educated in our laws, art become a greater enemy to them than the others. But still, John, it is never dishonorable to repent, and amend what hath been done amiss, even at the last extremity. Thou hast an instance before thee in Jechoniah, the king of the Jews, if thou hast a mind to save the city, who, when the king of Babylon made war against him, did of his own accord go out of this city before it was taken, and did undergo a voluntary captivity with his family, that the sanctuary might not be delivered up to the enemy, and that he might not see the house of God set on fire; on which account he is celebrated among all the Jews, in their sacred memorials, and his memory is become immortal, and will be conveyed fresh down to our posterity through all ages. This, John, is an excellent example in such a time of danger, and I dare venture to promise that the Romans shall still forgive thee. And take notice that I, who make this exhortation to thee, am one of thine own nation; I, who am a Jew, do make this promise to thee. And it will become thee to consider who I am that give thee this counsel, and whence I am derived; for while I am alive I shall never be in such slavery, as to forego my own kindred, or forget the laws of our forefathers. Thou hast indignation at me again, and makest a clamor at me, and reproachest me; indeed I cannot deny but I am worthy of worse treatment than all this amounts to, because, in opposition to fate, I make this kind invitation to thee, and endeavor to force deliverance upon those whom God hath condemned. And who is there that does not know what the writings of the ancient prophets contain in them, — and particularly that oracle which is just now going to be fulfilled upon this miserable city? For they foretold that this city should be then taken when somebody shall begin the slaughter of his own countrymen. And are not both the city and the entire temple now full of the dead bodies of your countrymen? It is God, therefore, it is God himself who is bringing on this fire, to purge that city and temple by means of the Romans, and is going to pluck up this city, which is full of your pollutions."

(2) [111] Ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Ἰώσηπος μετ᾽ ὀδυρμοῦ καὶ δακρύων λυγμῷ τὴν φωνὴν ἐνεκόπη. [112] καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ᾤκτειράν τε τοῦ πάθους καὶ τῆς προαιρέσεως αὐτὸν ἐθαύμασαν, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην παρωξύνοντο μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἐγκρατεῖς γενέσθαι κἀκείνου. [113] τῶν γε μὴν εὐγενῶν πολλοὺς ἐκίνησεν ὁ λόγος, καὶ τινὲς μὲν ὀρρωδοῦντες τὰς φυλακὰς τῶν στασιαστῶν κατὰ χώραν ἔμενον, ἀπώλειαν μέντοι σφῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς

πόλεως κατεγνώκεσαν, εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ καιροφυλακήσαντες ἄδειαν ἀναχωρήσεως πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους κατέφυγον. [114] ὧν ἦσαν ἀρχιερεῖς μὲν Ἰώσηπός τε καὶ Ἰησοῦς, υἱοὶ δὲ ἀρχιερέων τρεῖς μὲν Ἰσμαήλου τοῦ καρατομηθέντος ἐν Κυρήνῃ, καὶ τέσσαρες Ματθίου καὶ εἷς ἑτέρου Ματθίου, διαδρὰς μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπώλειαν, ὃν ὁ τοῦ Γιώρα Σίμων ἀπέκτεινεν σὺν τρισὶν υἱοῖς, ὡς προείρηται. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εὐγενῶν τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι συμμετεβάλοντο. [115] Καῖσαρ δὲ αὐτοὺς τά τε ἄλλα φιλοφρόνως ἐδέξατο καὶ γινώσκων ἀλλοφύλοις ἤθεσιν ἀηδῆ τὴν διατριβὴν ἔξειν ἀπέπεμψεν αὐτοὺς εἰς Γόφναν, τέως ἐκεῖ παραινῶν μένειν: ἀποδώσειν γὰρ ἑκάστῳ τὰς κτήσεις κατὰ σχολὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου γενόμενος. [116] οἱ μὲν οὖν εἰς τὸ δοθὲν πολίχνιον μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας ἀνεχώρουν ἄσμενοι: μὴ φαινομένων δὲ αὐτῶν διεφήμισαν οἱ στασιασταὶ πάλιν ὡς ἀποσφαγεῖεν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων οἱ αὐτόμολοι, δηλονότι τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀποτρέποντες τῷ φόβῳ διαδιδράσκειν. [117] ἤνυστο δ᾽ ὡς καὶ πρότερον αὐτοῖς τὸ πανοῦργον πρὸς καιρόν: ἐπεσχέθησαν γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους αὐτομολεῖν.

2. As Josephus spoke these words, with groans and tears in his eyes, his voice was intercepted by sobs. However, the Romans could not but pity the affliction he was under, and wonder at his conduct. But for John, and those that were with him, they were but the more exasperated against the Romans on this account, and were desirous to get Josephus also into their power: yet did that discourse influence a great many of the better sort; and truly some of them were so afraid of the guards set by the seditious, that they tarried where they were, but still were satisfied that both they and the city were doomed to destruction. Some also there were who, watching a proper opportunity when they might quietly get away, fled to the Romans, of whom were the high priests Joseph and Jesus, and of the sons of high priests three, whose father was Ishmael, who was beheaded in Cyrene, and four sons of Matthias, as also one son of the other Matthias, who ran away after his father’s death, and whose father was slain by Simon the son of Gioras, with three of his sons, as I have already related; many also of the other nobility went over to the Romans, together with the high priests. Now Caesar not only received these men very kindly in other respects, but, knowing they would not willingly live after the customs of other nations, he sent them to Gophna, and desired them to remain there for the present, and told them, that when he was gotten clear of this war, he would restore each of them to their possessions again; so they cheerfully retired to that small city which was allotted them, without fear of any danger. But as they did not appear, the seditious gave out again that these deserters were slain by the Romans, which was done in order to deter the rest from running away, by fear of the like treatment. This trick of

theirs succeeded now for a while, as did the like trick before; for the rest were hereby deterred from deserting, by fear of the like treatment.

(3) [118] Αὖθις δέ, ὡς ἀνακαλέσας τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπὸ τῆς Γοφνὰ Τίτος ἐκέλευσε μετὰ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου περιελθόντας τὸ τεῖχος ὀφθῆναι τῷ δήμῳ, πλεῖστοι πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἔφευγον. [119] γενόμενοι δὲ ἀθρόοι καὶ πρὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱστάμενοι μετ᾽ οἰμωγῆς καὶ δακρύων ἱκέτευον τοὺς στασιαστὰς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὅλῃ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους δέξασθαι τῇ πόλει καὶ τὴν πατρίδα σῶσαι πάλιν, [120] εἰ δὲ μή, τοῦ γε ἱεροῦ πάντως ὑπεξελθεῖν καὶ ῥύσασθαι τὸν ναὸν αὐτοῖς: οὐ γὰρ ἂν τολμῆσαι Ῥωμαίους μὴ μετὰ μεγίστης ἀνάγκης καταφλέξαι τὰ ἅγια. [121] τούτοις μᾶλλον ἀντεφιλονείκουν, καὶ πολλὰ βλάσφημα τοῖς αὐτομόλοις ἀντικεκραγότες ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν πυλῶν τούς τε ὀξυβελεῖς καὶ καταπέλτας καὶ λιθοβόλους μηχανὰς διέστησαν, ὡς τὸ κύκλῳ μὲν ἱερὸν ὑπὸ πλήθους νεκρῶν προσεοικέναι πολυανδρίῳ, τὸν δὲ ναὸν αὐτὸν φρουρίῳ. [122] τοῖς δὲ ἁγίοις καὶ ἀβάτοις μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων εἰσεπήδων θερμὰς ἔτι τὰς χεῖρας ἐξ ὁμοφύλων ἔχοντες φόνων, καὶ προύκοψαν εἰς τοσοῦτον παρανομίας, ὥσθ᾽ ἣν ἂν εἰκὸς ἀγανάκτησιν γενέσθαι Ἰουδαίων, εἰ Ῥωμαῖοι ταῦτ᾽ ἐξύβριζον εἰς αὐτούς, ταύτην εἶναι παρὰ Ῥωμαίων τότε πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ἀσεβοῦντας εἰς τὰ ἴδια. [123] τῶν μέν γε στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις οὐ μετὰ φρίκης εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀφεώρα καὶ προσεκύνει τούς τε λῃστὰς ηὔχετο πρὶν ἀνηκέστου πάθους μετανοῆσαι.

3. However, when Titus had recalled those men from Gophna, he gave orders that they should go round the wall, together with Josephus, and show themselves to the people; upon which a great many fled to the Romans. These men also got in a great number together, and stood before the Romans, and besought the seditious, with groans and tears in their eyes, in the first place to receive the Romans entirely into the city, and save that their own place of residence again; but that, if they would not agree to such a proposal, they would at least depart out of the temple, and save the holy house for their own use; for that the Romans would not venture to set the sanctuary on fire but under the most pressing necessity. Yet did the seditious still more and more contradict them; and while they cast loud and bitter reproaches upon these deserters, they also set their engines for throwing of darts, and javelins, and stones upon the sacred gates of the temple, at due distances from one another, insomuch that all the space round about within the temple might be compared to a burying-ground, so great was the number of the dead bodies therein; as might the holy house itself be compared to a citadel. Accordingly, these men rushed upon these holy places in their armor, that were otherwise unapproachable, and that while their hands were yet warm with the blood of their own people which they had shed; nay, they proceeded to such great transgressions, that the very same indignation which

Jews would naturally have against Romans, had they been guilty of such abuses against them, the Romans now had against Jews, for their impiety in regard to their own religious customs. Nay, indeed, there were none of the Roman soldiers who did not look with a sacred horror upon the holy house, and adored it, and wished that the robbers would repent before their miseries became incurable.

(4) [124] Τίτος δὲ ὑπερπαθήσας πάλιν ἐξωνείδιζε τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην, λέγων "ἆρ' οὐχ ὑμεῖς, ὦ μιαρώτατοι, τὸν δρύφακτον τοῦτον προεβάλεσθε τῶν ἁγίων; [125] οὐχ ὑμεῖς δὲ τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ στήλας διεστήσατε, γράμμασιν Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ ἡμετέροις κεχαραγμένας, μηδένα τὸ γείσιον ὑπερβαίνειν παραγγέλλειν; [126] οὐχ ἡμεῖς δὲ τοὺς ὑπερβάντας ὑμῖν ἀναιρεῖν ἐπετρέψαμεν, κἂν Ῥωμαῖός τις ᾖ; τί οὖν νῦν, ἀλιτήριοι, καὶ νεκροὺς ἐν αὐτῷ καταπατεῖτε; τί δὲ τὸν ναὸν αἵματι ξένῳ καὶ ἐγχωρίῳ φύρετε; [127] μαρτύρομαι θεοὺς ἐγὼ πατρίους καὶ εἴ τις ἐφεώρα ποτὲ τόνδε τὸν χῶρον, νῦν μὲν γὰρ οὐκ οἴομαι, μαρτύρομαι δὲ καὶ στρατιὰν τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τοὺς παρ' ἐμοὶ Ἰουδαίους καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτούς, ὡς οὐκ ἐγὼ ταῦθ' ὑμᾶς ἀναγκάζω μιαίνειν. [128] κἂν ἀλλάξητε τῆς παρατάξεως τὸν τόπον, οὔτε προσελεύσεταί τις Ῥωμαίων τοῖς ἁγίοις οὔτε ἐνυβρίσει, τηρήσω δὲ τὸν ναὸν ὑμῖν καὶ μὴ θέλουσι."

4. Now Titus was deeply affected with this state of things, and reproached John and his party, and said to them, "Have not you, vile wretches that you are, by our permission, put up this partition-wall before your sanctuary? Have not you been allowed to put up the pillars thereto belonging, at due distances, and on it to engrave in Greek, and in your own letters, this prohibition, that no foreigner should go beyond that wall. Have not we given you leave to kill such as go beyond it, though he were a Roman? And what do you do now, you pernicious villains? Why do you trample upon dead bodies in this temple? and why do you pollute this holy house with the blood of both foreigners and Jews themselves? I appeal to the gods of my own country, and to every god that ever had any regard to this place; [for I do not suppose it to be now regarded by any of them;] I also appeal to my own army, and to those Jews that are now with me, and even to yourselves, that I do not force you to defile this your sanctuary; and if you will but change the place whereon you will fight, no Roman shall either come near your sanctuary, or offer any affront to it; nay, I will endeavor to preserve you your holy house, whether you will or not."

(5) [129] Ταῦτα τοῦ Ἰωσήπου διαγγέλλοντος ἐκ τοῦ Καίσαρος, οἱ λῃσταὶ καὶ ὁ τύραννος οὐκ ἀπ' εὐνοίας ἀλλὰ κατὰ δειλίαν γίνεσθαι τὰς παρακλήσεις δοκοῦντες ὑπερηφάνουν. [130] Τίτος δὲ ὡς οὔτε οἶκτον ἑαυτῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας οὔτε φειδὼ τοῦ ναοῦ ποιουμένους ἑώρα, πάλιν πρὸς πόλεμον ἄκων ἐχώρει. [131] πᾶσαν

μὲν οὖν τὴν δύναμιν ἐπάγειν αὐτοῖς οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν μὴ χωρουμένην τῷ τόπῳ, τριάκοντα δ᾽ ἐπιλέξας ἀφ᾽ ἑκάστης ἑκατονταρχίας τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ τοῖς χιλιάρχοις ἀνὰ χιλίους παραδούς, τούτων δ᾽ ἐπιτάξας ἡγεμόνα Κερεάλιον, ἐπιθέσθαι προσέταξε ταῖς φυλακαῖς περὶ ὥραν τῆς νυκτὸς ἐνάτην. [132] ὄντα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ συγκαταβαίνειν παρεσκευασμένον οἵ τε φίλοι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ κινδύνου κατέσχον καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων λεγόμενα: [133] πλεῖον γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀνύσειν ἔφασαν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντωνίας καθεζόμενον καὶ τὴν μάχην ἀγωνοθετοῦντα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἢ εἰ καταβὰς προκινδυνεύοι: πάντας γὰρ ὁρῶντος Καίσαρος ἀγαθοὺς πολεμιστὰς ἔσεσθαι. [134] τούτοις πεισθεὶς Καῖσαρ καὶ δι᾽ ἓν τοῦτο τοῖς στρατιώταις ὑπομένειν εἰπών, ἵνα κρίνῃ τὰς ἀρετὰς αὐτῶν καὶ μήτε τῶν ἀγαθῶν τις ἀγέραστος μήτε τῶν ἐναντίων ἀτιμώρητος διαλάθῃ, γένηται δὲ αὐτόπτης καὶ μάρτυς ἁπάντων ὁ καὶ τοῦ κολάζειν καὶ τοῦ τιμᾶν κύριος, [135] τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἔπεμπε καθ᾽ ἣν ὥραν προείρηται, προελθὼν δὲ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸ εὐκάτοπτον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντωνίας ἐκαραδόκει τὸ μέλλον.

5. As Josephus explained these things from the mouth of Caesar, both the robbers and the tyrant thought that these exhortations proceeded from Titus's fear, and not from his good-will to them, and grew insolent upon it. But when Titus saw that these men were neither to be moved by commiseration towards themselves, nor had any concern upon them to have the holy house spared, he proceeded unwillingly to go on again with the war against them. He could not indeed bring all his army against them, the place was so narrow; but choosing thirty soldiers of the most valiant out of every hundred, and committing a thousand to each tribune, and making Cerealis their commander-in-chief, he gave orders that they should attack the guards of the temple about the ninth hour of that night. But as he was now in his armor, and preparing to go down with them, his friends would not let him go, by reason of the greatness of the danger, and what the commanders suggested to them; for they said that he would do more by sitting above in the tower of Antonia, as a dispenser of rewards to those soldiers that signalized themselves in the fight, than by coming down and hazarding his own person in the forefront of them; for that they would all fight stoutly while Caesar looked upon them. With this advice Caesar complied, and said that the only reason he had for such compliance with the soldiers was this, that he might be able to judge of their courageous actions, and that no valiant soldier might lie concealed, and miss of his reward, and no cowardly soldier might go unpunished; but that he might himself be an eye-witness, and able to give evidence of all that was done, who was to be the disposer of punishments and rewards to them. So he sent the soldiers about their work at the hour forementioned, while he went out himself to a higher place in the tower of

Antonia, whence he might see what was done, and there waited with impatience to see the event.

(6) [136] Οὐ μὴν οἵ γε πεμφθέντες τοὺς φύλακας εὗρον κοιμωμένους, ὡς ἤλπισαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀναπηδήσασι μετὰ κραυγῆς εὐθέως συνεπλέκοντο: πρὸς δὲ τὴν βοὴν τῶν ἐκκοιτούντων ἔνδοθεν οἱ λοιποὶ κατὰ στῖφος ἐξέθεον. [137] τῶν μὲν δὴ πρώτων τὰς ὁρμὰς ἐξεδέχοντο Ῥωμαῖοι: περιέπιπτον δ᾽ οἱ μετ᾽ ἐκείνους τῷ σφετέρῳ τάγματι, καὶ πολλοὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις ὡς πολεμίοις ἐχρῶντο. [138] τὴν μὲν γὰρ διὰ βοῆς ἐπίγνωσιν ἡ κραυγὴ συγχυθεῖσα παρ᾽ ἀμφοῖν, τὴν δὲ δι᾽ ὀμμάτων ἡ νὺξ ἕκαστον ἀφείλετο, καὶ τυφλώττειν ἄλλως οὓς μὲν οἱ θυμοὶ παρεσκεύαζον οὓς δ᾽ οἱ φόβοι: διὰ τοῦτο τὸν προστυχόντα πλήττειν ἦν ἄκριτον. [139] Ῥωμαίους μὲν οὖν συνησπικότας καὶ κατὰ συντάξεις προπηδῶντας ἧττον ἔβλαπτεν ἡ ἄγνοια: καὶ γὰρ ἦν παρ᾽ ἑκάστῳ μνήμη τοῦ συνθήματος: [140] Ἰουδαῖοι δ᾽ ἀεὶ σκεδαννύμενοι καὶ τάς τε προσβολὰς καὶ τὰς ὑποχωρήσεις ἀνέδην ποιούμενοι πολλάκις φαντασίαν παρεῖχον ἀλλήλοις πολεμίων: τὸν ὑποστρέφοντα γὰρ ἕκαστος οἰκεῖον διὰ σκότους ὡς ἐπιόντα Ῥωμαῖον ἐξεδέχετο. [141] πλείους γοῦν ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἢ τῶν πολεμίων ἐτρώθησαν, ἕως ἡμέρας γενομένης ὄψει τὸ λοιπὸν ἡ μάχη διεκρίνετο, καὶ κατὰ φάλαγγα διαστάντες τοῖς τε βέλεσιν εὐτάκτοις ἐχρῶντο καὶ ταῖς ἀμύναις. [142] οὐδέτεροι δὲ οὔτ᾽ εἶκον οὔτ᾽ ἐκοπίων, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν ὡς ἐφορῶντος Καίσαρος κατ᾽ ἄνδρα καὶ κατὰ συντάξεις ἤριζον ἀλλήλοις, καὶ προκοπῆς ἕκαστος ἐκείνην αὐτῷ τὴν ἡμέραν ἄρξειν ὑπελάμβανεν, εἰ γενναίως ἀγωνίσαιτο: [143] Ἰουδαίοις δ᾽ ἐβράβευε τὰς τόλμας ὅ τε περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ φόβος καὶ ὁ τύραννος ἐφεστὼς καὶ τοὺς μὲν παρακαλῶν, τοὺς δὲ μαστιγῶν καὶ διεγείρων ἀπειλαῖς. [144] συνέβαινε δὲ τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον σταδιαίαν εἶναι τὴν μάχην, ἐν ὀλίγῳ δὲ καὶ ταχέως ἀντιστρέφεσθαι τὰς ῥοπάς: οὐδέτεροι γὰρ οὔτε φυγῆς οὔτε διώξεως μῆκος εἶχον. [145] ἀεὶ δὲ πρὸς τὸ συμβαῖνον οἰκεῖος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντωνίας ὁ θόρυβος ἦν, θαρρεῖν δὲ καὶ κρατοῦσι τοῖς σφετέροις ἐπεβόων καὶ μένειν τρεπομένοις. [146] ἦν δὲ ὥσπερ τι πολέμου θέατρον: οὐδὲν γὰρ οὔτε Τίτον οὔτε τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐλάνθανε τῶν κατὰ τὴν μάχην. [147] τὸ δὲ πέρας ἀρξάμενοι τῆς νυκτὸς ἑνάτης ὥρας ὑπὲρ πέμπτην τῆς ἡμέρας διελύθησαν ἀφ᾽ οὗπερ ἤρξαντο τόπου τῆς συμβολῆς, μηδέτεροι βεβαίως κλίναντες τοὺς ἑτέρους, ἀλλὰ τὴν νίκην μέσην ἐν ἀγχωμάλῳ καταλιπόντες. [148] καὶ Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἐπισήμως ἠγωνίσαντο πολλοί, Ἰουδαίων δ᾽ ἐκ μὲν τῶν περὶ Σίμωνα Ἰούδης ὁ τοῦ Μαρεώτου καὶ Σίμων ὁ τοῦ Ὀσαία, τῶν δὲ Ἰδουμαίων Ἰάκωβος καὶ Σίμων, Ἀκατελᾶ μὲν οὗτος παῖς, Σωσᾶ δὲ ὁ Ἰάκωβος, τῶν δὲ μετὰ Ἰωάννου Γεφθέος καὶ Ἀλεξᾶς, τῶν δὲ ζηλωτῶν Σίμων υἱὸς Ἀρί.

6. However, the soldiers that were sent did not find the guards of the temple asleep, as they hoped to have done; but were obliged to fight with them immediately hand to hand, as they rushed with violence upon them with a great

shout. Now as soon as the rest within the temple heard that shout of those that were upon the watch, they ran out in troops upon them. Then did the Romans receive the onset of those that came first upon them; but those that followed them fell upon their own troops, and many of them treated their own soldiers as if they had been enemies; for the great confused noise that was made on both sides hindered them from distinguishing one another's voices, as did the darkness of the night hinder them from the like distinction by the sight, besides that blindness which arose otherwise also from the passion and the fear they were in at the same time; for which reason it was all one to the soldiers who it was they struck at. However, this ignorance did less harm to the Romans than to the Jews, because they were joined together under their shields, and made their sallies more regularly than the others did, and each of them remembered their watch-word; while the Jews were perpetually dispersed abroad, and made their attacks and retreats at random, and so did frequently seem to one another to be enemies; for every one of them received those of their own men that came back in the dark as Romans, and made an assault upon them; so that more of them were wounded by their own men than by the enemy, till, upon the coming on of the day, the nature of the right was discerned by the eye afterward. Then did they stand in battle-array in distinct bodies, and cast their darts regularly, and regularly defended themselves; nor did either side yield or grow weary. The Romans contended with each other who should fight the most strenuously, both single men and entire regiments, as being under the eye of Titus; and every one concluded that this day would begin his promotion if he fought bravely. What were the great encouragements of the Jews to act vigorously were, their fear for themselves and for the temple, and the presence of their tyrant, who exhorted some, and beat and threatened others, to act courageously. Now, it so happened, that this fight was for the most part a stationary one, wherein the soldiers went on and came back in a short time, and suddenly; for there was no long space of ground for either of their flights or pursuits. But still there was a tumultuous noise among the Romans from the tower of Antonia, who loudly cried out upon all occasions to their own men to press on courageously, when they were too hard for the Jews, and to stay when they were retiring backward; so that here was a kind of theater of war; for what was done in this fight could not be concealed either from Titus, or from those that were about him. At length it appeared that this fight, which began at the ninth hour of the night, was not over till past the fifth hour of the day; and that, in the same place where the battle began, neither party could say they had made the other to retire; but both the armies left the victory almost in uncertainty between them; wherein those that signalized themselves on the Roman side were a great many, but on the Jewish

side, and of those that were with Simon, Judas the son of Merto, and Simon the son of Josas; of the Idumeans, James and Simon, the latter of whom was the son of Cathlas, and James was the son of Sosas; of those that were with John, Gyphtheus and Alexas; and of the zealots, Simon the son of Jairus.

(7) [149] Ἐν τούτῳ δ' ἡ λοιπὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δύναμις ἡμέραις ἑπτὰ καταστρεψαμένη τοὺς τῆς Ἀντωνίας θεμελίους μέχρι τοῦ ἱεροῦ πλατεῖαν ὁδὸν εὐτρεπίσαντο. [150] πλησιάσαντα δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ περιβόλῳ τὰ τάγματα κατήρχετο χωμάτων, τὸ μὲν ἀντικρὺς τῆς τοῦ εἴσω ἱεροῦ γωνίας, ἥτις ἦν κατ' ἄρκτον καὶ δύσιν, τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὴν βόρειον ἐξέδραν, ἣ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο πυλῶν ἦν: [151] τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν δύο θάτερον μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἑσπέριον στοὰν τοῦ ἔξωθεν ἱεροῦ, τὸ δ' ἕτερον ἔξω κατὰ τὴν βόρειον. προύκοπτεν μέντοι μετὰ πολλοῦ καμάτου καὶ ταλαιπωρίας αὐτοῖς τὰ ἔργα [καὶ] τὴν ὕλην ἀφ' ἑκατὸν σταδίων συγκομίζουσιν, [152] ἐκακοῦντο δ' ἔσθ' ὅπη καὶ κατ' ἐπιβουλάς, αὐτοὶ διὰ περιουσίαν τοῦ κρατεῖν ὄντες ἀδεέστεροι καὶ δι' ἀπόγνωσιν ἤδη σωτηρίας χρώμενοι τολμηροτέροις τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις. [153] τῶν γὰρ ἱππέων τινὲς ὁπότε προέλθοιεν ἐπὶ ξυλείαν ἢ χόρτου συλλογήν, τὸν τῆς συγκομιδῆς χρόνον ἀνίεσαν βόσκεσθαι τοὺς ἵππους ἀποχαλινοῦντες, οὓς οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι κατὰ στῖφος ἐκπηδῶντες ἥρπαζον. [154] καὶ τούτου συνεχῶς γινομένου νομίσας Καῖσαρ, ὅπερ ἦν, ἀμελείᾳ τῶν σφετέρων πλέον ἢ τῇ Ἰουδαίων ἀνδρείᾳ γίνεσθαι τὰς ἁρπαγάς, ἔγνω σκυθρωπότερον τοὺς λοιποὺς πρὸς φυλακὴν τῶν ἵππων ἐπιστρέψαι. [155] καὶ κελεύσας ἀπαχθῆναι τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ τῶν ἀπολεσάντων στρατιωτῶν ἕνα, φόβῳ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐτήρησε τοὺς ἵππους: οὐκέτι γὰρ εἴων νέμεσθαι, καθάπερ δὲ συμπεφυκότες αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς χρείας ἐξῄεσαν. [156] οἱ μὲν οὖν προσεπολέμουν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ τὰ χώματα διήγειρον.

7. In the mean time, the rest of the Roman army had, in seven days' time, overthrown [some] foundations of the tower of Antonia, and had made a ready and broad way to the temple. Then did the legions come near the first court, and began to raise their banks. The one bank was over against the north-west corner of the inner temple another was at that northern edifice which was between the two gates; and of the other two, one was at the western cloister of the outer court of the temple; the other against its northern cloister. However, these works were thus far advanced by the Romans, not without great pains and difficulty, and particularly by being obliged to bring their materials from the distance of a hundred furlongs. They had further difficulties also upon them; sometimes by their over-great security they were in that they should overcome the Jewish snares laid for them, and by that boldness of the Jews which their despair of escaping had inspired them withal; for some of their horsemen, when they went out to gather wood or hay, let their horses feed without having their bridles on

during the time of foraging; upon which horses the Jews sallied out in whole bodies, and seized them. And when this was continually done, and Caesar believed what the truth was, that the horses were stolen more by the negligence of his own men than by the valor of the Jews, he determined to use greater severity to oblige the rest to take care of their horses; so he commanded that one of those soldiers who had lost their horses should be capitally punished; whereby he so terrified the rest, that they preserved their horses for the time to come; for they did not any longer let them go from them to feed by themselves, but, as if they had grown to them, they went always along with them when they wanted necessaries. Thus did the Romans still continue to make war against the temple, and to raise their banks against it.

(8) [157] Μετὰ δὲ μίαν ἡμέραν αὐτῶν τῆς ἀνόδου πολλοὶ τῶν στασιαστῶν, οἷς ἁρπαγαί τε ἐπέλειπον ἤδη καὶ ὁ λιμὸς ἤπειγε, συνελθόντες ταῖς κατὰ τὸ Ἐλαιῶν ὄρος Ῥωμαίων φυλακαῖς ἐπιτίθενται περὶ ὥραν ἐνδεκάτην τῆς ἡμέρας, οἰόμενοι πρῶτον μὲν ἀδοκήτων, ἔπειτα πρὸς θεραπείαις ἤδη τοῦ σώματος ὄντων ῥᾳδίως διεκπαίσειν. [158] προαισθόμενοι δὲ τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ταχέως ἐκ τῶν πλησίον φρουρίων συνδραμόντες εἶργον ὑπερπηδᾶν καὶ διακόπτειν τὸ περιτείχισμα βιαζομένους. [159] γενομένης δὲ καρτερᾶς τῆς συμβολῆς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ παρ᾽ ἑκατέρων γενναίως ἐπράχθη, Ῥωμαίων μὲν μετὰ τῆς ἰσχύος ἐμπειρίᾳ τοῦ πολεμεῖν χρωμένων, Ἰουδαίων δὲ ἀφειδέσι ταῖς ὁρμαῖς καὶ τοῖς θυμοῖς ἀκατασχέτοις: [160] ἐστρατήγει δὲ τῶν μὲν αἰδώς, τῶν δὲ ἀνάγκη: τό τε γὰρ ἐξαφεῖναι Ἰουδαίους ὥσπερ ἄρκυσιν ἐνειλημμένους Ῥωμαίοις αἴσχιστον ἐδόκει, κἀκεῖνοι μίαν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας εἶχον, εἰ βιασάμενοι ῥήξειαν τὸ τεῖχος: [161] καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ σπείρας τις ἱππέων, Πεδάνιος τοὔνομα, τρεπομένων ἤδη τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ κατὰ τῆς φάραγγος συνωθουμένων ῥόθιον ἐκ πλαγίου παρελαύνων τὸν ἵππον ἁρπάζει τινὰ φεύγοντα τῶν πολεμίων, νεανίαν στιβαρόν τε ἄλλως τὸ σῶμα καὶ καθωπλισμένον, δραξάμενος ἐκ τοῦ σφυροῦ: [162] τοσοῦτον μὲν ἑαυτὸν ἐκ τρέχοντος ἐπέκλινε τοῦ ἵππου, τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐπεδείξατο τῆς δεξιᾶς τὸν τόνον καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος ἔτι δ᾽ ἐμπειρίας ἱππικῆς. [163] ὁ μὲν οὖν ὥσπερ τι κειμήλιον ἁρπασάμενος ἦκε φέρων Καίσαρι τὸν αἰχμάλωτον: Τίτος δὲ τὸν μὲν λαβόντα τῆς δυνάμεως θαυμάσας, τὸν δὲ ληφθέντα τῆς περὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐπιχειρήσεως κολάσαι κελεύσας, αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν διαμάχαις ἦν καὶ τὰ χώματα κατήπειγεν.

8. Now after one day had been interposed since the Romans ascended the breach, many of the seditious were so pressed by the famine, upon the present failure of their ravages, that they got together, and made an attack on those Roman guards that were upon the Mount of Olives, and this about the eleventh hour of the day, as supposing, first, that they would not expect such an onset, and, in the next

place, that they were then taking care of their bodies, and that therefore they should easily beat them. But the Romans were apprized of their coming to attack them beforehand, and, running together from the neighboring camps on the sudden, prevented them from getting over their fortification, or forcing the wall that was built about them. Upon this came on a sharp fight, and here many great actions were performed on both sides; while the Romans showed both their courage and their skill in war, as did the Jews come on them with immoderate violence and intolerable passion. The one part were urged on by shame, and the other by necessity; for it seemed a very shameful thing to the Romans to let the Jews go, now they were taken in a kind of net; while the Jews had but one hope of saving themselves, and that was in case they could by violence break through the Roman wall; and one whose name was Pedanius, belonging to a party of horsemen, when the Jews were already beaten and forced down into the valley together, spurred his horse on their flank with great vehemence, and caught up a certain young man belonging to the enemy by his ankle, as he was running away; the man was, however, of a robust body, and in his armor; so low did Pedanius bend himself downward from his horse, even as he was galloping away, and so great was the strength of his right hand, and of the rest of his body, as also such skill had he in horsemanship. So this man seized upon that his prey, as upon a precious treasure, and carried him as his captive to Caesar; whereupon Titus admired the man that had seized the other for his great strength, and ordered the man that was caught to be punished [with death] for his attempt against the Roman wall, but betook himself to the siege of the temple, and to pressing on the raising of the banks.

(9) [164] Ἐν ᾧ Ἰουδαῖοι κακούμενοι ταῖς συμβολαῖς ἀεὶ κατ᾽ ὀλίγον κορυφουμένου τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῷ ναῷ προσέρποντος, καθάπερ σηπομένου σώματος ἀπέκοπτον τὰ προειλημμένα μέλη φθάνοντες τὴν εἰς τὸ πρόσω νομήν. [165] τῆς γὰρ βορείου καὶ κατὰ δύσιν στοᾶς τὸ συνεχὲς πρὸς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν ἐμπρήσαντες ἔπειτα ἀπέρρηξαν ὅσον πήχεις εἴκοσι, ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶν ἀρξάμενοι καίειν τὰ ἅγια. [166] μετὰ δ᾽ ἡμέρας δύο, τετράδι καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ προειρημένου μηνός, τὴν πλησίον στοὰν ὑποπιμπρᾶσι Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ μέχρι πεντεκαίδεκα πηχῶν προκόψαντος τοῦ πυρὸς ἀποκόπτουσιν ὁμοίως Ἰουδαῖοι τὴν ὀροφήν, μήτε καθάπαξ ἐξιστάμενοι τῶν ἔργων καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν συναφὲς αὐτῶν διαιροῦντες: [167] διὸ καὶ παρὸν κωλύειν ὑποπιμπράντας, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐμβολὴν τοῦ πυρὸς ἠρεμήσαντες τὴν νομὴν ἐμέτρησαν αὐτῷ σφίσι χρησίμως. [168] περὶ μὲν δὴ τὸ ἱερὸν οὐ διέλειπον αἱ συμβολαί, συνεχὴς δ᾽ ἦν κατὰ μέρος ἐκθεόντων ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλους ὁ πόλεμος.

9. In the mean time, the Jews were so distressed by the fights they had been in, as the war advanced higher and higher, and creeping up to the holy house itself, that they, as it were, cut off those limbs of their body which were infected, in order to prevent the distemper's spreading further; for they set the north-west cloister, which was joined to the tower of Antonia, on fire, and after that brake off about twenty cubits of that cloister, and thereby made a beginning in burning the sanctuary; two days after which, or on the twenty-fourth day of the forenamed month, [Panemus or Tamuz,] the Romans set fire to the cloister that joined to the other, when the fire went fifteen cubits farther. The Jews, in like manner, cut off its roof; nor did they entirely leave off what they were about till the tower of Antonia was parted from the temple, even when it was in their power to have stopped the fire; nay, they lay still while the temple was first set on fire, and deemed this spreading of the fire to be for their own advantage. However, the armies were still fighting one against another about the temple, and the war was managed by continual sallies of particular parties against one another.

(10) [169] Τῶν Ἰουδαίων δέ τις κατὰ ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας ἀνὴρ τό τε σῶμα βραχὺς καὶ τὴν ὄψιν εὐκαταφρόνητος γένους θ' ἕνεκα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄσημος, Ἰωνάθης ἐκαλεῖτο, προελθὼν κατὰ τὸ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Ἰωάννου μνημεῖον ἄλλα τε πολλὰ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑπερηφάνως ἐφθέγγετο καὶ τὸν ἄριστον αὐτῶν εἰς μονομαχίαν προυκαλεῖτο. [170] τῶν δὲ ταύτῃ παρατεταγμένων οἱ πολλοὶ μὲν ὑπερηφάνουν, ἦσαν δ' οἳ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἐδεδοίκεσαν, ἥπτετό γε μὴν τινῶν καὶ λογισμὸς οὐκ ἀσύνετος θανατῶντι μὴ συμπλέκεσθαι: [171] τοὺς γὰρ ἀπεγνωκότας τὴν σωτηρίαν ἅμα καὶ τὰς ὁρμὰς ἀταμιεύτους ἔχειν καὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐδυσώπητον, τό τε παραβάλλεσθαι πρὸς οὓς καὶ τὸ νικᾶν οὐ μέγα καὶ μετ' αἰσχύνης τὸ λειφθῆναι σφαλερόν, οὐκ ἀνδρείας ἀλλὰ θρασύτητος εἶναι. [172] μηδενὸς δ' ἐπὶ πολὺ προιόντος καὶ τοῦ Ἰουδαίου πολλὰ κατακερτομοῦντος αὐτοὺς εἰς δειλίαν, ἀλαζὼν γάρ τις ἦν αὐτῷ σφόδρα καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπερήφανος, Πούδης τις ὄνομα τῶν ἐξ ἴλης ἱππέων βδελυξάμενος αὐτοῦ τά τε ῥήματα καὶ τὸ αὔθαδες, [173] εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν βραχύτητα τοῦ σώματος αὐτὸν ἀσκέπτως ἐπαρθῆναι, προπηδᾷ, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα περιῆν συμβαλών, προεδόθη δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης: πεσόντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰωνάθης ἀποσφάττει προσδραμών. [174] ἔπειτα ἐπιβὰς τῷ νεκρῷ τό τε ξίφος ᾑμαγμένον ἀνέσειε καὶ τῇ λαιᾷ τὸν θυρεὸν ἐπηλάλαξέ τε τῇ στρατιᾷ πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν πεσόντα κομπάζων καὶ τοὺς ὁρῶντας Ῥωμαίους ἐπισκώπτων, [175] ἕως αὐτὸν ἀνασκιρτῶντα καὶ ματαίζοντα Πρῖσκός τις ἑκατοντάρχης τοξεύσας διήλασε βέλει: πρὸς ὃ τῶν τε Ἰουδαίων καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κραυγὴ συνεξήρθη διάφορος. [176] ὁ δὲ δινηθεὶς ἐκ τῶν ἀλγηδόνων ἐπὶ

τὸ σῶμα τοῦ πολεμίου κατέπεσεν, ὠκυτάτην ἀποφήνας ἐν πολέμῳ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀλόγως εὐτυχοῦντι νέμεσιν.

10. Now there was at this time a man among the Jews, low of stature he was, and of a despicable appearance; of no character either as to his family, or in other respects: his name was Jonathan. He went out at the high priest John's monument, and uttered many other insolent things to the Romans, and challenged the best of them all to a single combat. But many of those that stood there in the army huffed him, and many of them [as they might well be] were afraid of him. Some of them also reasoned thus, and that justly enough: that it was not fit to fight with a man that desired to die, because those that utterly despaired of deliverance had, besides other passions, a violence in attacking men that could not be opposed, and had no regard to God himself; and that to hazard oneself with a person, whom, if you overcome, you do no great matter, and by whom it is hazardous that you may be taken prisoner, would be an instance, not of manly courage, but of unmanly rashness. So there being nobody that came out to accept the man's challenge, and the Jew cutting them with a great number of reproaches, as cowards, [for he was a very haughty man in himself, and a great despiser of the Romans,] one whose name was Pudens, of the body of horsemen, out of his abomination of the other's words, and of his impudence withal, and perhaps out of an inconsiderate arrogance, on account of the other's lowness of stature, ran out to him, and was too hard for him in other respects, but was betrayed by his ill fortune; for he fell down, and as he was down, Jonathan came running to him, and cut his throat, and then, standing upon his dead body, he brandished his sword, bloody as it was, and shook his shield with his left hand, and made many acclamations to the Roman army, and exulted over the dead man, and jested upon the Romans; till at length one Priscus, a centurion, shot a dart at him as he was leaping and playing the fool with himself, and thereby pierced him through; upon which a shout was set up both by the Jews and the Romans, though on different accounts. So Jonathan grew giddy by the pain of his wounds, and fell down upon the body of his adversary, as a plain instance how suddenly vengeance may come upon men that have success in war, without any just deserving the same.

III

CHAPTER 3.

Concerning A Stratagem That Was Devised By The Jews, By

Which They Burnt Many Of The Romans; With Another

Description Of The Terrible Famine That Was In The City.

(1) [177] Οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ τὸ ἱερὸν στασιασταὶ φανερῶς τε οὐκ ἀνίεσαν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν χωμάτων στρατιώτας ἀμυνόμενοι καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, καὶ τοῦ προειρημένου μηνὸς ἑβδόμῃ καὶ εἰκάδι δόλον ἐνσκευάζονται τοιόνδε. [178] τῆς ἑσπερίου στοᾶς τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν δοκῶν καὶ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτῆς ὀροφῆς ὕλης ἀναπιμπλᾶσιν αὖης, πρὸς δὲ ἀσφάλτου τε καὶ πίσσης: ἔπειθ' ὡς καταπονούμενοι δῆθεν ὑπεχώρουν. [179] πρὸς ὃ τῶν μὲν ἀσκέπτων πολλοὶ ταῖς ὁρμαῖς φερόμενοι προσέκειντο τοῖς ὑποχωροῦσιν ἐπί τε τὴν στοὰν ἀνεπήδων προσθέμενοι κλίμακας, οἱ δὲ συνετώτεροι τὴν ἄλογον τροπὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὑπονοήσαντες ἔμενον. [180] κατεπλήσθη μέντοι τῶν ἀναπηδησάντων ἡ στοά, κἀν τούτῳ Ἰουδαῖοι πᾶσαν ὑποπιμπρᾶσιν αὐτήν. αἰρομένης δ' αἰφνιδίως πάντοθεν τῆς φλογὸς τούς τε ἔξω τοῦ κινδύνου Ῥωμαίους ἔκπληξις ἐπέσχε δεινὴ καὶ τοὺς περισχεθέντας ἀμηχανία. [181] κυκλούμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς φλογὸς οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὀπίσω κατεκρήμνιζον ἑαυτούς, οἱ δ' εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους, πολλοὶ δ' ἐλπίδι σωτηρίας εἰς τοὺς σφετέρους καταπηδῶντες ἐκλῶντο τὰ μέλη, πλείστων δ' ἔφθανε τὰς ὁρμὰς τὸ πῦρ καί τινες τὴν φλόγα σιδήρῳ. [182] περιεῖχε δ' εὐθέως καὶ τοὺς ἄλλως φθειρομένους τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐκφερόμενον. Καίσαρα δὲ καίπερ χαλεπαίνοντα τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις, ἐπειδὴ δίχα παραγγέλματος ἀναβεβήκεσαν, ὅμως οἶκτος εἰσῄει τῶν ἀνδρῶν: [183] καὶ μηδενὸς προσαμύνειν δυναμένου, τοῦτο γοῦν παραμύθιον ἦν τοῖς φθειρομένοις τὸ βλέπειν ὑπὲρ οὗ τις ἠφίει τὴν ψυχὴν ὀδυνώμενον: βοῶν τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ προπηδῶν καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων ἐπαμύνειν παρακαλῶν δῆλος ἦν. [184] τὰς δὲ φωνὰς ἕκαστος καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν ὥσπερ τι λαμπρὸν ἀποφέρων ἐντάφιον εὔθυμος ἀπέθνησκεν. [185] ἔνιοί γε μὴν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῖχον τῆς στοᾶς ὄντα πλατὺν ἀναχωρήσαντες ἐκ μὲν τοῦ πυρὸς διεσώθησαν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων περισχεθέντες ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν ἀντέσχον διατιτρωσκόμενοι, τέλος δὲ πάντες ἔπεσον,

1. But now the seditious that were in the temple did every day openly endeavor to beat off the soldiers that were upon the banks, and on the twenty-seventh day of the forenamed month [Panemus or Tamuz] contrived such a stratagem as this: They filled that part of the western cloister which was between the beams, and the roof under them, with dry materials, as also with bitumen and pitch, and then retired from that place, as though they were tired with the pains they had taken; at which procedure of theirs, many of the most inconsiderate among the Romans, who were carried away with violent passions, followed hard after them as they were retiring, and applied ladders to the cloister, and got up to it suddenly; but the prudent part of them, when they understood this unaccountable retreat of the Jews, stood still where they were before. However, the cloister was full of those that were gone up the ladders; at which time the Jews set it all on fire; and as the

flame burst out every where on the sudden, the Romans that were out of the danger were seized with a very great consternation, as were those that were in the midst of the danger in the utmost distress. So when they perceived themselves surrounded with the flames, some of them threw themselves down backwards into the city, and some among their enemies [in the temple]; as did many leap down to their own men, and broke their limbs to pieces; but a great number of those that were going to take these violent methods were prevented by the fire; though some prevented the fire by their own swords. However, the fire was on the sudden carried so far as to surround those who would have otherwise perished. As for Caesar himself, he could not, however, but commiserate those that thus perished, although they got up thither without any order for so doing, since there was no way of giving the many relief. Yet was this some comfort to those that were destroyed, that every body might see that person grieve, for whose sake they came to their end; for he cried out openly to them, and leaped up, and exhorted those that were about him to do their utmost to relieve them; So every one of them died cheerfully, as carrying along with him these words and this intention of Caesar as a sepulchral monument. Some there were indeed who retired into the wall of the cloister, which was broad, and were preserved out of the fire, but were then surrounded by the Jews; and although they made resistance against the Jews for a long time, yet were they wounded by them, and at length they all fell down dead.

(2) [186] καὶ τελευταῖός τις αὐτῶν νεανίας, ὀνόματι Λόγγος, ὅλον ἐπικοσμήσας τὸ πάθος καὶ κατ᾽ ἄνδρα μνήμης ἀξίων ὄντων πάντων τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἄριστος φανείς. [187] ὃν οἱ μὲν Ἰουδαῖοι τῆς τε ἀλκῆς ἀγάμενοι καὶ ἄλλως ἀνελεῖν ἀσθενοῦντες καταβῆναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ παρεκάλουν, ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς Κορνήλιος ἐκ θατέρου μὴ καταισχῦναι τὸ σφέτερον κλέος καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων στρατιάν. τούτῳ πεισθεὶς καὶ διαράμενος φανερὸν ἑκατέροις τοῖς τάγμασι τὸ ξίφος αὐτὸν ἀναιρεῖ. [188] τῶν δὲ τῷ πυρὶ περισχεθέντων Ἀρτώριός τις πανουργίᾳ διασώζεται: προσκαλεσάμενος γάρ τινα τῶν στρατιωτῶν Λούκιον, ᾧ συνεσκήνει, μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ “κληρονόμον, ἔφη, καταλείπω σε τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ κτημάτων, [189] εἰ προσελθών με δέξαιο.” τοῦ δὲ ἑτοίμως προσδραμόντος ὁ μὲν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν κατενεχθεὶς ἔζησεν, ὁ δὲ δεξάμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ βάρους τῷ λιθοστρώτῳ προσαραχθεὶς παραχρῆμα θνήσκει. [190] τοῦτο τὸ πάθος πρὸς καιρὸν μὲν Ῥωμαίοις ἐνεποίησεν ἀθυμίαν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ μέλλον ὅμως ἀπαρακλήτους κατεσκεύασεν φυλακτικωτέρους τε πρὸς τὰς Ἰουδαίων ἀπάτας ὠφέλησεν, ἐν αἷς τὰ πολλὰ δι᾽ ἄγνοιαν τῶν τόπων καὶ τὸ ἦθος τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐβλάπτοντο. [191] κατεκάη δ᾽ ἡ στοὰ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰωάννου πύργου, ὃν ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Σίμωνα πολέμῳ κατεσκεύασεν ὑπὲρ τὰς ἐξαγούσας ὑπὲρ τὸν ξυστὸν πύλας: τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν

ἐπὶ διεφθαρμένοις ἤδη Ἰουδαῖοι τοῖς ἀναβᾶσιν ἀπέκοψαν. [192] τῇ δ᾽ ὑστεραίᾳ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν βόρειον στοὰν ἐνέπρησαν μέχρι τῆς ἀνατολικῆς ὅλην, ὧν ἡ συνάπτουσα γωνία τῆς Κεδρῶνος καλουμένης φάραγγος ὑπερδεδόμητο, παρ᾽ ὃ καὶ φοβερὸν ἦν τὸ βάθος. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

2. At the last a young man among them, whose name was Longus, became a decoration to this sad affair, and while every one of them that perished were worthy of a memorial, this man appeared to deserve it beyond all the rest. Now the Jews admired this man for his courage, and were further desirous of having him slain; so they persuaded him to come down to them, upon security given him for his life. But Cornelius his brother persuaded him on the contrary, not to tarnish his own glory, nor that of the Roman army. He complied with this last advice, and lifting up his sword before both armies, he slew himself. Yet there was one Artorius among those surrounded by the fire who escaped by his subtlety; for when he had with a loud voice called to him Lucius, one of his fellow soldiers that lay with him in the same tent, and said to him, "I do leave thee heir of all I have, if thou wilt come and receive me." Upon this he came running to receive him readily; Artorius then threw himself down upon him, and saved his own life, while he that received him was dashed so vehemently against the stone pavement by the other's weight, that he died immediately. This melancholy accident made the Romans sad for a while, but still it made them more upon their guard for the future, and was of advantage to them against the delusions of the Jews, by which they were greatly damaged through their unacquaintedness with the places, and with the nature of the inhabitants. Now this cloister was burnt down as far as John's tower, which he built in the war he made against Simon over the gates that led to the Xystus. The Jews also cut off the rest of that cloister from the temple, after they had destroyed those that got up to it. But the next day the Romans burnt down the northern cloister entirely, as far as the east cloister, whose common angle joined to the valley that was called Cedron, and was built over it; on which account the depth was frightful. And this was the state of the temple at that time.

(3) [193] Τῶν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ φθειρομένων κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἄπειρον μὲν ἔπιπτε τὸ πλῆθος, ἀδιήγητα δὲ συνέβαινε τὰ πάθη. [194] καθ᾽ ἑκάστην γὰρ οἰκίαν, εἴ που τροφῆς παραφανείη σκιά, πόλεμος ἦν, καὶ διὰ χειρῶν ἐχώρουν οἱ φίλτατοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐξαρπάζοντες τὰ ταλαίπωρα τῆς ψυχῆς ἐφόδια. [195] πίστις δ᾽ ἀπορίας οὐδὲ τοῖς θνήσκουσιν ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐκπνέοντας οἱ λῃσταὶ διηρεύνων, μή τις ὑπὸ κόλπον ἔχων τροφὴν σκήπτοιτο τὸν θάνατον αὐτῷ. [196] οἱ δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἐνδείας κεχηνότες ὥσπερ λυσσῶντες κύνες ἐσφάλλοντο, καὶ παρεφέροντο ταῖς τε θύραις ἐνσειόμενοι μεθυόντων τρόπον καὶ ὑπ᾽ ἀμηχανίας εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς οἴκους

εἰσπηδῶντες δὶς ἢ τρὶς ὥρᾳ μιᾷ. [197] πάντα δὲ ὑπ᾽ ὀδόντας ἦγεν ἡ ἀνάγκη, καὶ τὰ μηδὲ τοῖς ῥυπαρωτάτοις τῶν ἀλόγων ζῴων πρόσφορα συλλέγοντες ἐσθίειν ὑπέφερον: ζωστήρων γοῦν καὶ ὑποδημάτων τὸ τελευταῖον οὐκ ἀπέσχοντο καὶ τὰ δέρματα τῶν θυρεῶν ἀποδέροντες ἐμασῶντο. [198] τροφὴ δ᾽ ἦν καὶ χόρτου τισὶ παλαιοῦ σπάραγμα: τὰς γὰρ ἴνας ἔνιοι συλλέγοντες ἐλάχιστον σταθμὸν ἐπώλουν Ἀττικῶν τεσσάρων. [199] καὶ τί δεῖ τὴν ἐπ᾽ ἀψύχοις ἀναίδειαν τοῦ λιμοῦ λέγειν; εἶμι γὰρ αὐτοῦ δηλώσων ἔργον οἷον μήτε παρ᾽ Ἕλλησιν μήτε παρὰ βαρβάροις ἱστόρηται, φρικτὸν μὲν εἰπεῖν, ἄπιστον δὲ ἀκοῦσαι. [200] καὶ ἔγωγε μὴ δόξαιμι τερατεύεσθαι τοῖς αὖθις ἀνθρώποις, κἂν παρέλειπον τὴν συμφορὰν ἡδέως, εἰ μὴ τῶν κατ᾽ ἐμαυτὸν εἶχον ἀπείρους μάρτυρας. ἄλλως τε καὶ ψυχρὰν ἂν καταθείμην τῇ πατρίδι χάριν καθυφέμενος τὸν λόγον ὧν πέπονθεν τὰ ἔργα.

3. Now of those that perished by famine in the city, the number was prodigious, and the miseries they underwent were unspeakable; for if so much as the shadow of any kind of food did any where appear, a war was commenced presently, and the dearest friends fell a fighting one with another about it, snatching from each other the most miserable supports of life. Nor would men believe that those who were dying had no food, but the robbers would search them when they were expiring, lest any one should have concealed food in their bosoms, and counterfeited dying; nay, these robbers gaped for want, and ran about stumbling and staggering along like mad dogs, and reeling against the doors of the houses like drunken men; they would also, in the great distress they were in, rush into the very same houses two or three times in one and the same day. Moreover, their hunger was so intolerable, that it obliged them to chew every thing, while they gathered such things as the most sordid animals would not touch, and endured to eat them; nor did they at length abstain from girdles and shoes; and the very leather which belonged to their shields they pulled off and gnawed: the very wisps of old hay became food to some; and some gathered up fibres, and sold a very small weight of them for four Attic [drachmae]. But why do I describe the shameless impudence that the famine brought on men in their eating inanimate things, while I am going to relate a matter of fact, the like to which no history relates, either among the Greeks or Barbarians? It is horrible to speak of it, and incredible when heard. I had indeed willingly omitted this calamity of ours, that I might not seem to deliver what is so portentous to posterity, but that I have innumerable witnesses to it in my own age; and besides, my country would have had little reason to thank me for suppressing the miseries that she underwent at this time.

(4) [201] Γυνή τις τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰορδάνην κατοικούντων, Μαρία τοὔνομα, πατρὸς Ἐλεαζάρου, κώμης Βηθεζουβᾶ, σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο οἶκος ὑσσώπου, διὰ γένος καὶ

πλοῦτον ἐπίσημος, μετὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ πλήθους εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καταφυγοῦσα συνεπολιορκεῖτο. [202] ταύτης τὴν μὲν ἄλλην κτῆσιν οἱ τύραννοι διήρπασαν, ὅσην ἐκ τῆς Περαίας ἀνασκευασαμένη μετήνεγκεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, τὰ δὲ λείψανα τῶν κειμηλίων καὶ εἴ τι τροφῆς ἐπινοηθείη καθ᾽ ἡμέραν εἰσπηδῶντες ἥρπαζον οἱ δορυφόροι. [203] δεινὴ δὲ τὸ γύναιον ἀγανάκτησις εἰσῄει, καὶ πολλάκις λοιδοροῦσα καὶ καταρωμένη τοὺς ἅρπαγας ἐφ᾽ αὐτὴν ἠρέθιζεν. [204] ὡς δ᾽ οὔτε παροξυνόμενός τις οὔτ᾽ ἐλεῶν αὐτὴν ἀνῄρει, καὶ τὸ μὲν εὑρεῖν τι σιτίον ἄλλοις ἐκοπία, πανταχόθεν δὲ ἄπορον ἦν ἤδη καὶ τὸ εὑρεῖν, ὁ λιμὸς δὲ διὰ σπλάγχνων καὶ μυελῶν ἐχώρει καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ μᾶλλον ἐξέκαιον οἱ θυμοί, σύμβουλον λαβοῦσα τὴν ὀργὴν μετὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἐπὶ τὴν φύσιν ἐχώρει, [205] καὶ τὸ τέκνον, ἦν δὲ αὐτῇ παῖς ὑπομάστιος, ἁρπασαμένη “βρέφος, εἶπεν, ἄθλιον, ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ λιμῷ καὶ στάσει τίνι σε τηρήσω; [206] τὰ μὲν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις δουλεία, κἂν ζήσωμεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς, φθάνει δὲ καὶ δουλείαν ὁ λιμός, οἱ στασιασταὶ δὲ ἀμφοτέρων χαλεπώτεροι. [207] ἴθι, γενοῦ μοι τροφὴ καὶ τοῖς στασιασταῖς ἐρινὺς καὶ τῷ βίῳ μῦθος ὁ μόνος ἐλλείπων [208] ταῖς Ἰουδαίων συμφοραῖς.” καὶ ταῦθ᾽ ἅμα λέγουσα κτείνει τὸν υἱόν, ἔπειτ᾽ ὀπτήσασα τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ κατεσθίει, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν κατακαλύψασα ἐφύλαττεν. [209] εὐθέως δ᾽ οἱ στασιασταὶ παρῆσαν, καὶ τῆς ἀθεμίτου κνίσης σπάσαντες ἠπείλουν, εἰ μὴ δείξειεν τὸ παρασκευασθέν, ἀποσφάξειν αὐτὴν εὐθέως. ἡ δὲ καὶ μοῖραν αὐτοῖς εἰποῦσα καλὴν τετηρηκέναι τὰ λείψανα τοῦ τέκνου διεκάλυψεν. [210] τοὺς δ᾽ εὐθέως φρίκη καὶ παρέκστασις ᾕρει καὶ παρὰ τὴν ὄψιν ἐπεπήγεσαν. ἡ δ᾽ “ἐμόν, ἔφη, τοῦτο τέκνον γνήσιον καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐμόν. [211] φάγετε, καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ βέβρωκα. μὴ γένησθε μήτε μαλακώτεροι γυναικὸς μήτε συμπαθέστεροι μητρός. εἰ δ᾽ ὑμεῖς εὐσεβεῖς καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀποστρέφεσθε θυσίαν, ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμῖν βέβρωκα, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ ἐμοὶ μεινάτω.” μετὰ ταῦθ᾽ οἱ μὲν τρέμοντες ἐξῄεσαν, [212] πρὸς ἓν τοῦτο δειλοὶ καὶ μόλις ταύτης τῆς τροφῆς τῇ μητρὶ παραχωρήσαντες, ἀνεπλήσθη δ᾽ εὐθέως ὅλη τοῦ μύσους ἡ πόλις, καὶ πρὸ ὀμμάτων ἕκαστος τὸ πάθος λαμβάνων ὥσπερ αὐτῷ τολμηθὲν ἔφριττε. [213] σπουδὴ δὲ τῶν λιμωττόντων ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον ἦν, καὶ μακαρισμὸς τῶν φθασάντων πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι καὶ θεάσασθαι κακὰ τηλικαῦτα.

4. There was a certain woman that dwelt beyond Jordan, her name was Mary; her father was Eleazar, of the village Bethezob, which signifies the house of Hyssop. She was eminent for her family and her wealth, and had fled away to Jerusalem with the rest of the multitude, and was with them besieged therein at this time. The other effects of this woman had been already seized upon, such I mean as she had brought with her out of Perea, and removed to the city. What she had treasured up besides, as also what food she had contrived to save, had been also carried off by the rapacious guards, who came every day running into her house for that purpose. This put the poor woman into a very great passion, and by the

frequent reproaches and imprecations she cast at these rapacious villains, she had provoked them to anger against her; but none of them, either out of the indignation she had raised against herself, or out of commiseration of her case, would take away her life; and if she found any food, she perceived her labors were for others, and not for herself; and it was now become impossible for her any way to find any more food, while the famine pierced through her very bowels and marrow, when also her passion was fired to a degree beyond the famine itself; nor did she consult with any thing but with her passion and the necessity she was in. She then attempted a most unnatural thing; and snatching up her son, who was a child sucking at her breast, she said, "O thou miserable infant! for whom shall I preserve thee in this war, this famine, and this sedition? As to the war with the Romans, if they preserve our lives, we must be slaves. This famine also will destroy us, even before that slavery comes upon us. Yet are these seditious rogues more terrible than both the other. Come on; be thou my food, and be thou a fury to these seditious varlets, and a by-word to the world, which is all that is now wanting to complete the calamities of us Jews." As soon as she had said this, she slew her son, and then roasted him, and eat the one half of him, and kept the other half by her concealed. Upon this the seditious came in presently, and smelling the horrid scent of this food, they threatened her that they would cut her throat immediately if she did not show them what food she had gotten ready. She replied that she had saved a very fine portion of it for them, and withal uncovered what was left of her son. Hereupon they were seized with a horror and amazement of mind, and stood astonished at the sight, when she said to them, "This is mine own son, and what hath been done was mine own doing! Come, eat of this food; for I have eaten of it myself! Do not you pretend to be either more tender than a woman, or more compassionate than a mother; but if you be so scrupulous, and do abominate this my sacrifice, as I have eaten the one half, let the rest be reserved for me also." After which those men went out trembling, being never so much affrighted at any thing as they were at this, and with some difficulty they left the rest of that meat to the mother. Upon which the whole city was full of this horrid action immediately; and while every body laid this miserable case before their own eyes, they trembled, as if this unheard of action had been done by themselves. So those that were thus distressed by the famine were very desirous to die, and those already dead were esteemed happy, because they had not lived long enough either to hear or to see such miseries.

(5) [214] Ταχέως δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις διηγγέλθη τὸ πάθος. τῶν δ' οἱ μὲν ἠπίστουν, οἱ δὲ ᾤκτειρον, τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς εἰς μῖσος τοῦ ἔθνους σφοδρότερον συνέβη

προελθεῖν. [215] Καῖσαρ δὲ ἀπελογεῖτο καὶ περὶ τούτου τῷ θεῷ, φάσκων παρὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ Ἰουδαίοις εἰρήνην καὶ αὐτονομίαν προτείνεσθαι καὶ πάντων ἀμνηστίαν τῶν τετολμημένων, τοὺς δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν ὁμονοίας στάσιν, [216] ἀντὶ δὲ εἰρήνης πόλεμον, πρὸ κόρου δὲ καὶ εὐθηνίας λιμὸν αἱρουμένους, ἰδίαις δὲ χερσὶν ἀρξαμένους καίειν τὸ συντηρούμενον ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἱερὸν αὐτοῖς, εἶναι καὶ τοιαύτης τροφῆς ἀξίους. [217] καλύψειν μέντοι τὸ τῆς τεκνοφαγίας μύσος αὐτῷ τῷ τῆς πατρίδος πτώματι καὶ οὐ καταλείψειν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡλίῳ καθορᾶν πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ μητέρες οὕτω τρέφονται. [218] προσήκειν μέντοι πρὸ μητέρων πατράσιν τὴν τοιαύτην τροφήν, οἳ καὶ μετὰ τηλικαῦτα πάθη μένουσιν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. [219] ταῦθ᾽ ἅμα διεξιὼν ἐνενόει καὶ τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν τῶν ἀνδρῶν: οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔτι σωφρονῆσαι τοὺς πάντα προπεπονθότας ἐφ᾽ οἷς εἰκὸς ἦν μεταβαλέσθαι μὴ παθοῦσιν.

5. This sad instance was quickly told to the Romans, some of whom could not believe it, and others pitied the distress which the Jews were under; but there were many of them who were hereby induced to a more bitter hatred than ordinary against our nation. But for Caesar, he excused himself before God as to this matter, and said that he had proposed peace and liberty to the Jews, as well as an oblivion of all their former insolent practices; but that they, instead of concord, had chosen sedition; instead of peace, war; and before satiety and abundance, a famine. That they had begun with their own hands to burn down that temple which we have preserved hitherto; and that therefore they deserved to eat such food as this was. That, however, this horrid action of eating an own child ought to be covered with the overthrow of their very country itself, and men ought not to leave such a city upon the habitable earth to be seen by the sun, wherein mothers are thus fed, although such food be fitter for the fathers than for the mothers to eat of, since it is they that continue still in a state of war against us, after they have undergone such miseries as these. And at the same time that he said this, he reflected on the desperate condition these men must be in; nor could he expect that such men could be recovered to sobriety of mind, after they had endured those very sufferings, for the avoiding whereof it only was probable they might have repented.

IV

CHAPTER 4.

When The Banks Were Completed And The Battering Rams Brought, And Could Do Nothing, Titus Gave Orders To Set Fire To The Gates Of The Temple; In No Long Time After Which The

Holy House Itself Was Burnt Down, Even Against His Consent.

(1) [220] Ἤδη δὲ τῶν δύο ταγμάτων συντετελεκότων τὰ χώματα Λώου μηνὸς ὀγδόῃ προσάγειν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς κριοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἑσπέριον ἐξέδραν τοῦ ἔξωθεν ἱεροῦ. [221] πρὸ δὲ τούτων ἓξ ἡμέρας ἀδιαλείπτως ἡ στερροτάτη πασῶν ἑλέπολις τύπτουσα τὸν τοῖχον οὐδὲν ἤνυσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὸ μέγεθος καὶ ἡ ἁρμονία τῶν λίθων ἦν ἀμείνων. [222] τῆς δὲ βορείου πύλης ὑπώρυττον ἕτεροι τοὺς θεμελίους καὶ πολλὰ ταλαιπωρήσαντες τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν λίθους ἐξεκύλισαν. ἀνείχοντο δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνδοτέρω καὶ διέμεινεν ἡ πύλη, μέχρι τὰς δι' ὀργάνων καὶ τῶν μοχλῶν ἐπιχειρήσεις ἀπογνόντες κλίμακας ταῖς στοαῖς προσέφερον. [223] οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι κωλῦσαι μὲν οὐκ ἔφθασαν, ἀναβᾶσι δὲ συμπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνωθοῦντες εἰς τοὐπίσω κατεκρήμνιζον, τοὺς δ' ὑπαντιάζοντας ἀνῄρουν: [224] πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν κλιμάκων ἀποβαίνοντας πρὶν φράξασθαι τοῖς θυρεοῖς παίοντες ταῖς ῥομφαίαις ἔφθανον, ἐνίας δὲ γεμούσας ὁπλιτῶν κλίμακας παρακλίνοντες ἄνωθεν κατέσειον: [225] ἦν δ' οὐκ ὀλίγος καὶ αὐτῶν φόνος. οἱ δὲ ἀνενεγκόντες τὰς σημαίας περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπολέμουν, δεινὴν ἡγούμενοι καὶ πρὸς αἰσχύνης τούτων τὴν ἁρπαγήν. [226] τέλος δὲ καὶ τῶν σημαιῶν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι κρατοῦσιν καὶ τοὺς ἀναβάντας διαφθείρουσιν: οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πρὸς τὸ τῶν ἀπολωλότων πάθος ὀρρωδοῦντες ἀνεχώρουν. [227] τῶν μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων ἄπρακτος οὐδεὶς ἀπέθανεν, τῶν δὲ στασιαστῶν οἳ κατὰ τὰς προτέρας μάχας ἠγωνίσαντο γενναίως καὶ τότε καὶ Ἐλεάζαρος ἀδελφιδοῦς τοῦ τυράννου Σίμωνος. [228] ὁ δὲ Τίτος ὡς ἑώρα τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἱεροῖς φειδὼ πρὸς βλάβης τοῖς στρατιώταις γινομένην καὶ φόνου, τὰς πύλας προσέταξεν ὑφάπτειν.

1. And now two of the legions had completed their banks on the eighth day of the month Lous [Ab]. Whereupon Titus gave orders that the battering rams should be brought, and set over against the western edifice of the inner temple; for before these were brought, the firmest of all the other engines had battered the wall for six days together without ceasing, without making any impression upon it; but the vast largeness and strong connexion of the stones were superior to that engine, and to the other battering rams also. Other Romans did indeed undermine the foundations of the northern gate, and after a world of pains removed the outermost stones, yet was the gate still upheld by the inner stones, and stood still unhurt; till the workmen, despairing of all such attempts by engines and crows, brought their ladders to the cloisters. Now the Jews did not interrupt them in so doing; but when they were gotten up, they fell upon them, and fought with them; some of them they thrust down, and threw them backwards headlong; others of them they met and slew; they also beat many of those that went down the ladders again, and slew them with their swords before they could bring their shields to protect them; nay, some of the ladders they

threw down from above when they were full of armed men; a great slaughter was made of the Jews also at the same time, while those that bare the ensigns fought hard for them, as deeming it a terrible thing, and what would tend to their great shame, if they permitted them to be stolen away. Yet did the Jews at length get possession of these engines, and destroyed those that had gone up the ladders, while the rest were so intimidated by what those suffered who were slain, that they retired; although none of the Romans died without having done good service before his death. Of the seditious, those that had fought bravely in the former battles did the like now, as besides them did Eleazar, the brother's son of Simon the tyrant. But when Titus perceived that his endeavors to spare a foreign temple turned to the damage of his soldiers, and then be killed, he gave order to set the gates on fire.

(2) [229] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν αὐτομολοῦσιν Ἄνανός τε ὁ ἀφαμμαούς, τῶν Σίμωνος δορυφόρων ὁ φονικώτατος, καὶ Ἀρχέλαος υἱὸς Μαγαδδάτου, συγγνώμην ἐλπίσαντες ἐπειδὴ κρατούντων Ἰουδαίων ἀπεχώρουν. [230] Τίτος δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ πανούργημα προβάλλεται τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην περὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ὠμότητα πεπυσμένος ὥρμητο κτείνειν ἑκατέρους, ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἦχθαι λέγων αὐτούς, οὐκ ἐκ προαιρέσεως παρεῖναι, καὶ σωτηρίας οὐκ ἀξίους εἶναι τοὺς φλεγομένης ἤδη δι' αὐτοὺς τῆς πατρίδος ἐξαλλομένους. [231] ἐκράτει δ' ὅμως τοῦ θυμοῦ ἡ πίστις, καὶ ἀφίησι τοὺς ἄνδρας, οὐ μὴν ἐν ἴσῃ μοίρᾳ κατέτασσε τοῖς ἄλλοις. [232] ἤδη δὲ ταῖς πύλαις οἱ στρατιῶται προσῆγον τὸ πῦρ, καὶ περιτηκόμενος ὁ ἄργυρος διεδίδου ταχέως εἰς τὴν ξυλείαν τὴν φλόγα, ἔνθεν ἀθρόως ἐκφερομένη τῶν στοῶν ἐπελαμβάνετο. [233] τοῖς δὲ Ἰουδαίοις ὁρῶσι τὸ πῦρ ἐν κύκλῳ μετὰ τῶν σωμάτων παρείθησαν αἱ ψυχαί, καὶ διὰ τὴν κατάπληξιν ἀμύνειν μὲν ἢ σβεννύειν ὥρμησεν οὐδείς, αὖοι δ' ἑστῶτες ἀφεώρων. [234] οὐ μὴν πρὸς τὸ δαπανώμενον ἀθυμοῦντες εἰς γοῦν τὸ λοιπὸν ἐσωφρόνουν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἤδη καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ καιομένου τοὺς θυμοὺς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἔθηγον. [235] ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν νύκτα τὸ πῦρ ἐπεκράτει: κατὰ μέρος γάρ, οὐχ ὁμοῦ πάντοθεν ἴσχυσαν ὑφάψαι τὰς στοάς.

2. In the mean time, there deserted to him Ananus, who came from Emmaus, the most bloody of all Simon's guards, and Archelaus, the son of Magadatus, they hoping to be still forgiven, because they left the Jews at a time when they were the conquerors. Titus objected this to these men, as a cunning trick of theirs; and as he had been informed of their other barbarities towards the Jews, he was going in all haste to have them both slain. He told them that they were only driven to this desertion because of the utmost distress they were in, and did not come away of their own good disposition; and that those did not deserve to be preserved, by whom their own city was already set on fire, out of which fire they

now hurried themselves away. However, the security he had promised deserters overcame his resentments, and he dismissed them accordingly, though he did not give them the same privileges that he had afforded to others. And now the soldiers had already put fire to the gates, and the silver that was over them quickly carried the flames to the wood that was within it, whence it spread itself all on the sudden, and caught hold on the cloisters. Upon the Jews seeing this fire all about them, their spirits sunk together with their bodies, and they were under such astonishment, that not one of them made any haste, either to defend himself or to quench the fire, but they stood as mute spectators of it only. However, they did not so grieve at the loss of what was now burning, as to grow wiser thereby for the time to come; but as though the holy house itself had been on fire already, they whetted their passions against the Romans. This fire prevailed during that day and the next also; for the soldiers were not able to burn all the cloisters that were round about together at one time, but only by pieces.

(3) [236] Τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ Τίτος μέρει τῆς δυνάμεως σβεννύειν τε καὶ τὰ παρὰ τὰς πύλας ὁδοποιεῖν εἰς εὐμαρεστέραν τῶν ταγμάτων ἄνοδον κελεύσας αὐτὸς συνῆγε τοὺς ἡγεμόνας. [237] καὶ συνελθόντων ἓξ τῶν κορυφαιοτάτων, Τιβερίου τε Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ πάντων τῶν στρατευμάτων ἐπάρχοντος, καὶ Σέξτου Κερεαλίου τοῦ τὸ πέμπτον ἄγοντος τάγμα, καὶ Λαρκίου Λεπίδου τὸ δέκατον, καὶ Τίτου Φρυγίου τὸ πεντεκαιδέκατον, [238] πρὸς οἷς Φρόντων ἦν Ἐτέριος στρατοπεδάρχης τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας δύο ταγμάτων, καὶ Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπίτροπος, καὶ μετὰ τούτους ἐπιτρόπων καὶ χιλιάρχων ἀθροισθέντων, βουλὴν περὶ τοῦ ναοῦ προυτίθει. [239] τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει χρῆσθαι τῷ τοῦ πολέμου νόμῳ: μὴ γὰρ ἄν ποτε Ἰουδαίους παύσασθαι νεωτερίζοντας τοῦ ναοῦ μένοντος, ἐφ' ὃν οἱ πανταχόθεν συλλέγονται. [240] τινὲς δὲ παρῄνουν, εἰ μὲν καταλίποιεν αὐτὸν Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ μηδεὶς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὰ ὅπλα θείη, σώζειν, εἰ δὲ πολεμοῖεν ἐπιβάντες, καταφλέγειν: φρούριον γάρ, οὐκέτι ναὸν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔσεσθαι τῶν ἀναγκασάντων τὴν ἀσέβειαν, οὐκ αὐτῶν. [241] ὁ δὲ Τίτος οὐδ' ἂν ἐπιβάντες ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πολεμῶσιν Ἰουδαῖοι φήσας ἀντὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀμυνεῖσθαι τὰ ἄψυχα οὐδὲ καταφλέξειν ποτὲ τηλικοῦτον ἔργον: Ῥωμαίων γὰρ ἔσεσθαι τὴν βλάβην, ὥσπερ καὶ κόσμον τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτοῦ μένοντος: [242] θαρροῦντες δὲ ἤδη προσετίθεντο τῇ γνώμῃ Φρόντων τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Κερεάλιος. [243] τότε μὲν οὖν διαλύει τὸ συνέδριον καὶ τὰς ἄλλας δυνάμεις διαναπαῦσαι κελεύσας τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν, ὅπως ἐρρωμενεστέροις ἐν τῇ παρατάξει χρήσαιτο, τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν σπειρῶν ἐπιλέκτοις ὁδοποιεῖν διὰ τῶν ἐρειπίων προσέταξε καὶ τὸ πῦρ σβεννύειν.

3. But then, on the next day, Titus commanded part of his army to quench the fire, and to make a road for the more easy marching up of the legions, while he

himself gathered the commanders together. Of those there were assembled the six principal persons: Tiberius Alexander, the commander [under the general] of the whole army; with Sextus Cerealis, the commander of the fifth legion; and Larcius Lepidus, the commander of the tenth legion; and Titus Frigius, the commander of the fifteenth legion: there was also with them Eternius, the leader of the two legions that came from Alexandria; and Marcus Antonius Julianus, procurator of Judea: after these came together all the rest of the procurators and tribunes. Titus proposed to these that they should give him their advice what should be done about the holy house. Now some of these thought it would be the best way to act according to the rules of war, [and demolish it,] because the Jews would never leave off rebelling while that house was standing; at which house it was that they used to get all together. Others of them were of opinion, that in case the Jews would leave it, and none of them would lay their arms up in it, he might save it; but that in case they got upon it, and fought any more, he might burn it; because it must then be looked upon not as a holy house, but as a citadel; and that the impiety of burning it would then belong to those that forced this to be done, and not to them. But Titus said, that "although the Jews should get upon that holy house, and fight us thence, yet ought we not to revenge ourselves on things that are inanimate, instead of the men themselves;" and that he was not in any case for burning down so vast a work as that was, because this would be a mischief to the Romans themselves, as it would be an ornament to their government while it continued. So Fronto, and Alexander, and Cerealis grew bold upon that declaration, and agreed to the opinion of Titus. Then was this assembly dissolved, when Titus had given orders to the commanders that the rest of their forces should lie still; but that they should make use of such as were most courageous in this attack. So he commanded that the chosen men that were taken out of the cohorts should make their way through the ruins, and quench the fire.

(4) [244] Κατ᾽ ἐκείνην μὲν δὴ τὴν ἡμέραν τῶν Ἰουδαίων κάματός τε καὶ κατάπληξις ἐκράτησε τὰς ὁρμάς: τῇ δ᾽ ἐπιούσῃ συλλεξάμενοί τε τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ ἀναθαρσήσαντες ἐπεκθέουσι διὰ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς πύλης τοῖς φύλαξι τοῦ ἔξωθεν ἱεροῦ περὶ δευτέραν ὥραν. [245] οἱ δὲ καρτερῶς μὲν ἐδέξαντο αὐτῶν τὴν ἐμβολὴν καὶ φραξάμενοι τοῖς θυρεοῖς κατὰ μέτωπον ὥσπερ τεῖχος ἐπύκνωσαν τὴν φάλαγγα, δῆλοι δ᾽ ἦσαν οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ συμμενοῦντες πλήθει τε τῶν ἐκτρεχόντων καὶ θυμοῖς ἡττώμενοι. [246] φθάσας δὲ τῆς παρατάξεως τὴν ῥοπὴν Καῖσαρ, καθεώρα γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντωνίας, ἐπήμυνε μετὰ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἱππέων. [247] Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ τὴν ἔφοδον οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλὰ τῶν πρώτων πεσόντων ἐτράπησαν οἱ πολλοί: [248] καὶ ὑποχωροῦσι μὲν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιστρεφόμενοι προσέκειντο,

μεταβαλλομένων δὲ ἀνέφευγον πάλιν, ἕως περὶ πέμπτην τῆς ἡμέρας ὥραν οἱ μὲν βιασθέντες εἰς τὸ ἔνδον συνεκλείσθησαν ἱερόν.

4. Now it is true that on this day the Jews were so weary, and under such consternation, that they refrained from any attacks. But on the next day they gathered their whole force together, and ran upon those that guarded the outward court of the temple very boldly, through the east gate, and this about the second hour of the day. These guards received that their attack with great bravery, and by covering themselves with their shields before, as if it were with a wall, they drew their squadron close together; yet was it evident that they could not abide there very long, but would be overborne by the multitude of those that sallied out upon them, and by the heat of their passion. However, Caesar seeing, from the tower of Antonia, that this squadron was likely to give way, he sent some chosen horsemen to support them. Hereupon the Jews found themselves not able to sustain their onset, and upon the slaughter of those in the forefront, many of the rest were put to flight. But as the Romans were going off, the Jews turned upon them, and fought them; and as those Romans came back upon them, they retreated again, until about the fifth hour of the day they were overborne, and shut themselves up in the inner [court of the] temple.

(5) [249] Τίτος δὲ ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν διεγνωκὼς τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω μετὰ πάσης ἐμβαλεῖν τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τὸν ναὸν περικατασχεῖν. [250] τοῦ δ᾽ ἄρα κατεψήφιστο μὲν τὸ πῦρ ὁ θεὸς πάλαι, παρῆν δ᾽ ἡ εἱμαρμένη χρόνων περιόδοις ἡμέρα δεκάτη Λώου μηνός, καθ᾽ ἣν καὶ πρότερον ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέως ἐνεπρήσθη. [251] λαμβάνουσι δ᾽ αἱ φλόγες ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν: ὑποχωρήσαντος γὰρ τοῦ Τίτου πρὸς ὀλίγον λωφήσαντες οἱ στασιασταὶ πάλιν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιτίθενται, καὶ τῶν τοῦ ναοῦ φρουρῶν γίνεται συμβολὴ πρὸς τοὺς σβεννύντας τὸ πῦρ τοῦ ἔνδοθεν ἱεροῦ, οἳ τρεψάμενοι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους μέχρι τοῦ ναοῦ παρηκολούθουν. [252] ἔνθα δὴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τις οὔτε παράγγελμα περιμείνας οὔτ᾽ ἐπὶ τηλικούτῳ δείσας ἐγχειρήματι, δαιμονίῳ ὁρμῇ τινι χρώμενος ἁρπάζει μὲν ἐκ τῆς φλεγομένης † φλογός, ἀνακουφισθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ συστρατιώτου τὸ πῦρ ἐνίησι θυρίδι χρυσῇ, καθ᾽ ἣν εἰς τοὺς περὶ τὸν ναὸν οἴκους εἰσιτὸν ἦν ἐκ τοῦ βορείου κλίματος. [253] αἰρομένης δὲ τῆς φλογὸς Ἰουδαίων μὲν ἐγείρεται κραυγὴ τοῦ πάθους ἀξία, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄμυναν συνέθεον, οὔτε τοῦ ζῆν ἔτι φειδὼ λαμβάνοντες οὔτε ταμιευόμενοι τὴν ἰσχύν, δι᾽ ὃ φυλακτικοὶ πρότερον ἦσαν οἰχομένου.

5. So Titus retired into the tower of Antonia, and resolved to storm the temple the next day, early in the morning, with his whole army, and to encamp round about the holy house. But as for that house, God had, for certain, long ago doomed it to the fire; and now that fatal day was come, according to the revolution of ages; it was the tenth day of the month Lous, [Ab,] upon which it was formerly burnt by the king of Babylon; although these flames took their rise from the Jews themselves, and were occasioned by them; for upon Titus's retiring, the seditious lay still for a little while, and then attacked the Romans again, when those that guarded the holy house fought with those that quenched the fire that was burning the inner [court of the] temple; but these Romans put the Jews to flight, and proceeded as far as the holy house itself. At which time one of the soldiers, without staying for any orders, and without any concern or dread upon him at so great an undertaking, and being hurried on by a certain divine fury, snatched somewhat out of the materials that were on fire, and being lifted up by another soldier, he set fire to a golden window, through which there was a passage to the rooms that were round about the holy house, on the north side of it. As the flames went upward, the Jews made a great clamor, such as so mighty an affliction required, and ran together to prevent it; and now they spared not their lives any longer, nor suffered any thing to restrain their force, since that holy house was perishing, for whose sake it was that they kept such a guard about it.

(6) [254] Δραμὼν δέ τις ἀγγέλλει Τίτῳ: κἀκεῖνος, ἔτυχεν δὲ κατὰ σκηνὴν ἀναπαυόμενος ἐκ τῆς μάχης, ὡς εἶχεν ἀναπηδήσας ἔθει πρὸς τὸν ναὸν εἴρξων τὸ πῦρ. [255] κατόπιν δὲ οἵ τε ἡγεμόνες εἵποντο πάντες, καὶ πτοηθέντα τούτοις ἠκολούθει τὰ τάγματα: βοὴ δὲ ἦν καὶ θόρυβος ἅτε τηλικαύτης δυνάμεως ἀτάκτως κεκινημένης. [256] ὁ μὲν οὖν Καῖσαρ τῇ τε φωνῇ καὶ τῇ δεξιᾷ διεσήμαινε τοῖς μαχομένοις τὸ πῦρ σβεννύειν, οὔτε δὲ βοῶντος ἤκουον μείζονι κραυγῇ τὰς ἀκοὰς προκατειλημμένοι καὶ τοῖς νεύμασι τῆς χειρὸς οὐ προσεῖχον, οἱ μὲν τῷ πολεμεῖν, οἱ δὲ ὀργῇ περισπώμενοι. [257] τῶν δὲ ταγμάτων εἰσθεόντων οὔτε παραίνεσις οὔτ' ἀπειλὴ κατεῖχεν τὰς ὁρμάς, ἀλλ' ὁ θυμὸς ἁπάντων ἐστρατήγει: καὶ περὶ τὰς εἰσόδους συνωθούμενοι πολλοὶ μὲν ὑπ' ἀλλήλων κατεπατοῦντο, πολλοὶ δὲ θερμοῖς ἔτι καὶ τυφομένοις τοῖς ἐρειπίοις τῶν στοῶν ἐμπίπτοντες ἡττωμένων συμφοραῖς ἐχρῶντο. [258] πλησίον δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ γινόμενοι τῶν μὲν τοῦ Καίσαρος παραγγελμάτων προσεποιοῦντο μηδὲ κατακούειν, τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν δὲ τὸ πῦρ ἐνιέναι παρεκελεύοντο. [259] τῶν δὲ στασιαστῶν ἀμηχανία μὲν ἦν ἤδη τοῦ βοηθεῖν, φόνος δὲ πανταχοῦ καὶ τροπή. τὸ δὲ πλέον ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου λαὸς ἀσθενὴς καὶ ἄνοπλος ὅπου καταληφθείη τις ἀπεσφάττετο, καὶ περὶ μὲν τὸν βωμὸν πλῆθος ἐσωρεύετο νεκρῶν, κατὰ δὲ τῶν τοῦ ναοῦ βάθρων αἷμά τ' ἔρρει πολὺ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄνω φονευομένων σώματα κατωλίσθανε.

6. And now a certain person came running to Titus, and told him of this fire, as he was resting himself in his tent after the last battle; whereupon he rose up in great haste, and, as he was, ran to the holy house, in order to have a stop put to the fire; after him followed all his commanders, and after them followed the several legions, in great astonishment; so there was a great clamor and tumult raised, as was natural upon the disorderly motion of so great an army. Then did Caesar, both by calling to the soldiers that were fighting, with a loud voice, and by giving a signal to them with his right hand, order them to quench the fire. But they did not hear what he said, though he spake so loud, having their ears already dimmed by a greater noise another way; nor did they attend to the signal he made with his hand neither, as still some of them were distracted with fighting, and others with passion. But as for the legions that came running thither, neither any persuasions nor any threatenings could restrain their violence, but each one's own passion was his commander at this time; and as they were crowding into the temple together, many of them were trampled on by one another, while a great number fell among the ruins of the cloisters, which were still hot and smoking, and were destroyed in the same miserable way with those whom they had conquered; and when they were come near the holy house, they made as if they did not so much as hear Caesar's orders to the contrary; but they encouraged those that were before them to set it on fire. As for the seditious, they were in too great distress already to afford their assistance [towards quenching the fire]; they were every where slain, and every where beaten; and as for a great part of the people, they were weak and without arms, and had their throats cut wherever they were caught. Now round about the altar lay dead bodies heaped one upon another, as at the steps going up to it ran a great quantity of their blood, whither also the dead bodies that were slain above [on the altar] fell down.

(7) [260] Καῖσαρ δ' ὡς οὔτε τὰς ὁρμὰς ἐνθουσιώντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατασχεῖν οἷός τε ἦν καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐπεκράτει, παρελθὼν μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἔνδον ἐθεάσατο τοῦ ναοῦ τὸ ἅγιον καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, πολὺ μὲν τῆς παρὰ τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις φήμης ἀμείνω, τοῦ δὲ κόμπου καὶ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς οἰκείοις δόξης οὐκ ἐλάττω. [261] τῆς φλογὸς δὲ οὐδέπω διικνουμένης οὐδαμόθεν εἴσω, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν ναὸν οἴκους νεμομένης, νομίσας, ὅπερ ἦν, ἔτι σώζεσθαι τὸ ἔργον δύνασθαι προπηδᾷ, [262] καὶ αὐτός τε παρακαλεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπειρᾶτο τὸ πῦρ σβεννύειν καὶ Λιβεράλιον ἑκατοντάρχην τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν λογχοφόρων ξύλοις παίοντα τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας ἐκέλευσεν εἴργειν. [263] τῶν δὲ καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα αἰδῶ καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ κωλύοντος φόβον ἐνίκων οἱ θυμοὶ καὶ τὸ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους μῖσος, καὶ πολεμική τις ὁρμὴ λαβροτέρα: [264] τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς ἐνῆγεν ἁρπαγῆς ἐλπίς, δόξαν

τε ἔχοντας ὡς τὰ ἔνδον ἅπαντα χρημάτων μεστὰ εἴη, καὶ τὰ πέριξ ὁρῶντας χρυσοῦ πεποιημένα. [265] φθάνει δέ τις καὶ τῶν εἴσω παρεληλυθότων ἐκπηδήσαντος τοῦ Καίσαρος πρὸς ἐποχὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν πῦρ εἰς τοὺς στροφέας ἐμβαλὼν τῆς πύλης † ἐν σκότῳ: [266] τότε γὰρ ἐξαπίνης ἔνδοθεν ἐκφανείσης φλογὸς οἵ τε ἡγεμόνες μετὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀνεχώρουν, καὶ τοὺς ἔξωθεν οὐδεὶς ὑφάπτειν ἐκώλυεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν ναὸς οὕτως ἄκοντος Καίσαρος ἐμπίπραται.

7. And now, since Caesar was no way able to restrain the enthusiastic fury of the soldiers, and the fire proceeded on more and more, he went into the holy place of the temple, with his commanders, and saw it, with what was in it, which he found to be far superior to what the relations of foreigners contained, and not inferior to what we ourselves boasted of and believed about it. But as the flame had not as yet reached to its inward parts, but was still consuming the rooms that were about the holy house, and Titus supposing what the fact was, that the house itself might yet be saved, he came in haste and endeavored to persuade the soldiers to quench the fire, and gave order to Liberalius the centurion, and one of those spearmen that were about him, to beat the soldiers that were refractory with their staves, and to restrain them; yet were their passions too hard for the regards they had for Caesar, and the dread they had of him who forbade them, as was their hatred of the Jews, and a certain vehement inclination to fight them, too hard for them also. Moreover, the hope of plunder induced many to go on, as having this opinion, that all the places within were full of money, and as seeing that all round about it was made of gold. And besides, one of those that went into the place prevented Caesar, when he ran so hastily out to restrain the soldiers, and threw the fire upon the hinges of the gate, in the dark; whereby the flame burst out from within the holy house itself immediately, when the commanders retired, and Caesar with them, and when nobody any longer forbade those that were without to set fire to it. And thus was the holy house burnt down, without Caesar's approbation.

(8) [267] Πολλὰ δ' ἄν τις ἐπολοφυράμενος ἔργῳ πάντων ὧν ὄψει καὶ ἀκοῇ παρειλήφαμεν θαυμασιωτάτῳ κατασκευῆς τε ἕνεκα καὶ μεγέθους ἔτι τε τῆς καθ' ἕκαστον πολυτελείας καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἅγια δόξης, μεγίστην λάβοι παραμυθίαν τὴν εἱμαρμένην ἄφυκτον οὖσαν ὥσπερ ἐμψύχοις οὕτω καὶ ἔργοις καὶ τόποις. [268] θαυμάσαι δ' ἄν τις ἐν αὐτῇ τῆς περιόδου τὴν ἀκρίβειαν: καὶ μῆνα γοῦν, ὡς ἔφην, καὶ ἡμέραν ἐτήρησεν τὴν αὐτήν, ἐν ᾗ πρότερον ὑπὸ Βαβυλωνίων ὁ ναὸς ἐνεπρήσθη. [269] καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς πρώτης αὐτοῦ κτίσεως, ἣν κατεβάλετο Σολομὼν ὁ βασιλεύς; μέχρι τῆς νῦν ἀναιρέσεως, ἣ γέγονεν ἔτει δευτέρῳ τῆς Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἡγεμονίας, ἔτη συνάγεται χίλια ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα, πρὸς δὲ μῆνες

ἑπτὰ καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμέραι: [270] ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ὕστερον, ἣν ἔτει δευτέρῳ Κύρου βασιλεύοντος ἐποιήσατο Ἀγγαῖος, ἔτη μέχρι τῆς ὑπὸ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἁλώσεως τριακονταεννέα πρὸς ἑξακοσίοις καὶ ἡμέραι τεσσαρακονταπέντε.

8. Now although any one would justly lament the destruction of such a work as this was, since it was the most admirable of all the works that we have seen or heard of, both for its curious structure and its magnitude, and also for the vast wealth bestowed upon it, as well as for the glorious reputation it had for its holiness; yet might such a one comfort himself with this thought, that it was fate that decreed it so to be, which is inevitable, both as to living creatures, and as to works and places also. However, one cannot but wonder at the accuracy of this period thereto relating; for the same month and day were now observed, as I said before, wherein the holy house was burnt formerly by the Babylonians. Now the number of years that passed from its first foundation, which was laid by king Solomon, till this its destruction, which happened in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, are collected to be one thousand one hundred and thirty, besides seven months and fifteen days; and from the second building of it, which was done by Haggai, in the second year of Cyrus the king, till its destruction under Vespasian, there were six hundred and thirty-nine years and forty-five days.

V

CHAPTER 5.

The Great Distress The Jews Were In Upon The Conflagration Of The Holy House. Concerning A False Prophet, And The Signs That Preceded This Destruction.

(1) [271] Καιομένου δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τῶν μὲν προσπιπτόντων ἦν ἁρπαγή, φόνος δὲ τῶν καταλαμβανομένων μυρίος καὶ οὔτε ἡλικίας ἦν ἔλεος οὔτ᾽ ἐντροπὴ σεμνότητος, ἀλλὰ καὶ παιδία καὶ γέροντες καὶ βέβηλοι καὶ ἱερεῖς ὁμοίως ἀνῃροῦντο, καὶ πᾶν γένος ἐπεξῄει περισχὼν ὁ πόλεμος, ὁμοῦ τούς τε ἱκετεύοντας καὶ τοὺς ἀμυνομένους. [272] συνήχει δὲ ἡ φλὸξ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐκφερομένη τοῖς τῶν πιπτόντων στεναγμοῖς, καὶ διὰ μὲν τὸ ὕψος τοῦ λόφου καὶ τὸ τοῦ φλεγομένου μέγεθος ἔργου πᾶσαν ἄν τις ἔδοξε καίεσθαι τὴν πόλιν, τῆς δὲ βοῆς ἐκείνης οὐδὲν ἐπινοηθῆναι δύναιτ᾽ ἂν ἢ μεῖζον ἢ φοβερώτερον. [273] τῶν τε γὰρ Ῥωμαικῶν ταγμάτων ἀλαλαγμὸς ἦν συμφερομένων, καὶ τῶν στασιαστῶν πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ κεκυκλωμένων κραυγή, τοῦ τε ἀπολῃφθέντος ἄνω λαοῦ τροπή τε μετ᾽ ἐκπλήξεως εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ πρὸς τὸ πάθος οἰμωγαί. [274] συνεβόα δὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου τὸ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πλῆθος: ἤδη δὲ πολλοὶ τῷ λιμῷ μαραινόμενοι

καὶ μεμυκότες ὡς εἶδον τὸ τοῦ ναοῦ πῦρ, εἰς ὀδυρμοὺς πάλιν καὶ κραυγὴν εὐτόνησαν: συνήχει δὲ ἥ τε Περαία καὶ τὰ πέριξ ὄρη βαρυτέραν ποιοῦντα τὴν βοήν. [275] ἦν δὲ τοῦ θορύβου τὰ πάθη φοβερώτερα: τὸν μέν γε τοῦ ἱεροῦ λόφον ἐκ ῥιζῶν ἄν τις ἔδοξε βράττεσθαι πάντοθεν τοῦ πυρὸς καταγέμοντα, δαψιλέστερον δὲ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ πυρὸς εἶναι καὶ τῶν φονευόντων πλείους τοὺς φονευομένους: [276] οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ ἡ γῆ διεφαίνετο τῶν νεκρῶν, ἀλλὰ σωροῖς ἐπιβαίνοντες οἱ στρατιῶται σωμάτων ἐπὶ τοὺς διαφεύγοντας ἔθεον. [277] τὸ μὲν οὖν λῃστρικὸν πλῆθος ὠσάμενοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μόλις εἰς τὸ ἔξω διεκπίπτουσιν ἱερὸν κἀκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, τοῦ δημοτικοῦ δὲ τὸ λειφθὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔξω στοὰν κατέφυγε. [278] τῶν δὲ ἱερέων τινὲς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τούς τε ὀβελοὺς καὶ τὰς ἕδρας αὐτῶν μολίβου πεποιημένας ἀνασπῶντες εἰς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἠφίεσαν, [279] αὖθις δὲ ὡς οὔτε ἤνυόν τι καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀνερρήγνυτο, ἐπὶ τὸν τοῖχον ἀναχωρήσαντες ὄντα ὀκτάπηχυν τὸ εὖρος ἔμενον. [280] δύο γε μὴν τῶν ἐπισήμων, παρὸν σωθῆναι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους μεταστᾶσιν ἢ διακαρτερεῖν πρὸς τὴν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τύχην, ἑαυτοὺς ἔρριψαν εἰς τὸ πῦρ καὶ τῷ ναῷ συγκατεφλέγησαν, Μηιρός τε υἱὸς Βελγᾶ καὶ Ἰώσηπος Δαλαίου.

1. While the holy house was on fire, every thing was plundered that came to hand, and ten thousand of those that were caught were slain; nor was there a commiseration of any age, or any reverence of gravity, but children, and old men, and profane persons, and priests were all slain in the same manner; so that this war went round all sorts of men, and brought them to destruction, and as well those that made supplication for their lives, as those that defended themselves by fighting. The flame was also carried a long way, and made an echo, together with the groans of those that were slain; and because this hill was high, and the works at the temple were very great, one would have thought the whole city had been on fire. Nor can one imagine any thing either greater or more terrible than this noise; for there was at once a shout of the Roman legions, who were marching all together, and a sad clamor of the seditious, who were now surrounded with fire and sword. The people also that were left above were beaten back upon the enemy, and under a great consternation, and made sad moans at the calamity they were under; the multitude also that was in the city joined in this outcry with those that were upon the hill. And besides, many of those that were worn away by the famine, and their mouths almost closed, when they saw the fire of the holy house, they exerted their utmost strength, and brake out into groans and outcries again: Perea did also return the echo, as well as the mountains round about [the city,] and augmented the force of the entire noise. Yet was the misery itself more terrible than this disorder; for one would have thought that the hill itself, on which the temple stood, was seething hot, as full of

fire on every part of it, that the blood was larger in quantity than the fire, and those that were slain more in number than those that slew them; for the ground did no where appear visible, for the dead bodies that lay on it; but the soldiers went over heaps of those bodies, as they ran upon such as fled from them. And now it was that the multitude of the robbers were thrust out [of the inner court of the temple by the Romans,] and had much ado to get into the outward court, and from thence into the city, while the remainder of the populace fled into the cloister of that outer court. As for the priests, some of them plucked up from the holy house the spikes that were upon it, with their bases, which were made of lead, and shot them at the Romans instead of darts. But then as they gained nothing by so doing, and as the fire burst out upon them, they retired to the wall that was eight cubits broad, and there they tarried; yet did two of these of eminence among them, who might have saved themselves by going over to the Romans, or have borne up with courage, and taken their fortune with the others, throw themselves into the fire, and were burnt together with the holy house; their names were Meirus the son of Belgas, and Joseph the son of Daleus.

(2) [281] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ μάταιον τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πέριξ φειδὼ κρίναντες τοῦ ναοῦ φλεγομένου πάντα συνεπίμπρασαν, τά τε λείψανα τῶν στοῶν καὶ τὰς πύλας πλὴν δύο, τῆς μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀνατολικῶν τῆς δὲ μεσημβρινῆς: καὶ ταύτας ὕστερον κατέσκαψαν. [282] ἔκαιον δὲ καὶ τὰ γαζοφυλάκια, ἐν οἷς ἄπειρον μὲν χρημάτων πλῆθος ἄπειροι δ' ἐσθῆτες καὶ ἄλλα κειμήλια, συνελόντι δ' εἰπεῖν, πᾶς ὁ Ἰουδαίων σεσώρευτο πλοῦτος, ἀνεσκευασμένων ἐκεῖ τοὺς οἴκους τῶν εὐπόρων. [283] ἦκον δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν λοιπὴν στοὰν τοῦ ἔξωθεν ἱεροῦ: καταφεύγει δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου γύναια καὶ παιδία καὶ σύμμικτος ὄχλος εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους. [284] πρὶν δὲ Καίσαρα κρῖναί τι περὶ αὐτῶν ἢ κελεῦσαι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, φερόμενοι τοῖς θυμοῖς οἱ στρατιῶται τὴν στοὰν ὑφάπτουσι, καὶ συνέβη τοὺς μὲν ῥιπτοῦντας αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς φλογὸς διαφθαρῆναι, τοὺς δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ: περιεσώθη δὲ ἐκ τοσούτων οὐδείς. [285] τούτοις αἴτιος τῆς ἀπωλείας ψευδοπροφήτης τις κατέστη κατ' ἐκείνην κηρύξας τὴν ἡμέραν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως, ὡς ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀναβῆναι κελεύει δεξομένους τὰ σημεῖα τῆς σωτηρίας. [286] πολλοὶ δ' ἦσαν ἐγκάθετοι παρὰ τῶν τυράννων τότε πρὸς τὸν δῆμον προφῆται προσμένειν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ βοήθειαν καταγγέλλοντες, ὡς ἧττον αὐτομολοῖεν καὶ τοὺς ἐπάνω δέους καὶ φυλακῆς γενομένους ἐλπὶς παρακροτοίη. [287] πείθεται δὲ ταχέως ἄνθρωπος ἐν συμφοραῖς, ὅταν δ' ἤδη καὶ τῶν κατεχόντων δεινῶν ἀπαλλαγὴν ὁ ἐξαπατῶν ὑπογράφῃ, τόθ' ὁ πάσχων ὅλος γίνεται τῆς ἐλπίδος.

2. And now the Romans, judging that it was in vain to spare what was round about the holy house, burnt all those places, as also the remains of the cloisters and the gates, two excepted; the one on the east side, and the other on the south;

both which, however, they burnt afterward. They also burnt down the treasury chambers, in which was an immense quantity of money, and an immense number of garments, and other precious goods there reposited; and, to speak all in a few words, there it was that the entire riches of the Jews were heaped up together, while the rich people had there built themselves chambers [to contain such furniture]. The soldiers also came to the rest of the cloisters that were in the outer [court of the] temple, whither the women and children, and a great mixed multitude of the people, fled, in number about six thousand. But before Caesar had determined any thing about these people, or given the commanders any orders relating to them, the soldiers were in such a rage, that they set that cloister on fire; by which means it came to pass that some of these were destroyed by throwing themselves down headlong, and some were burnt in the cloisters themselves. Nor did any one of them escape with his life. A false prophet was the occasion of these people's destruction, who had made a public proclamation in the city that very day, that God commanded them to get upon the temple, and that there they should receive miraculous signs of their deliverance. Now there was then a great number of false prophets suborned by the tyrants to impose on the people, who denounced this to them, that they should wait for deliverance from God; and this was in order to keep them from deserting, and that they might be buoyed up above fear and care by such hopes. Now a man that is in adversity does easily comply with such promises; for when such a seducer makes him believe that he shall be delivered from those miseries which oppress him, then it is that the patient is full of hopes of such his deliverance.

(3) [288] Τὸν γοῦν ἆθλιον δῆμον οἱ μὲν ἀπατεῶνες καὶ καταψευδόμενοι τοῦ θεοῦ τηνικαῦτα παρέπειθον, τοῖς δ' ἐναργέσι καὶ προσημαίνουσι τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐρημίαν τέρασιν οὔτε προσεῖχον οὔτ' ἐπίστευον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐμβεβροντημένοι καὶ μήτε ὄμματα μήτε ψυχὴν ἔχοντες τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ κηρυγμάτων παρήκουσαν, [289] τοῦτο μὲν ὅτε ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ἄστρον ἕστη ῥομφαίᾳ παραπλήσιον καὶ παρατείνας ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν κομήτης, [290] τοῦτο δ' ἡνίκα πρὸ τῆς ἀποστάσεως καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον κινήματος ἀθροιζομένου τοῦ λαοῦ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτήν, ὀγδόη δ' ἦν Ξανθικοῦ μηνός, κατὰ νυκτὸς ἐνάτην ὥραν τοσοῦτο φῶς περιέλαμψε τὸν βωμὸν καὶ τὸν ναόν, ὡς δοκεῖν ἡμέραν εἶναι λαμπράν, καὶ τοῦτο παρέτεινεν ἐφ' ἡμίσειαν ὥραν: [291] ὃ τοῖς μὲν ἀπείροις ἀγαθὸν ἐδόκει, τοῖς δὲ ἱερογραμματεῦσι πρὸς τῶν ἀποβεβηκότων εὐθέως ἐκρίθη. [292] καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἑορτὴν βοῦς μὲν ἀχθεῖσα ὑπό του πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν ἔτεκεν ἄρνα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ μέσῳ, [293] ἡ δ' ἀνατολικὴ πύλη τοῦ ἐνδοτέρω ναοῦ χαλκῆ μὲν οὖσα καὶ στιβαρωτάτη, κλειομένη δὲ περὶ δείλην μόλις ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων εἴκοσι, καὶ μοχλοῖς μὲν ἐπερειδομένη σιδηροδέτοις, κατάπηγας δὲ ἔχουσα βαθυτάτους εἰς τὸν οὐδὸν

ὄντα διηνεκοῦς λίθου καθιεμένους, ὤφθη κατὰ νυκτὸς ὥραν ἕκτην αὐτομάτως ἠνοιγμένη. [294] δραμόντες δὲ οἱ τοῦ ἱεροῦ φύλακες ἤγγειλαν τῷ στρατηγῷ, κἀκεῖνος ἀναβὰς μόλις αὐτὴν ἴσχυσεν κλεῖσαι. [295] πάλιν τοῦτο τοῖς μὲν ἰδιώταις κάλλιστον ἐδόκει τέρας: ἀνοῖξαι γὰρ τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν πύλην: οἱ λόγιοι δὲ λυομένην αὐτομάτως τοῦ ναοῦ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἐνενόουν, καὶ πολεμίοις δῶρον ἀνοίγεσθαι τὴν πύλην, δηλωτικόν τε ἐρημίας ἀπέφαινον ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ σημεῖον. [296] μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἑορτὴν οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον, μιᾷ καὶ εἰκάδι Ἀρτεμισίου μηνός, φάσμα τι δαιμόνιον ὤφθη μεῖζον πίστεως: [297] τερατεία δὲ ἂν ἔδοξεν οἶμαι τὸ ῥηθησόμενον, εἰ μὴ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς θεασαμένοις ἱστόρητο καὶ τὰ ἐπακολουθήσαντα πάθη τῶν σημείων ἦν ἄξια: [298] πρὸ γὰρ ἡλίου δύσεως ὤφθη μετέωρα περὶ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν ἅρματα καὶ φάλαγγες ἔνοπλοι διάττουσαι τῶν νεφῶν καὶ κυκλούμεναι τὰς πόλεις. [299] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἑορτήν, ἣ πεντηκοστὴ καλεῖται, νύκτωρ οἱ ἱερεῖς παρελθόντες εἰς τὸ ἔνδον ἱερόν, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς ἔθος πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας, πρῶτον μὲν κινήσεως ἔφασαν ἀντιλαβέσθαι καὶ κτύπου, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φωνῆς ἀθρόας “μεταβαίνομεν ἐντεῦθεν.” τὸ δὲ τούτων φοβερώτερον, [300] Ἰησοῦς γάρ τις υἱὸς Ἀνανίου τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἄγροικος πρὸ τεσσάρων ἐτῶν τοῦ πολέμου τὰ μάλιστα τῆς πόλεως εἰρηνευομένης καὶ εὐθηνούσης, ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν, ἐν ᾗ σκηνοποιεῖσθαι πάντας ἔθος τῷ θεῷ, κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐξαπίνης ἀναβοᾶν ἤρξατο “φωνὴ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς, [301] φωνὴ ἀπὸ δύσεως, φωνὴ ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων, φωνὴ ἐπὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸν ναόν, φωνὴ ἐπὶ νυμφίους καὶ νύμφας, φωνὴ ἐπὶ τὸν λαὸν πάντα.” τοῦτο μεθ’ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ κατὰ πάντας τοὺς στενωποὺς περιᾔει κεκραγώς. [302] τῶν δὲ ἐπισήμων τινὲς δημοτῶν ἀγανακτήσαντες πρὸς τὸ κακόφημον συλλαμβάνουσι τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ πολλαῖς αἰκίζονται πληγαῖς. ὁ δὲ οὔθ’ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φθεγξάμενος οὔτε ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τοὺς παίοντας, ἃς καὶ πρότερον φωνὰς βοῶν διετέλει. [303] νομίσαντες δὲ οἱ ἄρχοντες, ὅπερ ἦν, δαιμονιώτερον τὸ κίνημα τἀνδρὸς ἀνάγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἔπαρχον. [304] ἔνθα μάστιξι μέχρι ὀστέων ξαινόμενος οὔθ’ ἱκέτευσεν οὔτ’ ἐδάκρυσεν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐνῆν μάλιστα τὴν φωνὴν ὀλοφυρτικῶς παρεγκλίνων πρὸς ἑκάστην [305] ἀπεκρίνατο πληγήν “αἰαὶ Ἱεροσολύμοις.” τοῦ δ’ Ἀλβίνου διερωτῶντος, οὗτος γὰρ ἔπαρχος ἦν, τίς εἴη καὶ πόθεν, καὶ διὰ τί ταῦτα φθέγγοιτο, πρὸς ταῦτα μὲν οὐδ’ ὁτιοῦν ἀπεκρίνατο, τὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει θρῆνον εἴρων οὐ διέλειπεν, μέχρι καταγνοὺς μανίαν ὁ Ἀλβῖνος ἀπέλυσεν αὐτόν. [306] ὁ δὲ τὸν μέχρι τοῦ πολέμου χρόνον οὔτε προσῄει τινὶ τῶν πολιτῶν οὔτε ὤφθη λαλῶν, ἀλλὰ καθ’ ἡμέραν ὥσπερ εὐχὴν μεμελετηκώς “αἰαὶ Ἱεροσολύμοις” ἐθρήνει. [307] οὔτε δέ τινι τῶν τυπτόντων αὐτὸν ὀσημέραι κατηρᾶτο οὔτε τοὺς τροφῆς μεταδιδόντας εὐλόγει, μία δὲ πρὸς πάντας ἦν ἡ σκυθρωπὴ κληδὼν ἀπόκρισις. [308] μάλιστα δ’ ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς ἐκεκράγει: καὶ τοῦτ’ ἐφ’ ἑπτὰ ἔτη καὶ μῆνας πέντε εἴρων οὔτ’ ἤμβλυνεν τὴν φωνὴν οὔτ’ ἔκαμεν, μέχρις οὗ κατὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἔργα τῆς κληδόνος ἰδὼν

ἀνεπαύσατο. [309] περιὼν γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους “αἰαὶ πάλιν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῷ λαῷ καὶ τῷ ναῷ” διαπρύσιον ἐβόα, ὡς δὲ τελευταῖον προσέθηκεν “αἰαὶ δὲ κἀμοί”, λίθος ἐκ τοῦ πετροβόλου σχασθεὶς καὶ πλήξας αὐτὸν παραχρῆμα κτείνει, φθεγγομένην δ’ ἔτι τὰς κληδόνας ἐκείνας τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφῆκε.

3. Thus were the miserable people persuaded by these deceivers, and such as belied God himself; while they did not attend nor give credit to the signs that were so evident, and did so plainly foretell their future desolation, but, like men infatuated, without either eyes to see or minds to consider, did not regard the denunciations that God made to them. Thus there was a star resembling a sword, which stood over the city, and a comet, that continued a whole year. Thus also before the Jews’ rebellion, and before those commotions which preceded the war, when the people were come in great crowds to the feast of unleavened bread, on the eighth day of the month Xanthicus, [Nisan,] and at the ninth hour of the night, so great a light shone round the altar and the holy house, that it appeared to be bright day time; which lasted for half an hour. This light seemed to be a good sign to the unskillful, but was so interpreted by the sacred scribes, as to portend those events that followed immediately upon it. At the same festival also, a heifer, as she was led by the high priest to be sacrificed, brought forth a lamb in the midst of the temple. Moreover, the eastern gate of the inner [court of the] temple, which was of brass, and vastly heavy, and had been with difficulty shut by twenty men, and rested upon a basis armed with iron, and had bolts fastened very deep into the firm floor, which was there made of one entire stone, was seen to be opened of its own accord about the sixth hour of the night. Now those that kept watch in the temple came hereupon running to the captain of the temple, and told him of it; who then came up thither, and not without great difficulty was able to shut the gate again. This also appeared to the vulgar to be a very happy prodigy, as if God did thereby open them the gate of happiness. But the men of learning understood it, that the security of their holy house was dissolved of its own accord, and that the gate was opened for the advantage of their enemies. So these publicly declared that the signal foreshowed the desolation that was coming upon them. Besides these, a few days after that feast, on the one and twentieth day of the month Artemisius, [Jyar,] a certain prodigious and incredible phenomenon appeared: I suppose the account of it would seem to be a fable, were it not related by those that saw it, and were not the events that followed it of so considerable a nature as to deserve such signals; for, before sun-setting, chariots and troops of soldiers in their armor were seen running about among the clouds, and surrounding of cities. Moreover, at that feast which we call Pentecost, as the priests were going by night into the inner

[court of the temple,] as their custom was, to perform their sacred ministrations, they said that, in the first place, they felt a quaking, and heard a great noise, and after that they heard a sound as of a great multitude, saying, "Let us remove hence." But, what is still more terrible, there was one Jesus, the son of Ananus, a plebeian and a husbandman, who, four years before the war began, and at a time when the city was in very great peace and prosperity, came to that feast whereon it is our custom for every one to make tabernacles to God in the temple, began on a sudden to cry aloud, "A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice against Jerusalem and the holy house, a voice against the bridegrooms and the brides, and a voice against this whole people!" This was his cry, as he went about by day and by night, in all the lanes of the city. However, certain of the most eminent among the populace had great indignation at this dire cry of his, and took up the man, and gave him a great number of severe stripes; yet did not he either say any thing for himself, or any thing peculiar to those that chastised him, but still went on with the same words which he cried before. Hereupon our rulers, supposing, as the case proved to be, that this was a sort of divine fury in the man, brought him to the Roman procurator, where he was whipped till his bones were laid bare; yet he did not make any supplication for himself, nor shed any tears, but turning his voice to the most lamentable tone possible, at every stroke of the whip his answer was, "Woe, woe to Jerusalem!" And when Albinus [for he was then our procurator] asked him, Who he was? and whence he came? and why he uttered such words? he made no manner of reply to what he said, but still did not leave off his melancholy ditty, till Albinus took him to be a madman, and dismissed him. Now, during all the time that passed before the war began, this man did not go near any of the citizens, nor was seen by them while he said so; but he every day uttered these lamentable words, as if it were his premeditated vow, "Woe, woe to Jerusalem!" Nor did he give ill words to any of those that beat him every day, nor good words to those that gave him food; but this was his reply to all men, and indeed no other than a melancholy presage of what was to come. This cry of his was the loudest at the festivals; and he continued this ditty for seven years and five months, without growing hoarse, or being tired therewith, until the very time that he saw his presage in earnest fulfilled in our siege, when it ceased; for as he was going round upon the wall, he cried out with his utmost force, "Woe, woe to the city again, and to the people, and to the holy house!" And just as he added at the last, "Woe, woe to myself also!" there came a stone out of one of the engines, and smote him, and killed him immediately; and as he was uttering the very same presages he gave up the ghost.

(4) [310] Ταῦτά τις ἐννοῶν εὑρήσει τὸν μὲν θεὸν ἀνθρώπων κηδόμενον καὶ παντοίως προσημαίνοντα τῷ σφετέρῳ γένει τὰ σωτήρια, τοὺς δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἀνοίας καὶ κακῶν αὐθαιρέτων ἀπολλυμένους, [311] ὅπου γε Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν μετὰ τὴν καθαίρεσιν τῆς Ἀντωνίας τετράγωνον ἐποίησαν, ἀναγεγραμμένον ἐν τοῖς λογίοις ἔχοντες ἁλώσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν ναόν, ἐπειδὰν τὸ ἱερὸν γένηται τετράγωνον. [312] τὸ δ᾽ ἐπᾶραν αὐτοὺς μάλιστα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἦν χρησμὸς ἀμφίβολος ὁμοίως ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς εὑρημένος γράμμασιν, ὡς κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν τις ἄρξει τῆς οἰκουμένης. [313] τοῦθ᾽ οἱ μὲν ὡς οἰκεῖον ἐξέλαβον καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν σοφῶν ἐπλανήθησαν περὶ τὴν κρίσιν, ἐδήλου δ᾽ ἄρα τὴν Οὐεσπασιανοῦ τὸ λόγιον ἡγεμονίαν ἀποδειχθέντος ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίας αὐτοκράτορος. [314] ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ δυνατὸν ἀνθρώποις τὸ χρεὼν διαφυγεῖν οὐδὲ προορωμένοις. [315] οἱ δὲ καὶ τῶν σημείων ἃ μὲν ἔκριναν πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἃ δὲ ἐξουθένησαν, μέχρις οὗ τῇ τε ἁλώσει τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τῷ σφῶν αὐτῶν ὀλέθρῳ διηλέγχθησαν τὴν ἄνοιαν.

4. Now if any one consider these things, he will find that God takes care of mankind, and by all ways possible foreshows to our race what is for their preservation; but that men perish by those miseries which they madly and voluntarily bring upon themselves; for the Jews, by demolishing the tower of Antonia, had made their temple four-square, while at the same time they had it written in their sacred oracles, “That then should their city be taken, as well as their holy house, when once their temple should become four-square.” But now, what did the most elevate them in undertaking this war, was an ambiguous oracle that was also found in their sacred writings, how, “about that time, one from their country should become governor of the habitable earth.” The Jews took this prediction to belong to themselves in particular, and many of the wise men were thereby deceived in their determination. Now this oracle certainly denoted the government of Vespasian, who was appointed emperor in Judea. However, it is not possible for men to avoid fate, although they see it beforehand. But these men interpreted some of these signals according to their own pleasure, and some of them they utterly despised, until their madness was demonstrated, both by the taking of their city and their own destruction.

VI

CHAPTER 6.

How The Romans Carried Their Ensigns To The Temple, And Made Joyful Acclamations To Titus. The Speech That Titus Made To

The Jews When They Made Supplication For Mercy. What Reply They Made Thereto; And How That Reply Moved Titus's Indignation Against Them.

(1) [316] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τῶν μὲν στασιαστῶν καταπεφευγότων εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καιομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τῶν πέριξ ἁπάντων, κομίσαντες τὰς σημαίας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ θέμενοι τῆς ἀνατολικῆς πύλης ἄντικρυς ἔθυσάν τε αὐταῖς αὐτόθι καὶ τὸν Τίτον μετὰ μεγίστων εὐφημιῶν ἀπέφηναν αὐτοκράτορα. [317] ταῖς δὲ ἁρπαγαῖς οὕτως ἐνεπλήσθησαν οἱ στρατιῶται πάντες, ὥστε κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν πρὸς ἥμισυ τῆς πάλαι τιμῆς τὸν σταθμὸν τοῦ χρυσίου πιπράσκεσθαι. [318] τῶν δ' ἀνὰ τὸν τοῖχον τοῦ ναοῦ ἱερέων διακαρτερούντων παῖς διψήσας ἱκέτευε τοὺς φύλακας τῶν Ῥωμαίων δοῦναι δεξιὰν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ δίψος ἐξωμολογεῖτο. [319] τῶν δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας καὶ τῆς ἀνάγκης οἶκτον λαβόντων καὶ δόντων δεξιὰς καταβὰς αὐτός τε πίνει καὶ ὃ φέρων ἦκεν ἀγγεῖον πλήσας ὕδατος ᾤχετο φεύγων ἄνω πρὸς τοὺς σφετέρους. [320] τῶν δὲ φυλάκων καταλαβεῖν μὲν οὐδεὶς ἴσχυσε, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀπιστίαν ἐβλασφήμουν. κἀκεῖνος οὐδὲν ἔφη παραβεβηκέναι τῶν συνθηκῶν: λαβεῖν γὰρ δεξιὰν οὐ τοῦ μένειν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀλλὰ τοῦ καταβῆναι μόνον καὶ λαβεῖν ὕδωρ, ἅπερ ἀμφότερα πεποιηκὼς πιστὸς ἔδοξεν εἶναι. [321] τὸ μὲν δὴ πανούργημα διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν μάλιστα τοῦ παιδὸς ἀπεθαύμαζον οἱ πλανηθέντες: πέμπτῃ δ' ἡμέρᾳ λιμώττοντες οἱ ἱερεῖς καταβαίνουσι καὶ πρὸς Τίτον ἀναχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν φυλάκων ἱκέτευον τυχεῖν σωτηρίας. [322] ὁ δὲ τὸν μὲν τῆς συγγνώμης καιρὸν αὐτοῖς παρῳχηκέναι φήσας, οἴχεσθαι δὲ δι' ὃν εὐλόγως ἂν αὐτοὺς ἔσωζε, πρέπειν δὲ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τῷ ναῷ συναπολέσθαι, κελεύει κολάσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας.

1. And now the Romans, upon the flight of the seditious into the city, and upon the burning of the holy house itself, and of all the buildings round about it, brought their ensigns to the temple and set them over against its eastern gate; and there did they offer sacrifices to them, and there did they make Titus imperator with the greatest acclamations of joy. And now all the soldiers had such vast quantities of the spoils which they had gotten by plunder, that in Syria a pound weight of gold was sold for half its former value. But as for those priests that kept themselves still upon the wall of the holy house, there was a boy that, out of the thirst he was in, desired some of the Roman guards to give him their right hands as a security for his life, and confessed he was very thirsty. These guards commiserated his age, and the distress he was in, and gave him their right hands accordingly. So he came down himself, and drank some water, and filled the vessel he had with him when he came to them with water, and then went off, and fled away to his own friends; nor could any of those guards overtake him; but still they reproached him for his perfidiousness. To which he made this

answer: “I have not broken the agreement; for the security I had given me was not in order to my staying with you, but only in order to my coming down safely, and taking up some water; both which things I have performed, and thereupon think myself to have been faithful to my engagement.” Hereupon those whom the child had imposed upon admired at his cunning, and that on account of his age. On the fifth day afterward, the priests that were pined with the famine came down, and when they were brought to Titus by the guards, they begged for their lives; but he replied, that the time of pardon was over as to them, and that this very holy house, on whose account only they could justly hope to be preserved, was destroyed; and that it was agreeable to their office that priests should perish with the house itself to which they belonged. So he ordered them to be put to death.

(2) [323] Οἱ δὲ περὶ τοὺς τυράννους ὡς τῷ τε πολέμῳ πάντοθεν ἐκρατοῦντο καὶ περιτετειχισμένοις διαφυγεῖν οὐδαμόθεν ἦν, προκαλοῦνται τὸν Τίτον εἰς λόγους. [324] ὁ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ φιλάνθρωπον φύσει τὸ γοῦν ἄστυ περισῶσαι προαιρούμενος καὶ τῶν φίλων ἐναγόντων, ἤδη γὰρ μετριάζειν τοὺς λῃστὰς ὑπελάμβανεν, ἵσταται κατὰ τὸ πρὸς δύσιν μέρος τοῦ ἔξωθεν ἱεροῦ: [325] ταύτῃ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὸν ξυστὸν ἦσαν πύλαι, καὶ γέφυρα συνάπτουσα τῷ ἱερῷ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν: [326] αὕτη τότε μέση τῶν τυράννων ἦν καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἑκατέροις βύζην ἐφεστήκει, Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν περὶ Σίμωνα καὶ Ἰωάννην μετέωροι συγγνώμης ἐλπίδι, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ Καίσαρι καραδοκοῦντες αὐτῶν τὴν ἀξίωσιν. [327] παραγγείλας δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις Τίτος θυμοῦ τε καὶ βελῶν μένειν ἐγκρατεῖς, καὶ τὸν ἑρμηνέα παραστησάμενος, ὅπερ ἦν τεκμήριον τοῦ κρατεῖν, πρῶτος ἤρξατο λέγειν: [328] “ἆρά γε ἤδη κεκόρεσθε τῶν τῆς πατρίδος κακῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες, οἱ μήτε τῆς ἡμετέρας δυνάμεως μήτε τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀσθενείας ἔννοιαν λαβόντες, ὁρμῇ δὲ ἀσκέπτῳ καὶ μανίᾳ τόν τε δῆμον καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἀπολωλεκότες, [329] ἀπολούμενοι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ δικαίως, οἳ πρῶτον μὲν ἀφ’ οὗ Πομπήιος εἷλεν ὑμᾶς κατὰ κράτος οὐκ ἐπαύσασθε νεωτεροποιίας, ἔπειτα καὶ φανερὸν ἐξηνέγκατε πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον; [330] ἆρά γε πλήθει πεποιθότες; καὶ μὴν ἐλάχιστον ὑμῖν μέρος ἀντήρκεσεν τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτικοῦ. πίστει τοιγαροῦν συμμάχων; καὶ τί τῶν ἔξω τῆς ἡμετέρας ἡγεμονίας ἐθνῶν ἔμελλεν αἱρήσεσθαι Ἰουδαίους πρὸ Ῥωμαίων; [331] ἀλλ’ ἀλκῇ σωμάτων; καὶ μὴν ἴστε Γερμανοὺς δουλεύοντας ἡμῖν. ὀχυρότητι δὲ τειχῶν; καὶ τί μεῖζον ὠκεανοῦ τεῖχος κώλυμα, ὃν περιβεβλημένοι Βρεττανοὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὅπλα προσκυνοῦσιν; [332] καρτερίᾳ ψυχῆς καὶ πανουργίᾳ στρατηγῶν; ἀλλὰ μὴν ἤδειτε καὶ Καρχηδονίους ἁλόντας. [333] τοιγαροῦν ὑμᾶς ἐπήγειρε κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἡ Ῥωμαίων φιλανθρωπία, οἳ πρῶτον μὲν ὑμῖν τήν τε χώραν ἔδομεν νέμεσθαι καὶ βασιλεῖς ὁμοφύλους ἐπεστήσαμεν, [334] ἔπειτα τοὺς πατρίους νόμους ἐτηρήσαμεν, καὶ ζῆν οὐ μόνον καθ’ ἑαυτοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς

τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπετρέψαμεν ὡς ἐβούλεσθε: [335] τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, δασμολογεῖν τε ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἀναθήματα συλλέγειν ἐπετρέψαμεν, καὶ τοὺς ταῦτα φέροντας οὔτε ἐνουθετήσαμεν οὔτε ἐκωλύσαμεν, ἵν' ἡμῖν γένησθε πλουσιώτεροι καὶ παρασκευάσησθε τοῖς ἡμετέροις χρήμασιν καθ' ἡμῶν. [336] ἔπειτα τηλικούτων ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύοντες ἐπὶ τοὺς παρασχόντας ἠνέγκατε τὸν κόρον καὶ δίκην τῶν ἀτιθασεύτων ἑρπετῶν τοῖς σαίνουσι τὸν ἰὸν ἐναφήκατε. [337] ἔστω γοῦν, κατεφρονήσατε τῆς Νέρωνος ῥᾳθυμίας, καὶ καθάπερ ῥήγματα ἢ σπάσματα τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον κακοήθως ἠρεμοῦντες ἐν τῇ μείζονι νόσῳ διεφάνητε καὶ πρὸς ἐλπίδας ἀναιδεῖς ἀμέτρους ἐξετείνατε τὰς ἐπιθυμίας. [338] ἦκεν ὁ πατὴρ οὑμὸς εἰς τὴν χώραν, οὐ τιμωρησόμενος ὑμᾶς τῶν κατὰ Κέστιον, ἀλλὰ νουθετήσων: [339] δέον γοῦν, εἴπερ ἐπ' ἀναστάσει τοῦ ἔθνους παρῆν, ἐπὶ τὴν ῥίζαν ὑμῶν δραμεῖν καὶ ταύτην ἐκπορθεῖν τὴν πόλιν εὐθέως, ὁ δὲ Γαλιλαίαν ἐδῄου καὶ τὰ πέριξ ἐπιδιδοὺς ὑμῖν χρόνον εἰς μεταμέλειαν. [340] ἀλλ' ὑμῖν ἀσθένεια τὸ φιλάνθρωπον ἐδόκει κἀκ τῆς ἡμετέρας πρᾳότητος τὴν τόλμαν ἐπεθρέψατε. [341] Νέρωνος οἰχομένου τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἐχρῆν τοὺς πονηροτάτους ἐποιήσατε, ταῖς ἐμφυλίοις ἡμῶν ταραχαῖς ἐπεθαρρήσατε καὶ χωρισθέντων εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐμοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰς παρασκευὰς τοῦ πολέμου κατεχρήσασθε τοῖς καιροῖς, καὶ οὐκ ᾐδέσθητε ταράσσειν αὐτοκράτορας γεγενημένους οὓς καὶ στρατηγοὺς φιλανθρώπους ἐπειράσατε. [342] προσφυγούσης γοῦν ἡμῖν τῆς ἡγεμονίας, καὶ τῶν μὲν κατὰ ταύτην ἠρεμούντων πάντων, πρεσβευομένων δὲ καὶ συνηδομένων τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐθνῶν, πάλιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πολέμιοι, [343] καὶ πρεσβεῖαι μὲν ὑμῶν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ, περίβολοι δὲ τειχῶν ἀνοικοδομούμενοι καινοί, στάσεις δὲ καὶ τυράννων φιλονεικίαι καὶ πόλεμος ἐμφύλιος, μόνα τοῖς οὕτω πονηροῖς πρέποντα. [344] ἦκον ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐγὼ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἄκοντος λαβὼν σκυθρωπὰ παραγγέλματα. τὸν δῆμον ἀκούσας εἰρηνικὰ φρονεῖν ἤσθην. [345] ὑμᾶς παύσασθαι πρὸ πολέμου παρεκάλουν, μέχρι πολλοῦ πολεμούντων ἐφειδόμην, δεξιὰς αὐτομόλοις ἔδωκα, καταφυγοῦσι πίστεις ἐτήρησα, πολλοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἠλέησα, τοὺς ἐπείγοντας βασανίσας ἐκόλασα; τείχεσιν ὑμετέροις μηχανὰς ἄκων προσήγαγον, ἀεὶ φονῶντας τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐφ' ὑμῖν κατέσχον, καθ' ἑκάστην νίκην ὡς ἡττώμενος ὑμᾶς εἰς εἰρήνην προυκαλεσάμην. [346] τοῦ ἱεροῦ πλησίον γενόμενος πάλιν ἑκὼν ἐξελαθόμην τῶν τοῦ πολέμου νόμων, φείσασθαι δὲ παρεκάλουν τῶν ἰδίων ὑμᾶς ἁγίων καὶ σῶσαι τὸν ναὸν ἑαυτοῖς, διδοὺς ἄδειάν τε ἐξόδου καὶ πίστιν σωτηρίας, εἰ δ' ἐβούλεσθε, καὶ μάχης καιρὸν ἐν ἄλλῳ τόπῳ: [347] πάντων ὑπερείδετε καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἰδίαις χερσὶν ἐνεπρήσατε. ἔπειτα, μιαρώτατοι, προκαλεῖσθέ με πρὸς λόγους νῦν; ἵνα τί σώσητε τοιοῦτον οἷον ἀπόλωλεν; ποίας ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀξιοῦτε μετὰ τὸν ναὸν σωτηρίας; [348] ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἑστήκατε καὶ οὐδ' ἐν ἐσχάτοις ὑποκρίνεσθε γοῦν ἱκέτας, ὦ ταλαίπωροι, τίνι πεποιθότες; [349] οὐ νεκρὸς μὲν ὑμῶν ὁ δῆμος, οἴχεται δ' ὁ ναός, ὑπ' ἐμοὶ δὲ ἡ πόλις, ἐν χερσὶ δὲ ταῖς ἐμαῖς ἔχετε τὰς ψυχάς; εἶτα

ὑπολαμβάνετε δόξαν ἀνδρείας τὸ δυσθανατᾶν; [350] οὐ μὴν ἐγὼ φιλονεικήσω πρὸς τὴν ἀπόνοιαν ὑμῶν, ῥίψασι δὲ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ παραδοῦσι τὰ σώματα χαρίζομαι τὸ ζῆν, ὥσπερ ἐν οἰκίᾳ πρᾳ̃ος δεσπότης τὰ μὲν ἀνήκεστα κολάσας, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ σώζων ἐμαυτῷ."

2. But as for the tyrants themselves, and those that were with them, when they found that they were encompassed on every side, and, as it were, walled round, without any method of escaping, they desired to treat with Titus by word of mouth. Accordingly, such was the kindness of his nature, and his desire of preserving the city from destruction, joined to the advice of his friends, who now thought the robbers were come to a temper, that he placed himself on the western side of the outer [court of the] temple; for there were gates on that side above the Xystus, and a bridge that connected the upper city to the temple. This bridge it was that lay between the tyrants and Caesar, and parted them; while the multitude stood on each side; those of the Jewish nation about Sinran and John, with great hopes of pardon; and the Romans about Caesar, in great expectation how Titus would receive their supplication. So Titus charged his soldiers to restrain their rage, and to let their darts alone, and appointed an interpreter between them, which was a sign that he was the conqueror, and first began the discourse, and said, "I hope you, sirs, are now satiated with the miseries of your country, who have not had any just notions, either of our great power, or of your own great weakness, but have, like madmen, after a violent and inconsiderate manner, made such attempts, as have brought your people, your city, and your holy house to destruction. You have been the men that have never left off rebelling since Pompey first conquered you, and have, since that time, made open war with the Romans. Have you depended on your multitude, while a very small part of the Roman soldiery have been strong enough for you? Have you relied on the fidelity of your confederates? And what nations are there, out of the limits of our dominion, that would choose to assist the Jews before the Romans? Are your bodies stronger than ours? nay, you know that the [strong] Germans themselves are our servants. Have you stronger walls than we have? Pray, what greater obstacle is there than the wall of the ocean, with which the Britons are encompassed, and yet do adore the arms of the Romans. Do you exceed us in courage of soul, and in the sagacity of your commanders? Nay, indeed, you cannot but know that the very Carthaginians have been conquered by us. It can therefore be nothing certainly but the kindness of us Romans which hath excited you against us; who, in the first place, have given you this land to possess; and, in the next place, have set over you kings of your own nation; and, in the third place, have preserved the laws of your forefathers to you, and have withal

permitted you to live, either by yourselves, or among others, as it should please you: and, what is our chief favor of all we have given you leave to gather up that tribute which is paid to God with such other gifts that are dedicated to him; nor have we called those that carried these donations to account, nor prohibited them; till at length you became richer than we ourselves, even when you were our enemies; and you made preparations for war against us with our own money; nay, after all, when you were in the enjoyment of all these advantages, you turned your too great plenty against those that gave it you, and, like merciless serpents, have thrown out your poison against those that treated you kindly. I suppose, therefore, that you might despise the slothfulness of Nero, and, like limbs of the body that are broken or dislocated, you did then lie quiet, waiting for some other time, though still with a malicious intention, and have now showed your distemper to be greater than ever, and have extended your desires as far as your impudent and immense hopes would enable you to do it. At this time my father came into this country, not with a design to punish you for what you had done under Cestius, but to admonish you; for had he come to overthrow your nation, he had run directly to your fountain-head, and had immediately laid this city waste; whereas he went and burnt Galilee and the neighboring parts, and thereby gave you time for repentance; which instance of humanity you took for an argument of his weakness, and nourished up your impudence by our mildness. When Nero was gone out of the world, you did as the wickedest wretches would have done, and encouraged yourselves to act against us by our civil dissensions, and abused that time, when both I and my father were gone away to Egypt, to make preparations for this war. Nor were you ashamed to raise disturbances against us when we were made emperors, and this while you had experienced how mild we had been, when we were no more than generals of the army. But when the government was devolved upon us, and all other people did thereupon lie quiet, and even foreign nations sent embassies, and congratulated our access to the government, then did you Jews show yourselves to be our enemies. You sent embassies to those of your nation that are beyond Euphrates to assist you in your raising disturbances; new walls were built by you round your city, seditions arose, and one tyrant contended against another, and a civil war broke out among you; such indeed as became none but so wicked a people as you are. I then came to this city, as unwillingly sent by my father, and received melancholy injunctions from him. When I heard that the people were disposed to peace, I rejoiced at it; I exhorted you to leave off these proceedings before I began this war; I spared you even when you had fought against me a great while; I gave my right hand as security to the deserters; I observed what I had promised faithfully. When they fled to me, I had compassion on many of

those that I had taken captive; I tortured those that were eager for war, in order to restrain them. It was unwillingly that I brought my engines of war against your walls; I always prohibited my soldiers, when they were set upon your slaughter, from their severity against you. After every victory I persuaded you to peace, as though I had been myself conquered. When I came near your temple, I again departed from the laws of war, and exhorted you to spare your own sanctuary, and to preserve your holy house to yourselves. I allowed you a quiet exit out of it, and security for your preservation; nay, if you had a mind, I gave you leave to fight in another place. Yet have you still despised every one of my proposals, and have set fire to your holy house with your own hands. And now, vile wretches, do you desire to treat with me by word of mouth? To what purpose is it that you would save such a holy house as this was, which is now destroyed? What preservation can you now desire after the destruction of your temple? Yet do you stand still at this very time in your armor; nor can you bring yourselves so much as to pretend to be supplicants even in this your utmost extremity. O miserable creatures! what is it you depend on? Are not your people dead? is not your holy house gone? is not your city in my power? and are not your own very lives in my hands? And do you still deem it a part of valor to die? However, I will not imitate your madness. If you throw down your arms, and deliver up your bodies to me, I grant you your lives; and I will act like a mild master of a family; what cannot be healed shall be punished, and the rest I will preserve for my own use."

(3) [351] Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀποκρίνονται δεξιὰν μὲν μὴ δύνασθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν, ὀμωμοκέναι γὰρ μήποτε τοῦτο ποιήσειν, ἔξοδον δ' ᾐτοῦντο διὰ τοῦ περιτειχίσματος μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων: ἀπελεύσεσθαι γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἔρημον καὶ καταλείψειν αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν. [352] πρὸς ταῦτα ἀγανακτήσας Τίτος, εἰ τύχην ἐαλωκότων ἔχοντες αἱρέσεις αὐτῷ προτείνουσι νενικηκότων, κηρῦξαι μὲν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς αὐτοὺς μήτε αὐτομολεῖν ἔτι μήτε δεξιὰν ἐλπίζειν, φείσεσθαι γὰρ οὐδενός, [353] ἀλλὰ πάσῃ δυνάμει μάχεσθαι καὶ σώζειν ἑαυτοὺς ὅπως ἂν δύνωνται: πάντα γὰρ αὐτὸς ἤδη πράξειν πολέμου νόμῳ: τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις ἐμπιπράναι καὶ διαρπάζειν ἐπέτρεψεν τὴν πόλιν. [354] οἱ δὲ ἐκείνην μὲν ἐπέσχον τὴν ἡμέραν, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ τό τε ἀρχεῖον καὶ τὴν ἄκραν καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ τὸν Ὀφλᾶν καλούμενον ὑφῆψαν: [355] καὶ προύκοψε τὸ πῦρ μέχρι τῶν Ἑλένης βασιλείων, ἃ δὴ κατὰ μέσην τὴν ἄκραν ἦν, ἐκαίοντο δὲ οἱ στενωποὶ καὶ αἱ οἰκίαι νεκρῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ διεφθαρμένων πλήρεις.

3. To that offer of Titus they made this reply: That they could not accept of it, because they had sworn never to do so; but they desired they might have leave to go through the wall that had been made about them, with their wives and

children; for that they would go into the desert, and leave the city to him. At this Titus had great indignation, that when they were in the case of men already taken captives, they should pretend to make their own terms with him, as if they had been conquerors. So he ordered this proclamation to be made to them, That they should no more come out to him as deserters, nor hope for any further security; for that he would henceforth spare nobody, but fight them with his whole army; and that they must save themselves as well as they could; for that he would from henceforth treat them according to the laws of war. So he gave orders to the soldiers both to burn and to plunder the city; who did nothing indeed that day; but on the next day they set fire to the repository of the archives, to Acra, to the council-house, and to the place called Ophlas; at which time the fire proceeded as far as the palace of queen Helena, which was in the middle of Acra; the lanes also were burnt down, as were also those houses that were full of the dead bodies of such as were destroyed by famine.

(4) [356] Κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν οἵ τε Ἰζάτου βασιλέως υἱοὶ καὶ ἀδελφοί, πρὸς οἷς πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπισήμων δημοτῶν ἐκεῖ συνελθόντες, ἱκέτευσαν Καίσαρα δοῦναι δεξιὰν αὐτοῖς. ὁ δὲ καίτοι πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ὑπολοίπους διωργισμένος οὐκ ἤλλαξε τὸ ἦθος, δέχεται δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας. [357] καὶ τότε μὲν ἐν φρουρᾷ πάντας εἶχε, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως παῖδας καὶ συγγενεῖς δήσας ὕστερον εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνήγαγεν πίστιν ὁμήρων παρέξοντας.

4. On the same day it was that the sons and brethren of Izates the king, together with many others of the eminent men of the populace, got together there, and besought Caesar to give them his right hand for their security; upon which, though he was very angry at all that were now remaining, yet did he not lay aside his old moderation, but received these men. At that time, indeed, he kept them all in custody, but still bound the king's sons and kinsmen, and led them with him to Rome, in order to make them hostages for their country's fidelity to the Romans.

VII

CHAPTER 7.

What Afterward Befell The Seditious When They Had Done A

Great Deal Of Mischief, And Suffered Many Misfortunes; As

Also How Caesar Became Master Of The Upper City.

(1) [358] Οἱ στασιασταὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ὁρμήσαντες αὐλήν, εἰς ἣν δι' ὀχυρότητα πολλοὶ τὰς κτήσεις ἀπέθεντο, τούς τε Ῥωμαίους ἀπ' αὐτῆς τρέπονται

καὶ τὸ συνηθροισμένον αὐτόθι τοῦ δήμου πᾶν φονεύσαντες, ὄντας εἰς ὀκτακισχιλίους καὶ τετρακοσίους, τὰ χρήματα διήρπασαν. [359] ἐζώγρησαν δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίων δύο, τὸν μὲν ἱππέα τὸν δὲ πεζόν, καὶ τὸν μὲν πεζὸν ἀποσφάξαντες εὐθέως ἔσυραν περὶ τὴν πόλιν, ὥσπερ ἑνὶ σώματι πάντας Ῥωμαίους ἀμυνόμενοι, [360] ὁ δὲ ἱππεὺς ὠφέλιμόν τι αὐτοῖς πρὸς σωτηρίαν ὑποθήσεσθαι λέγων ἀνάγεται πρὸς Σίμωνα: παρ᾽ ᾧ μηδὲν εἰπεῖν ἔχων Ἀρδάλᾳ τινὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων παραδίδοται κολασθησόμενος. [361] ὁ δὲ αὐτοῦ ὀπίσω τὼ χεῖρε δήσας καὶ ταινίᾳ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀντικρὺ τῶν Ῥωμαίων προήγαγεν ὡς καρατομήσων: φθάνει δ᾽ ἐκεῖνος εἰς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διαφυγὼν ἐν ὅσῳ τὸ ξίφος ἐσπάσατο ὁ Ἰουδαῖος. [362] τοῦτον διαφυγόντα ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνελεῖν μὲν οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν Τίτος, ἀνάξιον δὲ Ῥωμαίων εἶναι στρατιώτην κρίνας, ὅτι ζῶν ἐλήφθη, τά τε ὅπλα ἀφείλετο καὶ τοῦ τάγματος ἐξέβαλεν, ἅπερ ἦν αἰσχυνομένῳ θανάτου χαλεπώτερα.

1. And now the seditious rushed into the royal palace, into which many had put their effects, because it was so strong, and drove the Romans away from it. They also slew all the people that had crowded into it, who were in number about eight thousand four hundred, and plundered them of what they had. They also took two of the Romans alive; the one was a horseman, and the other a footman. They then cut the throat of the footman, and immediately had him drawn through the whole city, as revenging themselves upon the whole body of the Romans by this one instance. But the horseman said he had somewhat to suggest to them in order to their preservation; whereupon he was brought before Simon; but he having nothing to say when he was there, he was delivered to Ardalas, one of his commanders, to be punished, who bound his hands behind him, and put a riband over his eyes, and then brought him out over against the Romans, as intending to cut off his head. But the man prevented that execution, and ran away to the Romans, and this while the Jewish executioner was drawing out his sword. Now when he was gotten away from the enemy, Titus could not think of putting him to death; but because he deemed him unworthy of being a Roman soldier any longer, on account that he had been taken alive by the enemy, he took away his arms, and ejected him out of the legion whereto he had belonged; which, to one that had a sense of shame, was a penalty severer than death itself.

(2) [363] Τῇ δ᾽ ἑξῆς Ῥωμαῖοι τρεψάμενοι τοὺς λῃστὰς ἐκ τῆς κάτω πόλεως τὰ μέχρι τοῦ Σιλωᾶ [πάντα] ἐνέπρησαν, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἄστεος ἥδοντο δαπανωμένου, τῶν δ᾽ ἁρπαγῶν διημάρτανον, ἐπειδὴ πάνθ᾽ οἱ στασιασταὶ προκενοῦντες ἀνεχώρουν εἰς τὴν ἄνω πόλιν. [364] ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς μετάνοια μὲν οὐδεμία τῶν κακῶν, ἀλαζονεία δὲ ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθοῖς: καιομένην γοῦν ἀφορῶντες τὴν πόλιν ἱλαροῖς τοῖς προσώποις εὔθυμοι προσδέχεσθαι τὴν τελευτὴν ἔλεγον, πεφονευμένου μὲν τοῦ δήμου, κεκαυμένου δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ, φλεγομένου δὲ τοῦ ἄστεος μηδὲν καταλιπόντες τοῖς

πολεμίοις. [365] οὐ μὴν ὅ γε Ἰώσηπος ἐν ἐσχάτοις ἱκετεύων αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν λειψάνων τῆς πόλεως ἔκαμνεν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ὠμότητα καὶ τὴν ἀσέβειαν εἰπών, πολλὰ δὲ συμβουλεύσας πρὸς σωτηρίαν οὐδὲν τοῦ χλευασθῆναι πλέον ἀπηνέγκατο. [366] ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτε παραδοῦναι διὰ τὸν ὅρκον ἑαυτοὺς ὑπέμενον οὔτε πολεμεῖν ἐξ ἴσου Ῥωμαίοις ἔθ' οἷοί τε ἦσαν ὥσπερ εἱρκτῇ περιειλημμένοι, τό τε τοῦ φονεύειν ἔθος ἐκίνει τὰς δεξιάς, σκιδνάμενοι κατὰ τὰ ἔμπροσθεν τῆς πόλεως τοῖς ἐρειπίοις ὑπελόχων τοὺς αὐτομολεῖν ὡρμημένους. [367] ἡλίσκοντο δὲ πολλοί, καὶ πάντας ἀποσφάττοντες, ὑπὸ γὰρ ἐνδείας οὐδὲ φεύγειν ἴσχυον, ἐρρίπτουν αὐτῶν κυσὶ τοὺς νεκρούς. [368] ἐδόκει δὲ πᾶς τρόπος ἀπωλείας τοῦ λιμοῦ κουφότερος, ὥστε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἀπηλπικότες ἤδη τὸν ἔλεον ὅμως προσέφευγον καὶ φονεύουσι τοῖς στασιασταῖς ἑκόντες ἐνέπιπτον. [369] τόπος τ' ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως οὐδεὶς γυμνὸς ἦν, ἀλλὰ πᾶς λιμοῦ νεκρὸν εἶχεν ἢ στάσεως [καὶ πεπλήρωτο νεκρῶν ἢ διὰ στάσιν ἢ διὰ λιμὸν ἀπολωλότων].

2. On the next day the Romans drove the robbers out of the lower city, and set all on fire as far as Siloam. These soldiers were indeed glad to see the city destroyed. But they missed the plunder, because the seditious had carried off all their effects, and were retired into the upper city; for they did not yet at all repent of the mischiefs they had done, but were insolent, as if they had done well; for, as they saw the city on fire, they appeared cheerful, and put on joyful countenances, in expectation, as they said, of death to end their miseries. Accordingly, as the people were now slain, the holy house was burnt down, and the city was on fire, there was nothing further left for the enemy to do. Yet did not Josephus grow weary, even in this utmost extremity, to beg of them to spare what was left of the city; he spake largely to them about their barbarity and impiety, and gave them his advice in order to their escape; though he gained nothing thereby more than to be laughed at by them; and as they could not think of surrendering themselves up, because of the oath they had taken, nor were strong enough to fight with the Romans any longer upon the square, as being surrounded on all sides, and a kind of prisoners already, yet were they so accustomed to kill people, that they could not restrain their right hands from acting accordingly. So they dispersed themselves before the city, and laid themselves in ambush among its ruins, to catch those that attempted to desert to the Romans; accordingly many such deserters were caught by them, and were all slain; for these were too weak, by reason of their want of food, to fly away from them; so their dead bodies were thrown to the dogs. Now every other sort of death was thought more tolerable than the famine, insomuch that, though the Jews despaired now of mercy, yet would they fly to the Romans, and would themselves, even of their own accord, fall among the murderous rebels also. Nor

was there any place in the city that had no dead bodies in it, but what was entirely covered with those that were killed either by the famine or the rebellion; and all was full of the dead bodies of such as had perished, either by that sedition or by that famine.

(3) [370] Ἔθαλπε δὲ τούς τε τυράννους καὶ τὸ σὺν αὐτοῖς λῃστρικὸν ἐλπὶς ἐσχάτη περὶ τῶν ὑπονόμων, εἰς οὓς καταφεύγοντες οὐ προσεδόκων ἐρευνηθήσεσθαι, μετὰ δὲ τὴν παντελῆ τῆς πόλεως ἅλωσιν ἀναζευξάντων Ῥωμαίων προελθόντες ἀποδράσεσθαι ἐπεχείρουν. [371] τὸ δὲ ἦν ἄρα ὄνειρος αὐτοῖς: οὔτε γὰρ τὸν θεὸν οὔτε Ῥωμαίους λήσειν ἔμελλον. [372] τηνικαῦτά γε μὴν τοῖς ὑπογείοις πεποιθότες αὐτοὶ πλείονα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐνεπίμπρασαν, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν καιομένων καταφεύγοντας εἰς τὰς διώρυχας ἔκτεινόν τε ἀνέδην καὶ ἐσύλων καὶ εἴ τινος εὕροιεν τροφὴν ἁρπάζοντες αἵματι πεφυρμένην κατέπινον. [373] ἦν δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐν ταῖς ἁρπαγαῖς ἤδη πόλεμος αὐτοῖς, δοκοῦσί τε ἄν μοι μὴ φθασθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς ἁλώσεως δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν ὠμότητος γεύσασθαι καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν.

3. So now the last hope which supported the tyrants, and that crew of robbers who were with them, was in the caves and caverns under ground; whither, if they could once fly, they did not expect to be searched for; but endeavored, that after the whole city should be destroyed, and the Romans gone away, they might come out again, and escape from them. This was no better than a dream of theirs; for they were not able to lie hid either from God or from the Romans. However, they depended on these under-ground subterfuges, and set more places on fire than did the Romans themselves; and those that fled out of their houses thus set on fire into the ditches, they killed without mercy, and pillaged them also; and if they discovered food belonging to any one, they seized upon it and swallowed it down, together with their blood also; nay, they were now come to fight one with another about their plunder; and I cannot but think that, had not their destruction prevented it, their barbarity would have made them taste of even the dead bodies themselves.

VIII

CHAPTER 8.

How Caesar Raised Banks Round About The Upper City [Mount Zion] And When They Were Completed, Gave Orders That The Machines Should Be Brought. He Then Possessed Himself Of The Whole City.

(1) [374] Καῖσαρ δέ, ὡς ἀμήχανον ἦν ἐξελεῖν δίχα χωμάτων τὴν ἄνω πόλιν περίκρημνον οὖσαν, διανέμει τοῖς ἔργοις τὴν δύναμιν Λώου μηνὸς εἰκάδι. [375] χαλεπὴ δὲ ἦν τῆς ὕλης ἡ κομιδὴ πάντων, ὡς ἔφην, τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐφ᾽ ἑκατὸν σταδίους ἐψιλωμένων εἰς τὰ πρότερον χώματα. [376] τῶν μὲν οὖν τεσσάρων ταγμάτων ἠγείρετο τὰ ἔργα κατὰ τὸ πρὸς δύσιν κλίμα τῆς πόλεως ἀντικρὺ τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς, [377] τὸ δὲ συμμαχικὸν πλῆθος καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς ὄχλος κατὰ τὸν ξυστὸν ἔχου καὶ τὴν γέφυραν καὶ τὸν Σίμωνος πύργον, ὃν ᾠκοδόμησε πρὸς Ἰωάννην πολεμῶν ἑαυτῷ φρούριον.

1. Now when Caesar perceived that the upper city was so steep that it could not possibly be taken without raising banks against it, he distributed the several parts of that work among his army, and this on the twentieth day of the month Lous [Ab]. Now the carriage of the materials was a difficult task, since all the trees, as I have already told you, that were about the city, within the distance of a hundred furlongs, had their branches cut off already, in order to make the former banks. The works that belonged to the four legions were erected on the west side of the city, over against the royal palace; but the whole body of the auxiliary troops, with the rest of the multitude that were with them, [erected their banks] at the Xystus, whence they reached to the bridge, and that tower of Simon which he had built as a citadel for himself against John, when they were at war one with another.

(2) [378] Κατὰ ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας οἱ τῶν Ἰδουμαίων ἡγεμόνες κρύφα συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύσαντο περὶ παραδόσεως σφῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ πέμψαντες ἄνδρας πέντε πρὸς Τίτον ἱκέτευον δοῦναι δεξιὰν αὐτοῖς. [379] ὁ δὲ καὶ τοὺς τυράννους ἐνδώσειν ἐλπίσας ἀποσπασθέντων τῶν Ἰδουμαίων, οἳ πολὺ τοῦ πολέμου μέρος ἦσαν, βραδέως μέν, ἀλλ᾽ οὖν κατανεύει τε τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀνέπεμψε. [380] παρασκευαζομένων δὲ ἀποχωρεῖν αἰσθάνεται Σίμων, καὶ πέντε μὲν τοὺς ἀπελθόντας πρὸς Τίτον εὐθέως ἀναιρεῖ, τοὺς δὲ ἡγεμόνας, ὧν ἐπισημότατος ἦν ὁ τοῦ Σωσᾶ Ἰάκωβος, συλλαβὼν εἴργνυσι: [381] τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰδουμαίων ἀμηχανοῦν διὰ τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν τῶν ἡγεμόνων οὐκ ἀφύλακτον εἶχε καὶ τὸ τεῖχος φρουραῖς ἐπιμελεστέραις διελάμβανεν. [382] οὐ μὴν ἀντέχειν οἱ φρουροὶ πρὸς τὰς αὐτομολίας ἴσχυον, ἀλλὰ καίτοι πλείστων φονευομένων πολὺ πλείους οἱ διαφεύγοντες ἦσαν. [383] ἐδέχοντο δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι πάντας, τοῦ τε Τίτου διὰ πρᾳότητα τῶν προτέρων ἀμελήσαντος παραγγελμάτων, καὶ αὐτοὶ κόρῳ τοῦ κτείνειν ἀπεχόμενοι καὶ κέρδους ἐλπίδι: [384] τοὺς γὰρ δημοτικοὺς καταλιπόντες μόνους τὸν ἄλλον ὄχλον ἐπώλουν σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις, ἐλαχίστης τιμῆς ἕκαστον πλήθει τε τῶν πιπρασκομένων καὶ ὀλιγότητι τῶν ὠνουμένων. [385] καίπερ δὲ προκηρύξας μηδένα μόνον αὐτομολεῖν, ὅπως καὶ τὰς γενεὰς ἐξαγάγοιεν, ὅμως καὶ τούτους ἐδέχετο: ἐπέστησε μέντοι τοὺς διακρινοῦντας ἀπ᾽

αὐτῶν, εἴ τις εἴη κολάσεως ἄξιος. [386] καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀπεμποληθέντων ἄπειρον ἦν τὸ πλῆθος, οἱ δημοτικοὶ δὲ διεσώθησαν ὑπὲρ τετρακισμυρίους, οὓς διαφῆκεν Καῖσαρ ᾗ φίλον ἦν ἑκάστῳ.

2. It was at this time that the commanders of the Idumeans got together privately, and took counsel about surrendering up themselves to the Romans. Accordingly, they sent five men to Titus, and entreated him to give them his right hand for their security. So Titus thinking that the tyrants would yield, if the Idumeans, upon whom a great part of the war depended, were once withdrawn from them, after some reluctancy and delay, complied with them, and gave them security for their lives, and sent the five men back. But as these Idumeans were preparing to march out, Simon perceived it, and immediately slew the five men that had gone to Titus, and took their commanders, and put them in prison, of whom the most eminent was Jacob, the son of Sosas; but as for the multitude of the Idumeans, who did not at all know what to do, now their commanders were taken from them, he had them watched, and secured the walls by a more numerous garrison, Yet could not that garrison resist those that were deserting; for although a great number of them were slain, yet were the deserters many more in number. They were all received by the Romans, because Titus himself grew negligent as to his former orders for killing them, and because the very soldiers grew weary of killing them, and because they hoped to get some money by sparing them; for they left only the populace, and sold the rest of the multitude, with their wives and children, and every one of them at a very low price, and that because such as were sold were very many, and the buyers were few: and although Titus had made proclamation beforehand, that no deserter should come alone by himself, that so they might bring out their families with them, yet did he receive such as these also. However, he set over them such as were to distinguish some from others, in order to see if any of them deserved to be punished. And indeed the number of those that were sold was immense; but of the populace above forty thousand were saved, whom Caesar let go whither every one of them pleased.

(3) [387] Ἐν δὲ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις καὶ τῶν ἱερέων τις Θεβουθεῖ παῖς, Ἰησοῦς ὄνομα, λαβὼν περὶ σωτηρίας ὅρκους παρὰ Καίσαρος ἐφ᾽ ᾧ παραδώσει τινὰ τῶν ἱερῶν κειμηλίων, [388] ἔξεισι καὶ παραδίδωσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ τοίχου τοῦ ναοῦ λυχνίας δύο τῶν κατὰ τὸν ναὸν κειμένων παραπλησίας τραπέζας τε καὶ κρατῆρας καὶ φιάλας, πάντα ὁλόχρυσα καὶ στιβαρώτατα, [389] παραδίδωσι δὲ καὶ τὰ καταπετάσματα καὶ τὰ ἐνδύματα τῶν ἀρχιερέων σὺν τοῖς λίθοις καὶ πολλὰ τῶν πρὸς τὰς ἱερουργίας σκευῶν ἄλλα. [390] συλληφθεὶς δὲ καὶ ὁ γαζοφύλαξ τοῦ ἱεροῦ Φινέας ὄνομα τούς τε χιτῶνας καὶ τὰς ζώνας ὑπέδειξε τῶν ἱερέων πορφύραν τε πολλὴν καὶ κόκκον, ἃ πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἀπέκειτο τοῦ καταπετάσματος, σὺν οἷς

κιννάμωμόν τε πολὺ καὶ κασσίαν καὶ πλῆθος ἑτέρων ἀρωμάτων, ἃ συμμίσγοντες ἐθυμίων ὁσημέραι τῷ θεῷ. [391] παρεδόθη δὲ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πολλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κειμηλίων κόσμος τε ἱερὸς οὐκ ὀλίγος, ἅπερ αὐτῷ βίᾳ ληφθέντι τὴν τῶν αὐτομόλων συγγνώμην ἔδωκε.

3. But now at this time it was that one of the priests, the son of Thebuthus, whose name was Jesus, upon his having security given him, by the oath of Caesar, that he should be preserved, upon condition that he should deliver to him certain of the precious things that had been reposited in the temple came out of it, and delivered him from the wall of the holy house two candlesticks, like to those that lay in the holy house, with tables, and cisterns, and vials, all made of solid gold, and very heavy. He also delivered to him the veils and the garments, with the precious stones, and a great number of other precious vessels that belonged to their sacred worship. The treasurer of the temple also, whose name was Phineas, was seized on, and showed Titus the coats and girdles of the priests, with a great quantity of purple and scarlet, which were there reposited for the uses of the veil, as also a great deal of cinnamon and cassia, with a large quantity of other sweet spices, which used to be mixed together, and offered as incense to God every day. A great many other treasures were also delivered to him, with sacred ornaments of the temple not a few; which things thus delivered to Titus obtained of him for this man the same pardon that he had allowed to such as deserted of their own accord.

(4) [392] Συντετελεσμένων δ᾽ ἤδη καὶ τῶν χωμάτων ἐν ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἡμέραις ἑβδόμῃ Γορπιαίου μηνὸς Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν προσῆγον τὰς μηχανάς, τῶν δὲ στασιαστῶν οἱ μὲν ἀπεγνωκότες ἤδη τὴν πόλιν ἀνεχώρουν τοῦ τείχους εἰς τὴν ἄκραν, οἱ δὲ ἐγκατεδύοντο τοῖς ὑπονόμοις: [393] πολλοὶ δὲ διαστάντες ἠμύνοντο τοὺς προσάγοντας τὰς ἐλεπόλεις. ἐκράτουν δὲ καὶ τούτων Ῥωμαῖοι πλήθει τε καὶ βίᾳ καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, εὐθυμοῦντες ἀθύμων ἤδη καὶ παρειμένων. [394] ὡς δὲ παρερράγη μέρος τι τοῦ τείχους, καί τινες τῶν πύργων τυπτόμενοι τοῖς κριοῖς ἐνέδοσαν, φυγὴ μὲν ἦν εὐθέως τῶν ἀμυνομένων, δέος δὲ καὶ τοῖς τυράννοις ἐμπίπτει σφοδρότερον τῆς ἀνάγκης: [395] πρὶν γὰρ ὑπερβῆναι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐνάρκων τε καὶ μετέωροι πρὸς φυγὴν ἦσαν, ἦν δὲ ἰδεῖν τοὺς πάλαι σοβαροὺς καὶ τοῖς ἀσεβήμασιν ἀλαζόνας τότε ταπεινοὺς καὶ τρέμοντας, ὡς ἐλεεινὴν εἶναι καίπερ ἐν πονηροτάτοις τὴν μεταβολήν. [396] ὥρμησαν μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ περιτείχισμα δραμόντες ὥσασθαί τε τοὺς φρουροὺς καὶ διακόψαντες ἐξελθεῖν: [397] ὡς δὲ τοὺς μὲν πάλαι πιστοὺς ἑώρων οὐδαμοῦ, διέφυγον γὰρ ὅπῃ τινὶ συνεβούλευεν ἡ ἀνάγκη, προσθέοντες δὲ οἱ μὲν ὅλον ἀνατετράφθαι τὸ πρὸς δύσιν τεῖχος ἤγγελλον, οἱ δ᾽ ἐμβεβληκέναι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἤδη τε πλησίον εἶναι ζητοῦντας αὐτούς, [398] ἕτεροι δὲ καὶ ἀφορᾶν ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων πολεμίους ἔλεγον

πλάζοντος τὰς ὄψεις τοῦ δέους, ἐπὶ στόμα πεσόντες ἀνώμωζον τὴν ἑαυτῶν φρενοβλάβειαν καὶ καθάπερ ὑποκεκομμένοι τὰ νεῦρα τῆς φυγῆς ἠπόρουν. [399] ἔνθα δὴ μάλιστ᾽ ἄν τις καταμάθοι τήν τε τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνοσίοις καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων τύχην: οἱ μέν γε τύραννοι τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐγύμνωσαν αὐτοὺς κἀκ τῶν πύργων κατέβησαν ἑκόντες, ἐφ᾽ ᾧν βίᾳ μὲν οὐδέποθ᾽ ἁλῶναι, μόνῳ δ᾽ ἐδύναντο λιμῷ. [400] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τοσαῦτα περὶ τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις τείχεσι καμόντες παρέλαβον τύχῃ τὰ μὴ δυνατὰ τοῖς ὀργάνοις: παντὸς γὰρ ἰσχυρότεροι μηχανήματος ἦσαν οἱ τρεῖς πύργοι, περὶ ὧν ἀνωτέρω δεδηλώκαμεν.

4. And now were the banks finished on the seventh day of the month Gorpieus, [Elul,] in eighteen days' time, when the Romans brought their machines against the wall. But for the seditious, some of them, as despairing of saving the city, retired from the wall to the citadel; others of them went down into the subterranean vaults, though still a great many of them defended themselves against those that brought the engines for the battery; yet did the Romans overcome them by their number and by their strength; and, what was the principal thing of all, by going cheerfully about their work, while the Jews were quite dejected, and become weak. Now as soon as a part of the wall was battered down, and certain of the towers yielded to the impression of the battering rams, those that opposed themselves fled away, and such a terror fell upon the tyrants, as was much greater than the occasion required; for before the enemy got over the breach they were quite stunned, and were immediately for flying away. And now one might see these men, who had hitherto been so insolent and arrogant in their wicked practices, to be cast down and to tremble, insomuch that it would pity one's heart to observe the change that was made in those vile persons. Accordingly, they ran with great violence upon the Roman wall that encompassed them, in order to force away those that guarded it, and to break through it, and get away. But when they saw that those who had formerly been faithful to them had gone away, [as indeed they were fled whithersoever the great distress they were in persuaded them to flee,] as also when those that came running before the rest told them that the western wall was entirely overthrown, while others said the Romans were gotten in, and others that they were near, and looking out for them, which were only the dictates of their fear, which imposed upon their sight, they fell upon their face, and greatly lamented their own mad conduct; and their nerves were so terribly loosed, that they could not flee away. And here one may chiefly reflect on the power of God exercised upon these wicked wretches, and on the good fortune of the Romans; for these tyrants did now wholly deprive themselves of the security they had in their own power, and came down from those very towers of their own accord, wherein they could have

never been taken by force, nor indeed by any other way than by famine. And thus did the Romans, when they had taken such great pains about weaker walls, get by good fortune what they could never have gotten by their engines; for three of these towers were too strong for all mechanical engines whatsoever, concerning which we have treated above.

(5) [401] Καταλιπόντες δὴ τούτους, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καταβληθέντες ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν, παραχρῆμα μὲν εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ τῇ Σιλωᾶ φάραγγα καταφεύγουσιν, αὖθις δὲ ὀλίγον ἀνακύψαντες ἐκ τοῦ δέους ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸ τῇδε περιτείχισμα. [402] χρησάμενοι δὲ ταῖς τόλμαις ἀγενεστέραις τῆς ἀνάγκης, κατεάγησαν γὰρ ἤδη τὴν ἰσχὺν ἅμα τῷ δέει καὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς, ὑπὸ τῶν φρουρῶν ἀνωθοῦνται καὶ σκεδασθέντες ὑπ᾽ ἀλλήλων κατέδυσαν εἰς τοὺς ὑπονόμους. [403] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τῶν τειχῶν κρατήσαντες τάς τε σημαίας ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τῶν πύργων καὶ μετὰ κρότου καὶ χαρᾶς ἐπαιάνιζον ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ, πολὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς κουφότερον τοῦ πολέμου τὸ τέλος εὑρηκότες: ἀναιμωτὶ γοῦν τοῦ τελευταίου τείχους ἐπιβάντες ἠπίστουν, καὶ μηδένα βλέποντες ἀντίπαλον ἀληθῶς ἠπόρηντο. [404] εἰσχυθέντες δὲ τοῖς στενωποῖς ξιφήρεις τούς τε καταλαμβανομένους ἐφόνευον ἀνέδην καὶ τῶν συμφευγόντων τὰς οἰκίας αὐτάνδρους ὑπεπίμπρασαν. [405] πολλὰς δὲ κεραίζοντες ὁπότ᾽ ἔνδον παρέλθοιεν ἐφ᾽ ἁρπαγήν, γενεὰς ὅλας νεκρῶν κατελάμβανον καὶ τὰ δωμάτια πλήρη τῶν τοῦ λιμοῦ πτωμάτων, ἔπειτα πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν πεφρικότες κεναῖς χερσὶν ἐξῄεσαν. [406] οὐ μὴν οἰκτείροντες τοὺς οὕτως ἀπολωλότας ταὐτὸ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας ἔπασχον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα διελαύνοντες ἀπέφραξαν μὲν τοὺς στενωποὺς νεκροῖς, αἵματι δὲ ὅλην τὴν πόλιν κατέκλυσαν, ὡς πολλὰ καὶ τῶν φλεγομένων σβεσθῆναι τῷ φόνῳ. [407] καὶ οἱ μὲν κτείνοντες ἐπαύσαντο πρὸς ἑσπέραν, ἐν δὲ τῇ νυκτὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐπεκράτει, φλεγομένοις δ᾽ ἐπανέτειλεν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἡμέρα Γορπιαίου μηνὸς ὀγδόη, [408] πόλει τοσαύταις χρησαμένῃ συμφοραῖς κατὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν, ὅσοις ἀπὸ κτίσεως ἀγαθοῖς κεχρημένη πάντως ἂν ἐπίφθονος ἔδοξεν, οὐ μὴν ἀξίᾳ κατ᾽ ἄλλο τι τῶν τηλικούτων ἀτυχημάτων ἢ τὸ γενεὰν τοιαύτην ἐνεγκεῖν, ὑφ᾽ ἧς ἀνετράπη.

5. So they now left these towers of themselves, or rather they were ejected out of them by God himself, and fled immediately to that valley which was under Siloam, where they again recovered themselves out of the dread they were in for a while, and ran violently against that part of the Roman wall which lay on that side; but as their courage was too much depressed to make their attacks with sufficient force, and their power was now broken with fear and affliction, they were repulsed by the guards, and dispersing themselves at distances from each other, went down into the subterranean caverns. So the Romans being now become masters of the walls, they both placed their ensigns upon the towers, and made joyful acclamations for the victory they had gained, as having found the

end of this war much lighter than its beginning; for when they had gotten upon the last wall, without any bloodshed, they could hardly believe what they found to be true; but seeing nobody to oppose them, they stood in doubt what such an unusual solitude could mean. But when they went in numbers into the lanes of the city with their swords drawn, they slew those whom they overtook without and set fire to the houses whither the Jews were fled, and burnt every soul in them, and laid waste a great many of the rest; and when they were come to the houses to plunder them, they found in them entire families of dead men, and the upper rooms full of dead corpses, that is, of such as died by the famine; they then stood in a horror at this sight, and went out without touching any thing. But although they had this commiseration for such as were destroyed in that manner, yet had they not the same for those that were still alive, but they ran every one through whom they met with, and obstructed the very lanes with their dead bodies, and made the whole city run down with blood, to such a degree indeed that the fire of many of the houses was quenched with these men's blood. And truly so it happened, that though the slayers left off at the evening, yet did the fire greatly prevail in the night; and as all was burning, came that eighth day of the month Gorpieus [Elul] upon Jerusalem, a city that had been liable to so many miseries during this siege, that, had it always enjoyed as much happiness from its first foundation, it would certainly have been the envy of the world. Nor did it on any other account so much deserve these sore misfortunes, as by producing such a generation of men as were the occasions of this its overthrow.

IX

CHAPTER 9.

What Injunctions Caesar Gave When He Was Come Within The City. The Number Of The Captives And Of Those That Perished In The Siege; As Also Concerning Those That Had Escaped Into The Subterranean Caverns, Among Whom Were The Tyrants Simon And John Themselves.

(1) [409] Παρελθὼν δὲ Τίτος εἴσω τά τε ἄλλα τῆς ὀχυρότητος τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῶν πύργων ἀπεθαύμασεν, οὓς οἱ τύραννοι κατὰ φρενοβλάβειαν ἀπέλιπον. [410] κατιδὼν γοῦν τό τε ναστὸν αὐτῶν ὕψος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ἑκάστης πέτρας τήν τε ἀκρίβειαν τῆς ἁρμονίας, καὶ ὅσοι μὲν εὖρος ἦλίκοι δὲ ἦσαν τὴν ἀνάστασιν, [411] "σὺν θεῷ γε ἐπολεμήσαμεν, ἔφη, καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ τῶνδε τῶν ἐρυμάτων Ἰουδαίους καθελών, ἐπεὶ χεῖρες ἀνθρώπων ἢ μηχαναὶ τί πρὸς τούτους τοὺς [412] πύργους

δύνανται;" τότε μὲν οὖν πολλὰ τοιαῦτα διελέχθη πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, τοὺς δὲ τῶν τυράννων δεσμώτας, ὅσοι κατελήφθησαν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις, ἀνῆκεν. [413] αὖθις δὲ τὴν ἄλλην ἀφανίζων πόλιν καὶ τὰ τείχη κατασκάπτων τούτους τοὺς πύργους κατέλιπε μνημεῖον εἶναι τῆς αὐτοῦ τύχης, ᾗ συστρατιώτιδι χρησάμενος ἐκράτησε τῶν ἁλῶναι μὴ δυναμένων.

1. Now when Titus was come into this [upper] city, he admired not only some other places of strength in it, but particularly those strong towers which the tyrants in their mad conduct had relinquished; for when he saw their solid altitude, and the largeness of their several stones, and the exactness of their joints, as also how great was their breadth, and how extensive their length, he expressed himself after the manner following: "We have certainly had God for our assistant in this war, and it was no other than God who ejected the Jews out of these fortifications; for what could the hands of men or any machines do towards overthrowing these towers?" At which time he had many such discourses to his friends; he also let such go free as had been bound by the tyrants, and were left in the prisons. To conclude, when he entirely demolished the rest of the city, and overthrew its walls, he left these towers as a monument of his good fortune, which had proved his auxiliaries, and enabled him to take what could not otherwise have been taken by him.

(2) [414] Ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ στρατιῶται μὲν ἔκαμνον ἤδη φονεύοντες, πολὺ δέ τι πλῆθος τῶν περιόντων ἀνεφαίνετο, κελεύει Καῖσαρ μόνους μὲν τοὺς ἐνόπλους καὶ χεῖρας ἀντίσχοντας κτείνειν, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ζωγρεῖν. [415] οἱ δὲ μετὰ τῶν παρηγγελμένων τό τε γηραιὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς ἀνῄρουν, τὸ δ' ἀκμάζον καὶ χρήσιμον εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν συνελάσαντες ἐγκατέκλεισαν τῷ τῶν γυναικῶν περιτειχίσματι. [416] καὶ φρουρὸν μὲν ἐπέστησε Καῖσαρ ἕνα τῶν ἀπελευθέρων, Φρόντωνα δὲ τῶν φίλων ἐπικρινοῦντα τὴν ἀξίαν ἑκάστῳ τύχην. [417] ὁ δὲ τοὺς μὲν στασιώδεις καὶ λῃστρικοὺς πάντας ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἐνδεικνυμένους ἀπέκτεινε, τῶν δὲ νέων τοὺς ὑψηλοτάτους καὶ καλοὺς ἐπιλέξας ἐτήρει τῷ θριάμβῳ. [418] τοῦ δὲ λοιποῦ πλήθους τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτη δήσας ἔπεμψεν εἰς τὰ κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἔργα, πλείστους δ' εἰς τὰς ἐπαρχίας διεδωρήσατο Τίτος φθαρησομένους ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις σιδήρῳ καὶ θηρίοις: οἱ δ' ἐντὸς ἑπτακαίδεκα ἐτῶν ἐπράθησαν. [419] ἐφθάρησαν δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν αἷς διέκρινεν ὁ Φρόντων ἡμέραις ὑπ' ἐνδείας χίλιοι πρὸς τοῖς μυρίοις, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ μίσους τῶν φυλάκων μὴ μεταλαμβάνοντες τροφῆς, οἱ δ' οὐ προσιέμενοι διδομένην: πρὸς δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ἦν ἔνδεια καὶ σίτου.

2. And now, since his soldiers were already quite tired with killing men, and yet there appeared to be a vast multitude still remaining alive, Caesar gave orders

that they should kill none but those that were in arms, and opposed them, but should take the rest alive. But, together with those whom they had orders to slay, they slew the aged and the infirm; but for those that were in their flourishing age, and who might be useful to them, they drove them together into the temple, and shut them up within the walls of the court of the women; over which Caesar set one of his freed-men, as also Fronto, one of his own friends; which last was to determine every one's fate, according to his merits. So this Fronto slew all those that had been seditious and robbers, who were impeached one by another; but of the young men he chose out the tallest and most beautiful, and reserved them for the triumph; and as for the rest of the multitude that were above seventeen years old, he put them into bonds, and sent them to the Egyptian mines. Titus also sent a great number into the provinces, as a present to them, that they might be destroyed upon their theatres, by the sword and by the wild beasts; but those that were under seventeen years of age were sold for slaves. Now during the days wherein Fronto was distinguishing these men, there perished, for want of food, eleven thousand; some of whom did not taste any food, through the hatred their guards bore to them; and others would not take in any when it was given them. The multitude also was so very great, that they were in want even of corn for their sustenance.

(3) [420] Τῶν μὲν οὖν αἰχμαλώτων πάντων, ὅσα καθ' ὅλον ἐλήφθη τὸν πόλεμον, ἀριθμὸς ἐννέα μυριάδες καὶ ἑπτακισχίλιοι συνήχθη, τῶν δὲ ἀπολομένων κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πολιορκίαν μυριάδες ἑκατὸν καὶ δέκα. [421] τούτων τὸ πλέον ὁμόφυλον μὲν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπιχώριον: ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς χώρας ὅλης ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτὴν συνεληλυθότες ἐξαπίνης τῷ πολέμῳ περιεσχέθησαν, ὥστε τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτοῖς τὴν στενοχωρίαν γενέσθαι λοιμώδη φθοράν, αὖθις δὲ καὶ λιμὸν ὠκύτερον. [422] ὅτι δ' ἐχώρει τοσούτους ἡ πόλις, δῆλον ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Κεστίου συναριθμηθέντων, ὃς τὴν ἀκμὴν τῆς πόλεως διαδηλῶσαι Νέρωνι βουλόμενος καταφρονοῦντι τοῦ ἔθνους παρεκάλεσεν τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς, εἴ πως δυνατὸν εἴη τὴν πληθὺν ἐξαριθμήσασθαι: [423] οἱ δ' ἐνστάσης ἑορτῆς, πάσχα καλεῖται, καθ' ἣν θύουσιν μὲν ἀπὸ ἑνάτης ὥρας μέχρις ἑνδεκάτης, ὥσπερ δὲ φατρία περὶ ἑκάστην γίνεται θυσίαν οὐκ ἐλάσσων ἀνδρῶν δέκα, μόνον γὰρ οὐκ ἔξεστιν δαίνυσθαι, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ συνείκοσιν ἀθροίζονται, [424] τῶν μὲν θυμάτων εἰκοσιπέντε μυριάδας ἠρίθμησαν, πρὸς δὲ πεντακισχίλια ἑξακόσια. [425] γίνονται ἀνδρῶν, ἵν' ἑκάστου δέκα δαιτυμόνας θῶμεν, μυριάδες ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ διακόσιαι καθαρῶν ἁπάντων καὶ ἁγίων: [426] οὔτε γὰρ λεπροῖς οὔτε γονορροικοῖς οὔτε γυναιξὶν ἐπεμμήνοις οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλως μεμιασμένοις ἐξὸν ἦν τῆσδε τῆς θυσίας μεταλαμβάνειν,

3. Now the number of those that were carried captive during this whole war was collected to be ninety-seven thousand; as was the number of those that perished during the whole siege eleven hundred thousand, the greater part of whom were indeed of the same nation [with the citizens of Jerusalem], but not belonging to the city itself; for they were come up from all the country to the feast of unleavened bread, and were on a sudden shut up by an army, which, at the very first, occasioned so great a straitness among them, that there came a pestilential destruction upon them, and soon afterward such a famine, as destroyed them more suddenly. And that this city could contain so many people in it, is manifest by that number of them which was taken under Cestius, who being desirous of informing Nero of the power of the city, who otherwise was disposed to contemn that nation, entreated the high priests, if the thing were possible, to take the number of their whole multitude. So these high priests, upon the coming of that feast which is called the Passover, when they slay their sacrifices, from the ninth hour till the eleventh, but so that a company not less than ten belong to every sacrifice, [for it is not lawful for them to feast singly by themselves,] and many of us are twenty in a company, found the number of sacrifices was two hundred and fifty-six thousand five hundred; which, upon the allowance of no more than ten that feast together, amounts to two millions seven hundred thousand and two hundred persons that were pure and holy; for as to those that have the leprosy, or the gonorrhea, or women that have their monthly courses, or such as are otherwise polluted, it is not lawful for them to be partakers of this sacrifice; nor indeed for any foreigners neither, who come hither to worship.

(4) [427] ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις, ὅσοι κατὰ θρησκείαν παρῆσαν, πολὺ δὲ τούτων πλῆθος ἔξωθεν συλλέγεται. [428] τότε γε μὴν ὥσπερ εἰς εἱρκτὴν ὑπὸ τῆς εἱμαρμένης πᾶν συνεκλείσθη τὸ ἔθνος, καὶ ναστὴν ὁ πόλεμος τὴν πόλιν ἀνδρῶν ἐκυκλώσατο. [429] πᾶσαν γοῦν ἀνθρωπίνην καὶ δαιμονίαν φθορὰν ὑπερβάλλει τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολωλότων: ἐπεὶ γοῦν τῶν φανερῶν οὓς μὲν ἀνεῖλον οὓς δ᾽ ἠχμαλωτίσαντο Ῥωμαῖοι, τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὑπονόμοις ἀνηρεύνων καὶ τοὔδαφος ἀναῤῥηγνύντες ὅσοις μὲν ἐνετύγχανον ἔκτεινον, [430] εὑρέθησαν δὲ κἀκεῖ νεκροὶ πλείους δισχιλίων, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν οἱ δὲ ὑπ᾽ ἀλλήλων, τὸ πλέον δ᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ διεφθαρμένοι. [431] δεινὴ δ᾽ ὑπήντα τοῖς ἐπεισπίπτουσιν ὀδμὴ τῶν σωμάτων, ὡς πολλοὺς μὲν ἀναχωρεῖν εὐθέως, τοὺς δὲ ὑπὸ πλεονεξίας εἰσδύεσθαι νεκροὺς σεσωρευμένους ἐμπατοῦντας: [432] πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν κειμηλίων ἐν ταῖς διώρυξιν εὑρίσκετο, καὶ πᾶσαν θεμιτὴν ὁδὸν ἐποίει τὸ κέρδος: ἀνήγοντο δὲ καὶ δεσμῶται πολλοὶ τῶν τυράννων: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν ἐσχάτοις ἐπαύσαντο τῆς ὠμότητος. [433] ἀπετίσατό γε μὴν ὁ θεὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἀξίως, καὶ Ἰωάννης μὲν λιμώττων μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐν τοῖς ὑπονόμοις ἦν πολλάκις ὑπερηφάνησε παρὰ

Ῥωμαίων δεξιὰν λαβεῖν ἱκέτευσε, Σίμων δὲ πολλὰ διαμαχήσας πρὸς τὴν ἀνάγκην, ὡς διὰ τῶν ἑξῆς δηλώσομεν, αὐτὸν παραδίδωσιν. [434] ἐφυλάχθη δὲ ὁ μὲν τῷ θριάμβῳ σφάγιον, ὁ δ' Ἰωάννης δεσμοῖς αἰωνίοις. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τάς τ' ἐσχατιὰς τοῦ ἄστεος ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὰ τείχη κατέσκαψαν.

4. Now this vast multitude is indeed collected out of remote places, but the entire nation was now shut up by fate as in prison, and the Roman army encompassed the city when it was crowded with inhabitants. Accordingly, the multitude of those that therein perished exceeded all the destructions that either men or God ever brought upon the world; for, to speak only of what was publicly known, the Romans slew some of them, some they carried captives, and others they made a search for under ground, and when they found where they were, they broke up the ground and slew all they met with. There were also found slain there above two thousand persons, partly by their own hands, and partly by one another, but chiefly destroyed by the famine; but then the ill savor of the dead bodies was most offensive to those that lighted upon them, insomuch that some were obliged to get away immediately, while others were so greedy of gain, that they would go in among the dead bodies that lay on heaps, and tread upon them; for a great deal of treasure was found in these caverns, and the hope of gain made every way of getting it to be esteemed lawful. Many also of those that had been put in prison by the tyrants were now brought out; for they did not leave off their barbarous cruelty at the very last: yet did God avenge himself upon them both, in a manner agreeable to justice. As for John, he wanted food, together with his brethren, in these caverns, and begged that the Romans would now give him their right hand for his security, which he had often proudly rejected before; but for Simon, he struggled hard with the distress he was in, still he was forced to surrender himself, as we shall relate hereafter; so he was reserved for the triumph, and to be then slain; as was John condemned to perpetual imprisonment. And now the Romans set fire to the extreme parts of the city, and burnt them down, and entirely demolished its walls.

X

CHAPTER 10.

That Whereas The City Of Jerusalem Had Been Five Times Taken Formerly, This Was The Second Time Of Its Desolation. A Brief Account Of Its History.

(1) [435] Ἑάλω μὲν οὕτως Ἱεροσόλυμα ἔτει δευτέρῳ τῆς Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἡγεμονίας Γορπιαίου μηνὸς ὀγδόῃ, ἁλοῦσα δὲ καὶ πρότερον πεντάκις τοῦτο δεύτερον ἠρημώθη. [436] Ἀσωχαῖος μὲν γὰρ ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἀντίοχος, ἔπειτα Πομπήιος καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις σὺν Ἡρώδῃ Σόσσιος ἑλόντες ἐτήρησαν τὴν πόλιν. [437] πρὸ δὲ τούτων ὁ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεὺς κρατήσας ἠρήμωσεν αὐτὴν μετὰ ἔτη τῆς κτίσεως χίλια τετρακόσια ἑξηκονταοκτὼ μῆνας ἕξ. [438] ὁ δὲ πρῶτος κτίσας ἦν Χαναναίων δυνάστης ὁ τῇ πατρίῳ γλώσσῃ κληθεὶς βασιλεὺς δίκαιος: ἦν γὰρ δὴ τοιοῦτος. διὰ τοῦτο ἱεράσατό τε τῷ θεῷ πρῶτος καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πρῶτος δειμάμενος Ἱεροσόλυμα τὴν πόλιν προσηγόρευσεν Σόλυμα καλουμένην πρότερον. [439] τὸν μὲν δὴ τῶν Χαναναίων λαὸν ἐκβαλὼν ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλεὺς Δαυίδης κατοικίζει τὸν ἴδιον, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἔτεσι τετρακοσίοις ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ μησὶν ἓξ ὑπὸ Βαβυλωνίων κατασκάπτεται. [440] ἀπὸ δὲ Δαυίδου τοῦ βασιλέως, ὃς πρῶτος αὐτῆς ἐβασίλευσεν Ἰουδαῖος, μέχρι τῆς ὑπὸ Τίτου γενομένης κατασκαφῆς ἔτη χίλια καὶ ἑκατὸν ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἐννέα. [441] ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πρώτης κτίσεως ἔτη μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης ἁλώσεως δισχίλια ἑκατὸν ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑπτά. [442] ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔθ᾽ ἡ ἀρχαιότης οὔθ᾽ ὁ πλοῦτος ὁ βαθὺς οὔτε τὸ διαπεφοιτηκὸς ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἔθνος οὔθ᾽ ἡ μεγάλη δόξα τῆς θρησκείας ἤρκεσέ τι πρὸς ἀπώλειαν αὐτῇ. τοιοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ τέλος τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων πολιορκίας.

1. And thus was Jerusalem taken, in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, on the eighth day of the month Gorpeius [Elul]. It had been taken five times before, though this was the second time of its desolation; for Shishak, the king of Egypt, and after him Antiochus, and after him Pompey, and after them Sosius and Herod, took the city, but still preserved it; but before all these, the king of Babylon conquered it, and made it desolate, one thousand four hundred and sixty-eight years and six months after it was built. But he who first built it was a potent man among the Canaanites, and is in our own tongue called [Melchisedek], the Righteous King, for such he really was; on which account he was [there] the first priest of God, and first built a temple [there], and called the city Jerusalem, which was formerly called Salem. However, David, the king of the Jews, ejected the Canaanites, and settled his own people therein. It was demolished entirely by the Babylonians, four hundred and seventy-seven years and six months after him. And from king David, who was the first of the Jews who reigned therein, to this destruction under Titus, were one thousand one hundred and seventy-nine years; but from its first building, till this last destruction, were two thousand one hundred and seventy-seven years; yet hath not its great antiquity, nor its vast riches, nor the diffusion of its nation over all the habitable earth, nor the greatness of the veneration paid to it on a religious

account, been sufficient to preserve it from being destroyed. And thus ended the siege of Jerusalem.

Liber VII

BOOK VII.

Containing The Interval Of About Three Years.

From The Taking Of Jerusalem By Titus To The Sedition At Cyrene

I

CHAPTER 1.

How The Entire City Of Jerusalem Was Demolished, Excepting Three Towers; And How Titus Commended His Soldiers In A Speech Made To Them, And Distributed Rewards To Them And Then Dismissed Many Of Them.

(1) [1] Ἐπεὶ δ' οὔτε φονεύειν οὔτε διαρπάζειν εἶχεν ἡ στρατιὰ πάντων τοῖς θυμοῖς ἐπιλειπόντων, οὐ γὰρ δή γε φειδοῖ τινος ἔμελλον ἀφέξεσθαι δρᾶν ἔχοντες, κελεύει Καῖσαρ ἤδη τήν τε πόλιν ἅπασαν καὶ τὸν νεὼν κατασκάπτειν, πύργους μὲν ὅσοι τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερανειστήκεσαν καταλιπόντας, Φασάηλον Ἱππικὸν Μαριάμμην, τεῖχος δ' ὅσον ἦν ἐξ ἑσπέρας τὴν πόλιν περιέχον, [2] τοῦτο μέν, ὅπως εἴη τοῖς ὑπολειφθησομένοις φρουροῖς στρατόπεδον, τοὺς πύργους δέ, ἵνα τοῖς ἔπειτα σημαίνωσιν οἵας πόλεως καὶ τίνα τρόπον ὀχυρᾶς οὕτως ἐκράτησεν ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀνδραγαθία. [3] τὸν δ' ἄλλον ἅπαντα τῆς πόλεως περίβολον οὕτως ἐξωμάλισαν οἱ κατασκάπτοντες, ὡς μηδεπώποτ' οἰκηθῆναι πίστιν ἂν ἔτι παρασχεῖν τοῖς προσελθοῦσι. [4] τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ τέλος ἐκ τῆς τῶν νεωτερισάντων ἀνοίας Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐγένετο, λαμπρᾷ τε πόλει καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις διαβοηθείσῃ.

1. Now as soon as the army had no more people to slay or to plunder, because there remained none to be the objects of their fury, [for they would not have spared any, had there remained any other work to be done,] Caesar gave orders that they should now demolish the entire city and temple, but should leave as many of the towers standing as were of the greatest eminency; that is, Phasaelus, and Hippicus, and Mariamne; and so much of the wall as enclosed the city on the west side. This wall was spared, in order to afford a camp for such as were to lie in garrison, as were the towers also spared, in order to demonstrate to posterity what kind of city it was, and how well fortified, which the Roman valor had

subdued; but for all the rest of the wall, it was so thoroughly laid even with the ground by those that dug it up to the foundation, that there was left nothing to make those that came thither believe it had ever been inhabited. This was the end which Jerusalem came to by the madness of those that were for innovations; a city otherwise of great magnificence, and of mighty fame among all mankind.

(2) [5] Καῖσαρ δὲ φυλακὴν μὲν αὐτόθι καταλιπεῖν ἔγνω τῶν ταγμάτων τὸ δέκατον καί τινας ἴλας ἱππέων καὶ λόχους πεζῶν, πάντα δ᾽ ἤδη τὰ τοῦ πολέμου διῳκηκὼς ἐπαινέσαι τε σύμπασαν ἐπόθει τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατορθώμασιν καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα γέρα τοῖς ἀριστεύσασιν ἀποδοῦναι. [6] ποιηθέντος οὖν αὐτῷ μεγάλου κατὰ μέσην τὴν πρότερον παρεμβολὴν βήματος, καταστὰς ἐπὶ τοῦτο μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων εἰς ἐπήκοον ἁπάσῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ ἔλεγε χάριν μὲν πολλὴν ἔχειν αὐτοῖς τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας, ᾗ χρώμενοι διατελοῦσιν: [7] ἐπῄνει δὲ τῆς ἐν παντὶ πολέμῳ πειθαρχίας, ἣν ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις κινδύνοις ἅμα τῇ κατὰ σφᾶς ἀνδρείᾳ παρέσχον, τῇ μὲν πατρίδι καὶ δι᾽ αὐτῶν τὸ κράτος αὔξοντες, φανερὸν δὲ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καθιστάντες, ὅτι μήτε πλῆθος πολεμίων μήτε χωρίων ὀχυρότητες ἢ μεγέθη πόλεων ἢ τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων ἀλόγιστοι τόλμαι καὶ θηριώδεις ἀγριότητες δύναιντ᾽ ἄν ποτε τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρετὴν διαφυγεῖν, κἂν εἰς πολλά τινες τὴν τύχην εὕρωνται συναγωνιζομένην. [8] καλὸν μὲν οὖν ἔφη καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τέλος αὐτοὺς ἐπιθεῖναι πολλῷ χρόνῳ γενομένῳ: μηδὲ γὰρ εὔξασθαί τι τούτων ἄμεινον, ὅτ᾽ εἰς αὐτὸν καθίσταντο: [9] τούτου δὲ κάλλιον αὐτοῖς καὶ λαμπρότερον ὑπάρχειν, ὅτι τοὺς ἡγησομένους καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ἐπιτροπεύσοντας αὐτῶν χειροτονησάντων εἵς τε τὴν πατρίδα προπεμψάντων ἅσμενοι πάντες προσίενται καὶ τοῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐγνωσμένοις ἐμμένουσι, χάριν ἔχοντες τοῖς ἑλομένοις. [10] θαυμάζειν μὲν οὖν ἔφη πάντας καὶ ἀγαπᾶν, εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῦ δυνατοῦ τὴν προθυμίαν οὐδεὶς ἔσχε βραδυτέραν: [11] τοῖς μέντοι διαπρεπέστερον ἀγωνισαμένοις ὑπὸ ῥώμης πλείονος καὶ τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν βίον ἀριστείαις κεκοσμηκόσι, τὴν δ᾽ αὐτοῦ στρατείαν ἐπιφανεστέραν διὰ τῶν κατορθωμάτων πεποιηκόσιν ἔφη τὰ γέρα καὶ τὰς τιμὰς εὐθὺς ἀποδώσειν, καὶ μηδένα τῶν πλέον πονεῖν ἑτέρου θελησάντων τῆς δικαίας ἀμοιβῆς ἁμαρτήσεσθαι. [12] πλείστην γὰρ αὐτῷ τούτου γενήσεσθαι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐθέλειν τὰς ἀρετὰς τιμᾶν τῶν συστρατευομένων ἢ κολάζειν τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας.

2. But Caesar resolved to leave there, as a guard, the tenth legion, with certain troops of horsemen, and companies of footmen. So, having entirely completed this war, he was desirous to commend his whole army, on account of the great exploits they had performed, and to bestow proper rewards on such as had signalized themselves therein. He had therefore a great tribunal made for him in the midst of the place where he had formerly encamped, and stood upon it with

his principal commanders about him, and spake so as to be heard by the whole army in the manner following: That he returned them abundance of thanks for their good-will which they had showed to him: he commended them for that ready obedience they had exhibited in this whole war, which obedience had appeared in the many and great dangers which they had courageously undergone; as also for that courage they had shown, and had thereby augmented of themselves their country's power, and had made it evident to all men, that neither the multitude of their enemies, nor the strength of their places, nor the largeness of their cities, nor the rash boldness and brutish rage of their antagonists, were sufficient at any time to get clear of the Roman valor, although some of them may have fortune in many respects on their side. He said further, that it was but reasonable for them to put an end to this war, now it had lasted so long, for that they had nothing better to wish for when they entered into it; and that this happened more favorably for them, and more for their glory, that all the Romans had willingly accepted of those for their governors, and the curators of their dominions, whom they had chosen for them, and had sent into their own country for that purpose, which still continued under the management of those whom they had pitched on, and were thankful to them for pitching upon them. That accordingly, although he did both admire and tenderly regard them all, because he knew that every one of them had gone as cheerfully about their work as their abilities and opportunities would give them leave; yet, he said, that he would immediately bestow rewards and dignities on those that had fought the most bravely, and with greater force, and had signalized their conduct in the most glorious manner, and had made his army more famous by their noble exploits; and that no one who had been willing to take more pains than another should miss of a just retribution for the same; for that he had been exceeding careful about this matter, and that the more, because he had much rather reward the virtues of his fellow soldiers than punish such as had offended.

(3) [13] Εὐθέως οὖν ἐκέλευσεν ἀναγινώσκειν τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦτο τεταγμένοις ὅσοι τι λαμπρὸν ἦσαν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κατωρθωκότες. [14] καὶ κατ᾽ ὄνομα καλῶν ἐπῄνει τε παριόντας ὡς ἂν ὑπερευφραινόμενός τις ἐπ᾽ οἰκείοις κατορθώμασι καὶ στεφάνους ἐπετίθει χρυσοῦς, περιαυχένιά τε χρυσᾶ καὶ δόρατα μικρὰ χρυσᾶ καὶ σημαίας ἐδίδου πεποιημένας ἐξ ἀργύρου, [15] καὶ τὴν ἑκάστου τάξιν ἤλλαττεν εἰς τὸ κρεῖττον, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κἀκ τῶν λαφύρων ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν ἐσθῆτάς τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης αὐτοῖς λείας δαψιλῶς ἀπένειμε. [16] πάντων δὲ τετιμημένων ὅπως αὐτὸς ἕκαστον ἠξίωσε, τῇ συμπάσῃ στρατιᾷ ποιησάμενος εὐχὰς ἐπὶ πολλῇ κατέβαινεν εὐφημίᾳ τρέπεταί τε πρὸς θυσίας ἐπινικίους, καὶ πολλοῦ βοῶν πλήθους τοῖς βωμοῖς παρεστηκότος καταθύσας πάντας τῇ στρατιᾷ διαδίδωσιν

εἰς εὐωχίαν. [17] αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς ἐν τέλει τρεῖς ἡμέρας συνεορτάσας τὴν μὲν ἄλλην στρατιὰν διαφίησιν ᾗ καλῶς εἶχεν ἑκάστους ἀπιέναι, τῷ δεκάτῳ δὲ τάγματι τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπέτρεψε φυλακὴν οὐκέτι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἀποστείλας, ἔνθα πρότερον ἦσαν. [18] μεμνημένος δὲ τοῦ δωδεκάτου τάγματος, ὅτι Κεστίου στρατηγοῦντος ἐνέδωκαν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, τῆς μὲν Συρίας αὐτὸ παντάπασιν ἐξήλασεν, ἦν γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐν Ῥαφανέαις, εἰς δὲ τὴν Μελιτηνὴν καλουμένην ἀπέστειλε: παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐν μεθορίοις τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐστὶ καὶ Καππαδοκίας. [19] δύο δὲ ἠξίωσεν αὐτῷ μέχρι τῆς εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀφίξεως, τὸ πέμπτον καὶ τὸ πεντεκαιδέκατον, παραμένειν. [20] καὶ καταβὰς ἅμα τῷ στρατῷ πρὸς τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ Καισάρειαν εἰς ταύτην τό τε πλῆθος τῶν λαφύρων ἀπέθετο καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους προσέταξεν ἐν αὐτῇ φυλάττεσθαι: τὸν γὰρ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πλοῦν ὁ χειμὼν ἐκώλυε.

3. Hereupon Titus ordered those whose business it was to read the list of all that had performed great exploits in this war, whom he called to him by their names, and commended them before the company, and rejoiced in them in the same manner as a man would have rejoiced in his own exploits. He also put on their heads crowns of gold, and golden ornaments about their necks, and gave them long spears of gold, and ensigns that were made of silver, and removed every one of them to a higher rank; and besides this, he plentifully distributed among them, out of the spoils, and the other prey they had taken, silver, and gold, and garments. So when they had all these honors bestowed on them, according to his own appointment made to every one, and he had wished all sorts of happiness to the whole army, he came down, among the great acclamations which were made to him, and then betook himself to offer thank-offerings [to the gods], and at once sacrificed a vast number of oxen, that stood ready at the altars, and distributed them among the army to feast on. And when he had staid three days among the principal commanders, and so long feasted with them, he sent away the rest of his army to the several places where they would be every one best situated; but permitted the tenth legion to stay, as a guard at Jerusalem, and did not send them away beyond Euphrates, where they had been before. And as he remembered that the twelfth legion had given way to the Jews, under Cestius their general, he expelled them out of all Syria, for they had lain formerly at Raphanea, and sent them away to a place called Meletine, near Euphrates, which is in the limits of Armenia and Cappadocia; he also thought fit that two of the legions should stay with him till he should go to Egypt. He then went down with his army to that Cesarea which lay by the seaside, and there laid up the rest of his spoils in great quantities, and gave order that the captives should be kept there; for the winter season hindered him then from sailing into Italy.

II

CHAPTER 2.

How Titus Exhibited All Sorts Of Shows At Cesarea Philippi.

Concerning Simon The Tyrant How He Was Taken, And Reserved

For The Triumph.

(1) [21] Καθ' ὃ δὲ καιροῦ Τίτος Καῖσαρ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις πολιορκῶν προσήδρευεν, ἐν τούτῳ νεὼς φορτίδος Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐπιβὰς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας εἰς Ῥόδον διέβαινεν. [22] ἐντεῦθεν δὲ πλέων ἐπὶ τριήρων καὶ πάσας τὰς ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ πόλεις ἐπελθὼν εὐκταίως αὐτὸν δεχομένας, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωνίας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα περαιοῦται κἀκεῖθεν ἀπὸ Κερκύρας ἐπ' ἄκραν Ἰαπυγίαν, ὅθεν ἤδη κατὰ γῆν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πορείαν. [23] Τίτος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ Καισαρείας ἀναζεύξας εἰς τὴν Φιλίππου καλουμένην Καισάρειαν ἦκε συχνόν [24] τ' ἐν αὐτῇ χρόνον ἐπέμεινεν παντοίας θεωρίας ἐπιτελῶν καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐνταῦθα διεφθάρησαν, οἱ μὲν θηρίοις παραβληθέντες, οἱ δὲ κατὰ πληθὺν ἀλλήλοις ἀναγκαζόμενοι χρήσασθαι πολεμίοις. [25] ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὴν Σίμωνος τοῦ Γιώρα σύλληψιν ἐπύθετο τοῦτον γενομένην τὸν τρόπον.

1. Now at the same time that Titus Caesar lay at the siege of Jerusalem, did Vespasian go on board a merchantship and sailed from Alexandria to Rhodes; whence he sailed away in ships with three rows of oars; and as he touched at several cities that lay in his road, he was joyfully received by them all, and so passed over from Ionia into Greece; whence he set sail from Corcyra to the promontory of Iapyx, whence he took his journey by land. But as for Titus, he marched from that Cesarea which lay by the seaside, and came to that which is named Cesarea Philippi, and staid there a considerable time, and exhibited all sorts of shows there. And here a great number of the captives were destroyed, some being thrown to wild beasts, and others in multitudes forced to kill one another, as if they were their enemies. And here it was that Titus was informed of the seizure of Simon the son of Gioras, which was made after the manner following:

(2) [26] Σίμων οὗτος Ἱεροσολύμων πολιορκουμένων ἐπὶ τῆς ἄνω πόλεως ὤν, ἐπεὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἐντὸς ἡ Ῥωμαίων στρατιὰ γενομένη πᾶσαν ἐπόρθει τὴν πόλιν, τότε τῶν φίλων τοὺς πιστοτάτους παραλαβὼν καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς λιθοτόμους τε καὶ τὸν πρὸς τὴν ἐργασίαν ἐπιτήδειον τούτοις σίδηρον τροφήν τε διαρκεῖν εἰς πολλὰς ἡμέρας δυναμένην, σὺν ἐκείνοις ἅπασι καθίησιν αὐτὸν εἴς τινα τῶν ἀφανῶν ὑπονόμων. [27] καὶ μέχρι μὲν ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν ὄρυγμα, προυχώρουν δι' αὐτοῦ, τῆς

στερεᾶς δὲ γῆς ὑπαντώσης ταύτην ὑπενόμευον, ἐλπίδι τοῦ πορρωτέρω δυνήσεσθαι προελθόντες ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ ποιησάμενοι τὴν ἀνάδυσιν ἀποσώζεσθαι. [28] ψευδῆ δὲ τὴν ἐλπίδα διήλεγχεν ἡ πεῖρα τῶν ἔργων: ὀλίγον τε γὰρ μόλις προύβαινον οἱ μεταλλεύοντες, ἥ τε τροφὴ καίτοι ταμιευομένοις ἔμελλεν ἐπιλείψειν. [29] τότε δὴ τοίνυν ὡς δι᾽ ἐκπλήξεως ἀπατῆσαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους δυνησόμενος λευκοὺς ἐνδιδύσκει χιτωνίσκους καὶ πορφυρᾶν ἐμπερονησάμενος χλανίδα κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν τόπον, ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἱερὸν ἦν πρόσθεν, ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀνεφάνη. [30] τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον τοῖς ἰδοῦσι θάμβος προσέπεσε καὶ κατὰ χώραν ἔμενον, ἔπειτα δ᾽ ἐγγυτέρω προσελθόντες ὅστις ἐστὶν ἤροντο. [31] καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐδήλου Σίμων αὐτοῖς, καλεῖν δὲ τὸν ἡγεμόνα προσέταττεν. καὶ ταχέως πρὸς αὐτὸν δραμόντων ἦκεν Τερέντιος Ῥοῦφος: οὗτος γὰρ ἄρχων τῆς στρατιᾶς κατελέλειπτο: πυθόμενός τε παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὸν μὲν ἐφύλαττε δεδεμένον, Καίσαρι δ᾽ ὅπως εἴη συνειλημμένος ἐδήλου. [32] Σίμωνα μὲν οὖν εἰς δίκην τῆς κατὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ὠμότητος, ὧν πικρῶς αὐτὸς ἐτυράννησεν, ὑπὸ τοῖς μάλιστα μισοῦσι πολεμίοις ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός, [33] οὐ βίᾳ γενόμενον αὐτοῖς ὑποχείριον, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸν ἑκουσίως εἰς τὴν τιμωρίαν παραβαλόντα, δι᾽ ὃ πολλοὺς αὐτὸς ὠμῶς ἀπέκτεινε ψευδεῖς αἰτίας ἐπιφέρων τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους μεταβολῆς. [34] οὐδὲ γὰρ διαφεύγει πονηρία θεοῦ χόλον, οὐδὲ ἀσθενὴς ἡ δίκη, χρόνῳ δὲ μέτεισι τοὺς εἰς αὐτὴν παρανομήσαντας καὶ χείρω τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐπιφέρει τοῖς πονηροῖς, ὅτι καὶ προσεδόκησαν αὐτῆς ἀπηλλάχθαι μὴ παραυτίκα κολασθέντες. ἔγνω τοῦτο καὶ Σίμων εἰς τὰς Ῥωμαίων ὀργὰς ἐμπεσών. [35] ἡ δ᾽ ἐκείνου γῆθεν ἄνοδος πολὺ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στασιαστῶν πλῆθος ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνας τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν τοῖς ὑπονόμοις φωραθῆναι παρεσκεύασε. [36] Καίσαρι δὲ εἰς τὴν παράλιον ἐπανελθόντι Καισάρειαν Σίμων προσήχθη δεδεμένος: κἀκεῖνον μὲν εἰς ὃν ἐπιτελεῖν ἐν Ῥώμῃ παρεσκευάζετο θρίαμβον προσέταξε φυλάττειν.

2. This Simon, during the siege of Jerusalem, was in the upper city; but when the Roman army was gotten within the walls, and were laying the city waste, he then took the most faithful of his friends with him, and among them some that were stone-cutters, with those iron tools which belonged to their occupation, and as great a quantity of provisions as would suffice them for a long time, and let himself and all them down into a certain subterraneous cavern that was not visible above ground. Now, so far as had been digged of old, they went onward along it without disturbance; but where they met with solid earth, they dug a mine under ground, and this in hopes that they should be able to proceed so far as to rise from under ground in a safe place, and by that means escape. But when they came to make the experiment, they were disappointed of their hope; for the miners could make but small progress, and that with difficulty also; insomuch that their provisions, though they distributed them by measure, began to fail

them. And now Simon, thinking he might be able to astonish and elude the Romans, put on a white frock, and buttoned upon him a purple cloak, and appeared out of the ground in the place where the temple had formerly been. At the first, indeed, those that saw him were greatly astonished, and stood still where they were; but afterward they came nearer to him, and asked him who he was. Now Simon would not tell them, but bid them call for their captain; and when they ran to call him, Terentius Rufus who was left to command the army there, came to Simon, and learned of him the whole truth, and kept him in bonds, and let Caesar know that he was taken. Thus did God bring this man to be punished for what bitter and savage tyranny he had exercised against his countrymen by those who were his worst enemies; and this while he was not subdued by violence, but voluntarily delivered himself up to them to be punished, and that on the very same account that he had laid false accusations against many Jews, as if they were falling away to the Romans, and had barbarously slain them; for wicked actions do not escape the Divine anger, nor is justice too weak to punish offenders, but in time overtakes those that transgress its laws, and inflicts its punishments upon the wicked in a manner, so much more severe, as they expected to escape it on account of their not being punished immediately. Simon was made sensible of this by falling under the indignation of the Romans. This rise of his out of the ground did also occasion the discovery of a great number of others of the seditious at that time, who had hidden themselves under ground. But for Simon, he was brought to Caesar in bonds, when he was come back to that Cesarea which was on the seaside, who gave orders that he should be kept against that triumph which he was to celebrate at Rome upon this occasion.

III

CHAPTER 3.

How Titus Upon The Celebration Of His Brothers And Fathers

Birthdays Had Many Of The Jews Slain. Concerning The Danger

The Jews Were In At Antioch, By Means Of The Transgression

And Impiety Of One Antiochus, A Jew.

(1) [37] Διατρίβων δ' αὐτόθι τὴν τἀδελφοῦ γενέθλιον ἡμέραν ἐπιφανῶς ἑώρταζε, πολὺ καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων κολάσεως εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου τιμὴν ἀνατιθείς. [38] ὁ γὰρ ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἔν τε ταῖς πρὸς τὰ θηρία μάχαις καὶ τῶν καταπιμπραμένων ἔν τε ταῖς ἀλληλοκτονίαις ἀναιρουμένων πεντακοσίους ἐπὶ τοῖς δισχιλίοις ὑπερέβαλε.

πάντα μέντοι Ῥωμαίοις ἐδόκει ταῦτα μυρίοις αὐτῶν ἀπολλυμένων τρόποις ἐλάττων κόλασις εἶναι. [39] μετὰ τοῦτο Καῖσαρ εἰς Βηρυτὸν ἦκεν: ἡ δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ πόλις Ῥωμαίων ἄποικος: κἀνταῦθα χρονιωτέραν ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἐπιδημίαν πλείονι χρώμενος τῇ λαμπρότητι περὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμέραν γενέθλιον ἔν τε ταῖς τῶν θεωριῶν πολυτελείαις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην ἐπίνοιαν τῶν ἄλλων ἀναλωμάτων. [40] τὸ δὲ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων πλῆθος τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὡς πρόσθεν ἀπώλλυτο.

1. While Titus was at Cesarea, he solemnized the birthday of his brother [Domitian] after a splendid manner, and inflicted a great deal of the punishment intended for the Jews in honor of him; for the number of those that were now slain in fighting with the beasts, and were burnt, and fought with one another, exceeded two thousand five hundred. Yet did all this seem to the Romans, when they were thus destroyed ten thousand several ways, to be a punishment beneath their deserts. After this Caesar came to Berytus, which is a city of Phoenicia, and a Roman colony, and staid there a longer time, and exhibited a still more pompous solemnity about his father's birthday, both in the magnificence of the shows, and in the other vast expenses he was at in his devices thereto belonging; so that a great multitude of the captives were here destroyed after the same manner as before.

(2) [41] Γενέσθαι δὲ συνέβη περὶ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὑπολειπομένοις ἐγκλήματα καὶ κίνδυνον ὀλέθρου τῆς πόλεως ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς τῶν Ἀντιοχέων ἐκταραχθείσης διά τε τὰς ἐν τῷ παρόντι διαβολὰς αὐτοῖς ἐπενεχθείσας καὶ διὰ τὰ ὑπηργμένα χρόνῳ πρόσθεν οὐ πολλῷ, [42] περὶ ὧν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι διὰ συντόμων προειπεῖν, ἵνα καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα πραχθέντων εὐπαρακολούθητον ποιήσωμαι τὴν διήγησιν.

2. It happened also about this time, that the Jews who remained at Antioch were under accusations, and in danger of perishing, from the disturbances that were raised against them by the Antiochians; and this both on account of the slanders spread abroad at this time against them, and on account of what pranks they had played not long before; which I am obliged to describe without fail, though briefly, that I may the better connect my narration of future actions with those that went before.

(3) [43] Τὸ γὰρ Ἰουδαίων γένος πολὺ μὲν κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην παρέσπαρται τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις, πλεῖστον δὲ τῇ Συρίᾳ κατὰ τὴν γειτνίασιν ἀναμεμιγμένον ἐξαιρέτως ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἦν πολὺ διὰ τὸ τῆς πόλεως μέγεθος: μάλιστα δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀδεᾶ τὴν ἐκεῖ κατοίκησιν οἱ μετ᾽ Ἀντίοχον βασιλεῖς παρέσχον: [44] Ἀντίοχος μὲν γὰρ ὁ κληθεὶς Ἐπιφανὴς Ἱεροσόλυμα πορθήσας τὸν νεὼν

ἐσύλησεν, οἱ δὲ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντες τῶν ἀναθημάτων ὅσα χαλκᾶ πεποίητο πάντα τοῖς ἐπ᾽ Ἀντιοχείας Ἰουδαίοις ἀπέδοσαν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν αὐτῶν ἀναθέντες, καὶ συνεχώρησαν αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἴσου τῆς πόλεως τοῖς Ἕλλησι μετέχειν. [45] τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα βασιλέων αὐτοῖς προσφερομένων εἴς τε πλῆθος ἐπέδωκαν καὶ τῇ κατασκευῇ καὶ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ τῶν ἀναθημάτων τὸ ἱερὸν ἐξελάμπρυναν, ἀεί τε προσαγόμενοι ταῖς θρησκείαις πολὺ πλῆθος Ἑλλήνων, κἀκείνους τρόπῳ τινὶ μοῖραν αὐτῶν πεποίηντο. [46] καθ᾽ ὃν δὲ καιρὸν ὁ πόλεμος ἀνακεκήρυκτο, νεωστὶ δ᾽ εἰς τὴν Συρίαν Οὐεσπασιανὸς καταπεπλεύκει, τὸ δὲ κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων παρὰ πᾶσιν ἤκμαζε μῖσος, [47] τότε δή τις Ἀντίοχος εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν τὰ μάλιστα διὰ τὸν πατέρα τιμώμενος, ἦν γὰρ ἄρχων τῶν ἐπ᾽ Ἀντιοχείας Ἰουδαίων, τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀντιοχέων ἐκκλησιάζοντος εἰς τὸ θέατρον παρελθὼν τόν τε πατέρα τὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐνεδείκνυτο κατηγορῶν, ὅτι νυκτὶ μιᾷ καταπρῆσαι τὴν πόλιν ἅπασαν διεγνώκεισαν, καὶ παρεδίδου ξένους Ἰουδαίους τινὰς ὡς κεκοινωνηκότας τῶν βεβουλευμένων. [48] ταῦτα ἀκούων ὁ δῆμος τὴν ὀργὴν οὐ κατεῖχεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς παραδοθέντας πῦρ εὐθὺς ἐκέλευον κομίζειν, καὶ παραχρῆμα πάντες ἐπὶ τοῦ θεάτρου κατεφλέγησαν, [49] ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ὥρμητο τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐν τῷ τάχιον ἐκείνους τιμωρίᾳ περιβαλεῖν τὴν αὐτῶν πατρίδα σώζειν νομίζοντες. [50] Ἀντίοχος δὲ προσεπέτεινε τὴν ὀργήν, περὶ μὲν τῆς αὐτοῦ μεταβολῆς καὶ τοῦ μεμισηκέναι τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθη τεκμήριον ἐμπαρέχειν οἰόμενος τὸ ἐπιθύειν ὥσπερ νόμος ἐστὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν: [51] ἐκέλευε δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τὸ αὐτὸ ποιεῖν ἀναγκάζειν: φανεροὺς γὰρ γενήσεσθαι τῷ μὴ θέλειν τοὺς ἐπιβεβουλευκότας. χρωμένων δὲ τῇ πείρᾳ τῶν Ἀντιοχέων ὀλίγοι μὲν ὑπέμειναν, οἱ δὲ μὴ βουληθέντες ἀνῃρέθησαν. [52] Ἀντίοχος δὲ στρατιώτας παρὰ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμόνος λαβὼν χαλεπὸς ἐφειστήκει τοῖς αὐτοῦ πολίταις, ἀργεῖν τὴν ἑβδόμην οὐκ ἐπιτρέπων, ἀλλὰ βιαζόμενος πάντα πράττειν ὅσα δὴ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἡμέραις. [53] οὕτως τε τὴν ἀνάγκην ἰσχυρὰν ἐποίησεν, ὡς μὴ μόνον ἐπ᾽ Ἀντιοχείας καταλυθῆναι τὴν ἑβδομάδα ἀργὴν ἡμέραν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖθεν ἀρξαμένου τοῦ πράγματος κἀν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ὁμοίως βραχύν τινα χρόνον.

3. For as the Jewish nation is widely dispersed over all the habitable earth among its inhabitants, so it is very much intermingled with Syria by reason of its neighborhood, and had the greatest multitudes in Antioch by reason of the largeness of the city, wherein the kings, after Antiochus, had afforded them a habitation with the most undisturbed tranquillity; for though Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, laid Jerusalem waste, and spoiled the temple, yet did those that succeeded him in the kingdom restore all the donations that were made of brass to the Jews of Antioch, and dedicated them to their synagogue, and granted them the enjoyment of equal privileges of citizens with the Greeks themselves; and as

the succeeding kings treated them after the same manner, they both multiplied to a great number, and adorned their temple gloriously by fine ornaments, and with great magnificence, in the use of what had been given them. They also made proselytes of a great many of the Greeks perpetually, and thereby after a sort brought them to be a portion of their own body. But about this time when the present war began, and Vespasian was newly sailed to Syria, and all men had taken up a great hatred against the Jews, then it was that a certain person, whose name was Antiochus, being one of the Jewish nation, and greatly respected on account of his father, who was governor of the Jews at Antioch came upon the theater at a time when the people of Antioch were assembled together, and became an informer against his father, and accused both him and others that they had resolved to burn the whole city in one night; he also delivered up to them some Jews that were foreigners, as partners in their resolutions. When the people heard this, they could not refrain their passion, but commanded that those who were delivered up to them should have fire brought to burn them, who were accordingly all burnt upon the theater immediately. They did also fall violently upon the multitude of the Jews, as supposing that by punishing them suddenly they should save their own city. As for Antiochus, he aggravated the rage they were in, and thought to give them a demonstration of his own conversion, arm of his hatred of the Jewish customs, by sacrificing after the manner of the Greeks; he persuaded the rest also to compel them to do the same, because they would by that means discover who they were that had plotted against them, since they would not do so; and when the people of Antioch tried the experiment, some few complied, but those that would not do so were slain. As for Antiochus himself, he obtained soldiers from the Roman commander, and became a severe master over his own citizens, not permitting them to rest on the seventh day, but forcing them to do all that they usually did on other days; and to that degree of distress did he reduce them in this matter, that the rest of the seventh day was dissolved not only at Antioch, but the same thing which took thence its rise was done in other cities also, in like manner, for some small time.

(4) [54] Τοιούτων δὴ τοῖς ἐπ᾽ Ἀντιοχείας Ἰουδαίοις τῶν κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν κακῶν γεγενημένων δευτέρα πάλιν συμφορὰ προσέπεσε, περὶ ἧς ἐπιχειρήσαντες ἀφηγεῖσθαι καὶ ταῦτα διεξήλθομεν. [55] ἐπεὶ γὰρ συνέβη καταπρησθῆναι τὴν τετράγωνον ἀγορὰν ἀρχεῖά τε καὶ γραμματοφυλάκιον καὶ τὰς βασιλικάς, μόλις τε τὸ πῦρ ἐκωλύθη μετὰ πολλῆς βίας ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν περιφερόμενον, ταύτην Ἀντίοχος τὴν πρᾶξιν Ἰουδαίων κατηγόρει. [56] καὶ τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον εἶχον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπεχθῶς, τάχιστα τῇ διαβολῇ παρὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ταραχὴν ὑπαχθέντας πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν προυπηργμένων τοῖς

ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ λεγομένοις πιστεύειν παρεσκεύασεν, ὡς μόνον οὐκ αὐτοὺς τὸ πῦρ ἐνιέμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἑωρακότας, [57] καὶ καθάπερ ἐμμανεῖς γεγενημένοι μετὰ πολλοῦ τινος οἴστρου πάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς διαβεβλημένους ὥρμηντο. [58] μόλις δ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐδυνήθη τὰς ὁρμὰς ἐπισχεῖν Ναῖος Κολλήγας τις πρεσβευτής, ἀξιῶν ἐπιτρέψαι Καίσαρι δηλωθῆναι περὶ τῶν γεγονότων: [59] τὸν γὰρ ἡγεμονεύοντα τῆς Συρίας Καισέννιον Παῖτον ἤδη μὲν Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐξαπεστάλκει, συνέβαινε δὲ παρεῖναι μηδέπω. [60] ποιούμενος δὲ ἐπιμελῆ τὴν ἀναζήτησιν ὁ Κολλήγας ἐξεῦρε τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ τῶν μὲν τὴν αἰτίαν ὑπ᾽ Ἀντιόχου λαβόντων Ἰουδαίων οὐδεὶς οὐδ᾽ ἐκοινώνησεν, [61] ἅπαν δὲ τοῦργον ἔπραξαν ἄνθρωποί τινες ἀλιτήριοι διὰ χρεῶν ἀνάγκας νομίζοντες, εἰ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὰ δημόσια καταπρήσειαν γράμματα, τῆς ἀπαιτήσεως ἀπαλλαγὴν ἕξειν. [62] Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ μετεώροις ταῖς αἰτίαις τὸ μέλλον ἔτι καραδοκοῦντες ἐν φόβοις χαλεποῖς ἀπεσάλευον.

4. Now, after these misfortunes had happened to the Jews at Antioch, a second calamity befell them, the description of which when we were going about we premised the account foregoing; for upon this accident, whereby the four-square market-place was burnt down, as well as the archives, and the place where the public records were preserved, and the royal palaces, [and it was not without difficulty that the fire was then put a stop to, which was likely, by the fury wherewith it was carried along, to have gone over the whole city,] Antiochus accused the Jews as the occasion of all the mischief that was done. Now this induced the people of Antioch, who were now under the immediate persuasion, by reason of the disorder they were in, that this calumny was true, and would have been under the same persuasion, even though they had not borne an ill-will at the Jews before, to believe this man’s accusation, especially when they considered what had been done before, and this to such a degree, that they all fell violently upon those that were accused, and this, like madmen, in a very furious rage also, even as if they had seen the Jews in a manner setting fire themselves to the city; nor was it without difficulty that one Cneius Collegas, the legate, could prevail with them to permit the affairs to be laid before Caesar; for as to Cesennius Petus, the president of Syria, Vespasian had already sent him away; and so it happened that he was not yet come back thither. But when Collegas had made a careful inquiry into the matter, he found out the truth, and that not one of those Jews that were accused by Antiochus had any hand in it, but that all was done by some vile persons greatly in debt, who supposed that if they could once set fire to the market-place, and burn the public records, they should have no further demands made upon them. So the Jews were under great disorder and terror, in the uncertain expectations of what would be the upshot of these accusations against them.

IV

CHAPTER 4.

How Vespasian Was Received At Rome; As Also How The Germans Revolted From The Romans, But Were Subdued. That The Sarmatians Overran Mysia, But Were Compelled To Retire To Their Own Country Again.

(1) [63] Τίτος δὲ Καῖσαρ τῆς περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀγγελίας αὐτῷ κομισθείσης, ὅτι πάσαις μὲν ποθεινὸς ταῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πόλεσιν ἐπῆλθεν, μάλιστα δ' ἡ Ῥώμη μετὰ πολλῆς αὐτὸν ἐδέξατο προθυμίας καὶ λαμπρότητος, εἰς πολλὴν χαρὰν καὶ θυμηδίαν ἐτράπετο, τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ φροντίδων ὡς ἥδιστον ἦν ἀπηλλαγμένος. [64] Οὐεσπασιανὸν γὰρ ἔτι μὲν καὶ μακρὰν ἀπόντα πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἄνθρωποι ταῖς γνώμαις περιεῖπον ὡς ἥκοντα, τὴν προσδοκίαν ἐκ τοῦ πάνυ θέλειν ἄφιξιν αὐτοῦ νομίζοντες καὶ πάσης ἀνάγκης ἐλευθέραν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχοντες εὔνοιαν. [65] τῇ τε γὰρ βουλῇ κατὰ μνήμην τῶν γεγενημένων ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἡγεμόνων μεταβολαῖς συμφορῶν εὐκταῖον ἦν ἀπολαβεῖν ἡγεμόνα γήρως σεμνότητι καὶ πράξεων ἀκμῇ πολεμικῶν κεκοσμημένον, ᾧ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν πρὸς μόνην ἠπίσταντο τὴν τῶν ἀρχομένων σωτηρίαν ἐσομένην. [66] καὶ μὴν ὁ δῆμος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμφυλίων κακῶν τετρυχωμένος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν ἔσπευδε, τότε δὴ βεβαίως μὲν ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι τῶν συμφορῶν ὑπολαμβάνων, ἀπολήψεσθαι δὲ τὴν ἄδειαν μετὰ τῆς εὐετηρίας πεπιστευκώς. [67] ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφεώρα: μάλιστα γὰρ οὗτοι τῶν κατωρθωμένων αὐτῷ πολέμων ἐγίνωσκον τὸ μέγεθος, τῆς ἀπειρίας δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων καὶ τῆς ἀνανδρίας πεπειραμένοι πολλῆς μὲν αἰσχύνης αὐτοὺς ἐπεθύμουν ἀπηλλάχθαι, τὸν μόνον δὲ καὶ σώζειν αὐτοὺς καὶ κοσμεῖν δυνάμενον ἀπολαβεῖν ηὔχοντο. [68] τοιαύτης δὲ εὐνοίας ἐξ ἁπάντων ὑπαρχούσης τοῖς μὲν κατὰ τὰς ἀξιώσεις προύχουσι τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐκέτ' ἀνεκτὸν ἦν ἀναμένειν, ἀλλὰ πορρωτάτω τῆς Ῥώμης αὐτῷ προεντυχεῖν ἔσπευδον. [69] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων τις ἠνείχετο τῆς ἐντεύξεως τὴν ἀναβολήν, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐξεχέοντο πάντες ἀθρόοι καὶ πᾶσιν εὐπορώτερον καὶ ῥᾷον ἐδόκει τοῦ μένειν τὸ ἀπιέναι, ὡς καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν τότε πρῶτον ἐν ἑαυτῇ λαβεῖν ὀλιγανθρωπίας αἴσθησιν ἰδίαν: ἦσαν γὰρ ἐλάττους τῶν ἀπιόντων οἱ μένοντες. [70] ἐπεὶ δὲ προσιὼν ἠγγέλλετο, καὶ τὴν ἡμερότητα τῆς ἐντεύξεως αὐτοῦ τὴν πρὸς ἑκάστους ἐδήλουν οἱ προσελθόντες, ἅπαν ἤδη τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἅμα γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ἐπὶ ταῖς παρόδοις ἐξεδέχετο, [71] καὶ καθ' οὓς γένοιτο παριὼν οὗτοι πρὸς τὴν ἡδονὴν τῆς θέας καὶ τὸ μειλίχιον αὐτοῦ τῆς ὄψεως παντοίας ἠφίεσαν φωνάς, τὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ μόνον ἄξιον ἡγεμόνα τῆς Ῥώμης ἀνακαλοῦντες: ἅπασα δ' ἡ πόλις ὡς νεὼς ἦν στεφανωμάτων καὶ

θυμιαμάτων ἀνάπλεως. [72] μόλις δ' ὑπὸ πλήθους τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἱσταμένων δυνηθεὶς εἰς τὸ βασίλειον ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸς μὲν τοῖς ἔνδον θεοῖς θυσίας τῆς ἀφίξεως χαριστηρίους ἐπετέλει, [73] προτρέπεται δὲ τὰ πλήθη πρὸς εὐωχίαν καὶ κατὰ φυλὰς καὶ γένη καὶ γειτονίας ποιούμενοι τὰς ἑστιάσεις ηὔχοντο τῷ θεῷ σπένδοντες αὐτόν τ' ἐπὶ πλεῖστον χρόνον Οὐεσπασιανὸν ἐπιμεῖναι τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίᾳ, καὶ παισὶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἐκείνων ἀεὶ γινομένοις φυλαχθῆναι τὸ κράτος ἀνανταγώνιστον. [74] ἡ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων πόλις οὕτως Οὐεσπασιανὸν ἐκδεξαμένη προθύμως εὐθὺς εἰς πολλὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐπεδίδου.

1. And now Titus Caesar, upon the news that was brought him concerning his father, that his coming was much desired by all the Italian cities, and that Rome especially received him with great alacrity and splendor, betook himself to rejoicing and pleasures to a great degree, as now freed from the solicitude he had been under, after the most agreeable manner. For all men that were in Italy showed their respects to him in their minds before he came thither, as if he were already come, as esteeming the very expectation they had of him to be his real presence, on account of the great desires they had to see him, and because the good-will they bore him was entirely free and unconstrained; for it was, desirable thing to the senate, who well remembered the calamities they had undergone in the late changes of their governors, to receive a governor who was adorned with the gravity of old age, and with the highest skill in the actions of war, whose advancement would be, as they knew, for nothing else but for the preservation of those that were to be governed. Moreover, the people had been so harassed by their civil miseries, that they were still more earnest for his coming immediately, as supposing they should then be firmly delivered from their calamities, and believed they should then recover their secure tranquillity and prosperity; and for the soldiery, they had the principal regard to him, for they were chiefly apprized of his great exploits in war; and since they had experienced the want of skill and want of courage in other commanders, they were very desirous to be free from that great shame they had undergone by their means, and heartily wished to receive such a prince as might be a security and an ornament to them. And as this good-will to Vespasian was universal, those that enjoyed any remarkable dignities could not have patience enough to stay in Rome, but made haste to meet him at a very great distance from it; nay, indeed, none of the rest could endure the delay of seeing him, but did all pour out of the city in such crowds, and were so universally possessed with the opinion that it was easier and better for them to go out than to stay there, that this was the very first time that the city joyfully perceived itself almost empty of its citizens; for those that staid within were fewer than those that went out. But as soon as the

news was come that he was hard by, and those that had met him at first related with what good humor he received every one that came to him, then it was that the whole multitude that had remained in the city, with their wives and children, came into the road, and waited for him there; and for those whom he passed by, they made all sorts of acclamations, on account of the joy they had to see him, and the pleasantness of his countenance, and styled him their Benefactor and Savior, and the only person who was worthy to be ruler of the city of Rome. And now the city was like a temple, full of garlands and sweet odors; nor was it easy for him to come to the royal palace, for the multitude of the people that stood about him, where yet at last he performed his sacrifices of thanksgiving to his household gods for his safe return to the city. The multitude did also betake themselves to feasting; which feasts and drink-offerings they celebrated by their tribes, and their families, and their neighborhoods, and still prayed God to grant that Vespasian, his sons, and all their posterity, might continue in the Roman government for a very long time, and that his dominion might be preserved from all opposition. And this was the manner in which Rome so joyfully received Vespasian, and thence grew immediately into a state of great prosperity.

(2) [75] Πρὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν χρόνων, ἐν οἷς Οὐεσπασιανὸς μὲν περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἦν, Τίτος δὲ τῇ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων προσήδρευε πολιορκίᾳ, [76] πολὺ μέρος Γερμανῶν ἐκινήθη πρὸς ἀπόστασιν, οἷς καὶ Γαλατῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι συμφρονήσαντες κοινῇ μεγάλας ἐλπίδας αὐτοῖς συνέθεσαν ὡς καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀπαλλαξόμενοι δεσποτείας. [77] ἐπῆρε δὲ τοὺς Γερμανοὺς ἅψασθαι τῆς ἀποστάσεως καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξενεγκεῖν πρώτη μὲν ἡ φύσις οὖσα λογισμῶν ἔρημος ἀγαθῶν καὶ μετὰ μικρᾶς ἐλπίδος ἑτοίμως ῥιψοκίνδυνος: [78] ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ μῖσος τὸ πρὸς τοὺς κρατοῦντας, ἐπεὶ μόνοις ἴσασι Ῥωμαίοις τὸ γένος αὐτῶν δουλεύειν βεβιασμένον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μάλιστά γε πάντων ὁ καιρὸς αὐτοῖς θάρσος ἐνεποίησεν: [79] ὁρῶντες γὰρ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ταῖς συνεχέσι τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων ἀλλαγαῖς ἐν ἑαυτῇ τεταραγμένην, πᾶν τε μέρος τῆς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῖς οἰκουμένης πυνθανόμενοι μετέωρον εἶναι καὶ κραδαίνεσθαι, τοῦτον σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἄριστον ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκείνων κακοπραγίας καὶ στάσεως καιρὸν ᾠήθησαν παραδεδόσθαι. [80] ἐνῆγον δὲ τὸ βούλευμα καὶ ταύταις αὐτοὺς ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐτύφουν Κλασσικός τις καὶ Οὐίτιλλος τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς [ὄντες] ἡγεμόνων, οἳ δῆλον μὲν ὡς ἐκ μακροῦ ταύτης ἐφίεντο τῆς νεωτεροποιίας, [81] ὑπὸ τοῦ καιροῦ δὲ θαρσῆσαι προαχθέντες τὴν αὐτῶν γνώμην ἐξέφηναν: ἔμελλον δὲ προθύμως διακειμένοις τὴν πεῖραν τοῖς πλήθεσι προσφέρειν. [82] πολλοῦ δὲ μέρους ἤδη τῶν Γερμανῶν τὴν ἀποστασίαν ἀνωμολογηκότος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ἄνδιχα φρονησάντων, ὥσπερ ἐκ δαιμονίου προνοίας Οὐεσπασιανὸς πέμπει γράμματα Πετιλίῳ Κερεαλίῳ τὸ πρότερον ἡγεμόνι Γερμανίας γενομένῳ, τὴν ὕπατον διδοὺς

τιμὴν καὶ κελεύων ἄρξοντα Βρεττανίας ἀπιέναι. [83] πορευόμενος οὖν ἐκεῖνος ὅποι προσετέτακτο καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀπόστασιν τῶν Γερμανῶν πυθόμενος, ἤδη συνειλεγμένοις αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσὼν καὶ παραταξάμενος πολύ τε πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἀναιρεῖ κατὰ τὴν μάχην καὶ τῆς ἀνοίας παυσαμένους ἠνάγκασε σωφρονεῖν. [84] ἔμελλον δὲ κἀκείνου μὴ θᾶττον εἰς τοὺς τόπους παραβαλόντος δίκην οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ὑφέξειν: [85] ἡνίκα γὰρ πρῶτον ἡ τῆς ἀποστάσεως αὐτῶν ἀγγελία τῇ Ῥώμῃ προσέπεσε, Δομετιανὸς Καῖσαρ πυθόμενος οὐχ ὡς ἂν ἕτερος ἐν τούτῳ τῆς ἡλικίας, νέος γὰρ ἦν ἔτι παντάπασιν, τηλικοῦτον ἄρασθαι μέγεθος πραγμάτων ὤκνησεν, [86] ἔχων δὲ πατρόθεν ἔμφυτον τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν καὶ τελειοτέραν τὴν ἄσκησιν τῆς ἡλικίας πεποιημένος ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους εὐθὺς ἤλαυνεν. [87] οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὴν φήμην τῆς ἐφόδου καταπεσόντες ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐποιήσαντο μέγα τοῦ φόβου κέρδος εὑράμενοι τὸ χωρὶς συμφορῶν ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν πάλιν ζυγὸν ὑπαχθῆναι. [88] πᾶσιν οὖν ἐπιθεὶς τοῖς περὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν τάξιν τὴν προσήκουσαν Δομετιανός, ὡς μηδ᾽ αὖθις ἄν ποτε ῥᾳδίως ἔτι τἀκεῖ ταραχθῆναι, λαμπρὸς καὶ περίβλεπτος ἐπὶ κρείττοσι μὲν τῆς ἡλικίας, πρέπουσι δὲ τῷ πατρὶ κατορθώμασιν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνέζευξε.

2. But before this time, and while Vespasian was about Alexandria, and Titus was lying at the siege of Jerusalem, a great multitude of the Germans were in commotion, and tended to rebellion; and as the Gauls in their neighborhood joined with them, they conspired together, and had thereby great hopes of success, and that they should free themselves from the dominion of the Romans. The motives that induced the Germans to this attempt for a revolt, and for beginning the war, were these: In the first place, the nature [of the people], which was destitute of just reasonings, and ready to throw themselves rashly into danger, upon small hopes; in the next place, the hatred they bore to those that were their governors, while their nation had never been conscious of subjection to any but to the Romans, and that by compulsion only. Besides these motives, it was the opportunity that now offered itself, which above all the rest prevailed with them so to do; for when they saw the Roman government in a great internal disorder, by the continual changes of its rulers, and understood that every part of the habitable earth under them was in an unsettled and tottering condition, they thought this was the best opportunity that could afford itself for themselves to make a sedition, when the state of the Romans was so ill. Classicus also, and Vitellius, two of their commanders, puffed them up with such hopes. These had for a long time been openly desirous of such an innovation, and were induced by the present opportunity to venture upon the declaration of their sentiments; the multitude was also ready; and when these men told them of what they intended to attempt, that news was gladly received by them. So when a great part of the

Germans had agreed to rebel, and the rest were no better disposed, Vespasian, as guided by Divine Providence, sent letters to Petilius Cerealis, who had formerly had the command of Germany, whereby he declared him to have the dignity of consul, and commanded him to take upon him the government of Britain; so he went whither he was ordered to go, and when he was informed of the revolt of the Germans, he fell upon them as soon as they were gotten together, and put his army in battle-array, and slew a great number of them in the fight, and forced them to leave off their madness, and to grow wiser; nay, had he not fallen thus suddenly upon them on the place, it had not been long ere they would however have been brought to punishment; for as soon as ever the news of their revolt was come to Rome, and Caesar Domitian was made acquainted with it, he made no delay, even at that his age, when he was exceeding young, but undertook this weighty affair. He had a courageous mind from his father, and had made greater improvements than belonged to such an age: accordingly he marched against the barbarians immediately; whereupon their hearts failed them at the very rumor of his approach, and they submitted themselves to him with fear, and thought it a happy thing that they were brought under their old yoke again without suffering any further mischiefs. When therefore Domitian had settled all the affairs of Gaul in such good order, that it would not be easily put into disorder any more, he returned to Rome with honor and glory, as having performed such exploits as were above his own age, but worthy of so great a father.

(3) [89] Τῇ δὲ προειρημένῃ Γερμανῶν ἀποστάσει κατὰ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας καὶ Σκυθικὸν τόλμημα πρὸς Ῥωμαίους συνέδραμεν. [90] οἱ γὰρ καλούμενοι Σκυθῶν Σαρμάται, πολὺ πλῆθος ὄντες, ἄδηλοι μὲν τὸν Ἴστρον ἐπεραιώθησαν εἰς τὴν ἐπιτάδε, πολλῇ δὲ βίᾳ καὶ χαλεποὶ διὰ τὸ παντάπασιν ἀνέλπιστον τῆς ἐφόδου προσπεσόντες πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς φρουρᾶς Ῥωμαίων ἀναιροῦσι, [91] καὶ τὸν πρεσβευτὴν τὸν ὑπατικὸν Φοντήιον Ἀγρίππαν ὑπαντιάσαντα καρτερῶς μαχόμενον κτείνουσι, τὴν δ᾽ ὑποκειμένην χώραν ἅπασαν κατέτρεχον ἄγοντες καὶ φέροντες ὅτῳ περιπέσοιεν. [92] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ τὰ γεγενημένα καὶ τὴν πόρθησιν τῆς Μυσίας πυθόμενος Ῥούβριον Γάλλον ἐκπέμπει δίκην ἐπιθήσοντα τοῖς Σαρμάταις. [93] ὑφ᾽ οὗ πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπέθανον, τὸ δὲ περισωθὲν μετὰ δέους εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν διέφυγεν. [94] τοῦτο δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ τέλος ἐπιθεὶς ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἀσφαλείας προυνόησε: πλείοσι γὰρ καὶ μείζοσι φυλακαῖς τὸν τόπον διέλαβεν, ὡς εἶναι τοῖς βαρβάροις τὴν διάβασιν τελέως ἀδύνατον. [95] ὁ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν Μυσίαν πόλεμος ταχεῖαν οὕτως ἔλαβε τὴν κρίσιν.

3. At the very same time with the forementioned revolt of the Germans did the bold attempt of the Scythians against the Romans occur; for those Scythians who

are called Sarmatians, being a very numerous people, transported themselves over the Danube into Mysia, without being perceived; after which, by their violence, and entirely unexpected assault, they slew a great many of the Romans that guarded the frontiers; and as the consular legate Fonteius Agrippa came to meet them, and fought courageously against them, he was slain by them. They then overran all the region that had been subject to him, tearing and rending every thing that fell in their way. But when Vespasian was informed of what had happened, and how Mysia was laid waste, he sent away Rubrius Gallus to punish these Sarmatians; by whose means many of them perished in the battles he fought against them, and that part which escaped fled with fear to their own country. So when this general had put an end to the war, he provided for the future security of the country also; for he placed more and more numerous garrisons in the place, till he made it altogether impossible for the barbarians to pass over the river any more. And thus had this war in Mysia a sudden conclusion.

V

CHAPTER V.

Concerning The Sabbatic River Which Titus Saw As He Was Journeying Through Syria; And How The People Of Antioch Came With A Petition To Titus Against The Jews But Were Rejected By Him; As Also Concerning Titus's And Vespasian's Triumph.

(1) [96] Τίτος δὲ Καῖσαρ χρόνον μέν τινα διέτριβεν ἐν Βηρυτῷ, καθὰ προειρήκαμεν, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἀναζεύξας καὶ δι' ὧν ἤει πόλεων τῆς Συρίας ἐν πάσαις θεωρίας τε συντελῶν πολυτελεῖς καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀπωλείας ἀποχρώμενος, θεᾶται κατὰ τὴν πορείαν ποταμοῦ φύσιν ἀξίαν ἱστορηθῆναι. [97] ῥεῖ μὲν γὰρ μέσος Ἀρκέας τῆς Ἀγρίππα βασιλείας καὶ Ῥαφανέας, ἔχει δὲ θαυμαστὴν ἰδιότητα: [98] πολὺς γὰρ ὤν, ὅτε ῥεῖ, καὶ κατὰ τὴν φορὰν οὐ σχολαῖος, ἔπειτα δὲ πᾶς ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν ἐπιλείπων ἓξ ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸν ξηρὸν παραδίδωσιν ὁρᾶν τὸν τόπον: [99] εἶθ' ὥσπερ οὐδεμιᾶς γενομένης μεταβολῆς ὅμοιος κατὰ τὴν ἑβδόμην ἐκδίδωσι, καὶ ταύτην ἀεὶ τὴν τάξιν ἀκριβῶς τετήρηται διαφυλάττων: ὅθεν δὴ καὶ Σαββατικὸν αὐτὸν κεκλήκασιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἑβδόμης οὕτως ὀνομάσαντες.

1. Now Titus Caesar tarried some time at Berytus, as we told you before. He thence removed, and exhibited magnificent shows in all those cities of Syria through which he went, and made use of the captive Jews as public instances of

the destruction of that nation. He then saw a river as he went along, of such a nature as deserves to be recorded in history; it runs in the middle between Arcea, belonging to Agrippa's kingdom, and Raphanea. It hath somewhat very peculiar in it; for when it runs, its current is strong, and has plenty of water; after which its springs fail for six days together, and leave its channel dry, as any one may see; after which days it runs on the seventh day as it did before, and as though it had undergone no change at all; it hath also been observed to keep this order perpetually and exactly; whence it is that they call it the Sabbatic River that name being taken from the sacred seventh day among the Jews.

(2) [100] Ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀντιοχέων δῆμος ἐπεὶ πλησίον ὄντα Τίτον ἐπυνθάνοντο, μένειν μὲν ἐντὸς τειχῶν ὑπὸ χαρᾶς οὐχ ὑπέμενον, ἔσπευδον δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπάντησιν: [101] καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίων ἐπὶ πλέον προῆλθον οὐκ ἄνδρες μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναικῶν πλῆθος ἅμα παισὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐκχεόμενοι. [102] κἀπειδήπερ ἐθεάσαντο προσιόντα, παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἑκατέρωθεν καταστάντες τάς τε δεξιὰς προύτεινον προσαγορεύοντες καὶ παντοίοις ἐπιφημίσμασι χρώμενοι συνυπέστρεφον: [103] συνεχὴς δὲ ἦν αὐτῶν παρὰ πάσας ἅμα τὰς εὐφημίας δέησις ἐκβαλεῖν τῆς πόλεως τοὺς Ἰουδαίους. [104] Τίτος μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ἐνέδωκεν πρὸς ταύτην τὴν δέησιν, ἀλλ' ἡσυχῇ τῶν λεγομένων ἐπήκουεν: ἐπ' ἀδήλῳ δὲ τῷ τί φρονεῖ καὶ τί ποιήσει πολὺς καὶ χαλεπὸς τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὁ φόβος ἦν: [105] οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑπέμεινεν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ Τίτος, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸ Ζεῦγμα τὸ κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην συνέτεινε τὴν πορείαν, ἔνθα δὴ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Πάρθων βασιλέως Βολογέσου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦκον στέφανον χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων νίκῃ κομίζοντες. [106] ὃν δεξάμενος εἱστία τοὺς βασιλικούς, κἀκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπανέρχεται. [107] τῆς δὲ βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀντιοχέων πολλὰς ποιησαμένων δεήσεις ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὸ θέατρον αὐτόν, ἐν ᾧ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἠθροισμένον ἐξεδέχετο, φιλανθρώπως ὑπήκουσε. [108] πάλιν δ' αὐτῶν σφόδρα λιπαρῶς ἐγκειμένων καὶ συνεχῶς δεομένων ἐξελάσαι τῆς πόλεως τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, εὔστοχον ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, [109] εἰπών "ἀλλ' ἤ γε πατρὶς αὐτῶν, εἰς ἣν ἐκβαλεῖν ἐχρῆν ὄντας Ἰουδαίους, ἀνῄρηται, καὶ δέξαιτ' ἂν οὐδεὶς αὐτοὺς ἔτι τόπος." [110] ἐπὶ δευτέραν οὖν Ἀντιοχεῖς τρέπονται δέησιν τῆς προτέρας ἀποστάντες: τὰς γὰρ χαλκᾶς ἠξίουν δέλτους ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν, ἐν αἷς γέγραπται τὰ δικαιώματα τῶν Ἰουδαίων. [111] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτο Τίτος ἐπένευσεν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐάσας πάντα κατὰ χώραν τοῖς ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας Ἰουδαίοις ὡς πρότερον εἶχον εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπηλλάττετο. [112] καὶ κατὰ τὴν πορείαν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις προσελθὼν καὶ τὴν λυπρὰν ἐρημίαν βλεπομένην ἀντιτιθεὶς τῇ ποτε τῆς πόλεως λαμπρότητι, καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἐρρηγμένων κατασκευασμάτων καὶ τὸ πάλαι κάλλος εἰς μνήμην βαλλόμενος, ᾤκτειρε τῆς πόλεως τὸν ὄλεθρον, [113] οὐχ ὥσπερ ἄν τις αὐχῶν ὅτι τηλικαύτην οὖσαν καὶ τοσαύτην εἶλε κατὰ κράτος, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἐπαρώμενος τοῖς αἰτίοις

τῆς ἀποστάσεως ὑπάρξασι καὶ ταύτην ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει τὴν τιμωρίαν γενέσθαι παρασκευάσασιν: οὕτως ἔκδηλος ἦν οὐκ ἂν θελήσας ἐκ τῆς συμφορᾶς τῶν κολασθέντων γενέσθαι τῆς ἀρετῆς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν. [114] τοῦ δὲ πολλοῦ πλούτου τῆς πόλεως ἔτι κἀν τοῖς ἐρειπίοις οὐκ ὀλίγον μέρος ἀνηυρίσκετο: [115] τὰ μὲν γὰρ πολλὰ ἀνέσκαπτον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, τὰ πλείω δὲ ἐκ μηνύσεως τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀνῃροῦντο, χρυσόν τε καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ τῆς ἄλλης τὰ τιμιώτατα κατασκευῆς, ἅπερ οἱ κεκτημένοι πρὸς τὰς ἀδήλους τοῦ πολέμου τύχας κατὰ γῆς ἀποτεθησαυρίκεσαν.

2. But when the people of Antioch were informed that Titus was approaching, they were so glad at it, that they could not keep within their walls, but hasted away to give him the meeting; nay, they proceeded as far as thirty furlongs, and more, with that intention. These were not the men only, but a multitude of women also with their children did the same; and when they saw him coming up to them, they stood on both sides of the way, and stretched out their right hands, saluting him, and making all sorts of acclamations to him, and turned back together with him. They also, among all the acclamations they made to him, besought him all the way they went to eject the Jews out of their city; yet did not Titus at all yield to this their petition, but gave them the bare hearing of it quietly. However, the Jews were in a great deal of terrible fear, under the uncertainty they were in what his opinion was, and what he would do to them. For Titus did not stay at Antioch, but continued his progress immediately to Zeugma, which lies upon the Euphrates, whither came to him messengers from Vologeses king of Parthia, and brought him a crown of gold upon the victory he had gained over the Jews; which he accepted of, and feasted the king's messengers, and then came back to Antioch. And when the senate and people of Antioch earnestly entreated him to come upon their theater, where their whole multitude was assembled, and expected him, he complied with great humanity; but when they pressed him with much earnestness, and continually begged of him that he would eject the Jews out of their city, he gave them this very pertinent answer: "How can this be done, since that country of theirs, whither the Jews must be obliged then to retire, is destroyed, and no place will receive them besides?" Whereupon the people of Antioch, when they had failed of success in this their first request, made him a second; for they desired that he would order those tables of brass to be removed on which the Jews' privileges were engraven. However, Titus would not grant that neither, but permitted the Jews of Antioch to continue to enjoy the very same privileges in that city which they had before, and then departed for Egypt; and as he came to Jerusalem in his progress, and compared the melancholy condition he saw it then in, with the ancient glory

of the city, and called to mind the greatness of its present ruins, as well as its ancient splendor, he could not but pity the destruction of the city, so far was he from boasting that so great and goodly a city as that was had been by him taken by force; nay, he frequently cursed those that had been the authors of their revolt, and had brought such a punishment upon the city; insomuch that it openly appeared that he did not desire that such a calamity as this punishment of theirs amounted to should be a demonstration of his courage. Yet was there no small quantity of the riches that had been in that city still found among its ruins, a great deal of which the Romans dug up; but the greatest part was discovered by those who were captives, and so they carried it away; I mean the gold and the silver, and the rest of that most precious furniture which the Jews had, and which the owners had treasured up under ground, against the uncertain fortunes of war.

(3) [116] Τίτος δὲ τὴν προκειμένην ποιούμενος πορείαν ἐπ᾽ Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὴν ἔρημον ᾗ τάχιστα διανύσας ἦκεν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, [117] καὶ πλεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας διεγνωκὼς δυοῖν αὐτῷ ταγμάτων συνηκολουθηκότων ἑκάτερον ὅθεν περ ἀφῖκτο πάλιν ἀπέστειλεν, εἰς μὲν τὴν Μυσίαν τὸ πέμπτον, εἰς Παννονίαν δὲ τὸ πεντεκαιδέκατον. [118] τῶν αἰχμαλώτων δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἡγεμόνας Σίμωνα καὶ Ἰωάννην, τόν τ᾽ ἄλλον ἀριθμὸν ἑπτακοσίους ἄνδρας ἐπιλέξας μεγέθει τε καὶ κάλλει σωμάτων ὑπερβάλλοντας, προσέταξεν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὐτίκα μάλα κομίζεσθαι βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ θριάμβῳ παραγαγεῖν. [119] τοῦ πλοῦ δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ νοῦν ἀνυσθέντος ὁμοίως μὲν ἡ Ῥώμη περὶ τὴν ὑποδοχὴν εἶχε καὶ τὰς ὑπαντήσεις ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρός, λαμπρότερον δ᾽ ἦν Τίτῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πατὴρ ὑπαντῶν καὶ δεχόμενος. [120] τῷ δὲ πλήθει τῶν πολιτῶν δαιμόνιόν τινα τὴν χαρὰν παρεῖχε τὸ βλέπειν αὐτοὺς ἤδη τοὺς τρεῖς ἐν ταὐτῷ γεγονότας. [121] οὐ πολλῶν δὲ ἡμερῶν διελθουσῶν ἕνα καὶ κοινὸν ἔγνωσαν τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατωρθωμένοις ποιήσασθαι θρίαμβον, καίπερ ἑκατέρῳ τῆς βουλῆς ἴδιον ψηφισαμένης. [122] προδιασαφηθείσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐφ᾽ ἧς ἔμελλεν ἡ πομπὴ γενήσεσθαι τῶν ἐπινικίων, οὐδεὶς οἴκοι καταλέλειπτο τῆς ἀμέτρου πληθύος ἐν τῇ πόλει, πάντες δὲ ὅπη καὶ στῆναι μόνον ἦν οἷον προεληλυθότες τοὺς τόπους κατειλήφεσαν, ὅσον τοῖς ὀφθησομένοις μόνον εἰς πάροδον ἀναγκαίαν καταλιπόντες.

3. So Titus took the journey he intended into Egypt, and passed over the desert very suddenly, and came to Alexandria, and took up a resolution to go to Rome by sea. And as he was accompanied by two legions, he sent each of them again to the places whence they had before come; the fifth he sent to Mysia, and the fifteenth to Pannonia: as for the leaders of the captives, Simon and John, with the other seven hundred men, whom he had selected out of the rest as being eminently tall and handsome of body, he gave order that they should be soon carried to Italy, as resolving to produce them in his triumph. So when he had had

a prosperous voyage to his mind, the city of Rome behaved itself in his reception, and their meeting him at a distance, as it did in the case of his father. But what made the most splendid appearance in Titus's opinion was, when his father met him, and received him; but still the multitude of the citizens conceived the greatest joy when they saw them all three together, as they did at this time; nor were many days overpast when they determined to have but one triumph, that should be common to both of them, on account of the glorious exploits they had performed, although the senate had decreed each of them a separate triumph by himself. So when notice had been given beforehand of the day appointed for this pompous solemnity to be made, on account of their victories, not one of the immense multitude was left in the city, but every body went out so far as to gain only a station where they might stand, and left only such a passage as was necessary for those that were to be seen to go along it.

(4) [123] Τοῦ δὲ στρατιωτικοῦ παντὸς ἔτι νύκτωρ κατὰ λόχους καὶ τάξεις ὑπὸ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι διεξωδευκότος καὶ περὶ θύρας ὄντος οὐ τῶν ἄνω βασιλείων ἀλλὰ πλησίον τοῦ τῆς Ἴσιδος ἱεροῦ, ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἀνεπαύοντο τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης οἱ αὐτοκράτορες, [124] περὶ αὐτὴν ἀρχομένην ἤδη τὴν ἕω προίασιν Οὐεσπασιανὸς καὶ Τίτος δάφνῃ μὲν ἐστεφανωμένοι, πορφυρᾶς δ' ἐσθῆτας πατρίους ἀμπεχόμενοι, καὶ παρίασιν εἰς τοὺς Ὀκταουίας περιπάτους: [125] ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἥ τε βουλὴ καὶ τὰ τέλη τῶν ἀρχόντων οἵ τε ἀπὸ τῶν τιμημάτων ἱππεῖς τὴν ἄφιξιν αὐτῶν ἀνέμενον. [126] πεποίητο δὲ βῆμα πρὸ τῶν στοῶν δίφρων αὐτοῖς ἐλεφαντίνων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ κειμένων, ἐφ' οὓς παρελθόντες ἐκαθέσθησαν, καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν εὐθέως ἐπευφήμει πολλὰς αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀρετῆς μαρτυρίας ἀποδιδόντες ἅπαντες: κἀκεῖνοι χωρὶς ὅπλων ἦσαν ἐν ἐσθήσεσιν σηρικαῖς ἐστεφανωμένοι δάφναις. [127] δεξάμενος δ' αὐτῶν τὴν εὐφημίαν Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἔτι βουλομένων λέγειν τὸ τῆς σιγῆς ἐποιήσατο σύμβολον, [128] καὶ πολλῆς ἐκ πάντων ἡσυχίας γενομένης ἀναστὰς καὶ τῷ περιβλήματι τὸ πλέον τῆς κεφαλῆς μέρος ἐπικαλυψάμενος εὐχὰς ἐποιήσατο τὰς νενομισμένας: ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Τίτος ηὔξατο. [129] μετὰ δὲ τὰς εὐχὰς εἰς κοινὸν ἅπασιν Οὐεσπασιανὸς βραχέα διαλεχθεὶς τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας ἀπέλυσεν ἐπὶ τὸ νενομισμένον ἄριστον αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων εὐτρεπίζεσθαι, [130] πρὸς δὲ τὴν πύλην αὐτὸς ἀνεχώρει τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πέμπεσθαι δι' αὐτῆς αἰεὶ τοὺς θριάμβους τῆς προσηγορίας ἀπ' αὐτῶν τετυχυῖαν. [131] ἐνταῦθα τροφῆς τε προαπογεύονται καὶ τὰς θριαμβικὰς ἐσθῆτας ἀμφιασάμενοι τοῖς τε παριδρυμένοις τῇ πύλῃ θύσαντες θεοῖς ἔπεμπον τὸν θρίαμβον διὰ τῶν θεάτρων διεξελαύνοντες, ὅπως εἴη τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἡ θέα ῥᾴων.

4. Now all the soldiery marched out beforehand by companies, and in their several ranks, under their several commanders, in the night time, and were about

the gates, not of the upper palaces, but those near the temple of Isis; for there it was that the emperors had rested the foregoing night. And as soon as ever it was day, Vespasian and Titus came out crowned with laurel, and clothed in those ancient purple habits which were proper to their family, and then went as far as Octavian's Walks; for there it was that the senate, and the principal rulers, and those that had been recorded as of the equestrian order, waited for them. Now a tribunal had been erected before the cloisters, and ivory chairs had been set upon it, when they came and sat down upon them. Whereupon the soldiery made an acclamation of joy to them immediately, and all gave them attestations of their valor; while they were themselves without their arms, and only in their silken garments, and crowned with laurel: then Vespasian accepted of these shouts of theirs; but while they were still disposed to go on in such acclamations, he gave them a signal of silence. And when every body entirely held their peace, he stood up, and covering the greatest part of his head with his cloak, he put up the accustomed solemn prayers; the like prayers did Titus put up also; after which prayers Vespasian made a short speech to all the people, and then sent away the soldiers to a dinner prepared for them by the emperors. Then did he retire to that gate which was called the Gate of the Pomp, because pompous shows do always go through that gate; there it was that they tasted some food, and when they had put on their triumphal garments, and had offered sacrifices to the gods that were placed at the gate, they sent the triumph forward, and marched through the theatres, that they might be the more easily seen by the multitudes.

(5) [132] Ἀμήχανον δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν εἰπεῖν τῶν θεαμάτων ἐκείνων τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν ἐν ἅπασιν οἷς ἄν τις ἐπινοήσειεν ἢ τεχνῶν ἔργοις ἢ πλούτου μέρεσιν ἢ φύσεως σπανιότησιν: [133] σχεδὸν γὰρ ὅσα τοῖς πώποτε ἀνθρώποις εὐδαιμονήσασιν ἐκτήθη κατὰ μέρος ἄλλα παρ' ἄλλοις θαυμαστὰ καὶ πολυτελῆ, ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἀθρόα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας ἔδειξε τὸ μέγεθος. [134] ἀργύρου γὰρ καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος ἐν παντοίαις ἰδέαις κατασκευασμάτων ἦν ὁρᾶν οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐν πομπῇ κομιζόμενον πλῆθος, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις ῥέοντα ποταμόν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐκ πορφύρας ὑφάσματα τῆς σπανιωτάτης φερόμενα, τὰ δ' εἰς ἀκριβῆ ζωγραφίαν πεποικιλμένα τῇ Βαβυλωνίων τέχνῃ: [135] λίθοι τε διαφανεῖς, οἱ μὲν χρυσοῖς ἐμπεπλεγμένοι στεφάνοις, οἱ δὲ κατ' ἄλλας ποιήσεις, τοσοῦτοι παρηνέχθησαν, ὥστε μαθεῖν ὅτι μάτην εἶναί τι τούτων σπάνιον ὑπειλήφαμεν. [136] ἐφέρετο δὲ καὶ θεῶν ἀγάλματα τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς μεγέθεσι θαυμαστὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν τέχνην οὐ παρέργως πεποιημένα, καὶ τούτων οὐδέν, ὅ τι μὴ τῆς ὕλης τῆς πολυτελοῦς, ζῴων τε πολλαὶ φύσεις παρήγοντο κόσμον οἰκεῖον ἁπάντων περικειμένων. [137] ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ κομίζον ἕκαστα τούτων πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἁλουργαῖς ἐσθῆσι καὶ διαχρύσοις

κεκοσμημένον, οἵ τ᾽ εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πομπεύειν διακριθέντες ἐξαίρετον εἶχον καὶ καταπληκτικὴν περὶ αὐτοὺς τοῦ κόσμου τὴν πολυτέλειαν. [138] ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐδὲ τὸν αἰχμάλωτον ἦν ἰδεῖν ὄχλον ἀκόσμητον, ἀλλ᾽ ἡ τῶν ἐσθήτων ποικιλία καὶ τὸ κάλλος αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς κακώσεως τῶν σωμάτων ἀηδίαν ἔκλεπτε τῆς ὄψεως. [139] θαῦμα δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα παρεῖχεν ἡ τῶν φερομένων πηγμάτων κατασκευή: καὶ γὰρ διὰ μέγεθος ἦν δεῖσαι τῷ βεβαίῳ τῆς φορᾶς ἀπιστήσαντα, [140] τριώροφα γὰρ αὐτῶν πολλὰ καὶ τετρώροφα πεποίητο, καὶ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ τῇ περὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν ἦν ἡσθῆναι μετ᾽ ἐκπλήξεως. [141] καὶ γὰρ ὑφάσματα πολλοῖς διάχρυσα περιβέβλητο, καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ ἐλέφας οὐκ ἀποίητος πᾶσι περιεπεπήγει. [142] διὰ πολλῶν δὲ μιμημάτων ὁ πόλεμος ἄλλος εἰς ἄλλα μεμερισμένος ἐναργεστάτην ὄψιν αὐτοῦ παρεῖχεν: [143] ἦν γὰρ ὁρᾶν χώραν μὲν εὐδαίμονα δῃουμένην, ὅλας δὲ φάλαγγας κτεινομένας πολεμίων, καὶ τοὺς μὲν φεύγοντας τοὺς δ᾽ εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν ἀγομένους, τείχη δ᾽ ὑπερβάλλοντα μεγέθει μηχαναῖς ἐρειπόμενα καὶ φρουρίων ἁλισκομένας ὀχυρότητας καὶ πόλεων πολυανθρώπους περιβόλους κατ᾽ ἄκρας ἐχομένους, [144] καὶ στρατιὰν ἔνδον τειχῶν εἰσχεομένην, καὶ πάντα φόνου πλήθοντα τόπον, καὶ τῶν ἀδυνάτων χεῖρας ἀνταίρειν ἱκεσίας, πῦρ τε ἐνιέμενον ἱεροῖς καὶ κατασκαφὰς οἴκων ἐπὶ τοῖς δεσπόταις, [145] καὶ μετὰ πολλὴν ἐρημίαν καὶ κατήφειαν ποταμοὺς ῥέοντας οὐκ ἐπὶ γῆν γεωργουμένην, οὐδὲ ποτὸν ἀνθρώποις ἢ βοσκήμασιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ἐπιπανταχόθεν φλεγομένης: ταῦτα γὰρ Ἰουδαῖοι πεισομένους αὐτοὺς τῷ πολέμῳ παρέδοσαν. [146] ἡ τέχνη δὲ καὶ τῶν κατασκευασμάτων ἡ μεγαλουργία τοῖς οὐκ ἰδοῦσι γινόμενα τότ᾽ ἐδείκνυεν ὡς παροῦσι. [147] τέτακτο δ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστῳ τῶν πηγμάτων ὁ τῆς ἁλισκομένης πόλεως στρατηγὸς ὃν τρόπον ἐλήφθη. [148] πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ νῆες εἴποντο. λάφυρα δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα χύδην ἐφέρετο, διέπρεπε δὲ πάντων τὰ ἐγκαταληφθέντα τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερῷ, χρυσῆ τε τράπεζα τὴν ὁλκὴν πολυτάλαντος καὶ λυχνία χρυσῆ μὲν ὁμοίως πεποιημένη, τὸ δ᾽ ἔργον ἐξήλλακτο τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν χρῆσιν συνηθείας. [149] ὁ μὲν γὰρ μέσος ἦν κίων ἐκ τῆς βάσεως πεπηγώς, λεπτοὶ δ᾽ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ μεμήκυντο καυλίσκοι τριαίνης σχήματι παραπλησίαν τὴν θέσιν ἔχοντες, λύχνον ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἐπ᾽ ἄκρον κεχαλκευμένος: ἑπτὰ δ᾽ ἦσαν οὗτοι τῆς παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἑβδομάδος τὴν τιμὴν ἐμφανίζοντες. [150] ὅ τε νόμος ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐφέρετο τῶν λαφύρων τελευταῖος. [151] ἐπὶ τούτοις παρῆσαν πολλοὶ Νίκης ἀγάλματα κομίζοντες: ἐξ ἐλέφαντος δ᾽ ἦν πάντων καὶ χρυσοῦ ἡ κατασκευή. [152] μεθ᾽ ἃ Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἤλαυνε πρῶτος καὶ Τίτος εἵπετο, Δομετιανὸς δὲ παρίππευεν, αὐτός τε διαπρεπῶς κεκοσμημένος καὶ τὸν ἵππον παρέχων θέας ἄξιον.

5. Now it is impossible to describe the multitude of the shows as they deserve, and the magnificence of them all; such indeed as a man could not easily think of as performed, either by the labor of workmen, or the variety of riches, or the

rarities of nature; for almost all such curiosities as the most happy men ever get by piece-meal were here one heaped on another, and those both admirable and costly in their nature; and all brought together on that day demonstrated the vastness of the dominions of the Romans; for there was here to be seen a mighty quantity of silver, and gold, and ivory, contrived into all sorts of things, and did not appear as carried along in pompous show only, but, as a man may say, running along like a river. Some parts were composed of the rarest purple hangings, and so carried along; and others accurately represented to the life what was embroidered by the arts of the Babylonians. There were also precious stones that were transparent, some set in crowns of gold, and some in other places, as the workmen pleased; and of these such a vast number were brought, that we could not but thence learn how vainly we imagined any of them to be rarities. The images of the gods were also carried, being as well wonderful for their largeness, as made very artificially, and with great skill of the workmen; nor were any of these images of any other than very costly materials; and many species of animals were brought, every one in their own natural ornaments. The men also who brought every one of these shows were great multitudes, and adorned with purple garments, all over interwoven with gold; those that were chosen for carrying these pompous shows having also about them such magnificent ornaments as were both extraordinary and surprising. Besides these, one might see that even the great number of the captives was not unadorned, while the variety that was in their garments, and their fine texture, concealed from the sight the deformity of their bodies. But what afforded the greatest surprise of all was the structure of the pageants that were borne along; for indeed he that met them could not but be afraid that the bearers would not be able firmly enough to support them, such was their magnitude; for many of them were so made, that they were on three or even four stories, one above another. The magnificence also of their structure afforded one both pleasure and surprise; for upon many of them were laid carpets of gold. There was also wrought gold and ivory fastened about them all; and many resemblances of the war, and those in several ways, and variety of contrivances, affording a most lively portraiture of itself. For there was to be seen a happy country laid waste, and entire squadrons of enemies slain; while some of them ran away, and some were carried into captivity; with walls of great altitude and magnitude overthrown and ruined by machines; with the strongest fortifications taken, and the walls of most populous cities upon the tops of hills seized on, and an army pouring itself within the walls; as also every place full of slaughter, and supplications of the enemies, when they were no longer able to lift up their hands in way of opposition. Fire also sent upon temples was here represented, and houses overthrown, and falling

upon their owners: rivers also, after they came out of a large and melancholy desert, ran down, not into a land cultivated, nor as drink for men, or for cattle, but through a land still on fire upon every side; for the Jews related that such a thing they had undergone during this war. Now the workmanship of these representations was so magnificent and lively in the construction of the things, that it exhibited what had been done to such as did not see it, as if they had been there really present. On the top of every one of these pageants was placed the commander of the city that was taken, and the manner wherein he was taken. Moreover, there followed those pageants a great number of ships; and for the other spoils, they were carried in great plenty. But for those that were taken in the temple of Jerusalem, they made the greatest figure of them all; that is, the golden table, of the weight of many talents; the candlestick also, that was made of gold, though its construction were now changed from that which we made use of; for its middle shaft was fixed upon a basis, and the small branches were produced out of it to a great length, having the likeness of a trident in their position, and had every one a socket made of brass for a lamp at the tops of them. These lamps were in number seven, and represented the dignity of the number seven among the Jews; and the last of all the spoils, was carried the Law of the Jews. After these spoils passed by a great many men, carrying the images of Victory, whose structure was entirely either of ivory or of gold. After which Vespasian marched in the first place, and Titus followed him; Domitian also rode along with them, and made a glorious appearance, and rode on a horse that was worthy of admiration.

(6) [153] Ἦν δὲ τῆς πομπῆς τὸ τέλος ἐπὶ τὸν νεὼ τοῦ Καπετωλίου Διός, ἐφ' ὃν ἐλθόντες ἔστησαν: ἦν γὰρ παλαιὸν πάτριον περιμένειν, μέχρις ἂν τὸν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν πολεμίων θάνατον ἀπαγγείλῃ τις. [154] Σίμων οὗτος ἦν ὁ Γιώρα, τότε πεπομπευκὼς ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις, βρόχῳ δὲ περιβληθεὶς εἰς τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐσύρετο τόπον αἰκιζομένων αὐτὸν ἅμα τῶν ἀγόντων: νόμος δ' ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐκεῖ κτείνειν τοὺς ἐπὶ κακουργίᾳ θάνατον κατεγνωσμένους. [155] ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπηγγέλθη τέλος ἔχων καὶ πάντες εὐφήμησαν, ἤρχοντο τῶν θυσιῶν, ἃς ἐπὶ ταῖς νομιζομέναις καλλιερήσαντες εὐχαῖς ἀπῆεσαν εἰς τὸ βασίλειον. [156] καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτοὶ πρὸς εὐωχίαν ὑπεδέχοντο, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἅπασιν εὐτρεπεῖς κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον αἱ τῆς ἑστιάσεως ἦσαν παρασκευαί. [157] ταύτην γὰρ τὴν ἡμέραν ἡ Ῥωμαίων πόλις ἑώρταζεν ἐπινίκιον μὲν τῆς κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων στρατείας, πέρας δὲ τῶν ἐμφυλίων κακῶν, ἀρχὴν δὲ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἐλπίδων.

6. Now the last part of this pompous show was at the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, whither when they were come, they stood still; for it was the Romans' ancient custom to stay till somebody brought the news that the general

of the enemy was slain. This general was Simon, the son of Gioras, who had then been led in this triumph among the captives; a rope had also been put upon his head, and he had been drawn into a proper place in the forum, and had withal been tormented by those that drew him along; and the law of the Romans required that malefactors condemned to die should be slain there. Accordingly, when it was related that there was an end of him, and all the people had set up a shout for joy, they then began to offer those sacrifices which they had consecrated, in the prayers used in such solemnities; which when they had finished, they went away to the palace. And as for some of the spectators, the emperors entertained them at their own feast; and for all the rest there were noble preparations made for feasting at home; for this was a festival day to the city of Rome, as celebrated for the victory obtained by their army over their enemies, for the end that was now put to their civil miseries, and for the commencement of their hopes of future prosperity and happiness.

(7) [158] Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς θριάμβους καὶ τὴν βεβαιοτάτην τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας κατάστασιν Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἔγνω τέμενος Εἰρήνης κατασκευάσαι: ταχὺ δὲ δὴ μάλα καὶ πάσης ἀνθρωπίνης κρεῖττον ἐπινοίας ἐτετελείωτο. [159] τῇ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ πλούτου χορηγίᾳ δαιμονίῳ χρησάμενος ἔτι καὶ τοῖς ἔκπαλαι κατωρθωμένοις γραφῆς τε καὶ πλαστικῆς ἔργοις αὐτὸ κατεκόσμησεν: [160] πάντα γὰρ εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸν νεὼ συνήχθη καὶ κατετέθη, δι᾽ ὧν τὴν θέαν ἄνθρωποι πρότερον περὶ πᾶσαν ἐπλανῶντο τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἕως ἄλλο παρ᾽ ἄλλοις ἦν κείμενον ἰδεῖν ποθοῦντες. [161] ἀνέθηκε δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων χρυσᾶ κατασκευάσματα σεμνυνόμενος ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς. [162] τὸν δὲ νόμον αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ πορφυρᾶ τοῦ σηκοῦ καταπετάσματα προσέταξεν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀποθεμένους φυλάττειν.

7. After these triumphs were over, and after the affairs of the Romans were settled on the surest foundations, Vespasian resolved to build a temple to Peace, which was finished in so short a time, and in so glorious a manner, as was beyond all human expectation and opinion: for he having now by Providence a vast quantity of wealth, besides what he had formerly gained in his other exploits, he had this temple adorned with pictures and statues; for in this temple were collected and deposited all such rarities as men aforetime used to wander all over the habitable world to see, when they had a desire to see one of them after another; he also laid up therein those golden vessels and instruments that were taken out of the Jewish temple, as ensigns of his glory. But still he gave order that they should lay up their Law, and the purple veils of the holy place, in the royal palace itself, and keep them there.

CHAPTER 6.

Concerning Machaerus, And How Lucilius Bassus Took That Citadel, And Other Places.

(1) [163] Εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πρεσβευτὴς Λουκίλιος Βάσσος ἐκπεμφθεὶς καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν παρὰ Κερεαλίου Οὐετιλιανοῦ παραλαβὼν τὸ μὲν ἐν τῷ Ἡρωδείῳ φρούριον προσηγάγετο μετὰ τῶν ἐχόντων, [164] μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ πᾶν ὅσον ἦν στρατιωτικὸν συναγαγών, πολὺ δ' ἦν κατὰ μέρη διῃρημένον, καὶ τῶν ταγμάτων τὸ δέκατον, ἔγνω στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Μαχαιροῦντα: πάνυ γὰρ ἦν ἀναγκαῖον ἐξαιρεθῆναι τὸ φρούριον, μὴ διὰ τὴν ὀχυρότητα πολλοὺς εἰς ἀποστασίαν ἐπαγάγηται. [165] καὶ γὰρ τοῖς κατέχουσι βεβαίαν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας καὶ τοῖς ἐπιοῦσιν ὄκνον καὶ δέος ἡ τοῦ χωρίου φύσις ἦν παρασχεῖν ἱκανωτάτη. [166] αὐτὸ μὲν γὰρ τὸ τετειχισμένον πετρώδης ὄχθος ἐστὶν εἰς μήκιστον ὕψος ἐγηγερμένος, ὡς εἶναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δυσχείρωτος, μεμηχάνηται δ' ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως εἶναι μηδὲ προσιτός: [167] φάραγξιν γὰρ πάντοθεν ἀσύνοπτον ἐχούσαις τὸ βάθος περιτετάφρευται, μήτε περαθῆναι ῥᾳδίως δυναμέναις καὶ χωσθῆναι παντάπασιν ἀμηχάνοις. [168] ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπέρας περιτέμνουσα παρατείνει σταδίους ἑξήκοντα πέρας αὐτῆς τὴν Ἀσφαλτῖτιν ποιουμένη λίμνην: κατὰ τοῦτο δέ πῃ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Μαχαιροῦς τὴν ὑψηλοτάτην ἔχει κορυφὴν ὑπερανίσχουσαν: [169] αἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἄρκτου καὶ μεσημβρίας φάραγγες μεγέθει μὲν ἀπολείπονται τῆς προειρημένης, ὁμοίως δ' εἰσὶν ἀμήχανοι πρὸς ἐπιχείρησιν. [170] τῆς δὲ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν φάραγγος τὸ μὲν βάθος οὐκ ἔλαττον ἑκατὸν εὑρίσκεται πήχεων, τέρμα δὲ γίνεται πρὸς ὄρος ἀπαντικρὺ κείμενον Μαχαιροῦντος.

1. Now Lucilius Bassus was sent as legate into Judea, and there he received the army from Cerealis Vitellianus, and took that citadel which was in Herodium, together with the garrison that was in it; after which he got together all the soldiery that was there, [which was a large body, but dispersed into several parties,] with the tenth legion, and resolved to make war upon Machaerus; for it was highly necessary that this citadel should be demolished, lest it might be a means of drawing away many into a rebellion, by reason of its strength; for the nature of the place was very capable of affording the surest hopes of safety to those that possessed it, as well as delay and fear to those that should attack it; for what was walled in was itself a very rocky hill, elevated to a very great height; which circumstance alone made it very hard to be subdued. It was also so contrived by nature, that it could not be easily ascended; for it is, as it were, ditched about with such valleys on all sides, and to such a depth, that the eye cannot reach their bottoms, and such as are not easily to be passed over, and

even such as it is impossible to fill up with earth. For that valley which cuts it on the west extends to threescore furlongs, and did not end till it came to the lake Asphaltites; on the same side it was also that Machaerus had the tallest top of its hill elevated above the rest. But then for the valleys that lay on the north and south sides, although they be not so large as that already described, yet it is in like manner an impracticable thing to think of getting over them; and for the valley that lies on the east side, its depth is found to be no less than a hundred cubits. It extends as far as a mountain that lies over against Machaerus, with which it is bounded.

(2) [171] Ταύτην τοῦ τόπου κατιδὼν τὴν φύσιν βασιλεὺς Ἰουδαίων Ἀλέξανδρος πρῶτος ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τειχίζει φρούριον, ὃ μετὰ ταῦτα Γαβίνιος Ἀριστοβούλῳ πολεμῶν καθεῖλεν. [172] Ἡρώδῃ δὲ βασιλεύοντι παντὸς ἔδοξε μᾶλλον ἐπιμελείας ἄξιον εἶναι καὶ κατασκευῆς ὀχυρωτάτης μάλιστα καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν Ἀράβων γειτνίασιν: κεῖται γὰρ ἐν ἐπικαίρῳ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων γῆν ἀποβλέπον. [173] μέγαν μὲν οὖν τόπον τείχεσιν καὶ πύργοις περιβαλὼν πόλιν ἐνταῦθα κατῴκισεν, ἐξ ἧς ἄνοδος εἰς αὐτὴν ἔφερε τὴν ἀκρώρειαν. [174] οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν ἄνω τὴν κορυφὴν τεῖχος ἐδείματο καὶ πύργους ἐπὶ ταῖς γωνίαις ἕκαστον ἑξήκοντα πηχῶν ἀνέστησεν. [175] μέσον δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου βασίλειον ᾠκοδομήσατο μεγέθει τε καὶ κάλλει τῶν οἰκήσεων πολυτελές, [176] πολλὰς δὲ καὶ δεξαμενὰς εἰς ὑποδοχὴν ὕδατος καὶ χορηγίαν ἄφθονον ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδειοτάτοις τῶν τόπων κατεσκεύασεν, ὥσπερ πρὸς τὴν φύσιν ἀμιλληθείς, ἵν᾽ αὐτὸς τὸ κατ᾽ ἐκείνην τοῦ τόπου δυσάλωτον ὑπερβάληται ταῖς χειροποιήτοις ὀχυρώσεσιν: [177] ἔτι γὰρ καὶ βελῶν πλῆθος καὶ μηχανημάτων ἐγκατέθετο καὶ πᾶν ἐπενόησεν ἑτοιμάσασθαι τὸ παρασχεῖν δυνάμενον τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσιν μηκίστης πολιορκίας καταφρόνησιν.

2. Now when Alexander [Janneus], the king of the Jews, observed the nature of this place, he was the first who built a citadel here, which afterwards was demolished by Gabinius, when he made war against Aristobulus. But when Herod came to be king, he thought the place to be worthy of the utmost regard, and of being built upon in the firmest manner, and this especially because it lay so near to Arabia; for it is seated in a convenient place on that account, and hath a prospect toward that country; he therefore surrounded a large space of ground with walls and towers, and built a city there, out of which city there was a way that led up to the very citadel itself on the top of the mountain; nay, more than this, he built a wall round that top of the hill, and erected towers at the corners, of a hundred and sixty cubits high; in the middle of which place he built a palace, after a magnificent manner, wherein were large and beautiful edifices. He also made a great many reservoirs for the reception of water, that there might be plenty of it ready for all uses, and those in the properest places that were

afforded him there. Thus did he, as it were, contend with the nature of the place, that he might exceed its natural strength and security [which yet itself rendered it hard to be taken] by those fortifications which were made by the hands of men. Moreover, he put a large quantity of darts and other machines of war into it, and contrived to get every thing thither that might any way contribute to its inhabitants' security, under the longest siege possible.

(3) [178] Ἐπεφύκει δ' ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις πήγανον ἄξιον τοῦ μεγέθους θαυμάσαι: συκῆς γὰρ οὐδεμιᾶς ὕψους καὶ πάχους ἐλείπετο. [179] λόγος δὲ ἦν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἡρώδου χρόνων αὐτὸ διαρκέσαι, κἂν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἴσως ἔμεινεν, ἐξεκόπη δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν παραλαβόντων τὸν τόπον Ἰουδαίων. [180] τῆς φάραγγος δὲ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἄρκτον περιεχούσης τὴν πόλιν Βαάρας ὀνομάζεταί τις τόπος, φύει ῥίζαν ὁμωνύμως λεγομένην αὐτῷ. [181] αὕτη φλογὶ μὲν τὴν χροίαν ἔοικε, περὶ δὲ τὰς ἑσπέρας σέλας ἀπαστράπτουσα τοῖς ἐπιοῦσι καὶ βουλομένοις λαβεῖν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἔστιν εὐχείρωτος, ἀλλ' ὑποφεύγει καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἵσταται, πρὶν ἄν τις οὖρον γυναικὸς ἢ τὸ ἔμμηνον αἷμα χέῃ κατ' αὐτῆς. [182] οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε τοῖς ἁψαμένοις πρόδηλός ἐστι θάνατος, εἰ μὴ τύχοι τις αὐτὴν ἐκείνην ἐπενεγκάμενος τὴν ῥίζαν ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς ἀπηρτημένην. [183] ἁλίσκεται δὲ καὶ καθ' ἕτερον τρόπον ἀκινδύνως, ὅς ἐστι τοιόσδε: κύκλῳ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν περιορύσσουσιν, ὡς εἶναι τὸ κρυπτόμενον τῆς ῥίζης βραχύτατον. [184] εἶτ' ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀποδοῦσι κύνα, κἀκείνου τῷ δήσαντι συνακολουθεῖν ὁρμήσαντος ἡ μὲν ἀνασπᾶται ῥᾳδίως, θνήσκει δ' εὐθὺς ὁ κύων ὥσπερ ἀντιδοθεὶς τοῦ μέλλοντος τὴν βοτάνην ἀναιρήσεσθαι: φόβος γὰρ οὐδεὶς τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα λαμβάνουσιν. [185] ἔστι δὲ μετὰ τοσούτων κινδύνων διὰ μίαν ἰσχὺν περισπούδαστος: τὰ γὰρ καλούμενα δαιμόνια, ταῦτα δὲ πονηρῶν ἐστιν ἀνθρώπων πνεύματα τοῖς ζῶσιν εἰσδυόμενα καὶ κτείνοντα τοὺς βοηθείας μὴ τυγχάνοντας, αὕτη ταχέως ἐξελαύνει, κἂν προσενεχθῇ μόνον τοῖς νοσοῦσι. [186] ῥέουσι δὲ καὶ θερμῶν ὑδάτων πηγαὶ κατὰ τὸν τόπον πολὺ τὴν γεῦσιν ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσαι: πικραὶ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν τινές εἰσιν, αἱ δὲ γλυκύτητος οὐδὲν ἀπολείπουσαι. [187] πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ ψυχρῶν ὑδάτων ἀναδόσεις οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ χθαμαλωτέρῳ τὰς πηγὰς παραλλήλους ἔχουσαι, [188] ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν καὶ μᾶλλόν τις θαυμάσειε, σπήλαιον γάρ τι πλησίον ὁρᾶται κοιλότητι μὲν οὐ βαθύ, τῇ πέτρᾳ δὲ προυχούσῃ σκεπόμενον: [189] ταύτης ἄνωθεν ὡσανεὶ μαστοὶ δύο ἀνέχουσιν ἀλλήλων ὀλίγῳ διεστῶτες, καὶ ψυχροτάτην μὲν ἄτερος πηγήν, ἄτερος δὲ θερμοτάτην ἐκδίδωσιν, αἷ μισγόμεναι ποιοῦσι λουτρὸν ἥδιστον παιώνιόν τε νοσημάτων, πολλῷ δὲ μάλιστα νεύρων ἄκεσιν. ἔχει δὲ ὁ τόπος καὶ θείου καὶ στυπτηρίας μέταλλα.

3. Now within this place there grew a sort of rue that deserves our wonder on account of its largeness, for it was no way inferior to any fig tree whatsoever, either in height or in thickness; and the report is, that it had lasted ever since the

times of Herod, and would probably have lasted much longer, had it not been cut down by those Jews who took possession of the place afterward. But still in that valley which encompasses the city on the north side there is a certain place called Baaras, which produces a root of the same name with itself its color is like to that of flame, and towards the evenings it sends out a certain ray like lightning. It is not easily taken by such as would do it, but recedes from their hands, nor will yield itself to be taken quietly, until either the urine of a woman, or her menstrual blood, be poured upon it; nay, even then it is certain death to those that touch it, unless any one take and hang the root itself down from his hand, and so carry it away. It may also be taken another way, without danger, which is this: they dig a trench quite round about it, till the hidden part of the root be very small, they then tie a dog to it, and when the dog tries hard to follow him that tied him, this root is easily plucked up, but the dog dies immediately, as if it were instead of the man that would take the plant away; nor after this need any one be afraid of taking it into their hands. Yet, after all this pains in getting, it is only valuable on account of one virtue it hath, that if it be only brought to sick persons, it quickly drives away those called demons, which are no other than the spirits of the wicked, that enter into men that are alive and kill them, unless they can obtain some help against them. Here are also fountains of hot water, that flow out of this place, which have a very different taste one from the other; for some of them are bitter, and others of them are plainly sweet. Here are also many eruptions of cold waters, and this not only in the places that lie lower, and have their fountains near one another, but, what is still more wonderful, here is to be seen a certain cave hard by, whose cavity is not deep, but it is covered over by a rock that is prominent; above this rock there stand up two [hills or] breasts, as it were, but a little distant one from another, the one of which sends out a fountain that is very cold, and the other sends out one that is very hot; which waters, when they are mingled together, compose a most pleasant bath; they are medicinal indeed for other maladies, but especially good for strengthening the nerves. This place has in it also mines of sulfur and alum.

(4) [190] Βάσσος δὲ περισκεψάμενος τὸ χωρίον ἔγνω ποιεῖσθαι τὴν πρόσοδον χωννὺς τὴν φάραγγα τὴν πρὸς ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς καὶ τῶν ἔργων εἴχετο, σπουδὴν ποιούμενος ᾗ τάχος ἐξᾶραι τὸ χῶμα καὶ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ ῥᾳδίαν ποιῆσαι τὴν πολιορκίαν. [191] οἱ δ᾽ ἔνδον ἀπειλημμένοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων αὐτοὶ καθ᾽ ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ξένων διακριθέντες ἐκείνους μὲν ἠνάγκασαν, ὄχλον ἄλλως εἶναι νομίζοντες, ἐν τῇ κάτω πόλει παραμένειν καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους προεκδέχεσθαι, [192] τὸ δ᾽ ἄνω φρούριον αὐτοὶ καταλαβόντες εἶχον καὶ διὰ τὴν ἰσχὺν τῆς ὀχυρότητος καὶ προνοίᾳ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν: τεύξεσθαι γὰρ ἀφέσεως ὑπελάμβανον, εἰ τὸ

χωρίον Ῥωμαίοις ἐγχειρίσειαν. [193] πείρᾳ δὲ πρότερον ἐβούλοντο τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ διαφεύξεσθαι τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐλπίδας ἐλέγξαι. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ προθύμως ἐποιοῦντο τὰς ἐξόδους ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν, καὶ τοῖς χοῦσι συμπλεκόμενοι πολλοὶ μὲν ἔθνησκον, πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀνῄρουν. [194] ἀεὶ δὲ τὸ κρατεῖν ὁ καιρὸς ἐβράβευεν ἑκατέροις τὸ πλέον, τοῖς μὲν Ἰουδαίοις, εἰ πρὸς ἀφυλακτοτέρους προσπέσοιεν, τοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν χωμάτων προιδομένοις, εἰ τὴν ἐκδρομὴν αὐτῶν δέχοιντο πεφραγμένως. [195] ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐν τούτοις ἔμελλεν γενήσεσθαι τὸ πέρας τῆς πολιορκίας, ἔργον δέ τι πραχθὲν ἐκ συντυχίας παράλογον τῆς παραδόσεως τοῦ φρουρίου τὴν ἀνάγκην ἐπέστησε τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις. [196] ἦν ἐν τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις νεανίας τολμῆσαί τε θρασὺς καὶ κατὰ χεῖρα δραστήριος, Ἐλεάζαρος ὄνομα: [197] γεγόνει δὲ οὗτος ἐν ταῖς ἐκδρομαῖς ἐπιφανὴς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐξιέναι καὶ κωλύειν τὴν χῶσιν παρακαλῶν καὶ κατὰ τὰς μάχας πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διατιθείς, τοῖς δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ τολμῶσιν ἐπεκτρέχειν ῥᾳδίαν μὲν τὴν προσβολὴν τιθέμενος, ἀκίνδυνον δὲ παρέχων τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τῷ τελευταῖος ἀπιέναι. [198] καὶ δή ποτε τῆς μάχης διακριθείσης καὶ γεγονυίας ἀμφοτέρων ἀναχωρήσεως αὐτὸς ἅτε δὴ περιφρονῶν καὶ νομίζων οὐκ ἂν ἔτι τῶν πολεμίων οὐδένα τότε μάχης ἄρξειν, μείνας τῶν πυλῶν ἔξω τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους διελάλει καὶ πᾶς πρὸς ἐκείνοις τὴν διάνοιαν ἦν. [199] ὁρᾷ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ Ῥωμαικοῦ τις στρατοπέδου Ῥοῦφος, γένος Αἰγύπτιος, καὶ μηδενὸς ἂν προσδοκήσαντος ἐξαίφνης ἐπιδραμὼν σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀράμενος αὐτὸν τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἕως κατεῖχε τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἰδόντας ἔκπληξις, φθάνει τὸν ἄνδρα μεταθεὶς πρὸς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον. [200] τοῦ δὲ στρατηγοῦ κελεύσαντος γυμνὸν διαλαβεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ καταστήσαντας εἰς τὸ φανερώτατον τοῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀποβλέπουσι μάστιξιν αἰκίζεσθαι, σφόδρα τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τὸ περὶ τὸν νεανίαν πάθος συνέχεεν, ἀθρόα τε ἡ πόλις ἀνώμωξε, καὶ θρῆνος ἦν μείζων ἢ καθ᾽ ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς συμφοράν. [201] τοῦτο συνιδὼν ὁ Βάσσος κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο στρατηγήματος, καὶ βουληθεὶς αὐτῶν ἐπιτεῖναι τὸ περιαλγές, ἵνα βιασθῶσιν ἀντὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τἀνδρὸς ποιήσασθαι τοῦ φρουρίου παράδοσιν, τῆς ἐλπίδος οὐ διήμαρτεν. [202] ὁ μὲν γὰρ προσέταξε καταπηγνύναι σταυρὸν ὡς αὐτίκα κρεμῶν τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον, τοῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ φρουρίου τοῦτο θεασαμένοις ὀδύνη τε πλείων προσέπεσε, καὶ διωλύγιον ἀνώμωζον οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν εἶναι τὸ πάθος βοῶντες. [203] ἐνταῦθα δὴ τοίνυν Ἐλεάζαρος ἱκέτευεν αὐτοὺς μήτε αὐτὸν περιιδεῖν ὑπομείναντα θανάτων τὸν οἴκτιστον καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν σωτηρίαν παρασχεῖν τῇ Ῥωμαίων εἴξαντας ἰσχύι καὶ τύχῃ μετὰ πάντας ἤδη κεχειρωμένους. [204] οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκείνου λόγους κατακλώμενοι καὶ πολλῶν ἔνδον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δεομένων, ἦν γὰρ ἐκ μεγάλης καὶ σφόδρα πολυανθρώπου συγγενείας, παρὰ τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν εἰς οἶκτον ἐνέδωκαν: [205] καί τινας ἐξαποστείλαντες κατὰ τάχος διελέγοντο ποιεῖσθαι τὴν παράδοσιν τοῦ φρουρίου ἀξιοῦντες, ἵν᾽ ἀδεεῖς ἀπαλλάττωνται κομισάμενοι τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον. [206] δεξαμένων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων

καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ταῦτα, τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐν τῇ κάτω πόλει τὴν γεγενημένην ἰδίᾳ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις πυθόμενοι σύμβασιν αὐτοὶ κατὰ νύκτα λαθόντες ἔγνωσαν ἀποδρᾶναι. [207] τὰς πύλας δὲ αὐτῶν ἀνοιξάντων παρὰ τῶν τὴν ὁμολογίαν πεποιημένων πρὸς τὸν Βάσσον ἦκεν μήνυσις, εἴτ᾽ οὖν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς φθονησάντων εἴτε [καὶ] διὰ δέος, μὴ τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτοὶ λάβωσι τῆς ἐκείνων ἀποδράσεως. [208] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀνδρειότατοι τῶν ἐξιόντων ἔφθασαν διεκπαίσασθαι καὶ διαφυγεῖν, τῶν δ᾽ ἔνδον καταλειφθέντων ἄνδρες μὲν ἀνῃρέθησαν ἐπὶ τοῖς χιλίοις ἑπτακόσιοι, γύναια δὲ καὶ παῖδες ἠνδραποδίσθησαν. [209] τὰς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς παραδόντας τὸ φρούριον ὁμολογίας οἰόμενος δεῖν ὁ Βάσσος διαφυλάττειν αὐτούς τε ἀφίησιν καὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον ἀπέδωκε.

4. Now when Bassus had taken a full view of this place, he resolved to besiege it, by filling up the valley that lay on the east side; so he fell hard to work, and took great pains to raise his banks as soon as possible, and by that means to render the siege easy. As for the Jews that were caught in this place, they separated themselves from the strangers that were with them, and they forced those strangers, as an otherwise useless multitude, to stay in the lower part of the city, and undergo the principal dangers, while they themselves seized on the upper citadel, and held it, and this both on account of its strength, and to provide for their own safety. They also supposed they might obtain their pardon, in case they should [at last] surrender the citadel. However, they were willing to make trial, in the first place, whether the hopes they had of avoiding a siege would come to any thing; with which intention they made sallies every day, and fought with those that met them; in which conflicts they were many of them slain, as they therein slew many of the Romans. But still it was the opportunities that presented themselves which chiefly gained both sides their victories; these were gained by the Jews, when they fell upon the Romans as they were off their guard; but by the Romans, when, upon the others' sallies against their banks, they foresaw their coming, and were upon their guard when they received them. But the conclusion of this siege did not depend upon these bickerings; but a certain surprising accident, relating to what was done in this siege, forced the Jews to surrender the citadel. There was a certain young man among the besieged, of great boldness, and very active of his hand, his name was Eleazar; he greatly signalized himself in those sallies, and encouraged the Jews to go out in great numbers, in order to hinder the raising of the banks, and did the Romans a vast deal of mischief when they came to fighting; he so managed matters, that those who sallied out made their attacks easily, and returned back without danger, and this by still bringing up the rear himself. Now it happened that, on a certain time, when the fight was over, and both sides were parted, and retired

home, he, in way of contempt of the enemy, and thinking that none of them would begin the fight again at that time, staid without the gates, and talked with those that were upon the wall, and his mind was wholly intent upon what they said. Now a certain person belonging to the Roman camp, whose name was Rufus, by birth an Egyptian, ran upon him suddenly, when nobody expected such a thing, and carried him off, with his armor itself; while, in the mean time, those that saw it from the wall were under such an amazement, that Rufus prevented their assistance, and carried Eleazar to the Roman camp. So the general of the Romans ordered that he should be taken up naked, set before the city to be seen, and sorely whipped before their eyes. Upon this sad accident that befell the young man, the Jews were terribly confounded, and the city, with one voice, sorely lamented him, and the mourning proved greater than could well be supposed upon the calamity of a single person. When Bassus perceived that, he began to think of using a stratagem against the enemy, and was desirous to aggravate their grief, in order to prevail with them to surrender the city for the preservation of that man. Nor did he fail of his hope; for he commanded them to set up a cross, as if he were just going to hang Eleazar upon it immediately; the sight of this occasioned a sore grief among those that were in the citadel, and they groaned vehemently, and cried out that they could not bear to see him thus destroyed. Whereupon Eleazar besought them not to disregard him, now he was going to suffer a most miserable death, and exhorted them to save themselves, by yielding to the Roman power and good fortune, since all other people were now conquered by them. These men were greatly moved with what he said, there being also many within the city that interceded for him, because he was of an eminent and very numerous family; so they now yielded to their passion of commiseration, contrary to their usual custom. Accordingly, they sent out immediately certain messengers, and treated with the Romans, in order to a surrender of the citadel to them, and desired that they might be permitted to go away, and take Eleazar along with them. Then did the Romans and their general accept of these terms; while the multitude of strangers that were in the lower part of the city, hearing of the agreement that was made by the Jews for themselves alone, were resolved to fly away privately in the night time; but as soon as they had opened their gates, those that had come to terms with Bassus told him of it; whether it were that they envied the others' deliverance, or whether it were done out of fear, lest an occasion should be taken against them upon their escape, is uncertain. The most courageous, therefore, of those men that went out prevented the enemy, and got away, and fled for it; but for those men that were caught within they were slain to the number of one thousand seven hundred, as were the women and children made slaves. But as Bassus thought he must perform the

covenant he had made with those that surrendered the citadel, he let them go, and restored Eleazar to them.

(5) [210] Ταῦτα δὲ διοικησάμενος ἠπείγετο τὴν στρατιὰν ἄγων ἐπὶ τὸν προσαγορευόμενον Ἰάρδην δρυμόν: πολλοὶ γὰρ εἰς αὐτὸν ἠγγέλθησαν ἠθροῖσθαι τῶν κατὰ τὰς πολιορκίας πρότερον ἔκ τε Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ Μαχαιροῦντος ἀποδράντων. [211] ἐλθὼν οὖν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον καὶ γνοὺς τὴν ἀγγελίαν οὐκ ἐψευσμένην πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἅπαν κυκλοῦται τὸ χωρίον, ὅπως τοῖς διεκπαίεσθαι τολμῶσιν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἄπορος ἡ φυγὴ γίνηται διὰ τοὺς ἱππέας: τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς ἐκέλευσεν δενδροτομεῖν τὴν ὕλην, εἰς ἣν καταπεφεύγεσαν. [212] καθίστανται δὲ διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς ἀνάγκην οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοῦ δρᾶν τι γενναῖον ὡς ἐκ παραβόλου ἀγωνίσασθαι τάχα ἂν καὶ διαφυγόντες, ἀθρόοι δὲ καὶ μετὰ βοῆς ᾄξαντες ἐνέπιπτον τοῖς κεκυκλωμένοις. [213] οἱ δ' αὐτοὺς ἐδέχοντο καρτερῶς, καὶ πολλῇ τῶν μὲν ἀπονοίᾳ τῶν δὲ φιλονεικίᾳ χρωμένων χρόνος μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγος διὰ τοῦτο τῇ μάχῃ προύβη, τέλος δ' αὐτῆς οὐχ ὅμοιον ἀπέβη τοῖς ἀγωνισαμένοις. [214] Ῥωμαίων μὲν γὰρ δώδεκα τοὺς πάντας συνέβη πεσεῖν ὀλίγους τε τρωθῆναι, Ἰουδαίων δὲ ἐκ τῆς μάχης ταύτης οὐδεὶς διέφυγεν, ἀλλ' ὄντες οὐκ ἐλάττους τρισχιλίων πάντες ἀπέθανον, [215] καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς αὐτῶν Ἰούδας ὁ τοῦ Ἀρεῖ παῖς, περὶ οὗ πρότερον εἰρήκαμεν ὅτι τάξεως ἡγούμενός τινος ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων κατά τινας διαδὺς τῶν ὑπονόμων ἔλαθεν ἀποδράς.

5. When Bassus had settled these affairs, he marched hastily to the forest of Jarden, as it is called; for he had heard that a great many of those that had fled from Jerusalem and Machaerus formerly were there gotten together. When he was therefore come to the place, and understood that the former news was no mistake, he, in the first place, surrounded the whole place with his horsemen, that such of the Jews as had boldness enough to try to break through might have no way possible for escaping, by reason of the situation of these horsemen; and for the footmen, he ordered them to cut down the trees that were in the wood whither they were fled. So the Jews were under a necessity of performing some glorious exploit, and of greatly exposing themselves in a battle, since they might perhaps thereby escape. So they made a general attack, and with a great shout fell upon those that surrounded them, who received them with great courage; and so while the one side fought desperately, and the others would not yield, the fight was prolonged on that account. But the event of the battle did not answer the expectation of the assailants; for so it happened, that no more than twelve fell on the Roman side, with a few that were wounded; but not one of the Jews escaped out of this battle, but they were all killed, being in the whole not fewer in number than three thousand, together with Judas, the son of Jairus, their

general, concerning whom we have before spoken, that he had been a captain of a certain band at the siege of Jerusalem, and by going down into a certain vault under ground, had privately made his escape.

(6) [216] Περὶ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἐπέστειλε Καῖσαρ Βάσσῳ καὶ Λαβερίῳ Μαξίμῳ, οὗτος δὲ ἦν ἐπίτροπος, κελεύων πᾶσαν γῆν ἀποδόσθαι τῶν Ἰουδαίων. [217] οὐ γὰρ κατῴκισεν ἐκεῖ πόλιν ἰδίαν αὐτῷ τὴν χώραν φυλάττων, ὀκτακοσίοις δὲ μόνοις ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς διαφειμένοις χωρίον ἔδωκεν εἰς κατοίκησιν, ὃ καλεῖται μὲν Ἀμμαοῦς, ἀπέχει δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων σταδίους τριάκοντα. [218] φόρον δὲ τοῖς ὁπουδηποτοῦν οὖσιν Ἰουδαίοις ἐπέβαλεν δύο δραχμὰς ἕκαστον κελεύσας ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον φέρειν, ὥσπερ πρότερον εἰς τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις νεὼν συνετέλουν. καὶ τὰ μὲν Ἰουδαίων τότε τοιαύτην εἶχε κατάστασιν.

6. About the same time it was that Caesar sent a letter to Bassus, and to Liberius Maximus, who was the procurator [of Judea], and gave order that all Judea should be exposed to sale for he did not found any city there, but reserved the country for himself. However, he assigned a place for eight hundred men only, whom he had dismissed from his army, which he gave them for their habitation; it is called Emmaus, and is distant from Jerusalem threescore furlongs. He also laid a tribute upon the Jews wheresoever they were, and enjoined every one of them to bring two drachmae every year into the Capitol, as they used to pay the same to the temple at Jerusalem. And this was the state of the Jewish affairs at this time.

VII

CHAPTER 7.

Concerning The Calamity That Befell Antiochus, King Of Commagene. As Also Concerning The Alans And What Great Mischiefs They Did To The Medes And Armenians.

(1) [219] Ἤδη δὲ ἔτος τέταρτον Οὐεσπασιανοῦ διέποντος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν συνέβη τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Κομμαγηνῆς Ἀντίοχον μεγάλαις συμφοραῖς πανοικεσίᾳ περιπεσεῖν ἀπὸ τοιαύτης αἰτίας: [220] Καισέννιος Παῖτος, ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμὼν τότε καθεστηκώς, εἴτ᾽ οὖν ἀληθεύων εἴτε καὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἀντίοχον ἔχθραν, οὐ σφόδρα γὰρ τὸ σαφὲς ἠλέγχθη, [221] γράμματα πρὸς Καίσαρα διεπέμψατο, λέγων τὸν Ἀντίοχον μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἐπιφανοῦς διεγνωκέναι Ῥωμαίων ἀφίστασθαι συνθήκας πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Πάρθων πεποιημένον: [222] δεῖν οὖν προκαταλαβεῖν αὐτούς, μὴ φθάσαντες τῶν πραγμάτων [ἄρξασθαι] πᾶσαν τὴν

Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν πολέμῳ συνταράξωσιν. [223] ἔμελλε Καῖσαρ τοιούτου μηνύματος αὐτῷ προσπεσόντος μὴ περιορᾶν: καὶ γὰρ ἡ γειτνίασις τῶν βασιλέων ἐποίει τὸ πρᾶγμα μείζονος ἄξιον προνοίας: [224] τὰ γὰρ Σαμόσατα τῆς Κομμαγηνῆς μεγίστη πόλις κεῖται παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην, ὥστ᾽ εἶναι τοῖς Πάρθοις, εἴ τι τοιοῦτον διενενόηντο, ῥᾴστην μὲν τὴν διάβασιν βεβαίαν δὲ τὴν ὑποδοχήν. [225] πιστευθεὶς οὖν Παῖτος καὶ λαβὼν ἐξουσίαν πράττειν ἃ δοκεῖ συμφέρειν οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν, ἐξαίφνης δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον οὐδὲν προσδοκώντων εἰς τὴν Κομμαγηνὴν ἐνέβαλεν, τῶν μὲν ταγμάτων ἄγων τὸ ἕκτον καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ λόχους καί τινας ἴλας ἱππέων: [226] συνεμάχουν δὲ καὶ βασιλεῖς αὐτῷ τῆς μὲν Χαλκιδικῆς λεγομένης Ἀριστόβουλος, τῆς Ἐμέσης δὲ καλουμένης Σόαιμος. [227] ἦν δ᾽ αὐτοῖς τὰ περὶ τὴν εἰσβολὴν ἀνανταγώνιστα: τῶν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν χώραν οὐδεὶς ἤθελε χεῖρας ἀνταίρειν. [228] Ἀντίοχος δὲ τῆς ἀγγελίας ἀδοκήτως προσπεσούσης πολέμου μὲν οὐδὲ ἐπίνοιαν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἔσπασεν, ἔγνω δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν βασιλείαν ὡς εἶχεν ἐπὶ σχήματος καταλιπὼν μετὰ γυναικὸς καὶ τέκνων ὑπεξελθεῖν, οὕτως ἂν οἰόμενος καθαρὸν Ῥωμαίοις αὐτὸν ἀποδεῖξαι τῆς ἐπενηνεγμένης αἰτίας. [229] καὶ προελθὼν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἑκατὸν σταδίους πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσιν εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἐν αὐτῷ καταυλίζεται.

1. And now, in the fourth year of the reign of Vespasian, it came to pass that Antiochus, the king of Commagene, with all his family, fell into very great calamities. The occasion was this: Cesennius Petus, who was president of Syria at this time, whether it were done out of regard to truth, or whether out of hatred to Antiochus, [for which was the real motive was never thoroughly discovered,] sent an epistle to Caesar, and therein told him that Antiochus, with his son Epiphanes, had resolved to rebel against the Romans, and had made a league with the king of Parthia to that purpose; that it was therefore fit to prevent them, lest they prevent us, and begin such a war as may cause a general disturbance in the Roman empire. Now Caesar was disposed to take some care about the matter, since this discovery was made; for the neighborhood of the kingdoms made this affair worthy of greater regard; for Samoseta, the capital of Commagene, lies upon Euphrates, and upon any such design could afford an easy passage over it to the Parthians, and could also afford them a secure reception. Petus was accordingly believed, and had authority given him of doing what he should think proper in the case; so he set about it without delay, and fell upon Commagene before Antiochus and his people had the least expectation of his coming: he had with him the tenth legion, as also some cohorts and troops of horsemen. These kings also came to his assistance: Aristobulus, king of the country called Chalcidene, and Sohemus, who was called king of Emesa. Nor was there any opposition made to his forces when they entered the kingdom; for

no one of that country would so much as lift up his hand against them. When Antiochus heard this unexpected news, he could not think in the least of making war with the Romans, but determined to leave his whole kingdom in the state wherein it now was, and to retire privately, with his wife and children, as thinking thereby to demonstrate himself to the Romans to be innocent as to the accusation laid against him. So he went away from that city as far as a hundred and twenty furlongs, into a plain, and there pitched his tents.

(2) [230] Παῖτος δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ Σαμόσατα τοὺς καταληψομένους ἀποστέλλει καὶ δι᾽ ἐκείνων εἶχε τὴν πόλιν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης δυνάμεως ἐπ᾽ Ἀντίοχον ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ὁρμήν. [231] οὐ μὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐδ᾽ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης προήχθη πρᾶξαί τι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολεμικόν, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ τύχην ὀδυρόμενος ὅ τι δέοι παθεῖν ὑπέμενε: [232] νέοις δὲ καὶ πολέμων ἐμπείροις καὶ ῥώμῃ σωμάτων διαφέρουσιν οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἦν τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ τὴν συμφορὰν ἀμαχεὶ καρτερεῖν: τρέπονται οὖν πρὸς ἀλκὴν Ἐπιφανής τε καὶ Καλλίνικος. [233] σφοδρᾶς δὲ τῆς μάχης καὶ παρ᾽ ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν γενομένης αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν διαπρεπῆ παρέσχον καὶ μηδὲν ἐλαττωθείσῃ τῇ σφετέρᾳ δυνάμει [ἐσπέρᾳ] διελύθησαν. [234] Ἀντιόχῳ δ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἐπὶ τῇ μάχῃ τοῦτον κεχωρηκυίᾳ τὸν τρόπον μένειν ἀνεκτὸν ἐδόκει, λαβὼν δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας μετ᾽ ἐκείνων ἐποιεῖτο τὴν φυγὴν εἰς Κιλικίαν, καὶ τοῦτο πράξας τὰ φρονήματα τῶν οἰκείων στρατιωτῶν κατέκλασεν: [235] ὡς γὰρ κατεγνωσμένης ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἀπέστησαν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μετεβάλοντο, καὶ πάντων πρόδηλος ἦν ἀπόγνωσις. [236] πρὶν οὖν τελέως ἐρημωθῆναι τῶν συμμάχων τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἐπιφανῆ σώζειν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἦν ἀναγκαῖον, καὶ γίνονται δέκα σύμπαντες ἱππεῖς οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν τὸν Εὐφράτην διαβαλόντες, [237] ἔνθεν ἤδη μετ᾽ ἀδείας πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Πάρθων Βολογέσην κομισθέντες οὐχ ὡς φυγάδες ὑπερηφανήθησαν, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἔτι τὴν παλαιὰν ἔχοντες εὐδαιμονίαν πάσης τιμῆς ἠξιώθησαν.

2. Petus then sent some of his men to seize upon Samosate, and by their means took possession of that city, while he went himself to attack Antiochus with the rest of his army. However, the king was not prevailed upon by the distress he was in to do any thing in the way of war against the Romans, but bemoaned his own hard fate, and endured with patience what he was not able to prevent. But his sons, who were young, and unexperienced in war, but of strong bodies, were not easily induced to bear this calamity without fighting. Epiphanes, therefore, and Callinicus, betook themselves to military force; and as the battle was a sore one, and lasted all the day long, they showed their own valor in a remarkable manner, and nothing but the approach of night put a period thereto, and that without any diminution of their forces; yet would not Antiochus, upon this conclusion of the fight, continue there by any means, but took his wife and his

daughters, and fled away with them to Cilicia, and by so doing quite discouraged the minds of his own soldiers. Accordingly, they revolted, and went over to the Romans, out of the despair they were in of his keeping the kingdom; and his case was looked upon by all as quite desperate. It was therefore necessary that Epiphanes and his soldiers should get clear of their enemies before they became entirely destitute of any confederates; nor were there any more than ten horsemen with him, who passed with him over Euphrates, whence they went undisturbed to Vologeses, the king of Parthia, where they were not disregarded as fugitives, but had the same respect paid them as if they had retained their ancient prosperity.

(3) [238] Ἀντιόχῳ δ' εἰς Ταρσὸν ἀφιγμένῳ τῆς Κιλικίας ἑκατοντάρχην Παῖτος ἐπιπέμψας δεδεμένον αὐτὸν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλεν. [239] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δ' οὕτως οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀναχθῆναι τὸν βασιλέα, τῆς παλαιᾶς ἀξιῶν φιλίας μᾶλλον αἰδῶ λαβεῖν ἢ διὰ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου πρόφασιν ἀπαραίτητον ὀργὴν διαφυλάττειν. [240] κελεύει δὴ καθ' ὁδὸν ἔτ' ὄντος αὐτοῦ τῶν δεσμῶν ἀφαιρεθῆναι καὶ παρέντα τὴν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἄφιξιν τὸ νῦν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι διάγειν, δίδωσί τε μεγάλας αὐτῷ προσόδους χρημάτων, ὅπως μὴ μόνον ἄφθονον ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλικὴν ἔχοι τὴν δίαιταν. [241] ταῦτα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἐπιφανῆ πυθομένοις, πρότερον σφόδρα περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς δεδιόσιν ἀνείθησαν αἱ ψυχαὶ μεγάλης καὶ δυσδιαθέτου φροντίδος. [242] ἐλπὶς δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖς τῶν παρὰ Καίσαρος διαλλαγῶν ἐγένετο Βολογέσου περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιστείλαντος: οὐδὲ γὰρ εὐδαιμονοῦντες ὑπέμενον ἔξω τῆς Ῥωμαίων ζῆν ἡγεμονίας. [243] δόντος δὲ Καίσαρος ἡμέρως αὐτοῖς τὴν ἄδειαν εἰς Ῥώμην παρεγένοντο, τοῦ τε πατρὸς ὡς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος εὐθὺς ἐλθόντος πάσης ἀξιούμενοι τιμῆς κατέμενον ἐνταῦθα.

3. Now when Antiochus was come to Tarsus in Cilicia, Petus ordered a centurion to go to him, and send him in bonds to Rome. However, Vespasian could not endure to have a king brought to him in that manner, but thought it fit rather to have a regard to the ancient friendship that had been between them, than to preserve an inexorable anger upon pretense of this war. Accordingly, he gave orders that they should take off his bonds, while he was still upon the road, and that he should not come to Rome, but should now go and live at Lacedemon; he also gave him large revenues, that he might not only live in plenty, but like a king also. When Epiphanes, who before was in great fear for his father, was informed of this, their minds were freed from that great and almost incurable concern they had been under. He also hoped that Caesar would be reconciled to them, upon the intercession of Vologeses; for although he lived in plenty, he knew not how to bear living out of the Roman empire. So Caesar gave him

leave, after an obliging manner, and he came to Rome; and as his father came quickly to him from Lacedemon, he had all sorts of respect paid him there, and there he remained.

(4) [244] Τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἀλανῶν ἔθνος ὅτι μέν εἰσι Σκύθαι περὶ τὸν Τάναιν καὶ τὴν Μαιῶτιν λίμνην κατοικοῦντες, πρότερόν που δεδηλώκαμεν, [245] κατὰ τούτους δὲ τοὺς χρόνους διανοηθέντες εἰς τὴν Μηδίαν καὶ προσωτέρω ταύτης ἔτι καθ' ἁρπαγὴν ἐμβαλεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ὑρκανῶν διαλέγονται: τῆς παρόδου γὰρ οὗτος δεσπότης ἐστίν, ἣν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος πύλαις σιδηραῖς κλειστὴν ἐποίησε. [246] κἀκείνου τὴν εἴσοδον αὐτοῖς παρασχόντος ἀθρόοι καὶ μηδὲν προυποπτεύσασι τοῖς Μήδοις ἐπιπεσόντες χώραν πολυάνθρωπον καὶ παντοίων ἀνάμεστον βοσκημάτων διήρπαζον μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς τολμῶντος ἀνθίστασθαι. [247] καὶ γὰρ ὁ βασιλεύων τῆς χώρας Πάκορος ὑπὸ δέους εἰς τὰς δυσχωρίας ἀναφεύγων τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἁπάντων παρακεχωρήκει, μόλις δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐρρύσατο τήν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς αἰχμαλώτους γενομένας ἑκατὸν δοὺς τάλαντα. [248] μετὰ πολλῆς οὖν ῥᾳστώνης ἁμαχεὶ ποιούμενοι τὰς ἁρπαγὰς μέχρι τῆς Ἀρμενίας προῆλθον πάντα λεηλατοῦντες. [249] Τιριδάτης δ' αὐτῆς ἐβασίλευεν, ὃς ὑπαντιάσας αὐτοῖς καὶ ποιησάμενος μάχην παρὰ μικρὸν ἦλθεν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ζωὸς ἁλῶναι τῆς παρατάξεως: [250] βρόχον γὰρ αὐτῷ περιβαλών τις ἔμελλεν ἐπισπάσειν, εἰ μὴ τῷ ξίφει θᾶττον ἐκεῖνος τὸν τόνον κόψας ἔφθη διαφυγεῖν. [251] οἱ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν μάχην ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀγριωθέντες τὴν μὲν χώραν ἐλυμήναντο, πολὺ δὲ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης λείας ἄγοντες ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τῶν βασιλειῶν πάλιν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀνεκομίσθησαν.

4. Now there was a nation of the Alans, which we have formerly mentioned some where as being Scythians and inhabiting at the lake Meotis. This nation about this time laid a design of falling upon Media, and the parts beyond it, in order to plunder them; with which intention they treated with the king of Hyrcania; for he was master of that passage which king Alexander [the Great] shut up with iron gates. This king gave them leave to come through them; so they came in great multitudes, and fell upon the Medes unexpectedly, and plundered their country, which they found full of people, and replenished with abundance of cattle, while nobody durst make any resistance against them; for Paeorus, the king of the country, had fled away for fear into places where they could not easily come at him, and had yielded up every thing he had to them, and had only saved his wife and his concubines from them, and that with difficulty also, after they had been made captives, by giving them a hundred talents for their ransom. These Alans therefore plundered the country without opposition, and with great ease, and proceeded as far as Armenia, laying all waste before them. Now Tiridates was king of that country, who met them, and fought them, but had like to have been

taken alive in the battle; for a certain man threw a net over him from a great distance, and had soon drawn him to him, unless he had immediately cut the cord with his sword, and ran away, and prevented it. So the Alans, being still more provoked by this sight, laid waste the country, and drove a great multitude of the men, and a great quantity of the other prey they had gotten out of both kingdoms, along with them, and then retreated back to their own country.

VIII

CHAPTER 8.

Concerning Masada And Those Sicarii Who Kept It; And How

Silva Betook Himself To Form The Siege Of That Citadel.

Eleazar's Speeches To The Besieged.

(1) [252] Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίας Βάσσου τελευτήσαντος Φλαύιος Σίλβας διαδέχεται τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ὁρῶν ἅπασαν τῷ πολέμῳ κεχειρωμένην, ἓν δὲ μόνον ἔτι φρούριον ἀφεστηκός, ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τοῦτο πᾶσαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς τόποις δύναμιν συναγαγών: καλεῖται δὲ τὸ φρούριον Μασάδα. [253] προειστήκει δὲ τῶν κατειληφότων αὐτὸ σικαρίων δυνατὸς ἀνὴρ Ἐλεάζαρος, ἀπόγονος Ἰούδα τοῦ πείσαντος Ἰουδαίους οὐκ ὀλίγους, ὡς πρότερον δεδηλώκαμεν, μὴ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀπογραφάς, ὅτε Κυρίνιος τιμητὴς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπέμφθη. [254] τότε γὰρ οἱ σικάριοι συνέστησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπακούειν Ῥωμαίων θέλοντας καὶ πάντα τρόπον ὡς πολεμίοις προσεφέροντο, τὰς μὲν κτήσεις ἁρπάζοντες καὶ περιελαύνοντες, ταῖς δ' οἰκήκεσιν αὐτῶν πῦρ ἐνιέντες: [255] οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀλλοφύλων αὐτοὺς ἔφασκον διαφέρειν οὕτως ἀγεννῶς τὴν περιμάχητον Ἰουδαίοις ἐλευθερίαν προεμένους καὶ δουλείαν αἱρεῖσθαι τὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἀνωμολογηκότας. [256] ἦν δ' ἄρα τοῦτο πρόφασις εἰς παρακάλυμμα τῆς ὠμότητος καὶ τῆς πλεονεξίας ὑπ' αὐτῶν λεγόμενον: σαφὲς δὲ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐποίησαν. [257] οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἐκοινώνησαν καὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους συνήραντο πολέμου Καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων δὲ τολμήματα χείρω πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐγένετο, [258] κἀπὶ τῷ ψεύδεσθαι πάλιν τὴν πρόφασιν ἐξελεγχόμενοι μᾶλλον ἐκάκουν τοὺς τὴν πονηρίαν αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς δικαιολογίας ὀνειδίζοντας. [259] ἐγένετο γάρ πως ὁ χρόνος ἐκεῖνος παντοδαπῆς ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις πονηρίας πολύφορος, ὡς μηδὲν κακίας ἔργον ἄπρακτον καταλιπεῖν, μηδ' εἴ τι ἐπίνοια διαπλάττειν ἐθελήσειεν, ἔχειν ἄν τι καινότερον ἐξευρεῖν. [260] οὕτως ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ κοινῇ πάντες ἐνόσησαν, καὶ προσυπερβάλλειν ἀλλήλους ἔν τε ταῖς πρὸς θεὸν ἀσεβείαις καὶ ταῖς εἰς τοὺς πλησίον ἀδικίαις ἐφιλονείκησαν, οἱ μὲν δυνατοὶ τὰ πλήθη κακοῦντες, οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ τοὺς δυνατοὺς ἀπολλύναι σπεύδοντες: [261] ἦν γὰρ ἐκείνοις μὲν ἐπιθυμία τοῦ τυραννεῖν, τοῖς δὲ

τοῦ βιάζεσθαι καὶ τὰ τῶν εὐπόρων διαρπάζειν. [262] πρῶτον οὖν οἱ σικάριοι τῆς παρανομίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἤρξαντο ὠμότητος, μήτε λόγον ἄρρητον εἰς ὕβριν μήτ᾽ ἔργον ἀπείρατον εἰς ὄλεθρον τῶν ἐπιβουλευθέντων παραλιπόντες. [263] ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους Ἰωάννης ἀπέδειξεν αὐτοῦ μετριωτέρους: οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἀνῄρει πάντας ὅσοι τὰ δίκαια καὶ συμφέροντα συνεβούλευον, καθάπερ ἐχθίστοις μάλιστα δὴ τῶν πολιτῶν τοῖς τοιούτοις προσφερόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινῇ τὴν πατρίδα μυρίων ἐνέπλησε κακῶν, οἷα πράξειν ἔμελλεν ἄνθρωπος ἤδη καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀσεβεῖν τετολμηκώς: [264] τράπεζάν τε γὰρ ἄθεσμον παρετίθετο καὶ τὴν νενομισμένην καὶ πάτριον ἐξεδιήτησεν ἁγνείαν, ἵν᾽ ᾖ μηκέτι θαυμαστόν, εἰ τὴν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἡμερότητα καὶ κοινωνίαν οὐκ ἐτήρησεν ὁ τῆς πρὸς θεὸν εὐσεβείας οὕτω καταμανείς. [265] πάλιν τοίνυν ὁ Γιώρα Σίμων τί κακὸν οὐκ ἔδρασεν; ἢ ποίας ὕβρεως ἐλευθέρων ἀπέσχοντο σωμάτων οἳ τοῦτον ἀνέδειξαν τύραννον; [266] ποία δὲ αὐτοὺς φιλία, ποία δὲ συγγένεια πρὸς τοὺς ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστης ἡμέρας φόνους οὐχὶ θρασυτέρους ἐποίησε; τὸ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους κακῶς ποιεῖν ἀγεννοῦς ἔργον πονηρίας [εἶναι] ὑπελάμβανον, λαμπρὰν δὲ φέρειν ἐπίδειξιν ἡγοῦντο τὴν ἐν τοῖς οἰκειοτάτοις ὠμότητα. [267] παρημιλλήσατο δὲ καὶ τὴν τούτων ἀπόνοιαν ἡ τῶν Ἰδουμαίων μανία: ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ οἱ μιαρώτατοι τοὺς ἀρχιερέας κατασφάξαντες, ὅπως μηδὲ μέρος τι τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβείας διαφυλάττηται, πᾶν ὅσον ἦν λείψανον ἔτι πολιτικοῦ σχήματος ἐξέκοψαν, [268] καὶ τὴν τελεωτάτην εἰσήγαγον διὰ πάντων ἀνομίαν, ἐν ᾗ τὸ τῶν ζηλωτῶν κληθέντων γένος ἤκμασεν, οἳ τὴν προσηγορίαν τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπηλήθευσαν: [269] πᾶν γὰρ κακίας ἔργον ἐξεμιμήσαντο, μηδ᾽ εἴ τι πρότερον προυπάρχον ἡ μνήμη παραδέδωκεν αὐτοὶ παραλιπόντες ἀζήλωτον. [270] καίτοι τὴν προσηγορίαν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθῷ ζηλουμένων ἐπέθεσαν, ἢ κατειρωνευόμενοι τῶν ἀδικουμένων διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν θηριώδη φύσιν ἢ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν κακῶν ἀγαθὰ νομίζοντες. [271] τοιγαροῦν προσῆκον ἕκαστοι τὸ τέλος εὕροντο τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς τιμωρίαν βραβεύσαντος: [272] ὅσας γὰρ ἀνθρώπου δύναται φύσις κολάσεις ὑπομεῖναι, πᾶσαι κατέσκηψαν εἰς αὐτοὺς μέχρι καὶ τῆς ἐσχάτης τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς, ἣν ὑπέμειναν ἐν πολυτρόποις αἰκίαις ἀποθανόντες. [273] οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ φαίη τις ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐλάττω παθεῖν ὧν ἔδρασαν: τὸ γὰρ δικαίως ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν οὐ προσῆν. [274] τοὺς δὲ ταῖς ἐκείνων ὠμότησι περιπεσόντας οὐ τοῦ παρόντος ἂν εἴη καιροῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ὀδύρεσθαι: πάλιν οὖν ἐπάνειμι πρὸς τὸ καταλειπόμενον μέρος τῆς διηγήσεως.

1. When Bassus was dead in Judea, Flavius Silva succeeded him as procurator there; who, when he saw that all the rest of the country was subdued in this war, and that there was but one only strong hold that was still in rebellion, he got all his army together that lay in different places, and made an expedition against it. This fortress was called Masada. It was one Eleazar, a potent man, and the commander of these Sicarii, that had seized upon it. He was a descendant from that Judas who had persuaded abundance of the Jews, as we have formerly related, not to submit to the taxation when Cyrenius was sent into Judea to make one; for then it was that the Sicarii got together against those that were willing to submit to the Romans, and treated them in all respects as if they had been their enemies, both by plundering them of what they had, by driving away their cattle, and by setting fire to their houses; for they said that they differed not at all from foreigners, by betraying, in so cowardly a manner, that freedom which Jews thought worthy to be contended for to the utmost, and by owning that they preferred slavery under the Romans before such a contention. Now this was in reality no better than a pretense and a cloak for the barbarity which was made use of by them, and to color over their own avarice, which they afterwards made evident by their own actions; for those that were partners with them in their rebellion joined also with them in the war against the Romans, and went further lengths with them in their impudent undertakings against them; and when they were again convicted of dissembling in such their pretenses, they still more abused those that justly reproached them for their wickedness. And indeed that was a time most fertile in all manner of wicked practices, insomuch that no kind of evil deeds were then left undone; nor could any one so much as devise any bad thing that was new, so deeply were they all infected, and strove with one another in their single capacity, and in their communities, who should run the greatest lengths in impiety towards God, and in unjust actions towards their neighbors; the men of power oppressing the multitude, and the multitude earnestly laboring to destroy the men of power. The one part were desirous of tyrannizing over others, and the rest of offering violence to others, and of plundering such as were richer than themselves. They were the Sicarii who first began these transgressions, and first became barbarous towards those allied to them, and left no words of reproach unsaid, and no works of perdition untried, in order to destroy those whom their contrivances affected. Yet did John demonstrate by his actions that these Sicarii were more moderate than he was himself, for he not only slew all such as gave him good counsel to do what was right, but treated them worst of all, as the most bitter enemies that he had among all the Citizens; nay, he filled his entire country with ten thousand instances of

wickedness, such as a man who was already hardened sufficiently in his impiety towards God would naturally do; for the food was unlawful that was set upon his table, and he rejected those purifications that the law of his country had ordained; so that it was no longer a wonder if he, who was so mad in his impiety towards God, did not observe any rules of gentleness and common affection towards men. Again, therefore, what mischief was there which Simon the son of Gioras did not do? or what kind of abuses did he abstain from as to those very free-men who had set him up for a tyrant? What friendship or kindred were there that did not make him more bold in his daily murders? for they looked upon the doing of mischief to strangers only as a work beneath their courage, but thought their barbarity towards their nearest relations would be a glorious demonstration thereof. The Idumeans also strove with these men who should be guilty of the greatest madness! for they [all], vile wretches as they were, cut the throats of the high priests, that so no part of a religious regard to God might be preserved; they thence proceeded to destroy utterly the least remains of a political government, and introduced the most complete scene of iniquity in all instances that were practicable; under which scene that sort of people that were called zealots grew up, and who indeed corresponded to the name; for they imitated every wicked work; nor, if their memory suggested any evil thing that had formerly been done, did they avoid zealously to pursue the same; and although they gave themselves that name from their zeal for what was good, yet did it agree to them only by way of irony, on account of those they had unjustly treated by their wild and brutish disposition, or as thinking the greatest mischiefs to be the greatest good. Accordingly, they all met with such ends as God deservedly brought upon them in way of punishment; for all such miseries have been sent upon them as man's nature is capable of undergoing, till the utmost period of their lives, and till death came upon them in various ways of torment; yet might one say justly that they suffered less than they had done, because it was impossible they could be punished according to their deserving. But to make a lamentation according to the deserts of those who fell under these men's barbarity, this is not a proper place for it; — I therefore now return again to the remaining part of the present narration.

(2) [275] Ἐπὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον καὶ τοὺς κατέχοντας σὺν αὐτῷ τὴν Μασάδαν σικαρίους ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς ἦκε τὰς δυνάμεις ἄγων, καὶ τῆς μὲν χώρας ἁπάσης εὐθὺς ἐκράτει φρουρὰς ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαιροτάτοις αὐτῆς μέρεσιν ἐγκαταστήσας, [276] τεῖχος δὲ περιέβαλε κύκλῳ περὶ πᾶν τὸ φρούριον, ὅπως μηδενὶ τῶν πολιορκουμένων ᾖ ῥᾴδιον διαφυγεῖν, καὶ διανέμει τοὺς φυλάξοντας. [277] αὐτὸς δὲ καταστρατοπεδεύει τόπον ὡς μὲν πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν

ἐπιτηδειότατον ἐκλαβών, καθ᾽ ὃν αἱ τοῦ φρουρίου πέτραι τῷ πλησίον ὄρει συνήγγιζον, ἄλλως δὲ πρὸς ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων δύσκολον: [278] οὐ γὰρ ἡ τροφὴ μόνον πόρρωθεν ἐκομίζετο καὶ σὺν μεγάλῃ ταλαιπωρίᾳ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τεταγμένων Ἰουδαίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ποτὸν ἦν ἀγώγιμον [εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον] τοῦ τόπου μηδεμίαν ἐγγὺς πηγὴν ἀναδιδόντος. [279] ταῦτ᾽ οὖν προοικονομησάμενος ὁ Σίλβας ἐπὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐτράπετο πολλῆς ἐπιτεχνήσεως καὶ ταλαιπωρίας δεομένην διὰ τὴν ὀχυρότητα τοῦ φρουρίου τοιοῦδε τὴν φύσιν ὑπάρχοντος:

2. For now it was that the Roman general came, and led his army against Eleazar and those Sicarii who held the fortress Masada together with him; and for the whole country adjoining, he presently gained it, and put garrisons into the most proper places of it; he also built a wall quite round the entire fortress, that none of the besieged might easily escape; he also set his men to guard the several parts of it; he also pitched his camp in such an agreeable place as he had chosen for the siege, and at which place the rock belonging to the fortress did make the nearest approach to the neighboring mountain, which yet was a place of difficulty for getting plenty of provisions; for it was not only food that was to be brought from a great distance [to the army], and this with a great deal of pain to those Jews who were appointed for that purpose, but water was also to be brought to the camp, because the place afforded no fountain that was near it. When therefore Silva had ordered these affairs beforehand, he fell to besieging the place; which siege was likely to stand in need of a great deal of skill and pains, by reason of the strength of the fortress, the nature of which I will now describe.

(3) [280] Πέτραν οὐκ ὀλίγην τῇ περιόδῳ καὶ μῆκος ὑψηλὴν πανταχόθεν περιερρώγασι βαθεῖαι φάραγγες κάτωθεν ἐξ ἀοράτου τέρματος κρημνώδεις καὶ πάσῃ βάσει ζῴων ἀπρόσιτοι, πλὴν ὅσον κατὰ δύο τόπους τῆς πέτρας εἰς ἄνοδον οὐκ εὐμαρῆ παρεικούσης. [281] ἔστι δὲ τῶν ὁδῶν ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσφαλτίτιδος λίμνης πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα, καὶ πάλιν ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως ᾗ ῥᾷον πορευθῆναι. [282] καλοῦσι δὲ τὴν ἑτέραν ὄφιν, τῇ στενότητι προσεικάσαντες καὶ τοῖς συνεχέσιν ἑλιγμοῖς: κλᾶται γὰρ περὶ τὰς τῶν κρημνῶν ἐξοχὰς καὶ πολλάκις εἰς αὐτὴν ἀνατρέχουσα καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν αὖθις ἐκμηκυνομένη μόλις ψαύει τοῦ πρόσω. [283] δεῖ δὲ παραλλὰξ τὸν δι᾽ αὐτῆς βαδίζοντα τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ποδῶν ἐρείδεσθαι. ἔστι δὲ πρόδηλος ὄλεθρος: ἑκατέρωθεν γὰρ βάθος κρημνῶν ὑποκέχηνε τῇ φοβερότητι πᾶσαν εὐτολμίαν ἐκπλῆξαι δυνάμενον. [284] διὰ τοιαύτης οὖν ἐλθόντι σταδίους τριάκοντα κορυφὴ τὸ λοιπόν ἐστιν οὐκ εἰς ὀξὺ τέρμα συνηγμένη, ἀλλ᾽ ὥστ᾽ εἶναι κατ᾽ ἄκρας ἐπίπεδον. [285] ἐπὶ ταύτῃ πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ᾠκοδομήσατο φρούριον Ἰωνάθης καὶ προσηγόρευσε Μασάδαν, ὕστερον δ᾽ Ἡρώδῃ τῷ βασιλεῖ διὰ πολλῆς ἐγένετο σπουδῆς ἡ τοῦ χωρίου κατασκευή. [286]

τεῖχός τε γὰρ ἤγειρε περὶ πάντα τὸν κύκλον τῆς κορυφῆς ἑπτὰ σταδίων ὄντα λευκοῦ μὲν λίθου πεποιημένον, ὕψος δὲ δώδεκα καὶ πλάτος ὀκτὼ πήχεις ἔχον, [287] τριάκοντα δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἑπτὰ πύργοι πεντηκονταπήχεις ἀνειστήκεσαν, ἐξ ὧν ἦν εἰς οἰκήματα διελθεῖν περὶ πᾶν τὸ τεῖχος ἔνδον ᾠκοδομημένα. [288] τὴν γὰρ κορυφὴν πίονα καὶ πεδίου παντὸς οὖσαν μαλακωτέραν ἀνῆκεν εἰς γεωργίαν ὁ βασιλεύς, ἵν' εἴ ποτε τῆς ἔξωθεν τροφῆς ἀπορία γένοιτο, μηδὲ ταύτῃ κάμοιεν οἱ τὴν αὐτῶν σωτηρίαν τῷ φρουρίῳ πεπιστευκότες. [289] καὶ βασίλειον δὲ κατεσκεύασεν ἐν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπέρας ἀνάβασιν, ὑποκάτω μὲν τῶν τῆς ἄκρας τειχῶν, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἄρκτον ἐκκλίνον. τοῦ δὲ βασιλείου τὸ τεῖχος ἦν ὕψει μέγα καὶ καρτερόν, πύργους ἔχον ἑξηκονταπήχεις ἐγγωνίους τέτταρας. [290] ἥ τε τῶν οἰκημάτων ἔνδον καὶ στοῶν καὶ βαλανείων κατασκευὴ παντοία καὶ πολυτελὴς ἦν, κιόνων μὲν ἁπανταχοῦ μονολίθων ὑφεστηκότων, τοίχων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς οἰκήμασιν ἐδάφων λίθου στρώσει πεποικιλμένων. [291] πρὸς ἕκαστον δὲ τῶν οἰκουμένων τόπων ἄνω τε καὶ περὶ τὸ βασίλειον καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τείχους πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἐτετμήκει λάκκους ἐν ταῖς πέτραις φυλακτῆρας ὑδάτων, μηχανώμενος εἶναι χορηγίαν ὅση τῷ ἐκ πηγῶν ἐστι χρωμένοις. [292] ὀρυκτὴ δ' ὁδὸς ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου πρὸς ἄκραν τὴν κορυφὴν ἀνέφερε τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἀφανής. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ταῖς φανεραῖς ὁδοῖς ἦν οἷόν τε χρήσασθαι ῥᾳδίως πολεμίους: [293] ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἑῴα διὰ τὴν φύσιν, ὡς προείπαμεν, ἐστὶν ἄβατος, τὴν δ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπέρας μεγάλῳ κατὰ τὸ στενότατον πύργῳ διετείχισεν ἀπέχοντι τῆς ἄκρας πήχεων οὐκ ἔλαττον διάστημα χιλίων, ὃν οὔτε παρελθεῖν δυνατὸν ἦν οὔτε ῥᾴδιον ἐλεῖν: δυσέξοδος δὲ καὶ τοῖς μετὰ ἀδείας βαδίζουσιν ἐπεποίητο. [294] οὕτως μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐφόδους φύσει τε καὶ χειροποιήτως τὸ φρούριον ὠχύρωτο.

3. There was a rock, not small in circumference, and very high. It was encompassed with valleys of such vast depth downward, that the eye could not reach their bottoms; they were abrupt, and such as no animal could walk upon, excepting at two places of the rock, where it subsides, in order to afford a passage for ascent, though not without difficulty. Now, of the ways that lead to it, one is that from the lake Asphaltites, towards the sun-rising, and another on the west, where the ascent is easier: the one of these ways is called the Serpent, as resembling that animal in its narrowness and its perpetual windings; for it is broken off at the prominent precipices of the rock, and returns frequently into itself, and lengthening again by little and little, hath much ado to proceed forward; and he that would walk along it must first go on one leg, and then on the other; there is also nothing but destruction, in case your feet slip; for on each side there is a vastly deep chasm and precipice, sufficient to quell the courage of every body by the terror it infuses into the mind. When, therefore, a man hath

gone along this way for thirty furlongs, the rest is the top of the hill — not ending at a small point, but is no other than a plain upon the highest part of the mountain. Upon this top of the hill, Jonathan the high priest first of all built a fortress, and called it Masada: after which the rebuilding of this place employed the care of king Herod to a great degree; he also built a wall round about the entire top of the hill, seven furlongs long; it was composed of white stone; its height was twelve, and its breadth eight cubits; there were also erected upon that wall thirty-eight towers, each of them fifty cubits high; out of which you might pass into lesser edifices, which were built on the inside, round the entire wall; for the king reserved the top of the hill, which was of a fat soil, and better mould than any valley for agriculture, that such as committed themselves to this fortress for their preservation might not even there be quite destitute of food, in case they should ever be in want of it from abroad. Moreover, he built a palace therein at the western ascent; it was within and beneath the walls of the citadel, but inclined to its north side. Now the wall of this palace was very high and strong, and had at its four corners towers sixty cubits high. The furniture also of the edifices, and of the cloisters, and of the baths, was of great variety, and very costly; and these buildings were supported by pillars of single stones on every side; the walls and also the floors of the edifices were paved with stones of several colors. He also had cut many and great pits, as reservoirs for water, out of the rocks, at every one of the places that were inhabited, both above and round about the palace, and before the wall; and by this contrivance he endeavored to have water for several uses, as if there had been fountains there. Here was also a road digged from the palace, and leading to the very top of the mountain, which yet could not be seen by such as were without [the walls]; nor indeed could enemies easily make use of the plain roads; for the road on the east side, as we have already taken notice, could not be walked upon, by reason of its nature; and for the western road, he built a large tower at its narrowest place, at no less a distance from the top of the hill than a thousand cubits; which tower could not possibly be passed by, nor could it be easily taken; nor indeed could those that walked along it without any fear [such was its contrivance] easily get to the end of it; and after such a manner was this citadel fortified, both by nature and by the hands of men, in order to frustrate the attacks of enemies.

(4) [295] Τῶν δ’ ἔνδον ἀποκειμένων παρασκευῶν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἄν τις ἐθαύμασε τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὴν διαμονήν: [296] σῖτός τε γὰρ ἀπέκειτο πολὺς καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀρκεῖν ἱκανώτατος οἶνός τε πολὺς ἦν καὶ ἔλαιον, ἔτι δὲ παντοῖος ὀσπρίων καρπὸς καὶ φοίνικες ἐσεσώρευντο. [297] πάντα δὲ εὗρεν ὁ Ἐλεάζαρος τοῦ φρουρίου μετὰ τῶν σικαρίων ἐγκρατὴς δόλῳ γενόμενος ἀκμαῖα καὶ μηδὲν

τῶν νεωστὶ κειμένων ἀποδέοντα: καίτοι σχεδὸν ἀπὸ τῆς παρασκευῆς εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἅλωσιν ἑκατὸν ἦν χρόνος ἐτῶν: ἀλλὰ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς περιλειφθέντας τῶν καρπῶν εὗρον ἀδιαφθόρους. [298] αἴτιον δ' οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοι τις ὑπολαμβάνων εἶναι τὸν ἀέρα τῆς διαμονῆς ὕψει τῷ περὶ τὴν ἄκραν πάσης ὄντα γεώδους καὶ θολερᾶς ἀμιγῆ κράσεως. [299] εὑρέθη δὲ καὶ παντοίων πλῆθος ὅπλων ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποτεθησαυρισμένων, ὡς ἀνδράσιν ἀρκεῖν μυρίοις, ἀργός τε σίδηρος καὶ χαλκὸς ἔτι δὲ καὶ μόλιβος, ἅτε δὴ τῆς παρασκευῆς ἐπὶ μεγάλαις αἰτίαις γενομένης: [300] λέγεται γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν Ἡρώδην τοῦτο τὸ φρούριον εἰς ὑποφυγὴν ἑτοιμάζειν διπλοῦν ὑφορώμενον κίνδυνον, τὸν μὲν παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Ἰουδαίων, μὴ καταλύσαντες ἐκεῖνον τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν καταγάγωσι, τὸν μείζω δὲ καὶ χαλεπώτερον ἐκ τῆς βασιλευούσης Αἰγύπτου Κλεοπάτρας. [301] αὕτη γὰρ τὴν αὐτῆς γνώμην οὐκ ἐπεῖχεν, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις Ἀντωνίῳ λόγους προσέφερε τὸν μὲν Ἡρώδην ἀνελεῖν ἀξιοῦσα, χαρίσασθαι δ' αὐτῇ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν Ἰουδαίων δεομένη. [302] καὶ μᾶλλον ἄν τις ἐθαύμασεν, ὅτι μηδέπω τοῖς προστάγμασιν Ἀντώνιος ὑπακηκόει κακῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔρωτος δεδουλωμένος, οὐχ ὅτι περὶ τοῦ μὴ χαρίσασθαι προσεδόκησεν. [303] διὰ τοιούτους μὲν φόβους Ἡρώδης Μασάδαν κατεσκευασμένος ἔμελλεν Ῥωμαίοις ἀπολείψειν ἔργον τοῦ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους πολέμου τελευταῖον.

4. As for the furniture that was within this fortress, it was still more wonderful on account of its splendor and long continuance; for here was laid up corn in large quantities, and such as would subsist men for a long time; here was also wine and oil in abundance, with all kinds of pulse and dates heaped up together; all which Eleazar found there, when he and his Sicarii got possession of the fortress by treachery. These fruits were also fresh and full ripe, and no way inferior to such fruits newly laid in, although they were little short of a hundred years from the laying in these provisions [by Herod], till the place was taken by the Romans; nay, indeed, when the Romans got possession of those fruits that were left, they found them not corrupted all that while; nor should we be mistaken, if we supposed that the air was here the cause of their enduring so long; this fortress being so high, and so free from the mixture of all terrain and muddy particles of matter. There was also found here a large quantity of all sorts of weapons of war, which had been treasured up by that king, and were sufficient for ten thousand men; there was cast iron, and brass, and tin, which show that he had taken much pains to have all things here ready for the greatest occasions; for the report goes how Herod thus prepared this fortress on his own account, as a refuge against two kinds of danger; the one for fear of the multitude of the Jews, lest they should depose him, and restore their former kings to the government;

the other danger was greater and more terrible, which arose from Cleopatra queen of Egypt, who did not conceal her intentions, but spoke often to Antony, and desired him to cut off Herod, and entreated him to bestow the kingdom of Judea upon her. And certainly it is a great wonder that Antony did never comply with her commands in this point, as he was so miserably enslaved to his passion for her; nor should any one have been surprised if she had been gratified in such her request. So the fear of these dangers made Herod rebuild Masada, and thereby leave it for the finishing stroke of the Romans in this Jewish war.

(5) [304] Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἔξωθεν ἤδη περιτετειχίκει πάντα τὸν τόπον ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὡς προείπαμεν, ἡγεμών, καὶ τοῦ μή τινα ἀποδρᾶναι πρόνοιαν ἐπεποίητο τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην, ἐνεχείρει τῇ πολιορκίᾳ μόνον εὑρὼν ἕνα τόπον ἐπιβολὴν χωμάτων δέξασθαι δυνάμενον. [305] μετὰ γὰρ τὸν διατειχίζοντα πύργον τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως ὁδὸν ἄγουσαν εἵς τε τὸ βασίλειον καὶ τὴν ἀκρώρειαν ἣν τις ἐξοχὴ πέτρας εὐμεγέθης τῷ πλάτει καὶ πολὺ προκύπτουσα, τοῦ δὲ ὕψους τῆς Μασάδας τριακοσίους πήχεις ὑποκάτω: Λευκὴν δ᾽ αὐτὴν ὠνόμαζον. [306] ἐπὶ ταύτην οὖν ἀναβὰς καὶ κατασχὼν αὐτὴν ὁ Σίλβας ἐκέλευε τὸν στρατὸν χοῦν ἐπιφέρειν. τῶν δὲ προθύμως καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς χειρὸς ἐργαζομένων στερεὸν εἰς διακοσίους πήχεις ὑψώθη τὸ χῶμα. [307] οὐ μὴν οὔτε βέβαιον οὔτε αὔταρκες ἐδόκει τοῦτο τὸ μέτρον εἶναι τοῖς μηχανήμασιν εἰς ἐπιβάθραν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ βῆμα λίθων μεγάλων συνηρμοσμένων ἐποιήθη πεντήκοντα πήχεων εὖρός τε καὶ ὕψος. [308] ἦν δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τε μηχανημάτων ἡ κατασκευὴ παραπλησία τοῖς ὑπὸ μὲν Οὐεσπασιανοῦ πρότερον, μετὰ ταῦτα δ᾽ ὑπὸ Τίτου πρὸς τὰς πολιορκίας ἐπινοηθεῖσι, [309] καὶ πύργος ἑξηκοντάπηχυς συνετελέσθη σιδήρῳ καταπεφραγμένος ἅπας, ἐξ οὗ πολλοῖς ὀξυβελέσι καὶ πετροβόλοις βάλλοντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους μαχομένους ταχέως ἀνέστειλαν καὶ προκύπτειν ἐκώλυσαν. [310] ἐν ταὐτῷ δὲ καὶ κριὸν ὁ Σίλβας μέγαν κατασκευασάμενος, συνεχεῖς κελεύσας ποιεῖσθαι τῷ τείχει τὰς ἐμβολὰς μόλις μὲν ἀλλ᾽ οὖν ἀναρρήξας τι μέρος κατήρειψε. [311] φθάνουσι δ᾽ οἱ σικάριοι ταχέως ἔνδοθεν οἰκοδομησάμενοι τεῖχος ἕτερον, ὃ μηδὲ ὑπὸ τῶν μηχανημάτων ἔμελλεν ὅμοιόν τι πείσεσθαι: μαλακὸν γὰρ αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν σφοδρότητα τῆς ἐμβολῆς ὑπεκλύειν δυνάμενον τοιῷδε τρόπῳ κατεσκεύασαν. [312] δοκοὺς μεγάλας ἐπὶ μῆκος προσεχεῖς ἀλλήλαις κατὰ τὴν τομὴν συνέθεσαν. δύο δὲ ἦσαν τούτων στίχοι παράλληλοι τοσοῦτον διεστῶτες ὅσον εἶναι πλάτος τείχους, καὶ μέσον ἀμφοῖν τὸν χοῦν ἐνεφόρουν. [313] ὅπως δὲ μηδὲ ὑψουμένου τοῦ χώματος ἡ γῆ διαχέοιτο, πάλιν ἑτέραις δοκοῖς ἐπικαρσίαις τὰς κατὰ μῆκος κειμένας διέδεον. [314] ἦν οὖν ἐκείνοις μὲν οἰκοδομίᾳ τὸ ἔργον παραπλήσιον, τῶν μηχανημάτων δ᾽ αἱ πληγαὶ φερόμεναι πρὸς εἶκον ἐξελύοντο καὶ τῷ σάλῳ συνιζάνον ἐποίουν αὐτὸ στεριφώτερον. [315] τοῦτο συνιδὼν ὁ Σίλβας πυρὶ μᾶλλον αἱρήσειν ἐνόμιζεν τὸ

τεῖχος, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις προσέταττε λαμπάδας αἰθομένας ἀθρόους ἐσακοντίζειν. [316] τὸ δὲ οἷα δὴ ξύλων τὸ πλέον πεποιημένον ταχὺ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀντελάβετο καὶ τῇ χαυνότητι πυρωθὲν διὰ βάθους φλόγα πολλὴν ἐξεπύρσευσεν. [317] ἀρχομένου μὲν οὖν ἔτι τοῦ πυρὸς βορρᾶς ἐμπνέων τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις φοβερὸς ἦν: ἄνωθεν γὰρ ἀποστρέφων ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνους ἤλαυνε τὴν φλόγα, καὶ σχεδὸν ἤδη τῶν μηχανημάτων ὡς συμφλεγησομένων ἀπέγνωσαν: [318] ἔπειτα δ᾽ αἰφνίδιον νότος μεταβαλὼν καθάπερ ἐκ δαιμονίου προνοίας καὶ πολὺς ἐναντίον πνεύσας τῷ τείχει φέρων αὐτὴν προσέβαλε, καὶ πᾶν ἤδη διὰ βάθους ἐφλέγετο. [319] Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν τῇ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ συμμαχίᾳ κεχρημένοι χαίροντες εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπηλλάττοντο μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις διεγνωκότες καὶ τὰς φυλακὰς νύκτωρ ἐπιμελεστέρας ἐποιήσαντο, μή τινες αὐτῶν λάθωσιν ἀποδράντες.

5. Since therefore the Roman commander Silva had now built a wall on the outside, round about this whole place, as we have said already, and had thereby made a most accurate provision to prevent any one of the besieged running away, he undertook the siege itself, though he found but one single place that would admit of the banks he was to raise; for behind that tower which secured the road that led to the palace, and to the top of the hill from the west; there was a certain eminency of the rock, very broad and very prominent, but three hundred cubits beneath the highest part of Masada; it was called the White Promontory. Accordingly, he got upon that part of the rock, and ordered the army to bring earth; and when they fell to that work with alacrity, and abundance of them together, the bank was raised, and became solid for two hundred cubits in height. Yet was not this bank thought sufficiently high for the use of the engines that were to be set upon it; but still another elevated work of great stones compacted together was raised upon that bank; this was fifty cubits, both in breadth and height. The other machines that were now got ready were like to those that had been first devised by Vespasian, and afterwards by Titus, for sieges. There was also a tower made of the height of sixty cubits, and all over plated with iron, out of which the Romans threw darts and stones from the engines, and soon made those that fought from the walls of the place to retire, and would not let them lift up their heads above the works. At the same time Silva ordered that great battering ram which he had made to be brought thither, and to be set against the wall, and to make frequent batteries against it, which with some difficulty broke down a part of the wall, and quite overthrew it. However, the Sicarii made haste, and presently built another wall within that, which should not be liable to the same misfortune from the machines with the other; it was made soft and yielding, and so was capable of avoiding the terrible

blows that affected the other. It was framed after the following manner: They laid together great beams of wood lengthways, one close to the end of another, and the same way in which they were cut: there were two of these rows parallel to one another, and laid at such a distance from each other as the breadth of the wall required, and earth was put into the space between those rows. Now, that the earth might not fall away upon the elevation of this bank to a greater height, they further laid other beams over cross them, and thereby bound those beams together that lay lengthways. This work of theirs was like a real edifice; and when the machines were applied, the blows were weakened by its yielding; and as the materials by such concussion were shaken closer together, the pile by that means became firmer than before. When Silva saw this, he thought it best to endeavor the taking of this wall by setting fire to it; so he gave order that the soldiers should throw a great number of burning torches upon it: accordingly, as it was chiefly made of wood, it soon took fire; and when it was once set on fire, its hollowness made that fire spread to a mighty flame. Now, at the very beginning of this fire, a north wind that then blew proved terrible to the Romans; for by bringing the flame downward, it drove it upon them, and they were almost in despair of success, as fearing their machines would be burnt: but after this, on a sudden the wind changed into the south, as if it were done by Divine Providence, and blew strongly the contrary way, and carried the flame, and drove it against the wall, which was now on fire through its entire thickness. So the Romans, having now assistance from God, returned to their camp with joy, and resolved to attack their enemies the very next day; on which occasion they set their watch more carefully that night, lest any of the Jews should run away from them without being discovered.

(6) [320] Οὐ μὴν οὔτε αὐτὸς Ἐλεάζαρος ἐν νῷ δρασμὸν ἔλαβεν οὔτε ἄλλῳ τινὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἔμελλεν ἐπιτρέψειν. [321] ὁρῶν δὲ τὸ μὲν τεῖχος ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀναλούμενον, ἄλλον δὲ οὐδένα σωτηρίας τρόπον οὐδ' ἀλκῆς ἐπινοῶν, ἃ δὲ ἔμελλον Ῥωμαῖοι δράσειν αὐτοὺς καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας [αὐτῶν], εἰ κρατήσειαν, ὑπ' ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῷ τιθέμενος, θάνατον κατὰ πάντων ἐβουλεύσατο. [322] καὶ τοῦτο κρίνας ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἄριστον, τοὺς ἀνδρωδεστάτους τῶν ἑταίρων συναγαγὼν τοιούτοις ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν λόγοις παρεκάλει: [323] "πάλαι διεγνωκότας ἡμᾶς, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, μήτε Ῥωμαίοις μήτ' ἄλλῳ τινὶ δουλεύειν ἢ θεῷ, μόνος γὰρ οὗτος ἀληθής ἐστι καὶ δίκαιος ἀνθρώπων δεσπότης, ἥκει νῦν καιρὸς ἐπαληθεῦσαι κελεύων τὸ φρόνημα τοῖς ἔργοις. [324] πρὸς ὃν αὐτοὺς μὴ καταισχύνωμεν πρότερον μηδὲ δουλείαν ἀκίνδυνον ὑπομείναντες, νῦν δὲ μετὰ δουλείας ἑλόμενοι τιμωρίας ἀνηκέστους, εἰ ζῶντες ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἐσόμεθα: πρῶτοί τε γὰρ πάντων ἀπέστημεν καὶ πολεμοῦμεν

αὐτοῖς τελευταῖοι. [325] νομίζω δὲ καὶ παρὰ θεοῦ ταύτην δεδόσθαι χάριν τοῦ δύνασθαι καλῶς καὶ ἐλευθέρως ἀποθανεῖν, ὅπερ ἄλλοις οὐκ ἐγένετο παρ᾽ ἐλπίδα κρατηθεῖσιν. [326] ἡμῖν δὲ πρόδηλος μέν ἐστιν ἡ γενησομένη μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἅλωσις, ἐλευθέρα δὲ ἡ τοῦ γενναίου θανάτου μετὰ τῶν φιλτάτων αἵρεσις. οὔτε γὰρ τοῦτ᾽ ἀποκωλύειν οἱ πολέμιοι δύνανται πάντως εὐχόμενοι ζῶντας ἡμᾶς παραλαβεῖν, οὔθ᾽ ἡμεῖς ἐκείνους ἔτι νικᾶν μαχόμενοι. [327] ἔδει μὲν γὰρ εὐθὺς ἴσως ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὅτε τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἡμῖν ἀντιποιεῖσθαι θελήσασι πάντα καὶ παρ᾽ ἀλλήλων ἀπέβαινε χαλεπὰ καὶ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων χείρω, τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμης στοχάζεσθαι καὶ γινώσκειν, ὅτι τὸ πάλαι φίλον αὐτῷ φῦλον Ἰουδαίων κατέγνωστο: [328] μένων γὰρ εὐμενὴς ἢ μετρίως γοῦν ἀπηχθημένος, οὐκ ἂν τοσούτων μὲν ἀνθρώπων περιεῖδεν ὄλεθρον, προήκατο δὲ τὴν ἱερωτάτην αὐτοῦ πόλιν πυρὶ καὶ κατασκαφαῖς πολεμίων. [329] ἡμεῖς δ᾽ ἄρα καὶ μόνοι τοῦ παντὸς Ἰουδαίων γένους ἠλπίσαμεν περιέσεσθαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν φυλάξαντες, ὥσπερ ἀναμάρτητοι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν γενόμενοι καὶ μηδεμιᾶς μετασχόντες , Οἳ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδιδάξαμεν; [330] τοιγαροῦν ὁρᾶτε, πῶς ἡμᾶς ἐλέγχει μάταια προσδοκήσαντας κρείττονα τῶν ἐλπίδων τὴν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἀνάγκην ἐπαγαγών: [331] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ φρουρίου φύσις ἀνάλωτος οὖσα πρὸς σωτηρίαν ὠφέληκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τροφῆς ἀφθονίαν καὶ πλῆθος ὅπλων καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἔχοντες παρασκευὴν περιττεύουσαν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ περιφανῶς τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας ἀφῃρήμεθα. [332] τὸ γὰρ πῦρ εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους φερόμενον οὐκ αὐτομάτως ἐπὶ τὸ κατασκευασθὲν τεῖχος ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀνέστρεψεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἔστι ταῦτα χόλος πολλῶν ἀδικημάτων, ἃ μανέντες εἰς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους ἐτολμήσαμεν. [333] ὑπὲρ ὧν μὴ τοῖς ἐχθίστοις Ῥωμαίοις δίκας ἀλλὰ τῷ θεῷ δι᾽ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ὑπόσχωμεν: αὗται δέ εἰσιν ἐκείνων μετριώτεραι: [334] θνησκέτωσαν γὰρ γυναῖκες ἀνύβριστοι καὶ παῖδες δουλείας ἀπείρατοι, μετὰ δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἡμεῖς εὐγενῆ χάριν ἀλλήλοις παράσχωμεν καλὸν ἐντάφιον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν φυλάξαντες. [335] πρότερον δὲ καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὸ φρούριον πυρὶ διαφθείρωμεν: λυπηθήσονται γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι, σαφῶς οἶδα, μήτε τῶν ἡμετέρων σωμάτων κρατήσαντες καὶ τοῦ κέρδους ἁμαρτόντες. [336] τὰς τροφὰς μόνας ἐάσωμεν: αὗται γὰρ ἡμῖν τεθνηκόσι μαρτυρήσουσιν ὅτι μὴ κατ᾽ ἔνδειαν ἐκρατήθημεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς διέγνωμεν, θάνατον ἑλόμενοι πρὸ δουλείας.”

6. However, neither did Eleazar once think of flying away, nor would he permit any one else to do so; but when he saw their wall burned down by the fire, and could devise no other way of escaping, or room for their further courage, and setting before their eyes what the Romans would do to them, their children, and their wives, if they got them into their power, he consulted about having them all slain. Now as he judged this to be the best thing they could do in their present circumstances, he gathered the most courageous of his companions together, and

encouraged them to take that course by a speech which he made to them in the manner following: "Since we, long ago, my generous friends, resolved never to be servants to the Romans, nor to any other than to God himself, who alone is the true and just Lord of mankind, the time is now come that obliges us to make that resolution true in practice. And let us not at this time bring a reproach upon ourselves for self-contradiction, while we formerly would not undergo slavery, though it were then without danger, but must now, together with slavery, choose such punishments also as are intolerable; I mean this, upon the supposition that the Romans once reduce us under their power while we are alive. We were the very first that revolted from them, and we are the last that fight against them; and I cannot but esteem it as a favor that God hath granted us, that it is still in our power to die bravely, and in a state of freedom, which hath not been the case of others, who were conquered unexpectedly. It is very plain that we shall be taken within a day's time; but it is still an eligible thing to die after a glorious manner, together with our dearest friends. This is what our enemies themselves cannot by any means hinder, although they be very desirous to take us alive. Nor can we propose to ourselves any more to fight them, and beat them. It had been proper indeed for us to have conjectured at the purpose of God much sooner, and at the very first, when we were so desirous of defending our liberty, and when we received such sore treatment from one another, and worse treatment from our enemies, and to have been sensible that the same God, who had of old taken the Jewish nation into his favor, had now condemned them to destruction; for had he either continued favorable, or been but in a lesser degree displeased with us, he had not overlooked the destruction of so many men, or delivered his most holy city to be burnt and demolished by our enemies. To be sure we weakly hoped to have preserved ourselves, and ourselves alone, still in a state of freedom, as if we had been guilty of no sins ourselves against God, nor been partners with those of others; we also taught other men to preserve their liberty. Wherefore, consider how God hath convinced us that our hopes were in vain, by bringing such distress upon us in the desperate state we are now in, and which is beyond all our expectations; for the nature of this fortress which was in itself unconquerable, hath not proved a means of our deliverance; and even while we have still great abundance of food, and a great quantity of arms, and other necessaries more than we want, we are openly deprived by God himself of all hope of deliverance; for that fire which was driven upon our enemies did not of its own accord turn back upon the wall which we had built; this was the effect of God's anger against us for our manifold sins, which we have been guilty of in a most insolent and extravagant manner with regard to our own countrymen; the punishments of which let us not receive from the Romans, but from God

himself, as executed by our own hands; for these will be more moderate than the other. Let our wives die before they are abused, and our children before they have tasted of slavery; and after we have slain them, let us bestow that glorious benefit upon one another mutually, and preserve ourselves in freedom, as an excellent funeral monument for us. But first let us destroy our money and the fortress by fire; for I am well assured that this will be a great grief to the Romans, that they shall not be able to seize upon our bodies, and shall fail of our wealth also; and let us spare nothing but our provisions; for they will be a testimonial when we are dead that we were not subdued for want of necessaries, but that, according to our original resolution, we have preferred death before slavery."

(7) [337] Ταῦτα Ἐλεάζαρος ἔλεγεν. οὐ μὴν κατ' αὐτὸ ταῖς γνώμαις προσέπιπτε τῶν παρόντων, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἔσπευδον ὑπακούειν καὶ μόνον οὐχ ἡδονῆς ἐνεπίμπλαντο καλὸν εἶναι τὸν θάνατον νομίζοντες, [338] τοὺς δ' αὐτῶν μαλακωτέρους γυναικῶν καὶ γενεᾶς οἶκτος εἰσῄει, πάντως δὲ καὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν προδήλου τελευτῆς εἰς ἀλλήλους ἀποβλέποντες τοῖς δακρύοις τὸ μὴ βουλόμενον τῆς γνώμης ἐσήμαινον. [339] τούτους ἰδὼν Ἐλεάζαρος ἀποδειλιῶντας καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ βουλεύματος τὰς ψυχὰς ὑποκλωμένους ἔδεισε, μή ποτε καὶ τοὺς ἐρρωμένως τῶν λόγων ἀκούσαντας αὐτοὶ συνεκθηλύνωσι ποτνιώμενοι καὶ δακρύοντες. [340] οὔκουν ἀνῆκε τὴν παρακέλευσιν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἐπεγείρας καὶ πολλοῦ λήματος πλήρης γενόμενος λαμπροτέροις ἐνεχείρει λόγοις περὶ ψυχῆς ἀθανασίας, [341] μέγα τε σχετλιάσας καὶ τοῖς δακρύουσιν ἀτενὲς ἐμβλέψας "ἦ πλεῖστον, εἶπεν, ἐψεύσθην νομίζων ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγώνων συναρεῖσθαι, ζῆν καλῶς ἢ τεθνάναι διεγνωκόσιν. [342] ὑμεῖς δὲ ἦτε τῶν τυχόντων οὐδὲν εἰς ἀρετὴν οὐδ' εὐτολμίαν διαφέροντες, οἵ γε καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ μεγίστων ἀπαλλαγῇ κακῶν φοβεῖσθε θάνατον δέον ὑπὲρ τούτου μήτε μελλῆσαι μήτε σύμβουλον ἀναμεῖναι. [343] πάλαι γὰρ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης αἰσθήσεως παιδεύοντες ἡμᾶς οἱ πάτριοι καὶ θεῖοι λόγοι διετέλουν ἔργοις τε καὶ φρονήμασι τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων αὐτοὺς βεβαιούντων, ὅτι συμφορὰ τὸ ζῆν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις, οὐχὶ θάνατος. [344] οὗτος μὲν γὰρ ἐλευθερίαν διδοὺς ψυχαῖς εἰς τὸν οἰκεῖον καὶ καθαρὸν ἀφίησι τόπον ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι πάσης συμφορᾶς ἀπαθεῖς ἐσομένας, ἕως δέ εἰσιν ἐν σώματι θνητῷ δεδεμέναι καὶ τῶν τούτου κακῶν συναναπίμπλανται, τἀληθέστατον εἰπεῖν, τεθνήκασι: [345] κοινωνία γὰρ θείῳ πρὸς θνητὸν ἀπρεπής ἐστι. μέγα μὲν οὖν δύναται ψυχὴ καὶ σώματι συνδεδεμένη: ποιεῖ γὰρ αὐτῆς ὄργανον αἰσθανόμενον ἀοράτως αὐτὸ κινοῦσα καὶ θνητῆς φύσεως περαιτέρω προάγουσα ταῖς πράξεσιν: [346] οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν ἀπολυθεῖσα τοῦ καθέλκοντος αὐτὴν βάρους ἐπὶ γῆν καὶ προσκρεμαμένου χῶρον ἀπολάβῃ τὸν οἰκεῖον, τότε δὴ μακαρίας ἰσχύος καὶ πανταχόθεν ἀκωλύτου μετέχει δυνάμεως,

ἀόρατος μένουσα τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις ὄμμασιν ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ὁ θεός: [347] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἕως ἐστὶν ἐν σώματι θεωρεῖται: πρόσεισι γὰρ ἀφανῶς καὶ μὴ βλεπομένη πάλιν ἀπαλλάττεται, μίαν μὲν αὐτὴ φύσιν ἔχουσα τὴν ἄφθαρτον, αἰτία δὲ σώματι γινομένη μεταβολῆς. [348] ὅτου γὰρ ἂν ψυχὴ προσψαύσῃ, τοῦτο ζῇ καὶ τέθηλεν, ὅτου δ' ἂν ἀπαλλαγῇ, μαρανθὲν ἀποθνήσκει: τοσοῦτον αὐτῇ περίεστιν ἀθανασίας. [349] ὕπνος δὲ τεκμήριον ὑμῖν ἔστω τῶν λόγων ἐναργέστατον, ἐν ᾧ ψυχαὶ τοῦ σώματος αὐτὰς μὴ περισπῶντος ἡδίστην μὲν ἔχουσιν ἀνάπαυσιν ἐφ' αὑτῶν γενόμεναι, θεῷ δ' ὁμιλοῦσαι κατὰ συγγένειαν πάντη μὲν ἐπιφοιτῶσι, πολλὰ δὲ τῶν ἐσομένων προθεσπίζουσι. [350] τί δὴ δεῖ δεδιέναι θάνατον τὴν ἐν ὕπνῳ γινομένην ἀνάπαυσιν ἀγαπῶντας; πῶς δ' οὐκ ἀνόητόν ἐστιν τὴν ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἐλευθερίαν διώκοντας τῆς ἀιδίου φθονεῖν αὐτοῖς; [351] ἔδει μὲν οὖν ἡμᾶς οἴκοθεν πεπαιδευμένους ἄλλοις εἶναι παράδειγμα τῆς πρὸς θάνατον ἑτοιμότητος: οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων δεόμεθα πίστεως, βλέψωμεν εἰς Ἰνδοὺς τοὺς σοφίαν ἀσκεῖν ὑπισχνουμένους. [352] ἐκεῖνοί τε γὰρ ὄντες ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ τὸν μὲν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον ὥσπερ ἀναγκαίαν τινὰ τῇ φύσει λειτουργίαν ἀκουσίως ὑπομένουσι, [353] σπεύδουσι δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπολῦσαι τῶν σωμάτων, καὶ μηδενὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπείγοντος κακοῦ μηδ' ἐξελαύνοντος πόθῳ τῆς ἀθανάτου διαίτης προλέγουσι μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅτι μέλλουσιν ἀπιέναι, καὶ ἔστιν ὁ κωλύσων οὐδείς, ἀλλὰ πάντες αὐτοὺς εὐδαιμονίζοντες πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἕκαστοι διδόασιν ἐπιστολάς: [354] οὕτως βεβαίαν καὶ ἀληθεστάτην ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὴν μετ' ἀλλήλων εἶναι δίαιταν πεπιστεύκασιν. [355] οἱ δ' ἐπειδὰν ἐπακούσωσι τῶν ἐντεταλμένων αὐτοῖς, πυρὶ τὸ σῶμα παραδόντες, ὅπως δὴ καὶ καθαρωτάτην ἀποκρίνωσι τοῦ σώματος τὴν ψυχήν, ὑμνούμενοι τελευτῶσιν: [356] ῥᾷον γὰρ ἐκείνους εἰς τὸν θάνατον οἱ φίλτατοι προπέμπουσιν ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἕκαστοι τοὺς πολίτας εἰς μηκίστην ἀποδημίαν, καὶ σφᾶς μὲν αὐτοὺς δακρύουσιν, ἐκείνους δὲ μακαρίζουσιν ἤδη τὴν ἀθάνατον τάξιν ἀπολαμβάνοντας. [357] ἆρ' οὖν οὐκ αἰδούμεθα χεῖρον Ἰνδῶν φρονοῦντες καὶ διὰ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀτολμίας τοὺς πατρίους νόμους, οἳ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις εἰς ζῆλον ἥκουσιν, αἰσχρῶς ὑβρίζοντες; [358] ἀλλ' εἴ γε καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐξ ἀρχῆς λόγους ἐπαιδεύθημεν, ὡς ἄρα μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ τὸ ζῆν συμφορὰ δ' ὁ θάνατος, ὁ γοῦν καιρὸς ἡμᾶς παρακαλεῖ φέρειν εὐκαρδίως αὐτὸν θεοῦ γνώμῃ καὶ κατ' ἀνάγκας τελευτήσαντας: [359] πάλαι γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, κατὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ παντὸς Ἰουδαίων γένους ταύτην ἔθετο τὴν ψῆφον ὁ θεός, ὥσθ' ἡμᾶς τοῦ ζῆν ἀπηλλάχθαι μὴ μέλλοντας αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι κατὰ τρόπον. [360] μὴ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὑμῖν ἀνάπτετε τὰς αἰτίας μηδὲ χαρίζεσθε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ὅτι πάντας ἡμᾶς ὁ πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμος διέφθειρεν: οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνων ἰσχύι ταῦτα συμβέβηκεν, ἀλλὰ κρειττων αἰτία γενομένη τὸ δοκεῖν ἐκείνοις νικᾶν παρέσχηκε. [361] ποίοις γὰρ ὅπλοις Ῥωμαίων τεθνήκασιν οἱ Καισάρειαν Ἰουδαῖοι κατοικοῦντες; [362] ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μελλήσαντας αὐτοὺς ἐκείνων ἀφίστασθαι, μεταξὺ δὲ τὴν ἑβδόμην ἑορτάζοντας τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Καισαρέων ἐπιδραμὸν μηδὲ χεῖρας

ἀνταίροντας ἅμα γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις κατέσφαξαν, οὐδ᾽ αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐντραπέντες, οἳ μόνους ἡμᾶς ἡγοῦντο πολεμίους τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας. [363] ἀλλὰ φήσει τις, ὅτι Καισαρεῦσιν ἦν ἀεὶ διαφορὰ πρὸς τοὺς παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς, καὶ τοῦ καιροῦ λαβόμενοι τὸ παλαιὸν μῖσος ἀπεπλήρωσαν. [364] τί οὖν τοὺς ἐν Σκυθοπόλει φῶμεν; ἡμῖν γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι διὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας πολεμεῖν ἐτόλμησαν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν ἡμῶν Ῥωμαίους ἀμύνεσθαι. [365] πολὺ τοίνυν ὤνησεν αὐτοὺς ἡ πρὸς ἐκείνους εὔνοια καὶ πίστις: ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν μέντοι πανοικεσίᾳ πικρῶς κατεφονεύθησαν ταύτην τῆς συμμαχίας ἀπολαβόντες ἀμοιβήν: [366] ἃ γὰρ ἐκείνους ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἐκώλυσαν ταῦθ᾽ ὑπέμειναν ὡς αὐτοὶ δρᾶσαι θελήσαντες. μακρὸν ἂν εἴη νῦν ἰδίᾳ περὶ ἑκάστων λέγειν: [367] ἴστε γὰρ ὅτι τῶν ἐν Συρίᾳ πόλεων οὐκ ἔστιν ἥτις τοὺς παρ᾽ αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας Ἰουδαίους οὐκ ἀνῄρηκεν, ἡμῖν πλέον ἢ Ῥωμαίοις ὄντας πολεμίους: [368] ὅπου γε Δαμασκηνοὶ μηδὲ πρόφασιν εὔλογον πλάσαι δυνηθέντες φόνου μιαρωτάτου τὴν αὐτῶν πόλιν ἐνέπλησαν ὀκτακισχιλίους πρὸς τοῖς μυρίοις Ἰουδαίους ἅμα γυναιξὶ καὶ γενεαῖς ἀποσφάξαντες. [369] τὸ δ᾽ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πλῆθος τῶν μετ᾽ αἰκίας ἀνῃρημένων ἔξ που μυριάδας ὑπερβάλλειν ἐπυνθανόμεθα. κἀκεῖνοι μὲν ἴσως ἐπ᾽ ἀλλοτρίας γῆς οὐδὲν ἀντίπαλον εὑράμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις οὕτως ἀπέθανον, τοῖς δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκείας τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ἀραμένοις ἅπασι τε τῶν ἐλπίδα νίκης ἐχυρᾶς παρασχεῖν δυναμένων οὐχ ὑπῆρξε; [370] καὶ γὰρ ὅπλα καὶ τείχη καὶ φρουρίων δυσάλωτοι κατασκευαὶ καὶ φρόνημα πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας κινδύνους ἄτρεπτον πάντας πρὸς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἐπέρρωσεν. [371] ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πρὸς βραχὺν χρόνον ἀρκέσαντα καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἡμᾶς ἐπάραντα μειζόνων ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐφάνη: πάντα γὰρ ἥλω, καὶ πάντα τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπέπεσεν, ὥσπερ εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων εὐκλεεστέραν νίκην, οὐκ εἰς τὴν τῶν παρασκευασαμένων σωτηρίαν εὐτρεπισθέντα. [372] καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀποθνήσκοντας εὐδαιμονίζειν προσῆκον: ἀμυνόμενοι γὰρ καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν οὐ προέμενοι τεθνήκασι: τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις γενομένων τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐλεήσειε; τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐπειχθείη πρὸ τοῦ ταὐτὰ παθεῖν ἐκείνοις ἀποθανεῖν; [373] ὧν οἱ μὲν στρεβλούμενοι καὶ πυρὶ καὶ μάστιξιν αἰκιζόμενοι τεθνήκασιν, οἱ δ᾽ ἀπὸ θηρίων ἡμίβρωτοι πρὸς δευτέραν αὐτοῖς τροφὴν ζῶντες ἐφυλάχθησαν, γέλωτα καὶ παίγνιον τοῖς πολεμίοις παρασχόντες. [374] ἐκείνων μὲν οὖν ἀθλιωτάτους ὑποληπτέον τοὺς ἔτι ζῶντας, οἳ πολλάκις εὐχόμενοι τὸν θάνατον λαβεῖν οὐκ ἔχουσιν. [375] ποῦ δ᾽ ἡ μεγάλη πόλις, ἡ τοῦ παντὸς Ἰουδαίων γένους μητρόπολις, ἡ τοσούτοις μὲν ἐρυμνὴ τειχῶν περιβόλοις, τοσαῦτα δ᾽ αὐτῆς φρούρια καὶ μεγέθη πύργων προβεβλημένη, μόλις δὲ χωροῦσα τὰς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευάς, τοσαύτας δὲ μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν ἔχουσα τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μαχομένων; [376] ποῦ γέγονεν ἡμῖν ἡ τὸν θεὸν ἔχειν οἰκιστὴν πεπιστευμένη; πρόρριζος ἐκ βάθρων ἀνήρπασται, καὶ μόνον αὐτῆς μνημεῖον ἀπολείπεται τὸ τῶν ἀνῃρημένων ἔτι τοῖς λειψάνοις ἐποικοῦν. [377] πρεσβῦται δὲ δύστηνοι τῇ σποδῷ τοῦ τεμένους παρακάθηνται καὶ γυναῖκες

ὀλίγαι πρὸς ὕβριν αἰσχίστην ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων τετηρημέναι. [378] ταῦτα τίς ἐν νῷ βαλλόμενος ἡμῶν καρτερήσει τὸν ἥλιον ὁρᾶν, κἂν δύνηται ζῆν ἀκινδύνως; τίς οὕτω τῆς πατρίδος ἐχθρός, ἢ τίς οὕτως ἄνανδρος καὶ φιλόψυχος, ὡς μὴ καὶ περὶ τοῦ μέχρι νῦν ζῆσαι μετανοεῖν; [379] ἀλλ᾽ εἴθε πάντες ἐτεθνήκειμεν πρὶν τὴν ἱερὰν ἐκείνην πόλιν χερσὶν ἰδεῖν κατασκαπτομένην πολεμίων, πρὶν τὸν ναὸν τὸν ἅγιον οὕτως ἀνοσίως ἐξορωρυγμένον. [380] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἀγεννὴς ἐλπὶς ἐβουκόλησεν, ὡς τάχα που δυνήσεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀμύνασθαι, φρούδη δὲ γέγονε νῦν καὶ μόνους ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνάγκης καταλέλοιπεν, σπεύσωμεν καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν, ἐλεήσωμεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, ἕως ἡμῖν ἔξεστιν παρ᾽ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν λαβεῖν τὸν ἔλεον. [381] ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ θάνατον ἐγεννήθημεν καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐγεννήσαμεν, καὶ τοῦτον οὐδὲ τοῖς εὐδαιμονοῦσιν ἔστι διαφυγεῖν: [382] ὕβρις δὲ καὶ δουλεία καὶ τὸ βλέπειν γυναῖκας εἰς αἰσχύνην ἀγομένας μετὰ τέκνων οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρώποις κακὸν ἐκ φύσεως ἀναγκαῖον, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν δειλίαν ὑπομένουσιν οἱ παρὸν πρὸ αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν μὴ θελήσαντες. [383] ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπ᾽ ἀνδρείᾳ μέγα φρονοῦντες Ῥωμαίων ἀπέστημεν καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα νῦν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ προκαλουμένων ἡμᾶς οὐχ ὑπηκούσαμεν. [384] τίνι τοίνυν οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ θυμὸς αὐτῶν πρόδηλος, εἰ ζώντων ἡμῶν κρατήσουσιν; ἄθλιοι μὲν οἱ νέοι τῆς ῥώμης τῶν σωμάτων εἰς πολλὰς αἰκίας ἀρκέσοντες, ἄθλιοι δὲ οἱ παρηβηκότες φέρειν τῆς ἡλικίας τὰς συμφορὰς οὐ δυναμένης. [385] ὄψεταί τις γυναῖκα πρὸς βίαν ἀγομένην, φωνῆς ἐπακούσεται τέκνου πατέρα βοῶντος χεῖρας δεδεμένος. [386] ἀλλ᾽ ἕως εἰσὶν ἐλεύθεραι καὶ ξίφος ἔχουσιν, καλὴν ὑπουργίαν ὑπουργησάτωσαν: ἀδούλωτοι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀποθάνωμεν, ἐλεύθεροι δὲ μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν τοῦ ζῆν συνεξέλθωμεν. [387] ταῦθ᾽ ἡμᾶς οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσι, ταῦθ᾽ ἡμᾶς γυναῖκες καὶ παῖδες ἱκετεύουσι: τούτων τὴν ἀνάγκην θεὸς ἀπέσταλκε, τούτων Ῥωμαῖοι τἀναντία θέλουσι, καὶ μή τις ἡμῶν πρὸ τῆς ἁλώσεως ἀποθάνῃ δεδοίκασι. [388] σπεύσωμεν οὖν ἀντὶ τῆς ἐλπιζομένης αὐτοῖς καθ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀπολαύσεως ἔκπληξιν τοῦ θανάτου καὶ θαῦμα τῆς τόλμης καταλιπεῖν.”

7. This was Eleazar’s speech to them. Yet did not the opinions of all the auditors acquiesce therein; but although some of them were very zealous to put his advice in practice, and were in a manner filled with pleasure at it, and thought death to be a good thing, yet had those that were most effeminate a commiseration for their wives and families; and when these men were especially moved by the prospect of their own certain death, they looked wistfully at one another, and by the tears that were in their eyes declared their dissent from his opinion. When Eleazar saw these people in such fear, and that their souls were dejected at so prodigious a proposal, he was afraid lest perhaps these effeminate persons should, by their lamentations and tears, enfeeble those that heard what he had

said courageously; so he did not leave off exhorting them, but stirred up himself, and recollecting proper arguments for raising their courage, he undertook to speak more briskly and fully to them, and that concerning the immortality of the soul. So he made a lamentable groan, and fixing his eyes intently on those that wept, he spake thus: “Truly, I was greatly mistaken when I thought to be assisting to brave men who struggled hard for their liberty, and to such as were resolved either to live with honor, or else to die; but I find that you are such people as are no better than others, either in virtue or in courage, and are afraid of dying, though you be delivered thereby from the greatest miseries, while you ought to make no delay in this matter, nor to await any one to give you good advice; for the laws of our country, and of God himself, have from ancient times, and as soon as ever we could use our reason, continually taught us, and our forefathers have corroborated the same doctrine by their actions, and by their bravery of mind, that it is life that is a calamity to men, and not death; for this last affords our souls their liberty, and sends them by a removal into their own place of purity, where they are to be insensible of all sorts of misery; for while souls are tied down to a mortal body, they are partakers of its miseries; and really, to speak the truth, they are themselves dead; for the union of what is divine to what is mortal is disagreeable. It is true, the power of the soul is great, even when it is imprisoned in a mortal body; for by moving it after a way that is invisible, it makes the body a sensible instrument, and causes it to advance further in its actions than mortal nature could otherwise do. However, when it is freed from that weight which draws it down to the earth and is connected with it, it obtains its own proper place, and does then become a partaker of that blessed power, and those abilities, which are then every way incapable of being hindered in their operations. It continues invisible, indeed, to the eyes of men, as does God himself; for certainly it is not itself seen while it is in the body; for it is there after an invisible manner, and when it is freed from it, it is still not seen. It is this soul which hath one nature, and that an incorruptible one also; but yet it is the cause of the change that is made in the body; for whatsoever it be which the soul touches, that lives and flourishes; and from whatsoever it is removed, that withers away and dies; such a degree is there in it of immortality. Let me produce the state of sleep as a most evident demonstration of the truth of what I say; wherein souls, when the body does not distract them, have the sweetest rest depending on themselves, and conversing with God, by their alliance to him; they then go every where, and foretell many futurities beforehand. And why are we afraid of death, while we are pleased with the rest that we have in sleep? And how absurd a thing is it to pursue after liberty while we are alive, and yet to envy it to ourselves where it will be eternal! We, therefore, who have been brought up

in a discipline of our own, ought to become an example to others of our readiness to die. Yet, if we do stand in need of foreigners to support us in this matter, let us regard those Indians who profess the exercise of philosophy; for these good men do but unwillingly undergo the time of life, and look upon it as a necessary servitude, and make haste to let their souls loose from their bodies; nay, when no misfortune presses them to it, nor drives them upon it, these have such a desire of a life of immortality, that they tell other men beforehand that they are about to depart; and nobody hinders them, but every one thinks them happy men, and gives them letters to be carried to their familiar friends [that are dead], so firmly and certainly do they believe that souls converse with one another [in the other world]. So when these men have heard all such commands that were to be given them, they deliver their body to the fire; and, in order to their getting their soul a separation from the body in the greatest purity, they die in the midst of hymns of commendations made to them; for their dearest friends conduct them to their death more readily than do any of the rest of mankind conduct their fellow-citizens when they are going a very long journey, who at the same time weep on their own account, but look upon the others as happy persons, as so soon to be made partakers of the immortal order of beings. Are not we, therefore, ashamed to have lower notions than the Indians? and by our own cowardice to lay a base reproach upon the laws of our country, which are so much desired and imitated by all mankind? But put the case that we had been brought up under another persuasion, and taught that life is the greatest good which men are capable of, and that death is a calamity; however, the circumstances we are now in ought to be an inducement to us to bear such calamity courageously, since it is by the will of God, and by necessity, that we are to die; for it now appears that God hath made such a decree against the whole Jewish nation, that we are to be deprived of this life which [he knew] we would not make a due use of. For do not you ascribe the occasion of our present condition to yourselves, nor think the Romans are the true occasion that this war we have had with them is become so destructive to us all: these things have not come to pass by their power, but a more powerful cause hath intervened, and made us afford them an occasion of their appearing to be conquerors over us. What Roman weapons, I pray you, were those by which the Jews at Cesarea were slain? On the contrary, when they were no way disposed to rebel, but were all the while keeping their seventh day festival, and did not so much as lift up their hands against the citizens of Cesarea, yet did those citizens run upon them in great crowds, and cut their throats, and the throats of their wives and children, and this without any regard to the Romans themselves, who never took us for their enemies till we revolted from them. But some may be ready to say, that

truly the people of Cesarea had always a quarrel against those that lived among them, and that when an opportunity offered itself, they only satisfied the old rancor they had against them. What then shall we say to those of Scythopolis, who ventured to wage war with us on account of the Greeks? Nor did they do it by way of revenge upon the Romans, when they acted in concert with our countrymen. Wherefore you see how little our good-will and fidelity to them profited us, while they were slain, they and their whole families, after the most inhuman manner, which was all the requital that was made them for the assistance they had afforded the others; for that very same destruction which they had prevented from falling upon the others did they suffer themselves from them, as if they had been ready to be the actors against them. It would be too long for me to speak at this time of every destruction brought upon us; for you cannot but know that there was not any one Syrian city which did not slay their Jewish inhabitants, and were not more bitter enemies to us than were the Romans themselves; nay, even those of Damascus, when they were able to allege no tolerable pretense against us, filled their city with the most barbarous slaughters of our people, and cut the throats of eighteen thousand Jews, with their wives and children. And as to the multitude of those that were slain in Egypt, and that with torments also, we have been informed they were more than sixty thousand; those indeed being in a foreign country, and so naturally meeting with nothing to oppose against their enemies, were killed in the manner forementioned. As for all those of us who have waged war against the Romans in our own country, had we not sufficient reason to have sure hopes of victory? For we had arms, and walls, and fortresses so prepared as not to be easily taken, and courage not to be moved by any dangers in the cause of liberty, which encouraged us all to revolt from the Romans. But then these advantages sufficed us but for a short time, and only raised our hopes, while they really appeared to be the origin of our miseries; for all we had hath been taken from us, and all hath fallen under our enemies, as if these advantages were only to render their victory over us the more glorious, and were not disposed for the preservation of those by whom these preparations were made. And as for those that are already dead in the war, it is reasonable we should esteem them blessed, for they are dead in defending, and not in betraying their liberty; but as to the multitude of those that are now under the Romans, who would not pity their condition? and who would not make haste to die, before he would suffer the same miseries with them? Some of them have been put upon the rack, and tortured with fire and whippings, and so died. Some have been half devoured by wild beasts, and yet have been reserved alive to be devoured by them a second time, in order to afford laughter and sport to our enemies; and such of those as are alive still are to be looked on

as the most miserable, who, being so desirous of death, could not come at it. And where is now that great city, the metropolis of the Jewish nation, which was fortified by so many walls round about, which had so many fortresses and large towers to defend it, which could hardly contain the instruments prepared for the war, and which had so many ten thousands of men to fight for it? Where is this city that was believed to have God himself inhabiting therein? It is now demolished to the very foundations, and hath nothing but that monument of it preserved, I mean the camp of those that hath destroyed it, which still dwells upon its ruins; some unfortunate old men also lie upon the ashes of the temple, and a few women are there preserved alive by the enemy, for our bitter shame and reproach. Now who is there that revolves these things in his mind, and yet is able to bear the sight of the sun, though he might live out of danger? Who is there so much his country's enemy, or so unmanly, and so desirous of living, as not to repent that he is still alive? And I cannot but wish that we had all died before we had seen that holy city demolished by the hands of our enemies, or the foundations of our holy temple dug up after so profane a manner. But since we had a generous hope that deluded us, as if we might perhaps have been able to avenge ourselves on our enemies on that account, though it be now become vanity, and hath left us alone in this distress, let us make haste to die bravely. Let us pity ourselves, our children, and our wives while it is in our own power to show pity to them; for we were born to die, as well as those were whom we have begotten; nor is it in the power of the most happy of our race to avoid it. But for abuses, and slavery, and the sight of our wives led away after an ignominious manner, with their children, these are not such evils as are natural and necessary among men; although such as do not prefer death before those miseries, when it is in their power so to do, must undergo even them, on account of their own cowardice. We revolted from the Romans with great pretensions to courage; and when, at the very last, they invited us to preserve ourselves, we would not comply with them. Who will not, therefore, believe that they will certainly be in a rage at us, in case they can take us alive? Miserable will then be the young men who will be strong enough in their bodies to sustain many torments! miserable also will be those of elder years, who will not be able to bear those calamities which young men might sustain! One man will be obliged to hear the voice of his son implore help of his father, when his hands are bound. But certainly our hands are still at liberty, and have a sword in them; let them then be subservient to us in our glorious design; let us die before we become slaves under our enemies, and let us go out of the world, together with our children and our wives, in a state of freedom. This it is that our laws command us to do; this it is that our wives and children crave at our hands; nay, God

himself hath brought this necessity upon us; while the Romans desire the contrary, and are afraid lest any of us should die before we are taken. Let us therefore make haste, and instead of affording them so much pleasure, as they hope for in getting us under their power, let us leave them an example which shall at once cause their astonishment at our death, and their admiration of our hardiness therein.”

IX

CHAPTER 9.

How The People That Were In The Fortress Were Prevailed On

By The Words Of Eleazar, Two Women And Five Children Only

Excepted And All Submitted To Be Killed By One Another.

(1) [389] Ἔτι βουλόμενον αὐτὸν παρακαλεῖν πάντες ὑπετέμνοντο καὶ πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν ἠπείγοντο ἀνεπισχέτου τινὸς ὁρμῆς πεπληρωμένοι, καὶ δαιμονῶντες ἀπῄεσαν ἄλλος πρὸ ἄλλου φθάσαι γλιχόμενος καὶ ταύτην ἐπίδειξιν εἶναι τῆς ἀνδρείας καὶ τῆς εὐβουλίας νομίζοντες, τὸ μή τις ἐν ὑστάτοις γενόμενος ὀφθῆναι: τοσοῦτος αὐτοῖς γυναικῶν καὶ παιδίων καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν σφαγῆς ἔρως ἐνέπεσεν. [390] καὶ μὴν οὐδ’ ὅπερ ἄν τις ᾠήθη τῇ πράξει προσιόντες ἠμβλύνθησαν, ἀλλ’ ἀτενῆ τὴν γνώμην διεφύλαξαν οἵαν ἔσχον τῶν λόγων ἀκροώμενοι, τοῦ μὲν οἰκείου καὶ φιλοστόργου πάθους ἅπασι παραμένοντος, τοῦ λογισμοῦ δὲ ὡς τὰ κράτιστα βεβουλευκότος τοῖς φιλτάτοις ἐπικρατοῦντος. [391] ὁμοῦ γὰρ ἠσπάζοντο γυναῖκας περιπτυσσόμενοι καὶ τέκνα προσηγκαλίζοντο τοῖς ὑστάτοις φιλήμασιν ἐμφυόμενοι καὶ δακρύοντες, [392] ὁμοῦ δὲ καθάπερ ἀλλοτρίαις χερσὶν ὑπουργούμενοι συνετέλουν τὸ βούλευμα, τὴν ἐπίνοιαν ὧν πείσονται κακῶν ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις γενόμενοι παραμύθιον τῆς ἐν τῷ κτείνειν ἀνάγκης ἔχοντες. [393] καὶ πέρας οὐδεὶς τηλικούτου τολμήματος ἥττων εὑρέθη, πάντες δὲ διὰ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων διεξῆλθον, ἄθλιοι τῆς ἀνάγκης, οἷς αὐτοχειρὶ γυναῖκας τὰς αὐτῶν καὶ τέκνα κτεῖναι κακῶν ἔδοξεν εἶναι τὸ κουφότατον. [394] οὔτε δὴ τοίνυν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ὀδύνην ἔτι φέροντες καὶ τοὺς ἀνῃρημένους νομίζοντες ἀδικεῖν εἰ καὶ βραχὺν αὐτοῖς ἔτι χρόνον ἐπιζήσουσι, ταχὺ μὲν τὴν κτῆσιν ἅπασαν εἰς ταὐτὸ σωρεύσαντες πῦρ εἰς αὐτὴν ἐνέβαλον, [395] κλήρῳ δ’ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἑλόμενοι δέκα τοὺς ἁπάντων σφαγεῖς ἐσομένους, καὶ γυναικί τις αὐτὸν καὶ παισὶ κειμένοις παραστρώσας καὶ τὰς χεῖρας περιβαλών, παρεῖχον ἑτοίμους τὰς σφαγὰς τοῖς τὴν δύστηνον ὑπουργίαν ἐκτελοῦσιν. [396] οἱ δ’ ἀτρέπτως πάντας φονεύσαντες τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπ’ ἀλλήλοις τοῦ κλήρου νόμον ὥρισαν, ἵν’ ὁ λαχὼν τοὺς ἐννέα κτείνας ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀνέλῃ: πάντες οὕτως

αὐτοῖς ἐθάρρουν μήτ᾽ εἰς τὸ δρᾶν μήτ᾽ εἰς τὸ παθεῖν ἄλλος ἄλλου διαφέρειν. [397] καὶ τέλος οἱ μὲν τὰς σφαγὰς ὑπέθεσαν, ὁ δ᾽ εἷς καὶ τελευταῖος τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κειμένων περιαθρήσας, μή πού τις ἔτ᾽ ἐν πολλῷ φόνῳ τῆς αὐτοῦ λείπεται χειρὸς δεόμενος, ὡς ἔγνω πάντας ἀνῃρημένους, πῦρ μὲν πολὺ τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐνίησιν, ἀθρόᾳ δὲ τῇ χειρὶ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ πᾶν ἐλάσας τὸ ξίφος πλησίον τῶν οἰκείων κατέπεσε. [398] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐτεθνήκεσαν ὑπειληφότες οὐδὲν ἔχον ψυχὴν ὑποχείριον ἐξ αὐτῶν Ῥωμαίοις καταλιπεῖν, [399] ἔλαθεν δὲ γυνὴ πρεσβῦτις καὶ συγγενὴς ἑτέρα τις Ἐλεαζάρου, φρονήσει καὶ παιδείᾳ πλεῖστον γυναικῶν διαφέρουσα, καὶ πέντε παιδία τοῖς ὑπονόμοις, οἳ ποτὸν ἦγον ὕδωρ διὰ γῆς, ἐγκατακρυβῆναι τῶν ἄλλων πρὸς τῇ σφαγῇ τὰς διανοίας ἐχόντων, [400] οἳ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἦσαν ἑξήκοντα πρὸς τοῖς ἐνακοσίοις γυναικῶν ἅμα καὶ παίδων αὐτοῖς συναριθμουμένων. [401] καὶ τὸ πάθος ἐπράχθη πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ Ξανθικοῦ μηνός.

1. Now as Eleazar was proceeding on in this exhortation, they all cut him off short, and made haste to do the work, as full of an unconquerable ardor of mind, and moved with a demoniacal fury. So they went their ways, as one still endeavoring to be before another, and as thinking that this eagerness would be a demonstration of their courage and good conduct, if they could avoid appearing in the last class; so great was the zeal they were in to slay their wives and children, and themselves also! Nor indeed, when they came to the work itself, did their courage fail them, as one might imagine it would have done, but they then held fast the same resolution, without wavering, which they had upon the hearing of Eleazar's speech, while yet every one of them still retained the natural passion of love to themselves and their families, because the reasoning they went upon appeared to them to be very just, even with regard to those that were dearest to them; for the husbands tenderly embraced their wives, and took their children into their arms, and gave the longest parting kisses to them, with tears in their eyes. Yet at the same time did they complete what they had resolved on, as if they had been executed by the hands of strangers; and they had nothing else for their comfort but the necessity they were in of doing this execution, to avoid that prospect they had of the miseries they were to suffer from their enemies. Nor was there at length any one of these men found that scrupled to act their part in this terrible execution, but every one of them despatched his dearest relations. Miserable men indeed were they! whose distress forced them to slay their own wives and children with their own hands, as the lightest of those evils that were before them. So they being not able to bear the grief they were under for what they had done any longer, and esteeming it an injury to those they had slain, to live even the shortest space of time after them, they presently laid all they had upon a heap, and set fire to it. They then chose ten men by lot out of them to slay

all the rest; every one of whom laid himself down by his wife and children on the ground, and threw his arms about them, and they offered their necks to the stroke of those who by lot executed that melancholy office; and when these ten had, without fear, slain them all, they made the same rule for casting lots for themselves, that he whose lot it was should first kill the other nine, and after all should kill himself. Accordingly, all these had courage sufficient to be no way behind one another in doing or suffering; so, for a conclusion, the nine offered their necks to the executioner, and he who was the last of all took a view of all the other bodies, lest perchance some or other among so many that were slain should want his assistance to be quite despatched, and when he perceived that they were all slain, he set fire to the palace, and with the great force of his hand ran his sword entirely through himself, and fell down dead near to his own relations. So these people died with this intention, that they would not leave so much as one soul among them all alive to be subject to the Romans. Yet was there an ancient woman, and another who was of kin to Eleazar, and superior to most women in prudence and learning, with five children, who had concealed themselves in caverns under ground, and had carried water thither for their drink, and were hidden there when the rest were intent upon the slaughter of one another. Those others were nine hundred and sixty in number, the women and children being withal included in that computation. This calamitous slaughter was made on the fifteenth day of the month Xanthicus [Nisan].

(2) [402] Οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι μάχην ἔτι προσδοκῶντες, ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω διασκευασάμενοι καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν χωμάτων ἐφόδους ταῖς ἐπιβάθραις γεφυρώσαντες προσβολὴν ἐποιοῦντο. [403] βλέποντες δ᾽ οὐδένα τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ δεινὴν πανταχόθεν ἐρημίαν καὶ πῦρ ἔνδον καὶ σιωπήν, ἀπόρως εἶχον τὸ γεγονὸς συμβαλεῖν, καὶ τέλος ὡς εἰς ἄφεσιν βολῆς ἠλάλαξαν, εἴ τινα τῶν ἔνδον προκαλέσαιντο. [404] τῆς δὲ βοῆς αἴσθησις γίνεται τοῖς γυναίοις, κἀκ τῶν ὑπονόμων ἀναδῦσαι τὸ πραχθὲν ὡς εἶχε πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐμήνυον, πάντα τῆς ἑτέρας ὡς ἐλέχθη τε καὶ τίνα τρόπον ἐπράχθη σαφῶς ἐκδιηγουμένης. [405] οὐ μὴν ῥᾳδίως αὐτῇ προσεῖχον τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ τολμήματος ἀπιστοῦντες, ἐπεχείρουν τε τὸ πῦρ σβεννύναι καὶ ταχέως ὁδὸν δι᾽ αὐτοῦ τεμόντες τῶν βασιλείων ἐντὸς ἐγένοντο. [406] καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν πεφονευμένων ἐπιτυχόντες οὐχ ὡς ἐπὶ πολεμίοις ἥσθησαν, τὴν δὲ γενναιότητα τοῦ βουλεύματος καὶ τὴν ἐν τοσούτοις ἄτρεπτον ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ἐθαύμασαν τοῦ θανάτου καταφρόνησιν.

2. Now for the Romans, they expected that they should be fought in the morning, when, accordingly, they put on their armor, and laid bridges of planks upon their ladders from their banks, to make an assault upon the fortress, which they did; but saw nobody as an enemy, but a terrible solitude on every side, with a fire

within the place, as well as a perfect silence. So they were at a loss to guess at what had happened. At length they made a shout, as if it had been at a blow given by the battering ram, to try whether they could bring any one out that was within; the women heard this noise, and came out of their under-ground cavern, and informed the Romans what had been done, as it was done; and the second of them clearly described all both what was said and what was done, and this manner of it; yet did they not easily give their attention to such a desperate undertaking, and did not believe it could be as they said; they also attempted to put the fire out, and quickly cutting themselves a way through it, they came within the palace, and so met with the multitude of the slain, but could take no pleasure in the fact, though it were done to their enemies. Nor could they do other than wonder at the courage of their resolution, and the immovable contempt of death which so great a number of them had shown, when they went through with such an action as that was.

X

CHAPTER 10.

That Many Of The Sicarii Fled To Alexandria Also And What Dangers They Were In There; On Which Account That Temple Which Had Formerly Been Built By Onias The High Priest Was Destroyed.

(1) [407] Τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς ἁλώσεως γενομένης ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ φρουρίου καταλείπει φυλακὴν ὁ στρατηγός, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Καισάρειαν. [408] οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑπελείπετό τις τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν πολεμίων, ἀλλ᾽ ἤδη πᾶσα διὰ μακροῦ τοῦ πολέμου κατέστραπτο πολλοῖς καὶ τῶν ἀπωτάτω κατοικούντων αἴσθησιν καὶ κίνδυνον ταραχῆς παρασχόντος. [409] ἔτι δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μετὰ ταῦτα συνέβη πολλοὺς Ἰουδαίων ἀποθανεῖν: [410] τοῖς γὰρ ἐκ τῆς στάσεως τῶν σικαρίων ἐκεῖ διαφυγεῖν δυνηθεῖσιν οὐκ ἀπέχρη τὸ σώζεσθαι, πάλιν δὲ καινοτέροις ἐνεχείρουν πράγμασι καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ὑποδεξαμένων ἔπειθον τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, καὶ Ῥωμαίους μὲν μηδὲν κρείττους αὐτῶν ὑπολαμβάνειν, θεὸν δὲ μόνον ἡγεῖσθαι δεσπότην. [411] ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν οὐκ ἀφανῶν τινες Ἰουδαίων ἀντέβαινον, τοὺς μὲν ἀπέσφαξαν, τοῖς δ᾽ ἄλλοις ἐνέκειντο πρὸς τὴν ἀπόστασιν παρακαλοῦντες. [412] ὁρῶντες δ᾽ αὐτῶν τὴν ἀπόνοιαν οἱ πρωτεύοντες τῆς γερουσίας οὐκέτ᾽ ἀσφαλὲς αὐτοῖς ἐνόμιζον περιορᾶν, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἀθροίσαντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἤλεγχον τὴν ἀπόνοιαν τῶν σικαρίων πάντων αἰτίους ἀποφαίνοντες ἐκείνους τῶν κακῶν: [413]

καὶ νῦν ἔφασαν αὐτούς, ἐπείπερ οὐδὲ πεφευγότες τῆς σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα βεβαίαν ἔχουσιν, γνωσθέντας γὰρ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων εὐθὺς ἀπολεῖσθαι, τῆς αὐτοῖς προσηκούσης συμφορᾶς ἀναπιμπλάναι τοὺς μηδενὸς τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων μετασχόντας. [414] φυλάξασθαι τοίνυν τὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὄλεθρον τὸ πλῆθος παρεκάλουν καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀπολογήσασθαι τῇ τούτων παραδόσει. [415] συνιδόντες τοῦ κινδύνου τὸ μέγεθος ἐπείσθησαν τοῖς λεγομένοις, καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ὁρμῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς σικαρίους ᾄξαντες συνήρπαζον αὐτούς. [416] τῶν δ' ἐξακόσιοι μὲν εὐθὺς ἑάλωσαν, ὅσοι δ' εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὰς ἐκεῖ Θήβας διέφυγον, οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν συλληφθέντες ἐπανήχθησαν. [417] ἐφ' ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν ὃς οὐ τὴν καρτερίαν καὶ τὴν εἴτε ἀπόνοιαν εἴτε τῆς γνώμης ἰσχὺν χρὴ λέγειν οὐ κατεπλάγη: [418] πάσης γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς βασάνου καὶ λύμης τῶν σωμάτων ἐπινοηθείσης ἐφ' ἓν τοῦτο μόνον, ὅπως αὐτῶν Καίσαρα δεσπότην ὁμολογήσωσιν, οὐδεὶς ἐνέδωκεν οὐδὲ ἐμέλλησεν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ὑπερτέραν τῆς ἀνάγκης τὴν αὐτῶν γνώμην διεφύλαξαν, ὥσπερ ἀναισθήτοις σώμασι χαιρούσῃ μόνον οὐχὶ τῇ ψυχῇ τὰς βασάνους καὶ τὸ πῦρ δεχόμενοι. [419] μάλιστα δ' ἡ τῶν παίδων ἡλικία τοὺς θεωμένους ἐξέπληξεν: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνων τις ἐξενικήθη Καίσαρα δεσπότην ἐξονομάσαι. τοσοῦτον ἄρα τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ἀσθενείας ἡ τῆς τόλμης ἰσχὺς ἐπεκράτει.

1. When Masada was thus taken, the general left a garrison in the fortress to keep it, and he himself went away to Cesarea; for there were now no enemies left in the country, but it was all overthrown by so long a war. Yet did this war afford disturbances and dangerous disorders even in places very far remote from Judea; for still it came to pass that many Jews were slain at Alexandria in Egypt; for as many of the Sicarii as were able to fly thither, out of the seditious wars in Judea, were not content to have saved themselves, but must needs be undertaking to make new disturbances, and persuaded many of those that entertained them to assert their liberty, to esteem the Romans to be no better than themselves, and to look upon God as their only Lord and Master. But when part of the Jews of reputation opposed them, they slew some of them, and with the others they were very pressing in their exhortations to revolt from the Romans; but when the principal men of the senate saw what madness they were come to, they thought it no longer safe for themselves to overlook them. So they got all the Jews together to an assembly, and accused the madness of the Sicarii, and demonstrated that they had been the authors of all the evils that had come upon them. They said also that "these men, now they were run away from Judea, having no sure hope of escaping, because as soon as ever they shall be known, they will be soon destroyed by the Romans, they come hither and fill us full of those calamities which belong to them, while we have not been partakers with them in any of

their sins." Accordingly, they exhorted the multitude to have a care, lest they should be brought to destruction by their means, and to make their apology to the Romans for what had been done, by delivering these men up to them; who being thus apprized of the greatness of the danger they were in, complied with what was proposed, and ran with great violence upon the Sicarii, and seized upon them; and indeed six hundred of them were caught immediately: but as to all those that fled into Egypt and to the Egyptian Thebes, it was not long ere they were caught also, and brought back, whose courage, or whether we ought to call it madness, or hardiness in their opinions, every body was amazed at. For when all sorts of torments and vexations of their bodies that could be devised were made use of to them, they could not get any one of them to comply so far as to confess, or seem to confess, that Caesar was their lord; but they preserved their own opinion, in spite of all the distress they were brought to, as if they received these torments and the fire itself with bodies insensible of pain, and with a soul that in a manner rejoiced under them. But what was most of all astonishing to the beholders was the courage of the children; for not one of these children was so far overcome by these torments, as to name Caesar for their lord. So far does the strength of the courage [of the soul] prevail over the weakness of the body.

(2) [420] Λοῦπος τότε διῴκει τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ περὶ τοῦ κινήματος τούτου Καίσαρι κατὰ τάχος ἐπέστειλεν. [421] ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὴν ἀκατάπαυστον ὑφορώμενος νεωτεροποιίαν καὶ δείσας, μὴ πάλιν εἰς ἓν ἀθρόοι συλλεγῶσι καί τινας αὐτοῖς συνεπισπάσωνται, προσέταξε τῷ Λούππῳ τὸν ἐν τῇ Ὀνίου καλουμένῃ νεὼν καθελεῖν τῶν Ἰουδαίων. [422] ὁ δ' ἐστὶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν ᾠκίσθη τε καὶ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν ἔλαβεν: [423] Ὀνίας Σίμωνος υἱός, εἷς τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀρχιερέων, φεύγων Ἀντίοχον τὸν Συρίας βασιλέα πολεμοῦντα τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἦκεν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, καὶ δεξαμένου Πτολεμαίου φιλοφρόνως αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἀντίοχον ἀπέχθειαν ἔφη σύμμαχον αὐτῷ ποιήσειν τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος, εἰ πεισθείη τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λεγομένοις. [424] ποιήσειν δὲ τὰ δυνατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ὁμολογήσαντος ἠξίωσεν ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῷ νεών τε που τῆς Αἰγύπτου κατασκευάσασθαι καὶ τοῖς πατρίοις ἔθεσι θεραπεύειν τὸν θεόν: [425] οὕτως γὰρ Ἀντιόχῳ μὲν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκπολεμώσεσθαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις νεὼν πεπορθηκότι, πρὸς αὐτὸν δ' εὐνοικωτέρως ἕξειν καὶ πολλοὺς ἐπ' ἀδείᾳ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐπ' αὐτὸν συλλεγήσεσθαι.

2. Now Lupus did then govern Alexandria, who presently sent Caesar word of this commotion; who having in suspicion the restless temper of the Jews for innovation, and being afraid lest they should get together again, and persuade some others to join with them, gave orders to Lupus to demolish that Jewish

temple which was in the region called Onion, and was in Egypt, which was built and had its denomination from the occasion following: Onias, the son of Simon, one of the Jewish high priests fled from Antiochus the king of Syria, when he made war with the Jews, and came to Alexandria; and as Ptolemy received him very kindly, on account of hatred to Antiochus, he assured him, that if he would comply with his proposal, he would bring all the Jews to his assistance; and when the king agreed to do it so far as he was able, he desired him to give him leave to build a temple some where in Egypt, and to worship God according to the customs of his own country; for that the Jews would then be so much readier to fight against Antiochus who had laid waste the temple at Jerusalem, and that they would then come to him with greater good-will; and that, by granting them liberty of conscience, very many of them would come over to him.

(3) [426] Πεισθεὶς Πτολεμαῖος τοῖς λεγομένοις δίδωσιν αὐτῷ χώραν ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους ἀπέχουσαν Μέμφεως: νομὸς δ' οὗτος Ἡλιοπολίτης καλεῖται. [427] φρούριον ἔνθα κατασκευασάμενος Ὀνίας τὸν μὲν ναὸν οὐχ ὅμοιον ᾠκοδόμησε τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, ἀλλὰ πύργῳ παραπλήσιον λίθων μεγάλων εἰς ἑξήκοντα πήχεις ἀνεστηκότα: [428] τοῦ βωμοῦ δὲ τὴν κατασκευὴν πρὸς τὸν οἰκεῖον ἐξεμιμήσατο καὶ τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ὁμοίως ἐκόσμησεν χωρὶς τῆς περὶ τὴν λυχνίαν κατασκευῆς: [429] οὐ γὰρ ἐποίησε λυχνίαν, αὐτὸν δὲ χαλκευσάμενος λύχνον χρυσοῦν ἐπιφαίνοντα σέλας χρυσῆς ἁλύσεως ἐξεκρέμασε. τὸ δὲ τέμενος πᾶν ὀπτῇ πλίνθῳ περιτετείχιστο πύλας ἔχον λιθίνας. [430] ἀνῆκε δὲ καὶ χώραν πολλὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς χρημάτων πρόσοδον, ὅπως εἴη καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀφθονία καὶ τῷ θεῷ πολλὰ τὰ πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν. [431] οὐ μὴν Ὀνίας ἐξ ὑγιοῦς γνώμης ταῦτα ἔπραττεν, ἀλλ' ἦν αὐτῷ φιλονεικία πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἰουδαίους ὀργὴν τῆς φυγῆς ἀπομνημονεύοντι, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἱερὸν ἐνόμιζε κατασκευάσας εἰς αὐτὸ περισπάσειν ἀπ' ἐκείνων τὸ πλῆθος. [432] ἐγεγόνει δέ τις καὶ παλαιὰ πρόρρησις ἔτεσί που πρόσθεν ἑξακοσίοις: Ἡσαίας ὄνομα τῷ προαγορεύσαντι τοῦδε τοῦ ναοῦ τὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γενησομένην ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς Ἰουδαίου κατασκευήν. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἱερὸν οὕτως ἐπεποίητο.

3. So Ptolemy complied with his proposals, and gave him a place one hundred and eighty furlongs distant from Memphis. That Nomos was called the Nomos of Hellopolis, where Onias built a fortress and a temple, not like to that at Jerusalem, but such as resembled a tower. He built it of large stones to the height of sixty cubits; he made the structure of the altar in imitation of that in our own country, and in like manner adorned with gifts, excepting the make of the candlestick, for he did not make a candlestick, but had a [single] lamp hammered out of a piece of gold, which illuminated the place with its rays, and which he hung by a chain of gold; but the entire temple was encompassed with a wall of

burnt brick, though it had gates of stone. The king also gave him a large country for a revenue in money, that both the priests might have a plentiful provision made for them, and that God might have great abundance of what things were necessary for his worship. Yet did not Onias do this out of a sober disposition, but he had a mind to contend with the Jews at Jerusalem, and could not forget the indignation he had for being banished thence. Accordingly, he thought that by building this temple he should draw away a great number from them to himself. There had been also a certain ancient prediction made by [a prophet] whose name was Isaiah, about six hundred years before, that this temple should be built by a man that was a Jew in Egypt. And this is the history of the building of that temple.

(4) [433] Λοῦππος δ' ὁ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἡγεμὼν τὰ παρὰ Καίσαρος λαβὼν γράμματα καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καί τινα τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἐκφορήσας τὸν ναὸν ἀπέκλεισε. [434] Λούππου δὲ μετὰ βραχὺ τελευτήσαντος Παυλῖνος διαδεξάμενος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν οὔτε τῶν ἀναθημάτων οὐδὲν κατέλιπε, πολλὰ γὰρ διηπείλησε τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν εἰ μὴ πάντα προκομίσειαν, οὔτε προσιέναι τῷ τεμένει τοὺς θρησκεύειν βουλομένους ἐφῆκεν, [435] ἀλλ' ἀποκλείσας τὰς πύλας ἀπρόσιτον αὐτὸ παντελῶς ἐποίησεν, ὡς μηδ' ἴχνος ἔτι τῆς εἰς τὸν θεὸν θεραπείας ἐν τῷ τόπῳ καταλιπεῖν. [436] χρόνος ἦν εἰς τὴν ἀπόκλεισιν τοῦ ναοῦ γεγονὼς ἀπὸ τῆς κατασκευῆς ἔτη τρία καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τριακόσια.

4. And now Lupus, the governor of Alexandria, upon the receipt of Caesar's letter, came to the temple, and carried out of it some of the donations dedicated thereto, and shut up the temple itself. And as Lupus died a little afterward, Paulinus succeeded him. This man left none of those donations there, and threatened the priests severely if they did not bring them all out; nor did he permit any who were desirous of worshipping God there so much as to come near the whole sacred place; but when he had shut up the gates, he made it entirely inaccessible, insomuch that there remained no longer the least footsteps of any Divine worship that had been in that place. Now the duration of the time from the building of this temple till it was shut up again was three hundred and forty-three years.

XI

CHAPTER 11.

Concerning Jonathan, One Of The Sicarii, That Stirred Up A Sedition In Cyrene, And Was A False Accuser [Of The

Innocent].

(1) [437] Ἥψατο δὲ καὶ τῶν περὶ Κυρήνην πόλεων ἡ τῶν σικαρίων ἀπόνοια καθάπερ νόσος. [438] διαπεσὼν γὰρ εἰς αὐτὴν Ἰωνάθης, πονηρότατος ἄνθρωπος καὶ τὴν τέχνην ὑφάντης, οὐκ ὀλίγους τῶν ἀπόρων ἀνέπεισε προσέχειν αὐτῷ καὶ προήγαγεν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον σημεῖα καὶ φάσματα δείξειν ὑπισχνούμενος. [439] καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐλάνθανε ταῦτα διαπραττόμενος καὶ φενακίζων, οἱ δὲ τοῖς ἀξιώμασι προύχοντες τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Κυρήνης Ἰουδαίων τὴν ἔξοδον αὐτοῦ καὶ παρασκευὴν τῷ τῆς πενταπόλεως Λιβύης ἡγεμόνι Κατύλλῳ προσαγγέλλουσιν. [440] ὁ δ᾽ ἱππέας τε καὶ πεζοὺς ἀποστείλας ῥᾳδίως ἐκράτησεν ἀνόπλων, καὶ τὸ μὲν πλέον ἐν χερσὶν ἀπώλετο, τινὲς δὲ καὶ ζωγρηθέντες ἀνήχθησαν πρὸς τὸν Κάτυλλον. [441] ὁ δ᾽ ἡγεμὼν τοῦ βουλεύματος Ἰωνάθης τότε μὲν διέφυγε, πολλῆς δὲ καὶ λίαν ἐπιμελοῦς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν ζητήσεως γενομένης ἥλω, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἀναχθεὶς αὐτῷ μὲν ἐμηχανᾶτο τῆς τιμωρίας ἀπαλλαγήν, τῷ Κατύλλῳ δ᾽ ἔδωκεν ἀφορμὴν ἀδικημάτων. [442] ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔλεγε καταψευδόμενος διδασκάλους αὐτῷ τοῦ βουλεύματος γεγονέναι,

1. And now did the madness of the Sicarii, like a disease, reach as far as the cities of Cyrene; for one Jonathan, a vile person, and by trade a weaver, came thither and prevailed with no small number of the poorer sort to give ear to him; he also led them into the desert, upon promising them that he would show them signs and apparitions. And as for the other Jews of Cyrene, he concealed his knavery from them, and put tricks upon them; but those of the greatest dignity among them informed Catullus, the governor of the Libyan Pentapolis, of his march into the desert, and of the preparations he had made for it. So he sent out after him both horsemen and footmen, and easily overcame them, because they were unarmed men; of these many were slain in the fight, but some were taken alive, and brought to Catullus. As for Jonathan, the head of this plot, he fled away at that time; but upon a great and very diligent search, which was made all the country over for him, he was at last taken. And when he was brought to Catullus, he devised a way whereby he both escaped punishment himself, and afforded an occasion to Catullus of doing much mischief; for he falsely accused the richest men among the Jews, and said that they had put him upon what he did.

(2) [443] προθύμως δὲ τὰς διαβολὰς ἐκεῖνος ἐξεδέχετο καὶ τῷ πράγματι πολὺν ὄγκον περιετίθει μεγάλα προστραγῳδῶν, ἵνα δόξειε καὐτὸς Ἰουδαικόν τινα πόλεμον κατωρθωκέναι. [444] τὸ δὲ δὴ τούτου χαλεπώτερον, πρὸς γὰρ τῷ πιστεύειν ῥᾳδίως ἔτι καὶ διδάσκαλος ἦν τῶν σικαρίων τῆς ψευδολογίας: [445] κελεύσας γοῦν αὐτὸν ὀνομάσαι τινὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων Ἀλέξανδρον, ᾧ πάλαι

προσκεκρουκὼς φανερὸν ἐξενηνόχει τὸ μῖσος, τήν τε γυναῖκα τὴν ἐκείνου [Βερενίκην ταῖς αἰτίαις] συνεμπλέξας, τούτους μὲν πρῶτον ἀνεῖλεν, ἐπὶ δ' αὐτοῖς ἅπαντας τοὺς εὐπορίᾳ χρημάτων διαφέροντας ὁμοῦ τι χιλίους ἐφόνευσεν ἄνδρας: [446] καὶ ταῦτα πράττειν ἐνόμιζεν ἀσφαλῶς, ὅτι τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς τοῦ Καίσαρος προσόδους ἀνελάμβανεν.

2. Now Catullus easily admitted of these his calumnies, and aggravated matters greatly, and made tragical exclamations, that he might also be supposed to have had a hand in the finishing of the Jewish war. But what was still harder, he did not only give a too easy belief to his stories, but he taught the Sicarii to accuse men falsely. He bid this Jonathan, therefore, to name one Alexander, a Jew [with whom he had formerly had a quarrel, and openly professed that he hated him]; he also got him to name his wife Bernice, as concerned with him. These two Catullus ordered to be slain in the first place; nay, after them he caused all the rich and wealthy Jews to be slain, being no fewer in all than three thousand. This he thought he might do safely, because he confiscated their effects, and added them to Caesar's revenues.

(3) [447] Ὅπως δὲ μηδὲ ἀλλαχοῦ τινες τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐλέγξωσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀδικίαν, πορρωτέρω τὸ ψεῦδος ἐξέτεινε καὶ πείθει τὸν Ἰωνάθην καί τινας τῶν ἅμ' ἐκείνῳ συνειλημμένων νεωτερισμοῦ κατηγορίαν ἐπιφέρειν τοῖς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τε καὶ Ῥώμῃ τῶν Ἰουδαίων δοκιμωτάτοις. [448] τούτων εἷς τῶν ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς αἰτιαθέντων ἦν Ἰώσηπος ὁ ταῦτα συγγραψάμενος. [449] οὐ μὴν κατ' ἐλπίδα τῷ Κατύλλῳ τὸ σκευώρημα προεχώρησεν: ἦκε μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἄγων δεδεμένους καὶ πέρας ᾤετο τῆς ἐξετάσεως εἶναι τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ γενομένην ψευδολογίαν. [450] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὑποπτεύσας ἀναζητεῖ τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ γνοὺς ἄδικον τὴν αἰτίαν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐπενηνεγμένην τοὺς μὲν ἀφίησι τῶν ἐγκλημάτων Τίτου σπουδάσαντος, δίκην δ' ἐπέθηκεν Ἰωνάθῃ τὴν προσήκουσαν: ζῶν γὰρ κατεκαύθη πρότερον αἰκισθείς.

3. Nay, indeed, lest any Jews that lived elsewhere should convict him of his villainy, he extended his false accusations further, and persuaded Jonathan, and certain others that were caught with him, to bring an accusation of attempts for innovation against the Jews that were of the best character both at Alexandria and at Rome. One of these, against whom this treacherous accusation was laid, was Josephus, the writer of these books. However, this plot, thus contrived by Catullus, did not succeed according to his hopes; for though he came himself to Rome, and brought Jonathan and his companions along with him in bonds, and thought he should have had no further inquisition made as to those lies that were forged under his government, or by his means; yet did Vespasian suspect the

matter and made an inquiry how far it was true. And when he understood that the accusation laid against the Jews was an unjust one, he cleared them of the crimes charged upon them, and this on account of Titus's concern about the matter, and brought a deserved punishment upon Jonathan; for he was first tormented, and then burnt alive.

(4) [451] Κατύλλῳ δὲ τότε μὲν ὑπῆρξε διὰ τὴν πρᾳότητα τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων μηδὲν πλεῖον ὑπομεῖναι καταγνώσεως, οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν δὲ νόσῳ καταληφθεὶς πολυτρόπῳ καὶ δυσιάτῳ χαλεπῶς ἀπήλλαττεν, οὐ τὸ σῶμα μόνον κολαζόμενος, ἀλλ' ἦν ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῷ νόσος βαρυτέρα. [452] δείμασι γὰρ ἐξεταράττετο καὶ συνεχῶς ἐβόα βλέπειν εἴδωλα τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεφονευμένων ἐφεστηκότα: καὶ κατέχειν αὐτὸν οὐ δυνάμενος ἐξήλλετο τῆς εὐνῆς ὡς βασάνων αὐτῷ καὶ πυρὸς προσφερομένων. [453] τοῦ δὲ κακοῦ πολλὴν ἀεὶ τὴν ἐπίδοσιν λαμβάνοντος καὶ τῶν ἐντέρων αὐτῷ κατὰ διάβρωσιν ἐκπεσόντων, οὕτως ἀπέθανεν, οὐδενὸς ἧττον ἑτέρου τῆς προνοίας τοῦ θεοῦ τεκμήριον γενόμενος, ὅτι τοῖς πονηροῖς δίκην ἐπιτίθησιν.

4. But as to Catullus, the emperors were so gentle to him, that he underwent no severe condemnation at this time; yet was it not long before he fell into a complicated and almost incurable distemper, and died miserably. He was not only afflicted in body, but the distemper in his mind was more heavy upon him than the other; for he was terribly disturbed, and continually cried out that he saw the ghosts of those whom he had slain standing before him. Where upon he was not able to contain himself, but leaped out of his bed, as if both torments and fire were brought to him. This his distemper grew still a great deal worse and worse continually, and his very entrails were so corroded, that they fell out of his body, and in that condition he died. Thus he became as great an instance of Divine Providence as ever was, and demonstrated that God punishes wicked men.

(5) [454] Ἐνταῦθα τῆς ἱστορίας ἡμῖν τὸ πέρας ἐστίν, ἣν ἐπηγγειλάμεθα μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας παραδώσειν τοῖς βουλομένοις μαθεῖν, τίνα τρόπον οὗτος ὁ πόλεμος Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ἐπολεμήθη. [455] καὶ πῶς μὲν ἡρμήνευται, τοῖς ἀναγνωσομένοις κρίνειν ἀπολελείφθω, περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας δὲ οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμι θαρρῶν λέγειν, ὅτι μόνης ταύτης παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ἐστοχασάμην.

5. And here we shall put an end to this our history; wherein we formerly promised to deliver the same with all accuracy, to such as should be desirous of understanding after what manner this war of the Romans with the Jews was managed. Of which history, how good the style is, must be left to the determination of the readers; but as for its agreement with the facts, I shall not

scruple to say, and that boldly, that truth hath been what I have alone aimed at through its entire composition.

ANTIQUITIES

Praefatio

PREFACE.

(1) [1] Τοῖς τὰς ἱστορίας συγγράφειν βουλομένοις οὐ μίαν οὐδὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁρῶ τῆς σπουδῆς γινομένην αἰτίαν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς καὶ πλεῖστον ἀλλήλων διαφερούσας. [2] τινὲς μὲν γὰρ ἐπιδεικνύμενοι λόγων δεινότητα καὶ τὴν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς θηρευόμενοι δόξαν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τῆς παιδείας τὸ μέρος ὁρμῶσιν, ἄλλοι δὲ χάριν ἐκείνοις φέροντες, περὶ ὧν τὴν ἀναγραφὴν εἶναι συμβέβηκε, τὸν εἰς αὐτὴν πόνον καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν ὑπέστησαν: [3] εἰσὶ δ᾽ οἵτινες ἐβιάσθησαν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνάγκης οἷς πραττομένοις παρέτυχον ταῦτα γραφῇ δηλούσῃ περιλαβεῖν: πολλοὺς δὲ χρησίμων μέγεθος πραγμάτων ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ κειμένων προύτρεψε τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ἱστορίαν εἰς κοινὴν ὠφέλειαν ἐξενεγκεῖν. [4] τούτων δὴ τῶν προειρημένων αἰτιῶν αἱ τελευταῖαι δύο κἀμοὶ συμβεβήκασι: τὸν μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ἡμῖν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις γενόμενον καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ πράξεις καὶ τὸ τέλος οἷον ἀπέβη πείρᾳ μαθὼν ἐβιάσθην ἐκδιηγήσασθαι διὰ τοὺς ἐν τῷ γράφειν λυμαινομένους τὴν ἀλήθειαν,

1. Those who undertake to write histories, do not, I perceive, take that trouble on one and the same account, but for many reasons, and those such as are very different one from another. For some of them apply themselves to this part of learning to show their skill in composition, and that they may therein acquire a reputation for speaking finely: others of them there are, who write histories in order to gratify those that happen to be concerned in them, and on that account have spared no pains, but rather gone beyond their own abilities in the performance: but others there are, who, of necessity and by force, are driven to write history, because they are concerned in the facts, and so cannot excuse themselves from committing them to writing, for the advantage of posterity; nay, there are not a few who are induced to draw their historical facts out of darkness into light, and to produce them for the benefit of the public, on account of the great importance of the facts themselves with which they have been concerned. Now of these several reasons for writing history, I must profess the two last were my own reasons also; for since I was myself interested in that war which we Jews had with the Romans, and knew myself its particular actions, and what conclusion it had, I was forced to give the history of it, because I saw that others perverted the truth of those actions in their writings.

(2) [5] ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἐγκεχείρισμαι πραγματείαν νομίζων ἅπασι φανεῖσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀξίαν σπουδῆς: μέλλει γὰρ περιέξειν ἅπασαν τὴν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἀρχαιολογίαν καὶ διάταξιν τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἐκ τῶν Ἑβραι¨κῶν μεθηρμηνευμένην γραμμάτων. [6] ἤδη μὲν οὖν καὶ πρότερον διενοήθην, ὅτε τὸν πόλεμον συνέγραφον, δηλῶσαι τίνες ὄντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ τίσι χρησάμενοι τύχαις ὑφ᾽ οἵῳ τε παιδευθέντες νομοθέτῃ τὰ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἄσκησιν ἀρετῆς πόσους τε πολέμους ἐν μακροῖς πολεμήσαντες χρόνοις εἰς τὸν τελευταῖον ἄκοντες πρὸς Ῥωμαίους κατέστησαν. [7] ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειδὴ μείζων ἦν ἡ τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου περιβολή, κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον χωρίσας ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀρχαῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ τέλει τὴν γραφὴν συνεμέτρησα: χρόνου δὲ προι¨όντος, ὅπερ φιλεῖ τοῖς μεγάλων ἅπτεσθαι διανοουμένοις, ὄκνος μοι καὶ μέλλησις ἐγίνετο τηλικαύτην μετενεγκεῖν ὑπόθεσιν εἰς ἀλλοδαπὴν ἡμῖν καὶ ξένην διαλέκτου συνήθειαν. [8] ἦσαν δέ τινες, οἳ πόθῳ τῆς ἱστορίας ἐπ᾽ αὐτήν με προύτρεπον, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ πάντων Ἐπαφρόδιτος ἀνὴρ ἅπασαν μὲν ἰδέαν παιδείας ἠγαπηκώς, διαφερόντως δὲ χαίρων ἐμπειρίαις πραγμάτων, ἅτε δὴ μεγάλοις μὲν αὐτὸς ὁμιλήσας πράγμασι καὶ τύχαις πολυτρόποις, ἐν ἅπασι δὲ θαυμαστὴν φύσεως ἐπιδειξάμενος ἰσχὺν καὶ προαίρεσιν ἀρετῆς ἀμετακίνητον. [9] τούτῳ δὴ πειθόμενος ὡς αἰεὶ τοῖς χρήσιμον ἢ καλόν τι πράττειν δυναμένοις συμφιλοκαλοῦντι καὶ ἐμαυτὸν αἰσχυνόμενος, εἰ δόξαιμι ῥαθυμίᾳ πλέον ἢ τῷ περὶ τὰ κάλλιστα χαίρειν πόνῳ, προθυμότερον ἐπερρώσθην, ἔτι κἀκεῖνα πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις λογισάμενος οὐ παρέργως, περί τε τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων εἰ μεταδιδόναι τῶν τοιούτων ἤθελον, καὶ περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἴ τινες αὐτῶν γνῶναι τὰ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἐσπούδασαν.

2. Now I have undertaken the present work, as thinking it will appear to all the Greeks worthy of their study; for it will contain all our antiquities, and the constitution of our government, as interpreted out of the Hebrew Scriptures. And indeed I did formerly intend, when I wrote of the war, to explain who the Jews originally were, — what fortunes they had been subject to, — and by what legislature they had been instructed in piety, and the exercise of other virtues, — what wars also they had made in remote ages, till they were unwillingly engaged in this last with the Romans: but because this work would take up a great compass, I separated it into a set treatise by itself, with a beginning of its own, and its own conclusion; but in process of time, as usually happens to such as undertake great things, I grew weary and went on slowly, it being a large subject, and a difficult thing to translate our history into a foreign, and to us unaccustomed language. However, some persons there were who desired to know our history, and so exhorted me to go on with it; and, above all the rest, Epaphroditus, a man who is a lover of all kind of learning, but is principally

delighted with the knowledge of history, and this on account of his having been himself concerned in great affairs, and many turns of fortune, and having shown a wonderful rigor of an excellent nature, and an immovable virtuous resolution in them all. I yielded to this man's persuasions, who always excites such as have abilities in what is useful and acceptable, to join their endeavors with his. I was also ashamed myself to permit any laziness of disposition to have a greater influence upon me, than the delight of taking pains in such studies as were very useful: I thereupon stirred up myself, and went on with my work more cheerfully. Besides the foregoing motives, I had others which I greatly reflected on; and these were, that our forefathers were willing to communicate such things to others; and that some of the Greeks took considerable pains to know the affairs of our nation.

(3) [10] Εὗρον τοίνυν, ὅτι Πτολεμαίων μὲν ὁ δεύτερος μάλιστα δὴ βασιλεὺς περὶ παιδείαν καὶ βιβλίων συναγωγὴν σπουδάσας ἐξαιρέτως ἐφιλοτιμήθη τὸν ἡμέτερον νόμον καὶ τὴν κατ᾽ αὐτὸν διάταξιν τῆς πολιτείας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν μεταβαλεῖν, [11] ὁ δὲ τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἀρχιερέων οὐδενὸς ἀρετῇ δεύτερος Ἐλεάζαρος τῷ προειρημένῳ βασιλεῖ ταύτης ἀπολαῦσαι τῆς ὠφελείας οὐκ ἐφθόνησε πάντως ἀντειπὼν ἄν, εἰ μὴ πάτριον ἦν ἡμῖν τὸ μηδὲν ἔχειν τῶν καλῶν ἀπόρρητον. [12] κἀμαυτῷ δὴ πρέπειν ἐνόμισα τὸ μὲν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως μιμήσασθαι μεγαλόψυχον, τῷ βασιλεῖ δὲ πολλοὺς ὁμοίως ὑπολαβεῖν καὶ νῦν εἶναι φιλομαθεῖς: οὐδὲ γὰρ πᾶσαν ἐκεῖνος ἔφθη λαβεῖν τὴν ἀναγραφήν, ἀλλὰ μόνα τὰ τοῦ νόμου παρέδοσαν οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξήγησιν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν: [13] μυρία δ᾽ ἐστὶ τὰ δηλούμενα διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων, ἅτε δὴ πεντακισχιλίων ἐτῶν ἱστορίας ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐμπεριειλημμένης, καὶ παντοῖαι μέν εἰσι παράλογοι περιπέτειαι, πολλαὶ δὲ τύχαι πολέμων καὶ στρατηγῶν ἀνδραγαθίαι καὶ πολιτευμάτων μεταβολαί. [14] τὸ σύνολον δὲ μάλιστά τις ἂν ἐκ ταύτης μάθοι τῆς ἱστορίας ἐθελήσας αὐτὴν διελθεῖν, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν θεοῦ γνώμῃ κατακολουθοῦσι καὶ τὰ καλῶς νομοθετηθέντα μὴ τολμῶσι παραβαίνειν πάντα κατορθοῦται πέρα πίστεως καὶ γέρας εὐδαιμονία πρόκειται παρὰ θεοῦ: καθ᾽ ὅσον δ᾽ ἂν ἀποστῶσι τῆς τούτων ἀκριβοῦς ἐπιμελείας, ἄπορα μὲν γίνεται τὰ πόριμα, τρέπεται δὲ εἰς συμφορὰς ἀνηκέστους ὅ τι ποτ᾽ ἂν ὡς ἀγαθὸν δρᾶν σπουδάσωσιν, [15] ἤδη τοίνυν τοὺς ἐντευξομένους τοῖς βιβλίοις παρακαλῶ τὴν γνώμην θεῷ προσανέχειν καὶ δοκιμάζειν τὸν ἡμέτερον νομοθέτην, εἰ τήν τε φύσιν ἀξίως αὐτοῦ κατενόησε καὶ τῇ δυνάμει πρεπούσας ἀεὶ τὰς πράξεις ἀνατέθεικε πάσης καθαρὸν τὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ φυλάξας λόγον τῆς παρ᾽ ἄλλοις ἀσχήμονος μυθολογίας: [16] καίτοι γε ὅσον ἐπὶ μήκει χρόνου καὶ παλαιότητι πολλὴν εἶχεν ἄδειαν ψευδῶν πλασμάτων: γέγονε γὰρ πρὸ ἐτῶν δισχιλίων, ἐφ᾽ ὅσον πλῆθος αἰῶνος οὐδ᾽ αὐτῶν οἱ ποιηταὶ τὰς γενέσεις τῶν θεῶν, μήτι γε τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράξεις ἢ τοὺς νόμους

ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐτόλμησαν. [17] τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀκριβῆ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς προι¨ὼν ὁ λόγος κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν τάξιν σημανεῖ: τοῦτο γὰρ διὰ ταύτης ποιήσειν τῆς πραγματείας ἐπηγγειλάμην οὐδὲν προσθεὶς οὐδ' αὖ παραλιπών.

3. I found, therefore, that the second of the Ptolemies was a king who was extraordinarily diligent in what concerned learning, and the collection of books; that he was also peculiarly ambitious to procure a translation of our law, and of the constitution of our government therein contained, into the Greek tongue. Now Eleazar the high priest, one not inferior to any other of that dignity among us, did not envy the forenamed king the participation of that advantage, which otherwise he would for certain have denied him, but that he knew the custom of our nation was, to hinder nothing of what we esteemed ourselves from being communicated to others. Accordingly, I thought it became me both to imitate the generosity of our high priest, and to suppose there might even now be many lovers of learning like the king; for he did not obtain all our writings at that time; but those who were sent to Alexandria as interpreters, gave him only the books of the law, while there were a vast number of other matters in our sacred books. They, indeed, contain in them the history of five thousand years; in which time happened many strange accidents, many chances of war, and great actions of the commanders, and mutations of the form of our government. Upon the whole, a man that will peruse this history, may principally learn from it, that all events succeed well, even to an incredible degree, and the reward of felicity is proposed by God; but then it is to those that follow his will, and do not venture to break his excellent laws: and that so far as men any way apostatize from the accurate observation of them, what was practical before becomes impracticable and whatsoever they set about as a good thing, is converted into an incurable calamity. And now I exhort all those that peruse these books, to apply their minds to God; and to examine the mind of our legislator, whether he hath not understood his nature in a manner worthy of him; and hath not ever ascribed to him such operations as become his power, and hath not preserved his writings from those indecent fables which others have framed, although, by the great distance of time when he lived, he might have securely forged such lies; for he lived two thousand years ago; at which vast distance of ages the poets themselves have not been so hardy as to fix even the generations of their gods, much less the actions of their men, or their own laws. As I proceed, therefore, I shall accurately describe what is contained in our records, in the order of time that belongs to them; for I have already promised so to do throughout this undertaking; and this without adding any thing to what is therein contained, or taking away any thing therefrom.

(4) [18] Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντα σχεδὸν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ νομοθέτου σοφίας ἡμῖν ἀνήρτηται Μωυσέος, ἀνάγκη μοι βραχέα περὶ ἐκείνου προειπεῖν, ὅπως μή τινες τῶν ἀναγνωσομένων διαπορῶσι, πόθεν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος περὶ νόμων καὶ πράξεων ἔχων τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον φυσιολογίας κεκοινώνηκεν. [19] ἰστέον οὖν, ὅτι πάντων ἐκεῖνος ἀναγκαιότατον ἡγήσατο τῷ καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ μέλλοντι βίον οἰκονομήσειν καλῶς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νομοθετεῖν θεοῦ πρῶτον φύσιν κατανοῆσαι καὶ τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἐκείνου θεατὴν τῷ νῷ γενόμενον οὕτως παράδειγμα τὸ πάντων ἄριστον μιμεῖσθαι καθ᾽ ὅσον οἷόν τε καὶ πειρᾶσθαι κατακολουθεῖν. [20] οὔτε γὰρ αὐτῷ ποτ᾽ ἂν γενέσθαι νοῦν ἀγαθὸν τῷ νομοθέτῃ ταύτης ἀπολειπομένῳ τῆς θέας, οὔτε τῶν γραφησομένων εἰς ἀρετῆς λόγον οὐδὲν ἀποβήσεσθαι τοῖς λαβοῦσιν, εἰ μὴ πρὸ παντὸς ἄλλου διδαχθεῖεν, ὅτι πάντων πατήρ τε καὶ δεσπότης ὁ θεὸς ὢν καὶ πάντα ἐπιβλέπων τοῖς μὲν ἑπομένοις αὐτῷ δίδωσιν εὐδαίμονα βίον, τοὺς ἔξω δὲ βαίνοντας ἀρετῆς μεγάλαις περιβάλλει συμφοραῖς. [21] τοῦτο δὴ παιδεῦσαι βουληθεὶς Μωυσῆς τὸ παίδευμα τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ πολίτας τῆς τῶν νόμων θέσεως οὐκ ἀπὸ συμβολαίων καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους δικαίων ἤρξατο τοῖς ἄλλοις παραπλησίως, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου κατασκευὴν τὰς γνώμας αὐτῶν ἀναγαγὼν καὶ πείσας, ὅτι τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἔργων τοῦ θεοῦ κάλλιστόν ἐσμεν ἄνθρωποι, ὅτε πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἔσχεν ὑπακούοντας, ῥᾳδίως ἤδη περὶ πάντων ἔπειθεν. [22] οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι νομοθέται τοῖς μύθοις ἐξακολουθήσαντες τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἁμαρτημάτων εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς τῷ λόγῳ τὴν αἰσχύνην μετέθεσαν καὶ πολλὴν ὑποτίμησιν τοῖς πονηροῖς ἔδωκαν: [23] ὁ δ᾽ ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης ἀκραιφνῆ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχοντα τὸν θεὸν ἀποφήνας ᾠήθη δεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκείνης πειρᾶσθαι μεταλαμβάνειν καὶ τοὺς μὴ ταῦτα φρονοῦντας μηδὲ μὴν πιστεύοντας ἀπαραιτήτως ἐκόλασε. [24] πρὸς ταύτην οὖν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐξέτασιν τοὺς ἀναγνωσομένους παρακαλῶ: φανεῖται γὰρ σκοπουμένοις οὕτως οὐδὲν οὔτ᾽ ἄλογον αὐτοῖς οὔτε πρὸς τὴν μεγαλειότητα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν ἀνάρμοστον: πάντα γὰρ τῇ τῶν ὅλων φύσει σύμφωνον ἔχει τὴν διάθεσιν, τὰ μὲν αἰνιττομένου τοῦ νομοθέτου δεξιῶς, τὰ δ᾽ ἀλληγοροῦντος μετὰ σεμνότητος, ὅσα δ᾽ ἐξ εὐθείας λέγεσθαι συνέφερε, ταῦτα ῥητῶς ἐμφανίζοντος. [25] τοῖς μέντοι βουλομένοις καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἑκάστου σκοπεῖν πολλὴ γένοιτ᾽ ἂν ἡ θεωρία καὶ λίαν φιλόσοφος, ἣν ἐγὼ νῦν μὲν ὑπερβάλλομαι, θεοῦ δὲ διδόντος ἡμῖν χρόνον πειράσομαι μετὰ ταύτην γράψαι τὴν πραγματείαν. [26] τρέψομαι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀφήγησιν ἤδη τῶν πραγμάτων μνησθεὶς πρότερον ὧν περὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου κατασκευῆς εἶπε Μωυσῆς: ταῦτα δ᾽ ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις εὗρον ἀναγεγραμμένα. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως:

4. But because almost all our constitution depends on the wisdom of Moses, our legislator, I cannot avoid saying somewhat concerning him beforehand, though I shall do it briefly; I mean, because otherwise those that read my book may

wonder how it comes to pass, that my discourse, which promises an account of laws and historical facts, contains so much of philosophy. The reader is therefore to know, that Moses deemed it exceeding necessary, that he who would conduct his own life well, and give laws to others, in the first place should consider the Divine nature; and, upon the contemplation of God's operations, should thereby imitate the best of all patterns, so far as it is possible for human nature to do, and to endeavor to follow after it: neither could the legislator himself have a right mind without such a contemplation; nor would any thing he should write tend to the promotion of virtue in his readers; I mean, unless they be taught first of all, that God is the Father and Lord of all things, and sees all things, and that thence he bestows a happy life upon those that follow him; but plunges such as do not walk in the paths of virtue into inevitable miseries. Now when Moses was desirous to teach this lesson to his countrymen, he did not begin the establishment of his laws after the same manner that other legislators did; I mean, upon contracts and other rights between one man and another, but by raising their minds upwards to regard God, and his creation of the world; and by persuading them, that we men are the most excellent of the creatures of God upon earth. Now when once he had brought them to submit to religion, he easily persuaded them to submit in all other things: for as to other legislators, they followed fables, and by their discourses transferred the most reproachful of human vices unto the gods, and afforded wicked men the most plausible excuses for their crimes; but as for our legislator, when he had once demonstrated that God was possessed of perfect virtue, he supposed that men also ought to strive after the participation of it; and on those who did not so think, and so believe, he inflicted the severest punishments. I exhort, therefore, my readers to examine this whole undertaking in that view; for thereby it will appear to them, that there is nothing therein disagreeable either to the majesty of God, or to his love to mankind; for all things have here a reference to the nature of the universe; while our legislator speaks some things wisely, but enigmatically, and others under a decent allegory, but still explains such things as required a direct explication plainly and expressly. However, those that have a mind to know the reasons of every thing, may find here a very curious philosophical theory, which I now indeed shall wave the explication of; but if God afford me time for it, I will set about writing it after I have finished the present work. I shall now betake myself to the history before me, after I have first mentioned what Moses says of the creation of the world, which I find described in the sacred books after the manner following.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS

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PREFACE.

(1) [1] Τοῖς τὰς ἱστορίας συγγράφειν βουλομένοις οὐ μίαν οὐδὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁρῶ τῆς σπουδῆς γινομένην αἰτίαν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς καὶ πλεῖστον ἀλλήλων διαφερούσας. [2] τινὲς μὲν γὰρ ἐπιδεικνύμενοι λόγων δεινότητα καὶ τὴν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς θηρευόμενοι δόξαν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τῆς παιδείας τὸ μέρος ὁρμῶσιν, ἄλλοι δὲ χάριν ἐκείνοις φέροντες, περὶ ὧν τὴν ἀναγραφὴν εἶναι συμβέβηκε, τὸν εἰς αὐτὴν πόνον καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν ὑπέστησαν: [3] εἰσὶ δ᾽ οἵτινες ἐβιάσθησαν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνάγκης οἷς πραττομένοις παρέτυχον ταῦτα γραφῇ δηλούσῃ περιλαβεῖν: πολλοὺς δὲ χρησίμων μέγεθος πραγμάτων ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ κειμένων προύτρεψε τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ἱστορίαν εἰς κοινὴν ὠφέλειαν ἐξενεγκεῖν. [4] τούτων δὴ τῶν προειρημένων αἰτιῶν αἱ τελευταῖαι δύο κἀμοὶ συμβεβήκασι: τὸν μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ἡμῖν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις γενόμενον καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ πράξεις καὶ τὸ τέλος οἷον ἀπέβη πείρᾳ μαθὼν ἐβιάσθην ἐκδιηγήσασθαι διὰ τοὺς ἐν τῷ γράφειν λυμαινομένους τὴν ἀλήθειαν,

1. Those who undertake to write histories, do not, I perceive, take that trouble on one and the same account, but for many reasons, and those such as are very different one from another. For some of them apply themselves to this part of learning to show their skill in composition, and that they may therein acquire a reputation for speaking finely: others of them there are, who write histories in order to gratify those that happen to be concerned in them, and on that account have spared no pains, but rather gone beyond their own abilities in the performance: but others there are, who, of necessity and by force, are driven to write history, because they are concerned in the facts, and so cannot excuse themselves from committing them to writing, for the advantage of posterity; nay, there are not a few who are induced to draw their historical facts out of darkness into light, and to produce them for the benefit of the public, on account of the great importance of the facts themselves with which they have been concerned. Now of these several reasons for writing history, I must profess the two last were my own reasons also; for since I was myself interested in that war which we Jews had with the Romans, and knew myself its particular actions, and what conclusion it had, I was forced to give the history of it, because I saw that others perverted the truth of those actions in their writings.

(2) [5] ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἐγκεχείρισμαι πραγματείαν νομίζων ἅπασι φανεῖσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀξίαν σπουδῆς: μέλλει γὰρ περιέξειν ἅπασαν τὴν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἀρχαιολογίαν καὶ διάταξιν τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἐκ τῶν Ἑβραι¨κῶν μεθηρμηνευμένην γραμμάτων. [6] ἤδη μὲν οὖν καὶ πρότερον διενοήθην, ὅτε τὸν

πόλεμον συνέγραφον, δηλῶσαι τίνες ὄντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ τίσι χρησάμενοι τύχαις ὑφ᾽ οἵῳ τε παιδευθέντες νομοθέτῃ τὰ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἄσκησιν ἀρετῆς πόσους τε πολέμους ἐν μακροῖς πολεμήσαντες χρόνοις εἰς τὸν τελευταῖον ἄκοντες πρὸς Ῥωμαίους κατέστησαν. [7] ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειδὴ μείζων ἦν ἡ τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου περιβολή, κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον χωρίσας ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀρχαῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ τέλει τὴν γραφὴν συνεμέτρησα: χρόνου δὲ προι¨όντος, ὅπερ φιλεῖ τοῖς μεγάλων ἅπτεσθαι διανοουμένοις, ὄκνος μοι καὶ μέλλησις ἐγίνετο τηλικαύτην μετενεγκεῖν ὑπόθεσιν εἰς ἀλλοδαπὴν ἡμῖν καὶ ξένην διαλέκτου συνήθειαν. [8] ἦσαν δέ τινες, οἳ πόθῳ τῆς ἱστορίας ἐπ᾽ αὐτήν με προύτρεπον, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ πάντων Ἐπαφρόδιτος ἀνὴρ ἅπασαν μὲν ἰδέαν παιδείας ἠγαπηκώς, διαφερόντως δὲ χαίρων ἐμπειρίαις πραγμάτων, ἅτε δὴ μεγάλοις μὲν αὐτὸς ὁμιλήσας πράγμασι καὶ τύχαις πολυτρόποις, ἐν ἅπασι δὲ θαυμαστὴν φύσεως ἐπιδειξάμενος ἰσχὺν καὶ προαίρεσιν ἀρετῆς ἀμετακίνητον. [9] τούτῳ δὴ πειθόμενος ὡς αἰεὶ τοῖς χρήσιμον ἢ καλόν τι πράττειν δυναμένοις συμφιλοκαλοῦντι καὶ ἐμαυτὸν αἰσχυνόμενος, εἰ δόξαιμι ῥαθυμίᾳ πλέον ἢ τῷ περὶ τὰ κάλλιστα χαίρειν πόνῳ, προθυμότερον ἐπερρώσθην, ἔτι κἀκεῖνα πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις λογισάμενος οὐ παρέργως, περί τε τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων εἰ μεταδιδόναι τῶν τοιούτων ἤθελον, καὶ περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἴ τινες αὐτῶν γνῶναι τὰ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἐσπούδασαν.

2. Now I have undertaken the present work, as thinking it will appear to all the Greeks worthy of their study; for it will contain all our antiquities, and the constitution of our government, as interpreted out of the Hebrew Scriptures. And indeed I did formerly intend, when I wrote of the war, to explain who the Jews originally were, — what fortunes they had been subject to, — and by what legislature they had been instructed in piety, and the exercise of other virtues, — what wars also they had made in remote ages, till they were unwillingly engaged in this last with the Romans: but because this work would take up a great compass, I separated it into a set treatise by itself, with a beginning of its own, and its own conclusion; but in process of time, as usually happens to such as undertake great things, I grew weary and went on slowly, it being a large subject, and a difficult thing to translate our history into a foreign, and to us unaccustomed language. However, some persons there were who desired to know our history, and so exhorted me to go on with it; and, above all the rest, Epaphroditus, a man who is a lover of all kind of learning, but is principally delighted with the knowledge of history, and this on account of his having been himself concerned in great affairs, and many turns of fortune, and having shown a wonderful rigor of an excellent nature, and an immovable virtuous resolution in them all. I yielded to this man’s persuasions, who always excites such as have

abilities in what is useful and acceptable, to join their endeavors with his. I was also ashamed myself to permit any laziness of disposition to have a greater influence upon me, than the delight of taking pains in such studies as were very useful: I thereupon stirred up myself, and went on with my work more cheerfully. Besides the foregoing motives, I had others which I greatly reflected on; and these were, that our forefathers were willing to communicate such things to others; and that some of the Greeks took considerable pains to know the affairs of our nation.

(3) [10] Εὗρον τοίνυν, ὅτι Πτολεμαίων μὲν ὁ δεύτερος μάλιστα δὴ βασιλεὺς περὶ παιδείαν καὶ βιβλίων συναγωγὴν σπουδάσας ἐξαιρέτως ἐφιλοτιμήθη τὸν ἡμέτερον νόμον καὶ τὴν κατ᾽ αὐτὸν διάταξιν τῆς πολιτείας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν μεταβαλεῖν, [11] ὁ δὲ τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἀρχιερέων οὐδενὸς ἀρετῇ δεύτερος Ἐλεάζαρος τῷ προειρημένῳ βασιλεῖ ταύτης ἀπολαῦσαι τῆς ὠφελείας οὐκ ἐφθόνησε πάντως ἀντειπὼν ἄν, εἰ μὴ πάτριον ἦν ἡμῖν τὸ μηδὲν ἔχειν τῶν καλῶν ἀπόρρητον. [12] κἀμαυτῷ δὴ πρέπειν ἐνόμισα τὸ μὲν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως μιμήσασθαι μεγαλόψυχον, τῷ βασιλεῖ δὲ πολλοὺς ὁμοίως ὑπολαβεῖν καὶ νῦν εἶναι φιλομαθεῖς: οὐδὲ γὰρ πᾶσαν ἐκεῖνος ἔφθη λαβεῖν τὴν ἀναγραφήν, ἀλλὰ μόνα τὰ τοῦ νόμου παρέδοσαν οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξήγησιν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν: [13] μυρία δ᾽ ἐστὶ τὰ δηλούμενα διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων, ἅτε δὴ πεντακισχιλίων ἐτῶν ἱστορίας ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐμπεριειλημμένης, καὶ παντοῖαι μέν εἰσι παράλογοι περιπέτειαι, πολλαὶ δὲ τύχαι πολέμων καὶ στρατηγῶν ἀνδραγαθίαι καὶ πολιτευμάτων μεταβολαί. [14] τὸ σύνολον δὲ μάλιστά τις ἂν ἐκ ταύτης μάθοι τῆς ἱστορίας ἐθελήσας αὐτὴν διελθεῖν, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν θεοῦ γνώμῃ κατακολουθοῦσι καὶ τὰ καλῶς νομοθετηθέντα μὴ τολμῶσι παραβαίνειν πάντα κατορθοῦται πέρα πίστεως καὶ γέρας εὐδαιμονία πρόκειται παρὰ θεοῦ: καθ᾽ ὅσον δ᾽ ἂν ἀποστῶσι τῆς τούτων ἀκριβοῦς ἐπιμελείας, ἄπορα μὲν γίνεται τὰ πόριμα, τρέπεται δὲ εἰς συμφορὰς ἀνηκέστους ὅ τι ποτ᾽ ἂν ὡς ἀγαθὸν δρᾶν σπουδάσωσιν, [15] ἤδη τοίνυν τοὺς ἐντευξομένους τοῖς βιβλίοις παρακαλῶ τὴν γνώμην θεῷ προσανέχειν καὶ δοκιμάζειν τὸν ἡμέτερον νομοθέτην, εἰ τήν τε φύσιν ἀξίως αὐτοῦ κατενόησε καὶ τῇ δυνάμει πρεπούσας ἀεὶ τὰς πράξεις ἀνατέθεικε πάσης καθαρὸν τὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ φυλάξας λόγον τῆς παρ᾽ ἄλλοις ἀσχήμονος μυθολογίας: [16] καίτοι γε ὅσον ἐπὶ μήκει χρόνου καὶ παλαιότητι πολλὴν εἶχεν ἄδειαν ψευδῶν πλασμάτων: γέγονε γὰρ πρὸ ἐτῶν δισχιλίων, ἐφ᾽ ὅσον πλῆθος αἰῶνος οὐδ᾽ αὐτῶν οἱ ποιηταὶ τὰς γενέσεις τῶν θεῶν, μήτι γε τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράξεις ἢ τοὺς νόμους ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐτόλμησαν. [17] τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀκριβῆ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς προι¨ὼν ὁ λόγος κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν τάξιν σημανεῖ: τοῦτο γὰρ διὰ ταύτης ποιήσειν τῆς πραγματείας ἐπηγγειλάμην οὐδὲν προσθεὶς οὐδ᾽ αὖ παραλιπών.

3. I found, therefore, that the second of the Ptolemies was a king who was extraordinarily diligent in what concerned learning, and the collection of books; that he was also peculiarly ambitious to procure a translation of our law, and of the constitution of our government therein contained, into the Greek tongue. Now Eleazar the high priest, one not inferior to any other of that dignity among us, did not envy the forenamed king the participation of that advantage, which otherwise he would for certain have denied him, but that he knew the custom of our nation was, to hinder nothing of what we esteemed ourselves from being communicated to others. Accordingly, I thought it became me both to imitate the generosity of our high priest, and to suppose there might even now be many lovers of learning like the king; for he did not obtain all our writings at that time; but those who were sent to Alexandria as interpreters, gave him only the books of the law, while there were a vast number of other matters in our sacred books. They, indeed, contain in them the history of five thousand years; in which time happened many strange accidents, many chances of war, and great actions of the commanders, and mutations of the form of our government. Upon the whole, a man that will peruse this history, may principally learn from it, that all events succeed well, even to an incredible degree, and the reward of felicity is proposed by God; but then it is to those that follow his will, and do not venture to break his excellent laws: and that so far as men any way apostatize from the accurate observation of them, what was practical before becomes impracticable and whatsoever they set about as a good thing, is converted into an incurable calamity. And now I exhort all those that peruse these books, to apply their minds to God; and to examine the mind of our legislator, whether he hath not understood his nature in a manner worthy of him; and hath not ever ascribed to him such operations as become his power, and hath not preserved his writings from those indecent fables which others have framed, although, by the great distance of time when he lived, he might have securely forged such lies; for he lived two thousand years ago; at which vast distance of ages the poets themselves have not been so hardy as to fix even the generations of their gods, much less the actions of their men, or their own laws. As I proceed, therefore, I shall accurately describe what is contained in our records, in the order of time that belongs to them; for I have already promised so to do throughout this undertaking; and this without adding any thing to what is therein contained, or taking away any thing therefrom.

(4) [18] Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντα σχεδὸν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ νομοθέτου σοφίας ἡμῖν ἀνήρτηται Μωυσέος, ἀνάγκη μοι βραχέα περὶ ἐκείνου προειπεῖν, ὅπως μή τινες τῶν ἀναγνωσομένων διαπορῶσι, πόθεν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος περὶ νόμων καὶ πράξεων ἔχων

τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον φυσιολογίας κεκοινώνηκεν. [19] ἰστέον οὖν, ὅτι πάντων ἐκεῖνος ἀναγκαιότατον ἡγήσατο τῷ καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ μέλλοντι βίον οἰκονομήσειν καλῶς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νομοθετεῖν θεοῦ πρῶτον φύσιν κατανοῆσαι καὶ τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἐκείνου θεατὴν τῷ νῷ γενόμενον οὕτως παράδειγμα τὸ πάντων ἄριστον μιμεῖσθαι καθ' ὅσον οἷόν τε καὶ πειρᾶσθαι κατακολουθεῖν. [20] οὔτε γὰρ αὐτῷ ποτ' ἂν γενέσθαι νοῦν ἀγαθὸν τῷ νομοθέτῃ ταύτης ἀπολειπομένῳ τῆς θέας, οὔτε τῶν γραφησομένων εἰς ἀρετῆς λόγον οὐδὲν ἀποβήσεσθαι τοῖς λαβοῦσιν, εἰ μὴ πρὸ παντὸς ἄλλου διδαχθεῖεν, ὅτι πάντων πατήρ τε καὶ δεσπότης ὁ θεὸς ὢν καὶ πάντα ἐπιβλέπων τοῖς μὲν ἑπομένοις αὐτῷ δίδωσιν εὐδαίμονα βίον, τοὺς ἔξω δὲ βαίνοντας ἀρετῆς μεγάλαις περιβάλλει συμφοραῖς. [21] τοῦτο δὴ παιδεῦσαι βουληθεὶς Μωυσῆς τὸ παίδευμα τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ πολίτας τῆς τῶν νόμων θέσεως οὐκ ἀπὸ συμβολαίων καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους δικαίων ἤρξατο τοῖς ἄλλοις παραπλησίως, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου κατασκευὴν τὰς γνώμας αὐτῶν ἀναγαγὼν καὶ πείσας, ὅτι τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἔργων τοῦ θεοῦ κάλλιστόν ἐσμεν ἄνθρωποι, ὅτε πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἔσχεν ὑπακούοντας, ῥᾳδίως ἤδη περὶ πάντων ἔπειθεν. [22] οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι νομοθέται τοῖς μύθοις ἐξακολουθήσαντες τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἁμαρτημάτων εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς τῷ λόγῳ τὴν αἰσχύνην μετέθεσαν καὶ πολλὴν ὑποτίμησιν τοῖς πονηροῖς ἔδωκαν: [23] ὁ δ' ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης ἀκραιφνῆ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχοντα τὸν θεὸν ἀποφήνας ᾠήθη δεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκείνης πειρᾶσθαι μεταλαμβάνειν καὶ τοὺς μὴ ταῦτα φρονοῦντας μηδὲ μὴν πιστεύοντας ἀπαραιτήτως ἐκόλασε. [24] πρὸς ταύτην οὖν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐξέτασιν τοὺς ἀναγνωσομένους παρακαλῶ: φανεῖται γὰρ σκοπουμένοις οὕτως οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἄλογον αὐτοῖς οὔτε πρὸς τὴν μεγαλειότητα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν ἀνάρμοστον: πάντα γὰρ τῇ τῶν ὅλων φύσει σύμφωνον ἔχει τὴν διάθεσιν, τὰ μὲν αἰνιττομένου τοῦ νομοθέτου δεξιῶς, τὰ δ' ἀλληγοροῦντος μετὰ σεμνότητος, ὅσα δ' ἐξ εὐθείας λέγεσθαι συνέφερε, ταῦτα ῥητῶς ἐμφανίζοντος. [25] τοῖς μέντοι βουλομένοις καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἑκάστου σκοπεῖν πολλὴ γένοιτ' ἂν ἡ θεωρία καὶ λίαν φιλόσοφος, ἣν ἐγὼ νῦν μὲν ὑπερβάλλομαι, θεοῦ δὲ διδόντος ἡμῖν χρόνον πειράσομαι μετὰ ταύτην γράψαι τὴν πραγματείαν. [26] τρέψομαι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀφήγησιν ἤδη τῶν πραγμάτων μνησθεὶς πρότερον ὧν περὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου κατασκευῆς εἶπε Μωυσῆς: ταῦτα δ' ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις εὗρον ἀναγεγραμμένα. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως:

4. But because almost all our constitution depends on the wisdom of Moses, our legislator, I cannot avoid saying somewhat concerning him beforehand, though I shall do it briefly; I mean, because otherwise those that read my book may wonder how it comes to pass, that my discourse, which promises an account of laws and historical facts, contains so much of philosophy. The reader is therefore to know, that Moses deemed it exceeding necessary, that he who would conduct

his own life well, and give laws to others, in the first place should consider the Divine nature; and, upon the contemplation of God's operations, should thereby imitate the best of all patterns, so far as it is possible for human nature to do, and to endeavor to follow after it: neither could the legislator himself have a right mind without such a contemplation; nor would any thing he should write tend to the promotion of virtue in his readers; I mean, unless they be taught first of all, that God is the Father and Lord of all things, and sees all things, and that thence he bestows a happy life upon those that follow him; but plunges such as do not walk in the paths of virtue into inevitable miseries. Now when Moses was desirous to teach this lesson to his countrymen, he did not begin the establishment of his laws after the same manner that other legislators did; I mean, upon contracts and other rights between one man and another, but by raising their minds upwards to regard God, and his creation of the world; and by persuading them, that we men are the most excellent of the creatures of God upon earth. Now when once he had brought them to submit to religion, he easily persuaded them to submit in all other things: for as to other legislators, they followed fables, and by their discourses transferred the most reproachful of human vices unto the gods, and afforded wicked men the most plausible excuses for their crimes; but as for our legislator, when he had once demonstrated that God was possessed of perfect virtue, he supposed that men also ought to strive after the participation of it; and on those who did not so think, and so believe, he inflicted the severest punishments. I exhort, therefore, my readers to examine this whole undertaking in that view; for thereby it will appear to them, that there is nothing therein disagreeable either to the majesty of God, or to his love to mankind; for all things have here a reference to the nature of the universe; while our legislator speaks some things wisely, but enigmatically, and others under a decent allegory, but still explains such things as required a direct explication plainly and expressly. However, those that have a mind to know the reasons of every thing, may find here a very curious philosophical theory, which I now indeed shall wave the explication of; but if God afford me time for it, I will set about writing it after I have finished the present work. I shall now betake myself to the history before me, after I have first mentioned what Moses says of the creation of the world, which I find described in the sacred books after the manner following.

Liber I

Προοίμιον περὶ τῆς ὅλης πραγματείας

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας I

BOOK I. Containing The Interval Of Three Thousand Eight Hundred And Thirty-Three Years. — From The Creation To The Death Of Isaac.

I

CHAPTER 1. The Constitution Of The World And The Disposition Of The Elements.

(1) [27] Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἔκτισεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. ταύτης δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ὄψιν οὐκ ἐρχομένης, ἀλλὰ βαθεῖ μὲν κρυπτομένης σκότει, πνεύματος δ᾽ αὐτὴν ἄνωθεν ἐπιθέοντος, γενέσθαι φῶς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ θεός. [28] καὶ γενομένου τούτου κατανοήσας τὴν ὅλην ὕλην διεχώρισε τό τε φῶς καὶ τὸ σκότος καὶ τῷ μὲν ὄνομα ἔθετο νύκτα, τὸ δὲ ἡμέραν ἐκάλεσεν ἐσπέραν τε καὶ ὄρθρον τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν προσαγορεύσας. [29] καὶ αὕτη μὲν ἂν εἴη πρώτη ἡμέρα, Μωυσῆς δ᾽ αὐτὴν μίαν εἶπε: τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν ἱκανὸς μέν εἰμι ἀποδοῦναι καὶ νῦν, ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ὑπέσχημαι τὴν αἰτιολογίαν πάντων ἰδίᾳ συγγραψάμενος παραδώσειν, εἰς τότε καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτῆς ἑρμηνείαν ἀναβάλλομαι. [30] μετὰ δὴ τοῦτο τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν ἡμερῶν τὸν οὐρανὸν τοῖς ὅλοις ἐπιτίθησιν, ὅτ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων διακρίνας κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἠξίωσε τετάχθαι, κρύσταλλόν τε περιπήξας αὐτῷ καὶ νότιον αὐτὸν καὶ ὑετώδη πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν δρόσων ὠφέλειαν ἁρμοδίως τῇ γῇ μηχανησάμενος. [31] τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἵστησι τὴν γῆν ἀναχέας περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν θάλασσαν: κατ᾽ αὐτὴν δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν εὐθὺς φυτά τε καὶ σπέρματα γῆθεν ἀνέτειλε. τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ διακοσμεῖ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄστροις κινήσεις αὐτοῖς ἐπιστείλας καὶ δρόμους, οἷς ἂν αἱ τῶν ὡρῶν περιφοραὶ σημαίνοιντο. [32] πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ζῷά τε κατ᾽ αὐτὴν νηκτὰ καὶ μετάρσια τὰ μὲν κατὰ βάθους τὰ δὲ δι᾽ ἀέρος ἀνῆκε συνδησάμενος αὐτὰ κοινωνίᾳ καὶ μίξει γονῆς ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ συναύξεσθαι καὶ πλεονάζειν αὐτῶν τὴν φύσιν. τῇ δὲ ἕκτῃ ἡμέρᾳ δημιουργεῖ τὸ τῶν τετραπόδων γένος ἄρρεν τε καὶ θῆλυ ποιήσας: ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔπλασε. [33] καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἓξ ταῖς πάσαις ἡμέραις Μωυσῆς καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ φησὶ γενέσθαι, τῇ δὲ ἑβδόμῃ ἀναπαύσασθαι καὶ λαβεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων ἐκεχειρίαν, ὅθεν καὶ ἡμεῖς σχολὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πόνων κατὰ ταύτην ἄγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν προσαγορεύοντες αὐτὴν σάββατα: δηλοῖ δὲ ἀνάπαυσιν κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων διάλεκτον τοὔνομα.

1. In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. But when the earth did not come into sight, but was covered with thick darkness, and a wind moved upon its surface, God commanded that there should be light: and when that was made, he considered the whole mass, and separated the light and the darkness; and the name he gave to one was Night, and the other he called Day: and he named the beginning of light, and the time of rest, The Evening and The Morning, and this was indeed the first day. But Moses said it was one day; the cause of which I am able to give even now; but because I have promised to give such reasons for all things in a treatise by itself, I shall put off its exposition till

that time. After this, on the second day, he placed the heaven over the whole world, and separated it from the other parts, and he determined it should stand by itself. He also placed a crystalline [firmament] round it, and put it together in a manner agreeable to the earth, and fitted it for giving moisture and rain, and for affording the advantage of dews. On the third day he appointed the dry land to appear, with the sea itself round about it; and on the very same day he made the plants and the seeds to spring out of the earth. On the fourth day he adorned the heaven with the sun, the moon, and the other stars, and appointed them their motions and courses, that the vicissitudes of the seasons might be clearly signified. And on the fifth day he produced the living creatures, both those that swim, and those that fly; the former in the sea, the latter in the air: he also sorted them as to society and mixture, for procreation, and that their kinds might increase and multiply. On the sixth day he created the four-footed beasts, and made them male and female: on the same day he also formed man. Accordingly Moses says, That in just six days the world, and all that is therein, was made. And that the seventh day was a rest, and a release from the labor of such operations; whence it is that we Celebrate a rest from our labors on that day, and call it the Sabbath, which word denotes rest in the Hebrew tongue.

(2) [34] Καὶ δὴ καὶ φυσιολογεῖν Μωυσῆς μετὰ τὴν ἑβδόμην ἤρξατο περὶ τῆς τἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς λέγων οὕτως: ἔπλασεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον χοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς λαβών, καὶ πνεῦμα ἐνῆκεν αὐτῷ καὶ ψυχήν. ὁ δ' ἄνθρωπος οὗτος Ἄδαμος ἐκλήθη: σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ γλῶτταν τὴν Ἑβραίων πυρρόν, ἐπειδήπερ ἀπὸ τῆς πυρρᾶς γῆς φυραθείσης ἐγεγόνει: τοιαύτη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ παρθένος γῆ καὶ ἀληθινή. [35] παρίστησι δὲ ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἀδάμῳ κατὰ γένη τὰ ζῷα θῆλύ τε καὶ ἄρρεν ἀποδειξάμενος καὶ τούτοις ὀνόματα τίθησιν, οἷς ἔτι καὶ νῦν καλοῦνται. βλέπων δὲ τὸν Ἄδαμον οὐκ ἔχοντα κοινωνίαν πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ καὶ συνδιαίτησιν, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν, ξενιζόμενον δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῴοις οὕτως ἔχουσι, μίαν αὐτοῦ κοιμωμένου πλευρὰν ἐξελὼν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔπλασε γυναῖκα. [36] καὶ ὁ Ἄδαμος προσαχθεῖσαν αὐτὴν ἐγνώρισεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενομένην. ἔσσα δὲ καθ' Ἑβραίων διάλεκτον καλεῖται γυνή, τὸ δ' ἐκείνης ὄνομα τῆς γυναικὸς Εὔα ἦν: σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο πάντων μητέρα.

2. Moreover, Moses, after the seventh day was over begins to talk philosophically; and concerning the formation of man, says thus: That God took dust from the ground, and formed man, and inserted in him a spirit and a soul. This man was called Adam, which in the Hebrew tongue signifies one that is red, because he was formed out of red earth, compounded together; for of that kind is virgin and true earth. God also presented the living creatures, when he had made them, according to their kinds, both male and female, to Adam, who gave them

those names by which they are still called. But when he saw that Adam had no female companion, no society, for there was no such created, and that he wondered at the other animals which were male and female, he laid him asleep, and took away one of his ribs, and out of it formed the woman; whereupon Adam knew her when she was brought to him, and acknowledged that she was made out of himself. Now a woman is called in the Hebrew tongue Issa; but the name of this woman was Eve, which signifies the mother of all living.

(3) [37] Φησὶ δὲ τὸν θεὸν καὶ παράδεισον πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολὴν καταφυτεῦσαι παντοίῳ τεθηλότα φυτῷ: ἐν τούτοις δ᾽ εἶναι καὶ τῆς ζωῆς τὸ φυτὸν καὶ ἄλλο τὸ τῆς φρονήσεως, ᾗ διεγινώσκετο τί εἴη τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τί τὸ κακόν. [38] εἰς τοῦτον δὲ τὸν κῆπον εἰσαγαγόντα τόν τε Ἄδαμον καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα κελεῦσαι τῶν φυτῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. ἄρδεται δ᾽ οὗτος ὁ κῆπος ὑπὸ ἑνὸς ποταμοῦ πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν γῆν περιρρέοντος, ὃς εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη σχίζεται. καὶ Φεισὼν μέν, σημαίνει δὲ πληθὺν τοὔνομα, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν φερόμενος ἐκδίδωσιν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ὑφ᾽ Ἑλλήνων Γάγγης λεγόμενος, [39] Εὐφράτης δὲ καὶ Τίγρις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν ἀπίασι θάλασσαν: καλεῖται δὲ ὁ μὲν Εὐφράτης Φοράς, σημαίνει δὲ ἤτοι σκεδασμὸν ἢ ἄνθος, Τίγρις δὲ Διγλάθ, ἐξ οὗ φράζεται τὸ μετὰ στενότητος ὀξύ: Γηὼν δὲ διὰ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ῥέων δηλοῖ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐναντίας ἀναδιδόμενον ἡμῖν, ὃν δὴ Νεῖλον Ἕλληνες προσαγορεύουσιν.

3. Moses says further, that God planted a paradise in the east, flourishing with all sorts of trees; and that among them was the tree of life, and another of knowledge, whereby was to be known what was good and evil; and that when he brought Adam and his wife into this garden, he commanded them to take care of the plants. Now the garden was watered by one river, which ran round about the whole earth, and was parted into four parts. And Phison, which denotes a multitude, running into India, makes its exit into the sea, and is by the Greeks called Ganges. Euphrates also, as well as Tigris, goes down into the Red Sea. Now the name Euphrates, or Phrath, denotes either a dispersion, or a flower: by Tiris, or Diglath, is signified what is swift, with narrowness; and Geon runs through Egypt, and denotes what arises from the east, which the Greeks call Nile.

(4) [40] Ὁ δὴ τοίνυν θεὸς τὸν Ἄδαμον καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τῶν μὲν ἄλλων φυτῶν ἐκέλευε γεύεσθαι, τοῦ δὲ τῆς φρονήσεως ἀπέχεσθαι, προειπὼν ἁψαμένοις ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ὄλεθρον γενησόμενον. [41] ὁμοφωνούντων δὲ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ τῶν ζῴων ἁπάντων ὄφις συνδιαιτώμενος τῷ τε Ἀδάμῳ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ φθονερῶς μὲν εἶχεν ἐφ᾽ οἷς αὐτοὺς εὐδαιμονήσειν ᾤετο πεπεισμένους τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ παραγγέλμασιν, [42] οἰόμενος δὲ συμφορᾷ περιπεσεῖσθαι παρακούσαντας

ἀναπείθει κακοήθως τὴν γυναῖκα γεύσασθαι τοῦ φυτοῦ τῆς φρονήσεως ἐν αὐτῷ λέγων εἶναι τήν τε τἀγαθοῦ καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ διάγνωσιν, ἧς γενομένης αὐτοῖς μακάριον καὶ μηδὲν ἀπολείποντα τοῦ θείου διάξειν βίον. [43] καὶ παρακρούεται μὲν οὕτω τὴν γυναῖκα τῆς ἐντολῆς τοῦ θεοῦ καταφρονῆσαι: γευσαμένη δὲ τοῦ φυτοῦ καὶ ἡσθεῖσα τῷ ἐδέσματι καὶ τὸν Ἄδαμον ἀνέπεισεν αὐτῷ χρήσασθαι. [44] καὶ συνίεσάν τε αὐτῶν ἤδη γεγυμνωμένων καὶ τὴν αἰσχύνην ὕπαιθρον ἔχοντες σκέπην αὐτοῖς ἐπενόουν: τὸ γὰρ φυτὸν ὀξύτητος καὶ διανοίας ὑπῆρχε. φύλλοις οὖν ἑαυτοὺς συκῆς ἐσκέπασαν καὶ ταῦτα πρὸ τῆς αἰδοῦς προβαλόμενοι μᾶλλον ἐδόκουν εὐδαιμονεῖν ὡς ὧν πρότερον ἐσπάνιζον εὑρόντες. [45] τοῦ θεοῦ δ’ εἰς τὸν κῆπον ἐλθόντος ὁ μὲν Ἄδαμος πρότερον εἰς ὁμιλίαν αὐτῷ φοιτῶν συνειδὼς αὐτῷ τὴν ἀδικίαν ὑπεχώρει, τὸν δὲ θεὸν ἐξένιζε τὸ πραττόμενον καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπυνθάνετο, δι’ ἣν πρότερον ἡδόμενος τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁμιλίᾳ νῦν φεύγει ταύτην καὶ περιίσταται. [46] τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν φθεγγομένου διὰ τὸ συγγινώσκειν ἑαυτῷ παραβάντι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόσταξιν “ἀλλ’ ἐμοὶ μέν, εἶπεν ὁ θεός, ἔγνωστο περὶ ὑμῶν, ὅπως βίον εὐδαίμονα καὶ κακοῦ παντὸς ἀπαθῆ βιώσετε μηδεμιᾷ ξαινόμενοι τὴν ψυχὴν φροντίδι, πάντων δ’ ὑμῖν αὐτομάτων ὅσα πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ ἡδονὴν συντελεῖ κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνιόντων πρόνοιαν χωρὶς ὑμετέρου πόνου καὶ ταλαιπωρίας, ὧν παρόντων γῆράς τε θᾶττον οὐκ ἂν ἐπέλθοι καὶ τὸ ζῆν ὑμῖν μακρὸν γένοιτο. [47] νῦν δ’ εἰς ταύτην μου τὴν γνώμην ἐνύβρισας παρακούσας τῶν ἐμῶν ἐντολῶν: οὐ γὰρ ἐπ’ ἀρετῇ τὴν σιωπὴν ἄγεις, [48] ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ συνειδότι πονηρῷ.” Ἄδαμος δὲ παρῃτεῖτο τῆς ἁμαρτίας αὐτὸν καὶ παρεκάλει τὸν θεὸν μὴ χαλεπαίνειν αὐτῷ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ γεγονότος αἰτιώμενος καὶ λέγων ὑπ’ αὐτῆς ἐξαπατηθεὶς ἁμαρτεῖν, ἡ δ’ αὖ κατηγόρει τοῦ ὄφεως. [49] ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἧττονα γυναικείας συμβουλίας αὐτὸν γενόμενον ὑπετίθει τιμωρίᾳ, τὴν γῆν οὐκέτι μὲν οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀναδώσειν αὐτομάτως εἰπών, πονοῦσι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τριβομένοις τὰ μὲν παρέξειν, τῶν δ’ οὐκ ἀξιώσειν. Εὔαν δὲ τοκετοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐξ ὠδίνων ἀλγηδόσιν ἐκόλαζεν, ὅτι τὸν Ἄδαμον οἷς αὐτὴν ὁ ὄφις ἐξηπάτησε τούτοις παρακρουσαμένη συμφοραῖς περιέβαλεν. [50] ἀφείλετο δὲ καὶ τὸν ὄφιν τὴν φωνὴν ὀργισθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ κακοηθείᾳ τῇ πρὸς τὸν Ἄδαμον καὶ ἰὸν ἐντίθησιν ὑπὸ τὴν γλῶτταν αὐτῷ πολέμιον ἀποδείξας ἀνθρώποις καὶ ὑποθέμενος κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς φέρειν τὰς πληγάς, ὡς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τοῦ τε κακοῦ τοῦ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους κειμένου καὶ τῆς τελευτῆς ῥᾴστης τοῖς ἀμυνομένοις ἐσομένης, ποδῶν τε αὐτὸν ἀποστερήσας σύρεσθαι κατὰ τῆς γῆς ἰλυσπώμενον ἐποίησε. [51] καὶ ὁ μὲν θεὸς ταῦτα προστάξας αὐτοῖς πάσχειν μετοικίζει τὸν Ἄδαμον καὶ τὴν Εὔαν ἐκ τοῦ κήπου εἰς ἕτερον χωρίον.

4. God therefore commanded that Adam and his wife should eat of all the rest of the plants, but to abstain from the tree of knowledge; and foretold to them, that if they touched it, it would prove their destruction. But while all the living

creatures had one language, at that time the serpent, which then lived together with Adam and his wife, shewed an envious disposition, at his supposal of their living happily, and in obedience to the commands of God; and imagining, that when they disobeyed them, they would fall into calamities, he persuaded the woman, out of a malicious intention, to taste of the tree of knowledge, telling them, that in that tree was the knowledge of good and evil; which knowledge, when they should obtain, they would lead a happy life; nay, a life not inferior to that of a god: by which means he overcame the woman, and persuaded her to despise the command of God. Now when she had tasted of that tree, and was pleased with its fruit, she persuaded Adam to make use of it also. Upon this they perceived that they were become naked to one another; and being ashamed thus to appear abroad, they invented somewhat to cover them; for the tree sharpened their understanding; and they covered themselves with fig-leaves; and tying these before them, out of modesty, they thought they were happier than they were before, as they had discovered what they were in want of. But when God came into the garden, Adam, who was wont before to come and converse with him, being conscious of his wicked behavior, went out of the way. This behavior surprised God; and he asked what was the cause of this his procedure; and why he, that before delighted in that conversation, did now fly from it, and avoid it. When he made no reply, as conscious to himself that he had transgressed the command of God, God said, "I had before determined about you both, how you might lead a happy life, without any affliction, and care, and vexation of soul; and that all things which might contribute to your enjoyment and pleasure should grow up by my providence, of their own accord, without your own labor and pains-taking; which state of labor and pains-taking would soon bring on old age, and death would not be at any remote distance: but now thou hast abused this my good-will, and hast disobeyed my commands; for thy silence is not the sign of thy virtue, but of thy evil conscience." However, Adam excused his sin, and entreated God not to be angry at him, and laid the blame of what was done upon his wife; and said that he was deceived by her, and thence became an offender; while she again accused the serpent. But God allotted him punishment, because he weakly submitted to the counsel of his wife; and said the ground should not henceforth yield its fruits of its own accord, but that when it should be harassed by their labor, it should bring forth some of its fruits, and refuse to bring forth others. He also made Eve liable to the inconveniency of breeding, and the sharp pains of bringing forth children; and this because she persuaded Adam with the same arguments wherewith the serpent had persuaded her, and had thereby brought him into a calamitous condition. He also deprived the serpent of speech, out of indignation at his malicious disposition towards Adam. Besides this, he

inserted poison under his tongue, and made him an enemy to men; and suggested to them, that they should direct their strokes against his head, that being the place wherein lay his mischievous designs towards men, and it being easiest to take vengeance on him, that way. And when he had deprived him of the use of his feet, he made him to go rolling all along, and dragging himself upon the ground. And when God had appointed these penalties for them, he removed Adam and Eve out of the garden into another place.

II

CHAPTER 2. Concerning The Posterity Of Adam, And The Ten Generations From Him To The Deluge.

(1) [52] Γίνονται δὲ αὐτοῖς παῖδες ἄρρενες δύο: προσηγορεύετο δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος Κάις, κτίσιν δὲ σημαίνει τοῦτο μεθερμηνευόμενον τοὔνομα, Ἄβελος δὲ ὁ δεύτερος, σημαίνει δὲ οὐθὲν τοῦτο: [53] γίνονται δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ θυγατέρες. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀδελφοὶ διαφόροις ἔχαιρον ἐπιτηδεύμασιν: Ἄβελος μὲν γὰρ ὁ νεώτερος δικαιοσύνης ἐπεμελεῖτο καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πραττομένοις παρεῖναι τὸν θεὸν νομίζων ἀρετῆς προενόει, ποιμενικὸς δ᾽ ἦν ὁ βίος αὐτῷ: Κάις δὲ τά τε ἄλλα πονηρότατος ἦν καὶ πρὸς τὸ κερδαίνειν μόνον ἀποβλέπων γῆν τε ἀροῦν ἐπενόησε πρῶτος καὶ κτείνει δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας: [54] θῦσαι τῷ θεῷ δόξαν αὐτοῖς ὁ μὲν Κάις τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γεωργίας καὶ φυτῶν καρποὺς ἐπήνεγκεν, Ἄβελος δὲ γάλα καὶ τὰ πρωτότοκα τῶν βοσκημάτων. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ταύτῃ μᾶλλον ἥδεται τῇ θυσίᾳ τοῖς αὐτομάτοις καὶ κατὰ φύσιν γεγονόσι τιμώμενος, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχὶ τοῖς κατ᾽ ἐπίνοιαν ἀνθρώπου πλεονέκτου βίᾳ πεφυκόσιν. [55] ἔνθεν ὁ Κάις παροξυνθεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ προτετιμῆσθαι τὸν Ἄβελον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κτείνει τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν αὐτοῦ ποιήσας ἀφανῆ λήσειν ὑπέλαβεν. ὁ δὲ θεὸς συνεὶς τὸ ἔργον ἦκε πρὸς τὸν Κάιν περὶ τἀδελφοῦ πυνθανόμενος, ποῖ ποτ᾽ εἴη: πολλῶν γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἰδεῖν ἡμερῶν τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον πάντα μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ βλέπων αὐτὸν ἀναστρεφόμενον. [56] ὁ δὲ Κάις ἀπορούμενος καὶ οὐκ ἔχων ὅ τι λέγοι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀμηχανεῖν μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφασκε τὸ πρῶτον ἐπὶ τἀδελφῷ μὴ βλεπομένῳ, παροξυνθεὶς δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ λιπαρῶς ἐγκειμένου καὶ πολυπραγμονοῦντος οὐκ εἶναι παιδαγωγὸς καὶ φύλαξ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πραττομένων ἔλεγεν. [57] ὁ δὲ θεὸς τοὐντεῦθεν ἤλεγχεν ἤδη τὸν Κάιν φονέα τἀδελφοῦ γενόμενον καί “θαυμάζω, φησίν, εἰ περὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀγνοεῖς εἰπεῖν τί γέγονεν, [58] ὃν αὐτὸς ἀπολώλεκας.” τῆς μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τιμωρίας αὐτὸν ἠφίει θυσίαν ἐπιτελέσαντα καὶ δι᾽ αὐτῆς ἱκετεύσαντα μὴ λαβεῖν ὀργὴν αὐτῷ χαλεπωτέραν, ἐπάρατον δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐτίθει καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ τιμωρήσεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἑβδόμην ἠπείλησε γενεάν, καὶ τῆς γῆς αὐτὸν ἐκείνης ἐκβάλλει σὺν τῇ γυναικί. [59] τοῦ δὲ μὴ θηρίοις ἁλώμενος περιπέσῃ δεδιότος καὶ τοῦτον ἀπόληται τὸν τρόπον, ἐκέλευε μηδὲν ὑφορᾶσθαι σκυθρωπὸν ἀπὸ τοιαύτης αἰτίας, ἀλλ᾽ ἕνεκα τοῦ μηδὲν αὐτῷ ἐκ θηρίων γενέσθαι δεινὸν διὰ πάσης ἀδεῶς χωρεῖν γῆς: καὶ σημεῖον ἐπιβαλών, ᾧ γνώριμος ἂν εἴη, προσέταξεν ἀπιέναι.

1. Adam and Eve had two sons: the elder of them was named Cain; which name, when it is interpreted, signifies a possession: the younger was Abel, which signifies sorrow. They had also daughters. Now the two brethren were pleased with different courses of life: for Abel, the younger, was a lover of

righteousness; and believing that God was present at all his actions, he excelled in virtue; and his employment was that of a shepherd. But Cain was not only very wicked in other respects, but was wholly intent upon getting; and he first contrived to plough the ground. He slew his brother on the occasion following: — They had resolved to sacrifice to God. Now Cain brought the fruits of the earth, and of his husbandry; but Abel brought milk, and the first-fruits of his flocks: but God was more delighted with the latter oblation, when he was honored with what grew naturally of its own accord, than he was with what was the invention of a covetous man, and gotten by forcing the ground; whence it was that Cain was very angry that Abel was preferred by God before him; and he slew his brother, and hid his dead body, thinking to escape discovery. But God, knowing what had been done, came to Cain, and asked him what was become of his brother, because he had not seen him of many days; whereas he used to observe them conversing together at other times. But Cain was in doubt with himself, and knew not what answer to give to God. At first he said that he was himself at a loss about his brother's disappearing; but when he was provoked by God, who pressed him vehemently, as resolving to know what the matter was, he replied, he was not his brother's guardian or keeper, nor was he an observer of what he did. But, in return, God convicted Cain, as having been the murderer of his brother; and said, "I wonder at thee, that thou knowest not what is become of a man whom thou thyself hast destroyed." God therefore did not inflict the punishment [of death] upon him, on account of his offering sacrifice, and thereby making supplication to him not to be extreme in his wrath to him; but he made him accursed, and threatened his posterity in the seventh generation. He also cast him, together with his wife, out of that land. And when he was afraid that in wandering about he should fall among Wild beasts, and by that means perish, God bid him not to entertain such a melancholy suspicion, and to go over all the earth without fear of what mischief he might suffer from wild beasts; and setting a mark upon him, that he might be known, he commanded him to depart.

(2) [60] Πολλὴν δ' ἐπελθὼν γῆν ἱδρύεται μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς Κάις Ναί¨δα τόπον οὕτω καλούμενον καὶ αὐτόθι ποιεῖται τὴν κατοίκησιν, ἔνθ' αὐτῷ καὶ παῖδες ἐγένοντο: οὐκ ἐπὶ νουθεσίᾳ δὲ τὴν κόλασιν ἔλαβεν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐξήσει τῆς κακίας, ἡδονὴν μὲν πᾶσαν ἐκπορίζων αὐτοῦ τῷ σώματι, κἂν μεθ' ὕβρεως τῶν συνόντων δέῃ ταύτην ἔχειν: [61] αὔξων δὲ τὸν οἶκον πλήθει χρημάτων ἐξ ἁρπαγῆς καὶ βίας πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ λῃστείαν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας παρακαλῶν διδάσκαλος αὐτοῖς ὑπῆρχε πονηρῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, καὶ τὴν ἀπραγμοσύνην, ᾗ πρότερον συνέζων οἱ ἄνθρωποι, μέτρων ἐπινοίᾳ καὶ σταθμῶν μετεστήσατο ἀκέραιον αὐτοῖς ὄντα τὸν βίον ἐκ τῆς τούτων ἀμαθίας καὶ μεγαλόψυχον εἰς πανουργίαν περιαγαγών, [62]

ὅρους τε γῆς πρῶτος ἔθετο καὶ πόλιν ἐδείματο καὶ τείχεσιν ὠχύρωσεν εἰς ταὐτὸν συνελθεῖν τοὺς οἰκείους καταναγκάσας. καὶ τὴν πόλιν δὲ ταύτην ἀπὸ Ἀνώχου τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου παιδὸς Ἄνωχαν ἐκάλεσεν. [63] Ἀνώχου δὲ Ἰαράδης υἱὸς ἦν, ἐκ δὲ τούτου Μαρουῆλος, οὗ γίνεται παῖς Μαθουσάλας, τοῦ δὲ Λάμεχος, ᾧ παῖδες ὑπῆρξαν ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἐκ δύο γυναικῶν αὐτῷ φύντες Σελλᾶς καὶ Ἄδας. [64] τούτων Ἰώβηλος μὲν ἐξ Ἄδας γεγονὼς σκηνὰς ἐπήξατο καὶ προβατείαν ἠγάπησεν, Ἰούβαλος δέ, ὁμομήτριος δ' ἦν αὐτῷ, μουσικὴν ἤσκησε καὶ ψαλτήρια καὶ κιθάρας ἐπενόησεν, Ἰουβῆλος δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρας γεγονότων ἰσχύι πάντας ὑπερβαλὼν τὰ πολεμικὰ διαπρεπῶς μετῆλθεν ἐκ τούτων καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν τοῦ σώματος ἐκπορίζων, χαλκείαν τε πρῶτος ἐπενόησεν. [65] πατὴρ δὲ θυγατρὸς γενόμενος ὁ Λάμεχος Νοεμᾶς ὄνομα, ἐπεὶ τὰ θεῖα σαφῶς ἐξεπιστάμενος ἑώρα δίκην αὐτὸν ὑφέξοντα τῆς Κάιος ἀδελφοκτονίας μείζονα, τοῦτο ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ γυναιξὶν ἐποίησε φανερόν. [66] ἔτι δὲ ζῶντος Ἀδάμου Κάιος τοὺς ἐγγόνους πονηροτάτους συνέβη γενέσθαι κατὰ διαδοχὴν καὶ μίμησιν ἄλλον ἄλλου χείρονα τελευτῶντα: πρός τε γὰρ πολέμους εἶχον ἀκρατῶς καὶ πρὸς λῃστείαν ὡρμήκεσαν, ἄλλος δ' εἴ τις ὀκνηρὸς ἦν πρὸς τὸ φονεύειν, ἄλλην ἀπόνοιαν ἦν θράσους ὑβρίζων καὶ πλεονεκτῶν.

2. And when Cain had traveled over many countries, he, with his wife, built a city, named Nod, which is a place so called, and there he settled his abode; where also he had children. However, he did not accept of his punishment in order to amendment, but to increase his wickedness; for he only aimed to procure every thing that was for his own bodily pleasure, though it obliged him to be injurious to his neighbors. He augmented his household substance with much wealth, by rapine and violence; he excited his acquaintance to procure pleasures and spoils by robbery, and became a great leader of men into wicked courses. He also introduced a change in that way of simplicity wherein men lived before; and was the author of measures and weights. And whereas they lived innocently and generously while they knew nothing of such arts, he changed the world into cunning craftiness. He first of all set boundaries about lands: he built a city, and fortified it with walls, and he compelled his family to come together to it; and called that city Enoch, after the name of his eldest son Enoch. Now Jared was the son of Enoch; whose son was Malaliel; whose son was Mathusela; whose son was Lamech; who had seventy-seven children by two wives, Silla and Ada. Of those children by Ada, one was Jabal: he erected tents, and loved the life of a shepherd. But Jubal, who was born of the same mother with him, exercised himself in music; and invented the psaltery and the harp. But Tubal, one of his children by the other wife, exceeded all men in strength, and was very expert and famous in martial performances. He procured what tended

to the pleasures of the body by that method; and first of all invented the art of making brass. Lamech was also the father of a daughter, whose name was Naamah. And because he was so skillful in matters of divine revelation, that he knew he was to be punished for Cain's murder of his brother, he made that known to his wives. Nay, even while Adam was alive, it came to pass that the posterity of Cain became exceeding wicked, every one successively dying, one after another, more wicked than the former. They were intolerable in war, and vehement in robberies; and if any one were slow to murder people, yet was he bold in his profligate behavior, in acting unjustly, and doing injuries for gain.

(3) [67] Ἄδαμος δὲ ὁ πρῶτος ἐκ γῆς γενόμενος, ἀπαιτεῖ γὰρ ἡ διήγησις τὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον, Ἀβέλου μὲν ἐσφαγμένου, Κάιος δὲ διὰ τὸν ἐκείνου φόνον πεφευγότος, παιδοποιίας ἐφρόντιζε, καὶ δεινὸς εἶχεν αὐτὸν γενέσεως ἔρως ἔτη τριάκοντ᾽ ἤδη καὶ διακόσια ἠνυκότα τοῦ βίου, πρὸς οἷς ἕτερα ζήσας ἑπτακόσια τελευτᾷ. [68] γίνονται μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ παῖδες ἄλλοι τε πλείους καὶ Σῆθος: ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων μακρὸν ἂν εἴη λέγειν, πειράσομαι δὲ μόνα τὰ τῶν ἀπὸ Σήθου διελθεῖν: τραφεὶς γὰρ οὗτος καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς ἡλικίαν ἤδη καλὰ κρίνειν δυναμένην καὶ γενόμενος αὐτὸς ἄριστος μιμητὰς τῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀπογόνους κατέλιπεν. [69] οἱ δὲ πάντες ἀγαθοὶ φύντες γῆν τε τὴν αὐτὴν ἀστασίαστοι κατῴκησαν εὐδαιμονήσαντες μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς ἄχρι καὶ τελευτῆς δυσκόλου προσπεσόντος, σοφίαν τε τὴν περὶ τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τὴν τούτων διακόσμησιν ἐπενόησαν. [70] ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ μὴ διαφυγεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰ ηὑρημένα μηδὲ πρὶν εἰς γνῶσιν ἐλθεῖν φθαρῆναι, προειρηκότος ἀφανισμὸν Ἀδάμου τῶν ὅλων ἔσεσθαι τὸν μὲν κατ᾽ ἰσχὺν πυρὸς τὸν ἕτερον δὲ κατὰ βίαν καὶ πλῆθος ὕδατος, στήλας δύο ποιησάμενοι τὴν μὲν ἐκ πλίνθου τὴν ἑτέραν δὲ ἐκ λίθων ἀμφοτέραις ἐνέγραψαν τὰ εὑρημένα, [71] ἵνα καὶ τῆς πλινθίνης ἀφανισθείσης ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπομβρίας ἡ λιθίνη μείνασα παράσχῃ μαθεῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα δηλοῦσα καὶ πλινθίνην ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀνατεθῆναι. μένει δ᾽ ἄχρι δεῦρο κατὰ γῆν τὴν Σειρίδα.

3. Now Adam, who was the first man, and made out of the earth, [for our discourse must now be about him,] after Abel was slain, and Cain fled away, on account of his murder, was solicitous for posterity, and had a vehement desire of children, he being two hundred and thirty years old; after which time he lived other seven hundred, and then died. He had indeed many other children, but Seth in particular. As for the rest, it would be tedious to name them; I will therefore only endeavor to give an account of those that proceeded from Seth. Now this Seth, when he was brought up, and came to those years in which he could discern what was good, became a virtuous man; and as he was himself of an excellent character, so did he leave children behind him who imitated his virtues.

All these proved to be of good dispositions. They also inhabited the same country without dissensions, and in a happy condition, without any misfortunes falling upon them, till they died. They also were the inventors of that peculiar sort of wisdom which is concerned with the heavenly bodies, and their order. And that their inventions might not be lost before they were sufficiently known, upon Adam's prediction that the world was to be destroyed at one time by the force of fire, and at another time by the violence and quantity of water, they made two pillars, the one of brick, the other of stone: they inscribed their discoveries on them both, that in case the pillar of brick should be destroyed by the flood, the pillar of stone might remain, and exhibit those discoveries to mankind; and also inform them that there was another pillar of brick erected by them. Now this remains in the land of Siriad to this day.

III

CHAPTER 3. Concerning The Flood; And After What Manner Noah Was Saved In An Ark, With His Kindred, And Afterwards Dwelt In The Plain Of Shinar.

(1) [72] Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἑπτὰ γενεὰς διέμειναν θεὸν ἡγούμενοι δεσπότην εἶναι τῶν ὅλων καὶ πάντα πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀποβλέποντες, εἶτα προϊόντος χρόνου μεταβάλλονται πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ἐκ τῶν πατρίων ἐθισμῶν μήτε τὰς νενομισμένας τιμὰς ἔτι τῷ θεῷ παρέχοντες μήτε τοῦ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους δικαίου ποιούμενοι λόγον, ἀλλ᾽ ἣν πρότερον εἶχον τῆς ἀρετῆς ζήλωσιν διπλασίονα τῆς κακίας τότ᾽ ἐπιδεικνύμενοι δι᾽ ὧν ἔπραττον: ἔνθεν ἑαυτοῖς τὸν θεὸν ἐξεπολέμωσαν. [73] πολλοὶ γὰρ ἄγγελοι θεοῦ γυναιξὶ συνιόντες ὑβριστὰς ἐγέννησαν παῖδας καὶ παντὸς ὑπερόπτας καλοῦ διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ δυνάμει πεποίθησιν: ὅμοια τοῖς ὑπὸ γιγάντων τετολμῆσθαι λεγομένοις ὑφ᾽ Ἑλλήνων καὶ οὗτοι δράσαι παραδίδονται. [74] Νῶχος δὲ τοῖς πραττομένοις ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν δυσχεραίνων καὶ τοῖς βουλεύμασιν ἀηδῶς ἔχων ἔπειθεν ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς πράξεις μεταφέρειν, ὁρῶν δ᾽ οὐκ ἐνδιδόντας, ἀλλ᾽ ἰσχυρῶς ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς τῶν κακῶν κεκρατημένους, δείσας μὴ καὶ φονεύσωσιν αὐτὸν μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων καὶ τῶν τούτοις συνοικουσῶν ἐξεχώρησε τῆς γῆς.

1. Now this posterity of Seth continued to esteem God as the Lord of the universe, and to have an entire regard to virtue, for seven generations; but in process of time they were perverted, and forsook the practices of their forefathers; and did neither pay those honors to God which were appointed them, nor had they any concern to do justice towards men. But for what degree of zeal they had formerly shown for virtue, they now showed by their actions a double degree of wickedness, whereby they made God to be their enemy. For many angels of God accompanied with women, and begat sons that proved unjust, and despisers of all that was good, on account of the confidence they had in their own strength; for the tradition is, that these men did what resembled the acts of those whom the Grecians call giants. But Noah was very uneasy at what they did; and being displeased at their conduct, persuaded them to change their dispositions and their acts for the better: but seeing they did not yield to him, but were slaves to their wicked pleasures, he was afraid they would kill him, together with his wife and children, and those they had married; so he departed out of that land.

(2) [75] Ὁ δὲ θεὸς τοῦτον μὲν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἠγάπησε, κατεδίκαζε δ᾽ οὐκ ἐκείνων μόνων τῆς κακίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶν ὅσον ἦν ἀνθρώπινον τότε δόξαν αὐτῷ διαφθεῖραι καὶ ποιῆσαι γένος ἕτερον πονηρίας καθαρόν, ἐπιτεμόμενος αὐτῶν τὸν βίον καὶ ποιήσας ἐτῶν οὐχ ὅσα πρότερον ἔζων, ἀλλ᾽ ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν, εἰς θάλασσαν τὴν ἤπειρον μετέβαλε. [76] καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἀφανίζονται πάντες, Νῶχος δὲ σώζεται μόνος ὑποθεμένου μηχανὴν αὐτῷ καὶ πόρον πρὸς σωτηρίαν τοῦ θεοῦ τοιαύτην: [77] λάρνακα τετράστεγον κατασκευάσας πηχῶν τὸ μῆκος τριακοσίων πεντήκοντα δὲ τὸ πλάτος καὶ τριάκοντα τὸ βάθος, εἰς ταύτην σὺν τῇ μητρὶ τῶν παίδων καὶ ταῖς τούτων γυναιξὶν ἀνέβη, τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐπικουρήσειν αὐτοῖς ἔμελλεν ἐνθέμενος, ζῷά τε παντοῖα πρὸς διατήρησιν τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν ἄρρενάς τε καὶ θηλείας συνεισβαλόμενος ἄλλα τε τούτων ἐπταπλασίονα τὸν ἀριθμόν. [78] ἦν δ᾽ ἡ λάρναξ τούς τε τοίχους καρτερὰ καὶ τὸν ὄροφον, ὡς μηδαμόθεν ἐπικλύζεσθαι μηδ᾽ ἡττᾶσθαι τῆς τοῦ ὕδατος βίας. καὶ Νῶχος μὲν οὕτως μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων διασώζεται. [79] ἦν δ᾽ αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπὸ Ἀδάμου δέκατος: Λαμέχου γάρ ἐστιν υἱός, οὗ πατὴρ ἦν Μαθουσάλας, οὗτος δὲ ἦν τοῦ Ἀνώχου τοῦ Ἰαρέδου, Μαλαήλου δὲ Ἰάρεδος ἐγεγόνει, ὃς ἐκ Καϊ̈νᾶ τεκνοῦται τοῦ Ἀνώσου σὺν ἀδελφαῖς πλείοσιν, Ἄνωσος δὲ Σήθου υἱὸς ἦν τοῦ Ἀδάμου:

2. Now God loved this man for his righteousness: yet he not only condemned those other men for their wickedness, but determined to destroy the whole race of mankind, and to make another race that should be pure from wickedness; and cutting short their lives, and making their years not so many as they formerly lived, but one hundred and twenty only, he turned the dry land into sea; and thus were all these men destroyed: but Noah alone was saved; for God suggested to him the following contrivance and way of escape: — That he should make an ark of four stories high, three hundred cubits long, fifty cubits broad, and thirty cubits high. Accordingly he entered into that ark, and his wife, and sons, and their wives, and put into it not only other provisions, to support their wants there, but also sent in with the rest all sorts of living creatures, the male and his female, for the preservation of their kinds; and others of them by sevens. Now this ark had firm walls, and a roof, and was braced with cross beams, so that it could not be any way drowned or overborne by the violence of the water. And thus was Noah, with his family, preserved. Now he was the tenth from Adam, as being the son of Lamech, whose father was Mathusela; he was the son of Enoch, the son of Jared; and Jared was the son of Malaleel, who, with many of his sisters, were the children of Cainan, the son of Enos. Now Enos was the son of Seth, the son of Adam.

(3) [80] Συνέβη δὲ τοῦτο τὸ πάθος κατὰ τὸ ἑξακοσιοστὸν ἔτος ἤδη Νώχου τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐν μηνὶ δευτέρῳ Δίῳ μὲν ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων λεγομένῳ, Μαρσουάνῃ δ᾽ ὑπὸ

Ἑβραίων: οὕτω γὰρ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἦσαν διατεταχότες. [81] Μωυσῆς δὲ τὸν Νισᾶν, ὅς ἐστι Ξανθικός, μῆνα πρῶτον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑορταῖς ὥρισε κατὰ τοῦτον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοὺς Ἑβραίους προαγαγών: οὗτος δ' αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς ἁπάσας τὰς εἰς τὸ θεῖον τιμὰς ἦρχεν, ἐπὶ μέντοι γε πράσεις καὶ ὠνὰς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην διοίκησιν τὸν πρῶτον κόσμον διεφύλαξε: τὴν δ' ἐπομβρίαν ἄρξασθαί φησιν ἑβδόμῃ τοῦ προειρημένου μηνὸς καὶ εἰκάδι. [82] χρόνος δὲ οὗτος ἀπὸ Ἀδάμου τοῦ πρώτου γεγονότος ἐτῶν ὑπῆρχε δισχιλίων διακοσίων ἑξηκονταδύο. ἀναγέγραπται δὲ ὁ χρόνος ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις σημειουμένων μετὰ πολλῆς ἀκριβείας τῶν τότε καὶ τὰς γενέσεις τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὰς τελευτάς.

3. This calamity happened in the six hundredth year of Noah's government, [age,] in the second month, called by the Macedonians Dius, but by the Hebrews Marchesuan: for so did they order their year in Egypt. But Moses appointed that ú Nisan, which is the same with Xanthicus, should be the first month for their festivals, because he brought them out of Egypt in that month: so that this month began the year as to all the solemnities they observed to the honor of God, although he preserved the original order of the months as to selling and buying, and other ordinary affairs. Now he says that this flood began on the twenty-seventh [seventeenth] day of the forementioned month; and this was two thousand six hundred and fifty-six [one thousand six hundred and fifty-six] years from Adam, the first man; and the time is written down in our sacred books, those who then lived having noted down, with great accuracy, both the births and deaths of illustrious men.

(4) [83] Ἀδάμῳ μὲν τριακοστῷ ἤδη καὶ διακοσιοστῷ ἔτει γεγονότι παῖς Σῆθος γίνεται, ὃς ἐνακόσια καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη ἐβίωσε. Σῆθος δὲ κατὰ πέμπτον καὶ διακοσιοστὸν ἔτος ἐγέννησεν Ἄνωσον, ὃς πέντε ζήσας ἔτη καὶ ἐνακόσια Καϊ¨νᾷ τῷ παιδὶ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν δίδωσι τεκνώσας αὐτὸν περὶ ἐνενηκοστὸν καὶ ἑκατοστὸν ἔτος: οὗτος ἐβίωσεν ἔτη δώδεκα πρὸς τοῖς ἐνακοσίοις. [84] Καϊ¨νᾶς δὲ βιοὺς δέκα καὶ ἐνακόσια Μαλαῆλον υἱὸν ἔσχεν ἔτει γενόμενον ἑβδομηκοστῷ καὶ ἑκατοστῷ. οὗτος ὁ Μαλαῆλος ζήσας πέντε καὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ ὀκτακόσια ἔτη ἐτελεύτησεν Ἰάρεδον καταλιπὼν υἱόν, ὃν ἔτος πέμπτον ἑξηκοστὸν καὶ ἑκατοστὸν γενόμενος ἐγέννησε. [85] τοῦτον εἰς ἐννέα καὶ ἑξήκοντα πρὸς τοῖς ἐνακοσίοις βιώσαντα Ἄνωχος υἱὸς διαδέχεται γεννηθεὶς περὶ ἔτη δύο καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ τυγχάνοντος. οὗτος ζήσας πέντε καὶ ἑξήκοντα πρὸς τοῖς τριακοσίοις ἀνεχώρησε πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, ὅθεν οὐδὲ τελευτὴν αὐτοῦ ἀναγεγράφασι. [86] Μαθουσάλας δὲ Ἀνώχου παῖς κατὰ ἔτος αὐτῷ γεγονὼς πέμπτον καὶ ἑξηκοστὸν καὶ ἑκατοστὸν Λάμεχον υἱὸν ἔσχε περὶ ἔτη γεγονὼς ἑπτὰ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, ᾧ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρέδωκεν αὐτὸς αὐτὴν κατασχὼν ἐννέα καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἐνακοσίοις. [87] Λάμεχος δὲ ἄρξας ἑπτὰ καὶ

ἑπτακοσίοις ἔτεσι Νῶχον τῶν πραγμάτων ἀποδείκνυσι προστάτην υἱόν, ὃς Λαμέχῳ γενόμενος ὄγδοον καὶ ὀγδοηκοστὸν καὶ ἑκατοστὸν ἔτος ἠνυκότι πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐνακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ἦρξε τῶν πραγμάτων. [88] ταῦτα συναγόμενα τὰ ἔτη τὸν προαναγεγραμμένον πληροῖ χρόνον. ἐξεταζέτω δὲ μηδεὶς τὰς τελευτὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τοῖς γὰρ αὐτῶν παισὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνων ἀπογόνοις παρεξέτεινον τὸν βίον, ἀλλὰ τὰς γενέσεις αὐτῶν μόνον ὁράτω.

4. For indeed Seth was born when Adam was in his two hundred and thirtieth year, who lived nine hundred and thirty years. Seth begat Enos in his two hundred and fifth year; who, when he had lived nine hundred and twelve years, delivered the government to Cainan his son, whom he had in his hundred and ninetieth year. He lived nine hundred and five years. Cainan, when he had lived nine hundred and ten years, had his son Malaleel, who was born in his hundred and seventieth year. This Malaleel, having lived eight hundred and ninety-five years, died, leaving his son Jared, whom he begat when he was in his hundred and sixty-fifth year. He lived nine hundred and sixty-two years; and then his son Enoch succeeded him, who was born when his father was one hundred and sixty-two years old. Now he, when he had lived three hundred and sixty-five years, departed and went to God; whence it is that they have not written down his death. Now Mathusela, the son of Enoch, who was born to him when he was one hundred and sixty-five years old, had Lamech for his son when he was one hundred and eighty-seven years of age; to whom he delivered the government, when he had retained it nine hundred and sixty-nine years. Now Lamech, when he had governed seven hundred and seventy-seven years, appointed Noah, his son, to be ruler of the people, who was born to Lamech when he was one hundred and eighty-two years old, and retained the government nine hundred and fifty years. These years collected together make up the sum before set down. But let no one inquire into the deaths of these men; for they extended their lives along together with their children and grandchildren; but let him have regard to their births only.

(5) [89] Ἐπισημήναντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὕειν ἀρξαμένου τὸ ὕδωρ ἡμέραις τεσσαράκοντα ὅλαις κατεφέρετο, ὡς ἐπὶ πήχεις πεντεκαίδεκα τὴν γῆν ὑπερέχειν. καὶ τοῦτο ἦν τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ μὴ διασωθῆναι πλείονας φυγῆς ἀφορμὴν οὐκ ἔχοντας. [90] παυσαμένου δὲ τοῦ ὑετοῦ μόλις ἤρξατο ὑποβαίνειν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα, ὡς μηνὶ ἑβδόμῳ, ἱσταμένου δὲ ἦν ἑβδόμη, κατ᾽ ὀλίγον ὑπονοστεῖν ἀπολήγοντος. ἔπειτα τῆς λάρνακος περὶ ἄκραν τινὰ ὄρους σταθείσης κατὰ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν συνεὶς ὁ Νῶχος ἀνοίγει τ᾽ αὐτὴν καὶ θεασάμενος γῆν βραχεῖαν περὶ αὐτὴν ἐπὶ χρηστοτέρας ἤδη γεγονὼς ἐλπίδος ἠρέμει. [91] ὀλίγαις δ᾽ ὕστερον ἡμέραις μᾶλλον ὑποχωροῦντος τοῦ ὕδατος μεθίησι κόρακα

βουλόμενος μαθεῖν, εἴ τι καὶ ἄλλο τῆς γῆς ἐκλελειμμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀσφαλές ἐστιν ἤδη πρὸς ἔκβασιν: ὁ δὲ πᾶσαν εὑρὼν ἔτι λιμναζομένην πρὸς Νῶχον ἐπανῆλθε. μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ περιστερὰν ἐπὶ τῷ γνῶναι τὰ περὶ τὴν γῆν προύπεμψεν: [92] ἐπανελθούσης δὲ πεπηλωμένης ἅμα καὶ θαλλὸν ἐλαίας κομιζούσης, μαθὼν τὴν γῆν ἀπηλλαγμένην τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ μείνας ἄλλας ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας τά τε ζῷα τῆς λάρνακος ἐξαφίησιν αὐτός τε μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς προελθὼν καὶ θύσας τῷ θεῷ συνευωχεῖτο τοῖς οἰκείοις. ἀποβατήριον μέντοι τὸν τόπον τοῦτον Ἀρμένιοι καλοῦσιν: ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἀνασωθείσης τῆς λάρνακος ἔτι νῦν αὐτῆς τὰ λείψανα ἐπιδεικνύουσι.

5. When God gave the signal, and it began to rain, the water poured down forty entire days, till it became fifteen cubits higher than the earth; which was the reason why there was no greater number preserved, since they had no place to fly to. When the rain ceased, the water did but just begin to abate after one hundred and fifty days, [that is, on the seventeenth day of the seventh month,] it then ceasing to subside for a little while. After this, the ark rested on the top of a certain mountain in Armenia; which, when Noah understood, he opened it; and seeing a small piece of land about it, he continued quiet, and conceived some cheerful hopes of deliverance. But a few days afterward, when the water was decreased to a greater degree, he sent out a raven, as desirous to learn whether any other part of the earth were left dry by the water, and whether he might go out of the ark with safety; but the raven, finding all the land still overflowed, returned to Noah again. And after seven days he sent out a dove, to know the state of the ground; which came back to him covered with mud, and bringing an olive branch: hereby Noah learned that the earth was become clear of the flood. So after he had staid seven more days, he sent the living creatures out of the ark; and both he and his family went out, when he also sacrificed to God, and feasted with his companions. However, the Armenians call this place, [GREEK] The Place of Descent; for the ark being saved in that place, its remains are shown there by the inhabitants to this day.

(6) [93] Τοῦ δὲ κατακλυσμοῦ τούτου καὶ τῆς λάρνακος μέμνηνται πάντες οἱ τὰς βαρβαρικὰς ἱστορίας ἀναγεγραφότες, ὧν ἐστι Βηρωσὸς ὁ Χαλδαῖος: διηγούμενος γὰρ τὰ περὶ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν οὕτως που διέξεισι: "λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοῦ πλοίου ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει τῶν Κορδυαίων ἔτι μέρος τι εἶναι καὶ κομίζειν τινὰς τῆς ἀσφάλτου ἀφαιροῦντας: χρῶνται δ' οἱ ἄνθρωποι τῷ κομιζομένῳ [94] πρὸς τοὺς ἀποτροπιασμούς." μέμνηται δὲ τούτων καὶ Ἱερώνυμος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ὁ τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν τὴν Φοινικικὴν συγγραψάμενος καὶ Μνασέας δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους, καὶ Νικόλαος δὲ ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς ἐν τῇ ἐνενηκοστῇ καὶ ἕκτῃ βίβλῳ ἱστορεῖ περὶ αὐτῶν λέγων οὕτως: [95] "ἔστιν ὑπὲρ τὴν Μινυάδα μέγα ὄρος

κατὰ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν Βάρις λεγόμενον, εἰς ὃ πολλοὺς συμφυγόντας ἐπὶ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ λόγος ἔχει περισωθῆναι καί τινα ἐπὶ λάρνακος ὀχούμενον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρώρειαν ὀκεῖλαι καὶ τὰ λείψανα τῶν ξύλων ἐπὶ πολὺ σωθῆναι. γένοιτο δ' ἂν οὗτος, ὅντινα καὶ Μωυσῆς ἀνέγραψεν ὁ Ἰουδαίων νομοθέτης."

6. Now all the writers of barbarian histories make mention of this flood, and of this ark; among whom is Berosus the Chaldean. For when he is describing the circumstances of the flood, he goes on thus: "It is said there is still some part of this ship in Armenia, at the mountain of the Cordyaeans; and that some people carry off pieces of the bitumen, which they take away, and use chiefly as amulets for the averting of mischiefs." Hieronymus the Egyptian also, who wrote the Phoenician Antiquities, and Mnaseas, and a great many more, make mention of the same. Nay, Nicolaus of Damascus, in his ninety-sixth book, hath a particular relation about them; where he speaks thus: "There is a great mountain in Armenia, over Minyas, called Baris, upon which it is reported that many who fled at the time of the Deluge were saved; and that one who was carried in an ark came on shore upon the top of it; and that the remains of the timber were a great while preserved. This might be the man about whom Moses the legislator of the Jews wrote."

(7) [96] Νῶχος δὲ φοβούμενος, μὴ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἐπικλύζῃ τὴν γῆν ὁ θεὸς φθορὰν ἀνθρώπων καταψηφισάμενος, ἱερὰ καύσας ἐδεῖτο τὸν θεὸν τοῦ λοιποῦ ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης μένειν εὐταξίας καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι τοιοῦτον ἐπενεγκεῖν πάθος, ὑφ' οὗ κινδυνεύσει πᾶν ἀπολέσθαι τὸ τῶν ζῴων γένος, ἀλλὰ τετιμωρημένον τοὺς πονηροὺς φειδὼ ποιεῖσθαι τῶν διὰ χρηστότητα περιλειφθέντων καὶ τὸ δεινὸν διαφυγεῖν κεκριμένων: [97] κακοδαιμονεστέρους γὰρ ἐκείνων ἔσεσθαι καὶ χείρω κακίαν καταδικασθέντας, εἰ μὴ πρὸς τὸ παντελὲς εἶεν σεσωσμένοι, τηρηθεῖεν δ' ἑτέρῳ κατακλυσμῷ, τοῦ μὲν πρώτου τὸν φόβον καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν μαθόντες τοῦ δευτέρου δὲ τὴν ἀπώλειαν. [98] εὐμενῶς τε οὖν αὐτὸν προσδέχεσθαι τὴν θυσίαν παρεκάλει καὶ μηδεμίαν ὀργὴν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ὁμοίαν βαλεῖν, ὅπως ἔργοις τε τοῖς ταύτης προσλιπαροῦντες καὶ πόλεις ἀναστήσαντες εὐδαιμόνως ζῆν ἔχοιεν καὶ μηδενὸς ὦν καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐπομβρίας ἀπέλαυον ὑστερῶσιν ἀγαθῶν, εἰς μακρὸν αὐτῶν γῆρας καὶ βίου μῆκος ὅμοιον τοῖς τάχιον ἐπερχομένων.

7. But as for Noah, he was afraid, since God had determined to destroy mankind, lest he should drown the earth every year; so he offered burnt-offerings, and besought God that nature might hereafter go on in its former orderly course, and that he would not bring on so great a judgment any more, by which the whole race of creatures might be in danger of destruction: but that, having now punished the wicked, he would of his goodness spare the remainder, and such as

he had hitherto judged fit to be delivered from so severe a calamity; for that otherwise these last must be more miserable than the first, and that they must be condemned to a worse condition than the others, unless they be suffered to escape entirely; that is, if they be reserved for another deluge; while they must be afflicted with the terror and sight of the first deluge, and must also be destroyed by a second. He also entreated God to accept of his sacrifice, and to grant that the earth might never again undergo the like effects of ‘his wrath; that men might be permitted to go on cheerfully in cultivating the same; to build cities, and live happily in them; and that they might not be deprived of any of those good things which they enjoyed before the Flood; but might attain to the like length of days, and old age, which the ancient people had arrived at before.

(8) [99] Νώχου δὲ ταύτας ποιησαμένου τὰς ἱκετείας ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀγαπῶν ἐπένευεν αὐτῷ τὰς εὐχὰς εἰς τέλος ἄξειν, οὔτε τοὺς διεφθαρμένους λέγων αὐτὸς ἀπολέσαι, κακίᾳ δὲ τῇ οἰκείᾳ ταύτην αὐτοὺς ὑποσχεῖν τὴν δίκην, οὔτ’ ἄν, εἰ γενομένους ἀνθρώπους ἀφανίσαι διεγνώκει, παραγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν βίον, [100] σῶφρον γὰρ εἶναι τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς μηδὲ χαρίσασθαι τὸ ζῆν ἢ δόντα τοῦτο διαφθείρειν: ἀλλ’ οἷς ἐξύβριζον εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ ἀρετήν, τούτοις ἐξεβιάσαντό με ταύτην αὐτοῖς ἐπιθεῖναι τὴν δίκην. [101] παύσομαι δὲ τοῦ λοιποῦ μετὰ τοσαύτης ὀργῆς τὰς τιμωρίας ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν εἰσπραττόμενος καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον σοῦ παρακαλοῦντος. εἰ δ’ ἐπὶ πλέον ποτὲ χειμάσαιμι, μὴ δείσητε τῶν ὄμβρων τὸ μέγεθος: οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τὴν γῆν ἐπικλύσει τὸ ὕδωρ. [102] παραινῶ μέντοι σφαγῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ καθαρεύειν φόνου τοὺς δράσαντάς τι τοιοῦτον κολάζοντας, χρῆσθαι δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῴοις ἅπασι πρὸς ἃ βούλεσθε καὶ τὰς ὀρέξεις ἔχετε. δεσπότας γὰρ ἁπάντων ὑμᾶς εἶναι πεποίηκα τῶν τε χερσαίων καὶ νηκτῶν καὶ ὅσα τὴν μετάρσιον αἰώραν ἔχει καὶ φοράν, χωρὶς αἵματος: ἐν τούτῳ γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ψυχή. [103] σημανῶ δὲ ὑμῖν παῦλαν ἐσομένην τοξείᾳ τῇ ἐμῇ” τὴν ἶριν ἀποσημαίνων: τόξον γὰρ εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ παρὰ τοῖς ἐκεῖ νενόμισται. καὶ ὁ μὲν θεὸς ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν καὶ ὑποσχόμενος ἀπαλλάσσεται.

8. When Noah had made these supplications, God, who loved the man for his righteousness, granted entire success to his prayers, and said, that it was not he who brought the destruction on a polluted world, but that they underwent that vengeance on account of their own wickedness; and that he had not brought men into the world if he had himself determined to destroy them, it being an instance of greater wisdom not to have granted them life at all, than, after it was granted, to procure their destruction; “But the injuries,” said he, “they offered to my holiness and virtue, forced me to bring this punishment upon them. But I will leave off for the time to come to require such punishments, the effects of so great

wrath, for their future wicked actions, and especially on account of thy prayers. But if I shall at any time send tempests of rain, in an extraordinary manner, be not affrighted at the largeness of the showers; for the water shall no more overspread the earth. However, I require you to abstain from shedding the blood of men, and to keep yourselves pure from murder; and to punish those that commit any such thing. I permit you to make use of all the other living creatures at your pleasure, and as your appetites lead you; for I have made you lords of them all, both of those that walk on the land, and those that swim in the waters, and of those that fly in the regions of the air on high, excepting their blood, for therein is the life. But I will give you a sign that I have left off my anger by my bow." [whereby is meant the rainbow, for they determined that the rainbow was the bow of God]. And when God had said and promised thus, he went away.

(9) [104] Νῶχος δὲ βιοὺς μετὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακόσια ἔτη καὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον εὐδαιμόνως διαγαγὼν τελευτᾷ ζήσας ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐνακοσίων καὶ πεντήκοντα. [105] μηδεὶς δὲ πρὸς τὸν νῦν βίον καὶ τὴν βραχύτητα τῶν ἐτῶν ἃ ζῶμεν συμβαλὼν τὸν τῶν παλαιῶν ψευδῆ νομιζέτω τὰ περὶ ἐκείνων λεγόμενα τῷ μηδένα νῦν τοσοῦτον ἐν τῷ βίῳ παρατείνειν χρόνον τεκμαιρόμενος μηδ' ἐκείνους εἰς ἐκεῖνο τὸ μῆκος τῆς ζωῆς ἀφῖχθαι. [106] οἱ μὲν γὰρ θεοφιλεῖς ὄντες καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ γενόμενοι καὶ διὰ τὰς τροφὰς ἐπιτηδειοτέρας πρὸς πλείονα χρόνον οὔσας εἰκότως ἔζων πλῆθος τοσοῦτον ἐτῶν: ἔπειτα καὶ δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν εὐχρηστίαν ὧν ἐπενόουν ἀστρονομίας καὶ γεωμετρίας πλεῖον ζῆν τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν, ἅπερ οὐκ ἦν ἀσφαλῶς αὐτοῖς προειπεῖν μὴ ζήσασιν ἑξακοσίους ἐνιαυτούς: διὰ τοσούτων γὰρ ὁ μέγας ἐνιαυτὸς πληροῦται. [107] μαρτυροῦσι δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ πάντες οἱ παρ' Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις συγγραψάμενοι τὰς ἀρχαιολογίας: καὶ γὰρ καὶ Μανέθων ὁ τὴν Αἰγυπτίων ποιησάμενος ἀναγραφὴν καὶ Βηρωσὸς ὁ τὰ Χαλδαι¨κὰ συναγαγὼν καὶ Μῶχός τε καὶ Ἑστιαῖος καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὁ Αἰγύπτιος Ἰερώνυμος οἱ τὰ Φοινικικὰ συγγραψάμενοι συμφωνοῦσι τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λεγομένοις, [108] Ἡσίοδός τε καὶ Ἑκαταῖος καὶ Ἑλλάνικος καὶ Ἀκουσίλαος καὶ πρὸς τούτοις Ἔφορος καὶ Νικόλαος ἱστοροῦσι τοὺς ἀρχαίους ζήσαντας ἔτη χίλια. περὶ μὲν τούτων, ὡς ἂν ἑκάστοις ᾖ φίλον, οὕτω σκοπείτωσαν.

9. Now when Noah had lived three hundred and fifty years after the Flood, and that all that time happily, he died, having lived the number of nine hundred and fifty years. But let no one, upon comparing the lives of the ancients with our lives, and with the few years which we now live, think that what we have said of them is false; or make the shortness of our lives at present an argument, that neither did they attain to so long a duration of life, for those ancients were beloved of God, and [lately] made by God himself; and because their food was

then fitter for the prolongation of life, might well live so great a number of years: and besides, God afforded them a longer time of life on account of their virtue, and the good use they made of it in astronomical and geometrical discoveries, which would not have afforded the time of foretelling [the periods of the stars] unless they had lived six hundred years; for the great year is completed in that interval. Now I have for witnesses to what I have said, all those that have written Antiquities, both among the Greeks and barbarians; for even Manetho, who wrote the Egyptian History, and Berosus, who collected the Chaldean Monuments, and Mochus, and Hestieus, and, besides these, Hieronymus the Egyptian, and those who composed the Phoenician History, agree to what I here say: Hesiod also, and Hecatseus, Hellanicus, and Acusilaus; and, besides these, Ephorus and Nicolaus relate that the ancients lived a thousand years. But as to these matters, let every one look upon them as he thinks fit.

IV

CHAPTER 4. Concerning The Tower Of Babylon, And The Confusion Of Tongues.

(1) [109] Οἱ δὲ Νώχου παῖδες τρεῖς ὄντες Σημᾶς καὶ Ἰαφθᾶς καὶ Χαμᾶς ἔτεσιν ἑκατὸν ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ἐπομβρίας γεγονότες, πρῶτοι κατελθόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν εἰς τὰ πεδία τὴν ἐν τούτοις οἴκησιν ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους σφόδρα δεδιότας διὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν τὰ πεδία καὶ ὀκνηρῶς ἔχοντας πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑψηλῶν τόπων κατάβασιν ἔπεισαν θαρσήσαντας μιμητὰς αὐτῶν γενέσθαι. [110] καὶ τὸ μὲν πεδίον, εἰς ὃ πρῶτον αὐτοὺς κατῴκισαν, καλεῖται Σεναάρ: τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος αὐτοὺς διὰ πολυανθρωπίαν στέλλειν ἀποικίας, ἵνα μὴ στασιάζοιεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀλλὰ γῆν πολλὴν γεωργοῦντες ἀφθονίας ἀπολαύοιεν τῶν καρπῶν, ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας παρήκουσαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο συμφοραῖς περιπεσόντες ᾔσθοντο τῆς ἁμαρτίας: [111] ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἤνθουν νεότητος πλήθει, πάλιν ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς συνεβούλευσε ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀποικίαν: οἱ δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὴν εὐμένειαν τὴν ἐκείνου νομίζοντες ἔχειν τὰ ἀγαθά, τὴν δ᾽ ἰσχὺν αὐτοῖς τὴν οἰκείαν αἰτίαν τῆς εὐπορίας ὑπολαμβάνοντες οὐκ ἐπείθοντο. [112] προσετίθεσαν δὲ τῷ παρακούειν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμης καὶ τὸ κατ᾽ ἐπιβουλὴν ὑπονοεῖν εἰς ἀποικίαν αὐτοὺς παρορμᾶν, ἵνα διαιρεθέντες εὐεπιχειρητότεροι γένωνται.

1. Now the sons of Noah were three, — Shem, Japhet, and Ham, born one hundred years before the Deluge. These first of all descended from the mountains into the plains, and fixed their habitation there; and persuaded others who were greatly afraid of the lower grounds on account of the flood, and so were very loath to come down from the higher places, to venture to follow their examples. Now the plain in which they first dwelt was called Shinar. God also commanded them to send colonies abroad, for the thorough peopling of the earth, that they might not raise seditions among themselves, but might cultivate a great part of the earth, and enjoy its fruits after a plentiful manner. But they were so ill instructed that they did not obey God; for which reason they fell into calamities, and were made sensible, by experience, of what sin they had been guilty: for when they flourished with a numerous youth, God admonished them again to send out colonies; but they, imagining the prosperity they enjoyed was not derived from the favor of God, but supposing that their own power was the proper cause of the plentiful condition they were in, did not obey him. Nay, they added to this their disobedience to the Divine will, the suspicion that they were therefore ordered to send out separate colonies, that, being divided asunder, they might the more easily be Oppressed.

(2) [113] Ἐξῆρέ τε αὐτοὺς πρός τε ὕβριν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ καταφρόνησιν Ναβρώδης, ὃς υἱωνὸς μὲν ἦν Χάμου τοῦ Νώχου, τολμηρὸς δὲ καὶ κατὰ χεῖρα γενναῖος: ἔπειθεν οὖν αὐτοὺς μὴ τῷ θεῷ διδόναι τὸ δι᾽ ἐκεῖνον εὐδαιμονεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν ταῦτα παρέχειν αὐτοῖς ἡγεῖσθαι, [114] καὶ περιίστα δὲ κατ᾽ ὀλίγον εἰς τυραννίδα τὰ πράγματα μόνως οὕτως νομίζων ἀποστήσειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῦ φόβου τοῦ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰ χρώμενοι τῇ αὐτοῦ δυνάμει διατελοῖεν, ἀμυνεῖσθαί τε τὸν θεὸν πάλιν ἠπείλει τὴν γῆν ἐπικλύσαι θελήσαντα: πύργον γὰρ οἰκοδομήσειν ὑψηλότερον ἢ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀναβῆναι δυνηθείη, μετελεύσεσθαι δὲ καὶ τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀπωλείας.

2. Now it was Nimrod who excited them to such an affront and contempt of God. He was the grandson of Ham, the son of Noah, a bold man, and of great strength of hand. He persuaded them not to ascribe it to God, as if it was through his means they were happy, but to believe that it was their own courage which procured that happiness. He also gradually changed the government into tyranny, seeing no other way of turning men from the fear of God, but to bring them into a constant dependence on his power. He also said he would be revenged on God, if he should have a mind to drown the world again; for that he would build a tower too high for the waters to be able to reach! and that he would avenge himself on God for destroying their forefathers!

(3) [115] Τὸ δὲ πλῆθος πρόθυμον ἦν τοῖς Ναβρώδου ἔπεσθαι δόγμασι δουλείαν ἡγούμενοι τὸ εἴκειν τῷ θεῷ, καὶ τὸν πύργον ᾠκοδόμουν οὐδὲν ἀπολείποντες σπουδῆς οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον ὀκνηρῶς ἔχοντες: ἐλάμβανε δὲ θᾶττον ὕψος ἢ προσεδόκησεν ἄν τις ὑπὸ πολυχειρίας. [116] τὸ μέντοι πάχος ἦν ἰσχυρὸν τοσοῦτον, ὥσθ᾽ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ μειοῦσθαι τοῖς ὁρῶσι τὸ μῆκος. ᾠκοδομεῖτο δὲ ἐκ πλίνθου ὀπτῆς ἀσφάλτῳ συνδεδεμένης, ὡς ἂν μὴ περιρρέοι. οὕτως δὲ μεμηνότας αὐτοὺς ὁρῶν ὁ θεὸς ἀφανίσαι μὲν ἐκ παντὸς οὐκ ἔκρινεν, ὅτι μηδ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν πρώτων ἀπολωλότων σωφρονισθεῖεν, [117] εἰς στάσιν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐνέβαλεν ἀλλογλώσσους ἀπεργασάμενος καὶ ὑπὸ πολυφωνίας ποιήσας ἑαυτῶν ἀσυνέτους εἶναι. ὁ δὲ τόπος ἐν ᾧ τὸν πύργον ᾠκοδόμησαν νῦν Βαβυλὼν καλεῖται διὰ τὴν σύγχυσιν τοῦ περὶ τὴν διάλεκτον πρῶτον ἐναργοῦς: Ἑβραῖοι γὰρ τὴν σύγχυσιν βαβὲλ καλοῦσι. [118] περὶ δὲ τοῦ πύργου τούτου καὶ τῆς ἀλλοφωνίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων μέμνηται καὶ Σίβυλλα λέγουσα οὕτως: “πάντων ὁμοφώνων ὄντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων πύργον ᾠκοδόμησάν τινες ὑψηλότατον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβησόμενοι δι᾽ αὐτοῦ. οἱ δὲ θεοὶ ἀνέμους ἐπιπέμψαντες ἀνέτρεψαν τὸν πύργον καὶ ἰδίαν ἑκάστῳ φωνὴν ἔδωκαν: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Βαβυλῶνα συνέβη κληθῆναι τὴν πό [119] λιν.” περὶ δὲ τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ λεγομένου Σεναὰρ ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ χώρᾳ μνημονεύει Ἑστιαῖος λέγων οὕτως: “τῶν δὲ ἱερέων τοὺς

διασωθέντας τὰ τοῦ Ἐνυαλίου Διὸς ἱερώματα λαβόντας εἰς Σεναὰρ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας ἐλθεῖν.”

3. Now the multitude were very ready to follow the determination of Nimrod, and to esteem it a piece of cowardice to submit to God; and they built a tower, neither sparing any pains, nor being in any degree negligent about the work: and, by reason of the multitude of hands employed in it, it grew very high, sooner than any one could expect; but the thickness of it was so great, and it was so strongly built, that thereby its great height seemed, upon the view, to be less than it really was. It was built of burnt brick, cemented together with mortar, made of bitumen, that it might not be liable to admit water. When God saw that they acted so madly, he did not resolve to destroy them utterly, since they were not grown wiser by the destruction of the former sinners; but he caused a tumult among them, by producing in them divers languages, and causing that, through the multitude of those languages, they should not be able to understand one another. The place wherein they built the tower is now called Babylon, because of the confusion of that language which they readily understood before; for the Hebrews mean by the word Babel, confusion. The Sibyl also makes mention of this tower, and of the confusion of the language, when she says thus: “When all men were of one language, some of them built a high tower, as if they would thereby ascend up to heaven, but the gods sent storms of wind and overthrew the tower, and gave every one his peculiar language; and for this reason it was that the city was called Babylon.” But as to the plan of Shinar, in the country of Babylonia, Hestiaeus mentions it, when he says thus: “Such of the priests as were saved, took the sacred vessels of Jupiter Enyalius, and came to Shinar of Babylonia.”

V

CHAPTER 5. After What Manner The Posterity Of Noah Sent Out Colonies, And Inhabited The Whole Earth.

(1) [120] Σκίδνανται δὴ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐντεῦθεν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀλλογλωσσίας τὰς ἀποικίας ποιησάμενοι πανταχοῦ, καὶ γῆν ἕκαστοι κατελάμβανον τὴν ἐντυχοῦσαν καὶ εἰς ἣν αὐτοὺς ἦγεν ὁ θεός, ὡς πληρωθῆναι πᾶσαν αὐτῶν ἤπειρον μεσόγεών τε καὶ παράλιον: εἰσὶ δ' οἳ καὶ περαιωσάμενοι ναυσὶ τὰς νήσους κατῴκησαν. [121] καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἔνια μὲν διασώζει τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν κτισάντων κειμένας προσηγορίας, ἔνια δὲ καὶ μετέβαλεν, οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ σαφέστερον εἶναι δοκοῦν τοῖς παροικοῦσι τροπὴν ἔλαβον. Ἕλληνες δ' εἰσὶν οἱ τούτου καταστάντες αἴτιοι: ἰσχύσαντες γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον ἰδίαν ἐποιήσαντο καὶ τὴν πάλαι δόξαν καλλωπίσαντες τὰ ἔθνη τοῖς ὀνόμασι πρὸς τὸ συνετὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ κόσμον θέμενοι πολιτείας ὡς ἀφ' αὐτῶν γεγονόσιν.

1. After this they were dispersed abroad, on account of their languages, and went out by colonies every where; and each colony took possession of that land which they light upon, and unto which God led them; so that the whole continent was filled with them, both the inland and the maritime countries. There were some also who passed over the sea in ships, and inhabited the islands: and some of those nations do still retain the denominations which were given them by their first founders; but some have lost them also, and some have only admitted certain changes in them, that they might be the more intelligible to the inhabitants. And they were the Greeks who became the authors of such mutations. For when in after-ages they grew potent, they claimed to themselves the glory of antiquity; giving names to the nations that sounded well [in Greek] that they might be better understood among themselves; and setting agreeable forms of government over them, as if they were a people derived from themselves.

CHAPTER 6. How Every Nation Was Denominated From Their First Inhabitants.

(1) [122] Ἦσαν δὲ τῶν Νώχου παίδων υἱοί, ὧν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῖς ἔθνεσι τὰ ὀνόματα ἐπετίθεσαν οἱ γῆν τινα καταλαβόντες. Ἰαφθᾶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Νώχου παιδὸς ἦσαν ἑπτὰ υἱοί. κατοικοῦσι δὲ οὗτοι ἀπὸ Ταύρου καὶ Ἀμάνου τῶν ὀρῶν ἀρξάμενοι καὶ προῆλθον ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς Ἀσίας ἄχρι ποταμοῦ Τανάιδος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἕως Γαδείρων γῆν ἣν ἔτυχον καταλαμβάνοντες, καὶ μηδενὸς προκατῳκηκότος τὰ ἔθνη τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐκάλουν ὀνόμασιν. [123] τοὺς γὰρ νῦν ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων Γαλάτας καλουμένους, Γομαρεῖς δὲ λεγομένους, Γόμαρος ἔκτισε. Μαγώγης δὲ τοὺς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Μαγώγας ὀνομασθέντας ᾤκισεν, Σκύθας δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν προσαγορευομένους. [124] τῶν δὲ Ἰαφθᾶ παίδων Ἰαυάνου καὶ Μάδου ἀπὸ μὲν τούτου Μαδαῖοι γίνονται ἔθνος, οἳ πρὸς Ἑλλήνων Μῆδοι κέκληνται, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰαυάνου Ἰωνία καὶ πάντες Ἕλληνες γεγόνασι. κατοικίζει δὲ καὶ Θεοβήλους Θεόβηλος, οἵτινες ἐν τοῖς νῦν Ἴβηρες καλοῦνται. [125] καὶ Μεσχῆνοι δὲ ὑπὸ Μέσχου κτισθέντες Καππάδοκες μὲν ἄρτι κέκληνται, τῆς δὲ ἀρχαίας αὐτῶν προσηγορίας σημεῖον δείκνυται: πόλις γάρ ἐστι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔτι καὶ νῦν Μάζακα, δηλοῦσα τοῖς συνιέναι δυναμένοις οὕτως ποτὲ προσαγορευθὲν πᾶν τὸ ἔθνος. Θείρης δὲ Θείρας μὲν ἐκάλεσεν ὧν ἦρξεν, Ἕλληνες δὲ Θρᾷκας αὐτοὺς μετωνόμασαν. [126] καὶ τοσαῦτα μὲν ἔθνη ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰαφέθου παίδων κατοικεῖται: Γομάρου δὲ τριῶν υἱῶν γενομένων Ἀσχανάξης μὲν Ἀσχανάξους ᾤκισεν, οἳ νῦν Ῥήγινες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καλοῦνται, Ῥιφάθης δὲ Ῥιφαθαίους τοὺς Παφλαγόνας λεγομένους, Θυγράμης δὲ Θυγραμαίους, οἳ δόξαν Ἕλλησι Φρύγες ὠνομάσθησαν. [127] Ἰαυάνου δὲ τοῦ Ἰάφθου τριῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ παίδων γενομένων Ἀλισᾶς μὲν Ἀλισαίους ἐκάλεσεν ὧν ἦρχεν, Αἰολεῖς δὲ νῦν εἰσι, Θάρσος δὲ Θαρσεῖς: οὕτως γὰρ ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ παλαιὸν ἡ Κιλικία. σημεῖον δέ: Ταρσὸς γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς τῶν πόλεων ἡ ἀξιολογωτάτη καλεῖται μητρόπολις οὖσα τὸ ταῦ πρὸς τὴν κλῆσιν ἀντὶ τοῦ θῆτα μεταβαλόντων. [128] Χέθιμος δὲ Χέθιμα τὴν νῆσον ἔσχε, Κύπρος αὕτη νῦν καλεῖται, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς νῆσοί τε πᾶσαι καὶ τὰ πλείω τῶν παρὰ θάλατταν Χέθη ὑπὸ Ἑβραίων ὀνομάζεται: μάρτυς δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ μία τῶν ἐν Κύπρῳ πόλεων ἰσχύσασα τὴν προσηγορίαν φυλάξαι: Κίτιον γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξελληνισάντων αὐτὴν καλεῖται μηδ' οὕτως διαφυγοῦσα τοῦ Χεθίμου τὸ ὄνομα. Ἰαφθᾶ μὲν δὴ παῖδές τε καὶ υἱωνοὶ τοσαῦτα ἔσχον ἔθνη. [129] ὃ δ' ἴσως ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων ἀγνοεῖται, τοῦτο προειπὼν τρέψομαι πρὸς τὴν ἀφήγησιν ὧν κατέλιπον. τὰ γὰρ ὀνόματα διὰ τὸ τῆς γραφῆς εὐπρεπὲς ἡλλήνισται πρὸς ἡδονὴν τῶν ἐντευξομένων: οὐ γὰρ ἐπιχώριος ἡμῖν ὁ τοιοῦτος αὐτῶν τύπος, ἀλλ' ἔν τε

αὐτῶν σχῆμα καὶ τελευτὴ μία, Νῶχός τέ τοι Νῶε καλεῖται καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τύπον ἐπὶ παντὸς τηρεῖ σχήματος.

1. Now they were the grandchildren of Noah, in honor of whom names were imposed on the nations by those that first seized upon them. Japhet, the son of Noah, had seven sons: they inhabited so, that, beginning at the mountains Taurus and Amanus, they proceeded along Asia, as far as the river Tansis, and along Europe to Cadiz; and settling themselves on the lands which they light upon, which none had inhabited before, they called the nations by their own names. For Gomer founded those whom the Greeks now call Galatians, [Galls,] but were then called Gomerites. Magog founded those that from him were named Magogites, but who are by the Greeks called Scythians. Now as to Javan and Madai, the sons of Japhet; from Madai came the Madeans, who are called Medes, by the Greeks; but from Javan, Ionia, and all the Grecians, are derived. Thobel founded the Thobelites, who are now called Iberes; and the Mosocheni were founded by Mosoch; now they are Cappadocians. There is also a mark of their ancient denomination still to be shown; for there is even now among them a city called Mazaca, which may inform those that are able to understand, that so was the entire nation once called. Thiras also called those whom he ruled over Thirasians; but the Greeks changed the name into Thracians. And so many were the countries that had the children of Japhet for their inhabitants. Of the three sons of Gomer, Aschanax founded the Aschanaxians, who are now called by the Greeks Rheginians. So did Riphath found the Ripheans, now called Paphlagonians; and Thrugramma the Thrugrammeans, who, as the Greeks resolved, were named Phrygians. Of the three sons of Javan also, the son of Japhet, Elisa gave name to the Eliseans, who were his subjects; they are now the Aeolians. Tharsus to the Tharsians, for so was Cilicia of old called; the sign of which is this, that the noblest city they have, and a metropolis also, is Tarsus, the tau being by change put for the theta. Cethimus possessed the island Cethima: it is now called Cyprus; and from that it is that all islands, and the greatest part of the sea-coasts, are named Cethim by the Hebrews: and one city there is in Cyprus that has been able to preserve its denomination; it has been called Citius by those who use the language of the Greeks, and has not, by the use of that dialect, escaped the name of Cethim. And so many nations have the children and grandchildren of Japhet possessed. Now when I have premised somewhat, which perhaps the Greeks do not know, I will return and explain what I have omitted; for such names are pronounced here after the manner of the Greeks, to please my readers; for our own country language does not so pronounce them: but the

names in all cases are of one and the same ending; for the name we here pronounce Noeas, is there Noah, and in every case retains the same termination.

(2) [130] Οἱ δὲ Χάμου παῖδες τὴν ἀπὸ Συρίας καὶ Ἀμάνου καὶ Λιβάνου τῶν ὀρῶν γῆν κατέσχον, ὅσα πρὸς θάλασσαν αὐτῆς ἐτέτραπτο καταλαβόντες καὶ τὰ μέχρι τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ ἐξιδιωσάμενοι: αἱ μέντοι προσηγορίαι τῶν μὲν καὶ παντελῶς ἐξίτηλοι γεγόνασιν, ἐνίων δὲ μεταβαλοῦσαι καὶ μεταρρυθμισθεῖσαι πρὸς ἑτέρας δύσγνωστοι τυγχάνουσιν, ὀλίγοι δὲ οἱ φυλάξαντες ἀκεραίους τὰς προσηγορίας ὑπάρχουσι. [131] τεσσάρων γὰρ Χάμου παίδων γενομένων Χουσαῖον μὲν οὐδὲν ἔβλαψεν ὁ χρόνος: Αἰθίοπες γὰρ ὧν ἦρξεν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ ἑαυτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πάντων Χουσαῖοι καλοῦνται. [132] ἐτηρήθη δὲ καὶ Μερσαίοις ἡ κατὰ τὴν προσηγορίαν μνήμη: τὴν γὰρ Αἴγυπτον Μέρσην καὶ Μερσαίους τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἅπαντες οἱ ταύτῃ καλοῦμεν. ἔκτισε δὲ καὶ Φούδης τὴν Λιβύην Φούτους ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καλέσας τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους. [133] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς ἐν τῇ Μαύρων χώρᾳ τοῦτο ἔχων τὸ ὄνομα, ὅθεν καὶ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἱστοριογράφων ἔστιν ἰδεῖν μεμνημένους τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς παρακειμένης αὐτῷ χώρας Φούτης λεγομένης. μετέβαλε δὲ ὃ νῦν αὐτῇ ἐστιν ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῶν Μεσράμου υἱῶν Λίβυος λεγομένου: μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δ᾽ ἐροῦμεν τὴν αἰτίαν, δι᾽ ἣν αὐτὴν καὶ Ἀφρικὴν προσαγορεύεσθαι συμβέβηκε. [134] Χαναναῖος δὲ τέταρτος ὢν Χάμου παῖς τὴν νῦν Ἰουδαίαν καλουμένην οἰκίσας ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ Χαναναίαν προσηγόρευσεν. γίνονται δὲ παῖδες ἐξ αὐτῶν Χούσου μὲν ἕξ, ὧν Σάβας μὲν Σαβαίους, Εὐίλας δὲ Εὐιλαίους ἔκτισεν, οἳ νῦν Γαιτοῦλοι λέγονται, Σαβάθης δὲ Σαβαθηνούς, ὀνομάζονται δὲ Ἀστάβαροι παρ᾽ Ἕλλησιν: [135] οἰκίζει δὲ καὶ Σαβάκτας Σαβακτηνούς: Ῥάμος δὲ Ῥαμαίους ᾤκισε καὶ δύο παῖδας ἔσχεν, ὧν Ἰουδάδας μὲν Ἰουδαδαίους Αἰθιοπικὸν ἔθνος τῶν ἑσπερίων οἰκίσας ἐπωνύμους αὐτῷ κατέλιπε, Σαβαίους δὲ Σαβαῖος: Ναβρώδης δὲ Χούσου υἱὸς ὑπομείνας παρὰ Βαβυλωνίοις ἐτυράννησεν, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται. [136] τῶν δὲ Μεσραίου παίδων ὀκτὼ γενομένων οἱ πάντες τὴν ἀπὸ Γάζης ἕως Αἰγύπτου γῆν κατέσχον, μόνου δὲ Φυλιστίνου τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἡ χώρα διεφύλαξε: Παλαιστίνην γὰρ οἱ Ἕλληνες αὐτοῦ τὴν μοῖραν καλοῦσι. [137] τῶν δὲ ἄλλων, Λουμαίου καὶ Ἀναμία καὶ Λαβίμου τοῦ μόνου κατοικήσαντος ἐν Λιβύῃ καὶ ὧδε τὴν χώραν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καλέσαντος, Νεδέμου τε καὶ Πεθρωσίμου καὶ Χεσλοίμου καὶ Χεφθώμου πέρα τῶν ὀνομάτων οὐδὲν ἴσμεν: ὁ γὰρ Αἰθιοπικὸς πόλεμος, περὶ οὗ δηλώσομεν ὕστερον, ἀναστάτους αὐτῶν τὰς πόλεις ἐποίησεν. [138] ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ Χαναναίου παῖδες, Σιδώνιος, ὃς καὶ πόλιν ἐπώνυμον ἔκτισεν ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ, Σιδὼν δ᾽ ὑφ᾽ Ἑλλήνων καλεῖται: Ἀμαθοῦς δὲ Ἀμάθουν κατῴκισεν, ἥτις ἔστι καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Ἀμάθη καλουμένη, Μακεδόνες δ᾽ αὐτὴν Ἐπιφάνειαν ἀφ᾽ ἑνὸς τῶν ἐπιγόνων ἐπωνόμασαν: Ἀρουδαῖος δὲ Ἄραδον τὴν νῆσον ἔσχεν: Ἀρουκαῖος δὲ Ἄρκην τὴν ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ. [139] τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἑπτά, Εὐαίου

Χετταίου Ἰεβουσαίου Ἀμορραίου Γεργεσαίου Σεινσίου Σαμαραίου, πλὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις οὐδὲν ἔχομεν: Ἑβραῖοι γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀνέστησαν τὰς πόλεις ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας ἐν συμφορᾷ γενομένας:

2. The children of Ham possessed the land from Syria and Amanus, and the mountains of Libanus; seizing upon all that was on its sea-coasts, and as far as the ocean, and keeping it as their own. Some indeed of its names are utterly vanished away; others of them being changed, and another sound given them, are hardly to be discovered; yet a few there are which have kept their denominations entire. For of the four sons of Ham, time has not at all hurt the name of Chus; for the Ethiopians, over whom he reigned, are even at this day, both by themselves and by all men in Asia, called Chusites. The memory also of the Mesraites is preserved in their name; for all we who inhabit this country [of Judea] called Egypt Mestre, and the Egyptians Mestreans. Phut also was the founder of Libya, and called the inhabitants Phutites, from himself: there is also a river in the country of Moors which bears that name; whence it is that we may see the greatest part of the Grecian historiographers mention that river and the adjoining country by the appellation of Phut: but the name it has now has been by change given it from one of the sons of Mesraim, who was called Lybyos. We will inform you presently what has been the occasion why it has been called Africa also. Canaan, the fourth son of Ham, inhabited the country now called Judea, and called it from his own name Canaan. The children of these [four] were these: Sabas, who founded the Sabeans; Evilas, who founded the Evileans, who are called Getuli; Sabathes founded the Sabathens, they are now called by the Greeks Astaborans; Sabactas settled the Sabactens; and Ragmus the Ragmeans; and he had two sons, the one of whom, Judadas, settled the Judadeans, a nation of the western Ethiopians, and left them his name; as did Sabas to the Sabeans: but Nimrod, the son of Chus, staid and tyrannized at Babylon, as we have already informed you. Now all the children of Mesraim, being eight in number, possessed the country from Gaza to Egypt, though it retained the name of one only, the Philistim; for the Greeks call part of that country Palestine. As for the rest, Ludieim, and Enemim, and Labim, who alone inhabited in Libya, and called the country from himself, Nedim, and Phethrosim, and Chesloim, and Cephthorim, we know nothing of them besides their names; for the Ethiopic war which we shall describe hereafter, was the cause that those cities were overthrown. The sons of Canaan were these: Sidonius, who also built a city of the same name; it is called by the Greeks Sidon Amathus inhabited in Amathine, which is even now called Amathe by the inhabitants, although the Macedonians named it Epiphania, from one of his posterity: Arudeus possessed

the island Aradus: Arucas possessed Arce, which is in Libanus. But for the seven others, [Eueus,] Chetteus, Jebuseus, Amorreus, Gergesus, Eudeus, Sineus, Samareus, we have nothing in the sacred books but their names, for the Hebrews overthrew their cities; and their calamities came upon them on the occasion following.

(3) [140] Νῶχος μετὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν τῆς γῆς κατασταθείσης εἰς τὴν αὐτῆς φύσιν ἐπ᾽ ἔργα χωρεῖ καὶ καταφυτεύσας αὐτὴν ἀμπέλοις, ἡνίκα τοῦ καρποῦ τελεσφορηθέντος καθ᾽ ὥραν ἐτρύγησε καὶ παρῆν εἰς χρῆσιν ὁ οἶνος, θύσας ἐν εὐωχίαις ἦν. [141] μεθυσθεὶς δὲ εἰς ὕπνον καταφέρεται καὶ γεγυμνωμένος παρακόσμως ἔκειτο. θεασάμενος δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ νεώτατος τῶν παίδων τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐπιγελῶν δείκνυσιν: οἱ δὲ περιστέλλουσι τὸν πατέρα. [142] καὶ Νῶχος αἰσθόμενος τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις παισὶν εὐδαιμονίαν εὔχεται, τῷ δὲ Χαμᾷ διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν αὐτῷ μὲν οὐ κατηράσατο, τοῖς δ᾽ ἐγγόνοις αὐτοῦ: καὶ τῶν ἄλλων διαπεφευγότων τὴν ἀρὰν τοὺς Χαναναίου παῖδας μέτεισιν ὁ θεός. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς ἐροῦμεν.

3. Noah, when, after the deluge, the earth was resettled in its former condition, set about its cultivation; and when he had planted it with vines, and when the fruit was ripe, and he had gathered the grapes in their season, and the wine was ready for use, he offered sacrifice, and feasted, and, being drunk, he fell asleep, and lay naked in an unseemly manner. When his youngest son saw this, he came laughing, and showed him to his brethren; but they covered their father's nakedness. And when Noah was made sensible of what had been done, he prayed for prosperity to his other sons; but for Ham, he did not curse him, by reason of his nearness in blood, but cursed his prosperity: and when the rest of them escaped that curse, God inflicted it on the children of Canaan. But as to these matters, we shall speak more hereafter.

(4) [143] Σημᾷ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν Νώχου υἱῶν πέντε γίνονται παῖδες, οἳ τὴν μέχρι τοῦ κατ᾽ Ἰνδίαν ὠκεανοῦ κατοικοῦσιν Ἀσίαν ἀπ᾽ Εὐφράτου τὴν ἀρχὴν πεποιημένοι. Ἔλυμος μὲν γὰρ Ἐλυμαίους Περσῶν ὄντας ἀρχηγέτας κατέλιπεν: Ἀσσούρας δὲ Νίνον οἰκίζει πόλιν καὶ τοὺς ὑπηκόους Ἀσσυρίους ἐπωνόμασεν, οἳ μάλιστα εὐδαιμόνησαν: [144] Ἀρφαξάδης δὲ τοὺς νῦν Χαλδαίους καλουμένους Ἀρφαξαδαίους ὠνόμασεν ἄρξας αὐτῶν: Ἀραμαίους δὲ Ἄραμος ἔσχεν, οὓς Ἕλληνες Σύρους προσαγορεύουσιν: οὓς δὲ Λυδοὺς νῦν καλοῦσι, Λούδους δὲ τότε, Λούδας ἔκτισε. [145] τῶν δὲ Ἀράμου παίδων τεσσάρων ὄντων Οὖσης μὲν κτίζει τὴν Τραχωνῖτιν καὶ Δαμασκόν, μέση δ᾽ ἐστὶ τῆς Παλαιστίνης καὶ κοίλης Συρίας: Ἀρμενίαν δὲ Ὄτρος, καὶ Γεθέρης Βακτριανούς, Μήσας δὲ Μησαναίους, Σπασίνου Χάραξ ἐν τοῖς νῦν καλεῖται. [146] Ἀρφαξάδου δὲ παῖς γίνεται Σάλης,

τοῦ δὲ Ἕβερος, ἀφ᾽ οὗ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους Ἑβραίους ἀρχῆθεν ἐκάλουν: Ἕβερος δὲ Ἰούκταν καὶ Φάλεγον ἐγέννησεν: ἐκλήθη δὲ Φάλεγος, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὸν ἀποδασμὸν τῶν οἰκήσεων τίκτεται: φαλὲκ γὰρ τὸν μερισμὸν Ἑβραῖοι καλοῦσιν. [147] Ἰούκτᾳ δὲ τῶν Ἑβέρου παίδων ἦσαν υἱοὶ Ἐλμόδαδος Σάλεφος Ἀζερμώθης Εἰράης Ἐδώραμος Οὐζάλης Δαήλης Ἤβαλος Ἀβιμάηλος Σάφας Ὀφίρης Εὐίλης Ἰόβηλος. οὗτοι ἀπὸ Κωφῆνος ποταμοῦ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς καὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτῇ Σηρίας τινὰ κατοικοῦσι. ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τῶν Σημᾶ παίδων ἱστορήσθω.

4. Shem, the third son of Noah, had five sons, who inhabited the land that began at Euphrates, and reached to the Indian Ocean. For Elam left behind him the Elamites, the ancestors of the Persians. Ashur lived at the city Nineve; and named his subjects Assyrians, who became the most fortunate nation, beyond others. Arphaxad named the Arphaxadites, who are now called Chaldeans. Aram had the Aramites, which the Greeks called Syrians; as Laud founded the Laudites, which are now called Lydians. Of the four sons of Aram, Uz founded Trachonitis and Damascus: this country lies between Palestine and Celesyria. Ul founded Armenia; and Gather the Bactrians; and Mesa the Mesaneans; it is now called Charax Spasini. Sala was the son of Arphaxad; and his son was Heber, from whom they originally called the Jews Hebrews. Heber begat Joetan and Phaleg: he was called Phaleg, because he was born at the dispersion of the nations to their several countries; for Phaleg among the Hebrews signifies division. Now Joctan, one of the sons of Heber, had these sons, Elmodad, Saleph, Asermoth, Jera, Adoram, Aizel, Decla, Ebal, Abimael, Sabeus, Ophir, Euilat, and Jobab. These inhabited from Cophen, an Indian river, and in part of Asia adjoining to it. And this shall suffice concerning the sons of Shem.

(5) [148] Ποιήσομαι δὲ περὶ Ἑβραίων τὸν λόγον: Φαλέγου γὰρ τοῦ Ἑβέρου γίνεται παῖς Ῥεούς: τούτου δὲ Σεροῦγος, ᾧ Ναχώρης υἱὸς τίκτεται: τούτου δὲ Θέρρος: πατὴρ δὲ οὗτος Ἀβράμου γίνεται, ὃς δέκατος μέν ἐστιν ἀπὸ Νώχου, δευτέρῳ δ᾽ ἔτει καὶ ἐνενηκοστῷ πρὸς ἐνακοσίοις μετὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν ἐγένετο. [149] Θέρρος μὲν γὰρ ἑβδομηκοστῷ ποιεῖται τὸν Ἄβραμον: Ναχώρης δὲ Θέρρον εἰκοστὸν αὐτὸς [ἔτος] καὶ ἑκατοστὸν ἤδη γεγονὼς ἐγέννησε: Σερούγῳ δὲ Ναχώρης τίκτεται περὶ ἔτος δεύτερον καὶ τριακοστὸν καὶ ἑκατοστόν: Ῥοῦμος δὲ Σεροῦγον ἔτη τριάκοντα γεγονὼς πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν: ἐν δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔτεσι καὶ Ῥοῦμον Φάλεγος ἔσχεν: [150] Ἕβερος δὲ τετάρτῳ καὶ τριακοστῷ πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν γεννᾷ Φάλεγον γεννηθεὶς αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Σέλου τριακοστὸν ἔτος ἔχοντος καὶ ἑκατοστόν, ὃν Ἀρφάξαδος ἐτέκνωσε κατὰ πέμπτον καὶ τριακοστὸν ἔτος πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν: Σημᾷ δὲ υἱὸς Ἀρφαξάδης ἦν μετὰ ἔτη δώδεκα τῆς ἐπομβρίας γενόμενος. [151] Ἄβραμος δὲ εἶχεν ἀδελφοὺς Ναχώρην καὶ Ἀράνην: τούτων Ἀράνης μὲν υἱὸν καταλιπὼν Λῶτον καὶ Σάρραν καὶ Μελχὰν θυγατέρας ἐν Χαλδαίοις ἀπέθανεν ἐν

πόλει Οὐρῆ λεγομένῃ τῶν Χαλδαίων, καὶ τάφος αὐτοῦ μέχρι νῦν δείκνυται. γαμοῦσι δὲ τὰς ἀδελφιδὰς Μελχὰν μὲν Ναχώρης Σάρραν δὲ Ἄβραμος. [152] Θέρρου δὲ μισήσαντος τὴν Χαλδαίαν διὰ τὸ Ἀράνου πένθος μετοικίζονται πάντες εἰς Χαρρὰν τῆς Μεσοποταμίας, ὅπου καὶ Θέρρον τελευτήσαντα θάπτουσιν ἔτη βιώσαντα πέντε καὶ διακόσια: συνετέμνετο γὰρ ἤδη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ ζῆν καὶ βραχύτερον ἐγίνετο μέχρι τῆς Μωυσέος γενέσεως, μεθ' ὃν ὅρος ἦν τοῦ ζῆν ἑκατὸν ἔτη πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι τοσαῦθ' ὁρίσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅσα καὶ Μωυσεῖ συνέβη βιῶναι. [153] Ναχώρῃ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῆς Μελχᾶς ὀκτὼ παῖδες ἐγένοντο, Οὖξος Βαοῦξος Μαουῆλος Ζάχαμος Ἀζαοῦος Ἰαδελφᾶς Ἰαδαφᾶς Βαθουῆλος: οὗτοι μὲν Ναχώρου παῖδες γνήσιοι: Ταβαῖος γὰρ καὶ Γάδαμος καὶ Ταασῦος καὶ Μαχᾶς ἐκ Ῥούμας παλλακῆς αὐτῷ γεγόνασι. Βαθουήλῳ δὲ τῶν Ναχώρου γνησίων παίδων γίνεται Ῥεβέκκα θυγάτηρ καὶ Λάβανος υἱός.

5. I will now treat of the Hebrews. The son of Phaleg, whose father Was Heber, was Ragau; whose son was Serug, to whom was born Nahor; his son was Terah, who was the father of Abraham, who accordingly was the tenth from Noah, and was born in the two hundred and ninety-second year after the deluge; for Terah begat Abram in his seventieth year. Nahor begat Haran when he was one hundred and twenty years old; Nahor was born to Serug in his hundred and thirty-second year; Ragau had Serug at one hundred and thirty; at the same age also Phaleg had Ragau; Heber begat Phaleg in his hundred and thirty-fourth year; he himself being begotten by Sala when he was a hundred and thirty years old, whom Arphaxad had for his son at the hundred and thirty-fifth year of his age. Arphaxad was the son of Shem, and born twelve years after the deluge. Now Abram had two brethren, Nahor and Haran: of these Haran left a son, Lot; as also Sarai and Milcha his daughters; and died among the Chaldeans, in a city of the Chaldeans, called Ur; and his monument is shown to this day. These married their nieces. Nabor married Milcha, and Abram married Sarai. Now Terah hating Chaldea, on account of his mourning for Ilaran, they all removed to Haran of Mesopotamia, where Terah died, and was buried, when he had lived to be two hundred and five years old; for the life of man was already, by degrees, diminished, and became shorter than before, till the birth of Moses; after whom the term of human life was one hundred and twenty years, God determining it to the length that Moses happened to live. Now Nahor had eight sons by Milcha; Uz and Buz, Kemuel, Chesed, Azau, Pheldas, Jadelph, and Bethuel. These were all the genuine sons of Nahor; for Teba, and Gaam, and Tachas, and Maaca, were born of Reuma his concubine: but Bethuel had a daughter, Rebecca, and a son, Laban.

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CHAPTER 7. How Abram Our Forefather Went Out Of The Land Of The Chaldeans, And Lived In The Land Then Called Canaan But Now Judea.

(1) [154] Ἄβραμος δὲ Λῶτον τὸν Ἀράνου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ υἱὸν τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Σάρρας ἀδελφὸν εἰσεποιήσατο γνησίου παιδὸς ἀπορῶν καὶ καταλείπει τὴν Χαλδαίαν ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε γεγονὼς ἔτη τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος εἰς τὴν Χαναναίαν μετελθεῖν, ἐν ᾗ κατῴκησε καὶ τοῖς ἀπογόνοις κατέλιπε δεινὸς ὢν συνεῖναί τε περὶ πάντων καὶ πιθανὸς τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις περί τε ὧν εἰκάσειεν οὐ διαμαρτάνων. [155] διὰ τοῦτο καὶ φρονεῖν μεῖζον ἐπ᾽ ἀρετῇ τῶν ἄλλων ἠργμένος καὶ τὴν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξαν, ἣν ἅπασι συνέβαινεν εἶναι, καινίσαι καὶ μεταβαλεῖν ἔγνω. πρῶτος οὖν τολμᾷ θεὸν ἀποφήνασθαι δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων ἕνα, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν εἰ καί τι πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν συντελεῖ κατὰ προσταγὴν τὴν τούτου παρέχειν ἕκαστον καὶ οὐ κατ᾽ οἰκείαν ἰσχύν. [156] εἰκάζεται δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης παθήμασι τοῖς τε περὶ τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς κατ᾽ οὐρανὸν συμβαίνουσι: δυνάμεως γὰρ αὐτοῖς παρούσης καὶ προνοῆσαι τῆς κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς εὐταξίας, ταύτης δ᾽ ὑστεροῦντας φανεροὺς γίνεσθαι μηδ᾽ ὅσα πρὸς τὸ χρησιμώτερον ἡμῖν συνεργοῦσι κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἐξουσίαν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ κελεύοντος ἰσχὺν ὑπουργεῖν, ᾧ καλῶς ἔχει μόνῳ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ἀπονέμειν. [157] δι᾽ ἅπερ Χαλδαίων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Μεσοποταμιτῶν στασιασάντων πρὸς αὐτὸν μετοικεῖν δοκιμάσας κατὰ βούλησιν καὶ βοήθειαν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν Χαναναίαν ἔσχε γῆν, ἱδρυθείς τε αὐτόθι βωμὸν ᾠκοδόμησε καὶ θυσίαν ἐτέλεσε τῷ θεῷ.

1. Now Abram, having no son of his own, adopted Lot, his brother Haran's son, and his wife Sarai's brother; and he left the land of Chaldea when he was seventy-five years old, and at the command of God went into Canaan, and therein he dwelt himself, and left it to his posterity. He was a person of great sagacity, both for understanding all things and persuading his hearers, and not mistaken in his opinions; for which reason he began to have higher notions of virtue than others had, and he determined to renew and to change the opinion all men happened then to have concerning God; for he was the first that ventured to publish this notion, That there was but one God, the Creator of the universe; and that, as to other [gods], if they contributed any thing to the happiness of men, that each of them afforded it only according to his appointment, and not by their own power. This his opinion was derived from the irregular phenomena that were visible both at land and sea, as well as those that happen to the sun, and

moon, and all the heavenly bodies, thus:— "If [said he] these bodies had power of their own, they would certainly take care of their own regular motions; but since they do not preserve such regularity, they make it plain, that in so far as they co-operate to our advantage, they do it not of their own abilities, but as they are subservient to Him that commands them, to whom alone we ought justly to offer our honor and thanksgiving." For which doctrines, when the Chaldeans, and other people of Mesopotamia, raised a tumult against him, he thought fit to leave that country; and at the command and by the assistance of God, he came and lived in the land of Canaan. And when he was there settled, he built an altar, and performed a sacrifice to God.

(2) [158] Μνημονεύει δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀβράμου Βηρωσός, οὐκ ὀνομάζων, λέγων δ' οὕτως: "μετὰ δὲ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν δεκάτῃ γενεᾷ παρὰ Χαλδαίοις τις ἦν δίκαιος ἀνὴρ καὶ μέγας καὶ τὰ οὐράνια [159] ἔμπειρος." Ἑκαταῖος δὲ καὶ τοῦ μνησθῆναι πλέον τι πεποίηκε: βιβλίον γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ συνταξάμενος κατέλιπε. Νικόλαος δὲ ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν λέγει οὕτως: "Ἄβράμης ἐβασίλευσεν ἔπηλυς σὺν στρατῷ ἀφιγμένος ἐκ τῆς γῆς τῆς ὑπὲρ Βαβυλῶνος Χαλδαίων λεγομένης. [160] μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον μεταναστὰς καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς χώρας σὺν τῷ σφετέρῳ λαῷ εἰς τὴν τότε μὲν Χαναναίαν λεγομένην νῦν δὲ Ἰουδαίαν μετῴκησε καὶ οἱ ἀπ' ἐκείνου πληθύσαντες, περὶ ὧν ἐν ἑτέρῳ λόγῳ διέξειμι τὰ ἱστορούμενα. τοῦ δὲ Ἀβράμου ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ Δαμασκηνῇ τὸ ὄνομα δοξάζεται καὶ κώμη δείκνυται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Ἀβράμου οἴκησις λεγομένη."

2. Berosus mentions our father Abram without naming him, when he says thus: "In the tenth generation after the Flood, there was among the Chaldeans a man righteous and great, and skillful in the celestial science." But Hecatseus does more than barely mention him; for he composed, and left behind him, a book concerning him. And Nicolaus of Damascus, in the fourth book of his History, says thus: "Abram reigned at Damascus, being a foreigner, who came with an army out of the land above Babylon, called the land of the Chaldeans: but, after a long time, he got him up, and removed from that country also, with his people, and went into the land then called the land of Canaan, but now the land of Judea, and this when his posterity were become a multitude; as to which posterity of his, we relate their history in another work. Now the name of Abram is even still famous in the country of Damascus; and there is shown a village named from him, The Habitation of Abram."

VIII

CHAPTER 8. That When There Was A Famine In Canaan, Abram Went Thence Into Egypt; And After He Had Continued There A While He Returned Back Again.

(1) [161] Λιμοῦ δὲ χρόνοις ὕστερον τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καταλαβόντος Ἄβραμος Αἰγυπτίους εὐδαιμονεῖν πυθόμενος μεταίρειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἦν πρόθυμος τῆς τε ἀφθονίας τῆς ἐκείνων μεθέξων καὶ τῶν ἱερέων ἀκροατὴς ἐσόμενος ὧν λέγοιεν περὶ θεῶν: ἢ γὰρ κρείσσοσιν εὑρεθεῖσι κατακολουθήσειν ἢ μετακοσμήσειν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον αὐτὸς ἄμεινον φρονῶν. [162] ἐπαγόμενος δὲ καὶ τὴν Σάρραν καὶ φοβούμενος τὸ πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐπιμανές, μὴ διὰ τὴν εὐμορφίαν τῆς γυναικὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸν ἀνέλῃ, τέχνην ἐπενόησε τοιαύτην: ἀδελφὸς αὐτῆς εἶναι προσεποιήσατο κἀκείνην τοῦθ᾽ ὑποκρίνασθαι, συμφέρειν γὰρ αὐτοῖς, ἐδίδαξεν. [163] ὡς δ᾽ ἦκον εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ἀπέβαινε τῷ Ἀβράμῳ καθὼς ὑπενόησε: τὸ γὰρ κάλλος ἐξεβοήθη τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ: διὸ καὶ Φαραώθης ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οὐ τοῖς περὶ αὐτῆς λεγομένοις ἀρκεσθεὶς ἀλλὰ καὶ θεάσασθαι σπουδάσας οἷός τε ἦν ἅψασθαι τῆς Σάρρας. [164] ἐμποδίζει δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἄδικον ἐπιθυμίαν νόσῳ τε καὶ στάσει τῶν πραγμάτων: καὶ θυομένῳ περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς κατὰ μῆνιν θεοῦ τὸ δεινὸν αὐτῷ παρεῖναι ἀπεσήμαινον οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἠθέλησεν ὑβρίσαι τοῦ ξένου τὴν γυναῖκα. [165] ὁ δὲ φοβηθεὶς ἠρώτα τὴν Σάρραν, τίς τε εἴη καὶ τίνα τοῦτον ἐπάγοιτο, πυθόμενός τε τὴν ἀλήθειαν Ἄβραμον παρῃτεῖτο: νομίζων γὰρ ἀδελφὴν ἀλλ᾽ οὐ γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ σπουδάσαι περὶ αὐτὴν συγγένειαν ποιήσασθαι βουλόμενος, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐνυβρίσαι κατ᾽ ἐπιθυμίαν ὡρμημένος: δωρεῖταί τε αὐτὸν πολλοῖς χρήμασι, καὶ συνῆν Αἰγυπτίων τοῖς λογιωτάτοις τήν τε ἀρετὴν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ δόξαν ἐντεῦθεν ἐπιφανεστέραν συνέβη γενέσθαι.

1. Now, after this, when a famine had invaded the land of Canaan, and Abram had discovered that the Egyptians were in a flourishing condition, he was disposed to go down to them, both to partake of the plenty they enjoyed, and to become an auditor of their priests, and to know what they said concerning the gods; designing either to follow them, if they had better notions than he, or to convert them into a better way, if his own notions proved the truest. Now, seeing he was to take Sarai with him, and was afraid of the madness of the Egyptians with regard to women, lest the king should kill him on occasion of his wife’s great beauty, he contrived this device: — he pretended to be her brother, and directed her in a dissembling way to pretend the same, for he said it would be for

their benefit. Now, as soon as he came into Egypt, it happened to Abram as he supposed it would; for the fame of his wife's beauty was greatly talked of; for which reason Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, would not be satisfied with what was reported of her, but would needs see her himself, and was preparing to enjoy her; but God put a stop to his unjust inclinations, by sending upon him a distemper, and a sedition against his government. And when he inquired of the priests how he might be freed from these calamities, they told him that this his miserable condition was derived from the wrath of God, upon account of his inclinations to abuse the stranger's wife. He then, out of fear, asked Sarai who she was, and who it was that she brought along with her. And when he had found out the truth, he excused himself to Abram, that supposing the woman to be his sister, and not his wife, he set his affections on her, as desiring an affinity with him by marrying her, but not as incited by lust to abuse her. He also made him a large present in money, and gave him leave to enter into conversation with the most learned among the Egyptians; from which conversation his virtue and his reputation became more conspicuous than they had been before.

(2) [166] Τῶν γὰρ Αἰγυπτίων διαφόροις ἀρεσκομένων ἔθεσι καὶ τὰ παρ' ἀλλήλοις ἐκφαυλιζόντων νόμιμα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δυσμενῶς ἐχόντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους, συμβαλὼν αὐτῶν ἑκάστοις καὶ διαπτύων τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐποιοῦντο περὶ τῶν ἰδίων κενοὺς καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοντας ἀληθὲς ἀπέφαινε. [167] θαυμασθεὶς οὖν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις ὡς συνετώτατος καὶ δεινὸς ἀνὴρ οὐ νοῆσαι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πεῖσαι λέγων περὶ ὧν ἐπιχειρήσειε διδάσκειν, τήν τε ἀριθμητικὴν αὐτοῖς χαρίζεται καὶ τὰ περὶ ἀστρονομίαν παραδίδωσι. [168] πρὸ γὰρ τῆς Ἀβράμου παρουσίας Αἰγύπτιοι τούτων εἶχον ἀμαθῶς: ἐκ Χαλδαίων γὰρ ταῦτ' ἐφοίτησεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ὅθεν ἦλθε καὶ εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

2. For whereas the Egyptians were formerly addicted to different customs, and despised one another's sacred and accustomed rites, and were very angry one with another on that account, Abram conferred with each of them, and, confuting the reasonings they made use of, every one for their own practices, demonstrated that such reasonings were vain and void of truth: whereupon he was admired by them in those conferences as a very wise man, and one of great sagacity, when he discoursed on any subject he undertook; and this not only in understanding it, but in persuading other men also to assent to him. He communicated to them arithmetic, and delivered to them the science of astronomy; for before Abram came into Egypt they were unacquainted with those parts of learning; for that science came from the Chaldeans into Egypt, and from thence to the Greeks also.

(3) [169] Ὡς δ’ εἰς τὴν Χαναναίαν ἀφίκετο, μερίζεται πρὸς Λῶτον τὴν γῆν τῶν ποιμένων αὐτοῖς στασιαζόντων περὶ τῆς χώρας ἐν ᾗ νέμοιεν: τὴν ἐκλογὴν μέντοι καὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν ἐπιτρέπει τῷ Λώτῳ: [170] λαβὼν δ’ αὐτὸς τὴν ὑπ’ ἐκείνου καταλελειμμένην ὑπώρειαν ᾤκει ἐν τῇ Ναβρῶ πόλει: παλαιοτέρα δέ ἐστιν ἔτεσιν ἑπτὰ πρὸ Τάνιδος τῆς Αἰγύπτου. Λῶτος δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ πεδίον κειμένην καὶ ποταμὸν Ἰορδάνην εἶχεν οὐκ ἄπωθεν τῆς Σοδομιτῶν πόλεως, ἣ τότε μὲν ἦν ἀγαθή, νῦν δὲ ἠφάνισται κατὰ βούλησιν θεοῦ. τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν κατὰ χώραν σημανῶ.

3. As soon as Abram was come back into Canaan, he parted the land between him and Lot, upon account of the tumultuous behavior of their shepherds, concerning the pastures wherein they should feed their flocks. However, he gave Lot his option, or leave, to choose which lands he would take; and he took himself what the other left, which were the lower grounds at the foot of the mountains; and he himself dwelt in Hebron, which is a city seven years more ancient than Tunis of Egypt. But Lot possessed the land of the plain, and the river Jordan, not far from the city of Sodom, which was then a fine city, but is now destroyed, by the will and wrath of God, the cause of which I shall show in its proper place hereafter.

IX

CHAPTER 9. The Destruction Of The Sodomites By The Assyrian War.

(1) [171] Κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν Ἀσσυρίων κρατούντων τῆς Ἀσίας Σοδομίταις ἤνθει τὰ πράγματα εἴς τε πλοῦτον αὐτῶν ἐπιδεδωκότων καὶ νεότητα πολλήν: βασιλεῖς δὲ αὐτοῖς πέντε διεῖπον τὴν χώραν, Βάλας Βαλαίας Συναβάνης καὶ Συμμόβορος ὅ τε Βαλήνων βασιλεύς: μοίρας δ᾽ ἦρχον ἕκαστος ἰδίας. [172] ἐπὶ τούτους στρατεύσαντες Ἀσσύριοι καὶ μέρη τέσσαρα ποιήσαντες τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπολιόρκουν αὐτούς: στρατηγὸς δ᾽ ἑκάστοις ἦν εἷς ἐπιτεταγμένος. γενομένης δὲ μάχης νικήσαντες οἱ Ἀσσύριοι φόρον ἐπιτάσσουσι τοῖς Σοδομιτῶν βασιλεῦσι. [173] δώδεκα μὲν οὖν ἔτη δουλεύοντες καὶ τοὺς ἐπιταχθέντας αὐτοῖς φόρους τελοῦντες ὑπέμειναν, τῷ δὲ τρισκαιδεκάτῳ ἀπέστησαν, καὶ διαβαίνει στρατὸς Ἀσσυρίων ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς στρατηγούντων Ἀμαραψίδου Ἀριόχου Χοδολαμόρου Θαδάλου. [174] οὗτοι τήν τε Συρίαν ἅπασαν διηρπάσαντο καὶ τοὺς τῶν Γιγάντων ἀπογόνους κατεστρέψαντο, γενόμενοι δὲ κατὰ τὰ Σόδομα στρατοπεδεύουσι κατὰ τὴν κοιλάδα τὴν λεγομένην φρέατα ἀσφάλτου: κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον γὰρ τὸν καιρὸν φρέατα ἦν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, νῦν μέντοι τῆς Σοδομιτῶν πόλεως ἀφανισθείσης ἡ κοιλὰς ἐκείνη λίμνη γέγονεν ἡ Ἀσφαλτῖτις λεγομένη. [175] περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς λίμνης ταύτης αὖθις μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δηλώσομεν, τῶν δὲ Σοδομιτῶν συμβαλόντων τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις καὶ καρτερᾶς τῆς μάχης γενομένης, πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ ᾐχμαλωτίσθησαν, σὺν οἷς καὶ Λῶτος ἦγετο τοῖς Σοδομίταις σύμμαχος ἐληλυθώς.

1. At this time, when the Assyrians had the dominion over Asia, the people of Sodom were in a flourishing condition, both as to riches and the number of their youth. There were five kings that managed the affairs of this county: Ballas, Barsas, Senabar, and Sumobor, with the king of Bela; and each king led on his own troops: and the Assyrians made war upon them; and, dividing their army into four parts, fought against them. Now every part of the army had its own commander; and when the battle was joined, the Assyrians were conquerors, and imposed a tribute on the kings of the Sodomites, who submitted to this slavery twelve years; and so long they continued to pay their tribute: but on the thirteenth year they rebelled, and then the army of the Assyrians came upon them, under their commanders Amraphel, Arioch, Chodorlaomer, and Tidal. These kings had laid waste all Syria, and overthrown the offspring of the giants. And when they were come over against Sodom, they pitched their camp at the vale called the Slime Pits, for at that time there were pits in that place; but now, upon the destruction of the city of Sodom, that vale became the Lake

Asphaltites, as it is called. However, concerning this lake we shall speak more presently. Now when the Sodomites joined battle with the Assyrians, and the fight was very obstinate, many of them were killed, and the rest were carried captive; among which captives was Lot, who had come to assist the Sodomites.

X

CHAPTER 10. How Abram Fought With The Assyrians, And Overcame Them, And Saved The Sodomite Prisoners, And Took From The Assyrians The Prey They Had Gotten.

(1) [176] Ἀβράμῳ δὲ ἀκούσαντι τὴν συμφορὰν αὐτῶν φόβος τε ἅμα περὶ Λώτου τοῦ συγγενοῦς εἰσῆλθε καὶ οἶκτος περὶ τῶν Σοδομιτῶν φίλων ὄντων καὶ γειτνιώντων. [177] καὶ βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς δοκιμάσας οὐκ ἀνέμεινεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειχθεὶς καὶ κατὰ πέμπτην ἐπιπεσὼν νύκτα τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις περὶ Δάνον, οὕτως γὰρ ἡ ἑτέρα τοῦ Ἰορδάνου προσαγορεύεται πηγή, καὶ φθάσας πρὶν ἐν ὅπλοις γενέσθαι τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς κοίταις ὄντας ἀπέκτεινε μηδ᾽ ἐπίνοιαν τῆς συμφορᾶς ἔχοντας, οἱ δὲ μήπω πρὸς ὕπνον τετραμμένοι μάχεσθαι δ᾽ ὑπὸ μέθης ἀδύνατοι ἔφυγον. [178] Ἄβραμος δὲ διώκων εἵπετο μέχρι καὶ δευτεραίους συνήλασεν αὐτοὺς εἰς Ὠβὰ τῆς Δαμασκηνῶν γῆς, ἐπιδείξας ὅτι τὸ νικᾶν οὐκ ἐν τῷ πλήθει καὶ τῇ πολυχειρίᾳ κεῖσθαι συμβέβηκεν, ἀλλὰ προθυμία τῶν μαχομένων καὶ τὸ γενναῖον κρατεῖ παντὸς ἀριθμοῦ, τριακοσίοις καὶ δεκαοκτὼ οἰκέταις αὐτοῦ καὶ τρισὶ φίλοις τοσούτου στρατοῦ περιγενόμενος. ὁπόσοι δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ διέφυγον ἀδόξως ἀνέστρεψαν.

1. When, Abram heard of their calamity, he was at once afraid for Lot his kinsman, and pitied the Sodomites, his friends and neighbors; and thinking it proper to afford them assistance, he did not delay it, but marched hastily, and the fifth night fell upon the Assyrians, near Dan, for that is the name of the other spring of Jordan; and before they could arm themselves, he slew some as they were in their beds, before they could suspect any harm; and others, who were not yet gone to sleep, but were so drunk they could not fight, ran away. Abram pursued after them, till, on the second day, he drove them in a body unto Hoba, a place belonging to Damascus; and thereby demonstrated that victory does not depend on multitude and the number of hands, but the alacrity and courage of soldiers overcome the most numerous bodies of men, while he got the victory over so great an army with no more than three hundred and eighteen of his servants, and three of his friends: but all those that fled returned home ingloriously.

(2) [179] Ἄβραμος δὲ τοὺς τῶν Σοδομιτῶν σώσας αἰχμαλώτους, οἳ ληφθέντες ἔφθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, καὶ τὸν συγγενῆ Λῶτον ἀνέζευξεν μετὰ εἰρήνης. ἀπήντησε δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ τῶν Σοδομιτῶν βασιλεὺς εἰς τόπον τινά, ὃν καλοῦσι πεδίον

βασιλικόν. [180] ἔνθα ὁ τῆς Σολυμᾶ ὑποδέχεται βασιλεὺς αὐτὸν Μελχισεδέκ: σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο βασιλεὺς δίκαιος: καὶ ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτος ὁμολογουμένως, ὡς διὰ ταύτην αὐτὸν τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ ἱερέα γενέσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ: τὴν μέντοι Σολυμᾶ ὕστερον ἐκάλεσεν Ἱεροσόλυμα. [181] ἐχορήγησε δὲ οὗτος ὁ Μελχισεδὲκ τῷ Ἀβράμου στρατῷ ξένια καὶ πολλὴν ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων παρέσχε καὶ παρὰ τὴν εὐωχίαν αὐτόν τε ἐπαινεῖν ἤρξατο καὶ τὸν θεὸν εὐλογεῖν ὑποχειρίους αὐτῷ ποιήσαντα τοὺς ἐχθρούς. Ἀβράμου δὲ διδόντος καὶ τὴν δεκάτην τῆς λείας αὐτῷ προσδέχεται τὴν δόσιν. [182] ὁ δὲ τῶν Σοδομιτῶν βασιλεὺς τὴν μὲν λείαν ἔχειν Ἄβραμον παρεκάλει, τοὺς δ᾽ ἀνθρώπους ἀπολαβεῖν ἠξίου, οὓς παρὰ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἔσωσεν οἰκείους ὄντας. Ἄβραμος δὲ οὐκ ἔφη τοῦτο ποιήσειν, οὐδ᾽ ἂν ἄλλην ὠφέλειαν ἐκ τῆς λείας ἐκείνης εἰς αὐτὸν ἥξειν πλὴν ὅσα τροφὴ τοῖς οἰκέταις αὐτοῦ γένοιτο: μοῖραν μέντοι τινὰ τοῖς φίλοις αὐτοῦ παρέσχε τοῖς συστρατευομένοις. Ἔσχων δ᾽ ὁ πρῶτος ἐκαλεῖτο [καὶ] Ἔννηρος καὶ Μαμβρῆς.

2. So Abram, when he had saved the captive Sodomites, who had been taken by the Assyrians, and Lot also, his kinsman, returned home in peace. Now the king of Sodom met him at a certain place, which they called The King's Dale, where Melchisedec, king of the city Salem, received him. That name signifies, the righteous king: and such he was, without dispute, insomuch that, on this account, he was made the priest of God: however, they afterward called Salem Jerusalem. Now this Melchisedec supplied Abram's army in an hospitable manner, and gave them provisions in abundance; and as they were feasting, he began to praise him, and to bless God for subduing his enemies under him. And when Abram gave him the tenth part of his prey, he accepted of the gift: but the king of Sodom desired Abram to take the prey, but entreated that he might have those men restored to him whom Abram had saved from the Assyrians, because they belonged to him. But Abram would not do so; nor would make any other advantage of that prey than what his servants had eaten; but still insisted that he should afford a part to his friends that had assisted him in the battle. The first of them was called Eschol, and then Enner, and Mambre.

(3) [183] Ἐπαινέσας δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὁ θεός, "ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἀπολεῖς, φησί, μισθοὺς οὓς ἄξιόν ἐστίν σε ἐπὶ τοιαύταις εὐπραγίαις κομίζεσθαι." τοῦ δ᾽ ὑπολαβόντος "καὶ τίς ἂν εἴη χάρις τούτων τῶν μισθῶν, οὐκ ὄντων οἳ διαδέξονται μετ᾽ αὐτόν, ἔτι γὰρ ἦν ἄπαις, ὁ θεὸς καὶ παῖδα αὐτῷ γενήσεσθαι καταγγέλλει καὶ πολλὴν ἐκείνου γενεάν, ὡς παραπλησίως αὐτῇ τοῖς ἄστροις ἔσεσθαι τὸν ἀριθμόν. [184] καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας θυσίαν προσφέρει τῷ θεῷ κελευσθεὶς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ. ἦν δὲ ὁ τρόπος τῆς θυσίας τοιοῦτος: δάμαλιν τριετίζουσαν καὶ αἶγα τριετίζουσαν καὶ κριὸν ὁμοίως τριετῆ καὶ τρυγόνα καὶ περιστερὰν κελεύσαντος διεῖλε, τῶν ὀρνέων οὐδὲν διελών. [185] εἶτα πρὶν στῆναι τὸν βωμὸν οἰωνῶν ἐφιπταμένων

ἐπιθυμίᾳ τοῦ αἵματος φωνὴ θεία παρῆν ἀποσημαίνουσα πονηροὺς αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις γείτονας ἐπὶ ἔτη τετρακόσια γενησομένους κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον: ἐν οἷς κακοπαθήσαντας περιέσεσθαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ κρατήσαντας πολέμῳ Χαναναίων ἔξειν αὐτῶν τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰς πόλεις.

3. And God commended his virtue, and said, Thou shalt not however lose the rewards thou hast deserved to receive by such thy glorious actions. He answered, And what advantage will it be to me to have such rewards, when I have none to enjoy them after me? — for he was hitherto childless. And God promised that he should have a son, and that his posterity should be very numerous; insomuch that their number should be like the stars. When he heard that, he offered a sacrifice to God, as he commanded him. The manner of the sacrifice was this: — He took an heifer of three years old, and a she-goat of three years old, and a ram in like manner of three years old, and a turtle-dove, and a pigeon and as he was enjoined, he divided the three former, but the birds he did not divide. After which, before he built his altar, where the birds of prey flew about, as desirous of blood, a Divine voice came to him, declaring that their neighbors would be grievous to his posterity, when they should be in Egypt, for four hundred years; during which time they should be afflicted, but afterwards should overcome their enemies, should conquer the Canaanites in war, and possess themselves of their land, and of their cities.

(4) [186] Ἄβραμος δὲ κατῴκει μὲν περὶ τὴν Ὠγύγην καλουμένην δρῦν, ἔστι δὲ τῆς Χαναναίας τὸ χωρίον οὐ πόρρω τῆς Ἑβρωνίων πόλεως, δυσφορῶν δὲ ἐπὶ γυναικὶ μὴ κυούσῃ ἱκετεύει τὸν θεὸν γονὴν αὐτῷ παιδὸς ἄρσενος παρασχεῖν. [187] τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ θαρσεῖν αὐτὸν παρακελευομένου τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθοῖς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἠγμένον καὶ παίδων ἐσομένων, Σάρρα τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος ἐπικλίνει μίαν τῶν θεραπαινίδων Ἀγάρην ὄνομα γένος οὖσαν Αἰγυπτίαν ὡς ἐξ αὐτῆς παιδοποιησομένῳ. [188] καὶ γενομένη ἐγκύμων ἡ θεραπαινὶς ἐξυβρίζειν εἰς τὴν Σάρραν ἐτόλμησε βασιλίζουσα, ὡς τῆς ἡγεμονίας περιστησομένης εἰς τὸν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς τεχθησόμενον. Ἀβράμου δὲ αὐτὴν πρὸς αἰκίαν παραδιδόντος τῇ Σάρρᾳ δρασμὸν ἐπεβούλευσεν οὐχ ὑπομένουσα τὰς ταλαιπωρίας καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἱκέτευεν οἶκτον αὐτῆς λαβεῖν. [189] ὑπαντιάζει δὲ διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου προι¨οῦσαν αὐτὴν ἄγγελος θεῖος κελεύων πρὸς τοὺς δεσπότας ἐπανιέναι: βίου γὰρ μείζονος τεύξεσθαι σωφρονοῦσαν: καὶ γὰρ νῦν εἰς τὴν δέσποιναν ἀγνώμονα καὶ αὐθάδη γενομένην ἐν τούτοις εἶναι τοῖς κακοῖς: [190] παρακούουσαν μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ προσωτέρω χωροῦσαν ἔλεγεν ἀπολεῖσθαι, νοστήσασαν δὲ αὐτὴν ὀπίσω γενήσεσθαι μητέρα παιδὸς τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης βασιλεύσοντος. τούτοις πείθεται καὶ ἐπανελθοῦσα πρὸς τοὺς δεσπότας

συγγνώμης ἔτυχε: τίκτει δὲ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ Ἰσμαῆλον, θεόκλυτον ἄν τις εἴποι, διὰ τὸ εἰσακοῦσαι τὸν θεὸν τῆς ἱκεσίας.

4. Now Abram dwelt near the oak called Ogyges, — the place belongs to Canaan, not far from the city of Hebron. But being uneasy at his wife's barrenness, he entreated God to grant that he might have male issue; and God required of him to be of good courage, and said that he would add to all the rest of the benefits that he had bestowed upon him, ever since he led him out of Mesopotamia, the gift of children. Accordingly Sarai, at God's command, brought to his bed one of her handmaidens, a woman of Egyptian descent, in order to obtain children by her; and when this handmaid was with child, she triumphed, and ventured to affront Sarai, as if the dominion were to come to a son to be born of her. But when Abram resigned her into the hand of Sarai, to punish her, she contrived to fly away, as not able to bear the instances of Sarai's severity to her; and she entreated God to have compassion on her. Now a Divine Angel met her, as she was going forward in the wilderness, and bid her return to her master and mistress, for if she would submit to that wise advice, she would live better hereafter; for that the reason of her being in such a miserable case was this, that she had been ungrateful and arrogant towards her mistress. He also told her, that if she disobeyed God, and went on still in her way, she should perish; but if she would return back, she should become the mother of a son who should reign over that country. These admonitions she obeyed, and returned to her master and mistress, and obtained forgiveness. A little while afterwards, she bare Ismael; which may be interpreted Heard of God, because God had heard his mother's prayer.

(5) [191] Ἀβράμῳ μὲν οὖν ἕκτον ἤδη καὶ ὀγδοηκοστὸν ἔτος γεγονότι ὁ προειρημένος ἐγεννήθη, εἰς ἕνατον δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐνενηκοστὸν παρελθόντι ἐπιφανεὶς ὁ θεὸς ἀπήγγειλεν, ὡς παῖς αὐτῷ ἐκ Σάρρας ἔσοιτο: κελεύει δ᾽ αὐτὸν καλέσαι Ἴσακον δηλῶν ἐσόμενα ἔθνη μεγάλα ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ βασιλεῖς, καὶ ὅτι πολεμήσαντες καθέξουσι τὴν Χαναναίαν ἅπασαν ἀπὸ Σιδῶνος μέχρι Αἰγύπτου, [192] προσέταξέ τε βουλόμενος τὸ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ γένος μένειν τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐ συμφυρόμενον περιτέμνεσθαι τὰ αἰδοῖα καὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖν ὀγδόῃ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὸ γεννηθῆναι. τὴν αἰτίαν δὲ τῆς περιτομῆς ἡμῶν ἐν ἄλλοις δηλώσω. [193] πυθομένῳ δὲ Ἀβράμῳ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ἰσμαήλου, εἰ ζήσεται, πολυχρόνιόν τε ἀπεσήμαινεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ μεγάλων ἐθνῶν πατέρα. καὶ Ἄβραμος μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις εὐχαριστήσας τῷ θεῷ περιτέμνεται παραχρῆμα καὶ πάντες οἱ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ παῖς Ἰσμαῆλος, οὗ κατ᾽ ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν τρισκαιδέκατον ἔτος ἔχοντος αὐτὸς ἐνενηκοστὸν πρὸς τοῖς ἐννέα διῆγεν.

5. The forementioned son was born to Abram when he was eighty-six years old: but when he was ninety-nine, God appeared to him, and promised him that he Should have a son by Sarai, and commanded that his name should be Isaac; and showed him, that from this son should spring great nations and kings, and that they should obtain all the land of Canaan by war, from Sidon to Egypt. But he charged him, in order to keep his posterity unmixed with others, that they should be circumcised in the flesh of their foreskin, and that this should be done on the eighth day after they were born: the reason of which circumcision I will explain in another place. And Abram inquiring also concerning Ismael, whether he should live or not, God signified to him that he should live to be very old, and should be the father of great nations. Abram therefore gave thanks to God for these blessings; and then he, and all his family, and his son Ismael, were circumcised immediately; the son being that day thirteen years of age, and he ninety-nine.

XI

CHAPTER 11. How God Overthrew The Nation Of The Sodomites, Out Of His Wrath Against Them For Their Sins.

(1) [194] Ὑπὸ δὴ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν οἱ Σοδομῖται πλήθει καὶ μεγέθει χρημάτων ὑπερφρονοῦντες εἴς τε ἀνθρώπους ἦσαν ὑβρισταὶ καὶ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἀσεβεῖς, ὡς μηκέτι μεμνῆσθαι τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ γενομένων ὠφελειῶν, εἶναί τε μισόξενοι καὶ τὰς πρὸς ἄλλους ὁμιλίας ἐκτρέπεσθαι. [195] χαλεπήνας οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ θεὸς ἔγνω τιμωρήσασθαι τῆς ὑπερηφανίας αὐτοὺς καὶ τήν τε πόλιν αὐτὴν κατασκάψασθαι καὶ τὴν χώραν οὕτως ἀφανίσαι, ὡς μήτε φυτὸν ἔτι μήτε καρπὸν ἕτερον ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀναδοθῆναι.

1. About this time the Sodomites grew proud, on account of their riches and great wealth; they became unjust towards men, and impious towards God, insomuch that they did not call to mind the advantages they received from him: they hated strangers, and abused themselves with Sodomitical practices. God was therefore much displeased at them, and determined to punish them for their pride, and to overthrow their city, and to lay waste their country, until there should neither plant nor fruit grow out of it.

(2) [196] Ταῦτα τοῦ θεοῦ κρίναντος περὶ τῶν Σοδομιτῶν Ἄβραμος θεασάμενος τρεῖς ἀγγέλους, ἐκαθέζετο δὲ πρὸς τῇ δρυῒ῎ τῇ Μαμβρῇ παρὰ τῇ θύρᾳ τῆς αὐτοῦ αὐλῆς, καὶ νομίσας εἶναι ξένους ἀναστὰς ἠσπάσατό τε καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτῷ καταχθέντας παρεκάλει ξενίας μεταλαβεῖν. [197] ἐπινευσάντων δὲ ἄρτους τε προσέταξεν εὐθὺς ἐκ σεμιδάλεως γενέσθαι, καὶ μόσχον θύσας καὶ ὀπτήσας ἐκόμισεν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῇ δρυῒ῎ κατακειμένοις: οἱ δὲ δόξαν αὐτῷ παρέσχον ἐσθιόντων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπυνθάνοντο, ποῖ ποτ᾽ εἴη Σάρρα. τοῦ δ᾽ εἰπόντος ἔνδον εἶναι, ἥξειν ἔφασαν εἰς τὸ μέλλον καὶ εὑρήσειν αὐτὴν ἤδη μητέρα γεγενημένην. [198] τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς ἐπὶ τούτῳ μειδιασάσης καὶ ἀδύνατον εἶναι τὴν τεκνοποιίαν εἰπούσης αὐτῆς μὲν ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη ἐχούσης τοῦ δ᾽ ἀνδρὸς ἑκατόν, οὐκέτι κατέσχον λανθάνοντες ἀλλ᾽ ἐμήνυσαν ἑαυτοὺς ὄντας ἀγγέλους τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ὅτι πεμφθείη μὲν ὁ εἷς σημανῶν περὶ τοῦ παιδός, οἱ δύο δὲ Σοδομίτας καταστρεψόμενοι.

2. When God had thus resolved concerning the Sodomites, Abraham, as he sat by the oak of Mambre, at the door of his tent, saw three angels; and thinking them to be strangers, he rose up, and saluted them, and desired they would accept of an entertainment, and abide with him; to which, when they agreed, he ordered

cakes of meal to be made presently; and when he had slain a calf, he roasted it, and brought it to them, as they sat under the oak. Now they made a show of eating; and besides, they asked him about his wife Sarah, where she was; and when he said she was within, they said they would come again hereafter, and find her become a mother. Upon which the woman laughed, and said that it was impossible she should bear children, since she was ninety years of age, and her husband was a hundred. Then they concealed themselves no longer, but declared that they were angels of God; and that one of them was sent to inform them about the child, and two of the overthrow of Sodom.

(3) [199] Ταῦτ' ἀκούσας Ἄβραμος ἤλγησεν ἐπὶ τοῖς Σοδομίταις καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀναστὰς ἱκέτευσε παρακαλῶν, μὴ τοὺς δικαίους καὶ ἀγαθοὺς συναπολλύναι τοῖς πονηροῖς. τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ φήσαντος μηδένα εἶναι τῶν Σοδομιτῶν ἀγαθόν, εἰ γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς δέκα εἶεν συγχωρεῖν ἅπασι τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασι τιμωρίαν, ὁ μὲν Ἄβραμος ἡσύχασεν: [200] οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι παρεγένοντο εἰς τὴν τῶν Σοδομιτῶν πόλιν, καὶ ὁ Λῶτος αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ξενίαν παρεκάλει: λίαν γὰρ ἦν περὶ τοὺς ξένους φιλάνθρωπος καὶ μαθητὴς τῆς Ἀβράμου χρηστότητος. οἱ δὲ Σοδομῖται θεασάμενοι τοὺς νεανίσκους εὐπρεπεστάτους τῇ ὄψει διαφέροντας καὶ παρὰ Λώτῳ καταχθέντας ἐπὶ βίαν καὶ ὕβριν αὐτῶν τῆς ὥρας ἐτράπησαν. [201] τοῦ δὲ Λώτου παραινοῦντος σωφρονεῖν καὶ μὴ χωρεῖν ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ τῶν ξένων, ἀλλ' ἔχειν αἰδῶ τῆς παρ' αὐτῷ καταγωγῆς, εἰ δὲ ἔχουσιν ἀκρατῶς, τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτῶν λέγοντος παρέξειν, οὐδ' οὕτως ἐπείσθησαν.

3. When Abraham heard this, he was grieved for the Sodomites; and he rose up, and besought God for them, and entreated him that he would not destroy the righteous with the wicked. And when God had replied that there was no good man among the Sodomites; for if there were but ten such man among them, he would not punish any of them for their sins, Abraham held his peace. And the angels came to the city of the Sodomites, and Lot entreated them to accept of a lodging with him; for he was a very generous and hospitable man, and one that had learned to imitate the goodness of Abraham. Now when the Sodomites saw the young men to be of beautiful countenances, and this to an extraordinary degree, and that they took up their lodgings with Lot, they resolved themselves to enjoy these beautiful boys by force and violence; and when Lot exhorted them to sobriety, and not to offer any thing immodest to the strangers, but to have regard to their lodging in his house; and promised that if their inclinations could not be governed, he would expose his daughters to their lust, instead of these strangers; neither thus were they made ashamed.

(4) [202] Ὁ θεὸς οὖν ἀγανακτήσας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς τολμήμασι τοὺς μὲν ἠμαύρωσεν, ὡς μὴ δυνηθῆναι τὴν εἴσοδον τὴν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εὑρεῖν, Σοδομιτῶν δὲ κατέκρινε πάνδημον ὄλεθρον. Λῶτος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν μέλλουσαν ἀπώλειαν τῶν Σοδομιτῶν αὐτῷ φράσαντος ἀπαλλάσσεται τήν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας, δύο δὲ ἦσαν ἔτι παρθένοι, ἀναλαβών: οἱ γὰρ μνηστῆρες περιεφρόνησαν τῆς ἐξόδου εὐήθειαν ἐπικαλοῦντες τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Λώτου λεγομένοις. [203] καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐνσκήπτει βέλος εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ σὺν τοῖς οἰκήτορσιν κατεπίμπρα τὴν γῆν ὁμοίᾳ πυρώσει ἀφανίζων, ὥς μοι καὶ πρότερον λέλεκται τὸν Ἰουδαϊκὸν ἀναγράφοντι πόλεμον. ἡ δὲ Λώτου γυνὴ παρὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν συνεχῶς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀναστρεφομένη καὶ πολυπραγμονοῦσα τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν ἀπηγορευκότος τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦτο μὴ ποιεῖν εἰς στήλην ἁλῶν μετέβαλεν: ἱστόρησα δ᾽ αὐτήν, ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν διαμένει. [204] διαφεύγει δ᾽ αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν θυγατέρων εἰς βραχύ τι χωρίον κατασχὼν περιγραφὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός: Ζωὼρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν λέγεται: καλοῦσι γὰρ οὕτως Ἑβραῖοι τὸ ὀλίγον. ἐνταῦθα τοίνυν ὑπό τε ἀνθρώπων ἐρημίας καὶ τροφῆς ἀπορίας ταλαιπώρως διῆγεν.

4. But God was much displeased at their impudent behavior, so that he both smote those men with blindness, and condemned the Sodomites to universal destruction. But Lot, upon God's informing him of the future destruction of the Sodomites, went away, taking with him his wife and daughters, who were two, and still virgins; for those that were betrothed to them were above the thoughts of going, and deemed that Lot's words were trifling. God then cast a thunderbolt upon the city, and set it on fire, with its inhabitants; and laid waste the country with the like burning, as I formerly said when I wrote the Jewish War. But Lot's wife continually turning back to view the city as she went from it, and being too nicely inquisitive what would become of it, although God had forbidden her so to do, was changed into a pillar of salt; for I have seen it, and it remains at this day. Now he and his daughters fled to a certain small place, encompassed with the fire, and settled in it: it is to this day called Zoar, for that is the word which the Hebrews use for a small thing. There it was that he lived a miserable life, on account of his having no company, and his want of provisions.

(5) [205] Αἱ δὲ παρθένοι πᾶν ἠφανίσθαι τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ὑπολαβοῦσαι τῷ πατρὶ πλησιάζουσι προνοήσασαι λαθεῖν: ἐποίουν δὲ τοῦτο ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὸ γένος ἐκλιπεῖν. γίνονται δὲ παῖδες ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Μώαβος: εἴποι δ᾽ ἄν τις ἀπὸ πατρός. Ἄμμανον δ᾽ ἡ νεωτέρα ποιεῖται: γένους υἱὸν ἀποσημαίνει τὸ ὄνομα. [206] καὶ κτίζει δ᾽ αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν Μωαβίτας μέγιστον ὄντας καὶ νῦν ἔθνος, Ἀμμανίτας δὲ ὁ ἕτερος: Συρίας τῆς κοίλης ἐστὶν ἀμφότερα. καὶ Λώτῳ μὲν τοιαύτην συνέβη τὴν ἐκ Σοδομιτῶν ἀναχώρησιν γενέσθαι.

5. But his daughters, thinking that all mankind were destroyed, approached to their father, though taking care not to be perceived. This they did, that human kind might not utterly fail: and they bare sons; the son of the elder was named Moab, Which denotes one derived from his father; the younger bare Ammon, which name denotes one derived from a kinsman. The former of whom was the father of the Moabites, which is even still a great nation; the latter was the father of the Ammonites; and both of them are inhabitants of Celesyria. And such was the departure of Lot from among the Sodomites.

XII

CHAPTER 12. Concerning Abimelech; And Concerning Ismael The Son Of Abraham; And Concerning The Arabians, Who Were His Posterity.

(1) [207] Ἄβραμος δὲ μετῴκησεν εἰς Γέραρα τῆς Παλαιστίνης ἐν ἀδελφῆς ἐπαγόμενος σχήματι τὴν Σάρραν, ὅμοια τοῖς πρὶν ὑποκρινάμενος διὰ τὸν φόβον: ἐδεδίει γὰρ Ἀβιμέλεχον τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ἐπιχωρίων: ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐρασθεὶς τῆς Σάρρας φθείρειν οἷός τε ἦν. [208] εἴργεται δὲ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ὑπὸ νόσου χαλεπῆς αὐτῷ προσπεσούσης ἐκ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν αὐτὸν ἀπεγνωκότων ὑπνώσας ὄναρ ὁρᾷ μηδὲν ὑβρίζειν τὴν τοῦ ξένου γυναῖκα, καὶ ῥᾷον διατεθεὶς φράζει πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, ὡς ὁ θεὸς ταύτην αὐτῷ ἐπάγει τὴν νόσον ὑπὲρ ἐκδικίας τοῦ ξένου φυλάσσων ἀνύβριστον αὐτῷ τὴν γυναῖκα, μὴ γὰρ ἀδελφὴν οὖσαν ἐπάγεσθαι νόμῳ δ᾽ αὐτῷ συνοικοῦσαν, ἐπαγγέλλεταί τε παρέξειν αὐτὸν εὐμενῆ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀδεοῦς ἐκείνου περὶ τὴν γυναῖκα γενομένου. [209] ταῦτα εἰπὼν μεταπέμπεται τὸν Ἄβραμον συμβουλευσάντων τῶν φίλων καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτὸν ὡς πεισομένης τι τῶν αἰσχρῶν ἐκέλευσε δεδιέναι, θεὸν γὰρ αὐτοῦ κήδεσθαι, καὶ κατὰ τὴν συμμαχίαν τὴν ἐκείνου μεμενηκυῖαν ἀνύβριστον κομίζεσθαι. τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ μάρτυρος ὄντος καὶ τοῦ τῆς γυναικὸς συνειδότος ἔλεγε μηδ᾽ ἂν ὀρεχθῆναι τὴν ἀρχήν, εἰ γαμετὴν οὖσαν ἠπίστατο, ὡς ἀδελφὴν δὲ ἀγόμενον ἦν οὐκ ἠδίκουν. [210] παρακαλεῖ τε πρᾴως ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν θεὸν εὐμενῆ ποιεῖν, παρ᾽ αὐτῷ τε μένειν βουλομένῳ πᾶσαν ἀφθονίαν ὑπάρξειν ἀπιέναι τε προαιρούμενον τεύξεσθαι πομπῆς καὶ πάντων ὅσων καὶ χρῄζων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφίκοιτο. [211] ταῦτ᾽ εἰπόντος Ἄβραμος οὔτε τὴν συγγένειαν τῆς γυναικὸς ἐψεῦσθαι ἔλεγεν, ἀδελφοῦ γὰρ αὐτὴν εἶναι παῖδα, καὶ δίχα τοιαύτης ὑποκρίσεως οὐκ ἀσφαλῆ τὴν ἐπιδημίαν ὑπολαβεῖν. ὅσα τε ἐπὶ τῷ μηδὲν αἴτιος τῆς νόσου γεγονέναι προθυμηθῆναι δ᾽ αὐτοῦ περὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν, ἑτοίμως ἔφασκεν ἔχειν παρ᾽ αὐτῷ μένειν. [212] καὶ Ἀβιμέλεχος τήν τε γῆν πρὸς αὐτὸν νέμεται καὶ τὰ χρήματα, καὶ συντίθενται ἀδόλως πολιτεύσεσθαι ὑπέρ τινος φρέατος ποιούμενοι τὸν ὅρκον, ὃ Βηρσουβαὶ καλοῦσιν: ὅρκιον δὲ φρέαρ λέγοιτ᾽ ἄν. οὕτω δ᾽ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ὠνόμασται.

1. Abraham now removed to Gerar of Palestine, leading Sarah along with him, under the notion of his sister, using the like dissimulation that he had used before, and this out of fear: for he was afraid of Abimelech, the king of that country, who did also himself fall in love with Sarah, and was disposed to corrupt her; but he was restrained from satisfying his lust by a dangerous distemper which befell him from God. Now when his physicians despaired of

curing him, he fell asleep, and saw a dream, warning him not to abuse the stranger's wife; and when he recovered, he told his friends that God had inflicted that disease upon him, by way of punishment, for his injury to the stranger; and in order to preserve the chastity of his wife, for that she did not accompany him as his sister, but as his legitimate wife; and that God had promised to be gracious to him for the time to come, if this person be once secure of his wife's chastity. When he had said this, by the advice of his friends, he sent for Abraham, and bid him not to be concerned about his wife, or fear the corruption of her chastity; for that God took care of him, and that it was by his providence that he received his wife again, without her suffering any abuse. And he appealed to God, and to his wife's conscience; and said that he had not any inclination at first to enjoy her, if he had known she was his wife; but since, said he, thou leddest her about as thy sister, I was guilty of no offense. He also entreated him to be at peace with him, and to make God propitious to him; and that if he thought fit to continue with him, he should have what he wanted in abundance; but that if he designed to go away, he should be honorably conducted, and have whatsoever supply he wanted when he came thither. Upon his saying this, Abraham told him that his pretense of kindred to his wife was no lie, because she was his brother's daughter; and that he did not think himself safe in his travels abroad, without this sort of dissimulation; and that he was not the cause of his distemper, but was only solicitous for his own safety: he said also, that he was ready to stay with him. Whereupon Abimelech assigned him land and money; and they coventanted to live together without guile, and took an oath at a certain well called Beersheba, which may be interpreted, The Well of the Oath: and so it is named by the people of the country unto this day.

(2) [213] Γίνεται δὲ Ἀβράμῳ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ καὶ παῖς ἐκ Σάρρας, ὡς αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ προείρητο, ὃν Ἴσακον ὠνόμασε: τοῦτο γέλωτα σημαίνει: διὰ μέντοι τὸ τὴν Σάρραν μειδιάσαι τέξεσθαι φήσαντος αὐτὴν τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ προσδοκῶσαν ἤδη τοκετοῦ πρεσβυτέραν οὖσαν τὸν υἱὸν οὕτως ἐκάλεσεν. αὐτὴ μὲν γὰρ ἐνενήκοντα εἶχεν ἔτη ἑκατὸν δὲ Ἄβραμος. [214] τίκτεται δὲ παῖς ἑκατέρων τῷ ὑστάτῳ ἔτει, ὃν εὐθὺς μετ᾽ ὀγδόην ἡμέραν περιτέμνουσι, κἀξ ἐκείνου μετὰ τοσαύτας ἔθος ἔχουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ποιεῖσθαι τὰς περιτομάς, Ἄραβες δὲ μετὰ ἔτος τρισκαιδέκατον: Ἰσμαῆλος γὰρ ὁ κτίστης αὐτῶν τοῦ ἔθνους Ἀβράμῳ γενόμενος ἐκ τῆς παλλακῆς ἐν τούτῳ περιτέμνεται τῷ χρόνῳ: περὶ οὗ τὸν πάντα λόγον ἐκθήσομαι μετὰ πολλῆς ἀκριβείας.

2. Now in a little time Abraham had a son by Sarah, as God had foretold to him, whom he named Isaac, which signifies Laughter. And indeed they so called him, because Sarah laughed when God said that she should bear a son, she not

expecting such a thing, as being past the age of child-bearing, for she was ninety years old, and Abraham a hundred; so that this son was born to them both in the last year of each of those decimal numbers. And they circumcised him upon the eighth day and from that time the Jews continue the custom of circumcising their sons within that number of days. But as for the Arabians, they circumcise after the thirteenth year, because Ismael, the founder of their nation, who was born to Abraham of the concubine, was circumcised at that age; concerning whom I will presently give a particular account, with great exactness.

(3) [215] Σάρρα δὲ γεννηθέντα τὸν Ἰσμαῆλον ἐκ τῆς δούλης αὐτῆς Ἀγάρης τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔστεργεν οὐδὲν ἀπολείπουσα τῆς πρὸς ἴδιον υἱὸν εὐνοίας, ἐτρέφετο γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἡγεμονίας διαδοχῇ, τεκοῦσα δ' αὐτὴ τὸν Ἴσακον οὐκ ἠξίου παρατρέφεσθαι τούτῳ τὸν Ἰσμαῆλον ὄντα πρεσβύτερον καὶ κακουργεῖν δυνάμενον τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῖς ἀποθανόντος. [216] ἔπειθεν οὖν τὸν Ἄβραμον εἰς ἀποικίαν ἐκπέμπειν αὐτὸν μετὰ τῆς μητρός. ὁ δὲ κατὰ μὲν ἀρχὰς οὐ προσετίθετο τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην οἷς ἡ Σάρρα ἐσπουδάκει πάντων ὠμότατον ἡγούμενος εἶναι παῖδα νήπιον καὶ γυναῖκα ἄπορον τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐκπέμπειν. [217] ὕστερον δέ, καὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἠρέσκετο τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς Σάρρας προσταττομένοις, πεισθεὶς παρεδίδου τὸν Ἰσμαῆλον τῇ μητρὶ μήπω δι' αὐτοῦ χωρεῖν δυνάμενον, ὕδωρ τε ἐν ἀσκῷ καὶ ἄρτον φερομένην ἐκέλευεν ἀπιέναι ὁδηγῷ τῇ ἀνάγκῃ χρωμένην. [218] ὡς δ' ἀπιοῦσαν ἐπιλελοίπει τὰ ἀναγκαῖα, ἐν κακοῖς ἦν, ὕδατος δὲ σπανίζοντος ὑπ' ἐλάτῃ τινὶ θεῖσα τὸ παιδίον ψυχορραγοῦν, ὡς μὴ παρούσης τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφῇ, προῄει πορρωτέρω. [219] συντυχὼν δ' αὐτῇ θεῖος ἄγγελος πηγήν τε φράζει παρακειμένην καὶ κελεύει προνοεῖν τῆς ἀνατροφῆς τοῦ παιδίου: μεγάλα γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀγαθὰ περιμένειν ἐκ τῆς Ἰσμαήλου σωτηρίας. ἡ δ' ἐθάρσησε τοῖς προκατηγγελμένοις καὶ συμβαλοῦσα ποιμέσι διὰ τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπιμέλειαν διαφεύγει τὰς ταλαιπωρίας.

3. As for Sarah, she at first loved Ismael, who was born of her own handmaid Hagar, with an affection not inferior to that of her own son, for he was brought up in order to succeed in the government; but when she herself had borne Isaac, she was not willing that Ismael should be brought up with him, as being too old for him, and able to do him injuries when their father should be dead; she therefore persuaded Abraham to send him and his mother to some distant country. Now, at the first, he did not agree to what Sarah was so zealous for, and thought it an instance of the greatest barbarity, to send away a young child and a woman unprovided of necessaries; but at length he agreed to it, because God was pleased with what Sarah had determined: so he delivered Ismael to his mother, as not yet able to go by himself; and commanded her to take a bottle of water, and a loaf of bread, and so to depart, and to take Necessity for her guide. But as

soon as her necessary provisions failed, she found herself in an evil case; and when the water was almost spent, she laid the young child, who was ready to expire, under a fig-tree, and went on further, that so he might die while she was absent. But a Divine Angel came to her, and told her of a fountain hard by, and bid her take care, and bring up the child, because she should be very happy by the preservation of Ismael. She then took courage, upon the prospect of what was promised her, and, meeting with some shepherds, by their care she got clear of the distresses she had been in.

(4) [220] Ἀνδρωθέντι δὲ τῷ παιδὶ γύναιον ἄγεται τὸ γένος Αἰγύπτιον, ἐνθένδε ἦν καὶ αὐτὴ τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἐξ οὗ παῖδες Ἰσμαήλῳ γίνονται δώδεκα πάντες, Ναβαιώθης Κήδαρος Ἀβδεῆλος Μάσσαμος Μάσμασος Ἰδουμᾶς Μάσμησος Χόδαμος Θέμανος Ἰετοῦρος Νάφαισος Κάδμασος. [221] οὗτοι πᾶσαν τὴν ἀπ᾽ Εὐφράτου καθήκουσαν πρὸς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν κατοικοῦσι Ναβατηνὴν τὴν χώραν ὀνομάσαντες. εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι, οἳ τὸ τῶν Ἀράβων ἔθνος καὶ τὰς φυλὰς ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν καλοῦσι διά τε τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ Ἀβράμου ἀξίωμα.

4. When the lad was grown up, he married a wife, by birth an Egyptian, from whence the mother was herself derived originally. Of this wife were born to Ismael twelve sons; Nabaioth, Kedar, Abdeel, Mabsam, Idumas, Masmaos, Masaos, Chodad, Theman, Jetur, Naphesus, Cadmas. These inhabited all the country from Euphrates to the Red Sea, and called it Nabatene. They are an Arabian nation, and name their tribes from these, both because of their own virtue, and because of the dignity of Abraham their father.

XIII

CHAPTER 13. Concerning Isaac The Legitimate Son Of Abraham.

(1) [222] Ἴσακον δὲ ὁ πατὴρ Ἄβραμος ὑπερηγάπα μονογενῆ ὄντα καὶ ἐπὶ γήρως οὐδῷ κατὰ δωρεὰν αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ γενόμενον. προεκαλεῖτο δὲ εἰς εὔνοιαν καὶ τὸ φιλεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ παῖς ἐπιτηδεύων πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν καὶ τῆς τε τῶν πατέρων θεραπείας ἐχόμενος καὶ περὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείαν ἐσπουδακώς. [223] Ἄβραμος δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐν μόνῳ τῷ τὸν υἱὸν ἀπαθῆ καταλιπὼν ἐξελθεῖν τοῦ ζῆν ἐτίθετο. τούτου μέντοι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βούλησιν ἔτυχεν, ὃς διάπειραν αὐτοῦ βουλόμενος λαβεῖν τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν θρησκείας ἐμφανισθεὶς αὐτῷ καὶ πάντα ὅσα εἴη παρεσχημένος καταριθμησάμενος, [224] ὡς πολεμίων τε κρείττονα ποιήσειε καὶ τὴν παροῦσαν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ σπουδῆς ἔχοι καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Ἴσακον, ᾗτει τοῦτον αὐτῷ θῦμα καὶ ἱερεῖον αὐτὸν παρασχεῖν ἐκέλευέ τε εἰς τὸ Μώριον ὄρος ἀναγαγόντα ὁλοκαυτῶσαι βωμὸν ἱδρυσάμενον: οὕτως γὰρ ἐμφανίσειν τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν θρησκείαν, εἰ καὶ τῆς τοῦ τέκνου σωτηρίας προτιμήσειε τὸ τῷ θεῷ κεχαρισμένον.

1. Now Abraham greatly loved Isaac, as being his only begotten and given to him at the borders of old age, by the favor of God. The child also endeared himself to his parents still more, by the exercise of every virtue, and adhering to his duty to his parents, and being zealous in the worship of God. Abraham also placed his own happiness in this prospect, that, when he should die, he should leave this his son in a safe and secure condition; which accordingly he obtained by the will of God: who being desirous to make an experiment of Abraham's religious disposition towards himself, appeared to him, and enumerated all the blessings he had bestowed on him; how he had made him superior to his enemies; and that his son Isaac, who was the principal part of his present happiness, was derived from him; and he said that he required this son of his as a sacrifice and holy oblation. Accordingly he commanded him to carry him to the mountain Moriah, and to build an altar, and offer him for a burnt-offering upon it for that this would best manifest his religious disposition towards him, if he preferred what was pleasing to God, before the preservation of his own son.

(2) [225] Ἄβραμος δὲ ἐπὶ μηδενὶ κρίνων παρακούειν τοῦ θεοῦ δίκαιον ἅπαντά θ' ὑπουργεῖν ὡς ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου προνοίας ἀπαντώντων οἷς ἂν εὐμενὴς ᾖ, ἐπικρυψάμενος πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα τήν τε τοῦ θεοῦ πρόρρησιν καὶ ἣν εἶχεν αὐτὸς γνώμην περὶ τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς σφαγῆς, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τῶν οἰκετῶν τινι δηλώσας, ἐκωλύετο γὰρ ἂν ὑπηρετῆσαι τῷ θεῷ, λαβὼν τὸν Ἴσακον μετὰ δύο οἰκετῶν καὶ

τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἱερουργίαν ἐπισάξας ὄνῳ ἀπῄει πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. [226] καὶ δύο μὲν ἡμέρας αὐτῷ συνώδευσαν οἱ οἰκέται, τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ ὡς κάτοπτον ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ ὄρος, καταλιπὼν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τοὺς συνόντας μετὰ μόνου τοῦ παιδὸς παραγίνεται εἰς τὸ ὄρος, ἐφ᾽ οὗ τὸ ἱερὸν Δαβίδης ὁ βασιλεὺς ὕστερον ἱδρύεται. [227] ἔφερον δὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς ὅσα λοιπὰ πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν ἦν πλὴν ἱερείου. τοῦ δ᾽ Ἰσάκου πέμπτον τε καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἔχοντος τὸν βωμὸν κατασκευάζοντος καὶ πυθομένου, τί καὶ μέλλοιεν θύειν ἱερείου μὴ παρόντος, τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς παρέξειν ἔλεγεν ὄντα ἱκανὸν καὶ τῶν οὐκ ὄντων εἰς εὐπορίαν ἀνθρώποις παραγαγεῖν καὶ τὰ ὄντα τῶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς θαρρούντων ἀφελέσθαι: δώσειν οὖν κἀκείνῳ ἱερεῖον, εἴπερ εὐμενὴς μέλλει τῇ θυσίᾳ παρατυγχάνειν αὐτοῦ.

2. Now Abraham thought that it was not right to disobey God in any thing, but that he was obliged to serve him in every circumstance of life, since all creatures that live enjoy their life by his providence, and the kindness he bestows on them. Accordingly he concealed this command of God, and his own intentions about the slaughter of his son, from his wife, as also from every one of his servants, otherwise he should have been hindered from his obedience to God; and he took Isaac, together with two of his servants, and laying what things were necessary for a sacrifice upon an ass, he went away to the mountain. Now the two servants went along with him two days; but on the third day, as soon as he saw the mountain, he left those servants that were with him till then in the plain, and, having his son alone with him, he came to the mountain. It was that mountain upon which king David afterwards built the temple. Now they had brought with them every thing necessary for a sacrifice, excepting the animal that was to be offered only. Now Isaac was twenty-five years old. And as he was building the altar, he asked his father what he was about to offer, since there was no animal there for an oblation: — to which it was answered, "That God would provide himself an oblation, he being able to make a plentiful provision for men out of what they have not, and to deprive others of what they already have, when they put too much trust therein; that therefore, if God pleased to be present and propitious at this sacrifice, he would provide himself an oblation."

(3) [228] Ὡς δ᾽ ὁ βωμὸς παρεσκεύαστο καὶ τὰς σχίζας ἐπενηνόχει καὶ ἦν εὐτρεπῆ, λέγει πρὸς τὸν υἱόν: "ὦ παῖ, μυρίαις εὐχαῖς αἰτησάμενός σε γενέσθαι μοι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπεὶ παρῆλθες εἰς τὸν βίον, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι μὴ περὶ τὴν σὴν ἀνατροφὴν ἐφιλοτιμησάμην οὐδ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ᾧ μᾶλλον εὐδαιμονήσειν ᾤμην, ὡς εἰ σέ τ᾽ ἴδοιμι ἡνδρωμένον καὶ τελευτῶν διάδοχον τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ καταλίποιμι. [229] ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ θεοῦ τε βουλομένου σὸς πατὴρ ἐγενόμην καὶ πάλιν τούτῳ δοκοῦν ἀποτίθεμαί σε, φέρε γενναίως τὴν καθιέρωσιν: τῷ θεῷ γάρ σε παραχωρῶ ταύτης ἀξιώσαντι παρ᾽ ἡμῶν τῆς τιμῆς ἀνθ᾽ ὧν εὐμενὴς γέγονέ μοι παραστάτης καὶ

σύμμαχος νῦν ἐπιτυχεῖν. [230] ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐγεννήθης ἀΠοθάνης οὐ τὸν κοινὸν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν τρόπον, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ πατρὸς ἰδίου θεῷ τῷ πάντων πατρὶ νόμῳ θυσίας προπεμπόμενος, ἄξιον οἶμαί σε κρίναντος αὐτοῦ μήτε νόσῳ μήτε πολέμῳ μήτε ἄλλῳ τινὶ τῶν παθῶν, ἃ συμπίπτειν πέφυκεν ἀνθρώποις, ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ βίου, [231] μετ᾽ εὐχῶν τε καὶ ἱερουργίας ἐκείνου ψυχὴν τὴν σὴν προσδεξομένου καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτῷ καθέξοντος: ἔσῃ τ᾽ ἐμοὶ εἰς κηδεμόνα καὶ γηρωκόμον, διὸ καὶ σὲ μάλιστα ἀνετρεφόμην, τὸν θεὸν ἀντὶ σαυτοῦ παρεσχημένος.”

3. As soon as the altar was prepared, and Abraham had laid on the wood, and all things were entirely ready, he said to his son, “O son, I poured out a vast number of prayers that I might have thee for my son; when thou wast come into the world, there was nothing that could contribute to thy support for which I was not greatly solicitous, nor any thing wherein I thought myself happier than to see thee grown up to man’s estate, and that I might leave thee at my death the successor to my dominion; but since it was by God’s will that I became thy father, and it is now his will that I relinquish thee, bear this consecration to God with a generous mind; for I resign thee up to God who has thought fit now to require this testimony of honor to himself, on account of the favors he hath conferred on me, in being to me a supporter and defender. Accordingly thou, my son, wilt now die, not in any common way of going out of the world, but sent to God, the Father of all men, beforehand, by thy own father, in the nature of a sacrifice. I suppose he thinks thee worthy to get clear of this world neither by disease, neither by war, nor by any other severe way, by which death usually comes upon men, but so that he will receive thy soul with prayers and holy offices of religion, and will place thee near to himself, and thou wilt there be to me a succorer and supporter in my old age; on which account I principally brought thee up, and thou wilt thereby procure me God for my Comforter instead of thyself.”

(4) [232] Ἴσακος δέ, πατρὸς γὰρ ἦν οἵου τετυχηκότα γενναῖον ἔδει τὸ φρόνημα εἶναι, δέχεται πρὸς ἡδονὴν τοὺς λόγους καὶ φήσας, ὡς οὐδὲ γεγονέναι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἦν δίκαιος, εἰ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς μέλλει κρίσιν ἀπωθεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ παρέχειν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἀμφοτέρων βουλήμασιν ἑτοίμως, ὅτε καὶ μόνου τοῦ πατρὸς ταῦτα προαιρουμένου μὴ ὑπακούειν ἄδικον ἦν, ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν καὶ τὴν σφαγήν. [233] κἂν ἐπράχθη τὸ ἔργον μὴ στάντος ἐμποδὼν τοῦ θεοῦ: βοᾷ γὰρ ὀνομαστὶ τὸν Ἄβραμον εἴργων τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς σφαγῆς. οὐ γὰρ ἐπιθυμήσας αἵματος ἀνθρωπίνου τὴν σφαγὴν αὐτῷ προστάξαι τοῦ παιδὸς ἔλεγεν, οὐδὲ οὗ πατέρα ἐποίησεν αὐτὸς ἀφελέσθαι τούτου βουλόμενος μετὰ τοιαύτης ἀσεβείας, ἀλλὰ δοκιμάσαι θέλων αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν, εἰ καὶ τοιαῦτα προστασσόμενος ὑπακούοι. [234] μαθὼν δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ πρόθυμον καὶ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς θρησκείας

ἥδεσθαι μὲν οἷς αὐτῷ παρέσχεν, οὐχ ὑστερήσειν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀεὶ πάσης ἐπιμελείας καὶ τὸ γένος ἀξιοῦντα, ἔσεσθαί τε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ πολυχρονιώτατον καὶ βιώσαντα εὐδαιμόνως παισὶν ἀγαθοῖς καὶ γνησίοις παραδώσειν μεγάλην ἡγεμονίαν. [235] προεδήλου τε τὸ γένος τὸ αὐτῶν εἰς ἔθνη πολλὰ καὶ πλοῦτον ἐπιδώσειν, καὶ μνήμην αἰώνιον αὐτῶν ἔσεσθαι τοῖς γενάρχαις, τήν τε Χαναναίαν ὅπλοις κατακτησαμένους ζηλωτοὺς ἔσεσθαι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις. [236] ταῦτα ὁ θεὸς εἰπὼν κριὸν ἐκ τἀφανοῦς παρήγαγεν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν ἱερουργίαν. οἱ δὲ παρ᾽ ἐλπίδας αὐτοῦ κεκομισμένου καὶ τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν ἐπαγγελίας ἀκηκοότες ἠσπάζοντό τε ἀλλήλους καὶ θύσαντες ἀπενόστησαν πρὸς τὴν Σάρραν καὶ διῆγον εὐδαιμόνως ἐφ᾽ ἅπασιν οἷς ἐθελήσειαν τοῦ θεοῦ συλλαμβάνοντος αὐτοῖς.

4. Now Isaac was of such a generous disposition as became the son of such a father, and was pleased with this discourse; and said, “That he was not worthy to be born at first, if he should reject the determination of God and of his father, and should not resign himself up readily to both their pleasures; since it would have been unjust if he had not obeyed, even if his father alone had so resolved.” So he went immediately to the altar to be sacrificed. And the deed had been done if God had not opposed it; for he called loudly to Abraham by his name, and forbade him to slay his son; and said, “It was not out of a desire of human blood that he was commanded to slay his son, nor was he willing that he should be taken away from him whom he had made his father, but to try the temper of his mind, whether he would be obedient to such a command. Since therefore he now was satisfied as to that his alacrity, and the surprising readiness he showed in this his piety, he was delighted in having bestowed such blessings upon him; and that he would not be wanting in all sort of concern about him, and in bestowing other children upon him; and that his son should live to a very great age; that he should live a happy life, and bequeath a large principality to his children, who should be good and legitimate.” He foretold also, that his family should increase into many nations and that those patriarchs should leave behind them an everlasting name; that they should obtain the possession of the land of Canaan, and be envied by all men. When God had said this, he produced to them a ram, which did not appear before, for the sacrifice. So Abraham and Isaac receiving each other unexpectedly, and having obtained the promises of such great blessings, embraced one another; and when they had sacrificed, they returned to Sarah, and lived happily together, God affording them his assistance in all things they desired.

XIV

CHAPTER 14. Concerning Sarah Abraham's Wife; And How She Ended Her Days.

(1) [237] Καὶ Σάρρα μὲν οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἀποθνήσκει βιώσασα ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν. θάπτουσι δ' αὐτὴν ἐν Νεβρῶνι συγχωρούντων μὲν τῶν Χαναναίων καὶ δημοσίᾳ χοῦν αὐτῆς τὸν τάφον, Ἀβράμου δὲ ὠνησαμένου τὸ χωρίον σίκλων τετρακοσίων παρ' Ἐφραίμου τινὸς ἐκ τῆς Νεβρῶνος. καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα Ἄβραμός τε καὶ οἱ ἀπόγονοι αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ κατεσκευάσαντο.

1. Now Sarah died a little while after, having lived one hundred and twenty-seven years. They buried her in Hebron; the Canaanites publicly allowing them a burying-place; which piece of ground Abraham bought for four hundred shekels, of Ephron, an inhabitant of Hebron. And both Abraham and his descendants built themselves sepulchers in that place.

CHAPTER 15. How The Nation Of The Troglodytes Were Derived From Abraham By Keturah.

(1) [238] Γαμεῖ δ’ αὐτὸς Κατούραν ὕστερον, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ παῖδες ἓξ γίνονται πρός τε πόνους καρτεροὶ καὶ δεινοὶ συνιέναι, Ζεμβράνης Ἰαζάρης Μαδάνης Μαδιάνης Λουσούβακος Σοῦος. φύονται δὲ καὶ τούτοις παῖδες: καὶ Σούου μὲν Σαβακίνης γίνεται καὶ Δαδάνης, τούτου δὲ Λατούσιμος Ἄσσουρις Λούουρις: Μαδάνου δὲ Ἠφᾶς Ἐώφρην Ἄνωχος Ἐβιδᾶς Ἐλδᾶς. [239] τούτοις ἅπασι τοῖς παισὶ καὶ τοῖς υἱωνοῖς Ἄβραμος ἀποικιῶν στόλους μηχανᾶται, καὶ τήν τε Τρωγλοδῦτιν καταλαμβάνουσι καὶ τῆς εὐδαίμονος Ἀραβίας ὅσον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν καθήκει θάλασσαν. λέγεται δέ, ὡς οὗτος ὁ Ἐώφρην στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τὴν Λιβύην κατέσχεν αὐτὴν καὶ οἱ υἱωνοὶ αὐτοῦ κατοικήσαντες ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν γῆν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκείνου ὀνόματος Ἀφρικὰ προσηγόρευσαν. [240] μαρτυρεῖ δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ πολυίστωρ λέγων οὕτως: “Κλεόδημος δέ φησιν ὁ προφήτης ὁ καὶ Μάλχος ἱστορῶν τὰ περὶ Ἰουδαίων, καθὼς καὶ Μωυσῆς ἱστόρησεν ὁ νομοθέτης αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἐκ τῆς Κατούρας Ἀβράμῳ ἐγένοντο παῖδες ἱκανοί. [241] λέγει δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ὀνομάζων τρεῖς Ἰαφέραν Σούρην Ἰαφράν. ἀπὸ Σούρου μὲν τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν κεκλῆσθαι, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δύο Ἰαφρᾶ τε καὶ Ἰαφέρου, πόλιν τε Ἐφρᾶν καὶ τὴν χώραν Ἀφρικὰ ὀνομασθῆναι. τούτους γὰρ Ἡρακλεῖ συστρατεῦσαι ἐπὶ Λιβύην καὶ Ἀνταῖον: γήμαντά τε τὴν Ἀφράνου θυγατέρα Ἡρακλέα γεννῆσαι υἱὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς Δίδωρον: τούτου δὲ γενέσθαι Σόφωνα, ἀφ’ οὗ τοὺς βαρβάρους Σόφακας λέγεσθαι.”

1. Abraham after this married Keturah, by whom six sons were born to him, men of courage, and of sagacious minds: Zambran, and Jazar, and Madan, and Madian, and Josabak, and Sous. Now the sons of Sous were Sabathan and Dadan. The sons of Dadan were Latusim, and Assur, and Luom. The sons of Madiau were Ephas, and Ophren, and Anoch, and Ebidas, and Eldas. Now, for all these sons and grandsons, Abraham contrived to settle them in colonies; and they took possession of Troglodytis, and the country of Arabia the Happy, as far as it reaches to the Red Sea. It is related of this Ophren, that he made war against Libya, and took it, and that his grandchildren, when they inhabited it, called it [from his name] Africa. And indeed Alexander Polyhistor gives his attestation to what I here say; who speaks thus: “Cleodemus the prophet, who was also called Malchus, who wrote a History of the Jews, in agreement with the History of Moses, their legislator, relates, that there were many sons born to Abraham by Keturah: nay, he names three of them, Apher, and Surim, and Japhran. That from Surim was the land of Assyria denominated; and that from the other two [Apher

and Japbran] the country of Africa took its name, because these men were auxiliaries to Hercules, when he fought against Libya and Antaeus; and that Hercules married Aphra's daughter, and of her he begat a son, Diodorus; and that Sophon was his son, from whom that barbarous people called Sophacians were denominated."

XVI

CHAPTER 16. How Isaac Took Rebeka To Wife.

(1) [242] Ἰσάκῳ δὲ περὶ τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔτος γεγονότι γυναῖκα γνοὺς ἀγαγέσθαι ὁ πατὴρ Ἄβραμος Ῥεβέκκαν Ναχώρου παιδὸς θυγατέρα τἀδελφοῦ τὸν πρεσβύτατον πέμπει τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐπὶ τὴν μνηστείαν ἐνδησάμενος μεγάλαις πίστεσι. [243] γίνονται δὲ αὗται τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον: ὑπὸ τοὺς μηροὺς ἀλλήλοις τὰς χεῖρας ἐπαγαγόντες ἔπειτα ἐπικαλοῦνται τὸν θεὸν μάρτυρα τῶν ἐσομένων. ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ δῶρα τοῖς ἐκεῖ διὰ τὸ σπάνιον ἢ μηδ᾽ ὅλως ἐπιχωριάζειν ἐκτετιμημένα. [244] οὗτος ἀπερχόμενος χρόνῳ διὰ τὸ εἶναι χαλεπὴν ὁδεύεσθαι τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν, χειμῶνι μὲν ὑπὸ πηλῶν βάθους, θέρους δ᾽ ὑπὸ ἀνυδρίας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ λῃστηρίων ὄντων ἐν αὐτῇ, ἃ διαφυγεῖν οὐκ ἐνῆν μὴ προνοοῦσι τούτου τοῖς ὁδεύουσιν, εἰς πόλιν ἀφικνεῖται Κάρραν καὶ γενόμενος ἐν τοῖς προαστείοις παρθένοις ἐντυγχάνει πλείοσιν ἐφ᾽ ὕδωρ βαδιζούσαις: [245] εὔχεται μὲν οὖν τῷ θεῷ Ῥεβέκκαν, ἣν τῷ παιδὶ Ἄβραμος μνηστευσόμενον ἐξαπέστειλεν, εἰ κατὰ νοῦν τὸν αὐτοῦ μέλλει ὁ γάμος οὗτος συντελεῖσθαι, ἐν ἐκείναις εὑρεθῆναι γνωρισθῆναι τε αὐτὴν τῶν μὲν ἄλλων αἰτοῦντι ποτὸν ἀρνουμένων ἐκείνης δὲ αὐτῷ παρασχούσης.

1. Now when Abraham, the father of Isaac, had resolved to take Rebeka, who was grand-daughter to his brother Nahor, for a wife to his son Isaac, who was then about forty years old, he sent the ancientest of his servants to betroth her, after he had obliged him to give him the strongest assurances of his fidelity; which assurances were given after the manner following: — They put each other's hands under each other's thighs; then they called upon God as the witness of what was to be done. He also sent such presents to those that were there as were in esteem, on account that that they either rarely or never were seen in that country, The servant got thither not under a considerable time; for it requires much time to pass through Meopotamia, in which it is tedious traveling, both in the winter for the depth of the clay, and in summer for want of water; and, besides this, for the robberies there committed, which are not to be avoided by travelers but by caution beforehand. However, the servant came to Haran; and when he was in the suburbs, he met a considerable number of maidens going to the water; he therefore prayed to God that Rebeka might be found among them, or her whom Abraham sent him as his servant to espouse to his son, in case his will were that this marriage should be consummated, and that she might be made known to him by the sign, That while others denied him water to drink, she might give it him.

(2) [246] Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ ταύτης ὢν τῆς διανοίας ἐπὶ τὸ φρέαρ παραγίνεται καὶ παρακαλεῖ τὰς παρθένους ποτὸν αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν: τῶν δ' ἐκτρεπομένων ὡς χρῃζουσῶν οἴκαδε κομίζειν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνῳ παρασχεῖν, καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' εὔληπτον εἶναι τὸ ὕδωρ, μία ἐξ ἁπασῶν ἐκείναις τε τῆς πρὸς τὸν ξένον ἐπιπλήττει δυσκολίας, τίνος ἄλλου κοινωνήσειν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους αὐτάς ποτε, αἳ μηδ' ὕδατος μετέδοσαν λέγουσα, καὶ παρέχει αὐτῷ φιλοφρόνως. [247] ὁ δὲ ἐν ἐλπίδι μὲν τῶν ὅλων γενόμενος, βουλόμενος δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν μαθεῖν, ἐπῄνει τε τῆς εὐγενείας αὐτὴν καὶ τῆς χρηστότητος, ὅτι καὶ μετ' οἰκείου πόνου τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπαρκεῖν οὐκ ἔφυγεν, ἐπυνθάνετό τε τίνων εἴη γονέων καὶ κατεύχεται αὐτοῖς ὄνησιν τοιαύτης παιδὸς καί "νυμφεύσειαν, φησίν, ὡς αὐτοῖς ἐστι κεχαρισμένον, εἰς οἶκον ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ παῖδας [248] αὐτῷ τεξομένην γνησίους." ἡ δὲ οὐδὲ τούτων ἐφθόνησεν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ μαθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ γένος ἀπεσήμαινε καὶ "Ῥεβέκκα μέν, φησίν, ἐγὼ καλοῦμαι, πατὴρ δέ μοι Βαθουῆλος ἦν: ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἤδη τέθνηκε, Λάβανος δὲ ἀδελφός ἐστιν ἡμέτερος τοῦ τε οἴκου παντὸς σὺν τῇ μητρὶ προνοούμενος καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς παρθενίας ἐπιμελόμενος." [249] τούτων ἀκροασάμενος ἔχαιρέ τε τοῖς γεγονόσι καὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις τὸν θεὸν οὕτως ὁρῶν αὐτῷ τῆς ὁδοῦ σαφῶς συλλαμβάνοντα, καὶ προκομίσας ὁρμίσκον τε καί τινας κόσμους, οὓς εὐπρεπὲς φορεῖν παρθένοις, ἀνεδίδου τῇ κόρῃ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ πιεῖν χάριτος ἀμοιβὴν εἶναι καὶ γέρας, δίκαιον λέγων τοιούτων αὐτὴν τυγχάνειν ἀγαθὴν παρὰ τὰς τοσαύτας παρθένους γενομένην. [250] ἠξίου τε παρ' αὐτοῖς καταχθῆναι τοῦ προσωτέρω χωρεῖν τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτὸν ἀφαιρουμένης, κόσμον τε φέρων γυναικεῖον πολυτελῆ πιστεύειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀσφαλεστέροις ἔφασκεν ἢ τούτοις, οἷς αὐτὸς ἐπειράθη. τεκμαίρεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τἀδελφοῦ φιλανθρωπίαν αὐτῆς ἔλεγεν, ὡς οὐ δυσχερανοῦσιν, ἐκ τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν ἀρετῆς: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔσεσθαι βαρὺς μισθόν τε τῆς φιλοξενίας τελέσας καὶ δαπάναις ἰδίαις χρησάμενος. [251] ἡ δὲ περὶ μὲν τῆς τῶν γονέων φιλανθρωπίας αὐτῆς ὀρθῶς εἰκάζειν αὐτὸν εἶπεν, ἐπεμέμφετο δὲ ὡς μικρολόγους ὑπειληφότα: πάντων γὰρ ἀμισθὶ μεθέξειν. δηλώσασα μέντοι Λαβάνῳ πρότερον τἀδελφῷ συγχωροῦντος ἄξειν αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν.

2. With this intention he went to the well, and desired the maidens to give him some water to drink: but while the others refused, on pretense that they wanted it all at home, and could spare none for him, one only of the company rebuked them for their peevish behavior towards the stranger; and said, What is there that you will ever communicate to anybody, who have not so much as given the man some water? She then offered him water in an obliging manner. And now he began to hope that his grand affair would succeed; but desiring still to know the truth, he commended her for her generosity and good nature, that she did not scruple to afford a sufficiency of water to those that wanted it, though it cost her

some pains to draw it; and asked who were her parents, and wished them joy of such a daughter. “And mayst thou be espoused,” said he, “to their satisfaction, into the family of an agreeable husband, and bring him legitimate children.” Nor did she disdain to satisfy his inquiries, but told him her family. “They,” says she, “call me Rebeka; my father was Bethuel, but he is dead; and Laban is my brother; and, together with my mother, takes care of all our family affairs, and is the guardian of my virginity.” When the servant heard this, he was very glad at what had happened, and at what was told him, as perceiving that God had thus plainly directed his journey; and producing his bracelets, and some other ornaments which it was esteemed decent for virgins to wear, he gave them to the damsel, by way of acknowledgment, and as a reward for her kindness in giving him water to drink; saying, it was but just that she should have them, because she was so much more obliging than any of the rest. She desired also that he would come and lodge with them, since the approach of the night gave him not time to proceed farther. And producing his precious ornaments for women, he said he desired to trust them to none more safely than to such as she had shown herself to be; and that he believed he might guess at the humanity of her mother and brother, that they would not be displeased, from the virtue he found in her; for he would not be burdensome, but would pay the hire for his entertainment, and spend his own money. To which she replied, that he guessed right as to the humanity of her parents; but complained that he should think them so parsimonious as to take money, for that he should have all on free cost. But she said she would first inform her brother Laban, and, if he gave her leave, she would conduct him in.

(3) [252] Ὡς οὖν τούτου γενομένου παρῆγε τὸν ξένον, τὰς μὲν καμήλους αὐτοῦ παραλαμβάνοντες οἱ Λαβάνου θεράποντες ἐτημέλουν, αὐτὸς δὲ δειπνήσων εἰσήγετο σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνόν φησι πρός τε αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῆς κόρης: “Ἄβραμος Θέρρου μέν ἐστιν υἱός, συγγενὴς δ’ ὑμέτερος: Ναχώρης γὰρ ὁ τούτων, ὦ γύναι, τῶν παίδων πάππος ἀδελφὸς ἦν Ἀβράμου ὁμοπάτριός τε καὶ ὁμομήτριος. [253] πέμπει τοίνυν οὗτος πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀξιῶν τὴν κόρην ταύτην παιδὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ λαβεῖν πρὸς γάμον, ὃς γνήσιός ἐστιν αὐτῷ καὶ μόνος ἐπὶ τοῖς πᾶσι τεθραμμένος. ᾧ τῶν μὲν ἐκεῖ γυναικῶν δυνατὸν αὐτῷ τὴν εὐδαιμονεστάτην λαβεῖν οὐκ ἠξίωσεν ἀγαγέσθαι, τιμῶν δὲ τὸ γένος τὸν γάμον πολιτεύει τοῦτον. [254] οὗ τὴν σπουδὴν καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν μὴ ὑβρίσητε: κατὰ γὰρ θεοῦ βούλησιν τά τε ἄλλα μοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀπήντησε καὶ τὴν παῖδα καὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον οἶκον εὗρον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ πλησίον τῆς πόλεως ἐγενόμην, παρθένους ἰδὼν πολλὰς ἐπὶ τὸ φρέαρ παραγινομένας ηὐξάμην εἰς ταύτην ἐμπεσεῖν, ὃ δὴ γέγονε. [255] γάμον οὖν ὑπὸ θείας μνηστευόμενον ἐπιφανείας καὶ ὑμεῖς κυρώσατε καὶ Ἄβραμον τὸν μετὰ

τοσαύτης ἀπεσταλκότα σπουδῆς τῷ κατανεῦσαι τὴν κόρην τιμήσατε.” οἱ δὲ, καλὰ γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ κεχαρισμένα, τήν τε γνώμην τοῦ θεοῦ συνῆκαν καὶ πέμπουσιν ἐφ’ οἷς ἠξίου τὴν θυγατέρα. γαμεῖ δὲ ταύτην ὁ Ἴσακος τῶν πραγμάτων εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφικομένων: οἱ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Κατούρας εἰς τὰς ἀποικίας ἐξεληλύθεισαν.

3. As soon then as this was over, she introduced the stranger; and for the camels, the servants of Laban brought them in, and took care of them; and he was himself brought in to supper by Laban. And, after supper, he says to him, and to the mother of the damsel, addressing himself to her, “Abraham is the son of Terah, and a kinsman of yours; for Nahor, the grandfather of these children, was the brother of Abraham, by both father and mother; upon which account he hath sent me to you, being desirous to take this damsel for his son to wife. He is his legitimate son, and is brought up as his only heir. He could indeed have had the most happy of all the women in that country for him, but he would not have his son marry any of them; but, out of regard to his own relations, he desired him to match here, whose affection and inclination I would not have you despise; for it was by the good pleasure of God that other accidents fell out in my journey, and that thereby I lighted upon your daughter and your house; for when I was near to the city, I saw a great many maidens coming to a well, and I prayed that I might meet with this damsel, which has come to pass accordingly. Do you therefore confirm that marriage, whose espousals have been already made by a Divine appearance; and show the respect you have for Abraham, who hath sent me with so much solicitude, in giving your consent to the marriage of this damsel.” Upon this they understood it to be the will of God, and greatly approved of the offer, and sent their daughter, as was desired. Accordingly Isaac married her, the inheritance being now come to him; for the children by Keturah were gone to their own remote habitations.

XVII

CHAPTER 17. Concerning The Death Of Abraham.

(1) [256] Τελευτᾷ δὲ καὶ Ἄβραμος μετ᾽ ὀλίγον, ἀνὴρ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἄκρος καὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν σπουδῆς ἀξίως ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τετιμημένος. ἐβίωσε δὲ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἐτῶν ἑβδομηκονταπέντε πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν καὶ θάπτεται ἐν Νεβρῶνι μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς Σάρρας ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων Ἰσάκου καὶ Ἰσμαήλου.

1. A Little while after this Abraham died. He was a man of incomparable virtue, and honored by God in a manner agreeable to his piety towards him. The whole time of his life was one hundred seventy and five years, and he was buried in Hebron, with his wife Sarah, by their sons Isaac and Ismael.

CHAPTER 18. Concerning The Sons Of Isaac, Esau And Jacob; Of Their Nativity And Education.

(1) [257] Ἰσάκῳ δὲ μετὰ τὴν Ἀβράμου τελευτὴν ἐκύει τὸ γύναιον, καὶ τῆς γαστρὸς ἐπὶ μεῖζον ὀγκουμένης ἀγωνιάσας ἀνήρετο τὸν θεόν. φράζει δ᾽ αὐτῷ διδύμους τέξεσθαι τὴν Ῥεβέκκαν καὶ φερώνυμα ἔσεσθαι τοῖς παισὶν ἔθνη, τοῦ δὲ μείζονος προτερήσειν τὸ δοκοῦν ἔλασσον εἶναι. [258] τίκτεται δ᾽ αὐτῷ μετ᾽ ὀλίγον κατὰ πρόρρησιν τοῦ θεοῦ δίδυμα παιδία, ὧν τὸ μὲν πρεσβύτερον ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας περισσῶς ἦν δασύ, τὸ δὲ νεώτερον εἴχετο προι¨όντος αὐτοῦ κατὰ πτέρναν. ἠγάπα δὲ ὁ μὲν πατὴρ τὸν πρεσβύτερον Ἠσαῦ λεγόμενον κατ᾽ ἐπωνυμίαν τῆς τριχώσεως: Ἑβραῖοι γὰρ τὸ ἤσαυρον τρίχωμα λέγουσιν: Ἰάκωβος δὲ ὁ νεώτερος τῇ μητρὶ προσφιλὴς ἦν.

1. Now Isaac's wife proved with child, after the death of Abraham; and when her belly was greatly burdened, Isaac was very anxious, and inquired of God; who answered, that Rebeka should bear twins; and that two nations should take the names of those sons; and that he who appeared the second should excel the elder. Accordingly she, in a little time, as God had foretold, bare twins; the elder of whom, from his head to his feet, was very rough and hairy; but the younger took hold of his heel as they were in the birth. Now the father loved the elder, who was called Esau, a name agreeable to his roughness, for the Hebrews call such a hairy roughness [Esau, or] Seir; but Jacob the younger was best beloved by his mother.

(2) [259] Λιμοῦ δὲ τὴν γῆν καταλαβόντος Ἴσακος, δόξαν αὐτῷ χωρεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον τῆς χώρας ἀγαθῆς ὑπαρχούσης, ἐπὶ Γεράρων ἀπῄει τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος. ὑποδέχεται δ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀβιμέλεχος κατὰ ξενίαν καὶ φιλίαν τὴν Ἀβράμου καὶ πολλῇ πάνυ πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίᾳ χρησάμενος κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς ἐπὶ ταύτης ὑπὸ φθόνου μεῖναι πρὸς τὸ πᾶν ἐκωλύθη. [260] ὁρῶν γὰρ τὸν θεὸν τῷ Ἰσάκῳ συμπαρόντα καὶ τοσαύτῃ περὶ αὐτὸν σπουδῇ χρώμενον ἀπώσατο αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ τοιούτου πάλιν ἐκ μεταβολῆς τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ βασκάνου πειραθεὶς Ἀβιμελέχου τότε μὲν ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν λεγομένην Φάραγγα χωρίον οὐ μακρὰν Γεράρων, ὀρύσσοντι δ᾽ αὐτῷ φρέαρ ποιμένες ἐπιπεσόντες εἰς μάχην ἐχώρησαν κωλύοντες τὸ ἔργον, καὶ μὴ βουληθέντος φιλονικεῖν ἔδοξαν κεκρατηκέναι. [261] ὑποχωρήσας δὲ ὤρυσσεν ἕτερον, καὶ βιασαμένων ἄλλων τινῶν Ἀβιμελέχου ποιμένων καὶ τοῦτο καταλιπὼν ἀπεχώρησεν εὐγνώμονι λογισμῷ κτώμενος αὐτῷ τὴν ἄδειαν. [262] εἶτα αὐτομάτου παρασχόντος αὐτῷ τὴν φρεωρυχίαν ἀνεπικώλυτον, Ῥοωβὼθ τὸ φρέαρ ὠνόμασεν: εὐρύχωρον ἀποσημαίνει τὸ ὄνομα. τῶν δὲ προτέρων τὸ μὲν

Ἔσκον καλεῖται: μάχην ἄν τις αὐτὸ φήσειε: τὸ δ᾽ ἕτερον Σύαιναν: ἔχθραν ἀποσημαίνει τὸ ὄνομα.

2. When there was a famine in the land, Isaac resolved to go into Egypt, the land there being good; but he went to Gerar, as God commanded him. Here Abimelech the king received him, because Abraham had formerly lived with him, and had been his friend. And as in the beginning he treated him exceeding kindly, so he was hindered from continuing in the same disposition to the end, by his envy at him; for when he saw that God was with Isaac, and took such great care of him, he drove him away from him. But Isaac, when he saw how envy had changed the temper of Abimelech retired to a place called the Valley, not far from Gerar: and as he was digging a well, the shepherds fell upon him, and began to fight, in order to hinder the work; and because he did not desire to contend, the shepherds seemed to get the him, so he still retired, and dug another and when certain other shepherds of Abimelech began to offer him violence, he left that also, still retired, thus purchasing security to himself a rational and prudent conduct. At length the gave him leave to dig a well without disturbance. He named this well Rehoboth, which denotes a large space; but of the former wells, one was called Escon, which denotes strife, the other Sitenna, name signifies enmity.

(3) [263] Ἰσάκῳ μὲν οὖν ἀκμάζειν συνέβαινε τὴν ἰσχὺν ὑπὸ μεγέθους πραγμάτων, Ἀβιμέλεχος δὲ κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ φύεσθαι νομίζων τὸν Ἴσακον, ὑπόπτου μὲν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς συνδιαιτήσεως γενομένης, ἐπ᾽ οὐ φανερᾷ δὲ ἔχθρᾳ τοῦ Ἰσάκου ὑπεκστάντος, δείσας μὴ τῆς προτέρας αὐτῷ φιλίας οὐδὲν ὄφελος γένηται πρὸς ἄμυναν ὧν ἔπαθεν Ἰσάκου τραπέντος φιλίαν ἄνωθεν ποιεῖται πρὸς αὐτὸν ἕνα τῶν στρατηγῶν Φίλοχον ἐπαγόμενος. [264] πάντων δὲ τετυχηκὼς ὧν ἠξίου διὰ τὴν Ἰσάκου χρηστότητα ὀργῆς προσφάτου πρεσβυτέραν χάριν εἰς αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν πατέρα γεγενημένην προτιμῶντος ἀπῆρεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ.

3. It was now that Isaac’s affairs increased, and in a flourishing condition; and this his great riches. But Abimelech, thinking in opposition to him, while their living made them suspicious of each other, and retiring showing a secret enmity also, he afraid that his former friendship with Isaac would not secure him, if Isaac should endeavor the injuries he had formerly offered him; he therefore renewed his friendship with him, Philoc, one of his generals. And when he had obtained every thing he desired, by reason of Isaac’s good nature, who preferred the earlier friendship Abimelech had shown to himself and his father to his later wrath against him, he returned home.

(4) [265] Τῶν δὲ Ἰσάκου παίδων Ἡσαῦς, περὶ ὃν μάλιστα ὁ πατὴρ ἐσπουδάκει, τεσσαράκοντα γεγονὼς ἔτη γαμεῖ Ἄδαν τὴν Ἥλωνος καὶ Ἀλιβάμην τὴν Εὐσεβεῶνος δυναστευόντων ἐν Χαναναίοις ἀνδρῶν θυγατέρας, ἑαυτὸν ποιήσας τῆς περὶ τὸν γάμον ἐξουσίας κύριον καὶ μηδὲ τῷ πατρὶ συμβουλευσάμενος: [266] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἐπέτρεψεν Ἴσακος ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ τῆς γνώμης γενομένης: οὐ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ δι᾽ ἡδονῆς συνάψασθαι συγγένειαν πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους. οὐ βουλόμενος δὲ ἀπεχθὴς εἶναι τῷ παιδὶ κελεύων ἀφίστασθαι τῶν γυναικῶν σιγᾶν ἔκρινε.

4. Now when Esau, one of the sons of Isaac, whom the father principally loved, was now come to the age of forty years, he married Adah, the daughter of Helon, and Aholibamah, the daughter of Esebeon; which Helon and Esebeon were great lords among the Canaanites: thereby taking upon himself the authority, and pretending to have dominion over his own marriages, without so much as asking the advice of his father; for had Isaac been the arbitrator, he had not given him leave to marry thus, for he was not pleased with contracting any alliance with the people of that country; but not caring to be uneasy to his son by commanding him to put away these wives, he resolved to be silent.

(5) [267] Γηραιὸς δὲ ὢν καὶ τὰς ὄψεις εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἠφανισμένος προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν Ἡσαῦν καὶ τὸ γῆρας εἰπὼν ὡς καὶ δίχα τῆς πηρώσεως καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὰς ὄψεις πάθους ἐμποδὼν ἦν αὐτῷ θερα [268] πεύειν τὸν θεὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐξελθεῖν ἐπὶ κυνηγέσιον καὶ θηρασάμενον ὅσα ἂν αὐτῷ δυνατὸν γίνηται παρασκευάσαι δεῖπνον, ἵνα μετὰ τοῦτο ἱκετεύσῃ τὸν θεὸν σύμμαχον αὐτῷ καὶ συνεργὸν εἰς ἅπαντα παρεῖναι τὸν βίον, ἄδηλον μὲν εἶναι λέγων, ὁπότε καὶ τελευτήσειε, πρὸ δὲ τούτου παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ βούλεσθαι τὸν θεὸν ταῖς εὐχαῖς ταῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ παρακεκλημένον.

5. But when he was old, and could not see at all, he called Esau to him, and told him, that besides his blindness, and the disorder of his eyes, his very old age hindered him from his worship of God [by sacrifice]; he bid him therefore to go out a hunting, and when he had caught as much venison as he could, to prepare him a supper that after this he might make supplication to God, to be to him a supporter and an assister during the whole time of his life; saying, that it was uncertain when he should die, and that he was desirous, by prayers for him, to procure, beforehand, God to be merciful to him.

(6) [269] Καὶ Ἡσαῦς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον ἐξώρμησεν: ἡ δὲ Ῥεβέκκα τὸν θεὸν εἰς τὴν εὔνοιαν ἀξιοῦσα τὴν Ἰακώβου παρακαλεῖν καὶ παρὰ τὴν Ἰσάκου γνώμην ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἐρίφους κατασφάξαντα δεῖπνον παρασκευάζειν. ὁ δὲ Ἰάκωβος ὑπηρέτει τῇ μητρὶ πάντα παρ᾽ αὐτῆς πεπυσμένος: [270] ἐπεὶ δ᾽ εὐτρεπὲς ἦν τὸ δεῖπνον, ἐρίφου δέρματι τὸν βραχίονα περιβαλών, ἵνα πιστεύοιτο παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ

διὰ τὴν δασύτητα Ἡσαῦς εἶναι, τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα πάντ᾽ ὢν ὅμοιος διὰ τὸ εἶναι δίδυμος τούτῳ μόνῳ διέφερε, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ πρὶν γενέσθαι τὰς εὐχὰς εὑρεθεὶς κακουργῶν εἰς τοὐναντίον παροξύνῃ τὸν πατέρα ποιήσασθαι ταύτας, προσέφερε τῷ πατρὶ τὸ δεῖπνον. [271] καὶ ὁ Ἴσακος ἐπαισθόμενος τῷ κατὰ τὴν φωνὴν ἰδίῳ προσκαλεῖται τὸν υἱόν: τοῦ δὲ τὸν βραχίονα προτείναντος, ᾧ τὴν αἰγέαν περιβέβλητο, ταύτης ἐπαφώμενος "φωνεῖς μέν, εἶπεν, Ἰακώβῳ παραπλήσιον, κατὰ δὲ τὸ [272] τῆς τριχὸς βάθος Ἡσαῦς εἶναί μοι δοκεῖς." καὶ μηδὲν ὑπολαβὼν κακοῦργον δειπνήσας τρέπεται πρὸς εὐχὰς καὶ παράκλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ "δέσποτα, λέγων, παντὸς αἰῶνος καὶ δημιουργὲ τῆς ὅλης οὐσίας: σὺ γὰρ πατρὶ τῷ ἐμῷ μεγάλην ἰσχὺν προύθηκας ἀγαθῶν κἀμὲ τῶν παρόντων ἠξίωσας καὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἐμοῦ γενομένοις ὑπέσχου βοηθὸς εὐμενὴς καὶ δοτὴρ ἀεὶ τῶν κρειττόνων ἔσεσθαι: [273] ταῦτ᾽ οὖν καὶ βεβαίωσον καὶ μὴ περιίδῃς με διὰ τὴν παροῦσαν ἀσθένειαν, δι᾽ ἣν καὶ μᾶλλόν σου δεόμενος τυγχάνω, καί μοι παῖδα τοῦτον εὐμενὴς σῶζε καὶ παντὸς ἀπαθῆ κακοῦ διαφύλαττε δοὺς αὐτῷ βίον εὐδαίμονα καὶ κτῆσιν ἀγαθῶν, ὅσων σοι δύναμις παρασχεῖν, ποιήσας δ᾽ αὐτὸν φοβερὸν μὲν ἐχθροῖς φίλοις δὲ τίμιον καὶ κεχαρισμένον."

6. Accordingly, Esau went out a hunting. But Rebeka thinking it proper to have the supplication made for obtaining the favor of God to Jacob, and that without the consent of Isaac, bid him kill kids of the goats, and prepare a supper. So Jacob obeyed his mother, according to all her instructions. Now when the supper was got ready, he took a goat's skin, and put it about his arm, that by reason of its hairy roughness, he might by his father be believed to be Esau; for they being twins, and in all things else alike, differed only in this thing. This was done out of his fear, that before his father had made his supplications, he should be caught in his evil practice, and lest he should, on the contrary, provoke his father to curse him. So he brought in the supper to his father. Isaac perceivest to be Esau. So suspecting no deceit, he ate the supper, and betook himself to his prayers and intercessions with God; and said, "O Lord of all ages, and Creator of all substance; for it was thou that didst propose to my father great plenty of good things, and hast vouchsafed to bestow on me what I have; and hast promised to my posterity to be their kind supporter, and to bestow on them still greater blessings; do thou therefore confirm these thy promises, and do not overlook me, because of my present weak condition, on account of which I most earnestly pray to thee. Be gracious to this my son; and preserve him and keep him from every thing that is evil. Give him a happy life, and the possession of as many good things as thy power is able to bestow. Make him terrible to his enemies, and honorable and beloved among his friends."

(7) [274] Καὶ ὁ μὲν νομίζων εἰς Ἡσαῦν ποιεῖσθαι τὰς εὐχὰς παρεκάλει τὸν θεόν: ἄρτι δὲ πέπαυτο τούτων καὶ παρῆν Ἡσαῦς ἀπὸ τῆς θήρας. καὶ τῆς διαμαρτίας Ἴσακος αἰσθόμενος ἡσυχίαν ἄγει, Ἡσαῦς δὲ ἠξίου τῶν ὁμοίων τἀδελφῷ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τυγχάνειν: [275] τοῦ δὲ [πατρὸς] ἀρνουμένου διὰ τὸ πάσας εἰς Ἰάκωβον τὰς εὐχὰς ἀνηλωκέναι πένθος ἦγεν ἐπὶ τῇ διαμαρτίᾳ. καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῖς δάκρυσιν ἀχθόμενος ὁ πατὴρ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον καὶ δύναμιν σώματος ἐν ὅπλοις καὶ πᾶσιν ἔργοις εὐδοκιμήσειν αὐτὸν ἔφασκε καὶ καρπώσεσθαι τὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς δόξαν δι᾽ αἰῶνος καὶ τὸ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ γένος, δουλεύσειν δὲ τἀδελφῷ.

7. Thus did Isaac pray to God, thinking his prayers had been made for Esau. He had but just finished them, when Esau came in from hunting. And when Isaac perceived his mistake, he was silent: but Esau required that he might be made partaker of the like blessing from his father that his brother had partook of; but his father refused it, because all his prayers had been spent upon Jacob: so Esau lamented the mistake. However, his father being grieved at his weeping, said, that "he should excel in hunting and strength of body, in arms, and all such sorts of work; and should obtain glory for ever on those accounts, he and his posterity after him; but still should serve his brother."

(8) [276] Ἰάκωβον δὲ φοβούμενον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τιμωρίαν βουλόμενον λαβεῖν τῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς διαμαρτίας ἡ μήτηρ ῥύεται: πείθει γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα Μεσοποταμίαν ἀγαγέσθαι τῷ Ἰακώβῳ γυναῖκα συγγενῆ. [277] ἤδη γὰρ τὴν Ἰσμαήλου παῖδα Ἡσαῦς παρειλήφει πρὸς γάμον Βασεμάθην: οὐ γὰρ εὐνόουν τοῖς Χαναναίοις οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἴσακον, ὥστε ἐπὶ τοῖς πρότερον αὐτοῦ γάμοις δυσχερῶς διακειμένων εἰς τὸ ἐκείνοις κεχαρισμένον τὴν Βασεμάθην παρέλαβεν μάλιστα περὶ αὐτὴν σπουδάσας.

8. Now the mother delivered Jacob, when she was afraid that his brother would inflict some punishment upon him because of the mistake about the prayers of Isaac; for she persuaded her husband to take a wife for Jacob out of Mesopotamia, of her own kindred, Esau having married already Basemmath, the daughter of Ismael, without his father's consent; for Isaac did not like the Canaanites, so that he disapproved of Esau's former marriages, which made him take Basemmath to wife, in order to please him; and indeed he had a great affection for her.

XIX

CHAPTER 19. Concerning Jacob’s Flight Into Mesopotamia, By Reason Of The Fear He Was In Of His Brother.

(1) [278] Ἰάκωβος δὲ εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν στελλόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς κατὰ γάμον τῆς Λαβάνου θυγατρὸς τοῦ ἐκείνης ἀδελφοῦ, ἐπιτρέψαντος Ἰσάκου τὸν γάμον διὰ τὸ πείθεσθαι τοῖς βουλήμασι τῆς γυναικὸς διὰ τῆς Χαναναίας ἐπορεύετο καὶ διὰ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους μῖσος παρ᾽ οὐδένα μὲν ἠξίου κατάγεσθαι, [279] ὑπαίθριος δὲ ηὐλίζετο τὴν κεφαλὴν λίθοις ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ συμφορουμένοις ἐπιτιθεὶς καὶ τοιαύτην κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὄψιν ὁρᾷ παραστᾶσαν αὐτῷ: κλίμακα γῆθεν ἔδοξεν ἐφικνουμένην τοῦ οὐρανοῦ βλέπειν καὶ δι᾽ αὐτῆς ὄψεις κατιούσας σεμνότερον ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπου φύσιν ἐχούσας, καὶ τελευταῖον ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τὸν θεὸν ἐναργῶς αὐτῷ φαινόμενον ὀνομαστί τε καλέσαι καὶ ποιήσασθαι τοιούτους λόγους. [280] “Ἰάκωβε, πατρὸς ὄντα σε ἀγαθοῦ καὶ πάππου δόξαν ἀρετῆς μεγάλης εὑραμένου κάμνειν ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν οὐ προσῆκεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐλπίζειν τὰ κρείττονα: [281] καὶ γὰρ ἄφθονος ἐκδέξεταί σε μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν παρουσία πρὸς τὸ πᾶν κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἐπικουρίαν. Ἄβραμόν τε γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐκ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας δεῦρο ἤγαγον ἐλαυνόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν συγγενῶν, καὶ πατέρα τὸν σὸν εὐδαίμονα ἀπέφηνα: ὧν οὐχ ἥττω μοῖραν εἰς σὲ καταθήσομαι: [282] θαρρῶν οὖν καὶ ταύτην πορεύου τὴν ὁδὸν ἐμοὶ προπομπῷ χρώμενος: ἀνυσθήσεταί γάρ σοι γάμος, ἐφ᾽ ὃν ἐσπούδακας, καὶ γενήσονταί σοι παῖδες ἀγαθοί, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἀριθμοῦ κρεῖττον ἔσται, μείζοσιν υἱοῖς αὐτῶν καταλιμπάνοντες: οἷς ἐγὼ τὸ ταύτης κράτος τῆς γῆς δίδωμι καὶ παισὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν, οἳ πληρώσουσιν ὅσην ἥλιος ὁρᾷ καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν. [283] ἀλλὰ μήτε κίνδυνον ὑφορῶ μηδένα μήτ᾽ εὐλαβοῦ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πόνων ἐμοῦ ποιουμένου τῶν σοὶ πραχθησομένων πρόνοιαν ἔν τε τοῖς νῦν καὶ πολὺ πλέον ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον.”

1. Now Jacob was sent by his mother to Mesopotamia, in order to marry Laban her brother’s daughter [which marriage was permitted by Isaac, on account of his obsequiousness to the desires of his wife]; and he accordingly journeyed through the land of Canaan; and because he hated the people of that country, he would not lodge with any of them, but took up his lodging in the open air, and laid his head on a heap of stones that he had gathered together. At which time he saw in his sleep such a vision standing by him: — he seemed to see a ladder that reached from the earth unto heaven, and persons descending upon the ladder that seemed more excellent than human; and at last God himself stood above it, and

was plainly visible to him, who, calling him by his name, spake to him in these words: —

(2) [284] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ θεὸς Ἰακώβῳ προαγορεύει: ὁ δὲ περιχαρὴς γενόμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑωραμένοις καὶ κατηγγελμένοις φαιδρύνει τε τοὺς λίθους ὡς τηλικούτων ἀγαθῶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς προρρήσεως γεγενημένης καὶ εὐχὴν ποιεῖται θύσειν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν, εἰ κτησάμενος βίον ἀπαθὴς ἐπανίοι, τῷ θεῷ δεκάτην τῶν πεπορισμένων ποιεῖσθαι οὕτως ἀφικόμενος, τίμιόν τε κρίνει τὸ χωρίον ὄνομα αὐτῷ Βηθὴλ θέμενος, σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο θείαν ἑστίαν κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων γλῶτταν.

2. "O Jacob, it is not fit for thee, who art the son of a good father, and grandson of one who had obtained a great reputation for his eminent virtue, to be dejected at thy present circumstances, but to hope for better times, for thou shalt have great abundance of all good things, by my assistance: for I brought Abraham hither, out of Mesopotamia, when he was driven away by his kinsmen, and I made thy father a happy man, nor will I bestow a lesser degree of happiness on thyself: be of good courage, therefore, and under my conduct proceed on this thy journey, for the marriage thou goest so zealously about shall be consummated. And thou shalt have children of good characters, but their multitude shall be innumerable; and they shall leave what they have to a still more numerous posterity, to whom, and to whose posterity, I give the dominion of all the land, and their posterity shall fill the entire earth and sea, so far as the sun beholds them: but do not thou fear any danger, nor be afraid of the many labors thou must undergo, for by my providence I will direct thee what thou art to do in the time present, and still much more in the time to come."

(3) [285] Προι¨ὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας χρόνῳ παρῆν εἰς τὴν Χαρράν, καὶ ποιμένας ἐν τοῖς προαστείοις καταλαβὼν καὶ παῖδας ἐφήβους καὶ παρθένους ὑπέρ τινος ἱδρυμένους φρέατος συνδιέτριβεν αὐτοῖς χρῄζων ποτοῦ εἵς τε λόγους αὐτοῖς ἀφικνούμενος ἀνέκρινεν αὐτούς, εἰ τυγχάνουσι Λάβανόν τινα παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς εἰδότες ἔτι περιόντα. [286] οἱ δὲ πάντες ἐπίστασθαί τε ἔφασαν, οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τοιοῦτον ὥστε ἀγνοεῖσθαι, καὶ συμποιμαίνειν αὐτοῖς θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ, ἣν θαυμάζειν ὅτι μήπω παρείη: παρὰ γὰρ ταύτης μεμαθήκεις ἂν ἀκριβέστερον ὅσα περὶ αὐτῶν ἀκοῦσαι ποθεῖς." ταῦτα δ᾽ αὐτῶν ἔτι λεγόντων παρῆν ἡ παῖς σὺν τοῖς ἐπικατιοῦσι τῶν ποιμένων. [287] καὶ δεικνύουσι τὸν Ἰάκωβον αὐτῇ λέγοντες, ὡς ξένος οὗτος ἥκοι τὰ περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς ἀναπυνθανόμενος. ἡ δὲ ἡσθεῖσα ὑπὸ νηπιότητος τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ Ἰακώβου ἀνέκρινεν αὐτόν, τίς τε ὢν καὶ πόθεν ἥκοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑπὸ τίνος χρείας ἠγμένος, ηὔχετο δὲ δυνατὸν εἶναι αὐτοῖς παρέχειν ὧν ἀφικνεῖται δεόμενος.

3. Such were the predictions which God made to Jacob; whereupon he became very joyful at what he had seen and heard; and he poured oil on the stones, because on them the prediction of such great benefits was made. He also vowed a vow, that he would offer sacrifices upon them, if he lived and returned safe; and if he came again in such a condition, he would give the tithe of what he had gotten to God. He also judged the place to be honorable and gave it the name of Bethel, which, in the Greek, is interpreted, The House of God.

(4) [288] Ἰάκωβος δὲ οὐχ ὑπὸ τῆς συγγενείας οὐδὲ τῆς διὰ ταύτην εὐνοίας, ἀλλ᾽ ἔρωτι τῆς παιδὸς ἡττηθεὶς ἐκπέπληκτό τε τοῦ κάλλους ὁρῶν οὕτως ἔχουσαν, ὡς ὀλίγαι τῶν τότε γυναικῶν ἤνθουν, καὶ φησίν: "ἀλλ᾽ ἐμοὶ πρὸς σὲ καὶ πατέρα τὸν σόν, εἴπερ Λαβάνου παῖς τυγχάνεις, οἰκειότης ἐστὶ πρεσβυτέρα τῆς τε σῆς καὶ ἐμῆς γενέσεως: [289] ἐκ Θάρρου γὰρ Ἄβραμος καὶ Ἀρράνης καὶ Ναχώρης ἦσαν υἱοί, ὧν Βαθουῆλος ὁ σὸς πάππος Ναχώρου γίνεται παῖς, Ἀβράμου δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀρράνου Σάρρας Ἴσακος ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ. ἔγγιον δὲ καὶ νεώτερον τοῦθ᾽ ἡμεῖς τῆς συγγενείας ὁμήρευμα ἔχομεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους: [290] Ῥεβέκκα γὰρ μήτηρ ἐμὴ Λαβάνου πατρὸς τοῦ σοῦ ἀδελφὴ πατρός τε τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ μητρός, ἀνεψιοὶ δ᾽ ἐσμὲν ἡμεῖς ἐγώ τε καὶ σύ. καὶ νῦν δεῦρο ἥκω ἀσπασόμενός τε ὑμᾶς καὶ τὴν πρου¨π [291] ἀρχουσαν ἡμῖν συγγένειαν ἀνανεωσόμενος." ἡ δὲ ὑπὸ μνήμης, ὁποῖα φιλεῖ συντυγχάνειν τοῖς νέοις, προπεπυσμένη παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὰ περὶ τῆς Ῥεβέκκας καὶ τοὺς γονεῖς εἰδυῖα ποθοῦντας αὐτῆς τὸ ὄνομα ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τὸν πατέρα εὐνοίας ἔνδακρυς γενομένη περιβάλλει τὸν Ἰάκωβον, [292] καὶ κατασπασαμένη τὴν εὐκταιοτάτην καὶ μεγίστην ἡδονὴν αὐτὸν κομίσαι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἅπασιν ἔλεγεν ἐπὶ τῇ μνήμῃ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ κειμένῳ καὶ πρὸς μόνῃ ταύτῃ τυγχάνοντι: φανεῖσθαι δ᾽ αὐτῷ παντὸς ἀντάξιον ἀγαθοῦ. χωρεῖν τε ἐκέλευεν ἤδη πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἔπεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡγουμένῃ καὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς μὴ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὸ πλέον αὐτὸν βραδύνοντα.

4. So he proceeded on his journey to Mesopotamia, and at length came to Haran; and meeting with shepherds in the suburbs, with boys grown up, and maidens sitting about a certain well, he staid with them, as wanting water to drink; and beginning to discourse with them, he asked them whether they knew such a one as Laban, and whether he was still alive. Now they all said they knew him, for he was not so inconsiderable a person as to be unknown to any of them; and that his daughter fed her father's flock together with them; and that indeed they wondered that she was not yet come, for by her means thou mightest learn more exactly whatever thou desirest to know about that family. While they were saying this the damsel came, and the other shepherds that came down along with her. Then they showed her Jacob, and told her that he was a stranger, who came to inquire about her father's affairs. But she, as pleased, after the custom of

children, with Jacob's coming, asked him who he was, and whence he came to them, and what it was he lacked that he came thither. She also wished it might be in their power to supply the wants he came about.

(5) [293] Ταῦτ' εἰποῦσα παρῆγεν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν Λάβανον, καὶ γνωρισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ μήτρωος αὐτός τε ἀδεὴς ἦν ἐν φίλοις γενόμενος κἀκείνοις πολλὴν ἡδονὴν παρεῖχεν ἀδοκήτως ἐπιφανείς. [294] μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ὁ Λάβανος χαίρειν μὲν ἐπ' αὐτῷ παρόντι μειζόνως ἢ ὡς τῷ λόγῳ δηλώσειεν ἔλεγε, τὴν δ' αἰτίαν δι' ἣν ἀφῖκται μητέρα τε καὶ πατέρα πρεσβύτας καταλιπὼν καὶ θεραπείας τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ δεομένους ἀνεπυνθάνετο: παρέξειν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς ἅπασαν ἐπαμύνειν χρείαν. [295] Ἰάκωβος δὲ πᾶσαν αὐτῷ τὴν αἰτίαν διηγεῖτο λέγων Ἰσάκῳ γενέσθαι παῖδας διδύμους αὐτόν τε καὶ Ἠσαῦν, ὃν ἐπεὶ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς εὐχῶν διήμαρτε σοφίᾳ τῆς μητρὸς εἰς αὐτὸν γενομένων, ἀποκτεῖναι ζητεῖν αὐτὸν ὡς ἀφῃρημένον τῆς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ βασιλείας καὶ ἀγαθῶν ὧν ὁ πατὴρ ηὔξατο. [296] ταύτην τε εἶναι τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἐνθάδε παρουσίας κατὰ τὴν τῆς μητρὸς ἐντολήν: πᾶσί τε γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀδελφοὶ τυγχάνουσι καὶ πλέον τοῦ κατ' ἐκείνους συγγενοῦς ἡ μήτηρ προσλαμβάνει. ἔρυμα δὲ τῆς ἐμῆς, φησίν, ἀποδημίας σέ τε καὶ τὸν θεὸν ποιούμενος θαρρῶ τοῖς παροῦσι."

5. But Jacob was quite overcome, not so much by their kindred, nor by that affection which might arise thence, as by his love to the damsel, and his surprise at her beauty, which was so flourishing, as few of the women of that age could vie with. He said then, "There is a relation between thee and me, elder than either thy or my birth, if thou be the daughter of Laban; for Abraham was the son of Terah, as well as Haran and Nahor. Of the last of whom [Nahor] Bethuel thy grandfather was the son. Isaac my father was the son of Abraham and of Sarah, who was the daughter of Haran. But there is a nearer and later cement of mutual kindred which we bear to one another, for my mother Rebeka was sister to Laban thy father, both by the same father and mother; I therefore and thou are cousin-germans. And I am now come to salute you, and to renew that affinity which is proper between us." Upon this the damsel, at the mention of Rebeka, as usually happens to young persons, wept, and that out of the kindness she had for her father, and embraced Jacob, she having learned an account of Rebeka from her father, and knew that her parents loved to hear her named; and when she had saluted him, she said that "he brought the most desirable and greatest pleasures to her father, with all their family, who was always mentioning his mother, and always thinking of her, and her alone; and that this will make thee equal in his eyes to any advantageous circumstances whatsoever." Then she bid him go to her father, and follow her while she conducted him to him; and not to deprive him of such a pleasure, by staying any longer away from him.

(6) [297] Λάβανος δὲ καὶ διὰ τοὺς προγόνους ὑπισχνεῖται πάσης αὐτῷ μεταδώσειν φιλανθρωπίας καὶ διὰ τὴν μητέρα, πρὸς ἣν τὴν εὔνοιαν διὰ τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν σπουδῆς ἐνδείξεσθαι καὶ μὴ παρούσης: ποιμνίων τε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπιμελητὴν καταστήσειν ἔφασκε καὶ προνομῆς ἀντὶ τούτων ἀξιώσειν, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἰδίους ἀπαλλάττεσθαι γονεῖς βουλόμενον μετὰ δώρων ἐπανήξειν καὶ τιμῆς ὅσης εἰκὸς ἦν τυχεῖν τὸν οὕτω συγγενῆ. [298] Ἰακώβου δὲ ἀσμένως ταῦτα ἀκούσαντος καὶ φήσαντος ἡδέως πάντα μένων παρ᾽ αὐτῷ πόνον εἰς ἡδονὴν ὑπομενεῖν τὴν ἐκείνου, μισθὸν δὲ ὑπὲρ τούτου λαβεῖν ἀξιοῦντος τὸν Ῥαχήλας γάμον διά τε τὰ ἄλλα τιμῆς ἀξίας παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τυγχάνειν οὔσης, καὶ ὅτι διάκονος τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφίξεως γένοιτο: ὁ γὰρ τῆς παιδὸς ἔρως αὐτὸν ἠνάγκασε ποιήσασθαι τοὺς περὶ τούτου λόγους. [299] Λάβανος δὲ ἡσθεὶς τούτοις ἐπινεύει τὸν γάμον αὐτῷ τῆς παιδὸς οὐκ ἄλλον ἀμείνω γαμβρὸν εὐξάμενος ἐλθεῖν: εἰ μέντοι παρ᾽ αὐτῷ μένοι τινὰ χρόνον, τοῦτο ποιήσειν: εἰς γὰρ Χαναναίους οὐκ ἂν πέμψαι τὴν θυγατέρα: μεταμέλειν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ τῆς ἀδελφῆς κήδους ἐκεῖ συναφθέντος. [300] τοῦ δ᾽ Ἰακώβου τούτοις συγχωροῦντος ἑπτὰ ἐτῶν χρόνον συντίθεται: τοσάδε γὰρ αὐτῷ κέκριται θητεῦσαι τῷ πενθερῷ, ἵνα τῆς ἀρετῆς πεῖραν δοὺς ἐπιγνωσθῇ μᾶλλον τίς εἴη. καὶ προσδεξάμενος τὸν λόγον Λάβανος τοῦ χρόνου διελθόντος προυτίθει τὴν εὐωχίαν τῶν γάμων. [301] νυκτὸς δ᾽ ἐπιγενομένης οὐδὲν προῃσθημένῳ τῷ Ἰακώβῳ παρακατακλίνει τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν θυγατέρων πρεσβυτέραν τε τῆς Ῥαχήλας καὶ τὴν ὄψιν οὐκ εὐπρεπῆ. συνελθὼν δ᾽ ἐκεῖνος ὑπὸ μέθης καὶ σκότους εἶτα μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν γνοὺς ἀδικίαν ἐπεκάλει Λαβάνῳ. [302] ὁ δὲ συγγνώμην ᾐτεῖτο τῆς ἀνάγκης, ὑφ᾽ ἧς ταῦτα πράξειεν: οὐ γὰρ κατὰ κακουργίαν αὐτῷ τὴν Λείαν παρασχεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑφ᾽ ἑτέρου μείζονος νενικημένον. τοῦτο μέντοι γ᾽ οὐδὲν ἐμποδίζειν πρὸς τὸν Ῥαχήλας γάμον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐρῶντι δώσειν ταύτην μετ᾽ ἄλλην ἑπταετίαν. πείθεται δ᾽ ὁ Ἰάκωβος, οὐδὲν γὰρ ἕτερον αὐτῷ ποιεῖν ὁ τῆς κόρης ἔρως ἐπέτρεπε, καὶ διελθούσης ἄλλης ἑπταετίας τὴν Ῥαχήλαν παρέλαβεν.

6. When she had said thus, she brought him to Laban; and being owned by his uncle, he was secure himself, as being among his friends; and he brought a great deal of pleasure to them by his unexpected coning. But a little while afterward, Laban told him that he could not express in words the joy he had at his coming; but still he inquired of him the occasion of his coming, and why he left his aged mother and father, when they wanted to be taken care of by him; and that he would afford him all the assistance he wanted. Then Jacob gave him an account of the whole occasion of his journey, and told him, “that Isaac had two sons that were twins, himself and Esau; who, because he failed of his father’s prayers, which by his mother’s wisdom were put up for him, sought to kill him, as deprived of the kingdom which was to be given him of God, and of the blessings for which their father prayed; and that this was the occasion of his

coming hither, as his mother had commanded him to do: for we are all [says he] brethren one to another; but our mother esteems an alliance with your family more than she does one with the families of the country; so I look upon yourself and God to be the supporters of my travels, and think myself safe in my present circumstances."

(7) [303] Ἦσαν δ' ἑκατέραις θεραπαινίδες τοῦ πατρὸς δόντος Ζελφὰ μὲν Λείας Ῥαχήλας δὲ Βάλλα, δοῦλαι μὲν οὐδαμῶς ὑποτεταγμέναι δέ. καὶ τῆς Λείας ἥπτετο δεινῶς ὁ πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἔρως τοῦ ἀνδρὸς προσεδόκα τε παίδων γενομένων ἔσεσθαι τιμία ἱκέτευέ τε τὸν θεὸν διηνεκῶς. [304] καὶ γενομένου παιδὸς ἄρρενος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπεστραμμένου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Ῥούβηλον ὀνομάζει τὸν υἱόν, διότι κατ' ἔλεον αὐτῇ τοῦ θεοῦ γένοιτο: τοῦτο γὰρ σημαίνει τὸ ὄνομα. τεκνοῦνται δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τρεῖς ἕτεροι μετὰ χρόνον: Σεμεών, ἀποσημαίνει δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἐπήκοον αὐτῇ τὸν θεὸν γεγονέναι, εἶτα Λευίς, κοινωνίας οἷον βεβαιωτής, μεθ' ὃν Ἰούδας, εὐχαριστίαν τοῦτο δηλοῖ. [305] Ῥαχήλα δὲ φοβουμένη, μὴ διὰ τὴν εὐτεκνίαν τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἧττονος παρὰ τἀνδρὸς μοίρας τυγχάνῃ, παρακατακλίνει τῷ Ἰακώβῳ τὴν αὐτῆς θεραπαινίδα Βάλλαν. ἐγένετο δὲ παιδίον ἐξ αὐτῆς Δάν, θεόκριτον ἄν τινες εἴποιεν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶτταν: καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Νεφθάλεις, μηχανητὸς οἷον, διὰ τὸ ἀντιτεχνάσασθαι πρὸς τὴν εὐτεκνίαν τῆς ἀδελφῆς. [306] τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Λεία ποιεῖ πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἔργον ἀντιτεχνασαμένη: παρακατακλίνει γὰρ τὴν αὐτῆς θεράπαιναν γίνεταί τε καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ζελφῆς υἱὸς Γάδας, τυχαῖον ἄν τις καλέσειεν αὐτόν, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἄσηρος, μακαριστὴς λέγοιτ' ἂν ἐξ ὧν πρὸς εὔκλειαν προσελάμβανε. [307] Ῥουβήλου δὲ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου τῶν υἱῶν Λείας μανδραγόρου μῆλα κομίζοντος τῇ μητρί, Ῥαχήλα θεασαμένη παρακαλεῖ μεταδοῦναι δι' ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ βρώματος γενομένη. τῆς δ' οὐ πειθομένης, ἀρκεῖσθαι δ' αὐτὴν ἀξιούσης, ὅτι τῆς τιμῆς αὐτὴν ἀφέλοιτο τῆς παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρός, Ῥαχήλα πεπαίνουσα τὸν θυμὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς παραχωρήσειν αὐτῇ τἀνδρὸς ἔλεγε κοιμησομένου παρ' αὐτῇ κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἑσπέραν. [308] τῆς δὲ προσιεμένης τὴν χάριν Ἰάκωβος συγκαθεύδει τῇ Λείᾳ Ῥαχήλᾳ χαριζόμενος. πάλιν οὖν γίνονται παῖδες αὐτῇ, Ἰσσαχάρης μὲν σημαίνων τὸν ἐκ μισθοῦ γενόμενον, Ζαβουλὼν δὲ ἠνεχυρασμένον εὐνοίᾳ τῇ πρὸς αὐτήν, θυγάτηρ δὲ Δεῖνα. χρόνοις δ' ὕστερον καὶ Ῥαχήλᾳ γίνεται Ἰώσηπος υἱός: προσθήκην γενησομένου τινὸς δηλοῖ.

7. Now Laban promised to treat him with great humanity, both on account of his ancestors, and particularly for the sake of his mother, towards whom, he said, he would show his kindness, even though she were absent, by taking care of him; for he assured him he would make him the head shepherd of his flock, and give him authority sufficient for that purpose; and when he should have a mind to return to his parents, he would send him back with presents, and this in as

honorable a manner as the nearness of their relation should require. This Jacob heard gladly; and said he would willingly, and with pleasure, undergo any sort of pains while he tarried with him, but desired Rachel to wife, as the reward of those pains, who was not only on other accounts esteemed by him, but also because she was the means of his coming to him; for he said he was forced by the love of the damsel to make this proposal. Laban was well pleased with this agreement, and consented to give the damsel to him, as not desirous to meet with any better son-in-law; and said he would do this, if he would stay with him some time, for he was not willing to send his daughter to be among the Canaanites, for he repented of the alliance he had made already by marrying his sister there. And when Jacob had given his consent to this, he agreed to stay seven years; for so many years he had resolved to serve his father-in-law, that, having given a specimen of his virtue, it might be better known what sort of a man he was. And Jacob, accepting of his terms, after the time was over, he made the wedding-feast; and when it was night, without Jacob's perceiving it, he put his other daughter into bed to him, who was both elder than Rachel, and of no comely countenance: Jacob lay with her that night, as being both in drink and in the dark. However, when it was day, he knew what had been done to him; and he reproached Laban for his unfair proceeding with him; who asked pardon for that necessity which forced him to do what he did; for he did not give him Lea out of any ill design, but as overcome by another greater necessity: that, notwithstanding this, nothing should hinder him from marrying Rachel; but that when he had served another seven years, he would give him her whom he loved. Jacob submitted to this condition, for his love to the damsel did not permit him to do otherwise; and when another seven years were gone, he took Rachel to wife.

(8) [309] Τοῦτον ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον, ἔτη δ' ἐστὶν εἴκοσιν, ἐποίμαινε τῷ πενθερῷ: μετὰ τὸν δ' ἠξίου τὰς γυναῖκας ἀναλαβὼν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν: τοῦ δὲ πενθεροῦ μὴ συγχωροῦντος κρύφα τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐπενόει. [310] τῶν γυναικῶν οὖν ἀπεπειρᾶτο, πῶς ἔχοιεν πρὸς τὴν ἀποδημίαν, τῶν δ' ἐχουσῶν ἡδέως Ῥαχήλα καὶ τοὺς τύπους τῶν θεῶν, οὓς σέβειν πατρίους ὄντας νόμιμον ἦν, συνανελομένη συναπεδίδρασκε μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς οἵ τε ἑκατέρων παῖδες καὶ αἱ θεραπαινίδες σὺν τοῖς υἱοῖς εἴ τέ τις ἦν κτῆσις αὐταῖς. [311] ἐπήγετο δὲ Ἰάκωβος καὶ τῶν βοσκημάτων τὴν ἡμίσειαν Λαβάνου μὴ προεγνωκότος. τοὺς δὲ τύπους ἐπεφέρετο τῶν θεῶν ἡ Ῥαχήλα καταφρονεῖν μὲν τῆς τοιαύτης τιμῆς τῶν θεῶν διδάξαντος αὐτὴν Ἰακώβου, ἵνα δ' εἰ καταληφθεῖεν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς διωχθέντες ἔχοι τούτοις προσφυγοῦσα συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν.

8. Now each of these had handmaids, by their father's donation. Zilpha was handmaid to Lea, and Bilha to Rachel; by no means slaves, but however subject to their mistresses. Now Lea was sorely troubled at her husband's love to her sister; and she expected she should be better esteemed if she bare him children: so she entreated God perpetually; and when she had borne a son, and her husband was on that account better reconciled to her, she named her son Reubel, because God had had mercy upon her, in giving her a son, for that is the signification of this name. After some time she bare three more sons; Simeon, which name signifies that God had hearkened to her prayer. Then she bare Levi, the confirmer of their friendship. After him was born Judah, which denotes thanksgiving. But Rachel, fearing lest the fruitfulness of her sister should make herself enjoy a lesser share of Jacob's affections, put to bed to him her handmaid Bilha; by whom Jacob had Dan: one may interpret that name into the Greek tongue, a divine judgment. And after him Nephthalim, as it were, unconquerable in stratagems, since Rachel tried to conquer the fruitfulness of her sister by this stratagem. Accordingly, Lea took the same method, and used a counter-stratagem to that of her sister; for she put to bed to him her own handmaid. Jacob therefore had by Zilpha a son, whose name was Gad, which may be interpreted fortune; and after him Asher, which may be called a happy man, because he added glory to Lea. Now Reubel, the eldest son of Lea, brought apples of mandrakes to his mother. When Rachel saw them, she desired that she would give her the apples, for she longed to eat them; but when she refused, and bid her be content that she had deprived her of the benevolence she ought to have had from her husband, Rachel, in order to mitigate her sister's anger, said she would yield her husband to her; and he should lie with her that evening. She accepted of the favor, and Jacob slept with Lea, by the favor of Rachel. She bare then these sons: Issachar, denoting one born by hire: and Zabulon, one born as a pledge of benevolence towards her; and a daughter, Dina. After some time Rachel had a son, named Joseph, which signified there should be another added to him.

(9) [312] Λάβανος δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν πρώτην γνοὺς τήν τε Ἰακώβου ἀναχώρησιν καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων δεινοπαθῶν ἤλαυνεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐπειγόμενος, καὶ καθ' ἑβδόμην ἡμέραν ἐπί τινος λόφου λαμβάνει προκαθιδρυμένους. [313] καὶ τότε μέν, ἑσπέρα γὰρ ἦν, ἡσύχαζεν: ὄναρ δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἐπιστὰς αὐτῷ παρήνεσε λαβόντι τὸν γαμβρὸν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας ἠρεμεῖν καὶ μηδὲν εἰς αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ θυμοῦ τολμᾶν, σπονδὰς δὲ ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς Ἰάκωβον, αὐτὸς λέγων ἐκείνῳ συμμαχήσειν, εἰ καταφρονήσας αὐτοῦ τῆς ὀλιγότητος χωρήσειεν αὐτῷ διὰ μάχης. [314] Λάβανος δὲ τοιαύτης αὐτῷ προρρήσεως γεγενημένης μεθ' ἡμέραν τὸν Ἰάκωβον εἰς

λόγους προκαλεσάμενος καὶ δηλώσας αὐτῷ τὸ ὄναρ, ἐπεὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦλθε πεισθείς, ἤρξατο κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ προφέρων, ὅτι καὶ πένητα αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ πάντων ἄπορον ὑπεδέξατο καὶ παράσχοι πᾶσαν ἀφθονίαν τῆς αὐτοῦ κτήσεως: καὶ γὰρ καὶ θυγατέρας ἐμὰς συνέζευξα τὴν εὔνοιάν σου τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς τούτοις αὐξήσεσθαι λογιζόμενος. [315] σὺ δὲ οὔτε τῆς μητρὸς τῆς σαυτοῦ καὶ ἧς ἔχεις πρὸς ἐμὲ συγγενείας οὔτε γυναικῶν ἃς ἔγημας αἰδῶ ποιησάμενος, οὐδὲ τέκνων ὧν εἰμι πάππος φροντίσας, ἐχρήσω μοι πολέμου νόμῳ, κτῆσιν μὲν ἄγων τὴν ἐμὴν θυγατέρας δὲ ἀναπείσας ἀποδρᾶναι τὸν γεγεννηκότα, [316] ἱερά τε πάτρια βαστάσας οἴχῃ φερόμενος ὑπό τε τῶν ἐμῶν τιμηθέντα προγόνων καὶ ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ θρησκείας τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκείνοις ἀξιωθέντα: καὶ ταῦτα ἃ μηδὲ οἱ πολεμήσαντες τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἔδρασαν ὁ συγγενὴς σὺ καὶ τῆς μὲν ἀδελφῆς τῆς ἐμῆς υἱός, θυγατέρων δὲ τῶν ἐμῶν ἀνήρ, ξένος δὲ καὶ ἐφέστιος τῆς ἐμῆς οἰκίας γεγενημένος ἔδρασας.” [317] ταῦτα εἰπόντος Λαβάνου Ἰάκωβος ἀπελογεῖτο μὴ μόνῳ πατρίδος ἔρωτα τὸν θεόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἐμφῦσαι, καὶ μετὰ τοσοῦτον χρόνον καλῶς ἔχειν αὐτὸν κατελθεῖν εἰς ταύτην. [318] “ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς λείας ἧς ἐγκαλεῖς, φησίν, ἀδικῶν αὐτὸς ἂν εὑρεθείης ἐπ᾽ ἄλλῳ κριτῇ: ὑπὲρ γὰρ ἧς ἐχρῆν σε χάριν ἡμῖν ἔχειν καὶ φυλαχθείσης ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν καὶ πλείονος γεγενημένης, ὑπὲρ ταύτης πῶς οὐ διαμαρτάνεις τῶν δικαίων χαλεπαίνων ἐμοί, εἰ μοῖραν αὐτῆς ὀλίγην λαβόντες ἔχομεν. περὶ μέντοι γε τῶν θυγατέρων ἴσθι μὴ κατ᾽ ἐμὴν κακουργίαν ἀπαναστήσαντος ἀκολουθεῖν, ἀλλὰ κατ᾽ εὔνοιαν δικαίαν, ἣν γυναιξὶ γαμεταῖς πρὸς τοὺς συνοικοῦντας εἶναι συμβέβηκεν: ἔπονται τοίνυν οὐχ ὡς ἐμοὶ τοσοῦτον, [319] ὅσον τοῖς παισὶν αὐτῶν.” καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν αὐτὸς ἔλεγε, προσενεκάλει δὲ καὶ κατηγορίαν ἐποιεῖτο, ὅτι μητρὸς ὢν ἀδελφὸς τῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ συζεύξας αὐτῷ τὰς θυγατέρας ἐπιτάγμασιν ἐκτρυχώσειε χαλεποῖς, εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς κατασχών. καὶ τὰ μὲν προφάσει τῶν γάμων ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ γενόμενα καίπερ ὄντα χαλεπὰ κουφότερα ἔφασκε, χείρω δὲ τὰ μετὰ τοὺς γάμους καὶ ἅ τις ἂν ἔπαθεν ἐχθρὸς ἔφυγε. [320] καὶ γὰρ σφόδρα κακούργως ὁ Λάβανος ἐχρήσατο τῷ Ἰακώβῳ: ὁρῶν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν πρὸς ὅτι θελήσειε συλλαμβανόμενον ὑπισχνεῖτο τῶν τεχθησομένων αὐτῷ παρέξειν ἔσθ᾽ ὅτε μὲν ὅτι καὶ γένοιτο λευκόν, ποτὲ δ᾽ αὖ τὰ μέλανα τῶν γεννωμένων. [321] πληθυόντων δὲ τῶν ἐπ᾽ ὀνόματι τῷ Ἰακώβου τικτομένων, τὴν μὲν εἰς τὸ παρὸν οὐκ ἐφύλαττε πίστιν, εἰς ἔτος δὲ παρέξειν ἐπηγγέλλετο διὰ τὸ ἐποφθαλμιᾶν τῷ πλήθει τῆς κτήσεως, ἐπαγγελλόμενος μὲν διὰ τὸ δυσέλπιστον γενέσθαι τοσαῦτα, ψευδόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ γενομένοις.

9. Now Jacob fed the flocks of Laban his father-in-law all this time, being twenty years, after which he desired leave of his father-in-law to take his wives and go home; but when his father-in-law would not give him leave, he contrived to do it secretly. He made trial therefore of the disposition of his wives what they

thought of this journey; — when they appeared glad, and approved of it. Rachel took along with her the images of the gods, which, according to their laws, they used to worship in their own country, and ran away together with her sister. The children also of them both, and the handmaids, and what possessions they had, went along with them. Jacob also drove away half the cattle, without letting Laban know of it beforehand But the reason why Rachel took the images of the gods, although Jacob had taught her to despise such worship of those gods, was this, That in case they were pursued, and taken by her father, she might have recourse to these images, in order obtain his pardon. But Laban, after one day's time, being acquainted with Jacob's and his daughters' departure, was much troubled, and pursued after them, leading a band of men with him; and on the seventh day overtook them, and found them resting on a certain hill; and then indeed he did not meddle with them, for it was even-tide; but God stood by him in a dream, and warned him to receive his son-in-law and his daughters in a peaceable manner; and not to venture upon any thing rashly, or in wrath to but to make a league with Jacob. And he him, that if he despised their small number, attacked them in a hostile manner, he would assist them. When Laban had been thus forewarned by God, he called Jacob to him the next day, in order to treat with him, and showed him what dream he had; in dependence whereupon he came confidently to him, and began to accuse him, alleging that he had entertained him when he was poor, and in want of all things, and had given him plenty of all things which he had. "For," said he, "I have joined my daughters to thee in marriage, and supposed that thy kindness to me be greater than before; but thou hast had no regard to either thy mother's relations to me, nor to the affinity now newly contracted between us; nor to those wives whom thou hast married; nor to those children, of whom I am the grandfather. Thou hast treated me as an enemy, driving away my cattle, and by persuading my daughters to run away from their father; and by carrying home those sacred paternal images which were worshipped by my forefathers, and have been honored with the like worship which they paid them by myself. In short, thou hast done this whilst thou art my kinsman, and my sister's son, and the husband of my daughters, and was hospitably treated by me, and didst eat at my table." When Laban had said this, Jacob made his defense — That he was not the only person in whom God had implanted the love of his native country, but that he had made it natural to all men; and that therefore it was but reasonable that, after so long time, he should go back to it. "But as to the prey, of whose driving away thou accusest me, if any other person were the arbitrator, thou wouldst be found in the wrong; for instead of those thanks I ought to have had from thee, for both keeping thy cattle, and increasing them, how is it that thou art unjustly angry at me because I

have taken, and have with me, a small portion of them? But then, as to thy daughters, take notice, that it is not through any evil practices of mine that they follow me in my return home, but from that just affection which wives naturally have to their husbands. They follow therefore not so properly myself as their own children."

(10) [322] Περὶ μέντοι τῶν ἱερωμάτων ἐκέλευεν ἔρευναν ποιεῖσθαι: δεξαμένου δὲ Λαβάνου τὴν ἔρευναν Ῥαχήλα πυνθανομένη κατατίθησι τοὺς τύπους εἰς τὴν σάγην τῆς φερούσης αὐτὴν καμήλου: ἐκαθέζετο δὲ φάσκουσα τὴν κατὰ φύσιν κάθαρσιν αὐτῇ ἐνοχλεῖν. [323] καὶ Λάβανος μὲν ἀφίσταται τῆς ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐρεύνης οὐκ ἂν οἰηθεὶς τὴν θυγατέρα μετὰ τοιούτου πάθους τοῖς τύποις προσελθεῖν, ποιεῖται δ' ὅρκους πρὸς Ἰάκωβον οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ μνησικακήσειν τῶν γενομένων, ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖνος ἀγαπήσειν αὐτοῦ τὰς θυγατέρας. [324] καὶ τὰς πίστεις τὰς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐποιήσαντο ὑπὲρ ὀρῶν τινων, ἐφ' οἷς στήλην ἀνέθεσαν κατὰ βωμοῦ σχῆμα, ὅθεν Γαλάδην λέγεται βουνός, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ νῦν Γαλαδηνὴν καλοῦσι τὴν γῆν. ἑστιαθέντων δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις ὁ μὲν Λάβανος ἀνέζευξεν.

10. And thus far of his apology was made, in order to clear himself of having acted unjustly. To which he added his own complaint and accusation of Laban; saying, "While I was thy sister's son, and thou hadst given me thy daughters in marriage, thou hast worn me out with thy harsh commands, and detained me twenty years under them. That indeed which was required in order to my marrying thy daughters, hard as it was, I own to have been tolerable; but as to those that were put upon me after those marriages, they were worse, and such indeed as an enemy would have avoided." For certainly Laban had used Jacob very ill; for when he saw that God was assisting to Jacob in all that he desired, he promised him, that of the young cattle which should be born, he should have sometimes what was of a white color, and sometimes what should be of a black color; but when those that came to Jacob's share proved numerous, he did not keep his faith with him, but said he would give them to him the next year, because of his envying him the multitude of his possessions. He promised him as before, because he thought such an increase was not to be expected; but when it appeared to be fact, he deceived him. But then, as to the sacred images, he bid him search for them; and when Laban accepted of the offer, Rachel, being informed of it, put those images into that camel's saddle on which she rode, and sat upon it; and said, that her natural purgation hindered her rising up: so Laban left off searching any further, not supposing that his daughter in such circumstances would approach to those images. So he made a league with Jacob, and bound it by oaths, that he would not bear him any malice on account of what had happened; and Jacob made the like league, and promised to love Laban's

daughters. And these leagues they confirmed with oaths also, which the made upon certain as whereon they erected a pillar, in the form of an altar: whence that hill is called Gilead; and from thence they call that land the Land of Gilead at this day. Now when they had feasted, after the making of the league, Laban returned home.

XX

CHAPTER 20. Concerning The Meeting Of Jacob And Esau.

(1) [325] Ἰακώβῳ δὲ εἰς τὴν Χαναναίαν προι¨όντι φαντάσματα συνετύγχανεν ἀγαθὰς ἐλπίδας ὑπαγορεύοντα περὶ τῶν ἐς ὕστερον: καὶ τὸν μὲν τόπον ἐκεῖνον προσαγορεύει θεοῦ στρατόπεδον, βουλόμενος δὲ εἰδέναι, τί ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ φρονεῖ, τοὺς γνωσομένους ἕκαστα μετὰ ἀκριβείας προύπεμψε δεδιὼς αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν προτέραν ὑποψίαν. [326] ἐνετέλλετο δὲ τοῖς πεμπομένοις λέγειν πρὸς τὸν Ἠσαῦν, ὅτι νομίσας Ἰάκωβος ἄδικον συνδιαιτᾶσθαι αὐτοῦ τῇ ὀργῇ τῆς χώρας ἐκὼν ὑπεξέλθοι, καὶ νῦν τὸν χρόνον ἱκανὸν ἡγούμενος εἶναι διαλλάκτην ἐπανήκοι γυναῖκάς τε καὶ παῖδας ἐπαγόμενος μετὰ τοῦ πορισθέντος βίου, μετὰ τῶν τιμιωτάτων ἑαυτὸν ἐκείνῳ παραδιδούς, ὅτι κρίνοι μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν τὸ τῷ ἀδελφῷ συμμεταλαμβάνειν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δεδομένων. [327] καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐδήλουν, Ἠσαῦς δὲ περιχαρὴς γίνεται καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ ὑπήντα σὺν ὁπλίταις τετρακοσίοις. καὶ Ἰάκωβος πυνθανόμενος ἥκειν αὐτὸν ὑπαντησόμενον μετὰ τοσούτων ἦν περίφοβος, τῷ μέντοι θεῷ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας ἐπέτρεπε καὶ πρόνοιαν εἶχεν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, ὅπως αὐτὸς ἀπαθὴς σώζοι τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ κρατήσας τῶν ἐχθρῶν εἰ θέλοιεν ἀδικεῖν. [328] νείμας οὖν τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς μὲν προύπεμπε, τοὺς δὲ λειπομένους ἅσσον ἐκέλευσεν ἀκολουθεῖν, ὅπως εἰ βιασθεῖεν οἱ προπεμφθέντες ἐπιθεμένου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, καταφυγὴν ἔχοιεν τοὺς ἑπομένους. [329] καὶ τοῦτον διατάξας τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ τὸν τρόπον πέμπει τινὰς δῶρα κομίζοντας τἀδελφῷ: ὑποζύγια δὲ ἦν τὰ πεμπόμενα καὶ πλῆθος τετραπόδων ποικίλων, ἃ δὴ τίμια τοῖς ληψομένοις ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι παρὰ τὸ σπανίζειν αὐτῶν. [330] ἦσαν δὲ οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐκ διαλειμμάτων, ἵνα συνεχέστερον ἐντυγχάνοντες πολλοὶ δοκῶσιν: ἀνήσειν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν δωρεῶν τῆς ὀργῆς, εἰ διαμένοι τεθυμωμένος: ἔτι μέντοι καὶ λόγοις χρηστοῖς ὁμιλεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἴρητο τοῖς πεμπομένοις.

1. Now as Jacob was proceeding on his journey to the land of Canaan, angels appeared to him, and suggested to him good hope of his future condition; and that place he named the Camp of God. And being desirous of knowing what his brother’s intentions were to him, he sent messengers, to give him an exact account of every thing, as being afraid, on account of the enmities between them. He charged those that were sent, to say to Esau, “Jacob had thought it wrong to live together with him while he was in anger against him, and so had gone out of the country; and that he now, thinking the length of time of his absence must have made up their differences, was returning; that he brought with him his wives, and his children, with what possessions he had gotten; and delivered

himself, with what was most dear to him, into his hands; and should think it his greatest happiness to partake together with his brother of what God had bestowed upon him." So these messengers told him this message. Upon which Esau was very glad, and met his brother with four hundred men. And Jacob, when he heard that he was coming to meet him with such a number of men, was greatly afraid: however, he committed his hope of deliverance to God; and considered how, in his present circumstances, he might preserve himself and those that were with him, and overcome his enemies if they attacked him injuriously. He therefore distributed his company into parts; some he sent before the rest, and the others he ordered to come close behind, that so, if the first were overpowered when his brother attacked them, they might have those that followed as a refuge to fly unto. And when he had put his company in this order, he sent some of them to carry presents to his brother. The presents were made up of cattle, and a great number of four-footed beasts, of many kinds, such as would be very acceptable to those that received them, on account of their rarity. Those who were sent went at certain intervals of space asunder, that, by following thick, one after another, they might appear to be more numerous, that Esau might remit of his anger on account of these presents, if he were still in a passion. Instructions were also given to those that were sent to speak gently to him.

(2) [331] Ταῦτα συνθεὶς διὰ πάσης τῆς ἡμέρας νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἐκίνει τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ: καὶ χειμάρρουν τινὰ Ἰάβακχον λεγόμενον διαβεβηκότων Ἰάκωβος ὑπολελειμμένος φαντάσματι συντυχὼν διεπάλαιεν ἐκείνου προκατάρχοντος τῆς μάχης ἐκράτει τε τοῦ φαντάσματος, [332] ὃ δὴ καὶ φωνῇ χρῆται καὶ λόγοις πρὸς αὐτὸν χαίρειν τε τοῖς γεγενημένοις παραινοῦν καὶ μὴ μικρὸν κρατεῖν ὑπολαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ θεῖον ἄγγελον νενικηκέναι καὶ σημεῖον ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦτο μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν ἐσομένων καὶ τοῦ μηδέποτε τὸ γένος ἐκλείψειν αὐτοῦ, μηδὲ ὑπέρτερον ἀνθρώπων τινὰ τῆς ἰσχύος ἔσεσθαι τῆς ἐκείνου. [333] ἐκέλευσέ τε καλεῖν αὐτὸν Ἰσραῆλον, σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων γλῶτταν τὸν ἀντιστάτην ἀγγέλῳ θεοῦ. ταῦτα μέντοι προύλεγεν Ἰακώβου δεηθέντος: αἰσθόμενος γὰρ ἄγγελον εἶναι θεοῦ, τίνα μοῖραν ἕξει σημαίνειν παρεκάλει. καὶ τὸ μὲν φάντασμα ταῦτ' εἰπὸν ἀφανὲς γίνεται. [334] ἡσθεὶς δὲ τούτοις Ἰάκωβος Φανουῆλον ὀνομάζει τὸν τόπον, ὃ σημαίνει θεοῦ πρόσωπον. καὶ γενομένου διὰ τὴν μάχην ἀλγήματος αὐτῷ περὶ τὸ νεῦρον τὸ πλατὺ αὐτός τε ἀπέχεται τῆς τούτου βρώσεως καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνον οὐδὲ ἡμῖν ἐστιν ἐδώδιμον.

2. When Jacob had made these appointments all the day, and night came on, he moved on with his company; and, as they were gone over a certain river called Jabboc, Jacob was left behind; and meeting with an angel, he wrestled with him, the angel beginning the struggle: but he prevailed over the angel, who used a

voice, and spake to him in words, exhorting him to be pleased with what had happened to him, and not to suppose that his victory was a small one, but that he had overcome a divine angel, and to esteem the victory as a sign of great blessings that should come to him, and that his offspring should never fall, and that no man should be too hard for his power. He also commanded him to be called Israel, which in the Hebrew tongue signifies one that struggled with the divine angel. These promises were made at the prayer of Jacob; for when he perceived him to be the angel of God, he desired he would signify to him what should befall him hereafter. And when the angel had said what is before related, he disappeared; but Jacob was pleased with these things, and named the place Phanuel, which signifies, the face of God. Now when he felt pain, by this struggling, upon his broad sinew, he abstained from eating that sinew himself afterward; and for his sake it is still not eaten by us.

(3) [335] Πλησίον δ' ἤδη τὸν ἀδελφὸν πυνθανόμενος κελεύει προι¨έναι τῶν γυναικῶν ἑκατέραν κατ' αὐτὴν μετὰ τῶν θεραπαινίδων, ἵνα πόρρωθεν ἀφορῷεν τὰ ἔργα τῶν ἀνδρῶν μαχομένων, εἰ τοῦτο θελήσειεν Ἠσαῦς, προσεκύνει δ' αὐτὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐγγὺς αὐτῷ γενόμενον οὐδὲν περὶ αὐτοῦ δόλιον φρονοῦντα. [336] καὶ ὁ Ἠσαῦς ἀσπασάμενος αὐτὸν ἀνήρετο τῶν παίδων τὸν ὄχλον καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, ἠξίου τε τότε μαθὼν περὶ αὐτῶν τὸ πᾶν καὶ αὐτὸς συμβαδίζειν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, Ἰακώβου δὲ προφασιζομένου τὸν κόπον τῶν ὑποζυγίων ὑπεχώρησεν εἰς Σάειραν: ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἐποιεῖτο τὴν δίαιταν προσαγορεύσας τὸ χωρίον ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ τριχώσεως [δασεῖαν].

3. When Jacob understood that his brother was near, he ordered his wives to go before, each by herself, with the handmaids, that they might see the actions of the men as they were fighting, if Esau were so disposed. He then went up to his brother Esau, and bowed down to him, who had no evil design upon him, but saluted him; and asked him about the company of the children and of the women; and desired, when he had understood all he wanted to know about them, that he would go along with him to their father; but Jacob pretending that the cattle were weary, Esau returned to Seir, for there was his place of habitation, he having named the place Roughness, from his own hairy roughness.

XXI

CHAPTER 21. Concerning The Violation Of Dina's Chastity.

(1) [337] Ἰάκωβος δὲ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὰς ἔτι νῦν Σκηνὰς λεγομένας, ὅθεν εἰς Σίκιμον παρῆν: Χαναναίων δ' ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις. τῶν δὲ Σικιμωτῶν ἑορτὴν ἀγόντων Δεῖνα, θυγάτηρ ἦν Ἰακώβου μόνη, παρῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὀψομένη τὸν κόσμον τῶν ἐπιχωρίων γυναικῶν. θεασάμενος δ' αὐτὴν Συχέμμης ὁ Ἐμμώρου τοῦ βασιλέως υἱὸς φθείρει δι' ἁρπαγῆς καὶ διατεθεὶς ἐρωτικῶς ἱκετεύει τὸν πατέρα λαβεῖν αὐτῷ πρὸς γάμον τὴν κόρην. [338] ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς ἦκε πρὸς τὸν Ἰάκωβον δεόμενος τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ Συχέμμῃ συζεῦξαι Δεῖναν κατὰ νόμον. Ἰάκωβος δὲ οὔτ' ἀντιλέγειν ἔχων διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ παρακαλοῦντος οὔτε νόμιμον ἡγούμενος ἀλλοφύλῳ συνοικίζειν τὴν θυγατέρα ἠξίωσεν ἐπιτρέψαι αὐτῷ βουλὴν ἀγαγεῖν περὶ ὧν παρακαλεῖ. [339] ἀπῄει μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐλπίζων Ἰάκωβον παρέξειν τὸν γάμον, Ἰάκωβος δὲ τοῖς παισὶ δηλώσας τήν τε φθορὰν τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ τοῦ Ἐμμώρου τὴν δέησιν ἠξίου βουλεύεσθαι τί δεῖ ποιεῖν. οἱ μὲν οὖν πλείους ἡσύχαζον γνώμης ἀποροῦντες, Σεμεὼν δὲ καὶ Λευὶς ὁμομήτριοι τῆς κόρης ἀδελφοὶ συντίθενται πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοιάνδε τινὰ πρᾶξιν: [340] οὔσης ἑορτῆς καὶ τῶν Σικιμιωτῶν εἰς ἄνεσιν καὶ εὐωχίαν τετραμμένων νύκτωρ πρώτοις ἐπιβαλόντες τοῖς φύλαξι κτείνουσι κοιμωμένους καὶ παρελθόντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀναιροῦσι πᾶν ἄρρεν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα σὺν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, φείδονται δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν. πράξαντες δὲ ταῦτα δίχα τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς γνώμης ἐπανάγουσι τὴν ἀδελφήν.

1. Hereupon Jacob came to the place, till this day called Tents [Succoth]; from whence he went to Shechem, which is a city of the Canaanites. Now as the Shechemites were keeping a festival Dina, who was the only daughter of Jacob, went into the city to see the finery of the women of that country. But when Shechem, the son of Hamor the king, saw her, he defiled her by violence; and being greatly in love with her, desired of his father that he would procure the damsel to him for a wife. To which desire he condescended, and came to Jacob, desiring him to give leave that his son Shechem might, according to law, marry Dina. But Jacob, not knowing how to deny the desire of one of such great dignity, and yet not thinking it lawful to marry his daughter to a stranger, entreated him to give him leave to have a consultation about what he desired him to do. So the king went away, in hopes that Jacob would grant him this marriage. But Jacob informed his sons of the defilement of their sister, and of the address of Hamor; and desired them to give their advice what they should do. Upon fills, the greatest part said nothing, not knowing what advice to give. But Simeon and

Levi, the brethren of the damsel by the same mother, agreed between themselves upon the action following: It being now the time of a festival, when the Shechemites were employed in ease and feasting, they fell upon the watch when they were asleep, and, coming into the city, slew all the males as also the king, and his son, with them; but spared the women. And when they had done this without their father's consent, they brought away their sister.

(2) [341] Ἰακώβῳ δὲ ἐκπλαγέντι πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν γεγονότων καὶ χαλεπαίνοντι πρὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς ὁ θεὸς παραστὰς ἐκέλευσε θαρρεῖν, ἁγνίσαντι δὲ τὰς σκηνὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν, ἃς τὸ πρῶτον ἀπιὼν εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν ἐπὶ τῇ ὄψει τοῦ ὀνείρου ηὔξατο. [342] ἁγνίζων οὖν τοὺς ἑπομένους ἐπιτυγχάνει τοῖς Λαβάνου θεοῖς, οὐ γὰρ ἠπίστατο ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥαχήλης κλαπέντας, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἔκρυψεν ἐν Σικίμοις εἰς γῆν ὑπό τινα δρῦν, ἀπάρας τε τοὐντεῦθεν ἐν Βαιθήλοις ἔθυεν, ὅπου τὸ ὄνειρον ἐθεάσατο χωρῶν πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας.

2. Now while Jacob was astonished at the greatness of this act, and was severely blaming his sons for it, God stood by him, and bid him be of good courage; but to purify his tents, and to offer those sacrifices which he had vowed to offer when he went first into Mesopotamia, and saw his vision. As he was therefore purifying his followers, he lighted upon the gods of Laban; [for he did not before know they were stolen by Rachel;] and he hid them in the earth, under an oak, in Shechem. And departing thence, he offered sacrifice at Bethel, the place where he saw his dream, when he went first into Mesopotamia.

(3) [343] Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ προι¨ὼν ἐπεὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἐφραθηνὴν γίνεται, ἐνθάδε Ῥαχήλαν ἐκ τοκετοῦ θανοῦσαν θάπτει μόνην τῶν συγγενῶν τῆς ἐν Νεβρῶνι τιμῆς οὐ τυχοῦσαν. πενθήσας δὲ μεγάλως τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς παιδίον Βενιαμὶν ἐκάλεσε διὰ τὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ γενομένην ὀδύνην τῇ μητρί. [344] οὗτοι Ἰακώβου παῖδες οἱ πάντες, ἄρρενες μὲν δώδεκα θήλεια δὲ μία. τούτων ὀκτὼ γνήσιοι, ἐκ Λείας μὲν ἕξ, δύο δὲ ἐκ Ῥαχήλης, τέσσαρες δὲ ἐκ τῶν θεραπαινίδων δύο ἐξ ἑκατέρας, ὧν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα πάντων προεῖπον.

3. And when he was gone thence, and was come over against Ephrata, he there buried Rachel, who died in child-bed: she was the only one of Jacob's kindred that had not the honor of burial at Hebron. And when he had mourned for her a great while, he called the son that was born of her Benjamin, because of the sorrow the mother had with him. These are all the children of Jacob, twelve males and one female. — Of them eight were legitimate, — *viz.* six of Lea, and two of Rachel; and four were of the handmaids, two of each; all whose names have been set down already.

CHAPTER 22. How Isaac Died, And Was Buried In Hebron.

(1) [345] Παρῆν δ’ ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ Νεβρῶνα πόλιν ἐν Χαναναίοις κειμένην: ἐκεῖ δὲ Ἴσακος τὴν δίαιταν εἶχε: καὶ βραχέα μὲν ἀλλήλοις συνδιατρίβουσι: τὴν γὰρ Ῥεβέκκαν Ἰάκωβος οὐ κατέλαβε ζῶσαν. θνήσκει δὲ καὶ Ἴσακος οὐ μετὰ πολὺ τῆς ἀφίξεως τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ ταφῆς ἔτυχεν ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ ἐν Νεβρῶνι μνημείου προγονικοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ τυγχάνοντος αὐτοῖς. [346] ἐγένετο δὲ Ἴσακος ἀνὴρ θεοφιλὴς καὶ προνοίας πολλῆς ἠξιωμένος ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ μετὰ Ἄβραμον τὸν πατέρα, πολυχρονιώτατος δέ: βιώσας γὰρ ἔτη πέντε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν μετὰ ἀρετῆς οὕτως ἀπέθανεν.

1. From thence Jacob came to Hebron, a city situate among the Canaanites; and there it was that Isaac lived: and so they lived together for a little while; for as to Rebeka, Jacob did not find her alive. Isaac also died not long after the coming of his son; and was buried by his sons, with his wife, in Hebron, where they had a monument belonging to them from their forefathers. Now Isaac was a man who was beloved of God, and was vouchsafed great instances of providence by God, after Abraham his father, and lived to be exceeding old; for when he had lived virtuously one hundred and eighty-five years, he then died.

Liber II

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ β τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Ὡς Ἡσαῦς καὶ Ἰάκωβος Ἰσάκου παῖδες ὄντες, διείλοντο τὴν οἴκησιν καὶ Ἡσαῦς μὲν τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν κατέσχεν, Ἰάκωβος δὲ τὴν Χαναναίαν.

β. ὡς Ἰώσηπος ὁ νεώτατος τῶν Ἰακώβου παίδων ὀνειράτων αὐτῷ προδεικνύντων τὴν μέλλουσαν εὐδαιμονίαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐφθονήθη.

γ. ὡς αὐτὸς οὗτος εἰς Αἴγυπτον πραθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν διὰ τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν μῖσος καὶ γενόμενος ἐπίσημος ἐκεῖ καὶ λαμπρότατος τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἔσχεν ὑποχειρίους.

[δ. ἡ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς πάσης πρὸς αὐτὸν μετάβασις διὰ τὸν γενόμενον λιμόν.

ε. ὅσα τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ συνέβη κακοπαθοῦσιν ἐπ᾽ ἔτη τετρακόσια.

ς. ὡς Μωσέως ἡγουμένου τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐξέλιπον.

ζ. ἡ Μωσέως γένεσις καὶ ἀνατροφή.

η. ὡς ἡ θάλασσα τοῖς Ἑβραίοις διωκομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀνακοπεῖσα φυγὴν δι᾽ αὐτῆς παρέσχεν.

περιέχει δὲ ἡ βίβλος ἔτη διακόσια εἴκοσι].

BOOK II. Containing The Interval Of Two Hundred And Twenty Years. — From The Death Of Isaac To The Exodus Out Of Egypt.

I

CHAPTER 1. How Esau And Jacob, Isaac's Sons Divided Their Habitation; And Esau Possessed Idumea And Jacob Canaan.

(1) [1] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰσάκου τελευτὴν οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ μερισάμενοι τὴν οἴκησιν πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐχ ἣν ἔλαβον ταύτην κατέσχον, ἀλλ Ἡσαῦς μὲν τῆς Νεβρωνίας πόλεως ἐκχωρήσας τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἐν Σαειρᾷ διητᾶτο καὶ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ἦρχεν οὕτω καλέσας τὴν χώραν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ: Ἄδωμος γὰρ ἐπωνομάζετο κατὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν τυχὼν τῆς ἐπικλήσεως. [2] ἀπὸ θήρας ποτὲ καὶ πόνου τοῦ περὶ τὸ κυνήγιον λιμώττων ἐπανῆκεν, ἔτι δὲ ἦν παῖς τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἐπιτυχὼν δὲ τἀδελφῷ φακῆν ἐσκευακότι πρὸς ἄριστον αὐτῷ ξανθὴν σφόδρα τὴν χροιὰν καὶ διὰ τοῦτ᾽ ἔτι μᾶλλον ὀρεχθεὶς ἠξίου παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ πρὸς τροφήν. [3] ὁ δὲ ἀποδόσθαι τὸ πρεσβεῖον αὐτῷ τοῦ φαγεῖν συνεργῷ χρησάμενος τῇ πείνῃ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἠνάγκαζε, κἀκεῖνος ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ προαχθεὶς παραχωρεῖ τῶν πρεσβείων αὐτῷ μεθ᾽ ὅρκων. ἔνθεν διὰ τὴν ξανθότητα τοῦ βρώματος ὑπὸ τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν κατὰ παιδιὰν Ἄδωμος ἐπικληθείς, ἄδωμα γὰρ Ἑβραῖοι τὸ ἐρυθρὸν καλοῦσι, τὴν χώραν οὕτως προσηγόρευσεν: Ἕλληνες γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὸ σεμνότερον Ἰδουμαίαν ὠνόμασαν.

1. After the death of Isaac, his sons divided their habitations respectively; nor did they retain what they had before; but Esau departed from the city of Hebron, and left it to his brother, and dwelt in Seir, and ruled over Idumea. He called the country by that name from himself, for he was named Adom; which appellation he got on the following occasion: — One day returning from the toil of hunting very hungry, [it was when he was a child in age,] he lighted on his brother when he was getting ready lentile-pottage for his dinner, which was of a very red color; on which account he the more earnestly longed for it, and desired him to give him some of it to eat: but he made advantage of his brother's hunger, and forced him to resign up to him his birthright; and he, being pinched with famine, resigned it up to him, under an oath. Whence it came, that, on account of the redness of this pottage, he was, in way of jest, by his contemporaries, called Adom, for the Hebrews call what is red Adom; and this was the name given to the country; but the Greeks gave it a more agreeable pronunciation, and named it Idumea.

(2) [4] Γίνεται δὲ καὶ πατὴρ παίδων πέντε τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὧν Ἰάους μὲν καὶ Ἰόλαμος καὶ Κορῆος ἐκ γυναικὸς μιᾶς Ἀλιβάμης τοὔνομα, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν Ἀλιφάζης μὲν ἐξ Ἀδάσης, Ῥαουῆλος δὲ ἐκ Βασαμάθης ὑπῆρξαν αὐτῷ γεγονότες. [5] καὶ Ἡσαῦ

μὲν οὗτοι παῖδες ἦσαν: Ἀλιφάζῃ δὲ γίνονται γνήσιοι πέντε Θημανὸς Ὄμερος Ὄφους Ἰόθαμος Καναζός: Ἀμαλῆκος γὰρ νόθος ἦν ἐκ παλλακῆς αὐτῷ γεγονὼς Θαμνάης ὄνομα. [6] οὗτοι κατῴκησαν τῆς Ἰδουμαίας τὴν Γοβολῖτιν λεγομένην καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ Ἀμαλήκου κληθεῖσαν Ἀμαληκῖτιν: πολλὴ γὰρ γενομένη ποτὲ ἡ Ἰδουμαία τό τε πάσης αὐτῆς ἀπέσωζεν ὄνομα καὶ τοῖς μέρεσι τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκητόρων προσηγορίας διεφύλαξεν.

2. He became the father of five sons; of whom Jaus, and Jalomus, and Coreus, were by one wife, whose name was Alibama; but of the rest, Aliphaz was born to him by Ada, and Raguel by Basemmath: and these were the sons of Esau. Aliphaz had five legitimate sons; Theman, Omer, Saphus, Gotham, and Kanaz; for Amalek was not legitimate, but by a concubine, whose name was Thamna. These dwelt in that part of Idumea which is called Gebalitis, and that denominated from Amalek, Amalekitis; for Idumea was a large country, and did then preserve the name of the whole, while in its several parts it kept the names of its peculiar inhabitants.

II

CHAPTER 2. How Joseph, The Youngest Of Jacob's Sons, Was Envied By His Brethren, When Certain Dreams Had Foreshown His Future Happiness.

(1) [7] Ἰακώβῳ δὲ συνέβη παρελθεῖν εἰς εὐδαιμονίας μέγεθος, οἷον οὐκ ἄλλῳ τινὶ ῥᾳδίως: πλούτῳ τε γὰρ ὑπερέβαλλε τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους καὶ παίδων ἀρεταῖς ζηλωτὸς καὶ περίβλεπτος ἦν: οὐδενὸς γὰρ ὅλως ὑστέρουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἔργα χειρῶν καὶ πόνων ὑπομονὴν ἦσαν εὔψυχοι καὶ δεινοὶ συνιέναι. [8] τοσαύτην δ' ἄρα τὸ θεῖον αὐτοῦ πρόνοιαν ἔσχε καὶ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἐπιμέλειαν, ὡς κἀκ τῶν λυπηρῶν αὐτῷ δοξάντων τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν παρασχεῖν καὶ ποιῆσαι τῆς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων ἀναχωρήσεως αἴτιον αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγονότας ὑπὸ τοιαύτης αἰτίας:

[9] Ἰώσηπον ἐκ Ῥαχήλας πεπαιδοποιημένος Ἰάκωβος διά τε τὴν τοῦ σώματος εὐγένειαν καὶ διὰ ψυχῆς ἀρετήν, φρονήσει γὰρ διέφερε, τῶν ἄλλων πλέον υἱῶν ἠγάπα. [10] τούτῳ παρὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἥ τε τοῦ πατρὸς στοργὴ φθόνον ἐκίνησε καὶ μῖσος ἥ τε ἐκ τῶν ὀνειράτων, ἃ θεασάμενος τῷ τε πατρὶ καὶ τούτοις ἐμήνυσεν, εὐδαιμονία καταγγελλομένη, ζηλοτυπούντων ἄρα τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰς τῶν οἰκειοτάτων εὐπραγίας. αἱ δὲ ὄψεις, ἃς κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους εἶδεν Ἰώσηπος, τοιαίδε ἦσαν.

1. It happened that Jacob came to so great happiness as rarely any other person had arrived at. He was richer than the rest of the inhabitants of that country; and was at once envied and admired for such virtuous sons, for they were deficient in nothing, but were of great souls, both for laboring with their hands and enduring of toil; and shrewd also in understanding. And God exercised such a providence over him, and such a care of his happiness, as to bring him the greatest blessings, even out of what appeared to be the most sorrowful condition; and to make him the cause of our forefathers' departure out of Egypt, him and his posterity. The occasion was this: — When Jacob had his son Joseph born to him by Rachel, his father loved him above the rest of his sons, both because of the beauty of his body, and the virtues of his mind, for he excelled the rest in prudence. This affection of his father excited the envy and the hatred of his brethren; as did also his dreams which he saw, and related to his father, and to them, which foretold his future happiness, it being usual with mankind to envy their very nearest relations such their prosperity. Now the visions which Joseph saw in his sleep were these: —

(2) [11] Ἐκπεμφθεὶς μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπὶ συλλογῇ τῶν καρπῶν θέρους ἀκμάζοντος ὁρᾷ πολὺ τῶν κατὰ συνήθειαν ἐπιφοιτώντων κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὀνειράτων διαφέρουσαν ὄψιν, ἣν περιεγερθεὶς τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὡς κρινοῦσιν αὐτῷ τὸ σημαινόμενον ἐξέθετο, λέγων ἰδεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς παρελθούσης νυκτὸς τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ δράγμα τῶν πυρῶν ἠρεμεῖν ἐφ᾽ οὗ κατέθηκε τόπου, τὰ δὲ ἐκείνων προστρέχοντα προσκυνεῖν αὐτὸ καθάπερ οἱ δοῦλοι τοὺς δεσπότας. [12] οἱ δὲ συνέντες ἰσχὺν αὐτῷ καὶ μέγεθος πραγμάτων τὴν ὄψιν προλέγουσαν καὶ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐσομένην τῷ μὲν Ἰωσήπῳ τούτων οὐδὲν ὡς οὐ γνώριμον αὐτοῖς τὸ ὄναρ ὂν διεσάφησαν, ἀρὰς δ᾽ ἐποιήσαντο μηδὲν εἰς τέλος αὐτῷ παρελθεῖν ὧν ὑπενόουν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀπεχθῶς ἔχοντες διετέλουν.

2. When they were in the middle of harvest, and Joseph was sent by his father, with his brethren, to gather the fruits of the earth, he saw a vision in a dream, but greatly exceeding the customary appearances that come when we are asleep; which, when he was got up, he told his brethren, that they might judge what it portended. He said, he saw the last night, that his wheat-sheaf stood still in the place where he set it, but that their sheaves ran to bow down to it, as servants bow down to their masters. But as soon as they perceived the vision foretold that he should obtain power and great wealth, and that his power should be in opposition to them, they gave no interpretation of it to Joseph, as if the dream were not by them understood: but they prayed that no part of what they suspected to be its meaning might come to pass; and they bare a still greater hatred to him on that account.

(3) [13] Τῷ δὲ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν φθόνῳ προσφιλονικῆσαν τὸ θεῖον δευτέραν ὄψιν ἐπιπέμπει τῷ Ἰωσήπῳ πολὺ τῆς προτέρας θαυμασιωτέραν. τὸν ἥλιον γὰρ ἔδοξε τὴν σελήνην παραλαβόντα καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀστέρας ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν κατελθεῖν καὶ προσκυνεῖν αὐτόν. [14] ταύτην τὴν ὄψιν τῷ πατρὶ μηδὲν παρὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν κακόηθες ὑφορώμενος καὶ τούτων παρατυγχανόντων διεσάφησε, τί καὶ βούλεται σημαίνειν φράσαι παρακαλῶν. [15] ὁ δὲ ἡσθεὶς τῷ ὀνείρατι, τὴν γὰρ πρόρρησιν αὐτοῦ τῇ διανοίᾳ συλλαβὼν καὶ μετὰ σοφίας οὐκ ἀσκόπως εἰκάσας ἔχαιρεν ἐπὶ μεγάλοις τοῖς σημαινομένοις, ἃ εὐδαιμονίαν τῷ παιδὶ κατήγγελλε καὶ καιρὸν ἥξειν θεοῦ δόντος, καθ᾽ ὃν αὐτὸν ὑπό τε τῶν γονέων καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἔσεσθαι τίμιον καὶ προσκυνήσεως ἄξιον, [16] τὴν μὲν σελήνην καὶ τὸν ἥλιον μητρὶ καὶ πατρί, τῆς μὲν αὐξούσης ἅπαντα καὶ τρεφούσης τοῦ δ᾽ ἐκτυποῦντος καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἰσχὺν ἐντιθέντος εἰκάζων, τοὺς δ᾽ ἀστέρας τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς: καὶ γὰρ τούτους ἕνδεκα εἶναι καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας ἀπό τε ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης τὴν ἰσχὺν λαμβάνοντας.

3. But God, in opposition to their envy, sent a second vision to Joseph, which was much more wonderful than the former; for it seemed to him that the sun took with him the moon, and the rest of the stars, and came down to the earth, and bowed down to him. He told the vision to his father, and that, as suspecting nothing of ill-will from his brethren, when they were there also, and desired him to interpret what it should signify. Now Jacob was pleased with the dream: for, considering the prediction in his mind, and shrewdly and wisely guessing at its meaning, he rejoiced at the great things thereby signified, because it declared the future happiness of his son; and that, by the blessing of God, the time would come when he should be honored, and thought worthy of worship by his parents and brethren, as guessing that the moon and sun were like his mother and father; the former, as she that gave increase and nourishment to all things; and the latter, he that gave form and other powers to them; and that the stars were like his brethren, since they were eleven in number, as were the stars that receive their power from the sun and moon.

(4) [17] Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰάκωβος τοιαύτην οὐκ ἀσυνέτως ἐποιήσατο τῆς ὄψεως τὴν κρίσιν, τοὺς δ᾽ ἀδελφοὺς τοῦ Ἰωσήπου σφόδρα ἐλύπησε τὰ προειρημένα καὶ διετέθησαν ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀλλοτρίῳ τινὶ μέλλοντι τὰ σημαινόμενα διὰ τῶν ὀνειράτων ἀγαθὰ ἕξειν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἀδελφῷ καὶ ὧν συναπολαύσειν αὐτῷ εἰκὸς ἦν κοινωνοὺς ὡς τῆς γενέσεως οὕτως καὶ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἐσομένους: [18] ἀνελεῖν τε ὡρμήκεσαν τὸ μειράκιον, καὶ ταύτην κυρώσαντες τὴν βουλήν, ἐπεὶ τὰ τῆς συγκομιδῆς αὐτοῖς πέρας εἶχεν, ἐπὶ Σικίμων τραπέντες, χώρα δ᾽ ἐστὶν αὕτη βόσκειν ἀγαθὴ θρέμματα καὶ νομὰς ἐκφέρειν, αὐτόθι τῶν ποιμνίων ἐπεμελοῦντο μὴ προδηλώσαντες τῷ πατρὶ τὴν ἐκεῖσε ἄφιξιν. [19] ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγνοίας καὶ τοῦ μηδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ποιμνίων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι τινὰ τὸν περὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτῷ τἀληθὲς σημαίνειν δυνάμενον, σκυθρωπότερον τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν διάνοιαν λαμβάνων καὶ περιδεὴς ὢν πέμπει τὸν Ἰώσηπον εἰς τὰ ποίμνια μαθησόμενον τὰ περὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ τί πράττοιεν σημανοῦντα.

4. And thus did Jacob make a judgment of this vision, and that a shrewd one also. But these interpretations caused very great grief to Joseph's brethren; and they were affected to him hereupon as if he were a certain stranger, that was to those good things which were signified by the dreams and not as one that was a brother, with whom it was probable they should be joint-partakers; and as they had been partners in the same parentage, so should they be of the same happiness. They also resolved to kill the lad; and having fully ratified that intention of theirs, as soon as their collection of the fruits was over, they went to Shechem, which is a country good for feeding of cattle, and for pasturage; there they fed their flocks, without acquainting their father with their removal thither;

whereupon he had melancholy suspicions about them, as being ignorant of his sons' condition, and receiving no messenger from the flocks that could inform him of the true state they were in; so, because he was in great fear about them, he sent Joseph to the flocks, to learn the circumstances his brethren were in, and to bring him word how they did.

III

CHAPTER 3. How Joseph Was Thus Sold By His Brethren Into Egypt, By Reason Of Their Hatred To Him; And How He There Grew Famous And Illustrious And Had His Brethren Under His Power.

(1) [20] Οἱ δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὡς εἶδον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀφιγμένον, ἥσθησαν μέν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ ὡς ἐπ᾽ οἰκείου παρουσίᾳ καὶ πατρὸς ἀπεσταλκότος, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἐχθροῦ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν κατὰ θείαν βούλησιν παραδοθέντος, ἀναιρεῖν τε ἤδη καὶ μὴ τὸν ἐν ποσὶν ὑπερβαλέσθαι καιρὸν ὡρμήκεσαν. [21] οὕτως δ᾽ αὐτοὺς Ῥουβῆλος ὁρῶν ἔχοντας ὁ πρεσβύτατος αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν ὠμονοηκότας ἐπειρᾶτο κατέχειν ὑποδεικνὺς τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ τολμήματος καὶ τὸ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ μύσος, [22] ὡς πονηρὸν μὲν καὶ θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἀνόσιον δοκοῦν καὶ τὸ μὴ συγγενοῦς ἀνθρώπου χειρουργῆσαι φόνον, πολὺ μέντοι μιαρώτερον τὸ σφαγὴν ἀδελφοῦ δράσαντας ὀφθῆναι, ᾧ πατήρ τε ἀναιρουμένῳ συναδικεῖται καὶ μήτηρ εἰς πένθος καὶ παιδὸς ἀποστέρησιν οὐ κατ᾽ ἀνθρώπινον γενομένην νόμον συγκατασπᾶται. [23] τούτων οὖν αὐτῶν αἰδῶ λαβόντας καὶ τῷ λογισμῷ τί καὶ πείσονται τεθνηκότος αὐτοῖς παιδὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ νεωτάτου παραθεμένους ἀποσχέσθαι τοῦ τολμήματος παρεκάλει καὶ τὸν θεὸν δείσαντας, ὃς θεατὴς ἅμα καὶ μάρτυς ἤδη καὶ τῆς βουλῆς αὐτῶν τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν γεγενημένος ἀποστάντας μὲν τῆς πράξεως ἀγαπήσει μετανοίᾳ καὶ τῷ σωφρονεῖν εἴξαντας, [24] προελθόντας δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοὖργον οὐκ ἔστιν ἣν οὐκ εἰσπράξεται τῆς ἀδελφοκτονίας δίκην μιάναντας αὐτοῦ τὴν πανταχοῦ παροῦσαν πρόνοιαν καὶ μήτε τῶν ἐπ᾽ ἐρημίᾳ πραττομένων ὑστεροῦσαν μήτε τῶν κατὰ τὰς πόλεις: ὅπου γὰρ ἂν ἄνθρωπος ᾖ χρὴ δοκεῖν ἐνταῦθα παρεῖναι καὶ θεόν. [25] τό τε συνειδὸς αὐτοὺς τὸ ἴδιον ἔξειν ἐχθρὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς τολμηθεῖσιν ἔλεγεν, ὃ μήτε τοῖς ἀγαθὸν αὐτὸ ἔχουσι μήτε τοιοῦτον ὁποῖον αὐτοῖς συνοικήσει τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀνελοῦσιν ἔστιν ἀποδράναι. [26] προσετίθει δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς προειρημένοις, ὡς ἀδελφὸν οὐδὲ ἀδικήσαντα κτείνειν ὅσιον, καλὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ μὴ μνησικακεῖν τοῖς οὕτω φίλοις ὑπὲρ ὧν ἁμαρτεῖν ἔδοξαν. Ἰώσηπον δὲ οὐδὲ πονηρὸν εἰς αὐτοὺς γεγενημένον διαφθεροῦσιν, ᾧ τὸ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀσθενὲς ἔλεον μᾶλλον καὶ τὴν παρ᾽ ἡμῶν ἐρανίζεται κηδεμονίαν: [27] ἥ τε αἰτία τῆς ἀναιρέσεως πολὺ χείρω τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτοῖς τίθησι, διὰ φθόνον τῶν ἐσομένων ἀγαθῶν αὐτῷ τοῦ ζῆν ἐξαγαγεῖν διεγνωκότων, ὧν τὸ ἴσον ἀπολαύσουσι κοινωνοῦντες αὐτῷ τῆς μετουσίας οὐκ ἀλλοτρίων ὄντων ἀλλ᾽ οἰκείων: [28] ἴδια γὰρ αὐτῶν ὑπολαμβάνειν, ὅσα ὁ θεὸς Ἰωσήπῳ δώσει, προσεκίνουν τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καλῶς ἔχειν χαλεπωτέραν ἔσεσθαι

νομίζειν, εἰ τὸν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κεκριμένον τῶν ἐλπιζομένων ἀγαθῶν ἄξιον ἀποκτείναντες ἀφαιρήσονται τὸν θεὸν ᾧ ταῦτα χαρίσεται.

1. Now these brethren rejoiced as soon as they saw their brother coming to them, not indeed as at the presence of a near relation, or as at the presence of one sent by their father, but as at the presence of an enemy, and one that by Divine Providence was delivered into their hands; and they already resolved to kill him, and not let slip the opportunity that lay before them. But when Reubel, the eldest of them, saw them thus disposed, and that they had agreed together to execute their purpose, he tried to restrain them, showing them the heinous enterprise they were going about, and the horrid nature of it; that this action would appear wicked in the sight of God, and impious before men, even though they should kill one not related to them; but much more flagitious and detestable to appear to have slain their own brother, by which act the father must be treated unjustly in the son's slaughter, and the mother also be in perplexity while she laments that her son is taken away from her, and this not in a natural way neither. So he entreated them to have a regard to their own consciences, and wisely to consider what mischief would betide them upon the death of so good a child, and their youngest brother; that they would also fear God, who was already both a spectator and a witness of the designs they had against their brother; that he would love them if they abstained from this act, and yielded to repentance and amendment; but in case they proceeded to do the fact, all sorts of punishments would overtake them from God for this murder of their brother, since they polluted his providence, which was every where present, and which did not overlook what was done, either in deserts or in cities; for wheresoever a man is, there ought he to suppose that God is also. He told them further, that their consciences would be their enemies, if they attempted to go through so wicked an enterprise, which they can never avoid, whether it be a good conscience; or whether it be such a one as they will have within them when once they have killed their brother. He also added this besides to what he had before said, that it was not a righteous thing to kill a brother, though he had injured them; that it is a good thing to forget the actions of such near friends, even in things wherein they might seem to have offended; but that they were going to kill Joseph, who had been guilty of nothing that was ill towards them, in whose case the infirmity of his small age should rather procure him mercy, and move them to unite together in the care of his preservation. That the cause of killing him made the act itself much worse, while they determined to take him off out of envy at his future prosperity, an equal share of which they would naturally partake while he enjoyed it, since they were to him not strangers, but the nearest relations, for

they might reckon upon what God bestowed upon Joseph as their own; and that it was fit for them to believe, that the anger of God would for this cause be more severe upon them, if they slew him who was judged by God to be worthy of that prosperity which was to be hoped for; and while, by murdering him, they made it impossible for God to bestow it upon him.

(2) [29] Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ῥουβῆλος ταῦτα λέγων καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι πλείω καὶ δεόμενος ἐπειρᾶτο τῆς ἀδελφοκτονίας αὐτοὺς ἀποτρέπειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν μετριωτέρους ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων ἑώρα γεγενημένους, ἀλλὰ σπεύδοντας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν, συνεβούλευε τὸ κακὸν αὐτοὺς ἐπιεικέστερον ποιῆσαι τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως: [30] καὶ γὰρ ἄμεινον μὲν οἷς παρῄνεσε τὸ πρῶτον πεπεῖσθαι λέγων αὐτούς, ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκράτησαν ὥστε ἀνελεῖν τὸν ἀδελφόν, οὐκ ἔσεσθαι σφόδρα κακοὺς οἷς νῦν παραινεῖ πεισθέντας: ἐν γὰρ τούτοις εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἔργον, ἐφ' ᾧ σπεύδουσιν, οὐ μέντοι τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν ἀπόροις κουφότερον. [31] ἠξίου γὰρ αὐτοὺς αὐτόχειρας μὲν μὴ γενέσθαι τἀδελφοῦ, ῥίψαντας δὲ εἰς τὸν παρακείμενον λάκκον οὕτως ἀποθανεῖν ἐᾶσαι καὶ τό γε μὴ μιανθῆναι τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν κερδαίνειν. συναινεσάντων δὲ τούτοις τῶν νεανίσκων παραλαβὼν ὁ Ῥουβῆλος τὸ μειράκιον καὶ καλωδίου ἐκδήσας ἠρέμα καθίησιν εἰς τὸν λάκκον: καὶ γὰρ ἱκανῶς ἄνυδρος ἦν. καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦτο ποιήσας ἀπαλλάσσεται κατὰ ζήτησιν χωρίων πρὸς νομὰς ἐπιτηδείων.

2. Reubel said these and many other things, and used entreaties to them, and thereby endeavored to divert them from the murder of their brother. But when he saw that his discourse had not mollified them at all, and that they made haste to do the fact, he advised them to alleviate the wickedness they were going about, in the manner of taking Joseph off; for as he had exhorted them first, when they were going to revenge themselves, to be dissuaded from doing it; so, since the sentence for killing their brother had prevailed, he said that they would not, however, be so grossly guilty, if they would be persuaded to follow his present advice, which would include what they were so eager about, but was not so very bad, but, in the distress they were in, of a lighter nature. He begged of them, therefore, not to kill their brother with their own hands, but to cast him into the pit that was hard by, and so to let him die; by which they would gain so much, that they would not defile their own hands with his blood. To this the young men readily agreed; so Reubel took the lad and tied him to a cord, and let him down gently into the pit, for it had no water at all in it; who, when he had done this, went his way to seek for such pasturage as was fit for feeding his flocks.

(3) [32] Ἰούδας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν τῶν Ἰακώβου παίδων ἐμπόρους ἰδὼν Ἄραβας τοῦ Ἰσμαηλιτῶν γένους ἀρώματα καὶ Σύρα φορτία κομίζοντας Αἰγυπτίοις ἐκ τῆς

Γαλαδηνῆς μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τὴν Ῥουβήλου τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς συνεβούλευεν ἀνιμήσασι τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἀπεμπολῆσαι τοῖς Ἄραψιν: [33] ἐκεῖνόν τε γὰρ ὅτι πορρωτάτω γενόμενον καὶ τεθνήξεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς ξένοις, αὐτούς τε τοῦ μιάσματος οὕτως ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι. δόξαν οὖν τοῦτο, τοῖς ἐμπόροις ἀποδίδονται τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἀνελκύσαντες ἐκ τοῦ λάκκου μνῶν εἴκοσιν ἑπτακαίδεκα ἐτῶν γεγονότα. [34] Ῥουβῆλος δὲ νύκτωρ ἐπὶ τὸν λάκκον ἐλθὼν σῶσαι τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς λαθὼν τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐγνώκει, καὶ ὡς ἀνακαλουμένῳ μὴ ὑπήκουσε, δείσας μὴ ἐφθάρκασιν αὐτὸν μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν αὐτοῦ κατεμέμφετο τοὺς ἀδελφούς. τῶν δὲ τὸ πραχθὲν αὐτῷ φρασάντων παύεται τοῦ πένθους Ῥουβῆλος.

3. But Judas, being one of Jacob's sons also, seeing some Arabians, of the posterity of Ismael, carrying spices and Syrian wares out of the land of Gilead to the Egyptians, after Rubel was gone, advised his brethren to draw Joseph out of the pit, and sell him to the Arabians; for if he should die among strangers a great way off, they should be freed from this barbarous action. This, therefore, was resolved on; so they drew Joseph up out of the pit, and sold him to the merchants for twenty pounds He was now seventeen years old. But Reubel, coming in the night-time to the pit, resolved to save Joseph, without the privity of his brethren; and when, upon his calling to him, he made no answer, he was afraid that they had destroyed him after he was gone; of which he complained to his brethren; but when they had told him what they had done, Reubel left off his mourning.

(4) [35] Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα περὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐπέπρακτο, τί ποιήσαντες ἂν ἔξω τῆς ὑπονοίας παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ γενηθεῖεν ἐζήτουν, καὶ δὴ τὸν χιτωνίσκον, ὃν ἀφῖκτο μὲν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἐνδεδυμένος, περιῃρήκεσαν δ' αὐτὸν ὅτε καθίεσαν εἰς τὸν λάκκον, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς διασπαράξασιν αἵματι τράγου μολῦναι καὶ τῷ πατρὶ δεῖξαι φέροντας, ὡς ἂν ὑπὸ θηρίων αὐτῷ φανείη διεφθαρμένος. [36] καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντες ἦκον πρὸς τὸν πρεσβύτην ἤδη τῶν περὶ τὸν υἱὸν εἰς γνῶσιν ἀφιγμένον, ἔλεγον δὲ τὸν μὲν Ἰώσηπον οὔτ' ἰδεῖν οὔθ' ᾗ κέχρηται συμφορᾷ μεμαθηκέναι, χιτῶνα δὲ τοῦτον εὑρεῖν ᾑμαγμένον καὶ λελακισμένον, ὅθεν αὐτοῖς ὑπόνοιαν εἶναι περιπεσόντα θηρίοις αὐτὸν ἀπολωλέναι, εἴγε τοῦτον ἐνδεδυμένος οἴκοθεν ἐστάλη. [37] Ἰάκωβος δὲ ἐπὶ κουφοτέραις ὧν ἐλπίσιν ὡς ἠνδραποδισμένου δῆθεν αὐτῷ τοῦ παιδός, τοῦτον μὲν ἀφίησι τὸν λογισμόν, πίστιν δ' αὐτοῦ τῆς τελευτῆς ἐναργῆ τὸν χιτῶνα ὑπολαβών, καὶ γὰρ ἐγνώρισεν ἐκεῖνον αὐτὸν ὃν ἐνδεδυμένον ἐκπέμποι πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς, ὡς ἐπὶ νεκρῷ τὸ λοιπὸν οὕτω διέκειτο ἐπὶ τῷ μειρακίῳ πενθῶν. [38] καὶ ὡς ἑνὸς πατὴρ ὢν καὶ τῆς ἐξ ἄλλων παραμυθίας ἐστερημένος οὕτως ἦν παρὰ τῷ κακῷ, πρὶν ἢ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς συμβαλεῖν εἰκάζων ὑπὸ θηρίων Ἰώσηπον ἀφανῆ γεγονέναι. ἐκαθέζετο δὲ σακκίον ἐξαψάμενος καὶ τῇ λύπῃ βαρύς, ὡς μήτε ὑπὸ παίδων παρηγορούντων αὐτὸν ῥᾴονα γενέσθαι μήτε κάμνοντα τοῖς πόνοις ἀπαγορεύειν.

4. When Joseph's brethren had done thus to him, they considered what they should do to escape the suspicions of their father. Now they had taken away from Joseph the coat which he had on when he came to them at the time they let him down into the pit; so they thought proper to tear that coat to pieces, and to dip it into goats' blood, and then to carry it and show it to their father, that he might believe he was destroyed by wild beasts. And when they had so done, they came to the old man, but this not till what had happened to his son had already come to his knowledge. Then they said that they had not seen Joseph, nor knew what mishap had befallen him; but that they had found his coat bloody and torn to pieces, whence they had a suspicion that he had fallen among wild beasts, and so perished, if that was the coat he had on when he came from home. Now Jacob had before some better hopes that his son was only made a captive; but now he laid aside that notion, and supposed that this coat was an evident argument that he was dead, for he well remembered that this was the coat he had on when he sent him to his brethren; so he hereafter lamented the lad as now dead, and as if he had been the father of no more than one, without taking any comfort in the rest; and so he was also affected with his misfortune before he met with Joseph's brethren, when he also conjectured that Joseph was destroyed by wild beasts. He sat down also clothed in sackcloth and in heavy affliction, insomuch that he found no ease when his sons comforted him, neither did his pains remit by length of time.

IV

CHAPTER 4. Concerning The Signal Chastity Of Joseph.

(1) [39] Ἰώσηπον δὲ πωλούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπόρων ὠνησάμενος Πετεφρὴς ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος ἐπὶ τῶν Φαραώθου μαγείρων τοῦ βασιλέως εἶχεν ἐν πάσῃ τιμῇ καὶ παιδείαν τε τὴν ἐλευθέριον ἐπαίδευε καὶ διαίτῃ χρῆσθαι κρείττονι τῆς ἐπὶ δούλῳ τύχης ἐπέτρεπεν ἐγχειρίζει τε τὴν τῶν κατὰ τὸν οἶκον αὐτῷ πρόνοιαν. [40] ὁ δὲ τούτων τε ἀπέλαυε καὶ τὴν ἀρετήν, ἥτις ἦν περὶ αὐτόν, οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῆς μεταβολῆς ἐγκατέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ διέδειξε τὸ φρόνημα κρατεῖν τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ δυσκόλων δυνάμενον, οἷς ἂν παρῇ γνησίως καὶ μὴ πρὸς τὰς εὐπραγίας τὰς κατὰ καιρὸν μόνον ἡρμοσμένον.

1. Now Potiphar, an Egyptian, who was chief cook to king Pharaoh, bought Joseph of the merchants, who sold him to him. He had him in the greatest honor, and taught him the learning that became a free man, and gave him leave to make use of a diet better than was allotted to slaves. He intrusted also the care of his house to him. So he enjoyed these advantages, yet did not he leave that virtue which he had before, upon such a change of his condition; but he demonstrated that wisdom was able to govern the uneasy passions of life, in such as have it in reality, and do not only put it on for a show, under a present state of prosperity.

(2) [41] Τῆς γὰρ τοῦ δεσπότου γυναικὸς διά τε τὴν εὐμορφίαν καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ δεξιότητα ἐρωτικῶς διατεθείσης καὶ νομιζούσης, εἰ ποιήσειεν αὐτῷ τοῦτο φανερόν, ῥᾳδίως πείσειν αὐτὸν εἰς ὁμιλίαν ἐλθεῖν εὐτύχημα ἡγησάμενον τὸ τὴν δέσποιναν αὐτοῦ δεηθῆναι, [42] καὶ πρὸς τὸ σχῆμα τῆς τότε δουλείας ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς τὸν τρόπον ἀφορώσης τὸν καὶ παρὰ τὴν μεταβολὴν παραμένοντα τήν τε ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτῷ ποιησάσης καταφανῆ καὶ λόγους προσφερούσης περὶ μίξεως, παρέπεμπε τὴν ἀξίωσιν οὐ κρίνας ὅσιον εἶναι τοιαύτην αὐτῇ διδόναι χάριν, ἐν ᾗ τοῦ πριαμένου καὶ τοσαύτης ἠξιωκότος τιμῆς ἀδικίαν συνέβαινεν εἶναι καὶ ὕβριν, [43] ἀλλὰ κρατεῖν τε τοῦ πάθους κἀκείνην παρεκάλει τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν τοῦ τεύξεσθαι τῆς ἐπιθυμίας προβαλλόμενος, σταλήσεσθαι γάρ τε αὐτῇ τοῦτο μὴ παρούσης ἐλπίδος, αὐτός τε πάντα μᾶλλον ὑπομενεῖν ἔλεγεν ἢ πρὸς τοῦτο καταπειθὴς ἔσεσθαι: καὶ γὰρ εἰ τῇ δεσποίνῃ δοῦλον ὄντα δεῖ ποιεῖν μηδὲν ἐναντίον, ἡ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν προσταγμάτων ἀντιλογία πολλὴν ἂν ἔχοι παραίτησιν. [44] τῆς δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπέτεινε τὸν ἔρωτα τὸ μὴ προσδοκώσῃ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἀντισχεῖν καὶ δεινῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ πολιορκουμένη δευτέρᾳ πάλιν πείρᾳ προεθυμεῖτο κατεργάσασθαι.

2. For when his master's wife was fallen in love with him, both on account of his beauty of body, and his dexterous management of affairs; and supposed, that if she should make it known to him, she could easily persuade him to come and lie with her, and that he would look upon it as a piece of happy fortune that his mistress should entreat him, as regarding that state of slavery he was in, and not his moral character, which continued after his condition was changed. So she made known her naughty inclinations, and spake to him about lying with her. However, he rejected her entreaties, not thinking it agreeable to religion to yield so far to her, as to do what would tend to the affront and injury of him that purchased him, and had vouchsafed him so great honors. He, on the contrary, exhorted her to govern that passion; and laid before her the impossibility of her obtaining her desires, which he thought might be conquered, if she had no hope of succeeding; and he said, that as to himself, he would endure any thing whatever before he would be persuaded to it; for although it was fit for a slave, as he was, to do nothing contrary to his mistress, he might well be excused in a case where the contradiction was to such sort of commands only. But this opposition of Joseph, when she did not expect it, made her still more violent in her love to him; and as she was sorely beset with this naughty passion, so she resolved to compass her design by a second attempt.

(3) [45] Δημοτελοῦς οὖν ἑορτῆς ἐπιστάσης, καθ' ἣν εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν καὶ γυναιξὶ φοιτᾶν νόμιμον ἦν, σκήπτεται νόσον πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα θηρωμένη μόνωσιν καὶ σχολὴν εἰς τὸ δεηθῆναι τοῦ Ἰωσήπου, καὶ γενομένης αὐτῇ ταύτης λιπαρεστέρους ἔτι τῶν πρώτων αὐτῷ προσηνέγκατο λόγους, [46] ὡς καλῶς μὲν εἶχεν αὐτὸν μετὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δέησιν εἶξαι καὶ μηδὲ ἀντειρηκέναι κατά τε τὴν τῆς παρακαλούσης ἐντροπὴν καὶ τὴν τοῦ πάθους ὑπερβολήν, ὑφ' οὗ βιασθεία δέσποινα οὖσα τοῦ κατὰ ταύτην ἀξιώματος ταπεινοτέρα γενέσθαι, φρονήσει δὲ καὶ νῦν ἄμεινον ἐνδοὺς καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῖς παρελθοῦσιν ἄγνωμον διορθώσεται: [47] εἴτε γὰρ δευτέραν δέησιν ἐξεδέχετο, ταύτην γεγονέναι καὶ μετὰ πλείονος σπουδῆς: νόσον τε γὰρ προφασίσασθαι καὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς καὶ τῆς πανηγύρεως τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁμιλίαν προτιμῆσαι: εἴτε τοῖς πρώτοις ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας ἀντέκρουσε λογισμοῖς, τοῦ μηδεμίαν κακουργίαν εἶναι κρίνειν σύμβολον τὸ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιμένειν. [48] προσδοκᾶν τε τῶν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν ὄνησιν, ὧν ἤδη μετέχειν, προσθέμενον αὐτῆς τῷ ἔρωτι καὶ μειζόνων ἀπολαύσειν ὑπήκοον γενόμενον, ἄμυναν δὲ καὶ μῖσος παρ' αὐτῆς ἀποστραφέντα τὴν ἀξίωσιν καὶ τοῦ χαρίσασθαι τῇ δεσποίνῃ τὴν τῆς σωφροσύνης δόκησιν ἐπίπροσθε θέμενον. [49] οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸν τοῦτο ὠφελήσειν τραπείσης εἰς κατηγορίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ καταψευσαμένης πεῖραν ἐπὶ τἀνδρί, προσέξειν δὲ μᾶλλον τοῖς αὐτῆς λόγοις Πετεφρὴν ἢ τοῖς ἐκείνου, κἂν ὅτι μάλιστα ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας φέρωνται.

3. When, therefore, there was a public festival coming on, in which it was the custom for women to come to the public solemnity; she pretended to her husband that she was sick, as contriving an opportunity for solitude and leisure, that she might entreat Joseph again. Which opportunity being obtained, she used more kind words to him than before; and said that it had been good for him to have yielded to her first solicitation, and to have given her no repulse, both because of the reverence he ought to bear to her dignity who solicited him, and because of the vehemence of her passion, by which she was forced though she were his mistress to condescend beneath her dignity; but that he may now, by taking more prudent advice, wipe off the imputation of his former folly; for whether it were that he expected the repetition of her solicitations she had now made, and that with greater earnestness than before, for that she had pretended sickness on this very account, and had preferred his conversation before the festival and its solemnity; or whether he opposed her former discourses, as not believing she could be in earnest; she now gave him sufficient security, by thus repeating her application, that she meant not in the least by fraud to impose upon him; and assured him, that if he complied with her affections, he might expect the enjoyment of the advantages he already had; and if he were submissive to her, he should have still greater advantages; but that he must look for revenge and hatred from her, in case he rejected her desires, and preferred the reputation of chastity before his mistress; for that he would gain nothing by such procedure, because she would then become his accuser, and would falsely pretend to her husband, that he had attempted her chastity; and that Potiphar would hearken to her words rather than to his, let his be ever so agreeable to the truth.

(4) [50] Ταῦτα λεγούσης τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ δακρυούσης οὔτε οἶκτος αὐτὸν μὴ σωφρονεῖν ἔπεισεν οὔτ᾽ ἠνάγκασε φόβος, ἀλλὰ ταῖς δεήσεσιν ἀντέσχε καὶ ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς οὐκ ἐνέδωκε καὶ παθεῖν ἀδίκως καὶ ὑπομένειν τι τῶν χαλεπωτέρων εἵλετο μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν παρόντων ἀπολαύειν χαρισάμενος ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἂν αὐτῷ συνειδῇ δικαίως ἀπολουμένῳ. [51] γάμου τε αὐτὴν ὑπεμίμνησκε καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα συμβιώσεως καὶ τούτοις τὸ πλέον νέμειν ἢ προσκαίρῳ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἡδονῇ παρεκάλει, τῆς μὲν καὶ μετάνοιαν ἐξούσης αὖθις ἐπ᾽ ὀδύνῃ γενησομένην οὐκ ἐπὶ διορθώσει τῶν ἡμαρτημένων καὶ φόβον του μὴ κατάφωρον γενέσθαι καὶ χάριν τοῦ λαθεῖν ἀγνοουμένου τοῦ κακοῦ, [52] τῆς δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα κοινωνίας ἀπόλαυσιν ἐχούσης ἀκίνδυνον καὶ προσέτι πολλὴν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν παρρησίαν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους: καὶ ὡς αὐτοῦ δεσπόσει μᾶλλον μείνασα καθαρὰ καὶ δεσποίνης ἐξουσίᾳ χρήσεται πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ συνεξαμαρτάνοντος αἰδοῖ: πολὺ δὲ κρεῖττον εἶναι θαρρεῖν ἐπὶ γινωσκομένοις τοῖς εὖ βεβιωμένοις ἢ ἐπὶ λανθανούσῃ κακοπραγίᾳ.

4. When the woman had said thus, and even with tears in her eyes, neither did pity dissuade Joseph from his chastity, nor did fear compel him to a compliance with her; but he opposed her solicitations, and did not yield to her threatenings, and was afraid to do an ill thing, and chose to undergo the sharpest punishment rather than to enjoy his present advantages, by doing what his own conscience knew would justly deserve that he should die for it. He also put her in mind that she was a married woman, and that she ought to cohabit with her husband only; and desired her to suffer these considerations to have more weight with her than the short pleasure of lustful dalliance, which would bring her to repentance afterwards, would cause trouble to her, and yet would not amend what had been done amiss. He also suggested to her the fear she would be in lest they should be caught; and that the advantage of concealment was uncertain, and that only while the wickedness was not known [would there be any quiet for them]; but that she might have the enjoyment of her husband's company without any danger. And he told her, that in the company of her husband she might have great boldness from a good conscience, both before God and before men. Nay, that she would act better like his mistress, and make use of her authority over him better while she persisted in her chastity, than when they were both ashamed for what wickedness they had been guilty of; and that it is much better to a life, well and known to have been so, than upon the hopes of the concealment of evil practices.

(5) [53] Ταῦτα λέγων καὶ ἔτι πλείω τούτοις ὅμοια τὴν τῆς γυναικὸς ὁρμὴν ἐπέχειν ἐπειρᾶτο καὶ τὸ πάθος αὐτῆς εἰς λογισμὸν ἐπιστρέφειν, ἡ δὲ βιαιότερον ἐχρῆτο τῇ σπουδῇ καὶ ἐπιβαλοῦσα τὰς χεῖρας ἀναγκάζειν ἀπογνοῦσα τὸ πείθειν ἤθελεν. [54] ὡς δ' ἐξέφυγεν ὑπὸ ὀργῆς ὁ Ἰώσηπος προσκαταλιπὼν καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον, κατεχούσης καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ τούτου μεθεὶς ἐξεπήδησε τοῦ δωματίου, περιδεὴς γενομένη, μὴ κατείπῃ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς, καὶ τῆς ὕβρεως περιαλγῶς ἔχουσα φθάσαι καταψεύσασθαι πρὸς τὸν Πετεφρὴν ἔγνω τοῦ Ἰωσήπου, καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τιμωρῆσαι μὲν αὐτῇ δεινῶς ὑπερηφανημένῃ, προλαβεῖν δὲ τὴν διαβολὴν σοφὸν ἅμα καὶ γυναικεῖον ἡγήσατο. [55] καὶ καθῆστο μὲν κατηφὴς καὶ συγκεχυμένη τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ διαμαρτεῖν τῆς ἐπιθυμίας λύπην ὡς ἐπὶ πείρᾳ διαφθορᾶς πλασαμένη μετ' ὀργῆς, ἐλθόντι δὲ τἀνδρὶ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ταραχθέντι καὶ πυνθανομένῳ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς κατηγορίας τῆς Ἰωσήπου κατήρξατο καί "τεθναίης, εἶπεν, ἄνερ, ἢ πονηρὸν δοῦλον κοίτην μιᾶναι τὴν σὴν θελήσαντα κόλασον, [56] ὃς οὔθ' οἷος ὢν εἰς τὸν ἡμέτερον οἶκον ἀφῖκται μνησθεὶς ἐσωφρόνησεν οὔθ' ὧν ἐκ τῆς σῆς χρηστότητος ἔτυχεν, ἀλλ' ἀχάριστος ὢν ἄν, εἰ μὴ πάντα παρεῖχεν αὐτὸν ἀγαθὸν εἰς ἡμᾶς, ἐπεβούλευσεν ὑβρίσαι γάμον τὸν σόν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν ἑορτῇ τὴν σὴν ἀπουσίαν παραφυλάξας: ὡς ὅσα καὶ μέτριος ἐδόκει πρότερον διὰ τὸν ἐκ σοῦ

φόβον ἠρέμει καὶ οὐχὶ φύσει χρηστὸς ἦν. [57] τοιοῦτον δ᾽ ἄρα τὸ παρ᾽ ἀξίαν αὐτὸν καὶ παρ᾽ ἐλπίδας εἰς τιμὴν παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν, ὡς δέον ᾧ τὴν τῆς κτήσεως τῆς σῆς πίστιν καὶ τὴν οἰκονομίαν λαβεῖν ἐξεγένετο καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων [58] οἰκετῶν προτιμηθῆναι τούτῳ καὶ τῆς σῆς ψαύειν γυναικός.᾽᾽ παυσαμένη δὲ τῶν λόγων ἐπεδείκνυεν αὐτῷ τὸ ἱμάτιον, ὡς ὅτ᾽ ἐπεχείρει βιάσασθαι καταλιπόντος αὐτό. Πετεφρὴς δὲ μήτε δακρυούσῃ τῇ γυναικὶ μήθ᾽ οἷς ἔλεγε καὶ εἶδεν ἀπιστεῖν ἔχων τῷ τε πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔρωτι πλέον νέμων ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἐξέτασιν οὐκ ἐτρέπετο, [59] δοὺς δὲ σωφρονεῖν τῇ γυναικὶ πονηρὸν δ᾽ εἶναι κατακρίνας τὸν Ἰώσηπον τὸν μὲν εἰς τὴν τῶν κακούργων εἱρκτὴν ἐνέβαλεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐφρόνει κοσμιότητα καὶ σωφροσύνην αὐτῇ μαρτυρῶν.

5. Joseph, by saying this, and more, tried to restrain the violent passion of the woman, and to reduce her affections within the rules of reason; but she grew more ungovernable and earnest in the matter; and since she despaired of persuading him, she laid her hands upon him, and had a mind to force him. But as soon as Joseph had got away from her anger, leaving also his garment with her, for he left that to her, and leaped out of her chamber, she was greatly afraid lest he should discover her lewdness to her husband, and greatly troubled at the affront he had offered her; so she resolved to be beforehand with him, and to accuse Joseph falsely to Potiphar, and by that means to revenge herself on him for his pride and contempt of her; and she thought it a wise thing in itself, and also becoming a woman, thus to prevent his accusation. Accordingly she sat sorrowful and in confusion, framing herself so hypocritically and angrily, that the sorrow, which was really for her being disappointed of her lust, might appear to be for the attempt upon her chastity; so that when her husband came home, and was disturbed at the sight of her and inquired what was the cause of the disorder she was in, she began to accuse Joseph: and, “O husband,” said she, “mayst thou not live a day longer if thou dost not punish the wicked slave who has desired to defile thy bed; who has neither minded who he was when he came to our house, so as to behave himself with modesty; nor has he been mindful of what favors he had received from thy bounty [as he must be an ungrateful man indeed, unless he, in every respect, carry himself in a manner agreeable to us]: this man, I say, laid a private design to abuse thy wife, and this at the time of a festival, observing when thou wouldst be absent. So that it now is clear that his modesty, as it appeared to be formerly, was only because of the restraint he was in out of fear of thee, but that he was not really of a good disposition. This has been occasioned by his being advanced to honor beyond what he deserved, and what he hoped for; insomuch that he concluded, that he who was deemed fit to

be trusted with thy estate and the government of thy family, and was preferred above thy eldest servants, might be allowed to touch thy wife also." Thus when she had ended her discourse, she showed him his garment, as if he then left it with her when he attempted to force her. But Potiphar not being able to disbelieve what his wife's tears showed, and what his wife said, and what he saw himself, and being seduced by his love to his wife, did not set himself about the examination of the truth; but taking it for granted that his wife was a modest woman, and condemning Joseph as a wicked man, he threw him into the malefactors' prison; and had a still higher opinion of his wife, and bare her witness that she was a woman of a becoming modesty and chastity.

V

CHAPTER 5. What Things Befell Joseph In Prison.

(1) [60] Ἰώσηπος μὲν οὖν πάντ᾽ ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ ποιησάμενος τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν οὔτ᾽ εἰς ἀπολογίαν οὔτ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀκριβῆ τῶν γεγονότων δήλωσιν ἐτράπη, τὰ δεσμὰ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην σιγῶν ὑπῆλθεν ἀμείνονα ἔσεσθαι τῶν δεδεκότων θαρρῶν τὸν τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς συμφορᾶς καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν εἰδότα θεόν, οὗ πεῖραν τῆς προνοίας εὐθὺς ἐλάμβανεν: [61] ὁ γὰρ δεσμοφύλαξ τήν τε ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν πίστιν αὐτοῦ κατανοήσας ἐν οἷς τάξειεν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς μορφῆς ὑπανίει τε τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ τὸ δεινὸν ἐλαφρότερον αὐτῷ καὶ κοῦφον ἐποίει, διαίτῃ δὲ χρῆσθαι κρείττονι δεσμωτῶν ἐπέτρεπε. [62] τῶν δὲ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὄντων εἴποτε παύσαιντο τῆς περὶ τὰ ἔργα ταλαιπωρίας εἰς ὁμιλίαν, οἷα φιλεῖ κατὰ κοινωνίαν τῆς ὁμοίας συμφορᾶς, τρεπομένων καὶ παρ᾽ ἀλλήλων τὰς αἰτίας ἐφ᾽ αἷς κατακριθεῖεν ἀναπυνθανομένων, [63] οἰνοχόος τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ σφόδρα αὐτῷ τιμώμενος κατ᾽ ὀργὴν δεδεμένος καὶ συνδιαφέρων τῷ Ἰωσήπῳ τὰς πέδας συνηθέστερος αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἐγένετο καί, συνέσει γὰρ ἐδόκει αὐτὸν προύχειν, ὄναρ ἰδὼν ἐξέθετο παρακαλῶν δηλοῦν εἴ τι σημαίνει, μεμφόμενος ὅτι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως κακοῖς ἔτι τὸ θεῖον αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν ὀνειράτων φροντίδας προστίθησιν.

1. Now Joseph, commending all his affairs to God, did not betake himself to make his defense, nor to give an account of the exact circumstances of the fact, but silently underwent the bonds and the distress he was in, firmly believing that God, who knew the cause of his affliction, and the truth of the fact, would be more powerful than those that inflicted the punishments upon him: — a proof of whose providence he quickly received; for the keeper of the prison taking notice of his care and fidelity in the affairs he had set him about, and the dignity of his countenance, relaxed his bonds, and thereby made his heavy calamity lighter, and more supportable to him. He also permitted him to make use of a diet better than that of the rest of the prisoners. Now, as his fellow prisoners, when their hard labors were over, fell to discoursing one among another, as is usual in such as are equal sufferers, and to inquire one of another what were the occasions of their being condemned to a prison: among them the king’s cupbearer, and one that had been respected by him, was put in bonds, upon the king’s anger at him. This man was under the same bonds with Joseph, and grew more familiar with him; and upon his observing that Joseph had a better understanding than the rest had, he told him of a dream he had, and desired he would interpret its meaning, complaining that, besides the afflictions he underwent from the king, God did also add to him trouble from his dreams.

(2) [64] Ἔλεγε δ’ οὖν ἰδεῖν κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους τριῶν κλημάτων πεφυκυίας ἀμπέλου βότρυς ἐξ ἑκάστου ἀποκρέμασθαι μεγάλους ἤδη καὶ πρὸς τρύγητον ὡραίους, καὶ τούτους αὐτὸς ἀποθλίβειν εἰς φιάλην ὑπέχοντος τοῦ βασιλέως διηθήσας τε τὸ γλεῦκος δοῦναι τῷ βασιλεῖ πιεῖν, κἀκεῖνον δέξασθαι κεχαρισμένως. [65] τὸ μὲν οὖν ἑωραμένον ἐδήλου τοιοῦτον ὄν, ἠξίου δ’ εἴ τι μεμοίραται συνέσεως φράζειν αὐτῷ τὴν πρόρρησιν τῆς ὄψεως. ὁ δὲ θαρρεῖν τε παρεκάλει καὶ προσδοκᾶν ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἀπολυθήσεσθαι τῶν δεσμῶν τοῦ βασιλέως ποθήσαντος αὐτοῦ τὴν διακονίαν καὶ πάλιν εἰς ταύτην αὐτὸν ἐπανάξοντος: [66] καρπὸν γὰρ ἐσήμαινεν ἀμπέλινον ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ τὸν θεὸν ἀνθρώποις παρασχεῖν, ὃς αὐτῷ τε ἐκείνῳ σπένδεται καὶ πίστιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ φιλίαν ὁμηρεύει, διαλύων μὲν ἔχθρας τὰ πάθη δὲ καὶ τὰς λύπας ἐξαιρῶν τοῖς προσφερομένοις αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ὑποφέρων. [67] τοῦτον οὖν φῂς ἐκ τριῶν ἀποθλιβέντα βοτρύων χερσὶ ταῖς σαῖς προσέσθαι τὸν βασιλέα: καλὴν τοίνυν ἴσθι σοι τὴν ὄψιν γεγενημένην καὶ προμηνύουσαν ἄφεσιν τῆς παρούσης ἀνάγκης ἐν τοσαύταις ἡμέραις, ἐξ ὅσων κλημάτων τὸν καρπὸν ἐτρύγησας κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους. [68] μέμνησο μέντοι τούτων πειραθεὶς τοῦ προκαταγγείλαντός σοι τὰ ἀγαθά, καὶ γενόμενος ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ μὴ περιίδῃς ἡμᾶς ἐν οἷς καταλείψεις πρὸς ἃ δεδηλώκαμεν ἀπερχόμενος: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐξαμαρτόντες ἐν δεσμοῖς γεγόναμεν, [69] ἀλλ’ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ σωφροσύνης τὰ τῶν κακούργων ὑπομένειν κατεκρίθημεν οὐδέ γε μετ’ οἰκείας ἡδονῆς τὸν ταῦθ’ ἡμᾶς ἐργασάμενον ὑβρίσαι θελήσαντες.” τῷ μὲν οὖν οἰνοχόῳ χαίρειν κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἀκούσαντι τοιαύτης τῆς τοῦ ὀνείρατος ἐξηγήσεως ὑπῆρχε καὶ περιμένειν τῶν δεδηλωμένων τὴν τελευτήν.

2. He therefore said, that in his sleep he saw three clusters of grapes hanging upon three branches of a vine, large already, and ripe for gathering; and that he squeezed them into a cup which the king held in his hand; and when he had strained the wine, he gave it to the king to drink, and that he received it from him with a pleasant countenance. This, he said, was what he saw; and he desired Joseph, that if he had any portion of understanding in such matters, he would tell him what this vision foretold. Who bid him be of good cheer, and expect to be loosed from his bonds in three days’ time, because the king desired his service, and was about to restore him to it again; for he let him know that God bestows the fruit of the vine upon men for good; which wine is poured out to him, and is the pledge of fidelity and mutual confidence among men; and puts an end to their quarrels, takes away passion and grief out of the minds of them that use it, and makes them cheerful. “Thou sayest that thou didst squeeze this wine from three clusters of grapes with thine hands, and that the king received it: know, therefore, that this vision is for thy good, and foretells a release from thy present distress within the same number of days as the branches had whence thou

gatheredst thy grapes in thy sleep. However, remember what prosperity I have foretold thee when thou hast found it true by experience; and when thou art in authority, do not overlook us in this prison, wherein thou wilt leave us when thou art gone to the place we have foretold; for we are not in prison for any crime; but for the sake of our virtue and sobriety are we condemned to suffer the penalty of malefactors, and because we are not willing to injure him that has thus distressed us, though it were for our own pleasure." The cupbearer, therefore, as was natural to do, rejoiced to hear such an interpretation of his dream, and waited the completion of what had been thus shown him beforehand.

(3) [70] Δοῦλος δέ τις ἐπὶ τῶν σιτοποιῶν τεταγμένος τοῦ βασιλέως συνδεδεμένος τῷ οἰνοχόῳ τοιαύτην ποιησαμένου τοῦ Ἰωσήπου περὶ τῆς ὄψεως ἐκείνῳ τὴν ἀπόφασιν εὔελπις ὤν, καὶ γὰρ καὐτὸς ὄναρ ἦν τεθεαμένος, ἠξίωσε τὸν Ἰώσηπον φράσαι, τί κἀκείνῳ δηλοῦν βούλεται τὰ διὰ τῆς παρελθούσης νυκτὸς ὀφθέντα. [71] ἦν δὲ τοιαῦτα: "τρία, φησί, κανᾶ φέρειν ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔδοξα, δύο μὲν ἄρτων πλέα, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ὄψου τε καὶ ποικίλων βρωμάτων οἷα βασιλεῦσι σκευάζεται: καταπταμένους δ' οἰωνοὺς ἅπαντα δαπανῆσαι μηδένα λόγον αὐτοῦ ποιουμένους ἀποσοβοῦντος. [72] καὶ ὁ μὲν ὁμοίαν τὴν πρόρρησιν ἔσεσθαι τῇ τοῦ οἰνοχόου προσεδόκα: ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος συμβαλὼν τῷ λογισμῷ τὸ ὄναρ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπών, ὡς ἐβούλετ' ἂν ἀγαθῶν ἑρμηνευτὴς αὐτῷ γεγονέναι καὶ οὐχ οἵων τὸ ὄναρ αὐτῷ δηλοῖ, λέγει δύο τὰς πάσας ἔτι τοῦ ζῆν αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἡμέρας: τὰ γὰρ κανᾶ τοῦτο σημαίνειν: [73] τῇ τρίτῃ δ' αὐτὸν ἀνασταυρωθέντα βορὰν ἔσεσθαι πετεινοῖς οὐδὲν ἀμύνειν αὐτῷ δυνάμενον. καὶ δὴ ταῦτα τέλος ὅμοιον οἷς ὁ Ἰώσηπος εἶπεν ἀμφοτέροις ἔλαβε: τῇ γὰρ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ προειρημένῃ γενέθλιον τεθυκὼς ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν σιτοποιῶν ἀνεσταύρωσε, τὸν δὲ οἰνοχόον τῶν δεσμῶν ἀπολύσας ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑπηρεσίας κατέστησεν.

3. But another servant there was of the king, who had been chief baker, and was now bound in prison with the cupbearer; he also was in good hope, upon Joseph's interpretation of the other's vision, for he had seen a dream also; so he desired that Joseph would tell him what the visions he had seen the night before might mean. They were these that follow:— "Methought," says he, "I carried three baskets upon my head; two were full of loaves, and the third full of sweetmeats and other eatables, such as are prepared for kings; but that the fowls came flying, and eat them all up, and had no regard to my attempt to drive them away." And he expected a prediction like to that of the cupbearer. But Joseph, considering and reasoning about the dream, said to him, that he would willingly be an interpreter of good events to him, and not of such as his dream denounced to him; but he told him that he had only three days in all to live, for that the [three] baskets signify, that on the third day he should be crucified, and devoured

by fowls, while he was not able to help himself. Now both these dreams had the same several events that Joseph foretold they should have, and this to both the parties; for on the third day before mentioned, when the king solemnized his birth-day, he crucified the chief baker, but set the butler free from his bonds, and restored him to his former ministration.

(4) [74] Ἰώσηπον δὲ διετῆ χρόνον τοῖς δεσμοῖς κακοπαθοῦντα καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰνοχόου κατὰ μνήμην τῶν προειρημένων ὠφελούμενον ὁ θεὸς ἀπέλυσε τῆς εἱρκτῆς τοιαύτην αὐτῷ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν μηχανησάμενος: [75] Φαραώθης ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν ἑσπέραν ὄψεις ἐνυπνίων θεασάμενος δύο καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν τὴν ἑκατέρας ἐξήγησιν ταύτης μὲν ἠμνημόνησε, τῶν δὲ ὀνειράτων κατέσχεν. ἀχθόμενος οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑωραμένοις, καὶ γὰρ ἐδόκει σκυθρωπὰ ταῦτ᾽ αὐτῷ, συνεκάλει μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς λογιωτάτους χρῄζων μαθεῖν τῶν ὀνειράτων τὴν κρίσιν. [76] ἀπορούντων δ᾽ ἐκείνων ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐταράττετο. τὸν δὲ οἰνοχόον ὁρῶντα τοῦ Φαραώθου τὴν σύγχυσιν ὑπέρχεται μνήμη τοῦ Ἰωσήπου καὶ τῆς περὶ τῶν ὀνειράτων συνέσεως, [77] καὶ προσελθὼν ἐμήνυσεν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἰώσηπον τήν τε ὄψιν, ἣν αὐτὸς εἶδεν ἐν τῇ εἱρκτῇ, καὶ τὸ ἀποβὰν ἐκείνου φράσαντος, ὅτι τε σταυρωθείη κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν σιτοποιῶν κἀκείνῳ τοῦτο συμβαίη κατὰ ἐξήγησιν ὀνείρατος Ἰωσήπου προειπόντος. [78] δεδέσθαι δὲ τοῦτον μὲν ὑπὸ Πετεφροῦ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν μαγείρων ὡς δοῦλον, λέγειν δ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἑβραίων ἐν ὀλίγοις εἶναι γένους ἅμα καὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς δόξης. τοῦτον οὖν μεταπεμψάμενος καὶ μὴ διὰ τὴν ἄρτι κακοπραγίαν αὐτοῦ καταγνοὺς μαθήσῃ τὰ [79] ὑπὸ τῶν ὀνειράτων σοι δηλούμενα.᾽᾽ κελεύσαντος οὖν τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς ὄψιν αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἰώσηπον παραγαγεῖν τὸν μὲν ἥκουσιν ἄγοντες οἱ κεκελευσμένοι τημελήσαντες κατὰ πρόσταγμα τοῦ βασιλέως.

4. But God freed Joseph from his confinement, after he had endured his bonds two years, and had received no assistance from the cupbearer, who did not remember what he had said to him formerly; and God contrived this method of deliverance for him. Pharaoh the king had seen in his sleep the same evening two visions; and after them had the interpretations of them both given him. He had forgotten the latter, but retained the dreams themselves. Being therefore troubled at what he had seen, for it seemed to him to be all of a melancholy nature, the next day he called together the wisest men among the Egyptians, desiring to learn from them the interpretation of his dreams. But when they hesitated about them, the king was so much the more disturbed. And now it was that the memory of Joseph, and his skill in dreams, came into the mind of the king's cupbearer, when he saw the confusion that Pharaoh was in; so he came and mentioned Joseph to him, as also the vision he had seen in prison, and how the event proved as he had said; as also that the chief baker was crucified on the

very same day; and that this also happened to him according to the interpretation of Joseph. That Joseph himself was laid in bonds by Potiphar, who was his head cook, as a slave; but, he said, he was one of the noblest of the stock of the Hebrews; and said further, his father lived in great splendor. "If, therefore, thou wilt send for him, and not despise him on the score of his misfortunes, thou wilt learn what thy dreams signify." So the king commanded that they should bring Joseph into his presence; and those who received the command came and brought him with them, having taken care of his habit, that it might be decent, as the king had enjoined them to do.

(5) [80] Ὁ δὲ τῆς δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ λαβόμενος "ὦ νεανία, φησί, σὺ γάρ μοι νῦν ἄριστος καὶ συνίσειν ἱκανώτατος ὑπὸ οἰκέτου τοὐμοῦ μεμαρτύρησαι, τῶν αὐτῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὧν καὶ τούτῳ μετέδωκας ἀξίωσον κἀμὲ φράσας ὅσα μοι κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὀνειράτων ὄψεις προδηλοῦσι: βούλομαι δέ σε μηδὲν ὑποστελλόμενον φόβῳ κολακεῦσαι ψευδεῖ λόγῳ καὶ τῷ πρὸς ἡδονήν, ἂν τἀληθὲς σκυθρωπότερον ᾖ. [81] ἔδοξα γὰρ παρὰ ποταμὸν βαδίζων βόας ἰδεῖν εὐτραφεῖς ἅμα καὶ μεγέθει διαφερούσας ἑπτὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ νάματος χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἕλος, ἄλλας δὲ ταύταις τὸν ἀριθμὸν παραπλησίας ἐκ τοῦ ἕλους ὑπαντῆσαι λίαν κατισχνωμένας καὶ δεινὰς ὁραθῆναι, αἳ κατεσθίουσαι τὰς εὐτραφεῖς καὶ μεγάλας οὐδὲν ὠφελοῦντο χαλεπῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ τετρυχωμέναι. [82] μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν ὄψιν διεγερθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ ὕπνου καὶ τεταραγμένος ὢν καὶ τί ποτ' εἴη τὸ φάντασμα παρ' ἐμαυτῷ σκοπῶν καταφέρομαι πάλιν εἰς ὕπνον καὶ δεύτερον ὄναρ ὁρῶ πολὺ τοῦ προτέρου θαυμασιώτερον, ὅ με καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκφοβεῖ καὶ ταράττει. [83] στάχυας ἑπτὰ ἑώρων ἀπὸ μιᾶς ῥίζης ἐκφυέντας καρηβαροῦντας ἤδη καὶ κεκλιμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἄμητον ὥρας καὶ τούτοις ἑτέρους ἑπτὰ στάχυας πλησίον λιφερνοῦντας καὶ ἀσθενεῖς ὑπὸ ἀδροσίας, οἳ δαπανᾶν καὶ κατεσθίειν τοὺς ὡραίους τραπέντες ἔκπληξίν μοι παρέσχον."

5. But the king took him by the hand; and, "O young man," says he, "for my servant bears witness that thou art at present the best and most skillful person I can consult with; vouchsafe me the same favors which thou bestowedst on this servant of mine, and tell me what events they are which the visions of my dreams foreshow; and I desire thee to suppress nothing out of fear, nor to flatter me with lying words, or with what may please me, although the truth should be of a melancholy nature. For it seemed to me that, as I walked by the river, I saw kine fat and very large, seven in number, going from the river to the marshes; and other kine of the same number like them, met them out of the marshes, exceeding lean and ill-favored, which ate up the fat and the large kine, and yet were no better than before, and not less miserably pinched with famine. After I had seen this vision, I awaked out of my sleep; and being in disorder, and

considering with myself what this appearance should be, I fell asleep again, and saw another dream, much more wonderful than the foregoing, which still did more affright and disturb me: — I saw seven ears of corn growing out of one root, having their heads borne down by the weight of the grains, and bending down with the fruit, which was now ripe and fit for reaping; and near these I saw seven other ears of corn, meager and weak, for want of rain, which fell to eating and consuming those that were fit for reaping, and put me into great astonishment."

(6) [84] Ἰώσηπος δὲ ὑπολαβών, "ὄνειρος μὲν οὗτος, εἶπεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καίπερ ἐν δυσὶ μορφαῖς ὀφθεὶς μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀποσημαίνει τελευτὴν τῶν ἐσομένων. [τό τε γὰρ] τὰς βοῦς ἰδεῖν ζῷον ἐπ' ἀρότρῳ πονεῖν γεγενημένον ὑπὸ τῶν χειρόνων κατεσθιομένας, [85] καὶ οἱ στάχυες ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλαττόνων δαπανώμενοι λιμὸν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἀκαρπίαν ἐπὶ τοσαῦτα προκαταγγέλλουσιν ἔτη τοῖς ἴσοις πρότερον εὐδαιμονησάσῃ, ὡς τὴν τούτων εὐφορίαν τῶν ἐτῶν ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν μετὰ τοσοῦτον ἀριθμὸν ἴσων ἀφορίας ὑπαναλωθῆναι. γενήσεται δὴ σπάνις τῶν ἀναγκαίων σφόδρα δυσκατόρθωτος. [86] σημεῖον δέ: αἱ γὰρ κατισχνωμέναι βόες δαπανήσασαι τὰς κρείττονας οὐκ ἴσχυσαν κορεσθῆναι. ὁ μέντοι θεὸς οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ λυπεῖν τὰ μέλλοντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις προδείκνυσιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως προυγνωκότες κουφοτέρας συνέσει ποιῶνται τὰς πείρας τῶν κατηγγελμένων. σὺ τοίνυν ταμιευσάμενος τἀγαθὰ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πρῶτον χρόνον γενησόμενα ποιήσεις ἀνεπαίσθητον Αἰγυπτίοις τὴν ἐπελευσομένην συμφοράν."

6. To which Joseph replied:— "This dream," said he, "O king, although seen under two forms, signifies one and the same event of things; for when thou sawest the fat kine, which is an animal made for the plough and for labor, devoured by the worser kine, and the ears of corn eaten up by the smaller ears, they foretell a famine, and want of the fruits of the earth for the same number of years, and equal with those when Egypt was in a happy state; and this so far, that the plenty of these years will be spent in the same number of years of scarcity, and that scarcity of necessary provisions will be very difficult to be corrected; as a sign whereof, the ill-favored kine, when they had devoured the better sort, could not be satisfied. But still God foreshows what is to come upon men, not to grieve them, but that, when they know it beforehand, they may by prudence make the actual experience of what is foretold the more tolerable. If thou, therefore, carefully dispose of the plentiful crops which will come in the former years, thou wilt procure that the future calamity will not be felt by the Egyptians."

(7) [87] Θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν φρόνησιν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ Ἰωσήπου καὶ πυθομένου, τίνα καὶ τρόπον ἂν προοικονομήσειεν ἐν τοῖς τῆς εὐετηρίας καιροῖς τὰ περὶ τῶν μετὰ ταύτην, ὡς ἂν ἐλαφρότερα γένοιτο τὰ τῆς ἀφορίας, [88] ὑπετίθετο καὶ συνεβούλευε φειδὼ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ μὴ κατὰ περιουσίαν αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπιτρέπειν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅσα ἂν κατὰ τρυφὴν ἀναλώσωσιν ἐκ περισσοῦ, ταῦτα τηρεῖν εἰς τὸν τῆς ἐνδείας καιρόν, ἀποτίθεσθαί τε παρῄνει λαμβάνοντα τὸν σῖτον παρὰ τῶν γεωργῶν τὰ διαρκῆ μόνον εἰς διατροφὴν χορηγοῦντα. [89] Φαραώθης δ᾽ ἀμφοτέρων θαυμάσας Ἰώσηπον τῆς τε κρίσεως τοῦ ὀνείρατος καὶ τῆς συμβουλίας αὐτῷ τὴν οἰκονομίαν παραδίδωσιν, ὥστε πράττειν ἃ καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ συμφέροντα ὑπολαμβάνει, τὸν ἐξευρόντα τὴν τοῦ πράγματος ὁδὸν καὶ προστάτην ἄριστον αὐτῆς ὑπολαβὼν γενήσεσθαι. [90] ὁ δὲ ταύτης αὐτῷ τῆς ἐξουσίας ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως δοθείσης σφραγῖδί τε χρῆσθαι τῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ πορφύραν ἐνδύσασθαι διὰ τῆς γῆς ἁπάσης ἐλαύνων ἐφ᾽ ἅρματος ἦγε τὸν σῖτον παρὰ τῶν γεωργῶν τὸν ἀρκοῦντα πρός τε σπόρον καὶ διατροφὴν ἑκάστοις ἀπομετρῶν, μηδενὶ σημαίνων τὴν αἰτίαν, ὑφ᾽ ἧς ταῦτα ἔπραττε.

7. Hereupon the king wondered at the discretion and wisdom of Joseph; and asked him by what means he might so dispense the foregoing plentiful crops in the happy years, as to make the miserable crops more tolerable. Joseph then added this his advice: To spare the good crops, and not permit the Egyptians to spend them luxuriously, but to reserve what they would have spent in luxury beyond their necessity against the time of want. He also exhorted him to take the corn of the husbandmen, and give them only so much as will be sufficient for their food. Accordingly Pharaoh being surprised at Joseph, not only for his interpretation of the dream, but for the counsel he had given him, intrusted him with dispensing the corn; with power to do what he thought would be for the benefit of the people of Egypt, and for the benefit of the king, as believing that he who first discovered this method of acting, would prove the best overseer of it. But Joseph having this power given him by the king, with leave to make use of his seal, and to wear purple, drove in his chariot through all the land of Egypt, and took the corn of the husbandmen, allotting as much to every one as would be sufficient for seed, and for food, but without discovering to any one the reason why he did so.

VI

CHAPTER 6. How Joseph When He Was Become Famous In Egypt, Had His Brethren In Subjection.

(1) [91] Τριακοστὸν δ’ ἔτος ἤδη τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτῷ διεληλύθει καὶ τιμῆς ἀπάσης ἀπέλαυε τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ προσηγόρευσεν αὐτὸν Ψονθονφάνηχον ἀπιδὼν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ παράδοξον τῆς συνέσεως: σημαίνει γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα κρυπτῶν εὑρετήν. γαμεῖ δὲ καὶ γάμον ἀξιολογώτατον: ἄγεται γὰρ καὶ Πετεφροῦ θυγατέρα τῶν ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει ἱερέων συμπράξαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔτι παρθένον Ἀσέννηθιν ὀνόματι. [92] ἐκ ταύτης δὲ καὶ παῖδες αὐτῷ γίνονται πρὸ τῆς ἀκαρπίας Μανασσῆς μὲν πρεσβύτερος, σημαίνει δ’ ἐπίληθον, διὰ τὸ εὐδαιμονήσαντα λήθην εὕρασθαι τῶν ἀτυχημάτων, ὁ δὲ νεώτερος Ἐφράδης, ἀποδιδοὺς δὲ τοῦτο σημαίνει, διὰ τὸ ἀποδοθῆναι αὐτὸν τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ τῶν προγόνων. [93] τῆς δ’ Αἰγύπτου κατὰ τὴν Ἰωσήπου τῶν ὀνειράτων ἐξήγησιν μακαριστῶς ἔτη ἑπτὰ διαγούσης ὁ λιμὸς ἥπτετο τῷ ὀγδόῳ ἔτει καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ προῃσθημένοις ἐπιπεσεῖν τὸ κακὸν πονούμενοι χαλεπῶς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πάντες ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλέως θύρας συνέρρεον. [94] ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπον ἐκάλει, κἀκεῖνος τὸν σῖτον αὐτοῖς ἀπεδίδοτο γεγενημένος σωτὴρ ὁμολογουμένως τοῦ πλήθους, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν οὐ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις προὐτίθει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ξένοις ὠνεῖσθαι παρῆν πάντας ἀνθρώπους κατὰ συγγένειαν ἀξιοῦντος ἐπικουρίας τυγχάνειν Ἰωσήπου παρὰ τῶν εὐδαιμονίᾳ χρωμένων.

1. Joseph was now grown up to thirty years of age, and enjoyed great honors from the king, who called him Psothom Phanech, out of regard to his prodigious degree of wisdom; for that name denotes the revealer of secrets. He also married a wife of very high quality; for he married the daughter of Petephres, one of the priests of Heliopolis; she was a virgin, and her name was Asenath. By her he had children before the scarcity came on; Manasseh, the elder, which signifies forgetful, because his present happiness made him forget his former misfortunes; and Ephraim, the younger, which signifies restored, because he was restored to the freedom of his forefathers. Now after Egypt had happily passed over seven years, according to Joseph’s interpretation of the dreams, the famine came upon them in the eighth year; and because this misfortune fell upon them when they had no sense of it beforehand, they were all sorely afflicted by it, and came running to the king’s gates; and he called upon Joseph, who sold the corn to them, being become confessedly a savior to the whole multitude of the Egyptians. Nor did he open this market of corn for the people of that country only, but strangers had liberty to buy also; Joseph being willing that all men, who are naturally akin to one another, should have assistance from those that lived in happiness.

(2) [95] Πέμπει δὲ καὶ Ἰάκωβος τῆς Χαναναίας δεινῶς ἐκτετρυχωμένης, πάσης γὰρ ἥψατο τῆς ἠπείρου τὸ δεινόν, τοὺς υἱοὺς ἅπαντας εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὠνησομένους σῖτον πεπυσμένος ἐφεῖσθαι τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ ξένοις: μόνον δὲ κατέσχε Βενιαμὶν ἐκ Ῥαχήλας αὐτῷ γεγονότα ὁμομήτριον δὲ Ἰωσήπῳ. [96] οἱ μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐλθόντες ἐνετύγχανον τῷ Ἰωσήπῳ χρῄζοντες ἀγορᾶς: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν, ὃ μὴ μετὰ γνώμης ἐπράττετο τῆς ἐκείνου: καὶ γὰρ τὸ θεραπεῦσαι τὸν βασιλέα τότε χρήσιμον ἐγίνετο τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὅτε καὶ τῆς Ἰωσήπου τιμῆς ἐπιμεληθεῖεν. [97] ὁ δὲ γνωρίσας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς οὐδὲν ἐνθυμουμένους περὶ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ μειράκιον μὲν αὐτὸς ἀπαλλαγῆναι, εἰς τοῦτο δὲ προελθεῖν τῆς ἡλικίας καὶ τῶν χαρακτήρων ἠλλαγμένων ἀγνώριστος αὐτοῖς εἶναι, τῷ δὲ μεγέθει τοῦ ἀξιώματος οὐδ’ εἰς ἐπίνοιαν ἐλθεῖν αὐτοῖς δυνάμενος διεπείραζεν, ὡς ἔχοιεν γνώμης περὶ τῶν ὅλων. [98] τόν τε γὰρ σῖτον αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀπεδίδοτο κατασκόπους τε τῶν βασιλέως πραγμάτων ἔλεγεν ἥκειν καὶ πολλαχόθεν μὲν αὐτοὺς συνεληλυθέναι, προφασίζεσθαι δὲ συγγένειαν: οὐ γὰρ εἶναι δυνατὸν ἀνδρὶ ἰδιώτῃ τοιούτους παῖδας καὶ τὰς μορφὰς οὕτως ἐπιφανεῖς ἐκτραφῆναι, δυσκόλου καὶ βασιλεῦσιν οὔσης τοιαύτης παιδοτροφίας. [99] ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ γνῶναι τὰ κατὰ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὰ συμβεβηκότα αὐτῷ μετὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀπαλλαγὴν ταῦτ’ ἔπραττε μαθεῖν τε βουλόμενος καὶ τὰ περὶ Βενιαμὶν τὸν ἀδελφόν: ἐδεδίει γάρ, μὴ κἀκεῖνον ὁμοίως οἷς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐτόλμησαν εἶεν ἀπεσκευασμένοι τοῦ γένους.

2. Now Jacob also, when he understood that foreigners might come, sent all his sons into Egypt to buy corn, for the land of Canaan was grievously afflicted with the famine; and this great misery touched the whole continent. He only retained Benjamin, who was born to him by Rachel, and was of the same mother with Joseph. These sons of Jacob then came into Egypt, and applied themselves to Joseph, wanting to buy corn; for nothing of this kind was done without his approbation, since even then only was the honor that was paid the king himself advantageous to the persons that paid it, when they took care to honor Joseph also. Now when he well knew his brethren, they thought nothing of him; for he was but a youth when he left them, and was now come to an age so much greater, that the lineaments of his face were changed, and he was not known by them: besides this, the greatness of the dignity wherein he appeared, suffered them not so much as to suspect it was he. He now made trial what sentiments they had about affairs of the greatest consequence; for he refused to sell them corn, and said they were come as spies of the king’s affairs; and that they came from several countries, and joined themselves together, and pretended that they were of kin, it not being possible that a private man should breed up so many sons, and those of so great beauty of countenance as they were, such an education of so many children being not easily obtained by kings themselves.

Now this he did in order to discover what concerned his father, and what happened to him after his own departure from him, and as desiring to know what was become of Benjamin his brother; for he was afraid that they had ventured on the like wicked enterprise against him that they had done to himself, and had taken him off also.

(3) [100] Οἱ δ' ἦσαν ἐν ταραχῇ καὶ φόβῳ κίνδυνον τὸν μέγιστον αὐτοῖς ἐπηρτῆσθαι νομίζοντες καὶ μηδὲν περὶ τἀδελφοῦ κατὰ νοῦν λαμβάνοντες, καταστάντες τε πρὸς τὰς αἰτίας ἀπελογοῦντο Ῥουβήλου προηγοροῦντος, ὃς ἦν πρεσβύτατος αὐτῶν: [101] "ἡμεῖς γὰρ, εἶπεν, οὐ κατὰ ἀδικίαν δεῦρο ἤλθομεν οὐδὲ κακουργήσοντες τὰ βασιλέως πράγματα, σωθῆναι δὲ ζητοῦντες καὶ καταφυγὴν τῶν ἐπεχόντων τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν κακῶν τὴν ὑμετέραν φιλανθρωπίαν ὑπολαβόντες, οὓς οὐχὶ πολίταις μόνοις τοῖς αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξένοις ἠκούομεν τὴν ἀγορὰν τοῦ σίτου προτεθεικέναι πᾶσι τὸ σώζεσθαι τοῖς δεομένοις παρέχειν διεγνωκότας. [102] ὅτι δ' ἐσμὲν ἀδελφοὶ καὶ κοινὸν ἡμῖν αἷμα, φανερὸν μὲν καὶ τῆς μορφῆς τὸ οἰκεῖον καὶ μὴ πολὺ παρηλλαγμένον ποιεῖ, πατὴρ δ' ἐστὶν ἡμῖν Ἰάκωβος ἀνὴρ Ἑβραῖος, ᾧ γινόμεθα δώδεκα παῖδες ἐκ γυναικῶν τεσσάρων, ὧν πάντων περιόντων ἦμεν εὐδαίμονες. [103] ἀποθανόντος δὲ ἑνὸς τῶν ἀδελφῶν Ἰωσήπου τὰ πράγματα ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον μετέβαλεν: ὅ τε γὰρ πατὴρ μακρὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ πένθος ἦρται καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπό τε τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ τεθνηκότι συμφορᾶς καὶ τῆς τοῦ πρεσβύτου ταλαιπωρίας κακοπαθοῦμεν. [104] ἥκομέν τε νῦν ἐπ' ἀγορὰν σίτου τήν τε τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν κατὰ τὸν οἶκον πρόνοιαν Βενιαμεῖ τῷ νεωτάτῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν πεπιστευκότες: δύνασαι δὲ πέμψας εἰς τὸν ἡμέτερον οἶκον μαθεῖν, εἴ τι ψευδές ἐστι τῶν λεγομένων."

3. Now these brethren of his were under distraction and terror, and thought that very great danger hung over them; yet not at all reflecting upon their brother Joseph, and standing firm under the accusations laid against them, they made their defense by Reubel, the eldest of them, who now became their spokesman: "We come not hither," said he, "with any unjust design, nor in order to bring any harm to the king's affairs; we only want to be preserved, as supposing your humanity might be a refuge for us from the miseries which our country labors under, we having heard that you proposed to sell corn, not only to your own countrymen, but to strangers also, and that you determined to allow that corn, in order to preserve all that want it; but that we are brethren, and of the same common blood, the peculiar lineaments of our faces, and those not so much different from one another, plainly show. Our father's name is Jacob, an Hebrew man, who had twelve of us for his sons by four wives; which twelve of us, while we were all alive, were a happy family; but when one of our brethren, whose name was Joseph, died, our affairs changed for the worse, for our father could

not forbear to make a long lamentation for him; and we are in affliction, both by the calamity of the death of our brother, and the miserable state of our aged father. We are now, therefore, come to buy corn, having intrusted the care of our father, and the provision for our family, to Benjamin, our youngest brother; and if thou sendest to our house, thou mayst learn whether we are guilty of the least falsehood in what we say."

(4) [105] Καὶ Ῥουβῆλος μὲν τούτοις ἐπειρᾶτο πείθειν τὸν Ἰώσηπον περὶ αὐτῶν τὰ ἀμείνω φρονῆσαι, ὁ δὲ τὸν Ἰάκωβον ζῶντα μαθὼν καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν οὐκ ἀπολωλότα τότε μὲν εἰς τὴν εἱρκτὴν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐπὶ σχολῆς βασανίσων ἐνέβαλε, τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν προαγαγὼν αὐτούς, [106] "ἐπεί, φησί, διισχυρίζεσθε μήτ' ἐπὶ κακουργίᾳ τῶν βασιλέως ἥκειν πραγμάτων εἶναί τε ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατρὸς οὗ λέγετε, πείσαιτ' ἄν με ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν, εἰ καταλίποιτε μὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἕνα παρ' ἐμοὶ μηδὲν ὑβριστικὸν πεισόμενον, ἀποκομίσαντες δὲ τὸν σῖτον πρὸς τὸν πατέρα πάλιν ἔλθοιτε πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν ἀδελφόν, ὃν καταλιπεῖν ἐκεῖ φατε, μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἄγοντες: τοῦτο γὰρ ἔσται πί [107] στωμα τῆς ἀληθείας." οἱ δ' ἐν μείζοσι κακοῖς ἦσαν ἔκλαιόν τε καὶ συνεχῶς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀνωλοφύροντο τὴν Ἰωσήπου συμφοράν, ὡς διὰ τὰ κατ' ἐκείνου βουλευθέντα τιμωροῦντος αὐτοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ τούτοις περιπέσοιεν, Ῥουβῆλος δὲ πολὺς ἦν ἐπιπλήττων αὐτοῖς τῆς μετανοίας, ἐξ ἧς ὄφελος οὐδὲν Ἰωσήπῳ γίνεται: φέρειν δ' αὐτοὺς πᾶν ὅ τι καὶ πάθοιεν κατ' ἐκδικίαν ἐκείνου δρῶντος αὐτὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καρτερῶς ἠξίου. [108] ταῦτα δ' ἔλεγον πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐχ ἡγούμενοι τὸν Ἰώσηπον γλώσσης τῆς αὐτῶν συνιέναι. κατήφεια δὲ πάντας εἶχε πρὸς τοὺς Ῥουβήλου λόγους καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων μετάμελος, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ τῶν ταῦτα ψηφισαμένων, ἐφ' οἷς δίκαιον ἔκρινον τὸν θεὸν κολαζόμενοι. [109] βλέπων δ' οὕτως ἀμηχανοῦντας Ἰώσηπος ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους εἰς δάκρυα προύπιπτε καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς γενέσθαι καταφανὴς ὑπεχώρει καὶ διαλιπὼν πάλιν ἦκε πρὸς αὐτούς. [110] καὶ Σεμεῶνα κατασχὼν ὅμηρον τῆς ἐπανόδου τῶν ἀδελφῶν γενησόμενον ἐκείνους μεταλαβόντας τῆς ἀγορᾶς τοῦ σίτου προσέταξεν ἀπιέναι, κελεύσας τῷ ὑπηρέτῃ ταργύριον, ὃ πρὸς τὴν ὠνὴν εἶεν τοῦ σίτου κεκομικότες, κρύφα τοῖς φορτίοις ἐνθέντι ἀπολύειν κἀκεῖνο κομίζοντας. καὶ ὁ μὲν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἔπραττεν.

4. And thus did Reubel endeavor to persuade Joseph to have a better opinion of them. But when he had learned from them that Jacob was alive, and that his brother was not destroyed by them, he for the present put them in prison, as intending to examine more into their affairs when he should be at leisure. But on the third day he brought them out, and said to them, "Since you constantly affirm that you are not come to do any harm to the king's affairs; that you are brethren, and the sons of the father whom you named; you will satisfy me of the truth of what you say, if you leave one of your company with me, who shall suffer no

injury here; and if, when ye have carried corn to your father, you will come to me again, and bring your brother, whom you say you left there, along with you, for this shall be by me esteemed an assurance of the truth of what you have told me." Hereupon they were in greater grief than before; they wept, and perpetually deplored one among another the calamity of Joseph; and said, "They were fallen into this misery as a punishment inflicted by God for what evil contrivances they had against him." And Reubel was large in his reproaches of them for their too late repentance, whence no profit arose to Joseph; and earnestly exhorted them to bear with patience whatever they suffered, since it was done by God in way of punishment, on his account. Thus they spake to one another, not imagining that Joseph understood their language. A general sadness also seized on them at Reubel's words, and a repentance for what they had done; and they condemned the wickedness they had perpetrated, for which they judged they were justly punished by God. Now when Joseph saw that they were in this distress, he was so affected at it that he fell into tears, and not being willing that they should take notice of him, he retired; and after a while came to them again, and taking Symeon in order to his being a pledge for his brethren's return, he bid them take the corn they had bought, and go their way. He also commanded his steward privily to put the money which they had brought with them for the purchase of corn into their sacks, and to dismiss them therewith; who did what he was commanded to do.

(5) [111] Οἱ δὲ Ἰακώβου παῖδες ἐλθόντες εἰς τὴν Χαναναίαν ἀπήγγελλον τῷ πατρὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον αὐτοῖς συμπεσόντα, καὶ ὅτι κατάσκοποι δόξειαν ἀφῖχθαι τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ λέγοντες ἀδελφοί τε εἶναι καὶ τὸν ἐνδέκατον οἴκοι καταλιπεῖν παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ ἀπιστηθεῖεν, ὡς καταλίποιέν τε Σεμεῶνα παρὰ τῷ στρατηγῷ μέχρι Βενιαμὶς ὡς αὐτὸν ἀπιὼν πίστις αὐτοῖς τῶν εἰρημένων παρ' αὐτῷ γένοιτο: [112] ἠξίουν τε τὸν πατέρα μηδὲν φοβηθέντα πέμπειν σὺν αὐτοῖς τὸν νεανίσκον. Ἰακώβῳ δ' οὐδὲν ἤρεσκε τῶν τοῖς υἱοῖς πεπραγμένων, καὶ πρὸς τὴν Σεμεῶνος δὲ κατοχὴν λυπηρῶς φέρων ἀνόητον ἡγεῖτο προστιθέναι καὶ τὸν Βενιαμίν. [113] καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐδὲ Ῥουβήλου δεομένου καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ παῖδας ἀντιδιδόντος, ἵνα εἴ τι πάθοι Βενιαμὶς κατὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἀποκτείνειεν αὐτοὺς ὁ πάππος, πείθεται τοῖς λόγοις. οἱ δ' ἠπόρουν ἐπὶ τοῖς κακοῖς καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἐτάραττε τἀργύριον ἐν τοῖς σακκίοις τοῦ σίτου κατακεκρυμμένον εὑρεθέν. [114] τοῦ δὲ σίτου τοῦ κομισθέντος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπιλιπόντος καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ μᾶλλον ἁπτομένου βιαζομένης αὐτὸν τῆς ἀνάγκης ὁ Ἰάκωβος ἐκπέμπειν ἐγίνωσκε τὸν Βενιαμὶν μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν: [115] οὐ γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπελθεῖν μὴ μετὰ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν ἀπερχομένοις, καὶ τοῦ πάθους οὖν χείρονος καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν γινομένου καὶ τῶν υἱῶν δεομένων οὐκ εἶχεν, ὅ τι χρήσαιτο τοῖς παροῦσιν. [116]

Ἰούδα δὲ τολμηροῦ τἆλλα τὴν φύσιν ἀνδρὸς χρησαμένου πρὸς αὐτὸν παρρησίᾳ, ὡς οὐ προσῆκε μὲν αὐτὸν περὶ τἀδελφοῦ δεδιέναι οὐδὲ τὰ μὴ δεινὰ δι᾽ ὑποψίας λαμβάνειν, πραχθήσεται γὰρ οὐδὲν αὐτῶν περὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν, ᾧ μὴ παρέσται θεός, τοῦτο δὲ συμβήσεσθαι πάντως καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτῷ μένοντι: [117] φανερὰν δ᾽ οὕτως αὐτῶν ἀπώλειαν μὴ καταδικάζειν μηδὲ τὴν ἐκ Φαραώθου τῆς τροφῆς αὐτῶν εὐπορίαν αὐτοὺς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι ἀλόγως περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς δεδιότα, φροντίζειν δὲ καὶ τῆς Σεμεῶνος σωτηρίας, μὴ φειδοῖ τῆς Βενιαμὶν ἀποδημίας ἐκεῖνος ἀπόληται: πιστεῦσαι δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ παραινοῦντος καὶ αὐτῷ, ὡς ἢ σῶον ἐπανάξοντος αὐτῷ τὸν υἱὸν ἢ συγκαταστρέψοντος ἅμα ἐκείνῳ τὸν βίον, [118] πεισθεὶς Ἰάκωβος παρεδίδου τὸν Βενιαμὶν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ σίτου διπλασίονα τῶν τε παρὰ τοῖς Χαναναίοις γεννωμένων τό τε τῆς βαλάνου μύρον καὶ στακτὴν τερέβινθόν τε καὶ μέλι δωρεὰς Ἰωσήπῳ κομίζειν. πολλὰ δὲ ἦν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν παίδων ἐξόδῳ δάκρυα κἀκείνων αὐτῶν. [119] ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς υἱοὺς εἰ κομιεῖται σώους ἐκ τῆς ἀποδημίας ἐφρόντιζεν, οἱ δ᾽ εἰ τὸν πατέρα καταλάβοιεν ἐρρωμένον καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς λύπης κακωθέντα. ἡμερήσιον δὲ αὐτοῖς ἠνύσθη τὸ πένθος, καὶ ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτης κοπωθεὶς ὑπέμενεν, οἱ δὲ ἐχώρουν εἰς Αἴγυπτον μετὰ κρείττονος ἐλπίδος τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι λύπην ἰώμενοι.

5. Now when Jacob's sons were come into the land of Canaan, they told their father what had happened to them in Egypt, and that they were taken to have come thither as spies upon the king; and how they said they were brethren, and had left their eleventh brother with their father, but were not believed; and how they had left Symeon with the governor, until Benjamin should go thither, and be a testimonial of the truth of what they had said: and they begged of their father to fear nothing, but to send the lad along with them. But Jacob was not pleased with any thing his sons had done; and he took the detention of Symeon heinously, and thence thought it a foolish thing to give up Benjamin also. Neither did he yield to Reubel's persuasion, though he begged it of him, and gave leave that the grandfather might, in way of requital, kill his own sons, in case any harm came to Benjamin in the journey. So they were distressed, and knew not what to do; nay, there was another accident that still disturbed them more, — the money that was found hidden in their sacks of corn. Yet when the corn they had brought failed them, and when the famine still afflicted them, and necessity forced them, Jacob did [not] still resolve to send Benjamin with his brethren, although there was no returning into Egypt unless they came with what they had promised. Now the misery growing every day worse, and his sons begging it of him, he had no other course to take in his present circumstances. And Judas, who was of a bold temper on other occasions, spake his mind very freely to him: "That it did not become him to be afraid on account of his son, nor

to suspect the worst, as he did; for nothing could be done to his son but by the appointment of God, which must also for certain come to pass, though he were at home with him; that he ought not to condemn them to such manifest destruction; nor deprive them of that plenty of food they might have from Pharaoh, by his unreasonable fear about his son Benjamin, but ought to take care of the preservation of Symeon, lest, by attempting to hinder Benjamin's journey, Symeon should perish. He exhorted him to trust God for him; and said he would either bring his son back to him safe, or, together with his, lose his own life." So that Jacob was at length persuaded, and delivered Benjamin to them, with the price of the corn doubled; he also sent presents to Joseph of the fruits of the land of Canaan, balsam and rosin, as also turpentine and honey. Now their father shed many tears at the departure of his sons, as well as themselves. His concern was, that he might receive them back again safe after their journey; and their concern was, that they might find their father well, and no way afflicted with grief for them. And this lamentation lasted a whole day; so that the old man was at last tired with grief, and staid behind; but they went on their way for Egypt, endeavoring to mitigate their grief for their present misfortunes, with the hopes of better success hereafter.

(6) [120] Ὡς δ' ἦλθον εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον κατάγονται μὲν παρὰ τὸν Ἰώσηπον, φόβος δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν διετάραττε, μὴ περὶ τῆς τοῦ σίτου τιμῆς ἐγκλήματα λάβωσιν ὡς αὐτοί τι κεκακουργηκότες, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ Ἰωσήπου πολλὴν ἀπολογίαν ἐποιοῦντο κατ' οἶκόν τε φάσκοντες εὑρεῖν ἐν τοῖς σάκκοις τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ νῦν ἥκειν ἐπανάγοντες αὐτό. [121] τοῦ δὲ μηδ' ὅ τι λέγουσιν εἰδέναι φήσαντος ἀνείθησαν τοῦ δέους. [λύσας τε τὸν Συμεῶνα ἐτημέλει συνεσόμενον τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς.] ἐλθόντος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Ἰωσήπου ἀπὸ τῆς θεραπείας τοῦ βασιλέως τά τε δῶρα παρῆγον αὐτῷ καὶ πυθομένου περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔλεγον, ὅτι καταλάβοιεν αὐτὸν ἐρρωμένον. [122] ὁ δὲ μαθὼν περιόντα καὶ περὶ τοῦ Βενιαμὶν εἰ οὗτος ὁ νεώτερος ἀδελφὸς αὐτῶν εἴη, καὶ γὰρ ἦν αὐτὸν ἑωρακώς, ἀνέκρινε. τῶν δὲ φησάντων αὐτὸν εἶναι οἰκέτην αὐτοῦ θεὸν μὲν ἐπὶ πᾶσι προστάτην εἶπεν, [123] ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ πάθους προαγόμενος εἰς δάκρυα μεθίστατο μὴ βουλόμενος καταφανὴς εἶναι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, ἐπὶ δεῖπνόν τε αὐτοὺς παραλαμβάνει καὶ κατακλίνονται οὕτως ὡς καὶ παρὰ τῷ πατρί. πάντας δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰώσηπος δεξιούμενος διπλασίοσι μοίραις τῶν αὐτῷ παρακειμένων τὸν Βενιαμὶν ἐτίμα.

6. As soon as they came into Egypt, they were brought down to Joseph: but here no small fear disturbed them, lest they should be accused about the price of the corn, as if they had cheated Joseph. They then made a long apology to Joseph's steward; and told him, that when they came home they found the money in their sacks, and that they had now brought it along with them. He said he did not

know what they meant: so they were delivered from that fear. And when he had loosed Symeon, and put him into a handsome habit, he suffered him to be with his brethren; at which time Joseph came from his attendance on the king. So they offered him their presents; and upon his putting the question to them about their father, they answered that they found him well. He also, upon his discovery that Benjamin was alive, asked whether this was their younger brother; for he had seen him. Whereupon they said he was: he replied, that the God over all was his protector. But when his affection to him made him shed tears, he retired, desiring he might not be seen in that plight by his brethren. Then Joseph took them to supper, and they were set down in the same order as they used to sit at their father's table. And although Joseph treated them all kindly, yet did he send a mess to Benjamin that was double to what the rest of the guests had for their shares.

(7) [124] Ἐπεὶ δὲ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον εἰς ὕπνον ἐτράποντο, κελεύει τῷ ταμίᾳ τόν τε σῖτον αὐτοῖς δοῦναι μεμετρημένον καὶ τὴν τιμὴν πάλιν ἐγκρύψαι τοῖς σακκίοις, εἰς δὲ τὸ τοῦ Βενιαμὶν φορτίον καὶ σκύφος ἀργυροῦν, ᾧ πίνων ἔχαιρε, βαλόντα καταλιπεῖν. [125] ἐποίει δὲ ταῦτα διάπειραν βουλόμενος τῶν ἀδελφῶν λαβεῖν, πότερόν ποτε βοηθήσουσι τῷ Βενιαμὶν κλοπῆς ἀγομένῳ καὶ δοκοῦντι κινδυνεύειν, ἢ καταλιπόντες ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτοὶ κεκακουργηκότες ἀπίασι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. [126] ποιήσαντος δὲ τοῦ οἰκέτου τὰ ἐντεταλμένα μεθ' ἡμέραν οὐδὲν τούτων εἰδότες οἱ τοῦ Ἰακώβου παῖδες ἀπῄεσαν ἀπειληφότες τὸν Σεμεῶνα καὶ διπλῆν χαρὰν χαίροντες ἐπί τε τούτῳ κἀπὶ τῷ Βενιαμὶν ἀποκομίζειν τῷ πατρί, καθὼς ὑπέσχοντο. περιελαύνουσι δ' αὐτοὺς ἱππεῖς ἄγοντες τὸν οἰκέτην, ὃς ἐναπέθετο τῷ τοῦ Βενιαμὶν φορτίῳ τὸν σκύφον. [127] ταραχθέντας δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀδοκήτου τῶν ἱππέων ἐφόδου καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν πυθομένους δι' ἣν ἐπ' ἄνδρας ἐληλύθασιν, [128] οἳ μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν τιμῆς καὶ ξενίας τετυχήκασιν αὐτῶν παρὰ τοῦ δεσπότου, κακίστους ἀπεκάλουν, οἳ μηδ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὴν ξενίαν καὶ τὴν φιλοφροσύνην τὴν Ἰωσήπου διὰ μνήμης λαβόντες οὐκ ὤκνησαν εἰς αὐτὸν ἄδικοι γενέσθαι, σκύφον δὲ, ᾧ φιλοτησίας αὐτοῖς προύπιεν, ἁράμενοι φέροιεν κέρδους ἀδίκου τήν τε πρὸς Ἰώσηπον φιλίαν τόν τε ἑαυτῶν εἰ φωραθεῖεν κίνδυνον ἐν δευτέρῳ θέμενοι: [129] τιμωρίαν τε αὐτοὺς ὑφέξειν ἠπείλουν οὐ λανθάνοντας τὸν θεὸν οὐδ' ἀποδράντας μετὰ τῆς κλοπῆς, εἰ καὶ τὸν διακονούμενον οἰκέτην διέλαθον. πυνθάνεσθαί τε νῦν, τί παρόντες εἴημεν, ὡς οὐκ εἰδότας: γνώσεσθαι μέντοι κολαζομένους αὐτίκα. καὶ ταῦτα καὶ πέρα τούτων ὁ οἰκέτης εἰς αὐτοὺς λέγων ἐνύβριζεν. [130] οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ ἀγνοίας τῶν περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐχλεύαζον ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ τῆς κουφολογίας τὸν οἰκέτην ἐθαύμαζον τολμῶντα αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρειν ἀνδράσιν, οἳ μηδὲ τὴν τοῦ σίτου τιμὴν ἐν τοῖς σακκίοις αὐτῶν εὑρεθεῖσαν κατέσχον, ἀλλ' ἐκόμισαν μηδενὸς εἰδότος τὸ πραχθέν: τοσοῦτον

ἀποδεῖν τοῦ γνώμῃ κακουργῆσαι. [131] τῆς μέντοι γε ἀρνήσεως ἀξιοπιστοτέραν ὑπολαβόντες τὴν ἔρευναν ἐκέλευον ταύτῃ χρῆσθαι κἂν εὑρεθῇ τις ὑφῃρημένος ἅπαντας κολάζειν: οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς συνειδότες ἦγον παρρησίαν, ὡς ἐδόκουν, ἀκίνδυνον. ὁ δὲ τὴν ἔρευναν μὲν ἠξίωσε ποιήσασθαι, τὴν μέντοι τιμωρίαν ἑνὸς ἔφασκεν εἶναι τοῦ τὴν κλοπὴν εὑρεθέντος πεποιημένου. [132] τὴν δὲ ζήτησιν ποιούμενοι καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκπεριελθόντες κατὰ τὴν ἔρευναν ἐπὶ τὸν τελευταῖον Βενιαμὶν ἦκον οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες, ὅτι εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου σακκίον τὸν σκύφον εἶεν ἀποκεκρυφότες, ἀλλ᾽ ἀκριβῆ τὴν ζήτησιν βουλόμενοι ποιεῖσθαι δοκεῖν. [133] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι τοῦ κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀπηλλαγμένοι δέους ἐν τῇ περὶ τὸν Βενιαμὶν φροντίδι τὸ λοιπὸν ἦσαν, ἐθάρρουν δ᾽ ὡς οὐδ᾽ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῆς κακουργίας εὑρεθησομένης ἐκάκιζόν τε τοὺς ἐπιδιώξαντας ὡς ἐμποδίσαντας αὐτοῖς τὴν ὁδὸν δυναμένοις ἤδη προκεκοφέναι. [134] ὡς δὲ τὸ τοῦ Βενιαμὶν φορτίον ἐρευνῶντες λαμβάνουσι τὸν σκύφον εἰς οἰμωγὰς καὶ θρήνους εὐθὺς ἐτράπησαν καὶ τὰς στολὰς ἐπικαταρρήξαντες ἔκλαιόν τε τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπὶ τῇ μελλούσῃ κολάσει τῆς κλοπῆς αὐτούς τε διαψευσομένους τὸν πατέρα περὶ τῆς Βενιαμὶν σωτηρίας. [135] ἐπέτεινε δὲ τὸ δεινὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ δόξαντας ἤδη διαφυγεῖν τὰ σκυθρωπὰ διαφθονηθῆναι, τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν κακῶν καὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ λύπης ἐσομένους αὐτοὺς αἰτίους ἔλεγον βιασαμένους ἄκοντα τὸν πατέρα συναποστεῖλαι.

7. Now when after supper they had composed themselves to sleep, Joseph commanded his steward both to give them their measures of corn, and to hide its price again in their sacks; and that withal they should put into Benjamin's sack the golden cup, out of which he loved himself to drink. — which things he did, in order to make trial of his brethren, whether they would stand by Benjamin when he should be accused of having stolen the cup, and should appear to be in danger; or whether they would leave him, and, depending on their own innocency, go to their father without him. When the servant had done as he was bidden, the sons of Jacob, knowing nothing of all this, went their way, and took Symeon along with them, and had a double cause of joy, both because they had received him again, and because they took back Benjamin to their father, as they had promised. But presently a troop of horsemen encompassed them, and brought with them Joseph's servant, who had put the cup into Benjamin's sack. Upon which unexpected attack of the horsemen they were much disturbed, and asked what the reason was that they came thus upon men, who a little before had been by their lord thought worthy of an honorable and hospitable reception? They replied, by calling them wicked wretches, who had forgot that very hospitable and kind treatment which Joseph had given them, and did not scruple to be injurious to him, and to carry off that cup out of which he had, in so

friendly a manner, drank to them, and not regarding their friendship with Joseph, no more than the danger they should be in if they were taken, in comparison of the unjust gain. Hereupon he threatened that they should be punished; for though they had escaped the knowledge of him who was but a servant, yet had they not escaped the knowledge of God, nor had gone off with what they had stolen; and, after all, asked why we come upon them, as if they knew nothing of the matter: and he told them that they should immediately know it by their punishment. This, and more of the same nature, did the servant say, in way of reproach to them: but they being wholly ignorant of any thing here that concerned them, laughed at what he said, and wondered at the abusive language which the servant gave them, when he was so hardy as to accuse those who did not before so much as retain the price of their corn, which was found in their sacks, but brought it again, though nobody else knew of any such thing, — so far were they from offering any injury to Joseph voluntarily. But still, supposing that a search would be a more sure justification of themselves than their own denial of the fact, they bid him search them, and that if any of them had been guilty of the theft, to punish them all; for being no way conscious to themselves of any crime, they spake with assurance, and, as they thought, without any danger to themselves also. The servants desired there might be a search made; but they said the punishment should extend to him alone who should be found guilty of the theft. So they made the search; and, having searched all the rest, they came last of all to Benjamin, as knowing it was Benjamin's sack in which they had hidden the cup, they having indeed searched the rest only for a show of accuracy: so the rest were out of fear for themselves, and were now only concerned about Benjamin, but still were well assured that he would also be found innocent; and they reproached those that came after them for their hindering them, while they might, in the mean while, have gotten a good way on their journey. But as soon as they had searched Benjamin's sack, they found the cup, and took it from him; and all was changed into mourning and lamentation. They rent their garments, and wept for the punishment which their brother was to undergo for his theft, and for the delusion they had put on their father, when they promised they would bring Benjamin safe to him. What added to their misery was, that this melancholy accident came unfortunately at a time when they thought they had been gotten off clear; but they confessed that this misfortune of their brother, as well as the grief of their father for him, was owing to themselves, since it was they that forced their father to send him with them, when he was averse to it.

(8) [136] Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἱππεῖς παραλαβόντες τὸν Βενιαμὶν ἦγον πρὸς Ἰώσηπον καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἑπομένων, ὁ δὲ τὸν μὲν ἰδὼν ἐν φυλακῇ, τοὺς δ' ἐν πενθίμοις σχήμασι,

“τί δή, φησίν, ὦ κάκιστοι, φρονήσαντες ἢ περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς φιλανθρωπίας ἢ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς προ [137] νοίας τοιαῦτα πράττειν εἰς εὐεργέτην καὶ ξένον ἐτολμήσατε;” τῶν δὲ παραδιδόντων αὐτοὺς εἰς κόλασιν ἐπὶ τῷ σώζεσθαι Βενιαμὶν καὶ πάλιν ἀναμιμνησκομένων τῶν εἰς Ἰώσηπον τετολμημένων κἀκεῖνον ἀποκαλούντων μακαριώτερον, εἰ μὲν τέθνηκεν ὅτι τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀπήλλακται σκυθρωπῶν, εἰ δὲ περίεστιν ὅτι τῆς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐκδικίας τυγχάνει, λεγόντων δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀλιτηρίους τοῦ πατρός, ὅτι τῇ λύπῃ ἣν ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνῳ μέχρι νῦν ἔχει καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Βενιαμὶν προσθήσουσι, πολὺς ἦν κἀνταῦθ᾽ ὁ Ῥουβῆλος αὐτῶν καθαπτόμενος. [138] Ἰωσήπου δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀπολύοντος, οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀδικεῖν, ἀρκεῖσθαι δὲ μόνῃ τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς τιμωρίᾳ λέγοντος, οὔτε γὰρ τοῦτον ἀπολύειν διὰ τοὺς οὐδὲν ἐξαμαρτόντας σῶφρον ἔλεγεν οὔτε συγκολάζειν ἐκείνους τῷ τὴν κλοπὴν εἰργασμένῳ, βαδιοῦσι δὲ παρέξειν ἀσφάλειαν ἐπαγγελλομένου, [139] τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἔκπληξις ἔλαβε καὶ πρὸς τὸ πάθος ἀφωνία, Ἰούδας δὲ ὁ καὶ τὸν πατέρα πείσας ἐκπέμψαι τὸ μειράκιον καὶ τἆλλα δραστήριος ὢν ἀνὴρ ὑπὲρ τῆς τἀδελφοῦ σωτηρίας ἔκρινε παραβάλλεσθαι, [140] καί “δεινὰ μέν, εἶπεν, ὦ στρατηγέ, τετολμήκαμεν εἰς σὲ καὶ τιμωρίας ἄξια καὶ τοῦ κόλασιν ὑποσχεῖν ἅπαντας ἡμᾶς δικαίως, εἰ καὶ τὸ ἀδίκημα μὴ ἄλλου τινός, ἀλλ᾽ ἑνὸς τοῦ νεωτάτου γέγονεν. ὅμως δὲ ἀπεγνωκόσιν ἡμῖν τὴν δι᾽ αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν ἐλπὶς ὑπολέλειπται παρὰ τῆς σῆς χρηστότητος ἐγγυωμένη τὴν τοῦ κινδύνου διαφυγήν. [141] καὶ νῦν μὴ πρὸς τὸ ἡμέτερον ἀφορῶν μηδὲ τὸ κακούργημα σκοπῶν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν σαυτοῦ φύσιν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν σύμβουλον ποιησάμενος ἀντὶ τῆς ὀργῆς, ἣν οἱ τἆλλα μικροὶ πρὸς ἰσχύος λαμβάνουσιν οὐκ ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν αὐτῇ χρώμενοι, γενοῦ πρὸς αὐτὴν μεγαλόφρων καὶ μὴ νικηθῇς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς, ὥστε ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς οὐδ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὡς ἰδίας ἔτι τῆς σωτηρίας ἀντιποιουμένους, ἀλλὰ παρὰ σοῦ λαβεῖν αὐτὴν ἀξιοῦντας. [142] καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ νῦν πρῶτον ἡμῖν αὐτὴν παρέξεις, ἀλλὰ τάχιον ἐλθοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν τοῦ σίτου καὶ τὴν εὐπορίαν τῆς τροφῆς ἐχαρίσω δοὺς ἀποκομίζειν καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις ὅσα κινδυνεύοντας αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ διαφθαρῆναι περιέσωσε. [143] διαφέρει δ᾽ οὐδὲν ἢ μὴ περιιδεῖν ἀπολλυμένους ὑπ᾽ ἐνδείας τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἢ μὴ κολάσαι δόξαντας ἁμαρτεῖν καὶ περὶ τὴν εὐεργεσίαν τὴν ἀπὸ σοῦ λαμπρὰν γενομένην φθονηθέντας, ἡ δ᾽ αὐτὴ χάρις ἄλλῳ μέντοι τρόπῳ διδομένη: [144] σώσεις γὰρ οὓς εἰς τοῦτο καὶ ἔτρεφες καὶ ψυχάς, ἃς ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καμεῖν οὐκ εἴασας, τηρήσεις ταῖς σαυτοῦ δωρεαῖς, ὡς θαυμαστὸν ἅμα καὶ μέγα δοῦναί τε ψυχὰς ἡμῖν καὶ παρασχεῖν δι᾽ ὧν αὖται μενοῦσιν ἀπορουμένοις. [145] οἶμαί τε τὸν θεὸν αἰτίαν παρασκευάσαι βουλόμενον εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν περιόντος ἡμᾶς εἰς τοῦτο περιστῆσαι συμφορᾶς, ἵνα καὶ τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀδικημάτων συγγινώσκων φανῇς τοῖς ἐπταικόσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς μόνους τοὺς κατ᾽ ἄλλην πρόφασιν δεομένους ἐπικουρίας φιλάνθρωπος δοκοίης. [146] ὡς μέγα μὲν καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαί τινας εὖ καταστάντας εἰς χρείαν,

ἡγεμονικώτερον δὲ σῶσαι τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν τετολμημένων δίκην ὀφείλοντας: εἰ γὰρ τὸ περὶ μικρῶν ζημιωμάτων ἀφεῖναι τοὺς πλημμελήσαντας ἔπαινον ἤνεγκε τοῖς ὑπεριδοῦσι, τό γε περὶ τούτων ἀόργητον, ὑπὲρ ὧν τὸ ζῆν ὑπεύθυνον τῇ κολάσει γίνεται τῶν ἠδικηκότων, θεοῦ φύσει προσετέθη. [147] καὶ ἔγωγε, εἰ μὴ πατὴρ ἡμῖν ἦν πῶς ἐπὶ παίδων ἀποβολῇ ταλαιπωρεῖ διὰ τῆς ἐπὶ Ἰωσήπῳ λύπης ἐπιδεδειγμένος, οὐκ ἂν τοῦ γε καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἕνεκα περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας λόγους ἐποιησάμην, εἰ μὴ ὅσον τῷ σῷ χαριζόμενος ἤθει σώζειν αὐτῷ καλῶς ἔχοντι, καὶ τούτους οἳ λυπήσονται τεθνηκότων οὐκ ἔχοντες παρείχομεν ἂν αὐτοὺς πεισομένους ὅ τι καὶ θελήσειας: [148] νῦν δ᾽, οὐ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐλεοῦντες, εἰ καὶ νέοι καὶ μήπω τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀπολελαυκότες τεθνηξόμεθα, τὸ δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς λογιζόμενοι καὶ τὸ γῆρας οἰκτείροντες τὸ ἐκείνου ταύτας σοι τὰς δεήσεις προσφέρομεν καὶ παραιτούμεθα ψυχὰς τὰς αὐτῶν, ἅς σοι τὸ ἡμέτερον κακούργημα πρὸς τιμωρίαν παρέδωκεν, [149] οὔτε πονηρὸς αὐτὸς οὔτε τοιούτους ἐσομένους ἐγέννησεν ἀλλὰ χρηστὸς ὢν καὶ πειραθῆναι τοιούτων οὐχὶ δίκαιος καὶ νῦν μὲν ἀποδημούντων ταῖς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν φροντίσι κακοπαθεῖ, πυθόμενος δὲ ἀπολωλότας καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν οὐχ ὑπομενεῖ ἀλλὰ διὰ ταύτην πολὺ μᾶλλον τὸν βίον καταλείπει, [150] καὶ τὸ ἄδοξον αὐτὸν τῆς ἡμετέρας καταστροφῆς φθήσεται διαχρησάμενον καὶ κακὴν αὐτῷ ποιήσει τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν ἀπαλλαγήν, πρὶν εἰς ἄλλους φοιτῆσαι τὰ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς σπεύσαντος αὐτὸν εἰς ἀναισθησίαν μεταγαγεῖν. [151] γενόμενος οὖν ἐν τούτῳ τὸν λογισμόν, εἰ καὶ ἡ κακία σε παροξύνει νῦν ἡ ἡμετέρα, τὸ κατ᾽ αὐτῆς δίκαιον χάρισαι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ δυνηθήτω πλέον ὁ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἔλεος τῆς ἡμετέρας πονηρίας καὶ γῆρας ἐν ἐρημίᾳ βιωσόμενον καὶ τεθνηξόμενον ἡμῶν ἀπολομένων αἴδεσαι, τῷ πατέρων ὀνόματι ταύτην χαριζόμενος τὴν δωρεάν. [152] ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ καὶ τὸν σὲ φύσαντα τιμᾷς καὶ σαυτῷ δίδως, ἀπολαύων μὲν ἤδη τῆς προσηγορίας, ἀπαθὴς δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ φυλαχθησόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ πάντων πατρός, εἰς ὃν κατὰ κοινωνίαν καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ ὀνόματος εὐσεβεῖν δόξεις τοῦ ἡμετέρου πατρὸς οἶκτον λαβὼν ἐφ᾽ οἷς πείσεται τῶν παίδων στερούμενος. [153] σὸν οὖν, ἃ παρέσχεν ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς ταῦτ᾽ ἔχοντ᾽ ἐξουσίαν ἀφελέσθαι δοῦναι καὶ μηδὲν ἐκείνου διενεγκεῖν τῇ χάριτι: τῆς γὰρ ἐπαμφότερον δυνάμεως τετυχηκότα καλὸν ταύτην ἐν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, καὶ παρὸν καὶ ἀπολλύειν τῆς μὲν κατὰ τοῦτο ἐξουσίας ὡς μηδ᾽ ὑπαρχούσης ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι, μόνον δ᾽ ἐπιτετράφθαι τὸ σώζειν ὑπολαμβάνειν, καὶ ὅσῳ τις πλείοσι τοῦτο παρέξει μᾶλλον αὐτῷ φαίνεσθαι διδόντα. [154] σὺ δὲ πάντας ἡμᾶς σώσεις τἀδελφῷ συγγνοὺς ὑπὲρ ὧν ἠτύχηκεν: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμῖν βιώσιμα τούτου κολασθέντος, οἷς γε πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μὴ ἔξεστιν ἀνασωθῆναι μόνοις, ἀλλ᾽ ἐνθάδε δεῖ κοινωνῆσαι τούτῳ τῆς αὐτῆς καταστροφῆς τοῦ βίου. [155] καὶ δεησόμεθά σου, στρατηγέ, κατακρίναντος τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν ἀποθανεῖν συγκολάσαι καὶ ἡμᾶς ὡς τοῦ ἀδικήματος κεκοινωνηκότας: οὐ γὰρ ἀξιώσομεν ἡμεῖς ὡς ἐπὶ λύπῃ τεθνηκότος αὐτοὺς ἀνελεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ὁμοίως αὐτῷ πονηροὶ

γεγονότες οὕτως ἀποθανεῖν. [156] καὶ ὅτι μὲν καὶ νέος ὢν ἥμαρτε καὶ μήπω τὸ φρονεῖν ἐρηρεισμένος καὶ ὡς ἀνθρώπινον τοῖς τοιούτοις συγγνώμην νέμειν, σοὶ καταλιπὼν παύομαι περαιτέρω λέγειν, ἵν' εἰ μὲν κατακρίνειας ἡμῶν, τὰ μὴ λεχθέντα δόξῃ βεβλαφέναι πρὸς τὸ σκυθρωπότερον ἡμᾶς, [157] εἰ δ' ἀπολύσειας, κἀκεῖνα τῇ σαυτοῦ χρηστότητι συνιδὼν ἀπεψηφίσθαι νομισθῇς, οὐ σώσας μόνον ἡμᾶς ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' οὗ δικαιότεροι μᾶλλον φανούμεθα τυχεῖν χαριζόμενος καὶ πλέον ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας νοήσας σωτηρίας. [158] εἴτ' οὖν κτείνειν αὐτὸν θέλεις, ἐμὲ τιμωρησάμενος ἀντὶ τούτου τῷ πατρὶ τοῦτον ἀπόπεμψον, εἴτε καὶ κατέχειν σοι δοκεῖ δοῦλον, ἐγὼ πρὸς τὰς χρείας σοι ὑπηρετικώτερος, ἀμείνων ὡς ὁρᾷς πρὸς ἑκάτερον τῶν παθῶν ὑπάρχων." [159] Ἰούδας μὲν οὖν πάντα ὑπομένειν ὑπὲρ τῆς τἀδελφοῦ σωτηρίας ἡδέως ἔχων ῥίπτει πρὸ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ποδῶν ἑαυτόν, εἴ πως ἐκμαλάξειε τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ καταπραύνειεν ἀγωνιζόμενος, προύπεσον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πάντες δακρύοντες καὶ παραδιδόντες ἑαυτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς Βενιαμὶν ψυχῆς ἀπολουμένους.

8. The horsemen therefore took Benjamin and brought him to Joseph, his brethren also following him; who, when he saw him in custody, and them in the habit of mourners, said, "How came you, vile wretches as you are, to have such a strange notion of my kindness to you, and of God's providence, as impudently to do thus to your benefactor, who in such an hospitable manner had entertained you?" Whereupon they gave up themselves to be punished, in order to save Benjamin; and called to mind what a wicked enterprise they had been guilty of against Joseph. They also pronounced him more happy than themselves, if he were dead, in being freed from the miseries of this life; and if he were alive, that he enjoyed the pleasure of seeing God's vengeance upon them. They said further; that they were the plague of their father, since they should now add to his former affliction for Joseph, this other affliction for Benjamin. Reubel also was large in cutting them upon this occasion. But Joseph dismissed them; for he said they had been guilty of no offense, and that he would content himself with the lad's punishment; for he said it was not a fit thing to let him go free, for the sake of those who had not offended; nor was it a fit thing to punish them together with him who had been guilty of stealing. And when he promised to give them leave to go away in safety, the rest of them were under great consternation, and were able to say nothing on this sad occasion. But Judas, who had persuaded their father to send the lad from him, being otherwise also a very bold and active man, determined to hazard himself for the preservation of his brother. "It is true," said he, "O governor, that we have been very wicked with regard to thee, and on that account deserved punishment; even all of us may justly be punished, although the theft were not committed by all, but only by one of us, and he the youngest

also; but yet there remains some hope for us, who otherwise must be under despair on his account, and this from thy goodness, which promises us a deliverance out of our present danger. And now I beg thou wilt not look at us, or at that great crime we have been guilty of, but at thy own excellent nature, and take advice of thine own virtue, instead of that wrath thou hast against us; which passion those that otherwise are of lower character indulge, as they do their strength, and that not only on great, but also on very trifling occasions. Overcome, sir, that passion, and be not subdued by it, nor suffer it to slay those that do not otherwise presume upon their own safety, but are desirous to accept of it from thee; for this is not the first time that thou wilt bestow it on us, but before, when we came to buy corn, thou affordedst us great plenty of food, and gavest us leave to carry so much home to our family as has preserved them from perishing by famine. Nor is there any difference between not overlooking men that were perishing for want of necessaries, and not punishing those that seem to be offenders, and have been so unfortunate as to lose the advantage of that glorious benefaction which they received from thee. This will be an instance of equal favor, though bestowed after a different manner; for thou wilt save those this way whom thou didst feed the other; and thou wilt hereby preserve alive, by thy own bounty, those souls which thou didst not suffer to be distressed by famine, it being indeed at once a wonderful and a great thing to sustain our lives by corn, and to bestow on us that pardon, whereby, now we are distressed, we may continue those lives. And I am ready to suppose that God is willing to afford thee this opportunity of showing thy virtuous disposition, by bringing us into this calamity, that it may appear thou canst forgive the injuries that are done to thyself, and mayst be esteemed kind to others, besides those who, on other accounts, stand in need of thy assistance; since it is indeed a right thing to do well to those who are in distress for want of food, but still a more glorious thing to save those who deserve to be punished, when it is on account of heinous offenses against thyself; for if it be a thing deserving commendation to forgive such as have been guilty of small offenses, that tend to a person’s loss, and this be praiseworthy in him that overlooks such offenses, to restrain a man’s passion as to crimes which are capital to the guilty, is to be like the most excellent nature of God himself. And truly, as for myself, had it not been that we had a father, who had discovered, on occasion of the death of Joseph, how miserably he is always afflicted at the loss of his sons, I had not made any words on account of the saving of our own lives; I mean, any further than as that would be an excellent character for thyself, to preserve even those that would have nobody to lament them when they were dead, but we would have yielded ourselves up to suffer whatsoever thou pleasedst; but now [for we do not plead for mercy to

ourselves, though indeed, if we die, it will be while we are young, and before we have had the enjoyment of life] have regard to our father, and take pity of his old age, on whose account it is that we make these supplications to thee. We beg thou wilt give us those lives which this wickedness of ours has rendered obnoxious to thy punishment; and this for his sake who is not himself wicked, nor does his being our father make us wicked. He is a good man, and not worthy to have such trials of his patience; and now, we are absent, he is afflicted with care for us. But if he hear of our deaths, and what was the cause of it, he will on that account die an immature death; and the reproachful manner of our ruin will hasten his end, and will directly kill him; nay, will bring him to a miserable death, while he will make haste to rid himself out of the world, and bring himself to a state of insensibility, before the sad story of our end come abroad into the rest of the world. Consider these things in this manner, although our wickedness does now provoke thee with a just desire of punishing that wickedness, and forgive it for our father's sake; and let thy commiseration of him weigh more with thee than our wickedness. Have regard to the old age of our father, who, if we perish, will be very lonely while he lives, and will soon die himself also. Grant this boon to the name of fathers, for thereby thou wilt honor him that begat thee, and will grant it to thyself also, who enjoyest already that denomination; thou wilt then, by that denomination, be preserved of God, the Father of all, — by showing a pious regard to which, in the case of our father, thou wilt appear to honor him who is styled by the same name; I mean, if thou wilt have this pity on our father, upon this consideration, how miserable he will be if he be deprived of his sons! It is thy part therefore to bestow on us what God has given us, when it is in thy power to take it away, and so to resemble him entirely in charity; for it is good to use that power, which can either give or take away, on the merciful side; and when it is in thy power to destroy, to forget that thou ever hadst that power, and to look on thyself as only allowed power for preservation; and that the more any one extends this power, the greater reputation does he gain to himself. Now, by forgiving our brother what he has unhappily committed, thou wilt preserve us all; for we cannot think of living if he be put to death, since we dare not show ourselves alive to our father without our brother, but here must we partake of one and the same catastrophe of his life. And so far we beg of thee, O governor, that if thou condemnest our brother to die, thou wilt punish us together with him, as partners of his crime, — for we shall not think it reasonable to be reserved to kill ourselves for grief of our brother's death, but so to die rather as equally guilty with him of this crime. I will only leave with thee this one consideration, and then will say no more, *viz.* that our brother committed this fault when he was young, and not yet of confirmed wisdom in his conduct; and

that men naturally forgive such young persons. I end here, without adding what more I have to say, that in case thou condemnest us, that omission may be supposed to have hurt us, and permitted thee to take the severer side. But in case thou settest us free, that this may be ascribed to thy own goodness, of which thou art inwardly conscious, that thou freest us from condemnation; and that not by barely preserving us, but by granting us such a favor as will make us appear more righteous than we really are, and by representing to thyself more motives for our deliverance than we are able to produce ourselves. If, therefore, thou resolvest to slay him, I desire thou wilt slay me in his stead, and send him back to his father; or if thou pleasest to retain him with thee as a slave, I am fitter to labor for thy advantage in that capacity, and, as thou seest, am better prepared for either of those sufferings." So Judas, being very willing to undergo any thing whatever for the deliverance of his brother, cast himself down at Joseph's feet, and earnestly labored to assuage and pacify his anger. All his brethren also fell down before him, weeping and delivering themselves up to destruction for the preservation of the life of Benjamin.

(10) [160] Ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος ἐλεγχόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους καὶ μηκέτι δυνάμενος τὴν τῆς ὀργῆς φέρειν ὑπόκρισιν κελεύει μὲν ἀπελθεῖν τοὺς παρόντας, ἵνα μόνοις αὐτὸν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ποιήσῃ φανερόν, ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ ποιεῖ γνώριμον αὐτὸν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καί φησι: [161] "τῆς μὲν ἀρετῆς ὑμᾶς καὶ τῆς εὐνοίας τῆς περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν ἐπαινῶ καὶ κρείττονας ἢ προσεδόκων ἐκ τῶν περὶ ἐμὲ βεβουλευμένων εὑρίσκω ταῦτα πάντα ποιήσας ἐπὶ πείρᾳ τῆς ὑμετέρας φιλαδελφίας: φύσει δὲ οὐδὲ περὶ ἐμὲ νομίζω πονηροὺς γεγονέναι, θεοῦ δὲ βουλήσει τήν τε νῦν πραγματευομένου τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ τὴν ἐς ὕστερον, ἂν εὐμενὴς ἡμῖν παραμείνῃ. [162] πατρός τε οὖν σωτηρίαν ἐγνωκὼς οὐδ' ἐλπισθεῖσαν καὶ τοιούτους ὑμᾶς ὁρῶν περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν οὐδ' ὧν εἰς ἐμὲ δοκεῖτε ἁμαρτεῖν ἔτι μνημονεύω, παύσομαι δὲ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς μισοπονηρίας καὶ ὡς συναιτίοις τῶν τῷ θεῷ βεβουλευμένων εἰς τὰ παρόντα χάριν ἔχειν ὁμολογῶ. [163] ὑμᾶς τε βούλομαι καὶ αὐτοὺς λήθην ἐκείνων λαβόντας ἥδεσθαι μᾶλλον τῆς τότε ἀβουλίας εἰς τοιοῦτον ἐπελθούσης τέλος ἢ δυσφορεῖν αἰσχυνομένους ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμαρτημένοις. μὴ οὖν δόξῃ λυπεῖν ὑμᾶς τὸ κατ' ἐμοῦ ψῆφον ἐνεγκεῖν πονηρὰν καὶ ἡ ἐπ' αὐτῇ μετάνοια τῷ γε μὴ προχωρῆσαι τὰ βεβουλευμένα. [164] χαίροντες οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκ θεοῦ γεγενημένοις ἄπιτε ταῦτα δηλώσοντες τῷ πατρί, μὴ καὶ ταῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν φροντίσιν ἀναλωθεὶς ζημιώσῃ μου τὸ κάλλιστον τῆς εὐδαιμονίας πρὶν εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ μεταλαβεῖν τῶν παρόντων ἀποθανών. [165] αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτον καὶ γυναῖκας ὑμετέρας καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν συγγένειαν ὑμῶν ἀναλαβόντες ἐνθάδε μετοικίζεσθε: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀποδήμους εἶναι δεῖ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων τοὺς ἐμοὶ φιλτάτους ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ λοιπὴν ἔτι

πενταετίαν περιμενοῦντος.” ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν Ἰώσηπος περιβάλλει τοὺς ἀδελφούς: [166] οἱ δ’ ἐν δάκρυσιν ἦσαν καὶ λύπῃ τῶν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ βεβουλευμένων τιμωρίας τ’ οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀπολιπεῖν ἐδόκει τὸ εὔγνωμον τἀδελφοῦ. καὶ τότε μὲν ἦσαν ἐν εὐωχίᾳ: [167] βασιλεὺς δ’ ἀκούσας ἥκοντας πρὸς τὸν Ἰώσηπον τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἥσθη τε μεγάλως καὶ ὡς ἐπ’ οἰκείῳ διατεθεὶς ἀγαθῷ παρεῖχεν αὐτοῖς ἁμάξας σίτου πλήρεις καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον ἀποκομίζειν τῷ πατρί. λαβόντες δὲ πλείω παρὰ τἀδελφοῦ τὰ μὲν τῷ πατρὶ φέρειν τὰ δὲ αὐτοὶ δωρεὰς ἔχειν ἕκαστος ἰδίας, πλειόνων ἠξιωμένου Βενιαμὶν παρ’ αὐτούς, ἀπῄεσαν.

10. But Joseph, as overcome now with his affections, and no longer able to personate an angry man, commanded all that were present to depart, that he might make himself known to his brethren when they were alone; and when the rest were gone out, he made himself known to his brethren; and said, “I commend you for your virtue, and your kindness to our brother: I find you better men than I could have expected from what you contrived about me. Indeed, I did all this to try your love to your brother; so I believe you were not wicked by nature in what you did in my case, but that all has happened according to God’s will, who has hereby procured our enjoyment of what good things we have; and, if he continue in a favorable disposition, of what we hope for hereafter. Since, therefore, I know that our father is safe and well, beyond expectation, and I see you so well disposed to your brother, I will no longer remember what guilt you seem to have had about me, but will leave off to hate you for that your wickedness; and do rather return you my thanks, that you have concurred with the intentions of God to bring things to their present state. I would have you also rather to forget the same, since that imprudence of yours is come to such a happy conclusion, than to be uneasy and blush at those your offenses. Do not, therefore, let your evil intentions, when you condemned me, and that bitter remorse which might follow, be a grief to you now, because those intentions were frustrated. Go, therefore, your way, rejoicing in what has happened by the Divine Providence, and inform your father of it, lest he should be spent with cares for you, and deprive me of the most agreeable part of my felicity; I mean, lest he should die before he comes into my sight, and enjoys the good things that we now have. Bring, therefore, with you our father, and your wives and children, and all your kindred, and remove your habitations hither; for it is not proper that the persons dearest to me should live remote from me, now my affairs are so prosperous, especially when they must endure five more years of famine.” When Joseph had said this, he embraced his brethren, who were in tears and sorrow; but the generous kindness of their brother seemed to leave among them no room for fear, lest they should be punished on account of what they had consulted and

acted against him; and they were then feasting. Now the king, as soon as he heard that Joseph's brethren were come to him, was exceeding glad of it, as if it had been a part of his own good fortune; and gave them wagons full of corn and gold and silver, to be conveyed to his father. Now when they had received more of their brother part to be carried to their father, and part as free gifts to every one of themselves, Benjamin having still more than the rest, they departed.

VII

CHAPTER 7. The Removal Of Joseph's Father With All His Family, To Him, On Account Of The Famine.

(1) [168] Ὡς δ' ἀφικομένων τῶν παίδων Ἰάκωβος τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἔμαθεν, ὅτι μὴ μόνον εἴη τὸν θάνατον διαπεφευγὼς ἐφ' ᾧ πενθῶν διῆγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζῇ μετὰ λαμπρᾶς εὐδαιμονίας βασιλεῖ συνδιέπων τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὴν ἅπασαν σχεδὸν ἐγκεχειρισμένος αὐτῆς ἐπιμέλειαν, [169] ἄπιστον μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδόκει τῶν ἠγγελμένων λογιζόμενος τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν μεγαλουργίαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὔνοιαν, εἰ καὶ τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ διέλιπεν, ὥρμητο δ' εὐθὺς πρὸς τὸν Ἰώσηπον.

1. As soon as Jacob came to know, by his sons returning home, in what state Joseph was, that he had not only escaped death, for which yet he lived all along in mourning, but that he lived in splendor and happiness, and ruled over Egypt, jointly with the king, and had intrusted to his care almost all his affairs, he did not think any thing he was told to be incredible, considering the greatness of the works of God, and his kindness to him, although that kindness had, for some late times, been intermitted; so he immediately and zealously set out upon his journey to him.

(2) [170] Ὡς δὲ κατέσχεν ἐπὶ τὸ Ὅρκιον φρέαρ θύσας αὐτόθι τῷ θεῷ καὶ φοβούμενος διὰ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τῶν παίδων ἐμφιλοχωρησάντων τῇ οἰκήσει τῇ ἐν αὐτῇ, μὴ οὐκέτ' εἰς τὴν Χαναναίαν οἱ ἔγγονοι μετελθόντες κατάσχωσιν αὐτήν, ὡς ὁ θεὸς ἦν ὑπεισχημένος, [171] ἅμα τε μὴ δίχα θεοῦ βουλήσεως γενομένης τῆς εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀφόδου διαφθαρῇ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις δεδιώς, μὴ προεξέλθῃ τοῦ βίου πρὶν εἰς ὄψιν Ἰωσήπου παραγενέσθαι, καταφέρεται στρέφων ἐν ἑαυτῷ τοῦτον τὸν λογισμὸν εἰς ὕπνον.

2. When he came to the Well of the Oath, [Beersheba,] he offered sacrifice to God; and being afraid that the happiness there was in Egypt might tempt his posterity to fall in love with it, and settle in it, and no more think of removing into the land of Canaan, and possessing it, as God had promised them; as also being afraid, lest, if this descent into Egypt were made without the will of God, his family might be destroyed there; out of fear, withal, lest he should depart this life before he came to the sight of Joseph; he fell asleep, revolving these doubts in his mind.

(3) [172] Ἐπιστὰς δὲ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ καὶ δὶς ὀνομαστὶ καλέσας πυνθανομένῳ τίς ἐστιν, "ἀλλ' οὐ δίκαιον, εἶπεν, Ἰακώβῳ θεὸν ἀγνοεῖσθαι τὸν ἀεὶ παραστάτην καὶ βοηθὸν προγόνοις τε τοῖς σοῖς καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς σοὶ γενόμενον. [173] στερουμένῳ

τε γάρ σοι τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ταύτην ἐγὼ παρέσχον, καὶ κατ᾽ ἐμὴν εὔνοιαν εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν μόνος σταλεὶς γάμων τε ἀγαθῶν ἔτυχες καὶ παίδων ἐπαγόμενος πλῆθος καὶ χρημάτων ἐνόστησας. [174] παρέμεινέ τέ σοι γενεὰ πᾶσα προνοίᾳ τῇ ἐμῇ, καὶ ὃν ἀπολωλέναι τῶν υἱῶν ἐδόκεις Ἰώσηπον εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν μειζόνων ἀγαθῶν ἤγαγον καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου κύριον, ὡς ὀλίγῳ διαφέρειν τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐποίησα. [175] ἥκω τε νῦν ὁδοῦ τε ταύτης ἡγεμὼν ἐσόμενος καὶ βίου σου τελευτὴν ἐν ταῖς Ἰωσήπου χερσὶ γενησομένην προδηλῶν καὶ μακρὸν αἰῶνα τῶν σῶν ἐγγόνων ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ καὶ δόξῃ καταγγέλλων καταστήσων τε αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν ὑπέσχημαι.”

3. But God stood by him, and called him twice by his name; and when he asked who he was, God said, “No, sure; it is not just that thou, Jacob, shouldst be unacquainted with that God who has been ever a protector and a helper to thy forefathers, and after them to thyself: for when thy father would have deprived thee of the dominion, I gave it thee; and by my kindness it was that, when thou wast sent into Mesopotamia all alone, thou obtainedst good wives, and returnedst with many children, and much wealth. Thy whole family also has been preserved by my providence; and it was I who conducted Joseph, thy son, whom thou gavest up for lost, to the enjoyment of great prosperity. I also made him lord of Egypt, so that he differs but little from a king. Accordingly, I come now as a guide to thee in this journey; and foretell to thee, that thou shalt die in the arms of Joseph: and I inform thee, that thy posterity shall be many ages in authority and glory, and that I will settle them in the land which I have promised them.”

(4) [176] Τούτῳ θαρρήσας τῷ ὀνείρατι προθυμότερον εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον σὺν τοῖς υἱοῖς καὶ παισὶν τοῖς τούτων ἀπηλλάττετο. ἦσαν δ᾽ οἱ πάντες [πέντε καὶ] ἑβδομήκοντα. τὰ μὲν οὖν ὀνόματα δηλῶσαι τούτων οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζον καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν δυσκολίαν αὐτῶν: [177] ἵνα μέντοι παραστήσω τοῖς οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἀλλ᾽ Αἰγυπτίους εἶναι, ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην μνησθῆναι τῶν ὀνομάτων. Ἰακώβου μὲν οὖν παῖδες ἦσαν δώδεκα: τούτων Ἰώσηπος ἤδη προαφῖκτο: τοὺς οὖν μετ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τούτων γεγονότας δηλώσομεν. [178] Ῥουβήλου μὲν ἦσαν παῖδες τέσσαρες, Ἀνώχης Φαλοὺς Ἐσσαρὼν Χάρμισος: Σεμεῶνος δ᾽ ἕξ, Ἰούμηλος Ἰάμεινος Πούθοδος Ἰαχῖνος Σόαρος Σαρᾶς: τρεῖς δὲ Λευὶ γεγόνασιν υἱοί, Γολγόμης Κάαθος Μαράιρος: Ἰούδᾳ δὲ παῖδες ἦσαν τρεῖς, Σάλας Φάρεσος Ἐζελοός, υἱωνοὶ δὲ δύο γεγονότες ἐκ Φαρέσου, Ἐσρὼν καὶ Ἄμουρος. Ἰσακχάρου δὲ τέσσαρες, Θούλας Φρουρᾶς Ἴωβος Σαμάρων. [179] τρεῖς δὲ Ζαβουλὼν ἦγεν υἱούς, Σάραδον Ἤλωνα Ἰάνηλον. τοῦτο μὲν τὸ ἐκ Λείας γένος: καὶ αὐτῇ συνανῄει καὶ θυγάτηρ αὐτῆς Δεῖνα. [180] τρεῖς οὗτοι καὶ τριάκοντα. Ῥαχήλας δὲ παῖδες ἦσαν δύο: τούτων Ἰωσήπῳ μὲν

γεγόνεισαν υἱοὶ Μανασσῆς καὶ Ἐφράνης. Βενιαμεῖ δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ δέκα, Βόλος Βάκχαρις Ἀσαβῆλος Γήλας Νεεμάνης Ἴης Ἄρως Νομφθὴς Ὀππαῖς Ἄροδος. οὗτοι τέσσαρες καὶ δέκα πρὸς τοῖς πρότερον κατειλεγμένοις εἰς ἑπτὰ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα γίνονται τὸν ἀριθμόν. [181] καὶ τὸ μὲν γνήσιον γένος τῷ Ἰακώβῳ τοῦτο ἦν, ἐκ Βάλλας δὲ αὐτῷ γίνονται τῆς Ῥαχήλας θεραπαινίδος Δάνος καὶ Νεφθαλίς, ᾧ τέσσαρες εἵποντο παῖδες, Ἐλιῆλος Γοῦνις Σάρης τε καὶ Σέλλιμος, Δάνῳ δὲ μονογενὲς ἦν παιδίον Οὖσις. [182] τούτων προσγινομένων τοῖς προειρημένοις πεντήκοντα καὶ τεσσάρων πληροῦσιν ἀριθμόν. Γάδης δὲ καὶ Ἀσῆρος ἐκ Ζελφᾶς μὲν ἦσαν, ἦν Λείας δὲ αὕτη θεραπαινίς, παῖδας δ᾽ ἐπήγοντο Γάδης μὲν ἑπτά, Ζοφωνίαν Οὔγιν Σοῦνιν Ζάβρωνα Εἰρήνην Ἐρωίδην Ἀριήλην: [183] Ἀσήρωνός τε ἦν θυγάτηρ καὶ ἄρσενες ἀριθμὸν ἕξ, οἷς ὀνόματα Ἰώμνης Ἰσούσιος Ἰιούβης Βάρης Ἀβαρός τε καὶ Μελχιῆλος. τούτων ἑκκαίδεκα ὄντων καὶ προστιθεμένων τοῖς πεντήκοντα τέσσαρσιν ὁ προειρημένος ἀριθμὸς πληροῦται μὴ συγκαταλεγέντος αὐτοῖς Ἰακώβου.

4. Jacob, encouraged by this dream, went on more cheerfully for Egypt with his sons, and all belonging to them. Now they were in all seventy. I once, indeed, thought it best not to set down the names of this family, especially because of their difficult pronunciation [by the Greeks]; but, upon the whole, I think it necessary to mention those names, that I may disprove such as believe that we came not originally from Mesopotamia, but are Egyptians. Now Jacob had twelve sons; of these Joseph was come thither before. We will therefore set down the names of Jacob's children and grandchildren. Reuben had four sons — Anoch, Phallu, Assaron, Charmi. Simeon had six — Jamuel, Jamin, Avod, Jachin, Soar, Saul. Levi had three sons — Gersom, Caath, Merari. Judas had three sons — Sala, Phares, Zerah; and by Phares two grandchildren, Esrom and Amar. Issachar had four sons — Thola, Phua, Jasob, Samaron. Zabulon had with him three sons — Sarad, Helon, Jalel. So far is the posterity of Lea; with whom went her daughter Dinah. These are thirty-three. Rachel had two sons, the one of whom, Joseph, had two sons also, Manasses and Ephraim. The other, Benjamin, had ten sons — Bolau, Bacchar, Asabel, Geras, Naaman, Jes, Ros, Momphis, Opphis, Arad. These fourteen added to the thirty-three before enumerated, amount to the number forty-seven. And this was the legitimate posterity of Jacob. He had besides by Bilhah, the handmaid of Rachel, Dan and Nephtliali; which last had four sons that followed him — Jesel, Guni, Issari, and Sellim. Dan had an only begotten son, Usi. If these be added to those before mentioned, they complete the number fifty-four. Gad and Aser were the sons of Zilpha, who was the handmaid of Lea. These had with them, Gad seven — Saphoniah, Augis, Sunis, Azabon, Aerin, Erocd, Ariel. Aser had a daughter, Sarah, and six male

children, whose names were Jomne, Isus, Isoui, Baris, Abar and Melchiel. If we add these, which are sixteen, to the fifty-four, the forementioned number 70 is completed Jacob not being himself included in that number.

(5) [184] Μαθὼν δὲ Ἰώσηπος παραγινόμενον τὸν πατέρα, καὶ γὰρ προλαβὼν Ἰούδας ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἐδήλωσεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἄφιξιν, ἀπαντησόμενος ἔξεισι καὶ καθ' Ἡρώων πόλιν αὐτῷ συνέβαλεν. ὁ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς ἀπροσδοκήτου τε καὶ μεγάλης γενομένης μικροῦ δεῖν ἐξέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ ἀνεζωπύρησεν αὐτὸν Ἰώσηπος οὐδ' αὐτὸς μὲν κρατῆσαι δυνηθεὶς ὡς μὴ ταὐτὸ παθεῖν ὑφ' ἡδονῆς, οὐ μέντοι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τῷ πατρὶ γενόμενος ἥττων τοῦ πάθους. [185] ἔπειτα τὸν μὲν ἠρέμα κελεύσας ὁδεύειν αὐτὸς δὲ παραλαβὼν πέντε τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἠπείγετο πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα φράσων αὐτῷ παραγενόμενον μετὰ τοῦ γένους τὸν Ἰάκωβον. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο χαίρων ἤκουσε καὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ λέγειν τίνι βίῳ τερπόμενοι διατελοῦσιν ὡς αὐτοῖς τοῦτον ἐπιτρέψειε διάγειν. [186] ὁ δὲ ποιμένας ἀγαθοὺς αὐτοὺς ἔλεγε καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἢ τούτῳ μόνῳ προσανέχειν, τοῦ τε μὴ διαζευγνυμένους ἀλλ' ἐν ταὐτῷ τυγχάνοντας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ πατρὸς προνοούμενος τοῦ τε τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις εἶναι προσφιλεῖς μηδὲν πράττοντας τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνοις: Αἰγυπτίοις γὰρ ἀπειρημένον ἦν περὶ νομὰς ἀναστρέφεσθαι.

5. When Joseph understood that his father was coming, for Judas his brother was come before him, and informed him of his approach, he went out to meet him; and they met together at Heroopolis. But Jacob almost fainted away at this unexpected and great joy; however, Joseph revived him, being yet not himself able to contain from being affected in the same manner, at the pleasure he now had; yet was he not wholly overcome with his passion, as his father was. After this, he desired Jacob to travel on slowly; but he himself took five of his brethren with him, and made haste to the king, to tell him that Jacob and his family were come; which was a joyful hearing to him. He also bid Joseph tell him what sort of life his brethren loved to lead, that he might give them leave to follow the same, who told him they were good shepherds, and had been used to follow no other employment but this alone. Whereby he provided for them, that they should not be separated, but live in the same place, and take care of their father; as also hereby he provided, that they might be acceptable to the Egyptians, by doing nothing that would be common to them with the Egyptians; for the Egyptians are prohibited to meddle with feeding of sheep.

(6) [187] Τοῦ δ' Ἰακώβου παραγενομένου πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ἀσπαζομένου τε καὶ κατευχομένου περὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῷ ὁ Φαραώθης ἐπυνθάνετο, πόσον ἤδη βεβιωκὼς εἴη χρόνον. [188] τοῦ δ' ἑκατὸν ἔτη καὶ τριάκοντα γεγονέναι φήσαντος ἐθαύμασε τοῦ μήκους τῆς ζωῆς τὸν Ἰάκωβον. εἰπόντος δ' ὡς ἥττονα τῶν

προγόνων εἴη βεβιωκὼς ἔτη συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ ζῆν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει: ἐν ἐκείνῃ γὰρ καὶ οἱ ποιμένες αὐτοῦ τὰς νομὰς εἶχον.

6. When Jacob was come to the king, and saluted him, and wished all prosperity to his government, Pharaoh asked him how old he now was; upon whose answer, that he was a hundred and thirty years old, he admired Jacob on account of the length of his life. And when he had added, that still he had not lived so long as his forefathers, he gave him leave to live with his children in Heliopolis; for in that city the king's shepherds had their pasturage.

(7) [189] Ὁ δὲ λιμὸς τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπετείνετο καὶ τὸ δεινὸν ἀπορώτερον ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ἐγίνετο μήτε τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπάρδοντος, οὐ γὰρ ηὔξανε, μήτε ὕοντος τοῦ θεοῦ πρόνοιάν τε μηδεμίαν αὐτῶν ὑπ᾽ ἀγνοίας πεποιημένων. καὶ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου τὸν σῖτον ἐπὶ χρήμασιν αὐτοῖς διδόντος, ὡς [δὲ] ταῦτ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐπέλιπε, τῶν βοσκημάτων ἐωνοῦντο τὸν σῖτον καὶ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων: [190] οἷς δὲ καὶ γῆς τις ἦν μοῖρα ταύτην παρεχώρουν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τροφῆς. οὕτως τε τοῦ βασιλέως πάσης αὐτῶν τῆς περιουσίας κυρίου γεγενημένου, μετῳκίσθησαν ἄλλος ἀλλαχοῦ, ὅπως βεβαία γένηται τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς χώρας τούτων ἡ κτῆσις, πλὴν τῶν ἱερέων: τούτοις γὰρ ἔμενεν ἡ χώρα αὐτῶν. [191] ἐδούλου τ᾽ αὐτῶν οὐ τὰ σώματα μόνον τὸ δεινόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς διανοίας καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς ἀσχήμονα τῆς τροφῆς εὐπορίαν αὐτοὺς κατηνάγκαζε. λωφήσαντος δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ τῆς γῆς ἐπιβάντος καὶ ταύτης τοὺς καρποὺς ἀφθόνως ἐκφερούσης, [192] ὁ Ἰώσηπος εἰς ἑκάστην παραγενόμενος πόλιν καὶ συλλέγων ἐν αὐταῖς τὸ πλῆθος τήν τε γῆν αὐτοῖς, ἣν ἐκείνων παραχωρούντων βασιλεὺς ἔχειν ἠδύνατο καὶ καρποῦσθαι μόνος, εἰς ἅπαν ἐχαρίζετο καὶ κτῆμα ἴδιον ἡγουμένους φιλεργεῖν παρεκάλει τὴν πέμπτην τῶν καρπῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ τελοῦντας ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας, ἣν δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς οὖσαν αὐτοῦ. [193] τοὺς δὲ παρ᾽ ἐλπίδας κυρίους τῆς γῆς καθισταμένους χαρά τε ἐλάμβανε καὶ ὑφίσταντο τὰ προστάγματα. καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τό τε ἀξίωμα παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις αὐτοῦ μεῖζον Ἰώσηπος ἀπεργάζεται, καὶ πλείω γε τὴν εὔνοιαν τῷ βασιλεῖ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν, ὅ τε τοῦ τελεῖν τὴν πέμπτην τῶν καρπῶν νόμος ἔμεινε καὶ μέχρι τῶν ὕστερον βασιλέων.

7. However, the famine increased among the Egyptians, and this heavy judgment grew more oppressive to them, because neither did the river overflow the ground, for it did not rise to its former height, nor did God send rain upon it; nor did they indeed make the least provision for themselves, so ignorant were they what was to be done; but Joseph sold them corn for their money. But when their money failed them, they bought corn with their cattle and their slaves; and if any of them had a small piece of land, they gave up that to purchase them food, by which means the king became the owner of all their substance; and they were

removed, some to one place, and some to another, that so the possession of their country might be firmly assured to the king, excepting the lands of the priests, for their country continued still in their own possession. And indeed this sore famine made their minds, as well as their bodies, slaves; and at length compelled them to procure a sufficiency of food by such dishonorable means. But when this misery ceased, and the river overflowed the ground, and the ground brought forth its fruits plentifully, Joseph came to every city, and gathered the people thereto belonging together, and gave them back entirely the land which, by their own consent, the king might have possessed alone, and alone enjoyed the fruits of it. He also exhorted them to look on it as every one's own possession, and to fall to their husbandry with cheerfulness, and to pay as a tribute to the king, the fifth part of the fruits for the land which the king, when it was his own, restored to them. These men rejoiced upon their becoming unexpectedly owners of their lands, and diligently observed what was enjoined them; and by this means Joseph procured to himself a greater authority among the Egyptians, and greater love to the king from them. Now this law, that they should pay the fifth part of their fruits as tribute, continued until their later kings.

VIII

CHAPTER 8. Of The Death Of Jacob And Joseph.

(1) [194] Ἰάκωβος δὲ ἑπτακαιδέκατον ἔτος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ διατρίψας καὶ νόσῳ χρησάμενος παρόντων αὐτῷ τῶν υἱῶν ἀπέθανεν, ἐπευξάμενος τοῖς μὲν κτῆσιν ἀγαθῶν καὶ προειπὼν αὐτοῖς κατὰ προφητείαν, πῶς μέλλει τῶν ἐκ τῆς γενεᾶς αὐτῶν ἕκαστος κατοικεῖν τὴν Χαναναίαν: τοῦτο δὴ καὶ πολλοῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις ἐγένετο: [195] Ἰωσήπου δ' ἐγκώμιον διεξελθών, ὅτι μὴ μνησικακήσειε τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτου πλέον χρηστὸς εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐγένετο δωρησάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀγαθοῖς, οἷς οὐδὲ εὐεργέτας τινὲς ἠμείψαντο, προσέταξε τοῖς ἰδίοις παισίν, ἵνα τοὺς Ἰωσήπου παῖδας Ἐφρὴν καὶ Μανασσῆν εἰς τὸν αὐτῶν ἀριθμὸν προσῶνται διαιρούμενοι μετ' αὐτῶν τὴν Χαναναίαν, περὶ ὧν ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν: [196] ἠξίου μέντοι καὶ ταφῆς ἐν Νεβρῶνι τυγχάνειν: τελευτᾷ δὲ βιοὺς ἔτη τὰ πάντα τριῶν δέοντα πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, μηδενὸς μὲν τῶν προγόνων ἀπολειφθεὶς ἐπ' εὐσεβείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, τυχὼν δὲ ἀμοιβῆς ἧς δίκαιον ἦν τοὺς οὕτως ἀγαθοὺς γεγονότας. Ἰώσηπος δὲ συγχωρήσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς νεκρὸν εἰς Νεβρῶνα κομίσας ἐκεῖ θάπτει πολυτελῶς. [197] τῶν δ' ἀδελφῶν οὐ βουλομένων αὐτῷ συνυποστρέφειν, δέος γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἶχε μὴ τεθνηκότος αὐτοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς τιμωρήσαιτο τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλῆς οὐκέτ' ὄντος ᾧ χαρίζοιτο τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετριότητα, πείθει μηδὲν ὑφορᾶσθαι μηδ' ἔχειν αὐτὸν δι' ὑποψίας, ἀγαγὼν δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ κτῆσιν πολλὴν ἐχαρίσατο καὶ πάσῃ περὶ αὐτοὺς σπουδῇ χρώμενος οὐκ ἀπέλιπε.

1. Now when Jacob had lived seventeen years in Egypt, he fell into a disease, and died in the presence of his sons; but not till he made his prayers for their enjoying prosperity, and till he had foretold to them prophetically how every one of them was to dwell in the land of Canaan. But this happened many years afterward. He also enlarged upon the praises of Joseph how he had not remembered the evil doings of his brethren to their disadvantage; nay, on the contrary, was kind to them, bestowing upon them so many benefits, as seldom are bestowed on men's own benefactors. He then commanded his own sons that they should admit Joseph's sons, Ephraim and Manasses, into their number, and divide the land of Canaan in common with them; concerning whom we shall treat hereafter. However, he made it his request that he might be buried at Hebron. So he died, when he had lived full a hundred and fifty years, three only abated, having not been behind any of his ancestors in piety towards God, and having such a recompense for it, as it was fit those should have who were so good as these were. But Joseph, by the king's permission, carried his father's dead body to Hebron, and there buried it, at a great expense. Now his brethren

were at first unwilling to return back with him, because they were afraid lest, now their father was dead, he should punish them for their secret practices against him; since he was now gone, for whose sake he had been so gracious to them. But he persuaded them to fear no harm, and to entertain no suspicions of him: so he brought them along with him, and gave them great possessions, and never left off his particular concern for them.

(2) [198] Τελευτᾷ δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἔτη βιώσας ἑκατὸν καὶ δέκα θαυμάσιος τὴν ἀρετὴν γενόμενος καὶ λογισμῷ πάντα διοικῶν καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταμιευόμενος, ὃ δὴ καὶ τῆς τοιαύτης εὐδαιμονίας αἴτιον αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἀλλαχόθεν ἥκοντι καὶ μετὰ τοιαύτης κακοπραγίας, μεθ᾽ ἧς προειρήκαμεν, ὑπῆρχε. [199] τελευτῶσι δ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ζήσαντες εὐδαιμόνως ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου. καὶ τούτων μὲν τὰ σώματα κομίσαντες μετὰ χρόνον οἱ ἀπόγονοι καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἔθαψαν ἐν Νεβρῶνι, [200] τὰ δὲ Ἰωσήπου ὀστᾶ ὕστερον, ὅτε μετανέστησαν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου οἱ Ἑβραῖοι, εἰς τὴν Χαναναίαν ἐκόμισαν: οὕτως γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἐξώρκισε. τούτων οὖν ἕκαστος ὡς ἔσχε καὶ τίσι πόνοις ἐκράτησαν τῆς Χαναναίας σημανῶ προδιηγησάμενος τὴν αἰτίαν δι᾽ ἣν τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐξέλιπον.

2. Joseph also died when he had lived a hundred and ten years; having been a man of admirable virtue, and conducting all his affairs by the rules of reason; and used his authority with moderation, which was the cause of his so great felicity among the Egyptians, even when he came from another country, and that in such ill circumstances also, as we have already described. At length his brethren died, after they had lived happily in Egypt. Now the posterity and sons of these men, after some time, carried their bodies, and buried them at Hebron: but as to the bones of Joseph, they carried them into the land of Canaan afterward, when the Hebrews went out of Egypt, for so had Joseph made them promise him upon oath. But what became of every one of these men, and by what toils they got the possession of the land of Canaan, shall be shown hereafter, when I have first explained upon what account it was that they left Egypt.

IX

CHAPTER 9. Concerning The Afflictions That Befell The Hebrews In Egypt, During Four Hundred Years.

(1) [201] Αἰγυπτίοις τρυφεροῖς καὶ ῥᾳθύμοις πρὸς πόνους οὖσι καὶ τῶν τε ἄλλων ἡδονῶν ἥττοσι καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς κατὰ φιλοκέρδειαν συνέβη δεινῶς πρὸς τοὺς Ἑβραίους διατεθῆναι κατὰ φθόνον τῆς εὐδαιμονίας. [202] ὁρῶντες γὰρ τὸ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν γένος ἀκμάζον καὶ δι᾽ ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ πονεῖν εὐφυίαν πλήθει χρημάτων ἤδη καὶ λαμπρούς, κατ᾽ αὐτῶν αὔξεσθαι τούτους ὑπελάμβανον, ὧν τ᾽ ἦσαν ὑπὸ Ἰωσήπου τετυχηκότες διὰ χρόνου μῆκος λήθην λαβόντες καὶ τῆς βασιλείας εἰς ἄλλον οἶκον μετεληλυθυίας δεινῶς ἐνύβριζόν τε τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις καὶ ταλαιπωρίας αὐτοῖς ποικίλας ἐπενόουν. [203] τόν τε γὰρ ποταμὸν εἰς διώρυχας αὐτοῖς πολλὰς προσέταξαν διατεμεῖν τείχη τε οἰκοδομῆσαι ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ χώματα, ὅπως ἂν εἴργοι τὸν ποταμὸν μὴ λιμνάζειν ἐπεκβαίνοντα, πυραμίδας τε ἀνοικοδομοῦντες ἐξετρύχουν ἡμῶν τὸ γένος, ὡς τέχνας τε παντοίας ἀναδιδάσκεσθαι καὶ τοῖς πόνοις γενέσθαι συνήθεις. [204] καὶ τετρακοσίων μὲν ἐτῶν χρόνον διήνυσαν ταῖς ταλαιπωρίαις: ἀντεφιλονείκουν γὰρ οἱ μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι τοῖς πόνοις ἐξαπολέσαι τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας θέλοντες, οἱ δ᾽ ἀεὶ κρείττους φαίνεσθαι τῶν ἐπιταγμάτων.

1. Now it happened that the Egyptians grew delicate and lazy, as to pains-taking, and gave themselves up to other pleasures, and in particular to the love of gain. They also became very ill-affected towards the Hebrews, as touched with envy at their prosperity; for when they saw how the nation of the Israelites flourished, and were become eminent already in plenty of wealth, which they had acquired by their virtue and natural love of labor, they thought their increase was to their own detriment. And having, in length of time, forgotten the benefits they had received from Joseph, particularly the crown being now come into another family, they became very abusive to the Israelites, and contrived many ways of afflicting them; for they enjoined them to cut a great number of channels for the river, and to build walls for their cities and ramparts, that they might restrain the river, and hinder its waters from stagnating, upon its running over its own banks: they set them also to build pyramids, and by all this wore them out; and forced them to learn all sorts of mechanical arts, and to accustom themselves to hard labor. And four hundred years did they spend under these afflictions; for they strove one against the other which should get the mastery, the Egyptians desiring to destroy the Israelites by these labors, and the Israelites desiring to hold out to the end under them.

(2) [205] Ἐν τούτοις δ’ ὄντων αὐτῶν τοῖς πράγμασιν αἰτία τοῦ μᾶλλον σπουδάσαι περὶ τὸν ἀφανισμὸν τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις προσεγένετο τοιαύτη: τῶν ἱερογραμματέων τις, καὶ γάρ εἰσι δεινοὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων τὴν ἀλήθειαν εἰπεῖν, ἀγγέλλει τῷ βασιλεῖ τεχθήσεσθαί τινα κατ’ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις, ὃς ταπεινώσει μὲν τὴν Αἰγυπτίων ἡγεμονίαν, αὐξήσει δὲ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας τραφεὶς ἀρετῇ τε πάντας ὑπερβαλεῖ καὶ δόξαν ἀείμνηστον κτήσεται. [206] δείσας δ’ ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐκείνου κελεύει πᾶν τὸ γεννηθὲν ἄρσεν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ῥιπτοῦντας διαφθείρειν, παραφυλάσσειν τε τὰς ὠδῖνας τῶν Ἑβραίων γυναικῶν καὶ τοὺς τοκετοὺς αὐτῶν παρατηρεῖν τὰς Αἰγυπτίων μαίας: [207] ὑπὸ γὰρ τούτων αὐτὰς ἐκέλευε μαιοῦσθαι, αἳ διὰ συγγένειαν ἔμελλον μὴ παραβήσεσθαι τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως βούλησιν: τοὺς μέντοι καταφρονήσαντας τοῦ προστάγματος καὶ σώζειν λάθρα τολμήσαντας τὸ τεχθὲν αὐτοῖς ἀναιρεῖσθαι σὺν τῇ γενεᾷ προσέταξεν. [208] δεινὸν οὖν τοῖς ὑπομένουσι τὸ πάθος, οὐ καθὸ παίδων ἀπεστεροῦντο καὶ γονεῖς ὄντες αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπώλειαν ὑπούργουν τῶν γεννωμένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἐπίνοια τῆς τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν ἐπιλείψεως, φθειρομένων μὲν τῶν τικτομένων, αὐτῶν δὲ διαλυθησομένων, χαλεπὴν αὐτοῖς καὶ δυσπαραμύθητον ἐποίει τὴν συμφοράν. [209] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἦσαν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κακῷ: κρατήσειε δ’ ἂν οὐδεὶς τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμης οὐδὲ μυρίας τέχνας ἐπὶ τούτῳ μηχανησάμενος: ὅ τε γὰρ παῖς, ὃν προεῖπεν ὁ ἱερογραμματεύς, τρέφεται λαθὼν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως φυλακὴν καὶ ἀληθὴς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενησομένοις ὁ προειπὼν εὑρέθη. γίνεται δ’ οὕτως.

2. While the affairs of the Hebrews were in this condition, there was this occasion offered itself to the Egyptians, which made them more solicitous for the extinction of our nation. One of those sacred scribes, who are very sagacious in foretelling future events truly, told the king, that about this time there would a child be born to the Israelites, who, if he were reared, would bring the Egyptian dominion low, and would raise the Israelites; that he would excel all men in virtue, and obtain a glory that would be remembered through all ages. Which thing was so feared by the king, that, according to this man’s opinion, he commanded that they should cast every male child, which was born to the Israelites, into the river, and destroy it; that besides this, the Egyptian midwives should watch the labors of the Hebrew women, and observe what is born, for those were the women who were enjoined to do the office of midwives to them; and by reason of their relation to the king, would not transgress his commands. He enjoined also, that if any parents should disobey him, and venture to save their male children alive, they and their families should be destroyed. This was a severe affliction indeed to those that suffered it, not only as they were deprived of their sons, and while they were the parents themselves, they were obliged to

be subservient to the destruction of their own children, but as it was to be supposed to tend to the extirpation of their nation, while upon the destruction of their children, and their own gradual dissolution, the calamity would become very hard and inconsolable to them. And this was the ill state they were in. But no one can be too hard for the purpose of God, though he contrive ten thousand subtle devices for that end; for this child, whom the sacred scribe foretold, was brought up and concealed from the observers appointed by the king; and he that foretold him did not mistake in the consequences of his preservation, which were brought to pass after the manner following: —

(3) [210] Ἀμαράμης τῶν εὖ γεγονότων παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις, ὡς δεδιὼς ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντὸς ἔθνους, μὴ σπάνει τῆς ἐπιτραφησομένης νεότητος ἐπιλείπῃ, καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ φέρων, ἐκύει γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ γύναιον, ἐν ἀμηχάνοις ἦν, [211] πρὸς ἱκετείαν τοῦ θεοῦ τρέπεται παρακαλῶν οἶκτον ἤδη τινὰ λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων μηδὲν τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν θρησκείας παραβεβηκότων δοῦναί τ᾽ ἀπαλλαγὴν αὐτοῖς ὧν παρ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἐκακοπάθουν τὸν καιρὸν καὶ τῆς ἐπ᾽ ἀπωλείᾳ τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν ἐλπίδος. [212] ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐλεήσας αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἱκεσίαν ἐπικλασθεὶς ἐφίσταται κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους αὐτῷ καὶ μήτε ἀπογινώσκειν αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων παρεκάλει τήν τε εὐσέβειαν αὐτῶν ἔλεγε διὰ μνήμης ἔχειν καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀμοιβὴν ἀεὶ παρέξειν, ἤδη μὲν καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις αὐτῶν δωρησάμενος τὸ γενέσθαι τοσοῦτον πλῆθος αὐτοὺς ἐξ ὀλίγων. [213] καὶ Ἄβραμον μὲν μόνον ἐκ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας εἰς τὴν Χαναναίαν παραγενόμενον εὐδαιμονῆσαι τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτῷ πρὸς γονὴν ἀκάρπως ἐχούσης πρότερον ἔπειτα κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν ἀγαθῆς πρὸς τοῦτο γενομένης τεκνῶσαι παῖδας καὶ καταλιπεῖν μὲν Ἰσμαήλῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἀράβων χώραν, τοῖς δ᾽ ἐκ Κατούρας τὴν Τρωγλοδῦτιν, Ἰσάκῳ δὲ τὴν Χαναναίαν. [214] “ὅσα τε πολεμῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐμήν, φησί, συμμαχίαν ἠνδραγάθησε κἂν ἀσεβεῖς εἶναι δόξητε καὶ μὴ διὰ μνήμης ἔχοντες. Ἰάκωβον δὲ καὶ τοῖς οὐχ ὁμοφύλοις γνώριμον εἶναι συμβέβηκεν ἐπί τε μεγέθει τῆς εὐδαιμονίας μεθ᾽ ἧς ἐβίωσε καὶ παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ κατέλιπεν, οὗ μετὰ ἑβδομήκοντα τῶν πάντων εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀφικομένου ὑπὲρ ἑξήκοντά που μυριάδας ἤδη γεγόνατε. [215] νῦν δ᾽ ἐμὲ τοῦ κοινῇ συμφέροντος ὑμῶν ἵστε προνοούμενον καὶ τῆς σῆς εὐκλείας: ὁ παῖς γὰρ οὗτος, οὗ τὴν γένεσιν Αἰγύπτιοι δεδιότες κατέκριναν ἀπολλύναι τὰ ἐξ Ἰσραηλιτῶν τικτόμενα, σὸς ἔσται καὶ λήσεται μὲν τοὺς ἐπ᾽ ὀλέθρῳ παραφυλάσσοντας, [216] τραφεὶς δὲ παραδόξως τὸ μὲν Ἑβραίων γένος τῆς παρ᾽ Αἰγυπτίοις ἀνάγκης ἀπολύσει, μνήμης δὲ ἐφ᾽ ὅσον μενεῖ χρόνον τὰ σύμπαντα τεύξεται παρ᾽ ἀνθρώποις οὐχ Ἑβραίοις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις, ἐμοῦ τοῦτο χαριζομένου σοί τε καὶ τοῖς ἐκ σοῦ γενησομένοις. ἔσται δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοιοῦτος, ὥστε τὴν ἐμὴν ἕξειν ἱερωσύνην αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου.”

3. A man whose name was Amram, one of the nobler sort of the Hebrews, was afraid for his whole nation, lest it should fail, by the want of young men to be brought up hereafter, and was very uneasy at it, his wife being then with child, and he knew not what to do. Hereupon he betook himself to prayer to God; and entreated him to have compassion on those men who had nowise transgressed the laws of his worship, and to afford them deliverance from the miseries they at that time endured, and to render abortive their enemies' hopes of the destruction of their nation. Accordingly God had mercy on him, and was moved by his supplication. He stood by him in his sleep, and exhorted him not to despair of his future favors. He said further, that he did not forget their piety towards him, and would always reward them for it, as he had formerly granted his favor to their forefathers, and made them increase from a few to so great a multitude. He put him in mind, that when Abraham was come alone out of Mesopotamia into Canaan, he had been made happy, not only in other respects, but that when his wife was at first barren, she was afterwards by him enabled to conceive seed, and bare him sons. That he left to Ismael and to his posterity the country of Arabia; as also to his sons by Ketura, Troglodytis; and to Isaac, Canaan. That by my assistance, said he, he did great exploits in war, which, unless you be yourselves impious, you must still remember. As for Jacob, he became well known to strangers also, by the greatness of that prosperity in which he lived, and left to his sons, who came into Egypt with no more than seventy souls, while you are now become above six hundred thousand. Know therefore that I shall provide for you all in common what is for your good, and particularly for thyself what shall make thee famous; for that child, out of dread of whose nativity the Egyptians have doomed the Israelite children to destruction, shall be this child of thine, and shall be concealed from those who watch to destroy him: and when he is brought up in a surprising way, he shall deliver the Hebrew nation from the distress they are under from the Egyptians. His memory shall be famous while the world lasts; and this not only among the Hebrews, but foreigners also: — all which shall be the effect of my favor to thee, and to thy posterity. He shall also have such a brother, that he shall himself obtain my priesthood, and his posterity shall have it after him to the end of the world.

(4) [217] Ταῦτα τῆς ὄψεως αὐτῷ δηλωσάσης περιεγερθεὶς ὁ Ἀμαράμης ἐδήλου τῇ Ἰωχαβέλῃ, γυνὴ δ' ἦν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ δέος ἔτι μεῖζον διὰ τὴν τοῦ ὀνείρου πρόρρησιν αὐτοῖς συνίστατο: οὐ γὰρ ὡς περὶ παιδὸς μόνον εὐλαβεῖς ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ μεγέθει τοσαύτης εὐδαιμονίας ἐσομένου. [218] τοῖς μέντοι προκατηγγελμένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πίστιν ὁ τοκετὸς τῆς γυναικὸς παρεῖχε λαθούσης τοὺς φύλακας διὰ τὴν τῶν ὠδίνων ἐπιείκειαν καὶ τῷ μὴ βιαίας αὐτῇ

προσπεσεῖν τὰς ἀλγηδόνας. καὶ τρεῖς μὲν μῆνας παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς τρέφουσι λανθάνοντες: [219] ἔπειτα δὲ δείσας Ἀμαράμης, μὴ κατάφωρος γένηται καὶ πεσὼν ὑπὸ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ὀργὴν αὐτός τε ἀπόληται μετὰ τοῦ παιδίου καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἀφανίσειεν, ἔγνω μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τούτῳ ποιήσασθαι τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς σωτηρίαν καὶ πρόνοιαν ἢ τῷ λήσεσθαι πεπιστευκώς, τοῦτο δ᾽ ἦν ἄδηλον, ἐναποκινδυνεύειν οὐ τῷ παιδὶ μόνον κρυφαίως τρεφομένῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῷ: [220] τὸν δὲ θεὸν ἡγεῖτο πᾶσαν ἐκποριεῖν ἀσφάλειαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν ψευδὲς γενέσθαι τῶν εἰρημένων. ταῦτα κρίναντες μηχανῶνται πλέγμα βίβλινον ἐμφερὲς τῇ κατασκευῇ κοιτίδι μεγέθους αὐτὸ ποιήσαντες αὐτάρκους εἰς τὸ μετ᾽ εὐρυχωρίας ἐναποκεῖσθαι τὸ βρέφος, ἔπειτα χρίσαντες ἀσφάλτῳ, [221] τῷ γὰρ ὕδατι τὴν διὰ τῶν πλεγμάτων ἀποφράττειν εἴσοδον ἡ ἄσφαλτος πέφυκεν, ἐντιθέασι τὸ παιδίον καὶ κατὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ βαλόντες εἴασαν ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ. καὶ τὸ μὲν ὁ ποταμὸς παραλαβὼν ἔφερε, Μαριάμη δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀδελφὴ κελευσθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ἀντιπαρεξῄει φερόμενον ὅποι χωρήσει ὀψομένη τὸ πλέγμα. [222] ἔνθα καὶ ἔδειξεν ὁ θεὸς μηδὲν μὲν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην σύνεσιν, πᾶν δ᾽ ὅ τι καὶ βουληθείη πράττειν αὐτὸ τέλους ἀγαθοῦ τυγχάνον, καὶ διαμαρτάνοντας μὲν τοὺς ὑπὲρ οἰκείας ἀσφαλείας ἄλλων κατακρίνοντας ὄλεθρον καὶ πολλῇ περὶ τούτου χρησαμένους σπουδῇ, [223] σωζομένους δ᾽ ἐκ παραδόξου καὶ σχεδὸν ἐκ μέσου τῶν κακῶν εὑρισκομένους τὴν εὐπραγίαν τοὺς κινδυνεύοντας τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμῃ. τοιοῦτον δέ τι καὶ περὶ τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον γενόμενον ἐμφανίζει τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῦ θεοῦ.

4. When the vision had informed him of these things, Amram awaked and told it to Jochebed who was his wife. And now the fear increased upon them on account of the prediction in Amram’s dream; for they were under concern, not only for the child, but on account of the great happiness that was to come to him also. However, the mother’s labor was such as afforded a confirmation to what was foretold by God; for it was not known to those that watched her, by the easiness of her pains, and because the throes of her delivery did not fall upon her with violence. And now they nourished the child at home privately for three months; but after that time Amram, fearing he should be discovered, and, by falling under the king’s displeasure, both he and his child should perish, and so he should make the promise of God of none effect, he determined rather to trust the safety and care of the child to God, than to depend on his own concealment of him, which he looked upon as a thing uncertain, and whereby both the child, so privately to be nourished, and himself should be in imminent danger; but he believed that God would some way for certain procure the safety of the child, in order to secure the truth of his own predictions. When they had thus determined, they made an ark of bulrushes, after the manner of a cradle, and of a bigness

sufficient for an infant to be laid in, without being too straitened: they then daubed it over with slime, which would naturally keep out the water from entering between the bulrushes, and put the infant into it, and setting it afloat upon the river, they left its preservation to God; so the river received the child, and carried him along. But Miriam, the child's sister, passed along upon the bank over against him, as her mother had bid her, to see whither the ark would be carried, where God demonstrated that human wisdom was nothing, but that the Supreme Being is able to do whatsoever he pleases: that those who, in order to their own security, condemn others to destruction, and use great endeavors about it, fail of their purpose; but that others are in a surprising manner preserved, and obtain a prosperous condition almost from the very midst of their calamities; those, I mean, whose dangers arise by the appointment of God. And, indeed, such a providence was exercised in the case of this child, as showed the power of God.

(5) [224] Θέρμουθις ἦν θυγάτηρ τοῦ βασιλέως. αὕτη παίζουσα παρὰ τὰς ἠόνας τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ φερόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥεύματος θεασαμένη τὸ πλέγμα κολυμβητὰς ἐπιπέμπει κελεύσασα τὴν κοιτίδα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκκομίσαι. παραγενομένων δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ σταλέντων μετὰ τῆς κοιτίδος ἰδοῦσα τὸ παιδίον ὑπερηγάπησε μεγέθους τε ἕνεκα καὶ κάλλους: [225] τοσαύτῃ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς περὶ Μωυσῆν ἐχρήσατο σπουδῇ, ὡς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν τῶν ψηφισαμένων διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ γένεσιν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἑβραίων γένους ἀπώλειαν ποιῆσαι τροφῆς καὶ ἐπιμελείας ἀξιωθῆναι. κελεύει τε γύναιον ἡ Θέρμουθις ἀχθῆναι παρέξον θηλὴν τῷ παιδίῳ. [226] μὴ προσεμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν θηλὴν ἀλλ᾽ ἀποστραφέντος καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐπὶ πολλῶν ποιήσαντος γυναικῶν ἡ Μαριάμη παρατυγχάνουσα τοῖς γινομένοις οὐχ ὥστε ἐκ παρασκευῆς δοκεῖν ἀλλὰ κατὰ θεωρίαν, "μάτην, εἶπεν, ὦ βασίλισσα, ταύτας ἐπὶ τροφῇ τοῦ παιδὸς μετακαλῇ τὰς γυναῖκας, αἳ μηδὲν πρὸς αὐτὸ συγγενὲς ἔχουσιν. εἰ μέντοι τινὰ τῶν Ἑβραίδων γυναικῶν ἀχθῆναι ποιήσειας, [227] τάχα ἂν προσοῖτο θηλὴν ὁμοφύλου." δόξασαν δὲ λέγειν εὖ κελεύει τοῦτ᾽ αὐτὴν ἐκπορίσαι καὶ τῶν γαλουχουσῶν τινα μεταθεῖν. ἡ δὲ τοιαύτης ἐξουσίας λαβομένη παρῆν ἄγουσα τὴν μητέρα μηδενὶ γινωσκομένην. καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἀσμενίσαν πως προσφύεται τῇ θηλῇ, καὶ δεηθείσης γε τῆς βασιλίδος πιστεύεται τὴν τροφὴν τοῦ παιδίου πρὸς τὸ πᾶν.

5. Thermuthis was the king's daughter. She was now diverting herself by the banks of the river; and seeing a cradle borne along by the current, she sent some that could swim, and bid them bring the cradle to her. When those that were sent on this errand came to her with the cradle, and she saw the little child, she was greatly in love with it, on account of its largeness and beauty; for God had taken such great care in the formation of Moses, that he caused him to be thought

worthy of bringing up, and providing for, by all those that had taken the most fatal resolutions, on account of the dread of his nativity, for the destruction of the rest of the Hebrew nation. Thermuthis bid them bring her a woman that might afford her breast to the child; yet would not the child admit of her breast, but turned away from it, and did the like to many other women. Now Miriam was by when this happened, not to appear to be there on purpose, but only as staying to see the child; and she said, "It is in vain that thou, O queen, callest for these women for the nourishing of the child, who are no way of kin to it; but still, if thou wilt order one of the Hebrew women to be brought, perhaps it may admit the breast of one of its own nation." Now since she seemed to speak well, Thermuthis bid her procure such a one, and to bring one of those Hebrew women that gave suck. So when she had such authority given her, she came back and brought the mother, who was known to nobody there. And now the child gladly admitted the breast, and seemed to stick close to it; and so it was, that, at the queen's desire, the nursing of the child was entirely intrusted to the mother.

(6) [228] Κἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπίκλησιν ταύτην τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἔθετο εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐμπεσόντι: τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ μῶυ Αἰγύπτιοι καλοῦσιν, ἐσῆς δὲ τοὺς [ἐξ ὕδατος] σωθέντας. συνθέντες οὖν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τὴν προσηγορίαν αὐτῷ ταύτην τίθενται. [229] καὶ ἦν ὁμολογουμένως κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόρρησιν φρονήματός τε μεγέθει καὶ πόνων καταφρονήσει Ἑβραίων ἄριστος. Ἄβραμος γὰρ αὐτῷ πατὴρ ἕβδομος. Ἀμαράμου γὰρ αὐτὸς ἦν παῖς τοῦ Καάθου, Καάθου δὲ πατὴρ Λευὶς ὁ τοῦ Ἰακώβου, ὃς ἦν Ἰσάκῳ γενόμενος, Ἀβράμου δὲ οὗτος ἦν. [230] σύνεσις δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐφύετ᾽ αὐτῷ τοῦ δὲ ταύτης μέτρου πολὺ κρείττων, καὶ πρεσβυτέραν διεδείκνυεν ταύτης τὴν περιουσίαν ἐν ταῖς παιδιαῖς, καὶ μειζόνων τῶν ὑπ᾽ ἀνδρὸς γενησομένων ἐπαγγελίαν εἶχε τὰ τότε πραττόμενα. καὶ τριετεῖ μὲν αὐτῷ γεγενημένῳ θαυμαστὸν ὁ θεὸς τὸ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐξῆρεν ἀνάστημα, [231] πρὸς δὲ κάλλος οὐδεὶς ἀφιλότιμος ἦν οὕτως, ὡς Μωυσῆν θεασάμενος μὴ ἐκπλαγῆναι τῆς εὐμορφίας, πολλοῖς τε συνέβαινε καθ᾽ ὁδὸν φερομένῳ συντυγχάνουσιν ἐπιστρέφεσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ὄψεως τοῦ παιδός, ἀφιέναι δὲ τὰ σπουδαζόμενα καὶ τῇ θεωρίᾳ προσευσχολεῖν αὐτοῦ: καὶ γὰρ ἡ χάρις ἡ παιδικὴ πολλὴ καὶ ἄκρατος περὶ αὐτὸν οὖσα κατεῖχε τοὺς ὁρῶντας.

6. Hereupon it was that Thermuthis imposed this name Mouses upon him, from what had happened when he was put into the river; for the Egyptians call water by the name of Mo, and such as are saved out of it, by the name of Uses: so by putting these two words together, they imposed this name upon him. And he was, by the confession of all, according to God's prediction, as well for his greatness of mind as for his contempt of difficulties, the best of all the Hebrews, for Abraham was his ancestor of the seventh generation. For Moses was the son

of Amram, who was the son of Caath, whose father Levi was the son of Jacob, who was the son of Isaac, who was the son of Abraham. Now Moses's understanding became superior to his age, nay, far beyond that standard; and when he was taught, he discovered greater quickness of apprehension than was usual at his age, and his actions at that time promised greater, when he should come to the age of a man. God did also give him that tallness, when he was but three years old, as was wonderful. And as for his beauty, there was nobody so unpolite as, when they saw Moses, they were not greatly surprised at the beauty of his countenance; nay, it happened frequently, that those that met him as he was carried along the road, were obliged to turn again upon seeing the child; that they left what they were about, and stood still a great while to look on him; for the beauty of the child was so remarkable and natural to him on many accounts, that it detained the spectators, and made them stay longer to look upon him.

(7) [232] Ὄντα δ' αὐτὸν τοιοῦτον ἡ Θέρμουθις παῖδα ποιεῖται γονῆς γνησίας οὐ μεμοιραμένη, καί ποτε κομίσασα τὸν Μωυσῆν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἐπεδείκνυε τοῦτον καὶ ὡς φροντίσειε διαδοχῆς, εἰ καὶ βουλήσει θεοῦ μὴ τύχοι παιδὸς γνησίου, πρὸς αὐτόν τε ἔλεγεν, ἀναθρεψαμένη παῖδα μορφῇ τε θεῖον καὶ φρονήματι γενναῖον, θαυμασίως δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ παρὰ τῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ λαβοῦσα χάριτος ἐμαυτῆς μὲν ἡγησάμην παῖδα ποιήσασθαι, τῆς δὲ σῆς βασιλείας [233] διάδοχον." ταῦτα λέγουσα ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς χερσὶν ἐνετίθει τὸ βρέφος, ὁ δὲ λαβὼν καὶ προστερνισάμενος κατὰ φιλοφρόνησιν χάριν τῆς θυγατρὸς ἐπιτίθησιν αὐτῷ τὸ διάδημα: καταφέρει δ' ὁ Μωυσῆς εἰς τὴν γῆν περιελόμενος αὐτὸ κατὰ νηπιότητα δῆθεν ἐπέβαινέ τε αὐτῷ τοῖς ποσί. [234] καὶ τοῦτο ἔδοξεν οἰωνὸν ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ φέρειν. θεασάμενος δ' ὁ ἱερογραμματεὺς ὁ καὶ τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ προειπὼν ἐπὶ ταπεινώσει τῆς Αἰγυπτίων ἀρχῆς ἐσομένην ὥρμησεν ἀποκτεῖναι, [235] καὶ δεινὸν ἀνακραγών, "οὗτος, εἶπε, βασιλεῦ, ὁ παῖς ἐκεῖνος, ὃν κτείνασιν ἡμῖν ἐδήλωσεν ὁ θεὸς ἀφόβοις εἶναι, μαρτυρεῖ τῇ προαγορεύσει τοῦ γεγονότος ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἡγεμονίᾳ τῇ σῇ καὶ πατῶν τὸ διάδημα. τοῦτον οὖν ἀνελὼν Αἰγυπτίοις μὲν τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δέος ἄνες, Ἑβραίοις δὲ τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ δι' αὐτὸν θάρσους ἀφελοῦ." φθάνει δ' αὐτὸν ἡ Θέρμουθις ἐξαρπάσασα, [236] καὶ πρὸς τὸν φόνον ὀκνηρὸς ἦν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ παρασκευάσαντος, ᾧ πρόνοια τῆς Μωυσέος σωτηρίας ἦν. ἐτρέφετο οὖν πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας τυγχάνων, καὶ τοῖς μὲν Ἑβραίοις ἐπ' αὐτῷ παρῆν ἐλπὶς περὶ τῶν ὅλων, [237] δι' ὑποψίας δ' εἶχον Αἰγύπτιοι τὴν ἀνατροφὴν αὐτοῦ: μηδενὸς δ' ὄντος φανεροῦ, δι' ὃν κἂν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς μηδὲν ὄντα ἢ συγγενοὺς διὰ τῆς εἰσποιήσεως ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τινός, ᾧ πλέον ὑπὲρ ὠφελείας τῆς Αἰγυπτίων ἐκ τοῦ προειδέναι τὰ μέλλοντα θαρρεῖν παρῆν, ἀπείχοντο τῆς ἀναιρέσεως αὐτοῦ.

7. Thermuthis therefore perceiving him to be so remarkable a child, adopted him for her son, having no child of her own. And when one time had carried Moses to her father, she showed him to him, and said she thought to make him her successor, if it should please God she should have no legitimate child of her own; and to him, "I have brought up a child who is of a divine form, and of a generous mind; and as I have received him from the bounty of the river, in, I thought proper to adopt him my son, and the heir of thy kingdom." And she had said this, she put the infant into her father's hands: so he took him, and hugged him to his breast; and on his daughter's account, in a pleasant way, put his diadem upon his head; but Moses threw it down to the ground, and, in a puerile mood, he wreathed it round, and trod upon his feet, which seemed to bring along with evil presage concerning the kingdom of Egypt. But when the sacred scribe saw this, [he was the person who foretold that his nativity would the dominion of that kingdom low,] he made a violent attempt to kill him; and crying out in a frightful manner, he said, "This, O king! this child is he of whom God foretold, that if we kill him we shall be in no danger; he himself affords an attestation to the prediction of the same thing, by his trampling upon thy government, and treading upon thy diadem. Take him, therefore, out of the way, and deliver the Egyptians from the fear they are in about him; and deprive the Hebrews of the hope they have of being encouraged by him." But Thermuthis prevented him, and snatched the child away. And the king was not hasty to slay him, God himself, whose providence protected Moses, inclining the king to spare him. He was, therefore, educated with great care. So the Hebrews depended on him, and were of good hopes great things would be done by him; but the Egyptians were suspicious of what would follow such his education. Yet because, if Moses had been slain, there was no one, either akin or adopted, that had any oracle on his side for pretending to the crown of Egypt, and likely to be of greater advantage to them, they abstained from killing him.

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CHAPTER 10. How Moses Made War With The Ethiopians.

(1) [238] Μωυσῆς μὲν τῷ προειρημένῳ τρόπῳ γεννηθείς τε καὶ τραφεὶς καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς ἡλικίαν φανερὰν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐποίησε καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ ταπεινώσει μὲν τῇ ἐκείνων, ἐπ᾽ αὐξήσει δὲ τῶν Ἑβραίων γεγονέναι τοιαύτης ἀφορμῆς λαβόμενος: [239] Αἰθίοπες, πρόσοικοι δ᾽ εἰσὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις, ἐμβαλόντες εἰς χώραν αὐτῶν ἔφερον καὶ ἦγον τὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων. οἱ δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ὀργῆς στρατεύουσιν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀμυνούμενοι τῆς καταφρονήσεως, καὶ τῇ μάχῃ κρατηθέντες οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔπεσον οἱ δ᾽ αἰσχρῶς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν διεσώθησαν φυγόντες. [240] ἐπηκολούθησαν δὲ διώκοντες Αἰθίοπες καὶ μαλακίας ὑπολαβόντες τὸ μὴ κρατεῖν ἁπάσης τῆς Αἰγύπτου τῆς χώρας ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἥπτοντο καὶ γευσάμενοι τῶν ἀγαθῶν οὐκέτ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀπείχοντο, ὡς δὲ τὰ γειτνιῶντα μέρη πρῶτον αὐτοῖς ἐπερχομένων οὐκ ἐτόλμων ἀντιστρατεύειν, προύβησαν ἄχρι Μέμφεως καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν πόλεων ἀντέχειν δυνηθείσης. [241] τῷ δὲ κακῷ πιεζόμενοι πρὸς χρησμοὺς Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ μαντείας τρέπονται: συμβουλεύσαντος δ᾽ αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ συμμάχῳ χρήσασθαι τῷ Ἑβραίῳ κελεύει ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν θυγατέρα παρασχεῖν τὸν Μωυσῆν στρατηγὸν αὐτῷ γενησόμενον. [242] ἡ δὲ ὅρκους ποιησαμένῳ, ὥστε μηδὲν διαθεῖναι κακόν, παραδίδωσιν ἀντὶ μεγάλης μὲν εὐεργεσίας κρίνουσα τὴν συμμαχίαν, κακίζουσα δὲ τοὺς ἱερέας, εἰ κτεῖναι προαγορεύσαντες αὐτὸν ὡς πολέμιον οὐκ ἠδοῦντο νῦν χρῄζοντες αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐπικουρίας.

1. Moses, therefore, when he was born, and brought up in the foregoing manner, and came to the age of maturity, made his virtue manifest to the Egyptians; and showed that he was born for the bringing them down, and raising the Israelites. And the occasion he laid hold of was this: — The Ethiopians, who are next neighbors to the Egyptians, made an inroad into their country, which they seized upon, and carried off the effects of the Egyptians, who, in their rage, fought against them, and revenged the affronts they had received from them; but being overcome in battle, some of them were slain, and the rest ran away in a shameful manner, and by that means saved themselves; whereupon the Ethiopians followed after them in the pursuit, and thinking that it would be a mark of cowardice if they did not subdue all Egypt, they went on to subdue the rest with greater vehemence; and when they had tasted the sweets of the country, they never left off the prosecution of the war: and as the nearest parts had not courage enough at first to fight with them, they proceeded as far as Memphis, and the sea itself, while not one of the cities was able to oppose them. The Egyptians, under

this sad oppression, betook themselves to their oracles and prophecies; and when God had given them this counsel, to make use of Moses the Hebrew, and take his assistance, the king commanded his daughter to produce him, that he might be the general of their army. Upon which, when she had made him swear he would do him no harm, she delivered him to the king, and supposed his assistance would be of great advantage to them. She withal reproached the priest, who, when they had before admonished the Egyptians to kill him, was not ashamed now to own their want of his help.

(2) [243] Μωυσῆς δὲ ὑπό τε τῆς Θερμούθιδος παρακληθεὶς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἡδέως προσδέχεται τὸ ἔργον: ἔχαιρον δ᾽ οἱ ἱερογραμματεῖς ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἐθνῶν, Αἰγυπτίων μὲν ὡς τούς τε πολεμίους τῇ ἐκείνου κρατήσοντες ἀρετῇ καὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν ταὐτῷ δόλῳ κατεργασόμενοι, οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἑβραίων ὡς φυγεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐσομένου τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους διὰ τὸ Μωυσῆν αὐτοῖς στρατηγεῖν. [244] ὁ δὲ φθάσας πρὶν ἢ καὶ πυθέσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ τὸν στρατὸν ἀναλαβὼν ἦγεν οὐ διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ποιησάμενος τὴν ἐλασίαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ γῆς. ἔνθα τῆς αὐτοῦ συνέσεως θαυμαστὴν ἐπίδειξιν ἐποιήσατο: [245] τῆς γὰρ γῆς οὔσης χαλεπῆς ὁδευθῆναι διὰ πλῆθος ἑρπετῶν, παμφορωτάτη γάρ ἐστι τούτων, ὡς καὶ τὰ παρ᾽ ἄλλοις οὐκ ὄντα μόνη τρέφειν δυνάμει τε καὶ κακίᾳ καὶ τῷ τῆς ὄψεως ἀσυνήθει διαφέροντα, τινὰ δ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐστι καὶ πετεινὰ ὡς λανθάνοντα μὲν ἀπὸ γῆς κακουργεῖν καὶ μὴ προιδομένους ἀδικεῖν ὑπερπετῆ γενόμενα, νοεῖ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ ἀβλαβῆ πορείαν τοῦ στρατεύματος στρατήγημα θαυμαστόν: [246] πλέγματα γὰρ ἐμφερῆ κιβωτοῖς ἐκ βίβλου κατασκευάσας καὶ πληρώσας ἴβεων ἐκόμιζε. πολεμιώτατον δ᾽ ἐστὶν ὄφεσι τοῦτο τὸ ζῷον: φεύγουσί τε γὰρ ἐπερχομένας καὶ ἐφιστάμενοι καθάπερ ὑπ᾽ ἐλάφων ἁρπαζόμενοι καταπίνονται: χειροήθεις δ᾽ εἰσὶν αἱ ἴβεις καὶ πρὸς μόνον τὸ τῶν ὄφεων γένος ἄγριοι. [247] καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων παρίημι νῦν γράφειν οὐκ ἀγνοούντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῆς ἴβιδος τὸ εἶδος. ὡς οὖν εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐνέβαλε τὴν θηριοτρόφον, ταύταις ἀπεμάχετο τὴν τῶν ἑρπετῶν φύσιν ἐπαφεὶς αὐτοῖς καὶ προπολεμούσαις χρώμενος. τοῦτον οὖν ὁδεύσας τὸν τρόπον οὐδὲ προμαθοῦσι παρῆν τοῖς Αἰθίοψι, [248] καὶ συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς κρατεῖ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων, ἃς εἶχον ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, ἀφαιρεῖται τάς τε πόλεις αὐτῶν ἐπῄει καταστρεφόμενος, καὶ φόνος πολὺς τῶν Αἰθιόπων ἐπράττετο. καὶ τῆς διὰ Μωυσῆν εὐπραγίας γευσάμενον τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων στράτευμα πονεῖν οὐκ ἔκαμνεν, ὡς περὶ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ καὶ παντελοῦς ἀναστάσεως τὸν κίνδυνον εἶναι τοῖς Αἰθίοψι: [249] καὶ τέλος συνελαθέντες εἰς Σαβὰν πόλιν βασίλειον οὖσαν τῆς Αἰθιοπίας, ἣν ὕστερον Καμβύσης Μερόην ἐπωνόμασεν ἀδελφῆς ἰδίας τοῦτο καλουμένης, ἐπολιορκοῦντο. ἦν δὲ δυσπολιόρκητον σφόδρα τὸ χωρίον τοῦ τε Νείλου περιέχοντος αὐτὴν καὶ κυκλουμένου ποταμῶν τε ἄλλων Ἀστάπου καὶ Ἀσταβόρα δύσμαχον τοῖς

πειρωμένοις διαβαίνειν τὸ ῥεῦμα ποιούντων: [250] ἡ γὰρ πόλις ἐντὸς οὖσα νῆσος οἰκεῖται τείχους τε αὐτῇ καρτεροῦ περιηγμένου καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους πρόβλημα τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἔχουσα χώματά τε μεγάλα μεταξὺ τοῦ τείχους, ὥστε ἀνεπίκλυστον εἶναι βιαιότερον ὑπὸ πληθώρας φερομένων, ἅπερ καὶ τοῖς περαιωσαμένοις τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἄπορον ἐποίει τῆς πόλεως τὴν ἅλωσιν. [251] φέροντι τοίνυν ἀηδῶς τῷ Μωυσεῖ τὴν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἀργίαν, εἰς χεῖρας γὰρ οὐκ ἐτόλμων ἁπαντᾶν οἱ πολέμιοι, συνέτυχέ τι τοιοῦτον. [252] Θάρβις θυγάτηρ ἦν τοῦ Αἰθιόπων βασιλέως. αὕτη τὸν Μωυσῆν πλησίον τοῖς τείχεσι προσάγοντα τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ μαχόμενον γενναίως ἀποσκοποῦσα καὶ τῆς ἐπινοίας τῶν ἐγχειρήσεων θαυμάζουσα, καὶ τοῖς τε Αἰγυπτίοις αἴτιον ἀπεγνωκόσιν ἤδη τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς εὐπραγίας ὑπολαμβάνουσα καὶ τοῖς Αἰθίοψιν αὐχοῦσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατ᾽ αὐτῶν κατωρθωμένοις τοῦ περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων κινδύνου, εἰς ἔρωτα δεινὸν ὤλισθεν αὐτοῦ καὶ περιόντος τοῦ πάθους πέμπει πρὸς αὐτὸν τῶν οἰκετῶν τοὺς πιστοτάτους διαλεγομένη περὶ γάμου. [253] προσδεξαμένου δὲ τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τῷ παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν καὶ ποιησαμένου πίστεις ἐνόρκους ἢ μὴν ἄξεσθαι γυναῖκα καὶ κρατήσαντα τῆς πόλεως μὴ παραβήσεσθαι τὰς συνθήκας, φθάνει τὸ ἔργον τοὺς λόγους. καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν Αἰθιόπων εὐχαριστήσας τῷ θεῷ συνετέλει τὸν γάμον Μωυσῆς καὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἀπήγαγεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν.

2. So Moses, at the persuasion both of Thermuthis and the king himself, cheerfully undertook the business: and the sacred scribes of both nations were glad; those of the Egyptians, that they should at once overcome their enemies by his valor, and that by the same piece of management Moses would be slain; but those of the Hebrews, that they should escape from the Egyptians, because Moses was to be their general. But Moses prevented the enemies, and took and led his army before those enemies were apprized of his attacking them; for he did not march by the river, but by land, where he gave a wonderful demonstration of his sagacity; for when the ground was difficult to be passed over, because of the multitude of serpents, [which it produces in vast numbers, and, indeed, is singular in some of those productions, which other countries do not breed, and yet such as are worse than others in power and mischief, and an unusual fierceness of sight, some of which ascend out of the ground unseen, and also fly in the air, and so come upon men at unawares, and do them a mischief,] Moses invented a wonderful stratagem to preserve the army safe, and without hurt; for he made baskets, like unto arks, of sedge, and filled them with ibes, and carried them along with them; which animal is the greatest enemy to serpents imaginable, for they fly from them when they come near them; and as they fly they are caught and devoured by them, as if it were done by the harts; but the ibes are tame creatures, and only enemies to the serpentine kind: but

about these ibes I say no more at present, since the Greeks themselves are not unacquainted with this sort of bird. As soon, therefore, as Moses was come to the land which was the breeder of these serpents, he let loose the ibes, and by their means repelled the serpentine kind, and used them for his assistants before the army came upon that ground. When he had therefore proceeded thus on his journey, he came upon the Ethiopians before they expected him; and, joining battle with them, he beat them, and deprived them of the hopes they had of success against the Egyptians, and went on in overthrowing their cities, and indeed made a great slaughter of these Ethiopians. Now when the Egyptian army had once tasted of this prosperous success, by the means of Moses, they did not slacken their diligence, insomuch that the Ethiopians were in danger of being reduced to slavery, and all sorts of destruction; and at length they retired to Saba, which was a royal city of Ethiopia, which Cambyses afterwards named Mero, after the name of his own sister. The place was to be besieged with very great difficulty, since it was both encompassed by the Nile quite round, and the other rivers, Astapus and Astaboras, made it a very difficult thing for such as attempted to pass over them; for the city was situate in a retired place, and was inhabited after the manner of an island, being encompassed with a strong wall, and having the rivers to guard them from their enemies, and having great ramparts between the wall and the rivers, insomuch, that when the waters come with the greatest violence, it can never be drowned; which ramparts make it next to impossible for even such as are gotten over the rivers to take the city. However, while Moses was uneasy at the army's lying idle, [for the enemies durst not come to a battle,] this accident happened: — Tharbis was the daughter of the king of the Ethiopians: she happened to see Moses as he led the army near the walls, and fought with great courage; and admiring the subtilty of his undertakings, and believing him to be the author of the Egyptians' success, when they had before despaired of recovering their liberty, and to be the occasion of the great danger the Ethiopians were in, when they had before boasted of their great achievements, she fell deeply in love with him; and upon the prevalancy of that passion, sent to him the most faithful of all her servants to discourse with him about their marriage. He thereupon accepted the offer, on condition she would procure the delivering up of the city; and gave her the assurance of an oath to take her to his wife; and that when he had once taken possession of the city, he would not break his oath to her. No sooner was the agreement made, but it took effect immediately; and when Moses had cut off the Ethiopians, he gave thanks to God, and consummated his marriage, and led the Egyptians back to their own land.

CHAPTER 11. How Moses Fled Out Of Egypt Into Midian.

(1) [254] Οἱ δ’ ἐξ ὧν ἐσώζοντο ὑπὸ Μωυσέος μῖσος ἐκ τούτων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνελάμβανον καὶ θερμότερον ἅπτεσθαι τῶν κατ’ αὐτοῦ βουλευμάτων ἠξίουν, ὑπονοοῦντες μὲν μὴ διὰ τὴν εὐπραγίαν νεωτερίσειε κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, διδάσκοντες δὲ τὸν βασιλέα περὶ τῆς σφαγῆς. [255] ὁ δὲ καὶ καθ’ αὑτὸν μὲν εἶχε τὴν τοῦ πράγματος ἐπίνοιαν ὑπό τε φθόνου τῆς Μωυσέος στρατηγίας καὶ ὑπὸ δέους ταπεινώσεως, ἐπειχθεὶς δ’ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερογραμματέων οἷός τε ἦν ἐγχειρεῖν τῇ Μωυσέος ἀναιρέσει. [256] φθάσας δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν καταμαθεῖν λαθὼν ὑπέξεισι: καὶ τῶν ὁδῶν φυλαττομένων ποιεῖται διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου τὸν δρασμὸν καὶ ὅθεν ἦν ὑπόνοια μὴ λαβεῖν τοὺς ἐχθρούς, ἄπορός τε ὢν τροφῆς ἀπηλλάττετο τῇ καρτερίᾳ καταφρονῶν, [257] εἴς τε πόλιν Μαδιανὴν ἀφικόμενος πρὸς μὲν τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσσῃ κειμένην ἐπώνυμον δ’ ἑνὸς τῶν Ἀβράμῳ γενομένων ἐκ Κατούρας υἱῶν, καθεσθεὶς ἐπί τινος φρέατος ἐκ τοῦ κόπου καὶ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας ἠρέμει μεσημβρίας οὔσης οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως. ἐνταῦθ’ αὐτῷ συνέβη καὶ πρᾶξις ἐκ διαίτης τῶν αὐτόθι συστήσασα τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον ἀφορμὴν παρασχοῦσα.

1. Now the Egyptians, after they had been preserved by Moses, entertained a hatred to him, and were very eager in compassing their designs against him, as suspecting that he would take occasion, from his good success, to raise a sedition, and bring innovations into Egypt; and told the king he ought to be slain. The king had also some intentions of himself to the same purpose, and this as well out of envy at his glorious expedition at the head of his army, as out of fear of being brought low by him and being instigated by the sacred scribes, he was ready to undertake to kill Moses: but when he had learned beforehand what plots there were against him, he went away privately; and because the public roads were watched, he took his flight through the deserts, and where his enemies could not suspect he would travel; and, though he was destitute of food, he went on, and despised that difficulty courageously; and when he came to the city Midian, which lay upon the Red Sea, and was so denominated from one of Abraham’s sons by Keturah, he sat upon a certain well, and rested himself there after his laborious journey, and the affliction he had been in. It was not far from the city, and the time of the day was noon, where he had an occasion offered him by the custom of the country of doing what recommended his virtue, and afforded him an opportunity of bettering his circumstances.

(2) [258] Τῶν γὰρ χωρίων δυσύδρων ὄντων προκατελάμβανον οἱ ποιμένες τὰ φρέατα, ὅπως μὴ προεξαναλωμένου τοῦ ὕδατος ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων σπανίζοι ποτοῦ τὰ θρέμματα. παραγίνονται οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ φρέαρ ἑπτὰ παρθένοι ἀδελφαὶ Ῥαγουήλου θυγατέρες ἱερέως καὶ πολλῆς ἠξιωμένου τιμῆς παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις, [259] αἳ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς ποιμνίων ἐπιμελούμεναι διὰ τὸ ταύτην ὑπουργίαν εἶναι καὶ γυναιξὶν ἐπιχώριον παρὰ τοῖς Τρωγλοδύταις φθάσασαι τὸ αὔταρκες ἐκ τοῦ φρέατος ἀνέσπασαν ὕδωρ τοῖς ποιμνίοις εἰς δεξαμενάς, αἳ πρὸς ἐκδοχὴν τοῦ ὕδατος ἐγεγόνεισαν. [260] ἐπιστάντων δὲ ποιμένων ταῖς παρθένοις, ὥστ᾽ αὐτοὶ τοῦ ὕδατος κρατεῖν, Μωυσῆς δεινὸν ἡγησάμενος εἶναι περιιδεῖν ἀδικουμένας τὰς κόρας καὶ τὴν βίαν τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐᾶσαι κρείττονα γενέσθαι τοῦ τῶν παρθένων δικαίου, τοὺς μὲν εἶρξε πλεονεκτεῖν ἐθέλοντας, ταῖς δὲ παρέσχε τὴν πρέπουσαν βοήθειαν. [261] αἱ δ᾽ εὐεργετηθεῖσαι παρῆσαν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τήν τε ὕβριν τῶν ποιμένων αὐτῷ διηγούμεναι καὶ τὴν ἐπικουρίαν τοῦ ξένου παρεκάλουν τε μὴ ματαίαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὴν εὐποιίαν μηδ᾽ ἀμοιβῆς ὑστεροῦσαν. ὁ δὲ τάς τε παῖδας ἀπεδέξατο τῆς περὶ τὸν εὐεργετηκότα σπουδῆς καὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν εἰς ὄψιν ἐκέλευεν ἄγειν αὐτῷ τευξόμενον χάριτος δικαίας. [262] ὡς δ᾽ ἦκε, τήν τε τῶν θυγατέρων αὐτῷ ἀπεσήμαινε μαρτυρίαν ἐπὶ τῇ βοηθείᾳ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτὸν θαυμάζων οὐκ εἰς ἀναισθήτους εὐεργεσιῶν καταθέσθαι τὴν ἐπικουρίαν ἔλεγεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἱκανοὺς ἐκτῖσαι χάριν καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἀμοιβῆς ὑπερβαλεῖν τὸ μέτρον τῆς εὐποιίας. [263] ποιεῖται δ᾽ αὐτὸν υἱὸν καὶ μίαν τῶν θυγατέρων πρὸς γάμον δίδωσι τῶν τε θρεμμάτων, ἐν τούτοις γὰρ ἡ πᾶσα κτῆσις τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἀποδείκνυσιν ἐπιμελητὴν καὶ δεσπότην.

2. For that country having but little water, the shepherds used to seize on the wells before others came, lest their flocks should want water, and lest it should be spent by others before they came. There were now come, therefore, to this well seven sisters that were virgins, the daughters of Raguel, a priest, and one thought worthy by the people of the country of great honor. These virgins, who took care of their father's flocks, which sort of work it was customary and very familiar for women to do in the country of the Troglodytes, they came first of all, and drew water out of the well in a quantity sufficient for their flocks, into troughs, which were made for the reception of that water; but when the shepherds came upon the maidens, and drove them away, that they might have the command of the water themselves, Moses, thinking it would be a terrible reproach upon him if he overlooked the young women under unjust oppression, and should suffer the violence of the men to prevail over the right of the maidens, he drove away the men, who had a mind to more than their share, and afforded a proper assistance to the women; who, when they had received such a benefit from him, came to their father, and told him how they had been affronted

by the shepherds, and assisted by a stranger, and entreated that he would not let this generous action be done in vain, nor go without a reward. Now the father took it well from his daughters that they were so desirous to reward their benefactor; and bid them bring Moses into his presence, that he might be rewarded as he deserved. And when Moses came, he told him what testimony his daughters bare to him, that he had assisted them; and that, as he admired him for his virtue, he said that Moses had bestowed such his assistance on persons not insensible of benefits, but where they were both able and willing to return the kindness, and even to exceed the measure of his generosity. So he made him his son, and gave him one of his daughters in marriage; and appointed him to be the guardian and superintendent over his cattle; for of old, all the wealth of the barbarians was in those cattle.

XII

CHAPTER 12. Concerning The Burning Bush And The Rod Of Moses.

(1) [264] Καὶ Μωυσῆς μὲν τοιούτων τυχὼν τῶν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰεθεγλαίου, τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἐπίκλημα τῷ Ῥαγουήλῳ, διῆγεν αὐτόθι ποιμαίνων τὰ βοσκήματα. χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον νέμων ἐπὶ τὸ Σιναῖον καλούμενον ὄρος ἄγει τὰ ποίμνια: [265] τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ὑψηλότατον τῶν ταύτῃ ὀρῶν καὶ πρὸς νομὰς ἄριστον ἀγαθῆς φυομένης πόας καὶ διὰ τὸ δόξαν ἔχειν ἐνδιατρίβειν αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν οὐ κατανεμηθείσης πρότερον, οὐ τολμώντων ἐμβατεύειν εἰς αὐτὸ τῶν ποιμένων: ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τέρας αὐτῷ συντυγχάνει θαυμάσιον. [266] πῦρ γὰρ θάμνου βάτων νεμόμενον τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν χλόην τό τε ἄνθος αὐτοῦ παρῆλθεν ἀβλαβὲς καὶ τῶν ἐγκάρπων κλάδων οὐδὲν ἠφάνισε καὶ ταῦτα τῆς φλογὸς πολλῆς καὶ ὀξυτάτης ὑπαρχούσης. [267] ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν μὲν ἔδεισε τὴν ὄψιν παράδοξον γενομένην, κατεπλάγη δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον φωνὴν τοῦ πυρὸς ἀφιέντος καὶ ὀνομαστὶ καλέσαντος αὐτὸν καὶ ποιησαμένου λόγους, οἷς τό τε θάρσος αὐτοῦ τολμήσαντος παρελθεῖν εἰς χωρίον, εἰς ὃ μηδεὶς ἀνθρώπων πρότερον ἀφῖκτο διὰ τὸ εἶναι θεῖον, ἐσήμαινε καὶ συνεβούλευε τῆς φλογὸς [ὡς] πορρωτάτω χωρεῖν καὶ ἀρκεῖσθαι μὲν οἷς ἑώρακεν ἀγαθὸν ὄντα καὶ μεγάλων ἀνδρῶν ἔγγονον, πολυπραγμονεῖν δὲ μηδέν: [268] τούτοις προηγόρευε περισσότερον τὴν ἐσομένην αὐτῷ δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν παρ' ἀνθρώπων τοῦ θεοῦ συμπαρόντος, καὶ θαρροῦντα ἐκέλευεν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀπιέναι στρατηγὸν καὶ ἡγεμόνα τῆς Ἑβραίων πληθύος ἐσόμενον καὶ τῆς ὕβρεως τῆς ἐκεῖ τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἀπαλλάξοντα: [269] καὶ γὰρ γῆν οἰκήσουσι, φησί, ταύτην εὐδαίμονα, ἣν Ἄβραμος ᾤκησεν ὁ ὑμέτερος πρόγονος καὶ τῶν πάντων ἀπολαύσουσιν ἀγαθῶν, εἰς ταῦτα σοῦ καὶ τῆς σῆς συνέσεως αὐτοῖς ἡγουμένης. ἐξαγαγόντα μέντοι τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου θυσίας ἐκέλευε χαριστηρίους ἀφικόμενον εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἐκτελέσαι τὸν τόπον. τοσαῦτα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς θεοκλυτεῖται.

1. Now Moses, when he had obtained the favor of Jethro, for that was one of the names of Raguel, staid there and fed his flock; but some time afterward, taking his station at the mountain called Sinai, he drove his flocks thither to feed them. Now this is the highest of all the mountains thereabout, and the best for pasturage, the herbage being there good; and it had not been before fed upon, because of the opinion men had that God dwelt there, the shepherds not daring to ascend up to it; and here it was that a wonderful prodigy happened to Moses; for a fire fed upon a thorn bush, yet did the green leaves and the flowers continue untouched, and the fire did not at all consume the fruit branches, although the flame was great and fierce. Moses was aftrighted at this strange sight, as it was to him; but he was still more astonished when the fire uttered a voice, and called

to him by name, and spake words to him, by which it signified how bold he had been in venturing to come into a place whither no man had ever come before, because the place was divine; and advised him to remove a great way off from the flame, and to be contented with what he had seen; and though he were himself a good man, and the offspring of great men, yet that he should not pry any further; and he foretold to him, that he should have glory and honor among men, by the blessing of God upon him. He also commanded him to go away thence with confidence to Egypt, in order to his being the commander and conductor of the body of the Hebrews, and to his delivering his own people from the injuries they suffered there: "For," said God, "they shall inhabit this happy land which your forefather Abraham inhabited, and shall have the enjoyment of all good things." But still he enjoined them, when he brought the Hebrews out of the land of Egypt, to come to that place, and to offer sacrifices of thanksgiving there, Such were the divine oracles which were delivered out of the fire.

(2) [270] Μωυσῆς δ' ἐκπεπληγμένος οἷς τ' εἶδε καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον οἷς ἤκουσε, "δυνάμει μὲν ἀπιστεῖν, ἔφη, τῇ σῇ, δέσποτα, ἣν αὐτός τε θρησκεύω καὶ προγόνοις οἶδα φανερὰν γενομένην, μανιωδέστερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ φρόνησιν ἡγοῦμαι. [271] πλὴν ἀπορῶ, πῶς ἂν ἰδιώτης ἀνὴρ καὶ μηδεμιᾶς ἰσχύος εὐπορῶν ἢ πείσω λόγοις τοὺς οἰκείους ἀφέντας ἣν ἄρτι κατοικοῦσι γῆν ἕπεσθαί μοι πρὸς ἣν αὐτὸς ἡγοῦμαι, ἢ κἂν ἐκεῖνοι πεισθῶσι, πῶς ἂν βιασαίμην Φαραώθην ἐπιτρέψαι τὴν ἔξοδον τούτοις, ὧν τοῖς πόνοις καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τὴν οἰκείαν αὔξουσιν εὐδαιμονίαν."

2. But Moses was astonished at what he saw, and much more at what he heard; and he said, "I think it would be an instance of too great madness, O Lord, for one of that regard I bear to thee, to distrust thy power, since I myself adore it, and know that it has been made manifest to my progenitors: but I am still in doubt how I, who am a private man, and one of no abilities, should either persuade my own countrymen to leave the country they now inhabit, and to follow me to a land whither I lead them; or, if they should be persuaded, how can I force Pharaoh to permit them to depart, since they augment their own wealth and prosperity by the labors and works they put upon them?"

(3) [272] Ὁ δὲ θεὸς αὐτῷ περὶ πάντων συνεβούλευε θαρρεῖν ὑπισχνούμενος αὐτὸς παρέσεσθαι καὶ οὗ μὲν ἂν δέῃ λόγων, πειθὼ παρέξειν, οὗ δ' ἂν ἔργων, ἰσχὺν χορηγήσειν, ἐκέλευέ τε τὴν βακτηρίαν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἀφέντα πίστιν ὧν ὑπισχνεῖται λαμβάνειν. καὶ ποιήσαντος δράκων εἶρπε καὶ συνειλούμενος σπειρηδὸν ὡς διώκουσιν ἐπ' ἀμύνῃ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπανέτεινεν: εἶτα πάλιν βάκτρον ἦν. [273] μετὰ τοῦτο δὲ καθεῖναι τὴν δεξιὰν εἰς τὸν κόλπον προσέταξεν. ὑπακούσας δὲ λευκὴν

καὶ τιτάνῳ τὴν χρόαν ὁμοίαν προεκόμισεν: εἶτα εἰς τὸ σύνηθες κατέστη. κελευσθεὶς δὲ καὶ τοῦ πλησίον ὕδατος λαβὼν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐκχέαι ὁρᾷ τὴν χρόαν αἱματώδη γενομένην. [274] θαυμάζοντα δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτοις θαρρεῖν παρεκελεύετο καὶ βοηθὸν εἰδέναι μέγιστον αὐτῷ συνεσόμενον καὶ σημείοις πρὸς τὸ πιστεύεσθαι παρὰ πᾶσι χρῆσθαι, ὅτι πεμφθεὶς ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ πάντα κατὰ τὰς ἐμὰς ἐντολὰς ποιεῖς. κελεύω δὲ μηδὲν ἔτι μελλήσαντα σπεύδειν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐπειγόμενον καὶ μὴ τρίβοντα τὸν χρόνον πλείω ποιεῖν τοῦτον Ἑβραίοις ἐν δουλείᾳ κακοπαθοῦσι.”

3. But God persuaded him to be courageous on all occasions, and promised to be with him, and to assist him in his words, when he was to persuade men; and in his deeds, when he was to perform wonders. He bid him also to take a signal of the truth of what he said, by throwing his rod upon the ground, which, when he had done, it crept along, and was become a serpent, and rolled itself round in its folds, and erected its head, as ready to revenge itself on such as should assault it; after which it become a rod again as it was before. After this God bid Moses to put his right hand into his bosom: he obeyed, and when he took it out it was white, and in color like to chalk, but afterward it returned to its wonted color again. He also, upon God’s command, took some of the water that was near him, and poured it upon the ground, and saw the color was that of blood. Upon the wonder that Moses showed at these signs, God exhorted him to be of good courage, and to be assured that he would be the greatest support to him; and bid him make use of those signs, in order to obtain belief among all men, that “thou art sent by me, and dost all things according to my commands. Accordingly I enjoin thee to make no more delays, but to make haste to Egypt, and to travel night and day, and not to draw out the time, and so make the slavery of the Hebrews and their sufferings to last the longer.”

(4) [275] Μωυσῆς δ᾽ οὐκ ἔχων ἀπιστεῖν οἷς ἐπηγγέλλετο τὸ θεῖον θεατής γε τοιούτων βεβαιωμάτων καὶ ἀκροατὴς γενόμενος, εὐξάμενος αὐτῷ καὶ πειραθῆναι ταύτης τῆς δυνάμεως ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δεηθεὶς ἠντιβόλει μηδὲ ὀνόματος αὐτῷ γνῶσιν τοῦ ἰδίου φθονῆσαι, φωνῆς δ᾽ αὐτῷ μετεσχηκότι καὶ ὄψεως ἔτι καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν εἰπεῖν, ἵνα θύων ἐξ ὀνόματος αὐτὸν παρεῖναι τοῖς ἱεροῖς παρακαλῇ. [276] καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ σημαίνει τὴν αὐτοῦ προσηγορίαν οὐ πρότερον εἰς ἀνθρώπους παρελθοῦσαν, περὶ ἧς οὔ μοι θεμιτὸν εἰπεῖν. Μωυσεῖ μέντοι τὰ σημεῖα ταῦτα οὐ τότε μόνον, διὰ παντὸς δὲ ὁπότε δεηθείη συνετύγχανεν: ἐξ ὧν ἁπάντων πλέον περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας τῷ πυρὶ νέμων καὶ τὸν θεὸν εὐμενῆ παραστάτην ἕξειν πιστεύων τούς τε οἰκείους σώσειν ἤλπιζε καὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους κακοῖς περιβαλεῖν.

4. Moses having now seen and heard these wonders that assured him of the truth of these promises of God, had no room left him to disbelieve them: he entreated him to grant him that power when he should be in Egypt; and besought him to vouchsafe him the knowledge of his own name; and since he had heard and seen him, that he would also tell him his name, that when he offered sacrifice he might invoke him by such his name in his oblations. Whereupon God declared to him his holy name, which had never been discovered to men before; concerning which it is not lawful for me to say any more Now these signs accompanied Moses, not then only, but always when he prayed for them: of all which signs he attributed the firmest assent to the fire in the bush; and believing that God would be a gracious supporter to him, he hoped he should be able to deliver his own nation, and bring calamities on the Egyptians.

XIII

CHAPTER 13. How Moses And Aaron Returned Into Egypt To Pharaoh.

(1) [277] Καὶ πυθόμενος τὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τεθνάναι βασιλέα Φαραώθην, ἐφ' οὗπερ αὐτὸς ἔφυγε, δεῖται Ῥαγουήλου συγχωρῆσαι κατὰ ὠφέλειαν αὐτῷ τῶν συγγενῶν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐλθεῖν, καὶ παραλαβὼν τὴν Σαπφώραν ἣν γεγαμήκει τοῦ Ῥαγουήλου θυγατέρα καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς παῖδας Γῆρσον καὶ Ἐλεάζαρον ὥρμησεν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον: [278] τῶν δ' ὀνομάτων τούτων Γῆρσος μὲν σημαίνει κατὰ Ἑβραίων διάλεκτον, ὅτι εἰς ξένην γῆν, Ἐλεάζαρος δὲ συμμάχῳ τῷ πατρῴῳ θεῷ χρησάμενον αὐτὸν Αἰγυπτίους διαφυγεῖν. [279] γενομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ πλησίον τῶν ὅρων ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀαρὼν ὑπήντησε τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος, πρὸς ὃν ἀποσημαίνει τὰ ἐν τῷ ὄρει συντυχόντα καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς ἐντολάς. προιοῦσι δ' αὐτοῖς ὑπηντίαζον Ἑβραίων οἱ ἀξιολογώτατοι τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ μεμαθηκότες, [280] οἷς Μωυσῆς τὰ σημεῖα ἐπεὶ πιθανῶς οὐκ ἦν λέγειν παρέσχεν αὐτῶν τὴν ὄψιν. οἱ δ' ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως τῶν παρὰ δόξαν αὐτοῖς ὁρωμένων ἀνεθάρσουν καὶ περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἦσαν εὐέλπιδες, ὡς θεοῦ προνοουμένου τῆς ἀσφαλείας αὐτῶν.

1. So Moses, when he understood that the Pharaoh, in whose reign he fled away, was dead, asked leave of Raguel to go to Egypt, for the benefit of his own people. And he took with him Zipporah, the daughter of Raguel, whom he had married, and the children he had by her, Gersom and Eleazer, and made haste into Egypt. Now the former of those names, Gersom, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies that he was in a strange land; and Eleazer, that, by the assistance of the God of his fathers, he had escaped from the Egyptians. Now when they were near the borders, Aaron his brother, by the command of God, met him, to whom he declared what had befallen him at the mountain, and the commands that God had given him. But as they were going forward, the chief men among the Hebrews, having learned that they were coming, met them: to whom Moses declared the signs he had seen; and while they could not believe them, he made them see them, So they took courage at these surprising and unexpected sights, and hoped well of their entire deliverance, as believing now that God took care of their preservation.

(2) [281] Ἐπεὶ δὲ καταπειθεῖς εἶχεν ἤδη τοὺς Ἑβραίους Μωυσῆς καὶ οἷς ἂν κελεύσῃ τούτοις ἀκολουθήσειν ὁμολογοῦντας καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐρῶντας, παραγίνεται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν νεωστὶ παρειληφότα, [282] καὶ ὅσα τε ὠφελήσειεν Αἰγυπτίους ὑπὸ Αἰθιόπων καταφρονουμένους καὶ διαρπαζομένης αὐτῶν τῆς χώρας ἐδήλου στρατηγίᾳ καὶ πόνοις χρησάμενος ὡς περὶ οἰκείων

ὁτιδὴ κινδυνεύσειεν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὑπὸ αὐτῶν ἀμοιβὰς οὐ δικαίας κομιζόμενος ἀνεδίδασκεν, [283] τά τε κατὰ τὸ Σιναῖον ὄρος αὐτῷ συντυχόντα καὶ τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ φωνὰς καὶ τὰ πρὸς πίστιν ὧν οὗτος αὐτῷ προστάξειεν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ δειχθέντα σημεῖα καθ᾽ ἕκαστον ἐξετίθετο, παρεκάλει τε μὴ ἀπιστοῦντα τούτοις ἐμποδὼν ἵστασθαι τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμῃ.

2. Since then Moses found that the Hebrews would be obedient to whatsoever he should direct, as they promised to be, and were in love with liberty, he came to the king, who had indeed but lately received the government, and told him how much he had done for the good of the Egyptians, when they were despised by the Ethiopians, and their country laid waste by them; and how he had been the commander of their forces, and had labored for them, as if they had been his own people and he informed him in what danger he had been during that expedition, without having any proper returns made him as he had deserved. He also informed him distinctly what things happened to him at Mount Sinai; and what God said to him; and the signs that were done by God, in order to assure him of the authority of those commands which he had given him. He also exhorted him not to disbelieve what he told him, nor to oppose the will of God.

(3) [284] Χλευάσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως Μωυσῆς ἔργῳ παρεῖχεν αὐτῷ βλέπειν τὰ σημεῖα τὰ κατὰ τὸ Σιναῖον ὄρος γενόμενα: ὁ δ᾽ ἀγανακτήσας πονηρὸν μὲν αὐτὸν ἀπεκάλει καὶ πρότερον φυγόντα τὴν παρ᾽ Αἰγυπτίοις δουλείαν καὶ νῦν ἐξ ἀπάτης αὐτοῦ τὴν ἄφιξιν πεποιημένον καὶ τερατουργίαις καὶ μαγείαις καταπλήξειν ἐπικεχειρηκότα. [285] καὶ ταῦθ᾽ ἅμα λέγων κελεύει τοὺς ἱερεῖς τὰς αὐτὰς ὄψεις αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν ὁρᾶν, ὡς Αἰγυπτίων σοφῶν ὄντων καὶ περὶ τὴν τούτων ἐπιστήμην, καὶ ὅτι μὴ μόνος αὐτὸς ἔμπειρος ὢν εἰς θεὸν δύναται τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ παράδοξον ἀναφέρων πιθανὸς ὥσπερ ἀπαιδεύτοις ὑπάρχειν. καὶ μεθεμένων ἐκείνων τὰς βακτηρίας δράκοντες ἦσαν. [286] Μωυσῆς δ᾽ οὐ καταπλαγείς, “οὐδ᾽ αὐτὸς μέν, εἶπεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τῆς Αἰγυπτίων σοφίας καταφρονῶ, τοσῷδε μέντοι κρείττονα τὰ ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ πραττόμενα τῆς τούτων μαγείας καὶ τέχνης φημί, ὅσῳ τὰ θεῖα τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων διαφέρει. δείξω δὲ οὐ κατὰ γοητείαν καὶ πλάνην τῆς ἀληθοῦς δόξης τἀμὰ, κατὰ δὲ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν καὶ [287] δύναμιν φαινόμενα.” καὶ ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν μεθίησιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τὴν βακτηρίαν κελεύσας αὐτὴν εἰς ὄφιν μεταβαλεῖν: ἡ δ᾽ ἐπείθετο καὶ τὰς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βακτηρίας, οἳ δράκοντες ἐδόκουν, περιιοῦσα κατήσθιε μέχρι πάσας ἀνήλωσεν: εἶτ᾽ εἰς τὸ αὐτῆς σχῆμα μεταπεσοῦσαν κομίζεται Μωυσῆς.

3. But when the king derided Moses; he made him in earnest see the signs that were done at Mount Sinai. Yet was the king very angry with him and called him an ill man, who had formerly run away from his Egyptian slavery, and came now

back with deceitful tricks, and wonders, and magical arts, to astonish him. And when he had said this, he commanded the priests to let him see the same wonderful sights; as knowing that the Egyptians were skillful in this kind of learning, and that he was not the only person who knew them, and pretended them to be divine; as also he told him, that when he brought such wonderful sights before him, he would only be believed by the unlearned. Now when the priests threw down their rods, they became serpents. But Moses was not daunted at it; and said, "O king, I do not myself despise the wisdom of the Egyptians, but I say that what I do is so much superior to what these do by magic arts and tricks, as Divine power exceeds the power of man: but I will demonstrate that what I do is not done by craft, or counterfeiting what is not really true, but that they appear by the providence and power of God." And when he had said this, he cast his rod down upon the ground, and commanded it to turn itself into a serpent. It obeyed him, and went all round, and devoured the rods of the Egyptians, which seemed to be dragons, until it had consumed them all. It then returned to its own form, and Moses took it into his hand again.

(4) [288] Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς οὐδὲν τούτῳ μᾶλλον πραχθέντι καταπλήττεται, προσοργισθεὶς δὲ καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῷ προχωρήσειν εἰπὼν ἐκ τῆς κατ᾽ Αἰγυπτίων σοφίας καὶ δεινότητος κελεύει τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑβραίων τεταγμένον μηδεμίαν αὐτοῖς ἄνεσιν παρέχειν τοῦ πονεῖν, ἀλλὰ πλείοσι τῶν πρότερον κακοῖς αὐτοὺς καταναγκάζειν. [289] ὁ δὲ ἄχυρον αὐτοῖς παρέχων εἰς τὴν πλινθείαν πρότερον οὐκέτι παρεῖχεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἡμέρας μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ταλαιπωρεῖν ἐποίει, νυκτὸς δὲ συνάγειν τὸ ἄχυρον. καὶ τοῦ δεινοῦ διπλασίονος ὄντος αὐτοῖς ἐν αἰτίαις Μωυσῆν εἶχον, ὡς τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας δι᾽ ἐκεῖνον χαλεπωτέρας γεγενημένης. [290] ὁ δ᾽ οὔτε πρὸς τὰς τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπειλὰς ἔκαμνεν οὔτε πρὸς τὰς τῶν Ἑβραίων μέμψεις ἐνεδίδου, τήν τε ψυχὴν παραστησάμενος πρὸς ἑκάτερον ἐπὶ τῷ πονεῖν καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐκπορίζειν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ὑπῆρχε. [291] καὶ παραγενόμενος πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἔπειθεν αὐτὸν ἀπολύειν τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἐπὶ τὸ Σιναῖον ὄρος ἐκεῖ θύσοντας τῷ θεῷ, τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτὸν κεκελευκέναι, καὶ μηδὲν ἀντιπράττειν οἷς ἐκεῖνος βούλεται, τὴν δ᾽ εὐμένειαν αὐτοῦ περὶ παντὸς ποιούμενον συγχωρεῖν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἔξοδον, μὴ καὶ λάθῃ τούτων κωλυτὴς γενόμενος αὐτὸν αἰτιάσασθαι πάσχων ὅσα παθεῖν εἰκὸς τὸν ἀντιπράττοντα θεοῦ προστάγμασι: [292] τοῖς γὰρ χόλον ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς κινήσασι θεῖον ἐξ ἁπάντων φύεσθαι τὰ δεινά, καὶ οὔτε γῆ τούτοις οὔτε ἀὴρ φίλος οὔτε γοναὶ τέκνων κατὰ φύσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐχθρὰ πάντα καὶ πολέμια. πειραθήσεσθαί τε τούτων Αἰγυπτίους ἔφασκε μετὰ καὶ τοῦ τὸν Ἑβραίων λαὸν ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ἀκόντων ἐκείνων.

4. However, the king was no more moved when was done than before; and being very angry, he said that he should gain nothing by this his cunning and shrewdness against the Egyptians; — and he commanded him that was the chief taskmaster over the Hebrews, to give them no relaxation from their labors, but to compel them to submit to greater oppressions than before; and though he allowed them chaff before for making their bricks, he would allow it them no longer, but he made them to work hard at brick-making in the day-time, and to gather chaff in the night. Now when their labor was thus doubled upon them, they laid the blame upon Moses, because their labor and their misery were on his account become more severe to them. But Moses did not let his courage sink for the king's threatenings; nor did he abate of his zeal on account of the Hebrews' complaints; but he supported himself, and set his soul resolutely against them both, and used his own utmost diligence to procure liberty to his countrymen. So he went to the king, and persuaded him to let the Hebrews go to Mount Sinai, and there to sacrifice to God, because God had enjoined them so to do. He persuaded him also not to counterwork the designs of God, but to esteem his favor above all things, and to permit them to depart, lest, before he be aware, he lay an obstruction in the way of the Divine commands, and so occasion his own suffering such punishments as it was probable any one that counterworked the Divine commands should undergo, since the severest afflictions arise from every object to those that provoke the Divine wrath against them; for such as these have neither the earth nor the air for their friends; nor are the fruits of the womb according to nature, but every thing is unfriendly and adverse towards them. He said further, that the Egyptians should know this by sad experience; and that besides, the Hebrew people should go out of their country without their consent.

XIV

CHAPTER 14. Concerning The Ten Plagues Which Came Upon The Egyptians.

(1) [293] Τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἐκφαυλίζοντος τοὺς Μωυσέος λόγους καὶ μηδεμίαν ἐπιστροφὴν ἔτι ποιουμένου πάθη δεινὰ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους κατελάμβανεν, ὧν ἕκαστον ἐκθήσομαι διά τε τὸ μὴ πρότερόν τισι συμβάντα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις εἰς πεῖραν ἐλθεῖν καὶ διὰ τὸ βούλεσθαι Μωυσῆν μηδὲν ὧν προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς ψευσάμενον ἐπιδεῖξαι, καὶ ὅτι συμφέρει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μαθοῦσι φυλάττεσθαι ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ἐφ᾽ οἷς μὴ δυσαρεστήσῃ τὸ θεῖον μηδ᾽ εἰς ὀργὴν τραπὲν ἀμύνηται τῆς ἀδικίας αὐτούς. [294] ὁ γὰρ ποταμὸς αὐτοῖς αἱματώδης θεοῦ κελεύσαντος ἐρρύη πίνεσθαι μὴ δυνάμενος, καὶ πηγὴν ἑτέραν ὑδάτων οὐκ ἔχουσιν οὐ τὴν χρόαν μόνον ἦν τοιοῦτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πειρωμένοις ἀλγήματα καὶ πικρὰν ὀδύνην προσέφερεν. [295] ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτος μὲν Αἰγυπτίοις, Ἑβραίοις δὲ γλυκὺς καὶ πότιμος καὶ μηδὲν τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν παρηλλαγμένος. πρὸς οὖν τὸ παράδοξον ἀμηχανήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ δείσας περὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων συνεχώρει τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἀπιέναι: καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ λωφήσαντος πάλιν τὴν γνώμην μετέβαλεν οὐκ ἐπιτρέπων τὴν ἄφοδον αὐτοῖς.

1. But when the king despised the words of Moses, and had no regard at all to them, grievous plagues seized the Egyptians; every one of which I will describe, both because no such plagues did ever happen to any other nation as the Egyptians now felt, and because I would demonstrate that Moses did not fail in any one thing that he foretold them; and because it is for the good of mankind, that they may learn this caution — Not to do anything that may displease God, lest he be provoked to wrath, and avenge their iniquities upon them. For the Egyptian river ran with bloody water at the command of God, insomuch that it could not be drunk, and they had no other spring of water neither; for the water was not only of the color of blood, but it brought upon those that ventured to drink of it, great pains and bitter torment. Such was the river to the Egyptians; but it was sweet and fit for drinking to the Hebrews, and no way different from what it naturally used to be. As the king therefore knew not what to do in these surprising circumstances, and was in fear for the Egyptians, he gave the Hebrews leave to go away; but when the plague ceased, he changed his mind again, end would not suffer them to go.

(2) [296] Ὁ θεὸς δὲ ἀγνωμονοῦντος καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῆς συμφορᾶς οὐκέτι σωφρονεῖν θέλοντος ἄλλην τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπιφέρει πληγήν: βατράχων πλῆθος ἄπειρον τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἐπεβόσκετο, μεστὸς δὲ τούτων καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ἦν, ὡς

διαμωμένους τὸ ποτὸν τῷ τῶν ζῴων ἰχῶρι κεκακωμένον λαμβάνειν ἐναποθνησκόντων καὶ συνδιαφθειρομένων τῷ ὕδατι, [297] ἥ τε χώρα μεστὴ κακῆς ἦν ἰλύος γεννωμένων τε καὶ ἀποθνησκόντων, τάς τε κατ᾽ οἶκον αὐτῶν διαίτας ἠφάνιζον ἐν βρωτοῖς εὑρισκόμενοι καὶ ποτοῖς καὶ ταῖς εὐναῖς αὐτῶν ἐπιπολάζοντες, ὀσμή τε χαλεπὴ ἦν καὶ δυσώδης ἀποθνησκόντων τῶν βατράχων καὶ ζώντων καὶ διεφθαρμένων. [298] ὑπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν κακῶν ἐλαυνομένων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τὸν Μωυσῆν ἐκέλευσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς οἴχεσθαι τοὺς Ἑβραίους λαβόντα, καὶ παραχρῆμα τοῦτ᾽ εἰπόντος ἠφάνιστο τῶν βατράχων τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ἥ τε γῆ καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν κατέστησαν. [299] Φαραώθης δὲ ἅμα τοῦ τε πάθους ἀπήλλακτο ἡ γῆ καὶ τῆς αἰτίας ἐπελέληστο καὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους κατεῖχε, καὶ ὥσπερ πλειόνων παθημάτων φύσεις βουλόμενος μαθεῖν οὐκέτ᾽ ἠφίει τοῖς περὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν ἐξιέναι φόβῳ μᾶλλον ἢ φρονήσει ταύτην αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέπων.

2. But when God saw that he was ungrateful, and upon the ceasing of this calamity would not grow wiser, he sent another plague upon the Egyptians: — An innumerable multitude of frogs consumed the fruit of the ground; the river was also full of them, insomuch that those who drew water had it spoiled by the blood of these animals, as they died in, and were destroyed by, the water; and the country was full of filthy slime, as they were born, and as they died: they also spoiled their vessels in their houses which they used, and were found among what they eat and what they drank, and came in great numbers upon their beds. There was also an ungrateful smell, and a stink arose from them, as they were born, and as they died therein. Now, when the Egyptians were under the oppression of these miseries, the king ordered Moses to take the Hebrews with him, and be gone. Upon which the whole multitude of the frogs vanished away; and both the land and the river returned to their former natures. But as soon as Pharaoh saw the land freed from this plague, he forgot the cause of it, and retained the Hebrews; and, as though he had a mind to try the nature of more such judgments, he would not yet suffer Moses and his people to depart, having granted that liberty rather out of fear than out of any good consideration.

(3) [300] Πάλιν οὖν ἄλλου κακοῦ προσβολῇ μετῄει τὸ θεῖον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀπάτην: φθειρῶν γὰρ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐξήνθησεν ἄπειρόν τι πλῆθος ἔνδοθεν ἀναδιδομένων, ὑφ᾽ ὧν κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπώλλυντο μήτε λουτροῖς μήτε χρίσεσι φαρμάκων διαφθεῖραι τὸ γένος αὐτῶν δυνάμενοι. [301] καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ δεινὸν ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς ταραχθεὶς καὶ δείσας ὁμοῦ τὸν ὄλεθρον τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τὴν αἰσχύνην δὲ τῆς ἀπωλείας λογισάμενος ἐξ ἡμίσους ὑπὸ φαυλότητος ἠναγκάζετο σωφρονεῖν: [302] τοῖς μὲν γὰρ Ἑβραίοις αὐτοῖς ἐδίδου τὴν ἄφοδον, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο λωφήσαντος τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας ὅμηρα τῆς ὑποστροφῆς αὐτῶν καταλιπεῖν αὐτοὺς ἠξίου. προσεξαγριαίνει δὴ τὸν θεὸν νομίσας ἀπατήσειν αὐτοῦ

τὴν πρόνοιαν, ὥσπερ Μωυσέος ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐκείνου τιμωροῦντος τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑβραίων: [303] θηρίων γὰρ παντοίων καὶ πολυτρόπων, ὧν εἰς ὄψιν οὐδεὶς ἀπηντήκει πρότερον, τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐγέμισεν, ὑφ᾽ ὧν αὐτοί τε ἀπώλλυντο καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς ἐπιμελείας τῆς παρὰ τῶν γεωργῶν ἀπεστερεῖτο, εἰ δέ τι καὶ διέφυγε τὴν ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνοις ἀπώλειαν, νόσῳ τοῦτο καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπομενόντων ἐδαπανᾶτο.

3. Accordingly, God punished his falseness with another plague, added to the former; for there arose out of the bodies of the Egyptians an innumerable quantity of lice, by which, wicked as they were, they miserably perished, as not able to destroy this sort of vermin either with washes or with ointments. At which terrible judgment the king of Egypt was in disorder, upon the fear into which he reasoned himself, lest his people should be destroyed, and that the manner of this death was also reproachful, so that he was forced in part to recover himself from his wicked temper to a sounder mind, for he gave leave for the Hebrews themselves to depart. But when the plague thereupon ceased, he thought it proper to require that they should leave their children and wives behind them, as pledges of their return; whereby he provoked God to be more vehemently angry at him, as if he thought to impose on his providence, and as if it were only Moses, and not God, who punished the Egyptians for the sake of the Hebrews: for he filled that country full of various sorts of pestilential creatures, with their various properties, such indeed as had never come into the sight of men before, by whose means the men perished themselves, and the land was destitute of husbandmen for its cultivation; but if any thing escaped destruction from them, it was killed by a distemper which the men underwent also.

(4) [304] Τοῦ δὲ Φαραώθου μηδ᾽ οὕτως εἴκοντος τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ βουλήμασιν, ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας συναπαίρειν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀξιοῦντος καταλείπεσθαι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας, οὐκ ἠπόρει τὸ θεῖον τὴν πονηρίαν αὐτοῦ ποικίλοις κακοῖς καὶ μείζοσι τῶν προενδεδημηκότων μετερχόμενον βασανίσαι: ἀλλὰ γὰρ δεινῶς αὐτοῖς ἐξηλκοῦτο τὰ σώματα τῶν ἐντὸς διαφθειρομένων, καὶ τὸ πολὺ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οὕτως ἀπώλλυτο. [305] μηδ᾽ ὑπὸ ταύτης δὲ τῆς πληγῆς σωφρονιζομένου τοῦ βασιλέως χάλαζα μήτε πρότερον τοῦ κατ᾽ Αἴγυπτον ἀέρος τοῦτο πεπονθότος μήθ᾽ ὁμοία τῇ παρ᾽ ἄλλοις ὥρᾳ χειμῶνος κατιούσῃ, μείζων δὲ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς τὰ βόρεια καὶ τὴν ἄρκτον νεμομένοις, ἔαρος ἀκμάζοντος κατενεχθεῖσα τοὺς καρποὺς αὐτῶν κατέκλασεν. [306] ἔπειτα φῦλον ἀκρίδων ἐπινέμεται τὴν ὑπὸ τῆς χαλάζης μὴ καταβλαβεῖσαν σποράν, ὥστε πρὸς ἀκριβὲς πάσας τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς τῶν καρπῶν ἐλπίδας διολέσαι.

4. But when Pharaoh did not even then yield to the will of God, but, while he gave leave to the husbands to take their wives with them, yet insisted that the children should be left behind, God presently resolved to punish his wickedness with several sorts of calamities, and those worse than the foregoing, which yet had so generally afflicted them; for their bodies had terrible boils, breaking forth with blains, while they were already inwardly consumed; and a great part of the Egyptians perished in this manner. But when the king was not brought to reason by this plague, hail was sent down from heaven; and such hail it was, as the climate of Egypt had never suffered before, nor was it like to that which falls in other climates in winter time, but was larger than that which falls in the middle of spring to those that dwell in the northern and north-western regions. This hail broke down their boughs laden with fruit. After this a tribe of locusts consumed the seed which was not hurt by the hail; so that to the Egyptians all hopes of the future fruits of the ground were entirely lost.

(5) [307] Ἤρκει μὲν οὖν τὸν δίχα πονηρίας ἀνόητον καὶ τὰ προειρημένα τῶν κακῶν εἰς σύνεσιν καὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος τὴν ἐπίνοιαν ὠφελῆσαι, Φαραώθης δὲ οὐ τοσοῦτον ὑπὸ ἀφροσύνης ὅσον ὑπὸ κακίας ὅμως αἰσθόμενος γὰρ τῆς αἰτίας ἀντεφιλονείκει τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοῦ κρείττονος ἑκὼν προδότης ἐγένετο, καὶ κελεύει μὲν τὸν Μωυσῆν μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων ἀπάγειν τοὺς Ἑβραίους, τὴν δὲ λείαν αὐτοῖς καταλιπεῖν ἐφθαρμένης αὐτοῖς τῆς οἰκείας. [308] τοῦ δὲ Μωυσέος οὐχὶ δίκαια φήσαντος αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦν, δεῖν γὰρ αὐτοὺς τῷ θεῷ τὰς θυσίας ἐκ τῆς λείας ἐπενεγκεῖν, καὶ τριβομένου διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ χρόνου σκότος βαθὺ καὶ φέγγους ἄμοιρον περιχεῖται τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις, ὑφ᾽ οὗ τάς τε ὄψεις ἀποκλειομένοις καὶ τὰς ἀναπνοὰς ἐμφραττομένοις ὑπὸ παχύτητος οἰκτρῶς τε ἀποθνήσκειν συνέβαινε καὶ δεδιέναι μὴ καταποθῶσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ νέφους. [309] εἶτα τούτου διασκεδασθέντος μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τοσαύτας νύκτας, ὡς οὐ μετενόει πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον τῶν Ἑβραίων ὁ Φαραώθης, προσελθὼν ὁ Μωυσῆς φησιν: “ἄχρι πότε ἀπειθεῖς τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμῃ: κελεύει γὰρ οὗτος ἀπολύειν τοὺς Ἑβραίους. καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν [310] ἑτέρως ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῶν κακῶν ὑμᾶς μὴ ταῦτα ποιήσαντας.” ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὀργισθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἠπείλησεν αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμεῖν, εἰ πάλιν περὶ τούτων ἐνοχλῶν αὐτῷ προσέλθοι. Μωυσῆς δὲ αὐτὸς οὐκέτι ποιήσεσθαι περὶ τούτων λόγους ἔφησεν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐκεῖνον σὺν καὶ τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν Αἰγυπτίων παρακαλέσειν τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἀπελθεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν ἀπαλλάσσεται.

5. One would think the forementioned calamities might have been sufficient for one that was only foolish, without wickedness, to make him wise, and to make him Sensible what was for his advantage. But Pharaoh, led not so much by his folly as by his wickedness, even when he saw the cause of his miseries, he still

contested with God, and willfully deserted the cause of virtue; so he bid Moses take the Hebrews away, with their wives and children, to leave their cattle behind, since their own cattle were destroyed. But when Moses said that what he desired was unjust, since they were obliged to offer sacrifices to God of those cattle, and the time being prolonged on this account, a thick darkness, without the least light, spread itself over the Egyptians, whereby their sight being obstructed, and their breathing hindered by the thickness of the air, they died miserably, and under a terror lest they should be swallowed up by the dark cloud. Besides this, when the darkness, after three days and as many nights, was dissipated, and when Pharaoh did not still repent and let the Hebrews go, Moses came to him and said, "How long wilt thou be disobedient to the command of God? for he enjoins thee to let the Hebrews go; nor is there any other way of being freed from the calamities are under, unless you do so." But the king angry at what he said, and threatened to cut off his head if he came any more to trouble him these matters. Hereupon Moses said he not speak to him any more about them, for he himself, together with the principal men among the Egyptians, should desire the Hebrews away. So when Moses had said this, he his way.

(6) [311] Ὁ δὲ θεὸς δηλώσας ἔτι μιᾷ πληγῇ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους καταναγκάσειν ἀπολῦσαι τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἐκέλευε Μωυσῆν παραγγεῖλαι τῷ λαῷ θυσίαν ἑτοίμην ἔχειν παρασκευασαμένους τῇ δεκάτῃ τοῦ Ξανθικοῦ μηνὸς εἰς τὴν τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτην, ὃς παρὰ μὲν Αἰγυπτίοις Φαρμουθὶ καλεῖται, Νισὰν δὲ παρ' Ἑβραίοις, Μακεδόνες δ' αὐτὸν Ξανθικὸν προσαγορεύουσιν, ἀπάγειν τε τοὺς Ἑβραίους πάντα ἐπικομιζομένους. [312] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἑτοίμους ἔχων ἤδη τοὺς Ἑβραίους πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον καὶ διατάξας εἰς φατρίας ἐν ταὐτῷ συνεῖχεν, ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης πάντες πρὸς ἄφοδον ἔχοντες ἔθυον καὶ τῷ αἵματι τὰς οἰκίας ἤγνιζον ὑσσώπου κόμαις ἀναλαβόντες καὶ δειπνήσαντες τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κρεῶν ἔκαυσαν ὡς ἐξελευσόμενοι. [313] ὅθεν νῦν ἔτι κατὰ τὸ ἔθος οὕτως θύομεν τὴν ἑορτὴν πάσχα καλοῦντες, σημαίνει δ' ὑπερβάσια, διότι κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν ὑπερβὰς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐναπέσκηψε τὴν νόσον. ἡ γὰρ φθορὰ τῶν πρωτοτόκων κατ' ἐκείνην ἔπεισι τὴν νύκτα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις, ὡς συνελθόντας πολλοὺς τῶν περὶ τὸ βασίλειον διαιτωμένων τῷ Φαραώθῃ συμβουλεύειν ἀπολύειν τοὺς Ἑβραίους. [314] καὶ Μωυσῆν καλέσας ἐκεῖνος ἀπιέναι προσέταξεν, εἰ τῆς χώρας ἐξέλθοιεν παύσεσθαι τὴν Αἴγυπτον κακοπαθοῦσαν ὑπολαβών, δώροις τε τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἐτίμων, οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τάχιον ἐξελθεῖν, οἱ δὲ καὶ κατὰ γειτνιακὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς συνήθειαν.

6. But when God had signified, that with one plague he would compel the Egyptians to let Hebrews go, he commanded Moses to tell the people that they should have a sacrifice ready, and they should prepare themselves on the tenth

day of the month Xanthicus, against the fourteenth, [which month is called by the Egyptians Pharmuth, Nisan by the Hebrews; but the Macedonians call it Xanthicus,] and that he should carry the Hebrews with all they had. Accordingly, he having got the Hebrews ready for their departure, and having sorted the people into tribes, he kept them together in one place: but when the fourteenth day was come, and all were ready to depart they offered the sacrifice, and purified their houses with the blood, using bunches of hyssop for that purpose; and when they had supped, they burnt the remainder of the flesh, as just ready to depart. Whence it is that we do still offer this sacrifice in like manner to this day, and call this festival Pascha which signifies the feast of the passover; because on that day God passed us over, and sent the plague upon the Egyptians; for the destruction of the first-born came upon the Egyptians that night, so that many of the Egyptians who lived near the king's palace, persuaded Pharaoh to let the Hebrews go. Accordingly he called for Moses, and bid them be gone; as supposing, that if once the Hebrews were gone out of the country, Egypt should be freed from its miseries. They also honored the Hebrews with gifts; some, in order to get them to depart quickly, and others on account of their neighborhood, and the friendship they had with them.

XV

CHAPTER 15. How The Hebrews Under The Conduct Of Moses Left Egypt.

(1) [315] Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐξῄεσαν κλαιόντων καὶ μετανοούντων ὅτι χρήσαιντο χαλεπῶς αὐτοῖς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, τὴν δὲ πορείαν ἐποιοῦντο κατὰ Λητοῦς πόλιν ἔρημον οὖσαν ἐν τοῖς τότε: Βαβυλὼν γὰρ ὕστερον ἐκεῖ κτίζεται Καμβύσου καταστρεφομένου τὴν Αἴγυπτον. συντόμως δὲ ποιούμενοι τὴν ἄφοδον εἰς Βεελσεφῶντα χωρίον τριταῖοι παραγίνονται τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης. [316] μηδενὸς δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς εὐποροῦντες διὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν πεφυραμένοις τοῖς ἀλεύροις καὶ πεπηγόσι μόνον ὑπὸ βραχείας θερμότητος τοῖς ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἄρτοις διετρέφοντο, καὶ τούτοις ἐπὶ τριάκονθ᾽ ἡμέρας ἐχρήσαντο: πρὸς πλείονα γὰρ οὐκ ἐξήρκεσε χρόνον αὐτοῖς ὅσα ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐπεφέροντο καὶ ταῦτα τὴν τροφὴν ταμιευομένοις καὶ πρὸς ἀνάγκην ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς κόρον αὐτῇ χρωμένοις: [317] ὅθεν εἰς μνήμην τῆς τότε ἐνδείας ἑορτὴν ἄγομεν ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας ὀκτὼ τὴν τῶν ἀζύμων λεγομένην. τὸ μὲν οὖν πᾶν πλῆθος τῶν μετανισταμένων γυναιξὶν ἅμα καὶ τέκνοις σκοποῦσιν οὐκ εὐαρίθμητον ἦν, οἱ δὲ στρατεύσιμον ἔχοντες τὴν ἡλικίαν περὶ ἑξήκοντα μυριάδες ἦσαν.

1. So the Hebrews went out of Egypt, while the Egyptians wept, and repented that they had treated them so hardly. — Now they took their journey by Letopolis, a place at that time deserted, but where Babylon was built afterwards, when Cambyses laid Egypt waste: but as they went away hastily, on the third day they came to a place called Beelzephon, on the Red Sea; and when they had no food out of the land, because it was a desert, they eat of loaves kneaded of flour, only warmed by a gentle heat; and this food they made use of for thirty days; for what they brought with them out of Egypt would not suffice them any longer time; and this only while they dispensed it to each person, to use so much only as would serve for necessity, but not for satiety. Whence it is that, in memory of the want we were then in, we keep a feast for eight days, which is called the feast of unleavened bread. Now the entire multitude of those that went out, including the women and children, was not easy to be numbered, but those that were of an age fit for war, were six hundred thousand.

(2) [318] Κατέλιπον δὲ τὴν Αἴγυπτον μηνὶ Ξανθικῷ πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ κατὰ σελήνην μετὰ ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ τετρακόσια ἢ τὸν πρόγονον ἡμῶν Ἄβραμον εἰς τὴν Χαναναίαν ἐλθεῖν, τῆς δὲ Ἰακώβου μεταναστάσεως εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον γενομένης διακοσίοις πρὸς τοῖς δεκαπέντε ἐνιαυτοῖς ὕστερον. [319] Μωυσῆς δ᾽ ἐγεγόνει μὲν

ἔτος ὀγδοηκοστὸν ἤδη, ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀαρὼν τρισὶ πλείοσιν. ἐπεκομίζοντο δὲ καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου ὀστᾶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐκείνου τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ κελεύσαντος.

2. They left Egypt in the month Xanthicus, on the fifteenth day of the lunar month; four hundred and thirty years after our forefather Abraham came into Canaan, but two hundred and fifteen years only after Jacob removed into Egypt. It was the eightieth year of the age of Moses, and of that of Aaron three more. They also carried out the bones of Joesph with them, as he had charged his sons to do.

(3) [320] Αἰγύπτιοι δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐξελθοῦσι μετενόουν καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως δεινῶς φέροντος ὡς κατὰ γοητείαν τὴν Μωυσέος τούτων γεγονότων ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐγνώκεσαν ἀπιέναι. καὶ λαβόντες ὅπλα καὶ παρασκευὴν ἐδίωκον ὡς ἐπανάξοντες αὐτοὺς εἰ καταλάβοιεν: καὶ γὰρ οὐκέτ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐνέχεσθαι τῷ θεῷ: τὴν γὰρ ἔξοδον αὐτοῖς γεγονέναι: [321] κρατήσειν δὲ ῥᾳδίως αὐτῶν ὑπέλαβον ἀνόπλων τε ὄντων καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας κεκοπωμένων. παρ᾽ ἑκάστων τε ἀναπυνθανόμενοι ᾗ χωρήσειαν ἐπέσπευδον τὴν δίωξιν, καίτοι χαλεπῆς οὔσης ὁδευθῆναι τῆς γῆς οὐ στρατοπέδοις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ᾽ ἕνα. [322] Μωυσῆς δὲ ταύτῃ τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἀπήγαγεν, ἵν᾽ εἰ μετανοήσαντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι διώκειν ἐθέλοιεν τιμωρίαν τῆς πονηρίας καὶ παραβάσεως τῶν ὡμολογημένων ὑπόσχοιεν, καὶ διὰ Παλαιστίνους, οὓς δυσμενῶς ἔχοντας κατὰ παλαιὰν ἀπέχθειαν οὖσαν ὁπωσοῦν ἐβούλετο λανθάνειν ἀπερχόμενος: ὅμορος γάρ ἐστι τῇ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων χώρᾳ: [323] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν μὲν ἄγουσαν εἰς τὴν Παλαιστίνην οὐκ ἀνήγαγε τὸν λαόν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου πολλὴν ἀνύσας ὁδὸν καὶ κακοπαθήσας ἠθέλησεν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Χαναναίαν: ἔτι τε καὶ διὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος ἄγειν τὸν λαὸν εἰς τὸ Σιναῖον ὄρος ἐκεῖ ποιήσοντας τὰς θυσίας. [324] καταλαβόντες δὲ τοὺς Ἑβραίους οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι εἰς μάχην παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ συνελαύνουσιν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ πολυχειρίας εἰς ὀλίγον χωρίον: ἑξακόσια γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἅρματα εἵπετο σὺν ἱππεῦσι πεντακισμυρίοις καὶ ὁπλιτῶν μυριάδες ἦσαν εἴκοσι. τὰς δὲ ὁδοὺς ἀπεφράγνυσαν, αἷς φεύξεσθαι τοὺς Ἑβραίους ὑπελάμβανον, μεταξὺ κρημνῶν αὐτοὺς ἀπροσβάτων καὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἀπολαμβάνοντες: [325] τελευτᾷ γὰρ εἰς αὐτὴν ὄρος ὑπὸ τραχύτητος ὁδῶν ἄπορον καὶ φυγῆς ἀπολαμβανόμενον. τοιγαροῦν ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ τῇ πρὸς θάλατταν τοῦ ὄρους τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἀπέφραττον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ κατὰ στόμα τοῦτο ἱδρυσάμενοι, ὅπως τὴν εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἔξοδον ὦσιν αὐτοὺς ἀφῃρημένοι.

3. But the Egyptians soon repented that the Hebrews were gone; and the king also was mightily concerned that this had been procured by the magic arts of Moses; so they resolved to go after them. Accordingly they took their weapons, and other warlike furniture, and pursued after them, in order to bring them back, if

once they overtook them, because they would now have no pretense to pray to God against them, since they had already been permitted to go out; and they thought they should easily overcome them, as they had no armor, and would be weary with their journey; so they made haste in their pursuit, and asked of every one they met which way they were gone. And indeed that land was difficult to be traveled over, not only by armies, but by single persons. Now Moses led the Hebrews this way, that in case the Egyptians should repent and be desirous to pursue after them, they might undergo the punishment of their wickedness, and of the breach of those promises they had made to them. As also he led them this way on account of the Philistines, who had quarreled with them, and hated them of old, that by all means they might not know of their departure, for their country is near to that of Egypt; and thence it was that Moses led them not along the road that tended to the land of the Philistines, but he was desirous that they should go through the desert, that so after a long journey, and after many afflictions, they might enter upon the land of Canaan. Another reason of this was, that God commanded him to bring the people to Mount Sinai, that there they might offer him sacrifices. Now when the Egyptians had overtaken the Hebrews, they prepared to fight them, and by their multitude they drove them into a narrow place; for the number that pursued after them was six hundred chariots, with fifty thousand horsemen, and two hundred thousand foot-men, all armed. They also seized on the passages by which they imagined the Hebrews might fly, shutting them up between inaccessible precipices and the sea; for there was [on each side] a [ridge of] mountains that terminated at the sea, which were impassable by reason of their roughness, and obstructed their flight; wherefore they there pressed upon the Hebrews with their army, where [the ridges of] the mountains were closed with the sea; which army they placed at the chops of the mountains, that so they might deprive them of any passage into the plain.

(4) [326] Μήτ᾽ οὖν ὑπομένειν πολιορκουμένων τρόπῳ διὰ τὴν ἔνδειαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων δυνάμενοι μήτε φυγῆς εὐπορίαν ὁρῶντες, ὅπλων τε σπανίζοντες εἰ καὶ μάχεσθαι δόξειεν αὐτοῖς, ἐν ἐλπίδι τοῦ πάντως ἀπολεῖσθαι καθειστήκεσαν, εἰ μὴ παραδώσουσιν ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐθελουσίους. [327] καὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν ἠτιῶντο πάντων ἐπιλελησμένοι τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοῖς σημείων γεγονότων, ὡς καὶ τὸν προφήτην παρορμῶντα καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγελλόμενον ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας λίθοις ἐθελῆσαι βαλεῖν παραδιδόναι τε σφᾶς τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις διεγνωκέναι. [328] πένθος τε ἦν καὶ ὀδυρμοὶ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἐχόντων τὸν ὄλεθρον ὄρεσι καὶ θαλάττῃ περικεκλεισμένων καὶ πολεμίοις καὶ φυγὴν οὐδαμόθεν ἐκ τούτων ἐπινοούντων.

4. When the Hebrews, therefore, were neither able to bear up, being thus, as it were, besieged, because they wanted provisions, nor saw any possible way of escaping; and if they should have thought of fighting, they had no weapons; they expected a universal destruction, unless they delivered themselves up to the Egyptians. So they laid the blame on Moses, and forgot all the signs that had been wrought by God for the recovery of their freedom; and this so far, that their incredulity prompted them to throw stones at the prophet, while he encouraged them and promised them deliverance; and they resolved that they would deliver themselves up to the Egyptians. So there was sorrow and lamentation among the women and children, who had nothing but destruction before their eyes, while they were encompassed with mountains, the sea, and their enemies, and discerned no way of flying from them.

(5) [329] Μωυσῆς δὲ καίπερ ἀγριαίνοντος πρὸς αὐτὸν τοῦ πλήθους οὔτ᾽ αὐτὸς ἐνέκαμνε τῇ περὶ αὐτοὺς προνοίᾳ καὶ τῷ θεῷ κατεφρόνει τά τε ἄλλα πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοῖς ὅσα προεῖπε παρεσχηκότος καὶ μηδὲ τότ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐάσοντος ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς γενομένους ἢ δουλεύειν ἢ ἀπολέσθαι, [330] καὶ στὰς ἐν μέσοις "οὐδὲ ἀνθρώποις, εἶπε, καλῶς τὰ παρόντα πεπολιτευμένοις πρὸς ἡμᾶς δίκαιον ἦν ἀπιστεῖν ὡς οὐχ ὁμοίοις ἐσομένοις πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα, τῆς δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ νῦν ἀπογινώσκειν ὑμᾶς προνοίας μανίας ἔργον ἂν εἴη, [331] παρ᾽ οὗ πάνθ᾽ ὑμῖν ἀπήντηκεν ὅσα δι᾽ ἐμοῦ πρὸς σωτηρίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῆς δουλείας οὐδὲ προσδοκῶσιν ὑπέσχετο. μᾶλλον δ᾽ ἐχρῆν ἀπόρους, ὡς δοκεῖτε, γεγενημένους βοηθὸν ἐλπίζειν τὸν θεόν, οὗ καὶ τὸ νῦν εἰς ταύτην ὑμᾶς περικεκλεῖσθαι τὴν δυσχωρίαν ἔργον, [332] ἵν᾽ ἐξ ἀμηχάνων ὅθεν οὔθ᾽ αὐτοὺς νομίζετε σωτηρίαν ἕξειν οὔθ᾽ οἱ πολέμιοι ἐκ τούτων ῥυσάμενος τήν τε ἰσχὺν ἐπιδείξηται τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὴν περὶ ὑμᾶς πρόνοιαν. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ μικροῖς τὸ θεῖον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ συμμαχίαν οἷς ἂν εὔνουν ᾖ δίδωσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἀνθρωπίνην ἐλπίδα μὴ βλέποι πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον παροῦσαν. [333] ὅθεν τοιούτῳ βοηθῷ πεπιστευκότες, ᾧ δύναμις καὶ τὰ μικρὰ ποιῆσαι μεγάλα καὶ τῶν τηλικούτων ἀσθένειαν καταψηφίσασθαι, μὴ καταπέπληχθε τὴν Αἰγυπτίων παρασκευήν, μηδ᾽ ὅτι θάλασσα καὶ κατόπιν ὑμῖν ὄρη φυγῆς ὁδὸν οὐ παρέχοντα διὰ τοῦτ᾽ ἀπογινώσκετε τὴν σωτηρίαν: γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν καὶ ταῦθ᾽ ὑμῖν πεδία τοῦ θεοῦ θελήσαντος καὶ γῆ τὸ πέλαγος."

5. But Moses, though the multitude looked fiercely at him, did not, however, give over the care of them, but despised all dangers, out of his trust in God, who, as he had afforded them the several steps already taken for the recovery of their liberty, which he had foretold them, would not now suffer them to be subdued by their enemies, to be either made slaves or be slain by them; and, standing in midst of them, he said, "It is not just of us to distrust even men, when they have hitherto well managed our affairs, as if they would not be the same hereafter; but

it is no better than madness, at this time to despair of the providence of God, by whose power all those things have been performed he promised, when you expected no such things: I mean all that I have been concerned in for deliverance and escape from slavery. Nay, when we are in the utmost distress, as you see we ought rather to hope that God will succor us, by whose operation it is that we are now this narrow place, that he may out of such difficulties as are otherwise insurmountable and out of which neither you nor your enemies expect you can be delivered, and may at once demonstrate his own power and his providence over us. Nor does God use to give his help in small difficulties to those whom he favors, but in such cases where no one can see how any hope in man can better their condition. Depend, therefore, upon such a Protector as is able to make small things great, and to show that this mighty force against you is nothing but weakness, and be not affrighted at the Egyptian army, nor do you despair of being preserved, because the sea before, and the mountains behind, afford you no opportunity for flying, for even these mountains, if God so please, may be made plain ground for you, and the sea become dry land."

XVI

CHAPTER 16. How The Sea Was Divided Asunder For The Hebrews, When They Were Pursued By The Egyptians, And So Gave Them An Opportunity Of Escaping From Them.

(1) [334] Τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν ἦγεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὁρώντων: ἐν ὄψει γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ τῷ πόνῳ τεταλαιπωρημένοι τῆς διώξεως εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν τὴν μάχην ὑπερβαλέσθαι καλῶς ἔχειν ὑπελάμβανον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς τῷ αἰγιαλῷ Μωυσῆς ἐγεγόνει, λαβὼν τὴν βακτηρίαν τὸν θεὸν ἱκέτευε καὶ σύμμαχον καὶ βοηθὸν ἐκάλει λέγων: [335] "οὐδ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἀγνοεῖς, ὅτι φυγεῖν ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων οὔτε κατὰ ῥώμην οὔτε κατ' ἐπίνοιάν ἐστιν ἀνθρωπίνην, ἀλλ' εἰ δή τι πάντως σωτήριον στρατῷ τῷ κατὰ τὴν σὴν βούλησιν ἀφέντι τὴν Αἴγυπτον, σόν ἐστιν ἐκπορίζειν. [336] ἡμεῖς τε ἄλλην ἀπεγνωκότες ἐλπίδα καὶ μηχανὴν εἰς τὴν ἀπὸ σοῦ μόνου καταφεύγομεν, καὶ εἴ τι παρὰ τῆς σῆς ἔλθοι προνοίας ἐξαρπάσαι τῆς Αἰγυπτίων ὀργῆς ἡμᾶς δυνάμενον ἀφορῶμεν. ἀφίκοιτο δὲ τοῦτο ταχέως τὴν σὴν ἐμφανίσον ἡμῖν δύναμιν καὶ τὸν λαὸν ὑπὸ ἀνελπιστίας καταπεπτωκότα πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ἀναστῆσον εἰς εὐθυμίαν καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας θάρσος. [337] ἐν οὐκ ἀλλοτρίοις δ' ἐσμὲν τοῖς ἀπόροις, ἀλλὰ σὴ μὲν ἡ θάλασσα, σὸν δὲ τὸ περικλεῖον ἡμᾶς ὄρος, ὡς ἀνοιγῆναι μὲν τοῦτο σοῦ κελεύσαντος, ἠπειρωθῆναι δὲ καὶ τὸ πέλαγος, εἶναι δὲ ἡμῖν ἀποδρᾶναι καὶ δι' ἀέρος δόξαν ἰσχύι τῇ σῇ τοῦτον ἡμᾶς σώζεσθαι τὸν τρόπον."

1. When Moses had said this, he led them to the sea, while the Egyptians looked on; for they were within sight. Now these were so distressed by the toil of their pursuit, that they thought proper to put off fighting till the next day. But when Moses was come to the sea-shore, he took his rod, and made supplication to God, and called upon him to be their helper and assistant; and said "Thou art not ignorant, O Lord, that it is beyond human strength and human contrivance to avoid the difficulties we are now under; but it must be thy work altogether to procure deliverance to this army, which has left Egypt at thy appointment. We despair of any other assistance or contrivance, and have recourse only to that hope we have in thee; and if there be any method that can promise us an escape by thy providence, we look up to thee for it. And let it come quickly, and manifest thy power to us; and do thou raise up this people unto good courage and hope of deliverance, who are deeply sunk into a disconsolate state of mind. We are in a helpless place, but still it is a place that thou possessest; still the sea is thine, the mountains also that enclose us are thine; so that these mountains will

open themselves if thou commandest them, and the sea also, if thou commandest it, will become dry land. Nay, we might escape by a flight through the air, if thou shouldst determine we should have that way of salvation."

(2) [338] Τοσαῦτα ἐπιθειάσας τύπτει τῇ βακτηρίᾳ τὴν θάλατταν. ἡ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς ἀνεκόπη καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν ὑποχωρήσασα γυμνὴν ἀφίησι τὴν γῆν ὁδὸν Ἑβραίοις εἶναι καὶ φυγήν. [339] Μωυσῆς δὲ ὁρῶν τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ πέλαγος ἐκκεχωρηκὸς αὐτοῖς τῆς ἰδίας ἠπείρου πρῶτος ἐνέβαινεν αὐτῇ καὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἐκέλευεν ἕπεσθαι διὰ θείας ὁδοῦ ποιουμένους τὴν πορείαν καὶ τῷ κινδύνῳ τῶν παρόντων πολεμίων ἡδομένους καὶ χάριν ἔχοντας διὰ τὴν παράλογον οὕτως ἐξ αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν ἀναφανεῖσαν.

2. When Moses had thus addressed himself to God, he smote the sea with his rod, which parted asunder at the stroke, and receiving those waters into itself, left the ground dry, as a road and a place of flight for the Hebrews. Now when Moses saw this appearance of God, and that the sea went out of its own place, and left dry land, he went first of all into it, and bid the Hebrews to follow him along that divine road, and to rejoice at the danger their enemies that followed them were in; and gave thanks to God for this so surprising a deliverance which appeared from him.

(3) [340] Τῶν δ' οὐκέτ' ὀκνούντων, ἀλλ' ἰεμένων μετὰ σπουδῆς ὡς συμπαρόντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ, μαίνεσθαι μὲν αὐτοὺς τὸ πρῶτον Αἰγύπτιοι ἐδόκουν ὡς ἐπὶ πρόδηλον ὄλεθρον ὁρμωμένους, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑώρων ἀβλαβεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ προκεκοφότας καὶ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐμπόδιον μηδὲ δυσχερὲς ἀπαντῆσαν, διώκειν ὡρμήκεσαν αὐτοὺς ὡς κἀκείνοις ἠρεμήσοντος τοῦ πελάγους, καὶ προτάξαντες τὴν ἵππον κατέβαινον. [341] Ἑβραῖοι δὲ καθοπλιζομένους καὶ τὸν χρόνον εἰς τοῦτο τρίβοντας ἔφθασαν εἰς τὴν ἀντιπέραν γῆν ἀπαθεῖς ἐκφυγόντες, ὅθεν καὶ θαρσαλεωτέροις συνέβαινε πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν ὡς οὐδὲν οὐδ' αὐτῶν πεισομένων εἶναι. [342] Αἰγύπτιοι δ' ἐλάνθανον ἰδίαν ὁδὸν Ἑβραίοις γεγενημένην, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ κοινὴν ἐπεμβαίνοντες καὶ μέχρι σωτηρίας τῶν κεκινδυνευκότων πεποιημένην, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐπ' ἀπωλείᾳ τῇ τούτων ὡρμημένοις χρῆσθαι θέλουσιν. [343] ὡς οὖν ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων στρατὸς ἅπας ἐντὸς ἦν, ἐπιχεῖται πάλιν ἡ θάλασσα καὶ περικαταλαμβάνει ῥοώδης ὑπὸ πνευμάτων κατιοῦσα τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, ὄμβροι τ' ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ κατέβαινον καὶ βρονταὶ σκληραὶ προσεξαπτομένης ἀστραπῆς καὶ κεραυνοὶ δὲ κατηνέχθησαν. [344] ὅλως δ' οὐδὲν ἦν τῶν ἐπ' ἀπωλείᾳ κατὰ μῆνιν θεοῦ συμπιπτόντων ἀνθρώποις, ὃ μὴ τότε συνῆλθε: καὶ γὰρ νὺξ αὐτοὺς ζοφώδης καὶ σκοτεινὴ κατέλαβε. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἀπώλοντο πάντες, ὡς μηδ' ἄγγελον τῆς συμφορᾶς τοῖς ὑπολελειμμένοις ὑποστρέψαι.

3. Now, while these Hebrews made no stay, but went on earnestly, as led by God's presence with them, the Egyptians supposed first that they were distracted, and were going rashly upon manifest destruction. But when they saw that they were going a great way without any harm, and that no obstacle or difficulty fell in their journey, they made haste to pursue them, hoping that the sea would be calm for them also. They put their horse foremost, and went down themselves into the sea. Now the Hebrews, while these were putting on their armor, and therein spending their time, were beforehand with them, and escaped them, and got first over to the land on the other side without any hurt. Whence the others were encouraged, and more courageously pursued them, as hoping no harm would come to them neither: but the Egyptians were not aware that they went into a road made for the Hebrews, and not for others; that this road was made for the deliverance of those in danger, but not for those that were earnest to make use of it for the others' destruction. As soon, therefore, as ever the whole Egyptian army was within it, the sea flowed to its own place, and came down with a torrent raised by storms of wind, and encompassed the Egyptians. Showers of rain also came down from the sky, and dreadful thunders and lightning, with flashes of fire. Thunderbolts also were darted upon them. Nor was there any thing which used to be sent by God upon men, as indications of his wrath, which did not happen at this time, for a dark and dismal night oppressed them. And thus did all these men perish, so that there was not one man left to be a messenger of this calamity to the rest of the Egyptians.

(4) [345] Τοὺς δ' Ἑβραίους οὐδὲ κατασχεῖν ἦν ἐπὶ τῇ χαρᾷ τῆς παραδόξου σωτηρίας καὶ τῇ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπωλείᾳ, βεβαίως νομίζοντας ἠλευθερῶσθαι τῶν ἀναγκαζόντων δουλεύειν διεφθαρμένων καὶ τὸν θεὸν οὕτως ἐναργῶς ἔχοντας βοηθοῦντα. [346] καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτοί τε τὸν κίνδυνον οὕτως ἐκφυγόντες καὶ προσέτι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπιδόντες κεκολασμένους, ὡς οὐκ ἄλλοι τινὲς μνημονεύονται τῶν πρόσθεν ἀνθρώπων, ἐν ὕμνοις ἦσαν καὶ παιδιαῖς ὅλην τὴν νύκτα, καὶ Μωυσῆς ᾠδὴν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐγκώμιόν τε καὶ τῆς εὐμενείας εὐχαριστίαν περιέχουσαν ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ συντίθησιν.

4. But the Hebrews were not able to contain themselves for joy at their wonderful deliverance, and destruction of their enemies; now indeed supposing themselves firmly delivered, when those that would have forced them into slavery were destroyed, and when they found they had God so evidently for their protector. And now these Hebrews having escaped the danger they were in, after this manner, and besides that, seeing their enemies punished in such a way as is never recorded of any other men whomsoever, were all the night employed in

singing of hymns, and in mirth. Moses also composed a song unto God, containing his praises, and a thanksgiving for his kindness, in hexameter verse.

(5) [347] Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ὡς εὗρον ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις οὕτως ἕκαστον τούτων παραδέδωκα: θαυμάσῃ δὲ μηδεὶς τοῦ λόγου τὸ παράδοξον, εἰ ἀρχαίοις ἀνθρώποις καὶ πονηρίας ἀπείροις εὑρέθη σωτηρίας ὁδὸς καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης εἴτε κατὰ βούλησιν θεοῦ εἴτε κατὰ ταὐτόματον, [348] ὁπότε καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Μακεδονίας χθὲς καὶ πρῴην γεγονόσιν ὑπεχώρησε τὸ Παμφύλιον πέλαγος καὶ ὁδὸν ἄλλην οὐκ ἔχουσι παρέσχε τὴν δι᾽ αὐτοῦ καταλῦσαι τὴν Περσῶν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ θεοῦ θελήσαντος, καὶ τοῦτο πάντες ὁμολογοῦσιν οἱ τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου πράξεις συγγραψάμενοι. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ὡς ἑκάστῳ δοκεῖ διαλαμβανέτω.

5. As for myself, I have delivered every part of this history as I found it in the sacred books; nor let any one wonder at the strangeness of the narration if a way were discovered to those men of old time, who were free from the wickedness of the modern ages, whether it happened by the will of God or whether it happened of its own accord; — while, for the sake of those that accompanied Alexander, king of Macedonia, who yet lived, comparatively but a little while ago, the Pamphylian Sea retired and afforded them a passage through itself, had no other way to go; I mean, when it was the will of God to destroy the monarchy of the Persians: and this is confessed to be true by all that have written about the actions of Alexander. But as to these events, let every one determine as he pleases.

(6) [349] Τῇ δ᾽ ὑστεραίᾳ τὰ ὅπλα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων προσενεχθέντα τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Ἑβραίων ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥοῦ καὶ τῆς βίας τοῦ πνεύματος ἐπ᾽ ἐκεῖνο ἐκδιδούσης ὁ Μωυσῆς καὶ τοῦτο εἰκάσας τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίᾳ γεγονέναι, ὅπως μηδὲ ὅπλων ὦσιν ἄποροι, συναγαγὼν καὶ τούτοις σκεπάσας τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὸ Σιναῖον ὄρος θύσων ἐκεῖ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὰ σῶστρα τῆς πληθύος ἀποδώσων, καθὼς αὐτῷ καὶ προείρητο.

6. On the next day Moses gathered together the weapons of the Egyptians, which were brought to the camp of the Hebrews by the current of the sea, and the force of the winds resisting it; and he conjectured that this also happened by Divine Providence, that so they might not be destitute of weapons. So when he had ordered the Hebrews to arm themselves with them, he led them to Mount Sinai, in order to offer sacrifice to God, and to render oblations for the salvation of the multitude, as he was charged to do beforehand.

Liber III

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Ὡς Μωυσῆς τὸν λαὸν ἀπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου ἀναλαβὼν ἤγαγεν ἐπὶ τὸ Σιναῖον ὄρος πολλὰ ταλαιπωρήσαντα ἐν τῇ ὁδοιπορίᾳ.

β. ὡς πολεμήσαντες Ἑβραίοις Ἀμαληκῖται καὶ οἱ πέριξ ἠττήθησαν καὶ πολλὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπέβαλον.

γ. ὅτι τὸν πενθερὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰεθὴρ Μωυσῆς παραγενόμενον πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ Σιναῖον ἀσμένως ὑπεδέξατο.

δ. ὡς ὑπέθετο διατάξαι τὸν λαὸν αὐτῷ κατὰ χιλιάρχους καὶ ἑκατοντάρχους ἄτακτον ὄντα τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ ὡς ἕκαστα τούτων ἐποίησε Μωυσῆς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πενθεροῦ παραίνεσιν.

ε. ὡς ἀναβὰς Μωυσῆς ἐπὶ τὸ Σιναῖον ὄρος καὶ λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοὺς νόμους τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἔδωκεν.

ς. περὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἣν κατεσκεύασε Μωυσῆς ἐν τῇ ἐρημίᾳ εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὥστε ναὸν εἶναι δοκεῖν.

ζ. τίνες τε τοῖς ἱερεῦσίν εἰσιν αἱ στολαὶ καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως: καὶ τῶν ἁγνειῶν οἱ τρόποι καὶ περὶ τῶν ἑορτῶν καὶ ὡς ἑκάστη τῶν ἑορτῶν διατέτακται.

η. ὡς ἐκεῖθεν ἄρας Μωυσῆς ἤγαγεν εἰς τοὺς ὅρους τῶν Χαναναίων καὶ τοὺς κατοψομένους αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν καὶ τῶν πόλεων τὸ μέγεθος ἐξαπέστειλεν.

θ. ὅτι τῶν πεμφθέντων μετὰ τεσσαρακοστὴν ὑποστρεψάντων ἡμέραν καὶ λεγόντων οὐκ ἀξιομάχους αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν Χαναναίων ὑπεξαιρόντων δύναμιν, τὸ πλῆθος ταραχθὲν καὶ πεσὸν εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν ὥρμησεν ὥστε καταλεῦσαι παρὰ μικρὸν τὸν Μωυσῆν καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὑποστρέψαι δουλεύειν διεγνωκότες.

ι. καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τούτῳ Μωυσῆς διαγανακτήσας τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρημίας διατριβὴν προειπεῖν ὠργίσθαι, καὶ μήτ᾽ εἰς Αἴγυπτον ὑποστρέφειν μήτε λαβεῖν τὴν Χαναναίαν.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν δύο.

BOOK III. Containing The Interval Of Two Years. — From The Exodus Out Of Egypt, To The Rejection Of That Generation.

I

CHAPTER 1. How Moses When He Had Brought The People Out Of Egypt Led Them To Mount Sinai; But Not Till They Had Suffered Much In Their Journey.

(1) [1] Παραδόξου δὲ τῆς σωτηρίας τοῖς Ἑβραίοις οὕτως γενομένης δεινῶς ἐλύπει πάλιν αὐτοὺς ἀγομένους ἐπὶ τὸ Σιναῖον ὄρος ἡ χώρα τελέως οὖσα ἔρημος καὶ τῶν τε πρὸς τροφὴν αὐτοῖς ἄπορος, σπανίζουσα δὲ καὶ ὕδατος εἰς τὸ ἔσχατον, καὶ μὴ μόνον ἀνθρώποις τι παρασχεῖν ἐνδεής, ἀλλὰ καὶ μηδ' ἄλλο τι τῶν ζῴων ἱκανὴ βόσκειν: ψαφαρὰ γάρ ἐστι καὶ νοτερὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ φῦσαι καρπὸν δύναιτο. τοιαύτην δὲ οὖσαν τὴν χώραν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὥδευον ἑτέραν ἀπελθεῖν οὐκ ἔχοντες. [2] ἐπεφέροντο δ' ἐκ τῆς προωδοιπορημένης ὕδωρ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κεκελευκότος, καὶ τούτου δαπανηθέντος ἐκ φρεάτων ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ὑδρείαν ἐπιπόνως διὰ σκληρότητα τῆς γῆς, καὶ τὸ εὑρισκόμενον δὲ πικρὸν ἀλλ' οὐ πότιμον ἦν, καὶ τοῦτο δὲ σπάνιον. [3] ἀφικνοῦνται δὲ τοῦτον ὁδεύοντες τὸν τρόπον περὶ δείλην ὀψίαν εἰς Μὰρ τόπον οὕτως διὰ τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος κακίαν ὀνομάσαντες: μὰρ γὰρ ἡ πικρία λέγεται. καὶ αὐτόθι τεταλαιπωρημένοι τῷ τε συνεχεῖ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας καὶ τῇ τῆς τροφῆς ἀπορίᾳ, καὶ γὰρ τότ' αὐτοὺς τελείως ἐπιλελοίπει, κατάγονται: [4] φρέαρ γὰρ ἦν, διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον ἔμειναν, οὐδ' αὐτὸ μὲν ἐξαρκεῖν δυνάμενον τοσούτῳ στρατῷ, βραχεῖαν μέντοι παρέχον αὐτοῖς εὐθυμίαν ἐν ἐκείνοις εὑρεθὲν τοῖς χωρίοις: καὶ γὰρ ἤκουον παρὰ τῶν ἐξερευνώντων μηδὲν ἔμπροσθεν βαδίζουσιν εἶναι. πικρὸν δὲ ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἄποτον ἦν οὐκ ἀνθρώποις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἀφόρητον.

1. When the Hebrews had obtained such a wonderful deliverance, the country was a great trouble to them, for it was entirely a desert, and without sustenance for them; and also had exceeding little water, so that it not only was not at all sufficient for the men, but not enough to feed any of the cattle, for it was parched up, and had no moisture that might afford nutriment to the vegetables; so they were forced to travel over this country, as having no other country but this to travel in. They had indeed carried water along with them from the land over which they had traveled before, as their conductor had bidden them; but when that was spent, they were obliged to draw water out of wells, with pain, by reason of the hardness of the soil. Moreover, what water they found was bitter, and not fit for drinking, and this in small quantities also; and as they thus traveled, they came late in the evening to a place called Marah, which had that name from the badness of its water, for Mar denotes bitterness. Thither they came afflicted both by the tediousness of their journey, and by their want of

food, for it entirely failed them at that time. Now here was a well, which made them choose to stay in the place, which, although it were not sufficient to satisfy so great an army, did yet afford them some comfort, as found in such desert places; for they heard from those who had been to search, that there was nothing to be found, if they traveled on farther. Yet was this water bitter, and not fit for men to drink; and not only so, but it was intolerable even to the cattle themselves.

(2) [5] Ὁρῶν δ' ὁ Μωυσῆς ἀθύμως διακειμένους καὶ τοῦ πράγματος τὸ ἀναντίλεκτον, οὐ γὰρ καθαρὸς ἦν στρατὸς ὥστε τῷ βιαζομένῳ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἀντιτάξαι τὸ ἀνδρεῖον, ἀλλὰ διέφθειρε τὸ κατ' ἐκείνους γενναῖον παίδων τε καὶ γυναικῶν ὄχλος ἀσθενέστερος τῆς ἐκ λόγων διδασκαλίας, ἐν χαλεπωτέροις ἦν τὴν συμφορὰν τὴν ἁπάντων ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ ποιούμενος: [6] καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἐπ' ἄλλον τινὰ συνέτρεχον ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἀντιβολοῦντες γύναια μὲν ὑπὲρ νηπίων οἱ δ' ἄνδρες ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων μὴ περιορᾶν, ἀλλ' ἐκπορίζειν αὐτοῖς ἀφορμήν τινα σωτηρίας. ἱκετεύειν οὖν τρέπεται τὸν θεὸν μεταβαλεῖν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκ τῆς παρούσης κακίας καὶ πότιμον αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν. [7] καὶ κατανεύσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν χάριν λαβὼν τομάδος τὸ ἄκρον ἐν ποσὶν ἐρριμμένης διαιρεῖ μέσην καὶ κατὰ τὸ μῆκος τὴν τομὴν ποιησάμενος, ἔπειτα μεθεὶς εἰς τὸ φρέαρ ἔπειθε τοὺς Ἑβραίους τὸν θεὸν ἐπήκοον αὐτοῦ τῶν εὐχῶν γεγονέναι καὶ ὑπεσχῆσθαι τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτοῖς παρέξειν οἷον ἐπιθυμοῦσιν, ἂν πρὸς τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κελευόμενα μὴ ὀκνηρῶς ἀλλὰ προθύμως ὑπουργῶσιν. [8] ἐρομένων δ' αὐτῶν, τί καὶ ποιούντων ἂν μεταβάλοι τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον, κελεύει τοὺς ἐν ἀκμῇ περιστάντας ἐξαντλεῖν λέγων τὸ ὑπολειπόμενον ἔσεσθαι πότιμον αὐτοῖς προεκκενωθέντος τοῦ πλείονος. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπόνουν, τὸ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν συνεχῶν πληγῶν γεγυμνασμένον καὶ κεκαθαρμένον ἤδη πότιμον ἦν.

2. When Moses saw how much the people were cast down, and that the occasion of it could not be contradicted, for the people were not in the nature of a complete army of men, who might oppose a manly fortitude to the necessity that distressed them; the multitude of the children, and of the women also, being of too weak capacities to be persuaded by reason, blunted the courage of the men themselves, — he was therefore in great difficulties, and made everybody's calamity his own; for they ran all of them to him, and begged of him; the women begged for their infants, and the men for the women, that he would not overlook them, but procure some way or other for their deliverance. He therefore betook himself to prayer to God, that he would change the water from its present badness, and make it fit for drinking. And when God had granted him that favor, he took the top of a stick that lay down at his feet, and divided it in the middle, and made the section lengthways. He then let it down into the well, and

persuaded the Hebrews that God had hearkened to his prayers, and had promised to render the water such as they desired it to be, in case they would be subservient to him in what he should enjoin them to do, and this not after a remiss or negligent manner. And when they asked what they were to do in order to have the water changed for the better, he bid the strongest men among them that stood there, to draw up water and told them, that when the greatest part was drawn up, the remainder would be fit to drink. So they labored at it till the water was so agitated and purged as to be fit to drink.

(3) [9] Ἄραντες δ' ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Ἦλιν ἀφικνοῦνται πόρρωθεν μὲν ἀγαθὴν ὁραθῆναι, καὶ γὰρ φοινικόφυτος ἦν, πλησιάζουσα δ' ἀπηλέγχετο πονηρά: καὶ γὰρ οἱ φοίνικες ὄντες οὐ πλείους ἑβδομήκοντα δυσαυξεῖς τε ἦσαν καὶ χαμαίζηλοι δι' ὕδατος ἀπορίαν ψαφαροῦ τοῦ παντὸς ὄντος χωρίου: [10] οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν δώδεκα οὐσῶν τὸν ἀριθμὸν νοτερόν τι προσαρδεῦον αὐτοῖς δι' ἐλπίδα χρήσιμον, ἀλλὰ μὴ δυναμένων ἐκβλύσαι μηδ' ἀνασχεῖν ἱκμάδες ἦσαν ὀλίγαι, καὶ διαμωμένοις τὴν ψάμμον οὐδὲν ἀπήντα, κἂν εἴ τι δὲ στάζον ἔλαβον εἰς χεῖρας, ἄχρηστον ηὕρισκον ὑπὸ τοῦ θολερὸν εἶναι: [11] καρπόν τε φέρειν ἦν ἀσθενῆ τὰ δένδρα διὰ σπάνιν τῆς ἐξ ὕδατος εἰς τοῦτο ἀφορμῆς καὶ παρακλήσεως. εἶχον οὖν ἐν αἰτίᾳ τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ κατεβόων αὐτοῦ τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν καὶ τὴν πεῖραν τῶν κακῶν δι' αὐτὸν πάσχειν λέγοντες: τριακοστὴν γὰρ ἐκείνην ὁδεύοντες ἡμέραν ὅσα μὲν ἐπεφέροντο πάντ' ἦσαν ἀναλωκότες, μηδενὶ δὲ περιτυγχάνοντες δυσέλπιδες ἦσαν περὶ τῶν ὅλων. [12] πρὸς δὲ τῷ παρόντι κακῷ τὴν διάνοιαν ὄντες καὶ ἐν μνήμῃ εἶναι τῶν ὑπηργμένων αὐτοῖς ἔκ τε τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς Μωυσέος ἀρετῆς καὶ συνέσεως κωλυόμενοι δι' ὀργῆς τὸν στρατηγὸν εἶχον καὶ βάλλειν αὐτὸν ὡρμήκεσαν ὡς αἰτιώτατον τῆς ἐν ποσὶ συμφορᾶς.

3. And now removing from thence they came to Elim; which place looked well at a distance, for there was a grove of palm-trees; but when they came near to it, it appeared to be a bad place, for the palm-trees were no more than seventy; and they were ill-grown and creeping trees, by the want of water, for the country about was all parched, and no moisture sufficient to water them, and make them hopeful and useful, was derived to them from the fountains, which were in number twelve: they were rather a few moist places than springs, which not breaking out of the ground, nor running over, could not sufficiently water the trees. And when they dug into the sand, they met with no water; and if they took a few drops of it into their hands, they found it to be useless, on account of its mud. The trees were too weak to bear fruit, for want of being sufficiently cherished and enlivened by the water. So they laid the blame on their conductor, and made heavy complaints against him; and said that this their miserable state, and the experience they had of adversity, were owing to him; for that they had

then journeyed an entire thirty days, and had spent all the provisions they had brought with them; and meeting with no relief, they were in a very desponding condition. And by fixing their attention upon nothing but their present misfortunes, they were hindered from remembering what deliverances they had received from God, and those by the virtue and wisdom of Moses also; so they were very angry at their conductor, and were zealous in their attempt to stone him, as the direct occasion of their present miseries.

(4) [13] Ὁ δ’ οὕτως ἀνηρεθισμένου τοῦ πλήθους καὶ πικρῶς ἐπ’ αὐτὸν κεκινημένου τῷ θεῷ θαρρῶν καὶ τῷ συνειδότι τῆς περὶ τοὺς ὁμοφύλους προνοίας πάρεισιν εἰς μέσους, καὶ καταβοώντων καὶ κατὰ χεῖρας ἔτι τοὺς λίθους ἐχόντων, ὁραθῆναί τε κεχαρισμένος ὢν καὶ πλήθεσιν ὁμιλεῖν πιθανώτατος, καταπαύειν ἤρξατο τῆς ὀργῆς, [14] μὴ τῶν παρόντων αὐτοὺς δυσκόλων μεμνημένους λήθην ἔχειν τῶν ἔμπροσθεν εὐεργεσιῶν παρακαλῶν, μηδ’ ὅτι νῦν πονοῦσι τῆς διανοίας ἐκβάλλειν τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτας καὶ δωρεάς, ὧν μεγάλων καὶ ἐκ παραδόξου ἔτυχον γενομένων, προσδοκᾶν δὲ καὶ τῆς παρούσης ἀπαλλαγῆναι ἀμηχανίας ἐκ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ κηδεμονίας, [15] ὃν εἰκὸς δοκιμάζοντα τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν πῶς τε καρτερίας ἔχουσι καὶ μνήμης τῶν προυπηργμένων, εἰ μὴ πρὸς ἐκεῖνα γίγνοιντο διὰ τὰ ἐν ποσὶ κακά, γυμνάζειν αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἄρτι χαλεποῖς. [16] ἐλέγχεσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἀγαθοὺς οὔτε περὶ τὴν ὑπομονὴν οὔτε περὶ τὴν μνήμην τῶν εὖ γεγονότων, οὕτως μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης, καθ’ ἣν ἐκλελοίπασι τὴν Αἴγυπτον, καταφρονοῦντας, οὕτως δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν ὑπηρέτην αὐτοῦ διατεθέντας καὶ ταῦτα μηδὲν αὐτοὺς διαψευσάμενον περὶ ὧν εἴποι τε καὶ πράττειν κατ’ ἐντολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσειε. [17] κατηρίθμει τε πάντα, πῶς τε φθαρεῖεν Αἰγύπτιοι κατέχειν αὐτοὺς παρὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμην βιαζόμενοι, καὶ τίνα τρόπον ὁ αὐτὸς ποταμὸς ἐκείνοις μὲν αἷμα ἦν καὶ ἄποτος αὐτοῖς δὲ πότιμος καὶ γλυκύς, [18] πῶς τε διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀναφυγούσης αὐτοῖς πορρωτάτω καινὴν ὁδὸν ἀπελθόντες αὐτῇ ταύτῃ σωθείησαν μὲν αὐτοί, τοὺς δὲ ἐχθροὺς ἐπίδοιεν ἀπολωλότας, ὅτι τε σπανίζοντας ὅπλων εἰς εὐπορίαν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τούτων καταστήσειε, τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ διαφθαρήσεσθαι δόξαντας γεγονέναι καὶ σώσειεν ὁ θεὸς ἐκ παραλόγου καὶ ὡς δύναμις αὐτῷ: [19] μὴ ἀπογινώσκειν δὲ μηδὲ νῦν αὐτοῦ τὴν πρόνοιαν, ἀλλ’ ἀοργήτως περιμένειν, λογιζομένους μὲν τὴν ἐπικουρίαν μηδὲ βραδεῖαν γίνεσθαι, εἰ μὴ παραυτίκα καὶ εἰ μὴ πρίν τινος πειραθῆναι δυσκόλου πάρεστιν, ἡγουμένους δὲ οὐ κατὰ ὀλιγωρίαν μέλλειν τὸν θεόν, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ πείρᾳ τῆς ἀνδρείας αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡδονῆς, [20] ἵνα μάθοι πότερόν ποτε καὶ τροφῆς ἀπορίαν καὶ σπάνιν ὕδατος ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐστε ἐνεγκεῖν γενναῖοι, ἢ δουλεύειν μᾶλλον ἀγαπᾶτε καθάπερ τὰ βοσκήματα τοῖς κρατοῦσι καὶ τοῖς πρὸς τὰς ἐκείνων ὑπηρεσίας ἀφθόνως τρεφομένοις: [21] δεδιέναι δ’ εἰπὼν οὐχ οὕτως ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας, πείσεσθαι γὰρ οὐδὲν

κακὸν ἀδίκως ἀποθανών, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, μὴ δι᾽ ὧνπερ αὐτὸν βάλλουσι λίθων τοῦ θεοῦ κατακρίνειν νομισθῶσιν,

4. But as for Moses himself, while the multitude were irritated and bitterly set against him, he cheerfully relied upon God, and upon his consciousness of the care he had taken of these his own people; and he came into the midst of them, even while they clamored against him, and had stones in their hands in order to despatch him. Now he was of an agreeable presence, and very able to persuade the people by his speeches; accordingly he began to mitigate their anger, and exhorted them not to be over-mindful of their present adversities, lest they should thereby suffer the benefits that had formerly been bestowed on them to slip out of their memories; and he desired them by no means, on account of their present uneasiness, to cast those great and wonderful favors and gifts, which they had obtained of God, out of their minds, but to expect deliverance out of those their present troubles which they could not free themselves from, and this by the means of that Divine Providence which watched over them. Seeing it is probable that God tries their virtue, and exercises their patience by these adversities, that it may appear what fortitude they have, and what memory they retain of his former wonderful works in their favor, and whether they will not think of them upon occasion of the miseries they now feel. He told them, it appeared they were not really good men, either in patience, or in remembering what had been successfully done for them, sometimes by contemning God and his commands, when by those commands they left the land of Egypt; and sometimes by behaving themselves ill towards him who was the servant of God, and this when he had never deceived them, either in what he said, or had ordered them to do by God's command. He also put them in mind of all that had passed; how the Egyptians were destroyed when they attempted to detain them, contrary to the command of God; and after what manner the very same river was to the others bloody, and not fit for drinking, but was to them sweet, and fit for drinking; and how they went a new road through the sea, which fled a long way from them, by which very means they were themselves preserved, but saw their enemies destroyed; and that when they were in want of weapons, God gave them plenty of them;-and so he recounted all the particular instances, how when they were, in appearance, just going to be destroyed, God had saved them in a surprising manner; and that he had still the same power; and that they ought not even now to despair of his providence over them; and accordingly he exhorted them to continue quiet, and to consider that help would not come too late, though it come not immediately, if it be present with them before they suffer any great misfortune; that they ought to reason thus: that God delays to assist them, not

because he has no regard to them, but because he will first try their fortitude, and the pleasure they take in their freedom, that he may learn whether you have souls great enough to bear want of food, and scarcity of water, on its account; or whether you rather love to be slaves, as cattle are slaves to such as own them, and feed them liberally, but only in order to make them more useful in their service. That as for himself, he shall not be so much concerned for his own preservation; for if he die unjustly, he shall not reckon it any affliction, but that he is concerned for them, lest, by casting stones at him, they should be thought to condemn God himself.

(5) [22] ἐπράυνεν αὐτοὺς καὶ τῆς μὲν τοῦ βάλλειν ὁρμῆς ἐπέσχε καὶ εἰς μετάνοιαν ὧν ἔμελλον δρᾶν ἔτρεψε. παθεῖν δ' οὐκ ἀλόγως αὐτοὺς διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην τοῦτο νομίσας ἔγνω δεῖν ἐφ' ἱκετείαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ παράκλησιν ἐλθεῖν, καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐπί τινα σκοπὴν ᾔτει πόρον τινὰ τῷ λαῷ καὶ τῆς ἐνδείας ἀπαλλαγήν: [23] ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ εἶναι τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῳ: συγγινώσκειν δὲ τοῖς νῦν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ πραττομένοις φύσει δυσαρέστου καὶ φιλαιτίου τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν οἷς ἂν ἀτυχῇ γένους ὄντος. ὁ θεὸς δὲ προνοήσειν τε ἐπαγγέλλεται καὶ παρέξειν ἀφορμὴν ἣν ποθοῦσι. [24] Μωυσῆς δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτ' ἀκούσας καταβαίνει πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος: οἱ δ' ὡς ἑώρων καὶ ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις ταῖς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγηθότα μετέβαλον ἐκ τῆς κατηφείας πρὸς τὸ ἱλαρώτερον, καὶ στὰς ἐκεῖνος ἐν μέσοις ἥκειν ἔλεγε φέρων αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν περὶ τῶν ἐνεστηκότων ἀπόρων ἀπαλλαγήν. [25] καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ὀρτύγων πλῆθος, τρέφει δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ὄρνεον ὡς οὐδὲν ἕτερον ὁ Ἀράβιος κόλπος, ἐφίπταται τὴν μεταξὺ θάλατταν ὑπερελθὸν καὶ ὑπὸ κόπου τε ἅμα τῆς πτήσεως καὶ πρόσγαιον μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων ὂν καταφέρεται εἰς τοὺς Ἑβραίους: οἱ δὲ συλλαμβάνοντες ὡς τροφὴν αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ ταύτην μηχανησαμένου τὴν ἔνδειαν ἰῶνται, καὶ Μωυσῆς ἐπ' εὐχὰς τρέπεται τοῦ θεοῦ ταχεῖαν καὶ παρὰ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ποιησαμένου τὴν ἐπικουρίαν.

5. By this means Moses pacified the people, and restrained them from stoning him, and brought them to repent of what they were going to do. And because he thought the necessity they were under made their passion less unjustifiable, he thought he ought to apply himself to God by prayer and supplication; and going up to an eminence, he requested of God for some succor for the people, and some way of deliverance from the want they were in, because in him, and in him alone, was their hope of salvation; and he desired that he would forgive what necessity had forced the people to do, since such was the nature of mankind, hard to please, and very complaining under adversities. Accordingly God promised he would take care of them, and afford them the succor they were desirous of. Now when Moses had heard this from God, he came down to the

multitude. But as soon as they saw him joyful at the promises he had received from God, they changed their sad countenances into gladness. So he placed himself in the midst of them, and told them he came to bring them from God a deliverance from their present distresses. Accordingly a little after came a vast number of quails, which is a bird more plentiful in this Arabian Gulf than any where else, flying over the sea, and hovered over them, till wearied with their laborious flight, and, indeed, as usual, flying very near to the earth, they fell down upon the Hebrews, who caught them, and satisfied their hunger with them, and supposed that this was the method whereby God meant to supply them with food. Upon which Moses returned thanks to God for affording them his assistance so suddenly, and sooner than he had promised them.

(6) [26] Εὐθὺς δὲ μετὰ τὴν πρώτην ἀφορμὴν τῆς τροφῆς καὶ δευτέραν αὐτοῖς κατέπεμπεν ὁ θεός: ἀνέχοντος γὰρ τοῦ Μωυσέος τὰς χεῖρας ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς δρόσος κατηνέχθη, καὶ περιπηγνυμένης ταῖς χερσὶ Μωυσῆς ὑπονοήσας καὶ ταύτην εἰς τροφὴν ἥκειν αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γεύεταί τε καὶ ἡσθείς, [27] τοῦ πλήθους ἀγνοοῦντος καὶ νομίζοντος νίφεσθαι καὶ τῆς ὥρας εἶναι τοῦ ἔτους τὸ γινόμενον, ἀνεδίδασκεν οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ὑπόληψιν ἀπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ καταφέρεσθαι τὴν δρόσον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῇ αὐτῶν καὶ διατροφῇ, καὶ γευομένοις τοῦτο αὐτοῖς παρεῖχε πιστεύειν. [28] οἱ δὲ μιμούμενοι τὸν στρατηγὸν ἥδοντο τῷ βρώματι: μέλιτι γὰρ ἦν τὴν γλυκύτητα καὶ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἐμφερές, ὅμοιον δὲ τῇ τῶν ἀρωμάτων βδέλλῃ, τὸ δὲ μέγεθος τῷ κοριάννου σπέρματι: καὶ περὶ συλλογὴν λίαν αὐτοῦ ἐσπουδάκεσαν. [29] παρηγγέλλετο δ᾽ ἐξ ἴσου πᾶσιν ἀσσαρῶνα, τοῦτο δ᾽ ἐστὶ μέτρον, εἰς ἑκάστην ἡμέραν συλλέγειν ὡς οὐκ ἐπιλείψοντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ βρώματος, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις ἄπορον ᾖ τὸ λαμβάνειν δι᾽ ἀλκὴν τῶν δυνατωτέρων πλεονεκτούντων περὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν. [30] οἱ μέντοι πλέον τοῦ προστεταγμένου μέτρου συναγαγόντες οὐδὲν περισσότερον εἶχον τοῦ κακοπαθῆσαι: ἀσσαρῶνος γὰρ οὐδὲν πλέον εὕρισκον: τοῦ δ᾽ ὑπολειφθέντος εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ὄνησις οὐδ᾽ ἥτις ἦν διεφθαρμένου ὑπό τε σκωλήκων καὶ πικρίας: οὕτω θεῖον ἦν τὸ βρῶμα καὶ παράδοξον. [31] ἀμύνει δὲ τοῖς ταύτην νεμομένοις τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπορίαν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ νῦν [ὕεται] πᾶς ἐκεῖνος ὁ τόπος, καθάπερ καὶ τότε Μωυσεῖ χαριζόμενον τὸ θεῖον κατέπεμψε τὴν διατροφήν. [32] καλοῦσι δὲ Ἑβραῖοι τὸ βρῶμα τοῦτο μάννα: τὸ γὰρ μάν ἐπερώτησις κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν διάλεκτον, τί τοῦτ᾽ ἔστιν ἀνακρίνουσα. καὶ οἱ μὲν χαίροντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ καταπεμφθεῖσιν αὐτοῖς διετέλουν, τῇ δὲ τροφῇ ταύτῃ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη ἐχρήσαντο ἐφ᾽ ὅσον χρόνον ἦσαν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ.

6. But presently after this first supply of food, he sent them a second; for as Moses was lifting up his hands in prayer, a dew fell down; and Moses, when he found it stick to his hands, supposed this was also come for food from God to

them. He tasted it; and perceiving that the people knew not what it was, and thought it snowed, and that it was what usually fell at that time of the year, he informed them that this dew did not fall from heaven after the manner they imagined, but came for their preservation and sustenance. So he tasted it, and gave them some of it, that they might be satisfied about what he told them. They also imitated their conductor, and were pleased with the food, for it was like honey in sweetness and pleasant taste, but like in its body to bdellium, one of the sweet spices, and in bigness equal to coriander seed. And very earnest they were in gathering it; but they were enjoined to gather it equally — the measure of an omer for each one every day, because this food should not come in too small a quantity, lest the weaker might not be able to get their share, by reason of the overbearing of the strong in collecting it. However, these strong men, when they had gathered more than the measure appointed for them, had no more than others, but only tired themselves more in gathering it, for they found no more than an omer apiece; and the advantage they got by what was superfluous was none at all, it corrupting, both by the worms breeding in it, and by its bitterness. So divine and wonderful a food was this! It also supplied the want of other sorts of food to those that fed on it. And even now, in all that place, this manna comes down in rain, according to what Moses then obtained of God, to send it to the people for their sustenance. Now the Hebrews call this food manna: for the particle man, in our language, is the asking of a question. What is this? So the Hebrews were very joyful at what was sent them from heaven. Now they made use of this food for forty years, or as long as they were in the wilderness.

(7) [33] Ὡς δ᾽ ἐκεῖθεν ἄραντες εἰς Ῥαφιδεὶν ἦκον ταλαιπωρηθέντες ὑπὸ δίψους εἰς ἔσχατον ἔν τε ταῖς πρότερον ἡμέραις πίδαξιν ὀλίγαις ἐντυγχάνοντες καὶ τότε παντάπασιν ἄνυδρον εὑρόντες τὴν γῆν, ἐν κακοῖς ἦσαν καὶ πάλιν δι᾽ ὀργῆς τὸν Μωυσῆν ἐποιοῦντο. [34] ὁ δὲ τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ πλήθους πρὸς μικρὸν ἐκκλίνας ἐπὶ λιτὰς τρέπεται τοῦ θεοῦ παρακαλῶν ὡς τροφὴν ἔδωκεν ἀπορουμένοις οὕτως καὶ ποτὸν παρασχεῖν, διαφθειρομένης καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τροφῇ χάριτος ποτοῦ μὴ παρόντος. [35] ὁ δ᾽ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τὴν δωρεὰν ἀνεβάλλετο, τῷ δὲ Μωυσεῖ παρέξειν ὑπισχνεῖται πηγὴν καὶ πλῆθος ὕδατος ὅθεν οὐ προσδοκήσειαν, καὶ κελεύει τῷ βάκτρῳ πλήξαντα τὴν πέτραν, ἣν ἑώρων αὐτόθι παρακειμένην, παρ᾽ αὐτῆς λαμβάνειν τὴν εὐπορίαν ὧν δέονται: φροντίζει γὰρ καὶ τοῦ μὴ σὺν πόνῳ μηδ᾽ ἐργασίᾳ τὸ ποτὸν αὐτοῖς φανῆναι. [36] καὶ Μωυσῆς ταῦτα λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ παραγίνεται πρὸς τὸν λαὸν περιμένοντα καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφορῶντα: καὶ γὰρ ἤδη καθεώρων αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς σκοπῆς ὁρμώμενον. ὡς δ᾽ ἦκεν, ἀπολύειν αὐτοὺς καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἀνάγκης τὸν θεὸν ἔλεγε καὶ χαρίσασθαι σωτηρίαν οὐδ᾽ ἐλπισθεῖσαν ἐκ τῆς πέτρας ποταμὸν αὐτοῖς ῥυήσεσθαι λέγων. [37] τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀκοὴν

καταπλαγέντων, εἰ ὑπό τε τοῦ δίψους καὶ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας τεταλαιπωρημένοις ἀνάγκη γένοιτο κόπτειν τὴν πέτραν, ὁ Μωυσῆς πλήττει τῇ βακτηρίᾳ, καὶ χανούσης ἐξέβλυσεν ὕδωρ πολὺ καὶ διαυγέστατον. [38] οἱ δὲ τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ γεγονότος κατεπλάγησαν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῖς ἤδη τὸ δίψος ἔληγε, καὶ πίνουσιν ἡδὺ καὶ γλυκὺ τὸ νᾶμα καὶ οἷον ἂν εἴη θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον δόντος ἐφαίνετο: τόν τε οὖν Μωυσῆν ἐθαύμαζον οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τετιμημένον, καὶ θυσίαις ἠμείβοντο τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ αὐτοὺς πρόνοιαν. δηλοῖ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀνακειμένη γραφὴ τὸν θεὸν προειπεῖν Μωυσεῖ οὕτως ἐκ τῆς πέτρας ἀναδοθήσεσθαι ὕδωρ.

7. As soon as they were removed thence, they came to Rephidim, being distressed to the last degree by thirst; and while in the foregoing days they had lit on a few small fountains, but now found the earth entirely destitute of water, they were in an evil case. They again turned their anger against Moses; but he at first avoided the fury of the multitude, and then betook himself to prayer to God, beseeching him, that as he had given them food when they were in the greatest want of it, so he would give them drink, since the favor of giving them food was of no value to them while they had nothing to drink. And God did not long delay to give it them, but promised Moses that he would procure them a fountain, and plenty of water, from a place they did not expect any. So he commanded him to smite the rock which they saw lying there, with his rod, and out of it to receive plenty of what they wanted; for he had taken care that drink should come to them without any labor or pains-taking. When Moses had received this command from God, he came to the people, who waited for him, and looked upon him, for they saw already that he was coming apace from his eminence. As soon as he was come, he told them that God would deliver them from their present distress, and had granted them an unexpected favor; and informed them, that a river should run for their sakes out of the rock. But they were amazed at that hearing, supposing they were of necessity to cut the rock in pieces, now they were distressed by their thirst and by their journey; while Moses only smiting the rock with his rod, opened a passage, and out of it burst water, and that in great abundance, and very clear. But they were astonished at this wonderful effect; and, as it were, quenched their thirst by the very sight of it. So they drank this pleasant, this sweet water; and such it seemed to be, as might well be expected where God was the donor. They were also in admiration how Moses was honored by God; and they made grateful returns of sacrifices to God for his providence towards them. Now that Scripture, which is laid up in the temple, informs us, how God foretold to Moses, that water timid in this manner be derived out of the rock.'

II

CHAPTER 2. How The Amalekites And The Neighbouring Nations, Made War With The Hebrews And Were Beaten And Lost A Great Part Of Their Army.

(1) [39] Τοῦ δὲ Ἑβραίων ὀνόματος ἤδη πολλοῦ κατὰ πάντας διαβοωμένου καὶ τοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν λόγου φοιτῶντος ἐν φόβῳ συνέβαινεν οὐ μικρῷ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους εἶναι, καὶ πρεσβευόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρεκάλουν ἀμύνειν καὶ πειρᾶσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας διαφθείρειν. [40] ἐτύγχανον δὲ οἱ πρὸς τοῦτο ἐνάγοντες οἵ τε τὴν Γοβολῖτιν καὶ τὴν Πέτραν κατοικοῦντες, οἳ καλοῦνται μὲν Ἀμαληκῖται, μαχιμώτατοι δὲ τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἐθνῶν ὑπῆρχον, ὧν πέμποντες οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀλλήλους τε καὶ τοὺς περιοίκους ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Ἑβραίους πόλεμον παρεκάλουν, στρατὸν ἀλλότριον καὶ τῆς Αἰγυπτίων ἀποδράντα δουλείας ἐφεδρεύειν αὐτοῖς λέγοντες, [41] ὃν οὐ καλῶς ἔχει περιορᾶν, ἀλλὰ πρὶν ἢ λαβεῖν ἰσχὺν καὶ παρελθεῖν εἰς εὐπορίαν καὶ αὐτὸν τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς κατάρξαι μάχης θαρρήσαντας τῷ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς παρ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀπαντᾶν καταλύειν ἀσφαλὲς καὶ σῶφρον δίκην αὐτοὺς καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐρήμου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πραχθέντων ἀπαιτοῦντας, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ ὅταν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡμῶν καὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἐπιβάλωσι τὰς χεῖρας. [42] οἱ δὲ ἀρχομένην δύναμιν ἐχθρῶν πειρώμενοι καταλύειν ἀγαθοὶ συνεῖναι μᾶλλον, ἢ οἱ προκόψασαν μείζω κωλύοντες γενέσθαι: οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ περισσοῦ δοκοῦσι νεμεσᾶν, οἱ δ᾽ οὐδεμίαν αὐτοῖς ἀφορμὴν κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐῶσι γενέσθαι. τοιαῦτα τοῖς τε πλησιοχώροις καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους πρεσβευόμενοι χωρεῖν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐγνώκεσαν εἰς μάχην.

1. The name of the Hebrews began already to be every where renowned, and rumors about them ran abroad. This made the inhabitants of those countries to be in no small fear. Accordingly they sent ambassadors to one another, and exhorted one another to defend themselves, and to endeavor to destroy these men. Those that induced the rest to do so, were such as inhabited Gobolitis and Petra. They were called Amalekites, and were the most warlike of the nations that lived thereabout; and whose kings exhorted one another, and their neighbors, to go to this war against the Hebrews; telling them that an army of strangers, and such a one as had run away from slavery under the Egyptians, lay in wait to ruin them; which army they were not, in common prudence and regard to their own safety, to overlook, but to crush them before they gather strength, and come to be in prosperity: and perhaps attack them first in a hostile manner, as presuming upon our indolence in not attacking them before; and that we ought

to avenge ourselves of them for what they have done in the wilderness, but that this cannot be so well done when they have once laid their hands on our cities and our goods: that those who endeavor to crush a power in its first rise, are wiser than those that endeavor to put a stop to its progress when it is become formidable; for these last seem to be angry only at the flourishing of others, but the former do not leave any room for their enemies to become troublesome to them. After they had sent such embassages to the neighboring nations, and among one another, they resolved to attack the Hebrews in battle.

(2) [43] Μωυσεῖ δ' οὐδὲν προσδοκῶντι πολέμιον ἀπορίαν καὶ ταραχὴν ἐνεποίει τὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, καὶ παρόντων ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ἤδη καὶ κινδυνεύειν δέον ἐθορύβει χαλεπῶς τὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων πλῆθος ἐν ἀπορίᾳ μὲν ὂν ἁπάντων, μέλλον δὲ πολεμεῖν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους τοῖς πᾶσι καλῶς ἐξηρτυμένους. [44] παραμυθίας οὖν ὁ Μωυσῆς ἤρχετο καὶ θαρρεῖν παρεκάλει τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ψήφῳ πεπιστευκότας, ὑφ' ἧς εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἠρμένοι κατανικήσειαν τοὺς περὶ αὐτῆς εἰς μάχην αὐτοῖς καθισταμένους, [45] ὑπολαμβάνειν δὲ τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν εἶναι στράτευμα πολὺ καὶ πάντων ἀπροσδεές, ὅπλων χρημάτων τροφῆς τῶν ἄλλων, ὧν παρόντων ἐκ πεποιθήσεως πολεμοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι, κρίνοντας ἐν τῇ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ συμμαχίᾳ ταῦτα αὐτοῖς παρεῖναι, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων ὀλίγον ἄνοπλον ἀσθενές, οἷον καὶ μὴ ὑπὸ τοιούτων, οἵοις αὐτοῖς σύνοιδεν οὖσιν, νικᾶσθαι βουλομένου τοῦ θεοῦ. [46] εἰδέναι δ' οἷος οὗτος ἐπίκουρος ἐκ πολλῶν πεπειραμένους καὶ δεινοτέρων τοῦ πολέμου: τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ εἶναι πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, ἃ δ' ἦν αὐτοῖς πρὸς λιμὸν καὶ δίψος ἄπορα καὶ πρὸς ὄρη καὶ θάλασσαν ὁδὸν οὐκ ἔχουσι φυγῆς, ταῦτ' αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν εὐμένειαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ νενικῆσθαι. νῦν δὲ γίνεσθαι παρεκάλει προθυμοτάτους, ὡς τῆς ἁπάντων εὐπορίας αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ κρατῆσαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν κειμένης.

2. These proceedings of the people of those countries occasioned perplexity and trouble to Moses, who expected no such warlike preparations. And when these nations were ready to fight, and the multitude of the Hebrews were obliged to try the fortune of war, they were in a mighty disorder, and in want of all necessaries, and yet were to make war with men who were thoroughly well prepared for it. Then therefore it was that Moses began to encourage them, and to exhort them to have a good heart, and rely on God's assistance by which they had been state of freedom and to hope for victory over those who were ready to fight with them, in order to deprive them of that blessing: that they were to suppose their own army to be numerous, wanting nothing, neither weapons, nor money, nor provisions, nor such other conveniences as, when men are in possession of, they fight undauntedly; and that they are to judge themselves to have all these advantages in the Divine assistance. They are also to suppose the enemy's army to be small,

unarmed, weak, and such as want those conveniences which they know must be wanted, when it is God's will that they shall be beaten; and how valuable God's assistance is, they had experienced in abundance of trials; and those such as were more terrible than war, for that is only against men; but these were against famine and thirst, things indeed that are in their own nature insuperable; as also against mountains, and that sea which afforded them no way for escaping; yet had all these difficulties been conquered by God's gracious kindness to them. So he exhorted them to be courageous at this time, and to look upon their entire prosperity to depend on the present conquest of their enemies.

(3) [47] Καὶ Μωυσῆς μὲν τοιούτοις παρεθάρσυνε τὸ πλῆθος λόγοις συγκαλῶν τούς τε φυλάρχους καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει καθ' ἑκάστους τε καὶ σὺν ἀλλήλοις τοὺς μὲν νεωτέρους παρεκάλει πείθεσθαι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, τοὺς δὲ ἀκροᾶσθαι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ: [48] οἱ δ' ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὸν κίνδυνον τὰς ψυχὰς ἠρμένοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ δεινὸν ἑτοίμως ἔχοντες ἤλπιζον ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαί ποτε τῶν κακῶν, καὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν ἐκέλευον ἄγειν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἤδη καὶ μὴ μέλλειν, ὡς τῆς ἀναβολῆς ἐμποδιζούσης τὴν προθυμίαν αὐτῶν. [49] ὁ δὲ τῆς πληθύος ἀποκρίνας πᾶν τὸ μάχιμον Ἰησοῦν ἐφίστησιν αὐτῷ Ναυήκου μὲν υἱὸν φυλῆς τῆς Ἐφραιμίτιδος, ἀνδρειότατον δὲ καὶ πόνους ὑποστῆναι γενναῖον καὶ νοῆσαί τε καὶ εἰπεῖν ἱκανώτατον καὶ θρησκεύοντα τὸν θεὸν ἐκπρεπῶς καὶ Μωυσῆν διδάσκαλον τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐσεβείας πεποιημένον τιμώμενόν τε παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις. [50] βραχὺ δέ τι περὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἔταξε τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἐπὶ φυλακῇ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν τοῦ τε παντὸς στρατοπέδου. καὶ νύκτα μὲν πᾶσαν ἐν παρασκευαῖς ἦσαν τῶν τε ὅπλων εἴ τι πεπονηκὸς ἦν ἀναλαμβάνοντες καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς προσέχοντες, ὡς ὁρμήσοντες ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ὁπότε κελεύσειεν αὐτοὺς Μωυσῆς. διηγρύπνει δὲ καὶ Μωυσῆς ἀναδιδάσκων τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὃν τρόπον ἐκτάξειε τὸ στρατόπεδον. [51] ἠργμένης δὲ ὑποφαίνειν τῆς ἡμέρας αὖθις τόν τε Ἰησοῦν παρεκάλει μηδὲν χείρονα φανῆναι κατὰ τὸ ἔργον τῆς οὔσης περὶ αὐτὸν ἐλπίδος δόξαν τε διὰ τῆς παρούσης κτήσασθαι στρατηγίας παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις, τῶν τε Ἑβραίων τοὺς ἀξιολογωτάτους ἰδίᾳ παρεκάλει καὶ σύμπαν ἤδη τὸ πλῆθος ὡπλισμένον παρώρμα. [52] καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως παραστησάμενος τὸν στρατὸν τοῖς τε λόγοις καὶ τῇ διὰ τῶν ἔργων παρασκευῇ ἀνεχώρει πρὸς τὸ ὄρος θεῷ τε καὶ Ἰησοῦ παραδιδοὺς τὸ στράτευμα.

3. And with these words did Moses encourage the multitude, who then called together the princes of their tribes, and their chief men, both separately and conjointly. The young men he charged to obey their elders, and the elders to hearken to their leader. So the people were elevated in their minds, and ready to try their fortune in battle, and hoped to be thereby at length delivered from all their miseries: nay, they desired that Moses would immediately lead them

against their enemies without the least delay, that no backwardness might be a hindrance to their present resolution. So Moses sorted all that were fit for war into different troops, and set Joshua, the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, over them; one that was of great courage, and patient to undergo labors; of great abilities to understand, and to speak what was proper; and very serious in the worship of God; and indeed made like another Moses, a teacher of piety towards God. He also appointed a small party of the armed men to be near the water, and to take care of the children, and the women, and of the entire camp. So that whole night they prepared themselves for the battle; they took their weapons, if any of them had such as were well made, and attended to their commanders as ready to rush forth to the battle as soon as Moses should give the word of command. Moses also kept awake, teaching Joshua after what manner he should order his camp. But when the day began, Moses called for Joshua again, and exhorted him to approve himself in deeds such a one as a his reputation made men expect from him; and to gain glory by the present expedition, in the opinion of those under him, for his exploits in this battle. He also gave a particular exhortation to the principal men of the Hebrews, and encouraged the whole army as it stood armed before him. And when he had thus animated the army, both by his words and works, and prepared every thing, he retired to a mountain, and committed the army to God and to Joshua.

(4) [53] Προσέμισγον δὲ οἱ πολέμιοι κἀν χερσὶν ἦν ἡ μάχη: προθυμίᾳ δὲ καὶ διακελευσμῷ τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους χρωμένων μέχρι μὲν οὖν Μωυσῆς αὖθις ἀνίσχει τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ τοὺς Ἀμαληκίτας κατεπόνουν οἱ Ἑβραῖοι. τὸν οὖν πόνον τῆς ἀνατάσεως τῶν χειρῶν ὁ Μωυσῆς οὐχ ὑπομένων, ὁσάκις γὰρ ἂν αὐτὰς καθίει τοσαυτάκις ἐλαττοῦσθαι τοὺς οἰκείους αὐτοῦ συνέβαινε, [54] κελεύει τόν τε ἀδελφὸν Ἀαρῶνα καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς Μαριάμης τὸν ἄνδρα Οὖρον ὄνομα στάντας ἑκατέρωθεν αὐτοῦ διακρατεῖν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν κάμνειν βοηθοῦντας. καὶ τούτου γενομένου κατὰ κράτος ἐνίκων τοὺς Ἀμαληκίτας οἱ Ἑβραῖοι, καὶ πάντες ἂν ἀπωλώλεισαν, εἰ μὴ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἀπέσχοντο τοῦ κτείνειν. [55] νίκην καλλίστην καὶ καιριωτάτην νικῶσιν ἡμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι: καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐπιστρατευσάντων ἐκράτησαν καὶ τοὺς περιοίκους ἐφόβησαν, μεγάλων τε καὶ λαμπρῶν ἐκ τοῦ πονεῖν ἐπέτυχον ἀγαθῶν ἑλόντες τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων, πλούτους τε μεγάλους δημοσίᾳ καὶ κατ᾽ ἰδίαν ἔσχον οὐδὲ τῆς ἀναγκαίου τροφῆς πρότερον εὐποροῦντες. [56] ὑπῆρξε δ᾽ αὐτοῖς οὐκ εἰς τὸ παρὸν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸν αὖθις αἰῶνα τῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτία κατορθωθεῖσα ἡ προειρημένη μάχη: οὐ γὰρ τὰ σώματα μόνον τῶν ἐπιστρατευσάντων ἐδούλωσαν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ φρονήματα, καὶ τοῖς περιοίκοις ἅπασι μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἧτταν ἐγένοντο φοβεροί, αὐτοί τε πλούτου μεγάλου δύναμιν προσέλαβον: [57] πολὺς

γὰρ ὁ ἄργυρός τε καὶ χρυσὸς ἐγκατελήφθη ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ σκεύη χαλκᾶ, οἷς ἐχρῶντο περὶ τὴν δίαιταν, πολὺ δὲ ἐπίσημον πλῆθος ἑκατέρων ὅσα τε ὑφαντὰ καὶ κόσμοι περὶ τὰς ὁπλίσεις ἥ τε ἄλλη θεραπεία καὶ κατασκευὴ ἐκείνων λεία τε παντοία κτηνῶν καὶ ὅσα φιλεῖ στρατοπέδοις ἐξωδευκόσιν ἕπεσθαι. [58] φρονήματός τε ὑπεπλήσθησαν ἐπ᾽ ἀνδρείᾳ Ἑβραῖοι καὶ πολλὴ μεταποίησις ἦν ἀρετῆς αὐτοῖς πρός τε τῷ πονεῖν ἦσαν ἀεὶ τούτῳ πάντα ληπτὰ νομίζοντες εἶναι. καὶ ταύτης μὲν τῆς μάχης τοῦτο τὸ πέρας.

4. So the armies joined battle; and it came to a close fight, hand to hand, both sides showing great alacrity, and encouraging one another. And indeed while Moses stretched out his hand towards heaven the Hebrews were too hard for the Amalekites: but Moses not being able to sustain his hands thus stretched out, [for as often as he let down his hands, so often were his own people worsted,] he bade his brother Aaron, and Hur their sister Miriam's husband, to stand on each side of him, and take hold of his hands, and not permit his weariness to prevent it, but to assist him in the extension of his hands. When this was done, the Hebrews conquered the Amalekites by main force; and indeed they had all perished, unless the approach of the night had obliged the Hebrews to desist from killing any more. So our forefathers obtained a most signal and most seasonable victory; for they not only overcame those that fought against them, but terrified also the neighboring nations, and got great and splendid advantages, which they obtained of their enemies by their hard pains in this battle: for when they had taken the enemy's camp, they got ready booty for the public, and for their own private families, whereas till then they had not any sort of plenty, of even necessary food. The forementioned battle, when they had once got it, was also the occasion of their prosperity, not only for the present, but for the future ages also; for they not only made slaves of the bodies of their enemies, but subdued their minds also, and after this battle, became terrible to all that dwelt round about them. Moreover, they acquired a vast quantity of riches; for a great deal of silver and gold was left in the enemy's camp; as also brazen vessels, which they made common use of in their families; many utensils also that were embroidered there were of both sorts, that is, of what were weaved, and what were the ornaments of their armor, and other things that served for use in the family, and for the furniture of their rooms; they got also the prey of their cattle, and of whatsoever uses to follow camps, when they remove from one place to another. So the Hebrews now valued themselves upon their courage, and claimed great merit for their valor; and they perpetually inured themselves to take pains, by which they deemed every difficulty might be surmounted. Such were the consequences of this battle.

(5) [59] Τῇ δ᾽ ὑστεραίᾳ Μωυσῆς νεκρούς τε ἐσκύλευε τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὰς παντευχίας τῶν φυγόντων συνέλεγεν ἀριστεῦσί τε τιμὰς ἐδίδου καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐνεκωμίαζε μαρτυρούμενον ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἔπραξεν ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ. ἀπέθανεν δὲ Ἑβραίων μὲν οὐδείς, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ὅσους οὐδ᾽ ἀριθμῷ γνῶναι δυνατὸν ἦν. [60] θύσας δὲ χαριστήρια βωμὸν ἱδρύεται νικαῖον ὀνομάσας τὸν θεὸν προεφήτευέ τε πανωλεθρὶ τοὺς Ἀμαληκίτας ἀπολουμένους καὶ μηδένα αὐτῶν ὑπολειφθησόμενον εἰς αὖθις διὰ τὸ Ἑβραίοις ἐπιστρατεύσασθαι καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ἐρήμῳ τε γῇ καὶ ταλαιπωρουμένοις, τόν τε στρατὸν εὐωχίαις ἀνελάμβανε. [61] καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν μάχην πρώτην μαχεσάμενοι πρὸς τοὺς κατατολμήσαντας αὐτῶν μετὰ τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου γενομένην ἔξοδον οὕτως ἐπολέμησαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν τῶν ἐπινικίων ἑορτὴν ἤγαγον, ὁ Μωυσῆς ἀναπαύσας ἐπ᾽ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας τοὺς Ἑβραίους μετὰ τὴν μάχην προῆγε συντεταγμένους: [62] πολὺ δ᾽ ἦν ἤδη τὸ ὁπλιτικὸν αὐτοῖς: καὶ προιὼν κατ᾽ ὀλίγον ἐν τριμήνῳ μετὰ τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου κίνησιν παρῆν ἐπὶ τὸ Σιναῖον ὄρος, ἐν ᾧ τά τε περὶ τὸν θάμνον αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ φαντάσματα συντυχεῖν προειρήκαμεν.

5. On the next day, Moses stripped the dead bodies of their enemies, and gathered together the armor of those that were fled, and gave rewards to such as had signalized themselves in the action; and highly commended Joshua, their general, who was attested to by all the army, on account of the great actions he had done. Nor was any one of the Hebrews slain; but the slain of the enemy's army were too many to be enumerated. So Moses offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to God, and built an altar, which he named The Lord the Conqueror. He also foretold that the Amalekites should utterly be destroyed; and that hereafter none of them should remain, because they fought against the Hebrews, and this when they were in the wilderness, and in their distress also. Moreover, he refreshed the army with feasting. And thus did they fight this first battle with those that ventured to oppose them, after they were gone out of Egypt. But when Moses had celebrated this festival for the victory, he permitted the Hebrews to rest for a few days, and then he brought them out after the fight, in order of battle; for they had now many soldiers in light armor. And going gradually on, he came to Mount Sinai, in three months' time after they were removed out of Egypt; at which mountain, as we have before related, the vision of the bush, and the other wonderful appearances, had happened.

III

CHAPTER 3. That Moses Kindly Received-His Father-In-Law, Jethro, When He Came To Him To Mount Sinai.

(1) [63] Καὶ Ῥαγουῆλος ὁ πενθερὸς αὐτοῦ πυνθανόμενος εὐπραξίαν ἀσμένως ἀπήντα τόν τε Μωυσῆν καὶ τὴν Σαπφώραν δεχόμενος καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν. ἥδεται δὲ Μωυσῆς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πενθεροῦ ἀφίξει καὶ θύσας εὐωχεῖ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ θάμνου πλησίον, ὃς διαπεφεύγει τοῦ πυρὸς τὴν φλόγωσιν: [64] καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος κατὰ συγγένειαν ὡς ἕκαστοι τῆς εὐωχίας μετελάμβανον, Ἀαρὼν δὲ σὺν τοῖς παροῦσι Ῥαγουῆλον προσλαβόμενος ὕμνους τε ᾖδον εἰς τὸν θεὸν ὡς τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας αἴτιον καὶ πoριστὴν γεγενημένον, [65] καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν εὐφήμουν ὡς κατὰ ἀρετὴν ἐκείνου πάντων αὐτοῖς κατὰ νοῦν ἀπηντηκότων. καὶ Ῥαγουῆλος πολλὰ μὲν ἐγκώμια τοῦ πλήθους ἐπὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸν Μωυσῆν εὐχαριστίᾳ διεξῄει, ἐθαύμαζε δὲ καὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν τῆς ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν φίλων ἀνδραγαθίας.

1. Now when Raguel, Moses's father-in-law, understood in what a prosperous condition his affairs were, he willingly came to meet him. And Moses and his children, and pleased himself with his coming. And when he had offered sacrifice, he made a feast for the multitude, near the Bush he had formerly seen; which multitude, every one according to their families, partook of the feast. But Aaron and his family took Raguel, and sung hymns to God, as to Him who had been the author procurer of their deliverance and their freedom. They also praised their conductor, as him by whose virtue it was that all things had succeeded with them. Raguel also, in his eucharistical oration to Moses, made great encomiums upon the whole multitude; and he could not but admire Moses for his fortitude, and that humanity he had shewn in the delivery of his friends.

CHAPTER 4. How Raguel Suggested To Moses To Set His People In Order, Under Their Rulers Of Thousands, And Rulers Of Hundreds, Who Lived Without Order Before; And How Moses Complied In All Things With His Father-In-Law's Admonition.

(1) [66] Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ θεασάμενος ὁ Ῥαγουῆλος τὸν Μωυσῆν ἐν ὄχλῳ πραγμάτων ὄντα: διέλυε γὰρ τὰς δίκας τοῖς δεομένοις πάντων ἐπ' αὐτὸν βαδιζόντων καὶ μόνως ἂν τοῦ δικαίου τυχεῖν ἡγουμένων, εἰ διαιτητὴς αὐτοῖς οὗτος γένοιτο: [67] καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἡττωμένοις κοῦφον ἐδόκει τὸ λείπεσθαι κατὰ δικαιοσύνην οὐ κατὰ πλεονεξίαν αὐτὸ πάσχειν νομίζουσι: τότε μὲν ἡσυχίαν ἦγε μὴ βουλόμενος ἐμποδίζειν τοῖς ἀρετῇ χρῆσθαι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ θέλουσι, παυσάμενον δὲ τοῦ θορύβου παραλαβὼν καὶ συμμονωθεὶς ἀνεδίδασκεν ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν. [68] καὶ συνεβούλευε τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἥττοσι ταλαιπωρίας ἑτέροις ἐκστῆναι, περὶ δὲ τῶν μειζόνων καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ πλήθους ἔχειν τὴν πρόνοιαν αὐτόν: δικάσαι μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθοὺς κἂν ἄλλους Ἑβραίων εὑρεθῆναι, φροντίσαι δὲ τοσούτων μυριάδων σωτηρίας οὐκ ἄλλον τινὰ δύνασθαι μὴ Μωυσῆν γενόμενον. [69] "αἰσθανόμενος οὖν τῆς ἀρετῆς, φησί, σαυτοῦ καὶ οἷος γέγονας ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν λαὸν ὑπουργῶν τῷ θεῷ σώζειν τὴν μὲν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων δίαιταν ἐπίτρεψον αὐτοῖς ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων, σὺ δὲ πρὸς μόνῃ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ θεραπείᾳ κατέχων σεαυτὸν διατέλει ζητῶν οἷς ἂν τὸ πλῆθος ἀπαλλάξειας τῆς νῦν ἀπορίας. [70] ὑποθήκαις δὲ ταῖς ἐμαῖς περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων χρησάμενος τὸν στρατὸν ἐξετάσεις ἀκριβῶς καὶ κατὰ μυρίους τούτων κεκριμένους ἄρχοντας ἀποδείξεις, εἶτα κατὰ χιλίους, διαιρήσεις δὲ μετ' αὐτοὺς εἰς πεντακοσίους, καὶ πάλιν εἰς ἑκατόν, εἶτ' εἰς πεντήκοντα. [71] ἄρχοντάς τε ἐπὶ τούτοις τάξεις, οἳ κατὰ τριάκοντα μερισθέντας διακοσμήσουσι καὶ κατὰ εἴκοσι καὶ κατὰ δέκα συναριθμουμένους, ἔστω δέ τις ἐπὶ τούτοις εἷς τὴν προσηγορίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἀριθμοῦ λαμβάνων, δοκιμασθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους παντὸς εἶναι ἀγαθοὶ καὶ δίκαιοι, [72] οἳ περί τε τῶν διαφόρων αὐτοῖς κρινοῦσι κἂν ᾖ τι μεῖζον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν ἀξιώματι τὴν περὶ τούτου διάγνωσιν ἐπανοίσουσιν, ἂν δὲ κἀκείνους διαφύγῃ τὸ περὶ τοῦ πράγματος δύσκολον, ἐπὶ σὲ τοῦτο ἀναπέμψουσιν: ἔσται γὰρ οὕτως ἀμφότερα: καὶ τῶν δικαίων Ἑβραῖοι τεύξονται καὶ σὺ τῷ θεῷ προσεδρεύων εὐμενέστερον ἂν ποιήσειας αὐτὸν τῷ στρατῷ.

1. The next day, as Raguel saw Moses in the of a crowd of business for he determined the differences of those that referred them to him, every one still

going to him, and supposing that they should then only obtain justice, if he were the arbitrator; and those that lost their causes thought it no harm, while they thought they lost them justly, and not by partiality. Raguel however said nothing to him at that time, as not desirous to be any hinderance to such as had a mind to make use of the virtue of their conductor. But afterward he took him to himself, and when he had him alone, he instructed him in what he ought to do; and advised him to leave the trouble of lesser causes to others, but himself to take care of the greater, and of the people's safety, for that certain others of the Hebrews might be found that were fit to determine causes, but that nobody but a Moses could take of the safety of so many ten thousands. "Be therefore," says he, "insensible of thine own virtue, and what thou hast done by ministering under God to the people's preservation. Permit, therefore, the determination of common causes to be done by others, but do thou reserve thyself to the attendance on God only, and look out for methods of preserving the multitude from their present distress. Make use of the method I suggest to you, as to human affairs; and take a review of the army, and appoint chosen rulers over tens of thousands, and then over thousands; then divide them into five hundreds, and again into hundreds, and into fifties; and set rulers over each of them, who may distinguish them into thirties, and keep them in order; and at last number them by twenties and by tens: and let there be one commander over each number, to be denominated from the number of those over whom they are rulers, but such as the whole multitude have tried, and do approve of, as being good and righteous men; and let those rulers decide the controversies they have one with another. But if any great cause arise, let them bring the cognizance of it before the rulers of a higher dignity; but if any great difficulty arise that is too hard for even their determination, let them send it to thee. By these means two advantages will be gained; the Hebrews will have justice done them, and thou wilt be able to attend constantly on God, and procure him to be more favorable to the people."

(2) [73] Ταῦτα Ῥαγουήλου παραινέσαντος Μωυσῆς ἀσμένως προσήκατο τὴν συμβουλίαν καὶ ποιεῖ κατὰ τὴν ὑποθήκην τὴν ἐκείνου τοῦ τρόπου τὴν ἐπίνοιαν οὐκ ἀποκρυψάμενος οὐδὲ σφετερισάμενος αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ ποιήσας φανερὸν τὸν ἐξευρηκότα τῷ πλήθει. [74] κἀν τοῖς βιβλίοις δὲ Ῥαγουῆλον ἔγραψεν ὡς εὑρηκότα τὴν διάταξιν τὴν προειρημένην, καλῶς ἔχειν ἡγούμενος τἀληθῆ μαρτυρεῖν τοῖς ἀξίοις, εἰ καὶ δόξαν ἔμελλε φέρειν ἐπιγραφομένῳ τὰ ὑπὸ ἄλλων εὑρημένα, ὥστε τὴν Μωυσέος ἀρετὴν κἀκ τούτου καταμαθεῖν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν ταύτης εὐκαίρως ἐν ἄλλοις τῆς γραφῆς δηλώσομεν.

2. This was the admonition of Raguel; and Moses received his advice very kindly, and acted according to his suggestion. Nor did he conceal the invention of this method, nor pretend to it himself, but informed the multitude who it was that invented it: nay, he has named Raguel in the books he wrote, as the person who invented this ordering of the people, as thinking it right to give a true testimony to worthy persons, although he might have gotten reputation by ascribing to himself the inventions of other men; whence we may learn the virtuous disposition of Moses: but of such his disposition, we shall have proper occasion to speak in other places of these books.

V

CHAPTER 5. How Moses Ascended Up To Mount Sinai, And Received Laws From God, And Delivered Them To The Hebrews.

(1) [75] Μωυσῆς δὲ συγκαλέσας τὴν πληθὺν αὐτὸς μὲν εἰς τὸ ὄρος ἀπέρχεσθαι τὸ Σιναῖον ἔλεγεν ὡς συνεσόμενος τῷ θεῷ καί τι λαβὼν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ χρήσιμον ἐπανήξων πρὸς αὐτούς, ἐκείνους δ᾽ ἐκέλευσε πλησίον μετασκηνῶσαι τῷ ὄρει τὴν γειτνίασιν τοῦ θεοῦ προτιμήσαντας. [76] ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν ἀνῄει πρὸς τὸ Σιναῖον ὑψηλότατον τῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χωρίοις ὀρῶν τυγχάνον καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ μεγέθους καὶ τῶν κρημνῶν τὸ ἀπότομον ἀνθρώποις οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀναβατὸν ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ ὁραθῆναι δίχα πόνου τῆς ὄψεως δυνάμενον ἄλλως τε διὰ τὸ λόγον εἶναι περὶ τοῦ τὸν θεὸν ἐν αὐτῷ διατρίβειν φοβερὸν καὶ ἀπρόσιτον. [77] Ἑβραῖοι δὲ κατὰ τὰς Μωυσέος ἐντολὰς μετεσκήνουν καὶ τὰς ὑπωρείας τοῦ ὄρους κατελαμβάνοντο ἠρμένοι ταῖς διανοίαις ὡς μετὰ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἣν προύτεινεν αὐτοῖς, ἐπανήξοντος Μωυσέος παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ. [78] ἑορτάζοντες δὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν περιέμενον ἁγνεύοντες τήν τε ἄλλην ἁγνείαν καὶ ἀπὸ συνουσίας τῆς γυναικῶν ἡμέρας τρεῖς, καθὼς ἐκεῖνος αὐτοῖς προεῖπε, καὶ παρακαλοῦντες τὸν θεὸν εὐμενῆ συμβάλλοντα Μωυσεῖ δοῦναι δωρεάν, ὑφ᾽ ἧς εὖ βιώσονται. ταῖς τ᾽ οὖν διαίταις ἐχρῶντο πολυτελεστέραις καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ γυναιξὶν ὁμοῦ καὶ τέκνοις ἐκπρεπῶς ἤσκηντο.

1. Now Moses called the multitude together, and told them that he was going from them unto mount Sinai to converse with God; to receive from him, and to bring back with him, a certain oracle; but he enjoined them to pitch their tents near the mountain, and prefer the habitation that was nearest to God, before one more remote. When he had said this, he ascended up to Mount Sinai, which is the highest of all the mountains that are in that country and is not only very difficult to be ascended by men, on account of its vast altitude, but because of the sharpness of its precipices also; nay, indeed, it cannot be looked at without pain of the eyes: and besides this, it was terrible and inaccessible, on account of the rumor that passed about, that God dwelt there. But the Hebrews removed their tents as Moses had bidden them, and took possession of the lowest parts of the mountain; and were elevated in their minds, in expectation that Moses would return from God with promises of the good things he had proposed to them. So they feasted and waited for their conductor, and kept themselves pure as in other respects, and not accompanying with their wives for three days, as he had before ordered them to do. And they prayed to God that he would favorably receive

Moses in his conversing with him, and bestow some such gift upon them by which they might live well. They also lived more plentifully as to their diet; and put on their wives and children more ornamental and decent clothing than they usually wore.

(2) [79] Ἐπὶ δύο μὲν οὖν ἡμέρας εὐωχούμενοι διῆγον, τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ πρὶν τὸν ἥλιον ἀνασχεῖν νεφέλη τε ὑπεράνω ἀνέσχε τοῦ παντὸς στρατοπέδου τῶν Ἑβραίων οὐ πρότερον τοῦτο ἰδόντων γενόμενον καὶ τὸ χωρίον οὗ τὰς σκηνὰς ἦσαν πεποιημένοι περιέγραφε, [80] καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ παντὸς ἐν αἰθρίᾳ τυγχάνοντος ἄνεμοί τε σφοδροὶ λάβρον κινοῦντες ὑετὸν κατῄγιζον, ἀστραπαί τε ἦσαν φοβεραὶ τοῖς ὁρῶσι, καὶ κεραυνοὶ κατενεχθέντες ἐδήλουν τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ θεοῦ οἷς Μωυσῆς ἔχαιρεν εὐμενοῦς παρατυχόντος. [81] καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ὡς βούλεται φρονείτω ἕκαστος τῶν ἐντευξομένων, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀνάγκη ταῦτα ἱστορεῖν καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ἀναγέγραπται. τοὺς δὲ Ἑβραίους τά τε ὁρώμενα καὶ ὁ ταῖς ἀκοαῖς προσβάλλων ψόφος δεινῶς ἐτάραττεν, [82] ἀήθεις τε γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτῶν, καὶ ὁ περὶ τοῦ ὄρους διαπεφοιτηκὼς λόγος ὡς εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο φοιτῶντος τοῦ θεοῦ σφόδρα τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐξέπληττε. κατεῖχον δ᾽ αὐτοὺς πρὸς ταῖς σκηναῖς ἀχθόμενοι καὶ τόν τε Μωυσῆν ἀπολωλέναι νομίζοντες ὑπ᾽ ὀργῆς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ὅμοια προσδοκῶντες.

2. So they passed two days in this way of feasting; but on the third day, before the sun was up, a cloud spread itself over the whole camp of the Hebrews, such a one as none had before seen, and encompassed the place where they had pitched their tents; and while all the rest of the air was clear, there came strong winds, that raised up large showers of rain, which became a mighty tempest. There was also such lightning, as was terrible to those that saw it; and thunder, with its thunderbolts, were sent down, and declared God to be there present in a gracious way to such as Moses desired he should be gracious. Now, as to these matters, every one of my readers may think as he pleases; but I am under a necessity of relating this history as it is described in the sacred books. This sight, and the amazing sound that came to their ears, disturbed the Hebrews to a prodigious degree, for they were not such as they were accustomed to; and then the rumor that was spread abroad, how God frequented that mountain, greatly astonished their minds, so they sorrowfully contained themselves within their tents, as both supposing Moses to be destroyed by the Divine wrath, and expecting the like destruction for themselves.

(3) [83] Οὕτως δ᾽ αὐτῶν διακειμένων ἐπιφαίνεται Μωυσῆς γαῦρός τε καὶ μέγα φρονῶν. ὀφθείς τε οὖν αὐτὸς ἀπαλλάσσει τοῦ δέους αὐτοὺς καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων κρείττονας ὑπετίθετο τὰς ἐλπίδας, αἴθριός τε καὶ καθαρὸς ὁ ἀὴρ τῶν

πρὸ ὀλίγου παθῶν ἦν Μωυσέος παραγεγονότος. [84] ἐπὶ τούτοις οὖν συγκαλεῖ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἀκουσόμενον ὧν ὁ θεὸς εἴποι πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ συναθροισθέντων στὰς ἐπὶ ὑψηλοῦ τινος, ὅθεν ἔμελλον πάντες ἀκούσεσθαι, "ὁ μὲν θεός, εἶπεν, ὦ Ἑβραῖοι, καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον εὐμενὴς προσεδέξατό με καὶ βίον τε ὑμῖν εὐδαίμονα καὶ πολιτείας κόσμον ὑπαγορεύσας πάρεστι καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. [85] πρὸς γοῦν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἔργων, ἃ δι' ἐκεῖνον ἡμῖν ἤδη πέπρακται, μὴ καταφρονήσητε τῶν λεγομένων εἰς ἐμὲ τὸν λέγοντα ἀφορῶντες μηδ' ὅτι γλῶττα ἀνθρωπίνη πρὸς ὑμᾶς λέγει: τὴν δ' ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν κατανοήσαντες ἐπιγνώσεσθε καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ νενοηκότος καὶ ἐπὶ συμφέροντι τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πρὸς ἐμὲ μὴ φθονήσαντος εἰπεῖν: [86] οὐ γὰρ Μωυσῆς ὁ Ἀμαράμου καὶ Ἰωχαβάδης υἱός, ἀλλ' ὁ τὸν Νεῖλον ἀναγκάσας ἡματωμένον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ῥυῆναι καὶ ποικίλοις δαμάσας κακοῖς τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων φρόνημα, ὁ διὰ θαλάσσης ὁδὸν ὑμῖν παρασχών, ὁ καὶ τροφὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ μηχανησάμενος ἐλθεῖν ἀπορουμένοις, [87] ὁ ποτὸν ἐκ πέτρας ἀναβλύσας σπανίζουσι, δι' ὃν Ἄδαμος τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς τε καρπῶν καὶ θαλάσσης μεταλαμβάνει, δι' ὃν Νῶχος ἐκ τῆς ἐπομβρίας διέφυγε, δι' ὃν Ἄβραμος ὁ ἡμέτερος πρόγονος ἐξ ἀλήτου τὴν Χαναναίαν κατέσχε γῆν, δι' ὃν Ἴσακος γηραιοῖς ἐτέχθη γονεῦσι, δι' ὃν Ἰάκωβος δώδεκα παίδων ἀρεταῖς ἐκοσμήθη, δι' ὃν Ἰώσηπος ἐδεσπότευσε τῆς Αἰγυπτίων δυνάμεως, οὗτος ὑμῖν τούτους χαρίζεται τοὺς λόγους δι' ἑρμηνέως ἐμοῦ. [88] σεβάσμιοι δ' ὑμῖν γενέσθωσαν καὶ παίδων περιμαχητότεροι καὶ γυναικῶν: εὐδαίμονα γὰρ διάξετε βίον τούτοις ἑπόμενοι καὶ γῆς ἀπολαύοντες καρπίμου καὶ θαλάσσης ἀχειμάστου καὶ τέκνων γονῆς κατὰ φύσιν τικτομένων καὶ πολεμίοις ἔσεσθε φοβεροί: τῷ θεῷ γὰρ εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθὼν ἀκροατὴς ἀφθάρτου φωνῆς ἐγενόμην: οὕτως ἐκείνῳ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς τούτου μέλει διαμονῆς."

3. When they were under these apprehensions, Moses appeared as joyful and greatly exalted. When they saw him, they were freed from their fear, and admitted of more comfortable hopes as to what was to come. The air also was become clear and pure of its former disorders, upon the appearance of Moses; whereupon he called together the people to a congregation, in order to their hearing what God would say to them: and when they were gathered together, he stood on an eminence whence they might all hear him, and said, "God has received me graciously, O Hebrews, as he has formerly done; and has suggested a happy method of living for you, and an order of political government, and is now present in the camp: I therefore charge you, for his sake and the sake of his works, and what we have done by his means, that you do not put a low value on what I am going to say, because the commands have been given by me that now deliver them to you, nor because it is the tongue of a man that delivers them to you; but if you have a due regard to the great importance of the things

themselves, you will understand the greatness of Him whose institutions they are, and who has not disdained to communicate them to me for our common advantage; for it is not to be supposed that the author of these institutions is barely Moses, the son of Amram and Jochebed, but He who obliged the Nile to run bloody for your sakes, and tamed the haughtiness of the Egyptians by various sorts of judgments; he who provided a way through the sea for us; he who contrived a method of sending us food from heaven, when we were distressed for want of it; he who made the water to issue out of a rock, when we had very little of it before; he by whose means Adam was made to partake of the fruits both of the land and of the sea; he by whose means Noah escaped the deluge; he by whose means our forefather Abraham, of a wandering pilgrim, was made the heir of the land of Canaan; he by whose means Isaac was born of parents that were very old; he by whose means Jacob was adorned with twelve virtuous sons; he by whose means Joseph became a potent lord over the Egyptians; he it is who conveys these instructions to you by me as his interpreter. And let them be to you venerable, and contended for more earnestly by you than your own children and your own wives; for if you will follow them, you will lead a happy life you will enjoy the land fruitful, the sea calm, and the fruit of the womb born complete, as nature requires; you will be also terrible to your enemies for I have been admitted into the presence of God and been made a hearer of his incorruptible voice so great is his concern for your nation, and its duration."

(4) [89] Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν προάγει τὸν λαὸν γυναιξὶν ὁμοῦ καὶ τέκνοις, ὡς ἀκούσαιεν τοῦ θεοῦ διαλεγομένου πρὸς αὐτοὺς περὶ τῶν πρακτέων, ἵνα μὴ βλαβείη τῶν λεγομένων ἡ ἀρετὴ ὑπὸ ἀνθρωπίνης γλώττης ἀσθενῶς εἰς γνῶσιν αὐτοῖς παραδιδομένη. [90] πάντες τε ἤκουον φωνῆς ὑψόθεν παραγενομένης εἰς ἅπαντας, ὡς διαφυγεῖν μηδένα καὶ λόγων οὓς Μωυσῆς ἐν ταῖς δύο πλαξὶ γεγραμμένους κατέλιπεν: οὓς οὐ θεμιτόν ἐστιν ἡμῖν λέγειν φανερῶς πρὸς λέξιν, τὰς δὲ δυνάμεις αὐτῶν δηλώσομεν.

4. When he had said this, he brought the people, with their wives and children, so near the mountain, that they might hear God himself speaking to them about the precepts which they were to practice; that the energy of what should be spoken might not be hurt by its utterance by that tongue of a man, which could but imperfectly deliver it to their understanding. And they all heard a voice that came to all of them from above, insomuch that no one of these words escaped them, which Moses wrote on two tables; which it is not lawful for us to set down directly, but their import we will declare

(5) [91] Διδάσκει μὲν οὖν ἡμᾶς ὁ πρῶτος λόγος, ὅτι θεός ἐστιν εἷς καὶ τοῦτον δεῖ σέβεσθαι μόνον: ὁ δὲ δεύτερος κελεύει μηδενὸς εἰκόνα ζῴου ποιήσαντας προσκυνεῖν: ὁ τρίτος δὲ ἐπὶ μηδενὶ φαύλῳ τὸν θεὸν ὀμνύναι: ὁ δὲ τέταρτος παρατηρεῖν τὰς ἑβδομάδας ἀναπαυομένους ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου: [92] ὁ δὲ πέμπτος γονεῖς τιμᾶν: ὁ δὲ ἕκτος ἀπέχεσθαι φόνου: ὁ δὲ ἕβδομος μὴ μοιχεύειν: ὁ δὲ ὄγδοος μὴ κλοπὴν δρᾶν: ὁ δὲ ἔνατος μὴ ψευδομαρτυρεῖν: ὁ δὲ δέκατος μηδενὸς ἀλλοτρίου ἐπιθυμίαν λαμβάνειν.

5. The first commandment teaches us that there is but one God, and that we ought to worship him only. The second commands us not to make the image of any living creature to worship it. The third, that we must not swear by God in a false matter. The fourth, that we must keep the seventh day, by resting from all sorts of work. The fifth, that we must honor our parents. The sixth that we must abstain from murder. The seventh that we must not commit adultery. The eighth, that we must not be guilty of theft. The ninth, that we must not bear false witness. The tenth, that we must not admit of the desire of any thing that is another's.

(6) [93] Καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἀκροασάμενον αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ ὧν Μωυσῆς διελέχθη χαῖρον ἐπὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις τοῦ συλλόγου διελύθη, ταῖς δ' ἐφεξῆς φοιτῶντες ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἠξίουν αὐτὸν καὶ νόμους αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κομίζειν. [94] ὁ δὲ τούτους τε τίθεται καὶ περὶ τῶν ὅλων ὃν ἂν πραχθείη τρόπον ἐν τοῖς αὖθις ἀπεσήμαινε χρόνοις, ὧν μνησθήσομαι κατὰ καιρὸν οἰκεῖον. τοὺς δὲ πλείονας τῶν νόμων εἰς ἑτέραν ἀνατίθεμαι γραφὴν ἰδίαν περὶ αὐτῶν ποιησόμενος ἀφήγησιν.

6. Now when the multitude had heard God himself giving those precepts which Moses had discoursed of, they rejoiced at what was said; and the congregation was dissolved: but on the following days they came to his tent, and desired him to bring them, besides, other laws from God. Accordingly he appointed such laws, and afterwards informed them in what manner they should act in all cases; which laws I shall make mention of in their proper time; but I shall reserve most of those laws for another work, and make there a distinct explication of them.

(7) [95] Οὕτω δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτοῖς ἐχόντων ὁ Μωυσῆς πάλιν εἰς τὸ Σιναῖον ὄρος ἀνῄει προειπὼν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις, βλεπόντων δ' αὐτῶν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἄνοδον. καὶ χρόνου τριβομένου, τεσσαράκοντα γὰρ ἡμέρας διήγαγεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, δέος εἶχε τοὺς Ἑβραίους, μή τι Μωυσῆς πάθοι, καὶ τῶν συντυχόντων δεινῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ οὕτως ἐλύπησεν αὐτούς, ὡς τὸ νομίζειν Μωυσῆν ἀπολωλέναι. [96] ἦν γὰρ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἔρις τῶν μὲν ἀπολωλέναι λεγόντων θηρίοις περιπεσόντα, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεχθῶς ἦσαν διακείμενοι ταύτην τὴν ψῆφον ἔφερον,

τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἀνακεχωρηκέναι. [97] τοὺς δὲ σώφρονας καὶ μηδέτερον τῶν λεγομένων εἰς ἡδονὴν λαμβάνοντας ἰδίαν, καὶ τὸ θηρίοις περιπεσόντα ἀποθανεῖν ἀνθρώπινον ἡγουμένους καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν μεταστῆναι διὰ τὴν προσοῦσαν ἀρετὴν εἰκὸς νομίζοντας, πρᾴως ἔχειν οὕτος ὁ λογισμὸς ἐποίει. [98] προστάτου δὲ ἠρημῶσθαι καὶ κηδεμόνος ὑπολαμβάνοντες, οἵου τυχεῖν οὐκ ἂν ἄλλου δύναιντο, σφόδρα λυπούμενοι διετέλουν καὶ οὔτε ὑπονοεῖν αὐτοὺς εἴα τὸ προσδοκᾶν τι χρηστὸν περὶ τἀνδρὸς οὔτε μὴ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ κατηφεῖν ἠδύναντο. τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον οὐκ ἐθάρρουν μετάγειν Μωυσέος αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖ παραμένειν προειρηκότος.

7. When matters were brought to this state, Moses went up again to Mount Sinai, of which he had told them beforehand. He made his ascent in their sight; and while he staid there so long a time, [for he was absent from them forty days,] fear seized upon the Hebrews, lest Moses should have come to any harm; nor was there any thing else so sad, and that so much troubled them, as this supposal that Moses was perished. Now there was a variety in their sentiments about it; some saying that he was fallen among wild beasts; and those that were of this opinion were chiefly such as were ill-disposed to him; but others said that he was departed, and gone to God; but the wiser sort were led by their reason to embrace neither of those opinions with any satisfaction, thinking, that as it was a thing that sometimes happens to men to fall among wild beasts and perish that way, so it was probable enough that he might depart and go to God, on account of his virtue; they therefore were quiet, and expected the event: yet were they exceeding sorry upon the supposal that they were deprived of a governor and a protector, such a one indeed as they could never recover again; nor would this suspicion give them leave to expect any comfortable event about this man, nor could they prevent their trouble and melancholy upon this occasion. However, the camp durst not remove all this while, because Moses had bidden them afore to stay there.

(8) [99] Ἤδη δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν διεληλυθυιῶν καὶ τοσούτων νυκτῶν παρῆν οὐδενὸς σιτίου τῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις νενομισμένων γεγευμένος. χαρᾶς δ' ἐνέπλησε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπιφανείς, καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν ἣν εἶχε περὶ αὐτῶν ἀπεδήλου τόν τε τρόπον καθ' ὃν εὐδαιμονήσουσι πολιτευόμενοι λέγων αὐτῷ κατὰ ταύτας ὑποθέσθαι τὰς ἡμέρας, [100] καὶ σκηνὴν ὅτι βούλεται γενέσθαι αὐτῷ, εἰς ἣν κάτεισι πρὸς αὐτοὺς παραγινόμενος, ὅπως καὶ μεταβαίνοντες ἀλλαχοῦ ταύτην ἐπαγώμεθα καὶ μηκέτι δεώμεθα τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ Σιναῖον ἀνόδου, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐπιφοιτῶν τῇ σκηνῇ παρατυγχάνῃ ταῖς ἡμετέραις εὐχαῖς. [101] γενήσεται δὲ ἡ σκηνὴ μέτροις τε καὶ κατασκευῇ οἷς αὐτὸς ὑπέδειξεν ὑμῶν ἀόκνως ἐχόντων

πρὸς τὸ ἔργον. ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν δύο πλάκας αὐτοῖς ἐπιδείκνυσιν ἐγγεγραμμένους ἐχούσας τοὺς δέκα λόγους, ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ πέντε. καὶ χεὶρ ἦν ἐπὶ τῇ γραφῇ τοῦ θεοῦ.

8. But when the forty days, and as many nights, were over, Moses came down, having tasted nothing of food usually appointed for the nourishment of men. His appearance filled the army with gladness, and he declared to them what care God had of them, and by what manner of conduct of their lives they might live happily; telling them, that during these days of his absence he had suggested to him also that he would have a tabernacle built for him, into which he would descend when he came to them, and how we should carry it about with us when we remove from this place; and that there would be no longer any occasion for going up to Mount Sinai, but that he would himself come and pitch his tabernacle amongst us, and be present at our prayers; as also, that the tabernacle should be of such measures and construction as he had shown him, and that you are to fall to the work, and prosecute it diligently. When he had said this, he showed them the two tables, with the ten commandments engraven upon them, five upon each table; and the writing was by the hand of God.

VI

CHAPTER 6. Concerning The Tabernacle Which Moses Built In The Wilderness For The Honor Of God And Which Seemed To Be A Temple.

(1) [102] Οἱ δὲ χαίροντες οἷς τε ἑώρων καὶ οἷς ἤκουον τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῆς κατὰ δύναμιν αὐτῶν σπουδῆς οὐκ ἀπελείποντο, ἀλλ᾽ εἰσέφερον ἄργυρόν τε καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ χαλκὸν ξύλα τε τῆς καλλίστης ὕλης καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς σήψεως παθεῖν δυνάμενα, αἰγείους τε τρίχας καὶ δορὰς προβάτων τὰς μὲν ὑακίνθῳ βεβαμμένας τὰς δὲ φοίνικι: αἱ δὲ πορφύρας ἄνθος, ἕτεραι δὲ λευκὴν παρεῖχον τὴν χρόαν: [103] ἔριά τε τοῖς προειρημένοις ἄνθεσι μεμολυσμένα καὶ λίνου βύσσον λίθους τε τούτοις ἐνδεδεμένους, οὓς χρυσίῳ καθειργνύντες ἄνθρωποι κόσμῳ χρῶνται πολυτελεῖ, θυμιαμάτων τε πλῆθος συνέφερον: ἐκ γὰρ τοιαύτης ὕλης κατεσκεύασε τὴν σκηνήν. ἡ δ᾽ οὐδὲν μεταφερομένου καὶ συμπερινοστοῦντος ναοῦ διέφερε. [104] τούτων οὖν κατὰ σπουδὴν συγκομισθέντων ἑκάστου καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν φιλοτιμησαμένου, ἀρχιτέκτονας τοῖς ἔργοις ἐφίστησι κατ᾽ ἐντολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ οὓς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἂν ἐπελέξατο τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ γενομένης. [105] τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν, καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ἀναγέγραπται, ταῦτ᾽ ἦν: Βασάηλος [μὲν] Οὐρὶ παῖς τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς, υἱὸς δὲ Μαριάμης τῆς ἀδελφῆς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, Ἐλίβαζος δὲ Ἰσαμάχου Δανίδος φυλῆς. [106] τὸ δὲ πλῆθος οὕτως ὑπὸ προθυμίας τοῖς ἐγχειρουμένοις ἐπῆλθεν, ὥστε Μωυσῆς ἀνεῖρξεν αὐτοὺς ὑποκηρυξάμενος ἀρκεῖν τοὺς ὄντας: τοῦτο γὰρ οἱ δημιουργοὶ προειρήκεσαν: ἐχώρουν οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς σκηνῆς κατασκευήν, [107] καὶ Μωυσῆς αὐτοὺς ἕκαστα περὶ τῶν μέτρων κατὰ τὴν ὑποθήκην τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους ὅσα τε δεῖ σκεύη χωρεῖν αὐτὴν ἀνεδίδασκε πρὸς τὰς θυσίας ὑπηρετήσοντα. ἐφιλοτιμοῦντο δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες περί τε στολὰς ἱερατικὰς καὶ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσων ἔχρῃζε τὸ ἔργον κόσμου τε καὶ λειτουργίας ἕνεκα τοῦ θεοῦ.

1. Hereupon the Israelites rejoiced at what they had seen and heard of their conductor, and were not wanting in diligence according to their ability; for they brought silver, and gold, and brass, and of the best sorts of wood, and such as would not at all decay by putrefaction; camels' hair also, and sheep-skins, some of them dyed of a blue color, and some of a scarlet; some brought the flower for the purple color, and others for white, with wool dyed by the flowers aforementioned; and fine linen and precious stones, which those that use costly ornaments set in ouches of gold; they brought also a great quantity of spices; for of these materials did Moses build the tabernacle, which did not at all differ from a movable and ambulatory temple. Now when these things were brought

together with great diligence, [for every one was ambitious to further the work even beyond their ability,] he set architects over the works, and this by the command of God; and indeed the very same which the people themselves would have chosen, had the election been allowed to them. Now their names are set down in writing in the sacred books; and they were these: Besaleel, the son of Uri, of the tribe of Judah, the grandson of Miriam, the sister of their conductor and Aholiab, file son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan. Now the people went on with what they had undertaken with so great alacrity, that Moses was obliged to restrain them, by making proclamation, that what had been brought was sufficient, as the artificers had informed him; so they fell to work upon the building of the tabernacle. Moses also informed them, according to the direction of God, both what the measures were to be, and its largeness; and how many vessels it ought to contain for the use of the sacrifices. The women also were ambitious to do their parts, about the garments of the priests, and about other things that would be wanted in this work, both for ornament and for the divine service itself.

(2) [108] Πάντων δ' ἐν ἑτοίμῳ γεγενημένων χρυσίου τε καὶ χαλκοῦ καὶ τῶν ὑφαντῶν, προειπὼν ἑορτὴν Μωυσῆς καὶ θυσίας κατὰ τὴν ἑκάστου δύναμιν ἵστη τὴν σκηνήν, πρῶτον μὲν αἴθριον διαμετρησάμενος τὸ μὲν εὖρος πεντήκοντα πηχῶν ἑκατὸν δὲ τὸ μῆκος. [109] κάμακας δὲ ἔστησε χαλκέας πενταπήχεις τὸ ὕψος καθ' ἑκατέραν πλευρὰν εἴκοσι τῶν ἐπιμηκεστέρων, δέκα δὲ τῶν ἐν πλάτει κειμένων τῆς κατόπιν, κρίκοι δὲ τῶν καμάκων ἑκάστῃ προσῆσαν: Κιονόκρανα μὲν ἀργύρεα, βάσεις δὲ χρυσαῖ σαυρωτῆρσιν ἐμφερεῖς, χαλκαῖ δὲ ἦσαν, ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐρηρεισμέναι. [110] ἐξήπτετο δὲ τῶν κρίκων καλώδια τὴν ἀρχὴν ἥλων χαλκέων πηχυαίων τὸ μέγεθος ἐκδεδεμένα, οἳ καθ' ἑκάστην κάμακα παρέντες κατὰ τοῦ ἐδάφους ἀκίνητον ὑπὸ βίας ἀνέμων τὴν σκηνὴν ἔμελλον παρέξειν. σινδὼν δ' ἐκ βύσσου ποικιλωτάτη διὰ πασῶν ἐπῄει ἀπὸ τοῦ κιονοκράνου κατιοῦσα μέχρι τῆς βάσεως πολλὴ κεχυμένη, περιφράττουσα ἅπαν κύκλῳ τὸ χωρίον, ὡς μηδὲν δοκεῖν τείχους διαφέρειν. [111] καὶ οὕτως μὲν εἶχον αἱ τρεῖς πλευραὶ τοῦ περιβόλου: τῆς δὲ τετάρτης πλευρᾶς, πεντήκοντα γὰρ οὖσα πήχεων ἡ ἑτέρα μέτωπον τοῦ παντὸς ἦν, εἴκοσι μὲν πήχεις ἀνεῴγεσαν κατὰ πύλας, ἐν αἷς ἀνὰ δύο κάμακες εἱστήκεσαν κατὰ μίμησιν πυλώνων. [112] ὅλαις δ' αὐταῖς ἄργυρος ἦν ἐπικεχαλκωμένος πάρεξ τῶν βάσεων: χαλκαῖ γὰρ ἦσαν. ἑκατέρωθεν δὲ τοῦ πυλῶνος τρεῖς κάμακες ἦσαν ἑστῶσαι, αἳ τοῖς πυλούχοις ἐμβεβήκεσαν ἐρηρεισμέναι, καὶ κατ' αὐτῶν δὲ βύσσινον ὕφος σινδόνος ἦν περιηγμένον. [113] τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὰς πύλας μήκους μὲν ὄντος πήχεων εἴκοσι πέντε δὲ βάθους ὕφος ἦν πορφύρας φοίνικος σὺν ὑακίνθῳ καὶ βύσσῳ πεποιημένον πολλῶν αὐτῷ συνανθούντων καὶ ποικίλων, ὁπόσα μὴ ζῴων ἐξετυποῦτο μορφάς. [114] ἐντὸς δὲ

τῶν πυλῶν περιρραντήριον ἦν χάλκεον ὁμοίαν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν κρηπῖδα παρεχόμενον, ἐξ οὗ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τὰς χεῖρας ἀποπλύνειν καὶ τῶν ποδῶν καταχεῖν παρῆν. καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦ αἰθρίου περίβολος τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἦν διακεκοσμημένος.

2. Now when all things were prepared, the gold, and the silver, and the brass, and what was woven, Moses, when he had appointed beforehand that there should be a festival, and that sacrifices should be offered according to every one's ability, reared up the tabernacle and when he had measured the open court, fifty cubits broad and a hundred long, he set up brazen pillars, five cubits high, twenty on each of the longer sides, and ten pillars for the breadth behind; every one of the pillars also had a ring. Their chapiters were of silver, but their bases were of brass: they resembled the sharp ends of spears, and were of brass, fixed into the ground. Cords were also put through the rings, and were tied at their farther ends to brass nails of a cubit long, which, at every pillar, were driven into the floor, and would keep the tabernacle from being shaken by the violence of winds; but a curtain of fine soft linen went round all the pillars, and hung down in a flowing and loose manner from their chapiters, and enclosed the whole space, and seemed not at all unlike to a wall about it. And this was the structure of three of the sides of this enclosure; but as for the fourth side, which was fifty cubits in extent, and was the front of the whole, twenty cubits of it were for the opening of the gates, wherein stood two pillars on each side, after the resemblance of open gates. These were made wholly of silver, and polished, and that all over, excepting the bases, which were of brass. Now on each side of the gates there stood three pillars, which were inserted into the concave bases of the gates, and were suited to them; and round them was drawn a curtain of fine linen; but to the gates themselves, which were twenty cubits in extent, and five in height, the curtain was composed of purple, and scarlet, and blue, and fine linen, and embroidered with many and divers sorts of figures, excepting the figures of animals. Within these gates was the brazen laver for purification, having a basin beneath of the like matter, whence the priests might wash their hands and sprinkle their feet; and this was the ornamental construction of the enclosure about the court of the tabernacle, which was exposed to the open air.

(3) [115] Τὴν δὲ σκηνὴν ἵστησιν αὐτοῦ κατὰ μέσον τετραμμένην πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολάς, ἵνα πρῶτον ὁ ἥλιος ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἀνιὼν ἀφίῃ τὰς ἀκτῖνας. καὶ τὸ μὲν μῆκος αὐτῆς ἐπὶ πήχεις ἐγήγερτο τριάκοντα τὸ δὲ εὖρος ἐπὶ δέκα διειστήκει, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἕτερος τῶν τοίχων νότιος ἦν, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος κατὰ βορέαν ἐτέτραπτο, κατόπιν δ' αὐτῆς ἡ δύσις κατελείπετο. [116] ἀνίστασθαι δ' αὐτὴν ἐχρῆν ἐφ' ὅσον προβαίνοι τὸ εὖρος. κίονες δ' ἦσαν ξύλου πεποιημένοι κατὰ πλευρὰν ἑκατέραν εἴκοσι τετράγωνοι μὲν τὸ σχῆμα εἰργασμένοι, εἰς δὲ πλάτος διεστῶτες πήχεώς τε

καὶ ἡμίσους, τὸ δὲ βάθος δακτύλων τεσσάρων. [117] λεπίδες δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἦσαν ἐπικεχαλκευμέναι πανταχόθεν χρυσαῖ διά τε τῶν ἔνδοθεν καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς μερῶν. δύο δ᾽ αὐτῶν ἑκάστῳ προσῆσαν στρόφιγγες ἐλαυνόμενοι κατὰ δύο βάσεων: αὗται δ᾽ ἀργυραῖ μὲν ἦσαν, πυλὶς δ᾽ ἑκατέρᾳ τούτων προσῆν δεχομένη τὴν στρόφιγγα. [118] τοῦ δὲ κατὰ δύσιν τοίχου κίονες μὲν ἓξ ἦσαν, συνῆεσαν δ᾽ ἀλλήλοις ἀκριβῶς ἅπαντες, ὥστε μεμυκότων τῶν ἁρμῶν ὡς ἕνα δοκεῖν εἶναι τοῖχον αὐτῶν τὴν συνέλευσιν χρύσειον τά τε ἔνδοθεν καὶ τὰ ἐκτός: [119] ἀνηλόγει γὰρ ὁ τῶν κιόνων ἀριθμός: εἴκοσι γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ παρεῖχε πλάτος Τρίτον σπιθαμῆς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν, ὥστε συμπληροῦσθαι τοὺς τριάκοντα πήχεις ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν: κατὰ δὲ τὸν ὄπισθεν τοῖχον, ἐννέα γὰρ πήχεις οἱ ἓξ κίονες παρέχονται συνελθόντες, δύ᾽ ἑτέρους ποιοῦνται κίονας ἐκ πήχεως τετμημένους, οὓς ἐγγωνίους ἔθεσαν ἐπ᾽ ἴσης τοῖς μείζοσιν ἠσκημένους. [120] ἕκαστος δὲ τῶν κιόνων κρίκον εἶχε χρύσεον κατὰ τὸ ἔξω μέτωπον προσφυὴς ὥσπερ ῥίζαις τισὶν ἐμπεπλεγμένος κατὰ στίχον πρὸς ἀλλήλους τετραμμένοι τὴν περιφέρειαν, καὶ δι᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπίχρυσοι σκυταλίδες ἐλαυνόμεναι πέντε πήχεων ἑκάστη τὸ μέγεθος σύνδεσμος ἦσαν τῶν κιόνων, ἐμβαινούσης κατὰ κεφαλὴν σκυταλίδος ἑκάστης τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τεχνητῷ στρόφιγγι κοχλίου τρόπον δεδημιουργημένῳ. [121] κατὰ δὲ τὸν ὄπισθεν τοῖχον μία φάλαγξ ἦν διὰ πάντων ἰοῦσα τῶν κιόνων, εἰς ἣν ἐνέβαινον πλάγιαι αἱ τελευταῖαι τῶν σκυταλίδων ἐξ ἑκατέρου τοίχου τῶν ἐπιμηκεστέρων καὶ κρατεῖσθαι συνέβαινεν αὐταῖς γιγλύμοις τῷ θήλει τοῦ ἄρρενος συνελθόντος. τοῦτο μέντοι πρὸς τὸ μήθ᾽ ὑπὸ ἀνέμων κραδαίνεσθαι μήτ᾽ ἄλλης αἰτίας τὴν σκηνὴν συνεῖχεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀκίνητον αὐτὴν ἐν ἠρεμίᾳ πολλῇ διαφυλάξειν ἔμελλεν.

3. As to the tabernacle itself, Moses placed it in the middle of that court, with its front to the east, that, when the sun arose, it might send its first rays upon it. Its length, when it was set up, was thirty cubits, and its breadth was twelve [ten] cubits. The one of its walls was on the south, and the other was exposed to the north, and on the back part of it remained the west. It was necessary that its height should be equal to its breadth [ten cubits]. There were also pillars made of wood, twenty on each side; they were wrought into a quadrangular figure, in breadth a cubit and a half, but the thickness was four fingers: they had thin plates of gold affixed to them on both sides, inwardly and outwardly: they had each of them two tenons belonging to them, inserted into their bases, and these were of silver, in each of which bases there was a socket to receive the tenon; but the pillars on the west wall were six. Now all these tenons and sockets accurately fitted one another, insomuch that the joints were invisible, and both seemed to be one entire and united wall. It was also covered with gold, both within and without. The number of pillars was equal on the opposite sides, and there were on each part twenty, and every one of them had the third part of a span in

thickness; so that the number of thirty cubits were fully made up between them; but as to the wall behind, where the six pillars made up together only nine cubits, they made two other pillars, and cut them out of one cubit, which they placed in the corners, and made them equally fine with the other. Now every one of the pillars had rings of gold affixed to their fronts outward, as if they had taken root in the pillars, and stood one row over against another round about, through which were inserted bars gilt over with gold, each of them five cubits long, and these bound together the pillars, the head of one bar running into another, after the nature of one tenon inserted into another; but for the wall behind, there was but one row of bars that went through all the pillars, into which row ran the ends of the bars on each side of the longer walls; the male with its female being so fastened in their joints, that they held the whole firmly together; and for this reason was all this joined so fast together, that the tabernacle might not be shaken, either by the winds, or by any other means, but that it might preserve itself quiet and immovable continually.

(4) [122] Ἐντὸς δὲ διελὼν τὸ μῆκος αὐτῆς εἰς τρία μέρη μετὰ δέκα πήχεας ἡρμοσμένους ἐκ τοῦ μυχοῦ τέσσαρας ἵστησι κίονας ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰργασμένους καὶ βάσεσιν ὁμοίαις ἐπικειμένους διαλείποντας ἀλλήλων κατ᾽ ὀλίγον. τὸ δ᾽ ἐνδοτέρω αὐτῶν ἄδυτον ἦν, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἡ σκηνὴ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀνεῖτο. [123] τὴν μέντοι διαμέτρησιν τὴν τοιαύτην τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ μίμησιν τῆς τῶν ὅλων φύσεως συνέβαινεν εἶναι: τὸ μὲν γὰρ τρίτον αὐτῆς μέρος τὸ ἐντὸς τῶν τεσσάρων κιόνων, ὃ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἦν ἄβατον, ὡς οὐρανὸς ἀνεῖτο τῷ θεῷ, οἱ δ᾽ εἴκοσι πήχεις, ὥσπερ γῆ καὶ θάλασσα βάσιμος ἀνθρώποις, οὕτως τοῖς ἱερεῦσι μόνοις ἐπετέτραπτο. [124] κατὰ μέτωπον δέ, ἐξ οὗ τὴν εἴσοδον ἦσαν πεποιημένοι, κίονες ἕστασαν χρύσεοι χαλκείαις βάσεσιν ἐφεστῶτες τὸν ἀριθμὸν πέντε. κατεπετάννυσαν δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν ὕφεσι βύσσου καὶ πορφύρας ὑακίνθου καὶ φοίνικος βαφῆς συγκεκραμένης. [125] καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦν πήχεων δέκα πανταχόθεν, ᾧ κατεπετάννυσαν τοὺς κίονας, οἳ διαιροῦντες τὸν νεὼν τὸ ἄδυτον ἔνδον αὐτῶν ἀπελάμβανον: καὶ τοῦτο ἦν τὸ ποιοῦν αὐτὸ μηδενὶ κάτοπτον. καὶ ὁ μὲν πᾶς ναὸς ἅγιον ἐκαλεῖτο, τὸ δ᾽ ἄβατον τὸ ἐντὸς τῶν τεσσάρων κιόνων τοῦ ἁγίου τὸ ἅγιον. [126] ὡραῖον δὲ τὸ φάρσος ἄνθεσι παντοίοις, ὅσα γῆθεν ἀνέρχεται, διαπεποικιλμένον τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐνυφασμένον, ὅσα κόσμον οἴσειν ἔμελλε, πλὴν ζῴων μορφῆς. [127] ἕτερον δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῇ ὑφῇ καὶ τῇ χρόᾳ παραπλήσιον τοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς εἰσόδοις πέντε κίονας περιέβαλλε κατὰ γωνίαν ἑκάστου κίονος κρίκου κατέχοντος αὐτὸ ἀπὸ κορυφῆς ἄχρι ἡμίσους τοῦ κίονος. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν εἴσοδος ἀνεῖτο τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ὑποδυομένοις. [128] ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτου λίνεον ἦν ἰσομέγεθες φάρσος ἐφελκόμενον ἀπὸ κάλων ἐπὶ θάτερα, τῶν κρίκων τῷ τε ὕφει καὶ τῷ κάλῳ διακονούντων πρός τε τὸ ἐκπετάννυσθαι καὶ

συνελκόμενον ἵστασθαι κατὰ γωνίαν ἐμποδὼν οὐκ ἐσόμενον πρὸς τὸ κατοπτεύεσθαι καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς ἐπισήμοις ἡμέραις. [129] κατὰ δὲ τὰς λοιπὰς καὶ μάλισθ' ὅταν ᾖ νιφετώδης προπεταννύμενον στεγανὸν ἐποίει τὸ ἐκ τῶν βαμμάτων ὕφος: ὅθεν δὴ παρέμεινε τὸ ἔθος καὶ τὸν ναὸν οἰκοδομησαμένων ἡμῶν, ὥστε τὴν σινδόνα τοιουτότροπον περικεῖσθαι ταῖς εἰσόδοις. [130] δέκα δὲ ἄλλα φάρση πηχῶν τὸ πλάτος τεσσάρων τὸ δὲ μῆκος ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι, χρυσείους ἔχοντα γιγλύμους ἐπὶ συναφῇ θηλείας τε καὶ ἄρρενος συνείλεκτο, ὡς ἓν εἶναι δοκεῖν, εἶτα ὑπερτεινόμενα τοῦ ναοῦ τό τ' ἐφύπερθεν ἐσκίαζε καὶ τῶν τοίχων τοὺς κατὰ πλευρὰν καὶ κατόπιν ἑστῶτας ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ὅσον πῆχυν ἀνέχοντα. [131] ἴσαι δὲ τῷ πλάτει καὶ ἄλλαι σινδόνες μιᾷ πλείους τὸν ἀριθμὸν τὸ δὲ μῆκος ὑπερβάλλουσαι, τριακονταπήχεις γὰρ ἦσαν, ὑφασμέναι δ' ἐκ τριχῶν ὁμοίως κατὰ λεπτουργίαν ταῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων πεποιημέναι ἐτέταντο μέχρι τῆς γῆς κεχυμέναι Κατὰ θύρας ἀετώματι παραπλήσιον καὶ παστάδι παρεῖχον, τοῦ ἑνδεκάτου φάρσους εἰς τοῦτο παρειλημμένου. [132] ἄλλαι δ' ἐπάνω τούτων ἐκ διφθερῶν κατεσκευασμέναι ὑπερῄεσαν σκέπη καὶ βοήθεια ταῖς ὑφανταῖς ἔν τε τοῖς καύμασι καὶ ὁπότε ὑετὸς εἴη γεγενημέναι. πολλὴ δ' ἔκπληξις ἐλάμβανε τοὺς πόρρωθεν θεωμένους: τὴν γὰρ χρόαν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν συμβαίνουσιν οὐδὲν ἐδόκουν διαφέρειν. [133] αἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς τριχὸς καὶ τῶν διφθερῶν πεποιημέναι κατῄεσαν ὁμοίως τῷ περὶ τὰς πύλας ὑφάσματι τό τε καῦμα καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὄμβρων ὕβριν ἀπομαχόμεναι. καὶ ἡ μὲν σκηνὴ τοῦτον πήγνυται τὸν τρόπον.

4. As for the inside, Moses parted its length into three partitions. At the distance of ten cubits from the most secret end, Moses placed four pillars, the workmanship of which was the very same with that of the rest; and they stood upon the like bases with them, each a small matter distant from his fellow. Now the room within those pillars was the most holy place; but the rest of the room was the tabernacle, which was open for the priests. However, this proportion of the measures of the tabernacle proved to be an imitation of the system of the world; for that third part thereof which was within the four pillars, to which the priests were not admitted, is, as it were, a heaven peculiar to God. But the space of the twenty cubits, is, as it were, sea and land, on which men live, and so this part is peculiar to the priests only. But at the front, where the entrance was made, they placed pillars of gold, that stood on bases of brass, in number seven; but then they spread over the tabernacle veils of fine linen and purple, and blue, and scarlet colors, embroidered. The first veil was ten cubits every way, and this they spread over the pillars which parted the temple, and kept the most holy place concealed within; and this veil was that which made this part not visible to any. Now the whole temple was called The Holy Place: but that part which was within the four pillars, and to which none were admitted, was called The Holy of

Holies. This veil was very ornamental, and embroidered with all sorts of flowers which the earth produces; and there were interwoven into it all sorts of variety that might be an ornament, excepting the forms of animals. Another veil there was which covered the five pillars that were at the entrance. It was like the former in its magnitude, and texture, and color; and at the corner of every pillar a ring retained it from the top downwards half the depth of the pillars, the other half affording an entrance for the priests, who crept under it. Over this there was a veil of linen, of the same largeness with the former: it was to be drawn this way or that way by cords, the rings of which, fixed to the texture of the veil, and to the cords also, were subservient to the drawing and undrawing of the veil, and to the fastening it at the corner, that then it might be no hinderance to the view of the sanctuary, especially on solemn days; but that on other days, and especially when the weather was inclined to snow, it might be expanded, and afford a covering to the veil of divers colors. Whence that custom of ours is derived, of having a fine linen veil, after the temple has been built, to be drawn over the entrances. But the ten other curtains were four cubits in breadth, and twenty-eight in length; and had golden clasps, in order to join the one curtain to the other, which was done so exactly that they seemed to be one entire curtain. These were spread over the temple, and covered all the top and parts of the walls, on the sides and behind, so far as within one cubit of the ground. There were other curtains of the same breadth with these, but one more in number, and longer, for they were thirty cubits long; but these were woven of hair, with the like subtilty as those of wool were made, and were extended loosely down to the ground, appearing like a triangular front and elevation at the gates, the eleventh curtain being used for this very purpose. There were also other curtains made of skins above these, which afforded covering and protection to those that were woven both in hot weather and when it rained. And great was the surprise of those who viewed these curtains at a distance, for they seemed not at all to differ from the color of the sky. But those that were made of hair and of skins, reached down in the same manner as did the veil at the gates, and kept off the heat of the sun, and what injury the rains might do. And after this manner was the tabernacle reared.

(5) [134] Γίνεται δὲ καὶ κιβωτὸς τῷ θεῷ ξύλων ἰσχυρῶν τὴν φύσιν καὶ σῆψιν παθεῖν οὐ δυναμένων: ἡ δ᾽ ἐρὼν μὲν καλεῖται κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν γλῶτταν, ἡ δὲ κατασκευὴ τοιαύτη τις ἦν: [135] μῆκος μὲν ἦν αὐτῇ πέντε σπιθαμῶν, τὸ δ᾽ εὖρος καὶ τὸ βάθος τριῶν σπιθαμῶν εἰς ἑκάτερον: χρυσῷ δὲ τά τ᾽ ἐντὸς καὶ τὰ ἔξωθεν περιελήλατο πᾶσα, ὡς ἀποκεκρύφθαι τὴν ξύλωσιν, στρόφιγξί τε χρυσοῖς τὸ ἐπίθεμα προσηνωμένον εἶχε θαυμαστῶς, ὃ πανταχόθεν ἴσον ἦν κατ᾽ οὐδέτερον

μέρος ἐξοχαῖς τὴν εὐαρμοστίαν λυμαινόμενον. [136] καὶ καθ᾽ ἑκάτερον δὲ τοῖχον τῶν ἐπιμηκεστέρων κρίκοι προσῆσαν χρυσοῖ δύο τοῦ παντὸς διήκοντες ξύλου, καὶ δι᾽ αὐτῶν ἔνετοι σκυταλίδες ἐπίχρυσοι καθ᾽ ἑκάτερον τοῖχον, ὡς ἂν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ὁπότε δεήσειεν ἄγοιτο κινουμένη: οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ ζεύγους ἐκομίζετο, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων ἐφέρετο. [137] τῷ δὲ ἐπιθέματι αὐτῆς ἦσαν πρόστυποι δύο, Χερουβεῖς μὲν αὐτοὺς Ἑβραῖοι καλοῦσι, ζῷα δέ ἐστι πετεινὰ μορφὴν δ᾽ οὐδενὶ τῶν ὑπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων ἑωραμένων παραπλήσια, Μωυσῆς δέ φησι τῷ θρόνῳ τοῦ θεοῦ προστυπεῖς ἑωρακέναι. [138] ταύτῃ τὰς δύο πλάκας, ἐν αἷς τοὺς δέκα λόγους συγγεγράφθαι συμβεβήκει ἀνὰ πέντε μὲν εἰς ἑκατέραν ἀνὰ δύο δὲ καὶ ἥμισυ κατὰ μέτωπον, ἐγκατέθετο. καὶ ταύτην ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ κατατίθησιν.

5. There was also an ark made, sacred to God, of wood that was naturally strong, and could not be corrupted. This was called Eron in our own language. Its construction was thus: its length was five spans, but its breadth and height was each of them three spans. It was covered all over with gold, both within and without, so that the wooden part was not seen. It had also a cover united to it, by golden hinges, after a wonderful manner; which cover was every way evenly fitted to it, and had no eminences to hinder its exact conjunction. There were also two golden rings belonging to each of the longer boards, and passing through the entire wood, and through them gilt bars passed along each board, that it might thereby be moved and carried about, as occasion should require; for it was not drawn in a cart by beasts of burden, but borne on the shoulders of the priests. Upon this its cover were two images, which the Hebrews call Cherubims; they are flying creatures, but their form is not like to that of any of the creatures which men have seen, though Moses said he had seen such beings near the throne of God. In this ark he put the two tables whereon the ten commandments were written, five upon each table, and two and a half upon each side of them; and this ark he placed in the most holy place.

(6) [139] Ἐν δὲ τῷ ναῷ τράπεζαν ἱδρύεται Δελφικαῖς παραπλησίαν τὸ μῆκος μὲν δύο πηχῶν, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ἑνὸς πήχεως καὶ σπιθαμῶν τριῶν τὸ ὕψος. ἦσαν δ᾽ αὐτῇ πόδες τὰ μὲν ἐξ ἡμίσους ἕως τῶν κάτω τελέως ἐξηρτισμένοι οἷς Δωριεῖς προστιθέασι ταῖς κλίναις ἐμφερεῖς, τὸ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀνατεῖνον τετράγωνοι τῇ ἐργασίᾳ. [140] κοιλαίνεται δὲ καθ᾽ ἕκαστον πλευρὸν κοιλαίνουσά πως κατὰ παλαιστὴν τὸ ἔδαφος ἕλικος περιθεούσης τό τε ἄνω καὶ τὸ κάτω μέρος τοῦ σώματος, καθ᾽ ἕκαστον δὲ τῶν ποδῶν καὶ ταύτῃ ἐλήλατο κρίκος οὐκ ἄπωθεν τοῦ ἐπιθέματος, δι᾽ ὧν ἦσαν στελεοὶ χρύσεοι ξύλου τἄνερθεν ὄντες, οὐκ ἐξαίρετοι: [141] κοῖλον γὰρ εἶχεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς τὸ κατὰ τοὺς κρίκους κοινωθέντας: οὐδὲ γάρ εἰσι διηνεκεῖς, ἀλλὰ πρὶν συνελθεῖν εἰς τὸ ἄπειρον εἰς περονίδας τὴν ἀρχὴν τελευτῶντες, ὧν ἡ μὲν εἰς τὸ προανέχον ἐμβαίνει τῆς τραπέζης, ἡ δὲ εἰς

τὸν πόδα: καὶ τούτοις κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐκομίζετο. [142] ἐπὶ ταύτης, ἐτίθετο γὰρ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τετραμμένη πρὸς ἄρκτον οὐ πόρρω τοῦ μυχοῦ, διετίθεσαν ἄρτους τε δώδεκα ἀζύμους κατὰ ἓξ ἐπαλλήλους καθαροῦ πάνυ τοῦ ἀλεύρου ἐκ δύο ἀσσάρων, ὃ μέτρον Ἑβραίων ἑπτὰ κοτύλας Ἀττικὰς ἔχει. [143] ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν ἄρτων ἐτίθεντο φιάλαι δύο χρύσεαι λιβάνου πλήρεις, μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ πάλιν ἄλλοι ἐκομίζοντο [ἄρτοι] ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν Σαββάτῳ: τὴν γὰρ ἑβδόμην ἡμέραν Σάββατα καλοῦμεν: τὴν δ᾽ αἰτίαν ἐξ ἧς ταῦτα ἐπενοήθησαν ἐν ἑτέροις ἐροῦμεν.

6. But in the holy place he placed a table, like those at Delphi. Its length was two cubits, and its breadth one cubit, and its height three spans. It had feet also, the lower half of which were complete feet, resembling those which the Dorians put to their bedsteads; but the upper parts towards the table were wrought into a square form. The table had a hollow towards every side, having a ledge of four fingers' depth, that went round about like a spiral, both on the upper and lower part of the body of the work. Upon every one of the feet was there also inserted a ring, not far from the cover, through which went bars of wood beneath, but gilded, to be taken out upon occasion, there being a cavity where it was joined to the rings; for they were not entire rings; but before they came quite round they ended in acute points, the one of which was inserted into the prominent part of the table, and the other into the foot; and by these it was carried when they journeyed: Upon this table, which was placed on the north side of the temple, not far from the most holy place, were laid twelve unleavened loaves of bread, six upon each heap, one above another: they were made of two tenth-deals of the purest flour, which tenth-deal [an omer] is a measure of the Hebrews, containing seven Athenian cotyloe; and above those loaves were put two vials full of frankincense. Now after seven days other loaves were brought in their stead, on the day which is by us called the Sabbath; for we call the seventh day the Sabbath. But for the occasion of this intention of placing loaves here, we will speak to it in another place.

(7) [144] Κατὰ πρόσωπον δὲ τῆς τραπέζης τῷ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τετραμμένῳ τοίχῳ πλησίον ἵσταται λυχνία ἐκ χρυσοῦ κεχωνευμένη διάκενος σταθμὸν ἔχουσα μνᾶς ἑκατόν: Ἑβραῖοι μὲν καλοῦσι κίγχαρες, εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν μεταβαλλόμενον γλῶτταν σημαίνει τάλαντον. [145] πεποίηται δὲ σφαιρία καὶ κρίνα σὺν ῥοίσκοις καὶ κρατηριδίοις, ἑβδομήκοντα δ᾽ ἦν τὰ πάντα, ἐξ ὧν ἀπὸ μιᾶς βάσεως συνετέθη πρὸς ὕψος, ποιήσαντος αὐτὴν συγκειμένην εἰς μοίρας εἰς ὅσας τοὺς πλανήτας καὶ τὸν ἥλιον κατανέμουσιν. [146] ἀπαρτίζεται δὲ εἰς ἑπτὰ κεφαλὰς καταλλήλας ἐν στίχῳ διακειμένας. λύχνοι δ᾽ ἐπιφέρονται αὐταῖς ἑπτὰ κατὰ μίαν τῶν

πλανητῶν τὸν ἀριθμὸν μεμιμημένοι, ὁρῶσι δὲ εἴς τε τὴν ἀνατολὴν καὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν λοξῶς αὐτῆς κειμένης.

7. Over against this table, near the southern wall, was set a candlestick of cast gold, hollow within, being of the weight of one hundred pounds, which the Hebrews call Chinchares, if it be turned into the Greek language, it denotes a talent. It was made with its knops, and lilies, and pomegranates, and bowls [which ornaments amounted to seventy in all]; by which means the shaft elevated itself on high from a single base, and spread itself into as many branches as there are planets, including the sun among them. It terminated in seven heads, in one row, all standing parallel to one another; and these branches carried seven lamps, one by one, in imitation of the number of the planets. These lamps looked to the east and to the south, the candlestick being situate obliquely.

(8) [147] Μεταξὺ δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς τραπέζης ἔνδον, ὡς προεῖπον, θυμιατήριον ξύλινον μέν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὰ πρότερα ἦν σκεύη μὴ σηπόμενα, στερεὰ δὲ περιελήλατ᾽ αὐτῷ λεπίς, πηχυαῖον μὲν κατὰ πλευρὰν ἑκάστην τὸ πλάτος ὕψος δὲ διπλάσιον. [148] ἐπῆν τε ἐσχάρα χρυσεία ὑπερανεστῶσα ἔχουσα κατὰ γωνίαν ἑκάστην στέφανον καὶ τοῦτον δ᾽ ἐκπεριοδεύοντα χρύσεον, ᾗ καὶ κρίκοι καὶ σκυταλίδες προσῆσαν, αἷς κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων ἐφέρετο. [149] ἵδρυτο δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς βωμὸς χάλκεος ὑπόξυλος καὶ αὐτὸς ἑκάστην πλευρὰν πέντε πήχεσιν ἐκμεμετρημένος, τὸ δὲ ὕψος τρίπηχυς, ὁμοίως τῷ χρυσῷ κεκοσμημένος, χαλκείαις λεπίσιν ἐξησκημένος, δικτύῳ τὴν ἐσχάραν ἐμφερής: ἐξεδέχετο γὰρ ἡ γῆ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάρας πῦρ καταφερόμενον τῆς βάσεως διὰ παντὸς οὐχ ὑποκειμένης. [150] ἀντικρὺ δ᾽ ἐτίθεντο τοῦ χρυσέου οἰνοχόαι τε καὶ φιάλαι σὺν θυίσκαις καὶ κρατῆρσιν ἦσαν ὅσα τε ἄλλα πρὸς τὰς ἱερουργίας πεποίητο χρύσεα πάντα ὑπῆρχε. καὶ ἡ μὲν σκηνὴ τοιαύτη τε ἦν καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν σκεύη.

8. Now between this candlestick and the table, which, as we said, were within the sanctuary, was the altar of incense, made of wood indeed, but of the same wood of which the foregoing vessels were made, such as was not liable to corruption; it was entirely crusted over with a golden plate. Its breadth on each side was a cubit, but the altitude double. Upon it was a grate of gold, that was extant above the altar, which had a golden crown encompassing it round about, whereto belonged rings and bars, by which the priests carried it when they journeyed. Before this tabernacle there was reared a brazen altar, but it was within made of wood, five cubits by measure on each side, but its height was but three, in like manner adorned with brass plates as bright as gold. It had also a brazen hearth of network; for the ground underneath received the fire from the hearth, because it

had no basis to receive it. Hard by this altar lay the basins, and the vials, and the censers, and the caldrons, made of gold; but the other vessels, made for the use of the sacrifices, were all of brass. And such was the construction of the tabernacle; and these were the vessels thereto belonging.

VII

CHAPTER 7. Concerning The Garments Of The Priests, And Of The High Priest.

(1) [151] Γίνονται δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι στολαὶ πᾶσί τε τοῖς ἄλλοις, οὓς χαναναίας καλοῦσι, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, ὃν ἀραβάχην προσαγορεύουσι: σημαίνει δὲ ἀρχιερέα. Τὴν μὲν οὖν τῶν ἄλλων στολὴν τοιαύτην εἶναι συμβέβηκεν. [152] ὅταν δὲ προσίῃ ταῖς ἱερουργίαις ὁ ἱερεὺς ἡγνευκὼς ἦν ὁ νόμος ἁγνείαν προαγορεύει, πρῶτον μὲν περιτίθεται τὸν μαναχάσην λεγόμενον: βούλεται δὲ τοῦτο συνακτῆρα μὲν δηλοῦν, διάζωμα δ' ἐστὶ περὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα ῥαπτὸν ἐκ βύσσου κλωστῆς εἰργασμένον ἐμβαινόντων εἰς αὐτὸ τῶν ποδῶν ὥσπερ εἰς ἀναξυρίδας, ἀποτέμνεται δὲ ὑπὲρ ἥμισυ καὶ τελευτῆσαν ἄχρι τῆς λαγόνος περὶ αὐτὴν ἀποσφίγγεται.

1. There were peculiar garments appointed for the priests, and for all the rest, which they call Cohanoeoe [-priestly] garments, as also for the high priests, which they call Cahanoeoe Rabbae, and denote the high priest's garments. Such was therefore the habit of the rest. But when the priest approaches the sacrifices, he purifies himself with the purification which the law prescribes; and, in the first place, he puts on that which is called Machanase, which means somewhat that is fast tied. It is a girdle, composed of fine twined linen, and is put about the privy parts, the feet being to be inserted into them in the nature of breeches, but above half of it is cut off, and it ends at the thighs, and is there tied fast.

(2) [153] Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ λίνεον ἔνδυμα διπλῆς φορεῖ σινδόνος βυσσίνης, χεθομένη μὲν καλεῖται, λίνεον δὲ τοῦτο σημαίνει: χέθον γὰρ τὸ λίνον ἡμεῖς καλοῦμεν. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔνδυμα ποδήρης χιτὼν περιγεγραμμένος τῷ σώματι καὶ τὰς χειρῖδας περὶ τοῖς βραχίοσιν κατεσφιγμένος, [154] ὃν ἐπιζώννυνται κατὰ στῆθος ὀλίγον τῆς μασχάλης ὑπεράνω τὴν ζώνην περιάγοντες πλατεῖαν μὲν ὡς εἰς τέσσαρας δακτύλους, διακένως δ' ὑφασμένην ὥστε λεβηρίδα δοκεῖν ὄφεως: ἄνθη δ' εἰς αὐτὴν ἐνύφανται φοίνικι καὶ πορφύρᾳ μετὰ ὑακίνθου καὶ βύσσου πεποικιλμένα, στήμων δ' ἐστὶ μόνη βύσσος. [155] καὶ λαβοῦσα τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἑλίξεως κατὰ στέρνον καὶ περιελθοῦσα πάλιν δεῖται, καὶ κέχυται μὲν πολλὴ μέχρι καὶ τῶν σφυρῶν ἕως οὗ μηδὲν ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐνεργεῖ, πρὸς γὰρ εὐπρέπειαν οὕτως ἔχει τοῖς ὁρῶσι καλῶς, ὅταν δὲ σπουδάζειν περὶ τὰς θυσίας δέῃ καὶ διακονεῖν, ὅπως μὴ κινουμένης ἐμποδίζηται πρὸς τὸ ἔργον, ἀναβαλόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν λαιὸν ὦμον φέρει. [156] Μωυσῆς μὲν οὖν ἀβαίθ αὐτὴν ἐκάλεσεν, ἡμεῖς δὲ παρὰ Βαβυλωνίων μεμαθηκότες ἐμίαν αὐτὴν καλοῦμεν: οὕτως γὰρ προσαγορεύεται παρ' αὐτοῖς. οὗτος ὁ χιτὼν κολποῦται μὲν οὐδαμόθεν, λαγαρὸν δὲ παρέχων τὸν βροχωτῆρα

τοῦ αὐχένος ἁρπεδόσιν ἐκ τῆς ὥας καὶ τῶν κατὰ στέρνον καὶ μετάφρενον ἠρτημέναις ἀναδεῖται ὑπὲρ ἑκατέραν κατακλεῖδα: μασσαβάνης καλεῖται.

2. Over this he wore a linen vestment, made of fine flax doubled: it is called Chethone, and denotes linen, for we call linen by the name of Chethone. This vestment reaches down to the feet, and sits close to the body; and has sleeves that are tied fast to the arms: it is girded to the breast a little above the elbows, by a girdle often going round, four fingers broad, but so loosely woven, that you would think it were the skin of a serpent. It is embroidered with flowers of scarlet, and purple, and blue, and fine twined linen, but the warp was nothing but fine linen. The beginning of its circumvolution is at the breast; and when it has gone often round, it is there tied, and hangs loosely there down to the ankles: I mean this, all the time the priest is not about any laborious service, for in this position it appears in the most agreeable manner to the spectators; but when he is obliged to assist at the offering sacrifices, and to do the appointed service, that he may not be hindered in his operations by its motion, he throws it to the left, and bears it on his shoulder. Moses indeed calls this belt Albaneth; but we have learned from the Babylonians to call it Emia, for so it is by them called. This vestment has no loose or hollow parts any where in it, but only a narrow aperture about the neck; and it is tied with certain strings hanging down from the edge over the breast and back, and is fastened above each shoulder: it is called Massabazanes.

(3) [157] Ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς φορεῖ πῖλον ἄκωνον οὐ διικνούμενον εἰς πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἀλλ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ὀλίγον ὑπερβεβηκότα μέσης: καλεῖται μὲν μασναεφθῆς, τῇ δὲ κατασκευῇ τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ὡς στεφάνη δοκεῖν ἐξ ὑφάσματος λινέου ταινία πεποιημένη παχεῖα: καὶ γὰρ ἐπιπτυσσόμενον ῥάπτεται πολλάκις. [158] ἔπειτα σινδὼν ἄνωθεν αὐτὸν ἐκπεριέρχεται διήκουσα μέχρι μετώπου τήν τε ῥαφὴν τῆς ταινίας καὶ τὸ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἀπρεπὲς καλύπτουσα καὶ ὅλη δὲ τῷ κρανίῳ γιγνομένη ἐπίπεδον: ἥρμοσται δὲ ἀκριβῶς, ὡς ἂν μὴ περιρρυείη πονοῦντος περὶ τὴν ἱερουργίαν. καὶ ὁποία μέν ἐστιν ἡ τῶν πολλῶν ἱερέων στολὴ δεδηλώκαμεν.

3. Upon his head he wears a cap, not brought to a conic form nor encircling the whole head, but still covering more than the half of it, which is called Masnaemphthes; and its make is such that it seems to be a crown, being made of thick swathes, but the contexture is of linen; and it is doubled round many times, and sewed together; besides which, a piece of fine linen covers the whole cap from the upper part, and reaches down to the forehead, and hides the seams of the swathes, which would otherwise appear indecently: this adheres closely upon the solid part of the head, and is thereto so firmly fixed, that it may not fall off

during the sacred service about the sacrifices. So we have now shown you what is the habit of the generality of the priests.

(4) [159] Ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς κοσμεῖται μὲν καὶ ταύτῃ παραλιπὼν οὐδὲν τῶν προειρημένων, ἐπενδυσάμενος δ' ἐξ ὑακίνθου πεποιημένον χιτῶνα, ποδήρης δ' ἐστὶ καὶ οὗτος, μεεὶρ καλεῖται κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν γλῶσσαν, ζώνῃ περισφίγγεται βάμμασιν οἷς ἡ πρότερον ἥνθει διαπεποικιλμένῃ χρυσοῦ συνυφασμένου: [160] κατὰ πέζαν δ' αὐτῷ προσερραμμένοι θύσανοι ῥοῶν τρόπον ἐκ βαφῆς μεμιμημένοι ἀπήρτηντο καὶ κώδωνες χρύσεοι κατὰ πολλὴν ἐπιτήδευσιν τῆς εὐπρεπείας, ὥστε μέσον ἀπολαμβάνεσθαι δυοῖν τε κωδώνοιν ῥοίσκον, καὶ ῥοῶν κωδώνιον. [161] ἔστι δ' ὁ χιτὼν οὗτος οὐκ ἐκ δυοῖν περιτμημάτων, ὥστε ῥαπτὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων εἶναι καὶ τῶν παρὰ πλευράν, φάρσος δ' ἓν ἐπίμηκες ὑφασμένον σχιστὸν ἔχει βροχωτῆρα πλάγιον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μῆκος ἐρρωγότα πρός τε τὸ στέρνον καὶ μέσον τὸ μετάφρενον: πέζα δ' αὐτῷ προσέρραπται ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ διελέγχεσθαι τῆς τομῆς τὴν δυσπρέπειαν: ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὅθεν αἱ χεῖρες διείργονται σχιστός ἐστιν.

4. The high priest is indeed adorned with the same garments that we have described, without abating one; only over these he puts on a vestment of a blue color. This also is a long robe, reaching to his feet, [in our language it is called Meeir,] and is tied round with a girdle, embroidered with the same colors and flowers as the former, with a mixture of gold interwoven. To the bottom of which garment are hung fringes, in color like pomegranates, with golden bells by a curious and beautiful contrivance; so that between two bells hangs a pomegranate, and between two pomegranates a bell. Now this vesture was not composed of two pieces, nor was it sewed together upon the shoulders and the sides, but it was one long vestment so woven as to have an aperture for the neck; not an oblique one, but parted all along the breast and the back. A border also was sewed to it, lest the aperture should look too indecently: it was also parted where the hands were to come out.

(5) [162] Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τρίτον ἐνδύεται τὸν λεγόμενον μὲν ἐφώδην, Ἑλληνικῇ δ' ἐπωμίδι προσεοικότα: γίνεται γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. ὑφανθεὶς ἐπὶ βάθος πηχυαῖον ἔκ τε χρωμάτων παντοίων καὶ χρυσοῦ συμπεποικιλμένος ἀπερίπτυκτον τοῦ στέρνου τὸ μέσον καταλιμπάνει χειρῖσι τε ἠσκημένος καὶ τῷ παντὶ σχήματι χιτὼν εἶναι πεποιημένος. [163] τῷ δὲ διακένῳ τοῦ ἐνδύματος σύνεισι περίτμημα σπιθαμῆς τὸ μέγεθος χρυσῷ τε καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τῷ ἐφώδῃ βάμμασι διηνθισμένον: ἐσσὴν μὲν καλεῖται, σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶτταν λόγιον: [164] πληροῖ δὲ ἀκριβῶς τοῦ ἐφώδου ὅπερ ὑφαίνοντες κατὰ στῆθος ἐξέλιπον, ἐνοῦται δ' ὑπὸ κρίκων χρυσέων αὐτῷ τε κατὰ γωνίαν ἑκάστην κἀκείνῳ τῶν ἴσων

προσκεκοινωμένων, ῥάμματος ὑακίνθου παραληφθέντος εἰς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατάδεσιν τοῖς κρίκοις. [165] πρὸς δὲ τὸ μὴ χαλαρὸν εἶναι τὸ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν κρίκων καταλιμπανόμενον ῥαφὴν αὐτοῦ νήμασιν ὑακινθίνοις ἐπενόησαν. πορποῦσι δὲ τὴν ἐπωμίδα σαρδόνυχες δύο κατὰ τῶν ὤμων ἑκάτερον τέλος ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐπιθέον χρύσεον ἔχοντες πρὸς τὸ ταῖς περονίσιν ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι. [166] ἐγγέγραπται δὲ τούτοις τῶν Ἰακώβου παίδων τὰ ὀνόματα γράμμασιν ἐπιχωρίοις γλώσσῃ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ κατὰ ἓξ τῶν λίθων ἑκατέρῳ, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι δ᾽ εἰσὶ κατὰ ὦμον τὸν δεξιόν. ἐπίασι δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐσσήνην λίθοι δώδεκα μεγέθει καὶ κάλλει διαφέροντες οὐ κτητὸς ἀνθρώποις κόσμος διὰ τιμῆς ὑπερβολὴν ὄντες: [167] οὗτοι μέντοι κατὰ στίχον τρεῖς ἐπὶ τεσσάρων διακείμενοι γραμμῶν ἐνήσκηνται τῷ ὕφει, χρυσὸς δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐκπεριέρχεται τὰς ἕλικας ἐντιθεὶς τῷ ὕφει πρὸς τὸ μὴ διαρρεῖν οὕτως πεποιημένος. [168] καὶ ἡ μὲν πρώτη τριάς ἐστι σαρδόνυξ τόπαζος σμάραγδος, ἡ δευτέρα δὲ ἄνθρακα παρέχεται καὶ ἴασπιν καὶ σάπφειρον, τῆς δὲ τρίτης λίγυρος μὲν ἄρχει εἶτα ἀμέθυσος ἀχάτης δὲ τρίτος ἔνατος ὢν τοῖς πᾶσι, τετάρτου δὲ στίχου χρυσόλιθος μὲν πρόκειται, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ὄνυξ, εἶτα βήρυλλος, τελευταῖος οὗτος. [169] γράμματα δὲ ἐπετέτμητο πᾶσι τῶν Ἰακώβου υἱῶν, οὓς καὶ φυλάρχους νομίζομεν, ἑκάστου τῶν λίθων ὀνόματι τετιμημένου κατὰ τάξιν ἣν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν γενέσθαι συμβέβηκε. [170] τῶν οὖν κρίκων ἀσθενῶν ὄντων κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐνεγκεῖν τὸ βάρος τῶν λίθων ἑτέρους δύο κρίκους μείζονας τῇ πέζῃ τοῦ ἐσσήνου ᾗπερ ἀνήκει πρὸς τὸν τράχηλον ἐμβεβηκότας τῷ ὑφάσματι ποιοῦσι, δεξομένους ἁλύσεις εἰργασμένας, αἳ συνῆσαν κατ᾽ ἄκρον τῶν ὤμων σειραῖς ἐκ χρυσοῦ πεπλεγμέναις συνάπτουσαι, ὧν τὸ ἄκρον ἀνεστραμμένον ἐνέβαινε κρίκῳ προέχοντι τῆς νωτιαίας πέζης τοῦ ἐφώδου. [171] καὶ τοῦτο ἦν ἀσφάλεια τῷ ἐσσήνῃ πρὸς τὸ μὴ περιρρεῖν, ζώνη δὲ τῷ ἐσσήνῃ προσέρραπτο βάμμασιν οἷς προεῖπον μετὰ χρυσίου προσφερής, ἣ περιοδεύσασα δεῖται πάλιν ἐπὶ τῇ ῥαφῇ καὶ κατακρεμνᾶται: τοὺς δὲ θυσάνους χρύσεαι σύριγγες καθ᾽ ἑκατέραν ἄκραν ἐκλαβοῦσαι πάντας ἐμπεριέχουσιν αὗται.

5. Besides these, the high priest put on a third garment, which was called the Ephod, which resembles the Epomis of the Greeks. Its make was after this manner: it was woven to the depth of a cubit, of several colors, with gold intermixed, and embroidered, but it left the middle of the breast uncovered: it was made with sleeves also; nor did it appear to be at all differently made from a short coat. But in the void place of this garment there was inserted a piece of the bigness of a span, embroidered with gold, and the other colors of the ephod, and was called Essen, [the breastplate,] which in the Greek language signifies the Oracle. This piece exactly filled up the void space in the ephod. It was united to it by golden rings at every corner, the like rings being annexed to the ephod, and a blue riband was made use of to tie them together by those rings; and that the

space between the rings might not appear empty, they contrived to fill it up with stitches of blue ribands. There were also two sardonyxes upon the ephod, at the shoulders, to fasten it in the nature of buttons, having each end running to the sardonyxes of gold, that they might be buttoned by them. On these were engraven the names of the sons of Jacob, in our own country letters, and in our own tongue, six on each of the stones, on either side; and the elder sons' names were on the right shoulder. Twelve stones also there were upon the breastplate, extraordinary in largeness and beauty; and they were an ornament not to be purchased by men, because of their immense value. These stones, however, stood in three rows, by four in a row, and were inserted into the breastplate itself, and they were set in ouches of gold, that were themselves inserted in the breastplate, and were so made that they might not fall out low the first three stones were a sardonyx, a topaz, and an emerald. The second row contained a carbuncle, a jasper, and a sapphire. The first of the third row was a ligure, then an amethyst, and the third an agate, being the ninth of the whole number. The first of the fourth row was a chrysolite, the next was an onyx, and then a beryl, which was the last of all. Now the names of all those sons of Jacob were engraven in these stones, whom we esteem the heads of our tribes, each stone having the honor of a name, in the order according to which they were born. And whereas the rings were too weak of themselves to bear the weight of the stones, they made two other rings of a larger size, at the edge of that part of the breastplate which reached to the neck, and inserted into the very texture of the breastplate, to receive chains finely wrought, which connected them with golden bands to the tops of the shoulders, whose extremity turned backwards, and went into the ring, on the prominent back part of the ephod; and this was for the security of the breastplate, that it might not fall out of its place. There was also a girdle sewed to the breastplate, which was of the forementioned colors, with gold intermixed, which, when it had gone once round, was tied again upon the seam, and hung down. There were also golden loops that admitted its fringes at each extremity of the girdle, and included them entirely.

(6) [172] Πῖλον δὲ ἦν ὁ καὶ πρότερον αὐτῷ παραπλησίως εἰργασμένος τοῖς πᾶσιν ἱερεῦσιν, ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν δὲ συνερραμμένος ἕτερος ἐξ ὑακίνθου πεποικιλμένος περιέρχεται στέφανος χρύσεος ἐπὶ τριστιχίαν κεχαλκευμένος. θάλλει δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ κάλυξ χρύσεος τῇ σακχάρῳ βοτάνῃ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν λεγομένῃ ἀπομεμιμημένος, ὑὸς δὲ κύαμον Ἑλλήνων οἱ περὶ τομὰς ῥιζῶν ἐμπείρως ἔχοντες προσαγορεύουσιν. [173] εἰ δέ τις ἢ θεασάμενος τὴν βοτάνην ἀμαθίᾳ τούτου ἀγνοεῖ τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς ἢ τὴν κλῆσιν ἐπιστάμενος οὐκ ἰδὼν δ᾽ ἀναγνωρίσειε, τοῖς οὕτω δὴ ἔχουσι σημανῶ τὸν τρόπον: [174] βοτάνη μέν ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τρεῖς σπιθαμὰς πολλάκις αὐξανομένη τὸ

ὕψος, τὴν δὲ ῥίζαν ἐμφερὴς βουνιάδι, ταύτῃ γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοι τις εἰκάζων αὐτήν, τὰ δὲ φύλλα τοῖς εὐζώμων: ἐκ μέντοι τῶν κλάδων ἀνίησι κάλυκα προσεχῆ τῷ κλωνί, περίεισι δ᾽ αὐτὴν ἔλυτρον, ὅπερ ἀποκρίνεται κατ᾽ αὐτὸ πρὸς τὸν καρπὸν μεταβαλεῖν ἠργμένης: ὁ δὲ κάλυξ μεγέθους ἐστὶ σκυταλίδος τοῦ μικροῦ δακτύλου, κρατῆρι δ᾽ ἐμφερὴς τὴν περιγραφήν. σημανῶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς οὐ μεμαθηκόσι: [175] σφαιρίδος εἰς δύο τετμημένης περὶ τῷ πυθμένι τὴν ἑτέραν τομὴν ἔχει φυόμενος ἀπὸ ῥίζης περιφερής: εἶτα συνιὼν κατ᾽ ὀλίγον ὑποκοιλαινούσης εὐπρεπῶς τῆς ὑποχωρήσεως ἀνευρύνεται πάλιν ἠρέμα κατὰ χεῖλος, ὁμοίως ὀμφαλῷ ῥοιᾶς τετμημένος. [176] ἐπίθεμα δ᾽ αὐτῷ ἡμισφαίριον προσπέφυκεν ἀκριβῶς ἂν εἴποι τις τετορνευμένον, ὑπερανεστώσας ἔχον τὰς ἐντομάς, ἃς εἶπον τῇ ῥοᾷ παραπλησίως βλαστάνειν, ἀκανθώδεις καὶ εἰς ὀξὺ παντελῶς ἀπολῃγούσας τὸ ἄκρον. [177] φυλάττει δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐπιθέματι τὸν καρπὸν διὰ παντὸς τοῦ κάλυκος ὄντα βοτάνης σπέρματι τῆς σιδηρίτιδος ὅμοιον, ἀφίησι δ᾽ ἄνθος τῷ τῆς μήκωνος πλαταγωνίῳ δυνάμενον δοκεῖν ἐμφερὲς εἶναι. [178] ἐκ τούτου μὲν στέφανος ἐκκεχάλκευται ὅσον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰνίου πρὸς ἑκάτερον τῶν κροτάφων. τὸ δὲ μέτωπον ἡ μὲν ἐφιελὶς οὐκ ἔπεισι, λεγέσθω γὰρ οὕτως ὁ κάλυξ, τελαμὼν δ᾽ ἐστὶ χρύσεος, ὃς ἱεροῖς γράμμασι τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐπιτετμημένος ἐστί. καὶ τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως κόσμος ἐστί.

6. The high priest's mitre was the same that we described before, and was wrought like that of all the other priests; above which there was another, with swathes of blue embroidered, and round it was a golden crown polished, of three rows, one above another; out of which arose a cup of gold, which resembled the herb which we call Saccharus; but those Greeks that are skillful in botany call it Hyoscyamus. Now, lest any one that has seen this herb, but has not been taught its name, and is unacquainted with its nature, or, having known its name, knows not the herb when he sees it, I shall give such as these are a description of it. This herb is oftentimes in tallness above three spans, but its root is like that of a turnip [for he that should compare it thereto would not be mistaken]; but its leaves are like the leaves of mint. Out of its branches it sends out a calyx, cleaving to the branch; and a coat encompasses it, which it naturally puts off when it is changing, in order to produce its fruit. This calyx is of the bigness of the bone of the little finger, but in the compass of its aperture is like a cup. This I will further describe, for the use of those that are unacquainted with it. Suppose a sphere be divided into two parts, round at the bottom, but having another segment that grows up to a circumference from that bottom; suppose it become narrower by degrees, and that the cavity of that part grow decently smaller, and then gradually grow wider again at the brim, such as we see in the navel of a pomegranate, with its notches. And indeed such a coat grows over this plant as

renders it a hemisphere, and that, as one may say, turned accurately in a lathe, and having its notches extant above it, which, as I said, grow like a pomegranate, only that they are sharp, and end in nothing but prickles. Now the fruit is preserved by this coat of the calyx, which fruit is like the seed of the herb Sideritis: it sends out a flower that may seem to resemble that of poppy. Of this was a crown made, as far from the hinder part of the head to each of the temples; but this Ephielis, for so this calyx may be called, did not cover the forehead, but it was covered with a golden plate, which had inscribed upon it the name of God in sacred characters. And such were the ornaments of the high priest.

(7) [179] Θαυμάσειε δ' ἄν τις τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπέχθειαν, ἣν ὡς ἐκφαυλιζόντων ἡμῶν τὸ θεῖον ὅπερ αὐτοὶ σέβειν προῄρηνται διατετελέκασιν ἐσχηκότες: [180] εἰ γάρ τις τῆς σκηνῆς κατανοήσειε τὴν πῆξιν καὶ τοῦ ἱερέως ἴδοι τὴν στολὴν τά τε σκεύη, οἷς περὶ τὴν ἱερουργίαν χρώμεθα, τόν τε νομοθέτην εὑρήσει θεῖον ἄνδρα καὶ ματαίως ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τὰς βλασφημίας ἀκούοντας: ἕκαστα γὰρ τούτων εἰς ἀπομίμησιν καὶ διατύπωσιν τῶν ὅλων, εἴ τις ἀφθόνως ἐθέλοι καὶ μετὰ συνέσεως σκοπεῖν, εὑρήσει γεγονότα: [181] τήν τε γὰρ σκηνὴν τριάκοντα πηχῶν οὖσαν νείμας εἰς τρία καὶ δύο μέρη πᾶσιν ἀνεὶς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ὥσπερ βέβηλόν τινα καὶ κοινὸν τόπον, τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀποσημαίνει: καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα πᾶσίν ἐστιν ἐπιβατά. τὴν δὲ τρίτην μοῖραν μόνῳ περιέγραψε τῷ θεῷ διὰ τὸ καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνεπίβατον εἶναι ἀνθρώποις. [182] ἐπί τε τῇ τραπέζῃ τοὺς δώδεκα τιθεὶς ἄρτους ἀποσημαίνει τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς τοσούτους μῆνας διῃρημένον. τὴν δὲ λυχνίαν ἐξ ἑβδομήκοντα μορίων ποιήσας συγκειμένην τὰς τῶν πλανητῶν δεκαμοιρίας ᾐνίξατο: καὶ λύχνους ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἑπτά, τῶν πλανητῶν τὴν φοράν: τοσοῦτοι γάρ εἰσι τὸν ἀριθμόν. [183] τά τε φάρση ἐκ τεσσάρων ὑφανθέντα τὴν τῶν στοιχείων φύσιν δηλοῖ: ἥ τε γὰρ βύσσος τὴν γῆν ἀποσημαίνειν ἔοικε διὰ τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀνεῖσθαι τὸ λίνον, ἥ τε πορφύρα τὴν θάλασσαν τῷ πεφοινῖχθαι τῶν ἰχθύων τῷ αἵματι, τὸν δὲ ἀέρα βούλεται δηλοῦν ὁ ὑάκινθος, καὶ ὁ φοῖνιξ δ' ἂν εἴη τεκμήριον τοῦ πυρός. [184] ἀποσημαίνει δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως χιτὼν τὴν γῆν λίνεος ὤν, ὁ δὲ ὑάκινθος τὸν πόλον, ἀστραπαῖς μὲν κατὰ τοὺς ῥοίσκους ἀπεικασμένος βρονταῖς δὲ κατὰ τὸν τῶν κωδώνων ψόφον. καὶ τὴν ἐφαπτίδα τοῦ παντὸς τὴν φύσιν ἐκ τεσσάρων δοχθεῖσαν γενέσθαι τῷ θεῷ χρυσῷ συνυφασμένην κατ' ἐπίνοιαν οἶμαι τῆς προσούσης ἅπασιν αὐγῆς. [185] καὶ τὸν ἐσσῆνα μέσον ὄντα τῆς ἐφαπτίδος ἐν τρόπῳ γῆς ἔταξε: καὶ γὰρ αὕτη τὸν μεσαίτατον τόπον ἔχει: ζώνῃ τε περιοδεύσας τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἀποσημαίνει: καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἐμπεριείληφε τὰ πάντα. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην τῶν σαρδονύχων ἑκάτερος, οἷς ἐνεπόρπωσε τὸν ἀρχιερέα. [186] τήν τε δωδεκάδα τῶν λίθων εἴτε τοὺς μῆνάς τις θέλοι νοεῖν, εἴτε τὸν οὕτως [ἀριθμὸν τῶν] ἀστέρων, ὃν ζωδιακὸν κύκλον Ἕλληνες καλοῦσι, τῆς κατ' ἐκεῖνο γνώμης οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοι:

καὶ ὁ πῖλος δέ μοι δοκεῖ τὸν οὐρανὸν τεκμηριοῦν ὑακίνθινος πεποιημένος, [187] οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλως ὑπερανετίθετο αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ στεφάνῃ ἠγλαισμένον καὶ ταύτῃ χρυσέᾳ, διὰ τὴν αὐγήν, ᾗ μάλιστα χαίρει τὸ θεῖον. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτόν μοι δεδηλώσθω πολλάκις τε καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ νομοθέτου παρεξόντων ἡμῖν διελθεῖν τῶν πραγμάτων.

7. Now here one may wonder at the ill-will which men bear to us, and which they profess to bear on account of our despising that Deity which they pretend to honor; for if any one do but consider the fabric of the tabernacle, and take a view of the garments of the high priest, and of those vessels which we make use of in our sacred ministration, he will find that our legislator was a divine man, and that we are unjustly reproached by others; for if any one do without prejudice, and with judgment, look upon these things, he will find they were every one made in way of imitation and representation of the universe. When Moses distinguished the tabernacle into three parts, and allowed two of them to the priests, as a place accessible and common, he denoted the land and the sea, these being of general access to all; but he set apart the third division for God, because heaven is inaccessible to men. And when he ordered twelve loaves to be set on the table, he denoted the year, as distinguished into so many months. By branching out the candlestick into seventy parts, he secretly intimated the Decani, or seventy divisions of the planets; and as to the seven lamps upon the candlesticks, they referred to the course of the planets, of which that is the number. The veils, too, which were composed of four things, they declared the four elements; for the fine linen was proper to signify the earth, because the flax grows out of the earth; the purple signified the sea, because that color is dyed by the blood of a sea shell-fish; the blue is fit to signify the air; and the scarlet will naturally be an indication of fire. Now the vestment of the high priest being made of linen, signified the earth; the blue denoted the sky, being like lightning in its pomegranates, and in the noise of the bells resembling thunder. And for the ephod, it showed that God had made the universe of four elements; and as for the gold interwoven, I suppose it related to the splendor by which all things are enlightened. He also appointed the breastplate to be placed in the middle of the ephod, to resemble the earth, for that has the very middle place of the world. And the girdle which encompassed the high priest round, signified the ocean, for that goes round about and includes the universe. Each of the sardonyxes declares to us the sun and the moon; those, I mean, that were in the nature of buttons on the high priest's shoulders. And for the twelve stones, whether we understand by them the months, or whether we understand the like number of the signs of that circle which the Greeks call the Zodiac, we shall not be mistaken in their

meaning. And for the mitre, which was of a blue color, it seems to me to mean heaven; for how otherwise could the name of God be inscribed upon it? That it was also illustrated with a crown, and that of gold also, is because of that splendor with which God is pleased. Let this explication suffice at present, since the course of my narration will often, and on many occasions, afford me the opportunity of enlarging upon the virtue of our legislator.

VIII

CHAPTER 8. Of The Priesthood Of Aaron.

(1) [188] Ὡς δὲ τὸ προειρημένον πέρας εἶχε, τῶν ἀναθημάτων μήπω καθιερωμένων ἐπιστὰς ὁ θεὸς Μωυσεῖ τὴν ἱερωσύνην Ἀαρῶνι τἀδελφῷ προσέταξε δοῦναι ὡς ἁπάντων δι᾽ ἀρετὴν τῆς τιμῆς δικαιοτέρῳ τυχεῖν. καὶ συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸ πλῆθος τήν τε ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν εὔνοιαν διεξῄει καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους οὓς ὑπομείνειεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. [189] μαρτυρούντων δ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἅπασιν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν πρόθυμον ἐνδεικνυμένων, "ἄνδρες, εἶπεν, Ἰσραηλῖται, τὸ μὲν ἔργον ἤδη τέλος ἔχει οἷον αὐτῷ τε τῷ θεῷ ἥδιστον ἦν καὶ δυνατὸν ἡμῖν, ἐπεὶ δὲ δεῖ τοῦτον τῇ σκηνῇ καταδέχεσθαι, δεῖ πρῶτον ἡμῖν τοῦ ἱερατευσομένου καὶ ὑπηρετήσοντος ταῖς θυσίαις καὶ ταῖς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν εὐχαῖς. [190] καὶ ἔγωγε ταύτης ἐμοὶ τῆς σκέψεως ἐπιτραπείσης ἐμαυτὸν ἂν τῆς τιμῆς ἄξιον ἔκρινα διά τε τὸ φύσει πάντας εἶναι φιλαύτους, καὶ ὅτι πολλὰ ἐμαυτῷ καμόντι περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς ὑμετέρας σύνοιδα: νῦν δ᾽ αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς Ἀαρῶνα τῆς τιμῆς ἄξιον ἔκρινε καὶ τοῦτον ᾑρηται ἱερέα, τὸν δικαιότερον ἡμῶν μᾶλλον εἰδώς, [191] ὡς οὗτος ἐνδύσεται στολὴν τῷ θεῷ καθωσιωμένην καὶ βωμῶν ἐπιμέλειαν ἕξει καὶ πρόνοιαν ἱερείων καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν εὐχὰς ποιήσεται πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἡδέως ἀκουσόμενον, ὅτι τε κήδεται γένους τοῦ ἡμετέρου καὶ παρ᾽ ἀνδρὸς ὃν αὐτὸς ἐπελέξατο [192] γινομένας προσδέχεται ταύτας." Ἑβραῖοι δὲ ἠρέσκοντο τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ συνῄνουν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ χειροτονίᾳ: ἦν γὰρ Ἀαρὼν διά τε τὸ γένος καὶ τὴν προφητείαν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τἀδελφοῦ πρὸς τιμὴν ἁπάντων ἀξιολογώτερος. ἦσαν δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ παῖδες κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον τέσσαρες Νάβαδος Ἀβιοῦς Ἐλεάζαρος Ἰθάμαρος.

1. When what has been described was brought to a conclusion, gifts not being yet presented, God appeared to Moses, and enjoined him to bestow the high priesthood upon Aaron his brother, as upon him that best of them all deserved to obtain that honor, on account of his virtue. And when he had gathered the multitude together, he gave them an account of Aaron's virtue, and of his good-will to them, and of the dangers he had undergone for their sakes. Upon which, when they had given testimony to him in all respects, and showed their readiness to receive him, Moses said to them, "O you Israelites, this work is already brought to a conclusion, in a manner most acceptable to God, and according to our abilities. And now since you see that he is received into this tabernacle, we shall first of all stand in need of one that may officiate for us, and may minister to the sacrifices, and to the prayers that are to be put up for us. And indeed had the inquiry after such a person been left to me, I should have thought myself worthy of this honor, both because all men are naturally fond of themselves, and

because I am conscious to myself that I have taken a great deal of pains for your deliverance; but now God himself has determined that Aaron is worthy of this honor, and has chosen him for his priest, as knowing him to be the most righteous person among you. So that he is to put on the vestments which are consecrated to God; he is to have the care of the altars, and to make provision for the sacrifices; and he it is that must put up prayers for you to God, who will readily hear them, not only because he is himself solicitous for your nation, but also because he will receive them as offered by one that he hath himself chosen to this office." The Hebrews were pleased with what was said, and they gave their approbation to him whom God had ordained; for Aaron was of them all the most deserving of this honor, on account of his own stock and gift of prophecy, and his brother's virtue. He had at that time four sons, Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar.

(2) [193] Ὅσα δὲ τῶν πρὸς τὴν τῆς σκηνῆς κατασκευὴν παρεσκευασμένων ἦν περιττὰ ταῦτ' ἐκέλευσεν εἰς φάρση σκεπαστήρια τῆς τε σκηνῆς αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς λυχνίας καὶ τοῦ θυμιατηρίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σκευῶν ἀναλῶσαι, ὅπως κατὰ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ταῦτα μήτ' ἐξ ὑετοῦ μηδὲν μήτ' ἐκ κονιορτοῦ βλάπτηται. [194] τό τε πλῆθος ἀθροίσας πάλιν εἰσφορὰν αὐτῷ προσέταξεν εἰσφέρειν σίκλου τὸ ἥμισυ καθ' ἕκαστον, [195] ὁ δὲ σίκλος νόμισμα Ἑβραίων ὢν Ἀττικὰς δέχεται δραχμὰς τέσσαρας: [196] οἱ δ' ἑτοίμως ὑπήκουον οἷς ἐκέλευσε Μωυσῆς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν εἰσφερόντων ἦν ἑξήκοντα μυριάδες καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι καὶ πεντήκοντα. ἔφερον δὲ τὸ ἀργύριον τῶν ἐλευθέρων οἱ ἀπὸ εἴκοσι ἐτῶν ἄχρι πεντήκοντα γεγονότες. τὸ δὲ συγκομισθὲν εἰς τὰς περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν χρείας ἀναλοῦτο.

2. Now Moses commanded them to make use of all the utensils which were more than were necessary to the structure of the tabernacle, for covering the tabernacle itself, the candlestick, and altar of incense, and the other vessels, that they might not be at all hurt when they journeyed, either by the rain, or by the rising of the dust. And when he had gathered the multitude together again, he ordained that they should offer half a shekel for every man, as an oblation to God; which shekel is a piece among the Hebrews, and is equal to four Athenian drachmae. Whereupon they readily obeyed what Moses had commanded; and the number of the offerers was six hundred and five thousand five hundred and fifty. Now this money that was brought by the men that were free, was given by such as were about twenty years old, but under fifty; and what was collected was spent in the uses of the tabernacle.

(3) [197] Ἤγνιζε δὲ καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τοὺς ἱερέας τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ποιούμενος αὐτῶν τὴν κάθαρσιν. σμύρνης ἐπιλέκτου σίκλους πεντακοσίους καὶ ἴρεως ἴσους, κινναμώμου δὲ καὶ καλάμου, ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο εἶδος θυμιάματος, ἡμίσειαν τῶν πρότερον ὁλκὴν κεκομμένα δεύειν ἐκέλευσεν, ἐλαίου τε ἐλαίνου εἶν, μέτρον δ' ἐστὶ τοῦτο ἐπιχώριον δύο χόας Ἀττικοὺς δεχόμενον, ἀναμίξαντας καὶ καθεψήσαντας σκευάσαι τέχνῃ μυρεψῶν χρῖσμα εὐωδέστατον. [198] κἄπειτα τοῦτο λαβὼν αὐτούς τε τοὺς ἱερέας καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν σκηνὴν χρίων κεκάθαρκε, τά τε θυμιώμενα, πολλὰ δ' ἐστὶ ταῦτα καὶ ποικίλα, κατὰ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ θυμιατηρίου μεγάλης πάνυ τιμῆς ὄντα συνεφέρετο, ὧν παραλείπω τὴν φύσιν ἐκδιηγεῖσθαι, μὴ δι' ὄχλου γένηται τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι. [199] δὶς δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας πρίν τε ἀνασχεῖν τὸν ἥλιον καὶ πρὸς δυσμαῖς θυμιᾶν ἐχρῆν ἔλαιόν τε ἁγνίσαντας φυλάσσειν εἰς τοὺς λύχνους, ὧν τοὺς μὲν τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῇ ἱερᾷ λυχνίᾳ φέγγειν ἔδει τῷ θεῷ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς περὶ τὴν ἑσπέραν ἅπτοντας.

3. Moses now purified the tabernacle and the priests; which purification was performed after the following manner: — He commanded them to take five hundred shekels of choice myrrh, an equal quantity of cassia, and half the foregoing weight of cinnamon and calamus [this last is a sort of sweet spice]; to beat them small, and wet them with an bin of oil of olives [an hin is our own country measure, and contains two Athenian choas, or congiuses]; then mix them together, and boil them, and prepare them after the art of the apothecary, and make them into a very sweet ointment; and afterward to take it to anoint and to purify the priests themselves, and all the tabernacle, as also the sacrifices. There were also many, and those of various kinds, of sweet spices, that belonged to the tabernacle, and such as were of very great price, and were brought to the golden altar of incense; the nature of which I do not now describe, lest it should be troublesome to my readers; but incense was to be offered twice a-day, both before sun-rising and at sun-setting. They were also to keep oil already purified for the lamps; three of which were to give light all day long, upon the sacred candlestick, before God, and the rest were to be lighted at the evening.

(4) [200] Ἁπάντων δ' ἤδη πέρας εἰληφότων ἔδοξαν ἄριστοι τῶν δημιουργῶν Βεσέβηλος καὶ Ἐλίαβος, τῶν γὰρ ἐξευρημένων τοῖς προτέροις αὐτοὶ προεθυμήθησαν ἀμείνονα προσεξεργάσασθαι, λαβεῖν τε ἐπίνοιαν ὧν πρότερον ἠγνόουν τὴν κατασκευὴν ἱκανώτατοι: [201] τούτων μέντοι Βεσέβηλον συνέβη κριθῆναι τὸν κράτιστον. ὁ δὲ πᾶς χρόνος εἰς τὸ ἔργον διῆλθε μηνῶν ἑπτὰ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀφ' οὗ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐξέλιπον ἐνιαυτὸς αὐτοῖς πρῶτος ἐτελειοῦτο. ἀρχομένου δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου ἔτους μηνὶ Ξανθικῷ κατὰ Μακεδόνας Νισὰν δὲ κατὰ Ἑβραίους νουμηνίᾳ τὴν σκηνὴν ἀφιεροῦσι καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα περὶ αὐτὴν σκεύη μοι δεδήλωται.

4. Now all was finished. Besaleel and Aholiab appeared to be the most skillful of the workmen; for they invented finer works than what others had done before them, and were of great abilities to gain notions of what they were formerly ignorant of; and of these, Besaleel was judged to be the best. Now the whole time they were about this work was the interval of seven months; and after this it was that was ended the first year since their departure out of Egypt. But at the beginning of the second year, on the month Xanthicus, as the Macedonians call it, but on the month Nisan, as the Hebrews call it, on the new moon, they consecrated the tabernacle, and all its vessels, which I have already described.

(5) [202] Ἐπέδειξε δὲ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ἡσθέντα τῷ ἔργῳ τῶν Ἑβραίων καὶ μὴ μάτην αὐτοὺς πονήσαντας ὑπερηφανίᾳ τῆς χρήσεως, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεξενώθη καὶ κατεσκήνωσε τῷ ναῷ τούτῳ. τὴν δὲ παρουσίαν οὕτως ἐποίησεν: [203] ὁ μὲν οὐρανὸς καθαρὸς ἦν, ὑπὲρ δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν μόνην ἤχλυσεν οὔτε βαθεῖ πάνυ νέφει καὶ πυκνῷ περιλαβὼν αὐτήν, ὥστ᾽ εἶναι δόξαι χειμέριον, οὔτε μὴν λεπτὸν οὕτως, ὥστε τὴν ὄψιν ἰσχύσαι τι δι᾽ αὐτοῦ κατανοῆσαι: ἡδεῖα δὲ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ δρόσος ἔρρει καὶ θεοῦ δηλοῦσα παρουσίαν τοῖς τοῦτο καὶ βουλομένοις καὶ πεπιστευκόσι.

5. Now God showed himself pleased with the work of the Hebrews, and did not permit their labors to be in vain; nor did he disdain to make use of what they had made, but he came and sojourned with them, and pitched his tabernacle in the holy house. And in the following manner did he come to it: — The sky was clear, but there was a mist over the tabernacle only, encompassing it, but not with such a very deep and thick cloud as is seen in the winter season, nor yet in so thin a one as men might be able to discern any thing through it, but from it there dropped a sweet dew, and such a one as showed the presence of God to those that desired and believed it.

(6) [204] Μωυσῆς δὲ τοὺς τέκτονας οἵαις εἰκὸς ἦν δωρεαῖς τοὺς τοιαῦτα ἐργασαμένους τιμήσας ἔθυεν ἐν τῷ τῆς σκηνῆς αἰθρίῳ κατὰ προσταγὴν θεοῦ ταῦρον καὶ κριὸν καὶ ἔριφον ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτάδων, [205] καὶ δὴ, λέγειν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς περὶ θυσιῶν μέλλω τὰ πρασσόμενα περὶ τὰς ἱερουργίας ἐν ἐκείνοις δηλώσων περί τε ὧν ὁλοκαυτεῖν κελεύει καὶ ὧν μεταλαμβάνειν τῆς βρώσεως ἐφίησιν ὁ νόμος, κἀκ τοῦ αἵματος τῶν τεθυμένων τήν τε στολὴν τοῦ Ἀαρῶνος καὶ αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς παισὶν ἔρραινεν ἀφαγνίσας πηγαίοις τε ὕδασι καὶ μύρῳ, ἵνα τοῦ θεοῦ γίγνοιντο. [206] ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον αὐτούς τε καὶ τὰς στολὰς ἐθεράπευε τήν τε σκηνὴν καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν σκεύη ἐλαίῳ τε προσχριομένῳ, καθὼς εἶπον, καὶ τῷ αἵματι τῶν ταύρων καὶ κριῶν σφαγέντων καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἑνὸς κατὰ γένος, τῇ δὲ ὀγδόῃ κατήγγειλεν ἑορτὴν τῷ λαῷ καὶ θύειν προσέταξε κατὰ δύναμιν. [207] οἱ δ᾽ ἀλλήλοις ἀμιλλώμενοι καὶ

ὑπερβάλλειν φιλοτιμούμενοι τὰς θυσίας, ἃς ἕκαστος ἐπιφέροι, τοῖς λεγομένοις ὑπήκουον. ἐπικειμένων δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν τῷ βωμῷ αἰφνίδιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ πῦρ ἀνήφθη αὐτόματον, καὶ ὅμοιον ἀστραπῆς λαμπηδόνι ὁρώμενον τῇ φλογὶ πάντα ἐδαπάνα τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ.

6. Now when Moses had bestowed such honorary presents on the workmen, as it was fit they should receive, who had wrought so well, he offered sacrifices in the open court of the tabernacle, as God commanded him; a bull, a ram, and a kid of the goats, for a sin-offering. Now I shall speak of what we do in our sacred offices in my discourse about sacrifices; and therein shall inform men in what cases Moses bid us offer a whole burnt-offering, and in what cases the law permits us to partake of them as of food. And when Moses had sprinkled Aaron's vestments, himself, and his sons, with the blood of the beasts that were slain, and had purified them with spring waters and ointment, they became God's priests. After this manner did he consecrate them and their garments for seven days together. The same he did to the tabernacle, and the vessels thereto belonging, both with oil first incensed, as I said, and with the blood of bulls and of rams, slain day by day one, according to its kind. But on the eighth day he appointed a feast for the people, and commanded them to offer sacrifice according to their ability. Accordingly they contended one with another, and were ambitious to exceed each other in the sacrifices which they brought, and so fulfilled Moses's injunctions. But as the sacrifices lay upon the altar, a sudden fire was kindled from among them of its own accord, and appeared to the sight like fire from a flash of lightning, and consumed whatsoever was upon the altar.

(7) [208] Συνέβη δὲ καὶ Ἀαρῶνι συμφορά τις ἐκ τούτου λογιζομένῳ ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ πατρί, γενναίως δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καρτερηθεῖσα, ὅτι καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν πρὸς τὰ συμπίπτοντα στερρὸς ἦν καὶ κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ ἡγεῖτο τὸ πάθος γεγονέναι: [209] τῶν γὰρ υἱῶν αὐτοῦ τεσσάρων ὄντων, ὡς προεῖπον, δύο οἱ πρεσβύτεροι Νάβαδος καὶ Ἀβιοῦς κομίσαντες ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν οὐχ ὧν προεῖπε Μωυσῆς θυμάτων, ἀλλ᾽ οἷς ἐχρῶντο πρότερον, κατεκαύθησαν τοῦ πυρὸς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς τὴν ὁρμὴν βαλόντος καὶ τὰ στέρνα καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα φλέγειν αὐτῶν ἀρξαμένου καὶ σβέσαι μηδενὸς δυναμένου. [210] καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἀπέθανον: Μωυσῆς δὲ κελεύει τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς βαστάξαντας τὰ σώματα καὶ κομίσαντας τῆς παρεμβολῆς ἔξω θάψαι μεγαλοπρεπῶς. πενθεῖ δὲ αὐτοὺς τὸ πλῆθος χαλεπῶς ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ παρὰ δόξαν οὕτω γεγενημένῳ διατεθέν. [211] μόνους δὲ Μωυσῆς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν πατέρα μὴ φροντίζειν τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς λύπης ἠξίωσε προκρίναντας τὴν εἰς τὸν θεὸν τιμὴν τοῦ περὶ αὐτοὺς σκυθρωποῦ: ἤδη γὰρ Ἀαρὼν καὶ τὴν στολὴν τὴν ἱερὰν ἠμφίεστο.

7. Hereupon an affliction befell Aaron, considered as a man and a father, but was undergone by him with true fortitude; for he had indeed a firmness of soul in such accidents, and he thought this calamity came upon him according to God's will: for whereas he had four sons, as I said before, the two elder of them, Nadab and Abihu, did not bring those sacrifices which Moses bade them bring, but which they used to offer formerly, and were burnt to death. Now when the fire rushed upon them, and began to burn them, nobody could quench it. Accordingly they died in this manner. And Moses bid their father and their brethren to take up their bodies, to carry them out of the camp, and to bury them magnificently. Now the multitude lamented them, and were deeply affected at this their death, which so unexpectedly befell them. But Moses entreated their brethren and their father not to be troubled for them, and to prefer the honor of God before their grief about them; for Aaron had already put on his sacred garments.

(8) [212] Μωυσῆς δὲ πᾶσαν τιμὴν παραιτησάμενος, ἣν ἑώρα τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν ἕτοιμον, πρὸς μόνῃ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ θεραπείᾳ διετέλει. καὶ τῶν μὲν εἰς τὸ Σιναῖον ἀνόδων ἀπείχετο, εἰς δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν εἰσιὼν ἐχρηματίζετο περὶ ὧν ἐδεῖτο παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἰδιωτεύων καὶ τῇ στολῇ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄγων ἑαυτὸν δημοτικώτερον καὶ μηδὲν βουλόμενος τῶν πολλῶν διαφέρειν δοκεῖν, ἢ μόνῳ τῷ προνοούμενος αὐτῶν βλέπεσθαι. [213] ἔτι δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ νόμους αὐτῶν ἔγραφε, καθ' οὓς κεχαρισμένως τῷ θεῷ βιώσονται μηδὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐγκαλεῖν ἔχοντες: ταῦτα μέντοι κατὰ τὴν ὑπαγόρευσιν τοῦ θεοῦ συνετάττετο. διέξειμι μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῶν νόμων.

8. But Moses refused all that honor which he saw the multitude ready to bestow upon him, and attended to nothing else but the service of God. He went no more up to Mount Sinai; but he went into the tabernacle, and brought back answers from God for what he prayed for. His habit was also that of a private man, and in all other circumstances he behaved himself like one of the common people, and was desirous to appear without distinguishing himself from the multitude, but would have it known that he did nothing else but take care of them. He also set down in writing the form of their government, and those laws by obedience whereto they would lead their lives so as to please God, and so as to have no quarrels one among another. However, the laws he ordained were such as God suggested to him; so I shall now discourse concerning that form of government, and those laws.

(9) [214] Ὃ μέντοι περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως στολῆς παρέλιπον διελθεῖν βούλομαι: οὐδαμόθεν γὰρ προφητῶν κακουργίαις κατέλιπεν ἀφορμήν, εἰ δέ τινες τοιοῦτοι

γένοιντο παρεγχειρεῖν τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀξιώματι, αὐτοκράτορα δ᾽ εἶναι τὸν θεὸν παρατυγχάνειν τοῖς ἱεροῖς κατέλιπεν ὁπότε θελήσειε καὶ μὴ παρεῖναι, καὶ τοῦτ᾽ οὐχ Ἑβραίοις δῆλον εἶναι μόνον ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ξένων τοῖς παρατυγχάνουσι. [215] τῶν γὰρ λίθων, οὓς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὤμοις φέρειν τὸν ἀρχιερέα προεῖπον, σαρδόνυχες δὲ ἦσαν καὶ σημαίνειν αὐτῶν τὴν φύσιν ἡγοῦμαι περισσὸν πᾶσιν εἰς γνῶσιν ἀφιγμένων, συνέβαινε λάμπειν, ὁπότε ταῖς ἱερουργίαις ὁ θεὸς παρείη, τὸν ἕτερον τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ τῶν ὤμων πεπορπημένον αὐγῆς ἀποπηδώσης καὶ τοῖς πορρωτάτω φαινομένης, οὐ πρότερον ταύτης ὑπαρχούσης τῷ λίθῳ. [216] θαυμαστὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς μὴ τὴν σοφίαν ἐπ᾽ ἐκφαυλισμῷ τῶν θείων ἠσκηκόσιν, ὃ δ᾽ ἐστὶ τούτου θαυμασιώτερον ἐρῶ: διὰ γὰρ τῶν δώδεκα λίθων, οὓς κατὰ στέρνον ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐνερραμμένους τῷ ἐσσῆνι φορεῖ, νίκην μέλλουσι πολεμεῖν προεμήνυεν ὁ θεός: [217] τοσαύτη γὰρ ἀπήστραπτεν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν αὐγὴ μήπω τῆς στρατιᾶς κεκινημένης, ὡς τῷ πλήθει παντὶ γνώριμον εἶναι τὸ παρεῖναι τὸν θεὸν εἰς τὴν ἐπικουρίαν, ὅθεν Ἕλληνες οἱ τὰ ἡμέτερα τιμῶντες ἔθη διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἀντιλέγειν δύνασθαι τούτοις τὸν ἐσσῆνα λόγιον καλοῦσιν. [218] ἐπαύσατο μὲν οὖν ὅ τε ἐσσὴν καὶ ὁ σαρδόνυξ τοῦ λάμπειν ἔτεσι διακοσίοις πρότερον ἢ ταύτην ἐμὲ συνθεῖναι τὴν γραφὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δυσχεράναντος ἐπὶ τῇ παραβάσει τῶν νόμων, περὶ ὧν ἐροῦμεν εὐκαιρότερον. τρέψομαι δὲ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἑξῆς λόγον.

9. I will now treat of what I before omitted, the garment of the high priest: for he [Moses] left no room for the evil practices of [false] prophets; but if some of that sort should attempt to abuse the Divine authority, he left it to God to be present at his sacrifices when he pleased, and when he pleased to be absent. And he was willing this should be known, not to the Hebrews only, but to those foreigners also who were there. For as to those stones, which we told you before, the high priest bare on his shoulders, which were sardonyxes, [and I think it needless to describe their nature, they being known to every body,] the one of them shined out when God was present at their sacrifices; I mean that which was in the nature of a button on his right shoulder, bright rays darting out thence, and being seen even by those that were most remote; which splendor yet was not before natural to the stone. This has appeared a wonderful thing to such as have not so far indulged themselves in philosophy, as to despise Divine revelation. Yet will I mention what is still more wonderful than this: for God declared beforehand, by those twelve stones which the high priest bare on his breast, and which were inserted into his breastplate, when they should be victorious in battle; for so great a splendor shone forth from them before the army began to march, that all the people were sensible of God's being present for their assistance. Whence it came to pass that those Greeks, who had a veneration for our laws, because they

could not possibly contradict this, called that breastplate the Oracle. Now this breastplate, and this sardonyx, left off shining two hundred years before I composed this book, God having been displeased at the transgressions of his laws. Of which things we shall further discourse on a fitter opportunity; but I will now go on with my proposed narration.

(10) [219] Καθιερωμένης γὰρ δὴ τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ διακεκοσμημένων τῶν περὶ τοὺς ἱερέας τό τε πλῆθος ὁμόσκηνον αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν ἔκρινεν εἶναι καὶ τρέπεται πρὸς θυσίας τε καὶ ἀνέσεις ὡς ἅπασαν ἤδη κακοῦ προσδοκίαν ἀπεωσμένον, καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ὡς ἀμεινόνων ἐπιθυμοῦντες δωρεάς τε τῷ θεῷ τὰς μὲν κοινῇ τὰς δὲ κατ᾽ ἰδίαν ἀνετίθεσαν κατὰ φυλάς: [220] οἵ τε γὰρ φύλαρχοι κατὰ δύο συνελθόντες ἅμαξαν καὶ δύο βόας προσκομίζουσιν: ἓξ μὲν οὖν ἦσαν αὗται καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις παρεκόμιζον. πρὸς τούτοις ἕκαστος φιάλην τε κομίζει καὶ τρύβλιον καὶ θυίσκην, τὴν μὲν δαρεικοὺς δέκα δυναμένην καὶ πλήρη θυμιαμάτων: [221] τὸ δὲ τρύβλιον καὶ ἡ φιάλη, ἀργυρᾶ δὲ ἦν, σίκλους μὲν αἱ δύο διακοσίους εἶλκον, εἰς δὲ τὴν φιάλην ἑβδομήκοντα μόνοι δεδαπάνηντο, πλήρεις δὲ ἦσαν ἀλεύρων ἐλαίῳ πεφυραμένων, οἷς ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ χρῶνται πρὸς τὰς ἱερουργίας: μόσχον τε καὶ κριὸν σὺν ἀρνίῳ ἐτείῳ ὁλομελῆ καυθησόμενα καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς χίμαρον ἐπὶ παραιτήσει ἁμαρτημάτων. [222] προσῆγε δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἕκαστος καὶ ἑτέρας θυσίας σωτηρίους λεγομένας καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν δύο βόας καὶ πέντε κριοὺς σὺν ἀρνάσιν ἐτείοις καὶ ἐρίφοις. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ θύουσιν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας δώδεκα κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν εἷς: Μωυσῆς δὲ οὐκέτ᾽ ἀναβαίνων ἐπὶ τὸ Σιναῖον ἀλλ᾽ εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν εἰσιὼν ἀνεμάνθανε παρὰ θεοῦ περί τε τῶν πρακτέων καὶ τῶν νόμων τῆς συντάξεως: [223] οὓς κρείττονας ἢ κατὰ σύνεσιν ἀνθρωπίνην ὄντας εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα βεβαίως αἰῶνα συνέβη φυλαχθῆναι δωρεὰν εἶναι δόξαντας τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς μήτ᾽ ἐν εἰρήνῃ ὑπὸ τρυφῆς μήτ᾽ ἐν πολέμῳ κατ᾽ ἀνάγκην Ἑβραίους παραβῆναί τινα τῶν νόμων. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων παύομαι λέγων γραφὴν ἑτέραν ἠξιωκὼς συνθεῖναι περὶ τῶν νόμων.

10. The tabernacle being now consecrated, and a regular order being settled for the priests, the multitude judged that God now dwelt among them, and betook themselves to sacrifices and praises to God as being now delivered from all expectation of evils and as entertaining a hopeful prospect of better times hereafter. They offered also gifts to God some as common to the whole nation, and others as peculiar to themselves, and these tribe by tribe; for the heads of the tribes combined together, two by two, and brought a waggon and a yoke of oxen. These amounted to six, and they carried the tabernacle when they journeyed. Besides which, each head of a tribe brought a bowl, and a charger, and a spoon, of ten darics, full of incense. Now the charger and the bowl were of silver, and together they weighed two hundred shekels, but the bowl cost no more than

seventy shekels; and these were full of fine flour mingled with oil, such as they used on the altar about the sacrifices. They brought also a young bullock, and a ram, with a lamb of a year old, for a whole burnt-offering, as also a goat for the forgiveness of sins. Every one of the heads of the tribes brought also other sacrifices, called peace-offerings, for every day two bulls, and five rams, with lambs of a year old, and kids of the goats. These heads of tribes were twelve days in sacrificing, one sacrificing every day. Now Moses went no longer up to Mount Sinai, but went into the tabernacle, and learned of God what they were to do, and what laws should be made; which laws were preferable to what have been devised by human understanding, and proved to be firmly observed for all time to come, as being believed to be the gift of God, insomuch that the Hebrews did not transgress any of those laws, either as tempted in times of peace by luxury, or in times of war by distress of affairs. But I say no more here concerning them, because I have resolved to compose another work concerning our laws.

IX

CHAPTER 9. The Manner Of Our Offering Sacrifices.

(1) [224] Νυνὶ δ’ ὀλίγων τινῶν ἐπιμνησθήσομαι τῶν ἐφ’ ἁγνείαις καὶ ἱερουργίαις κειμένων: καὶ γὰρ τὸν λόγον μοι περὶ τῶν θυσιῶν ἐνεστάναι συμβέβηκε. δύο μὲν γάρ εἰσιν ἱερουργίαι, τούτων δ’ ἡ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἑτέρα δ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου συντελούμεναι κατὰ δύο γίνονται τρόπους: [225] τῆς μὲν ὁλοκαυτεῖται πᾶν τὸ θυόμενον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν τοιαύτην ἔλαβεν, ἡ δὲ χαριστήριός τέ ἐστι καὶ κατ’ εὐωχίαν δρᾶται τῶν τεθυκότων: ἐρῶ δὲ περὶ τῆς προτέρας. [226] ἀνὴρ ἰδιώτης ὁλοκαυτῶν θύει μὲν βοῦν καὶ ἀρνίον καὶ ἔριφον: ταῦτα μὲν ἐπέτεια, τοὺς δὲ βοῦς ἐφεῖται θύειν καὶ προήκοντας: ἄρρενα δὲ ὁλοκαυτεῖται τὰ πάντα. σφαγέντων δὲ τούτων τὸν κύκλον τῷ αἵματι δεύουσι τοῦ βωμοῦ οἱ ἱερεῖς, [227] εἶτα καθαρὰ ποιήσαντες διαμελίζουσι καὶ πάσαντες ἁλσὶν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀνατιθέασι σχιζῶν ἤδη πεπληρωμένον καὶ πυρὸς φλεγομένου. τοὺς δὲ πόδας τῶν ἱερείων καὶ τὰ κατὰ νηδὺν ἐκκαθάραντες ἀκριβῶς τοῖς ἄλλοις καθαγνισθησόμενα προσεπιφέρουσι, τὰς δορὰς τῶν ἱερέων λαμβανόντων. καὶ ὁ μὲν τῆς ὁλοκαυτώσεως τρόπος ἐστὶν οὗτος.

1. I Will now, however, make mention of a few of our laws which belong to purifications, and the like sacred offices, since I am accidentally come to this matter of sacrifices. These sacrifices were of two sorts; of those sorts one was offered for private persons, and the other for the people in general; and they are done in two different ways. In the one case, what is slain is burnt, as a whole burnt-offering, whence that name is given to it; but the other is a thank-offering, and is designed for feasting those that sacrifice. I will speak of the former. Suppose a private man offer a burnt-offering, he must slay either a bull, a lamb, or a kid of the goats, and the two latter of the first year, though of bulls he is permitted to sacrifice those of a greater age; but all burnt-offerings are to be of males. When they are slain, the priests sprinkle the blood round about the altar; they then cleanse the bodies, and divide them into parts, and salt them with salt, and lay them upon the altar, while the pieces of wood are piled one upon another, and the fire is burning; they next cleanse the feet of the sacrifices, and the inwards, in an accurate manner and so lay them to the rest to be purged by the fire, while the priests receive the hides. This is the way of offering a burnt-offering.

(2) [228] Τὰς δὲ χαριστηρίους θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦντες τὰ αὐτὰ μὲν ζῷα θύουσιν, ὁλόκληρα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν ἐπετείων πρεσβύτερα, ἄρρενα μέντοι θήλεσι

συνδυαζόμενα. θύσαντες δὲ ταῦτα φοινίσσουσι μὲν αἵματι τὸν βωμόν, τοὺς δὲ νεφροὺς καὶ τὸν ἐπίπλουν καὶ πάντα τὰ πιμελῆ σὺν τῷ λοβῷ τοῦ ἥπατος καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς τὴν οὐρὰν τοῦ ἀρνὸς ἐπιφέρουσι τῷ βωμῷ. [229] τὸ δὲ στῆθος καὶ τὴν κνήμην τὴν δεξιὰν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι παρασχόντες ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας εὐωχοῦνται τοῖς καταλειπομένοις τῶν κρεῶν, ἃ δ' ἂν περισσεύσῃ κατακαίουσι.

2. But those that offer thank-offerings do indeed sacrifice the same creatures, but such as are unblemished, and above a year old; however, they may take either males or females. They also sprinkle the altar with their blood; but they lay upon the altar the kidneys and the caul, and all the fat, and the lobe of the liver, together with the rump of the lamb; then, giving the breast and the right shoulder to the priests, the offerers feast upon the remainder of the flesh for two days; and what remains they burn.

(3) [230] Θύουσι δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτάδων καὶ ὁμοίως τῷ προειρημένῳ τὸ περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτάδων τῆς ἱερουργίας τρόπῳ γίνεται. οἱ δὲ ἀδύνατοι πορίζειν τὰ τέλεια θύματα περιστερὰς ἢ τρυγόνας δύο, ὧν τὸ μὲν ὁλοκαυτεῖται τῷ θεῷ, τὸ δὲ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν εἰς βρῶσιν διδόασιν. ἀκριβέστερον δὲ περὶ τῆς θυσίας τῶνδε τῶν ζῴων ἐν τοῖς περὶ θυσιῶν ἐροῦμεν. [231] ὁ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ ἄγνοιαν εἰς τοῦτο προπεσὼν ἄρνα καὶ ἔριφον θήλειαν τῶν αὐτοετῶν προσφέρει, καὶ τῷ μὲν αἵματι δεύει τὸν βωμὸν ὁ ἱερεὺς οὐχ ὡς τὸ πρῶτον ἀλλὰ τῶν γωνιῶν τὰς ἐξοχάς, καὶ τούς τε νεφροὺς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πιμελὴν σὺν τῷ λοβῷ τοῦ ἥπατος ἐπιφέρουσι τῷ βωμῷ, οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς τάς τε δορὰς ἀποφέρονται καὶ τὰ κρέα ἐπ' ἐκείνης δαπανήσοντες τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ: ὁ γὰρ νόμος εἰς τὴν αὔριον ἀπολιπεῖν οὐκ ἐᾷ. [232] ὁ δὲ ἁμαρτὼν μὲν αὐτῷ δὲ συνειδὼς καὶ μηδένα ἔχων τὸν ἐξελέγχοντα κριὸν θύει τοῦ νόμου τοῦτο κελεύοντος, οὗ τὰ κρέα κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ὁμοίως οἱ ἱερεῖς αὐθημερὸν σιτοῦνται. οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες ἐφ' οἷς ἡμάρτανον ἐκθυόμενοι ταὐτὰ μὲν κομίζουσι τοῖς ἰδιώταις, διαλλάσσουσι δὲ τῷ προσάγειν θύματα ταῦρον ἔριφον ἄρσενας.

3. The sacrifices for sins are offered in the same manner as is the thank-offering. But those who are unable to purchase complete sacrifices, offer two pigeons, or turtle doves; the one of which is made a burnt-offering to God, the other they give as food to the priests. But we shall treat more accurately about the oblation of these creatures in our discourse concerning sacrifices. But if a person fall into sin by ignorance, he offers an ewe lamb, or a female kid of the goats, of the same age; and the priests sprinkle the blood at the altar, not after the former manner, but at the corners of it. They also bring the kidneys and the rest of the fat, together with the lobe of the liver, to the altar, while the priests bear away the hides and the flesh, and spend it in the holy place, on the same day; for the law does not permit them to leave of it until the morning. But if any one sin, and is

conscious of it himself, but hath nobody that can prove it upon him, he offers a ram, the law enjoining him so to do; the flesh of which the priests eat, as before, in the holy place, on the same day. And if the rulers offer sacrifices for their sins, they bring the same oblations that private men do; only they so far differ, that they are to bring for sacrifices a bull or a kid of the goats, both males.

(4) [233] Νόμος δὲ ταῖς ἰδιωτικαῖς καὶ ταῖς δημοσίαις θυσίαις καὶ ἄλευρον ἐπιφέρεσθαι καθαρώτατον, ἀρνὶ μὲν ἀσσαρῶνος μέτρον κριῷ δὲ δυοῖν ταύρῳ δὲ τριῶν. τοῦτο καθαγνίζουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ μεμαγμένον ἐλαίῳ: [234] κομίζεται γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἔλαιον ὑπὸ τῶν τεθυκότων ἐπὶ μὲν βοὶ ἰνὸς ἥμισυ, ἐπὶ δὲ κριῷ μέρος τούτου τρίτον τοῦ μέτρου, καὶ τετάρτη μερὶς ἐπ᾽ ἀρνί: ὁ δὲ ἶν μέτρον ἀρχαῖον Ἑβραίων δύναται δύο χόας Ἀττικούς. τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ μέτρον τῷ ἐλαίῳ καὶ οἴνου παρῆγον, σπένδουσι δὲ περὶ τὸν βωμὸν τὸν οἶνον. [235] εἰ δέ τις θυσίαν οὐκ ἐπιτελῶν ἐπήνεγκε κατ᾽ εὐχὴν σεμίδαλιν, ταύτης ἀπαρχὴν μίαν ἐπιβάλλει τῷ βωμῷ δράκα, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν οἱ ἱερεῖς πρὸς τροφὴν λαμβάνουσιν ἢ ἑψηθεῖσαν, ἐλαίῳ γὰρ συμπεφύραται, ἢ γενομένων ἄρτων. ἱερέως δὲ κομίσαντος καὶ ὁποσονοῦν ὁλοκαυτεῖν ἀναγκαῖον. [236] κωλύει δὲ ὁ νόμος θύειν ζῷον αὐθημερὸν μετὰ τοῦ γεγεννηκότος ἐπὶ ταὐτό, οὐδ᾽ ἄλλως δὲ πρὶν ὀγδόην ἡμέραν γεννηθέντι διελθεῖν. γίνονται δὲ ἄλλαι θυσίαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰς νόσους διαφυγεῖν ἢ κατ᾽ ἄλλας αἰτίας, εἰς ἃς πέμματα σὺν ἱερείοις ἀναλίσκεται, ὧν εἰς τὴν ὑστέραν οὐδὲν ὑπολιπεῖν ἐστι νόμιμον, τῶν ἱερέων μέρος ἴδιον λαβόντων.

4. Now the law requires, both in private and public sacrifices, that the finest flour be also brought; for a lamb the measure of one tenth deal, — for a ram two, — and for a bull three. This they consecrate upon the altar, when it is mingled with oil; for oil is also brought by those that sacrifice; for a bull the half of an hin, and for a ram the third part of the same measure, and one quarter of it for a lamb. This hin is an ancient Hebrew measure, and is equivalent to two Athenian choas [or congiuses]. They bring the same quantity of oil which they do of wine, and they pour the wine about the altar; but if any one does not offer a complete sacrifice of animals, but brings fine flour only for a vow, he throws a handful upon the altar as its first-fruits, while the priests take the rest for their food, either boiled or mingled with oil, but made into cakes of bread. But whatsoever it be that a priest himself offers, it must of necessity be all burnt. Now the law forbids us to sacrifice any animal at the same time with its dam; and, in other cases, not till the eighth day after its birth. Other sacrifices there are also appointed for escaping distempers, or for other occasions, in which meat-offerings are consumed, together with the animals that are sacrificed; of which it is not lawful to leave any part till the next day, only the priests are to take their own share.

CHAPTER 10. Concerning The Festivals; And How Each Day Of Such Festival Is To Be Observed.

(1) [237] Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ δημοσίου ἀναλώματος νόμος ἐστὶν ἄρνα καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν σφάζεσθαι τῶν αὐτοετῶν ἀρχομένης τε ἡμέρας καὶ ληγούσης, κατὰ δὲ ἑβδόμην ἡμέραν, ἥτις σάββατα καλεῖται, δύο σφάττουσι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἱερουργοῦντες. [238] τῇ δὲ νουμηνίᾳ τάς τε καθημερινὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσι καὶ δύο βόας σὺν ἀρνάσιν ἐνιαυσιαίοις ἑπτὰ καὶ κριόν, ἔριφον δὲ ἐπὶ παραιτήσεσιν ἁμαρτάδων, εἴ τι κατὰ λήθην γένοιτο.

1. The law requires, that out of the public expenses a lamb of the first year be killed every day, at the beginning and at the ending of the day; but on the seventh day, which is called the Sabbath, they kill two, and sacrifice them in the same manner. At the new moon, they both perform the daily sacrifices, and slay two bulls, with seven lambs of the first year, and a kid of the goats also, for the expiation of sins; that is, if they have sinned through ignorance.

(2) [239] Τῷ δ' ἑβδόμῳ μηνί, ὃν Μακεδόνες Ὑπερβερεταῖον καλοῦσι, προσθέντες τοῖς εἰρημένοις ταῦρον καὶ κριὸν καὶ ἄρνας ἑπτὰ θύουσι καὶ ἔριφον ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτάδων.

2. But on the seventh month, which the Macedonians call Hyperberetaeus, they make an addition to those already mentioned, and sacrifice a bull, a ram, and seven lambs, and a kid of the goats, for sins.

(3) [240] Δεκάτῃ δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς κατὰ σελήνην διανηστεύοντες ἕως ἑσπέρας θύουσι δ' ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταῦρόν τε καὶ κριοὺς δύο καὶ ἄρνας ἑπτὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτάδων ἔριφον. [241] προσάγουσι δὲ δύο πρὸς τούτοις ἐρίφους, ὧν ὁ μὲν ζῶν εἰς τὴν ὑπερόριον ἐρημίαν πέμπεται ἀποτροπιασμὸς καὶ παραίτησις τοῦ πλήθους παντὸς ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτημάτων ἐσόμενος, τὸν δ' ἐν τοῖς προαστείοις εἰς καθαρώτατον ἄγοντες χωρίον αὐτόθι σὺν αὐτῇ καίουσι τῇ δορᾷ μηδὲν ὅλως καθάραντες. [242] συγκατακαίεται δὲ ταῦρος οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου προσαχθείς, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων τοῦ ἀρχιερέως παρασχόντος: οὗ δὴ σφαγέντος εἰσκομίσας εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ αἵματος ἅμα καὶ τοῦ ἐρίφου ῥαίνει τῷ δακτύλῳ τὸν ὄροφον ἑπτάκις, [243] τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος καὶ τοσαυτάκις εἰς τὸν ναὸν καὶ περὶ τὸν χρύσεον βωμὸν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν περὶ τῷ μείζονι κομίσας εἰς τὸ αἴθριον: πρὸς τούτοις τὰς ἐξοχὰς καὶ τοὺς νεφροὺς καὶ τὴν πιμελὴν σὺν τῷ λοβῷ τοῦ ἥπατος ἐπιφέρουσι τῷ βωμῷ. παρέχεται δὲ καὶ κριὸν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ὁλοκαύτωσιν τῷ θεῷ.

3. On the tenth day of the same lunar month, they fast till the evening; and this day they sacrifice a bull, and two rams, and seven lambs, and a kid of the goats, for sins. And, besides these, they bring two kids of the goats; the one of which is sent alive out of the limits of the camp into the wilderness for the scapegoat, and to be an expiation for the sins of the whole multitude; but the other is brought into a place of great cleanness, within the limits of the camp, and is there burnt, with its skin, without any sort of cleansing. With this goat was burnt a bull, not brought by the people, but by the high priest, at his own charges; which, when it was slain, he brought of the blood into the holy place, together with the blood of the kid of the goats, and sprinkled the ceiling with his finger seven times, as also its pavement, and again as often toward the most holy place, and about the golden altar: he also at last brings it into the open court, and sprinkles it about the great altar. Besides this, they set the extremities, and the kidneys, and the fat, with the lobe of the liver, upon the altar. The high priest likewise presents a ram to God as a burnt-offering.

(4) [244] Τῇ δὲ πέμπτῃ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς καὶ δεκάτῃ τρεπομένου τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν χειμερινὴν ὥραν σκηνὰς πήγνυσθαι κελεύει κατὰ οἰκίαν ἕκαστον, τό τε κρύος ὑφορωμένους ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τοῦ ἔτους, [245] ὅταν πατρίδων ἐπιτύχοιεν, παραγινομένους εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν πόλιν, ἣν διὰ τὸν ναὸν μητρόπολιν ἕξουσιν, ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας ὀκτὼ ἑορτὴν ἄγοντας ὁλοκαυτεῖν τε καὶ θύειν τῷ θεῷ τότε χαριστήρια, φέροντας ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν εἰρεσιώνην μυρσίνης καὶ ἰτέας σὺν κράδῃ φοίνικος πεποιημένην τοῦ μήλου τοῦ τῆς περσέας προσόντος. [246] εἶναι δὲ τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν τὴν τῆς ὁλοκαυτώσεως θυσίαν ἐκ τριῶν καὶ δέκα βοῶν καὶ ἀρνῶν ἑνὶ πλειόνων καὶ κριῶν δύο κατὰ παραίτησιν ἁμαρτιῶν ἐρίφου προστιθεμένου. ταῖς δ᾽ ἑξῆς ἡμέραις ὁ μὲν αὐτὸς ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἀρνῶν καὶ τῶν κριῶν σὺν τῷ ἐρίφῳ θύεται, ὑφαιροῦντες δὲ ἑκάστης ἡμέρας ἕνα τῶν βοῶν εἰς ἑπτὰ καταντῶσιν. [247] ἀνίενται δὲ ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου κατὰ τὴν ὀγδόην ἡμέραν καὶ τῷ θεῷ, καθάπερ εἰρήκαμεν, μόσχον τε θύομεν καὶ κριὸν καὶ ἄρνας ἑπτά, ὑπὲρ δὲ ἁμαρτημάτων παραιτήσεως ἔριφον. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἑβραίοις τὰς σκηνὰς πηγνύουσιν ἐπιτελεῖν ἐστι πάτριον.

4. Upon the fifteenth day of the same month, when the season of the year is changing for winter, the law enjoins us to pitch tabernacles in every one of our houses, so that we preserve ourselves from the cold of that time of the year; as also that when we should arrive at our own country, and come to that city which we should have then for our metropolis, because of the temple therein to be built, and keep a festival for eight days, and offer burnt-offerings, and sacrifice thank-offerings, that we should then carry in our hands a branch of myrtle, and willow, and a bough of the palm-tree, with the addition of the pome citron: That the

burnt-offering on the first of those days was to be a sacrifice of thirteen bulls, and fourteen lambs, and fifteen rams, with the addition of a kid of the goats, as an expiation for sins; and on the following days the same number of lambs, and of rams, with the kids of the goats; but abating one of the bulls every day till they amounted to seven only. On the eighth day all work was laid aside, and then, as we said before, they sacrificed to God a bullock, a ram, and seven lambs, with a kid of the goats, for an expiation of sins. And this is the accustomed solemnity of the Hebrews, when they pitch their tabernacles.

(5) [248] Τῷ δὲ μηνὶ τῷ Ξανθικῷ, ὃς Νισὰν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν καλεῖται καὶ τοῦ ἔτους ἐστὶν ἀρχή, τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ κατὰ σελήνην ἐν κριῷ τοῦ ἡλίου καθεστῶτος, τούτῳ γὰρ τῷ μηνὶ τῆς ὑπ᾽ Αἰγυπτίους δουλείας ἠλευθερώθημεν, καὶ τὴν θυσίαν, ἣν τότ᾽ ἐξιόντας ἀπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου θῦσαι προεῖπον ἡμᾶς πάσχα λεγομένην, δι᾽ ἔτους ἑκάστου θύειν ἐνόμισεν, καὶ δὴ τελοῦμεν αὐτὴν κατὰ φατρίας μηδενὸς τῶν τεθυμένων εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν τηρουμένου. [249] πέμπτῃ δὲ καὶ δεκάτῃ διαδέχεται τὴν πάσχα ἡ τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτὴ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας οὖσα, καθ᾽ ἣν ἀζύμοις τρέφονται καὶ καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ταῦροι σφάζονται δύο καὶ κριὸς μὲν εἷς ἑπτὰ δὲ ἄρνες. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁλοκαυτεῖται προστιθεμένου τοῖς πᾶσι καὶ ἐρίφου ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτάδων εἰς εὐωχίαν κατὰ ἡμέραν ἑκάστην τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν. [250] τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ τῶν ἀζύμων ἡμέρᾳ, ἕκτη δ᾽ ἐστὶν αὕτη καὶ δεκάτη, τῶν καρπῶν οὓς ἐθέρισαν, οὐ γὰρ ἥψαντο πρότερον αὐτῶν, μεταλαμβάνουσι καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἡγούμενοι τιμᾶν δίκαιον εἶναι πρῶτον, παρ᾽ οὗ τῆς εὐπορίας τούτων ἔτυχον, τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῷ τῆς κριθῆς ἐπιφέρουσι τρόπον τοιοῦτον. [251] φρύξαντες τῶν ἀσταχύων τὸ δράγμα καὶ πτίσαντες καὶ καθαρὰς πρὸς ἄλεστον τὰς κριθὰς ποιήσαντες τῷ βωμῷ ἀσσαρῶνα προσφέρουσι τῷ θεῷ, καὶ μίαν ἐξ αὐτοῦ δράκα ἐπιβαλόντες τὸ λοιπὸν ἀφιᾶσιν εἰς χρῆσιν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι: καὶ τότε λοιπὸν δημοσίᾳ ἔξεστι πᾶσι καὶ ἰδίᾳ θερίζειν. θύουσι δ᾽ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀπαρχαῖς τῶν καρπῶν ἀρνίον εἰς ὁλοκαύτωσιν τῷ θεῷ.

5. In the month of Xanthicus, which is by us called Nisan, and is the beginning of our year, on the fourteenth day of the lunar month, when the sun is in Aries, [for in this month it was that we were delivered from bondage under the Egyptians,] the law ordained that we should every year slay that sacrifice which I before told you we slew when we came out of Egypt, and which was called the Passover; and so we do celebrate this passover in companies, leaving nothing of what we sacrifice till the day following. The feast of unleavened bread succeeds that of the passover, and falls on the fifteenth day of the month, and continues seven days, wherein they feed on unleavened bread; on every one of which days two bulls are killed, and one ram, and seven lambs. Now these lambs are entirely burnt, besides the kid of the goats which is added to all the rest, for sins; for it is

intended as a feast for the priest on every one of those days. But on the second day of unleavened bread, which is the sixteenth day of the month, they first partake of the fruits of the earth, for before that day they do not touch them. And while they suppose it proper to honor God, from whom they obtain this plentiful provision, in the first place, they offer the first-fruits of their barley, and that in the manner following: They take a handful of the ears, and dry them, then beat them small, and purge the barley from the bran; they then bring one tenth deal to the altar, to God; and, casting one handful of it upon the fire, they leave the rest for the use of the priest. And after this it is that they may publicly or privately reap their harvest. They also at this participation of the first-fruits of the earth, sacrifice a lamb, as a burnt-offering to God.

(6) [252] Ἑβδόμης ἑβδομάδος διαγεγενημένης μετὰ ταύτην τὴν θυσίαν, αὗται δ' εἰσὶν αἱ τῶν ἑβδομάδων ἡμέραι τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἐννέα, [τῇ πεντηκοστῇ], ἣν Ἑβραῖοι ἀσαρθὰ καλοῦσι, σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο πεντηκοστήν, καθ' ἣν προσάγουσι τῷ θεῷ ἄρτον ἀλφίτων μὲν πυρίνων ἀσσαρῶνας δύο μετὰ ζύμης γεγονότων, θυμάτων δὲ ἄρνας δύο: [253] ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ τῷ θεῷ προσάγειν νόμιμον μόνον, εἰς δὲ δεῖπνον τοῖς ἱερεῦσι σκευάζεται καὶ καταλιπεῖν οὐδέν ἐστιν ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν συγκεχωρημένον: ὁλοκαυτωθησομένους μόσχους τε θύουσι τρεῖς καὶ κριοὺς δύο καὶ ἄρνας τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα, ἐρίφους δὲ δύο ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτημάτων. [254] ἔστι δ' οὐδεμία τῶν ἑορτῶν, καθ' ἣν οὐχ ὁλοκαυτοῦσιν οὐδὲ τῶν πόνων τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ἄνεσιν οὐ διδόασιν, ἀλλ' ἐν πάσαις νόμιμον τό τε τῆς θυσίας εἶδος καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀργίας ἀταλαίπωρον καὶ πρὸς εὐωχίαις εἰσὶ τεθυκότες.

6. When a week of weeks has passed over after this sacrifice, [which weeks contain forty and nine days,] on the fiftieth day, which is Pentecost, but is called by the Hebrews Asartha, which signifies Pentecost, they bring to God a loaf, made of wheat flour, of two tenth deals, with leaven; and for sacrifices they bring two lambs; and when they have only presented them to God, they are made ready for supper for the priests; nor is it permitted to leave any thing of them till the day following. They also slay three bullocks for a burnt-offering, and two rams; and fourteen lambs, with two kids of the goats, for sins; nor is there anyone of the festivals but in it they offer burnt-offerings; they also allow themselves to rest on every one of them. Accordingly, the law prescribes in them all what kinds they are to sacrifice, and how they are to rest entirely, and must slay sacrifices, in order to feast upon them.

(7) [255] Ἐκ μέντοι τοῦ κοινοῦ σῖτος ὀπτὸς ζύμης ἄμοιρος, ἀσσαρῶνες δ' εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρες εἰς τοῦτο ἀναλοῦνται. ὀπτῶνται δὲ ἀνὰ δύο διαιρεθέντες μὲν τῇ πρὸ τοῦ σαββάτου, τῷ δὲ σαββάτῳ πρωὶ κομισθέντες ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς τραπέζης

τίθενται κατὰ ἓξ εἰς ἀλλήλους τετραμμένοι. [256] δύο δὲ χρυσέων ὑπερκειμένων πινάκων λιβανωτοῦ γεμόντων διαμένουσιν ἕως τοῦ ἑτέρου σαββάτου: καὶ τότε μὲν ἀντ᾽ ἐκείνων ἄλλοι κομίζονται, οἱ δὲ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι πρὸς τροφὴν δίδονται, καὶ τοῦ λιβανωτοῦ θυμιωμένου ἐπὶ τῷ ἱερῷ πυρί, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ καὶ ὁλοκαυτοῦσι τὰ πάντα, λιβανωτὸς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου ἄλλος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄρτων προστίθεται. [257] θύει δ᾽ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων, καὶ δὶς ἑκάστης ἡμέρας τοῦτο ποιεῖ, ἄλευρον ἐλαίῳ μεμαγμένον καὶ πεπηγὸς ὀπτήσει βραχείᾳ, καὶ εἷς μέν ἐστιν ἀσσάρων τοῦ ἀλεύρου, τούτου δὲ τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ τὸ πρωί, τὸ δ᾽ ἕτερον δείλης ἐπιφέρει τῷ πυρί. τὸν μὲν οὖν περὶ τούτων λόγον ἀκριβέστερον αὖθις δηλώσομεν, ἱκανὰ δέ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ νῦν περὶ αὐτῶν προειρῆσθαι.

7. However, out of the common charges, baked bread [was set on the table of shew-bread], without leaven, of twenty-four tenth deals of flour, for so much is spent upon this bread; two heaps of these were baked, they were baked the day before the sabbath, but were brought into the holy place on the morning of the sabbath, and set upon the holy table, six on a heap, one loaf still standing over against another; where two golden cups full of frankincense were also set upon them, and there they remained till another sabbath, and then other loaves were brought in their stead, while the loaves were given to the priests for their food, and the frankincense was burnt in that sacred fire wherein all their offerings were burnt also; and so other frankincense was set upon the loaves instead of what was there before. The high priest also, of his own charges, offered a sacrifice, and that twice every day. It was made of flour mingled with oil, and gently baked by the fire; the quantity was one tenth deal of flour; he brought the half of it to the fire in the morning, and the other half at night. The account of these sacrifices I shall give more accurately hereafter; but I think I have premised what for the present may be sufficient concerning them.

XI

CHAPTER 11. Of The Purifications.

(1) [258] Μωυσῆς δὲ τοῦ Λευὶ τὴν φυλὴν τῆς πρὸς τὸν λαὸν κοινωνίας ὑπεξελόμενος ἱερὰν ἐσομένην ἥγνιζε πηγαίοις ὕδασι καὶ ἀενάοις καὶ θυσίαις, ἃς ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις νομίμους παρέχονται τῷ θεῷ, τήν τε σκηνὴν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ σκεύη τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλ᾽ ὅσα πρὸς σκέπην τῆς σκηνῆς ἐπεποίητο παρέδωκεν, ὅπως ὑφηγουμένων τῶν ἱερέων ὑπηρετήσωσιν: ἤδη γὰρ τῷ θεῷ καθιέρωτο.

1. Moses took out the tribe of Levi from communicating with the rest of the people, and set them apart to be a holy tribe; and purified them by water taken from perpetual springs, and with such sacrifices as were usually offered to God on the like occasions. He delivered to them also the tabernacle, and the sacred vessels, and the other curtains, which were made for covering the tabernacle, that they might minister under the conduct of the priests, who had been already consecrated to God.

(2) [259] Καὶ περὶ τῶν ζῴων δὲ διέκρινεν ἕκαστον, ὅτι τρέφοιντο καὶ οὗ πάλιν ἀπεχόμενοι διατελοῖεν, περὶ ὧν ἐν οἷς ἂν ἡμῖν ἀφορμὴ τῆς γραφῆς γένηται διελευσόμεθα τὰς αἰτίας προστιθέντες, ἀφ᾽ ὧν κινηθεὶς τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν βρωτὰ ἡμῖν ἐκέλευσεν εἶναι, τῶν δὲ προσέταξεν ἀπέχεσθαι. [260] αἵματος μέντοι παντὸς εἰς τροφὴν ἀπηγόρευσε τὴν χρῆσιν ψυχὴν αὐτὸ καὶ πνεῦμα νομίζων, καὶ κρέως τοῦ τεθνηκότος αὐτομάτως ζῴου τὴν βρῶσιν διεκώλυσεν, ἐπίπλου τε καὶ στέατος αἰγείου καὶ προβατείου καὶ τοῦ τῶν βοῶν ἀπέχεσθαι προεῖπεν.

2. He also determined concerning animals; which of them might be used for food, and which they were obliged to abstain from; which matters, when this work shall give me occasion, shall be further explained; and the causes shall be added by which he was moved to allot some of them to be our food, and enjoined us to abstain from others. However, he entirely forbade us the use of blood for food, and esteemed it to contain the soul and spirit. He also forbade us to eat the flesh of an animal that died of itself, as also the caul, and the fat of goats, and sheep, and bulls.

(3) [261] Ἀπήλασε δὲ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοὺς λέπρᾳ τὰ σώματα κακωθέντας καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν γονὴν ῥεομένους καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας δ᾽ αἷς ἡ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἔκκρισις ἔπεισι μετέστησε πρὸς ἡμέραν ἑβδόμην, μεθ᾽ ἣν ὡς ἤδη καθαραῖς ἐνδημεῖν ἐφίησιν. [262] ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῖς κηδεύσασι νεκρὸν μετὰ τοσαύτας ἡμέρας νόμιμον τὸ ἐνδημεῖν: τὸν δ᾽ ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐνεχόμενον ἐν τῷ μιάσματι θύειν νόμιμον ἀμνάδας δύο, ὧν τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν καθαγνίζειν δεῖ, τὴν δ᾽ ἑτέραν οἱ ἱερεῖς λαμβάνουσιν. [263] ὁμοίως δὲ θύουσι καὶ περὶ τοῦ τὴν

γονὴν ῥεομένου. ὃς δ᾽ ἂν κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἀποκρίνῃ γονήν, καθεὶς αὐτὸν εἰς ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν ὁμοίως τοῖς κατὰ νόμον γυναικὶ πλησιάζουσιν ἐξουσίαν ἔχει. [264] τοὺς δὲ λεπροὺς εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἐξήλασε τῆς πόλεως μηδενὶ συνδιαιτωμένους καὶ νεκροῦ μηδὲν διαφέροντας: ἂν δέ τις ἐξικετεύσας τὸν θεὸν ἀπολυθῇ τῆς νόσου καὶ τὴν ἐρρωμένην κομίσηται χρόαν, ὁ δὴ τοιοῦτος ποικίλαις ἀμείβεται θυσίαις τὸν θεόν, περὶ ὧν ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν.

3. He also ordered that those whose bodies were afflicted with leprosy, and that had a gonorrhea, should not come into the city; nay, he removed the women, when they had their natural purgations, till the seventh day; after which he looked on them as pure, and permitted them to come in again. The law permits those also who have taken care of funerals to come in after the same manner, when this number of days is over; but if any continued longer than that number of days in a state of pollution, the law appointed the offering two lambs for a sacrifice; the one of which they are to purge by fire, and for the other, the priests take it for themselves. In the same manner do those sacrifice who have had the gonorrhea. But he that sheds his seed in his sleep, if he go down into cold water, has the same privilege with those that have lawfully accompanied with their wives. And for the lepers, he suffered them not to come into the city at all, nor to live with any others, as if they were in effect dead persons; but if any one had obtained by prayer to God, the recovery from that distemper, and had gained a healthful complexion again, such a one returned thanks to God, with several sorts of sacrifices; concerning which we will speak hereafter.

(4) [265] Ὅθεν καὶ καταγελάσειεν ἄν τις τῶν λεγόντων Μωυσῆν λέπρᾳ κεκακωμένον αὐτόν τε ἀπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου φυγεῖν καὶ τῶν ἐκπεσόντων διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν ἡγησάμενον εἰς τὴν Χαναναίαν ἀγαγεῖν αὐτούς. [266] εἰ γὰρ τοῦτ᾽ ἦν ἀληθές, οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ Μωυσῆς ἀτιμίᾳ τοιαῦτ᾽ ἐνομοθέτησεν, οἷς εὔλογον ἦν αὐτὸν καὶ ἑτέρων εἰσηγουμένων ἀντειρηκέναι, καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ πολλοῖς ὄντων λεπρῶν ἔθνεσι καὶ τιμῆς ἀπολαυόντων, οὐ μόνον ὕβρεως καὶ φυγῆς ἀπηλλαγμένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐπισημοτάτας στρατείας στρατευομένων καὶ τὰς πολιτικὰς ἀρχὰς πιστευομένων καὶ εἰς ἱερὰ καὶ ναοὺς ἐχόντων ἐξουσίαν εἰσιέναι: [267] ὥστ᾽ οὐδὲν ἐκώλυε καὶ Μωυσῆν, εἰ τοιούτῳ τινὶ συμπτώματι περὶ τὴν χρόαν ἢ τὸ σὺν αὐτῷ πλῆθος ἠλάττωτο, νομοθετῆσαι περὶ αὐτῶν τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ μηδεμίαν τοιαύτην ὁρίσαι ζημίαν. [268] ἀλλὰ δῆλον μέν, ὡς ταῦτα περὶ ἡμῶν λέγουσιν ὑπὸ βασκανίας προαγόμενοι, Μωυσῆς δὲ τούτων καθαρὸς ὢν ἐν καθαροῖς τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις περὶ τῶν νενοσηκότων ἐνομοθέτει κατὰ τιμὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦτο ποιῶν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἕκαστος ὡς αὐτῷ δοκεῖ σκοπείτω.

4. Whence one cannot but smile at those who say that Moses was himself afflicted with the leprosy when he fled out of Egypt, and that he became the conductor of those who on that account left that country, and led them into the land of Canaan; for had this been true, Moses would not have made these laws to his own dishonor, which indeed it was more likely he would have opposed, if others had endeavored to introduce them; and this the rather, because there are lepers in many nations, who yet are in honor, and not only free from reproach and avoidance, but who have been great captains of armies, and been intrusted with high offices in the commonwealth, and have had the privilege of entering into holy places and temples; so that nothing hindered, but if either Moses himself, or the multitude that was with him, had been liable to such a misfortune in the color of his skin, he might have made laws about them for their credit and advantage, and have laid no manner of difficulty upon them. Accordingly, it is a plain case, that it is out of violent prejudice only that they report these things about us. But Moses was pure from any such distemper, and lived with countrymen who were pure of it also, and thence made the laws which concerned others that had the distemper. He did this for the honor of God. But as to these matters, let every one consider them after what manner he pleases.

(5) [269] Τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἐπειδὰν τέκωσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν εἰσιέναι κεκώλυκε καὶ θυσιῶν ἅπτεσθαι μέχρι τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν, ἂν ἄρρεν τὸ τεχθὲν ᾖ: διπλασίονας γὰρ εἶναι τὰς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ θηλυτοκίαις συμβέβηκεν. εἰσιοῦσαι μέντοι μετὰ τὴν προειρημένην προθεσμίαν θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν, ἃς οἱ ἱερεῖς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν διανέμονται.

5. As to the women, when they have born a child, Moses forbade them to come into the temple, or touch the sacrifices, before forty days were over, supposing it to be a boy; but if she hath born a girl, the law is that she cannot be admitted before twice that number of days be over. And when after the before-mentioned time appointed for them, they perform their sacrifices, the priests distribute them before God.

(6) [270] Ἂν δ' ὑπονοήσῃ μεμοιχεῦσθαί τις αὐτῷ τὴν γυναῖκα, κομίζει κριθῆς ἀληλεσμένης ἀσσάρωνα, καὶ μίαν αὐτῆς δράκα ἐπιβαλόντες τῷ θεῷ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι διδόασιν εἰς τροφήν. τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα στήσας τις τῶν ἱερέων κατὰ τὰς πύλας, αἱ δ' εἰσὶ τετραμμέναι πρὸς τὸν νεών, καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ ἱμάτιον ἀφελὼν ἐπιγράφει μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν προσηγορίαν διφθέρᾳ, [271] κελεύει δὲ ὀμνύειν μηδὲν ἠδικηκέναι τὸν ἄνδρα, παραβᾶσαν δὲ τὸ σῶφρον τοῦ δεξιοῦ σκέλους ἔξαρθρον γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν γαστέρα πρησθεῖσαν οὕτως ἀποθανεῖν: ἂν δ' ὑπὸ πολλοῦ τοῦ ἔρωτος καὶ τῆς διὰ τοῦτον ζηλοτυπίας προπετῶς ὁ ἀνὴρ διὰ τὴν ὑπόνοιαν εἴη

κεκινημένος, μηνὶ δεκάτῳ γενέσθαι παιδίον ἄρρεν αὐτῇ. [272] τῶν δ' ὅρκων τελειωθέντων τῆς διφθέρας ἀπαλείψας τοὔνομα εἰς φιάλην ἐκπιέζει, προκομίσας τε ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ γῆς εἴ τι προστύχοι καὶ καταπάσας ἐκπιεῖν δίδωσιν: ἡ δ' εἰ μὲν ἀδίκως ἐνεκλήθη, ἐγκύμων τε γίνεται καὶ τελεσφορεῖται κατὰ τὴν γαστέρα: [273] ψευσαμένη δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπὶ τοῖς γάμοις καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις μετ' αἰσχύνης καταστρέφει τὸν βίον τοῦ τε σκέλους ἐκπεσόντος αὐτῇ καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν ὑδέρου καταλαβόντος. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν θυσιῶν καὶ τῆς ἁγνείας τῆς ἐπ' αὐταῖς ταῦτα Μωυσῆς τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις προενόησε, νόμους δὲ αὐτοῖς τοιούτους ἔθετο.

6. But if any one suspect that his wife has been guilty of adultery, he was to bring a tenth deal of barley flour; they then cast one handful to God and gave the rest of it to the priests for food. One of the priests set the woman at the gates that are turned towards the temple, and took the veil from her head, and wrote the name of God on parchment, and enjoined her to swear that she had not at all injured her husband; and to wish that, if she had violated her chastity, her right thigh might be put out of joint; that her belly might swell; and that she might die thus: but that if her husband, by the violence of his affection, and of the jealousy which arose from it, had been rashly moved to this suspicion, that she might bear a male child in the tenth month. Now when these oaths were over, the priest wiped the name of God out of the parchment, and wrung the water into a vial. He also took some dust out of the temple, if any happened to be there, and put a little of it into the vial, and gave it her to drink; whereupon the woman, if she were unjustly accused, conceived with child, and brought it to perfection in her womb: but if she had broken her faith of wedlock to her husband, and had sworn falsely before God, she died in a reproachful manner; her thigh fell off from her, and her belly swelled with a dropsy. And these are the ceremonies about sacrifices, and about the purifications thereto belonging, which Moses provided for his countrymen. He also prescribed the following laws to them: —

XII

CHAPTER 12. Several Laws.

(1) [274] Μοιχείαν μὲν εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἀπεῖπε νομίσας εὔδαιμον τὸ περὶ τοὺς γάμους ὑγιαίνειν τοὺς ἄνδρας, καὶ ταῖς τε πόλεσι καὶ τοῖς οἴκοις συμφέρειν τὸ τοὺς παῖδας εἶναι γνησίους. καὶ μίσγεσθαι δὲ μητράσι κακὸν μέγιστον ὁ νόμος ἀπεῖπεν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πατρὸς συνεῖναι γαμετῇ καὶ τηθίσι καὶ ἀδελφαῖς καὶ παίδων γυναιξὶν ὡς ἔκφυλον ἔχον τὴν ἀδικίαν μεμίσηκεν. [275] ἐκώλυσε δὲ καὶ γυναικὶ μεμιασμένῃ τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν πλησιάζειν μηδὲ κτήνεσιν εἰς συνουσίαν φοιτᾶν μηδὲ τὴν πρὸς τὰ ἄρρενα μῖξιν τιμᾶν διὰ τὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὥραν ἡδονὴν θηρωμένους παράνομον. κατὰ δὲ τῶν εἰς ταῦτ᾽ ἐξυβρισάντων θάνατον ὥρισε τὴν τιμωρίαν.

1. As for adultery, Moses forbade it entirely, as esteeming it a happy thing that men should be wise in the affairs of wedlock; and that it was profitable both to cities and families that children should be known to be genuine. He also abhorred men’s lying with their mothers, as one of the greatest crimes; and the like for lying with the father’s wife, and with aunts, and sisters, and sons’ wives, as all instances of abominable wickedness. He also forbade a man to lie with his wife when she was defiled by her natural purgation: and not to come near brute beasts; nor to approve of the lying with a male, which was to hunt after unlawful pleasures on account of beauty. To those who were guilty of such insolent behavior, he ordained death for their punishment.

(2) [276] Τῶν δ᾽ ἱερέων καὶ διπλασίονα τὴν ἁγνείαν ἐποίησε: τούτων τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις εἴργει καὶ προσέτι γαμεῖν τὰς ἡταιρηκυίας ἐκώλυσε, μήτε δούλην μήτ᾽ αἰχμάλωτον γαμεῖν αὐτοὺς κεκώλυκε καὶ τὰς ἐκ καπηλείας καὶ τοῦ πανδοκεύειν πεπορισμένας τὸν βίον μηδὲ τὰς τῶν προτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἐφ᾽ αἰσδηποτοῦν αἰτίαις ἀπηλλαγμένας. [277] τὸν ἀρχιερέα μέντοι οὐδὲ τεθνηκότος ἀνδρὸς ἠξίωσε γυναῖκα τοῦτο τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱερεῦσι συγχωρῶν, μόνην δ᾽ αὐτῷ [δέδωκε] γαμεῖν παρθένον καὶ ταύτην φυλάττειν: ὅθεν οὐδὲ νεκρῷ πρόσεισιν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν λοιπῶν οὐ κεκωλυμένων ἀδελφοῖς καὶ γονεῦσι καὶ παισὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν προσιέναι μεταστᾶσιν. [278] ἀφελεῖς δὲ εἶναι πᾶσαν ἀφέλειαν: τὸν δὲ μὴ ὁλόκληρον τῶν ἱερέων νέμεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἐκέλευσε τὰ γέρα, ἀναβαίνειν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν καὶ εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἐκώλυσε: μὴ μόνον δὲ περὶ τὰς ἱερουργίας καθαροὺς εἶναι, σπουδάζειν δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν αὐτῶν δίαιταν, ὥστ᾽ αὐτὴν ἄμεμπτον εἶναι. [279] καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν οἱ τὴν ἱερατικὴν στολὴν φοροῦντες ἄμωμοί τέ εἰσι καὶ περὶ πάντα καθαροὶ καὶ νηφάλιοι, πίνειν οἶνον ἕως οὗ τὴν στολὴν ἔχουσι κεκωλυμένοι: ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἱερεῖα θύουσιν ὁλόκληρα καὶ κατὰ μηδὲν λελωβημένα.

2. As for the priests, he prescribed to them a double degree of purity for he restrained them in the instances above, and moreover forbade them to marry harlots. He also forbade them to marry a slave, or a captive, and such as got their living by cheating trades, and by keeping inns; as also a woman parted from her husband, on any account whatsoever. Nay, he did not think it proper for the high priest to marry even the widow of one that was dead, though he allowed that to the priests; but he permitted him only to marry a virgin, and to retain her. Whence it is that the high priest is not to come near to one that is dead, although the rest are not prohibited from coming near to their brethren, or parents, or children, when they are dead; but they are to be unblemished in all respects. He ordered that the priest who had any blemish, should have his portion indeed among the priests, but he forbade him to ascend the altar, or to enter into the holy house. He also enjoined them, not only to observe purity in their sacred ministrations, but in their daily conversation, that it might be unblamable also. And on this account it is that those who wear the sacerdotal garments are without spot, and eminent for their purity and sobriety: nor are they permitted to drink wine so long as they wear those garments. Moreover, they offer sacrifices that are entire, and have no defect whatsoever.

(3) [280] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἤδη καὶ κατὰ τὸν ζωῆς χρόνον τῆς αὐτοῦ γινόμενα παρέδωκε Μωυσῆς, τῶν δὲ αὖθις καίπερ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρημίας διαιτώμενος προενόησεν, ὅπως ἐπειδὰν τὴν Χαναναίαν λάβωσι τάδε ποιῶσι: [281] δι' ἑβδόμου ἔτους ἄνεσιν δίδωσι τῇ γῇ ἀπό τε ἀρότρου καὶ φυτείας, ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτοῖς δι' ἑβδόμης ἡμέρας τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων προεῖπεν ἀνάπαυσιν. καὶ τῶν αὐτομάτως ἀναδοθέντων ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς κοινὴν εἶναι τοῖς θέλουσι τὴν χρῆσιν τῶν τε ὁμοφύλων καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτριοχώρων, μηδὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν φυλάττοντας: ποιεῖν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ μεθ' ἑβδόμην ἐτῶν ἑβδομάδα. [282] ταῦτα πεντήκοντα μέν ἐστιν ἔτη τὰ πάντα, καλεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ Ἑβραίων ὁ πεντηκοστὸς ἐνιαυτὸς ἰώβηλος, ἐν ᾧ οἵ τε χρεῶσται τῶν δανείων ἀπολύονται καὶ οἱ δουλεύοντες ἐλεύθεροι ἀφίενται, οὓς ὄντας ὁμοφύλους καὶ παραβάντας τι τῶν νομίμων τῷ σχήματι τῆς δουλείας ἐκόλασε θάνατον οὐκ ἐκδεχομένους. [283] ἀποδίδωσι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς τοῖς ἀρχῆθεν αὐτῶν δεσπόταις τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον: ἐνστάντος τοῦ ἰωβήλου, ἐλευθερίαν σημαίνει τοὔνομα, συνέρχονται ὅ τε ἀποδόμενος τὸ χωρίον καὶ ὁ πριάμενος, καὶ λογισάμενοι τοὺς καρποὺς καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸ χωρίον δαπάνας γεγενημένας τῶν μὲν καρπῶν πλεονάζειν εὑρεθέντων προσδέχεται τὸν ἀγρὸν ὁ ἀποδόμενος, [284] τοῦ δ' ἀναλώματος ὑπερβάλλοντος ὑπὲρ τοῦ λείποντος καταβαλὼν τὸ ἱκνούμενον ἐξέχεται τῆς κτήσεως, ἴσων δὲ συναριθμουμένων τῶν τε καρπῶν καὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων ἀποδίδωσι τοῖς καὶ πρότερον νεμηθεῖσι. [285] τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις νόμιμον ἰσχύειν ἠθέλησε ταῖς κατὰ κώμας

πεπραμέναις: περὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πεπραμένων ἔγνωκεν ἑτέρως. εἰ μὲν γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ τελειωθῆναι τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν καταβάλοι τὸ ἀργύριον, ἀναγκάζει τὸν πριάμενον ἀποδοῦναι, εἰ δὲ πλῆρες γένοιτο τὸ ἔτος, βεβαιοῖ τὴν κτῆσιν τῷ πριαμένῳ. [286] ταύτην Μωυσῆς τὴν διάταξιν τῶν νόμων, ὅθ' ὑπὸ τὸ Σιναῖον καθιδρύκει τὴν στρατιάν, ἐξέμαθε παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις γεγραμμένην παραδίδωσιν.

3. And truly Moses gave them all these precepts, being such as were observed during his own lifetime; but though he lived now in the wilderness, yet did he make provision how they might observe the same laws when they should have taken the land of Canaan. He gave them rest to the land from ploughing and planting every seventh year, as he had prescribed to them to rest from working every seventh day; and ordered, that then what grew of its own accord out of the earth should in common belong to all that pleased to use it, making no distinction in that respect between their own countrymen and foreigners: and he ordained, that they should do the same after seven times seven years, which in all are fifty years; and that fiftieth year is called by the Hebrews The Jubilee, wherein debtors are freed from their debts, and slaves are set at liberty; which slaves became such, though they were of the same stock, by transgressing some of those laws the punishment of which was not capital, but they were punished by this method of slavery. This year also restores the land to its former possessors in the manner following: — When the Jubilee is come, which name denotes liberty, he that sold the land, and he that bought it, meet together, and make an estimate, on one hand, of the fruits gathered; and, on the other hand, of the expenses laid out upon it. If the fruits gathered come to more than the expenses laid out, he that sold it takes the land again; but if the expenses prove more than the fruits, the present possessor receives of the former owner the difference that was wanting, and leaves the land to him; and if the fruits received, and the expenses laid out, prove equal to one another, the present possessor relinquishes it to the former owners. Moses would have the same law obtain as to those houses also which were sold in villages; but he made a different law for such as were sold in a city; for if he that sold it tendered the purchaser his money again within a year, he was forced to restore it; but in case a whole year had intervened, the purchaser was to enjoy what he had bought. This was the constitution of the laws which Moses learned of God when the camp lay under Mount Sinai, and this he delivered in writing to the Hebrews.

(4) [287] Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καλῶς αὐτῷ τὰ περὶ τὴν νομοθεσίαν ἔχειν ἐδόκει, πρὸς ἐξέτασιν τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐτράπη τῶν πολεμικῶν ἤδη κατὰ νοῦν ἔχων ἅπτεσθαι, προστάσσει τε τοῖς φυλάρχοις πλὴν τῆς Λευίτιδος φυλῆς ἀκριβῶς τὸν

ἀριθμὸν ἐκμαθεῖν τῶν στρατεύεσθαι δυναμένων: ἱεροὶ γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ Λευῖται καὶ πάντων ἀτελεῖς. [288] γενομένης δὲ τῆς ἐξετάσεως εὑρέθησαν μυριάδες ἑξήκοντα τῶν ὁπλιτεύειν δυναμένων ὄντων ἀπὸ εἴκοσι ἐτῶν ἕως πεντήκοντα καὶ τρισχίλιοι πρὸς ἑξακοσίοις καὶ πεντήκοντα. ἀντὶ δὲ Λευὶ κατέλεξεν εἰς τοὺς φυλάρχους Μανασσῆν τὸν Ἰωσήπου παῖδα καὶ Ἐφράην ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου: δέησις δὲ ἦν αὕτη Ἰακώβου πρὸς Ἰώσηπον ποιητοὺς αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν τοὺς παῖδας, ὡς καὶ προεῖπον.

4. Now when this settlement of laws seemed to be well over, Moses thought fit at length to take a review of the host, as thinking it proper to settle the affairs of war. So he charged the heads of the tribes, excepting the tribe of Levi, to take an exact account of the number of those that were able to go to war; for as to the Levites, they were holy, and free from all such burdens. Now when the people had been numbered, there were found six hundred thousand that were able to go to war, from twenty to fifty years of age, besides three thousand six hundred and fifty. Instead of Levi, Moses took Manasseh, the son of Joseph, among the heads of tribes; and Ephraim instead of Joseph. It was indeed the desire of Jacob himself to Joseph, that he would give him his sons to be his own by adoption, as I have before related.

(5) [289] Πηγνύντες δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν μέσην ἀπελάμβανον τριῶν φυλῶν κατὰ πλευρὰν ἑκάστην παρασκηνουμένων: ὁδοὶ δὲ διὰ μέσων ἐτέτμηντο, καὶ κόσμος ἦν ἀγορᾶς, καὶ τῶν πωλουμένων ἕκαστον ἐν τάξει διέκειτο, καὶ δημιουργοὶ τέχνης ἁπάσης ἐν τοῖς ἐργαστηρίοις ἦσαν, οὐδενί τε ἄλλῳ ἢ πόλει μετανισταμένῃ καὶ καθιδρυμένῃ ἐῴκει. [290] τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ ἱερεῖς κατεῖχον, ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ Λευῖται πάντες ὄντες τὸ πλῆθος, ἐξητάσθησαν γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦ μὲν ἄρρενος ὅσον τριακοστὴν εἶχεν ἡμέραν γενόμενον, δισμύριοι καὶ δισχίλιοι πρὸς τοῖς ὀκτακοσίοις ὀγδοήκοντα. καὶ ἐφ᾽ ὅσον μὲν ὑπὲρ τὴν σκηνὴν συνέβαινεν ἑστάναι τὴν νεφέλην, μένειν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐπιδημοῦντος ἐδόκει τοῦ θεοῦ, τρεπομένης δὲ ταύτης μετανίστασθαι.

5. When they set up the tabernacle, they received it into the midst of their camp, three of the tribes pitching their tents on each side of it; and roads were cut through the midst of these tents. It was like a well-appointed market; and every thing was there ready for sale in due order; and all sorts of artificers were in the shops; and it resembled nothing so much as a city that sometimes was movable, and sometimes fixed. The priests had the first places about the tabernacle; then the Levites, who, because their whole multitude was reckoned from thirty days old, were twenty-three thousand eight hundred and eighty males; and during the time that the cloud stood over the tabernacle, they thought proper to stay in the

same place, as supposing that God there inhabited among them; but when that removed, they journeyed also.

(6) [291] Εὗρε δὲ καὶ βυκάνης τρόπον ἐξ ἀργύρου ποιησάμενος, ἔστι δὲ τοιαύτη: μῆκος μὲν ἔχει πηχυαῖον ὀλίγῳ λεῖπον, στενὴ δ' ἐστὶ σύριγξ αὐλοῦ βραχεῖ παχυτέρα, παρέχουσα δὲ εὖρος ἀρκοῦν ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν πνεύματος εἰς κώδωνα ταῖς σάλπιγξι παραπλησίως τελοῦντα: ἀσώσρα καλεῖται κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων γλῶσσαν. [292] γίνονται δὲ δύο, καὶ τῇ μὲν ἑτέρᾳ πρὸς παρακέλευσιν καὶ συλλογὴν ἐχρῶντο τοῦ πλήθους εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας: καὶ μιᾷ μὲν ἀποσημάναντος ἔδει τὰς ἀρχὰς συνελθεῖν σκεψομένας περὶ τῶν οἰκείων, ἀμφοτέραις δὲ συνῆγε τὸ πλῆθος. [293] τῆς δὲ σκηνῆς μετακινουμένης ταῦτα ἐγίνετο: ἀποσημήναντος γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον οἱ παρὰ ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς ἐσκηνωκότες ἀνίσταντο, καὶ πρὸς τὴν δευτέραν οἱ πρὸς τὸν νότον αὖθις καθεστῶτες. εἶθ' ἡ σκηνὴ λυομένη μέση τῶν προιουσῶν ἓξ φυλῶν ἐκομίζετο καὶ τῶν ἑπομένων ἕξ, Λευῖται δὲ περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν πάντες ἦσαν. [294] τρίτον δὲ σημήναντος τὸ κατὰ λίβα τετραμμένον τῶν ἐσκηνωκότων μέρος ἐκινεῖτο, καὶ τέταρτον τὸ κατὰ βορρᾶν. ταῖς δὲ βυκάναις ἐχρῶντο καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἱερουργίαις προσάγοντες τὰς θυσίας καὶ τοῖς σαββάτοις καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἡμέραις. θύει δὲ τότε πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τὴν πάσχα λεγομένην ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρήμου.

6. Moreover, Moses was the inventor of the form of their trumpet, which was made of silver. Its description is this: — In length it was little less than a cubit. It was composed of a narrow tube, somewhat thicker than a flute, but with so much breadth as was sufficient for admission of the breath of a man's mouth: it ended in the form of a bell, like common trumpets. Its sound was called in the Hebrew tongue Asosra. Two of these being made, one of them was sounded when they required the multitude to come together to congregations. When the first of them gave a signal, the heads of the tribes were to assemble, and consult about the affairs to them properly belonging; but when they gave the signal by both of them, they called the multitude together. Whenever the tabernacle was removed, it was done in this solemn order: — At the first alarm of the trumpet, those whose tents were on the east quarter prepared to remove; when the second signal was given, those that were on the south quarter did the like; in the next place, the tabernacle was taken to pieces, and was carried in the midst of six tribes that went before, and of six that followed, all the Levites assisting about the tabernacle; when the third signal was given, that part which had their tents towards the west put themselves in motion; and at the fourth signal those on the north did so likewise. They also made use of these trumpets in their sacred ministrations, when they were bringing their sacrifices to the altar as well on the Sabbaths as on the rest of the [festival] days; and now it was that Moses offered

that sacrifice which was called the Passover in the Wilderness, as the first he had offered after the departure out of Egypt.

XIII

CHAPTER 13. Moses Removed From Mount Sinai, And Conducted The People To The Borders Of The Canaanites.

(1) [295] Καὶ βραχὺ διαλιπὼν ἀπανίσταται τοῦ Σιναίου ὄρους καὶ τόπους τινὰς ἀμείψας, περὶ ὧν δηλώσομεν, εἴς τι χωρίον Ἐσερμὼθ λεγόμενον παρῆν, κἀκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος πάλιν στασιάζειν ἄρχεται, καὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν αἰτιᾶσθαι τῶν τε κατὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν αὐτῷ πεπειραμένων, [296] καὶ ὅτι γῆς ἀγαθῆς αὐτοὺς πείσαντος ἀπαναστῆναι τὴν μὲν ἀπολέσειαν, ἀντὶ δὲ ἧς ὑπέσχετο παρέξειν εὐδαιμονίας ἐν ταύταις ἀλῶνται ταῖς ταλαιπωρίαις, ὕδατος μὲν σπανίζοντες, εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν μάνναν ἐπιλιπεῖν συμβαίη τέλεον ἀπολούμενοι. [297] πολλὰ δὲ εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ δεινὰ λεγόντων, εἷς δέ τις αὐτοῖς παρῄνει, μήτε Μωυσέος καὶ τῶν πεπονημένων αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας ἀμνημονεῖν μήτ᾽ ἀπογινώσκειν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθείας. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος πρὸς τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἐκινήθη καὶ θορυβῆσαν ἔτι μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸν Μωυσῆν ἐπετείνετο. [298] Μωυσῆς δὲ παραθαρσύνων αὐτοὺς οὕτως ἀπεγνωκότας ὑπέσχετο καίπερ αἰσχρῶς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν περιυβρισμένος πλῆθος αὐτοῖς παρέξειν κρεῶν οὐκ εἰς μίαν ἡμέραν ἀλλ᾽ εἰς πλείονας. ἀπιστούντων δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτῳ καί τινος ἐρομένου, πόθεν ἂν τοσαύταις εὐπορήσειε μυριάσι τῶν προειρημένων, “ὁ θεός, εἶπε, κἀγὼ καί τοι κακῶς ἀκούοντες πρὸς ὑμῶν οὐκ ἂν ἀποσταίημεν κάμνοντες ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν [299] ἔσται.” ἅμα ταῦτ᾽ ἔλεγε καὶ πίμπλαται τὸ στρατόπεδον ὀρτύγων ἅπαν καὶ ἠθροιζον αὐτοὺς περιστάντες. ὁ μέντοι θεὸς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν μετέρχεται τοὺς Ἑβραίους τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν θρασύτητος καὶ λοιδορίας: ἀπέθανε γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγον πλῆθος αὐτῶν, καὶ νῦν ἔτι κατ᾽ ἐπωνυμίαν ὁ χῶρος ὀνομάζεται Καβρωθαβά, ἐπιθυμίας μνημεῖα λέγοιτο ἄν.

1. A Little while afterwards he rose up, and went from Mount Sinai; and, having passed through several mansions, of which we will speak he came to a place called Hazeroth, where the multitude began again to be mutinous, and to Moses for the misfortunes they had suffered their travels; and that when he had persuaded to leave a good land, they at once had lost land, and instead of that happy state he had them, they were still wandering in their miserable condition, being already in want water; and if the manna should happen to fail, must then utterly perish. Yet while they spake many and sore things against the there was one of them who exhorted them to be unmindful of Moses, and of what great pains he had been at about their common safety; not to despair of assistance from God. The multitude thereupon became still more unruly, and mutinous

against Moses than before. Hereupon Moses, although he was so basely abused by them encouraged them in their despairing conditioned and promised that he would procure them a quantity of flesh-meat, and that not for a few days only, but for many days. This they were not to believe; and when one of them asked, whence he could obtain such vast plenty of what he promised, he replied, “Neither God nor I, we hear such opprobrious language from will leave off our labors for you; and this soon appear also.” As soon as ever he had this, the whole camp was filled with quails, they stood round about them, and gathered great numbers. However, it was not long ere God punished the Hebrews for their insolence, those reproaches they had used towards him, no small number of them died; and still to this day the place retains the memory of this destruction and is named Kibrothhattaavah, which is, Graves of Lust.

XIV

CHAPTER 14. How Moses Sent Some Persons To Search Out The Land Of The Canaanites, And The Largeness Of Their Cities; And Further That When Those Who Were Sent Were Returned, After Forty Days And Reported That They Should Not Be A Match For Them, And Extolled The Strength Of The Canaanites The Multitude Were Disturbed And Fell Into Despair; And Were Resolved To Stone Moses, And To Return Back Again Into Egypt, And Serve The Egyptians.

(1) [300] Ἀναγαγὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖθεν ὁ Μωυσῆς εἰς τὴν καλουμένην Φάραγγα πλησίον οὖσαν τοῖς Χαναναίων ὁρίοις καὶ χαλεπὴν ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἀθροίζει τὸ πλῆθος καὶ καταστάς, "δύο, φησί, τοῦ θεοῦ κρίναντος ἡμῖν παρασχεῖν ἀγαθά, ἐλευθερίαν καὶ γῆς κτῆσιν εὐδαίμονος, τὴν μὲν ἤδη δόντος ἔχετε, τὴν δὲ ἤδη λήψεσθε. [301] Χαναναίων γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅροις καθήμεθα, καὶ κωλύσει τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπιόντας οὐ μόνον οὐ βασιλεὺς οὐ πόλις ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ πᾶν ἀθροισθέντων ἔθνος. παρασκευαζώμεθα οὖν πρὸς τὸ ἔργον: οὐ γὰρ ἀμαχητὶ παραχωρήσουσιν ἡμῖν τῆς γῆς, ἀλλὰ μεγάλοις αὐτὴν ἀγῶσιν ἀφαιρεθέντες. [302] πέμψωμεν δὲ κατασκόπους, οἳ τῆσδε τῆς γῆς ἀρετὴν κατανοήσουσι καὶ πόση δύναμις αὐτοῖς. πρὸ δὲ πάντων ὁμονοῶμεν καὶ τὸν θεόν, ὅς ἐστιν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν βοηθὸς καὶ σύμμαχος, διὰ τιμῆς ἔχωμεν."

1. When Moses had led the Hebrews away from thence to a place called Paran, which was near to the borders of the Canaanites, and a place difficult to be continued in, he gathered the multitude together to a congregation; and standing in the midst of them, he said, "Of the two things that God determined to bestow upon us, liberty, and the possession of a Happy Country, the one of them ye already are partakers of, by the gift of God, and the other you will quickly obtain; for we now have our abode near the borders of the Canaanites, and nothing can hinder the acquisition of it, when we now at last are fallen upon it: I say, not only no king nor city, but neither the whole race of mankind, if they were all gathered together, could do it. Let us therefore prepare ourselves for the work, for the Canaanites will not resign up their land to us without fighting, but

it must be wrested from them by great struggles in war. Let us then send spies, who may take a view of the goodness of the land, and what strength it is of; but, above all things, let us be of one mind, and let us honor God, who above all is our helper and assister."

(2) [303] Μωυσέος δὲ ταῦτ' εἰπόντος τὸ πλῆθος αὐτὸν τιμαῖς ἀμείβεται, καὶ κατασκόπους αἱρεῖται δώδεκα τῶν γνωριμωτάτων ἐξ ἑκάστης φυλῆς ἕνα, οἳ διεξελθόντες ἀπὸ τῶν πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ τὴν Χαναναίαν ἅπασαν ἐπί τε Ἀμάθην πόλιν καὶ Λίβανον ἀφικνοῦνται τὸ ὄρος, καὶ τήν τε τῆς γῆς φύσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐνοικούντων ἀνθρώπων ἐξιστορήσαντες παρῆσαν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραις εἰς πᾶν καταχρησάμενοι τὸ ἔργον, [304] ἔτι τε καρποὺς ὧν ἔφερεν ἡ γῆ κομίζοντες τῇ τε τούτων εὐπρεπείᾳ καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἃ τὴν γῆν ἔχειν διηγοῦντο, πολεμεῖν ἐπαίροντες τὸ πλῆθος, φοβοῦντες δὲ πάλιν αὐτὸ τῷ τῆς κτήσεως ἀπόρῳ ποταμούς τε διαβῆναι λέγοντες ἀδυνάτους ὑπὸ μεγέθους ἅμα καὶ βάθους καὶ ὄρη ἀμήχανα τοῖς ὁδεύουσι καὶ πόλεις καρτερὰς τείχεσι καὶ περιβόλων ὀχυρότητι: [305] ἐν δ' Ἑβρῶνι καὶ τῶν γιγάντων ἔφασκον τοὺς ἀπογόνους καταλαβεῖν. καὶ οἱ μὲν κατάσκοποι τεθεαμένοι πάντων οἷς μετὰ τὴν ἔξοδον τὴν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἐνέτυχον μείζω τὰ κατὰ τὴν Χαναναίαν αὐτοί τε κατεπλάγησαν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος οὕτως ἔχειν ἐπειρῶντο.

2. When Moses had said thus, the multitude requited him with marks of respect; and chose twelve spies, of the most eminent men, one out of each tribe, who, passing over all the land of Canaan, from the borders of Egypt, came to the city Hamath, and to Mount Lebanon; and having learned the nature of the land, and of its inhabitants, they came home, having spent forty days in the whole work. They also brought with them of the fruits which the land bare; they also showed them the excellency of those fruits, and gave an account of the great quantity of the good things that land afforded, which were motives to the multitude to go to war. But then they terrified them again with the great difficulty there was in obtaining it; that the rivers were so large and deep that they could not be passed over; and that the hills were so high that they could not travel along for them; that the cities were strong with walls, and their firm fortifications round about them. They told them also, that they found at Hebron the posterity of the giants. Accordingly these spies, who had seen the land of Canaan, when they perceived that all these difficulties were greater there than they had met with since they came out of Egypt, they were aftrighted at them themselves, and endeavored to affright the multitude also.

(3) [306] Οἱ δὲ ἄπορον ἐξ ὧν ἠκροάσαντο τὴν κτῆσιν τῆς γῆς ὑπελάμβανον καὶ διαλυθέντες ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ὀλοφυρόμενοι διῆγον, ὡς

οὐδὲν ἔργῳ τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθοῦντος λόγῳ δὲ μόνον ὑπισχνουμένου. [307] καὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν πάλιν ᾐτιῶντο καὶ κατεβόων αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἀαρῶνος τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ πονηρὰν μὲν καὶ μετὰ τῶν εἰς τοὺς ἄνδρας βλασφημιῶν διάγουσι τὴν νύκτα. πρωὶ δ' εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν συντρέχουσι, δι' ἐννοίας ἔχοντες καταλεύσαντες τόν τε Μωυσῆν καὶ τὸν Ἀαρῶνα ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὑποστρέφειν.

3. So they supposed, from what they had heard, that it was impossible to get the possession of the country. And when the congregation was dissolved, they, their wives and children, continued their lamentation, as if God would not indeed assist them, but only promised them fair. They also again blamed Moses, and made a clamor against him and his brother Aaron, the high priest. Accordingly they passed that night very ill, and with contumelious language against them; but in the morning they ran to a congregation, intending to stone Moses and Aaron, and so to return back into Egypt.

(4) [308] Τῶν δὲ κατασκόπων Ἰησοῦς τε ὁ Ναυήχου παῖς φυλῆς Ἐφραιμίτιδος καὶ Χάλεβος τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς φοβηθέντες χωροῦσιν εἰς μέσους καὶ τὸ πλῆθος κατεῖχον θαρσεῖν δεόμενοι καὶ μήτε ψευδολογίαν κατακρίνειν τοῦ θεοῦ μήτε πιστεύειν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ μὴ τἀληθῆ περὶ τῶν Χαναναίων εἰρηκέναι καταπληξαμένοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ τὴν κτῆσιν αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀγαθῶν παρορμῶσιν: [309] οὔτε γὰρ τῶν ὀρῶν τὸ μέγεθος οὔτε τῶν ποταμῶν τὸ βάθος τοῖς ἀρετὴν ἠσκηκόσιν ἐμποδὼν στήσεσθαι πρὸς τὰ ἔργα καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ θεοῦ συμπροθυμουμένου καὶ ὑπερμαχοῦντος αὐτῶν. "ἴωμεν οὖν, ἔφασαν, ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους μηδὲν ἔχοντες δι' ὑποψίας ἡγεμόνι τε τῷ θεῷ πεπιστευκότες καὶ ὁδηγοῦσιν ἡμῖν ἑπόμενοι." [310] καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα λέγοντες ἐπεχείρουν τὴν ὀργὴν καταπραύνειν τοῦ πλήθους, Μωυσῆς δὲ καὶ Ἀαρὼν πεσόντες ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὸν θεὸν ἱκέτευον οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίας, ἀλλ' ὅπως τῆς ἀμαθίας παύσῃ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ καταστήσῃ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμηχανίας τοῦ παραστάντος αὐτοῖς πάθους τεταραγμένην, παρῆν δ' ἡ νεφέλη καὶ στᾶσα ὑπὲρ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐσήμαινε τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ θεοῦ.

4. But of the spies, there were Joshua the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, and Caleb of the tribe of Judah, that were afraid of the consequence, and came into the midst of them, and stilled the multitude, and desired them to be of good courage; and neither to condemn God, as having told them lies, nor to hearken to those who had aftrighted them, by telling them what was not true concerning the Canaanites, but to those that encouraged them to hope for good success; and that they should gain possession of the happiness promised them, because neither the height of mountains, nor the depth of rivers, could hinder men of true courage from attempting them, especially while God would take care of them

beforehand, and be assistant to them. “Let us then go,” said they, “against our enemies, and have no suspicion of ill success, trusting in God to conduct us, and following those that are to be our leaders.” Thus did these two exhort them, and endeavor to pacify the rage they were in. But Moses and Aaron fell on the ground, and besought God, not for their own deliverance, but that he would put a stop to what the people were unwarily doing, and would bring their minds to a quiet temper, which were now disordered by their present passion. The cloud also did now appear, and stood over the tabernacle, and declared to them the presence of God to be there.

XV

CHAPTER 15. How Moses Was Displeased At This, And Foretold That God Was Angry And That They Should Continue In The Wilderness For Forty Years And Not, During That Time, Either Return Into Egypt Or Take Possession Of Canaan.

(1) [311] Μωυσῆς δὲ θαρρήσας πάρεισιν εἰς τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐδήλου κινηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς ὕβρεως αὐτῷ λήψεσθαι τιμωρίαν, οὐκ ἀξίαν μὲν τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, οἵαν δὲ οἱ πατέρες ἐπὶ νουθεσίᾳ τοῖς τέκνοις ἐπιφέρουσι. [312] παρελθόντι γὰρ εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ τῆς μελλούσης ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀπωλείας ἀποκλαιομένῳ τὸν θεὸν ὑπομνῆσαι μέν, ὅσα παθόντες ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ πηλίκων εὐεργεσιῶν μεταλαβόντες ἀχάριστοι πρὸς αὐτὸν γένοιντο, ὅτι τε τῇ νῦν τῶν κατασκόπων ὑπαχθέντες δειλίᾳ τοὺς ἐκείνων λόγους ἀληθεστέρους τῆς ὑποσχέσεως ἡγήσαντο τῆς αὐτοῦ. [313] καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἀπολεῖ μὲν ἅπαντας οὐδ᾽ ἐξαφανίσει τὸ γένος αὐτῶν, ὃ πάντων μᾶλλον ἀνθρώπων ἔσχε διὰ τιμῆς, τὴν μέντοι Χαναναίαν οὐ παρέξειν γῆν αὐτοῖς λαβεῖν οὐδὲ τὴν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς εὐδαιμονίαν, [314] ἀνεστίους δὲ ποιήσειν καὶ ἀπόλιδας ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρημίας ἐπ᾽ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα καταβιῶναι τῆς παρανομίας ποινὴν ταύτην ἐκτίνοντας: παισὶ μέντοι τοῖς ὑμετέροις παραδώσειν τὴν γῆν ὑπέσχετο κἀκείνους τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὧν ἑαυτοῖς ὑπὸ ἀκρασίας ἐφθονήσατε μετασχεῖν, ποιήσειν δεσπότας.”

1. Moses came now boldly to the multitude, and informed them that God was moved at their abuse of him, and would inflict punishment upon them, not indeed such as they deserved for their sins, but such as parents inflict on their children, in order to their correction. For, he said, that when he was in the tabernacle, and was bewailing with ears that destruction which was coming upon them God put him in mind what things he had done for them, and what benefits they had received from him, and yet how ungrateful they had been to him that just now they had been induced, through the timorousness of the spies, to think that their words were truer than his own promise to them; and that on this account, though he would not indeed destroy them all, nor utterly exterminate their nation, which he had honored more than any other part of mankind, yet he would not permit them to take possession of the land of Canaan, nor enjoy its happiness; but would make them wander in the wilderness, and live without a fixed habitation, and without a city, for forty years together, as a punishment for this their transgression; but that he had promised to give that land to our

children, and that he would make them the possessors of those good things which, by your ungoverned passions, you have deprived yourselves of.

(2) [315] Ταῦτα δὲ Μωυσέος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμην διαλεχθέντος ἐν λύπῃ καὶ συμφορᾷ τὸ πλῆθος ἐγένετο, καὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν παρεκάλει καταλλάκτην αὐτῶν γενέσθαι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τῆς ἄλης τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν ἀπαλλάξαντα πόλεις αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν. ὁ δ᾽ οὐκ ἔφασκε τὸν θεὸν τοιαύτην πεῖραν προσήσεσθαι, μὴ γὰρ κατὰ κουφότητα προαχθῆναι τὸν θεὸν ἀνθρωπίνην εἰς τὴν ὀργὴν τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ γνώμῃ καταψηφισάμενον αὐτῶν. [316] οὐ δεῖ δὲ ἀπιστεῖν, εἰ Μωυσῆς εἷς ἀνὴρ ὢν τοσαύτας μυριάδας ὀργιζομένας ἐπράυνε καὶ μετήγαγε πρὸς τὸ ἥμερον: ὁ γὰρ θεὸς αὐτῷ συμπαρὼν ἡττᾶσθαι τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ τὸ πλῆθος παρεσκεύαζε, καὶ πολλάκις παρακούσαντες ἀσύμφορον ἑαυτοῖς τὴν ἀπείθειαν ἐπέγνωσαν ἐκ τοῦ συμφορᾷ περιπεσεῖν.

2. When Moses had discoursed thus to them according to the direction of God, the multitude, grieved, and were in affliction; and entreated Most to procure their reconciliation to God, and to permit them no longer to wander in the wilderness, but bestow cities upon them. But he replied, that God would not admit of any such trial, for that God was not moved to this determination from any human levity or anger, but that he had judicially condemned them to that punishment. Now we are not to disbelieve that Moses, who was but a single person, pacified so many ten thousands when they were in anger, and converted them to a mildness temper; for God was with him, and prepared way to his persuasions of the multitude; and as they had often been disobedient, they were now sensible that such disobedience was disadvantageous to them and that they had still thereby fallen into calamities.

(3) [317] Θαυμαστὸς δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ τῆς ἰσχύος τῆς τοῦ πιστεύεσθαι περὶ ὧν ἂν εἴπῃ οὐ παρ᾽ ὃν ἔζη χρόνον ὑπῆρξε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν: ἔστι γοῦν οὐδεὶς Ἑβραίων, ὃς οὐχὶ καθάπερ παρόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ κολάσοντος ἂν ἀκοσμῇ πειθαρχεῖ τοῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ νομοθετηθεῖσι, κἂν λαθεῖν δύνηται. [318] καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τεκμήρια τῆς ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπόν ἐστι δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ, ἤδη δέ τινες καὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην μηνῶν ὁδὸν τεσσάρων ἐλθόντες κατὰ τιμὴν τοῦ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἱεροῦ μετὰ πολλῶν κινδύνων καὶ ἀναλωμάτων καὶ θύσαντες οὐκ ἴσχυσαν τῶν ἱερῶν μεταλαβεῖν Μωυσέος ἀπηγορευκότος ἐπί τινι τῶν οὐ νομιζομένων οὐδ᾽ ἐκ τῶν πατρίων ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς συντυχόντων. [319] καὶ οἱ μὲν μηδὲ θύσαντες, οἱ δὲ ἡμιέργους τὰς θυσίας καταλιπόντες, πολλοὶ δ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἀρχὴν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν δυνηθέντες ἀπίασιν ὑπακούειν τοῖς Μωυσέος προστάγμασι μᾶλλον ἢ ποιεῖν τὰ κατὰ βούλησιν τὴν ἑαυτῶν προτιμῶντες, καὶ τὸν ἐλέγξοντα περὶ τούτων αὐτοὺς οὐ δεδιότες, ἀλλὰ μόνον τὸ συνειδὸς ὑφορώμενοι. [320] οὕτως ἡ νομοθεσία τοῦ

θεοῦ δοκοῦσα τὸν ἄνδρα πεποίηκε τῆς αὐτοῦ φύσεως κρείττονα νομίζεσθαι. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν Κλαυδίου Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντος Ἰσμαήλου δὲ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἀρχιερέως ὄντος, καὶ λιμοῦ τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν καταλαβόντος, ὡς τεσσάρων δραχμῶν πωλεῖσθαι τὸν ἀσσάρωνα, [321] κομισθέντος ἀλεύρου κατὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν τῶν ἀζύμων εἰς κόρους ἑβδομήκοντα, μέδιμνοι δὲ οὗτοι Σικελοὶ μέν εἰσιν εἷς καὶ τριακόσιοι Ἀττικοὶ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα εἷς, οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησε τῶν ἱερέων κρίμνον ἓν φαγεῖν τοσαύτης ἀπορίας τὴν γῆν κατεχούσης, δεδιὼς τὸν νόμον καὶ τὴν ὀργήν, ἣν καὶ ἐπὶ ἀνεξελέγκτοις ἀεὶ τὸ θεῖον τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν ἔχει. [322] ὥστ᾽ οὐ δεῖ θαυμάζειν περὶ τῶν τότε πεπραγμένων, ὁπότε καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τὰ καταλειφθέντα ὑπὸ Μωυσέος γράμματα τηλικαύτην ἰσχὺν ἔχει, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς μισοῦντας ἡμᾶς ὁμολογεῖν, ὅτι καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἡμῖν ὁ καταστησάμενός ἐστι θεὸς διὰ Μωυσέος καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς ἐκείνου. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ὡς αὐτῷ τινι δοκεῖ διαλήψεται.

3. But this man was admirable for his virtue, and powerful in making men give credit to what he delivered, not only during the time of his natural life, but even there is still no one of the Hebrews who does not act even now as if Moses were present, and ready to punish him if he should do any thing that is indecent; nay, there is no one but is obedient to what laws he ordained, although they might be concealed in their transgressions. There are also many other demonstrations that his power was more than human, for still some there have been, who have come from the parts beyond Euphrates, a journey of four months, through many dangers, and at great expenses, in honor of our temple; and yet, when they had offered their oblations, could not partake of their own sacrifices, because Moses had forbidden it, by somewhat in the law that did not permit them, or somewhat that had befallen them, which our ancient customs made inconsistent therewith; some of these did not sacrifice at all, and others left their sacrifices in an imperfect condition; many were not able, even at first, so much as to enter the temple, but went their ways in this as preferring a submission to the laws of Moses before the fulfilling of their own inclinations, they had no fear upon them that anybody could convict them, but only out of a reverence to their own conscience. Thus this legislation, which appeared to be divine, made this man to be esteemed as one superior to his own nature. Nay, further, a little before the beginning of this war, when Claudius was emperor of the Romans, and Ismael was our high priest, and when so great a famine was come upon us, that one tenth deal [of wheat] was sold for four drachmae, and when no less than seventy cori of flour were brought into the temple, at the feast of unleavened bread, [these cori are thirty-one Sicilian, but forty-one Athenian medimni,] not one of the priests was so hardy as to eat one crumb of it, even while so great a distress

was upon the land; and this out of a dread of the law, and of that wrath which God retains against acts of wickedness, even when no one can accuse the actors. Whence we are not to wonder at what was then done, while to this very day the writings left by Moses have so great a force, that even those that hate us do confess, that he who established this settlement was God, and that it was by the means of Moses, and of his virtue; but as to these matters, let every one take them as he thinks fit.

Liber IV

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Ἑβραίων δίχα τῆς Μωυσέος γνώμης μάχη πρὸς Χαναναίους καὶ ἧττα.

β. στάσις Κορέου καὶ τοῦ πλήθους πρὸς Μωυσῆν *καὶ* τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης.

γ. τὰ συμβάντα τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἔτεσιν ὀκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα.

δ. ὡς Σηχῶνα καὶ Ὤγην τοὺς Ἀμορραίων βασιλεῖς νικήσας Μωυσῆς καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἅπασαν αὐτῶν διαφθείρας κατεκλήρωσεν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν δυσὶ φυλαῖς καὶ ἡμισείᾳ τῶν Ἑβραίων.

ε. Μωυσέος πολιτεία καὶ πῶς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφανίσθη.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος αὕτη χρόνον ἐτῶν τριάκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ.

BOOK IV. Containing The Interval Of Thirty-Eight Years. — From The Rejection Of That Generation To The Death Of Moses.

I

CHAPTER 1. Fight Of The Hebrews With The Canaanites Without The Consent Of Moses; And Their Defeat.

(1) [1] Ἑβραίους δ’ ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν βίος ἀηδὴς καὶ χαλεπὸς ὢν ἐπόνει καὶ κωλύοντος τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν Χαναναίων πεῖραν λαμβάνειν: οὐ γὰρ ἠξίουν τοῖς Μωυσέος πειθαρχοῦντες λόγοις ἠρεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δίχα τῆς παρ’ ἐκείνου προθυμίας κρατήσειν αὐτοὶ τῶν πολεμίων νομίζοντες κατηγόρουν μὲν αὐτοῦ καὶ πραγματεύεσθαι μένειν αὐτοὺς ἀπόρους ὑπενόουν, ἵν’ ἀεὶ τῆς ἐξ αὐτοῦ βοηθείας δέωνται, [2] πολεμεῖν δὲ τοῖς Χαναναίοις ὡρμήκεσαν λέγοντες τὸν θεὸν οὐχὶ Μωυσεῖ χαριζόμενον ἐπικουρεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινῇ κηδόμενον αὐτῶν τοῦ ἔθνους διὰ τοὺς προγόνους ὧν ἐπετρόπευσε καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν πρότερόν τε παρασχεῖν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ νῦν βουλομένοις πονεῖν ἀεὶ παρέσεσθαι σύμμαχον: [3] εἶναί τε καὶ κατ’ αὐτοὺς ἱκανοὶ κρατεῖν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἔφασκον, κἂν ἀπαλλοτριοῦν αὐτῶν Μωυσῆς ἐθελήσῃ τὸν θεόν: ὅλως τε συμφέρειν αὐτοῖς τὸ αὐτοκράτορσιν εἶναι, καὶ μὴ χαίροντας ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς παρ’ Αἰγυπτίων ἐξελθεῖν ὕβρεως Μωυσῆν τύραννον ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ ζῆν πρὸς τὴν τούτου βούλησιν ἐξαπατωμένους, [4] ὅτι μόνῳ τὸ θεῖον αὐτῷ προδηλοῖ περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων κατὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὔνοιαν, ὡς οὐχ ἁπάντων ἐκ τῆς Ἀβράμου γενεᾶς ὄντων, ἀλλ’ αἴτιον ἕνα τούτων τοῦ θεοῦ παρεσχηκότος εἰς τὸ πάντ’ αὐτὸν εἰδέναι τὰ μέλλοντα παρ’ αὐτοῦ μανθάνοντα: [5] δόξειν τε συνετοὺς εἶναι τῆς ἀλαζονείας αὐτοῦ καταγνόντες καὶ τῷ θεῷ πιστεύσαντες κτήσασθαι γῆν ἣν αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχηται θελήσασιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῷ διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην ἐπ’ ὀνόματι τοῦ θεοῦ κωλύοντι προσσχοῖεν. [6] τὴν ἀπορίαν οὖν λογιζόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν, ὑφ’ ἧς ἔτι ταύτην αὐτοῖς χείρω συνέβαινεν εἶναι δοκεῖν, ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Χαναναίους μάχην ἦσαν ὡρμημένοι, τὸν θεὸν προστησάμενοι στρατηγὸν ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ νομοθέτου συνεργίαν περιμένοντες.

1. Now this life of the Hebrews in the wilderness was so disagreeable and troublesome to them, and they were so uneasy at it, that although God had forbidden them to meddle with the Canaanites, yet could they not be persuaded to be obedient to the words of Moses, and to be quiet; but supposing they should be able to beat their enemies, without his approbation, they accused him, and suspected that he made it his business to keep in a distressed condition, that they might always stand in need of his assistance. Accordingly they resolved to fight with the Canaanites, and said that God gave them his assistance, not out of regard to Moses’s intercessions, but because he took care of their entire nation,

on account of their forefathers, whose affairs he took under his own conduct; as also, that it was on account of their own virtue that he had formerly procured them their liberty, and would be assisting to them, now they were willing to take pains for it. They also said that they were possessed of abilities sufficient for the conquest of their enemies, although Moses should have a mind to alienate God from them; that, however, it was for their advantage to be their own masters, and not so far to rejoice in their deliverance from the indignities they endured under the Egyptians, as to bear the tyranny of Moses over them, and to suffer themselves to be deluded, and live according to his pleasure, as though God did only foretell what concerns us out of his kindness to him, as if they were not all the posterity of Abraham; that God made him alone the author of all the knowledge we have, and we must still learn it from him; that it would be a piece of prudence to oppose his arrogant pretenses, and to put their confidence in God, and to resolve to take possession of that land which he had promised them, and not to give ear to him, who on this account, and under the pretense of Divine authority, forbade them so to do. Considering, therefore, the distressed state they were in at present, and that in those desert places they were still to expect things would be worse with them, they resolved to fight with the Canaanites, as submitting only to God, their supreme Commander, and not waiting for any assistance from their legislator.

(2) [7] Ὡς οὖν ταῦτ᾽ ἄμεινον αὐτοῖς ἔξειν ἔκριναν καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπῆλθον, οἱ μὲν οὐ καταπλαγέντες αὐτῶν τὴν ἔφοδον οὐδὲ τὴν πληθὺν γενναίως αὐτοὺς ἐδέξαντο, τῶν δὲ Ἑβραίων ἀποθνήσκουσί τε πολλοὶ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν στράτευμα τῆς φάλαγγος αὐτῶν διαλυθείσης ἀκόσμως διωκόμενον εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν συνέφυγε, [8] καὶ τῷ παρ᾽ ἐλπίδας ἀτυχῆσαι παντάπασιν ἀθυμοῦν οὐδὲν ἔτι χρηστὸν προσεδόκα λογιζόμενον, ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα κατὰ μῆνιν θεοῦ πάθοιεν προεξορμήσαντες ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον τῆς ἐκείνου βουλήσεως.

2. When, therefore, they had come to this resolution, as being best for them, they went against their enemies; but those enemies were not dismayed either at the attack itself, or at the great multitude that made it, and received them with great courage. Many of the Hebrews were slain; and the remainder of the army, upon the disorder of their troops, were pursued, and fled, after a shameful manner, to their camp. Whereupon this unexpected misfortune made them quite despond; and they hoped for nothing that was good; as gathering from it, that this affliction came from the wrath of God, because they rashly went out to war without his approbation.

(3) [9] Μωυσῆς δὲ τοὺς μὲν οἰκείους ὁρῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἥττης καταπεπληγότας, φοβούμενος δὲ μὴ θαρσήσαντες ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ μειζόνων ὀρεχθέντες ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἔλθοιεν, ἔγνω δεῖν τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπαγαγεῖν πορρωτέρω τῶν Χαναναίων εἰς τὴν ἔρημον. [10] καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπιτρέψαντος ἑαυτὸ πάλιν ἐκείνῳ, συνῆκε γὰρ δίχα τῆς αὐτοῦ προνοίας οὐ δυνησόμενον ἐρρῶσθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἀναστήσας τὸ στράτευμα προῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον, ἐνταῦθα νομίζων ἡσυχάσειν αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ πρότερον τοῖς Χαναναίοις εἰς χεῖρας ἥξειν πρὶν ἢ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν εἰς τοῦτο καιρὸν λάβωσιν.

3. But when Moses saw how deeply they were affected with this defeat, and being afraid lest the enemies should grow insolent upon this victory, and should be desirous of gaining still greater glory, and should attack them, he resolved that it was proper to withdraw the army into the wilderness to a further distance from the Canaanites: so the multitude gave themselves up again to his conduct, for they were sensible that, without his care for them, their affairs could not be in a good condition; and he caused the host to remove, and he went further into the wilderness, as intending there to let them rest, and not to permit them to fight the Canaanites before God should afford them a more favorable opportunity.

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CHAPTER 2. The Sedition Of Corah And Of The Multitude Against Moses, And Against His Brother, Concerning The Priesthood.

(1) [11] Ὅπερ δὲ τοῖς μεγάλοις συμβαίνει στρατοπέδοις καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ τὰς κακοπραγίας δυσάρκτοις εἶναι καὶ δυσπειθέσι, τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις συνέπεσεν: ἑξήκοντα γὰρ ὄντες μυριάδες καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἴσως ἂν μηδ᾽ ἐν ἀγαθοῖς ὑποταγέντες τοῖς κρείττοσι, τότε μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας καὶ συμφορᾶς ἐξηγανάκτουν καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα. [12] στάσις οὖν αὐτοὺς οἵαν ἴσμεν οὔτε παρ᾽ Ἕλλησιν οὔτε παρὰ βαρβάροις γενομένην κατέλαβεν, ὑφ᾽ ἧς ἅπαντας ἀπολέσθαι κινδυνεύσαντας ἔσωσε Μωυσῆς οὐ μνησικακῶν, ὅτι παρ᾽ ὀλίγον ἦλθε καταλευσθεὶς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν. [13] οὐδ᾽ ὁ θεὸς δὲ ἠμέλησε τοῦ μηδὲν αὐτοὺς παθεῖν τῶν δεινῶν, ἀλλὰ καίπερ εἰς τὸν νομοθέτην αὐτῶν ἐξυβρισάντων καὶ τὰς ἐντολάς, ἃς αὐτὸς διὰ Μωυσέος αὐτοῖς ἐπέστειλεν, ἐρρύσατο τῶν ἐκ τοῦ στασιάζειν αὐτοῖς ἂν γενομένων δεινῶν, εἰ μὴ προενόησε. τήν τε οὖν στάσιν καὶ ὅσα μετ᾽ αὐτὴν Μωυσῆς ἐπολιτεύσατο διηγήσομαι προδιελθὼν τὴν αἰτίαν ἀφ᾽ ἧς ἐγένετο.

1. That which is usually the case of great armies, and especially upon ill success, to be hard to be pleased, and governed with difficulty, did now befall the Jews; for they being in number six hundred thousand, and by reason of their great multitude not readily subject to their governors, even in prosperity, they at this time were more than usually angry, both against one another and against their leader, because of the distress they were in, and the calamities they then endured. Such a sedition overtook them, as we have not the like example either among the Greeks or the Barbarians, by which they were in danger of being all destroyed, but were notwithstanding saved by Moses, who would not remember that he had been almost stoned to death by them. Nor did God neglect to prevent their ruin; but, notwithstanding the indignities they had offered their legislator and the laws, and disobedience to the commandments which he had sent them by Moses, he delivered them from those terrible calamities which, without his providential care, had been brought upon them by this sedition. So I will first explain the cause whence this sedition arose, and then will give an account of the sedition itself; as also of what settlements made for their government after it was over.

(2) [14] Κορῆς τις Ἑβραίων ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ γένει καὶ πλούτῳ διαφόρων ἱκανὸς δ᾽ εἰπεῖν καὶ δήμοις ὁμιλεῖν πιθανώτατος, ὁρῶν ἐν ὑπερβαλλούσῃ τιμῇ τὸν Μωυσῆν καθεστῶτα χαλεπῶς εἶχεν ὑπὸ φθόνου, καὶ γὰρ φυλέτης ὢν ἐτύγχανεν

αὐτοῦ καὶ συγγενής, ἀχθόμενος ὅτι ταύτης τῆς δόξης δικαιότερον ἂν τῷ πλουτεῖν ἐκείνου μᾶλλον μὴ χείρων ὢν κατὰ γένος αὐτὸς ἀπέλαυε. [15] παρά τε τοῖς Λευίταις, φυλέται δ' ἦσαν, καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ τοῖς συγγενέσι κατεβόα δεινὸν εἶναι λέγων Μωυσῆν δόξαν αὐτῷ θηρώμενον κατασκευάσαι καὶ κακουργοῦντα κτήσασθαι ταύτην ἐπὶ προφάσει τοῦ θεοῦ περιορᾶν, παρὰ τοὺς νόμους μὲν τἀδελφῷ τὴν ἱερωσύνην Ἀαρῶνι δόντα, μὴ τῷ κοινῷ δόγματι τοῦ πλήθους ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ψηφισαμένου, [16] τυράννων δὲ τρόπῳ καταχαριζομένου τὰς τιμὰς οἷς ἂν ἐθελήσῃ χαλεπώτερον ἤδη τυγχάνειν τοῦ βιάζεσθαι τό τε λεληθότως ἐξυβρίζειν, ὅτι μὴ μόνον ἄκοντας μηδὲ συνιέντας τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τὴν ἰσχὺν ἀφαιρεῖται: [17] ὅστις γὰρ αὐτῷ σύνοιδεν ὄντι λαβεῖν ἀξίῳ πείθει τυγχάνειν αὐτὸν καὶ τότε βιάσασθαι μὴ θρασυνόμενος, οἷς δὲ ἄπορον ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου τιμᾶσθαι, βίαν μὲν ἀγαθοὶ βουλόμενοι δοκεῖν οὐ προσφέρουσι, τέχνῃ δ' εἶναι κακουργοῦσι δυνατοί. [18] συμφέρειν δὲ τῷ πλήθει τοὺς τοιούτους ἔτι λανθάνειν οἰομένους κολάζειν καὶ μὴ παρελθεῖν εἰς δύναμιν ἐάσαντας φανεροὺς ἔχειν πολεμίους. τίνα γὰρ καὶ λόγον ἀποδοῦναι δυνάμενος Μωυσῆς Ἀαρῶνι καὶ τοῖς υἱέσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἱερωσύνην παρέδωκεν; [19] εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Λευίτιδος φυλῆς τὴν τιμὴν ὁ θεός τινι παρασχεῖν ἔκρινεν, ἐγὼ ταύτης δικαιότερος τυγχάνειν γένει μὲν ὁ αὐτὸς ὢν Μωυσεῖ, πλούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ διαφέρων: εἰ δὲ τῇ πρεσβυτάτῃ τῶν φυλῶν, εἰκότως ἂν ἡ Ῥουβήλου τὴν τιμὴν ἔχοι λαμβανόντων αὐτὴν Δαθάμου καὶ Ἀβιράμου καὶ Φαλαοῦς: πρεσβύτατοι γὰρ οὗτοι τῶν ταύτην τὴν φυλὴν νεμομένων καὶ δυνατοὶ χρημάτων περιουσίᾳ.

2. Corah, a Hebrew of principal account, both by his family and by his wealth, one that was also able to speak well, and one that could easily persuade the people by his speeches, saw that Moses was in an exceeding great dignity, and was at it, and envied him on that account, [he of the same tribe with Moses, and of kin to him,] was particularly grieved, because he thought he better deserved that honorable post on account of great riches, and not inferior to him in his birth. So he raised a clamor against him among the Levites, who were of the same tribe, and among his kindred, saying, "That it was a very sad thing that they should overlook Moses, while hunted after and paved the way to glory for himself, and by ill arts should obtain it, under the pretense of God's command, while, contrary to laws, he had given the priesthood to Aaron, the common suffrage of the multitude, but by his own vote, as bestowing dignities in a way on whom he pleased." He added, "That this concealed way of imposing on them was harder to be borne than if it had been done by an open force upon them, because he did now not only their power without their consent, but even they were unapprised of his contrivances against them; for whosoever is conscious to himself that he deserves any dignity, aims to get it by persuasion, and not by an

arrogant method of violence; those that believe it impossible to obtain honors justly, make a show of goodness, and do not introduce force, but by cunning tricks grow wickedly powerful. That it was proper for the multitude to punish such men, even while they think themselves concealed in their designs, and not suffer them to gain strength till they have them for their open enemies. For what account," added he, "is Moses able to give, why he has bestowed the priesthood on Aaron and his sons? for if God had determined to bestow that honor on one of the tribe of Levi, I am more worthy of it than he is; I myself being equal to Moses by my family, and superior to him both in riches and in age: but if God had determined to bestow it on the eldest be, that of Reuben might have it most justly; and then Dathan, and Abiram, and [On, the son of] Peleth, would have it; for these are the oldest men of that tribe, and potent on account of their great wealth also."

(3) [20] Ἐβούλετο μὲν οὖν ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Κορῆς τοῦ κοινοῦ προνοεῖσθαι δοκεῖν, ἔργῳ δὲ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπραγματεύετο τὴν παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους τιμὴν μεταστῆσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα κακοήθως μετ' εὐπρεπείας πρὸς τοὺς φυλέτας ἔλεγε. [21] προιόντος δ' εἰς τοὺς πλείονας κατ' ὀλίγον τοῦ λόγου καὶ τῶν ἀκροωμένων προστιθεμένων ταῖς κατὰ Ἀαρῶνος διαβολαῖς ἀναπίμπλαται τούτων ἅπας ὁ στρατός. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ συντεταγμένοι τῷ Κορῇ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακόσιοι τῶν πρώτων ἄνδρες σπεύδοντες ἀφελέσθαι τὴν ἱερωσύνην τὸν Μωυσέος ἀδελφὸν καὶ τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἀτιμοῦν. [22] ἀνηρέθιστο δὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ βάλλειν τὸν Μωυσῆν ὡρμήκεσαν, εἵς τε ἐκκλησίαν ἀκόσμως μετὰ θορύβου καὶ ταραχῆς συνελέγοντο, καὶ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ θεοῦ στάντες ἐβόων ἥκειν τὸν τύραννον καὶ τῆς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δουλείας ἀπηλλάχθαι τὸ πλῆθος, τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ προφάσει βίαια προστάγματα κελεύοντος: [23] τὸν γὰρ θεόν, εἴπερ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ τὸν ἱερωσόμενον ἐκλεγόμενος, τὸν ἄξιον ἂν εἰς τὴν τιμὴν παράγειν, οὐχὶ τοῖς πολλῶν ὑποδεεστέροις ταύτην φέροντα προσνεῖμαι, κρίνοντά τε παρασχεῖν Ἀαρῶνι ταύτην ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει ποιήσασθαι τὴν δόσιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ τἀδελφῷ καταλιπεῖν.

3. Now Corah, when he said this, had a mind to appear to take care of the public welfare, but in reality he was endeavoring to procure to have that dignity transferred by the multitude to himself. Thus did he, out of a malignant design, but with plausible words, discourse to those of his own tribe; when these words did gradually spread to more people, and when the hearers still added to what tended to the scandals that were cast upon Aaron, the whole army was full of them. Now of those that conspired with Corah, there were two hundred and fifty, and those of the principal men also, who were eager to have the priesthood taken away from Moses's brother, and to bring him into disgrace: nay, the multitude themselves were provoked to be seditious, and attempted to stone Moses, and

gathered themselves together after an indecent manner, with confusion and disorder. And now all were, in a tumultuous manner, raising a clamour before the tabernacle of God, to prosecute the tyrant, and to relieve the multitude from their slavery under him who, under color of the Divine laid violent injunctions upon them; for had it been God who chose one that was to perform the office of a priest, he would have raised person to that dignity, and would not produced such a one as was inferior to many others nor have given him that office; and that in he had judged it fit to bestow it on Aaron, he would have permitted it to the multitude to bestow it, and not have left it to be bestowed by his own brother.

(4) [24] Μωυσῆς δὲ τὴν Κορέου διαβολὴν ἐκ πολλοῦ προειδὼς καὶ τὸν λαὸν παροξυνόμενον ἰδὼν οὐκ ἔδεισεν, ἀλλὰ θαρρῶν οἷς περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καλῶς ἐβουλεύετο καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν εἰδὼς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ προαίρεσιν τῆς ἱερωσύνης τυχεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ χάριν, ἦκεν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. [25] καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὸ πλῆθος οὐδένα ἐποιήσατο λόγον, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Κορῆ βοῶν ἐφ᾽ ὅσον ἐδύνατο, δεξιὸς ὢν καὶ κατὰ τἆλλα καὶ πλήθεσιν ὁμιλεῖν εὐφυής, “ἐμοί, φησίν, ὦ Κορῆ, καὶ σὺ καὶ τούτων ἕκαστος,” ἀπεδήλου δὲ τοὺς πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους ἄνδρας, “τιμῆς ἄξιοι δοκεῖτε, καὶ τὸν ὅμιλον δὲ πάντα τῆς ὁμοίας οὐκ ἀποστερῶ τιμῆς, κἂν ὑστερῶσιν ὧν ὑμῖν ἐκ πλούτου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀξιώσεως ὑπάρχει. [26] καὶ νῦν Ἀαρῶνι τὴν ἱερωσύνην οὐκ ἐπειδὴ πλούτῳ προεῖχε, σὺ γὰρ καὶ ἀμφοτέρους ἡμᾶς μεγέθει χρημάτων ὑπερβάλλεις, οὐ μὴν οὐδ᾽ εὐγενείᾳ, κοινὸν γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦτο ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν αὐτὸν δοὺς προπάτορα, οὐδὲ διὰ φιλαδελφίαν ὃ δικαίως ἂν ἕτερος εἶχε τοῦτο φέρων ἔδωκα τἀδελφῷ: [27] καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ φροντίζων τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν νόμων τὴν τιμὴν ἐχαριζόμην, οὐκ ἂν ἐμαυτῷ παρεὶς δοῦναι παρέσχον ἑτέρῳ συγγενέστερος ὢν ἐμαυτῷ τἀδελφοῦ, καὶ πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν οἰκειότερον ἢ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον διακείμενος: καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ συνετὸν ἦν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἐμαυτὸν ὑποτιθέντα τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ παρανομεῖν ἄλλῳ τὴν διὰ τούτου εὐδαιμονίαν χαρίζεσθαι. [28] ἀλλ᾽ ἐγώ τε κρείττων ἢ κακουργεῖν ὅ τε θεὸς οὐκ ἂν περιεῖδεν ἑαυτὸν καταφρονούμενον οὐδ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοοῦντας ὅτι καὶ ποιοῦντες αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθε, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸς ἐπιλεξάμενος τὸν ἱερωσόμενον αὐτῷ τῆς κατὰ τοῦτ᾽ αἰτίας ἡμᾶς ἠλευθέρωσεν. [29] οὐ μὴν ἐξ ἐμῆς χάριτος λαβεῖν ἀλλὰ μὴ κατὰ κρίσιν θεοῦ, κατατίθησιν αὐτὴν εἰς μέσον ἐπιδικάσιμον τοῖς βουλομένοις, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ προκριθεὶς ἤδη τυχεῖν αὐτῆς ἀξιῶν ἐπιτραπῆναι καὶ τοῦτο νῦν αὐτῷ [συγχωρηθῆναι] περὶ αὐτῆς σπουδάσαι, [30] προτιμῶν τοῦ τὸ γέρας ἔχειν τὸ μὴ στασιάζοντας ὑμᾶς ὁρᾶν καί τοι κατὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν γνώμην αὐτοῦ τυγχάνων: ὃ γὰρ ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς οὐχ ἡμάρτομεν τοῦτο καὶ μὴ βουλομένων ὑμῶν λαμβάνοντες. [31] ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ μὴ προσέσθαι παρέχοντος ἐκείνου τὴν τιμὴν ἀσεβές, καὶ πάλιν ἀξιοῦντ᾽ ἔχειν εἰς ἅπαντα χρόνον μὴ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ βεβαιοῦντος ἡμῖν τοῦ θεοῦ παντάπασιν ἀλόγιστον. κρινεῖ τοίνυν πάλιν αὐτός, τίνας βούλεται

τὰς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῷ θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ προεστάναι τῆς εὐσεβείας: [32] ἄτοπον γὰρ Κορῆν ἐφιέμενον τῆς τιμῆς τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ τίνι παράσχῃ ταύτην ἀφελέσθαι τὸν θεόν. τῆς οὖν στάσεως καὶ τῆς διὰ τοῦτο ταραχῆς παύσασθε, πρωὶ δὲ ὅσοι τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἀντιποιεῖσθε κομίζων ἕκαστος θυμιατήριον οἴκοθεν σὺν θυμιάμασι καὶ πῦρ πάριτε. [33] καὶ σὺ δέ, Κορῆ, παραχώρησον τὴν κρίσιν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτοῦ μένε ψηφοφορίαν, ἀλλὰ μὴ σαυτὸν ποίει τοῦ θεοῦ κρείττονα, παραγίνου δὲ κριθησόμενος οὕτως περὶ τοῦ γέρως. ἀνεμέσητον δ' οἶμαι καὶ Ἀαρῶνα προσδέξασθαι συγκριθησόμενον, γένους μὲν ὄντα τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηδὲν δὲ μεμφθῆναι τοῖς παρὰ τὴν ἱερωσύνην πεπραγμένοις δυνάμενον. [34] θυμιάσετε οὖν συνελθόντες ἐν φανερῷ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, καὶ θυμιωμένων ὑμῶν οὗπερ ἂν τὴν θυσίαν ἡδίω κρίνῃ ὁ θεός, οὗτος ὑμῖν ἱερεὺς κεχειροτονήσεται, τῆς ἐπὶ τἀδελφῷ διαβολῆς ὡς κεχαρισμένου τὴν τιμὴν αὐτῷ ῥυόμενος."

4. Now although Moses had a great while ago foreseen this calumny of Corah, and had seen the people were irritated, yet was he not affrighted at it; but being of good courage, because given them right advice about their affairs, and knowing that his brother had been made partaker of the priesthood at the command of God, and not by his own favor to him, he came to the assembly; and as for the multitude, he said not a word to them, but spake as loud to Corah as he could; and being very skillful in making speeches, and having this natural talent, among others, that he could greatly move the multitude with his discourses, he said, "O Corah, both thou and all these with thee [pointing to the two hundred and fifty men] seem to be worthy of this honor; nor do I pretend but that this whole company may be worthy of the like dignity, although they may not be so rich or so great as you are: nor have I taken and given this office to my brother because he excelled others in riches, for thou exceedest us both in the greatness of thy wealth; nor indeed because he was of an eminent family, for God, by giving us the same common ancestor, has made our families equal: nay, nor was it out of brotherly affection, which another might yet have justly done; for certainly, unless I had bestowed this honor out of regard to God, and to his laws, I had not passed by myself, and given it to another, as being nearer of kin to myself than to my brother, and having a closer intimacy with myself than I have with him; for surely it would not be a wise thing for me to expose myself to the dangers of offending, and to bestow the happy employment on this account upon another. But I am above such base practices: nor would God have overlooked this matter, and seen himself thus despised; nor would he have suffered you to be ignorant of what you were to do, in order to please him; but he hath himself chosen one that is to perform that sacred office to him, and thereby freed us from that care. So that it was not a thing that I pretend to give,

but only according to the determination of God; I therefore propose it still to be contended for by such as please to put in for it, only desiring that he who has been already preferred, and has already obtained it, may be allowed now also to offer himself for a candidate. He prefers your peace, and your living without sedition, to this honorable employment, although in truth it was with your approbation that he obtained it; for though God were the donor, yet do we not offend when we think fit to accept it with your good-will; yet would it have been an instance of impiety not to have taken that honorable employment when he offered it; nay, it had been exceedingly unreasonable, when God had thought fit any one should have it for all time to come, and had made it secure and firm to him, to have refused it. However, he himself will judge again who it shall be whom he would have to offer sacrifices to him, and to have the direction of matters of religion; for it is absurd that Corah, who is ambitious of this honor, should deprive God of the power of giving it to whom he pleases. Put an end, therefore, to your sedition and disturbance on this account; and tomorrow morning do every one of you that desire the priesthood bring a censer from home, and come hither with incense and fire: and do thou, O Corah, leave the judgment to God, and await to see on which side he will give his determination upon this occasion, but do not thou make thyself greater than God. Do thou also come, that this contest about this honorable employment may receive determination. And I suppose we may admit Aaron without offense, to offer himself to this scrutiny, since he is of the same lineage with thyself, and has done nothing in his priesthood that can be liable to exception. Come ye therefore together, and offer your incense in public before all the people; and when you offer it, he whose sacrifice God shall accept shall be ordained to the priesthood, and shall be clear of the present calumny on Aaron, as if I had granted him that favor because he was my brother."

III

CHAPTER 3. How Those That Stirred Up This Sedition Were Destroyed, According To The Will Of God; And How Aaron, Moses's Brother Both He And His Posterity, Retained The Priesthood.

(1) [35] Ταῦτα Μωυσέος εἰπόντος παύεται καὶ τῆς ταραχῆς τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τῆς εἰς Μωυσῆν ὑποψίας, ἐπένευσαν δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις: καὶ γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἐδόκει χρηστὰ τῷ λαῷ. τότε μὲν οὖν διαλύουσι τὸν σύλλογον, τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ συνῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρατευξόμενοι τῇ θυσίᾳ καὶ τῇ δι' αὐτῆς κρίσει τῶν περὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἀγωνιζομένων. [36] συνέβαινε δ' εἶναι θορυβώδη τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετεώρου τοῦ πλήθους ὄντος ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τῶν ἐσομένων, καὶ τῶν μὲν εἰς ἡδονὴν λαμβανόντων, εἰ Μωυσῆς ἐλεγχθείη κακουργῶν, τῶν δὲ φρονίμων, εἰ πραγμάτων ἀπαλλαγείησαν καὶ ταραχῆς: ἐδεδίεσαν γάρ, μὴ τῆς στάσεως προιούσης ἀφανισθῇ μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ὁ κόσμος τῆς καταστάσεως. [37] ὁ δὲ πᾶς ὅμιλος φύσει χαίρων τῷ καταβοᾶν τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ πρὸς ὅ τις εἴποι πρὸς τοῦτο τὴν γνώμην τρέπων ἐθορύβει. πέμψας δὲ καὶ Μωυσῆς πρὸς Ἀβίραμον καὶ Δαθάμην ὑπηρέτας ἐκέλευσεν ἥκειν κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα καὶ περιμένειν τὴν ἱερουργίαν. [38] ὡς δ' οὔτε ὑπακούσεσθαι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἔφασαν καὶ Μωυσῆν οὐ περιόψεσθαι κατὰ τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ἐκ κακουργίας αὐξανόμενον, ἀκούσας τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν ὁ Μωυσῆς ἀκολουθεῖν αὐτῷ τοὺς προβούλους ἀξιώσας ἀπῄει πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Δαθάμην, οὐχ ἡγούμενος εἶναι δεινὸν βαδίζειν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπερηφανήσαντας: οἱ δ' οὐδὲν ἀντειπόντες ἠκολούθουν. [39] οἱ δὲ περὶ Δαθάμην πυθόμενοι τὸν Μωυσῆν μετὰ τῶν ἀξιολόγων τῆς πληθύος πρὸς αὐτοὺς παραγινόμενον προελθόντες γυναιξὶν ἅμα καὶ τέκνοις πρὸ τῶν σκηνῶν ἀπέβλεπον, τί καὶ μέλλοι ποιεῖν ὁ Μωυσῆς: ἔτι τε θεράποντες ἦσαν περὶ αὐτούς, ὡς εἰ βίαν τινὰ προσφέροι Μωυσῆς ἀμυνούμενοι.

1. When Moses had said this, the multitude left off the turbulent behavior they had indulged, and the suspicion they had of Moses, and commended what he had said; for those proposals were good, and were so esteemed of the people. At that time therefore they dissolved the assembly. But on the next day they came to the congregation, in order to be present at the sacrifice, and at the determination that was to be made between the candidates for the priesthood. Now this congregation proved a turbulent one, and the multitude were in great suspense in expectation of what was to be done; for some of them would have been pleased if Moses had been convicted of evil practices, but the wiser sort desired that they might be delivered from the present disorder and disturbance; for they were

afraid, that if this sedition went on, the good order of their settlement would rather be destroyed; but the whole body of the people do naturally delight in clamors against their governors, and, by changing their opinions upon the harangues of every speaker, disturb the public tranquillity. And now Moses sent messengers for Abiram and Dathan, and ordered them to come to the assembly, and wait there for the holy offices that were to be performed. But they answered the messenger, that they would not obey his summons; nay, would not overlook Moses's behavior, who was growing too great for them by evil practices. Now when Moses heard of this their answer, he desired the heads of the people to follow him, and he went to the faction of Dathan, not thinking it any frightful thing at all to go to these insolent people; so they made no opposition, but went along with him. But Dathan, and his associates, when they understood that Moses and the principal of the people were coming to them, came out, with their wives and children, and stood before their tents, and looked to see what Moses would do. They had also their servants about them to defend themselves, in case Moses should use force against them.

(2) [40] Ὁ δὲ πλησίον γενόμενος τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνασχὼν γεγωνότερον ἐκβοήσας, ὡς ἀκουστὸν πάσῃ τῇ πληθύι γενέσθαι, "δέσποτα, φησί, τῶν ἐπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης: σὺ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τῶν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ πεπραγμένων μάρτυς ἀξιολογώτατος, ὡς γνώμῃ τε σῇ γίνεται πάντα καὶ δρωμένοις μηχανὴν ἐξεπόρισας οἶκτον ἐν πᾶσι δεινοῖς Ἑβραίων ποιησάμενος, ἐλθέ μοι τούτων ἀκροατὴς τῶν λόγων: [41] σὲ γὰρ οὔτε πραττόμενον οὔτε νοηθὲν λανθάνει, ὥστ᾽ οὐδὲ φθονήσεις μοι τῆς ἀληθείας τὴν τούτων ἀχαριστίαν ἐπίπροσθεν θέμενος. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτερα τῆς ἐμῆς γενέσεως αὐτὸς οἶσθ᾽ ἀκριβέστερον οὐκ ἀκοῇ μαθὼν ὄψει δὲ τότ᾽ αὐτοῖς παρὼν γινομένοις, ἃ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις καίπερ ἐπιστάμενοι σαφῶς ἀδίκως ὑπονοοῦσι τούτων μοι γενοῦ μάρτυς. [42] ἐγὼ βίον ἀπράγμονα καταστησάμενος ἀνδραγαθίᾳ μὲν ἐμῇ σῇ δὲ βουλῇ, καὶ τοῦτον Ῥαγουήλου μοι τοῦ πενθεροῦ καταλιπόντος ἀφεὶς τὴν ἐκείνων ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐμαυτὸν ἐπέδωκα ταῖς ὑπὲρ τούτων ταλαιπωρίαις. καὶ πρότερον μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας αὐτῶν, νῦν δ᾽ ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας μεγάλους ὑπέστην πόνους καὶ παντὶ δεινῷ τοὐμὸν ἀντιτάξας πρόθυμον. [43] νῦν οὖν ἐπεὶ κακουργεῖν ὑποπτεύομαι παρ᾽ ἀνδράσιν, οἷς ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν καμάτων ὑπῆρχε τὸ περιεῖναι, εἰκότως ἂν αὐτός, ὁ τὸ πῦρ ἐκεῖνό μοι φήνας κατὰ τὸ Σιναῖον καὶ τῆς σαυτοῦ φωνῆς ἀκροατὴν τότε καταστήσας καὶ θεατὴν τεράτων ὅσα μοι παρέσχεν ἰδεῖν ἐκεῖνος ὁ τόπος ποιήσας, ὁ κελεύσας ἐπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου σταλῆναι καὶ τὴν σὴν γνώμην τούτοις ἐμφανίσαι, [44] ὁ τὴν Αἰγυπτίων εὐδαιμονίαν σείσας καὶ τῆς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοὺς δουλείας δρασμὸν ἡμῖν παρασχὼν καὶ μικροτέραν ἐμοῦ τὴν Φαραώθου ποιήσας ἡγεμονίαν, ὁ γῆν ἡμῖν ἀμαθῶς ἔχουσι τῶν ὁδῶν ποιήσας τὸ πέλαγος καὶ

τὴν ἀνακεκομμένην θάλασσαν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίων ἐπικυμήνας ὀλέθροις, ὁ γυμνοῖς οὖσι τὴν ἐξ ὅπλων ἀσφάλειαν χαρισάμενος, [45] ὁ ποτίμους ἡμῖν διεφθαρμένας πηγὰς ῥεῦσαι παρασκευάσας καὶ τελέως ἀποροῦσιν ἐκ πετρῶν ἐλθεῖν ἡμῖν ποτὸν μηχανησάμενος, ὁ τῶν γῆθεν ἀπορουμένους εἰς τροφὴν διασώσας τοῖς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, ὁ καὶ ἀπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ τροφὴν καταπέμψας οὐ πρότερον ἱστορηθεῖσαν, ὁ νόμων ἡμῖν ἐπίνοιαν ὑποθέμενος καὶ διάταξιν πολιτείας: [46] ἐλθέ, δέσποτα τῶν ὅλων, δικαστής μου καὶ μάρτυς ἀδωροδόκητος, ὡς οὔτε δωρεὰν ἐγὼ παρ᾽ Ἑβραίων τινὸς κατὰ τοῦ δικαίου προσηκάμην οὔτε πλούτῳ κατέκρινα πενίαν νικᾶν δυναμένην οὔτε ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τοῦ κοινοῦ πολιτευσάμενος εἰς ἀλλοτριωτάτας τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐπινοίας πάρειμι, ὡς οὐχὶ σοῦ κελεύσαντος Ἀαρῶνι δοὺς τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἀλλὰ κατ᾽ ἐμὴν χάριν. [47] παράστησον δὲ καὶ νῦν, ὅτι πάντα σῇ προνοίᾳ διοικεῖται καὶ μηδὲν αὐτομάτως ἀλλὰ κατὰ βούλησιν βραβευόμενον τὴν σὴν εἰς τέλος ἔρχεται, ὅτι δὲ φροντίζεις τῶν Ἑβραίους ὀνησόντων, μετελθὼν Ἀβίραμον καὶ Δαθάμην, οἵ σου καταδικάζουσιν ἀναισθησίαν ὡς ὑπ᾽ ἐμῆς τέχνης νικωμένου. [48] ποιήσεις δὲ φανερὰν τὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς δίκην οὕτως μεμηνότων κατὰ τῆς σῆς δόξης, μὴ κοινῶς ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν αὐτοὺς μεταστήσας μηδ᾽ ὡς ἀποθανόντας κατ᾽ ἀνθρώπινον ἐξεληλυθότας τοῦ βίου φανέντας νόμον, ἀλλὰ χάνοι περὶ αὐτοὺς ἅμα τῇ γενεᾷ καὶ τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἣν πατοῦσι γῆν: [49] τοῦτο γὰρ σῆς ἐπίδειξις ἂν ἰσχύος ἅπασι γένοιτο καὶ διδασκαλία σωφροσύνης δὲ εἰς τοὺς ταῦτα πείσεσθαι περὶ σοῦ δοξάζοντας οὐχ ὅσια: εὑρεθείην γὰρ ἂν οὕτως ἀγαθὸς ὑπηρέτης ὢν σὺ προστάσσεις. [50] εἰ δ᾽ ἀληθεῖς πεποίηνται τὰς κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ διαβολάς, τοὺς μὲν ἀπαθεῖς ἀπὸ παντὸς φυλάξεις κακοῦ, ὃν δ᾽ ἐπηρασάμην ὄλεθρον αὐτοῖς τοῦτον ποιήσεις ἐμόν, καὶ δίκην εἰσπραξάμενος παρὰ τοῦ τὸν σὸν ἀδικῆσαι θελήσαντος λαὸν τοῦ λοιποῦ βραβεύων ὁμόνοιαν καὶ εἰρήνην σῶζε τὴν πληθὺν ἑπομένην τοῖς σοῖς προστάγμασιν, ἀπαθῆ τηρῶν αὐτὴν καὶ ἀκοινώνητον τῆς τῶν ἡμαρτηκότων κολάσεως: σὺ γὰρ αὐτὸς οἶσθα, ὡς οὐ δίκαιον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνων κακίας κοινῇ πάντας Ἰσραηλίτας τιμωρίαν ἐκτίνειν.”

2. But he came near, and lifted up his hands to heaven, and cried out with a loud voice, in order to be heard by the whole multitude, and said, “O Lord of the creatures that are in the heaven, in the earth, and in the sea; for thou art the most authentic witness to what I have done, that it has all been done by thy appointment, and that it was thou that affordedst us assistance when we attempted any thing, and showedst mercy on the Hebrews in all their distresses; do thou come now, and hear all that I say, for no action or thought escapes thy knowledge; so that thou wilt not disdain to speak what is true, for my vindication, without any regard to the ungrateful imputations of these men. As for what was done before I was born, thou knowest best, as not learning them by report, but seeing them, and being present with them when they were done; but

for what has been done of late, and which these men, although they know them well enough, unjustly pretend to suspect, be thou my witness. When I lived a private quiet life, I left those good things which, by my own diligence, and by thy counsel, I enjoyed with Raguel my father-in-law; and I gave myself up to this people, and underwent many miseries on their account. I also bore great labors at first, in order to obtain liberty for them, and now in order to their preservation; and have always showed myself ready to assist them in every distress of theirs. Now, therefore, since I am suspected by those very men whose being is owing to my labors, come thou, as it is reasonable to hope thou wilt; thou, I say, who showedst me that fire at mount Sinai, and madest me to hear its voice, and to see the several wonders which that place afforded thou who commandedst me to go to Egypt, and declare thy will to this people; thou who disturbest the happy estate of the Egyptians, and gavest us the opportunity of flying away from our under them, and madest the dominion of Pharaoh inferior to my dominion; thou who didst make the sea dry land for us, when we knew not whither to go, and didst overwhelm the Egyptians with those destructive waves which had been divided for us; thou who didst bestow upon us the security of weapons when we were naked; thou who didst make the fountains that were corrupted to flow, so as to be fit for drinking, and didst furnish us with water that came out of the rocks, when we were in want of it; thou who didst preserve our lives with [quails, which was] food from the sea, when the fruits of the ground failed us; thou didst send us such food from heaven as had never been seen before; thou who didst suggest to us the knowledge of thy laws, and appoint to us a of government, — come thou, I say, O Lord of the whole world, and that as such a Judge and a Witness to me as cannot be bribed, and show how I never admitted of any gift against justice from any of the Hebrews; and have never condemned a man that ought to have been acquitted, on account of one that was rich; and have never attempted to hurt this commonwealth. I am now and am suspected of a thing the remotest from my intentions, as if I had given the preisthood to Aaron, not at thy command, but out own favor to him; do thou at this time demonstrate that all things are administered by thy providence and that nothing happens by chance, but is governed by thy will, and thereby attains its end: as also demonstrate that thou takest care that have done good to the Hebrews; demonstrate this, I say, by the punishment of Abiram and Dathan, who condemn thee as an insensible Being, and one overcome by my contrivances. This thou do by inflicting such an open punishment on these men who so madly fly in the face of thy glory, as will take them out of the world, not in an manner, but so that it may appear they do die after the manner of other men: let that ground which they tread upon open about them and consume them, with their

families and goods. This will be a demonstration of thy power to all and this method of their sufferings will be an instruction of wisdom for those that entertain profane sentiments of thee. By this means I shall be a good servant, in the precepts thou hast given by me. But if the calumnies they have raised against me be true, mayst thou preserve these men from every evil accident, and bring all that destruction on me which I have imprecated upon them. And when thou hast inflicted punishment on those that have endeavored to deal unjustly with this people, bestow upon them concord and peace. Save this multitude that follow thy commandments, and preserve them free from harm, and let them not partake of the punishment of those that have sinned; for thou knowest thyself it is not just, that for the wickedness of those men the whole body of the Israelites should suffer punishment."

(3) [51] Ταῦτ' εἰπόντος καὶ δακρύοντος σείεται μὲν αἰφνίδιον ἡ γῆ, σάλου δ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς κινηθέντος ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀνέμου βίας σαλευομένου κύματος πᾶς μὲν ἔδεισεν ὁ λαός, πατάγου δὲ καὶ σκληροῦ ῥαγέντος ἦχου κατὰ τὰς ἐκείνων σκηνὰς συνίζησεν ἡ γῆ καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα φίλα τούτοις ἦν ὑπήνεγκεν εἰς αὐτήν. [52] ἠφανισμένων δ' οὕτως, ὡς μηδὲ φανῆναί τινας γνῶναι, συνῆει τε πάλιν τῆς γῆς τὸ περὶ ἐκείνοις κεχηνὸς καὶ καθίστατο, ὡς μηδ' εἰ πάθοι τι τῶν προειρημένων φανερὸν εἶναι τοῖς ὁρῶσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἀπώλοντο ἐπίδειξις τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ἰσχύος γενόμενοι: [53] ὀδύραιτο δ' ἄν τις οὐ μόνον τῆς συμφορᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὔσης ἀξίας οἴκτου, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τοιαῦτα παθόντων ἐφήσθησαν οἱ συγγενεῖς: τῶν γὰρ συντεταγμένων ἐκλαθόμενοι πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ἐβεβαίουν τὴν κρίσιν, καὶ νομίζοντες ὡς ἀλιτηρίους ἀπολωλέναι τοὺς περὶ Δαθάμην οὐδ' ἐλυποῦντο.

3. When Moses had said this, with tears in his eyes, the ground was moved on a sudden; and the agitation that set it in motion was like that which the wind produces in waves of the sea. The people were all aftrighted; and the ground that was about their tents sunk down at the great noise, with a terrible sound, and carried whatsoever was dear to the seditious into itself, who so entirely perished, that there was not the least appearance that any man had ever been seen there, the earth that had opened itself about them, closing again, and becoming entire as it was before, insomuch that such as saw it afterward did not perceive that any such accident had happened to it. Thus did these men perish, and become a demonstration of the power of God. And truly, any one would lament them, not only on account of this calamity that befell them, which yet deserves our commiseration, but also because their kindred were pleased with their sufferings; for they forgot the relation they bare to them, and at the sight of this sad accident approved of the judgment given against them; and because they looked upon the

people about Dathan as pestilent men, they thought they perished as such, and did not grieve for them.

(4) [54] Μωυσῆς δ’ ἐκάλει τοὺς περὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἀμιλλωμένους διὰ τὴν τῶν ἱερέων δοκιμασίαν, ἵν’ οὗ προσδέξηται τὴν θυσίαν ὁ θεὸς ἥδιον εἴη κεχειροτονημένος. συνελθόντων δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων ἀνδρῶν, οἳ καὶ διὰ πατέρων ἀρετὴν ἐτιμῶντο παρὰ τῷ λαῷ καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν, ᾗ κἀκείνους ὑπερεβάλλοντο, προῆλθον καὶ Ἀαρὼν καὶ Κορῆς, καὶ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς πάντες καθήγνισαν ἐπὶ τοῖς θυμιατηρίοις ὁπόσα κομίζοντες ἔτυχον. [55] ἐξέλαμψε δὲ πῦρ τοσοῦτον ὅσον οὔτε χειροποίητον ἱστόρησέ τις οὔτε γῆθεν ἀναδοθὲν κατὰ ὑποδρομὴν καύματος οὔτε κατὰ βίαν πνευμάτων ὕλης πρὸς αὐτὸ παρατριβείσης αὐτομάτως ἐξεκρούσθη, ἀλλ’ ὁποῖον θεοῦ κελεύσαντος ἀφθείη λαμπρὸν καὶ φλογωδέστατον: [56] ὑφ’ οὗ πάντες, οἵ τε διακόσιοι καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ Κορῆς, ἆξαντος ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἐφθάρησαν, ὡς καὶ τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ἀφανῆ γεγονέναι. περισώζεται δὲ μόνος Ἀαρὼν μηδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς βλαβεὶς τῷ τὸν θεὸν [εἶναι] τὸν οὓς ἔδει καίειν ἀπεσταλκότα. [57] Μωυσῆς δὲ τούτων ἀπολομένων βουλόμενος τὴν τιμωρίαν αὐτῶν μνήμῃ παραδοθῆναι καὶ τοὺς αὖθις ἐσομένους αὐτὴν μαθεῖν, ἐκέλευσεν Ἐλεάζαρον τὸν Ἀαρῶνος υἱὸν τὰ θυμιατήρια αὐτῶν παρὰ τὸν χάλκεον καταθέσθαι βωμόν, [58] ὡς ἂν ὑπόμνησις εἴη τοῖς αὖθις ὧν ἔπαθον καὶ ὅτι τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῦ θεοῦ νομίσειαν ἀπατᾶσθαι δύνασθαι. καὶ Ἀαρὼν μὲν οὐκέτι τῇ Μωυσέος χάριτι τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἔχειν δοκῶν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ κρίσει φανερᾷ γενομένῃ, μετὰ τῶν υἱῶν ἤδη βεβαίως ἀπέλαυε τῆς τιμῆς.

4. And now Moses called for those that contended about the priesthood, that trial might be made who should be priest, and that he whose sacrifice God was best pleased with might be ordained to that function. There attended two hundred and fifty men, who indeed were honored by the people, not only on account of the power of their ancestors, but also on account of their own, in which they excelled the others: Aaron also and Corah came forth, and they all offered incense, in those censers of theirs which they brought with them, before the tabernacle. Hereupon so great a fire shone out as no one ever saw in any that is made by the hand of man, neither in those eruptions out of the earth that are caused by subterraneous burn-rags, nor in such fires as arise of their own accord in the woods, when the agitation is caused by the trees rubbing one against another: but this fire was very bright, and had a terrible flame, such as is kindled at the command of God; by whose irruption on them, all the company, and Corah himself, were destroyed, and this so entirely, that their very bodies left no remains behind them. Aaron alone was preserved, and not at all hurt by the fire, because it was God that sent the fire to burn those only who ought to be burned. Hereupon Moses, after these men were destroyed, was desirous that the memory

of this judgment might be delivered down to posterity, and that future ages might be acquainted with it; and so he commanded Eleazar, the son of Aaron, to put their censers near the brazen altar, that they might be a memorial to posterity of what these men suffered, for supposing that the power of God might be eluded. And thus Aaron was now no longer esteemed to have the priesthood by the favor of Moses, but by the public judgment of God; and thus he and his children peaceably enjoyed that honor afterward.

IV

CHAPTER 4. What Happened To The Hebrews During Thirty-Eight Years In The Wilderness.

(1) [59] Τὴν μέντοι στάσιν οὐδ’ οὕτως συνέβη παύσασθαι, πολλῷ δὲ μᾶλλον αὔξειν καὶ φύεσθαι: χαλεπωτέραν ἐλάμβανε τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον προκοπῆς αἰτίαν, ὑφ’ ἧς οὐδέποτε λήξειν τὸ δεινὸν ἦν εἰκὸς ἀλλ’ εἰς χρόνον παραμενεῖν. [60] οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι πεπιστευκότες ἤδη μηδὲν γίνεσθαι δίχα τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίας οὐκ ἐβούλοντο ταῦτα χωρὶς τῆς εἰς Μωυσῆν χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ πεπρᾶχθαι, κατηγόρουν δ’ αὐτοῦ τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ θεοῦ γίνεσθαι τοσαύτην οὐχ οὕτω διὰ τὴν τῶν κολασθέντων ἀδικίαν, ὡς Μωυσέος πραγματευσαμένου: [61] καὶ τοὺς μὲν διεφθάρθαι μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτόντας ἢ ὅτι περὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείαν ἐσπουδάκεσαν, τὸν δὲ τοιούτων [ἀνδρῶν] ὀλέθρῳ καὶ πάντων ἀρίστων ἐζημιωκότα τὸν λαὸν πρὸς τῷ μηδεμίαν ὑποσχεῖν δίκην ἔτι καὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἀναμφίλεκτον τἀδελφῷ παρασχεῖν: [62] οὐδένα γὰρ ἔτι αὐτῆς ἄλλον ἀντιποιήσεσθαι καὶ τοὺς πρώτους ὁρῶντα κακῶς ἀπολωλότας. ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ παρὰ τῶν οἰκείων τοῖς διεφθαρμένοις δέησις ἐγένετο πολλὴ τοῦ πλήθους μειῶσαί τι τῆς Μωυσέος μεγαλαυχίας: ἀσφαλὲς γὰρ αὐτοῖς τοῦτ’ εἶναι.

1. However, this sedition was so far from ceasing upon this destruction, that it grew much stronger, and became more intolerable. And the occasion of its growing worse was of that nature, as made it likely the calamity would never cease, but last for a long time; for the men, believing already that nothing is done without the providence of God, would have it that these things came thus to pass not without God’s favor to Moses; they therefore laid the blame upon him that God was so angry, and that this happened not so much because of the wickedness of those that were punished, as because Moses procured the punishment; and that these men had been destroyed without any sin of theirs, only because they were zealous about the Divine worship; as also, that he who had been the cause of this diminution of the people, by destroying so many men, and those the most excellent of them all, besides his escaping any punishment himself, had now given the priesthood to his brother so firmly, that nobody could any longer dispute it with him; for no one else, to be sure, could now put in for it, since he must have seen those that first did so to have miserably perished. Nay, besides this, the kindred of those that were destroyed made great entreaties to the multitude to abate the arrogance of Moses, because it would be safest for them so to do.

(2) [63] Μωυσῆς δέ, καὶ γὰρ ἐκ πολλοῦ συνιστάμενον ἠκροᾶτο τὸν θόρυβον, δείσας μή τι νεωτερίσωσι πάλιν καὶ γένηταί τι μέγα καὶ χαλεπὸν συνήγαγε τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, [καὶ] περὶ μὲν ὧν ἠκροᾶτο εἰς ἀπολογίαν οὐ καθιστάμενος, ἵνα μὴ παροξύνῃ τὸ πλῆθος, αὐτὸ δὲ μόνον τοῖς φυλάρχοις προειπὼν κομίζειν τὰ τῶν φυλῶν ὀνόματα βακτηρίαις ἐπιγεγραμμένα: [64] λήψεσθαι γὰρ ἐκεῖνον τὴν ἱερωσύνην, οὗπερ ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἐπισημήνῃ τῇ βακτηρίᾳ. δόξαν οὖν κομίζουσιν οἵ τε ἄλλοι καὶ Ἀαρὼν ἐπιγράψας Λευῖτιν ἐν τῇ βακτηρίᾳ, καὶ ταύτας Μωυσῆς ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ θεοῦ κατατίθησι. τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ προεκόμισε τὰς βακτηρίας: γνώριμοι δ᾽ ἦσαν κατασημηναμένων αὐτὰς τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν οἵπερ ἐκόμιζον καὶ τοῦ πλήθους. [65] καὶ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἐφ᾽ οὗπερ αὐτὰς σχήματος Μωυσῆς παρέλαβεν ἐπὶ τούτου μεμενηκυίας ἔβλεπον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἀαρῶνος βλαστούς τε καὶ κλάδους ἀναφύντας ἑώρων καὶ καρπὸν ὡραῖον, ἀμύγδαλα δ᾽ ἦν, ἐκ τοιούτου ξύλου τῆς βακτηρίας κατεσκευασμένης. [66] ἐκπλαγέντες δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῷ παραλόγῳ τῆς θέας, εἰ καί τισι διὰ μίσους ἦν ὁ Μωυσῆς καὶ Ἀαρών, ἀφέντες τοῦτο θαυμάζειν ἤρξαντο τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν κρίσιν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπευφημοῦντες τοῖς δεδογμένοις τῷ θεῷ συνεχώρουν Ἀαρῶνι καλῶς ἔχειν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην. καὶ ὁ μὲν τρὶς αὐτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ χειροτονήσαντος βεβαίως εἶχε τὴν τιμήν, ἡ δὲ τῶν Ἑβραίων στάσις πολὺν ἀκμάσασα χρόνον τοῦτον ἐπαύθη τὸν τρόπον.

2. Now Moses, upon his hearing for a good while that the people were tumultuous, was afraid that they would attempt some other innovation, and that some great and sad calamity would be the consequence. He called the multitude to a congregation, and patiently heard what apology they had to make for themselves, without opposing them, and this lest he should imbitter the multitude: he only desired the heads of the tribes to bring their rods, with the names of their tribes inscribed upon them, and that he should receive the priesthood in whose rod God should give a sign. This was agreed to. So the rest brought their rods, as did Aaron also, who had written the tribe of Levi on his rod. These rods Moses laid up in the tabernacle of God. On the next day he brought out the rods, which were known from one another by those who brought them, they having distinctly noted them, as had the multitude also; and as to the rest, in the same form Moses had received them, in that they saw them still; but they also saw buds and branches grown out of Aaron's rod, with ripe fruits upon them; they were almonds, the rod having been cut out of that tree. The people were so amazed at this strange sight, that though Moses and Aaron were before under some degree of hatred, they now laid that hatred aside, and began to admire the judgment of God concerning them; so that hereafter they applauded what God had decreed, and permitted Aaron to enjoy the priesthood peaceably.

And thus God ordained him priest three several times, and he retained that honor without further disturbance. And hereby this sedition of the Hebrews, which had been a great one, and had lasted a great while, was at last composed.

(3) [67] Μωυσῆς δ' ἐπεὶ πολέμου καὶ στρατείας ἡ τῶν Λευιτῶν ἀφεῖτο φυλὴ θεραπεύουσα τὸν θεόν, ἵνα μὴ δι' ἀπορίαν μηδὲ ζήτησιν τῶν εἰς τὸν βίον ἀναγκαίων ἀμελοῖεν τοῦ ἱεροῦ, κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν Χαναναίαν κτησαμένους τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἐκέλευε κατανεῖμαι τοῖς Λευίταις ὀκτὼ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα πόλεις ἀγαθὰς καὶ καλὰς τῆς τε πρὸ αὐτῶν γῆς περιγράψαντας εἰς δισχιλίους πήχεις ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτοῖς ἀνεῖναι. [68] πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ τὸν λαὸν ἐξέταξε τῶν ἐπετείων καρπῶν δεκάτην αὐτοῖς τε τοῖς Λευίταις καὶ ἱερεῦσι τελεῖν. καὶ ἃ μὲν ἡ φυλὴ παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους λαμβάνει ταῦτ' ἐστίν: ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἡγησάμην ἃ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἰδίᾳ παρὰ πάντων γίνεται δηλῶσαι.

3. And now Moses, because the tribe of Levi was made free from war and warlike expeditions, and was set apart for the Divine worship, lest they should want and seek after the necessaries of life, and so neglect the temple, commanded the Hebrews, according to the will of God, that when they should gain the possession of the land of Canaan, they should assign forty-eight good and fair cities to the Levites; and permit them to enjoy their suburbs, as far as the limit of two thousand cubits would extend from the walls of the city. And besides this, he appointed that the people should pay the tithe of their annual fruits of the earth, both to the Levites and to the priests. And this is what that tribe receives of the multitude; but I think it necessary to set down what is paid by all, peculiarly to the priests.

(4) [69] Τῶν μὲν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ὀκτὼ πόλεων τρισκαίδεκα παραχωρῆσαι τοὺς Λευίτας αὐτοῖς προσέταξε καὶ τῆς δεκάτης, ἧς παρὰ τοῦ λαοῦ κατ' ἔτος λαμβάνουσι, δεκάτην αὐτοῖς ἀπομερίζειν. [70] ἔτι δὲ ἀπαρχὰς τὸν λαὸν δίκαιον τῷ θεῷ πάντων τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς φυομένων καρπῶν ἐπιφέρειν, καὶ τῶν τετραπόδων δὲ τῶν εἰς τὰς θυσίας νενομισμένων τὸ γεννηθὲν πρῶτον, ἂν ἄρσεν ᾖ, καταθῦσαι παρασχεῖν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν, ὥστε αὐτοὺς πανοικὶ σιτεῖσθαι ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ πόλει. [71] τῶν δ' οὐ νενομισμένων ἐσθίειν παρ' αὐτοῖς κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους τοὺς δεσπότας σίκλον καὶ ἥμισυ αὐτοῖς ἀναφέρειν, ἀνθρώπου δὲ πρωτοτόκου πέντε σίκλους, εἶναι δὲ ἀπαρχὰς αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς τῶν προβάτων κουρᾶς, τούς τε πέττοντας τὸν σῖτον καὶ ἀρτοποιουμένους τῶν πεμμάτων αὐτοῖς τινα χορηγεῖν. [72] ὅσοι δ' ἂν αὐτοὺς καθιερῶσιν εὐχὴν πεποιημένοι, ναζιραῖοι δὲ οὗτοι καλοῦνται, κομῶντες καὶ οἶνον οὐ προσφερόμενοι, τούτους δὲ ὅταν τὰς τρίχας ἀφιερῶσιν ἐπὶ θυσίᾳ τε δρῶσι τὰς κουρὰς νέμεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἱερέας. [73] καὶ οἱ κορβᾶν αὐτοὺς ὀνομάσαντες τῷ θεῷ, δῶρον δὲ τοῦτο σημαίνει κατὰ

Ἑλλήνων γλῶτταν, βουλομένους ἀφίεσθαι τῆς λειτουργίας τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καταβάλλειν ἀργύριον, γυναῖκα μὲν τριάκοντα σίκλους ἄνδρα δὲ πεντήκοντα. ὅσοι δὲ ἂν ἐνδεέστερα τῶν ὡρισμένων ἔχωσι χρήματα τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐξεῖναι περὶ τούτων ὡς βούλονται δοκιμάσαι. [74] εἶναι δὲ καὶ τοῖς κατ᾽ οἶκον θύουσιν εὐωχίας ἕνεκα τῆς αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ μὴ θρησκείας ἀνάγκην κομίζειν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἔνυστρόν τε καὶ χελύνιον καὶ τὸν δεξιὸν βραχίονα τοῦ θύματος. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἱερεῦσι Μωυσῆς τοσαύτην, πάρεξ ὧν ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτημάτων θύων ὁ λαὸς δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης βίβλῳ δεδηλώκαμεν, εὐπορίαν ἐπενόησε. [75] πάντων δὲ τῶν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τελουμένων κοινωνεῖν διέταξε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ θυγατέρας καὶ γυναῖκας ἔξω τῶν ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτημάτων ἐπιφερομένων θυσιῶν: ταύτας γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ μόνοι δαπανῶσιν οἱ ἄρρενες τῶν ἱερέων αὐθημερόν.

4. Accordingly he commanded the Levites to yield up to the priests thirteen of their forty-eight cities, and to set apart for them the tenth part of the tithes which they every year receive of the people; as also, that it was but just to offer to God the first-fruits of the entire product of the ground; and that they should offer the first-born of those four-footed beasts that are appointed for sacrifices, if it be a male, to the priests, to be slain, that they and their entire families may eat them in the holy city; but that the owners of those first-born which are not appointed for sacrifices in the laws of our country, should bring a shekel and a half in their stead: but for the first-born of a man, five shekels: that they should also have the first-fruits out of the shearing of the sheep; and that when any baked bread corn, and made loaves of it, they should give somewhat of what they had baked to them. Moreover, when any have made a sacred vow, I mean those that are called Nazarites, that suffer their hair to grow long, and use no wine, when they consecrate their hair, and offer it for a sacrifice, they are to allot that hair for the priests [to be thrown into the fire]. Such also as dedicate themselves to God, as a corban, which denotes what the Greeks call a gift, when they are desirous of being freed from that ministration, are to lay down money for the priests; thirty shekels if it be a woman, and fifty if it be a man; but if any be too poor to pay the appointed sum, it shall be lawful for the priests to determine that sum as they think fit. And if any slay beasts at home for a private festival, but not for a religious one, they are obliged to bring the maw and the cheek, [or breast,] and the right shoulder of the sacrifice, to the priests. With these Moses contrived that the priests should be plentifully maintained, besides what they had out of those offerings for sins which the people gave them, as I have set it down in the foregoing book. He also ordered, that out of every thing allotted for the priests, their servants, [their sons,] their daughters, and their wives, should partake, as well as themselves, excepting what came to them out of the sacrifices that were

offered for sins; for of those none but the males of the family of the priests might eat, and this in the temple also, and that the same day they were offered.

(5) [76] Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα μετὰ τὴν στάσιν Μωυσῆς διέταξεν, ἄρας μετὰ πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ τοὺς τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ὅρους ἦλθε καὶ πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰδουμαίων πέμψας ἠξίου δίοδον αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν, πίστεις ἃς αὐτὸς ἐθέλοι λαβεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν ἀδικηθήσεσθαι δώσειν ὁμολογῶν, ἀγοράν τε τῷ στρατῷ χορηγῆσαι καὶ τιμὴν τοῦ ὕδατος αὐτοὺς κελεῦσαι καταβαλεῖν. [77] ὁ δ' οἷς ἐπρεσβεύσατο Μωυσῆς οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος οὐδὲ συγχωρῶν τὴν δίοδον ἔνοπλον τὴν στρατιὰν ἀγαγὼν προαπήντα τῷ Μωυσεῖ, κωλύσων αὐτοὺς εἰ τολμήσαιεν βίᾳ περαιοῦσθαι. καὶ Μωυσῆς, ἄρχειν γὰρ μάχης οὐ συνεβούλευσεν ὁ θεὸς χρωμένῳ, τὴν δύναμιν ὑπανῆγε διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου ἐκπεριιών.

5. When Moses had made these constitutions, after the sedition was over, he removed, together with the whole army, and came to the borders of Idumea. He then sent ambassadors to the king of the Idumeans, and desired him to give him a passage through his country; and agreed to send him what hostages he should desire, to secure him from an injury. He desired him also, that he would allow his army liberty to buy provisions; and, if he insisted upon it, he would pay down a price for the very water they should drink. But the king was not pleased with this embassage from Moses: nor did he allow a passage for the army, but brought his people armed to meet Moses, and to hinder them, in case they should endeavor to force their passage. Upon which Moses consulted God by the oracle, who would not have him begin the war first; and so he withdrew his forces, and traveled round about through the wilderness.

(6) [78] Τότε δὴ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ Μαριάμην τελευτὴ τοῦ βίου καταλαμβάνει τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔτος πεπληρωκυῖαν ἀφ' οὗ τὴν Αἴγυπτον κατέλιπε μηνὸς δὲ Ξανθικοῦ νουμηνίᾳ κατὰ σελήνην. θάπτουσι δ' αὐτὴν δημοσίᾳ πολυτελῶς ὑπέρ τινος ὄρους, ὃ καλοῦσι Σίν, καὶ πενθήσαντα ἐπὶ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας τὸν λαὸν ἐκάθηρε Μωυσῆς τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ: [79] μόσχον θήλειαν, ἀρότρου μὲν καὶ γεωργίας ἄπειρον ὁλόκληρον δέ, ξανθὴν πᾶσαν, μικρὸν ἄπωθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου προαγαγὼν εἰς χωρίον καθαρώτατον ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἔθυέ τε καὶ τοῦ αἵματος ἑπτάκις ἔρρανε τῷ δακτύλῳ ἀντικρὺ τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ θεοῦ. [80] ἔπειτα καιομένης ὡς εἶχεν ὅλης τῆς δαμάλιδος σὺν τῇ δορᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἐντὸς ξύλον κέδρινον εἰς μέσον ἐμβάλλουσι τὸ πῦρ καὶ ὕσσωπον καὶ φοινικτὸν ἔριον: συναγαγὼν δ' αὐτῆς ἅπασαν τὴν τέφραν ἁγνὸς ἀνὴρ κατατίθησιν εἰς χωρίον καθαρώτατον. [81] τοὺς οὖν ἀπὸ νεκροῦ μεμιασμένους τῆς τέφρας ὀλίγον εἰς πηγὴν ἐνιέντες καὶ ὕσσωπον βαπτίσαντές τε καὶ τῆς τέφρας ταύτης εἰς πηγὴν

ἔρραινον τρίτῃ τε καὶ ἑβδόμῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ καθαροὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἦσαν. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ κατελθοῦσιν εἰς τὰς κληρουχίας προσέταξε ποιεῖν.

6. Then it was that Miriam, the sister of Moses, came to her end, having completed her fortieth year since she left Egypt, on the first day of the lunar month Xanthicus. They then made a public funeral for her, at a great expense. She was buried upon a certain mountain, which they call Sin: and when they had mourned for her thirty days, Moses purified the people after this manner: He brought a heifer that had never been used to the plough or to husbandry, that was complete in all its parts, and entirely of a red color, at a little distance from the camp, into a place perfectly clean. This heifer was slain by the high priest, and her blood sprinkled with his finger seven times before the tabernacle of God; after this, the entire heifer was burnt in that state, together with its skin and entrails; and they threw cedar-wood, and hyssop, and scarlet wool, into the midst of the fire; then a clean man gathered all her ashes together, and laid them in a place perfectly clean. When therefore any persons were defiled by a dead body, they put a little of these ashes into spring water, with hyssop, and, dipping part of these ashes in it, they sprinkled them with it, both on the third day, and on the seventh, and after that they were clean. This he enjoined them to do also when the tribes should come into their own land.

(7) [82] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ πένθει τῆς ἀδελφῆς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κάθαρσιν τοιαύτην γενομένην ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου καὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἐλθὼν εἰς χωρίον, ὃ μητρόπολιν αὐτῶν Ἄραβες νενομίκασι, πρότερον μὲν Ἄρκην λεγομένην Πέτραν δὲ νῦν ὀνομαζομένην. [83] ἐνταῦθα ὑψηλοῦ περιέχοντος ὄρους αὐτὸ ἀναβὰς Ἀαρὼν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸ Μωυσέος αὐτῷ δεδηλωκότος, ὅτι μέλλοι τελευτᾶν, παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος ὁρῶντος, κάταντες γὰρ ἦν τὸ χωρίον, ἀποδύεται τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν στολὴν καὶ παραδοὺς αὐτὴν Ἐλεαζάρῳ τῷ παιδί, πρὸς ὃν διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἡ ἀρχιερωσύνη παραγίνεται, θνήσκει τοῦ πλήθους εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφορῶντος, [84] τῷ μὲν αὐτῷ τελευτήσας ἔτει, ᾧ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἀπέβαλε, βιοὺς δὲ ἔτη τὰ πάντα τρία πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. ἀποθνήσκει δὲ κατὰ σελήνην νουμηνίᾳ μηνὸς ὄντος τοῦ παρὰ μὲν Ἀθηναίοις Ἑκατομβαιῶνος καλουμένου Λώου δὲ παρὰ Μακεδόσι Σαβὰ δὲ παρὰ Ἑβραίοις.

7. Now when this purification, which their leader made upon the mourning for his sister, as it has been now described, was over, he caused the army to remove and to march through the wilderness and through Arabia; and when he came to a place which the Arabians esteem their metropolis, which was formerly called Arce, but has now the name of Petra, at this place, which was encompassed with high mountains, Aaron went up one of them in the sight of the whole army,

Moses having before told him that he was to die, for this place was over against them. He put off his pontifical garments, and delivered them to Eleazar his son, to whom the high priesthood belonged, because he was the elder brother; and died while the multitude looked upon him. He died in the same year wherein he lost his sister, having lived in all a hundred twenty and three years. He died on the first day of that lunar month which is called by the Athenians Hecatombaeon, by the Macedonians Lous, but by the Hebrews Abba.

V

CHAPTER 5. How Moses Conquered Sihon And Og Kings Of The Amorites, And Destroyed Their Whole Army And Then Divided Their Land By Lot To Two Tribes And A Half Of The Hebrews.

(1) [85] Πένθος δὲ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ τοῦ λαοῦ τριακονθήμερον ἄγοντος, ἐπεὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐλώφησεν, ἀναλαβὼν ἐκεῖθεν Μωυσῆς τὸν στρατὸν παρῆν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν Ἀρνῶν᾽, ὃς ἐκ τῶν τῆς Ἀραβίας ὀρῶν ὡρμημένος καὶ διὰ πάσης ἐρήμου ῥέων εἰς τὴν Ἀσφαλτῖτιν λίμνην ἐκδίδωσιν ὁρίζων τήν τε Μωαβῖτιν καὶ Ἀμωρῖτιν. γῆ δ᾽ αὕτη καρποφόρος καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων τοῖς παρ᾽ αὐτῆς ἀγαθοῖς ἱκανὴ τρέφειν. [86] πρὸς οὖν Σιχῶνα τὸν βασιλεύοντα τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἀπέστειλε Μωυσῆς τῷ στρατῷ δίοδον αἰτῶν ἐφ᾽ αἷς ἂν θελήσειε πίστεσιν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἀδικηθῆναι μήτε τὴν γῆν μήτε τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, ὧν Σιχὼν ἐκράτει, τοῖς τε κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἐκείνων λυσιτελές, εἰ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτοῖς πιπράσκειν ἐθέλοιεν. Σιχὼν δ᾽ ἀρνούμενος ὁπλίζει τὸν οἰκεῖον στρατὸν καὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους διαβαίνειν τὸν Ἀρνῶνα κωλύειν ἑτοιμότατος ἦν.

1. The people mourned for Aaron thirty days, and when this mourning was over, Moses removed the army from that place, and came to the river Arnon, which, issuing out of the mountains of Arabia, and running through all that wilderness, falls into the lake Asphaltitis, and becomes the limit between the land of the Moabites and the land of the Amorites. This land is fruitful, and sufficient to maintain a great number of men, with the good things it produces. Moses therefore sent messengers to Sihon, the king of this country, desiring that he would grant his army a passage, upon what security he should please to require; he promised that he should be no way injured, neither as to that country which Sihon governed, nor as to its inhabitants; and that he would buy his provisions at such a price as should be to their advantage, even though he should desire to sell them their very water. But Sihon refused his offer, and put his army into battle array, and was preparing every thing in order to hinder their passing over Arnon.

(2) [87] Μωυσῆς δὲ ὁρῶν πολεμίως αὐτοῖς τὸν Ἀμοραῖον διακείμενον οὔτε περιφρονούμενος ἀνέχεσθαι δεῖν ἔγνω καὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους τῆς ἀπραξίας καὶ τῆς δι᾽ αὐτὴν ἀπορίας, ὑφ᾽ ἧς στασιάσαι τε πρότερον αὐτοῖς συνέπεσε καὶ τότε δυσκόλως εἶχον, ἀπαλλάξαι διαγνοὺς ἤρετο τὸν θεόν, εἰ πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ δίδωσι. [88] τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ καὶ νίκην ἐπισημήναντος αὐτὸς θαρσαλέως εἶχε πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας παρώρμα, νῦν αὐτοὺς ἀξιῶν τῆς τοῦ πολεμεῖν ἡδονῆς

ἀπολαύειν, ὅτ᾽ αὐτῇ συγχωρεῖ χρῆσθαι τὸ θεῖον. οἱ δ᾽ ἧς ἐπόθουν ἐξουσίας λαβόμενοι καὶ τὰς πανοπλίας ἀναλαβόντες εὐθέως ἐχώρουν εἰς τὸ ἔργον. [89] ὁ δὲ Ἀμορραῖος οὐκέτ᾽ ἦν ἐπιόντων ὅμοιος αὐτῷ, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτός τε κατεπλάγη τοὺς Ἑβραίους καὶ ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ παρέχουσα θᾶττον αὐτὴν εὔψυχον εἶναι δοκεῖν τότ᾽ ἀπηλέγχθη πεφοβημένη. τὴν πρώτην οὖν σύνοδον οὐχ ὑπομείναντες ἀντιστῆναι καὶ δέξασθαι τοὺς Ἑβραίους τρέπονται, τοῦτο ἑαυτοῖς σωτηρίαν ὑπολαβόντες ἢ τὸ μάχεσθαι παρέξειν: [90] ἐθάρρουν γὰρ ταῖς πόλεσιν οὔσαις ὀχυραῖς. παρ᾽ ὧν οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ὄφελος ἦν εἰς ταύτας συνδιωχθεῖσιν: Ἑβραῖοι γὰρ ὡς ἐνδόντας αὐτοὺς εὐθὺς εἶδον, ἐνέκειντο καὶ παραλύσαντες αὐτῶν τὸν κόσμον εἰς φόβον κατέστησαν. [91] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπορραγέντες ἔφευγον ἐπὶ τῶν πόλεων, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν οὐκ ἔκαμνον, ἀλλ᾽ οἷς προπεπονήκεσαν προσεπιταλαιπωρῆσαι προθέμενοι, καὶ σφενδονᾶν τε ἄριστοι τυγχάνοντες καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκηβόλοις δεξιοὶ χρῆσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν ὅπλισιν οὖσαν εὐσταλῆ κοῦφοι πρὸς τὸ διώκειν ὄντες μετέθεον τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς πορρωτάτω συλληφθῆναι γεγονότας ταῖς σφενδόναις καὶ τοῖς τοξεύμασι κατελάμβανον. [92] φόνος τε οὖν γίνεται πολὺς καὶ τραύμασιν ἐπόνουν οἱ διαφεύγοντες, ἔκαμνόν τε ἐπὶ δίψει μᾶλλον ἤ τινι τῶν πολεμικῶν, καὶ γὰρ ὥρα θέρους ἦν, καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ τοῦ πιεῖν. ἐπὶ ποταμὸν οὖν τοὺς πλείους καταραχθέντας, καὶ ὅσον συνεστραμμένον ἔφευγε, περιστάντες ἔβαλλον καὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς ἀκοντίζοντες ἅμα καὶ τοξεύοντες διέφθειραν. [93] ἀποθνήσκει δ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ Σιχὼν ὁ βασιλεύς. Ἑβραῖοι δὲ νεκροὺς ἐσκύλευον καὶ λείαν ἔλαβον καὶ πολλὴν ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς εἶχον μεστῆς ἔτι τῶν καρπῶν ὑπαρχούσης, [94] καὶ διεξῄει πᾶσιν ἀδεῶς τὸ στράτευμα προνομῇ χρώμενον ἁλισκομένων καὶ τῶν πόλεων: οὐδὲν γὰρ παρὰ τούτων ἦν ἐμπόδιον τοῦ μαχίμου παντὸς ἀπολωλότος. Ἀμορραίους μὲν οὖν τοιοῦτο πάθος κατέλαβεν οὔτε φρονῆσαι δεινοὺς οὔτε ἀγαθοὺς κατὰ τὸ ἔργον γεγονότας, Ἑβραῖοι δὲ τὴν ἐκείνων παρελάμβανον. [95] ἔστι δὲ χωρίον, ὃ τριῶν μεταξὺ ποταμῶν κείμενον ὅμοιόν τι νήσῳ τὴν φύσιν ὑπάρχει, τοῦ μὲν Ἀρνῶνος ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ὁρίζοντος αὐτό, Ἰοβάκου δὲ τὴν ἀρκτῴαν αὐτοῦ πλευρὰν περιγράφοντος, ὃς εἰς τὸν Ἰόρδανον ποταμὸν ἐκβάλλων ἐκείνῳ καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος μεταδίδωσι, τὰ μέντοι γε πρὸς τῇ δύσει τοῦ χωρίου περίεισιν αὐτὴν Ἰόρδανος.

2. When Moses saw that the Amorite king was disposed to enter upon hostilities with them, he thought he ought not to bear that insult; and, determining to wean the Hebrews from their indolent temper, and prevent the disorders which arose thence, which had been the occasion of their former sedition, [nor indeed were they now thoroughly easy in their minds,] he inquired of God, whether he would give him leave to fight? which when he had done, and God also promised him the victory, he was himself very courageous, and ready to proceed to fighting.

Accordingly he encouraged the soldiers; and he desired of them that they would take the pleasure of fighting, now God gave them leave so to do. They then, upon the receipt of this permission, which they so much longed for, put on their whole armor, and set about the work without delay. But the Amorite king was not now like to himself when the Hebrews were ready to attack him; but both he himself was affrighted at the Hebrews, and his army, which before had showed themselves to be of good courage, were then found to be timorous: so they could not sustain the first onset, nor bear up against the Hebrews, but fled away, as thinking this would afford them a more likely way for their escape than fighting, for they depended upon their cities, which were strong, from which yet they reaped no advantage when they were forced to fly to them; for as soon as the Hebrews saw them giving ground, they immediately pursued them close; and when they had broken their ranks, they greatly terrified them, and some of them broke off from the rest, and ran away to the cities. Now the Hebrews pursued them briskly, and obstinately persevered in the labors they had already undergone; and being very skillful in slinging, and very dexterous in throwing of darts, or any thing else of that kind, and also having nothing but light armor, which made them quick in the pursuit, they overtook their enemies; and for those that were most remote, and could not be overtaken, they reached them by their slings and their bows, so that many were slain; and those that escaped the slaughter were sorely wounded, and these were more distressed with thirst than with any of those that fought against them, for it was the summer season; and when the greatest number of them were brought down to the river out of a desire to drink, as also when others fled away by troops, the Hebrews came round them, and shot at them; so that, what with darts and what with arrows, they made a slaughter of them all. Sihon their king was also slain. So the Hebrews spoiled the dead bodies, and took their prey. The land also which they took was full of abundance of fruits, and the army went all over it without fear, and fed their cattle upon it; and they took the enemies prisoners, for they could no way put a stop to them, since all the fighting men were destroyed. Such was the destruction which overtook the Amorites, who were neither sagacious in counsel, nor courageous in action. Hereupon the Hebrews took possession of their land, which is a country situate between three rivers, and naturally resembled an island: the river Arnon being its southern; the river Jabbok determining its northern side, which running into Jordan loses its own name, and takes the other; while Jordan itself runs along by it, on its western coast.

(3) [96] Οὕτως οὖν ἐχόντων τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιτίθεται τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις Ὤγης ὁ τῆς Γαλαδηνῆς καὶ Γαυλανίτιδος βασιλεὺς στρατὸν ἄγων, καὶ σπεύδων μὲν ὡς

ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν τὴν Σιχῶνος φίλου τυγχάνοντος εὑρὼν δὲ ἐκεῖνον ἤδη προαπολωλότα καὶ οὕτως ἔγνω τοῖς Ἑβραίοις εἰς μάχην ἐλθεῖν περιέσεσθαί τε νομίζων καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτῶν διάπειραν βουλόμενος λαβεῖν: [97] διαμαρτὼν δὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτός τε ἀποθνήσκει κατὰ τὴν μάχην καὶ σύμπας ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ διαφθείρεται. Μωυσῆς δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν Ἰόβακον περαιωσάμενος διεξῄει τῆς Ὤγου βασιλείας τάς τε πόλεις καταστρεφόμενος καὶ κτείνων πάντας τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, οἳ καὶ πλούτῳ διέφερον πάντων τῶν ἐκείνῃ ἠπειρωτῶν δι᾽ ἀρετὴν γῆς καὶ πλῆθος χρημάτων. [98] Ὤγης δὲ μέγεθός τε καὶ κάλλος ἦν οἷος ὀλίγοι σφόδρα, ἦν δὲ καὶ κατὰ χεῖρα γενναῖος ἀνήρ, ὡς ἴσα τὰ τῶν ἔργων εἶναι τοῖς τοῦ μεγέθους καὶ τῆς εὐπρεπείας πλεονεκτήμασι. τὴν δ᾽ ἰσχὺν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ἐτεκμηριώσαντο κλίνην αὐτοῦ λαβόντες ἐν Ῥαβαθᾶ πόλει τῶν βασιλείων τῆς Ἀμμανίτιδος, τῇ μὲν κατασκευῇ σιδηρέαν, τεσσάρων δὲ πηχῶν τὸ εὖρος, μήκει δὲ τοῦ διπλασίονος ἐνὶ πήχει μείζονα. [99] τούτου τοίνυν πταίσαντος οὐκ εἰς τὸ παρὸν μόνον τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐπέδωκε τὰ πράγματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς αἴτιος ἀποθανὼν ὑπῆρξε: καὶ γὰρ πόλεις ἑξήκοντα λαμπρῶς πάνυ τετειχισμένας ὑποτελεῖς ἐκείνῳ παρέλαβον καὶ λείαν πολλὴν ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ δημοσίᾳ πάντες εὐπόρησαν.

3. When matters were come to this state, Og, the king of Gilead and Gaulanitis, fell upon the Israelites. He brought an army with him, and in haste to the assistance of his friend Sihon: but though he found him already slain, yet did he resolve still to come and fight the Hebrews, supposing he should be too hard for them, and being desirous to try their valor; but failing of his hope, he was both himself slain in the battle, and all his army was destroyed. So Moses passed over the river Jabbok, and overran the kingdom of Og. He overthrew their cities, and slew all their inhabitants, who yet exceeded in riches all the men in that part of the continent, on account of the goodness of the soil, and the great quantity of their wealth. Now Og had very few equals, either in the largeness of his body, or handsomeness of his appearance. He was also a man of great activity in the use of his hands, so that his actions were not unequal to the vast largeness and handsome appearance of his body. And men could easily guess at his strength and magnitude when they took his bed at Rabbath, the royal city of the Ammonites; its structure was of iron, its breadth four cubits, and its length a cubit more than double thereto. However, his fall did not only improve the circumstances of the Hebrews for the present, but by his death he was the occasion of further good success to them; for they presently took those sixty cities, which were encompassed with excellent walls, and had been subject to him, and all got both in general and in particular a great prey.

VI

CHAPTER 6. Concerning Balaam The Prophet And What Kind Of Man He Was.

(1) [100] Μωυσῆς μὲν οὖν στρατοπεδεύει καὶ ἀγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰορδάνῳ κατὰ τὸ μέγα πεδίον Ἰεριχοῦντος ἀντικρύ, πόλις δ' ἐστὶν εὐδαίμων αὕτη φοίνικά τε φέρειν ἀγαθὴ καὶ βάλσαμον νεμομένη. ἤρχοντο δὲ φρονεῖν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς μέγα Ἰσραηλῖται καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους ἐπιθυμίαν ὑπερέτεινον. [101] καὶ Μωυσῆς ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν θύσας χαριστήρια πρῶτον τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὸν λαὸν εὐωχήσας μέρος τι τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἐξέπεμψε δῃῶσον τὴν Μαδιηνιτῶν γῆν καὶ τὰς πατρίδας αὐτῶν ἐκπολιορκῆσον. τοῦ δ' ἐκπολεμηθῆναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς αἰτίαν ἔλαβε τοιαύτην.

1. Now Moses, when he had brought his army to Jordan; pitched his camp in the great plain over against Jericho. This city is a very happy situation, and very fit for producing palm-trees and balsam. And now the Israelites began to be very proud of themselves, and were very eager for fighting. Moses then, after he had offered for a few days sacrifices of thanksgiving to God, and feasted the people, sent a party of armed men to lay waste the country of the Midianites, and to take their cities. Now the occasion which he took for making war upon them was this that follows: —

(2) [102] Βάλακος ὁ τῶν Μωαβιτῶν βασιλεὺς φιλίας αὐτῷ πατρῴας οὔσης καὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς Μαδιηνίτας, ἐπεὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας τοσοῦτον φυομένους ἑώρα καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ πραγμάτων λίαν εὐλαβεῖτο, καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν πέπυστο γῆν ἄλλω πολυπραγμονεῖν τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἀπηγορευκότος τοῦ θεοῦ κτησαμένους τὴν Χαναναίων, θᾶττον ἢ φρονιμώτερον ἐγχειρεῖν ἔγνω τοῖς λόγοις. [103] καὶ πολεμεῖν μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐπραγίαις θρασύτερον ὑπὸ τῆς κακοπραγίας κατειλημμένοις οὐκ ἔκρινε, κωλῦσαι δ' εἰ δύναιτο γενέσθαι μεγάλους λογιζόμενος πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς Μαδιηνίτας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. [104] οἱ δέ, ἦν γάρ τις ἀπὸ Εὐφράτου Βάλαμος μάντις ἄριστος τῶν τότε καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπιτηδείως ἔχων, πέμπουσι μετὰ τῶν Βαλάκου πρέσβεων ἄνδρας τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀξιολόγων παρακαλέσοντας τὸν μάντιν ἐλθεῖν, ὅπως ἐπ' ἐξωλείᾳ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἀρὰς ποιήσηται. [105] παραγενομένους δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις δέχεται ξενίᾳ φιλοφρόνως καὶ δειπνίσας ἀνέκρινε τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ διάνοιαν, τίς αὕτη ἐστὶν ἐφ' οἷς Μαδιηνῖται παρακαλοῦσι. τοῦ δ' ἐμποδὼν στάντος ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τοὺς πρέσβεις, προθυμίαν μὲν καὶ σπουδὴν τὴν ἰδίαν ἐμφανίζων αὐτοῖς εἰς ἃ δέονται τυχεῖν, τὸν δὲ θεὸν ἀντιλέγειν αὐτοῦ τῇ προαιρέσει δηλῶν, ὃς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον κλέος δι' ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὴν ταύτης πρόρρησιν ἀγάγοι: [106] τὸν γὰρ στρατόν, ᾧ καταρασόμενον αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν παρακαλοῦσι, δι' εὐνοίας εἶναι τῷ θεῷ:

συνεβούλευέ τε διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν χωρεῖν παρ᾽ αὐτοὺς τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας καταλυσαμένους. καὶ τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεις ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπέλυσε.

2. When Balak, the king of the Moabites, who had from his ancestors a friendship and league with the Midianites, saw how great the Israelites were grown, he was much affrighted on account of his own and his kingdom's danger; for he was not acquainted with this, that the Hebrews would not meddle with any other country, but were to be contented with the possession of the land of Canaan, God having forbidden them to go any farther So he, with more haste than wisdom, resolved to make an attempt upon them by words; but he did not judge it prudent to fight against them, after they had such prosperous successes, and even became out of ill successes more happy than before, but he thought to hinder them, if he could, from growing greater, and so he resolved to send ambassadors to the Midianites about them. Now these Midianites knowing there was one Balaam, who lived by Euphrates, and was the greatest of the prophets at that time, and one that was in friendship with them, sent some of their honorable princes along with the ambassadors of Balak, to entreat the prophet to come to them, that he might imprecate curses to the destruction of the Israelites. So Balsam received the ambassadors, and treated them very kindly; and when he had supped, he inquired what was God's will, and what this matter was for which the Midianites entreated him to come to them. But when God opposed his going, he came to the ambassadors, and told them that he was himself very willing and desirous to comply with their request, but informed them that God was opposite to his intentions, even that God who had raised him to great reputation on account of the truth of his predictions; for that this army, which they entreated him to come and curse, was in the favor of God; on which account he advised them to go home again, and not to persist in their enmity against the Israelites; and when he had given them that answer, he dismissed the ambassadors.

(3) [107] Μαδιηνῖται δὲ Βαλάκου σφόδρα ἐγκειμένου καὶ δέησιν λιπαρὰν προσφέροντος πάλιν πέμπουσι πρὸς τὸν Βάλαμον. κἀκεῖνος βουλόμενος χαρίζεσθαί τι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀνήρετο τὸν θεόν, ὁ δὲ καὶ τῆς πείρας δυσχεράνας κελεύει μηδὲν ἀντιλέγειν τοῖς πρέσβεσιν. ὁ δ᾽ οὐχ ὑπολαβὼν ἀπάτῃ ταῦτα τὸν θεὸν κεκελευκέναι συναπῄει τοῖς πρέσβεσι. [108] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀγγέλου θείου προσβαλόντος αὐτῷ κατά τι στενὸν χωρίον περιειλημμένον αἱμασιαῖς διπλαῖς ἡ ὄνος, ἐφ᾽ ἧς ὁ Βάλαμος ὠχεῖτο, συνεῖσα τοῦ θείου πνεύματος ὑπαντῶντος ἀπέκλινε τὸν Βάλαμον πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον τῶν τριγχῶν ἀναισθήτως ἔχουσα τῶν πληγῶν, ἃς ὁ Βάλαμος ἐπέφερεν αὐτῇ κακοπαθῶν τῇ θλίψει τῇ πρὸς τὸν τριγχόν. [109] ὡς δ᾽ ἐγκειμένου τοῦ ἀγγέλου ἡ ὄνος τυπτομένη ὤκλασε, κατὰ βούλησιν θεοῦ φωνὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀφεῖσα κατεμέμφετο τὸν Βάλαμον ὡς ἄδικον

ἐπὶ ταῖς πρότερον διακονίαις μηδὲν ἔχοντα ἐγκαλεῖν αὐτῇ πληγὰς ἐπιφέρειν μὴ συνιείς, ὅτι νῦν κατὰ θεοῦ προαίρεσιν οἷς αὐτὸς ἔσπευσεν ὑπηρετεῖν εἴργεται. [110] ταραττομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τῆς ὄνου φωνὴν ἀνθρωπίνην οὖσαν ἐπιφανεὶς καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος ἐναργὴς ἐνεκάλει τῶν πληγῶν, ὡς οὐχὶ τοῦ κτήνους ὄντος αἰτίου, τὴν δὲ ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ διακωλύοντος παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ θεοῦ γενομένην. [111] καταδείσας δ' ὁ Βάλαμος οἷός τε ἦν ἀναστρέφειν, ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν χωρεῖν τὴν προκειμένην παρώρμησε προστάξας ὅτιπερ ἂν αὐτὸς κατὰ νοῦν αὐτῷ ποιήσειε τοῦτο σημαίνειν.

3. Now the Midianites, at the earnest request and fervent entreaties of Balak, sent other ambassadors to Balaam, who, desiring to gratify the men, inquired again of God; but he was displeased at [second] trial and bid him by no means to contradict the ambassadors. Now Balsam did not imagine that God gave this injunction in order to deceive him, so he went along with the ambassadors; but when the divine angel met him in the way, when he was in a narrow passage, and hedged in with a wall on both sides, the ass on which Balaam rode understood that it was a divine spirit that met him, and thrust Balaam to one of the walls, without regard to the stripes which Balaam, when he was hurt by the wall, gave her; but when the ass, upon the angel's continuing to distress her, and upon the stripes which were given her, fell down, by the will of God, she made use of the voice of a man, and complained of Balaam as acting unjustly to her; that whereas he had no fault find with her in her former service to him, he now inflicted stripes upon her, as not understanding that she was hindered from serving him in what he was now going about, by the providence of God. And when he was disturbed by reason of the voice of the ass, which was that of a man, the angel plainly appeared to him, and blamed him for the stripes he had given his ass; and informed him that the brute creature was not in fault, but that he was himself come to obstruct his journey, as being contrary to the will of God. Upon which Balaam was afraid, and was preparing to return back again: yet did God excite him to go on his intended journey, but added this injunction, that he should declare nothing but what he himself should suggest to his mind.

(4) [112] Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος ἥκει πρὸς Βάλακον. δεξαμένου δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκπρεπῶς ἠξίου προαχθεὶς ἐπί τι τῶν ὀρῶν σκέψασθαι, πῶς τὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἔχοι στρατόπεδον. Βάλακος δ' αὐτὸς ἀφικνεῖται τὸν μάντιν σὺν βασιλικῇ θεραπείᾳ φιλοτίμως ἀγόμενος εἰς ὄρος, ὅπερ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς αὐτῶν ἔκειτο τοῦ στρατοπέδου σταδίους ἀπέχον ἑξήκοντα. [113] κατιδὼν δ' αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνος βωμούς τε ἐκέλευσεν ἑπτὰ δείμασθαι τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοσούτους ταύρους καὶ κριοὺς παραστῆσαι: ὑπουργήσαντος δὲ διὰ ταχέων τοῦ βασιλέως ὁλοκαυτεῖ τυθέντας, [114] ὡς τρόπον εἶδε σημαινομένην, "ὁ λεώς, φησίν, οὗτος

εὐδαίμων, ᾧ ὁ θεὸς δίδωσι μυρίων κτῆσιν ἀγαθῶν καὶ σύμμαχον εἰς ἅπαντα καὶ ἡγεμόνα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πρόνοιαν ἐπένευσεν. ὡς οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀνθρώπινον γένος, οὗ μὴ κατ᾽ ἀρετὴν καὶ ζήλωσιν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀρίστων καὶ καθαρῶν πονηρίας ὑμεῖς ἀμείνους κριθήσεσθε καὶ παισὶ βελτίοσιν αὐτῶν ταῦτα καταλείψετε, θεοῦ μόνους ὑμᾶς ἀνθρώπους ἐφορῶντος καὶ ὅθεν ἂν γένοισθε πάντων εὐδαιμονέστεροι τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον ἐκπορίζοντος. [115] γῆν τε οὖν ἐφ᾽ ἣν ὑμᾶς αὐτὸς ἔστειλε καθέξετε δουλεύσουσαν αἰεὶ παισὶν ὑμετέροις καὶ τοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν κλέους ἐμπλησθήσεται πᾶσα ἡ γῆ καὶ θάλασσα, ἀρκέσετε δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ παρασχεῖν ἑκάστῃ γῇ τῶν ἀφ᾽ ὑμετέρου γένους οἰκήτορας. [116] θαυμάζετε οὖν, ὦ μακάριος στρατός, ὅτι τοσοῦτος ἐξ ἑνὸς πατρὸς γεγόνατε. ἀλλὰ τὸν νῦν ὑμῶν ὀλίγον ἡ Χαναναίων χωρήσει γῆ, τὴν δ᾽ οἰκουμένην οἰκητήριον δι᾽ αἰῶνος ἴστε προκειμένην ὑμῖν, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὑμῶν ἔν τε νήσοις καὶ κατ᾽ ἤπειρον βιοτεύσετε ὅσον ἐστὶν οὐδ᾽ ἀστέρων ἀριθμὸς ἐν οὐρανῷ. τοσούτοις δὲ οὖσιν οὐκ ἀπαγορεύσει τὸ θεῖον ἀφθονίαν μὲν παντοίων ἀγαθῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ χορηγοῦν, νίκην δὲ καὶ κράτος ἐν πολέμῳ. [117] παῖδας ἐχθρῶν ἔρως τοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολέμου λάβοι καὶ θρασυνθεῖεν ὥστε εἰς ὅπλα καὶ τὰς ὑμετέρας χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν: οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑποστρέψειέ τις νικηφόρος οὐδ᾽ ὥστε παῖδας εὐφρᾶναι καὶ γυναῖκας. τοσοῦτον ὑμῖν ἀνδρείας τὸ περιὸν ἐκ θεοῦ προνοίας ἀνῄρηται, ᾧ καὶ τὰ περιττὰ μειοῦν ἰσχὺς καὶ τὰ λείποντα διδόναι.”

4. When God had given him this charge, he came to Balak; and when the king had entertained him in a magnificent manner, he desired him to go to one of the mountains to take a view of the state of the camp of the Hebrews. Balak himself also came to the mountain, and brought the prophet along with him, with a royal attendance. This mountain lay over their heads, and was distant sixty furlongs from the camp. Now when he saw them, he desired the king to build him seven altars, and to bring him as many bulls and rams; to which desire the king did presently conform. He then slew the sacrifices, and offered them as burnt-offerings, that he might observe some signal of the flight of the Hebrews. Then said he, “Happy is this people, on whom God bestows the possession of innumerable good things, and grants them his own providence to be their assistant and their guide; so that there is not any nation among mankind but you will be esteemed superior to them in virtue, and in the earnest prosecution of the best rules of life, and of such as are pure from wickedness, and will leave those rules to your excellent children; and this out of the regard that God bears to you, and the provision of such things for you as may render you happier than any other people under the sun. You shall retain that land to which he hath sent you, and it shall ever be under the command of your children; and both all the earth, as well as the seas, shall be filled with your glory: and you shall be sufficiently

numerous to supply the world in general, and every region of it in particular, with inhabitants out of your stock. However, O blessed army! wonder that you are become so many from one father: and truly, the land of Canaan can now hold you, as being yet comparatively few; but know ye that the whole world is proposed to be your place of habitation for ever. The multitude of your posterity also shall live as well in the islands as on the continent, and that more in number than are the stars of heaven. And when you are become so many, God will not relinquish the care of you, but will afford you an abundance of all good things in times of peace, with victory and dominion in times of war. May the children of your enemies have an inclination to fight against you; and may they be so hardy as to come to arms, and to assault you in battle, for they will not return with victory, nor will their return be agreeable to their children and wives. To so great a degree of valor will you be raised by the providence of God, who is able to diminish the affluence of some, and to supply the wants of others."

(5) [118] Καὶ ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἐπεθείαζεν οὐκ ὢν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τῷ δὲ θείῳ πνεύματι πρὸς αὐτὰ νενικημένος. τοῦ δὲ Βαλάκου δυσχεραίνοντος καὶ παραβαίνειν αὐτὸν τὰς συνθήκας ἐφ' αἷς αὐτὸν ἀντὶ μεγάλων λάβοι δωρεῶν παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπικαλοῦντος, ἐλθόντα γὰρ ἐπὶ κατάρᾳ τῶν πολεμίων ὑμνεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους καὶ μακαριωτάτους ἀποφαίνειν ἀνθρώπων, [119] "ὦ Βάλακε, φησί, περὶ τῶν ὅλων λογίζῃ καὶ δοκεῖς ἐφ' ἡμῖν εἶναί τι περὶ τῶν τοιούτων σιγᾶν ἢ λέγειν, ὅταν ἡμᾶς τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ λάβῃ πνεῦμα; φωνὰς γὰρ ἃς βούλεται τοῦτο καὶ λόγους οὐδὲν ἡμῶν εἰδότων ἀφίησιν. [120] ἐγὼ δὲ μέμνημαι μὲν ὤντε καὶ σὺ καὶ Μαδιηνῖται δεηθέντες ἐνταυθοῖ με προθύμως ἠγάγετε καὶ δι' ἃ τὴν ἄφιξιν ἐποιησάμην, ἦν τέ μοι δι' εὐχῆς μηδὲν ἀδικῆσαί σου τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. [121] κρείττων δὲ ὁ θεὸς ὧν ἐγὼ χαρίζεσθαι διεγνώκειν: καὶ παντελῶς ἀσθενεῖς οἱ προγινώσκειν περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων παρ' ἑαυτῶν ὑπολαμβάνοντες, ὡς μὴ ταῦθ' ἅπερ ὑπαγορεύει τὸ θεῖον λέγειν, βιάζεσθαι δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου βούλησιν: [122] οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν ἔτι φθάσαντος εἰσελθεῖν ἐκείνου ἡμέτερον. ἔγωγ' οὖν τὸν στρατὸν τοῦτον οὔτ' ἐπαινέσαι προεθέμην οὔτ' ἐφ' οἷς τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ὁ θεὸς ἀγαθοῖς ἐμηχανήσατο διελθεῖν, ἀλλ' εὐμενὴς αὐτοῖς οὗτος ὢν καὶ σπεύδων αὐτοῖς εὐδαίμονα βίον καὶ κλέος αἰώνιον παρασχεῖν ἐμοὶ τοιούτων ἀπαγγελίαν λόγων ὑπέθετο. [123] νῦν δέ, χαρίζεσθαί τε γὰρ αὐτῷ σοὶ διὰ σπουδῆς ἐστί μοι καὶ Μαδιηνίταις, ὧν ἀπώσασθαί μοι τὴν ἀξίωσιν οὐκ εὐπρεπές, φέρε βωμούς τε ἑτέρους αὖθις ἐγείρωμεν καὶ θυσίας ταῖς πρὶν παραπλησίας ἐπιτελέσωμεν, εἰ πεῖσαι τὸν θεὸν δυνηθείην ἐπιτρέψαι μοι τοὺς [124] ἀνθρώπους ἀραῖς ἐνδῆσαι." συγχωρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Βαλάκου δὶς μὲν τεθυκότι τὸ θεῖον οὐκ ἐπένευσε τὰς κατὰ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἀράς, θύσας δὲ καὶ τρίτον ἄλλων πάλιν ἀνασταθέντων βωμῶν οὐδὲ τότε μὲν κατηράσατο τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις, [125] πεσὼν δ' ἐπὶ στόμα πάθη προύλεγεν

ὅσα τε βασιλεῦσιν ἔσται καὶ ὅσα πόλεσι ταῖς ἀξιολογωτάταις, ὧν ἐνίαις οὐδ' οἰκεῖσθαί πω συνέβαινε τὴν ἀρχήν, ἅ τε καὶ προυπῆρξεν ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις γενόμενα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις διὰ γῆς ἢ θαλάσσης εἰς μνήμην τὴν ἐμήν. ἐξ ὧν ἁπάντων λαβόντων τέλος ὁποῖον ἐκεῖνος προεῖπε τεκμαίροιτ' ἄν τις, ὅ τι καὶ ἔσοιτο πρὸς τὸ μέλλον.

5. Thus did Balaam speak by inspiration, as not being in his own power, but moved to say what he did by the Divine Spirit. But then Balak was displeased, and said he had broken the contract he had made, whereby he was to come, as he and his confederates had invited him, by the promise of great presents: for whereas he came to curse their enemies, he had made an encomium upon them, and had declared that they were the happiest of men. To which Balaam replied, "O Balak, if thou rightly considerest this whole matter, canst thou suppose that it is in our power to be silent, or to say any thing, when the Spirit of God seizes upon us? — for he puts such words as he pleases in our mouths, and such discourses as we are not ourselves conscious of. I well remember by what entreaties both you and the Midianites so joyfully brought me hither, and on that account I took this journey. It was my prayer, that I might not put any affront upon you, as to what you desired of me; but God is more powerful than the purposes I had made to serve you; for those that take upon them to foretell the affairs of mankind, as from their own abilities, are entirely unable to do it, or to forbear to utter what God suggests to them, or to offer violence to his will; for when he prevents us and enters into us, nothing that we say is our own. I then did not intend to praise this army, nor to go over the several good things which God intended to do to their race; but since he was so favorable to them, and so ready to bestow upon them a happy life and eternal glory, he suggested the declaration of those things to me: but now, because it is my desire to oblige thee thyself, as well as the Midianites, whose entreaties it is not decent for me to reject, go to, let us again rear other altars, and offer the like sacrifices that we did before, that I may see whether I can persuade God to permit me to bind these men with curses." Which, when Balak had agreed to, God would not, even upon second sacrifices, consent to his cursing the Israelites. Then fell Balaam upon his face, and foretold what calamities would befall the several kings of the nations, and the most eminent cities, some of which of old were not so much as inhabited; which events have come to pass among the several people concerned, both in the foregoing ages, and in this, till my own memory, both by sea and by land. From which completion of all these predictions that he made, one may easily guess that the rest will have their completion in time to come.

(6) [126] Βάλακος δὲ ἀγανακτήσας ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ καταράτους γενέσθαι τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας ἀποπέμπει τὸν Βάλαμον μηδεμιᾶς τιμῆς ἀξιώσας: ὁ δὲ ἀπιὼν ἤδη κἀπὶ τῷ περαιοῦν τὸν Εὐφράτην γενόμενος τόν τε Βάλακον μεταπεμψάμενος καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν Μαδιηνιτῶν "Βάλακε, [127] φησί, καὶ Μαδιηνιτῶν οἱ παρόντες, χρὴ γὰρ καὶ παρὰ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ χαρίσασθαι ὑμῖν, τὸ μὲν Ἑβραίων γένος οὐκ ἂν ὄλεθρος παντελὴς καταλάβοι οὔτ' ἐν πολέμῳ οὔτ' ἐν λοιμῷ καὶ σπάνει τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς καρπῶν, οὔτ' ἄλλη τις αἰτία παράλογος διαφθείρειεν. [128] πρόνοια γάρ ἐστιν αὐτῶν τῷ θεῷ σώζειν ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ καὶ μηδὲν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς [ἐᾶσαι τοιοῦτον πάθος] ἐλθεῖν, ὑφ' οὗ κἂν ἀπόλοιντο πάντες: συμπέσοι δ' αὐτοῖς ὀλίγα τε καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον, ὑφ' ὧν ταπεινοῦσθαι δοκοῦντες εἶτ' ἀνθήσουσιν ἐπὶ φόβῳ τῶν ἐπαγαγόντων αὐτοῖς τὰς βλάβας. [129] ὑμεῖς δ' εἰ νίκην τινὰ πρὸς βραχὺν καιρὸν κατ' αὐτῶν κερδᾶναι ποθεῖτε, τύχοιτ' ἂν αὐτῆς ταῦτα ποιήσαντες: τῶν θυγατέρων τὰς μάλιστα εὐπρεπεῖς καὶ βιάσασθαι καὶ νικῆσαι τὴν τῶν ὁρώντων σωφροσύνην ἱκανὰς διὰ τὸ κάλλος ἀσκήσαντες τὴν εὐμορφίαν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μᾶλλον εὐπρεπὲς πέμψατε πλησίον ἐσομένας τοῦ ἐκείνων στρατοπέδου, καὶ δεομένοις συνεῖναι τοῖς νεανίαις αὐτῶν προστάξατε. [130] ἐπειδὰν δὲ κεχειρωμένους ὁρῶσι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, καταλιπέτωσαν καὶ παρακαλούντων μένειν μὴ πρότερον ἐπινευέτωσαν, πρὶν ἂν πείσωσιν αὐτοὺς ἀφέντας τοὺς πατρίους νόμους καὶ τὸν τούτους αὐτοῖς θέμενον τιμᾶν θεὸν τοὺς Μαδιηνιτῶν καὶ Μωαβιτῶν σέβωσιν: οὕτως γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὸν θεὸν ὀργισθήσεσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦθ' ὑποθέμενος αὐτοῖς ᾤχετο.

6. But Balak being very angry that the Israelites were not cursed, sent away Balaam without thinking him worthy of any honor. Whereupon, when he was just upon his journey, in order to pass the Euphrates, he sent for Balak, and for the princes of the Midianites, and spake thus to them:— "O Balak, and you Midianites that are here present, [for I am obliged even without the will of God to gratify you,] it is true no entire destruction can seize upon the nation of the Hebrews, neither by war, nor by plague, nor by scarcity of the fruits of the earth, nor can any other unexpected accident be their entire ruin; for the providence of God is concerned to preserve them from such a misfortune; nor will it permit any such calamity to come upon them whereby they may all perish; but some small misfortunes, and those for a short time, whereby they may appear to be brought low, may still befall them; but after that they will flourish again, to the terror of those that brought those mischiefs upon them. So that if you have a mind to gain a victory over them for a short space of time, you will obtain it by following my directions: — Do you therefore set out the handsomest of such of your daughters as are most eminent for beauty, and proper to force and conquer the modesty of those that behold them, and these decked and trimmed to the highest degree able.

Then do you send them to be near camp, and give them in charge, that the young men of the Hebrews desire their allow it them; and when they see they are enamored of them, let them take leaves; and if they entreat them to stay, let give their consent till they have persuaded leave off their obedience to their own laws, the worship of that God who established them to worship the gods of the Midianites and for by this means God will be angry at them .” Accordingly, when Balaam had suggested counsel to them, he went his way.

(7) [131] Τῶν δὲ Μαδιηνιτῶν πεμψάντων τὰς θυγατέρας κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου παραίνεσιν οἱ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἁλίσκονται νέοι τῆς εὐπρεπείας αὐτῶν καὶ παραγενόμενοι εἰς λόγους αὐταῖς παρεκάλουν μὴ φθονεῖν αὐτοῖς τῆς τοῦ κάλλους αὐτῶν ἀπολαύσεως μηδὲ τῆς τοῦ πλησιάζειν συνηθείας: αἱ δ’ ἀσμένως δεξάμεναι τοὺς λόγους συνήεσαν αὐτοῖς. [132] ἐνδησάμεναι δ’ αὐτοὺς τῷ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἔρωτι καὶ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἀκμαζούσης περὶ ἀπαλλαγὴν ἐγίνοντο. τοὺς δ’ ἀθυμία πολλὴ πρὸς τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τῶν γυναικῶν κατέλαβε καὶ λιπαροῦντες ἐνέκειντο, μὴ σφᾶς καταλιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ γαμετὰς αὐτῶν ἐσομένας αὐτόθι μένειν καὶ δεσποίνας ἀποδειχθησομένας πάντων ὧν ὑπῆρχεν αὐτοῖς. [133] ταῦτα δὲ ὀμνύντες ἔλεγον καὶ θεὸν μεσίτην ὧν ὑπισχνοῦντο ποιούμενοι δακρύοντές τε καὶ πανταχόθεν αὐτοὺς ἐλεεινοὺς ταῖς γυναιξὶ κατασκευάζοντες εἶναι. αἱ δ’ ὡς δεδουλωμένους αὐτοὺς κατενόησαν καὶ τελέως ὑπὸ τῆς συνηθείας ἐχομένους, ἤρξαντο πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγειν:

7. So when the Midianites had sent their daughters, as Balaam had exhorted them, the Hebrew men were allured by their beauty, and came with them, and besought them not to grudge them the enjoyment of their beauty, nor to deny them their conversation. These daughters of Midianites received their words gladly, and consented to it, and staid with them; but when they brought them to be enamored of them, and their inclinations to them were grown to ripeness, they began to think of departing from them: then it was that these men became greatly disconsolate at the women’s departure, and they were urgent with them not to leave them, but begged they would continue there, and become their wives; and they promised them they should be owned as mistresses all they had. This they said with an oath, and called God for the arbitrator of what they promised; and this with tears in their eyes, and all such marks of concern, as might shew how miserable they thought themselves without them, and so might move their compassion for them. So the women, as soon as they perceived they had made their slaves, and had caught them with their conservation began to speak thus to them: —

(8) [134] "Ἡμῖν, ὦ κράτιστοι νέων, οἰκοί τέ εἰσι πατρῷοι καὶ κτῆσις ἀγαθῶν ἄφθονος καὶ ἡ παρὰ τῶν γονέων καὶ τῶν οἰκείων εὔνοια καὶ στοργή, καὶ κατ' οὐδενὸς τούτων πόρον ἐνθάδ' ἥκουσαι ἡμεῖς εἰς ὁμιλίαν ἥκομεν, οὐδ' ἐμπορευσόμεναι τὴν ὥραν τοῦ σώματος προσηκάμεθα τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀξίωσιν, ἀλλ' ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ δικαίους ὑπολαβοῦσαι τοιούτοις ὑμᾶς τιμῆσαι ξενίοις δεομένους ἐπείσθημεν. [135] καὶ νῦν, ἐπεί φατε πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλοστόργως ἔχειν καὶ λυπεῖσθε μελλουσῶν ἀναχωρεῖν, οὐδ' αὐταὶ τὴν δέησιν ὑμῶν ἀποστρεφόμεθα, πίστιν δ' εὐνοίας λαβοῦσαι τὴν μόνην ἡμῖν ἀξιόλογον νομισθεῖσαν ἀγαπήσομεν τὸν μεθ' ὑμῶν βίον ὡς γαμεταὶ διανύσαι. [136] δέος γάρ, μὴ καὶ κόρον τῆς ἡμετέρας ὁμιλίας λαβόντες ἔπειθ' ὑβρίσητε καὶ ἀτίμους ἀποπέμψητε πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς. συγγινώσκειν τε ταῦτα φυλαττομέναις ἠξίουν. τῶν δὲ ἣν βούλονται πίστιν δώσειν ὁμολογούντων καὶ πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν ἀντιλεγόντων ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὰς πάθους "ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ὑμῖν, [137] ἔφασαν, δέδοκται, τοῖς δ' ἔθεσι καὶ τῷ βίῳ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀλλοτριώτατα χρῆσθε, ὡς καὶ τὰς τροφὰς ὑμῖν ἰδιοτρόπους εἶναι καὶ τὰ ποτὰ μὴ κοινὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀνάγκη βουλομένους ἡμῖν συνοικεῖν καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς ἡμετέρους σέβειν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἄλλο γένοιτο τεκμήριον ἧς ἔχειν τε νῦν φατε πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὐνοίας καὶ τῆς ἐσομένης ἢ τὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν θεοὺς προσκυνεῖν. [138] μέμψαιτο δ' ἂν οὐδείς, εἰ γῆς εἰς ἣν ἀφῖχθε τοὺς ἰδίους αὐτῆς θεοὺς προστρέποισθε καὶ ταῦτα τῶν μὲν ἡμετέρων κοινῶν ὄντων πρὸς ἅπαντας, τοῦ δ' ὑμετέρου πρὸς μηδένα τοιούτου τυγχάνοντος. δεῖν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἔλεγον ἢ ταὐτὰ πᾶσιν ἡγητέον ἢ ζητεῖν ἄλλην οἰκουμένην, ἐν ᾗ βιώσονται μόνοι κατὰ τοὺς ἰδίους νόμους."

8. "O you illustrious young men! we have of our own at home, and great plenty of good things there, together with the natural, affectionate parents and friends; nor is it out of our want of any such things that we came to discourse with you; nor did we admit of your invitation with design to prostitute the beauty of our bodies for gain; but taking you for brave and worthy men, we agreed to your request, that we might treat you with such honors as hospitality required: and now seeing you say that you have a great affection for us, and are troubled when you think we are departing, we are not averse to your entreaties; and if we may receive such assurance of your good-will as we think can be alone sufficient, we will be glad to lead our lives with you as your wives; but we are afraid that you will in time be weary of our company, and will then abuse us, and send us back to our parents, after an ignominious manner." And they desired that they would excuse them in their guarding against that danger. But the young men professed they would give them any assurance they should desire; nor did they at all contradict what they requested, so great was the passion they had for them. "If then," said they, "this be your resolution, since you make use of such customs and conduct

of life as are entirely different from all other men, insomuch that your kinds of food are peculiar to yourselves, and your kinds of drink not common to others, it will be absolutely necessary, if you would have us for your wives, that you do withal worship our gods. Nor can there be any other demonstration of the kindness which you say you already have, and promise to have hereafter to us, than this, that you worship the same gods that we do. For has any one reason to complain, that now you are come into this country, you should worship the proper gods of the same country? especially while our gods are common to all men, and yours such as belong to nobody else but yourselves." So they said they must either come into such methods of divine worship as all others came into, or else they must look out for another world, wherein they may live by themselves, according to their own laws.

(9) [139] Οἱ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἔρωτος κάλλιστα λέγεσθαι ταῦτα ὑπολαβόντες καὶ παραδόντες αὐτοὺς εἰς ἃ προεκαλοῦντο παρέβησαν τὰ πάτρια, θεούς τε πλείονας εἶναι νομίσαντες καὶ θύειν αὐτοῖς κατὰ νόμον τὸν ἐπιχώριον τοῖς καθιδρυσαμένοις προθέμενοι ξενικοῖς τε βρώμασιν ἔχαιρον καὶ πάντ' εἰς ἡδονὴν τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπὶ τοὐναντίον οἷς ὁ νόμος αὐτῶν ἐκέλευε ποιοῦντες διετέλουν, [140] ὡς διὰ παντὸς ἤδη τοῦ στρατοῦ τὴν παρανομίαν χωρεῖν τῶν νέων καὶ στάσιν αὐτοῖς πολὺ χείρω τῆς προτέρας ἐμπεσεῖν καὶ κίνδυνον παντελοῦς τῶν ἰδίων ἐθισμῶν ἀπωλείας. ἅπαξ γὰρ τὸ νέον γευσάμενον ξενικῶν ἐθισμῶν ἀπλήστως ἐνεφορεῖτο, καὶ εἴ τινες τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν διὰ πατέρων ἀρετὰς ἐπιφανεῖς ἦσαν συνδιεφθείροντο,

9. Now the young men were induced by the fondness they had for these women to think they spake very well; so they gave themselves up to what they persuaded them, and transgressed their own laws, and supposing there were many gods, and resolving that they would sacrifice to them according to the laws of that country which ordained them, they both were delighted with their strange food, and went on to do every thing that the women would have them do, though in contradiction to their own laws; so far indeed that this transgression was already gone through the whole army of the young men, and they fell into a sedition that was much worse than the former, and into danger of the entire abolition of their own institutions; for when once the youth had tasted of these strange customs, they went with insatiable inclinations into them; and even where some of the principal men were illustrious on account of the virtues of their fathers, they also were corrupted together with the rest.

(10) [141] καὶ Ζαμβρίας ὁ τῆς Σεμεωνίδος ἡγούμενος φυλῆς Χοσβίᾳ συνὼν Μαδιανίτιδι Οὔρου θυγατρὶ τῶν ἐκείνῃ δυναστεύοντος ἀνδρὸς κελευσθεὶς ὑπὸ

τῆς γυναικὸς πρὸ τῶν Μωυσεῖ δοχθέντων τὸ πρὸς ἡδονὴν αὐτῇ γενησόμενον ἐθεράπευεν. [142] ἐν τούτοις δ' ὄντων τῶν πραγμάτων δείσας Μωυσῆς, μὴ γένηταί τι χεῖρον, συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν λαὸν οὐδενὸς μὲν κατηγόρει πρὸς ὄνομα μὴ βουλόμενος εἰς ἀπόνοιαν περιστῆσαι τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ λανθάνειν μετανοῆσαι δυναμένους, [143] ἔλεγε δ' ὡς οὐκ ἄξια δρῷεν οὔτ' αὐτῶν οὔτε πατέρων τὴν ἡδονὴν προτιμήσαντες τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τοῦτον βίου. προσήκειν δ' ἕως ἔτι καὶ καλῶς αὐτοῖς ἂν ἔχοι μεταβαλέσθαι, τὴν ἀνδρείαν ὑπολαμβάνουσιν οὐκ ἐν τῷ βιάζεσθαι τοὺς νόμους ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μὴ εἴκειν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις εἶναι. [144] πρὸς τούτοις δ' οὐδ' εὔλογον ἔφασκε σωφρονήσαντας αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρήμου νῦν ἐν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ὄντας παροινεῖν, μηδὲ τὰ κτηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας δι' εὐπορίαν αὐτῶν ἀπολέσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα λέγων ἐπειρᾶτο τοὺς νέους ἐπανορθοῦν καὶ εἰς μετάνοιαν ἄγειν ὧν ἔπραττον.

10. Even Zimri, the head of the tribe of Simeon accompanied with Cozbi, a Midianitish women, who was the daughter of Sur, a man of authority in that country; and being desired by his wife to disregard the laws of Moses, and to follow those she was used to, he complied with her, and this both by sacrificing after a manner different from his own, and by taking a stranger to wife. When things were thus, Moses was afraid that matters should grow worse, and called the people to a congregation, but then accused nobody by name, as unwilling to drive those into despair who, by lying concealed, might come to repentance; but he said that they did not do what was either worthy of themselves, or of their fathers, by preferring pleasure to God, and to the living according to his will; that it was fit they should change their courses while their affairs were still in a good state, and think that to be true fortitude which offers not violence to their laws, but that which resists their lusts. And besides that, he said it was not a reasonable thing, when they had lived soberly in the wilderness, to act madly now when they were in prosperity; and that they ought not to lose, now they have abundance, what they had gained when they had little: — and so did he endeavor, by saying this, to correct the young inert, and to bring them to repentance for what they had done.

(11) [145] Ἀναστὰς δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν Ζαμβρίας "ἀλλὰ σὺ μέν, εἶπεν, ὦ Μωυσῆ, χρῶ νόμοις οἷς αὐτὸς ἐσπούδακας ἐκ τῆς τούτων εὐηθείας τὸ βέβαιον αὐτοῖς παρεσχημένος: ἐπεὶ μὴ τοῦτον αὐτῶν ἐχόντων τὸν τρόπον πολλάκις ἂν ἤδη κεκολασμένος ἔγνως ἂν οὐκ εὐπαραλογίστους Ἑβραίους. [146] ἐμὲ δ' οὐκ ἂν ἀκόλουθον οἷς σὺ προστάττεις τυραννικῶς λάβοις: οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο τι μέχρι νῦν ἢ προσχήματι νόμων καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δουλείαν μὲν ἡμῖν ἀρχὴν δὲ σαυτῷ κακουργεῖς ἀφαιρούμενος ἡμᾶς τὸ ἡδὺ καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὸν βίον αὐτεξούσιον, ὃ τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἐστὶ καὶ δεσπότην οὐκ ἐχόντων. [147] χαλεπώτερος δ' ἂν οὕτως Αἰγυπτίων

Ἑβραίοις γένοιο τιμωρεῖν ἀξιῶν κατὰ [τοὺς] νόμους τὴν ἑκάστου πρὸς τὸ κεχαρισμένον αὐτῷ βούλησιν. πολὺ δ᾽ ἂν δικαιότερον αὐτὸς τιμωρίαν ὑπομένοις τὰ παρ᾽ ἑκάστοις ὁμολογούμενα καλῶς ἔχειν ἀφανίσαι προῃρημένος καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἁπάντων δόξης ἰσχυρὰν τὴν σεαυτοῦ κατεσκευακὼς ἀτοπίαν: [148] ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἂν στεροίμην εἰκότως ὧν πράττω νυνὶ κρίνας ἀγαθὰ ταῦτ᾽ ἔπειτα περὶ αὐτῶν ὁμολογεῖν ἐν τούτοις οὐκ ὀκνήσαιμι. γύναιόν τε ξενικόν, ὡς φῄς, ἦγμαι: παρ᾽ ἐμαυτοῦ γὰρ ἀκούσῃ τὰς ἐμὰς πράξεις ὡς παρὰ ἐλευθέρου, καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ λαθεῖν προεθέμην: [149] θύω τε θεοῖς οἷς θύειν μοι νομίζεται δίκαιον ἡγούμενος παρὰ πολλῶν ἐμαυτῷ πραγματεύεσθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐν τυραννίδι ζῆν τὴν ὅλην ἐξ ἑνὸς ἐλπίδα τοῦ βίου παντὸς ἀνηρτηκότα: χαρείη τ᾽ ἂν οὐδεὶς κυριώτερον αὐτὸν περὶ ὧν πράξαιμι γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς ἀποφαινόμενος.

11. But Zimri arose up after him, and said, “Yes, indeed, Moses, thou art at liberty to make use of such laws as thou art so fond of, and hast, by accustoming thyself to them, made them firm; otherwise, if things had not been thus, thou hadst often been punished before now, and hadst known that the Hebrews are not easily put upon; but thou shalt not have me one of thy followers in thy tyrannical commands, for thou dost nothing else hitherto, but, under pretense of laws, and of God, wickedly impose on us slavery, and gain dominion to thyself, while thou deprivest us of the sweetness of life, which consists in acting according to our own wills, and is the right of free-men, and of those that have no lord over them. Nay, indeed, this man is harder upon the Hebrews then were the Egyptians themselves, as pretending to punish, according to his laws, every one’s acting what is most agreeable to himself; but thou thyself better deservest to suffer punishment, who presumest to abolish what every one acknowledges to be what is good for him, and aimest to make thy single opinion to have more force than that of all the rest; and what I now do, and think to be right, I shall not hereafter deny to be according to my own sentiments. I have married, as thou sayest rightly, a strange woman, and thou hearest what I do from myself as from one that is free, for truly I did not intend to conceal myself. I also own that I sacrificed to those gods to whom you do not think it fit to sacrifice; and I think it right to come at truth by inquiring of many people, and not like one that lives under tyranny, to suffer the whole hope of my life to depend upon one man; nor shall any one find cause to rejoice who declares himself to have more authority over my actions than myself.”

(12) [150] Τοῦ δὲ Ζαμβρίου ταῦτα περὶ ὧν αὐτός τε ἠδίκει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινὲς εἰπόντος ὁ μὲν λαὸς ἡσύχαζε φόβῳ τε τοῦ μέλλοντος καὶ τὸν νομοθέτην δὲ ὁρῶν μὴ περαιτέρω τὴν ἀπόνοιαν αὐτοῦ προαγαγεῖν ἐκ τῆς ἄντικρυς διαμάχης θελήσαντα: [151] περιίστατο γάρ, μὴ πολλοὶ τῆς τῶν λόγων ἀσελγείας αὐτοῦ

μιμηταὶ γενόμενοι ταράξωσι τὸ πλῆθος. καὶ διαλύεται μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ σύλλογος. προεληλύθει δ' ἂν ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἡ τοῦ κακοῦ πεῖρα μὴ φθάσαντος Ζαμβρία τελευτῆσαι ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας. [152] Φινεὲς ἀνὴρ τά τε ἄλλα τῶν νεωτέρων κρείττων καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀξιώματι τοὺς ἡλικιώτας ὑπερέχων, Ἐλεαζάρου γὰρ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἦν, περιαλγήσας τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Ζαμβρίου, καὶ πρὶν ἰσχυροτέραν γενέσθαι τὴν ὕβριν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀδείας ἔργῳ τὴν δίκην αὐτὸν εἰσπράξασθαι διαγνοὺς καὶ κωλῦσαι διαβῆναι τὴν παρανομίαν εἰς πλείονας τῶν ἀρξαμένων οὐ κολαζομένων, [153] τόλμῃ δὲ καὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος ἀνδρείᾳ τοσοῦτον προύχων, ὡς μὴ πρότερον εἴ τινι συσταίη τῶν δεινῶν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, πρὶν ἢ καταγωνίσασθαι καὶ νίκην τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ λαβεῖν, ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Ζαμβρίου σκηνὴν παραγενόμενος αὐτόν τε παίων τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ τὴν Χοσβίαν ἀπέκτεινεν. [154] οἱ δὲ νέοι πάντες, οἷς ἀρετῆς ἀντιποίησις ἦν καὶ τοῦ φιλοκαλεῖν, μιμηταὶ γενόμενοι τῆς Φινεέσσου τόλμης ἀνῄρουν τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις Ζαμβρίᾳ τὴν αἰτίαν εἰληφότας. ἀπόλλυνται μὲν οὖν καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τούτων ἀνδραγαθίας πολλοὶ τῶν παρανομησάντων, [155] ἐφθάρησαν δὲ [πάντες] καὶ λοιμῷ ταύτην ἐνσκήψαντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν νόσον ὅσοι [τε] συγγενεῖς ὄντες κωλύειν δέον ἐξώτρυνον αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἀδικεῖν τῷ θεῷ δοκοῦντες ἀπέθνησκον. ἀπόλλυνται μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῶν τάξεων ἄνδρες οὐκ ἐλάττους τετρακισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων.

12. Now when Zimri had said these things, about what he and some others had wickedly done, the people held their peace, both out of fear of what might come upon them, and because they saw that their legislator was not willing to bring his insolence before the public any further, or openly to contend with him; for he avoided that, lest many should imitate the impudence of his language, and thereby disturb the multitude. Upon this the assembly was dissolved. However, the mischievous attempt had proceeded further, if Zimri had not been first slain, which came to pass on the following occasion: — Phineas, a man in other respects better than the rest of the young men, and also one that surpassed his contemporaries in the dignity of his father, [for he was the son of Eleazar the high priest, and the grandson of [Aaron] Moses's brother,] who was greatly troubled at what was done by Zimri, he resolved in earnest to inflict punishment on him, before his unworthy behavior should grow stronger by impunity, and in order to prevent this transgression from proceeding further, which would happen if the ringleaders were not punished. He was of so great magnanimity, both in strength of mind and body, that when he undertook any very dangerous attempt, he did not leave it off till he overcame it, and got an entire victory. So he came into Zimri's tent, and slew him with his javelin, and with it he slew Cozbi also, Upon which all those young men that had a regard to virtue, and aimed to do a

glorious action, imitated Phineas's boldness, and slew those that were found to be guilty of the same crime with Zimri. Accordingly many of those that had transgressed perished by the magnanimous valor of these young men; and the rest all perished by a plague, which distemper God himself inflicted upon them; so that all those their kindred, who, instead of hindering them from such wicked actions, as they ought to have done, had persuaded them to go on, were esteemed by God as partners in their wickedness, and died. Accordingly there perished out of the army no fewer than fourteen [twenty-four] thousand at this time.

(13) [156] Ὑπὸ δὲ ταύτης παροξυνθεὶς τῆς αἰτίας Μωυσῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Μαδιανιτῶν ὄλεθρον τὴν στρατιὰν ἐξέπεμπε, περὶ ὧν τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐξόδου μετὰ μικρὸν ἀπαγγελοῦμεν προδιηγησάμενοι πρῶτον ὃ παρελίπομεν: δίκαιον [γὰρ] ἐπὶ τούτου τὴν τοῦ νομοθέτου γνώμην μὴ παρελθεῖν ἀνεγκωμίαστον. [157] τὸν γὰρ Βάλαμον παραληφθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν Μαδιηνιτῶν, ὅπως ἐπαράσηται τοῖς Ἑβραίοις, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ δυνηθέντα θείᾳ προνοίᾳ, γνώμην δὲ ὑποθέμενον, ᾗ χρησαμένων τῶν πολεμίων ὀλίγου τὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων πλῆθος διεφθάρη τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι νοσησάντων δή τινων περὶ ταῦτα, μεγάλως ἐτίμησεν ἀναγράψας αὐτοῦ τὰς μαντείας, [158] καὶ παρὸν αὐτῷ σφετερίσασθαι τὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς δόξαν καὶ ἐξιδιώσασθαι μηδενὸς ἂν γενομένου μάρτυρος τοῦ διελέγξοντος, ἐκείνῳ τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἔδωκε καὶ τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ μνήμης ἠξίωσε. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὡς ἂν αὐτοῖς τισι δοκῇ οὕτω σκοπείτωσαν.

13. This was the cause why Moses was provoked to send an army to destroy the Midianites, concerning which expedition we shall speak presently, when we have first related what we have omitted; for it is but just not to pass over our legislator's due encomium, on account of his conduct here, because, although this Balaam, who was sent for by the Midianites to curse the Hebrews, and when he was hindered from doing it by Divine Providence, did still suggest that advice to them, by making use of which our enemies had well nigh corrupted the whole multitude of the Hebrews with their wiles, till some of them were deeply infected with their opinions; yet did he do him great honor, by setting down his prophecies in writing. And while it was in his power to claim this glory to himself, and make men believe they were his own predictions, there being no one that could be a witness against him, and accuse him for so doing, he still gave his attestation to him, and did him the honor to make mention of him on this account. But let every one think of these matters as he pleases.

VII

CHAPTER 7. How The Hebrews Fought With The Midianites, And Overcame Them.

(1) [159] Μωυσῆς δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ προεῖπον ἐπὶ τὴν Μαδιηνιτῶν γῆν ἔπεμψεν στρατιὰν τοὺς πάντας εἰς δισχιλίους καὶ μυρίους ἐξ ἑκάστης φυλῆς τὸν ἴσον ἀριθμὸν ἐπιλεξάμενος, στρατηγὸν δ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀπέδειξε Φινεές, οὗ μικρῷ πρότερον ἐμνήσθημεν φυλάξαντος τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸν παρανομοῦντα τούτους Ζαμβρίαν τιμωρησαμένου. [160] Μαδιηνῖται δὲ προπυθόμενοι τὸν στρατὸν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐλαύνοντα καὶ ὅσον οὐδέπω παρεσόμενον ἠθροίζοντό τε καὶ τὰς εἰσβολὰς τῆς χώρας, ᾗ προσεδέχοντο τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀσφαλισάμενοι περιέμενον αὐτούς. [161] ἐλθόντων δὲ καὶ συμβολῆς γενομένης πίπτει τῶν Μαδιηνιτῶν πλῆθος ἀσυλλόγιστον καὶ ἀριθμοῦ κρεῖττον οἵ τε βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν ἅπαντες: πέντε δὲ ἦσαν, Ὤχός τε καὶ Σούρης ἔτι δὲ Ῥοβέης καὶ Οὖρης, πέμπτος δὲ Ῥέκεμος, οὗ πόλις ἐπώνυμος τὸ πᾶν ἀξίωμα τῆς Ἀράβων ἔχουσα γῆς καὶ μέχρι νῦν ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ Ἀραβίου τοῦ κτίσαντος βασιλέως τὸ ὄνομα Ῥεκέμης καλεῖται, Πέτρα παρ᾽ Ἕλλησι λεγομένη. [162] τραπέντων δὲ τῶν πολεμίων οἱ Ἑβραῖοι διήρπασαν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν καὶ πολλὴν λείαν λαβόντες καὶ τοὺς οἰκήτορας γυναιξὶν ἅμα διαφθείραντες μόνας τὰς παρθένους κατέλιπον, τοῦτο Μωυσέος Φινέει κελεύσαντος. [163] ὃς ἦκεν ἄγων τὸν στρατὸν ἀπαθῆ καὶ λείαν ἄφθονον, βόας μὲν γὰρ δισχιλίους καὶ πεντακισμυρίους, ὄις δὲ πεντακισχιλίας πρὸς μυριάσιν ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑξήκοντα, ὄνους δὲ ἑξακισμυρίας, χρυσοῦ δὲ καὶ ἀργύρου ἄπειρόν τι πλῆθος κατασκευῆς, ᾗ κατ᾽ οἶκον ἐχρῶντο: ὑπὸ γὰρ εὐδαιμονίας καὶ ἁβροδίαιτοι σφόδρα ἐτύγχανον. ἦχθησαν δὲ καὶ αἱ παρθένοι περὶ δισχιλίας καὶ τρισμυρίας. [164] Μωυσῆς δὲ μερίσας τὴν λείαν τῆς μὲν ἑτέρας τὸ πεντηκοστὸν Ἐλεαζάρῳ δίδωσι καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι, Λευίταις δὲ τῆς ἑτέρας τὸ πεντηκοστὸν μέρος, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν νέμει τῷ λαῷ. καὶ διῆγον τὸ λοιπὸν εὐδαιμόνως, ἀφθονίας μὲν ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς ὑπ᾽ ἀρετῆς γεγενημένης, ὑπὸ μηδενὸς δὲ σκυθρωποῦ ταύτης ἀπολαύειν ἐμποδιζόμενοι.

1. Now Moses sent an army against the land of Midian, for the causes forementioned, in all twelve thousand, taking an equal number out of every tribe, and appointed Phineas for their commander; of which Phineas we made mention a little before, as he that had guarded the laws of the Hebrews, and had inflicted punishment on Zimri when he had transgressed them. Now the Midianites perceived beforehand how the Hebrews were coming, and would suddenly be upon them: so they assembled their army together, and fortified the entrances into their country, and there awaited the enemy’s coming. When they were come, and they had joined battle with them, an immense multitude of the

Midianites fell; nor could they be numbered, they were so very many: and among them fell all their kings, five in number, *viz.* Evi, Zur, Reba, Hur, and Rekem, who was of the same name with a city, the chief and capital of all Arabia, which is still now so called by the whole Arabian nation, Arecem, from the name of the king that built it; but is by the Greeks called — Petra. Now when the enemies were discomfited, the Hebrews spoiled their country, and took a great prey, and destroyed the men that were its inhabitants, together with the women; only they let the virgins alone, as Moses had commanded Phineas to do, who indeed came back, bringing with him an army that had received no harm, and a great deal of prey; fifty-two thousand beeves, seventy-five thousand six hundred sheep, sixty thousand asses, with an immense quantity of gold and silver furniture, which the Midianites made use of in their houses; for they were so wealthy, that they were very luxurious. There were also led captive about thirty-two thousand virgins. So Moses parted the prey into parts, and gave one fiftieth part to Eleazar and the two priests, and another fiftieth part to the Levites; and distributed the rest of the prey among the people. After which they lived happily, as having obtained an abundance of good things by their valor, and there being no misfortune that attended them, or hindered their enjoyment of that happiness.

(2) [165] Μωυσῆς δὲ γηραιὸς ἤδη τυγχάνων διάδοχον ἑαυτοῦ Ἰησοῦν καθίστησιν ἐπί τε ταῖς προφητείαις καὶ στρατηγὸν εἴ που δεήσειε γενησόμενον, κελεύσαντος καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτῳ τὴν προστασίαν ἐπιτρέψαι τῶν πραγμάτων. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς πᾶσαν ἐπεπαίδευτο τὴν περὶ τοὺς νόμους παιδείαν καὶ τὸ θεῖον Μωυσέος ἐκδιδάξαντος.

2. But Moses was now grown old, and appointed Joshua for his successor, both to receive directions from God as a prophet, and for a commander of the army, if they should at any time stand in need of such a one; and this was done by the command of God, that to him the care of the public should be committed. Now Joshua had been instructed in all those kinds of learning which concerned the laws and God himself, and Moses had been his instructor.

(3) [166] Κἀν τούτῳ δύο φυλαὶ Γαδίς τε καὶ Ῥουβήλου καὶ τῆς Μανασσίτιδος ἡμίσεια πλήθει τετραπόδων εὐδαιμονοῦντες καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι, κοινολογησάμενοι παρεκάλουν τὸν Μωυσῆν ἐξαίρετον αὐτοῖς τὴν Ἀμορῖτιν παρασχεῖν δορίκτητον οὖσαν: ἀγαθὴν γὰρ εἶναι βοσκήματα τρέφειν. [167] ὁ δ’ ὑπολαβὼν αὐτοὺς δείσαντας τὴν πρὸς Χαναναίους μάχην πρόφασιν εὐπρεπῆ τὴν τῶν βοσκημάτων ἐπιμέλειαν εὑρῆσθαι κακίστους τε ἀπεκάλει καὶ δειλίας εὐσχήμονα πρόφασιν ἐπινοήσαντας αὐτοὺς μὲν βούλεσθαι τρυφᾶν ἀπόνως

διάγοντας πάντων τεταλαιπωρηκότων ὑπὲρ τοῦ κτήσασθαι τὴν αἰτουμένην ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν γῆν, [168] μὴ θέλειν δὲ συναραμένους τῶν ἐπιλοίπων ἀγώνων γῆν ἣν διαβᾶσιν αὐτοῖς τὸν Ἰορδάνην ὁ θεὸς παραδώσειν ὑπέσχηται ταύτην λαβεῖν καταστρεψαμένους οὓς ἐκεῖνος ἀπέδειξεν ἡμῖν πολεμίους. [169] οἱ δ᾽ ὁρῶντες ὀργιζόμενον αὐτὸν καὶ δικαίως ἠρεθίσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἀξίωσιν αὐτῶν ὑπολαβόντες ἀπελογοῦντο μὴ διὰ φόβον κινδύνων μηδὲ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ πονεῖν μαλακίαν πεποιῆσθαι τὴν αἴτησιν, [170] ἀλλ᾽ ὅπως τὴν λείαν ἐν ἐπιτηδείοις καταλιπόντες εὔζωνοι πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰς μάχας χωρεῖν δύναιντο, ἑτοίμους τε ἔλεγον ἑαυτοὺς κτίσαντας πόλεις εἰς φυλακὴν τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ κτήσεως αὐτοῦ διδόντος συναπιέναι τῷ στρατῷ. [171] καὶ Μωυσῆς ἀρεσθεὶς τῷ λόγῳ καλέσας Ἐλεάζαρον τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ Ἰησοῦν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τέλει πάντας συνεχώρει τὴν Ἀμορρῖτιν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ συμμαχῆσαι τοῖς συγγενέσιν, ἕως ἂν καταστήσωνται τὰ πάντα. λαβόντες οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις τὴν χώραν καὶ κτίσαντες πόλεις καρτερὰς τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα συμπεριάγειν μέλλουσιν αὐτοῖς ἂν ἦν ἐμπόδια τοῦ πονεῖν ἀπέθεντο εἰς αὐτάς.

3. At this time it was that the two tribes of Gad and Reuben, and the half tribe of Manasseh, abounded in a multitude of cattle, as well as in all other kinds of prosperity; whence they had a meeting, and in a body came and besought Moses to give them, as their peculiar portion, that land of the Amorites which they had taken by right of war, because it was fruitful, and good for feeding of cattle; but Moses, supposing that they were afraid of fighting with the Canaanites, and invented this provision for their cattle as a handsome excuse for avoiding that war, he called them arrant cowards, and said they had only contrived a decent excuse for that cowardice; and that they had a mind to live in luxury and ease, while all the rest were laboring with great pains to obtain the land they were desirous to have; and that they were not willing to march along, and undergo the remaining hard service, whereby they were, under the Divine promise, to pass over Jordan, and overcome those our enemies which God had shown them, and so obtain their land. But these tribes, when they saw that Moses was angry with them, and when they could not deny but he had a just cause to be displeased at their petition, made an apology for themselves; and said, that it was not on account of their fear of dangers, nor on account of their laziness, that they made this request to him, but that they might leave the prey they had gotten in places of safety, and thereby might be more expedite, and ready to undergo difficulties, and to fight battles. They added this also, that when they had built cities, wherein they might preserve their children, and wives, and possessions, if he would bestow them upon them, they would go along with the rest of the army. Hereupon Moses was pleased with what they said; so he called for Eleazar the

high priest, and Joshua, and the chief of the tribes, and permitted these tribes to possess the land of the Amorites; but upon this condition, that they should join with their kinsmen in the war until all things were settled. Upon which condition they took possession of the country, and built them strong cities, and put into them their children and their wives, and whatsoever else they had that might be an impediment to the labors of their future marches.

(4) [172] Οἰκοδομεῖ δὲ καὶ Μωυσῆς τὰς δέκα πόλεις τὰς εἰς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ὀκτὼ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα γενησομένας, ὧν τρεῖς ἀπέδειξε τοῖς ἐπ᾽ ἀκουσίῳ φόνῳ φευξομένοις, καὶ χρόνον ἔταξεν εἶναι τῆς φυγῆς τὸν αὐτὸν τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, ἐφ᾽ οὗ δράσας τις τὸν φόνον ἔφυγε. μεθ᾽ ὃν συνεχώρει τελευτήσαντα κάθοδον, ἐχόντων ἐξουσίαν τῶν τοῦ πεφονευμένου συγγενῶν κτείνειν, εἰ λάβοιεν ἔξω τῶν ὅρων τῆς πόλεως εἰς ἣν ἔφυγε τὸν πεφονευκότα: ἑτέρῳ δὲ οὐκ ἐπετέτραπτο. [173] αἱ δὲ πόλεις αἱ πρὸς τὰς φυγὰς ἀποδεδειγμέναι ἦσαν αἵδε: Βοσάρα μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις τῆς Ἀραβίας, Ἀρίμανον δὲ τῆς Γαλαδηνῶν γῆς, καὶ Γαυλανὰν δ᾽ ἐν τῇ Βατανίδι. κτησαμένων δ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν Χαναναίων γῆν τρεῖς ἕτεραι πόλεις ἔμελλον ἀνατεθήσεσθαι τῶν Λευίτιδων πόλεων τοῖς φυγάσιν εἰς κατοικισμὸν Μωυσέος ἐπιστείλαντος.

4. Moses also now built those ten cities which were to be of the number of the forty-eight [for the Levites;]; three of which he allotted to those that slew any person involuntarily, and fled to them; and he assigned the same time for their banishment with that of the life of that high priest under whom the slaughter and flight happened; after which death of the high priest he permitted the slayer to return home. During the time of his exile, the relations of him that was slain may, by this law, kill the manslayer, if they caught him without the bounds of the city to which he fled, though this permission was not granted to any other person. Now the cities which were set apart for this flight were these: Bezer, at the borders of Arabia; Ramoth, of the land of Gilead; and Golan, in the land of Bashan. There were to be also, by Moses's command, three other cities allotted for the habitation of these fugitives out of the cities of the Levites, but not till after they should be in possession of the land of Canaan.

(5) [174] Μωυσῆς δὲ προσελθόντων αὐτῷ τῶν πρώτων τῆς Μανασσίτιδος φυλῆς καὶ δηλούντων μὲν ὡς τεθνήκοι τις τῶν φυλετῶν ἐπίσημος ἀνὴρ Σωλοφάντης ὄνομα, παῖδας μὲν οὐ καταλιπὼν ἄρσενας θυγατέρας δέ τοι, καὶ πυθομένων εἰ τούτων ὁ κλῆρος ἔσοιτο, φησίν, [175] εἰ μὲν μέλλουσί τινι συνοικεῖν τῶν φυλετῶν, μετὰ τοῦ κλήρου πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπιέναι, εἰ δ᾽ ἐξ ἄλλης γαμοῖντό τισι φυλῆς, τὸν κλῆρον ἐν τῇ πατρῴᾳ φυλῇ καταλιπεῖν. καὶ τότε μένειν ἑκάστου τὸν κλῆρον ἐν τῇ φυλῇ διετάξατο.

5. At this time the chief men of the tribe of Manasseh came to Moses, and informed him that there was an eminent man of their tribe dead, whose name was Zelophehad, who left no male children, but left daughters; and asked him whether these daughters might inherit his land or not. He made this answer, That if they shall marry into their own tribe, they shall carry their estate along with them; but if they dispose of themselves in marriage to men of another tribe, they shall leave their inheritance in their father's tribe. And then it was that Moses ordained, that every one's inheritance should continue in his own tribe.

VIII

CHAPTER 8. The Polity Settled By Moses; And How He Disappeared From Among Mankind.

(1) [176] Τῶν δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ἐτῶν παρὰ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας συμπεπληρωμένων Μωυσῆς ἐκκλησίαν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ συναγαγών, ὅπου νῦν πόλις ἐστὶν Ἀβίλη, φοινικόφυτον δ᾽ ἐστὶ τὸ χωρίον, συνελθόντος τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς λέγει τοιάδε:

1. When forty years were completed, within thirty days, Moses gathered the congregation together near Jordan, where the city Abila now stands, a place full of palm-trees; and all the people being come together, he spake thus to them: —

(2) [177] "Ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται καὶ τῆς μακρᾶς κοινωνοὶ ταλαιπωρίας, ἐπεὶ τῷ θεῷ δοκοῦν ἤδη καὶ τῷ γήρᾳ χρόνον ἐτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἠνυσμένον δεῖ με τοῦ ζῆν ἀπελθεῖν καὶ τῶν πέρα τοῦ Ἰορδάνου πραχθησομένων οὐ μέλλω βοηθὸς ὑμῖν ἔσεσθαι καὶ σύμμαχος κωλυόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, [178] δίκαιον ἡγησάμην μηδὲ νῦν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τοὐμὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐδαιμονίας πρόθυμον, ἀλλ᾽ ἀίδιόν τε ὑμῖν πραγματεύσασθαι τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπόλαυσιν, καὶ μνήμην ἐμαυτῷ γενομένων ὑμῶν ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ τῶν κρειττόνων. [179] φέρε οὖν ὑποθέμενος ὃν τρόπον ὑμεῖς τ᾽ ἂν εὐδαιμονήσαιτε καὶ παισὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν καταλίποιτε κτῆσιν ἀγαθῶν ἀίδιον παραθέμενος οὕτως ἀπέλθω τοῦ βίου. πιστεύεσθαι δὲ ἄξιός εἰμι διά τε τὰς πρότερον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν φιλοτιμίας καὶ διὰ τὸ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐπὶ τελευτῇ γιγνομένας μετ᾽ ἀρετῆς πάσης ὁμιλεῖν. [180] ὦ παῖδες Ἰσραήλου, μία πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν κτήσεως αἰτία ὁ θεὸς εὐμενής: μόνος γὰρ οὗτος δοῦναί τε ταῦτα τοῖς ἀξίοις καὶ ἀφελέσθαι τῶν ἁμαρτανόντων εἰς αὐτὸν ἱκανός, ᾧ παρέχοντες ἑαυτοὺς οἵους αὐτός τε βούλεται κἀγὼ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ σαφῶς ἐξεπιστάμενος παραινῶ, οὐκ ἂν ὄντες μακαριστοὶ καὶ ζηλωτοὶ πᾶσιν ἀτυχήσαιτέ ποτ᾽ ἢ παύσαισθε, ἀλλ᾽ ὧν τε νῦν ὑμῖν ἐστιν ἀγαθῶν ἡ κτῆσις βεβαία μενεῖ τῶν τε ἀπόντων ταχεῖαν ἕξετε τὴν παρουσίαν. [181] μόνον οἷς ὁ θεὸς ὑμᾶς ἕπεσθαι βούλεται, τούτοις πειθαρχεῖτε, καὶ μήτε νομίμων τῶν παρόντων ἄλλην προτιμήσητε διάταξιν μήτ᾽ εὐσεβείας ἧς νῦν περὶ τὸν θεὸν ἔχοντες καταφρονήσαντες εἰς ἄλλον μεταστήσησθε τρόπον. ταῦτα δὲ πράττοντες ἀλκιμώτατοι μάχας διενεγκεῖν ἁπάντων ἔσεσθε καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν εὐάλωτοι. [182] θεοῦ γὰρ παρόντος ὑμῖν βοηθοῦ πάντων περιφρονεῖν εὔλογον. τῆς δ᾽ ἀρετῆς ἔπαθλα ὑμῖν μεγάλα κεῖται πρὸς ἅπαντα τὸν βίον κτησαμένοις: αὐτή γε τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαθῶν τὸ πρέσβιστόν ἐστιν, ἔπειτα καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων χαρίζεται περιουσίαν, [183] ὡς καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑμῖν χρωμένοις αὐτῇ μακαριστὸν ποιῆσαι τὸν βίον καὶ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων πλέον δοξαζομένους ἀδήριτον καὶ παρὰ τοῖς αὖθις τὴν εὔκλειαν ὑμῖν ὑπάρξαι. τούτων δ᾽ ἂν ἐφικέσθαι δυνηθείητε, εἰ τῶν νόμων

οὓς ὑπαγορεύσαντός μοι τοῦ θεοῦ συνεταξάμην κατήκοοι καὶ φύλακες γένοισθε καὶ μελετῶητε τὴν σύνεσιν αὐτῶν. [184] ἄπειμι δ᾽ αὐτὸς χαίρων ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἀγαθοῖς παρατιθέμενος ὑμᾶς νόμων τε σωφροσύνῃ καὶ κόσμῳ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ ταῖς τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀρεταῖς, οἳ πρόνοιαν ἕξουσιν ὑμῶν τοῦ συμφέροντος. [185] θεός τε ὁ μέχρι νῦν ἡγεμονεύσας ἡμῖν, καθ᾽ οὗ βούλησιν κἀγὼ χρήσιμος ὑμῖν ἐγενόμην, οὐ μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο στήσει τὴν αὐτοῦ πρόνοιαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ὃν αὐτοὶ βούλεσθε χρόνον τοῦτον ἔχειν προστάτην ἐν τοῖς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπιτηδεύμασι μένοντες, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῦ χρήσεσθε τῇ προμηθείᾳ. [186] γνώμας τε ὑμῖν εἰσηγήσονται τὰς ἀρίστας, αἷς ἑπόμενοι τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἕξετε, ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἐλεάζαρος καὶ Ἰησοῦς ἥ τε γερουσία καὶ τὰ τέλη τῶν φυλῶν, ὧν ἀκροᾶσθε μὴ χαλεπῶς, γινώσκοντες ὅτι πάντες οἱ ἄρχεσθαι καλῶς εἰδότες καὶ ἄρχειν εἴσονται παρελθόντες εἰς ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῦ, [187] τήν τ᾽ ἐλευθερίαν ἡγεῖσθε μὴ τὸ προσαγανακτεῖν οἷς ἂν ὑμᾶς οἱ ἡγεμόνες πράττειν ἀξιῶσι: νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ τοὺς εὐεργέτας ὑβρίζειν ἐν τούτῳ τὴν παρρησίαν τίθεσθε, ὃ δὴ τοῦ λοιποῦ φυλαττομένοις ὑμῖν ἄμεινον ἕξει τὰ πράγματα: [188] μηδὲ τὴν ἴσην ἐπὶ τούτοις ὀργήν ποτε λαμβάνετε, ᾗ κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ πολλάκις ἐτολμήσατε χρῆσθαι: γινώσκετε γὰρ ὡς πλεονάκις ἐκινδύνευσα ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. [189] ταῦτα δ᾽ οὐκ ὀνειδίζειν ὑμᾶς προεθέμην, οὐ γὰρ ἐπ᾽ ἐξόδου τοῦ ζῆν δυσχεραίνοντας καταλιπεῖν ἠξίουν εἰς τὴν ἀνάμνησιν φέρων μηδὲ παρ᾽ ὃν ἔπασχον αὐτὰ καιρὸν ἐν ὀργῇ γενόμενος, ἀλλ᾽ ὥστε τοῦ σωφρονήσειν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὸ μέλλον κατ᾽ αὐτό γε τοῦτ᾽ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι, καὶ μηδὲν εἰς τοὺς προεστηκότας ἐξυβρίσαι διὰ πλοῦτον, ὃς ὑμῖν πολὺς διαβᾶσι τὸν Ἰορδάνην καὶ τὴν Χαναναίαν κτησαμέναις περιστήσεται. [190] ἐπεὶ προαχθέντες εἰς καταφρόνησιν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὀλιγωρίαν ἀπολεῖτε καὶ τὴν εὔνοιαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, ποιήσαντες δὲ τοῦτον ἐχθρὸν τήν τε γῆν, ἣν κτήσεσθε, κρατηθέντες ὅπλοις ὑπὸ τῶν αὖθις ἀφαιρεθήσεσθε μετὰ μεγίστων ὀνειδῶν καὶ σκεδασθέντες διὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης πᾶσαν ἐμπλήσετε καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν τῆς αὐτῶν δουλείας. [191] ἔσται δ᾽ ὑμῖν τούτων πεῖραν λαμβάνουσιν ἀνωφελὴς ἡ μετάνοια καὶ ἡ τῶν οὐ φυλαχθέντων νόμων ἀνάμνησις. ὅθεν εἰ βούλοισθε τούτους ὑμῖν μένειν, τῶν πολεμίων μηδένα ὑπολείπησθε κρατήσαντες αὐτῶν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπολλύναι πάντας κρίνατε συμφέρειν, ἵνα μή τινων παραγευσάμενοι τῆς ἐκείνων ἐπιτηδεύσεως διαφθείρητε τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν. [192] ἔτι δὲ καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ ἄλση καὶ νεὼς ὁπόσους ἂν ἔχοιεν κατερείπειν παραινῶ καὶ δαπανᾶν πυρὶ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν μνήμην: βεβαία γὰρ ἂν οὕτως ὑμῖν μόνον ὑπάρξειεν ἡ τῶν οἰκείων ἀγαθῶν ἀσφάλεια. [193] ἵνα δὲ μὴ δι᾽ ἀμαθίαν τοῦ κρείττονος ἡ φύσις ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ἀπονεύσῃ, συνέθηκα ὑμῖν καὶ νόμους ὑπαγορεύσαντός μοι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πολιτείαν, ἧς τὸν κόσμον φυλάξαντες πάντων ἂν εὐδαιμονέστατοι κριθείητε.”

2. "O you Israelites and fellow soldiers, who have been partners with me in this long and uneasy journey; since it is now the will of God, and the course of old age, at a hundred and twenty, requires it that I should depart out of this life; and since God has forbidden me to be a patron or an assistant to you in what remains to be done beyond Jordan; I thought it reasonable not to leave off my endeavors even now for your happiness, but to do my utmost to procure for you the eternal enjoyment of good things, and a memorial for myself, when you shall be in the fruition of great plenty and prosperity. Come, therefore, let me suggest to you by what means you may be happy, and may leave an eternal prosperous possession thereof to your children after you, and then let me thus go out of the world; and I cannot but deserve to be believed by you, both on account of the great things I have already done for you, and because, when souls are about to leave the body, they speak with the sincerest freedom. O children of Israel! there is but one source of happiness for all mankind, the favor of God for he alone is able to give good things to those that deserve them, and to deprive those of them that sin against him; towards whom, if you behave yourselves according to his will, and according to what I, who well understand his mind, do exhort you to, you will both be esteemed blessed, and will be admired by all men; and will never come into misfortunes, nor cease to be happy: you will then preserve the possession of the good things you already have, and will quickly obtain those that you are at present in want of, — only do you be obedient to those whom God would have you to follow. Nor do you prefer any other constitution of government before the laws now given you; neither do you disregard that way of Divine worship which you now have, nor change it for any other form: and if you do this, you will be the most courageous of all men, in undergoing the fatigues of war, and will not be easily conquered by any of your enemies; for while God is present with you to assist you, it is to be expected that you will be able to despise the opposition of all mankind; and great rewards of virtue are proposed for you, if you preserve that virtue through your whole lives. Virtue itself is indeed the principal and the first reward, and after that it bestows abundance of others; so that your exercise of virtue towards other men will make your own lives happy, and render you more glorious than foreigners can be, and procure you an undisputed reputation with posterity. These blessings you will be able to obtain, in case you hearken to and observe those laws which, by Divine revelation, I have ordained for you; that is, in case you withal meditate upon the wisdom that is in them. I am going from you myself, rejoicing in the good things you enjoy; and I recommend you to the wise conduct of your law, to the becoming order of your polity, and to the virtues of your commanders, who will take care of what is for your advantage. And that God, who has been till now your Leader, and by whose goodwill I have

myself been useful to you, will not put a period now to his providence over you, but as long as you desire to have him your Protector in your pursuits after virtue, so long will you enjoy his care over you. Your high priest also Eleazar, as well as Joshua, with the senate, and chief of your tribes, will go before you, and suggest the best advices to you; by following which advices you will continue to be happy: to whom do you give ear without reluctance, as sensible that all such as know well how to be governed, will also know how to govern, if they be promoted to that authority themselves. And do not you esteem liberty to consist in opposing such directions as your governors think fit to give you for your practice, — as at present indeed you place your liberty in nothing else but abusing your benefactors; which error if you can avoid for the time to come, your affairs will be in a better condition than they have hitherto been. Nor do you ever indulge such a degree of passion in these matters, as you have oftentimes done when you have been very angry at me; for you know that I have been oftener in danger of death from you than from our enemies. What I now put you in mind of, is not done in order to reproach you; for I do not think it proper, now I am going out of the world, to bring this to your remembrance, in order to leave you offended at me, since, at the time when I underwent those hardships from you, I was not angry at you; but I do it in order to make you wiser hereafter, and to teach you that this will be for your security; I mean, that you never be injurious to those that preside over you, even when you are become rich, as you will be to a great degree when you have passed over Jordan, and are in possession of the land of Canaan. Since, when you shall have once proceeded so far by your wealth, as to a contempt and disregard of virtue, you will also forfeit the favor of God; and when you have made him your enemy, you will be beaten in war, and will have the land which you possess taken away again from you by your enemies, and this with great reproaches upon your conduct. You will be scattered over the whole world, and will, as slaves, entirely fill both sea and land; and when once you have had the experience of what I now say, you will repent, and remember the laws you have broken, when it is too late. Whence I would advise you, if you intend to preserve these laws, to leave none of your enemies alive when you have conquered them, but to look upon it as for your advantage to destroy them all, lest, if you permit them to live, you taste of their manners, and thereby corrupt your own proper institutions. I also do further exhort you, to overthrow their altars, and their groves, and whatsoever temples they have among them, and to burn all such, their nation, and their very memory with fire; for by this means alone the safety of your own happy constitution can be firmly secured to you. And in order to prevent your ignorance of virtue, and the degeneracy of your nature into vice, I have also ordained you laws, by

Divine suggestion, and a form of government, which are so good, that if you regularly observe them, you will be esteemed of all men the most happy."

(3) [194] Ταῦτα εἰπὼν δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς ἐν βιβλίῳ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν διάταξιν τῆς πολιτείας ἀναγεγραμμένην. οἱ δὲ ἐδάκρυόν τε καὶ πολλὴν ἐπιζήτησιν ἐποιοῦντο τοῦ στρατηγοῦ μεμνημένοι τε ὧν κινδυνεύσειε καὶ προθυμηθείη τῆς περὶ αὐτῶν σωτηρίας καὶ δυσελπιστοῦντες περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ὡς οὐκ ἐσομένης ἄλλης ἀρχῆς τοιαύτης, ἧττόν τε τοῦ θεοῦ προνοησομένου διὰ τὸ Μωυσῆν εἶναι τὸν παρακαλοῦντα. [195] ὧν τε ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρήμου μετ' ὀργῆς ὁμιλήσειαν αὐτῷ μετανοοῦντες ἤλγουν, ὡς ἅπαντα τὸν λαὸν εἰς δάκρυα προπεσόντα κρεῖττον καὶ τῆς ἐκ λόγου παρηγορίας τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι πάθος. Μωυσῆς δ' αὐτοὺς παρηγόρει, καὶ τοῦ δακρύων αὐτὸν ἄξιον ὑπολαμβάνειν ἀπάγων αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι τῇ πολιτείᾳ παρεκάλει. καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτω διελύθησαν.

3. When he had spoken thus, he gave them the laws and the constitution of government written in a book. Upon which the people fell into tears, and appeared already touched with the sense that they should have a great want of their conductor, because they remembered what a number of dangers he had passed through, and what care he had taken of their preservation: they desponded about what would come upon them after he was dead, and thought they should never have another governor like him; and feared that God would then take less care of them when Moses was gone, who used to intercede for them. They also repented of what they had said to him in the wilderness when they were angry, and were in grief on those accounts, insomuch that the whole body of the people fell into tears with such bitterness, that it was past the power of words to comfort them in their affliction. However, Moses gave them some consolation; and by calling them off the thought how worthy he was of their weeping for him, he exhorted them to keep to that form of government he had given them; and then the congregation was dissolved at that time.

(4) [196] Βούλομαι δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν πρότερον εἰπὼν τῷ τε Μωυσέος ἀξιώματι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀναλογοῦσαν καὶ μαθεῖν παρέξων δι' αὐτῆς τοῖς ἐντευξομένοις. οἷα τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀρχῆθεν ἦν, ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων τραπέσθαι διήγησιν. γέγραπται δὲ πάνθ' ὡς ἐκεῖνος κατέλιπεν οὐδὲν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ καλλωπισμῷ προσθέντων οὐδ' ὅτι μὴ κατελέλοιπε Μωυσῆς. [197] νενεωτέρισται δ' ἡμῖν τὸ κατὰ γένος ἕκαστα τάξαι: σποράδην γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνου κατελείφθη γραφέντα καὶ ὡς ἕκαστόν τι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πύθοιτο. τούτου χάριν ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην προδιαστείλασθαι, μὴ καί τις ἡμῖν παρὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἐντυχόντων τῇ γραφῇ μέμψις ὡς διημαρτηκόσι γένηται. [198] ἔχει δὲ οὕτως ἡ διάταξις ἡμῶν τῶν νόμων τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν. οὓς δὲ κοινοὺς ἡμῖν καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατέλιπε τούτους ὑπερεθέμην

εἰς τὴν περὶ ἐθῶν καὶ αἰτιῶν ἀπόδοσιν, ἣν συλλαμβανομένου τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ ταύτην ἡμῖν τὴν πραγματείαν συντάξασθαι πρόκειται.

4. Accordingly, I shall now first describe this form of government which was agreeable to the dignity and virtue of Moses; and shall thereby inform those that read these Antiquities, what our original settlements were, and shall then proceed to the remaining histories. Now those settlements are all still in writing, as he left them; and we shall add nothing by way of ornament, nor any thing besides what Moses left us; only we shall so far innovate, as to digest the several kinds of laws into a regular system; for they were by him left in writing as they were accidentally scattered in their delivery, and as he upon inquiry had learned them of God. On which account I have thought it necessary to premise this observation beforehand, lest any of my own countrymen should blame me, as having been guilty of an offense herein. Now part of our constitution will include the laws that belong to our political state. As for those laws which Moses left concerning our common conversation and intercourse one with another, I have reserved that for a discourse concerning our manner of life, and the occasions of those laws; which I propose to myself, with God's assistance, to write, after I have finished the work I am now upon.

(5) [199] Ἐπειδὰν τὴν Χαναναίων γῆν κτησάμενοι καὶ σχολὴν ἐν χρήσει τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔχοντες πόλεις τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη κτίζειν προαιρῆσθε, ταῦτα ποιοῦντες τῷ θεῷ φίλα πράξετε καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν βεβαίαν ἕξετε: [200] ἱερὰ πόλις ἔστω μία τῆς Χαναναίων γῆς ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ καὶ δι' ἀρετὴν ἐπιφανεῖ, ἣν ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἑαυτῷ διὰ προφητείας ἕληται, καὶ νεὼς εἷς ἐν ταύτῃ ἔστω, καὶ βωμὸς εἷς ἐκ λίθων μὴ κατειργασμένων, ἀλλὰ λογάδην συγκειμένων, οἳ κονιάματι χρισθέντες εὐπρεπεῖς τε εἶεν καὶ καθάριοι πρὸς τὴν θέαν. [201] ἡ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦτον πρόσβασις ἔστω μὴ διὰ βαθμίδων, ἀλλὰ προσχώσεως αὐτῷ καταπρανοῦς γενομένης. ἐν ἑτέρᾳ δὲ πόλει μήτε βωμὸς μήτε νεὼς ἔστω: θεὸς γὰρ εἷς καὶ τὸ Ἑβραίων γένος ἕν.

5. When you have possessed yourselves of the land of Canaan, and have leisure to enjoy the good things of it, and when you have afterward determined to build cities, if you will do what is pleasing to God, you will have a secure state of happiness. Let there be then one city of the land of Canaan, and this situate in the most agreeable place for its goodness, and very eminent in itself, and let it be that which God shall choose for himself by prophetic revelation. Let there also be one temple therein, and one altar, not reared of hewn stones, but of such as you gather together at random; which stones, when they are whited over with mortar, will have a handsome appearance, and be beautiful to the sight. Let the ascent to it be not by steps but by an acclivity of raised earth. And let there be

neither an altar nor a temple in any other city; for God is but one, and the nation of the Hebrews is but one.

(6) [202] Ὁ δὲ βλασφημήσας θεὸν καταλευσθεὶς κρεμάσθω δι᾽ ἡμέρας καὶ ἀτίμως καὶ ἀφανῶς θαπτέσθω.

6. He that blasphemeth God, let him be stoned; and let him hang upon a tree all that day, and then let him be buried in an ignominious and obscure manner.

(7) [203] Συνερχέσθωσαν δὲ εἰς ἣν ἀποφήνωσι πόλιν τὸν νεὼν τρὶς τοῦ ἔτους οἱ ἐκ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς, ἧς ἂν Ἑβραῖοι κρατῶσιν, ὅπως τῷ θεῷ τῶν μὲν ὑπηργμένων εὐχαριστῶσι καὶ περὶ τῶν εἰς τὸ μέλλον παρακαλῶσι καὶ συνιόντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ συνευωχούμενοι προσφιλεῖς ὦσι: [204] καλὸν γὰρ εἶναι μὴ ἀγνοεῖν ἀλλήλους ὁμοφύλους τε ὄντας καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν κοινωνοῦντας ἐπιτηδευμάτων, τοῦτο δὲ ἐκ μὲν τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπιμιξίας αὐτοῖς ὑπάρξειν, τῇ τε ὄψει καὶ τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ μνήμην αὐτῶν ἐντιθέντας: ἀνεπιμίκτους γὰρ ἀλλήλοις μένοντας ἀλλοτριωτάτους αὐτοῖς νομισθήσεσθαι.

7. Let those that live as remote as the bounds of the land which the Hebrews shall possess, come to that city where the temple shall be, and this three times in a year, that they may give thanks to God for his former benefits, and may entreat him for those they shall want hereafter; and let them, by this means, maintain a friendly correspondence with one another by such meetings and feastings together, for it is a good thing for those that are of the same stock, and under the same institution of laws, not to be unacquainted with each other; which acquaintance will be maintained by thus conversing together, and by seeing and talking with one another, and so renewing the memorials of this union; for if they do not thus converse together continually, they will appear like mere strangers to one another.

(8) [205] Ἔστω δὲ καὶ δεκάτη τῶν καρπῶν ἐξαίρεσις ὑμῖν χωρὶς ἧς διετάξατε τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ Λευίταις δεδόσθαι, ἣ πιπρασκέσθω μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν πατρίδων, εἰς δὲ τὰς εὐωχίας ὑπηρετείτω καὶ τὰς θυσίας τὰς ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ πόλει: δίκαιον γὰρ εἶναι τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναδιδομένων, ἣν ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς κτήσασθαι παρέσχεν, ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ δεδωκότος ἀπολαύειν.

8. Let there be taken out of your fruits a tenth, besides that which you have allotted to give to the priests and Levites. This you may indeed sell in the country, but it is to be used in those feasts and sacrifices that are to be celebrated in the holy city; for it is fit that you should enjoy those fruits of the earth which God gives you to possess, so as may be to the honor of the donor.

(9) [206] Ἐκ μισθοῦ γυναικὸς ἡταιρημένης θυσίας μὴ τελεῖν: ἥδεσθαι γὰρ μηδενὶ τῶν ἀφ᾽ ὕβρεως τὸ θεῖον, χείρων δ᾽ οὐκ ἂν εἴη τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν αἰσχύνης: ὁμοίως μηδ᾽ ἂν ἐπ᾽ ὀχεύσει κυνὸς ἤτοι θηρευτικοῦ ἢ ποιμνίων φύλακος λάβῃ τις μισθόν, ἐκ τούτου θύειν τῷ θεῷ.

9. You are not to offer sacrifices out of the hire of a woman who is a harlot for the Deity is not pleased with any thing that arises from such abuses of nature; of which sort none can be worse than this prostitution of the body. In like manner no one may take the price of the covering of a bitch, either of one that is used in hunting, or in keeping of sheep, and thence sacrifice to God.

(10) [207] Βλασφημείτω δὲ μηδεὶς θεοὺς οὓς πόλεις ἄλλαι νομίζουσι. μηδὲ συλᾶν ἱερὰ ξενικά, μηδ᾽ ἂν ἐπωνομασμένον ᾖ τινι θεῷ κειμήλιον λαμβάνειν.

10. Let no one blaspheme those gods which other cities esteem such; nor may any one steal what belongs to strange temples, nor take away the gifts that are dedicated to any god.

(11) [208] Μηδεὶς δ᾽ ἐξ ὑμῶν κλωστὴν ἐξ ἐρίου καὶ λίνου στολὴν φορείτω: τοῖς γὰρ ἱερεῦσι μόνοις ταύτην ἀποδεδεῖχθαι.

11. Let not any one of you wear a garment made of woolen and linen, for that is appointed to be for the priests alone.

(12) [209] Συνελθόντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις δι᾽ ἐτῶν ἑπτὰ τῆς σκηνοπηγίας ἑορτῆς ἐνστάσης ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπὶ βήματος ὑψηλοῦ σταθείς, ἀφ᾽ οὗ γένοιτο ἐξάκουστος, ἀναγινωσκέτω τοὺς νόμους ἅπασι, καὶ μήτε γυνὴ μήτε παῖδες εἰργέσθωσαν τοῦ ἀκούειν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ οἱ δοῦλοι: [210] καλὸν γὰρ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐγγραφέντας καὶ τῇ μνήμῃ φυλαχθῆναι μηδέποτε ἐξαλειφθῆναι δυναμένους. οὕτως γὰρ οὐδὲν ἁμαρτήσονται μὴ δυνάμενοι λέγειν ἄγνοιαν τῶν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις διωρισμένων, οἵ τε νόμοι πολλὴν πρὸς ἁμαρτάνοντας ἔξουσι παρρησίαν, ὡς προλεγόντων αὐτοῖς ἃ πείσονται καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐγγραψάντων διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς ἃ κελεύουσιν, [211] ὥστ᾽ εἶναι διὰ παντὸς ἔνδον αὐτοῖς τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῶν ἧς ὀλιγωρήσαντες ἠδίκησαν καὶ τῆς ζημίας αὐτοῖς αἴτιοι γεγόνασι. μανθανέτωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ παῖδες πρῶτον τοὺς νόμους μάθημα κάλλιστον καὶ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας αἴτιον.

12. When the multitude are assembled together unto the holy city for sacrificing every seventh year, at the feast of tabernacles, let the high priest stand upon a high desk, whence he may be heard, and let him read the laws to all the people; and let neither the women nor the children be hindered from hearing, no, nor the servants neither; for it is a good thing that those laws should be engraven in their souls, and preserved in their memories, that so it may not be possible to blot

them out; for by this means they will not be guilty of sin, when they cannot plead ignorance of what the laws have enjoined them. The laws also will have a greater authority among them, as foretelling what they will suffer if they break them; and imprinting in their souls by this hearing what they command them to do, that so there may always be within their minds that intention of the laws which they have despised and broken, and have thereby been the causes of their own mischief. Let the children also learn the laws, as the first thing they are taught, which will be the best thing they can be taught, and will be the cause of their future felicity.

(13) [212] Δίς τε ἑκάστης ἡμέρας ἀρχομένης τε αὐτῆς καὶ ὁπότε πρὸς ὕπνον ὥρα τρέπεσθαι μαρτυρεῖν τῷ θεῷ τὰς δωρεάς, ἃς ἀπαλλαγεῖσιν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς Αἰγυπτίων γῆς παρέσχε, δικαίας οὔσης φύσει τῆς εὐχαριστίας καὶ γενομένης ἐπ᾽ ἀμοιβῇ μὲν τῶν ἤδη γεγονότων ἐπὶ δὲ προτροπῇ τῶν ἐσομένων: [213] ἐπιγράφειν δὲ καὶ τοῖς θυρώμασιν αὐτῶν τὰ μέγιστα ὧν εὐεργέτησεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἔν τε βραχίοσιν ἕκαστον διαφαίνειν, ὅσα τε τὴν ἰσχὺν ἀποσημαίνειν δύναται τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὔνοιαν φέρειν ἐγγεγραμμένα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τοῦ βραχίονος, ὡς περίβλεπτον πανταχόθεν τὸ περὶ αὐτοὺς πρόθυμον τοῦ θεοῦ.

13. Let every one commemorate before God the benefits which he bestowed upon them at their deliverance out of the land of Egypt, and this twice every day, both when the day begins and when the hour of sleep comes on, gratitude being in its own nature a just thing, and serving not only by way of return for past, but also by way of invitation of future favors. They are also to inscribe the principal blessings they have received from God upon their doors, and show the same remembrance of them upon their arms; as also they are to bear on their forehead and their arm those wonders which declare the power of God, and his goodwill towards them, that God's readiness to bless them may appear every where conspicuous about them.

(14) [214] Ἀρχέτωσαν δὲ καθ᾽ ἑκάστην πόλιν ἄνδρες ἑπτὰ οἱ καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ δίκαιον σπουδὴν προησκηκότες: ἑκάστῃ δὲ ἀρχῇ δύο ἄνδρες ὑπηρέται διδόσθωσαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν Λευιτῶν φυλῆς. [215] ἔστωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ δικάζειν λαχόντες ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐν πάσῃ τιμῇ, ὡς μήτε βλασφημεῖν ἐκείνων παρόντων μήτε θρασύνεσθαί τισιν ἐξεῖναι τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ἀξιώματι τῶν ἀνθρώπων αἰδοῦς αὐτῶν εὐλαβεστέρους, ὥστε τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ καταφρονεῖν, ἀπεργαζομένης. [216] οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ ἀποφήνασθαι κύριοι περὶ τοῦ δόξαντος αὐτοῖς ἔστωσαν, πλὴν εἰ μή τι χρήματα λαβόντας τις αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ διαφθορᾷ τοῦ δικαίου ἐνδείξαιτ᾽ ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ αἰτίαν προφέροι, καθ᾽ ἣν οὐ καλῶς ἐλέγχει αὐτοὺς ἀποφηναμένους: οὔτε γὰρ κέρδει χαριζομένους οὔτ᾽ ἀξιώματι προσῆκε φανερὰς ποιεῖσθαι τὰς κρίσεις,

ἀλλὰ τὸ δίκαιον ἐπάνω πάντων τιθεμένους. [217] ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἂν οὕτως δόξειε καταφρονεῖσθαι καὶ ἀσθενέστερος ἐκείνων οἷς ἄν τις κατὰ φόβον ἰσχύος προσνέμοι τὴν ψῆφον κεκρίσθαι: τοῦ θεοῦ γὰρ ἰσχύς ἐστι τὸ δίκαιον. ὃ τοῖς ἐν ἀξιώμασι τυγχάνουσι καταχαριζόμενός τις ἐκείνους τοῦ θεοῦ δυνατωτέρους ποιεῖ. [218] ἂν δ' οἱ δικασταὶ μὴ νοῶσι περὶ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς παρατεταγμένων ἀποφήνασθαι, συμβαίνει δὲ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀναπεμπέτωσαν τὴν δίκην εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν, καὶ συνελθόντες ὅ τε ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ ὁ προφήτης καὶ ἡ γερουσία τὸ δοκοῦν ἀποφαινέσθωσαν.

14. Let there be seven men to judge in every city, and these such as have been before most zealous in the exercise of virtue and righteousness. Let every judge have two officers allotted him out of the tribe of Levi. Let those that are chosen to judge in the several cities be had in great honor; and let none be permitted to revile any others when these are present, nor to carry themselves in an insolent manner to them; it being natural that reverence towards those in high offices among men should procure men's fear and reverence towards God. Let those that judge be permitted to determine according as they think to be right, unless any one can show that they have taken bribes, to the perversion of justice, or can allege any other accusation against them, whereby it may appear that they have passed an unjust sentence; for it is not fit that causes should be openly determined out of regard to gain, or to the dignity of the suitors, but that the judges should esteem what is right before all other things, otherwise God will by that means be despised, and esteemed inferior to those, the dread of whose power has occasioned the unjust sentence; for justice is the power of God. He therefore that gratifies those in great dignity, supposes them more potent than God himself. But if these judges be unable to give a just sentence about the causes that come before them, [which case is not unfrequent in human affairs,] let them send the cause undetermined to the holy city, and there let the high priest, the prophet, and the sanhedrim, determine as it shall seem good to them.

(15) [219] Εἷς δὲ μὴ πιστευέσθω μάρτυς, ἀλλὰ τρεῖς ἢ τὸ τελευταῖον δύο, ὧν τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἀληθῆ ποιήσει τὰ προβεβιωμένα. γυναικῶν δὲ μὴ ἔστω μαρτυρία διὰ κουφότητα καὶ θράσος τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν: μαρτυρείτωσαν δὲ μηδὲ δοῦλοι διὰ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγένειαν, οὓς ἢ διὰ κέρδος εἰκὸς ἢ διὰ φόβον μὴ τἀληθῆ μαρτυρῆσαι. ἂν δέ τις ψευδομαρτυρήσας πιστευθῇ, πασχέτω ταῦτ' ἐλεγχθεὶς ὅσα ὁ καταμαρτυρηθεὶς πάσχειν ἔμελλεν.

15. But let not a single witness be credited, but three, or two at the least, and those such whose testimony is confirmed by their good lives. But let not the testimony of women be admitted, on account of the levity and boldness of their sex Nor let

servants be admitted to give testimony, on account of the ignobility of their soul; since it is probable that they may not speak truth, either out of hope of gain, or fear of punishment. But if any one be believed to have borne false witness, let him, when he is convicted, suffer all the very same punishments which he against whom he bore witness was to have suffered.

(16) [220] Ἂν δὲ πραχθέντος φόνου ἔν τινι χώρᾳ μὴ εὑρίσκηται ὁ δράσας μηδ᾽ ὑπονοῆταί τις ὡς διὰ μῖσος ἀπεκτονηκώς, ζητείτωσαν μὲν αὐτὸν μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς μήνυτρα προθέμενοι: μηδενὸς δὲ μηνύοντος αἱ ἀρχαὶ τῶν πόλεων τῶν πλησίον τῇ χώρᾳ, ἐν ᾗ ὁ φόνος ἐπράχθη, καὶ ἡ γερουσία συνελθόντες μετρείτωσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου ὅπου κεῖται ὁ νεκρὸς τὴν χώραν. [221] ἣ δ᾽ ἂν ᾖ πλησιαιτάτη πόλις, οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ δημόσιοι πριάμενοι δάμαλιν καὶ κομίσαντες εἰς φάραγγα καὶ ἀνεπιτήδειον ἀρότρῳ καὶ φυτοῖς χωρίον τοὺς τένοντας κοψάτωσαν τῆς βοός, [222] καὶ χέρνιβας ἑλόμενοι ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς τῆς βοὸς οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ Λευῖται καὶ ἡ γερουσία τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης καθαρὰς ἀναβοησάτωσαν τὰς χεῖρας ἔχειν ἀπὸ τοῦ φόνου καὶ μήτε δρᾶσαι μήτε δρωμένῳ παρατυχεῖν, ἐπικαλεῖσθαι δὲ ἵλεω τὸν θεὸν καὶ μηκέτι τοιοῦτον δεινὸν συμβῆναι τῇ γῇ πάθος.

16. If a murder be committed in any place, and he that did it be not found, nor is there any suspicion upon one as if he had hated the man, and so had killed him, let there be a very diligent inquiry made after the man, and rewards proposed to any one who will discover him; but if still no information can be procured, let the magistrates and senate of those cities that lie near the place in which the murder was committed, assemble together, and measure the distance from the place where the dead body lies; then let the magistrates of the nearest city thereto purchase a heifer, and bring it to a valley, and to a place therein where there is no land ploughed or trees planted, and let them cut the sinews of the heifer; then the priests and Levites, and the senate of that city, shall take water and wash their hands over the head of the heifer; and they shall openly declare that their hands are innocent of this murder, and that they have neither done it themselves, nor been assisting to any that did it. They shall also beseech God to be merciful to them, that no such horrid act may any more be done in that land.

(17) [223] Ἀριστοκρατία μὲν οὖν κράτιστον καὶ ὁ κατ᾽ αὐτὴν βίος, καὶ μὴ λάβῃ πόθος ὑμᾶς ἄλλης πολιτείας, ἀλλὰ ταύτην στέργοιτε καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἔχοντες δεσπότας κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἕκαστα πράττετε: ἀρκεῖ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἡγεμὼν εἶναι. βασιλέως δ᾽ εἰ γένοιτο ἔρως ὑμῖν, ἔστω μὲν οὗτος ὁμόφυλος, πρόνοια δ᾽ αὐτῷ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς διὰ παντὸς ἔστω. [224] παραχωροίη δὲ οὗτος τοῖς μὲν νόμοις καὶ τῷ θεῷ τὰ πλείονα τοῦ φρονεῖν, πρασσέτω δὲ μηδὲν δίχα τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τῆς τῶν γερουσιαστῶν γνώμης γάμοις τε μὴ πολλοῖς χρώμενος

μηδὲ πλῆθος διώκων χρημάτων μηδ᾽ ἵππων, ὧν αὐτῷ παραγενομένων ὑπερήφανος ἂν τῶν νόμων ἔσοιτο. κωλυέσθω δ᾽, εἰ τούτων τι διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχοι, γίγνεσθαι τοῦ συμφέροντος ὑμῖν δυνατώτερος.

17. Aristocracy, and the way of living under it, is the best constitution: and may you never have any inclination to any other form of government; and may you always love that form, and have the laws for your governors, and govern all your actions according to them; for you need no supreme governor but God. But if you shall desire a king, let him be one of your own nation; let him be always careful of justice and other virtues perpetually; let him submit to the laws, and esteem God's commands to be his highest wisdom; but let him do nothing without the high priest and the votes of the senators: let him not have a great number of wives, nor pursue after abundance of riches, nor a multitude of horses, whereby he may grow too proud to submit to the laws. And if he affect any such things, let him be restrained, lest he become so potent that his state be inconsistent with your welfare.

(18) [225] Ὅρους γῆς μὴ ἐξέστω κινεῖν μήτε οἰκείας μήτ᾽ ἀλλοτρίας πρὸς οὕς ἐστιν ὑμῖν εἰρήνη, φυλαττέσθω δ᾽ ὥσπερ θεοῦ ψῆφον βεβαίαν εἰς αἰῶνα κειμένην ἀναιρεῖν, ὡς πολέμων ἐντεῦθεν καὶ στάσεων γινομένων ἐκ τοῦ πλεονεκτοῦντας προσωτέρω χωρεῖν βούλεσθαι τῶν ὅρων: μὴ γὰρ μακρὰν εἶναι τοῦ καὶ τοὺς νόμους ὑπερβαίνειν τοὺς τὸν ὅρον μετακινοῦντας.

18. Let it not be esteemed lawful to remove boundaries, neither our own, nor of those with whom we are at peace. Have a care you do not take those landmarks away which are, as it were, a divine and unshaken limitation of rights made by God himself, to last for ever; since this going beyond limits, and gaining ground upon others, is the occasion of wars and seditions; for those that remove boundaries are not far off an attempt to subvert the laws.

(19) [226] Γῆν ὁ φυτεύσας, πρὸ ἐτῶν τεσσάρων ἂν καρπὸν προβάλῃ τὰ φυτά, μήτε τῷ θεῷ ἀπαρχὰς ἐντεῦθεν ἀποφερέτω μήτ᾽ αὐτὸς χρήσθω: οὐ γὰρ κατὰ καιρὸν τοῦτον ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐνεχθῆναι, βιασαμένης δὲ τῆς φύσεως ἀώρως μήτε τῷ θεῷ ἁρμόζειν μήτ᾽ αὐτῷ τῷ δεσπότῃ χρῆσθαι. [227] τῷ δὲ τετάρτῳ τρυγάτω πᾶν τὸ γενόμενον, τότε γὰρ ὥριον εἶναι, καὶ συναγαγὼν εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν κομιζέτω, καὶ σὺν τῇ δεκάτῃ τοῦ ἄλλου καρποῦ μετὰ τῶν φίλων εὐωχούμενος ἀναλισκέτω καὶ μετ᾽ ὀρφανῶν καὶ χηρευουσῶν γυναικῶν. πέμπτου δὲ ἔτους κύριος ἔστω τὰ φυτὰ καρποῦσθαι.

19. He that plants a piece of land, the trees of which produce fruits before the fourth year, is not to bring thence any first-fruits to God, nor is he to make use of

that fruit himself, for it is not produced in its proper season; for when nature has a force put upon her at an unseasonable time, the fruit is not proper for God, nor for the master's use; but let the owner gather all that is grown on the fourth year, for then it is in its proper season. And let him that has gathered it carry it to the holy city, and spend that, together with the tithe of his other fruits, in feasting with his friends, with the orphans, and the widows. But on the fifth year the fruit is his own, and he may use it as he pleases.

(20) [228] Τὴν ἀμπέλοις κατάφυτον γῆν μὴ σπείρειν: ἀρκεῖσθαι γὰρ αὐτὴν τρέφειν τοῦτο τὸ φυτὸν καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀρότρου πόνων ἀπηλλάχθαι. βουσὶν ἀροῦν τὴν γῆν, καὶ μηδὲν τῶν ἑτέρων ζῴων [σὺν αὐτοῖς] ὑπὸ ζεύγλην ἄγοντας, ἀλλὰ κατ' οἰκεῖα γένη κἀκείνοις ποιεῖσθαι τὸν ἄροτον. εἶναι δὲ καθαρὰ τὰ σπέρματα καὶ ἀνεπίμικτα, καὶ μὴ σύνδυο καὶ τρία σπείρειν: οὐ γὰρ τῇ τῶν ἀνομοίων κοινωνίᾳ χαίρειν τὴν φύσιν. [229] μηδὲ κτήνεσιν ἐπάγειν ὅσα μὴ συγγενῆ: δέος γὰρ ἐκ τούτου μὴ διαβῇ καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἡ πρὸς τὸ ὁμόφυλον ἀτιμία τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὰ μικρὰ καὶ τὰ φαῦλα πρότερον λαβοῦσα. [230] δεῖ δὲ μηδὲν εἶναι τοιοῦτον συγκεχωρημένον, ἐξ οὗ κατὰ μίμησιν παρατροπή τις τῶν κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν ἔσοιτο, ἀλλ' ὡς οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν τυχόντων ἠμέληται τοῖς νόμοις εἰδόσι προνοεῖσθαι τοῦ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἀμέμπτου.

20. You are not to sow with seed a piece of land which is planted with vines, for it is enough that it supply nourishment to that plant, and be not harassed by ploughing also. You are to plough your land with oxen, and not to oblige other animals to come under the same yoke with them; but to till your land with those beasts that are of the same kind with each other. The seeds are also to be pure, and without mixture, and not to be compounded of two or three sorts, since nature does not rejoice in the union of things that are not in their own nature alike; nor are you to permit beasts of different kinds to gender together, for there is reason to fear that this unnatural abuse may extend from beasts of different kinds to men, though it takes its first rise from evil practices about such smaller things. Nor is any thing to be allowed, by imitation whereof any degree of subversion may creep into the constitution. Nor do the laws neglect small matters, but provide that even those may be managed after an unblamable manner.

(21) [231] Ἀμῶντας δὲ καὶ συναιροῦντας τὰ θέρη μὴ καλαμᾶσθαι, καταλιπεῖν δέ τινα καὶ τῶν δραγμάτων τοῖς βίου σπανίζουσιν ἔρμαιον εἶναι [τούτοις] πρὸς διατροφήν: ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῆς τρύγης ἀπολιπεῖν τὰς ἐπιφυλλίδας τοῖς πένησι καὶ τῶν ἐλαιῶν παρεῖναί τι τοῦ καρποῦ πρὸς συλλογὴν τοῖς ἐξ ἰδίων οὐκ ἔχουσι μεταλαβεῖν: [232] οὐ τοσαύτη γὰρ ἂν ἐκ τῆς ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς αὐτῶν συλλογῆς εὐπορία

τοῖς δεσπόταις γένοιτο, ὅση χάρις ἐκ τῶν δεομένων ἔλθοι, τό τε θεῖον τὴν γῆν προθυμοτέραν εἰς τὴν ἐκτροφὴν τῶν καρπῶν ἀπεργάσεται μὴ τοῦ κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς προνοουμένων λυσιτελοῦς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων διατροφῆς λόγον ἐχόντων. [233] μηδὲ βοῶν ὁπότε τρίβοιεν τοὺς στάχυας ἀποδεῖν τὰ στόματα ἐπὶ τῆς ἅλωος: οὐ γὰρ εἶναι δίκαιον εἴργειν τοὺς συνειργασμένους τοῦ καρποῦ καὶ περὶ τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ πονήσαντας. [234] μηδὲ ὀπώρας ἀκμαζούσης κωλύειν ἅπτεσθαι τοὺς ὁδῷ βαδίζοντας, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἐξ οἰκείων αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέπειν ἐμπίπλασθαι, κἂν ἐγχώριοι τυγχάνωσι κἂν ξένοι, χαίροντας ἐπὶ τῷ παρέχειν αὐτοῖς τῶν ὡραίων μεταλαμβάνειν: ἀποφέρεσθαι δ᾽ αὐτοῖς μηδὲν ἐξέστω. [235] μηδὲ τρυγῶντες ὧν ἂν εἰς τὰς ληνοὺς κομίζωσιν εἰργέτωσαν τοὺς ὑπαντιάζοντας ἐπεσθίειν: ἄδικον γὰρ ἀγαθῶν, ἃ κατὰ βούλησιν θεοῦ παρῆλθεν εἰς τὸν βίον, φθονεῖν τοῖς ἐπιθυμοῦσιν αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνειν τῆς ὥρας ἐν ἀκμῇ τε οὔσης καὶ σπευδούσης ἀπελθεῖν: [236] ὡς τῷ θεῷ κεχαρισμένον ἂν εἴη, κἂν ὑπ᾽ αἰσχύνης τινὰς ὀκνοῦντας ἅψασθαι λαβεῖν παρακαλῶσιν, ὄντας μὲν Ἰσραηλίτας ὡς κοινωνοὺς καὶ δεσπότας διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν, ἀφιγμένους δ᾽ ἀλλαχόθεν ἀνθρώπους ξενίων τυχεῖν ἀξιοῦντας ὧν ὁ θεὸς καθ᾽ ὥραν αὐτοῖς παρέσχεν. [237] ἀναλώματα γὰρ οὐχ ἡγητέον ὅσα τις κατὰ χρηστότητα παρίησιν ἀνθρώποις λαμβάνειν, τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἀγαθῶν χορηγοῦντος οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ καρποῦσθαι μόνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τοῖς ἄλλοις μεταδιδόναι φιλοτίμως, καὶ βουλομένου τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ τὴν ἰδίαν περὶ τὸν Ἰσραηλιτῶν λαὸν εὔνοιαν καὶ τὴν χορηγίαν τῆς εὐδαιμονίας καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐμφανίζεσθαι ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος αὐτοῖς κἀκείνοις μεταδιδόντων. [238] ὁ δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσας πληγὰς μιᾷ λειπούσας τεσσαράκοντα τῷ δημοσίῳ σκύτει λαβὼν τιμωρίαν ταύτην αἰσχίστην ἐλεύθερος ὑπομενέτω, ὅτι τῷ κέρδει δουλεύσας ὕβρισε τὸ ἀξίωμα: [239] καλῶς γὰρ ὑμῖν ἔχει πεπειραμένοις ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ συμφορῶν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν πρόνοιαν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις ὑπαρχόντων ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τυχόντας εὐπορίας ἐξ ἐλέου καὶ προνοίας τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην ἐξ ὁμοίου πάθους ἀπομερίζειν τοῖς δεομένοις.

21. Let not those that reap, and gather in the corn that is reaped, gather in the gleanings also; but let them rather leave some handfuls for those that are in want of the necessaries of life, that it may be a support and a supply to them, in order to their subsistence. In like manner when they gather their grapes, let them leave some smaller bunches for the poor, and let them pass over some of the fruits of the olive-trees, when they gather them, and leave them to be partaken of by those that have none of their own; for the advantage arising from the exact collection of all, will not be so considerable to the owners as will arise from the gratitude of the poor. And God will provide that the land shall more willingly produce what shall be for the nourishment of its fruits, in case you do not merely take care of your own advantage, but have regard to the support of others also. Nor

are you to muzzle the mouths of the oxen when they tread the ears of corn in the thrashing-floor; for it is not just to restrain our fellow-laboring animals, and those that work in order to its production, of this fruit of their labors. Nor are you to prohibit those that pass by at the time when your fruits are ripe to touch them, but to give them leave to fill themselves full of what you have; and this whether they be of your own country or strangers, — as being glad of the opportunity of giving them some part of your fruits when they are ripe; but let it not be esteemed lawful for them to carry any away. Nor let those that gather the grapes, and carry them to the wine-presses, restrain those whom they meet from eating of them; for it is unjust, out of envy, to hinder those that desire it, to partake of the good things that come into the world according to God's will, and this while the season is at the height, and is hastening away as it pleases God. Nay, if some, out of bashfulness, are unwilling to touch these fruits, let them be encouraged to take of them [I mean, those that are Israelites] as if they were themselves the owners and lords, on account of the kindred there is between them. Nay, let them desire men that come from other countries, to partake of these tokens of friendship which God has given in their proper season; for that is not to be deemed as idly spent, which any one out of kindness communicates to another, since God bestows plenty of good things on men, not only for themselves to reap the advantage, but also to give to others in a way of generosity; and he is desirous, by this means, to make known to others his peculiar kindness to the people of Israel, and how freely he communicates happiness to them, while they abundantly communicate out of their great superfluities to even these foreigners also. But for him that acts contrary to this law, let him be beaten with forty stripes save one by the public executioner; let him undergo this punishment, which is a most ignominious one for a free-man, and this because he was such a slave to gain as to lay a blot upon his dignity; for it is proper for you who have had the experience of the afflictions in Egypt, and of those in the wilderness, to make provision for those that are in the like circumstances; and while you have now obtained plenty yourselves, through the mercy and providence of God, to distribute of the same plenty, by the like sympathy, to such as stand in need of it.

(22) [240] Ταῖς δὲ δεκάταις ταῖς δυσίν, ἃς ἔτους ἑκάστου προεῖπον τελεῖν, τὴν μὲν τοῖς Λευίταις, τὴν δ' ἑτέραν πρὸς τὰς εὐωχίας, τρίτην πρὸς αὐταῖς κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τρίτον συμφέρειν εἰς διανέμησιν τῶν σπανιζόντων γυναιξί τε χήραις καὶ παισὶν ὀρφανοῖς: [241] τῶν δ' ὡραίων ὅ τι καὶ πρῶτον ἑκάστῳ τύχῃ γενόμενον εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν κομιζέτωσαν, καὶ τὸν θεὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐνεγκαμένης αὐτὸ γῆς, ἣν αὐτοῖς κτήσασθαι παρέσχεν, εὐλογήσαντες θυσίας ἃς ὁ νόμος αὐτοῖς ἐπιφέρειν κελεύει ἐπιτελέσαντες τούτων τὰ προτέλεια τοῖς ἱερεῦσι διδότωσαν. [242] ἐπειδὰν δὲ

ταῦτά τις ποιήσας καὶ πάντων τὰς δεκάτας ἅμα ταῖς εἰς τοὺς Λευίτας καὶ τὰς εὐωχίας ἀπενηνοχὼς ἀπιέναι μέλλῃ πρὸς αὐτὸν οἴκαδε, στὰς ἀντικρὺ τοῦ τεμενίσματος εὐχαριστησάτω μὲν τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι τῆς ἀπ᾽ Αἰγυπτίων αὐτοὺς ὕβρεως ἀπαλλάξας γῆν αὐτοῖς ἀγαθὴν καὶ πολλὴν ἔδωκε καρποῦσθαι, [243] μαρτυράμενος δὲ ὡς τάς τε δεκάτας κατὰ τοὺς Μωυσέος τελέσειε νόμους αἰτησάσθω τὸν θεὸν εὐμενῆ καὶ ἵλεων αὐτῷ διὰ παντὸς εἶναι καὶ κοινῇ πᾶσιν Ἑβραίοις διαμένειν, φυλάττοντα μὲν ἃ δέδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἀγαθὰ προσκτήσασθαι δὲ ὅσα δύναται χαρίζεσθαι.

22. Besides those two tithes, which I have already said you are to pay every year, the one for the Levites, the other for the festivals, you are to bring every third year a third tithe to be distributed to those that want; to women also that are widows, and to children that are orphans. But as to the ripe fruits, let them carry that which is ripe first of all into the temple; and when they have blessed God for that land which bare them, and which he had given them for a possession, when they have also offered those sacrifices which the law has commanded them to bring, let them give the first-fruits to the priests. But when any one hath done this, and hath brought the tithe of all that he hath, together with those first-fruits that are for the Levites, and for the festivals, and when he is about to go home, let him stand before the holy house, and return thanks to God, that he hath delivered them from the injurious treatment they had in Egypt, and hath given them a good land, and a large, and lets them enjoy the fruits thereof; and when he hath openly testified that he hath fully paid the tithes [and other dues] according to the laws of Moses, let him entreat God that he will be ever merciful and gracious to him, and continue so to be to all the Hebrews, both by preserving the good things which he hath already given them, and by adding what it is still in his power to bestow upon them.

(23) [244] Γαμείτωσαν δὲ ἐν ὥρᾳ γάμου γενόμενοι παρθένους ἐλευθέρας γονέων ἀγαθῶν, ὁ δὲ μὴ μέλλων ἄγεσθαι παρθένον μὴ ζευγνύσθω συνοικοῦσαν ἄλλῳ νοθεύσας μηδὲ λυπῶν τὸν πρότερον αὐτῆς ἄνδρα: δούλας δὲ μὴ γαμεῖσθαι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις, μηδ᾽ ἂν ὑπ᾽ ἔρωτος πρὸς τοῦτό τινες ἐκβιάζωνται, κρατεῖν δὲ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τὸ εὐπρεπὲς καὶ τοῖς ἀξιώμασι πρόσφορον. [245] ἔτι μηδὲ ἡταιρημένης εἶναι γάμον, ἧς δι᾽ ὕβριν τοῦ σώματος τὰς ἐπὶ τῷ γάμῳ θυσίας ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἂν προσοῖτο: γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν οὕτω τῶν παίδων τὰ φρονήματα ἐλευθέρια καὶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὄρθια, εἰ μὴ τύχοιεν ἐκ γάμων φύντες αἰσχρῶν, μηδ᾽ ἐξ ἐπιθυμίας οὐκ ἐλευθερίας συνελθόντων. [246] εἴ τις ὡς παρθένον μνηστευσάμενος ἔπειτα μὴ τοιαύτην εὕροι, δίκην λαχὼν αὐτὸς μὲν κατηγορείτω χρώμενος εἰς ἀπόδειξιν οἷς ἂν ἔχῃ τεκμηρίοις, ἀπολογείσθω δὲ ὁ τῆς κόρης πατὴρ ἢ ἀδελφὸς ἢ ὃς ἂν μετὰ τούτους ἐγγυτέρω δοκῇ τοῦ γένους. [247] καὶ κριθεῖσα μὲν ἡ κόρη μὴ ἀδικεῖν

συνοικείτω τῷ κατηγορήσαντι μηδεμίαν ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντος ἐκείνου ἀποπέμπεσθαι αὐτήν, πλὴν εἰ μὴ μεγάλας αἰτίας αὐτῷ παράσχοι καὶ πρὸς ἃς οὐδ' ἀντειπεῖν δυνηθείη. [248] τοῦ δὲ τολμηρῶς καὶ προπετῶς ἐπενεγκεῖν αἰτίαν καὶ διαβολὴν πρόστιμον ἐκτινύτω πληγὰς τεσσαράκοντα μιᾷ λειπούσας λαμβάνων καὶ πεντήκοντα σίκλους ἀποτινύτω τῷ πατρί. ἂν δ' ἐξελέγξῃ τὴν παιδίσκην ἐφθαρμένην, δημότις μὲν οὖσα τοῦ μὴ σωφρόνως προστῆναι τῆς παρθενίας ἄχρι νομίμων γάμων καταλευέσθω, ἂν δ' ἐξ ἱερέων ᾖ γεγενημένη, καιέσθω ζῶσα. [249] δύο γυναικῶν οὐσῶν τινι, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἑτέρας ἐν τιμῇ σφόδρα καὶ εὐνοίᾳ κειμένης ἢ δι' ἔρωτα καὶ κάλλος ἢ κατ' ἄλλην αἰτίαν, τῆς δ' ἑτέρας ἐν ἐλάττονι μοίρᾳ τυγχανούσης, ἂν ὁ ἐκ τῆς ἀγαπωμένης παῖς γενόμενος νεώτερος ὢν τοῦ ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρας φύντος ἀξιοῖ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὴν μητέρα τοῦ πατρὸς εὔνοιαν τῶν πρεσβείων τυγχάνειν, ὥστε διπλοῦν τὸ μέρος τῆς πατρῴας οὐσίας ἐκλαμβάνειν, τοῦτο γὰρ ἐν τοῖς νόμοις διεταξάμην, μὴ συγκεχωρήσθω: [250] ἄδικον γὰρ τὸν τῇ γενέσει πρεσβύτερον, ὅτι τὰ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῷ ἧττονα παρὰ τῇ διαθέσει τοῦ πατρός, τῶν ὀφειλομένων αὐτῷ στερεῖσθαι. [251] ὁ κόρην ἄλλῳ κατηγγυημένην φθείρας, εἰ μὲν πείσας καὶ πρὸς τὴν φθορὰν συγκάταινον λαβών, ἀποθνησκέτω σὺν αὐτῇ: πονηροὶ γὰρ ὁμοίως ἑκάτεροι, ὁ μὲν τὸ αἴσχιστον πείσας ἑκουσίως ὑπομεῖναι καὶ προτιμῆσαι τοῦτο τοῦ ἐλευθέρου γάμου τὴν κόρην, ἡ δὲ παρασχεῖν ἑαυτὴν πεισθεῖσα δι' ἡδονὴν ἢ διὰ κέρδος πρὸς τὴν ὕβριν: [252] ἐὰν δέ που μόνῃ περιπεσὼν βιάσηται μηδενὸς βοηθοῦ παρόντος, μόνος ἀποθνησκέτω. ὁ φθείρας παρθένον μήπω κατηγγυημένην αὐτὸς γαμείτω: ἢν δὲ τῷ πατρὶ τῆς κόρης μὴ δόξῃ συνοικίζειν αὐτῷ, πεντήκοντα σίκλους τιμὴν τῆς ὕβρεως καταβαλλέτω. [253] γυναικὸς δὲ τῆς συνοικούσης βουλόμενος διαζευχθῆναι καθ' ἁσδηποτοῦν αἰτίας, πολλαὶ δ' ἂν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τοιαῦται γίγνοιντο, γράμμασι μὲν περὶ τοῦ μηδέποτε συνελθεῖν ἰσχυριζέσθω: λάβοι γὰρ ἂν οὕτως ἐξουσίαν συνοικεῖν ἑτέρῳ, πρότερον γὰρ οὐκ ἐφετέον: εἰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον κακωθείη καὶ τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ θελήσειε γαμεῖν ὁ πρότερος, μὴ ἐξεῖναι αὐτῇ ἐπανιέναι. [254] τὴν ἄτεκνον τἀνδρὸς αὐτῇ τετελευτηκότος ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἐκείνου γαμείτω καὶ τὸν παῖδα τὸν γενόμενον τῷ τοῦ τεθνεῶτος καλέσας ὀνόματι τρεφέτω τοῦ κλήρου διάδοχον: τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις λυσιτελήσει γιγνόμενον τῶν οἴκων οὐκ ἐκλειπόντων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τοῖς συγγενέσι μενόντων, καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ κουφισμὸν οἴσει τῆς συμφορᾶς τοῖς ἔγγιστα τῶν προτέρων ἀνδρῶν συνοικούσαις. [255] ἐὰν δὲ μὴ βούληται γαμεῖν ὁ ἀδελφός, ἐπὶ τὴν γερουσίαν ἐλθοῦσα ἡ γυνὴ μαρτυράσθω τοῦθ', ὅτι βουλομένην αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ οἴκου μένειν καὶ τεκνοῦν ἐξ αὐτοῦ μὴ προσδέχοιτο ὑβρίζων τὴν τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἀδελφοῦ μνήμην. ἐρομένης δὲ τῆς γερουσίας, διὰ ποίαν αἰτίαν ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοι πρὸς τὸν γάμον, ἄν τε μικρὰν ἄν τε μείζω λέγῃ, πρὸς ταῦτα ῥεπέτω: [256] ὑπολύσασα δ' αὐτὸν ἡ γυνὴ τἀδελφοῦ τὰ σάνδαλα, καὶ πτύουσα αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον τούτων αὐτὸν ἄξιον εἶναι παρ'

αὐτῆς λεγέτω τυγχάνειν ὑβρίσαντα τὴν τοῦ κατοιχομένου μνήμην. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας ἀπίτω τοῦτ᾽ ἔχων ὄνειδος πρὸς ἅπαντα τὸν βίον, ἡ δ᾽ ᾧπερ ἂν βουληθῇ τινι τῶν δεομένων γαμείσθω. [257] ἂν δ᾽ αἰχμάλωτόν τις λάβῃ παρθένον ἄν τε καὶ γεγαμημένην, βουλομένῳ συνοικεῖν μὴ πρότερον ἐξέστω εὐνῆς ἅψασθαι καὶ κοινωνίας, πρὶν ἢ ξυραμένην αὐτὴν καὶ πένθιμον σχῆμα ἀναλαβοῦσαν ἀποθρηνῆσαι συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους τοὺς ἀπολωλότας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, [258] ὅπως τὸ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς κορέσασα λυπηρὸν ἔπειθ᾽ οὕτως ἐπ᾽ εὐωχίας τράπηται καὶ γάμους: καλὸν γὰρ εἶναι καὶ δίκαιον παιδοποιὸν παραλαμβάνοντα θεραπεύειν αὐτῆς τὸ βουλητὸν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν ἰδίαν ἡδονὴν διώκοντα μόνον τοῦ κατ᾽ αὐτὴν ἀμελεῖν κεχαρισμένου. [259] τριάκοντα δ᾽ ἡμερῶν τῷ πένθει διελθουσῶν, αὐτάρκεις γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς δακρύοις αὗται τῶν φιλτάτων ταῖς φρονίμοις, τότε χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν γάμον. εἰ δ᾽ ἐμπλησθεὶς τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ὑπερηφανεύσειεν αὐτὴν γαμετὴν ἔχειν, μηκέτ᾽ ἐξουσίαν ἐχέτω καταδουλοῦν αὐτήν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅπη βούλεται χωρεῖν ἀπίτω τοῦτο ἐλεύθερον ἔχουσα.

23. Let the Hebrews marry, at the age fit for it, virgins that are free, and born of good parents. And he that does not marry a virgin, let him not corrupt another man's wife, and marry her, nor grieve her former husband. Nor let free men marry slaves, although their affections should strongly bias any of them so to do; for it is decent, and for the dignity of the persons themselves, to govern those their affections. And further, no one ought to marry a harlot, whose matrimonial oblations, arising from the prostitution of her body, God will not receive; for by these means the dispositions of the children will be liberal and virtuous; I mean, when they are not born of base parents, and of the lustful conjunction of such as marry women that are not free. If any one has been espoused to a woman as to a virgin, and does not afterward find her so to be, let him bring his action, and accuse her, and let him make use of such indications to prove his accusation as he is furnished withal; and let the father or the brother of the damsel, or some one that is after them nearest of kin to her, defend her If the damsel obtain a sentence in her favor, that she had not been guilty, let her live with her husband that accused her; and let him not have any further power at all to put her away, unless she give him very great occasions of suspicion, and such as can be no way contradicted. But for him that brings an accusation and calumny against his wife in an impudent and rash manner, let him be punished by receiving forty stripes save one, and let him pay fifty shekels to her father: but if the damsel be convicted, as having been corrupted, and is one of the common people, let her be stoned, because she did not preserve her virginity till she were lawfully married; but if she were the daughter of a priest, let her be burnt alive. If any one has two wives, and if he greatly respect and be kind to one of them, either out of his

affection to her, or for her beauty, or for some other reason, while the other is of less esteem with him; and if the son of her that is beloved be the younger by birth than another born of the other wife, but endeavors to obtain the right of primogeniture from his father's kindness to his mother, and would thereby obtain a double portion of his father's substance, for that double portion is what I have allotted him in the laws, — let not this be permitted; for it is unjust that he who is the elder by birth should be deprived of what is due to him, on the father's disposition of his estate, because his mother was not equally regarded by him. He that hath corrupted a damsel espoused to another man, in case he had her consent, let both him and her be put to death, for they are both equally guilty; the man, because he persuaded the woman willingly to submit to a most impure action, and to prefer it to lawful wedlock; the woman, because she was persuaded to yield herself to be corrupted, either for pleasure or for gain. However, if a man light on a woman when she is alone, and forces her, where nobody was present to come to her assistance, let him only be put to death. Let him that hath corrupted a virgin not yet espoused marry her; but if the father of the damsel be not willing that she should be his wife, let him pay fifty shekels as the price of her prostitution. He that desires to be divorced from his wife for any cause whatsoever, [and many such causes happen among men,] let him in writing give assurance that he will never use her as his wife any more; for by this means she may be at liberty to marry another husband, although before this bill of divorce be given, she is not to be permitted so to do: but if she be misused by him also, or if, when he is dead, her first husband would marry her again, it shall not be lawful for her to return to him. If a woman's husband die, and leave her without children, let his brother marry her, and let him call the son that is born to him by his brother's name, and educate him as the heir of his inheritance, for this procedure will be for the benefit of the public, because thereby families will not fail, and the estate will continue among the kindred; and this will be for the solace of wives under their affliction, that they are to be married to the next relation of their former husbands. But if the brother will not marry her, let the woman come before the senate, and protest openly that this brother will not admit her for his wife, but will injure the memory of his deceased brother, while she is willing to continue in the family, and to hear him children. And when the senate have inquired of him for what reason it is that he is averse to this marriage, whether he gives a bad or a good reason, the matter must come to this issue, That the woman shall loose the sandals of the brother, and shall spit in his face, and say, He deserves this reproachful treatment from her, as having injured the memory of the deceased. And then let him go away out of the senate, and bear this reproach upon him all his life long; and let her marry to whom she

pleases, of such as seek her in marriage. But now, if any man take captive, either a virgin, or one that hath been married, and has a mind to marry her, let him not be allowed to bring her to bed to him, or to live with her as his wife, before she hath her head shaven, and hath put on her mourning habit, and lamented her relations and friends that were slain in the battle, that by this means she may give vent to her sorrow for them, and after that may betake herself to feasting and matrimony; for it is good for him that takes a woman, in order to have children by her, to be complaisant to her inclinations, and not merely to pursue his own pleasure, while he hath no regard to what is agreeable to her. But when thirty days are past, as the time of mourning, for so many are sufficient to prudent persons for lamenting the dearest friends, then let them proceed to the marriage; but in case when he hath satisfied his lust, he be too proud to retain her for his wife, let him not have it in his power to make her a slave, but let her go away whither she pleases, and have that privilege of a free woman.

(24) [260] Ὅσοι δ᾽ ἂν τῶν νέων περιφρονῶσι τοὺς γονεῖς καὶ τὴν τιμὴν αὐτοῖς μὴ νέμωσιν ἢ δι᾽ αἰσχύνην ἢ διὰ σύνεσιν ἐξυβρίζοντες εἰς αὐτούς, πρῶτον μὲν λόγοις αὐτοὺς νουθετείτωσαν οἱ πατέρες, αὐτάρκεις γὰρ ἐφ᾽ υἱάσιν οὗτοι δικασταί, [261] συνελθεῖν μὲν ἀλλήλοις οὐχ ἡδονῆς ἕνεκα λέγοντες οὐδὲ τῆς τῶν χρημάτων αὐξήσεως κοινῶν τῶν ἑκατέροις ὑπαρχόντων γενομένων, ἀλλ᾽ ὅπως παίδων τύχωσιν, οἳ γηρωκομήσουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ ὧν ἂν δέωνται παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἕξουσι, γενόμενόν τε μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ τοῦ τῷ θεῷ χάριν εἰδέναι τὴν μεγίστην ἀράμενοι διὰ σπουδῆς ἀνεθρέψαμεν μηδενὸς φειδὼ ποιούμενοι τοῦ καὶ δόξαντος εἰς σωτηρίαν τὴν σὴν καὶ παιδείαν τῶν ἀρίστων εἶναι χρησίμου. [262] νῦν δέ, συγγνώμην γὰρ χρὴ νέμειν ἐφ᾽ ἁμαρτήμασι νέων, ἀπόχρη σοι ὅσα τῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς τιμῆς ὠλιγώρησας, καὶ μεταβαλοῦ πρὸς τὸ σωφρονέστερον λογισάμενος καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰς πατέρας τολμωμένοις χαλεπῶς ἔχειν, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς πατὴρ τοῦ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων γένους ἐστὶ καὶ συνατιμοῦσθαι δοκεῖ τοῖς τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτῷ προσηγορίαν ἔχουσιν οὐχ ὧν προσῆκεν αὐτοῖς παρὰ τῶν παίδων τυγχανόντων, καὶ νόμος κολαστὴς γίνεται τῶν τοιούτων ἀπαραίτητος, [263] οὗ σὺ μὴ πειραθείης.” κἂν μὲν τούτοις θεραπεύηται τὸ τῶν νέων αὔθαδες, ἀπαλλαττέσθωσαν τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἠγνοημένοις ὀνειδῶν. οὕτως γὰρ ἂν ὅ τε νομοθέτης ἀγαθὸς εἴη καὶ οἱ πατέρες εὐτυχεῖς οὐκ ἐπιδόντες οὔτε υἱὸν κολαζόμενον οὔτε θυγατέρα. [264] οὐδ᾽ ἂν οἱ λόγοι καὶ ἡ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν διδασκαλία τοῦ σωφρονεῖν τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι φανῶσιν, ἐχθροὺς δ᾽ ἀσπόνδους αὐτῷ ποιῇ τοὺς νόμους τοῖς συνεχέσι κατὰ τῶν γονέων τολμήμασι, προαχθεὶς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν τούτων ἔξω τῆς πόλεως τοῦ πλήθους ἑπομένου καταλευέσθω καὶ μείνας δι᾽ ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας εἰς θέαν τὴν ἁπάντων θαπτέσθω νυκτός. [265] οὕτως δὲ καὶ οἱ ὀπωσοῦν

ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων ἀναιρεθῆναι κατακριθέντες. θαπτέσθωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ νεκρὸς μηδὲ εἷς ἄμοιρος γῆς κείσθω περαιτέρω τοῦ δικαίου τιμωρίαν ἐκτίνων.

24. As to those young men that despise their parents, and do not pay them honor, but offer them affronts, either because they are ashamed of them or think themselves wiser than they, — in the first place, let their parents admonish them in words, [for they are by nature of authority sufficient for becoming their judges,] and let them say thus to them: — That they cohabited together, not for the sake of pleasure, nor for the augmentation of their riches, by joining both their stocks together, but that they might have children to take care of them in their old age, and might by them have what they then should want. And say further to him, "That when thou wast born, we took thee up with gladness, and gave God the greatest thanks for thee, and brought time up with great care, and spared for nothing that appeared useful for thy preservation, and for thy instruction in what was most excellent. And now, since it is reasonable to forgive the sins of those that are young, let it suffice thee to have given so many indications Of thy contempt of us; reform thyself, and act more wisely for the time to come; considering that God is displeased with those that are insolent towards their parents, because he is himself the Father of the whole race of mankind, and seems to bear part of that dishonor which falls upon those that have the same name, when they do not meet with dire returns from their children. And on such the law inflicts inexorable punishment; of which punishment mayst thou never have the experience." Now if the insolence of young men be thus cured, let them escape the reproach which their former errors deserved; for by this means the lawgiver will appear to be good, and parents happy, while they never behold either a son or a daughter brought to punishment. But if it happen that these words and instructions, conveyed by them in order to reclaim the man, appear to be useless, then the offender renders the laws implacable enemies to the insolence he has offered his parents; let him therefore be brought forth by these very parents out of the city, with a multitude following him, and there let him be stoned; and when he has continued there for one whole day, that all the people may see him, let him be buried in the night. And thus it is that we bury all whom the laws condemn to die, upon any account whatsoever. Let our enemies that fall in battle be also buried; nor let any one dead body lie above the ground, or suffer a punishment beyond what justice requires.

(25) [266] Δανείζειν δ' Ἑβραίων ἐπὶ τόκοις ἐξέστω μηδενὶ μήτε βρωτὸν μήτε ποτόν: οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον προσοδεύεσθαι τοῦ ὁμοφύλου τὰς τύχας, ἀλλὰ βοηθήσαντας ταῖς

χρείαις αὐτοῦ κέρδος εἶναι νομίζειν τήν τ᾽ ἐκείνων εὐχαριστίαν καὶ τὴν ἀμοιβὴν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γενησομένην ἐπὶ τῇ χρηστότητι.

25. Let no one lend to any one of the Hebrews upon usury, neither usury of what is eaten or what is drunken, for it is not just to make advantage of the misfortunes of one of thy own countrymen; but when thou hast been assistant to his necessities, think it thy gain if thou obtainest their gratitude to thee; and withal that reward which will come to thee from God, for thy humanity towards him.

(26) [267] Οἱ δὲ λαβόντες εἴτε ἀργύρια εἴτε τινὰ τῶν καρπῶν ὑγρὸν ἢ ξηρόν, κατὰ νοῦν αὐτοῖς τῶν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ χωρησάντων κομίζοντες μεθ᾽ ἡδονῆς ἀποδιδότωσαν τοῖς δοῦσιν ὥσπερ ἀποθέμενοι εἰς τὰ αὐτῶν καὶ πάλιν εἰ δεηθεῖεν ἕξοντες. [268] ἂν δὲ ἀναισχυντῶσι περὶ τὴν ἀπόδοσιν, μὴ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν βαδίσαντας ἐνεχυριάζειν πρὶν ἢ δίκη περὶ τούτου γένηται: τὸ δ᾽ ἐνέχυρον αἰτεῖν ἔξω καὶ τὸν ὀφείλοντα κομίζειν δι᾽ αὐτοῦ μηδὲν ἀντιλέγοντα τῷ μετὰ νόμου βοηθείας ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἥκοντι. [269] κἂν μὲν εὔπορος ᾖ ὁ ἐνεχυρασμένος, κατεχέτω τοῦτο μέχρι τῆς ἀποδόσεως ὁ δεδανεικώς, ἂν δὲ πένης, ἀποτιθέτω πρὶν ἡλίου δυσμῶν, καὶ μάλιστ᾽ ἂν ἱμάτιον ᾖ τὸ ἐνέχυρον, ὅπως εἰς ὕπνον ἔχῃ τοῦτο, φύσει τοῦ θεοῦ τοῖς πενομένοις ἔλεον νέμοντος. [270] μύλην δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ ταύτην σκεύη μὴ ἐξεῖναι λαμβάνειν ἐνέχυρον, ὅπως μὴ στερῶνται καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὰ σιτία ὀργάνων μηδ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἐνδείας πάθωσί τι τῶν χειρόνων.

26. Those who have borrowed either silver or any sort of fruits, whether dry or wet, [I mean this, when the Jewish affairs shall, by the blessing of God, be to their own mind,] let the borrowers bring them again, and restore them with pleasure to those who lent them, laying them up, as it were, in their own treasuries, and justly expecting to receive them thence, if they shall want them again. But if they be without shame, and do not restore it, let not the lender go to the borrower’s house, and take a pledge himself, before judgment be given concerning it; but let him require the pledge, and let the debtor bring it of himself, without the least opposition to him that comes upon him under the protection of the law. And if he that gave the pledge be rich, let the creditor retain it till what he lent be paid him again; but if he be poor, let him that takes it return it before the going down of the sun, especially if the pledge be a garment, that the debtor may have it for a covering in his sleep, God himself naturally showing mercy to the poor. It is also not lawful to take a millstone, nor any utensil thereto belonging, for a pledge, that the debtor, may not be deprived of instruments to get their food withal, and lest they be undone by their necessity.

(27) [271] Ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώπου μὲν κλοπῇ θάνατος ἔστω ζημία, ὁ δὲ χρυσὸν ἢ ἄργυρον ὑφελόμενος τὸ διπλοῦν ἀποτινέτω. κτείνας δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῖς κατ᾽ οἶκον κλεπτομένοις τις ἀθῷος ἔστω κἂν εἰ πρὸς διορύγματι τειχίου. [272] βόσκημα δὲ ὁ κλέψας τετραπλῆν τὴν ζημίαν ἀποτινέτω πλὴν βοός, πενταπλῆν δ᾽ ὑπὲρ τούτου καταβαλλέτω. ὁ δὲ τὸ ἐπιτίμιον ἄπορος διαλύσασθαι δοῦλος ἔστω τοῖς καταδεδικασμένοις.

27. Let death be the punishment for stealing a man; but he that hath purloined gold or silver, let him pay double. If any one kill a man that is stealing something out of his house, let him be esteemed guiltless, although the man were only breaking in at the wall. Let him that hath stolen cattle pay fourfold what is lost, excepting the case of an ox, for which let the thief pay fivefold. Let him that is so poor that he cannot pay what mulet is laid upon him, be his servant to whom he was adjudged to pay it.

(28) [273] Πραθεὶς δὲ ὁμοφύλῳ τις ἓξ ἔτη δουλευέτω, τῷ δ᾽ ἑβδόμῳ ἐλεύθερος ἀφείσθω: ἐὰν δὲ τέκνων αὐτῷ γενομένων ἐκ δούλης παρὰ τῷ πριαμένῳ διὰ τὴν εὔνοιαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὰ οἰκεῖα φιλοστοργίαν βούληται δουλεύειν, ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐνστάντος τοῦ ἰοβήλου, πεντηκοστὸς δὲ ἐνιαυτός ἐστιν, ἐλευθερούσθω καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ἐλευθέραν ἐπαγόμενος.

28. If any one be sold to one of his own nation, let him serve him six years, and on the seventh let him go free. But if he have a son by a woman servant in his purchaser’s house, and if, on account of his goodwill to his master, and his natural affection to his wife and children, he will be his servant still, let him be set free only at the coming of the year of jubilee, which is the fiftieth year, and let him then take away with him his children and wife, and let them be free also.

(29) [274] Ἐὰν δέ τις ἢ χρυσίον ἢ ἀργύριον εὕρῃ καθ᾽ ὁδόν, ἐπιζητήσας τὸν ἀπολωλεκότα καὶ κηρύξας τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ εὗρεν ἀποδότω, τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρου ζημίας ὠφέλειαν οὐκ ἀγαθὴν ὑπολαμβάνων. ὁμοίως καὶ περὶ βοσκημάτων οἷς ἂν ἐντύχῃ τις κατ᾽ ἐρημίαν πλανωμένοις, μὴ εὑρεθέντος τοῦ κυρίου παραχρῆμα παρ᾽ αὐτῷ φυλαττέτω μαρτυράμενος τὸν θεὸν μὴ νοσφίζεσθαι ἀλλότρια.

29. If any one find gold or silver on the road, let him inquire after him that lost it, and make proclamation of the place where he found it, and then restore it to him again, as not thinking it right to make his own profit by the loss of another. And the same rule is to be observed in cattle found to have wandered away into a lonely place. If the owner be not presently discovered, let him that is the finder keep it with himself, and appeal to God that he has not purloined what belongs to another.

(30) [275] Μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ παριέναι κτηνῶν τινι κακοπαθούντων ὑπὸ χειμῶνος πεπτωκότων ἐν πηλῷ, συνδιασώζειν δὲ καὶ τὸν πόνον οἰκεῖον ἡγησάμενον βοηθεῖν.

30. It is not lawful to pass by any beast that is in distress, when in a storm it is fallen down in the mire, but to endeavor to preserve it, as having a sympathy with it in its pain.

(31) [276] Μηνύειν δὲ καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι, καὶ μὴ γέλωτα θηρωμένους αὐτοῖς ἐμποδίζειν πλάνῃ τὴν ἑτέρου χρείαν.

Ὁμοίως μηδὲ βλασφημείτω τις τὸν ἀπόντα καὶ τὸν ἐνεόν.

31. It is also a duty to show the roads to those who do not know them, and not to esteem it a matter for sport, when we hinder others' advantages, by setting them in a wrong way.

(32) [277] Ἐν μάχῃ τις ὅπου μὴ σίδηρος πληγεὶς παραχρῆμα μὲν ἀποθανὼν ἐκδικείσθω ταὐτὸν παθόντος τοῦ πεπληχότος. ἂν δὲ κομισθεὶς παρ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ νοσήσας ἐπὶ πλείονας ἡμέρας ἔπειτ' ἀποθάνῃ, ἀθῷος ἔστω ὁ πλήξας, σωθέντος δὲ καὶ πολλὰ δαπανήσαντος εἰς τὴν νοσηλείαν ἀποτινέτω πάνθ' ὅσα παρὰ τὸν χρόνον τῆς κατακλίσεως ἀνάλωσε καὶ ὅσα τοῖς ἰατροῖς ἔδωκεν. [278] ὁ γυναῖκα λακτίσας ἔγκυον, ἂν μὲν ἐξαμβλώσῃ ἡ γυνὴ ζημιούσθω χρήμασιν ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν ὡς παρὰ τὸ διαφθαρὲν ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ μειώσας τὸ πλῆθος, διδόσθω δὲ καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ τῆς γυναικὸς παρ' αὐτοῦ χρήματα: θνησκούσης δ' ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποθνησκέτω ψυχὴν ἀντὶ ψυχῆς καταθέσθαι δικαιοῦντος τοῦ νόμου.

32. In like manner, let no one revile a person blind or dumb.

(33) [279] Φάρμακον μήτε θανάσιμον μήτε τῶν εἰς ἄλλας βλάβας πεποιημένων Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐχέτω μηδὲ εἷς: ἐὰν δὲ κεκτημένος φωραθῇ τεθνάτω, τοῦτο πάσχων ὃ διέθηκεν ἂν ἐκείνους καθ' ὧν τὸ φάρμακον ἦν παρεσκευασμένον.

33. If men strive together, and there be no instrument of iron, let him that is smitten be avenged immediately, by inflicting the same punishment on him that smote him: but if when he is carried home he lie sick many days, and then die, let him that smote him not escape punishment; but if he that is smitten escape death, and yet be at great expense for his cure, the smiter shall pay for all that has been expended during the time of his sickness, and for all that he has paid the physician. He that kicks a woman with child, so that the woman miscarry, let him pay a fine in money, as the judges shall determine, as having diminished the multitude by the destruction of what was in her womb; and let money also be given the woman's husband by him that kicked her; but if she die of the stroke,

let him also be put to death, the law judging it equitable that life should go for life.

(34) [280] Πηρώσας πασχέτω [τὰ ὅμοια] στερούμενος οὗπερ ἄλλον ἐστέρησε, πλὴν εἰ μήτι χρήματα λαβεῖν ἐθελήσειεν ὁ πεπηρωμένος, αὐτὸν τὸν πεπονθότα κύριον τοῦ νόμου ποιοῦντος τιμήσασθαι τὸ συμβεβηκὸς αὐτῷ πάθος καὶ συγχωροῦντος, εἰ μὴ βούλεται γενέσθαι πικρότερος.

34. Let no one of the Israelites keep any poison that may cause death, or any other harm; but if he be caught with it, let him be put to death, and suffer the very same mischief that he would have brought upon them for whom the poison was prepared.

(35) [281] Βοῦν τοῖς κέρασι πλήττοντα ὁ δεσπότης ἀποσφαττέτω: εἰ δ' ἐφ' ἅλωος κτείνειέ τινα πλήξας, αὐτὸς μὲν καταλευσθεὶς ἀποθνησκέτω μηδ' εἰς τροφὴν εὔχρηστος εἶναι κατηξιωμένος, ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ὁ δεσπότης ἐλέγχηται προειδὼς αὐτοῦ τὴν φύσιν καὶ μὴ φυλαξάμενος, ἀποθνησκέτω ὡς αἴτιος τῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ βοὸς ἀνῃρημένῳ γεγενημένος. [282] ἐὰν δὲ δοῦλον ἢ θεράπαιναν ἀποκτείνῃ βοῦς, αὐτὸς μὲν καταλιθούσθω, τριάκοντα δὲ σίκλους ὁ κύριος τοῦ βοὸς ἀποτινέτω τῷ δεσπότῃ τοῦ ἀνῃρημένου. βοῦς δὲ ἐὰν οὕτως πληγεὶς ἀποθάνῃ, πωλείσθωσαν καὶ ὁ τεθνεὼς καὶ ὁ πλήξας καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τὴν ἀμφοτέρων οἱ δεσπόται αὐτῶν διανεμέσθωσαν.

35. He that maimeth any one, let him undergo the like himself, and be deprived of the same member of which he hath deprived the other, unless he that is maimed will accept of money instead of it for the law makes the sufferer the judge of the value of what he hath suffered, and permits him to estimate it, unless he will be more severe.

(36) [283] Οἱ φρέαρ ἢ λάκκον ὀρύξαντες ἐπιμελὲς ποιείσθωσαν ὥστε σανίδων ἐπιβολαῖς ἔχειν κεκλεισμένα, οὐχ ὅπως τινὲς εἴργοιντο ὑδρείας, ἀλλ' ἵνα μηδεὶς κίνδυνος ὡς ἐμπεσουμένοις ᾖ. [284] οὗ δ' ἂν εἰς ὄρυγμα τοιοῦτον μὴ κλειστὸν ἐμπεσὸν βόσκημά τινος διαφθαρῇ, τὴν τιμὴν αὐτοῦ τῷ δεσπότῃ καταβαλλέτω. περιβαλλέσθω δὲ καὶ τοῖς στέγεσιν ἅπερ ὡς ἀντὶ τείχους ὄντα οὐκ ἐάσει τινὰς ἀποκυλισθέντας ἀπολέσθαι.

36. Let him that is the owner of an ox which pusheth with his horn, kill him: but if he pushes and gores any one in the thrashing-floor, let him be put to death by stoning, and let him not be thought fit for food: but if his owner be convicted as having known what his nature was, and hath not kept him up, let him also be put to death, as being the occasion of the ox's having killed a man. But if the ox have killed a man-servant, or a maid-servant, let him be stoned; and let the

owner of the ox pay thirty shekels to the master of him that was slain; but if it be an ox that is thus smitten and killed, let both the oxen, that which smote the other and that which was killed, be sold, and let the owners of them divide their price between them.

(37) [285] Παρακαταθήκην δὲ ὥσπερ ἱερόν τι καὶ θεῖον χρῆμα ὁ παραλαβὼν φυλακῆς ἀξιούτω, καὶ μηδεὶς ἀποστερῆσαι θρασυνθείη τὸν πεπιστευκότα μήτ᾽ ἀνὴρ μήτε γυνή, μηδ᾽ εἰ χρυσὸν ἄπειρον μέλλοι κερδαίνειν, καταφρονῶν τῷ μηδένα εἶναι τὸν ἐξελέγξοντα. [286] καθόλου μὲν γὰρ τὸ συνειδὸς ἐπιστάμενον τὸ αὐτοῦ προσῆκεν ἕκαστον εὖ πράττειν, καὶ μάρτυρι ἀρκούμενος αὐτῷ πάντα ποιείτω ἃ παρ᾽ ἄλλων ἔπαινον αὐτῷ παρέξει, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν θεόν, ὃν οὐδεὶς πονηρὸς ὢν λανθάνει. [287] εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἐπίβουλον δρῶν ὁ πιστευθεὶς ἀπολέσειεν, ἀφικόμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑπτὰ κριτὰς ὀμνύτω τὸν θεόν, ὅτι μηδὲν παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν ἀπόλοιτο καὶ κακίαν οὐδὲ χρησαμένου τινὶ μέρει αὐτῆς, καὶ οὕτως ἀνεπαιτίατος ἀπίτω. χρησάμενος δὲ κἂν ἐλαχίστῳ μέρει τῶν πεπιστευμένων ἂν ἀπολέσας τύχῃ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα ἃ ἔλαβεν ἀποδοῦναι κατεγνώσθω. [288] ὁμοίως δὲ τῷ περὶ παρακαταθηκῶν κἂν μισθόν τις ἀποστερήσῃ τῶν ἐπὶ σώμασι τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐργαζομένων, μεμισήσθω. ὅθεν οὐκ ἀποστερητέον ἀνδρὸς πένητος μισθὸν εἰδότας, ὡς ἀντὶ γῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κτημάτων ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ τοῦτον εἴη παρεσχηκώς: ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὴν ἀπόδοσιν, ἀλλ᾽ αὐθημερὸν ἐκτίνειν ὡς οὐ βουλομένου τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ἐξ ὧν πεπόνηκε χρήσεως ὑστερεῖν τὸν ἐργασάμενον.

37. Let those that dig a well or a pit be careful to lay planks over them, and so keep them shut up, not in order to hinder any persons from drawing water, but that there may be no danger of falling into them. But if any one's beast fall into such a well or pit thus digged, and not shut up, and perish, let the owner pay its price to the owner of the beast. Let there be a battlement round the tops of your houses instead of a wall, that may prevent any persons from rolling down and perishing.

(38) [289] Παῖδας ὑπὲρ ἀδικίας πατέρων μὴ κολάζειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν οἴκτου μᾶλλον ἀξιοῦν, ὅτι μοχθηρῶν ἐγένοντο πατέρων, ἢ μίσους φύντας ἐκ φαύλων. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πατράσιν υἱῶν ἁμαρτίαν λογιστέον τῶν νέων πολλὰ παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν διδασκαλίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρεπόντων ὑπερηφανίᾳ τοῦ διδάσκεσθαι.

38. Let him that has received any thing in trust for another, take care to keep it as a sacred and divine thing; and let no one invent any contrivance whereby to deprive him that hath intrusted it with him of the same, and this whether he be a man or a woman; no, not although he or she were to gain an immense sum of

gold, and this where he cannot be convicted of it by any body; for it is fit that a man's own conscience, which knows what he hath, should in all cases oblige him to do well. Let this conscience be his witness, and make him always act so as may procure him commendation from others; but let him chiefly have regard to God, from whom no wicked man can lie concealed: but if he in whom the trust was reposed, without any deceit of his own, lose what he was intrusted withal, let him come before the seven judges, and swear by God that nothing hath been lost willingly, or with a wicked intention, and that he hath not made use of any part thereof, and so let him depart without blame; but if he hath made use of the least part of what was committed to him, and it be lost, let him be condemned to repay all that he had received. After the same manner as in these trusts it is to be, if any one defraud those that undergo bodily labor for him. And let it be always remembered, that we are not to defraud a poor man of his wages, as being sensible that God has allotted these wages to him instead of land and other possessions; nay, this payment is not at all to be delayed, but to be made that very day, since God is not willing to deprive the laborer of the immediate use of what he hath labored for.

(39) [290] Γάλλους ἐκτρέπεσθαι καὶ σύνοδον φεύγειν τὴν μετ' αὐτῶν ἀφελομένων αὐτοὺς τὸ ἄρρεν καὶ τὸν τῆς παιδοποιίας καρπόν, ὃν ἀνθρώποις ἐπ' αὐξήσει τοῦ γένους ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς παρέσχεν, ἐλαύνειν δὲ οὕτως ὡς ἐπὶ τέκνων σφαγῇ καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ ἀπολλύντας τὸ ἐκείνων αἴτιον: [291] δῆλον γάρ, ὡς τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῖς τεθηλυσμένης μετεκοσμήσαντο πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ τὸ σῶμα: ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πᾶν τὸ νομιζόμενον τέρας τοῖς ὁρῶσι. μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ ποιεῖν ἐκτομίας μήτε ἀνθρώπους μήτε τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων.

39. You are not to punish children for the faults of their parents, but on account of their own virtue rather to vouchsafe them commiseration, because they were born of wicked parents, than hatred, because they were born of bad ones. Nor indeed ought we to impute the sin of children to their fathers, while young persons indulge themselves in many practices different from what they have been instructed in, and this by their proud refusal of such instruction.

(40) [292] Αὕτη μὲν οὖν ὑμῖν εἰρηνικὴ τῶν νόμων κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν διάταξις ἔστω: καὶ ὁ θεὸς εὐμενὴς ἀστασίαστον αὐτῆς τὸν κόσμον παρέξεται, γένοιτο δὲ χρόνος μηδὲ εἷς, ὃς καινίσει τι τούτων καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐναντίον μεταβαλεῖ. [293] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνάγκη τὸ ἀνθρώπειον καὶ εἰς ἀβουλήτους ἢ κατὰ προαίρεσιν ταραχὰς καὶ κινδύνους ἐμπεσεῖν, φέρε καὶ περὶ τούτων βραχέα προσδιατάξωμεν, ὡς ἂν προειδότες ἃ χρὴ ποιεῖν ἐν τῇ χρείᾳ τῶν σωτηρίων εὐπορῆτε καὶ μὴ τότε ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν ἐπιζητοῦντες ἀπαρασκεύαστοι τοῖς καιροῖς περιπέσητε.

40. Let those that have made themselves eunuchs be had in detestation; and do you avoid any conversation with them who have deprived themselves of their manhood, and of that fruit of generation which God has given to men for the increase of their kind: let such be driven away, as if they had killed their children, since they beforehand have lost what should procure them; for evident it is, that while their soul is become effeminate, they have withal transfused that effeminacy to their body also. In like manner do you treat all that is of a monstrous nature when it is looked on; nor is it lawful to geld men or any other animals.

(41) [294] Γῆν ὑμῖν ἣν ὁ θεὸς ἔδωκε πόνων καταφρονοῦσι καὶ ψυχὰς πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἠσκημένοις ἀπόλεμον μὲν νέμεσθαι παράσχοι τε κεκτημένοις αὐτὴν μήτε ἀλλοτρίων εἰς αὐτὴν ἐπὶ κακώσει στρατευσάντων μήτε στάσεως ἐμφυλίου κατασχούσης ὑμᾶς, [295] ὑφ᾽ ἧς τἀναντία πατράσι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν πράττοντες ἀπολεῖτε τὰ ἐκείνοις νομισθέντα, χρώμενοί τε νόμοις οὓς ἀγαθοὺς δοκιμάσας ὁ θεὸς παραδίδωσι διατελοίητε: ἔργον δ᾽ ὅτι ἂν πολεμικὸν ἢ νῦν ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν ἢ ὕστερον ἐπὶ παίδων ὑμετέρων γένηται τοῦθ᾽ ὑπερόριον πραχθείη. [296] μέλλοντας δὲ πολεμεῖν πρεσβείαν καὶ κήρυκας πέμπειν παρὰ τοὺς ἑκουσίως πολεμίους: πρὸ γὰρ τῶν ὅπλων καλὸν εἶναι χρῆσθαι λόγοις πρὸς αὐτοὺς δηλοῦντας, ὅτι καὶ στρατιὰν πολλὴν ἔχοντες καὶ ἵππους καὶ ὅπλα καὶ πρὸ τούτων εὐμενῆ τὸν θεὸν καὶ σύμμαχον, ὅμως ἀξιοῦτε μὴ ἀναγκάζεσθαι πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς μηδὲ τὰ ἐκείνων ἀφαιρουμένους ἀβούλητον αὐτοῖς κέρδος προσλαμβάνειν. [297] καὶ πειθομένων μὲν καλῶς ὑμᾶς ἔχειν τὴν εἰρήνην φυλάττειν, εἰ δὲ φρονοῦντες ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτοῖς ὡς ἰσχύι διαφέρουσιν ἀδικεῖν ἐθέλοιεν, στρατὸν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀγάγοιτε, στρατηγῷ μὲν αὐτοκράτορι χρώμενοι τῷ θεῷ, ὑποστράτηγον δὲ χειροτονήσαντες ἕνα τὸν ἀρετῇ προύχοντα: πολυαρχία γὰρ πρὸς τῷ τοῖς ὀξέως τι πράττειν ἀνάγκην ἔχουσιν ἐμπόδιον εἶναι καὶ βλάπτειν πέφυκε τοὺς χρωμένους. [298] στρατὸν δ᾽ ἄγειν καθαρὸν ἐκ πάντων τῶν ῥώμῃ σωμάτων καὶ ψυχῆς εὐτολμίᾳ διαφερόντων τὸ δειλὸν ἀποκρίναντας, μὴ τοὺς πολεμίους παρὰ τὸ ἔργον τραπὲν εἰς φυγὴν ὠφελήσῃ. τούς τε νεωστὶ δειμαμένους οἰκίας, οἷς οὔπω χρόνος ἀπολαύσεως αὐτῶν ἐνιαύσιος, καὶ φυτεύσαντας οὔπω δὲ καρπῶν μετεσχηκότας, ἐᾶν κατὰ χώραν, καὶ τοὺς μνηστευσαμένους δὲ καὶ νεωστὶ γεγαμηκότας, μὴ πόθῳ τούτων φειδόμενοι τοῦ ζῆν καὶ τηροῦντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν τούτων ἀπόλαυσιν ἐθελοκακήσωσι περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας.

41. Let this be the constitution of your political laws in time of peace, and God will be so merciful as to preserve this excellent settlement free from disturbance: and may that time never come which may innovate any thing, and change it for the contrary. But since it must needs happen that mankind fall into troubles and dangers, either undesignedly or intentionally, come let us make a few

constitutions concerning them, that so being apprised beforehand what ought to be done, you may have salutary counsels ready when you want them, and may not then be obliged to go to seek what is to be done, and so be unprovided, and fall into dangerous circumstances. May you be a laborious people, and exercise your souls in virtuous actions, and thereby possess and inherit the land without wars; while neither any foreigners make war upon it, and so afflict you, nor any internal sedition seize upon it, whereby you may do things that are contrary to your fathers, and so lose the laws which they have established. And may you continue in the observation of those laws which God hath approved of, and hath delivered to you. Let all sort of warlike operations, whether they befall you now in your own time, or hereafter in the times of your posterity, be done out of your own borders: but when you are about to go to war, send embassages and heralds to those who are your voluntary enemies, for it is a right thing to make use of words to them before you come to your weapons of war; and assure them thereby, that although you have a numerous army, with horses and weapons, and, above these, a God merciful to you, and ready to assist you, you do however desire them not to compel you to fight against them, nor to take from them what they have, which will indeed be our gain, but what they will have no reason to wish we should take to ourselves. And if they hearken to you, it will be proper for you to keep peace with them; but if they trust in their own strength, as superior to yours, and will not do you justice, lead your army against them, making use of God as your supreme Commander, but ordaining for a lieutenant under him one that is of the greatest courage among you; for these different commanders, besides their being an obstacle to actions that are to be done on the sudden, are a disadvantage to those that make use of them. Lead an army pure, and of chosen men, composed of all such as have extraordinary strength of body and hardiness of soul; but do you send away the timorous part, lest they run away in the time of action, and so afford an advantage to your enemies. Do you also give leave to those that have lately built them houses, and have not yet lived in them a year’s time; and to those that have planted them vineyards, and have not yet been partakers of their fruits, — to continue in their own country; as well as those also who have betrothed, or lately married them wives, lest they have such an affection for these things that they be too sparing of their lives, and, by reserving themselves for these enjoyments, they become voluntary cowards, on account of their wives.

(42) [299] Στρατοπεδευσάμενοι δὲ προνοεῖσθε, μή τι τῶν δυσχερεστέρων ἐργάσησθε. πολιορκοῦντας δὲ καὶ ξύλων ἀπορουμένους εἰς ποίησιν μηχανημάτων μὴ κείρειν τὴν γῆν ἥμερα δένδρα κόπτοντας ἀλλὰ φείδεσθαι,

λογιζομένους ἐπ᾽ ὠφελείᾳ ταῦτα τῶν ἀνθρώπων γεγονέναι, καὶ φωνῆς ἂν εὐπορήσαντα δικαιολογήσασθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὡς οὐδὲν αἴτια τοῦ πολέμου γεγονότα πάσχοι κακῶς παρὰ δίκην, εἰ δύναμις αὐτοῖς ἦν καὶ μετοικήσαντα ἂν καὶ πρὸς ἄλλην μεταβάντα γῆν. [300] κρατήσαντες δὲ τῇ μάχῃ τοὺς ἀντιταξαμένους κτείνατε, τοὺς δ᾽ ἄλλους εἰς τὸ τελεῖν ὑμῖν φόρους σώζετε πλὴν τοῦ Χαναναίων ἔθνους τούτους γὰρ πανοικὶ χρῆναι ἀφανίσαι.

42. When you have pitched your camp, take care that you do nothing that is cruel. And when you are engaged in a siege; and want timber for the making of warlike engines, do not you render the land naked by cutting down trees that bear fruit, but spare them, as considering that they were made for the benefit of men; and that if they could speak, they would have a just plea against you, because, though they are not occasions of the war, they are unjustly treated, and suffer in it, and would, if they were able, remove themselves into another land. When you have beaten your enemies in battle, slay those that have fought against you; but preserve the others alive, that they may pay you tribute, excepting the nation of the Canaanites; for as to that people, you must entirely destroy them.

(43) [301] Φυλάσσειν δὲ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, ὡς μήτε γυναῖκα ἀνδρικῇ σκευῇ χρῆσθαι μήτ᾽ ἄνδρα στολῇ γυναικείᾳ.

43. Take care, especially in your battles, that no woman use the habit of a man, nor man the garment of a woman.

(44) [302] Πολιτείαν μὲν οὖν τοιάνδε Μωυσῆς κατέλιπε, νόμους δ᾽ ἔτι πρότερον τεσσαρακοστῷ ἔτει γεγραμμένους παραδίδωσι, περὶ ὧν ἐν ἑτέρᾳ γραφῇ λέξομεν. ταῖς δ᾽ ἑξῆς ἡμέραις, συνεχὲς γὰρ ἐκκλησίασεν, εὐλογίας αὐτοῖς δίδωσι καὶ κατάρας ἐπὶ τοὺς μὴ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ζησομένους ἀλλὰ παραβησομένους τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς διωρισμένα. [303] ἔπειτα ποίησιν ἐξάμετρον αὐτοῖς ἀνέγνω, ἣν καὶ καταλέλοιπεν ἐν βίβλῳ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ πρόρρησιν περιέχουσαν τῶν ἐσομένων, καθ᾽ ἣν καὶ γέγονε τὰ πάντα καὶ γίνεται, μηδὲν ἐκείνου διημαρτηκότος τῆς ἀληθείας. [304] ταῦτ᾽ οὖν τὰ βιβλία παραδίδωσι τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ τὴν κιβωτόν, εἰς ἣν καὶ τοὺς δέκα λόγους γεγραμμένους ἐν δυσὶ πλαξὶ κατέθετο, καὶ τὴν σκηνήν: τῷ τε λαῷ παρῄνεσε κρατήσαντι τῆς γῆς καὶ ἱδρυθέντι μὴ λήθην λαβεῖν τῆς Ἀμαληκιτῶν ὕβρεως, ἀλλὰ στρατεύσαντας ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς τιμωρίαν ἀπολαβεῖν ὧν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρήμου τυγχάνοντας ἐποίησαν κακῶς, [305] ἐξελόντας δὲ τὴν Χαναναίων γῆν καὶ πᾶσαν διαφθείραντας τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ πληθὺν καθὰ πρέπει, τὸν βωμόν τε ἀναστῆσαι πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα τετραμμένον οὐ πόρρω τῆς Σικιμίων πόλεως ἐμπεριάγειν μεταξὺ δυοῖν ὀροῖν, Γριζαίου μὲν τοῦ ἐκ δεξιῶν κειμένου, τοῦ δ᾽ ἐκ λαιῶν Βουλῆ προσαγορευομένου, μερισθεῖσαν δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν καθ᾽ ἓξ φυλὰς ἐπὶ τοῖν δυοῖν ὀροῖν ἀναστῆναι καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Λευίτας τε καὶ ἱερέας. [306] καὶ πρώτους

μὲν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ Γρίζειν γενομένους εὔχεσθαι τὰ κάλλιστα τοῖς περὶ τὴν θρησκείαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν τῶν νόμων φυλακὴν σπουδάσασιν ὧν τε Μωυσῆς εἶπε μὴ παρακουσαμένοις, εὐφημεῖν δὲ τὰς ἑτέρας, καὶ τούτων πάλιν εὐχομένων τὰς προηγμένας ἐπαινεῖν: [307] ἔπειτα κατὰ ταὐτὰ τοῖς παραβησομένοις κατάρας τίθεσθαι ὑποφωνούσας ἀλλήλαις ἐπὶ τῇ κυρώσει τῶν λεγομένων. ἀνέγραψε δὲ τὰς εὐλογίας καὶ τὰς κατάρας αὐτός, ὡς μηδέποτε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν μάθησιν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου, [308] ἃς δὴ καὶ τῷ βωμῷ τελευτῶν ἐνέγραψε κατὰ πλευρὰν ἑκατέραν, ᾗ καὶ στάντα φησὶ τὸν λαὸν θῦσαί τε καὶ ὁλοκαυτῶσαι καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν οὐκ ἐπενεγκεῖν ἱερεῖον ἕτερον, οὐ γὰρ εἶναι νόμιμον. ταῦτ᾽ οὖν Μωυσῆς διέταξε καὶ τὸ Ἑβραίων ἔθνος ἀκόλουθα τούτοις ποιοῦν διατελεῖ.

44. This was the form of political government which was left us by Moses. Moreover, he had already delivered laws in writing in the fortieth year [after they came out of Egypt], concerning which we will discourse in another book. But now on the following days [for he called them to assemble continually] he delivered blessings to them, and curses upon those that should not live according to the laws, but should transgress the duties that were determined for them to observe. After this, he read to them a poetic song, which was composed in hexameter verse, and left it to them in the holy book: it contained a prediction of what was to come to pass afterward; agreeably whereto all things have happened all along, and do still happen to us; and wherein he has not at all deviated from the truth. Accordingly, he delivered these books to the priest, with the ark; into which he also put the ten commandments, written on two tables. He delivered to them the tabernacle also, and exhorted the people, that when they had conquered the land, and were settled in it, they should not forget the injuries of the Amalekites, but make war against them, and inflict punishment upon them for what mischief they did them when they were in the wilderness; and that when they had got possession of the land of the Canaanites, and when they had destroyed the whole multitude of its inhabitants, as they ought to do, they should erect an altar that should face the rising sun, not far from the city of Shechem, between the two mountains, that of Gerizzim, situate on the right hand, and that called Ebal, on the left; and that the army should be so divided, that six tribes should stand upon each of the two mountains, and with them the Levites and the priests. And that first, those that were upon Mount Gerizzim should pray for the best blessings upon those who were diligent about the worship of God, and the observation of his laws, and who did not reject what Moses had said to them; while the other wished them all manner of happiness also; and when these last put up the like prayers, the former praised them. After this, curses were denounced upon those that should transgress those laws, they, answering one

another alternately, by way of confirmation of what had been said. Moses also wrote their blessings and their curses, that they might learn them so thoroughly, that they might never be forgotten by length of time. And when he was ready to die, he wrote these blessings and curses upon the altar, on each side of it; where he says also the people stood, and then sacrificed and offered burnt-offerings, though after that day they never offered upon it any other sacrifice, for it was not lawful so to do. These are the constitutions of Moses; and the Hebrew nation still live according to them.

(45) [309] Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τὸν λαὸν σὺν γυναιξὶν ἅμα καὶ τέκνοις εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγών, ὡς παρεῖναι καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα, ὅρκου τῶν νόμων αὐτοὺς φυλακὴν ποιήσασθαι καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ διανοίας ἀκριβεῖς λογιστὰς γινομένους εἰ μηδὲν εἰς αὐτοὺς μήτε συγγενείᾳ χαριζομένους μήτε εἴκοντας φόβῳ μήτε ἄλλην καθάπαξ αἰτίαν κυριωτέραν τῆς τῶν νόμων φυλακῆς ὑπολαμβάνοντας παραβῆναι τούτους, [310] ἀλλ' ἄν τέ τις τῶν ἐξ αἵματος συγχεῖν καὶ καταλύειν ἐπιχειρῇ τὴν κατ' αὐτοὺς πολιτείαν ἄν τε πόλις, ἀμύνειν αὐτοῖς καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν, καὶ κρατήσαντας μὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνασπᾶν θεμελίων καὶ μηδὲ τὸ ἔδαφος τῶν ἀπονοηθέντων εἰ δυνατὸν καταλιπεῖν, εἰ δ' ἀσθενοῖεν λαβεῖν τὴν τιμωρίαν, αὐτὸ τὸ μὴ κατὰ βούλησιν ἰδίαν ταῦτα γίνεσθαι δεικνύναι. καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ὤμνυεν.

45. On the next day, Moses called the people together, with the women and children, to a congregation, so as the very slaves were present also, that they might engage themselves to the observation of these laws by oath; and that, duly considering the meaning of God in them, they might not, either for favor of their kindred, or out of fear of any one, or indeed for any motive whatsoever, think any thing ought to be preferred to these laws, and so might transgress them. That in case any one of their own blood, or any city, should attempt to confound or dissolve their constitution of government, they should take vengeance upon them, both all in general, and each person in particular; and when they had conquered them, should overturn their city to the very foundations, and, if possible, should not leave the least footsteps of such madness: but that if they were not able to take such vengeance, they should still demonstrate that what was done was contrary to their wills. So the multitude bound themselves by oath so to do.

(46) [311] Ἐδίδασκε δὲ αὐτούς, ὡς ἂν αἱ θυσίαι τῷ θεῷ μᾶλλον κεχαρισμέναι γένοιντο καὶ ὅπως ἂν οἱ στρατεύοντες ἐξίοιεν τεκμηρίῳ χρώμενοι τοῖς λίθοις, ὡς καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωκα. προεφήτευσε δὲ καὶ Ἰησοῦς Μωυσέος παρόντος. [312] ἔπειτα πάνθ' ὅσα ποιήσειεν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ λαοῦ σωτηρίας ἔν τε πολέμοις καὶ κατ' εἰρήνην νόμους τε συντιθεὶς καὶ τὸν τῆς πολιτείας κόσμον συμπορίζων

ἀναλογιζόμενος προεῖπεν, ὡς δηλώσειεν αὐτῷ τὸ θεῖον, ὅτι παραβάντες τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν θρησκείαν πειραθήσονται κακῶν, [313] ὡς ὅπλων τε αὐτοῖς πολεμίων πληρωθῆναι τὴν γῆν καὶ κατασκαφῆναι πόλεις καὶ τὸν νεὼν καταπρησθῆναι καὶ πραθέντας δουλεύειν ἀνδράσιν οὐδένα ληψομένοις οἶκτον ἐπὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς αὐτῶν, μετανοήσειν δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ μηδενὶ χρησίμῳ ταῦτα πάσχοντας. [314] ὁ μέντοι θεὸς ὁ κτίσας ὑμᾶς πόλεις τε πολίταις ὑμετέροις ἀποδώσει καὶ τὸν ναόν: ἔσεσθαι δὲ τὴν τούτων ἀποβολὴν οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις.

46. Moses taught them also by what means their sacrifices might be the most acceptable to God; and how they should go forth to war, making use of the stones [in the high priest's breastplate] for their direction, as I have before signified. Joshua also prophesied while Moses was present. And when Moses had recapitulated whatsoever he had done for the preservation of the people, both in their wars and in peace, and had composed them a body of laws, and procured them an excellent form of government, he foretold, as God had declared to him that if they transgressed that institution for the worship of God, they should experience the following miseries: — Their land should be full of weapons of war from their enemies, and their cities should be overthrown, and their temple should be burnt that they should be sold for slaves, to such men as would have no pity on them in their afflictions; that they would then repent, when that repentance would no way profit them under their sufferings. "Yet," said he, "will that God who founded your nation, restore your cities to your citizens, with their temple also; and you shall lose these advantages not once only, but often."

(47) [315] Παρορμήσας οὖν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπὶ τοὺς Χαναναίους στρατιὰν ἐξάγειν, ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ συνεργοῦντος οἷς ἂν ἐπιχειρήσειε, καὶ πᾶσαν ἐπευφημήσας τὴν πληθύν, "ἐπεί, φησί, πρὸς τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἄπειμι προγόνους καὶ θεὸς τήνδε μοι τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνους ἀφίξεως ὥρισε, [316] χάριν μὲν αὐτῷ ζῶν ἔτι καὶ παρὼν ὑμῖν ἔχειν ὁμολογῶ προνοίας τε τῆς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ἣν οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἀπαλλαγῆς μόνον τῶν ὑμετέρων ἐποιήσατο κακῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δωρεᾶς τῶν κρειττόνων, ὅτι τε πονοῦντί μοι καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐπὶ νοῦν τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ὑμῶν μεταβολῆς φροντίδα λαμβάνοντι συνηγωνίσατο καὶ παρέσχεν ἐν ἅπασιν αὐτὸν ὑμῖν εὐμενῆ. [317] μᾶλλον δ' αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ καὶ τὴν ἀφήγησιν αὐτῶν διδοὺς καὶ τὰ τέλη χαριζόμενος, ὑποστρατήγῳ χρώμενος ἐμοὶ καὶ ὑπηρέτῃ ὧν τὸν ἡμέτερον λαὸν εὐεργετεῖν ἠθέλησεν. [318] ἀνθ' ὧν προευλογῆσαι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν, ᾧ μελήσει καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ὑμῶν, ἀπαλλασσόμενος καλῶς ἔχειν ἡγησάμην, αὐτός τε ταύτην ὀφειλομένην ἀμοιβὴν ἀποδιδοὺς καὶ καταλείπων εἰς μνήμην ὑμῖν τὸ σέβειν τε καὶ τιμᾶν προσήκειν τοῦτον ὑμῖν καὶ τοὺς νόμους πάντων ὧν τε παρέσχηκε καὶ μένων εὐμενὴς ἔτι παρέξει δώρημα κάλλιστον φυλάττειν. [319]

ὡς δεινὸς μὲν ἐχθρὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος νομοθέτης ὑβριζομένων αὐτῷ τῶν νόμων καὶ μάτην κειμένων, θεοῦ δὲ μὴ πειραθείητε χαλεπαίνοντος ὑπὲρ ἀμελουμένων νόμων, οὓς αὐτὸς γεννήσας ὑμῖν ἔδωκε.”

47. Now when Moses had encouraged Joshua to lead out the army against the Canaanites, by telling him that God would assist him in all his undertakings, and had blessed the whole multitude, he said, “Since I am going to my forefathers, and God has determined that this should be the day of my departure to them, I return him thanks while I am still alive and present with you, for that providence he hath exercised over you, which hath not only delivered us from the miseries we lay under, but hath bestowed a state of prosperity upon us; as also, that he hath assisted me in the pains I took, and in all the contrivances I had in my care about you, in order to better your condition, and hath on all occasions showed himself favorable to us; or rather he it was who first conducted our affairs, and brought them to a happy conclusion, by making use of me as a vicarious general under him, and as a minister in those matters wherein he was willing to do you good: on which account I think it proper to bless that Divine Power which will take care of you for the time to come, and this in order to repay that debt which I owe him, and to leave behind me a memorial that we are obliged to worship and honor him, and to keep those laws which are the most excellent gift of all those he hath already bestowed upon us, or which, if he continue favorable to us, he will bestow upon us hereafter. Certainly a human legislator is a terrible enemy when his laws are affronted, and are made to no purpose. And may you never experience that displeasure of God which will be the consequence of the neglect of these his laws, which he, who is your Creator, hath given you.”

(48) [320] Μωυσέος δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου φήσαντος καὶ μετ’ εὐλογίας ἑκάστῃ τῶν φυλῶν προφητεύσαντος τὰ καὶ γενόμενα τὸ πλῆθος εἰς δάκρυα προύπεσεν, ὡς καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας στερνοτυπουμένας ἐμφανίζειν τὸ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τεθνηξομένῳ πάθος. καὶ οἱ παῖδες δὲ θρηνοῦντες ἔτι μᾶλλον ὡς ἀσθενέστεροι κρατεῖν λύπης ἐδήλουν, ὅτι τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ μεγαλουργίας παρ’ αὐτὴν τὴν ἡλικίαν συνίεσαν. [321] ἦν δὲ κατ’ ἐπίνοιαν τοῖς τε νέοις καὶ προηβηκόσιν ἡ ἄμιλλα τῆς λύπης: οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰδότες οἵου ἐστέρηνται κηδεμόνος περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀπεθρήνουν, τοῖς δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτου τὸ πένθος ἦν καὶ ὅτι μήπω καλῶς τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῦ γεγευμένοις ἀπολείπεσθαι συνέβαινεν αὐτοῦ. [322] τὴν δ’ ὑπερβολὴν τῆς τοῦ πλήθους οἰμωγῆς καὶ τῶν ὀδυρμῶν τεκμαίροιτο ἄν τις ἐκ τοῦ συμβάντος τῷ νομοθέτῃ: καὶ γὰρ πεπεισμένος ἅπαντι τῷ χρόνῳ μὴ δεῖν ἐπὶ μελλούσῃ τελευτῇ κατηφεῖν, ὡς κατὰ βούλησιν αὐτὸ πάσχοντας θεοῦ καὶ φύσεως νόμῳ, ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ πραττομένοις ἐνικήθη δακρῦσαι. [323] πορευομένῳ δ’ ἔνθεν οὗ ἔμελλεν ἀφανισθήσεσθαι πάντες εἵποντο δεδακρυμένοι,

καὶ Μωυσῆς τοὺς μὲν πόρρω τῇ χειρὶ κατασείων μένειν ἠρεμοῦντας ἐκέλευε, τὸ δ᾽ ἔγγιον λόγοις παρεκάλει μὴ ποιεῖν αὐτῷ δακρυτὴν τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν ἑπομένους. [324] οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτ᾽ αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι κρίνοντες τὸ κατὰ βούλησιν ἀπελθεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐφεῖναι κατέχουσιν ἑαυτοὺς ἐν ἀλλήλοις δακρύοντες. μόνη δ᾽ ἡ γερουσία προύπεμψεν αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἐλεάζαρος καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἰησοῦς. [325] ὡς δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει τῷ Ἀβαρεῖ καλουμένῳ ἐγένετο, τοῦτο δὲ ὑψηλὸν Ἰεριχοῦντος ἀντικρὺ κεῖται γῆν ἀρίστην τῶν Χαναναίων καὶ πλείστην παρέχον τοῖς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κατοπτεύειν, ἀπέπεμπε τὴν γερουσίαν. [326] ἀσπαζομένου δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ προσομιλοῦντος ἔτι, νέφους αἰφνίδιον ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν στάντος ἀφανίζεται κατά τινος φάραγγος. γέγραφε δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις τεθνεῶτα, δείσας μὴ δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον αὐτὸν ἀναχωρῆσαι τολμήσωσιν εἰπεῖν.

48. When Moses had spoken thus at the end of his life, and had foretold what would befall to every one of their tribes afterward, with the addition of a blessing to them, the multitude fell into tears, insomuch that even the women, by beating their breasts, made manifest the deep concern they had when he was about to die. The children also lamented still more, as not able to contain their grief; and thereby declared, that even at their age they were sensible of his virtue and mighty deeds; and truly there seemed to be a strife betwixt the young and the old who should most grieve for him. The old grieved because they knew what a careful protector they were to be deprived of, and so lamented their future state; but the young grieved, not only for that, but also because it so happened that they were to be left by him before they had well tasted of his virtue. Now one may make a guess at the excess of this sorrow and lamentation of the multitude, from what happened to the legislator himself; for although he was always persuaded that he ought not to be cast down at the approach of death, since the undergoing it was agreeable to the will of God and the law of nature, yet what the people did so overbore him, that he wept himself. Now as he went thence to the place where he was to vanish out of their sight, they all followed after him weeping; but Moses beckoned with his hand to those that were remote from him, and bade them stay behind in quiet, while he exhorted those that were near to him that they would not render his departure so lamentable. Whereupon they thought they ought to grant him that favor, to let him depart according as he himself desired; so they restrained themselves, though weeping still towards one another. All those who accompanied him were the senate, and Eleazar the high priest, and Joshua their commander. Now as soon as they were come to the mountain called Abarim, [which is a very high mountain, situate over against Jericho, and one that affords, to such as are upon it, a prospect of the greatest

part of the excellent land of Canaan,] he dismissed the senate; and as he was going to embrace Eleazar and Joshua, and was still discoursing with them, a cloud stood over him on the sudden, and he disappeared in a certain valley, although he wrote in the holy books that he died, which was done out of fear, lest they should venture to say that, because of his extraordinary virtue, he went to God.

(49) [327] Ἐβίωσε δὲ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἐτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, ὧν ἦρξε τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἑνὶ λείποντι μηνί. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ τῷ ὑστάτῳ μηνὶ τοῦ ἔτους, ὑπὸ μὲν Μακεδόνων Δύστρου καλουμένου Ἀδάρου δ' ὑφ' ἡμῶν νουμηνίᾳ, [328] συνέσει τε τοὺς πώποτ' ἀνθρώπους ὑπερβαλὼν καὶ χρησάμενος ἄριστα τοῖς νοηθεῖσιν, εἰπεῖν τε καὶ πλήθεσιν ὁμιλῆσαι κεχαρισμένος τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τῶν παθῶν [αὐτοκράτωρ], [329] ὡς μηδὲ ἐνεῖναι τούτων τῇ ψυχῇ δοκεῖν αὐτοῦ καὶ γινώσκειν μόνον αὐτῶν τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐκ τοῦ παρ' ἄλλοις αὐτὰ βλέπειν μᾶλλον ἢ παρ' αὐτῷ. καὶ στρατηγὸς μὲν ἐν ὀλίγοις, προφήτης δὲ οἷος οὐκ ἄλλος, ὥσθ' ὅ τι ἂν φθέγξαιτο δοκεῖν αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ἀκροᾶσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ. [330] πενθεῖ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ λαὸς ἐφ' ἡμέρας τριάκοντα, λύπη δὲ οὐκ ἄλλη κατέσχεν Ἑβραίους τοσαύτη τὸ μέγεθος, ὅση τότε Μωυσέος ἀποθανόντος. [331] ἐπόθουν δ' αὐτὸν οὐχ οἱ πειραθέντες αὐτοῦ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ τοῖς νόμοις ἐντυγχάνοντες αὐτοῦ δεινὴν ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ἐπιζήτησιν, τὸ περιὸν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐκ τούτων λογιζόμενοι. καὶ τὸ μὲν κατὰ Μωυσῆν τέλος τοιοῦτον ἡμῖν δεδηλώσθω.

49. Now Moses lived in all one hundred and twenty years; a third part of which time, abating one month, he was the people's ruler; and he died on the last month of the year, which is called by the Macedonians Dystrus, but by us Adar, on the first day of the month. He was one that exceeded all men that ever were in understanding, and made the best use of what that understanding suggested to him. He had a very graceful way of speaking and addressing himself to the multitude; and as to his other qualifications, he had such a full command of his passions, as if he hardly had any such in his soul, and only knew them by their names, as rather perceiving them in other men than in himself. He was also such a general of an army as is seldom seen, as well as such a prophet as was never known, and this to such a degree, that whatsoever he pronounced, you would think you heard the voice of God himself. So the people mourned for him thirty days: nor did ever any grief so deeply affect the Hebrews as did this upon the death of Moses: nor were those that had experienced his conduct the only persons that desired him, but those also that perused the laws he left behind him had a strong desire after him, and by them gathered the extraordinary virtue he was master of. And this shall suffice for the declaration of the manner of the death of Moses.

Liber V

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Ὡς Ἰησοῦς ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἑβραίων πολεμήσας πρὸς Χαναναίους καὶ κρατήσας αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν διέφθειρε, τὴν δὲ γῆν κατακληρουχήσας διένειμε ταῖς φυλαῖς.

β. ὡς ἀποθανόντος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ παραβαίνοντες οἱ Ἰσραηλῖται τοὺς πατρίους νόμους μεγάλων ἐπειράθησαν συμφορῶν, καὶ στασιασάντων ἡ Βενιαμὶς διεφθάρη φυλὴ χωρὶς ἀνδρῶν ἑξακοσίων.

γ. πῶς μετὰ ταύτην τὴν κακοπραγίαν ἀσεβήσαντας αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς Ἀσσυρίοις ἐδούλωσεν.

δ. ἡ διὰ Κενίζου τοῦ Ἀθνιήλου παιδὸς αὐτοῖς ἐλευθερία γενομένη ἄρξαντος ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα λεγομένου δὲ παρά τε Ἕλλησι καὶ Φοίνιξι κριτοῦ.

ε. ὅτι πάλιν ὁ λαὸς ἡμῶν ἐδούλευσε Μωαβίταις ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτη καὶ ὑπό τινος Ἰούδου τῆς δουλείας ἀπηλλάγη τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπ᾽ ἔτη κατασχόντος ὀγδοήκοντα.

ς. ὡς Χαναναίων αὐτοὺς καταδουλωσαμένων ἐπ᾽ ἔτη εἴκοσιν ἠλευθερώθησαν ὑπὸ Βαράκου καὶ Δεβώρας, οἳ ἦρξαν αὐτῶν ἐπ᾽ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα.

ζ. ὅτι πολεμήσαντες Ἀμαληκῖται τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις ἐνίκησάν τε καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐκάκωσαν ἔτη ἑπτά.

η. ὡς Γεδεὼν αὐτοὺς ἠλευθέρωσεν ἀπὸ Ἀμαληκιτῶν καὶ ἦρξε τοῦ πλήθους ἐπὶ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα.

θ. ὅτι μετ᾽ αὐτὸν πολλοὶ γενόμενοι διάδοχοι τοῖς πέριξ ἔθνεσιν ἐπολέμησαν ἱκανῷ χρόνῳ.

ι. περὶ τῆς Σαμψῶνος ἀνδρείας καὶ ὅσων κακῶν αἴτιος Παλαιστίνοις ἐγένετο.

ια. ὡς οἱ υἱοὶ Ἠλῖ τοῦ ἱερέως ἐσφάγησαν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Παλαιστίνους μάχῃ.

ιβ. ὡς ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῶν ἀκούσας τὴν συμφορὰν βαλὼν ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου ἀπέθανεν.

ιγ. ὡς νικήσαντες ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πολέμῳ τοὺς Ἑβραίους οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι καὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν αὐτῶν αἰχμάλωτον ἔλαβον.

ιδ. ὡς οἱ ἀπὸ Κενίζου ἄρξαντες πάντες κριταὶ ἐκλήθησαν.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν τετρακοσίων ἑβδομήκοντα.

BOOK V. Containing The Interval Of Four Hundred And Seventy-Six Years. — From The Death Of Moses To The Death Of Eli.

I

CHAPTER 1. How Joshua, The Commander Of The Hebrews, Made War With The Canaanites, And Overcame Them, And Destroyed Them, And Divided Their Land By Lot To The Tribes Of Israel.

(1) [1] Μωυσέος δὲ τὸν προειρημένον τρόπον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπογεγονότος Ἰησοῦς ἁπάντων ἤδη τῶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ νενομισμένων τέλος ἐχόντων καὶ τοῦ πένθους λελωφηκότος παρήγγειλεν ἐπὶ στρατείαν ἕτοιμον εἶναι τὸ πλῆθος, [2] πέμπει τε κατασκόπους εἰς Ἰεριχοῦντα τήν τε δύναμιν αὐτῶν καὶ τίνα διάνοιαν ἔχουσιν αὐτοὶ γνωσομένους, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐξήταζε τὸν στρατὸν ὡς κατὰ καιρὸν διαβησόμενος τὸν Ἰόρδανον. [3] ἀνακαλεσάμενος δὲ τοὺς τῆς Ῥουβηλίδος φυλῆς ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς τῆς Γάδιδος καὶ Μανασσήτιδος προεστῶτας, ἐξ ἡμισείας γὰρ καὶ τῇδε τῇ φυλῇ τὴν Ἀμορίαν κατοικεῖν ἐπετέτραπτο τῆς Χαναναίων γῆς ἕβδομον οὖσαν μέρος, ὑπεμίμνησκεν ἃ ὑπέσχοντο Μωυσεῖ, [4] καὶ παρεκάλει χαριζομένους τῇ τε ἐκείνου προνοίᾳ μηδ᾽ ὅτε ἀπέθνησκε περὶ αὐτοὺς καμούσῃ τῷ τε κοινῇ συμφέροντι παρέχειν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα προθύμους. τῶν δ᾽ ἑπομένων ὁπλίταις πεντακισμυρίοις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀβέλης ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόρδανον ἐξῄει σταδίους ἑξήκοντα.

1. When Moses was taken away from among men, in the manner already described, and when all the solemnities belonging to the mourning for him were finished, and the sorrow for him was over, Joshua commanded the multitude to get themselves ready for an expedition. He also sent spies to Jericho to discover what forces they had, and what were their intentions; but he put his camp in order, as intending soon to pass over Jordan at a proper season. And calling to him the rulers of the tribe of Reuben, and the governors of the tribe of Gad, and [the half tribe of] Manasseh, for half of this tribe had been permitted to have their habitation in the country of the Amorites, which was the seventh part of the land of Canaan, he put them in mind what they had promised Moses; and he exhorted them that, for the sake of the care that Moses had taken of them who had never been weary of taking pains for them no, not when he was dying, and for the sake of the public welfare, they would prepare themselves, and readily perform what they had promised; so he took fifty thousand of them who followed him, and he marched from Abila to Jordan, sixty furlongs.

(2) [5] Καὶ στρατοπεδεύσαντος εὐθὺς οἱ κατάσκοποι παρῆσαν μηδὲν ἀγνοήσαντες τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Χαναναίοις: ἐλθόντες γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ἅπασαν ἐπ᾽ ἀδείας αὐτῶν

τὴν πόλιν κατενόησαν, τῶν τε τειχῶν ὅσα καρτερὰ καὶ ὅσα μὴ τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλῶς καὶ τῶν πυλίδων αἳ πρὸς εἴσοδον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ δι᾽ ἀσθένειαν συνέφερον. [6] ἠμέλουν δὲ θεωμένων οἱ ἐντυγχάνοντες κατὰ ἱστορίαν ξένοις προσήκουσαν ἀκριβῶς ἕκαστα πολυπραγμονεῖν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει νομίζοντες, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχὶ διανοίᾳ πολεμίων. [7] ὡς δὲ γενομένης ὀψίας ὑποχωροῦσιν εἴς τι καταγώγιον τοῦ τείχους πλησίον, εἰς ὃ καὶ προήχθησαν δειπνοποιησάμενοι καὶ περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς αὐτοῖς τὸ λοιπὸν ἡ φροντὶς ἦν, [8] μηνύονται τῷ βασιλεῖ περὶ δεῖπνον ὄντι κατασκεψόμενοί τινες τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν Ἑβραίων στρατοπέδου παρεῖναι καὶ ὄντες ἐν τῷ τῆς Ῥαάβης καταγωγίῳ μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς τοῦ λανθάνειν προνοίας ὑπάρχειν. ὁ δ᾽ εὐθὺς πέμψας πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἀγαγεῖν συλλαβόντας, ἵνα βασανίσας μάθῃ, τί καὶ βουλόμενοι παρεῖεν. [9] ὡς δ᾽ ἔγνω τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν ἡ Ῥαάβη, λίνου γὰρ ἀγκαλίδας ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους ἔψυχε, τοὺς μὲν κατασκόπους εἰς ταύτας ἀποκρύπτει, τοῖς δὲ πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔλεγεν, ὡς ξένοι τινὲς εἶεν ἀγνῶτες ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἢ δῦναι τὸν ἥλιον παρ᾽ αὐτῇ δειπνήσαντες ἀπαλλαγεῖεν, οὓς εἰ φοβεροὶ τῇ πόλει δοκοῦσιν, ἢ κίνδυνον τῷ βασιλεῖ φέροντες ἦκον, ἀπόνως εἶναι λαβεῖν διωχθέντας. [10] οἱ δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς οὕτως αὐτοὺς ὑπελθούσης οὐδένα ὑπονοήσαντες δόλον ἀπῆλθον οὐδ᾽ ἐρευνήσαντες τὸ καταγώγιον. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ὁρμήσαντες καθ᾽ ἃς ἐνόμιζον αὐτοὺς μάλιστα τῶν ὁδῶν ἀπέρχεσθαι καὶ κατὰ τὰς εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν φερούσας οὐδενὶ γνωρίσματι περιετύγχανον, παύονται τοῦ πονεῖν. [11] τοῦ δὲ θορύβου σταλέντος ἡ Ῥαάβη καταγαγοῦσα τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον εἰποῦσα, ὃν ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν ὑπέλθοι σωτηρίας, ἁλοῦσαν γὰρ ἀποκρύπτουσαν αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἂν διαφυγεῖν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως τιμωρίαν, ἀλλὰ πανοικὶ αὐτὴν ἀπολέσθαι κακῶς, [12] παρακαλέσασα διὰ μνήμης ἔχειν, ὅταν ἐγκρατεῖς τῆς Χαναναίων γῆς καταστάντες ἀμοιβὴν ἐκτῖσαι δύνωνται τῆς ἄρτι σωτηρίας, χωρεῖν ἐκέλευεν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα ὀμόσαντας ἢ μὴν σώσειν αὐτὴν καὶ τὰ αὐτῆς, ὅταν τὴν πόλιν ἑλόντες φθείρωσι πάντας τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατὰ ψήφισμα τὸ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς γενόμενον: ταῦτα γὰρ εἰδέναι σημείοις τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ διδαχθεῖσαν. [13] οἱ δὲ καὶ τῶν παρόντων αὐτῇ χάριν ἔχειν ὠμολόγουν καὶ περὶ τῶν αὖθις ὤμνυον ἔργῳ τὴν ἀμοιβὴν ἀποδώσειν: ἡνίκα δ᾽ ἂν αἴσθηται μελλούσης ἁλίσκεσθαι τῆς πόλεως, συνεβούλευον κτῆσίν τε τὴν αὐτῆς καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους ἅπαντας εἰς τὸ καταγώγιον ἀποθεμένην ἐγκαθεῖρξαι πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἀνατείνασαν φοινικίδας, ὅπως εἰδὼς τὴν οἰκίαν ὁ στρατηγὸς φυλάττηται κακῶς ποιεῖν: [14] “μηνύσομεν γὰρ αὐτῷ, ἔφασαν, διὰ τὸ σὸν σώζεσθαι πρόθυμον. εἰ δέ τις ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πέσοι τῶν σῶν, σύ τε οὐκ ἂν ἡμῖν ἐπενέγκοις αἰτίαν καὶ τὸν θεὸν ὃν ὀμωμόκαμεν παραιτούμεθα μη [15] δὲν ὡς ἐπὶ παραβαίνουσι τοὺς ὅρκους δυσχερᾶναι.” καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα συνθέμενοι ἐχώρουν διὰ τοῦ τείχους καθιμήσαντες ἑαυτούς, καὶ διασωθέντες πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἐδήλωσαν ὅσα πράξαντες ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἦκον: Ἰησοῦς δὲ τῷ

ἀρχιερεῖ Ἐλεαζάρῳ καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ φράζει τὰ τοῖς σκοποῖς ὁμοθέντα πρὸς τὴν Ῥαάβην: οἱ δ' ἐπεκύρουν τὸν ὅρκον.

2. Now when he had pitched his camp, the spies came to him immediately, well acquainted with the whole state of the Canaanites; for at first, before they were at all discovered, they took a full view of the city of Jericho without disturbance, and saw which parts of the walls were strong, and which parts were otherwise, and indeed insecure, and which of the gates were so weak as might afford an entrance to their army. Now those that met them took no notice of them when they saw them, and supposed they were only strangers, who used to be very curious in observing everything in the city, and did not take them for enemies; but at even they retired to a certain inn that was near to the wall, whither they went to eat their supper; which supper when they had done, and were considering how to get away, information was given to the king as he was at supper, that there were some persons come from the Hebrews' camp to view the city as spies, and that they were in the inn kept by Rahab, and were very solicitous that they might not be discovered. So he sent immediately some to them, and commanded to catch them, and bring them to him, that he might examine them by torture, and learn what their business was there. As soon as Rahab understood that these messengers were coming, she hid the spies under stalks of flax, which were laid to dry on the top of her house; and said to the messengers that were sent by the king, that certain unknown strangers had supped with her a little before sun-setting, and were gone away, who might easily be taken, if they were any terror to the city, or likely to bring any danger to the king. So these messengers being thus deluded by the woman, and suspecting no imposition, went their ways, without so much as searching the inn; but they immediately pursued them along those roads which they most probably supposed them to have gone, and those particularly which led to the river, but could hear no tidings of them; so they left off the pains of any further pursuit. But when the tumult was over, Rahab brought the men down, and desired them as soon as they should have obtained possession of the land of Canaan, when it would be in their power to make her amends for her preservation of them, to remember what danger she had undergone for their sakes; for that if she had been caught concealing them, she could not have escaped a terrible destruction, she and all her family with her, and so bid them go home; and desired them to swear to her to preserve her and her family when they should take the city, and destroy all its inhabitants, as they had decreed to do; for so far she said she had been assured by those Divine miracles of which she had been informed. So these spies acknowledged that they owed her thanks for what she had done already,

and withal swore to requite her kindness, not only in words, but in deeds. But they gave her this advice, That when she should perceive that the city was about to be taken, she should put her goods, and all her family, by way of security, in her inn, and to hang out scarlet threads before her doors, [or windows,] that the commander of the Hebrews might know her house, and take care to do her no harm; for, said they, we will inform him of this matter, because of the concern thou hast had to preserve us: but if any one of thy family fall in the battle, do not thou blame us; and we beseech that God, by whom we have sworn, not then to be displeased with us, as though we had broken our oaths. So these men, when they had made this agreement, went away, letting themselves down by a rope from the wall, and escaped, and came and told their own people whatsoever they had done in their journey to this city. Joshua also told Eleazar the high priest, and the senate, what the spies had sworn to Rahab, who continued what had been sworn.

(3) [16] Δεδιότος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὴν διάβασιν, μέγας γὰρ ἦν ὁ ποταμὸς τῷ ῥεύματι καὶ οὔτε γεφύραις πορευτός, οὐ γὰρ ἔζευκτο τὸ πρότερον, βουλομένους τε γεφυροῦν οὐχ ἕξειν σχολὴν παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὑπελάμβανον πορθμείων τε μὴ τυγχανόντων, διαβατὸν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ἐπαγγέλλεται ποιήσειν τὸν ποταμὸν μειώσας αὐτοῦ τὸ πλῆθος. [17] καὶ δύο ἐπισχὼν ἡμέρας Ἰησοῦς διεβίβαζε τὸν στρατὸν καὶ τὴν πληθὺν ἅπασαν τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ: προῄεσαν μὲν οἱ ἱερεῖς τὴν κιβωτὸν ἔχοντες, ἔπειτα οἱ Λευῖται τήν τε σκηνὴν καὶ τὰ πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν ταῖς θυσίαις σκεύη κομίζοντες, εἵποντο δὲ τοῖς Λευίταις κατὰ φυλὰς ὁ πᾶς ὅμιλος μέσους ἔχων παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, δεδιὼς περὶ αὐτῶν μὴ βιασθεῖεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥεύματος. [18] ὡς δὲ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι πρώτοις ἐμβᾶσι πορευτὸς ἔδοξεν ὁ ποταμός, τοῦ μὲν βάθους ἐπεσχημένου, τοῦ δὲ κάχληκος τῷ μὴ πολὺν εἶναι μηδ᾽ ὀξὺν τὸν ῥοῦν ὥσθ᾽ ὑποφέρειν αὐτὸν τῇ βίᾳ ἀντ᾽ ἐδάφους κειμένου, πάντες ἤδη θαρσαλέως ἐπεραιοῦντο τὸν ποταμόν, οἷον αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς προεῖπε ποιήσειν τοιοῦτον κατανοοῦντες. [19] ἔστησαν δὲ ἐν μέσῳ οἱ ἱερεῖς ἕως οὗ διαβαίη τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τἀσφαλοῦς ἀψάμενον τύχοι. πάντων δὲ διαβάντων ἐξῄεσαν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐλεύθερον ἀφέντες ἤδη τὸ ῥεῦμα χωρεῖν κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ποταμὸς εὐθὺς ἐκβάντων αὐτὸν τῶν Ἑβραίων ηὔξετο καὶ τὸ ἴδιον ἀπελάμβανε μέγεθος.

3. Now while Joshua, the commander, was in fear about their passing over Jordan, for the river ran with a strong current, and could not be passed over with bridges, for there never had been bridges laid over it hitherto; and while he suspected, that if he should attempt to make a bridge, that their enemies would not afford him thee to perfect it, and for ferry-boats they had none,-God promised so to dispose of the river, that they might pass over it, and that by taking away the main part of its waters. So Joshua, after two days, caused the

army and the whole multitude to pass over in the manner following: — The priests went first of all, having the ark with them; then went the Levites bearing the tabernacle and the vessels which belonged to the sacrifices; after which the entire multitude followed, according to their tribes, having their children and their wives in the midst of them, as being afraid for them, lest they should be borne away by the stream. But as soon as the priests had entered the river first, it appeared fordable, the depth of the water being restrained and the sand appearing at the bottom, because the current was neither so strong nor so swift as to carry it away by its force; so they all passed over the river without fear, finding it to be in the very same state as God had foretold he would put it in; but the priests stood still in the midst of the river till the multitude should be passed over, and should get to the shore in safety; and when all were gone over, the priests came out also, and permitted the current to run freely as it used to do before. Accordingly the river, as soon as the Hebrews were come out of it, arose again presently, and came to its own proper magnitude as before.

(4) [20] Οἱ δὲ πεντήκοντα προελθόντες στάδια βάλλονται στρατόπεδον ἀπὸ δέκα σταδίων τῆς Ἰεριχοῦντος, Ἰησοῦς τε τόν τε βωμὸν ἐκ τῶν λίθων ὧν ἕκαστος ἀνείλετο τῶν φυλάρχων ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ τοῦ προφήτου κελεύσαντος ἱδρυσάμενος τεκμήριον γενησόμενον τῆς ἀνακοπῆς τοῦ ῥεύματος ἔθυεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ τὴν φάσκα ἑώρταζον ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χωρίῳ, [21] πάντων ὧν αὐτοῖς πρότερον συνέβαινε σπανίζειν τότε ῥᾳδίως εὐποροῦντες: τόν τε γὰρ σῖτον ἀκμάζοντα ἤδη τῶν Χαναναίων ἐθέριζον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ λείαν ἦγον: τότε γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἡ τῆς μάννας ἐπελελοίπει τροφὴ χρησαμένους ἐπὶ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα.

4. So the Hebrews went on farther fifty furlongs, and pitched their camp at the distance of ten furlongs from Jericho; but Joshua built an altar of those stones which all the heads of the tribes, at the command of the prophets, had taken out of the deep, to be afterwards a memorial of the division of the stream of this river, and upon it offered sacrifice to God; and in that place celebrated the passover, and had great plenty of all the things which they wanted hitherto; for they reaped the corn of the Canaanites, which was now ripe, and took other things as prey; for then it was that their former food, which was manna, and of which they had eaten forty years, failed them.

(5) [22] Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ποιούντων τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν οὐκ ἐπεξῄεσαν οἱ Χαναναῖοι τειχήρεις δ᾽ ἡσύχαζον, πολιορκεῖν αὐτοὺς Ἰησοῦς ἔγνω. καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἡμέρᾳ τὴν κιβωτὸν οἱ ἱερεῖς φέροντες, περὶ δ᾽ αὐτὴν ἐν κύκλῳ μέρος τι τῶν ὁπλιτῶν φυλάττον ἦν, [23] οἳ καὶ προῄεσαν ἑπτὰ κέρασιν αὐτῶν σαλπίζοντες παρεκάλουν τὸν στρατὸν εἰς ἀλκὴν, περιώδευόν τε τὸ τεῖχος ἑπομένης τῆς

γερουσίας, καὶ σαλπισάντων μόνον τῶν ἱερέων, τούτου γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐποίησαν περισσότερον, ἀνέζευξαν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. [24] καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἓξ ποιησάντων τῇ ἑβδόμῃ τὸ ὁπλιτικὸν Ἰησοῦς συναγαγὼν καὶ τὸν λαὸν ἅπαντα τὴν ἄλωσιν αὐτοῖς τῆς πόλεως εὐηγγελίζετο, ὡς κατ᾽ ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ ταύτην παρέξοντος αὐτομάτως καὶ δίχα [τοῦ] πόνου τοῦ σφετέρου τῶν τειχῶν κατενεχθησομένων. [25] κτείνειν μέντοι πάνθ᾽ ὁντινοῦν εἰ λάβοιεν παρεκελεύετο καὶ μήτε κάμνοντας ἀποστῆναι τοῦ φόνου τῶν πολεμίων, μήτ᾽ ἐλέῳ παραχωρήσαντας μήτε περὶ ἁρπαγὴν γινομένους περιορᾶν φεύγοντας τοὺς ἐχθρούς: [26] ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ζῷα πάντα διαφθείρειν μηδὲν αὐτοὺς εἰς ἰδίαν ὠφέλειαν λαμβάνοντας, ὅσος δ᾽ ἂν ἄργυρος ᾖ καὶ χρυσός, ταῦτα ἐκέλευσε συγκομίζοντας ἀπαρχὴν ἐξαίρετον τῶν κατωρθωμένων τῷ θεῷ τηρεῖν ἐκ τῆς πρῶτον ἁλισκομένης πόλεως εἰληφότας: σώζειν δὲ μόνην Ῥαάβην καὶ τὴν γενεὰν αὐτῆς διὰ τοὺς γενομένους πρὸς αὐτὴν τοῖς κατασκόποις ὅρκους.

5. Now while the Israelites did this, and the Canaanites did not attack them, but kept themselves quiet within their own walls, Joshua resolved to besiege them; so on the first day of the feast [of the passover], the priests carried the ark round about, with some part of the armed men to be a guard to it. These priests went forward, blowing with their seven trumpets; and exhorted the army to be of good courage, and went round about the city, with the senate following them; and when the priests had only blown with the trumpets, for they did nothing more at all, they returned to the camp. And when they had done this for six days, on the seventh Joshua gathered the armed men and all the people together, and told them these good tidings, That the city should now be taken, since God would on that day give it them, by the falling down of the walls, and this of their own accord, and without their labor. However, he charged them to kill every one they should take, and not to abstain from the slaughter of their enemies, either for weariness or for pity, and not to fall on the spoil, and be thereby diverted from pursuing their enemies as they ran away; but to destroy all the animals, and to take nothing for their own peculiar advantage. He commanded them also to bring together all the silver and gold, that it might be set apart as first-fruits unto God out of this glorious exploit, as having gotten them from the city they first took; only that they should save Rahab and her kindred alive, because of the oath which the spies had sworn to her.

(6) [27] Ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν καὶ διατάξας τὸν στρατὸν προσήγαγεν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν: περιῄεσαν δὲ πάλιν τὴν πόλιν ἡγουμένης τῆς κιβωτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἱερέων τοῖς κέρασιν ἐξοτρυνόντων τὴν δύναμιν πρὸς τὸ ἔργον. καὶ περιελθόντων ἑπτάκις καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἠρεμησάντων κατέπεσε τὸ τεῖχος μήτε μηχανῆς μήτε ἄλλης βίας αὐτῷ προσενεχθείσης ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων.

6. When he had said this, and had set his army in order, he brought it against the city: so they went round the city again, the ark going before them, and the priests encouraging the people to be zealous in the work; and when they had gone round it seven times, and had stood still a little, the wall fell down, while no instruments of war, nor any other force, was applied to it by the Hebrews.

(7) [28] Οἱ δ' εἰσελθόντες εἰς Ἰεριχοῦντα πάντας ἔκτεινον, τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πρὸς τὴν παράδοξον τοῦ τείχους ἀνατροπὴν καταπεπληγότων καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἄμυναν ἀχρείου γεγονότος: ἀνῃροῦντο δ' οὖν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἀποσφαττόμενοι καὶ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐπικαταλαμβανόμενοι. [29] παρῃτεῖτο δ' οὐδὲν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἀπώλλυντο ἄχρι γυναικῶν καὶ παιδίων, καὶ νεκρῶν ἡ πόλις ἦν ἀνάπλεως καὶ διέφυγεν οὐδέν. τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν ἅπασαν καὶ τὴν χώραν. [30] καὶ τὴν Ῥαάβην σὺν τοῖς οἰκείοις εἰς τὸ καταγώγιον συμφυγοῦσαν ἔσωσαν οἱ κατάσκοποι, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἰησοῦς ἀχθείσῃ χάριν ἔχειν ὡμολόγει τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν κατασκόπων καὶ μὴν τῆς εὐεργεσίας ταύτης ἔλεγεν ἐν ταῖς ἀμοιβαῖς οὐχ ἧττονα φανήσεσθαι, δωρεῖται δ' αὐτὴν εὐθὺς ἀγροῖς καὶ διὰ τιμῆς εἶχε τῆς πάσης.

7. So they entered into Jericho, and slew all the men that were therein, while they were aftrighted at the surprising overthrow of the walls, and their courage was become useless, and they were not able to defend themselves; so they were slain, and their throats cut, some in the ways, and others as caught in their houses; nothing afforded them assistance, but they all perished, even to the women and the children; and the city was filled with dead bodies, and not one person escaped. They also burnt the whole city, and the country about it; but they saved alive Rahab, with her family, who had fled to her inn. And when she was brought to him, Joshua owned to her that they owed her thanks for her preservation of the spies: so he said he would not appear to be behind her in his benefaction to her; whereupon he gave her certain lands immediately, and had her in great esteem ever afterwards.

(8) [31] Τῆς δὲ πόλεως εἰ καί τι παρέλθοι τὸ πῦρ κατέσκαπτε καὶ κατὰ τῶν οἰκησόντων, εἴ τις πορθηθεῖσαν ἀνεγείρειν ἐθελήσειεν, ἀρὰς ἔθετο, ὅπως θεμελίους μὲν τειχῶν βαλόμενος στερηθῇ τοῦ πρώτου παιδός, τελειώσας δὲ τὸν νεώτατον τῶν παίδων ἀποβάλῃ. τῆς δὲ ἀρᾶς τὸ θεῖον οὐκ ἠμέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ὑστέροις ἀπαγγελοῦμεν τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν πάθος γενόμενον.

8. And if any part of the city escaped the fire, he overthrew it from the foundation; and he denounced a curse against its inhabitants, if any should desire to rebuild it; how, upon his laying the foundation of the walls, he should be

deprived of his eldest son; and upon finishing it, he should lose his youngest son. But what happened hereupon we shall speak of hereafter.

(9) [32] Ἄπειρον δέ τι πλῆθος ἐκ τῆς ἁλώσεως συναθροίζεται ἀργύρου τε καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ προσέτι χαλκοῦ μηδενὸς παραβάντος τὰ δεδογμένα μηδ' εἰς ἰδίαν ὠφέλειαν αὐτὰ διαρπασαμένων, ἀλλ' ἀποσχομένων ὡς ἤδη τῷ θεῷ καθιερωμένων. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἰησοῦς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν εἰς τοὺς θησαυροὺς παραδίδωσι καταθέσθαι. καὶ Ἰεριχοῦς μὲν τοῦτον ἀπώλετο τὸν τρόπον.

9. Now there was an immense quantity of silver and gold, and besides those of brass also, that was heaped together out of the city when it was taken, no one transgressing the decree, nor purloining for their own peculiar advantage; which spoils Joshua delivered to the priests, to be laid up among their treasures. And thus did Jericho perish.

(10) [33] Ἄχαρος δέ τις Ζεβεδαίου παῖς ὢν ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς εὑρὼν χλαμύδα βασίλειον ἐκ χρυσοῦ μὲν πᾶσαν ὑφασμένην, μᾶζαν δὲ χρυσοῦ σταθμὸν ἕλκουσαν σίκλων διακοσίων καὶ δεινὸν ἡγησάμενος, εἰ ὃ κινδυνεύσας ηὕρατο κέρδος, τοῦτο τῆς ἰδίας χρείας ἀφελόμενος δοῦναι φέρων τῷ θεῷ καὶ μὴ δεομένῳ, ὄρυγμα βαθὺ ποιήσας ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ σκηνῇ κατώρυξεν εἰς τοῦτο, λήσειν νομίζων ὡς τοὺς συστρατιώτας οὕτως καὶ τὸν θεόν.

10. But there was one Achar, the son [of Charmi, the son] of Zebedias, of the tribe of Judah, who finding a royal garment woven entirely of gold, and a piece of gold that weighed two hundred shekels; and thinking it a very hard case, that what spoils he, by running some hazard, had found, he must give away, and offer it to God, who stood in no need of it, while he that wanted it must go without it, — made a deep ditch in his own tent, and laid them up therein, as supposing he should not only be concealed from his fellow soldiers, but from God himself also.

(11) [34] Ἐκλήθη δὲ ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ στρατόπεδον ἐβάλετο Ἰησοῦς Γάλγαλα: σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο ἐλευθέριον ὄνομα: διαβάντες γὰρ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐλευθέρους ἑαυτοὺς ἤδη ἀπό τε τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ταλαιπωρίας ἐγίνωσκον.

11. Now the place where Joshua pitched his camp was called Gilgal, which denotes liberty; for since now they had passed over Jordan, they looked on themselves as freed from the miseries which they had undergone from the Egyptians, and in the wilderness.

(12) [35] Μετὰ δ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας τῆς Ἰεριχοῦντος συμφορᾶς πέμπει τρισχιλίους ὁπλίτας Ἰησοῦς εἰς Ναιὰν πόλιν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰεριχοῦντος κειμένην αἱρήσοντας, οἳ συμβαλόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν Ναιητῶν τραπέντες ἀποβάλλουσιν ἄνδρας ἕξ καὶ

τριάκοντα. [36] τοῦτ᾽ ἀγγελθὲν τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις λύπην τε μεγάλην καὶ δεινὴν ἐποίησεν ἀθυμίαν οὐ κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον τῶν ἀπολωλότων, καίτοι γε πάντων ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ σπουδῆς ἀξίων διεφθαρμένων, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἀπόγνωσιν: [37] πιστεύοντες γὰρ ἤδη τῆς γῆς ἐγκρατεῖς εἶναι καὶ σῶον ἕξειν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τὸν στρατὸν οὕτως τοῦ θεοῦ προυπεσχημένου, τεθαρρηκότας παραδόξως ἑώρων τοὺς πολεμίους: καὶ σάκκους ἐπενδύντες ταῖς στολαῖς δι᾽ ὅλης ἡμέρας ἐν δακρύοις ἦσαν καὶ πένθει τροφῆς οὐδεμίαν ἐπιζήτησιν ποιούμενοι, μειζόνως δὲ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς εἶχον ἀχθόμενοι.

12. Now, a few days after the calamity that befell Jericho, Joshua sent three thousand armed men to take Ai, a city situate above Jericho; but, upon the sight of the people of Ai, with them they were driven back, and lost thirty-six of their men. When this was told the Israelites, it made them very sad, and exceeding disconsolate, not so much because of the relation the men that were destroyed bare to them, though those that were destroyed were all good men, and deserved their esteem, as by the despair it occasioned; for while they believed that they were already, in effect, in possession of the land, and should bring back the army out of the battles without loss, as God had promised beforehand, they now saw unexpectedly their enemies bold with success; so they put sackcloth over their garments, and continued in tears and lamentation all the day, without the least inquiry after food, but laid what had happened greatly to heart.

(13) [38] Βλέπων δὲ οὕτως ὁ Ἰησοῦς τήν τε στρατιὰν καταπεπληγυῖαν καὶ περὶ τῶν ὅλων πονηρὰν ἤδη τὴν ἐλπίδα λαμβάνουσαν παρρησίαν λαμβάνει πρὸς τὸν θεόν: [39] “ἡμεῖς γὰρ εἶπεν οὐχ ὑπ᾽ αὐθαδείας προήχθημεν ὥστε ταύτην ὑπάγεσθαι τοῖς ὅπλοις τὴν γῆν, ἀλλὰ Μωυσέος τοῦ σοῦ δούλου πρὸς τοῦθ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἐξεγείραντος, ᾧ διὰ πολλῶν τεκμηρίων ἐπηγγέλλου κτήσασθαι παρέξειν ἡμῖν τήνδε τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἡμῶν ἀεὶ τῶν πολεμίων ποιήσειν τοῖς ὅπλοις κρείττονα. [40] τινὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἡμῖν ἀπήντησε τὰς σάς, νῦν δὲ παρὰ δόξαν ἐπταικότες καὶ τῆς δυνάμεώς τινας ἀποβαλόντες ἐπὶ τούτοις ὡς οὐ βεβαίων τῶν παρὰ σοῦ καὶ ὧν προεῖπε Μωυσῆς ἀχθόμεθα καὶ χεῖρον ἡ τῶν μελλόντων ἐλπὶς ἡμᾶς ἀνιᾷ τῇ πρώτῃ πείρᾳ τοιαύτῃ συντυχόντας. [41] ἀλλὰ σύ, δέσποτα, δύναμις γάρ σοι τούτων ἴασιν εὑρεῖν, τό τε παρὸν ἡμῶν λυπηρὸν νίκην παρασχόμενος καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν αὖθις δύσελπι διακείμενον οὕτως τῆς διανοίας ἔξελε.”

13. When Joshua saw the army so much afflicted, and possessed with forebodings of evil as to their whole expedition, he used freedom with God, and said, “We are not come thus far out of any rashness of our own, as though we thought ourselves able to subdue this land with our own weapons, but at the instigation

of Moses thy servant for this purpose, because thou hast promised us, by many signs, that thou wouldst give us this land for a possession, and that thou wouldst make our army always superior in war to our enemies, and accordingly some success has already attended upon us agreeably to thy promises; but because we have now unexpectedly been foiled, and have lost some men out of our army, we are grieved at it, as fearing what thou hast promised us, and what Moses foretold us, cannot be depended on by us; and our future expectation troubles us the more, because we have met with such a disaster in this our first attempt. But do thou, O Lord, free us from these suspicions, for thou art able to find a cure for these disorders, by giving us victory, which will both take away the grief we are in at present, and prevent our distrust as to what is to come."

(14) [42] Ταῦτα μὲν Ἰησοῦς ἐπὶ στόμα πεσὼν ἠρώτα τὸν θεόν: χρηματίσαντος δὲ ἀνίστασθαι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ καθαίρειν τὸν στρατὸν μιάσματος ἐν αὐτῷ γεγονότος κλοπῆς τε τῶν καθιερωμένων αὐτῷ χρημάτων τετολμημένης, διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα τὴν νῦν αὐτοῖς ἧτταν συμπεσεῖν, ἀναζητηθέντος δὲ τοῦ δράσαντος καὶ κολασθέντος νίκην αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ πορίζεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων, φράζει ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν λαὸν Ἰησοῦς, [43] καὶ καλέσας Ἐλεάζαρον τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ τοὺς ἐν τέλει κατὰ φυλὴν ἐκλήρου. τούτου δὲ τὸ τετολμημένον ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς δηλοῦντος κατὰ φατρίας πάλιν ταύτης προτίθησι τὸν κλῆρον. τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς τοῦ κακουργήματος περὶ τὴν Ἀχάρου συγγένειαν ηὑρίσκετο. [44] κατ' ἄνδρα δὲ τῆς ἐξετάσεως γινομένης λαμβάνουσι τὸν Ἄχαρον: ὁ δ' οὐκ ἔχων ἔξαρνος εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ δεινῶς αὐτὸν ἐκπεριελθόντος ὡμολόγει τε τὴν κλοπὴν καὶ τὰ φώρια παρῆγεν εἰς μέσον. καὶ οὗτος μὲν εὐθὺς ἀναιρεθεὶς ἐν νυκτὶ ταφῆς ἀτίμου καὶ καταδίκῳ πρεπούσης τυγχάνει.

14. These intercessions Joshua put up to God, as he lay prostrate on his face: whereupon God answered him, That he should rise up, and purify his host from the pollution that had got into it; that "things consecrated to me have been impudently stolen from me," and that "this has been the occasion why this defeat had happened to them;" and that when they should search out and punish the offender, he would ever take care they should have the victory over their enemies. This Joshua told the people; and calling for Eleazar the high priest, and the men in authority, he cast lots, tribe by tribe; and when the lot showed that this wicked action was done by one of the tribe of Judah, he then again proposed the lot to the several families thereto belonging; so the truth of this wicked action was found to belong to the family of Zachar; and when the inquiry was made man by man, they took Achar, who, upon God's reducing him to a terrible extremity, could not deny the fact: so he confessed the theft, and produced what he had taken in the midst of them, whereupon he was immediately put to death;

and attained no more than to be buried in the night in a disgraceful manner, and such as was suitable to a condemned malefactor.

(15) [45] Ἰησοῦς δὲ ἀγνίσας τὸν στρατὸν ἐξῆγεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ναιὰν αὐτὸς καὶ νυκτὸς τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐνέδραις προλοχίσας ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον συμβάλλει τοῖς πολεμίοις. τῶν δὲ μετὰ θράσους αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν προτέραν νίκην ἐπιόντων ὑποχωρεῖν προσποιησάμενος ἕλκει τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ μακρὰν αὐτοὺς τῆς πόλεως διώκειν οἰομένους καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ νίκῃ καταφρονοῦντας. [46] ἔπειτ᾽ ἀναστρέψας τὴν δύναμιν κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῖς ποιεῖ, σημεῖά τε δοὺς ἃ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐνέδραις συνετέτακτο κἀκείνους ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ἐξανίστησιν. οἱ δ᾽ εἰσεπήδων εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἔνδον περὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν ὄντων, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ πρὸς θέαν τῶν ἔξω τὴν γνώμην περισπωμένων. [47] καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν πόλιν ἥρουν καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἔκτεινον, Ἰησοῦς δὲ τοὺς προσελθόντας εἰς χεῖρας βιασάμενος φυγεῖν τρέπεται, συνελαυνόμενοι δὲ ὡς εἰς ἀκέραιον τὴν πόλιν ἐπεὶ καὶ ταύτην ἐχομένην ἑώρων καὶ καταπιμπραμένην ὁμοῦ γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις κατέλαβον, διὰ τῶν ἀγρῶν σκεδασθέντες καὶ ἀμύνειν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ μονώσεως οὐ δυνάμενοι . [48] τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς τοὺς Ναιτιανοὺς καταλαβούσης, παίδων τε ὄχλος ἑάλω καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ θεραπείας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀποσκευῆς ἄπειρόν τι πλῆθος, ἀγέλας τε βοσκημάτων ἔλαβον οἱ Ἑβραῖοι καὶ χρήματα πολλά, καὶ γὰρ πλούσιον ἦν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα τοῖς στρατιώταις Ἰησοῦς διένειμεν ἐν Γαλγάλοις γενόμενος.

15. When Joshua had thus purified the host, he led them against Ai: and having by night laid an ambush round about the city, he attacked the enemies as soon as it was day; but as they advanced boldly against the Israelites, because of their former victory, he made them believe he retired, and by that means drew them a great way from the city, they still supposing that they were pursuing their enemies, and despised them, as though the case had been the same with that in the former battle; after which Joshua ordered his forces to turn about, and placed them against their front. He then made the signals agreed upon to those that lay in ambush, and so excited them to fight; so they ran suddenly into the city, the inhabitants being upon the walls, nay, others of them being in perplexity, and coming to see those that were without the gates. Accordingly, these men took the city, and slew all that they met with; but Joshua forced those that came against him to come to a close fight, and discomfited them, and made them run away; and when they were driven towards the city, and thought it had not been touched, as soon as they saw it was taken, and perceived it was burnt, with their wives and children, they wandered about in the fields in a scattered condition, and were no way able to defend themselves, because they had none to support them. Now when this calamity was come upon the men of Ai, there were a great

number of children, and women, and servants, and an immense quantity of other furniture. The Hebrews also took herds of cattle, and a great deal of money, for this was a rich country. So when Joshua came to Gilgal, he divided all these spoils among the soldiers.

(16) [49] Γεβεωνῖται δὲ κατοικοῦντες ἔγγιστα τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις τά τε τοῖς Ἰεριχουντίοις συμβεβηκότα πάθη καὶ τὰ τοῖς Ναιτίνοις ὁρῶντες καὶ πρὸς σφᾶς μεταβήσεσθαι τὸ δεινὸν ὑπονοοῦντες, Ἰησοῦν μὲν παρακαλεῖν οὐ διέγνωσαν: οὐδὲ γὰρ τεύξεσθαί τινος τῶν μετρίων ὑπελάμβανον ἐπ᾽ ὀλέθρῳ τοῦ Χαναναίων ἔθνους παντὸς πολεμοῦντος αὐτούς: [50] Κεφηρίτας δὲ καὶ Καριαθιαριμίτας γείτονας ὄντας αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν παρεκάλουν, οὐδ᾽ αὐτοὺς διαφεύξεσθαι τὸν κίνδυνον λέγοντες, εἰ φθάσαιεν αὐτοὶ ληφθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, συνασπίσαντας δὲ αὐτοῖς διέγνωσαν διαδρᾶναι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν. [51] προσδεξαμένων δὲ τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν πέμπουσι πρέσβεις πρὸς Ἰησοῦν φιλίαν σπεισομένους οὓς μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν ἐδοκίμαζον ἱκανοὺς πρᾶξαι τὰ συμφέροντα τῷ πλήθει. [52] οἱ δὲ ὁμολογεῖν αὐτοὺς Χαναναίους ἐπισφαλὲς ἡγούμενοι, διαφεύξεσθαι τὸν διὰ τοῦτο κίνδυνον ὑπολαμβάνοντες, εἰ λέγοιεν αὐτοὺς μὴ προσήκειν κατὰ μηδὲν Χαναναίοις ἀλλὰ πορρωτάτω τούτων κατοικεῖν, ἥκειν τε κατὰ πύστιν τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῦ πολλὴν ἀνύσαντες ὁδὸν ἔφασκον καὶ τεκμήριον τοῦ λόγου τούτου τὸ σχῆμα ὑπεδείκνυον: [53] τὰς γὰρ ἐσθῆτας καινὰς ὅτε ἐξῄεσαν οὔσας ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου τῆς ὁδοιπορίας αὐτοῖς τετρῖφθαι: τρυχίνας γὰρ εἰς τὸ ταῦτα πιστοῦσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπίτηδες ἔλαβον. [54] στάντες οὖν εἰς μέσους ἔλεγον, ὡς πεμφθεῖεν ὑπὸ τῶν Γεβεωνιτῶν καὶ τῶν περιοίκων πόλεων πλεῖστον ἀπεχουσῶν τῆσδε τῆς γῆς ποιησόμενοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν ἐφ᾽ αἷς πάτριον αὐτοῖς ἐστι συνθήκαις: μαθόντες γὰρ ἐκ θεοῦ χάριτος καὶ δωρεᾶς τὴν Χαναναίων αὐτοῖς γῆν κτήσασθαι δεδόσθαι τούτοις τ᾽ ἔλεγον ἥδεσθαι καὶ πολίτας ἀξιοῦν αὐτῶν γενέσθαι. [55] καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα λέγοντες καὶ ἐπιδεικνύντες τὰ τεκμήρια τῆς ὁδοιπορίας παρεκάλουν ἐπὶ συνθήκας καὶ φιλίαν τοὺς Ἑβραίους: Ἰησοῦς δὲ πιστεύσας οἷς ἔλεγον, ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶ τοῦ Χαναναίων ἔθνους, ποιεῖται πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν, καὶ Ἐλεάζαρος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς μετὰ τῆς γερουσίας ὄμνυσιν ἕξειν τε φίλους καὶ συμμάχους καὶ μηδὲν μοχλεύσεσθαι κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ἄδικον τοῖς ὅρκοις ἐπισυναινέσαντος τοῦ πλήθους. [56] καὶ οἱ μὲν ὧν ἤθελον τυχόντες ἐξ ἀπάτης ἀπῄεσαν πρὸς αὐτούς. Ἰησοῦς δὲ τῆς Χαναναίας στρατεύσας εἰς τὴν ὑπώρειον καὶ μαθὼν οὐ πόρρω τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τοὺς Γεβεωνίτας κατῳκημένους καὶ τοῦ γένους ὄντας τῶν Χαναναίων, μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐν τέλει τῆς ἀπάτης αὐτοῖς ἐνεκάλει. [57] τῶν δ᾽ οὐκ ἄλλην ἀφορμὴν σωτηρίας ἔχειν ἢ ταύτην προφασιζομένων καὶ διὰ τοῦτ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν ἐξ ἀνάγκης καταφυγεῖν συγκαλεῖ τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ἐλεάζαρον καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν, καὶ δημοσίους αὐτοὺς δικαιούντων ποιεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ παραβῆναι τὸν

ὅρκον ἀποδείκνυσιν εἶναι τοιούτους. καὶ οἱ μὲν τῆς καταλαβούσης αὐτοὺς συμφορᾶς τοιαύτην φυλακὴν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν εὕραντο.

16. But the Gibeonites, who inhabited very near to Jerusalem, when they saw what miseries had happened to the inhabitants of Jericho; and to those of Ai, and suspected that the like sore calamity would come as far as themselves, they did not think fit to ask for mercy of Joshua; for they supposed they should find little mercy from him, who made war that he might entirely destroy the nation of the Canaanites; but they invited the people of Cephirah and Kiriathjearim, who were their neighbors, to join in league with them; and told them that neither could they themselves avoid the danger they were all in, if the Israelites should prevent them, and seize upon them: so when they had persuaded them, they resolved to endeavor to escape the forces of the Israelites. Accordingly, upon their agreement to what they proposed, they sent ambassadors to Joshua to make a league of friendship with him, and those such of the citizens as were best approved of, and most capable of doing what was most advantageous to the multitude. Now these ambassadors thought it dangerous to confess themselves to be Canaanites, but thought they might by this contrivance avoid the danger, namely, by saying that they bare no relation to the Canaanites at all, but dwelt at a very great distance from them: and they said further, that they came a long way, on account of the reputation he had gained for his virtue; and as a mark of the truth of what they said, they showed him the habit they were in, for that their clothes were new when they came out, but were greatly worn by the length of thee they had been on their journey; for indeed they took torn garments, on purpose that they might make him believe so. So they stood in the midst of the people, and said that they were sent by the people of Gibeon, and of the circumjacent cities, which were very remote from the land where they now were, to make such a league of friendship with them, and this on such conditions as were customary among their forefathers; for when they understood that, by the favor of God, and his gift to them, they were to have the possession of the land of Canaan bestowed upon them, they said that they were very glad to hear it, and desired to be admitted into the number of their citizens. Thus did these ambassadors speak; and showing them the marks of their long journey, they entreated the Hebrews to make a league of friendship with them. Accordingly Joshua, believing what they said, that they were not of the nation of the Canaanites, entered into friendship with them; and Eleazar the high priest, with the senate, sware to them that they would esteem them their friends and associates, and would attempt nothing that should be unfair against them, the multitude also assenting to the oaths that were made to them. So these men,

having obtained what they desired, by deceiving the Israelites, went home: but when Joshua led his army to the country at the bottom of the mountains of this part of Canaan, he understood that the Gibeonites dwelt not far from Jerusalem, and that they were of the stock of the Canaanites; so he sent for their governors, and reproached them with the cheat they had put upon him; but they alleged, on their own behalf, that they had no other way to save themselves but that, and were therefore forced to have recourse to it. So he called for Eleazar the high priest, and for the senate, who thought it right to make them public servants, that they might not break the oath they had made to them; and they ordained them to be so. And this was the method by which these men found safety and security under the calamity that was ready to overtake them.

(17) [58] Τοῦ δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν βασιλέως χαλεπῶς φέροντος ἐπὶ τῷ μετατάξασθαι πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν τοὺς Γεβεωνίτας καὶ τοὺς τῶν πλησίον ἐθνῶν παρακαλέσαντος βασιλέας συνάρασθαι τῷ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν πολέμῳ, ὡς τούτους τε εἶδον παρόντας σὺν αὐτῷ, τέσσαρες δὲ ἦσαν, οἱ Γεβεωνῖται καὶ στρατοπεδευσαμένους ἐπί τινι πηγῇ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἄπωθεν παρασκευάζεσθαι πρὸς πολιορκίαν, ἐπεκαλοῦντο σύμμαχον Ἰησοῦν: [59] ἐν τούτοις γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς τὰ πράγματα, ὡς ὑπὸ μὲν τούτων ἀπολεῖσθαι προσδοκᾶν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐπ᾽ ὀλέθρῳ τοῦ Χαναναίων γένους στρατευσάντων σωθήσεσθαι διὰ τὴν γενομένην φιλίαν ὑπολαμβάνειν. [60] καὶ Ἰησοῦς πανστρατιᾷ σπεύσας ἐπὶ τὴν βοήθειαν καὶ δι᾽ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἀνύσας ὄρθριος προσμίγνυσι τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ τραπεῖσιν εἵπετο διώκων διὰ χωρίων ἐπικλινῶν, Βηθωρὰ καλεῖται. ἔνθα καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ συνεργίαν ἔμαθεν ἐπισημήναντος αὐτοῦ βρονταῖς τε καὶ κεραυνῶν ἀφέσει καὶ χαλάζης καταφορᾷ μείζονος τῆς συνήθους: [61] ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν αὐξηθῆναι πλέον, ὡς ἂν μὴ καταλαβοῦσα νὺξ ἐπίσχῃ τὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων πρόθυμον, συνέπεσεν, ὥστε καὶ λαμβάνει τοὺς βασιλέας Ἰησοῦς ἔν τινι κρυπτομένους σπηλαίῳ κατὰ Μακχίδα καὶ κολάζει πάντας. ὅτι δὲ τὸ μῆκος τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπέδωκε τότε καὶ τοῦ συνήθους ἐπλεόνασε, δηλοῦται διὰ τῶν ἀνακειμένων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ γραμμάτων.

17. But the king of Jerusalem took it to heart that the Gibeonites had gone over to Joshua; so he called upon the kings of the neighboring nations to join together, and make war against them. Now when the Gibeonites saw these kings, which were four, besides the king of Jerusalem, and perceived that they had pitched their camp at a certain fountain not far from their city, and were getting ready for the siege of it, they called upon Joshua to assist them; for such was their case, as to expect to be destroyed by these Canaanites, but to suppose they should be saved by those that came for the destruction of the Canaanites, because of the league of friendship that was between them. Accordingly, Joshua made haste

with his whole army to assist them, and marching day and night, in the morning he fell upon the enemies as they were going up to the siege; and when he had discomfited them, he followed them, and pursued them down the descent of the hills. The place is called Bethhoron; where he also understood that God assisted him, which he declared by thunder and thunderbolts, as also by the falling of hail larger than usual. Moreover, it happened that the day was lengthened that the night might not come on too soon, and be an obstruction to the zeal of the Hebrews in pursuing their enemies; insomuch that Joshua took the kings, who were hidden in a certain cave at Makkedah, and put them to death. Now, that the day was lengthened at this thee, and was longer than ordinary, is expressed in the books laid up in the temple.

(18) [62] Κατεστραμμένων δ' οὕτως τῶν περὶ τοὺς βασιλέας, οἳ τοὺς Γεβεωνίτας πολεμήσοντες ἐστράτευσαν, ἐπανῆει πάλιν τῆς Χαναναίας ἐπὶ τὴν ὀρεινὴν Ἰησοῦς καὶ πολὺν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ φόνον ἐργασάμενος καὶ λείαν λαβὼν παρῆν εἰς τὸ ἐν Γαλγάλοις στρατόπεδον. [63] τοῦ δὲ περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑβραίων ἀρετῆς λόγου πολλοῦ φοιτῶντος εἰς τοὺς περιοίκους κατάπληξις εἶχε τοὺς ἀκούοντας τὸ τῶν ἀπολωλότων πλῆθος καὶ στρατεύουσιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ περὶ Λίβανον ὄρος βασιλεῖς ὄντες Χαναναῖοι καὶ οἱ ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις τῶν Χαναναίων Παλαιστίνους προσλαβόντες στρατοπεδεύουσι πρὸς Βηρώθῃ πόλει Γαλιλαίας τῆς ἄνω Κεδέσης οὐ πόρρω: Γαλιλαίων δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον. [64] τοῦ δὲ στρατοῦ παντὸς ὁπλιτῶν μὲν ἦσαν μυριάδες τριάκοντα μύριοι δ' ἱππεῖς καὶ ἅρματα δισμύρια. καταπλήττει δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων αὐτόν τε Ἰησοῦν καὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ κρείττονος εὐλαβεστέρως εἶχον δι' ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ δέους. [65] τοῦ θεοῦ δ' ἐξονειδίσαντος αὐτοῖς τὸν φόβον καὶ τί πλέον τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ βοηθείας ποθοῦσιν, ὑποσχομένου τε νικήσειν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ κελεύσαντος τούς τε ἵππους ἀχρήστους ποιῆσαι καὶ τὰ ἅρματα πυρῶσαι, θαρσαλέος πρὸς τὰς ὑποσχέσεις τοῦ θεοῦ γενόμενος ἐξώρμησεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, [66] καὶ διὰ πέμπτης ἡμέρας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐλθὼν συνάπτει καὶ καρτερὰ μάχη γίνεται καὶ φόνος κρειττων πίστεως παρὰ τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις. διώκων δ' ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐξῆλθε καὶ πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα τῶν ἐχθρῶν πλὴν ὀλίγων διέφθειρε, [67] καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς πάντες ἔπεσον, ὥστε τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιλελοιπότων πρὸς τὸ κτείνεσθαι τοὺς ἵππους Ἰησοῦς αὐτῶν ἀνῄρει καὶ τὰ ἅρματα ἐνεπίμπρα, τήν τε χώραν ἐπ' ἀδείας διεπορεύετο μηδενὸς τολμῶντος εἰς μάχην ἐπεξελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ πολιορκίᾳ τὰς πόλεις αἱρῶν καὶ πᾶν ὅ τι λάβοι φονεύων.

18. These kings which made war with, and were ready to fight the Gibeonites, being thus overthrown, Joshua returned again to the mountainous parts of Canaan; and when he had made a great slaughter of the people there, and took their prey, he came to the camp at Gilgal. And now there went a great fame

abroad among the neighboring people of the courage of the Hebrews; and those that heard what a number of men were destroyed, were greatly aftrighted at it: so the kings that lived about Mount Libanus, who were Canaanites, and those Canaanites that dwelt in the plain country, with auxiliaries out of the land of the Philistines, pitched their camp at Beroth, a city of the Upper Galilee, not far from Cadesh, which is itself also a place in Galilee. Now the number of the whole army was three hundred thousand armed footmen, and ten thousand horsemen, and twenty thousand chariots; so that the multitude of the enemies aftrighted both Joshua himself and the Israelites; and they, instead of being full of hopes of good success, were superstitiously timorous, with the great terror with which they were stricken. Whereupon God upbraided them with the fear they were in, and asked them whether they desired a greater help than he could afford them; and promised them that they should overcome their enemies; and withal charged them to make their enemies' horses useless, and to burn their chariots. So Joshua became full of courage upon these promises of God, and went out suddenly against the enemies; and after five days' march he came upon them, and joined battle with them, and there was a terrible fight, and such a number were slain as could not be believed by those that heard it. He also went on in the pursuit a great way, and destroyed the entire army of the enemies, few only excepted, and all the kings fell in the battle; insomuch, that when there wanted men to be killed, Joshua slew their horses, and burnt their chariots and passed all over their country without opposition, no one daring to meet him in battle; but he still went on, taking their cities by siege, and again killing whatever he took.

(19) [68] Ἔτος δὲ πέμπτον ἤδη παρεληλύθει καὶ Χαναναίων οὐκέτ' οὐδεὶς ὑπολέλειπτο πλὴν εἰ μή τινες ὀχυρότητι τειχῶν διέφυγον. Ἰησοῦς δ' ἐκ τῶν Γαλγάλων ἀναστρατοπεδεύσας εἰς τὴν ὄρειον ἱστᾷ τὴν ἱερὰν σκηνὴν κατὰ Σιλοῦν πόλιν, ἐπιτήδειον γὰρ ἐδόκει τὸ χωρίον διὰ κάλλος, ἕως οἰκοδομεῖν ναὸν αὐτοῖς τὰ πράγματα παράσχοι. [69] καὶ χωρήσας ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ Σικίμων σὺν ἅπαντι τῷ λαῷ βωμόν τε ἵστησιν ὅπου προεῖπε Μωυσῆς καὶ νείμας τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ Γαριζεῖ ὄρει τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἵστησιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Ἠβήλῳ τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὁ βωμός ἐστι καὶ τὸ Λευιτικὸν καὶ τοὺς ἱερέας. [70] θύσαντες δὲ καὶ ἀρὰς ποιησάμενοι καὶ ταύτας ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ γεγραμμένας καταλιπόντες εἰς τὴν Σιλοῦν ἀνέζευξαν.

19. The fifth year was now past, and there was not one of the Canaanites remained any longer, excepting some that had retired to places of great strength. So Joshua removed his camp to the mountainous country, and placed the tabernacle in the city of Shiloh, for that seemed a fit place for it, because of the beauty of its

situation, until such thee as their affairs would permit them to build a temple; and from thence he went to Shechem, together with all the people, and raised an altar where Moses had beforehand directed; then did he divide the army, and placed one half of them on Mount Gerizzim, and the other half on Mount Ebal, on which mountain the altar was; he also placed there the tribe of Levi, and the priests. And when they had sacrificed, and denounced the [blessings and the] curses, and had left them engraven upon the altar, they returned to Shiloh.

(20) [71] Ἰησοῦς δ' ἤδη γηραιὸς ὢν καὶ τὰς τῶν Χαναναίων πόλεις ὁρῶν οὐκ εὐαλώτους ὑπό τε τῶν χωρίων ἐν οἷς ἦσαν ὀχυρότητος καὶ τῆς τῶν τειχῶν ἰσχύος, ἃ τῇ φυσικῇ τῶν πόλεων πλεονεξίᾳ προσεπιβαλλόμενοι προσεδόκων τοὺς πολεμίους ἀφέξεσθαι πολιορκίας δι' ἀπόγνωσιν τοῦ λαβεῖν, [72] καὶ γὰρ ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῷ ἑαυτῶν οἱ Χαναναῖοι μαθόντες τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας ποιησαμένους τὴν ἔξοδον τὴν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου πρὸς τῷ τὰς πόλεις καρτερὰς ποιεῖν ἐκεῖνον ἅπαντ' ἦσαν τὸν χρόνον, συναγαγὼν τὸν λαὸν εἰς τὴν Σιλοῦν ἐκκλησίαν παρήγγειλε. [73] καὶ σπουδῇ συνδραμόντων τά τε ἤδη κατωρθωμένα καὶ τὰς γεγενημένας πράξεις, ὡς εἰσὶν ἄρισται καὶ τοῦ θείου τοῦ παρασχόντος αὐτὰς ἄξιαι καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῶν νόμων οἷς κατακολουθοῦσιν ἔλεγε, βασιλεῖς τε τριάκοντα καὶ ἕνα τολμήσαντας αὐτοῖς εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν κεκρατῆσθαι δηλῶν καὶ στρατιὰν ὅση ποτὲ κατελπίσασα τῆς αὐτῶν δυνάμεως εἰς μάχην συνῆψεν ἅπασαν διαφθαρεῖσαν, ὡς μηδὲ γενεὰν αὐτοῖς ὑπολελεῖφθαι. [74] τῶν δὲ πόλεων ἐπειδήπερ αἱ μὲν ἐαλώκεσαν, πρὸς ἃς δὲ δεῖ χρόνου καὶ μεγάλης πολιορκίας διὰ τὴν τῶν τειχῶν ὀχυρότητα καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῶν οἰκητόρων πεποίθησιν, ἠξίου τοὺς ἐκ τῆς περαίας τοῦ Ἰορδάνου συνεξορμήσαντας αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν κινδύνων συναραμένους ὄντας συγγενεῖς ἀπολύειν ἤδη πρὸς τὰ οἰκεῖα χάριν αὐτοῖς ὧν συνέκαμον ὁμολογοῦντας, [75] ἕνα τε κατὰ φυλὴν ἀρετῇ προύχειν μαρτυρηθέντα πέμπειν, οἳ τὴν γῆν ἐκμετρησόμενοι πιστῶς καὶ μηδὲν κακουργήσοντες δηλώσουσιν ἡμῖν ἀδόλως αὐτῆς τὸ μέγεθος".

20. And now Joshua was old, and saw that the cities of the Canaanites were not easily to be taken, not only because they were situate in such strong places, but because of the strength of the walls themselves, which being built round about, the natural strength of the places on which the cities stood, seemed capable of repelling their enemies from besieging them, and of making those enemies despair of taking them; for when the Canaanites had learned that the Israelites came out of Egypt in order to destroy them, they were busy all that time in making their cities strong. So he gathered the people together to a congregation at Shiloh; and when they, with great zeal and haste, were come thither, he observed to them what prosperous successes they had already had, and what glorious things had been done, and those such as were worthy of that God who

enabled them to do those things, and worthy of the virtue of those laws which they followed. He took notice also, that thirty-one of those kings that ventured to give them battle were overcome, and every army, how great soever it were, that confided in their own power, and fought with them, was utterly destroyed; so that not so much as any of their posterity remained. And as for the cities, since some of them were taken, but the others must be taken in length of thee, by long sieges, both on account of the strength of their walls, and of the confidence the inhabitants had in them thereby, he thought it reasonable that those tribes that came along with them from beyond Jordan, and had partaken of the dangers they had undergone, being their own kindred, should now be dismissed and sent home, and should have thanks for the pains they had taken together with them. As also, he thought it reasonable that they should send one man out of every tribe, and he such as had the testimony of extraordinary virtue, who should measure the land faithfully, and without any fallacy or deceit should inform them of its real magnitude.

(21) [76] Καὶ Ἰησοῦς μὲν τούτους ποιησάμενος τοὺς λόγους συγκάταινον ἔσχε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐκμετρησομένους τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐξέπεμψε παραδοὺς αὐτοῖς τινας γεωμετρίας ἐπιστήμονας, οὓς τἀληθὲς οὐκ ἔμελλε λήσεσθαι διὰ τὴν τέχνην, ἐντολὰς δοὺς ἀποτιμήσασθαι τῆς τε εὐδαίμονος ἰδίᾳ τὸ μέτρον γῆς καὶ τῆς ἧσσον ἀγαθῆς. [77] ἡ γὰρ φύσις τῆς Χαναναίων γῆς τοιαύτη τίς ἐστιν, ὡς ἴδοι τις ἂν πεδία μεγάλα καὶ καρποὺς φέρειν ἱκανώτατα καὶ συγκρινόμενα μὲν ἑτέρᾳ γῇ πανευδαίμονα νομισθησόμενα, τοῖς δ' Ἰεριχουντίων χωρίοις παραβαλλόμενα καὶ τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν τὸ μηδὲν ἀναφανησόμενα: [78] καίτοι παντελῶς ὀλίγην αὐτῶν εἶναι τὴν γῆν συμβέβηκε ταύτης δὲ ὀρεινὴν τὴν πολλήν, ἀλλ' ὑπερβολὴν εἰς καρπῶν ἐκτροφήν τε καὶ κάλλος οὐκ ἀπολέλοιπεν ἑτέρᾳ. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τιμητοὺς μᾶλλον ἢ μετρητοὺς τοὺς κλήρους εἶναι δεῖν ὑπέλαβε πολλάκις ἑνὸς πλέθρου κἂν χιλίων ἀνταξίου γενομένου. [79] οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες οἱ πεμφθέντες, δέκα δὲ ἦσαν, περιοδεύσαντες καὶ τιμησάμενοι τὴν γῆν ἐν ἑβδόμῳ μηνὶ παρῆσαν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Σιλοῦντα πόλιν, ἔνθα τὴν σκηνὴν ἐστάκεσαν.

21. Now Joshua, when he had thus spoken to them, found that the multitude approved of his proposal. So he sent men to measure their country, and sent with them some geometricians, who could not easily fail of knowing the truth, on account of their skill in that art. He also gave them a charge to estimate the measure of that part of the land that was most fruitful, and what was not so good: for such is the nature of the land of Canaan, that one may see large plains, and such as are exceeding fit to produce fruit, which yet, if they were compared to other parts of the country, might be reckoned exceedingly fruitful; yet, if it be compared with the fields about Jericho, and to those that belong to Jerusalem,

will appear to be of no account at all; and although it so falls out that these people have but a very little of this sort of land, and that it is, for the main, mountainous also, yet does it not come behind other parts, on account of its exceeding goodness and beauty; for which reason Joshua thought the land for the tribes should be divided by estimation of its goodness, rather than the largeness of its measure, it often happening that one acre of some sort of land was equivalent to a thousand other acres. Now the men that were sent, which were in number ten, traveled all about, and made an estimation of the land, and in the seventh month came to him to the city of Shiloh, where they had set up the tabernacle.

(22) [80] Καὶ Ἰησοῦς Ἐλεάζαρόν τε καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν σὺν τοῖς φυλάρχοις παραλαβὼν νέμει ταῖς ἐννέα φυλαῖς καὶ τῶν Μανασσητῶν τοῖς ἡμίσεσι, κατὰ μέγεθος ἑκάστης τῶν φυλῶν τὴν μέτρησιν ποιησάμενος. [81] κληρώσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, ἡ μὲν Ἰούδα λαχοῦσα πᾶσαν αἱρεῖται τὴν καθύπερθεν Ἰδουμαίαν παρατείνουσαν μὲν ἄχρι τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τὸ δ' εὖρος ἕως τῆς Σοδομίτιδος λίμνης καθήκουσαν: ἐν δὲ τῷ κλήρῳ τούτῳ πόλεις ἦσαν Ἀσκάλων καὶ Γάζα. [82] Σεμεωνὶς δέ, δευτέρα γὰρ ἦν, ἔλαχε τῆς Ἰδουμαίας τὴν Αἰγύπτῳ τε καὶ τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ πρόσορον οὖσαν. Βενιαμῖται δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ ἔλαχον ἄχρι θαλάσσης μὲν τὸ μῆκος, τὸ δὲ πλάτος Ἱεροσολύμοις ὁριζομένην καὶ Βηθήλοις: στενώτατος δὲ ὁ κλῆρος οὗτος ἦν διὰ τὴν τῆς γῆς ἀρετήν: Ἰεριχοῦντα γὰρ καὶ τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ἔλαβον. [83] ἡ δ' Ἐφρὰν φυλὴ τὴν ἄχρι Γαζάρων ἀπὸ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ μηκυνομένην ἔλαχεν, εὐρεῖαν δὲ ὅσον ἀπὸ Βεθήλων εἰς τὸ μέγα τελευτᾷ πεδίον, τῆς τε Μανασσήτιδος οἱ ἡμίσεις ἀπὸ μὲν Ἰορδάνου μέχρι Δώρων πόλεως, πλάτος δὲ ἐπὶ Βηθησάνων, ἣ νῦν Σκυθόπολις καλεῖται, [84] καὶ μετὰ τούτους Ἰσαχαρὶς Κάρμηλόν τε τὸ ὄρος καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦ μήκους ποιησαμένη τέρμονα, τὸ δὲ Ἰταβύριον ὄρος τοῦ πλάτους. Ζαβουλωνῖται δὲ τὴν μέχρι Γενησαρίδος καθήκουσαν δὲ περὶ Κάρμηλον καὶ θάλασσαν ἔλαχον. [85] τὴν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Καρμήλου κοιλάδα προσαγορευομένην διὰ τὸ καὶ τοιαύτην εἶναι Ἀσηρῖται φέρονται πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπὶ Σιδῶνος τετραμμένην: Ἄρκη δὲ πόλις ὑπῆρχεν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ μερίδι ἡ καὶ Ἐκδείπους. [86] τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολὰς τετραμμένα μέχρι Δαμασκοῦ πόλεως καὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας τὰ καθύπερθεν Νεφθαλῖται παρέλαβον ἕως τοῦ Λιβάνου ὄρους καὶ τῶν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου πηγῶν, αἳ τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους ἔχουσιν, ἐκ τοῦ καθήκοντος τοῖς ὅροις κατὰ τὰ βόρεια πόλεως Ἄρκης παροικούσης. [87] Δανῖται δὲ τῆς κοίλης ὅσα πρὸς δυόμενον τέτραπται τὸν ἥλιον λαγχάνουσιν Ἀζώτῳ καὶ Δώροις ὁριζόμενοι Ἰάμνειάν τε πᾶσαν καὶ Γίτταν ἀπ' Ἀκκαρῶνος ἕως τοῦ ὄρους, ἐξ οὗ ἡ Ἰούδα ἦρκτο φυλή.

22. So Joshua took both Eleazar and the senate, and with them the heads of the tribes, and distributed the land to the nine tribes, and to the half-tribe of

Manasseh, appointing the dimensions to be according to the largeness of each tribe. So when he had cast lots, Judah had assigned him by lot the upper part of Judea, reaching as far as Jerusalem, and its breadth extended to the Lake of Sodom. Now in the lot of this tribe there were the cities of Askelon and Gaza. The lot of Simeon, which was the second, included that part of Idumea which bordered upon Egypt and Arabia. As to the Benjamites, their lot fell so, that its length reached from the river Jordan to the sea, but in breadth it was bounded by Jerusalem and Bethel; and this lot was the narrowest of all, by reason of the goodness of the land, for it included Jericho and the city of Jerusalem. The tribe of Ephraim had by lot the land that extended in length from the river Jordan to Gezer; but in breadth as far as from Bethel, till it ended at the Great Plain. The half-tribe of Manasseh had the land from Jordan to the city of Dora; but its breadth was at Bethsham, which is now called Scythopolis. And after these was Issachar, which had its limits in length, Mount Carmel and the river, but its limit in breadth was Mount Tabor. The tribe of Zebulon's lot included the land which lay as far as the Lake of Genesareth, and that which belonged to Carmel and the sea. The tribe of Aser had that part which was called the Valley, for such it was, and all that part which lay over-against Sidon. The city Arce belonged to their share, which is also named Actipus. The Naphthalites received the eastern parts, as far as the city of Damascus and the Upper Galilee, unto Mount Libanus, and the Fountains of Jordan, which rise out of that mountain; that is, out of that part of it whose limits belong to the neighboring city of Arce. The Danites' lot included all that part of the valley which respects the sun-setting, and were bounded by Azotus and Dora; as also they had all Jamnia and Gath, from Ekron to that mountain where the tribe of Judah begins.

(23) [88] Καὶ ἓξ μὲν ἔθνη τῶν υἱέων τοῦ Χαναναίου φέροντα τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν διεῖλεν οὕτως Ἰησοῦς καὶ τὴν γῆν ταῖς ἐννέα καὶ τῇ ἡμισείᾳ φυλαῖς ἔδωκε νέμεσθαι: [89] τὴν γὰρ Ἀμορρῖτιν καὶ αὐτὴν οὕτως ἀφ' ἑνὸς τῶν Χαναναίου παίδων καλουμένην Μωυσῆς ἤδη προειληφὼς νενεμήκει ταῖς δυσὶ φυλαῖς καὶ τῷ ἡμίσει: τοῦτο δὲ καὶ πρότερον δεδηλώκαμεν. τὰ δὲ περὶ Σιδῶνα καὶ Ἀρουκαίους καὶ Ἀμαθαίους καὶ Ἀριδαίους ἀδιακόσμητα ἦν.

23. After this manner did Joshua divide the six nations that bear the name of the sons of Canaan, with their land, to be possessed by the nine tribes and a half; for Moses had prevented him, and had already distributed the land of the Amorites, which itself was so called also from one of the sons of Canaan, to the two tribes and a half, as we have shown already. But the parts about Sidon, as also those that belonged to the Arkites, and the Amathites, and the Aradians, were not yet regularly disposed of.

(24) [90] Ἰησοῦς δὲ τοῦ γήρως ἐμποδίζοντος ἤδη πράττειν ὅσα καὶ νοήσειε τῶν τε μετ᾽ αὐτὸν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παραλαβόντων ἀμελῶς προστάντων τοῦ κοινῇ συμφέροντος, παρήγγειλέ τε φυλῇ ἑκάστῃ τοῦ γένους τῶν Χαναναίων μηδὲν ὑπολιπεῖν ἐν τῇ κατακεκληρωμένῃ γῇ: τὴν γὰρ ἀσφάλειαν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν πατρίων ἐθῶν ἐν μόνῳ τούτῳ καὶ Μωυσῆν αὐτοῖς εἶναι προειπεῖν καὶ τοῦτ᾽ αὐτοὺς πεπεῖσθαι. [91] καὶ τοῖς Λευίταις δὲ τὰς ὀκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα πόλεις ἀποδιδόναι: προειλήφεισαν γὰρ ἤδη κατὰ τὴν Ἀμορραίαν τὰς δέκα. τούτων τρεῖς ἀπονέμει τοῖς φυγάσιν οἰκεῖν ἐν αὐταῖς, πολλὴ γὰρ ἦν πρόνοια τοῦ μηδὲν ὧν Μωυσῆς διέταξε παραλιπεῖν, τῆς μὲν οὖν Ἰούδα φυλῆς Ἰέβρωνα, Σίκιμα δὲ τῆς Ἐφραίμ, τῆς Νεφθαλίτιδος δὲ Κεδέσην: ἔστι τῆς καθύπερθεν Γαλιλαίας τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον. [92] νέμει δὲ καὶ τῆς λείας ὅσα ἦν ἔτι λοιπά, πλείστη δ᾽ ἐγεγόνει, καὶ μεγάλους πλούτους περιεβέβληντο καὶ κοινῇ πάντες καὶ κατ᾽ ἰδίαν ἕκαστος χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ ἐσθήτων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐπισκευῆς ἕνεκα, τετραπόδων τε πλήθους ὅσον οὐδὲ ἀριθμῷ μαθεῖν ἦν προσγενομένου.

24. But now was Joshua hindered by his age from executing what he intended to do [as did those that succeeded him in the government, take little care of what was for the advantage of the public]; so he gave it in charge to every tribe to leave no remainder of the race of the Canaanites in the land that had been divided to them by lot; that Moses had assured them beforehand, and they might rest fully satisfied about it, that their own security and their observation of their own laws depended wholly upon it. Moreover, he enjoined them to give thirty-eight cities to the Levites, for they had already received ten in the country of the Amorites; and three of these he assigned to those that fled from the man-slayers, who were to inhabit there; for he was very solicitous that nothing should be neglected which Moses had ordained. These cities were, of the tribe of Judah, Hebron; of that of Ephraim, Shechem; and of that of Naphthali, Cadesh, which is a place of the Upper Galilee. He also distributed among them the rest of the prey not yet distributed, which was very great; whereby they had an affluence of great riches, both all in general, and every one in particular; and this of gold and of vestments, and of other furniture, besides a multitude of cattle, whose number could not be told.

(25) [93] Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν στρατὸν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰόρδανον κατὰ τὴν Ἀμορραίαν ἱδρυμένοις, συνεστράτευον δ᾽ αὐτοῖς πεντακισμύριοι ὁπλῖται, ἔλεξε τάδε: “ἐπεὶ ὁ θεός, πατὴρ καὶ δεσπότης τοῦ Ἑβραίων γένους, γῆν τε κτήσασθαι ταύτην ἔδωκε καὶ κτηθεῖσαν εἰς ἅπαν ἡμετέραν φυλάξειν ὑπείσχηται, [94] συνεργίας δὲ τῆς παρ᾽ ὑμῶν κατ᾽ ἐντολὴν τὴν ἐκείνου δεομένοις ἑαυτοὺς εἰς ἅπαν προθύμους ἐδώκατε, δίκαιον ὑμᾶς μηδενὸς ἔτι δυσκόλου περιμένοντος ἀναπαύσεως ἤδη τυχεῖν φειδοῖ τῆς προθυμίας ὑμῶν,

ἵν᾽ εἰ καὶ πάλιν δεήσειεν ἡμῖν αὐτῆς ἄοκνον ἔχωμεν εἰς τὰ κατεπείξοντα καὶ μὴ τοῖς νῦν καμοῦσαν αὖθις βραδυτέραν. [95] χάριν τε οὖν ὑμῖν ὧν συνήρασθε κινδύνων καὶ οὐχὶ νῦν μόνον ἀλλ᾽ ἀεὶ πάντως ἕξομεν, ὄντες ἀγαθοὶ μεμνῆσθαι τῶν φίλων καὶ παρὰ τῇ διανοίᾳ κρατεῖν ὅσα παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἡμῖν ὑπῆρξεν, ὅτι τε τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὑμῖν ἀγαθῶν δι᾽ ἡμᾶς ἀνεβάλεσθε καὶ πονήσαντες εἰς ἃ νῦν εὐνοίᾳ θεοῦ κατέστημεν ἔπειθ᾽ οὕτως ἐκρίνατε αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνειν. [96] γέγονε δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἀγαθοῖς ἐκ τῶν σὺν ἡμῖν πόνων πλοῦτος ἄφθονος λείαν τε πολλὴν ἐπαξομένοις καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ τὸ τούτων ἔτι πλεῖον, παρ᾽ ἡμῖν εὔνοια καὶ πρὸς ὅ τι βουληθείητε κατ᾽ ἀμοιβὴν πρόθυμον. οὔτε γὰρ ὧν Μωυσῆς προεῖπεν ἀπελείφθητε καταφρονήσαντες ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπελθόντος οὔτ᾽ ἔστιν οὐδὲν ἐφ᾽ ᾧ μὴ χάριν ὑμῖν οἴδαμεν. [97] χαίροντας οὖν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰς κληρουχίας ἀπολύομεν καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν μηδένα τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς συγγενείας ὅρον ὑπολαμβάνειν, μηδ᾽ ὅτι μεταξὺ ποταμὸς οὗτός ἐστιν ἑτέρους ἡμᾶς νομίσητε καὶ οὐχὶ Ἑβραίους. Ἀβράμου γὰρ ἅπαντές ἐσμεν οἵ τ᾽ ἐνθάδε κἀκεῖ κατοικοῦντες, θεός τε εἷς, ὃς τούς τε ἡμετέρους προγόνους καὶ τοὺς ὑμῶν αὐτῶν παρήγαγεν εἰς τὸν βίον: [98] οὗ τῆς θρησκείας ἐπιμελεῖσθε καὶ πολιτείας, ἣν αὐτὸς διὰ Μωυσέος διέταξε, φυλακὴν ἔχετε τὴν πᾶσαν, ὡς ἐμμενόντων μὲν τούτοις καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ παρέξοντος εὔνουν εἶναι καὶ σύμμαχον ἑαυτόν, ἐκτραπέντων δὲ εἰς ἑτέρων ἐθνῶν μίμησιν ἀπο [99] στραφησομένου τὸ γένος ὑμῶν.” ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ καθ᾽ ἕνα τοὺς ἐν τέλει καὶ κοινῇ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἀσπασάμενος αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπέμεινε, προύπεμπε δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὁ λαὸς οὐκ ἀδακρυτὶ καὶ μόλις ἀλλήλων ἀπελύθησαν.

25. After this was over, he gathered the army together to a congregation, and spake thus to those tribes that had their settlement in the land of the Amorites beyond Jordan, — for fifty thousand of them had armed themselves, and had gone to the war along with them:— “Since that God, who is the Father and Lord of the Hebrew nation, has now given us this land for a possession, and promised to preserve us in the enjoyment of it as our own for ever; and since you have with alacrity offered yourselves to assist us when we wanted that assistance on all occasions, according to his command; it is but just, now all our difficulties are over, that you should be permitted to enjoy rest, and that we should trespass on your alacrity to help us no longer; that so, if we should again stand in need of it, we may readily have it on any future emergency, and not tire you out so much now as may make you slower in assisting us another thee. We, therefore, return you our thanks for the dangers you have undergone with us, and we do it not at this thee only, but we shall always be thus disposed; and be so good as to remember our friends, and to preserve in mind what advantages we have had from them; and how you have put off the enjoyments of your own happiness for

our sakes, and have labored for what we have now, by the goodwill of God, obtained, and resolved not to enjoy your own prosperity till you had afforded us that assistance. However, you have, by joining your labor with ours, gotten great plenty of riches, and will carry home with you much prey, with gold and silver, and, what is more than all these, our goodwill towards you, and a mind willingly disposed to make a requital of your kindness to us, in what case soever you shall desire it, for you have not omitted any thing which Moses beforehand required of you, nor have you despised him because he was dead and gone from you, so that there is nothing to diminish that gratitude which we owe to you. We therefore dismiss you joyful to your own inheritances; and we entreat you to suppose, that there is no limit to be set to the intimate relation that is between us; and that you will not imagine, because this river is interposed between us, that you are of a different race from us, and not Hebrews; for we are all the posterity of Abraham, both we that inhabit here, and you that inhabit there; and it is the same God that brought our forefathers and yours into the world, whose worship and form of government we are to take care of, which he has ordained, and are most carefully to observe; because while you continue in those laws, God will also show himself merciful and assisting to you; but if you imitate the other nations, and forsake those laws, he will reject your nation." When Joshua had spoken thus, and saluted them all, both those in authority one by one, and the whole multitude in common, he himself staid where he was; but the people conducted those tribes on their journey, and that not without tears in their eyes; and indeed they hardly knew how to part one from the other.

(26) [100] Διαβᾶσα δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν ἥ τε Ῥουβηλὶς φυλὴ καὶ Γαδὶς καὶ ὅσοι τῶν Μανασσητῶν αὐτοῖς συνείποντο βωμὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὄχθης ἱδρύονται τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, μνημεῖον τοῖς ἔπειτα γενησόμενον [σύμβολον] τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πέραν κατῳκημένους οἰκειότητος. [101] ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ πέραν βωμὸν ἱδρῦσθαι τοὺς ἀπολυθέντας οὐ μεθ' ἧς ἐκεῖνοι γνώμης ἀνέστησαν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ καὶ ξενικῶν εἰσαγωγῇ θεῶν, οὐκ ἤθελον ἀπιστεῖν, ἀλλὰ περὶ θείαν θρησκείαν τὴν διαβολὴν πιθανὴν νομίζοντες ἐν ὅπλοις ἦσαν, ὡς ἐπ' ἀμύνῃ τῶν τὸν βωμὸν ἱδρυσαμένων περαιωσόμενοι τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ κολάσοντες αὐτοὺς τῆς παρατροπῆς τῶν πατρίων ἐθῶν. [102] οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει τὴν συγγένειαν αὐτοὺς λογίζεσθαι καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῶν τὴν αἰτίαν εἰληφότων, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλητὸν καὶ ᾧ τρόπῳ τιμώμενος χαίρει. [103] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐστράτευσαν ὑπ' ὀργῆς, ἐπέσχε δ' αὐτοὺς Ἰησοῦς καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἐλεάζαρος καὶ ἡ γερουσία λόγοις συμβουλεύοντες ἀπόπειραν αὐτῶν τῆς γνώμης λαβεῖν πρῶτον, ἔπειτ' ἂν κακοήθη μάθωσι τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν τότε τοῖς. ὅπλοις χωρεῖν ἐπ' αὐτούς. [104] πέμπουσιν οὖν πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς αὐτοὺς Φινεέσην τὸν υἱὸν Ἐλεαζάρου καὶ δέκα

σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν ἐν τιμῇ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις μαθησομένους, τί καὶ φρονήσαντες τὸν βωμὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ὄχθης τοῦ ποταμοῦ διαβάντες ἔστησαν. [105] ὡς δὲ περαιωσαμένων καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀφικομένων ἐκκλησία συνελέγη, στὰς Φινεέσης μείζω μὲν αὐτοὺς ἁμαρτεῖν ἔλεγεν, ἢ ὥστε λόγοις ἐπιτιμηθέντας νενουθετῆσθαι πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα πλὴν οὐ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς παρανομίας ἀπιδόντας εὐθὺς ἐφ᾽ ὅπλα καὶ τὴν ἐκ χειρῶν τιμωρίαν ὁρμῆσαι, πρὸς δὲ τὸ συγγενὲς καὶ τὸ τάχα καὶ λόγοις ἂν σωφρονῆσαι σκοπήσαντας οὕτω ποιήσασθαι τὴν πρεσβείαν, [106] ἵνα τὴν αἰτίαν μαθόντες ὑφ᾽ ἧς προήχθητε τὸν βωμὸν κατασκευάσαι μήτε προπετεῖς δοκῶμεν ὅπλοις μετιόντες ὑμᾶς κατὰ λογισμὸν ὅσιον ποιησαμένους τὸν βωμόν, κατι δικαίως ἀμυνώμεθα τῆς διαβολῆς ἐλεγχθείσης ἀληθοῦς. [107] οὐ γὰρ ἠξιοῦμεν ὑμᾶς πείρᾳ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμης ἐντὸς γεγενημένους καὶ νόμων ὧν αὐτὸς ἡμῖν δέδωκεν ἀκροατὰς ὑπάρχοντας, διαζευχθέντας ἡμῶν καὶ παρόντας εἰς τὸν ἴδιον κλῆρον, ὃν κατὰ χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου περὶ ἡμᾶς προνοίας ἐλάχετε, λήθην λαβεῖν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν καταλιπόντας καὶ βωμὸν ὃς ἡμῖν πάτριος ξενικοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιφέρειν τοῖς Χαναναίων κακοῖς προσκεχωρηκότας. [108] ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲν ἀδικεῖν δόξετε μετανοήσαντες καὶ μὴ περαιτέρω μανέντες νόμων δὲ πατρίων αἰδῶ καὶ μνήμην λαβόντες. ἂν δ᾽ ἐπιμένητε τοῖς ἡμαρτημένοις, οὐ περιστησόμεθα τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων πόνον, ἀλλὰ περαιωσάμενοι τὸν Ἰόρδανον τούτοις βοηθήσομεν καὶ πρὸ αὐτῶν τῷ θεῷ, μηδὲν ὑμᾶς Χαναναίων διαφέρειν ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἀλλ᾽ ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις διαφθείροντες. [109] μὴ γὰρ νομίσητε τῷ διαβεβηκέναι τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως ἔξω γεγονέναι πανταχοῦ δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς τούτου ἐστὲ καὶ ἀποδρᾶναι τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης δίκην ἀδύνατον. εἰ δ᾽ οἴεσθε τὴν ἐνθάδε παρουσίαν ὑμῖν ἐμπόδιον εἶναι τοῦ σωφρονεῖν, οὐδὲν κωλύει πάλιν τὴν γῆν ὑμᾶς ἀναδάσασθαι καὶ ταύτην ἀνεῖναι μηλόβοτον. [110] ἀλλ᾽ εὖ ποιήσετε σωφρονήσαντες καὶ ἐπὶ νεαροῖς μετατιθέμενοι τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασι. καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν ὑμᾶς πρὸς παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν μὴ παρασχεῖν ἡμῖν ἀνάγκην ἀμύνασθαι. ὡς οὖν τῆς ὑμετέρας αὐτῶν σωτηρίας καὶ τῶν φιλτάτων ὑμῖν ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ κειμένης οὕτω βουλεύεσθε, λόγοις ἡττηθῆναι συμφέρειν ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἢ πεῖραν ἔργων καὶ πολέμου περιμένειν”.

26. Now when the tribe of Reuben, and that of Gad, and as many of the Manassites as followed them, were passed over the river, they built an altar on the banks of Jordan, as a monument to posterity, and a sign of their relation to those that should inhabit on the other side. But when those on the other side heard that those who had been dismissed had built an altar, but did not hear with what intention they built it, but supposed it to be by way of innovation, and for the introduction of strange gods, they did not incline to disbelieve it; but thinking this defamatory report, as if it were built for divine worship, was credible, they

appeared in arms, as though they would avenge themselves on those that built the altar; and they were about to pass over the river, and to punish them for their subversion of the laws of their country; for they did not think it fit to regard them on account of their kindred or the dignity of those that had given the occasion, but to regard the will of God, and the manner wherein he desired to be worshipped; so these men put themselves in array for war. But Joshua, and Eleazar the high priest, and the senate, restrained them; and persuaded them first to make trial by words of their intention, and afterwards, if they found that their intention was evil, then only to proceed to make war upon them. Accordingly, they sent as ambassadors to them Phineas the son of Eleazar, and ten more persons that were in esteem among the Hebrews, to learn of them what was in their mind, when, upon passing over the river, they had built an altar upon its banks. And as soon as these ambassadors were passed over, and were come to them, and a congregation was assembled, Phineas stood up and said, That the offense they had been guilty of was of too heinous a nature to be punished by words alone, or by them only to be amended for the future; yet that they did not so look at the heinousness of their transgression as to have recourse to arms, and to a battle for their punishment immediately, but that, on account of their kindred, and the probability there was that they might be reclaimed, they took this method of sending an ambassage to them: "That when we have learned the true reasons by which you have been moved to build this altar, we may neither seem to have been too rash in assaulting you by our weapons of war, if it prove that you made the altar for justifiable reasons, and may then justly punish you if the accusation prove true; for we can hardly hardly suppose that you, have been acquainted with the will of God and have been hearers of those laws which he himself hath given us, now you are separated from us, and gone to that patrimony of yours, which you, through the grace of God, and that providence which he exercises over you, have obtained by lot, can forget him, and can leave that ark and that altar which is peculiar to us, and can introduce strange gods, and imitate the wicked practices of the Canaanites. Now this will appear to have been a small crime if you repent now, and proceed no further in your madness, but pay a due reverence to, and keep in mind the laws of your country; but if you persist in your sins, we will not grudge our pains to preserve our laws; but we will pass over Jordan and defend them, and defend God also, and shall esteem of you as of men no way differing from the Canaanites, but shall destroy you in the like manner as we destroyed them; for do not you imagine that, because you are got over the river, you are got out of the reach of God's power; you are every where in places that belong to him, and impossible it is to overrun his power, and the punishment he will bring on men thereby: but if you think that your

settlement here will be any obstruction to your conversion to what is good, nothing need hinder us from dividing the land anew, and leaving this old land to be for the feeding of sheep; but you will do well to return to your duty, and to leave off these new crimes; and we beseech you, by your children and wives, not to force us to punish you. Take therefore such measures in this assembly, as supposing that your own safety, and the safety of those that are dearest to you, is therein concerned, and believe that it is better for you to be conquered by words, than to continue in your purpose, and to experience deeds and war therefore."

(27) [111] Τοσαῦτα τοῦ Φινεέσου διαλεχθέντος οἱ προεστῶτες τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτὸ πᾶν ἤρξαντο περὶ τῶν ἐγκεκλημένων αὐτοῖς ἀπολογεῖσθαι, καὶ μήτε συγγενείας τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀποστήσεσθαι μήτε κατὰ νεωτερισμὸν ἀναστῆσαι τὸν βωμὸν λέγειν, [112] ἀλλὰ θεόν τε ἕνα γινώσκειν τὸν Ἑβραίοις ἅπασι κοινὸν καὶ τὸν πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς βωμὸν χάλκεον, ᾧ τὰς θυσίας ποιήσειν: τὸν μέντοι γε νῦν ἀνασταθέντα, δι' ὃν καὶ ὕποπτοι γεγόνασιν, οὐ κατὰ θρησκείαν ἱδρῦσθαι, σύμβολον δὲ ὅπως εἴη καὶ τεκμήριον εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς οἰκειότητος καὶ ἀνάγκη τοῦ σωφρονεῖν καὶ τοῖς πατρίοις ἐμμένειν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ παραβάσεως ἀρχήν, ὡς ὑπονοεῖτε. [113] μάρτυς δ' ἡμῖν τοῦ ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ τὸν βωμὸν αἰτίᾳ κατασκευάσαι γένοιτο ὁ θεὸς ἀξιόχρεως, ὅθεν ἀμείνονα περὶ ἡμῶν ἔχοντες ὑπόληψιν μηδὲν καταγινώσκετε τούτων, ἐφ' οἷς ἐξώλεις εἶναι δίκαιοι πάντες ὅσοι τοῦ Ἀβράμου γένους ὄντες νεωτέροις ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἔθεσι καὶ τοῦ συνήθους τρόπου παρηλλαγμένοις".

27. When Phineas had discoursed thus, the governors of the assembly, and the whole multitude, began to make an apology for themselves, concerning what they were accused of; and they said, That they neither would depart from the relation they bare to them, nor had they built the altar by way of innovation; that they owned one and the same common God with all the Hebrews, and that brazen altar which was before the tabernacle, on which they would offer their sacrifices; that as to the altar they had raised, on account of which they were thus suspected, it was not built for worship, "but that it might be a sign and a monument of our relation to you for ever, and a necessary caution to us to act wisely, and to continue in the laws of our country, but not a handle for transgressing them, as you suspect: and let God be our authentic witness, that this was the occasion of our building this altar: whence we beg you will have a better opinion of us, and do not impute such a thing to us as would render any of the posterity of Abraham well worthy of perdition, in case they attempt to bring in new rites, and such as are different from our usual practices."

(28) [114] Ταῦτα εἰπόντας ἐπαινέσας ὁ Φινεέσης παρῆν πρὸς Ἰησοῦν καὶ τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀνήγγειλε τῷ λαῷ. ὁ δὲ χαίρων, ὅτι μηδεμία στρατολογεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀνάγκη μέλλει μηδ᾽ εἰς ὅπλα καὶ πόλεμον ἐξαγαγεῖν κατὰ ἀνδρῶν συγγενῶν, χαριστηρίους ὑπὲρ τούτων τῷ θεῷ θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖ. καὶ διαλύσας μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τὰς ἰδίας κληρουχίας Ἰησοῦς αὐτὸς ἐν Σικίμοις διῆγεν. [115] ἔτει δ᾽ ὕστερον εἰκοστῷ ὑπέργηρως ὢν μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς ἐπ᾽ ἀξιώματος μάλιστα τῶν πόλεων καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ὅσον ἦν ἐφικτὸν αὐτῷ συναγαγών, ἐπεὶ παρῆσαν, τάς τε εὐεργεσίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἁπάσας ἀνεμίμνησκεν αὐτούς, πολλαὶ δὲ ἦσαν τοῖς ἐκ ταπεινοῦ σχήματος εἰς τοῦτο δόξης καὶ περιουσίας προελθοῦσι, [116] φυλάττειν τε τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ προαίρεσιν οὕτως ἔχουσαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς παρεκάλει καὶ τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ, ᾗ γε μόνῃ φίλον αὐτοῖς διαμένειν τὸ θεῖον: αὐτῷ γὰρ καλῶς ἔχειν ἀπιέναι μέλλοντι τοῦ ζῆν παραίνεσιν αὐτοῖς τοιαύτην καταλιπεῖν κἀκείνους ἠξίου διὰ μνήμης ποιήσασθαι τὴν παρακέλευσιν.

28. When they had made this answer, and Phineas had commended them for it, he came to Joshua, and explained before the people what answer they had received. Now Joshua was glad that he was under no necessity of setting them in array, or of leading them to shed blood, and make war against men of their own kindred; and accordingly he offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to God for the same. So Joshua after that dissolved this great assembly of the people, and sent them to their own inheritances, while he himself lived in Shechem. But in the twentieth year after this, when he was very old, he sent for those of the greatest dignity in the several cities, with those in authority, and the senate, and as many of the common people as could be present; and when they were come, he put them in mind of all the benefits God had bestowed on them, which could not but be a great many, since from a low estate they were advanced to so great a degree of glory and plenty; and exhorted them to take notice of the intentions of God, which had been so gracious towards them; and told them that the Deity would continue their friend by nothing else but their piety; and that it was proper for him, now that he was about to depart out of this life, to leave such an admonition to them; and he desired that they would keep in memory this his exhortation to them.

(29) [117] Καὶ ὁ μὲν τοσαῦτα πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας διαλεχθεὶς τελευτᾷ βιοὺς ἑκατὸν ἔτη καὶ δέκα, ὧν Μωυσεῖ μὲν ἐπὶ διδασκαλίᾳ τῶν χρησίμων συνδιέτριψεν τεσσαράκοντα, στρατηγὸς δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν γίνεται πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν, [118] ἀνὴρ [δὲ] μήτε συνέσεως ὢν ἐνδεὴς μήτε τοῦ τὰ νοηθέντα πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς σαφῶς ἐξενεγκεῖν ἄπειρος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἄκρος πρός τε τὰ ἔργα καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους εὔψυχος καὶ μεγαλότολμος πρυτανεῦσαί τε τὰ κατὰ τὴν

εἰρήνην δεξιώτατος καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντα καιρὸν τὴν ἀρετὴν ἡρμοσμένος. [119] θάπτεται δὲ ἐν πόλει Θαμνᾶ τῆς Ἐφραίμου φυλῆς. θνήσκει δὲ ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν καὶ Ἐλεάζαρος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Φινεέσῃ τῷ παιδὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην καταλιπών, καὶ μνημεῖον αὐτῷ καὶ τάφος ἐν Γαβαθᾶ πόλει τυγχάνει.

29. So Joshua, when he had thus discoursed to them, died, having lived a hundred and ten years; forty of which he lived with Moses, in order to learn what might be for his advantage afterwards. He also became their commander after his death for twenty-five years. He was a man that wanted not wisdom nor eloquence to declare his intentions to the people, but very eminent on both accounts. He was of great courage and magnanimity in action and in dangers, and very sagacious in procuring the peace of the people, and of great virtue at all proper seasons. He was buried in the city of Timnab, of the tribe of Ephraim About the same time died Eleazar the high priest, leaving the high priesthood to his son Phineas. His monument also, and sepulcher, are in the city of Gabatha.

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CHAPTER 2. How, After The Death Of Joshua Their Commander, The Israelites Transgressed The Laws Of Their Country, And Experienced Great Afflictions; And When There Was A Sedition Arisen, The Tribe Of Benjamin Was Destroyed Excepting Only Six Hundred Men.

(1) [120] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων τελευτὴν Φινεέσης προφητεύει κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βούλησιν ἐπ᾽ ἐξωλείᾳ τοῦ Χαναναίων γένους τῇ Ἰούδα φυλῇ παρασχεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν: καὶ γὰρ τῷ λαῷ διὰ σπουδῆς ἦν μαθεῖν τί καὶ τῷ θεῷ δοκεῖ. καὶ προσλαβοῦσα τὴν Σεμεωνίδα, ἐφ᾽ ᾧτε ἐξαιρεθέντων τῶν ἐκείνης ὑποτελῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ κληρουχίᾳ τοῦτο ποιῶσιν

1. After the death of Joshua and Eleazar, Phineas prophesied, that according to God's will they should commit the government to the tribe of Judah, and that this tribe should destroy the race of the Canaanites; for then the people were concerned to learn what was the will of God. They also took to their assistance the tribe of Simeon; but upon this condition, that when those that had been tributary to the tribe of Judah should be slain, they should do the like for the tribe of Simeon.

(2) [121] Χαναναῖοι δ᾽ ἀκμαζόντων αὐτοῖς κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν τῶν πραγμάτων στρατῷ μεγάλῳ κατὰ Ζεβέκην αὐτοὺς ὑπέμενον τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ζεβεκηνῶν Ἀδωνιζεβέκῳ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπιτρέψαντες: τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τοῦτο σημαίνει Ζεβεκηνῶν κύριος: ἀδωνὶ γὰρ τῇ Ἑβραίων διαλέκτῳ κύριος γίνεται: ἤλπιζόν τε κρατήσειν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν διὰ τὸ τεθνάναι Ἰησοῦν. [122] συμμίξαντες δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἰσραηλῖται ταῖς δυσὶ φυλαῖς αἷς προεῖπον ἐμαχέσαντο λαμπρῶς καὶ κτείνουσι μὲν αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ μυρίους, τρεψάμενοι δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ διώκοντες αἱροῦσι τὸν Ἀδωνιζέβεκον, [123] ὃς ἀκρωτηριασθεὶς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν φησιν, "ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἄρα λήσεσθαι θεὸν ἔμελλον τάδε πεπονθώς, ἃ κατὰ δυοῖν [124] καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα βασιλέων πρᾶξαι πρότερον οὐκ ἐνετράπην." καὶ ζῶντα μὲν κομίζουσιν ἕως Ἱεροσολύμων, τελευτήσαντα δὲ γῇ θάπτουσι. καὶ διεξῆεσαν αἱροῦντες τὰς πόλεις, πλείστας τε λαβόντες ἐπολιόρκουν Ἱεροσόλυμα: καὶ τὴν μὲν κάτω λαβόντες σὺν χρόνῳ πάντας ἔκτεινον τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, χαλεπὴ δ᾽ ἦν ἡ καθύπερθεν αὐτοῖς αἱρεθῆναι τειχῶν ὀχυρότητι καὶ φύσει τοῦ χωρίου.

2. But the affairs of the Canaanites were at this thee in a flourishing condition, and they expected the Israelites with a great army at the city Bezek, having put the government into the hands of Adonibezek, which name denotes the Lord of Bezek, for Adoni in the Hebrew tongue signifies Lord. Now they hoped to have been too hard for the Israelites, because Joshua was dead; but when the Israelites had joined battle with them, I mean the two tribes before mentioned, they fought gloriously, and slew above ten thousand of them, and put the rest to flight; and in the pursuit they took Adonibezek, who, when his fingers and toes were cut off by them, said, "Nay, indeed, I was not always to lie concealed from God, as I find by what I now endure, while I have not been ashamed to do the same to seventy-two kings." So they carried him alive as far as Jerusalem; and when he was dead, they buried him in the earth, and went on still in taking the cities: and when they had taken the greatest part of them, they besieged Jerusalem; and when they had taken the lower city, which was not under a considerable time, they slew all the inhabitants; but the upper city was not to be taken without great difficulty, through the strength of its walls, and the nature of the place.

(3) [125] Ὅθεν μετεστρατοπέδευσαν εἰς Νεβρῶνα καὶ ταύτην ἑλόντες κτείνουσι πάντας: ὑπελείπετο δὲ τῶν γιγάντων ἔτι γένος, οἳ διὰ σωμάτων μεγέθη καὶ μορφὰς οὐδὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις παραπλησίας παράδοξον ἦσαν θέαμα καὶ δεινὸν ἄκουσμα. δείκνυται δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι τούτων ὀστᾶ μηδὲν τοῖς ὑπὸ πύστιν ἐρχομένοις ἐοικότα. [126] καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τοῖς Λευίταις ἐξαίρετον γέρας ἔδοσαν μετὰ καὶ τῶν δισχιλίων πηχῶν, τὴν δὲ γῆν Χαλέβῳ δωρεὰν ἔδοσαν κατὰ Μωυσέος ἐντολάς: οὗτος δ' ἦν τῶν κατασκόπων εἷς ὧν ἔπεμψε Μωυσῆς εἰς τὴν Χαναναίαν. [127] διδόασι δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἰέθρου τοῦ Μαδιανίτου ἀπογόνοις, Μωυσέος γὰρ ἦν γαμβρός, γῆν ἵνα νέμοιντο: τὴν γὰρ πατρίδα καταλιπόντες ἠκολούθησαν ἐκείνοις καὶ συνῆσαν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρήμου.

3. For which reason they removed their camp to Hebron; and when they had taken it, they slew all the inhabitants. There were till then left the race of giants, who had bodies so large, and countenances so entirely different from other men, that they were surprising to the sight, and terrible to the hearing. The bones of these men are still shown to this very day, unlike to any credible relations of other men. Now they gave this city to the Levites as an extraordinary reward, with the suburbs of two thousand cities; but the land thereto belonging they gave as a free gift to Caleb, according to the injunctions of Moses. This Caleb was one of the spies which Moses sent into the land of Canaan. They also gave land for habitation to the posterity of Jethro, the Midianite, who was the father-in-law to Moses; for they had left their own country, and followed them, and accompanied them in the wilderness.

(4) [128] Ἡ δὲ Ἰούδα φυλὴ καὶ Σεμεωνὶς τὰς μὲν κατὰ τὴν ὀρεινὴν τῆς Χαναναίας πόλεις εἶλον, τῶν δ' ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καὶ πρὸς θαλάσσῃ Ἀσκάλωνά τε καὶ Ἄζωτον. διαφεύγει δ' αὐτοὺς Γάζα καὶ Ἀκκάρων: πεδίων γὰρ ὄντων καὶ πολλῆς ἁρμάτων εὐπορίας κακῶς ἐποίουν τοὺς ἐπελθόντας. καὶ αἵδε μὲν αἱ φυλαὶ μεγάλως ἐκ τοῦ πολεμεῖν εὐδαιμονήσασαι ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν πόλεις καὶ κατατίθενται τὰ ὅπλα.

4. Now the tribes of Judah and Simeon took the cities which were in the mountainous part of Canaan, as also Askelon and Ashdod, of those that lay near the sea; but Gaza and Ekron escaped them, for they, lying in a flat country, and having a great number of chariots, sorely galled those that attacked them. So these tribes, when they were grown very rich by this war, retired to their own cities, and laid aside their weapons of war.

(5) [129] Βενιαμῖται δέ, τούτων γὰρ ἦν Ἱεροσόλυμα, τοῖς οἰκήτορσιν αὐτῶν συνεχώρησαν φόρους τελεῖν. καὶ οὕτως παυσάμενοι πάντες οἱ μὲν τοῦ κτείνειν οἱ δὲ κινδυνεύειν, ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν γῆν εὐσχόλουν. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ φυλαὶ τὴν Βενιαμῖτιν μιμησάμεναι ἐποίουν καὶ τοῖς τελουμένοις ἀρκούμενοι φόροις ἐπέτρεπον τοῖς Χαναναίοις ἀπολέμοις εἶναι.

5. But the Benjamites, to whom belonged Jerusalem, permitted its inhabitants to pay tribute. So they all left off, the one to kill, and the other to expose themselves to danger, and had time to cultivate the ground. The rest of the tribes imitated that of Benjamin, and did the same; and, contenting themselves with the tributes that were paid them, permitted the Canaanites to live in peace.

(6) [130] Ἡ δ' Ἐφρὰν πολιορκοῦσα Βήθηλα τέλος οὐδὲν ἄξιον τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῶν πόνων ηὕρισκε τῆς πολιορκίας, οἱ δὲ καίπερ ἀχθόμενοι τῇ καθέδρᾳ προσεκαρτέρουν. [131] ἔπειτα συλλαβόντες τινὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει προελθόντα ἐπὶ κομιδῇ τῶν ἀναγκαίων τινὰς πίστεις ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ παραδιδόντι τὴν πόλιν σώσειν αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ. κἀκεῖνος ἐπὶ τούτοις ὤμνυε τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἐγχειριεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως προδοὺς σώζεται μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων, οἱ δὲ ἀποκτείναντες ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας εἶχον τὴν πόλιν.

6. However, the tribe of Ephraim, when they besieged Bethel, made no advance, nor performed any thing worthy of the time they spent, and of the pains they took about that siege; yet did they persist in it, still sitting down before the city, though they endured great trouble thereby: but, after some time, they caught one of the citizens that came to them to get necessaries, and they gave him some assurances that, if he would deliver up the city to them, they would preserve him and his kindred; so he aware that, upon those terms, he would put the city into

their hands. Accordingly, he that, thus betrayed the city was preserved with his family; and the Israelites slew all the inhabitants, and retained the city for themselves.

(7) [132] Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους μαλακῶς εἶχον οἱ Ἰσραηλῖται, τῆς δὲ γῆς καὶ τῶν ταύτης ἔργων ἐπεμελοῦντο. τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦτον αὐτοῖς ἐπιδιδόντων ὑπὸ τρυφῆς καὶ ἡδονῆς τοῦ κόσμου ὠλιγώρουν καὶ τῆς πολιτείας τῶν νόμων οὐκέτ᾽ ἦσαν ἀκριβεῖς ἀκροαταί. [133] παροξυνθὲν δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸ θεῖον ἀναιρεῖ, πρῶτον μὲν ὡς φείσαιντο παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην τῶν Χαναναίων, ἔπειθ᾽ ὡς ἐκεῖνοι χρήσοιντο πολλῇ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ὠμότητι καιροῦ λαβόμενοι. [134] οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ δυσθύμως εἶχον καὶ πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν ἀηδῶς πολλά τε παρὰ τῶν Χαναναίων λαβόντες καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πόνους ἤδη διὰ τὴν τρυφὴν ἐκλελυμένοι. [135] καὶ συνέβαινεν ἤδη τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν διεφθάρθαι, καὶ τὰς γερουσίας οὐκ ἀπεδείκνυσαν οὐδ᾽ ἀρχὴν ἄλλην οὐδεμίαν τῶν πρότερον νενομισμένων, ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ἡδονῇ τοῦ κερδαίνειν προσδεδεμένοι. καὶ διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἄδειαν στάσις αὐτοὺς πάλιν καταλαμβάνει δεινὴ καὶ προήχθησαν εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν ἀλλήλοις ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας.

7. After this, the Israelites grew effeminate as to fighting any more against their enemies, but applied themselves to the cultivation of the land, which producing them great plenty and riches, they neglected the regular disposition of their settlement, and indulged themselves in luxury and pleasures; nor were they any longer careful to hear the laws that belonged to their political government: whereupon God was provoked to anger, and put them in mind, first, how, contrary to his directions, they had spared the Canaanites; and, after that, how those Canaanites, as opportunity served, used them very barbarously. But the Israelites, though they were in heaviness at these admonitions from God, yet were they still very unwilling to go to war; and since they got large tributes from the Canaanites, and were indisposed for taking pains by their luxury, they suffered their aristocracy to be corrupted also, and did not ordain themselves a senate, nor any other such magistrates as their laws had formerly required, but they were very much given to cultivating their fields, in order to get wealth; which great indolence of theirs brought a terrible sedition upon them, and they proceeded so far as to fight one against another, from the following occasion: —

(8) [136] Λευίτης ἀνὴρ τῶν δημοτικωτέρων τῆς Ἐφράνου κληρουχίας ὢν καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ κατοικῶν ἄγεται γύναιον ἀπὸ Βηθλέμων, τῆς δὲ Ἰούδα φυλῆς τοῦτ᾽ ἔστι τὸ χωρίον. ἐρῶν δὲ σφόδρα τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τοῦ κάλλους αὐτῆς ἡττημένος ἠτύχει τῶν παρ᾽ ἐκείνης οὐχ ὁμοίων πειρώμενος. [137] ἀλλοτρίως δ᾽ αὐτῆς ἐχούσης καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἐκκαιομένου τῷ πάθει μέμψεις συνεχεῖς αὐτοῖς

ἐγίνοντο καὶ τέλος ἡ γυνὴ πρὸς αὐτὰς βαρυνομένη καταλιποῦσα τὸν ἄνδρα πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς παραγίνεται μηνὶ τετάρτῳ. χαλεπῶς δὲ φέρων ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ τῷ ἔρωτι ἦκε πρὸς τοὺς πενθεροὺς καὶ διαλυσάμενος τὰς μέμψεις καταλλάττεται πρὸς αὐτήν. [138] καὶ τέτταρας μὲν ἡμέρας προσαυτόθι διαιτᾶται φιλοφρονουμένων αὐτὸν τῶν γονέων, τῇ δὲ πέμπτῃ δόξαν ἀπιέναι πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ δείλην ἔξεισι: βράδιον γὰρ ἀπέλυον οἱ γονεῖς τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας τριβὴν ἐποιοῦντο. θεράπων δ' αὐτοῖς εἷς εἵπετο καὶ ὄνος ἦν αὐτοῖς, ἐφ' ἧς ὠχεῖτο τὸ γύναιον. [139] γενομένων δ' αὐτῶν κατὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, σταδίους δ' ἐληλύθεσαν ἤδη τριάκοντα, συνεβούλευεν ὁ θεράπων καταχθῆναί που, μὴ καί τι τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτοὺς ὁδεύοντας καταλάβῃ δύσκολον καὶ ταῦτα οὐδὲ πόρρω πολεμίων ὄντας, τοῦ καιροῦ πολλάκις ἐπισφαλῆ καὶ ὕποπτα ποιοῦντος καὶ τὰ φίλα. [140] τῷ δ' οὐκ ἤρεσεν ἡ γνώμη παρ' ἀλλοφύλοις ἀνδράσι ξενοῦσθαι, Χαναναίων γὰρ ἦν ἡ πόλις, ἀλλὰ προελθόντας εἴκοσι στάδια εἰς οἰκείαν ἠξίου κατάγεσθαι πόλιν, καὶ κρατήσας τῇ γνώμῃ παρῆν εἰς Γαβὰν φυλῆς τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος ἤδη ὀψίας οὔσης. [141] καὶ μηδενὸς ἐπὶ ξενίαν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐτὸν παρακαλοῦντος πρεσβύτης ἐξ ἀγροῦ κατιὼν τῆς μὲν Ἐφράμιος φυλῆς ὢν ἐν δὲ τῇ Γάβῃ διαιτώμενος συντυγχάνων αὐτῷ, τίς τε ὢν ἤρετο καὶ δι' ἃς αἰτίας στελλόμενος σκότους ἤδη τὰ πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτῷ λαμβάνοι. [142] ὁ δὲ Λευίτης μὲν ἔφησεν εἶναι, γύναιον δὲ παρὰ τῶν γονέων ἄγων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπιέναι, τὴν δ' οἴκησιν ἐδήλου τυγχάνειν ἐν τῇ Ἐφράμου κληρουχίᾳ. ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτης καὶ διὰ συγγένειαν καὶ διὰ τὸ τὴν αὐτὴν φυλὴν νέμειν καὶ διὰ τὴν συντυχίαν παρ' αὐτὸν ξενισθησόμενον ἦγε. [143] νεανίαι δέ τινες τῶν Γαβαηνῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὸ γύναιον θεασάμενοι καὶ τὴν εὐπρέπειαν θαυμάσαντες, ἐπεὶ παρὰ τῷ πρεσβύτῃ κατηγμένην ἔμαθον καταφρονήσαντες τῆς ἀσθενείας καὶ τῆς ὀλιγότητος ἦκον ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας. τοῦ δὲ πρεσβύτου παρακαλοῦντος ἀπαλλάττεσθαι καὶ μὴ προσφέρειν βίαν μηδὲ ὕβριν ἠξίουν αὐτὸν παρασχόντα τὴν ξένην πραγμάτων ἀπηλλάχθαι. [144] συγγενῆ δὲ λέγοντος καὶ Λευῖτιν τοῦ πρεσβύτου καὶ δράσειν αὐτοὺς δεινὰ ὑφ' ἡδονῆς εἰς τοὺς νόμους ἐξαμαρτάνοντας ὠλιγώρουν τοῦ δικαίου καὶ κατεγέλων, ἠπείλουν δὲ ἀποκτείνειν αὐτὸν ἐμποδίζοντα ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτῶν. [145] εἰς δ' ἀνάγκην περιηγμένος καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος τοὺς ξένους περιιδεῖν ὑβρισθέντας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ θυγατρὸς αὐτοῖς παρεχώρει, πληρώσειν τε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτοὺς λέγων νομιμώτερον δίχα τῆς εἰς τοὺς ξένους ὕβρεως αὐτός τε μηδὲν ἀδικήσειν οὓς ὑπεδέξατο τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ νομίζων. [146] ὡς δ' οὐδὲν τῆς σπουδῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ξένην ἐνεδίδοσαν, ἀλλὰ ἐνέκειντο ταύτην παραλαβεῖν ἀξιοῦντες, ὁ μὲν ἱκέτευε μηδὲν τολμᾶν παράνομον, οἱ δ' ἁρπασάμενοι καὶ προσθέμενοι μᾶλλον τῷ βιαίῳ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀπήγαγον πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς ἐμπλησθέντες τῆς ὕβρεως ἀπέλυσαν περὶ ἀρχομένην ἡμέραν. [147] ἡ δὲ τεταλαιπωρημένη τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι παρῆν ἐπὶ τὴν ξενίαν καὶ ὑπὸ λύπης ὧν ἐπεπόνθει καὶ τοῦ μὴ τολμᾶν ὑπ' αἰσχύνης εἰς ὄψιν

ἐλθεῖν τἀνδρί, τοῦτον γὰρ μάλιστα τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἔχειν ἀνιάτως ἐλογίζετο, καταπεσοῦσα τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφίησιν. [148] ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς οἰόμενος ὕπνῳ βαθεῖ κατεισχῆσθαι τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ μηδὲν σκυθρωπὸν ὑφορώμενος ἀνεγείρειν ἐπειρᾶτο παραμυθήσασθαι διεγνωκώς, ὡς οὐκ ἐξ ἑκουσίου γνώμης αὐτὴν παράσχοι τοῖς καθυβρίσασιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἁρπασαμένων ἐπὶ τὴν ξενίαν ἐλθόντων αὐτῶν. [149] ὡς δὲ τελευτήσασαν ἔμαθε, σωφρόνως πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν κακῶν ἐπιθέμενος τῷ κτήνει νεκρὰν τὴν γυναῖκα κομίζει πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ διελὼν αὐτὴν κατὰ μέλος εἰς μέρη δώδεκα διέπεμψεν εἰς ἑκάστην φυλὴν ἐντειλάμενος τοῖς κομίζουσι λέγειν τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς τελευτῆς τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τὴν παροινίαν τῆς φυλῆς.

8. There was a Levite a man of a vulgar family, that belonged to the tribe of Ephraim, and dwelt therein: this man married a wife from Bethlehem, which is a place belonging to the tribe of Judah. Now he was very fond of his wife, and overcome with her beauty; but he was unhappy in this, that he did not meet with the like return of affection from her, for she was averse to him, which did more inflame his passion for her, so that they quarreled one with another perpetually; and at last the woman was so disgusted at these quarrels, that she left her husband, and went to her parents in the fourth month. The husband being very uneasy at this her departure, and that out of his fondness for her, came to his father and mother-in-law, and made up their quarrels, and was reconciled to her, and lived with them there four days, as being kindly treated by her parents. On the fifth day he resolved to go home, and went away in the evening; for his wife’s parents were loath to part with their daughter, and delayed the time till the day was gone. Now they had one servant that followed them, and an ass on which the woman rode; and when they were near Jerusalem, having gone already thirty furlongs, the servant advised them to take up their lodgings some where, lest some misfortune should befall them if they traveled in the night, especially since they were not far off enemies, that season often giving reason for suspicion of dangers from even such as are friends; but the husband was not pleased with this advice, nor was he willing to take up his lodging among strangers, for the city belonged to the Canaanites, but desired rather to go twenty furlongs farther, and so to take their lodgings in some Israelite city. Accordingly, he obtained his purpose, and came to Gibeah, a city of the tribe of Benjamin, when it was just dark; and while no one that lived in the market-place invited him to lodge with him, there came an old man out of the field, one that was indeed of the tribe of Ephraim, but resided in Gibeah, and met him, and asked him who he was, and for what reason he came thither so late, and why he was looking out for provisions for supper when it was dark? To which he replied,

that he was a Levite, and was bringing his wife from her parents, and was going home; but he told him his habitation was in the tribe of Ephraim: so the old man, as well because of their kindred as because they lived in the same tribe, and also because they had thus accidentally met together, took him in to lodge with him. Now certain young men of the inhabitants of Gibeah, having seen the woman in the market-place, and admiring her beauty, when they understood that she lodged with the old man, came to the doors, as contemning the weakness and fewness of the old man's family; and when the old man desired them to go away, and not to offer any violence or abuse there, they desired him to yield them up the strange woman, and then he should have no harm done to him: and when the old man alleged that the Levite was of his kindred, and that they would be guilty of horrid wickedness if they suffered themselves to be overcome by their pleasures, and so offend against their laws, they despised his righteous admonition, and laughed him to scorn. They also threatened to kill him if he became an obstacle to their inclinations; whereupon, when he found himself in great distress, and yet was not willing to overlook his guests, and see them abused, he produced his own daughter to them; and told them that it was a smaller breach of the law to satisfy their lust upon her, than to abuse his guests, supposing that he himself should by this means prevent any injury to be done to those guests. When they no way abated of their earnestness for the strange woman, but insisted absolutely on their desires to have her, he entreated them not to perpetrate any such act of injustice; but they proceeded to take her away by force, and indulging still more the violence of their inclinations, they took the woman away to their house, and when they had satisfied their lust upon her the whole night, they let her go about daybreak. So she came to the place where she had been entertained, under great affliction at what had happened; and was very sorrowful upon occasion of what she had suffered, and durst not look her husband in the face for shame, for she concluded that he would never forgive her for what she had done; so she fell down, and gave up the ghost: but her husband supposed that his wife was only fast asleep, and, thinking nothing of a more melancholy nature had happened, endeavored to raise her up, resolving to speak comfortably to her, since she did not voluntarily expose herself to these men's lust, but was forced away to their house; but as soon as he perceived she was dead, he acted as prudently as the greatness of his misfortunes would admit, and laid his dead wife upon the beast, and carried her home; and cutting her, limb by limb, into twelve pieces, he sent them to every tribe, and gave it in charge to those that carried them, to inform the tribes of those that were the causes of his wife's death, and of the violence they had offered to her.

(9) [150] Οἱ δ᾽ ὑπό τε τῆς ὄψεως καὶ τῆς ἀκοῆς τῶν βεβιασμένων κακῶς διατεθέντες πρότερον οὐδενὸς τοιούτου πεῖραν εἰληφότες, ὑπ᾽ ὀργῆς ἀκράτου καὶ δικαίας εἰς τὴν Σιλοῦν συλλεγέντες καὶ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς ἀθροισθέντες εἰς ὅπλα χωρεῖν εὐθὺς ὥρμηντο καὶ χρήσασθαι τοῖς Γαβαηνοῖς ὡς πολεμίοις. [151] ἐπέσχε δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἡ γερουσία πείσασα μὴ δεῖν ὀξέως οὕτως πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους ἐκφέρειν πόλεμον πρὶν ἢ λόγοις διαλεχθῆναι περὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, τοῦ νόμου μηδ᾽ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους ἐφιέντος δίχα πρεσβείας καὶ τοιαύτης πρὸς τὸ μετανοῆσαι πείρας τοὺς δόξαντας ἀδικεῖν στρατιὰν ἀγαγεῖν: [152] καλῶς οὖν ἔχει τῷ νόμῳ πειθομένους πρὸς τοὺς Γαβαηνοὺς ἐξαιτοῦντας τοὺς αἰτίους ἐκπέμψαι καὶ παρεχομένων μὲν ἀρκεῖσθαι τῇ τούτων κολάσει, καταφρονησάντων δὲ τότε τοῖς ὅπλοις αὐτοὺς ἀμύνασθαι. [153] πέμπουσιν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς Γαβαηνοὺς κατηγοροῦντες τῶν νεανίσκων τὰ περὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ πρὸς τιμωρίαν αἰτοῦντες τοὺς δράσαντας μὲν οὐ νόμιμα, γενομένους δὲ δικαίους ἀντ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἀποθανεῖν. [154] οἱ δὲ Γαβαηνοὶ οὔτε τοὺς νεανίσκους ἐξέδοσαν καὶ δεινὸν ἀλλοτρίοις ὑπακούειν προστάγμασιν ἡγοῦντο πολέμου φόβῳ μηδενὸς ἀξιοῦντες εἶναι χείρους ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις μήτε διὰ πλῆθος μήτε δι᾽ εὐψυχίαν. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν παρασκευῇ μεγάλῃ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φυλετῶν, συναπενοήθησαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὡς ἀμυνούμενοι βιαζομένους.

9. Upon this the people were greatly disturbed at what they saw, and at what they heard, as never having had the experience of such a thing before; so they gathered themselves to Shiloh, out of a prodigious and a just anger, and assembling in a great congregation before the tabernacle, they immediately resolved to take arms, and to treat the inhabitants of Gibeah as enemies; but the senate restrained them from doing so, and persuaded them, that they ought not so hastily to make war upon people of the same nation with them, before they discoursed them by words concerning the accusation laid against them; it being part of their law, that they should not bring an army against foreigners themselves, when they appear to have been injurious, without sending an ambassage first, and trying thereby whether they will repent or not: and accordingly they exhorted them to do what they ought to do in obedience to their laws, that is, to send to the inhabitants of Gibeah, to know whether they would deliver up the offenders to them, and if they deliver them up, to rest satisfied with the punishment of those offenders; but if they despised the message that was sent them, to punish them by taking, up arms against them. Accordingly they sent to the inhabitants of Gibeah, and accused the young men of the crimes committed in the affair of the Levite's wife, and required of them those that had done what was contrary to the law, that they might be punished, as having justly deserved to die for what they had done; but the inhabitants of Gibeah would not

deliver up the young men, and thought it too reproachful to them, out of fear of war, to submit to other men's demands upon them; vaunting themselves to be no way inferior to any in war, neither in their number nor in courage. The rest of their tribe were also making great preparation for war, for they were so insolently mad as also to resolve to repel force by force.

(10) [155] Ὡς δὲ τοιαῦτα τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις τὰ παρὰ τῶν Γαβαηνῶν ἀπηγγέλθη, ὅρκους ποιοῦνται μηδένα σφῶν ἀνδρὶ Βενιαμίτῃ δώσειν πρὸς γάμον θυγατέρα στρατεύσειν τε ἐπ' αὐτούς, μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς δι' ὀργῆς ὄντες ἢ τοῖς Χαναναίοις τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν παρειλήφαμεν γενομένους. [156] παραχρῆμά τε ἐξῆγον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὸ στρατόπεδον μυριάδας τεσσαράκοντα ὁπλιτῶν: καὶ Βενιαμιτῶν τὸ ὁπλιτικὸν ἦν ὑπὸ δισμυρίων καὶ πεντακισχιλίων καὶ ἑξακοσίων, ὧν ἦσαν εἰς πεντακοσίους ταῖς λαιαῖς τῶν χειρῶν σφενδονᾶν ἄριστοι, [157] ὥστε καὶ μάχης πρὸς τῇ Γαβᾷ γενομένης τρέπουσι τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας οἱ Βενιαμῖται ἄνδρες τε πίπτουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς δισμυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους, ἐφθάρησαν δὲ ἴσως ἂν καὶ πλείονες, εἰ μὴ νὺξ αὐτοὺς ἐπέσχε καὶ διέλυσε μαχομένους. [158] καὶ οἱ μὲν Βενιαμῖται χαίροντες ἀνεχώρουν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δ' Ἰσραηλῖται καταπεπληγότες ὑπὸ τῆς ἥττης εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ πάλιν συμβαλόντων οἱ Βενιαμῖται κρατοῦσι καὶ θνήσκουσι τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ὀκτακισχίλιοι καὶ μύριοι, καὶ δείσαντες τὸν φόνον ἐξέλιπον τὸ στρατόπεδον. [159] παραγενόμενοι δὲ εἰς Βέθηλα πόλιν ἔγγιστα κειμένην καὶ νηστεύσαντες κατὰ τὴν ὑστεραίαν τὸν θεὸν ἱκέτευον διὰ Φινεέσου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως παύσασθαι τῆς ὀργῆς τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ ταῖς δυσὶν αὐτῶν ἥτταις ἀρκεσθέντα δοῦναι νίκην καὶ κράτος κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐπαγγέλλεται ταῦτα διὰ Φινεέσου προφητεύσαντος.

10. When it was related to the Israelites what the inhabitants of Gibeah had resolved upon, they took their oath that no one of them would give his daughter in marriage to a Benjamite, but make war with greater fury against them than we have learned our forefathers made war against the Canaanites; and sent out presently an army of four hundred thousand against them, while the Benjamites' army-was twenty-five thousand and six hundred; five hundred of whom were excellent at slinging stones with their left hands, insomuch that when the battle was joined at Gibeah the Benjamites beat the Israelites, and of them there fell two thousand men; and probably more had been destroyed had not the night came on and prevented it, and broken off the fight; so the Benjamites returned to the city with joy, and the Israelites returned to their camp in a great fright at what had happened. On the next day, when they fought again, the Benjamites beat them; and eighteen thousand of the Israelites were slain, and the rest deserted their camp out of fear of a greater slaughter. So they came to Bethel, a city that was near their camp, and fasted on the next day; and besought God, by

Phineas the high priest, that his wrath against them might cease, and that he would be satisfied with these two defeats, and give them the victory and power over their enemies. Accordingly God promised them so to do, by the prophesying of Phineas.

(11) [160] Ποιήσαντες οὖν τὴν στρατιὰν δύο μέρη τὴν μὲν ἡμίσειαν προλοχίζουσι νυκτὸς περὶ τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δ᾽ ἡμίσεις συνέβαλον τοῖς Βενιαμίταις ὑπεχώρουν τε ἐγκειμένων, καὶ ἐδίωκον οἱ Βενιαμῖται τῶν Ἑβραίων ὑποφευγόντων ἠρέμα καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ θελόντων εἰς ἅπαν αὐτοὺς ἐξελθεῖν ἀναχωροῦσιν εἵποντο, [161] ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει πρεσβύτας καὶ νέους ὑπολειφθέντας διεκδραμεῖν δι᾽ ἀσθένειαν αὐτοῖς πασσυδὶ βουλομένους χειρώσασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους. ὡς δὲ πολὺ τῆς πόλεως ἀπέσχον, ἐπαύσαντο μὲν φεύγοντες οἱ Ἑβραῖοι, ἐπιστραφέντες δ᾽ ἵστανται πρὸς μάχην καὶ τοῖς ἐν ταῖς ἐνέδραις οὖσι τὸ σημεῖον αἴρουσιν ὃ συνέκειτο. [162] οἱ δ᾽ ἐξαναστάντες μετὰ βοῆς ἐπῄεσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις. οἱ δὲ ἅμα τε ἠπατημένους αὐτοὺς ᾔσθοντο καὶ ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ συνεστήκεσαν, καὶ εἴς τι κοῖλον συνελαθέντας καὶ φαραγγῶδες χωρίον περιστάντες κατηκόντισαν, ὥστε πάντας διαφθαρῆναι πλὴν ἑξακοσίων. [163] οὗτοι δὲ συστραφέντες καὶ πυκνώσαντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ διὰ μέσων ὠσάμενοι τῶν πολεμίων ἔφυγον ἐπὶ τὰ πλησίον ὄρη, καὶ κατασχόντες ἱδρύθησαν. οἱ δ᾽ ἄλλοι πάντες περὶ δισμυρίους ὄντες καὶ πεντακισχιλίους ἀπέθανον. [164] οἱ δ᾽ Ἰσραηλῖται τήν τε Γάβαν ἐμπιπρᾶσι καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τῶν ἀρρένων τοὺς μὴ ἐν ἀκμῇ διεχρήσαντο, τάς τε ἄλλας τῶν Βενιαμιτῶν πόλεις ταὐτὰ δρῶσιν, οὕτως τε ἦσαν παρωξυμμένοι, ὡς καὶ Ἰάβησον τῆς Γαλαδίτιδος οὖσαν, ὅτι μὴ συμμαχήσειεν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τῶν Βενιαμιτῶν, πέμψαντες μυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους ἐκ τῶν τάξεων ἐκέλευσαν ἀνελεῖν. [165] καὶ φονεύουσι τὸ μάχιμον τῆς πόλεως οἱ πεμφθέντες σὺν τέκνοις καὶ γυναιξὶ πλὴν τετρακοσίων παρθένων. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὑπ᾽ ὀργῆς προήχθησαν τῷ κατὰ τὴν γυναῖκα πάθει προσλαβόντες καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ὁπλιτῶν.

11. When therefore they had divided the army into two parts, they laid the one half of them in ambush about the city Gibeah by night, while the other half attacked the Benjamites, who retiring upon the assault, the Benjamites pursued them, while the Hebrews retired by slow degrees, as very desirous to draw them entirely from the city; and the other followed them as they retired, till both the old men and the young men that were left in the city, as too weak to fight, came running out together with them, as willing to bring their enemies under. However, when they were a great way from the city the Hebrews ran away no longer, but turned back to fight them, and lifted up the signal they had agreed on to those that lay in ambush, who rose up, and with a great noise fell upon the enemy. Now, as soon as ever they perceived themselves to be deceived, they

knew not what to do; and when they were driven into a certain hollow place which was in a valley, they were shot at by those that encompassed them, till they were all destroyed, excepting six hundred, which formed themselves into a close body of men, and forced their passage through the midst of their enemies, and fled to the neighboring mountains, and, seizing upon them, remained there; but the rest of them, being about twenty-five thousand, were slain. Then did the Israelites burn Gibeah, and slew the women, and the males that were under age; and did the same also to the other cities of the Benjamites; and, indeed, they were enraged to that degree, that they sent twelve thousand men out of the army, and gave them orders to destroy Jabesh Gilead, because it did not join with them in fighting against the Benjamites. Accordingly, those that were sent slew the men of war, with their children and wives, excepting four hundred virgins. To such a degree had they proceeded in their anger, because they not only had the suffering of the Levite's wife to avenge, but the slaughter of their own soldiers.

(12) [166] Μετάνοια δ' αὐτοὺς λαμβάνει τῆς τῶν Βενιαμιτῶν συμφορᾶς καὶ νηστείαν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς προέθεντο καίτοι δίκαια παθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀξιοῦντες εἰς τοὺς νόμους ἐξαμαρτάνοντας, καὶ τοὺς διαφυγόντας αὐτῶν ἑξακοσίους διὰ πρεσβευτῶν ἐκάλουν: καθίδρυντο γὰρ ὑπὲρ πέτρας τινὸς Ῥοᾶς καλουμένης κατὰ τὴν ἔρημον. [167] οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ὡς οὐκ ἐκείνοις τῆς συμφορᾶς μόνοις γεγενημένης ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῖς τῶν συγγενῶν ἀπολωλότων ὀδυρόμενοι πρᾴως ἔπειθον φέρειν καὶ συνελθεῖν εἰς ταὐτὸ καὶ μὴ παντελῆ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς ὄλεθρον τό γε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καταψηφίσασθαι. "συγχωροῦμεν δὲ ὑμῖν, ἔλεγον, τὴν ἁπάσης τῆς φυλῆς γῆν καὶ λείαν ὅσην ἂν ἄγειν δυνηθῆτε". [168] οἱ δὲ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς θεοῦ ψήφῳ γεγονότων καὶ κατ' ἀδικίαν τὴν αὐτῶν γνωσιμαχήσαντες κατήεσαν εἰς τὴν πάτριον φυλὴν πειθόμενοι τοῖς προκαλουμένοις. οἱ δ' Ἰσραηλῖται γυναῖκας αὐτοῖς τὰς τετρακοσίας ἔδοσαν παρθένους τὰς Ἰαβίτιδας, περὶ δὲ τῶν διακοσίων ἐσκόπουν, ὅπως κἀκεῖνοι γυναικῶν εὐπορήσαντες παιδοποιῶνται. [169] γεγενημένων δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅρκων ὥστε μηδενὶ Βενιαμίτῃ συνοικίσαι θυγατέρα πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου, οἱ μὲν ὀλιγωρεῖν συνεβούλευον τῶν ὀμωμοσμένων ὡς ὑπ' ὀργῆς ὀμόσαντες οὐ γνώμῃ καὶ κρίσει, τῷ δὲ θεῷ μηδὲν ἐναντίον ποιήσειν εἰ φυλὴν ὅλην κινδυνεύουσαν ἀπολέσθαι σῶσαι δυνηθεῖεν, τάς τε ἐπιορκίας οὐχ ὅταν ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης γένωνται χαλεπὰς εἶναι καὶ ἐπισφαλεῖς, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἐν κακουργίᾳ τολμηθῶσι. [170] τῆς δὲ γερουσίας πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἐπιορκίας ὄνομα σχετλιασάσης ἔφη τις τούτοις τε γυναικῶν εὐπορίαν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν καὶ τήρησιν τῶν ὅρκων. ἐρομένων δὲ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν, "ἡμῖν, εἶπεν, τρὶς τοῦ ἔτους εἰς Σιλὼ συνιοῦσιν ἔπονται κατὰ πανήγυριν αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες. [171] τούτων κατὰ ἁρπαγὴν ἐφείσθω γαμεῖν Βενιαμίτας ἃς ἂν δυνηθεῖεν ἡμῶν οὔτε προτρεπομένων οὔτε κωλυόντων. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν δυσχεραίνοντας

καὶ τιμωρίαν λαμβάνειν ἀξιοῦντας φήσομεν αὐτοὺς αἰτίους φυλακῆς ἀμελήσαντας τῶν θυγατέρων, ὅτι δὲ δεῖ τῆς ὀργῆς ἐπὶ Βενιαμίτας ὑφεῖναι χρησαμένους αὐτῇ καὶ θᾶττον ἀμέτρως". [172] καὶ οἱ μὲν τούτοις πεισθέντες ψηφίζονται τὸν διὰ τῆς ἁρπαγῆς γάμον τοῖς Βενιαμίταις. ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς οἱ μὲν διακόσιοι κατὰ δύο καὶ τρεῖς πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐνήδρευον παρεσομένας τὰς παρθένους ἔν τε ἀμπελῶσι καὶ χωρίοις ἐν οἷς λήσειν ἔμελλον, [173] αἱ δὲ μετὰ παιδιᾶς οὐδὲν ὑφορώμεναι τῶν μελλόντων ἀφυλάκτως ὥδευον: οἱ δὲ σκεδασθεισῶν εἴχοντο ἐξαναστάντες. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οὕτως γαμήσαντες ἐπ' ἔργα τῆς γῆς ἐχώρησαν καὶ πρόνοιαν ἐποιήσαντο πάλιν εἰς τὴν προτέραν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐπανελθεῖν. [174] Βενιαμιτῶν μὲν οὖν ἡ φυλὴ κινδυνεύσασα τελέως ἐκφθαρῆναι τῷ προειρημένῳ τρόπῳ κατὰ τὴν Ἰσραηλιτῶν σοφίαν σώζεται ἤνθησέ τε παραχρῆμα καὶ ταχεῖαν εἴς τε πλῆθος καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἐπίδοσιν. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὁ πόλεμος οὕτως παύεται.

12. However, they afterward were sorry for the calamity they had brought upon the Benjamites, and appointed a fast on that account, although they supposed those men had suffered justly for their offense against the laws; so they recalled by their ambassadors those six hundred which had escaped. These had seated themselves on a certain rock called Rimmon, which was in the wilderness. So the ambassadors lamented not only the disaster that had befallen the Benjamites, but themselves also, by this destruction of their kindred; and persuaded them to take it patiently; and to come and unite with them, and not, so far as in them lay, to give their suffrage to the utter destruction of the tribe of Benjamin; and said to them, "We give you leave to take the whole land of Benjamin to yourselves, and as much prey as you are able to carry away with you." So these men with sorrow confessed, that what had been done was according to the decree of God, and had happened for their own wickedness; and assented to those that invited them, and came down to their own tribe. The Israelites also gave them the four hundred virgins of Jabesh Gilead for wives; but as to the remaining two hundred, they deliberated about it how they might compass wives enough for them, and that they might have children by them; and whereas they had, before the war began, taken an oath, that no one would give his daughter to wife to a Benjamite, some advised them to have no regard to what they had sworn, because the oath had not been taken advisedly and judiciously, but in a passion, and thought that they should do nothing against God, if they were able to save a whole tribe which was in danger of perishing; and that perjury was then a sad and dangerous thing, not when it is done out of necessity, but when it is done with a wicked intention. But when the senate were affrighted at the very name of perjury, a certain person told them that he could show them a way whereby they might procure the

Benjamites wives enough, and yet keep their oath. They asked him what his proposal was. He said, “That three times in a year, when we meet in Shiloh, our wives and our daughters accompany us: let then the Benjamites be allowed to steal away, and marry such women as they can catch, while we will neither incite them nor forbid them; and when their parents take it ill, and desire us to inflict punishment upon them, we will tell them, that they were themselves the cause of what had happened, by neglecting to guard their daughters, and that they ought not to be over angry at the Benjamites, since that anger was permitted to rise too high already.” So the Israelites were persuaded to follow this advice, and decreed, That the Benjamites should be allowed thus to steal themselves wives. So when the festival was coming on, these two hundred Benjamites lay in ambush before the city, by two and three together, and waited for the coming of the virgins, in the vineyards and other places where they could lie concealed. Accordingly the virgins came along playing, and suspected nothing of what was coming upon them, and walked after an unguarded manner, so those that laid scattered in the road, rose up, and caught hold of them: by this means these Benjamites got them wives, and fell to agriculture, and took good care to recover their former happy state. And thus was this tribe of the Benjamites, after they had been in danger of entirely perishing, saved in the manner forementioned, by the wisdom of the Israelites; and accordingly it presently flourished, and soon increased to be a multitude, and came to enjoy all other degrees of happiness. And such was the conclusion of this war.

III

CHAPTER 3. How The Israelites After This Misfortune Grew Wicked And Served The Assyrians; And How God Delivered Them By Othniel, Who Ruled Over The Forty Years.

(1) [175] Ὅμοια δὲ τούτοις παθεῖν καὶ τὴν Δάνην συνέβη φυλὴν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης εἰς τοῦτο προαχθεῖσαν. [176] τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐκλελοιπότων ἤδη τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἄσκησιν καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἔργοις ὄντων τῆς γῆς Χαναναῖοι καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν συνεποιήσαντο δύναμιν, οὐδὲν μὲν αὐτοὶ πείσεσθαι προσδοκῶντες, ὡς δὲ βεβαίαν τὴν τοῦ ποιήσειν κακῶς τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἐλπίδα λαβόντες ἐπ᾽ ἀδείας τὸ λοιπὸν οἰκεῖν τὰς πόλεις ἠξίουν. [177] ἅρματά τε οὖν παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ τὸ ὁπλιτικὸν συνεκρότουν αἵ τε πόλεις αὐτῶν συνεφρόνουν καὶ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς τὴν Ἀσκάλωνα καὶ Ἀκαρῶνα παρεσπάσαντο ἄλλας τε πολλὰς τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καὶ Δανίτας εἰς τὸ ὄρος ἠνάγκασαν συμφυγεῖν οὐδὲ ὀλίγον αὐτοῖς ἐπιβατὸν τοῦ πεδίου καταλιπόντες. [178] οἱ δ᾽ οὔτε πολεμεῖν ὄντες ἱκανοὶ γῆν τε οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀρκοῦσαν πέμπουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν πέντε ἄνδρας εἰς τὴν μεσόγειον κατοψομένους γῆν, εἰς ἣν μετοικήσαιντο. οἱ δ᾽ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ Λιβάνου ὄρους καὶ ἐλάσσονος Ἰορδάνου τῶν πηγῶν κατὰ τὸ μέγα πεδίον Σιδῶνος πόλεως ὁδὸν ἡμέρας μιᾶς προελθόντες καὶ κατασκεψάμενοι γῆν ἀγαθὴν καὶ πάμφορον σημαίνουσι τοῖς αὐτῶν: οἱ δ᾽ ὁρμηθέντες στρατῷ κτίζουσιν αὐτόθι πόλιν Δάνα ὁμώνυμον τῷ Ἰακώβου παιδὶ φυλῆς δ᾽ ἐπώνυμον τῆς αὐτῶν.

1. Now it happened that the tribe of Dan suffered in like manner with the tribe of Benjamin; and it came to do so on the occasion following: — When the Israelites had already left off the exercise of their arms for war, and were intent upon their husbandry, the Canaanites despised them, and brought together an army, not because they expected to suffer by them, but because they had a mind to have a sure prospect of treating the Hebrews ill when they pleased, and might thereby for the time to come dwell in their own cities the more securely; they prepared therefore their chariots, and gathered their soldiery together, their cities also combined together, and drew over to them Askelon and Ekron, which were within the tribe of Judah, and many more of those that lay in the plain. They also forced the Danites to fly into the mountainous country, and left them not the least portion of the plain country to set their foot on. Since then these Danites were not able to fight them, and had not land enough to sustain them, they sent five of their men into the midland country, to seek for a land to which they might

remove their habitation. So these men went as far as the neighborhood of Mount Libanus, and the fountains of the Lesser Jordan, at the great plain of Sidon, a day's journey from the city; and when they had taken a view of the land, and found it to be good and exceeding fruitful, they acquainted their tribe with it, whereupon they made an expedition with the army, and built there the city Dan, of the same name with the son of Jacob, and of the same name with their own tribe.

(2) [179] Τοῖς δ' Ἰσραηλίταις προύβαινεν ὑπό τε ἀπειρίας τοῦ πονεῖν τὰ κακὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὸ θεῖον ὀλιγωρίας: μετακινηθέντες γὰρ ἅπαξ τοῦ κόσμου τῆς πολιτείας ἐφέροντο πρὸς τὸ καθ' ἡδονὴν καὶ βούλησιν ἰδίαν βιοῦν, ὡς καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωριαζόντων παρὰ τοῖς Χαναναίοις ἀναπίμπλασθαι κακῶν. [180] ὀργίζεται τοίνυν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἦν σὺν πόνοις μυρίοις εὐδαιμονίαν ἐκτήσαντο, ταύτην ἀπέβαλον διὰ τρυφήν. στρατεύσαντος γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Χουσαρσάθου τοῦ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέως πολλούς τε τῶν παραταξαμένων ἀπώλεσαν καὶ πολιορκούμενοι κατὰ κράτος ἡρέθησαν, [181] εἰσὶ δ' οἳ διὰ φόβον ἑκουσίως αὐτῷ προσεχώρησαν, φόρους τε τοῦ δυνατοῦ μείζονας ἐπιταγέντες ἐτέλουν καὶ ὕβρεις παντοίας ὑπέμενον ἕως ἐτῶν ὀκτώ, μεθ' ἃ τῶν κακῶν οὕτως ἠλευθερώθησαν.

2. The Israelites grew so indolent, and unready of taking pains, that misfortunes came heavier upon them, which also proceeded in part from their contempt of the Divine worship; for when they had once fallen off from the regularity of their political government, they indulged themselves further in living according to their own pleasure, and according to their own will, till they were full of the evil doings that were common among the Canaanites. God therefore was angry with them, and they lost that their happy state which they had obtained by innumerable labors, by their luxury; for when Chushan, king of the Assyrians, had made war against them, they lost many of their soldiers in the battle, and when they were besieged, they were taken by force; nay, there were some who, out of fear, voluntarily submitted to him, and though the tribute laid upon them was more than they could bear, yet did they pay it, and underwent all sort of oppression for eight years; after which thee they were freed from them in the following manner: —

(3) [182] Τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς τις Κενίαζος ὄνομα δραστήριος ἀνὴρ καὶ τὸ φρόνημα γενναῖος, χρησθὲν αὐτῷ μὴ περιορᾶν ἐν τοιαύτῃ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας ἀνάγκῃ κειμένους ἀλλ' εἰς ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοὺς ἐξαιρεῖσθαι τολμᾶν, παρακελευσάμενος συλλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν κινδύνων αὐτῷ τινάς, ὀλίγοι δ' ἦσαν, οἷς αἰδὼς ἐπὶ τοῖς τότε παροῦσιν ἐτύγχανε καὶ προθυμία μεταβολῆς, [183] πρῶτον μὲν τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς οὖσαν φρουρὰν τοῦ Χουσαρσάθου διαφθείρει, προσγενομένων δὲ

πλειόνων τῶν συναγωνιζομένων ἐκ τοῦ μὴ διαμαρτεῖν περὶ τὰ πρῶτα τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως, μάχην τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις συνάπτουσι καὶ πρὸς τὸ παντελὲς αὐτοὺς ἀπωσάμενοι περαιοῦσθαι τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐβιάζοντο. [184] Κενίαζος δὲ ὡς ἔργῳ πεῖραν αὐτοῦ δεδωκὼς τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας γέρας ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς λαμβάνει παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἀρχήν, ὥστε κρίνειν τὸν λαόν. καὶ ἄρξας ἐπ᾽ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα καταστρέφει τὸν βίον.

3. There was one whose name was Othniel, the son of Kenaz, of the tribe of Judah, an active man and of great courage. He had an admonition from God not to overlook the Israelites in such a distress as they were now in, but to endeavor boldly to gain them their liberty; so when he had procured some to assist him in this dangerous undertaking, [and few they were, who, either out of shame at their present circumstances, or out of a desire of changing them, could be prevailed on to assist him,] he first of all destroyed that garrison which Chushan had set over them; but when it was perceived that he had not failed in his first attempt, more of the people came to his assistance; so they joined battle with the Assyrians, and drove them entirely before them, and compelled them to pass over Euphrates. Hereupon Othniel, who had given such proofs of his valor, received from the multitude authority to judge the people; and when he had ruled over them forty years, he died.

IV

CHAPTER 4. How Our People Served The Moabites Eighteen Years, And Were Then Delivered From Slavery By One Ehud Who Retained The Dominion Eighty Years.

(1) [185] Τελευτήσαντος δὲ τούτου πάλιν τὰ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ὑπὸ ἀναρχίας ἐνόσει πράγματα, καὶ τῷ μὴ διὰ τιμῆς ἄγειν τὸν θεὸν μηδὲ τοῖς νόμοις ὑπακούειν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκακοῦτο, [186] ὡς καταφρονήσαντα αὐτῶν τῆς ἀκοσμίας τῆς κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν Ἐγλῶνα τὸν Μωαβιτῶν βασιλέα πόλεμον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐξενεγκεῖν καὶ πολλαῖς μάχαις αὐτῶν κρατήσαντα καὶ τοὺς φρονήματι τῶν ἄλλων διαφέροντας ὑποτάξαντα πρὸς τὸ παντελὲς αὐτῶν τὴν δύναμιν ταπεινῶσαι καὶ φόρους αὐτοῖς ἐπιτάξαι τελεῖν. [187] καθιδρύσας δ' αὐτῷ ἐν Ἰεριχοῦντι βασίλειον ταύτην ἀποδείξας οὐδὲν τῆς εἰς τὸ πλῆθος κακώσεως παρέλιπεν εἴς τε πενίαν αὐτοὺς κατέστησεν ἐπὶ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτη. λαβὼν δ' οἶκτον ὁ θεὸς τῶν [Ἰσραηλιτῶν] ἐφ' οἷς ἔπασχον καὶ ταῖς ἱκετείαις αὐτῶν ἐπικλασθεὶς ἀπήλλαξε τῆς ὑπὸ τοῖς Μωαβίταις ὕβρεως. ἠλευθερώθησαν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ.

1. When Othniel was dead, the affairs of the Israelites fell again into disorder: and while they neither paid to God the honor due to him, nor were obedient to the laws, their afflictions increased, till Eglon, king of the Moabites, did so greatly despise them on account of the disorders of their political government, that he made war upon them, and overcame them in several battles, and made the most courageous to submit, and entirely subdued their army, and ordered them to pay him tribute. And when he had built him a royal palace at Jericho, he omitted no method whereby he might distress them; and indeed he reduced them to poverty for eighteen years. But when God had once taken pity of the Israelites, on account of their afflictions, and was moved to compassion by their supplications put up to him, he freed them from the hard usage they had met with under the Moabites. This liberty he procured for them in the following manner; —

(2) [188] Τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς νεανίας Ἰούδης μὲν τοὔνομα Γήρα τε πατρὸς τολμῆσαί τε ἀνδρειότατος καὶ τῷ σώματι πρὸς τὰ ἔργα χρῆσθαι δυνατὸς τῶν χειρῶν τὴν ἀριστερὰν ἀμείνων κἀπ' ἐκείνης τὴν ἅπασαν ἰσχὺν ἔχων κατῴκει μὲν ἐν Ἰεριχοῦντι καὶ αὐτός, [189] συνήθης δὲ γίνεται τῷ Ἐγλῶνι δωρεαῖς αὐτὸν θεραπεύων καὶ ὑπερχόμενος, ὡς διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν βασιλέα προσφιλῆ τυγχάνειν αὐτόν. [190] καί ποτε σὺν δυσὶν οἰκέταις δῶρα τῷ βασιλεῖ φέρων ξιφίδιον κρύφα τῷ δεξιῷ σκέλει περιδησάμενος εἰσῄει πρὸς αὐτόν. ὥρα δ' ἦν

θέρους καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἤδη μεσούσης ἀνεῖντο αἱ φυλακαὶ ὑπό τε τοῦ καύματος καὶ πρὸς ἄριστον τετραμμένων. [191] δοὺς οὖν τὰ δῶρα τῷ Ἐγλῶνι ὁ νεανίσκος, διέτριβε δ' ἔν τινι δωματίῳ δεξιῶς πρὸς θέρος ἔχοντι, πρὸς ὁμιλίαν ἐτράποντο. μόνοι δ' ἦσαν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοὺς ἐπεισιόντας τῶν θεραπόντων ἀπιέναι κελεύσαντος διὰ τὸ πρὸς Ἰούδην ὁμιλεῖν. [192] καθῆστο δ' ἐπὶ θρόνου καὶ δέος εἰσῄει τὸν Ἰούδην, μὴ διαμάρτῃ καὶ μὴ δῷ καιρίαν πληγήν. ἀνίστησιν οὖν αὐτὸν ὄναρ εἰπὼν ἔχειν ἐκ προστάγματος αὐτῷ δηλῶσαι τοῦ θεοῦ. [193] καὶ ὁ μὲν πρὸς τὴν χαρὰν τὴν τοῦ ὀνείρατος ἀνεπήδησεν ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου, πλήξας δ' αὐτὸν Ἰούδης εἰς τὴν καρδίαν καὶ τὸ ξιφίδιον ἐγκαταλιπὼν ἔξεισι προσκλίνας τὴν θύραν. οἵ τε θεράποντες ἠρέμουν εἰς ὕπνον τετράφθαι νομίζοντες τὸν βασιλέα.

2. There was a young man of the tribe of Benjamin, whose name was Ehud, the son of Gera, a man of very great courage in bold undertakings, and of a very strong body, fit for hard labor, but best skilled in using his left hand, in which was his whole strength; and he also dwelt at Jericho. Now this man became familiar with Eglon, and that by means of presents, with which he obtained his favor, and insinuated himself into his good opinion; whereby he was also beloved of those that were about the king. Now, when on a time he was bringing presents to the king, and had two servants with him, he put a dagger on his right thigh secretly, and went in to him: it was then summer thee, and the middle of the day, when the guards were not strictly on their watch, both because of the heat, and because they were gone to dinner. So the young man, when he had offered his presents to the king, who then resided in a small parlor that stood conveniently to avoid the heat, fell into discourse with him, for they were now alone, the king having bid his servants that attended him to go their ways, because he had a mind to talk with Ehud. He was now sitting on his throne; and fear seized upon Ehud lest he should miss his stroke, and not give him a deadly wound; so he raised himself up, and said he had a dream to impart to him by the command of God; upon which the king leaped out of his throne for joy of the dream; so Ehud smote him to the heart, and leaving his dagger in his body, he went out and shut the door after him. Now the king's servants were very still, as supposing that the king had composed himself to sleep.

(3) [194] Ὁ δ' Ἰούδης τοῖς Ἰεριχουντίοις ἀποσημαίνων κρυπτῶς παρεκάλει τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι. οἱ δ' ἀσμένως ἀκούσαντες αὐτοί τε εἰς τὰ ὅπλα ἦσαν καὶ διέπεμπον εἰς τὴν χώραν τοὺς ἀποσημαίνοντας κέρασιν οἰῶν: τούτοις γὰρ συγκαλεῖν τὸ πλῆθος πάτριον. [195] οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἐγλῶνα πολὺν μὲν χρόνον ἠγνόουν τὸ συμβεβηκὸς αὐτῷ πάθος, ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἦν, δείσαντες μή τι νεώτερον εἴη περὶ αὐτὸν γεγονός, εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον καὶ νεκρὸν εὑρόντες ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ καθειστήκεσαν, καὶ πρὶν τὴν φρουρὰν συστραφῆναι τὸ τῶν

Ἰσραηλιτῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπέρχεται πλῆθος. [196] καὶ οἱ μὲν παραχρῆμα ἀναιροῦνται, οἱ δ' εἰς φυγὴν τρέπονται ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Μωαβῖτιν σωθησόμενοι, ἦσαν δὲ ὑπὲρ μυρίους. καὶ Ἰσραηλῖται προκατειληφότες τοῦ Ἰορδάνου τὴν διάβασιν διώκοντες ἔκτεινον καὶ κατὰ τὴν διάβασιν πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀναιροῦσι, διέφυγέ τε οὐδεὶς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν. [197] καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἑβραῖοι τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς ὑπὸ τοῖς Μωαβίταις δουλείας ἀπηλλάγησαν, Ἰούδης δ' ἐκ τῆς αἰτίας ταύτης τιμηθεὶς τῇ τοῦ πλήθους παντὸς ἡγεμονίᾳ τελευτᾷ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔτεσιν ὀγδοήκοντα κατασχών, ἀνὴρ καὶ δίχα τῆς προειρημένης πράξεως ἐπαίνου δίκαιος τυγχάνειν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Σαάγαρος ὁ Ἀνάθου παῖς αἱρεθεὶς ἄρχειν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτει κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον.

3. Hereupon Ehud informed the people of Jericho privately of what he had done, and exhorted them to recover their liberty; who heard him gladly, and went to their arms, and sent messengers over the country, that should sound trumpets of rams' horns; for it was our custom to call the people together by them. Now the attendants of Eglon were ignorant of what misfortune had befallen him for a great while; but, towards the evening, fearing some uncommon accident had happened, they entered into his parlor, and when they found him dead, they were in great disorder, and knew not what to do; and before the guards could be got together, the multitude of the Israelites came upon them, so that some of them were slain immediately, and some were put to flight, and ran away toward the country of Moab, in order to save themselves. Their number was above ten thousand. The Israelites seized upon the ford of Jordan, and pursued them, and slew them, and many of them they killed at the ford, nor did one of them escape out of their hands; and by this means it was that the Hebrews freed themselves from slavery under the Moabites. Ehud also was on this account dignified with the government over all the multitude, and died after he had held the government eighty years He was a man worthy of commendation, even besides what he deserved for the forementioned act of his. After him Shamgat, the son of Anath, was elected for their governor, but died in the first year of his government.

V

CHAPTER 5. How The Canaanites Brought The Israelites Under Slavery For Twenty Years; After Which They Were Delivered By Barak And Deborah, Who Ruled Over Them For Forty Years.

(1) [198] Ἰσραηλῖται δὲ πάλιν, οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ διδαχῇ τοῦ κρείττονος ἐλάμβανον τῶν πρότερον ἠτυχημένων ὑπό τε τοῦ μήτε σέβειν τὸν θεὸν μήθ᾽ ὑπακούειν τοῖς νόμοις, πρὶν ἢ καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ Μωαβίταις ἀναπνεῦσαι δουλείας πρὸς ὀλίγον Ἀβίτω τοῦ Χαναναίων βασιλέως δουλοῦνται. [199] οὗτος γὰρ ἐξ Ἀσώρου πόλεως ὁρμώμενος, αὕτη δ᾽ ὑπέρκειται τῆς Σεμαχωνίτιδος λίμνης, στρατοῦ μὲν ὁπλιτῶν τριάκοντα ἔτρεφε μυριάδας μυρίους δὲ ἱππέας, τρισχιλίων δὲ ἁρμάτων ηὐπόρει. ταύτης οὖν στρατηγὸς τῆς δυνάμεως Σισάρης τιμῆς πρώτης παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ τυγχάνων συνελθόντας πρὸς αὐτὸν τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας ἐκάκωσε δεινῶς, ὥστε αὐτοῖς ἐπιτάξαι τελεῖν φόρους.

1. And now it was that the Israelites, taking no warning by their former misfortunes to amend their manners, and neither worshipping God nor submitting to the laws, were brought under slavery by Jabin, the king of the Canaanites, and that before they had a short breathing time after the slavery under the Moabites; for this Jabin out of Hazor, a city that was situate over the Semechonitis, and had in pay three hundred footmen, and ten thousand horsemen, with fewer than three thousand chariots. Sisera was commander of all his army, and was the principal person in the king’s favor. He so sorely beat the Israelites when they fought with him, that he ordered them to pay tribute.

(2) [200] Εἴκοσι μὲν οὖν ἔτη ταῦτα πάσχοντες ἤνυσαν μήτε αὐτοὶ φρονεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς δυστυχίας ὄντες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πλέον δαμάσαι ἔτι θέλοντος αὐτῶν τὴν ὕβριν διὰ τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀγνωμοσύνην, ἵνα μεταθέμενοι τοῦ λοιποῦ σωφρονῶσιν διδαχθέντες τὰς συμφορὰς αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς περιφρονήσεως τῶν νόμων ὑπάρξαι, Δαβώραν [δέ] τινα προφῆτιν, [201] μέλισσαν δὲ σημαίνει τοὔνομα κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων γλῶσσαν, ἱκέτευον δεηθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ λαβεῖν οἶκτον αὐτῶν καὶ μὴ περιιδεῖν ἀπολλυμένους αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ Χαναναίων. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐπένευσε σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς καὶ στρατηγὸν αἱρεῖται Βάρακον τῆς Νεφθαλίδος ὄντα φυλῆς: βάρακος δέ ἐστιν ἀστραπὴ κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων γλῶσσαν.

2. So they continued to that hardship for twenty years, as not good enough of themselves to grow wise by their misfortunes. God was willing also hereby the more to subdue their obstinacy and ingratitude towards himself: so when at

length they were become penitent, and were so wise as to learn that their calamities arose from their contempt of the laws, they besought Deborah, a certain prophetess among them, [which name in the Hebrew tongue signifies a Bee,] to pray to God to take pity on them, and not to overlook them, now they were ruined by the Canaanites. So God granted them deliverance, and chose them a general, Barak, one that was of the tribe of Naphtali. Now Barak, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies Lightning.

(3) [202] Μεταπεμψαμένη δ' ἡ Δαβώρα τὸν Βάρακον ἐπιλέξαντα τῶν νέων μυρίους ἐκέλευε χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους: ἀποχρῆναι γὰρ τοσούτους τοῦ θεοῦ προειρηκότος καὶ νίκην ἀποσημήναντος. [203] Βαράκου δὲ φαμένου οὐ στρατηγήσειν μὴ κἀκείνης αὐτῷ συστρατηγούσης ἀγανακτήσασα, "σὺ μέν, εἶπε, γυναικὶ παραχωρεῖς ἀξίωμα ὃ σοὶ δέδωκεν ὁ θεός, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ παραιτοῦμαι". καὶ συναριθμήσαντες μυρίους ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο πρὸς Ἰταβυρίῳ ὄρει. [204] ἀπήντα δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ Σισάρης τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσαντος καὶ στρατοπεδεύονται τῶν πολεμίων οὐκ ἄπωθεν. τοὺς δ' Ἰσραηλίτας καὶ τὸν Βάρακον καταπλαγέντας τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν διεγνωκότας ἡ Δεβώρα κατεῖχε τὴν συμβολὴν ποιεῖσθαι κατ' ἐκείνην κελεύουσα τὴν ἡμέραν: νικήσειν γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ συλλήψεσθαι τὸν θεόν.

3. So Deborah sent for Barak, and bade him choose out ten thousand young men to go against the enemy, because God had said that that number was sufficient, and promised them victory. But when Barak said that he would not be the general unless she would also go as a general with him, she had indignation at what he said "Thou, O Barak, deliverest up meanly that authority which God hath given thee into the hand of a woman, and I do not reject it!" So they collected ten thousand men, and pitched their camp at Mount Tabor, where, at the king's command, Sisera met them, and pitched his camp not far from the enemy; whereupon the Israelites, and Barak himself, were so aftrighted at the multitude of those enemies, that they were resolved to march off, had not Deborah retained them, and commanded them to fight the enemy that very day, for that they should conquer them, and God would be their assistance.

(4) [205] Συνῆσαν οὖν καὶ προσμιγέντων ὄμβρος ἐπιγίνεται μέγας καὶ ὕδωρ πολὺ καὶ χάλαζα, τόν τε ὑετὸν κατὰ πρόσωπον ἤλαυνε τῶν Χαναναίων ἄνεμος ταῖς ὄψεσιν αὐτῶν ἐπισκοτῶν, ὡς τὰς τοξείας ἀχρήστους αὐτοῖς εἶναι καὶ τὰς σφενδόνας: οἵ τε ὁπλῖται διὰ τὸ κρύος χρῆσθαι τοῖς ξίφεσιν οὐκ εἶχον. [206] τοὺς δ' Ἰσραηλίτας ἧττόν τε ἔβλαπτε κατόπιν γινόμενος ὁ χειμὼν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἔννοιαν τῆς βοηθείας τοῦ θεοῦ θάρσος ἐλάμβανον, ὥστε εἰς μέσους ὠσάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, οἱ

δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῆς οἰκείας ἵππου ταραχθέντες ἔπεσον, ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν ἁρμάτων πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν. [207] Σισάρης δὲ καταπηδήσας τοῦ ἅρματος ὡς εἶδε τὴν τροπὴν γινομένην, φυγὼν ἀφικνεῖται παρά τινα τῶν Κενελίδων γυναῖκα Ἰάλην ὄνομα, ἣ κρύψαι τε ἀξιώσαντα δέχεται καὶ ποτὸν αἰτήσαντι δίδωσι γάλα διεφθορὸς ἤδη. [208] ὁ δὲ πιὼν τοῦ μέτρου δαψιλέστερον εἰς ὕπνον τρέπεται. ἡ δὲ Ἰάλη κοιμωμένου σιδήρεον ἧλον ἐλάσασα σφύρῃ κατὰ τοῦ στόματος καὶ τοῦ χελυνίου διέπειρε τὸ ἔδαφος καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Βάρακον μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐλθοῦσιν ἐπεδείκνυε τῇ γῇ προσηλωμένον. [209] καὶ οὕτως μὲν ἡ νίκη αὕτη περιέστη κατὰ τὰ ὑπὸ Δαβώρας εἰρημένα εἰς γυναῖκα. Βάρακος δὲ στρατεύσας ἐπ᾽ Ἄσωρον Ἰοαβινόν τε ὑπαντιάσαντα κτείνει καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πεσόντος καθελὼν εἰς ἔδαφος τὴν πόλιν στρατηγεῖ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐπ᾽ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα.

4. So the battle began; and when they were come to a close fight, there came down from heaven a great storm, with a vast quantity of rain and hail, and the wind blew the rain in the face of the Canaanites, and so darkened their eyes, that their arrows and slings were of no advantage to them, nor would the coldness of the air permit the soldiers to make use of their swords; while this storm did not so much incommode the Israelites, because it came in their backs. They also took such courage, upon the apprehension that God was assisting them, that they fell upon the very midst of their enemies, and slew a great number of them; so that some of them fell by the Israelites, some fell by their own horses, which were put into disorder, and not a few were killed by their own chariots. At last Sisera, as soon as he saw himself beaten, fled away, and came to a woman whose name was Jael, a Kenite, who received him, when he desired to be concealed; and when he asked for somewhat to drink, she gave him sour milk, of which he drank so unmeasurably that he fell asleep; but when he was asleep, Jael took an iron nail, and with a hammer drove it through his temples into the floor; and when Barak came a little afterward, she showed Sisera nailed to the ground: and thus was this victory gained by a woman, as Deborah had foretold. Barak also fought with Jabin at Hazor; and when he met with him, he slew him: and when the general was fallen, Barak overthrew the city to the foundation, and was the commander of the Israelites for forty years.

VI

CHAPTER 6. How The Midianites And Other Nations Fought Against The Israelites And Beat Them, And Afflicted Their Country For Seven Years, How They Were Delivered By Gideon, Who Ruled Over The Multitude For Forty Years.

(1) [210] Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Βαράκου καὶ Δαβώρας κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν μετὰ ταῦτα Μαδιηνῖται παρακαλέσαντες Ἀμαληκίτας τε καὶ Ἄραβας στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας καὶ μάχῃ τε νικῶσι τοὺς συμβαλόντας καὶ τὸν καρπὸν δῃώσαντες τὴν λείαν ἐπήγοντο. [211] τοῦτο δὲ ποιούντων ἐπ᾽ ἔτη ἑπτὰ εἰς τὰ ὄρη τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἀνεστάλη τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τῶν πεδίων ἐξεχώρουν ὑπονόμους τε καὶ σπήλαια ποιησάμενοι πᾶν ὅ τι τοὺς πολεμίους διέφυγεν ἐν τούτοις εἶχον φυλάττοντες. [212] οἱ γὰρ Μαδιηνῖται κατὰ ὥραν θέρους στρατεύοντες τὸν χειμῶνα γεωργεῖν τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις ἐπέτρεπον, ὅπως ἔχωσι πεπονηκότων αὐτῶν εἰς ἃ βλάπτωσι. λιμὸς δ᾽ ἦν καὶ σπάνις τροφῆς καὶ τρέπονται πρὸς ἱκετείαν τοῦ θεοῦ σώζειν αὐτοὺς παρακαλοῦντες.

1. Now when Barak and Deborah were dead, whose deaths happened about the same time, afterwards the Midianites called the Amalekites and Arabians to their assistance, and made war against the Israelites, and were too hard for those that fought against them; and when they had burnt the fruits of the earth, they carried off the prey. Now when they had done this for three years, the multitude of the Israelites retired to the mountains, and forsook the plain country. They also made themselves hollows under ground, and caverns, and preserved therein whatsoever had escaped their enemies; for the Midianites made expeditions in harvest-time, but permitted them to plough the land in winter, that so, when the others had taken the pains, they might have fruits for them to carry away. Indeed, there ensued a famine and a scarcity of food; upon which they betook themselves to their supplications to God, and besought him to save them.

(2) [213] Καὶ Γεδεὼν ὁ Ἰάσου παῖς Μανασσίδος φυλῆς ἐν ὀλίγοις δράγματα σταχύων φερόμενος κρυπτῶς εἰς τὴν ληνὸν ἔκοπτε: τοὺς γὰρ πολεμίους ἐδεδίει φανερῶς τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς ἅλωος. φαντάσματος δὲ αὐτῷ παραστάντος νεανίσκου μορφῇ καὶ φήσαντος εὐδαίμονα καὶ φίλον τῷ θεῷ, ὑποτυχών “τοῦτο γοῦν, ἔφη, τεκμήριον τῆς εὐμενείας αὐτοῦ μέγιστον τῇ ληνῷ με νῦν ἀντὶ ἅλωος χρῆσθαι”. [214] θαρσεῖν δὲ παρακελευσαμένου καὶ πειρᾶσθαι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀνασώζειν ἀδυνάτως ἔχειν ἔλεγε: τήν τε γὰρ φυλὴν ἐξ ἧς ὑπῆρχε πλήθους

ὑστερεῖν καὶ νέον αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ τηλικούτων πραγμάτων ἀσθενέστερον. ὁ δὲ θεὸς αὐτὸς ἀναπληρώσειν τὸ λεῖπον ἐπηγγέλλετο καὶ νίκην παρέξειν Ἰσραηλίταις αὐτοῦ στρατηγοῦντος.

2. Gideon also, the son of Joash, one of the principal persons of the tribe of Manasseh, brought his sheaves of corn privately, and thrashed them at the wine-press; for he was too fearful of their enemies to thrash them openly in the thrashing-floor. At this time somewhat appeared to him in the shape of a young man, and told him that he was a happy man, and beloved of God. To which he immediately replied, "A mighty indication of God's favor to me, that I am forced to use this wine-press instead of a thrashing-floor!" But the appearance exhorted him to be of good courage, and to make an attempt for the recovery of their liberty. He answered, that it was impossible for him to recover it, because the tribe to which he belonged was by no means numerous; and because he was but young himself, and too inconsiderable to think of such great actions. But the other promised him, that God would supply what he was defective in, and would afford the Israelites victory under his conduct.

(3) [215] Τοῦτ' οὖν διηγούμενος ὁ Γεδεὼν τισὶ τῶν νέων ἐπιστεύετο, καὶ παραχρῆμα πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἕτοιμον ἦν τὸ στρατόπεδον μυρίων ἀνδρῶν. ἐπιστὰς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὁ θεὸς τῷ Γεδεῶνι τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν αὐτῷ φίλαυτον οὖσαν ἐδήλου καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀρετῇ διαφέροντας ἀπεχθανομένην, ὅπως τε τὴν νίκην παρέντες τοῦ θεοῦ δοκεῖν νομίζουσιν ἰδίαν ὡς πολὺς στρατὸς ὄντες καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀξιόμαχος. [216] ἵνα μάθωσιν οὖν βοηθείας τῆς αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔργον, συνεβούλευε περὶ μεσοῦσαν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ἀκμῇ τοῦ καύματος ὄντος ἄγειν τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατακλιθέντας καὶ οὕτως πίνοντας εὐψύχους ὑπολαμβάνειν, ὅσοι δ' ἂν ἐσπευσμένως καὶ μετὰ θορύβου πίνοντες τύχοιεν τούτους δειλοὺς νομίζειν καὶ καταπεπληγότας τοὺς πολεμίους. [217] ποιήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Γεδεῶνος κατὰ τὰς ὑποθήκας τοῦ θεοῦ τριακόσιοι ἄνδρες εὑρέθησαν ταῖς χερσὶ μετὰ φόβου προσενεγκάμενοι τὸ ὕδωρ τεταραγμένως, ἔφησέ τε ὁ θεὸς τούτους ἐπαγόμενον ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου μέλλοντες εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν περαιοῦσθαι.

3. Now, therefore, as Gideon was relating this to some young men, they believed him, and immediately there was an army of ten thousand men got ready for fighting. But God stood by Gideon in his sleep, and told him that mankind were too fond of themselves, and were enemies to such as excelled in virtue. Now that they might not pass God over, but ascribe the victory to him, and might not fancy it obtained by their own power, because they were a great many, and able

of themselves to fight their enemies, but might confess that it was owing to his assistance, he advised him to bring his army about noon, in the violence of the heat, to the river, and to esteem those that bent down on their knees, and so drank, to be men of courage; but for all those that drank tumultuously, that he should esteem them to do it out of fear, and as in dread of their enemies. And when Gideon had done as God had suggested to him, there were found three hundred men that took water with their hands tumultuously; so God bid him take these men, and attack the enemy. Accordingly they pitched their camp at the river Jordan, as ready the next day to pass over it.

(4) [218] Γεδεῶνος δ' ἐν φόβῳ καθεστῶτος, καὶ γὰρ νυκτὸς ἐπιχειρεῖν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς προειρήκει, τοῦ δέους αὐτὸν ἀπαγαγεῖν βουλόμενος κελεύει προσλαβόντα ἕνα τῶν στρατιωτῶν πλησίον χωρεῖν ταῖς Μαδιηνιτῶν σκηναῖς: παρ' αὐτῶν γὰρ ἐκείνων λήψεσθαι φρόνημα καὶ θάρσος. [219] πεισθεὶς δὲ ᾔει Φρουρὰν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θεράποντα παραλαβών, καὶ πλησιάσας σκηνῇ τινι καταλαμβάνει τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ ἐγρηγορότας καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ὄναρ διηγούμενον τῷ συσκηνοῦντι, ὥστε ἀκούειν τὸν Γεδεῶνα. τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον ἦν: μᾶζαν ἐδόκει κριθίνην ὑπ' εὐτελείας ἀνθρώποις ἄβρωτον διὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κυλιομένην τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως σκηνὴν καταβαλεῖν καὶ τὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν πάντων. [220] ὁ δὲ σημαίνειν ὄλεθρον τοῦ στρατοῦ τὴν ὄψιν ἔκρινε λέγων, ὅθεν τοῦτ' αὐτῷ συνιδεῖν ἐπῆλθε, πᾶν τὸ σπέρμα τὸ καλούμενον κρίθινον εὐτελέστατον ὁμολογεῖσθαι τυγχάνειν, τοῦ δ' Ἀσιανοῦ παντὸς τὸ Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἀτιμότερον νῦν γεγενημένον ὅμοιον δὲ τῷ κατὰ κριθὴν γένει. [221] καὶ τὸ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις νῦν μεγαλοφρονοῦν τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη Γεδεὼν καὶ τὸ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιωτικόν. ἐπεὶ οὖν τὴν μᾶζαν φῂς ἰδεῖν τὰς σκηνὰς ἡμῶν ἀνατρέπουσαν, δέδια μὴ θεὸς Γεδεῶνι τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν νίκην ἐπινένευκε."

4. But Gideon was in great fear, for God had told him beforehand that he should set upon his enemies in the night-time; but God, being willing to free him from his fear, bid him take one of his soldiers, and go near to the Midianites' tents, for that he should from that very place have his courage raised, and grow bold. So he obeyed, and went and took his servant Phurah with him; and as he came near to one of the tents, he discovered that those that were in it were awake, and that one of them was telling to his fellow soldier a dream of his own, and that so plainly that Gideon could hear him. The dream was this: — He thought he saw a barley-cake, such a one as could hardly be eaten by men, it was so vile, rolling through the camp, and overthrowing the royal tent, and the tents of all the soldiers. Now the other soldier explained this vision to mean the destruction of the army; and told them what his reason was which made him so conjecture, *viz.* That the seed called barley was all of it allowed to be of the vilest sort of seed,

and that the Israelites were known to be the vilest of all the people of Asia, agreeably to the seed of barley, and that what seemed to look big among the Israelites was this Gideon and the army that was with him; “and since thou sayest thou didst see the cake overturning our tents, I am afraid lest God hath granted the victory over us to Gideon.”

(5) [222] Γεδεῶνα δ’ ἀκούσαντα τὸ ὄναρ ἐλπὶς ἀγαθὴ καὶ θάρσος ἔλαβε καὶ προσέταξεν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις εἶναι τοὺς οἰκείους διηγησάμενος αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ὄψιν, οἱ δ’ ἕτοιμοι πρὸς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα φρονηματισθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν δεδηλωμένων ἦσαν. [223] καὶ κατὰ τετάρτην μάλιστα φυλακὴν προσῆγε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ στρατιὰν Γεδεὼν εἰς τρία μέρη διελὼν αὐτήν, ἑκατὸν δὲ ἦσαν ἐν ἑκάστῳ. ἐκόμιζον δὲ πάντες ἀμφορέας κενοὺς καὶ λαμπάδας ἡμμένας ἐν αὐταῖς, ὅπως μὴ κατάφωρος τοῖς πολεμίοις ἡ ἔφοδος αὐτῶν γένηται, καὶ ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ κριοῦ κέρας: ἐχρῶντο δὲ τούτοις ἀντὶ σάλπιγγος. [224] χωρίον δὲ πολὺ κατεῖχε τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στράτευμα, πλείστην γὰρ αὐτοῖς εἶναι συνέβαινε κάμηλον, καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἔθνη νεμηθέντες ὑφ’ ἑνὶ κύκλῳ πάντες ἦσαν. [225] οἱ δ’ Ἑβραῖοι, προειρημένον αὐτοῖς ὁπόταν γένωνται πλησίον τῶν πολεμίων ἐκ συνθήματος σάλπιγξί τε ἠχήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἀμφορέας κατεάξαντας ὁρμῆσαι μετὰ τῶν λαμπάδων ἀλαλάξαντας καὶ νικᾶν θεοῦ Γεδεῶνι βοηθήσοντος, τοῦτ’ ἐποίησαν. [226] ταραχὴ δὲ λαμβάνει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἔτι [τε] ὑπνοῦντας καὶ δείματα: νὺξ γὰρ ἦν καὶ ὁ θεὸς τοῦτο ἤθελεν. ἐκτείνοντο δὲ ὀλίγοι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, οἱ δὲ πλείους ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων διὰ τὸ τῇ γλώσσῃ διαφωνεῖν. ἅπαξ δὲ καταστάντες εἰς ταραχὴν πᾶν τὸ προστυχὸν ἀνῄρουν νομίζοντες εἶναι πολέμιον, φόνος τε πολὺς ἦν. [227] καὶ φήμῃ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας τῆς Γεδεῶνος νίκης ἀφικομένης ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἦσαν, καὶ διώξαντες λαμβάνουσι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν κοίλῳ τινὶ χαράδραις περιειλημμένῳ οὐ δυναμέναις διαπερᾶναι χωρίῳ καὶ περιστάντες κτείνουσιν ἅπαντας καὶ δύο τῶν βασιλέων Ὥρηβόν τε καὶ Ζῆβον. [228] οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοὺς περιλειφθέντας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐνάγοντες, ἦσαν δὲ μύριοι καὶ ὀκτακισχίλιοι, στρατοπεδεύονται πολὺ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἄπωθεν. Γεδεὼν δὲ οὐκ ἀπηγορεύκει πονῶν, ἀλλὰ διώξας μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ συμβαλὼν ἅπαντας διέφθειρε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἡγεμόνας Ζεβὴν καὶ Ζαρμούνην αἰχμαλώτους λαβὼν ἀνήγαγεν. [229] ἀπέθανον δ’ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ μάχῃ Μαδιηνιτῶν τε καὶ τῶν συστρατευσάντων αὐτοῖς Ἀράβων περὶ μυριάδας δώδεκα, λεία τε πολλὴ χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ ὕφη καὶ κάμηλος καὶ ὑποζύγια λαμβάνεται τοῖς Ἑβραίοις. Γεδεὼν δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἐφρὰν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα κτείνει τοὺς τῶν Μαδιηνιτῶν βασιλέας.

5. When Gideon had heard this dream, good hope and courage came upon him; and he commanded his soldiers to arm themselves, and told them of this vision of their enemies. They also took courage at what was told them, and were ready

to perform what he should enjoin them. So Gideon divided his army into three parts, and brought it out about the fourth watch of the night, each part containing a hundred men: they all bare empty pitchers and lighted lamps in their hands, that their onset might not be discovered by their enemies. They had also each of them a ram's horn in his right hand, which he used instead of a trumpet. The enemy's camp took up a large space of ground, for it happened that they had a great many camels; and as they were divided into different nations, so they were all contained in one circle. Now when the Hebrews did as they were ordered beforehand, upon their approach to their enemies, and, on the signal given, sounded with their rams' horns, and brake their pitchers, and set upon their enemies with their lamps, and a great shout, and cried, "Victory to Gideon, by God's assistance," a disorder and a fright seized upon the other men while they were half asleep, for it was night-time, as God would have it; so that a few of them were slain by their enemies, but the greatest part by their own soldiers, on account of the diversity of their language; and when they were once put into disorder, they killed all that they met with, as thinking them to be enemies also. Thus there was a great slaughter made. And as the report of Gideon's victory came to the Israelites, they took their weapons and pursued their enemies, and overtook them in a certain valley encompassed with torrents, a place which these could not get over; so they encompassed them, and slew them all, with their kings, Oreb and Zeeb. But the remaining captains led those soldiers that were left, which were about eighteen thousand, and pitched their camp a great way off the Israelites. However, Gideon did not grudge his pains, but pursued them with all his army, and joining battle with them, cut off the whole enemies' army, and took the other leaders, Zeba and Zalmuna, and made them captives. Now there were slain in this battle of the Midianites, and of their auxiliaries the Arabians, about a hundred and twenty thousand; and the Hebrews took a great prey, gold, and silver, and garments, and camels, and asses. And when Gideon was come to his own country of Ophrah, he slew the kings of the Midianites.

(6) [230] Ἡ δ' Ἐφράμιδος φυλὴ τῇ Γεδεῶνος εὐπραγίᾳ δυσχεραίνουσα στρατεύειν ἐπ' αὐτὸν διεγνώκει, τὸ μὴ προαγγεῖλαι τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν αὐτοῖς τὴν κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγκαλοῦντες. Γεδεὼν δὲ μέτριος ὢν καὶ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἄκρος οὐκ αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν αὐτοκράτορι χρησάμενος λογισμῷ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπιθέσθαι χωρὶς αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος: τὴν δὲ νίκην οὐχ ἧττον αὐτῶν ἔφασκεν ἰδίαν ἢ τῶν ἐστρατευκότων εἶναι. [231] καὶ τούτοις παρηγορήσας αὐτῶν τὴν ὀργὴν τοῖς λόγοις μᾶλλον τοὺς Ἑβραίους ὠφέλησε τῆς ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμίων εὐπραξίας [φήσας αἰτίους]: ἐμφυλίου γὰρ αὐτοὺς στάσεως ἄρχειν μέλλοντας

ἐρρύσατο. τῆς μέντοι ὕβρεως ταύτης ἡ φυλὴ δίκην ἐξέτισεν, ἣν δηλώσομεν κατὰ καιρὸν ἴδιον.

6. However, the tribe of Ephraim was so displeased at the good success of Gideon, that they resolved to make war against him, accusing him because he did not tell them of his expedition against their enemies. But Gideon, as a man of temper, and that excelled in every virtue, pleaded, that it was not the result of his own authority or reasoning, that made him attack the enemy without them; but that it was the command of God, and still the victory belonged to them as well as those in the army. And by this method of cooling their passions, he brought more advantage to the Hebrews, than by the success he had against these enemies, for he thereby delivered them from a sedition which was arising among them; yet did this tribe afterwards suffer the punishment of this their injurious treatment of Gideon, of which we will give an account in due time.

(7) [232] Γεδεὼν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποθέσθαι βουλόμενος βιασθεὶς ἔσχεν αὐτὴν ἐπ᾽ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα βραβεύων αὐτοῖς τὰ δίκαια καὶ περὶ τῶν διαφορῶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν βαδιζόντων κύρια πάντα ἦν τὰ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ λεγόμενα. καὶ ὁ μὲν γηραιὸς τελευτήσας ἐν Ἐφρὰν τῇ πατρίδι θάπτεται.

7. Hereupon Gideon would have laid down the government, but was over-persuaded to take it, which he enjoyed forty years, and distributed justice to them, as the people came to him in their differences; and what he determined was esteemed valid by all. And when he died, he was buried in his own country of Ophrah.

VII

CHAPTER 7. That The Judges Who Succeeded Gideon Made War With The Adjoining Nations For A Long Time.

(1) [233] Παῖδες δὲ ἦσαν αὐτῷ γνήσιοι μὲν ἑβδομήκοντα, πολλὰς γὰρ ἔγημε γυναῖκας, νόθος δ' εἷς ἐκ παλλακῆς Δρούμας Ἀβιμέλεχος τοὔνομα, ὃς μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν ἀναχωρήσας εἰς Σίκιμα πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ μητρὸς συγγενεῖς, ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ἦν, καὶ λαβὼν ἀργύριον παρ' αὐτῶν, οἳ διὰ πλῆθος ἀδικημάτων ἦσαν ἐπίσημοι, [234] ἀφικνεῖται σὺν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸν πατρῷον οἶκον καὶ κτείνει πάντας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς πλὴν Ἰωθάμου: σώζεται γὰρ οὗτος διαφυγεῖν εὐτυχήσας. Ἀβιμέλεχος δὲ εἰς τυραννίδα τὰ πράγματα μεθίστησι κύριον αὐτὸν ὅ τι βούλεται ποιεῖν ἀντὶ τῶν νομίμων ἀποδείξας καὶ δεινῶς πρὸς τοὺς τοῦ δικαίου προισταμένους ἐκπικραινόμενος.

1. Now Gideon had seventy sons that were legitimate, for he had many wives; but he had also one that was spurious, by his concubine Drumah, whose name was Abimelech, who, after his father's death, retired to Shechem to his mother's relations, for they were of that place: and when he had got money of such of them as were eminent for many instances of injustice, he came with them to his father's house, and slew all his brethren, except Jotham, for he had the good fortune to escape and be preserved; but Abimelech made the government tyrannical, and constituted himself a lord, to do what he pleased, instead of obeying the laws; and he acted most rigidly against those that were the patrons of justice.

(2) [235] Καί ποτε δημοτελοῦς Σικίμοις οὔσης ἑορτῆς καὶ τοῦ πλήθους παντὸς ἐκεῖ συνειλεγμένου ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰωθάμης, ὃν καὶ διαφυγεῖν ἔφαμεν, ἀνελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Γαριζείν, ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῆς Σικιμίων πόλεως, ἐκβοήσας εἰς ἐπήκοον τοῦ πλήθους ἡσυχίαν αὐτῷ παρασχόντος ἠξίου μαθεῖν τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λεγόμενα. [236] γενομένης δὲ σιγῆς εἶπεν, ὡς τὰ δένδρα φωνὴν ἀνθρώπειον προιέμενα συνόδου γενομένης αὐτῶν δεηθείη συκῆς ἄρχειν αὐτῶν. ἀρνησαμένης δ' ἐκείνης διὰ τὸ τιμῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς καρποῖς οἰκείας οὔσης ἀπολαύειν οὐχ ὑπ' ἄλλων ἔξωθεν προσγινομένης, τὰ δένδρα τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ ἄρχεσθαι φροντίδος οὐκ ἀπελείπετο, ἐδόκει δ' αὐτοῖς ἀμπέλῳ τὴν τιμὴν παρασχεῖν. [237] καὶ ἡ ἄμπελος χειροτονουμένη τοῖς τῆς συκῆς χρησαμένη λόγοις παρῃτεῖτο τὴν ἀρχήν. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ τῶν ἐλαιῶν ποιησαμένων ῥάμνος, ἐδεήθη γὰρ αὐτῆς ὥστε παραλαβεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τὰ δένδρα, [238] πυρεῖα δὲ ἀγαθὴ παρασχεῖν τῶν ξύλων ἐστίν, ὑπισχνεῖται τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναλήψεσθαι καὶ ἀόκνως ἔχειν. δεῖ μέντοι

συνιζάνειν αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τὴν σκιάν, εἰ δ᾽ ὄλεθρον ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ φρονοῖεν, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐνόντος πυρὸς διαφθαρεῖεν. [239] ταῦτα δ᾽ οὐ γέλωτος ἕνεκα, φησί, λέγω, ὅτι δὲ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐκ Γεδεῶνος πεπειραμένοι περιορῶσιν Ἀβιμέλεχον ἐπὶ τῶν ὅλων ὄντα πραγμάτων σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἀποκτείναντες, ὃν πυρὸς οὐδὲν διοίσειν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὑπεχώρησε καὶ διῃτᾶτο λανθάνων ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι δεδιὼς ἐπ᾽ ἔτη τρία τὸν Ἀβιμέλεχον.

2. Now when, on a certain time, there was a public festival at Shechem, and all the multitude was there gathered together, Jotham his brother, whose escape we before related, went up to Mount Gerizzim, which hangs over the city Shechem, and cried out so as to be heard by the multitude, who were attentive to him. He desired they would consider what he was going to say to them: so when silence was made, he said, That when the trees had a human voice, and there was an assembly of them gathered together, they desired that the fig-tree would rule over them; but when that tree refused so to do, because it was contented to enjoy that honor which belonged peculiarly to the fruit it bare, and not that which should be derived to it from abroad, the trees did not leave off their intentions to have a ruler, so they thought proper to make the offer of that honor to the vine; but when the vine was chosen, it made use of the same words which the fig-tree had used before, and excused itself from accepting the government: and when the olive-tree had done the same, the brier, whom the trees had desired to take the kingdom, [it is a sort of wood good for firing,] it promised to take the government, and to be zealous in the exercise of it; but that then they must sit down under its shadow, and if they should plot against it to destroy it, the principle of fire that was in it should destroy them. He told them, that what he had said was no laughing matter; for that when they had experienced many blessings from Gideon, they overlooked Abimelech, when he overruled all, and had joined with him in slaying his brethren; and that he was no better than a fire himself. So when he had said this, he went away, and lived privately in the mountains for three years, out of fear of Abimelech.

(3) [240] Μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς Σικιμῖται, μετενόησαν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς Γεδεῶνος υἱοῖς πεφονευμένοις, ἐξελαύνουσι τὸν Ἀβιμέλεχον τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς φυλῆς: ὁ δὲ κακοῦν τὴν πόλιν ἐφρόντιζε. τῆς δ᾽ ὥρας τῆς τοῦ τρυγᾶν γενομένης ἐδεδίεσαν συλλέγειν τὸν καρπὸν προιόντες μή τι δράσῃ κακὸν Ἀβιμέλεχος εἰς αὐτούς. [241] ἐπιδημήσαντος δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀρχόντων τινὸς Γυάλου σὺν ὁπλίταις καὶ συγγενέσι τοῖς αὐτοῦ φυλακὴν οἱ Σικιμῖται δέονται παρασχεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἕως ἂν τρυγήσωσι. προσδεξαμένου δ᾽ ἐκείνου τὴν ἀξίωσιν προῆσαν καὶ Γυάλης σὺν αὐτοῖς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἄγων ὁπλιτικόν. [242] ὅ τε οὖν καρπὸς μετὰ ἀσφαλείας συνάγεται καὶ δειπνοῦντες κατὰ συμμορίαν φανερῶς ἀπετόλμων ἤδη

βλασφημεῖν τὸν Ἀβιμέλεχον, οἵ τε ἄρχοντες ἐνέδραις καταλαμβανόμενοι τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν πολλοὺς τῶν Ἀβιμελέχου συλλαμβάνοντες ἀνῄρουν.

3. A little while after this festival, the Shechemites, who had now repented themselves of having slain the sons of Gideon, drove Abimelech away, both from their city and their tribe; whereupon he contrived how he might distress their city. Now at the season of vintage, the people were afraid to go out and gather their fruits, for fear Abimelech should do them some mischief. Now it happened that there had come to them a man of authority, one Gaal, that sojourned with them, having his armed men and his kinsmen with him; so the Shechemites desired that he would allow them a guard during their vintage; whereupon he accepted of their desires, and so the people went out, and Gaal with them at the head of his soldiery. So they gathered their fruit with safety; and when they were at supper in several companies, they then ventured to curse Abimelech openly; and the magistrates laid ambushes in places about the city, and caught many of Abimelech's followers, and destroyed them.

(4) [243] Ζάβουλος δέ τις τῶν Σικιμιτῶν ἄρχων ξένος ὢν Ἀβιμελέχου ὅσα παροξύνειεν Γυάλης τὸν δῆμον πέμπων ἀγγέλους ἐμήνυεν αὐτῷ καὶ παρῄνει λοχᾶν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως: πείσειν γὰρ Γυάλην ἐξελθεῖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνῳ τυγχάνειν ὥστε ἀμύνασθαι: γενομένου γὰρ τούτου διαλλαγὰς αὐτῷ μνηστεύσεσθαι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον. [244] ὅ τε οὖν Ἀβιμέλεχος ἐκάθισεν ἐνεδρεύων καὶ ὁ Γυάλης ἀφυλακτοτέρως διέτριβεν ἐπὶ τοῦ προαστείου καὶ Ζάβουλος σὺν αὐτῷ. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁπλίτας ἐπιφερομένους Γυάλης πρὸς Ζάβουλον ἔλεγεν ἄνδρας αὐτοῖς ἐπιέναι καθωπλισμένους. [245] τοῦ δὲ σκιὰς εἶναι φαμένου τῶν πετρῶν, πλησίον ἤδη γινομένων τὸ ἀκριβὲς κατανοῶν οὐ σκιὰς ἔλεγε ταῦτ᾽ εἶναι, λόχον δ᾽ ἀνδρῶν. καὶ Ζάβουλος, "οὐ σὺ μέντοι, φησίν, Ἀβιμελέχῳ κακίαν ἐπεκάλεις; τί οὖν οὐκ ἐπιδεικνύεις τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς μέγεθος εἰς μάχην αὐτῷ συμβαλών"; [246] Γυάλης δὲ θορυβούμενος συνάπτει τοῖς Ἀβιμελέχου καὶ πίπτουσι μέν τινες τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, φεύγει δ᾽ αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν πόλιν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀγόμενος. καὶ Ζάβουλος πολιτεύεται Γυάλην ἐκβληθῆναι τῆς πόλεως κατηγορήσας, ὡς μαλακῶς πρὸς τοὺς Ἀβιμελέχου στρατιώτας ἀγωνίσαιτο. [247] Ἀβιμέλεχος δὲ πυθόμενος ἐξελευσομένους αὖθις κατὰ τρύγητον τοὺς Σικιμίους ἐνέδραις προλοχίζεται τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ προελθόντων ἡ μὲν τρίτη μοῖρα τῆς στρατιᾶς καταλαμβάνει τὰς πύλας ἀφαιρησομένη τὴν εἴσοδον τοὺς πολίτας, οἱ δ᾽ ἄλλοι σκιδναμένους μεταθέουσι, πανταχοῦ τε φόνος ἦν. [248] καὶ κατασκάψας εἰς ἔδαφος τὴν πόλιν, οὐ γὰρ ἀντέσχε πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἅλας κατὰ τῶν ἐρειπίων σπείρας προῆγε. καὶ Σικιμῖται πάντες οὕτως ἀπώλοντο: ὅσοι δὲ κατὰ τὴν χώραν σκεδασθέντες διέφυγον τὸν κίνδυνον, οὗτοι πέτραν ὀχυρὰν εὑρόντες ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἱδρύονται τειχίσαι τε ταύτην παρεσκευάζοντο. [249] ἔφθη τε τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν Ἀβιμέλεχος

μαθὼν ἐλθεῖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ φακέλλους ὕλης ξηρᾶς περιβαλὼν τῷ χωρίῳ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ φέρων ταῦτα ποιεῖν τὴν στρατιὰν παρεκελεύσατο. καὶ ταχέως περιληφθείσης ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς πέτρας τοῖς ξύλοις πῦρ ἐμβάλλουσιν ὅσα τε μᾶλλον ἐξάπτειν φύσιν ἔχει καὶ μεγίστην αἴρουσι φλόγα. [250] καὶ διαφεύγει μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας οὐθείς, ἀλλ᾽ ἅμα γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἀπώλοντο, ἄνδρες μὲν περὶ πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἱκανόν. καὶ Σικιμίταις μὲν τοιαύτη συμφορὰ συνέπεσε μείζων καὶ τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ λύπης γενομένη πλὴν ὅτι κατὰ δίκην ἐπ᾽ ἀνδρὸς εὐεργέτου συνθεῖσι κακὸν τηλικοῦτον.

4. Now there was one Zebul, a magistrate of the Shechemites, that had entertained Abimelech. He sent messengers, and informed him how much Gaal had irritated the people against him, and excited him to lay ambushes before the city, for that he would persuade Gaal to go out against him, which would leave it in his power to be revenged on him; and when that was once done, he would bring him to be reconciled to the city. So Abimelech laid ambushes, and himself lay with them. Now Gaal abode in the suburbs, taking little care of himself; and Zebul was with him. Now as Gaal saw the armed men coming on, he said to Zebul, That some armed men were coming; but the other replied, They were only shadows of huge stones: and when they were come nearer, Gaal perceived what was the reality, and said, They were not shadows, but men lying in ambush. Then said Zebul, "Didst not thou reproach Abimelech for cowardice? why dost thou not then show how very courageous thou art thyself, and go and fight him?" So Gaal, being in disorder, joined battle with Abimelech, and some of his men fell; whereupon he fled into the city, and took his men with him. But Zebul managed his matters so in the city, that he procured them to expel Gaal out of the city, and this by accusing him of cowardice in this action with the soldiers of Ahimelech. But Abimelech, when he had learned that the Shechemites were again coming out to gather their grapes, placed ambushes before the city, and when they were coming out, the third part of his army took possession of the gates, to hinder the citizens from returning in again, while the rest pursued those that were scattered abroad, and so there was slaughter every where; and when he had overthrown the city to the very foundations, for it was not able to bear a siege, and had sown its ruins with salt, he proceeded on with his army till all the Shechemites were slain. As for those that were scattered about the country, and so escaped the danger, they were gathered together unto a certain strong rock, and settled themselves upon it, and prepared to build a wall about it: and when Abimelech knew their intentions, he prevented them, and came upon them with his forces, and laid faggots of dry wood round the place, he himself bringing some of them, and by his example encouraging the soldiers to do the same. And when the rock

was encompassed round about with these faggots, they set them on fire, and threw in whatsoever by nature caught fire the most easily: so a mighty flame was raised, and nobody could fly away from the rock, but every man perished, with their wives and children, in all about fifteen hundred men, and the rest were a great number also. And such was the calamity which fell upon the Shechemites; and men's grief on their account had been greater than it was, had they not brought so much mischief on a person who had so well deserved of them, and had they not themselves esteemed this as a punishment for the same.

(5) [251] Ἀβιμέλεχος δὲ τοῖς Σικιμιτῶν κακοῖς καταπλήξας τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας μειζόνων ἐφιέμενος δῆλος ἦν καὶ μηδαμοῦ περιγράψων τὴν βίαν, εἰ μὴ πάντας ἀπολέσειεν. ἤλαυνεν οὖν ἐπὶ Θήβας καὶ τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς αἱρεῖ, πύργου δ' ὄντος ἐν αὐτῇ μεγάλου, εἰς ὃν πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος συνέφυγε, πολιορκεῖν τοῦτον παρεσκευάζετο. [252] καὶ αὐτὸν πλησίον ὁρμῶντα τῶν πυλῶν γυνὴ θραύσματι μύλης βαλοῦσα κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τυγχάνει, πεσὼν δὲ Ἀβιμέλεχος τὸν ὑπασπιστὴν παρεκάλει κτείνειν αὐτόν, μὴ τῆς γυναικὸς ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ δόξειεν ἔργον. καὶ ὁ μὲν τὸ προσταχθὲν ἐποίει. [253] ὁ δὲ τοιαύτην ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς παρανομίας ποινὴν ἐξέτισε καὶ τῶν εἰς Σικιμίους αὐτῷ τετολμημένων: τούτοις δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἰωθάμου μαντείαν ἡ συμφορὰ συνέπεσε. τὸ μέντοι σὺν Ἀβιμελέχῳ στράτευμα πεσόντος αὐτοῦ σκεδασθὲν ἀνεχώρησεν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα.

5. Now Abimelech, when he had aftrighted the Israelites with the miseries he had brought upon the Shechemites, seemed openly to affect greater authority than he now had, and appeared to set no bounds to his violence, unless it were with the destruction of all. Accordingly he marched to Thebes, and took the city on the sudden; and there being a great tower therein, whereunto the whole multitude fled, he made preparation to besiege it. Now as he was rushing with violence near the gates, a woman threw a piece of a millstone upon his head, upon which Abimelech fell down, and desired his armor-bearer to kill him lest his death should be thought to be the work of a woman: — who did what he was bid to do. So he underwent this death as a punishment for the wickedness he had perpetrated against his brethren, and his insolent barbarity to the Shechemites. Now the calamity that happened to those Shechemites was according to the prediction of Jotham, However, the army that was with Abimelech, upon his fall, was scattered abroad, and went to their own homes.

(6) [254] Τῶν δὲ Ἰσραηλιτῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Ἰάρης ὁ Γαλαδηνὸς ἐκ τῆς Μανασσίτιδος φυλῆς παραλαμβάνει ἀνὴρ τά τε ἄλλα εὐδαίμων καὶ παῖδας ἀγαθοὺς πεποιημένος τριάκοντα μὲν τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἱππεύειν δὲ ἀρίστους καὶ τῶν

κατὰ τὴν Γαλαδηνὴν πόλεων ἀρχὰς ἐγκεχειρισμένους. οὗτος δύο καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτη τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχὼν τελευτᾷ γηραιὸς καὶ ταφῆς ἐν Καμμὼν πόλει τῆς Γαλαδηνῆς ἀξιοῦται.

6. Now it was that Jair the Gileadite, of the tribe of Manasseh, took the government. He was a man happy in other respects also, but particularly in his children, who were of a good character. They were thirty in number, and very skillful in riding on horses, and were intrusted with the government of the cities of Gilead. He kept the government twenty-two years, and died an old man; and he was buried in Camon, a city of Gilead.

(7) [255] Πάντα δὲ τὰ τῶν Ἑβραίων εἰς ἀκοσμίαν καὶ ὕβριν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν νόμων ὑπεφέρετο, καὶ καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν Ἀμμανῖται καὶ Παλαιστῖνοι στρατῷ μεγάλῳ διήρπαζον τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν Περαίαν ἅπασαν κατασχόντες καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν λοιπῶν ἤδη κτῆσιν διαβαίνειν ἐτόλμων. [256] Ἑβραῖοι δὲ σωφρονισθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν κακῶν εἰς ἱκετείαν ἐτράποντο τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ θυσίας ἐπέφερον παρακαλοῦντες αὐτὸν μετριάσαντα καὶ πρὸς τὴν δέησιν αὐτῶν ὑπαχθέντα παύσασθαι τῆς ὀργῆς: ὁ δὲ θεὸς μεταβαλόμενος εἰς τὸ ἡμερώτερον ἔμελλεν αὐτοῖς βοηθεῖν.

7. And now all the affairs of the Hebrews were managed uncertainly, and tended to disorder, and to the contempt of God and of the laws. So the Ammonites and Philistines had them in contempt, and laid waste the country with a great army; and when they had taken all Perea, they were so insolent as to attempt to gain the possession of all the rest. But the Hebrews, being now amended by the calamities they had undergone, betook themselves to supplications to God; and brought sacrifices to him, beseeching him not to be too severe upon them, but to be moved by their prayers to leave off his anger against them. So God became more merciful to them, and was ready to assist them.

(8) [257] Ἀμμανιτῶν δ᾽ ἐστρατευκότων ἐπὶ τὴν Γαλαδηνὴν ὑπήντων οἱ ἐπιχώριοι πρὸς τὸ ὄρος δεόμενοι τοῦ στρατηγήσοντος. ἦν δέ τις Ἰαφθᾶς ἀνὴρ διὰ τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρετὴν δυνατὸς καὶ δι᾽ οἰκείαν αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν ἣν ἔτρεφεν αὐτὸς μισθοφόρων. [258] πρὸς τοῦτον οὖν πέμψαντες ἠξίουν αὐτὸν συμμαχεῖν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι παρασχεῖν εἰς ἅπαντ᾽ αὐτῷ τὸν χρόνον τὴν ἰδίαν ἡγεμονίαν. ὁ δ᾽ οὐ προσίεται τὴν παράκλησιν αὐτῶν ἐγκαλῶν, ὅτι μὴ βοηθήσειαν αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀδικουμένῳ περιφανῶς: [259] οὐ γὰρ ὄντα ὁμομήτριον αὐτοῖς ἀλλὰ ξένον περὶ τὴν μητέρα δι᾽ ἐρωτικὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐπαχθεῖσαν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξέβαλον καταφρονήσαντες τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀσθενείας. [260] καὶ ὁ μὲν διέτριβεν ἐν τῇ Γαλαδίτιδι καλουμένῃ χώρᾳ πάντας τοὺς ὁποθενοῦν

παραγινομένους πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ μισθῷ δεχόμενος. ἐκλιπαρησάντων δ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ ὀμοσάντων εἰς ἀεὶ παρέξειν αὐτῷ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐστράτευε.

8. When the Ammonites had made an expedition into the land of Gilead, the inhabitants of the country met them at a certain mountain, but wanted a commander. Now there was one whose name was Jephtha, who, both on account of his father's virtue, and on account of that army which he maintained at his own expenses, was a potent man: the Israelites therefore sent to him, and entreated him to come to their assistance, and promised him the dominion over them all his lifetime. But he did not admit of their entreaty; and accused them, that they did not come to his assistance when he was unjustly treated, and this in an open manner by his brethren; for they cast him off, as not having the same mother with the rest, but born of a strange mother, that was introduced among them by his father's fondness; and this they did out of a contempt of his inability [to vindicate himself]. So he dwelt in the country of Gilead, as it is called, and received all that came to him, let them come from what place soever, and paid them wages. However, when they pressed him to accept the dominion, and sware they would grant him the government over them all his life, he led them to the war.

(9) [261] Καὶ ποιησάμενος ὀξεῖαν τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν ἐν πόλει Μασφαθῇ καθίσας τὸν στρατὸν πρεσβείαν πέμπει παρὰ τὸν Ἀμμανίτην αἰτιώμενος τῆς ἁλώσεως. ὁ δὲ ἀντιπέμψας ᾐτιᾶτο τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν τὴν ἔξοδον τὴν ἀπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῆς Ἀμορραίας αὐτοὺς ἠξίου παραχωρεῖν ὡς πατρῴας οὔσης ἀρχῆθεν. [262] ἀποκρινάμενος δὲ ὁ Ἰαφθᾶς, ὡς οὔτε τῆς Ἀμορραίας τοῖς προγόνοις αὐτῶν εὐλόγως ἐγκαλοῦσι χάριν τε μᾶλλον τῆς Ἀμμανίτιδος αὐτοῖς ἔχειν ὀφείλουσι παρεθείσης, δυνατὸν γὰρ Μωυσεῖ καὶ ταύτην λαβεῖν Παραχωρεῖν τε ἰδίας εἰπὼν γῆς, ἣν θεοῦ κατακτησαμένου μετὰ τριακόσια ἔτη νέμονται, μάχεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔφησεν.

9. And when Jephtha had taken immediate care of their affairs, he placed his army at the city Mizpeh, and sent a message to the Ammonite [king], complaining of his unjust possession of their land. But that king sent a contrary message; and complained of the exodus of the Israelites out of Egypt, and desired him to go out of the land of the Amorites, and yield it up to him, as at first his paternal inheritance. But Jephtha returned this answer: That he did not justly complain of his ancestors about the land of the Amorites, and ought rather to thank them that they left the land of the Ammonites to them, since Moses could have taken it also; and that neither would he recede from that land of their

own, which God had obtained for them, and they had now inhabited [above] three hundred years, but would fight with them about it.

(10) [263] Καὶ τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεις ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν ἀπέλυσεν: αὐτὸς δ᾽ εὐξάμενος νίκην καὶ θυσιάσειν ὑποσχόμενος, ἂν σῶος εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα ὑποστρέψῃ, καὶ πᾶν ὅ τι καὶ πρῶτον αὐτῷ συντύχοι ἱερουργήσειν, συμβαλών τε νικᾷ παρὰ πολὺ καὶ φονεύων ἐδίωκε μέχρι πόλεως Μανιάθης, καὶ διαβὰς εἰς τὴν Ἀμμανῖτιν πόλεις τε ἠφάνισε πολλὰς καὶ λείαν ἤλασε καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους δουλείας ἀπήλλαξεν ἐν ἔτεσιν ὀκτωκαίδεκα ταύτην ὑπομείναντας. [264] ἀναστρέφων δὲ συμφορᾷ περιπίπτει κατ᾽ οὐδὲν ὁμοίᾳ τοῖς κατωρθωμένοις αὐτῷ: ὑπήντησε γὰρ ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτῷ, μονογενὴς δ᾽ ἦν, ἔτι παρθένος. ὁ δὲ ἀνοιμώξας ἐπὶ τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ πάθους κατεμέμφετο τῆς περὶ τὴν ὑπάντησιν σπουδῆς τὴν θυγατέρα: καθιερῶσαι γὰρ αὐτὴν τῷ θεῷ. [265] τῇ δὲ τὸ συμβησόμενον οὐκ ἀηδῶς προσέπεσεν ἐπὶ νίκῃ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν τεθνηξομένῃ, παρεκάλεσε δὲ δύο μῆνας αὐτῇ παρασχόντα πρὸς τὸ μετὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποθρηνῆσαι τὴν νεότητα τότε ποιεῖν τὰ κατὰ τὴν εὐχήν. [266] συγχωρήσας δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν προειρημένον χρόνον μετὰ τοῦτον διελθόντα θύσας τὴν παῖδα ὡλοκαύτωσεν οὔτε νόμιμον οὔτε θεῷ κεχαρισμένην θυσίαν ἐπιτελῶν, μὴ διαβασανίσας τῷ λογισμῷ τὸ γενησόμενον οἷόν τε πραχθὲν δόξει τοῖς ἀκούσασι.

10. And when he had given them this answer, he sent the ambassadors away. And when he had prayed for victory, and had vowed to perform sacred offices, and if he came home in safety, to offer in sacrifice what living creature soever should first meet him, he joined battle with the enemy, and gained a great victory, and in his pursuit slew the enemies all along as far as the city of Minnith. He then passed over to the land of the Ammonites, and overthrew many of their cities, and took their prey, and freed his own people from that slavery which they had undergone for eighteen years. But as he came back, he fell into a calamity no way correspondent to the great actions he had done; for it was his daughter that came to meet him; she was also an only child and a virgin: upon this Jephtha heavily lamented the greatness of his affliction, and blamed his daughter for being so forward in meeting him, for he had vowed to sacrifice her to God. However, this action that was to befall her was not ungrateful to her, since she should die upon occasion of her father's victory, and the liberty of her fellow citizens: she only desired her father to give her leave, for two months, to bewail her youth with her fellow citizens; and then she agreed, that at the forementioned thee he might do with her according to his vow. Accordingly, when that time was over, he sacrificed his daughter as a burnt-offering, offering such an oblation as was neither conformable to the law nor acceptable to God, not weighing with himself what opinion the hearers would have of such a practice.

(11) [267] Τῆς δ' Ἐφράνου φυλῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατευσάσης, ὅτι μὴ κοινώσαιτο τὴν ἐπ' Ἀμμανίτας ἔλασιν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ μόνος καὶ τὴν λείαν ἔχοι καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις δόξαν, πρῶτον μὲν ἔλεγεν, ὡς οὔτε λάθοιεν αὐτοὺς οἱ συγγενεῖς πολεμούμενοι καλούμενοί τε πρὸς συμμαχίαν οὐ παρεγένοντο δέον καὶ πρὸ δεήσεως ἐγνωκότας ἐπειχθῆναι, [268] ἔπειθ' ὡς ἄδικα πράττειν ἐπιχειροῦσι τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐ τολμήσαντες εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς συγγενεῖς ὡρμηκότες: ἠπείλει τε σὺν τῷ θεῷ λήψεσθαι δίκην παρ' αὐτῶν, ἂν μὴ σωφρονῶσιν. [269] ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἀλλὰ συνέβαλεν αὐτοῖς ἐλθοῦσι μετὰ στρατιᾶς, ἣ μετάπεμπτος ἐκ τῆς Γαλαδηνῆς ἐληλύθει, φόνον τε πολὺν αὐτῶν εἰργάσατο καὶ διώκων τραπέντας προλαβὼν μέρει τινὶ προαπεσταλμένῳ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου τὰς διαβάσεις κτείνει περὶ δισχιλίους καὶ τετρακισμυρίους γεγονότας.

11. Now the tribe of Ephraim fought against him, because he did not take them along with him in his expedition against the Ammonites, but because he alone had the prey, and the glory of what was done to himself. As to which he said, first, that they were not ignorant how his kindred had fought against him, and that when they were invited, they did not come to his assistance, whereas they ought to have come quickly, even before they were invited. And in the next place, that they were going to act unjustly; for while they had not courage enough to fight their enemies, they came hastily against their own kindred: and he threatened them that, with God's assistance, he would inflict a punishment upon them, unless they would grow wiser. But when he could not persuade them, he fought with them with those forces which he sent for out of Gilead, and he made a great slaughter among them; and when they were beaten, he pursued them, and seized on the passages of Jordan by a part of his army which he had sent before, and slew about forty-two thousand of them.

(12) [270] Αὐτὸς δὲ ἄρξας ἓξ ἔτη τελευτᾷ καὶ θάπτεται ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ πατρίδι Σεβέῃ: τῆς Γαλαδηνῆς δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη.

12. So when Jephtha had ruled six years, he died, and was buried in his own country, Sebee, which is a place in the land of Gilead.

(13) [271] Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἰαφθᾶ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀψάνης παραλαμβάνει φυλῆς ὢν Ἰουδαικῆς Βηθλέμων δὲ πόλεως. τούτῳ δὲ παῖδες ἦσαν ἑξήκοντα, τριάκοντα μὲν ἄρρενες αἱ λοιπαὶ δὲ θυγατέρες, οὓς καὶ πάντας ζῶντας κατέλιπε τὰς μὲν ἀνδράσιν ἐκδοὺς τοῖς δὲ γυναῖκας ἠγμένος. πράξας δ' οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ ἐπταετεῖ γενομένῳ χρόνῳ λόγου καὶ μνήμης ἄξιον γηραιὸς ὢν ἀπέθανε καὶ ταφῆς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τυγχάνει.

13. Now when Jephtha was dead, Ibzan took the government, being of the tribe of Judah, and of the city of Bethlehem. He had sixty children, thirty of them sons, and the rest daughters; all whom he left alive behind him, giving the daughters in marriage to husbands, and taking wives for his sons. He did nothing in the seven years of his administration that was worth recording, or deserved a memorial. So he died an old man, and was buried in his own country.

(14) [272] Ἀψανοῦς δ' οὕτως ἀποθανόντος οὐδ' ὁ μετ' αὐτὸν παραλαβὼν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Ἥλων ἐπ' ἔτη δέκα κατασχὼν αὐτὴν φυλῆς ὢν τῆς Ζαβούλης ἔπραξέ τι σπουδῆς ἄξιον.

14. When Ibzan was dead after this manner, neither did Helon, who succeeded him in the government, and kept it ten years, do any thing remarkable: he was of the tribe of Zebulon.

(15) [273] Ἄβδὼν δὲ Ἥλωνος παῖς φυλῆς μὲν τῆς Ἐφραμίτιδος πόλεως δὲ τῆς Φαραθωνιτῶν γεγονώς, αὐτοκράτωρ ἡγεμὼν ἀποδειχθεὶς μετ' Ἥλωνα μόνης ἂν τῆς εὐπαιδίας μνημονευθείη, [μηδὲν ἔργον] διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν ἄδειαν τῶν πραγμάτων λαμπρὸν μηδ' αὐτὸς εἰργασμένος. [274] υἱοὶ δὲ ἦσαν αὐτῷ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τούτων τὴν γενεὰν καταλιπόντες τριάκοντα, ἤλαυνέ τε σὺν αὐτοῖς οὖσιν ἑβδομήκοντα πᾶσιν ἱππάζειν ἀρίστοις γεγενημένοις, καὶ πάντας ὑπὲρ γῆς ἀπολιπὼν θνήσκει γηραιὸς καὶ ταφῆς ἐν Φαραθῷ λαμπρᾶς τυγχάνει.

15. Abdon also, the son of Hilel, of the tribe of Ephraim, and born at the city Pyrathon, was ordained their supreme governor after Helon. He is only recorded to have been happy in his children; for the public affairs were then so peaceable, and in such security, that neither did he perform any glorious action. He had forty sons, and by them left thirty grandchildren; and he marched in state with these seventy, who were all very skillful in riding horses; and he left them all alive after him. He died an old man, and obtained a magnificent burial in Pyrathon.

VIII

CHAPTER 8. Concerning The Fortitude Of Samson, And What Mischiefs He Brought Upon The Philistines.

(1) [275] Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Παλαιστῖνοι τελευτήσαντα κρατοῦσι τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν καὶ φόρους παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐλάμβανον ἐπ᾽ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα. ταύτης δ᾽ ἐλευθεροῦνται τῆς ἀνάγκης τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ:

1. After Abdon was dead, the Philistines overcame the Israelites, and received tribute of them for forty years; from which distress they were delivered after this manner: —

(2) [276] Μανώχης τις Δανιτῶν ἐν ὀλίγοις ἄριστος καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ὁμολογούμενος πρῶτος εἶχε γύναιον ἐπ᾽ εὐμορφίᾳ περίβλεπτον καὶ τῶν κατ᾽ αὐτὸ διαφέρον. παίδων δ᾽ οὐ γινομένων αὐτῷ δυσφορῶν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπαιδίᾳ θεὸν ἱκέτευεν ἐπὶ τὸ προάστειον συνεχῶς φοιτῶν μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς δοῦναι διαδοχὴν αὐτοῖς γνησίαν: μέγα δέ ἐστι τοῦτο πεδίον. [277] ἦν δὲ καὶ μανιώδης ὑπ᾽ ἔρωτος ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ζηλότυπος ἀκρατῶς. μονωθείσῃ δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ φάντασμα ἐπιφαίνεται τοῦ θεοῦ νεανίᾳ καλῷ παραπλήσιον μεγάλῳ καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενον αὐτῇ παιδὸς γονὴν κατὰ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν καλοῦ τε καὶ ῥώμην ἐπιφανοῦς, ὑφ᾽ ᾧ πονήσειν Παλαιστίνους ἀνδρουμένῳ. [278] παρῄνει τε τὰς κόμας αὐτῷ μὴ ἀποκείρειν: ἔσται δ᾽ αὐτῷ πρὸς ἄλλο μὲν ποτὸν ἀποστροφὴ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦτο προστάσσοντος, πρὸς ὕδωρ δὲ μόνον οἰκειότης". καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν ᾤχετο κατὰ βούλησιν ἐλθὼν τοῦ θεοῦ.

2. There was one Manoah, a person of such great virtue, that he had few men his equals, and without dispute the principal person of his country. He had a wife celebrated for her beauty, and excelling her contemporaries. He had no children; and, being uneasy at his want of posterity, he entreated God to give them seed of their own bodies to succeed them; and with that intent he came constantly into the suburbs together with his wife; which suburbs were in the Great Plain. Now he was fond of his wife to a degree of madness, and on that account was unmeasurably jealous of her. Now, when his wife was once alone, an apparition was seen by her: it was an angel of God, and resembled a young man beautiful and tall, and brought her the good news that she should have a son, born by God's providence, that should be a goodly child, of great strength; by whom, when he was grown up to man's estate, the Philistines should be afflicted. He exhorted her also not to poll his hair, and that he should avoid all other kinds of

drink, [for so had God commanded,] and be entirely contented with water. So the angel, when he had delivered that message, went his way, his coming having been by the will of God.

(3) [279] Ἡ δὲ τἀνδρὶ παραγενομένῳ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου ἐκδιηγήσατο ἐκθαυμάζουσα τοῦ νεανίσκου τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος, ὡς ἐκεῖνον ἐκ τῶν ἐπαίνων εἰς ἔκπληξιν κατὰ ζηλοτυπίαν περιστῆναι καὶ ὑπόνοιαν τὴν ἐκ τοιούτου πάθους κινουμένην. [280] ἡ δὲ βουλομένη τὴν ἄλογον τἀνδρὸς λύπην σταλῆναι τὸν θεὸν ἱκέτευε πάλιν πέμψαι τὸν ἄγγελον, ὡς ἂν καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς ὁραθείη. καὶ παραγίνεται πάλιν κατὰ χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἄγγελος ὄντων ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ φαίνεται τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μεμονωμένῃ. ἡ δ᾽ ἐπιμεῖναι δεηθεῖσα ὡς ἂν ἀγάγοι τὸν ἄνδρα συγχωρήσαντος μέτεισι τὸν Μάνωχον. [281] ὁ δὲ θεασάμενος οὐδ᾽ οὕτως ἐπαύετο τῆς ὑπονοίας ἠξίωσέ τι καὶ αὐτῷ δηλοῦν ὅσα καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ μηνύσειεν. ἀρκέσειν δὲ φράσαντος ταύτην μόνην εἰδέναι, τίς εἴη λέγειν ἐκέλευεν, ἵνα τοῦ παιδὸς γενομένου χάριν αὐτῷ καὶ δωρεὰν παράσχωσι. [282] τοῦ δὲ μηδέ τινων αὐτῷ δεῖσθαι φήσαντος, οὐδὲ γὰρ κατὰ χρείαν ταῦτα εὐαγγελίσασθαι περὶ τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς γονῆς, τοῦ δὲ μεῖναι παρακαλοῦντος καὶ ξενίων μετασχεῖν οὐκ ἐπένευσε, πεισθεὶς δ᾽ ὅμως λιπαροῦντος ἐπιμεῖναι ὡς ἂν ξένιον αὐτῷ τι κομίσῃ, [283] καὶ θύσαντος ἔριφον τοῦ Μανώχου καὶ τοῦτον ὀπτᾶν τῇ γυναικὶ κελεύσαντος, ἐπεὶ πάντ᾽ ἦν εὐτρεπῆ, προσέταξεν ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας ἀποθέσθαι τούς τε ἄρτους καὶ τὰ κρέα χωρὶς τῶν ἀγγείων. [284] καὶ ποιησάντων ἅπτεται τῇ ῥάβδῳ ᾗ εἶχε τῶν κρεῶν, τὰ δὲ λάμψαντος πυρὸς ἅμα τοῖς ἄρτοις ἐκαίετο καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος διὰ τοῦ καπνοῦ ὥσπερ ὀχήματος ἀνιὼν εἰς οὐρανὸν αὐτοῖς φανερὸς ἦν. Μανώχην δὲ φοβούμενον, μή τι σφαλερὸν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως τοῦ θεοῦ γένοιτο, θαρσεῖν ἡ γυνὴ παρεκελεύετο: ἐπὶ γὰρ συμφέροντι τῷ αὐτῶν τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς ὁραθῆναι.

3. Now the wife informed her husband when he came home of what the angel had said, who showed so great an admiration of the beauty and tallness of the young man that had appeared to her, that her husband was astonished, and out of himself for jealousy, and such suspicions as are excited by that passion: but she was desirous of having her husband's unreasonable sorrow taken away; accordingly she entreated God to send the angel again, that he might be seen by her husband. So the angel came again by the favor of God, while they were in the suburbs, and appeared to her when she was alone without her husband. She desired the angel to stay so long till she might bring her husband; and that request being granted, she goes to call Manoah. When he saw the angel he was not yet free from suspicion, and he desired him to inform him of all that he had told his wife; but when he said it was sufficient that she alone knew what he had said, he then requested of him to tell who he was, that when the child was born

they might return him thanks, and give him a present. He replied that he did not want any present, for that he did not bring them the good news of the birth of a son out of the want of any thing. And when Manoah had entreated him to stay, and partake of his hospitality, he did not give his consent. However he was persuaded, at the earnest request of Manoah to stay so long as while he brought him one mark of his hospitality; so he slew a kid of the goats, and bid his wife boil it. When all was ready, the angel enjoined him to set the loaves and the flesh, but without the vessels, upon the rock; which when they had done, he touched the flesh with the rod which he had in his hand, which, upon the breaking out of a flame, was consumed, together with the loaves; and the angel ascended openly, in their sight, up to heaven, by means of the smoke, as by a vehicle. Now Manoah was afraid that some danger would come to them from this sight of God; but his wife bade him be of good courage, for that God appeared to them for their benefit.

(4) [285] Καὶ κύει τε ἐκείνη καὶ φυλακὴν εἶχε τῶν ἐντολῶν, καὶ γενόμενον τὸ παιδίον Σαμψῶνα καλοῦσιν, ἰσχυρὸν δ' ἀποσημαίνει τὸ ὄνομα. ηὔξετο δ' ὁ παῖς ῥᾳδίως καὶ δῆλος ἦν προφητεύσων ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν δίαιταν σωφροσύνης καὶ τῆς τῶν τριχῶν ἀνέσεως.

4. So the woman proved with child, and was careful to observe the injunctions that were given her; and they called the child, when he was born, Samson, which name signifies one that is strong. So the child grew apace; and it appeared evidently that he would be a prophet, both by the moderation of his diet, and the permission of his hair to grow.

(5) [286] Ἀφικόμενος δὲ μετὰ τῶν γονέων εἰς Θάμνα πόλιν τῶν Παλαιστίνων πανηγύρεως ἀγομένης ἐρᾷ παρθένου τῶν ἐπιχωρίων παρακαλεῖ τε τοὺς γονεῖς ἄγεσθαι πρὸς γάμον αὐτῷ τὴν κόρην. τῶν δὲ ἀρνουμένων διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁμόφυλον εἶναι, τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τὸ Ἑβραίων σύμφορον ἐπινοοῦντος τὸν γάμον ἐκνικᾷ μνηστεύσασθαι τὴν παρθένον. [287] συνεχῶς δ' ἀπερχόμενος πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτῆς συντυγχάνει λέοντι καὶ γυμνὸς ὢν ἐκδεξάμενος αὐτὸν ἄγχει ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ εἰς τὸ χωρίον τὸ ὑλῶδες ἐνδοτέρω τῆς ὁδοῦ ῥίπτει τὸ θηρίον.

5. Now when he once came with his parents to Timhath, a city of the Philistines, when there was a great festival, he fell in love with a maid of that country, and he desired of his parents that they would procure him the damsel for his wife: but they refused so to do, because she was not of the stock of Israel; yet because this marriage was of God, who intended to convert it to the benefit of the Hebrews, he over-persuaded them to procure her to be espoused to him. And as he was continually coming to her parents, he met a lion, and though he was

naked, he received his onset, and strangled him with his hands, and cast the wild beast into a woody piece of ground on the inside of the road.

(6) [288] Πάλιν τε ἀπιὼν πρὸς τὴν κόρην ἐπιτυγχάνει σμήνει μελιττῶν ἐν τῷ στήθει τοῦ λέοντος ἐκείνου νενοσσευκότων, καὶ ἀνελόμενος τρία μέλιτος κηρία σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς δώροις οἷς ἐκόμιζε δίδωσι τῇ παιδί. [289] τῶν δὲ Θαμνιτῶν παρὰ τὴν εὐωχίαν τὴν τῶν γάμων, εἰστία γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἅπαντας, διὰ δέος τῆς ἰσχύος τοῦ νεανίσκου τριάκοντα δόντων αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους λόγῳ μὲν ἑταίρους ἐσομένους ἔργῳ δὲ φύλακας, μή τι παρακινεῖν ἐθελήσειεν, τοῦ πότου προβάντος καὶ παιδιᾶς οὔσης, οἷα φιλεῖ παρὰ τοὺς τοιούτους καιρούς, [290] ὁ Σαμψὼν εἶπεν, "ἀλλὰ προβάλλοντος ἐμοῦ λόγον εἰ λύσετε τοῦτον ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ ποιούμενοι τὴν ζήτησιν, ὀθόνας τε καὶ στολὰς γέρας τῆς συνέσεως κατ' ἄνδρα ἕκαστον φέρεσθε παρ' ἐμοῦ". φιλοτιμουμένων δὲ ὁμοῦ τε συνετοὺς δόξαι καὶ κέρδος εὕρασθαι καὶ λέγειν ἀξιούντων φησίν, ὅτι τὸ πάμβορον γεγεννήκοι βορὰν ἡδεῖαν ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ πάνυ ἀηδοῦς ὄντος. [291] τῶν δ' ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας οὐ δυναμένων ἐξευρεῖν τὸ νοούμενον παρακαλούντων δὲ τὴν κόρην μαθοῦσαν παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτοῖς μηνῦσαι, καὶ γὰρ ἠπείλουν ἐμπρήσειν αὐτὴν τοῦτο μὴ παρασχοῦσαν, ὁ Σαμψὼν δεομένης τῆς κόρης εἰπεῖν αὐτῇ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀντέχειν ἐπειρᾶτο, [292] ἐγκειμένης δ' αὐτῆς καὶ εἰς δάκρυα προπιπτούσης καὶ τεκμήριον τιθεμένης τῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν δυσνοίας τὸ μὴ λέγειν αὐτῇ, μηνύει τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν αὐτῇ τοῦ λέοντος καὶ ὡς τὰ τρία βαστάσας ἐξ αὐτοῦ κηρία μέλιτος γεγονότα κομίσειεν αὐτῇ. [293] καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐδὲν ὑφορώμενος δολερὸν σημαίνει τὸ πᾶν, ἡ δ' ἐκφέρει τὸν λόγον τοῖς δεηθεῖσι. κατὰ οὖν τὴν ἑβδόμην ἡμέραν, καθ' ἣν ἔδει τὸν προβληθέντα λόγον αὐτῷ διασαφεῖν, πρὶν ἢ δῦναι τὸν ἥλιον συνελθόντες φασίν, "οὔτε λέοντος ἀηδέστερόν τι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν οὔτε ἥδιον μέλιτος χρωμένοις". [294] καὶ ὁ Σαμψὼν εἶπεν οὐδὲ γυναικὸς εἶναί τι δολερώτερον, ἥτις ὑμῖν ἐκφέρει τὸν ἡμέτερον λόγον". κἀκείνοις μὲν δίδωσιν ἃ ὑπέσχετο λείαν ποιησάμενος Ἀσκαλωνιτῶν τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῷ συντυχόντας, Παλαιστῖνοι δ' εἰσὶ καὶ οὗτοι, τὸν δὲ γάμον ἐκεῖνον παραιτεῖται καὶ ἡ παῖς ἐκφαυλίσασα τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτὸν συνῆν αὐτοῦ φίλῳ νυμφοστόλῳ γεγονότι.

6. And when he was going another time to the damsel, he lit upon a swarm of bees making their combs in the breast of that lion; and taking three honey-combs away, he gave them, together with the rest of his presents, to the damsel. Now the people of Timhath, out of a dread of the young man's strength, gave him during the time of the wedding-feast [for he then feasted them all] thirty of the most stout of their youth, in pretense to be his companions, but in reality to be a guard upon him, that he might not attempt to give them any disturbance. Now as they were drinking merrily and playing, Samson said, as was usual at such times,

“Come, if I propose you a riddle, and you can expound it in these seven days’ thee, I will give you every one a linen shirt and a garment, as the reward of your wisdom.” So they being very ambitious to obtain the glory of wisdom, together with the gains, desired him to propose his riddle. He, “That a devourer produced sweet food out of itself, though itself were very disagreeable.” And when they were not able, in three days’ time, to find out the meaning of the riddle, they desired the damsel to discover it by the means of her husband, and tell it them; and they threatened to burn her if she did not tell it them. So when the damsel entreated Samson to tell it her, he at first refused to do it; but when she lay hard at him, and fell into tears, and made his refusal to tell it a sign of his unkindness to her, he informed her of his slaughter of a lion, and how he found bees in his breast, and carried away three honey-combs, and brought them to her. Thus he, suspecting nothing of deceit, informed her of all, and she revealed it to those that desired to know it. Then on the seventh day, whereon they were to expound the riddle proposed to them, they met together before sun-setting, and said, “Nothing is more disagreeable than a lion to those that light on it, and nothing is sweeter than honey to those that make use of it.” To which Samson made this rejoinder: “Nothing is more deceitful than a woman for such was the person that discovered my interpretation to you.” Accordingly he gave them the presents he had promised them, making such Askelonites as met him upon the road his prey, who were themselves Philistines also. But he divorced this his wife; and the girl despised his anger, and was married to his companion, who made the former match between them.

(7) [295] Πρὸς δὲ τὴν ὕβριν ταύτην Σαμψὼν παροξυνθεὶς ἅπαντας ἔγνω σὺν αὐτῇ Παλαιστίνους μετέρχεσθαι. θέρους δ’ ὄντος καὶ πρὸς ἄμητον ἤδη τῶν καρπῶν ἀκμαζόντων συλλαβὼν τριακοσίας ἀλώπεκας καὶ τῶν οὐρῶν ἐξάψας λαμπάδας ἡμμένας ἀφίησιν εἰς τὰς ἀρούρας τῶν Παλαιστίνων. [296] καὶ φθείρεται μὲν οὕτως αὐτοῖς ὁ καρπός, Παλαιστῖνοι δὲ γνόντες Σαμψῶνος εἶναι τὸ ἔργον καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν δι’ ἣν ἔπραξε, πέμψαντες τοὺς ἄρχοντας εἰς Θαμνὰ τὴν γενομένην αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς ζῶντας κατέπρησαν ὡς αἰτίους τῶν κακῶν γεγονότας.

7. At this injurious treatment Samson was so provoked, that he resolved to punish all the Philistines, as well as her: so it being then summer-time, and the fruits of the land being almost ripe enough for reaping, he caught three hundred foxes, and joining lighted torches to their tails, he sent them into the fields of the Philistines, by which means the fruits of the fields perished. Now when the Philistines knew that this was Samson’s doing, and knew also for what cause he

did it, they sent their rulers to Timhath, and burnt his former wife, and her relations, who had been the occasion of their misfortunes.

(8) [297] Σαμψὼν δὲ πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῶν Παλαιστίνων ἀποκτείνας Αἰτὰν κατῴκει, πέτρα δ' ἐστὶν ὀχυρὰ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς. Παλαιστῖνοι δ' ἐστράτευον ἐπὶ τὴν φυλήν. τῶν δ' οὐ δικαίως λεγόντων τιμωρίαν αὐτοὺς εἰσπράττεσθαι περὶ τῶν Σαμψῶνος ἁμαρτημάτων φόρους αὐτοὺς τελοῦντας, εἰ βούλονται μὴ ἔχειν αἰτίαν ἔφασαν αὐτοῖς ὑποχείριον Σαμψῶνα δοῦναι. [298] οἱ δὲ ἀνεπίκλητοι βουλόμενοι τυγχάνειν παρῆσαν ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν τρισχίλιοι ὁπλῖται καὶ καταμεμψάμενοι τῶν εἰς Παλαιστίνους αὐτῷ τετολμημένων ἄνδρας ἅπαντι τῷ γένει τῶν Ἑβραίων συμφορὰν ἐπενεγκεῖν δυναμένους, ἥκειν τε λέγοντες ὅπως αὐτὸν λαβόντες ὑποχείριον δῶσιν αὐτοῖς ἠξίουν ἑκοντὶ τοῦθ' ὑπομένειν. [299] ὁ δὲ λαβὼν ὅρκους παρ' αὐτῶν μηδὲν τούτων ποιήσειν περισσότερον ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐγχειριεῖν μόνον, καταβὰς ἐκ τῆς πέτρας αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ τῶν φυλετῶν τίθησιν ἐξουσίᾳ, κἀκεῖνοι δήσαντες αὐτὸν δυσὶ καλωδίοις ἦγον παραδοῦναι τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις. [300] καὶ γενομένων κατὰ χωρίον, ὃ Σιαγὼν καλεῖται νῦν διὰ τὴν Σαμψῶνος ἀνδραγαθίαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενομένην, πάλαι δ' ἦν ἀνώνυμον, οὐκ ἄπωθεν ἐστρατοπεδευκότων τῶν Παλαιστίνων, ἀλλ' ὑπαντώντων μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ βοῆς ὡς ἐπὶ κατωρθωμένοις οἷς ἐβούλοντο, διαρρήξας τὰ δεσμὰ Σαμψὼν ἁρπασάμενος ὄνου σιαγόνα παρὰ ποσὶν οὖσαν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ὥσατο καὶ παίων αὐτοὺς τῇ σιαγόνι κτείνει εἰς χιλίους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους τρέπεται ταραχθέντας.

8. Now when Samson had slain many of the Philistines in the plain country, he dwelt at Etam, which is a strong rock of the tribe of Judah; for the Philistines at that time made an expedition against that tribe: but the people of Judah said that they did not act justly with them, in inflicting punishments upon them while they paid their tribute, and this only on account of Samson's offenses. They answered, that in case they would not be blamed themselves, they must deliver up Samson, and put him into their power. So they being desirous not to be blamed themselves, came to the rock with three thousand armed men, and complained to Samson of the bold insults he had made upon the Philistines, who were men able to bring calamity upon the whole nation of the Hebrews; and they told him they were come to take him, and to deliver him up to them, and put him into their power; so they desired him to bear this willingly. Accordingly, when he had received assurance from them upon oath, that they would do him no other harm than only to deliver him into his enemies' hands, he came down from the rock, and put himself into the power of his countrymen. Then did they bind him with two cords, and lead him on, in order to deliver him to the Philistines; and when they came to a certain place, which is now called the Jaw-bone, on account

of the great action there performed by Samson, though of old it had no particular name at all, the Philistines, who had pitched their camp not far off, came to meet them with joy and shouting, as having done a great thing, and gained what they desired; but Samson broke his bonds asunder, and catching up the jaw-bone of an ass that lay down at his feet, fell upon his enemies, and smiting them with his jaw-bone, slew a thousand of them, and put the rest to flight and into great disorder.

(9) [301] Σαμψὼν δὲ μεῖζον ἢ χρὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ φρονῶν οὐ κατὰ θεοῦ συνεργίαν ἔλεγε τοῦτο συμβῆναι, τὴν δ᾽ ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν ἐπέγραψε τῷ γεγονότι, τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς μὲν πεσεῖν τοὺς δ᾽ εἰς φυγὴν τραπῆναι διὰ τοῦ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ δέους αὐχῶν. [302] δίψους δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἰσχυροῦ κατασχόντος κατανοῶν ὡς οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀνθρώπειος ἀρετὴ τῷ θεῷ πάντα προσεμαρτύρει καὶ καθικέτευε μηδὲν τῶν εἰρημένων πρὸς ὀργὴν λαβόντα τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτὸν ἐγχειρίσαι, παρασχεῖν δὲ βοήθειαν πρὸς τὸ δεινὸν καὶ ῥύσασθαι τοῦ κακοῦ. [303] καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἱκετείας ἐπικλασθεὶς ὁ θεὸς πηγὴν κατά τινος πέτρας ἀνίησιν ἡδεῖαν καὶ πολλήν, ὅθεν καὶ Σαμψὼν ἐκάλει τὸ χωρίον Σιαγόνα καὶ μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο τοῦτο λέγεται.

9. Upon this slaughter Samson was too proud of what he had performed, and said that this did not come to pass by the assistance of God, but that his success was to be ascribed to his own courage; and vaunted himself, that it was out of a dread of him that some of his enemies fell and the rest ran away upon his use of the jaw-bone; but when a great thirst came upon him, he considered that human courage is nothing, and bare his testimony that all is to be ascribed to God, and besought him that he would not be angry at any thing he had said, nor give him up into the hands of his enemies, but afford him help under his affliction, and deliver him from the misfortune he was under. Accordingly God was moved with his entreaties, and raised him up a plentiful fountain of sweet water at a certain rock whence it was that Samson called the place the Jaw-bone, and so it is called to this day.

(10) [304] Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν μάχην Σαμψὼν καταφρονῶν τῶν Παλαιστίνων εἰς Γάζαν ἀφικνεῖται καὶ ἔν τινι τῶν καταγωγίων διέτριβε. μαθόντες δὲ τῶν Γαζαίων οἱ ἄρχοντες τὴν αὐτόθι παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ τὰ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐνέδραις καταλαμβάνουσιν, ὅπως ἐξιὼν μὴ λάθῃ. [305] Σαμψὼν δέ, οὐ γὰρ λανθάνουσιν αὐτὸν ταῦτα μηχανησάμενοι, περὶ μεσοῦσαν ἤδη τὴν νύκτα ἀναστὰς ἐνράσσει ταῖς πύλαις, αὐταῖς τε φλιαῖς καὶ μοχλοῖς ὅση τε ἄλλη περὶ αὐταῖς ἦν ξύλωσις ἀράμενος κατωμαδὸν εἰς τὸ ὑπὲρ Ἑβρῶνος ὄρος φέρων κατατίθησιν.

10. After this fight Samson held the Philistines in contempt, and came to Gaza, and took up his lodgings in a certain inn. When the rulers of Gaza were informed

of his coming thither, they seized upon the gates, and placed men in ambush about them, that he might not escape without being perceived; but Samson, who was acquainted with their contrivances against him, arose about midnight, and ran by force upon the gates, with their posts and beams, and the rest of their wooden furniture, and carried them away on his shoulders, and bare them to the mountain that is over Hebron, and there laid them down.

(11) [306] Παρέβαινε δ' ἤδη τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν δίαιταν παρεχάρασσεν ξενικῶν μιμήσει ἐθισμῶν καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτῷ ἀρχὴ κακοῦ γίνεται: γυναικὸς γὰρ ἑταιριζομένης παρὰ τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις ἐρασθεὶς Δαλάλης τοὔνομα συνῆν αὐτῇ. [307] καὶ τῶν Παλαιστίνων οἱ τοῦ κοινοῦ προεστῶτες ἐλθόντες πρὸς αὐτὴν πείθουσιν ἐπαγγελίαις μαθεῖν παρὰ τοῦ Σαμψῶνος τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἰσχύος, ὑφ' ἧς ἄληπτός ἐστι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς. ἡ δὲ παρὰ πότον καὶ τοιαύτην συνουσίαν θαυμάζουσα τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ ἐτεχνίτευε μαθεῖν, τίνι τρόπῳ τοσοῦτον προύχει κατ' ἀρετήν. [308] ὁ δὲ Σαμψών, ἔτι γὰρ φρονεῖν ἰσχυρὸς ἦν, ἀντηπάτα τὴν Δαλάλην φάμενος, εἰ κλήμασιν ἑπτὰ δεθείη ἀμπέλου ἔτι καὶ περιειλεῖσθαι δυναμένοις, ἀσθενέστερος ἂν πάντων ἔσοιτο. [309] ἡ δὲ τότε μὲν ἡσύχασεν, ἀποσημήνασα δὲ τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῶν Παλαιστίνων ἐνίδρυσε τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔνδον τινὰς καὶ μεθύοντα κατέδει τοῖς κλήμασι κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρότατον, ἔπειτ' ἀνεγείρασα ἐδήλου παρεῖναί τινας ἐπ' αὐτόν. [310] ὁ δὲ ῥήξας τὰ κλήματα βοηθεῖν ὡς ἐπερχομένων αὐτῷ τινων ἐπειρᾶτο. καὶ ἡ γυνὴ συνεχῶς ὁμιλοῦντος αὐτῇ τοῦ Σαμψῶνος δεινῶς ἔχειν ἔλεγεν, εἰ κατ' ἀπιστίαν εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν μὴ λέγει ταῦθ' ἅπερ δεῖται, ὡς οὐ σιγησομένης ὅσα μὴ γινώσκεσθαι συμφέρειν οἶδεν αὐτῷ. [311] τοῦ δὲ πάλιν ἀπατῶντος αὐτὴν καὶ φήσαντος ἑπτὰ κάλοις δεθέντα τὴν ἰσχὺν ἀπολέσειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσασα οὐδὲν ἤνυσεν, τρίτον συνυφῆναι τὰς κόμας αὐτοῦ ἐμήνυσεν. [312] ὡς δ' οὐδὲ τούτου γενομένου ἀληθὲς ηὑρίσκετο, δεομένης τελευταῖον ὁ Σαμψών, ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὸν συμφορᾷ περιπεσεῖν, χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενος τῇ Δαλάλῃ, "ἐμοῦ, φησίν, ὁ θεὸς κήδεται καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου πρόνοιαν γεννηθεὶς κόμην ταύτην τρέφω παρεγγυήσαντος μὴ ἀποκείρειν τοῦ θεοῦ: τὴν γὰρ ἰσχὺν εἶναί μοι κατὰ τὴν ταύτης αὔξησιν καὶ παραμονήν". [313] ταῦτα μαθοῦσα καὶ στερήσασα τῆς κόμης αὐτὸν παραδιδοῖ τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐκέτ' ὄντα ἰσχυρὸν ἀμύνασθαι τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν. οἱ δ' ἐκκόψαντες αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δεδεμένον ἄγειν παρέδοσαν.

11. However, he at length transgressed the laws of his country, and altered his own regular way of living, and imitated the strange customs of foreigners, which thing was the beginning of his miseries; for he fell in love with a woman that was a harlot among the Philistines: her name was Delilah, and he lived with her. So those that administered the public affairs of the Philistines came to her, and, with promises, induced her to get out of Samson what was the cause of that his

strength, by which he became unconquerable to his enemies. Accordingly, when they were drinking, and had the like conversation together, she pretended to admire the actions he had done, and contrived to get out of him by subtlety, by what means he so much excelled others in strength. Samson, in order to delude Delilah, for he had not yet lost his senses, replied, that if he were bound with seven such green withs of a vine as might still be wreathed, he should be weaker than any other man. The woman said no more then, but told this to the rulers of the Philistines, and hid certain of the soldiers in ambush within the house; and when he was disordered in drink and asleep, she bound him as fast as possible with the withs; and then upon her awakening him, she told him some of the people were upon him; but he broke the withs, and endeavored to defend himself, as though some of the people were upon him. Now this woman, in the constant conversation Samson had with her, pretended that she took it very ill that he had such little confidence in her affections to him, that he would not tell her what she desired, as if she would not conceal what she knew it was for his interest to have concealed. However, he deluded her again, and told her, that if they bound him with seven cords, he should lose his strength. And when, upon doing this, she gained nothing, he told her the third thee, that his hair should be woven into a web; but when, upon doing this, the truth was not yet discovered, at length Samson, upon Delilah's prayer, [for he was doomed to fall into some affliction,] was desirous to please her, and told her that God took care of him, and that he was born by his providence, and that "thence it is that I suffer my hair to grow, God having charged me never to poll my head, and thence my strength is according to the increase and continuance of my hair." When she had learned thus much, and had deprived him of his hair, she delivered him up to his enemies, when he was not strong enough to defend himself from their attempts upon him; so they put out his eyes, and bound him, and had him led about among them.

(12) [314] Προιόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ηὔξετο ἡ κόμη τῷ Σαμψῶνι, καὶ ἑορτῆς οὔσης τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις δημοτελοῦς καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ γνωριμωτάτων ἐν ταὐτῷ εὐωχουμένων, οἶκος δ' ἦν δύο κιόνων στεγόντων αὐτοῦ τὸν ὄροφον, ἄγεται μεταπεμψαμένων ὁ Σαμψὼν εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον, ὅπως ἐνυβρίσωσιν αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸν πότον. [315] ὁ δὲ δεινότερον τῶν κακῶν ὑπολαμβάνων τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ὑβριζόμενος ἀμύνασθαι, τὸν χειραγωγοῦντα παῖδα πείθει, προσαναπαύσασθαι χρῄζειν εἰπὼν ὑπὸ κόπου, τοῖς κίοσιν αὐτὸν ἐγγὺς ἀγαγεῖν. [316] ὡς δὲ ἦκεν, ἐνσεισθεὶς αὐτοῖς ἐπικαταβάλλει τὸν οἶκον ἀνατραπέντων τῶν κιόνων τρισχιλίοις ἀνδράσιν, οἳ πάντες ἀπέθανον, ἐν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ Σαμψών. καὶ τὸν μὲν τοιοῦτον κατέσχε τέλος ἄρξαντα τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν εἴκοσιν ἔτη. [317] θαυμάζειν δὲ

ἄξιον τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς ἰσχύος καὶ τοῦ περὶ τὴν τελευτὴν μεγαλόφρονος τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τῆς ὀργῆς τῆς μέχρι τοῦ τελευτᾶν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ γυναικὸς ἁλῶναι δεῖ τῇ φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων προσάπτειν ἧττονι ἁμαρτημάτων οὔσῃ, μαρτυρεῖν δὲ ἐκείνῳ τὴν εἰς τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τῆς ἀρετῆς περιουσίαν. οἱ δὲ συγγενεῖς ἀράμενοι τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ θάπτουσιν ἐν Σαρασᾶ τῇ πατρίδι μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν.

12. But in process of time Samson's hair grew again. And there was a public festival among the Philistines, when the rulers, and those of the most eminent character, were feasting together; [now the room wherein they were had its roof supported by two pillars;] so they sent for Samson, and he was brought to their feast, that they might insult him in their cups. Hereupon he, thinking it one of the greatest misfortunes, if he should not be able to revenge himself when he was thus insulted, persuaded the boy that led him by the hand, that he was weary and wanted to rest himself, and desired he would bring him near the pillars; and as soon as he came to them, he rushed with force against them, and overthrew the house, by overthrowing its pillars, with three thousand men in it, who were all slain, and Samson with them. And such was the end of this man, when he had ruled over the Israelites twenty years. And indeed this man deserves to be admired for his courage and strength, and magnanimity at his death, and that his wrath against his enemies went so far as to die himself with them. But as for his being ensnared by a woman, that is to be ascribed to human nature, which is too weak to resist the temptations to that sin; but we ought to bear him witness, that in all other respects he was one of extraordinary virtue. But his kindred took away his body, and buried it in Sarasat his own country, with the rest of his family.

IX

CHAPTER 9. How Under Eli’s Government Of The Israelites Booz Married Ruth, From Whom Came Obed The Grandfather Of David.

(1) [318] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Σαμψῶνος τελευτὴν προέστη τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν Ἠλὶς ὁ ἀρχιερεύς. ἐπὶ τούτου λιμῷ τῆς χώρας κακοπαθούσης αὐτῶν Ἀβιμέλεχος ἐκ Βηθλέμων, ἔστι δὲ ἡ πόλις αὕτη τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς, ἀντέχειν τῷ δεινῷ μὴ δυνάμενος τήν τε γυναῖκα Ναομεὶν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς αὐτῷ γεγενημένους Χελλιῶνα καὶ Μαλαῶνα ἐπαγόμενος εἰς τὴν Μωαβῖτιν μετοικίζεται. [319] καὶ προχωρούντων αὐτῷ κατὰ νοῦν τῶν πραγμάτων ἄγεται τοῖς υἱοῖς γυναῖκας Μωαβίτιδας Χελλιῶνι μὲν Ὀρφᾶν Ῥούθην δὲ Μαλαῶνι. διελθόντων δὲ δέκα ἐτῶν ὅ τε Ἀβιμέλεχος καὶ μετ’ αὐτὸν οἱ παῖδες δι’ ὀλίγου τελευτῶσι, [320] καὶ ἡ Ναάμις πικρῶς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι φέρουσα καὶ τὴν ὑπ’ ὄψιν τῶν φιλτάτων ἐρημίαν οὐχ ὑπομένουσα, δι’ ἣν καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξεληλύθει, πάλιν εἰς αὐτὴν ἀπηλλάττετο: [321] καὶ γὰρ ἤδη καλῶς τὰ κατ’ αὐτὴν ἐπυνθάνετο χωρεῖν. οὐκ ἐκαρτέρουν δὲ διαζευγνύμεναι αὐτῆς αἱ νύμφαι, οὐδὲ παραιτουμένη βουλομένας συνεξορμᾶν πείθειν ἐδύνατο, ἀλλ’ ἐγκειμένων εὐξαμένη γάμον εὐτυχέστερον αὐταῖς οὗ διημαρτήκεσαν παισὶ τοῖς αὐτῆς γαμηθεῖσαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν κτῆσιν, ὅτε τὰ πρὸς αὐτὴν οὕτως ἐστί, [322] μένειν αὐτόθι παρεκάλει καὶ μὴ συμμεταλαμβάνειν αὐτῇ βούλεσθαι πραγμάτων ἀδήλων τὴν πάτριον γῆν καταλιπούσας. ἡ μὲν οὖν Ὀρφᾶ μένει, τὴν δὲ Ῥούθην μὴ πεισθεῖσαν ἀπήγαγε κοινωνὸν παντὸς τοῦ προστυχόντος γενησομένην.

1. Now after the death of Samson, Eli the high priest was governor of the Israelites. Under him, when the country was afflicted with a famine, Elimelech of Bethlehem, which is a city of the tribe of Judah, being not able to support his family under so sore a distress, took with him Naomi his wife, and the children that were born to him by her, Chillon and Mahlon, and removed his habitation into the land of Moab; and upon the happy prosperity of his affairs there, he took for his sons wives of the Moabites, Orpah for Chillon, and Ruth for Mahlon. But in the compass of ten years, both Elimelech, and a little while after him, the sons, died; and Naomi being very uneasy at these accidents, and not being able to bear her lonesome condition, now those that were dearest to her were dead, on whose account it was that she had gone away from her own country, she returned to it again, for she had been informed it was now in a flourishing condition. However, her daughters-in-law were not able to think of parting with her; and when they had a mind to go out of the country with her, she could not

dissuade them from it; but when they insisted upon it, she wished them a more happy wedlock than they had with her sons, and that they might have prosperity in other respects also; and seeing her own affairs were so low, she exhorted them to stay where they were, and not to think of leaving their own country, and partaking with her of that uncertainty under which she must return. Accordingly Orpah staid behind; but she took Ruth along with her, as not to be persuaded to stay behind her, but would take her fortune with her, whatsoever it should prove.

(2) [323] Ἐλθοῦσαν δὲ Ῥούθην μετὰ τῆς πενθερᾶς εἰς τὴν Βηθλεέμων Βοώζης Ἀβιμελέχου συγγενὴς ὢν δέχεται ξενίᾳ. καὶ ἡ Ναάμις, προσαγορευόντων αὐτὴν ὀνομαστί, δικαιότερον εἶπε Μαρὰν καλεῖτέ με: σημαίνει δὲ καθ' Ἑβραίων γλῶτταν ναάμις μὲν εὐτυχίαν, μαρὰ δὲ ὀδύνην. [324] ἀμήτου δὲ γενομένου ἐξῄει καλαμησομένη κατὰ συγχώρησιν τῆς πενθερᾶς ἡ Ῥούθη, ὅπως τροφῆς εὐποροῖεν, καὶ εἰς τὸ Βοώζου τυχαίως ἀφικνεῖται χωρίον. παραγενόμενος δὲ Βόαζος μετ' ὀλίγον καὶ θεασάμενος τὴν κόρην ἀνέκρινε τὸν ἀγροκόμον περὶ τῆς παιδός. ὁ δὲ μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν παρ' αὐτῆς ἅπαντα προπεπυσμένος ἐδήλου τῷ δεσπότῃ. [325] ὁ δὲ τῆς περὶ τὴν πενθερὰν εὐνοίας ἅμα καὶ μνήμης τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῆς ᾧ συνῴκησεν ἀσπασάμενος καὶ εὐξάμενος αὐτῇ πεῖραν ἀγαθῶν καλαμᾶσθαι μὲν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἠξίωσεν, θερίζειν δὲ πᾶν ὅ τι καὶ δύναιτο καὶ λαμβάνειν ἐπιτρέπει προστάξας τῷ ἀγροκόμῳ μηδὲν αὐτὴν διακωλύειν λαμβάνειν, ἄριστόν τε παρέχειν αὐτῇ καὶ ποτόν, ὁπότε σιτίζοι τοὺς θερίζοντας. [326] Ῥούθη δὲ ἄλφιτα λαβοῦσα παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐφύλαξε τῇ ἑκυρᾷ καὶ παρῆν ὀψὲ κομίζουσα μετὰ τῶν σταχύων: ἐτετηρήκει δ' αὐτῇ καὶ ἡ Ναάμις ἀπομοίρας βρωμάτων τινῶν, οἷς αὐτὴν ἐπολυώρουν οἱ γειτονεύοντες: διηγεῖται δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Βοάζου πρὸς αὐτὴν εἰρημένα. [327] δηλωσάσης δ' ἐκείνης ὡς συγγενής ἐστι καὶ τάχα ἂν δι' εὐσέβειαν προνοήσειεν αὐτῶν, ἐξῄει πάλιν ταῖς ἐχομέναις ἡμέραις ἐπὶ καλάμης συλλογὴν σὺν ταῖς Βοάζου θεραπαινίσιν.

2. When Ruth was come with her mother-in-law to Bethlehem, Booz, who was near of kin to Elimelech, entertained her; and when Naomi was so called by her fellow citizens, according to her true name, she said, "You might more truly call me Mara." Now Naomi signifies in the Hebrew tongue happiness, and Mara, sorrow. It was now reaping thee; and Ruth, by the leave of her mother-in-law, went out to glean, that they might get a stock of corn for their food. Now it happened that she came into Booz's field; and after some thee Booz came thither, and when he saw the damsel, he inquired of his servant that was set over the reapers concerning the girl. The servant had a little before inquired about all her circumstances, and told them to his master, who kindly embraced her, both on account of her affection to her mother-in-law, and her remembrance of that son of hers to whom she had been married, and wished that she might experience

a prosperous condition; so he desired her not to glean, but to reap what she was able, and gave her leave to carry it home. He also gave it in charge to that servant who was over the reapers, not to hinder her when she took it away, and bade him give her her dinner, and make her drink when he did the like to the reapers. Now what corn Ruth received of him she kept for her mother-in-law, and came to her in the evening, and brought the ears of corn with her; and Naomi had kept for her a part of such food as her neighbors had plentifully bestowed upon her. Ruth also told her mother-in-law what Booz had said to her; and when the other had informed her that he was near of kin to them, and perhaps was so pious a man as to make some provision for them, she went out again on the days following, to gather the gleanings with Booz's maidservants.

(3) [328] Ἐλθών τε μετ᾽ οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας καὶ Βόαζος ἤδη τῆς κριθῆς λελικμημένης ἐπὶ τῆς ἅλωος ἐκάθευδε. τοῦτο πυθομένη ἡ Ναάμις τεχνᾶται παρακατακλῖναι τὴν Ῥούθην αὐτῷ: καὶ γὰρ ἔσεσθαι χρηστὸν αὐταῖς ὁμιλήσαντα τῇ παιδί: καὶ πέμπει τὴν κόρην ὑπνωσομένην αὐτοῦ παρὰ τοῖς ποσίν. [329] ἡ δέ, πρὸς οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀντιλέγειν τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκυρᾶς κελευομένων ὅσιον ἡγεῖτο, παραγίνεται καὶ παραυτίκα μὲν λανθάνει τὸν Βόαζον βαθέως καθυπνωκότα, περιεγερθεὶς δὲ περὶ μέσην νύκτα καὶ αἰσθόμενος τῆς ἀνθρώπου παρακατακειμένης ἀνέκρινε τίς εἴη. [330] τῆς δ᾽ εἰπούσης τοὔνομα καὶ φαμένης ὡς αὐτῆς δεσπότην συγχωρεῖν, τότε μὲν ἡσυχίαν ἄγει, ὄρθριος δὲ πρὶν ἢ τοὺς οἰκέτας ἄρξασθαι κινεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἔργον περιεγείρας αὐτὴν κελεύει τῶν κριθῶν λαβοῦσαν ὅ τι καὶ δύναιτο πορεύεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐκυρὰν πρὶν ὀφθῆναί τισιν αὐτόθι κεκοιμημένην, φυλάττεσθαι σῶφρον τὴν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις διαβολὴν καὶ μάλιστ᾽ ἐπὶ μὴ γεγονόσι. [331] περὶ μέντοι τοῦ παντὸς οὕτω, φησίν, ἔσται, [ἐρωτᾶν] τὸν ἔγγιστά μου τῷ γένει τυγχάνοντα, εἰ σοῦ χρεία γαμετῆς ἐστιν αὐτῷ, καὶ λέγοντι μὲν ἀκολουθήσεις ἐκείνῳ, παραιτουμένου δὲ νόμῳ σε συνοικήσουσαν ἄξομαι."

3. It was not many days before Booz, after the barley was winnowed, slept in his thrashing-floor. When Naomi was informed of this circumstance she contrived it so that Ruth should lie down by him, for she thought it might be for their advantage that he should discourse with the girl. Accordingly she sent the damsel to sleep at his feet; who went as she bade her, for she did not think it consistent with her duty to contradict any command of her mother-in-law. And at first she lay concealed from Booz, as he was fast asleep; but when he awaked about midnight, and perceived a woman lying by him, he asked who she was; — and when she told him her name, and desired that he whom she owned for her lord would excuse her, he then said no more; but in the morning, before the servants began to set about their work, he awaked her, and bid her take as much

barley as she was able to carry, and go to her mother-in-law before any body there should see that she had lain down by him, because it was but prudent to avoid any reproach that might arise on that account, especially when there had been nothing done that was ill. But as to the main point she aimed at, the matter should rest here,— "He that is nearer of kin than I am, shall be asked whether he wants to take thee to wife: if he says he does, thou shalt follow him; but if he refuse it, I will marry thee, according to the law."

(4) [332] Ταῦτα τῇ ἑκυρᾷ δηλωσάσης εὐθυμία κατεῖχεν αὐτὰς ἐν ἐλπίδι τοῦ πρόνοιαν ἕξειν αὐτῶν Βόαζον γενομένας. κἀκεῖνος ἤδη μεσούσης τῆς ἡμέρας κατελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν τήν τε γερουσίαν συνῆγε καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος Ῥούθην ἐκάλει καὶ τὸν συγγενῆ, καὶ παραγενομένου φησίν: [333] "Ἀβιμελέχου καὶ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ κλήρων κρατεῖς;" ὁμολογήσαντος δὲ συγχωρούντων τῶν νόμων κατὰ ἀγχιστείαν, "οὐκοῦν, φησὶν ὁ Βόαζος, οὐκ ἐξ ἡμισείας δεῖ μεμνῆσθαι τῶν νόμων. ἀλλὰ πάντα ποιεῖν κατ᾽ αὐτούς. Μαάλου γὰρ δεῦρ᾽ ἥκει γύναιον, ὅπερ εἰ θέλεις τῶν ἀγρῶν κρατεῖν γαμεῖν σε δεῖ κατὰ τοὺς [334] νόμους." ὁ δὲ Βοάζῳ καὶ τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς παρεχώρει συγγενεῖ μὲν ὄντι καὶ αὐτῷ τῶν τετελευτηκότων, εἶναι δὲ καὶ γυναῖκα λέγων αὐτῷ καὶ παῖδας ἤδη. [335] μαρτυράμενος οὖν ὁ Βόαζος τὴν γερουσίαν ἐκέλευε τῇ γυναικὶ ὑπολῦσαι αὐτὸν προσελθοῦσαν κατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ πτύειν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον. γενομένου δὲ τούτου Βόαζος γαμεῖ τὴν Ῥούθην καὶ γίνεται παιδίον αὐτοῖς μετ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν ἄρρεν. [336] τοῦτο ἡ Ναάμις τιτθευομένη κατὰ συμβουλίαν τῶν γυναικῶν Ὠβήδην ἐκάλεσεν ἐπὶ γηροκομίᾳ τῇ αὐτῆς τραφησόμενον: ὠβήδης γὰρ κατὰ διάλεκτον τὴν Ἑβραίων ἀποσημαίνει δουλεύων. Ὠβήδου δὲ γίνεται παῖς Ἰεσσαῖος, τούτου Δαβίδης ὁ βασιλεύσας καὶ παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ καταλιπὼν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπὶ μίαν καὶ εἴκοσι γενεὰς ἀνδρῶν. [337] τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ Ῥούθην ἀναγκαίως διηγησάμην ἐπιδεῖξαι βουλόμενος τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν, ὅτι τούτῳ παράγειν ἐφικτόν ἐστιν εἰς ἀξίωμα λαμπρὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτυχόντας, εἰς οἷον ἀνήγαγε καὶ Δαβίδην ἐκ τοιούτων γενόμενον.

4. When she had informed her mother-in-law of this, they were very glad of it, out of the hope they had that Booz would make provision for them. Now about noon Booz went down into the city, and gathered the senate together, and when he had sent for Ruth, he called for her kinsman also; and when he was come, he said, "Dost not thou retain the inheritance of Elimelech and his sons?" He confessed that he did retain it, and that he did as he was permitted to do by the laws, because he was their nearest kinsman. Then said Booz, "Thou must not remember the laws by halves, but do every thing according to them; for the wife of Mahlon is come hither, whom thou must marry, according to the law, in case thou wilt retain their fields." So the man yielded up both the field and the wife to

Booz, who was himself of kin to those that were dead, as alleging that he had a wife already, and children also; so Booz called the senate to witness, and bid the woman to loose his shoe, and spit in his face, according to the law; and when this was done, Booz married Ruth, and they had a son within a year's time. Naomi was herself a nurse to this child; and by the advice of the women, called him Obed, as being to be brought up in order to be subservient to her in her old age, for Obed in the Hebrew dialect signifies a servant. The son of Obed was Jesse, and David was his son, who was king, and left his dominions to his sons for one and twenty generations. I was therefore obliged to relate this history of Ruth, because I had a mind to demonstrate the power of God, who, without difficulty, can raise those that are of ordinary parentage to dignity and splendor, to which he advanced David, though he were born of such mean parents.

X

CHAPTER 10. Concerning The Birth Of Samuel; And How He Foretold The Calamity That Befell The Sons Of Eli.

(1) [338] Ἑβραῖοι δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτοῖς ὑπενεχθέντων πάλιν πόλεμον ἐκφέρουσι Παλαιστίνοις διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν: Ἠλὶ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ δύο παῖδες ἦσαν Ὀφνίης τε καὶ Φινεέσης. [339] οὗτοι καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ὑβρισταὶ γενόμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἀσεβεῖς οὐδενὸς ἀπείχοντο παρανομήματος, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐφέροντο τῶν γερῶν κατὰ τιμήν, ἃ δ’ ἐλάμβανον αὐτοῖς ἁρπαγῆς τρόπῳ, γυναῖκάς τε τὰς ἐπὶ θρησκείᾳ παραγινομένας ὕβριζον φθοραῖς ταῖς μὲν βίαν προσφέροντες τὰς δὲ δώροις ὑπαγόμενοι: τυραννίδος δ’ οὐθὲν ἀπέλειπεν ὁ βίος αὐτῶν. [340] ὅ τε οὖν πατὴρ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις χαλεπῶς εἶχεν ὅσον οὐδέπω προσδοκῶν ἥξειν ἐκ θεοῦ τιμωρίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς πραττομένοις, τό τε πλῆθος ἐδυσφόρει, κἀπειδὴ φράζει τὴν ἐσομένην συμφορὰν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ τῷ τε Ἠλὶ καὶ Σαμουήλῳ τῷ προφήτῃ παιδὶ τότε ὄντι, τότε φανερὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς πένθος ἦγε.

1. And now upon the ill state of the affairs of the Hebrews, they made war again upon the Philistines. The occasion was this: Eli, the high priest, had two sons, Hophni and Phineas. These sons of Eli were guilty of injustice towards men, and of impiety towards God, and abstained from no sort of wickedness. Some of their gifts they carried off, as belonging to the honorable employment they had; others of them they took away by violence. They also were guilty of impurity with the women that came to worship God at the tabernacle, obliging some to submit to their lust by force, and enticing others by bribes; nay, the whole course of their lives was no better than tyranny. Their father therefore was angry at them for such their wickedness, and expected that God would suddenly inflict his punishments upon them for what they had done. The multitude took it heinously also. And as soon as God had foretold what calamity would befall Eli’s sons, which he did both to Eli himself and to Samuel the prophet, who was yet but a child, he openly showed his sorrow for his sons’ destruction.

(2) [341] Βούλομαι δὲ τὰ περὶ τοῦ προφήτου πρότερον διεξελθὼν ἔπειθ’ οὕτως τὰ περὶ τοὺς Ἠλὶ παῖδας εἰπεῖν καὶ τὴν δυστυχίαν τὴν τῷ παντὶ λαῷ Ἑβραίων γενομένην. [342] Ἀλκάνης Λευίτης ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐν μέσῳ πολιτῶν τῆς Ἐφράμου κληρουχίας Ῥαμαθὰν πόλιν κατοικῶν ἐγάμει δύο γυναῖκας Ἄνναν τε καὶ Φενάνναν. ἐκ δὴ ταύτης καὶ παῖδες αὐτῷ γίνονται, τὴν δ’ ἑτέραν ἄτεκνον οὖσαν ἀγαπῶν διετέλει. [343] ἀφικομένου δὲ μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν τοῦ Ἀλκάνου εἰς Σιλὼ πόλιν θῦσαι, ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπεπήγει καθὼς προειρήκαμεν, καὶ

πάλιν κατὰ τὴν εὐωχίαν νέμοντος μοίρας κρεῶν ταῖς τε γυναιξὶ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις, ἡ Ἄννα θεασαμένη τοὺς τῆς ἑτέρας παῖδας τῇ μητρὶ περικαθημένους, εἰς δάκρυά τε προύπεσε καὶ τῆς ἀπαιδίας αὐτὴν ὠλοφύρετο καὶ τῆς μονώσεως. [344] καὶ τῆς τἀνδρὸς παραμυθίας τῇ λύπῃ κρατήσασα εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν ᾤχετο τὸν θεὸν ἱκετεύουσα δοῦναι γονὴν αὐτῇ καὶ ποιῆσαι μητέρα, ἐπαγγελλομένη τὸ πρῶτον αὐτῇ γενησόμενον καθιερώσειν ἐπὶ διακονίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ δίαιταν οὐχ ὁμοίαν τοῖς ἰδιώταις ποιησόμενον. [345] διατριβούσης δ᾽ ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς πολὺν χρόνον Ἠλὶς ὁ ἀρχιερεύς, ἐκαθέζετο γὰρ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς, ὡς παροινοῦσαν ἐκέλευεν ἀπιέναι. τῆς δὲ πιεῖν ὕδωρ φαμένης, λυπουμένης δ᾽ ἐπὶ παίδων ἀπορίᾳ τὸν θεὸν ἱκετεύειν, θαρσεῖν παρεκελεύετο παρέξειν αὐτῇ παῖδας τὸν θεὸν καταγγέλλων.

2. I will first despatch what I have to say about the prophet Samuel, and after that will proceed to speak of the sons of Eli, and the miseries they brought on the whole people of the Hebrews. Elcanah, a Levite, one of a middle condition among his fellow citizens, and one that dwelt at Ramathaim, a city of the tribe of Ephraim, married two wives, Hannah and Peninnah. He had children by the latter; but he loved the other best, although she was barren. Now Elcanah came with his wives to the city Shiloh to sacrifice, for there it was that the tabernacle of God was fixed, as we have formerly said. Now when, after he had sacrificed, he distributed at that festival portions of the flesh to his wives and children, and when Hannah saw the other wife's children sitting round about their mother, she fell into tears, and lamented herself on account of her barrenness and lonesomeness; and suffering her grief to prevail over her husband's consolations to her, she went to the tabernacle to beseech God to give her seed, and to make her a mother; and to vow to consecrate the first son she should bear to the service of God, and this in such a way, that his manner of living should not be like that of ordinary men. And as she continued at her prayers a long time, Eli, the high priest, for he sat there before the tabernacle, bid her go away, thinking she had been disordered with wine; but when she said she had drank water, but was in sorrow for want of children, and was beseeching God for them, he bid her be of good cheer, and told her that God would send her children.

(3) [346] Παραγενομένη δ᾽ εὔελπις πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τροφὴν χαίρουσα προσηνέγκατο, καὶ ἀναστρεψάντων εἰς τὴν πατρίδα κύειν ἤρξατο καὶ γίνεται παιδίον αὐτοῖς, ὃν Σαμουῆλον προσαγορεύουσι: θεαίτητον ἄν τις εἴποι. παρῆσαν οὖν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς θύσοντες γενέσεως δεκάτας τ᾽ ἔφερον. [347] ἀναμνησθεῖσα δ᾽ ἡ γυνὴ τῆς εὐχῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ παιδὶ γεγενημένης παρεδίδου τῷ Ἠλὶ ἀνατιθεῖσα τῷ θεῷ προφήτην γενησόμενον: κόμη τε οὖν αὐτῷ ἀνεῖτο καὶ ποτὸν ἦν ὕδωρ. καὶ Σαμουῆλος μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ διῆγε τρεφόμενος, Ἀλκάνῃ δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς Ἄννας υἱεῖς τε γίνονται καὶ τρεῖς θυγατέρες.

3. So she came to her husband full of hope, and ate her meal with gladness. And when they had returned to their own country she found herself with child, and they had a son born to them, to whom they gave the name of Samuel, which may be styled one that was asked of God. They therefore came to the tabernacle to offer sacrifice for the birth of the child, and brought their tithes with them; but the woman remembered the vows she had made concerning her son, and delivered him to Eli, dedicating him to God, that he might become a prophet. Accordingly his hair was suffered to grow long, and his drink was water. So Samuel dwelt and was brought up in the temple. But Elcanah had other sons by Hannah, and three daughters.

(4) [348] Σαμουῆλος δὲ πεπληρωκὼς ἔτος ἤδη δωδέκατον προεφήτευε. καί ποτε κοιμώμενον ὀνομαστὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεός: ὁ δὲ νομίσας ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως πεφωνῆσθαι παραγίνεται πρὸς αὐτόν. οὐ φαμένου δὲ καλέσαι τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ὁ θεὸς εἰς τρὶς τοῦτο ποιεῖ. [349] καὶ Ἠλὶς διαυγασθείς φησι πρὸς αὐτόν, "ἀλλ' ἐγὼ [μὲν], Σαμουῆλε, σιγὴν ὡς καὶ τὸ πρὶν ἦγον, θεὸς δ' ἐστὶν ὁ καλῶν, σήμαινέ τε πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτι παρατυγχάνω." καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ φθεγξαμένου πάλιν ἀκούσας ἠξίου λαλεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς χρωμένοις: οὐ γὰρ ὑστερήσειν αὐτὸν ἐφ' οἷς ἂν θελήσῃ διακονίας. [350] καὶ ὁ θεός "ἐπεί, φησί, παρατυγχάνεις, μάνθανε συμφορὰν Ἰσραηλίταις ἐσομένην λόγου μείζονα καὶ πίστεως τοῖς παρατυγχάνουσι, καὶ τοὺς Ἠλὶ δὲ παῖδας ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ τεθνηξομένους καὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην μετελευσομένην εἰς τὴν Ἐλεαζάρου οἰκίαν: Ἠλὶς γὰρ τῆς ἐμῆς θεραπείας μᾶλλον τοὺς υἱοὺς καὶ παρὰ [351] τὸ συμφέρον αὐτοῖς ἠγάπησε." ταῦτα βιασάμενος ὅρκοις εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν προφήτην Ἠλίς, οὐ γὰρ ἐβούλετο λυπεῖν αὐτὸν λέγων, ἔτι μᾶλλον βεβαιοτέραν εἶχε τὴν προσδοκίαν τῆς τῶν τέκνων ἀπωλείας. Σαμουήλου δὲ ηὔξετο ἐπὶ πλέον ἡ δόξα πάντων ὧν προεφήτευσεν ἀληθινῶν βλεπομένων.

4. Now when Samuel was twelve years old, he began to prophesy: and once when he was asleep, God called to him by his name; and he, supposing he had been called by the high priest, came to him: but when the high priest said he did not call him, God did so thrice. Eli was then so far illuminated, that he said to him, "Indeed, Samuel, I was silent now as well as before: it is God that calls thee; do thou therefore signify it to him, and say, I am here ready." So when he heard God speak again, he desired him to speak, and to deliver what oracles he pleased to him, for he would not fail to perform any ministration whatsoever he should make use of him in; — to which God replied, "Since thou art here ready, learn what miseries are coming upon the Israelites, — such indeed as words cannot declare, nor faith believe; for the sons of Eli shall die on one day, and the priesthood shall be transferred into the family of Eleazar; for Eli hath loved his

sons more than he hath loved my worship, and to such a degree as is not for their advantage." Which message Eli obliged the prophet by oath to tell him, for otherwise he had no inclination to afflict him by telling it. And now Eli had a far more sure expectation of the perdition of his sons; but the glory of Samuel increased more and more, it being found by experience that whatsoever he prophesied came to pass accordingly.

XI

CHAPTER 11. Herein Is Declared What Befell The Sons Of Eli, The Ark, And The People And How Eli Himself Died Miserably.

(1) [352] Κατὰ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν καιρὸν καὶ Παλαιστῖνοι στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας στρατοπεδεύονται κατὰ πόλιν Ἀμφεκᾶν, δεξαμένων δ' ἐξ ὀλίγου τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν συνῆεσαν εἰς τὴν ἐχομένην καὶ νικῶσιν οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι καὶ κτείνουσι μὲν τῶν Ἑβραίων εἰς τετρακισχιλίους, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος συνδιώκουσιν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

1. About this time it was that the Philistines made war against the Israelites, and pitched their camp at the city Aphek. Now when the Israelites had expected them a little while, the very next day they joined battle, and the Philistines were conquerors, and slew above four thousand of the Hebrews, and pursued the rest of their multitude to their camp.

(2) [353] Δείσαντες δὲ περὶ τῶν ὅλων Ἑβραῖοι πέμπουσιν ὡς τὴν γερουσίαν καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύοντες κομίζειν, ἵνα παρούσης αὐτῆς παρατασσόμενοι κρατῶσι τῶν πολεμίων ἀγνοοῦντες, ὅτι μείζων ἐστὶν ὁ καταψηφισάμενος αὐτῶν τὴν συμφορὰν τῆς κιβωτοῦ, δι' ὃν καὶ ταύτην συνέβαινεν εἶναι. [354] παρῆν τε οὖν ἡ κιβωτὸς καὶ οἱ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως υἱεῖς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπιστείλαντος, εἰ ληφθείσης τῆς κιβωτοῦ ζῆν ἐθέλουσιν, εἰς ὄψιν αὐτῷ μὴ παραγίνεσθαι. Φινεέσης δὲ ἤδη καὶ ἱερᾶτο τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ παρακεχωρηκότος διὰ τὸ γῆρας. [355] θάρσος οὖν ἐπιγίνεται πολὺ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ὡς διὰ τὴν ἄφιξιν τῆς κιβωτοῦ περιεσομένοις τῶν πολεμίων, κατεπλήττοντο δὲ οἱ πολέμιοι δεδιότες τὴν παρουσίαν τῆς κιβωτοῦ τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις. ταῖς μέντοι γε ἑκατέρων προσδοκίαις οὐχ ὅμοιον ἀπήντησε τὸ ἔργον, [356] ἀλλὰ συμβολῆς γενομένης ἣν μὲν ἤλπιζον νίκην Ἑβραῖοι τῶν Παλαιστίνων αὕτη γίνεται, ἣν δ' ἐφοβοῦντο ἧττα ν οὗτοι ταύτην Ἑβραῖοι παθόντες ἔγνωσαν αὐτοὺς μάτην ἐπὶ τῇ κιβωτῷ τεθαρσηκότας: ἐτράπησάν τε γὰρ εὐθὺς εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἀπέβαλον εἰς τρισμυρίους, ἐν οἷς ἔπεσον καὶ οἱ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως υἱεῖς, ἥ τε κιβωτὸς ἤγετο πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων.

2. So the Hebrews being afraid of the worst, sent to the senate, and to the high priest, and desired that they would bring the ark of God, that by putting themselves in array, when it was present with them, they might be too hard for their enemies, as not reflecting that he who had condemned them to endure these calamities was greater than the ark, and for whose sake it was that this ark came

to be honored. So the ark came, and the sons of the high priest with it, having received a charge from their father, that if they pretended to survive the taking of the ark, they should come no more into his presence, for Phineas officiated already as high priest, his father having resigned his office to him, by reason of his great age. So the Hebrews were full of courage, as supposing that, by the coming of the ark, they should be too hard for their enemies: their enemies also were greatly concerned, and were afraid of the ark's coming to the Israelites: however, the upshot did not prove agreeable to the expectation of both sides, but when the battle was joined, that victory which the Hebrews expected was gained by the Philistines, and that defeat the Philistines were afraid of fell to the lot of the Israelites, and thereby they found that they had put their trust in the ark in vain, for they were presently beaten as soon as they came to a close fight with their enemies, and lost about thirty thousand men, among whom were the sons of the high priest; but the ark was carried away by the enemies.

(3) [357] Ἀπαγγελθείσης δὲ τῆς ἥττης εἰς τὴν Σιλὼ καὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας τῆς κιβωτοῦ, Βενιαμίτης γάρ τις αὐτοῖς ἄγγελος ἀφικνεῖται νεανίας παρατετευχὼς τῷ γεγονότι, πένθους ἀνεπλήσθη πᾶσα ἡ πόλις. [358] καὶ Ἠλὶς ὁ ἀρχιερεύς, ἐκαθέζετο γὰρ καθ' ἑτέρας τῶν πυλῶν ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ θρόνου, ἀκούσας οἰμωγῆς καὶ νομίσας νεώτερόν τι πεπρᾶχθαι περὶ τοὺς οἰκείους καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν νεανίαν, ὡς ἔγνω τὰ κατὰ τὴν μάχην, ῥᾴων ἦν ἐπὶ τὸ τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ συνενηνεγμένοις περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὡς ἂν προεγνωκὼς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ συμβησόμενον καὶ προαπηγγελκώς: συνέχει γὰρ ἀκριβῶς τὰ κατὰ προσδοκίαν συντυχόντα τῶν δεινῶν. [359] ὡς δὲ καὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν ἤκουσεν ᾐχμαλωτίσθαι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων, ὑπὸ τοῦ παρ' ἐλπίδας αὐτῷ τοῦτο προσπεσεῖν περιαλγήσας ἀποκυλισθεὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου τελευτᾷ, ὀκτὼ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα βιώσας ἔτη τὰ πάντα καὶ τούτων τεσσαράκοντα κατασχὼν τὴν ἀρχήν.

3. When the news of this defeat came to Shiloh, with that of the captivity of the ark, [for a certain young man, a Benjamite, who was in the action, came as a messenger thither,] the whole city was full of lamentations. And Eli, the high priest, who sat upon a high throne at one of the gates, heard their mournful cries, and supposed that some strange thing had befallen his family. So he sent for the young man; and when he understood what had happened in the battle, he was not much uneasy as to his sons, or what was told him withal about the army, as having beforehand known by Divine revelation that those things would happen, and having himself declared them beforehand, — for what sad things come unexpectedly they distress men the most; but as soon as [he heard] the ark was carried captive by their enemies, he was very much grieved at it, because it fell out quite differently from what he expected; so he fell down from his throne and

died, having in all lived ninety-eight years, and of them retained the government forty.

(4) [360] Θνήσκει δὲ κατ᾽ ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ ἡ Φινεέσου τοῦ παιδὸς γυνὴ μὴ καρτερήσασα ζῆν ἐπὶ τῇ τἀνδρὸς δυστυχίᾳ. κυούσῃ μὲν αὐτῇ προσηγγέλη τὸ περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα πάθος, τίκτει δ᾽ ἐπταμηνιαῖον παῖδα, ὃν καὶ ζήσαντα Ἰαχώβην προσηγόρευσαν, σημαίνει δὲ ἀδοξίαν τὸ ὄνομα, διὰ τὴν προσπεσοῦσαν δύσκλειαν τότε τῷ στρατῷ.

4. On the same day his son Phineas's wife died also, as not able to survive the misfortune of her husband; for they told her of her husband's death as she was in labor. However, she bare a son at seven months, who lived, and to whom they gave the name of Icabod, which name signifies disgrace, — and this because the army received a disgrace at this thee.

(5) [361] Ἦρξε δὲ πρῶτος Ἠλὶς Ἰθαμάρου τῆς ἑτέρου τῶν Ἀαρῶνος υἱῶν οἰκίας: ἡ γὰρ Ἐλεαζάρου οἰκία τὸ πρῶτον ἱερᾶτο παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐπιδεχόμενοι τὴν τιμήν, ἐκεῖνός τε Φινεέσῃ τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ παραδίδωσι, [362] μεθ᾽ ὃν Ἀβιεζέρης υἱὸς ὢν αὐτοῦ τὴν τιμὴν παραλαβὼν παιδὶ αὐτοῦ Βόκκι τοὔνομα αὐτὴν κατέλιπε, παρ᾽ οὗ διεδέξατο Ὄζις υἱὸς ὤν, μεθ᾽ ὃν Ἠλὶς ἔσχε τὴν ἱερωσύνην, περὶ οὗ νῦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνου μέχρι τῶν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Σολομῶνος βασιλείαν καιρῶν. τότε δὲ οἱ Ἐλεαζάρου πάλιν αὐτὴν ἀπέλαβον.

5. Now Eli was the first of the family of Ithamar, the other son of Aaron, that had the government; for the family of Eleazar officiated as high priest at first, the son still receiving that honor from the father which Eleazar bequeathed to his son Phineas; after whom Abiezer his son took the honor, and delivered it to his son, whose name was Bukki, from whom his son Ozi received it; after whom Eli, of whom we have been speaking, had the priesthood, and so he and his posterity until the thee of Solomon's reign; but then the posterity of Eleazar reassumed it.

Liber VI

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Φθορὰ Παλαιστίνων καὶ τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν ἐξ ὀργῆς τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὴν αἰχμαλωτευθεῖσαν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν κιβωτόν, καὶ τίνα τρόπον ἀπέπεμψαν αὐτὴν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις.

β. στρατεία Παλαιστίνων ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς καὶ νίκη Ἑβραίων Σαμουήλου στρατηγοῦντος αὐτῶν τοῦ προφήτου.

γ. ὡς Σαμουῆλος διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἀσθενὴς ὢν τὰ πράγματα διοικεῖν τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ ἐνεχείρισεν.

δ. ὡς οὐ καλῶς προισταμένων ἐκείνων τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ πλῆθος ὑπ᾽ ὀργῆς ᾐτήσατο βασιλεύεσθαι.

ε. Σαμουήλου πρὸς τοῦτο ἀγανάκτησις καὶ βασιλέως αὐτοῖς ἀνάδειξις Σαούλου τοὔνομα κελεύσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ.

ς. Σαούλου στρατεία ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀμμανιτῶν ἔθνος καὶ νίκη καὶ διαρπαγὴ τῶν πολεμίων.

ζ. ὡς στρατευσάμενοι πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι ἠττήθησαν.

η. Σαούλου πρὸς Ἀμαληκίτας πόλεμος καὶ νίκη.

θ. ὅτι παραβαίνοντος Σαούλου τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ προφήτου Σαμουῆλος ἄλλον ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα κρύφα Δαβίδην ὄνομα κατ᾽ ἐπιτροπὴν τοῦ θεοῦ.

ι. ὡς καὶ πάλιν ἐπεστράτευσαν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι ἔτι Σαούλου βασιλεύοντος.

ια. μονομαχία Δαβίδου τότε πρὸς Γολίαθον τὸν ἄριστον τῶν Παλαιστίνων καὶ ἀναίρεσις τοῦ Γολιάθου καὶ ἧττα τῶν Παλαιστίνων.

ιβ. ὡς θαυμάσας τὸν Δαβίδην τῆς ἀνδρείας συνῴκισεν αὐτῷ τὴν θυγατέρα Σαοῦλος.

ιγ. ὅτι μετὰ ταῦτα ὕποπτον αὐτῷ τὸν Δαβίδην γενόμενον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐσπούδασεν ἀποκτεῖναι.

ιδ. ὡς πολλάκις καὶ Δαβίδης κινδυνεύσας ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σαούλου διέφυγε καὶ Σαοῦλον δὶς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ γενόμενον ὥστε ἀνελεῖν οὐ διεχρήσατο.

ιε. ὡς στρατευσαμένων Παλαιστίνων πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἠττήθησαν οἱ Ἑβραῖοι τῇ μάχῃ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν Σαοῦλος ἀπέθανε μετὰ τῶν παίδων μαχόμενος.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν λβ.

BOOK VI. Containing The Interval Of Thirty-Two Years. — From The Death Of Eli To The Death Of Saul.

I

CHAPTER 1. The Destruction That Came Upon The Philistines, And Upon Their Land, By The Wrath Of Go On Account Of Their Having Carried The Ark Away Captive; And After What Manner They Sent It Back To The Hebrews.

(1) [1] Λαβόντες δ' οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι τὴν τῶν πολεμίων κιβωτὸν αἰχμάλωτον, ὡς προειρήκαμεν μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν, εἰς Ἄζωτον ἐκόμισαν πόλιν καὶ παρὰ τὸν αὐτῶν θεὸν ὥσπερ τι λάφυρον, Δαγὼν δ' οὗτος ἐκαλεῖτο, τιθέασι. [2] τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ πάντες ὑπὸ τὴν τῆς ἡμέρας ἀρχὴν εἰσιόντες εἰς τὸν ναὸν προσκυνῆσαι τὸν θεὸν ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν αὐτῷ τοῦτο ποιοῦντι τὴν κιβωτόν: ἔκειτο γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἀποπεπτωκὼς τῆς βάσεως, ἐφ' ἧς ἑστὼς διετέλει: καὶ βαστάσαντες πάλιν ἐφιστᾶσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ταύτης δυσφορήσαντες ἐπὶ τῷ γεγενημένῳ. πολλάκις δὲ φοιτῶντες παρὰ τὸν Δαγὼν καὶ καταλαμβάνοντες ὁμοίως ἐπὶ τοῦ προσκυνοῦντος τὴν κιβωτὸν σχήματος κείμενον ἐν ἀπορίᾳ δεινῇ καὶ συγχύσει καθίσταντο. [3] καὶ τελευταῖον ἀπέσκηψεν εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἀζωτίων πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν φθορὰν τὸ θεῖον καὶ νόσον: ἀπέθνησκον γὰρ ὑπὸ δυσεντερίας, πάθους χαλεποῦ καὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ὀξυτάτην ἐπιφέροντος πρὶν ἢ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῖς εὐθανάτως ἀπολυθῆναι τοῦ σώματος, τὰ ἐντὸς ἀναφέροντες [ἐξεμοῦντες] διαβεβρωμένα καὶ παντοίως ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου διεφθαρμένα: τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας μυῶν πλῆθος ἀνελθὸν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κατέβλαψε μήτε φυτῶν μήτε καρπῶν ἀποσχόμενον. [4] ἐν δὴ τούτοις ὄντες τοῖς κακοῖς οἱ Ἀζώτιοι καὶ πρὸς τὰς συμφορὰς ἀντέχειν οὐ δυνάμενοι συνῆκαν ἐκ τῆς κιβωτοῦ ταύτας αὐτοῖς ἀνασχεῖν, καὶ τὴν νίκην καὶ τὴν ταύτης αἰχμαλωσίαν οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ γεγενημένην. πέμπουσιν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀσκαλωνίτας ἀξιοῦντες τὴν κιβωτὸν αὐτοὺς παρὰ σφᾶς δέχεσθαι. [5] τοῖς δὲ οὐκ ἀηδὴς ἡ τῶν Ἀζωτίων δέησις προσέπεσεν, ἀλλ' ἐπινεύουσι μὲν αὐτοῖς τὴν χάριν, λαβόντες δὲ τὴν κιβωτὸν ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις δεινοῖς κατέστησαν: συνεξεκόμισε γὰρ αὐτῇ τὰ τῶν Ἀζωτίων ἡ κιβωτὸς πάθη πρὸς τοὺς ἀπ' ἐκείνων αὐτὴν δεχομένους: καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους παρ' αὐτῶν ἀποπέμπουσιν Ἀσκαλωνῖται. [6] μένει δ' οὐδὲ παρ' ἐκείνοις: ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν αὐτῶν παθῶν ἐλαυνόμενοι πρὸς τὰς ἐχομένας ἀπολύουσι πόλεις. καὶ τοῦτον ἐκπεριέρχεται τὸν τρόπον τὰς πέντε τῶν Παλαιστίνων πόλεις ἡ κιβωτὸς ὥσπερ δασμὸν ἀπαιτοῦσα παρ' ἑκάστης τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἐλθεῖν ἃ δι' αὐτὴν ἔπασχον.

1. When the Philistines had taken the ark of the Hebrews captive, as I said a little before, they carried it to the city of Ashdod, and put it by their own god, who

was called Dagon, as one of their spoils; but when they went into his temple the next morning to worship their god, they found him paying the same worship to the ark, for he lay along, as having fallen down from the basis whereon he had stood: so they took him up, and set him on his basis again, and were much troubled at what had happened; and as they frequently came to Dagon and found him still lying along, in a posture of adoration to the ark, they were in very great distress and confusion. At length God sent a very destructive disease upon the city and country of Ashdod, for they died of the dysentery or flux, a sore distemper, that brought death upon them very suddenly; for before the soul could, as usual in easy deaths, be well loosed from the body, they brought up their entrails, and vomited up what they had eaten, and what was entirely corrupted by the disease. And as to the fruits of their country, a great multitude of mice arose out of the earth and hurt them, and spared neither the plants nor the fruits. Now while the people of Ashdod were under these misfortunes, and were not able to support themselves under their calamities, they perceived that they suffered thus because of the ark, and that the victory they had gotten, and their having taken the ark captive, had not happened for their good; they therefore sent to the people of Askelon, and desired that they would receive the ark among them. This desire of the people of Ashdod was not disagreeable to those of Askelon, so they granted them that favor. But when they had gotten the ark, they were in the same miserable condition; for the ark carried along with it the disasters that the people of Ashdod had suffered, to those who received it from them. Those of Askelon also sent it away from themselves to others: nor did it stay among those others neither; for since they were pursued by the same disasters, they still sent it to the neighboring cities; so that the ark went round, after this manner, to the five cities of the Philistines, as though it exacted these disasters as a tribute to be paid it for its coming among them.

(2) [7] Ἀπειρηκότες δὲ τοῖς κακοῖς οἱ πεπειραμένοι καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν αὐτὰ διδασκαλία γινόμενοι τοῦ μὴ προσδέξασθαι τὴν κιβωτόν ποτε πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ μισθῷ καὶ τέλει, τὸ λοιπὸν ἐζήτουν μηχανὴν καὶ πόρον ἀπαλλαγῆς αὐτῆς. [8] καὶ συνελθόντες οἱ ἐκ τῶν [πέντε] πόλεων ἄρχοντες, Γίττης καὶ Ἀκάρων καὶ Ἀσκάλωνος ἔτι δὲ Γάζης καὶ Ἀζώτου, ἐσκόπουν τί δεῖ ποιεῖν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐδόκει τὴν κιβωτὸν ἀποπέμπειν τοῖς οἰκείοις, ὡς ὑπερεκδικοῦντος αὐτὴν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ συνεπιδημησάντων αὐτῇ τῶν δεινῶν διὰ τοῦτο καὶ συνεισβαλόντων μετ᾽ ἐκείνης εἰς τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν: [9] ἦσαν δὲ οἱ λέγοντες τοῦτο μὲν μὴ ποιεῖν μηδ᾽ ἐξαπατᾶσθαι τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν κακῶν εἰς ἐκείνην ἀναφέροντας: οὐ γὰρ ταύτην εἶναι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῇ καὶ τὴν ἰσχύν: οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποτ᾽ αὐτῆς κηδομένου τοῦ θεοῦ ὑποχείριον ἀνθρώποις γενέσθαι. ἡσυχάζειν δὲ καὶ πράως

ἔχειν ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι παρῄνουν αἰτίαν τούτων οὐκ ἄλλην ἢ μόνην λογιζομένους τὴν φύσιν, ἣ καὶ σώμασι καὶ γῇ καὶ φυτοῖς καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῆς συνεστῶσι κατὰ χρόνων περιόδους τίκτει τοιαύτας μεταβολάς. [10] νικᾷ δὲ τὰς προειρημένας γνώμας ἀνδρῶν ἔν τε τοῖς ἐπάνω χρόνοις συνέσει καὶ φρονήσει διαφέρειν πεπιστευμένων συμβουλία καὶ τότε μάλιστα δοξάντων: ἁρμοζόντως λέγειν τοῖς παροῦσιν, οἳ μήτ᾽ ἀποπέμπειν ἔφασαν τὴν κιβωτὸν μήτε κατασχεῖν, ἀλλὰ πέντε μὲν ἀνδριάντας ὑπὲρ ἑκάστης πόλεως χρυσοῦς ἀναθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ χαριστήριον, ὅτι προενόησεν αὐτῶν τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ κατέσχεν ἐν τῷ βίῳ διωκομένους ἐξ αὐτοῦ παθήμασιν, οἷς οὐκέτι ἦν ἀντιβλέψαι, τοσούτους δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν μύας χρυσοῦς τοῖς κατανεμηθεῖσιν αὐτῶν καὶ διαφθείρασι τὴν χώραν ἐμφερεῖς: [11] ἔπειτα βαλόντας εἰς γλωσσόκομον αὐτοὺς καὶ θέντας ἐπὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν ἅμαξαν αὐτῇ καινὴν κατασκευάσαι, καὶ βόας ὑποζεύξαντας ἀρτιτόκους τὰς μὲν πόρτις ἐγκλεῖσαι καὶ κατασχεῖν, μὴ ταῖς μητράσιν ἐμποδὼν ἐπόμεναι γένωνται, πόθῳ δ᾽ αὐτῶν ὀξυτέραν ποιῶνται τὴν πορείαν: ἐκείνας δ᾽ ἐξελάσαντας τὴν κιβωτὸν φερούσας ἐπὶ τριόδου καταλιπεῖν αὐταῖς ἐπιτρέψαντας ἣν βούλονται τῶν ὁδῶν ἀπελθεῖν: [12] κἂν μὲν τὴν Ἑβραίων ἀπίωσι καὶ τὴν τούτων χώραν ἀναβαίνωσιν, ὑπολαμβάνειν τὴν κιβωτὸν αἰτίαν τῶν κακῶν, ἂν δὲ ἄλλην τράπωνται, μεταδιώξωμεν αὐτὴν, ἔφασαν, μαθόντες ὅτι μηδεμίαν ἰσχὺν τοιαύτην ἔχει.

2. When those that had experienced these miseries were tired out with them, and when those that heard of them were taught thereby not to admit the ark among them, since they paid so dear a tribute for it, at length they sought for some contrivance and method how they might get free from it: so the governors of the five cities, Gath, and Ekron, and Askelon, as also of Gaza, and Ashclod, met together, and considered what was fit to be done; and at first they thought proper to send the ark back to its own people, as allowing that God had avenged its cause; that the miseries they had undergone came along with it, and that these were sent on their cities upon its account, and together with it. However, there were those that said they should not do so, nor suffer themselves to be deluded, as ascribing the cause of their miseries to it, because it could not have such power and force upon them; for, had God had such a regard to it, it would not have been delivered into the hands of men. So they exhorted them to be quiet, and to take patiently what had befallen them, and to suppose there was no other cause of it but nature, which, at certain revolutions of time, produces such mutations in the bodies of men, in the earth, in plants, and in all things that grow out of the earth. But the counsel that prevailed over those already described, was that of certain men, who were believed to have distinguished themselves in former times for their understanding and prudence, and who, in their present

circumstances, seemed above all the rest to speak properly. These men said it was not right either to send the ark away, or to retain it, but to dedicate five golden images, one for every city, as a thank-offering to God, on account of his having taken care of their preservation, and having kept them alive when their lives were likely to be taken away by such distempers as they were not able to bear up against. They also would have them make five golden mice like to those that devoured and destroyed their country to put them in a bag, and lay them upon the ark; to make them a new cart also for it, and to yoke milch kine to it but to shut up their calves, and keep them from them, lest, by following after them, they should prove a hinderance to their dams, and that the dams might return the faster out of a desire of those calves; then to drive these milch kine that carried the ark, and leave it at a place where three ways met, and So leave it to the kine to go along which of those ways they pleased; that in case they went the way to the Hebrews, and ascended to their country, they should suppose that the ark was the cause of their misfortunes; but if they turned into another road, they said, "We will pursue after it, and conclude that it has no such force in it."

(3) [13] Ἔκριναν δ' αὐτὰ καλῶς εἰρῆσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις εὐθὺς τὴν γνώμην ἐκύρωσαν. καὶ ποιήσαντες μὲν τὰ προειρημένα προάγουσιν [τὴν ἅμαξαν] ἐπὶ τὴν τρίοδον καὶ καταλιπόντες ἀνεχώρησαν, τῶν δὲ βοῶν τὴν ὀρθὴν ὁδὸν ὥσπερ ἡγουμένου τινὸς αὐταῖς ἀπιουσῶν ἠκολούθουν οἱ τῶν Παλαιστίνων ἄρχοντες, ποῦ ποτε στήσονται καὶ πρὸς τίνας ἥξουσι βουλόμενοι μαθεῖν. [14] κώμη δέ τίς ἐστι τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς Βήθης ὄνομα: εἰς ταύτην ἀφικνοῦνται αἱ βόες, καὶ πεδίου μεγάλου καὶ καλοῦ τὴν πορείαν αὐτῶν ἐκδεξαμένου παύονται προσωτέρω χωρεῖν στήσασαι τὴν ἅμαξαν αὐτόθι. θέα δὲ ἦν τοῖς ἐν τῇ κώμῃ καὶ περιχαρεῖς ἐγένοντο: θέρους γὰρ ὥρᾳ πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν συγκομιδὴν τῶν καρπῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρούραις ὑπάρχοντες ὡς εἶδον τὴν κιβωτὸν ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἁρπαγέντες καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἀφέντες ἔδραμον εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἅμαξαν. [15] καὶ καθελόντες τὴν κιβωτὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγγος, ὃ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας εἶχε καὶ τοὺς μύας, τιθέασιν ἐπί τινος πέτρας, ἥτις ἦν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, καὶ θύσαντες λαμπρῶς τῷ θεῷ καὶ κατευωχηθέντες τήν τε ἅμαξαν καὶ τοὺς βόας ὡλοκαύτωσαν. καὶ ταῦτ' ἰδόντες οἱ τῶν Παλαιστίνων ἄρχοντες ἀνέστρεψαν ὀπίσω.

3. So they determined that these men spake well; and they immediately confirmed their opinion by doing accordingly. And when they had done as has been already described, they brought the cart to a place where three ways met, and left it there and went their ways; but the kine went the right way, and as if some persons had driven them, while the rulers of the Philistines followed after them, as desirous to know where they would stand still, and to whom they would go. Now there was a certain village of the tribe of Judah, the name of which was Bethshemesh,

and to that village did the kine go; and though there was a great and good plain before them to proceed in, they went no farther, but stopped the cart there. This was a sight to those of that village, and they were very glad; for it being then summer-time, and all the inhabitants being then in the fields gathering in their fruits, they left off the labors of their hands for joy, as soon as they saw the ark, and ran to the cart, and taking the ark down, and the vessel that had the images in it, and the mice, they set them upon a certain rock which was in the plain; and when they had offered a splendid sacrifice to God, and feasted, they offered the cart and the kine as a burnt-offering: and when the lords of the Philistines saw this, they returned back.

(4) [16] Ὀργὴ δὲ καὶ χόλος τοῦ θεοῦ μέτεισιν ἑβδομήκοντα τῶν ἐκ τῆς Βήθης κώμης, οὓς οὐκ ὄντας ἀξίους ἅψασθαι τῆς κιβωτοῦ, ἱερεῖς γὰρ οὐκ ἦσαν, καὶ προσελθόντας αὐτῇ βαλὼν ἀπέκτεινεν. ἔκλαυσαν δὲ ταῦτα παθόντας αὐτοὺς οἱ κωμῆται, καὶ πένθος ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἤγειραν οἷον εἰκὸς ἐπὶ θεοπέμπτῳ κακῷ καὶ τὸν ἴδιον ἕκαστος ἀπεθρήνει: [17] τοῦ τε μένειν τὴν κιβωτὸν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀναξίους ἀποφαίνοντες αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑβραίων πέμψαντες ἐδήλουν ἀποδεδόσθαι τὴν κιβωτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Παλαιστίνων. κἀκεῖνοι γνόντες τοῦτο ἀποκομίζουσιν αὐτὴν εἰς Καριαθιαρεὶμ γείτονα πόλιν τῆς Βήθης κώμης. [18] ἔνθα τινὸς Λευίτου τὸ γένος Ἀμιναδάβου δόξαν ἔχοντος ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ θρησκείᾳ καταβιοῦντος εἰς οἰκίαν τὴν κιβωτὸν ἤγαγον, ὥσπερ εἰς πρέποντα τῷ θεῷ τόπον ἐν ᾧ κατῴκει δίκαιος ἄνθρωπος. ἐθεράπευον δὲ τὴν κιβωτὸν οἱ τούτου παῖδες καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας ταύτης ἕως ἐτῶν εἴκοσι προέστησαν: τοσαῦτα γὰρ ἔμεινεν ἐν τῇ Καριαθιαρεὶμ ποιήσασα παρὰ τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις μῆνας τέσσαρας.

4. But now it was that the wrath of God overtook them, and struck seventy persons of the village of Bethshemesh dead, who, not being priests, and so not worthy to touch the ark, had approached to it. Those of that village wept for these that had thus suffered, and made such a lamentation as was naturally to be expected on so great a misfortune that was sent from God; and every one mourned for his own relation. And since they acknowledged themselves unworthy of the ark's abode with them, they sent to the public senate of the Israelites, and informed them that the ark was restored by the Philistines; which when they knew, they brought it away to Kirjathjearim, a city in the neighborhood of Bethshemesh. In this city lived one Abinadab, by birth a Levite, and who was greatly commended for his righteous and religious course of life; so they brought the ark to his house, as to a place fit for God himself to abide in, since therein did inhabit a righteous man. His sons also ministered to the Divine service at the ark, and were the principal curators of it for twenty years; for so

many years it continued in Kirjathjearim, having been but four months with the Philistines.

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CHAPTER 2. The Expedition Of The Philistines Against The Hebrews And The Hebrews' Victory Under The Conduct Of Samuel The Prophet, Who Was Their General.

(1) [19] Τοῦ δὲ λαοῦ παντὸς ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, καθ' ὃν εἶχεν ἡ τῶν Καριαθιαρειμιτῶν πόλις τὴν κιβωτὸν, ἐπ' εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας τραπέντος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πολλὴν ἐμφανίζοντος τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν θρησκείαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν, ὁ προφήτης Σαμουῆλος ἰδὼν αὐτῶν τὴν προθυμίαν, ὡς εὔκαιρον πρὸς οὕτως ἔχοντας εἰπεῖν περὶ ἐλευθερίας καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ, χρῆται λόγοις οἷς ᾤετο μάλιστα τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν προσάξεσθαι καὶ πείσειν: [20] "ἄνδρες, γὰρ εἶπεν, οἷς ἔτι νῦν βαρεῖς μὲν πολέμιοι Παλαιστῖνοι, θεὸς δ' εὐμενὴς ἄρχεται γίνεσθαι καὶ φίλος, οὐκ ἐπιθυμεῖν ἐλευθερίας δεῖ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιεῖν δι' ὧν ἂν ἔλθοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, οὐδὲ βούλεσθαι μὲν ἀπηλλάχθαι δεσποτῶν ἐπιμένειν δὲ πράττοντας ἐξ ὧν οὗτοι διαμενοῦσιν: [21] ἀλλὰ γίνεσθε δίκαιοι, καὶ τὴν πονηρίαν ἐκβαλόντες τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ θεραπεύσαντες αὐτὴν ὅλαις ταῖς διανοίαις προστρέπεσθε τὸ θεῖον καὶ τιμῶντες διατελεῖτε: ταῦτα γὰρ ὑμῖν ποιοῦσιν ἥξει τὰ ἀγαθά, δουλείας ἀπαλλαγὴ καὶ νίκη πολεμίων, ἃ λαβεῖν οὔθ' ὅπλοις οὔτε σωμάτων ἀλκαῖς οὔτε πλήθει συμμάχων δυνατόν ἐστιν: οὐ γὰρ τούτοις ὁ θεὸς ὑπισχνεῖται παρέξειν αὐτά, τῷ δ' ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι καὶ δικαίους: ἐγγυητὴς δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν ὑποσχέσεων ἐγὼ γίνο [22] μαι." ταῦτ' εἰπόντος ἐπευφήμησε τὸ πλῆθος ἡσθὲν τῇ παραινέσει καὶ κατένευσεν αὐτὸ παρέξειν κεχαρισμένον τῷ θεῷ. συνάγει δ' αὐτοὺς ὁ Σαμουῆλος εἴς τινα πόλιν λεγομένην Μασφάτην: κατοπτευόμενον τοῦτο σημαίνει κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἑβραίων γλῶτταν: ἐντεῦθεν ὑδρευσάμενοί τε σπένδουσι τῷ θεῷ καὶ διανηστεύσαντες ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπ' εὐχὰς τρέπονται.

1. Now while the city of Kirjathjearim had the ark with them, the whole body of the people betook themselves all that time to offer prayers and sacrifices to God, and appeared greatly concerned and zealous about his worship. So Samuel the prophet, seeing how ready they were to do their duty, thought this a proper time to speak to them, while they were in this good disposition, about the recovery of their liberty, and of the blessings that accompanied the same. Accordingly he used such words to them as he thought were most likely to excite that inclination, and to persuade them to attempt it: "O you Israelites," said he, "to whom the Philistines are still grievous enemies, but to whom God begins to be gracious, it behooves you not only to be desirous of liberty, but to take the proper methods to obtain it. Nor are you to be contented with an inclination to

get clear of your lords and masters, while you still do what will procure your continuance under them. Be righteous then, and cast wickedness out of your souls, and by your worship supplicate the Divine Majesty with all your hearts, and persevere in the honor you pay to him; for if you act thus, you will enjoy prosperity; you will be freed from your slavery, and will get the victory over your enemies: which blessings it is not possible you should attain, either by weapons of war, or by the strength of your bodies, or by the multitude of your assistants; for God has not promised to grant these blessings by those means, but by being good and righteous men; and if you will be such, I will be security to you for the performance of God's promises." When Samuel had said thus, the multitude applauded his discourse, and were pleased with his exhortation to them, and gave their consent to resign themselves up to do what was pleasing to God. So Samuel gathered them together to a certain city called Mizpeh, which, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies a watch-tower; there they drew water, and poured it out to God, and fasted all day, and betook themselves to their prayers.

(2) [23] Οὐ λανθάνουσι δὲ τοὺς Παλαιστίνους ἐκεῖ συναχθέντες, ἀλλὰ μαθόντες οὗτοι τὴν ἄθροισιν αὐτῶν μεγάλῃ στρατιᾷ καὶ δυνάμει κατ᾽ ἐλπίδα τοῦ μὴ προσδοκῶσι μηδὲ παρεσκευασμένοις ἐπιπεσεῖσθαι τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐπέρχονται. [24] καταπλήττει δ᾽ αὐτοὺς τοῦτο καὶ εἰς ταραχὴν ἄγει καὶ δέος, καὶ δραμόντες πρὸς Σαμουῆλον, ἀναπεπτωκέναι τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ὑπὸ φόβου καὶ τῆς προτέρας ἥττης ἔφασκον καὶ διὰ τοῦτ᾽ ἠρεμεῖν, ἵνα μὴ κινήσωμεν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων δύναμιν, σοῦ δ᾽ ἀναγαγόντος ἡμᾶς ἐπ᾽ εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας καὶ ὅρκους γυμνοῖς καὶ ἀνόπλοις ἐπεστράτευσαν οἱ πολέμιοι: ἐλπὶς οὖν ἡμῖν οὐκ ἄλλη σωτηρίας, ἢ μόνη ἡ παρὰ σοῦ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ [25] ἱκετευθέντος ὑπὸ σοῦ παρασχεῖν ἡμῖν διαφυγεῖν Παλαιστίνους." ὁ δὲ θαρρεῖν τε προτρέπεται καὶ βοηθήσειν αὐτοῖς τὸν θεὸν ἐπαγγέλλεται καὶ λαβὼν ἄρνα γαλαθηνόν, ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄχλων θύει καὶ παρακαλεῖ τὸν θεὸν ὑπερσχεῖν αὐτῶν τὴν δεξιὰν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Παλαιστίνους μάχῃ καὶ μὴ περιιδεῖν αὐτοὺς δεύτερον δυστυχήσαντας. ἐπήκοος δὲ γίνεται τῶν εὐχῶν ὁ θεὸς, καὶ προσδεξάμενος εὐμενεῖ καὶ συμμάχῳ τῇ διανοίᾳ τὴν θυσίαν ἐπινεύει νίκην αὐτοῖς καὶ κράτος. [26] ἔτι δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὴν θυσίαν ἔχοντος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μήπω πᾶσαν διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς φλογὸς ἀπειληφότος προῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἡ τῶν πολεμίων δύναμις καὶ παρατάσσεται εἰς μάχην, ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι μὲν νίκης, ὡς ἀπειλημμένων ἐν ἀπορίᾳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων μήτε ὅπλα ἐχόντων μήτε ὡς ἐπὶ μάχῃ ἐκεῖσε ἀπηντηκότων, περιπίπτουσι δὲ οἷς οὐδ᾽ εἰ προύλεγέ τις ῥᾳδίως ἐπείσθησαν. [27] πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς κλονεῖ σεισμῷ καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτοῖς ὑπότρομον καὶ σφαλερὰν κινήσας τίθησιν, ὡς σαλευομένης τε τὰς βάσεις ὑποφέρεσθαι καὶ διισταμένης εἰς ἔνια τῶν χασμάτων καταφέρεσθαι, ἔπειτα βρονταῖς καταψοφήσας καὶ διαπύροις ἀστραπαῖς ὡς καταφλέξων αὐτῶν

τὰς ὄψεις περιλάμψας καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἐκκροτήσας τὰ ὅπλα, γυμνοὺς εἰς φυγὴν ἀπέστρεψεν. [28] ἐπεξέρχεται δὲ Σαμουῆλος μετὰ τῆς πληθύος καὶ πολλοὺς κατασφάξας κατακολουθεῖ μέχρι Κορραίων τόπου τινὸς οὕτω λεγομένου, καὶ καταπήξας ἐκεῖ λίθον ὥσπερ ὅρον τῆς νίκης καὶ τῆς φυγῆς τῶν πολεμίων, ἰσχυρὸν αὐτὸν προσαγορεύει σύμβολον τῆς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γενομένης αὐτοῖς κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἰσχύος.

2. This their assembly did not escape the notice of the Philistines: so when they had learned that so large a company had met together, they fell upon the Hebrews with a great army and mighty forces, as hoping to assault them when they did not expect it, nor were prepared for it. This thing affrighted the Hebrews, and put them into disorder and terror; so they came running to Samuel, and said that their souls were sunk by their fears, and by the former defeat they had received, and "that thence it was that we lay still, lest we should excite the power of our enemies against us. Now while thou hast brought us hither to offer up our prayers and sacrifices, and take oaths [to be obedient], our enemies are making an expedition against us, while we are naked and unarmed; wherefore we have no other hope of deliverance but that by thy means, and by the assistance God shall afford us upon thy prayers to him, we shall obtain deliverance from the Philistines." Hereupon Samuel bade them be of good cheer, and promised them that God would assist them; and taking a sucking lamb, he sacrificed it for the multitude, and besought God to hold his protecting hand over them when they should fight with the Philistines, and not to overlook them, nor suffer them to come under a second misfortune. Accordingly God hearkened to his prayers, and accepting their sacrifice with a gracious intention, and such as was disposed to assist them, he granted them victory and power over their enemies. Now while the altar had the sacrifice of God upon it, and had not yet consumed it wholly by its sacred fire, the enemy's army marched out of their camp, and was put in order of battle, and this in hope that they should be conquerors, since the Jews were caught in distressed circumstances, as neither having their weapons with them, nor being assembled there in order to fight. But things so fell out, that they would hardly have been credited though they had been foretold by anybody: for, in the first place, God disturbed their enemies with an earthquake, and moved the ground under them to such a degree, that he caused it to tremble, and made them to shake, insomuch that by its trembling, he made some unable to keep their feet, and made them fall down, and by opening its chasms, he caused that others should be hurried down into them; after which he caused such a noise of thunder to come among them, and made fiery lightning shine so terribly round about them, that it was ready to burn their faces; and he

so suddenly shook their weapons out of their hands, that he made them fly and return home naked. So Samuel with the multitude pursued them to Bethcar, a place so called; and there he set up a stone as a boundary of their victory and their enemies' flight, and called it the Stone of Power, as a signal of that power God had given them against their enemies.

(3) [29] Οἱ δὲ μετ' ἐκείνην τὴν πληγὴν οὐκέτ' ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ δέους καὶ μνήμης τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἡσύχαζον: ὃ δ' ἦν πάλαι θάρσος τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους, τοῦτ' ἐκείνων μετὰ τὴν νίκην ἐγένετο. [30] καὶ Σαμουῆλος στρατεύσας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀναιρεῖ πολλοὺς καὶ τὰ φρονήματ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ταπεινοῖ καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀφαιρεῖται, ἣν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπετέμοντο πρότερον κρατήσαντες τῇ μάχῃ: αὕτη δ' ἦν μέχρι πόλεως Ἀκάρων ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς Γίττης ὅρων ἐκτεταμένη. ἦν δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν φίλια τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις τὰ ὑπολειπόμενα τῶν Χαναναίων.

3. So the Philistines, after this stroke, made no more expeditions against the Israelites, but lay still out of fear, and out of remembrance of what had befallen them; and what courage the Philistines had formerly against the Hebrews, that, after this victory, was transferred to the Hebrews. Samuel also made an expedition against the Philistines, and slew many of them, and entirely humbled their proud hearts, and took from them that country, which, when they were formerly conquerors in battle, they had cut off from the Jews, which was the country that extended from the borders of Gath to the city of Ekron: but the remains of the Canaanites were at this time in friendship with the Israelites.

III

CHAPTER 3. How Samuel When He Was So Infirm With Old Age That He Could Not Take Care Of The Public Affairs Intrusted Them To His Sons; And How Upon The Evil Administration Of The Government By Them The Multitude Were So Angry, That They Required To Have A King To Govern Them, Although Samuel Was Much Displeased Thereat.

(1) [31] Ὁ δὲ προφήτης Σαμουῆλος διακοσμήσας τὸν λαὸν καὶ πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἀποδοὺς εἰς ταύτην ἐκέλευσε συνερχομένοις περὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους κρίνεσθαι διαφορῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ δι᾽ ἔτους ἐπερχόμενος τὰς πόλεις ἐδίκαζεν αὐτοῖς καὶ πολλὴν ἐβράβευεν εὐνομίαν ἐπὶ χρόνον πολύν.

1. But Samuel the prophet, when he had ordered the affairs of the people after a convenient manner, and had appointed a city for every district of them, he commanded them to come to such cities, to have the controversies that they had one with another determined in them, he himself going over those cities twice in a year, and doing them justice; and by that means he kept them in very good order for a long time.

(2) [32] ἔπειθ᾽ ὑπὸ γήρως βαρυνόμενος καὶ τὰ συνήθη πράττειν ἐμποδιζόμενος τοῖς υἱοῖς τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν προστασίαν τοῦ ἔθνους παραδίδωσιν, ὧν ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος Ἰοῦλος προσηγορεύετο, τῷ δὲ νεωτέρῳ Ἐβίᾳ ὄνομα ἦν. προσέταξε δὲ τὸν μὲν ἐν Βεθήλῳ πόλει καθεζόμενον κρίνειν, τὸν δ᾽ ἕτερον ἐν Βερσουβεὶ μερίσας τὸν ὑπακουσόμενον ἑκατέρῳ λαόν. [33] ἐγένοντο δὲ σαφὲς οὗτοι παράδειγμα καὶ τεκμήριον τοῦ μὴ τὸν τρόπον ὁμοίους τοῖς φύσασι γίνεσθαί τινας, ἀλλὰ τάχα μὲν χρηστοὺς καὶ μετρίους ἐκ πονηρῶν, τότε μέν γε φαύλους ἐξ ἀγαθῶν παρέσχον αὐτοὺς γενομένους: [34] τῶν γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐκτραπόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ὁδὸν ἀπελθόντες δώρων καὶ λημμάτων αἰσχρῶν καθυφίεντο τὸ δίκαιον, καὶ τὰς κρίσεις οὐ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ κέρδος ποιούμενοι καὶ πρὸς τρυφὴν καὶ πρὸς διαίτας πολυτελεῖς ἀπονενευκότες πρῶτον μὲν ὑπεναντία ταῦτα ἔπρασσον τῷ θεῷ, δεύτερον δὲ τῷ προφήτῃ πατρὶ δ᾽ ἑαυτῶν, ὃς πολλὴν καὶ τοῦ τὸ πλῆθος εἶναι δίκαιον σπουδὴν εἰσεφέρετο καὶ πρόνοιαν.

2. But afterwards he found himself oppressed with old age, and not able to do what he used to do, so he committed the government and the care of the

multitude to his sons, — the elder of whom was called Joel, and the name of the younger was Abiah. He also enjoined them to reside and judge the people, the one at the city of Bethel, and the other at Beersheba, and divided the people into districts that should be under the jurisdiction of each of them. Now these men afford us an evident example and demonstration how some children are not of the like dispositions with their parents; but sometimes perhaps good and moderate, though born of wicked parents; and sometimes showing themselves to be wicked, though born of good parents: for these men turning aside from their father's good courses, and taking a course that was contrary to them, perverted justice for the 'filthy lucre of gifts and bribes, and made their determinations not according to truth, but according to bribery, and turned aside to luxury, and a costly way of living; so that as, in the first place, they practiced what was contrary to the will of God, so did they, in the second place, what was contrary to the will of the prophet their father, who had taken a great deal of care, and made a very careful provision that the multitude should be righteous.

(3) [35] Ὁ δὲ λαὸς ἐξυβριζόντων [εἰς] τὴν προτέραν κατάστασιν καὶ πολιτείαν τῶν τοῦ προφήτου παίδων χαλεπῶς τε τοῖς πραττομένοις ἔφερε καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν συντρέχουσι, διέτριβε δ' ἐν Ἀρμαθᾶ πόλει, καὶ τάς τε τῶν υἱῶν παρανομίας ἔλεγον καὶ ὅτι γηραιὸς ὢν αὐτὸς ἤδη καὶ παρειμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου τῶν πραγμάτων οὐκέτι τὸν αὐτὸν προεστάναι δύναται τρόπον: ἐδέοντό τε καὶ ἱκέτευον ἀποδεῖξαί τινα αὐτῶν βασιλέα, ὃς ἄρξει τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τιμωρήσεται Παλαιστίνους ὀφείλοντας ἔτ' αὐτοῖς δίκας τῶν προτέρων ἀδικημάτων. [36] ἐλύπησαν δὲ σφόδρα τὸν Σαμουῆλον οἱ λόγοι διὰ τὴν σύμφυτον δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέας μῖσος: ἥττητο γὰρ δεινῶς τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ὡς θείας καὶ μακαρίους ποιούσης τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτῆς τῇ πολιτείᾳ. [37] ὑπὸ δὲ φροντίδος καὶ βασάνου τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις οὔτε τροφῆς ἐμνημόνευσεν οὔτε ὕπνου, δι' ὅλης δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς στρέφων τὰς περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐννοίας διεκαρτέρει.

3. But the people, upon these injuries offered to their former constitution and government by the prophet's sons, were very uneasy at their actions, and came running to the prophet, who then lived at the city Ramah, and informed him of the transgressions of his sons; and said, That as he was himself old already, and too infirm by that age of his to oversee their affairs in the manner he used to do, so they begged of him, and entreated him, to appoint some person to be king over them, who might rule over the nation, and avenge them of the Philistines, who ought to be punished for their former oppressions. These words greatly afflicted Samuel, on account of his innate love of justice, and his hatred to kingly government, for he was very fond of an aristocracy, as what made the men that

used it of a divine and happy disposition; nor could he either think of eating or sleeping, out of his concern and torment of mind at what they had said, but all the night long did he continue awake and revolved these notions in his mind.

(4) [38] Ἔχοντι δὲ οὕτως ἐμφανίζεται τὸ θεῖον καὶ παραμυθεῖται μὴ δυσφορεῖν ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἠξίωσε τὸ πλῆθος, ὡς οὐκ ἐκεῖνον ὑπερηφανήσοντας ἀλλ᾽ ἑαυτὸν, εἰ μὴ βασιλεύσει μόνος: ταῦτα δὲ ἀφ᾽ ἧς ἡμέρας ἐξήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἀπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου μηχανᾶσθαι τὰ ἔργα: λήψεσθαι μέντοι γε οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν μετάνοιαν αὐτοὺς ἐπίπονον, ὑφ᾽ ἧς οὐδὲν μὲν ἀγένητον ἔσται τῶν ἐσομένων, ἐλεγχθήσονται δὲ καταφρονήσαντες καὶ βουλὰς οὐκ εὐχαρίστους πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ τὴν σὴν προφητείαν λαβόντες. [39] κελεύω δή σε χειροτονεῖν αὐτοῖς ὃν ἂν ἐγὼ προείπω βασιλέα προδηλώσαντα ποταπῶν τε πειραθήσονται βασιλευόμενοι κακῶν καὶ διαμαρτυράμενον ἐφ᾽ οἵαν σπεύδουσι μεταβολήν.”

4. While he was thus disposed, God appeared to him, and comforted him, saying, That he ought not to be uneasy at what the multitude desired, because it was not he, but Himself whom they so insolently despised, and would not have to be alone their king; that they had been contriving these things from the very day that they came out of Egypt; that however in no long time they would sorely repent of what they did, which repentance yet could not undo what was thus done for futurity; that they would be sufficiently rebuked for their contempt, and the ungrateful conduct they have used towards me, and towards thy prophetic office. “So I command thee to ordain them such a one as I shall name beforehand to be their king, when thou hast first described what mischiefs kingly government will bring upon them, and openly testified before them into what a great change of affairs they are hasting.”

(5) [40] Ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας Σαμουῆλος ἅμα ἕῳ συγκαλέσας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀποδείξειν αὐτοῖς βασιλέα ὡμολόγησεν, ἔφη δὲ δεῖν πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐκδιηγήσασθαι τὰ παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἐσόμενα καὶ ὅσοις συνενεχθήσονται κακοῖς: “γινώσκετε γὰρ ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ὑμῶν ἀποσπάσουσι τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἁρματηλάτας εἶναι κελεύσουσι, τοὺς δ᾽ ἱππεῖς καὶ σωματοφύλακας, δρομεῖς δὲ ἄλλους καὶ χιλιάρχους καὶ ἑκατοντάρχους, ποιήσουσι δὲ καὶ τεχνίτας ὁπλοποιοὺς καὶ ἁρματοποιοὺς καὶ ὀργάνων τέκτονας γεωργούς τε καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἀγρῶν ἐπιμελητὰς καὶ σκαπανεῖς ἀμπέλων, [41] καὶ οὐδέν ἐστιν ὃ μὴ κελευόμενοι ποιήσουσιν ἀνδραπόδων ἀργυρωνήτων τρόπον: καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας δ᾽ ὑμῶν μυρεψοὺς ἀποφανοῦσι καὶ ὀψοποιοὺς καὶ σιτοποιούς, καὶ πᾶν ἔργον ὃ θεραπαινίδες ἐξ ἀνάγκης πληγὰς φοβούμεναι καὶ βασάνους ὑπηρετήσουσι. κτῆσιν δὲ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀφαιρήσονται καὶ ταύτην εὐνούχοις καὶ σωματοφύλαξι δωρήσονται καὶ βοσκημάτων ἀγέλας τοῖς αὐτῶν προσνεμοῦσι. [42] συνελόντι δ᾽

εἰπεῖν, δουλεύσετε μετὰ πάντων τῶν ὑμετέρων τῷ βασιλεῖ σὺν τοῖς αὐτῶν οἰκέταις: ὃς γενόμενος μνήμην ὑμῖν τῶνδε τῶν λόγων γεννήσει καὶ τῷ πάσχειν αὐτὰ μεταγινώσκοντας ἱκετεῦσαι τὸν θεὸν ἐλεῆσαί τε ὑμᾶς καὶ δωρήσασθαι ταχεῖαν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν βασιλέων: ὁ δ' οὐ προσδέξεται τὰς δεήσεις, ἀλλὰ παραπέμψας ἐάσει δίκην ὑποσχεῖν ὑμᾶς τῆς αὐτῶν κακοβουλίας."

5. When Samuel had heard this, he called the Jews early in the morning, and confessed to them that he was to ordain them a king; but he said that he was first to describe to them what would follow, what treatment they would receive from their kings, and with how many mischiefs they must struggle. "For know ye," said he, "that, in the first place, they will take your sons away from you, and they will command some of them to be drivers of their chariots, and some to be their horsemen, and the guards of their body, and others of them to be runners before them, and captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds; they will also make them their artificers, makers of armor, and of chariots, and of instruments; they will make them their husbandmen also, and the curators of their own fields, and the diggers of their own vineyards; nor will there be any thing which they will not do at their commands, as if they were slaves bought with money. They will also appoint your daughters to be confectioners, and cooks, and bakers; and these will be obliged to do all sorts of work which women slaves, that are in fear of stripes and torments, submit to. They will, besides this, take away your possessions, and bestow them upon their eunuchs, and the guards of their bodies, and will give the herds of your cattle to their own servants: and to say briefly all at once, you, and all that is yours, will be servants to your king, and will become no way superior to his slaves; and when you suffer thus, you will thereby be put in mind of what I now say. And when you repent of what you have done, you will beseech God to have mercy upon you, and to grant you a quick deliverance from your kings; but he will not accept your prayers, but will neglect you, and permit you to suffer the punishment your evil conduct has deserved."

(6) [43] Ἦν δ' ἄρα καὶ πρὸς τὰς προρρήσεις τῶν συμβησομένων ἀνόητον τὸ πλῆθος καὶ δύσκολον ἐξελεῖν τῆς διανοίας κρίσιν ἤδη παρὰ τῷ λογισμῷ καθιδρυμένην: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπεστράφησαν οὐδ' ἐμέλησεν αὐτοῖς τῶν Σαμουήλου λόγων, ἀλλ' ἐνέκειντο λιπαρῶς καὶ χειροτονεῖν ἠξίουν ἤδη τὸν βασιλέα καὶ μὴ φροντίζειν τῶν ἐσομένων: [44] ἐπὶ γὰρ τιμωρίᾳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀνάγκη τὸν πολεμήσοντα σὺν αὐτοῖς ἔχειν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄτοπον εἶναι τῶν πλησιοχώρων βασιλευομένων τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν αὐτοὺς πολιτείαν. ὁρῶν δ' αὐτοὺς μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν προειρημένων ἀπεστραμμένους ὁ Σαμουῆλος, ἀλλ' ἐπιμένοντας "νῦν μὲν, εἶπεν, ἄπιτε πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἕκαστος, μεταπέμψομαι δὲ ὑμᾶς εἰς δέον, ὅταν μάθω παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τίνα δίδωσιν ὑμῖν βασιλέα."

6. But the multitude was still so foolish as to be deaf to these predictions of what would befall them; and too peevish to suffer a determination which they had injudiciously once made, to be taken out of their mind; for they could not be turned from their purpose, nor did they regard the words of Samuel, but peremptorily insisted on their resolution, and desired him to ordain them a king immediately, and not trouble himself with fears of what would happen hereafter, for that it was necessary they should have with them one to fight their battles, and to avenge them of their enemies, and that it was no way absurd, when their neighbors were under kingly government, that they should have the same form of government also. So when Samuel saw that what he had said had not diverted them from their purpose, but that they continued resolute, he said, "Go you every one home for the present; when it is fit I will send for you, as soon as I shall have learned from God who it is that he will give you for your king."

IV

CHAPTER 4. The Appointment Of A King Over The Israelites, Whose Name Was Saul; And This By The Command Of God.

(1) [45] Ἦν δέ τις ἐκ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς ἀνὴρ εὖ γεγονὼς καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὸ ἦθος, Κεὶς ὄνομα: τούτῳ παῖς ὑπῆρχεν, ἦν δὲ νεανίας τὴν μορφὴν ἄριστος καὶ τὸ σῶμα μέγας τό τε φρόνημα καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀμείνων τῶν βλεπομένων: Σαοῦλον αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν. [46] οὗτος ὁ Κείς, ὄνων αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς νομῆς καλῶν ἀποπλανηθεισῶν, ἤδετο γὰρ αὐταῖς ὡς οὐκ ἄλλῳ τινὶ τῶν κτημάτων, τὸν υἱὸν μεθ᾽ ἑνὸς θεράποντος ἐπὶ ζήτησιν τῶν κτηνῶν ἐξέπεμψεν: ὁ δ᾽ ἐπεὶ τὴν πάτριον περιῆλθε φυλὴν εἰς τὰς ἄλλας ἀφίκετο, οὐδ᾽ ἐν ταύταις δ᾽ ἐπιτυχὼν ἀπιέναι διεγνώκει, μὴ ποιήσῃ περὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ πατρὶ λοιπὸν φροντίδα. [47] τοῦ δ᾽ ἑπομένου θεράποντος ὡς ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὴν Ἀραμαθὰ πόλιν εἶναι προφήτην ἐν αὐτῇ φήσαντος ἀληθῆ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν βαδίζειν συμβουλεύσαντος, γνώσεσθαι γὰρ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὸ περὶ τῶν ὄνων τέλος, οὐθὲν ἔχειν πορευθέντας εἶπεν ἀντὶ τῆς προφητείας ὃ παράσχωσιν αὐτῷ: κεκενῶσθαι γὰρ ἤδη τῶν ἐφοδίων. [48] τοῦ δ᾽ οἰκέτου τέταρτον αὐτῷ παρεῖναι σίκλου φήσαντος καὶ τοῦτο δώσειν, ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀγνοίας τοῦ μὴ λαμβάνειν τὸν προφήτην μισθὸν ἐπλανῶντο, παραγίνονται καὶ πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις παρατυγχάνοντες παρθένοις ἐφ᾽ ὕδωρ βαδιζούσαις ἐρωτῶσιν αὐτὰς τοῦ προφήτου τὴν οἰκίαν. αἱ δὲ σημαίνουσι καὶ σπεύδειν παρεκελεύσαντο πρὶν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ δεῖπνον κατακλιθῆναι: πολλοὺς γὰρ ἑστιᾶν καὶ προκατακλίνεσθαι τῶν κεκλημένων. [49] ὁ δὲ Σαμουῆλος διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίαν τότε συνήγαγε: δεομένῳ γὰρ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ προειπεῖν τίνα ποιήσει βασιλέα τῇ παρελθούσῃ τοῦτον μηνύσαντος, πέμψειν γὰρ αὐτός τινα νεανίσκον ἐκ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς κατὰ τήνδε τὴν ὥραν, αὐτὸς [μὲν] ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος καθεζόμενος ἐξεδέχετο τὸν καιρὸν γενέσθαι, πληρωθέντος δ᾽ αὐτοῦ καταβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐπορεύετο. [50] συναντᾷ δὲ τῷ Σαούλῳ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ σημαίνει τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν ἄρξειν μέλλοντα. Σαοῦλος δὲ πρόσεισι τῷ Σαμουήλῳ καὶ προσαγορεύσας ἐδεῖτο μηνύειν τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ προφήτου: ξένος γὰρ ὢν ἀγνοεῖν ἔφασκε. [51] τοῦ δὲ Σαμουήλου αὐτὸν εἶναι φράσαντος καὶ ἄγοντος ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, ὡς τῶν ὄνων ἐφ᾽ ὧν τὴν ζήτησιν ἐκπεμφθείη σεσωσμένων τά τε πάντα ἀγαθὰ ἔχειν αὐτῷ κεκυρωμένα, προστυχὼν “ἀλλ᾽ ἧττων, εἶπεν, ἐγὼ, δέσποτα, ταύτης τῆς ἐλπίδος καὶ φυλῆς μικροτέρας ἢ βασιλέας ποιεῖν καὶ πατριᾶς ταπεινοτέρας τῶν ἄλλων πατριῶν. σὺ δὲ παίζεις καὶ γέλωτά με τίθεσαι περὶ μειζόνων ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν χώραν διαλεγόμενος. [52] ὁ δὲ προφήτης ἀγαγὼν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίαν κατακλίνει καὶ τὸν ἀκόλουθον ἐπάνω τῶν κεκλημένων: οὗτοι δ᾽ ἦσαν ἑβδομήκοντα τὸν

ἀριθμόν: προστάσσει δὲ τοῖς διακόνοις παραθεῖναι τῷ Σαούλῳ μερίδα βασιλικήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κοίτης ὥρα προσῆγεν οἱ μὲν ἀναστάντες ἀπελύοντο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἕκαστοι, ὁ δὲ Σαοῦλος παρὰ τῷ προφήτῃ σὺν τῷ θεράποντι κατεκοιμήθη.

1. Ther was one of the tribe of Benjamin, a man of a good family, and of a virtuous disposition; his name was Kish. He had a son, a young man of a comely countenance, and of a tall body, but his understanding and his mind were preferable to what was visible in him: they called him Saul. Now this Kish had some fine she-asses that were wandered out of the pasture wherein they fed, for he was more delighted with these than with any other cattle he had; so he sent out his son, and one servant with him, to search for the beasts; but when he had gone over his own tribe in search after the asses, he went to other tribes, and when he found them not there neither, he determined to go his way home, lest he should occasion any concern to his father about himself. But when his servant that followed him told him as they were near the city of Ramah, that there was a true prophet in that city, and advised him to go to him, for that by him they should know the upshot of the affair of their asses, he replied, That if they should go to him, they had nothing to give him as a reward for his prophecy, for their subsistence money was spent. The servant answered, that he had still the fourth part of a shekel, and he would present him with that; for they were mistaken out of ignorance, as not knowing that the prophet received no such reward So they went to him; and when they were before the gates, they lit upon certain maidens that were going to fetch water, and they asked them which was the prophet's house. They showed them which it was; and bid them make haste before he sat down to supper, for he had invited many guests to a feast, and that he used to sit down before those that were invited. Now Samuel had then gathered many together to feast with him on this very account; for while he every day prayed to God to tell him beforehand whom he would make king, he had informed him of this man the day before, for that he would send him a certain young man out of the tribe of Benjamin about this hour of the day; and he sat on the top of the house in expectation of that time's being come. And when the time was completed, he came down and went to supper; so he met with Saul, and God discovered to him that this was he who should rule over them. Then Saul went up to Samuel and saluted him, and desired him to inform him which was the prophet's house; for he said he was a stranger and did not know it. When Samuel had told him that he himself was the person, he led him in to supper, and assured him that the asses were found which he had been to seek, and that the greatest of good things were assured to him: he replied, "I am too inconsiderable to hope for any such thing, and of a tribe to small to have kings made out of it,

and of a family smaller than several other families; but thou tellest me this in jest, and makest me an object of laughter, when thou discoursest with me of greater matters than what I stand in need of." However, the prophet led him in to the feast, and made him sit down, him and his servant that followed him, above the other guests that were invited, which were seventy in number and he gave orders to the servants to set the royal portion before Saul. And when the time of going to bed was come, the rest rose up, and every one of them went home; but Saul staid with the prophet, he and his servant, and slept with him.

(2) [53] Ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ Σαμουῆλος ἀναστήσας αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς κοίτης προύπεμπε καὶ γενόμενος ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐκέλευσε τὸν μὲν θεράποντα ποιῆσαι προελθεῖν, ὑπολείπεσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν: ἔχειν γὰρ αὐτῷ τι φράσαι [μηδενὸς ἄλλου παρόντος]. [54] καὶ ὁ μὲν Σαοῦλος ἀποπέμπεται τὸν ἀκόλουθον, λαβὼν δ' ὁ προφήτης τὸ ἅγιον ἔλαιον καταχεῖ τῆς τοῦ νεανίσκου κεφαλῆς καὶ κατασπασάμενος "ἴσθι, φησὶ, βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κεχειροτονημένος ἐπί τε Παλαιστίνους καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ Ἑβραίων ἄμυναν. τούτων δὲ ἔσται σοι σημεῖον ὅ σε βούλομαι προγινώσκειν: [55] ὅταν ἀπέλθῃς ἐντεῦθεν καταλήψῃ τρεῖς ἀνθρώπους ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ προσκυνῆσαι τῷ θεῷ πορευομένους εἰς Βέθηλα, ὧν τὸν μὲν πρῶτον τρεῖς ἄρτους ὄψει κομίζοντα, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἔριφον, ὁ τρίτος δὲ ἀσκὸν οἴνου φέρων ἀκολουθήσει. ἀσπάσονταί δέ σε οὗτοι καὶ φιλοφρονήσονται καὶ δώσουσί σοι ἄρτους δύο, σὺ δὲ λήψῃ. [56] κἀκεῖθεν ἥξεις εἰς τὸ Ῥαχήλας καλούμενον μνημεῖον, ὅπου συμβαλεῖς τῷ σεσῶσθαί σου τὰς ὄνους εὐαγγελιουμένῳ: ἔπειτ' ἐκεῖθεν ἐλθὼν εἰς Γεβαθὰ προφήταις ἐκκλησιάζουσιν ἐπιτεύξῃ καὶ γενόμενος ἔνθεος προφητεύσεις σὺν αὐτοῖς, ὡς πάνθ' ὅντιν' ὁρῶντα ἐκπλήττεσθαί τε καὶ θαυμάζειν λέγοντα "πόθεν εἰς τοῦτο εὐδαιμονίας ὁ Κεισαίου παῖς παρῆλθεν;" ὅταν δέ σοι ταῦτα γένηται τὰ σημεῖα, [57] τὸν θεὸν ἴσθι μετὰ σοῦ τυγχάνοντα, ἄσπασαί τε τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς. ἥξεις δὲ μετάπεμπτος εἰς Γάλγαλα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἵνα χαριστήρια τούτων θύσωμεν τῷ θεῷ." φράσας ταῦτα καὶ προειπὼν ἀποπέμπει τὸν νεανίσκον: τῷ Σαούλῳ δὲ πάντα κατὰ τὴν Σαμουήλου προφητείαν ἀπήντησεν.

2. Now as soon as it was day, Samuel raised up Saul out of his bed, and conducted him homeward; and when he was out of the city, he desired him to cause his servant to go before, but to stay behind himself, for that he had somewhat to say to him when nobody else was present. Accordingly, Saul sent away his servant that followed him; then did the prophet take a vessel of oil, and poured it upon the head of the young man, and kissed him, and said, "Be thou a king, by the ordination of God, against the Philistines, and for avenging the Hebrews for what they have suffered by them; of this thou shalt have a sign, which I would have thee take notice of: — As soon as thou art departed hence,

thou will find three men upon the road, going to worship God at Bethel; the first of whom thou wilt see carrying three loaves of bread, the second carrying a kid of the goats, and the third will follow them carrying a bottle of wine. These three men will salute thee, and speak kindly to thee, and will give thee two of their loaves, which thou shalt accept of. And thence thou shalt come to a place called Rachel's Monument, where thou shalt meet with those that will tell thee thy asses are found; after this, when thou comest to Gabatha, thou shalt overtake a company of prophets, and thou shalt be seized with the Divine Spirit, and prophesy along with them, till every one that sees thee shall be astonished, and wonder, and say, Whence is it that the son of Kish has arrived at this degree of happiness? And when these signs have happened to thee, know that God is with thee; then do thou salute thy father and thy kindred. Thou shalt also come when I send for thee to Gilgal, that we may offer thank-offerings to God for these blessings." When Samuel had said this, and foretold these things, he sent the young man away. Now all things fell out to Saul according to the prophecy of Samuel.

(3) [58] Ὡς δὲ ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ συγγενοῦς αὐτοῦ Ἀβηνάρου, καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον τῶν ἄλλων οἰκείων μᾶλλον ἔστεργεν, ἀνερωτῶντος περὶ τῆς ἀποδημίας καὶ τῶν κατ᾽ αὐτὸν γεγονότων τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἀπεκρύψατο οὐδ᾽ ὡς ἀφίκοιτο παρὰ Σαμουῆλον τὸν προφήτην οὐδ᾽ ὡς ἐκεῖνος αὐτῷ σεσῶσθαι τὰς ὄνους ἔφρασε, περὶ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τῶν κατ᾽ αὐτὴν, [59] ἃ φθόνον ἀκουόμενα καὶ ἀπιστίαν ἔχειν ᾤετο, σιωπᾷ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ οὐδὲ πρὸς εὔνουν σφόδρα δοκοῦντα εἶναι καὶ περισσότερον τῶν ἀφ᾽ αἵματος ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ στεργόμενον ἀσφαλὲς ἢ σῶφρον ἔδοξε μηνύειν λογισάμενος οἶμαι τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν οἵα ταῖς ἀληθείαις ἐστίν, ὅτι βεβαίως οὐδεὶς οὔτε φίλων οὔτε συγγενῶν οὐδ᾽ ἄχρι τῶν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαμπρῶν ἀποσώζει τὴν διάθεσιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς ὑπεροχὰς κακοήθεις τυγχάνουσιν ἤδη καὶ βάσκανοι.

3. But as soon as Saul came into the house of his kinsman Abner, whom indeed he loved better than the rest of his relations, he was asked by him concerning his journey, and what accidents happened to him therein; and he concealed none of the other things from him, no, not his coming to Samuel the prophet, nor how he told him the asses were found; but he said nothing to him about the kingdom, and what belonged thereto, which he thought would procure him envy, and when such things are heard, they are not easily believed; nor did he think it prudent to tell those things to him, although he appeared very friendly to him, and one whom he loved above the rest of his relations, considering, I suppose, what human nature really is, that no one is a firm friend, neither among our intimates, nor of our kindred; nor do they preserve that kind disposition when God

advances men to great prosperity, but they are still ill-natured and envious at those that are in eminent stations.

(4) [60] Σαμουῆλος δὲ καλεῖ τὸν λαὸν εἰς Μασφὰ πόλιν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν διατίθεται λόγους, οὓς κατ᾽ ἐντολὴν φράζειν ἔλεγε τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνου παρασχόντος καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους δουλώσαντος ἀμνημονήσειαν τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, καὶ τὸν μὲν θεὸν ἀποχειροτονοῦσι τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ εἰδότες ὡς συμφορώτατον ὑπὸ τοῦ πάντων ἀρίστου προστατεῖσθαι, [61] θεὸς δὲ πάντων ἄριστος, αἱροῦνται δ᾽ ἔχειν ἄνθρωπον βασιλέα, ὃς ὡς κτήματι τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις κατὰ βούλησιν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν ὁρμὴν χρήσεται τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀφειδῶς ἐμφορούμενος, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ ὡς ἴδιον ἔργον καὶ κατασκεύασμα τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος οὕτως διατηρῆσαι σπουδάσει, ὁ θεὸς δὲ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν κήδοιτο. ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ δέδοκται ταῦτα ὑμῖν καὶ κεκράτηκεν ἡ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὕβρις, τάχθητε πάντες κατὰ φυλάς τε καὶ σκῆπτρα καὶ κλήρους βάλετε.”

4. Then Samuel called the people together to the city Mizpeh, and spake to them in the words following, which he said he was to speak by the command of God: — That when he had granted them a state of liberty, and brought their enemies into subjection, they were become unmindful of his benefits, and rejected God that he should not be their King, as not considering that it would be most for their advantage to be presided over by the best of beings, for God is the best of beings, and they chose to have a man for their king; while kings will use their subjects as beasts, according to the violence of their own wills and inclinations, and other passions, as wholly carried away with the lust of power, but will not endeavor so to preserve the race of mankind as his own workmanship and creation, which, for that very reason, God would take cake of. “But since you have come to a fixed resolution, and this injurious treatment of God has quite prevailed over you, dispose yourselves by your tribes and scepters, and cast lots.”

(5) [62] Ποιησάντων δὲ τοῦτο τῶν Ἑβραίων ὁ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος κλῆρος ἐξέπεσε, ταύτης δὲ κληρωθείσης ἔλαχεν ἡ Ματρὶς καλουμένη πατριὰ, ἧς κατ᾽ ἄνδρα κληρωθείσης λαγχάνει ὁ Κεισαίου βασιλεύειν παῖς Σαοῦλος. [63] γνοὺς δὲ τοῦθ᾽ ὁ νεανίσκος φθάσας ἐκποδὼν αὐτὸν ἐποίει μὴ βουλόμενος οἶμαι δοκεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἑκὼν λαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ τοσαύτην ἐνεδείξατο ἐγκράτειαν καὶ σωφροσύνην, ὥστε τῶν πλείστων οὐδ᾽ ἐπὶ μικραῖς εὐπραγίαις τὴν χαρὰν κατασχεῖν δυναμένων, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς τὸ πᾶσι γενέσθαι φανεροὺς προπιπτόντων, ὁ δ᾽ οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν ἐνέφηνε τοιοῦτον ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ καὶ τῷ τοσούτων καὶ τηλικούτων ἐθνῶν ἀποδεδεῖχθαι δεσπότης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ὄψεως αὐτὸν τῆς τῶν βασιλευθησομένων

ἐξέκλεψεν καὶ ζητεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ τοῦτο πονεῖν παρεσκεύασεν. [64] ὧν ἀμηχανούντων καὶ φροντιζόντων, ὅτι καὶ γένοιτο ἀφανὴς ὁ Σαοῦλος, ὁ προφήτης ἱκέτευε τὸν θεὸν δεῖξαι ποῦ ποτ᾽ εἴη καὶ παρασχεῖν εἰς ἐμφανὲς τὸν νεανίσκον. [65] μαθὼν δὲ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν τόπον ἔνθα κρύπτεται ὁ Σαοῦλος πέμπει τοὺς ἄξοντας αὐτὸν καὶ παραγενόμενον ἵστησι μέσον τοῦ πλήθους. ἐξεῖχε δὲ ἁπάντων, καὶ τὸ ὕψος ἦν βασιλικώτατος.

5. When the Hebrews had so done, the lot fell upon the tribe of Benjamin; and when the lot was cast for the families of this tribe, that which was called Matri was taken; and when the lot was cast for the single persons of that family, Saul, the son of Kish, was taken for their king. When the young man knew this, he prevented [their sending for him], and immediately went away and hid himself. I suppose that it was because he would not have it thought that he willingly took the government upon him; nay, he showed such a degree of command over himself, and of modesty, that while the greatest part are not able to contain their joy, even in the gaining of small advantages, but presently show themselves publicly to all men, this man did not only show nothing of that nature, when he was appointed to be the lord of so many and so great tribes, but crept away and concealed himself out of the sight of those he was to reign over, and made them seek him, and that with a good deal of trouble. So when the people were at a loss, and solicitous, because Saul disappeared, the prophet besought God to show where the young man was, and to produce him before them. So when they had learned of God the place where Saul was hidden, they sent men to bring him; and when he was come, they set him in the midst of the multitude. Now he was taller than any of them, and his stature was very majestic.

(6) [66] Λέγει δὲ ὁ προφήτης: “τοῦτον ὑμῖν ὁ θεὸς ἔδωκε βασιλέα: ὁρᾶτε δὲ ὡς καὶ κρείττων ἐστὶ πάντων καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄξιος.” ὡς δ᾽ ἐπευφήμησε τῷ βασιλεῖ σωτηρίαν ὁ λαός, τὰ μέλλοντα συμβήσεσθαι καταγράψας αὐτοῖς ὁ προφήτης ἀνέγνω τοῦ βασιλέως ἀκροωμένου καὶ τὸ βιβλίον τίθησιν ἐν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ σκηνῇ ταῖς μετέπειτα γενεαῖς μαρτύριον ὧν προείρηκε. [67] ταῦτ᾽ ἐπιτελέσας ὁ Σαμουῆλος ἀπολύει τὴν πληθύν. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς Ἀρμαθὰ παραγίνεται πόλιν, πατρὶς γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ, Σαούλῳ δὲ ἀπερχομένῳ εἰς Γαβαθὴν, ἐξ ἧς ὑπῆρχε, συνήρχοντο πολλοὶ μὲν ἀγαθοὶ τὴν προσήκουσαν βασιλεῖ τιμὴν νέμοντες, πονηροὶ δὲ πλείους, οἳ καταφρονοῦντες αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐχλεύαζον καὶ οὔτε δῶρα προσέφερον οὔτ᾽ ἐν σπουδῇ καὶ λόγῳ τὸ ἀρέσκεσθαι τὸν Σαοῦλον ἐτίθεντο.

6. Then said the prophet, “God gives you this man to be your king: see how he is higher than any of the people, and worthy of this dominion.” So as soon as the

people had made acclamation, God save the king, the prophet wrote down what would come to pass in a book, and read it in the hearing of the king, and laid up the book in the tabernacle of God, to be a witness to future generations of what he had foretold. So when Samuel had finished this matter, he dismissed the multitude, and came himself to the city Rainah, for it was his own country. Saul also went away to Gibeah, where he was born; and many good men there were who paid him the respect that was due to him; but the greater part were ill men, who despised him and derided the others, who neither did bring him presents, nor did they in affection, or even in words, regard to please him.

V

CHAPTER 5. Saul’s Expedition Against The Nation Of The Ammonites And Victory Over Them And The Spoils He Took From Them.

(1) [68] Μηνὶ δ’ ὕστερον ἄρχει τῆς παρὰ πάντων αὐτῷ τιμῆς ὁ πρὸς Ναάσην πόλεμος τὸν τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν βασιλέα: οὗτος γὰρ πολλὰ κακὰ τοὺς πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ κατῳκημένους τῶν Ἰουδαίων διατίθησι μετὰ πολλοῦ καὶ μαχίμου στρατεύματος διαβὰς ἐπ’ αὐτούς: [69] καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν εἰς δουλείαν ὑπάγεται ἰσχύι μὲν καὶ βίᾳ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν αὐτοὺς χειρωσάμενος, σοφίᾳ δὲ καὶ ἐπινοίᾳ πρὸς τὸ μηδ’ αὖθις ἀποστάντας δυνηθῆναι τὴν ὑπ’ αὐτῷ δουλείαν διαφυγεῖν ἀσθενεῖς ποιῶν: τῶν γὰρ ἢ κατὰ πίστιν ὡς αὐτὸν ἀφικνουμένων ἢ λαμβανομένων πολέμου νόμῳ τοὺς δεξιοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξέκοπτεν. [70] ἐποίει δὲ τοῦθ’, ὅπως τῆς ἀριστερᾶς αὐτοῖς ὄψεως ὑπὸ τῶν θυρεῶν καλυπτομένης ἄχρηστοι παντελῶς εἶεν. [71] καὶ ὁ μὲν τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν βασιλεὺς ταῦτ’ ἐργασάμενος τοὺς πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ἐπὶ τοὺς Γαλαδηνοὺς λεγομένους ἐπεστράτευσε καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενος πρὸς τῇ μητροπόλει τῶν πολεμίων, Ἰαβὶς δ’ ἐστὶν αὕτη, πέμπει πρὸς αὐτοὺς πρέσβεις κελεύων ἤδη παραδοῦναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς δεξιοὺς αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξορύξαι, ἢ πολιορκήσειν ἠπείλει καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν ἀναστήσειν: τὴν δ’ αἵρεσιν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς εἶναι, πότερόν ποτε βραχύ τι τοῦ σώματος ἀποτεμεῖν θέλουσιν ἢ παντάπασιν ἀπολωλέναι. [72] οἱ δὲ Γαλαδηνοὶ καταπλαγέντες πρὸς οὐδέτερον μὲν ἐτόλμησαν οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν οὔτ’ εἰ παραδιδόασιν αὐτοὺς οὔτ’ εἰ πολεμοῦσιν, ἀνοχὴν δ’ ἡμερῶν ἑπτὰ λαβεῖν ἠξίωσαν, ἵνα πρεσβευσάμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους παρακαλέσωσι συμμαχεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰ μὲν ἔλθοι βοήθεια πολεμῶσιν, εἰ δ’ ἄπορα εἴη τὰ παρ’ ἐκείνων παραδώσειν αὐτοὺς ἔφασκον ἐπὶ τῷ παθεῖν ὅτι ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ.

1. After one month, the war which Saul had with Nahash, the king of the Ammonites, obtained him respect from all the people; for this Nahash had done a great deal of mischief to the Jews that lived beyond Jordan by the expedition he had made against them with a great and warlike army. He also reduced their cities into slavery, and that not only by subduing them for the present, which he did by force and violence, but by weakening them by subtlety and cunning, that they might not be able afterward to get clear of the slavery they were under to him; for he put out the right eyes of those that either delivered themselves to him upon terms, or were taken by him in war; and this he did, that when their left eyes were covered by their shields, they might be wholly useless in war. Now when the king of the Ammonites had served those beyond Jordan in this

manner, he led his army against those that were called Gileadites, and having pitched his camp at the metropolis of his enemies, which was the city of Jabesh, he sent ambassadors to them, commanding them either to deliver themselves up, on condition to have their right eyes plucked out, or to undergo a siege, and to have their cities overthrown. He gave them their choice, whether they would cut off a small member of their body, or universally perish. However, the Gileadites were so affrighted at these offers, that they had not courage to say any thing to either of them, neither that they would deliver themselves up, nor that they would fight him. But they desired that he would give them seven days' respite, that they might send ambassadors to their countrymen, and entreat their assistance; and if they came to assist them, they would fight; but if that assistance were impossible to be obtained from them, they said they would deliver themselves up to suffer whatever he pleased to inflict upon them.

(2) [73] Ὁ δὲ Ναάσης καταφρονήσας τοῦ τῶν Γαλαδηνῶν πλήθους καὶ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως αὐτῶν δίδωσί τε αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀνοχὴν καὶ πέμπειν πρὸς οὓς ἂν θέλωσι συμμάχους ἐπιτρέπει. πέμπουσιν οὖν εὐθὺς κατὰ πόλιν τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις οἳ ἤγγελλον τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ναάσου καὶ τὴν ἀμηχανίαν ἐν ᾗ καθειστήκεσαν. [74] οἱ δ' εἰς δάκρυα καὶ λύπην ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκοῆς τῶν περὶ τοὺς Ἰαβισηνοὺς προήχθησαν καὶ πέρα τούτων οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἄλλο πράττειν συνεχώρει τὸ δέος: γενομένων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ ἐν τῇ Σαούλου τοῦ βασιλέως πόλει καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους ἐν οἷς εἶναι συνέβαινε τοὺς Ἰαβισηνοὺς φρασάντων, ὁ μὲν λαὸς ταὐτὰ τοῖς πρώτοις ἔπασχεν: ὠδύρετο γὰρ τὴν συμφορὰν τὴν τῶν συγγενῶν: [75] ὁ δὲ Σαοῦλος ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὴν γεωργίαν παραγενόμενος ἔργων εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτυγχάνει κλαίουσι τοῖς αὐτοῦ πολίταις, καὶ πυθόμενος τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς συγχύσεως καὶ κατηφείας αὐτῶν μανθάνει τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων. [76] καὶ ἔνθεος γενόμενος ἀποπέμπει μὲν τοὺς Ἰαβισηνοὺς ὑποσχόμενος αὐτοῖς ἥξειν βοηθὸς τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ πρὶν ἥλιον ἀνασχεῖν κρατήσειν τῶν πολεμίων, ἵνα καὶ νενικηκότας ἤδη καὶ τῶν φόβων ἀπηλλαγμένους ὁ ἥλιος ἐπιτείλας ἴδῃ: ὑπομεῖναι δ' ἐκέλευσέ τινας αὐτῶν ἡγησομένους τῆς ὁδοῦ.

2. So Nabash, contemning the multitude of the Gileadites and the answer they gave, allowed them a respite, and gave them leave to send to whomsoever they pleased for assistance. So they immediately sent to the Israelites, city by city, and informed them what Nabash had threatened to do to them, and what great distress they were in. Now the people fell into tears and grief at the hearing of what the ambassadors from Jabesh said; and the terror they were in permitted them to do nothing more. But when the messengers were come to the city of king Saul, and declared the dangers in which the inhabitants of Jabesh were, the people were in the same affliction as those in the other cities, for they lamented

the calamity of those related to them. And when Saul was returned from his husbandry into the city, he found his fellow citizens weeping; and when, upon inquiry, he had learned the cause of the confusion and sadness they were in, he was seized with a divine fury, and sent away the ambassadors from the inhabitants of Jabesh, and promised them to come to their assistance on the third day, and to beat their enemies before sun-rising, that the sun upon its rising might see that they had already conquered, and were freed from the fears they were under: but he bid some of them stay to conduct them the right way to Jabesh.

(3) [77] Βουλόμενος δὲ φόβῳ ζημίας τὸν λαὸν ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Ἀμμανίτας ἐπιστρέψαι πόλεμον καὶ συνελθεῖν αὐτοὺς ὀξύτερον, ὑποτεμὼν τῶν αὐτοῦ βοῶν τὰ νεῦρα ταὐτὰ διαθήσειν ἠπείλησε τοὺς ἁπάντων, εἰ μὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἰόρδανον ὡπλισμένοι κατὰ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἀπαντήσουσιν ἡμέραν καὶ ἀκολουθήσουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ Σαμουήλῳ τῷ προφήτῃ, ὅπου ποτ᾽ ἂν αὐτοὺς ἀγάγωσι. [78] τῶν δὲ δι᾽ εὐλάβειαν τῆς κατεπηγγελμένης ζημίας εἰς τὸν ὡρισμένον καιρὸν συνελθόντων ἐξαριθμεῖται ἐν Βαλᾶ τῇ πόλει τὸ πλῆθος: εὑρίσκει δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν χωρὶς τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς εἰς ἑβδομήκοντα μυριάδας συνειλεγμένους, τῆς δὲ φυλῆς ἐκείνης ἦσαν μυριάδες ἑπτά. [79] διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Ἰόρδανον καὶ σχοίνων δέκα δι᾽ ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνύσας ὁδὸν φθάνει μὲν ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα, τριχῇ δὲ τὸ στράτευμα διελὼν ἐπιπίπτει πανταχόθεν αἰφνιδίως οὐ προσδοκῶσι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, καὶ συμβαλὼν εἰς μάχην ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνει τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν καὶ Ναάσην τὸν βασιλέα. [80] τοῦτο λαμπρὸν ἐπράχθη τῷ Σαούλῳ τὸ ἔργον καὶ πρὸς πάντας αὐτὸν διήγγειλε τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἐπαινούμενον καὶ θαυμαστῆς ἀπολαύοντα δόξης ἐπ᾽ ἀνδρείᾳ: καὶ γὰρ εἴ τινες ἦσαν οἳ πρότερον αὐτοῦ κατεφρόνουν, τότε μετέστησαν ἐπὶ τὸ τιμᾶν καὶ πάντων ἄριστον νομίζειν: οὐ γὰρ ἤρκεσεν αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἰαβισηνοὺς σεσωκέναι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν ἐπιστρατεύσας χώρᾳ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν καταστρέφεται καὶ πολλὴν λαβὼν λείαν λαμπρὸς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ὑπέστρεψεν. [81] ὁ δὲ λαὸς ὑφ᾽ ἡδονῆς τῶν Σαούλῳ κατωρθωμένων ἔχαιρε μὲν ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἐχειροτόνησε βασιλέα, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς οὐδὲν ὄφελος αὐτὸν ἔσεσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι λέγοντας ἐβόων: “ποῦ νῦν εἰσὶν οὗτοι” καὶ “δότωσαν δίκην” καὶ πάνθ᾽ ὅσα φιλεῖ λέγειν ὄχλος ἐπ᾽ εὐπραγίαις ἡρμένος πρὸς τοὺς ἐξευτελίζοντας ἔναγχος τοὺς τούτων αἰτίους. [82] Σαοῦλος δὲ τούτων μὲν ἠσπάζετο τὴν εὔνοιαν καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν προθυμίαν, ὤμοσε δὲ μήτινα περιόψεσθαι τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἀναιρούμενον ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας: ἄτοπον γὰρ εἶναι τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δεδομένην νίκην αἵματι φῦραι καὶ φόνῳ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους συγγενῶν ἑορτάζειν.

3. So being desirous to turn the people to this war against the Ammonites by fear of the losses they should otherwise undergo, and that they might the more

suddenly be gathered together, he cut the sinews of his oxen, and threatened to do the same to all such as did not come with their armor to Jordan the next day, and follow him and Samuel the prophet whithersoever they should lead them. So they came together, out of fear of the losses they were threatened with, at the appointed time. And the multitude were numbered at the city Bezek. And he found the number of those that were gathered together, besides that of the tribe of Judah, to be seven hundred thousand, while those of that tribe were seventy thousand. So he passed over Jordan, and proceeded in marching all that night, thirty furlongs, and came to Jabesh before sun-rising. So he divided the army into three companies; and fell upon their enemies on every side on the sudden, and when they expected no such thing; and joining battle with them, they slew a great many of the Ammonites, as also their king Nabash. This glorious action was done by Saul, and was related with great commendation of him to all the Hebrews; and he thence gained a wonderful reputation for his valor: for although there were some of them that contemned him before, they now changed their minds, and honored him, and esteemed him as the best of men: for he did not content himself with having saved the inhabitants of Jabesh only, but he made an expedition into the country of the Ammonites, and laid it all waste, and took a large prey, and so returned to his own country most gloriously. So the people were greatly pleased at these excellent performances of Saul, and rejoiced that they had constituted him their king. They also made a clamor against those that pretended he would be of no advantage to their affairs; and they said, Where now are these men? — let them be brought to punishment, with all the like things that multitudes usually say when they are elevated with prosperity, against those that lately had despised the authors of it. But Saul, although he took the good-will and the affection of these men very kindly, yet did he swear that he would not see any of his countrymen slain that day, since it was absurd to mix this victory, which God had given them, with the blood and slaughter of those that were of the same lineage with themselves; and that it was more agreeable to be men of a friendly disposition, and so to betake themselves to feasting.

(4) [83] Σαμουήλου δὲ φήσαντος καὶ δευτέρᾳ δεῖν χειροτονίᾳ Σαούλῳ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπικυρῶσαι συνίασι πάντες εἰς Γάλγαλα πόλιν: ἐκεῖ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἐλθεῖν. καὶ πάλιν ὁρῶντος τοῦ πλήθους ὁ προφήτης χρίει τὸν Σαοῦλον τῷ ἁγίῳ ἐλαίῳ καὶ δεύτερον ἀναγορεύει βασιλέα. καὶ οὕτως ἡ τῶν Ἑβραίων πολιτεία εἰς βασιλείαν μετέπεσεν. [84] ἐπὶ γὰρ Μωυσέος καὶ τοῦ μαθητοῦ αὐτοῦ [Ἰησοῦ], ὃς ἦν στρατηγὸς, ἀριστοκρατούμενοι διετέλουν: μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν ἔτεσι τοῖς πᾶσι δέκα καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὀκτὼ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἀναρχία κατέσχε. [85] μετὰ ταῦτα δ’ εἰς τὴν προτέραν ἐπανῆλθον πολιτείαν

τῷ κατὰ πόλεμον ἀρίστῳ δόξαντι γεγενῆσθαι καὶ κατ᾽ ἀνδρείαν περὶ τῶν ὅλων δικάζειν ἐπιτρέποντες: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον τῆς πολιτείας κριτῶν ἐκάλεσαν.

4. And when Samuel had told them that he ought to confirm the kingdom to Saul by a second ordination of him, they all came together to the city of Gilgal, for thither did he command them to come. So the prophet anointed Saul with the holy oil in the sight of the multitude, and declared him to be king the second time. And so the government of the Hebrews was changed into a regal government; for in the days of Moses, and his disciple Joshua, who was their general, they continued under an aristocracy; but after the death of Joshua, for eighteen years in all, the multitude had no settled form of government, but were in an anarchy; after which they returned to their former government, they then permitting themselves to be judged by him who appeared to be the best warrior and most courageous, whence it was that they called this interval of their government the Judges.

(5) [86] Ἐκκλησίαν δὲ Σαμουῆλος ποιήσας ὁ προφήτης τῶν Ἑβραίων "ἐπόμνυμαι, φησίν, ὑμῖν τὸν μέγιστον θεὸν, ὃς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐκείνους, λέγω δὴ Μωυσῆν καὶ Ἀαρῶνα, παρήγαγεν εἰς τὸν βίον καὶ τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν ἐξήρπασεν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ τῆς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῖς δουλείας, μηδὲν μήτ᾽ αἰδοῖ χαρισαμένους μήτε ὑποστειλαμένους φόβῳ μήτε ἄλλῳ τινὶ πάθει παραχωρήσαντας εἰπεῖν, εἴ τι μοι πέπρακται σκαιὸν καὶ ἄδικον ἢ κέρδους ἕνεκα ἢ πλεονεξίας ἢ χάριτος τῆς πρὸς ἄλλους: [87] ἐλέγξαι δὲ εἰ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων τι προσηκάμην [μόσχον ἢ πρόβατον], ἃ πρὸς τροφὴν ἀνεμέσητον δοκεῖ λαμβάνειν, ἢ εἴ τινος ὑποζύγιον εἰς ἐμὴν ἀποσπάσας χρείαν ἐλύπησα, τούτων ἕν τι κατειπεῖν παρόντος ὑμῶν τοῦ βασιλέως." οἱ δὲ ἀνέκραγον τούτων οὐδὲν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ γεγονέναι, προστῆναι δὲ ὁσίως αὐτὸν καὶ δικαίως τοῦ ἔθνους.

5. Then did Samuel the prophet call another assembly also, and said to them, "I solemnly adjure you by God Almighty, who brought those excellent brethren, I mean Moses and Aaron, into the world, and delivered our fathers from the Egyptians, and from the slavery they endured under them, that you will not speak what you say to gratify me, nor suppress any thing out of fear of me, nor be overborne by any other passion, but say, What have I ever done that was cruel or unjust? or what have I done out of lucre or covetousness, or to gratify others? Bear witness against me, if I have taken an ox or a sheep, or any such thing, which yet when they are taken to support men, it is esteemed blameless; or have I taken an ass for mine own use of any one to his grief? — lay some one such crime to my charge, now we are in your king's presence." But they cried out,

that no such thing had been done by him, but that he had presided over the nation after a holy and righteous manner.

(6) [88] Σαμουῆλος δὲ ταύτης ἐξ ἁπάντων τῆς μαρτυρίας αὐτῷ γενομένης "ἐπεὶ δεδώκατέ μοι, φησί, τὸ μηδὲν ἄτοπον ἔθ' ὑμᾶς περὶ ἐμοῦ δύνασθαι λέγειν, φέρε νῦν μετὰ παρρησίας ἀκούσατέ μου λέγοντος, ὅτι μεγάλα ἠσεβήσατε εἰς τὸν θεὸν αἰτησάμενοι βασιλέα. [89] διαμνημονεύειν δὲ ὑμᾶς προσῆκεν, ὅτι σὺν ἑβδομήκοντα μόνοις ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ὁ πάππος Ἰάκωβος διὰ λιμὸν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἦλθε, κἀκεῖ πολλῶν μυριάδων ἐπιτεκνωθεισῶν, ἃς εἰς δουλείας καὶ χαλεπὰς ὕβρεις ἤγαγον οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, ὁ θεὸς εὐξαμένων τῶν πατέρων χωρὶς βασιλέως παρέσχεν αὐτοῖς ῥύσασθαι τῆς ἀνάγκης τὸ πλῆθος Μωυσῆν αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀαρῶνα πέμψας ἀδελφοὺς, οἳ ἤγαγον ὑμᾶς εἰς τήνδε τὴν γῆν, ἣν νῦν ἔχετε. [90] καὶ τούτων ἀπολαύσαντες ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ προδεδώκατε τὴν θρησκείαν καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑποχειρίους γενομένους ἠλευθέρωσε πρῶτον μὲν Ἀσσυρίων καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων ἰσχύος ὑπερτέρους ἀπεργασάμενος, ἔπειτα Ἀμμανιτῶν κρατῆσαι παρασχὼν καὶ Μωαβιτῶν καὶ τελευταίων Παλαιστίνων. καὶ ταῦτ' οὐ βασιλέως ἡγουμένου διεπράξασθε, ἀλλ' Ἰφθάε καὶ Γεδεῶνος στρατηγούντων. [91] τίς οὖν ἔσχεν ὑμᾶς ἄνοια φυγεῖν μὲν τὸν θεὸν, ὑπὸ βασιλέα δὲ εἶναι θέλειν; ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπέδειξα τοῦτον ὃν αὐτὸς ἐπελέξατο, ἵνα μέντοι γε φανερὸν ποιήσω τὸν θεὸν ὀργιζόμενον καὶ δυσχεραίνοντα τῇ τῆς βασιλείας ὑμῶν αἱρέσει, δηλῶσαι τοῦθ' ὑμῖν [τὸν θεὸν] παρασκευάσω διὰ σημείων ἐναργῶς: ὃ γὰρ οὐδέπω πρότερον εἶδεν ὑμῶν οὐδεὶς ἐνταῦθα γεγενημένον, θέρους ἀκμῇ χειμῶνα, αἰτησάμενος τὸν θεὸν παρέξω τοῦτο νῦν ὑμῖν ἐπι [92] γνῶναι." καὶ ταῦτα εἰπόντος πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ Σαμουήλου βρονταῖς σημαίνει τὸ θεῖον καὶ ἀστραπαῖς καὶ χαλάζης καταφορᾷ τὴν τοῦ προφήτου περὶ πάντων ἀλήθειαν, ὡς τεθαμβηκότας αὐτοὺς καὶ περιδεεῖς γινομένους ἁμαρτεῖν τε ὁμολογεῖν καὶ κατ' ἄγνοιαν εἰς τοῦτο προπεσεῖν, καὶ ἱκετεύειν τὸν προφήτην ὡς πατέρα χρηστὸν καὶ ἐπιεικῆ τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς εὐμενῆ καταστῆσαι καὶ ταύτην ἀφεῖναι τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, ἣν πρὸς οἷς ἐξύβρισαν ἄλλοις καὶ παρηνόμησαν προσεξειργάσαντο. [93] ὁ δὲ ὑπισχνεῖται καὶ παρακαλέσειν τὸν θεὸν συγγνῶναι περὶ τούτων αὐτοῖς καὶ πείσειν, συνεβούλευε μέντοι δικαίους εἶναι καὶ ἀγαθοὺς καὶ μνημονεύειν ἀεὶ τῶν διὰ τὴν παράβασιν τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῖς κακῶν συμπεσόντων καὶ τῶν σημείων τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς Μωυσέος νομοθεσίας, εἰ σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως εὐδαιμονίας ἐστὶν ἐπιθυμία. [94] εἰ δὲ τούτων ἀμελήσουσιν, ἔλεγεν ἥξειν αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ μεγάλην ἐκ θεοῦ πληγήν. καὶ Σαμουῆλος μὲν ταῦτα τοῖς Ἑβραίοις προφητεύσας ἀπέλυσεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα βεβαιώσας ἐκ δευτέρου τῷ Σαούλῳ τὴν βασιλείαν.

6. Hereupon Samuel, when such a testimony had been given him by them all, said, "Since you grant that you are not able to lay any ill thing to my charge

hitherto, come on now, and do you hearken while I speak with great freedom to you. You have been guilty of great impiety against God, in asking you a king. It behoves you to remember that our grandfather Jacob came down into Egypt, by reason of a famine, with seventy souls only of our family, and that their posterity multiplied there to many ten thousands, whom the Egyptians brought into slavery and hard oppression; that God himself, upon the prayers of our fathers, sent Moses and Aaron, who were brethren, and gave them power to deliver the multitude out of their distress, and this without a king. These brought us into this very land which you now possess: and when you enjoyed these advantages from God, you betrayed his worship and religion; nay, moreover, when you were brought under the hands of your enemies, he delivered you, first by rendering you superior to the Assyrians and their forces, he then made you to overcome the Ammonites and the Moabites, and last of all the Philistines; and these things have been achieved under the conduct of Jephtha and Gideon. What madness therefore possessed you to fly from God, and to desire to be under a king? — yet have I ordained him for king whom he chose for you. However, that I may make it plain to you that God is angry and displeased at your choice of kingly government, I will so dispose him that he shall declare this very plainly to you by strange signals; for what none of you ever saw here before, I mean a winter storm in the midst of harvest, I will entreat of God, and will make it visible to you." Now, as soon as he had said this, God gave such great signals by thunder and lightning, and the descent of hail, as attested the truth of all that the prophet had said, insomuch that they were amazed and terrified, and confessed they had sinned, and had fallen into that sin through ignorance; and besought the prophet, as one that was a tender and gentle father to them, to render God so merciful as to forgive this their sin, which they had added to those other offenses whereby they had affronted him and transgressed against him. So he promised them that he would beseech God, and persuade him to forgive them these their sins. However, he advised them to be righteous, and to be good, and ever to remember the miseries that had befallen them on account of their departure from virtue: as also to remember the strange signs God had shown them, and the body of laws that Moses had given them, if they had any desire of being preserved and made happy with their king. But he said, that if they should grow careless of these things, great judgments would come from God upon them, and upon their king. And when Samuel had thus prophesied to the Hebrews, he dismissed them to their own homes, having confirmed the kingdom to Saul the second time.

VI

CHAPTER 6. How The Philistines Made Another Expedition Against The Hebrews And Were Beaten.

(1) [95] Οὗτος δ' ἐπιλέξας ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους ὡς τρισχιλίους τοὺς μὲν δισχιλίους ὥστε σωματοφυλακεῖν αὐτὸν λαβὼν αὐτὸς διέτριβεν ἐν πόλει Βεθήβῳ, Ἰωνάθῃ δὲ τῷ παιδὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς δοὺς ὥστε σωματοφυλακεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς Γεβὰλ ἔπεμψεν. ὁ δ' ἐκπολιορκεῖ τι φρούριον τῶν Παλαιστίνων οὐ πόρρω Γεβάλων. [96] οἱ γὰρ Παλαιστῖνοι καταστρεφόμενοι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τά τε ὅπλα αὐτοὺς ἀφῃροῦντο καὶ τοὺς ὀχυρωτάτους τῆς χώρας τόπους φρουραῖς κατελαμβάνοντο καὶ σιδηροφορεῖν χρῆσθαί τε καθάπαξ ἀπηγόρευον σιδήρῳ, καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν πρόρρησιν οἱ γεωργοὶ, εἴποτε δεήσει' αὐτοὺς ἐπισκευάσαι τι τῶν ἐργαλείων, ἢ ὕνιν ἢ δίκελλαν ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν εἰς γεωργίαν χρησίμων, φοιτῶντες εἰς τοὺς Παλαιστίνους ταῦτα ἔπραττον. [97] ὡς δὲ ἠκούσθη τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις ἡ τῆς φρουρᾶς ἀναίρεσις ἀγανακτήσαντες καὶ δεινὴν ὕβριν τὴν καταφρόνησιν ἡγησάμενοι στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους πεζῶν μὲν τριάκοντα μυριάσιν ἅρμασι δὲ τρισμυρίοις, ἵππον δὲ ἑξακισχιλίαν ἐπήγοντο: [98] καὶ στρατοπεδευσαμένων πρὸς πόλει Μαχμὰ τοῦτο Σαοῦλος ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλεὺς μαθὼν εἰς Γάλγαλα καταβαίνει πόλιν καὶ διὰ πάσης κηρύσσει τῆς χώρας ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ καλῶν τὸν λαὸν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Παλαιστίνους, τὴν δύναμιν ἐκφαυλίζων αὐτῶν καὶ διασύρων ὡς οὐκ ἀξιόλογον οὐδ' ὥστε φοβεῖσθαι διακινδυνεύειν πρὸς αὐτούς. [99] κατανοήσαντες δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Παλαιστίνων οἱ τοῦ Σαούλου κατεπλάγησαν, καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς τὰ σπήλαια καὶ τοὺς ὑπονόμους ἔκρυψαν αὐτοὺς, οἱ πλείους δὲ εἰς τὴν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου γῆν ἔφυγον: αὕτη δ' ἦν Γάδου καὶ Ῥουβήλου.

1. Now Saul chose out of the multitude about three thousand men, and he took two thousand of them to be the guards of his own body, and abode in the city Bethel, but he gave the rest of them to Jonathan his son, to be the guards of his body; and sent him to Gibeah, where he besieged and took a certain garrison of the Philistines, not far from Gilgal; for the Philistines of Gibeah had beaten the Jews, and taken their weapons away, and had put garrisons into the strongest places of the country, and had forbidden them to carry any instrument of iron, or at all to make use of any iron in any case whatsoever. And on account of this prohibition it was that the husbandmen, if they had occasion to sharpen any of their tools, whether it were the coulter or the spade, or any instrument of husbandry, they came to the Philistines to do it. Now as soon as the Philistines heard of this slaughter of their garrison, they were in a rage about it, and, looking on this contempt as a terrible affront offered them, they made war against the

Jews, with three hundred thousand footmen, and thirty thousand chariots, and six thousand horses; and they pitched their camp at the city Michmash. When Saul, the king of the Hebrews, was informed of this, he went down to the city Gilgal, and made proclamation over all the country, that they should try to regain their liberty; and called them to the war against the Philistines, diminishing their forces, and despising them as not very considerable, and as not so great but they might hazard a battle with them. But when the people about Saul observed how numerous the Philistines were, they were under a great consternation; and some of them hid themselves in caves and in dens under ground, but the greater part fled into the land beyond Jordan, which belonged to Gad and Reuben.

(2) [100] Πέμψας δὲ Σαοῦλος πρὸς τὸν προφήτην ἐκάλει πρὸς αὐτὸν συνδιασκεψόμενον περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων. ὁ δὲ περιμένειν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτόθι καὶ παρασκευάζειν θύματα: μετὰ γὰρ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἥξειν, ὅπως θύσωσι τῇ ἑβδόμῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἔπειθ' οὕτως συμβάλωσι τοῖς πολεμίοις. [101] καὶ περιμένει μὲν ὡς ὁ προφήτης ἐπέστειλεν, οὐκέτι μέντοι γε διατηρεῖ τὴν ἐντολήν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἑώρα βραδύνοντα μὲν τὸν προφήτην, αὐτὸν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καταλειπόμενον, λαβὼν τὰ θύματα τὴν θυσίαν ἐπετέλει: ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Σαμουῆλον ἤκουσε προσιόντα ὑπαντησόμενος ἐξῆλθεν. [102] ὁ δ' οὐκ ὀρθῶς αὐτὸν ἔφη πεποιηκέναι παρακούσαντα ὧν ἐπέστειλεν αὐτὸς καὶ φθάσαντα τὴν παρουσίαν, ἣν κατὰ βούλησιν γινομένην τοῦ θείου πρὸς τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὰς θυσίας τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλήθους προλάβοι κακῶς ἱερουργήσας καὶ προπετὴς γενόμενος. [103] ἀπολογουμένου δὲ τοῦ Σαούλου καὶ περιμεῖναι μὲν τὰς ἡμέρας ἃς ὥρισε λέγοντος, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀνάγκης καὶ ἀναχωρήσεως μὲν τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν διὰ φόβον, στρατοπεδείας δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐν Μαχμᾶ καὶ ἀκοῆς τῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἰς Γάλγαλα καταβάσεως ἐπειχθῆναι πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν. [104] ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ Σαμουῆλος "ἀλλὰ σύγε, φησίν, εἰ δίκαιος ἦσθα καὶ μὴ παρήκουσας ἐμοῦ μηδ' ὧν ὑπέθετό μοι περὶ τῶν παρόντων ὁ θεὸς ὠλιγώρησας ταχύτερος ἢ συνέφερε τοῖς πράγμασι γεγονὼς, σοί τ' αὐτῷ πλεῖστον ἂν [105] βασιλεῦσαι χρόνον ἐξεγένετο καὶ τοῖς σοῖς ἐγγόνοις." καὶ Σαμουῆλος μὲν ἀχθόμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἀνεχώρησε παρ' αὐτὸν, Σαοῦλος δὲ εἰς Γαβαὼν πόλιν ἔχων ἑξακοσίους μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ μόνον ἦκε σὺν Ἰωνάθῃ τῷ παιδί. τούτων δὲ οἱ πλείους οὐκ εἶχον ὅπλα τῆς χώρας σπανιζούσης σιδήρου καὶ τῶν ὅπλα χαλκεύειν δυναμένων: οὐ γὰρ εἴων οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι ταῦτα εἶναι, καθὼς μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν δεδηλώκαμεν. [106] διελόντες δ' εἰς τρία μέρη τὴν στρατιὰν οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι καὶ κατὰ τοσαύτας ὁδοὺς ἐπερχόμενοι τὴν τῶν Ἑβραίων χώραν ἐπόρθουν, βλεπόντων τε Σαούλου τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἰωνάθου ἀμῦναί τε τῇ γῇ, μεθ' ἑξακοσίων γὰρ μόνων ἦσαν, οὐ δυναμένων. [107] καθεζόμενοι δ' αὐτός τε καὶ ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἐχίας ἀπόγονος ὢν Ἠλὶ τοῦ

ἀρχιερέως ἐπὶ βουνοῦ ὑψηλοῦ καὶ τὴν γῆν λεηλατουμένην ὁρῶντες ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ δεινῇ καθεστήκεσαν. συντίθεται δὲ ὁ Σαούλου παῖς τῷ ὁπλοφόρῳ, κρύφα πορευθέντες αὐτοὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων παρεμβολὴν ἐκδραμεῖν καὶ ταραχὴν ἐμποιῆσαι καὶ θόρυβον [αὐτοῖς]. [108] τοῦ δὲ ὁπλοφόρου προθύμως ἕπεσθαι φήσαντος ὅποι ποτ᾽ ἂν ἡγῆται, κἂν ἀποθανεῖν δέῃ, προσλαβὼν τὴν τοῦ νεανίσκου συνεργίαν καὶ καταβὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βουνοῦ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπορεύετο. ἦν δὲ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ κρημνοῦ, τρισὶν ἄκραις εἰς λεπτὸν ἀπηκονημέναις μῆκος πέτρας ἐν κύκλῳ περιστεφανούσης ὥσπερ προβόλοις τὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις ἀπομαχόμενον. [109] ἔνθεν συνέβαινεν ἠμελῆσθαι τὰς φυλακὰς τοῦ στρατοπέδου διὰ τὸ φύσει περιεῖναι τῷ χωρίῳ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ παντὶ νομίζειν ἀμήχανον εἶναι κατ᾽ ἐκείνας οὐκ ἀναβῆναι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ προσελθεῖν. [110] ὡς οὖν ἦκον εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν ὁ Ἰωνάθης παρεθάρσυνε τὸν ὁπλοφόρον καὶ "προσβάλωμεν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἔλεγε, κἂν μὲν ἀναβῆναι κελεύσωσι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς ἰδόντες σημεῖον τοῦτο νίκης ὑπολάμβανε, ἐὰν δὲ φθέγ [111] ξωνται μηδὲν ὡς οὐ καλοῦντες ἡμᾶς ὑποστρέψωμεν." προσιόντων δὲ αὐτῶν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν πολεμίων ὑποφαινούσης ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας ἰδόντες οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔλεγον ἐκ τῶν ὑπονόμων καὶ σπηλαίων προιέναι τοὺς Ἑβραίους, καὶ πρὸς Ἰωνάθην καὶ τὸν ὁπλοφόρον αὐτοῦ "δεῦτε, ἔφασαν, ἀνέλθετε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἵνα [112] ὑμᾶς τιμωρησώμεθα τῶν τετολμημένων ἀξίως." ἀσπασάμενος δὲ τὴν φωνὴν ὁ τοῦ Σαούλου παῖς ὡς νίκην αὐτῷ σημαίνουσαν παραυτίκα μὲν ἀνεχώρησαν ἐξ οὗπερ ὤφθησαν τόπου τοῖς πολεμίοις, παραμειψάμενοι δὲ τοῦτον ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν ἦκον ἔρημον οὖσαν τῶν φυλαττόντων διὰ τὴν ὀχυρότητα. [113] κἀκεῖθεν ἀνερπύσαντες μετὰ πολλῆς ταλαιπωρίας ἐβιάσαντο τὴν τοῦ χωρίου φύσιν ἀνελθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐπιπεσόντες δ᾽ αὐτοῖς κοιμωμένοις ἀποκτείνουσι μὲν ὡς εἴκοσι, ταραχῆς δὲ καὶ ἐκπλήξεως αὐτοὺς ἐγέμισαν, ὡς τινὰς μὲν φυγεῖν τὰς πανοπλίας ἀπορρίψαντας, [114] οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ μὴ γνωρίζοντες ἑαυτοὺς διὰ τὸ ἐκ πολλῶν ἐθνῶν εἶναι πολεμίους ὑπονοοῦντες ἀλλήλους, καὶ γὰρ εἴκαζον ἀναβῆναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τῶν Ἑβραίων οὐ δύο μόνους, εἰς μάχην ἐτράποντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέθνησκον κτεινόμενοι, τινὲς δὲ φεύγοντες κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν ὠθούμενοι κατεκρημνίζοντο.

2. But Saul sent to the prophet, and called him to consult with him about the war and the public affairs; so he commanded him to stay there for him, and to prepare sacrifices, for he would come to him within seven days, that they might offer sacrifices on the seventh day, and might then join battle with their enemies. So he waited as the prophet sent to him to do; yet did not he, however, observe the command that was given him, but when he saw that the prophet tarried longer than he expected, and that he was deserted by the soldiers, he took the sacrifices and offered them; and when he heard that Samuel was come, he went

out to meet him. But the prophet said he had not done well in disobeying the injunctions he had sent to him, and had not staid till his coming, which being appointed according to the will of God, he had prevented him in offering up those prayers and those sacrifices that he should have made for the multitude, and that he therefore had performed Divine offices in an ill manner, and had been rash in performing them. Hereupon Saul made an apology for himself, and said that he had waited as many days as Samuel had appointed him; that he had been so quick in offering his sacrifices, upon account of the necessity he was in, and because his soldiers were departing from him, out of their fear of the enemy's camp at Michmash, the report being gone abroad that they were coming down upon him of Gilgal. To which Samuel replied, "Nay, certainly, if thou hadst been a righteous man, and hadst not disobeyed me, nor slighted the commands which God suggested to me concerning the present state of affairs, and hadst not acted more hastily than the present circumstances required, thou wouldst have been permitted to reign a long time, and thy posterity after thee." So Samuel, being grieved at what happened, returned home; but Saul came to the city Gibeah, with his son Jonathan, having only six hundred men with him; and of these the greater part had no weapons, because of the scarcity of iron in that country, as well as of those that could make such weapons; for, as we showed a little before, the Philistines had not suffered them to have such iron or such workmen. Now the Philistines divided their army into three companies, and took as many roads, and laid waste the country of the Hebrews, while king Saul and his son Jonathan saw what was done, but were not able to defend the land, having no more than six hundred men with them. But as he, and his son, and Abiah the high priest, who was of the posterity of Eli the high priest, were sitting upon a pretty high hill, and seeing the land laid waste, they were mightily disturbed at it. Now Saul's son agreed with his armor-bearer, that they would go privately to the enemy's camp, and make a tumult and a disturbance among them. And when the armor-bearer had readily promised to follow him whithersoever he should lead him, though he should be obliged to die in the attempt, Jonathan made use of the young man's assistance, and descended from the hill, and went to their enemies. Now the enemy's camp was upon a precipice which had three tops, that ended in a small but sharp and long extremity, while there was a rock that surrounded them, like lines made to prevent the attacks of an enemy. There it so happened, that the out-guards of the camp were neglected, because of the security that here arose from the situation of the place, and because they thought it altogether impossible, not only to ascend up to the camp on that quarter, but so much as to come near it. As soon, therefore, as they came to the camp, Jonathan encouraged his armor-bearer, and said to him, "Let us

attack our enemies; and if, when they see us, they bid us come up to them, take that for a signal of victory; but if they say nothing, as not intending to invite us to come up, let us return back again." So when they were approaching to the enemy's camp, just after break of day, and the Philistines saw them, they said one to another, "The Hebrews come out of their dens and caves:" and they said to Jonathan and to his armor-bearer, "Come on, ascend up to us, that we may inflict a just punishment upon you, for your rash attempt upon us." So Saul's son accepted of that invitation, as what signified to him victory, and he immediately came out of the place whence they were seen by their enemies: so he changed his place, and came to the rock, which had none to guard it, because of its own strength; from thence they crept up with great labor and difficulty, and so far overcame by force the nature of the place, till they were able to fight with their enemies. So they fell upon them as they were asleep, and slew about twenty of them, and thereby filled them with disorder and surprise, insomuch that some of them threw away their entire armor and fled; but the greatest part, not knowing one another, because they were of different nations, suspected one another to be enemies, [for they did not imagine there were only two of the Hebrews that came up,] and so they fought one against another; and some of them died in the battle, and some, as they were flying away, were thrown down from the rock headlong.

(3) [115] Τῶν δὲ τοῦ Σαούλου κατασκόπων τεταράχθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Παλαιστίνων φρασάντων τῷ βασιλεῖ Σαοῦλος ἠρώτα, μή τις εἴη τῶν αὐτοῦ κεχωρισμένος. ἀκούσας δὲ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τὸν ὁπλοφόρον ἀπεῖναι κελεύει τὸν ἀρχιερέα λαβόντα τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν στολὴν προφητεύειν αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων. τοῦ δὲ νίκην ἔσεσθαι καὶ κράτος κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων φράσαντος ἐπεξέρχεται τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις καὶ τεταραγμένοις προσβάλλει καὶ φονεύουσιν ἀλλήλους. [116] προσρέουσι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ πρότερον εἴς τε τοὺς ὑπονόμους καὶ εἰς τὰ σπήλαια συμφυγόντες ἀκούσαντες ὅτι νικᾷ Σαοῦλος: γενομένων δὲ ὡς μυρίων ἤδη τῶν Ἑβραίων διώκει τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐσκορπισμένους τὴν χώραν. εἴτε δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ χαρᾶς οὕτω παραλόγως γενομένη, συμβαίνει γὰρ μὴ κρατεῖν τοῦ λογισμοῦ τοὺς οὕτως εὐτυχήσαντας, εἴθ' ὑπὸ ἀγνοίας εἰς δεινὸν προπίπτει καὶ πολλὴν ἔχον κατάμεμψιν ἔργον: [117] βουλόμενος γὰρ αὐτῷ τε τιμωρῆσαι καὶ δίκην ἀπολαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν Παλαιστίνων ἐπαρᾶται τοῖς Ἑβραίοις, ἵν' εἴ τις ἀποσχόμενος τοῦ φονεύειν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς φάγοι καὶ μὴ μέχρι νὺξ ἐπελθοῦσα τῆς ἀναιρέσεως καὶ τῆς διώξεως αὐτοὺς παύσει τῶν πολεμίων, οὗτος ἐπάρατος ᾖ. [118] τοῦ δὲ Σαούλου τοῦτο φήσαντος, ἐπεὶ κατά τινα δρυμὸν ἐγένοντο βαθὺν καὶ μελισσῶν γέμοντα τῆς Ἐφράμου κληρουχίας, ὁ τοῦ Σαούλου παῖς οὐκ ἐπακηκοὼς τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρᾶς οὐδὲ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῇ τοῦ πλήθους ὁμολογίας ἀποθλίψας τι κηρίον τοῦ μέλιτος ἤσθιε. [119] μεταξὺ δὲ γνοὺς,

ὅτι μετὰ δεινῆς ἀρᾶς ὁ πατὴρ ἀπεῖπε μὴ γεύσασθαί τινα πρὸ ἡλίου δυσμῶν, ἐσθίων μὲν ἐπαύσατο, ἔφη δὲ οὐκ ὀρθῶς κωλῦσαι τὸν πατέρα: μετὰ μείζονος γὰρ ἰσχύος ἂν καὶ προθυμίας διώκοντας, εἰ τροφῆς μετελάμβανον, πολλῷ πλείονας τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ λαβεῖν καὶ φονεῦσαι.

3. Now Saul's watchmen told the king that the camp of the Philistines was in confusion; then he inquired whether any body was gone away from the army; and when he heard that his son, and with him his armor-bearer, were absent, he bade the high priest take the garments of his high priesthood, and prophesy to him what success they should have; who said that they should get the victory, and prevail against their enemies. So he went out after the Philistines, and set upon them as they were slaying one another. Those also who had fled to dens and caves, upon hearing that Saul was gaining a victory, came running to him. When, therefore, the number of the Hebrews that came to Saul amounted to about ten thousand, he pursued the enemy, who were scattered all over the country; but then he fell into an action, which was a very unhappy one, and liable to be very much blamed; for, whether out of ignorance or whether out of joy for a victory gained so strangely, [for it frequently happens that persons so fortunate are not then able to use their reason consistently,] as he was desirous to avenge himself, and to exact a due punishment of the Philistines, he denounced a curse upon the Hebrews: That if any one put a stop to his slaughter of the enemy, and fell on eating, and left off the slaughter or the pursuit before the night came on, and obliged them so to do, he should be accursed. Now after Saul had denounced this curse, since they were now in a wood belonging to the tribe of Ephraim, which was thick and full of bees, Saul's son, who did not hear his father denounce that curse, nor hear of the approbation the multitude gave to it, broke off a piece of a honey-comb, and ate part of it. But, in the mean time, he was informed with what a curse his father had forbidden them to taste any thing before sun-setting: so he left off eating, and said his father had not done well in this prohibition, because, had they taken some food, they had pursued the enemy with greater rigor and alacrity, and had both taken and slain many more of their enemies.

(4) [120] Πολλὰς γοῦν κατακόψαντες μυριάδας τῶν Παλαιστίνων δείλης ὀψίας ἐπὶ διαρπαγὴν τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῶν Παλαιστίνων τρέπονται, καὶ λείαν πολλὴν καὶ βοσκήματα λαβόντες κατασφάζουσι καὶ ταῦτ' ἔναιμα κατήσθιον. ἀπαγγέλλεται δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ ὑπὸ τῶν γραμματέων, ὅτι τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐξαμαρτάνει θῦσαν καὶ πρὶν ἢ τὸ αἷμα καλῶς ἀποπλῦναι καὶ τὰς σάρκας ποιῆσαι καθαρὰς ἐσθίον. [121] καὶ Σαοῦλος κελεύει κυλισθῆναι λίθον μέγαν εἰς μέσον καὶ κηρύσσει θύειν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν ὄχλον τὰ ἱερεῖα καὶ τὰ κρέα μὴ σὺν τῷ αἵματι δαίνυσθαι:

τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ εἶναι τῷ θεῷ κεχαρισμένον. τοῦτο δὲ πάντων κατὰ τὴν πρόσταξιν τοῦ βασιλέως ποιησάντων ἵστησιν ἐκεῖ βωμὸν ὁ Σαοῦλος καὶ ὡλοκαύτωσεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ τῷ θεῷ. τοῦτον πρῶτον βωμὸν κατεσκεύασεν.

4. When, therefore, they had slain many ten thousands of the Philistines, they fell upon spoiling the camp of the Philistines, but not till late in the evening. They also took a great deal of prey and cattle, and killed them, and ate them with their blood. This was told to the king by the scribes, that the multitude were sinning against God as they sacrificed, and were eating before the blood was well washed away, and the flesh was made clean. Then did Saul give order that a great stone should be rolled into the midst of them, and he made proclamation that they should kill their sacrifices upon it, and not feed upon the flesh with the blood, for that was not acceptable to God. And when all the people did as the king commanded them, Saul erected an altar there, and offered burnt-offerings upon it to God This was the first altar that Saul built.

(5) [122] Ἄγειν δ᾽ εὐθὺς τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐπὶ τὴν διαρπαγὴν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ βουλόμενος πρὶν ἡμέρας καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ὀκνούντων ἔπεσθαι, πολλὴν δ᾽ εἰς ἃ προστάττει προθυμίαν ἐνδεικνυμένων, καλέσας ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀχίτωβον τὸν ἀρχιερέα κελεύει αὐτὸν γνῶναι, εἰ δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς καὶ συγχωρεῖ βαδίσασιν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν ἐχθρῶν διαφθεῖραι τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ τυγχάνοντας. [123] εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ ἱερέως μὴ ἀποκρίνεσθαι τὸν θεόν “ἀλλ᾽ οὐ δίχα αἰτίας, εἶπεν ὁ Σαοῦλος, πυνθανομένοις ἡμῖν φωνὴν οὐ δίδωσιν ὁ θεὸς, ὃς πρότερον αὐτὸς προεμήνυσε πάντα καὶ μηδ᾽ ἐπερωτῶσιν ἔφθασε λέγων, ἀλλ᾽ ἔστι τι λανθάνον ἐξ ἡμῶν ἁμάρτημα πρὸς αὐτὸν αἴτιον τῆς σιωπῆς. [124] καὶ ὄμνυμί γε τοῦτον αὐτὸν, ἢ μὴν κἂν ὁ παῖς ὁ ἐμὸς Ἰωνάθης ᾖ τὸ ἁμάρτημα τοῦτο ἐργασάμενος ἀποκτείνειν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν θεὸν οὕτως ἱλάσασθαι, ὡς ἂν εἰ καὶ παρ᾽ ἀλλοτρίου καὶ μηδὲν ἐμοὶ [125] προσήκοντος τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δίκην ἀπελάμβανον.” τοῦ δὲ πλήθους τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐπιβοήσαντος παραχρῆμα πάντας ἵστησιν εἰς ἕνα τόπον, ἵσταται δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς σὺν τῷ παιδὶ κατ᾽ ἄλλο μέρος καὶ κλήρῳ τὸν ἡμαρτηκότα μαθεῖν ἐπεζήτει: καὶ λαγχάνει δοκεῖν οὗτος εἶναι Ἰωνάθης. [126] ἐπερωτώμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τί πεπλημμέληκε καὶ τί παρὰ τὸν βίον οὐκ ὀρθῶς οὐδὲ ὁσίως αὐτῷ διαπραξαμένῳ συνέγνωκε “πάτερ, εἶπεν, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν, ὅτι δὲ χθὲς ἀγνοῶν τὴν ἀρὰν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ὅρκον μεταξὺ διώκων τοὺς πολεμίους ἐγεύσατο κηρίων. Σαοῦλος δ᾽ ἀποκτείνειν αὐτὸν ὄμνυσι καὶ τῆς γενέσεως καὶ τῆς φύσεως τῶν φίλτρων ἐτίμησε τὸν ὅρκον. [127] ὁ δ᾽ οὐ καταπλήττεται τὴν ἀπειλὴν τοῦ θανάτου, παραστησάμενος δ᾽ εὐγενῶς καὶ μεγαλοφρόνως “οὐδ᾽ ἐγώ σε, φησίν, ἱκετεύσω φείσασθαί μου, πάτερ, ἥδιστος δέ μοι ὁ θάνατος ὑπέρ τε τῆς σῆς εὐσεβείας γινόμενος καὶ ἐπὶ νίκῃ λαμπρᾷ: μέγιστον γὰρ παραμύ [128] θιον τὸ καταλιπεῖν

Ἑβραίους Παλαιστίνων κεκρατηκότας.” ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ λαὸς πᾶς ἤλγησε καὶ συνέπαθεν ὤμοσέ τε μὴ περιόψεσθαι τὸν αἴτιον τῆς νίκης Ἰωνάθην ἀποθανόντα. καὶ τὸν μὲν οὕτως ἐξαρπάζουσι τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρᾶς, αὐτοὶ δὲ εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ νεανίσκου ποιοῦνται τῷ θεῷ ὥστε αὐτὸν ἀπολῦσαι τοῦ ἁμαρτήματος.

5. So when Saul was desirous of leading his men to the enemy’s camp before it was day, in order to plunder it, and when the soldiers were not unwilling to follow him, but indeed showed great readiness to do as he commanded them, the king called Ahitub the high priest, and enjoined him to know of God whether he would grant them the favor and permission to go against the enemy’s camp, in order to destroy those that were in it. And when the priest said that God did not give any answer, Saul replied, “And not without some cause does God refuse to answer what we inquire of him, while yet a little while ago he declared to us all that we desired beforehand, and even prevented us in his answer. To be sure there is some sin against him that is concealed from us, which is the occasion of his silence. Now I swear by him himself, that though he that hath committed this sin should prove to be my own son Jonathan, I will slay him, and by that means will appease the anger of God against us, and that in the very same manner as if I were to punish a stranger, and one not at all related to me, for the same offense.” So when the multitude cried out to him so to do, he presently set all the rest on one side, and he and his son stood on the other side, and he sought to discover the offender by lot. Now the lot appeared to fall upon Jonathan himself. So when he was asked by his father what sin he had been guilty of, and what he was conscious of in the course of his life that might be esteemed instances of guilt or profaneness, his answer was this, “O father, I have done nothing more than that yesterday, without knowing of the curse and oath thou hadst denounced, while I was in pursuit of the enemy, I tasted of a honey-comb.” But Saul sware that he would slay him, and prefer the observation of his oath before all the ties of birth and of nature. And Jonathan was not dismayed at this threatening of death, but, offering himself to it generously and undauntedly, he said, “Nor do I desire you, father, to spare me: death will be to me very acceptable, when it proceeds from thy piety, and after a glorious victory; for it is the greatest consolation to me that I leave the Hebrews victorious over the Philistines.” Hereupon all the people were very sorry, and greatly afflicted for Jonathan; and they sware that they would not overlook Jonathan, and see him die, who was the author of their victory. By which means they snatched him out of the danger he was in from his father’s curse, while they made their prayers to God also for the young man, that he would remit his sin.

(6) [129] Καὶ ὁ Σαοῦλος εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν ὑπέστρεψε διαφθείρας ὡσεὶ μυριάδας ἓξ τῶν πολεμίων. βασιλεύει δὲ εὐτυχῶς, καὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα τῶν ἐθνῶν πολεμήσας χειροῦται τό τε Ἀμμανιτῶν καὶ Μωαβιτῶν Παλαιστίνους Ἰδουμαίους [Ἀμαληκίτας τε] καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Σωβᾶς. ἦσαν δὲ παῖδες αὐτῷ τρεῖς μὲν ἄρσενες Ἰωνάθης καὶ Ἰησοῦς καὶ Μέλχισος, θυγατέρες δὲ Μερόβη καὶ Μιχαάλ. [130] στρατηγὸν δὲ εἶχε τὸν τοῦ θείου παῖδα Ἀβήναρον: Νῆρος δ’ ἐκεῖνος ἐκαλεῖτο, Νῆρος δὲ καὶ Κεὶς ὁ Σαούλου πατὴρ ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν, υἱοὶ δ’ Ἀβελίου. ἦν δὲ καὶ πλῆθος ἁρμάτων Σαούλῳ καὶ ἱππέων, οἷς δὲ πολεμήσειε νικήσας ἀπηλλάσσετο, καὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους εἰς εὐπραγίας καὶ μέγεθος εὐδαιμονίας προηγάγετο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπέδειξεν ἐθνῶν δυνατωτέρους, καὶ τῶν νέων τοὺς δὴ καὶ μεγέθει καὶ κάλλει διαφέροντας φύλακας τοῦ σώματος ἐποιεῖτο.

6. So Saul, having slain about sixty thousand of the enemy, returned home to his own city, and reigned happily: and he also fought against the neighboring nations, and subdued the Ammonites, and Moabites, and Philistines, and Edomites, and Amalekites, as also the king of Zobah. He had three male children, Jonathan, and Isui, and Melchishua; with Merab and Michal his daughters. He had also Abner, his uncle’s son, for the captain of his host: that uncle’s name was Ner. Now Ner, and Kish the father of Saul, were brothers. Saul had also a great many chariots and horsemen, and against whomsoever he made war he returned conqueror, and advanced the affairs of the Hebrews to a great degree of success and prosperity, and made them superior to other nations; and he made such of the young men as were remarkable for tallness and comeliness the guards of his body.

VII

CHAPTER 7. Saul’s War With The Amalekites, And Conquest Of Them.

(1) [131] Σαμουῆλος δὲ παραγενόμενος πρὸς τὸν Σαοῦλον πεμφθῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφασκεν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅπως αὐτὸν ὑπομνήσῃ, ὅτι βασιλέα προκρίνας αὐτὸν ἁπάντων ὁ θεὸς ἀπέδειξε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πείθεσθαι καὶ κατήκοον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι ὡς αὐτοῦ μὲν ἔχοντος τὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγεμονίαν, τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν κατ’ ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων. [132] λέγειν τοίνυν ἔφασκε τὸν θεὸν: “ἐπεὶ πολλὰ κακὰ τοὺς Ἑβραίους Ἀμαληκῖται διέθηκαν κατὰ τὴν ἔρημον, ὅτε ἐξελθόντες ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου εἰς τὴν νῦν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς ἐστέλλοντο χώραν, κελεύω πολέμῳ τιμωρησάμενον τοὺς Ἀμαληκίτας καὶ κρατήσαντα μηδέν’ αὐτῶν ὑπολιπεῖν, [133] ἀλλὰ πάσης διεξελθεῖν ἡλικίας ἀρξαμένους ἀπὸ γυναικῶν κτείνειν καὶ νηπίων καὶ τοιαύτην ὑπὲρ ὧν τοὺς προγόνους ὑμῶν εἰργάσαντο τιμωρίαν ἀπολαβεῖν, φείσασθαι δὲ μήτε ὑποζυγίων μήτε τῶν ἄλλων βοσκημάτων εἰς ὠφέλειαν καὶ κτῆσιν ἰδίαν, ἅπαντα δ’ ἀναθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὸ Ἀμαλήκου ὄνομα ταῖς Μωυσέος κατακολουθήσαντ’ ἐντολαῖς ἐξαλεῖψαι.

1. Now Samuel came unto Saul, and said to him, that he was sent by God to put him in mind that God had preferred him before all others, and ordained him king; that he therefore ought to be obedient to him, and to submit to his authority, as considering, that though he had the dominion over the other tribes, yet that God had the dominion over him, and over all things. That accordingly God said to him, that “because the Amalekites did the Hebrews a great deal of mischief while they were in the wilderness, and when, upon their coming out of Egypt, they were making their way to that country which is now their own, I enjoin thee to punish the Amalekites, by making war upon them; and when thou hast subdued them, to leave none of them alive, but to pursue them through every age, and to slay them, beginning with the women and the infants, and to require this as a punishment to be inflicted upon them for the mischief they did to our forefathers; to spare nothing, neither asses nor other beasts, nor to reserve any of them for your own advantage and possession, but to devote them universally to God, and, in obedience to the commands of Moses, to blot out the name of Amalek entirely.”

(2) [134] Ὁμολογεῖ δὲ ποιήσειν Σαοῦλος τὰ προστασσόμενα, τὴν δὲ πειθαρχίαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν οὐκ ἐν τῷ ποιήσασθαι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμαληκίτας στρατείαν λογιζόμενος εἶναι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἑτοιμότητα καὶ τὸ τάχος ἀναβολῆς οὐ προσούσης ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐμφανίζει, ἀθροίζει τε πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ταύτην

ἐξαριθμήσας ἐν Γαλγάλοις εὑρίσκει τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἔξω τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς περὶ τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδας: ἥδε γὰρ ἡ φυλὴ καθ᾽ αὑτήν ἐστι στρατιῶται τρισμύριοι. [135] Σαοῦλος δ᾽ ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἀμαληκιτῶν χώραν ἐνέδρας πολλὰς καὶ λόχους περὶ τὸν χειμάρρουν τίθησιν, ὡς μὴ μόνον ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ μαχομένους αὐτοὺς κακῶς ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μὴ προσδοκῶσι κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐπιπίπτειν καὶ κυκλουμένους ἀναιρεῖν: καὶ δὴ συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς εἰς μάχην τρέπεται τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ διαφθείρει πάντας φεύγουσιν ἐπακολουθῶν. [136] ὡς δ᾽ ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔργον αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ προφητείαν ἐχώρησε, ταῖς πόλεσι τῶν Ἀμαληκιτῶν προσέβαλε καὶ τὰς μὲν μηχανήμασι, τὰς δὲ ὀρύγμασιν ὑπονόμοις καὶ τείχεσιν ἔξωθεν ἀντῳκοδομημένοις, τὰς δὲ λιμῷ καὶ δίψει, τὰς δὲ ἄλλοις τρόποις ἐκπολιορκήσας καὶ λαβὼν κατὰ κράτος ἐπὶ σφαγὴν γυναικῶν καὶ νηπίων ἐχώρησεν, οὐδὲν ὠμὸν οὐδ᾽ ἀνθρωπίνης σκληρότερον διαπράσσεσθαι φύσεως ἡγούμενος, πρῶτον μὲν πολεμίους ταῦτα δρῶν, ἔπειτα προστάγματι θεοῦ, ᾧ τὸ μὴ πείθεσθαι κίνδυνον ἔφερε. [137] λαμβάνει δὲ καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ἐχθρῶν Ἄγαγον αἰχμάλωτον, οὗ θαυμάσας τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ σώματος σωτηρίας ἄξιον ἔκρινεν οὐκέτι τοῦτο ποιῶν κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ, πάθει δὲ νικώμενος ἰδίῳ καὶ χαριζόμενος ἀκαίρως περὶ ὧν οὐκ εἶχεν ἀκίνδυνον ἐξουσίαν οἴκτῳ. [138] ὁ μὲν γὰρ θεὸς οὕτως ἐμίσησε τὸ τῶν Ἀμαληκιτῶν ἔθνος, ὡς μηδὲ νηπίων φείσασθαι κελεῦσαι πρὸς ἃ μᾶλλον ἔλεος γίνεσθαι πέφυκε, Σαοῦλος δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν εἰς Ἑβραίους κακῶν ἔσωσε τῆς μνήμης ὧν ἐπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ τοῦ πολεμίου κάλλος ἐπίπροσθεν ποιησάμενος. [139] συνεξήμαρτε δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος: καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τῶν ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν βοσκημάτων ἐφείσαντο καὶ διήρπασαν μὴ τηρεῖν αὐτὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος τά τε ἄλλα χρήματα καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον ἐξεφόρησαν, εἰ δέ τι μὴ σπουδῆς ἦν ἄξιον ὥστε κεκτῆσθαι διέφθειραν.

2. So Saul promised to do what he was commanded; and supposing that his obedience to God would be shown, not only in making war against the Amalekites, but more fully in the readiness and quickness of his proceedings, he made no delay, but immediately gathered together all his forces; and when he had numbered them in Gilgal, he found them to be about four hundred thousand of the Israelites, besides the tribe of Judah, for that tribe contained by itself thirty thousand. Accordingly, Saul made an irruption into the country of the Amalekites, and set many men in several parties in ambush at the river, that so he might not only do them a mischief by open fighting, but might fall upon them unexpectedly in the ways, and might thereby compass them round about, and kill them. And when he had joined battle with the enemy, he beat them; and pursuing them as they fled, he destroyed them all. And when that undertaking had succeeded, according as God had foretold, he set upon the cities of the

Amalekites; he besieged them, and took them by force, partly by warlike machines, partly by mines dug under ground, and partly by building walls on the outsides. Some they starved out with famine, and some they gained by other methods; and after all, he betook himself to slay the women and the children, and thought he did not act therein either barbarously or inhumanly; first, because they were enemies whom he thus treated, and, in the next place, because it was done by the command of God, whom it was dangerous not to obey. He also took Agag, the enemies' king, captive, — the beauty and tallness of whose body he admired so much, that he thought him worthy of preservation. Yet was not this done however according to the will of God, but by giving way to human passions, and suffering himself to be moved with an unseasonable commiseration, in a point where it was not safe for him to indulge it; for God hated the nation of the Amalekites to such a degree, that he commanded Saul to have no pity on even those infants which we by nature chiefly compassionate; but Saul preserved their king and governor from the miseries which the Hebrews brought on the people, as if he preferred the fine appearance of the enemy to the memory of what God had sent him about. The multitude were also guilty, together with Saul; for they spared the herds and the flocks, and took them for a prey, when God had commanded they should not spare them. They also carried off with them the rest of their wealth and riches; but if there were any thing that was not worthy of regard, that they destroyed.

(3) [140] Νικήσας δὲ Σαοῦλος ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀπὸ Πηλουσίου τῆς Αἰγύπτου καθήκοντας ἕως τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης διέφθειρε πολεμίους παραλιπὼν τὸ τῶν Σικιμιτῶν ἔθνος: οὗτοι γὰρ ἐν τῇ Μαδιηνῇ χώρᾳ μέσοι κατῴκηνται. πρὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης πέμψας παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς ἀναχωρεῖν, μὴ τοῖς Ἀμαληκίταις κοινωνήσωσι συμφορᾶς: συγγενεῖς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὄντας Ῥαγουήλου τοῦ Μωυσέος πενθεροῦ σώζειν αἰτίαν ἔχειν.

3. But when Saul had conquered all these Amalekites that reached from Pelusium of Egypt to the Red Sea, he laid waste all the rest of the enemy's country: but for the nation of the Shechemites, he did not touch them, although they dwelt in the very middle of the country of Midian; for before the battle, Saul had sent to them, and charged them to depart thence, lest they should be partakers of the miseries of the Amalekites; for he had a just occasion for saving them, since they were of the kindred of Raguel, Moses's father-in-law.

(4) [141] Καὶ Σαοῦλος μὲν ὡς μηδενὸς παρακούσας ὧν ὁ προφήτης ἐπέστειλε μέλλοντι τὸν πρὸς Ἀμαληκίτας ἐκφέρειν πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐκείνοις ἀκριβῶς πεφυλαγμένοις νενικηκὼς τοὺς πολεμίους οἴκαδε πρὸς αὐτὸν

ὑπέστρεψε χαίρων ἐπὶ τοῖς κατωρθωμένοις. [142] ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἄχθεται τῇ τε τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἀμαληκιτῶν σωτηρίᾳ καὶ τῇ τῶν βοσκημάτων διαρπαγῇ τοῦ πλήθους, ὅτι μὴ συγχωρήσαντος αὐτοῦ ταῦτ᾽ ἐπράχθη: δεινὸν γὰρ ἡγεῖτο νικᾶν μὲν καὶ περιγίνεσθαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐκείνου τὴν ἰσχὺν διδόντος αὐτοῖς, καταφρονεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ παρακούεσθαι μηδὲ ὡς ἄνθρωπον βασιλέα. [143] μετανοεῖν οὖν ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν προφήτην Σαμουῆλον ἐπὶ τῷ χειροτονῆσαι βασιλέα τὸν Σαοῦλον μηδὲν ὧν αὐτὸς κελεύει πράττοντα, τῇ δ᾽ οἰκείᾳ βουλήσει χρώμενον. σφόδρα ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας ὁ Σαμουῆλος συνεχύθη καὶ δι᾽ ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς παρακαλεῖν ἤρξατο τὸν θεὸν καταλλάττεσθαι τῷ Σαούλῳ καὶ μὴ χαλεπαίνειν. [144] ὁ δὲ τὴν συγγνώμην οὐκ ἐπένευσεν εἰς τὸν Σαοῦλον αἰτουμένῳ τῷ προφήτῃ λογισάμενος οὐκ εἶναι δίκαιον ἁμαρτήματα χαρίζεσθαι παραιτήσει: οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἄλλου τινὸς φύεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ μαλακίζεσθαι τοὺς ἀδικουμένους: θηρωμένους γὰρ δόξαν ἐπιεικείας καὶ χρηστότητος λανθάνειν αὐτοὺς ταῦτα γεννῶντας. [145] ὡς οὖν ἀπεῖπεν ὁ θεὸς τῇ τοῦ προφήτου δεήσει καὶ δῆλος ἦν μεταμελόμενος, ἅμ᾽ ἡμέρᾳ Σαμουῆλος εἰς Γάλγαλα παραγίνεται πρὸς Σαοῦλον: θεασάμενος δ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς προστρέχει καὶ κατασπασάμενος “τῷ θεῷ, φησίν, εὐχαριστῶ δόντι μοι τὴν νίκην, ἅπαντα [146] μέντοι γε τὰ κελευσθέντα ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πέπρακται.” Σαμουῆλος δὲ πρὸς τοῦθ᾽ ὑπολαβὼν “πόθεν οὖν ἀκούω θρεμμάτων, εἶπε, καὶ ὑποζυγίων βοῆς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ;” ὁ δὲ τὸν λαὸν ταῦτ᾽ εἰς θυσίας ἀπεκρίνατο τετηρηκέναι: τὸ μέντοι γε τῶν Ἀμαληκιτῶν γένος πᾶν ἐξηφανίσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν καὶ περιλείπεσθαι ἄλλον μηδένα, πρὸς δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀγαγεῖν μόνον τηρήσαντα αὐτῶν τὸν βασιλέα, περὶ οὗ τί δεῖ ποιεῖν βουλεύσεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔφασκεν. [147] ὁ δὲ προφήτης οὐχὶ θυσίαις ἔλεγεν ἥδεσθαι τὸ θεῖον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ δικαίοις. οὗτοι δέ εἰσιν οἱ τῇ βουλήσει καὶ ταῖς ἐντολαῖς αὐτοῦ κατακολουθοῦντες καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο πραχθήσεσθαι καλῶς ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν νομίζοντες ἢ ὅτι ἂν ποιήσωσι τοῦ θεοῦ κεκελευκότος: καταφρονεῖσθαι γὰρ οὐχ ὅταν αὐτῷ μὴ θύῃ τις, ἀλλ᾽ ὅταν ἀπειθεῖν δοκῇ. [148] παρὰ δὲ τῶν οὐχ ὑποτασσομένων οὐδ᾽ ἀληθῆ καὶ μόνην τῷ θεῷ κεχαρισμένην θρησκευόντων θρησκείαν, οὔτ᾽ ἂν πολλὰ καὶ πιμελῆ καταθύσωσιν ἱερεῖα, οὔτ᾽ ἂν κόσμον ἀναθημάτων ἐξ ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ πεποιημένων προσφέρωσι, δέχεται ταῦτ᾽ εὐμενῶς, ἀλλ᾽ ἀποστρέφεται καὶ δείγματα τῆς πονηρίας οὐκ εὐσέβειαν ἡγεῖται. [149] τοῖς δ᾽ ἓν καὶ μόνον τοῦθ᾽ ὅτι περ ἂν φθέγξηται καὶ κελεύσῃ ὁ θεὸς διὰ μνήμης ἔχουσι καὶ τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ παραβῆναί τι τούτων αἱρουμένοις ἐπιτέρπεται, καὶ οὔτε θυσίαν ἐπιζητεῖ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ παρὰ θυόντων δὲ, κἂν ᾖ λιτά, τῆς πενίας ἥδιον τὴν τιμὴν ἢ παρὰ τῶν πλουσιωτάτων δεξιοῦται. [150] σὺ τοίνυν ἴσθι σαυτὸν δι᾽ ὀργῆς ὄντα τῷ θεῷ: κατεφρόνησας γὰρ καὶ κατημέλησας ὧν ἐπέστειλε. πῶς οὖν οἴει τὴν θυσίαν ἂν αὐτὸν προσβλέπειν ἐξ ὧν κατέκρινεν ἀπολέσθαι γινομένην; πλὴν εἰ μὴ νομίζεις ὅμοιον ὄλεθρον τὸ θύεσθαι ταῦτα τῷ θεῷ. προσδόκα τοίνυν τὴν βασιλείαν ἀφαιρεθησόμενος καὶ

τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἀφ᾽ ἧς [151] ὁρμώμενος τοῦ παρασχόντος σοι θεοῦ ταύτην ἠμέλησας.” Σαοῦλος δὲ ἀδικεῖν ὡμολόγει καὶ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἠρνεῖτο: παραβῆναι γὰρ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ προφήτου: κατὰ μέντοι γε δέος καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν φόβον μὴ κωλῦσαι διαρπάζοντας αὐτοὺς τὴν λείαν μηδ᾽ ἐπισχεῖν. ἀλλὰ συγγίνωσκε καὶ πρᾷος ἴσθι: φυλάξεσθαι γὰρ εἰς τοὐπιὸν ἁμαρτεῖν, παρεκάλει δὲ τὸν προφήτην ὑποστρέψαντα θυσίας χαριστηρίους ἐπιτελέσαι τῷ θεῷ: ὁ δὲ, οὐ γὰρ ἑώρα τὸν θεὸν διαλλαττόμενον, ἀπῄει πρὸς ἑαυτόν.

4. Hereupon Saul returned home with joy, for the glorious things he had done, and for the conquest of his enemies, as though he had not neglected any thing which the prophet had enjoined him to do when he was going to make war with the Amalekites, and as though he had exactly observed all that he ought to have done. But God was grieved that the king of the Amalekites was preserved alive, and that the multitude had seized on the cattle for a prey, because these things were done without his permission; for he thought it an intolerable thing that they should conquer and overcome their enemies by that power which he gave them, and then that he himself should be so grossly despised and disobeyed by them, that a mere man that was a king would not bear it. He therefore told Samuel the prophet, that he repented that he had made Saul king, while he did nothing that he had commanded him, but indulged his own inclinations. When Samuel heard that, he was in confusion, and began to beseech God all that night to be reconciled to Saul, and not to be angry with him; but he did not grant that forgiveness to Saul which the prophet asked for, as not deeming it a fit thing to grant forgiveness of [such] sins at his entreaties, since injuries do not otherwise grow so great as by the easy tempers of those that are injured; or while they hunt after the glory of being thought gentle and good-natured, before they are aware they produce other sins. As soon therefore as God had rejected the intercession of the prophet, and it plainly appeared he would not change his mind, at break of day Samuel came to Saul at Gilgal. When the king saw him, he ran to him, and embraced him, and said, “I return thanks to God, who hath given me the victory, for I have performed every thing that he hath commanded me.” To which Samuel replied, “How is it then that I hear the bleating of the sheep and the lowing of the greater cattle in the camp?” Saul made answer, That the people had reserved them for sacrifices; but that, as to the nation of the Amalekites, it was entirely destroyed, as he had received it in command to see done, and that no one man was left; but that he had saved alive the king alone, and brought him to him, concerning whom, he said, they would advise together what should be done with him. But the prophet said, “God is not delighted with sacrifices, but with good and with righteous men, who are such as follow his will and his laws,

and never think that any thing is well done by them but when they do it as God had commanded them; that he then looks upon himself as affronted, not when any one does not sacrifice, but when any one appears to be disobedient to him. But that from those who do not obey him, nor pay him that duty which is the alone true and acceptable worship, he will not kindly accept their oblations, be those they offer ever so many and so fat, and be the presents they make him ever so ornamental, nay, though they were made of gold and silver themselves, but he will reject them, and esteem them instances of wickedness, and not of piety. And that he is delighted with those that still bear in mind this one thing, and this only, how to do that, whatsoever it be, which God pronounces or commands for them to do, and to choose rather to die than to transgress any of those commands; nor does he require so much as a sacrifice from them. And when these do sacrifice, though it be a mean oblation, he better accepts of it as the honor of poverty, than such oblations as come from the richest men that offer them to him. Wherefore take notice, that thou art under the wrath of God, for thou hast despised and neglected what he commanded thee. How dost thou then suppose that he will respect a sacrifice out of such things as he hath doomed to destruction? unless perhaps thou dost imagine that it is almost all one to offer it in sacrifice to God as to destroy it. Do thou therefore expect that thy kingdom will be taken from thee, and that authority which thou hast abused by such insolent behavior, as to neglect that God who bestowed it upon thee." Then did Saul confess that he had acted unjustly, and did not deny that he had sinned, because he had transgressed the injunctions of the prophet; but he said that it was out of a dread and fear of the soldiers, that he did not prohibit and restrain them when they seized on the prey. "But forgive me," said he, "and be merciful to me, for I will be cautious how I offend for the time to come." He also entreated the prophet to go back with him, that he might offer his thank-offerings to God; but Samuel went home, because he saw that God would not be reconciled to him.

(5) [152] Σαοῦλος δὲ κατασχεῖν βουλόμενος τὸν Σαμουῆλον ἐλλαμβάνεται τῆς διπλοίδος καὶ βιαίας τῆς ὁλκῆς διὰ τὸ μεθ' ὁρμῆς ἀπιέναι τὸν Σαμουῆλον γενομένης διασχίζει τὸ ἱμάτιον. [153] τοῦ δὲ προφήτου τὴν βασιλείαν οὕτως [αὐτοῦ] διασχισθῆναι φήσαντος καὶ λήψεσθαι ταύτην ἀγαθὸν καὶ δίκαιον, ἐμμένειν γὰρ τὸν θεὸν τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ κεκριμένοις ὡς τοῦ μεταβάλλεσθαι καὶ στρέφειν τὴν γνώμην ἀνθρωπίνου πάθους ὄντος οὐχὶ θείας ἰσχύος, [154] ὁ Σαοῦλος ἀσεβῆσαι μὲν ἔλεγεν, ἀγένητα δὲ ποιῆσαι τὰ πεπραγμένα μὴ δύνασθαι: τιμῆσαί γε μὴν αὐτὸν παρεκάλει τοῦ πλήθους ὁρῶντος σὺν αὐτῷ παραγενόμενον τὸν θεὸν προσκυνῆσαι. δίδωσι δὲ τοῦτο Σαμουῆλος αὐτῷ καὶ συνελθὼν προσκυνεῖ τῷ θεῷ. [155] ἄγεται δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἀμαληκιτῶν βασιλεὺς Ἄγαγος πρὸς

αὐτόν: καὶ πυνθανομένου, πῶς εἴη πικρὸς ὁ θάνατος, εἶπεν "ὡς σὺ πολλὰς μητέρας Ἑβραίων ἐπὶ τέκνοις ὀδύρεσθαι καὶ πένθος ἄγειν ἐποίησας, οὕτως ὀδυνήσεις ἐπὶ σαυτῷ διαφθαρέντι τὴν μητέρα." καὶ κελεύει παραχρῆμα αὐτὸν ἐν Γαλγάλοις ἀποθανεῖν. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς Ἅρμαθον πόλιν ἀπαλλάσσεται.

5. But then Saul was so desirous to retain Samuel, that he took hold of his cloak, and because the vehemence of Samuel's departure made the motion to be violent, the cloak was rent. Upon which the prophet said, that after the same manner should the kingdom be rent from him, and that a good and a just man should take it; that God persevered in what he had decreed about him; that to be mutable and changeable in what is determined, is agreeable to human passions only, but is not agreeable to the Divine Power. Hereupon Saul said that he had been wicked, but that what was done could not be undone: he therefore desired him to honor him so far, that the multitude might see that he would accompany him in worshipping God. So Samuel granted him that favor, and went with him and worshipped God. Agag also, the king of the Amalekites, was brought to him; and when the king asked, How bitter death was? Samuel said, "As thou hast made many of the Hebrew mothers to lament and bewail the loss of their children, so shalt thou, by thy death, cause thy mother to lament thee also." Accordingly, he gave order to slay him immediately at Gilgal, and then went away to the city Ramah.

VIII

CHAPTER 8. How, Upon Saul's Transgression Of The Prophet's Commands, Samuel Ordained Another Person To Be King Privately, Whose Name Was David, As God Commanded Him.

(1) [156] Σαοῦλος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς αἰσθόμενος ὧν πειραθείη κακῶν ἐχθρὸν αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν κατασκευάσας, εἰς τὸ βασίλειον ἀναβαίνει Γαβᾶ, σημαίνει βουνὸν ἑρμηνευόμενον τὸ ὄνομα, καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκείνην οὐκέτι τὴν ἡμέραν εἰς ὄψιν ἔρχεται τῷ προφήτῃ. [157] Σαμουήλῳ δὲ λυπουμένῳ περὶ αὐτοῦ παύσασθαι μὲν τῆς φροντίδος ἐκέλευσεν ὁ θεός, λαβόντι δὲ τὸ ἅγιον ἔλαιον εἰς Βηθλέμην ἀπελθεῖν πόλιν πρὸς Ἰεσσαῖον παῖδα Ὠβήδου καὶ χρῖσαι τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ ὃν ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιδείξῃ βασιλέα γενησόμενον. ὁ δὲ εὐλαβεῖσθαι φήσας, μὴ τοῦτο μαθὼν Σαοῦλος ἀνέλῃ λοχήσας αὐτὸν ἢ καὶ φανερῶς, ὑποθεμένου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ δόντος ἀσφαλείας ὁδὸν ἦκεν εἰς τὴν προειρημένην πόλιν. [158] καὶ πάντες αὐτὸν ἠσπάζοντό τε καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἀφίξεως ἀνηρώτων, ἔλεγε δὲ ἥκειν ἵνα θύσῃ τῷ θεῷ. ποιήσας οὖν τὴν θυσίαν καλεῖ τὸν Ἰεσσαῖον μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ θεασάμενος αὐτοῦ τὸν πρεσβύτατον υἱὸν εὐμεγέθη καὶ καλὸν εἴκασεν ἐκ τῆς εὐμορφίας τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν μέλλοντα βασιλεύειν. [159] διαμαρτάνει δὲ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίας: ἐπερωτήσαντι γὰρ αὐτὸν, εἰ χρίσει τῷ ἐλαίῳ τὸν νεανίσκον, ὃν αὐτός τε θαυμάζει καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἄξιον ἔκρινεν, οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ βλέπειν ἀνθρώπους εἶπε καὶ θεόν: [160] ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν εἰς τὸ κάλλος ἀπιδὼν τοῦ νεανίσκου καὶ δὴ τοῦτον ἡγῇ ἄξιον τοῦ βασιλεύειν εἶναι, ἐγὼ δ᾽ οὐ σωμάτων εὐμορφίας ἔπαθλον ποιοῦμαι τὴν βασιλείαν ἀλλὰ ψυχῶν ἀρετῆς καὶ ζητῶ ὅστις ταύτης ἐστὶ τελέως εὐπρεπὴς, εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ πειθοῖ ἐξ ὧν τὸ [161] τῆς ψυχῆς συνίσταται κάλλος κατακεκοσμημένος." ταῦτα φράσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ πάντας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἰεσσαῖον τοὺς υἱοὺς ἐπιδεῖξαι Σαμουῆλος: ὁ δὲ πέντε ἄλλους ἐποίησεν ἐλθεῖν, ὧν ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος Ταλίαβος, ὁ δεύτερος Ἀμινάδαβος, Σάμαλος ὁ τρίτος, ὁ τέταρτος Ναθαναῆλος, καὶ Ῥάηλος ὁ πέμπτος ἐκαλεῖτο, ὁ δὲ ἕκτος Ἄσαμος. [162] ἰδὼν δὲ καὶ τούτους ὁ προφήτης μηδὲν χείρους τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου ταῖς μορφαῖς ἐπηρώτησε τὸν θεὸν, τίνα τούτων αἱρεῖται βασιλέα. εἰπόντος δ᾽ οὐδένα πυνθάνεται τοῦ Ἰεσσαίου, μὴ πρὸς τούτοις αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλοι παῖδές εἰσι. [163] φήσαντος δὲ εἶναι Δαβίδην τοὔνομα, ποιμαίνειν δὲ καὶ τῆς τῶν βοσκημάτων φυλακῆς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι κελεύει καλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν τάχει: κατακλιθῆναι γὰρ εἰς εὐωχίαν οὐκ εἶναι δυνατὸν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνου μὴ παρόντος. [164] ὡς δ᾽ ἦκεν ὁ Δαβίδης μεταπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς, παῖς ξανθὸς μὲν τὴν χρόαν γοργὸς δὲ τὰς ὄψεις καὶ καλὸς ἄλλως "οὗτός ἐστιν, εἰπὼν ἡσυχῇ

πρὸς αὐτὸν Σαμουῆλος, ὁ βασιλεύειν ἀρέσας τῷ θεῷ" κατακλίνεται μὲν αὐτός, κατακλίνει δ' ὑφ' αὐτὸν τὸν νεανίσκον καὶ τὸν Ἰεσσαῖον μετὰ καὶ τῶν παίδων. [165] ἔπειτα λαβὼν ὀρῶντος τοῦ Δαβίδου τὸ ἔλαιον ἀλείφει τ' αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸ οὖς ἠρέμα λαλεῖ καὶ σημαίνει τοῦθ', ὅτι βασιλεύειν αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς ᾔρηται, παρήνει δ' εἶναι δίκαιον καὶ κατήκοον αὐτοῦ τῶν προσταγμάτων: οὕτως γὰρ αὐτῷ παραμενεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς πολὺν χρόνον καὶ τὸν οἶκον λαμπρὸν καὶ περιβόητον γενήσεσθαι, καταστρέψεσθαι δὲ καὶ Παλαιστίνους, καὶ οἷς ἂν ἔθνεσι πολεμῇ νικῶντα καὶ περιόντα τῇ μάχῃ κλέος ἀοίδιμον ζῶντά τε ἕξειν καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν ἀπολείψειν.

1. Now Saul being sensible of the miserable condition he had brought himself into, and that he had made God to be his enemy, he went up to his royal palace at Gibeah, which name denotes a hill, and after that day he came no more into the presence of the prophet. And when Samuel mourned for him, God bid him leave off his concern for him, and to take the holy oil, and go to Bethlehem, to Jesse the son of Obed, and to anoint such of his sons as he should show him for their future king. But Samuel said, he was afraid lest Saul, when he came to know of it, should kill him, either by some private method or even openly. But upon God's suggesting to him a safe way of going thither, he came to the forementioned city; and when they all saluted him, and asked what was the occasion of his coming, he told them he came to sacrifice to God. When, therefore, he had gotten the sacrifice ready, he called Jesse and his sons to partake of those sacrifices; and when he saw his eldest son to be a tall and handsome man, he guessed by his comeliness that he was the person who was to be their future king. But he was mistaken in judging about God's providence; for when Samuel inquired of God whether he should anoint this youth, whom he so admired, and esteemed worthy of the kingdom, God said, "Men do not see as God seeth. Thou indeed hast respect to the fine appearance of this youth, and thence esteemest him worthy of the kingdom, while I propose the kingdom as a reward, not of the beauty of bodies, but of the virtue of souls, and I inquire after one that is perfectly comely in that respect; I mean one who is beautiful in piety, and righteousness, and fortitude, and obedience, for in them consists the comeliness of the soul." When God had said this, Samuel bade Jesse to show him all his sons. So he made five others of his sons to come to him; of all of whom Eliab was the eldest, Aminadab the second, Shammall the third, Nathaniel the fourth, Rael the fifth, and Asam the sixth. And when the prophet saw that these were no way inferior to the eldest in their countenances, he inquired of God which of them it was whom he chose for their king. And when God said it was none of them, he asked Jesse whether he had not some other sons besides

these; and when he said that he had one more, named David, but that he was a shepherd, and took care of the flocks, Samuel bade them call him immediately, for that till he was come they could not possibly sit down to the feast. Now, as soon as his father had sent for David, and he was come, he appeared to be of a yellow complexion, of a sharp sight, and a comely person in other respects also. This is he, said Samuel privately to himself, whom it pleases God to make our king. So he sat down to the feast, and placed the youth under him, and Jesse also, with his other sons; after which he took oil in the presence of David, and anointed him, and whispered him in the ear, and acquainted him that God chose him to be their king; and exhorted him to be righteous, and obedient to his commands, for that by this means his kingdom would continue for a long time, and that his house should be of great splendor, and celebrated in the world; that he should overthrow the Philistines; and that against what nations soever he should make war, he should be the conqueror, and survive the fight; and that while he lived he should enjoy a glorious name, and leave such a name to his posterity also.

(2) [166] Καὶ Σαμουῆλος μὲν ἀπαλλάσσεται ταῦτα παραινέσας, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Δαβίδην μεταβαίνει τὸ θεῖον καταλιπὸν Σαοῦλον. καὶ ὁ μὲν προφητεύειν ἤρξατο τοῦ θείου πνεύματος εἰς αὐτὸν μετοικισαμένου, τὸν Σαοῦλον δὲ περιήρχετο πάθη τινὰ καὶ δαιμόνια πνιγμοὺς αὐτῷ καὶ στραγγάλας ἐπιφέροντα, ὡς τοὺς ἰατροὺς ἄλλην μὲν αὐτῷ θεραπείαν μὴ ἐπινοεῖν, εἰ δέ τίς ἐστιν ἐξᾴδειν δυνάμενος καὶ ψάλλειν ἐπὶ κινύρᾳ τοῦτον ἐκέλευσαν ζητήσαντας, ὁπόταν αὐτῷ προσίῃ τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ ταράττῃ, ποιεῖν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς στάντα ψάλλειν τε καὶ τοὺς ὕμνους ἐπιλέγειν. [167] ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἠμέλησεν, ἀλλὰ ζητεῖσθαι προσέταξε τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπον: φήσαντος δέ τινος αὐτῷ τῶν παρόντων ἐν Βηθλεέμῃ πόλει τεθεᾶσθαι Ἰεσσαίου μὲν υἱόν, ἔτι [δὲ] παῖδα τὴν ἡλικίαν, εὐπρεπῆ δὲ καὶ καλὸν τά τε ἄλλα σπουδῆς ἄξιον καὶ δὴ καὶ ψάλλειν εἰδότα καὶ ᾄδειν ὕμνους καὶ πολεμιστὴν ἄκρον, πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Ἰεσσαῖον ἐκέλευσεν ἀποστέλλειν αὐτῷ τὸν Δαβίδην τῶν ποιμνίων ἀποσπάσαντα: βούλεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν περὶ τῆς εὐμορφίας καὶ τῆς ἀνδρείας ἀκούσας τοῦ νεανίσκου. [168] ὁ δὲ Ἰεσσαῖος πέμπει τὸν υἱὸν καὶ ξένια δοὺς κομίσαι τῷ Σαούλῳ. ἐλθόντι δὲ ἥσθη καὶ ποιήσας ὁπλοφόρον διὰ πάσης ἦγε τιμῆς: ἐξῄδετο γὰρ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν δαιμονίων ταραχήν, ὁπότε αὐτῷ ταῦτα προσέλθοι, μόνος ἰατρὸς ἦν λέγων τε τοὺς ὕμνους καὶ ψάλλων ἐν τῇ κινύρᾳ καὶ ποιῶν ἑαυτοῦ γίνεσθαι τὸν Σαοῦλον. [169] πέμπει τοίνυν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τοῦ παιδὸς Ἰεσσαῖον ἐᾶσαι παρ᾽ αὐτῷ τὸν Δαβίδην κελεύων: ἥδεσθαι γὰρ αὐτῷ βλεπομένῳ καὶ παρόντι: τὸν δ᾽ οὐκ ἀντειπεῖν τῷ Σαούλῳ, συγχωρῆσαι δὲ κατέχειν.

2. So Samuel, when he had given him these admonitions, went away. But the Divine Power departed from Saul, and removed to David; who, upon this removal of the Divine Spirit to him, began to prophesy. But as for Saul, some strange and demoniacal disorders came upon him, and brought upon him such suffocations as were ready to choke him; for which the physicians could find no other remedy but this, That if any person could charm those passions by singing, and playing upon the harp, they advised them to inquire for such a one, and to observe when these demons came upon him and disturbed him, and to take care that such a person might stand over him, and play upon the harp, and recite hymns to him. Accordingly Saul did not delay, but commanded them to seek out such a man. And when a certain stander-by said that he had seen in the city of Bethlehem a son of Jesse, who was yet no more than a child in age, but comely and beautiful, and in other respects one that was deserving of great regard, who was skillful in playing on the harp, and in singing of hymns, [and an excellent soldier in war,] he sent to Jesse, and desired him to take David away from the flocks, and send him to him, for he had a mind to see him, as having heard an advantageous character of his comeliness and his valor. So Jesse sent his son, and gave him presents to carry to Saul. And when he was come, Saul was pleased with him, and made him his armor-bearer, and had him in very great esteem; for he charmed his passion, and was the only physician against the trouble he had from the demons, whensoever it was that it came upon him, and this by reciting of hymns, and playing upon the harp, and bringing Saul to his right mind again. However, he sent to Jesse, the father of the child, and desired him to permit David to stay with him, for that he was delighted with his sight and company; which stay, that he might not contradict Saul, he granted.

IX

CHAPTER 9. How The Philistines Made Another Expedition Against The Hebrews Under The Reign Of Saul; And How They Were Overcome By David's Slaying Goliath In Single Combat.

(1) [170] Χρόνοις δ' ὕστερον οὐ πολλοῖς οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι πάλιν συνελθόντες καὶ δύναμιν ἀθροίσαντες μεγάλην ἐπίασι τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις καὶ μεταξὺ Σωκοῦς καὶ Ἀζηκοῦς καταλαμβανόμενοι στρατοπεδεύονται. ἀντεπεξάγει δ' αὐτοῖς τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ Σαοῦλος καὶ ἐπί τινος ὄρους στρατοπεδευσάμενος ἀναγκάζει τοὺς Παλαιστίνους τὸ μὲν πρῶτον στρατόπεδον καταλιπεῖν, ὁμοίως δ' ἐπί τινος ὄρους ἀντικρὺ τοῦ καταληφθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ Σαούλου στρατοπεδεύσασθαι. [171] διίστη δ' ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰ στρατόπεδα μέσος αὐλὼν τῶν ὀρῶν ἐφ' ὧν ἦν. καταβὰς οὖν τις τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Παλαιστίνων στρατοπέδου Γολιάθης ὄνομα: πόλεως δὲ Γίττης ἀνὴρ παμμεγεθέστατος: ἦν γὰρ πηχῶν τεσσάρων καὶ σπιθαμῆς ὅπλα τῇ φύσει τοῦ σώματος ἀναλογοῦντα περικείμενος: θώρακα μὲν γὰρ ἐνεδέδυτο σταθμὸν ἄγοντα πέντε χιλιάδας σίκλων, κόρυθα δὲ καὶ κνημῖδας χαλκέας ὁποίας εἰκὸς ἦν ἀνδρὸς οὕτω παραδόξου τὸ μέγεθος σκεπάσαι μέρη, δόρυ δὲ ἦν οὐ κοῦφον βάσταγμα δεξιᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων αὐτὸ αἴρων ἔφερεν, εἶχε δὲ καὶ λόγχην ἑξακοσίων σίκλων, εἵποντο δὲ πολλοὶ βαστάζοντες τὰ ὅπλα: [172] στὰς τοίνυν ὁ Γολίαθος οὗτος μεταξὺ τῶν παρατάξεων βοήν τε ἀφίησι μεγάλην καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σαοῦλον καὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους λέγει: "μάχης μὲν ὑμᾶς καὶ κινδύνων ἀπαλλάττω: τίς γὰρ ἀνάγκη τὴν στρατιὰν ἡμῶν συμπεσοῦσαν κακοπαθεῖν; [173] δότε δ' ὅστις ἐμοὶ μαχεῖται τῶν ὑμετέρων, καὶ βραβευθήσεται τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἐνὶ τῷ νενικηκότι: δουλεύσουσι γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τοῖς ἑτέροις, ὧν ἂν ὁ νικήσας γένηται: πολὺ δὲ κρεῖττον εἶναι καὶ σωφρονέστατον ἑνὸς κινδύνῳ λαβεῖν ὃ βούλεσθε ἢ τῷ [174] ἁπάντων." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὸ τῶν οἰκείων στρατόπεδον. τῇ δ' ἐχομένῃ πάλιν ἐλθὼν τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐποιήσατο λόγους, καὶ μέχρι τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν οὐ διέλειπε προκαλούμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις τοὺς πολεμίους, ὡς καταπλαγῆναι αὐτόν τε τὸν Σαοῦλον καὶ τὴν στρατιάν. καὶ παρετάσσοντο μὲν ὡς εἰς μάχην, οὐκ ἤρχοντο δὲ εἰς χεῖρας.

1. Now the Philistines gathered themselves together again no very long time afterward; and having gotten together a great army, they made war against the Israelites; and having seized a place between Shochoh and Azekah, they there pitched their camp. Saul also drew out his army to oppose them; and by pitching his own camp on a certain hill, he forced the Philistines to leave their former camp, and to encamp themselves upon such another hill, over-against that on

which Saul's army lay, so that a valley, which was between the two hills on which they lay, divided their camps asunder. Now there came down a man out of the camp of the Philistines, whose name was Goliath, of the city of Gath, a man of vast bulk, for he was of four cubits and a span in tallness, and had about him weapons suitable to the largeness of his body, for he had a breastplate on that weighed five thousand shekels: he had also a helmet and greaves of brass, as large as you would naturally suppose might cover the limbs of so vast a body. His spear was also such as was not carried like a light thing in his right hand, but he carried it as lying on his shoulders. He had also a lance of six hundred shekels; and many followed him to carry his armor. Wherefore this Goliath stood between the two armies, as they were in battle array, and sent out aloud voice, and said to Saul and the Hebrews, "I will free you from fighting and from dangers; for what necessity is there that your army should fall and be afflicted? Give me a man of you that will fight with me, and he that conquers shall have the reward of the conqueror and determine the war; for these shall serve those others to whom the conqueror shall belong; and certainly it is much better, and more prudent, to gain what you desire by the hazard of one man than of all." When he had said this, he retired to his own camp; but the next day he came again, and used the same words, and did not leave off for forty days together, to challenge the enemy in the same words, till Saul and his army were therewith terrified, while they put themselves in array as if they would fight, but did not come to a close battle.

(2) [175] Τοῦ δὲ πολέμου συνεστηκότος τοῖς Ἑβραίοις καὶ τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις Σαοῦλος ἀπέλυσε τὸν Δαβίδην πρὸς τὸν πατέρα Ἰεσσαῖον ἀρκούμενος αὐτοῦ τοῖς τρισὶν υἱοῖς, οὓς ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους ἔπεμψεν. [176] ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπὶ τὰ ποίμνια πάλιν καὶ τὰς νομὰς τῶν βοσκημάτων παραγίνεται, μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἔρχεται εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Ἑβραίων πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς κομίσαι τε τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐφόδια καὶ γνῶναι τί πράττουσι. [177] τοῦ δὲ Γολιάθου πάλιν ἐλθόντος καὶ προκαλουμένου καὶ ὀνειδίζοντος, ὅτι μηδείς ἐστιν ἀνδρεῖος ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὃς εἰς μάχην αὐτῷ τολμᾷ καταβῆναι, μεταξὺ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὁμιλῶν Δαβίδης περὶ ὧν ἐπέστειλεν ὁ πατὴρ ἀκούσας βλασφημοῦντος τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ κακίζοντος τοῦ Παλαιστίνου ἠγανάκτησε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ εἶπεν ἑτοίμως ἔχειν μονομαχῆσαι τῷ πολεμίῳ. [178] πρὸς τοῦθ' ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν ἀδελφῶν Ἰάναβος ἐπέπληξεν αὐτῷ τολμηρότερον παρ' ἡλικίαν καὶ ἀμαθῆ τοῦ προσήκοντος εἰπών, ἐκέλευσέ τε πρὸς τὰ ποίμνια καὶ τὸν πατέρα βαδίζειν. καταιδεσθεὶς δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὑπεχώρησε καὶ πρός τινας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπελάλησεν, ὅτι θέλοι μάχεσθαι τῷ προκαλουμένῳ. [179] δηλωσάντων δ' εὐθὺς τῷ Σαούλῳ τὴν τοῦ νεανίσκου προαίρεσιν μεταπέμπεται αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ

πυθομένου τί βούλεται λέγειν "μὴ ταπεινὸν ἔστω τὸ φρόνημα μηδ' εὐλαβὲς, ὦ βασιλεῦ: καθαιρήσω γὰρ ἐγὼ τὴν ἀλαζονείαν τοῦ πολεμίου χωρήσας αὐτῷ διὰ μάχης καὶ τὸν ὑψηλὸν καὶ μέγαν ὑπ' ἐμαυτῷ βαλών. [180] γένοιτο μὲν ἂν αὐτὸς οὕτως καταγέλαστος, ἔνδοξον δὲ τὸ σὸν στράτευμα, εἰ μηδ' ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς πολεμεῖν ἤδη δυναμένου καὶ πιστευομένου παράταξιν καὶ μάχας, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ παιδὸς ἔτι δοκοῦντος καὶ ταύτην ἔχοντος τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀποθάνοι."

2. Now while this war between the Hebrews and the Philistines was going on, Saul sent away David to his father Jesse, and contented himself with those three sons of his whom he had sent to his assistance, and to be partners in the dangers of the war: and at first David returned to feed his sheep and his flocks; but after no long time he came to the camp of the Hebrews, as sent by his father, to carry provisions to his brethren, and to know what they were doing. While Goliath came again, and challenged them, and reproached them, that they had no man of valor among them that durst come down to fight him; and as David was talking with his brethren about the business for which his father had sent him, he heard the Philistine reproaching and abusing the army, and had indignation at it, and said to his brethren, "I am ready to fight a single combat with this adversary." Whereupon Eliab, his eldest brother, reproved him, and said that he spoke too rashly and improperly for one of his age, and bid him go to his flocks, and to his father. So he was abashed at his brother's words, and went away, but still he spake to some of the soldiers that he was willing to fight with him that challenged them. And when they had informed Saul what was the resolution of the young man, the king sent for him to come to him: and when the king asked what he had to say, he replied, "O king, be not cast down, nor afraid, for I will depress the insolence of this adversary, and will go down and fight with him, and will bring him under me, as tall and as great as he is, till he shall be sufficiently laughed at, and thy army shall get great glory, when he shall be slain by one that is not yet of man's estate, neither fit for fighting, nor capable of being intrusted with the marshalling an army, or ordering a battle, but by one that looks like a child, and is really no elder in age than a child."

(3) [181] Τοῦ δὲ Σαούλου τὸ μὲν τολμηρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν εὐψυχίαν θαυμάζοντος, οὐ θαρροῦντος δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀλλ' ἀσθενέστερον εἶναι διὰ ταύτην πρὸς εἰδότα πολεμεῖν μάχεσθαι λέγοντος, "ταῦτ', εἶπε Δαβίδης, ἐπαγγέλλομαι τῷ θεῷ θαρρῶν ὄντι μετ' ἐμοῦ: πεπείραμαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῆς βοηθείας. [182] λέοντα γὰρ ἐπελθόντα μού ποτε τοῖς ποιμνίοις καὶ ἁρπάσαντα ἄρνα διώξας καταλαμβάνω καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄρνα τοῦ στόματος ἐξαρπάζω τοῦ θηρὸς, αὐτὸν δ' ὁρμήσαντα ἐπ' ἐμὲ τῆς οὐρᾶς βαστάσας καὶ προσρήξας τῇ γῇ διαφθείρω. [183] ταὐτὸ δὲ καὶ ἄρκον ἀμυνόμενος διατίθεμαι. νομιζέσθω δὴ καὶ ὁ πολέμιος

ἐκείνων εἶναι τῶν θηρίων ὀνειδίζων ἐκ πολλοῦ τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ βλασφημῶν ἡμῶν τὸν θεὸν, ὃς αὐτὸν ὑποχείριον ἐμοὶ θήσει.”

3. Now Saul wondered at the boldness and alacrity of David, but durst not presume on his ability, by reason of his age; but said he must on that account be too weak to fight with one that was skilled in the art of war. “I undertake this enterprise,” said David, “in dependence on God’s being with me, for I have had experience already of his assistance; for I once pursued after and caught a lion that assaulted my flocks, and took away a lamb from them; and I snatched the lamb out of the wild beast’s mouth, and when he leaped upon me with violence, I took him by the tail, and dashed him against the ground. In the same manner did I avenge myself on a bear also; and let this adversary of ours be esteemed like one of these wild beasts, since he has a long while reproached our army, and blasphemed our God, who yet will reduce him under my power.”

(4) [184] Τῇ προθυμίᾳ τοιγαροῦν καὶ τῇ τόλμῃ τοῦ παιδὸς ὅμοιον γενέσθαι τέλος παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ Σαοῦλος εὐξάμενος “ἄπιθι, φησί πρὸς τὴν μάχην.” καὶ περιθεὶς αὐτῷ τὸν αὐτοῦ θώρακα καὶ περιζώσας τὸ ξίφος καὶ περικεφαλαίαν ἁρμόσας ἐξέπεμψεν. [185] ὁ δὲ Δαβίδης βαρυνόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ὅπλων, οὐκ ἐγεγύμναστο γὰρ οὐδ’ ἐμεμαθήκει φέρειν ὅπλα, “ταῦτα μέν, εἶπεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, σὸς ἔστω κόσμος τοῦ βαστάζειν δυναμένου, συγχώρησον δὲ ὡς δούλῳ σου καὶ ὡς ἐγὼ βούλομαι μαχεσθῆναι.” τίθησιν οὖν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὴν βακτηρίαν ἁράμενος καὶ πέντε λίθους ἐκ τοῦ χειμάρρου βαλὼν εἰς τὴν πήραν τὴν ποιμενικὴν καὶ σφενδόνην ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ φέρων ἐπὶ τὸν Γολίαθον ἐπορεύετο. [186] καταφρονεῖ δὲ οὕτως ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ὁ πολέμιος ἐρχόμενον καὶ προσέσκωψεν, ὡς οὐχ οἷα πρὸς ἄνθρωπον ὅπλα νενόμισται ταῦτ’ ἔχων μέλλοι μάχεσθαι, οἷς δὲ κύνας ἀπελαύνομεν καὶ φυλασσόμεθα. μὴ αὐτὸν ἀντὶ ἀνθρώπου κύνα εἶναι δοκεῖ; ὁ δ’ οὐχὶ τοιοῦτον ἀλλὰ καὶ χείρω κυνὸς αὐτὸν νομίζειν ἀπεκρίνατο. κινεῖ δὲ πρὸς ὀργὴν τὸν Γολίαθον, καὶ ἀρὰς αὐτῷ τίθεται ἐκ τῆς προσηγορίας τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ δώσειν ἠπείλησε τὰς σάρκας αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐπιγείοις καὶ τοῖς μεταρσίοις διασπάσασθαι: [187] ἀμείβεται δ’ αὐτὸν ὁ Δαβίδης: “σὺ μὲν ἐπέρχῃ μοι ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ δόρατι καὶ θώρακι, ἐγὼ δὲ χωρῶν ἐπὶ σὲ τὸν θεὸν ὥπλισμαι, ὃς σέ τε καὶ πᾶσαν ὑμῶν στρατιὰν χερσὶ ταῖς ἡμετέραις διολέσει. καρατομήσω μὲν γάρ σε σήμερον καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις κυσὶ παραβαλῶ, μαθήσονται δὲ πάντες, ὅτι προέστηκεν Ἑβραίων τὸ θεῖον καὶ ὅπλα ἡμῖν καὶ ἰσχὺς τοῦτ’ ἔστι κηδόμενον, ἡ δ’ ἄλλη παρασκευὴ καὶ δύναμις ἀνωφελὴς θεοῦ μὴ παρόντος.” [188] ὁ δὲ Παλαιστῖνος ὑπὸ βάρους τῶν ὅπλων εἰς ὠκύτητα καὶ δρόμον ἐμποδιζόμενος βάδην ἐπὶ τὸν Δαβίδην παραγίνεται καταφρονῶν καὶ πεποιθὼς γυμνὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ παῖδα ἔτι τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀπόνως ἀναιρήσειν.

4. However, Saul prayed that the end might be, by God's assistance, not disagreeable to the alacrity and boldness of the child; and said, "Go thy way to the fight." So he put about him his breastplate, and girded on his sword, and fitted the helmet to his head, and sent him away. But David was burdened with his armor, for he had not been exercised to it, nor had he learned to walk with it; so he said, "Let this armor be thine, O king, who art able to bear it; but give me leave to fight as thy servant, and as I myself desire." Accordingly he laid by the armor, and taking his staff with him, and putting five stones out of the brook into a shepherd's bag, and having a sling in his right hand, he went towards Goliath. But the adversary seeing him come in such a manner, disdained him, and jested upon him, as if he had not such weapons with him as are usual when one man fights against another, but such as are used in driving away and avoiding of dogs; and said, "Dost thou take me not for a man, but a dog?" To which he replied, "No, not for a dog, but for a creature worse than a dog." This provoked Goliath to anger, who thereupon cursed him by the name of God, and threatened to give his flesh to the beasts of the earth, and to the fowls of the air, to be torn in pieces by them. To whom David answered, "Thou comest to me with a sword, and with a spear, and with a breastplate; but I have God for my armor in coming against thee, who will destroy thee and all thy army by my hands for I will this day cut off thy head, and cast the other parts of thy body to the dogs, and all men shall learn that God is the protector of the Hebrews, and that our armor and our strength is in his providence; and that without God's assistance, all other warlike preparations and power are useless." So the Philistine being retarded by the weight of his armor, when he attempted to meet David in haste, came on but slowly, as despising him, and depending upon it that he should slay him, who was both unarmed and a child also, without any trouble at all.

(5) [189] Ἅπαντᾷ δὲ ὁ νεανίσκος μετὰ συμμάχου μὴ βλεπομένου τῷ πολεμίῳ: θεὸς δ' ἦν οὗτος. καὶ ἀνελόμενος ἐκ τῆς πήρας ὧν εἰς αὐτὴν κατέθηκεν ἐκ τοῦ χειμάρρου λίθων ἕνα καὶ ἁρμόσας τῇ σφενδόνῃ βάλλει ἐπὶ τὸν Γολίαθον εἰς τὸ μέτωπον: καὶ διῆλθεν ἕως τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου τὸ βληθέν, ὡς εὐθὺς καρωθέντα πεσεῖν τὸν Γολίαθον ἐπὶ τὴν ὄψιν. [190] δραμὼν δ' ἐφίσταται τῷ πολεμίῳ κειμένῳ καὶ τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ τῇ ἐκείνου μάχαιραν οὐκ ἔχων αὐτὸς ἀποτέμνει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ. [191] πεσὼν δ' ὁ Γολίαθος ἧττα καὶ φυγὴ γίνεται Παλαιστίνοις: τὸν γὰρ δοκιμώτατον ἰδόντες ἐρριμμένον καὶ περὶ τῶν ὅλων δείσαντες οὐκέτι μένειν διέγνωσαν, ἀλλ' αἰσχρᾷ καὶ ἀκόσμῳ φυγῇ παραδόντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐξαρπάζειν τῶν κινδύνων ἐπειρῶντο. Σαοῦλος δὲ καὶ πᾶς ὁ τῶν Ἑβραίων στρατὸς ἀλαλάξαντες ἐκπηδῶσιν εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποσφάττοντες διώκουσιν ἄχρι τῶν Γίττης ὁρίων καὶ τῶν πυλῶν τῶν Ἀσκάλωνος. [192] καὶ θνήσκουσι μὲν τῶν Παλαιστίνων

εἰς τρισμυρίους, δὶς δὲ τοσοῦτοι τραυματίαι γίνονται. Σαοῦλος δὲ ὑποστρέψας εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν διαρπάζει τὸ χαράκωμα καὶ ἐνέπρησε: τὴν κεφαλὴν δὲ Γολιάθου Δαβίδης εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν σκηνὴν ἐκόμισε καὶ τὴν ῥομφαίαν ἀνέθηκε τῷ θεῷ.

5. But the youth met his antagonist, being accompanied with an invisible assistant, who was no other than God himself. And taking one of the stones that he had out of the brook, and had put into his shepherd's bag, and fitting it to his sling, he slang it against the Philistine. This stone fell upon his forehead, and sank into his brain, insomuch that Goliath was stunned, and fell upon his face. So David ran, and stood upon his adversary as he lay down, and cut off his head with his own sword; for he had no sword himself. And upon the fall of Goliath the Philistines were beaten, and fled; for when they saw their champion prostrate on the ground, they were afraid of the entire issue of their affairs, and resolved not to stay any longer, but committed themselves to an ignominious and indecent flight, and thereby endeavored to save themselves from the dangers they were in. But Saul and the entire army of the Hebrews made a shout, and rushed upon them, and slew a great number of them, and pursued the rest to the borders of Garb, and to the gates of Ekron; so that there were slain of the Philistines thirty thousand, and twice as many wounded. But Saul returned to their camp, and pulled their fortification to pieces, and burnt it; but David carried the head of Goliath into his own tent, but dedicated his sword to God [at the tabernacle].

X

CHAPTER 10. Saul Envies David For His Glorious Success, And Takes An Occasion Of Entrapping Him, From The Promise He Made Him Of Giving Him His Daughter In Marriage; But This Upon Condition Of His Bringing Him Six Hundred Heads Of The Philistines.

(1) [193] Φθόνον δὲ καὶ μῖσος τοῦ Σαούλου πρὸς αὐτὸν αἱ γυναῖκες ἐρεθίζουσιν: ὑπαντῶσαι γὰρ τῇ στρατιᾷ νικηφόρῳ μετὰ κυμβάλων καὶ τυμπάνων καὶ παντοίας χαρᾶς ᾖδον αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες, [ὡς] πολλὰς Σαοῦλος ἀπώλεσε Παλαιστίνων χιλιάδας, αἱ παρθένοι δὲ, ὡς μυριάδας Δαυίδης ἀφανίσειε. [194] τούτων δὲ ἀκούων ὁ βασιλεύς, ὡς τὸ μὲν ἔλαττον τῆς μαρτυρίας αὐτὸς λάβοι, τὸ δὲ τῶν μυριάδων πλῆθος ἀνατεθείη τῷ νεανίσκῳ, καὶ λογισάμενος μηδὲν οὕτω μετὰ λαμπρὰν εὐφημίαν ἢ τὴν βασιλείαν ὑστερεῖν αὐτῷ φοβεῖσθαι καὶ ὑποπτεύειν ἤρξατο τὸν Δαυίδην. [195] καὶ τῆς μὲν πρώτης τάξεως, ἐπεὶ τῷ δέει πλησίον αὐτοῦ καὶ λίαν ἐγγὺς ἐδόκει, ἐποίησε γὰρ αὐτὸν ὁπλοφόρον, μεταστήσας ἀποδείκνυσι χιλίαρχον δοὺς αὐτῷ χώραν ἀμείνονα μὲν ἀσφαλεστέραν δὲ ὡς ἐνόμιζεν αὐτῷ: ἐβούλετο γὰρ εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους αὐτὸν ἐκπέμπειν καὶ τὰς μάχας ὡς ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις τεθνηξόμενον.

1. Now the women were an occasion of Saul's envy and hatred to David; for they came to meet their victorious army with cymbals, and drums, and all demonstrations of joy, and sang thus: The wives said, that "Saul had slain his many thousands of the Philistines." The virgins replied, that "David had slain his ten thousands." Now, when the king heard them singing thus, and that he had himself the smallest share in their commendations, and the greater number, the ten thousands, were ascribed to the young man; and when he considered with himself that there was nothing more wanting to David, after such a mighty applause, but the kingdom; he began to be afraid and suspicious of David. Accordingly he removed him from the station he was in before, for he was his armor-bearer, which, out of fear, seemed to him much too near a station for him; and so he made him captain over a thousand, and bestowed on him a post better indeed in itself, but, as he thought, more for his own security; for he had a mind to send him against the enemy, and into battles, as hoping he would be slain in such dangerous conflicts.

(2) [196] Δαυίδης δὲ πανταχοῦ τὸν θεὸν ἐπαγόμενος ὅποι ποτ᾽ ἀφίκοιτο κατώρθου καὶ διευπραγῶν ἐδείκνυτο, ὡς δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀνδρείας τόν τε λαὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν Σαούλου θυγατέρα παρθένον ἔτι οὖσαν λαβεῖν ἔρωτα καὶ τοῦ πάθους ὑπερκρατοῦντος γενέσθαι φανερὰν καὶ διαβληθῆναι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. [197] ὁ δ᾽ ὡς ἀφορμῇ χρησάμενος τῆς ἐπὶ Δαυίδην ἐπιβουλῆς ἡδέως ἤκουσε καὶ δώσειν προθύμως αὐτῷ τὴν παρθένον πρὸς τοὺς τὸν ἔρωτα μηνύσαντας αὐτῆς ἔφη γενησόμενον ἀπωλείας καὶ κινδύνων αἴτιον αὐτῷ ληψομένῳ: "κατεγγυῶ γὰρ, εἶπεν, αὐτῷ τὸν τῆς θυγατρός μου γάμον, ἂν ἑξακοσίας μοι κομίσῃ κεφαλὰς τῶν πολεμίων. [198] ὁ δὲ καὶ γέρως οὕτω λαμπροῦ προτεθέντος καὶ βουλόμενος ἐπ᾽ ἔργῳ παραβόλῳ καὶ ἀπίστῳ λαβεῖν κλέος ὁρμήσει μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν, διαφθαρήσεται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Παλαιστίνων καὶ χωρήσει μοι τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν εὐπρεπῶς: ἀπαλλαγήσομαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ δι᾽ ἄλλων αὐτὸν ἀλλ᾽ [199] οὐχὶ δι᾽ ἐμαυτοῦ κτείνας." διάπειραν δὴ τῆς τοῦ Δαυίδου διανοίας κελεύει τοὺς οἰκέτας λαμβάνειν, πῶς ἔχει πρὸς τὸ γῆμαι τὴν κόρην. οἱ δ᾽ ἤρξαντο διαλέγεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτι στέργει μὲν αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς Σαοῦλος καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἅπας, βούλεται δ᾽ αὐτῷ κηδεῦσαι τὴν θυγατέρα. [200] ὁ δὲ "μικρὸν ἄρ᾽ ὑμῖν, εἶπε, δοκεῖ γαμβρὸν γενέσθαι βασιλέως: ἐμοὶ δ᾽ οὐχὶ τοιοῦτον φαίνεται καὶ μάλιστα ὄντι ταπεινῷ καὶ δόξης καὶ τιμῆς ἀμοίρῳ." Σαοῦλος δὲ ἀγγειλάντων αὐτῷ τῶν οἰκετῶν τὰς τοῦ Δαυίδου ἀποκρίσεις "οὐ χρημάτων, ἔφη, δεῖσθαί με φράζετε αὐτῷ οὐδὲ ἔδνων, ἀπεμπολᾶν γὰρ ἔστιν οὕτως τὴν θυγατέρα μᾶλλον ἢ συνοικίζειν, γαμβροῦ δὲ ἀνδρείαν ἔχοντος καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν ἅπασαν, ἣν ὁρᾶν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ. [201] βούλεσθαι δή με παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ γάμου τῆς θυγατρὸς οὐ χρυσὸν οὐδ᾽ ἄργυρον οὐδ᾽ ὅπως ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς οἰκιῶν κομίσῃ, Παλαιστίνων δὲ τιμωρίαν καὶ κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν ἑξακοσίας. [202] αὐτῷ τε γὰρ ἐμοὶ τούτων οὐδὲν ἂν οὔτε ποθεινότερον οὔτε λαμπρότερον οὔτε προτιμότερον δῶρον γένοιτο, τῇ τε παιδί μου πολὺ τῶν νενομισμένων ἔδνων ζηλωτότερον τὸ συνοικεῖν ἀνδρὶ τοιούτῳ καὶ μαρτυρουμένῳ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἧτταν.

2. But David had God going along with him whithersoever he went, and accordingly he greatly prospered in his undertakings, and it was visible that he had mighty success, insomuch that Saul's daughter, who was still a virgin, fell in love with him; and her affection so far prevailed over her, that it could not be concealed, and her father became acquainted with it. Now Saul heard this gladly, as intending to make use of it for a snare against David, and he hoped that it would prove the cause of destruction and of hazard to him; so he told those that informed him of his daughter's affection, that he would willingly give David the virgin in marriage, and said, "I engage myself to marry my daughter to him if he will bring me six hundred heads of my enemies supposing that when a reward so ample was proposed to him, and when he should aim to get him great glory,

by undertaking a thing so dangerous and incredible, he would immediately set about it, and so perish by the Philistines; and my designs about him will succeed finely to my mind, for I shall be freed from him, and get him slain, not by myself, but by another man." So he gave order to his servants to try how David would relish this proposal of marrying the damsel. Accordingly, they began to speak thus to him: That king Saul loved him, as well as did all the people, and that he was desirous of his affinity by the marriage of this damsel. To which he gave this answer:— "Seemeth it to you a light thing to be made the king's son-in-law? It does not seem so to me, especially when I am one of a family that is low, and without any glory or honor." Now when Saul was informed by his servants what answer David had made, he said,— "Tell him that I do not want any money nor dowry from him, which would be rather to set my daughter to sale than to give her in marriage; but I desire only such a son-in-law as hath in him fortitude, and all other kinds of virtue," of which he saw David was possessed, and that his desire was to receive of him, on account of his marrying his daughter, neither gold nor silver, nor that he should bring such wealth out of his father's house, but only some revenge on the Philistines, and indeed six hundred of their heads, than which a more desirable or a more glorious present could not be brought him, and that he had much rather obtain this, than any of the accustomed dowries for his daughter, *viz.* that she should be married to a man of that character, and to one who had a testimony as having conquered his enemies.

(3) [203] Κομισθέντων δὲ τούτων πρὸς τὸν Δαυίδην τῶν λόγων ἡσθεὶς τὸν Σαοῦλον ἐσπουδακέναι νομίζων αὐτοῦ περὶ τὴν συγγένειαν, οὐδὲ βουλεύσασθαι περιμείνας οὐδ' εἰ δυνατὸν ἢ δύσκολόν ἐστι τὸ προκείμενον ἔργον τῷ λογισμῷ περινοήσας ὥρμησεν εὐθὺς μετὰ τῆς ἑταιρίας ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γάμου κατηγγελμένην πρᾶξιν καί, θεὸς γὰρ ἦν ὁ πάντα ποιῶν εὐμαρῆ καὶ δυνατὰ τῷ Δαυίδῃ, κτείνας πολλοὺς καὶ κεφαλὰς ἑξακοσίων ἀποτεμὼν ἦκε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα διὰ τῆς τούτων ἐπιδείξεως τὸν ἀντὶ τούτων γάμον ἀπαιτῶν. [204] Σαοῦλος δὲ οὐκ ἔχων ἀναφυγεῖν ἐκ τῶν ὑπεσχημένων, αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ὑπελάμβανεν ἢ ψεύσασθαι δοκεῖν ἢ δι' ἐπιβουλὴν ἵν' ὡς ἀδυνάτοις ἐπιχειρῶν ὁ Δαυίδης ἀποθάνῃ τὸν γάμον ἐπηγγέλθαι, δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὴν θυγατέρα Μελχὰν ὀνόματι.

3. When these words of Saul were brought to David, he was pleased with them, and supposed that Saul was really desirous of this affinity with him; so that without bearing to deliberate any longer, or casting about in his mind whether what was proposed was possible, or was difficult or not, he and his companions immediately set upon the enemy, and went about doing what was proposed as

the condition of the marriage. Accordingly, because it was God who made all things easy and possible to David, he slew many [of the Philistines], and cut off the heads of six hundred of them, and came to the king, and by showing him these heads of the Philistines, required that he might have his daughter in marriage. Accordingly, Saul having no way of getting off his engagements, as thinking it a base thing either to seem a liar when he promised him this marriage, or to appear to have acted treacherously by him, in putting him upon what was in a manner impossible, in order to have him slain, he gave him his daughter in marriage: her name was Michal.

XI

CHAPTER 11. How David, Upon Saul’s Laying Snares For Him, Did Yet Escape The Dangers He Was In By The Affection And Care Of Jonathan And The Contrivances Of His Wife Michal: And How He Came To Samuel The Prophet.

(1) [205] Ἔμελλε δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἐμμένειν Σαοῦλος ἄρα: ὁρῶν γὰρ τὸν Δαυίδην παρὰ τῷ θεῷ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ὄχλοις εὐδοκιμοῦντα κατέδεισε, καὶ τὸν φόβον οὐκ ἔχων ἀποκρύψασθαι περὶ μεγάλων ὄντα βασιλείας τε καὶ ζωῆς, ὧν καὶ θατέρου στερηθῆναι συμφορὰ δεινή, κτείνειν τὸν Δαυίδην διεγνώκει καὶ προστάσσει τὴν ἀναίρεσιν αὐτοῦ Ἰωνάθῃ τῷ παιδὶ καὶ τοῖς πιστοτάτοις τῶν οἰκετῶν. [206] ὁ δὲ τὸν πατέρα τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ Δαυίδῃ μεταβολῆς θαυμάσας οὐκ ἐπὶ μετρίοις ἀπὸ τῆς πολλῆς εὐνοίας ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ θανάτῳ γενομένης, καὶ τὸν νεανίσκον ἀγαπῶν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ καταιδούμενος λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπόρρητον καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν. [207] συμβουλεύει μέντοι φυλάσσεσθαι γενόμενον ἐκποδὼν τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν: αὐτὸς γὰρ ἀσπάσεσθαι τὸν πατέρα καὶ καιροῦ παραφανέντος αὐτῷ διαλεχθήσεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν μαθήσεσθαι καὶ ταύτην ἐκφαυλίσειν, [208] ὡς οὐ δεῖν ἐπ’ αὐτῇ κτείνειν τοσαῦτα μὲν ἀγαθὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐργασάμενον εὐεργέτην δ’ αὐτοῦ γεγενημένον, δι’ ἃ καὶ συγγνώμην ἂν ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἁμαρτήμασιν εἰκότως εὕρατο. δηλώσω δέ σοι τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς γνώμην.” Δαυίδης δὲ πεισθεὶς συμβουλίᾳ χρηστῇ ὑπεξίσταται τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ὄψεως.

1. However, Saul was not disposed to persevere long in the state wherein he was, for when he saw that David was in great esteem, both with God and with the multitude, he was afraid; and being not able to conceal his fear as concerning great things, his kingdom and his life, to be deprived of either of which was a very great calamity, he resolved to have David slain, and commanded his son Jonathan and his most faithful servants to kill him: but Jonathan wondered at his father’s change with relation to David, that it should be made to so great a degree, from showing him no small good-will, to contrive how to have him killed. Now, because he loved the young man, and reverenced him for his virtue, he informed him of the secret charge his father had given, and what his intentions were concerning him. However, he advised him to take care and be absent the next day, for that he would salute his father, and, if he met with a favorable opportunity, he would discourse with him about him, and learn the

cause of his disgust, and show how little ground there was for it, and that for it he ought not to kill a man that had done so many good things to the multitude, and had been a benefactor to himself, on account of which he ought in reason to obtain pardon, had he been guilty of the greatest crimes; and "I will then inform thee of my father's resolution." Accordingly David complied with such an advantageous advice, and kept himself then out of the king's sight.

(2) [209] Τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ πρὸς τὸν Σαοῦλον Ἰωνάθης ἐλθὼν ὡς ἱλαρόν τε καὶ χαίροντα κατέλαβεν ἤρξατο λόγους αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ Δαυίδου προσφέρειν: "τί καταγνοὺς αὐτοῦ μικρὸν ἢ μεῖζον ἀδίκημα, πάτερ, προσέταξας ἀνελεῖν ἄνδρα μέγα μὲν αὐτῷ πρὸς σωτηρίαν ὄφελος γεγενημένον, μεῖζον δὲ πρὸς τὴν Παλαιστίνων τιμωρίαν, [210] ὕβρεως δὲ καὶ χλεύης ἀπαλλάξαντα τὸν Ἑβραίων λαὸν ἣν ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας ὑπέμεινε μόνος τολμῶν ὑποστῆναι τὴν τοῦ πολεμίου πρόκλησιν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κομίσαντα μὲν ὅσας ἐπετάχθη κεφαλὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν, λαβόντα δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ γέρας τὴν ἐμὴν ἀδελφὴν πρὸς γάμον, ὡς ἂν ἀλγεινὸς αὐτοῦ γένοιθ' ἡμῖν ὁ θάνατος οὐ διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν: συναδικεῖται γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῷ θανάτῳ καὶ ἡ σὴ θυγάτηρ χηρείαν πρὶν ἢ τῆς συμβιώσεως εἰς ὄνησιν ἐλθεῖν μέλλουσα πειράζειν. [211] ταῦτα λογισάμενος μεταβαλοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἡμερώτερον καὶ μηδὲν ποιήσῃς κακὸν ἄνδρα πρῶτον μὲν εὐεργεσίαν εὐεργετήσαντα μεγάλην τὴν σὴν σωτηρίαν, ὅτε σοι τοῦ πονηροῦ πνεύματος καὶ τῶν δαιμονίων ἐγκαθεζομένων τὰ μὲν ἐξέβαλεν, εἰρήνην δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῇ ψυχῇ σου παρέσχεν, δεύτερον δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐκδικίαν: [212] αἰσχρὸν γὰρ τούτων ἐπιλελῆσθαι." τούτοις παρηγορεῖται τοῖς λόγοις Σαοῦλος καὶ μηδὲν ἀδικήσειν τὸν Δαυίδην ὄμνυσι τῷ παιδί: κρείττων γὰρ ὀργῆς καὶ φόβου δίκαιος λόγος. Ἰωνάθης δὲ μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν Δαυίδην σημαίνει τε αὐτῷ χρηστὰ καὶ σωτήρια τὰ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἄγει τε πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ παρέμεινε τῷ βασιλεῖ Δαυίδης ὥσπερ ἔμπροσθεν.

2. On the next day Jonathan came to Saul, as soon as he saw him in a cheerful and joyful disposition, and began to introduce a discourse about David: "What unjust action, O father, either little or great, hast thou found so exceptionable in David, as to induce thee to order us to slay a man who hath been of great advantage to thy own preservation, and of still greater to the punishment of the Philistines? A man who hath delivered the people of the Hebrews from reproach and derision, which they underwent for forty days together, when he alone had courage enough to sustain the challenge of the adversary, and after that brought as many heads of our enemies as he was appointed to bring, and had, as a reward for the same, my sister in marriage; insomuch that his death would be very sorrowful to us, not only on account of his virtue, but on account of the nearness of our relation; for thy daughter must be injured at the same time that he is slain, and

must be obliged to experience widowhood, before she can come to enjoy any advantage from their mutual conversation. Consider these things, and change your mind to a more merciful temper, and do no mischief to a man, who, in the first place, hath done us the greatest kindness of preserving thee; for when an evil spirit and demons had seized upon thee, he cast them out, and procured rest to thy soul from their incursions: and, in the second place, hath avenged us of our enemies; for it is a base thing to forget such benefits." So Saul was pacified with these words, and sware to his son that he would do David no harm, for a righteous discourse proved too hard for the king's anger and fear. So Jonathan sent for David, and brought him good news from his father, that he was to be preserved. He also brought him to his father; and David continued with the king as formerly.

(3) [213] Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν τῶν Παλαιστίνων στρατευσαμένων πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους πέμπει μετὰ στρατιᾶς τὸν Δαυίδην πολεμήσοντα τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις, καὶ συμβαλὼν πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε καὶ νικήσας ἐπάνεισι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. προσδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Σαοῦλος οὐχ ὡς ἤλπισεν ἀπὸ τοῦ κατορθώματος, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς εὐπραγίας αὐτοῦ λυπηθεὶς ὡς ἐπισφαλέστερος αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου πράξεων γενόμενος. [214] ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν αὐτὸν προσελθὸν τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐθορύβει πνεῦμα καὶ συνετάραττε, καλέσας εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον ἐν ᾧ κατέκειτο κατέχων τὸ δόρυ προσέταξε τῷ ψαλμῷ καὶ τοῖς ὕμνοις ἐξᾴδειν αὐτόν. ἐκείνου δὲ τὰ κελευσθέντα ποιοῦντος διατεινάμενος ἀκοντίζει τὸ δόρυ: καὶ τὸ μὲν προιδόμενος ὁ Δαυίδης ἐξέκλινε, φεύγει δὲ εἰς τὸν οἶκον τὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' ὅλης ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας αὐτόθι.

3. About this time it was that, upon the Philistines making a new expedition against the Hebrews, Saul sent David with an army to fight with them; and joining battle with them he slew many of them, and after his victory he returned to the king. But his reception by Saul was not as he expected upon such success, for he was grieved at his prosperity, because he thought he would be more dangerous to him by having acted so gloriously: but when the demoniacal spirit came upon him, and put him into disorder, and disturbed him, he called for David into his bed-chamber wherein he lay, and having a spear in his hand, he ordered him to charm him with playing on his harp, and with singing hymns; which when David did at his command, he with great force threw the spear at him; but David was aware of it before it came, and avoided it, and fled to his own house, and abode there all that day.

(4) [215] Νυκτὸς δὲ πέμψας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἄχρι τῆς ἕω φυλάττεσθαι μὴ καὶ λάθῃ παντελῶς ἀφανὴς γενόμενος, ἵνα παραγενόμενος εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον

καὶ κρίσει παραδοὺς ἀποκτείνῃ. Μελχὰ δὲ ἡ γυνὴ Δαυίδου θυγάτηρ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς μαθοῦσα διάνοιαν τῷ ἀνδρὶ παρίσταται δειλὰς ἔχουσα τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐλπίδας καὶ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας ψυχῆς ἀγωνιῶσα: οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὴν ζῆν ὑπομενεῖν ἐκείνου στερηθεῖσαν. [216] καί "μή σε, φησίν, ὁ ἥλιος ἐνταυθοῖ καταλάβῃ: οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ὄψεταί σε. φεῦγε δ' ἕως τοῦτό σοι δύναται παρασχεῖν ἡ παροῦσα νύξ: καὶ ποιήσει δέ σοι ταύτην ὁ θεὸς μακροτέραν: ἴσθι γὰρ σαυτὸν ἂν εὑρεθῇς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπολούμενον." καὶ καθιμήσασα διὰ θυρίδος αὐτὸν ἐξέσωσεν: [217] ἔπειτα σκευάσασα τὴν κλίνην ὡς ἐπὶ νοσοῦντι καὶ ὑποθεῖσα τοῖς ἐπιβολαίοις ἦπαρ αἰγός, ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς ὡς αὐτὴν πέμψαντος ἐπὶ τὸν Δαυίδην ὠχλῆσθαι διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς εἶπε τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐπιδείξασα τὴν κλίνην κατακεκαλυμμένην καὶ τῷ πηδήματι τοῦ ἥπατος σαλεύοντι τὴν ἐπιβολὴν πιστωσαμένη τὸ κατακείμενον τὸν Δαυίδην ἀσθμαίνειν. [218] ἀπαγγειλάντων δὲ τῶν πεμφθέντων, ὅτι γένοιτο διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀσθενέστερος, ἐκέλευσεν οὕτως ἔχοντα κομισθῆναι: βούλεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν. ἐλθόντες δὲ καὶ ἀνακαλύψαντες τὴν κλίνην καὶ τὸ σόφισμα τῆς γυναικὸς εὑρόντες ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ βασιλεῖ. [219] μεμφομένου δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτήν, ὅτι σώσειε μὲν τὸν ἐχθρὸν αὐτοῦ κατασοφίσαιτο δ' αὐτόν, ἀπολογίαν σκήπτεται πιθανήν: ἀπειλήσαντα γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀποκτείνειν ἔφησε τυχεῖν ἐκ τοῦ δέους τῆς πρὸς τὸ σωθῆναι συνεργίας: ὑπὲρ ἧς συγγνῶναι καλῶς ἔχειν αὐτῇ κατ' ἀνάγκην ἀλλὰ μὴ κατὰ προαίρεσιν γενομένης: "οὐ γὰρ οὕτως, ἔλεγεν, οἶμαι τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἐζήτεις ἀποθανεῖν, ὡς ἐμὲ σώζεσθαι." καὶ συγγινώσκει δὲ τῇ κόρῃ Σαοῦλος. [220] ὁ δὲ Δαυίδης ἐκφυγὼν τὸν κίνδυνον ἦκε πρὸς τὸν προφήτην Σαμουῆλον εἰς Ἀραμαθὰ καὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐδήλωσε καὶ ὡς παρὰ μικρὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τῷ δόρατι βληθεὶς ἀποθάνοι, μήτ' ἐν τοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν κακὸς γενόμενος μήτ' ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀγῶσιν ἄνανδρος, ἀλλ' ἐν ἅπασι μετὰ [τοῦ] θυμοῦ καὶ ἐπιτυχής. τοῦτο δ' ἦν αἴτιον Σαούλῳ τῆς πρὸς Δαυίδην ἀπεχθείας.

4. But at night the king sent officers, and commanded that he should be watched till the morning, lest he should get quite away, that he might come into the judgment-hall, and so might be delivered up, and condemned and slain. But when Michal, David's wife, the king's daughter, understood what her father designed, she came to her husband, as having small hopes of his deliverance, and as greatly concerned about her own life also, for she could not bear to live in case she were deprived of him; and she said, "Let not the sun find thee here when it rises, for if it do, that will be the last time it will see thee: fly away then while the night may afford thee opportunity, and may God lengthen it for thy sake; for know this, that if my father find thee, thou art a dead man." So she let him down by a cord out of the window, and saved him: and after she had done so, she fitted up a bed for him as if he were sick, and put under the bed-clothes a

goat's liver and when her father, as soon as it was day, sent to seize David, she said to those that were there, That he had not been well that night, and showed them the bed covered, and made them believe, by the leaping of the liver, which caused the bed-clothes to move also, that David breathed like one that was asthmatic. So when those that were sent told Saul that David had not been well in the night he ordered him to be brought in that condition, for he intended to kill him. Now when they came and uncovered the bed, and found out the woman's contrivance, they told it to the king; and when her father complained of her that she had saved his enemy, and had put a trick upon himself, she invented this plausible defense for herself, and said, That when he had threatened to kill her, she lent him her assistance for his preservation, out of fear; for which her assistance she ought to be forgiven, because it was not done of her own free choice, but out of necessity: "For," said she, "I do not suppose that thou wast so zealous to kill thy enemy, as thou wast that I should be saved." Accordingly Saul forgave the damsel; but David, when he had escaped this danger, came to the prophet Samuel to Ramah, and told him what snares the king had laid for him, and how he was very near to death by Saul's throwing a spear at him, although he had been no way guilty with relation to him, nor had he been cowardly in his battles with his enemies, but had succeeded well in them all, by God's assistance; which thing was indeed the cause of Saul's hatred to David.

(5) [221] Μαθὼν δ' ὁ προφήτης τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδικίαν καταλείπει μὲν τὴν πόλιν Ἀραμαθάν, ἀγαγὼν δὲ τὸν Δαυίδην ἐπί τινα τόπον Γαλβουὰθ ὄνομα ἐκεῖ διέτριβε σὺν αὐτῷ. ὡς δ' ἀπηγγέλη τῷ Σαούλῳ παρὰ τῷ προφήτῃ τυγχάνων ὁ Δαυίδης πέμψας ὁπλίτας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄγειν προσέταξε συλλαμβάνοντας. [222] οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὸν Σαμουῆλον καὶ καταλαβόντες προφητῶν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θείου μεταλαμβάνουσι πνεύματος καὶ προφητεύειν ἤρξαντο: Σαοῦλος δ' ἀκούσας ἄλλους ἔπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὸν Δαυίδην: κἀκείνων ταὐτὸ τοῖς πρώτοις παθόντων πάλιν ἀπέστειλεν ἑτέρους: προφητευόντων δὲ καὶ τῶν τρίτων τελευταῖον ὀργισθεὶς αὐτὸς ἐξώρμησεν. [223] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἦν ἤδη, Σαμουῆλος πρὶν ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν προφητεύειν ἐποίησεν. ἐλθὼν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν Σαοῦλος ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ πνεύματος ἐλαυνόμενος ἔκφρων γίνεται καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα περιδύσας ἑαυτὸν καταπεσὼν ἔκειτο δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς Σαμουήλου τε καὶ Δαυίδου βλεπόντων.

5. When the prophet was made acquainted with the unjust proceedings of the king, he left the city Ramah, and took David with him, to a certain place called Naioth, and there he abode with him. But when it was told Saul that David was with the prophet, he sent soldiers to him, and ordered them to take him, and bring him to him: and when they came to Samuel, and found there a

congregation of prophets, they became partakers of the Divine Spirit, and began to prophesy; which when Saul heard of, he sent others to David, who prophesying in like manner as did the first, he again sent others; which third sort prophesying also, at last he was angry, and went thither in great haste himself; and when he was just by the place, Samuel, before he saw him, made him prophesy also. And when Saul came to him, he was disordered in mind and under the vehement agitation of a spirit; and, putting off his garments, he fell down, and lay on the ground all that day and night, in the presence of Samuel and David.

(6) [224] Ἰωνάθης δὲ ὁ Σαούλου παῖς ἀφικομένου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖθεν Δαυίδου καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποδυρομένου ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ λέγοντος, ὡς οὐδὲν ἀδικήσας οὔτ' ἐξαμαρτὼν σπουδάζοιτο ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ φονευθῆναι, μήθ' ἑαυτῷ τοῦθ' ὑπονοοῦντι πιστεύειν παρεκάλει μήτε τοῖς διαβάλλουσιν, εἴ τινες ἄρα εἰσὶν οἱ τοῦτο πράττοντες, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ προσέχειν καὶ θαρρεῖν: μηδὲν γὰρ τοιοῦτον ἐπ' αὐτῷ φρονεῖν τὸν πατέρα: φράσαι γὰρ ἂν αὐτῷ περὶ τούτου καὶ σύμβουλον παραλαβεῖν τῇ κοινῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τἆλλα πράττοντα. [225] ὁ δὲ Δαυίδης ὤμνυεν ἦ μὴν οὕτως ἔχειν, καὶ πιστεύοντ' ἠξίου προνοεῖν αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ καταφρονοῦντ' ἐπ' ἀληθέσι τοῖς λόγοις τότε ἀληθὲς ὑπολαβεῖν, ὅταν ἢ θεάσηται [πεφονευμένον αὐτὸν] ἢ πύθηται: μηδὲν λέγειν δ' αὐτῷ τὸν πατέρα περὶ τούτων ἔφασκεν εἰδότα τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν καὶ διάθεσιν.

6. And David went thence, and came to Jonathan, the son of Saul, and lamented to him what snares were laid for him by his father; and said, that though he had been guilty of no evil, nor had offended against him, yet he was very zealous to get him killed. Hereupon Jonathan exhorted him not to give credit to such his own suspicions, nor to the calumnies of those that raised those reports, if there were any that did so, but to depend on him, and take courage; for that his father had no such intention, since he would have acquainted him with that matter, and have taken his advice, had it been so, as he used to consult with him in common when he acted in other affairs. But David sware to him that so it was; and he desired him rather to believe him, and to provide for his safety, than to despise what he, with great sincerity, told him: that he would believe what he said, when he should either see him killed himself, or learn it upon inquiry from others: and that the reason why his father did not tell him of these things, was this, that he knew of the friendship and affection that he bore towards him.

(7) [226] Λυπηθεὶς δ' ἐφ' ὅτῳ πιστωσάμενος τὴν τοῦ Σαούλου προαίρεσιν Ἰωνάθης οὐκ ἔπεισεν ἐπηρώτα, τίνος ἐξ αὐτοῦ βούλεται τυχεῖν. ὁ δέ "οἶδα γάρ, ἔφη, πάντα σε χαρίζεσθαί μοι καὶ παρέχειν ἐθέλοντα: νουμηνία μὲν εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσάν

ἐστιν, ἔθος δ᾽ ἔχω δειπνεῖν σὺν τῷ βασιλεῖ καθήμενος: [227] εἰ δή σοι δοκεῖ πορευθεὶς ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ λανθάνων διαμενῶ, σὺ δ᾽ ἐπιζητήσαντος αὐτοῦ λέγε πορευθῆναί με εἰς τὴν πατρίδα Βηθλέεμ᾽ ἑορτήν μου τῆς φυλῆς ἀγούσης προστιθεὶς ὅτι σύ μοι συγκεχώρηκας. κἂν μὲν οἷον εἰκὸς καὶ σύνηθές ἐστι λέγειν ἐπὶ φίλοις ἀποδημοῦσιν "ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθῷ βεβάδικεν" εἴπῃ, ἴσθι μηδὲν ὕπουλον παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ εἶναι μηδ᾽ ἐχθρόν: ἂν δ᾽ ὡς ἄλλως ἀποκρίνηται τοῦτ᾽ ἔσται τεκμήριον τῶν κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ βεβουλευμένων. [228] μηνύσεις δέ μοι τὴν διάνοιαν τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς οἴκτῳ τε νέμων τοῦτο καὶ φιλίᾳ, δι᾽ ἣν πίστεις τε παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν ἠξίωκας αὐτός τε ἐμοὶ δοῦναι δεσπότης ὤν. εἰ δ᾽ εὑρίσκεις τι ἐν ἐμοὶ πονηρόν, αὐτὸς ἄνελε καὶ φθάσον τὸν πατέρα."

7. Hereupon, when Jonathan found that this intention of Saul was so well attested, he asked him what he would have him do for him. To which David replied, "I am sensible that thou art willing to gratify me in every thing, and procure me what I desire. Now tomorrow is the new moon, and I was accustomed to sit down then with the king at supper: now, if it seem good to thee, I will go out of the city, and conceal myself privately there; and if Saul inquire why I am absent, tell him that I am gone to my own city Bethlehem, to keep a festival with my own tribe; and add this also, that thou gavest me leave so to do. And if he say, as is usually said in the case of friends that are gone abroad, It is well that he went, then assure thyself that no latent mischief or enmity may be feared at his hand; but if he answer otherwise, that will be a sure sign that he hath some designs against me, Accordingly thou shalt inform me of thy father's inclinations; and that out of pity to my case and out of thy friendship for me, as instances of which friendship thou hast vouchsafed to accept of the assurances of my love to thee, and to give the like assurances to me, that is, those of a master to his servant; but if thou discoverest any wickedness in me, do thou prevent thy father, and kill me thyself."

(8) [229] Πρὸς δὲ τὸ τελευταῖον δυσχεράνας τῶν λόγων Ἰωνάθης ποιήσειν ταῦτ᾽ ἐπηγγείλατο κἄν τι σκυθρωπὸν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀπέχθειαν ἐμφανίζον ἀποκρίνηται μηνύσειν. ἵνα δ᾽ αὐτῷ θαρρῇ μᾶλλον, ἐξαγαγὼν αὐτὸν εἰς ὕπαιθρον καὶ καθαρὸν ἀέρα οὐδὲν παρήσειν ὑπὲρ τῆς Δαυίδου σωτηρίας ὤμνυε: [230] "τὸν γὰρ θεόν, εἶπε, τοῦτον ὃν πολὺν ὁρᾷς καὶ πανταχοῦ κεχυμένον, καὶ πρὶν ἑρμηνεῦσαί με τοῖς λόγοις τὴν διάνοιαν ἤδη μου ταύτην εἰδότα, μάρτυρα ποιοῦμαι τῶν πρὸς σὲ συνθηκῶν, ὡς οὐκ ἀνήσω τὸν πατέρα πολλάκις αὐτοῦ τῆς προαιρέσεως διάπειραν λαμβάνων, πρὶν ἢ καταμαθεῖν ἥτις ἐστὶ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀπορρήτοις αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς γενέσθαι. [231] καταμαθὼν δ᾽ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι, καταμηνύσω δὲ πρὸς σὲ καὶ πρᾷον ὄντα καὶ δυσμενῶς διακείμενον. οἷδε δὲ οὗτος ὁ θεός, πῶς αὐτὸν εἶναι μετὰ σοῦ διὰ παντὸς εὔχομαι: ἔστι μὲν γὰρ νῦν

καὶ οὐκ ἀπολείψει σε, ποιήσει δέ σε τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἄντε ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐμὸς ᾖ ἄντ᾽ ἐγὼ κρείττονα. [232] σὺ μόνον μνημόνευε τούτων, κἂν ἀποθανεῖν μοι γένηται τὰ τέκνα μου σῶζε, καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων μοι ἀμοιβὴν εἰς ἐκεῖνα κατάθου.” ταῦτ᾽ ἐπομόσας ἀπολύει τὸν Δαυίδην εἴς τινα τόπον ἀπελθεῖν τοῦ πεδίου φράσας, ἐν ᾧ γυμναζόμενος διατελεῖ: γνοὺς γὰρ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἥξειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφησεν ἐκεῖ μόνον ἐπαγόμενος παῖδα. [233] καὶ τρία ἀκόντια δὲ βαλὼν ἐπὶ τὸν σκοπὸν κομίσαι τῷ παιδὶ προστάσσω τὰ ἀκόντια: κεῖσθαι γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ. “καὶ ἂν ταῦτα, φησίν, ἀκούσῃς γίνωσκε μηδὲν εἶναι φαῦλον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός: ἂν δὲ τὰ ἐναντία τούτων ἀκούσῃς μου λέγοντος, καὶ τὰ ἐναντία παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως προσδόκα. [234] τῆς μέντοι γε ἀσφαλείας τεύξῃ παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ καὶ οὐδὲν μὴ πάθῃς ἄτοπον: ὅπως δὲ μνησθῇς τούτων παρὰ τὸν τῆς εὐπραγίας καιρὸν σκόπει καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς μου γενοῦ χρήσιμος.” Δαυίδης μὲν οὖν ταύτας λαβὼν παρὰ Ἰωνάθου τὰς πίστεις εἰς τὸ συγκείμενον ἀπηλλάγη χωρίον.

8. But Jonathan heard these last words with indignation, and promised to do what he desired of him, and to inform him if his father’s answers implied any thing of a melancholy nature, and any enmity against him. And that he might the more firmly depend upon him, he took him out into the open field, into the pure air, and sware that he would neglect nothing that might tend to the preservation of David; and he said, “I appeal to that God, who, as thou seest, is diffused every where, and knoweth this intention of mine, before I explain it in words, as the witness of this my covenant with thee, that I will not leave off to make frequent trims of the purpose of my father till I learn whether there be any lurking distemper in the most secret parts of his soul; and when I have learnt it, I will not conceal it from thee, but will discover it to thee, whether he be gently or peevishly disposed; for this God himself knows, that I pray he may always be with thee, for he is with thee now, and will not forsake thee, and will make thee superior to thine enemies, whether my father be one of them, or whether I myself be such. Do thou only remember what we now do; and if it fall out that I die, preserve my children alive, and requite what kindness thou hast now received to them.” When he had thus sworn, he dismissed David, bidding him go to a certain place of that plain wherein he used to perform his exercises; for that, as soon as he knew the mind of his father, he would come thither to him, with one servant only; “and if,” says he, “I shoot three darts at the mark, and then bid my servant to carry these three darts away, for they are before him, know thou that there is no mischief to be feared from my father; but if thou hearest me say the contrary, expect the contrary from the king. However, thou shalt gain security by my means, and shalt by no means suffer any harm; but see thou dost not forget what I have desired of thee in the time of thy prosperity, and be serviceable to my

children.” Now David, when he had received these assurances from Jonathan, went his way to the place appointed.

(9) [235] Τῇ δ’ ἐχομένῃ, νεομηνία δ’ ἦν, ἁγνεύσας ὡς ἔθος εἶχεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, καὶ παρακαθεσθέντων αὐτῷ τοῦ μὲν παιδὸς Ἰωνάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν Ἀβενήρου δὲ τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου ἐκ τῶν ἑτέρων, ἰδὼν τὴν τοῦ Δαβίδου καθέδραν κενὴν ἡσύχασεν ὑπονοήσας οὐ καθαρεύσαντα αὐτὸν ἀπὸ συνουσίας ὑστερεῖν. [236] ὡς δὲ καὶ τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῆς νουμηνίας οὐ παρῆν ἐπυνθάνετο παρὰ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἰωνάθου, ὅτι καὶ τῇ παρελθούσῃ καὶ ταύτῃ τοῦ δείπνου καὶ τῆς ἑστιάσεως ὁ τοῦ Ἰεσσαίου παῖς ἀπολέλειπται. ὁ δὲ πεπορεῦσθαι κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἔφησεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα τῆς φυλῆς ἑορτὴν ἀγούσης ἐπιτρέψαντος αὐτοῦ: παρακαλέσαι μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν καὶ εἰ συγχωρηθείη φησὶν ἀπέρχεσθαι: [237] τὴν γὰρ εὔνοιάν μου τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπίστασαι.” τότε τὴν πρὸς Δαυίδην τοῦ πατρὸς Ἰωνάθης ἐπέγνω δυσμένειαν καὶ τρανῶς τὴν ὅλην αὐτοῦ βούλησιν εἶδεν: οὐ γὰρ κατέσχε Σαοῦλος τῆς ὀργῆς, ἀλλὰ βλασφημῶν ἐξ αὐτομόλων γεγενημένον καὶ πολέμιον ἀπεκάλει καὶ κοινωνὸν τοῦ Δαυίδου καὶ συνεργὸν ἔλεγεν καὶ μήτ’ αὐτὸν αἰδεῖσθαι μήτε τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ ταῦτα φρονοῦντα καὶ μηδὲ βουλόμενον πεισθῆναι τοῦθ’, ὅτι μέχρις οὗ περίεστι Δαυίδης ἐπισφαλῶς αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἔχει. “μετάπεμψαι τοιγαροῦν αὐτόν, [238] ἔφησεν, ἵνα δῷ δίκην.” ὑποτυχόντος δ’ Ἰωνάθου, “τί δ’ ἀδικοῦντα κολάσαι θέλεις;” οὐκέτ’ εἰς λόγους καὶ βλασφημίας τὴν ὀργὴν ὁ Σαοῦλος ἐξήνεγκεν, ἀλλὰ ἁρπάσας τὸ δόρυ ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι θέλων. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔργον οὐκ ἔδρασε διακωλυθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων, φανερὸς δ’ ἐγένετο τῷ παιδὶ μισῶν τὸν Δαυίδην καὶ διαχρήσασθαι ποθῶν, ὡς παρὰ μικρὸν δι’ ἐκεῖνον αὐτόχειρ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς γεγονέναι.

9. But on the next day, which was the new moon, the king, when he had purified himself, as the custom was, came to supper; and when there sat by him his son Jonathan on his right hand, and Abner, the captain of his host, on the other hand, he saw David’s seat was empty, but said nothing, supposing that he had not purified himself since he had accompanied with his wife, and so could not be present; but when he saw that he was not there the second day of the month neither, he inquired of his son Jonathan why the son of Jesse did not come to the supper and the feast, neither the day before nor that day. So Jonathan said, That he was gone, according to the agreement between them, to his own city, where his tribe kept a festival, and that by his permission: that he also invited him to come to their sacrifice; “and,” says Jonathan, “if thou wilt give me leave, I Will go thither, for thou knowest the good-will that I bear him.” And then it was that Jonathan understood his father’s hatred to David, and plainly saw his entire disposition; for Saul could not restrain his anger, but reproached Jonathan, and

called him the son of a runagate, and an enemy; and said he was a partner with David, and his assistant, and that by his behavior he showed he had no regard to himself, or to his mother, and would not be persuaded of this, — that while David is alive, their kingdom was not secure to them; yet did he bid him send for him, that he might be punished. And when Jonathan said, in answer, "What hath he done that thou wilt punish him?" Saul no longer contented himself to express his anger in bare words, but snatched up his spear, and leaped upon him, and was desirous to kill him. He did not indeed do what he intended, because he was hindered by his friends; but it appeared plainly to his son that he hated David, and greatly desired to despatch him, insomuch that he had almost slain his son with his own hands on his account.

(10) [239] Καὶ τότε μὲν ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως παῖς ἐκπηδήσας [ἀπὸ] τοῦ δείπνου καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ λύπης προσενέγκασθαι δυνηθείς, κλαίων αὐτὸν μὲν τοῦ παρὰ μικρὸν ἀπολέσθαι τοῦ κατακεκρίσθαι δ' ἀποθανεῖν Δαυίδην διενυκτέρευσεν. ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὸ πεδίον ὡς γυμνασόμενος μὲν δηλώσων δὲ τῷ φίλῳ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς διάθεσιν, ὡς συνέθετο, πρόεισι. [240] ποιήσας δὲ ὁ Ἰωνάθης τὰ συγκείμενα τὸν μὲν ἑπόμενον ἀπολύει εἰς τὴν πόλιν παῖδα, ἦν δ' ἠρεμία τῷ Δαυίδῃ παρελθεῖν εἰς ὄψιν αὐτῷ καὶ λόγους. ἀναφανεὶς δ' οὗτος πίπτει πρὸ τῶν Ἰωνάθου ποδῶν καὶ προσκυνῶν σωτῆρα αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπεκάλει. [241] ἀνίστησι δ' ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς αὐτόν, καὶ περιπλακέντες ἀλλήλους μακρά τε ἠσπάζοντο καὶ δεδακρυμένα τήν τε ἡλικίαν ἀποθρηνοῦντες αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐφθονημένην ἑταιρίαν καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα διαχωρισμόν, ὃς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει θανάτου διαφέρειν. μόλις δ' ἐκ τῶν θρήνων ἀνανήψαντες καὶ μεμνῆσθαι τῶν ὅρκων ἀλλήλοις παρακελευσάμενοι διελύθησαν.

10. And then it was that the king's son rose hastily from supper; and being unable to admit any thing into his mouth for grief, he wept all night, both because he had himself been near destruction, and because the death of David was determined: but as soon as it was day, he went out into the plain that was before the city, as going to perform his exercises, but in reality to inform his friend what disposition his father was in towards him, as he had agreed with him to do; and when Jonathan had done what had been thus agreed, he dismissed his servant that followed him, to return to the city; but he himself went into the desert, and came into his presence, and communed with him. So David appeared and fell at Jonathan's feet, and bowed down to him, and called him the preserver of his soul; but he lifted him up from the earth, and they mutually embraced one another, and made a long greeting, and that not without tears. They also lamented their age, and that familiarity which envy would deprive them of, and that separation which must now be expected, which seemed to them no better

than death itself. So recollecting themselves at length from their lamentation, and exhorting one another to be mindful of the oaths they had sworn to each other, they parted asunder.

XII

CHAPTER 12. How David Fled To Ahimelech And Afterwards To The Kings Of The Philistines And Of The Moabites, And How Saul Slew Ahimelech And His Family.

(1) [242] Δαυίδης δὲ φεύγων τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ θάνατον εἰς Ναβὰν παραγίνεται πόλιν πρὸς Ἀβιμέλεχον τὸν ἀρχιερέα, ὃς ἐπὶ τῷ μόνον ἥκοντα ἰδεῖν καὶ μήτε φίλον σὺν αὐτῷ μήτ᾽ οἰκέτην παρόντα ἐθαύμασε καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ μηδένα εἶναι σὺν αὐτῷ μαθεῖν ἤθελεν. [243] ὁ δὲ πρᾶξιν ἀπόρρητον ἐπιταγῆναι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔφησεν, εἰς ἣν συνοδίας αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ λαθεῖν οὐκ ἔδει: τοὺς μέντοι θεράποντας εἰς τόνδε μοι τὸν τόπον ἀπαντᾶν προσέταξα.” ἠξίου δὲ λαβεῖν ἐφόδια: φίλου γὰρ αὐτὸν ποιήσειν ἔργον παρασχόντα καὶ πρὸς τὸ προκείμενον συλλαμβανομένου. [244] τυχὼν δὲ τούτων ᾔτει καὶ ὅπλον τι μετὰ χεῖρας ῥομφαίαν ἢ δοράτιον: παρῆν δὲ καὶ Σαούλου δοῦλος γένει μὲν Σύρος Δώηγος δὲ ὄνομα τὰς τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμιόνους νέμων: ὁ δ᾽ ἀρχιερεὺς ἔχειν μὲν αὐτὸς οὐδέν τι εἶπε τοιοῦτον, εἶναι δὲ τὴν Γολιάθου ῥομφαίαν, ἣν ἀποκτείνας τὸν Παλαιστῖνον αὐτὸς ἀναθείη τῷ θεῷ.

1. But David fled from the king, and that death he was in danger of by him, and came to the city Nob, to Ahimelech the priest, who, when he saw him coming all alone, and neither a friend nor a servant with him, he wondered at it, and desired to learn of him the cause why there was nobody with him. To which David answered, That the king had commanded him to do a certain thing that was to be kept secret, to which, if he had a mind to know so much, he had no occasion for any one to accompany him; “however, I have ordered my servants to meet me at such and such a place.” So he desired him to let him have somewhat to eat; and that in case he would supply him, he would act the part of a friend, and be assisting to the business he was now about: and when he had obtained what he desired, he also asked him whether he had any weapons with him, either sword or spear. Now there was at Nob a servant of Saul, by birth a Syrian, whose name was Doeg, one that kept the king’s mules. The high priest said that he had no such weapons; but, he added, “Here is the sword of Goliath, which, when thou hadst slain the Philistine, thou didst dedicate to God.”

(2) [245] λαβὼν δὲ ταύτην ὁ Δαβίδης ἔξω τῆς τῶν Ἑβραίων χώρας εἰς Γίτταν διέφυγε τὴν Παλαιστίνων, ἧς Ἄγχους ἐβασίλευεν. ἐπιγνωσθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως οἰκετῶν καὶ φανερὸς αὐτῷ γενόμενος μηνυόντων ἐκείνων, ὅτι Δαυίδης

ὁ πολλὰς ἀποκτείνας Παλαιστίνων μυριάδας εἴη, δείσας μὴ πρὸς αὐτοῦ θάνῃ καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ὃν ἐξέφυγε παρὰ Σαούλου παρ᾽ ἐκείνου πειράσῃ προσποιεῖται μανίαν καὶ λύσσαν, ὡς ἀφρὸν κατὰ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ φερόμενον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα συνίστησι μανίαν πίστιν παρὰ τῷ Γίττης βασιλεῖ γενέσθαι τῆς νόσου. [246] καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις ὁ βασιλεὺς προσδυσχεράνας ὡς ἔκφρονα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγάγοιεν ἄνθρωπον ἐκέλευσε τὸν Δαυίδην ὡς τάχος ἐκβάλλειν.

2. When David had received the sword, he fled out of the country of the Hebrews into that of the Philistines, over which Achish reigned; and when the king's servants knew him, and he was made known to the king himself, the servants informing him that he was that David who had killed many ten thousands of the Philistines, David was afraid lest the king should put him to death, and that he should experience that danger from him which he had escaped from Saul; so he pretended to be distracted and mad, so that his spittle ran out of his mouth; and he did other the like actions before the king of Gath, which might make him believe that they proceeded from such a distemper. Accordingly the king was very angry at his servants that they had brought him a madman, and he gave orders that they should eject David immediately [out of the city].

(3) [247] Διασωθεὶς δὲ οὗτος ἐκ τῆς Γίττης εἰς τὴν Ἰούδα παραγίνεται φυλὴν καὶ ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀδολλάμῃ πόλει σπηλαίῳ διατρίβων πέμπει πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς δηλῶν αὐτοῖς ἔνθα εἴη. οἱ δὲ μετὰ πάσης συγγενείας ἦκον πρὸς αὐτόν: καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ὅσοις ἢ χρεία ἦν ἢ φόβος ἐκ Σαούλου τοῦ βασιλέως συνερρύησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ ἐκείνῳ δοκοῦντα ἑτοίμως ἔχειν ἔλεγον. ἐγένοντο δὲ οἱ πάντες ὡσεὶ τετρακόσιοι. [248] θαρρήσας δὲ ὡς καὶ χειρὸς αὐτῷ καὶ συνεργίας ἤδη γεγενημένης ἀπάρας ἐκεῖθεν ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸν τῶν Μωαβιτῶν βασιλέα, καὶ τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χώραν προσδεξάμενον ἕως οὗ ἐπὶ τὸ καθ᾽ αὐτὸν τέλος ἔχειν παρεκάλει: κατανεύσαντος δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν χάριν καὶ πάσης τοὺς γονεῖς τοῦ Δαυίδου τιμὴς παρ᾽ ὃν ἐτύγχανον παρ᾽ αὐτῷ χρόνον ἀξιώ

3. So when David had escaped in this manner out of Gath, he came to the tribe of Judah, and abode in a cave by the city of Adullam. Then it was that he sent to his brethren, and informed them where he was, who then came to him with all their kindred, and as many others as were either in want or in fear of king Saul, came and made a body together, and told him they were ready to obey his orders; they were in all about four hundred. Whereupon he took courage, now such a force and assistance was come to him; so he removed thence and came to the king of the Moabites, and desired him to entertain his parents in his country, while the issue of his affairs were in such an uncertain condition. The king granted him

this favor, and paid great respect to David's parents all the time they were with him.

(4) [249] σαντος αὐτὸς τοῦ προφήτου κελεύσαντος αὐτὸν τὴν μὲν ἐρημίαν ἐκλιπεῖν, πορευθέντα δ' εἰς τὴν κληρουχίαν τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς ἐν αὐτῇ διάγειν πείθεται καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Σάριν πόλιν ἐν αὐτῇ κατέμενε. [250] Σαοῦλος δ' ἀκούσας ὅτι μετὰ πλήθους ὀφθείη ὁ Δαυίδης οὐκ εἰς τυχόντα θόρυβον καὶ ταραχὴν ἐνέπεσεν, ἀλλ' εἰδὼς τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τὴν εὐτολμίαν οὐδὲν ἐξ αὐτοῦ μικρὸν ἀνακύψειν ἔργον ἐφ' οὗ κλαύσεσθαι πάντως καὶ πονήσειν ὑπενόησε. [251] καὶ συγκαλέσας τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ τὴν φυλὴν ἐξ ἧς αὐτὸς ἦν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν βουνὸν οὗ τὸ βασίλειον εἶχε, καὶ καθίσας ἐπ' Ἀρούρης, τόπος ἦν τις τιμῆς, πολιτικῆς περὶ αὐτὸν οὔσης τάξεως σωματοφυλάκων λέγει πρὸς αὐτούς: "ἄνδρες ὁμόφυλοι, μέμνησθε μὲν οἶδ' ὅτι τῶν ἐμῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, ὅτι καὶ ἀγρῶν τινας ἐποίησα δεσπότας καὶ τιμῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ πλήθει καὶ τάξεων ἠξίωσα. [252] πυνθάνομαι τοιγαροῦν, εἰ μείζονας τούτων δωρεὰς καὶ πλείονας παρὰ τοῦ Ἰεσσαίου παιδὸς προσδοκᾶτε: οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι πάντες ἐκείνῳ προστέθεισθε τοὐμοῦ παιδὸς Ἰωνάθου αὐτοῦ τε οὕτως φρονήσαντος καὶ ὑμᾶς ταῦτα πείσαντος: [253] οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοῶ τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς πρὸς Δαυίδην αὐτῷ γεγενημένας, οὐδ' ὅτι σύμβουλος μὲν καὶ συνεργὸς Ἰωνάθης ἐστὶ τῶν κατ' ἐμοῦ συντεταγμένων, μέλει δὲ ὑμῶν οὐδενὶ περὶ τούτων, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀποβη [254] σόμενον ἡσυχάζοντες σκοπεῖτε." σιωπήσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀπεκρίνατο τῶν παρόντων, Δώηγος δ' ὁ Σύρος ὁ τὰς ἡμιόνους αὐτοῦ βόσκων εἶπεν, ὡς ἴδοι τὸν Δαυίδην εἰς Ναβὰν πόλιν πρὸς Ἀβιμέλεχον ἐλθόντα τὸν ἀρχιερέα τά τε μέλλοντα παρ' αὐτοῦ προφητεύσαντος μαθεῖν καὶ λαβόντα ἐφόδια καὶ τὴν ῥομφαίαν τοῦ Γολιάθου πρὸς οὓς ἐβούλετο μετὰ ἀσφαλείας προπεμφθῆναι.

4. As for himself, upon the prophet's commanding him to leave the desert, and to go into the portion of the tribe of Judah, and abide there, he complied therewith; and coming to the city Hareth, which was in that tribe, he remained there. Now when Saul heard that David had been seen with a multitude about him, he fell into no small disturbance and trouble; but as he knew that David was a bold and courageous man, he suspected that somewhat extraordinary would appear from him, and that openly also, which would make him weep and put him into distress; so he called together to him his friends, and his commanders, and the tribe from which he was himself derived, to the hill where his palace was; and sitting upon a place called Aroura, his courtiers that were in dignities, and the guards of his body, being with him, he spake thus to them:— "You that are men of my own tribe, I conclude that you remember the benefits that I have bestowed upon you, and that I have made some of you owners of land, and made you

commanders, and bestowed posts of honor upon you, and set some of you over the common people, and others over the soldiers; I ask you, therefore, whether you expect greater and more donations from the son of Jesse? for I know that you are all inclinable to him; [even my own son Jonathan himself is of that opinion, and persuades you to be of the same]; for I am not unacquainted with the oaths and the covenants that are between him and David, and that Jonathan is a counselor and an assistant to those that conspire against me, and none of you are concerned about these things, but you keep silence and watch, to see what will be the upshot of these things." When the king had made this speech, not one of the rest of those that were present made any answer; but Doeg the Syrian, who fed his mules, said, that he saw David when he came to the city Nob to Ahimelech the high priest, and that he learned future events by his prophesying; that he received food from him, and the sword of Goliath, and was conducted by him with security to such as he desired to go to.

(5) [255] Μεταπεμψάμενος οὖν τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν γενεὰν Σαοῦλος "τί παθὼν ἐξ ἐμοῦ, εἶπε, δεινὸν καὶ ἄχαρι τὸν Ἰεσσαίου παῖδα προσεδέξω καὶ σιτίων μὲν αὐτῷ μετέδωκας καὶ ὅπλων ὄντι τῆς ἐμῆς βασιλείας ἐπιβούλῳ, τί δὲ δὴ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐχρημάτιζες; οὐ γὰρ δή σε φεύγων ἐμὲ καὶ μισῶν τὸν ἐμὸν [256] οἶκον ἐλάνθανεν." ὁ δ' ἀρχιερεὺς οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρνησιν ἐτράπη τῶν γεγονότων, ἀλλὰ μετὰ παρρησίας ταῦτα παρασχεῖν ὡμολόγει οὐχὶ Δαυίδῃ χαριζόμενος, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ: "πολέμιον γὰρ σὸν οὐκ εἰδέναι ἔφασκε, πιστὸν δὲ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα δοῦλον καὶ χιλίαρχον καὶ τὸ τούτων μεῖζον γαμβρόν τε ἤδη καὶ συγγενῆ. [257] ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἐχθροῖς παρέχειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ τοῖς εὐνοίᾳ καὶ τιμῇ τῇ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀρίστοις. προφητεῦσαι δὲ οὐ νῦν πρῶτον αὐτῷ, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἄλλοτε τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι: φήσαντι δὲ ὑπὸ σοῦ πεμφθῆναι κατὰ πολλὴν σπουδὴν ἐπὶ πρᾶξιν τῷ μηδὲν παρασχεῖν ὧν ἐπεζήτει σοὶ μᾶλλον ἀντιλέγειν ἢ ἐκείνῳ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐλογιζόμην. [258] διὸ μηδὲν πονηρὸν κατ' ἐμοῦ φρονήσῃς μηδὲ πρὸς ἃ νῦν ἀκούεις Δαυίδην ἐγχειρεῖν πρὸς ταῦτα τὴν τότε μου δοκοῦσαν φιλανθρωπίαν ὑποπτεύσῃς: φίλῳ γὰρ καὶ γαμβρῷ σῷ καὶ χιλιάρχῳ παρέσχον, οὐ πολεμίῳ."

5. Saul therefore sent for the high priest, and for all his kindred; and said to them, "What terrible or ungrateful tiring hast thou suffered from me, that thou hast received the son of Jesse, and hast bestowed on him both food and weapons, when he was contriving to get the kingdom? And further, why didst thou deliver oracles to him concerning futurities? For thou couldst not be unacquainted that he was fled away from me, and that he hated my family." But the high priest did not betake himself to deny what he had done, but confessed boldly that he had supplied him with these things, not to gratify David, but Saul himself: and he

said, “I did not know that he was thy adversary, but a servant of thine, who was very faithful to thee, and a captain over a thousand of thy soldiers, and, what is more than these, thy son-in-law, and kinsman. Men do not choose to confer such favors on their adversaries, but on those who are esteemed to bear the highest good-will and respect to them. Nor is this the first time that I prophesied for him, but I have done it often, and at other times as well as now. And when he told me that he was sent by thee in great haste to do somewhat, if I had furnished him with nothing that he desired I should have thought that it was rather in contradiction to thee than to him; wherefore do not thou entertain any ill opinion of me, nor do thou have a suspicion of what I then thought an act of humanity, from what is now told thee of David’s attempts against thee, for I did then to him as to thy friend and son-in-law, and captain of a thousand, and not as to thine adversary.”

(6) [259] Ταῦτα λέγων ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς οὐκ ἔπεισε τὸν Σαοῦλον: δεινὸς γὰρ ὁ φόβος μηδ’ ἀληθεῖ πιστεύειν ἀπολογίᾳ: κελεύει δὲ τοῖς ὁπλίταις περιστᾶσιν αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι. μὴ θαρρούντων δ’ ἐκείνων ἅψασθαι τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, ἀλλὰ τὸ θεῖον εὐλαβουμένων μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ παρακοῦσαι τοῦ βασιλέως, τῷ Σύρῳ Δωήγῳ προστάσσει τὸν φόνον. [260] καὶ παραλαβὼν ὁμοίους αὐτῷ πονηροὺς ἐκεῖνος ἀποκτείνει τὸν Ἀβιμέλεχον καὶ τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ: ἦσαν δὲ πάντες ὡσεὶ πέντε καὶ τριακόσιοι. πέμψας δὲ Σαοῦλος καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἱερέων Ναβὰν πάντας τε αὐτοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν οὐ γυναικῶν οὐ νηπίων οὐδ’ ἄλλης ἡλικίας φεισάμενος, αὐτὴν δὲ ἐνέπρησε. [261] διασώζεται δὲ παῖς [εἷς] Ἀβιμελέχου Ἀβιάθαρος ὄνομα. ταῦτα μέντοι συνέβη, καθὼς προεφήτευσεν ὁ θεὸς τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ Ἠλὶ διὰ τὰς τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ δύο παρανομίας εἰπὼν διαφθαρήσεσθαι τοὺς ἐγγόνους.

6. When the high priest had spoken thus, he did not persuade Saul, his fear was so prevalent, that he could not give credit to an apology that was very just. So he commanded his armed men that stood about him to kill him, and all his kindred; but as they durst not touch the high priest, but were more afraid of disobeying God than the king, he ordered Doeg the Syrian to kill them. Accordingly, he took to his assistance such wicked men as were like himself, and slew Ahimelech and all his family, who were in all three hundred and eighty-five. Saul also sent to Nob, the city of the priests, and slew all that were there, without sparing either women or children, or any other age, and burnt it; only there was one son of Ahimelech, whose name was Abiathar, who escaped. However, these things came to pass as God had foretold to Eli the high priest, when he said that his posterity should be destroyed, on account of the transgression of his two sons.

(7) [262] Σαοῦλος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὠμὸν οὕτως ἔργον διαπραξάμενος καὶ γενεὰν ὅλην ἀρχιερατικῆς ἀποσφάξας τιμῆς καὶ μήτ᾽ ἐπὶ νηπίοις λαβὼν οἶκτον μήτ᾽ ἐπὶ γέρουσιν αἰδῶ, καταβαλὼν δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἣν πατρίδα καὶ τροφὸν τῶν ἱερέων καὶ προφητῶν αὐτόθι τὸ θεῖον ἐπελέξατο καὶ μόνην εἰς τὸ τοιούτους φέρειν ἄνδρας ἀπέδειξε, μαθεῖν ἅπασι παρέσχε καὶ κατανοῆσαι τὸν ἀνθρώπινον τρόπον, [263] ὅτι μέχρις οὗ μέν εἰσιν ἰδιῶταί τινες καὶ ταπεινοὶ τῷ μὴ δύνασθαι χρῆσθαι τῇ φύσει μηδὲ τολμᾶν ὅσα θέλουσιν ἐπιεικεῖς εἰσι καὶ μέτριοι καὶ μόνον διώκουσι τὸ δίκαιον, καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ τὴν πᾶσαν εὔνοιάν [τε] καὶ σπουδὴν ἔχουσι τότε, καὶ περὶ τοῦ θείου πεπιστεύκασιν, ὅτι πᾶσι τοῖς γινομένοις ἐν τῷ βίῳ πάρεστι καὶ οὐ τὰ ἔργα μόνον ὁρᾷ τὰ πραττόμενα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς διανοίας ἤδη σαφῶς οἶδεν, ἀφ᾽ ὧν μέλλει ταῦτα ἔσεσθαι: [264] ὅταν δὲ εἰς ἐξουσίαν παρέλθωσι καὶ δυναστείαν, τότε πάντ᾽ ἐκεῖνα μετεκδυσάμενοι καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς προσωπεῖα τὰ ἤθη καὶ τοὺς τρόπους ἀποθέμενοι μεταλαμβάνουσι τόλμαν ἀπόνοιαν καταφρόνησιν ἀνθρωπίνων τε καὶ θείων, [265] καὶ ὅτε μάλιστα δεῖ τῆς εὐσεβείας αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἔγγιστα τοῦ φθονεῖσθαι γεγενημένοις καὶ πᾶσι φανεροῖς ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἂν νοήσωσιν ἢ πράξωσι καθεστῶσι, τόθ᾽ ὡς οὐκέτι βλέποντος αὐτοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ διὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν δεδιότος οὕτως ἐμπαροινοῦσι τοῖς πράγμασιν. [266] ἃ δ᾽ ἂν ἢ φοβηθῶσιν ἀκούσαντες ἢ μισῶσι θελήσαντες ἢ στέρξωσιν ἀλόγως, ταῦτα κύρια καὶ βέβαια καὶ ἀληθῆ καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἀρεστὰ καὶ τῷ θεῷ δοκοῦσι, τῶν δὲ μελλόντων λόγος αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ εἷς: [267] ἀλλὰ τιμῶσι μὲν [τοὺς] πολλὰ ταλαιπωρήσαντας, τιμήσαντες δὲ φθονοῦσι, καὶ παραγαγόντες εἰς ἐπιφάνειαν οὐ ταύτης ἀφαιροῦνται μόνον τοὺς τετυχηκότας, ἀλλὰ διὰ ταύτην καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἐπὶ πονηραῖς αἰτίαις καὶ δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν αὐτῶν ἀπιθάνοις: κολάζουσι δ᾽ οὐκ ἐπ᾽ ἔργοις δίκης ἀξίοις, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ διαβολαῖς καὶ κατηγορίαις ἀβασανίστοις, οὐδ᾽ ὅσους ἔδει τοῦτο παθεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅσους ἀποκτεῖναι δύνανται. [268] τοῦτο Σαοῦλος ἡμῖν ὁ Κείσου παῖς, ὁ πρῶτος μετὰ τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν [καὶ] τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς κριταῖς πολιτείαν Ἑβραίων βασιλεύσας, φανερὸν πεποίηκε τριακοσίους ἀποκτείνας ἱερέας καὶ προφήτας ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ἀβιμέλεχον ὑποψίας, ἐπικαταβαλὼν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν ἐν τρόπῳ τινὶ ναὸν σπουδάσας ἱερέων καὶ προφητῶν ἔρημον καταστῆσαι τοσούτους μὲν ἀνελών, μεῖναι δ᾽ ἐάσας οὐδὲ τὴν πατρίδα αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκείνους ἄλλους γενέσθαι.

7. Now this king Saul, by perpetrating so barbarous a crime, and murdering the whole family of the high-priestly dignity, by having no pity of the infants, nor reverence for the aged, and by overthrowing the city which God had chosen for the property, and for the support of the priests and prophets which were there, and had ordained as the only city allotted for the education of such men, gives all to understand and consider the disposition of men, that while they are private persons, and in a low condition, because it is not in their power to indulge

nature, nor to venture upon what they wish for, they are equitable and moderate, and pursue nothing but what is just, and bend their whole minds and labors that way; then it is that they have this belief about God, that he is present to all the actions of their lives, and that he does not only see the actions that are done, but clearly knows those their thoughts also, whence those actions do arise. But when once they are advanced into power and authority, then they put off all such notions, and, as if they were no other than actors upon a theater, they lay aside their disguised parts and manners, and take up boldness, insolence, and a contempt of both human and Divine laws, and this at a time when they especially stand in need of piety and righteousness, because they are then most of all exposed to envy, and all they think, and all they say, are in the view of all men; then it is that they become so insolent in their actions, as though God saw them no longer, or were afraid of them because of their power: and whatsoever it is that they either are afraid of by the rumors they hear, or they hate by inclination, or they love without reason, these seem to them to be authentic, and firm, and true, and pleasing both to men and to God; but as to what will come hereafter, they have not the least regard to it. They raise those to honor indeed who have been at a great deal of pains for them, and after that honor they envy them; and when they have brought them into high dignity, they do not only deprive them of what they had obtained, but also, on that very account, of their lives also, and that on wicked accusations, and such as on account of their extravagant nature, are incredible. They also punish men for their actions, not such as deserve condemnation, but from calumnies and accusations without examination; and this extends not only to such as deserve to be punished, but to as many as they are able to kill. This reflection is openly confirmed to us from the example of Saul, the son of Kish, who was the first king who reigned after our aristocracy and government under the judges were over; and that by his slaughter of three hundred priests and prophets, on occasion of his suspicion about Ahimelech, and by the additional wickedness of the overthrow of their city, and this is as he were endeavoring in some sort to render the temple [tabernacle] destitute both of priests and prophets, which endeavor he showed by slaying so many of them, and not suffering the very city belonging to them to remain, that so others might succeed them.

(8) [269] Ὁ δ’ Ἀβιάθαρος ὁ τοῦ Ἀβιμελέχου παῖς ὁ μόνος δυνηθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σαούλου φονευθέντων ἱερέων φυγὼν πρὸς Δαυίδην τὴν τῶν οἰκείων αὐτοῦ συμφορὰν ἐδήλωσε καὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀναίρεσιν. [270] ὁ δ’ οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν ἔφη ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐσόμενα ἰδὼν τὸν Δώηγον: ὑπονοῆσαι γὰρ διαβληθήσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τῆς ἀτυχίας ταύτης

αὐτοῖς αὐτὸν ἠτιᾶτο. μένειν δ’ αὐτόθι καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ διατρίβειν ὡς οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῳ τόπῳ λησόμενον οὕτως ἠξίου.

8. But Abiathar, the son of Ahimelech, who alone could be saved out of the family of priests slain by Saul, fled to David, and informed him of the calamity that had befallen their family, and of the slaughter of his father; who hereupon said, He was not unapprised of what would follow with relation to them when he saw Doeg there; for he had then a suspicion that the high priest would be falsely accused by him to the king, and he blamed himself as having been the cause of this misfortune. But he desired him to stay there, and abide with him, as in a place where he might be better concealed than any where else.

XIII

CHAPTER 13. How David, When He Had Twice The Opportunity Of Killing Saul Did Not Kill Him. Also Concerning The Death Of Samuel And Nabal.

(1) [271] Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἀκούσας ὁ Δαυίδης τοὺς Παλαιστίνους ἐμβεβληκότας εἰς τὴν Κιλλανῶν χώραν καὶ ταύτην διαρπάζοντας δίδωσιν ἑαυτὸν στρατεύειν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ προφήτου πυθόμενος εἰ ἐπιτρέπει νίκην. τοῦ δὲ σημαίνειν φήσαντος ἐξώρμησεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Παλαιστίνους μετὰ τῶν ἑταίρων καὶ φόνον τε αὐτῶν πολὺν ἐξέχεε καὶ λείαν ἤλασεν. [272] καὶ παραμείνας τοῖς Κιλλανοῖς ἕως οὗ τὰς ἅλως καὶ τὸν καρπὸν συνεῖλον ἀδεῶς Σαούλῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ μηνύεται παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὤν: τὸ γὰρ ἔργον καὶ τὸ κατόρθωμα οὐκ ἔμεινε παρ᾽ οἷς ἐγένετο, φήμῃ δ᾽ ἐπίπαν εἴς τε τὰς τῶν ἄλλων ἀκοὰς καὶ πρὸς τὰς τοῦ βασιλέως διεκομίσθη αὐτό τε συνιστάνον καὶ τὸν πεποιηκότα. [273] χαίρει δὲ Σαοῦλος ἀκούσας ἐν Κίλλα τὸν Δαυίδην, καί "θεὸς ἤδη χερσὶ ταῖς ἐμαῖς ὑπέθετο αὐτόν, εἰπών, ἐπεὶ καὶ συνηνάγκασεν ἐλθεῖν εἰς πόλιν τείχη καὶ πύλας καὶ μοχλοὺς ἔχουσαν", τῷ λαῷ παντὶ προσέταξεν ἐπὶ τὴν Κίλλαν ἐξορμῆσαι καὶ πολιορκήσαντι καὶ ἑλόντι τὸν Δαυίδην ἀποκτεῖναι. [274] ταῦτα δὲ αἰσθόμενος ὁ Δαυίδης καὶ μαθὼν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι μείναντα παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς οἱ Κιλλῖται ἐκδώσουσι τῷ Σαούλῳ, παραλαβὼν τοὺς τετρακοσίους ἀπῆρεν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ἐπάνω τῆς Ἐνγεδὼν λεγομένης. καὶ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας αὐτὸν πεφευγότα παρὰ τῶν Κιλλιτῶν ἐπαύσατο τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν στρατείας.

1. About this time it was that David heard how the Philistines had made an inroad into the country of Keilah, and robbed it; so he offered himself to fight against them, if God, when he should be consulted by the prophet, would grant him the victory. And when the prophet said that God gave a signal of victory, he made a sudden onset upon the Philistines with his companions, and he shed a great deal of their blood, and carried off their prey, and staid with the inhabitants of Keilah till they had securely gathered in their corn and their fruits. However, it was told Saul the king that David was with the men of Keilah; for what had been done and the great success that had attended him, were not confined among the people where the things were done, but the fame of it went all abroad, and came to the hearing of others, and both the fact as it stood, and the author of the fact, were carried to the king's ears. Then was Saul glad when he heard David was in Keilah; and he said, "God hath now put him into my hands, since he hath obliged him to come into a city that hath walls, and gates, and bars." So he

commanded all the people suddenly, and when they had besieged and taken it to kill David. But when David perceived this, and learned of God that if he staid there the men of Keilah would deliver him up to Saul, he took his four hundred men and retired into a desert that was over against a city called Engedi. So that when the king heard he was fled away from the men of Keilah, he left off his expedition against him.

(2) [275] Δαυίδης δὲ ἐκεῖθεν ἄρας εἴς τινα τόπον Καινὴν καλουμένην τῆς Ζιφήνης παραγίνεται, εἰς ὃν Ἰωνάθης ὁ τοῦ Σαούλου παῖς συμβαλὼν αὐτῷ καὶ κατασπασάμενος θαρρεῖν τε καὶ χρηστὰς περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἔχειν ἐλπίδας παρεκάλει καὶ μὴ κάμνειν τοῖς παροῦσι: βασιλεύσειν γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑβραίων δύναμιν ἕξειν ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτῷ, φιλεῖν δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα σὺν μεγάλοις ἀπαντᾶν πόνοις. [276] πάλιν δ᾽ ὅρκους ποιησάμενος τῆς εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν βίον πρὸς ἀλλήλους εὐνοίας καὶ πίστεως καὶ τὸν θεὸν μάρτυρα καλέσας, ὧν ἐπηράσατο αὐτῷ παραβάντι τὰ συγκείμενα καὶ μεταβαλλομένῳ πρὸς τἀναντία, τὸν μὲν αὐτόθι καταλείπει μικρὰ τῶν φροντίδων καὶ τοῦ δέους ἐπικουφίσας, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπανέρχεται. [277] οἱ δὲ Ζιφηνοὶ χαριζόμενοι τῷ Σαούλῳ μηνύουσιν αὐτῷ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς διατρίβειν τὸν Δαυίδην καὶ παραδώσειν ἔφασαν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐλθόντι: καταληφθέντων γὰρ τῶν τῆς Ζιφηνῆς στενῶν οὐκ εἶναι φυγεῖν αὐτὸν πρὸς ἄλλους. [278] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐπῄνεσεν αὐτοὺς χάριν ἔχειν ὁμολογήσας τὸν ἐχθρὸν αὐτῷ μεμηνυκόσι, καὶ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀμείψεσθαι τῆς εὐνοίας ὑποσχόμενος αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψε τοὺς ζητήσοντας τὸν Δαυίδην καὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν ἐξερευνήσοντας, αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἀκολουθήσειν ἀπεκρίνατο. [279] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν καὶ τὴν σύλληψιν τοῦ Δαυίδου προῆγον τὸν βασιλέα σπουδάζοντες μὴ μόνον αὐτῷ μηνῦσαι τὸν ἐχθρὸν [αὐτῷ τὴν εὔνοιαν], ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ παρασχεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς ἐξουσίαν φανερωτέραν καταστῆσαι: διήμαρτον δὲ τῆς ἀδίκου καὶ πονηρᾶς ἐπιθυμίας, οἳ μηδὲν κινδυνεύειν ἔμελλον ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ταῦτ᾽ ἐμφανίσαι τῷ Σαούλῳ, [280] διὰ δὲ κολακείαν καὶ κέρδους προσδοκίαν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἄνδρα θεοφιλῆ καὶ παρὰ δίκην ζητούμενον ἐπὶ θανάτῳ καὶ λανθάνειν δυνάμενον διέβαλλον καὶ παραδώσειν ὑπέσχοντο: γνοὺς γὰρ ὁ Δαυίδης τὴν τῶν Ζιφηνῶν κακοήθειαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἔφοδον ἐκλείπει μὲν τὰ στενὰ τῆς ἐκείνων χώρας, φεύγει δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην πέτραν τὴν οὖσαν ἐν τῇ Σίμωνος ἐρήμῳ.

2. Then David removed thence, and came to a certain place called the New Place, belonging to Ziph; where Jonathan, the son of Saul, came to him, and saluted him, and exhorted him to be of good courage, and to hope well as to his condition hereafter, and not to despond at his present circumstances, for that he should be king, and have all the forces of the Hebrews under him: he told him that such happiness uses to come with great labor and pains: they also took oaths, that they would, all their lives long, continue in good-will and fidelity one

to another; and he called God to witness, as to what execrations he had made upon himself if he should transgress his covenant, and should change to a contrary behavior. So Jonathan left him there, having rendered his cares and fears somewhat lighter, and returned home. Now the men of Ziph, to gratify Saul, informed him that David abode with them, and [assured him] that if he would come to them, they would deliver him up, for that if the king would seize on the Straits of Ziph, David would not escape to any other people. So the king commended them, and confessed that he had reason to thank them, because they had given him information of his enemy; and he promised them, that it should not be long ere he would requite their kindness. He also sent men to seek for David, and to search the wilderness wherein he was; and he promised that he himself would follow them. Accordingly they went before the king, to hunt for and to catch David, and used endeavors, not only to show their good-will to Saul, by informing him where his enemy was, but to evidence the same more plainly by delivering him up into his power. But these men failed of those their unjust and wicked desires, who, while they underwent no hazard by not discovering such an ambition of revealing this to Saul, yet did they falsely accuse and promise to deliver up a man beloved of God, and one that was unjustly sought after to be put to death, and one that might otherwise have lain concealed, and this out of flattery, and expectation of gain from the king; for when David was apprized of the malignant intentions of the men of Ziph, and the approach of Saul, he left the Straits of that country, and fled to the great rock that was in the wilderness of Maon.

(3) [281] Ὥρμησεν δὲ ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνην διώκειν Σαοῦλος: κατὰ γὰρ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀναχωρήσαντα ἐκ τῶν στενῶν μαθὼν τὸν Δαυίδην ἐπὶ τὸ ἕτερον μέρος τῆς πέτρας ἀπῆρεν. ἀντιπεριέσπασαν δὲ τὸν Σαοῦλον ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως τοῦ Δαυίδου μέλλοντος ἤδη συλλαμβάνεσθαι Παλαιστῖνοι πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑβραίων ἐστρατευκέναι χάραν ἀκουσθέντες: ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτους ἀνέστρεψε φύσει πολεμίους ὄντας αὐτοὺς ἀμύνασθαι κρίνας ἀναγκαιότερον, ἢ τὸν ἴδιον σπουδάζοντα λαβεῖν ἐχθρὸν ὑπεριδεῖν τὴν γῆν κακωθεῖσαν.

3. Hereupon Saul made haste to pursue him thither; for, as he was marching, he learned that David was gone away from the Straits of Ziph, and Saul removed to the other side of the rock. But the report that the Philistines had again made an incursion into the country of the Hebrews, called Saul another way from the pursuit of David, when he was ready to be caught; for he returned back again to oppose those Philistines, who were naturally their enemies, as judging it more necessary to avenge himself of them, than to take a great deal of pains to catch an enemy of his own, and to overlook the ravage that was made in the land.

(4) [282] Καὶ Δαυίδης μὲν οὕτως ἐκ παραλόγου τὸν κίνδυνον διαφυγὼν εἰς τὰ στενὰ τῆς Ἐνγεδηνῆς ἀφικνεῖται: Σαούλῳ δὲ ἐκβαλόντι τοὺς Παλαιστίνους ἦκον ἀπαγγέλλοντές τινες τὸν Δαυίδην ἐν τοῖς Ἐγγεδηνῆς διατρίβειν ὅροις. [283] λαβὼν δὲ τρισχιλίους ἐπιλέκτους ὁπλίτας ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἠπείγετο, καὶ γενόμενος οὐ πόρρω τῶν τόπων ὁρᾷ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν σπήλαιον βαθὺ καὶ κοῖλον εἰς πολὺ καὶ μῆκος ἀνεῳγὸς καὶ πλάτος, ἔνθα συνέβαινε τὸν Δαυίδην μετὰ τῶν τετρακοσίων κεκρύφθαι: ἐπειγόμενος οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν εἴσεισιν εἰς αὐτὸ μόνος θεαθεὶς ὑπό τινος τῶν μετὰ Δαυίδου: [284] καὶ φράσαντος τοῦ θεασαμένου πρὸς τὸν ἐχθρὸν αὐτοῦ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καιρὸν ἔχειν ἀμύνης καὶ συμβουλεύοντος τοῦ Σαούλου ἀποτεμεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τῆς πολλῆς ἄλης αὐτὸν ἀπαλλάξαι καὶ ταλαιπωρίας, ἀναστὰς ἀναίρει μὲν τὴν κροκύδα τοῦ ἱματίου μόνον οὗ Σαοῦλος ἀμπείχετο, μετανοήσας δ᾽ εὐθύς “οὐ δίκαιον, εἶπε, φονεύειν τὸν αὐτοῦ δεσπότην, οὐδὲ τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ βασιλείας ἀξιωθέντα: καὶ γὰρ εἰ πονηρὸς οὗτος εἰς ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐμὲ δεῖ τοιοῦτον εἶναι [285] πρὸς αὐτόν.” τοῦ δὲ Σαούλου τὸ σπήλαιον ἐκλιπόντος προελθὼν ὁ Δαυίδης ἔκραγεν ἀκοῦσαι τὸν Σαοῦλον ἀξιῶν. ἐπιστραφέντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως προσκυνεῖ τε αὐτὸν πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον, ὡς ἔθος, καί φησιν: “οὐ πονηροῖς, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ ψευδεῖς πλάττουσι διαβολὰς παρέχοντα δεῖ τὰς ἀκοὰς χαρίζεσθαι μὲν ἐκείνοις τὸ πιστεύειν αὐτοῖς, εἰς δὲ τοὺς φιλτάτους ὑπονοίας ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἔργοις σκοπεῖν τὴν ἁπάντων διάθεσιν. [286] διαβολὴ μὲν γὰρ ἀπατᾷ, σαφὴς δ᾽ ἀπόδειξις εὐνοίας τὰ πραττόμενα: καὶ λόγος μὲν ἐπ᾽ ἀμφότερα πέφυκεν ἀληθής τε καὶ ψευδής, τὰ δὲ ἔργα γυμνὴν ὑπ᾽ ὄψει τὴν διάνοιαν τίθησιν. [287] ἴσθι τοίνυν ἐκ τούτων καλῶς ἔχειν με πρὸς σὲ καὶ τὸν σὸν οἶκον ἐμοὶ πιστεῦσαι δεῖ, καὶ μὴ τοῖς κατηγοροῦσιν ἃ μήτε εἰς νοῦν ἐβαλόμην μήτε δύναται γενέσθαι προσθέμενον μεταδιώκειν τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν καὶ μηδὲν μήθ᾽ ἡμέρας μήτε νυκτὸς ἔχειν διὰ φροντίδος ἢ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀναίρεσιν, ἣν ἀδίκως μεταπορεύῃ: [288] πῶς γὰρ οὐχὶ ψευδῆ περὶ ἐμοῦ δόξαν εἴληφας ὡς ἀποκτεῖναί σε θέλοντος; ἢ πῶς οὐκ ἀσεβεῖς εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἄνθρωπον τήμερον αὐτῷ τιμωρῆσαι δυνάμενον καὶ παρὰ σοῦ λαβεῖν δίκην καὶ μὴ θελήσαντα μηδὲ τῷ καιρῷ χρησάμενον, ὃν εἰ σοὶ κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ περιέπεσεν οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸς παρῆκας, διαχρήσασθαι ποθῶν καὶ νομίζων πολέμιον; [289] ὅτε γάρ σου τὴν πτέρυγα τοῦ ἱματίου ἀπέτεμον, τότε σου καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἠδυνάμην.” ἐπιδείξας δὲ τὸ ῥάκος ἰδεῖν πιστεύειν παρεῖχεν. “ἀλλ᾽ ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπεσχόμην δικαίας ἀμύνης, φησί, σὺ δὲ μῖσος ἄδικον οὐκ αἰδῇ κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ τρέφων. ὁ θεὸς ταῦτα δικάσειε καὶ τὸν [290] ἑκατέρου τρόπον ἡμῶν ἐλέγξειε.” Σαοῦλος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ τῆς σωτηρίας θαυμάσας καὶ τὴν τοῦ νεανίσκου μετριότητα καὶ φύσιν ἐκπλαγεὶς ἀνώμωξε: τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ κἀκείνου ποιήσαντος αὐτὸν εἶναι δίκαιον στένειν ἀπεκρίνατο: “σὺ μὲν γάρ, φησίν, ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος ἐμοὶ γέγονας, ἐγὼ δὲ σοὶ συμφορῶν. ἐπεδείξω δὲ σήμερον τὴν ἀρχαίων ἔχοντα σαυτὸν δικαιοσύνην, οἳ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐν ἐρημίᾳ λαβόντες σώζειν παρήγγελλον. [291] πέπεισμαι δὴ νῦν, ὅτι

σοὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ θεὸς φυλάττει καὶ περιμένει σε τὸ πάντων τῶν Ἑβραίων κράτος. δὸς δέ μοι πίστεις ἐνόρκους μή μου τὸ γένος ἐξαφανίσαι μηδ᾽ ἐμοὶ μνησικακοῦντα τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐγγόνους ἀπολέσαι, τηρῆσαι δέ μοι καὶ σῶσαι τὸν οἶκον.” ὀμόσας δὲ καθὼς ἠξίωκε Δαυίδης Σαοῦλον μὲν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ἀπέλυσε βασιλείαν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν Μασθηρῶν ἀνέβη στενήν.

4. And by this means David unexpectedly escaped out of the danger he was in, and came to the Straits of Engedi; and when Saul had driven the Philistines out of the land, there came some messengers, who told him that David abode within the bounds of Engedi: so he took three thousand chosen men that were armed, and made haste to him; and when he was not far from those places, he saw a deep and hollow cave by the way-side; it was open to a great length and breadth, and there it was that David with his four hundred men were concealed. When therefore he had occasion to ease nature, he entered into it by himself alone; and being seen by one of David’s companions, and he that saw him saying to him, that he had now, by God’s providence, an opportunity of avenging himself of his adversary; and advising him to cut off his head, and so deliver himself out of that tedious, wandering condition, and the distress he was in; he rose up, and only cut off the skirt of that garment which Saul had on: but he soon repented of what he had done; and said it was not right to kill him that was his master, and one whom God had thought worthy of the kingdom; “for that although he were wickedly disposed towards us, yet does it not behoove me to be so disposed towards him.” But when Saul had left the cave, David came near and cried out aloud, and desired Saul to hear him; whereupon the king turned his face back, and David, according to custom, fell down on his face before the king, and bowed to him; and said, “O king, thou oughtest not to hearken to wicked men, nor to such as forge calumnies, nor to gratify them so far as to believe what they say, nor to entertain suspicions of such as are your best friends, but to judge of the dispositions of all men by their actions; for calumny deludes men, but men’s own actions are a clear demonstration of their kindness. Words indeed, in their own nature, may be either true or false, but men’s actions expose their intentions nakedly to our view. By these, therefore it will be well for thee to believe me, as to my regard to thee and to thy house, and not to believe those that frame such accusations against me as never came into my mind, nor are possible to be executed, and do this further by pursuing after my life, and have no concern either day or night, but how to compass my life and to murder me, which thing I think thou dost unjustly prosecute; for how comes it about, that thou hast embraced this false opinion about me, as if I had a desire to kill thee? Or how canst thou escape the crime of impiety towards God, when thou wishest thou

couldst kill, and deemest thine adversary, a man who had it in his power this day to avenge himself, and to punish thee, but would not do it? nor make use of such an opportunity, which, if it had fallen out to thee against me, thou hadst not let it slip, for when I cut off the skirt of thy garment, I could have done the same to thy head." So he showed him the piece of his garment, and thereby made him agree to what he said to be true; and added, "I, for certain, have abstained from taking a just revenge upon thee, yet art thou not ashamed to prosecute me with unjust hatred. May God do justice, and determine about each of our dispositions." — But Saul was amazed at the strange delivery he had received; and being greatly affected with the moderation and the disposition of the young man, he groaned; and when David had done the same, the king answered that he had the justest occasion to groan, "for thou hast been the author of good to me, as I have been the author of calamity to thee; and thou hast demonstrated this day, that thou possessest the righteousness of the ancients, who determined that men ought to save their enemies, though they caught them in a desert place. I am now persuaded that God reserves the kingdom for thee, and that thou wilt obtain the dominion over all the Hebrews. Give me then assurances upon oath, That thou wilt not root out my family, nor, out of remembrance of what evil I have done thee, destroy my posterity, but save and preserve my house." So David sware as he desired, and sent back Saul to his own kingdom; but he, and those that were with him, went up the Straits of Mastheroth.

(5) [292] Ἀποθνήσκει δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν καὶ Σαμουῆλος ὁ προφήτης, ἀνὴρ οὐ τῆς τυχούσης ἀπολαύων παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τιμῆς: ἐνεφάνισε γὰρ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τοῦ πλήθους πρὸς αὐτὸν εὔνοιαν τὸ πένθος, ὃ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ὁ λαὸς ἤγετο, καὶ ἡ περὶ τὴν ταφὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τῶν νομιζομένων ἀναπλήρωσιν φιλοτιμία τε καὶ σπουδή. [293] θάπτουσι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι Ἁρμεθᾶ καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰς πάνυ ἡμέρας ἔκλαυσαν, οὐ κοινὸν τοῦτο πάσχοντες ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀλλοτρίου τελευτῇ, ὡς οἰκεῖον δ᾽ ἕκαστος ἴδιον ποθῶν. [294] ἐγένετο δ᾽ ἀνὴρ δίκαιος καὶ χρηστὸς τὴν φύσιν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα φίλος τῷ θεῷ. ἦρξε δὲ καὶ προέστη τοῦ λαοῦ μετὰ τὴν Ἠλεὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τελευτὴν μόνος μὲν ἔτη δώδεκα, μετὰ δὲ Σαούλου τοῦ βασιλέως δέκα πρὸς τοῖς ὀκτώ. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Σαμουῆλον οὕτω πέρας ἔσχεν.

5. About this time Samuel the prophet died. He was a man whom the Hebrews honored in an extraordinary degree: for that lamentation which the people made for him, and this during a long time, manifested his virtue, and the affection which the people bore for him; as also did the solemnity and concern that appeared about his funeral, and about the complete observation of all his funeral rites. They buried him in his own city of Ramah; and wept for him a very great

number of days, not looking on it as a sorrow for the death of another man, but as that in which they were every one themselves concerned. He was a righteous man, and gentle in his nature; and on that account he was very dear to God. Now he governed and presided over the people alone, after the death of Eli the high priest, twelve years, and eighteen years together with Saul the king. And thus we have finished the history of Samuel.

(6) [295] Ἦν δέ τις τῶν Ζιφηνῶν ἐκ πόλεως Ἐμμᾶν πλούσιος καὶ πολυθρέμματος: τρισχιλίων μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ ποίμνη προβάτων ἐνέμετο, χιλίων δ' αἰγῶν. ταῦτα Δαυίδης ἀσινῆ τηρεῖν τε καὶ ἀβλαβῆ παρήγγελλε τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ μήτε ὑπὸ ἐπιθυμίας μήτε ὑπὸ ἐνδείας μήτε ὑπὸ τῆς ἐρημίας καὶ τοῦ δύνασθαι λανθάνειν καταβλάπτειν, τούτων δ' ἁπάντων ἐπάνω τίθεσθαι τὸ μηδέν' ἀδικεῖν καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἅπτεσθαι δεινὸν ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ πρόσαντες τῷ θεῷ. [296] ταῦτα δ' ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς οἰόμενος ἀνθρώπῳ χαρίζεσθαι ἀγαθῷ καὶ ταύτης τυγχάνειν ἀξίῳ τῆς προνοίας. ἦν δὲ Νάβαλος, τοῦτο γὰρ εἶχεν ὄνομα, σκληρὸς καὶ πονηρὸς τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἐκ κυνικῆς ἀσκήσεως πεποιημένος τὸν βίον, γυναικὸς δ' ἀγαθῆς καὶ σώφρονος καὶ τὸ εἶδος ὡραίας λελαχώς. [297] πρὸς οὖν τὸν Νάβαλον τοῦτον καθ' ὃν ἔκειρε τὰ πρόβατα καιρὸν πέμψας ὁ Δαυίδης ἄνδρας δέκα τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ διὰ τούτων αὐτὸν ἀσπάζεται καὶ συνεύχεται τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐπ' ἔτη πολλά: παρασχεῖν δὲ ἐξ ὧν δυνατός ἐστιν αὐτῷ παρεκάλει μαθόντα παρὰ τῶν ποιμένων, ὅτι μηδὲν αὐτοὺς ἠδίκησαν, ἀλλὰ φύλακες αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ποιμνίων γεγόνασι πολὺν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ διατρίβοντες ἤδη χρόνον: μετανοήσει δ' οὐδὲν Δαυίδῃ παρασχόμενος. [298] ταῦτα δὲ τῶν πεμφθέντων διακονησάντων πρὸς τὸν Νάβαλον ἀπανθρώπως σφόδρα καὶ σκληρῶς ἀπήντησεν: ἐρωτήσας γὰρ αὐτούς, τίς ἐστι Δαυίδης, ὡς τὸν υἱὸν ἤκουσεν Ἰεσσαίου, "νῦν ἄρα, εἶπε, μέγα φρονοῦσιν ἐφ' αὐτοῖς οἱ δρα [299] πέται καὶ σεμνύνονται τοὺς δεσπότας καταλιπόντες." ὀργίζεται δ' αὐτῶν φρασάντων ὁ Δαυίδης καὶ τετρακοσίους μὲν ὡπλισμένους αὐτῷ κελεύσας ἕπεσθαι, διακοσίους δὲ φύλακας τῶν σκευῶν καταλιπών, ἤδη γὰρ εἶχεν ἑξακοσίους, ἐπὶ τὸν Νάβαλον ἐβάδιζεν ὀμόσας ἐκείνῃ τῇ νυκτὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν κτῆσιν ὅλην ἀφανίσειν: οὐ γὰρ ἄχθεσθαι μόνον ὅτι γέγονεν ἀχάριστος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μηδὲν ἐπιδοὺς πολλῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν χρησαμένοις, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ προσεβλασφήμησε καὶ κακῶς εἶπε μηδὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν λελυπημένος.

6. There was a man that was a Ziphite, of the city of Maon, who was rich, and had a vast number of cattle; for he fed a flock of three thousand sheep, and another flock of a thousand goats. Now David had charged his associates to keep these flocks without hurt and without damage, and to do them no mischief, neither out of covetousness, nor because they were in want, nor because they were in the wilderness, and so could not easily be discovered, but to esteem freedom from

injustice above all other motives, and to look upon the touching of what belonged to another man as a horrible crime, and contrary to the will of God. These were the instructions he gave, thinking that the favors he granted this man were granted to a good man, and one that deserved to have such care taken of his affairs. This man was Nabal, for that was his name, — a harsh man, and of a very wicked life, being like a cynic in the course of his behavior, but still had obtained for his wife a woman of a good character, wise and handsome. To this Nabal, therefore, David sent ten men of his attendants at the time when he sheared his sheep, and by them saluted him; and also wished he might do what he now did for many years to come, but desired him to make him a present of what he was able to give him, since he had, to be sure, learned from his shepherds that we had done them no injury, but had been their guardians a long time together, while we continued in the wilderness; and he assured him he should never repent of giving any thing to David. When the messengers had carried this message to Nabal, he accosted them after an inhuman and rough manner; for he asked them who David was? and when he heard that he was the son of Jesse, he said, "Now is the time that fugitives grow insolent, and make a figure, and leave their masters." When they told David this, he was wroth, and commanded four hundred armed men to follow him, and left two hundred to take care of the stuff, [for he had already six hundred,] and went against Nabal: he also swore that he would that night utterly destroy the whole house and possessions of Nabal; for that he was grieved, not only that he had proved ungrateful to them, without making any return for the humanity they had shown him, but that he had also reproached them, and used ill language to them, when he had received no cause of disgust from them.

(7) [300] Δούλου δέ τινος τῶν τὰ ποίμνια φυλασσόντων τὰ τοῦ Ναβάλου πρὸς τὴν δέσποιναν μὲν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα δ' ἐκείνου κατειπόντος, ὅτι πέμψας ὁ Δαυίδης αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα μηδενὸς τύχοι τῶν μετρίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσυβρισθείη βλασφημίαις δειναῖς πάσῃ περὶ αὐτοὺς προνοίᾳ καὶ φυλακῇ τῶν ποιμνίων χρησάμενος, [301] γέγονε δὲ τοῦτο ἐπὶ κακῷ τῷ τοῦ δεσπότου καὶ ταῦτ' ἐκείνου φήσαντος Ἀβιγαία, προσηγορεύετο γὰρ οὕτως, ἐπισάξασα τοὺς ὄνους καὶ πληρώσασα παντοίων ξενίων καὶ μηδὲν εἰποῦσα τἀνδρί, ὑπὸ γὰρ μέθης ἀναίσθητος ἦν, ἐπορεύετο πρὸς Δαυίδην: καταβαινούσῃ δὲ τὰ στενὰ τοῦ ὄρους ἀπήντησε Δαυίδης μετὰ τῶν τετρακοσίων ἐπὶ Νάβαλον ἐρχόμενος. [302] θεασαμένη δ' αὐτὸν ἡ γυνὴ κατεπήδησε καὶ πεσοῦσα ἐπὶ πρόσωπον προσεκύνησε καὶ τῶν μὲν Ναβάλου λόγων ἐδεῖτο μὴ μνημονεύειν [οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοεῖν] αὐτὸν ὅμοιον ὄντα τῷ ὀνόματι, Νάβαλος γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων γλῶτταν ἀφροσύνην δηλοῖ, αὐτὴ δ' ἀπελογεῖτο μὴ θεάσασθαι τοὺς πεμφθέντας

ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ: [303] “διὸ συγγίνωσκέ μοι, φησί, καὶ τῷ θεῷ χάριν ἔχε κωλύοντί σε μιανθῆναι ἀνθρωπίνῳ αἵματι: μένοντα γάρ σε καθαρὸν ἐκεῖνος αὐτὸς ἐκδικήσει παρὰ τῶν πονηρῶν: ἃ γὰρ ἐκδέχεται κακὰ Νάβαλον ταῦτα καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν σου κεφαλαῖς ἐμπέσοι. [304] γενοῦ δὲ εὐμενής μοι κρίνας ἀξίαν τοῦ παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ ταῦτα δέξασθαι, καὶ τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα μου καὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν τιμὴν ἄφες: πρέπει γὰρ ἡμέρῳ σοι καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ τυγχάνειν, [305] καὶ ταῦτα μέλλοντι βασιλεύειν.” ὁ δὲ τὰ δῶρα δεξάμενος “ἀλλά σε, φησίν, ὦ γύναι, θεὸς εὐμενὴς ἤγαγε πρὸς ἡμᾶς τήμερον: οὐ γὰρ ἂν τὴν ἐπερχομένην ἡμέραν εἶδες, ἐμοῦ τὸν οἶκον τὸν Ναβάλου διὰ τῆσδε τῆς νυκτὸς ὀμόσαντος ἀπολέσαι καὶ μηδένα ὑμῶν ἀπολείψειν ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς [ἕως τετραπόδου] πονηροῦ καὶ ἀχαρίστου πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἑταίρους γενομένου. νῦν δὲ φθάσασα προέλαβες καταμειλίξασθαί μου τὸν θυμὸν κηδομένου σου θεοῦ. ἀλλὰ Νάβαλος μὲν κἂν ἀφεθῇ διὰ σὲ νῦν τῆς τιμωρίας οὐ φεύξεται τὴν δίκην, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ τρόπος αὐτὸν ἀπολεῖ λαβὼν αἰτίαν ἄλλην.”

7. Hereupon one of those that kept the flocks of Nabal, said to his mistress, Nabal’s wife, that when David sent to her husband he had received no civil answer at all from him; but that her husband had moreover added very reproachful language, while yet David had taken extraordinary care to keep his flocks from harm, and that what had passed would prove very pernicious to his master. When the servant had said this, Abigail, for that was his wife’s name, saddled her asses, and loaded them with all sorts of presents; and, without telling her husband any thing of what she was about, [for he was not sensible on account of his drunkenness,] she went to David. She was then met by David as she was descending a hill, who was coming against Nabal with four hundred men. When the woman saw David, she leaped down from her ass, and fell on her face, and bowed down to the ground; and entreated him not to bear in mind the words of Nabal, since he knew that he resembled his name. Now Nabal, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies folly. So she made her apology, that she did not see the messengers whom he sent. “Forgive me, therefore,” said she, “and thank God, who hath hindered thee from shedding human blood; for so long as thou keepest thyself innocent, he will avenge thee of wicked men, for what miseries await Nabal, they will fall upon the heads of thine enemies. Be thou gracious to me, and think me so far worthy as to accept of these presents from me; and, out of regard to me, remit that wrath and that anger which thou hast against my husband and his house, for mildness and humanity become thee, especially as thou art to be our king.” Accordingly, David accepted her presents, and said, “Nay, but, O woman, it was no other than God’s mercy which brought thee to us today, for, otherwise, thou hadst never seen another day, I having sworn to

destroy Nabal's house this very night, and to leave alive not one of you who belonged to a man that was wicked and ungrateful to me and my companions; but now hast thou prevented me, and seasonably mollified my anger, as being thyself under the care of God's providence: but as for Nabal, although for thy sake he now escape punishment, he will not always avoid justice; for his evil conduct, on some other occasion, will be his ruin."

(8) [306] Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀπολύει τὴν γυναῖκα: ἡ δ' εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἐλθοῦσα καὶ καταλαβοῦσα τὸν ἄνδρα μετὰ πολλῶν εὐωχούμενον καὶ κεκαρωμένον ἤδη τότε μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν γεγενημένων διεσάφει, τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ νήφοντι ἅπαντα δηλώσασα παρεθῆναι καὶ πᾶν αὐτῷ νεκρωθῆναι τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων καὶ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λύπης ἐποίησε: καὶ δέκα οὐ πλείους ἐπιζήσας ἡμέρας τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν ὁ Νάβαλος. [307] ἀκούσας δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν τελευτὴν ὁ Δαυίδης ἐκδικηθῆναι μὲν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καλῶς ἔλεγεν: ἀποθανεῖν γὰρ Νάβαλον ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας πονηρίας καὶ δοῦναι δίκην αὐτῷ καθαρὰν ἔχοντι τὴν δεξιάν: ἔγνω δὲ καὶ τότε τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐλαυνομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μηδενὸς τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὑπερορῶντος, διδόντος δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς τὰ ὅμοια, τοῖς δὲ πονηροῖς ὀξεῖαν ἐπιφέροντος τὴν ποινήν. [308] πέμψας δ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα συνοικήσουσαν καὶ γαμηθησομένην ἐκάλει πρὸς αὑτόν: ἡ δὲ ἀναξία μὲν εἶναι καὶ ποδῶν ἅψασθαι τῶν ἐκείνου πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ἔλεγεν, ὅμως δὲ μετὰ πάσης τῆς θεραπείας ἦκε. καὶ συνῴκησε μὲν αὐτῷ ταύτην λαβοῦσα τὴν τιμὴν καὶ διὰ τὸ τὸν τρόπον σώφρονα εἶναι καὶ δίκαιον, τυχοῦσα δ' αὐτῆς καὶ διὰ τὸ κάλλος. [309] εἶχε δὲ Δαυίδης γυναῖκα πρότερον, ἣν ἐξ Ἀβισάρου πόλεως ἔγημε: Μελχὰν δὲ τὴν Σαούλου τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρα τὴν γενομένην τοῦ Δαυίδου γυναῖκα ὁ πατὴρ τῷ Φελτίῳ υἱῷ Λίσου συνέζευξεν ἐκ πόλεως ὄντι Γεθλᾶς.

8. When David had said this, he dismissed the woman. But when she came home and found her husband feasting with a great company, and oppressed with wine, she said nothing to him then about what had happened; but on the next day, when he was sober, she told him all the particulars, and made his whole body to appear like that of a dead man by her words, and by that grief which arose from them; so Nabal survived ten days, and no more, and then died. And when David heard of his death, he said that God had justly avenged him of this man, for that Nabal had died by his own wickedness, and had suffered punishment on his account, while he had kept his own hands clean. At which time he understood that the wicked are prosecuted by God; that he does not overlook any man, but bestows on the good what is suitable to them, and inflicts a deserved punishment on the wicked. So he sent to Nabal's wife, and invited her to come to him, to live with him, and to be his wife. Whereupon she replied to those that came, that she was not worthy to touch his feet; however, she came, with all her servants, and

became his wife, having received that honor on account of her wise and righteous course of life. She also obtained the same honor partly on account of her beauty. Now David had a wife before, whom he married from the city Abesar; for as to Michal, the daughter of king Saul, who had been David's wife, her father had given her in marriage to Phalti, the son of Laish, who was of the city of Gallim.

(9) [310] Μετὰ ταῦτά τινες ἐλθόντες τῶν Ζιφηνῶν ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ Σαούλῳ, ὡς εἴη πάλιν ὁ Δαυίδης ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτῶν καὶ δύνανται συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν βουλομένῳ συνεργῆσαι. ὁ δὲ μετὰ τρισχιλίων ὁπλιτῶν ἐβάδιζεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης ἐστρατοπέδευσεν ἐπί τινι τόπῳ Σίκελλα λεγομένῳ. [311] Δαυίδης δὲ ἀκούσας τὸν Σαοῦλον ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἥκοντα πέμψας κατασκόπους ἐκέλευσε δηλοῦν αὐτῷ, ποῦ τῆς χώρας Σαοῦλος ἤδη προεληλύθοι. τῶν δ᾽ ἐν Σίκελλα φρασάντων διανυκτερεύειν διαλαθὼν τοὺς ἰδίους εἰς τὸ τοῦ Σαούλου στρατόπεδον παραγίνεται ἐπαγόμενος τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ Σαρουίας Ἀβισαῖον καὶ Ἀβιμέλεχον τὸν Χετταῖον. [312] τοῦ δὲ Σαούλου κοιμωμένου καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐν κύκλῳ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Ἀβενήρου κειμένων, ὁ Δαυίδης εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως οὔτ᾽ αὐτὸς ἀναιρεῖ τὸν Σαοῦλον ἐπιγνοὺς αὐτοῦ τὴν κοίτην ἐκ τοῦ δόρατος, τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῷ παρεπεπήγει, οὔτε τὸν Ἀβισαῖον βουλόμενον φονεῦσαι καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ὡρμηκότα εἴασεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κεχειροτονημένον βασιλέα φήσας εἶναι δεινὸν ἀποκτεῖναι κἂν ᾖ πονηρός, ἥξειν γὰρ αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ δόντος τὴν ἀρχὴν σὺν χρόνῳ τὴν δίκην, ἐπέσχε τῆς ὁρμῆς. [313] σύμβολον δὲ τοῦ κτεῖναι δυνηθεὶς ἀποσχέσθαι λαβὼν αὐτοῦ τὸ δόρυ καὶ τὸν φακὸν τοῦ ὕδατος, ὃς ἦν παρ᾽ αὐτῷ κείμενος τῷ Σαούλῳ, μηδενὸς αἰσθομένου τῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πάντων δὲ κατακοιμωμένων ἐξῆλθεν, ἀδεῶς πάντ᾽ ἐργασάμενος, ὅσα καὶ τοῦ καιροῦ δόντος αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς τόλμης διέθηκε τοὺς τοῦ βασιλέως. [314] διαβὰς δὲ τὸν χείμαρρον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν ἀνελθὼν τοῦ ὄρους, ὅθεν ἔμελλεν ἐξάκουστος εἶναι, ἐμβοήσας τοῖς στρατιώταις τοῦ Σαούλου καὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ Ἀβενήρῳ διανίστησιν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου τοῦτόν τε ἐφώνει καὶ τὸν λαόν. ἐπακούσαντος δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τίς ὁ καλέσας αὐτόν ἐστιν ἐρομένου Δαυίδης εἶπεν: [315] "ἐγώ, παῖς μὲν Ἰεσσαίου, φυγὰς δὲ ὑμέτερος. ἀλλὰ τί δήποτε μέγας τε ὢν καὶ τὴν πρώτην ἔχων παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ τιμὴν οὕτως ἀμελῶς τὸ τοῦ δεσπότου φυλάσσεις σῶμα, καὶ ὕπνος ἡδίων ἐστί σοι τῆς τούτου σωτηρίας καὶ προνοίας; θανάτου γὰρ ἄξια ταῦτα καὶ τιμωρίας, οἵ γε μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν εἰσελθόντας τινὰς ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον οὐκ ἐνοήσατε. ζήτησον οὖν τὸ δόρυ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὸν φακὸν τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ μαθήσῃ, πηλίκον ὑμᾶς ἔλαθε κακὸν ἐντὸς γενόμενον." Σαοῦλος δὲ γνωρίσας τὴν τοῦ Δαυίδου φωνὴν καὶ μαθών, [316] ὅτι λαβὼν αὐτὸν ἔκδοτον ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου καὶ τῆς τῶν φυλασσόντων ἀμελείας οὐκ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐφείσατο δικαίως ἂν

αὐτὸν ἀνελών, χάριν ἔχειν αὐτῷ τῆς σωτηρίας ἔλεγε καὶ παρεκάλει θαρροῦντα καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι πείσεσθαι δεινὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ φοβούμενον ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα: [317] πεπεῖσθαι γάρ, ὅτι μηδ᾽ αὐτὸν οὕτως ἀγαπήσειεν, ὡς ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου στέργεται: ὃς τὸν μὲν φυλάττειν αὐτὸν δυνάμενον καὶ πολλὰ δείγματα τῆς εὐνοίας παρεσχημένον ἐλαύνοι καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐν φυγῇ χρόνον καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀγωνίαις ἠνάγκασε ζῆσαι φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν ἔρημον: αὐτὸς δ᾽ οὐ παύεται ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ σωζόμενος, [οὐδὲ τὴν ψυχὴν] φανερῶς ἀπολλυμένην λαμβάνων. [318] ὁ δὲ Δαυίδης πέμψαντα ἀπολαβεῖν ἐκέλευσε τὸ δόρυ καὶ τὸν φακὸν τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπειπών, [ὡς] ὁ θεὸς ἑκατέρῳ τῆς ἰδίας φύσεως καὶ τῶν κατ᾽ αὐτὴν πεπραγμένων ἔσται δικαστής, ὃς ὅτι καὶ κατὰ τὴν παροῦσαν ἡμέραν ἀποκτεῖναί σε δυνηθεὶς ἀπεσχόμην οἶδε.”

9. After this came certain of the Ziphites, and told Saul that David was come again into their country, and if he would afford them his assistance, they could catch him. So he came to them with three thousand armed men; and upon the approach of night, he pitched his camp at a certain place called Hachilah. But when David heard that Saul was coming against him, he sent spies, and bid them let him know to what place of the country Saul was already come; and when they told him that he was at Hachilah, he concealed his going away from his companions, and came to Saul’s camp, having taken with him Abishai, his sister Zeruiah’s son, and Ahimelech the Hittite. Now Saul was asleep, and the armed men, with Abner their commander, lay round about him in a circle. Hereupon David entered into the king’s tent; but he did neither kill Saul, though he knew where he lay, by the spear that was stuck down by him, nor did he give leave to Abishai, who would have killed him, and was earnestly bent upon it so to do; for he said it was a horrid crime to kill one that was ordained king by God, although he was a wicked man; for that he who gave him the dominion would in time inflict punishment upon him. So he restrained his eagerness; but that it might appear to have been in his power to have killed him when he refrained from it, he took his spear, and the cruse of water which stood by Saul as he lay asleep, without being perceived by any in the camp, who were all asleep, and went securely away, having performed every thing among the king’s attendants that the opportunity afforded, and his boldness encouraged him to do. So when he had passed over a brook, and was gotten up to the top of a hill, whence he might be sufficiently heard, he cried aloud to Saul’s soldiers, and to Abner their commander, and awaked them out of their sleep, and called both to him and to the people. Hereupon the commander heard him, and asked who it was that called him. To whom David replied, “It is I, the son of Jesse, whom you make a vagabond. But what is the matter? Dost thou, that art a man of so great dignity,

and of the first rank in the king's court, take so little care of thy master's body? and is sleep of more consequence to thee than his preservation, and thy care of him? This negligence of yours deserves death, and punishment to be inflicted on you, who never perceived when, a little while ago, some of us entered into your camp, nay, as far as to the king himself, and to all the rest of you. If thou look for the king's spear and his cruse of water, thou wilt learn what a mighty misfortune was ready to overtake you in your very camp without your knowing it." Now when Saul knew David's voice, and understood that when he had him in his power while he was asleep, and his guards took no care of him, yet did not he kill him, but spared him, when he might justly have cut him off, he said that he owed him thanks for his preservation; and exhorted him to be of good courage, and not be afraid of suffering any mischief from him any more, and to return to his own home, for he was now persuaded that he did not love himself so well as he was loved by him: that he had driven away him that could guard him, and had given many demonstrations of his good-will to him: that he had forced him to live so long in a state of banishment, and in great fears of his life, destitute of his friends and his kindred, while still he was often saved by him, and frequently received his life again when it was evidently in danger of perishing. So David bade them send for the spear and the cruse of water, and take them back; adding this withal, That God would be the judge of both their dispositions, and of the actions that flowed from the same, "who knows that then it was this day in my power to have killed thee I abstained from it."

(10) [319] Καὶ Σαοῦλος μὲν δεύτερον διαφυγὼν τὰς Δαυίδου χεῖρας εἰς τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπηλλάσσετο, φοβηθεὶς δὲ Δαυίδης, μὴ μένων αὐτόθι συλληφθῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σαούλου, συμφέρειν ἔκρινεν εἰς τὴν Παλαιστίνην ἀναβὰς διατρίβειν ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἑξακοσίων, οἳ περὶ αὐτὸν ἦσαν παραγίνεται πρὸς Ἄγχοῦν τὸν Γίττης βασιλέα: μία δ' ἦν αὕτη τῶν πέντε πόλεων. [320] δεξαμένου δ' αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως σὺν τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ δόντος οἰκητήριον ἔχων ἅμα καὶ τὰς δύο γυναῖκας Ἀχιμὰν καὶ Ἀβιγαίαν διῆγεν ἐν τῇ Γίττῃ. Σαούλῳ δὲ ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντι λόγος οὐκέτ' ἦν πέμπειν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἢ βαδίζειν: δὶς γὰρ ἤδη κινδυνεῦσαι παρὰ μικρὸν ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ γενόμενον συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν σπουδάσαντα. [321] Δαυίδῃ δ' οὐκ ἔδοξεν ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Γιττῶν μένειν, ἀλλ' ἐδεήθη τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν, ἵν' ἐπειδὴ φιλανθρώπως αὐτὸν ὑπεδέξατο καὶ τοῦτο χαρίσηται, τόπον τινὰ τῆς χώρας δοὺς αὐτῷ πρὸς κατοίκησιν: αἰδεῖσθαι γὰρ διατρίβων ἐν τῷ πόλει βαρὺς αὐτῷ καὶ φορτικὸς εἶναι. [322] δίδωσι δὲ Ἀγχοῦς αὐτῷ κώμην τινὰ Σέκελλαν καλουμένην, ἣν βασιλεύσας ὁ Δαυίδης ἀγαπῶν ἴδιον κτῆμα ἐτίμησεν εἶναι καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν ἄλλοις δηλώσομεν: ὁ δὲ χρόνος, ὃν κατῴκησε Δαυίδης ἐν Σεκέλλα τῆς Παλαιστίνης, ἐγένετο μῆνες τέσσαρες πρὸς

ταῖς εἴκοσιν ἡμέραις. [323] ἐπερχόμενος δὲ λάθρα τοῖς πλησιοχώροις τῶν Παλαιστίνων Σερρίταις καὶ Ἀμαληκίταις διήρπαζεν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν καὶ λείαν πολλὴν κτηνῶν καὶ καμήλων λαμβάνων ὑπέστρεφεν: ἀνθρώπων γὰρ ἀπείχετο δεδιὼς μὴ καταμηνύσωσιν αὐτὸν πρὸς Ἄγχοῦν τὸν βασιλέα, τὸ μέντοι γε τῆς λείας μέρος αὐτῷ δωρεὰν ἔπεμπε. [324] τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως πυθομένου, τίσιν ἐπιθέμενος τὴν λείαν ἀπήλασε; τοῖς πρὸς τὸν νότον τῶν Ἰουδαίων τετραμμένοις καὶ ἐν τῇ πεδιάδι κατοικοῦσιν εἰπὼν πείθει τὸν Ἄγχοῦν φρονῆσαι οὕτως: [ἤλπισε γὰρ οὗτος,] ὅτι Δαυίδης ἐμίσησε τὸ ἴδιον ἔθνος, καὶ δοῦλον ἕξειν παρ᾽ ὃν ζῇ χρόνον ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ καταμένοντα.

10. Thus Saul having escaped the hands of David twice, he went his way to his royal palace, and his own city: but David was afraid, that if he staid there he should be caught by Saul; so he thought it better to go up into the land of the Philistines, and abide there. Accordingly, he came with the six hundred men that were with him to Achish, the king of Gath, which was one of their five cities. Now the king received both him and his men, and gave them a place to inhabit in. He had with him also his two wives, Ahinoam and Abigail, and he dwelt in Gath. But when Saul heard this, he took no further care about sending to him, or going after him, because he had been twice, in a manner, caught by him, while he was himself endeavoring to catch him. However, David had no mind to continue in the city of Gath, but desired the king, that since he had received him with such humanity, that he would grant him another favor, and bestow upon him some place of that country for his habitation, for he was ashamed, by living in the city, to be grievous and burdensome to him. So Achish gave him a certain village called Ziklag; which place David and his sons were fond of when he was king, and reckoned it to be their peculiar inheritance. But about those matters we shall give the reader further information elsewhere. Now the time that David dwelt in Ziklag, in the land of the Philistines, was four months and twenty days. And now he privately attacked those Geshurites and Amalekites that were neighbors to the Philistines, and laid waste their country, and took much prey of their beasts and camels, and then returned home; but David abstained from the men, as fearing they should discover him to king Achish; yet did he send part of the prey to him as a free gift. And when the king inquired whom they had attacked when they brought away the prey, he said, those that lay to the south of the Jews, and inhabited in the plain; whereby he persuaded Achish to approve of what he had done, for he hoped that David had fought against his own nation, and that now he should have him for his servant all his life long, and that he would stay in his country.

XIV

CHAPTER 14. Now Saul Upon God's Not Answering Him Concerning The Fight With The Philistines Desired A Necromantic Woman To Raise Up The Soul Of Samuel To Him; And How He Died, With His Sons Upon The Overthrow Of The Hebrews In Battle.

(1) [325] Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν τῶν Παλαιστίνων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας στρατεύειν διεγνωκότων καὶ περιπεμψάντων πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους ἅπαντας, ἵνα παρῶσιν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον εἰς Ῥεγάν, ἔνθεν ἔμελλον ἀθροισθέντες ἐξορμᾶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους, ὁ τῶν Γιττῶν βασιλεὺς Ἀγχοῦς συμμαχῆσαι τὸν Δαυίδην αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων ὁπλιτῶν ἐκέλευσε. [326] τοῦ δὲ προθύμως ὑποσχομένου καὶ φήσαντος παραστῆναι καιρόν, ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἀμοιβὴν αὐτῷ τῆς εὐεργεσίας καὶ τῆς ξενίας ἀποδώσει, ποιήσειν αὐτὸν καὶ φύλακα τοῦ σώματος μετὰ τὴν νίκην καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας τοὺς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ νοῦν χωρήσαντας αὐτοῖς ἐπηγγείλατο, τῆς τιμῆς καὶ πίστεως ὑποσχέσει τὸ πρόθυμον αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον αὔξων.

1. About the same time the Philistines resolved to make war against the Israelites, and sent to all their confederates that they would go along with them to the war to Reggan, [near the city Shunem,] whence they might gather themselves together, and suddenly attack the Hebrews. Then did Achish, the king of Gath, desire David to assist them with his armed men against the Hebrews. This he readily promised; and said that the time was now come wherein he might requite him for his kindness and hospitality. So the king promised to make him the keeper of his body, after the victory, supposing that the battle with the enemy succeeded to their mind; which promise of honor and confidence he made on purpose to increase his zeal for his service.

(2) [327] Ἔτυχε δὲ Σαοῦλος ὁ τῶν Ἑβραίων βασιλεὺς τοὺς μάντεις καὶ τοὺς ἐγγαστριμύθους καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν τοιαύτην τέχνην ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐκβεβληκὼς ἔξω τῶν προφητῶν. ἀκούσας δὲ τοὺς Παλαιστίνους ἤδη παρόντας καὶ ἔγγιστα Σούνης πόλεως ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐστρατοπεδευκότας ἐξώρμησεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. [328] καὶ παραγενόμενος πρὸς ὄρει τινὶ Γελβουὲ καλουμένῳ βάλλεται στρατόπεδον ἀντικρὺ τῶν πολεμίων. ταράττει δ᾽ αὐτὸν οὐχ ὡς ἔτυχεν ἡ τῶν ἐχθρῶν δύναμις πολλή τε οὖσα καὶ τῆς οἰκείας κρείττων ὑπονοουμένη, καὶ τὸν θεὸν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν ἐρωτᾷ περὶ τῆς μάχης καὶ τοῦ περὶ ταύτην ἐσομένου τέλους προειπεῖν. [329] οὐκ ἀποκρινομένου δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ Σαοῦλος

κατέδεισε καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνέπεσε, τὸ κακὸν οἷον εἰκὸς οὐ παρόντος αὐτῷ κατὰ χεῖρα τοῦ θείου προορώμενος. ζητηθῆναι δ᾽ αὐτῷ κελεύει γύναιόν τι τῶν ἐγγαστριμύθων καὶ τῶν τεθνηκότων ψυχὰς ἐκκαλουμένων ὡς οὕτως γνωσομένῳ, ποῖ χωρεῖν αὐτῷ μέλλει τὰ πράγματα: [330] τὸ γὰρ τῶν ἐγγαστριμύθων γένος ἀνάγον τὰς τῶν νεκρῶν ψυχὰς δι᾽ αὐτῶν προλέγει τοῖς δεομένοις τὰ ἀποβησόμενα. μηνυθέντος δ᾽ αὐτῷ παρά τινος τῶν οἰκετῶν εἶναί τι γύναιον τοιοῦτον ἐν πόλει Δώρῳ, λαθὼν πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ μετεκδὺς τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐσθῆτα δύο παραλαβὼν οἰκέτας, οὓς ᾔδει πιστοτάτους ἄνδρας, ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Δῶρον πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ παρεκάλει μαντεύεσθαι καὶ ἀνάγειν αὐτῷ ψυχὴν οὗπερ ἂν αὐτὸς εἴπῃ. [331] τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς ἀπομαχομένης καὶ λεγούσης οὐ καταφρονήσειν τοῦ βασιλέως, ὃς τοῦτο τὸ γένος τῶν μάντεων ἐξήλασεν, οὐδ᾽ αὐτὸν δὲ ποιεῖν καλῶς ἀδικηθέντα μηδὲν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς, ἐνεδρεύοντα δὲ εἰς τὰ κεκωλυμένα λαβεῖν αὐτὴν ἵνα δῷ δίκην, ὤμοσε μηδένα γνώσεσθαι μηδὲ παρ᾽ ἄλλον ἄγειν αὐτῆς τὴν μαντείαν, ἔσεσθαι δ᾽ ἀκίνδυνον. [332] ὡς δὲ τοῖς ὅρκοις αὐτὴν ἔπεισε μὴ δεδιέναι, κελεύει τὴν Σαμουήλου ψυχὴν ἀναγαγεῖν αὐτῷ. ἡ δ᾽ ἀγνοοῦσα τὸν Σαμουῆλον ὅστις ἦν καλεῖ τοῦτον ἐξ ᾅδου: φανέντος δ᾽ αὐτοῦ θεασάμενον τὸ γύναιον ἄνδρα σεμνὸν καὶ θεοπρεπῆ ταράττεται, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἐκπλαγέν, “οὐ σύ, φησίν, ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶ Σαοῦλος;” ἐδήλωσε γὰρ αὐτὸν Σαμουῆλος. [333] ἐπινεύσαντος δ᾽ ἐκείνου καὶ τὴν ταραχὴν αὐτῆς ἐρομένου πόθεν γένοιτο, βλέπειν εἶπεν ἀνελθόντα τῷ θεῷ τινα τὴν μορφὴν ὅμοιον. τοῦ δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα φράζειν [εἰπόντος] καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ θεαθέντος καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν [κελεύσαντος] γέροντα μὲν ἤδη καὶ ἔνδοξον ἐσήμαινεν, ἱερατικὴν δὲ περικείμενον διπλοίδα. [334] ἐγνώρισεν ἐκ τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν Σαμουῆλον ὄντα καὶ πεσὼν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἠσπάζετο καὶ προσεκύνησε: τῆς δὲ Σαμουήλου ψυχῆς πυθομένης, διὰ τί κινήσειεν αὐτὴν καὶ ἀναχθῆναι ποιήσειεν ἀνάγκην, ἀπωδύρετο τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπικεῖσθαι βαρεῖς αὐτῷ, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀμηχανεῖν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐγκαταλελειμμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μηδὲ προρρήσεως τυγχάνοντα μήτε διὰ προφητῶν μήτε δι᾽ ὀνειράτων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ σὲ τὸν ἐμοῦ προνοησόμενον κατέφυγον.” [335] Σαμουῆλος δὲ τέλος αὐτὸν ἔχοντα ἤδη τῆς μεταβολῆς ὁρῶν “περισσὸν μέν, εἶπεν, ἔτι καὶ παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ βούλεσθαι μαθεῖν τοῦ θεοῦ καταλελοιπότος αὐτόν: ἄκουέ γε μήν, ὅτι βασιλεῦσαι δεῖ Δαυίδην καὶ κατορθῶσαι τὸν πόλεμον, σὲ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν ζωὴν [336] ἀπολέσαι τοῦ θεοῦ παρακούσαντα ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀμαληκίτας πολέμῳ καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ μὴ φυλάξαντα, καθὼς προεφήτευσά σοι καὶ ζῶν. ἴσθι τοίνυν καὶ τὸν λαὸν ὑποχείριον τοῖς ἐχθροῖς γενησόμενον καὶ σαυτὸν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αὔριον πεσόντα ἐπὶ τῆς μάχης μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ γενησόμενον.”

2. Now Saul, the king of the Hebrews, had cast out of the country the fortune-tellers, and the necromancers, and all such as exercised the like arts, excepting

the prophets. But when he heard that the Philistines were already come, and had pitched their camp near the city Shunem, situate in the plain, he made haste to oppose them with his forces; and when he was come to a certain mountain called Gilboa, he pitched his camp over-against the enemy; but when he saw the enemy's army he was greatly troubled, because it appeared to him to be numerous, and superior to his own; and he inquired of God by the prophets concerning the battle, that he might know beforehand what would be the event of it. And when God did not answer him, Saul was under a still greater dread, and his courage fell, foreseeing, as was but reasonable to suppose, that mischief would befall him, now God was not there to assist him; yet did he bid his servants to inquire out for him some woman that was a necromancer and called up the souls of the dead, that So he might know whether his affairs would succeed to his mind; for this sort of necromantic women that bring up the souls of the dead, do by them foretell future events to such as desire them. And one of his servants told him that there was such a woman in the city Endor, but was known to nobody in the camp; hereupon Saul put off his royal apparel, and took two of those his servants with him, whom he knew to be most faithful to him, and came to Endor to the woman, and entreated her to act the part of a fortune-teller, and to bring up such a soul to him as he should name to her. But when the woman opposed his motion, and said she did not despise the king, who had banished this sort of fortune-tellers, and that he did not do well himself, when she had done him no harm, to endeavor to lay a snare for her, and to discover that she exercised a forbidden art, in order to procure her to be punished, he sware that nobody should know what she did; and that he would not tell any one else what she foretold, but that she should incur no danger. As soon as he had induced her by this oath to fear no harm, he bid her bring up to him the soul of Samuel. She, not knowing who Samuel was, called him out of Hades. When he appeared, and the woman saw one that was venerable, and of a divine form, she was in disorder; and being astonished at the sight, she said, "Art not thou king Saul?" for Samuel had informed her who he was. When he had owned that to be true, and had asked her whence her disorder arose, she said that she saw a certain person ascend, who in his form was like to a god. And when he bid her tell him what he resembled, in what habit he appeared, and of what age he was, she told him he was an old man already, and of a glorious personage, and had on a sacerdotal mantle. So the king discovered by these signs that he was Samuel; and he fell down upon the ground, and saluted and worshipped him. And when the soul of Samuel asked him why he had disturbed him, and caused him to be brought up, he lamented the necessity he was under; for he said, that his enemies pressed heavily upon him; that he was in distress what to do in his present

circumstances; that he was forsaken of God, and could obtain no prediction of what was coming, neither by prophets nor by dreams; and that "these were the reasons why I have recourse to time, who always took great care of me." But Samuel, seeing that the end of Saul's life was come, said, "It is in vain for thee to desire to learn of me any thing future, when God hath forsaken thee: however, hear what I say, that David is to be king, and to finish this war with good success; and thou art to lose thy dominion and thy life, because thou didst not obey God in the war with the Amalekites, and hast not kept his commandments, as I foretold thee while I was alive. Know, therefore, that the people shall be made subject to their enemies, and that thou, with thy sons, shall fall in the battle tomorrow, and thou shalt then be with me [in Hades]."

(3) [337] Ταῦτ' ἀκούσας Σαοῦλος ἄφωνος ὑπὸ λύπης ἐγένετο καὶ κατενεχθεὶς εἰς τοὔδαφος, εἴτε διὰ τὴν προσπεσοῦσαν ἐκ τῶν δεδηλωμένων ὀδύνην, εἴτε διὰ τὴν ἔνδειαν, οὐ γὰρ προσενήνεκτο τροφὴν τῇ παρελθούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ τε καὶ νυκτί, ῥᾳδίως ἔκειτο νέκυς ὥς τις. [338] μόλις δὲ ἑαυτοῦ γενόμενον συνηνάγκασεν ἡ γυνὴ γεύσασθαι ταύτην αἰτουμένη παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν χάριν ἀντὶ τῆς παραβόλου μαντείας, ἣν οὐκ ἐξὸν αὐτῇ ποιήσασθαι διὰ τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ φόβον ἀγνοουμένου τίς ἦν, ὅμως ὑπέστη καὶ παρέσχεν. ἀνθ' ὧν παρεκάλει τράπεζάν τε αὐτῷ παραθεῖναι καὶ τροφήν, ὡς ἂν τὴν ἰσχὺν συλλεξάμενος εἰς τὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἀποσωθῇ στρατόπεδον: ἀντέχοντα δὲ καὶ τελέως ἀπεστραμμένον ὑπὸ ἀθυμίας ἐβιάσατο καὶ συνέπεισεν. [339] ἔχουσα δὲ μόσχον ἕνα συνήθη καὶ τῆς κατ' οἶκον ἐπιμελείας καὶ τροφῆς ἀξιούμενον ὑπ' αὐτῆς, ὡς γυνὴ χερνῆτις καὶ τούτῳ μόνῳ προσαναπαυομένη τῷ κτήματι, κατασφάξασα τοῦτον καὶ τὰ κρέα παρασκευάσασα τοῖς οἰκέταις αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτῷ παρατίθησι. καὶ Σαοῦλος μὲν διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

3. When Saul heard this, he could not speak for grief, and fell down on the floor, whether it were from the sorrow that arose upon what Samuel had said, or from his emptiness, for he had taken no food the foregoing day nor night, he easily fell quite down: and when with difficulty he had recovered himself, the woman would force him to eat, begging this of him as a favor on account of her concern in that dangerous instance of fortune-telling, which it was not lawful for her to have done, because of the fear she was under of the king, while she knew not who he was, yet did she undertake it, and go through with it; on which account she entreated him to admit that a table and food might be set before him, that he might recover his strength, and so get safe to his own camp. And when he opposed her motion, and entirely rejected it, by reason of his anxiety, she forced him, and at last persuaded him to it. Now she had one calf that she was very fond of, and one that she took a great deal of care of, and fed it herself; for she was a

woman that got her living by the labor of her own hands, and had no other possession but that one calf; this she killed, and made ready its flesh, and set it before his servants and himself. So Saul came to the camp while it was yet night.

(4) [340] Δίκαιον δὲ ἀποδέξασθαι τῆς φιλοτιμίας τὴν γυναῖκα, ὅτι καίπερ τῇ τέχνῃ κεκωλυμένη χρήσασθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, παρ᾽ ἧς ἂν αὐτῇ τὰ κατὰ τὸν οἶκον ἦν ἀμείνω καὶ διαρκέστερα, καὶ μηδέποτε αὐτὸν πρότερον τεθεαμένη οὐκ ἐμνησικάκησε τῆς ἐπιστήμης ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καταγνωσθείσης, οὐκ ἀπεστράφη δὲ ὡς ξένον καὶ μηδέποτε ἐν συνηθείᾳ γεγενημένον, [341] ἀλλὰ συνεπάθησέ τε καὶ παρεμυθήσατο καὶ πρὸς ἃ διέκειτο λίαν ἀηδῶς προετρέψατο, καὶ τὸ μόνον αὐτῇ παρὸν ὡς ἐν πενίᾳ τοῦτο παρέσχεν ἐκτενῶς καὶ φιλοφρόνως, οὔθ᾽ ὑπὲρ εὐεργεσίας ἀμειβομένη τινὸς γεγενημένης οὔτε χάριν μέλλουσαν θηρωμένη, τελευτήσοντα γὰρ [αὐτὸν] ἠπίστατο, φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγαθόν τι παρεσχημένους φιλοτιμουμένων, ἢ παρ᾽ ὧν ἂν δύνωνται λαβεῖν ὄφελος τούτους προθεραπευόντων. [342] καλὸν οὖν ἐστι μιμεῖσθαι τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ποιεῖν εὖ πάντας τοὺς ἐν χρείᾳ γενομένους καὶ μηδὲν ὑπολαμβάνειν ἄμεινον μηδὲ μᾶλλόν τι προσήκειν τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένει τούτου μηδ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ᾧ τὸν θεὸν εὐμενῆ καὶ χορηγὸν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἕξομεν. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐν τοσούτοις ἀρκεῖ δεδηλῶσθαι: [343] τὸν δὲ πόλεσι καὶ δήμοις καὶ ἔθνεσι συμφέροντα λόγον καὶ προσήκοντα τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ὑφ᾽ οὗ προαχθήσονται πάντες ἀρετὴν διώξειν καὶ ζηλοῦν δόξαν καὶ μνήμην αἰώνιον παρασχεῖν δυνησόμενον, ποιήσομαι, πολλὴν καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἐθνῶν καὶ ἄρχουσι πόλεων ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ σπουδὴν τῶν καλῶν ἐνθήσοντα, καὶ πρός τε κινδύνους καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρίδων θάνατον προτρεψόμενον, καὶ πάντων καταφρονεῖν διδάξοντα τῶν δεινῶν. [344] ἔχω δ᾽ αἰτίαν τοῦ λόγου τούτου Σαοῦλον τὸν τῶν Ἑβραίων βασιλέα: οὗτος γὰρ καίπερ εἰδὼς τὰ συμβησόμενα καὶ τὸν ἐπικείμενον θάνατον τοῦ προφήτου προειρηκότος οὐκ ἔγνω φυγεῖν αὐτὸν οὐδὲ φιλοψυχήσας προδοῦναι μὲν τοὺς οἰκείους τοῖς πολεμίοις καθυβρίσαι δὲ τὸ τῆς βασιλείας ἀξίωμα, [345] ἀλλὰ παραδοὺς αὐτὸν πανοικὶ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων τοῖς κινδύνοις καλὸν ἡγήσατο εἶναι πεσεῖν μετὰ τούτων ὑπὲρ τῶν βασιλευομένων μαχόμενος, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἀγαθοὺς ὄντας, ἢ καταλιπεῖν ἐπ᾽ ἀδήλῳ τῷ ποδαποὶ γενήσονται τὸν τρόπον: διάδοχον γὰρ καὶ γένος τὸν ἔπαινον καὶ τὴν ἀγήρω μνήμην ἕξειν. [346] οὗτος οὖν δίκαιος καὶ ἀνδρεῖος καὶ σώφρων ἔμοι γε δοκεῖ μόνος καὶ εἴ τις γέγονε τοιοῦτος ἢ γενήσεται τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἐπ᾽ ἀρετῇ καρποῦσθαι παρὰ πάντων ἄξιος: τοὺς γὰρ μετ᾽ ἐλπίδων ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἐξελθόντας ὡς καὶ κρατήσοντας καὶ σῶς ἐπιστρέψοντας, ἐπειδάν τι διαπράξωνται λαμπρόν, οὗ μοι δοκοῦσι καλῶς ποιεῖν ἀνδρείους ἀποκαλοῦντες, ὅσοι περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συγγράμμασιν εἰρήκασιν: [347] ἀλλὰ δίκαιοι μέν εἰσι κἀκεῖνοι τυγχάνειν ἀποδοχῆς, εὔψυχοι δὲ καὶ μεγαλότολμοι καὶ τῶν δεινῶν

καταφρονηταὶ μόνοι δικαίως ἂν λέγοιντο πάντες οἱ Σαοῦλον μιμησάμενοι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ εἰδότας τί μέλλει συμβήσεσθαι κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς μὴ μαλακισθῆναι περὶ αὐτόν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀδήλῳ τῷ μέλλοντι παραδόντας αὐτοὺς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ σαλεύειν οὔπω γενναῖον, κἂν ἔργα πολλὰ διαπραξάμενοι τύχωσι: [348] τὸ δὲ μηδὲν ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ χρηστὸν προσδοκῶντας, ἀλλὰ προειδότας ὡς δεῖ θανεῖν καὶ τοῦτο παθεῖν μαχομένους εἶτα μὴ φοβηθῆναι μηδὲ καταπλαγῆναι τὸ δεινόν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸ χωρῆσαι προγινωσκόμενον, τοῦτ᾽ ἀνδρείου ἀληθῶς τεκμήριον ἐγὼ κρίνω. [349] Σαοῦλος τοίνυν τοῦτο ἐποίησεν ἐπιδείξας ὅτι πάντας μὲν προσήκει τῆς μετὰ τὸν θάνατον εὐφημίας γλιχομένους ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ἐξ ὧν ἂν αὐτοῖς ταύτην καταλείποιεν, μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς βασιλέας, ὡς οὐκ ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐ μόνον οὐ κακοῖς εἶναι περὶ τοὺς ἀρχομένους, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ μετρίως χρηστοῖς. [350] ἔτι τούτων πλείω περὶ Σαούλου καὶ τῆς εὐψυχίας λέγειν ἠδυνάμην ὕλην ἡμῖν χορηγησάσης τῆς ὑποθέσεως, ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα μὴ φανῶμεν ἀπειροκάλως αὐτοῦ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, ἐπάνειμι πάλιν ἀφ᾽ ὧν εἰς τούτους ἐξέβην.

4. Now it is but just to recommend the generosity of this woman, because when the king had forbidden her to use that art whence her circumstances were bettered and improved, and when she had never seen the king before, she still did not remember to his disadvantage that he had condemned her sort of learning, and did not refuse him as a stranger, and one that she had had no acquaintance with; but she had compassion upon him, and comforted him, and exhorted him to do what he was greatly averse to, and offered him the only creature she had, as a poor woman, and that earnestly, and with great humanity, while she had no requital made her for her kindness, nor hunted after any future favor from him, for she knew he was to die; whereas men are naturally either ambitious to please those that bestow benefits upon them, or are very ready to serve those from whom they may receive some advantage. It would be well therefore to imitate the example and to do kindnesses to all such as are in want and to think that nothing is better, nor more becoming mankind, than such a general beneficence, nor what will sooner render God favorable, and ready to bestow good things upon us. And so far may suffice to have spoken concerning this woman. But I shall speak further upon another subject, which will afford me all opportunity of discoursing on what is for the advantage of cities, and people, and nations, and suited to the taste of good men, and will encourage them all in the prosecution of virtue; and is capable of showing them the of acquiring glory, and an everlasting fame; and of imprinting in the kings of nations, and the rulers of cities, great inclination and diligence of doing well; as also of encouraging them to undergo dangers, and to die for their countries, and of instructing them

how to despise all the most terrible adversities: and I have a fair occasion offered me to enter on such a discourse by Saul the king of the Hebrews; for although he knew what was coming upon him, and that he was to die immediately, by the prediction of the prophet, he did not resolve to fly from death, nor so far to indulge the love of life as to betray his own people to the enemy, or to bring a disgrace on his royal dignity; but exposing himself, as well as all his family and children, to dangers, he thought it a brave thing to fall together with them, as he was fighting for his subjects, and that it was better his sons should die thus, showing their courage, than to leave them to their uncertain conduct afterward, while, instead of succession and posterity, they gained commendation and a lasting name. Such a one alone seems to me to be a just, a courageous, and a prudent man; and when any one has arrived at these dispositions, or shall hereafter arrive at them, he is the man that ought to be by all honored with the testimony of a virtuous or courageous man: for as to those that go out to war with hopes of success, and that they shall return safe, supposing they should have performed some glorious action, I think those do not do well who call these valiant men, as so many historians and other writers who treat of them are wont to do, although I confess those do justly deserve some commendation also; but those only may be styled courageous and bold in great undertakings, and despisers of adversities, who imitate Saul: for as for those that do not know what the event of war will be as to themselves, and though they do not faint in it, but deliver themselves up to uncertain futurity, and are tossed this way and that way, this is not so very eminent an instance of a generous mind, although they happen to perform many great exploits; but when men's minds expect no good event, but they know beforehand they must die, and that they must undergo that death in the battle also, after this neither to be aftrighted, nor to be astonished at the terrible fate that is coming, but to go directly upon it, when they know it beforehand, this it is that I esteem the character of a man truly courageous. Accordingly this Saul did, and thereby demonstrated that all men who desire fame after they are dead are so to act as they may obtain the same: this especially concerns kings, who ought not to think it enough in their high stations that they are not wicked in the government of their subjects, but to be no more than moderately good to them. I could say more than this about Saul and his courage, the subject affording matter sufficient; but that I may not appear to run out improperly in his commendation, I return again to that history from which I made this digression.

(5) [351] Κατεστρατοπεδευκότων γὰρ τῶν Παλαιστίνων, ὡς προεῖπον, καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ βασιλείας καὶ σατραπείας ἐξαριθμούντων τὴν δύναμιν, τελευταῖος

βασιλεὺς παρῆλθεν Ἀγχοῦς μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας στρατιᾶς καὶ Δαυίδης μετὰ τῶν ἑξακοσίων ὁπλιτῶν εἵπετο. [352] θεασάμενοι δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Παλαιστίνων, πόθεν εἴησαν ἥκοντες οἱ Ἑβραῖοι καὶ τίνων καλεσάντων ἠρώτων τὸν βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ Δαυίδην ἔλεγεν εἶναι τὸν φυγόντα Σαοῦλον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ δεσπότην καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα δέξασθαι, καὶ νῦν τῆς χάριτος ἀμοιβὴν ἐκτεῖσαι βουλόμενον καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι τὸν Σαοῦλον συμμαχεῖν αὐτοῖς. [353] ἐμέμφθη δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἄνδρα παρειληφὼς ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ πολέμιον καὶ ἀποπέμπειν συνεβούλευον, μὴ καὶ λάθῃ μέγα δι᾽ αὐτὸν κακὸν τοὺς φίλους ἐργασάμενος: καὶ γὰρ οὕτω παρέξειν καταλλαγῆναι πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην κακώσαντα τὴν ἡμετέραν δύναμιν. [354] ὃ δὴ καὶ προορώμενον εἰς τὸν τόπον ὃν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖν ἐκέλευον ἀποπέμπειν σὺν τοῖς ἑξακοσίοις ὁπλίταις: τοῦτον γὰρ εἶναι τὸν Δαυίδην, ὃν ᾄδουσιν αἱ παρθένοι πολλὰς μυριάδας Παλαιστίνων ἀπολέσαντα. ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας ὁ τῶν Γιττῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ καλῶς εἰρῆσθαι λογισάμενος καλέσας τὸν Δαυίδην “ἐγὼ μέν, [355] εἶπε, μαρτυρῶ σοι πολλὴν περὶ ἐμὲ σπουδὴν καὶ εὔνοιαν καὶ διὰ τοῦτό σε σύμμαχον ἐπηγόμην: οὐ δοκεῖ δὲ ταὐτὸ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. ἀλλ᾽ ἄπιθι μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν εἰς ὃν ἔδωκά σοι τόπον μηδὲν ὑπονοῶν ἄτοπον, κἀκεῖ φύλασσέ μοι τὴν χώραν, μή τινες εἰς αὐτὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐμβάλωσιν. [356] ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο συμμαχίας μέρος.” καὶ Δαυίδης μέν, ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ τῶν Γιττῶν βασιλεύς, ἦκεν εἰς Σίκελλαν. καθ᾽ ὃν δὲ καιρὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς συμμαχήσων τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις ἀπῆλθε τὸ τῶν Ἀμαληκιτῶν ἔθνος ἐπελθὸν αἱρεῖ τὴν Σίκελλαν κατὰ κράτος, καὶ ἐμπρήσαντες καὶ πολλὴν λείαν ἄλλην ἔκ τ᾽ αὐτῆς ἐκείνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης τῶν Παλαιστίνων χώρας λαβόντες ἀνεχώρησαν.

5. Now when the Philistines, as I said before, had pitched their camp, and had taken an account of their forces, according to their nations, and kingdoms, and governments, king Achish came last of all with his own army; after whom came David with his six hundred armed men. And when the commanders of the Philistines saw him, they asked the king whence these Hebrews came, and at whose invitation. He answered that it was David, who was fled away from his master Saul, and that he had entertained him when he came to him, and that now he was willing to make him this requital for his favors, and to avenge himself upon Saul, and so was become his confederate. The commanders complained of this, that he had taken him for a confederate who was an enemy; and gave him counsel to send him away, lest he should unawares do his friends a great deal of mischief by entertaining him, for that he afforded him an opportunity of being reconciled to his master by doing a mischief to our army. They thereupon desired him, out of a prudent foresight of this, to send him away, with his six hundred armed men, to the place he had given him for his habitation; for that this

was that David whom the virgins celebrated in their hymns, as having destroyed many ten thousands of the Philistines. When the king of Gath heard this, he thought they spake well; so he called David, and said to him, “As for myself, I can bear witness that thou hast shown great diligence and kindness about me, and on that account it was that I took thee for my confederate; however, what I have done does not please the commanders of the Philistines; go therefore within a day’s time to the place I have given thee, without suspecting any harm, and there keep my country, lest any of our enemies should make an incursion upon it, which will be one part of that assistance which I expect from thee.” So David came to Ziklag, as the king of Gath bade him; but it happened, that while he was gone to the assistance of the Philistines, the Amalekites had made an incursion, and taken Ziklag before, and had burnt it; and when they had taken a great deal of other prey out of that place, and out of the other parts of the Philistines’ country, they departed.

(6) [357] Ἐκπεπορθημένην δὲ τὴν Σίκελλαν καταλαβὼν ὁ Δαυίδης καὶ διηρπαγμένα πάντα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας [τὰς] ἑαυτοῦ, δύο γὰρ ἦσαν, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν ἑταίρων σὺν τοῖς τέκνοις ᾐχμαλωτισμένας, περιρρήγνυται εὐθὺς τὴν ἐσθῆτα. [358] κλαίων δὲ καὶ ὀδυρόμενος μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον παρείθη τοῖς κακοῖς, ὥστε αὐτὸν ἐπιλιπεῖν ἤδη καὶ τὰ δάκρυα, κινδυνεῦσαι δὲ καὶ βληθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἑταίρων ἀλγούντων ἐπὶ ταῖς αἰχμαλωσίαις τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν τέκνων ἀποθανεῖν: αὐτὸν γὰρ τῶν γεγονότων ᾐτιῶντο. [359] ἀνασχὼν δ’ ἐκ τῆς λύπης καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀναστήσας παρεκάλεσε τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ἀβιάθαρον ἐνδύσασθαι τὴν ἱερατικὴν στολὴν καὶ ἐπερωτῆσαι τὸν θεὸν καὶ προφητεῦσαι, εἰ διώξαντι τοὺς Ἀμαληκίτας δίδωσι καταλαβεῖν καὶ σῶσαι μὲν τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα, τιμωρήσασθαι δὲ τοὺς ἐχθρούς. [360] τοῦ δ’ ἀρχιερέως διώκειν κελεύσαντος ἐκπηδήσας μετὰ τῶν ἑξακοσίων ὁπλιτῶν εἵπετο τοῖς πολεμίοις: παραγενόμενος δ’ ἐπί τινα χειμάρρουν Βάσελον λεγόμενον καὶ πλανωμένῳ τινὶ περιπεσὼν Αἰγυπτίῳ μὲν τὸ γένος ὑπ’ ἐνδείας δὲ καὶ λιμοῦ παρειμένῳ, τρισὶ γὰρ ἡμέραις ἐν τῇ ἐρημίᾳ πλανώμενος ἄσιτος διεκαρτέρησε, πρῶτον αὐτὸν ποτῷ καὶ τροφῇ παραστησάμενος καὶ ἀναλαβὼν ἐπύθετο, τίς τε εἴη καὶ πόθεν. [361] ὁ δὲ γένος μὲν ἐσήμαινεν Αἰγύπτιος ὤν, καταλειφθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότου κατ’ ἀρρωστίαν ἔπεσθαι μὴ δυνάμενον: ἐδήλου δ’ αὐτὸν τῶν καταπρησάντων καὶ διηρπακότων ἄλλα τε τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τὴν Σίκελλαν εἶναι. [362] χρησάμενος οὖν ὁ Δαυίδης τούτῳ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμαληκίτας ὁδηγῷ καὶ καταλαβὼν [αὐτοὺς] ἐπὶ γῆς ἐρριμμένους, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀριστῶντας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ μεθύοντας ἤδη καὶ λελυμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴνου καὶ τῶν λαφύρων καὶ τῆς λείας ἀπολαύοντας, ἐπιπεσὼν αἰφνιδίως πολὺν αὐτῶν φόνον εἰργάσατο: γυμνοὶ γὰρ ὄντες καὶ μηδὲν προσδοκῶντες τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ πιεῖν καὶ εὐωχεῖσθαι τετραμμένοι πάντες

ἦσαν εὐκατέργαστοι. [363] καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔτι τῶν τραπεζῶν παρακειμένων ἐπικαταλαμβανόμενοι παρ᾽ αὐταῖς ἀνῃροῦντο καὶ παρέσυρεν αὐτοῖς τὰ σιτία καὶ τὴν τροφὴν τὸ αἷμα, τοὺς δὲ δεξιουμένους ἀλλήλους ταῖς προπόσεσι διέφθειρεν, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ πρὸς ὕπνον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀκράτου κατενηνεγμένους. ὁπόσοι δ᾽ ἔφθασαν περιθέμενοι τὰς πανοπλίας ἐξ ἐναντίας τ᾽ αὐτῷ στῆναι, τούτους οὐδὲν ἧττον εὐχερῶς τῶν γυμνῶν κατακειμένων ἀπέσφαττον. [364] διέμειναν δὲ οἱ σὺν τῷ Δαυίδῃ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀναιροῦντες ἀπὸ πρώτης ὥρας ἕως ἑσπέρας, ὡς μὴ περιλειφθῆναι τῶν Ἀμαληκιτῶν πλείονας ἢ τετρακοσίους: καὶ οὗτοι δὲ δρομάσι καμήλοις ἐπιβάντες διέφυγον. ἀνέσωσε δὲ τἆλλα πάντα ἃ διήρπασαν αὐτῶν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ τάς τε αὐτοῦ γυναῖκας καὶ τὰς τῶν ἑταίρων. [365] ὡς δὲ ἀναστρέφοντες ἦκον ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, ἔνθα διακοσίους μὴ δυναμένους αὐτοῖς ἕπεσθαι καταλελοίπεσαν ἐπὶ τῶν σκευῶν, οἱ μὲν τετρακόσιοι τῆς μὲν ἄλλης ὠφελείας τε καὶ λείας οὐκ ἠξίουν αὐτοῖς ἀπομερίζειν: οὐ συνακολουθήσαντας γὰρ ἀλλὰ μαλακισθέντας περὶ τὴν δίωξιν ἀγαπήσειν ἀνασεσωσμένας τὰς γυναῖκας ἀπολαμβάνοντας ἔλεγον: [366] Δαυίδης δὲ πονηρὰν καὶ ἄδικον αὐτῶν ταύτην ἀπέφηνε τὴν γνώμην: εἶναι γὰρ ἀξίους, τοῦ θεοῦ παρασχόντος αὐτοῖς ἀμύνασθαι μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους, κομίσασθαι δὲ πάντα τὰ αὐτῶν, πᾶσιν ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς συστρατευσαμένοις μερίζεσθαι τὴν ὠφέλειαν, καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν σκευῶν μεμενηκότων. [367] καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου νόμος οὗτος ἐκράτησε παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς, ἵνα ταὐτὰ τοῖς μαχομένοις λαμβάνωσιν οἱ τὰ σκεύη φυλάσσοντες. γενόμενος δ᾽ ἐν Σικέλλα Δαυίδης διέπεμψε πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἰούδα φυλῇ συνήθεσι καὶ φίλοις ἀπομοίρας τῶν λαφύρων. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὴν Σικέλλων πόρθησιν καὶ Ἀμαληκιτῶν ἀναίρεσιν οὕτως ἐγένετο.

6. Now when David found that Ziklag was laid waste, and that it was all spoiled, and that as well his own wives, who were two, as the wives of his companions, with their children, were made captives, he presently rent his clothes, weeping and lamenting, together with his friends; and indeed he was so cast down with these misfortunes, that at length tears themselves failed him. He was also in danger of being stoned to death by his companions, who were greatly afflicted at the captivity of their wives and children, for they laid the blame upon him of what had happened. But when he had recovered himself out of his grief, and had raised up his mind to God, he desired the high priest Abiathar to put on his sacerdotal garments, and to inquire of God, and to prophesy to him, whether God would grant; that if he pursued after the Amalekites, he should overtake them, and save their wives and their children, and avenge himself on the enemies. And when the high priest bade him to pursue after them, he marched apace, with his four hundred men, after the enemy; and when he was come to a certain brook called Besor, and had lighted upon one that was wandering about, an Egyptian

by birth, who was almost dead with want and famine, [for he had continued wandering about without food in the wilderness three days,] he first of all gave him sustenance, both meat and drink, and thereby refreshed him. He then asked him to whom he belonged, and whence he came. Whereupon the man told him he was an Egyptian by birth, and was left behind by his master, because he was so sick and weak that he could not follow him. He also informed him that he was one of those who had burnt and plundered, not only other parts of Judea, but Ziklag itself also. So David made use of him as a guide to find oat the Amalekites; and when he had overtaken them, as they lay scattered about on the ground, some at dinner, some disordered, and entirely drunk with wine, and in the fruition of their spoils and their prey, he fell upon them on the sudden, and made a great slaughter among them; for they were naked, and expected no such thing, but had betaken themselves to drinking and feasting; and so they were all easily destroyed. Now some of them that were overtaken as they lay at the table were slain in that posture, and their blood brought up with it their meat and their drink. They slew others of them as they were drinking to one another in their cups, and some of them when their full bellies had made them fall asleep; and for so many as had time to put on their armor, they slew them with the sword, with no less case than they did those that were naked; and for the partisans of David, they continued also the slaughter from the first hour of the day to the evening, so that there were, not above four hundred of the Amalekites left; and they only escaped by getting upon their dromedaries and camels. Accordingly David recovered not only all the other spoils which the enemy had carried away, but his wives also, and the wives of his companions. But when they were come to the place where they had left the two hundred men, which were not able to follow them, but were left to take care of the stuff, the four hundred men did not think fit to divide among them any other parts of what they had gotten, or of the prey, since they did not accompany them, but pretended to be feeble, and did not follow them in pursuit of the enemy, but said they should be contented to have safely recovered their wives; yet did David pronounce that this opinion of theirs was evil and unjust, and that when God had granted them such a favor, that they had avenged themselves on their enemies, and had recovered all that belonged to themselves, they should make an equal distribution of what they had gotten to all, because the rest had tarried behind to guard their stuff; and from that time this law obtained among them, that those who guarded the stuff, should receive an equal share with those that fought in the battle. Now when David was come to Ziklag, he sent portions of the spoils to all that had been familiar with him, and to his friends in the tribe of Judah. And thus ended the affairs of the plundering of Ziklag, and of the slaughter of the Amalekites.

(7) [368] Τῶν δὲ Παλαιστίνων συμβαλόντων καὶ καρτερᾶς μάχης γενομένης νικῶσιν οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι καὶ πολλοὺς ἀναιροῦσι τῶν ἐναντίων, Σαοῦλος δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ γενναίως ἀγωνιζόμενοι καὶ πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ χρώμενοι, ὡς ἐν μόνῳ τῷ καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν καὶ παραβόλως διακινδυνεῦσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις τῆς ὅλης αὐτοῖς δόξης ἀποκειμένης, οὐδὲν γὰρ τούτου περισσότερον εἶχον, [369] ἐπιστρέφουσι πᾶσαν εἰς αὐτοὺς τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν φάλαγγα καὶ περικυκλωθέντες ἀποθνήσκουσι πολλοὺς τῶν Παλαιστίνων καταβαλόντες. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ παῖδες Ἰωνάθης καὶ Ἀμινάδαβος καὶ Μέλχισος. τούτων πεσόντων τρέπεται τὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων πλῆθος καὶ ἀκοσμία καὶ σύγχυσις γίνεται καὶ φόνος ἐπικειμένων τῶν πολεμίων. [370] Σαοῦλος δὲ φεύγει τὸ καρτερὸν ἔχων περὶ αὐτόν, καὶ τῶν Παλαιστίνων ἐπιπεμψάντων ἀκοντιστὰς καὶ τοξότας πάντας μὲν ἀποβάλλει πλὴν ὀλίγων, αὐτὸς δὲ λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος καὶ πολλὰ τραύματα λαβών, ὡς μηκέτι διακαρτερεῖν μηδ᾽ ἀντέχειν ταῖς πληγαῖς, ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν αὐτὸν ἠσθένει, κελεύει δὲ τὸν ὁπλοφόρον σπασάμενον τὴν ῥομφαίαν ταύτην αὐτοῦ διελάσαι, πρὶν ζῶντα συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν τοὺς πολεμίους. [371] μὴ τολμῶντος δὲ τοῦ ὁπλοφόρου κτεῖναι τὸν δεσπότην, αὐτὸς τὴν ἰδίαν σπασάμενος καὶ στήσας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκμὴν ῥίπτει κατ᾽ αὐτῆς ἑαυτόν: ἀδυνατῶν δὲ μήθ᾽ ἵστασθαι μήτ᾽ ἐπερείσας διαβαλεῖν αὐτοῦ τὸν σίδηρον ἐπιστρέφεται, καὶ νεανίσκου τινὸς ἑστῶτος πυθόμενος τίς εἴη καὶ μαθὼν ὡς Ἀμαληκίτης ἐστὶ παρεκάλεσεν ἐπερείσαντα τὴν ῥομφαίαν διὰ τὸ μὴ ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτὸν δύνασθαι παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ τελευτὴν ὁποίαν αὐτὸς βούλεται. [372] ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο καὶ περιελόμενος τὸν περὶ τὸν βραχίονα αὐτοῦ χρυσὸν καὶ τὸν βασιλικὸν στέφανον ἐκποδὼν ἐγένετο. θεασάμενος δ᾽ ὁ ὁπλοφόρος Σαοῦλον ἀνῃρημένον ἀπέκτεινεν ἑαυτόν: διεσώθη δ᾽ οὐδεὶς τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἔπεσον περὶ τὸ καλούμενον Γελβουὲ ὄρος. [373] ἀκούσαντες δὲ τῶν Ἑβραίων οἱ τὴν κοιλάδα πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου κατοικοῦντες καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τὰς πόλεις ἔχοντες, ὅτι Σαοῦλος πέπτωκε καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ σὺν αὐτῷ πλῆθος ἀπόλωλε, καταλιπόντες τὰς ἑαυτῶν πόλεις εἰς ὀχυρωτάτας ἔφυγον. οἱ δὲ Παλαιστῖνοι τὰς καταλελειμμένας ἐρήμους εὑρόντες κατῴκησαν.

7. Now upon the Philistines joining battle, there followed a sharp engagement, and the Philistine, became the conquerors, and slew a great number of their enemies; but Saul the king of Israel, and his sons, fought courageously, and with the utmost alacrity, as knowing that their entire glory lay in nothing else but dying honorably, and exposing themselves to the utmost danger from the enemy [for they had nothing else to hope for]; so they brought upon themselves the whole power of the enemy, till they were encompassed round and slain, but not before they had killed many of the Philistines Now the sons of Saul were Jonathan, and Abinadab, and Malchisua; and when these were slain the

multitude of the Hebrews were put to flight, and all was disorder, and confusion, and slaughter, upon the Philistines pressing in upon them. But Saul himself fled, having a strong body of soldiers about him; and upon the Philistines sending after them those that threw javelins and shot arrows, he lost all his company except a few. As for himself, he fought with great bravery; and when he had received so many wounds, that he was not able to bear up nor to oppose any longer, and yet was not able to kill himself, he bade his armor-bearer draw his sword, and run him through, before the enemy should take him alive. But his armor-bearer not daring to kill his master, he drew his own sword, and placing himself over against its point, he threw himself upon it; and when he could neither run it through him, nor, by leaning against it, make the sword pass through him, he turned him round, and asked a certain young man that stood by who he was; and when he understood that he was an Amalekite, he desired him to force the sword through him, because he was not able to do it with his own hands, and thereby to procure him such a death as he desired. This the young man did accordingly; and he took the golden bracelet that was on Saul's arm, and his royal crown that was on his head, and ran away. And when Saul's armor-bearer saw that he was slain, he killed himself; nor did any of the king's guards escape, but they all fell upon the mountain called Gilboa. But when those Hebrews that dwelt in the valley beyond Jordan, and those who had their cities in the plain, heard that Saul and his sons were fallen, and that the multitude about them were destroyed, they left their own cities, and fled to such as were the best fortified and fenced; and the Philistines, finding those cities deserted, came and dwelt in them.

(8) [374] Τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ σκυλεύοντες οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων νεκροὺς ἐπιτυγχάνουσι τοῖς Σαούλου καὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ σώμασι καὶ σκυλεύσαντες ἀποτέμνουσιν αὐτῶν τὰς κεφαλάς, καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν περιήγγειλαν τὴν χώραν πέμψαντες, ὅτι πεπτώκασιν οἱ πολέμιοι: καὶ τὰς μὲν πανοπλίας αὐτῶν ἀνέθηκαν εἰς τὸ Ἀστάρτειον ἱερόν, τὰ δὲ σώματα ἀνεσταύρωσαν πρὸς τὰ τείχη τῆς Βηθσὰν πόλεως, ἣ νῦν Σκυθόπολις καλεῖται. [375] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουσαν οἱ ἐν Ἰάβει πόλει τῆς Γαλααδίτιδος κατοικοῦντες, ὅτι λελώβηνται τὸν Σαούλου νεκρὸν καὶ τοὺς τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ, δεινὸν ἡγησάμενοι περιιδεῖν ἀκηδεύτους ἐξελθόντες οἱ ἀνδρειότατοι καὶ τόλμῃ διαφέροντες, ἡ δὲ πόλις αὕτη καὶ σώμασιν ἀλκίμους καὶ ψυχαῖς φέρει, καὶ δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ὁδεύσαντες ἦλθον εἰς Βηθσάν, [376] καὶ προσελθόντες τῷ τείχει τῶν πολεμίων καὶ καθελόντες τὸ σῶμα Σαούλου καὶ τὰ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ κομίζουσιν εἰς Ἰάβησαν μηδὲ τῶν πολεμίων αὐτοὺς κωλῦσαι τολμησάντων διὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν. [377] οἱ δὲ Ἰαβησηνοὶ πανδημεὶ κλαύσαντες θάπτουσι τὰ σώματα ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ τῆς χώρας τόπῳ Ἀρούρης λεγομένῳ, καὶ

πένθος ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἦγον κοπτόμενοι καὶ θρηνοῦντες τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ μήτε τροφῆς μήτε ποτοῦ γευσάμενοι.

8. On the next day, when the Philistines came to strip their enemies that were slain, they got the bodies of Saul and of his sons, and stripped them, and cut off their heads; and they sent messengers all about their country, to acquaint them that their enemies were fallen; and they dedicated their armor in the temple of Astarte, but hung their bodies on crosses at the walls of the city Bethshun, which is now called Scythepolls. But when the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead heard that they had dismembered the dead bodies of Saul and of his sons, they deemed it so horrid a thing to overlook this barbarity, and to suffer them to be without funeral rites, that the most courageous and hardy among them [and indeed that city had in it men that were very stout both in body and mind] journeyed all night, and came to Bethshun, and approached to the enemy's wall, and taking down the bodies of Saul and of his sons, they carried them to Jabesh, while the enemy were not able enough nor bold enough to hinder them, because of their great courage. So the people of Jabesh wept all in general, and buried their bodies in the best place of their country, which was named Areurn; and they observed a public mourning for them seven days, with their wives and children, beating their breasts, and lamenting the king and his sons, without either tasting meat or drink [till the evening.]

(9) [378] Τοῦτο Σαοῦλος τὸ τέλος ἔσχε προφητεύσαντος Σαμουήλου διὰ τὸ παρακοῦσαι τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν ἐπ᾽ Ἀμαληκίταις ἐντολῶν, καὶ ὅτι τὴν Ἀβιμελέχου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως γενεὰν καὶ Ἀβιμέλεχον αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀρχιερέων πόλιν ἀνεῖλεν. ἐβασίλευσε δὲ Σαμουήλου ζῶντος ἔτη ὀκτὼ πρὸς τοῖς δέκα, τελευτήσαντος δὲ δύο καὶ εἴκοσι. καὶ Σαοῦλος μὲν οὕτω κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον.

9. To this his end did Saul come, according to the prophecy of Samuel, because he disobeyed the commands of God about the Amalekites, and on the account of his destroying the family of Ahimelech the high priest, with Ahimelech himself, and the city of the high priests. Now Saul, when he had reigned eighteen years while Samuel was alive, and after his death two [and twenty], ended his life in this manner.

Liber VII

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Ὡς Δαυίδης μὲν τῆς μιᾶς φυλῆς ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Γιβρῶνι τῇ πόλει, τοῦ δ' ἄλλου πλήθους ὁ Σαούλου παῖς.

β. ὅτι τούτου φονευθέντος ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς φίλων ἅπασιν τὴν βασιλείαν Δαυίδης παρέλαβεν.

γ. ὡς πολιορκήσας Ἱεροσόλυμα Δαυίδης καὶ λαβὼν τὴν πόλιν ἐξέβαλε μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς τοὺς Χαναναίους, ἐνῴκισε δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν Ἰουδαίους.

δ. ὅτι στρατεύσαντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν δὶς Παλαιστίνους ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐνίκησεν.

ε. ἡ γενομένη πρὸς Εἵρωμον τὸν Τυρίων βασιλέα [καὶ] Δαυίδου φιλία.

ς. ὡς τοῖς πέριξ ἔθνεσι στρατεύσας Δαυίδης καὶ χειρωσάμενος φόρον ἐπέταξεν αὐτῷ τελεῖν.

ζ. ἡ γενομένη πρὸς Δαμασκηνοὺς Δαυίδῃ μάχη καὶ νίκη.

η. πῶς ἐπὶ τοὺς Μεσοποταμίους στρατεύσας ἐκράτησεν αὐτῶν.

θ. ὅτι τῶν περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῷ στασιασάντων ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐξεβλήθη τῆς ἀρχῆς εἰς τὴν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου.

ι. ὡς στρατεύσας Ἀψάλωμος ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα Δαυίδην ἀπώλετο σὺν τῷ στρατῷ.

ια. πῶς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν πάλιν κατῆλθε καὶ ζήσας εὐδαιμόνως ἔτι περιὼν Σολόμωνα τὸν υἱὸν ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα.

ιβ. τελευτὴ Δαυίδου καταλιπόντος τῷ παιδὶ πολλὴν ὕλην ἀργύρου τε καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ λιθίας εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ ναοῦ.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα.

BOOK VII. Containing The Interval Of Forty Years. — From The Death Of Saul To The Death Of David.

I

CHAPTER 1. How David Reigned Over One Tribe At Hebron While The Son Of Saul Reigned Over The Rest Of The Multitude; And How, In The Civil War Which Then Arose Asahel And Abner Were Slain.

(1) [1] Συνέβη δὲ ταύτην γενέσθαι τὴν μάχην καθ᾽ ἣν ἡμέραν καὶ Δαυίδης τοὺς Ἀμαληκίτας νικήσας εἰς Σίκελλαν ὑπέστρεψεν. ἤδη δὲ αὐτοῦ δύο ἡμέρας ἔχοντος ἐν τῇ Σικέλλα τῇ τρίτῃ παραγίνεται διασωθεὶς ἐκ τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς Παλαιστίνους ὁ τὸν Σαοῦλον ἀνελὼν τήν τε ἐσθῆτα περιερρηγμένος καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τέφρᾳ περιχεάμενος. [2] καὶ προσκυνήσας αὐτὸν πυνθανομένῳ, πόθεν ἥκοι τοιοῦτος, ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν μάχης ἔλεγε: γενέσθαι δ᾽ ἀτυχὲς αὐτῆς τὸ τέλος ἐδήλου πολλῶν μὲν ἀναιρεθεισῶν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις μυριάδων, πεσόντος δὲ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν Σαούλου μετὰ τῶν τέκνων: [3] ταῦτα δὲ σημαίνειν ἔφασκεν αὐτὸς παρατυχὼν τῇ τροπῇ τῶν Ἑβραίων καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ πεφευγότι παρών, ὃν καὶ κτεῖναι μέλλοντα ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων λαμβάνεσθαι παρακληθεὶς αὐτὸς ὡμολόγει: τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπιπεσόντα διὰ τὴν τῶν τραυμάτων ὑπερβολὴν αὐτὸν ἀσθενῆσαι κατεργάσασθαι. [4] καὶ σύμβολα τῆς ἀναιρέσεως ἐπεδείκνυεν τόν τε περὶ τοῖς βραχίοσι χρυσὸν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὸν στέφανον, ἃ περιδύσας τὸν Σαούλου νεκρὸν κομίσειεν αὐτῷ. Δαυίδης δὲ μηκέτ᾽ ἀπιστεῖν ἔχων ἀλλ᾽ ἐναργῆ τεκμήρια τοῦ Σαούλου θανάτου βλέπων καταρρηγνύει μὲν τὴν ἐσθῆτα, κλαίων δὲ καὶ ὀδυρόμενος μετὰ τῶν ἑταίρων ὅλην διεκαρτέρησε τὴν ἡμέραν. [5] ποιεῖ δ᾽ αὐτῷ τὴν λύπην χαλεπωτέραν ὁ Σαούλου παῖς Ἰωνάθης πιστότατός τε ὢν φίλος αὐτῷ καὶ σωτηρίας αἴτιος γεγενημένος. τοσαύτην δ᾽ ἐπεδείξατο τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Σαοῦλον εὔνοιαν, ὡς μὴ μόνον ἐπὶ τεθνηκότι χαλεπῶς ἐνεγκεῖν πολλάκις ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κινδυνεύσας ἀφαιρεθῆναι τὸν βίον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἀποκτείναντα κολάσαι. [6] φήσας γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὡς αὐτὸς γένοιτο κατήγορος ἀνελὼν τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ μαθών, ὡς εἴη πατρὸς Ἀμαληκίτου γένος, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀπολέσθαι. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ θρήνους καὶ ἐπιταφίους ἐπαίνους Σαούλου καὶ Ἰωνάθου, οἳ καὶ μέχρις ἐμοῦ διαμένουσιν.

1. This fight proved to be on the same day whereon David was come back to Ziklag, after he had overcome the Amalekites. Now when he had been already two days at Ziklag, there came to him the man who slew Saul, which was the third day after the fight. He had escaped out of the battle which the Israelites had with the Philistines, and had his clothes rent, and ashes upon his head. And when he made his obeisance to David, he inquired of him whence he came. He replied, from the battle of the Israelites; and he informed him that the end of it was

unfortunate, many ten thousands of the Israelites having been cut off, and Saul, together with his sons, slain. He also said that he could well give him this information, because he was present at the victory gained over the Hebrews, and was with the king when he fled. Nor did he deny that he had himself slain the king, when he was ready to be taken by the enemy, and he himself exhorted him to do it, because, when he was fallen on his sword, his great wounds had made him so weak that he was not able to kill himself. He also produced demonstrations that the king was slain, which were the golden bracelets that had been on the king's arms, and his crown, which he had taken away from Saul's dead body, and had brought them to him. So David having no longer any room to call in question the truth of what he said, but seeing most evident marks that Saul was dead, he rent his garments, and continued all that day with his companions in weeping and lamentation. This grief was augmented by the consideration of Jonathan; the son of Saul, who had been his most faithful friend, and the occasion of his own deliverance. He also demonstrated himself to have such great virtue, and such great kindness for Saul, as not only to take his death to heart, though he had been frequently in danger of losing his life by his means, but to punish him that slew him; for when David had said to him that he was become his own accuser, as the very man who had slain the king, and when he had understood that he was the son of an Amalekite, he commanded him to be slain. He also committed to writing some lamentations and funeral commendations of Saul and Jonathan, which have continued to my own age.

(2) [7] Ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτοις ἐξετίμησε τὸν βασιλέα παυσάμενος τοῦ πένθους ἤρετο τὸν θεὸν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου, τίνα δίδωσιν αὐτῷ κατοικῆσαι πόλιν τῆς Ἰούδα καλουμένης φυλῆς. φήσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ διδόναι Γιβρῶνα καταλιπὼν τὴν Σίκελλαν εἰς ἐκείνην παραγίνεται τάς τε γυναῖκας ἐπαγόμενος τὰς αὐτοῦ, δύο δὲ ἦσαν, καὶ τοὺς ὁπλίτας τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. [8] συνελθὼν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν πᾶς ὁ τῆς φυλῆς τῆς προειρημένης λαὸς ἀποδείκνυσιν αὐτὸν βασιλέα. ἀκούσας δ' ὅτι τὸν Σαοῦλον καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ θάψειαν οἱ ἐν Ἰαβησῷ τῆς Γαλααδίτιδος κατοικοῦντες, ἔπεμψε πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπαινῶν καὶ ἀποδεχόμενος αὐτῶν τὸ ἔργον, καὶ χάριτας ἀποδώσειν ἀντὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς τεθνηκότας σπουδῆς ὑπισχνούμενος, ἅμα δὲ καὶ δηλῶν ὡς ἡ Ἰούδα φυλὴ κεχειροτόνηκεν αὐτὸν βασιλέα.

2. Now when David had paid these honors to the king, he left off his mourning, and inquired of God by the prophet which of the cities of the tribe of Judah he would bestow upon him to dwell in; who answered that he bestowed upon him Hebron. So he left Ziklag, and came to Hebron, and took with him his wives, who were in number two, and his armed men; whereupon all the people of the forementioned tribe came to him, and ordained him their king. But when he

heard that the inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead had buried Saul and his sons [honorably], he sent to them and commended them, and took what they had done kindly, and promised to make them amends for their care of those that were dead; and at the same time he informed them that the tribe of Judah had chosen him for their king.

(3) [9] Ὁ δὲ τοῦ Σαούλου μὲν ἀρχιστράτηγος Ἀβεννῆρος Νήρου δὲ παῖς ἀνὴρ δραστήριος καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὴν φύσιν, ὡς ἔγνω πεσόντα τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην καὶ τοὺς δύο τοὺς ἄλλους αὐτοῦ παῖδας, ἐπειχθεὶς εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν καὶ τὸν περιλειπόμενον ἐξαρπάσας υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, Ἰέβοσθος δ᾽ ἐκαλεῖτο, διαβιβάζει πρὸς τοὺς πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου καὶ παντὸς ἀποδείκνυσι τοῦ πλήθους βασιλέα πάρεξ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς. [10] βασίλειον δ᾽ ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ τὴν κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἐπιχώριον γλῶτταν Μάναλιν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλήνων Παρεμβολὰς λεγομένην: ὥρμησε δ᾽ ἐκεῖθεν Ἀβεννῆρος μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπιλέκτου συμβαλεῖν τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς προαιρούμενος: ὤργιστο γὰρ αὐτοῖς βασιλέα τὸν Δαυίδην κεχειροτονηκόσιν. [11] ἀπήντησε δ᾽ αὐτῷ πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Δαυίδου Σαρουίας μὲν παῖς, πατρὸς δὲ Σουρί, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀδελφῆς τῆς ἐκείνου γεγονὼς αὐτῷ Ἰώαβος ἀρχιστράτηγος ὢν αὐτοῦ, μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν Ἀβεσσαίου καὶ Ἀσαήλου καὶ πάντων τῶν Δαυίδου ὁπλιτῶν. καὶ περιτυχὼν ἐπί τινος κρηνίδος ἐν Γαβαῶ πόλει παρατάσσεται πρὸς μάχην. [12] τοῦ δ᾽ Ἀβεννήρου φήσαντος πρὸς αὐτὸν βούλεσθαι μαθεῖν, πότερος αὐτῶν ἀνδρειοτέρους στρατιώτας ἔχει, συντίθεται παρ᾽ ἀμφοτέρων δυοκαίδεκα μαχησομένους συμβαλεῖν. προελθόντες τοίνυν εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν παρατάξεων οἱ πρὸς τὴν μάχην ὑφ᾽ ἑκατέρων τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐξειλεγμένοι καὶ τὰς αἰχμὰς ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλους ἀφέντες σπῶνται τὰς μαχαίρας καὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν ἐλλαμβανόμενοι κατέχοντες αὐτοὺς ἔπαιον εἰς τὰς πλευρὰς καὶ τὰς λαγόνας ἀλλήλους ταῖς ῥομφαίαις, ἕως οὗ πάντες ὥσπερ ἐκ συνθήματος ἀπώλοντο. [13] πεσόντων δὲ τούτων συνέρρηξε καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ στρατιά, καὶ καρτερᾶς τῆς μάχης γενομένης ἡττήθησαν οἱ τοῦ Ἀβεννήρου: καὶ τραπέντας οὐκ ἀνίει διώκων Ἰώαβος, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτός τε ἐπέκειτο παρακελευόμενος τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἐκ ποδὸς ἕπεσθαι καὶ μὴ κάμνειν ἀναιροῦντας, [14] οἵ τε ἀδελφοὶ προθύμως ἠγωνίσαντο, καὶ διαφανέστερος τῶν ἄλλων μάλιστα ὁ νεώτερος Ἀσάηλος, ὃς ἐπὶ ποδῶν ὠκύτητι κλέος εἶχεν: οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπους ἐνίκα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἵππῳ καταστάντα εἰς ἅμιλλαν λέγουσι παραδραμεῖν, καὶ τὸν Ἀβεννῆρον ἐδίωκεν ὑπὸ ῥύμης καὶ τῆς ἐπ᾽ ὀρθὸν φορᾶς εἰς οὐδέτερον ἐγκλιθεὶς τῶν μερῶν. [15] ἐπιστραφέντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀβεννήρου καὶ κατασοφίζεσθαι τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτοῦ πειρωμένου καὶ ποτὲ μὲν εἰπόντος ἑνὸς τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν ἀφέμενος τῆς διώξεως ἀφελέσθαι τὴν πανοπλίαν, πάλιν δ᾽ ὡς οὐκ ἔπειθε τοῦτο ποιεῖν κατασχεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ διώκειν παραινοῦντος, μὴ κτείνας αὐτὸν ἀπολέσῃ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ παρρησίαν, οὐ προσιέμενον [δὲ] τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλ᾽

ἐπιμείναντα τὴν δίωξιν φεύγων ὡς εἶχε τὸ δόρυ πλήξας εἰς τοὐπίσω καιρίως παραχρῆμ᾽ ἀπέκτεινεν. [16] οἱ δὲ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ διώκοντες τὸν Ἀβεννῆρον ὡς ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, οὗ κεῖσθαι συνέβαινε τὸν Ἀσάηλον, περιστάντες τὸν νεκρὸν οὐκέτι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδίωκον: ὁ δὲ Ἰώαβος αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀβεσσαῖος παραδραμόντες τὸ πτῶμα καὶ τῆς πλείονος ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀβεννῆρον σπουδῆς αἰτίαν τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος ὀργὴν λαβόντες, ἀπίστῳ τάχει καὶ προθυμίᾳ χρώμενοι μέχρι τόπου τινός, Ὄμματον καλοῦσιν, ἐδίωξαν τὸν Ἀβεννῆρον ἤδη περὶ δυσμὰς ὄντος ἡλίου. [17] ἀναβὰς δ᾽ ἐπί τινα βουνόν, ὅς ἐστιν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ μετὰ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς, αὐτούς τε κατεσκέπτετο καὶ τὸν Ἀβεννῆρον. τούτου δὲ ἀνακεκραγότος καὶ φήσαντος, μὴ δεῖν ἄνδρας ὁμοφύλους εἰς ἔριδα καὶ μάχην παροξύνειν, ἁμαρτεῖν δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀσάηλον, ὃς παραινοῦντος μὴ διώκειν οὐκ ἐπείσθη καὶ διὰ τοῦτο βληθεὶς ἀπέθανε, συμφρονήσας καὶ παράκλησιν ἡγησάμενος τούτους τοὺς λόγους ὁ Ἰώαβος ἀνακαλεῖ τῇ σάλπιγγι σημάνας τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ πολὺ διώξεως ἐπισχών. [18] καὶ οὗτος μὲν ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνου καταστρατοπεδεύεται τοῦ τόπου τὴν νύκτα ταύτην, Ἀβεννῆρος δὲ δι᾽ ὅλης αὐτῆς ὁδεύσας καὶ περαιωσάμενος τὸν Ἰόρδανον ποταμὸν ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Σαούλου παῖδα εἰς τὰς Παρεμβολὰς Ἰέβωσθον. τῇ δ᾽ ἐχομένῃ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὁ Ἰώαβος ἐξαριθμήσας ἅπαντας ἐκήδευσεν. [19] ἔπεσον δὲ τῶν μὲν Ἀβεννήρου στρατιωτῶν ὡς τριακόσιοι καὶ ἑξήκοντα, τῶν δὲ Δαυίδου δέκα πρὸς τοῖς ἐννέα καὶ Ἀσάηλος, οὗ τὸ σῶμα κομίσαντες ἐκεῖθεν Ἰώαβος καὶ Ἀβεσσαῖος εἰς Βηθλεέμην καὶ θάψαντες ἐν τῷ πατρῴῳ μνήματι πρὸς Δαυίδην εἰς Γιβρῶνα παρεγένοντο. [20] ἤρξατο μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐμφύλιος πόλεμος καὶ διέμεινεν ἄχρι πολλοῦ, τῶν μὲν μετὰ Δαυίδου κρειττόνων ἀεὶ γινομένων καὶ πλεῖον ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις φερομένων, τοῦ δὲ Σαούλου παιδὸς καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων αὐτοῦ κατὰ πᾶσαν σχεδὸν ἡμέραν ἐλαττουμένων.

3. But as soon as Abner, the son of Ner, who was general of Saul’s army, and a very active man, and good-natured, knew that the king, and Jonathan, and his two other sons, were fallen in the battle, he made haste into the camp; and taking away with him the remaining son of Saul, whose name was Ishbosheth, he passed over to the land beyond Jordan, and ordained him the king of the whole multitude, excepting the tribe of Judah; and made his royal seat in a place called in our own language Mahanaim, but in the language of the Grecians, The Camps; from whence Abner made haste with a select body of soldiers, to fight with such of the tribe of Judah as were disposed to it, for he was angry that this tribe had set up David for their king. But Joab, whose father was Suri, and his mother Zeruiah, David’s sister, who was general of David’s army, met him, according to David’s appointment. He had with him his brethren, Abistiai and

Asahel, as also all David's armed men. Now when he met Abner at a certain fountain, in the city of Gibeon, he prepared to fight. And when Abner said to him, that he had a mind to know which of them had the more valiant soldiers, it was agreed between them that twelve soldiers of each side should fight together. So those that were chosen out by both the generals for this fight came between the two armies, and throwing their lances one against the other, they drew their swords, and catching one another by the head, they held one another fast, and ran each other's swords into their sides and groins, until they all, as it were by mutual agreement, perished together. When these were fallen down dead, the rest of the army came to a sore battle, and Abner's men were beaten; and when they were beaten, Joab did not leave off pursuing them, but he pressed upon them, and excited the soldiers to follow them close, and not to grow weary of killing them. His brethren also pursued them with great alacrity, especially the younger, Asahel, who was the most eminent of them. He was very famous for his swiftness of foot, for he could not only be too hard for men, but is reported to have overrun a horse, when they had a race together. This Asahel ran violently after Abner, and would not turn in the least out of the straight way, either to the one side or to the other. Hereupon Abner turned back, and attempted artfully to avoid his violence. Sometimes he bade him leave off the pursuit, and take the armor of one of his soldiers; and sometimes, when he could not persuade him so to do, he exhorted him to restrain himself, and not to pursue him any longer, lest he should force him to kill him, and he should then not be able to look his brother in the face: but when Asahel would not admit of any persuasions, but still continued to pursue him, Abner smote him with his spear, as he held it in his flight, and that by a back-stroke, and gave him a deadly wound, so that he died immediately; but those that were with him pursuing Abner, when they came to the place where Asahel lay, they stood round about the dead body, and left off the pursuit of the enemy. However, both Joab himself, and his brother Abishai, ran past the dead corpse, and making their anger at the death of Asahel an occasion of greater zeal against Abner, they went on with incredible haste and alacrity, and pursued Abner to a certain place called Ammah: it was about sun-set. Then did Joab ascend a certain hill, as he stood at that place, having the tribe of Benjamin with him, whence he took a view of them, and of Abner also. Hereupon Abner cried aloud, and said that it was not fit that they should irritate men of the same nation to fight so bitterly one against another; that as for Asahel his brother, he was himself in the wrong, when he would not be advised by him not to pursue him any farther, which was the occasion of his wounding and death. So Joab consented to what he said, and accepted these his words as an excuse [about Asahel], and called the soldiers back with the sound of the

trumpet, as a signal for their retreat, and thereby put a stop to any further pursuit. After which Joab pitched his camp there that night; but Abner marched all that night, and passed over the river Jordan, and came to Ishbosheth, Saul's son, to Mahanaim. On the next day Joab counted the dead men, and took care of all their funerals. Now there were slain of Abner's soldiers about three hundred and sixty; but of those of David nineteen, and Asahel, whose body Joab and Abishai carried to Bethlehem; and when they had buried him in the sepulcher of their fathers, they came to David to Hebron. From this time therefore there began an intestine war, which lasted a great while, in which the followers of David grew stronger in the dangers they underwent, and the servants and subjects of Saul's sons did almost every day become weaker.

(4) [21] Ἐγένοντο δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν καὶ παῖδες Δαυίδῃ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἓξ [ἐκ γυναικῶν τοσούτων], ὧν ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτατος ἐκ μητρὸς Ἀχίνας γενόμενος Ἀμνὼν ἐκλήθη, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἐκ γυναικὸς Ἀβιγαίας Δανίηλος, τῷ τρίτῳ δ' ἐκ τῆς Θολομαίου θυγατρὸς Μαχάμης φύντι τοῦ Γεσσιρῶν βασιλέως Ἀψάλωμος ὄνομα, τὸν δὲ τέταρτον Ἀδωνίαν ἐκ γυναικὸς Ἀήθης προσηγόρευσε, τὸν πέμπτον δὲ Σαφατίαν τῆς Ἀβιτάλης καὶ τὸν ἕκτον Γεθερσὰν τῆς Γαλαὰδ ἐπωνόμασε. [22] τοῦ δ' ἐμφυλίου πολέμου συνεστῶτος καὶ συμπιπτόντων εἰς ἔργα καὶ μάχην πυκνῶς μεθ' ἑκατέρου τῶν βασιλέων, Ἀβεννῆρος ὁ τοῦ Σαούλου παιδὸς ἀρχιστράτηγος συνετὸς ὢν καὶ σφόδρα εὔνουν ἔχων τὸ πλῆθος πάντας συμμεῖναι [τῷ Ἰεβόσθῳ] παρεσκεύασε: καὶ διέμειναν ἱκανὸν χρόνον τὰ ἐκείνου φρονοῦντες. [23] ὕστερον δ' ἐν ἐγκλήματι γενόμενος Ἀβεννῆρος καὶ λαβὼν αἰτίαν ὡς συνέλθοι τῇ Σαούλου παλλακῇ Ῥαισφᾶ μὲν τοὔνομα Σιβάτου δὲ θυγατρί, καὶ καταμεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἰεβώσθου περιαλγήσας καὶ θυμωθείς, ὡς οὐ δικαίων τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ τυγχάνοι πάσῃ προνοίᾳ περὶ αὐτὸν χρώμενος, ἠπείλησε μὲν τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς Δαυίδην περιστήσειν, ἐπιδείξειν δὲ ὡς οὐχὶ διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ῥώμην καὶ σύνεσιν ἄρχοι τῶν πέραν Ἰορδάνου, διὰ δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ στρατηγίαν τε καὶ πίστιν. [24] καὶ πέμψας εἰς Γιβρῶνα παρὰ Δαυίδην λαβεῖν ὅρκους τε καὶ πίστεις ἠξίου, ἢ μὴν ἕξειν αὐτὸν ἑταῖρον καὶ φίλον ἀναπείσαντα τὸν λαὸν τοῦ Σαούλου μὲν ἀποστῆναι παιδός, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀποδείξαντα πάσης τῆς χώρας βασιλέα. [25] τοῦ δὲ Δαυίδου ποιησαμένου τὰς ὁμολογίας, ἤσθη γὰρ ἐφ' οἷς Ἀβεννῆρος διεπρεσβεύσατο πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ πρῶτον τεκμήριον παρασχεῖν τῶν συνθηκῶν ἀξιώσαντος ἀνασώσαντα πρὸς αὐτὸν [ΜελχάληνΜελχάληνΜελχάληνΜ

λόγους ἐποιήσατο πρὸς αὐτούς, [27] ὡς ἔχοντας ἑτοίμως ἀποστῆναι μὲν Ἰεβώσθου Δαυίδῃ δὲ προσθέσθαι ταύτης ἀποστρέψειε τῆς ὁρμῆς, νῦν μέντοι γε ἐπιτρέποι χωρεῖν ᾗ βούλονται: καὶ γὰρ εἰδέναι τὸν θεὸν διὰ Σαμουήλου τοῦ προφήτου Δαυίδην χειροτονήσαντα πάντων Ἑβραίων βασιλέα, προειπεῖν δ' ὅτι Παλαιστίνους ἐκεῖνος αὐτὸς τιμωρήσεται καὶ ποιήσει κρατήσας ὑποχειρίους. [28] ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ ἡγεμόνες, ὡς τὴν Ἀβεννήρου γνώμην ᾗ πρότερον εἶχον αὐτοὶ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων σύμφωνον προσέλαβον, τὰ Δαυίδου φρονεῖν μετεβάλοντο. [29] πεισθέντων δὲ τούτων Ἀβεννῆρος συγκαλεῖ τὴν Βενιαμιτῶν φυλήν, οἱ γὰρ ἐκ ταύτης ἅπαντες Ἰεβώσθου σωματοφύλακες ἦσαν, καὶ ταὐτὰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαλεχθείς, ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἀντικρούοντας ἑώρα, προστιθεμένους δ' οἷς ἐβούλετο, παραλαβὼν ὡς εἴκοσι τῶν ἑταίρων ἦκε πρὸς Δαυίδην τοὺς ὅρκους παρ' αὐτοῦ ληψόμενος αὐτός, πιστότερα γὰρ τῶν δι' ἄλλου πραττομένων ὅσα δι' αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι ποιοῦμεν εἶναι δοκεῖ, καὶ προσέτι τοὺς γενομένους αὐτῷ λόγους πρός τε τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ πρὸς τὴν φυλὴν ἅπασαν σημανῶν. [30] ὑποδεξαμένου δ' αὐτὸν φιλοφρόνως καὶ λαμπρᾷ καὶ πολυτελεῖ τραπέζῃ ξενίσαντος ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας, ἠξίωσεν ἀφεθεὶς ἀγαγεῖν τὸ πλῆθος, ἵνα παρόντι καὶ βλεπομένῳ παραδῶσι τὴν ἀρχήν.

4. About this time David was become the father of six sons, born of as many mothers. The eldest was by Ahinoam, and he was called Arenon; the second was Daniel, by his wife Abigail; the name of the third was Absalom, by Maacah, the daughter of Talmai, king of Geshur; the fourth he named Adonijah, by his wife Haggith; the fifth was Shephatiah, by Abital; the sixth he called Ithream, by Eglah. Now while this intestine war went on, and the subjects of the two kings came frequently to action and to fighting, it was Abner, the general of the host of Saul's son, who, by his prudence, and the great interest he had among the multitude, made them all continue with Ishbosheth; and indeed it was a considerable time that they continued of his party; but afterwards Abner was blamed, and an accusation was laid against him, that he went in unto Saul's concubine: her name was Rispah, the daughter of Aiah. So when he was complained of by Ishbosheth, he was very uneasy and angry at it, because he had not justice done him by Ishbosheth, to whom he had shown the greatest kindness; whereupon he threatened to transfer the kingdom to David, and demonstrate that he did not rule over the people beyond Jordan by his own abilities and wisdom, but by his warlike conduct and fidelity in leading his army. So he sent ambassadors to Hebron to David, and desired that he would give him security upon oath that he would esteem him his companion and his friend, upon condition that he should persuade the people to leave Saul's son, and choose him king of the whole country; and when David had made that league with Abner,

for he was pleased with his message to him, he desired that he would give this as the first mark of performance of the present league, that he might have his wife Michal restored to him, as her whom he had purchased with great hazards, and with those six hundred heads of the Philistines which he had brought to Saul her father. So Abner took Michal from Phaltiel, who was then her husband, and sent her to David, Ishbosheth himself affording him his assistance, for David had written to him that of right he ought to have this his wife restored to him. Abner also called together the elders of the multitude, the commanders and captains of thousands, and spake thus to them: That he had formerly dissuaded them from their own resolution, when they were ready to forsake Ishbosheth, and to join themselves to David; that, however, he now gave them leave so to do, if they had a mind to it, for they knew that God had appointed David to be king of all the Hebrews by Samuel the prophet; and had foretold that he should punish the Philistines, and overcome them, and bring them under. Now when the elders and rulers heard this, and understood that Abner was come over to those sentiments about the public affairs which they were of before, they changed their measures, and came in to David. When these men had agreed to Abner's proposal, he called together the tribe of Benjamin, for all of that tribe were the guards of Ishbosheth's body, and he spake to them to the same purpose. And when he saw that they did not in the least oppose what he said, but resigned themselves up to his opinion, he took about twenty of his friends and came to David, in order to receive himself security upon oath from him; for we may justly esteem those things to be firmer which every one of us do by ourselves, than those which we do by another. He also gave him an account of what he had said to the rulers, and to the whole tribe of Benjamin; and when David had received him in a courteous manner, and had treated him with great hospitality for many days, Abner, when he was dismissed, desired him to bring the multitude with him, that he might deliver up the government to him, when David himself was present, and a spectator of what was done.

(5) [31] Ἐκπέμψαντος δὲ τοῦ Δαυίδου τὸν Ἀβεννῆρον οὐδὲ ὀλίγον διαλιπὼν εἰς Γιβρῶνα ἦκεν Ἰώαβος ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος αὐτοῦ, καὶ μαθών, ὡς εἴη παρὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀβεννῆρος καὶ μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν ἀπηλλαγμένος ἐπὶ συνθήκαις καὶ ὁμολογίαις τῆς ἡγεμονίας, δείσας μὴ τὸν μὲν ἐν τιμῇ καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ ποιήσεται τάξει συνεργόν τε τῆς βασιλείας ἐσόμενον καὶ τἆλλα δεινὸν ὄντα συνιδεῖν πράγματα καὶ τοὺς καιροὺς ὑποδραμεῖν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐλαττωθείη καὶ τῆς στρατηγίας ἀφεθείη, κακοῦργον καὶ πονηρὰν ὁδὸν ἄπεισι. [32] [καὶ] πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιχειρεῖ διαβαλεῖν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα φυλάττεσθαι παραινῶν καὶ μὴ προσέχειν οἷς Ἀβεννῆρος συντίθεται: πάντα γὰρ ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ βεβαιώσασθαι τῷ

Σαούλου παιδὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν: ἐπὶ δὲ ἀπάτῃ καὶ δόλῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα μεθ᾽ ἧς ἐβούλετο νῦν ἐλπίδος καὶ οἰκονομίας τῶν κατασκευαζομένων ἀπελθεῖν. [33] ὡς δ᾽ οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Δαυίδην τούτοις οὐδὲ παροξυνόμενον ἑώρα, τρέπεται ταύτης τολμηροτέραν ὁδὸν καὶ κρίνας Ἀβεννῆρον ἀποκτεῖναι πέμπει τοὺς ἐπιδιώξοντας, οἷς καταλαβοῦσι προσέταξεν αὐτὸν καλεῖν ἐκ τοῦ Δαυίδου ὀνόματος, ὡς ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ τινα περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἃ μὴ διεμνημόνευσε παρόντος εἰπεῖν. [34] Ἀβεννῆρος δ᾽ ὡς ἤκουσε τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων, κατέλαβον αὐτὸν ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ Βησηρᾶ καλουμένῳ ἀπέχοντι τῆς Γιβρῶνος σταδίους εἴκοσι, μηδὲν ὑπιδόμενος τῶν συμβησομένων ὑπέστρεψεν. ἀπαντήσας δ᾽ αὐτῷ πρὸς τῇ πύλῃ Ἰώαβος καὶ δεξιωσάμενος ὡς μάλιστ᾽ εὔνους καὶ φίλος, ὑποκρίνονται γὰρ ἱκανῶς πολλάκις εἰς τὸ ἀνύποπτον τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τὰ τῶν ἀληθῶς ἀγαθῶν οἱ πράγμασιν ἐγχειροῦντες ἀτόποις, [35] ἀποσπᾷ μὲν τῶν οἰκείων αὐτὸν ὡς ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ διαλεξόμενος, παραγαγὼν δὲ εἰς τὸ ἐρημότερον τῆς πύλης μόνος αὐτὸς ὢν σὺν Ἀβεσσαίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ σπασάμενος τὴν μάχαιραν ὑπὸ τὴν λαγόνα παίει. [36] καὶ τελευτᾷ μὲν Ἀβεννῆρος τοῦτον ἐνεδρευθεὶς τὸν τρόπον ὑπὸ Ἰωάβου, ὡς μὲν αὐτὸς ἔλεγε τιμωρήσαντος Ἀσαήλῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, ὃν διώκοντα λαβὼν Ἀβεννῆρος ἀπέκτεινεν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Γιβρῶνι μάχῃ, ὡς δὲ τἀληθὲς εἶχε δείσαντος περὶ τῆς στρατηγίας καὶ τῆς παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ τιμῆς, μὴ τούτων μὲν αὐτὸς ἀφαιρεθείη, λάβοι δὲ παρὰ Δαυίδου τὴν πρώτην τάξιν Ἀβεννῆρος. [37] ἐκ τούτων ἄν τις κατανοήσειεν, ὅσα καὶ πηλίκα τολμῶσιν ἄνθρωποι πλεονεξίας ἕνεκα καὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦ μηδενὶ τούτων παραχωρῆσαι: κτήσασθαι γὰρ αὐτὰ ποθοῦντες διὰ μυρίων κακῶν λαμβάνουσι, καὶ δείσαντες ἀποβαλεῖν πολλῷ χείροσι τὸ βέβαιον αὐτοῖς τῆς παραμονῆς περιποιοῦσιν, [38] ὡς οὐχ ὁμοίου δεινοῦ τυγχάνοντος πορίσασθαι τηλικοῦτον μέγεθος ἐξουσίας, καὶ συνήθη τοῖς ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἀγαθοῖς γενόμενον ἔπειτ᾽ αὐτὴν ἀπολέσαι, τούτου δὲ ὑπερβολὴν ἔχοντος συμφορᾶς. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χαλεπώτερα μηχανῶνται καὶ τολμῶσιν ἐν φόβῳ ἔργα πάντες τοῦτ᾽ ἀποβαλεῖν γενόμενοι. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν βραχέσιν ἀρκεῖ δεδηλῶσθαι.

5. When David had sent Abner away, Joab, the of his army, came immediately to Hebron; he had understood that Abner had been with David, and had parted with him a little before under leagues and agreements that the government should be delivered up to David, he feared lest David should place Abner, who had assisted him to gain the kingdom, in the first rank of dignity, especially since he was a shrewd man in other respects, in understanding affairs, and in managing them artfully, as proper seasons should require, and that he should himself be put lower, and be deprived of the command of the army; so he took a knavish and a wicked course. In the first place, he endeavored to calumniate Abner to the king, exhorting him to have a care of him, and not to give attention to what he had

engaged to do for him, because all he did tended to confirm the government to Saul's son; that he came to him deceitfully and with guile, and was gone away in hopes of gaining his purpose by this management: but when he could not thus persuade David, nor saw him at all exasperated, he betook himself to a project bolder than the former: — he determined to kill Abner; and in order thereto, he sent some messengers after him, to whom he gave in charge, that when they should overtake him they should recall him in David's name, and tell him that he had somewhat to say to him about his affairs, which he had not remembered to speak of when he was with him. Now when Abner heard what the messengers said, [for they overtook him in a certain place called Besira, which was distant from Hebron twenty furlongs,] he suspected none of the mischief which was befalling him, and came back. Hereupon Joab met him in the gate, and received him in the kindest manner, as if he were Abner's most benevolent acquaintance and friend; for such as undertake the vilest actions, in order to prevent the suspicion of any private mischief intended, do frequently make the greatest pretenses to what really good men sincerely do. So he took him aside from his own followers, as if he would speak with him in private, and brought him into a void place of the gate, having himself nobody with him but his brother Abishai; then he drew his sword, and smote him in the groin; upon which Abner died by this treachery of Joab, which, as he said himself, was in the way of punishment for his brother Asahel, whom Abner smote and slew as he was pursuing after him in the battle of Hebron, but as the truth was, out of his fear of losing his command of the army, and his dignity with the king, and lest he should be deprived of those advantages, and Abner should obtain the first rank in David's court. By these examples any one may learn how many and how great instances of wickedness men will venture upon for the sake of getting money and authority, and that they may not fail of either of them; for as when they are desirous of obtaining the same, they acquire them by ten thousand evil practices; so when they are afraid of losing them, they get them confirmed to them by practices much worse than the former, as if no other calamity so terrible could befall them as the failure of acquiring so exalted an authority; and when they have acquired it, and by long custom found the sweetness of it, the losing it again: and since this last would be the heaviest of all afflictions they all of them contrive and venture upon the most difficult actions, out of the fear of losing the same. But let it suffice that I have made these short reflections upon that subject.

(6) [39] Δαυίδης δ' ἀκούσας ἀνῃρημένον τὸν Ἀβεννῆρον ἤλγησε μὲν τὴν ψυχήν, ἐμαρτύρατο δὲ πάντας ἀνατείνων εἰς τὸν θεὸν τὴν δεξιὰν καὶ βοῶν, ὡς οὔτε κοινωνὸς εἴη τῆς Ἀβεννήρου σφαγῆς, οὔτε κατ' ἐντολὴν καὶ βούλησιν ἰδίαν

ἀποθάνοι. ἀρὰς δὲ κατὰ τοῦ πεφονευκότος αὐτὸν δεινὰς ἐτίθετο καὶ τὸν οἶκον ὅλον αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς συμπράξαντας ὑπευθύνους ἐποιεῖτο ταῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος ποιναῖς: [40] ἔμελε γὰρ αὐτῷ μὴ δόξαι παρὰ τὰς πίστεις καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους οὓς ἔδωκεν Ἀβεννήρῳ τοῦτο εἰργάσθαι. προσέταξε μέντοι γε παντὶ τῷ λαῷ κλαίειν καὶ πενθεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τοῖς νομιζομένοις τιμᾶν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα περιρρηξαμένῳ μὲν τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἐνδύντι δὲ σάκκους, ταῦτα δὲ ποιεῖν προάγοντας τὴν κλίνην. [41] αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἐφείπετο μετὰ τῶν γεγηρακότων καὶ τῶν ἐν ἡγεμονίαις ὄντων κοπτόμενός τε καὶ τοῖς δακρύοις ἐνδεικνύμενος τό τε εὔνουν τὸ πρὸς [τὸν] ζῶντα καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τεθνηκότι λύπην, καὶ ὅτι μὴ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην ἀνῄρηται. [42] θάψας δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐν Γιβρῶνι μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ ἐπιταφίους τε συγγραψάμενος θρήνους αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου στὰς πρῶτος ἀνεκλαύσατο καὶ παρέδωκε τοῖς ἄλλοις. οὕτως δ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀβεννήρου συνέσχε θάνατος, ὡς μηδὲ τροφὴν ἀναγκαζόντων αὐτὸν τῶν ἑταίρων λαβεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ὤμοσε γεύσεσθαι μηδενὸς ἄχρι ἡλίου δυσμῶν. [43] ταῦτ᾽ εὔνοιαν αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἐγέννησεν: οἵ τε γὰρ πρὸς τὸν Ἀβεννῆρον φιλοστόργως διακείμενοι σφόδρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν τιμὴν ἀποθανόντα καὶ φυλακὴν τῆς πίστεως ἠγάπησαν, ὅτι πάντων αὐτὸν ἀξιώσειεν τῶν νομιζομένων ὡς συγγενῆ καὶ φίλον, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ ὡς ἐχθρὸν γενόμενον ὑβρίσειεν ἀκόσμῳ ταφῇ καὶ ἠμελημένῃ: τό τε ἄλλο πᾶν ὡς ἐπὶ χρηστῷ καὶ ἡμέρῳ τὴν φύσιν ἔχαιρε, τὴν αὐτὴν ἑκάστου λογιζομένου πρόνοιαν εἰς αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις τυγχάνοντα τὸν Ἀβεννήρου νεκρὸν ἑώρα. [44] πρὸς τούτοις οὖν μάλιστα Δαυίδην γλίχεσθαι δόξης ἀγαθῆς ποιούμενον πρόνοιαν ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν οὐθεὶς ὑπενόησεν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ φονευθῆναι τὸν Ἀβεννῆρον: ἔλεξε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος, ὡς αὐτῷ μὲν οὐχ ἡ τυχοῦσα λύπη γένοιτ᾽ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ τετελευτηκότος, οὐ μικρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἑβραίων πράγμασι βλάβη στερηθέντων αὐτοῦ καὶ συνέχειν αὐτὰ καὶ σώζειν βουλαῖς τε ἀρίσταις καὶ ῥώμῃ χειρῶν ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἔργοις δυναμένου. [45] “ἀλλὰ θεὸς μέν, εἶπεν, ᾧ μέλει πάντων, οὐκ ἐάσει τοῦτον ἡμῖν ἀνεκδίκητον: ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἐπίστασθε, ὡς οὐδὲν Ἰώαβον καὶ Ἀβεσσαῖον τοὺς Σαρουίας παῖδας ποιεῖν ἱκανός εἰμι πλέον ἐμοῦ δυναμένους, ἀλλ᾽ ἀποδώσει τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν τετολμημένων αὐτοῖς ἀμοιβὴν τὸ θεῖον.” καὶ Ἀβεννῆρος μὲν εἰς τοιοῦτο κατέστρεψε τέλος τὸν βίον.

6. When David heard that Abner was slain, it grieved his soul; and he called all men to witness, with stretching out his hands to God, and crying out that he was not a partaker in the murder of Abner, and that his death was not procured by his command or approbation. He also wished the heaviest curses might light upon him that slew him and upon his whole house; and he devoted those that had assisted him in this murder to the same penalties on its account; for he took care not to appear to have had any hand in this murder, contrary to the assurances he had given and the oaths he had taken to Abner. However, he commanded all the

people to weep and lament this man, and to honor his dead body with the usual solemnities; that is, by rending their garments, and putting on sackcloth, and that things should be the habit in which they should go before the bier; after which he followed it himself, with the elders and those that were rulers, lamenting Abner, and by his tears demonstrating his good-will to him while he was alive, and his sorrow for him now he was dead, and that he was not taken off with his consent. So he buried him at Hebron in a magnificent manner, and indited funeral elegies for him; he also stood first over the monument weeping, and caused others to do the same; nay, so deeply did the death of Abner disorder him, that his companions could by no means force him to take any food, but he affirmed with an oath that he would taste nothing till the sun was set. This procedure gained him the good-will of the multitude; for such as had an affection for Abner were mightily satisfied with the respect he paid him when he was dead, and the observation of that faith he had plighted to him, which was shown in his vouchsafing him all the usual ceremonies, as if he had been his kinsman and his friend, and not suffering him to be neglected and injured with a dishonorable burial, as if he had been his enemy; insomuch that the entire nation rejoiced at the king's gentleness and mildness of disposition, every one being ready to suppose that the king would have taken the same care of them in the like circumstances, which they saw be showed in the burial of the dead body of Abner. And indeed David principally intended to gain a good reputation, and therefore he took care to do what was proper in this case, whence none had any suspicion that he was the author of Abner's death. He also said this to the multitude, that he was greatly troubled at the death of so good a man; and that the affairs of the Hebrews had suffered great detriment by being deprived of him, who was of so great abilities to preserve them by his excellent advice, and by the strength of his hands in war. But he added, that "God, who hath a regard to all men's actions, will not suffer this man [Joab] to go off unrevenged; but know ye, that I am not able to do any thing to these sons of Zeruiah, Joab and Abishai, who have more power than I have; but God will requite their insolent attempts upon their own heads." And this was the fatal conclusion of the life of Abner.

II

CHAPTER 2. That Upon The Slaughter Of Ishbosheth By The Treachery Of His Friends, David Received The Whole Kingdom.

(1) [46] Ἀκούσας δὲ τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτοῦ ὁ Σαούλου παῖς Ἰέβωσθος οὐ πρᾴως ἤνεγκεν ἀνδρὸς ἐστερημένος συγγενοῦς καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῷ παρασχόντος, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπερεπάθησε καὶ λίαν αὐτὸν ὠδύνησεν ὁ Ἀβεννήρου θάνατος. ἐπεβίω δ᾽ οὐδ᾽ αὐτὸς πολὺν χρόνον, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐρέμμωνος υἱῶν Βανά, ἑτέρῳ δὲ Θαηνὸς ὄνομα ἦν, ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ἀπέθανεν. [47] οὗτοι γὰρ ὄντες τὸ μὲν γένος Βενιαμῖται τοῦ δὲ πρώτου τάγματος, λογισάμενοι δ᾽ ὡς ἂν ἀποκτείνωσι τὸν Ἰέβωσθον μεγάλων παρὰ Δαυίδου τεύξονται δωρεῶν καὶ στρατηγίας ἤ τινος ἄλλης πίστεως τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς ἔσται παρ᾽ αὐτῷ αἴτιον, [48] μόνον εὑρόντες μεσημβρίζοντα καὶ κοιμώμενον τὸν Ἰέβωσθον καὶ μήτε τοὺς φύλακας παρόντας μήτε τὴν θυρωρὸν ἐγρηγορυῖαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴν ὑπό τε τοῦ κόπου καὶ τῆς ἐργασίας ἣν μετεχειρίζετο καὶ τοῦ καύματος εἰς ὕπνον καταπεσοῦσαν, παρελθόντες εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον, ἐν ᾧ συνέβαινε κατακεκοιμῆσθαι τὸν Σαούλου παῖδα, κτείνουσιν αὐτόν. [49] καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμόντες καὶ δι᾽ ὅλης νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ποιησάμενοι τὴν πορείαν, ὡς ἂν φεύγοντες ἐκ τῶν ἠδικημένων πρὸς τὸν ληψόμενόν τε τὴν χάριν καὶ παρέξοντα τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, εἰς Γιβρῶνα παρεγένοντο: καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπιδείξαντες τῷ Δαυίδῃ τὴν Ἰεβώσθου συνίστων αὐτοὺς ὡς εὔνους καὶ τὸν ἐχθρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἀνταγωνιστὴν ἀνῃρηκότας. [50] ὁ δ᾽ οὐχ ὡς ἤλπιζον οὕτως αὐτῶν προσεδέξατο τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλ᾽ εἰπών, “ὦ κάκιστοι καὶ παραχρῆμα δίκην ὑφέξοντες, οὐκ ἔγνωτε πῶς ἐγὼ τὸν Σαούλου φονέα καὶ τὸν κομίσαντά μοι τὸν χρυσοῦν αὐτοῦ στέφανον ἠμυνάμην, καὶ ταῦτα ἐκείνῳ χαριζόμενον τὴν ἀναίρεσιν, ἵνα μὴ συλλάβωσιν αὐτὸν οἱ πολέμιοι; [51] ἦ μεταβεβλῆσθαί με καὶ μηκέτ᾽ εἶναι τὸν αὐτὸν ὑπωπτεύσατε, ὡς χαίρειν κακούργοις ἀνδράσι καὶ χάριτας ἡγήσασθαι τὰς κυριοκτόνους ὑμῶν πράξεις, ἀνῃρηκότων ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ κοίτης ἄνδρα δίκαιον καὶ μηδένα μηδὲν κακὸν εἰργασμένον, ὑμᾶς δὲ καὶ διὰ πολλῆς εὐνοίας καὶ τιμῆς ἐσχηκότα; [52] διὸ δώσετε ποινὴν μὲν αὐτῷ κολασθέντες, δίκην δ᾽ ἐμοὶ τοῦ νομίσαντας ἡδέως ἔξειν με τὴν Ἰεβώσθου τελευτὴν τοῦτον ἀνελεῖν: οὐ γὰρ ἐδύνασθε μᾶλλον ἀδικῆσαι τὴν ἐμὴν δόξαν ἢ τοῦθ᾽ ὑπολαβόντες.” ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν πᾶσαν αἰκίαν αὐτοὺς αἰκισάμενος διεχρήσατο καὶ τὴν Ἰεβώσθου κεφαλὴν ἐν τῷ Ἀβεννήρου τάφῳ πάντων ἀξιώσας ἐκήδευσε.

1. When Ishbosheth, the son of Saul, had heard of the death of Abner, he took it to heart to be deprived of a man that was of his kindred, and had indeed given

him the kingdom, but was greatly afflicted, and Abner's death very much troubled him; nor did he himself outlive any long time, but was treacherously set upon by the sons of Rimmon, [Baanah and Rechab were their names,] and was slain by them; for these being of a family of the Benjamites, and of the first rank among them, thought that if they should slay Ishbosheth, they should obtain large presents from David, and be made commanders by him, or, however, should have some other trust committed to them. So when they once found him alone, and asleep at noon, in an upper room, when none of his guards were there, and when the woman that kept the door was not watching, but was fallen asleep also, partly on account of the labor she had undergone, and partly on account of the heat of the day, these men went into the room in which Ishbosheth, Saul's son, lay asleep, and slew him; they also cut off his head, and took their journey all that night, and the next day, as supposing themselves flying away from those they had injured, to one that would accept of this action as a favor, and would afford them security. So they came to Hebron, and showed David the head of Ishbosheth, and presented themselves to him as his well-wishers, and such as had killed one that was his enemy and antagonist. Yet David did not relish what they had done as they expected, but said to them, "You vile wretches, you shall immediately receive the punishment you deserve. Did not you know what vengeance I executed on him that murdered Saul, and brought me his crown of gold, and this while he who made this slaughter did it as a favor to him, that he might not be caught by his enemies? Or do you imagine that I am altered in my disposition, and suppose that I am not the same man I then was, but am pleased with men that are wicked doers, and esteem your vile actions, when you are become murderers of your master, as grateful to me, when you have slain a righteous man upon his bed, who never did evil to any body, and treated you with great good-will and respect? Wherefore you shall suffer the punishment due on his account, and the vengeance I ought to inflict upon you for killing Ishbosheth, and for supposing that I should take his death kindly at your hands; for you could not lay a greater blot on my honor, than by making such a supposal." When David had said this, he tormented them with all sorts of torments, and then put them to death; and he bestowed all accustomed rites on the burial of the head of Ishbosheth, and laid it in the grave of Abner.

(2) [53] Τούτων δὲ τοιοῦτον λαβόντων τέλος ἦκον ἅπαντες οἱ τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν Ἑβραίων πρῶτοι πρὸς Δαυίδην εἰς Γιβρῶνα οἵ τε χιλίαρχοι καὶ ἡγεμόνες αὐτῶν, καὶ παρεδίδοσαν αὐτοὺς τήν τε εὔνοιαν, ἣν ἔτι καὶ Σαούλου ζῶντος εἶχον πρὸς αὐτόν, ὑπομιμνήσκοντες καὶ τὴν τιμήν, ἣν γενόμενον τότε χιλίαρχον τιμῶντες οὐ διέλιπον, ὅτι τε βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ Σαμουήλου τοῦ προφήτου

χειροτονηθείη καὶ παῖδες αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡς τὴν Ἑβραίων χώραν αὐτῷ σῶσαι καταγωνισαμένῳ Παλαιστίνους δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς ἐμφανίζοντες. [54] ὁ δὲ ταύτης τε ἀποδέχεται τῆς προθυμίας αὐτοὺς καὶ παρακαλέσας διαμένειν, οὐ γὰρ ἔσεσθαι μετάνοιαν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου, καὶ κατευωχήσας καὶ φιλοφρονησάμενος ἔπεμψε τὸν λαὸν παρ᾽ αὐτὸν ἄξοντας ἅπαντα. [55] καὶ συνῆλθον ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς ὁπλιτῶν ὡς ὀκτακόσιοι καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι φοροῦντες ὅπλα θυρεὸν καὶ σιρομάστην: οὗτοι δὲ τῷ Σαούλου παιδὶ παρέμενον: τούτων γὰρ χωρὶς ἡ Ἰούδα φυλὴ τὸν Δαυίδην ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα. [56] ἐκ δὲ τῆς Συμεωνίδος φυλῆς ἑπτακισχίλιοι καὶ ἑκατόν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ληουίτιδος τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ ἑπτακόσιοι ἔχοντες ἄρχοντα Ἰώδαμον: μετὰ τούτοις ἦν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Σάδωκος σὺν εἴκοσι δύο συγγενέσιν ἡγεμόσιν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς ὁπλῖται τετρακισχίλιοι: ἡ γὰρ φυλὴ περιέμενεν ἔτι τῶν τοῦ γένους Σαούλου τινὰ βασιλεύσειν προσδοκῶσα. [57] ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἐφραίμου φυλῆς δισμύριοι καὶ ὀκτακόσιοι τῶν δυνατωτάτων καὶ κατ᾽ ἰσχὺν διαφερόντων. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μανασσήτιδος φυλῆς τοῦ ἡμίσους μύριοι ὀκτακισχίλιοι [τῶν δυνατωτάτων]. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰσαχάρου φυλῆς διακόσιοι μὲν οἱ προγινώσκοντες τὰ μέλλοντα, ὁπλῖται δὲ δισμύριοι. [58] ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ζαβουλωνίτιδος φυλῆς ὁπλιτῶν ἐπιλέκτων πέντε μυριάδες: αὕτη γὰρ ἡ φυλὴ μόνη πᾶσα πρὸς Δαυίδην συνῆλθεν: οὗτοι πάντες τὸν αὐτὸν ὁπλισμὸν εἶχον τοῖς τῆς Γάδου φυλῆς. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Νεφθαλίδος φυλῆς ἐπίσημοι καὶ ἡγεμόνες χίλιοι ὅπλοις χρώμενοι θυρεῷ καὶ δόρατι, ἠκολούθει δὲ φυλὴ ἀναρίθμητος οὖσα. [59] ἐκ δὲ τῆς Δανίτιδος φυλῆς ἐκλεκτοὶ δισμύριοι ἑπτακισχίλιοι ἑξακόσιοι. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἀσήρου φυλῆς μυριάδες τέσσαρες. ἐκ δὲ τῶν δύο φυλῶν τῶν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ τῆς Μανασσήτιδος φυλῆς ὡπλισμένων θυρεὸν καὶ δόρυ καὶ περικεφαλαίαν καὶ ῥομφαίαν μυριάδες δώδεκα: καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ φυλαὶ ῥομφαίαις ἐχρῶντο. [60] τοῦτο δὴ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος εἰς Γιβρῶνα πρὸς Δαυίδην συνῆλθε μετὰ πολλῆς παρασκευῆς σιτίων καὶ οἴνου καὶ τῶν πρὸς τροφὴν πάντων καὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ βασιλεύειν τὸν Δαυίδην ἐκύρωσαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἑορτάσαντος τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ κατευωχηθέντος ἐν Γιβρῶνι, ὁ Δαυίδης μετὰ πάντων ἐκεῖθεν ἄρας ἦκεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.

2. When these things were brought to this conclusion, all the principal men of the Hebrew people came to David to Hebron, with the heads of thousands, and other rulers, and delivered themselves up to him, putting him in mind of the good-will they had borne to him in Saul’s lifetime, and the respect they then had not ceased to pay him when he was captain of a thousand, as also that he was chosen of God by Samuel the prophet, he and his sons; and declaring besides, how God had given him power to save the land of the Hebrews, and to overcome the Philistines. Whereupon he received kindly this their alacrity on his account; and exhorted them to continue in it, for that they should have no reason to repent of

being thus disposed to him. So when he had feasted them, and treated them kindly, he sent them out to bring all the people to him; upon which came to him about six thousand and eight hundred armed men of the tribe of Judah, who bare shields and spears for their weapons, for these had [till now] continued with Saul's son, when the rest of the tribe of Judah had ordained David for their king. There came also seven thousand and one hundred out of the tribe of Simeon. Out of the tribe of Levi came four thousand and seven hundred, having Jehoiada for their leader. After these came Zadok the high priest, with twenty-two captains of his kindred. Out of the tribe of Benjamin the armed men were four thousand; but the rest of the tribe continued, still expecting that some one of the house of Saul should reign over them. Those of the tribe of Ephraim were twenty thousand and eight hundred, and these mighty men of valor, and eminent for their strength. Out of the half tribe of Manasseh came eighteen thousand, of the most potent men. Out of the tribe of Issachar came two hundred, who foreknew what was to come hereafter, but of armed men twenty thousand. Of the tribe of Zebulon fifty thousand chosen men. This was the only tribe that came universally in to David, and all these had the same weapons with the tribe of Gad. Out of the tribe of Naphtali the eminent men and rulers were one thousand, whose weapons were shields and spears, and the tribe itself followed after, being [in a manner] innumerable [thirty-seven thousand]. Out of the tribe of Dan there were of chosen men twenty-seven thousand and six hundred. Out of the tribe of Asher were forty thousand. Out of the two tribes that were beyond Jordan, and the rest of the tribe of Manasseh, such as used shields, and spears, and head-pieces, and swords, were a hundred and twenty thousand. The rest of the tribes also made use of swords. This multitude came together to Hebron to David, with a great quantity of corn, and wine, and all other sorts of food, and established David in his kingdom with one consent. And when the people had rejoiced for three days in Hebron, David and all the people removed and came to Jerusalem.

III

CHAPTER 3. How David Laid Siege To Jerusalem; And When He Had Taken The City, He Cast The Canaanites Out Of It, And Brought In The Jews To Inhabit Therein.

(1) [61] Τῶν δὲ κατοικούντων τὴν πόλιν Ἰεβουσαίων, γένος δ' εἰσὶν οὗτοι Χαναναίων, ἀποκλεισάντων αὐτῷ τὰς πύλας καὶ τοὺς πεπηρωμένους τὰς ὄψεις καὶ τὰς βάσεις καὶ πᾶν τὸ λελωβημένον στησάντων ἐπὶ χλεύῃ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους καὶ λεγόντων κωλύσειν αὐτὸν εἰσελθεῖν τοὺς ἀναπήρους, ταῦτα δ' ἔπραττον καταφρονοῦντες τῇ τῶν τειχῶν ὀχυρότητι, ὀργισθεὶς πολιορκεῖν ἤρξατο τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. [62] καὶ πολλῇ σπουδῇ καὶ προθυμίᾳ χρησάμενος ὡς διὰ τοῦ ταύτην ἑλεῖν εὐθὺς ἐμφανίζων τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ καταπληξόμενος εἴ τινες ἄρα καὶ ἄλλοι τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνοις τρόπον διέκειντο πρὸς αὐτόν, λαμβάνει κατὰ κράτος τὴν κάτω πόλιν. [63] ἔτι δὲ τῆς ἄκρας λειπομένης ἔγνω τιμῆς ὑποσχέσει καὶ γερῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς προθυμοτέρους ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τοὺς στρατιώτας παρασκευάσαι, καὶ τῷ διὰ τῶν ὑποκειμένων φαράγγων ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν ἀναβάντι καὶ ταύτην ἑλόντι στρατηγίαν ἅπαντος τοῦ λαοῦ δώσειν ἐπηγγείλατο. [64] πάντων δὲ φιλοτιμουμένων ἀναβῆναι καὶ μηδένα πόνον ὀκνούντων ὑφίστασθαι δι' ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς στρατηγίας, ὁ Σαρουίας παῖς Ἰώαβος ἔφθη τοὺς ἄλλους, καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐβόησε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀπαιτῶν.

1. Now the Jebusites, who were the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and were by extraction Canaanites, shut their gates, and placed the blind, and the lame, and all their maimed persons, upon the wall, in way of derision of the king, and said that the very lame themselves would hinder his entrance into it. This they did out of contempt of his power, and as depending on the strength of their walls. David was hereby enraged, and began the siege of Jerusalem, and employed his utmost diligence and alacrity therein, as intending by the taking of this place to demonstrate his power, and to intimidate all others that might be of the like [evil] disposition towards him. So he took the lower city by force, but the citadel held out still; whence it was that the king, knowing that the proposal of dignities and rewards would encourage the soldiers to greater actions, promised that he who should first go over the ditches that were beneath the citadel, and should ascend to the citadel itself and take it, should have the command of the entire people conferred upon him. So they all were ambitious to ascend, and thought no pains too great in order to ascend thither, out of their desire of the chief command. However, Joab, the son of Zeruiah, prevented the rest; and as soon as

he was got up to the citadel, cried out to the king, and claimed the chief command.

(2) [65] Ἐκβαλὼν δὲ τοὺς Ἰεβουσαίους ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνοικοδομήσας τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πόλιν αὐτὴν Δαυίδου προσηγόρευσε, καὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐν αὐτῇ διέτριβε βασιλεύων. ὁ δὲ χρόνος ὃν τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς ἦρξε μόνης ἐν Γιβρῶνι ἐγένετο ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ μῆνες ἕξ. ἀποδείξας δὲ βασίλειον τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα λαμπροτέροις αἰεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐχρῆτο τοῖς πράγμασι τοῦ θεοῦ προνοουμένου κρείττω ποιεῖν αὐτὰ καὶ λαμβάνειν ἐπίδοσιν. [66] πέμψας δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ Ἱέρωμος ὁ Τυρίων βασιλεὺς φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν συνέθετο: ἔπεμψε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ δωρεὰς ξύλα κέδρινα καὶ τεχνίτας ἄνδρας τέκτονας καὶ οἰκοδόμους, οἳ κατεσκεύασαν βασίλειον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. Δαυίδης δὲ τήν τε ἄνω πόλιν παραλαβὼν καὶ τὴν ἄκραν συνάψας αὐτῇ ἐποίησεν ἓν σῶμα, καὶ περιτειχίσας ἐπιμελητὴν τῶν τειχῶν κατέστησεν Ἰώαβον. [67] πρῶτος οὖν Δαυίδης τοὺς Ἰεβουσαίους ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκβαλὼν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσηγόρευσε τὴν πόλιν: ἐπὶ γὰρ Ἀβράμου τοῦ προγόνου ἡμῶν Σόλυμα ἐκαλεῖτο, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ αὐτήν φασί τινες, ὅτι καὶ Ὅμηρος ταῦτ' ὠνόμασεν Ἱεροσόλυμα: τὸ γὰρ ἱεροῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων γλῶτταν ὠνόμασε τὰ Σόλυμα ὅ ἐστιν ἀσφάλεια. [68] ἦν δὲ πᾶς ὁ χρόνος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰησοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐπὶ Χαναναίους στρατείας καὶ τοῦ πολέμου, καθ' ὃν κρατήσας αὐτῶν κατένειμε ταύτην τοῖς Ἑβραίοις καὶ οὐκέτι τοὺς Χαναναίους ἐκβαλεῖν ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐδυνήθησαν οἱ Ἰσραηλῖται, μέχρις ὁ Δαυίδης αὐτοὺς ἐξεπολιόρκησεν, ἔτη πεντακόσια καὶ δέκα καὶ πέντε.

2. When David had cast the Jebusites out of the citadel, he also rebuilt Jerusalem, and named it The City of David, and abode there all the time of his reign; but for the time that he reigned over the tribe of Judah only in Hebron, it was seven years and six months. Now when he had chosen Jerusalem to be his royal city, his affairs did more and more prosper, by the providence of God, who took care that they should improve and be augmented. Hiram also, the king of the Tyrians, sent ambassadors to him, and made a league of mutual friendship and assistance with him. He also sent him presents, cedar-trees, and mechanics, and men skillful in building and architecture, that they might build him a royal palace at Jerusalem. Now David made buildings round about the lower city: he also joined the citadel to it, and made it one body; and when he had encompassed all with walls, he appointed Joab to take care of them. It was David, therefore, who first cast the Jebusites out of Jerusalem, and called it by his own name, The City of David: for under our forefather Abraham it was called [Salem, or] Solyma; but after that time, some say that Homer mentions it by that name of Solyma, [for he named the temple Solyma, according to the Hebrew language, which denotes security.] Now the whole time from the warfare under Joshua our general against

the Canaanites, and from that war in which he overcame them, and distributed the land among the Hebrews, [nor could the Israelites ever cast the Canaanites out of Jerusalem until this time, when David took it by siege,] this whole time was five hundred and fifteen years.

(3) [69] Ποιήσομαι δὲ καὶ μνήμην Ὀρόνα πλουσίου μὲν ἀνδρὸς τῶν Ἰεβουσαίων, οὐκ ἀναιρεθέντος δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἱεροσολύμων πολιορκίᾳ ὑπὸ Δαυίδου διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἑβραίους εὔνοιαν αὐτοῦ καί τινα καὶ χάριν καὶ σπουδὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν γενομένην τὸν βασιλέα, ἣν μικρὸν ὕστερον εὐκαιρότερον σημανῶ. [70] ἔγημε δὲ καὶ ἄλλας γυναῖκας πρὸς ταῖς οὔσαις αὐτῷ Δαυίδης καὶ παλλακὰς ἔσχεν. ἐποιήσατο δὲ καὶ παῖδας ἐννέα τὸν ἀριθμόν, οὓς προσηγόρευσεν Ἀμασέ, Ἀμνου, Σεβάν, Νάθαν, Σολομῶνα, Ἰεβαρῆ, Ἐλιήν, Φαλναγέην, Ναφήν, Ἰεναέ, Ἐλιφαλέ, ἔτι δὲ καὶ θυγατέρα Θαμάραν. τούτων οἱ μὲν ἐννέα ἐξ εὐγενίδων ἦσαν γεγονότες, οὓς δὲ τελευταίους εἰρήκαμεν δύο ἐκ τῶν παλλακίδων. Θαμάρα δὲ ὁμομήτριος Ἀψαλώμῳ ἦν.

3. I shall now make mention of Araunah, who was a wealthy man among the Jebusites, but was not slain by David in the siege of Jerusalem, because of the good-will he bore to the Hebrews, and a particular benignity and affection which he had to the king himself; which I shall take a more seasonable opportunity to speak of a little afterwards. Now David married other wives over and above those which he had before: he had also concubines. The sons whom he had were in number eleven, whose names were Amnon, Emnos, Eban, Nathan, Solomon, Jeban, Elien, Phalna, Ennaphen, Jenae, Eliphale; and a daughter, Tamar. Nine of these were born of legitimate wives, but the two last-named of concubines; and Tamar had the same mother with Absalom.

IV

CHAPTER 4. That When David Had Conquered The Philistines Who Made War Against Him At Jerusalem, He Removed The Ark To Jerusalem And Had A Mind To Build A Temple.

(1) [71] Γνόντες δ' οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι τὸν Δαυίδην βασιλέα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἀποδεδειγμένον στρατεύουσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα: καὶ καταλαβόμενοι τὴν κοιλάδα τῶν Γιγάντων καλουμένην, τόπος δέ ἐστιν οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως, ἐν αὐτῇ στρατοπεδεύονται. [72] ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλεύς, οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄνευ προφητείας καὶ τοῦ κελεῦσαι τὸν θεὸν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐσομένων λαβεῖν ἐγγυητὴν ἐκεῖνον ἑαυτῷ ποιεῖν ἐπέτρεπεν, ἐκέλευσε τὸν ἀρχιερέα τί δοκεῖ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ποδαπὸν ἔσται τὸ τέλος τῆς μάχης προλέγειν αὐτῷ. [73] προφητεύσαντος δὲ νίκην καὶ κράτος ἐξάγει τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Παλαιστίνους: καὶ γενομένης συμβολῆς αὐτὸς κατόπιν αἰφνιδίως ἐπιπεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ εἰς φυγὴν ἐτρέψατο. [74] ὑπολάβῃ δὲ μηδεὶς ὀλίγην τὴν τῶν Παλαιστίνων στρατιὰν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους τῷ τάχει τῆς ἥττης καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἔργον ἐπιδείξασθαι γενναῖον μηδὲ μαρτυρίας ἄξιον στοχαζόμενος αὐτῶν τὴν βραδυτῆτα καὶ τὴν ἀγέννειαν, ἀλλὰ γινωσκέτω Συρίαν τε ἅπασαν καὶ Φοινίκην καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἄλλα ἔθνη πολλὰ καὶ μάχιμα συστρατεῦσαι αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦ πολέμου κοινωνῆσαι, [75] ὃ καὶ μόνον ἦν αἴτιον τοσαυτάκις αὐτοῖς νικωμένοις καὶ πολλὰς ἀποβαλοῦσι μυριάδας μετὰ μείζονος ἐπιέναι τοῖς Ἑβραίοις δυνάμεως. ἀμέλει καὶ ταύταις πταίσαντες ταῖς μάχαις τριπλάσιος στρατὸς ἐπῆλθε τῷ Δαυίδῃ καὶ εἰς ταὐτὸ χωρίον ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο. [76] πάλιν δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐρομένου τὸν θεὸν περὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν μάχην ἐξόδου, προφητεύει ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐν τοῖς ἄλσεσι τοῖς καλουμένοις Κλαυθμῶσι κατέχειν τὴν στρατιὰν οὐκ ἄπωθεν τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπέδου, κινεῖν δ' αὐτὸν μὴ πρότερον μηδ' ἄρχεσθαι τῆς μάχης. [77] πρὶν ἢ τὰ ἄλση σαλεύεσθαι μὴ πνέοντος ἀνέμου. ὡς δ' ἐσαλεύθη τὰ ἄλση καὶ ὃν αὐτῷ καιρὸν προεῖπεν ὁ θεὸς παρῆν, οὐδὲν ἐπισχὼν ἐφ' ἑτοίμην ἤδη καὶ φανερὰν ἐξῆλθε τὴν νίκην: οὐ γὰρ ὑπέμειναν αὐτὸν αἱ τῶν πολεμίων φάλαγγες, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης συμβολῆς τραπέντας ἐνέκειτο κτείνων: καὶ διώκει μὲν αὐτοὺς ἄχρι πόλεως Γαζάρων, ἡ δ' ἐστὶν ὅρος αὐτῶν τῆς χώρας, διαρπάζει δ' αὐτῶν τὴν παρεμβολὴν καὶ πολὺν εὑρὼν ἐν αὐτῇ πλοῦτον καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῶν διέφθειρε.

1. When the Philistines understood that David was made king of the Hebrews, they made war against him at Jerusalem; and when they had seized upon that valley which is called The Valley of the Giants, and is a place not far from the

city, they pitched their camp therein; but the king of the Jews, who never permitted himself to do any thing without prophecy, and the command of God and without depending on him as a security for the time to come, bade the high priest to foretell to him what was the will of God, and what would be the event of this battle. And when he foretold that he should gain the victory and the dominion, he led out his army against the Philistines; and when the battle was joined, he came himself behind, and fell upon the enemy on the sudden, and slew some of them, and put the rest to flight. And let no one suppose that it was a small army of the Philistines that came against the Hebrews, as guessing so from the suddenness of their defeat, and from their having performed no great action, or that was worth recording, from the slowness of their march, and want of courage; but let him know that all Syria and Phoenicia, with many other nations besides them, and those warlike nations also, came to their assistance, and had a share in this war, which thing was the only cause why, when they had been so often conquered, and had lost so many ten thousands of their men, they still came upon the Hebrews with greater armies; nay, indeed, when they had so often failed of their purpose in these battles, they came upon David with an army three times as numerous as before, and pitched their camp on the same spot of ground as before. The king of Israel therefore inquired of God again concerning the event of the battle; and the high priest prophesied to him, that he should keep his army in the groves, called the Groves of Weeping, which were not far from the enemy's camp, and that he should not move, nor begin to fight, till the trees of the grove should be in motion without the wind's blowing; but as soon as these trees moved, and the time foretold to him by God was come, he should, without delay, go out to gain what was an already prepared and evident victory; for the several ranks of the enemy's army did not sustain him, but retreated at the first onset, whom he closely followed, and slew them as he went along, and pursued them to the city Gaza [which is the limit of their country]: after this he spoiled their camp, in which he found great riches; and he destroyed their gods.

(2) [78] Τοιαύτης δ' ἀποβάσης καὶ ταύτης τῆς μάχης ἔδοξε Δαυίδῃ συμβουλευσαμένῳ μετὰ τῶν γερόντων καὶ ἡγεμόνων καὶ χιλιάρχων μεταπέμψασθαι τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς χώρας πρὸς αὐτὸν τοὺς ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς ἡλικίας, ἔπειτα τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ Ληουίτας [καὶ] πορευθέντας εἰς Καριαθιάριμα μετακομίσαι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ κιβωτὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ θρησκεύειν ἐν αὐτῇ λοιπὸν ἔχοντας αὐτὴν θυσίαις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τιμαῖς, αἷς χαίρει τὸ θεῖον: [79] εἰ γὰρ ἔτι Σαούλου βασιλεύοντος τοῦτ' ἔπραξαν, οὐκ ἂν δεινὸν οὐδὲν ἔπαθον. συνελθόντος οὖν τοῦ λαοῦ παντός, καθὼς ἐβουλεύσαντο, παραγίνεται ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὴν κιβωτόν, ἣν βαστάξαντες ἐκ τῆς Ἀμιναδάβου

οἰκίας οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ ἐπιθέντες ἐφ᾽ ἅμαξαν καινὴν ἕλκειν ἀδελφοῖς τε καὶ παισὶν ἐπέτρεψαν μετὰ τῶν βοῶν. [80] προῆγε δ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ πᾶν σὺν αὐτῷ τὸ πλῆθος ὑμνοῦντες τὸν θεὸν καὶ ᾄδοντες πᾶν εἶδος μέλους ἐπιχώριον σύν τε ἤχῳ ποικίλῳ κρουσμάτων τε καὶ ὀρχήσεων καὶ ψαλμῶν ἔτι δὲ σάλπιγγος καὶ κυμβάλων κατάγοντες τὴν κιβωτὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. [81] ὡς δ᾽ ἄχρι τῆς Χειδῶνος ἅλωνος τόπου τινὸς οὕτω καλουμένου προῆλθον, τελευτᾷ Ὀζᾶς κατ᾽ ὀργὴν τοῦ θεοῦ: τῶν βοῶν γὰρ ἐπινευσάντων τὴν κιβωτὸν ἐκτείναντα τὴν χεῖρα καὶ κατασχεῖν ἐθελήσαντα, ὅτι μὴ ὢν ἱερεὺς ἥψατο ταύτης, ἀποθανεῖν ἐποίησε. [82] καὶ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐδυσφόρησαν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ Ὀζᾶ, ὁ δὲ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἐτελεύτησεν Ὀζᾶ διακοπὴ καλεῖται. δείσας δ᾽ ὁ Δαυίδης καὶ λογισάμενος, μὴ ταὐτὸ πάθῃ τῷ Ὀζᾶ δεξάμενος τὴν κιβωτὸν παρ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἐκείνου διότι μόνον ἐξέτεινε τὴν χεῖρα πρὸς αὐτὴν οὕτως ἀποθανόντος, [83] οὐκ εἰσδέχεται μὲν αὐτὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκνεύσας εἴς τι χωρίον ἀνδρὸς δικαίου, Ὠβαδάρου ἄνομα Ληουίτου τὸ γένος, παρ᾽ αὐτῷ τὴν κιβωτὸν τίθησιν: ἔμεινε δ᾽ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ὅλους μῆνας αὐτόθι καὶ τὸν οἶκον τὸν Ὠβαδάρου ηὔξησέ τε καὶ πολλῶν αὐτῷ μετέδωκεν ἀγαθῶν. [84] ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι ταῦτα συμβέβηκεν Ὠβαδάρῳ καὶ ἐκ πενίας καὶ ταπεινότητος ἀθρόως εὐδαίμων καὶ ζηλωτὸς γέγονε παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ὁρῶσι καὶ πυνθανομένοις τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ, θαρσήσας ὡς οὐδενὸς κακοῦ πειρασόμενος τὴν κιβωτὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν μετακομίζει, [85] τῶν μὲν ἱερέων βασταζόντων αὐτήν, ἑπτὰ δὲ χορῶν οὓς διεκόσμησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς προαγόντων, αὐτοῦ δ᾽ ἐν κινύρᾳ παίζοντος καὶ κροτοῦντος, ὥστε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα Μιχάλην Σαούλου δὲ θυγατέρα τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως ἰδοῦσαν αὐτὸν τοῦτο ποιοῦντα χλευάσαι. [86] εἰσκομίσαντες δὲ τὴν κιβωτὸν τιθέασιν ὑπὸ τὴν σκηνήν, ἣν Δαυίδης ἔπηξεν αὐτῇ, καὶ θυσίας τελείας καὶ εἰρηνικὰς ἀνήνεγκε, καὶ τὸν ὄχλον εἱστίασε πάντα καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ νηπίοις διαδοὺς κολλυρίδα ἄρτου καὶ ἐσχαρίτην καὶ λάγανον τηγανιστὸν καὶ μερίδα θύματος. καὶ τὸν μὲν λαὸν οὕτως κατευωχήσας ἀπέπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δ᾽ εἰς τὸν οἶκον [τὸν] αὐτοῦ παραγίνεται.

2. When this had proved the event of the battle, David thought it proper, upon a consultation with the elders, and rulers, and captains of thousands, to send for those that were in the flower of their age out of all his countrymen, and out of the whole land, and withal for the priests and the Levites, in order to their going to Kirjathjearim, to bring up the ark of God out of that city, and to carry it to Jerusalem, and there to keep it, and offer before it those sacrifices and those other honors with which God used to be well-pleased; for had they done thus in the reign of Saul, they had not undergone any great misfortunes at all. So when the whole body of the people were come together, as they had resolved to do, the king came to the ark, which the priest brought out of the house of Aminadab,

and laid it upon a new cart, and permitted their brethren and their children to draw it, together with the oxen. Before it went the king, and the whole multitude of the people with him, singing hymns to God, and making use of all sorts of songs usual among them, with variety of the sounds of musical instruments, and with dancing and singing of psalms, as also with the sounds of trumpets and of cymbals, and so brought the ark to Jerusalem. But as they were come to the threshing-floor of Chidon, a place so called, Uzzah was slain by the anger of God; for as the oxen shook the ark, he stretched out his hand, and would needs take hold of it. Now, because he was not a priest and yet touched the ark, God struck him dead. Hereupon both the king and the people were displeased at the death of Uzzah; and the place where he died is still called the Breach of Uzzah unto this day. So David was afraid; and supposing that if he received the ark to himself into the city, he might suffer in the like manner as Uzzah had suffered, who, upon his bare putting out his hand to the ark, died in the manner already mentioned, he did not receive it to himself into the city, but he took it aside unto a certain place belonging to a righteous man, whose name was Obededom, who was by his family a Levite, and deposited the ark with him; and it remained there three entire months. This augmented the house of Obededom, and conferred many blessings upon it. And when the king heard what had befallen Obededom, how he was become, of a poor man in a low estate, exceeding happy, and the object of envy to all those that saw or inquired after his house, he took courage, and, hoping that he should meet with no misfortune thereby, he transferred the ark to his own house; the priests carrying it, while seven companies of singers, who were set in that order by the king, went before it, and while he himself played upon the harp, and joined in the music, insomuch, that when his wife Michel, the daughter of Saul, who was our first king, saw him so doing, she laughed at him. But when they had brought in the ark, they placed it under the tabernacle which David had pitched for it, and he offered costly sacrifices and peace-offerings, and treated the whole multitude, and dealt both to the women, and the men, and the infants a loaf of bread and a cake, and another cake baked in a pan, with the portion of the sacrifice. So when he had thus feasted the people, he sent them away, and he himself returned to his own house.

(3) [87] Παραστᾶσα δὲ αὐτῷ Μιχάλη ἡ γυνὴ Σαούλου δὲ θυγάτηρ τά τε ἄλλα αὐτῷ κατηύχετο καὶ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσθαι ἤτει πάνθ᾽ ὅσα παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ δυνατὸν εὐμενεῖ τυγχάνοντι, καὶ δὴ κατεμέμψατο, ὡς ἀκοσμήσειεν ὀρχούμενος ὁ τηλικοῦτος βασιλεὺς καὶ γυμνούμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ὀρχήσεως καὶ [ἐν δούλοις καὶ ἐν] θεραπαινίσιν. [88] ὁ δ᾽ οὐκ αἰδεῖσθαι ταῦτα ποιήσας εἰς τὸ τῷ θεῷ κεχαρισμένον ἔφασκεν, ὃς αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων προετίμησε,

παίζειν τε καὶ πολλάκις χορεῦσαι μηδένα τοῦ δόξαι ταῖς θεραπαινίσιν αἰσχρὸν καὶ αὐτῇ τὸ γινόμενον ποιησάμενος λόγον. [89] ἡ Μιχάλη αὕτη Δαυίδῃ μὲν συνοικοῦσα παῖδας οὐκ ἐποιήσατο, γαμηθεῖσα δὲ ὕστερον ᾧ παρέδωκεν αὐτὴν ὁ πατὴρ Σαοῦλος, τότε δὲ ἀποσπάσας αὐτὸς εἶχε, πέντε παῖδας ἔτεκε. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων κατὰ χώραν δηλώσομεν.

3. But when Michal his wife, the daughter of Saul, came and stood by him, she wished him all other happiness, and entreated that whatsoever he should further desire, to the utmost possibility, might be given him by God, and that he might be favorable to him; yet did she blame him, that so great a king as he was should dance after an unseemly manner, and in his dancing, uncover himself among the servants and the handmaidens. But he replied, that he was not ashamed to do what was acceptable to God, who had preferred him before her father, and before all others; that he would play frequently, and dance, without any regard to what the handmaidens and she herself thought of it. So this Michal, who was David's wife, had no children; however, when she was afterward married to him to whom Saul her father had given her, [for at this time David had taken her away from him, and had her himself,] she bare five children. But concerning those matters I shall discourse in a proper place.

(4) [90] Ὁρῶν δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ πᾶσαν αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα σχεδὸν ἡμέραν ἀμείνω γινόμενα ἐκ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βουλήσεως ἐνόμιζεν ἐξαμαρτάνειν αὐτὸν, εἰ μένων αὐτὸς ἐν οἴκοις ἐκ κέδρου πεποιημένοις ὑψηλοῖς τε καὶ καλλίστην τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν ἔχουσι περιορᾷ τὴν κιβωτὸν ἐν σκηνῇ κειμένην: [91] ἐβούλετο δὲ τῷ θεῷ κατασκευάσαι ναόν, ὡς Μωυσῆς εἶπε, καὶ περὶ τούτων Νάθᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ διαλεχθείς, ἐπεὶ ποιεῖν ὅτιπερ ὥρμηται προσέταξεν αὐτὸν ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς ἅπαντ' αὐτῷ συνεργοῦ παρόντος, εἶχεν ἤδη περὶ τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευὴν προθυμότερον. [92] τοῦ θεοῦ δὲ κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα τῷ Νάθᾳ φανέντος καὶ φράσαι κελεύσαντος τῷ Δαυίδῃ, ὡς τὴν μὲν προαίρεσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἀποδέχεται, μηδενὸς μὲν πρότερον εἰς νοῦν βαλομένου ναὸν αὐτῷ κατασκευάσαι. τούτου δὲ ταύτην τὴν διάνοιαν λαβόντος: οὐκ ἐπιτρέπειν δὲ πολλοὺς πολέμους ἠγωνισμένῳ καὶ φόνῳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μεμιασμένῳ ποιῆσαι ναὸν αὐτῷ. [93] μετὰ μέντοι γε τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ γηράσαντος καὶ μακρὸν ἀνύσαντος βίον γενήσεσθαι τὸν ναὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ μετ' αὐτὸν τὴν βασιλείαν παραληψομένου κληθησομένου δὲ Σολομῶνος, οὗ προστήσεσθαι καὶ προνοήσειν ὡς πατὴρ υἱοῦ κατεπηγγέλλετο, τὴν μὲν βασιλείαν τέκνων ἐγγόνοις φυλάξων καὶ παραδώσων, αὐτὸν δὲ τιμωρήσων, ἂν ἁμαρτὼν τύχῃ, νόσῳ καὶ γῆς ἀφορίᾳ. [94] μαθὼν ταῦτα παρὰ τοῦ προφήτου Δαυίδης καὶ περιχαρὴς γενόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν διαμένουσαν ἐγνωκέναι βεβαίως καὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ λαμπρὸν ἐσόμενον καὶ περιβόητον πρὸς τὴν κιβωτὸν παραγίνεται,

[95] καὶ πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ἤρξατο προσκυνεῖν καὶ περὶ πάντων εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ θεῷ, ὧν τε αὐτῷ παρέσχηκεν ἤδη ἐκ ταπεινοῦ καὶ ποιμένος εἰς τηλικοῦτο μέγεθος ἡγεμονίας τε καὶ δόξης ἀναγαγών, ὧν τε τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐτοῦ καθυπέσχετο, τῆς προνοίας, ἣν Ἑβραίων καὶ τῆς τούτων ἐλευθερίας ἐποιήσατο. ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν καὶ τὸν θεὸν ὑμνήσας ἀπαλλάσσεται.

4. Now when the king saw that his affairs grew better almost every day, by the will of God, he thought he should offend him, if, while he himself continued in houses made of cedar, such as were of a great height, and had the most curious works of architecture in them, he should overlook the ark while it was laid in a tabernacle, and was desirous to build a temple to God, as Moses had predicted such a temple should be built. And when he had discoursed with Nathan the prophet about these things, and had been encouraged by him to do whatsoever he had a mind to do, as having God with him, and his helper in all things, he was thereupon the more ready to set about that building. But God appeared to Nathan that very night, and commanded him to say to David, that he took his purpose and his desires kindly, since nobody had before now taken it into their head to build him a temple, although upon his having such a notion he would not permit him to build him that temple, because he had made many wars, and was defiled with the slaughter of his enemies; that, however, after his death, in his old age, and when he had lived a long life, there should be a temple built by a son of his, who should take the kingdom after him, and should be called Solomon, whom he promised to provide for, as a father provides for his son, by preserving the kingdom for his son's posterity, and delivering it to them; but that he would still punish him, if he sinned, with diseases and barrenness of land. When David understood this from the prophet, and was overjoyful at this knowledge of the sure continuance of the dominion to his posterity, and that his house should be splendid, and very famous, he came to the ark, and fell down on his face, and began to adore God, and to return thanks to him for all his benefits, as well for those that he had already bestowed upon him in raising him from a low state, and from the employment of a shepherd, to so great dignity of dominion and glory; as for those also which he had promised to his posterity; and besides, for that providence which he had exercised over the Hebrews in procuring them the liberty they enjoyed. And when he had said thus, and had sung a hymn of praise to God, he went his way.

V

CHAPTER 5. How David Brought Under The Philistines, And The Moabites, And The Kings Of Sophene And Of Damascus, And Of The Syrians As Also The Idumeans, In War; And How He Made A League With The King Of Hamath; And Was Mindful Of The Friendship That Jonathan, The Son Of Saul, Had Borne Him.

(1) [96] Διαλιπὼν δὲ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἔγνω δεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς Παλαιστίνους ἐκστρατεύειν, καὶ μηδὲν ἀργὸν μηδὲ ῥᾴθυμον ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ὁρᾶν γινόμενον, ἵν' ὡς τὸ θεῖον αὐτῷ προεῖπε καταστρεψάμενος τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὸ λοιπὸν τοὺς ἐκγόνους αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντας καταλείποι. [97] καὶ συγκαλέσας πάλιν τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ παραγγείλας αὐτῇ πρὸς πόλεμον ἑτοίμῃ καὶ παρεσκευασμένῃ τυγχάνειν, ὅτ' ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ καλῶς ἔχειν τὰ παρ' αὐτῆς ἄρας ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπὶ τοὺς Παλαιστίνους ἦκε. [98] κρατήσας δ' αὐτῶν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ πολλὴν τῆς χώρας ἀποτεμόμενος καὶ προσορίσας τῇ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἐπὶ τοὺς Μωαβίτας τὸν πόλεμον μετήγαγε, καὶ τὰ μὲν δύο μέρη τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτῶν τῇ μάχῃ νικήσας διέφθειρε, τὸ δὲ λειπόμενον αἰχμάλωτον ἔλαβε. [99] φόρους δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπιτάξας κατ' ἔτος τελεῖν ἐπὶ Ἀρτάζαρον τὸν Ἀραοῦ μὲν υἱὸν βασιλέα δὲ τῆς Σωφηνῆς ἐστράτευσε, καὶ συμβαλὼν αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν τῶν μὲν πεζῶν αὐτοῦ διέφθειρεν ὡσεὶ δισμυρίους, τῶν δ' ἱπποτῶν ὡς πεντακισχιλίους. ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἅρματα χίλια, καὶ τὰ πλείω μὲν αὐτῶν ἠφάνισεν, ἑκατὸν δὲ μόνα προσέταξεν αὐτῷ φυλαχθῆναι.

1. A Litlle while after this, he considered that he ought to make war against the Philistines, and not to see any idleness or laziness permitted in his management, that so it might prove, as God had foretold to him, that when he had overthrown his enemies, he should leave his posterity to reign in peace afterward: so he called together his army again, and when he had charged them to be ready and prepared for war, and when he thought that all things in his army were in a good state, he removed from Jerusalem, and came against the Philistines; and when he had overcome them in battle, and had cut off a great part of their country, and adjoined it to the country of the Hebrews, he transferred the war to the Moabites; and when he had overcome two parts of their army in battle, he took the remaining part captive, and imposed tribute upon them, to be paid annually. He

then made war against Iadadezer, the son of Rehob, king of Sophene; and when he had joined battle with him at ‘the river Euphrates, he destroyed twenty thousand of his footmen, and about seven thousand of his horsemen. He also took a thousand of his chariots, and destroyed the greatest part of them, and ordered that no more than one hundred should be kept.

(2) [100] Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Δαμασκοῦ καὶ Σύρων βασιλεὺς Ἄδαδος, ὅτι πολεμεῖ Δαυίδης τὸν Ἀρτάζαρον, φίλος ὢν αὐτῷ μετὰ δυνάμεως ἦκεν ἰσχυρᾶς συμμαχήσων: ἀπήλλαξε δ’ ὡς προσεδόκα συμβαλὼν πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ, πταίσας δὲ τῇ μάχῃ πολλοὺς ἀπέβαλε τῶν στρατιωτῶν: ἔπεσον γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἀναιρούμενοι τῆς Ἀδάδου δυνάμεως δισμύριοι, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες ἔφυγον. [101] μέμνηται δὲ τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ Νικόλαος ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν αὐτοῦ λέγων οὕτως: “μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον τῶν ἐγχωρίων τις Ἄδαδος ὄνομα πλεῖον ἰσχύσας Δαμασκοῦ τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Συρίας ἔξω Φοινίκης ἐβασίλευσε. πόλεμον δ’ ἐξενέγκας πρὸς Δαυίδην τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ πολλαῖς μάχαις κριθείς, ὑστάτῃ δὲ παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην, ἐν ᾗ ἡττᾶτο, [102] ἄριστος ἔδοξεν εἶναι βασιλέων ῥώμῃ καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ.” πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων αὐτοῦ φησιν, ὡς μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν ἐξεδέχοντο παρ’ ἀλλήλων καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα, λέγων οὕτως: “τελευτήσαντος δὲ ἐκείνου ἀπόγονοι ἐπὶ δέκα γενεὰς ἐβασίλευον ἑκάστου παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἅμα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τοὔνομα [τούτου] ἐκδεχομένου, ὥσπερ οἱ Πτολεμαῖοι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. [103] μέγιστον δὲ ἁπάντων δυνηθεὶς ὁ τρίτος ἀναμαχέσασθαι βουλόμενος τὴν τοῦ προπάτορος ἧτταν στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐπόρθησε τὴν νῦν Σαμαρεῖτιν καλουμένην γῆν.” οὐ διήμαρτε δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας: οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν Ἄδαδος ὁ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Σαμάρειαν Ἀχάβου βασιλεύοντος τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, περὶ οὗ κατὰ χώραν ἐροῦμεν.

2. Now when Hadad, king of Damascus and of Syria, heard that David fought against Hadadezer, who was his friend, he came to his assistance with a powerful army, in hopes to rescue him; and when he had joined battle with David at the river Euphrates, he failed of his purpose, and lost in the battle a great number of his soldiers; for there were slain of the army of Hadad twenty thousand, and all the rest fled. Nicelens also [of Damascus] makes mention of this king in the fourth book of his histories; where he speaks thus: “A great while after these things had happened, there was one of that country whose name was Hadad, who was become very potent; he reigned over Damascus, and, the other parts of Syria, excepting Phoenicia. He made war against David, the king of Judea, and tried his fortune in many battles, and particularly in the last battle at Euphrates, wherein he was beaten. He seemed to have been the most excellent of all their kings in strength and manhood,” Nay, besides this, he says of his

posterity, that "they succeeded one another in his kingdom, and in his name;" where he thus speaks: "When Hadad was dead, his posterity reigned for ten generations, each of his successors receiving from his father that his dominion, and this his name; as did the Ptolemies in Egypt. But the third was the most powerful of them all, and was willing to avenge the defeat his forefather had received; so he made an expedition against the Jews, and laid waste the city which is now called Samaria." Nor did he err from the truth; for this is that Hadad who made the expedition against Samaria, in the reign of Ahab, king of Israel, concerning whom we shall speak in due place hereafter.

(3) [104] Δαυίδης δὲ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Δαμασκὸν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Συρίαν πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ὑπήκοον ἐποιήσατο, καὶ φρουρὰς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καταστήσας καὶ φόρους αὐτοῖς τελεῖν ὁρίσας ὑπέστρεψε: καὶ τάς τε χρυσᾶς φαρέτρας καὶ τὰς πανοπλίας, ἃς οἱ τοῦ Ἀδάδου σωματοφύλακες ἐφόρουν, [105] ἀνέθηκε τῷ θεῷ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, ἃς ὕστερον ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς Σούσακος στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν υἱωνὸν αὐτοῦ Ῥοβόαμον ἔλαβε καὶ πολὺν ἄλλον ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐξεφόρησε πλοῦτον: ταῦτα μὲν ὅταν ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον αὐτῶν τόπον δηλώσομεν. ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἑβραίων βασιλεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ συμπνέοντος αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς πολέμους συγκατορθοῦντος καὶ ταῖς καλλίσταις τῶν Ἀνδραζάρου πόλεων ἐπεστράτευσε Βατταίᾳ καὶ Μάχωνι, καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὰς κατὰ κράτος διήρπασε. [106] χρυσὸς δ' ἐν αὐταῖς εὑρέθη πάμπολυς καὶ ἄργυρος ἔτι δὲ καὶ χαλκός, ὃν τοῦ χρυσοῦ κρείττον' ἔλεγον, ἐξ οὗ καὶ Σολόμων τὸ μέγα σκεῦος θάλασσαν δὲ καλούμενον ἐποίησε καὶ τοὺς καλλίστους ἐκείνους λουτῆρας, ὅτε τῷ θεῷ τὸν ναὸν κατεσκεύασεν.

3. Now when David had made an expedition against Damascus, and the other parts of Syria, and had brought it all into subjection, and had placed garrisons in the country, and appointed that they should pay tribute, he returned home. He also dedicated to God at Jerusalem the golden quivers, the entire armor which the guards of Hadad used to wear; which Shishak, the king of Egypt, took away when he fought with David's grandson, Rehoboam, with a great deal of other wealth which he carried out of Jerusalem. However, these things will come to be explained in their proper places hereafter. Now as for the king of the Hebrews, he was assisted by God, who gave him great success in his wars, and he made all expedition against the best cities of Hadadezer, Betah and Machen; so he took them by force, and laid them waste. Therein was found a very great quantity of gold and silver, besides that sort of brass which is said to be more valuable than gold; of which brass Solomon made that large vessel which was called The [Brazen] Sea, and those most curious lavers, when he built the temple for God.

(4) [107] Ὡς δὲ ὁ τῆς Ἀμάθης βασιλεὺς τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἀνδράζαρον ἐπύθετο καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ διεφθαρμένην ἤκουσε, δείσας περὶ αὑτῷ καὶ τὸν Δαυίδην πρὶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἔλθοι φιλίᾳ καὶ πίστει γνοὺς ἐνδήσασθαι, πέμπει πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀδώραμον υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ τοῦ τὸν Ἀνδράζαρον ἐχθρὸν ὄντ᾽ αὐτῷ πολεμῆσαι χάριν ἔχειν ὁμολογῶν, καὶ συμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ φιλίαν ποιούμενος. [108] ἔπεμψε δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ δῶρα σκεύη τῆς ἀρχαίας κατασκευῆς χρύσεα καὶ ἀργύρεα καὶ χάλκεα. Δαυίδης δὲ ποιησάμενος τὴν συμμαχίαν πρὸς τὸν Θαῖνον, τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς Ἀμάθης, καὶ τὰ δῶρα δεξάμενος ἀπέλυσεν αὐτοῦ τὸν υἱὸν μετὰ τιμῆς τῆς πρεπούσης ἑκατέροις. τὰ δὲ πεμφθέντα ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον, ὃν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων εἰλήφει καὶ τῶν κεχειρωμένων ἐθνῶν, φέρων ἀνατίθησι τῷ θεῷ. [109] οὐκ αὐτῷ δὲ πολεμοῦντι μόνον καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἡγουμένῳ τὸ νικᾶν καὶ κατορθοῦν παρεῖχεν ὁ θεός, ἀλλὰ καὶ πέμψαντος αὐτοῦ μετὰ δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν Ἀβεσσαῖον τὸν Ἰωάβου τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου ἀδελφὸν δι᾽ ἐκείνου τὴν τῶν Ἰδουμαίων νίκην ἔδωκε: μυρίους γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους Ἀβεσσαῖος διέφθειρε τῇ μάχῃ. καὶ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν ἅπασαν φρουραῖς διαλαβὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς φόρους ὑπέρ τε τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς ἑκάστου κεφαλῆς παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐδέχετο. [110] ἦν δὲ καὶ δίκαιος τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὰς κρίσεις πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀφορῶν ἐποιεῖτο. στρατηγὸν δὲ ἁπάσης εἶχε τῆς στρατιᾶς τὸν Ἰώαβον: ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων Ἰωσάφατον υἱὸν Ἀχίλου κατέστησεν: ἀπέδειξε δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς Φινεέσου οἰκίας τὸν Σάδωκον ἀρχιερέα μετ᾽ Ἀβιαθάρου, φίλος γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ: γραμματέα δὲ Σισὰν ἐποίησε: Βαναίᾳ δὲ τῷ Ἰωάδου τὴν τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἀρχὴν παραδίδωσιν: οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι παῖδες αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν τούτου φυλακὴν ἦσαν.

4. But when the king of Hamath was informed of the ill success of Hadadezer, and had heard of the ruin of his army, he was afraid on his own account, and resolved to make a league of friendship and fidelity with David before he should come against him; so he sent to him his son Joram, and professed that he owed him thanks for fighting against Hadadezer, who was his enemy, and made a league with him of mutual assistance and friendship. He also sent him presents, vessels of ancient workmanship, both of gold, of silver, and of brass. So when David had made this league of mutual assistance with Toi, [for that was the name of the king of Hamath,] and had received the presents he sent him, he dismissed his son with that respect which was due on both sides; but then David brought those presents that were sent by him, as also the rest of the gold and silver which he had taken of the cities whom he had conquered, and dedicated them to God. Nor did God give victory and success to him only when he went to the battle himself, and led his own army, but he gave victory to Abishai, the brother of Joab, general of his forces, over the Idumeans, and by him to David,

when he sent him with an army into Idumea: for Abishai destroyed eighteen thousand of them in the battle; whereupon the king [of Israel] placed garrisons through all Idumea, and received the tribute of the country, and of every head among them. Now David was in his nature just, and made his determination with regard to truth. He had for the general of his whole army Joab; and he made Jehoshaphat, the son of Ahilud, recorder. He also appointed Zadok, of the family of Phinehas, to be high priest, together with Abiathar, for he was his friend. He also made Seisan the scribe, and committed the command over the guards of his body to Benaiah; the son of Jehoiada. His elder sons were near his body, and had the care of it also.

(5) [111] Ἐμνήσθη δὲ καὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἰωνάθην τὸν Σαούλου παῖδα συνθηκῶν καὶ ὅρκων καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίας τε καὶ σπουδῆς: πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀγαθοῖς οἷς εἶχεν ἔτι καὶ μνημονικώτατος τῶν εὖ ποιησάντων παρὰ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ὑπῆρχε. [112] προσέταξεν οὖν ἀναζητεῖν εἴ τις ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ σώζεται, ᾧ τὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἃς ὤφειλεν Ἰωνάθῃ τῆς ἑταιρίας ἀποδώσει: ἀχθέντος οὖν τινος ἠλευθερωμένου μὲν ὑπὸ Σαούλου δυναμένου δὲ γινώσκειν τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ περιόντας, ἀνέκρινεν εἴ τινα ἔχοι λέγειν τῶν Ἰωνάθῃ προσηκόντων ζῶντα καὶ κομίσασθαι τὰς τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν χάριτας δυνάμενον, ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς ἔτυχε παρὰ Ἰωνάθου. [113] φήσαντος δ᾽ υἱὸν αὐτοῦ περιλείπεσθαι Μεμφίβοσθον ὄνομα πεπηρωμένον τὰς βάσεις, τῆς γὰρ τροφοῦ μετὰ τὸ προσαγγελθῆναι τὸν πατέρα τοῦ παιδίου καὶ τὸν πάππον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεσόντας ἁρπασαμένης καὶ φευγούσης, ἀπὸ τῶν ὤμων αὐτὸ κατενεχθῆναι καὶ βλαβῆναι τὰς βάσεις, μαθὼν ὅπου καὶ παρὰ τίνι τρέφεται πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Μάχειρον εἰς Λάβαθα πόλιν, παρὰ τούτῳ γὰρ ὁ Ἰωνάθου παῖς ἐτρέφετο, μεταπέμπεται πρὸς αὐτόν. [114] ἐλθὼν δ᾽ ὁ Μεμφίβοσθος πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον προσεκύνησεν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Δαυίδης θαρρεῖν τε προυτρέπετο καὶ τὰ βελτίω προσδοκᾶν: δίδωσι δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν πατρῷον οἶκον καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν οὐσίαν, ἣν ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ Σαοῦλος ἐκτήσατο, σύσσιτόν τε καὶ ὁμοτράπεζον ἐκέλευσεν εἶναι καὶ μηδεμίαν ἡμέραν ἀπολείπεσθαι τῆς σὺν αὐτῷ διαίτης. [115] τοῦ δὲ παιδὸς προσκυνήσαντος ἐπί τε τοῖς λόγοις καὶ ταῖς δωρεαῖς, καλέσας τὸν Σιβὰν τὸν πατρῷον οἶκον ἔλεγε δεδωρῆσθαι τῷ παιδὶ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Σαούλου κτῆσιν, αὐτόν τε ἐκέλευσεν ἐργαζόμενον αὐτοῦ τὴν γῆν καὶ προνοούμενον ἁπάντων τὴν πρόσοδον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα κομίζειν, ἄγειν τε αὐτὸν καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τράπεζαν αὐτὸν Σιβὰν καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ, ἦσαν δ᾽ οὗτοι πεντεκαίδεκα, καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντας εἴκοσι τῷ παιδὶ χαρίζεται Μεμφιβόσθῳ. [116] ταῦτα διαταξαμένου τοῦ βασιλέως ὁ μὲν Σιβὰς προσκυνήσας καὶ πάντα ποιήσειν εἰπὼν ἀνεχώρησεν, ὁ δὲ Ἰωνάθου παῖς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις κατῴκει

συνεστιώμενος τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ πάσης ὡς υἱὸς αὐτοῦ θεραπείας τυγχάνων: ἐγένετο δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ παῖς, ὃν Μίχανον προσηγόρευσε.

5. He also called to mind the covenants and the oaths he had made with Jonathan, the son of Saul, and the friendship and affection Jonathan had for him; for besides all the rest of his excellent qualities with which he was endowed, he was also exceeding mindful of such as had at other times bestowed benefits upon him. He therefore gave order that inquiry should be made, whether any of Jonathan's lineage were living, to whom he might make return of that familiar acquaintance which Jonathan had had with him, and for which he was still debtor. And when one of Saul's freed men was brought to him, who was acquainted with those of his family that were still living, he asked him whether he could tell him of any one belonging to Jonathan that was now alive, and capable of a requital of the benefits which he had received from Jonathan. And he said, that a son of his was remaining, whose name was Mephibosheth, but that he was lame of his feet; for that when his nurse heard that the father and grandfather of the child were fallen in the battle, she snatched him up, and fled away, and let him fall from her shoulders, and his feet were lamed. So when he had learned where and by whom he was brought up, he sent messengers to Machir, to the city of Lodebar, for with him was the son of Jonathan brought up, and sent for him to come to him. So when Mephibosheth came to the king, he fell on his face and worshipped him; but David encouraged him, bade him be of good cheer, and expect better times. So he gave him his father's house, and all the estate which his grandfather Saul was in possession of, and bade him come and diet with him at his own table, and never to be absent one day from that table. And when the youth had worshipped him on account of his words and gifts given to him, he called for Ziba, and told him that he had given the youth his father's house, and all Saul's estate. He also ordered that Ziba should cultivate his land, and take care of it, and bring him the profits of all to Jerusalem. Accordingly, David brought him to his table every day, and bestowed upon the youth, Ziba and his sons, who were in number fifteen, and his servants, who were in number twenty. When the king had made these appointments, and Ziba had worshipped him, and promised to do all that he had bidden him, he went his way; so that this son of Jonathan dwelt at Jerusalem, and dieted at the king's table, and had the same care that a son could claim taken of him. He also had himself a son, whom he named Micha.

VI

CHAPTER 6. How The War Was Waged Against The Ammonites And Happily Concluded.

(1) [117] Καὶ οἱ μὲν περιλειφθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Σαούλου γένους καὶ Ἰωνάθου τούτων ἔτυχον παρὰ Δαυίδου τῶν τιμῶν. τελευτήσαντος δὲ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον τοῦ τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν βασιλέως Ναάσου, φίλος δ᾽ ἦν οὗτος αὐτῷ, καὶ διαδεξαμένου τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀννὼν τοῦ παιδός, πέμψας Δαυίδης πρὸς αὐτὸν παρεμυθήσατο πρᾴως τε φέρειν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ πατρὸς παραινῶν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν φιλίαν διαμενεῖν, ἣ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἦν, τούτῳ προσδοκᾶν. [118] οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν ἄρχοντες κακοήθως ἀλλ᾽ οὐ κατὰ τὸν Δαυίδου τρόπον ταῦτ᾽ ἐδέξαντο, καὶ παρώτρυναν τὸν βασιλέα λέγοντες κατασκόπους πεπομφέναι τῆς χώρας Δαυίδην καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν δυνάμεως ἐπὶ προφάσει φιλανθρωπίας, φυλάττεσθαί τε συνεβούλευον καὶ μὴ προσέχειν τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ, μὴ καὶ σφαλεὶς ἀπαρηγορήτῳ συμφορᾷ περιπέσῃ. [119] ταῦτ᾽ οὖν δόξας πιθανώτερα λέγειν τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἢ τἀληθὲς εἶχεν ὁ τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν βασιλεὺς Ἀννὼν τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Δαυίδου πεμφθέντας πρέσβεις χαλεπῶς περιύβρισε: ξυρήσας γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰ ἡμίση τῶν γενείων καὶ τὰ ἡμίση τῶν ἱματίων περιτεμὼν ἔργοις ἀπέλυσε κομίζοντας οὐ λόγοις τὰς ἀποκρίσεις. [120] ἰδὼν δὲ ταῦθ᾽ ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς ἠγανάκτησε καὶ δῆλος ἦν οὐ περιοψόμενος τὴν ὕβριν καὶ τὸν προπηλακισμόν, ἀλλὰ πολεμήσων τοῖς Ἀμμανίταις καὶ τιμωρίαν αὐτῶν τῆς παρανομίας τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς εἰσπραξόμενος τὸν βασιλέα. [121] συνέντες δὲ οἵ τε ἀναγκαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες, ὅτι παρεσπονδήκασι καὶ δίκην ὑπὲρ τούτων ὀφείλουσι, προπαρασκευάζονται εἰς τὸν πόλεμον: καὶ πέμψαντες πρὸς Σύρον τὸν τῶν Μεσοποταμιτῶν βασιλέα χίλια τάλαντα σύμμαχον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ γενέσθαι τῷ μισθῷ παρεκάλεσαν καὶ Σουβάν: ἦσαν δὲ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι τούτοις πεζοῦ δύο μυριάδες. προσεμισθώσαντο δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς Μιχᾶς καλουμένης χώρας βασιλέα καὶ τέταρτον Ἴστοβον ὄνομα, καὶ τούτους ἔχοντας μυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους ὁπλίτας.

1. This were the honors that such as were left of Saul’s and Jonathan’s lineage received from David. About this time died Nahash, the king of the Ammonites, who was a friend of David’s; and when his son had succeeded his father in the kingdom, David sent ambassadors to him to comfort him; and exhorted him to take his father’s death patiently, and to expect that he would continue the same kindness to himself which he had shown to his father. But the princes of the Ammonites took this message in evil part, and not as David’s kind dispositions gave reason to take it; and they excited the king to resent it; and said that David had sent men to spy out the country, and what strength it had, under the pretense

of humanity and kindness. They further advised him to have a care, and not to give heed to David's words, lest he should be deluded by him, and so fall into an inconsolable calamity. Accordingly Nahash's [son], the king of the Ammonites, thought these princes spake what was more probable than the truth would admit, and so abused the ambassadors after a very harsh manner; for he shaved the one half of their beards, and cut off one half of their garments, and sent his answer, not in words, but in deeds. When the king of Israel saw this, he had indignation at it, and showed openly that he would not overlook this injurious and contumelious treatment, but would make war with the Ammonites, and would avenge this wicked treatment of his ambassadors on their king. So that king's intimate friends and commanders, understanding that they had violated their league, and were liable to be punished for the same, made preparations for war; they also sent a thousand talents to the Syrian king of Mesopotamia, and endeavored to prevail with him to assist them for that pay, and Shobach. Now these kings had twenty thousand footmen. They also hired the king of the country called Maacah, and a fourth king, by name Ishtob; which last had twelve thousand armed men.

(2) [122] Οὐ κατεπλάγη δὲ τὴν συμμαχίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν δύναμιν ὁ Δαυίδης, τῷ δὲ θεῷ πεποιθὼς καὶ τῷ δικαίως αὐτοῖς ἀνθ' ὧν ὑβρίσθη πολεμεῖν μέλλειν, Ἰώαβον τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον δοὺς αὐτῷ τῆς στρατιᾶς τὸ ἀκμαιότατον ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔπεμψεν ἐπ' αὐτούς. [123] ὁ δὲ πρὸς τῇ μητροπόλει τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν Ἀραβαθᾶ κατεστρατοπεδεύσατο. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἐξελθόντων καὶ παραταξαμένων οὐχ ὁμοῦ διχῇ δέ, τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐπικουρικὸν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καθ' αὐτὸ ἐτάχθη, τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν στράτευμα πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις ἀντικρὺ τῶν Ἑβραίων, ἰδὼν τοῦτο Ἰώαβος ἀντιμηχανᾶται: [124] καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνδρειοτάτους ἐπιλεξάμενος ἀντιπαρατάσσεται τῷ Σύρῳ καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ βασιλεῦσι, τὸ δ' ἄλλο παραδοὺς Ἀβεσσαίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τοῖς Ἀμμανίταις ἐκέλευσεν ἀντιπαρατάξασθαι, εἰπὼν ἂν τοὺς Σύρους ἴδῃ βιαζομένους αὐτὸν καὶ πλέον δυναμένους μεταγαγόντα τὴν φάλαγγα βοηθεῖν αὐτῷ, τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιήσειν καὶ αὐτός, ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν αὐτὸν καταπονούμενον θεάσηται. [125] προτρεψάμενος οὖν τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ παρακαλέσας εὐψύχως καὶ μετὰ προθυμίας ἀνδράσιν αἰσχύνην φοβουμένοις πρεπούσης ἀγωνίσασθαι τὸν μὲν ἀπέλυσε τοῖς Ἀμμανίταις μαχησόμενον, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς Σύροις συνέβαλε. [126] καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀντισχόντων αὐτῶν καρτερῶς πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν Ἰώαβος, ἅπαντας δ' ἠνάγκασεν εἰς φυγὴν τραπῆναι. τοῦτο ἰδόντες οἱ Ἀμμανῖται καὶ δείσαντες τὸν Ἀβεσσαῖον καὶ τὴν μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν οὐκ ἔμειναν, ἀλλὰ μιμησάμενοι τοὺς συμμάχους εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔφυγον. κρατήσας οὖν τῶν πολεμίων Ἰώαβος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα λαμπρῶς ὑπέστρεψε.

2. But David was under no consternation at this confederacy, nor at the forces of the Ammonites; and putting his trust in God, because he was going to war in a just cause, on account of the injurious treatment he had met with, he immediately sent Joab, the captain of his host, against them, and gave him the flower of his army, who pitched his camp by Rabbah, the metropolis of the Ammonites; whereupon the enemy came out, and set themselves in array, not all of them together, but in two bodies; for the auxiliaries were set in array in the plain by themselves, but the army of the Ammonites at the gates over against the Hebrews. When Joab saw this, he opposed one stratagem against another, and chose out the most hardy part of his men, and set them in opposition to the king of Syria, and the kings that were with him, and gave the other part to his brother Abishai, and bid him set them in opposition to the Ammonites; and said to him, that in case he should see that the Syrians distressed him, and were too hard for him, he should order his troops to turn about and assist him; and he said that he himself would do the same to him, if he saw him in the like distress from the Ammonites. So he sent his brother before, and encouraged him to do every thing courageously and with alacrity, which would teach them to be afraid of disgrace, and to fight manfully; and so he dismissed him to fight with the Ammonites, while he fell upon the Syrians. And though they made a strong opposition for a while, Joab slew many of them, but compelled the rest to betake themselves to flight; which, when the Ammonites saw, and were withal afraid of Abishai and his army, they staid no longer, but imitated their auxiliaries, and fled to the city. So Joab, when he had thus overcome the enemy, returned with great joy to Jerusalem to the king.

(3) [127] Τοῦτο τὸ πταῖσμα τοὺς Ἀμμανίτας οὐκ ἔπεισεν ἠρεμεῖν οὐδὲ μαθόντας τοὺς κρείττονας ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ πέμψαντες πρὸς Χαλαμὰν τὸν τῶν πέραν Εὐφράτου Σύρων βασιλέα μισθοῦνται τοῦτον ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ, ἔχοντα μὲν ἀρχιστράτηγον Σέβεκον, πεζῶν δὲ μυριάδας ὀκτὼ καὶ ἱππέων μυρίους. [128] γνοὺς δ' ὁ τῶν Ἑβραίων βασιλεὺς πάλιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοὺς Ἀμμανίτας τοσαύτην δύναμιν συνηθροικότας οὐκέτι διὰ στρατηγῶν αὐτοῖς πολεμεῖν ἔκρινεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς σὺν ἁπάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει διαβὰς τὸν Ἰόρδανον ποταμὸν καὶ ὑπαντήσας αὐτοῖς συνάψας εἰς μάχην ἐνίκησε: καὶ ἀναιρεῖ μὲν αὐτῶν πεζῶν μὲν εἰς τέσσαρας μυριάδας ἱππέων δὲ εἰς ἑπτακισχιλίους, ἔτρωσε δὲ καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν τοῦ Χαλαμᾶ Σέβεκον, ὃς ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς ἀπέθανεν. [129] οἱ δὲ Μεσοποταμῖται τοιούτου γενομένου τοῦ τέλους τῆς μάχης αὐτοὺς Δαυίδῃ παρέδοσαν καὶ δῶρα ἔπεμψαν αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὥρᾳ χειμῶνος ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, ἀρχομένου δὲ τοῦ ἔαρος ἔπεμψε τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον Ἰώαβον πολεμήσοντα τοῖς Ἀμμανίταις. ὁ δὲ

τήν τε γῆν αὐτῶν ἅπασαν ἐπερχόμενος διέφθειρε καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν συγκλείσας Ἀραβαθὰ ἐπολιόρκει.

3. This defeat did not still induce the Ammonites to be quiet, nor to own those that were superior to them to be so, and be still, but they sent to Chalaman, the king of the Syrians, beyond Euphrates, and hired him for an auxiliary. He had Shobach for the captain of his host, with eighty thousand footmen, and ten thousand horsemen. Now when the king of the Hebrews understood that the Ammonites had again gathered so great an army together, he determined to make war with them no longer by his generals, but he passed over the river Jordan himself with all his army; and when he met them he joined battle with them, and overcame them, and slew forty thousand of their footmen, and seven thousand of their horsemen. He also wounded Shobach, the general of Chalaman's forces, who died of that stroke; but the people of Mesopotamia, upon such a conclusion of the battle, delivered themselves up to David, and sent him presents, who at winter time returned to Jerusalem. But at the beginning of the spring he sent Joab, the captain of his host, to fight against the Ammonites, who overran all their country, and laid it waste, and shut them up in their metropolis Rabbah, and besieged them therein.

VII

CHAPTER 7. How David Fell In Love With Bathsheba, And Slew Her Husband Uriah, For Which He Is Reproved By Nathan.

(1) [130] Συνέπεσε δὲ καὶ Δαυίδῃ πταῖσμα δεινὸν ὄντι φύσει δικαίῳ καὶ θεοσεβεῖ καὶ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους ἰσχυρῶς φυλάσσοντι: θεασάμενος γὰρ δείλης ὀψίας ἀπὸ τοῦ στέγους τῶν βασιλείων, ἐν ᾧ περιπατεῖν κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνο τῆς ὥρας ἦν ἔθος, γυναῖκα λουομένην ἐν τῇ αὐτῆς οἰκίᾳ ψυχρῷ ὕδατι καλλίστην τὸ εἶδος καὶ πασῶν διαφέρουσαν, ὄνομα αὐτῇ ἦν Βεεθσαβή, ἠττᾶται τοῦ κάλλους τῆς γυναικός: καὶ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας κατασχεῖν οὐ δυνάμενος αὐτῇ συνέρχεται. [131] γενομένης δ᾽ ἐγκύου τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ πεμψάσης πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ὅπως τῷ ἁμαρτήματι σκέψηταί τινα τοῦ λαθεῖν ὁδόν, ἀποθανεῖν γὰρ αὐτὴν κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους καθήκει νόμους μεμοιχευμένην, μετακαλεῖται τὸν Ἰωάβου μὲν ὁπλοφόρον ἐκ τῆς πολιορκίας ἄνδρα δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς Οὐρίαν ὄνομα, καὶ παραγενόμενον περί τε τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ τῆς πολιορκίας ἀνέκρινε. [132] λέγοντος δὲ πάντα κατὰ νοῦν αὐτοῖς κεχωρηκέναι τὰ πράγματα βαστάσας ἐκ τοῦ δείπνου μέρη προσδίδωσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ κελεύει πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα ἀπελθόντα ἀναπαύσασθαι σὺν αὐτῇ. ὁ δὲ Οὐρίας τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐποίησε, παρεκοιμήθη δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁπλοφόροις. [133] ὡς δὲ γνοὺς τοῦθ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνέκρινεν αὐτόν, ὅτι μὴ πρὸς [αὐτὸν εἰς] τὴν οἰκίαν ἔλθοι μηδὲ πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα διὰ τοσούτου χρόνου πάντων ἀνθρώπων ταύτην ἐχόντων τὴν φύσιν ὅταν ἔλθωσιν ἐξ ἀποδημίας, οὐκ εἶναι δίκαιον ἔφη τῶν συστρατιωτῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ χαμαὶ κοιμωμένων ἐν παρεμβολῇ καὶ τῇ τῶν πολεμίων χώρᾳ μετὰ γυναικὸς αὐτὸν ἀναπαύεσθαι καὶ τρυφᾶν. [134] ταῦτ᾽ εἰπόντα μεῖναι τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἐκέλευσεν αὐτόθι ὡς εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἀπολύσων αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον. κληθεὶς δ᾽ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Οὐρίας καὶ μέχρι μέθης προελθὼν ἐν τῷ πότῳ δεξιουμένου τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτὸν ἐπίτηδες ταῖς προπόσεσιν, οὐδὲν ἧττον πάλιν πρὸ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως θυρῶν ἐκοιμήθη μηδεμίαν λαβὼν τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπιθυμίαν. [135] ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ δυσανασχετήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔγραψε τῷ Ἰωάβῳ κολάσαι προστάττων τὸν Οὐρίαν, ἁμαρτεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐδήλου, καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς τιμωρίας ἵνα μὴ γένηται φανερὸς αὐτὸς τοῦτο βουληθεὶς ὑπέθετο: [136] κατὰ γὰρ τὸ δυσμαχώτατον αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε μέρος τῶν πολεμίων τάξαι καὶ καθ᾽ ὃ κινδυνεύσει μαχόμενος ἀπολειφθεὶς μόνος: [τοὺς γὰρ] συμπαραστάτας ἀναχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς μάχης γινομένης ἐκέλευσε. ταῦτα γράψας καὶ σημηνάμενος τῇ αὐτοῦ σφραγῖδι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἔδωκεν Οὐρίᾳ κομίσαι πρὸς Ἰώαβον. [137] δεξάμενος δὲ Ἰώαβος τὰ γράμματα καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως προαίρεσιν ἀναγνούς, καθ᾽ ὃν ᾔδει τόπον τοὺς πολεμίους χαλεποὺς

αὐτῷ γενομένους, κατὰ τοῦτον ἔστησε τὸν Οὐρίαν δοὺς αὐτῷ τινας τῶν ἀρίστων τῆς στρατιᾶς: αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἁπάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει προσεπιβοηθήσειν ἔφησεν, εἰ δυνηθεῖεν ἀνατρέψαντές τι τοῦ τείχους εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. [138] ὄντα δ᾽ αὐτὸν γενναῖον στρατιώτην καὶ δόξαν ἔχοντα παρά τε τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις ἐπ᾽ ἀνδρείᾳ χαίρειν τοῖς μεγάλοις πόνοις ἀλλὰ μὴ προσαγανακτεῖν ἠξίου. τοῦ δ᾽ Οὐρία προθύμως ὑποστάντος τὸ ἔργον, τοῖς μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ παρατασσομένοις ἰδίᾳ καταλιπεῖν ὅταν ἐξορμήσαντας ἴδωσι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδήλωσε. [139] προσβαλόντων οὖν τῇ πόλει τῶν Ἑβραίων δείσαντες οἱ Ἀμμανῖται, μὴ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν τόπον, καθ᾽ ὃν Οὐρίαν συνέβαινε τετάχθαι, φθάσαντες ἀναβῶσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, προστησάμενοι τοὺς ἀνδρειοτάτους αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν πύλην ἀνοίξαντες αἰφνιδίως καὶ μετὰ ῥύμης καὶ δρόμου πολλοῦ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπεξῆλθον. [140] ἰδόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ σὺν τῷ Οὐρίᾳ πάντες ἀνεχώρησαν ὀπίσω, καθὼς Ἰώαβος αὐτοῖς προεῖπεν: αἰσχυνθεὶς δ᾽ Οὐρίας φυγεῖν καὶ τὴν τάξιν καταλιπεῖν ὑπέμεινε τοὺς πολεμίους: καὶ τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτῶν ἐκδεξάμενος ἀναιρεῖ μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγους, κυκλωθεὶς δὲ καὶ ληφθεὶς ἐν μέσῳ ἅμα δ᾽ αὐτῷ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι τελευτᾷ συγκαταπεσόντων ἑτέρων.

1. But David fell now into a very grievous sin, though he were otherwise naturally a righteous and a religious man, and one that firmly observed the laws of our fathers; for when late in an evening he took a view round him from the roof of his royal palace, where he used to walk at that hour, he saw a woman washing herself in her own house: she was one of extraordinary beauty, and therein surpassed all other women; her name was Bathsheba. So he was overcome by that woman’s beauty, and was not able to restrain his desires, but sent for her, and lay with her. Hereupon she conceived with child, and sent to the king, that he should contrive some way for concealing her sin [for, according to the laws of their fathers, she who had been guilty of adultery ought to be put to death]. So the king sent for Joab’s armor-bearer from the siege, who was the woman’s husband, and his name was Uriah. And when he was come, the king inquired of him about the army, and about the siege; and when he had made answer that all their affairs went according to their wishes, the king took some portions of meat from his supper, and gave them to him, and bade him go home to his wife, and take his rest with her. Uriah did not do so, but slept near the king with the rest of his armor-bearers. When the king was informed of this, he asked him why he did not go home to his house, and to his wife, after so long an absence; which is the natural custom of all men, when they come from a long journey. He replied, that it was not right, while his fellow soldiers, and the general of the army, slept upon the ground, in the camp, and in an enemy’s country, that he should go and take his rest, and solace himself with his wife. So

when he had thus replied, the king ordered him to stay there that night, that he might dismiss him the next day to the general. So the king invited Uriah to supper, and after a cunning and dexterous manlier plied him with drink at supper, till he was thereby disordered; yet did he nevertheless sleep at the king's gates without any inclination to go to his wife. Upon this the king was very angry at him; and wrote to Joab, and commanded him to punish Uriah, for he told him that he had offended him; and he suggested to him the manner in which he would have him punished, that it might not be discovered that he was himself the author of this his punishment; for he charged him to set him over against that part of the enemy's army where the attack would be most hazardous, and where he might be deserted, and be in the greatest jeopardy, for he bade him order his fellow soldiers to retire out of the fight. When he had written thus to him, and sealed the letter with his own seal, he gave it to Uriah to carry to Joab. When Joab had received it, and upon reading it understood the king's purpose, he set Uriah in that place where he knew the enemy would be most troublesome to them; and gave him for his partners some of the best soldiers in the army; and said that he would also come to their assistance with the whole army, that if possible they might break down some part of the wall, and enter the city. And he desired him to be glad of the opportunity of exposing himself to such great pains, and not to be displeased at it, since he was a valiant soldier, and had a great reputation for his valor, both with the king and with his countrymen. And when Uriah undertook the work he was set upon with alacrity, he gave private orders to those who were to be his companions, that when they saw the enemy make a sally, they should leave him. When, therefore, the Hebrews made an attack upon the city, the Ammonites were afraid that the enemy might prevent them, and get up into the city, and this at the very place whither Uriah was ordered; so they exposed their best soldiers to be in the forefront, and opened their gates suddenly, and fell upon the enemy with great vehemence, and ran violently upon them. When those that were with Uriah saw this, they all retreated backward, as Joab had directed them beforehand; but Uriah, as ashamed to run away and leave his post, sustained the enemy, and receiving the violence of their onset, he slew many of them; but being encompassed round, and caught in the midst of them, he was slain, and some other of his companions were slain with him.

(2) [141] Τούτων οὕτως γενομένων ἔπεμψεν ἀγγέλους Ἰώαβος πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα λέγειν ἐντειλάμενος αὐτοῖς, ὡς σπουδάσειε μὲν ταχέως ἑλεῖν τὴν πόλιν, προσβαλὼν δὲ τῷ τείχει καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπολέσας ἀναχωρῆσαι βιασθείη: προστιθέναι δὲ τούτοις ἂν ὀργιζόμενον ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς βλέπωσι καὶ τὸν Οὐρία

θάνατον. [142] τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἀκούσαντος παρὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ταῦτα καὶ δυσφοροῦντος φάσκοντος ἁμαρτεῖν αὐτοὺς τῷ τείχει προσβαλόντας, δέον ὑπονόμοις καὶ μηχανήμασιν ἑλεῖν πειρᾶσθαι τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἔχοντας παράδειγμα τὸν Γεδεῶνος υἱὸν Ἀβιμέλεχον, ὃς ἐπεὶ τὸν ἐν Θήβαις πύργον ἑλεῖν ἐβούλετο βίᾳ, βληθεὶς ὑπὸ πρεσβύτιδος πέτρῳ κατέπεσε καὶ ἀνδρειότατος ὢν διὰ τὸ δυσχερὲς τῆς ἐπιβολῆς αἰσχρῶς ἀπέθανεν: [143] οὗ μνημονεύοντας ἔδει μὴ προσιέναι τῷ τείχει τῶν πολεμίων: ἄριστον γὰρ ἁπάντων τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ πραχθέντων καὶ καλῶς καὶ ὡς ἑτέρως ἐνίοις αὐτοῖς κινδύνοις μνήμην ἔχειν, ὡς τὰ μὲν μιμεῖσθαι τὰ δὲ φυλάττεσθαι. [144] ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτως ἔχοντι καὶ τὸν Οὐρία θάνατον ἐδήλωσεν ὁ ἄγγελος, παύεται μὲν τῆς ὀργῆς, Ἰωάβῳ δ᾽ ἐκέλευσεν ἀπελθόντα λέγειν ἀνθρώπινον εἶναι τὸ συμβεβηκὸς καὶ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου φύσιν ἔχειν τοιαύτην, ὥστε ποτὲ μὲν τοῖς ἐναντίοις εὖ πράττειν συμβαίνειν κατ᾽ αὐτόν, ποτὲ δὲ τοῖς ἑτέροις: [145] τοῦ λοιποῦ μέντοι γε προνοεῖν τῆς πολιορκίας, ὅπως μηδὲν ἔτι πταίσωσι κατ᾽ αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ χώμασι καὶ μηχαναῖς ἐκπολιορκήσαντας καὶ παραστησαμένους τὴν μὲν πόλιν κατασκάψαι, ἅπαντας δ᾽ ἀπολέσαι τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄγγελος τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐντεταλμένα κομίζων πρὸς Ἰώαβον ἠπείγετο. [146] ἡ δὲ τοῦ Οὐρία γυνὴ Βεεθσαβὴ τὸν θάνατον τἀνδρὸς πυθομένη ἐπὶ συχνὰς αὐτὸν ἡμέρας ἐπένθησεν, παυσαμένην δὲ τῆς λύπης καὶ τῶν ἐπ᾽ Οὐρίᾳ δακρύων ὁ βασιλεὺς εὐθὺς ἄγεται γυναῖκα, καὶ παῖς ἄρρην ἐξ αὐτῆς γίνεται αὐτῷ.

2. When this was done, Joab sent messengers to the king, and ordered them to tell him that he did what he could to take the city soon; but that, as they made an assault on the wall, they had been forced to retire with great loss; and bade them, if they saw the king was angry at it, to add this, that Uriah was slain also. When the king had heard this of the messengers, he took it heinously, and said that they did wrong when they assaulted the wall, whereas they ought, by undermining and other stratagems of war, to endeavor the taking of rite city, especially when they had before their eyes the example of Abimelech, the son of Gideon, who would needs take the tower in Thebes by force, and was killed by a large stone thrown at him by an old woman; and although he was a man of great prowess, he died ignominiously by the dangerous manner of his assault: that they should remember this accident, and not come near the enemy's wall, for that the best method of making war with success was to call to mind the accidents of former wars, and what good or bad success had attended them in the like dangerous cases, that so they might imitate the one, and avoid the other. But when the king was in this disposition, the messenger told him that Uriah was slain also; whereupon he was pacified. So he bade the messenger go back to Joab and tell him that this misfortune is no other than what is common among mankind, and

that such is the nature, and such the accidents of war, insomuch that sometimes the enemy will have success therein, and sometimes others; but that he ordered him to go on still in his care about the siege, that no ill accident might befall him in it hereafter; that they should raise bulwarks and use machines in besieging the city; and when they have gotten it, to overturn its very foundations, and to destroy all those that are in it. Accordingly the messenger carried the king's message with which he was charged, and made haste to Joab. But Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah, when she was informed of the death of her husband, mourned for his death many days; and when her mourning was over, and the tears which she shed for Uriah were dried up, the king took her to wife presently; and a son was born to him by her.

(3) [147] Τοῦτον οὐχ ἡδέως ἐπεῖδεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν γάμον, ἀλλὰ δι' ὀργῆς ἔχων τὸν Δαυίδην τῷ προφήτῃ Νάθᾳ φανεὶς κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἐμέμφετο τὸν βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ Νάθας ἀστεῖος καὶ συνετὸς ὢν ἀνήρ, λογισάμενος ὡς οἱ βασιλεῖς ὅταν εἰς ὀργὴν ἐμπέσωσι ταύτῃ πλέον ἢ τῷ δικαίῳ νέμουσι, τὰς μὲν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγενημένας ἀπειλὰς ἡσυχάζειν ἔκρινεν, ἄλλους δὲ λόγους χρηστοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν διεξῆλθε, [148] καὶ δὴ τοιοῦτόν τινα τρόπον περὶ οὗ καὶ τί φρονεῖ ποιῆσαι σαφὲς αὐτῷ παρεκάλει: "δύο γάρ, ἔφησεν, ἄνδρες τὴν αὐτὴν κατῴκουν πόλιν, ὧν ὁ μὲν πλούσιος ἦν καὶ πολλὰς εἶχεν ἀγέλας ὑποζυγίων τε καὶ θρεμμάτων καὶ βοῶν, τῷ πένητι δ' ἀμνὰς ὑπῆρχε μία. [149] ταύτην μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ ἀνέτρεφε συνδιαιρούμενος αὐτῇ τὰ σιτία καὶ φιλοστοργίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὴν χρώμενος ᾗ τις ἂν χρήσαιτο καὶ πρὸς θυγατέρα. ξένου δ' ἐπελθόντος τῷ πλουσίῳ τῶν μὲν ἰδίων οὐδὲν ἠξίωσεν ἐκεῖνος βοσκημάτων καταθύσας εὐωχῆσαι τὸν φίλον, πέμψας δὲ τὴν ἀμνάδα τοῦ πένητος ἀπέσπασε, [150] καὶ ταύτην παρασκευάσας εἱστίασε τὸν ξένον." σφόδρα ἐλύπησεν ὁ λόγος οὗτος τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πονηρὸν πρὸς τὸν Νάθαν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκεῖνον, ὃς δὴ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐτόλμησεν, ἀπεφήνατο καὶ τετραπλῆν ἀποτῖσαι τὴν ἀμνάδα δίκαιον εἶναι καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ θανάτῳ κολασθῆναι. Νάθας δ' ὑποτυχὼν αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν ἐκεῖνον εἶναι τὸν ἄξιον ταῦτα παθεῖν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ κεκριμένον τολμήσαντα μέγα καὶ δεινὸν ἔργον. [151] ἀνεκάλυπτε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ παρεγύμνου τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ποιήσαντος μὲν αὐτὸν βασιλέα πάσης τῆς Ἑβραίων δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν ἐν κύκλῳ πάντων ἐθνῶν πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων κύριον, ῥυσαμένου δ' ἔτι πρὸ τούτων ἐκ τῶν Σαούλου χειρῶν, δόντος δ' αὐτῷ καὶ γυναῖκας ἃς δικαίως καὶ νομίμως ἠγάγετο, καταφρονηθέντος δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀσεβηθέντος, ὃς ἀλλοτρίαν τε γήμας ἔχει γυναῖκα καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς ἀποκτείνειεν ἐκδοὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις: [152] δώσειν οὖν αὐτὸν ἀντὶ τούτων δίκας τῷ θεῷ καὶ βιασθήσεσθαι μὲν αὐτοῦ τὰς γυναῖκας ὑφ' ἑνὸς τῶν παίδων, ἐπιβουλευθήσεσθαι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπ' ἐκείνου, καὶ τὸ ἁμάρτημα τοῦτο κρύφα δράσαντα φανερὰν τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ δίκην ὑφέξειν: τεθνήξεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸν

παῖδά σοι παραχρῆμα τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς γεγενημένον. [153] ταραχθέντος δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ συσχεθέντος ἱκανῶς καὶ μετὰ δακρύων καὶ λύπης ἀσεβῆσαι λέγοντος, ἦν γὰρ ὁμολογουμένως θεοσεβὴς καὶ μηδὲν ἁμαρτὼν ὅλως περὶ τὸν βίον ἢ τὰ περὶ τὴν Οὐρία γυναῖκα, ᾤκτειρεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ διαλλάττεται φυλάξειν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπαγγειλάμενος: μετανοοῦντι γὰρ περὶ τῶν γεγενημένων οὐκέτι χαλεπῶς ἔχειν ἔφασκε. καὶ Νάθας μὲν ταῦτα τῷ βασιλεῖ προφητεύσας οἴκαδε ἐπανῆλθε.

3. With this marriage God was not well pleased, but was thereupon angry at David; and he appeared to Nathan the prophet in his sleep, and complained of the king. Now Nathan was a fair and prudent man; and considering that kings, when they fall into a passion, are guided more by that passion than they are by justice, he resolved to conceal the threatenings that proceeded from God, and made a good-natured discourse to him, and this after the manner following: — He desired that the king would give him his opinion in the following case:— "There were," said he, "two men inhabiting the same city, the one of them was rich, and [the other poor]. The rich man had a great many flocks of cattle, of sheep, and of kine; but the poor man had but one ewe lamb. This he brought up with his children, and let her eat her food with them; and he had the same natural affection for her which any one might have for a daughter. Now upon the coming of a stranger to the rich man, he would not vouchsafe to kill any of his own flocks, and thence feast his friend; but he sent for the poor man's lamb, and took her away from him, and made her ready for food, and thence feasted the stranger." This discourse troubled the king exceedingly; and he denounced to Nathan, that "this man was a wicked man who could dare to do such a thing; and that it was but just that he should restore the lamb fourfold, and be punished with death for it also." Upon this Nathan immediately said that he was himself the man who ought to suffer those punishments, and that by his own sentence; and that it was he who had perpetrated this 'great and horrid crime.' He also revealed to him, and laid before him, the anger of God against him, who had made him king over the army of the Hebrews, and lord of all the nations, and those many and great nations round about him; who had formerly delivered him out of the hands of Saul, and had given him such wives as he had justly and legally married; and now this God was despised by him, and affronted by his impiety, when he had married, and now had, another man's wife; and by exposing her husband to the enemy, had really slain him; that God would inflict punishments upon him on account of those instances of wickedness; that his own wives should be forced by one of his sons; and that he should be treacherously supplanted by the same son; and that although he had perpetrated his wickedness

secretly, yet should that punishment which he was to undergo be inflicted publicly upon him; “that, moreover,” said he, “the child which was born to thee of her shall soon die.” When the king was troubled at these messages, and sufficiently confounded, and said with tears and sorrow that he had sinned, [for he was without controversy a pious man, and guilty of no sin at all in his whole life, excepting those in the matter of Uriah,] God had compassion on him, and was reconciled to him, and promised that he would preserve to him both his life and his kingdom; for he said that, seeing he repented of the things he had done, he was no longer displeased with him. So Nathan, when he had delivered this prophecy to the king, returned home.

(4) [154] Τῷ δ’ ἐκ τῆς Οὐρία γυναικὸς γενομένῳ παιδὶ Δαυίδῃ νόσον ἐνσκήπτει χαλεπὴν τὸ θεῖον, ἐφ’ ᾗ δυσφορῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς τροφὴν μὲν ἐφ’ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ καίτοι γε ἀναγκαζόντων τῶν οἰκείων οὐ προσηνέγκατο, μέλαιναν δὲ περιθέμενος ἐσθῆτα πεσὼν ἐπὶ σάκκου κατὰ γῆς ἔκειτο τὸν θεὸν ἱκετεύων ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς σωτηρίας: σφόδρα γὰρ ἔστεργεν αὐτοῦ τὴν μητέρα. [155] τῇ δ’ ἑβδόμῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν τελευτήσαντος τοῦ παιδὸς οὐκ ἐτόλμων τῷ βασιλεῖ τοῦτο μηνύειν οἱ θεράποντες λογιζόμενοι, μὴ γνοὺς ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀπόσχηται καὶ τροφῆς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐπιμελείας ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ ποθεινοῦ τέκνου τετελευτηκότος, ὅτε καὶ νοσοῦντος οὕτως ὑπὸ τῆς λύπης ἑαυτὸν ἐκάκου. [156] ταραττομένων δ’ αἰσθόμενος τῶν οἰκετῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ταῦτα πασχόντων, ἃ μάλιστα συγκρύψαι τι θέλουσι συμβαίνει, συνεὶς ὅτι τέθνηκεν ὁ παῖς προσφωνήσας ἕνα τῶν οἰκετῶν καὶ μαθὼν τἀληθὲς ἀνίσταται καὶ λουσάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ἐσθῆτα λευκὴν εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ θεοῦ παραγίνεται, [157] καὶ κελεύσας δεῖπνον αὐτῷ παραθεῖναι πολλὴν ἐπὶ τῷ παραλόγῳ τοῖς τε συγγενέσι καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις ἔκπληξιν παρεῖχεν, ὅτι μηδὲν τούτων ἐπὶ νοσοῦντι τῷ παιδὶ ποιήσας πάνθ’ ὁμοῦ τετελευτηκότος ἔπραττε. τήν τε αἰτίαν, δεηθέντες ἐπιτρέψαι πρῶτον αὐτοῖς πυθέσθαι, παρεκάλουν [εἰπεῖν] τῶν γεγενημένων. [158] ὁ δὲ ἀμαθεῖς εἰπὼν αὐτοὺς ἐδίδασκεν, ὡς ἔτι μὲν ζῶντος τοῦ παιδὸς ἔχων ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ δεόντως πάντ’ ἐποίει τὸν θεὸν ἡγούμενος τούτοις εὐμενῆ καταστήσειν, ἀποθανόντος δ’ οὐκέτι χρείαν εἶναι λύπης ματαίας. ταῦτ’ εἰπόντος ἐπῆνεσαν τὴν σοφίαν καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ βασιλέως. συνελθὼν δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ Βεεθσαβῇ ἔγκυον αὐτὴν ἐποίησε, καὶ γεννησαμένης ἄρρεν παιδίον Σολόμωνα τοῦτον προσηγόρευσεν, οὕτως Νάθα τοῦ προφήτου κελεύσαντος.

4. However, God sent a dangerous distemper upon the child that was born to David of the wife of Uriah, at which the king was troubled, and did not take any food for seven days, although his servants almost forced him to take it; but he clothed himself in a black garment, and fell down, and lay upon the ground in sackcloth, entrusting God for the recovery of the child, for he vehemently loved

the child's mother; but when, on the seventh day, the child was dead, the king's servants durst not tell him of it, as supposing that when he knew it, he would still less admit of food, and other care of himself, by reason of his grief at the death of his son, since when the child was only sick, he so greatly afflicted himself, and grieved for him: but when the king perceived that his servants were in disorder, and seemed to be affected, as those who are very desirous to conceal something, he understood that the child was dead; and when he had called one of his servants to him, and discovered that so it was, he arose up and washed himself, and took a white garment, and came into the tabernacle of God. He also commanded them to set supper before him, and thereby greatly surprised his kindred and servants, while he did nothing of this when the child was sick, but did it all when he was dead. Whereupon having first begged leave to ask him a question, they besought him to tell them the reason of this his conduct; he then called them unskillful people, and instructed them how he had hopes of the recovery of the child while it was alive, and accordingly did all that was proper for him to do, as thinking by such means to render God propitious to him; but that when the child was dead, there was no longer any occasion for grief, which was then to no purpose. When he had said this, they commended the king's wisdom and understanding. He then went in unto Bathsheba his wife, and she conceived and bare a son; and by the command of Nathan the prophet called his name Solomon.

(5) [159] Ἰώαβος δὲ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τοὺς Ἀμμανίτας ἰσχυρῶς ἐκάκου τῶν τε ὑδάτων αὐτοὺς ἀποτεμνόμενος καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων εὐπορίας, ὡς πάνυ ταλαιπωρεῖν ἐνδείᾳ ποτοῦ καὶ τροφῆς. ἐξ ὀλίγου γὰρ φρέατος ἤρτηντο καὶ ταμείας ὡς μὴ τελέως αὐτοὺς ἐπιλιπεῖν τὴν πηγὴν δαψιλέστερον χρωμένους. [160] γράφει δὴ τῷ βασιλεῖ ταῦτα δηλῶν καὶ παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν τῆς πόλεως ἐλθεῖν, ἵνα τὴν νίκην αὐτὸς ἐπιγραφῇ. ταῦτα Ἰωάβου γράψαντος ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτὸν τῆς εὐνοίας καὶ τῆς πίστεως ὁ βασιλεὺς παραλαβὼν τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμιν ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς Ῥαβαθᾶς πόρθησιν, καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἑλὼν διαρπάσαι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐφῆκεν. [161] αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν λαμβάνει στέφανον ἕλκοντα χρυσοῦ τάλαντον καὶ πολυτελῆ λίθον ἔχοντα ἐν μέσῳ σαρδόνυχος: ἐφόρει δ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς διαπαντὸς Δαυίδης. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα σκῦλα λαμπρὰ καὶ πολύτιμα εὗρεν ἐν τῇ πόλει: τοὺς δ' ἄνδρας αἰκισάμενος διέφθειρε. ταὐτὰ δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν πόλεις διέθηκεν ἑλὼν αὐτὰς κατὰ κράτος.

5. But Joab sorely distressed the Ammonites in the siege, by cutting off their waters, and depriving them of other means of subsistence, till they were in the greatest want of meat and drink, for they depended only on one small well of

water, and this they durst not drink of too freely, lest the fountain should entirely fail them. So he wrote to the king, and informed him thereof; and persuaded him to come himself to take the city, that he might have the honor of the victory. Upon this letter of Joab's, the king accepted of his good-will and fidelity, and took with him his army, and came to the destruction of Rabbah; and when he had taken it by force, he gave it to his soldiers to plunder it; but he himself took the king of the Ammonites' crown, whose weight was a talent of gold; and it had in its middle a precious stone called a sardonyx; which crown David ever after wore on his own head. He also found many other vessels in the city, and those both splendid and of great price; but as for the men, he tormented them, and then destroyed them; and when he had taken the other cities of the Ammonites by force, he treated them after the same manner.

VIII

CHAPTER 8. How Absalom Murdered Amnon, Who Had Forced His Own Sister; And How He Was Banished And Afterwards Recalled By David.

(1) [162] Ἀναστρέψαντος δὲ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τοῦ βασιλέως πταῖσμα αὐτοῦ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης καταλαμβάνει: θυγάτηρ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ παρθένος μὲν ἔτι τὸ δὲ κάλλος εὐπρεπής, ὡς ἁπάσας ὑπερβάλλειν τὰς εὐμορφοτάτας γυναῖκας, Θήμαρ ὄνομα, τῆς δ᾽ αὐτῆς Ἀψαλώμῳ μητρὸς κεκοινωνηκυῖα. [163] ταύτης ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν Δαυίδου παίδων Ἀμνὼν ἐρασθείς, ὡς οὔτε διὰ τὴν παρθενίαν αὐτῆς οὔτε διὰ τὴν φυλακὴν τυχεῖν τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἐδύνατο χαλεπῶς διέκειτο, καὶ τό τε σῶμα τῆς ὀδύνης αὐτὸν κατεσθιούσης κατισχναίνετο καὶ τὴν χρόαν μετέβαλλε. [164] δῆλος δὲ γίνεται ταῦτα πάσχων Ἰωνάθῃ τινὶ συγγενεῖ καὶ φίλῳ: συνετὸς δ᾽ ἦν οὗτος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ὀξύς. ὁρῶν οὖν καθ᾽ ἑκάστην πρωίαν τὸν Ἀμνῶνα μὴ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχοντα τῷ σώματι προσελθὼν ἠρώτα φράσαι τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῷ, εἰκάζειν μέντοι γε οὕτως ἔλεγεν ἐξ ἐρωτικῆς αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἐπιθυμίας. [165] τοῦ δὲ Ἀμνῶνος ὁμολογήσαντος τὸ πάθος ὅτι τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐρᾷ τυγχανούσης ὁμοπατρίας, ὁδὸν αὐτῷ καὶ μηχανὴν εἰς τὸ περιγενέσθαι τῶν εὐκταίων ὑπέθετο: νόσον γὰρ ὑποκρίνασθαι παρῄνεσεν, ἐλθόντα δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν πατέρα πέμψαι τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῷ διακονησομένην ἐκέλευσε παρακαλέσαι: ῥᾴω γὰρ ἔσεσθαι καὶ ταχέως ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι τῆς νόσου τούτου γενομένου. [166] πεσὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀμνὼν ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην νοσεῖν προσεποιήσατο κατὰ τὰς Ἰωνάθου ὑποθήκας. παραγενομένου δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ σκεπτομένου πῶς ἔχοι, τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἐδεῖτο πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτόν: ὁ δ᾽ εὐθὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἀχθῆναι. ἡκούσῃ δὲ προσέταξεν ἄρτους αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι τηγανιστοὺς αὐτουργῷ γενομένῃ: προσοίσεσθαι γὰρ ἥδιον ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνης χειρῶν. [167] ἡ δ᾽ ἐμβλέποντος τἀδελφοῦ φυράσασα τὸ ἄλευρον καὶ πλάσασα κολλυρίδας καὶ τηγανίσασα προσήνεγκεν αὐτῷ: ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν οὐκ ἐγεύσατο, προσέταξε δὲ τοῖς οἰκέταις παραιτήσασθαι πάντας πρὸ τοῦ δωματίου: βούλεσθαι γὰρ ἀναπαύσασθαι θορύβου καὶ ταραχῆς ἀπηλλαγμένος. [168] ὡς δὲ τὸ κελευσθὲν ἐγένετο, τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἠξίωσεν εἰς τὸν ἐνδοτέρω τὸ δεῖπνον οἶκον αὐτῷ παρενεγκεῖν: ποιησάσης δὲ τοῦτο τῆς κόρης λαβόμενος αὐτῆς συνελθεῖν αὐτῷ πείθειν ἐπειρᾶτο. ἀνακραγοῦσα δ᾽ ἡ παῖς “ἀλλὰ μὴ σύ γε τοῦτο βιάσῃ με μηδὲ ἀσεβήσῃς, εἶπεν, ἀδελφέ, τοὺς νόμους παραβὰς καὶ δεινῇ περιβαλὼν σαυτὸν αἰσχύνῃ: παῦσαι δ᾽ οὕτως ἀδίκου καὶ μιαρᾶς ἐπιθυμίας, ἐξ ἧς ὀνείδη καὶ κακοδοξίαν [169] ὁ οἶκος ἡμῶν κερδανεῖ.” συνεβούλευέ τε περὶ τούτου διαλεχθῆναι τῷ πατρί: συγχωρήσειν γὰρ ἐκεῖνον. ταῦτα δ᾽ ἔλεγε βουλομένη τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτοῦ τῆς ὀρέξεως πρὸς τὸ παρὸν διαφυγεῖν. ὁ δ᾽ οὐ πείθεται, τῷ δὲ

ἔρωτι καιόμενος καὶ τοῖς τοῦ πάθους κέντροις μυωπιζόμενος βιάζεται τὴν ἀδελφήν. [170] μῖσος δ᾽ εὐθέως μετὰ τὴν κορείαν εἰσέρχεται τὸν Ἀμνῶνα καὶ προσλοιδορησάμενος ἐκέλευσεν ἀναστᾶσαν ἀπιέναι. τῆς δὲ χείρω τὴν ὕβριν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀποκαλούσης, εἰ βιασάμενος αὐτὸς μηδ᾽ ἄχρι νυκτὸς ἐπιτρέπει μεῖναι παραχρῆμα δ᾽ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι κελεύει ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ φωτί, ἵνα καὶ μάρτυσι τῆς αἰσχύνης περιπέσοι, προσέταξεν αὐτὴν ἐκβαλεῖν τῷ οἰκέτῃ. [171] ἡ δὲ περιαλγὴς ἐπὶ τῇ ὕβρει καὶ τῇ βίᾳ γενομένη περιρρήξασα τὸν χιτωνίσκον, ἐφόρουν γὰρ αἱ τῶν ἀρχαίων παρθένοι χειριδωτοὺς ἄχρι τῶν σφυρῶν πρὸς τὸ μὴ βλέπεσθαι χιτῶνας, καὶ σποδὸν καταχεαμένη τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀπήει διὰ τῆς πόλεως μέσης βοῶσα καὶ ὀδυρομένη τὴν βίαν. [172] περιτυχὼν δ᾽ αὐτῇ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀψάλωμος ἀνέκρινε, τίνος αὐτῇ δεινοῦ συμβάντος οὕτως ἔχει, κατειπούσης δ᾽ αὐτῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν ὕβριν ἡσυχάζειν καὶ μετρίως φέρειν παρηγόρει καὶ μὴ νομίζειν ὑβρίσθαι φθαρεῖσαν ὑπ᾽ ἀδελφοῦ. πεισθεῖσα οὖν παύεται τῆς βοῆς καὶ τοῦ πρὸς πολλοὺς τὴν βίαν ἐκφέρειν, καὶ πολὺν χρόνον χηρεύουσα παρὰ Ἀψαλώμῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ διεκαρτέρησε.

1. When the king was returned to Jerusalem, a sad misfortune befell his house, on the occasion following: He had a daughter, who was yet a virgin, and very handsome, insomuch that she surpassed all the most beautiful women; her name was Tamar; she had the same mother with Absalom. Now Amnon, David’s eldest son, fell in love with her, and being not able to obtain his desires, on account of her virginity, and the custody she was under, was so much out of order, nay, his grief so eat up his body, that he grew lean, and his color was changed. Now there was one Jenadab, a kinsman and friend of his, who discovered this his passion, for he was an extraordinary wise man, and of great sagacity of mind. When, therefore, he saw that every morning Amnon was not in body as he ought to be, he came to him, and desired him to tell him what was the cause of it: however, he said that he guessed that it arose from the passion of love. Amnon confessed his passion, that he was in love with a sister of his, who had the same father with himself. So Jenadab suggested to him by what method and contrivance he might obtain his desires; for he persuaded him to pretend sickness, and bade him, when his father should come to him, to beg of him that his sister might come and minister to him; for if that were done, he should be better, and should quickly recover from his distemper. So Amnon lay down on his bed, and pretended to be sick, as Jonadab had suggested. When his father came, and inquired how he did, he begged of him to send his sister to him. Accordingly, he presently ordered her to be brought to him; and when she was come, Amnon bade her make cakes for him, and fry them in a pan, and do it all with her own hands, because he should take them better from her hand [than

from any one's else]. So she kneaded the flour in the sight of her brother, and made him cakes, and baked them in a pan, and brought them to him; but at that time he would not taste them, but gave order to his servants to send all that were there out of his chamber, because he had a mind to repose himself, free from tumult and disturbance. As soon as what he had commanded was done, he desired his sister to bring his supper to him into the inner parlor; which, when the damsel had done, he took hold of her, and endeavored to persuade her to lie with him. Whereupon the damsel cried out, and said, "Nay, brother, do not force me, nor be so wicked as to transgress the laws, and bring upon thyself the utmost confusion. Curb this thy unrighteous and impure lust, from which our house will get nothing but reproach and disgrace." She also advised him to speak to his father about this affair; for he would permit him [to marry her]. This she said, as desirous to avoid her brother's violent passion at present. But he would not yield to her; but, inflamed with love and blinded with the vehemency of his passion, he forced his sister: but as soon as Amnon had satisfied his lust, he hated her immediately, and giving her reproachful words, bade her rise up and be gone. And when she said that this was a more injurious treatment than the former, if, now he had forced her, he would not let her stay with him till the evening, but bid her go away in the day-time, and while it was light, that she might meet with people that would be witnesses of her shame, — he commanded his servant to turn her out of his house. Whereupon she was sorely grieved at the injury and violence that had been offered to her, and rent her loose coat, [for the virgins of old time wore such loose coats tied at the hands, and let down to the ankles, that the inner coats might not be seen,] and sprinkled ashes on her head; and went up the middle of the city, crying out and lamenting for the violence that had been offered her. Now Absalom, her brother, happened to meet her, and asked her what sad thing had befallen her, that she was in that plight; and when she had told him what injury had been offered her, he comforted her, and desired her to be quiet, and take all patiently, and not to esteem her being corrupted by her brother as an injury. So she yielded to his advice, and left off her crying out, and discovering the force offered her to the multitude; and she continued as a widow with her brother Absalom a long time.

(2) [173] Γνοὺς δὲ τοῦθ' ὁ πατὴρ Δαυίδης τοῖς μὲν πεπραγμένοις ἤχθετο, φιλῶν δὲ τὸν Ἀμνῶνα σφόδρα, πρεσβύτατος γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ υἱός, μὴ λυπεῖν αὐτὸν ἠναγκάζετο. ὁ δὲ Ἀψάλωμος ἐμίσει χαλεπῶς αὐτὸν καὶ λανθάνων καιρὸν εἰς ἄμυναν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἐπιτήδειον παρεφύλαττεν. [174] ἔτος δ' ἤδη τοῖς περὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ πταίσμασιν διεληλύθει δεύτερον, καὶ μέλλων ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἰδίων κουρὰν ἐξιέναι θρεμμάτων εἰς Βελσεφών, πόλις δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη τῆς

Ἐφράμου κληρουχίας, παρακαλεῖ τὸν πατέρα σὺν καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐφ᾽ ἑστίασιν. [175] παραιτησαμένου δ᾽ ὡς μὴ βαρὺς αὐτῷ γένοιτο, τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἀποστεῖλαι παρεκάλεσε. πέμψαντος δὲ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐκέλευσεν ὁπηνίκ᾽ ἂν ἴδωσι τὸν Ἀμνῶνα μέθῃ παρειμένον καὶ κάρῳ, νεύσαντος αὐτοῦ φονεύσωσι μηδένα φοβηθέντες.

2. When David his father knew this, he was grieved at the actions of Amnon; but because he had an extraordinary affection for him, for he was his eldest son, he was compelled not to afflict him; but Absalom watched for a fit opportunity of revenging this crime upon him, for he thoroughly hated him. Now the second year after this wicked affair about his sister was over, and Absalom was about to go to shear his own sheep at Baalhazor, which is a city in the portion of Ephraim, he besought his father, as well as his brethren, to come and feast with him: but when David excused himself, as not being willing to be burdensome to him, Absalom desired he would however send his brethren; whom he did send accordingly. Then Absalom charged his own servants, that when they should see Amnon disordered and drowsy with wine, and he should give them a signal, they should fear nobody, but kill him.

(3) [176] Ὡς δ᾽ ἐποίησαν τὸ προσταχθὲν ἔκπληξις καὶ ταραχὴ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς λαμβάνει, καὶ δείσαντες τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐμπηδήσαντες ἵπποις ἐφέροντο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. φθάσας δέ τις αὐτοὺς ἅπαντας ὑπὸ Ἀψαλώμου πεφονεῦσθαι τῷ πατρὶ προσήγγειλεν. [177] ὁ δ᾽ ὡς ἐπὶ παισὶν ὁμοῦ τοσούτοις ἀπολωλόσι καὶ τοῦθ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἀδελφοῦ τῆς λύπης κἀπὶ τῷ κτεῖναι [δυναμένης] δοκοῦντι γινομένης πικρότερον, συναρπαγεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους οὔτε τὴν αἰτίαν ἀνέκρινεν οὔτ᾽ ἄλλο τι μαθεῖν οἷον εἰκὸς τηλικούτου προσηγγελμένου κακοῦ καὶ δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν ἀπιστίαν ἔχοντος περιέμεινεν, ἀλλὰ καταρρηξάμενος τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ ῥίψας ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἔκειτο πενθῶν τοὺς υἱοὺς ἅπαντας καὶ τοὺς ἀποθανεῖν δεδηλωμένους καὶ τὸν ἀνῃρηκότα. [178] ὁ δὲ Σαμᾶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ παῖς Ἰωνάθης ἀνεῖναί τι τῆς λύπης παρεκάλει καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων μὴ πιστεύειν ὡς τεθνᾶσιν, οὐδὲ γὰρ αἰτίαν εὑρίσκειν ὑπολαμβάνειν, περὶ δ᾽ Ἀμνῶνος ἐξετάζειν ἔφη δεῖν: εἰκὸς γὰρ διὰ τὴν Θημάρης ὕβριν ἀποτολμῆσαι τὸν Ἀψάλωμον τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τὴν ἐκείνου. [179] μεταξὺ δὲ κτύπος ἵππων καὶ θόρυβος προσιόντων τινῶν αὐτοὺς ἐπέστρεψεν: ἦσαν δ᾽ οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως παῖδες οἱ διαδράντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἑστιάσεως. ὑπαντᾷ δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὁ πατὴρ θρηνοῦσι λυπούμενος καὶ παρ᾽ ἐλπίδας ὁρῶν οὓς ἀκηκόει μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν ἀπολωλότας. [180] ἦν δὲ παρὰ πάντων δάκρυα καὶ στόνος, τῶν μὲν ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀδελφῷ τετελευτηκότι, τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ὡς ἐπὶ παιδὶ κατεσφαγμένῳ. φεύγει δ᾽ Ἀψάλωμος εἰς Γεσσούραν πρὸς τὸν πάππον τὸν πρὸς μητρὸς δυναστεύοντα τῆς ἐκεῖ χώρας, καὶ τρισὶν ὅλοις ἔτεσι παρ᾽ αὐτῷ καταμένει.

3. When they had done as they were commanded, the rest of his brethren were astonished and disturbed, and were afraid for themselves, so they immediately got on horseback, and rode away to their father; but somebody there was who prevented them, and told their father they were all slain by Absalom; whereupon he was overcome with sorrow, as for so many of his sons that were destroyed at once, and that by their brother also; and by this consideration, that it was their brother that appeared to have slain them, he aggravated his sorrow for them. So he neither inquired what was the cause of this slaughter, nor staid to hear any thing else, which yet it was but reasonable to have done, when so very great, and by that greatness so incredible, a misfortune was related to him: he rent his clothes and threw himself upon the ground, and there lay lamenting the loss of all his sons, both those who, as he was informed, were slain, and of him who slew them. But Jonadab, the son of his brother Shemeah, entreated him not to indulge his sorrow so far, for as to the rest of his sons he did not believe that they were slain, for he found no cause for such a suspicion; but he said it might deserve inquiry as to Amnon, for it was not unlikely that Absalom might venture to kill him on account of the injury he had offered to Tamar. In the mean time, a great noise of horses, and a tumult of some people that were coming, turned their attention to them; they were the king's sons, who were fled away from the feast. So their father met them as they were in their grief, and he himself grieved with them; but it was more than he expected to see those his sons again, whom he had a little before heard to have perished. However, their were tears on both sides; they lamenting their brother who was killed, and the king lamenting his son, who was killed also; but Absalom fled to Geshur, to his grandfather by his mother's side, who was king of that country, and he remained with him three whole years.

(4) [181] Τοῦ δὲ Δαυίδου προαίρεσιν ἔχοντος ἐπὶ τὸν υἱὸν Ἀψάλωμον πέμπειν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ κατελευσόμενον, ἀλλ' ὅπως εἴη σὺν αὐτῷ, καὶ γὰρ τὰ τῆς ὀργῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου λελωφήκει, πρὸς τοῦτο μᾶλλον αὐτὸν Ἰώαβος ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος παρώρμησε: [182] γύναιον γάρ τι τὴν ἡλικίαν ἤδη προβεβηκὸς ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ προσελθεῖν ἐν σχήματι πενθίμῳ, ὡς παίδων ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγροικίας αὐτῇ διενεχθέντων καὶ πρὸς φιλονεικίαν τραπέντων οὐδενὸς τοῦ καταπαῦσαι δυναμένου παραφανέντος ἔλεγεν ὑπὸ θατέρου τὸν ἕτερον πληγέντα ἀποθανεῖν: [183] ἠξίου τε τῶν συγγενῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀνῃρηκότα ὡρμηκότων καὶ ζητούντων αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν, χαρίσασθαι τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτῇ τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ μὴ τὰς ἐπιλοίπους τῆς γηρωκομίας ἐλπίδας προσαφαιρεθῆναι: τοῦτο δ' αὐτῇ κωλύσαντα τοὺς βουλομένους ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς παρέξειν: οὐ γὰρ ἐφέξειν ἐκείνους ἄλλῳ τινὶ τῆς σπουδῆς ἢ τῷ παρ' αὐτοῦ φόβῳ. [184] τοῦ δὲ συγκαταινέσαντος οἷς τὸ γύναιον ἱκέτευσεν, ὑπολαβὸν πάλιν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα "χάρις μέν, εἶπεν, ἤδη σου

τῇ χρηστότητι κατοικτείραντός μου τὸ γῆρας καὶ τὴν παρὰ μικρὸν ἀπαιδίαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα βέβαια τὰ παρὰ τῆς σῆς μοι ᾖ φιλανθρωπίας, τῷ σαυτοῦ παιδὶ πρῶτον καταλλάγηθι καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὀργὴν ἄφες: [185] πῶς γὰρ ἂν πεισθείην ἐμοί σε ταύτην [ἀληθῶς] δεδωκέναι τὴν χάριν αὐτοῦ σοῦ μέχρι νῦν ἐφ᾽ ὁμοίοις ἀπεχθανομένου τῷ παιδί; τελέως δ᾽ ἀνόητον εἶναι προς [186] θεῖναι τῷ παρὰ γνώμην ἀποθανόντι υἱῷ ἄλλον ἑκουσίως.” συνίησι δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπόβλητον οὖσαν τὴν σκῆψιν ἐξ Ἰωάβου καὶ τῆς τούτου σπουδῆς: καὶ ἐπειδὴ παρὰ τῆς πρεσβύτιδος πυθόμενος οὕτως ἔχον τἀληθὲς ἔμαθε, προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν Ἰώαβον ἐπιτυχεῖν τε τοῦ προκειμένου κατὰ νοῦν ἔφασκε καὶ τὸν Ἀψάλωμον ἄγειν ἐκέλευεν: οὐ γὰρ ἔτι χαλεπῶς ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλ᾽ ἤδη τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ τὸν θυμὸν ἀφεικέναι. [187] ὁ δὲ προσκυνήσας τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἀσπασάμενος ἐξώρμησεν εἰς τὴν Γεσσούραν παραυτίκα καὶ τὸν Ἀψάλωμον παραλαβὼν ἦκεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.

4. Now David had a design to send to Absalom, not that he should come to be punished, but that he might be with him, for the effects of his anger were abated by length of time. It was Joab, the captain of his host, that chiefly persuaded him so to do; for he suborned an ordinary woman, that was stricken in age, to go to the king in mourning apparel, who said thus to him: — That two of her sons, in a coarse way, had some difference between them, and that in the progress of that difference they came to an open quarrel, and that one was smitten by the other, and was dead; and she desired him to interpose in this case, and to do her the favor to save this her son from her kindred, who were very zealous to have him that had slain his brother put to death, that so she might not be further deprived of the hopes she had of being taken care of in her old age by him; and that if he would hinder this slaughter of her son by those that wished for it, he would do her a great favor, because the kindred would not be restrained from their purpose by any thing else than by the fear of him. And when the king had given his consent to what the woman had begged of him, she made this reply to him:— “I owe thee thanks for thy benignity to me in pitying my old age, and preventing the loss of my only remaining child; but in order to assure me of this thy kindness, be first reconciled to thine own son, and cease to be angry with him; for how shall I persuade myself that thou hast really bestowed this favor upon me, while thou thyself continuest after the like manner in thy wrath to thine own son? for it is a foolish thing to add willfully another to thy dead son, while the death of the other was brought about without thy consent.” And now the king perceived that this pretended story was a subornation derived from Joab, and was of his contrivance; and when, upon inquiry of the old woman, he understood it to be so in reality, he called for Joab, and told him he had obtained what he

requested according to his own mind; and he bid him bring Absalom back, for he was not now displeased, but had already ceased to be angry with him. So Joab bowed himself down to the king, and took his words kindly, and went immediately to Geshur, and took Absalom with him, and came to Jerusalem.

(5) [188] Προέπεμψε δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς πρόσθεν πρὸς τὸν υἱόν, ἤκουσε γὰρ παραγενόμενον, καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐκέλευσε χωρεῖν: οὔπω γὰρ οὕτως ἔχειν ὥστ᾽ εὐθὺς ἰδεῖν κατελθόντα. καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦτο τοῦ πατρὸς κελεύσαντος ἐξέκλινε τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ καὶ διετέλει τῆς παρὰ τῶν οἰκείων θεραπείας τυγχάνων. [189] οὐκ ἐπιβέβλαπτο δ᾽ εἰς τὸ κάλλος ὑπό τε τῆς λύπης καὶ τοῦ μὴ τυγχάνειν τῆς προσηκούσης ἐπιμελείας υἱῷ βασιλέως, ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι γὰρ ἐξεῖχε καὶ διέπρεπε πᾶν τῷ τε εἴδει καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοὺς ἐν πολλῇ τρυφῇ διαιτωμένους ὑπερέβαλλε. τοσοῦτον μέντοι γε ἦν τὸ βάθος τῆς κόμης, ὡς μόλις αὐτὴν ἡμέραις ἀποκείρειν ὀκτὼ σταθμὸν ἕλκουσαν σίκλους διακοσίους: οὗτοι δ᾽ εἰσὶ πέντε μναῖ. [190] διέτριψε μέντοι γε ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἔτη δύο τριῶν μὲν ἀρρένων πατὴρ γενόμενος μιᾶς δὲ θυγατρὸς τὴν μορφὴν ἀρίστης, ἣν ὁ Σολόμωνος υἱὸς Ῥοβόαμος ὕστερον λαμβάνει, καὶ γίνεται παιδίον ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἀβίας ὄνομα. [191] πέμψας δ᾽ αὐτὸς Ἀψάλωμος πρὸς Ἰώαβον ἐδεῖτ᾽ αὐτοῦ τελέως καταπραῦναι τὸν πατέρα καὶ δεηθῆναι, ὅπως αὐτῷ συγχωρήσῃ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντι θεάσασθαί τε καὶ προσειπεῖν. καταμελήσαντος δὲ Ἰωάβου τῶν ἰδίων τινὰς ἀποστείλας τὴν ὁμοροῦσαν αὐτῷ χώραν ἐπυρπόλησεν. ὁ δὲ τὸ πραχθὲν μαθὼν ἦκε πρὸς τὸν Ἀψάλωμον ἐγκαλῶν τε αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν πυνθανόμενος. [192] ὁ δέ "στρατήγημα τοῦτ᾽, εἶπεν, εὗρον ἀγαγεῖν σε πρὸς ἡμᾶς δυνάμενον ἀμελοῦντα τῶν ἐντολῶν, ἃς ἵνα μοι τὸν πατέρα διαλλάξῃς ἐποιούμην. καὶ δὴ δέομαί σου παρόντος ἡμερῶσαί μοι τὸν γεγεννηκότα: ὡς ἔγωγε δεινοτέραν τῆς φυγῆς κρίνω τὴν κάθοδον ἔτι τοῦ πατρὸς ἐν ὀργῇ [193] μένοντος." πεισθεὶς δ᾽ ὁ Ἰώαβος καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην αὐτοῦ κατοικτείρας ἐμεσίτευσε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ διαλεχθεὶς περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς οὕτως αὐτὸν ἡδέως διατίθησιν, ὡς εὐθέως καλέσαι πρὸς αὐτόν. τοῦ δὲ ῥίψαντος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοὔδαφος καὶ συγγνώμην αἰτουμένου τῶν ἡμαρτημένων ἀνίστησί τε καὶ τῶν γεγονότων ἀμνηστίαν ἐπαγγέλλεται.

5. However, the king sent a message to his son beforehand, as he was coming, and commanded him to retire to his own house, for he was not yet in such a disposition as to think fit at present to see him. Accordingly, upon the father's command, he avoided coming into his presence, and contented himself with the respects paid him by his own family only. Now his beauty was not impaired, either by the grief he had been under, or by the want of such care as was proper to be taken of a king's son, for he still surpassed and excelled all men in the tallness of his body, and was more eminent [in a fine appearance] than those that dieted the most luxuriously; and indeed such was the thickness of the hair of his

head, that it was with difficulty that he was polled every eighth day; and his hair weighed two hundred shekels which are five pounds. However, he dwelt in Jerusalem two years, and became the father of three sons, and one daughter; which daughter was of very great beauty, and which Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, took to wife afterward, and had by her a son named Abijah. But Absalom sent to Joab, and desired him to pacify his father entirely towards him; and to beseech him to give him leave to come to him to see him, and speak with him. But when Joab neglected so to do, he sent some of his own servants, and set fire to the field adjoining to him; which, when Joab understood, he came to Absalom, and accused him of what he had done; and asked him the reason why he did so. To which Absalom replied, that "I have found out this stratagem that might bring thee to us, while thou hast taken no care to perform the injunction I laid upon thee, which was this, to reconcile my father to me; and I really beg it of thee, now thou art here, to pacify my father as to me, since I esteem my coming hither to be more grievous than my banishment, while my father's wrath against me continues." Hereby Joab was persuaded, and pitied the distress that Absalom was in, and became an intercessor with the king for him. And when he had discoursed with his father, he soon brought him to that amicable disposition towards Absalom, that he presently sent for him to come to him; and when he had cast himself down upon the ground, and had begged for the forgiveness of his offenses, the king raised him up, and promised him to forget what he had formerly done.

IX

CHAPTER 9. Concerning The Insurrection Of Absalom Against David And Concerning Ahithophel And Hushai; And Concerning Ziba And Shimei; And How Ahithophel Hanged Himself.

(1) [194] Ὁ δὲ Ἀψάλωμος τοιούτων αὐτῷ τῶν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποβάντων πολλοὺς μὲν ἵππους ἐν ὀλίγῳ πάνυ χρόνῳ πολλὰ δ᾽ ἅρματα ἐκέκτητο, καὶ ὁπλοφόροι περὶ αὐτὸν ἦσαν πεντήκοντα: [195] καθ᾽ ἑκάστην δ᾽ ἡμέραν ὄρθριος πρὸς τὰ βασίλεια παρεγίνετο καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἥκουσι καὶ ἐλαττουμένοις πρὸς ἡδονὴν ὁμιλῶν, ὡς παρὰ τὸ μὴ συμβούλους ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι τῷ πατρὶ τάχ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀδίκως ἐπταικότων τῶν περὶ τὴν κρίσιν, εὔνοιαν αὐτῷ παρὰ πάντων κατεσκεύαζε λέγων, ὡς αὐτὸς ἂν εἰ ταύτην εἶχε τὴν ἐξουσίαν πολλὴν αὐτοῖς ἐβράβευσεν εὐνομίαν. [196] τούτοις δημαγωγῶν τὸ πλῆθος ὡς βεβαίαν ἤδη τὴν παρὰ τῶν ὄχλων εὔνοιαν ἐνόμιζε, μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καταλλαγὴν τεσσάρων ἐτῶν ἤδη διεληλυθότων, ἐδεῖτο προσελθὼν εἰς Γιβρῶνα συγχωρῆσαι πορευθέντι θυσίαν ἀποδοῦναι τῷ θεῷ: φεύγοντα γὰρ αὐτὸν εὔξασθαι. τοῦ δὲ Δαυίδου τὴν ἀξίωσιν ἐφέντος πορεύεται, καὶ πολὺς ἐπισυνέρρευσεν ὄχλος ἐπὶ πολλοὺς αὐτοῦ διαπέμψαντος.

1. Now Absalom, upon this his success with the king, procured to himself a great many horses, and many chariots, and that in a little time also. He had moreover fifty armor-bearers that were about him; and he came early every day to the king's palace, and spake what was agreeable to such as came for justice and lost their causes, as if that happened for want of good counselors about the king, or perhaps because the judges mistook in that unjust sentence they gave; whereby he gained the good-will of them all. He told them, that had he but such authority committed to him, he would distribute justice to them in a most equitable manner. When he had made himself so popular among the multitude, he thought he had already the good-will of the people secured to him; but when four years had passed since his father's reconciliation to him, he came to him, and besought him to give him leave to go to Hebron, and pay a sacrifice to God, because he vowed it to him when he fled out of the country. So when David had granted his request, he went thither, and great multitudes came running together to him, for he had sent to a great number so to do.

(2) [197] Παρῆν δὲ καὶ ὁ Δαυίδου σύμβουλος ὁ Γελμωναῖος Ἀχιτόφελος καὶ διακόσιοί τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν Ἱεροσολύμων οὐκ εἰδότες μὲν τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν, ὡς δ᾽

ἐπὶ θυσίαν μετεσταλμένοι: καὶ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ πάντων ἀποδείκνυται τοῦτο γενέσθαι στρατηγήσας. [198] ὡς δ᾽ ἀπηγγέλη ταῦτα Δαυίδῃ καὶ παρ᾽ ἐλπίδας αὐτῷ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ παιδὸς ἠκούσθη, δείσας ἅμα καὶ τῆς ἀσεβείας καὶ τῆς τόλμης αὐτὸν θαυμάσας, ὅτι μηδὲ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμαρτημένοις συγγνώμης ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκείνων πολὺ χείροσι καὶ παρανομωτέροις ἐπεβάλετο βασιλείᾳ πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὸ θεοῦ οὐ δεδομένῃ, δεύτερον δὲ ἐπ᾽ ἀφαιρέσει τοῦ γεγεννηκότος, ἔγνω φεύγειν εἰς τὰ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου. [199] καὶ συγκαλέσας τῶν φίλων τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς ἀπονοίας κοινολογησάμενος αὐτοῖς καὶ περὶ πάντων ἐπιτρέψας κριτῇ τῷ θεῷ, καταλιπὼν τὰ βασίλεια φυλάσσειν δέκα παλλακίσιν ἀπῆρεν ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, τοῦ τε ἄλλου πλήθους αὐτῷ συνεξορμήσαντος καὶ τῶν ἑξακοσίων ὁπλιτῶν, οἳ καὶ τῆς πρώτης φυγῆς ἐκοινώνουν, ὅτ᾽ ἔζη Σαοῦλος. [200] τὸν δὲ Ἀβιάθαρον καὶ Σάδωκον τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς συναπαίρειν διεγνωκότας καὶ Λευίτας ἅπαντας μετὰ τῆς κιβωτοῦ μένειν ἔπεισεν, ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μὴ μετακομιζομένης αὐτῆς ῥυσομένου. [201] ἐνετείλατο δ᾽ ἕκαστα τῶν γινομένων λάθρα διαγγέλλειν αὐτῷ: πιστοὺς δ᾽ ἔσχε πρὸς πάντα διακόνους παῖδας Ἀχίμανον μὲν Σαδώκου Ἰωνάθην δὲ Ἀβιαθάρου. Ἔθις δ᾽ ὁ Γιτταῖος συνεξώρμησεν αὐτῷ βιασάμενος τὴν Δαυίδου βούλησιν, μένειν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀνέπειθε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον εὔνους αὐτῷ κατεφάνη. [202] ἀναβαίνοντος δ᾽ αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ Ἐλαιῶνος ὄρους γυμνοῖς τοῖς ποσὶ καὶ πάντων σὺν αὐτῷ δακρυόντων, ἀγγέλλεται καὶ ὁ Ἀχιτόφελος συνὼν τῷ Ἀψαλώμῳ καὶ τὰ τούτου φρονῶν. ἐπέτεινε δ᾽ αὐτῷ τὸ λυπηρὸν τοῦτ᾽ ἀκουσθέν, καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐπεκαλεῖτο δεόμενος ἀπαλλοτριῶσαι τὴν Ἀψαλώμου διάνοιαν πρὸς τὸν Ἀχιτόφελον. ἐδεδίει γάρ, μὴ τἀναντία συμβουλεύων πείσειεν αὐτὸν ἀνὴρ ὢν φρενήρης καὶ συνιδεῖν τὸ λυσιτελὲς ὀξύτατος. [203] γενόμενος δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ ὄρους ἀπεσκόπει τὴν πόλιν καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν δακρύων ὡς ἂν βασιλείας ἐκπεσὼν ηὔχετο τῷ θεῷ: συνήντησε δ᾽ αὐτῷ φίλος ἀνὴρ καὶ βέβαιος Χουσὶς ὄνομα. [204] τοῦτον ὁρῶν τὴν ἐσθῆτα κατερρηγμένον καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν σποδοῦ πλήρη καὶ θρηνοῦντα τὴν μεταβολὴν παρηγορεῖ καὶ παύσασθαι τῆς λύπης παρακαλεῖ καὶ τέλος ἱκέτευσεν ἀπελθόντα πρὸς Ἀψάλωμον ὡς τὰ ἐκείνου φρονοῦντα τά τε ἀπόρρητα τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῦ κατανοεῖν καὶ ταῖς Ἀχιτοφέλου συμβουλίαις ἀντιπράσσειν: οὐ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ὠφελήσειν αὐτῷ συνερχόμενον, ὅσον παρ᾽ ἐκείνῳ γενόμενον. καὶ ὁ μὲν πεισθεὶς τῷ Δαυίδῃ, καταλιπὼν αὐτὸν ἦκεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα: ἀφικνεῖται δ᾽ εἰς αὐτὰ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ καὶ Ἀψάλωμος.

2. Among them came Ahithophel the Gilonite, a counsellor of David’s, and two hundred men out of Jerusalem itself, who knew not his intentions, but were sent for as to a sacrifice. So he was appointed king by all of them, which he obtained by this stratagem. As soon as this news was brought to David, and he was informed of what he did not expect from his son, he was aftrighted at this his

impious and bold undertaking, and wondered that he was so far from remembering how his offense had been so lately forgiven him, that he undertook much worse and more wicked enterprises; first, to deprive him of that kingdom which was given him of God; and secondly, to take away his own father's life. He therefore resolved to fly to the parts beyond Jordan: so he called his most intimate friends together, and communicated to them all that he had heard of his son's madness. He committed himself to God, to judge between them about all their actions; and left the care of his royal palace to his ten concubines, and went away from Jerusalem, being willingly accompanied by the rest of the multitude, who went hastily away with him, and particularly by those six hundred armed men, who had been with him from his first flight in the days of Saul. But he persuaded Abiathar and Zadok, the high priests, who had determined to go away with him, as also all the Levites, who were with the ark, to stay behind, as hoping that God would deliver him without its removal; but he charged them to let him know privately how all things went on; and he had their sons, Ahimmaz the son of Zadok, and Jonathan the son of Abiathar, for faithful ministers in all things; but Ittai the Gitrite went out with him whether David would let him or not, for he would have persuaded him to stay, and on that account he appeared the more friendly to him. But as he was ascending the Mount of Olives barefooted, and all his company were in tears, it was told him that Ahithophel was with Absalom, and was of his side. This hearing augmented his grief; and he besought God earnestly to alienate the mind of Absalom from Ahithophel, for he was afraid that he should persuade him to follow his pernicious counsel, for he was a prudent man, and very sharp in seeing what was advantageous. When David was gotten upon the top of the mountain, he took a view of the city; and prayed to God with abundance of tears, as having already lost his kingdom; and here it was that a faithful friend of his, whose name was Hushai, met him. When David saw him with his clothes rent, and having ashes all over his head, and in lamentation for the great change of affairs, he comforted him, and exhorted him to leave off grieving; nay, at length he besought him to go back to Absalom, and appear as one of his party, and to fish out the secretest counsels of his mind, and to contradict the counsels of Ahithophel, for that he could not do him so much good by being with him as he might by being with Absalom. So he was prevailed on by David, and left him, and came to Jerusalem, whither Absalom himself came also a little while afterward.

(3) [205] Ὀλίγον δὲ τῷ Δαυίδῃ προελθόντι Σιβᾶς ὁ τοῦ Μεμφιβόσθου δοῦλος συνήντησεν, ὃν προνοησόμενον ἀπεστάλκει τῶν κτήσεων ἃς δεδώρητο τῷ Ἰωνάθου τοῦ Σαούλου παιδὸς υἱῷ, μετὰ ζεύγους ὄνων καταπεφορτισμένων τοῖς

ἐπιτηδείοις, ἐξ ὧν ἐκέλευσε λαμβάνειν ὧν αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ δέοιντο. [206] πυνθανομένου δέ, ποῦ καταλέλοιπε τὸν Μεμφίβοσθον, ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἔλεγε προσδοκῶντα χειροτονηθήσεσθαι βασιλέα διὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ταραχὴν εἰς μνήμην ὧν εὐηργέτησεν αὐτοὺς Σαοῦλος. ἀγανακτήσας δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πάνθ᾽ ὅσα τῷ Μεμφιβόσθῳ παρεχώρησε Σιβᾷ χαρίζεται πολὺ γὰρ δικαιότερον αὐτὸν ἐκείνου ταῦτ᾽ ἔχειν ἐπέγνωκε: καὶ ὁ μὲν Σιβᾶς περιχαρὴς ἦν.

3. When David was gone a little farther, there met him Ziba, the servant of Mephibosheth, [whom he had sent to take care of the possessions which had been given him, as the son of Jonathan, the son of Saul,] with a couple of asses, loaden with provisions, and desired him to take as much of them as he and his followers stood in need of. And when the king asked him where he had left Mephibosheth, he said he had left him in Jerusalem, expecting to be chosen king in the present confusions, in remembrance of the benefits Saul had conferred upon them. At this the king had great indignation, and gave to Ziba all that he had formerly bestowed on Mephibosheth; for he determined that it was much fitter that he should have them than the other; at which Ziba greatly rejoiced.

(4) [207] Δαυίδῃ δὲ γενομένῳ κατὰ Χώρανον τόπον οὕτως καλούμενον ἐπέρχεται τοῦ Σαούλου συγγενὴς Σαμούις μὲν ὄνομα υἱὸς δὲ Γηρᾶ, καὶ λίθοις τε ἔβαλλεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκακηγόρει. περιστάντων δὲ τῶν φίλων καὶ σκεπόντων ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ Σαμούις βλασφημῶν διετέλει, μιαιφόνον καὶ πολλῶν ἀρχηγὸν κακῶν ἀποκαλῶν. [208] ἐκέλευε δὲ καὶ τῆς γῆς ὡς ἐναγῆ καὶ ἐπάρατον ἐξιέναι, καὶ τῷ θεῷ χάριν ὡμολόγει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτὸν ἀφελομένῳ καὶ διὰ παιδὸς ἰδίου τὴν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἥμαρτεν εἰς τὸν αὐτοῦ δεσπότην δίκην αὐτὸν εἰσπραξαμένῳ. πάντων δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἠρεθισμένων ὑπ᾽ ὀργῆς καὶ μάλιστα Ἀβεσσαίου διαχρήσασθαι βουλομένου τὸν Σαμούιν Δαυίδης αὐτὸν τῆς ὀργῆς ἐπέσχε, [209] "μὴ τοῖς παροῦσι κακοῖς ἑτέραν προσεξεργασώμεθα, φησί, καινοτέραν ἀφορμήν: οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ προσλυσσῶντός μοι τούτου κυνὸς αἰδώς τις ἢ φροντὶς ὑπέρχεται, τῷ θεῷ δὲ εἴκω, δι᾽ ὃν οὗτος ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἀπενοήθη. θαυμαστὸν δ᾽ οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τούτου με ταῦτα πάσχειν, ὅπου γε καὶ παιδὸς ἀσεβοῦς πεπείραμαι. ἀλλ᾽ ἔσται τις οἶκτος ἡμῖν ἐκ θεοῦ καὶ κρατήσομεν τῶν ἐχθρῶν τούτου [210] θελήσαντος." ἤνυεν οὖν τὴν ὁδὸν οὐ φροντίζων τοῦ Σαμούι παρὰ τὸ ἕτερον μέρος τοῦ ὄρους διατρέχοντος καὶ πολλὰ κακηγοροῦντος: παραγενόμενος δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόρδανον ἀνελάμβανε τοὺς ἰδίους ἐνταῦθα κεκοπωμένους.

4. When David was at Bahurim, a place so called, there came out a kinsman of Saul's, whose name was Shimei, and threw stones at him, and gave him reproachful words; and as his friends stood about the king and protected him, he persevered still more in his reproaches, and called him a bloody man, and the

author of all sorts of mischief. He bade him also go out of the land as an impure and accursed wretch; and he thanked God for depriving him of his kingdom, and causing him to be punished for what injuries he had done to his master [Saul], and this by the means of his own son. Now when they were all provoked against him, and angry at him, and particularly Abishai, who had a mind to kill Shimei, David restrained his anger. "Let us not," said he, "bring upon ourselves another fresh misfortune to those we have already, for truly I have not the least regard nor concern for this dog that raves at me: I submit myself to God, by whose permission this man treats me in such a wild manner; nor is it any wonder that I am obliged to undergo these abuses from him, while I experience the like from an impious son of my own; but perhaps God will have some commiseration upon us; if it be his will we shall overcome them." So he went on his way without troubling himself with Shimei, who ran along the other side of the mountain, and threw out his abusive language plentifully. But when David was come to Jordan, he allowed those that were with him to refresh themselves; for they were weary.

(5) [211] Ἀψαλώμου δὲ καὶ Ἀχιτοφέλου τοῦ συμβούλου παραγενομένων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα σὺν ἅπαντι τῷ λαῷ, καὶ ὁ Δαυίδου φίλος ἦκε πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ προσκυνήσας αὐτὸν συνηύχετο τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς αἰῶνα καὶ τὸν πάντα παραμεῖναι χρόνον. φήσαντος δ' ἐκείνου πρὸς αὐτόν, τί δήποτε φίλος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ γεγενημένος καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντα πιστὸς εἶναι δόξας οὐ σὺν αὐτῷ νῦν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καταλιπὼν ἐκεῖνον μεταβαίη πρὸς αὐτόν, δεξιῶς ἀποκρίνεται καὶ σωφρόνως: [212] εἶπε γὰρ ἔπεσθαι δεῖν αὐτὸν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ παντὶ πλήθει. τούτων οὖν μετὰ σοῦ, ὦ δέσποτα, γεγενημένων εἰκότως ἕπομαι κἀγώ: τὴν γὰρ βασιλείαν ἔλαβες παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ. τὴν αὐτὴν μέντοι γε πίστιν καὶ εὔνοιαν ἐνδείξομαι πιστευόμενος εἶναι φίλος, ἣν οἶσθά με τῷ πατρί σου παρεσχημένον. ἀγανακτεῖν δ' οὐδὲν προσῆκε τοῖς παροῦσιν: οὐ γὰρ εἰς ἄλλην οἰκίαν ἡ βασιλεία μεταβέβηκε, [213] μεμένηκε δ' ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς υἱοῦ παραλαβόντος." ταῦτα λέγων ἔπειθεν: ὕποπτον γὰρ αὐτὸν εἶχε. καὶ καλέσας τὸν Ἀχιτόφελον συνεβουλεύετο αὐτῷ τί δεῖ ποιεῖν: ὁ δὲ παρῄνεσε ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτὸν παλλακαῖς συνελθεῖν: ἐκ τούτου γὰρ εἴσεσθαι τὸν λαὸν ἔλεγε πιστεύσαντα, ὡς ἀδιάλλακτά σοι τὰ πρὸς αὐτόν ἐστι, καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς συστρατεύσεσθαι προθυμίας ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα: μέχρι δεῦρο γὰρ φανερὰν ἔχθραν ἀναλαμβάνειν δεδιέναι προσδοκῶντας ὑμᾶς ὁμονοήσειν. [214] πεισθεὶς δὲ τῇ συμβουλίᾳ κελεύει σκηνὴν αὐτῷ πῆξαι τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλείου τοῦ πλήθους ὁρῶντος, καὶ παρελθὼν συνέρχεται ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς παλλακαῖς. ταῦτα δ' ἐγένετο κατὰ τὴν Νάθα προφητείαν, ἣν τῷ Δαυίδῃ σημαίνων τὴν ἐκ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐσομένην ἐπίθεσιν προεφήτευσε.

5. But when Absalom, and Ahithophel his counselor, were come to Jerusalem, with all the people, David's friend, Hushai, came to them; and when he had worshipped Absalom, he withal wished that his kingdom might last a long time, and continue for all ages. But when Absalom said to him, "How comes this, that he who was so intimate a friend of my father's, and appeared faithful to him in all things, is not with him now, but hath left him, and is come over to me?" Hushai's answer was very pertinent and prudent; for he said, "We ought to follow God and the multitude of the people; while these, therefore, my lord and master, are with thee, it is fit that I should follow them, for thou hast received the kingdom from God. I will therefore, if thou believest me to be thy friend, show the same fidelity and kindness to thee, which thou knowest I have shown to thy father; nor is there any reason to be in the least dissatisfied with the present state of affairs, for the kingdom is not transferred into another, but remains still in the same family, by the son's receiving it after his father." This speech persuaded Absalom, who before suspected Hushai. And now he called Ahithophel, and consulted with him what he ought to do: he persuaded him to go in unto his father's concubines; for he said that "by this action the people would believe that thy difference with thy father is irreconcilable, and will thence fight with great alacrity against thy father, for hitherto they are afraid of taking up open enmity against him, out of an expectation that you will be reconciled again." Accordingly, Absalom was prevailed on by this advice, and commanded his servants to pitch him a tent upon the top of the royal palace, in the sight of the multitude; and he went in and lay with his father's concubines. Now this came to pass according to the prediction of Nathan, when he prophesied and signified to him that his son would rise up in rebellion against him.

(6) [215] Ποιήσας δ' Ἀψάλωμος τὰ παραινεθέντα αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀχιτοφέλου δεύτερον αὐτὸν ἠξίου συμβουλεύειν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. μυρίους δ' αὐτὸν ἐπιλέκτους αἰτήσαντος ἐκείνου καὶ τόν τε πατέρα κτενεῖν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ζωοὺς ἀνάξειν ὑποσχομένου καὶ βεβαίαν τότε τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσεσθαι φήσαντος Δαυίδου μηκέτι ζῶντος, [216] ἀρεσθεὶς τῇ γνώμῃ μετακαλεῖται καὶ τὸν Χουσὶν τὸν Δαυίδου ἀρχίφιλον: οὕτως γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνος ἐκάλει: καὶ τὴν Ἀχιτοφέλου γνώμην αὐτῷ δηλώσας, τί καὶ αὐτῷ δοκεῖ περὶ αὐτῆς ἐπυνθάνετο. συνιδὼν δ', ὅτι γενομένων ὧν Ἀχιτόφελος συνεβούλευσε κινδυνεύσει Δαυίδης συλληφθεὶς ἀποθανεῖν, γνώμην εἰσφέρειν ἐναντίαν ἐπειρᾶτο: [217] "οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοεῖς εἶπεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τὴν τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ ἀνδρείαν, ὅτι καὶ πολλοὺς πολέμους πεπολέμηκε καὶ πάντοτε κρατῶν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπήλλακται. νῦν δὲ εἰκὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου μένειν: στρατηγῆσαι γὰρ ἱκανώτατος καὶ προιδεῖν ἀπάτην ἐπερχομένων πολεμίων: [218]

ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν ἑσπέραν ἀπολιπὼν τοὺς ἰδίους ἢ εἴς τινα τῶν αὐλώνων ἑαυτὸν ἀποκρύψει ἢ πρὸς πέτρᾳ τινὶ λοχήσει: συμβαλόντων δὲ τῶν ἡμετέρων οἱ μὲν ἐκείνου πρὸς μικρὸν ὑποχωρήσουσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ θαρσήσαντες ὡς τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτοῖς ἐγγὺς ὄντος ἀντιστήσονται, καὶ μεταξὺ τούτων μαχομένων ὁ πατὴρ ἐπιφανεὶς ἐξαίφνης τοῖς μὲν εὐψυχίαν πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους παρασκευάσει τοὺς δὲ σοὺς καταπλήξεται. [219] παράθου δὴ τοίνυν καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν συμβουλίαν τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐπιγνοὺς ἄριστα τὴν μὲν Ἀχιτοφέλου γνώμην παραίτησαι, πέμψας δ᾽ εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν τῶν Ἑβραίων παράγγειλον αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα σου στρατείαν, καὶ παραλαβὼν αὐτὸς τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ πολέμου γίνου στρατηγὸς καὶ μὴ πιστεύσῃς τοῦτον ἑτέρῳ. [220] νικήσειν γὰρ προσδόκα ῥᾳδίως αὐτόν, ἂν ἐν φανερῷ καταλάβῃς ὄντα μετ᾽ ὀλίγων αὐτὸς πολλὰς ἔχων μυριάδας βουλομένων τὴν περὶ σὲ σπουδὴν ἐπιδείξασθαι καὶ προθυμίαν. ἂν δ᾽ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτὸν εἰς πολιορκίαν περικλείσῃ, μηχανήμασι καὶ [221] ὀρύγμασιν ὑπονόμοις καθαιρήσομεν ἐκείνην τὴν πόλιν.” ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν εὐδοκίμησε μᾶλλον Ἀχιτοφέλου: τῆς γὰρ ἐκείνου γνώμης ἡ τούτου προεκρίθη παρ᾽ Ἀψαλώμου. θεὸς μέντοι γε ἦν ὁ τούτου τῇ διανοίᾳ τὴν τοῦ Χουσὶ συμβουλίαν συστήσας ἀμείνω εἶναι δοκεῖν.

6. And when Absalom had done what he was advised to by Ahithophel, he desired his advice, in the second place, about the war against his father. Now Ahithophel only asked him to let him have ten thousand chosen men, and he promised he would slay his father, and bring the soldiers back again in safety; and he said that then the kingdom would be firm to him when David was dead [but not otherwise]. Absalom was pleased with this advice, and called for Hushai, David’s friend [for so did he style him]; and informing him of the opinion of Ahithophel, he asked, further, what was his opinion concerning that matter. Now he was sensible that if Ahithophel’s counsel were followed, David would be in danger of being seized on, and slain; so he attempted to introduce a contrary opinion, and said, “Thou art not unacquainted, O king, with the valor of thy father, and of those that are now with him; that he hath made many wars, and hath always come off with victory, though probably he now abides in the camp, for he is very skillful in stratagems, and in foreseeing the deceitful tricks of his enemies; yet will he leave his own soldiers in the evening, and will either hide himself in some valley, or will place an ambush at some rock; so that when our army joins battle with him, his soldiers will retire for a little while, but will come upon us again, as encouraged by the king’s being near them; and in the mean time your father will show himself suddenly in the time of the battle, and will infuse courage into his own people when they are in danger, but bring consternation to thine. Consider, therefore, my advice, and reason upon it, and if thou canst not but acknowledge it to be the best, reject the opinion of

Ahithophel. Send to the entire country of the Hebrews, and order them to come and fight with thy father; and do thou thyself take the army, and be thine own general in this war, and do not trust its management to another; then expect to conquer him with ease, when thou overtakest him openly with his few partisans, but hast thyself many ten thousands, who will be desirous to demonstrate to thee their diligence and alacrity. And if thy father shall shut himself up in some city, and bear a siege, we will overthrow that city with machines of war, and by undermining it." When Hushai had said this, he obtained his point against Ahithophel, for his opinion was preferred by Absalom before the other's: however, it was no other than God who made the counsel of Hushai appear best to the mind of Absalom.

(7) [222] Σπεύσας δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχιερέας Σάδωκον καὶ Ἀβιάθαρον καὶ τήν τε Ἀχιτοφέλου γνώμην ἐξειπὼν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὅτι δέδοκται τὰ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ παραινεθέντα πράττειν, ἐκέλευσε μηνύειν πέμψαντας Δαυίδῃ καὶ φανερὰ ποιεῖν τὰ συμβεβουλευμένα καὶ προσπαρακελεύσασθαι ταχέως διαβῆναι τὸν Ἰόρδανον, μὴ μεταγνοὺς ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ διώκειν ὁρμήσῃ καὶ πρὶν ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ γένηται φθάσας καταλάβῃ. [223] οἱ δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς ἐξεπίτηδες τοὺς υἱοὺς ἔξω τῆς πόλεως κεκρυμμένους εἶχον, ὅπως διακομίσωσι πρὸς τὸν Δαυίδην τὰ πραττόμενα: πέμψαντες οὖν πιστὴν θεραπαινίδα πρὸς αὐτοὺς φέρουσαν τὰ βεβουλευμένα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀψαλώμου προσέταξαν μετὰ σπουδῆς ταῦτα Δαυίδῃ σημαίνειν. [224] οἱ δ᾽ οὐδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς καὶ μέλλησιν ὑπερέθεντο, λαβόντες δὲ τὰς τῶν πατέρων ἐντολὰς εὐσεβεῖς ἅμα καὶ πιστοὶ γίνονται διάκονοι: καὶ τῆς ὑπηρεσίας τὸ τάχος καὶ τὴν ὀξύτητα κρίναντες ἄριστα εἶναι ἠπείγοντο συμβαλεῖν Δαυίδῃ. [225] γενομένους δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ σταδίων τῆς πόλεως δύο θεῶνταί τινες ἱππεῖς καὶ διαβάλλουσι πρὸς τὸν Ἀψάλωμον: ὁ δ᾽ εὐθὺς ἔπεμψε τοὺς συλληψομένους. νοήσαντες δὲ τοῦτο οἱ τῶν ἀρχιερέων παῖδες ἐκτραπέντες τῆς ὁδοῦ παραχρῆμα εἰς κώμην τινὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων οὐκ ἄπωθεν αὐτοὺς ἔδωκαν, Βοκχόρης ἦν ὄνομα τῇ πόλει, καὶ γυναικὸς ἐδεήθησάν τινος κρύψαι καὶ παρασχεῖν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν. [226] ἡ δὲ καθιμήσασα τοὺς νεανίσκους εἰς φρέαρ καὶ πλάκας ἄνωθεν ἐρίων ἐρίων ἐπιβαλοῦσα, ὡς ἦκον οἱ διώκοντες αὐτοὺς καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀνέκριναν εἰ θεάσαιτο, ἰδεῖν οὐκ ἠρνήσατο, πιόντας γὰρ παρ᾽ αὐτῇ πάλιν ἀπελθεῖν, εἰ μέντοι γε συντόνως διώξουσι καταλήψεσθαι προύλεγεν. ὡς δ᾽ ἐπὶ πολὺ διώξαντες οὐ κατέλαβον, ἀνέστρεψαν εἰς τοὐπίσω. [227] θεασαμένη δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀναζεύξαντας ἡ γυνὴ καὶ μηδένα φόβον τοῖς νεανίσκοις ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἔτι συλλήψεως εἶναι, ἀνιμήσασα τὴν προκειμένην ὁδὸν ἀνύειν παρεκελεύσατο: καὶ πολλῇ σπουδῇ καὶ τάχει χρησάμενοι περὶ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ἦκον πρὸς Δαυίδην καὶ πάντ᾽ ἀκριβῶς ἐδήλωσαν τὰ παρ᾽

Ἀψαλώμου βεβουλευμένα. ὁ δὲ διαβῆναι τὸν Ἰόρδανον τοὺς μεθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ προσέταξεν ἤδη νυκτὸς οὔσης καὶ μηδὲν ὀκνεῖν δι᾽ αὐτήν.

7. So Hushai made haste to the high priests, Zadok and Abiathar, and told them the opinion of Ahithophel, and his own, and that the resolution was taken to follow this latter advice. He therefore bade them send to David, and tell him of it, and to inform him of the counsels that had been taken; and to desire him further to pass quickly over Jordan, lest his son should change his mind, and make haste to pursue him, and so prevent him, and seize upon him before he be in safety. Now the high priests had their sons concealed in a proper place out of the city, that they might carry news to David of what was transacted. Accordingly, they sent a maid-servant, whom they could trust, to them, to carry the news of Absalom's counsels, and ordered them to signify the same to David with all speed. So they made no excuse nor delay, but taking along with them their fathers' injunctions, because pious and faithful ministers, and judging that quickness and suddenness was the best mark of faithful service, they made haste to meet with David. But certain horsemen saw them when they were two furlongs from the city, and informed Absalom of them, who immediately sent some to take them; but when the sons of the high priest perceived this, they went out of the road, and betook themselves to a certain village; that village was called Bahurim; there they desired a certain woman to hide them, and afford them security. Accordingly she let the young men down by a rope into a well, and laid fleeces of wool over them; and when those that pursued them came to her, and asked her whether she saw them, she did not deny that she had seen them, for that they staid with her some time, but she said they then went their ways; and she foretold that, however, if they would follow them directly, they would catch them; but when after a long pursuit they could not catch them, they came back again; and when the woman saw those men were returned, and that there was no longer any fear of the young men's being caught by them, she drew them up by the rope, and bade them go on their journey accordingly, they used great diligence in the prosecution of that journey, and came to David, and informed him accurately of all the counsels of Absalom. So he commanded those that were with him to pass over Jordan while it was night, and not to delay at all on that account.

(8) [228] Ἀχιτόφελος δὲ τῆς γνώμης αὐτοῦ παρευδοκιμηθείσης ἐπιβὰς τοῦ κτήνους ἐξώρμησεν εἰς Γελμὼν τὴν πατρίδα: καὶ συγκαλέσας τοὺς οἰκείους ἅπαντας ἃ συνεβούλευσεν Ἀψαλώμῳ ταῦτ᾽ αὐτοῖς διεξῆλθε, καὶ ὡς οὐ πεισθεὶς φανερός ἐστιν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀπολούμενος: Δαυίδην δὲ κρατήσειν ἔλεγεν [καὶ] ἐπανήξειν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν. [229] ἄμεινον οὖν ἔφησεν εἶναι τοῦ ζῆν αὐτὸν

ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐλευθέρως καὶ μεγαλοφρόνως ἢ παρασχεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς κόλασιν Δαυίδῃ, καθ᾽ οὗ πάντα συνέπραττεν Ἀψαλώμῳ. ταῦτα διαλεχθεὶς καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὸ μυχαίτατον τῆς οἰκίας ἀνήρτησεν ἑαυτόν. καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἀχιτόφελον τοιούτου θανάτου δικαστὴν αὐτῷ γενόμενον καθελόντες ἐκ τῆς ἀγχόνης ἐκήδευσαν οἱ προσήκοντες. [230] ὁ δὲ Δαυίδης διαβὰς τὸν Ἰόρδανον, καθὼς προειρήκαμεν, εἰς Παρεμβολὰς καλλίστην καὶ ὀχυρωτάτην πόλιν παραγίνεται: δέχονται δὲ αὐτὸν ἀσμενέστατα πάντες οἱ πρῶτοι τῆς χώρας κατά τε αἰδῶ τῆς τότε φυγῆς καὶ κατὰ τιμὴν τῆς προτέρας εὐπραγίας. ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι Βερζελαῖος ὁ Γαλαδίτης καὶ Σειφὰρ ὁ τῆς Ἀμμανίτιδος δυνάστης καὶ Μάχειρος ὁ τῆς Γαλαδίτιδος χώρας πρῶτος. [231] οὗτοι πᾶσαν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐκτένειαν παρέσχον, ὡς μήτε κλίνας ἐπιλιπεῖν ἐστρωμένας μήτε ἄρτους καὶ οἶνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θυμάτων ἀφθονίαν χορηγῆσαι καὶ τῶν εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν ἤδη κεκοπωμένοις καὶ τροφὴν χρησίμων εὐπορίαν διαρκῆ παρασχεῖν.

8. But Ahithophel, on rejection of his advice, got upon his ass, and rode away to his own country, Gilon; and, calling his family together, he told them distinctly what advice he had given Absalom; and since he had not been persuaded by it, he said he would evidently perish, and this in no long time, and that David would overcome him, and return to his kingdom again; so he said it was better that he should take his own life away with freedom and magnanimity, than expose himself to be punished by David, in opposition to whom he had acted entirely for Absalom. When he had discoursed thus to them, he went into the inmost room of his house, and hanged himself; and thus was the death of Ahithophel, who was self-condemned; and when his relations had taken him down from the halter, they took care of his funeral. Now, as for David, he passed over Jordan, as we have said already, and came to Mahanaim, every fine and very strong city; and all the chief men of the country received him with great pleasure, both out of the shame they had that he should be forced to flee away [from Jerusalem], and out of the respect they bare him while he was in his former prosperity. These were Barzillai the Gileadite, and Siphar the ruler among the Ammonites, and Machir the principal man of Gilead; and these furnished him with plentiful provisions for himself and his followers, insomuch that they wanted no beds nor blankets for them, nor loaves of bread, nor wine; nay, they brought them a great many cattle for slaughter, and afforded them what furniture they wanted for their refreshment when they were weary, and for food, with plenty of other necessaries.

X

CHAPTER 10. How, When Absalom Was Beaten, He Was Caught In A Tree By His Hair And Was Slain

(1) [232] Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἦσαν: Ἀψάλωμος δ᾽ ἀθροίσας μεγάλην στρατιὰν τῶν Ἑβραίων ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Ἰόρδανον ποταμὸν οὐ πόρρω κατέζευξε τῶν Παρεμβολῶν ἐν τῇ Γαλαδιτῶν χώρᾳ, καταστήσας στρατηγὸν πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως Ἀμασᾶν εἰς τὴν Ἰωάβου τάξιν τοῦ συγγενοῦς αὐτοῦ: πατρὸς μὲν γὰρ ἦν Ἰεθράου μητρὸς δὲ Ἀβιγαίας, αὕτη δὲ καὶ Σουρία ἡ Ἰωάβου μήτηρ ἀδελφαὶ ἦσαν Δαυίδου. [233] ὡς δ᾽ ἐξαριθμήσας τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ Δαυίδης περὶ τετρακισχιλίους εὗρεν ὄντας, οὐκ ἔγνω μένειν, πότ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἀψάλωμος ἔλθῃ, προσθεὶς δὲ τοῖς οὖσι χιλιάρχους καὶ ἑκατοντάρχους καὶ διελὼν εἰς τρία μέρη τὸ μὲν τῷ στρατηγῷ παρέδωκεν Ἰωάβῳ, τὸ δὲ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ Ἀβεσσαίῳ, τὴν δὲ τρίτην μοῖραν ἐνεχείρισεν Ἐσθαίῳ συνήθει μὲν ὄντι καὶ φίλῳ ἐκ δὲ τῆς Γιττῶν πόλεως ὑπάρχοντι. [234] βουλόμενον δὲ συνεκστρατεύειν αὐτὸν οὐκ εἴασαν οἱ φίλοι γνώμῃ κατασχόντες σοφωτάτῃ: νικηθέντες μὲν γὰρ σὺν αὐτῷ πᾶσαν ἀποβαλεῖν ἐλπίδα χρηστὴν ἔφασκον, ἂν δὲ ἡττηθέντες ἐνὶ μέρει τῆς δυνάμεως τῷ λοιπῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν φύγωσιν ἀμείνονα παρασκευάσειν αὐτὸν ἰσχύν: ὑπονοήσειν δὲ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους εἰκός ἐστιν ἄλλο μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ στράτευμα εἶναι. [235] πεισθεὶς δὲ τῇ συμβουλίᾳ ταύτῃ μένειν μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς Παρεμβολαῖς ἔκρινεν, ἐκπέμπων δὲ τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον παρεκάλει προθυμίαν ἐναποδείξασθαι καὶ πίστιν καὶ μνήμην, εἴ τινος τῶν μετρίως ἐχόντων παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἔτυχον: φείσασθαι δὲ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀψαλώμου κρατήσαντας ἠντιβόλει, μὴ κακὸν αὐτὸν ἐργάσηταί τι τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ. καὶ ὁ μὲν νίκην αὐτοῖς ἐπευξάμενος ἐκπέμπει τὴν στρατιάν.

1. And this was the state of David and his followers: but Absalom got together a vast army of the Hebrews to oppose his father, and passed therewith over the river Jordan, and sat down not far off Mahanaim, in the country of Gilead. He appointed Amasa to be captain of all his host, instead of Joab his kinsman: his father was Ithra and his mother Abigail: now she and Zeruiah, the mother of Joab, were David's sisters. But when David had numbered his followers, and found them to be about four thousand, he resolved not to tarry till Absalom attacked him, but set over his men captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds, and divided his army into three parts; the one part he committed to Joab, the next to Abishai, Joab's brother, and the third to Ittai, David's companion and friend, but one that came from the city Gath; and when he was desirous of fighting himself among them, his friends would not let him: and this refusal of theirs was founded upon very wise reasons: "For," said they, "if we be

conquered when he is with us, we have lost all good hopes of recovering ourselves; but if we should be beaten in one part of our army, the other parts may retire to him, and may thereby prepare a greater force, while the enemy will naturally suppose that he hath another army with him." So David was pleased with this their advice, and resolved himself to tarry at Mahanaim; and as he sent his friends and commanders to the battle, he desired them to show all possible alacrity and fidelity, and to bear in mind what advantages they had received from him, which, though they had not been very great, yet had they not been quite inconsiderable; and he begged of them to spare the young man Absalom, lest some mischief should befall himself, if he should be killed; and thus did he send out his army to the battle, and wished them victory therein.

(2) [236] Ἰωάβου δὲ παρατάξαντος τὴν δύναμιν ἀντικρὺ τῶν πολεμίων ἐν πεδίῳ μεγάλῳ ἐξόπισθεν περιβεβλημένῳ δρυμὸν ἀντεξάγει τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ Ἀψάλωμος. καὶ συμβολῆς γενομένης ἔργα μεγάλα χειρῶν τε καὶ τόλμης παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐπεδείκνυτο, τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολαβεῖν Δαυίδην παρακινδυνευόντων καὶ πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ χρωμένων, τῶν δ' ἵνα μὴ ταύτην Ἀψάλωμος ἀφαιρεθῇ καὶ δῷ τῷ πατρὶ δίκας κολασθεὶς ἀνθ' ὧν ἐτόλμησεν οὐδὲν ὀκνούντων οὔτε ποιεῖν οὔτε πάσχειν, [237] ἔτι δὲ τῶν μὲν πλειόνων ἵνα μὴ κρατηθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν σὺν Ἰωάβῳ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ στρατηγοῖς ὄντων ὀλίγων, αἰσχύνην γὰρ αὐτοῖς τοῦτο εἶναι μεγίστην, τῶν δὲ Δαυίδου στρατιωτῶν ἵνα τοσούτων μυριάδων κρατήσωσι φιλοτιμουμένων, ἔρις ἐγένετο καρτερά, καὶ νικῶσιν οἱ Δαυίδου ῥώμῃ τε προύχοντες καὶ τῇ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐπιστήμῃ. [238] φεύγοντας δὲ διὰ δρυμῶν καὶ φαράγγων ἑπόμενοι τοὺς μὲν ἐλάμβανον πολλοὺς δὲ ἀνῄρουν, ὡς φεύγοντας πεσεῖν πλείονας ἢ μαχομένους: ἔπεσον γὰρ ὡς δισμύριοι ἐπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας. οἱ δὲ τοῦ Δαυίδου πάντες ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀψάλωμον: φανερὸς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὑπό τε τοῦ κάλλους καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους ἐγένετο. [239] δείσας δέ, μὴ καταλάβωσιν αὐτὸν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἐπιβὰς τῆς ἡμιόνου τῆς βασιλικῆς ἔφευγε: φερόμενος δὲ μετὰ ῥύμης καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ σάλου καὶ τῆς κινήσεως κοῦφος ὤν, ἐμπλακείσης αὐτῷ τῆς κόμης τραχεῖ δένδρῳ μεγάλοις ἐπὶ πολὺ κλάδοις ἐκτεταμένῳ παραδόξως ἀνακρεμνᾶται. καὶ τὸ μὲν κτῆνος ὑπ' ὀξύτητος ὡς ἐπικείμενον τὸν δεσπότην ἔτι φέρον ἐχώρει προσωτέρω, ὁ δ' ἐκ τῶν κλάδων αἰωρούμενος ἐκρατεῖτο τοῖς πολεμίοις. [240] τοῦτό τις ἰδὼν τῶν Δαυίδου στρατιωτῶν ἐδήλωσεν Ἰωάβῳ, καὶ πεντήκοντα σίκλους ἂν αὐτῷ δεδωκέναι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ φήσαντος, εἰ βαλὼν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Ἀψάλωμον, "οὐδ' εἰ χιλίους, εἶπεν, ἔμελλές μοι παρέξειν, τοῦτ' ἂν διέθηκά μου τὸν τοῦ δεσπότου παῖδα, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐκείνου πάντων ἡμῶν ἀκουόντων φείσασθαι τοῦ νεα [241] νίσκου δεηθέντος." ὁ δὲ κελεύσας αὐτῷ δεῖξαι ποῦ κρεμάμενον ἴδοι τὸν Ἀψάλωμον τοξεύσας κατὰ τῆς καρδίας ἀπέκτεινεν: οἱ δὲ τὰ τοῦ Ἰωάβου κομίζοντες ὅπλα

περιστάντες ἐν κύκλῳ τὸ δένδρον κατασπῶσι τὸν νεκρόν: [242] καὶ τὸν μὲν εἰς χάσμα βαθὺ καὶ ἀχανὲς ῥίψαντες ἐπιβάλλουσιν αὐτῷ λίθους, ὥστε ἀναπληρωθῆναι καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τάφου καὶ μέγεθος λαβεῖν, σημήνας δὲ ἀνακλητικὸν ὁ Ἰώαβος ἐπέσχε τοῦ διώκειν τοὺς οἰκείους στρατιώτας τὴν τῶν πολεμίων δύναμιν φειδόμενος τῶν ὁμοφύλων.

2. Then did Joab put his army in battle-array over against the enemy in the Great Plain, where he had a wood behind him. Absalom also brought his army into the field to oppose him. Upon the joining of the battle, both sides showed great actions with their hands and their boldness; the one side exposing themselves to the greatest hazards, and using their utmost alacrity, that David might recover his kingdom; and the other being no way deficient, either in doing or suffering, that Absalom might not be deprived of that kingdom, and be brought to punishment by his father for his impudent attempt against him. Those also that were the most numerous were solicitous that they might not be conquered by those few that were with Joab, and with the other commanders, because that would be the greater disgrace to them; while David's soldiers strove greatly to overcome so many ten thousands as the enemy had with them. Now David's men were conquerors, as superior in strength and skill in war; so they followed the others as they fled away through the forests and valleys; some they took prisoners, and many they slew, and more in the flight than in the battle for there fell about twenty thousand that day. But all David's men ran violently upon Absalom, for he was easily known by his beauty and tallness. He was himself also afraid lest his enemies should seize on him, so he got upon the king's mule, and fled; but as he was carried with violence, and noise, and a great motion, as being himself light, he entangled his hair greatly in the large boughs of a knotty tree that spread a great way, and there he hung, after a surprising manner; and as for the beast, it went on farther, and that swiftly, as if his master had been still upon his back; but he, hanging in the air upon the boughs, was taken by his enemies. Now when one of David's soldiers saw this, he informed Joab of it; and when the general said, that if he had shot at and killed Absalom, he would have given him fifty shekels, — he replied, "I would not have killed my master's son if thou wouldst have given me a thousand shekels, especially when he desired that the young man might be spared in the hearing of us all." But Joab bade him show him where it was that he saw Absalom hang; whereupon he shot him to the heart, and slew him, and Joab's armor-bearers stood round the tree, and pulled down his dead body, and cast it into a great chasm that was out of sight, and laid a heap of stones upon him, till the cavity was filled up, and had both the appearance and

the bigness of a grave. Then Joab sounded a retreat, and recalled his own soldiers from pursuing the enemy's army, in order to spare their countrymen.

(3) [243] Ἔστησε δ' Ἀψάλωμος ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι τῇ βασιλικῇ στήλην λίθου μαρμαρίνου δύο σταδίους ἀπέχουσαν Ἱεροσολύμων, ἣν προσηγόρευσεν ἰδίαν χεῖρα λέγων, ὡς καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ διαφθαρέντων ἐν τῇ στήλῃ μενεῖ τὸ ὄνομα: τέκνα γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ τρία μὲν ἄρρενα, θυγάτηρ δὲ μία Θωμάρα τοὔνομα, ὡς προειρήκαμεν. [244] συνοικησάσης δ' αὐτῆς τῷ Σολόμωνος υἱῷ Ῥοβοάμῳ γίνεται παῖς ὁ διαδεξάμενος τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀβίας. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν ὑστέροις οἰκειότερον τῇ ἱστορίᾳ δηλώσομεν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀψαλώμου τελευτὴν ὁ μὲν λαὸς εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα διεσπάρη.

3. Now Absalom had erected for himself a marble pillar in the king's dale, two furlongs distant from Jerusalem, which he named Absalom's Hand, saying, that if his children were killed, his name would remain by that pillar; for he had three sons and one daughter, named Tamar, as we said before, who when she was married to David's grandson, Rehoboam, bare a son, Abijah by name, who succeeded his father in the kingdom; but of these we shall speak in a part of our history which will be more proper. After the death of Absalom, they returned every one to their own homes respectively.

(4) [245] Ἀχιμᾶς δὲ ὁ Σαδώκου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως υἱὸς Ἰωάβῳ προσελθὼν ἐδεῖτο αὐτοῦ τὴν νίκην ἐπιτρέψαι πορευθέντι Δαυίδῃ μηνῦσαι, καὶ ὅτι τῆς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθείας ἔτυχε καὶ προνοίας εὐαγγελίσασθαι. [246] καὶ τὸν μέν, οὐ προσήκειν εἰπὼν αὐτῷ καλῶν ἄγγελον ἀεὶ γεγενημένον νῦν ἀπιέναι δηλώσοντα θάνατον τῷ βασιλεῖ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ, μένειν ἠξίου, καλέσας δὲ τὸν Χουσὶν ἐκείνῳ προσέταξε τὸ ἔργον, ἵν' ὅπερ αὐτὸς εἶδε τοῦτο μηνύσειε τῷ βασιλεῖ. [247] τοῦ δ' Ἀχιμᾶ πάλιν δεηθέντος αὐτῷ τὴν ἀγγελίαν ἐφεῖναι, περὶ μόνης γὰρ αὐτὴν ποιήσεσθαι τῆς νίκης ἡσυχάσειν δὲ περὶ τῆς Ἀψαλώμου τελευτῆς, ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Δαυίδην ἄφιξιν. καὶ τὴν ἐπιτομωτέραν ἐκβαλὼν τῶν ὁδῶν, καὶ γὰρ μόνος αὐτὴν ἐγίνωσκε, τὸν Χουσὶν φθάνει. [248] καθεζομένῳ δὲ Δαυίδῃ μεταξὺ τῶν πυλῶν καὶ περιμένοντι, πότ' αὐτῷ τις ἐλθὼν ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἀγγείλῃ τὰ κατ' αὐτήν, τῶν σκοπῶν τις ἰδὼν τὸν Ἀχιμᾶν τρέχοντα καὶ μήπω τίς ἐστι γνωρίσαι δυνάμενος εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Δαυίδην βλέπειν τινὰ παραγινόμενον πρὸς αὐτόν. [249] τοῦ δ' ἄγγελον εἶναι φήσαντος ἀγαθῶν, μετ' ὀλίγον ἔπεσθαί τινα καὶ ἕτερον ἐδήλωσεν αὐτῷ. κἀκεῖνον δὲ ἄγγελον εἰπόντος, ἰδὼν τὸν Ἀχιμᾶν ὁ σκοπὸς ἤδη ἐγγὺς γεγενημένον τὸν Σαδώκου παῖδα τοῦ ἀρχιερέως προστρέχειν ἐσήμαινεν. ὁ δὲ Δαυίδης περιχαρὴς γενόμενος ἀγαθῶν ἄγγελον τοῦτον ἔφησεν εἶναι καί τι τῶν εὐκταίων αὐτῷ φέρειν ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης.

4. But now Ahimaaz, the son of Zadok the high priest, went to Joab, and desired he would permit him to go and tell David of this victory, and to bring him the good news that God had afforded his assistance and his providence to him. However, he did not grant his request, but said to him, "Wilt thou, who hast always been the messenger of good news, now go and acquaint the king that his son is dead?" So he desired him to desist. He then called Cushi, and committed the business to him, that he should tell the king what he had seen. But when Ahimaaz again desired him to let him go as a messenger, and assured him that he would only relate what concerned the victory, but not concerning the death of Absalom, he gave him leave to go to David. Now he took a nearer road than the former did, for nobody knew it but himself, and he came before Cushi. Now as David was sitting between the gates, and waiting to see when somebody would come to him from the battle, and tell him how it went, one of the watchmen saw Ahimaaz running, and before he could discern who he was, he told David that he saw somebody coming to him, who said he was a good messenger. A little while after, he informed him that another messenger followed him; whereupon the king said that he also was a good messenger: but when the watchman saw Ahimaaz, and that he was already very near, he gave the king notice that it was the son of Zadok the high priest who came running. So David was very glad, and said he was a messenger of good tidings, and brought him some such news from the battle as he desired to hear.

(5) [250] Καὶ μεταξὺ ταῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ βασιλέως φανεὶς ὁ Ἀχιμᾶς προσκυνεῖ τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ πυθομένῳ περὶ τῆς μάχης νίκην εὐαγγελίζεται καὶ κράτος. ἐρομένῳ δ' εἴ τι καὶ περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἔχοι λέγειν αὐτὸς μὲν ἔφασκεν εὐθὺς ὁρμῆσαι πρὸς αὐτὸν τῆς τροπῆς τῶν πολεμίων γενομένης, ἀκοῦσαι δὲ μεγάλης φωνῆς διωκόντων τὸν Ἀψάλωμον καὶ πλεῖον τούτου μηδὲν δεδυνῆσθαι μαθεῖν διὰ τὸ πεμφθέντα ὑπὸ Ἰωάβου δηλῶσαι τὴν νίκην ἐπείγεσθαι. [251] παραγενομένου δὲ τοῦ Χουσὶ καὶ προσκυνήσαντος καὶ τὴν νίκην σημήναντος, περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτὸν ἀνέκρινεν. ὁ δ' "ἐχθροῖς, εἶπε, [252] τοῖς σοῖς οἷα συμβέβηκεν Ἀψαλώμῳ γένοιτο." οὗτος ὁ λόγος οὐδὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ χαρὰν εἴασεν οὔτ' αὐτῷ μεῖναι μεγίστην οὖσαν οὔτε τοῖς στρατιώταις: αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ ὑψηλότατον τῆς πόλεως ἀπεκλαίετο τὸν υἱὸν τυπτόμενος τὰ στέρνα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν σπαραττόμενος καὶ παντοίως αὐτὸν αἰκιζόμενος καὶ "τέκνον, ἐκβοῶν, εἴθε μοι τὸν θάνατον ἐπελθεῖν ἐγένετο καὶ ἅμα σοι τελευτῆσαι": φύσει γὰρ ὢν φιλόστοργος πρὸς ἐκεῖνον μᾶλλον συμπαθῶς εἶχεν. [253] ἡ στρατιὰ δὲ καὶ Ἰώαβος ἀκούσαντες, ὅτι πενθεῖ τὸν υἱὸν οὕτως ὁ βασιλεύς, ᾐσχύνθησαν μετὰ τοῦ τῶν νενικηκότων σχήματος εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, κατηφεῖς δὲ καὶ δεδακρυμένοι πάντες ὡς ἀφ' ἥττης παρῆλθον. [254] κατακαλυψαμένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ

στένοντος τὸν υἱὸν εἴσεισι πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἰώαβος καὶ παρηγορῶν “ὦ δέσποτα, φησί, λανθάνεις διαβάλλων σαυτὸν οἷς ποιεῖς, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ἀγαπῶντάς σε καὶ περὶ σοῦ κινδυνεύοντας καὶ σαυτὸν καὶ τὴν σὴν γενεὰν δοκεῖς μισεῖν, στέργειν δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροτάτους καὶ ποθεῖν οὐκέτ’ ὄντας, οἳ δίκῃ τεθνήκασιν: [255] εἰ γὰρ Ἀψάλωμος ἐκράτησε καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν βεβαίως κατέσχεν, οὐδενὸς ἂν ἡμῶν ὑπελείφθη λείψανον, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἂν ἀπὸ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν ἀρξάμενοι τέκνων ἀπωλώλειμεν οἰκτρῶς, οὐ κλαιόντων ἡμᾶς τῶν πολεμίων ἀλλὰ καὶ χαιρόντων καὶ τοὺς ἐλεοῦντας ἐπὶ τοῖς κακοῖς κολαζόντων. σὺ δ’ οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ ταῦτα ποιῶν ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἐχθρῷ, ὅτι σὸς υἱὸς ὢν ἀσεβὴς οὕτως ἐγένετο. [256] παυσάμενος οὖν τῆς ἀδίκου λύπης προελθὼν ὄφθητι τοῖς σαυτοῦ στρατιώταις καὶ τῆς νίκης αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας προθυμίας εὐχαρίστησον. ὡς ἐγὼ τήμερον, ἂν ἐπιμένῃς τοῖς ἄρτι πραττομένοις, ἀναπείσας ἀποστῆναί σου τὸν λαὸν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἑτέρῳ παραδοῦναι, τότε σοι πικρότερον [257] καὶ ἀληθὲς ποιήσω τὸ πένθος.” ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν Ἰώαβος ἀπέστρεψεν ἀπὸ τῆς λύπης καὶ ἤγαγεν εἰς τὸν περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων λογισμὸν τὸν βασιλέα: μετασχηματίσας γὰρ ἑαυτὸν Δαυίδης καὶ ποιήσας ἐπιτήδειον εἰς τὴν τοῦ πλήθους θέαν πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις ἐκάθισεν, ὡς ἅπαντα τὸν λαὸν ἀκούσαντα συνδραμεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ κατασπάσασθαι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τοῦτον ἔσχε τὸν τρόπον.

5. While the king was saying thus, Ahimaaz appeared, and worshipped the king. And when the king inquired of him about the battle, he said he brought him the good news of victory and dominion. And when he inquired what he had to say concerning his son, he said that he came away on the sudden as soon as the enemy was defeated, but that he heard a great noise of those that pursued Absalom, and that he could learn no more, because of the haste he made when Joab sent him to inform him of the victory. But when Cushi was come, and had worshipped him, and informed him of the victory, he asked him about his son, who replied, “May the like misfortune befall thine enemies as hath befallen Absalom.” That word did not permit either himself or his soldiers to rejoice for the victory, though it was a very great one; but David went up to the highest part of the city, and wept for his son, and beat his breast, tearing [the hair of] his head, tormenting himself all manner of ways, and crying out, “O my son! I wish that I had died myself, and ended my days with thee!” for he was of a tender natural affection, and had extraordinary compassion for this son in particular. But when the army and Joab heard that the king mourned for his son, they were ashamed to enter the city in the habit of conquerors, but they all came in as cast down, and in tears, as if they had been beaten. Now while the king covered himself, and grievously lamented his son, Joab went in to him, and comforted him, and said, “O my lord the king, thou art not aware that thou layest a blot on

thyself by what thou now doest; for thou seemest to hate those that love thee, and undergo dangers for thee nay, to hate thyself and thy family, and to love those that are thy bitter enemies, and to desire the company of those that are no more, and who have been justly slain; for had Absalom gotten the victory, and firmly settled himself in the kingdom, there had been none of us left alive, but all of us, beginning with thyself and thy children, had miserably perished, while our enemies had not wept for his, but rejoiced over us, and punished even those that pitied us in our misfortunes; and thou art not ashamed to do this in the case of one that has been thy bitter enemy, who, while he was thine own son hath proved so wicked to thee. Leave off, therefore, thy unreasonable grief, and come abroad and be seen of thy soldiers, and return them thanks for the alacrity they showed in the fight; for I myself will this day persuade the people to leave thee, and to give the kingdom to another, if thou continuest to do thus; and then I shall make thee to grieve bitterly and in earnest." Upon Joab's speaking thus to him, he made the king leave off his sorrow, and brought him to the consideration of his affairs. So David changed his habit, and exposed himself in a manner fit to be seen by the multitude, and sat at the gates; whereupon all the people heard of it, and ran together to him, and saluted him. And this was the present state of David's affairs.

XI

CHAPTER 11. How David, When He Had Recovered His Kingdom, Was Reconciled To Shimei, And To Ziba; And Showed A Great Affection To Barzillai; And How, Upon The Rise Of A Sedition, He Made Amasa Captain Of His Host, In Order To Pursue Seba; Which Amasa Was Slain By Joab.

(1) [258] Οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀναχωρήσαντες τῶν Ἑβραίων τῶν μετ' Ἀψαλώμου γενόμενοι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἕκαστοι διεπέμποντο κατὰ πόλεις ὑπομιμνήσκοντες αὐτοὺς ὧν εὐηργέτησε Δαυίδης καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ἣν ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ῥυσάμενος αὐτοὺς πολέμων παρέσχε, [259] μεμφόμενοι δ' ὅτι τῆς βασιλείας αὐτὸν ἐκβαλόντες ἄλλῳ ταύτην ἐνεχείρισαν καὶ νῦν τεθνηκότος τοῦ κατασταθέντος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνος οὐ παρακαλοῦσι Δαυίδην παύσασθαι μὲν τῆς ὀργῆς, εὐνοικῶς δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχειν, τῶν δὲ πραγμάτων καθὼς ἤδη καὶ πρότερον ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολαβόντα. [260] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν συνεχέστερον ἀπηγγέλλετο Δαυίδῃ: κἀκεῖνος οὐδὲν ἧττον ἔπεμψε πρὸς Σάδωκον καὶ Ἀβιάθαρον τοὺς ἀρχιερέας, ἵνα τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς διαλεχθῶσιν, ὡς αἰσχρὸν αὐτοῖς ἄλλας φυλὰς πρὸ ἐκείνης Δαυίδην χειροτονῆσαι βασιλέα, καὶ ταῦθ' ὑμῶν συγγενῶν ὄντων καὶ κοινὸν αἷμα πρὸς αὐτὸν κεκληρωμένων. [261] τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ Ἀμασᾷ τῷ στρατηγῷ προσέταξεν αὐτοὺς λέγειν, ὅτι τῆς ἀδελφῆς υἱὸς ὢν αὐτοῦ μὴ πείθει τὸ πλῆθος Δαυίδῃ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποδοῦναι: προσδοκᾶν δὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ μὴ διαλλαγὴν μόνον, τοῦτο γὰρ ἤδη γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ στρατηγίαν, ἣν αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀψάλωμος παρέσχε. [262] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀρχιερεῖς ἃ μὲν τοῖς τῆς φυλῆς ἄρχουσι διειλέχθησαν ἃ δὲ τὸν Ἀμασὰν ἔπεισαν τὰ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντες ἐγχειρεῖν ταῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φροντίσι. καὶ πείθει γε τὴν φυλὴν παραχρῆμα πέμψαι πρὸς Δαυίδην πρέσβεις παρακαλοῦντας εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτὸν ἐπανελθεῖν βασιλείαν. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ πάντες ἐποίουν οἱ Ἰσραηλῖται προτρεψαμένου τοῦ Ἀμασᾶ.

1. Now those Hebrews that had been With Absalom, and had retired out of the battle, when they were all returned home, sent messengers to every city to put them in mind of what benefits David had bestowed upon them, and of that liberty which he had procured them, by delivering them from many and great wars. But they complained, that whereas they had ejected him out of his kingdom, and committed it to another governor, which other governor, whom they had set up, was already dead, they did not now beseech David to leave off

his anger at them, and to become friends with them, and, as he used to do, to resume the care of their affairs, and take the kingdom again. This was often told to David. And, this notwithstanding, David sent to Zadok and Abiathar the high priests, that they should speak to the rulers of the tribe of Judah after the manner following: That it would be a reproach upon them to permit the other tribes to choose David for their king before their tribe, "and this," said he, "while you are akin to him, and of the same common blood." He commanded them also to say the same to Amasa the captain of their forces, That whereas he was his sister's son, he had not persuaded the multitude to restore the kingdom to David; that he might expect from him not only a reconciliation, for that was already granted, but that supreme command of the army also which Absalom had bestowed upon him. Accordingly the high priests, when they had discoursed with the rulers of the tribe, and said what the king had ordered them, persuaded Amasa to undertake the care of his affairs. So he persuaded that tribe to send immediately ambassadors to him, to beseech him to return to his own kingdom. The same did all the Israelites, at the like persuasion of Amasa.

(2) [263] Τῶν δὲ πρέσβεων ἀφικομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παρεγένετο. πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔφθασεν ἡ Ἰούδα φυλὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἰόρδανον ποταμὸν ἀπαντῆσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ὁ Γήρα παῖς Σαμούις μετὰ χιλίων ἀνδρῶν, οὓς ἐκ τῆς Βενιαμίδος φυλῆς ἐπήγετο, καὶ Σιβᾶς δὲ ὁ ἀπελεύθερος Σαούλου καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες μετὰ οἰκετῶν εἴκοσιν. [264] οὗτοι σὺν τῇ Ἰούδα φυλῇ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐγεφύρωσαν, ἵνα ῥᾷστα διαβῇ μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων ὁ βασιλεύς. ὡς δὲ ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόρδανον ἠσπάσατο μὲν αὐτὸν ἡ Ἰούδα φυλή, προσπεσὼν δ' ἀναβάντι ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν Σαμούις καὶ κατασχὼν αὐτοῦ τοὺς πόδας ἐδεῖτο συγγνῶναι περὶ τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἡμαρτημένων καὶ μὴ γενέσθαι πικρὸν αὐτῷ μηδὲ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἡγήσασθαι τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ γενόμενον, λογίσασθαι δ' ὅτι καὶ μετανοήσας ἐφ' οἷς ἐσφάλη πρῶτος ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔσπευσε. [265] ταῦτα δ' ἀντιβολοῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ οἰκτιζομένου Ἀβεσσαῖος ὁ Ἰωάβου ἀδελφός, "διὰ τοῦτο οὖν, εἶπεν, οὐ τεθνήξῃ βλασφημήσας τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κατασταθέντα βασιλεύειν;" Δαυίδης δ' ἐπιστραφεὶς πρὸς αὐτόν, "οὐ παύσεσθ', εἶπεν, ὦ Σαρουίας παῖδες; μὴ κινήσητε πάλιν ἡμῖν καινὰς ἐπὶ ταῖς πρώταις ταραχὰς καὶ στάσεις: [266] οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοεῖν ὑμᾶς προσῆκεν, ὅτι σήμερον ἄρχομαι τῆς βασιλείας. διὸ πᾶσιν ἀφιέναι τὰς κολάσεις τοῖς ἀσεβήσασιν ὄμνυμι καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἁμαρτόντων ἐπεξελθεῖν. σύ τε, εἶπεν, ὦ Σαμούι, θάρρει καὶ δείσῃς μηδὲν ὡς τεθνηξόμενος." ὁ δὲ προσκυνήσας αὐτὸν προῆγεν.

2. When the ambassadors came to him, he came to Jerusalem; and the tribe of Judah was the first that came to meet the king at the river Jordan. And Shimei, the son of Gera, came with a thousand men, which he brought with him out of

the tribe of Benjamin; and Ziba, the freed-man of Saul, with his sons, fifteen in number, and with his twenty servants. All these, as well as the tribe of Judah, laid a bridge [of boats] over the river, that the king, and those that were with him, might with ease pass over it. Now as soon as he was come to Jordan, the tribe of Judah saluted him. Shimei also came upon the bridge, and took hold of his feet, and prayed him to forgive him what he had offended, and not to be too bitter against him, nor to think fit to make him the first example of severity under his new authority; but to consider that he had repented of his failure of duty, and had taken care to come first of all to him. While he was thus entreating the king, and moving him to compassion, Abishai, Joab's brother, said, "And shall not this man die for this, that he hath cursed that king whom God hath appointed to reign over us?" But David turned himself to him, and said, "Will you never leave off, ye sons of Zeruiah? Do not you, I pray, raise new troubles and seditions among us, now the former are over; for I would not have you ignorant that I this day begin my reign, and therefore swear to remit to all offenders their punishments, and not to animadvert on any one that has sinned. Be thou, therefore," said he, "O Shimei, of good courage, and do not at all fear being put to death." So he worshipped him, and went on before him.

(3) [267] Ἀπήντησε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Σαούλου υἱωνὸς Μεμφίβοσθος ῥυπαράν τε τὴν ἐσθῆτα περικείμενος καὶ τὴν κόμην βαθεῖαν καὶ κατημελημένην ἔχων: μετὰ γὰρ τὴν Δαυίδου φυγὴν οὔτε ἀπεκείρατο λυπούμενος οὔτ' ἐκάθηρε τὴν ἐσθῆτα κατακρίνας αὐτοῦ συμφορὰν ταύτην ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως μεταβολῇ: διεβέβλητο δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπιτρόπου Σιβᾶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀδίκως. [268] ἀσπασαμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ προσκυνήσαντος ἤρξατο πυνθάνεσθαι, τί δήποτ' οὐ συνεξῆλθεν αὐτῷ καὶ κοινωνὸς ἦν τῆς φυγῆς; ὁ δ' ἀδίκημα τοῦτ' ἔλεγεν εἶναι Σιβᾶ: κελευσθεὶς γὰρ παρασκευάσαι τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον οὐκ ἐφρόντισεν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀνδραπόδου τινὸς οὕτως παρήκουσεν. [269] εἰ μέντοι γε τὰς βάσεις εἶχον ἐρρωμένας, οὐκ ἂν ἀπελείφθην σου χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὴν φυγὴν ταύταις δυνάμενος. οὐ τοῦτο δὲ μόνον ἠδίκησέ μου τὴν πρὸς σέ, δέσποτα, εὐσέβειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσδιέβαλε καὶ κατεψεύσατο κακουργῶν. ἀλλ' οἶδα γάρ, ὅτι τούτων οὐδὲν ἡ σὴ διάνοια προσίεται δικαία τε οὖσα καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐνισχύειν βουλομένη καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἀγαπῶσα: [270] μείζονα γὰρ κινδυνεύσας παθεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάππου τοὐμοῦ καὶ τῆς ὅλης ἡμῶν γενεᾶς ὀφειλούσης εἰς ἐκεῖνα ἀπολωλέναι, σύ τε μέτριος καὶ χρηστὸς ἐγένου τότε μάλιστα πάντων ἐκείνων λήθην ποιησάμενος, ὅτ' ἐξουσίαν τῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τιμωρίας εἶχεν ἡ μνήμη. φίλον δὲ σὸν ἔκρινας ἐμὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης εἶχες ὁσημέραι, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπέλειπον τῶν συγγενῶν τοῦ [271] μάλιστα τιμωμένου." ταῦτ' εἰπόντος οὔτε τὸν Μεμφίβοσθον ἔγνω κολάζειν οὔθ' ὡς καταψευσαμένου τοῦ Σιβᾶ πρὸς αὐτὸν καταδικάζειν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ [μὴ

μετὰ] Σιβᾶ ἐλθεῖν ἐκείνῳ πάντα χαρίσασθαι φήσας αὐτῷ συγγινώσκειν ὑπέσχετο τὰ ἡμίση τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῷ κελεύσας ἀποδοθῆναι. ὁ δὲ Μεμφίβοσθος "πάντ' ἐχέτω μέν, εἶπε, Σιβάς, ἐμοὶ δ' ἀπόχρη τὸ σὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολαβεῖν."

3. Mephibosheth also, Saul's grandson, met David, clothed in a sordid garment, and having his hair thick and neglected; for after David was fled away, he was in such grief that he had not polled his head, nor had he washed his clothes, as dooming himself to undergo such hardships upon occasion of the change-of the king's affairs. Now he had been unjustly calumniated to the king by Ziba, his steward. When he had saluted the king, and worshipped him, the king began to ask him why he did not go out of Jerusalem with him, and accompany him during his flight. He replied, that this piece of injustice was owing to Ziba; because, when he was ordered to get things ready for his going out with him, he took no care of it, but regarded him no more than if he had been a slave; "and, indeed, had I had my feet sound and strong, I had not deserted thee, for I could then have made use of them in my flight: but this is not all the injury that Ziba has done me, as to my duty to thee, my lord and master, but he hath calumniated me besides, and told lies about me of his own invention; but I know thy mind will not admit of such calumnies, but is righteously disposed, and a lover of truth, which it is also the will of God should prevail. For when thou wast in the greatest danger of suffering by my grandfather, and when, on that account, our whole family might justly have been destroyed, thou wast moderate and merciful, and didst then especially forget all those injuries, when, if thou hadst remembered them, thou hadst the power of punishing us for them; but thou hast judged me to be thy friend, and hast set me every day at thine own table; nor have I wanted any thing which one of thine own kinsmen, of greatest esteem with thee, could have expected." When he had said this, David resolved neither to punish Mephibosheth, nor to condemn Ziba, as having belied his master; but said to him, that as he had [before] granted all his estate to Ziba, because he did not come along with him, so he [now] promised to forgive him, and ordered that the one half of his estate should be restored to him. Whereupon Mephibosheth said, "Nay, let Ziba take all; it suffices me that thou hast recovered thy kingdom."

(4) [272] Βεέρζελον δὲ τὸν Γαλαδίτην ἄνδρα μέγαν καὶ καλὸν καὶ πολλὰ παρεσχημένον ἐν ταῖς Παρεμβολαῖς αὐτῷ Δαυίδης προπέμψαντα μέχρι τοῦ Ἰορδάνου παρεκάλει συνελθεῖν ἕως τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων: γηρωκομήσειν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν πάσῃ τιμῇ καὶ ὡς πατρὸς ἐπιμεληθήσεσθαι καὶ προνοήσειν ἐπηγγέλλετο. [273] ὁ δὲ πόθῳ τῶν οἴκοι παρῃτεῖτο τὴν μετ' αὐτοῦ διατριβήν: καὶ τὸ γῆρας λέγων τοιοῦτον αὐτῷ τυγχάνειν, ὥστε μὴ ἀπολαύειν τῶν ἡδέων εἰς

ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη προβεβηκότος, ἀλλ᾽ ὥστε καταλύσεως ἤδη καὶ ταφῆς προνοεῖν, ἐπὶ ταύτην ἠξίου βουλόμενον αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι τὰ κατ᾽ ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτὸν ἀπολῦσαι: [274] οὔτε γὰρ τροφῆς οὔτε ποτοῦ συνιέναι διὰ τὸν χρόνον, ἀποκεκλεῖσθαι δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς ἀκοὰς ἤδη πρὸς αὐλῶν ἤχους καὶ μέλη τῶν ἄλλων ὀργάνων, ὅσα παρὰ βασιλεῦσι τέρπει τοὺς συνδιαιτωμένους. οὕτως δὲ λιπαρῶς δεομένου, "σὲ μέν, εἶπεν, ἀπολύω, τὸν δ᾽ υἱὸν Ἀχίμανον ἄφες μοι: πάντων γὰρ αὐτῷ μετα [275] δώσω τῶν ἀγαθῶν." καὶ Βεέρζελος μὲν καταλιπὼν τὸν υἱὸν καὶ προσκυνήσας τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πάντων ἐπευξάμενος αὐτῷ τέλος ὧν ἔχει κατὰ ψυχὴν οἴκαδ᾽ ὑπέστρεψε. παραγίνεται δ᾽ εἰς Γάλγαλα Δαυίδης τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ἤδη τὸ ἥμισυ περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχων καὶ τὴν Ἰούδα φυλήν.

4. But David desired Barzillai the Gileadite, that great and good man, and one that had made a plentiful provision for him at Mahanaim, and had conducted him as far as Jordan, to accompany him to Jerusalem, for he promised to treat him in his old age with all manner of respect — to take care of him, and provide for him. But Barzillai was so desirous to live at home, that he entreated him to excuse him from attendance on him; and said that his age was too great to enjoy the pleasures [of a court,] since he was fourscore years old, and was therefore making provision for his death and burial: so he desired him to gratify him in this request, and dismiss him; for he had no relish of his meat, or his drink, by reason of his age; and that his ears were too much shut up to hear the sound of pipes, or the melody of other musical instruments, such as all those that live with kings delight in. When he entreated for this so earnestly, the king said, "I dismiss thee, but thou shalt grant me thy son Chimham, and upon him I will bestow all sorts of good things." So Barzillai left his son with him, and worshipped the king, and wished him a prosperous conclusion of all his affairs according to his own mind, and then returned home; but David came to Gilgal, having about him half the people [of Israel], and the [whole] tribe of Judah.

(5) [276] Ἀφικνοῦνται δ᾽ εἰς Γάλγαλα πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ πάσης φυλῆς πρῶτοι μετὰ πολλοῦ πλήθους καὶ τὴν Ἰούδα φυλὴν κατεμέμφοντο λάθρα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθοῦσαν, ὡς δεῖν ὁμοῦ πάντας μιᾷ γνώμῃ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀπάντησιν. οἱ δ᾽ ἄρχοντες τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς μὴ δυσχεραίνειν αὐτοὺς ἠξίουν προληφθέντας: καὶ γὰρ συγγενεῖς ὄντες αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον προνοούμενοι καὶ στέργοντες φθάσαι, οὐ μέντοι γε διὰ τὸ προελθεῖν δῶρα λαβεῖν αὐτούς, ἵν᾽ ἔχωσιν ἐπὶ τούτῳ δυσφορεῖν ὕστεροι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντες. [277] ταῦτα τῶν τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς ἡγεμόνων εἰπόντων οἱ τῶν ἄλλων ἄρχοντες οὐχ ἡσύχασαν, ἀλλ᾽ "ἡμεῖς μέν, ἔφασαν, ὦ ἀδελφοί, θαυμάζομεν ὑμᾶς αὐτῶν ἀποκαλοῦντας μόνων συγγενῆ τὸν βασιλέα: ὁ γὰρ τὴν ἁπάντων ἐξουσίαν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαβὼν πάντων ἡμῶν εἶναι συγγενὴς κρίνεται. καὶ διὰ τοῦθ᾽ ὁ μὲν λαὸς ἕνδεκα μοίρας ἔχει, μίαν δ᾽ ὑμεῖς,

καὶ πρεσβύτεροι ἐσμέν, καὶ οὐκ ἐποιήσατε δίκαια λεληθότως ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα.”

5. Now the principal men of the country came to Gilgal to him with a great multitude, and complained of the tribe of Judah, that they had come to him in a private manner; whereas they ought all conjointly, and with one and the same intention, to have given him the meeting. But the rulers of the tribe of Judah desired them not to be displeased, if they had been prevented by them; for, said they, “We are David’s kinsmen, and on that account we the rather took care of him, and loved him, and so came first to him;” yet had they not, by their early coming, received any gifts from him, which might give them who came last any uneasiness. When the rulers of the tribe of Judah had said this, the rulers of the other tribes were not quiet, but said further, “O brethren, we cannot but wonder at you when you call the king your kinsman alone, whereas he that hath received from God the power over all of us in common ought to be esteemed a kinsman to us all; for which reason the whole people have eleven parts in him, and you but one part we are also elder than you; wherefore you have not done justly in coming to the king in this private and concealed manner.”

(6) [278] Τοιαῦτα τῶν ἡγεμόνων πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαλεχθέντων ἀνήρ τις πονηρὸς καὶ στάσει χαίρων, ὄνομα Σαβαῖος υἱὸς δὲ Βοχορίου τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς, στὰς ἐν μέσῳ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος μέγα βοήσας εἶπεν: “οὔτ’ ἔχει τις ἡμῶν παρὰ Δαυίδου μοίρας οὔτε κλῆρον [279] παρὰ τῷ Ἰεσσαίου παιδί.” καὶ μετὰ τοὺς λόγους σαλπίσας κέρατι σημαίνει πόλεμον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ πάντες ἠκολούθησαν ἐκείνῳ Δαυίδην καταλιπόντες: μόνη δ’ αὐτῷ παρέμεινεν ἡ Ἰούδα φυλὴ καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις βασίλειον. καὶ τὰς μὲν παλλακάς, αἷς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ συνῆλθεν Ἀψάλωμος, εἰς ἄλλην μετήγαγεν οἰκίαν πάντα προστάξας αὐταῖς χορηγεῖν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τοὺς ἐπιμελομένους, αὐτὸς δ’ οὐκέτ’ ἐπλησίαζεν αὐταῖς. [280] ἀποδείκνυσι δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀμασὰν στρατηγὸν καὶ τὴν τάξιν αὐτῷ ἐφ’ ἧς Ἰώαβος ἦν δίδωσιν ἐκέλευσέ τε στρατιὰν ὅσην δύναται συναγαγόντ’ ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς μεθ’ ἡμέρας τρεῖς ὡς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, ἵνα παραδοὺς αὐτῷ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν ἐκπέμψῃ πολεμήσοντα τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Βοχορίου. [281] ἐξελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀμασᾶ καὶ περὶ τὴν ἄθροισιν τῆς στρατιᾶς βραδύνοντος, ὡς οὐκ ἐπανῄει τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν Ἰώαβον ἔλεγεν οὐκ εἶναι σύμφορον ἀνοχὴν τῷ Σαβαίῳ διδόναι, μὴ γενόμενος ἐν πλείονι παρασκευῇ μειζόνων κακῶν καὶ πραγμάτων αἴτιος, ἢ Ἀψάλωμος αὐτοῖς κατέστη, γένηται. [282] μὴ περίμενε τοίνυν μηδένα, ἀλλὰ τὴν οὖσαν παραλαβὼν δύναμιν καὶ τοὺς ἑξακοσίους μετὰ Ἀβεσσαίου τοῦ Ἀδελφοῦ σου δίωκε τὸν πολέμιον. καὶ ὅπου ποτ’ ἂν αὐτὸν καταλάβῃς ὄντα πειράθητι συμβαλεῖν:

σπούδασον δ᾽ αὐτὸν φθάσαι, μὴ πόλεις ὀχυρὰς καταλαβόμενος ἀγῶνας ἡμῖν καὶ πολλοὺς ἱδρῶτας παρασκευάσῃ.”

6. While these rulers were thus disputing one with another, a certain wicked man, who took a pleasure in seditious practices, [his name was Sheba, the son of Bichri, of the tribe of Benjamin,] stood up in the midst of the multitude, and cried aloud, and spake thus to them: “We have no part in David, nor inheritance in the son of Jesse.” And when he had used those words, he blew with a trumpet, and declared war against the king; and they all left David, and followed him; the tribe of Judah alone staid with him, and settled him in his royal palace at Jerusalem. But as for his concubines, with whom Absalom his son had accompanied, truly he removed them to another house, and ordered those that had the care of them to make a plentiful provision for them, but he came not near them any more. He also appointed Amass for the captain of his forces, and gave him the same high office which Joab before had; and he commanded him to gather together, out of the tribe of Judah, as great an army as he could, and come to him within three days, that he might deliver to him his entire army, and might send him to fight against [Sheba] the son of Bichri. Now while Amass was gone out, and made some delay in gathering the army together, and so was not yet returned, on the third day the king said to Joab, “It is not fit we should make any delay in this affair of Sheba, lest he get a numerous army about him, and be the occasion of greater mischief, and hurt our affairs more than did Absalom himself; do not thou therefore wait any longer, but take such forces as thou hast at hand, and that [old] body of six hundred men, and thy brother Abishai, with thee, and pursue after our enemy, and endeavor to fight him wheresoever thou canst overtake him. Make haste to prevent him, lest he seize upon some fenced cities, and cause us great labor and pains before we take him.”

(7) [283] Ἰώαβος δ᾽ οὐκέτι μέλλειν ἔκρινεν, ἀλλὰ τόν τε ἀδελφὸν καὶ τοὺς ἑξακοσίους παραλαβὼν καὶ ὅση λοιπὴ δύναμις ἦν ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἕπεσθαι κελεύσας ἐξώρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν Σαβαῖον. ἤδη δ᾽ ἐν Γαβαών, κώμη δ᾽ ἐστὶν αὕτη σταδίους ἀπέχουσα τεσσαράκοντα τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, γεγενημένος πολλὴν Ἀμασᾶ δύναμιν ἀγαγόντος ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ διεζωσμένος μάχαιραν καὶ θώρακα ἐνδεδυμένος ὁ Ἰώαβος: [284] προσιόντος δὲ ἀσπάσασθαι τοῦ Ἀμασᾶ φιλοτεχνεῖ τὴν μάχαιραν αὐτομάτως ἐκ τῆς θήκης ἐκπεσεῖν, βαστάσας δ᾽ αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τὸν Ἀμασᾶν ἐγγὺς γενόμενον ὡς καταφιλήσων τοῦ γενείου λαβόμενος οὐ προιδόμενον εἰς τὴν γαστέρα πλήξας ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀσεβὲς ἔργον διαπραξάμενος καὶ παντελῶς ἀνόσιον, ἀγαθὸν νεανίαν καὶ συγγενῆ καὶ μηδὲν ἀδικήσαντα ζηλοτυπήσας τῆς στρατηγίας καὶ τῆς παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἰσοτιμίας. [285] διὰ ταύτην γὰρ τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ τὸν Ἀβενῆρον ἐφόνευσεν. ἀλλ᾽

ἐκεῖνο μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸ παρανόμημα πρόφασις εὐπρεπὴς συγγνωστὸν ἐδόκει ποιεῖν, ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀσάηλος ἐκδεδικῆσθαι νομιζόμενος, τοῦ δ᾽ Ἀμασᾶ φόνου οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ἔσχε παρακάλυμμα. [286] ἀποκτείνας δὲ τὸν συστράτηγον ἐδίωκε τὸν Σαβαῖον καταλιπὼν ἕνα πρὸς τῷ νεκρῷ βοᾶν ἐντειλάμενος πρὸς τὴν στρατιάν, ὅτι τέθνηκεν Ἀμασᾶς δικαίως καὶ μετ᾽ αἰτίας κολαζούσης: εἰ δὲ φρονεῖτε τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἕπεσθε τῷ στρατηγῷ αὐτοῦ Ἰωάβῳ καὶ [287] Ἀβεσσαίῳ τῷ τούτου ἀδελφῷ.᾽ κειμένου δὲ τοῦ σώματος ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ συρρέοντος καὶ οἷον ὄχλος φιλεῖ ἐθαύμαζον ἠλέουν προιστάμενοι: βαστάσας δ᾽ ἐκεῖθεν ὁ φύλαξ καὶ κομίσας εἴς τι χωρίον ἀπωτάτω τῆς ὁδοῦ τίθησιν αὐτόθι καὶ καλύπτει ἱματίῳ. τούτου γενομένου πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἠκολούθησε τῷ Ἰωάβῳ. [288] διώξαντι δ᾽ αὐτῷ διὰ πάσης τῆς Ἰσραηλιτῶν χώρας τὸν Σαβαῖον δηλοῖ τις ἐν ὀχυρᾷ πόλει τυγχάνειν Ἀβελωχέᾳ λεγομένῃ. παραγενόμενος δ᾽ ἐκεῖ καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ περικαθίσας τὴν πόλιν καὶ χαράκωμα περὶ αὐτὴν πηξάμενος ὑπορύσσειν ἐκέλευσε τοῖς στρατιώταις τὰ τείχη καὶ καταβάλλειν αὐτά: μὴ δεξαμένων γὰρ αὐτὸν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει χαλεπῶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς διετέθη.

7. So Joab resolved to make no delay, but taking with him his brother, and those six hundred men, and giving orders that the rest of the army which was at Jerusalem should follow him, he marched with great speed against Sheba; and when he was come to Gibeon, which is a village forty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, Amasa brought a great army with him, and met Joab. Now Joab was girded with a sword, and his breastplate on; and when Amasa came near him to salute him, he took particular care that his sword should fall out, as it were, of its own accord: so he took it up from the ground, and while he approached Amasa, who was then near him, as though he would kiss him, he took hold of Amasa's beard with his other hand, and he smote him in his belly when he did not foresee it, and slew him. This impious and altogether profane action Joab did to a good young man, and his kinsman, and one that had done him no injury, and this out of jealousy that he would obtain the chief command of the army, and be in equal dignity with himself about the king; and for the same cause it was that he killed Abner. But as to that former wicked action, the death of his brother Asahel, which he seemed to revenge, afforded him a decent pretense, and made that crime a pardonable one; but in this murder of Amasa there was no such covering for it. Now when Joab had killed this general, he pursued after Sheba, having left a man with the dead body, who was ordered to proclaim aloud to the army, that Amasa was justly slain, and deservedly punished. "But," said he, "if you be for the king, follow Joab his general, and Abishai, Joab's brother:" but because the body lay on the road, and all the multitude came running to it, and, as is usual with the multitude, stood wondering a great while at it, he that guarded it

removed it thence, and carried it to a certain place that was very remote from the road, and there laid it, and covered it with his garment. When this was done, all the people followed Joab. Now as he pursued Sheba through all the country of Israel, one told him that he was in a strong city, called Abelbeth-maachah. Hereupon Joab went thither, and set about it with his army, and cast up a bank round it, and ordered his soldiers to undermine the walls, and to overthrow them; and since the people in the city did not admit him, he was greatly displeased at them.

(8) [289] Γύναιον δέ τι σῶφρον καὶ συνετὸν ἐν ἐσχάτοις ἤδη τὴν πατρίδα κειμένην θεασάμενον ἀναβὰν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος προσκαλεῖται διὰ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν τὸν Ἰώαβον. προσελθόντος δ' ἤρξατο λέγειν, ὡς ὁ θεὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἀποδείξειεν, ἵνα τοὺς πολεμίους τοὺς Ἑβραίων ἐξαιρῶσι καὶ παρέχωσιν αὐτοῖς εἰρήνην ἀπ' αὐτῶν: σὺ δὲ σπουδάζεις μητρόπολιν Ἰσραηλιτῶν καταβαλεῖν [290] καὶ πορθῆσαι μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτοῦσαν." ὁ δὲ ἵλεων μὲν εὔχεται τὸν θεὸν αὐτῷ διαμένειν, αὐτὸς δ' οὕτως ἔχειν εἶπεν, ὡς μηδένα τοῦ λαοῦ φονεῦσαι, οὐχ ὅτι πόλιν ἐξελεῖν βούλεσθαι τηλικαύτην: λαβὼν μέντοι παρ' αὐτῶν τὸν ἀντάραντα τῷ βασιλεῖ πρὸς τιμωρίαν Σαβαῖον υἱὸν δὲ Βοχορίου παύσεσθαι τῆς πολιορκίας καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπάξειν. [291] ὡς δ' ἤκουσεν ἡ γυνὴ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ἰωάβου μικρὸν ἐπισχεῖν δεηθεῖσα, τὴν γὰρ κεφαλὴν εὐθέως αὐτῷ ῥιφήσεσθαι τὴν τοῦ πολεμίου, καταβαίνει πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας καὶ "βούλεσθ', εἰποῦσα, κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπολέσθαι μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπου πονηροῦ καὶ μηδὲ τίς ἐστι γνωριζομένου καὶ τοῦτον ἔχειν ἀντὶ Δαυίδου τοῦ τοσαῦτ' εὐεργετήσαντος ὑμᾶς βασιλέα καὶ πρὸς δύ [292] ναμιν τοσαύτην καὶ τηλικαύτην ἀνταίρειν μίαν πόλιν;" πείθει τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμόντας τοῦ Σαβαίου ῥῖψαι ταύτην εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἰωάβου στράτευμα. τούτου γενομένου σημήνας ἀνακλητικὸν ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατηγὸς ἔλυσε τὴν πολιορκίαν καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παντὸς ἀποδείκνυται πάλιν τοῦ λαοῦ στρατηγός. [293] καθίστησι δὲ καὶ Βαναῖον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων καὶ τῶν ἑξακοσίων, Ἀδώραμον δ' ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ τῶν φόρων καὶ Ἰωσάφατον υἱὸν Ἀχίλου ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων, Σουσὰν δὲ γραμματέα, Σάδωκον δὲ καὶ Ἀβιάθαρον ἀπέφηνεν ἱερεῖς.

8. Now there was a woman of small account, and yet both wise and intelligent, who seeing her native city lying at the last extremity, ascended upon the wall, and, by means of the armed men, called for Joab; and when he came to her, she began to say, That "God ordained kings and generals of armies, that they might cut off the enemies of the Hebrews, and introduce a universal peace among them; but thou art endeavoring to overthrow and depopulate a metropolis of the Israelites, which hath been guilty of no offense." But he replied, "God continue to be merciful unto me: I am disposed to avoid killing any one of the people,

much less would I destroy such a city as this; and if they will deliver me up Sheba, the son of Bichri, who hath rebelled against the king, I will leave off the siege, and withdraw the army from the place." Now as soon as the woman heard what Joab said, she desired him to intermit the siege for a little while, for that he should have the head of his enemy thrown out to him presently. So she went down to the citizens, and said to them, "Will you be so wicked as to perish miserably, with your children and wives, for the sake of a vile fellow, and one whom nobody knows who he is? And will you have him for your king instead of David, who hath been so great a benefactor to you, and oppose your city alone to such a mighty and strong army?" So she prevailed with them, and they cut off the head of Sheba, and threw it into Joab's army. When this was done, the king's general sounded a retreat, and raised the siege. And when he was come to Jerusalem, he was again appointed to be general of all the people. The king also constituted Benaiah captain of the guards, and of the six hundred men. He also set Adoram over the tribute, and Sabathes and Achilaus over the records. He made Sheva the scribe, and appointed Zadok and Abiathar the high priests.

XII

CHAPTER 12. How The Hebrews Were Delivered From A Famine When The Gibeonites Had Caused Punishment To Be Inflicted For Those Of Them That Had Been Slain: As Also, What Great Actions Were Performed Against The Philistines By David, And The Men Of Valor About Him.

(1) [294] Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῆς χώρας λιμῷ φθειρομένης ἱκέτευε Δαυίδης τὸν θεὸν ἐλεῆσαι τὸν λαὸν καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἴασιν φανερὰν ποιῆσαι τῆς νόσου. τῶν δὲ προφητῶν εἰπόντων βούλεσθαι τὸν θεὸν ἐκδικίας τυχεῖν τοὺς Γαβαωνίτας, οὓς Σαοῦλος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποκτείνας ἠσέβησεν ἐξαπατήσας καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους αὐτοῖς, οὓς ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἰησοῦς ὤμοσε καὶ ἡ γερουσία, μὴ φυλάξας: [295] ἐὰν τοίνυν δίκην ἣν αὐτοὶ θέλουσιν οἱ Γαβαωνῖται λαβεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνῃρημένων ταύτην αὐτοῖς παράσχῃ, διαλλαγήσεσθαι καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἀπαλλάξειν τῶν κακῶν ἐπηγγέλλετο. [296] ὡς οὖν ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν προφητῶν ἔμαθεν ἐπιζητεῖν τὸν θεόν, μεταπέμπεται τοὺς Γαβαωνίτας καὶ τίνος βούλονται τυχεῖν ἐπηρώτα. τῶν δ’ ἐκ τοῦ γένους τοῦ Σαούλου παραλαβεῖν ἑπτὰ παῖδας ἀξιωσάντων πρὸς τιμωρίαν, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναζητήσας παρέδωκεν αὐτοῖς Ἰεβόσθου φεισάμενος τοῦ Ἰωνάθου παιδός. [297] παραλαβόντες δ’ οἱ Γαβαωνῖται τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς ἐβούλοντο ἐκόλασαν. ἤρξατο δ’ ὕειν παραχρῆμα ὁ θεὸς καὶ τὴν γῆν πρὸς γονὴν καρπῶν ἀνακαλεῖν ἀπολύσας τοῦ πρότερον αὐχμοῦ: καὶ πάλιν εὐθήνησεν ἡ τῶν Ἑβραίων χώρα.

[298] Στρατεύεται δὲ μετ’ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνους, καὶ συνάψας μάχην αὐτοῖς καὶ τρεψάμενος ἐμονώθη διώκων καὶ γενόμενος ἔκλυτος ὤφθη ὑπό τινος τῶν πολεμίων Ἄκμονος μὲν τοὔνομα Ἀράφου δὲ παιδός: [299] οὗτος ἦν μὲν καὶ ἀπόγονος τῶν Γιγάντων, ἔχων δὲ καὶ ξυστόν, οὗ τὴν λαβὴν συνέλκειν σταθμὸν σίκλους τριακοσίους, καὶ θώρακα ἀλυσιδωτὸν καὶ ῥομφαίαν ὥρμησεν ἐπιστραφεὶς ὡς ἀποκτενῶν τὸν τῶν πολεμίων βασιλέα: παρεῖτο γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ κόπου. ἐπιφανεὶς δ’ ἐξαίφνης Ἀβεσσαῖος ὁ Ἰωάβου ἀδελφὸς τὸν βασιλέα μὲν ὑπερήσπισε περιβὰς κείμενον, ἀπέκτεινε δὲ τὸν πολέμιον. [300] ἤνεγκε δ’ ἐπὶ τῷ παρ’ ὀλίγον κινδυνεῦσαι τὸν βασιλέα χαλεπῶς τὸ πλῆθος: καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες ὤρκωσαν αὐτὸν μηκέτι εἰς μάχην ἀπαντῆσαι σὺν αὐτοῖς, μὴ δι’ ἀνδρείαν καὶ προθυμίαν παθών τι τῶν δεινῶν στερήσῃ τὸν λαὸν τῶν δι’ αὐτὸν ἀγαθῶν, ὅσα τε ἤδη παρέσχηκε καὶ ὅσων ἔτι μεθέξουσι πολὺν βιώσαντος χρόνον.

1. After this, when the country was greatly afflicted with a famine, David besought God to have mercy on the people, and to discover to him what was the cause of it, and how a remedy might be found for that distemper. And when the prophets answered, that God would have the Gibeonites avenged whom Saul the king was so wicked as to betray to slaughter, and had not observed the oath which Joshua the general and the senate had sworn to them: If, therefore, said God, the king would permit such vengeance to be taken for those that were slain as the Gibeonites should desire, he promised that he would be reconciled to them, and free the multitude from their miseries. As soon therefore as the king understood that this it was which God sought, he sent for the Gibeonites, and asked them what it was they should have; and when they desired to have seven sons of Saul delivered to them to be punished, he delivered them up, but spared Mephibosheth the son of Jonathan. So when the Gibeonites had received the men, they punished them as they pleased; upon which God began to send rain, and to recover the earth to bring forth its fruits as usual, and to free it from the foregoing drought, so that the country of the Hebrews flourished again. A little afterward the king made war against the Philistines; and when he had joined battle with them, and put them to flight, he was left alone, as he was in pursuit of them; and when he was quite tired down, he was seen by one of the enemy, his name was Achmon, the son of Araph, he was one of the sons of the giants. He had a spear, the handle of which weighed three hundred shekels, and a breastplate of chain-work, and a sword. He turned back, and ran violently to slay [David] their enemy's king, for he was quite tired out with labor; but Abishai, Joab's brother, appeared on the sudden, and protected the king with his shield, as he lay down, and slew the enemy. Now the multitude were very uneasy at these dangers of the king, and that he was very near to be slain; and the rulers made him swear that he would no more go out with them to battle, lest he should come to some great misfortune by his courage and boldness, and thereby deprive the people of the benefits they now enjoyed by his means, and of those that they might hereafter enjoy by his living a long time among them.

(2) [301] Συνελθόντων δὲ τῶν Παλαιστίνων εἰς Γάζαρα πόλιν ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔπεμψεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς στρατιάν. ἠρίστευσε δὲ τότε καὶ σφόδρ᾽ ηὐδοκίμησε Σαβρήχης ὁ Χετταῖος εἷς τῶν περὶ Δαυίδην ἀνδρειοτάτων: ἀπέκτεινε γὰρ πολλοὺς τῶν αὐχούντων προγόνους τοὺς Γίγαντας καὶ μέγα ἐπ᾽ ἀνδρείᾳ φρονούντων, αἴτιός τε τῆς νίκης τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐγένετο. [302] καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκείνην τὴν ἧτταν πάλιν ἐπολέμησαν οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι: καὶ στρατιὰν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς Δαυίδου πέμψαντος ἠρίστευσεν Ἐφὰν ὁ συγγενὴς αὐτοῦ: μονομαχήσας γὰρ τῷ πάντων ἀνδρειοτάτῳ Παλαιστίνων ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους εἰς φυγὴν ἔτρεψε,

πολλοί τε αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον μαχόμενοι. [303] διαλιπόντες δ' ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο πρὸς τῇ πόλει τῶν ὅρων τῆς Ἑβραίων χώρας οὐκ ἄπωθεν. ἦν δ' αὐτοῖς ἀνὴρ τὸ μὲν ὕψος ἓξ πηχῶν, δακτύλους δ' ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τῶν βάσεων καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἑνὶ περισσοτέρους εἶχε τῶν κατὰ φύσιν. [304] ἐκ τῆς οὖν πεμφθείσης ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ Δαυίδου στρατιᾶς τούτῳ μονομαχήσας Ἰωνάθης ὁ Σουμᾶ υἱὸς ἀνεῖλέ τε αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς ὅλης νίκης ῥοπὴ γενόμενος δόξαν ἀριστείας ἀπηνέγκατο: καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ὁ Παλαιστῖνος ηὔχει τῶν Γιγάντων ἀπόγονος εἶναι. μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν μάχην οὐκέτι τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις ἐπολέμησαν.

2. When the king heard that the Philistines were gathered together at the city Gazara, he sent an army against them, when Sibbechai the Hittite, one of David's most courageous men, behaved himself so as to deserve great commendation, for he slew many of those that bragged they were the posterity of the giants, and vaunted themselves highly on that account, and thereby was the occasion of victory to the Hebrews. After which defeat, the Philistines made war again; and when David had sent an army against them, Nephan his kinsman fought in a single combat with the stoutest of all the Philistines, and slew him, and put the rest to flight. Many of them also were slain in the fight. Now a little while after this, the Philistines pitched their camp at a city which lay not far off the bounds of the country of the Hebrews. They had a man who was six cubits tall, and had on each of his feet and hands one more toe and finger than men naturally have. Now the person who was sent against them by David out of his army was Jonathan, the son of Shimea, who fought this man in a single combat, and slew him; and as he was the person who gave the turn to the battle, he gained the greatest reputation for courage therein. This man also vaunted himself to be of the sons of the giants. But after this fight the Philistines made war no more against the Israelites.

(3) [305] Ἀπηλλαγμένος δ' ἤδη πολέμων ὁ Δαυίδης καὶ κινδύνων καὶ βαθείας ἀπολαύων τὸ λοιπὸν εἰρήνης ᾠδὰς εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ ὕμνους συνετάξατο μέτρου ποικίλου: τοὺς μὲν γὰρ τριμέτρους, τοὺς δὲ πενταμέτρους ἐποίησεν. ὄργανά τε κατασκευάσας ἐδίδαξε πρὸς αὐτὰ τοὺς Ληουίτας ὑμνεῖν τὸν θεὸν κατά τε τὴν τῶν καλουμένων σαββάτων ἡμέραν καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας ἑορτάς. [306] ἡ δὲ τῶν ὀργάνων ἐστὶν ἰδέα τοιαύτη τις τὸν τρόπον: ἡ μὲν κινύρα δέκα χορδαῖς ἐξημμένη τύπτεται πλήκτρῳ, ἡ δὲ νάβλα δώδεκα φθόγγους ἔχουσα τοῖς δακτύλοις κρούεται, κύμβαλά τε ἦν πλατέα καὶ μεγάλα χάλκεα. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἡμῖν, ὥστε μὴ τελέως ἀγνοεῖν τὴν τῶν προειρημένων ὀργάνων φύσιν, ἀρκείσθω λελέχθαι.

3. And now David being freed from wars and dangers, and enjoying for the future a profound peace, composed songs and hymns to God of several sorts of metre; some of those which he made were trimeters, and some were pentameters. He also made instruments of music, and taught the Levites to sing hymns to God, both on that called the sabbath day, and on other festivals. Now the construction of the instruments was thus: The viol was an instrument of ten strings, it was played upon with a bow; the psaltery had twelve musical notes, and was played upon by the fingers; the cymbals were broad and large instruments, and were made of brass. And so much shall suffice to be spoken by us about these instruments, that the readers may not be wholly unacquainted with their nature.

(4) [307] Τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ πάντες ἦσαν οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνδρεῖοι: τούτων δ' οἱ διασημότατοι καὶ λαμπροὶ τὰς πράξεις ὀκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα, ὧν πέντε μόνων διηγήσομαι τὰ ἔργα: φανερὰς γὰρ καὶ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετὰς ἀρκέσουσιν οὗτοι ποιῆσαι: δυνατοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν οὗτοι καὶ χώραν ὑπάγεσθαι καὶ μεγάλων ἐθνῶν κρατῆσαι. [308] πρῶτος μὲν οὖν Ἴσεβος υἱὸς Ἀχεμαίου, ὃς πολλάκις εἰς τὴν παράταξιν ἐμπηδῶν τῶν πολεμίων οὐ πρὶν ἀνεπαύετο μαχόμενος πρὶν ἐνακοσίους αὐτῶν καταβαλεῖν. μετ' αὐτὸν ἦν Ἐλεάζαρος υἱὸς Δωδείου, ὃς ἦν μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν Ἐρασαμῷ: [309] οὗτός ποτε τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν καταπλαγέντων τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Παλαιστίνων καὶ φευγόντων μόνος ἔμεινε καὶ συμπεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν πολλούς, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ αἵματος προσκολληθῆναι τὴν ῥομφαίαν αὐτοῦ τῇ δεξιᾷ καὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας ἰδόντας τετραμμένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς Παλαιστίνους καταβάντας διώκειν καὶ θαυμαστὴν καὶ διαβόητον τότε νίκην ἄρασθαι, τοῦ μὲν Ἐλεαζάρου κτείνοντος ἑπομένου δὲ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ σκυλεύοντος τοὺς ἀνῃρημένους. [310] τρίτος δὲ ἦν Ἠλοῦ μὲν υἱὸς Σαβαίας δὲ ὄνομα. καὶ οὗτος ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Παλαιστίνους ἀγῶσιν εἰς τόπον Σιαγόνα λεγόμενον αὐτῶν παραταξαμένων, ὡς οἱ Ἑβραῖοι πάλιν τὴν δύναμιν φοβηθέντες οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ὑπέστη μόνος ὡς στράτευμα καὶ τάξις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν κατέβαλε τοὺς δ' οὐ καρτερήσαντας αὐτοῦ τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ τὴν βίαν ἀλλ' εἰς φυγὴν ἀποστραφέντας ἐδίωκε. [311] ταῦτα μὲν ἔργα χειρῶν καὶ μάχης οἱ τρεῖς ἐπεδείξαντο. καθ' ὃν δὲ καιρὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὄντος τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπῆλθεν ἡ τῶν Παλαιστίνων δύναμις πολεμῆσαι, Δαυίδης μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνῆλθεν, ὡς προειρήκαμεν, πευσόμενος τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου, [312] τῆς δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρεμβολῆς ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι κειμένης, ἣ μέχρι Βηθλεέμης πόλεως διατείνει σταδίους Ἱεροσολύμων ἀπεχούσης εἴκοσιν, ὁ Δαυίδης τοῖς ἑταίροις "καλὸν ὕδωρ, εἶπεν, ἔχομεν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι μου: καὶ μάλιστα τὸ ἐν τῷ λάκκῳ τῷ πρὸς τῇ πύλῃ θαυμάζων, εἴ τις ἐξ αὐτοῦ πιεῖν αὐτῷ κομίσειε μᾶλλον ἐθελήσειν ἢ εἰ πολλὰ χρήματα διδοῖ. [313] ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες οἱ τρεῖς ἄνδρες οὗτοι παραχρῆμα ἐκδραμόντες καὶ διὰ μέσου τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων ὁρμήσαντες στρατοπέδου ἦκον

εἰς Βηθλεέμην, καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀρυσάμενοι πάλιν διὰ τῆς παρεμβολῆς ὑπέστρεψαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ὡς τοὺς Παλαιστίνους καταπλαγέντας αὐτῶν τὸ θράσος καὶ τὴν εὐψυχίαν ἠρεμῆσαι [καὶ μηδὲν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς τολμῆσαι] καταφρονήσαντας τῆς ὀλιγότητος. [314] κομισθέντος δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος οὐκ ἔπιεν ὁ βασιλεὺς κινδύνῳ καὶ αἵματι φήσας ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸ κεκομίσθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὴ προσήκειν αὐτῷ πιεῖν, ἔσπεισε δὲ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ καὶ περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν ἀνδρῶν εὐχαρίστησεν αὐτῷ. μετὰ τούτους ἦν ὁ Ἰωάβου ἀδελφὸς Ἀβεσσαῖος: [315] καὶ γὰρ οὗτος μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν πολεμίων ἑξακοσίους ἀπέκτεινε. πέμπτος Ναβαῖος ὁ ἱερεὺς τῷ γένει: προκληθεὶς γὰρ ὑπ᾽ ἀδελφῶν διασήμων ἐν τῇ Μωαβίτιδι χώρᾳ κατ᾽ ἀρετὴν ἐκράτησεν αὐτῶν. καὶ πάλιν αὐτὸν ἀνδρὸς Αἰγυπτίου τὸ γένος θαυμαστοῦ τὸ μέγεθος προκαλεσαμένου, γυμνὸς ὡπλισμένον τῷ δόρατι τῷ ἐκείνου βαλὼν ἀπέκτεινε: περιελόμενος γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἄκοντα καὶ ζῶντα ἔτι καὶ μαχόμενον σκυλεύσας τοῖς ἰδίοις αὐτὸν ὅπλοις διεχρήσατο. [316] προσαριθμήσειε δὲ ἄν τις αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦτο ταῖς προειρημέναις πράξεσιν ἢ ὡς πρῶτον αὐτῶν κατ᾽ εὐψυχίαν ἢ ὡς ὅμοιον: νίφοντος γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ λέων εἴς τινα λάκκον ὀλισθὼν ἐνέπεσε: στενοῦ δ᾽ ὄντος τοῦ στομίου δῆλον ἦν ἀφανὲς ἐσόμενον ἐμφραγέντος αὐτοῦ τῇ χιόνι: πόρον οὖν οὐδένα βλέπων ἐξόδου καὶ σωτηρίας ἐβρυχᾶτο. [317] τοῦ δὲ θηρὸς ἀκούσας ὁ Ναβαῖος, ὥδευε γὰρ τότε, καὶ πρὸς τὴν βοὴν ἐλθών, καταβὰς εἰς τὸ στόμιον πλήξας αὐτὸν μαχόμενον τῷ μετὰ χεῖρας ξύλῳ παραχρῆμα ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ τοιοῦτοι τὰς ἀρετὰς ὑπῆρχον.

4. Now all the men that were about David were men of courage. Those that were most illustrious and famous of them for their actions were thirty-eight; of five of whom I will only relate the performances, for these will suffice to make manifest the virtues of the others also; for these were powerful enough to subdue countries, and conquer great nations. First, therefore, was Jessai, the son of Achimaas, who frequently leaped upon the troops of the enemy, and did not leave off fighting till he overthrew nine hundred of them. After him was Eleazar, the son of Dodo, who was with the king at Arasam. This man, when once the Israelites were under a consternation at the multitude of the Philistines, and were running away, stood alone, and fell upon the enemy, and slew many of them, till his sword clung to his hand by the blood he had shed, and till the Israelites, seeing the Philistines retire by his means, came down from the mountains and pursued them, and at that time won a surprising and a famous victory, while Eleazar slew the men, and the multitude followed and spoiled their dead bodies. The third was Sheba, the son of Ilus. Now this man, when, in the wars against the Philistines, they pitched their camp at a place called Lehi, and when the Hebrews were again afraid of their army, and did not stay, he stood still alone, as

an army and a body of men; and some of them he overthrew, and some who were not able to abide his strength and force he pursued. These are the works of the hands, and of fighting, which these three performed. Now at the time when the king was once at Jerusalem, and the army of the Philistines came upon him to fight him, David went up to the top of the citadel, as we have already said, to inquire of God concerning the battle, while the enemy's camp lay in the valley that extends to the city Bethlehem, which is twenty furlongs distant from Jerusalem. Now David said to his companions, "We have excellent water in my own city, especially that which is in the pit near the gate," wondering if any one would bring him some of it to drink; but he said that he would rather have it than a great deal of money. When these three men heard what he said, they ran away immediately, and burst through the midst of their enemy's camp, and came to Bethlehem; and when they had drawn the water, they returned again through the enemy's camp to the king, insomuch that the Philistines were so surprised at their boldness and alacrity, that they were quiet, and did nothing against them, as if they despised their small number. But when the water was brought to the king, he would not drink it, saying, that it was brought by the danger and the blood of men, and that it was not proper on that account to drink it. But he poured it out to God, and gave him thanks for the salvation of the men. Next to these was Abishai, Joab's brother; for he in one day slew six hundred. The fifth of these was Benaiah, by lineage a priest; for being challenged by [two] eminent men in the country of Moab, he overcame them by his valor, Moreover, there was a man, by nation an Egyptian, who was of a vast bulk, and challenged him, yet did he, when he was unarmed, kill him with his own spear, which he threw at him; for he caught him by force, and took away his weapons while he was alive and fighting, and slew him with his own weapons. One may also add this to the forementioned actions of the same man, either as the principal of them in alacrity, or as resembling the rest. When God sent a snow, there was a lion who slipped and fell into a certain pit, and because the pit's mouth was narrow it was evident he would perish, being enclosed with the snow; so when he saw no way to get out and save himself, he roared. When Benaiah heard the wild beast, he went towards him, and coming at the noise he made, he went down into the mouth of the pit and smote him, as he struggled, with a stake that lay there, and immediately slew him. The other thirty-three were like these in valor also.

XIII

CHAPTER 13. That When David Had Numbered the People, They Were Punished; and How the Divine Compassion Restrained That Punishment.

(1) [318] Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Δαυίδης βουλόμενος γνῶναι πόσαι μυριάδες εἰσὶ τοῦ λαοῦ, τῶν Μωυσέος ἐντολῶν ἐκλαθόμενος, ὃς προεῖπεν ἐὰν ἐξαριθμηθῇ τὸ πλῆθος ὑπὲρ ἑκάστης κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ τελεῖν ἡμίσικλον, προσέταξεν Ἰωάβῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ πορευθέντι πάντα τὸν ὄχλον ἐξαριθμῆσαι. [319] τοῦ δ' οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι φήσαντος τοῦτο ποιεῖν οὐκ ἐπείσθη, προσέταξε δὲ μηδὲν μελλήσαντα βαδίζειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξαρίθμησιν τῶν Ἑβραίων. Ἰώαβος δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν φυλῶν παραλαβὼν καὶ γραμματεῖς, ἐπιὼν τὴν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν χώραν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὅσον ἐστὶ κατανοήσας ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα μετὰ μῆνας ἐννέα καὶ ἡμέρας εἴκοσι καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀπέδωκε τῷ βασιλεῖ τοῦ λαοῦ χωρὶς τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς: [320] ἐξαριθμῆσαι γὰρ αὐτὴν οὐκ ἔφθασεν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν Λευιτῶν φυλήν: μετενόησε γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὧν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἥμαρτεν. ἦν δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἀριθμὸς ἐνενήκοντα μυριάδες ὅπλα βαστάζειν καὶ στρατεύεσθαι δυναμένων, ἡ δὲ Ἰούδα φυλὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδες ἦσαν.

1. Now king David was desirous to know how many ten thousands there were of the people, but forgot the commands of Moses, who told them beforehand, that if the multitude were numbered, they should pay half a shekel to God for every head. Accordingly the king commanded Joab, the captain of his host, to go and number the whole multitude; but when he said there was no necessity for such a numeration, he was not persuaded [to countermand it], but he enjoined him to make no delay, but to go about the numbering of the Hebrews immediately. So Joab took with him the heads of the tribes, and the scribes, and went over the country of the Israelites, and took notice how numerous the multitude were, and returned to Jerusalem to the king, after nine months and twenty days; and he gave in to the king the number of the people, without the tribe of Benjamin, for he had not yet numbered that tribe, no more than the tribe of Levi, for the king repented of his having sinned against God. Now the number of the rest of the Israelites was nine hundred thousand men, who were able to bear arms and go to war; but the tribe of Judah, by itself, was four hundred thousand men.

(2) [321] Τῶν δὲ προφητῶν δηλωσάντων τῷ Δαυίδῃ, ὅτι δι' ὀργῆς ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ, ἱκετεύειν ἤρξατο καὶ παρακαλεῖν εὐμενῆ γενέσθαι καὶ συγγινώσκειν ἡμαρτηκότι. Γάδον δὲ τὸν προφήτην ἔπεμψεν ὁ θεὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν τρεῖς αἱρέσεις

κομίζοντα, ὅπως ἐκλέξηται τούτων ἣν ἂν δοκιμάσῃ: πότερον θέλει λιμὸν γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπὶ ἔτη ἑπτά, ἢ τρεῖς μῆνας πολεμήσας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἡττηθῆναι, ἢ λοιμὸν ἐνσκῆψαι καὶ νόσον ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας τοῖς Ἑβραίοις. [322] ὁ δ᾽ εἰς ἀμήχανον ἐκλογὴν μεγάλων κακῶν ἐμπεσὼν ἐλυπεῖτο καὶ σφόδρ᾽ ἦν συγκεχυμένος. τοῦ δὲ προφήτου τοῦτο δεῖν ἐξ ἀνάγκης γενέσθαι φήσαντος καὶ κελεύοντος ἀποκρίνασθαι ταχέως, ἵνα ἀναγγείλῃ τὴν αἵρεσιν αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ, λογισάμενος ὁ βασιλεύς, ὡς εἰ λιμὸν αἰτήσει, δόξει τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτῷ μὲν ἀφόβως, ὅτι πολὺν αὐτὸς ἐγκεκλεισμένον ἔχοι σῖτον, ἐκείνοις δὲ βλαβερῶς: [323] κἂν γένηται τοὺς τρεῖς μῆνας νικωμένους αὐτούς, ὅτι τοὺς ἀνδρειοτάτους ἔχων περὶ αὑτὸν καὶ φρούρια καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μηδὲν φοβούμενος εἵλετο τὸν πόλεμον, ᾐτήσατο πάθος κοινὸν καὶ βασιλεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις, ἐν ᾧ τὸ δέος ἶσον ἁπάντων γίνεται, προσειπὼν ὅτι πολὺ κρεῖττον εἰς τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ χεῖρας ἐμπεσεῖν ἢ τὰς τῶν πολεμίων.

2. Now when the prophets had signified to David that God was angry at him, he began to entreat him, and to desire he would be merciful to him, and forgive his sin. But God sent Nathan the prophet to him, to propose to him the election of three things, that he might choose which he liked best: Whether he would have famine come upon the country for seven years, or would have a war, and be subdued three months by his enemies? or, whether God should send a pestilence and a distemper upon the Hebrews for three days? But as he was fallen to a fatal choice of great miseries, he was in trouble, and sorely confounded; and when the prophet had said that he must of necessity make his choice, and had ordered him to answer quickly, that he might declare what he had chosen to God, the king reasoned with himself, that in case he should ask for famine, he would appear to do it for others, and without danger to himself, since he had a great deal of corn hoarded up, but to the harm of others; that in case he should choose to be overcome [by his enemies] for three months, he would appear to have chosen war, because he had valiant men about him, and strong holds, and that therefore he feared nothing therefrom: so he chose that affliction which is common to kings and to their subjects, and in which the fear was equal on all sides; and said this beforehand, that it was much better to fall into the hands of God, than into those of his enemies.

(3) [324] Ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας ὁ προφήτης ἀπήγγειλε τῷ θεῷ: ὁ δὲ τὸν λοιμὸν καὶ τὴν φθορὰν ἔπεμψε τοῖς Ἑβραίοις. ἀπέθνησκον δ᾽ οὐ μονοτρόπως οὐδ᾽ ὥστε ῥᾴδιον κατανοῆσαι γενέσθαι τὴν νόσον, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν κακὸν ἓν ἦν, μυρίαις δ᾽ αὐτοὺς αἰτίαις καὶ προφάσεσιν οὐδ᾽ ἐπινοῆσαι δυναμένους ἀνήρπαζεν. [325] ἄλλος γὰρ ἐπ᾽ ἄλλῳ διεφθείρετο, καὶ λανθάνον ἐπερχόμενον τὸ δεινὸν ὀξεῖαν τὴν τελευτὴν ἐπέφερεν, τῶν μὲν αἰφνιδίως μετ᾽ ἀλγημάτων σφοδρῶν καὶ πικρᾶς ὀδύνης τὴν

ψυχὴν ἀφιέντων, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ μαραινομένων τοῖς παθήμασι καὶ μηδ᾽ εἰς κηδείαν ὑπολειπομένων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ κάμνειν εἰς τὸ παντελὲς δαπανωμένων: [326] οἱ δ᾽ αἰφνίδιον σκότους αὐτοῖς τὰς ὄψεις ὑποδραμόντος περιπνιγεῖς ἀπῴμωζον, ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν οἰκείων τινὰ κηδεύοντες ἐναπέθνησκον ἀτελέσι ταῖς ταφαῖς. ἀπώλοντο δ᾽ ἀρξαμένης ἕωθεν τῆς λοιμικῆς νόσου φθείρειν αὐτοὺς ἕως ὥρας ἀρίστου μυριάδες ἑπτά. [327] ἐξέτεινε δὲ ὁ ἄγγελος τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα τὸ δεινὸν κἀκεῖσε πέμπων. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς σάκκον ἐνδεδυμένος ἔκειτο κατὰ τῆς γῆς ἱκετεύων τὸν θεὸν καὶ δεόμενος ἤδη λωφῆσαι καὶ τοῖς ἀπολωλόσιν ἀρκεσθέντα παύσασθαι: ἀναβλέψας δ᾽ εἰς τὸν ἀέρα ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ θεασάμενος τὸν ἄγγελον δι᾽ αὐτοῦ φερόμενον ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ μάχαιραν ἐσπασμένον εἶπε πρὸς τὸν θεόν, [328] ὡς αὐτὸς εἴη κολασθῆναι δίκαιος ὁ ποιμήν, τὰ δὲ ποίμνια σώζεσθαι μηδὲν ἁμαρτόντα, καὶ ἠντιβόλει τὴν ὀργὴν εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν ἀποσκῆπτειν, φείδεσθαι δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ.

3. When the prophet had heard this, he declared it to God; who thereupon sent a pestilence and a mortality upon the Hebrews; nor did they die after one and the same manner, nor so that it was easy to know what the distemper was. Now the miserable disease was one indeed, but it carried them off by ten thousand causes and occasions, which those that were afflicted could not understand; for one died upon the neck of another, and the terrible malady seized them before they were aware, and brought them to their end suddenly, some giving up the ghost immediately with very great pains and bitter grief, and some were worn away by their distempers, and had nothing remaining to be buried, but as soon as ever they fell were entirely macerated; some were choked, and greatly lamented their case, as being also stricken with a sudden darkness; some there were who, as they were burying a relation, fell down dead, without finishing the rites of the funeral. Now there perished of this disease, which began with the morning, and lasted till the hour of dinner, seventy thousand. Nay, the angel stretched out his hand over Jerusalem, as sending this terrible judgment upon it. But David had put on sackcloth, and lay upon the ground, entreating God, and begging that the distemper might now cease, and that he would be satisfied with those that had already perished. And when the king looked up into the air, and saw the angel carried along thereby into Jerusalem, with his sword drawn, he said to God, that he might justly be punished, who was their shepherd, but that the sheep ought to be preserved, as not having sinned at all; and he implored God that he would send his wrath upon him, and upon all his family, but spare the people.

(4) [329] Κατακούσας δὲ ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἱκεσίας ἔπαυσε τὸν λοιμόν, καὶ πέμψας Γάδον τὸν προφήτην ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀναβῆναι παραχρῆμα εἰς τὴν ἅλω τοῦ Ἰεβουσαίου Ὀροννᾶ καὶ οἰκοδομήσαντα βωμὸν ἐκεῖ τῷ θεῷ θυσίαν ἐπιτελέσαι.

Δαυίδης δ᾽ ἀκούσας οὐκ ἠμέλησεν, ἀλλ᾽ εὐθὺς ἔσπευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν παρηγγελμένον αὐτῷ τόπον. [330] Ὀροννᾶς δὲ τὸν σῖτον ἀλοῶν ἐπεὶ τὸν βασιλέα προσιόντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ πάντας ἐθεάσατο, προσέδραμεν αὐτῷ καὶ προσεκύνησεν. ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν γένος Ἰεβουσαῖος, φίλος δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Δαυίδου: καὶ διὰ τοῦτ᾽ αὐτὸν οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο δεινόν, ὅτε τὴν πόλιν κατεστρέψατο, ὡς μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν ἐδηλώσαμεν. [331] τοῦ δὲ Ὀροννᾶ πυθομένου τί παρείη πρὸς τὸν δοῦλον ὁ δεσπότης, εἶπεν ὠνήσασθαι παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἅλω, ὅπως βωμὸν ἐν αὐτῇ κατασκευάσῃ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ποιήσῃ θυσίαν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἅλω εἶπε καὶ τὰ ἄροτρα καὶ τοὺς βόας εἰς ὁλοκαύτωσιν χαρίζεσθαι καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἡδέως εὔχεσθαι τὴν θυσίαν προσέσθαι. [332] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀγαπᾶν μὲν αὐτὸν τῆς ἁπλότητος καὶ τῆς μεγαλοψυχίας ἔλεγε καὶ δέχεσθαι τὴν χάριν, τιμὴν δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἠξίου λαμβάνειν πάντων: οὐ γὰρ εἶναι δίκαιον προῖκα θυσίαν ἐπιτελεῖν. τοῦ δὲ Ὀροννᾶ φήσαντος ποιεῖν ὅ τι βούλεται πεντήκοντα σίκλων ὠνεῖται παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἅλω. [333] καὶ οἰκοδομήσας τὸν βωμὸν ἱερούργησε καὶ ὡλοκαύτωσε καὶ θυσίας ἐπήνεγκεν εἰρηνικάς. καταπραύνεται δὲ τούτοις τὸ θεῖον καὶ πάλιν εὐμενὲς γίνεται. συνέβη δ᾽ εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἀγαγεῖν τὸν τόπον Ἄβραμον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἴσακον ὥστε ὁλοκαυτῶσαι, καὶ μέλλοντος ἀποσφάττεσθαι τοῦ παιδὸς κριὸν ἐξαίφνης ἀναφανῆναι παρεστῶτα τῷ βωμῷ, ὃν καὶ κατέθυσεν Ἄβραμος ἀντὶ τοῦ παιδός, ὡς προειρήκαμεν. [334] ὁρῶν δ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς Δαυίδης τῆς εὐχῆς αὐτοῦ τὸν θεὸν ἐπήκοον γεγενημένον καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ἡδέως προσδεξάμενον ἔκρινε τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον ὅλον βωμὸν προσαγορεῦσαι τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς καὶ οἰκοδομῆσαι ναὸν τῷ θεῷ. καὶ ταύτην εὐστόχως ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὸ γενησόμενον τὴν φωνήν: ὁ γὰρ θεὸς τὸν προφήτην ἀποστείλας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ ναὸν ἔλεγεν οἰκοδομήσειν αὐτοῦ τὸν υἱὸν τὸν μέλλοντα μετ᾽ αὐτὸν τὴν βασιλείαν διαδέχεσθαι.

4. When God heard his supplication, he caused the pestilence to cease, and sent Gad the prophet to him, and commanded him to go up immediately to the thrashing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, and build an altar there to God, and offer sacrifices. When David heard that, he did not neglect his duty, but made haste to the place appointed him. Now Araunah was thrashing wheat; and when he saw the king and all his servants coming to him, he ran before, and came to him and worshipped him: he was by his lineage a Jebusite, but a particular friend of David’s; and for that cause it was that, when he overthrew the city, he did him no harm, as we informed the reader a little before. Now Araunah inquired, “Wherefore is my lord come to his servant?” He answered, to buy of him the thrashing-floor, that he might therein build an altar to God, and offer a sacrifice. He replied, that he freely gave him both the thrashing-floor and the ploughs and the oxen for a burnt-offering; and he besought God graciously to accept his sacrifice. But the king made answer, that he took his generosity and

magnanimity loudly, and accepted his good-will, but he desired him to take the price of them all, for that it was not just to offer a sacrifice that cost nothing. And when Araunah said he would do as he pleased, he bought the thrashing-floor of him for fifty shekels. And when he had built an altar, he performed Divine service, and brought a burnt-offering, and offered peace-offerings also. With these God was pacified, and became gracious to them again. Now it happened that Abraham came and offered his son Isaac for a burnt-offering at that very place; and when the youth was ready to have his throat cut, a ram appeared on a sudden, standing by the altar, which Abraham sacrificed in the stead of his son, as we have before related. Now when king David saw that God had heard his prayer, and had graciously accepted of his sacrifice, he resolved to call that entire place The Altar of all the People, and to build a temple to God there; which words he uttered very appositely to what was to be done afterward; for God sent the prophet to him, and told him that there should his son build him an altar, that son who was to take the kingdom after him.

XIV

CHAPTER 14. That David Made Great Preparations For The House Of God; And That, Upon Adonijah's Attempt To Gain The Kingdom, He Appointed Solomon To Reign.

(1) [335] Μετὰ δὴ ταύτην τὴν προφητείαν ἐκέλευσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς παροίκους ἐξαριθμηθῆναι καὶ εὑρέθησαν εἰς ὀκτὼ μυριάδας καὶ δέκα. ἐκ τούτων ἀπέδειξε λατόμους μὲν τοὺς ὀκτακισμυρίους, τὸ δ' ἄλλο πλῆθος παραφέρειν τοὺς λίθους, τρισχιλίους δὲ καὶ πεντακοσίους τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπέστησεν. ἡτοίμασε δὲ καὶ πολὺν σίδηρον καὶ χαλκὸν εἰς τὰ ἔργα καὶ ξύλα κέδρινα πολλὰ καὶ παμμεγεθέστατα, Τυρίων αὐτῷ ταῦτα πεμπόντων καὶ Σιδωνίων: ἐπεστάλκει γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὴν τῶν ξύλων χορηγίαν. [336] πρός τε τοὺς φίλους ἔλεγε ταῦτα παρασκευάζεσθαι νῦν, ἵνα τῷ μέλλοντι παιδὶ βασιλεύειν μετ' αὐτὸν ἑτοίμην τὴν ὕλην τῆς οἰκοδομίας καταλείπῃ καὶ μὴ τότε συμπορίζῃ νέος ὢν καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἄπειρος διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀλλ' ἔχων παρακειμένην ἐπιτελῇ τὸ ἔργον.

1. After the delivery of this prophecy, the king commanded the strangers to be numbered; and they were found to be one hundred and eighty thousand; of these he appointed fourscore thousand to be hewers of stone, and the rest of the multitude to carry the stones, and of them he set over the workmen three thousand and five hundred. He also prepared a great quantity of iron and brass for the work, with many [and those exceeding large] cedar trees; the Tyrians and Sidonians sending them to him, for he had sent to them for a supply of those trees. And he told his friends that these things were now prepared, that he might leave materials ready for the building of the temple to his son, who was to reign after him, and that he might not have them to seek then, when he was very young, and by reason of his age unskillful in such matters, but might have them lying by him, and so might the more readily complete the work.

(2) [337] Καλέσας δὲ τὸν παῖδα Σολόμωνα κατασκευάσαι τῷ θεῷ ναὸν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε διαδεξάμενον τὴν βασιλείαν λέγων, ὡς αὐτὸν βουλόμενον κωλύσειεν ὁ θεὸς αἵματι καὶ πολέμοις πεφυραμένον, προείποι δ' ὅτι Σολόμων οἰκοδομήσει αὐτῷ παῖς νεώτατος καὶ τοῦτο κληθησόμενος τοὔνομα, οὗ προνοήσειν μὲν αὐτὸς ὡς πατὴρ ἐπηγγέλλετο, τὴν δ' Ἑβραίων χώραν εὐδαίμονα καταστήσειν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ μεγίστῳ πάντων εἰρήνῃ καὶ πολέμων ἀπαλλαγῇ καὶ στάσεων ἐμφυλίων. [338] σὺ τοίνυν ἐπεὶ καὶ πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως ἀπεδείχθης βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πειρῶ τά τε ἄλλα γίνεσθαι τῆς τούτου

προνοίας ἄξιος εὐσεβὴς ὢν καὶ δίκαιος καὶ ἀνδρεῖος, καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς νόμους οὓς διὰ Μωυσέος ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν φύλαττε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις μὴ παραβαίνειν ἐπίτρεπε. [339] τὸν δὲ ναόν, ὃν ὑπὸ σοῦ βασιλεύοντος εἵλετο αὐτῷ γενέσθαι, σπούδασον ἀποδοῦναι τῷ θεῷ μὴ καταπλαγεὶς τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ἔργου μηδ' ἀποδειλιάσας πρὸς αὐτό: πάντα γάρ σοι πρὸ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ τελευτῆς ἕτοιμα ποιήσω. [340] γίνωσκε χρυσοῦ μὲν ἤδη τάλαντα συνειλεγμένα μύρια, δέκα δ' ἀργύρου μυριάδας ταλάντων, χαλκόν τε καὶ σίδηρον ἀριθμοῦ πλείονα συντέθεικα καὶ ξύλων δὲ καὶ λίθων ὕλην ἄφθονον, ἔχεις δὲ καὶ λατόμων πολλὰς μυριάδας καὶ τεκτόνων: ἂν δέ τι τούτοις προσδέῃ, σὺ προσθήσεις. [341] γίνου τοίνυν ἄριστος τὸν θεὸν ἔχων προστάτην." προσπαρεκελεύσατο δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοῦ λαοῦ τῆς οἰκοδομίας συλλαβέσθαι τῷ παιδὶ καὶ πάντων ἀδεεῖς ὄντας τῶν κακῶν περὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείαν ἀσχολεῖν: καρπώσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀντὶ τούτων εἰρήνην καὶ εὐνομίαν, οἷς ἀμείβεται τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς καὶ δικαίους ὁ θεὸς ἀνθρώπους. [342] οἰκοδομηθέντος δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τὴν κιβωτὸν αὐτὸν ἀποθέσθαι προσέταξε καὶ τὰ ἅγια σκεύη πρὸ πολλοῦ ναὸν ὀφείλοντα ἔχειν, εἰ τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ παρήκουσαν ἡμῶν οἱ πατέρες ἐντειλαμένου μετὰ τὸ τὴν γῆν ταύτην κατασχεῖν οἰκοδομῆσαι ναὸν αὐτῷ. ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ὁ Δαυίδης καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ διελέχθη.

2. So David called his son Solomon, and charged him, when he had received the kingdom, to build a temple to God, and said, "I was willing to build God a temple myself, but he prohibited me, because I was polluted with blood and wars; but he hath foretold that Solomon, my youngest son, should build him a temple, and should be called by that name; over whom he hath promised to take the like care as a father takes over his son; and that he would make the country of the Hebrews happy under him, and that, not only in other respects, but by giving it peace and freedom from wars, and from internal seditions, which are the greatest of all blessings. Since, therefore," says he, "thou wast ordained king by God himself before thou wast born, endeavor to render thyself worthy of this his providence, as in other instances, so particularly in being religious, and righteous, and courageous. Keep thou also his commands and his laws, which he hath given us by Moses, and do not permit others to break them. Be zealous also to dedicate to God a temple, which he hath chosen to be built under thy reign; nor be thou aftrighted by the vastness of the work, nor set about it timorously, for I will make all things ready before I die: and take notice, that there are already ten thousand talents of gold, and a hundred thousand talents of silver collected together. I have also laid together brass and iron without number, and an immense quantity of timber and of stones. Moreover, thou hast many ten thousand stone-cutters and carpenters; and if thou shalt want any thing further,

do thou add somewhat of thine own. Wherefore, if thou performest this work, thou wilt be acceptable to God, and have him for thy patron." David also further exhorted the rulers of the people to assist his son in this building, and to attend to the Divine service, when they should be free from all their misfortunes, for that they by this means should enjoy, instead of them, peace and a happy settlement, with which blessings God rewards such men as are religious and righteous. He also gave orders, that when the temple should be once built, they should put the ark therein, with the holy vessels; and he assured them that they ought to have had a temple long ago, if their fathers had not been negligent of God's commands, who had given it in charge, that when they had got the possession of this land, they should build him a temple. Thus did David discourse to the governors, and to his son.

(3) [343] Πρεσβύτερος δὲ ὢν ἤδη καὶ τοῦ σώματος αὐτῷ ψυχομένου διὰ τὸν χρόνον δύσριγος ὑπῆρχεν, ὡς μηδ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἐκ πολλῶν ἱματίων γινομένης ἀναθερμαίνεσθαι. συνελθόντων δὲ τῶν ἰατρῶν καὶ συμβουλευσάντων, ὅπως ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς χώρας εὐειδὴς ἐπιλεχθεῖσα παρθένος συγκαθεύδῃ τῷ βασιλεῖ, τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ ῥῖγος ἔσεσθαι βοήθημα θαλπούσης αὐτὸν τῆς κόρης, [344] εὑρίσκετ' ἐν πόλει γυνὴ μία πασῶν τὸ εἶδος ἀρίστη γυναικῶν Ἀβισάκη τοὔνομα, ἣ συγκοιμωμένη μόνον τῷ βασιλεῖ συνεθέρμαινεν αὐτόν: ὑπὸ γὰρ γήρως ἦν πρὸς τἀφροδίσια καὶ γυναικὸς ὁμιλίαν ἀσθενής. καὶ περὶ μὲν ταύτης τῆς παρθένου μετ' ὀλίγον δηλώσομεν.

3. David was now in years, and his body, by length of time, was become cold, and benumbed, insomuch that he could get no heat by covering himself with many clothes; and when the physicians came together, they agreed to this advice, that a beautiful virgin, chosen out of the whole country, should sleep by the king's side, and that this damsel would communicate heat to him, and be a remedy against his numbness. Now there was found in the city one woman, of a superior beauty to all other women, [her name was Abishag,] who, sleeping with the king, did no more than communicate warmth to him, for he was so old that he could not know her as a husband knows his wife. But of this woman we shall speak more presently.

(4) [345] Ὁ δὲ τέταρτος υἱὸς Δαυίδου νεανίας εὐειδὴς καὶ μέγας, ἐκ γυναικὸς αὐτῷ Αἰγίσθης γεγονὼς Ἀδωνίας δὲ προσαγορευόμενος, ἐμφερὴς ὢν Ἀψαλώμῳ τήν τε διάνοιαν αὐτὸς ὡς βασιλεύσων ἐπῆρτο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἔλεγεν, ὡς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτὸν δεῖ παραλαβεῖν: κατεσκεύασε δὲ ἅρματα πολλὰ καὶ ἵππους καὶ πεντήκοντα ἄνδρας τοὺς προδρόμους. [346] ταῦθ' ὁρῶν ὁ πατὴρ οὐκ ἐπέπληττεν οὐδ' ἐπεῖχεν αὐτὸν τῆς προαιρέσεως οὐδὲ μέχρι τοῦ πυθέσθαι διὰ τί ταῦτα

πράττει προήχθη. συνεργοὺς δ’ εἶχεν Ἀδωνίας τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἰώαβον καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ἀβιάθαρον, μόνοι δ’ ἀντέπραττον ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Σάδωκος καὶ ὁ προφήτης Νάθας καὶ Βαναίας ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων καὶ Σιμούεις ὁ Δαυίδου φίλος καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀνδρειότατοι. [347] τοῦ δὲ Ἀδωνία παρασκευασαμένου δεῖπνον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως παρὰ τὴν πηγὴν τὴν ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ παραδείσῳ καὶ πάντας καλέσαντος τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς χωρὶς Σολόμωνος, παραλαβόντος δὲ καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἰώαβον καὶ Ἀβιάθαρον καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς, οὔτε δὲ Σάδωκον τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ Νάθαν τὸν προφήτην καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων Βαναίαν καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἐναντίας αἱρέσεως καλέσαντος ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίασιν, [348] τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν Σολόμωνος κατεμήνυσε μητέρα Βερσάβην Νάθας ὁ προφήτης, ὡς Ἀδωνίας βασιλεῦσαι βούλεται, συνεβούλευέ τε σώζειν αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν παῖδα Σολόμωνα, εἴπερ Ἀδωνίας τὴν ἀρχὴν ἤδη παραλάβοι, καὶ περὶ τούτου πυθέσθαι τοῦ βασιλέως. [349] ταῦτα δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ διαλεγομένης ὁ προφήτης εἰσελεύσεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφησε καὶ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῆς ἐπιμαρτυρήσειν. ἡ δὲ Βερσάβη πεισθεῖσα τῷ Νάθᾳ πάρεισι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ προσκυνήσασα καὶ λόγον αἰτησα [350] μένη πάντ’ αὐτῷ [καθὼς] ὁ προφήτης ὑπέθετο διεξέρχεται τό τε δεῖπνον τὸ Ἀδωνία καὶ τοὺς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ κεκλημένους Ἀβιάθαρον τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ Ἰώαβον τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ χωρὶς Σολόμωνος καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων αὐτοῦ φίλων μηνύσασα: ἔλεγέ τε πάντα τὸν λαὸν ἀφορᾶν, τίνα χειροτονήσει βασιλέα, παρεκάλει τε κατὰ νοῦν ἔχειν, ὡς μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλεύσας αὐτήν τε καὶ Σολόμωνα τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς ἀναιρήσει.

4. Now the fourth son of David was a beautiful young man, and tall, born to him of Haggith his wife. He was named Adonijah, and was in his disposition like to Absalom; and exalted himself as hoping to be king, and told his friends that he ought to take the government upon him. He also prepared many chariots and horses, and fifty men to run before him. When his father saw this, he did not reprove him, nor restrain him from his purpose, nor did he go so far as to ask wherefore he did so. Now Adonijah had for his assistants Joab the captain of the army, and Abiathar the high priest; and the only persons that opposed him were Zadok the high priest, and the prophet Nathan, and Benaiah, who was captain of the guards, and Shimei, David’s friend, with all the other most mighty men. Now Adonijah had prepared a supper out of the city, near the fountain that was in the king’s paradise, and had invited all his brethren except Solomon, and had taken with him Joab the captain of the army, and: Abiathar, and the rulers of the tribe of Judah, but had not invited to this feast either Zadok the high priest, or Nathan the prophet, or Benaiah the captain of the guards, nor any of those of the contrary party. This matter was told by Nathan the prophet to Bathsheba,

Solomon's mother, that Adonijah was king, and that David knew nothing of it; and he advised her to save herself and her son Solomon, and to go by herself to David, and say to him, that he had indeed sworn that Solomon should reign after him, but that in the mean time Adonijah had already taken the kingdom. He said that he, the prophet himself, would come after her, and when she had spoken thus to the king, would confirm what she had said. Accordingly Bathsheba agreed with Nathan, and went in to the king and worshipped him, and when she had desired leave to speak with him, she told him all things in the manner that Nathan had suggested to her; and related what a supper Adonijah had made, and who they were whom he had invited; Abiathar the and Joab the general, and David's sons, excepting Solomon and his intimate friends. She also said that all the people had their eyes upon him, to know whom he would choose for their king. She desired him also to consider how, after his departure, Adonijah, if he were king, would slay her and her son Solomon.

(5) [351] Διαλεγομένης δὲ ἔτι τῆς γυναικὸς ἤγγειλαν οἱ τοῦ δωματίου προεστῶτες, ὅτι βούλεται Νάθας ἰδεῖν αὐτόν. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἐκδέξασθαι κελεύσαντος εἰσελθών, εἰ τήμερον ἀποδείξειε τὸν Ἀδωνίαν βασιλέα καὶ παραδοίη τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπυνθάνετο: [352] λαμπρὸν γὰρ αὐτὸν ποιήσαντα δεῖπνον κεκληκέναι τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ πάντας χωρὶς Σολόμωνος καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἰώαβον, οἳ μετὰ κρότου καὶ παιδιᾶς εὐωχούμενοι πολλῆς αἰώνιον αὐτῷ συνεύχονται τὴν ἡγεμονίαν: ἐκάλεσε δὲ οὔτε ἐμὲ οὔτε τὸν ἀρχιερέα Σάδωκον οὔτε Βαναίαν τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων: δίκαιον δ' εἶναι ταῦτα γινώσκειν ἅπαντας, [353] εἰ κατὰ τὴν σὴν γνώμην ἐγένετο." ταῦτα τοῦ Νάθα φήσαντος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσε καλέσαι τὴν Βερσάβην πρὸς αὐτόν: ἐκπεπηδήκει γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ δωματίου τοῦ προφήτου παραγενομένου. τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς ἐλθούσης, "ὄμνυμί σοι, φησί, τὸν μέγιστον θεόν, ἢ μὴν τὸν υἱόν σου Σολόμωνα βασιλεύσειν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ὤμοσα, καὶ τοῦτον ἐπὶ τοὐμοῦ καθιεῖσθαι θρόνου: καὶ τοῦτο ἔσται τή [354] μερον." προσκυνησάσης δ' αὐτὸν τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ μακρὸν εὐξαμένης αὐτῷ βίον Σάδωκον μεταπέμπεται τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ Βαναίαν τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων, καὶ παραγενομένοις κελεύει παρα [355] λαβεῖν Νάθαν τὸν προφήτην καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν ὁπλίτας καὶ ἀναβιβάσαντας τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Σολόμωνα ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἡμίονον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἀγαγεῖν ἐπὶ πηγὴν τὴν λεγομένην Γειὼν καὶ περιχρίσαντας τὸ ἅγιον ἔλαιον ἀποδεῖξαι βασιλέα: τοῦτο δὲ ποιῆσαι προσέταξε Σάδωκον τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ Νάθαν τὸν προφήτην. [356] ἀκολουθοῦντάς τε προσέταξε διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως τοῖς κέρασιν ἐπισαλπίζοντας βοᾶν εἰς αἰῶνα Σολόμωνα τὸν βασιλέα καθίσαι ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ θρόνου, ἵνα γνῷ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἀποδεδειγμένον αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς βασιλέα, Σολόμωνι δ' ἐντετάλθαι περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἵνα εὐσεβῶς καὶ δικαίως προστῇ τοῦ τε Ἑβραίων ἔθνους παντὸς καὶ

τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς. [357] Βαναία δὲ εὐξαμένου τὸν θεὸν Σολόμωνι εὐμενῆ γενέσθαι μηδὲ μικρὸν διαλιπόντες ἀναβιβάζουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμίονον τὸν Σολόμωνα, καὶ προαγαγόντες ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν καὶ τῷ ἐλαίῳ χρίσαντες εἰσήγαγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπευφημοῦντες καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι πολυχρόνιον εὐχόμενοι, [358] καὶ παραγαγόντες εἰς τὸν οἶκον τὸν βασιλικὸν καθίζουσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου, καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐπ᾽ εὐωχίαν εὐθὺς ἐτράπη καὶ ἑορτὴν χορεύων καὶ αὐλοῖς τερπόμενος, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ὀργάνων ἅπασαν περιηχεῖσθαι τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸν ἀέρα.

5. Now, as Bathsheba was speaking, the keeper of the king's chambers told him that Nathan desired to see him. And when the king had commanded that he should be admitted, he came in, and asked him whether he had ordained Adonijah to be king, and delivered the government to him, or not; for that he had made a splendid supper, and invited all his sons, except Solomon; as also that he had invited Joab, the captain of his host, [and Abiathar the high priest,] who are feasting with applauses, and many joyful sounds of instruments, and wish that his kingdom may last for ever; but he hath not invited me, nor Zadok the high priest, nor Benaiah the captain of the guards; and it is but fit that all should know whether this be done by thy approbation or not. When Nathan had said thus, the king commanded that they should call Bathsheba to him, for she had gone out of the room when the prophet came. And when Bathsheba was come, David said, "I swear by Almighty God, that thy son Solomon shall certainly he king, as I formerly swore; and that he shall sit upon my throne, and that this very day also." So Bathsheba worshipped him, and wished him a long life; and the king sent for Zadok the high priest, and Benaiah the captain of the guards; and when they were come, he ordered them to take with them Nathan the prophet, and all the armed men about the palace, and to set his son Solomon upon the king's mule, and to carry him out of the city to the fountain called Gihon, and to anoint him there with the holy oil, and to make him king. This he charged Zadok the high priest, and Nathan the prophet, to do, and commanded them to follow Solomon through the midst of the city, and to sound the trumpets, and wish aloud that Solomon the king may sit upon the royal throne for ever, that so all the people may know that he is ordained king by his father. He also gave Solomon a charge concerning his government, to rule the whole nation of the Hebrews, and particularly the tribe of Judah, religiously and righteously. And when Benaiah had prayed to God to be favorable to Solomon, without any delay they set Solomon upon the mule, and brought him out of the city to the fountain, and anointed him with oil, and brought him into the city again, with acclamations and wishes that his kingdom might continue a long time: and when

they had introduced him into the king's house, they set him upon the throne; whereupon all the people betook themselves to make merry, and to celebrate a festival, dancing and delighting themselves with musical pipes, till both the earth and the air echoed with the multitude of the instruments of music.

(6) [359] Ὡς δ' ἤσθοντο τῆς βοῆς Ἀδωνίας τε καὶ οἱ παρόντες ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐταράχθησαν, ὅ τε στρατηγὸς Ἰώαβος ἔλεγεν οὐκ ἀρέσκεσθαι τοῖς ἤχοις οὐδὲ τῇ σάλπιγγι. παρακειμένου δὲ τοῦ δείπνου καὶ μηδενὸς γευομένου πάντων δ' ἐπ' ἐννοίας ὑπαρχόντων, εἰστρέχει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Ἀβιαθάρου παῖς Ἰωνάθης. [360] τοῦ δ' Ἀδωνία θεασαμένου τὸν νεανίαν ἡδέως καὶ προσειπόντος ἀγαθῶν ἄγγελον, ἐδήλου πάντ' αὐτοῖς τὰ περὶ τὸν Σολόμωνα καὶ τὴν Δαυίδου τοῦ βασιλέως γνώμην: ἀναπηδήσαντες δ' ἐκ τοῦ συμποσίου ὅ τε Ἀδωνίας καὶ οἱ κεκλημένοι πάντες ἔφυγον πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἕκαστοι. [361] φοβηθεὶς δ' Ἀδωνίας τὸν βασιλέα περὶ τῶν γεγονότων ἱκέτης γίνεται τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου κεράτων ἃ δὴ προεῖχεν ἐλλαβόμενος δηλοῦται τοῦτο Σολόμωνι πεποιηκὼς καὶ πίστεις ἀξιῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν, ὥστε μὴ μνησικακῆσαι μηδ' ἐργάσασθαι δεινὸν αὐτὸν μηδέν. [362] ὁ δὲ ἡμέρως πάνυ καὶ σωφρόνως τῆς μὲν τότε ἁμαρτίας αὐτὸν ἀφῆκεν ἀθῷον, εἰπὼν δέ, εἰ ληφθείη τι πάλιν καινοποιῶν, ἑαυτῷ αἴτιον τῆς τιμωρίας ἔσεσθαι, πέμψας ἀνίστησιν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἱκεσίας: ἐλθόντα δὲ καὶ προσκυνήσαντα εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν οἰκίαν ἀπελθεῖν ἐκέλευσε μηδὲν ὑφορώμενον καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ παρέχειν αὐτὸν ἀγαθὸν ὡς αὐτῷ τοῦτο συμφέρον ἠξίου.

6. Now when Adonijah and his guests perceived this noise, they were in disorder; and Joab the captain of the host said he was not pleased with these echoes, and the sound of these trumpets. And when supper was set before them, nobody tasted of it, but they were all very thoughtful what would be the matter. Then Jonathan, the son of Abiathar the high priest, came running to them; and when Adonijah saw the young man gladly, and said to him that he was a good messenger, he declared to them the whole matter about Solomon, and the determination of king David: hereupon both Adonijah and all the guests rose hastily from the feast, and every one fled to their own homes. Adonijah also, as afraid of the king for what he had done, became a supplicant to God, and took hold of the horns of the altar, which were prominent. It was also told Solomon that he had so done; and that he desired to receive assurances from him that he would not remember the injury he had done, and not inflict any severe punishment for it. Solomon answered very mildly and prudently, that he forgave him this his offense; but said withal, that if he were found out in any attempt for new innovations, that he would be the author of his own punishment. So he sent to him, and raised him up from the place of his supplication. And when he was come to the king, and had worshipped him, the king bid him go away to his own

house, and have no suspicion of any harm; and desired him to show himself a worthy man, as what would tend to his own advantage.

(7) [363] Βουλόμενος δὲ Δαυίδης ἐπὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ ἀποδεῖξαι τὸν υἱὸν βασιλέα συγκαλεῖ τοὺς ἄρχοντας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς Ληουίτας. ἐξαριθμήσας δὲ τούτους πρῶτον εὑρίσκει τῶν ἀπὸ τριάκοντα ἐτῶν ἕως πεντήκοντα τρισμυρίους ὀκτακισχιλίους. [364] ἐξ ὧν ἀπέδειξεν ἐπιμελητὰς μὲν τῆς οἰκοδομίας τοῦ ναοῦ δισμυρίους τετρακισχιλίους, κριτὰς δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ γραμματεῖς τούτων ἑξακισχιλίους, πυλωροὺς δὲ τετρακισχιλίους καὶ τοσούτους ὑμνῳδοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ ᾄδοντας τοῖς ὀργάνοις οἷς Δαυίδης κατεσκεύασε, καθὼς προειρήκαμεν. [365] διεμέρισε δ᾽ αὐτοὺς καὶ κατὰ πατριὰς καὶ χωρίσας ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς τοὺς ἱερεῖς εὗρε τούτων εἴκοσι τέσσαρας πατριάς, ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ἐλεαζάρου οἰκίας ἑκκαίδεκα, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰθαμάρου ὀκτώ, διέταξέ τε μίαν πατριὰν διακονεῖσθαι τῷ θεῷ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ὀκτὼ ἀπὸ σαββάτου ἐπὶ σάββατον. [366] καὶ οὕτως αἱ πατριαὶ πᾶσαι διεκληρώσαντο Δαυίδου παρόντος καὶ Σαδώκου καὶ Ἀβιαθάρου τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀρχόντων: καὶ ἡ πρώτη μὲν ἀναβᾶσα πατριὰ ἐγράφη πρώτη, ἡ δὲ δευτέρα ἀκολούθως ἄχρι τῶν εἴκοσι τεσσάρων: καὶ διέμεινεν οὗτος ὁ μερισμὸς ἄχρι τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας. [367] ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ τῆς Ληουίτιδος φυλῆς εἴκοσι μέρη καὶ τέσσαρα καὶ κληρωσαμένων κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀνέβησαν τρόπον ταῖς τῶν ἱερέων ἐφημερίσιν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ὀκτώ. τοὺς δ᾽ ἀπογόνους τοὺς Μωυσέος ἐτίμησεν: ἐποίησε γὰρ αὐτοὺς φύλακας τῶν θησαυρῶν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων, ἃ συνέβη τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἀναθεῖναι: διέταξε δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ληουίτιδος φυλῆς καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι δουλεύειν κατὰ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν τῷ θεῷ, καθὼς αὐτοῖς ἐπέστειλε Μωυσῆς.

7. But David, being desirous of ordaining his son king of all the people, called together their rulers to Jerusalem, with the priests and the Levites; and having first numbered the Levites, he found them to be thirty-eight thousand, from thirty years old to fifty; out of which he appointed twenty-three thousand to take care of the building of the temple, and out of the same, six thousand to be judges of the people and scribes, four thousand for porters to the house of God, and as many for singers, to sing to the instruments which David had prepared, as we have said already. He divided them also into courses: and when he had separated the priests from them, he found of these priests twenty-four courses, sixteen of the house of Eleazar, and eight of that of Ithamar; and he ordained that one course should minister to God eight days, from sabbath to sabbath. And thus were the courses distributed by lot, in the presence of David, and Zadok and Abiathar the high priests, and of all the rulers; and that course which came up first was written down as the first, and accordingly the second, and so on to the twenty-fourth; and this partition hath remained to this day. He also made twenty-

four parts of the tribe of Levi; and when they cast lots, they came up in the same manner for their courses of eight days. He also honored the posterity of Moses, and made them the keepers of the treasures of God, and of the donations which the kings dedicated. He also ordained that all the tribe of Levi, as well as the priests, should serve God night and day, as Moses had enjoined them.

(8) [368] Μετὰ ταῦτα διεμέρισε τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς δώδεκα μοίρας σὺν ἡγεμόσι καὶ ἑκατοντάρχοις καὶ ταξιάρχαις. εἶχεν δ' ἑκάστη τῶν μοιρῶν δισμυρίους καὶ τετρακισχιλίους, ὧν ἐκέλευσε προσεδρεύειν κατὰ τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἕως τῆς ὑστάτης Σολόμωνι τῷ βασιλεῖ σὺν τοῖς χιλιάρχοις καὶ ἑκατοντάρχοις. [369] κατέστησε δὲ καὶ ἄρχοντα ἑκάστης μοίρας ὃν ἀγαθὸν ᾔδει καὶ δίκαιον, ἐπιτρόπους τε τῶν θησαυρῶν καὶ κωμῶν καὶ ἀγρῶν ἄλλους καὶ κτηνῶν, ὧν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην μνησθῆναι τῶν ὀνομάτων.

8. After this he parted the entire army into twelve parts, with their leaders [and captains of hundreds] and commanders. Now every part had twenty-four thousand, which were ordered to wait on Solomon, by thirty days at a time, from the first day till the last, with the captains of thousands and captains of hundreds. He also set rulers over every part, such as he knew to be good and righteous men. He set others also to take charge of the treasures, and of the villages, and of the fields, and of the beasts, whose names I do not think it necessary to mention. When David had ordered all these officers after the manner before mentioned, he called the rulers of the Hebrews, and their heads of tribes, and the officers over the several divisions, and those that were appointed over every work, and every possession; and standing upon a high pulpit, he said to the multitude as follows: "My brethren and my people, I would have you know that I intended to build a house for God, and prepared a large quantity of gold, and a hundred thousand talents of silver; but God prohibited me by the prophet Nathan, because of the wars I had on your account, and because my right hand was polluted with the slaughter of our enemies; but he commanded that my son, who was to succeed me in the kingdom, should build a temple for him. Now therefore, since you know that of the twelve sons whom Jacob our forefather had Judah was appointed to be king, and that I was preferred before my six brethren, and received the government from God, and that none of them were uneasy at it, so do I also desire that my sons be not seditious one against another, now Solomon has received the kingdom, but to bear him cheerfully for their lord, as knowing that God hath chosen him; for it is not a grievous thing to obey even a foreigner as a ruler, if it be God's will, but it is fit to rejoice when a brother hath obtained that dignity, since the rest partake of it with him. And I pray that the promises of God may be fulfilled; and that this happiness which he hath promised to bestow

upon king Solomon, over all the country, may continue therein for all time to come. And these promises O son, will be firm, and come to a happy end, if thou showest thyself to be a religious and a righteous man, and an observer of the laws of thy country; but if not, expect adversity upon thy disobedience to them."

(9) [370] Ὡς δ' ἕκαστα τούτων κατὰ τὸν προειρημένον διέταξε τρόπον, εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συγκαλέσας τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν Ἑβραίων καὶ τοὺς φυλάρχους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν διαιρέσεων καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ πάσης πράξεως ἢ κτήσεως τοῦ βασιλέως τεταγμένους, στὰς ἐφ' ὑψηλοτάτου βήματος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔλεξε πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος: [371] "ἀδελφοὶ καὶ ὁμοεθνεῖς, γινώσκειν ὑμᾶς βούλομαι, ὅτι ναὸν οἰκοδομῆσαι τῷ θεῷ διανοηθεὶς χρυσόν τε πολὺν παρεσκευασάμην καὶ ἀργύρου ταλάντων μυριάδας δέκα, ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐκώλυσέ με διὰ τοῦ προφήτου Νάθα διά τε τοὺς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πολέμους καὶ τῷ φόνῳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μεμιάνθαι τὴν δεξιάν, τὸν δὲ υἱὸν ἐκέλευσε τὸν διαδεξόμενον τὴν βασιλείαν κατασκευάσαι τὸν ναὸν αὐτῷ. [372] νῦν οὖν ἐπεὶ καὶ τῷ προγόνῳ ἡμῶν Ἰακώβῳ δυοκαίδεκα παίδων γενομένων ἵστε τὸν Ἰούδαν ἀποδειχθέντα βασιλέα, καὶ ἐμὲ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἓξ ὄντων προκριθέντα καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν λαβόντα παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μηδένα τούτων δυσχεράναντα, οὕτως ἀξιῶ κἀγὼ τοὺς ἐμαυτοῦ παῖδας μὴ στασιάζειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους Σολόμωνος τὴν βασιλείαν παρειληφότος, ἀλλ' ἐπισταμένους ὡς ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ἐξελέξατο φέρειν ἡδέως αὐτὸν δεσπότην. [373] οὐ δεινὸν γὰρ θεοῦ θέλοντος οὐδ' ἀλλοτρίῳ κρατοῦντι δουλεύειν, χαίρειν δ' ἐπ' ἀδελφῷ ταύτης τυχόντι τῆς τιμῆς προσῆκεν ὡς κοινωνοῦντας αὐτῆς. εὔχομαι δὴ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις τοῦ θεοῦ παρελθεῖν εἰς τέλος καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ταύτην ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν σπαρῆναι καὶ τὸν ἅπαντα ταύτῃ παραμεῖναι χρόνον, ἣν αὐτὸς ἐπηγγείλατο παρέξειν ἐπὶ Σολόμωνος βασιλέως. [374] ἔσται δὲ ταῦτα βέβαια καὶ καλὸν ἕξει πέρας, ἂν εὐσεβῆ καὶ δίκαιον αὑτὸν καὶ φύλακα τῶν πατρίων παρέχῃς νόμων, ὦ τέκνον: εἰ δὲ μή, τὰ χείρω προσδοκάτω ταῦτα παραβαίνων."

9. Now when the king had said this, he left off; but gave the description and pattern of the building of the temple in the sight of them all to Solomon: of the foundations and of the chambers, inferior and superior; how many they were to be, and how large in height and in breadth; as also he determined the weight of the golden and silver vessels: moreover, he earnestly excited them with his words to use the utmost alacrity about the work; he exhorted the rulers also, and particularly the tribe of Levi, to assist him, both because of his youth, and because God had chosen him to take care of the building of the temple, and of the government of the kingdom. He also declared to them that the work would be easy, and not very laborious to them, because he had prepared for it many talents of gold, and more of silver, with timber, and a great many carpenters and stone-cutters, and a large quantity of emeralds, and all sorts of precious stones;

and he said, that even now he would give of the proper goods of his own dominion two hundred talents, and three hundred other talents of pure gold, for the most holy place, and for the chariot of God, the cherubim, which are to stand over and cover the ark. Now when David had done speaking, there appeared great alacrity among the rulers, and the priests, and the Levites, who now contributed and made great and splendid promises for a future Contribution; for they undertook to bring of gold five thousand talents, and ten thousand drams, and of silver ten thousand talents, and many ten thousand talents of iron; and if any one had a precious stone he brought it, and bequeathed it to be put among the treasures; of which Jachiel, one of the posterity of Moses, had the care.

(10) [375] Ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς τούτους ποιησάμενος τοὺς λόγους ἐπαύσατο, τήν τε διαγραφὴν καὶ διάταξιν τῆς οἰκοδομίας τοῦ ναοῦ πάντων ὁρώντων ἔδωκε Σολόμωνι θεμελίων καὶ οἴκων [καὶ] ὑπερῴων, ὅσοι τε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ πηλίκοι τὸ ὕψος καὶ εὖρος γένοιντο, ὅσα τε σκεύη χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ τούτων τὸν σταθμὸν ὥρισε. [376] προσπαρώρμησε δὲ καὶ λόγοις αὐτόν τε πάσῃ χρήσασθαι προθυμίᾳ περὶ τὸ ἔργον καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τὴν Ληουιτῶν φυλὴν συναγωνίσασθαι διά τε τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ διὰ τὸ τὸν θεὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐλέσθαι καὶ τῆς οἰκοδομίας τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας προστάτην. [377] εὐμαρῆ δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐ σφόδρα ἐπίπονον τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ἀπέφαινεν αὐτοῦ μὲν πολλὰ τάλαντα χρυσοῦ πλείω δ' ἀργύρου καὶ ξύλα καὶ τεκτόνων πλῆθος καὶ λατόμων ἤδη παρεσκευασμένου σμαράγδου τε καὶ πάσης ἰδέας λίθου πολυτελοῦς: [378] καὶ νῦν δ' ἔτι τῆς ἰδίας ἀπαρχὴν διακονίας ἄλλα τρισχίλια τάλαντα χρυσοῦ καθαροῦ παρέξειν ἔλεγεν εἰς τὸ ἄδυτον καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅρμα τοῦ θεοῦ τοὺς Χερουβεῖς, οὓς ἐφεστάναι δεήσει τὴν κιβωτὸν καλύπτοντας. σιωπήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Δαυίδου πολλὴ καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῆς Ληουίτιδος φυλῆς προθυμία συμβαλλομένων καὶ ποιουμένων ἐπαγγελίας λαμπρὰς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς ἐγένετο: [379] χρυσοῦ μὲν γὰρ ὑπέστησαν εἰσοίσειν τάλαντα πεντακισχίλια καὶ στατῆρας μυρίους, ἀργυρίου δὲ μύρια τάλαντα, καὶ σιδήρου μυριάδας ταλάντων πολλάς: καὶ εἴ τινι λίθος ἦν πολυτελὴς ἐκόμισε καὶ παρέδωκεν εἰς τοὺς θησαυρούς, ὧν ἐπετρόπευεν ὁ Μωυσέος ἔκγονος Ἴαλος.

10. Upon this occasion all the people rejoiced, as in particular did David, when he saw the zeal and forward ambition of the rulers, and the priests, and of all the rest; and he began to bless God with a loud voice, calling him the Father and Parent of the universe, and the Author of human and divine things, with which he had adorned Solomon, the patron and guardian of the Hebrew nation, and of its happiness, and of that kingdom which he hath given his son. Besides this, he prayed for happiness to all the people; and to Solomon his son, a sound and a righteous mind, and confirmed in all sorts of virtue; and then he commanded the

multitude to bless God; upon which they all fell down upon the ground and worshipped him. They also gave thanks to David, on account of all the blessings which they had received ever since he had taken the kingdom.

(11) [380] Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἥσθη τε ὁ λαὸς ἅπας καὶ Δαυίδης τὴν σπουδὴν καὶ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ ἱερέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων ὁρῶν τὸν θεὸν εὐλογεῖν ἤρξατο μεγάλῃ βοῇ πατέρα τε καὶ γένεσιν τῶν ὅλων ἀποκαλῶν καὶ δημιουργὸν ἀνθρωπίνων καὶ θείων, οἷς αὐτὸν ἐκόσμησε, προστάτην τε καὶ κηδεμόνα γένους τῶν Ἑβραίων καὶ τῆς τούτων εὐδαιμονίας ἧς τε αὐτῷ βασιλείας ἔδωκεν. [381] ἐπὶ τούτοις εὐξάμενος τῷ τε παντὶ λαῷ τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τῷ παιδὶ Σολόμωνι διάνοιαν ὑγιῆ καὶ δικαίαν καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τῆς ἀρετῆς μέρεσιν ἐρρωμένην ἐκέλευσε καὶ τὸ πλῆθος εὐλογεῖν τὸν θεόν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πεσόντες ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν προσεκύνησαν, εὐχαρίστησαν δὲ καὶ Δαυίδῃ περὶ πάντων ὧν αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντος ἀπέλαυσαν. [382] τῇ δ᾽ ἐπιούσῃ θυσίας τῷ θεῷ παρέστησαν μόσχους χιλίους καὶ κριοὺς τοσούτους καὶ χιλίους ἀμνούς, οὓς ὡλοκαύτωσαν: ἔθυσαν δὲ καὶ τὰς εἰρηνικὰς θυσίας πολλὰς μυριάδας ἱερείων κατασφάξαντες. καὶ δι᾽ ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας ἑώρτασεν ὁ βασιλεὺς σὺν παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, καὶ Σολόμωνα δεύτερον ἔχρισαν τῷ ἐλαίῳ καὶ ἀπέδειξαν αὐτὸν βασιλέα καὶ Σάδωκον ἀρχιερέα τῆς πληθύος ἁπάσης. εἴς τε τὸ βασίλειον ἀγαγόντες Σολόμωνα καὶ καθίσαντες αὐτὸν ἐπὶ θρόνου τοῦ πατρῴου ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπήκουον αὐτῷ.

11. On the next day he presented sacrifices to God, a thousand bullocks, and as many lambs, which they offered for burnt-offerings. They also offered peace-offerings, and slew many ten thousand sacrifices; and the king feasted all day, together with all the people; and they anointed Solomon a second time with the oil, and appointed him to be king, and Zadok to be the high priest of the whole multitude. And when they had brought Solomon to the royal palace, and had set him upon his father’s throne, they were obedient to him from that day.

XV

CHAPTER 15. What Charge David Gave Tohis Son Solomon At The Approach Of His Death, And How Many Things He Left Him For The Building Of The Temple.

(1) [383] Μετ᾽ ὀλίγον δὲ χρόνον ὁ Δαυίδης καταπεσὼν εἰς νόσον ὑπὸ γήρως καὶ συνειδὼς ὅτι μέλλει τελευτᾶν καλέσας τὸν υἱὸν Σολόμωνα διελέχθη πρὸς αὐτὸν τοιάδε: “ἐγὼ μέν, ὦ τέκνον, εἰς τὸ χρεὼν ἤδη καὶ πατέρας τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἀπαλλάσσομαι κοινὴν ὁδὸν ἁπάντων τῶν τε νῦν ὄντων καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων πορευόμενος, ἐξ ἧς οὐκέτι οἷόν τε ἐπανελθόντα γνῶναι, τί κατὰ τὸν βίον πράττεται. [384] διὸ ζῶν ἔτι καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ γεγονὼς τῷ τελευτᾶν παραινῶ σοι ταῦθ᾽ ἃ καὶ πρότερον ἔφθην συμβουλεύσας, δικαίῳ μὲν εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχομένους, εὐσεβεῖ δὲ πρὸς τὸν τὴν βασιλείαν δεδωκότα θεόν, φυλάττειν δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐντολὰς καὶ τοὺς νόμους, οὓς αὐτὸς διὰ Μωυσέος κατέπεμψεν ἡμῖν, καὶ μήτε χάριτι μήτε θωπείᾳ μήτ᾽ ἐπιθυμίᾳ μήτε ἄλλῳ πάθει προστιθέμενον τούτων ἀμελῆσαι: [385] τὴν γὰρ τοῦ θείου πρὸς σαυτὸν εὔνοιαν ἀπολεῖς παραβάς τι τῶν νομίμων καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἀποστρέψεις πρόνοιαν: τοιοῦτον δὲ σεαυτὸν παρέχων, ὁποῖον εἶναί τε δεῖ κἀγὼ δὲ παρακαλῶ, καθέξεις ἡμῶν τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ γένει καὶ οἶκος ἄλλος Ἑβραίων οὐκ ἂν δεσπόσειεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ διὰ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος. [386] μέμνησο δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἰωάβου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ παρανομίας ἀποκτείναντος διὰ ζηλοτυπίαν δύο στρατηγοὺς δικαίους καὶ ἀγαθούς, Ἀβεννῆρόν τε τὸν Νήρου παῖδα καὶ τὸν Ἀμασὰν υἱὸν Ἰέθρα: ὧν ὅπως ἄν σοι δόξῃ τὸν θάνατον ἐκδίκησον, ἐπεὶ καὶ κρείττων ἐμοῦ καὶ δυνατώτερος ὁ Ἰώαβος ὢν μέχρι νῦν τὴν δίκην διέφυγε. [387] παρατίθεμαι δέ σοι καὶ τοὺς Βερζέλου τοῦ Γαλαδίτου παῖδας, οὓς ἐν τιμῇ πάσῃ καὶ προνοίᾳ τοῦτ᾽ ἐμοὶ χαριζόμενος ἕξεις: οὐ προκατάρχομεν γὰρ εὐποιίας, ἀλλ᾽ ἀμοιβὴν ὧν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῶν παρὰ τὴν φυγὴν ὑπῆρξέ μοι χρεολυτοῦμεν. [388] καὶ τὸν Γήρα δὲ υἱὸν Σουμούιν τὸν ἐκ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς, ὃς πολλὰ βλασφημήσας με παρὰ τὴν φυγήν, ὅτ᾽ εἰς Παρεμβολὰς ἐπορευόμην, ἀπήντησεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόρδανον καὶ πίστεις ἔλαβεν ὡς μηδὲν αὐτὸν παθεῖν τότε, νῦν ἐπιζητήσας αἰτίαν εὔλογον ἄμυνε.”

1. A Little afterward David also fell into a distemper, by reason of his age; and perceiving that he was near to death, he called his son Solomon, and discoursed to him thus: “I am now, O my son, going to my grave, and to my fathers, which is the common way which all men that now are, or shall be hereafter, must go; from which way it is no longer possible to return, and to know any thing that is

done in this world. On which account I exhort thee, while I am still alive, though already very near to death, in the same manner as I have formerly said in my advice to thee, to be righteous towards thy subjects, and religious towards God, that hath given thee thy kingdom; to observe his commands and his laws, which he hath sent us by Moses; and neither do thou out of favor nor flattery allow any lust or other passion to weigh with thee to disregard them; for if thou transgressest his laws, thou wilt lose the favor of God, and thou wilt turn away his providence from thee in all things; but if thou behave thyself so as it behooves thee, and as I exhort thee, thou wilt preserve our kingdom to our family, and no other house will bear rule over the Hebrews but we ourselves for all ages. Be thou also mindful of the transgressions of Joab, the captain of the host, who hath slain two generals out of envy, and those righteous and good men, Abner the son of Ner, and Amasa the son of Jether; whose death do thou avenge as shall seem good to thee, since Joab hath been too hard for me, and more potent than myself, and so hath escaped punishment hitherto. I also commit to thee the son of Barzillai the Gileadite, whom, in order to gratify me, thou shalt have in great honor, and take great care of; for we have not done good to him first, but we only repay that debt which we owe to his father for what he did to me in my flight. There is also Shimei the son of Gera, of the tribe of Benjamin, who, after he had cast many reproaches upon me, when, in my flight, I was going to Mahanaim, met me at Jordan, and received assurances that he should then suffer nothing. Do thou now seek out for some just occasion, and punish him."

(2) [389] Ταῦτα παραινέσας τῷ παιδὶ περί τε τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων καὶ [περὶ] τῶν φίλων καὶ οὓς ᾔδει τιμωρίας ἀξίους γεγενημένους ἀπέθανεν, ἔτη μὲν βιώσας ἑβδομήκοντα, βασιλεύσας δὲ ἑπτὰ μὲν ἐν Χεβρῶνι τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς καὶ μῆνας ἕξ, ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις δὲ ἁπάσης τῆς χώρας τρία καὶ τριάκοντα. [390] οὕτως ἀρίστῳ ἀνδρὶ γεγενημένῳ καὶ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἔχοντι καὶ τοσούτων ἐθνῶν σωτηρίαν ἐγκεχειρισμένῳ βασιλεῖ ἔδει προσεπαινέσαι καὶ τό τε τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ εὐσθενὲς καὶ τὸ τῆς σωφροσύνης συνετόν: ἀνδρεῖος γὰρ ἦν, ὡς οὐκ ἄλλος τις, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἀγῶσι πρῶτος ἐπὶ τοὺς κινδύνους ὥρμα, τῷ πονεῖν καὶ μάχεσθαι παρακελευόμενος τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπὶ τὰς παρατάξεις ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τῷ προστάττειν ὡς δεσπότης, [391] νοῆσαί τε καὶ συνιδεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐνεστηκότων οἰκονομίας ἱκανώτατος, σώφρων ἐπιεικὴς χρηστὸς πρὸς τοὺς ἐν συμφοραῖς ὑπάρχοντας δίκαιος φιλάνθρωπος, ἃ μόνοις δικαιότατα βασιλεῦσιν εἶναι προσῆκε, μηδὲν ὅλως παρὰ τοσοῦτο μέγεθος ἐξουσίας ἁμαρτὼν ἢ τὸ περὶ τὴν Οὐρία γυναῖκα. κατέλιπε δὲ καὶ πλοῦτον ὅσον οὐκ ἄλλος βασιλεὺς οὔθ' Ἑβραίων οὔτ' ἄλλων ἐθνῶν.

2. When David had given these admonitions to his son about public affairs, and about his friends, and about those whom he knew to deserve punishment, he died, having lived seventy years, and reigned seven years and six months in Hebron over the tribe of Judah, and thirty-three years in Jerusalem over all the country. This man was of an excellent character, and was endowed with all virtues that were desirable in a king, and in one that had the preservation of so many tribes committed to him; for he was a man of valor in a very extraordinary degree, and went readily and first of all into dangers, when he was to fight for his subjects, as exciting the soldiers to action by his own labors, and fighting for them, and not by commanding them in a despotic way. He was also of very great abilities in understanding, and apprehension of present and future circumstances, when he was to manage any affairs. He was prudent and moderate, and kind to such as were under any calamities; he was righteous and humane, which are good qualities, peculiarly fit for kings; nor was he guilty of any offense in the exercise of so great an authority, but in the business of the wife of Uriah. He also left behind him greater wealth than any other king, either of the Hebrews or, of other nations, ever did.

(3) [392] Ἔθαψε δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ παῖς Σολόμων ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις διαπρεπῶς τοῖς τε ἄλλοις οἷς περὶ κηδείαν νομίζεται βασιλικὴν ἅπασι καὶ δὴ καὶ πλοῦτον αὐτῷ πολὺν καὶ ἄφθονον συνεκήδευσεν, ὧν τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τεκμήραιτ᾽ ἄν τις ῥᾳδίως ἐκ τοῦ λεχθησομένου: [393] μετὰ γὰρ χρόνον ἐτῶν χιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων Ὑρκανὸς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς πολιορκούμενος ὑπ᾽ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς ἐπικληθέντος υἱοῦ δὲ Δημητρίου, βουλόμενος χρήματ᾽ αὐτῷ δοῦναι ὑπὲρ τοῦ λῦσαι τὴν πολιορκίαν καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπαγαγεῖν καὶ ἀλλαχόθεν οὐκ εὐπορῶν, ἀνοίξας ἕνα οἶκον τῶν ἐν τῷ Δαυίδου μνήματι καὶ βαστάσας τρισχίλια τάλαντα μέρος ἔδωκεν Ἀντιόχῳ καὶ διέλυσεν οὕτως τὴν πολιορκίαν, καθὼς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδηλώκαμεν. [394] μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐτῶν πολλῶν διαγενομένων πάλιν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης ἕτερον ἀνοίξας οἶκον ἀνείλετο χρήματα πολλά. ταῖς μέντοι γε θήκαις τῶν βασιλέων οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐπέτυχεν: ἦσαν γὰρ ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν μηχανικῶς κεκηδευμέναι πρὸς τὸ μὴ φανεραὶ εἶναι τοῖς εἰς τὸ μνῆμα εἰσιοῦσιν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἡμῖν τοσοῦτον ἀπόχρη δεδηλῶσθαι.

3. He was buried by his son Solomon, in Jerusalem, with great magnificence, and with all the other funeral pomp which kings used to be buried with; moreover, he had great and immense wealth buried with him, the vastness of which may be easily conjectured at by what I shall now say; for a thousand and three hundred years afterward Hyrcanus the high priest, when he was besieged by Antiochus, that was called the Pious, the son of Demetrius, and was desirous of giving him money to get him to raise the siege and draw off his army, and having no other

method of compassing the money, opened one room of David's sepulcher, and took out three thousand talents, and gave part of that sum to Antiochus; and by this means caused the siege to be raised, as we have informed the reader elsewhere. Nay, after him, and that many years, Herod the king opened another room, and took away a great deal of money, and yet neither of them came at the coffins of the kings themselves, for their bodies were buried under the earth so artfully, that they did not appear to even those that entered into their monuments. But so much shall suffice us to have said concerning these matters.

Liber VIII

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Ὡς Σολόμων τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀνεῖλε.

β. περὶ τῆς σοφίας αὐτοῦ καὶ συνέσεως καὶ τοῦ πλούτου.

γ. ὅτι πρῶτος τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ναὸν ᾠκοδόμησεν.

δ. ὡς τελευτήσαντος Σολόμωνος ὁ λαὸς ἀποστὰς τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Ῥοβοάμου τῶν δέκα φυλῶν τῶν ὑπηκόων τινὰ Ἱεροβόαμον ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα, τῶν δὲ δύο φυλῶν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἐβασίλευσεν.

ε. ὡς Ἴσακος Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ κατασχὼν τὴν πόλιν τὸν πλοῦτον αὐτῆς εἰς Αἴγυπτον μετήνεγκε.

ς. στρατεία Ἱεροβοάμου τοῦ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέως ἐπὶ τὸν υἱὸν τὸν Ῥοβοάμου καὶ ἥττα.

ζ. ὅτι τὴν Ἱεροβοάμου γενεὰν Βασίνης τις ὄνομα διαφθείρας αὐτὸς τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχεν.

η. Αἰθιόπων ἐπιστρατεία τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις βασιλεύοντος αὐτῶν Ἀσάνου τοῦ Ἀβία παιδός, καὶ διαφθορὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ.

θ. ὡς τῆς Ἀβεσσάρου γενεᾶς διαφθαρείσης ἐβασίλευσε τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν Ἄμαρις καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἄχαβος.

ι. ὡς Ἄδαδος Δαμασκοῦ καὶ Συρίας βασιλεὺς δὶς ἐπ᾽ Ἄχαβον στρατευσάμενος ἡττήθη.

ια. Ἀμμανιτῶν καὶ Μωαβιτῶν στρατευσαμένων ἐπ᾽ Ἰωσαφάτην τὸν Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλέα ἥττα.

ιβ. ὡς Ἄχαβος ἐπὶ Σύρους στρατευσάμενος ἡττήθη τῇ μάχῃ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπώλετο.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος αὕτη ἔτη ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα καὶ τρία.

BOOK VIII. Containing The Interval Of One Hundred And Sixty-Three Years. — From The Death Of David To The Death Of Ahab.

I

CHAPTER 1. How Solomon, When He Had Received The Kingdom Took Off His Enemies.

(1) [1] Περὶ μὲν οὖν Δαυίδου καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος γενόμενος τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις πολέμους τε καὶ μάχας ὅσας κατορθώσας γηραιὸς ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης βίβλῳ δεδηλώκαμεν. [2] Σολόμωνος δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ νέου τὴν ἡλικίαν ἔτι ὄντος τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντος, ὃν ἔτι ζῶν ἀπέφηνε τοῦ λαοῦ δεσπότην κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βούλησιν, καθίσαντος ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον ὁ μὲν πᾶς ὄχλος ἐπευφήμησεν, οἷον εἰκὸς ἐπ᾽ ἀρχομένῳ βασιλεῖ, τελευτῆσαι καλῶς αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα καὶ πρὸς γῆρας ἀφικέσθαι λιπαρὸν καὶ πανεύδαιμον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν.

1. We have already treated of David, and his virtue, and of the benefits he was the author of to his countrymen; of his wars also and battles, which he managed with success, and then died an old man, in the foregoing book. And when Solomon his son, who was but a youth in age, had taken the kingdom, and whom David had declared, while he was alive, the lord of that people, according to God’s will; when he sat upon the throne, the whole body of the people made joyful acclamations to him, as is usual at the beginning of a reign; and wished that all his affairs might come to a blessed conclusion; and that he might arrive at a great age, and at the most happy state of affairs possible.

(2) [3] Ἀδωνίας δέ, ὃς καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔτι ζῶντος ἐπεχείρησε τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχεῖν, παρελθὼν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως μητέρα Βερσάβην καὶ φιλοφρόνως αὐτὴν ἀσπασάμενος, πυθομένης εἰ καὶ διὰ χρείαν τινὰ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀφῖκται καὶ δηλοῦν κελευούσης ὡς ἡδέως παρεξομένης ἤρξατο λέγειν, [4] ὅτι γινώσκει μὲν τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ πλήθους προαίρεσιν οὖσαν αὐτοῦ, μεταβάσης δὲ πρὸς Σολόμωνα τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμην στέργει καὶ ἀγαπᾷ τὴν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῷ δουλείαν καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν [ἥδεται πράγμασιν]. [5] ἐδεῖτο δ᾽ οὖν διακονῆσαι πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῷ καὶ πεῖσαι δοῦναι τὴν τῷ πατρὶ συγκοιμωμένην πρὸς γάμον αὐτῷ Ἀβισάκην: οὐ γὰρ πλησιάσαι τὸν πατέρα διὰ τὸ γῆρας αὐτῇ, μένειν δ᾽ ἔτι παρθένον. [6] ἡ δὲ Βερσάβη καὶ διακονήσειν σπουδαίως ὑπέσχετο καὶ καταπράξεσθαι τὸν γάμον δι᾽ ἀμφότερα, τοῦ τε βασιλέως αὐτῷ χαρίσασθαί τι βουλησομένου καὶ δεησομένης αὐτῆς λιπαρῶς. καὶ ὁ μὲν εὔελπις ἀπαλλάττεται περὶ τοῦ γάμου, ἡ δὲ τοῦ Σολόμωνος μήτηρ εὐθὺς ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν υἱὸν διαλεξομένη περὶ ὧν Ἀδωνίᾳ δεηθέντι κατεπηγγείλατο. [7] καὶ προυπαντήσαντος αὐτῇ τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ περιπλακέντος, ἐπεὶ παρήγαγεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον, οὗ συνέβαινεν αὐτῷ κεῖσθαι τὸν

βασιλικὸν θρόνον, καθίσας ἐκέλευσεν ἕτερον ἐκ δεξιῶν τεθῆναι τῇ μητρί. καθεσθεῖσα δ’ ἡ Βερσάβη “μίαν, εἶπεν, ὦ παῖ, χάριν αἰτουμένῃ κατάνευσον καὶ μηδὲν ἐξ ἀρνήσεως δύσκολον μηδὲ σκυθρωπὸν ἀπεργάσῃ.” τοῦ δὲ Σολόμωνος προστάττειν κελεύοντος, [8] πάντα γὰρ ὅσιον εἶναι μητρὶ παρέχειν, καί τι προσμεμψαμένου τὴν ἀρχήν, ὅτι μὴ μετ’ ἐλπίδος ἤδη βεβαίας τοῦ τυχεῖν ὧν ἀξιοῖ ποιεῖται τοὺς λόγους ἀλλ’ ἄρνησιν ὑφορωμένη, δοῦναι τὴν παρθένον αὐτὸν Ἀβισάκην Ἀδωνίᾳ τἀδελφῷ πρὸς γάμον παρεκάλει.

2. But Adonijah, who, while his father was living, attempted to gain possession of the government, came to the king’s mother Bathsheba, and saluted her with great civility; and when she asked him, whether he came to her as desiring her assistance in any thing or not, and bade him tell her if that were the case, for that she would cheerfully afford it him; he began to say, that she knew herself that the kingdom was his, both on account of his elder age, and of the disposition of the multitude, and that yet it was transferred to Solomon her son, according to the will of God. He also said that he was contented to be a servant under him, and was pleased with the present settlement; but he desired her to be a means of obtaining a favor from his brother to him, and to persuade him to bestow on him in marriage Abishag, who had indeed slept by his father, but, because his father was too old, he did not lie with her, and she was still a virgin. So Bathsheba promised him to afford him her assistance very earnestly, and to bring this marriage about, because the king would be willing to gratify him in such a thing, and because she would press it to him very earnestly. Accordingly he went away in hopes of succeeding in this match. So Solomon’s mother went presently to her son, to speak to him about what she had promised, upon Adonijah’s supplication to her. And when her son came forward to meet her, and embraced her, and when he had brought her into the house where his royal throne was set, he sat thereon, and bid them set another throne on the right hand for his mother. When Bathsheba was set down, she said, “O my son, grant me one request that I desire of thee, and do not any thing to me that is disagreeable or ungrateful, which thou wilt do if thou deniest me.” And when Solomon bid her to lay her commands upon him, because it was agreeable to his duty to grant her every thing she should ask, and complained that she did not at first begin her discourse with a firm expectation of obtaining what she desired, but had some suspicion of a denial, she entreated him to grant that his brother Adonijah might marry Abishag.

(3) [9] Λαβὼν δὲ πρὸς ὀργὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν λόγον ἀποπέμπεται μὲν τὴν μητέρα μειζόνων ὀρέγεσθαι πραγμάτων εἰπὼν Ἀδωνίαν καὶ θαυμάζειν, πῶς οὐ παραχωρῆσαι καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ὡς πρεσβυτέρῳ παρακαλεῖ τὸν γάμον αὐτῷ τὸν

Ἀβισάκης αἰτουμένη φίλους ἔχοντι δυνατοὺς Ἰώαβον τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ Ἀβιάθαρον τὸν ἱερέα, μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ Βαναίαν τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἀποκτεῖναι προσέταξεν αὐτῷ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀδωνίαν. [10] καλέσας δὲ τὸν Ἀβιάθαρον τὸν ἱερέα "θανάτου μέν, εἶπε, ῥύεταί σε τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα τῷ πατρὶ συνέκαμες καὶ ἡ κιβωτός, ἣν σὺν αὐτῷ μετήνεγκας. ταύτην δέ σοι τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐπιτίθημι ταξαμένῳ μετὰ Ἀδωνία καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου φρονήσαντι: μήτε ἐνθάδε ἴσθι μήτε εἰς ὄψιν ἀπάντα τὴν ἐμήν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν πατρίδα πορευθεὶς ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ζῆθι καὶ τοῦτον ἄχρι τελευτῆς ἔχε τὸν βίον ἁμαρτὼν τοῦ μηκέτ' εἶναι δι [11] καίως ἐν ἀξίᾳ." καταλύεται μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερατικῆς τιμῆς ὁ Ἰθαμάρου οἶκος διὰ τὴν προειρημένην αἰτίαν, καθὼς καὶ τῷ Ἀβιαθάρου πάππῳ προεῖπεν ὁ θεὸς Ἠλεί, μετέβη δ' εἰς τὸ Φιναάσου γένος πρὸς Σάδωκον. [12] οἱ δὲ ἰδιωτεύσαντες ἐκ τοῦ Φιναάσου γένους καθ' ὃν καιρὸν εἰς τὸν Ἰθαμάρου οἶκον ἡ ἀρχιερωσύνη μετῆλθεν Ἠλεὶ πρώτου ταύτην παραλαβόντος ἦσαν οὗτοι: ὁ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ υἱὸς Βοκίας, τούτου δὲ Ἰώθαμος, Ἰωθάμου δὲ Μαραίωθος, Μαραιώθου δὲ Ἀροφαῖος, Ἀροφαίου δὲ Ἀχίτωβος, Ἀχιτώβου δὲ Σάδωκος, ὃς πρῶτος ἐπὶ Δαυίδου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀρχιερεὺς ἐγένετο.

3. But the king was greatly offended at these words, and sent away his mother, and said that Adonijah aimed at great things; and that he wondered that she did not desire him to yield up the kingdom to him, as to his elder brother, since she desired that he might marry Abishag; and that he had potent friends, Joab the captain of the host, and Abiathar the priest. So he called for Benaiah, the captain of the guards, and ordered him to slay his brother Adonijah. He also called for Abiathar the priest, and said to him, "I will not put thee to death because of those other hardships which thou hast endured with my father, and because of the ark which thou hast borne along with him; but I inflict this following punishment upon thee, because thou wast among Adonijah's followers, and wast of his party. Do not thou continue here, nor come any more into my sight, but go to thine own town, and live on thy own fields, and there abide all thy life; for thou hast offended so greatly, that it is not just that thou shouldst retain thy dignity any longer." For the forementioned cause, therefore, it was that the house of Ithamar was deprived of the sacerdotal dignity, as God had foretold to Eli, the grandfather of Abiathar. So it was transferred to the family of Phineas, to Zadok. Now those that were of the family of Phineas, but lived privately during the time that the high priesthood was transferred to the house of Ithamar, [of which family Eli was the first that received it,]were these that follow: Bukki, the son of Abishua the high priest; his son was Joatham; Joatham's son was Meraioth; Meraioth's son was Arophseus; Aropheus's son was Ahitub; and Ahitub's son was Zadok, who was first made high priest in the reign of David.

(4) [13] Ἰώαβος δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ἀκούσας Ἀδωνία περιδεὴς ἐγένετο, φίλος γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ βασιλεῖ Σολόμωνι, καὶ κίνδυνον ἐκ τούτου διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εὔνοιαν οὐκ ἀλόγως ὑποπτεύων καταφεύγει μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ἀσφάλειαν δὲ ἐνόμιζεν αὐτῷ ποριεῖν ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβείας τοῦ βασιλέως. [14] ὁ δὲ ἀπαγγειλάντων αὐτῷ τινων τὴν Ἰωάβου γνώμην πέμψας Βαναίαν ἐκέλευσεν ἀναστήσαντα ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὸ δικαστήριον ὡς ἀπολογησόμενον. Ἰώαβος δὲ οὐκ ἔφη καταλείψειν τὸ ἱερόν, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοῦ τεθνήξεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν ἑτέρῳ χωρίῳ. [15] Βαναίου δὲ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν αὐτοῦ τῷ βασιλεῖ δηλώσαντος προσέταξεν ὁ Σολόμων ἐκεῖ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποτεμεῖν, καθὼς βούλεται, καὶ ταύτην λαβεῖν τὴν δίκην ὑπὲρ τῶν δύο στρατηγῶν, οὓς ὁ Ἰώαβος ἀνοσίως ἀπέκτεινε, θάψαι δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα, ὅπως τὰ μὲν ἁμαρτήματα μηδέποτε καταλείπῃ τὸ γένος τὸ ἐκείνου, τῆς δὲ Ἰωάβου τελευτῆς αὐτός τε καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἀθῷοι τυγχάνωσι. [16] καὶ Βαναίας μὲν τὰ κελευσθέντα ποιήσας αὐτὸς ἀποδείκνυται στρατηγὸς πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως, Σάδωκον δὲ ποιεῖ μόνον ἀρχιερέα ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸν Ἀβιαθάρου τόπον, ὃν μετεστήσατο.

4. Now when Joab the captain of the host heard of the slaughter of Adonijah, he was greatly afraid, for he was a greater friend to him than to Solomon; and suspecting, not without reason, that he was in danger, on account of his favor to Adonijah, he fled to the altar, and supposed he might procure safety thereby to himself, because of the king’s piety towards God. But when some told the king what Joab’s supposal was, he sent Benaiah, and commanded him to raise him up from the altar, and bring him to the judgment-seat, in order to make his defense. However, Joab said he would not leave the altar, but would die there rather than in another place. And when Benaiah had reported his answer to the king, Solomon commanded him to cut off his head there and let him take that as a punishment for those two captains of the host whom he had wickedly slain, and to bury his body, that his sins might never leave his family, but that himself and his father, by Joab’s death, might be guiltless. And when Benaiah had done what he was commanded to do, he was himself appointed to be captain of the whole army. The king also made Zadok to be alone the high priest, in the room of Abiathar, whom he had removed.

(5) [17] Σουμουίσῳ δὲ προσέταξεν οἰκίαν οἰκοδομήσαντι μένειν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις αὐτῷ προσεδρεύοντι καὶ μὴ διαβαίνειν τὸν χειμάρρουν Κεδρῶνα ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν, παρακούσαντι δὲ τούτων θάνατον ἔσεσθαι τὸ πρόστιμον. τῷ δὲ μεγέθει τῆς ἀπειλῆς καὶ ὅρκους αὐτῷ προσηνάγκασε ποιήσασθαι. [18] Σουμούισος δὲ χαίρειν οἷς προσέταξεν αὐτῷ Σολόμων φήσας καὶ ταῦτα ποιήσειν προσομόσας καταλιπὼν τὴν πατρίδα τὴν διατριβὴν ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐποιεῖτο. διελθόντων δὲ τριῶν ἐτῶν ἀκούσας δύο δούλους ἀποδράντας αὐτὸν ἐν Γίττῃ

τυγχάνοντας ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας. [19] ἐπανελθόντος δὲ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς αἰσθόμενος, ὡς καὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν αὐτοῦ καταφρονήσαντος καὶ τὸ μεῖζον τῶν ὅρκων τοῦ θεοῦ μηδεμίαν ποιησαμένου φροντίδα, χαλεπῶς εἶχε καὶ καλέσας αὐτόν "οὐ σύ, φησίν, ὤμοσας μὴ καταλείψειν ἐμὲ μηδ᾽ ἐξελεύσεσθαί ποτ᾽ ἐκ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως εἰς ἄλλην; [20] οὔκουν ἀποδράσῃ τὴν τῆς ἐπιορκίας δίκην, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτης καὶ ὧν τὸν πατέρα μου παρὰ τὴν φυγὴν ὕβρισας τιμωρήσομαί σε πονηρὸν γενόμενον, ἵνα γνῷς ὅτι κερδαίνουσι μὲν οὐδὲν οἱ κακοὶ μὴ παρ᾽ αὐτὰ τἀδικήματα κολασθέντες, ἀλλὰ παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ ᾧ νομίζουσιν ἀδεεῖς εἶναι μηδὲν πεπονθότες αὔξεται καὶ γίνεται μείζων ἡ κόλασις αὐτοῖς ἧς ἂν παραυτίκα πλημμελήσαντες ἔδοσαν." καὶ Σουμούισον μὲν κελευσθεὶς Βαναίας ἀπέκτεινεν.

5. But as to Shimei, Solomon commanded that he should build him a house, and stay at Jerusalem, and attend upon him, and should not have authority to go over the brook Cedron; and that if he disobeyed that command, death should be his punishment. He also threatened him so terribly, that he compelled him to take all oath that he would obey. Accordingly Shimei said that he had reason to thank Solomon for giving him such an injunction; and added an oath, that he would do as he bade him; and leaving his own country, he made his abode in Jerusalem. But three years afterwards, when he heard that two of his servants were run away from him, and were in Gath, he went for his servants in haste; and when he was come back with them, the king perceived it, and was much displeased that he had contemned his commands, and, what was more, had no regard to the oaths he had sworn to God; so he called him, and said to him, "Didst not thou swear never to leave me, nor to go out of this city to another? Thou shalt not therefore escape punishment for thy perjury, but I will punish thee, thou wicked wretch, both for this crime, and for those wherewith thou didst abuse my father when he was in his flight, that thou mayst know that wicked men gain nothing at last, although they be not punished immediately upon their unjust practices; but that in all the time wherein they think themselves secure, because they have yet suffered nothing, their punishment increases, and is heavier upon them, and that to a greater degree than if they had been punished immediately upon the commission of their crimes." So Benaiah, on the king's command, slew Shimei.

II

CHAPTER 2. Concerning The Wife Of Solomon; Concerning His Wisdom And Riches; And Concerning What He Obtained Of Hiram For The Building Of The Temple.

(1) [21] Ἤδη δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν βεβαίως ἔχων Σολόμων καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κεκολασμένων ἄγεται τὴν Φαραώθου τοῦ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέως θυγατέρα: καὶ κατασκευάσας τὰ τείχη [τῶν] Ἱεροσολύμων πολλῷ μείζω καὶ ὀχυρώτερα τῶν πρόσθεν ὄντων διεῖπε τὰ πράγματα λοιπὸν ἐπὶ πολλῆς εἰρήνης μηδ᾽ ὑπὸ τῆς νεότητος πρός τε δικαιοσύνην καὶ φυλακὴν τῶν νόμων καὶ μνήμην ὧν ὁ πατὴρ τελευτῶν ἐπέστειλε βλαπτόμενος, ἀλλὰ πάνθ᾽ ὅσα οἱ τοῖς χρόνοις προβεβηκότες καὶ πρὸς τὸ φρονεῖν ἀκμάζοντες μετὰ πολλῆς ἀκριβείας ἐπιτελῶν. [22] ἔγνω δ᾽ εἰς Γιβρῶνα παραγενόμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ χαλκέου θυσιαστηρίου τοῦ κατασκευασθέντος ὑπὸ Μουσείου θῦσαι τῷ θεῷ καὶ χίλια τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὁλοκαύτωσεν ἱερεῖα. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας μεγάλως ἔδοξε τὸν θεὸν τετιμηκέναι: φανεὶς γὰρ αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκέλευσεν αἱρεῖσθαι, τίνας ἀντὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας παράσχῃ δωρεὰς αὐτῷ. [23] Σολόμων δὲ τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ μέγιστα καὶ θεῷ παρασχεῖν ἥδιστα καὶ λαβεῖν ἀνθρώπῳ συμφορώτατα τὸν θεὸν ᾔτησεν: οὐ γὰρ χρυσὸν οὐδ᾽ ἄργυρον οὐδὲ τὸν ἄλλον πλοῦτον ὡς ἄνθρωπος καὶ νέος ἠξίωσεν αὐτῷ προσγενέσθαι, ταῦτα γὰρ σχεδὸν νενόμισται παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις μόνα σπουδῆς ἄξια καὶ θεοῦ δῶρα εἶναι, ἀλλὰ “δός μοι φησί, δέσποτα, νοῦν ὑγιῆ καὶ φρόνησιν ἀγαθήν, οἷς ἂν τὸν λαὸν τἀληθῆ καὶ τὰ δίκαια λαβὼν κρίνοιμι.” [24] τούτοις ἥσθη τοῖς αἰτήμασιν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τά τε ἄλλα πάνθ᾽ ὧν οὐκ ἐμνήσθη παρὰ τὴν ἐκλογὴν δώσειν ἐπηγγείλατο πλοῦτον δόξαν νίκην πολεμίων, καὶ πρὸ πάντων σύνεσιν καὶ σοφίαν οἵαν οὐκ ἄλλος τις ἀνθρώπων ἔσχεν οὔτε βασιλέων οὔτ᾽ ἰδιωτῶν, φυλάξειν τε καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὑπισχνεῖτο χρόνον, ἂν δίκαιός τε ὢν διαμένῃ καὶ πειθόμενος αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν πατέρα μιμούμενος ἐν οἷς ἦν ἄριστος. [25] ταῦτα τοῦ θεοῦ Σολόμων ἀκούσας ἀνεπήδησεν εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς κοίτης καὶ προσκυνήσας αὐτὸν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς μεγάλας ἐπιτελέσας θυσίας κατευωχεῖ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἅπαντας.

1. Solomon having already settled himself firmly in his kingdom, and having brought his enemies to punishment, he married the daughter of Pharaoh king of Egypt, and built the walls of Jerusalem much larger and stronger than those that had been before, and thenceforward he managed public affairs very peaceably. Nor was his youth any hinderance in the exercise of justice, or in the observation

of the laws, or in the remembrance of what charges his father had given him at his death; but he discharged every duty with great accuracy, that might have been expected from such as are aged, and of the greatest prudence. He now resolved to go to Hebron, and sacrifice to God upon the brazen altar that was built by Moses. Accordingly he offered there burnt-offerings, in number a thousand; and when he had done this, he thought he had paid great honor to God; for as he was asleep that very night God appeared to him, and commanded him to ask of him some gifts which he was ready to give him as a reward for his piety. So Solomon asked of God what was most excellent, and of the greatest worth in itself, what God would bestow with the greatest joy, and what it was most profitable for man to receive; for he did not desire to have bestowed upon him either gold or silver, or any other riches, as a man and a youth might naturally have done, for these are the things that generally are esteemed by most men, as alone of the greatest worth, and the best gifts of God; but, said he, "Give me, O Lord, a sound mind, and a good understanding, whereby I may speak and judge the people according to truth and righteousness." With these petitions God was well pleased; and promised to give him all those things that he had not mentioned in his option, riches, glory, victory over his enemies; and, in the first place, understanding and wisdom, and this in such a degree as no other mortal man, neither kings nor ordinary persons, ever had. He also promised to preserve the kingdom to his posterity for a very long time, if he continued righteous and obedient to him, and imitated his father in those things wherein he excelled. When Solomon heard this from God, he presently leaped out of his bed; and when he had worshipped him, he returned to Jerusalem; and after he had offered great sacrifices before the tabernacle, he feasted all his own family.

(2) [26] Ταύταις δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις κρίσις ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤχθη δυσχερής, ἧς τὸ τέλος εὑρεῖν ἦν ἐπίπονον: τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα περὶ οὗ συνέβαινεν εἶναι τὴν δίκην ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην δηλῶσαι, ἵνα τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι τό τε δύσκολον τῆς κρίσεως γνώριμον ὑπάρξῃ, καὶ τοιούτων μεταξὺ πραγμάτων γενόμενοι λάβωσιν ὥσπερ ἐξ εἰκόνος τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἀγχινοίας τὸ ῥᾳδίως ἀποφαίνεσθαι περὶ τῶν ζητουμένων δυνηθῆναι. [27] δύο γυναῖκες ἑταῖραι τὸν βίον ἦκον ἐπ' αὐτόν, ὧν ἡ ἀδικεῖσθαι δοκοῦσα πρώτη λέγειν ἤρξατο: "οἰκῶ μέν, εἶπεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μετὰ ταύτης ἐν ἑνὶ δωματίῳ, συνέβη δ' ἀμφοτέραις ἡμῖν ἐπὶ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἀποτεκεῖν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὥραν ἄρρενα παιδία. [28] τρίτης δὲ ἡμέρας διελθούσης ἐπικοιμηθεῖσα τῷ αὐτῆς παιδίῳ αὕτη τοῦτο μὲν ἀποκτείνει, βαστάσασα δὲ τοὐμὸν ἐκ τῶν γονάτων πρὸς αὐτὴν μεταφέρει καὶ τὸ νεκρὸν ἐμοῦ κοιμωμένης εἰς τὰς ἀγκάλας μου τίθησι. [29] πρωὶ δὲ θηλὴν ὀρέξαι βουλομένη τῷ παιδίῳ τὸ μὲν ἐμὸν οὐχ εὗρον, τὸ δὲ ταύτης νεκρὸν ὁρῶ μοι παρακείμενον: ἀκριβῶς γὰρ

κατανοήσασα τοῦτο ἐπέγνων: ὅθεν ἀπαιτῶ τὸν ἐμὸν υἱὸν καὶ οὐκ ἀπολαμβάνουσα καταπέφευγα, δέσποτα, ἐπὶ τὴν παρὰ σοῦ βοήθειαν: τῷ γὰρ εἶναι μόνας καὶ μηδένα τὸν ἐλέγξαι δυνάμενον φοβεῖσθαι [30] καταφρονοῦσα ἰσχυρῶς ἀρνουμένη παραμένει.” ταῦτ’ εἰπούσης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνέκρινε τὴν ἑτέραν, τί τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἀντιλέγειν ἔχει. τῆς δὲ ἀρνουμένης τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι, τὸ δὲ παιδίον ζῆν τὸ αὐτῆς λεγούσης, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀντιδίκου τεθνηκέναι, μηδενὸς ἐπινοοῦντος τὴν κρίσιν ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ ἐπ’ αἰνίγματι περὶ τὴν εὕρεσιν αὐτοῦ πάντων τῇ διανοίᾳ τετυφλωμένων μόνος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπενόησέ τι τοιοῦτον: [31] κελεύσας κομισθῆναι καὶ τὸ νεκρὸν καὶ τὸ ζῶν παιδίον μεταπέμπεταί τινα τῶν σωματοφυλάκων καὶ σπασάμενον ἐκέλευσε τὴν μάχαιραν ἀμφότερα διχοτομῆσαι τὰ παιδία, ὅπως ἑκάτεραι λάβωσιν ἀνὰ ἥμισυ τοῦ τε ζῶντος καὶ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος. [32] ἐπὶ τούτῳ πᾶς μὲν ὁ λαὸς λανθάνων ἐχλεύαζεν ὡς μειράκιον τὸν βασιλέα, μεταξὺ δὲ τῆς μὲν ἀπαιτούσης καὶ ἀληθοῦς μητρὸς ἀνακραγούσης τοῦτο μὴ ποιεῖν ἀλλὰ παραδιδόναι τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τὸ παιδίον ὡς ἐκείνης, ἀρκεῖσθαι γὰρ τῷ ζῆν αὐτὸ καὶ βλέπειν μόνον κἂν ἀλλότριον δοκῇ, τῆς δ’ ἑτέρας ἑτοίμως ἐχούσης διαιρούμενον ἰδεῖν τὸ παιδίον καὶ προσέτι βασανισθῆναι καὶ αὐτὴν ἀξιούσης, [33] ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπιγνοὺς τὰς ἑκατέρων φωνὰς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας γεγενημένας τῇ μὲν ἀνακραγούσῃ τὸ παιδίον προσέκρινε, μητέρα γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀληθῶς εἶναι, τῆς δὲ ἄλλης κατέγνω πονηρίαν τό τε ἴδιον ἀποκτεινάσης καὶ τὸ τῆς φίλης σπουδαζούσης ἀπολλύμενον θεάσασθαι. [34] τοῦτο μέγα δεῖγμα καὶ τεκμήριον τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως φρονήσεως καὶ σοφίας ἐνόμιζε τὸ πλῆθος, κἀξ ἐκείνης τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας ὡς θείαν ἔχοντι διάνοιαν αὐτῷ προσεῖχον.

2. In these days a hard cause came before him in judgment, which it was very difficult to find any end of; and I think it necessary to explain the fact about which the contest was, that such as light upon my writings may know what a difficult cause Solomon was to determine, and those that are concerned in such matters may take this sagacity of the king for a pattern, that they may the more easily give sentence about such questions. There were two women, who were harlots in the course of their lives, that came to him; of whom she that seemed to be injured began to speak first, and said, “O king, I and this other woman dwell together in one room. Now it came to pass that we both bore a son at the same hour of the same day; and on the third day this woman overlaid her son, and killed it, and then took my son out of my bosom, and removed him to herself, and as I was asleep she laid her dead son in my arms. Now, when in the morning I was desirous to give the breast to the child, I did not find my own, but saw the woman’s dead child lying by me; for I considered it exactly, and found it so to be. Hence it was that I demanded my son, and when I could not obtain him, I have recourse, my lord, to thy assistance; for since we were alone, and there was

nobody there that could convict her, she cares for nothing, but perseveres in the stout denial of the fact." When this woman had told this her story, the king asked the other woman what she had to say in contradiction to that story. But when she denied that she had done what was charged upon her, and said that it was her child that was living, and that it was her antagonist's child that was dead, and when no one could devise what judgment could be given, and the whole court were blind in their understanding, and could not tell how to find out this riddle, the king alone invented the following way how to discover it. He bade them bring in both the dead child and the living child; and sent one of his guards, and commanded him to fetch a sword, and draw it, and to cut both the children into two pieces, that each of the women might have half the living and half the dead child. Hereupon all the people privately laughed at the king, as no more than a youth. But, in the mean time, she that was the real mother of the living child cried out that he should not do so, but deliver that child to the other woman as her own, for she would be satisfied with the life of the child, and with the sight of it, although it were esteemed the other's child; but the other woman was ready to see the child divided, and was desirous, moreover, that the first woman should be tormented. When the king understood that both their words proceeded from the truth of their passions, he adjudged the child to her that cried out to save it, for that she was the real mother of it; and he condemned the other as a wicked woman, who had not only killed her own child, but was endeavoring to see her friend's child destroyed also. Now the multitude looked on this determination as a great sign and demonstration of the king's sagacity and wisdom, and after that day attended to him as to one that had a divine mind.

(3) [35] Στρατηγοὶ δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν τῆς χώρας ἁπάσης οἵδε: τῆς μὲν Ἐφραίμου κληρουχίας Οὔρης: ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Βιθιέμες τοπαρχίας ἦν Διόκληρος: τὴν δὲ τῶν Δώρων καὶ τὴν παραλίαν Ἀβινάδαβος εἶχεν ὑπ' αὐτῷ γεγαμηκὼς τὴν Σολόμωνος θυγατέρα: [36] τὸ δὲ μέγα πεδίον ἦν ὑπὸ Βαναίᾳ τῷ Ἀχίλου παιδί, προσεπῆρχε δὲ καὶ τῆς ἄχρι Ἰορδάνου πάσης: τὴν δὲ Γαλαδῖτιν καὶ Γαυλανῖτιν ἕως τοῦ Λιβάνου ὄρους καὶ πόλεις ἑξήκοντα μεγάλας καὶ ὀχυρωτάτας ἔχων ὑφ' αὐτὸν Γαβάρης διεῖπεν: Ἀχινάδαβος δὲ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὅλης ἄχρι Σιδῶνος ἐπετρόπευε συνοικῶν καὶ αὐτὸς θυγατρὶ Σολόμωνος Βασίμα τοὔνομα: [37] τὴν δὲ περὶ Ἀκὴν παραλίαν εἶχε Βανακάτης: Σαφάτης δὲ τὸ Ἰταβύριον ὄρος καὶ Καρμήλιον καὶ τὴν κάτω Γαλιλαίαν ἄχρι τοῦ ποταμοῦ Ἰορδάνου χώραν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πᾶσαν ἐπετέτραπτο: Σουμούις δὲ τὴν τῆς Βενιαμίδος κληρουχίαν ἐγκεχείριστο: Γαβάρης δὲ εἶχε τὴν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου χώραν: ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων εἷς πάλιν ἄρχων ἀποδέδεικτο. [38] θαυμαστὴν δ' ἐπίδοσιν ἔλαβεν ὅ τε τῶν Ἑβραίων λαὸς καὶ ἡ Ἰούδα φυλὴ πρὸς γεωργίαν τραπέντων καὶ τὴν τῆς γῆς ἐπιμέλειαν:

εἰρήνης γὰρ ἀπολαύοντες καὶ πολέμοις καὶ ταραχαῖς μὴ περισπώμενοι καὶ προσέτι τῆς ποθεινοτάτης ἐλευθερίας ἀκρατῶς ἐμφορούμενοι πρὸς τῷ συναύξειν ἕκαστος τὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ ποιεῖν ἄξια πλείονος ὑπῆρχεν.

3. Now the captains of his armies, and officers appointed over the whole country, were these: over the lot of Ephraim was Ures; over the toparchy of Bethlehem was Dioclerus; Abinadab, who married Solomon's daughter, had the region of Dora and the seacoast under him; the Great Plain was under Benaiah, the son of Achilus; he also governed all the country as far as Jordan; Gabaris ruled over Gilead and Gaulanitis, and had under him the sixty great and fenced cities [of Og]; Achinadab managed the affairs of all Galilee as far as Sidon, and had himself also married a daughter of Solomon's, whose name was Basima; Banacates had the seacoast about Arce; as had Shaphat Mount Tabor, and Carmel, and [the Lower] Galilee, as far as the river Jordan; one man was appointed over all this country; Shimei was intrusted with the lot of Benjamin; and Gabares had the country beyond Jordan, over whom there was again one governor appointed. Now the people of the Hebrews, and particularly the tribe of Judah, received a wonderful increase when they betook themselves to husbandry, and the cultivation of their grounds; for as they enjoyed peace, and were not distracted with wars and troubles, and having, besides, an abundant fruition of the most desirable liberty, every one was busy in augmenting the product of their own lands, and making them worth more than they had formerly been.

(4) [39] Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι τῷ βασιλεῖ ἡγεμόνες, οἳ τῆς τε Σύρων γῆς καὶ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων ἥτις ἦν ἀπ' Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ διήκουσα μέχρι τῆς Αἰγυπτίων ἐπῆρχον ἐκλέγοντες αὐτῷ φόρους παρὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν. [40] συνετέλουν δὲ καὶ τῇ τραπέζῃ καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ τῷ δείπνῳ τοῦ βασιλέως σεμιδάλεως μὲν κόρους τριάκοντα, ἀλεύρου δὲ ξ, σιτιστοὺς δὲ βόας δέκα καὶ νομάδας βόας εἴκοσι, σιτιστοὺς δὲ ἄρνας ἑκατόν. ταῦτα πάντα πάρεξ τῶν ἀπ' ἄγρας ἐλάφων λέγω καὶ βουβάλων καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν καὶ ἰχθύων ἐκομίζετο καθ' ἡμέραν βασιλεῖ παρὰ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων. [41] τοσοῦτον δὲ πλῆθος ἦν ἁρμάτων Σολόμωνι, ὡς τέσσαρας εἶναι μυριάδας φατνῶν τῶν ὑποζευγνυμένων ἵππων: χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἦσαν ἱππεῖς δισχίλιοι καὶ μύριοι, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἡμίσεις τῷ βασιλεῖ προσήδρευον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ κατὰ τὰς βασιλικὰς διεσπαρμένοι κώμας ἐν αὐταῖς κατέμενον. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἡγεμὼν ὁ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως δαπάνην πεπιστευμένος καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις ἐχορήγει τὰ ἐπιτήδεια συγκομίζων εἰς ὃν ὁ βασιλεὺς διέτριβε τόπον.

4. The king had also other rulers, who were over the land of Syria and of the Philistines, which reached from the river Euphrates to Egypt, and these collected

his tributes of the nations. Now these contributed to the king's table, and to his supper every day thirty cori of fine flour, and sixty of meal; as also ten fat oxen, and twenty oxen out of the pastures, and a hundred fat lambs; all these were besides what were taken by hunting harts and buffaloes, and birds and fishes, which were brought to the king by foreigners day by day. Solomon had also so great a number of chariots, that the stalls of his horses for those chariots were forty thousand; and besides these he had twelve thousand horsemen, the one half of which waited upon the king in Jerusalem, and the rest were dispersed abroad, and dwelt in the royal villages; but the same officer who provided for the king's expenses supplied also the fodder for the horses, and still carried it to the place where the king abode at that time.

(5) [42] Τοσαύτη δ' ἦν ἣν ὁ θεὸς παρέσχε Σολόμωνι φρόνησιν καὶ σοφίαν, ὡς τούς τε ἀρχαίους ὑπερβάλλειν ἀνθρώπους καὶ μηδὲ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, οἳ πάντων συνέσει διενεγκεῖν λέγονται, συγκρινομένους λείπεσθαι παρ' ὀλίγον, ἀλλὰ πλεῖστον ἀφεστηκότας τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως φρονήσεως ἐλέγχεσθαι. [43] ὑπερῆρε δὲ καὶ διήνεγκε σοφίᾳ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν δόξαν ἐχόντων παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐπὶ δεινότητι, ὧν οὐ παρελεύσομαι τὰ ὀνόματα: ἦσαν δὲ Ἄθανος καὶ Αἱμανὸς καὶ Χάλκεος καὶ Δάρδανος υἱοὶ Ἡμάωνος. [44] συνετάξατο δὲ καὶ βιβλία περὶ ᾠδῶν καὶ μελῶν πέντε πρὸς τοῖς χιλίοις καὶ παραβολῶν καὶ εἰκόνων βίβλους τρισχιλίας: καθ' ἕκαστον γὰρ εἶδος δένδρου παραβολὴν εἶπεν ἀπὸ ὑσσώπου ἕως κέδρου, τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ περὶ κτηνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιγείων ἁπάντων ζῴων καὶ τῶν νηκτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀερίων: οὐδεμίαν γὰρ φύσιν ἠγνόησεν οὐδὲ παρῆλθεν ἀνεξέταστον, ἀλλ' ἐν πάσαις ἐφιλοσόφησε καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς ἰδιωμάτων ἄκραν ἐπεδείξατο. [45] παρέσχε δ' αὐτῷ μαθεῖν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τὴν κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων τέχνην εἰς ὠφέλειαν καὶ θεραπείαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις: ἐπῳδάς τε συνταξάμενος αἷς παρηγορεῖται τὰ νοσήματα καὶ τρόπους ἐξορκώσεων κατέλιπεν, οἷς οἱ ἐνδούμενοι τὰ δαιμόνια ὡς μηκέτ' ἐπανελθεῖν ἐκδιώξουσι. [46] καὶ αὕτη μέχρι νῦν παρ' ἡμῖν ἡ θεραπεία πλεῖστον ἰσχύει: ἱστόρησα γάρ τινα Ἐλεάζαρον τῶν ὁμοφύλων Οὐεσπασιανοῦ παρόντος καὶ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ χιλιάρχων καὶ ἄλλου στρατιωτικοῦ πλήθους ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμονίων λαμβανομένους ἀπολύοντα τούτων. ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς θεραπείας τοιοῦτος ἦν: [47] προσφέρων ταῖς ῥισὶ τοῦ δαιμονιζομένου τὸν δακτύλιον ἔχοντα ὑπὸ τῇ σφραγῖδι ῥίζαν ἐξ ὧν ὑπέδειξε Σολόμων ἔπειτα ἐξεῖλκεν ὀσφρομένῳ διὰ τῶν μυκτήρων τὸ δαιμόνιον, καὶ πεσόντος εὐθὺς τἀνθρώπου μηκέτ' εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπανήξειν ὅρκου, Σολόμωνός τε μεμνημένος καὶ τὰς ἐπῳδὰς ἃς συνέθηκεν ἐκεῖνος ἐπιλέγων. [48] βουλόμενος δὲ πεῖσαι καὶ παραστῆσαι τοῖς παρατυγχάνουσιν ὁ Ἐλεάζαρος, ὅτι ταύτην ἔχει τὴν ἰσχύν, ἐτίθει μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν ἤτοι ποτήριον πλῆρες ὕδατος ἢ ποδόνιπτρον καὶ τῷ δαιμονίῳ προσέταττεν ἐξιὸν τἀνθρώπου ταῦτα ἀνατρέψαι

καὶ παρασχεῖν ἐπιγνῶναι τοῖς ὁρῶσιν, ὅτι καταλέλοιπε τὸν ἄνθρωπον. [49] γινομένου δὲ τούτου σαφὴς ἡ Σολόμωνος καθίστατο σύνεσις καὶ σοφία δι᾽ ἣν, ἵνα γνῶσιν ἅπαντες αὐτοῦ τὸ μεγαλεῖον τῆς φύσεως καὶ τὸ θεοφιλὲς καὶ λάθῃ μηδένα τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως περὶ πᾶν εἶδος ἀρετῆς ὑπερβολή, περὶ τούτων εἰπεῖν προήχθημεν.

5. Now the sagacity and wisdom which God had bestowed on Solomon was so great, that he exceeded the ancients; insomuch that he was no way inferior to the Egyptians, who are said to have been beyond all men in understanding; nay, indeed, it is evident that their sagacity was very much inferior to that of the king's. He also excelled and distinguished himself in wisdom above those who were most eminent among the Hebrews at that time for shrewdness; those I mean were Ethan, and Heman, and Chalcol, and Darda, the sons of Mahol. He also composed books of odes and songs a thousand and five, of parables and similitudes three thousand; for he spake a parable upon every sort of tree, from the hyssop to the cedar; and in like manner also about beasts, about all sorts of living creatures, whether upon the earth, or in the seas, or in the air; for he was not unacquainted with any of their natures, nor omitted inquiries about them, but described them all like a philosopher, and demonstrated his exquisite knowledge of their several properties. God also enabled him to learn that skill which expels demons, which is a science useful and sanative to men. He composed such incantations also by which distempers are alleviated. And he left behind him the manner of using exorcisms, by which they drive away demons, so that they never return; and this method of cure is of great force unto this day; for I have seen a certain man of my own country, whose name was Eleazar, releasing people that were demoniacal in the presence of Vespasian, and his sons, and his captains, and the whole multitude of his soldiers. The manner of the cure was this: He put a ring that had a Foot of one of those sorts mentioned by Solomon to the nostrils of the demoniac, after which he drew out the demon through his nostrils; and when the man fell down immediately, he abjured him to return into him no more, making still mention of Solomon, and reciting the incantations which he composed. And when Eleazar would persuade and demonstrate to the spectators that he had such a power, he set a little way off a cup or basin full of water, and commanded the demon, as he went out of the man, to overturn it, and thereby to let the spectators know that he had left the man; and when this was done, the skill and wisdom of Solomon was shown very manifestly: for which reason it is, that all men may know the vastness of Solomon's abilities, and how he was beloved of God, and that the extraordinary virtues of every kind with which this king was endowed may not be unknown to any people under the sun

for this reason, I say, it is that we have proceeded to speak so largely of these matters.

(6) [50] Ὁ δὲ τῶν Τυρίων βασιλεὺς Εἵρωμος ἀκούσας ὅτι Σολόμων τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς διεδέξατο βασιλείαν ὑπερήσθη, φίλος γὰρ ἐτύγχανε τῷ Δαυίδῃ, καὶ πέμψας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἠσπάζετό τε καὶ συνέχαιρεν ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀγαθοῖς. ἀποστέλλει δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν Σολόμων γράμματα δηλοῦντα τάδε: [51] "βασιλεὺς Σολόμων Εἰρώμῳ βασιλεῖ. ἴσθι μου τὸν πατέρα βουληθέντα κατασκευάσαι τῷ θεῷ ναὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πολέμων καὶ τῶν συνεχῶν στρατειῶν κεκωλυμένον: οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύσατο πρότερον τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καταστρεφόμενος πρὶν ἢ πάντας αὐτοὺς φόρων ὑποτελεῖς πεποιηκέναι. [52] ἐγὼ δὲ χάριν οἶδα τῷ θεῷ τῆς παρούσης εἰρήνης καὶ διὰ ταύτην εὐσχολῶν οἰκοδομῆσαι τῷ θεῷ βούλομαι τὸν οἶκον: καὶ γὰρ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τοῦτον ἔσεσθαι τῷ πατρί μου προεῖπεν ὁ θεός. διὸ παρακαλῶ σε συμπέμψαι τινὰς τοῖς ἐμοῖς εἰς Λίβανον τὸ ὄρος κόψοντας ξύλα: πρὸς γὰρ τομὴν ὕλης ἐπιστημονέστερον ἔχουσι τῶν ἡμετέρων οἱ Σιδώνιοι. μισθὸν δ' ὃν ἂν ὁρίσῃς ἐγὼ τοῖς ὑλουργοῖς παρέξω."

6. Moreover Hiram, king of Tyre, when he had heard that Solonion succeeded to his father's kingdom, was very glad of it, for he was a friend of David's. So he sent ambassadors to him, and saluted him, and congratulated him on the present happy state of his affairs. Upon which Solomon sent him an epistle, the contents of which here follow:

Solomon To King Hiram.

" Know thou that my father would have built a temple to God, but was hindered by wars, and continual expeditions; for he did not leave off to overthrow his enemies till he made them all subject to tribute. But I give thanks to God for the peace I at present enjoy, and on that account I am at leisure, and design to build a house to God, for God foretold to my father that such a house should be built by me; wherefore I desire thee to send some of thy subjects with mine to Mount Lebanon to cut down timber, for the Sidonians are more skillful than our people in cutting of wood. As for wages to the hewers of wood, I will pay whatsoever price thou shalt determine."

(7) [53] Ἀναγνοὺς δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν Εἵρωμος καὶ τοῖς ἐπεσταλμένοις ἡσθεὶς ἀντιγράφει τῷ Σολόμωνι: "βασιλεὺς Εἵρωμος βασιλεῖ Σολόμωνι. τὸν μὲν θεὸν εὐλογεῖν ἄξιον, ὅτι σοι τὴν πατρῴαν παρέδωκεν ἡγεμονίαν ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ καὶ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἔχοντι, ἐγὼ δὲ τούτοις ἡδόμενος ἅπαντα ὑπουργήσω τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα: [54] τεμὼν γὰρ ξύλα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα κέδρου τε καὶ κυπαρίσσου διὰ τῶν ἐμῶν καταπέμψω ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καὶ κελεύσω τοὺς ἐμοὺς σχεδίαν

πηξαμένους εἰς ὃν ἂν βουληθῇς τόπον τῆς σαυτοῦ χώρας πλεύσαντας ἀποθέσθαι: ἔπειθ’ οἱ σοὶ διακομίσουσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. ὅπως δὲ καὶ σὺ παράσχῃς ἡμῖν ἀντὶ τούτων σῖτον, οὗ διὰ τὸ νῆσον οἰκεῖν δεόμεθα, φρόντισον.”

7. When Hiram had read this epistle, he was pleased with it; and wrote back this answer to Solomon.

Hiram To King Solomon.

“It is fit to bless God that he hath committed thy father’s government to thee, who art a wise man, and endowed with all virtues. As for myself, I rejoice at the condition thou art in, and will be subservient to thee in all that thou sendest to me about; for when by my subjects I have cut down many and large trees of cedar and cypress wood, I will send them to sea, and will order my subjects to make floats of them, and to sail to what place soever of thy country thou shalt desire, and leave them there, after which thy subjects may carry them to Jerusalem. But do thou take care to procure us corn for this timber, which we stand in need of, because we inhabit in an island.”

(8) [55] Διαμένει δὲ ἄχρι τῆς τήμερον τὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τούτων ἀντίγραφα οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις μόνον σωζόμενα βιβλίοις ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Τυρίοις, ὥστε εἴ τις ἐθελήσειε τὸ ἀκριβὲς μαθεῖν, δεηθεὶς τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Τυρίων γραμματοφυλακείου δημοσίων εὕροι συμφωνοῦντα τοῖς εἰρημένοις ὑφ’ ἡμῶν τὰ παρ’ ἐκείνοις. [56] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν διεξῆλθον βουλόμενος γνῶναι τοὺς ἐντευξομένους, ὅτι μηδὲν μᾶλλον ἔξω τῆς ἀληθείας λέγομεν, μηδὲ πιθανοῖς τισι καὶ πρὸς ἀπάτην καὶ τέρψιν ἐπαγωγοῖς τὴν ἱστορίαν διαλαμβάνοντες τὴν μὲν ἐξέτασιν φεύγειν πειρώμεθα, πιστεύεσθαι δ’ εὐθὺς ἀξιοῦμεν, οὐδὲ συγκεχωρημένον ἡμῖν κατεξανισταμένοις τοῦ πρέποντος τῇ πραγματείᾳ ἀθῴοις ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλὰ μηδεμιᾶς ἀποδοχῆς τυγχάνειν παρακαλοῦντες, ἂν μὴ μετὰ ἀποδείξεως καὶ τεκμηρίων ἰσχυρῶν ἐμφανίζειν δυνώμεθα τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

8. The copies of these epistles remain at this day, and are preserved not only in our books, but among the Tyrians also; insomuch that if any one would know the certainty about them, he may desire of the keepers of the public records of Tyre to show him them, and he will find what is there set down to agree with what we have said. I have said so much out of a desire that my readers may know that we speak nothing but the truth, and do not compose a history out of some plausible relations, which deceive men and please them at the same time, nor attempt to avoid examination, nor desire men to believe us immediately; nor are we at liberty to depart from speaking truth, which is the proper commendation of an historian, and yet be blameless: but we insist upon no admission of what we say,

unless we be able to manifest its truth by demonstration, and the strongest vouchers.

(9) [57] Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Σολόμων ὡς ἐκομίσθη τὰ παρὰ Τυρίων βασιλέως γράμματα τήν τε προθυμίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν εὔνοιαν ἐπήνεσε καὶ οἷς ἠξίωσε τούτοις αὐτὸν ἠμείψατο, σίτου μὲν αὐτῷ κατ᾽ ἔτος πέμψας δισμυρίους κόρους καὶ τοσούτους ἐλαίου βάτους, ὁ δὲ βάτος δύναται ξέστας ἑβδομήκοντα δύο: τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ μέτρον καὶ οἴνου παρεῖχεν. [58] ἡ μὲν οὖν Εἰρώμου φιλία καὶ Σολόμωνος ἀπὸ τούτων ἔτι μᾶλλον ηὔξησε καὶ διαμένειν ὤμοσαν εἰς ἅπαν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐπέταξε παντὶ τῷ λαῷ φόρον ἐργάτας τρισμυρίους, οἷς ἄπονον τὴν ἐργασίαν κατέστησε μερίσας αὐτὴν συνετῶς: μυρίους γὰρ ἐποίησε κόπτοντας ἐπὶ μῆνα ἕνα ἐν Λιβάνῳ ὄρει δύο μῆνας ἀναπαύεσθαι παραγινομένους ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα, μέχρις οὗ πάλιν οἱ δισμύριοι τὴν [59] ἐργασίαν ἀναπληρώσωσι κατὰ τὸν ὡρισμένον χρόνον ἔπειθ᾽ οὕτως συνέβαινε τοῖς πρώτοις μυρίοις διὰ τετάρτου μηνὸς ἀπαντᾶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον. ἐγεγόνει δ᾽ ἐπίτροπος τοῦ φόρου τούτου Ἀδώραμος. ἦσαν δ᾽ ἐκ τῶν παροίκων οὓς Δαυίδης καταλελοίπει τῶν μὲν παρακομιζόντων τὴν λιθίαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὕλην ἑπτὰ μυριάδες, τῶν δὲ λατομούντων ὀκτάκις μύριοι, τούτων δ᾽ ἐπιστάται τρισχίλιοι καὶ τριακόσιοι. [60] προστετάχει δὲ λίθους μὲν αὐτοῖς τέμνειν μεγάλους εἰς τοὺς τοῦ ναοῦ θεμελίους, ἁρμόσαντας δὲ πρῶτον καὶ συνδήσαντας ἐν τῷ ὄρει κατακομίζειν οὕτως εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἐγίνετο δὲ ταῦτ᾽ οὐ παρὰ τῶν οἰκοδόμων τῶν ἐγχωρίων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧν ὁ Εἴρωμος ἔπεμψε τεχνιτῶν.

9. Now king Solomon, as soon as this epistle of the king of Tyre was brought him, commended the readiness and good-will he declared therein, and repaid him in what he desired, and sent him yearly twenty thousand cori of wheat, and as many baths of oil: now the bath is able to contain seventy-two sextaries. He also sent him the same measure of wine. So the friendship between Hiram and Solomon hereby increased more and more; and they swore to continue it for ever. And the king appointed a tribute to be laid on all the people, of thirty thousand laborers, whose work he rendered easy to them by prudently dividing it among them; for he made ten thousand cut timber in Mount Lebanon for one month; and then to come home, and rest two months, until the time when the other twenty thousand had finished their task at the appointed time; and so afterward it came to pass that the first ten thousand returned to their work every fourth month: and it was Adoram who was over this tribute. There were also of the strangers who were left by David, who were to carry the stones and other materials, seventy thousand; and of those that cut the stones, eighty thousand. Of these three thousand and three hundred were rulers over the rest. He also enjoined them to cut out large stones for the foundations of the temple, and that they should fit them and unite them together in the mountain, and so bring them

to the city. This was done not only by our own country workmen, but by those workmen whom Hiram sent also.

III

CHAPTER 3. Of The Building Of This Temple

(1) [61] Τῆς δ᾽ οἰκοδομίας τοῦ ναοῦ Σολόμων ἤρξατο τέταρτον ἔτος ἤδη τῆς βασιλείας ἔχων μηνὶ δευτέρῳ, ὃν Μακεδόνες μὲν Ἀρτεμίσιον καλοῦσιν Ἑβραῖοι δὲ Ἰάρ, μετὰ ἔτη πεντακόσια καὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ δύο τῆς ἀπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐξόδου, μετὰ δὲ χίλια καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτη τῆς Ἀβράμου εἰς τὴν Χαναναίαν ἐκ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἀφίξεως, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐπομβρίας μετὰ χίλια καὶ τετρακόσια καὶ τεσσαράκοντα: [62] ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ πρώτου γεννηθέντος Ἀδάμου ἕως οὗ τὸν ναὸν ᾠκοδόμησε Σολόμων διεληλύθει τὰ πάντα ἔτη τρισχίλια καὶ ἑκατὸν δύο. καθ᾽ ὃν δὲ ὁ ναὸς ἤρξατο οἰκοδομεῖσθαι χρόνον, κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἔτος ἤδη τῆς ἐν Τύρῳ βασιλείας ἑνδέκατον ἐνειστήκει Εἰρώμῳ, τῆς δὲ οἰκήσεως εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τοῦ ναοῦ διεγεγόνει χρόνος ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ διακοσίων.

1. Solomon began to build the temple in the fourth year of his reign, on the second month, which the Macedonians call Artemisius, and the Hebrews Jur, five hundred and ninety-two years after the Exodus out of Egypt; but one thousand and twenty years from Abraham's coming out of Mesopotamia into Canaan, and after the deluge one thousand four hundred and forty years; and from Adam, the first man who was created, until Solomon built the temple, there had passed in all three thousand one hundred and two years. Now that year on which the temple began to be built was already the eleventh year of the reign of Hiram; but from the building of Tyre to the building of the temple, there had passed two hundred and forty years.

(2) [63] Βάλλεται μὲν οὖν τῷ ναῷ θεμελίους ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ μήκιστον τῆς γῆς βάθος ὕλης λίθων ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ πρὸς χρόνον ἀντέχειν δυναμένης, οἳ τῇ τε γῇ συμφυέντες ἔμελλον ἔδαφος καὶ ἔρεισμα τῆς ἐποικοδομησομένης κατασκευῆς ἔσεσθαι καὶ διὰ τὴν κάτωθεν ἰσχὺν οἴσειν ἀπόνως μέγεθός τε τῶν ἐπικεισομένων καὶ κάλλους πολυτέλειαν, ᾗ βάρος ἔμελλεν οὐχ ἧττον εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα πρὸς ὕψος καὶ πρὸς ὄγκον κόσμου τε χάριν καὶ μεγαλουργίας ἐπενοεῖτο. [64] ἀνήγαγε δὲ αὐτὸν ἄχρι τῆς ὀροφῆς ἐκ λευκοῦ λίθου πεποιημένον. τὸ μὲν οὖν ὕψος ἦν ἑξήκοντα πηχῶν, τῶν δ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ μῆκος, εὖρος δ᾽ εἴκοσι. κατὰ τούτου δὲ ἄλλος ἦν ἐγηγερμένος ἴσος τοῖς μέτροις, ὥστε εἶναι τὸ πᾶν ὕψος τῷ ναῷ πηχῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι: [65] τέτραπτο δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολήν. τὸ δὲ προνάιον αὐτοῦ προύστησαν ἐπὶ πήχεις μὲν εἴκοσι τὸ μῆκος πρὸς τὸ εὖρος τοῦ οἴκου τεταμένον, ἔχον δὲ πλάτος πήχεις δέκα καὶ εἰς ὕψος δὲ ἀνεγηγερμένον πηχῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι. περιῳκοδόμησε δὲ τὸν ναὸν ἐν κύκλῳ τριάκοντα βραχέσιν οἴκοις, οἳ συνοχή τε τοῦ παντὸς ἔμελλον ἔσεσθαι διὰ πυκνότητα καὶ πλῆθος ἔξωθεν περικείμενοι, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰς εἰσόδους αὐτοῖς δι᾽ ἀλλήλων κατεσκεύασεν. [66]

ἕκαστος δὲ τῶν οἴκων τούτων εὖρος μὲν εἶχε πέντε πήχεις, μῆκος δὲ τοὺς αὐτούς, ὕψος δὲ εἴκοσιν. ἐπῳκοδόμηντο δὲ τούτοις ἄνωθεν ἕτεροι οἶκοι καὶ πάλιν ἄλλοι κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ἴσοι καὶ τοῖς μέτροις καὶ τῷ ἀριθμῷ, ὡς τὸ πᾶν ὕψος αὐτοὺς λαβεῖν τῷ κάτωθεν οἴκῳ παραπλήσιον: ὁ γὰρ ὑπερῷος οὐκ ἦν περιῳκοδομημένος. [67] ὄροφος δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπεβέβλητο κέδρου καὶ τοῖς μὲν οἴκοις ἴδιος ἦν οὗτος ἑκάστῳ πρὸς τοὺς πλησίον οὐ συνάπτων, τοῖς δ᾽ ἄλλοις ὑπῆρχεν ἡ στέγη κοινὴ δι᾽ ἀλλήλων δεδομημένη μηκίσταις δοκοῖς καὶ διηκούσαις ἁπάντων, ὡς τοὺς μέσους τοίχους ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν συγκρατουμένους ξύλων ἐρρωμενεστέρους διὰ τοῦτο γίνεσθαι. [68] τὴν δὲ ὑπὸ τὰς δοκοὺς στέγην τῆς αὐτῆς ὕλης ἐβάλετο πᾶσαν ἐξεσμένην εἰς φατνώματα καὶ προσκόλλησιν χρυσοῦ. τοὺς δὲ τοίχους κεδρίναις διαλαβὼν σανίσι χρυσὸν αὐταῖς ἐνετόρευσεν, ὥστε στίλβειν ἅπαντα τὸν ναὸν καὶ περιλάμπεσθαι τὰς ὄψεις τῶν εἰσιόντων ὑπὸ τῆς αὐγῆς τοῦ χρυσοῦ πανταχόθεν φερομένης. [69] ἡ δ᾽ ὅλη τοῦ ναοῦ οἰκοδομία κατὰ πολλὴν τέχνην ἐκ λίθων ἀκροτόμων ἐγένετο συντεθέντων ἁρμονίως πάνυ καὶ λείως, ὡς μήτε σφύρας μήτε ἄλλου τινὸς ἐργαλείου τεκτονικοῦ τοῖς κατανοοῦσιν ἐργασίαν δηλοῦσθαι, ἀλλὰ δίχα τῆς τούτων χρήσεως πᾶσαν ἡρμόσθαι τὴν ὕλην προσφυῶς, ὡς ἑκούσιον τὴν ἁρμονίαν αὐτῆς δοκεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς τῶν ἐργαλείων ἀνάγκης. [70] ἐφιλοτέχνησε δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄνοδον εἰς τὸν ὑπερῷον οἶκον διὰ τοῦ εὔρους τοῦ τοίχου: οὐ γὰρ εἶχε θύραν μεγάλην κατὰ τῆς ἀνατολῆς ὡς εἶχεν ὁ κάτωθεν οἶκος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τῶν πλευρῶν ἦσαν εἴσοδοι διὰ μικρῶν πάνυ θυρῶν. διέλαβε δὲ τὸν ναὸν καὶ ἔνδοθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν ξύλοις κεδρίνοις ἀλύσεσι παχείαις συνδεδεμένοις, ὥστε ἀντ᾽ ὀχυρωμάτων καὶ ῥώμης τοῦτο εἶναι.

2. Now, therefore, the king laid the foundations of the temple very deep in the ground, and the materials were strong stones, and such as would resist the force of time; these were to unite themselves with the earth, and become a basis and a sure foundation for that superstructure which was to be erected over it; they were to be so strong, in order to sustain with ease those vast superstructures and precious ornaments, whose own weight was to be not less than the weight of those other high and heavy buildings which the king designed to be very ornamental and magnificent. They erected its entire body, quite up to the roof, of white stone; its height was sixty cubits, and its length was the same, and its breadth twenty. There was another building erected over it, equal to it in its measures; so that the entire altitude of the temple was a hundred and twenty cubits. Its front was to the east. As to the porch, they built it before the temple; its length was twenty cubits, and it was so ordered that it might agree with the breadth of the house; and it had twelve cubits in latitude, and its height was raised as high as a hundred and twenty cubits. He also built round about the

temple thirty small rooms, which might include the whole temple, by their closeness one to another, and by their number and outward position round it. He also made passages through them, that they might come into on through another. Every one of these rooms had five cubits in breadth, and the same in length, but in height twenty. Above these there were other rooms, and others above them, equal, both in their measures and number; so that these reached to a height equal to the lower part of the house; for the upper part had no buildings about it. The roof that was over the house was of cedar; and truly every one of these rooms had a roof of their own, that was not connected with the other rooms; but for the other parts, there was a covered roof common to them all, and built with very long beams, that passed through the rest, and rough the whole building, that so the middle walls, being strengthened by the same beams of timber, might be thereby made firmer: but as for that part of the roof that was under the beams, it was made of the same materials, and was all made smooth, and had ornaments proper for roofs, and plates of gold nailed upon them. And as he enclosed the walls with boards of cedar, so he fixed on them plates of gold, which had sculptures upon them; so that the whole temple shined, and dazzled the eyes of such as entered, by the splendor of the gold that was on every side of them, Now the whole structure of the temple was made with great skill of polished stones, and those laid together so very harmoniously and smoothly, that there appeared to the spectators no sign of any hammer, or other instrument of architecture; but as if, without any use of them, the entire materials had naturally united themselves together, that the agreement of one part with another seemed rather to have been natural, than to have arisen from the force of tools upon them. The king also had a fine contrivance for an ascent to the upper room over the temple, and that was by steps in the thickness of its wall; for it had no large door on the east end, as the lower house had, but the entrances were by the sides, through very small doors. He also overlaid the temple, both within and without, with boards of cedar, that were kept close together by thick chains, so that this contrivance was in the nature of a support and a strength to the building.

(3) [71] Διελὼν δὲ τὸν ναὸν εἰς δύο τὸν μὲν ἔνδοθεν οἶκον εἴκοσι πηχῶν ἐποίησεν ἄδυτον, τὸν δὲ τεσσαράκοντα πηχῶν ἅγιον ναὸν ἀπέδειξεν. ἐκτεμὼν δὲ τὸν μέσον τοῖχον θύρας ἐπέστησε κεδρίνας χρυσὸν πολὺν αὐταῖς ἐνεργασάμενος καὶ τορείαν ποικίλην. [72] κατεπέτασε δὲ ταύτας ὕφεσιν εὐανθεστάτοις ἐξ ὑακίνθου καὶ πορφύρας καὶ κόκκου πεποιημένοις, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ βύσσου λαμπροτάτης καὶ μαλακωτάτης. ἀνέθηκε δὲ εἰς τὸ ἄδυτον εἴκοσι πηχῶν τὸ εὖρος τῶν δ’ αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ μῆκος δύο Χερουβεῖς ὁλοχρύσους πηχῶν ἑκατέραν τὸ ὕψος πέντε, δύο δ’ ἦσαν ἑκατέρᾳ πτέρυγες ἐπὶ πέντε πήχεις ἐκτεταμέναι. [73] διὸ καὶ οὐ μακρὰν

ἀλλήλων αὐτὰς ἀνέστησεν, ἵνα τῶν πτερύγων τῇ μὲν ἅπτωνται τοῦ κατὰ νότον κειμένου τοίχου τοῦ ἀδύτου, τῇ δὲ κατὰ βορέαν, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι πτέρυγες αὐταῖς συνάπτουσαι τεθείσῃ μεταξὺ αὐτῶν τῇ κιβωτῷ σκέπη τυγχάνωσι. τὰς δὲ Χερουβεῖς οὐδεὶς ὁποῖαί τινές εἰσιν εἰπεῖν οὐδ' εἰκάσαι δύναται. [74] κατέστρωσε δὲ καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τὸ ἔδαφος ἐλάσμασι χρυσοῦ, ἐπέθηκε δὲ καὶ τῷ πυλῶνι τοῦ ναοῦ θύρας πρὸς τὸ ὕψος τοῦ τοίχου συμμεμετρημένας εὖρος ἐχούσας πηχῶν εἴκοσι, καὶ ταύτας κατεκόλλησε χρυσῷ. [75] συνελόντι δ' εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν εἴασε τοῦ ναοῦ μέρος οὔτε ἔξωθεν οὔτε ἔνδοθεν, ὃ μὴ χρυσὸς ἦν. κατεπέτασε δὲ καὶ ταύτας τὰς θύρας ὁμοίως ταῖς ἐνδοτέρω καταπετάσμασιν. ἡ δὲ τοῦ προναίου πύλη τούτων οὐδὲν εἶχε.

3. Now when the king had divided the temple into two parts, he made the inner house of twenty cubits [every way], to be the most secret chamber, but he appointed that of forty cubits to be the sanctuary; and when he had cut a door-place out of the wall, he put therein doors of Cedar, and overlaid them with a great deal of gold, that had sculptures upon it. He also had veils of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and the brightest and softest linen, with the most curious flowers wrought upon them, which were to be drawn before those doors. He also dedicated for the most secret place, whose breadth was twenty cubits, and length the same, two cherubims of solid gold; the height of each of them was five cubits they had each of them two wings stretched out as far as five cubits; wherefore Solomon set them up not far from each other, that with one wing they might touch the southern wall of the secret place, and with another the northern: their other wings, which joined to each other, were a covering to the ark, which was set between them; but nobody can tell, or even conjecture, what was the shape of these cherubims. He also laid the floor of the temple with plates of gold; and he added doors to the gate of the temple, agreeable to the measure of the height of the wall, but in breadth twenty cubits, and on them he glued gold plates. And, to say all in one word, he left no part of the temple, neither internal nor external, but what was covered with gold. He also had curtains drawn over these doors in like manner as they were drawn over the inner doors of the most holy place; but the porch of the temple had nothing of that sort.

(4) [76] Μεταπέμπεται δ' ἐκ Τύρου Σολόμων παρὰ Εἰρώμου τεχνίτην Χείρωμον ὄνομα μητρὸς μὲν ὄντα Νεφθαλίτιδος τὸ γένος, ἐκ γὰρ ταύτης ὑπῆρχε τῆς φυλῆς, πατρὸς δὲ Οὐρίου γένος Ἰσραηλίτου. οὗτος ἅπαντος μὲν ἐπιστημόνως εἶχεν ἔργου, μάλιστα δὲ τεχνίτης ἦν χρυσὸν ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ χαλκόν, ὑφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ πάντα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως βούλησιν τὰ περὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐμηχανήθη. [77] κατεσκεύασε δὲ ὁ Χείρωμος οὗτος καὶ στύλους δύο χαλκοῦς ἔσωθεν τὸ πάχος τεσσάρων δακτύλων. ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν ὕψος τοῖς κίοσιν

ὀκτωκαίδεκα πήχεων, ἡ δὲ περίμετρος δέκα καὶ δύο πηχῶν: χωνευτὸν δ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἑκατέρᾳ κεφαλῇ κρίνον ἐφειστήκει τὸ ὕψος ἐπὶ πέντε πήχεις ἐγηγερμένον, ᾧ περιέκειτο δίκτυον ἐλάτῃ χαλκέᾳ περιπεπλεγμένον καλύπτον τὰ κρίνα. [78] τούτου δὲ ἀπήρτηντο κατὰ διστιχίαν καὶ ῥοιαὶ διακόσιαι. τούτων τῶν κιόνων τὸν μὲν ἕτερον κατὰ τὴν δεξιὰν ἔστησε τοῦ προπυλαίου παραστάδα καλέσας αὐτὸν Ἰαχείν, τὸν δ᾽ ἕτερον κατὰ τὸ ἀριστερὸν ὀνομάσας αὐτὸν Ἀβαίζ.

4. Now Solomon sent for an artificer out of Tyre, whose name was Hiram; he was by birth of the tribe of Naphtali, on the mother's side, [for she was of that tribe,] but his father was Ur, of the stock of the Israelites. This man was skillful in all sorts of work; but his chief skill lay in working in gold, and silver, and brass; by whom were made all the mechanical works about the temple, according to the will of Solomon. Moreover, this Hiram made two [hollow] pillars, whose outsides were of brass, and the thickness of the brass was four fingers' breadth, and the height of the pillars was eighteen cubits and their circumference twelve cubits; but there was cast with each of their chapiters lily-work that stood upon the pillar, and it was elevated five cubits, round about which there was net-work interwoven with small palms, made of brass, and covered the lily-work. To this also were hung two hundred pomegranates, in two rows. The one of these pillars he set at the entrance of the porch on the right hand, and called it Jachin and the other at the left hand, and called it Booz.

(5) [79] Ἐχώνευσε δὲ καὶ θάλασσαν χαλκῆν εἰς ἡμισφαίριον ἐσχηματισμένην: ἐκλήθη δὲ τὸ χαλκούργημα θάλασσα διὸ τὸ μέγεθος: ἦν γὰρ ὁ λουτὴρ τὴν διάμετρον πηχῶν δέκα καὶ ἐπὶ παλαιστιαῖον πάχος κεχωνευμένος. ὑπερήρειστο δὲ κατὰ τὸ μεσαίτατον τοῦ κύτους σπείρᾳ περιαγομένῃ εἰς ἕλικας δέκα: [80] ἦν δὲ τὴν διάμετρον πήχεως, περιειστήκεσαν δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν μόσχοι δώδεκα πρὸς τὰ κλίματα τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων ἀποβλέποντες καθ᾽ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν τρεῖς, εἰς τὰ ὀπίσθια νενευκότες, ὥστ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐπικαθέζεσθαι τὸ ἡμισφαίριον κατὰ περιαγωγὴν ἔνδον ἀπονεῦον. ἐδέχετο δὲ ἡ θάλασσα βάτους τρισχιλίους.

5. Solomon also cast a brazen sea, whose figure was that of a hemisphere. This brazen vessel was called a sea for its largeness, for the laver was ten feet in diameter, and cast of the thickness of a palm. Its middle part rested on a short pillar that had ten spirals round it, and that pillar was ten cubits in diameter. There stood round about it twelve oxen, that looked to the four winds of heaven, three to each wind, having their hinder parts depressed, that so the hemispherical vessel might rest upon them, which itself was also depressed round about inwardly. Now this sea contained three thousand baths.

(6) [81] Ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ λουτήρων δέκα βάσεις χαλκᾶς τετραγώνους. τούτων ἑκάστη μῆκος γεγόνει πηχῶν πέντε πλάτος τεσσάρων ὕψος ἕξ. συνεκέκλειτο δὲ τὸ ἔργον κατὰ μέρος τετορευμένον οὕτως: τέσσαρες ἦσαν κιονίσκοι κατὰ γωνίαν ἑστῶτες τετράγωνοι τὰ πλευρὰ τῆς βάσεως ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες ἐξηρμοσμένα. [82] ἦν δὲ ταῦτα τριχῇ διηρημένα: ἑκάστην δὲ χώραν ὅρος ἐπεῖχεν εἰς ὑπόβασιν κατεσκευασμένος, ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐτετόρευτο πῇ μὲν λέων πῇ δὲ ταῦρος καὶ ἀετός, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν κιονίσκων ὁμοίως ἐξείργαστο τοῖς κατὰ τὰ πλευρὰ τετορευμένοις. [83] τὸ δὲ πᾶν ἔργον ἐπὶ τεσσάρων αἰωρούμενον τροχῶν εἱστήκει. χωνευτοὶ δ᾽ ἦσαν οὗτοι πλήμνας καὶ ἄντυγας πήχεως καὶ ἡμίσους ἔχοντες τὴν διάμετρον. ἐθαύμασεν ἄν τις τὰς ἀψῖδας τῶν τροχῶν θεασάμενος, ὅπως συντετορευμέναι καὶ τοῖς πλευροῖς τῶν βάσεων προσηνωμέναι ἁρμονίως ταῖς ἄντυξιν ἐνέκειντο: ἦσαν δ᾽ ὅμως οὕτως ἔχουσαι. [84] τὰς δὲ γωνίας ἄνωθεν συνέκλειον ὦμοι χειρῶν ἀνατεταμένων, οἷς ἐπεκάθητο σπεῖρα κατὰ κοῖλον ἐπικειμένη τὸν λουτῆρα ταῖς χερσὶν ἐπαναπαυόμενον ἀετοῦ καὶ λέοντος αὐτοῖς ἐφηρμοσμένων, ὡς σύμφυτα ταῦτ᾽ εἶναι δοκεῖν τοῖς ὁρῶσι. μεταξὺ δὲ τούτων φοίνικες ἦσαν τετορευμένοι. τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ κατασκευὴ τῶν δέκα βάσεων ὑπῆρχε. [85] προσεξείργαστο δὲ καὶ χυτρογαύλους δέκα λουτῆρας στρογγύλους χαλκοῦς, ὧν ἕκαστος ἐχώρει τεσσαράκοντα χόας: τὸ γὰρ ὕψος εἶχε τεσσάρων πηχῶν καὶ τοσούτοις ἀλλήλων αὐτοῖς διειστήκει τὰ χείλη. τίθησι δὲ τοὺς λουτῆρας τούτους ἐπὶ τῶν δέκα βάσεων τῶν κληθεισῶν Μεχενώθ. [86] πέντε δὲ λουτῆρας ἵστησιν ἐξ ἀριστεροῦ μέρους τοῦ ναοῦ, τέτραπτο δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ βορέαν ἄνεμον, καὶ τοσούτους ἐκ τοῦ δεξιοῦ πρὸς νότον ἀφορῶντας εἰς τὴν ἀνατολήν: κατὰ δ᾽ αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἔθηκε. [87] πληρώσας δὲ ὕδατος τὴν μὲν θάλασσαν ἀπέδειξεν εἰς τὸ νίπτειν τοὺς εἰς τὸν ναὸν εἰσιόντας ἱερεῖς ἐν αὐτῇ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας μέλλοντας ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν, τοὺς δὲ λουτῆρας εἰς τὸ καθαίρειν τὰ ἐντὸς τῶν ὁλοκαυτουμένων ζῴων καὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν.

6. He also made ten brazen bases for so many quadrangular lavers; the length of every one of these bases was five cubits, and the breadth four cubits, and the height six cubits. This vessel was partly turned, and was thus contrived: There were four small quadrangular pillars that stood one at each corner; these had the sides of the base fitted to them on each quarter; they were parted into three parts; every interval had a border fitted to support [the laver]; upon which was engraven, in one place a lion, and in another place a bull, and an eagle. The small pillars had the same animals engraven that were engraven on the sides. The whole work was elevated, and stood upon four wheels, which were also cast, which had also naves and felloes, and were a foot and a half in diameter. Any one who saw the spokes of the wheels, how exactly they were turned, and

united to the sides of the bases, and with what harmony they agreed to the felloes, would wonder at them. However, their structure was this: Certain shoulders of hands stretched out held the corners above, upon which rested a short spiral pillar, that lay under the hollow part of the laver, resting upon the fore part of the eagle and the lion, which were adapted to them, insomuch that those who viewed them would think they were of one piece: between these were engravings of palm trees. This was the construction of the ten bases. He also made ten large round brass vessels, which were the lavers themselves, each of which contained forty baths; for it had its height four cubits, and its edges were as much distant from each other. He also placed these lavers upon the ten bases that were called Mechonoth; and he set five of the lavers on the left side of the temple which was that side towards the north wind, and as many on the right side, towards the south, but looking towards the east; the same [eastern] way he also set the sea Now he appointed the sea to be for washing the hands and the feet of the priests, when they entered into the temple and were to ascend the altar, but the lavers to cleanse the entrails of the beasts that were to be burnt-offerings, with their feet also.

(7) [88] Κατεσκεύασε δὲ καὶ θυσιαστήριον χάλκεον εἴκοσι πηχῶν τὸ μῆκος καὶ τοσούτων τὸ εὖρος τὸ δὲ ὕψος δέκα πρὸς τὰς ὁλοκαυτώσεις. ἐποίησε δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ σκεύη πάντα χάλκεα ποδιστῆρας καὶ ἀναλημπτῆρας: οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πρὸς τούτοις Χείρωμος καὶ λέβητας καὶ ἅρπαγας καὶ πᾶν σκεῦος ἐδημιούργησεν ἐκ χαλκοῦ τὴν αὐγὴν ὁμοίου χρυσῷ καὶ τὸ κάλλος: [89] τραπεζῶν τε πλῆθος ἀνέθηκεν ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ μίαν μὲν μεγάλην χρυσέαν, ἐφ᾽ ἧς ἐτίθεσαν τοὺς ἄρτους τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ταύτῃ παραπλησίας μυρίας πρὸς αὐταῖς ἑτέρῳ τρόπῳ γεγενημένας, ἐφ᾽ ὧν ἐπέκειτο τὰ σκεύη φιάλαι τε καὶ σπονδεῖα χρύσεα μὲν δισμύρια ἀργύρεα δὲ τετρακισμύρια. [90] καὶ λυχνίας δὲ μυρίας ἐποίησε κατὰ τὴν Μωυσέος προσταγήν, ἐξ ὧν μίαν ἀνέθηκεν εἰς τὸν ναόν, ἵνα καίηται καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἀκολούθως τῷ νόμῳ, καὶ τράπεζαν μίαν ἐπικειμένην ἄρτους πρὸς τὸ βόρειον τοῦ ναοῦ μέρος ἀντικρὺ τῆς λυχνίας: ταύτην γὰρ κατὰ νότον ἔστησεν, ὁ δὲ χρύσεος βωμὸς μέσος αὐτῶν ἔκειτο. ταῦτα πάντα εἶχεν ὁ τῶν τεσσαράκοντα πηχῶν οἶκος πρὸ τοῦ καταπετάσματος τοῦ ἀδύτου: ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἡ κιβωτὸς ἔμελλε κεῖσθαι.

7. He also made a brazen altar, whose length was twenty cubits, and its breadth the same, and its height ten, for the burnt-offerings. He also made all its vessels of brass, the pots, and the shovels, and the basons; and besides these, the snuffers and the tongs, and all its other vessels, he made of brass, and such brass as was in splendor and beauty like gold. The king also dedicated a great number of tables, but one that was large and made of gold, upon which they set the loaves

of God; and he made ten thousand more that resembled them, but were done after another manner, upon which lay the vials and the cups; those of gold were twenty thousand, those of silver were forty thousand. He also made ten thousand candlesticks, according to the command of Moses, one of which he dedicated for the temple, that it might burn in the day time, according to the law; and one table with loaves upon it, on the north side of the temple, over against the candlestick; for this he set on the south side, but the golden altar stood between them. All these vessels were contained in that part of the holy house, which was forty cubits long, and were before the veil of that most secret place wherein the ark was to be set.

(8) [91] Οἰνοχόας δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς μυριάδας ὀκτὼ κατεσκεύασε καὶ φιαλῶν χρυσέων δέκα ἀργυρέας δὲ διπλασίονας. πινάκων δὲ χρυσέων εἰς τὸ προσφέρειν ἐν αὐτοῖς πεφυραμένην σεμίδαλιν τῷ βωμῷ μυριάδας ὀκτώ, τούτων δ' ἀργυροῦς διπλασίονας. κρατῆρας δ' οἷς ἐνεφύρων τὴν σεμίδαλιν μετ' ἐλαίου χρυσέους μὲν ἑξακισμυρίους, ἀργυρέους δὲ δὶς τοσούτους. [92] τὰ μέτρα δὲ τοῖς Μωυσήου λεγομένοις δὲ ειν καὶ ἐσσάρωνες παραπλήσια, χρυσᾶ μὲν δισμύρια ἀργύρεα δὲ διπλασίονα. θυμιατήρια δὲ χρυσᾶ ἐν οἷς ἐκομίζετο τὸ θυμίαμα εἰς τὸν ναὸν δισμύρια: ὁμοίως ἄλλα θυμιατήρια οἷς ἐκόμιζον ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου βωμοῦ πῦρ ἐπὶ τὸν μικρὸν βωμὸν τὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ πεντακισμύρια. [93] στολὰς δὲ ἱερατικὰς τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι σὺν ποδήρεσιν ἐπωμίσι καὶ λογίῳ καὶ λίθοις χιλίας: ἡ δὲ στεφάνη, εἰς ἣν τὸν θεὸν Μωυσῆς ἔγραψε, μία ἦν καὶ διέμεινεν ἄχρι τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας: τὰς δὲ ἱερατικὰς στολὰς ἐκ βύσσου κατεσκεύασε καὶ ζώνας πορφυρᾶς εἰς ἕκαστον μυρίας. [94] καὶ σαλπίγγων κατὰ Μωυσέος ἐντολὴν μυριάδας εἴκοσι, καὶ στολῶν τοῖς ὑμνῳδοῖς Ληουιτῶν ἐκ βύσσου μυριάδας εἴκοσι: καὶ τὰ ὄργανα τὰ μουσικὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὑμνῳδίαν ἐξηυρημένα, ἃ καλεῖται νάβλας καὶ κινύρας, ἐξ ἠλέκτρου κατεσκεύασε τετρακισμύρια.

8. The king also made pouring vessels, in number eighty thousand, and a hundred thousand golden vials, and twice as many silver vials: of golden dishes, in order therein to offer kneaded fine flour at the altar, there were eighty thousand, and twice as many of silver. Of large basons also, wherein they mixed fine flour with oil, sixty thousand of gold, and twice as many of silver. Of the measures like those which Moses called the Hin and the Assaron, [a tenth deal,] there were twenty thousand of gold, and twice as many of silver. The golden censers, in which they carried the incense to the altar, were twenty thousand; the other censers, in which they carried fire from the great altar to the little altar, within the temple, were fifty thousand. The sacerdotal garments which belonged to the high priest, with the long robes, and the oracle, and the precious stones, were a thousand. But the crown upon which Moses wrote [the name of God],]was only

one, and hath remained to this very day. He also made ten thousand sacerdotal garments of fine linen, with purple girdles for every priest; and two hundred thousand trumpets, according to the command of Moses; also two hundred thousand garments of fine linen for the singers, that were Levites. And he made musical instruments, and such as were invented for singing of hymns, called Nablee and Cindree, [psalteries and harps,] which were made of electrum, [the finest brass,] forty thousand.

(9) [95] Ταῦτα πάντα ὁ Σολόμων εἰς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τιμὴν πολυτελῶς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς κατεσκεύασε μηδενὸς φεισάμενος ἀλλὰ πάσῃ φιλοτιμίᾳ περὶ τὸν τοῦ ναοῦ κόσμον χρησάμενος, ἃ καὶ κατέθηκεν ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς τοῦ θεοῦ. περιέβαλε δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ κύκλῳ γείσιον μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχώριον γλῶτταν τριγχὸν δὲ παρ᾽ Ἕλλησι λεγόμενον εἰς τρεῖς πήχεις ἀναγαγὼν τὸ ὕψος, εἴρξοντα μὲν τοὺς πολλοὺς τῆς εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν εἰσόδου, μόνοις δὲ ἀνειμένην αὐτὴν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι σημανοῦντα. [96] τούτου δ᾽ ἔξωθεν ἱερὸν ᾠκοδόμησεν: ἐν τετραγώνου σχήματι στοὰς ἐγείρας μεγάλας καὶ πλατείας καὶ πύλαις ὑψηλαῖς ἀνεῳγμένας, ὧν ἑκάστη πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν ἀνέμων τέτραπτο χρυσέαις κλειομένη θύραις. εἰς τοῦτο τοῦ λαοῦ πάντες οἱ διαφέροντες ἁγνείᾳ καὶ παρατηρήσει τῶν νομίμων εἰσῄεσαν. [97] θαυμαστὸν δὲ καὶ λόγου παντὸς ἀπέφηνε μεῖζον, ὡς δὲ εἰπεῖν καὶ τῆς ὄψεως, τὸ τούτων ἔξωθεν ἱερόν: μεγάλας γὰρ ἐγχώσας φάραγγας, ἃς διὰ βάθος ἄπειρον οὐδὲ ἀπόνως ἐννεύσαντας ἦν ἰδεῖν, καὶ ἀναβιβάσας εἰς τετρακοσίους πήχεις τὸ ὕψος ἰσοπέδους τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους ἐφ᾽ ἧς ὁ ναὸς ᾠκοδόμητο κατεσκεύασε: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὕπαιθρον ὂν τὸ ἔξωθεν ἱερὸν ἴσον ὑπῆρχε τῷ ναῷ. [98] περιλαμβάνει δ᾽ αὐτὸ καὶ στοαῖς διπλαῖς μὲν τὴν κατασκευήν, λίθου δ᾽ αὐτοφυοῦς τὸ ὕψος κίοσιν ἐπερηρεισμέναις: ὀροφαὶ δ᾽ αὐταῖς ἦσαν ἐκ κέδρου φατνώμασιν ἀνεξεσμέναι. τὰς δὲ θύρας τῷ ἱερῷ τούτῳ πάσας ἐπέστησεν ἐξ ἀργύρου.

9. Solomon made all these things for the honor of God, with great variety and magnificence, sparing no cost, but using all possible liberality in adorning the temple; and these things he dedicated to the treasures of God. He also placed a partition round about the temple, which in our tongue we call Gison, but it is called Thrigcos by the Greeks, and he raised it up to the height of three cubits; and it was for the exclusion of the multitude from coming into the temple, and showing that it was a place that was free and open only for the priests. He also built beyond this court a temple, whose figure was that of a quadrangle, and erected for it great and broad cloisters; this was entered into by very high gates, each of which had its front exposed to one of the [four] winds, and were shut by golden doors. Into this temple all the people entered that were distinguished from the rest by being pure and observant of the laws. But he made that temple

which was beyond this a wonderful one indeed, and such as exceeds all description in words; nay, if I may so say, is hardly believed upon sight; for when he had filled up great valleys with earth, which, on account of their immense depth, could not be looked on, when you bended down to see them, without pain, and had elevated the ground four hundred cubits, he made it to be on a level with the top of the mountain, on which the temple was built, and by this means the outmost temple, which was exposed to the air, was even with the temple itself. He encompassed this also with a building of a double row of cloisters, which stood on high upon pillars of native stone, while the roofs were of cedar, and were polished in a manner proper for such high roofs; but he made all the doors of this temple of silver.

IV

CHAPTER 4. How Solomon Removed The Ark Into The Temple How He Made Supplication To God, And Offered Public Sacrifices To Him.

(1) [99] Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἔργα ταῦτα καὶ τὰ μεγέθη καὶ κάλλη τῶν τε οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀναθημάτων Σολόμων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν ἔτεσιν ἑπτὰ συντελέσας καὶ πλούτου καὶ προθυμίας ἐπίδειξιν ποιησάμενος, ὡς ἄν τις ἰδὼν ἐνόμισεν ὡς ἐν τῷ παντὶ κατασκευασθῆναι χρόνῳ ταῦτα ἐν οὕτως ὀλίγῳ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος συγκρινόμενα τοῦ ναοῦ συμπερασθῆναι, γράψας τοῖς ἡγεμόσι καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις τῶν Ἑβραίων ἐκέλευσεν ἅπαντα τὸν λαὸν συναγαγεῖν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ὀψόμενόν τε τὸν ναὸν καὶ μετακομιοῦντα τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ κιβωτὸν εἰς αὐτόν. [100] καὶ περιαγγελθείσης τῆς εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πᾶσιν ἀφίξεως ἑβδόμῳ μηνὶ μόλις συνίασιν, ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Ἀθύρει, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων Ὑπερβερεταίῳ λεγομένῳ. συνέδραμε δ᾽ εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καὶ ὁ τῆς σκηνοπηγίας καιρὸς ἑορτῆς σφόδρα παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἁγιωτάτης καὶ μεγίστης. [101] βαστάσαντες οὖν τὴν κιβωτὸν καὶ τὴν σκηνήν, ἣν Μωυσῆς ἐπήξατο, καὶ πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὴν διακονίαν τῶν θυσιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ σκεύη μετεκόμιζον εἰς τὸν ναόν. προῆγον δὲ μετὰ θυσιῶν αὐτός τε ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἅπας καὶ οἱ Λευῖται σπονδαῖς τε καὶ πολλῶν ἱερείων αἵματι τὴν ὁδὸν καταντλοῦντες καὶ θυμιῶντες ἀπειρόν τι θυμιαμάτων πλῆθος, [102] ὡς ἅπαντα τὸν πέριξ ἀέρα πεπληρωμένον καὶ τοῖς πορρωτάτω τυγχάνουσιν ἡδὺν ἀπαντᾶν καὶ γνωρίζειν ἐπιδημίαν θεοῦ καὶ κατοικισμὸν κατ᾽ ἀνθρωπίνην δόξαν εἰς νεοδόμητον αὐτῷ καὶ καθιερωμένον χωρίον: καὶ γὰρ οὐδ᾽ ὑμνοῦντες οὐδὲ χορεύοντες ἕως οὗ πρὸς τὸν ναὸν ἦλθον ἔκαμον. [103] τούτῳ μὲν οὖν τῷ τρόπῳ τὴν κιβωτὸν μετήνεγκαν. ὡς δ᾽ εἰς τὸ ἄδυτον αὐτὴν εἰσενεγκεῖν ἔδει, τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πλῆθος μετέστη, μόνοι δὲ κομίσαντες οἱ ἱερεῖς μεταξὺ τῶν δύο Χερουβὶμ κατέθεσαν: αἱ δὲ τοὺς ταρσοὺς συμπλέξασαι, καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἦσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ τεχνίτου κατεσκευασμέναι, τὴν κιβωτὸν ὡς ὑπὸ σκηνῇ τινι καὶ θόλῳ κατεσκέπασαν. [104] εἶχε δὲ ἡ κιβωτὸς οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ δύο λιθίνας πλάκας, αἳ τοὺς δέκα λόγους τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ Μωυσεῖ λαληθέντας ἐν Σιναίῳ ὄρει ἐγγεγραμμένους αὐταῖς ἔσωζον. τὴν δὲ λυχνίαν καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν καὶ τὸν βωμὸν τὸν χρύσεον ἔστησαν ἐν τῷ ναῷ πρὸ τοῦ ἀδύτου κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τόπους, οὓς καὶ τότε ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ κείμενοι κατεῖχον, καὶ τὰς καθημερινὰς θυσίας ἀνέφερον. [105] τὸ δὲ θυσιαστήριον τὸ χάλκεον ἵστησι πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ ἀντικρὺ τῆς θύρας, ὡς ἀνοιχθείσης αὐτὸ κατὰ πρόσωπον εἶναι καὶ βλέπεσθαι τὰς ἱερουργίας καὶ τὴν τῶν θυσιῶν πολυτέλειαν. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ σκεύη πάντα συναλίσας ἔνδον εἰς τὸν ναὸν κατέθετο.

1. When king Solomon had finished these works, these large and beautiful buildings, and had laid up his donations in the temple, and all this in the interval of seven years, and had given a demonstration of his riches and alacrity therein, insomuch that any one who saw it would have thought it must have been an immense time ere it could have been finished; and would be surprised that so much should be finished in so short a time; short, I mean, if compared with the greatness of the work: he also wrote to the rulers and elders of the Hebrews, and ordered all the people to gather themselves together to Jerusalem, both to see the temple which he had built, and to remove the ark of God into it; and when this invitation of the whole body of the people to come to Jerusalem was every where carried abroad, it was the seventh month before they came together; which month is by our countrymen called Thisri, but by the Macedonians Hyperberetoets. The feast of tabernacles happened to fall at the same time, which was celebrated by the Hebrews as a most holy and most eminent feast. So they carried the ark and the tabernacle which Moses had pitched, and all the vessels that were for ministration, to the sacrifices of God, and removed them to the temple. The king himself, and all the people and the Levites, went before, rendering the ground moist with sacrifices, and drink-offerings, and the blood of a great number of oblations, and burning an immense quantity of incense, and this till the very air itself every where round about was so full of these odors, that it met, in a most agreeable manner, persons at a great distance, and was an indication of God's presence; and, as men's opinion was, of his habitation with them in this newly built and consecrated place, for they did not grow weary, either of singing hymns or of dancing, until they came to the temple; and in this manner did they carry the ark. But when they should transfer it into the most secret place, the rest of the multitude went away, and only those priests that carried it set it between the two cherubims, which embracing it with their wings, [for so were they framed by the artificer,] they covered it, as under a tent, or a cupola. Now the ark contained nothing else but those two tables of stone that preserved the ten commandments, which God spake to Moses in Mount Sinai, and which were engraved upon them; but they set the candlestick, and the table, and the golden altar in the temple, before the most secret place, in the very same places wherein they stood till that time in the tabernacle. So they offered up the daily sacrifices; but for the brazen altar, Solomon set it before the temple, over against the door, that when the door was opened, it might be exposed to sight, and the sacred solemnities, and the richness of the sacrifices, might be thence seen; and all the rest of the vessels they gathered together, and put them within the temple.

(2) [106] Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντα διακοσμήσαντες οἱ ἱερεῖς τὰ περὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν ἐξῆλθον, ἄφνω πίλημα νεφέλης οὐ σκληρὸν οὐδ᾽ οἷον ὥρᾳ χειμῶνος ὑετοῦ γέμον ἵσταται κεχυμένον δὲ καὶ κεκραμένον εἰς τὸν ναὸν εἰσερρύη, καὶ ταῖς μὲν ὄψεσι τῶν ἱερέων ὡς μὴ καθορᾶν ἀλλήλους ἐπεσκότει, ταῖς δὲ διανοίαις ταῖς ἁπάντων φαντασίαν καὶ δόξαν παρεῖχεν ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ κατεληλυθότος εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ κατεσκηνωκότος ἡδέως ἐν αὐτῷ. [107] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ ταύτης εἶχον αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐννοίας ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Σολόμων ἐξεγερθείς, ἔτυχε γὰρ καθεζόμενος, ἐποιήσατο λόγους πρὸς τὸν θεόν, οὓς τῇ θείᾳ φύσει πρέποντας ὑπελάμβανε καὶ καλῶς εἶχεν αὐτῷ λέγειν: "σοὶ γάρ, εἶπεν, οἶκον μὲν αἰώνιον, ὦ δέσποτα, καὶ ἄξιον αὐτῷ εἰργάσω γεγονότα τὸν οὐρανὸν οἴδαμεν καὶ ἀέρα καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, δι᾽ ὧν ἁπάντων οὐδὲ τούτοις ἀρκούμενος κεχώρηκας, [108] τοῦτον δέ σοι κατεσκεύακα τὸν ναὸν ἐπώνυμον, ὡς ἂν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ σοι τὰς εὐχὰς θύοντες καὶ καλλιεροῦντες ἀναπέμπωμεν εἰς τὸν ἀέρα καὶ πεπεισμένοι διατελοίημεν, ὅτι πάρει καὶ μακρὰν οὐκ ἀφέστηκας [οὐδὲ σαυτῶ]: τῷ μὲν γὰρ πάντ᾽ ἐφορᾶν καὶ πάντ᾽ ἀκούειν οὐδὲ νῦν ὅπου σοι θέμις οἰκῶν ἀπολείπεις τοῦ πᾶσιν ἔγγιστα εἶναι, μᾶλλον δ᾽ ἑκάστῳ καὶ βουλευομένῳ καὶ διὰ νυκτὸς καὶ [109] ἡμέρας συμπάρει." ταῦτα ἐπιθειάσας πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀπέστρεψεν εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τοὺς λόγους ἐμφανίζων τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν πρόνοιαν, ὅτι Δαυίδῃ τῷ πατρὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἅπαντα καθὼς ἀποβέβηκεν ἤδη τὰ πολλὰ καὶ γενήσεται τὰ λείποντα δηλώσειε, καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς ἐπιθείη τὸ ὄνομα μήπω γεγεννημένῳ καὶ [110] τίς μέλλοι καλεῖσθαι προείποι καὶ ὅτι τὸν ναὸν οὗτος οἰκοδομήσει αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν γενόμενος: ἃ βλέποντας κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου προφητείαν ἐπιτελῆ τὸν θεὸν εὐλογεῖν ἠξίου καὶ περὶ μηδενὸς ἀπογινώσκειν ὧν ὑπέσχηται πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ὡς οὐκ ἐσομένου πιστεύοντας ἐκ τῶν ἤδη βλεπομένων.

2. Now as soon as the priests had put all things in order about the ark, and were gone out, there cane down a thick cloud, and stood there, and spread itself, after a gentle manner, into the temple; such a cloud it was as was diffused and temperate, not such a rough one as we see full of rain in the winter season. This cloud so darkened the place, that one priest could not discern another, but it afforded to the minds of all a visible image and glorious appearance of God's having descended into this temple, and of his having gladly pitched his tabernacle therein. So these men were intent upon this thought. But Solomon rose up, [for he was sitting before,] and used such words to God as he thought agreeable to the Divine nature to receive, and fit for him to give; for he said, "Thou hast an eternal house, O Lord, and such a one as thou hast created for thyself out of thine own works; we know it to be the heaven, and the air, and the earth, and the sea, which thou pervadest, nor art thou contained within their limits. I have indeed built this temple to thee, and thy name, that from thence,

when we sacrifice, and perform sacred operations, we may send our prayers up into the air, and may constantly believe that thou art present, and art not remote from what is thine own; for neither when thou seest all things, and hearest all things, nor now, when it pleases thee to dwell here, dost thou leave the care of all men, but rather thou art very near to them all, but especially thou art present to those that address themselves to thee, whether by night or by day." When he had thus solemnly addressed himself to God, he converted his discourse to the multitude, and strongly represented the power and providence of God to them; — how he had shown all things that were come to pass to David his father, as many of those things had already come to pass, and the rest would certainly come to pass hereafter; and how he had given him his name, and told to David what he should be called before he was born; and foretold, that when he should be king after his father's death, he should build him a temple, which since they saw accomplished, according to his prediction, he required them to bless God, and by believing him, from the sight of what they had seen accomplished, never to despair of any thing that he had promised for the future, in order to their happiness, or suspect that it would not come to pass.

(3) [111] Ταῦτα διαλεχθεὶς πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀφορᾷ πάλιν εἰς τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν εἰς τὸν ὄχλον ἀνασχών "ἔργοις μέν, εἶπεν, οὐ δυνατὸν ἀνθρώποις ἀποδοῦναι θεῷ χάριν ὑπὲρ ὧν εὖ πεπόνθασιν: ἀπροσδεὲς γὰρ τὸ θεῖον ἁπάντων καὶ κρεῖττον τοιαύτης ἀμοιβῆς: ᾧ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων ὑπὸ σοῦ, δέσποτα, κρείττονες γεγόναμεν, τούτῳ τὴν σὴν εὐλογεῖν μεγαλειότητα καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑπηργμένων εἰς τὸν ἡμέτερον οἶκον καὶ τὸν Ἑβραίων εὐχαριστεῖν ἀνάγκη. [112] τίνι γὰρ ἄλλῳ μᾶλλον ἱλάσασθαι μηνίοντα καὶ δυσμεναίνοντα εὐμενῆ δεξιώτερόν ἐστιν ἡμῖν ἢ φωνῇ, ἣν ἐξ ἀέρος τε ἔχομεν καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ πάλιν ἀνιοῦσαν οἴδαμεν; χάριν οὖν ἔχειν δι' αὐτῆς ὁμολογῶ σοι περί τε τοῦ πατρὸς πρῶτον, ὃν ἐξ ἀφανοῦς εἰς τοσαύτην ἀνήγαγες δόξαν, [113] ἔπειθ' ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ πάντα μέχρι τῆς παρούσης ἡμέρας ἃ προεῖπας πεποιηκότι, δέομαί τε τοῦ λοιποῦ χορηγεῖν ὅσα θεῷ δύναμις ἀνθρώποις ὑπὸ σοῦ τετιμημένοις, καὶ τὸν οἶκον τὸν ἡμέτερον αὔξειν εἰς πᾶν, ὡς καθωμολόγησας Δαυίδῃ τῷ πατρί μου καὶ ζῶντι καὶ παρὰ τὴν τελευτήν, ὅτι παρ' ἡμῖν ἡ βασιλεία μενεῖ καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου γένος αὐτὴν διαδοχαῖς ἀμείψει μυρίαις. ταῦτ' οὖν ἡμῖν ἐπάρκεσον καὶ παισὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀρετὴν ᾗ σὺ χαίρεις παράσχου. [114] πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἱκετεύω καὶ μοῖράν τινα τοῦ σοῦ πνεύματος εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀποικίσαι, ὡς ἂν καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ἡμῖν εἶναι δοκῇς. σοὶ μὲν γὰρ μικρὸν οἰκητήριον καὶ τὸ πᾶν οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τοῦτον ὄντων κύτος, οὐχ ὅτι γε οὗτος ὁ τυχὼν ναός, ἀλλὰ φυλάσσειν τε ἀπόρθητον ἐκ πολεμίων ὡς ἴδιον εἰς ἅπαν καὶ προνοεῖν ὡς οἰκείου κτήματος παρακαλῶ. [115] κἂν ἁμαρτών ποτε ὁ λαὸς ἔπειτα πληγῇ τινι κακῷ διὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐκ σοῦ γῆς

ἀκαρπίᾳ καὶ φθορᾷ λοιμικῇ ἤ τινι τούτων τῶν παθημάτων, οἷς σὺ τοὺς παραβάντας τι τῶν ὁσίων μετέρχῃ, καὶ καταφεύγῃ πᾶς ἀθροισθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν ναὸν ἱκετεύων σε καὶ σωθῆναι δεόμενος, ἐπήκοος αὐτοῦ γενόμενος ὡς ἔνδον ὢν ἐλεήσῃς καὶ τῶν συμφορῶν ἀπαλλάξῃς. [116] ταύτην δὲ οὐχ Ἑβραίοις μόνον δέομαι παρὰ σοῦ τὴν βοήθειαν εἶναι σφαλεῖσιν, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἀπὸ περάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης τινὲς ἀφίκωνται κἂν ὁποθενδηποτοῦν προστρεπόμενοι καὶ τυχεῖν τινος ἀγαθοῦ λιπαροῦντες, δὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπήκοος γενόμενος. [117] οὕτως γὰρ ἂν μάθοιεν πάντες, ὅτι σὺ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐβουλήθης παρ᾽ ἡμῖν κατασκευασθῆναί σοι τὸν οἶκον, ἡμεῖς δ᾽ οὐκ ἀπάνθρωποι τὴν φύσιν ἐσμὲν οὐδ᾽ ἀλλοτρίως πρὸς τοὺς οὐχ ὁμοφύλους ἔχομεν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι κοινὴν τὴν ἀπὸ σοῦ βοήθειαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὄνησιν ὑπάρχειν ἠθελήσαμεν.”

3. When the king had thus discoursed to the multitude, he looked again towards the temple, and lifting up his right hand to the multitude, he said, “It is not possible by what men can do to return sufficient thanks to God for his benefits bestowed upon them, for the Deity stands in need of nothing, and is above any such requital; but so far as we have been made superior, O Lord, to other animals by thee, it becomes us to bless thy Majesty, and it is necessary for us to return thee thanks for what thou hast bestowed upon our house, and on the Hebrew people; for with what other instrument can we better appease thee when thou art angry at us, or more properly preserve thy favor, than with our voice? which, as we have it from the air, so do we know that by that air it ascends upwards [towards thee]. I therefore ought myself to return thee thanks thereby, in the first place, concerning my father, whom thou hast raised from obscurity unto so great joy; and, in the next place, concerning myself, since thou hast performed all that thou hast promised unto this very day. And I beseech thee for the time to come to afford us whatsoever thou, O God, hast power to bestow on such as thou dost esteem; and to augment our house for all ages, as thou hast promised to David my father to do, both in his lifetime and at his death, that our kingdom shall continue, and that his posterity should successively receive it to ten thousand generations. Do not thou therefore fail to give us these blessings, and to bestow on my children that virtue in which thou delightest. And besides all this, I humbly beseech thee that thou wilt let some portion of thy Spirit come down and inhabit in this temple, that thou mayst appear to be with us upon earth. As to thyself, the entire heavens, and the immensity of the things that are therein, are but a small habitation for thee, much more is this poor temple so; but I entreat thee to keep it as thine own house, from being destroyed by our enemies for ever, and to take care of it as thine own possession: but if this people be found to have sinned, and be thereupon afflicted by thee with any plague,

because of their sin, as with dearth or pestilence, or any other affliction which thou usest to inflict on those that transgress any of thy holy laws, and if they fly all of them to this temple, beseeching thee, and begging of time to deliver them, then do thou hear their prayers, as being within thine house, and have mercy upon them, and deliver them from their afflictions. Nay, moreover, this help is what I implore of thee, not for the Hebrews only, when they are in distress, but when any shall come hither from any ends of the world whatsoever, and shall return from their sins and implore thy pardon, do thou then pardon them, and hear their prayer. For hereby all shall learn that thou thyself wast pleased with the building of this house for thee; and that we are not ourselves of an unsociable nature, nor behave ourselves like enemies to such as are not of our own people; but are willing that thy assistance should be communicated by thee to all men in common, and that they may have the enjoyment of thy benefits bestowed upon them."

(4) [118] Εἰπὼν ταῦτα καὶ ῥίψας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὴν ὥραν προσκυνήσας ἀναστὰς θυσίας τῷ θεῷ προσήνεγκε καὶ γεμίσας τῶν ὁλοκλήρων ἱερείων ἐναργέστατα τὸν θεὸν ἡδέως ἔγνω τὴν θυσίαν προσδεχόμενον: πῦρ γὰρ ἐξ ἀέρος διαδραμὸν καὶ πάντων ὁρώντων ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ᾖξαν ἅπασαν τὴν θυσίαν ἀνήρπασε καὶ κατεδαίσατο. [119] ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἐπιφανείας γενομένης ὁ μὲν λαὸς δήλωσιν εἶναι τοῦτ' εἰκάσας τῆς ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ θεοῦ διατριβῆς ἐσομένης καὶ ἡσθεὶς προσεκύνει πεσὼν ἐπὶ τοὔδαφος, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς εὐλογεῖν τε ἤρξατο καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ταὐτὸ ποιεῖν παρώρμα δείγματα μὲν ἔχοντας ἤδη τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὐμενείας, [120] εὐχομένους δὲ τοιαῦτα ἀποβαίνειν ἀεὶ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου, καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῖς καθαρὰν ἀπὸ πάσης φυλάττεσθαι κακίας ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ θρησκείᾳ καὶ τῷ τὰς ἐντολὰς τηρεῖν ἃς διὰ Μωυσέος αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς διαμενούσας: ἔσεσθαι γὰρ οὕτως εὔδαιμον τὸ Ἑβραίων ἔθνος καὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων γένους μακαριώτερον. [121] παρεκάλει τε μνημονεύειν, ὡς οἷς ἐκτήσαντο τὰ παρόντα ἀγαθὰ τούτοις αὐτὰ καὶ βέβαια ἕξειν καὶ μείζω καὶ πλείω καταστήσειν: οὐ γὰρ λαβεῖν αὐτὰ μόνον δι' εὐσέβειαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθέξειν διὰ ταῦτα προσῆκεν ὑπολαμβάνειν: εἶναι δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οὐχ οὕτως μέγα τὸ κτήσασθαί τι τῶν [οὐχ] ὑπαρχόντων, ὡς τὸ σῶσαι τὰ πορισθέντα καὶ μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν εἰς. βλάβην αὐτῶν.

4. When Solomon had said this, and had cast himself upon the ground, and worshipped a long time, he rose up, and brought sacrifices to the altar; and when he had filled it with unblemished victims, he most evidently discovered that God had with pleasure accepted of all that he had sacrificed to him, for there came a fire running out of the air, and rushed with violence upon the altar, in the sight of all, and caught hold of and consumed the sacrifices. Now when this Divine

appearance was seen, the people supposed it to be a demonstration of God's abode in the temple, and were pleased with it, and fell down upon the ground and worshipped. Upon which the king began to bless God, and exhorted the multitude to do the same, as now having sufficient indications of God's favorable disposition to them; and to pray that they might always have the like indications from him, and that he would preserve in them a mind pure from all wickedness, in righteousness and religious worship, and that they might continue in the observation of those precepts which God had given them by Moses, because by that means the Hebrew nation would be happy, and indeed the most blessed of all nations among all mankind. He exhorted them also to be mindful, that by what methods they had attained their present good things, by the same they must preserve them sure to themselves, and make them greater and more than they were at present; for that it was not sufficient for them to suppose they had received them on account of their piety and righteousness, but that they had no other way of preserving them for the time to come; for that it is not so great a thing for men to acquire somewhat which they want, as to preserve what they have acquired, and to be guilty of no sin whereby it may be hurt.

(5) [122] Ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς διαλεχθεὶς ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος διαλύει τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τελέσας θυσίας ὑπέρ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντων Ἑβραίων, ὡς μόσχους μὲν καταθῦσαι μυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους, προβάτων δὲ μυριάδας δώδεκα. [123] τὸν μὲν γὰρ ναὸν τότε πρῶτον ἔγευσεν ἱερουργημάτων καὶ κατευωχήθησαν ἐν αὐτῷ πάντες σὺν γυναιξὶν Ἑβραῖοι καὶ τέκνοις, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν σκηνοπηγίαν καλουμένην ἑορτὴν πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ λαμπρῶς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐπὶ δὶς ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἤγαγεν ὁ βασιλεὺς σὺν ἅπαντι τῷ λαῷ κατευωχούμενος.

5. So when the king had spoken thus to the multitude, he dissolved the congregation, but not till he had completed his oblations, both for himself and for the Hebrews, insomuch that he sacrificed twenty and two thousand oxen, and a hundred and twenty thousand sheep; for then it was that the temple did first of all taste of the victims, and all the Hebrews, with their wives and children, feasted therein: nay, besides this, the king then observed splendidly and magnificently the feast which is called the Feast of Tabernacles, before the temple, for twice seven days; and he then feasted together with all the people.

(6) [124] Ἐπεὶ δ' εἶχεν αὐτοῖς ἀποχρώντως ταῦτα καὶ μηδὲν ἐνέδει τῇ περὶ τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβείᾳ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἕκαστος τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπολύσαντος ἀπῄεσαν εὐχαριστήσαντες τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς τε περὶ αὐτοὺς προνοίας καὶ ὧν ἐπεδείξατο ἔργων, καὶ εὐξάμενοι τῷ θεῷ παρασχεῖν αὐτοῖς εἰς πολὺν χρόνον Σολόμωνα βασιλέα τὴν πορείαν ἐποιοῦντο μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ παιδιᾶς ὕμνους εἰς τὸν θεὸν

ᾄδοντες, ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀπόνως τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα πάντας ἀνύσαι. [125] καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν κιβωτὸν εἰς τὸν ναὸν εἰσαγαγόντες καὶ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἱστορήσαντες αὐτοῦ καὶ θυσιῶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ μεγάλων καὶ ἑορτῶν μεταλαβόντες εἰς τὰς αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι πόλεις ὑπέστρεψαν. ὄναρ δ᾽ ἐπιφανὲν τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἐσήμαινεν αὐτῷ τῆς εὐχῆς ἐπήκοον τὸν θεὸν γεγονέναι, [126] καὶ ὅτι φυλάξει τε τὸν ναὸν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐν αὐτῷ μενεῖ τῶν ἐκγόνων αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἁπάσης πληθύος τὰ δίκαια ποιούσης, αὐτόν τε πρῶτον ἐμμένοντα ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ὑποθήκαις ἔλεγεν εἰς ὕψος καὶ μέγεθος εὐδαιμονίας ἀνοίσειν ἄπειρον καὶ βασιλεύσειν ἀεὶ τῆς χώρας τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς: [127] προδόντα μέντοι τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα καὶ λήθην αὐτῶν ποιησάμενον καὶ ξενικοὺς θεοὺς θρησκεύειν μεταβαλόμενον πρόρριζον ἐκκόψειν καὶ μήτε τοῦ γένους τι λείψανον αὐτῶν ἐάσειν μήτε τὸν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν λαὸν ἀπαθῆ παρόψεσθαι, πολέμοις δ᾽ αὐτοὺς καὶ κακοῖς ἐξαφανίσειν μυρίοις κἀκ τῆς γῆς, ἣν τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν ἔδωκεν, [128] ἐκβαλὼν ἐπήλυδας ἀλλοτρίας καταστήσειν, τὸν δὲ ναὸν τὸν νῦν οἰκοδομηθέντα καταπρησθησόμενον τοῖς ἐχθροῖς παραδώσειν καὶ διαρπαγησόμενον, κατασκάψειν δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν χερσὶ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ποιήσειν μύθων ἄξια τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς κακὰ καὶ πολλῆς δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν μεγέθους ἀπιστίας, [129] ὡς τοὺς προσοίκους ἀκούοντας τὴν συμφορὰν θαυμάζειν καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν πολυπραγμονεῖν δι᾽ ἣν οὕτως ἐμισήθησαν Ἑβραῖοι τῷ θεῷ πρότερον εἰς δόξαν καὶ πλοῦτον ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ παραχθέντες, καὶ παρὰ τῶν ὑπολειπομένων ἀκούειν ἐξομολογουμένων τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς τῶν πατρίων νομίμων παραβάσεις. ταῦτα μὲν αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν εἰπεῖν κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἀναγέγραπται.

6. When all these solemnities were abundantly satisfied, and nothing was omitted that concerned the Divine worship, the king dismissed them; and they every one went to their own homes, giving thanks to the king for the care he had taken of them, and the works he had done for them; and praying to God to preserve Solomon to be their king for a long time. They also took their journey home with rejoicing, and making merry, and singing hymns to God. And indeed the pleasure they enjoyed took away the sense of the pains they all underwent in their journey home. So when they had brought the ark into the temple, and had seen its greatness, and how fine it was, and had been partakers of the many sacrifices that had been offered, and of the festivals that had been solemnized, they every one returned to their own cities. But a dream that appeared to the king in his sleep informed him that God had heard his prayers; and that he would not only preserve the temple, but would always abide in it; that is, in case his posterity and the whole multitude would be righteous. And for himself, it said, that if he continued according to the admonitions of his father, he would advance

him to an immense degree of dignity and happiness, and that then his posterity should be kings of that country, of the tribe of Judah, for ever; but that still, if he should be found a betrayer of the ordinances of the law, and forget them, and turn away to the worship of strange gods, he would cut him off by the roots, and would neither suffer any remainder of his family to continue, nor would overlook the people of Israel, or preserve them any longer from afflictions, but would utterly destroy them with ten thousand wars and misfortunes; would cast them out of the land which he had given their fathers, and make them sojourners in strange lands; and deliver that temple which was now built to be burnt and spoiled by their enemies, and that city to be utterly overthrown by the hands of their enemies; and make their miseries deserve to be a proverb, and such as should very hardly be credited for their stupendous magnitude, till their neighbors, when they should hear of them, should wonder at their calamities, and very earnestly inquire for the occasion, why the Hebrews, who had been so far advanced by God to such glory and wealth, should be then so hated by him? and that the answer that should be made by the remainder of the people should be, by confessing their sins, and their transgression of the laws of their country. Accordingly we have it transmitted to us in writing, that thus did God speak to Solomon in his sleep.

V

CHAPTER 5. How Solomon Built Himself A Royal Palace, Very Costly And Splendid; And How He Solved The Riddles Which Were Sent Him By Hiram.

(1) [130] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευὴν ἐν ἔτεσιν ἑπτὰ καθὼς προειρήκαμεν γενομένην τὴν τῶν βασιλείων οἰκοδομὴν κατεβάλετο, ἣν ἔτεσι τρισὶ καὶ δέκα μόγις ἀπήρτισεν: οὐ γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐσπουδάζετο τρόπον ὅνπερ καὶ τὸ ἱερόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν καίπερ ὂν μέγα καὶ θαυμαστῆς ἐργασίας καὶ παραδόξου τετυχηκὸς ἔτι καὶ θεοῦ συνεργοῦντος, εἰς ὃν ἐγίνετο, τοῖς προειρημένοις ἔτεσιν ἔλαβε πέρας: [131] τὰ δὲ βασίλεια πολὺ τῆς ἀξίας τοῦ ναοῦ καταδεέστερα τυγχάνοντα τῷ μήτε τὴν ὕλην ἐκ τοσούτου χρόνου καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡτοιμάσθαι φιλοτιμίας καὶ βασιλεῦσιν οἰκητήριον ἀλλ᾽ οὐ θεῷ γίνεσθαι, βράδιον ἠνύσθη. [132] καὶ αὐτὰ μὲν οὖν ἄξια λόγου καὶ κατὰ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τῆς Ἑβραίων χώρας καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ᾠκοδομήθη, τὴν δὲ ὅλην αὐτῶν διάταξιν καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν εἰπεῖν ἀναγκαῖον, ἵν᾽ οὕτως ἐκ τούτου στοχάζεσθαι καὶ συνορᾶν ἔχωσι τὸ μέγεθος οἱ τῇ γραφῇ μέλλοντες ἐντυγχάνειν.

1. After the building of the temple, which, as we have before said, was finished in seven years, the king laid the foundation of his palace, which he did not finish under thirteen years, for he was not equally zealous in the building of this palace as he had been about the temple; for as to that, though it was a great work, and required wonderful and surprising application, yet God, for whom it was made, so far co-operated therewith, that it was finished in the forementioned number of years: but the palace, which was a building much inferior in dignity to the temple, both on account that its materials had not been so long beforehand gotten ready, nor had been so zealously prepared, and on account that this was only a habitation for kings, and not for God, it was longer in finishing. However, this building was raised so magnificently, as suited the happy state of the Hebrews, and of the king thereof. But it is necessary that I describe the entire structure and disposition of the parts, that so those that light upon this book may thereby make a conjecture, and, as it were, have a prospect of its magnitude.

(2) [133] Οἶκος ἦν μέγας καὶ καλὸς πολλοῖς στύλοις ἐρηρεισμένος, ὃν εἰς τὰς κρίσεις καὶ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων διάγνωσιν πλῆθος ὑποδέξασθαι καὶ χωρῆσαι σύνοδον ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ δίκας συνεληλυθότων κατεσκεύασεν ἑκατὸν μὲν πηχῶν τὸ μῆκος εὖρος δὲ πεντήκοντα τὸ δ᾽ ὕψος τριάκοντα, κίοσι μὲν τετραγώνοις ἀνειλημμένον ἐκ κέδρου πᾶσιν, ἐστεγασμένον δὲ Κορινθίως, ἰσομέτροις δὲ φλιαῖς καὶ θυρώμασι τριγλύφοις ἀσφαλῆ τε ὁμοῦ καὶ κεκαλλωπισμένον. [134]

ἕτερος δὲ οἶκος ἦν ἐν μέσῳ κατὰ ὅλου τοῦ πλάτους τεταγμένος [τετράγωνος] εὖρος πηχῶν τριάκοντα, ἄντικρυς ἔχων ναὸν παχέσι στύλοις ἀνατεταμένον: ἦν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐξέδρα διαπρεπής, ἐν ᾗ καθεζόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔκρινεν, ᾗ παρέζευκτο κατεσκευασμένος ἄλλος οἶκος τῇ βασιλίσσῃ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ πρὸς τὴν δίαιταν καὶ τὰς ἀναπαύσεις οἰκήματα μετὰ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπόλυσιν, ἐστρωμένα πάντα σανίσι τετμημέναις ἐκ κέδρου. [135] καὶ τὰ μὲν ᾠκοδομήσατο λίθοις δεκαπήχεσιν, ἑτέρῳ δὲ πριστῷ τοὺς τοίχους καὶ πολυτελεῖ κατημφίεσεν, ὃν εἰς κόσμον ἱερῶν καὶ βασιλείων οἴκων θεωρίων γῆ μεταλλεύεται τοῖς φέρουσιν αὐτὸν τόποις ἐπαινουμένη. [136] καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κάλλος ἐπὶ τριστιχίαν ἦν ἐνυφασμένον, τετάρτη δὲ μοῖρα γλυφέων παρεῖχε θαυμάζειν ἐπιστήμην, ὑφ᾽ ὧν πεποίητο δένδρα καὶ φυτὰ παντοῖα σύσκια τοῖς κλάδοις καὶ τοῖς ἐκκρεμαμένοις αὐτῶν πετάλοις, ὡς ὑπονοεῖν αὐτὰ καὶ σαλεύεσθαι δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν λεπτότητος καλύπτοντα τὸν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῖς λίθον. [137] τὸ δὲ ἄλλο μέχρι τῆς στέγης χριστὸν ἦν καὶ καταπεποικιλμένον χρώμασι καὶ βαφαῖς. προσκατεσκεύασε δὲ τούτοις ἄλλα τε πρὸς τρυφὴν οἰκήματα καὶ δὴ καὶ στοὰς μηκίστας καὶ ἐν καλῷ τῶν βασιλείων κειμένας, ἐν αἷς λαμπρότατον οἶκον εἰς ἑστίασιν καὶ συμπόσια χρυσοῦ περίπλεων: καὶ τἆλλα δὲ ὅσα τοῦτον ἔχειν ἔδει πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἑστιωμένων ὑπηρεσίαν σκεύη πάντ᾽ ἐκ χρυσοῦ κατεσκεύαστο. [138] δύσκολον δ᾽ ἐστὶν καταριθμήσασθαι τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν ποικιλίαν τῶν βασιλείων, ὅσα μὲν ἦν αὐτοῖς τὰ μέγιστα οἰκήματα, πόσα δὲ τὰ τούτων ὑποδεέστερα καὶ πόσα ὑπόγεια καὶ ἀφανῆ, τά τε τῶν ἀνειμένων εἰς ἀέρα κάλλη καὶ τὰ ἄλση πρὸς θεωρίαν ἐπιτερπεστάτην καὶ θέρους ὑποφυγὴν καὶ σκέπην εἶναι τοῖς σώμασιν. [139] ἐν κεφαλαίῳ δ᾽ εἰπεῖν τὴν ὅλην οἰκοδομίαν ἐκ λίθου λευκοῦ καὶ κέδρου καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου πᾶσαν ἐποιήσατο τοὺς ὀρόφους καὶ τοὺς τοίχους τοῖς ἐγκλειομένοις χρυσῷ λίθοις διανθίσας τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὡς καὶ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ναὸν τούτοις κατηγλάισεν. [140] εἰργάσατο δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἐλέφαντος θρόνον παμμεγεθέστατον ἐν κατασκευῇ βήματος ἔχοντα μὲν ἓξ βαθμούς, ἑκάστῳ δὲ τούτων ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους δύο λέοντες ἐφειστήκεσαν τοσούτων ἄνωθεν ἄλλων παρεστώτων. τὸ δ᾽ ἐνήλατον τοῦ θρόνου χεῖρες ἦσαν δεχόμεναι τὸν βασιλέα, ἀνακέκλιτο δ᾽ εἰς μόσχου προτομὴν τὰ κατόπιν αὐτοῦ βλέποντος, χρυσῷ δὲ ἅπας ἦν δεδεμένος.

2. This house was a large and curious building, and was supported by many pillars, which Solomon built to contain a multitnde for hearing causes, and taking cognizance of suits. It was sufficiently capacious to contain a great body of men, who would come together to have their causes determined. It was a hundred cubits long, and fifty broad, and thirty high, supported by quadrangular pillars, which were all of cedar; but its roof was according to the Corinthian order, with folding doors, and their adjoining pillars of equal magnitude, each

fluted with three cavities; which building as at once firm, and very ornamental. There was also another house so ordered, that its entire breadth was placed in the middle; it was quadrangular, and its breadth was thirty cubits, having a temple over against it, raised upon massy pillars; in which temple there was a large and very glorious room, wherein the king sat in judgment. To this was joined another house that was built for his queen. There were other smaller edifices for diet, and for sleep, after public matters were over; and these were all floored with boards of cedar. Some of these Solomon built with stones of ten cubits, and wainscoted the walls with other stones that were sawed, and were of great value, such as are dug out of the earth for the ornaments of temples, and to make fine prospects in royal palaces, and which make the mines whence they are dug famous. Now the contexture of the curious workmanship of these stones was in three rows, but the fourth row would make one admire its sculptures, whereby were represented trees, and all sorts of plants; with the shades that arose from their branches, and leaves that hung down from them. Those trees anti plants covered the stone that was beneath them, and their leaves were wrought so prodigious thin and subtile, that you would think they were in motion; but the other part up to the roof, was plastered over, and, as it were, embroidered with colors and pictures. He, moreover, built other edifices for pleasure; as also very long cloisters, and those situate in an agreeable place of the palace; and among them a most glorious dining room, for feastings and compotations, and full of gold, and such other furniture as so fine a room ought to have for the conveniency of the guests, and where all the vessels were made of gold. Now it is very hard to reckon up the magnitude and the variety of the royal apartments; how many rooms there were of the largest sort, how many of a bigness inferior to those, and how many that were subterraneous and invisible; the curiosity of those that enjoyed the fresh air; and the groves for the most delightful prospect, for the avoiding the heat, and covering of their bodies. And, to say all in brief, Solomon made the whole building entirely of white stone, and cedar wood, and gold, and silver. He also adorned the roofs and walls with stones set in gold, and beautified them thereby in the same manner as he had beautified the temple of God with the like stones. He also made himself a throne of prodigious bigness, of ivory, constructed as a seat of justice, and having six steps to it; on every one of which stood, on each end of the step two lions, two other lions standing above also; but at the sitting place of the throne hands came out and received the king; and when he sat backward, he rested on half a bullock, that looked towards his back; but still all was fastened together with gold.

(3) [141] Ταῦτα Σολόμων εἰκοσαετίᾳ κατασκευάσας, ἐπεὶ πολὺν μὲν αὐτῷ χρυσὸν πλείω δ' ἄργυρον ὁ τῶν Τυρίων βασιλεὺς Εἴρωμος εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν συνήνεγκεν ἔτι δὲ καὶ ξύλα κέδρου καὶ πίτυος, ἀντεδωρήσατο καὶ αὐτὸς μεγάλαις δωρεαῖς τὸν Εἴρωμον σῖτόν τε κατ' ἔτος πέμπων αὐτῷ καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἔλαιον, ὧν μάλιστα διὰ τὸ νῆσον οἰκεῖν, ὡς καὶ προειρήκαμεν ἤδη, χρῄζων διετέλει. [142] πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ πόλεις αὐτῷ τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἴκοσι μὲν τὸν ἀριθμὸν οὐ πόρρω δὲ τῆς Τύρου κειμένας ἐχαρίσατο, ἃς ἐπελθὼν καὶ κατανοήσας Εἴρωμος καὶ δυσαρεστήσας τῇ δωρεᾷ πέμψας πρὸς Σολόμωνα μὴ δεῖσθαι τῶν πόλεων ἔλεγε κἄκτοτε προσηγορεύθησαν Χαβαλὼν γῆ: μεθερμηνευόμενον δὲ τὸ χάβαλον κατὰ Φοινίκων γλῶτταν οὐκ ἀρέσκον σημαίνει. [143] καὶ σοφίσματα δὲ καὶ λόγους αἰνιγματώδεις διεπέμψατο πρὸς Σολόμωνα ὁ τῶν Τυρίων βασιλεὺς παρακαλῶν, ὅπως αὐτῷ σαφηνίσῃ τούτους καὶ τῆς ἀπορίας τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ζητουμένων ἀπαλλάξῃ. τὸν δὲ δεινὸν ὄντα καὶ συνετὸν οὐδὲν τούτων παρῆλθεν, ἀλλὰ πάντα νικήσας τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ μαθὼν αὐτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν ἐφώτισε.

3. When Solomon had completed all this in twenty years' time, because Hiram king of Tyre had contributed a great deal of gold, and more silver to these buildings, as also cedar wood and pine wood, he also rewarded Hiram with rich presents; corn he sent him also year by year, and wine and oil, which were the principal things that he stood in need of, because he inhabited an island, as we have already said. And besides these, he granted him certain cities of Galilee, twenty in number, that lay not far from Tyre; which, when Hiram went to, and viewed, and did not like the gift, he sent word to Solomon that he did not want such cities as they were; and after that time these cities were called the land of Cabul; which name, if it be interpreted according to the language of the Phoenicians, denotes what does not please. Moreover, the king of Tyre sent sophisms and enigmatical sayings to Solomon, and desired he would solve them, and free them from the ambiguity that was in them. Now so sagacious and understanding was Solomon, that none of these problems were too hard for him; but he conquered them all by his reasonings, and discovered their hidden meaning, and brought it to light. Menander also, one who translated the Tyrian archives out of the dialect of the Phoenicians into the Greek language, makes mention of these two kings, where he says thus: "When Abibalus was dead, his son Hiram received the kingdom from him, who, when he had lived fifty-three years, reigned thirty-four. He raised a bank in the large place, and dedicated the golden pillar which is in Jupiter's temple. He also went and cut down materials of timber out of the mountain called Libanus, for the roof of temples; and when he had pulled down the ancient temples, he both built the temple of Hercules and

that of Astarte; and he first set up the temple of Hercules in the month Peritius; he also made an expedition against the Euchii, or Titii, who did not pay their tribute, and when he had subdued them to himself he returned. Under this king there was Abdemon, a very youth in age, who always conquered the difficult problems which Solomon, king of Jerusalem, commanded him to explain. Dius also makes mention of him, where he says thus: ‘When Abibalus was dead, his son Hiram reigned. He raised the eastern parts of the city higher, and made the city itself larger. He also joined the temple of Jupiter, which before stood by itself, to the city, by raising a bank in the middle between them; and he adorned it with donations of gold. Moreover, he went up to Mount Libanus, and cut down materials of wood for the building of the temples.’ He says also, that Solomon, who was then king of Jerusalem, sent riddles to Hiram, and desired to receive the like from him, but that he who could not solve them should pay money to them that did solve them, and that Hiram accepted the conditions; and when he was not able to solve the riddles proposed by Solomon, he paid a great deal of money for his fine; but that he afterward did solve the proposed riddles by means of Abdemon, a man of Tyre; and that Hiram proposed other riddles, which, when Solomon could not solve, he paid back a great deal of money to Hiram.” This it is which Dius wrote.

VI

CHAPTER 6. How Solomon Fortified The City Of Jerusalem, And Built Great Cities; And How He Brought Some Of The Canaanites Into Subjection, And Entertained The Queen Of Egypt And Of Ethiopia.

(1) [144] Μέμνηται τούτων τῶν δύο βασιλέων καὶ Μένανδρος ὁ μεταφράσας ἀπὸ τῆς Φοινίκων διαλέκτου τὰ Τυρίων ἀρχεῖα εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν φωνὴν λέγων οὕτως: "τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀβιβάλου διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν παρ' αὐτοῦ υἱὸς Εἴρωμος, ὃς βιώσας ἔτη πεντηκοντατρία ἐβασίλευσε τριάκοντα καὶ τέσσαρα. [145] οὗτος ἔχωσε τὸ Εὐρύχωρον τόν τε χρυσοῦν κίονα τὸν ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Διὸς ἀνέθηκεν: ἔτι [τε] ὕλην ξύλων ἀπελθὼν ἔκοψεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ λεγομένου Λιβάνου εἰς τὰς τῶν ἱερῶν στέγας: [146] καθελών τε τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἱερὰ καὶ ναὸν ᾠκοδόμησε τοῦ Ἡρακλέους καὶ τῆς Ἀστάρτης, πρῶτός τε τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἔγερσιν ἐποιήσατο ἐν τῷ Περιτίῳ μηνί: τοῖς τε Ἰτυκαίοις ἐπεστρατεύσατο μὴ ἀποδιδοῦσι τοὺς φόρους καὶ ὑποτάξας πάλιν αὐτῷ ἀνέστρεψεν. ἐπὶ τούτου ἦν Ἀβδήμονος παῖς νεώτερος, ὃς ἀεὶ ἐνίκα τὰ προβλήματα, [147] ἃ ἐπέτασσε Σολόμων ὁ Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλεύς." μνημονεύει δὲ καὶ Δῖος λέγων οὕτως: "Ἀβιβάλου τελευτήσαντος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Εἴρωμος ἐβασίλευσεν. οὗτος τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς μέρη τῆς πόλεως προσέχωσε καὶ μεῖζον τὸ ἄστυ ἐποίησε καὶ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς τὸ ἱερὸν καθ' ἑαυτὸ ὂν ἐγχώσας τὸν μεταξὺ τόπον συνῆψε τῇ πόλει καὶ χρυσοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἐκόσμησεν: ἀναβὰς δὲ εἰς τὸν Λίβανον ὑλοτόμησε πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν κατασκευήν. [148] τὸν δὲ τυραννοῦντα Ἱεροσολύμων Σολόμωνα πέμψαι φησὶ πρὸς Εἴρωμον αἰνίγματα καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἀξιοῦντα, τὸν δὲ μὴ δυνηθέντα διακρῖναι τῷ λύσαντι χρήματα ἀποτίνειν. [149] ὁμολογήσαντα δὲ τὸν Εἴρωμον καὶ μὴ δυνηθέντα λῦσαι τὰ αἰνίγματα πολλὰ τῶν χρημάτων εἰς τὸ ἐπιζήμιον ἀναλῶσαι: εἶτα δὲ Ἀβδήμονά τινα Τύριον ἄνδρα τὰ προτεθέντα λῦσαι καὶ αὐτὸν ἄλλα προβαλεῖν, ἃ μὴ λύσαντα τὸν Σολόμωνα πολλὰ τῷ Εἰρώμῳ προσαποτῖσαι χρήματα." καὶ Δῖος μὲν οὕτως εἴρηκεν.

1. Now when the king saw that the walls of Jerusalem stood in need of being better secured, and made stronger, [for he thought the wails that encompassed Jerusalem ought to correspond to the dignity of the city,] he both repaired them, and made them higher, with great towers upon them; he also built cities which might be counted among the strongest, Hazor and Megiddo, and the third Gezer, which had indeed belonged to the Philistines; but Pharaoh, the king of Egypt,

had made an expedition against it, and besieged it, and taken it by force; and when he had slain all its inhabitants, he utterly overthrew it, and gave it as a present to his daughter, who had been married to Solomon; for which reason the king rebuilt it, as a city that was naturally strong, and might be useful in wars, and the mutations of affairs that sometimes happen. Moreover, he built two other cities not far from it, Beth-horon was the name of one of them, and Baalath of the other. He also built other cities that lay conveniently for these, in order to the enjoyment of pleasures and delicacies in them, such as were naturally of a good temperature of the air, and agreeable for fruits ripe in their proper seasons, and well watered with springs. Nay, Solomon went as far as the desert above Syria, and possessed himself of it, and built there a very great city, which was distant two days' journey from Upper Syria, and one day's journey from Euphrates, and six long days' journey from Babylon the Great. Now the reason why this city lay so remote from the parts of Syria that are inhabited is this, that below there is no water to be had, and that it is in that place only that there are springs and pits of water. When he had therefore built this city, and encompassed it with very strong walls, he gave it the name of Tadmor, and that is the name it is still called by at this day among the Syrians, but the Greeks name it Palmyra.

(2) [150] Ἐπεὶ δ' ἑώρα τὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τείχη ὁ βασιλεὺς πύργων πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν δεόμενα καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ὀχυρότητος, πρὸς γὰρ τἀξίωμα τῆς πόλεως ἡγεῖτο δεῖν καὶ τοὺς περιβόλους εἶναι, ταῦτά τε προσεπεσκεύαζε καὶ πύργοις αὐτὰ μεγάλοις προσεξῆρεν. [151] ᾠκοδόμησε δὲ καὶ πόλεις ταῖς βαρυτάταις ἐναρίθμους Ἄσωρόν τε καὶ Μαγέδω, τὴν τρίτην δὲ Γάζαρα, ἣν τῆς Παλαιστίνων χώρας ὑπάρχουσαν Φαραώνης ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς στρατευσάμενος καὶ πολιορκήσας αἱρεῖ κατὰ κράτος: ἀποκτείνας δὲ πάντας τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας αὐτὴν κατέσκαψεν, εἶτα δωρεὰν ἔδωκεν τῇ θυγατρὶ Σολόμωνι γεγαμημένῃ. [152] διὸ καὶ ἀνήγειρεν αὐτὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὖσαν ὀχυρὰν φύσει καὶ πρὸς πολέμους καὶ τὰς τῶν καιρῶν μεταβολὰς χρησίμην εἶναι δυναμένην. οὐ πόρρω δ' αὐτῆς ἄλλας ᾠκοδόμησε δύο πόλεις: Βητχώρα τῇ ἑτέρᾳ ὄνομα ἦν, ἡ δ' ἑτέρα Βελὲθ ἐκαλεῖτο. [153] προσκατεσκεύασε δὲ ταύταις καὶ ἄλλας εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ τρυφὴν ἐπιτηδείως ἐχούσας τῇ τε τῶν ἀέρων εὐκρασίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ὡραίοις εὐφυεῖς καὶ νάμασιν ὑδάτων ἐνδρόσους. ἐμβαλὼν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἔρημον τῆς ἐπάνω Συρίας καὶ κατασχὼν αὐτὴν ἔκτισεν ἐκεῖ πόλιν μεγίστην δύο μὲν ἡμερῶν [ὁδὸν] ἀπὸ τῆς ἄνω Συρίας διεστῶσαν, ἀπὸ δ' Εὐφράτου μιᾶς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς μεγάλης Βαβυλῶνος ἓξ ἡμερῶν ἦν τὸ μῆκος. [154] αἴτιον δὲ τοῦ τὴν πόλιν οὕτως ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκουμένων μερῶν τῆς Συρίας ἀπῳκίσθαι τὸ κατωτέρω μὲν μηδαμοῦ τῆς γῆς ὕδωρ εἶναι, πηγὰς δ' ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ μόνον εὑρεθῆναι καὶ φρέατα. ταύτην οὖν τὴν πόλιν οἰκοδομήσας καὶ τείχεσιν ὀχυρωτάτοις περιβαλὼν Θαδάμοραν

ὠνόμασε καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἔτι νῦν καλεῖται παρὰ τοῖς Σύροις, οἱ δ᾽ Ἕλληνες αὐτὴν προσαγορεύουσι Πάλμυραν.

2. Now Solomon the king was at this time engaged in building these cities. But if any inquire why all the kings of Egypt from Menes, who built Memphis, and was many years earlier than our forefather Abraham, until Solomon, where the interval was more than one thousand three hundred years, were called Pharaohs, and took it from one Pharaoh that lived after the kings of that interval, I think it necessary to inform them of it, and this in order to cure their ignorance, and to make the occasion of that name manifest. Pharaoh, in the Egyptian tongue, signifies a king but I suppose they made use of other names from their childhood; but when they were made kings, they changed them into the name which in their own tongue denoted their authority; for thus it was also that the kings of Alexandria, who were called formerly by other names, when they took the kingdom, were named Ptolemies, from their first king. The Roman emperors also were from their nativity called by other names, but are styled Caesars, their empire and their dignity imposing that name upon them, and not suffering them to continue in those names which their fathers gave them. I suppose also that Herodotus of Halicarnassus, when he said there were three hundred and thirty kings of Egypt after Menes, who built Memphis, did therefore not tell us their names, because they were in common called Pharaohs; for when after their death there was a queen reigned, he calls her by her name Nicaule, as thereby declaring, that while the kings were of the male line, and so admitted of the same nature, while a woman did not admit the same, he did therefore set down that her name, which she could not naturally have. As for myself, I have discovered from our own books, that after Pharaoh, the father-in-law of Solomon, no other king of Egypt did any longer use that name; and that it was after that time when the forenamed queen of Egypt and Ethiopia came to Solomon, concerning whom we shall inform the reader presently; but I have now made mention of these things, that I may prove that our books and those of the Egyptians agree together in many things.

(3) [155] Σολόμων μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ταῦτα κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν πράττων διετέλει. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπιζητήσαντας, ὅτι πάντες οἱ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεῖς ἀπὸ Μιναίου τοῦ Μέμφιν οἰκοδομήσαντος, ὃς ἔτεσι πολλοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἐγένετο τοῦ πάππου ἡμῶν Ἀβράμου, μέχρι Σολόμωνος πλειόνων ἐτῶν τριακοσίων καὶ χιλίων μεταξὺ διεληλυθότων Φαραῶθαι ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ μετ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς μεταξὺ χρόνοις ἄρξαντος βασιλέως Φαραώθου τὴν προσηγορίαν λαβόντες, ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην εἰπεῖν, ἵνα τὴν ἄγνοιαν αὐτῶν ἀφέλω καὶ ποιήσω τοῦ ὀνόματος φανερὰν τὴν αἰτίαν, ὅτι Φαραὼ κατ᾽ Αἰγυπτίους βασιλέα σημαίνει. [156] οἶμαι δ᾽

αὐτοὺς ἐκπαίδων ἄλλοις χρωμένους ὀνόμασιν ἐπειδὰν βασιλεῖς γένωνται τὸ σημαῖνον αὐτῶν τὴν ἐξουσίαν κατὰ τὴν πάτριον γλῶτταν μετονομάζεσθαι: καὶ γὰρ οἱ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας βασιλεῖς ἄλλοις ὀνόμασι καλούμενοι πρότερον ὅτε τὴν βασιλείαν ἔλαβον Πτολεμαῖοι προσηγορεύθησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως. [157] καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίων δὲ αὐτοκράτορες ἐκ γενετῆς ἀπ᾽ ἄλλων χρηματίσαντες ὀνομάτων Καίσαρες καλοῦνται τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ τῆς τιμῆς τὴν προσηγορίαν αὐτοῖς θεμένης ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ οἷς ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων ἐκλήθησαν τούτοις ἐπιμένοντες. νομίζω δὲ καὶ Ἡρόδοτον τὸν Ἁλικαρνασέα διὰ τοῦτο μετὰ Μιναίαν τὸν οἰκοδομήσαντα Μέμφιν τριάκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους βασιλεῖς Αἰγυπτίων γενέσθαι λέγοντα μὴ δηλῶσαι αὐτῶν τὰ ὀνόματα, ὅτι κοινῶς Φαραῶθ᾽ ἐκαλοῦντο: [158] καὶ γὰρ μετὰ τὴν τούτων τελευτὴν γυναικὸς βασιλευσάσης λέγει τοὔνομα Νικαύλην καλῶν δηλῶν, ὡς τῶν μὲν ἀρρένων βασιλέων τὴν αὐτὴν προσηγορίαν ἔχειν δυναμένων, τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς οὐκέτι κοινωνεῖν ἐκείνης, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ᾽ εἶπεν αὐτῆς τὸ φύσει δεῆσαν ὄνομα. [159] ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἡμῶν βιβλίοις εὗρον, ὅτι μετὰ Φαραώθην τὸν Σολόμωνος πενθερὸν οὐκέτ᾽ οὐδεὶς τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα βασιλεὺς Αἰγυπτίων ἐκλήθη, καὶ ὅτι ὕστερον ἦκε πρὸς Σολόμωνα ἡ προειρημένη γυνὴ βασιλεύουσα τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας. περὶ μὲν οὖν ταύτης μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δηλώσομεν: νῦν δὲ τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην, ἵνα παραστήσω τὰ ἡμέτερα βιβλία καὶ τὰ παρ᾽ Αἰγυπτίοις περὶ πολλῶν ὁμολογοῦντα.

3. But king Solomon subdued to himself the remnant of the Canaanites that had not before submitted to him; those I mean that dwelt in Mount Lebanon, and as far as the city Hamath; and ordered them to pay tribute. He also chose out of them every year such as were to serve him in the meanest offices, and to do his domestic works, and to follow husbandry; for none of the Hebrews were servants [in such low employments]: nor was it reasonable, that when God had brought so many nations under their power, they should depress their own people to such mean offices of life, rather than those nations; while all the Israelites were concerned in warlike affairs, and were in armor; and were set over the chariots and the horses, rather than leading the life of slaves. He appointed also five hundred and fifty rulers over those Canaanites who were reduced to such domestic slavery, who received the entire care of them from the king, and instructed them in those labors and operations wherein he wanted their assistance.

(4) [160] Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Σολόμων τοὺς ἔτι τῶν Χαναναίων οὐχ ὑπακούοντας, οἳ ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ διέτριβον ὄρει καὶ μέχρι πόλεως Ἀμάθης, ὑποχειρίους ποιησάμενος φόρον αὐτοῖς προσέταξε καὶ πρὸς τὸ θητεύειν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς οἰκετικὰς χρείας ἐκτελεῖν καὶ πρὸς γεωργίαν κατ᾽ ἔτος ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπελέγετο. [161] τῶν γὰρ Ἑβραίων

οὐδεὶς ἐδούλευεν οὐδ᾽ ἦν εὔλογον ἔθνη πολλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ δεδωκότος αὐτοῖς ὑποχείρια, δέον ἐκ τούτων ποιεῖσθαι τὸ θητικόν, αὐτοὺς κατάγειν εἰς τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἐν ὅπλοις ἐφ᾽ ἁρμάτων καὶ ἵππων στρατευόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ δουλεύοντες διῆγον. [162] τῶν δὲ Χαναναίων, οὓς εἰς τὴν οἰκετείαν ἀπήγαγεν. ἄρχοντας ἀπέδειξε πεντακοσίους καὶ πεντήκοντα τὸν ἀριθμόν, οἳ τὴν ὅλην αὐτῶν ἐπιτροπὴν εἰλήφεσαν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὥστε διδάσκειν αὐτοὺς τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὰς πραγματείας, ἐφ᾽ ἃς ἂν αὐτῶν ἔχρηζεν.

4. Moreover, the king built many ships in the Egyptian Bay of the Red Sea, in a certain place called Ezion-geber: it is now called Berenice, and is not far from the city Eloth. This country belonged formerly to the Jews, and became useful for shipping from the donations of Hiram king of Tyre; for he sent a sufficient number of men thither for pilots, and such as were skillful in navigation, to whom Solomon gave this command: That they should go along with his own stewards to the land that was of old called Ophir, but now the Aurea Chersonesus, which belongs to India, to fetch him gold. And when they had gathered four hundred talents together, they returned to the king again.

(5) [163] Ἐναυπηγήσατο δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τῷ Αἰγυπτιακῷ κόλπῳ σκάφη πολλὰ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης ἔν τινι τόπῳ λεγομένῳ Γασίων Γάβελος οὐ πόρρω Ἰλάνεως πόλεως, ἣ νῦν Βερενίκη καλεῖται: αὕτη γὰρ ἡ χώρα τὸ πρὶν Ἰουδαίων ἦν. ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ τῆς ἁρμοζούσης εἰς τὰς ναῦς δωρεᾶς παρ᾽ Εἰρώμου τοῦ Τυρίων βασιλέως: [164] ἄνδρας γὰρ αὐτῷ κυβερνήτας καὶ τῶν θαλασσίων ἐπιστήμονας ἔπεμψεν ἱκανούς, οἷς ἐκέλευσε πλεύσαντας μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων οἰκονόμων εἰς τὴν πάλαι μὲν Σώφειραν νῦν δὲ χρυσῆν γῆν καλουμένην, τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἐστιν αὕτη, χρυσὸν αὐτῷ κομίσαι. καὶ συναθροίσαντες ὡς τετρακόσια τάλαντα πάλιν ἀνεχώρησαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα.

5. There was then a woman queen of Egypt and Ethiopia; she was inquisitive into philosophy, and one that on other accounts also was to be admired. When this queen heard of the virtue and prudence of Solomon, she had a great mind to see him; and the reports that went every day abroad induced her to come to him, she being desirous to be satisfied by her own experience, and not by a bare hearing; [for reports thus heard are likely enough to comply with a false opinion, while they wholly depend on the credit of the relators;] so she resolved to come to him, and that especially in order to have a trial of his wisdom, while she proposed questions of very great difficulty, and entreated that he would solve their hidden meaning. Accordingly she came to Jerusalem with great splendor and rich furniture; for she brought with her camels laden with gold, with several sorts of sweet spices, and with precious stones. Now, upon the king’s kind reception of

her, he both showed a great desire to please her, and easily comprehending in his mind the meaning of the curious questions she propounded to him, he resolved them sooner than any body could have expected. So she was amazed at the wisdom of Solomon, and discovered that it was more excellent upon trial than what she had heard by report beforehand; and especially she was surprised at the fineness and largeness of his royal palace, and not less so at the good order of the apartments, for she observed that the king had therein shown great wisdom; but she was beyond measure astonished at the house which was called the Forest of Lebanon, as also at the magnificence of his daily table, and the circumstances of its preparation and ministration, with the apparel of his servants that waited, and the skillful and decent management of their attendance: nor was she less affected with those daily sacrifices which were offered to God, and the careful management which the priests and Levites used about them. When she saw this done every day, she was in the greatest admiration imaginable, insomuch that she was not able to contain the surprise she was in, but openly confessed how wonderfully she was affected; for she proceeded to discourse with the king, and thereby owned that she was overcome with admiration at the things before related; and said, "All things indeed, O king, that came to our knowledge by report, came with uncertainty as to our belief of them; but as to those good things that to thee appertain, both such as thou thyself possessest, I mean wisdom and prudence, and the happiness thou hast from thy kingdom, certainly the same that came to us was no falsity; it was not only a true report, but it related thy happiness after a much lower manner than I now see it to be before my eyes. For as for the report, it only attempted to persuade our hearing, but did not so make known the dignity of the things themselves as does the sight of them, and being present among them. I indeed, who did not believe what was reported, by reason of the multitude and grandeur of the things I inquired about, do see them to be much more numerous than they were reported to be. Accordingly I esteem the Hebrew people, as well as thy servants and friends, to be happy, who enjoy thy presence and hear thy wisdom every day continually. One would therefore bless God, who hath so loved this country, and those that inhabit therein, as to make thee king over them."

(6) [165] Τὴν δὲ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας τότε βασιλεύουσαν γυναῖκα σοφίᾳ διαπεπονημένην καὶ τἆλλα θαυμαστὴν ἀκούουσαν τὴν Σολόμωνος ἀρετὴν καὶ φρόνησιν ἐπιθυμία τῆς ὄψεως αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν ὁσημέραι περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ λεγομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἤγαγε: [166] πεισθῆναι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς πείρας ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκοῆς, ἣν εἰκός ἐστι καὶ ψευδεῖ δόξῃ συγκατατίθεσθαι καὶ μεταπεῖσαι πάλιν, ὅλη γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπαγγέλλουσι κεῖται, θέλουσα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν διέγνω, μάλιστα καὶ τῆς

σοφίας αὐτοῦ βουλομένη λαβεῖν πεῖραν αὐτὴ προτείνασα καὶ λῦσαι τὸ ἄπορον τῆς διανοίας δεηθεῖσα ἦκεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα μετὰ πολλῆς δόξης καὶ πλούτου παρασκευῆς: [167] ἐπηγάγετο γὰρ καμήλους χρυσίου μεστὰς καὶ ἀρωμάτων ποικίλων καὶ λίθων πολυτελῶν. ὡς δ᾽ ἀφικομένην αὐτὴν ἡδέως ὁ βασιλεὺς προσεδέξατο. τά τε ἄλλα περὶ αὐτὴν φιλότιμος ἦν καὶ τὰ προβαλλόμενα σοφίσματα ῥᾳδίως τῇ συνέσει καταλαμβανόμενος θᾶττον ἢ προσεδόκα τις ἐπελύετο. [168] ἡ δ᾽ ἐξεπλήσσετο μὲν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ Σολόμωνος οὕτως ὑπερβάλλουσαν αὐτὴν καὶ τῆς ἀκουομένης τῇ πείρᾳ κρείττω καταμαθοῦσα, μάλιστα δ᾽ ἐθαύμαζε τὰ βασίλεια τοῦ τε κάλλους καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους οὐχ ἧττον δὲ τῆς διατάξεως τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων: [169] καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταύτῃ πολλὴν τοῦ βασιλέως καθεώρα φρόνησιν. ὑπερεξέπληττε δ᾽ αὐτὴν ὅ τε οἶκος ὁ δρυμὼν ἐπικαλούμενος Λιβάνου καὶ ἡ τῶν καθ᾽ ἡμέραν δείπνων πολυτέλεια καὶ τὰ τῆς παρασκευῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ διακονίας ἥ τε τῶν ὑπηρετούντων ἐσθὴς καὶ τὸ μετ᾽ ἐπιστήμης αὐτῶν περὶ τὴν διακονίαν εὐπρεπές, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ αἱ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐπιτελούμεναι τῷ θεῷ θυσίαι καὶ τὸ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ Λευιτῶν περὶ αὐτὰς ἐπιμελές. [170] ταῦθ᾽ ὁρῶσα καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ὑπερεθαύμαζε, καὶ κατασχεῖν οὐ δυνηθεῖσα τὴν ἔκπληξιν τῶν βλεπομένων φανερὰν ἐποίησεν αὐτὴν θαυμαστικῶς διακειμένην: πρὸς γὰρ τὸν βασιλέα προήχθη λόγους εἰπεῖν, ὑφ᾽ ὧν ἠλέγχθη σφόδρα τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις ἡττημένη: [171] “πάντα μὲν γάρ, εἶπεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ δι᾽ ἀκοῆς εἰς γνῶσιν ἐρχόμενα μετ᾽ ἀπιστίας παραγίνεται, τῶν δὲ σῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὧν αὐτός τε ἔχεις ἐν αὐτῷ, λέγω δὲ τὴν σοφίαν καὶ τὴν φρόνησιν, καὶ ὧν ἡ βασιλεία σοι δίδωσιν, οὐ ψευδὴς ἄρα ἡ φήμη πρὸς ἡμᾶς διῆλθεν, ἀλλ᾽ οὖσα ἀληθὴς πολὺ [172] καταδεεστέραν τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἀπέφηνεν ἧς ὁρῶ νῦν παροῦσα τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἀκοὰς πείθειν ἐπεχείρει μόνον, τὸ δὲ ἀξίωμα τῶν πραγμάτων οὐχ οὕτως ἐποίει γνώριμον, ὡς ἡ ὄψις αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς εἶναι συνίστησιν. ἐγὼ γοῦν οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀπαγγελλομένοις διὰ πλῆθος καὶ μέγεθος ὧν ἐπυνθανόμην πιστεύουσα πολλῷ πλείω τούτων ἱστόρηκα. [173] καὶ μακάριόν τε τὸν Ἑβραίων λαὸν εἶναι κρίνω δούλους τε τοὺς σοὺς καὶ φίλους, οἳ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν τῆς σῆς ἀπολαύουσιν ὄψεως καὶ τῆς σῆς σοφίας ἀκροώμενοι διατελοῦσιν. εὐλογήσειεν ἄν τις τὸν θεὸν ἀγαπήσαντα τήνδε τὴν χώραν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας οὕτως, ὥστε σὲ ποιῆσαι βασιλέα.”

6. Now when the queen had thus demonstrated in words how deeply the king had affected her, her disposition was known by certain presents, for she gave him twenty talents of gold, and an immense quantity of spices and precious stones. (They say also that we possess the root of that balsam which our country still bears by this woman’s gift.) Solomon also repaid her with many good things, and principally by bestowing upon her what she chose of her own inclination, for there was nothing that she desired which he denied her; and as he was very

generous and liberal in his own temper, so did he show the greatness of his soul in bestowing on her what she herself desired of him. So when this queen of Ethiopia had obtained what we have already given an account of, and had again communicated to the king what she brought with her, she returned to her own kingdom.

VII

CHAPTER 7. How Solomon Grew Rich, And Fell Desperately In Love With Women And How God, Being Incensed At It, Raised Up Ader And Jeroboam Against Him. Concerning The Death Of Solomon.

(1) [174] Παραστήσασα δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν λόγων, πῶς αὐτὴν διέθηκεν ὁ βασιλεύς, ἔτι καὶ ταῖς δωρεαῖς τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῆς ἐποίησε φανεράν: εἴκοσι μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ τάλαντα ἔδωκε χρυσίου ἀρωμάτων τε πλῆθος ἀσυλλόγιστον καὶ λίθον πολυτελῆ: λέγουσι δ' ὅτι καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὀποβαλσάμου ῥίζαν, ἣν ἔτι νῦν ἡμῶν ἡ χώρα φέρει, δούσης ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς ἔχομεν. [175] ἀντεδωρήσατο δ' αὐτὴν καὶ Σολόμων πολλοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ μάλισθ' ὧν κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν ἐξελέξατο: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν, ὅ τι δεηθείσῃ λαβεῖν οὐ παρέσχεν, ἀλλ' ἑτοιμότερον ὧν αὐτὸς κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ἐχαρίζετο προαίρεσιν ἅπερ ἐκείνη τυχεῖν ἠξίου προιέμενος τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην ἐπεδείκνυτο. καὶ ἡ μὲν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας βασίλισσα ὧν προειρήκαμεν τυχοῦσα καὶ μεταδοῦσα πάλιν τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν παρ' αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ὑπέστρεψε.

1. About the same time there were brought to the king from the Aurea Chersonesus, a country so called, precious stones, and pine trees, and these trees he made use of for supporting the temple and the palace, as also for the materials of musical instruments, the harps and the psalteries, that the Levites might make use of them in their hymns to God. The wood which was brought to him at this time was larger and finer than any that had ever been brought before; but let no one imagine that these pine trees were like those which are now so named, and which take that their denomination from the merchants, who so call them, that they may procure them to be admired by those that purchase them; for those we speak of were to the sight like the wood of the fig tree, but were whiter, and more shining. Now we have said thus much, that nobody may be ignorant of the difference between these sorts of wood, nor unacquainted with the nature of the genuine pine tree; and we thought it both a seasonable and humane thing, when we mentioned it, and the uses the king made of it, to explain this difference so far as we have done.

(2) [176] Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν κομισθέντων ἀπὸ τῆς χρυσῆς καλουμένης γῆς λίθου πολυτελοῦς τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ξύλων πευκίνων, τοῖς ξύλοις εἰς ὑποστήριγμα τοῦ τε ναοῦ καὶ τῶν βασιλείων κατεχρήσατο καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν μουσικῶν ὀργάνων κατασκευὴν κινύρας τε καὶ νάβλας, ὅπως ὑμνῶσιν οἱ Ληουῖται τὸν

θεόν: πάντων δὲ τῶν ποτε κομισθέντων αὐτῷ τὰ κατ᾽ ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐνεχθέντα καὶ μεγέθει καὶ κάλλει διέφερεν. [177] ὑπολάβῃ δὲ μηδείς, ὅτι τὰ τῆς πεύκης ξύλα τοῖς νῦν εἶναι λεγομένοις καὶ ταύτην ὑπὸ τῶν πιπρασκόντων τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐπὶ καταπλήξει τῶν ὠνουμένων λαμβάνουσίν ἐστι παραπλήσια. ἐκεῖνα γὰρ τὴν μὲν ἰδέαν ἐμφερῆ τοῖς συκίνοις γίνεται, λευκότερα δέ ἐστι καὶ στίλβει πλέον. [178] τοῦτο μὲν πρὸς τὸ μηδένα τὴν διαφορὰν ἀγνοῆσαι μηδὲ τὴν φύσιν τῆς ἀληθοῦς πεύκης, ἐπεὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως χρείαν ἐμνήσθημεν αὐτῆς, εὔκαιρον εἶναι καὶ φιλάνθρωπον δηλῶσαι νομίσαντες εἰρήκαμεν.

2. Now the weight of gold that was brought him was six hundred and sixty-six talents, not including in that sum what was brought by the merchants, nor what the toparchs and kings of Arabia gave him in presents. He also cast two hundred targets of gold, each of them weighing six hundred shekels. He also made three hundred shields, every one weighing three pounds of gold, and he had them carried and put into that house which was called The Forest of Lebanon. He also made cups of gold, and of [precious] stones, for the entertainment of his guests, and had them adorned in the most artificial manner; and he contrived that all his other furniture of vessels should be of gold, for there was nothing then to be sold or bought for silver; for the king had many ships which lay upon the sea of Tarsus, these he commanded to carry out all sorts of merchandise unto the remotest nations, by the sale of which silver and gold were brought to the king, and a great quantity of ivory, and Ethiopians, and apes; and they finished their voyage, going and returning, in three years' time.

(3) [179] Ὁ δὲ τοῦ χρυσοῦ σταθμὸς τοῦ κομισθέντος αὐτῷ τάλαντα ἑξακόσια καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἕξ, μὴ συγκαταριθμουμένου καὶ τοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπόρων ὠνηθέντος μηδ᾽ ὧν οἱ τῆς Ἀραβίας τοπάρχαι καὶ βασιλεῖς ἔπεμπον αὐτῷ δωρεῶν. ἐχώνευσε δὲ τὸν χρυσὸν εἰς διακοσίων κατασκευὴν θυρεῶν ἀνὰ σίκλους ἀγόντων ἑξακοσίους. [180] ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ ἀσπίδας τριακοσίας ἀγούσης ἑκάστης χρυσίου μνᾶς τρεῖς: ἀνέθηκε δὲ ταύτας φέρων εἰς τὸν οἶκον τὸν δρυμῶνα Λιβάνου καλούμενον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐκπώματα διὰ χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθου τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἑστίασιν ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα φιλοτεχνῶν κατεσκεύασε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τῶν σκευῶν δαψίλειαν χρυσέαν ἅπασαν ἐμηχανήσατο: [181] οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν ὅ τις ἀργύρῳ ἐπίπρασκεν ἢ πάλιν ἐωνεῖτο, ἀλλὰ πολλαὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ναῦς, ἃς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τῇ Ταρσικῇ λεγομένῃ θαλάττῃ καταστήσας παραγαγεῖν εἰς τὰ ἐνδοτέρω τῶν ἐθνῶν παντοίαν ἐμπορίαν προσέταξεν, ὧν ἐξεμπολουμένων ἄργυρός τε καὶ χρυσὸς ἐκομίζετο τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ πολὺς ἐλέφας Αἰθίοπές τε καὶ πίθηκοι. τὸν δὲ πλοῦν ἀπιοῦσαί τε καὶ ἐπανερχόμεναι τρισὶν ἔτεσιν ἤνυον.

3. Accordingly there went a great fame all around the neighboring countries, which proclaimed the virtue and wisdom of Solomon, insomuch that all the kings every where were desirous to see him, as not giving credit to what was reported, on account of its being almost incredible: they also demonstrated the regard they had for him by the presents they made him; for they sent him vessels of gold, and silver, and purple garments, and many sorts of spices, and horses, and chariots, and as many mules for his carriages as they could find proper to please the king's eyes, by their strength and beauty. This addition that he made to those chariots and horses which he had before from those that were sent him, augmented the number of his chariots by above four hundred, for he had a thousand before, and augmented the number of his horses by two thousand, for he had twenty thousand before. These horses also were so much exercised, in order to their making a fine appearance, and running swiftly, that no others could, upon the comparison, appear either finer or swifter; but they were at once the most beautiful of all others, and their swiftness was incomparable also. Their riders also were a further ornament to them, being, in the first place, young men in the most delightful flower of their age, and being eminent for their largeness, and far taller than other men. They had also very long heads of hair hanging down, and were clothed in garments of Tyrian purple. They had also dust of gold every day sprinkled on their hair, so that their heads sparkled with the reflection of the sun-beams from the gold. The king himself rode upon a chariot in the midst of these men, who were still in armor, and had their bows fitted to them. He had on a white garment, and used to take his progress out of the city in the morning. There was a certain place about fifty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, which is called Etham, very pleasant it is in fine gardens, and abounding in rivulets of water; thither did he use to go out in the morning, sitting on high [in his chariot.]

(4) [182] Φήμη δὲ λαμπρὰ πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν χώραν περιήρχετο διαβοῶσα τὴν Σολόμωνος ἀρετὴν καὶ σοφίαν, ὡς τούς τε πανταχοῦ βασιλεῖς ἐπιθυμεῖν εἰς ὄψιν αὐτῷ παραγενέσθαι τοῖς λεγομένοις δι' ὑπερβολὴν ἀπιστοῦντας, καὶ δωρεαῖς μεγάλαις προσεμφανίζειν τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν σπουδήν: [183] ἔπεμπον γὰρ αὐτῷ σκεύη χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ ἁλουργεῖς ἐσθῆτας καὶ ἀρωμάτων γένη πολλὰ καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἅρματα καὶ τῶν ἀχθοφόρων ἡμιόνων ὅσους καὶ ῥώμῃ καὶ κάλλει τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ὄψιν εὖ διαθήσειν ἐπελέγοντο, ὥστε τοῖς οὖσιν αὐτῷ πρότερον ἅρμασι καὶ ἵπποις ἐκ τῶν πεμπομένων προσθέντα ποιῆσαι τὸν μὲν τῶν ἁρμάτων ἀριθμὸν τετρακοσίοις περισσότερον, ἦν γὰρ αὐτῷ πρότερον χίλια, τὸν δὲ τῶν ἵππων δισχιλίοις, ὑπῆρχον γὰρ αὐτῷ δισμύριοι ἵπποι. [184] ἤσκηντο δ' οὗτοι πρὸς εὐμορφίαν καὶ τάχος, ὡς μήτ' εὐπρεπεστέρους ἄλλους εἶναι συμβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς

μήτε ὠκυτέρους, ἀλλὰ καλλίστους τε πάντων ὁρᾶσθαι καὶ ἀπαραμίλλητον αὐτῶν εἶναι τὴν ὀξύτητα. [185] ἐπεκόσμουν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ ἀναβαίνοντες νεότητι μὲν πρῶτον ἀνθοῦντες ἐπιτερπεστάτῃ τὸ δὲ ὕψος ὄντες περίοπτοι καὶ πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερέχοντες, μηκίστας μὲν καθειμένοι χαίτας ἐνδεδυμένοι δὲ χιτῶνας τῆς Τυρίας πορφύρας. ψῆγμα δὲ χρυσοῦ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν αὐτῶν ἐπέσηθον ταῖς κόμαις, ὡς στίλβειν αὐτῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς τῆς αὐγῆς τοῦ χρυσοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον ἀντανακλωμένης. [186] τούτων περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντων ὁ βασιλεὺς καθωπλισμένων καὶ τόξα ἐξηρτημένων ἐφ᾽ ἅρματος αὐτὸς ὀχούμενος καὶ λευκὴν ἡμφιεσμένος ἐσθῆτα πρὸς αἰώραν ἔθος εἶχεν ἐξορμᾶν. ἦν δέ τι χωρίον ἀπὸ δύο σχοίνων Ἱεροσολύμων, ὃ καλεῖται μὲν Ἠτάν, παραδείσοις δὲ καὶ ναμάτων ἐπιρροαῖς ἐπιτερπὲς ὁμοῦ καὶ πλούσιον: εἰς τοῦτο τὰς ἐξόδους αἰωρούμενος ἐποιεῖτο.

4. Now Solomon had a divine sagacity in all things, and was very diligent and studious to have things done after an elegant manner; so he did not neglect the care of the ways, but he laid a causeway of black stone along the roads that led to Jerusalem, which was the royal city, both to render them easy for travelers, and to manifest the grandeur of his riches and government. He also parted his chariots, and set them in a regular order, that a certain number of them should be in every city, still keeping a few about him; and those cities he called the cities of his chariots. And the king made silver as plentiful in Jerusalem as stones in the street; and so multiplied cedar trees in the plains of Judea, which did not grow there before, that they were like the multitude of common sycamore trees. He also ordained the Egyptian merchants that brought him their merchandise to sell him a chariot, with a pair of horses, for six hundred drachmae of silver, and he sent them to the kings of Syria, and to those kings that were beyond Euphrates.

(5) [187] Θείᾳ τε περὶ πάντα χρώμενος ἐπινοίᾳ τε καὶ σπουδῇ καὶ λίαν ὢν φιλόκαλος οὐδὲ τῶν ὁδῶν ἠμέλησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων τὰς ἀγούσας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα βασίλειον οὖσαν λίθῳ κατέστρωσε μέλανι, πρός τε τὸ ῥᾳστώνην εἶναι τοῖς βαδίζουσι, καὶ πρὸς τὸ δηλοῦν τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας. [188] διαμερίσας δὲ τὰ ἅρματα καὶ διατάξας, ὥστε ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει τούτων ἀριθμὸν ὡρισμένον ὑπάρχειν, αὐτὸς μὲν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐτήρησεν ὀλίγα, τὰς δὲ πόλεις ταύτας ἁρμάτων προσηγόρευσε. τοῦ δ᾽ ἀργυρίου τοσοῦτον ἐποιήσατο πλῆθος ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὁ βασιλεύς, ὅσον ἦν καὶ τῶν λίθων, καὶ τῶν κεδρίνων ξύλων οὐ πρότερον ὄντων, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν δένδρων τῶν συκαμινίνων, ὧν πληθύει τὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίας πεδία. [189] προσέταξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόροις Αἰγύπτου κομίζουσιν αὐτῷ πιπράσκειν τὸ μὲν ἅρμα σὺν ἵπποις δυσὶν ἑξακοσίων δραχμῶν ἀργυρίου, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς τῆς Συρίας βασιλεῦσι καὶ τοῖς πέραν Εὐφράτου διέπεμπεν αὐτούς.

5. But although Solomon was become the most glorious of kings, and the best beloved by God, and had exceeded in wisdom and riches those that had been rulers of the Hebrews before him, yet did not he persevere in this happy state till he died. Nay, he forsook the observation of the laws of his fathers, and came to an end no way suitable to our foregoing history of him. He grew mad in his love of women, and laid no restraint on himself in his lusts; nor was he satisfied with the women of his country alone, but he married many wives out of foreign nations; Sidontans, and Tyrians, and Ammonites, and Edomites; and he transgressed the laws of Moses, which forbade Jews to marry any but those that were of their own people. He also began to worship their gods, which he did in order to the gratification of his wives, and out of his affection for them. This very thing our legislator suspected, and so admonished us beforehand, that we should not marry women of other countries, lest we should be entangled with foreign customs, and apostatize from our own; lest we should leave off to honor our own God, and should worship their gods. But Solomon was Gllen headlong into unreasonable pleasures, and regarded not those admonitions; for when he had married seven hundred wives, the daughters of princes and of eminent persons, and three hundred concubines, and those besides the king of Egypt's daughter, he soon was governed by them, till he came to imitate their practices. He was forced to give them this demonstration of his kindness and affection to them, to live according to the laws of their countries. And as he grew into years, and his reason became weaker by length of time, it was not sufficient to recall to his mind the institutions of his own country; so he still more and more contemned his own God, and continued to regard the gods that his marriages had introduced nay, before this happened, he sinned, and fell into an error about the observation of the laws, when he made the images of brazen oxen that supported the brazen sea, and the images of lions about his own throne; for these he made, although it was not agreeable to piety so to do; and this he did, notwithstanding that he had his father as a most excellent and domestic pattern of virtue, and knew what a glorious character he had left behind him, because of his piety towards God. Nor did he imitate David, although God had twice appeared to him in his sleep, and exhorted him to imitate his father. So he died ingloriously. There came therefore a prophet to him, who was sent by God, and told him that his wicked actions were not concealed from God; and threatened him that he should not long rejoice in what he had done; that, indeed, the kingdom should not be taken from him while he was alive, because God had promised to his father David that he would make him his successor, but that he would take care that this should befall his son when he was dead; not that he would withdraw all the people from him, but that he would give ten tribes to a servant of his, and

leave only two tribes to David's grandson for his sake, because he loved God, and for the sake of the city of Jerusalem, wherein he should have a temple.

(6) [190] Γενόμενος δὲ πάντων βασιλέων ἐνδοξότατος καὶ θεοφιλέστατος καὶ φρονήσει καὶ πλούτῳ διενεγκὼν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἑβραίων ἀρχὴν ἐσχηκότων οὐκ ἐπέμεινε τούτοις ἄχρι τελευτῆς, ἀλλὰ καταλιπὼν τὴν τῶν πατρίων ἐθισμῶν φυλακὴν οὐκ εἰς ὅμοιον οἷς προειρήκαμεν αὐτοῦ τέλος κατέστρεψεν, [191] εἰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἐκμανεὶς καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀφροδισίων ἀκρασίαν οὐ ταῖς ἐπιχωρίαις μόνον ἠρέσκετο, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐθνῶν γήμας Σιδωνίας καὶ Τυρίας καὶ Ἀμμανίτιδας καὶ Ἰδουμαίας παρέβη μὲν τοὺς Μωσήους νόμους, ὃς ἀπηγόρευσε συνοικεῖν ταῖς οὐχ ὁμοφύλοις, [192] τοὺς δ' ἐκείνων ἤρξατο θρησκεύειν θεοὺς ταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ τῷ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἔρωτι χαριζόμενος, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ ὑπιδομένου τοῦ νομοθέτου προειπόντος μὴ γαμεῖν τὰς ἀλλοτριοχώρους, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς ξένοις ἐπιπλακέντες ἔθεσι τῶν πατρίων ἀποστῶσι, μηδὲ τοὺς ἐκείνων σέβωνται θεοὺς παρέντες τιμᾶν τὸν ἴδιον. [193] ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν κατημέλησεν ὑπενεχθεὶς εἰς ἡδονὴν ἀλόγιστον Σολόμων, ἀγαγόμενος δὲ γυναῖκας ἀρχόντων καὶ διασήμων θυγατέρας ἑπτακοσίας τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ παλλακὰς τριακοσίας, πρὸς δὲ ταύταις καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Αἰγυπτίων θυγατέρα, εὐθὺς μὲν ἐκρατεῖτο πρὸς αὐτῶν, ὥστε μιμεῖσθαι τὰ παρ' ἐκείναις, καὶ τῆς εὐνοίας καὶ φιλοστοργίας ἠναγκάζετο παρέχειν αὐταῖς δεῖγμα τὸ βιοῦν ὡς αὐταῖς πάτριον ἦν: [194] προβαινούσης δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας καὶ τοῦ λογισμοῦ διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἀσθενοῦντος ἀντέχειν πρὸς τὴν μνήμην τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἔτι μᾶλλον τοῦ μὲν ἰδίου θεοῦ κατωλιγώρησε, τοὺς δὲ τῶν γάμων τῶν ἐπεισάκτων τιμῶν διετέλει. [195] καὶ πρὸ τούτων δὲ ἁμαρτεῖν αὐτὸν ἔτυχε καὶ σφαλῆναι περὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν νομίμων, ὅτε τὰ τῶν χαλκῶν βοῶν ὁμοιώματα κατεσκεύασε τῶν ὑπὸ τῇ θαλάττῃ τῷ ἀναθήματι καὶ τῶν λεόντων τῶν περὶ τὸν θρόνον τὸν ἴδιον: οὐδὲ γὰρ ταῦτα ποιεῖν ὅσιον εἰργάσατο. [196] κάλλιστον δ' ἔχων καὶ οἰκεῖον παράδειγμα τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου δόξαν, ἣν αὐτῷ συνέβη καταλιπεῖν διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβειαν, οὐ μιμησάμενος αὐτὸν καὶ ταῦτα δὶς αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους φανέντος καὶ τὸν πατέρα μιμεῖσθαι παραινέσαντος ἀκλεῶς ἀπέθανεν. [197] ἦκεν οὖν εὐθὺς ὁ προφήτης ὑπὸ θεοῦ πεμφθεὶς οὔτε λανθάνειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς παρανομήμασι λέγων οὔτ' ἐπὶ πολὺ χαιρήσειν τοῖς πραττομένοις ἀπειλῶν, ἀλλὰ ζῶντος μὲν οὐκ ἀφαιρεθήσεσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπεὶ τῷ πατρὶ Δαυίδῃ τὸ θεῖον ὑπέσχετο διάδοχον αὐτὸν ποιήσειν ἐκείνου, [198] τελευτήσαντος δὲ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ταῦτα διαθήσειν οὐχ ἅπαντα μὲν τὸν λαὸν ἀποστήσας αὐτοῦ, δέκα δὲ φυλὰς παραδοὺς αὐτοῦ τῷ δούλῳ, δύο δὲ μόνας καταλιπὼν τῷ υἱωνῷ τῷ Δαυίδου δι' αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον, ὅτι τὸν θεὸν ἠγάπησε, καὶ διὰ τὴν πόλιν Ἱεροσόλυμα, ἐν ᾗ ναὸν ἔχειν ἠβουλήθη.

6. When Solomon heard this he was grieved, and greatly confounded, upon this change of almost all that happiness which had made him to be admired, into so bad a state; nor had there much time passed after the prophet had foretold what was coming before God raised up an enemy against him, whose name was Ader, who took the following occasion of his enmity to him. He was a child of the stock of the Edomites, and of the blood royal; and when Joab, the captain of David's host, laid waste the land of Edom, and destroyed all that were men grown, and able to bear arms, for six months' time, this Hadad fled away, and came to Pharaoh the king of Egypt, who received him kindly, and assigned him a house to dwell in, and a country to supply him with food; and when he was grown up he loved him exceedingly, insomuch that he gave him his wife's sister, whose name was Tahpenes, to wife, by whom he had a son; who was brought up with the king's children. When Hadad heard in Egypt that both David and Joab were dead, he came to Pharaoh, and desired that he would permit him to go to his own country; upon which the king asked what it was that he wanted, and what hardship he had met with, that he was so desirous to leave him. And when he was often troublesome to him, and entreated him to dismiss him, he did not then do it; but at the time when Solomon's affairs began to grow worse, on account of his forementioned transgressions and God's anger against him for the same, Hadad, by Pharaoh's permission, came to Edom; and when he was not able to make the people forsake Solomon, for it was kept under by many garrisons, and an innovation was not to be made with safety, he removed thence, and came into Syria; there he lighted upon one Rezon, who had run away from Hadadezer, king of Zobah, his master, and was become a robber in that country, and joined friendship with him, who had already a band of robbers about him. So he went up, and seized upon that part of Syria, and was made king thereof. He also made incursions into the land of Israel, and did it no small mischief, and spoiled it, and that in the lifetime of Solomon. And this was the calamity which the Hebrews suffered by Hadad.

(7) [199] Ταῦτ' ἀκούσας Σολόμων ἤλγησε καὶ σφοδρῶς συνεχύθη πάντων αὐτῷ σχεδὸν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐφ' οἷς ζηλωτὸς ἦν εἰς μεταβολὴν ἐρχομένων πονηράν. οὐ πολὺς δὲ διῆλθε χρόνος ἀφ' οὗ κατήγγειλεν ὁ προφήτης αὐτῷ τὰ συμβησόμενα καὶ πολέμιον εὐθὺς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤγειρεν ὁ θεὸς Ἄδερον μὲν ὄνομα τὴν δ' αἰτίαν τῆς ἔχθρας λαβόντα τοιαύτην: [200] παῖς οὗτος ἦν Ἰδουμαῖος γένος ἐκ βασιλικῶν σπερμάτων. καταστρεψαμένου δὲ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν Ἰωάβου τοῦ Δαυίδου στρατηγοῦ καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐν ἀκμῇ καὶ φέρειν ὅπλα δυναμένους διαφθείραντος μησὶν ἕξ, φυγὼν ἦκε πρὸς Φαραῶνα τὸν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα. [201] ὁ δὲ φιλοφρόνως αὐτὸν δεξάμενος οἰκόν τε αὐτῷ δίδωσι καὶ χώραν εἰς διατροφὴν καὶ

γενόμενον ἐν ἡλικίᾳ λίαν ἠγάπα, ὡς καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναικὸς αὐτῷ δοῦναι πρὸς γάμον τὴν ἀδελφὴν ὄνομα Θαφίνην, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ υἱὸς γενόμενος τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως παισὶ συνετράφη. [202] ἀκούσας οὖν τὸν Δαυίδου θάνατον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τὸν Ἰωάβου προσελθὼν ἐδεῖτο τοῦ Φαραῶνος ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῷ βαδίζειν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἀνακρίναντος, τίνος ἐνδεὴς ὢν ἢ τί παθὼν ἐσπούδακε καταλιπεῖν αὐτόν, ἐνοχλῶν πολλάκις καὶ παρακαλῶν τότε μὲν οὐκ ἀφείθη: [203] κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον δὲ τὸν καιρόν, καθ᾽ ὃν ἤδη Σολόμωνι τὰ πράγματα κακῶς ἔχειν ἤρχετο διὰ τὰς προειρημένας παρανομίας καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν τὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ, συγχωρήσαντος τοῦ Φαραῶνος ὁ Ἄδερος ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν: καὶ μὴ δυνηθεὶς αὐτὴν ἀποστῆσαι τοῦ Σολόμωνος, κατείχετο γὰρ φρουραῖς πολλαῖς καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἐλεύθερος δι᾽ αὐτὰς οὐδ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀδείας ὁ νεωτερισμός, ἄρας ἐκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν Συρίαν ἀφίκετο. [204] συμβαλὼν δὲ ἐκεῖ τινι Ῥάζῳ μὲν τοὔνομα τὸν δὲ τῆς Σωφηνῆς ἀποδεδρακότι βασιλέα Ἀδραάζαρον δεσπότην ὄντα καὶ λῃστεύοντι τὴν χώραν εἰς φιλίαν αὐτῷ συνάψας ἔχοντι περὶ αὐτὸν στῖφος λῃστρικὸν ἀναβαίνει, καὶ κατασχὼν τὴν ἐκεῖ Συρίαν βασιλεὺς αὐτῆς ἀποδείκνυται καὶ κατατρέχων τὴν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν γῆν ἐποίει κακῶς καὶ διήρπαζε Σολόμωνος ζῶντος ἔτι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδέρου συνέβαινε πάσχειν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις.

7. There was also one of Solomon’s own nation that made an attempt against him, Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who had an expectation of rising, from a prophecy that had been made to him long before. He was left a child by his father, and brought up by his mother; and when Solomon saw that he was of an active and bold disposition, he made him the curator of the walls which he built round about Jerusalem; and he took such care of those works, that the king approved of his behavior, and gave him, as a reward for the same, the charge of the tribe of Joseph. And when about that time Jeroboam was once going out of Jerusalem, a prophet of the city Shilo, whose name was Ahijah, met him and saluted him; and when he had taken him a little aside to a place out of the way, where there was not one other person present, he rent the garment he had on into twelve pieces, and bid Jeroboam take ten of them; and told him beforehand, that “this is the will of God; he will part the dominion of Solomon, and give one tribe, with that which is next it, to his son, because of the promise made to David for his succession, and will have ten tribes to thee, because Solomon hath sinned against him, and delivered up himself to women, and to their gods. Seeing therefore thou knowest the cause for which God hath changed his mind, and is alienated from Solomon, be thou....”

(8) [205] Ἐπιτίθεται δὲ Σολόμωνι καὶ τῶν ὁμοφύλων τις Ἱεροβόαμος υἱὸς Ναβαταίου κατὰ προφητείαν πάλαι γενομένην αὐτῷ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπελπίσας:

παῖδα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καταλειφθέντα καὶ ὑπὸ τῇ μητρὶ παιδευόμενον ὡς εἶδε γενναῖον καὶ τολμηρὸν Σολόμων ὄντα τὸ φρόνημα τῆς τῶν τειχῶν οἰκοδομίας ἐπιμελητὴν κατέστησεν, ὅτε τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις τὸν κύκλον περιέβαλεν. [206] οὕτως δὲ τῶν ἔργων προενόησεν, ὥστε ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸν ἀπεδέξατο καὶ γέρας αὐτῷ στρατηγίαν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰωσήπου φυλῆς ἔδωκεν. ἀπερχομένῳ δὲ τῷ Ἱεροβοάμῳ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων συνεβόλησε προφήτης ἐκ πόλεως μὲν Σιλὼ Ἀχίας δὲ ὄνομα. καὶ προσαγορεύσας αὐτὸν ἀπήγαγεν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ μικρὸν ἀπονεύσας εἴς τι χωρίον, εἰς ὃ παρῆν μηδὲ εἷς ἄλλος. [207] σχίσας δὲ εἰς δώδεκα φάρση τὸ ἱμάτιον, ὅπερ ἦν αὐτὸς περιβεβλημένος, ἐκέλευσε τὸν Ἱεροβόαμον λαβεῖν τὰ δέκα προσειπών, ὅτι ταῦτα ὁ θεὸς βούλεται καὶ σχίσας τὴν Σολόμωνος ἀρχὴν τῷ παιδὶ μὲν τῷ τούτου διὰ τὴν πρὸς Δαυίδην γεγενημένην ὁμολογίαν αὐτῷ μίαν φυλὴν καὶ τὴν ἑξῆς αὐτῇ δίδωσι, σοὶ δὲ τὰς δέκα Σολόμωνος εἰς αὐτὸν ἐξαμαρτόντος καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνων θεοῖς αὐτὸν ἐκδεδωκότος. [208] εἰδὼς οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν δι᾽ ἣν μετατίθησι τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην ἀπὸ Σολόμωνος ὁ θεὸς δίκαιος εἶναι πειρῶ καὶ φύλαττε τὰ νόμιμα, προκειμένου σοι τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τιμῆς ἄθλου μεγίστου τῶν ἁπάντων, γενήσεσθαι τηλικούτῳ ἡλίκον οἶσθα Δαυίδην γενόμενον.”

8. So Jeroboam was elevated by these words of the prophet; and being a young man, of a warm temper, and ambitious of greatness, he could not be quiet; and when he had so great a charge in the government, and called to mind what had been revealed to him by Ahijah, he endeavored to persuade the people to forsake Solomon, to make a disturbance, and to bring the government over to himself. But when Solomon understood his intention and treachery, he sought to catch him and kill him; but Jeroboam was informed of it beforehand, and fled to Shishak, the king of Egypt, and there abode till the death of Solomon; by which means he gained these two advantages to suffer no harm from Solomon, and to be preserved for the kingdom. So Solomon died when he was already an old man, having reigned eighty years, and lived ninety-four. He was buried in Jerusalem, having been superior to all other kings in happiness, and riches, and wisdom, excepting that when he was growing into years he was deluded by women, and transgressed the law; concerning which transgressions, and the miseries which befell the Hebrews thereby, I think proper to discourse at another opportunity.

VIII

CHAPTER 8. How, Upon The Death Of Solomon The People Forsook His Son Rehoboam, And Ordained Jeroboam King Over The Ten Tribes.

(1) [209] Ἐπαρθεὶς οὖν τοῖς τοῦ προφήτου λόγοις Ἱεροβόαμος φύσει θερμὸς ἀν νεανίας καὶ μεγάλων ἐπιθυμητὴς πραγμάτων οὐκ ἠρέμει. γενόμενος δ᾽ ἐν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ καὶ μεμνημένος τῶν ὑπὸ Ἀχία δεδηλωμένων εὐθὺς ἀναπείθειν ἐπεχείρει τὸν λαὸν ἀφίστασθαι Σολόμωνος καὶ κινεῖν καὶ παράγειν εἰς αὐτὸν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. [210] μαθὼν δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν Σολόμων ἐζήτει συλλαβὼν αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν. φθάσας δὲ γνῶναι τοῦτο Ἱεροβόαμος πρὸς Ἴσακον φεύγει τὸν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα, καὶ μέχρι τῆς Σολόμωνος τελευτῆς ἐκεῖ μείνας τό τε μηδὲν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ παθεῖν ἐκέρδησε καὶ τὸ τῇ βασιλείᾳ φυλαχθῆναι. [211] ἀποθνήσκει δὲ Σολόμων ἤδη γηραιὸς ὢν βασιλεύσας μὲν ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη, ζήσας δὲ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ τέσσαρα: θάπτεται δὲ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἅπαντας ὑπερβαλὼν εὐδαιμονίᾳ τε καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ φρονήσει τοὺς βασιλεύσαντας, εἰ μὴ ὅσα γε πρὸς τὸ γῆρας ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἀπατηθεὶς παρηνόμησε: περὶ ὧν καὶ τῶν δι᾽ αὐτὰς κακῶν συμπεσόντων Ἑβραίοις εὐκαιρότερον ἔξομεν διασαφῆσαι.

1. Now when Solomon was dead, and his son Rehoboam [who was born of an Amntonite wife; whose name was Naamah] had succeeded him in the kingdom, the rulers of the multitude sent immediately into Egypt, and called back Jeroboam; and when he was come to them, to the city Shethem, Rehoboam came to it also, for he had resolved to declare himself king to the Israelites while they were there gathered together. So the rulers of the people, as well as Jeroboam, came to him, and besought him, and said that he ought to relax, and to be gentler than his father, in the servitude he had imposed on them, because they had borne a heavy yoke, and that then they should be better affected to him, and be well contented to serve him under his moderate government, and should do it more out of love than fear. But Rehoboam told them they should come to him again in three days' time, when he would give an answer to their request. This delay gave occasion to a present suspicion, since he had not given them a favorable answer to their mind immediately; for they thought that he should have given them a humane answer off-hand, especially since he was but young. However, they thought that this consultation about it, and that he did not presently give them a denial, afforded them some good hope of success.

(2) [212] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Σολόμωνος τελευτὴν διαδεξαμένου τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν Ῥοβοάμου, ὃς ἐκ γυναικὸς Ἀμμανίτιδος ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῷ γεγονὼς

Νοομᾶς τοὔνομα, πέμψαντες εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον οἱ τῶν ὄχλων ἄρχοντες ἐκάλουν τὸν Ἱεροβόαμον. ἀφικομένου δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰς Σίκιμα πόλιν καὶ Ῥοβόαμος εἰς αὐτὴν παραγίνεται: δέδοκτο γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖσε συνελθοῦσι τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις ἀποδεῖξαι βασιλέα. [213] προσελθόντες οὖν οἵ τε ἄρχοντες αὐτῷ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ Ἱεροβόαμος παρεκάλουν λέγοντες ἀνεῖναί τι τῆς δουλείας αὐτοῖς καὶ γενέσθαι χρηστότερον τοῦ πατρός: βαρὺν γὰρ ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνῳ ζυγὸν αὐτοὺς ὑπενεγκεῖν: εὐνούστεροι δὲ ἔσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἀγαπήσειν τὴν δουλείαν διὰ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν ἢ διὰ τὸν φόβον. [214] ὁ δὲ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας εἰπὼν αὐτοῖς ἀποκρινεῖσθαι περὶ ὧν ἀξιοῦσιν ὕποπτος μὲν εὐθὺς γίνεται μὴ παραχρῆμα ἐπινεύσας αὐτοῖς τὰ πρὸς ἡδονήν, πρόχειρον γὰρ ἠξίουν εἶναι τὸ χρηστὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐν νέῳ, ἐδόκει δ᾽ ὅμως καὶ τὸ βουλεύσασθαι τοῦ μὴ παραυτίκα ἀπειπεῖν ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος ἔχεσθαι.

2. Rehoboam now called his father's friends, and advised with them what sort of answer he ought to give to the multitude; upon which they gave him the advice which became friends, and those that knew the temper of such a multitude. They advised him to speak in a way more popular than suited the grandeur of a king, because he would thereby oblige them to submit to him with goodwill, it being most agreeable to subjects that their kings should be almost upon the level with them. But Rehoboam rejected this so good, and in general so profitable, advice, [it was such, at least, at that time when he was to be made king,] God himself, I suppose, causing what was most advantageous to be condemned by him. So he called for the young men who were brought up with him, and told them what advice the elders had given him, and bade them speak what they thought he ought to do. They advised him to give the following answer to the people [for neither their youth nor God himself suffered them to discern what was best]: That his little finger should be thicker than his father's loins; and if they had met with hard usage from his father, they should experience much rougher treatment from him; and if his father had chastised them with whips, they must expect that he would do it with scorpions. The king was pleased with this advice, and thought it agreeable to the dignity of his government to give them such an answer. Accordingly, when the multitude was come together to hear his answer on the third day, all the people were in great expectation, and very intent to hear what the king would say to them, and supposed they should hear somewhat of a kind nature; but he passed by his friends, and answered as the young men had given him counsel. Now this was done according to the will of God, that what Ahijah had foretold might come to pass.

(3) [215] Συγκαλέσας δὲ τοὺς πατρῴους φίλους ἐσκοπεῖτο μετ᾽ αὐτῶν, ποδαπὴν δεῖ ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀπόκρισιν πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος. οἱ δ᾽ ἅπερ εἰκὸς τοὺς εὔνους καὶ

φύσιν ὄχλων εἰδότας παρῄνουν αὐτῷ φιλοφρόνως ὁμιλῆσαι τῷ λαῷ καὶ δημοτικώτερον ἢ κατὰ βασιλείας ὄγκον: χειρώσεσθαι γὰρ οὕτως εἰς εὔνοιαν αὐτὸν φύσει τῶν ὑπηκόων ἀγαπώντων τὸ προσηνὲς καὶ παρὰ μικρὸν ἰσότιμον τῶν βασιλέων. [216] ὁ δ᾽ ἀγαθὴν οὕτως καὶ συμφέρουσαν ἴσως πρὸς τὸ πᾶν, εἰ δὲ μή, πρός γε τὸν τότε καιρὸν ὅτ᾽ ἔδει γενέσθαι βασιλέα γνώμην ἀπεστράφη τοῦ θεοῦ ποιήσαντος οἶμαι κατακριθῆναι τὸ συμφέρον ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ: καλέσας δὲ μειράκια τὰ συντεθραμμένα καὶ τὴν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων αὐτοῖς συμβουλίαν εἰπών, τί δοκεῖ ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐκέλευσε λέγειν. [217] τὰ δέ, οὔτε γὰρ ἡ νεότης οὔτε ὁ θεὸς ἠφίει νοεῖν τὰ κρείττω, παρῄνεσαν ἀποκρίνασθαι τῷ λαῷ τὸν βραχύτατον αὐτοῦ δάκτυλον τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ὀσφύος εἶναι παχύτερον καί, εἰ σκληροῦ λίαν ἐπειράθησαν ἐκείνου, πολὺ μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ λήψεσθαι πεῖραν δυσκόλου: καὶ εἰ μάστιξιν αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνος ἐνουθέτει, σκορπίοις τοῦτο ποιήσειν αὐτὸν προσδοκᾶν. [218] τούτοις ἡσθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ δόξας προσήκειν τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀξιώματι τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, ὡς συνῆλθεν ἀκουσόμενον τὸ πλῆθος τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν, μετεώρου τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ὄντος καὶ λέγοντος ἀκοῦσαί τι τοῦ βασιλέως ἐσπουδακότος, οἰομένου δέ τι καὶ φιλάνθρωπον, τὴν τῶν μειρακίων αὐτοῖς συμβουλίαν παρεὶς τὴν τῶν φίλων ἀπεκρίνατο. ταῦτα δ᾽ ἐπράττετο κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βούλησιν, ἵνα λάβῃ τέλος ἃ προεφήτευσεν Ἀχίας.

3. By these words the people were struck as it were by all iron hammer, and were so grieved at the words, as if they had already felt the effects of them; and they had great indignation at the king; and all cried out aloud, and said, “We will have no longer any relation to David or his posterity after this day.” And they said further, “We only leave to Rehoboam the temple which his father built;” and they threatened to forsake him. Nay, they were so bitter, and retained their wrath so long, that when he sent Adoram, which was over the tribute, that he might pacify them, and render them milder, and persuade them to forgive him, if he had said any thing that was rash or grievous to them in his youth, they would not hear it, but threw stones at him, and killed him. When Rehoboam saw this, he thought himself aimed at by those stones with which they had killed his servant, and feared lest he should undergo the last of punishments in earnest; so he got immediately into his chariot, and fled to Jerusalem, where the tribe of Judah and that of Benjamin ordained him king; but the rest of the multitude forsook the sons of David from that day, and appointed Jeroboam to be the ruler of their public affairs. Upon this Rehoboam, Solomon’s son, assembled a great congregation of those two tribes that submitted to him, and was ready to take a hundred and eighty thousand chosen men out of the army, to make an expedition against Jeroboam and his people, that he might force them by war to be his servants; but he was forbidden of God by the prophet [Shemaiah] to go to war,

for that it was not just that brethren of the same country should fight one against another. He also said that this defection of the multitude was according to the purpose of God. So he did not proceed in this expedition. And now I will relate first the actions of Jeroboam the king of Israel, after which we will relate what are therewith connected, the actions of Rehoboam, the king of the two tribes; by this means we shall preserve the good order of the history entire.

(4) [219] Πληγέντες δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων καὶ ἀλγήσαντες ὡς ἐπὶ πείρᾳ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἠγανάκτησαν καὶ μέγα πάντες ἐκβοήσαντες οὐκέτι οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ συγγενὲς πρὸς Δαυίδην καὶ τοὺς ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ μετ᾽ ἐκείνην ἔφασαν τὴν ἡμέραν: παραχωρεῖν δ᾽ αὐτῷ μόνον τὸν ναὸν ὃν ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ κατεσκεύασεν εἰπόντες καταλείψειν ἠπείλησαν. [220] οὕτως δ᾽ ἔσχον πικρῶς καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν ἐτήρησαν, ὡς πέμψαντος αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν φόρων Ἀδώραμον, ἵνα καταπραύνῃ καὶ συγγνόντας τοῖς εἰρημένοις, εἴ τι προπετὲς καὶ δύσκολον ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς, ποιήσῃ μαλακωτέρους, οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλὰ βάλλοντες αὐτὸν λίθοις ἀπέκτειναν. [221] ταῦτ᾽ ἰδὼν Ῥοβόαμος καὶ νομίσας αὐτὸν βεβλῆσθαι τοῖς λίθοις, οἷς τὸν ὑπηρέτην ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτοῦ τὸ πλῆθος, δείσας μὴ καὶ ἔργῳ πάθῃ τὸ δεινὸν ἐπιβὰς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ ἅρματος ἔφυγεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. καὶ ἡ μὲν Ἰούδα φυλὴ καὶ ἡ Βενιαμίδος χειροτονοῦσιν αὐτὸν βασιλέα, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας τῶν Δαυίδου παίδων ἀποστὰν τὸν Ἱεροβόαμον ἀπέδειξε τῶν πραγμάτων κύριον. [222] Ῥοβόαμος δὲ ὁ Σολόμωνος παῖς ἐκκλησίαν ποιήσας τῶν δύο φυλῶν, ἃς εἶχεν ὑπηκόους, οἷός τε ἦν λαβὰν ὀκτωκαίδεκα παρ᾽ αὐτῶν στρατοῦ μυριάδας ἐπιλέκτους ἐξελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἱεροβόαμον καὶ τὸν λαόν, ὅπως πολεμήσας ἀναγκάσῃ δουλεύειν αὐτῷ. [223] κωλυθεὶς δ᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ προφήτου ποιήσασθαι τὴν στρατείαν, οὐ γὰρ εἶναι δίκαιον τοὺς ὁμοφύλους πολεμεῖν οὗτος ἔλεγε καὶ ταῦτα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ προαίρεσιν τῆς τοῦ πλήθους ἀποστάσεως γεγενημένης, οὐκέτ᾽ ἐξῆλθε. [224] διηγήσομαι δὲ πρῶτον ὅσα Ἱεροβόαμος ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς ἔπραξεν, εἶτα δὲ τούτων ἐχόμενα τὰ ὑπὸ Ῥοβοάμου τοῦ τῶν δύο φυλῶν βασιλέως γεγενημένα δηλώσομεν: φυλαχθείη γὰρ ἂν οὕτως ἄχρι παντὸς τῆς ἱστορίας τὸ εὔτακτον.

4. When therefore Jeroboam had built him a palace in the city Shechem, he dwelt there. He also built him another at Penuel, a city so called. And now the feast of tabernacles was approaching in a little time, Jeroboam considered, that if he should permit the multitude to go to worship God at Jerusalem, and there to celebrate the festival, they would probably repent of what they had done, and be enticed by the temple, and by the worship of God there performed, and would leave him, and return to their first kings; and if so, he should run the risk of losing his own life; so he invented this contrivance; He made two golden heifers, and built two little temples for them, the one in the city Bethel, and the other in

Dan, which last was at the fountains of the Lesser Jordan and he put the heifers into both the little temples, in the forementioned cities. And when he had called those ten tribes together over whom he ruled, he made a speech to the people in these words: "I suppose, my countrymen, that you know this, that every place hath God in it; nor is there any one determinate place in which he is, but he every where hears and sees those that worship him; on which account I do not think it right for you to go so long a journey to Jerusalem, which is an enemy's city, to worship him. It was a man that built the temple: I have also made two golden heifers, dedicated to the same God; and the one of them I have consecrated in the city Bethel, and the other in Dan, to the end that those of you that dwell nearest those cities may go to them, and worship God there; and I will ordain for you certain priests and Levites from among yourselves, that you may have no want of the tribe of Levi, or of the sons of Aaron; but let him that is desirous among you of being a priest, bring to God a bullock and a ram, which they say Aaron the first priest brought also." When Jeroboam had said this, he deluded the people, and made them to revolt from the worship of their forefathers, and to transgress their laws. This was the beginning of miseries to the Hebrews, and the cause why they were overcome in war by foreigners, and so fell into captivity. But we shall relate those things in their proper places hereafter.

(5) [225] Ὁ τοίνυν Ἱεροβόαμος οἰκοδομήσας βασίλειον ἐν Σικίμῃ πόλει ἐν ταύτῃ τὴν δίαιταν εἶχε, κατεσκεύασε δὲ καὶ ἐν Φανουὴλ πόλει λεγομένῃ. μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ τῆς σκηνοπηγίας ἑορτῆς ἐνίστασθαι μελλούσης λογισάμενος, ὡς ἐὰν ἐπιτρέψῃ τῷ πλήθει προσκυνῆσαι τὸν θεὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πορευθέντι καὶ ἐκεῖ τὴν ἑορτὴν διαγαγεῖν, μετανοῆσαν ἴσως καὶ δελεασθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τῆς θρησκείας τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ καταλείψει μὲν αὐτόν, προσχωρήσει δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ βασιλεῖ, καὶ κινδυνεύσει τούτου γενομένου τὴν ψυχὴν ἀποβαλεῖν, ἐπιτεχνᾶταί τι τοιοῦτον: [226] δύο ποιήσας δαμάλεις χρυσᾶς καὶ οἰκοδομήσας ναίσκους τοσούτους ἕνα μὲν ἐν Βηθήλῃ πόλει, τὸν ἕτερον δὲ ἐν Δάνῃ, ἡ δ᾽ ἐστὶ πρὸς ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ μικροῦ Ἰορδάνου, τίθησι τὰς δαμάλεις ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τῶν ἐν ταῖς προειρημέναις πόλεσι ναίσκων, καὶ συγκαλέσας τὰς δέκα φυλὰς ὧν αὐτὸς ἦρχεν ἐδημηγόρησε τούτους ποιησάμενος τοὺς λόγους: [227] "ἄνδρες ὁμόφυλοι, γινώσκειν ὑμᾶς νομίζω τοῦτο, ὅτι πᾶς τόπος ἔχει τὸν θεὸν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἓν ἀποδεδειγμένον χωρίον ἐν ᾧ πάρεστιν, ἀλλὰ πανταχοῦ τε ἀκούει καὶ τοὺς θρησκεύοντας ἐφορᾷ. ὅθεν οὔ μοι δοκεῖ νῦν ἐπείγειν ὑμᾶς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πορευθέντας εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν πόλιν μακρὰν οὕτως ὁδὸν προσκυνεῖν: [228] ἄνθρωπος γὰρ κατεσκεύακε τὸν ναόν, πεποίηκα δὲ κἀγὼ δύο χρυσᾶς δαμάλεις ἐπωνύμους τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐν Βηθήλῃ πόλει καθιέρωσα τὴν δ᾽ ἐν Δάνῃ,

ὅπως ὑμῶν οἱ τούτων ἔγγιστα τῶν πόλεων κατῳκημένοι προσκυνῶσιν εἰς αὐτὰς ἀπερχόμενοι τὸν θεόν. ἀποδείξω δέ τινας ὑμῖν καὶ ἱερεῖς ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ Ληουίτας, ἵνα μὴ χρείαν ἔχητε τῆς Ληουίτιδος φυλῆς καὶ τῶν υἱῶν Ἀαρῶνος, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ βουλόμενος ὑμῶν ἱερεὺς εἶναι προσενεγκάτω μόσχον τῷ θεῷ καὶ κριόν, ὃ καὶ τὸν [229] πρῶτον ἱερέα φασὶν Ἀαρῶνα πεποιηκέναι.” ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν ἐξηπάτησε τὸν λαὸν καὶ τῆς πατρίου θρησκείας ἀποστάντας ἐποίησε παραβῆναι τοὺς νόμους. ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐγένετο τοῦτο τοῖς Ἑβραίοις καὶ τοῦ πολέμῳ κρατηθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων αἰχμαλωσίᾳ περιπεσεῖν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ χώραν δηλώσομεν.

5. When the feast [of tabernacles] was just approaching, Jeroboam was desirous to celebrate it himself in Bethel, as did the two tribes celebrate it in Jerusalem. Accordingly he built an altar before the heifer, and undertook to be high priest himself. So he went up to the altar, with his own priests about him; but when he was going to offer the sacrifices and the burnt-offerings, in the sight of all the people, a prophet, whose name was Jadon, was sent by God, and came to him from Jerusalem, who stood in the midst of the multitude, and in the ‘hearing of’ the king, and directing his discourse to the altar, said thus: “God foretells that there shall be a certain man of the family of David, Josiah by name, who shall slay upon thee those false priests that shall live at that time, and upon thee shall burn the bones of those deceivers of the people, those impostors’ and wicked wretches. However, that this people may believe that these things shall so come to pass, I foretell a sign to them that shall also come to pass. This altar shall be broken to pieces immediately, and all the fat of the sacrifices that is upon it shall be poured upon the ground.” When the prophet had said this, Jeroboam fell into a passion, and stretched out his hand, and bid them lay hold of him; but that hand which he stretched out was enfeebled, and he was not able to pull it in again to him, for it was become withered, and hung down, as if it were a dead hand. The altar also was broken to pieces, and all that was upon it was poured out, as the prophet had foretold should come to pass. So the king understood that he was a man of veracity, and had a Divine foreknowledge; and entreated him to pray to God that he would restore his right hand. Accordingly the prophet did pray to God to grant him that request. So the king, having his hand recovered to its natural state, rejoiced at it, and invited the prophet to sup with him; but Jadon said that he could not endure to come into his house, nor to taste of bread or water in this city, for that was a thing God had forbidden him to do; as also to go back by the same way which he came, but he said he was to return by another way. So the king wondered at the abstinence of the man, but was himself in fear,

as suspecting a change of his affairs for the worse, from what had been said to him.

IX

CHAPTER 9. How Jadon The Prophet Was Persuaded By Another Lying Prophet And Returned [To Bethel,] And Was Afterwards Slain By A Lion. As Also What Words The Wicked Prophet Made Use Of To Persuade The King, And Thereby Alienated His Mind From God.

(1) [230] Ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἑβδόμῳ μηνὶ βουλόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν Βηθήλῃ ταύτην ἀγαγεῖν, ὥσπερ ἐώρταζον καὶ αἱ δύο φυλαὶ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, οἰκοδομεῖ μὲν θυσιαστήριον πρὸ τῆς δαμάλεως, γενόμενος δὲ αὐτὸς ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀναβαίνει σὺν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἱερεῦσι. [231] μέλλοντος δ᾽ ἐπιφέρειν τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ὁλοκαυτώσεις ἐν ὄψει τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς παραγίνεται πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων προφήτης Ἰάδων ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ πέμψαντος, ὃς σταθεὶς ἐν μέσῳ τῷ πλήθει τοῦ βασιλέως ἀκούοντος εἶπε τάδε πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον ποιούμενος τοὺς λόγους: [232] “ὁ θεὸς ἔσεσθαί τινα προλέγει ἐκ τοῦ Δαυίδου γένους Ἰωσίαν ὄνομα, ὃς ἐπὶ σοῦ θύσει τοὺς ψευδιερεῖς τοὺς κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν γενησομένους καὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ τῶν λαοπλάνων τούτων καὶ ἀπατεώνων καὶ ἀσεβῶν ἐπὶ σοῦ καύσει. ἵνα μέντοι γε πιστεύσωσιν οὗτοι τοῦθ᾽ οὕτως ἔξειν, σημεῖον αὐτοῖς προερῶ γενησόμενον: ῥαγήσεται τὸ θυσιαστήριον παραχρῆμα καὶ [233] πᾶσα ἡ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πιμελὴ τῶν ἱερείων ἐπὶ γῆν χυθήσεται.” ταῦτ᾽ εἰπόντος τοῦ προφήτου παροξυνθεὶς ὁ Ἱεροβόαμος ἐξέτεινε τὴν χεῖρα κελεύων συλλαβεῖν αὐτόν. ἐκτεταμένη δ᾽ ἡ χεὶρ εὐθέως παρείθη καὶ οὐκέτ᾽ ἴσχυε ταύτην πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀναγαγεῖν, ἀλλὰ νεναρκηκυῖαν καὶ νεκρὰν εἶχεν ἀπηρτημένην. ἐρράγη δὲ καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ κατηνέχθη πάντα ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, καθὼς προεῖπεν ὁ προφήτης. [234] μαθὼν δὲ ἀληθῆ τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ θείαν ἔχοντα πρόγνωσιν παρεκάλεσεν αὐτὸν δεηθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναζωπυρῆσαι τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἱκέτευσε τὸν θεὸν τοῦτ᾽ αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν, ὁ δὲ τῆς χειρὸς τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἀπολαβούσης χαίρων ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ τὸν προφήτην παρεκάλει δειπνῆσαι παρ᾽ αὐτῷ. [235] Ἰάδων δέ φησιν οὐχ ὑπομένειν εἰσελθεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδὲ γεύσασθαι ἄρτου καὶ ὕδατος ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει: τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν ἀπειρηκέναι καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν ἦλθεν ὅπως μὴ δι᾽ αὐτῆς ποιήσηται τὴν ἐπιστροφήν, ἀλλὰ δι᾽ ἄλλης ἔφασκεν: τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐθαύμαζεν τῆς ἐγκρατείας, αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἦν ἐν φόβῳ μεταβολὴν αὐτοῦ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων οὐκ ἀγαθὴν ὑπονοῶν.

1. Now there was a certain wicked man in that city, who was a false prophet, whom Jeroboam had in great esteem, but was deceived by him and his flattering

words. This man was bedrid, by reason or the infirmities of old age: however, he was informed by his sons concerning the prophet that was come from Jerusalem, and concerning the signs done by him; and how, when Jeroboam's right hand had been enfeebled, at the prophet's prayer he had it revived again. Whereupon he was afraid that this stranger and prophet should be in better esteem with the king than himself, and obtain greater honor from him: and he gave orders to his sons to saddle his ass presently, and make all ready that he might go out. Accordingly they made haste to do what they were commanded, and he got upon the ass and followed after the prophet; and when he had overtaken him, as he was resting himself under a very large oak tree that was thick and shady, he at first saluted him, but presently he complained of him, because he had not come into his house, and partaken of his hospitality. And when the other said that God had forbidden him to taste of any one's provision in that city, he replied, that "for certain God had not forbidden that I should set food before thee, for I am a prophet as thou art, and worship God in the same manner that thou dost; and I am now come as sent by him, in order to bring thee into my house, and make thee my guest." Now Jadon gave credit to this lying prophet, and returned back with him. But when they were at dinner, and merry together, God appeared to Jadon, and said that he should suffer punishment for transgressing his commands, — and he told him what that punishment should be for he said that he should meet with a lion as he was going on his way, by which lion he should be torn in pieces, and be deprived of burial in the sepulchers of his fathers; which things came to pass, as I suppose, according to the will of God, that so Jeroboam might not give heed to the words of Jadon as of one that had been convicted of lying. However, as Jadon was again going to Jerusalem, a lion assaulted him, and pulled him off the beast he rode on, and slew him; yet did he not at all hurt the ass, but sat by him, and kept him, as also the prophet's body. This continued till some travelers that saw it came and told it in the city to the false prophet, who sent his sons, and brought the body unto the city, and made a funeral for him at great expense. He also charged his sons to bury himself with him and said that all which he had foretold against that city, and the altar, and priests, and false prophets, would prove true; and that if he were buried with him, he should receive no injurious treatment after his death, the bones not being then to be distinguished asunder. But now, when he had performed those funeral rites to the prophet, and had given that charge to his sons, as he was a wicked and an impious man, he goes to Jeroboam, and says to him, "And wherefore is it now that thou art disturbed at the words of this silly fellow?" And when the king had related to him what had happened about the altar, and about his own hand, and gave him the names of divine man, and an excellent prophet, he endeavored

by a wicked trick to weaken that his opinion; and by using plausible words concerning what had happened, he aimed to injure the truth that was in them; for he attempted to persuade him that his hand was enfeebled by the labor it had undergone in supporting the sacrifices, and that upon its resting awhile it returned to its former nature again; and that as to the altar, it was but new, and had borne abundance of sacrifices, and those large ones too, and was accordingly broken to pieces, and fallen down by the weight of what had been laid upon it. He also informed him of the death of him that had foretold those things, and how he perished; [whence he concluded that] he had not any thing in him of a prophet, nor spake any thing like one. When he had thus spoken, he persuaded the king, and entirely alienated his mind from God, and from doing works that were righteous and holy, and encouraged him to go on in his impious practices and accordingly he was to that degree injurious to God, and so great a transgressor, that he sought for nothing else every day but how he might be guilty of some new instances of wickedness, and such as should be more detestable than what he had been so insolent as to do before. And so much shall at present suffice to have said concerning Jeroboam.

X

CHAPTER 10. Concerning Rehoboam, And How God Inflicted Punishment Upon Him For His Impiety By Shishak [King Of Egypt].

(1) [236] Ἦν δέ τις ἐν τῇ πόλει πρεσβύτης πονηρὸς ψευδοπροφήτης, ὃν εἶχεν ἐν τιμῇ Ἱεροβόαμος ἀπατώμενος ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν λέγοντος. οὗτος τότε μὲν κλινήρης ἦν διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ γήρως ἀσθένειαν, τῶν δὲ παίδων αὐτῷ δηλωσάντων τὰ περὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων προφήτου καὶ τῶν σημείων τῶν γενομένων, [237] καὶ ὡς παρεθεῖσαν αὐτῷ τὴν δεξιὰν Ἱεροβόαμος εὐξαμένου πάλιν ἐκείνου ζῶσαν ἀπολάβοι, δείσας μὴ παρευδοκιμήσειεν αὐτὸν ὁ ξένος παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ πλείονος ἀπολαύοι τιμῆς προσέταξε τοῖς παισὶν εὐθὺς ἐπιστρώσασι τὸν ὄνον ἕτοιμον πρὸς ἔξοδον αὐτῷ παρασκευάσαι. [238] τῶν δὲ σπευσάντων ὃ προσετάγησαν ἐπιβὰς ἐδίωξε τὸν προφήτην καὶ καταλαβὼν ἀναπαυόμενον ὑπὸ δένδρῳ δασεῖ καὶ σκιὰν ἔχοντι δρυὸς εὐμεγέθους ἠσπάσατο πρῶτον, εἶτ᾽ ἐμέμφετο μὴ παρ᾽ αὐτὸν εἰσελθόντα καὶ ξενίων μεταλαβόντα. [239] τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος κεκωλῦσθαι πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ γεύσασθαι παρά τινι τῶν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ πόλει, "ἀλλ᾽ οὐχὶ παρ᾽ ἐμοὶ πάντως, εἶπεν, ἀπηγόρευκέ σοι τὸ θεῖον παραθέσθαι τράπεζαν: προφήτης γάρ εἰμι κἀγὼ καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς σοι κοινωνὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν θρησκείας, καὶ πάρειμι νῦν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πεμφθείς. [240] ὅπως ἀγάγω σε πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν ἑστιασόμενον." ὁ δὲ ψευσαμένῳ πεισθεὶς ἀνέστρεψεν: ἀριστώντων δ᾽ ἔτι καὶ φιλοφρονουμένων ὁ θεὸς ἐπιφαίνεται τῷ Ἰάδωνι καὶ παραβάντα τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ τιμωρίαν ὑφέξειν ἔλεγεν καὶ ποδαπὴν ἐδήλου: λέοντα γὰρ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀπερχομένῳ συμβαλεῖν ἔφραζεν, ὑφ᾽ οὗ διαφθαρήσεσθαι καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς πατρῴοις μνήμασι ταφῆς ἀμοιρήσειν. [241] ταῦτα δ᾽ ἐγένετο οἶμαι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βούλησιν, ὅπως μὴ προσέχοι τοῖς τοῦ Ἰάδωνος λόγοις Ἱεροβόαμος ἐληλεγμένῳ ψευδεῖ. πορευομένῳ τοίνυν τῷ Ἰάδωνι πάλιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα συμβάλλει λέων καὶ κατασπάσας αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ κτήνους ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὸν μὲν ὄνον οὐδὲν ὅλως ἔβλαψε, παρακαθεζόμενος δ᾽ ἐφύλαττε κἀκεῖνον καὶ τὸ τοῦ προφήτου σῶμα, μέχρις οὗ τινες τῶν ὁδοιπόρων ἰδόντες ἀπήγγειλαν ἐλθόντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῷ ψευδοπροφήτῃ. [242] ὁ δὲ τοὺς υἱοὺς πέμψας ἐκόμισε τὸ σῶμα εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ πολυτελοῦς κηδείας ἠξίωσεν ἐντειλάμενος τοῖς παισὶ καὶ αὐτὸν ἀποθανόντα σὺν ἐκείνῳ θάψαι, λέγων ἀληθῆ μὲν εἶναι πάνθ᾽ ὅσα προεφήτευσε κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης καὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν, ὑβρισθήσεσθαι δ᾽ αὐτὸς μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν οὐδὲν σὺν ἐκείνῳ ταφεὶς τῶν ὀστῶν οὐ γνωρισθησομένων. [243] κηδεύσας οὖν τὸν προφήτην καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς υἱοῖς ἐντειλάμενος πονηρὸς ὢν καὶ ἀσεβὴς πρόσεισι τῷ Ἱεροβοάμῳ καὶ "τί δήποτ᾽ ἐταράχθης, εἰπών, ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ ἀνοήτου λόγων;" ὡς τὰ περὶ τὸ

θυσιαστήριον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ χεῖρα διηγήσαθ’ ὁ βασιλεὺς θεῖον ἀληθῶς καὶ προφήτην ἄριστον ἀποκαλῶν, ἤρξατο ταύτην αὐτοῦ τὴν δόξαν ἀναλύειν [κακουργῶν] καὶ πιθανοῖς περὶ τῶν γεγενημένων χρώμενος λόγοις βλάπτειν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. [244] ἐπεχείρει γὰρ πείθειν αὐτόν, ὡς ὑπὸ κόπου μὲν ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ ναρκήσειε βαστάζουσα τὰς θυσίας, εἶτ’ ἀνεθεῖσα πάλιν εἰς τὴν αὐτῆς ἐπανέλθοι φύσιν, τὸ δὲ θυσιαστήριον καινὸν ὂν καὶ δεξάμενον θυσίας πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ῥαγείη καὶ πέσοι διὰ βάρος τῶν ἐπενηνεγμένων. ἐδήλου δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ τὰ σημεῖα [ταῦτα] προειρηκότος ὡς ὑπὸ λέοντος ἀπώλετο: οὕτως οὐδὲ ἓν οὔτ’ εἶχεν [245] οὔτ’ ἐφθέγξατο προφήτου.” ταῦτα εἰπὼν πείθει τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ τελέως ἀποστρέψας ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ὁσίων ἔργων καὶ δικαίων ἐπὶ τὰς ἀσεβεῖς πράξεις παρώρμησεν. οὕτως δ’ ἐξύβρισεν εἰς τὸ θεῖον καὶ παρηνόμησεν, ὡς οὐδὲν ἄλλο καθ’ ἡμέραν ζητεῖν ἢ τί καινὸν καὶ μιαρώτερον τῶν ἤδη τετολμημένων ἐργάσηται. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἱεροβόαμον ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐν τούτοις ἡμῖν δεδηλώσθω.

1. Now Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, who, as we said before, was king of the two tribes, built strong and large cities, Bethlehem, and Etare, and Tekoa, and Bethzur, and Shoco, and Adullam, and Ipan, and Maresha, and Ziph, and Adorlam, and Lachlsh, and Azekah, and Zorah, and Aijalon, and Hebron; these he built first of all in the tribe of Judah. He also built other large cities in the tribe of Benjamin, and walled them about, and put garrisons in them all, and captains, and a great deal of corn, and wine, and oil, and he furnished every one of them plentifully with other provisions that were necessary for sustenance; moreover, he put therein shields and spears for many ten thousand men. The priests also that were in all Israel, and the Levites, and if there were any of the multitude that were good and righteous men, they gathered themselves together to him, having left their own cities, that they might worship God in Jerusalem; for they were not willing to be forced to worship the heifers which Jeroboam had made; and they augmented the kingdom of Rehoboam for three years. And after he had married a woman of his own kindred, and had by her three children born to him, he married also another of his own kindred, who was daughter of Absalom by Tamar, whose name was Maachah, and by her he had a son, whom he named Abijah. He had moreover many other children by other wives, but he loved Maachah above them all. Now he had eighteen legitimate wives, and thirty concubines; and he had born to him twenty-eight sons and threescore daughters; but he appointed Abijah, whom he had by Maachah, to be his successor in the kingdom, and intrusted him already with the treasures and the strongest cities.

(2) [246] Ὁ δὲ Σολόμωνος υἱὸς Ῥοβόαμος ὁ τῶν δύο φυλῶν βασιλεύς, ὡς προειρήκαμεν, ᾠκοδόμησε πόλεις ὀχυράς τε καὶ μεγάλας Βηθλεὲμ καὶ Ἠταμὲ

καὶ Θεκωὲ καὶ Βηθσοὺρ καὶ Σωχὼ καὶ Ὀδολλὰμ καὶ Εἰπὰν καὶ Μάρισαν καὶ τὴν Ζιφὰ καὶ Ἀδωραὶμ καὶ Λάχεις καὶ Ἀζηκὰ καὶ Σαρὰμ καὶ Ἠλὼμ καὶ Χεβρῶνα. [247] ταύτας μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ φυλῇ [καὶ κληρουχίᾳ] πρώτας ᾠκοδόμησε, κατεσκεύασε δὲ καὶ ἄλλας μεγάλας ἐν τῇ Βενιαμίδι κληρουχίᾳ, καὶ τειχίσας φρουράς τε κατέστησεν ἐν ἁπάσαις καὶ ἡγεμόνας σῖτόν τε πολὺν καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἔλαιον τά τε ἄλλα πρὸς διατροφὴν ἐν ἑκάστῃ τῶν πόλεων δαψιλῶς ἀπέθετο, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις θυρεοὺς καὶ σιρομάστας εἰς πολλὰς μυριάδας. [248] συνῆλθον δὲ οἱ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις ἱερεῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ Ληουῖται καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι τοῦ πλήθους ἦσαν ἀγαθοὶ καὶ δίκαιοι καταλιπόντες αὐτῶν τὰς πόλεις, ἵνα θρησκεύσωσιν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις τὸν θεόν: οὐ γὰρ ἡδέως εἶχον προσκυνεῖν ἀναγκαζόμενοι τὰς δαμάλεις, ἃς Ἱεροβόαμος κατεσκεύασε: καὶ ηὔξησαν τὴν Ῥοβοάμου βασιλείαν ἐπ᾽ ἔτη τρία. [249] γήμας δὲ συγγενῆ τινα καὶ τρεῖς ποιησάμενος ἐξ αὐτῆς παῖδας ἤγετο ὕστερον καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἀψαλώμου θυγατρὸς Θαμάρης Μαχάνην ὄνομα καὶ αὐτὴν οὖσαν συγγενῆ: καὶ παῖς ἐξ αὐτῆς ἄρρην αὐτῷ γίνεται, ὃν Ἀβίαν προσηγόρευσεν. τεκνοῖ δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων γυναικῶν πλειόνων, ἁπασῶν δὲ μᾶλλον ἔστερξε τὴν Μαχάνην. [250] εἶχε δὲ τὰς μὲν νόμῳ συνοικούσας αὐτῷ γυναῖκας ὀκτωκαίδεκα παλλακὰς δὲ τριάκοντα, καὶ υἱοὶ μὲν αὐτῷ γεγόνεισαν ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι θυγατέρες δ᾽ ἑξήκοντα. διάδοχον δὲ ἀπέδειξε τῆς βασιλείας τὸν ἐκ τῆς Μαχάνης Ἀβίαν καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς ὀχυρωτάτας πόλεις ἐπίστευσεν.

2. Now I cannot but think that the greatness of a kingdom, and its change into prosperity, often become the occasion of mischief and of transgression to men; for when Rehoboam saw that his kingdom was so much increased, he went out of the right way unto unrighteous and irreligious practices, and he despised the worship of God, till the people themselves imitated his wicked actions: for so it usually happens, that the manners of subjects are corrupted at the same time with those of their governors, which subjects then lay aside their own sober way of living, as a reproof of their governors' intemperate courses, and follow their wickedness as if it were virtue; for it is not possible to show that men approve of the actions of their kings, unless they do the same actions with them. Agreeable whereto it now happened to the subjects of Rehoboam; for when he was grown impious, and a transgressor himself, they endeavored not to offend him by resolving still to be righteous. But God sent Shishak, king of Egypt, to punish them for their unjust behavior towards him, concerning whom Herodotus was mistaken, and applied his actions to Sesostris; for this Shishak, in the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam, made an expedition [into Judea] with many ten thousand men; for he had one thousand two hundred chariots in number that followed him, and threescore thousand horsemen, and four hundred thousand

footmen. These he brought with him, and they were the greatest part of them Libyans and Ethiopians. Now therefore when he fell upon the country of the Hebrews, he took the strongest cities of Rehoboam's kingdom without fighting; and when he had put garrisons in them, he came last of all to Jerusalem.

(3) [251] Αἴτιον δ' οἶμαι πολλάκις γίνεται κακῶν καὶ παρανομίας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ τῶν πραγμάτων μέγεθος καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον αὐτῶν τροπή: τὴν γὰρ βασιλείαν αὐξανομένην οὕτω βλέπων Ῥοβόαμος εἰς ἀδίκους καὶ ἀσεβεῖς ἐξετράπη πράξεις καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείας κατεφρόνησεν, ὡς καὶ τὸν ὑπ' αὐτῷ λαὸν μιμητὴν γενέσθαι τῶν ἀνομημάτων. [252] συνδιαφθείρεται γὰρ τὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἤθη τοῖς τῶν ἡγουμένων τρόποις, καὶ ὡς ἔλεγχον τῆς ἐκείνων ἀσελγείας τὴν αὐτῶν σωφροσύνην παραπέμποντες ὡς ἀρετῇ ταῖς κακίαις αὐτῶν ἔπονται: οὐ γὰρ ἔνεστιν ἀποδέχεσθαι δοκεῖν τὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἔργα μὴ ταὐτὰ πράττοντας. [253] τοῦτο τοίνυν συνέβαινε καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ Ῥοβοάμῳ τεταγμένοις ἀσεβοῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ παρανομοῦντος σπουδάζειν, μὴ προσκρούσωσι τῷ βασιλεῖ θέλοντες εἶναι δίκαιοι. τιμωρὸν δὲ τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ὕβρεων ὁ θεὸς ἐπιπέμπει τὸν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα Ἴσωκον, περὶ οὗ πλανηθεὶς Ἡρόδοτος τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ Σεσώστρει προσάπτει. [254] οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Ἴσωκος πέμπτῳ ἔτει τῆς Ῥοβοάμου βασιλείας ἐπιστρατεύεται μετὰ πολλῶν αὐτῷ μυριάδων: ἅρματα μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ χίλια καὶ διακόσια τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἠκολούθει, ἱππέων δὲ μυριάδες ἕξ, πεζῶν δὲ μυριάδες τεσσαράκοντα. τούτων τοὺς πλείστους Λίβυας ἐπήγετο καὶ Αἰθίοπας. [255] ἐμβαλὼν οὖν εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν Ἑβραίων καταλαμβάνει τε τὰς ὀχυρωτάτας τῆς Ῥοβοάμου βασιλείας πόλεις ἀμαχητὶ καὶ ταύτας ἀσφαλισάμενος ἔσχατον ἐπῆλθε τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐγκεκλεισμένου τοῦ Ῥοβοάμου καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἐν αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν Ἰσώκου στρατείαν καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἱκετευόντων δοῦναι νίκην καὶ σωτηρίαν: [256] ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔπεισαν τὸν θεὸν ταχθῆναι μετ' αὐτῶν: ὁ δὲ προφήτης Σαμαίας ἔφησεν αὐτοῖς τὸν θεὸν ἀπειλεῖν ἐγκαταλείψειν αὐτούς, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν θρησκείαν αὐτοῦ κατέλιπον. ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες εὐθὺς ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀνέπεσον καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι σωτήριον ὁρῶντες ἐξομολογεῖσθαι πάντες ὥρμησαν, ὅτι δικαίως αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ὑπερόψεται γενομένους περὶ αὐτὸν ἀσεβεῖς καὶ συγχέοντας τὰ νόμιμα. [257] κατιδὼν δ' αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς οὕτω διακειμένους καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἀνθομολογουμένους οὐκ ἀπολέσειν αὐτοὺς εἶπε πρὸς τὸν προφήτην, ποιήσειν μέντοι γε τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ὑποχειρίους, ἵνα μάθωσι πότερον ἀνθρώπῳ δουλεύειν ἐστὶν ἀπονώτερον ἢ θεῷ. [258] παραλαβὼν δὲ Ἴσωκος ἀμαχητὶ τὴν πόλιν δεξαμένου Ῥοβοάμου διὰ τὸν φόβον οὐκ ἐνέμεινε ταῖς γενομέναις συνθήκαις, ἀλλ' ἐσύλησε τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἐξεκένωσε τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοὺς βασιλικοὺς χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου μυριάδας ἀναριθμήτους βαστάσας καὶ μηδὲν ὅλως ὑπολιπών. [259] περιεῖλε δὲ καὶ τοὺς χρυσοῦς θυρεοὺς καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας, ἃς κατεσκεύασε Σολόμων ὁ βασιλεύς, οὐκ εἴασε δὲ οὐδὲ τὰς χρυσᾶς φαρέτρας, ἃς

ἀνέθηκε Δαυίδης τῷ θεῷ λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ τῆς Σωφηνῆς βασιλέως, καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσας ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα. [260] μέμνηται δὲ ταύτης τῆς στρατείας καὶ ὁ Ἁλικαρνασεὺς Ἡρόδοτος περὶ μόνον τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως πλανηθεὶς ὄνομα, καὶ ὅτι ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς ἐπῆλθεν ἔθνεσι καὶ τὴν Παλαιστίνην Συρίαν ἐδουλώσατο λαβὼν ἀμαχητὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ. [261] φανερὸν δ' ἐστίν, ὅτι τὸ ἡμέτερον ἔθνος βούλεται δηλοῦν κεχειρωμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου: ἐπάγει γάρ, ὅτι στήλας κατέλιπεν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀμαχητὶ παραδόντων ἑαυτοὺς αἰδοῖα γυναικῶν ἐγγράψας: Ῥοβόαμος δ' αὐτῷ παρέδωκεν ὁ ἡμέτερος βασιλεὺς ἀμαχητὶ τὴν πόλιν. [262] φησὶ δὲ καὶ Αἰθίοπας παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθηκέναι τὴν τῶν αἰδοίων περιτομήν: Φοίνικες γὰρ καὶ Σύροι οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ὁμολογοῦσι παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθηκέναι." δῆλον οὖν ἐστιν, ὅτι μηδένες ἄλλοι περιτέμνονται τῶν ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Σύρων ἢ μόνοι ἡμεῖς. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἕκαστοι λεγέτωσαν ὅ τι ἂν αὐτοῖς δοκῇ.

3. Now when Rehoboam, and the multitude with him, were shut up in Jerusalem by the means of the army of Shishak, and when they besought God to give them victory and deliverance, they could not persuade God to be on their side. But Shemaiah the prophet told them, that God threatened to forsake them, as they had themselves forsaken his worship. When they heard this, they were immediately in a consternation of mind; and seeing no way of deliverance, they all earnestly set themselves to confess that God might justly overlook them, since they had been guilty of impiety towards him, and had let his laws lie in confusion. So when God saw them in that disposition, and that they acknowledge their sins, he told the prophet that he would not destroy them, but that he would, however, make them servants to the Egyptians, that they may learn whether they will suffer less by serving men or God. So when Shishak had taken the city without fighting, because Rehoboam was afraid, and received him into it, yet did not Shishak stand to the covenants he had made, but he spoiled the temple, and emptied the treasures of God, and those of the king, and carried off innumerable ten thousands of gold and silver, and left nothing at all behind him. He also took away the bucklers of gold, and the shields, which Solomon the king had made; nay, he did not leave the golden quivers which David had taken from the king of Zobah, and had dedicated to God; and when he had thus done, he returned to his own kingdom. Now Herodotus of Halicarnassus mentions this expedition, having only mistaken the king's name; and [in saying that] he made war upon many other nations also, and brought Syria of Palestine into subjection, and took the men that were therein prisoners without fighting. Now it is manifest that he intended to declare that our nation was subdued by him; for he saith that he left behind him pillars in the land of those that delivered

themselves up to him without fighting, and engraved upon them the secret parts of women. Now our king Rehoboam delivered up our city without fighting. He says withal that the Ethiopians learned to circumcise their privy parts from the Egyptians, with this addition, that the Phoenicians and Syrians that live in Palestine confess that they learned it of the Egyptians. Yet it is evident that no other of the Syrians that live in Palestine, besides us alone, are circumcised. But as to such matters, let every one speak what is agreeable to his own opinion.

(4) [263] Ἀναχωρήσαντος δὲ Ἰσώκου Ῥοβόαμος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀντὶ μὲν τῶν χρυσέων θυρεῶν καὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων χάλκεα ποιήσας τὸν αὐτὸν ἀριθμὸν παρέδωκε τοῖς τῶν βασιλείων φύλαξιν. ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ μετὰ στρατηγίας ἐπιφανοῦς καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι λαμπρότητος διάγειν ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ πολλῇ καὶ δέει πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἐχθρὸς ὢν Ἱεροβοάμῳ. [264] ἐτελεύτησε δὲ βιώσας ἔτη πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ βασιλεύσας δ' αὐτῶν ἑπτακαίδεκα, τὸν τρόπον ἀλαζὼν ἀνὴρ καὶ ἀνόητος καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ προσέχειν τοῖς πατρῴοις φίλοις τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολέσας: ἐτάφη δ' ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐν ταῖς θήκαις τῶν βασιλέων. διεδέξατο δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ υἱὸς Ἀβίας ὄγδοον ἤδη καὶ δέκατον ἔτος Ἱεροβοάμου τῶν δέκα φυλῶν βασιλεύοντος. [265] καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τοιοῦτον ἔσχε τὸ τέλος: τὰ δὲ περὶ Ἱεροβόαμον ἀκόλουθα τούτων ἔχομεν πῶς κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον διεξελθεῖν: οὗτος γὰρ οὐ διέλιπεν οὐδ' ἠρέμησεν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐξυβρίζων, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπὶ τῶν ὑψηλῶν ὀρῶν βωμοὺς ἀνιστὰς καὶ ἱερεῖς ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους ἀποδεικνὺς διετέλει.

4. When Shishak was gone away, king Rehoboam made bucklers and shields of brass, instead of those of gold, and delivered the same number of them to the keepers of the king's palace. So, instead of warlike expeditions, and that glory which results from those public actions, he reigned in great quietness, though not without fear, as being always an enemy to Jeroboam, and he died when he had lived fifty-seven years, and reigned seventeen. He was in his disposition a proud and a foolish man, and lost [part of his] dominions by not hearkening to his father's friends. He was buried in Jerusalem, in the sepulchers of the kings; and his son Abijah succeeded him in the kingdom, and this in the eighteenth year of Jeroboam's reign over the ten tribes; and this was the conclusion of these affairs. It must be now our business to relate the affairs of Jeroboam, and how he ended his life; for he ceased not nor rested to be injurious to God, but every day raised up altars upon high mountains, and went on making priests out of the multitude.

XI

CHAPTER 11. Concerning The Death Of A Son Of Jeroboam. How Jeroboam Was Beaten By Abijah Who Died A Little Afterward And Was Succeeded In His Kingdom By Asa. And Also How, After The Death Of Jeroboam Baasha Destroyed His Son Nadab And All The House Of Jeroboam.

(1) [266] Ταῦτα δ᾽ ἔμελλεν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τἀσεβήματα καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δίκην εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ κεφαλὴν καὶ πάσης αὐτοῦ τῆς γενεᾶς τρέψειν τὸ θεῖον. κάμνοντος δ᾽ αὐτῷ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ παιδός, ὃν Ὀβίμην ἐκάλουν, τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ προσέταξε τὴν στολὴν ἀποθεμένην καὶ σχῆμα λαβοῦσαν ἰδιωτικὸν πορευθῆναι πρὸς Ἀχίαν τὸν προφήτην: [267] εἶναι γὰρ θαυμαστὸν ἄνδρα περὶ τῶν μελλόντων προειπεῖν: καὶ γὰρ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῷ τοῦτον δεδηλωκέναι: παραγενομένην δ᾽ ἐκέλευσε περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀνακρίνειν ὡς ξένην, εἰ διαφεύξεται τὴν νόσον. ἡ δὲ μετασχηματισαμένη, καθὼς αὐτῇ προσέταξεν ὁ ἀνήρ, ἦκεν εἰς Σιλὼ πόλιν: ἐκεῖ γὰρ διέτριβεν ὁ Ἀχίας. [268] καὶ μελλούσης εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ εἰσιέναι τὰς ὄψεις ἠμαυρωμένου διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἐπιφανεὶς ὁ θεὸς ἀμφότερα αὐτῷ μηνύει τήν τε Ἱεροβοάμου γυναῖκα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφιγμένην καὶ τί δεῖ περὶ ὧν πάρεστιν ἀποκρίνασθαι. [269] παριούσης δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ὡς ἰδιώτιδος καὶ ξένης ἀνεβόησεν “εἴσελθε, ὦ γύναι Ἱεροβοάμου: τί κρύπτεις σαυτήν; τὸν γὰρ θεὸν οὐ λανθάνεις, ὃς ἀφιξομένην τέ μοι ἐδήλωσε καὶ προσέταξε τίνας ποιήσομαι τοὺς λόγους. ἀπελθοῦσα οὖν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα φράζε αὐτῷ ταῦτα λέγειν: [270] ἐπεί σε μέγαν ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ μηδενὸς ὄντος ἐποίησα καὶ ἀποσχίσας τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαυίδου γένους σοὶ ταύτην ἔδωκα, σὺ δὲ τούτων ἠμνημόνησας καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν θρησκείαν καταλιπὼν χωνευτοὺς θεοὺς κατασκευάσας ἐκείνους τιμᾷς, οὕτω σε πάλιν καθαιρήσω καὶ πᾶν ἐξολέσω σου τὸ γένος καὶ κυσὶ καὶ ὄρνισι βορὰν ποιήσω γενέσθαι. [271] βασιλεὺς γὰρ ἐξεγείρεθ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ τοῦ λαοῦ παντός, ὃς οὐδένα ὑπολείψει τοῦ Ἱεροβοάμου γένους: μεθέξει δὲ τῆς τιμωρίας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐκπεσὸν τῆς ἀγαθῆς γῆς καὶ διασπαρὲν εἰς τοὺς πέραν Εὐφράτου τόπους, ὅτι τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως ἀσεβήμασι κατηκολούθησε καὶ τοὺς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ γενομένους προσκυνεῖ θεοὺς τὴν ἐμὴν θυσίαν ἐγκαταλιπόν. [272] σὺ δέ, ὦ γύναι, ταῦτα ἀπαγγέλλουσα σπεῦδε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα. τὸν δὲ υἱὸν καταλήψῃ τεθνηκότα: σοῦ γὰρ εἰσιούσης εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπολείψει τὸ ζῆν αὐτόν. ταφήσεται δὲ κλαυθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους παντὸς κοινῷ τιμηθεὶς πένθει: καὶ γὰρ μόνος τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἱεροβοάμου γένους [273] ἀγαθὸς οὗτος

ἦν.” ταῦτ’ αὐτοῦ προφητεύσαντος ἐκπηδήσασα ἡ γυνὴ τεταραγμένη καὶ τῷ τοῦ προειρημένου παιδὸς θανάτῳ περιαλγής, θρηνοῦσα διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τὴν μέλλουσαν τοῦ τέκνου κοπτομένη τελευτὴν ἀθλία τοῦ πάθους ἠπείγετο κακοῖς ἀμηχάνοις καὶ σπουδῇ μὲν ἀτυχεῖ χρωμένη διὰ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς, ἔμελλε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπειχθεῖσα θᾶττον ὄψεσθαι νεκρόν, ἀναγκαίᾳ δὲ διὰ τὸν ἄνδρα. καὶ παραγενομένη τὸν μὲν ἐκπεπνευκότα καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ προφήτης εὗρε, τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ πάντα ἀπήγγειλεν.

1. However, God was in no long time ready to return Jeroboam’s wicked actions, and the punishment they deserved, upon his own head, and upon the heads of all his house. And whereas a soil of his lay sick at that time, who was called Abijah, he enjoined his wife to lay aside her robes, and to take the garments belonging to a private person, and to go to Ahijah the prophet, for that he was a wonderful man in foretelling futurities, it having been he who told me that I should be king. He also enjoined her, when she came to him, to inquire concerning the child, as if she were a stranger, whether he should escape this distemper. So she did as her husband bade her, and changed her habit, and came to the city Shiloh, for there did Ahijah live. And as she was going into his house, his eyes being then dim with age, God appeared to him, and informed him of two things; that the wife of Jeroboam was come to him, and what answer he should make to her inquiry. Accordingly, as the woman was coming into the house like a private person and a stranger, he cried out, “Come in, O thou wife of Jeroboam! Why concealest thou thyself? Thou art not concealed from God, who hath appeared to me, and informed me that thou wast coming, and hath given me in command what I shall say to thee.” So he said that she should go away to her husband, and speak to him thus: “Since I made thee a great man when thou wast little, or rather wast nothing, and rent the kingdom from the house of David, and gave it to thee, and thou hast been unmindful of these benefits, hast left off my worship, hast made thee molten gods and honored them, I will in like manner cast thee down again, and will destroy all thy house, and make them food for the dogs and the fowls; for a certain king is rising up, by appointment, over all this people, who shall leave none of the family of Jeroboam remaining. The multitude also shall themselves partake of the same punishment, and shall be cast out of this good land, and shall be scattered into the places beyond Euphrates, because they have followed the wicked practices of their king, and have worshipped the gods that he made, and forsaken my sacrifices. But do thou, O woman, make haste back to thy husband, and tell him this message; but thou shalt then find thy son dead, for as thou enterest the city he shall depart this life; yet shall he be buried with the lamentation of all the multitude, and honored with a general mourning, for he

was the only person of goodness of Jeroboam's family." When the prophet had foretold these events, the woman went hastily away with a disordered mind, and greatly grieved at the death of the forenamed child. So she was in lamentation as she went along the road, and mourned for the death of her son, that was just at hand. She was indeed in a miserable condition at the unavoidable misery of his death, and went apace, but in circumstances very unfortunate, because of her son: for the greater haste she made, she would the sooner see her son dead, yet was she forced to make such haste on account of her husband. Accordingly, when she was come back, she found that the child had given up the ghost, as the prophet had said; and she related all the circumstances to the king.

(2) [274] Ἱεροβόαμος δ' οὐδενὸς τούτων φροντίσας πολλὴν ἀθροίσας στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥοβοάμου παῖδα τῶν δύο φυλῶν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ πατρὸς διαδεξάμενον Ἀβίαν ἐξεστράτευσε πολεμήσων: κατεφρόνει γὰρ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας τὴν ἔφοδον τὴν Ἱεροβοάμου πρὸς αὐτὴν οὐ κατεπλάγη, γενόμενος δ' ἐπάνω καὶ τῆς νεότητος τῷ φρονήματι καὶ τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ πολεμίου στρατιὰν ἐπιλέξας ἐκ τῶν δύο φυλῶν ἀπήντησε τῷ Ἱεροβοάμῳ εἰς τόπον τινὰ καλούμενον ὄρος Σαμαρῶν καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενος ἐγγὺς αὐτοῦ τὰ πρὸς τὴν μάχην εὐτρέπιζεν. [275] ἦν δ' ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ μυριάδες τεσσαράκοντα, ἡ δὲ τοῦ Ἱεροβοάμου στρατιὰ διπλασίων ἐκείνης. ὡς δὲ τὰ στρατεύματα πρὸς τὰ ἔργα καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους ἀντιπαρετάσσετο καὶ συμβαλεῖν ἔμελλε, στὰς ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ τινος Ἀβίας τόπου καὶ τῇ χειρὶ κατασείσας τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὸν Ἱεροβόαμον ἀκοῦσαι πρῶτον αὐτοῦ μεθ' ἡσυχίας ἠξίωσε. [276] γενομένης δὲ σιωπῆς ἤρξατο λέγειν: "ὅτι μὲν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὁ θεὸς Δαυίδῃ καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις αὐτοῦ κατένευσεν εἰς ἅπαντα χρόνον, οὐδ' ὑμεῖς ἀγνοεῖτε, θαυμάζω δέ, πῶς ἀποστάντες τοὐμοῦ πατρὸς τῷ δούλῳ Ἱεροβοάμῳ προσέθεσθε καὶ μετ' ἐκείνου πάρεστε νῦν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ βασιλεύειν κεκριμένους πολεμήσοντες καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφαιρησόμενοι τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν: τὴν μὲν γὰρ πλείω μέχρι νῦν Ἱεροβόαμος ἀδίκως ἔχει. [277] ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶμαι καὶ ταύτης αὐτὸν ἀπολαύσειν ἐπὶ πλείονα χρόνον, ἀλλὰ δοὺς καὶ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος δίκην τῷ θεῷ παύσεται τῆς παρανομίας καὶ τῶν ὕβρεων, ἃς οὐ διαλέλοιπεν εἰς αὐτὸν ὑβρίζων καὶ ταὐτὰ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀναπεπεικώς, οἳ μηδὲν ἀδικηθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐκκλησιάζων ὡμίλησεν ἀνθρώπων πονηρῶν συμβουλίᾳ πεισθείς, ἐγκατελίπετε τῷ δοκεῖν ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἐκεῖνον, ταῖς δ' ἀληθείαις αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου νόμων ἀπεσπάσατε. [278] καίτοι συνεγνωκέναι καλῶς εἶχεν ὑμᾶς οὐ λόγων μόνον δυσκόλων ἀνδρὶ νέῳ καὶ δημαγωγίας ἀπείρῳ, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ πρός τι δυσχερὲς ἡ νεότης αὐτὸν καὶ ἡ ἀμαθία τῶν πραττομένων ἐξῆγεν ἔργον, διά τε Σολόμωνα τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὰς εὐεργεσίας τὰς ἐκείνου: παραίτησιν γὰρ εἶναι δεῖ τῆς τῶν ἐγγόνων ἁμαρτίας τὰς τῶν πατέρων εὐποιίας. [279] ὑμεῖς δ'

οὐδὲν τούτων ἐλογίσασθε οὔτε τότ᾽ οὔτε νῦν, ἀλλ᾽ ἦκε στρατὸς ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς τοσοῦτος: τίνι καὶ πεπιστευκὼς περὶ τῆς νίκης; ἢ ταῖς χρυσαῖς δαμάλεσι καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρῶν βωμοῖς, ἃ δείγματα τῆς ἀσεβείας ἐστὶν ὑμῶν ἀλλ᾽ οὐχὶ τῆς θρησκείας; ἢ τὸ πλῆθος ὑμᾶς εὐέλπιδας ἀπεργάζεται τὴν ἡμετέραν στρατιὰν ὑπερβάλλον; [280] ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἥτις ἰσχὺς μυριάδων στρατοῦ μετ᾽ ἀδικημάτων πολεμοῦντος: ἐν γὰρ μόνῳ τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβεῖ τὴν βεβαιοτάτην ἐλπίδα τοῦ κρατεῖν τῶν ἐναντίων ἀποκεῖσθαι συμβέβηκεν, ἥτις ἐστὶ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν τετηρηκόσιν ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς τὰ νόμιμα καὶ τὸν ἴδιον θεὸν σεβομένοις, ὃν οὐ χεῖρες ἐποίησαν ἐξ ὕλης φθαρτῆς οὐδ᾽ ἐπίνοια πονηροῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ὄχλων ἀπάτῃ κατεσκεύασεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὃς ἔργον ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος τῶν ἁπάντων. [281] συμβουλεύω τοιγαροῦν ὑμῖν ἔτι καὶ νῦν μεταγνῶναι καὶ λαβόντας ἀμείνω λογισμὸν παύσασθαι τοῦ πολεμεῖν καὶ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὸ προαγαγὸν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον μέγεθος εὐδαιμονίας γνωρίσαι.”

2. Yet did not Jeroboam lay any of these things to heart, but he brought together a very numerous army, and made a warlike expedition against Abijah, the son of Rehoboam, who had succeeded his father in the kingdom of the two tribes; for he despised him because of his age. But when he heard of the expedition of Jeroboam, he was not affrighted at it, but proved of a courageous temper of mind, superior both to his youth and to the hopes of his enemy; so he chose him an army out of the two tribes, and met Jeroboam at a place called Mount Zemaraim, and pitched his camp near the other, and prepared everything necessary for the fight. His army consisted of four hundred thousand, but the army of Jeroboam was double to it. Now as the armies stood in array, ready for action and dangers, and were just going to fight, Abijah stood upon an elevated place, and beckoning with his hand, he desired the multitude and Jeroboam himself to hear first with silence what he had to say. And when silence was made, he began to speak, and told them,— “God had consented that David and his posterity should be their rulers for all time to come, and this you yourselves are not unacquainted with; but I cannot but wonder how you should forsake my father, and join yourselves to his servant Jeroboam, and are now here with him to fight against those who, by God’s own determination, are to reign, and to deprive them of that dominion which they have still retained; for as to the greater part of it, Jeroboam is unjustly in possession of it. However, I do not suppose he will enjoy it any longer; but when he hath suffered that punishment which God thinks due to him for what is past, he will leave off the transgressions he hath been guilty of, and the injuries he hath offered to him, and which he hath still continued to offer and hath persuaded you to do the same: yet when you were not any further unjustly treated by my father, than that he did not speak to you so

as to please you, and this only in compliance with the advice of wicked men, you in anger forsook him, as you pretended, but, in reality, you withdrew yourselves from God, and from his laws, although it had been right for you to have forgiven a man that was young in age, and not used to govern people, not only some disagreeable words, but if his youth and unskilfulness in affairs had led him into some unfortunate actions, and that for the sake of his father Solomon, and the benefits you received from him; for men ought to excuse the sins of posterity on account of the benefactions of parent; but you considered nothing of all this then, neither do you consider it now, but come with so great an army against us. And what is it you depend upon for victory? Is it upon these golden heifers, and the altars that you have on high places, which are demonstrations of your impiety, and not of religious worship? Or is it the exceeding multitude of your army which gives you such good hopes? Yet certainly there is no strength at all in an army of many ten thousands, when the war is unjust; for we ought to place our surest hopes of success against our enemies in righteousness alone, and in piety towards God; which hope we justly have, since we have kept the laws from the beginning, and have worshipped our own God, who was not made by hands out of corruptible matter; nor was he formed by a wicked king, in order to deceive the multitude; but who is his own workmanship, and the beginning and end of all things. I therefore give you counsel even now to repent, and to take better advice, and to leave off the prosecution of the war; to call to mind the laws of your country, and to reflect what it hath been that hath advanced you to so happy a state as you are now in."

(3) [282] Ταῦτα μὲν Ἀβίας διελέχθη πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος: ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος λάθρα τινὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν Ἱεροβόαμος ἔπεμψε περικυκλωσομένους τὸν Ἀβίαν ἔκ τινων οὐ φανερῶν τοῦ στρατοπέδου μερῶν. μέσου δ' αὐτοῦ περιληφθέντος τῶν πολεμίων ἡ μὲν στρατιὰ κατέδεισε καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀνέπεσεν, ὁ δ' Ἀβίας παρεθάρρυνε καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχειν ἐν τῷ θεῷ παρεκάλει: τοῦτον γὰρ οὐ κεκυκλῶσθαι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων. [283] οἱ δὲ ὁμοῦ πάντες ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ συμμαχίαν τῶν ἱερέων τῇ σάλπιγγι σημανάντων ἀλαλάξαντες ἐχώρησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους: καὶ τῶν μὲν ἔθραυσε τὰ φρονήματα καὶ τὰς ἀκμὰς αὐτῶν ἐξέλυσεν ὁ θεός, τὴν δὲ Ἀβία στρατιὰν ὑπερτέραν ἐποίησεν: [284] ὅσος γὰρ οὐδέποτ' ἐμνημονεύθη φόνος ἐν πολέμῳ γεγονέναι οὔθ' Ἑλλήνων οὔτε βαρβάρων, τοσούτους ἀποκτείναντες τῆς Ἱεροβοάμου δυνάμεως θαυμαστὴν καὶ διαβόητον νίκην παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαβεῖν ἠξιώθησαν: πεντήκοντα γὰρ μυριάδας τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατέβαλον καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν διήρπασαν τὰς ὀχυρωτάτας ἑλόντες κατὰ κράτος, τήν τε Βηθήλην καὶ τὴν τοπαρχίαν αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν Ἰσανὰν καὶ τὴν τοπαρχίαν αὐτῆς. [285] καὶ Ἱεροβόαμος μὲν οὐκέτι μετὰ

ταύτην τὴν ἧτταν ἴσχυσεν ἐφ᾽ ὅσον Ἀβίας περιῆν χρόνον. τελευτᾷ δ᾽ οὗτος ὀλίγον τῇ νίκῃ χρόνον ἐπιζήσας ἔτη βασιλεύσας τρία, καὶ θάπτεται μὲν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐν ταῖς προγονικαῖς θήκαις, ἀπολείπει δὲ υἱοὺς μὲν δύο καὶ εἴκοσι θυγατέρας δὲ ἓξ καὶ δέκα. πάντας τούτους ἐκ γυναικῶν δεκατεσσάρων ἐτεκνώσατο. [286] διεδέξατο δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἄσανος: καὶ ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ νεανίσκου Μαχαία τοὔνομα. τούτου κρατοῦντος εἰρήνης ἀπέλαυεν ἡ χώρα τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐπὶ ἔτη δέκα.

3. This was the speech which Abijah made to the multitude. But while he was still speaking Jeroboam sent some of his soldiers privately to encompass Abijab round about, on certain parts of the camp that were not taken notice of; and when he was thus within the compass of the enemy, his army was affrighted, and their courage failed them; but Abijah encouraged them, and exhorted them to place their hopes on God, for that he was not encompassed by the enemy. So they all at once implored the Divine assistance, while the priests sounded with the trumpet, and they made a shout, and fell upon their enemies, and God brake the courage and cast down the force of their enemies, and made Ahijah's army superior to them; for God vouchsafed to grant them a wonderful and very famous victory; and such a slaughter was now made of Jeroboam's army as is never recorded to have happened in any other war, whether it were of the Greeks or of the Barbarians, for they overthrew [and slew] five hundred thousand of their enemies, and they took their strongest cities by force, and spoiled them; and besides those, they did the same to Bethel and her towns, and Jeshanah and her towns. And after this defeat Jeroboam never recovered himself during the life of Abijah, who yet did not long survive, for he reigned but three years, and was buried in Jerusalem in the sepulchers of his forefathers. He left behind him twenty-two sons, and sixteen daughters; and he had also those children by fourteen wives; and Asa his son succeeded in the kingdom; and the young man's mother was Michaiah. Under his reign the country of the Israelites enjoyed peace for ten years.

(4) [287] Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀβίαν τὸν Ῥοβοάμου τοῦ Σολόμωνος οὕτως παρειλήφαμεν. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ καὶ Ἱεροβόαμος ὁ τῶν δέκα φυλῶν βασιλεὺς ἄρξας ἔτη δύο καὶ εἴκοσι. διαδέχεται δ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁ παῖς Νάβαδος δευτέρου ἔτους ἤδη τῆς βασιλείας Ἀσάνου διεληλυθότος. ἦρξε δὲ ὁ τοῦ Ἱεροβοάμου παῖς ἔτη δύο τῷ πατρὶ τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ τὴν πονηρίαν ἐμφερὴς ὤν. [288] ἐν δὲ τούτοις τοῖς δυσὶν ἔτεσι στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Γαβαθῶνα πόλιν Παλαιστίνων οὖσαν πολιορκίᾳ λαβεῖν αὐτὴν προσέμενεν: ἐπιβουλευθεὶς δ᾽ ἐκεῖ ὑπὸ φίλου τινὸς Βασάνου ὄνομα Σειδοῦ δὲ παιδὸς ἀποθνήσκει, ὃς μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν ἅπαν τὸ Ἱεροβοάμου γένος διέφθειρε. [289] καὶ συνέβη κατὰ τὴν τοῦ

θεοῦ προφητείαν τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Ἱεροβοάμου συγγενῶν ἀποθανόντας ὑπὸ κυνῶν σπαραχθῆναι καὶ δαπανηθῆναι, τοὺς δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ὑπ᾽ ὀρνίθων. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἱεροβοάμου οἶκος τῆς ἀσεβείας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀνομημάτων ἀξίαν ὑπέσχε δίκην.

4. And so far concerning Abijah, the son of Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, as his history hath come down to us. But Jeroboam, the king of the ten tribes, died when he had governed them two and twenty years; whose son Nadab succeeded him, in the second year of the reign of Asa. Now Jeroboam's son governed two years, and resembled his father in impiety and wickedness. In these two years he made an expedition against Gibbethon, a city of the Philistines, and continued the siege in order to take it; but he was conspired against while he was there by a friend of his, whose name was Baasha, the son of Ahijah, and was slain; which Baasha took the kingdom after the other's death, and destroyed the whole house of Jeroboam. It also came to pass, according as God had foretold, that some of Jeroboam's kindred that died in the city were torn to pieces and devoured by dogs, and that others of them that died in the fields were torn and devoured by the fowls. So the house of Jeroboam suffered the just punishment of his impiety, and of his wicked actions.

XII

CHAPTER 12. How Zerah, King Of The Ethiopians, Was Beaten By Asa; And How Asa, Upon Baasha's Making War Against Him, Invited The King Of The Damascens To Assist Him; And How, On The Destruction Of The House Of Baasha Zimri Got The Kingdom As Did His Son Ahab After Him.

(1) [290] Ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλεὺς Ἄσανος ἦν τὸν τρόπον ἄριστος καὶ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἀφορῶν καὶ μηδὲν μήτε πράττων μήτ᾽ ἐννοούμενος, ὃ μὴ πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν εἶχε καὶ τὴν τῶν νομίμων φυλακὴν τὴν ἀναφοράν. κατώρθωσε δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν ἐκκόψας εἴ τι πονηρὸν ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ καθαρεύσας ἁπάσης κηλῖδος. [291] στρατοῦ δ᾽ εἶχεν ἐπιλέκτων ἀνδρῶν ὡπλισμένων θυρεὸν καὶ σιρομάστην ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς μυριάδας τριάκοντα, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος ἀσπίδας φορούντων καὶ τοξοτῶν μυριάδας πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι. [292] ἤδη δὲ αὐτοῦ δέκα ἔτη βασιλεύοντος στρατεύει μεγάλῃ δυνάμει Ζαραῖος ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας βασιλεὺς ἐνενήκοντα μὲν πεζῶν μυριάσιν ἱππέων δὲ δέκα τριακοσίοις δ᾽ ἅρμασι. καὶ μέχρι πόλεως Μαρήσας, ἔστι δ᾽ αὕτη τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς, ἐλάσαντος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς οἰκείας δυνάμεως ἀπήντησεν Ἄσανος, [293] καὶ ἀντιπαρατάξας αὐτῷ τὴν στρατιὰν ἔν τινι φάραγγι Σαβαθὰ λεγομένῃ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἄπωθεν, ὡς κατεῖδε τὸ τῶν Αἰθιόπων πλῆθος ἀναβοήσας νίκην ᾔτει παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὰς πολλὰς ἐλεῖν μυριάδας τῶν πολεμίων: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλῳ τινὶ θαρσήσας ἔλεγεν ἢ τῇ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ βοηθείᾳ δυναμένῃ καὶ τοὺς ὀλίγους ἀπεργάσασθαι κρείττους τῶν πλειόνων καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς τῶν ὑπερεχόντων ἀπαντῆσαι πρὸς μάχην τῷ Ζαραίῳ.

1. Now Asa, the king of Jerusalem, was of an excellent character, and had a regard to God, and neither did nor designed any thing but what had relation to the observation of the laws. He made a reformation of his kingdom, and cut off whatsoever was wicked therein, and purified it from every impurity. Now he had an army of chosen men that were armed with targets and spears; out of the tribe of Judah three hundred thousand; and out of the tribe of Benjamin, that bore shields and drew bows, two hundred and fifty thousand. But when he had already reigned ten years, Zerah, king of Ethiopia, made an expedition against him, with a great army, of nine hundred thousand footmen, and one hundred thousand horsemen, and three hundred chariots, and came as far as Mareshah, a city that belonged to the tribe of Judah. Now when Zerah had passed so far with

his own army, Asa met him, and put his army in array over against him, in a valley called Zephathah, not far from the city; and when he saw the multitude of the Ethiopians, he cried out, and besought God to give him the victory, and that he might kill many ten thousands of the enemy: "For," said he, "I depend on nothing else but that assistance which I expect from thee, which is able to make the fewer superior to the more numerous, and the weaker to the stronger; and thence it is alone that I venture to meet Zerah, and fight him."

(2) [294] Ταῦτα λέγοντος Ἀσάνου νίκην ἐσήμαινεν ὁ θεός, καὶ συμβαλὼν μετὰ χαρᾶς τῶν προδεδηλωμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνει τῶν Αἰθιόπων καὶ τραπέντας εἰς φυγὴν ἐδίωξεν ἄχρι τῆς Γεραρίτιδος χώρας. ἀφέμενοι δὲ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως ἐπὶ τὴν διαρπαγὴν τῶν πόλεων, ἦλω γὰρ ἡ Γεράρων, ἐχώρησαν καὶ τῆς παρεμβολῆς αὐτῶν, ὡς πολὺν μὲν ἐκφορῆσαι χρυσὸν πολὺν δὲ ἄργυρον λείαν τε ἀπαγαγεῖν καμήλους τε καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ βοσκημάτων ἀγέλας. [295] Ἄσανος μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡ παρ᾽ αὐτῷ στρατιὰ τοιαύτην παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ νίκην λαβόντες καὶ ὠφέλειαν ἀνέστρεφον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, παραγενομένοις δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀπήντησε κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν προφήτης Ἀζαρίας ὄνομα. οὗτος ἐπισχεῖν κελεύσας τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἤρξατο λέγειν πρὸς αὐτούς, ὅτι ταύτης εἶεν τῆς νίκης παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τετυχηκότες, ὅτι δικαίους καὶ ὁσίους ἑαυτοὺς παρέσχον καὶ πάντα κατὰ βούλησιν θεοῦ πεποιηκότας. [296] ἐπιμένουσι μὲν οὖν ἔφασκεν ἀεὶ κρατεῖν αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ τὸ ζῆν μετ᾽ εὐδαιμονίας παρέξειν τὸν θεόν, ἀπολιποῦσι δὲ τὴν θρησκείαν ἅπαντα τούτων ἐναντία συμβήσεσθαι καὶ γενήσεσθαι χρόνον ἐκεῖνον, ἐν ᾧ μηδεὶς ἀληθὴς εὑρεθήσεται προφήτης ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ὄχλῳ οὐδὲ ἱερεὺς τὰ δίκαια χρηματίζων, [297] ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ πόλεις ἀνάστατοι γενήσονται καὶ τὸ ἔθνος κατὰ πάσης σπαρήσεται γῆς ἔπηλυν βίον καὶ ἀλήτην βιωσόμενον. καιρὸν δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσι συνεβούλευεν ἀγαθοῖς γίνεσθαι καὶ μὴ φθονῆσαι τῆς εὐμενείας αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ. ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐχάρησαν καὶ πολλὴν πρόνοιαν ἐποιοῦντο κοινῇ τε πάντες καὶ κατ᾽ ἰδίαν τοῦ δικαίου: διέπεμψε δ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν νομίμων ἐπιμελησομένους.

2. While Asa was saying this, God gave him a signal of victory, and joining battle cheerfully on account of what God had foretold about it, he slew a great many of the Ethiopians; and when he had put them to flight, he pursued them to the country of Gerar; and when they left off killing their enemies, they betook themselves to spoiling them, [for the city Gerar was already taken,] and to spoiling their camp, so that they carried off much gold, and much silver, and a great deal of [other] prey, and camels, and great cattle, and flocks of sheep. Accordingly, when Asa and his army had obtained such a victory, and such wealth from God, they returned to Jerusalem. Now as they were coming, a prophet, whose name was Azariah, met them on the road, and bade them stop

their journey a little; and began to say to them thus: That the reason why they had obtained this victory from God was this, that they had showed themselves righteous and religious men, and had done every thing according to the will of God; that therefore, he said, if they persevered therein, God would grant that they should always overcome their enemies, and live happily; but that if they left off his worship, all things shall fall out on the contrary; and a time should come, wherein no true prophet shall be left in your whole multitude, nor a priest who shall deliver you a true answer from the oracle; but your cities shall be overthrown, and your nation scattered over the whole earth, and live the life of strangers and wanderers. So he advised them, while they had time, to be good, and not to deprive themselves of the favor of God. When the king and the people heard this, they rejoiced; and all in common, and every one in particular, took great care to behave themselves righteously. The king also sent some to take care that those in the country should observe the laws also.

(3) [298] Καὶ τὰ μὲν Ἀσάνου τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν δύο φυλῶν ἐν τούτοις ὑπῆρχεν. ἐπάνειμι δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν Βασάνην τὸν ἀποκτείναντα τὸν Ἱεροβοάμου υἱὸν Νάβαδον καὶ κατασχόντα τὴν ἀρχήν. [299] οὗτος γὰρ ἐν Θαρσάλῃ πόλει διατρίβων καὶ ταύτην οἰκητήριον πεποιηκὼς εἴκοσι μὲν ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη καὶ τέσσαρα, πονηρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀσεβὴς ὑπὲρ Ἱεροβόαμον καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ γενόμενος πολλὰ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος κακὰ διέθηκε καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐξύβρισεν: ὃς αὐτῷ πέμψας Ἰηοῦν τὸν προφήτην προεῖπε διαφθερεῖν αὐτοῦ πᾶν τὸ γένος καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἷς καὶ τὸν Ἱεροβοάμου κακοῖς περιέβαλεν οἶκον ἐξολέσειν, [300] ὅτι βασιλεὺς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ γενόμενος οὐκ ἠμείψατο τὴν εὐεργεσίαν τῷ δικαίως προστῆναι τοῦ πλήθους καὶ εὐσεβῶς, ἅπερ αὐτοῖς πρῶτον τοῖς οὖσι τοιούτοις ἀγαθὰ ἔπειτα τῷ θεῷ φίλα, τὸν δὲ κάκιστον Ἱεροβόαμον ἐμιμήσατο καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπολομένης τῆς ἐκείνου ζῶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν πονηρίαν ἐνεδείξατο: πεῖραν οὖν ἔξειν εἰκότως τῆς ὁμοίας συμφορᾶς αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν ὅμοιον αὐτῷ γενόμενον. [301] Βασάνης δὲ προακηκοὼς τὰ μέλλοντα αὐτῷ συμβήσεσθαι κακὰ μεθ᾽ ὅλης τῆς γενεᾶς ἐπὶ τοῖς τετολμημένοις οὐ πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ἡσύχασεν, ἵνα μὴ μᾶλλον πονηρὸς δόξας ἀποθάνῃ καὶ περὶ τῶν παρῳχημένων ἔκτοτε γοῦν μετανοήσας συγγνώμης τύχῃ, [302] ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ οἱ προκειμένων αὐτοῖς ἄθλων ἐπὰν περί τι σπουδάσωσιν οὐ διαλείπουσι περὶ τοῦτο ἐνεργοῦντες, οὕτω καὶ Βασάνης προειρηκότος αὐτῷ τοῦ προφήτου τὰ μέλλοντα ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθοῖς τοῖς μεγίστοις κακοῖς ὀλέθρῳ γένους καὶ οἰκίας ἀπωλείᾳ χείρων ἐγένετο, καὶ καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ὥσπερ ἀθλητὴς κακίας τοῖς περὶ ταύτην πόνοις προσετίθει. [303] καὶ τελευταῖον τὴν στρατιὰν παραλαβὼν πάλιν ἐπῆλθε πόλει τινὶ τῶν οὐκ ἀφανῶν Ἀρμαθῶνι τοὔνομα σταδίους ἀπεχούσῃ Ἱεροσολύμων τεσσαράκοντα,

καὶ καταλαβόμενος αὐτὴν ὠχύρου προδιεγνωκὼς καταλιπεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ δύναμιν, ἵν᾽ ἐκεῖθεν ὡρμημένοι τὴν Ἀσάνου βασιλείαν κακώσωσι.

3. And this was the state of Asa, king of the two tribes. I now return to Baasha, the king of the multitude of the Israelites, who slew Nadab, the son of Jeroboam, and retained the government. He dwelt in the city Tirzah, having made that his habitation, and reigned twenty-four years. He became more wicked and impious than Jeroboam or his son. He did a great deal of mischief to the multitude, and was injurious to God, who sent the prophet Jehu, and told him beforehand that his whole family should be destroyed, and that he would bring the same miseries on his house which had brought that of Jeroboam to ruin; because when he had been made king by him, he had not requited his kindness, by governing the multitude righteously and religiously; which things, in the first place, tended to their own happiness, and, in the next place, were pleasing to God: that he had imitated this very wicked king Jeroboam; and although that man's soul had perished, yet did he express to the life his wickedness; and he said that he should therefore justly experience the like calamity with him, since he had been guilty of the like wickedness. But Baasha, though he heard beforehand what miseries would befall him and his whole family for their insolent behavior, yet did not he leave off his wicked practices for the time to come, nor did he care to appear other than worse and worse till he died; nor did he then repent of his past actions, nor endeavor to obtain pardon of God for them, but did as those do who have rewards proposed to them, when they have once in earnest set about their work, they do not leave off their labors; for thus did Baasha, when the prophet foretold to him what would come to pass, grow worse, as if what were threatened, the perdition of his family, and the destruction of his house, [which are really among the greatest of evils,] were good things; and, as if he were a combatant for wickedness, he every day took more and more pains for it: and at last he took his army and assaulted a certain considerable city called Ramah, which was forty furlongs distant from Jerusalem; and when he had taken it, he fortified it, having determined beforehand to leave a garrison in it, that they might thence make excursions, and do mischief to the kingdom of Asa.

(4) [304] Φοβηθεὶς δὲ Ἄσανος τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν τοῦ πολεμίου καὶ λογισάμενος, ὡς πολλὰ διαθήσει κακὰ τὴν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῷ βασιλευομένην ἅπασαν ὁ καταλειφθεὶς ἐν Ἀρμαθῶνι στρατός, ἔπεμψε πρὸς τὸν Δαμασκηνῶν βασιλέα πρέσβεις καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον παρακαλῶν συμμαχίαν καὶ ὑπομιμνήσκων, ὅτι καὶ πατρῴα φιλία πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς. [305] ὁ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων τὸ πλῆθος ἀσμένως ἐδέξατο καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσατο πρὸς αὐτὸν διαλύσας τὴν πρὸς τὸν Βασάνην φιλίαν, καὶ πέμψας εἰς τὰς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ βασιλευομένας πόλεις τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς ἰδίας

δυνάμεως ἐκέλευσε κακοῦν αὐτάς. οἱ δὲ τὰς μὲν ἐνεπίμπρασαν τὰς δὲ διήρπασαν πορευθέντες, τήν τε Ἰωάνου λεγομένην καὶ Δάνα καὶ Ἀβελάνην καὶ ἄλλας πολλάς. [306] ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς τοῦ μὲν οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ ὀχυροῦν τὸν Ἀραμαθῶνα ἐπαύσατο καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς ὡς βοηθήσων τοῖς οἰκείοις κακουμένοις ἀνέστρεψεν, ὁ δ᾽ Ἄσανος ἐκ τῆς παρεσκευασμένης ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πρὸς οἰκοδομίαν ὕλης πόλεις ἀνήγειρεν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τόπῳ δύο καρτεράς, ἡ μὲν Γαβαὰ ἐκαλεῖτο, ἡ δὲ Μασταφάς. [307] καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καιρὸν οὐκ ἔσχεν ὁ Βασάνης τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄσανον στρατείας: ἐφθάσθη γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρεὼν καὶ θάπτεται μὲν ἐν Θαρσῇ πόλει, παραλαμβάνει δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν παῖς Ἤλανος. οὗτος ἄρξας ἐπ᾽ ἔτη δύο τελευτᾷ φονεύσαντος αὐτὸν ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς Ζαμβρίου τοῦ ἱππάρχου τῆς ἡμισείας τάξεως: [308] κατευωχηθέντα γὰρ αὐτὸν παρὰ τῷ οἰκονόμῳ αὐτοῦ Ὠσᾶ τοὔνομα πείσας ἐπιδραμεῖν τῶν ὑφ᾽ αὐτὸν ἱππέων τινὰς ἀπέκτεινε δι᾽ αὐτῶν μεμονωμένον τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ὁπλιτῶν καὶ ἡγεμόνων: οὗτοι γὰρ ἅπαντες περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν τῆς Γαβαθώνης ἐγίνοντο τῆς Παλαιστίνων.

4. Whereupon Asa was afraid of the attempts the enemy might make upon him; and considering with himself how many mischiefs this army that was left in Ramah might do to the country over which he reigned, he sent ambassadors to the king of the Damascenes, with gold and silver, desiring his assistance, and putting him in mind that we have had a friendship together from the times of our forefathers. So he gladly received that sum of money, and made a league with him, and broke the friendship he had with Baasha, and sent the commanders of his own forces unto the cities that were under Baasha's dominion, and ordered them to do them mischief. So they went and burnt some of them, and spoiled others; Ijon, and Dan, and Abelmain and many others. Now when the king of Israel heard this, he left off building and fortifying Ramah, and returned presently to assist his own people under the distresses they were in; but Asa made use of the materials that were prepared for building that city, for building in the same place two strong cities, the one of which was called Geba, and the other Mizpah; so that after this Baasha had no leisure to make expeditions against Asa, for he was prevented by death, and was buried in the city Tirzah; and Elah his son took the kingdom, who, when he had reigned two years, died, being treacherously slain by Zimri, the captain of half his army; for when he was at Arza, his steward's house, he persuaded some of the horsemen that were under him to assault Elah, and by that means he slew him when he was without his armed men and his captains, for they were all busied in the siege of Gibbethon, a city of the Philistines.

(5) [309] Φονεύσας δὲ τὸν Ἤλανον ὁ ἵππαρχος Ζαμβρίας αὐτὸς βασιλεύει καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Βασάνου γενεὰν κατὰ τὴν Ἰηοῦς προφητείαν διαφθείρει: τῷ γὰρ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ συνέβη τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ πρόρριζον ἀπολέσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν, ὡς καὶ τὸν Ἱεροβοάμου διαφθαρέντα γεγράφαμεν. [310] ἡ δὲ πολιορκοῦσα τὴν Γαβαθώνην στρατιὰ πυθομένη τὰ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ὅτι Ζαμβρίας ἀποκτείνας αὐτὸν ἔχει τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ αὐτὴ τὸν ἡγούμενον αὐτῆς Ἀμαρῖνον ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα, ὃς ἀπὸ τῆς Γαβαθώνης ἀναστήσας τὸν στρατὸν εἰς Θαρσὴν παραγίνεται τὸ βασίλειον καὶ προσβαλὼν τῇ πόλει κατὰ κράτος αἱρεῖ. [311] Ζαμβρίας δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἰδὼν ἠρημωμένην συνέφυγεν εἰς τὸ μυχαίτατον τῶν βασιλείων καὶ ὑποπρήσας αὐτὸ συγκατέκαυσεν ἑαυτὸν βασιλεύσας ἡμέρας ἑπτά. διέστη δ᾽ εὐθὺς ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν λαὸς καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν Θαμαναῖον βασιλεύειν ἤθελον, οἱ δὲ τὸν Ἀμαρῖνον. νικήσαντες δ᾽ οἱ τοῦτον ἄρχειν ἀξιοῦντες ἀποκτείνουσι τὸν Θαμαναῖον, καὶ παντὸς βασιλεύει ὁ Ἀμαρῖνος τοῦ ὄχλου. [312] τριακοστῷ δὲ ἔτει τῆς Ἀσάνου βασιλείας ἦρξεν ὁ Ἀμαρῖνος ἔτη δώδεκα: τούτων τὰ μὲν ἓξ ἐν Θάρσῳ πόλει, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐν Σωμαρεῶνι λεγομένῃ πόλει ὑπὸ δὲ Ἑλλήνων Σαμαρείᾳ καλουμένῃ. προσηγόρευσε δ᾽ αὐτὴν αὐτὸς Σωμαραῖος ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸ ὄρος ἀποδομένου αὐτῷ ἐφ᾽ ᾧ κατεσκεύασε τὴν πόλιν Σωμάρου. [313] διέφερε δ᾽ οὐδὲν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλευσάντων ἢ τῷ χείρων αὐτῶν εἶναι: ἅπαντες γὰρ ἐζήτουν πῶς ἀποστήσουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν λαὸν τοῖς καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἀσεβήμασι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δι᾽ ἀλλήλων αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν ἐλθεῖν καὶ μηδένα τοῦ γένους ὑπολιπεῖν. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ, διαδέχεται δ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁ παῖς Ἄχαβος.

5. When Zimri, the captain of the army, had killed Elah, he took the kingdom himself, and, according to Jehu's prophecy, slew all the house of Baasha; for it came to pass that Baasha's house utterly perished, on account of his impiety, in the same manner as we have already described the destruction of the house of Jeroboam. But the army that was besieging. Gibbethon, when they heard what had befallen the king, and that when Zimri had killed him, he had gained the kingdom, they made Omri their general king, who drew off his army from Gibbethon, and came to Tirzah, where the royal palace was, and assaulted the city, and took it by force. But when Zimri saw that the city had none to defend it, he fled into the inmost part of the palace, and set it on fire, and burnt himself with it, when he had reigned only seven days. Upon which the people of Israel were presently divided, and part of them would have Tibni to be king, and part Omri; but when those that were for Omri's ruling had beaten Tibni, Omri reigned over all the multitude. Now it was in the thirtieth year of the reign of Asa that Omri reigned for twelve years; six of these years he reigned in the city Tirzah, and the rest in the city called Semareon, but named by the Greeks

Samaria; but he himself called it Semareon, from Semer, who sold him the mountain whereon he built it. Now Omri was no way different from those kings that reigned before him, but that he grew worse than they, for they all sought how they might turn the people away from God by their daily wicked practices; and oil that account it was that God made one of them to be slain by another, and that no one person of their families should remain. This Omri also died in Samaria and Ahab his son succeeded him.

(6) [314] Μαθεῖν δ' ἔστιν ἐκ τούτων, ὅσην τὸ θεῖον ἐπιστροφὴν ἔχει τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων, καὶ πῶς μὲν ἀγαπᾷ τοὺς ἀγαθούς, μισεῖ δὲ τοὺς πονηροὺς καὶ προρρίζους ἀπόλλυσιν: οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεῖς ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλῳ διὰ τὴν παρανομίαν καὶ τὰς ἀδικίας ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πολλοὶ κακῶς διαφθαρέντες ἐγνώσθησαν καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν, ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τῶν δύο φυλῶν βασιλεὺς Ἄσανος δι' εὐσέβειαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην εἰς μακρὸν καὶ εὔδαιμον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ προήχθη γῆρας καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἓν ἄρξας ἔτος εὐμοίρως ἀπέθανε. [315] τελευτήσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ διεδέξατο τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὁ υἱὸς Ἰωσαφάτης ἐκ γυναικὸς Ἀβιδᾶς τοὔνομα γεγενημένος. τοῦτον μιμητὴν Δαυίδου τοῦ προπάππου κατά τε ἀνδρείαν καὶ εὐσέβειαν ἅπαντες ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ὑπέλαβον. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως οὐ κατεπείγει νῦν λέγειν.

6. Now by these events we may learn what concern God hath for the affairs of mankind, and how he loves good men, and hates the wicked, and destroys them root and branch; for many of these kings of Israel, they and their families, were miserably destroyed, and taken away one by another, in a short time, for their transgression and wickedness; but Asa, who was king of Jerusalem, and of the two tribes, attained, by God's blessing, a long and a blessed old age, for his piety and righteousness, and died happily, when he had reigned forty and one years; and when he was dead, his son Jehoshaphat succeeded him in the government. He was born of Asa's wife Azubah. And all men allowed that he followed the works of David his forefather, and this both in courage and piety; but we are not obliged now to speak any more of the affairs of this king.

XIII

CHAPTER 13. How Ahab When He Had Taken Jezebel To Wife Became More Wicked Than All The Kings That Had Been Before Him; Of The Actions Of The Prophet Elijah, And What Befell Naboth.

(1) [316] Ὁ δὲ Ἄχαβος ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς κατῴκει μὲν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ, τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν κατέσχεν ἕως ἐτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ δύο μηδὲν καινίσας τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων, εἰ μὴ ὅσα ≥ πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον καθ' ὑπερβολὴν πονηρίας ἐπενόησεν, ἅπαντα δ' αὐτῶν τὰ κακουργήματα καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ὕβριν ἐκμιμησάμενος καὶ μάλιστα τὴν Ἱεροβοάμου ζηλώσας παρανομίαν: [317] καὶ γὰρ οὗτος δαμάλεις τὰς ὑπ' ἐκείνου κατασκευασθείσας προσεκύνησε καὶ τούτοις ἄλλα παράδοξα προσεμηχανήσατο. ἔγημε δὲ γυναῖκα θυγατέρα μὲν Εἰθωβάλου τοῦ Τυρίων καὶ Σιδωνίων βασιλέως Ἰεζαβέλην δὲ ὄνομα, ἀφ' ἧς τοὺς ἰδίους αὐτῆς θεοὺς προσκυνεῖν ἔμαθεν. [318] ἦν δὲ τὸ γύναιον δραστήριόν τε καὶ τολμηρόν, εἰς τοσαύτην δὲ ἀσέλγειαν καὶ μανίαν προύπεσεν, ὥστε καὶ ναὸν τῷ Τυρίων θεῷ ὃν Βελίαν προσαγορεύουσιν ᾠκοδόμησε καὶ ἄλσος παντοίων δένδρων κατεφύτευσε: κατέστησε δὲ [καὶ] ἱερεῖς καὶ ψευδοπροφήτας τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ: καὶ αὐτὸς δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς πολλοὺς τοιούτους περὶ αὑτὸν εἶχεν ἀνοίᾳ καὶ πονηρίᾳ πάντας ὑπερβεβληκὼς τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ.

1. Now Ahab the king of Israel dwelt in Samaria, and held the government for twenty-two years; and made no alteration in the conduct of the kings that were his predecessors, but only in such things as were of his own invention for the worse, and in his most gross wickedness. He imitated them in their wicked courses, and in their injurious behavior towards God, and more especially he imitated the transgression of Jeroboam; for he worshipped the heifers that he had made; and he contrived other absurd objects of worship besides those heifers: he also took to wife the daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Tyrians and Sidonians, whose name was Jezebel, of whom he learned to worship her own gods. This woman was active and bold, and fell into so great a degree of impurity and madness, that she built a temple to the god of the Tyrians, Which they call Belus, and planted a grove of all sorts of trees; she also appointed priests and false prophets to this god. The king also himself had many such about him, and so exceeded in madness and wickedness all [the kings] that went before him.

(2) [319] Προφήτης δέ τις τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ ἐκ πόλεως Θεσσεβώνης τῆς Γαλααδίτιδος χώρας προσελθὼν Ἀχάβῳ προλέγειν αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν ἔφασκε μήθ'

ὕσειν αὐτὸν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς ἔτεσι μήτε δρόσον καταπέμψειν εἰς τὴν χώραν, εἰ μὴ φανέντος αὐτοῦ. καὶ τούτοις ἐπομόσας ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὰ πρὸς νότον μέρη ποιούμενος παρὰ χειμάρρῳ τινὶ τὴν διατριβήν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὸ ποτὸν εἶχε: τὴν γὰρ τροφὴν αὐτῷ καθ' ἡμέραν κόρακες προσέφερον. [320] ἀναξηρανθέντος δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ δι' ἀνομβρίαν εἰς Σαριφθὰν πόλιν οὐκ ἄπωθεν τῆς Σιδῶνος καὶ Τύρου, μεταξὺ γὰρ κεῖται, παραγίνεται τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος: εὑρήσειν γὰρ ἐκεῖ γυναῖκα χήραν, ἥτις αὐτῷ παρέξει τροφάς. [321] ὢν δ' οὐ πόρρω τῆς πύλης ὁρᾷ γυναῖκα χερνῆτιν ξυλιζομένην: τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ δηλώσαντος ταύτην εἶναι τὴν μέλλουσαν αὐτὸν διατρέφειν προσελθὼν ἠσπάσατο καὶ κομίσαι ὕδωρ παρεκάλεσεν, ὅπως πίῃ, καὶ πορευομένης μετακαλεσάμενος καὶ ἄρτον ἐνεγκεῖν ἐκέλευσε. [322] τῆς δ' ὀμοσάσης μηδὲν ἔχειν ἢ μίαν ἀλεύρου δράκα καὶ ὀλίγον ἐλαίου, πορεύεσθαι δὲ συνειλεχυῖαν τὰ ξύλα, ἵνα φυράσασα ποιήσῃ αὐτῇ καὶ τῷ τέκνῳ ἄρτον, μεθ' ὃν ἀπολεῖσθαι λιμῷ δαπανηθέντα μηκέτι μηδενὸς ὄντος ἔλεγεν, "ἀλλὰ θαρσοῦσα, εἶπεν, ἄπιθι καὶ τὰ κρείττω προσδοκῶσα, καὶ ποιήσασα πρῶτον ἐμοὶ βραχὺ κόμισον: προλέγω γάρ σοι μηδέποτ' ἐπιλείψειν ἀλεύρων ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἄγγος μηδ' ἐλαίου τὸ κεράμιον, μέχρις οὗ ἂν ὕσῃ ὁ θεός." [323] ταῦτ' εἰπόντος τοῦ προφήτου παραγενομένη πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐποίησε τὰ εἰρημένα καὶ αὐτή τε ἔσχε καὶ τῷ τέκνῳ χορηγεῖ τὴν διατροφὴν καὶ τῷ προφήτῃ, ἐπέλιπε δ' οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς τούτων, ἄχρις οὗ καὶ ὁ αὐχμὸς ἐπαύσατο. [324] μέμνηται δὲ τῆς ἀνομβρίας ταύτης καὶ Μένανδρος ἐν ταῖς Ἰθωβάλου τοῦ Τυρίων βασιλέως πράξεσι λέγων οὕτως: "ἀβροχία τ' ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὑπερβερεταίου μηνὸς ἕως τοῦ ἐχομένου ἔτους Ὑπερβερεταίου, ἰΚετείαν δ' αὐτοῦ ποιησαμένου κεραυνοὺς ἱκανοὺς βεβληκέναι. οὗτος πόλιν Βότρυν ἔκτισε τὴν ἐπὶ Φοινίκῃ καὶ Αὖζαν τὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ." καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δηλῶν τὴν ἐπ' Ἀχάβου γενομένην ἀνομβρίαν, κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτον καὶ Ἰθώβαλος ἐβασίλευε Τυρίων, ὁ Μένανδρος ἀναγέγραφεν.

2. There was now a prophet of God Almighty, of Thesbon, a country in Gilead, that came to Ahab, and said to him, that God foretold he would not send rain nor dew in those years upon the country but when he should appear. And when he had confirmed this by an oath, he departed into the southern parts, and made his abode by a brook, out of which he had water to drink; for as for his food, ravens brought it to him every day: but when that river was dried up for want of rain, he came to Zarephath, a city not far from Sidon and Tyre, for it lay between them, and this at the command of God, for [God told him] that he should there find a woman who was a widow that should give him sustenance. So when he was not far off the city, he saw a woman that labored with her own hands, gathering of sticks: so God informed him that this was the woman who was to give him sustenance. So he came and saluted her, and desired her to bring him some water

to drink; but as she was going so to do, he called to her, and would have her to bring him a loaf of bread also; whereupon she affirmed upon oath that she had at home nothing more than one handful of meal, and a little oil, and that she was going to gather some sticks, that she might knead it, and make bread for herself and her son; after which, she said, they must perish, and be consumed by the famine, for they had nothing for themselves any longer. Hereupon he said, "Go on with good courage, and hope for better things; and first of all make me a little cake, and bring it to me, for I foretell to thee that this vessel of meal and this cruse of oil shall not fail until God send rain." When the prophet had said this, she came to him, and made him the before-named cake; of which she had part for herself, and gave the rest to her son, and to the prophet also; nor did any thing of this fall until the drought ceased. Now Menander mentions this drought in his account of the acts of Ethbaal, king of the Tyrians; where he says thus: "Under him there was a want of rain from the month Hyperberetmus till the month Hyperberetmus of the year following; but when he made supplications, there came great thunders. This Ethbaal built the city Botrys in Phoenicia, and the city Auza in Libya." By these words he designed the want of rain that was in the days of Ahab, for at that time it was that Ethbaal also reigned over the Tyrians, as Menander informs us.

(3) [325] Ἡ δὲ γυνὴ περὶ ἧς πρὸ τούτων εἴπομεν, ἡ τὸν προφήτην διατρέφουσα, τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῇ καταπεσόντος εἰς νόσον, ὡς καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφεῖναι καὶ δόξαι νεκρόν, ἀνακλαιομένη καὶ ταῖς τε χερσὶν αὐτὴν αἰκιζομένη καὶ φωνὰς οἵας ὑπηγόρευε τὸ πάθος ἀφιεῖσα κατῃτιᾶτο τῆς παρ᾽ αὐτῇ παρουσίας τὸν προφήτην ὡς ἐλέγξαντα τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῆς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῦ παιδὸς τετελευτηκότος. [326] ὁ δὲ παρεκελεύετο θαρρεῖν καὶ παραδοῦναι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῷ: ζῶντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀποδώσειν. παραδούσης οὖν βαστάσας εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον, ἐν ᾧ διέτριβεν αὐτός, καὶ καταθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης ἀνεβόησε πρὸς τὸν θεὸν οὐ καλῶς ἀμείψασθαι τὴν ὑποδεξαμένην καὶ θρέψασαν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς ἀφαιρησόμενον, ἐδεῖτό τε τὴν ψυχὴν εἰσπέμψαι πάλιν τῷ παιδὶ καὶ παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν βίον. [327] τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ κατοικτείραντος μὲν τὴν μητέρα, βουληθέντος δὲ καὶ τῷ προφήτῃ χαρίσασθαι τὸ μὴ δόξαι πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπὶ κακῷ παρεῖναι, παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν προσδοκίαν ἀνεβίωσεν. ἡ δ᾽ εὐχαρίστει τῷ προφήτῃ καὶ τότε σαφῶς ἔλεγε μεμαθηκέναι, ὅτι τὸ θεῖον αὐτῷ διαλέγεται.

3. Now this woman, of whom we spake before, that sustained the prophet, when her son was fallen into a distemper till he gave up the ghost, and appeared to be dead, came to the prophet weeping, and beating her breasts with her hands, and sending out such expressions as her passions dictated to her, and complained to him that he had come to her to reproach her for her sins, and that on this account

it was that her son was dead. But he bid her be of good cheer, and deliver her son to him, for that he would deliver him again to her alive. So when she had delivered her son up to him, he carried him into an upper room, where he himself lodged, and laid him down upon the bed, and cried unto God, and said, that God had not done well, in rewarding the woman who had entertained him and sustained him, by taking away her son; and he prayed that he would send again the soul of the child into him, and bring him to life again. Accordingly God took pity on the mother, and was willing to gratify the prophet, that he might not seem to have come to her to do her a mischief, and the child, beyond all expectation, came to life again. So the mother returned the prophet thanks, and said she was then clearly satisfied that God did converse with him.

(4) [328] Χρόνου δ' ὀλίγου διελθόντος παραγίνεται πρὸς Ἄχαβον τὸν βασιλέα κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ δηλώσων αὐτῷ τὸν γενησόμενον ὑετόν. λιμὸς δὲ τότε κατεῖχε τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν καὶ πολλὴ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπορία, ὡς μὴ μόνον ἀνθρώπους αὐτῶν σπανίζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν γῆν μηδ' ὅσα τοῖς ἵπποις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κτήνεσι πρὸς νομήν ἐστι χρήσιμα διὰ τὴν ἀνομβρίαν ἀναδιδόναι. [329] τὸν οὖν ἐπιμελόμενον αὐτοῦ τῶν κτημάτων ὁ βασιλεὺς καλέσας Ὠβεδίαν ἀπιέναι βούλεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπεν ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ τοὺς χειμάρρους, ἵν' εἴ που παρ' αὐτοῖς εὑρεθείη πόα ταύτην εἰς τροφὴν ἀμησάμενοι τοῖς κτήνεσιν ἔχωσι. καὶ περιπέμψαντα κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην τοὺς ζητήσοντας τὸν προφήτην Ἠλίαν οὐχ εὑρηκέναι: συνέπεσθαι δ' ἐκέλευσε κἀκεῖνον αὐτῷ. [330] δόξαν οὖν ἐξορμᾶν αὐτοῖς μερισάμενοι τὰς ὁδοὺς ὅ τε Ὠβεδίας καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπῄεσαν ἕτερος ἑτέραν τῶν ὁδῶν. συνεβεβήκει δὲ καθ' ὃν Ἰεζαβέλη ἡ βασίλισσα καιρὸν τοὺς προφήτας ἀπέκτεινε τοῦτον ἑκατὸν ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ Γάρις σπηλαίοις κρύψαι προφήτας καὶ τρέφειν αὐτοὺς ἄρτον χορηγοῦντα μόνον καὶ ὕδωρ. [331] μονωθέντι δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Ὠβεδίᾳ συνήντησεν ὁ προφήτης Ἠλίας: καὶ πυθόμενος παρ' αὐτοῦ τίς εἴη καὶ μαθὼν προσεκύνησεν αὐτόν: ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα βαδίζειν ἐκέλευσε καὶ λέγειν, ὅτι παρείη πρὸς αὐτόν. [332] ὁ δὲ τί κακὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπονθότα πρὸς τὸν ἀποκτεῖναι ζητοῦντα καὶ πᾶσαν ἐρευνήσαντα γῆν πέμπειν αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν: ἢ τοῦτ' ἀγνοεῖν αὐτόν, ὅτι μηδένα τόπον κατέλιπεν, εἰς ὃν οὐκ ἀπέστειλε τοὺς ἀνάξοντας εἰ λάβοιεν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ; [333] καὶ γὰρ εὐλαβεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφασκε, μὴ τοῦ θεοῦ φανέντος αὐτῷ πάλιν εἰς ἄλλον ἀπέλθῃ τόπον, εἶτα διαμαρτὼν αὐτοῦ πέμψαντος τοῦ βασιλέως μὴ δυνάμενος εὑρεῖν ὅπου ποτ' εἴη γῆς ἀποθάνῃ. [334] προνοεῖν οὖν αὐτοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας παρακαλεῖ τὴν περὶ τοὺς ὁμοτέχνους αὐτοῦ σπουδὴν λέγων, ὅτι σώσειεν ἑκατὸν προφήτας Ἰεζαβέλης πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνῃρηκυίας καὶ ἔχοι κεκρυμμένους αὐτοὺς καὶ τρεφομένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ μηδὲν δεδιότα βαδίζειν

ἐκέλευε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα δοὺς αὐτῷ πίστεις ἐνόρκους, ὅτι πάντως κατ᾽ ἐκείνην Ἀχάβῳ φανήσεται τὴν ἡμέραν.

4. After a little while Elijah came to king Ahab, according to God's will, to inform him that rain was coming. Now the famine had seized upon the whole country, and there was a great want of what was necessary for sustenance, insomuch that it was after the recovery of the widow's son of Sarepta, God sent not only men that wanted it, but the earth itself also, which did not produce enough for the horse and the other beasts of what was useful for them to feed on, by reason of the drought. So the king called for Obadiah, who was steward over his cattle, and said to him, that he would have him go to the fountains of water, and to the brooks, that if any herbs could be found for them, they might mow it down, and reserve it for the beasts. And when he had sent persons all over the habitable earth to discover the prophet Elijah, and they could not find him, he bade Obadiah accompany him. So it was resolved they should make a progress, and divide the ways between them; and Obadiah took one road, and the king another. Now it happened that the same time when queen Jezebel slew the prophets, that this Obadiah had hidden a hundred prophets, and had fed them with nothing but bread and water. But when Obadiah was alone, and absent from the king, the prophet Elijah met him; and Obadiah asked him who he was; and when he had learned it from him, he worshipped him. Elijah then bid him go to the king, and tell him that I am here ready to wait on him. But Obadiah replied, "What evil have I done to thee, that thou sendest me to one who seeketh to kill thee, and hath sought over all the earth for thee? Or was he so ignorant as not to know that the king had left no place untouched unto which he had not sent persons to bring him back, in order, if they could take him, to have him put to death?" For he told him he was afraid lest God should appear to him again, and he should go away into another place; and that when the king should send him for Elijah, and he should miss of him, and not be able to find him any where upon earth, he should be put to death. He desired him therefore to take care of his preservation; and told him how diligently he had provided for those of his own profession, and had saved a hundred prophets, when Jezebel slew the rest of them, and had kept them concealed, and that they had been sustained by him. But Elijah bade him fear nothing, but go to the king; and he assured him upon oath that he would certainly show himself to Ahab that very day.

(5) [335] Μηνύσαντος δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ Ὠβεδίου τὸν Ἠλίαν ὑπήντησεν ὁ Ἄχαβος καὶ ἤρετο μετ᾽ ὀργῆς, εἰ αὐτὸς εἴη ὁ τὸν Ἑβραίων λαὸν κακώσας καὶ τῆς ἀκαρπίας αἴτιος γεγενημένος. ὁ δ᾽ οὐδὲν ὑποθωπεύσας αὐτὸν εἶπεν ἅπαντα τὰ δεινὰ πεποιηκέναι καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ ξενικοὺς ἐπεισενηνοχότας τῇ χώρᾳ θεοὺς καὶ

τούτους σέβοντας, τὸν δ᾽ ἴδιον αὐτῶν, ὃς μόνος ἐστὶ θεός, ἀπολελοιπότας καὶ μηδεμίαν ἔτι πρόνοιαν αὐτοῦ ποιουμένους. [336] νῦν μέντοι γε ἀνελθόντα ἐκέλευε πάντα τὸν λαὸν εἰς τὸ Καρμήλιον ὄρος ἀθροῖσαι πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς προφήτας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς γυναικός, εἰπὼν ὅσοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἴησαν, καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀλσῶν προφήτας ὡς τετρακοσίους τὸ πλῆθος ὄντας. [337] ὡς δὲ συνέδραμον πάντες εἰς τὸ προειρημένον ὄρος Ἀχάβου διαπέμψαντος, σταθεὶς αὐτῶν ὁ προφήτης Ἠλίας μεταξύ, μέχρι πότε διῃρημένους αὐτοὺς τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ ταῖς δόξαις οὕτως βιώσειν ἔφασκε: νομίσαντας μὲν γὰρ τὸν ἐγχώριον θεὸν ἀληθῆ καὶ μόνον ἕπεσθαι τούτῳ καὶ ταῖς ἐντολαῖς αὐτοῦ παρῄνει, μηδὲν δὲ τοῦτον ἡγουμένους ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ξενικῶν ὑπειληφότας ὡς ἐκείνους δεῖ θρησκεύειν αὐτοῖς συνεβούλευε κατακολουθεῖν. [338] τοῦ δὲ πλήθους μηδὲν πρὸς ταῦτ᾽ ἀποκριναμένου ἠξίωσεν Ἠλίας πρὸς διάπειραν τῆς τε τῶν ξενικῶν θεῶν ἰσχύος καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἰδίου, μόνος ὢν αὐτοῦ προφήτης ἐκείνων δὲ τετρακοσίους ἐχόντων, λαβεῖν αὐτός τε βοῦν καὶ ταύτην θύσας ἐπιθεῖναι ξύλοις πυρὸς οὐχ ὑπαφθέντος, κἀκείνους ταὐτὸ ποιήσαντας ἐπικαλέσασθαι τοὺς ἰδίους θεοὺς ἀνακαῦσαι τὰ ξύλα: γενομένου γὰρ τούτου μαθήσεσθαι αὐτοὺς τὴν ἀληθῆ φύσιν τοῦ θεοῦ. [339] ἀρεσάσης δὲ τῆς γνώμης ἐκέλευσεν Ἠλίας τοὺς προφήτας ἐκλεξαμένους βοῦν πρώτους θῦσαι καὶ τοὺς αὑτῶν ἐπικαλέσασθαι θεούς. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ οὐδὲν ἀπήντα παρὰ τῆς εὐχῆς καὶ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως θύσασι τοῖς προφήταις, σκώπτων ὁ Ἠλίας μεγάλῃ βοῇ καλεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευε τοὺς θεούς: ἢ γὰρ ἀποδημεῖν αὐτοὺς ἢ καθεύδειν. [340] τῶν δ᾽ ἀπ᾽ ὄρθρου τοῦτο ποιούντων μέχρι μέσης ἡμέρας καὶ τεμνόντων αὐτοὺς μαχαίραις καὶ σιρομάσταις κατὰ τὸ πάτριον ἔθος, μέλλων αὐτὸς ἐπιτελεῖν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς μὲν ἀναχωρῆσαι, τοὺς δ᾽ ἐγγὺς προσελθόντας τηρεῖν αὐτόν, μὴ πῦρ λάθρα τοῖς ξύλοις ἐμβάλῃ. [341] τοῦ δὲ ὄχλου προσελθόντος λαβὼν δώδεκα λίθους κατὰ φυλὴν τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἀνέστησεν ἐξ αὐτῶν θυσιαστήριον καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ δεξαμενὴν ὤρυξε βαθυτάτην, καὶ συνθεὶς τὰς σχίζας ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπιθεὶς τὰ ἱερεῖα τέσσαρας ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης ἐκέλευσεν ὑδρίας ὕδατος κατασκεδάσαι τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, ὡς ὑπερβαλεῖν αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν δεξαμενὴν ἅπασαν γεμισθῆναι ὕδατος πηγῆς ἀναδοθείσης. [342] ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας ἤρξατο εὔχεσθαι τῷ θεῷ καὶ καλεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ποιεῖν τῷ πεπλανημένῳ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον λαῷ φανερὰν τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν. καὶ ταῦτα λέγοντος ἄφνω πῦρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τοῦ πλήθους ὁρῶντος ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἔπεσε καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ἐδαπάνησεν, ὡς ἀνακαῆναι καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ψαφαρὸν γενέσθαι τὸν τόπον.

5. So when Obadiah had informed the king that Elijah was there, Ahab met him, and asked him, in anger, if he were the man that afflicted the people of the Hebrews, and was the occasion of the drought they lay under? But Elijah, without any flattery, said that he was himself the man, he and his house, which brought such sad afflictions upon them, and that by introducing strange gods into

their country, and worshipping them, and by leaving their own, who was the only true God, and having no manner of regard to him. However, he bade him go his way, and gather together all the people to him to Mount Carmel, with his own prophets, and those of his wife, telling him how many there were of them, as also the prophets of the groves, about four hundred in number. And as all the men whom Ahab sent for ran away to the forenamed mountain, the prophet Elijah stood in the midst of them, and said, "How long will you live thus in uncertainty of mind and opinion?" He also exhorted them, that in case they esteemed their own country God to be the true and the only God, they would follow him and his commandments; but in case they esteemed him to be nothing, but had an opinion of the strange gods, and that they ought to worship them, his counsel was, that they should follow them. And when the multitude made no answer to what he said, Elijah desired that, for a trial of the power of the strange gods, and of their own God, he, who was his only prophet, while they had four hundred, might take a heifer and kill it as a sacrifice, and lay it upon pieces of wood, and not kindle any fire, and that they should do the same things, and call upon their own gods to set the wood on fire; for if that were done, they would thence learn the nature of the true God. This proposal pleased the people. So Elijah bade the prophets to choose out a heifer first, and kill it, and to call on their gods. But when there appeared no effect of the prayer or invocation of the prophets upon their sacrifice, Elijah derided them, and bade them call upon their gods with a loud voice, for they might either be on a journey, or asleep; and when these prophets had done so from morning till noon, and cut themselves with swords and lances, according to the customs of their country, and he was about to offer his sacrifice, he bade [the prophets] go away, but bade [the people] come near and observe what he did, lest he should privately hide fire among the pieces of wood. So, upon the approach of the multitude, he took twelve stones, one for each tribe of the people of the Hebrews, and built an altar with them, and dug a very deep trench; and when he had laid the pieces of wood upon the altar, and upon them had laid the pieces of the sacrifices, he ordered them to fill four barrels with the water of the fountain, and to pour it upon the altar, till it ran over it, and till the trench was filled with the water poured into it. When he had done this, he began to pray to God, and to invocate him to make manifest his power to a people that had already been in an error a long time; upon which words a fire came on a sudden from heaven in the sight of the multitude, and fell upon the altar, and consumed the sacrifice, till the very water was set on fire, and the place was become dry.

(6) [343] Οἱ δ᾽ Ἰσραηλῖται τοῦτ᾽ ἰδόντες ἔπεσον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ προσεκύνουν ἕνα θεὸν καὶ μέγιστον καὶ ἀληθῆ μόνον ἀποκαλοῦντες, τοὺς δ᾽ ἄλλους ὀνόματι ὑπὸ φαύλης καὶ ἀνοήτου δόξης πεποιημένους: συλλαβόντες δ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς προφήτας ἀπέκτειναν Ἠλία παραινέσαντος. ἔφη δὲ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ πορεύεσθαι πρὸς ἄριστον μηδὲν ἔτι φροντίσαντα: μετ᾽ ὀλίγον γὰρ ὄψεσθαι τὸν θεὸν ὕοντα. [344] καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἄχαβος ἀπηλλάγη, Ἠλίας δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τοῦ Καρμηλίου ἀναβὰς ὄρους καὶ καθίσας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς προσηρείσατο τοῖς γόνασι τὴν κεφαλήν, τὸν δὲ θεράποντα ἐκέλευσεν ἀνελθόντα ἐπί τινα σκοπὴν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀποβλέπειν, κἂν ἴδῃ νεφέλην ἐγειρομένην ποθέν, φράζειν αὐτῷ: μέχρι γὰρ τότε καθαρῷ συνέβαινε τῷ ἀέρι εἶναι. [345] τοῦ δὲ ἀναβάντος καὶ μηδὲν πολλάκις ὁρᾶν φήσαντος, ἕβδομον ἤδη βαδίσας ἑωρακέναι μελαινόμενον εἶπέ τι τοῦ ἀέρος οὐ πλέον ἴχνους ἀνθρωπίνου. ὁ δὲ Ἠλίας ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας πέμπει πρὸς τὸν Ἄχαβον κελεύων αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπέρχεσθαι πρὶν ἢ καταρραγῆναι τὸν ὄμβρον. [346] καὶ ὁ μὲν εἰς Ἰερέζηλα πόλιν παραγίνεται: μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ τοῦ ἀέρος ἀχλύσαντος καὶ νέφεσι καλυφθέντος πνεῦμά τε λάβρον ἐπιγίνεται καὶ πολὺς ὄμβρος. ὁ δὲ προφήτης ἔνθεος γενόμενος τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ἅρματι μέχρι τῆς Ἰερέζηλας πόλεως συνέδραμε.

6. Now when the Israelites saw this, they fell down upon the ground, and worshipped one God, and called him The great and the only true God; but they called the others mere names, framed by the evil and vile opinions of men. So they caught their prophets, and, at the command of Elijah, slew them. Elijah also said to the king, that he should go to dinner without any further concern, for that in a little time he would see God send them rain. Accordingly Ahab went his way. But Elijah went up to the highest top of Mount Carmel, and sat down upon the ground, and leaned his head upon his knees, and bade his servant go up to a certain elevated place, and look towards the sea, and when he should see a cloud rising any where, he should give him notice of it, for till that time the air had been clear. When the Servant had gone up, and had said many times that he saw nothing, at the seventh time of his going up, he said that he saw a small black thing in the sky, not larger than a man’s foot. When Elijah heard that, he sent to Ahab, and desired him to go away to the city before the rain came down. So he came to the city Jezreel; and in a little time the air was all obscured, and covered with clouds, and a vehement storm of wind came upon the earth, and with it a great deal of rain; and the prophet was under a Divine fury, and ran along with the king’s chariot unto Jezreel a city of Izar [Issaachar].

(7) [347] Μαθοῦσα δὲ ἡ τοῦ Ἀχάβου γυνὴ Ἰεζάβηλα τά τε σημεῖα τὰ ὑπὸ Ἠλία γενόμενα καὶ ὅτι τοὺς προφήτας αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν, ὀργισθεῖσα πέμπει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγγέλους ἀπειλοῦσα δι᾽ αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνειν αὐτόν, ὡς κἀκεῖνος τοὺς

προφήτας αὐτῆς ἀπολέσειε. [348] φοβηθεὶς δ᾽ ὁ Ἠλίας φεύγει εἰς πόλιν Βερσουβεὲ λεγομένην, ἐπ᾽ ἐσχάτης δ᾽ ἔστιν αὕτη τῆς χώρας τῶν τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς ἐχόντων κατὰ τὴν Ἰδουμαίων γῆν, καταλιπὼν δ᾽ ἐκεῖ τὸν θεράποντα εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ἀνεχώρησεν εὐξάμενος ἀποθανεῖν: οὐ γὰρ δὴ κρείττων εἶναι τῶν πατέρων, ἵνα ἐκείνων ἀπολωλότων αὐτὸς ζῆν γλίχηται: [349] κατακοιμηθεὶς δὲ πρός τινι δένδρῳ διεγείραντος αὐτόν τινος ἀναστὰς εὑρίσκει παρακειμένην αὐτῷ τροφὴν καὶ ὕδωρ: φαγὼν δὲ καὶ συλλεξάμενος ἐκ τῆς τροφῆς ἐκείνης τὴν δύναμιν εἰς τὸ Σιναῖον καλούμενον ὄρος παραγίνεται, οὗ Μωυσῆς τοὺς νόμους παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λέγεται λαβεῖν. [350] εὑρὼν δ᾽ ἐν αὐτῷ σπήλαιόν τι κοῖλον εἴσεισι καὶ διετέλει ποιούμενος ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν μονήν. ἐρομένης δέ τινος αὐτὸν φωνῆς ἐξ ἀδήλου, τί παρείη καταλελοιπὼς τὴν πόλιν ἐκεῖσε, διὰ τὸ κτεῖναι μὲν τοὺς προφήτας τῶν ξενικῶν θεῶν, πεῖσαι δὲ τὸν λαὸν ὅτι μόνος εἴη θεὸς ὁ ὤν, ὃν ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς ἐθρήσκευσαν, ἔφησε: ζητεῖσθαι γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πρὸς τιμωρίαν ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ βασιλέως. [351] πάλιν δὲ ἀκούσας προελθεῖν εἰς τὸ ὕπαιθρον τῇ ἐπιούσῃ, γνώσεσθαι γὰρ οὕτως τί δεῖ ποιεῖν, προῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ σπηλαίου μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν καὶ σεισμοῦ τε ἐπακούει καὶ λαμπρὰν πυρὸς αὐγὴν ὁρᾷ. [352] καὶ γενομένης ἡσυχίας φωνὴ θεία μὴ ταράττεσθαι τοῖς γινομένοις αὐτὸν παρακελεύεται, κρατήσειν γὰρ οὐδένα τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ, προσέταξέ τε ὑποστρέψαντα εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀποδεῖξαι τοῦ πλήθους βασιλέα Ἰηοῦν τὸν Νεμεσαίου παῖδα, ἐκ Δαμασκοῦ δὲ τῶν Σύρων Ἀζάηλον: ἀντ᾽ αὐτοῦ δὲ προφήτην Ἐλισσαῖον ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ γενήσεσθαι ἐκ πόλεως Ἀβέλας: διαφθερεῖ δὲ τοῦ ἀσε [353] βοῦς ὄχλου τοὺς μὲν Ἀζάηλος τοὺς δὲ Ἰηοῦς.” ὁ δ᾽ Ἠλίας ὑποστρέφει ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας εἰς τὴν Ἑβραίων χώραν καὶ τὸν Σαφάτου παῖδα Ἐλισσαῖον καταλαβὼν ἀροῦντα καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ τινας ἄλλους ἐλαύνοντας ζεύγη δώδεκα προσελθὼν ἐπέρριψεν αὐτῷ τὸ ἴδιον ἱμάτιον. [354] ὁ δ᾽ Ἐλισσαῖος εὐθέως προφητεύειν ἤρξατο καὶ καταλιπὼν τοὺς βόας ἠκολούθησεν Ἠλίᾳ. δεηθεὶς δὲ συγχωρῆσαι αὐτῷ τοὺς γονεῖς ἀσπάσασθαι κελεύοντος τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἀποταξάμενος αὐτοῖς εἵπετο καὶ ἦν Ἠλίου τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τοῦ ζῆν καὶ μαθητὴς καὶ διάκονος. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τοῦ προφήτου τούτου τοιαῦτα ἦν.

7. When Jezebel, the wife of Ahab, understood what signs Elijah had wrought, and how he had slain her prophets, she was angry, and sent messengers to him, and by them threatened to kill him, as he had destroyed her prophets. At this Elijah was affrighted, and fled to the city called Beersheba, which is situate at the utmost limits of the country belonging to the tribe of Judah, towards the land of Edom; and there he left his servant, and went away into the desert. He prayed also that he might die, for that he was not better than his fathers, nor need he be very desirous to live, when they were dead; and he lay and slept under a certain tree; and when somebody awakened him, and he was risen up, he found food set

by him and water: so when he had eaten, and recovered his strength by that his food, he came to that mountain which is called Sinai, where it is related that Moses received his laws from God; and finding there a certain hollow cave, he entered into it, and continued to make his abode in it. But when a certain voice came to him, but from whence he knew not, and asked him, why he was come thither, and had left the city? he said, that because he had slain the prophets of the foreign gods, and had persuaded the people that he alone whom they had worshipped from the beginning was God, he was sought for by the king's wife to be punished for so doing. And when he had heard another voice, telling him that he should come out the next day into the open air, and should thereby know what he was to do, he came out of the cave the next day accordingly, When he both heard an earthquake, and saw the bright splendor of a fire; and after a silence made, a Divine voice exhorted him not to be disturbed with the circumstances he was in, for that none of his enemies should have power over him. The voice also commanded him to return home, and to ordain Jehu, the son of Nimshi, to be king over their own multitude; and Hazael, of Damascus, to be over the Syrians; and Elisha, of the city Abel, to be a prophet in his stead; and that of the impious multitude, some should be slain by Hazael, and others by Jehu. So Elijah, upon hearing this charge, returned into the land of the Hebrews. And when he found Elisha, the son of Shaphat, ploughing, and certain others with him, driving twelve yoke of oxen, he came to him, and cast his own garment upon him; upon which Elisha began to prophesy presently, and leaving his oxen, he followed Elijah. And when he desired leave to salute his parents, Elijah gave him leave so to do; and when he had taken his leave of them, he followed him, and became the disciple and the servant of Elijah all the days of his life. And thus have I despatched the affairs in which this prophet was concerned.

(8) [355] Ναβώθης δέ τις ἐξ Ἰεζαρήλου πόλεως ἀγρογείτων ὢν τοῦ βασιλέως παρακαλοῦντος αὐτὸν ἀποδόσθαι τιμῆς ὅσης βούλεται τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ τῶν ἰδίων ἀγρόν, ἵνα συνάψας ἓν αὐτὸ ποιήσῃ κτῆμα, εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλοιτο χρήματα λαβεῖν ἐπιτρέποντος ἐκλέξασθαι τῶν ἀγρῶν τινα τῶν ἐκείνου, τοῦτο μὲν οὔ φησι ποιήσειν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν καρπώσεσθαι γῆν, ἣν ἐκληρονόμησε τοῦ πατρός. [356] λυπηθεὶς δ' ὡς ἐφ' ὕβρει τῷ μὴ τἀλλότρια λαβεῖν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὔτε λουτρὸν προσηνέγκατο οὔτε τροφήν, τῆς δ' Ἰεζαβέλης τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ πυνθανομένης, ὅ τι λυπεῖται καὶ μήτε λούεται μήτε ἄριστον αὐτῷ παρατίθεται μήτε δεῖπνον, διηγήσατο αὐτῇ τὴν Ναβώθου σκαιότητα καὶ ὡς χρησάμενος ἐπιεικέσι πρὸς αὐτὸν λόγοις καὶ βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας ὑποδεεστέροις ὑβρισθείη μὴ τυχὼν ὧν ἠξίου. [357] ἡ δὲ μὴ μικροψυχεῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις παρεκάλει, παυσάμενον δὲ τῆς λύπης ἐπὶ τὴν συνήθη τρέπεσθαι τοῦ σώματος πρόνοιαν: μελήσειν γὰρ

αὐτῇ περὶ τῆς Ναβώθου τιμωρίας. [358] καὶ παραχρῆμα πέμπει γράμματα πρὸς τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀχάβου ὀνόματος νηστεῦσαί τε κελεύουσα καὶ ποιησαμένους ἐκκλησίαν προκαθίσαι μὲν αὐτῶν Νάβωθον, εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὸν γένους ἐπιφανοῦς, παρασκευασαμένους δὲ τρεῖς τολμηρούς τινας τοὺς καταμαρτυρήσοντας αὐτοῦ, ὡς τὸν θεόν τε εἴη βλασφημήσας καὶ τὸν βασιλέα, καταλεῦσαι καὶ τούτῳ διαχρήσασθαι τῷ τρόπῳ. [359] καὶ Νάβωθος μέν, ὡς ἔγραψεν ἡ βασίλισσα, οὕτως καταμαρτυρηθεὶς βλασφημῆσαι τὸν θεόν τε καὶ Ἄχαβον βαλλόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἀπέθανεν, ἀκούσασα δὲ ταῦτα Ἰεζάβηλα εἴσεισι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ κληρονομεῖν τὸν Ναβώθου ἀμπελῶνα προῖκα ἐκέλευσεν. [360] ὁ δὲ Ἄχαβος ἥσθη τοῖς γεγενημένοις καὶ ἀναπηδήσας ἀπὸ τῆς κλίνης ὀψόμενος ἦκε τὸν ἀμπελῶνα τὸν Ναβώθου. ἀγανακτήσας δ᾽ ὁ θεὸς πέμπει τὸν προφήτην Ἠλίαν εἰς τὸ Ναβώθου χωρίον Ἀχάβῳ συμβαλοῦντα καὶ περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐρησόμενον, ὅτι κτείνας τὸν ἀληθῆ δεσπότην τοῦ χωρίου κληρονομήσειεν αὐτὸς ἀδίκως. [361] ὡς δ᾽ ἦκε πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅ τι βούλεται χρήσασθαι αὐτῷ, αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ὄντα ἐπὶ ἁμαρτήματι ληφθῆναι ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἔφη τὸν τόπον, ἐν ᾧ τὸν Ναβώθου νεκρὸν ὑπὸ κυνῶν δαπανηθῆναι συνέβη, τό τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ τῆς γυναικὸς χυθήσεσθαι αἷμα καὶ πᾶν αὐτοῦ τὸ γένος ἀπολεῖσθαι τοιαῦτα ἀσεβῆσαι τετολμηκότος καὶ παρὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους πολίτην ἀδίκως ἀνῃρηκότος. [362] Ἀχάβῳ δὲ λύπη τῶν πεπραγμένων εἰσῆλθε καὶ μετάμελος, καὶ σακκίον ἐνδυσάμενος γυμνοῖς τοῖς ποσὶ διῆγεν οὐχ ἁπτόμενος τροφῆς ἀνθομολογούμενός τε τὰ ἡμαρτημένα καὶ τὸν θεὸν οὕτως ἐξευμενίζων. ὁ δὲ ζῶντος μὲν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν προφήτην ὑπερβαλεῖσθαι τὴν τοῦ γένους τιμωρίαν εἶπεν ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐπὶ τοῖς τετολμημένοις μετανοεῖ, τελέσειν δὲ τὴν ἀπειλὴν ἐπὶ τῷ υἱῷ Ἀχάβου. καὶ ὁ μὲν προφήτης ταῦτ᾽ ἐδήλωσε τῷ βασιλεῖ.

8. Now there was one Naboth, of the city Izar, [Jezreel,] who had a field adjoining to that of the king: the king would have persuaded him to sell him that his field, which lay so near to his own lands, at what price he pleased, that he might join them together, and make them one farm; and if he would not accept of money for it, he gave him leave to choose any of his other fields in its stead. But Naboth said he would not do so, but would keep the possession of that land of his own, which he had by inheritance from his father. Upon this the king was grieved, as if he had received an injury, when he could not get another man’s possession, and he would neither wash himself, nor take any food: and when Jezebel asked him what it was that troubled him, and why he would neither wash himself, nor eat either dinner or supper, he related to her the perverseness of Naboth, and how, when he had made use of gentle words to him, and such as were beneath the royal authority, he had been affronted, and had not obtained

what he desired. However, she persuaded him not to be cast down at this accident, but to leave off his grief, and return to the usual care of his body, for that she would take care to have Naboth punished; and she immediately sent letters to the rulers of the Israelites [Jezreelites] in Ahab's name, and commanded them to fast and to assemble a congregation, and to set Naboth at the head of them, because he was of an illustrious family, and to have three bold men ready to bear witness that he had blasphemed God and the king, and then to stone him, and slay him in that manner. Accordingly, when Naboth had been thus testified against, as the queen had written to them, that he had blasphemed against God and Ahab the king, she desired him to take possession of Naboth's vineyard on free cost. So Ahab was glad at what had been done, and rose up immediately from the bed whereon he lay to go to see Naboth's vineyard; but God had great indignation at it, and sent Elijah the prophet to the field of Naboth, to speak to Ahab, and to say to him, that he had slain the true owner of that field unjustly. And as soon as he came to him, and the king had said that he might do with him what he pleased, [for he thought it a reproach to him to be thus caught in his sin,] Elijah said, that in that very place in which the dead body of Naboth was eaten by dogs both his own blood and that of his wife's should be shed, and that all his family should perish, because he had been so insolently wicked, and had slain a citizen unjustly, and contrary to the laws of his country. Hereupon Ahab began to be sorry for the things he had done, and to repent of them; and he put on sackcloth, and went barefoot and would not touch any food; he also confessed his sins, and endeavored thus to appease God. But God said to the prophet, that while Ahab was living he would put off the punishment of his family, because he repented of those insolent crimes he had been guilty of, but that still he would fulfill his threatening under Ahab's son; which message the prophet delivered to the king.

XIV

CHAPTER 14. How Hadad King Of Damascus And Of Syria, Made Two Expeditions Against Ahab And Was Beaten.

(1) [363] Τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἄχαβον ὄντων τοιούτων κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ὁ τοῦ Ἀδάδου βασιλεύων τῶν Σύρων καὶ Δαμασκοῦ δύναμιν ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς χώρας συναγαγὼν καὶ συμμάχους τοὺς πέραν Εὐφράτου βασιλέας ποιησάμενος τριάκοντα καὶ δύο ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄχαβον. [364] ὁ δ᾽ οὐκ ὢν ὅμοιος αὐτῷ τῇ στρατιᾷ πρὸς μάχην μὲν οὐ παρετάξατο, πάντα δ᾽ εἰς τὰς ὀχυρωτάτας πόλεις ἐγκλείσας τὰ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτὸς μὲν ἔμεινεν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ: τείχη γὰρ αὕτη λίαν ἰσχυρὰ περιεβέβλητο καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δυσάλωτος ἐδόκει: ὁ δὲ Σύρος ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαμάρειαν καὶ περικαθίσας αὐτῇ τὸν στρατὸν ἐπολιόρκει. [365] πέμψας δὲ κήρυκα πρὸς Ἄχαβον ἠξίου πρεσβευτὰς δέξασθαι παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ, δι᾽ ὧν αὐτῷ δηλώσει τί βούλεται. τοῦ δὲ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέως πέμπειν ἐπιτρέψαντος ἐλθόντες οἱ πρέσβεις ἔλεγον κατ᾽ ἐντολὴν τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν Ἀχάβου πλοῦτον καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας Ἀδάδου τυγχάνειν: ἂν δ᾽ ὁμολογήσῃ καὶ λαβεῖν αὐτὸν τούτων ὅσα βούλεται συγχωρήσῃ, τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπάξει καὶ παύσεται πολιορκῶν αὐτόν. [366] ὁ δ᾽ Ἄχαβος τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἐκέλευσε πορευθεῖσι λέγειν τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ἐκείνου πάντες κτήματά εἰσιν αὐτοῦ. [367] ταῦτα δ᾽ ἀπαγγειλάντων πέμπει πάλιν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀξιῶν ἀνωμολογηκότα πάντα εἶναι ἐκείνου δέξασθαι τοὺς πεμφθησομένους εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ δούλους, οἷς ἐρευνήσασι τά τε βασίλεια καὶ τοὺς τῶν φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν οἴκους ἐκέλευε διδόναι πᾶν ὅ τι ἂν ἐν αὐτοῖς εὕρωσι κάλλιστον, τὰ δ᾽ ἀπαρέσαντα σοὶ καταλεί [368] ψουσιν.᾽᾽ Ἄχαβος δ᾽ ἀγασθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ δευτέρᾳ πρεσβείᾳ τοῦ τῶν Σύρων βασιλέως συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸ πλῆθος ἔλεγεν, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ἑτοίμως εἶχεν ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ γυναῖκας τὰς ἰδίας προέσθαι τῷ πολεμίῳ καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ πάσης παραχωρῆσαι κτήσεως: ταῦτα γὰρ ἐπιζητῶν ἐπρεσβεύσατο πρῶτον ὁ Σύρος. [369] νῦν δ᾽ ἠξίωκε δούλους πέμψαι τάς τε πάντων οἰκίας ἐρευνῆσαι καὶ μηδὲν ἐν αὐταῖς καταλιπεῖν τῶν καλλίστων κτημάτων πρόφασιν βουλόμενος πολέμου λαβεῖν, εἰδὼς ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἐμαυτοῦ δι᾽ ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἂν φεισαίμην, ἀφορμὴν δ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀηδοῦς πραγματευόμενος εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν: ποιήσω γε μὴν τὰ ὑμῖν [370] δοκοῦντα.᾽᾽ τὸ δὲ πλῆθος μὴ δεῖν ἀκούειν τῶν κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ καταφρονεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν ἑτοίμως ἔχειν. τοῖς οὖν πρεσβευταῖς ἀποκρινάμενος λέγειν ἀπελθοῦσιν, ὅτι τοῖς τὸ πρῶτον ἀξιωθεῖσιν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ νῦν ἐμμένει τῆς τῶν πολιτῶν ἀσφαλείας ἕνεκα πρὸς δὲ τὴν δευτέραν ἀξίωσιν οὐχ ὑπακούει, ἀπέλυσεν αὐτούς.

1. When the affairs of Ahab were thus, at that very time the son of Hadad, [Benhadad,] who was king of the Syrians and of Damascus, got together an army out of all his country, and procured thirty-two kings beyond Euphrates to be his auxiliaries: so he made an expedition against Ahab; but because Ahab's army was not like that of Benhadad, he did not set it in array to fight him, but having shut up every thing that was in the country in the strongest cities he had, he abode in Samaria himself, for the walls about it were very strong, and it appeared to be not easily to be taken in other respects also. So the king of Syria took his army with him, and came to Samaria, and placed his army round about the city, and besieged it. He also sent a herald to Ahab, and desired he would admit the ambassadors he would send him, by whom he would let him know his pleasure. So, upon the king of Israel's permission for him to send, those ambassador's came, and by their king's command spake thus: That Ahab's riches, and his children, and his wives were Benhadad's, and if he would make an agreement, and give him leave to take as much of what he had as he pleased, he would withdraw his army, and leave off the siege. Upon this Ahab bade the ambassadors to go back, and tell their king, that both he himself and all that he hath are his possessions. And when these ambassadors had told this to Berthadad, he sent to him again, and desired, since he confessed that all he had was his, that he would admit those servants of his which he should send the next day; and he commanded him to deliver to those whom he should send whatsoever, upon their searching his palace, and the houses of his friends and kindred, they should find to be excellent in its kind, but that what did not please them they should leave to him. At this second embassage of the king of Syria, Ahab was surprised, and gathered together the multitude to a congregation, and told them that, for himself, he was ready, for their safety and peace, to give up his own wives and children to the enemy, and to yield to him all his own possessions, for that was what the Syrian king required at his first embassage; but that now he desires to send his servants to search all their houses, and in them to leave nothing that is excellent in its kind, seeking an occasion of fighting against him, "as knowing that I would not spare what is mine own for your sakes, but taking a handle from the disagreeable terms he offers concerning you to bring a war upon us; however, I will do what you shall resolve is fit to be done." But the multitude advised him to hearken to none of his proposals, but to despise him, and be in readiness to fight him. Accordingly, when he had given the ambassadors this answer to be reported, that he still continued in the mind to comply with what terms he at first desired, for the safety of the citizens; but as for his second desires, he cannot submit to them, — he dismissed them.

(2) [371] Ὁ δ’ Ἄδαδος ἀκούσας ταῦτα καὶ δυσχεράνας τρίτον ἔπεμψε πρὸς Ἄχαβον τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀπειλῶν ὑψηλότερον τῶν τειχῶν οἷς καταφρονεῖ χῶμα τούτοις ἐπεγείρειν αὐτοῦ τὴν στρατιὰν κατὰ δράκα λαμβάνουσαν, ἐμφανίζων αὐτῷ τῆς δυνάμεως τὸ πλῆθος καὶ καταπληττόμενος. [372] τοῦ δ’ Ἀχάβου μὴ καυχᾶσθαι δεῖν ἀποκριναμένου καθωπλισμένον ἀλλὰ τῇ μάχῃ κρείττω γενόμενον, ἐλθόντες οἱ πρέσβεις καὶ δειπνοῦντα καταλαβόντες τὸν βασιλέα μετὰ τριάκοντα καὶ δύο βασιλέων συμμάχων ἐδήλωσαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν: ὁ δ’ εὐθέως τοῦτο προσέταξε καὶ περιχαρακοῦν τὴν πόλιν καὶ χώματα βάλλεσθαι καὶ μηδένα τρόπον ἀπολιπεῖν πολιορκίας. [373] ἦν δ’ Ἄχαβος τούτων πραττομένων ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ δεινῇ σὺν παντὶ τῷ λαῷ: θαρρεῖ δὲ καὶ τῶν φόβων ἀπολύεται προφήτου τινὸς αὐτῷ προσελθόντος καὶ φήσαντος αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν ὑπισχνεῖσθαι ποιήσειν τὰς τοσαύτας τῶν πολεμίων μυριάδας ὑποχειρίους. [374] πυθομένῳ δέ, διὰ τίνων ἂν ἡ νίκη γένοιτο, “διὰ τῶν παίδων, εἶπε, τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἡγουμένου σοῦ διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν ἐκείνων.” καλέσαντος δὲ τοὺς τῶν ἡγεμόνων υἱούς, εὑρέθησαν δ’ ὡς διακόσιοι καὶ τριακονταδύο, μαθὼν τὸν Σύρον πρὸς εὐωχίαν καὶ ἄνεσιν τετραμμένον ἀνοίξας τὰς πύλας ἐξέπεμψε τοὺς παῖδας. [375] τῶν δὲ σκοπῶν δηλωσάντων τοῦτο τῷ Ἀδάδῳ πέμπει τινὰς ὑπαντησομένους ἐντειλάμενος, ἂν μὲν εἰς μάχην ὦσι προεληλυθότες, ἵνα δήσαντες ἀγάγωσι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἂν δ’ εἰρηνικῶς, ὅπως ταὐτὸ ποιῶσιν. [376] εἶχε δ’ ἑτοίμην Ἄχαβος καὶ τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν. οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων παῖδες συμβαλόντες τοῖς φύλαξι πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνουσι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἄχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου διώκουσιν. ἰδὼν δὲ τούτους νικῶντας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξαφίησι καὶ τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν ἅπασαν. [377] ἡ δ’ αἰφνιδίως ἐπιπεσοῦσα τοῖς Σύροις ἐκράτησεν αὐτῶν, οὐ γὰρ προσεδόκων αὐτοὺς ἐπεξελεύσεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γυμνοῖς καὶ μεθύουσι προσέβαλλον, ὥστε τὰς πανοπλίας ἐκ τῶν στρατοπέδων φεύγοντας καταλιπεῖν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα σωθῆναι μόλις ἐφ’ ἵππου ποιησάμενον τὴν φυγήν. [378] Ἄχαβος δὲ πολλὴν ὁδὸν διώκων τοὺς Σύρους ἤνυσεν ἀναιρῶν αὐτούς, διαρπάσας δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ, πλοῦτος δ’ ἦν οὐκ ὀλίγος, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρυσοῦ πλῆθος καὶ ἀργύρου τά τε ἅρματα τοῦ Ἀδάδου καὶ τοὺς ἵππους λαβὼν ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. τοῦ δὲ προφήτου παρασκευάζεσθαι φήσαντος καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἑτοίμην ἔχειν, ὡς τῷ ἐπιόντι πάλιν ἔτει στρατεύσοντος ἐπ’ αὐτὸν τοῦ Σύρου, ὁ μὲν Ἄχαβος πρὸς τούτοις ἦν.

2. Now when Benhadad heard this, he had indignation, and sent ambassadors to Ahab the third time, and threatened that his army would raise a bank higher than those walls, in confidence of whose strength he despised him, and that by only each man of his army taking a handful of earth; hereby making a show of the great number of his army, and aiming to affright him. Ahab answered, that he ought not to vaunt himself when he had only put on his armor, but when he

should have conquered his enemies in the battle. So the ambassadors came back, and found the king at supper with his thirty-two kings, and informed him of Ahab's answer; who then immediately gave order for proceeding thus: To make lines round the city, and raise a bulwark, and to prosecute the siege all manner of ways. Now, as this was doing, Ahab was in a great agony, and all his people with him; but he took courage, and was freed from his fears, upon a certain prophet coming to him, and saying to him, that God had promised to subdue so many ten thousands of his enemies under him. And when he inquired by whose means the victory was to be obtained, he said, "By the sons of the princes; but under thy conduct as their leader, by reason of their unskilfulness [in war]." Upon which he called for the sons of the princes, and found them to be two hundred and thirty-two persons. So when he was informed that the king of Syria had betaken himself to feasting and repose, he opened the gates, and sent out the princes' sons. Now when the sentinels told Benhadad of it, he sent some to meet them, and commanded them, that if these men were come out for fighting, they should bind them, and bring them to him; and that if they came out peaceably, they should do the same. Now Ahab had another army ready within the walls, but the sons of the princes fell upon the out-guard, and slew many of them, and pursued the rest of them to the camp; and when the king of Israel saw that these had the upper hand, he sent out all the rest of his army, which, falling suddenly upon the Syrians, beat them, for they did not think they would have come out; on which account it was that they assaulted them when they were naked and drunk, insomuch that they left all their armor behind them when they fled out of the camp, and the king himself escaped with difficulty, by fleeing away on horseback. But Ahab went a great way in pursuit of the Syrians; and when he had spoiled their camp, which contained a great deal of wealth, and moreover a large quantity of gold and silver, he took Benhadad's chariots and horses, and returned to the city; but as the prophet told him he ought to have his army ready, because the Syrian king would make another expedition against him the next year, Ahab was busy in making provision for it accordingly.

(3) [379] Ὁ δὲ Ἄδαδος διασωθεὶς ἐκ τῆς μάχης μεθ' ὅσης ἠδυνήθη στρατιᾶς συνεβουλεύσατο τοῖς αὐτοῦ φίλοις, πῶς ἂν ἐπιστρατεύσηται τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις. οἱ δὲ ἐν μὲν τοῖς ὄρεσιν οὐκ ἐδίδοσαν γνώμην συμβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς: τὸν γὰρ θεὸν αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις δύνασθαι τόποις καὶ διὰ τοῦτο νῦν ὑπ' αὐτῶν νενικῆσθαι: κρατήσειν δὲ ἔλεγον ἐν πεδίῳ ποιησαμένους τὴν μάχην. [380] συνεβούλευον δὲ πρὸς τούτῳ τοὺς μὲν βασιλέας οὓς ἐπηγάγετο συμμάχους ἀπολῦσαι πρὸς τὰ οἰκεῖα, τὴν δὲ στρατιὰν αὐτῶν κατασχεῖν ἀντ' ἐκείνων σατράπας καταστήσαντα: εἰς δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀπολωλότων τάξιν στρατολογῆσαι

δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῆς αὐτῶν καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἅρματα. δοκιμάσας οὖν ταῦτα εἰρῆσθαι καλῶς οὕτως διεκόσμησε τὴν δύναμιν.

3. Now Benhadad, when he had saved himself, and as much of his army as he could, out of the battle, he consulted with his friends how he might make another expedition against the Israelites. Now those friends advised him not to fight with them on the hills, because their God was potent in such places, and thence it had come to pass that they had very lately been beaten; but they said, that if they joined battle with them in the plain, they should beat them. They also gave him this further advice, to send home those kings whom he had brought as his auxiliaries, but to retain their army, and to set captains over it instead of the kings, and to raise an army out of their country, and let them be in the place of the former who perished in the battle, together with horses and chariots. So he judged their counsel to be good, and acted according to it in the management of the army.

(4) [381] Ἀρξαμένου δὲ ἔαρος ἀναλαβὼν τὴν στρατιὰν ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους, καὶ γενόμενος πρὸς πόλει τινί, Ἀφεκὰ δ' αὐτὴν καλοῦσιν, ἐν μεγάλῳ στρατοπεδεύεται πεδίῳ. Ἄχαβος δ' ἀπαντήσας αὐτῷ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσατο: σφόδρα δ' ἦν ὀλίγον αὐτοῦ τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀντιπαραβαλλόμενον. [382] τοῦ δὲ προφήτου προσελθόντος αὐτῷ πάλιν καὶ νίκην τὸν θεὸν αὐτῷ διδόναι φήσαντος, ἵνα τὴν ἰδίαν ἰσχὺν ἐπιδείξηται μὴ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἀλλὰ κἀν τοῖς πεδίοις ὑπάρχουσαν, ὅπερ οὐκ εἶναι δοκεῖ τοῖς Σύροις, ἑπτὰ μὲν ἡμέρας ἀντεστρατοπεδευκότες ἡσύχαζον, τῇ δὲ ὑστάτῃ τούτων ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον προελθόντων ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῶν πολεμίων καὶ παραταξαμένων εἰς μάχην ἀντεπεξῆγε καὶ Ἄχαβος τὴν [οἰκείαν] δύναμιν. [383] καὶ συμβαλὼν καρτερᾶς τῆς μάχης γενομένης τρέπεται τοὺς πολεμίους εἰς φυγὴν καὶ διώκων ἐπέκειτο. οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἁρμάτων καὶ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπώλοντο, ἴσχυσαν δ' ὀλίγοι διαφυγεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀφεκὰ πόλιν αὐτῶν. [384] ἀπέθανον δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσόντων ὄντες δισμύριοι ἑπτακισχίλιοι. διεφθάρησαν δ' ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ μάχῃ ἄλλαι μυριάδες δέκα. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τῶν Σύρων Ἄδαδος φεύγων μετά τινων πιστοτάτων οἰκετῶν εἰς ὑπόγειον οἶκον ἐκρύβη. [385] τούτων φιλανθρώπους καὶ ἐλεήμονας εἶναι φησάντων τοὺς τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέας καὶ δυνήσεσθαι τῷ συνήθει τρόπῳ τῆς ἱκετείας χρησαμένους τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτῷ παρ' Ἀχάβου λαβεῖν, εἰ συγχωρήσειεν αὐτοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν, ἀφῆκεν: οἱ δὲ σάκκους ἐνδυσάμενοι καὶ σχοινία ταῖς κεφαλαῖς περιθέμενοι, οὕτως γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν ἱκέτευον οἱ Σύροι, πρὸς Ἄχαβον παρεγένοντο καὶ δεῖσθαι τὸν Ἄδαδον σώζειν αὐτὸν ἔλεγον εἰς ἀεὶ δοῦλον αὐτοῦ τῆς χάριτος γενησόμενον. [386] ὁ δὲ συνήδεσθαι φήσας αὐτῷ περιόντι καὶ μηδὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεπονθότι τιμὴν καὶ εὔνοιαν, ἣν ἄν τις ἀδελφῷ

παράσχοι, κατεπηγγείλατο. λαβόντες δὲ ὅρκους παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ μηδὲν ἀδικήσειν φανέντα προάγουσι πορευθέντες ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου ἐν ᾧ κέκρυπτο καὶ προσάγουσι τῷ Ἀχάβῳ ἐφ᾽ ἅρματος καθεζομένῳ: ὁ δὲ προσεκύνησεν αὐτόν. [387] Ἄχαβος δ᾽ ἐπιδοὺς αὐτῷ τὴν δεξιὰν ἀναβιβάζει ἐπὶ τὸ ἅρμα καὶ καταφιλήσας θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευε καὶ μηδὲν τῶν ἀτόπων προσδοκᾶν, Ἄδαδος δ᾽ εὐχαρίστει καὶ παρ᾽ ὅλον τὸν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον ἀπομνημονεύσειν τῆς εὐεργεσίας ὡμολόγει καὶ τὰς πόλεις τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, ἃς ἀπήνεγκαν οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖς, ἀποδώσειν ἐπηγγείλατο καὶ Δαμασκὸν ὥστε ἐξελαύνειν εἰς αὐτήν, καθὼς καὶ οἱ πατέρες αὐτοῦ εἰς Σαμάρειαν εἶχον τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἀνήσειν. [388] γενομένων δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὅρκων καὶ συνθηκῶν πολλὰ δωρησάμενος αὐτῷ Ἄχαβος ἀπέπεμψεν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν βασιλείαν. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς Ἀδάδου τοῦ Σύρων βασιλέως στρατείας ἐπὶ Ἄχαβον καὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας τοιοῦτον ἔσχε τὸ τέλος.

4. At the beginning of the spring, Benhadad took his army with him, and led it against the Hebrews; and when he was come to a certain city which was called Aphek, he pitched his camp in the great plain. Ahab also went to meet him with his army, and pitched his camp over against him, although his army was a very small one, if it were compared with the enemy's; but the prophet came again to him, and told him, that God would give him the victory, that he might demonstrate his own power to be, not only on the mountains, but on the plains also; which it seems was contrary to the opinion of the Syrians. So they lay quiet in their camp seven days; but on the last of those days, when the enemies came out of their camp, and put themselves in array in order to fight, Ahab also brought out his own army; and when the battle was joined, and they fought valiantly, he put the enemy to flight, and pursued them, and pressed upon them, and slew them; nay, they were destroyed by their own chariots, and by one another; nor could any more than a few of them escape to their own city Aphek, who were also killed by the walls falling upon them, being in number twenty-seven thousand. Now there were slain in this battle a hundred thousand more; but Benhadad, the king of the Syrians, fled away, with certain others of his most faithful servants, and hid himself in a cellar under ground; and when these told him that the kings of Israel were humane and merciful men, and that they might make use of the usual manner of supplication, and obtain deliverance from Ahab, in case he would give them leave to go to him, he gave them leave accordingly. So they came to Ahab, clothed in sackcloth, with ropes about their heads, (for this was the ancient manner of supplication among the Syrians,) and said, that Benhadad desired he would save him, and that he would ever be a servant to him for that favor. Ahab replied he was glad that he was alive, and not hurt in the battle; and he further promised him the same honor and kindness that

a man would show to his brother. So they received assurances upon oath from him, that when he came to him he should receive no harm from him, and then went and brought him out of the cellar wherein he was hid, and brought him to Ahab as he sat in his chariot. So Benhadad worshipped him; and Ahab gave him his hand, and made him come up to him into his chariot, and kissed him, and bid him be of good cheer, and not to expect that any mischief should be done to him. So Berthadad returned him thanks, and professed that he would remember his kindness to him all the days of his life; and promised he would restore those cities of the Israelites which the former kings had taken from them, and grant that he should have leave to come to Damascus, as his forefathers had to come to Samaria. So they confirmed their covenant by oaths, and Ahab made him many presents, and sent him back to his own kingdom. And this was the conclusion of the war that Benhadad made against Ahab and the Israelites.

(5) [389] Προφήτης δέ τις τοὔνομα Μιχαίας προσελθών τινι τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν πλῆξαι: τοῦτο γὰρ ποιήσειν κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ. τοῦ δὲ μὴ πεισθέντος προεῖπε παρακούσαντα τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ προσταγμάτων λέοντι περιτυχόντα διαφθαρήσεσθαι. συμβάντος τούτου τἀνθρώπῳ πρόσεισιν ἑτέρῳ πάλιν ὁ προφήτης ταὐτὸ προστάσσων. [390] πλήξαντος δ' ἐκείνου καὶ θραύσαντος αὐτοῦ τὸ κρανίον καταδησάμενος τὴν κεφαλὴν προσῆλθε τῷ βασιλεῖ λέγων αὐτῷ συνεστρατεῦσθαι καὶ παραλαβεῖν ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τινα τῶν αἰχμαλώτων παρὰ τοῦ ταξιάρχου, φυγόντος δ' αὐτοῦ κινδυνεύειν ὑπὸ τοῦ παραδεδωκότος ἀποθανεῖν: ἀπειλῆσαι γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰ διαφύγοι ὁ αἰχμάλωτος ἀποκτείνειν. [391] δίκαιον δὲ φήσαντος Ἀχάβου τὸν θάνατον εἶναι λύσας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπιγινώσκεται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Μιχαίας ὁ προφήτης ὤν. ἐκέχρητο δὲ σοφίσματι πρὸς αὐτὸν τῷ γενομένῳ πρὸς τοὺς μέλλοντας λόγους: [392] εἶπε γάρ, [ὡς] ὁ θεὸς ἀφέντ' αὐτὸν διαδράναι τὴν τιμωρίαν Ἄδαδον τὸν βλασφημήσαντα εἰς αὐτὸν μετελεύσεται καὶ ποιήσει σεαυτὸν μὲν ἀποθανεῖν ὑπ' ἐκείνου, τὸν δὲ λαὸν ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτοῦ." παροξυνθεὶς δ' Ἄχαβος πρὸς τὸν προφήτην τὸν μὲν ἐγκλεισθέντα φυλάττεσθαι ἐκέλευσε, συγκεχυμένος δ' αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς Μιχαίου λόγοις ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν.

5. But a certain prophet, whose name was Micaiah, came to one of the Israelites, and bid him smite him on the head, for by so doing he would please God; but when he would not do so, he foretold to him, that since he disobeyed the commands of God, he should meet with a lion, and be destroyed by him. When that sad accident had befallen the man, the prophet came again to another, and gave him the same injunction; so he smote him, and wounded his skull; upon which he bound up his head, and came to the king, and told him that he had been a soldier of his, and had the custody of one of the prisoners committed to him by

an officer, and that the prisoner being run away, he was in danger of losing his own life by the means of that officer, who had threatened him, that if the prisoner escaped he would kill him. And when Ahab had said that he would justly die, he took off the binding about his head, and was known by the king to be Micaiah the prophet, who made use of this artifice as a prelude to his following words; for he said that God would punish him who had suffered Benhadad, a blasphemer against him, to escape punishment; and that he would so bring it about, that he should die by the other's means and his people by the other's army. Upon which Ahab was very angry at the prophet, and gave commandment that he should be put in prison, and there kept; but for himself, he was in confusion at the words of Micaiah, and returned to his own house.

XV

CHAPTER 15. Concerning Jehoshaphat The King Of Jerusalem And How Ahab Made An Expedition Against The Syrians And Was Assisted Therein By Jehoshaphat, But Was Himself Overcome In Battle And Perished Therein.

(1) [393] Καὶ Ἄχαβος μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἦν: ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλέα Ἰωσάφατον, ὃς αὐξήσας τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ δυνάμεις ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς ἐν τῇ τῶν ὑπηκόων χώρᾳ καταστήσας οὐδὲν ἧττον Ἀβία τοῦ πάππου καταληφθείσης τῆς Ἐφράμου κληρουχίας Ἱεροβάμου βασιλεύοντος τῶν δέκα φυλῶν φρουρὰς ἐγκαθίδρυσεν. [394] ἀλλ᾽ εἶχεν εὐμενές τε καὶ συνεργὸν τὸ θεῖον δίκαιος ὢν καὶ εὐσεβὴς καὶ τί καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἡδὺ ποιήσει καὶ προσηνὲς τῷ θεῷ ζητῶν. ἐτίμων δ᾽ αὐτὸν οἱ πέριξ βασιλικαῖς δωρεαῖς, ὡς πλοῦτόν τε ποιῆσαι βαθύτατον καὶ δόξαν ἄρασθαι μεγίστην.

1. And these were the circumstances in which Ahab was. But I now return to Jehoshaphat, the king of Jerusalem, who, when he had augmented his kingdom, had set garrisons in the cities of the countries belonging to his subjects, and had put such garrisons no less into those cities which were taken out of the tribe of Ephraim by his grandfather Abijah, when Jeroboam reigned over the ten tribes [than he did into the other]. But then he had God favorable and assisting to him, as being both righteous and religious, and seeking to do somewhat every day that should be agreeable and acceptable to God. The kings also that were round about him honored him with the presents they made him, till the riches that he had acquired were immensely great, and the glory he had gained was of a most exalted nature.

(2) [395] Τρίτῳ δ᾽ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας συγκαλέσας τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς χώρας καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἐκέλευε τὴν γῆν περιελθόντας ἅπαντα τὸν λαὸν τὸν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ διδάξαι κατὰ πόλιν τοὺς Μωσείους νόμους καὶ φυλάσσειν τούτους καὶ σπουδάζειν περὶ τὴν θρησκείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ ἥσθη πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος οὕτως, ὡς μηδὲν ἄλλο φιλοτιμεῖσθαι μηδὲ ἀγαπᾶν ὡς τὸ τηρεῖν τὰ νόμιμα. [396] οἵ τε προσχώριοι διετέλουν στέργοντες τὸν Ἰωσάφατον καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρήνην ἄγοντες: οἱ δὲ Παλαιστῖνοι τακτοὺς ἐτέλουν αὐτῷ φόρους καὶ Ἄραβες ἐχορήγουν κατ᾽ ἔτος ἄρνας ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους καὶ ἐρίφους τοσούτους. πόλεις τε μεγάλας ὠχύρωσεν ἄλλας τε καὶ βαρεῖς, καὶ δύναμιν στρατιωτικὴν πρὸς πολέμους ηὐτρέπιστο. [397] ἦν δὲ ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς στρατὸς ὁπλιτῶν μυριάδες

τριάκοντα, ὧν Ἐδναῖος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἶχεν, Ἰωάννης δὲ μυριάδων εἴκοσι. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς οὗτος ἡγεμὼν κἀκ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς εἶχε τοξοτῶν πεζῶν μυριάδας εἴκοσι, ἄλλος δ' ἡγεμὼν ᾧ Χάβαθος ὄνομα μυριάδας ὁπλιτῶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα τὸ πλῆθος τῷ βασιλεῖ προσένειμε, πάρεξ ὧν εἰς τὰς ὀχυρωτάτας διέπεμψε πόλεις.

2. Now, in the third year of this reign, he called together the rulers of the country, and the priests, and commanded them to go round the land, and teach all the people that were under him, city by city, the laws of Moses, and to keep them, and to be diligent in the worship of God. With this the whole multitude was so pleased, that they were not so eagerly set upon or affected with any thing so much as the observation of the laws. The neighboring nations also continued to love Jehoshaphat, and to be at peace with him. The Philistines paid their appointed tribute, and the Arabians supplied him every year with three hundred and sixty lambs, and as many kids of the goats. He also fortified the great cities, which were many in number, and of great consequence. He prepared also a mighty army of soldiers and weapons against their enemies. Now the army of men that wore their armor, was three hundred thousand of the tribe of Judah, of whom Adnah was the chief; but John was chief of two hundred thousand. The same man was chief of the tribe of Benjamin, and had two hundred thousand archers under him. There was another chief, whose name was Jehozabad, who had a hundred and fourscore thousand armed men. This multitude was distributed to be ready for the king's service, besides those whom he sent to the best fortified cities.

(3) [398] Ἠγάγετο δὲ τῷ παιδὶ Ἰωράμῳ τὴν Ἀχάβου θυγατέρα τοῦ τῶν δέκα φυλῶν βασιλέως Ὀθλίαν ὄνομα. πορευθέντα δ' αὐτὸν μετὰ χρόνον τινὰ εἰς Σαμάρειαν φιλοφρόνως Ἄχαβος ὑπεδέξατο καὶ τὸν ἀκολουθήσαντα στρατὸν ἐξένισε λαμπρῶς σίτου τε καὶ οἴνου καὶ θυμάτων ἀφθονίᾳ, παρεκάλεσέ τε συμμαχῆσαι κατὰ τοῦ Σύρων βασιλέως, ἵνα τὴν ἐν τῇ Γαλαδηνῇ πόλιν Ἀραμαθὰν ἀφέληται: [399] τοῦ γὰρ πατρὸς αὐτὴν τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρῶτον τυγχάνουσαν ἀφῃρῆσθαι τὸν ἐκείνου πατέρα. τοῦ δὲ Ἰωσαφάτου τὴν βοήθειαν ἐπαγγειλαμένου, καὶ γὰρ εἶναι δύναμιν αὐτῷ μὴ ἐλάττω τῆς ἐκείνου, καὶ μεταπεμψαμένου τὴν δύναμιν ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων εἰς Σαμάρειαν, προεξελθόντες ἔξω τῆς πόλεως οἱ δύο βασιλεῖς καθίσαντες ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰδίου θρόνου ἑκάτερος τοῖς οἰκείοις στρατιώταις τὸ στρατιωτικὸν διένεμον. [400] Ἰωσαφάτης δ' ἐκέλευσεν εἴ τινές εἰσι προφῆται καλέσαντ' αὐτοὺς ἀνακρῖναι περὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Σύρον ἐξόδου, εἰ συμβουλεύουσι κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι τὴν στρατείαν: καὶ γὰρ εἰρήνη τε καὶ φιλία τότε τῷ Ἀχάβῳ πρὸς τὸν Σύρον ὑπῆρχεν ἐπὶ τρία ἔτη διαμείνασα, ἀφ' οὗ λαβὼν αὐτὸν αἰχμάλωτον ἀπέλυσεν ἄχρις ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας.

3. Jehoshaphat took for his son Jehoram to wife the daughter of Ahab, the king of the ten tribes, whose name was Athaliah. And when, after some time, he went to Samaria, Ahab received him courteously, and treated the army that followed him in a splendid manner, with great plenty of corn and wine, and of slain beasts; and desired that he would join with him in his war against the king of Syria, that he might recover from him the city Ramoth, in Gilead; for though it had belonged to his father, yet had the king of Syria's father taken it away from him; and upon Jehoshaphat's promise to afford him his assistance, [for indeed his army was not inferior to the other,] and his sending for his army from Jerusalem to Samaria, the two kings went out of the city, and each of them sat on his own throne, and each gave their orders to their several armies. Now Jehoshaphat bid them call some of the prophets, if there were any there, and inquire of them concerning this expedition against the king of Syria, whether they would give them counsel to make that expedition at this time, for there was peace at that time between Ahab and the king of Syria, which had lasted three years, from the time he had taken him captive till that day.

(4) [401] Καλέσας δὲ Ἄχαβος τοὺς αὐτοῦ προφήτας ὡσεὶ τετρακοσίους τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντας ἐκέλευσεν ἔρεσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ στρατευσαμένῳ ἐπὶ Ἄδερα νίκην καὶ καθαίρεσιν τῆς πόλεως, δι' ἣν ἐκφέρειν μέλλει τὸν πόλεμον. [402] τῶν δὲ προφητῶν συμβουλευσάντων ἐκστρατεῦσαι, κρατήσειν γὰρ τοῦ Σύρου καὶ λήψεσθαι ὑποχείριον αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ τὸ πρῶτον, συνεὶς ἐκ τῶν λόγων Ἰωσάφατος, ὅτι ψευδοπροφῆται τυγχάνουσιν, ἐπύθετο τοῦ Ἀχάβου εἰ καὶ ἕτερός τίς ἐστι προφήτης τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα ἀκριβέστερον μάθωμεν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων." ὁ δ' Ἄχαβος εἶναι μὲν ἔφη, [403] μισεῖν δ' αὐτὸν κακὰ προφητεύσαντα καὶ προειπόντα ὅτι τεθνήξεται νικηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύρου, ἐν φρουρᾷ δὲ νῦν αὐτὸν ἔχειν: καλεῖσθαι δὲ Μιχαίαν, υἱὸν δ' εἶναι Ὀμβλαίου: τοῦ δ' Ἰωσαφάτου κελεύσαντος αὐτὸν προαχθῆναι πέμψας εὐνοῦχον ἄγει τὸν Μιχαίαν. [404] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐδήλωσεν αὐτῷ ὁ εὐνοῦχος πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους προφήτας νίκην τῷ βασιλεῖ προειρηκέναι. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐξὸν αὐτῷ καταψεύσασθαι τοῦ θεοῖ φήσας, ἀλλ' ἐρεῖν ὅτι ἂν αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως [αὐτὸς] εἴπῃ, ὡς ἦκε πρὸς τὸν Ἄχαβον καὶ λέγειν αὐτῷ τἀληθὲς οὗτος ἐνωρκίσατο, δεῖξαι τὸν θεὸν αὐτῷ φεύγοντας τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας ἔφη καὶ διωκομένους ὑπὸ τῶν Σύρων καὶ διασκορπιζομένους ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ ὄρη, καθάπερ ποιμένων ἠρημωμένα ποίμνια. [405] ἔλεγε δὲ σημαίνειν τοὺς μὲν μετ' εἰρήνης ἀναστρέψειν εἰς τὰ ἴδια, πεσεῖσθαι δ' αὐτὸν μόνον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ. ταῦτα φήσαντος τοῦ Μιχαία πρὸς Ἰωσάφατον ὁ Ἄχαβος "ἀλλ' ἔγωγε μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν ἐδήλωσά σοι τὴν τἀνθρώπου πρός με διάθεσιν, καὶ ὅτι μοι τὰ χείρω προεφήτευσε." τοῦ δὲ Μιχαία εἰπόντος, [406] ὡς προσῆκεν αὐτῷ πάντων ἀκροᾶσθαι τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ προλεγομένων, καὶ ὡς παρορμῶσιν αὐτὸν οἱ

ψευδοπροφῆται ποιήσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἐλπίδι νίκης, καὶ ὅτι δεῖ πεσεῖν αὐτὸν μαχόμενον, αὐτὸς μὲν ἦν ἐπ᾽ ἐννοίᾳ, Σεδεκίας δέ τις τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν προσελθὼν Μιχαίᾳ μὲν μὴ προσέχειν παρῄνει: [407] λέγειν γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἀληθές: τεκμηρίῳ δὲ ἐχρήσατο οἷς Ἠλίας προεφήτευσεν ὁ τούτου κρείττων τὰ μέλλοντα συνιδεῖν: καὶ γὰρ τοῦτον ἔλεγε προφητεύσαντα ἐν Ἰεζερήλα πόλει ἐν τῷ Ναβώθου ἀγρῷ τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ κύνας ἀναλιχμήσεσθαι προειπεῖν, καθὼς καὶ Ναβώθου τοῦ δι᾽ αὐτὸν καταλευσθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου. [408] δῆλον οὖν, ὅτι οὗτος ψεύδεται τῷ κρείττονι προφήτῃ τἀναντία λέγων ἀπὸ ἡμερῶν τριῶν φάσκων τεθνήξεσθαι. γνώσεσθε δ᾽ εἴπερ ἐστὶν ἀληθὴς καὶ τοῦ θείου πνεύματος ἔχει τὴν δύναμιν: εὐθὺς γὰρ ῥαπισθεὶς ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ βλαψάτω μου τὴν χεῖρα, ὥσπερ Ἰάδαος τὴν Ἱεροβοάμου τοῦ βασιλέως συλλαβεῖν θελήσαντος ἀπεξήρανε δεξιάν: ἀκή [409] κοας γὰρ οἶμαι τοῦτο πάντως γενόμενον.” ὡς οὖν πλήξαντος αὐτοῦ τὸν Μιχαίαν μηδὲν συνέβη παθεῖν, Ἄχαβος θαρρήσας ἄγειν τὴν στρατιὰν πρόθυμος ἦν ἐπὶ τὸν Σύρον: ἐνίκα γὰρ οἶμαι τὸ χρεὼν καὶ πιθανωτέρους ἐποίει τοῦ ἀληθοῦς τοὺς ψευδοπροφήτας, ἵνα λάβῃ τὴν ἀφορμὴν τοῦ τέλους. Σεδεκίας σιδήρεα ποιήσας κέρατα λέγει πρὸς Ἄχαβον, ὡς θεὸν αὐτῷ σημαίνειν τούτοις ἅπασαν καταστρέψεσθαι τὴν Συρίαν. [410] Μιχαίαν δὲ μετ᾽ οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας εἰπόντα τὸν Σεδεκίαν ταμιεῖον ἐκ ταμιείου κρυβόμενον ἀμείψειν ζητοῦντα φυγεῖν τῆς ψευδολογίας τὴν δίκην, ἐκέλευσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπαχθέντα φυλάττεσθαι πρὸς Ἀχάμωνα τὸν τῆς πόλεως ἄρχοντα καὶ χορηγεῖσθαι μηδὲν ἄρτου καὶ ὕδατος αὐτῷ περισσότερον.

4. So Ahab called his own prophets, being in number about four hundred, and bid them inquire of God whether he would grant him the victory, if he made an expedition against Benhadad, and enable him to overthrow that city, for whose sake it was that he was going to war. Now these prophets gave their counsel for making this expedition, and said that he would beat the king of Syria, and, as formerly, would reduce him under his power. But Jehoshaphat, understanding by their words that they were false prophets, asked Ahab whether there were not some other prophet, and he belonging to the true God, that we may have surer information concerning futurities. Hereupon Ahab said there was indeed such a one, but that he hated him, as having prophesied evil to him, and having foretold that he should be overcome and slain by the king of Syria, and that for this cause he had him now in prison, and that his name was Micaiah, the son of Imlah. But upon Jehoshaphat’s desire that he might be produced, Ahab sent a eunuch, who brought Micaiah to him. Now the eunuch had informed him by the way, that all the other prophets had foretold that the king should gain the victory; but he said, that it was not lawful for him to lie against God, but that he must speak what he should say to him about the king, whatsoever it were. When he came to Ahab,

and he had adjured him upon oath to speak the truth to him, he said that God had shown to him the Israelites running away, and pursued by the Syrians, and dispersed upon the mountains by them, as flocks of sheep are dispersed when their shepherd is slain. He said further, that God signified to him, that those Israelites should return in peace to their own home, and that he only should fall in the battle. When Micalab had thus spoken, Ahab said to Jehoshaphat, "I told thee a little while ago the disposition of the man with regard to me, and that he uses to prophesy evil to me." Upon which Micaiah replied, that he ought to hear all, whatsoever it be, that God foretells; and that in particular, they were false prophets that encouraged him to make this war in hope of victory, whereas he must fight and be killed. Whereupon the king was in suspense with himself: but Zedekiah, one of those false prophets, came near, and exhorted him not to hearken to Micaiah, for he did not at all speak truth; as a demonstration of which he instanced in what Elijah had said, who was a better prophet in foretelling futurities than Micaiah for he foretold that the dogs should lick his blood in the city of Jezreel, in the field of Naboth, as they licked the blood of Naboth, who by his means was there stoned to death by the multitude; that therefore it was plain that this Micalab was a liar, as contradicting a greater prophet than himself, and saying that he should be slain at three days' journey distance: "and [said he] you shall soon know whether he be a true prophet, and hath the power of the Divine Spirit; for I will smite him, and let him then hurt my hand, as Jadon caused the hand of Jeroboam the king to wither when he would have caught him; for I suppose thou hast certainly heard of that accident." So when, upon his smiting Micaiah, no harm happened to him, Ahab took courage, and readily led his army against the king of Syria; for, as I suppose, fate was too hard for him, and made him believe that the false prophets spake truer than the true one, that it might take an occasion of bringing him to his end. However, Zedekiah made horns of iron, and said to Ahab, that God made those horns signals, that by them he should overthrow all Syria. But Micaiah replied, that Zedekiah, in a few days, should go from one secret chamber to another to hide himself, that he might escape the punishment of his lying. Then did the king give orders that they should take Micaiah away, and guard him to Amon, the governor of the city, and to give him nothing but bread and water.

(5) [411] Καὶ Ἄχαβος μὲν καὶ Ἰωσάφατος ὁ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλεὺς ἀναλαβόντες τὰς δυνάμεις ἦλασαν εἰς Ῥαμάθην πόλιν τῆς Γαλαδίτιδος. ὁ δὲ τῶν Σύρων βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας αὐτῶν τὴν στρατείαν ἀντεπήγαγεν αὐτοῖς τὴν αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν καὶ οὐκ ἄπωθεν τῆς Ἀραμάθης στρατοπεδεύεται. [412] συνέθεντο δὲ ὅ τε Ἄχαβος καὶ Ἰωσάφατος ἀποθέσθαι μὲν τὸν Ἄχαβον τὸ βασιλικὸν σχῆμα, τὸν δὲ

τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλέα τὴν αὐτοῦ στολὴν ἔχοντα στῆναι ἐν τῇ παρατάξει, κατασοφιζόμενοι τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μιχαία προειρημένα. εὗρε δ᾽ αὐτὸν τὸ χρεὼν καὶ δίχα τοῦ σχήματος: [413] ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἄδαδος ὁ τῶν Σύρων βασιλεὺς παρήγγειλε τῇ στρατιᾷ διὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων μηδένα τῶν ἄλλων ἀναιρεῖν, μόνον δὲ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν. οἱ δὲ Σύροι τῆς συμβολῆς γενομένης ἰδόντες τὸν Ἰωσάφατον ἑστῶτα πρὸ τῆς τάξεως καὶ τοῦτον εἰκάσαντες εἶναι τὸν Ἄχαβον ὥρμησαν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ περικυκλωσάμενοι, [414] ὡς ἐγγὺς ὄντες ἔγνωσαν οὐκ ὄντα τοῦτον, ἀνεχώρησαν ὀπίσω, ἀπό τε ἀρχομένης ἠοῦς ἄχρι δείλης μαχόμενοι καὶ νικῶντες ἀπέκτειναν οὐδένα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐντολὴν ζητοῦντες τὸν Ἄχαβον ἀνελεῖν μόνον καὶ εὑρεῖν οὐ δυνάμενοι. παῖς δέ τις βασιλικὸς τοῦ Ἀδάδου Ἀμανὸς ὄνομα τοξεύσας εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους τιτρώσκει τὸν βασιλέα διὰ τοῦ θώρακος κατὰ τοῦ πνεύμονος. [415] Ἄχαβος δὲ τὸ μὲν συμβεβηκὸς οὐκ ἔγνω ποιῆσαι τῷ στρατεύματι φανερὸν μὴ τραπείησαν, τὸν δ᾽ ἡνίοχον ἐκέλευσεν ἐκτρέψαντα τὸ ἅρμα ἐξάγειν τῆς μάχης: χαλεπῶς γὰρ βεβλῆσθαι καὶ καιρίως. ὀδυνώμενος δὲ ἔστη ἐπὶ τοῦ ἅρματος ἄχρι δύνοντος ἡλίου καὶ λιφαιμήσας ἀπέθανε.

5. Then did Ahab, and Jehoshaphat the king of Jerusalem, take their forces, and marched to Ramoth a city of Gilead; and when the king of Syria heard of this expedition, he brought out his army to oppose them, and pitched his camp not far from Ramoth. Now Ahalx and Jehoshaphat had agreed that Ahab should lay aside his royal robes, but that the king of Jerusalem should put on his [Ahab's] proper habit, and stand before the army, in order to disprove, by this artifice, what Micaiah had foretold. But Ahab's fate found him out without his robes; for Benhadad, the king of Assyria, had charged his army, by the means of their commanders, to kill nobody else but only the king of Israel. So when the Syrians, upon their joining battle with the Israelites, saw Jehoshaphat stand before the army, and conjectured that he was Ahab, they fell violently upon him, and encompassed him round; but when they were near, and knew that it was not he, they all returned back; and while the fight lasted from the morning till late in the evening, and the Syrians were conquerors, they killed nobody, as their king had commanded them. And when they sought to kill Ahab alone, but could not find him, there was a young nobleman belonging to king Benhadad, whose name was Naaman; he drew his bow against the enemy, and wounded the king through his breastplate, in his lungs. Upon this Ahab resolved not to make his mischance known to his army, lest they should run away; but he bid the driver of his chariot to turn it back, and carry him out of the battle, because he was sorely and mortally wounded. However, he sat in his chariot and endured the pain till sunset, and then he fainted away and died.

(6) [416] Καὶ τὸ μὲν τῶν Σύρων στράτευμα νυκτὸς ἤδη γενομένης ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν, καὶ δηλώσαντος τοῦ στρατοκήρυκος ὅτι τέθνηκεν Ἄχαβος ἀνέζευξαν εἰς τὰ ἴδια, κομίσαντες δὲ τὸν Ἀχάβου νεκρὸν εἰς Σαμάρειαν ἐκεῖ θάπτουσι. [417] καὶ τὸ ἅρμα ἀποπλύναντες ἐν τῇ Ἰεζερήλα κρήνῃ καθῃμαγμένον τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως φόνῳ ἀληθῆ τὴν Ἠλία προφητείαν ἐπέγνωσαν: οἱ μὲν γὰρ κύνες ἀνελιχμήσαντο τὸ αἷμα, αἱ δὲ ἑταιριζόμεναι ἐν τῇ κρήνῃ τὸ λοιπὸν λουόμεναι τούτῳ διετέλουν. ἀπέθανε δ' ἐν Ἀραμάθῃ, Μιχαία τοῦτο προειπόντος. [418] συμβάντων οὖν Ἀχάβῳ τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν δύο προφητῶν εἰρημένων μέγα τὸ θεῖον ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ σέβειν καὶ τιμᾶν αὐτὸ πανταχοῦ, καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας μὴ τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ βούλησιν πιθανώτερα δοκεῖν, ὑπολαμβάνειν δ' ὅτι προφητείας καὶ τῆς διὰ τῶν τοιούτων προγνώσεως οὐδέν ἐστι συμφορώτερον παρέχοντος οὕτω τοῦ θεοῦ τί δεῖ φυλάξασθαι, [419] λογίζεσθαί τε πάλιν ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν βασιλέα γεγενημένων στοχαζομένους προσῆκε τὴν τοῦ χρεὼν ἰσχύν, ὅτι μηδὲ προγινωσκόμενον αὐτὸ διαφυγεῖν ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ὑπέρχεται τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας ψυχὰς ἐλπίσι κολακεῦον χρησταῖς, αἷς εἰς τὸ πόθεν αὐτῶν κρατήσει περιάγει. [420] φαίνεται οὖν καὶ Ἄχαβος ὑπὸ τούτου τὴν διάνοιαν ἀπατηθείς, ὥστε ἀπιστῆσαι μὲν τοῖς προλέγουσι τὴν ἧτταν, τοῖς δὲ πρὸς χάριν προφητεύσασι πεισθεὶς ἀποθανεῖν. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ὁ παῖς Ὀχοζίας διεδέξατο.

6. And now the Syrian army, upon the coming on of the night, retired to their camp; and when the herald belonging to the camp gave notice that Ahab was dead, they returned home; and they took the dead body of Ahab to Samaria, and buried it there; but when they had washed his chariot in the fountain of Jezreel, which was bloody with the dead body of the king, they acknowledged that the prophecy of Elijah was true, for the dogs licked his blood, and the harlots continued afterwards to wash themselves in that fountain; but still he died at Ramoth, as Micaiah had foretold. And as what things were foretold should happen to Ahab by the two prophets came to pass, we ought thence to have high notions of God, and every where to honor and worship him, and never to suppose that what is pleasant and agreeable is worthy of belief before what is true, and to esteem nothing more advantageous than the gift of prophecy and that foreknowledge of future events which is derived from it, since God shows men thereby what we ought to avoid. We may also guess, from what happened to this king, and have reason to consider the power of fate; that there is no way of avoiding it, even when we know it. It creeps upon human souls, and flatters them with pleasing hopes, till it leads them about to the place where it will be too hard for them. Accordingly Ahab appears to have been deceived thereby, till he disbelieved those that foretold his defeat; but, by giving credit to such as

foretold what was grateful to him, was slain; and his son Ahaziah succeeded him.

Liber IX

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ ἐνάτῃ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Ὡς στρατευσάμενος ὁ Ἀχάβου παῖς Ἰώραμος ἐπὶ Μωαβίτας ἐκράτησεν αὐτῶν.

β. ὡς ὁ ὁμώνυμος αὐτῷ Ἰώραμος βασιλεύων τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν πᾶσαν λαβὼν τούς τε ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τοὺς πατρῴους φίλους ἀπέκτεινεν.

γ. ὅτι τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ἀποστάσης καὶ στρατευσάντων ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἀράβων ἥ τε δύναμις αὐτοῦ πᾶσα διεφθάρη καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ πάρεξ ἑνὸς ὄντος ἔτι νηπίου καὶ πρὸς τούτοις αὐτὸς ἀσεβὴς γενόμενος κακῶς τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν.

δ. στρατεία τοῦ Σύρων καὶ Δαμασκοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέα Ἰώραμον καὶ πῶς πολιορκηθεὶς οὗτος ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ παραδόξως τὸν κίνδυνον διέφυγεν.

ε. ὡς αὐτὸς Ἰώραμος ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ Ἰηοῦ ἀναιρεθεὶς τοῦ ἱππάρχου καὶ ἡ γενεὰ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλεὺς Ὀχοζίας.

ς. ὅτι μετὰ τὴν τούτου τελευτὴν ὁ Ἰηοῦς ἐβασίλευσε τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ διατρίβων καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ γενεὰς τέσσαρας.

ζ. ὡς γυνή τις Ὀθλία τοὔνομα τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἐβασίλευσεν ἐπὶ ἔτη πέντε καὶ ἀνελὼν αὐτὴν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰώδας τὸν Ὀχοζίου παῖδα Ἰωάσην ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα.

η. Ἀζαήλου τοῦ Δαμασκηνῶν βασιλέως ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας στρατεία καὶ ὡς πολλὰ κακὰ τήν τε χώραν αὐτῶν διαθεὶς καὶ τὴν Σαμαρέων πόλιν ὀλίγῳ πάλιν ὕστερον χρόνῳ στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἀνέζευξεν.

θ. ὡς Ἀμασίας ὁ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν βασιλεὺς στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Ἰδουμαίους καὶ Ἀμαληκίτας ἐνίκησεν.

ι. ὡς αὐτὸς οὗτος πολεμῶν πρὸς τὸν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέα Ἰώασον ἡττᾶται μέν, ληφθεὶς δὲ αἰχμάλωτος καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα δοὺς ἀπελύθη πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείαν καὶ ὡς ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Ὀζίας τὰ πέριξ ἔθνη ἐχειρώσατο.

ια. στρατεία τοῦ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέως Ἱεροβάμου ἐπὶ Συρίαν καὶ νίκη.

ιβ. ὡς ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Σαμάρειαν καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα παρὰ Φακέα τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν εἰσπραξάμενος εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ὑπέστρεψεν.

ιγ. ὅτι στρατευσάμενος Ῥαασσεὶν ὁ Δαμασκοῦ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολυμίτας ἠνάγκασεν Ἀχάζην τὸν βασιλέα πέμψαντα χρήματα πολλὰ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ἀσσυρίων πεῖσαι τούτοις αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Δαμασκὸν στρατεύσασθαι.

ιδ. ὡς κατὰ κράτος εἶλεν ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς Δαμασκὸν καὶ διέφθειρε μὲν αὐτῶν τὸν βασιλέα, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἀναστήσας εἰς Μηδίαν ἕτερα ἔθνη κατῴκισεν ἐν Δαμασκῷ.

ιε. ὡς Σαλμανάσαρ ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Σαμάρειαν καὶ πέντε πολιορκήσας ἔτεσιν ἐν αὐτῇ τὸν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέα Ὡσῆν παραστησάμενος τὴν πόλιν ἀπέκτεινεν,

ις. καὶ ὡς ὁ Ἀσσύριος τὰς δέκα τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν φυλὰς εἰς τὴν Μηδίαν κατοικίσας ἐκ τῆς Περσίδος τὸ τῶν Χουθαίων ἔθνος εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων μετήγαγε χώραν, οὓς Ἕλληνες Σαμαρεῖς καλοῦσιν.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ζ μηνῶν.

BOOK IX. Containing The Interval Of One Hundred And Fifty-Seven Years. — From The Death Of Ahab To The Captivity Of The Ten Tribes.

I

CHAPTER 1. Concerning Jehoshaphat Again; How He Constituted Judges And, By God's Assistance Overcame His Enemies.

(1) [1] Ἰωσαφάτῃ δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ παραγενομένῳ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀπὸ τῆς συμμαχίας τῆς πρὸς Ἄχαβον τὸν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέα, ἣν Ἄδερι τῷ Σύρων πολεμοῦντι βασιλεῖ παρασχὼν ἦν ὡς προειρήκαμεν, Ἰηοῦς ὁ προφήτης συντυχὼν ἠτιᾶτο τῆς πρὸς Ἄχαβον συμμαχίας ἄνθρωπον ἀσεβῆ καὶ πονηρόν: τὸν γὰρ θεὸν ἀηδῶς μὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ διατεθῆναι, ῥύσασθαι μέντοι καίπερ ἡμαρτηκότα διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ φύσιν οὖσαν ἀγαθὴν ἔλεγεν ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων. [2] καὶ τότε μὲν ἐπ᾽ εὐχαριστίας καὶ θυσίας ὁ βασιλεὺς τρέπεται τοῦ θεοῦ: μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τὴν χώραν ὥρμησεν περιερχόμενος ἐν κύκλῳ πᾶσαν ὅσης αὐτὸς ἐπῆρχε τὸν λαὸν ἐκδιδάσκειν τά τε νόμιμα τὰ διὰ Μωσήους ὑπὸ θεοῦ δοθέντα καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν τὴν πρὸς αὐτόν. [3] καὶ δικαστὰς ἀποδείξας ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει τῶν βασιλευομένων ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ παρεκελεύσατο μηδενὸς οὕτως ὡς τοῦ δικαίου προνοουμένους κρίνειν τοῖς ὄχλοις μήτε δώρων μήτε ἀξιώματος τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ διὰ πλοῦτον ἢ γένος εἶναι δοκούντων, βραβεύειν δὲ ἅπασι τὸ ἴσον ἐπισταμένους, ὅτι καὶ τῶν κρύφα πραττομένων ἕκαστον ὁ θεὸς βλέπει. [4] ταῦτα διδάξας κατὰ πόλιν ἑκάστην τῶν δύο φυλῶν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, κατέστησε δὲ καὶ ἐν τούτοις κριτὰς ἐκ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν Ληουιτῶν καὶ τῶν τὰ πρῶτα τοῦ πλήθους φερομένων παραινέσας ἐπιμελεῖς καὶ δικαίας ποιεῖσθαι πάσας τὰς κρίσεις: [5] ἂν δὲ περὶ μειζόνων διαφορὰν ἔχοντες τῶν ὁμοφύλων τινὲς ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πρὸς αὐτοὺς πέμψωσι πόλεων, τούτοις δὲ μετὰ πλείονος σπουδῆς ἀποφαίνεσθαι δικαίως περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων: μάλιστα γὰρ τὰς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει κρίσεις, ἐν ᾗ τόν τε ναὸν εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ συμβέβηκε καὶ δίαιταν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔχει, προσῆκε σπουδαίας εἶναι καὶ δικαιοτάτας. [6] ἄρχοντας δ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀποδείκνυσιν Ἀμασίαν τὸν ἱερέα καὶ Ζαβαδίαν ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς ἑκατέρους. καὶ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον διέτασσε τὰ πράγματα.

1. When Jehoshaphat the king was come to Jerusalem, from the assistance he had afforded Ahab, the king of Israel, when he fought with Benhadad, king of Syria, the prophet Jehu met him, and accused him for assisting Ahab, a man both impious and wicked; and said to him, that God was displeased with him for so doing, but that he delivered him from the enemy, notwithstanding he had sinned, because of his own proper disposition, which was good. Whereupon the king betook himself to thanksgivings and sacrifices to God; after which he presently went over all that country which he ruled round about, and taught the people, as

well the laws which God gave them by Moses, as that religious worship that was due to him. He also constituted judges in every one of the cities of his kingdom; and charged them to have regard to nothing so much in judging the multitude as to do justice, and not to be moved by bribes, nor by the dignity of men eminent for either their riches or their high birth, but to distribute justice equally to all, as knowing that God is conscious of every secret action of theirs. When he had himself instructed them thus, and gone over every city of the two tribes, he returned to Jerusalem. He there also constituted judges out of the priests and the Levites, and principal persons of the multitude, and admonished them to pass all their sentences with care and justice And that if any of the people of his country had differences of great consequence, they should send them out of the other cities to these judges, who would be obliged to give righteous sentences concerning such causes; and this with the greater care, because it is proper that the sentences which are given in that city wherein the temple of God is, and wherein the king dwells, be given with great care and the utmost justice. Now he set over them Amariah the priest, and Zebadiah, [both] of the tribe of Judah; and after this manner it was that the king ordered these affairs.

(2) [7] Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἐστράτευον ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν Μωαβῖται καὶ Ἀμμανῖται συμπαραλαβόντες καὶ Ἀράβων μεγάλην μοῖραν, καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύονται πρὸς Ἐγγάδῃ πόλει κειμένῃ πρὸς τῇ Ἀσφαλτίδι λίμνῃ τριακοσίους ἀπεχούσῃ σταδίους τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων: γεννᾶται δ᾽ ἐν αὐτῇ φοίνιξ ὁ κάλλιστος καὶ ὀποβάλσαμον. [8] ἀκούσας δ᾽ Ἰωσαφάτης, ὅτι τὴν λίμνην διαβάντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἐμβεβλήκασιν ἤδη εἰς τὴν βασιλευομένην ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ χώραν, δείσας εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συνάγει τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ στὰς κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ ναοῦ ηὔχετο καὶ ἐπεκαλεῖτο τὸν θεὸν παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ δύναμιν καὶ ἰσχύν, ὥστε τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς ἐπιστρατεύσαντας: [9] καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο δεηθῆναι τοὺς τὸ ἱερὸν κατασκευασαμένους αὐτοῦ, ὅπως ὑπερμάχηται τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης καὶ τοὺς ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸ τολμήσαντας ἐλθεῖν ἀμύνηται, οἳ τὴν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ δοθεῖσαν γῆν εἰς κατοίκησιν ἀφελέσθαι πάρεισιν αὐτούς. ταῦτ᾽ εὐχόμενος ἐδάκρυε καὶ σύμπαν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος γυναιξὶν ἅμα καὶ τέκνοις ἱκέτευεν. [10] Ἰαζίηλος δέ τις προφήτης παρελθὼν εἰς μέσην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀνεβόησε τῷ τε πλήθει λέγων καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ, τὸν θεὸν ἐπακοῦσαι τῶν εὐχῶν καὶ πολεμήσειν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι. προσέταξε δὲ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐξελάσαντα τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπαντᾶν: [11] εὑρήσειν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς μεταξὺ Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ Ἐγγάδης ἀναβάσεως λεγομένης δ᾽ Ἐξοχῆς: καὶ μὴ συμβαλεῖν μὲν αὐτοῖς, στάντας δὲ μόνον ὁρᾶν, πῶς αὐτοῖς μάχεται τὸ θεῖον. τοῦ δὲ προφήτου ταῦτ᾽ εἰπόντος ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος πεσόντες ἐπὶ πρόσωπον

ηὐχαρίστουν τῷ θεῷ καὶ προσεκύνουν, οἱ δὲ Ληουῖται τοῖς ὀργάνοις διετέλουν ὑμνοῦντες.

2. About the same time the Moabites and Ammonites made an expedition against Jehoshaphat, and took with them a great body of Arabians, and pitched their camp at Engedi, a city that is situate at the lake Asphaltiris, and distant three hundred furlongs from Jerusalem. In that place grows the best kind of palm trees, and the opobalsamum. Now Jehoshaphat heard that the enemies had passed over the lake, and had made an irruption into that country which belonged to his kingdom; at which news he was aftrighted, and called the people of Jerusalem to a congregation in the temple, and standing over against the temple itself, he called upon God to afford him power and strength, so as to inflict punishment on those that made this expedition against them [for that those who built this his temple had prayed, that he would protect that city, and take vengeance on those that were so bold as to come against it]; for they are come to take from us that land which thou hast given us for a possession. When he had prayed thus, he fell into tears; and the whole multitude, together with their wives and children, made their supplications also: upon which a certain prophet, Jahaziel by name, came into the midst of the assembly, and cried out, and spake both to the multitude and to the king, that God heard their prayers, and promised to fight against their enemies. He also gave order that the king should draw his forces out the next day, for that he should find them between Jerusalem and the ascent of Engedi, at a place called The Eminence, and that he should not fight against them, but only stand still, and see how God would fight against them. When the prophet had said this, both the king and the multitude fell upon their faces, and gave thanks to God, and worshipped him; and the Levites continued singing hymns to God with their instruments of music.

(3) [12] Ἅμα δ᾽ ἡμέρᾳ προελθὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν ἔρημον τὴν ὑποκάτω Θεκώας πόλεως ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος, ὡς δεῖ πιστεύειν τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτου εἰρημένοις καὶ μὴ παρατάσσεσθαι μὲν αὐτοὺς εἰς μάχην, προστησαμένους δὲ τοὺς ἱερεῖς μετὰ τῶν σαλπίγγων καὶ Ληουιτῶν εὐχαριστεῖν ὡς ἤδη ῥυσαμένῳ τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων. [13] ἤρεσε δὲ ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως γνώμη, καὶ ἅπερ συνεβούλευσε ταῦτ᾽ ἔπραττον. ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἰς φόβον ἐνέβαλε καὶ ταραχὴν τοὺς Ἀμμανίτας: οἱ δὲ δόξαντες ἀλλήλους πολεμίους ἀπέκτεινον, ὡς ἐκ τῆς τοσαύτης στρατιᾶς ἀνασωθῆναι μηδένα. [14] Ἰωσαφάτης δὲ ἀποβλέψας εἰς τὴν φάραγγα, ἐν ᾗ συνέβαιν᾽ ἐστρατοπεδευκέναι τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ πλήρη νεκρῶν ἰδὼν ἥσθη μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθείας, ὅτι μηδὲ πονήσασιν αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς δι᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν νίκην ἔδωκεν, ἐπέτρεψε δὲ τῇ στρατιᾷ διαρπάσαι τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ σκυλεῦσαι τοὺς νεκρούς. [15] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τρεῖς

ἡμέρας σκυλεύοντες ἔκαμον: τοσοῦτον ἦν τὸ τῶν ἀνῃρημένων πλῆθος: τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ συναθροισθεὶς πᾶς ὁ λαὸς εἴς τινα κοῖλον καὶ φαραγγώδη τόπον τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν εὐλόγησαν, ἀφ᾽ οὗ καὶ προσηγορίαν ἔσχεν ὁ τόπος κοιλὰς εὐλογίας.

3. As soon as it was day, and the king was come into that wilderness which is under the city of Tekoa, he said to the multitude, "that they ought to give credit to what the prophet had said, and not to set themselves in array for fighting; but to set the priests with their trumpets, and the Levites with the singers of hymns, to give thanks to God, as having already delivered our country from our enemies." This opinion of the king pleased [the people], and they did what he advised them to do. So God caused a terror and a commotion to arise among the Ammonites, who thought one another to be enemies, and slew one another, insomuch that not one man out of so great an army escaped; and when Jehoshaphat looked upon that valley wherein their enemies had been encamped, and saw it full of dead men, he rejoiced at so surprising an event, as was this assistance of God, while he himself by his own power, and without their labor, had given them the victory. He also gave his army leave to take the prey of the enemy's camp, and to spoil their dead bodies; and indeed so they did for three days together, till they were weary, so great was the number of the slain; and on the fourth day, all the people were gathered together unto a certain hollow place or valley, and blessed God for his power and assistance, from which the place had this name given it, the Valley of [Berachah, or] Blessing.

(4) [16] Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἀναγαγὼν τὴν στρατιὰν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τρέπεται πρὸς εὐωχίαν καὶ θυσίας ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας. μετὰ μέντοι γε τὴν τῶν πολεμίων αὐτοῦ διαφθορὰν ἀκουσθεῖσαν τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις ἔθνεσι πάντες οὗτοι κατεπλάγησαν αὐτόν, ὡς φανερῶς αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν συμμαχοῦντος. καὶ Ἰωσαφάτης μὲν ἔκτοτε μετὰ λαμπρᾶς δόξης ἐπί τε δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείᾳ διῆγεν: [17] ἦν δὲ φίλος καὶ τῷ τοῦ Ἀχάβου παιδὶ βασιλεύοντι τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, πρὸς ὃν κοινωνήσας ἐπὶ κατασκευῇ νεῶν εἴς τε Πόντον πλεουσῶν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης ἐμπόρια διήμαρτε τοῦ κτήματος: ὑπὸ γὰρ μεγέθους ἀπώλετο τὰ σκάφη: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκέτι περὶ ναῦς ἐφιλοτιμήσατο. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλέα Ἰωσαφάτην οὕτως εἶχεν.

4. And when the king had brought his army back to Jerusalem, he betook himself to celebrate festivals, and offer sacrifices, and this for many days. And indeed, after this destruction of their enemies, and when it came to the ears of the foreign nations, they were all greatly aftrighted, as supposing that God would openly fight for him hereafter. So Jehoshaphat from that time lived in great glory and

splendor, on account of his righteousness and his piety towards God. He was also in friendship with Ahab's son, who was king of Israel; and he joined with him in the building of ships that were to sail to Pontus, and the traffic cities of Thrace but he failed of his gains, for the ships were destroyed by being so great [and unwieldy]; on which account he was no longer concerned about shipping. And this is the history of Jehoshaphat, the king of Jerusalem.

II

CHAPTER 2. Concerning Ahaziah; The King Of Israel; And Again Concerning The Prophet Elijah.

(1) [18] Ὁ δ’ Ἀχάβου παῖς Ὀχοζίας ἐβασίλευε τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ ποιούμενος τὴν δίαιταν, πονηρὸς ὢν καὶ πάντα ὅμοιος τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἀμφοτέροις καὶ Ἱεροβοάμῳ τῷ πρώτῳ παρανομήσαντι καὶ τὸν λαὸν ἀπατᾶν ἀρξαμένῳ. [19] τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν ἔτος ἤδη δεύτερον ἔχοντος ὁ τῶν Μωαβιτῶν ἀφίσταται βασιλεὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς φόρους, οὓς ἔμπροσθεν ἐτέλει τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀχάβῳ, χορηγῶν ἐπαύσατο. συνέβη δὲ τὸν Ὀχοζίαν καταβαίνοντα ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους τῆς οἰκίας κατενεχθῆναι καὶ νοσήσαντα πέμψαι πρὸς τὴν Ἀκκάρων θεὸν Μυῖαν, τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῇ θεῷ, πυνθάνεσθαι περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας. [20] φανεὶς δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἑβραίων θεὸς Ἠλίᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ προσέταξεν αὐτῷ τοῖς πεμφθεῖσιν ἀγγέλοις ὑπαντήσαντι πυνθάνεσθαι αὐτῶν, εἰ θεὸν ὁ Ἰσραηλιτῶν λαὸς ἴδιον οὐκ ἔχει, ὅτι πέμπει πρὸς τὸν ἀλλότριον βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐρησομένους, κελεῦσαί τε αὐτοὺς ὑποστρέψαι καὶ φράσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὅτι μὴ διαφεύξεται τὴν νόσον. [21] τοῦ δὲ Ἠλία ποιήσαντος ἃ προσέταξεν ὁ θεὸς ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἄγγελοι τὰ παρ’ αὐτοῦ παραχρῆμα ὑπέστρεψαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. θαυμάζοντος δὲ τὸ τάχος τῆς ἐπανόδου καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐρωτήσαντος ἔφασαν ἀπαντῆσαί τινα αὐτοῖς ἄνθρωπον καὶ κωλῦσαι μὲν προσωτέρω χωρεῖν, ἀναστρέψαντας δέ σοι λέγειν ἐξ ἐντολῆς τοῦ Ἰσραηλιτῶν θεοῦ, [22] ὅτι κάκιον ἕξει ἡ νόσος.” τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως σημαίνειν αὐτῷ τὸν ταῦτ’ εἰρηκότα κελεύσαντος, ἄνθρωπον ἔλεγον δασὺν καὶ ζώνην περιειλημμένον δερματίνην. συνεὶς δὲ ἐκ τούτων Ἠλίαν εἶναι τὸν σημαινόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων πέμψας πρὸς αὐτὸν ταξίαρχον καὶ πεντήκοντα ὁπλίτας ἀχθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν. [23] εὑρὼν δὲ τὸν Ἠλίαν ὁ πεμφθεὶς ταξίαρχος ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ ὄρους καθεζόμενον καταβάντα ἥκειν ἐκέλευε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα: κελεύειν γὰρ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνον: εἰ δὲ μὴ θελήσειεν, ἄκοντα βιάσεσθαι. ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πείρᾳ τοῦ προφήτης ἀληθὴς ὑπάρχειν εὔξεσθαι πῦρ ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ πεσὸν ἀπολέσαι τούς τε στρατιώτας καὶ αὐτὸν εὔχεται, καὶ πρηστὴρ κατενεχθεὶς διαφθείρει τόν τε ταξίαρχον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. [24] τῆς δὲ ἀπωλείας τῆς τούτων δηλωθείσης τῷ βασιλεῖ παροξυνθεὶς ἄλλον ταξίαρχον πέμπει ἐπὶ τὸν Ἠλίαν σὺν ὁπλίταις τοσούτοις, ὅσοις καὶ τὸν πρότερον συναπέστειλεν. ἀπειλήσαντος δὲ καὶ τούτου τῷ προφήτῃ βίᾳ λαβόντα ἄξειν αὐτὸν εἰ μὴ κατέλθοι βουλόμενος, εὐξαμένου κατ’ αὐτοῦ πῦρ διεχρήσατο καθὼς καὶ τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ταξίαρχον. [25] πυνθανόμενος δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦτον ὁ βασιλεὺς τρίτον ἐξέπεμψεν. ὁ δὲ φρόνιμος ὢν καὶ λίαν ἐπιεικὴς τὸ ἦθος ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, οὗ συνέβαινεν εἶναι τὸν Ἠλίαν, φιλοφρόνως προσεῖπεν αὐτόν: γινώσκειν δ’ ἔλεγεν, ὅτι μὴ βουλόμενος βασιλικῷ διακονῶν προστάγματι παρείη πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ οἱ

πρὸ αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντες οὐχ ἑκόντες ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ἦλθον: ἐλεῆσαι τοιγαροῦν αὐτὸν ἠξίου τούς τε σὺν αὐτῷ παρόντας ὁπλίτας καὶ καταβάντα ἕπεσθαι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. [26] ἀποδεξάμενος δὲ τὴν δεξιότητα τῶν λόγων καὶ τὸ ἀστεῖον τοῦ ἤθους ὁ Ἠλίας καταβὰς ἠκολούθησε. παραγενόμενος δὲ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα προεφήτευσεν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐδήλου λέγειν: "ἐπειδὴ κατέγνως μὲν αὐτοῦ ὡς οὐκ ὄντος θεοῦ καὶ περὶ τῆς νόσου οὐ τἀληθὲς προειπεῖν δυναμένου, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἀκκαρωνιτῶν ἔπεμπες παρ' αὐτοῦ πυνθανόμενος ποδαπὸν ἔσται σοι τῆς νόσου τέλος, γίνωσκε ὅτι τεθνήξῃ."

1. And now Ahaziah, the son of Ahab, reigned over Israel, and made his abode in Samaria. He was a wicked man, and in all respects like to both his parents and to Jeroboam, who first of all transgressed, and began to deceive the people. In the second year of his reign, the king of Moab fell off from his obedience, and left off paying those tributes which he before paid to his father Ahab. Now it happened that Ahaziah, as he was coming down from the top of his house, fell down from it, and in his sickness sent to the Fly, which was the god of Ekron, for that was this god's name, to inquire about his recovery but the God of the Hebrews appeared to Elijah the prophet, and commanded him to go and meet the messengers that were sent, and to ask them, whether the people of Israel had pot a God of their own, that the king sent to a foreign god to inquire about his recovery? and to bid them return and tell the king that he would not escape this disease. And when Elijah had performed what God had commanded him, and the messengers had heard what he said, they returned to the king immediately; and when the king wondered how they could return so soon, and asked them the reason of it, they said that a certain man met them, and forbade them to go on any farther; but to return and tell thee, from the command of the God of Israel, that this disease will have a bad end. And when the king bid them describe the man that said this to them, they replied that he was a hairy man, and was girt about with a girdle of leather. So the king understood by this that the man who was described by the messengers was Elijah; whereupon he sent a captain to him, with fifty soldiers, and commanded them to bring Elijah to him; and when the captain that was sent found Elijah sitting upon the top of a hill, he commanded him to come down, and to come to the king, for so had he enjoined; but that in case he refused, they would carry him by force. Elijah said to him, "That you may have a trial whether I be a true prophet, I will pray that fire may fall from heaven, and destroy both the soldiers and yourself." So he prayed, and a whirlwind of fire fell [from heaven], and destroyed the captain, and those that were with him. And when the king was informed of the destruction of these men, he was very angry, and sent another captain with the like number of armed men

that were sent before. And when this captain also threatened the prophet, that unless he came down of his own accord, he would take him and carry him away, upon his prayer against him, the fire [from heaven] slew this captain as well the other. And when, upon inquiry, the king was informed of what happened to him, he sent out a third captain. But when this captain, who was a wise man, and of a mild disposition, came to the place where Elijah happened to be, and spake civilly to him; and said that he knew that it was without his own consent, and only in submission to the king's command that he came to him; and that those that came before did not come willingly, but on the same account; — he therefore desired him to have pity on those armed men that were with him, and that he would come down and follow him to the king. So Elijah accepted of his discreet words and courteous behavior, and came down and followed him. And when he came to the king, he prophesied to him and told him that God said, "Since thou hast despised him as not being God, and so unable to foretell the truth about thy distemper, but hast sent to the god of Ekron to inquire of him what will be the end of this thy distemper, know this, that thou shalt die."

(2) [27] Καὶ ὁ μὲν ὀλίγου σφόδρα χρόνου διελθόντος καθὼς προεῖπεν Ἠλίας ἀπέθανε, διαδέχεται δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἰώραμος: ἄπαις γὰρ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον. ὁ δὲ Ἰώραμος οὗτος τῷ πατρὶ Ἀχάβῳ τὴν πονηρίαν παραπλήσιος γενόμενος ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη δώδεκα πάσῃ παρανομίᾳ χρησάμενος καὶ ἀσεβείᾳ πρὸς τὸν θεόν: παρεὶς γὰρ τοῦτον θρησκεύειν τοὺς ξενικοὺς ἐσέβετο: [28] ἦν δὲ τἆλλα δραστήριος. κατ' ἐκεῖνον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν Ἠλίας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφανίσθη καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔγνω μέχρι τῆς σήμερον αὐτοῦ τὴν τελευτήν: μαθητὴν δὲ Ἐλισσαῖον κατέλιπεν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἐδηλώσαμεν. περὶ μέντοι γε Ἠλία καὶ Ἐνώχου τοῦ γενομένου πρὸ τῆς ἐπομβρίας ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἀναγέγραπται βίβλοις, ὅτι γεγόνασιν ἀφανεῖς, θάνατον δ' αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς οἶδεν.

2. Accordingly the king in a very little time died, as Elijah had foretold; but Jehoram his brother succeeded him in the kingdom, for he died without children: but for this Jehoram, he was like his father Ahab in wickedness, and reigned twelve years, indulging himself in all sorts of wickedness and impiety towards God, for, leaving off his worship, he worshipped foreign gods; but in other respects he was an active man. Now at this time it was that Elijah disappeared from among men, and no one knows of his death to this very day; but he left behind him his disciple Elisha, as we have formerly declared. And indeed, as to Elijah, and as to Enoch, who was before the deluge, it is written in the sacred books that they disappeared, but so that nobody knew that they died.

III

CHAPTER 3. How Joram And Jehoshaphat Made An Expedition Against The Moabites; As Also Concerning The Wonders Of Elisha; And The Death Of Jehoshaphat.

(1) [29] Παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἰώραμος ἐπὶ τὸν Μωαβιτῶν ἔγνω στρατεύειν βασιλέα Μεισὰν ὄνομα: τοῦ γὰρ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, καθὼς προείπαμεν, ἔτυχεν ἀποστὰς φόρους τελῶν Ἀχάβῳ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ μυριάδας εἴκοσι προβάτων σὺν τοῖς πόκοις. [30] συναθροίσας οὖν τὴν οἰκείαν δύναμιν ἔπεμψε πρὸς Ἰωσαφάτην παρακαλῶν αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ φίλος ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς ὑπῆρχεν αὐτοῦ τῷ πατρί, συμμαχῆσαι πόλεμον ἐπὶ τοὺς Μωαβίτας ἐκφέρειν μέλλοντι ἀποστάντας αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας. ὁ δ᾽ οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς βοηθήσειν ὑπέσχετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Ἰδουμαίων βασιλέα συναναγκάσειν ὄντα ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτὸν συστρατεύσασθαι. [31] Ἰώραμος δὲ τοιούτων αὐτῷ τῶν παρὰ Ἰωσαφάτου περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας κομισθέντων ἀναλαβὼν αὐτοῦ τὴν στρατιὰν ἦκεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ ξενισθεὶς λαμπρῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν, δόξαν αὐτοὺς διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ποιήσασθαι τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, οὐ γὰρ προσδοκήσειν αὐτοὺς ταύτῃ ποιήσεσθαι τὴν ἔφοδον, ὥρμησαν οἱ τρεῖς βασιλεῖς ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, ὅ τε τούτων αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν καὶ ὁ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας, [32] καὶ κυκλεύσαντες ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν εἰς ἀπορίαν ὕδατος τοῖς τε κτήνεσι καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ περιέστησαν πλανηθέντων τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτοῖς τῶν ἡγουμένων, ὡς ἀγωνιᾶν μὲν ἅπαντας, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν Ἰώραμον καὶ ὑπὸ λύπης ἐκβοῆσαι πρὸς τὸν θεόν, τί κακὸν αἰτιασάμενος ἀγάγοι τοὺς τρεῖς βασιλεῖς ἀμαχητὶ παραδώσοντας ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Μωαβιτῶν βασιλεῖ; [33] παρεθάρρυνε δ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰωσαφάτης δίκαιος ὢν καὶ πέμψαντα εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκέλευσε γνῶναι, εἴ τις αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ προφήτης συνελήλυθεν, ἵνα δι᾽ αὐτοῦ μάθωμεν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, τί ποιητέον ἡμῖν.” οἰκέτου δέ τινος φήσαντος τῶν Ἰωράμου ἰδεῖν αὐτόθι τὸν Ἠλία μαθητὴν Ἐλισσαῖον Σαφάτου παῖδα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπίασιν οἱ τρεῖς βασιλεῖς Ἰωσαφάτου παραινέσαντος. [34] ἐλθόντες δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ προφήτου, ἔτυχε δ᾽ ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς κατεσκηνωκώς, ἐπηρώτων τὸ μέλλον ἐπὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς, μάλιστα δὲ ὁ Ἰώραμος. τοῦ δὲ μὴ διοχλεῖν αὐτῷ φράσαντος ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς μητρὸς βαδίζειν προφήτας, εἶναι γὰρ ἐκείνους ἀληθεῖς, ἐδεῖτο προφητεύειν καὶ σώζειν αὐτούς. [35] ὁ δὲ ὀμόσας τὸν θεὸν οὐκ ἂν ἀποκριθῆναι αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ διὰ Ἰωσαφάτην ὅσιον ὄντα καὶ δίκαιον, ἀχθέντος ἀνθρώπου τινὸς ψάλλειν εἰδότος, ἐπεζήτησε γὰρ αὐτός, πρὸς τὸν ψαλμὸν ἔνθεος γενόμενος προσέταξε τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐν τῷ χειμάρρῳ πολλοὺς ὀρύξαι βόθρους: [36] οὔτε

γὰρ νέφους οὔτε πνεύματος γενομένου οὔτε ὑετοῦ καταρραγέντος ὄψεσθε πλήρη τὸν ποταμὸν ὕδατος, ὡς ἂν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια διασωθῆναι ὑμῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποτοῦ. ἔσται δὲ ὑμῖν οὐ τοῦτο μόνον παρὰ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ κρατήσετε τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ καλλίστας καὶ ὀχυρωτάτας πόλεις λήψεσθε τῶν Μωαβιτῶν, καὶ δένδρα μὲν αὐτῶν ἥμερα κόψετε, τὴν δὲ χώραν δηώσετε, πηγὰς δὲ καὶ ποταμοὺς ἐμφράξετε.”

1. When Joram had taken upon him the kingdom, he determined to make an expedition against the king of Moab, whose name was Mesha; for, as we told you before, he was departed from his obedience to his brother [Ahaziah], while he paid to his father Ahab two hundred thousand sheep, with their fleeces of wool. When therefore he had gathered his own army together, he sent also to Jehoshaphat, and entreated him, that since he had from the beginning been a friend to his father, he would assist him in the war that he was entering into against the Moabites, who had departed from their obedience, who not only himself promised to assist him, but would also oblige the king of Edom, who was under his authority, to make the same expedition also. When Joram had received these assurances of assistance from Jehoshaphat, he took his army with him, and came to Jerusalem; and when he had been sumptuously entertained by the king of Jerusalem, it was resolved upon by them to take their march against their enemies through the wilderness of Edom. And when they had taken a compass of seven days’ journey, they were in distress for want of water for the cattle, and for the army, from the mistake of their roads by the guides that conducted them, insomuch that they were all in an agony, especially Joram; and cried to God, by reason of their sorrow, and [desired to know] what wickedness had been committed by them that induced him to deliver three kings together, without fighting, unto the king of Moab. But Jehoshaphat, who was a righteous man, encouraged him, and bade him send to the camp, and know whether any prophet of God was come along with them, that we might by him learn from God what we should do. And when one of the servants of Joram said that he had seen there Elisha, the son of Shaphat, the disciple of Elijah, the three kings went to him, at the entreaty of Jehoshaphat; and when they were come at the prophet’s tent, which tent was pitched out of the camp, they asked him what would become of the army? and Joram was particularly very pressing with him about it. And when he replied to him, that he should not trouble him, but go to his father’s and mother’s prophets, for they [to be sure] were true prophets, he still desired him to prophesy, and to save them. So he swore by God that he would not answer him, unless it were on account of Jehoshaphat, who was a holy and righteous man; and when, at his desire, they brought him a man that could play

on the psaltery, the Divine Spirit came upon him as the music played, and he commanded them to dig many trenches in the valley; for, said he, “though there appear neither cloud, nor wind, nor storm of rain, ye shall see this river full of water, till the army and the cattle be saved for you by drinking of it. Nor will this be all the favor that you shall receive from God, but you shall also overcome your enemies, and take the best and strongest cities of the Moabites, and you shall cut down their fruit trees, and lay waste their country, and stop up their fountains and rivers.”

(2) [37] Ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ προφήτου τῇ ἐπιούσῃ πρὶν ἥλιον ἀνασχεῖν ὁ χειμάρρους πολὺς ἐρρύη, σφοδρῶς γὰρ ἀπὸ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἰδουμαίᾳ τὸν θεὸν ὗσαι συνέπεσεν, ὥστε εὑρεῖν τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια ποτὸν ἄφθονον. [38] ὡς δὲ ἤκουσαν οἱ Μωαβῖται τοὺς τρεῖς βασιλέας ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς βαδίζοντας καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου ποιουμένους τὴν ἔφοδον, ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν εὐθὺς συλλέξας στρατιὰν ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρων βάλλεσθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἵνα αὐτοὺς μὴ λάθωσιν εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐμβαλόντες οἱ πολέμιοι. [39] θεασάμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἡλίου τὸ ἐν τῷ χειμάρρῳ ὕδωρ, καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ μακρὰν ἦν τῆς Μωαβίτιδος, αἵματι τὴν χροὰν ὅμοιον, τότε γὰρ μάλιστα πρὸς τὴν αὐγὴν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐρυθραίνεται, ψευδῆ δόξαν περὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλάμβανον ὡς ἀπεκτονότων ἑαυτοὺς διὰ δίψος καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ αἷμα αὐτοῖς ῥέοντος. [40] τοῦτο τοίνυν οὕτως ἔχειν ὑπολαβόντες ἠξίωσαν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ διαρπαγὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐκπέμψαι τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πάντες ἐξορμήσαντες ὡς ἐπὶ ἑτοίμην ὠφέλειαν ἦλθον εἰς τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν στρατόπεδον ὡς ἀπολωλότων. καὶ διαψεύδεται μὲν αὐτοῖς ἡ ἐλπὶς αὕτη, περιστάντων δὲ τῶν πολεμίων οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν κατεκόπησαν οἱ δὲ διεσπάρησαν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν χώραν φεύγοντες. [41] ἐμβαλόντες δὲ εἰς τὴν Μωαβιτῶν οἱ βασιλεῖς τάς τε πόλεις κατεστρέψαντο τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτῶν διήρπασαν καὶ ἠφάνισαν πληροῦντες τῶν ἐκ τῶν χειμάρρων λίθων, καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν δένδρων ἔκοψαν, καὶ τὰς πηγὰς ἐνέφραξαν τῶν ὑδάτων, καὶ τὰ τείχη καθεῖλον ἕως ἐδάφους. [42] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τῶν Μωαβιτῶν συνδιωκόμενος τῇ πολιορκίᾳ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁρῶν κινδυνεύουσαν αἱρεθῆναι κατὰ κράτος ὥρμησε μεθ᾽ ἑπτακοσίων ἐξελθὼν διὰ τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων ἐξιππάσασθαι στρατοπέδου, καθ᾽ ὃ μέρος ἐνόμιζεν αὐτοὺς τὰς φυλακὰς ἀνεῖσθαι. καὶ πειραθεὶς οὐκ ἠδυνήθη φυγεῖν: ἐπιτυγχάνει γὰρ ἐπιμελῶς φρουρουμένῳ τῷ τόπῳ. [43] ὑποστρέψας δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔργον ἀπογνώσεως καὶ δεινῆς ἀνάγκης διεπράξατο: τῶν υἱῶν τὸν πρεσβύτατον, ὃς μετ᾽ αὐτὸν βασιλεύειν ἤμελλεν, ἀναγαγὼν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὥστε ἅπασι φανερὸν γενέσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἱερούργησεν εἰς ὁλοκαύτωσιν τῷ θεῷ. θεασάμενοι δ᾽ αὐτὸν οἱ βασιλεῖς κατῴκτειραν τῆς ἀνάγκης καὶ παθόντες ἀνθρώπινόν τι καὶ ἐλεεινὸν διέλυσαν τὴν πολιορκίαν καὶ ἕκαστος εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀνέστρεψαν. [44] Ἰωσαφάτης δὲ

παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ μετ᾽ εἰρήνης διαγαγὼν ὀλίγον ἐπιβιώσας χρόνον μετὰ τὴν στρατείαν ἐκείνην ἀπέθανε, ζήσας μὲν ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸν ἑξήκοντα, βασιλεύσας δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι. ταφῆς δὲ ἔτυχε μεγαλοπρεποῦς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις: καὶ γὰρ ἦν μιμητὴς τῶν Δαυίδου ἔργων.

2. When the prophet had said this, the next day, before the sun-rising, a great torrent ran strongly; for God had caused it to rain very plentifully at the distance of three days' journey into Edom, so that the army and the cattle found water to drink in abundance. But when the Moabites heard that the three kings were coming upon them, and made their approach through the wilderness, the king of Moab gathered his army together presently, and commanded them to pitch their camp upon the mountains, that when the enemies should attempt to enter their country, they might not be concealed from them. But when at the rising of the sun they saw the water in the torrent, for it was not far from the land of Moab, and that it was of the color of blood, for at such a time the water especially looks red, by the shining of the sun upon it, they formed a false notion of the state of their enemies, as if they had slain one another for thirst; and that the river ran with their blood. However, supposing that this was the case, they desired their king would send them out to spoil their enemies; whereupon they all went in haste, as to an advantage already gained, and came to the enemy's camp, as supposing them destroyed already. But their hope deceived them; for as their enemies stood round about them, some of them were cut to pieces, and others of them were dispersed, and fled to their own country. And when the kings fell into the land of Moab, they overthrew the cities that were in it, and spoiled their fields, and marred them, filling them with stones out of the brooks, and cut down the best of their trees, and stopped up their fountains of water, and overthrew their walls to their foundations. But the king of Moab, when he was pursued, endured a siege; and seeing his city in danger of being overthrown by force, made a sally, and went out with seven hundred men, in order to break through the enemy's camp with his horsemen, on that side where the watch seemed to be kept most negligently; and when, upon trial, he could not get away, for he lighted upon a place that was carefully watched, he returned into the city, and did a thing that showed despair and the utmost distress; for he took his eldest son, who was to reign after him, and lifting him up upon the wall, that he might be visible to all the enemies, he offered him as a whole burnt-offering to God, whom, when the kings saw, they commiserated the distress that was the occasion of it, and were so affected, in way of humanity and pity, that they raised the siege, and every one returned to his own house. So Jehoshaphat came to Jerusalem, and continued in peace there, and outlived this expedition but a little

time, and then died, having lived in all sixty years, and of them reigned twenty-five. He was buried in a magnificent manner in Jerusalem, for he had imitated the actions of David.

IV

CHAPTER 4. Jehoram Succeeds Jehoshaphat; How Joram, His Namesake, King Of Israel, Fought With The Syrians; And What Wonders Were Done By The Prophet Elisha.

(1) [45] Κατέλιπε δὲ καὶ παῖδας ἱκανούς, διάδοχον δ’ ἀπέδειξε τὸν πρεσβύτατον Ἰώραμον: ταὐτὸ γὰρ εἶχεν ὄνομα τῷ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφῷ, βασιλεύοντι δὲ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, Ἀχάβου δὲ παιδί. [46] παραγενόμενος δ’ ἐκ τῆς Μωαβίτιδος ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς εἰς Σαμάρειαν εἶχε σὺν αὐτῷ τὸν προφήτην Ἐλισσαῖον, οὗ τὰς πράξεις βούλομαι διελθεῖν, λαμπραὶ γάρ εἰσι καὶ ἱστορίας ἄξιαι, καθὼς ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ἐπεγνώκαμεν.

1. Jehoshapat had a good number of children; but he appointed his eldest son Jehoram to be his successor, who had the same name with his mother’s brother, that was king of Israel, and the son of Ahab. Now when the king of Israel was come out of the land of Moab to Samaria, he had with him Elisha the prophet, whose acts I have a mind to go over particularly, for they were illustrious, and worthy to be related, as we have them set down in the sacred books.

(2) [47] Προσελθοῦσαν γὰρ αὐτῷ φασι τὴν Ὠβεδίου τοῦ Ἀχάβου οἰκονόμου γυναῖκα εἰπεῖν, ὡς οὐκ ἀγνοεῖ πῶς ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς τοὺς προφήτας περιέσωσεν ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀχάβου γυναικὸς Ἰεζαβέλας ἀναιρουμένους: ἑκατὸν γὰρ ἔλεγεν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ δανεισαμένου τραφῆναι κεκρυμμένους: καὶ μετὰ τὴν τἀνδρὸς τελευτὴν ἄγεσθαι νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν δανειστῶν αὐτήν τε καὶ τέκνα πρὸς δουλείαν, παρεκάλει τε διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐργασίαν τἀνδρὸς ἐλεῆσαί τε καὶ παρασχεῖν τινα βοήθειαν. [48] πυθομένῳ δ’ αὐτῷ, τί ἔχει ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἔφη, ἔλαιον δὲ βραχὺ λίαν ἐν κεραμίῳ. ὁ δὲ προφήτης ἀπελθοῦσαν ἐκέλευσεν ἀγγεῖα χρήσασθαι πολλὰ παρὰ τῶν γειτόνων κενὰ καὶ τὰς θύρας ἀποκλείσασαν τοῦ δωματίου μεταχεῖν εἰς ἅπαντα τὸ ἔλαιον: τὸν γὰρ θεὸν πληρώσειν αὐτά. [49] τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς τὰ κελευσθέντα ποιούσης καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις προσφέρειν ἕκαστον τῶν ἀγγείων προσταττούσης, ἐπεὶ πάντα ἐπληρώθη καὶ μηδὲν ἦν κενόν, ἐλθοῦσα πρὸς τὸν προφήτην ταῦτα ἀπήγγειλεν. [50] ὁ δὲ συνεβούλευε τοὔλαιον ἀπελθούσῃ ἀποδόσθαι καὶ τοῖς δανεισταῖς ἀποδοῦναι τὰ ὀφειλόμενα: γενήσεσθαι δέ τι καὶ περισσὸν ἐκ τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ ἐλαίου, ᾧ πρὸς διατροφὴν τὴν τῶν τέκνων καταχρήσεται. καὶ Ἐλισσαῖος μὲν οὕτως ἀπήλλαξε τῶν χρεῶν τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν δανειστῶν ὕβρεως ἠλευθέρωσεν.

2. For they say that the widow of Obadiah Ahab's steward, came to him, and said, that he was not ignorant how her husband had preserved the prophets that were to be slain by Jezebel, the wife of Ahab; for she said that he hid a hundred of them, and had borrowed money for their maintenance, and that, after her husband's death, she and her children were carried away to be made slaves by the creditors; and she desired of him to have mercy upon her on account of what her husband did, and afford her some assistance. And when he asked her what she had in the house, she said, "Nothing but a very small quantity of oil in a cruse." So the prophet bid her go away, and borrow a great many empty vessels of her neighbors, and when she had shut her chamber door, to pour the oil into them all; for that God would fill them full. And when the woman had done what she was commanded to do, and bade her children bring every one of the vessels, and all were filled, and not one left empty, she came to the prophet, and told him that they were all full; upon which he advised her to go away, and sell the oil, and pay the creditors what was owing them, for that there would be some surplus of the price of the oil, which she might make use of for the maintenance of her children. And thus did Elisha discharge the woman's debts, and free her from the vexation of her creditors.

(3) [51] Ἐλισσαῖος δὲ ταχέως πρὸς Ἰώραμον ἐξαπέστειλε φυλάττεσθαι τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον αὐτῷ παραινῶν: εἶναι γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ Σύρους τινὰς τοὺς ἐκεῖ λοχῶντας αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς οὐκέτ' ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν ἐξώρμησε τῷ προφήτῃ πειθόμενος: [52] Ἄδερ δὲ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς διαμαρτὼν ὡς τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοῦ καταμηνυσάντων πρὸς τὸν Ἰώραμον τὴν ἐνέδραν, ὠργίζετό τε καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτοὺς προδότας ἔλεγε τῶν ἀπορρήτων αὐτοῦ καὶ θάνατον ἠπείλει φανερᾶς τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως, ἣν μόνοις ἐκείνοις ἐπίστευσε, τῷ πολεμίῳ γεγενημένης. [53] φήσαντος δέ τινος τῶν παρόντων ψευδοδοξεῖν αὐτόν, μηδὲ ὑπονοεῖν αὐτὸν ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἐχθρὸν αὐτοῦ κατειρηκότας τὴν ἔκπεμψιν τῶν ἀναιρησόντων αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ γινώσκειν ὅτι Ἐλισσαῖός ἐστιν ὁ προφήτης ὁ πάντα μηνύων αὐτῷ καὶ φανερὰ ποιῶν τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ βουλευόμενα, προσέταξε πέμψας μαθεῖν ἐν τίνι πόλει τυγχάνει διατρίβων Ἐλισσαῖος. [54] οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες ἦκον ἀγγέλλοντες αὐτὸν ἐν Δωθαεὶν ὑπάρχοντα. πέμπει τοιγαροῦν Ἄδερ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν δύναμιν πολλὴν ἱππέων καὶ ἁρμάτων, ὅπως τὸν Ἐλισσαῖον λάβωσιν. οἱ δὲ νυκτὸς κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν περιλαβόντες εἶχον ἐν φρουρᾷ. ἅμα δὲ ἕῳ τοῦτο μαθὼν ὁ τοῦ προφήτου διάκονος καὶ ὅτι ζητοῦσιν οἱ πολέμιοι λαβεῖν Ἐλισσαῖον ἐδήλωσεν αὐτῷ μετὰ βοῆς καὶ ταραχῆς δραμὼν πρὸς αὐτόν. [55] ὁ δὲ τὸν θεράποντα μὴ δεδιέναι παρεθάρρυνε καὶ τὸν θεόν, ᾧ συμμάχῳ καταφρονῶν ἀδεὴς ἦν, παρεκάλει τῷ διακόνῳ πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν αὐτὸν εὔελπι θάρσος ἐμφανίσαι τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν καὶ παρουσίαν, ὡς δυνατόν. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐπήκοος τῶν εὐχῶν

τοῦ προφήτου γενόμενος πλῆθος ἁρμάτων καὶ ἵππων τῷ θεράποντι περὶ τὸν Ἐλισσαῖον κεκυκλωμένον θεάσασθαι παρέσχεν, ὡς αὐτὸν ἀφιέναι μὲν τὸ δέος, ἀναθαρσῆσαι δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν τῆς νομιζομένης συμμαχίας. [56] Ἐλισσαῖος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ὄψεις ἀμαυρῶσαι τὸν θεὸν παρεκάλει ἀχλὺν αὐταῖς ἐπιβαλόντα ἀφ᾽ ἧς ἀγνοήσειν αὐτὸν ἔμελλον. γενομένου δὲ καὶ τούτου προελθὼν εἰς μέσους τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπηρώτησε, τίνα ἐπιζητοῦντες ἦλθον: τῶν δὲ τὸν προφήτην Ἐλισσαῖον εἰπόντων παραδώσειν ὑπέσχετο, εἰ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐν ᾗ τυγχάνει ὢν ἀκολουθήσειαν αὐτῷ. [57] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἡγουμένῳ τῷ προφήτῃ τὰς ὄψεις ὑπὸ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπεσκοτημένοι σπουδάζοντες εἵποντο, ἀγαγὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἐλισσαῖος εἰς Σαμάρειαν Ἰωράμῳ μὲν τῷ βασιλεῖ προσέταξε κλεῖσαι τὰς πύλας καὶ περιστῆσαι τοῖς Σύροις τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν, τῷ θεῷ δὲ ηὔξατο καθᾶραι τὰς ὄψεις τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὴν ἀχλὺν αὐτῶν ἀνελεῖν. οἱ δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς ἀμαυρώσεως ἐκείνης ἀφεθέντες ἑώρων αὐτοὺς ἐν μέσοις τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπάρχοντας. [58] ἐν ἐκπλήξει δὲ δεινῇ καὶ ἀμηχανίᾳ τῶν Σύρων οἷον εἰκὸς ἐφ᾽ οὕτως θείῳ καὶ παραδόξῳ πράγματι κειμένων καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰωράμου πυθομένου τὸν προφήτην, εἰ κελεύσειεν αὐτοὺς κατακοντισθῆναι, τοῦτο μὲν ἐκώλυσε ποιεῖν Ἐλισσαῖος: τοὺς γὰρ νόμῳ πολέμου ληφθέντας ἀποκτείνειν εἶναι δίκαιον ἔλεγε, τούτους δὲ μηδὲν κακὸν ἐργάσασθαι τὴν ἐκείνου χώραν, θείᾳ δὲ δυνάμει πρὸς αὐτοὺς οὐκ εἰδότας ἐλθεῖν. [59] συνεβούλευέ τε ξενίων αὐτοῖς μεταδόντα καὶ τραπέζης ἀπολύειν ἀβλαβεῖς. Ἰώραμος μὲν οὖν τῷ προφήτῃ πειθόμενος ἑστιάσας λαμπρῶς πάνυ καὶ φιλοτίμως τοὺς Σύρους ἀπέλυσε πρὸς Ἄδερα τὸν αὐτῶν βασιλέα.

3. Elisha also sent a hasty message to Joram, and exhorted him to take care of that place, for that therein were some Syrians lying in ambush to kill him. So the king did as the prophet exhorted him, and avoided his going a hunting. And when Benhadad missed of the success of his lying in ambush, he was wroth with his own servants, as if they had betrayed his ambushment to Joram; and he sent for them, and said they were the betrayers of his secret counsels; and he threatened that he would put them to death, since such their practice was evident, because he had intrusted this secret to none but them, and yet it was made known to his enemy. And one that was present said that he should not mistake himself, nor suspect that they had discovered to his enemy his sending men to kill him, but that he ought to know that it was Elisha the prophet who discovered all to him, and laid open all his counsels. So he gave order that they should send some to learn in what city Elisha dwelt. Accordingly those that were sent brought word that he was in Dothan; wherefore Benhadad sent to that city a great army, with horses and chariots, to take Elisha: so they encompassed the city round about by night, and kept him therein confined; but when the prophet's servant in

the morning perceived this, and that his enemies sought to take Elisha, he came running, and crying out after a disordered manner to him, and told him of it; but he encouraged him, and bid him not be afraid, and to despise the enemy, and trust in the assistance of God, and was himself without fear; and he besought God to make manifest to his servant his power and presence, so far as was possible, in order to the inspiring him with hope and courage. Accordingly God heard the prayer of the prophet, and made the servant see a multitude of chariots and horses encompassing Elisha, till he laid aside his fear, and his courage revived at the sight of what he supposed was come to their assistance. After this Elisha did further entreat God, that he would dim the eyes of their enemies, and cast a mist before them, whereby they might not discern him. When this was done, he went into the midst of his enemies, and asked them who it was that they came to seek; and when they replied, "The prophet Elisha," he promised he would deliver him to them, if they would follow him to the city where he was. So these men were so darkened by God in their sight and in their mind, that they followed him very diligently; and when Elisha had brought them to Samaria, he ordered Joram the king to shut the gates, and to place his own army round about them; and prayed to God to clear the eyes of these their enemies, and take the mist from before them. Accordingly, when they were freed from the obscurity they had been in, they saw themselves in the midst of their enemies; and as the Syrians were strangely amazed and distressed, as was but reasonable, at an action so Divine and surprising, and as king Joram asked the prophet if he would give him leave to shoot at them, Elisha forbade him so to do; and said, that "it is just to kill those that are taken in battle, but that these men had done the country no harm, but, without knowing it, were come thither by the Divine Power:" — so that his counsel was to treat them in a hospitable manner at his table, and then send them away without hurting them. Wherefore Joram obeyed the prophet; and when he had feasted the Syrians in a splendid and magnificent manner, he let them go to Benhadad their king.

(4) [60] Τῶν δὲ ἀφικομένων καὶ δηλωσάντων αὐτῷ τὰ συμβεβηκότα θαυμάσας ὁ Ἄδερ τὸ παράδοξον καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ δύναμιν καὶ τὸν προφήτην, ᾧ τὸ θεῖον οὕτως ἐναργῶς παρῆν, κρύφα μὲν οὐκέτι διέγνω τῷ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐπιχειρεῖν βασιλεῖ τὸν Ἐλισσαῖον δεδοικώς, φανερῶς δὲ πολεμεῖν ἔκρινε τῷ πλήθει τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ τῇ δυνάμει νομίζων περιέσεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων. [61] καὶ στρατεύει μετὰ μεγάλης δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰώραμον, ὃς οὐχ ἡγούμενος αὐτὸν ἀξιόμαχον εἶναι τοῖς Σύροις ἐνέκλεισεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Σαμάρειαν θαρρῶν τῇ τῶν τειχῶν ὀχυρότητι. Ἄδερ δὲ λογισάμενος αἱρήσειν τὴν πόλιν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῖς μηχανήμασι, λιμῷ μέντοι καὶ σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων

παραστήσεσθαι τοὺς Σαμαρεῖς, προσβαλὼν ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν. [62] οὕτω δὲ ἐπέλιπε τὸν Ἰώραμον ἡ τῶν ἀναγκαίων εὐπορία, ὡς δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἐνδείας ἐν τῇ Σαμαρείᾳ πραθῆναι ὀγδοήκοντα μὲν ἀργυρῶν νομίσματος κεφαλὴν ὄνου, πέντε δὲ ἀργυρῶν νομίσματος ξέστην κόπρου περιστερῶν ἀντὶ ἁλῶν ὠνεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἑβραίους. [63] ἦν δ᾽ ἐν φόβῳ μὴ διὰ τὸν λιμὸν προδῷ τις τοῖς ἐχθροῖς τὴν πόλιν ὁ Ἰώραμος καὶ καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐκπεριήρχετο τὰ τείχη καὶ τοὺς φύλακας, μή τις ἔνδον εἴη παρ᾽ αὐτῶν σκεπτόμενος καὶ τῷ βλέπεσθαι καὶ φροντίζειν ἀφαιρούμενος καὶ τὸ βούλεσθαί τι τοιοῦτον καὶ τὸ ἔργον, εἰ ταύτην τις τὴν γνώμην ἤδη λαμβάνειν ἔφθασεν. [64] ἀνακραγούσης δέ τινος γυναικός "δέσποτα ἐλέησον" νομίσας αἰτεῖν τι μέλλειν αὐτὴν τῶν πρὸς τροφὴν ὀργισθεὶς ἐπηράσατο αὐτῇ τὸν θεὸν καὶ μήτε ἅλως αὐτῷ μήτε ληνοὺς ὑπάρχειν ἔλεγεν, ὅθεν τι καὶ παράσχοι ἂν αὐτῇ δεομένῃ. [65] τῆς δ᾽ οὐδενὸς μὲν τούτων χρῄζειν εἰπούσης οὐδ᾽ ἐνοχλεῖν τροφῆς ἕνεκα, κριθῆναι δὲ ἀξιούσης πρὸς ἄλλην γυναῖκα, κελεύσαντος λέγειν καὶ διδάσκειν περὶ ὧν ἐπιζητεῖ συνθήκας ἔφη ποιήσασθαι μετὰ τῆς ἑτέρας γυναικὸς γειτνιώσης καὶ φίλης αὐτῇ τυγχανούσης, ὅπως ἐπεὶ τὰ τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐνδείας ἦν ἀμήχανα διαχρησάμενοι τὰ τέκνα, ἦν δὲ ἄρρεν ἑκατέρᾳ παιδίον, ἀνὰ μίαν ἡμέραν θρέψωμεν ἀλλήλας. [66] "κἀγὼ μέν, φησί, πρώτη τοὐμὸν κατέσφαξα καὶ τὴν παρελθοῦσαν ἡμέραν τοὐμὸν ἐτράφημεν ἀμφότεραι: νῦν δ᾽ οὐ βούλεται ταὐτὸ ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ παραβαίνει τὴν [67] συνθήκην καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀφανῆ πεποίηκε." τοῦτ᾽ ἐλύπησε σφοδρῶς Ἰώραμον ἀκούσαντα, καὶ περιρρηξάμενος τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ δεινὸν ἐκβοήσας ἔπειτα ὀργῆς ἐπὶ τὸν προφήτην Ἐλισσαῖον πληρωθεὶς ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν ὥρμησεν, ὅτι μὴ δεῖται τοῦ θεοῦ πόρον τ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ διαφυγὴν τῶν περιεχόντων κακῶν δοῦναι: τόν τε ἀποτεμοῦντα αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν εὐθὺς ἐξέπεμψε. [68] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ἠπείγετο τοῦ προφήτου: τὸν δ᾽ Ἐλισσαῖον οὐκ ἔλαθεν ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως ὀργή, καθεζόμενος δὲ οἴκαδε παρ᾽ αὐτῷ σὺν τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐμήνυσεν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι Ἰώραμος ὁ τοῦ φονέως υἱὸς πέμψειε τὸν ἀφαιρήσοντα αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλήν. [69] "ἀλλ᾽ ὑμεῖς, φησίν, ὅταν ὁ τοῦτο προσταχθεὶς ἀφίκηται, παραφυλάξαντες εἰσιέναι μέλλοντα προσαποθλίψατε τῇ θύρᾳ καὶ κατάσχετε: ἀκολουθήσει γὰρ αὐτῷ πρός με παραγινόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς μεταβεβουλευμένος." καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸ κελευσθὲν ὡς ἦκεν ὁ πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τὴν Ἐλισσαίου ἐποίησαν: [70] Ἰώραμος δὲ καταγνοὺς τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν προφήτην ὀργῆς καὶ δείσας, μὴ φθάσῃ κτείνας αὐτὸν ὁ τοῦτο προσταχθείς, ἔσπευσε κωλῦσαι γενέσθαι τὸν φόνον καὶ διασῶσαι τὸν προφήτην. ἀφικόμενος δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ᾐτιᾶτο, ὅτι μὴ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λύσιν αὐτοῖς τῶν παρόντων αἰτεῖται κακῶν, ἀλλ᾽ οὕτως ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν φθειρομένους ὑπερορᾷ. [71] Ἐλισσαῖος δὲ εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἐπηγγέλλετο κατ᾽ ἐκείνην τὴν ὥραν, καθ᾽ ἣν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀφίκετο πρὸς αὐτόν, ἔσεσθαι πολλὴν εὐπορίαν τροφῆς καὶ πραθήσεσθαι μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ σίκλου δύο κριθῆς σάτα, ὠνήσεσθαι δὲ σεμιδάλεως σάτον σίκλου. [72] ταῦτα τόν τε Ἰώραμον

καὶ τοὺς παρόντας εἰς χαρὰν περιέτρεψε: πιστεύειν γὰρ τῷ προφήτῃ διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς προπεπειραμένοις ἀλήθειαν οὐκ ὤκνουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνης ἐνδεὲς τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ταλαίπωρον ἡ προσδοκωμένη κοῦφον αὐτοῖς ἐποίει. [73] ὁ δὲ τῆς τρίτης μοίρας ἡγεμὼν τῷ βασιλεῖ φίλος ὢν καὶ τότε φέρων αὐτὸν ἐπερηρεισμένον "ἄπιστα, εἶπε, λέγεις, ὦ προφῆτα: καὶ ὥσπερ ἀδύνατον ἐκχέαι τὸν θεὸν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταρράκτας κριθῆς ἢ σεμιδάλεως, οὕτως ἀμήχανον καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ σοῦ νῦν εἰρημένα γενέσθαι." καὶ ὁ προφήτης πρὸς αὐτόν "ταῦτα μέν, εἶπεν, ὄψει τοῦτο λαμβάνοντα τὸ τέλος, οὐ μεταλήψῃ δ᾽ οὐδενὸς τῶν ὑπαρξόντων."

4. Now when these men were come back, and had showed Benhadad how strange an accident had befallen them, and what an appearance and power they had experienced of the God of Israel, he wondered at it, as also at that prophet with whom God was so evidently present; so he determined to make no more secret attempts upon the king of Israel, out of fear of Elisha, but resolved to make open war with them, as supposing he could be too hard for his enemies by the multitude of his army and power. So he made an expedition with a great army against Joram, who, not thinking himself a match for him, shut himself up in Samaria, and depended on the strength of its walls; but Benhadad supposed he should take the city, if not by his engines of war, yet that he should overcome the Samaritans by famine, and the want of necessaries, and brought his army upon them, and besieged the city; and the plenty of necessaries was brought so low with Joram, that from the extremity of want an ass's head was sold in Samaria for fourscore pieces of silver, and the Hebrews bought a sextary of dore's dung, instead of salt, for five pieces of silver. Now Joram was in fear lest somebody should betray the city to the enemy, by reason of the famine, and went every day round the walls and the guards to see whether any such were concealed among them; and by being thus seen, and taking such care, he deprived them of the opportunity of contriving any such thing; and if they had a mind to do it, he, by this means, prevented them: but upon a certain woman's crying out, "Have pity on me, my lord," while he thought that she was about to ask for somewhat to eat, he imprecated God's curse upon her, and said he had neither thrashing-floor nor wine-press, whence he might give her any thing at her petition. Upon which she said she did not desire his aid in any such thing, nor trouble him about food, but desired that he would do her justice as to another woman. And when he bade her say on, and let him know what she desired, she said she had made an agreement with the other woman who was her neighbor and her friend, that because the famine and want was intolerable, they should kill their children, each of them having a son of their own, "and we will live upon them ourselves for two days, the one day upon one son, and the other day upon the other; and," said she, "I

have killed my son the first day, and we lived upon my son yesterday; but this other woman will not do the same thing, but hath broken her agreement, and hath hid her son." This story mightily grieved Joram when he heard it; so he rent his garment, and cried out with a loud voice, and conceived great wrath against Elisha the prophet, and set himself eagerly to have him slain, because he did not pray to God to provide them some exit and way of escape out of the miseries with which they were surrounded; and sent one away immediately to cut off his head, who made haste to kill the prophet. But Elisha was not unacquainted with the wrath of the king against him; for as he sat in his house by himself, with none but his disciples about him, he told them that Joram, who was the son of a murderer, had sent one to take away his head; "but," said he, "when he that is commanded to do this comes, take care that you do not let him come in, but press the door against him, and hold him fast there, for the king himself will follow him, and come to me, having altered his mind." Accordingly, they did as they were bidden, when he that was sent by the king to kill Elisha came. But Joram repented of his wrath against the prophet; and for fear he that was commanded to kill him should have done it before he came, he made haste to hinder his slaughter, and to save the prophet: and when he came to him, he accused him that he did not pray to God for their deliverance from the miseries they now lay under, but saw them so sadly destroyed by them. Hereupon Elisha promised, that the very next day, at the very same hour in which the king came to him, they should have great plenty of food, and that two seahs of barley should be sold in the market for a shekel, and a seah of fine flour should be sold for a shekel. This prediction made Joram, and those that were present, very joyful, for they did not scruple believing what the prophet said, on account of the experience they had of the truth of his former predictions; and the expectation of plenty made the want they were in that day, with the uneasiness that accompanied it, appear a light thing to them: but the captain of the third band, who was a friend of the king, and on whose hand the king leaned, said, "Thou talkest of incredible things, O prophet! for as it is impossible for God to pour down torrents of barley, or fine flour, out of heaven, so is it impossible that what thou sayest should come to pass." To which the prophet made this reply," Thou shalt see these things come to pass, but thou shalt not be in the least a partaker of them."

(5) [74] Ἐξέβη τοίνυν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον τὰ ὑπὸ Ἐλισσαίου προειρημένα: νόμος ἦν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ τοὺς λέπραν ἔχοντας καὶ μὴ καθαροὺς ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων τὰ σώματα μένειν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως. ἄνδρες οὖν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τέσσαρες διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν μένοντες μηκέτι μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν

τοῦ λιμοῦ [75] τροφὴν ἐκφέροντος εἰσελθεῖν μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸν νόμον κεκωλυμένοι, κἂν ἐπιτραπῇ δ᾽ αὐτοῖς διαφθαρήσεσθαι κακῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ λογισάμενοι, τοῦτο δὲ πείσεσθαι κἂν αὐτόθι μείνωσιν ἀπορίᾳ τροφῆς, παραδοῦναι τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτοὺς ἔκριναν ὡς εἰ μὲν φείσαιντο αὐτῶν ζησόμενοι, εἰ δ᾽ ἀναιρεθεῖεν εὐθανατήσοντες. [76] ταύτην κυρώσαντες τὴν βουλὴν νυκτὸς ἦκον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων. ἤρχετο δ᾽ ἤδη τοὺς Σύρους ἐκφοβεῖν καὶ ταράττειν ὁ θεὸς καὶ κτύπον ἁρμάτων καὶ ἵππων ὡς ἐπερχομένης στρατιᾶς ταῖς ἀκοαῖς αὐτῶν ἐνηχεῖν καὶ ταύτην ἐγγυτέρω προσφέρειν αὐτοῖς τὴν ὑπόνοιαν. [77] ἀμέλει τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς διετέθησαν, ὥστε τὰς σκηνὰς ἐκλιπόντες συνέδραμον πρὸς τὸν Ἄδερα λέγοντες, ὡς Ἰώραμος ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν μισθωσάμενος συμμάχους τόν τε τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα καὶ τὸν τῶν νήσων ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἄγει: προσιόντων γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐπακούειν τοῦ κτύπου. [78] ταῦτα λέγουσιν ὁ Ἄδερ, καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς περιεψοφεῖτο ἤδη τὰς ἀκοὰς ὁμοίως τῷ πλήθει, προσέσχε καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀταξίας καὶ θορύβου καταλιπόντες ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ πλοῦτον ἄφθονον εἰς φυγὴν ἐχώρησαν. [79] οἱ λεπροὶ δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Σαμαρείας ἀναχωρήσαντες εἰς τὸ τῶν Σύρων στρατόπεδον, ὧν μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεμνήσθημεν, ὡς γενόμενοι πρὸς τῇ παρεμβολῇ πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν καὶ ἀφωνίαν ἔβλεπον οὖσαν καὶ παρελθόντες δὲ εἴσω καὶ ὁρμήσαντες εἰς μίαν σκηνὴν οὐδένα ἑώρων, ἐμφαγόντες καὶ πιόντες ἐβάστασαν ἐσθῆτα καὶ πολὺν χρυσὸν κομίσαντες ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς ἔκρυψαν: [80] ἔπειτ᾽ εἰς ἑτέραν σκηνὴν παρελθόντες ὁμοίως τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ πάλιν ἐξεκόμισαν, καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐποίησαν τετράκις μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς ὅλως ἐντυγχάνοντος. ὅθεν εἰκάσαντες ἀνακεχωρηκέναι τοὺς πολεμίους κατεγίνωσκον αὐτῶν μὴ ταῦτα δηλούντων τῷ Ἰωράμῳ καὶ τοῖς πολίταις. [81] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὸ τῆς Σαμαρείας τεῖχος καὶ ἀναβοήσαντες πρὸς τοὺς φύλακας ἐμήνυον αὐτοῖς τὰ περὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ταῦτ᾽ ἀπήγγειλαν τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως φύλαξι, παρ᾽ ὧν μαθὼν Ἰώραμος μεταπέμπεται τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας. [82] πρὸς οὓς ἐλθόντας ἐνέδραν καὶ τέχνην ὑπονοεῖν ἔλεγε τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τοῦ τῶν Σύρων βασιλέως ἀπογνόντος ἡμᾶς τῷ λιμῷ διαφθαρήσεσθαι, ἵνα ὡς πεφευγότων εἰς διαρπαγὴν ἐξελθόντων τῆς παρεμβολῆς αἰφνιδίως ἐπιπέσῃ καὶ κτείνῃ μὲν αὐτούς, ἁμαχητὶ δὲ ἕλῃ τὴν πόλιν: ὅθεν ὑμῖν παραινῶ διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχειν αὐτὴν μὴ καταφρονήσαντας τῷ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀνακεχωρηκέναι: [83] φήσαντος δέ τινος, ὡς ἄριστα μὲν καὶ συνετώτατα ὑπονοήσειε, πέμψαι γε μὴν συμβουλεύσαντος δύο τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς τὴν ἄχρι Ἰορδάνου πᾶσαν ἐξερευνήσοντας, ἵν᾽ εἰ ληφθέντες ὑπὸ λοχώντων τῶν πολεμίων διαφθαρεῖεν φυλακὴ τῇ στρατιᾷ γένωνται τοῦ μηδὲν ὅμοιον παθεῖν αὐτὴν ἀνυπόπτως προελθοῦσαν: “προσαριθμήσεις δέ, φησί, τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ τεθνηκόσι τοὺς ἱππεῖς, κἂν [84] ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ληφθέντες ἀπόλωνται.” ἀρεσθεὶς δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ τότε τοὺς κατοψομένους ἐξέπεμψεν: οἱ δὲ κενὴν μὲν πολεμίων τὴν

ὁδὸν ἤνυσαν, μεστὴν δὲ σιτίων καὶ ὅπλων εὗρον, ἃ διὰ τὸ κοῦφοι πρὸς τὸ φεύγειν εἶναι ῥίπτοντες κατέλιπον. ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ διαρπαγὴν τῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὸ πλῆθος ἐξαφῆκεν. [85] εὐτελὲς δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδ᾽ ὀλίγον ὠφελοῦντο, ἀλλὰ πολὺν μὲν χρυσόν, πολὺν δὲ ἄργυρον, ἀγέλας δὲ παντοδαπῶν κτηνῶν, ἔτι γε μὴν σίτου μυριάσι καὶ κριθῆς αἷς οὐδ᾽ ὄναρ ἤλπισαν ἐπιτυχόντες τῶν μὲν προτέρων κακῶν ἀπηλλάγησαν, ἀφθονίαν δ᾽ εἶχον, ὡς ὠνεῖσθαι δύο μὲν σάτα κριθῆς σίκλου σεμιδάλεως δὲ σάτον σίκλου κατὰ τὴν Ἐλισσαίου προφητείαν: ἰσχύει δὲ τὸ σάτον μόδιον καὶ ἥμισυ Ἰταλικόν. [86] μόνος δὲ τούτων οὐκ ὤνατο τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὁ τῆς τρίτης μοίρας ἡγεμών: κατασταθεὶς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς πύλης ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἵνα τὸ πλῆθος ἐπέχῃ τῆς πολλῆς ὁρμῆς καὶ μὴ κινδυνεύσωσιν ὑπ᾽ ἀλλήλων ὠθούμενοι συμπατηθέντες ἀπολέσθαι, τοῦτ᾽ αὐτὸς ἔπαθε καὶ τοῦτον ἀποθνήσκει τὸν τρόπον τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτῷ προφητεύσαντος Ἐλισσαίου, ὅτε τοῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς ἐσομένης εὐπορίας τῶν ἐπιτηδείων λεγομένοις μόνος ἐξ ἁπάντων οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν.

5. Now what Elisha had thus foretold came to pass in the manner following: There was a law at Samaria that those that had the leprosy, and whose bodies were not cleansed from it, should abide without the city: and there were four men that on this account abode before the gates, while nobody gave them any food, by reason of the extremity of the famine; and as they were prohibited from entering into the city by the law, and they considered that if they were permitted to enter, they should miserably perish by the famine; as also, that if they staid where they were, they should suffer in the same manner, — they resolved to deliver themselves up to the enemy, that in case they should spare them, they should live; but if they should be killed, that would be an easy death. So when they had confirmed this their resolution, they came by night to the enemy's camp. Now God had begun to affright and disturb the Syrians, and to bring the noise of chariots and armor to their ears, as though an army were coming upon them, and had made them suspect that it was coming nearer and nearer to them In short, they were in such a dread of this army, that they left their tents, and ran together to Benhadad, and said that Joram the king of Israel had hired for auxiliaries both the king of Egypt and the king of the Islands, and led them against them for they heard the noise of them as they were coming. And Benhadad believed what they said [for there came the same noise to his ears as well as it did to theirs]; so they fell into a mighty disorder and tumult, and left their horses and beasts in their camp, with immense riches also, and betook themselves to flight. And those lepers who had departed from Samaria, and were gone to the camp of the Syrians, of whom we made mention a little before, when they were in the camp, saw nothing but great quietness and silence: accordingly

they entered into it, and went hastily into one of their tents; and when they saw nobody there, they eat and drank, and carried garments, and a great quantity of gold, and hid it out of the camp; after which they went into another tent, and carried off what was in it, as they did at the former, and this did they for several times, without the least interruption from any body. So they gathered thereby that the enemies were departed; whereupon they reproached themselves that they did not inform Joram and the citizens of it. So they came to the walls of Samaria, and called aloud to the watchmen, and told them in what state the enemies were, as did these tell the king's guards, by whose means Joram came to know of it; who then sent for his friends, and the captains of his host, and said to them, that he suspected that this departure of the king of Syria was by way of ambush and treachery, and that, "out of despair of ruining you by famine, when you imagine them to be fled away, you may come out of the city to spoil their camp, and he may then fall upon you on a sudden, and may both kill you, and take the city without fighting; whence it is that I exhort you to guard the city carefully, and by no means to go out of it, or proudly to despise your enemies, as though they were really gone away." And when a certain person said that he did very well and wisely to admit such a suspicion, but that he still advised him to send a couple of horsemen to search all the country as far as Jordan, that "if they were seized by an ambush of the enemy, they might be a security to your army, that they may not go out as if they suspected nothing, nor undergo the like misfortune; and," said he, "those horsemen may be numbered among those that have died by the famine, supposing they be caught and destroyed by the enemy." So the king was pleased with this opinion, and sent such as might search out the truth, who performed their journey over a road that was without any enemies, but found it full of provisions, and of weapons, that they had therefore thrown away, and left behind them, in order to their being light and expeditious in their flight. When the king heard this, he sent out the multitude to take the spoils of the camp; which gains of theirs were not of things of small value, but they took a great quantity of gold, and a great quantity of silver, and flocks of all kinds of cattle. They also possessed themselves of [so many] ten thousand measures of wheat and barley, as they never in the least dreamed of; and were not only freed from their former miseries, but had such plenty, that two seahs of barley were bought for a shekel, and a seah of fine flour for a shekel, according to the prophecy of Elisha. Now a seah is equal to an Italian modius and a half. The captain of the third band was the only man that received no benefit by this plenty; for as he was appointed by the king to oversee the gate, that lm might prevent the too great crowd of the multitude, and they might not endanger one another to perish, by treading on one another in the press, he suffered himself in

that very way, and died in that very manner, as Elisha had foretold such his death, when he alone of them all disbelieved what he said concerning that plenty of provisions which they should soon have.

(6) [87] Ὁ δὲ τῶν Σύρων βασιλεὺς Ἄδερος διασωθεὶς εἰς Δαμασκὸν καὶ μαθών, ὅτι τὸ θεῖον αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν εἰς τὸ δέος καὶ τὴν ταραχὴν ἐκείνην ἐνέβαλεν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐξ ἐφόδου πολεμίων ἐγένετο, σφόδρα τῷ δυσμενῆ τὸν θεὸν ἔχειν ἀθυμήσας εἰς νόσον κατέπεσεν. [88] ἐκδημήσαντος δὲ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν εἰς Δαμασκὸν Ἐλισσαίου τοῦ προφήτου γνοὺς ὁ Ἄδερ τὸν πιστότατον τῶν οἰκετῶν Ἀζάηλον ἔπεμψεν ὑπαντησόμενον αὐτῷ καὶ δῶρα κομίζοντα, κελεύσας ἔρεσθαι περὶ τῆς νόσου καὶ εἰ διαφεύξεται τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς κίνδυνον. [89] Ἀζάηλος δὲ μετὰ καμήλων τεσσαράκοντα τὸν ἀριθμόν, αἳ τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ τιμιώτατα τῶν ἐν Δαμασκῷ γινομένων καὶ ὄντων ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ ἔφερον δῶρα, συμβαλὼν τῷ Ἐλισσαίῳ προσαγορεύσας αὐτὸν φιλοφρόνως ἔλεγεν ὑπὸ Ἄδερος τοῦ βασιλέως πεμφθῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸν δῶρά τε κομίσαι καὶ πυθέσθαι περὶ τῆς νόσου καὶ εἰ ῥᾴων ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἔσοιτο. [90] ὁ δὲ προφήτης τὸν μὲν Ἀζάηλον ἐκέλευε μηδὲν ἀπαγγέλλειν τῷ βασιλεῖ κακόν, ἔλεγε δ᾽ ὅτι τεθνήξεται. καὶ ὁ μὲν οἰκέτης τοῦ βασιλέως ἐλυπεῖτο ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας, ὁ δ᾽ Ἐλισσαῖος ἔκλαιε καὶ πολλοῖς ἐρρεῖτο δακρύοις προορώμενος ἃ πάσχειν ὁ λαὸς ἔμελλε κακὰ μετὰ τὴν Ἄδερος τελευτήν. [91] ἀνακρίναντος δ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἀζαήλου τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς συγχύσεως “κλαίω, φησί, τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐλεῶν, ὧν ἐκ σοῦ πείσεται δεινῶν: ἀποκτενεῖς γὰρ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ τὰς ὀχυρωτάτας πόλεις ἐμπρήσεις, καὶ παιδία μὲν ἀπολεῖς προσρηγνὺς [92] πέτραις τὰς δ᾽ ἐγκύους ἀναρρήξεις γυναῖκας.” τοῦ δὲ Ἀζαήλου λέγοντος: “τίνα γὰρ ἰσχὺν ἐμοὶ τηλικαύτην εἶναι συμβέβηκεν, ὥστε ταῦτα ποιῆσαι;” τὸν θεὸν ἔφησεν αὐτῷ δεδηλωκέναι τοῦθ᾽, ὅτι τῆς Συρίας μέλλει βασιλεύειν. Ἀζάηλος μὲν οὖν παραγενόμενος πρὸς τὸν Ἄδερα τῷ μὲν τὰ βελτίω περὶ τῆς νόσου κατήγγελλε, τῇ δ᾽ ἐπιούσῃ δίκτυον ἐπιβαλὼν αὐτῷ διάβροχον τὸν μὲν στραγγάλῃ διέφθειρε, [93] τὴν δ᾽ ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς παρέλαβε δραστήριός τε ὢν ἀνὴρ καὶ πολλὴν ἔχων παρὰ τῶν Σύρων εὔνοιαν καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Δαμασκηνῶν, ὑφ᾽ οὗ μέχρι νῦν αὐτός τε ὁ Ἄδερ καὶ Ἀζάηλος ὁ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν ἄρξας ὡς θεοὶ τιμῶνται διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας καὶ τῶν ναῶν οἰκοδομίας, οἷς ἐκόσμησαν τὴν τῶν Δαμασκηνῶν πόλιν. [94] πομπεύουσι δ᾽ αὐτοὶ καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τῇ τιμῇ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ σεμνύνονται τὴν τούτων ἀρχαιότητα οὐκ εἰδότες, ὅτι νεώτεροί εἰσι καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες οὗτοι οἱ βασιλεῖς ἔτη χίλια καὶ ἑκατόν. ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς Ἰώραμος ἀκούσας τὴν Ἄδερος τελευτὴν ἀνέπνευσεν ἐκ τῶν φόβων καὶ τοῦ δέους ὃ δι᾽ αὐτὸν εἶχεν ἀσμένως εἰρήνης λαμβανόμενος.

6. Hereupon, when Benhadad, the king of Syria, had escaped to Damascus, and understood that it was God himself that cast all his army into this fear and

disorder, and that it did not arise from the invasion of enemies, he was mightily cast down at his having God so greatly for his enemy, and fell into a distemper. Now it happened that Elisha the prophet, at that time, was gone out of his own country to Damascus, of which Berthadad was informed: he sent Hazael, the most faithful of all his servants, to meet him, and to carry him presents, and bade him inquire of him about his distemper, and whether he should escape the danger that it threatened. So Hazael came to Elisha with forty camels, that carried the best and most precious fruits that the country of Damascus afforded, as well as those which the king's palace supplied. He saluted him kindly, and said that he was sent to him by king Berthadad, and brought presents with him, in order to inquire concerning his distemper, whether he should recover from it or not. Whereupon the prophet bid him tell the king no melancholy news; but still he said he would die. So the king's servant was troubled to hear it; and Elisha wept also, and his tears ran down plenteously at his foresight of what miseries his people would undergo after the death of Berthadad. And when Hazael asked him what was the occasion of this confusion he was in, he said that he wept out of his commiseration for the multitude of the Israelites, and what terrible miseries they will suffer by thee; "for thou wilt slay the strongest of them, and wilt burn their strongest cities, and wilt destroy their children, and dash them against the stones, and wilt rip up their women with child." And when Hazael said, "How can it be that I should have power enough to do such things?" the prophet replied, that God had informed him that he should be king of Syria. So when Hazael was come to Benhadad, he told him good news concerning his distemper but on the next day he spread a wet cloth, in the nature of a net, over him, and strangled him, and took his dominion. He was an active man, and had the good-will of the Syrians, and of the people of Damascus, to a great degree; by whom both Benhadad himself, and Hazael, who ruled after him, are honored to this day as gods, by reason of their benefactions, and their building them temples by which they adorned the city of the Damascenes. They also every day do with great pomp pay their worship to these kings, and value themselves upon their antiquity; nor do they know that these kings are much later than they imagine, and that they are not yet eleven hundred years old. Now when Joram, the king of Israel, heard that Berthadad was dead, he recovered out of the terror and dread he had been in on his account, and was very glad to live in peace.

V

CHAPTER 5. Concerning The Wickedness Of Jehoram King O Jerusalem; His Defeat And Death.

(1) [95] Ἰώραμος δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλεύς, καὶ τούτῳ γὰρ ἦν ταὐτὸν καθὼς προειρήκαμεν ἔμπροσθεν ὄνομα, παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ σφαγὴν τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν πατρῴων φίλων οἳ καὶ ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν ἐχώρησε, τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπίδειξιν τῆς πονηρίας ἐντεῦθεν ποιησάμενος καὶ μηδὲν διενεγκὼν τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ βασιλέων, οἳ πρῶτοι παρηνόμησαν εἰς τὰ πάτρια τῶν Ἑβραίων ἔθη καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείαν. [96] ἐδίδαξε δ᾽ αὐτὸν τά τ᾽ ἄλλα εἶναι κακὸν καὶ δὴ καὶ ξενικοὺς θεοὺς προσκυνεῖν Γοθολία θυγάτηρ μὲν Ἀχάβου συνοικοῦσα δ᾽ αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ μὲν θεὸς διὰ τὴν πρὸς Δαυίδην ὁμολογίαν οὐκ ἐβούλετο τούτου τὸ γένος ἐξαφανίσαι, Ἰώραμος δ᾽ οὐ διέλειπεν ἑκάστης ἡμέρας καινουργῶν ἐπ᾽ ἀσεβείᾳ καὶ λύμῃ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐθισμῶν. [97] ἀποστάντων δὲ αὐτοῦ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν τῶν Ἰδουμαίων καὶ τὸν μὲν πρότερον ἀποκτεινάντων βασιλέα, ὃς ὑπήκουεν αὐτοῦ τῷ πατρί, ὃν δ᾽ ἐβούλοντο αὐτοὶ καταστησάντων Ἰώραμος μετὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν ἁρμάτων νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πέριξ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας διέφθειρε, περαιτέρω δ᾽ οὐ προῆλθεν. [98] ὤνησε μέντοι τοῦτο ποιήσας οὐδὲ ἕν: πάντες γὰρ ἀπέστησαν αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ τὴν χώραν τὴν καλουμένην Λαβίναν νεμόμενοι. ἦν δ᾽ οὕτως ἐμμανής, ὥστε τὸν λαὸν ἠνάγκαζεν ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλότατα τῶν ὀρῶν ἀναβαίνοντα προσκυνεῖν τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους θεούς.

1. Now Jehoram the king of Jerusalem, for we have said before that he had the same name with the king of Israel, as soon as he had taken the government upon him, betook himself to the slaughter of his brethren, and his father's friends, who were governors under him, and thence made a beginning and a demonstration of his wickedness; nor was he at all better than those kings of Israel who at first transgressed against the laws of their country, and of the Hebrews, and against God's worship. And it was Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab, whom he had married, who taught him to be a bad man in other respects, and also to worship foreign gods. Now God would not quite root out this family, because of the promise he had made to David. However, Jehoram did not leave off the introduction of new sorts of customs to the propagation of impiety, and to the ruin of the customs of his own country. And when the Edomites about that time had revolted from him, and slain their former king, who was in subjection to his father, and had set up one of their own choosing, Jehoram fell upon the land of Edom, with the horsemen that were about him, and the chariots, by night, and destroyed those that lay near to his own kingdom, but did not proceed further.

However, this expedition did him no service, for they all revolted from him, with those that dwelt in the country of Libnah. He was indeed so mad as to compel the people to go up to the high places of the mountains, and worship foreign gods.

(2) [99] Ταῦτα δ' αὐτῷ πράττοντι καὶ τελέως ἐκβεβληκότι τῆς διανοίας τὰ πάτρια νόμιμα κομίζεται παρ' Ἠλίου τοῦ προφήτου ἐπιστολή, ἣ τὸν θεὸν ἐδήλου μεγάλην παρ' αὐτοῦ ληψόμενον δίκην, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἰδίων πατέρων μιμητὴς οὐκ ἐγένετο, τοῖς δὲ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέων κατηκολούθησεν ἀσεβήμασι καὶ συνηνάγκασε τὴν Ἰούδα φυλὴν καὶ τοὺς πολίτας Ἱεροσολύμων ἀφέντας τὴν ὁσίαν τοῦ ἐπιχωρίου θεοῦ σέβειν τὰ εἴδωλα, καθὼς καὶ Ἄχαβος τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας ἐβιάσατο, [100] ὅτι τε τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς διεχρήσατο καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ δικαίους ἀπέκτεινεν: τήν τε τιμωρίαν ἣν ἀντὶ τούτων ὑφέξειν ἔμελλεν ἐσήμαινε τοῖς γράμμασιν ὁ προφήτης, ὄλεθρον τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ φθορὰν γυναικῶν αὐτοῦ [τοῦ βασιλέως] καὶ τέκνων, [101] καὶ ὅτι τεθνήξεται νόσῳ τῆς νηδύος ἐπὶ πολὺ βασανισθεὶς καὶ τῶν ἐντέρων αὐτοῦ δι' ὑπερβολὴν τῆς τῶν ἐντὸς διαφθορᾶς ἐκρυέντων, ὥστ' αὐτὸν ὁρῶντα τὴν αὐτοῦ συμφορὰν καὶ μηδὲν βοηθῆσαι δυνάμενον ἔπειθ' οὕτως ἀποθανεῖν. ταῦτα μὲν ἐδήλου διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ὁ Ἠλίας.

2. As he was doing this, and had entirely cast his own country laws out of his mind, there was brought him an epistle from Elijah the prophet which declared that God would execute great judgments upon him, because he had not imitated his own fathers, but had followed the wicked courses of the kings of Israel; and had compelled the tribe of Judah, and the citizens of Jerusalem, to leave the holy worship of their own God, and to worship idols, as Ahab had compelled the Israelites to do, and because he had slain his brethren, and the men that were good and righteous. And the prophet gave him notice in this epistle what punishment he should undergo for these crimes, namely, the destruction of his people, with the corruption of the king's own wives and children; and that he should himself die of a distemper in his bowels, with long torments, those his bowels falling out by the violence of the inward rottenness of the parts, insomuch that, though he see his own misery, he shall not be able at all to help himself, but shall die in that manner. This it was which Elijah denounced to him in that epistle.

(3) [102] Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ στρατὸς Ἀράβων τῶν ἔγγιστα τῆς Αἰθιοπίας κατοικούντων καὶ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων εἰς τὴν Ἰωράμου βασιλείαν ἐνέβαλε καὶ τήν τε χώραν διήρπασαν καὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ βασιλέως, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ κατέσφαξαν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας. εἷς δὲ αὐτῷ περιλείπεται τῶν παίδων διαφυγὼν

τοὺς πολεμίους Ὀχοζίας ὄνομα. [103] μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν συμφορὰν αὐτὸς τὴν προειρημένην ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτου νόσον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον νοσήσας χρόνον, ἐπέσκηψε γὰρ εἰς τὴν γαστέρα τὸ θεῖον αὐτοῦ τὴν ὀργήν, ἐλεεινῶς ἀπέθανεν ἐπιδὼν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐντὸς ἐκρυέντα. περιύβρισε δ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ὁ λαός: [104] λογισάμενος γὰρ οἶμαι τὸν οὕτως ἀποθανόντα κατὰ μῆνιν θεοῦ μηδὲ κηδείας τῆς βασιλεῦσι πρεπούσης ἄξιον εἶναι τυχεῖν, οὔτε ταῖς πατρῴαις ἐνεκήδευσεν αὐτὸν θήκαις οὔτε ἄλλης τιμῆς ἠξίωσεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἰδιώτην ἔθαψε, βιώσαντα μὲν ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα, βασιλεύσαντα δὲ ὀκτώ. παραδίδωσι δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ Ὀχοζίᾳ.

3. It was not long after this that an army of those Arabians that lived near to Ethiopia, and of the Philistines, fell upon the kingdom of Jehoram, and spoiled the country and the king’s house. Moreover, they slew his sons and his wives: one only of his sons was left him, who escaped the enemy; his name was Ahaziah; after which calamity, he himself fell into that disease which was foretold by the prophet, and lasted a great while, [for God inflicted this punishment upon him in his belly, out of his wrath against him,] and so he died miserably, and saw his own bowels fall out. The people also abused his dead body; I suppose it was because they thought that such his death came upon him by the wrath of God, and that therefore he was not worthy to partake of such a funeral as became kings. Accordingly, they neither buried him in the sepulchers of his fathers, nor vouchsafed him any honors, but buried him like a private man, and this when he had lived forty years, and reigned eight. And the people of Jerusalem delivered the government to his son Ahaziah.

VI

CHAPTER 6. How Jehu Was Anointed King, And Slew Both Joram And Ahaziah; As Also What He Did For The Punishment Of The Wicked.

(1) [105] Ἰώραμος δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς μετὰ τὴν Ἄδερος τελευτὴν ἐλπίσας Ἀραμώθα πόλιν τῆς Γαλαδίτιδος ἀφαιρήσεσθαι τοὺς Σύρους στρατεύει μὲν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν μετὰ μεγάλης παρασκευῆς, ἐν δὲ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τοξευθεὶς ὑπό τινος τῶν Σύρων οὐ καιρίως ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Ἰεζερήλην πόλιν ἰαθησόμενος ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ τραῦμα, καταλιπὼν ἐν τῇ Ἀραμώθα τὴν στρατιὰν ἅπασαν καὶ ἡγεμόνα τὸν Ἀμασῆ παῖδα Ἰηοῦν: ἤδη γὰρ αὐτὴν ᾑρήκει κατὰ κράτος. [106] προύκειτο δ᾽ αὐτῷ μετὰ τὴν θεραπείαν πολεμεῖν τοῖς Σύροις. Ἐλισσαῖος δ᾽ ὁ προφήτης ἕνα τῶν αὐτοῦ μαθητῶν δοὺς αὐτῷ τὸ ἅγιον ἔλαιον ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ἀραμώθα χρίσοντα τὸν Ἰηοῦν καὶ φράσοντα, ὅτι τὸ θεῖον αὐτὸν ᾑρηται βασιλέα: ἄλλα τε πρὸς τούτοις εἰπεῖν ἐπιστείλας ἐκέλευε τρόπῳ φυγῆς ποιήσασθαι τὴν πορείαν, ὅπως λάθῃ πάντας ἐκεῖθεν ἀπιών. [107] ὁ δὲ γενόμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸν μὲν Ἰηοῦν εὑρίσκει καθεζόμενον μετὰ τῶν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἡγεμόνων μέσον αὐτῶν καθὼς Ἐλισσαῖος αὐτῷ προεῖπε, προσελθὼν δὲ ἔφη βούλεσθαι περί τινων αὐτῷ διαλεχθῆναι. [108] τοῦ δὲ ἀναστάντος καὶ ἀκολουθήσαντος εἰς τὸ ταμιεῖον λαβὼν ὁ νεανίσκος τὸ ἔλαιον κατέχεεν αὐτοῦ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἔφη βασιλέα χειροτονεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπ᾽ ὀλέθρῳ τοῦ γένους τοῦ Ἀχάβου, καὶ ὅπως ἐκδικήσῃ τὸ αἷμα τῶν προφητῶν τῶν ὑπὸ Ἰεζαβέλας παρανόμως ἀποθανόντων, [109] ἵν᾽ ὁ τούτων οἶκος τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὅνπερ Ἱεροβάμου τοῦ Ναβαταίου παιδὸς καὶ Βασὰ πρόρριζος διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν αὐτῶν ἀφανισθῇ καὶ μηδὲν ὑπολειφθῇ σπέρμα τῆς Ἀχάβου γενεᾶς. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν ἐξεπήδησεν ἐκ τοῦ ταμιείου σπουδάζων μηδενὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς ὁραθῆναι.

1. Now Joram, the king of Israel, after the death of Benhadad, hoped that he might now take Ramoth, a city of Gilead, from the Syrians. Accordingly he made an expedition against it, with a great army; but as he was besieging it, an arrow was shot at him by one of the Syrians, but the wound was not mortal. So he returned to have his wound healed in Jezreel, but left his whole army in Ramorb, and Jehu, the son of Nimshi, for their general; for he had already taken the city by force; and he proposed, after he was healed, to make war with the Syrians; but Elisha the prophet sent one of his disciples to Ramoth, and gave him holy oil to anoint Jehu, and to tell him that God had chosen him to be their king. He also sent him to say other things to him, and bid him to take his journey as if he fled, that when he came away he might escape the knowledge of all men. So

when he was come to the city, he found Jehu sitting in the midst of the captains of the army, as Elisha had foretold he should find him. So he came up to him, and said that he desired to speak with him about certain matters; and when he was arisen, and had followed him into an inward chamber, the young man took the oil, and poured it on his head, and said that God ordained him to be king, in order to his destroying the house of Ahab, and that he might revenge the blood of the prophets that were unjustly slain by Jezebel, that so their house might utterly perish, as those of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, and of Baasha, had perished for their wickedness, and no seed might remain of Ahab's family. So when he had said this, he went away hastily out of the chamber, and endeavored not to be seen by any of the army.

(2) [110] Ὁ δὲ Ἰηοῦς προελθὼν ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ἔνθα μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐκαθέζετο. πυνθανομένων δὲ καὶ φράζειν αὐτοῖς παρακαλούντων τί πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφίκοιτο ὁ νεανίσκος καὶ προσέτι μαίνεσθαι λεγόντων αὐτόν, "ἀλλ' ὀρθῶς γε εἰκάσατε, εἶπε, καὶ γὰρ τοὺς [111] λόγους μεμηνότος ἐποιήσατο." σπουδαζόντων δ' ἀκοῦσαι καὶ δεομένων ἔφη τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν ἠρῆσθαι βασιλέα τοῦ πλήθους εἰρηκέναι. ταῦτ' εἰπόντος ἕκαστος περιδύων αὐτὸν ὑπεστρώννυεν αὐτῷ τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ σαλπίζοντες τοῖς κέρασιν ἐσήμαινον Ἰηοῦν εἶναι βασιλέα. [112] ὁ δὲ ἀθροίσας τὴν στρατιὰν ἔμελλεν ἐξορμᾶν ἐπὶ Ἰώραμον εἰς Ἰεζέρελαν πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ καθὼς προεῖπον ἐθεραπεύετο τὴν πληγήν, ἣν ἔλαβε πρὸς τῇ Ἀραμώθα πολιορκίᾳ. ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν βασιλεὺς Ὀχοζίας ἀφιγμένος πρὸς τὸν Ἰώραμον: υἱὸς γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ὡς καὶ προειρήκαμεν: ἐπισκέψασθαι δὲ πῶς ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἔχοι διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν ἐληλύθει. [113] Ἰηοῦς δὲ βουλόμενος αἰφνιδίως τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰώραμον προσπεσεῖν ἠξίου μηδὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποδράντα τινὰ μηνῦσαι ταῦτα τῷ Ἰωράμῳ: τοῦτο γὰρ ἔσεσθαι λαμπρὰν ἐπίδειξιν αὐτῷ τῆς εὐνοίας καὶ τοῦ διακειμένους οὕτως ἀποδεῖξαι αὐτὸν βασιλέα.

2. But Jehu came out, and went to the place where he before sat with the captains; and when they asked him, and desired him to tell them, wherefore it was that this young man came to him, and added withal that he was mad, he replied,— "You guess right, for the words he spake were the words of a madman;" and when they were eager about the matter, and desired he would tell them, he answered, that God had said he had chosen him to be king over the multitude. When he had said this, every one of them put off his garment, and strewed it under him, and blew with trumpets, and gave notice that Jehu was king. So when he had gotten the army together, he was preparing to set out immediately against Joram, at the city Jezreel, in which city, as we said before, he was healing of the wound which he had received in the siege of Ramoth. It happened also that Ahaziah, king of

Jerusalem, was now come to Joram, for he was his sister's son, as we have said already, to see how he did after his wound, and this upon account of their kindred; but as Jehu was desirous to fall upon Joram, and those with him, on the sudden, he desired that none of the soldiers might run away and tell to Joram what had happened, for that this would be an evident demonstration of their kindness to him, and would show that their real inclinations were to make him king.

(3) [114] Οἱ δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἡσθέντες ἐφύλαττον τὰς ὁδούς, μή τις εἰς Ἰεζέρελαν διαλαθὼν μηνύσῃ αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐκεῖ. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰηοῦς τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους παραλαβὼν καὶ καθίσας ἐφ' ἅρματος εἰς τὴν Ἰεζέρελαν ἐπορεύετο, γενομένου δὲ ἐγγὺς ὁ σκοπός, ὃν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰώραμος καθεστάκει τοὺς ἐρχομένους εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀφορᾶν, ἰδὼν μετὰ πλήθους προσελαύνοντα τὸν Ἰηοῦν ἀπήγγειλεν Ἰωράμῳ προσελαύνουσαν ἱππέων ἴλην. [115] ὁ δ' εὐθὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἐκπεμφθῆναί τινα τῶν ἱππέων ὑπαντησόμενον καὶ τίς ἐστιν ὁ προσιὼν γνωσόμενον. ἐλθὼν οὖν πρὸς τὸν Ἰηοῦν ὁ ἱππεὺς ἐπερωτᾷ περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ: πυνθάνεσθαι γὰρ ταῦτα τὸν βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ μηδὲν μὲν περὶ τούτων πολυπραγμονεῖν ἐκέλευσεν, ἕπεσθαι δ' αὐτῷ. [116] ταῦτα ὁ σκοπὸς ὁρῶν ἀπήγγειλεν Ἰωράμῳ τὸν ἱππέα συγκαταμιγέντα τῷ πλήθει τῶν προσιόντων σὺν ἐκείνοις παραγίνεσθαι. πέμψαντος δὲ καὶ δεύτερον τοῦ βασιλέως ταὐτὸ ποιεῖν προσέταξεν Ἰηοῦς. [117] ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐδήλωσεν ὁ σκοπὸς Ἰωράμῳ, τελευταῖον αὐτὸς ἐπιβὰς ἅρματος σὺν Ὀχοζίᾳ τῷ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν βασιλεῖ, παρῆν γὰρ αὐτὸς ὡς ἔφην ἔμπροσθεν ὀψόμενος αὐτὸν πῶς ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἔχοι διὰ συγγένειαν, ἐξῆλθεν ὑπαντησόμενος. [118] σχολαίτερον δὲ καὶ μετ' εὐταξίας ὥδευεν Ἰηοῦς. καταλαβὼν δὲ ἐν ἀγρῷ Ναβώθου τοῦτον Ἰώραμος ἐπυνθάνετο, εἰ πάντα ἔχοι καλῶς τὰ κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον: βλασφημήσαντος δὲ πικρῶς αὐτὸν Ἰηοῦ, ὡς καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ φαρμακὸν ἀποκαλέσαι, δείσας ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ μηδὲν ὑγιὲς φρονεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπονοήσας στρέψας ὡς εἶχε τὸ ἅρμα ἔφυγε, φήσας πρὸς Ὀχοζίαν ἐνέδρᾳ καὶ δόλῳ κατεστρατηγῆσθαι. Ἰηοῦς δὲ τοξεύσας αὐτὸν καταβάλλει τοῦ βέλους διὰ τῆς καρδίας ἐνεχθέντος. [119] καὶ Ἰώραμος μὲν εὐθὺς πεσὼν ἐπὶ γόνυ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφῆκεν, Ἰηοῦς δὲ προσέταξε Βαδάκῳ τῷ τῆς τρίτης μοίρας ἡγεμόνι ῥῖψαι τὸν Ἰωράμου νεκρὸν εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν τὸν Ναβώθου ἀναμνήσας αὐτὸν τῆς Ἠλία προφητείας, ἣν Ἀχάβῳ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν Νάβωθον ἀποκτείναντι προεφήτευσεν, ὡς ἀπολεῖται αὐτός τε καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐκείνου χωρίῳ: [120] ταῦτα γὰρ καθεζόμενος ὄπισθεν τοῦ ἅρματος Ἀχάβου λέγοντος ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ προφήτου. καὶ δὴ τοῦτο συνέβη γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν πρόρρησιν τὴν ἐκείνου. πεσόντος δὲ Ἰωράμου δείσας περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας Ὀχοζίας τὸ ἅρμα εἰς ἑτέραν [ὁδὸν] ἐξένευσε λήσεσθαι τὸν Ἰηοῦν ὑπολαβών. [121] ὁ δ' ἐπιδιώξας καὶ καταλαβὼν ἔν τινι προσβάσει τοξεύσας ἔτρωσε, καταλιπὼν

δὲ τὸ ἅρμα καὶ ἀναβὰς ἵππῳ φεύγει τὸν Ἰηοῦν εἰς Μαγιαδδὼ κἀκεῖ θεραπευόμενος μετ᾽ ὀλίγον ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς τελευτᾷ. κομισθεὶς δ᾽ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τῆς ἐκεῖ ταφῆς τυγχάνει βασιλεύσας μὲν ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα, πονηρὸς δὲ καὶ χείρων τοῦ πατρὸς γενόμενος.

3. So they were pleased with what he did, and guarded the roads, lest somebody should privately tell the thing to those that were at Jezreel. Now Jehu took his choice horsemen, and sat upon his chariot, and went on for Jezreel; and when he was come near, the watchman whom Joram had set there to spy out such as came to the city, saw Jehu marching on, and told Joram that he saw a troop of horsemen marching on. Upon which he immediately gave orders, that one of his horsemen should be sent out to meet them, and to know who it was that was coming. So when the horseman came up to Jehu, he asked him in what condition the army was, for that the king wanted to know it; but Jehu bid him not at all to meddle with such matters, but to follow him. When the watchman saw this, he told Joram that the horseman had mingled himself among the company, and came along with them. And when the king had sent a second messenger, Jehu commanded him to do as the former did; and as soon as the watchman told this also to Joram, he at last got upon his chariot himself, together with Ahaziah, the king of Jerusalem; for, as we said before, he was there to see how Joram did, after he had been wounded, as being his relation. So he went out to meet Jehu, who marched slowly, and in good order; and when Joram met him in the field of Naboth, he asked him if all things were well in the camp; but Jehu reproached him bitterly, and ventured to call his mother a witch and a harlot. Upon this the king, fearing what he intended, and suspecting he had no good meaning, turned his chariot about as soon as he could, and said to Ahaziah, "We are fought against by deceit and treachery." But Jehu drew his bow, and smote him, the arrow going through his heart: so Joram fell down immediately on his knee, and gave up the ghost. Jehu also gave orders to Bidkar, the captain of the third part of his army, to cast the dead body of Joram into the field of Naboth, putting him in mind of the prophecy which Elijah prophesied to Ahab his father, when he had slain Naboth, that both he and his family should perish in that place; for that as they sat behind Ahab's chariot, they heard the prophet say so, and that it was now come to pass according to his prophecy. Upon the fall of Joram, Ahaziah was afraid of his own life, and turned his chariot into another road, supposing he should not be seen by Jehu; but he followed after him, and overtook him at a certain acclivity, and drew his bow, and wounded him; so he left his chariot, and got upon his horse, and fled from Jehu to Megiddo; and though he was under cure, in a little time he died of that wound, and was carried to Jerusalem, and

buried there, after he had reigned one year, and had proved a wicked man, and worse than his father.

(4) [122] Τοῦ δὲ Ἰηοῦ εἰσελθόντος εἰς τὰ Ἰεζέρελα κοσμησαμένη Ἰεζαβέλα καὶ στᾶσα ἐπὶ τοῦ πύργου "καλός, εἶπε, δοῦλος ὃς ἀποκτείνει τὸν δεσπότην." ὁ δὲ ἀναβλέψας πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπυνθάνετο τίς εἴη καὶ καταβᾶσαν ἥκειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν καὶ τέλος τοῖς εὐνούχοις προσέταξεν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου βαλεῖν. [123] καταφερομένη δ' ἤδη τό τε τεῖχος περιέρρανε τῷ αἵματι καὶ συμπατηθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν ἵππων οὕτως ἀπέθανε. τούτων δὴ γενομένων παρελθὼν Ἰηοῦς εἰς τὰ βασίλεια σὺν τοῖς φίλοις ἑαυτὸν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνεκτᾶτο τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τραπέζῃ. προσέταξε δὲ τοῖς οἰκέταις ἀνελομένοις τὴν Ἰεζαβέλαν θάψαι διὰ τὸ γένος: ἦν γὰρ ἐκ βασιλέων. [124] εὗρον δ' οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος αὐτῆς οἱ προσταχθέντες τὴν κηδείαν ἢ μόνα τὰ ἀκρωτήρια, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πᾶν ὑπὸ κυνῶν ἦν δεδαπανημένον. ταῦτ' ἀκούσας Ἰηοῦς ἐθαύμαζε τὴν Ἠλίου προφητείαν: οὗτος γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐν Ἰεζερέλα προεῖπε τοῦτον ἀπολεῖσθαι τὸν τρόπον.

4. Now when Jehu was come to Jezreel, Jezebel adorned herself and stood upon a tower, and said, he was a fine servant that had killed his master! And when he looked up to her, he asked who she was, and commanded her to come down to him. At last he ordered the eunuchs to throw her down from the tower; and being thrown down, she be-sprinkled the wall with her blood, and was trodden upon by the horses, and so died. When this was done, Jehu came to the palace with his friends, and took some refreshment after his journey, both with other things, and by eating a meal. He also bid his servants to take up Jezebel and bury her, because of the nobility of her blood, for she was descended from kings; but those that were appointed to bury her found nothing else remaining but the extreme parts of her body, for all the rest were eaten by dogs. When Jehu heard this, he admired the prophecy of Elijah, for he foretold that she should perish in this manner at Jezreel.

(5) [125] Ὄντων δ' Ἀχάβῳ παίδων ἑβδομήκοντα τρεφομένων δ' αὐτῶν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ πέμπει δύο ἐπιστολὰς Ἰηοῦς τὴν μὲν τοῖς παιδαγωγοῖς τὴν ἑτέραν δὲ τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῶν Σαμαρέων, λέγων τὸν ἀνδρειότατον τῶν Ἀχάβου παίδων ἀποδεῖξαι βασιλέα: καὶ γὰρ ἁρμάτων αὐτῷ εἶναι πλῆθος καὶ ἵππων καὶ ὅπλων καὶ στρατιᾶς καὶ πόλεις ὀχυρὰς ἔχειν: καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντας εἰσπράττεσθαι δίκην ὑπὲρ τοῦ δεσπότου. [126] ταῦτα δὲ γράφει διάπειραν βουλόμενος λαβεῖν τῆς τῶν Σαμαρέων διανοίας. ἀναγνόντες δὲ τὰ γράμματα οἵ τε ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ παιδαγωγοὶ κατέδεισαν, καὶ λογισάμενοι μηδὲν δύνασθαι ποιεῖν πρὸς τοῦτο, δύο γὰρ μεγίστων ἐκράτησε βασιλέων, ἀντέγραψαν ὁμολογοῦντες αὐτὸν ἔχειν δεσπότην καὶ ποιήσειν ὃ ἂν κελεύῃ. [127] ὁ δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντέγραψεν αὐτῷ τε ὑπακούειν

κελεύων καὶ τῶν Ἀχάβου παίδων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποτεμόντας πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτόν. οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες μεταπεμψάμενοι τοὺς τροφεῖς τῶν παίδων προσέταξαν ἀποκτείνασιν αὐτοὺς τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποτεμεῖν καὶ πέμψαι πρὸς Ἰηοῦν. οἱ δ' οὐδὲν ὅλως φεισάμενοι τοῦτο ἔπραξαν καὶ συνθέντες εἴς τινα πλεκτὰ ἀγγεῖα τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπέπεμψαν εἰς Ἰεζέρελαν. [128] κομισθεισῶν δὲ τούτων ἀγγέλλεται μετὰ τῶν φίλων δειπνοῦντι τῷ Ἰηοῦ, ὅτι κομισθεῖεν αἱ τῶν Ἀχάβου παίδων κεφαλαί. ὁ δὲ πρὸ τῆς πύλης ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους ἐκέλευσεν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀναστῆσαι βουνούς. [129] γενομένου δὲ τούτου ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ πρόεισιν ὀψόμενος καὶ θεασάμενος ἤρξατο πρὸς τὸν παρόντα λαὸν λέγειν, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν δεσπότην στρατεύσαιτο τὸν αὐτοῦ κἀκεῖνον ἀποκτείνειε, τούτους δὲ οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀνέλοι: γινώσκειν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἠξίου περὶ τῆς Ἀχάβου γενεᾶς, ὅτι πάντα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ προφητείαν γέγονε καὶ ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ, καθὼς καὶ Ἠλίας προεῖπεν, ἀπόλωλε. [130] προσδιαφθείρας δὲ καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς Ἰεζερελίταις εὑρεθέντας ἐκ τῆς Ἀχάβου συγγενείας [ἱππεῖς] εἰς Σαμάρειαν ἐπορεύετο. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν τοῖς Ὀχοζία συμβαλὼν οἰκείοις τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἀνέκρινεν αὐτούς, τί δή ποτε παρεγένοντο. [131] οἱ δ' ἀσπασόμενοί τε Ἰώραμον καὶ τὸν αὐτῶν βασιλέα Ὀχοζίαν ἥκειν ἔφασκον: οὐ γὰρ ᾔδεσαν αὐτοὺς ἀμφοτέρους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεφονευμένους. Ἰηοῦς δὲ καὶ τούτους συλληφθέντας ἀναιρεθῆναι προσέταξεν ὄντας τὸν ἀριθμὸν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ δύο.

5. Now Ahab had seventy sons brought up in Samaria. So Jehu sent two epistles, the one to them that brought up the children, the other to the rulers of Samaria, which said, that they should set up the most valiant of Ahab's sons for king, for that they had abundance of chariots, and horses, and armor, and a great army, and fenced cities, and that by so doing they might avenge the murder of Ahab. This he wrote to try the intentions of those of Samaria. Now when the rulers, and those that had brought up the children, had read the letter, they were afraid; and considering that they were not at all able to oppose him, who had already subdued two very great kings, they returned him this answer: That they owned him for their lord, and would do whatsoever he bade them. So he wrote back to them such a reply as enjoined them to obey what he gave order for, and to cut off the heads of Ahab's sons, and send them to him. Accordingly the rulers sent for those that brought up the sons of Ahab, and commanded them to slay them, to cut off their heads, and send them to Jehu. So they did whatsoever they were commanded, without omitting any thing at all, and put them up in wicker baskets, and sent them to Jezreel. And when Jehu, as he was at supper with his friends, was informed that the heads of Ahab's' sons were brought, he ordered them to make two heaps of them, one before each of the gates; and in the morning he went out to take a view of them, and when he saw them, he began to

say to the people that were present, that he did himself make an expedition against his master [Joram], and slew him, but that it was not he that slew all these; and he desired them to take notice, that as to Ahab's family, all things had come to pass according to God's prophecy, and his house was perished, according as Elijah had foretold. And when he had further destroyed all the kindred of Ahab that were found in Jezreel, he went to Samaria; and as he was upon the road, he met the relations of Ahaziah king of Jerusalem, and asked them whither they were going? they replied, that they came to salute Joram, and their own king Ahaziah, for they knew not that he had slain them both. So Jehu gave orders that they should catch these, and kill them, being in number forty-two persons.

(6) [132] Συναντᾷ δ' αὐτῷ μετὰ τούτους ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ δίκαιος Ἰωνάδαβος ὄνομα φίλος αὐτῷ πάλαι γεγονώς, ὃς ἀσπασάμενος αὐτὸν ἐπαινεῖν ἤρξατο τῷ πάντα κατὰ βούλησιν πεποιηκέναι τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐξαφανίσας τὴν Ἀχάβου. [133] Ἰηοῦς δὲ ἀναβάντα ἐπὶ τὸ ἅρμα συνεισελθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς Σαμάρειαν παρεκάλει λέγων ἐπιδείξειν, πῶς οὐδενὸς φείσεται πονηροῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ψευδοπροφήτας καὶ τοὺς ψευδιερεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐξαπατήσαντας τὸ πλῆθος, ὡς τὴν μὲν τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ θρησκείαν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τοὺς δὲ ξενικοὺς προσκυνεῖν, τιμωρήσεται: κάλλιστον δ' εἶναι θεαμάτων καὶ ἥδιστον ἀνδρὶ χρηστῷ καὶ δικαίῳ κολαζομένους πονηρούς. [134] τούτοις πεισθεὶς ὁ Ἰωνάδαβος ἀναβὰς εἰς τὸ ἅρμα εἰς Σαμάρειαν παραγίνεται. ἀναζητήσας δὲ πάντας τοὺς Ἀχάβου συγγενεῖς Ἰηοῦς ἀποκτείνει. βουλόμενος δὲ μηδένα τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν μηδ' ἱερέων τῶν Ἀχάβου θεῶν τὴν τιμωρίαν διαφυγεῖν ἀπάτῃ καὶ δόλῳ πάντας αὐτοὺς συνέλαβεν: [135] ἀθροίσας γὰρ τὸν λαὸν ἔφη βούλεσθαι διπλασίονας ὧν Ἄχαβος εἰσηγήσατο θεῶν προσκυνεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνων ἱερεῖς καὶ προφήτας ἠξίου καὶ δούλους αὐτῶν παρεῖναι: θυσίας γὰρ πολυτελεῖς καὶ μεγάλας ἐπιτελεῖν μέλλειν τοῖς Ἀχάβου θεοῖς: τὸν δ' ἀπολειφθέντα τῶν ἱερέων θανάτῳ ζημιώσειν. ὁ δὲ θεὸς Ἀχάβου Βαὰλ ἐκαλεῖτο. [136] τάξας δὲ ἡμέραν, καθ' ἣν ἔμελλε ποιήσειν τὰς θυσίας διέπεμπεν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰσραηλιτῶν χώραν τοὺς ἄξοντας πρὸς αὐτὸν τοὺς ἱερεῖς τοῦ Βαάλ. ἐκέλευσε δ' Ἰηοῦς τῷ ἱερεῖ δοῦναι πᾶσιν ἐνδύματα: λαβόντων δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν οἶκον μετὰ τοῦ φίλου Ἰωναδάβου μή τις ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀλλόφυλος εἴη καὶ ξένος ἐρευνῆσαι προσέταξεν: οὐ βούλεσθαι γὰρ τοῖς ἱεροῖς αὐτῶν ἀλλότριον παρατυγχάνειν. [137] τῶν δὲ εἰπόντων μὲν οὐδένα παρεῖναι ξένον καταρξαμένων δὲ τῶν θυσιῶν περιέστησεν ὀγδοήκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἄνδρας, οὓς ᾔδει πιστοτάτους τῶν ὁπλιτῶν, κελεύσας αὐτοῖς ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς ψευδοπροφήτας καὶ νῦν τοῖς πατρίοις ἔθεσι τιμωρεῖν πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον ὠλιγωρημένοις, ὑπὲρ τῶν διαφυγόντων τὰς ἐκείνων ἀφαιρεθήσεσθαι ψυχὰς ἀπειλήσας. [138] οἱ δὲ τούς τε ἄνδρας ἅπαντας κατέσφαξαν καὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ

Βαὰλ ἐμπρήσαντες ἐκάθηραν οὕτως ἀπὸ τῶν ξενικῶν ἐθισμῶν τὴν Σαμάρειαν. οὗτος ὁ Βαὰλ Τυρίων ἦν θεός. Ἄχαβος δὲ τῷ πενθερῷ βουλόμενος χαρίσασθαι Εἰθωβάλῳ Τυρίων ὄντι βασιλεῖ καὶ Σιδωνίων ναόν τε αὐτῷ κατεσκεύασεν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ καὶ προφήτας ἀπέδειξε καὶ πάσης θρησκείας ἠξίου. [139] ἀφανισθέντος δὲ τούτου τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς χρυσᾶς δαμάλεις προσκυνεῖν τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις Ἰηοῦς ἐπέτρεψε. ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξαμένῳ καὶ προνοήσαντι τῆς κολάσεως τῶν ἀσεβῶν ὁ θεὸς διὰ τοῦ προφήτου προεῖπεν ἐπὶ τέσσαρας γενεὰς τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ βασιλεύσειν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἰηοῦν ἐν τούτοις ὑπῆρχεν.

6. After these, there met him a good and a righteous man, whose name was Jehonadab, and who had been his friend of old. He saluted Jehu, and began to commend him, because he had done every thing according to the will of God, in extirpating the house of Ahab. So Jehu desired him to come up into his chariot, and make his entry with him into Samaria; and told him that he would not spare one wicked man, but would punish the false prophets, and false priests, and those that deceived the multitude, and persuaded them to leave the worship of God Almighty, and to worship foreign gods; and that it was a most excellent and most pleasing sight to a good and a righteous man to see the wicked punished. So Jehonadab was persuaded by these arguments, and came up into Jehu's chariot, and came to Samaria. And Jehu sought out for all Ahab's kindred, and slew them. And being desirous that none of the false prophets, nor the priests of Ahab's god, might escape punishment, he caught them deceitfully by this wile; for he gathered all the people together, and said that he would worship twice as many gods as Ahab worshipped, and desired that his priests, and prophets, and servants might be present, because he would offer costly and great sacrifices to Ahab's god; and that if any of his priests were wanting, they should be punished with death. Now Ahab's god was called Baal; and when he had appointed a day on which he would offer those sacrifices, he sent messengers through all the country of the Israelites, that they might bring the priests of Baal to him. So Jehu commanded to give all the priests vestments; and when they had received them, he went into the house [of Baal], with his friend Jehonadab, and gave orders to make search whether there were not any foreigner or stranger among them, for he would have no one of a different religion to mix among their sacred offices. And when they said that there was no stranger there, and they were beginning their sacrifices, he set fourscore men without, they being such of his soldiers as he knew to be most faithful to him, and bid them slay the prophets, and now vindicate the laws of their country, which had been a long time in disesteem. He also threatened, that if any one of them escaped, their own lives should go for them. So they slew them all with the sword, and burnt the house of Baal, and by

that means purged Samaria of foreign customs [idolatrous worship]. Now this Baal was the god of the Tyrians; and Ahab, in order to gratify his father-in-law, Ethbaal, who was the king of Tyre and Sidon, built a temple for him in Samaria, and appointed him prophets, and worshipped him with all sorts of worship, although, when this god was demolished, Jehu permitted the Israelites to worship the golden heifers. However, because he had done thus, and taken care to punish the wicked, God foretold by his prophet that his sons should reign over Israel for four generations. And in this condition was Jehu at this time.

VII

CHAPTER 7. How Athaliah Reigned Over Jerusalem For Five [Six] Years When Jehoiada The High Priest Slew Her And Made Jehoash, The Son Of Ahaziah, King.

(1) [140] Ὀθλία δ’ ἡ Ἀχάβου θυγάτηρ ἀκούσασα τήν τ’ Ἰωράμου τἀδελφοῦ τελευτὴν καὶ τὴν Ὀχοζία τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ τοῦ γένους τῶν βασιλέων τὴν ἀπώλειαν ἐσπούδαζε μηδένα τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Δαυίδου καταλιπεῖν οἴκου, πᾶν δ’ ἐξαφανίσαι τὸ γένος, ὡς ἂν μηδὲ εἷς ἐξ αὐτοῦ βασιλεὺς ἔτι γένοιτο. [141] καὶ τοῦθ’ ὡς μὲν ᾤετο διεπράξατο, διεσώθη δὲ εἷς υἱὸς Ὀχοζίου, τρόπῳ δὲ τοιούτῳ τὴν τελευτὴν διέφυγεν: ἦν Ὀχοζίᾳ ὁμοπάτριος ἀδελφὴ Ὡσαβέθη ὄνομα: ταύτῃ συνῆν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰώδας. [142] εἰσελθοῦσα δ’ εἰς τὸ βασίλειον καὶ τοῖς ἀπεσφαγμένοις τὸν Ἰώασον, τοῦτο γὰρ προσηγορεύετο τὸ παιδίον ἐνιαύσιον, ἐγκεκρυμμένον εὑροῦσα μετὰ τῆς τρεφούσης βαστάσασα μετ’ αὐτῆς εἰς τὸ ταμιεῖον ἀπέκλεισε τῶν κλινῶν καὶ λανθάνοντες ἀνέθρεψαν αὐτή τε καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς Ἰώδας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἔτεσιν ἕξ, οἷς ἐβασίλευσεν Ὀθλία τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τῶν δύο φυλῶν.

1. Now when Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab, heard of the death of her brother Joram, and of her son Ahaziah, and of the royal family, she endeavored that none of the house of David might be left alive, but that the whole family might be exterminated, that no king might arise out of it afterward; and, as she thought, she had actually done it; but one of Ahaziah’s sons was preserved, who escaped death after the manner following: Ahaziah had a sister by the same father, whose name was Jehosheba, and she was married to the high priest Jehoiada. She went into the king’s palace, and found Jehoash, for that was the little child’s name, who was not above a year old, among those that were slain, but concealed with his nurse; so she took him with her into a secret bed-chamber, and shut him up there, and she and her husband Jehoiada brought him up privately in the temple six years, during which time Athaliah reigned over Jerusalem and the two tribes.

(2) [143] Τῷ δὲ ἑβδόμῳ κοινολογησάμενός τισιν Ἰώδας πέντε τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἑκατοντάρχαις καὶ πείσας αὐτοὺς συνεπιθέσθαι μὲν τοῖς κατὰ τῆς Ὀθλίας ἐγχειρουμένοις, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν τῷ παιδὶ περιποιῆσαι, λαβὼν ὅρκους οἷς τὸ ἀδεὲς παρὰ τῶν συνεργούντων βεβαιοῦται τὸ λοιπὸν ἐθάρρει ταῖς κατὰ τῆς Ὀθλίας ἐλπίσιν. [144] οἱ δ’ ἄνδρες, οὓς ὁ ἱερεὺς Ἰώδας κοινωνοὺς τῆς πράξεως παρειλήφει, περιπορευθέντες ἅπασαν τὴν χώραν τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς Ληουίτας ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀθροίσαντες καὶ τοὺς τῶν φυλῶν προεστηκότας ἦκον ἄγοντες εἰς

Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα. [145] ὁ δὲ πίστιν ᾔτησεν αὐτοὺς ἔνορκον, ἢ μὴν φυλάξειν ὅπερ ἂν μάθωσιν ἀπόρρητον παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ σιωπῆς ἅμα καὶ συμπράξεως δεόμενον. ὡς δ᾽ ἀσφαλὲς αὐτῷ λέγειν ὀμωμοκότων ἐγένετο παραγαγὼν ὃν ἐκ τοῦ Δαυίδου γένους ἔτρεφεν "οὗτος ἡμῖν, εἶπε, βασιλεὺς ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς οἰκίας, ἣν ἴστε τὸν θεὸν ἡμῖν προφητεύσαντα βασιλεύσειν ἄχρι τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου. [146] παραινῶ δὲ τὴν τρίτην ὑμῶν μοῖραν φυλάττειν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, τὴν δὲ τρίτην ταῖς πύλαις ἐφεστάναι τοῦ τεμένους ἁπάσαις, ἡ δὲ μετὰ ταύτην ἐχέτω τὴν τῆς ἀνοιγομένης καὶ φερούσης εἰς τὸ βασίλειον πύλης φυλακήν: τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἄοπλον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τυγχανέτω: [147] μηδένα δ᾽ εἰσελθεῖν ὁπλίτην ἐάσητε ἢ μόνον ἱερέα." προσδιέταξε δὲ τούτοις μέρος τι τῶν ἱερέων καὶ Ληουίτας περὶ αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν βασιλέα ταῖς μαχαίραις ἐσπασμέναις αὐτὸν δορυφοροῦντας, τὸν δὲ τολμήσαντα παρελθεῖν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ὡπλισμένον ἀναιρεῖσθαι παραυτίκα: [148] δείσαντας δὲ μηδὲν παραμεῖναι τῇ φυλακῇ τοῦ βασιλέως. καὶ οἱ μὲν οἷς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς συνεβούλευσεν τούτοις πεισθέντες ἔργῳ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἐδήλουν. ἀνοίξας δὲ Ἰώδας τὴν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ὁπλοθήκην, ἣν Δαυίδης κατεσκεύασε, διεμέρισε τοῖς ἑκατοντάρχαις ἅμα καὶ ἱερεῦσι καὶ Ληουίταις ἅπανθ᾽ ὅσ᾽ εὗρεν ἐν αὐτῇ δόρατά τε καὶ φαρέτρας καὶ εἴ τι ἕτερον εἶδος ὅπλου κατέλαβε, καὶ καθωπλισμένους ἔστησεν ἐν κύκλῳ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν συναψαμένους τὴν χεῖρα καὶ τὴν εἴσοδον τοῖς οὐ προσήκουσιν οὕτως ἀποτειχίσοντας. [149] συναγαγόντες δὲ τὸν παῖδα εἰς τὸ μέσον ἐπέθεσαν αὐτῷ τὸν στέφανον τὸν βασιλικὸν καὶ τῷ ἐλαίῳ χρίσας Ἰώδας ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα: τὸ δὲ πλῆθος χαῖρον καὶ κροταλίζον ἐβόα σώζεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα.

2. Now, on the Seventh year, Jehoiada communicated the matter to certain of the captains of hundreds, five in number, and persuaded them to be assisting to what attempts he was making against Athaliah, and to join with him in asserting the kingdom to the child. He also received such oaths from them as are proper to secure those that assist one another from the fear of discovery; and he was then of good hope that they should depose Athaliah. Now those men whom Jehoiada the priest had taken to be his partners went into all the country, and gathered together the priests and the Levites, and the heads of the tribes out of it, and came and brought them to Jerusalem to the high priest. So he demanded the security of an oath of them, to keep private whatsoever he should discover to them, which required both their silence and their assistance. So when they had taken the oath, and had thereby made it safe for him to speak, he produced the child that he had brought up of the family of David, and said to them, "This is your king, of that house which you know God hath foretold should reign over you for all time to come. I exhort you therefore that one-third part of you guard him in the temple, and that a fourth part keep watch at all the gates of the temple,

and that the next part of you keep guard at the gate which opens and leads to the king's palace, and let the rest of the multitude be unarmed in the temple, and let no armed person go into the temple, but the priest only." He also gave them this order besides, "That a part of the priests and the Levites should be about the king himself, and be a guard to him, with their drawn swords, and to kill that man immediately, whoever he be, that should be so bold as to enter armed into the temple; and bid them be afraid of nobody, but persevere in guarding the king." So these men obeyed what the high priest advised them to, and declared the reality of their resolution by their actions. Jehoiada also opened that armory which David had made in the temple, and distributed to the captains of hundreds, as also to the priests and Levites, all the spears and quivers, and what kind of weapons soever it contained, and set them armed in a circle round about the temple, so as to touch one another's hands, and by that means excluding those from entering that ought not to enter. So they brought the child into the midst of them, and put on him the royal crown, and Jehoiada anointed him with the oil, and made him king; and the multitude rejoiced, and made a noise, and cried, "God save the king!"

(3) [150] Τοῦ δὲ θορύβου καὶ τῶν ἐπαίνων Ὀθλία παρ' ἐλπίδας ἀκούσασα τεταραγμένη σφόδρα τῇ διανοίᾳ μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἐξεπήδησε στρατιᾶς ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου. καὶ παραγενομένην εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτὴν οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς εἰσδέχονται, τοὺς δ' ἑπομένους ὁπλίτας εἶρξαν εἰσελθεῖν οἱ περιεστῶτες ἐν κύκλῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τοῦτο προστεταγμένοι. [151] ἰδοῦσα δὲ Ὀθλία τὸν παῖδα ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἑστῶτα καὶ τὸν βασίλειον ἐπικείμενον στέφανον περιρρηξαμένη καὶ δεινὸν ἀνακραγοῦσα φονεύειν ἐκέλευε τὸν ἐπιβουλεύσαντα αὐτῇ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφελέσθαι σπουδάσαντα. Ἰώδας δὲ καλέσας τοὺς ἑκατοντάρχας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἀπαγαγόντας τὴν Ὀθλίαν εἰς τὴν φάραγγα τὴν Κεδρῶνος ἀνελεῖν αὐτὴν ἐκεῖ: μὴ γὰρ βούλεσθαι μιᾶναι τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτόθι τὴν ἀλιτήριον τιμωρησάμενον. [152] προσέταξε δὲ κἂν βοηθῶν τις προσέλθῃ κἀκεῖνον ἀνελεῖν. ἐλλαβόμενοι τοίνυν τῆς Ὀθλίας οἱ προστεταγμένοι τὴν ἀναίρεσιν αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην τῶν ἡμιόνων τοῦ βασιλέως ἤγαγον κἀκεῖ διεχρήσαντο.

3. When Athaliah unexpectedly heard the tumult and the acclamations, she was greatly disturbed in her mind, and suddenly issued out of the royal palace with her own army; and when she was come to the temple, the priests received her; but as for those that stood round about the temple, as they were ordered by the high priest to do, they hindered the armed inert that followed her from going in. But when Athaliah saw the child standing upon a pillar, with the royal crown upon his head, she rent her clothes, and cried out vehemently, and commanded [her guards] to kill him that had laid snares for her, and endeavored to deprive

her of the government. But Jehoiada called for the captains of hundreds, and commanded them to bring Athaliah to the valley of Cedron, and slay her there, for he would not have the temple defiled with the punishments of this pernicious woman; and he gave order, that if any one came near to help her, he should be slain also; wherefore those that had the charge of her slaughter took hold of her, and led her to the gate of the king's mules, and slew her there.

(4) [153] Ὡς δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ὀθλίαν τοῦτον ἐστρατηγήθη τὸν τρόπον συγκαλέσας τόν τε δῆμον καὶ τοὺς ὁπλίτας ὁ Ἰώδας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐξώρκωσεν εὐνοεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ προνοεῖν αὐτοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀρχῆς: ἔπειτ' αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα τιμήσειν τὸν θεὸν καὶ μὴ παραβῆναι τοὺς Μωσήους νόμους δοῦναι πίστιν ἠνάγκασε. [154] καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' εἰσδραμόντες τὸν τοῦ Βαὰλ οἶκον, ὃν Ὀθλία τε καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς Ἰώραμος κατεσκεύασεν ἐφ' ὕβρει μὲν τοῦ πατρίου θεοῦ τιμῇ δὲ Ἀχάβου κατέσκαψαν καὶ τὸν ἔχοντα τὴν ἱερωσύνην αὐτοῦ Μάθαν ἀπέκτειναν. [155] τὴν δ' ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ φυλακὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ Ληουίταις ἐπέτρεψεν Ἰώδας κατὰ τὴν Δαυίδου τοῦ βασιλέως διάταξιν κελεύσας αὐτοὺς δὶς τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιφέρειν τὰς νενομισμένας τῶν ὁλοκαυτώσεων θυσίας καὶ θυμιᾶν ἀκολούθως τῷ νόμῳ. ἀπέδειξε δέ τινας τῶν Ληουιτῶν καὶ πυλωροὺς ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τοῦ τεμένους, ὡς μηδένα μεμιασμένον παριέναι λανθάνοντα.

4. Now as soon as what concerned Athaliah was by this stratagem, after this manner, despatched, Jehoiada called together the people and the armed men into the temple, and made them take an oath that they would be obedient to the king, and take care of his safety, and of the safety of his government; after which he obliged the king to give security [upon oath] that he would worship God, and not transgress the laws of Moses. They then ran to the house of Baal, which Athaliah and her husband Jehoram had built, to the dishonor of the God of their fathers, and to the honor of Ahab, and demolished it, and slew Mattan, that had his priesthood. But Jehoiada intrusted the care and custody of the temple to the priests and Levites, according to the appointment of king David, and enjoined them to bring their regular burnt-offerings twice a day, and to offer incense according to the law. He also ordained some of the Levites, with the porters, to be a guard to the temple, that no one that was defiled might come there.

(5) [156] Τούτων δ' ἕκαστα διατάξας μετὰ τῶν ἑκατοντάρχων καὶ ἡγεμόνων καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ παραλαβὼν ἄγει τὸν Ἰώασον εἰς τὸ βασίλειον, καὶ καθίσαντος ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλικὸν θρόνον ἐπευφήμησέ τε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ πρὸς εὐωχίαν τραπέντες ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἑώρτασαν ἡμέρας: ἡ μέντοι γε πόλις ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν Ὀθλίαν ἀποθανεῖν ἡσυχίαν ἦγαγεν. [157] ἦν δὲ Ἰώασος ὅτε τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν ἐτῶν ἑπτά, μήτηρ δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν ὄνομα Σαβιὰ πατρίδος δὲ

Βηρσαβεέ. πολλὴν δ’ ἐποιήσατο τῶν νομίμων φυλακὴν καὶ περὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείαν φιλοτιμίαν παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ὃν Ἰώδας ἐβίωσεν. [158] ἔγημε δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας δύο παρελθὼν εἰς ἡλικίαν δόντος τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, ἐξ ὧν καὶ ἄρρενες αὐτῷ καὶ θήλειαι παῖδες ἐγένοντο. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰωάσου, ὡς τὴν τῆς Ὀθλίας ἐπιβουλὴν διέφυγε καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν, ἐν τούτοις δεδηλώκαμεν.

5. And when Jehoiada had set these things in order, he, with the captains of hundreds, and the rulers, and all the people, took Jehoash out of the temple into the king’s palace; and when he had set him upon the king’s throne, the people shouted for joy, and betook themselves to feasting, and kept a festival for many days; but the city was quiet upon the death of Athaliah. Now Jehoash was seven years old when he took the kingdom. His mother’s name was Zibiah, of the city Beersheba. And all the time that Jehoiada lived Jehoash was careful that the laws should be kept, and very zealous in the worship of God; and when he was of age, he married two wives, who were given to him by the high priest, by whom were born to him both sons and daughters. And thus much shall suffice to have related concerning king Jehoash, how he escaped the treachery of Athaliah, and how he received the kingdom.

VIII

CHAPTER 8. Hazael Makes An Expedition Against The People Of Israel And The Inhabitants Of Jerusalem. Jehu Dies, And Jehoahaz Succeeds In The Government. Jehoash The King Of Jerusalem At First Is Careful About The Worship Of God But Afterwards Becomes Impious And Commands Zechariah To Be Stoned. When Jehoash [King Of Judah] Was Dead, Amaziah Succeeds Him In The Kingdom.

(1) [159] Ἀζάηλος δ' ὁ τῶν Σύρων βασιλεὺς πολεμῶν τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν Ἰηοῦ διέφθειρε τῆς πέραν Ἰορδάνου χώρας τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολὴν τῶν Ῥουβηνιτῶν καὶ Γαδιτῶν καὶ Μανασσιτῶν ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν Γαλαδῖτιν καὶ Βαταναίαν πυρπολῶν πάντα καὶ διαρπάζων καὶ τοῖς εἰς χεῖρας ἀπαντῶσι βίαν προσφέρων. [160] οὐ γὰρ ἔφθη αὐτὸν Ἰηοῦς ἀμύνασθαι κακοῦντα τὴν χώραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸ θεῖον ὑπερόπτης γενόμενος καὶ καταφρονήσας τῆς ὁσίας καὶ τῶν νόμων ἀπέθανε βασιλεύσας ἔτη τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι. ἐτάφη δὲ ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχον Ἰώαζον τὸν υἱὸν καταλιπών.

1. Now Hazael, king of Syria, fought against the Israelites and their king Jehu, and spoiled the eastern parts of the country beyond Jordan, which belonged to the Reubenites and Gadites, and to [the half tribe of] Manassites; as also Gilead and Bashan, burning, and spoiling, and offering violence to all that he laid his hands on, and this without impeachment from Jehu, who made no haste to defend the country when it was under this distress; nay, he was become a contemner of religion, and a despiser of holiness, and of the laws, and died when he had reigned over the Israelites twenty-seven years. He was buried in Samaria, and left Jehoahaz his son his successor in the government.

(2) [161] Τὸν δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν βασιλέα Ἰώασον ὁρμή τις ἔλαβε τὸν ναὸν ἀνακαινίσαι τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα καλέσας Ἰώδαν εἰς ἅπασαν ἐκέλευσε πέμψαι τὴν χώραν τοὺς Ληουίτας καὶ ἱερέας αἰτήσοντας ὑπὲρ ἑκάστης κεφαλῆς ἡμίσικλον ἀργύρου εἰς ἐπισκευὴν καὶ ἀνανέωσιν τοῦ ναοῦ καταλυθέντος ὑπὸ Ἰωράμου καὶ Ὀθλίας καὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτῆς. [162] ὁ δ' ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐποίησε συνεὶς ὡς οὐδεὶς προεῖται τἀργύριον, τρίτῳ δὲ καὶ εἰκοστῷ τῆς

βασιλείας ἔτει μεταπεμψαμένου τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτόν τε καὶ Ληουίτας καὶ ὡς παρακούσαντας ὧν προσέταξεν αἰτιωμένου καὶ κελεύσαντος εἰς τὸ μέλλον προνοεῖσθαι τῆς ἐπισκευῆς τοῦ ναοῦ, στρατηγήματι χρῆται πρὸς τὴν συλλογὴν τῶν χρημάτων ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ᾧ τὸ πλῆθος ἡδέως ἔσχε τοιούτῳ: [163] ξύλινον κατασκευάσας θησαυρὸν καὶ κλείσας πανταχόθεν ὀπὴν αὐτῷ μίαν ἤνοιξεν. ἔπειτα θεὶς εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἕκαστον ὅσον βούλεται βάλλειν εἰς αὐτὸν διὰ τῆς ὀπῆς εἰς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν τοῦ ναοῦ. πρὸς τοῦτο πᾶς ὁ λαὸς εὖ διετέθη καὶ πολὺν ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν φιλοτιμούμενοι καὶ συνεισφέροντες ἤθροισαν. [164] κενοῦντες δὲ τὸν θησαυρὸν καὶ παρόντος τοῦ βασιλέως ἀριθμοῦντες τὸ συνειλεγμένον ὅ τε γραμματεὺς [καὶ ἱερεὺς] τῶν γαζοφυλακίων ἔπειτ᾽ εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ἐτίθεσαν τόπον. καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐποίουν ἑκάστης ἡμέρας. ὡς δ᾽ ἀποχρῶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐδόκει τῶν χρημάτων ἔπεμψαν μισθούμενοι λατόμους καὶ οἰκοδόμους ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰώδας καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰώασος καὶ ἐπὶ ξύλα μεγάλα καὶ τῆς καλλίστης ὕλης. [165] ἐπισκευασθέντος δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τὸν ὑπολειφθέντα χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον, οὐκ ὀλίγος δὲ ἦν, εἵς τε κρατῆρας καὶ οἰνοχόας καὶ ἐκπώματα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ σκεύη κατεχρήσαντο θυσίαις τε πολυτελέσιν ὁσημέραι τὸν βωμὸν πιαίνοντες διετέλουν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐφ᾽ ὅσον Ἰώδας χρόνον ἔζη τῆς προσηκούσης ἐτύγχανε σπουδῆς.

2. Now Jehoash, king of Jerusalem, had an inclination to repair the temple of God; so he called Jehoiada, and bid him send the Levites and priests through all the country, to require half a shekel of silver for every head, towards the rebuilding and repairing of the temple, which was brought to decay by Jehoram, and Athaliah and her sons. But the high priest did not do this, as concluding that no one would willingly pay that money; but in the twenty-third year of Jehoash's reign, when the king sent for him and the Levites, and complained that they had not obeyed what he enjoined them, and still commanded them to take care of the rebuilding the temple, he used this stratagem for collecting the money, with which the multitude was pleased. He made a wooden chest, and closed it up fast on all sides, but opened one hole in it; he then set it in the temple beside the altar, and desired every one to cast into it, through the hole, what he pleased, for the repair of the temple. This contrivance was acceptable to the people, and they strove one with another, and brought in jointly large quantities of silver and gold; and when the scribe and the priest that were over the treasuries had emptied the chest, and counted the money in the king's presence, they then set it in its former place, and thus did they every day. But when the multitude appeared to have cast in as much as was wanted, the high priest Jehoiada, and king Joash, sent to hire masons and carpenters, and to buy large pieces of timber, and of the most curious sort; and when they had repaired the temple, they made

use of the remaining gold and silver, which was not a little, for bowls, and basons, and cups, and other vessels, and they went on to make the altar every day fat with sacrifices of great value. And these things were taken suitable care of as long as Jehoiada lived.

(3) [166] Ὡς δ᾽ ἐτελεύτησεν οὗτος ἔτη μὲν βιώσας ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα δίκαιος δὲ καὶ πάντα χρηστὸς γενόμενος, ἐτάφη δ᾽ ἐν ταῖς βασιλικαῖς θήκαις ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, ὅτι τῷ Δαυίδου γένει τὴν βασιλείαν ἀνεκτήσατο, προέδωκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεόν. [167] συνδιεφθάρησαν δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ τοῦ πλήθους πρωτεύοντες, ὥστε πλημμελεῖν εἰς τὰ δίκαια καὶ νενομισμένα παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἄριστα εἶναι. δυσχεράνας δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τῇ μεταβολῇ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πέμπει τοὺς προφήτας διαμαρτυρησομένους τε τὰ πραττόμενα καὶ παύσοντας τῆς πονηρίας αὐτούς. [168] οἱ δ᾽ ἰσχυρὸν ἔρωτα καὶ δεινὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἄρα ταύτης εἶχον, ὡς μήτε οἷς οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐξυβρίσαντες εἰς τὰ νόμιμα πανοικὶ κολασθέντες ἔπαθον, μήθ᾽ οἷς οἱ προφῆται προύλεγον πεισθέντες μετανοῆσαι καὶ μετελθεῖν ἐξ ὧν εἰς ἐκεῖνα παρανομήσαντες ἐτράπησαν: ἀλλὰ καὶ Ζαχαρίαν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Ἰώδα λίθοις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσε βληθέντα ἀποθανεῖν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς εὐεργεσιῶν αὐτοῦ λαθόμενος, [169] ὅτι τοῦ θεοῦ προφητεύειν αὐτὸν ἀποδείξαντος στὰς ἐν μέσῳ τῷ πλήθει συνεβούλευεν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ δίκαια πράττειν καὶ τιμωρίαν ὅτι μεγάλην ὑφέξουσι μὴ πειθόμενοι προύλεγε. τελευτῶν μέντοι Ζαχαρίας μάρτυρα καὶ δικαστὴν ὧν ἔπασχε τὸν θεὸν ἐποιεῖτο ἀντὶ χρηστῆς συμβουλίας καὶ ὧν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ παρέσχεν Ἰωάσῳ πικρῶς καὶ βιαίως ἀπολλύμενος.

3. But as soon as he was dead [which was when he had lived one hundred and thirty years, having been a righteous, and in every respect a very good man, and was buried in the king's sepulchers at Jerusalem, because he had recovered the kingdom to the family of David] king Jehoash betrayed his [want of] care about God. The principal men of the people were corrupted also together with him, and offended against their duty, and what their constitution determined to be most for their good. Hereupon God was displeased with the change that was made on the king, and on the rest of the people, and sent prophets to testify to them what their actions were, and to bring them to leave off their wickedness; but they had gotten such a strong affection and so violent an inclination to it, that neither could the examples of those that had offered affronts to the laws, and had been so severely punished, they and their entire families, nor could the fear of what the prophets now foretold, bring them to repentance, and turn them back from their course of transgression to their former duty. But the king commanded that Zechariah, the son of the high priest Jehoiada, should be stoned to death in the temple, and forgot the kindnesses he had received from his father; for when God

had appointed him to prophesy, he stood in the midst of the multitude, and gave this counsel to them and to the king: That they should act righteously; and foretold to them, that if they would not hearken to his admonitions, they should suffer a heavy punishment. But as Zechariah was ready to die, he appealed to God as a witness of what he suffered for the good counsel he had given them, and how he perished after a most severe and violent manner for the good deeds his father had done to Jehoash.

(4) [170] Ἔδωκε μέντοι γε οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ὁ βασιλεὺς δίκην ὧν παρηνόμησεν: ἐμβαλόντος γὰρ Ἀζαήλου τοῦ Σύρων βασιλέως εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν Γίτταν καταστρεψαμένου καὶ λεηλατήσαντος ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν στρατεύειν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα φοβηθεὶς ὁ Ἰώασος πάντας ἐκκενώσας τοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ θησαυροὺς καὶ τοὺς τῶν βασιλείων καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα καθελών, ἔπεμψε τῷ Σύρῳ τούτοις ὠνούμενος τὸ μὴ πολιορκηθῆναι μηδὲ κινδυνεύειν περὶ τῶν ὅλων. [171] ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς τῇ τῶν χρημάτων ὑπερβολῇ τὴν στρατιὰν οὐκέτ᾽ ἤγαγεν ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. νόσῳ μέντοι χαλεπῇ περιπεσὼν ὁ Ἰώασος ἐπιθεμένων αὐτῷ τῶν φίλων, οἳ τὸν Ζαχαρίου θάνατον ἐκδικοῦντες τοῦ Ἰώδα παιδὸς ἐπεβούλευσαν τῷ βασιλεῖ, διεφθάρη πρὸς αὐτῶν: [172] καὶ θάπτεται μὲν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, οὐκ ἐν ταῖς θήκαις δὲ τῶν προγόνων ἀσεβὴς γενόμενος. ἐβίωσε δὲ ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ διαδέχεται Ἀμασίας ὁ παῖς.

4. However, it was not long before the king suffered punishment for his transgression; for when Hazael, king of Syria, made an irruption into his country, and when he had overthrown Gath, and spoiled it, he made an expedition against Jerusalem; upon which Jehoash was afraid, and emptied all the treasures of God and of the kings [before him], and took down the gifts that had been dedicated [in the temple], and sent them to the king of Syria, and procured so much by them, that he was not besieged, nor his kingdom quite endangered; but Hazael was induced by the greatness of the sum of money not to bring his army against Jerusalem; yet Jehoash fell into a severe distemper, and was set upon by his friends, in order to revenge the death of Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada. These laid snares for the king, and slew him. He was indeed buried in Jerusalem, but not in the royal sepulchers of his forefathers, because of his impiety. He lived forty-seven years, and Amaziah his son succeeded him in the kingdom.

(5) [173] Εἰκοστῷ δὲ καὶ πρώτῳ τῆς Ἰωάσου βασιλείας παρέλαβε τὴν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἡγεμονίαν Ἰώαζος ὁ τοῦ Ἰηοῦδος υἱὸς ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ καὶ κατέσχεν αὐτὴν ἔτεσιν ἑπτὰ καὶ δέκα τοῦ μὲν πατρὸς οὐδ᾽ αὐτὸς μιμητὴς γενόμενος, ἀσεβήσας δ᾽ ὅσα καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι τοῦ θεοῦ καταφρονήσαντες. [174] ἐταπείνωσε δ᾽

αὐτὸν καὶ συνέστειλεν ἐκ τῆς τοσαύτης δυνάμεως ὁ τῶν Σύρων βασιλεὺς εἰς ὁπλίτας μυρίους καὶ πεντήκοντα ἱππεῖς στρατεύσας ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ πόλεις τε μεγάλας καὶ πολλὰς αὐτοῦ ἀφελόμενος καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτοῦ διαφθείρας. [175] ταῦτα δ᾽ ἔπαθεν ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν λαὸς κατὰ τὴν Ἐλισσαίου προφητείαν, ὅτε Ἀζάηλον βασιλεύσειν προεῖπε τῶν Σύρων καὶ Δαμασκηνῶν ἀποκτείναντα τὸν δεσπότην. ὢν δὲ ἐν οὕτως ἀπόροις κακοῖς Ἰώαζος ἐπὶ δέησιν καὶ ἱκετείαν τοῦ θεοῦ κατέφυγε ῥύσασθαι τῶν Ἀζαήλου χειρῶν αὐτὸν παρακαλῶν καὶ μὴ περιιδεῖν ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνῳ γενόμενον. [176] ὁ δὲ θεὸς καὶ τὴν μετάνοιαν ὡς ἀρετὴν ἀποδεχόμενος καὶ νουθετεῖν μᾶλλον τοὺς δυναμένους τελέως μὴ ἀπολλύειν δοκοῦν αὐτῷ, δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν κινδύνων ἄδειαν. εἰρήνης δ᾽ ἡ χώρα λαβομένη ἀνέδραμέ τε πάλιν εἰς τὴν προτέραν κατάστασιν καὶ εὐθήνησε.

5. In the one and twentieth year of the reign of Jehoash, Jehoahaz, the son of Jehu, took the government of the Israelites in Samaria, and held it seventeen years. He did not [properly] imitate his father, but was guilty of as wicked practices as hose that first had God in contempt: but the king of Syria brought him low, and by an expedition against him did so greatly reduce his forces, that there remained no more of so great an army than ten thousand armed men, and fifty horsemen. He also took away from him his great cities, and many of them also, and destroyed his army. And these were the things that the people of Israel suffered, according to the prophecy of Elisha, when he foretold that Hazael should kill his master, and reign over the Syrians and Damcenes. But when Jehoahaz was under such unavoidable miseries, he had recourse to prayer and supplication to God, and besought him to deliver him out of the hands of Hazael, and not overlook him, and give him up into his hands. Accordingly God accepted of his repentance instead of virtue; and being desirous rather to admonish those that might repent, and not to determine that they should be utterly destroyed, he granted him deliverance from war and dangers. So the country having obtained peace, returned again to its former condition, and flourished as before.

(6) [177] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰωάζου τελευτὴν ἐκδέχεται τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰώασος. ἕβδομον ἤδη καὶ τριακοστὸν ἔτος βασιλεύοντος Ἰωάσου τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν οὗτος ὁ Ἰώασος ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν: καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτὴν εἶχε προσηγορίαν τῷ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν βασιλεῖ: καὶ κατέσχεν αὐτὴν ἔτεσιν ἑκκαίδεκα. [178] ἀγαθὸς δ᾽ ἦν καὶ οὐδὲν ὅμοιος τῷ πατρὶ τὴν φύσιν. κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν Ἐλισσαίου τοῦ προφήτου γηραιοῦ μὲν ἤδη τυγχάνοντος εἰς δὲ νόσον ἐμπεπτωκότος ἧκεν ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπισκεψόμενος. [179] καταλαβὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν ἐσχάτοις ὄντα κλαίειν ἤρξατο

[βλέποντος αὐτοῦ] καὶ ποτνιᾶσθαι καὶ πατέρα τε ἀποκαλεῖν καὶ ὅπλον: δι᾽ αὐτὸν γὰρ μηδέποτε χρήσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὅπλοις, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἐκείνου προφητείαις ἀμαχητὶ κρατεῖν τῶν πολεμίων: νῦν δ᾽ ἀπιέναι μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν, καταλείπειν δ᾽ ἐξωπλισμένον τοῖς Σύροις καὶ τοῖς ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν πολεμίοις. [180] οὐδ᾽ αὐτῷ τοίνυν ζῆν ἔτι ἀσφαλὲς ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ καλῶς ἔχειν συνεξορμᾶν αὐτῷ καὶ συναπαίρειν ἐκ τοῦ βίου. ταῦτ᾽ ὀδυρόμενον Ἐλισσαῖος παρεμυθεῖτο τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τόξον ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ κομισθὲν ἐντεῖναι τοῦτο. ποιήσαντος οὖν εὐτρεπὲς τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ τόξον, ἐπιλαβόμενον τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν τοξεύειν. [181] τρία βέλη δ᾽ αὐτοῦ προεμένου εἶτα δ᾽ ἀναπαυσαμένου “πλείω μέν, εἶπεν, ἀφεὶς ἐκ ῥιζῶν ἂν τὴν τῶν Σύρων βασιλείαν ἐξεῖλες, ἐπεὶ δὲ τρισὶν ἠρκέσθης μόνοις, τοσαύταις καὶ μάχαις κρατήσεις συμβαλὼν τοῖς Σύροις, ἵνα τὴν χώραν ἣν ἀπετέμοντο τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς ἀνακτήσῃ: καὶ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς τοῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας ἀπηλλάγη. [182] μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ ὁ προφήτης ἀπέθανεν ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ διαβόητος καὶ φανερῶς σπουδασθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ: θαυμαστὰ γὰρ καὶ παράδοξα διὰ τῆς προφητείας ἐπεδείξατο ἔργα καὶ μνήμης λαμπρᾶς παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἀξιωθέντα. ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ ταφῆς μεγαλοπρεποῦς καὶ οἵας εἰκὸς ἦν τὸν οὕτω θεοφιλῆ μεταλαβεῖν. [183] συνέβη δὲ καὶ τότε, λῃστῶν τινων ῥιψάντων εἰς τὸν Ἐλισσαίου τάφον ὃν ἦσαν ἀνῃρηκότες, τὸν νεκρὸν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ προσκολληθέντα ἀναζωπυρῆσαι. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἐλισσαίου τοῦ προφήτου, ζῶν τε ὅσα προεῖπε καὶ ὡς μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἔτι δύναμιν εἶχε θείαν, ἤδη δεδηλώκαμεν.

6. Now after the death of Jehoahaz, his son Joash took the kingdom, in the thirty-seventh year of Jehoash, the king of the tribe of Judah. This Joash then took the kingdom of Israel in Samaria, for he had the same name with the king of Jerusalem, and he retained the kingdom sixteen years. He was a good man, and in his disposition was not at all like his father. Now at this time it was that when Elisha the prophet, who was already very old, and was now fallen into a disease, the king of Israel came to visit him; and when he found him very near death, he began to weep in his sight, and lament, to call him his father, and his weapons, because it was by his means that he never made use of his weapons against his enemies, but that he overcame his own adversaries by his prophecies, without fighting; and that he was now departing this life, and leaving him to the Syrians, that were already armed, and to other enemies of his that were under their power; so he said it was not safe for him to live any longer, but that it would be well for him to hasten to his end, and depart out of this life with him. As the king was thus bemoaning himself, Elisha comforted him, and bid the king bend a bow that was brought him; and when the king had fitted the bow for shooting, Elisha took hold of his hands and bid him shoot; and when he had shot three arrows,

and then left off, Elisha said, “If thou hadst shot more arrows, thou hadst cut the kingdom of Syria up by the roots; but since thou hast been satisfied with shooting three times only, thou shalt fight and beat the Syrians no more times than three, that thou mayst recover that country which they cut off from thy kingdom in the reign of thy father.” So when the king had heard that, he departed; and a little while after the prophet died. He was a man celebrated for righteousness, and in eminent favor with God. He also performed wonderful and surprising works by prophecy, and such as were gloriously preserved in memory by the Hebrews. He also obtained a magnificent funeral, such a one indeed as it was fit a person so beloved of God should have. It also happened, that at that time certain robbers cast a man whom they had slain into Elisha’s grave, and upon his dead body coming close to Elisha’s body, it revived again. And thus far have we enlarged about the actions of Elisha the prophet, both such as he did while he was alive, and how he had a Divine power after his death also.

(7) [184] Τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Σύρων βασιλέως Ἀζαήλου εἰς Ἀδδὰν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἡ βασιλεία παραγίνεται: πρὸς τοῦτον συνάπτει πόλεμον Ἰώασος ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ τρισὶ μάχαις νικήσας αὐτὸν ἀφείλετο τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν καὶ ὅσας ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Ἀζάηλος πόλεις καὶ κώμας τῆς Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλείας παρέλαβε. [185] τοῦτο μέντοι κατὰ τὴν Ἐλισσαίου προφητείαν ἐγένετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέβη καὶ Ἰώασον ἀποθανεῖν, ὁ μὲν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ κηδεύεται, καθῆκε δὲ εἰς Ἰώασον ἡ ἀρχὴ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ.

7. Now, upon the death of Hazael, the king of Syria, that kingdom came to Adad his son, with whom Joash, king of Israel, made war; and when he had beaten him in three battles, he took from him all that country, and all those cities and villages, which his father Hazael had taken from the kingdom of Israel, which came to pass, however, according to the prophecy of Elisha. But when Joash happened to die, he was buried in Samaria, and the government devolved on his son Jeroboam.

IX

CHAPTER 9. How Amaziah Made An Expedition Against The Edomites And Amalekites And Conquered Them; But When He Afterwards Made War Against Joash, He Was Beaten And Not Long After Was Slain, And Uzziah Succeeded In The Government.

(1) [186] Δευτέρῳ δ' ἔτει τῆς Ἰωάσου βασιλείας τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀμασίας τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις μητρὸς ὢν Ἰωάδη τοὔνομα πολίτιδος δὲ τὸ γένος: θαυμαστῶς δὲ τοῦ δικαίου προυνόει καὶ ταῦτα νέος ὤν. παρελθὼν δ' ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔγνω δεῖν πρῶτον Ἰωάσῳ τιμωρῆσαι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιθεμένους αὐτῷ φίλους κολάσαι. [187] καὶ τούτους μὲν συλλαβὼν ἅπαντας ἐφόνευσε, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας αὐτῶν οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο δεινὸν ἀκόλουθα ποιῶν τοῖς Μωσήους νόμοις, ὃς οὐκ ἐδικαίωσε διὰ πατέρων ἁμαρτίας τέκνα κολάζειν. [188] ἔπειτα στρατιὰν ἐπιλέξας ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς καὶ Βενιαμίδος τῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ καὶ περὶ εἴκοσι ἔτη γεγονότων καὶ συναθροίσας ὡς τριάκοντα μυριάδας τούτων μὲν ἑκατοντάρχους κατέστησε, πέμψας δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέα μισθοῦται δέκα μυριάδας ὁπλιτῶν ἑκατὸν ἀργυρίου ταλάντων: διεγνώκει γὰρ τοῖς Ἀμαληκιτῶν ἔθνεσι καὶ Ἰδουμαίων καὶ Γαβαλιτῶν ἐπιστρατεύσασθαι. [189] παρασκευασαμένου δὲ πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν καὶ μέλλοντος ἐξορμᾶν ὁ προφήτης τὸν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν στρατὸν ἀπολῦσαι συνεβούλευσεν: εἶναι γὰρ ἀσεβῆ καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἦτταν αὐτῷ προλέγειν χρησαμένῳ τούτοις συμμάχοις: περιέσεσθαι δὲ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ μετ' ὀλίγων αὐτοῖς ἀγωνιζόμενον βουλομένου τοῦ θεοῦ. [190] δυσφοροῦντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τῷ φθῆναι τὸν μισθὸν δεδωκέναι τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις παρῄνει ποιεῖν ὁ προφήτης ὅ τι τῷ θεῷ δοκεῖ, χρήματα δ' αὐτῷ πολλὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ γενήσεσθαι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀπολύει χαρίζεσθαι τὸν μισθὸν εἰπών, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς οἰκείας δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὰ προειρημένα τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐστράτευσε: [191] καὶ κρατήσας αὐτῶν τῇ μάχῃ μυρίους μὲν ἀπέκτεινε, τοσούτους δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβεν, οὓς ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην ἀγαγὼν πέτραν, ἥπερ ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀραβίαν, ἀπ' αὐτῆς κατεκρήμνισεν, ἀπήγαγέ τε λείαν πολλὴν καὶ πλοῦτον ἄφθονον ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν. [192] Ἀμασίου δ' ἐν τούτοις ὑπάρχοντος οἱ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν οὓς ἀπέλυσε μισθωσάμενος ἀγανακτήσαντες ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ νομίσαντες ὕβριν εἶναι τὴν ἀπόλυσιν, οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοῦτο παθεῖν μὴ κατεγνωσμένους, ἐπῆλθον αὐτοῦ τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ μέχρι

Βηθσεμήρων προελθόντες διήρπασαν τὴν χώραν καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔλαβον ὑποζύγια, τρισχιλίους δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἀπέκτειναν.

1. Now, in the second year of the reign of Joash over Israel, Amaziah reigned over the tribe of Judah in Jerusalem. His mother's name was Jehoaddan, who was born at Jerusalem. He was exceeding careful of doing what was right, and this when he was very young; but when he came to the management of affairs, and to the government, he resolved that he ought first of all to avenge his father Je-hoash, and to punish those his friends that had laid violent hands upon him: so he seized upon them all, and put them to death; yet did he execute no severity on their children, but acted therein according to the laws of Moses, who did not think it just to punish children for the sins of their fathers. After this he chose him an army out of the tribe of Judah and Benjamin, of such as were in the flower of their age, and about twenty years old; and when he had collected about three hundred thousand of them together, he set captains of hundreds over them. He also sent to the king of Israel, and hired a hundred thousand of his soldiers for a hundred talents of silver, for he had resolved to make an expedition against the nations of the Amatekites, and Edomites, and Gebalites: but as he was preparing for his expedition, and ready to go out to the war, a prophet gave him counsel to dismiss the army of the Israelites, because they were bad men, and because God foretold that he should be beaten, if he made use of them as auxiliaries; but that he should overcome his enemies, though he had but a few soldiers, when it so pleased God. And when the king grudged at his having already paid the hire of the Israelites, the prophet exhorted him to do what God would have him, because he should thereby obtain much wealth from God. So he dismissed them, and said that he still freely gave them their pay, and went himself with his own army, and made war with the nations before mentioned; and when he had beaten them in battle, he slew of them ten thousand, and took as many prisoners alive, whom he brought to the great rock which is in Arabia, and threw them down from it headlong. He also brought away a great deal of prey and vast riches from those nations. But while Amaziah was engaged in this expedition, those Israelites whom he had hired, and then dismissed, were very uneasy at it, and taking their dismission for an affront, [as supposing that this would not have been done to them but out of contempt,] they fell upon his kingdom, and proceeded to spoil the country as far as Beth-horon, and took much cattle, and slew three thousand men.

(2) [193] Ἀμασίας δὲ τῇ νίκῃ καὶ τοῖς κατορθώμασιν ἐπαρθεὶς τὸν μὲν τούτων αἴτιον θεὸν αὐτῷ γενόμενον ὑπερορᾶν ἤρξατο, οὓς δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἀμαληκιτῶν χώρας ἐκόμισεν, τούτους σεβόμενος διετέλει. [194] προσελθὼν δὲ ὁ προφήτης αὐτῷ

θαυμάζειν ἔλεγεν, εἰ τούτους ἡγεῖται θεούς, οἳ τοὺς ἰδίους παρ᾽ οἷς ἐτιμῶντο μηδὲν ὤνησαν μηδ᾽ ἐκ χειρῶν ἐρρύσαντο τῶν ἐκείνου, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπερεῖδον πολλούς τε αὐτῶν ἀπολλυμένους καὶ αὐτοὺς αἰχμαλωτισθέντας: κεκομίσθαι γὰρ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ, καθὼς ἄν τις τῶν πολεμίων τινὰ ζωγρήσας ἤγαγεν. [195] τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ ταῦτ᾽ ὀργὴν ἐκίνησε καὶ προσέταξεν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν τὸν προφήτην ἀπειλήσας αὐτὸν κολάσειν, ἂν πολυπραγμονῇ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἡσυχάζειν εἶπεν, οὐκ ἀμελήσειν δὲ ὧν ἐπικεχείρηκε νεωτερίζων τὸν θεὸν προύλεγεν. [196] Ἀμασίας δὲ κατέχειν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐπραγίαις οὐ δυνάμενος, ἃς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαβὼν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐξύβριζεν, ἀλλὰ φρονηματισθεὶς ἔγραψεν Ἰωάσῳ τῷ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεῖ κελεύων ὑπακούειν αὐτῷ σὺν ἅπαντι τῷ λαῷ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ὑπήκουσε τοῖς προγόνοις αὐτοῦ Δαυίδῃ καὶ Σολόμωνι, ἢ μὴ βουλόμενον εὐγνωμονεῖν εἰδέναι πολέμῳ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς διακριθησόμενον. [197] ἀντέγραψε δ᾽ ὁ Ἰώασος τάδε: “βασιλεὺς Ἰώασος βασιλεῖ Ἀμασίᾳ. ἦν ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ ὄρει κυπάρισσος παμμεγέθης καὶ ἄκανος. αὕτη πρὸς τὴν κυπάρισσον ἔπεμψε μνηστευομένη τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῆς πρὸς γάμον τῷ παιδί. μεταξὺ ταῦτα λέγουσαν θηρίον τι παρερχόμενον κατεπάτησε τὴν ἄκανον. [198] τοῦτο οὖν ἔσται σοι παράδειγμα τοῦ μὴ μειζόνων ἐφίεσθαι, μηδ᾽ ὅτι τὴν πρὸς Ἀμαληκίτας μάχην εὐτύχησας ἐπὶ ταύτῃ γαυρούμενος σαυτῷ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου κινδύνους ἐπισπῶ.”

2. Now upon the victory which Amaziah had gotten, and the great acts he had done, he was puffed up, and began to overlook God, who had given him the victory, and proceeded to worship the gods he had brought out of the country of the Amalekites. So a prophet came to him, and said, that he wondered how he could esteem these to be gods, who had been of no advantage to their own people who paid them honors, nor had delivered them from his hands, but had overlooked the destruction of many of them, and had suffered themselves to be carried captive, for that they had been carried to Jerusalem in the same manner as any one might have taken some of the enemy alive, and led them thither. This reproof provoked the king to anger, and he commanded the prophet to hold his peace, and threatened to punish him if he meddled with his conduct. So he replied, that he should indeed hold his peace; but foretold withal, that God would not overlook his attempts for innovation. But Amaziah was not able to contain himself under that prosperity which God had given him, although he had affronted God thereupon; but in a vein of insolence he wrote to Joash, the king of Israel, and commanded that he and all his people should be obedient to him, as they had formerly been obedient to his progenitors, David and Solomon; and he let him know, that if he would not be so wise as to do what he commanded him, he must fight for his dominion. To which message Joash returned this

answer in writing: “King Joash to king Amaziah. There was a vastly tall cypress tree in Mount Lebanon, as also a thistle; this thistle sent to the cypress tree to give the cypress tree’s daughter in marriage to the thistle’s son; but as the thistle was saying this, there came a wild beast, and trod down the thistle: and this may be a lesson to thee, not to be so ambitious, and to have a care, lest upon thy good success in the fight against the Amalekites thou growest so proud, as to bring dangers upon thyself and upon thy kingdom.”

(3) [199] Ταῦτα δὲ ἀναγνοὺς Ἀμασίας ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν παρωξύνθη τοῦ θεοῦ παρορμῶντος αὐτὸν οἶμαι πρὸς αὐτήν, ἵνα τῶν παρανομηθέντων εἰς αὐτὸν δίκην ἀπολάβῃ. ὡς δ’ ἐξήγαγε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰώασον καὶ συνάπτειν μάχην ἔμελλον, τὸ Ἀμασίου στράτευμα φόβος αἰφνίδιος καὶ κατάπληξις οἵαν θεὸς οὐκ εὐμενὴς ἐντίθησιν εἰς φυγὴν ἔτρεψε, [200] καὶ πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν διασπαρέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους αὐτῶν μονωθέντα τὸν Ἀμασίαν ληφθῆναι συνέβη πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων αἰχμάλωτον: ἠπείλησε δ’ αὐτῷ θάνατον Ἰώασος, εἰ μὴ πείσειε τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας ἀνοίξαντας αὐτῷ τὰς πύλας δέξασθαι μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς εἰς τὴν πόλιν. [201] καὶ Ἀμασίας μὲν ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης καὶ τοῦ περὶ τὸ ζῆν δέους ἐποίησεν εἰσδεχθῆναι τὸν πολέμιον: ὁ δὲ διακόψας τι τοῦ τείχους ὡς τετρακοσίων πηχῶν ἐφ’ ἅρματος εἰσήλασε διὰ τῆς διακοπῆς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τὸν Ἀμασίαν ἄγων αἰχμάλωτον. [202] κύριος δὲ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ γενόμενος τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν τούς τε τοῦ θεοῦ θησαυροὺς ἀνείλετο καὶ ὅσος ἦν τῷ Ἀμασίᾳ χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐξεφόρησε, καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸν ἀπολύσας τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἀνέζευξεν εἰς Σαμάρειαν. [203] ταῦτα δ’ ἐγένετο περὶ τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας ἔτει τετάρτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ τῆς Ἀμασία βασιλείας, ὃς μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων φεύγει μὲν εἰς Λάχισαν πόλιν, ἀναιρεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιβούλων πεμψάντων ἐκεῖ τοὺς ἀποκτενοῦντας αὐτόν. καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα κομίσαντες εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα βασιλικῶς ἐκήδευσαν: [204] κατέστρεψε δὲ οὕτως Ἀμασίας τὸν βίον καὶ διὰ τὸν νεωτερισμὸν τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὀλιγωρίας, βιώσας μὲν ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ πεντήκοντα βασιλεύσας δὲ ἐννέα καὶ εἴκοσι. διαδέχεται δ’ αὐτὸν ὁ παῖς Ὀζίας τοὔνομα.

3. When Amaziah had read this letter, he was more eager upon this expedition, which, I suppose, was by the impulse of God, that he might be punished for his offense against him. But as soon as he led out his army against Joash, and they were going to join battle with him, there came such a fear and consternation upon the army of Amaziah, as God, when he is displeased, sends upon men, and discomfited them, even before they came to a close fight. Now it happened, that as they were scattered about by the terror that was upon them, Amaziah was left alone, and was taken prisoner by the enemy; whereupon Joash threatened to kill him, unless he would persuade the people of Jerusalem to open their gates to

him, and receive him and his army into the city. Accordingly Amaziah was so distressed, and in such fear of his life, that he made his enemy to be received into the city. So Joash over threw a part of the wall, of the length of four hundred cubits, and drove his chariot through the breach into Jerusalem, and led Amaziah captive along with him; by which means he became master of Jerusalem, and took away the treasures of God, and carried off all the gold and silver that was in the king's palace, and then freed the king from captivity, and returned to Samaria. Now these things happened to the people of Jerusalem in the fourteenth year of the reign of Amaziah, who after this had a conspiracy made against him by his friends, and fled to the city Lachish, and was there slain by the conspirators, who sent men thither to kill him. So they took up his dead body, and carried it to Jerusalem, and made a royal funeral for him. This was the end of the life of Amaziah, because of his innovations in religion, and his contempt of God, when he had lived fifty-four years, and had reigned twenty-nine. He was succeeded by his son, whose name was Uzziah.

X

CHAPTER 10. Concerning Jeroboam King Of Israel And Jonah The Prophet; And How After The Death Of Jeroboam His Son Zachariah Took The Government. How Uzziah, King Of Jerusalem, Subdued The Nations That Were Round About Him; And What Befell Him When He Attempted To Offer Incense To God.

(1) [205] Πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς Ἀμασία βασιλείας ἐβασίλευσε τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ὁ Ἰωάσου υἱὸς Ἱερόβαμος ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα. οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰ μὲν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ὑβριστὴς καὶ παράνομος δεινῶς ἐγένετο εἴδωλά τε σεβόμενος καὶ πολλοῖς ἀτόποις καὶ ξένοις ἐγχειρῶν ἔργοις, τῷ δὲ λαῷ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν μυρίων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος ὑπῆρχε. [206] τούτῳ προεφήτευσέ τις Ἰωνᾶς, ὡς δεῖ πολεμήσαντα τοῖς Σύροις αὐτὸν κρατῆσαι τῆς ἐκείνων δυνάμεως καὶ πλατῦναι τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν τοῖς μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἄρκτον μέρεσιν ἕως Ἀμάθου πόλεως, τοῖς δὲ κατὰ τὴν μεσημβρίαν ἕως τῆς Ἀσφαλτίδος λίμνης: [207] τὸ γὰρ ἀρχαῖον οἱ ὅροι τῆς Χαναναίας ἦσαν οὗτοι, καθὼς ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἰησοῦς περιώρισε. στρατεύσας οὖν ἐπὶ τοὺς Σύρους ὁ Ἱερόβαμος καταστρέφεται πᾶσαν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν, ὡς προεφήτευσεν Ἰωνᾶς.

1. In the fifteenth year of the reign of Amaziah, Jeroboam the son of Joash reigned over Israel in Samaria forty years. This king was guilty of contumely against God, and became very wicked in worshipping of idols, and in many undertakings that were absurd and foreign. He was also the cause of ten thousand misfortunes to the people of Israel. Now one Jonah, a prophet, foretold to him that he should make war with the Syrians, and conquer their army, and enlarge the bounds of his kingdom on the northern parts to the city Hamath, and on the southern to the lake Asphaltitis; for the bounds of the Canaanites originally were these, as Joshua their general had determined them. So Jeroboam made an expedition against the Syrians, and overran all their country, as Jonah had foretold.

(2) [208] Ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ἡγησάμην τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῶν πραγμάτων παραδώσειν ὑπεσχημένος ὅσα καὶ περὶ τούτου τοῦ προφήτου εὗρον ἐν ταῖς Ἑβραικαῖς βίβλοις ἀναγεγραμμένα διεξελθεῖν: κελευσθεὶς γὰρ οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πορευθῆναι μὲν εἰς τὴν Νινύου βασιλείαν κηρῦξαι δ᾽ ἐκεῖ γενόμενον ἐν τῇ πόλει

ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολέσει, δείσας οὐκ ἀπῆλθεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀποδιδράσκει τὸν θεὸν εἰς Ἰόπην πόλιν καὶ πλοῖον εὑρὼν ἐμβὰς εἰς Ταρσὸν ἔπλει τῆς Κιλικίας. [209] ἐπιγενομένου δὲ χειμῶνος σφοδροτάτου καὶ κινδυνεύοντος καταδῦναι τοῦ σκάφους οἱ μὲν ναῦται καὶ οἱ κυβερνῆται καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ναύκληρος εὐχὰς ἐποιοῦντο χαριστηρίους, εἰ διαφύγοιεν τὴν θάλασσαν, ὁ δὲ Ἰωνᾶς συγκαλύψας αὐτὸν ἐβέβλητο μηδὲν ὧν τοὺς ἄλλους ἑώρα ποιοῦντας μιμούμενος. [210] αὔξοντος δ᾽ ἔτι μᾶλλον τοῦ κλύδωνος καὶ βιαιοτέρας γενομένης ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς θαλάσσης ὑπονοήσαντες, ὡς ἐνδέχεταί τινα τῶν ἐμπλεόντων αἴτιον αὐτοῖς εἶναι τοῦ χειμῶνος, συνέθεντο κλήρῳ τοῦτον ὅστις ποτὲ ἦν μαθεῖν. [211] κληρωσαμένων οὖν ὁ προφήτης λαγχάνει πυνθανομένων τε πόθεν τε εἴη καὶ τί μετέρχεται τὸ μὲν γένος ἔλεγεν Ἑβραῖος εἶναι προφήτης τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ: συνεβούλευσεν οὖν αὐτοῖς, εἰ θέλουσιν ἀποδράναι τὸν παρόντα κίνδυνον, ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος: αἴτιον γὰρ αὐτοῖς εἶναι τοῦ χειμῶνος. [212] οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐκ ἐτόλμων κρίναντες ἀσέβημα ξένον ἄνθρωπον καὶ πεπιστευκότα αὐτοῖς τὸ ζῆν εἰς φανερὰν αὐτοὺς ἀπώλειαν ἐκρῖψαι, τελευταῖον δ᾽ ὑπερβιαζομένου τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ ὅσον οὔπω μέλλοντος βαπτίζεσθαι τοῦ σκάφους, ὑπό τε τοῦ προφήτου παρορμηθέντες αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους τοῦ περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας ῥίπτουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. [213] καὶ ὁ μὲν χειμὼν ἐστάλη, τὸν δὲ λόγος ὑπὸ τοῦ κήτους καταποθέντα τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τοσαύτας νύκτας εἰς τὸν Εὔξεινον ἐκβρασθῆναι πόντον ζῶντα καὶ μηδὲν τοῦ σώματος λελωβημένον. [214] ἔνθα τοῦ θεοῦ δεηθεὶς συγγνώμην αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν τῶν ἡμαρτημένων ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Νίνου πόλιν καὶ σταθεὶς εἰς ἐπήκοον ἐκήρυσσεν, ὡς μετ᾽ ὀλίγον πάλιν ἀποβαλοῦσι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ ταῦτα δηλώσας ὑπέστρεψε. διεξῆλθον δὲ τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ διήγησιν, ὡς εὗρον ἀναγεγραμμένην.

2. Now I cannot but think it necessary for me, who have promised to give an accurate account of our affairs, to describe the actions of this prophet, so far as I have found them written down in the Hebrew books. Jonah had been commanded by God to go to the kingdom of Nineveh; and when he was there, to publish it in that city, how it should lose the dominion it had over the nations. But he went not, out of fear; nay, he ran away from God to the city of Joppa, and finding a ship there, he went into it, and sailed to Tarsus, in Cilicia and upon the rise of a most terrible storm, which was so great that the ship was in danger of sinking, the mariners, the master, and the pilot himself, made prayers and vows, in case they escaped the sea: but Jonah lay still and covered [in the ship,] without imitating any thing that the others did; but as the waves grew greater, and the sea became more violent by the winds, they suspected, as is usual in such cases, that some one of the persons that sailed with them was the occasion of this storm,

and agreed to discover by lot which of them it was. When they had cast lots, the lot fell upon the prophet; and when they asked him whence he came, and what he had done? he replied, that he was a Hebrew by nation, and a prophet of Almighty God; and he persuaded them to cast him into the sea, if they would escape the danger they were in, for that he was the occasion of the storm which was upon them. Now at the first they durst not do so, as esteeming it a wicked thing to cast a man who was a stranger, and who had committed his life to them, into such manifest perdition; but at last, when their misfortune overbore them, and the ship was just going to be drowned, and when they were animated to do it by the prophet himself, and by the fear concerning their own safety, they cast him into the sea; upon which the sea became calm. It is also reported that Jonah was swallowed down by a whale, and that when he had been there three days, and as many nights, he was vomited out upon the Euxine Sea, and this alive, and without any hurt upon his body; and there, on his prayer to God, he obtained pardon for his sins, and went to the city Nineveh, where he stood so as to be heard, and preached, that in a very little time they should lose the dominion of Asia. And when he had published this, he returned. Now I have given this account about him as I found it written [in our books.]

(3) [215] Ἱερόβαμος δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ πάσης εὐδαιμονίας τὸν βίον διαγαγὼν καὶ ἄρξας ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα ἐτελεύτησε καὶ θάπτεται μὲν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ, διαδέχεται δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν υἱὸς Ζαχαρίας. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ Ὀζίας ὁ τοῦ Ἀμασία υἱός, [216] ἔτος ἤδη τέταρτον πρὸς τοῖς δέκα βασιλεύοντος Ἱεροβοάμου, τῶν δύο φυλῶν ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις μητρὸς ὢν Ἀχίας μὲν τοὔνομα ἀστῆς δὲ τὸ γένος. ἀγαθὸς δὲ ἦν καὶ δίκαιος τὴν φύσιν καὶ μεγαλόφρων καὶ προνοῆσαι τῶν πραγμάτων φιλοπονώτατος. [217] στρατευσάμενος δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνους καὶ νικήσας μάχῃ πόλεις αὐτῶν ἔλαβε κατὰ κράτος Γίτταν καὶ Ἰάμνειαν καὶ κατέσκαψεν αὐτῶν τὰ τείχη. μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν στρατείαν ἐπῆλθε τοῖς τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ γειτνιῶσιν Ἄραψι καὶ πόλιν κτίσας ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης ἐγκατέστησεν αὐτῇ φρουράν. [218] ἔπειτα τοὺς Ἀμμανίτας καταστρεψάμενος καὶ φόρους αὐτοῖς ὁρίσας τελεῖν καὶ πάντα τὰ μέχρι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὅρων χειρωσάμενος τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἤρχετο ποιεῖσθαι τὸ λοιπὸν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν: ὅσα γὰρ τῶν τειχῶν ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου καταβέβλητο ἢ ὑπὸ τῆς ὀλιγωρίας τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων, ταῦτά τε ἀνῳκοδόμει καὶ κατεσκεύαζεν, ὅσα τε ἦν καταβεβλημένα ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέως, ὅτε τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ λαβὼν αἰχμάλωτον τὸν Ἀμασίαν εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. [219] προσῳκοδόμησε δὲ καὶ πύργους πολλοὺς πεντήκοντα πηχῶν ἕκαστον. καὶ φρουροὺς δὲ ἐνετείχισε τοῖς ἐρήμοις χωρίοις καὶ πολλοὺς ὀχετοὺς ὤρυξεν ὑδάτων. ἦν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θρεμμάτων ἄπειρόν τι πλῆθος: εὐφυὴς γὰρ ἦν ἡ χώρα

πρὸς νομάς. [220] γεωργικὸς δὲ ὢν σφόδρα τῆς γῆς ἐπεμελεῖτο φυτοῖς αὐτὴν καὶ παντοδαποῖς τιθηνῶν σπέρμασι. στρατιᾶς δ' εἶχεν ἐπιλέκτου περὶ αὐτὸν μυριάδας ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα, ἧς ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν καὶ ταξίαρχοι καὶ χιλίαρχοι γενναῖοι καὶ τὴν ἀλκὴν ἀνυπόστατοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν δισχίλιοι. [221] διέταξε δ' εἰς φάλαγγας τὴν ὅλην στρατιὰν καὶ ὥπλισε ῥομφαίαν δοὺς ἑκάστῳ καὶ θυρεοὺς καὶ θώρακας χαλκέους καὶ τόξα καὶ σφενδόνας. ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις μηχανήματα πολλὰ πρὸς πολιορκίας κατεσκεύασε πετρόβολά τε καὶ δορύβολα καὶ ἅρπαγας [καὶ ἀρτῆρας] καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ὅμοια.

3. When Jeroboam the king had passed his life in great happiness, and had ruled forty years, he died, and was buried in Samaria, and his son Zachariah took the kingdom. After the same manner did Uzziah, the son of Amaziah, begin to reign over the two tribes in Jerusalem, in the fourteenth year of the reign of Jeroboam. He was born of Jecoliah, his mother, who was a citizen of Jerusalem. He was a good man, and by nature righteous and magnanimous, and very laborious in taking care of the affairs of his kingdom. He made an expedition also against the Philistines, and overcame them in battle, and took the cities of Gath and Jabneh, and brake down their walls; after which expedition he assaulted those Arabs that adjoined to Egypt. He also built a city upon the Red Sea, and put a garrison into it. He, after this, overthrew the Ammonites, and appointed that they should pay tribute. He also overcame all the countries as far as the bounds of Egypt, and then began to take care of Jerusalem itself for the rest of his life; for he rebuilt and repaired all those parts of the wall which had either fallen down by length of time, or by the carelessness of the kings, his predecessors, as well as all that part which had been thrown down by the king of Israel, when he took his father Amaziah prisoner, and entered with him into the city. Moreover, he built a great many towers, of one hundred and fifty cubits high, and built walled towns in desert places, and put garrisons into them, and dug many channels for conveyance of water. He had also many beasts for labor, and an immense number of cattle; for his country was fit for pasturage. He was also given to husbandry, and took care to cultivate the ground, and planted it with all sorts of plants, and sowed it with all sorts of seeds. He had also about him an army composed of chosen men, in number three hundred and seventy thousand, who were governed by general officers and captains of thousands, who were men of valor, and of unconquerable strength, in number two thousand. He also divided his whole army into bands, and armed them, giving every one a sword, with brazen bucklers and breastplates, with bows and slings; and besides these, he made for them many engines of war for besieging of cities, such as cast stones and darts, with grapplers, and other instruments of that sort.

(4) [222] Γενόμενος δ’ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ συντάξει καὶ παρασκευῇ διεφθάρη τὴν διάνοιαν ὑπὸ τύφου καὶ χαυνωθεὶς θνητῇ περιουσίᾳ τῆς ἀθανάτου καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντα διαρκοῦς τὸν χρόνον ἰσχύος ὠλιγώρησεν: αὕτη δὲ ἦν ἡ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβεια καὶ τὸ τηρεῖν τὰ νόμιμα. [223] ὤλισθε δὲ ὑπ’ εὐπραξίας καὶ κατηνέχθη πρὸς τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἁμαρτήματα, πρὸς ἃ κἀκεῖνον ἡ τῶν ἀγαθῶν λαμπρότης καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πραγμάτων οὐ δυνηθέντα προστῆναι καλῶς αὐτῶν ἤγαγεν. ἐνστάσης δ’ ἡμέρας ἐπισήμου καὶ πάνδημον ἑορτὴν ἐχούσης ἐνδὺς ἱερατικὴν στολὴν εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ τέμενος θυσιάσων ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ βωμοῦ τῷ θεῷ. [224] τοῦ δ’ ἀρχιερέως Ἀζαρία ὄντων σὺν αὐτῷ ἱερέων ὀγδοήκοντα κωλύοντος αὐτόν, οὐ γὰρ ἐξὸν ἐπιθύειν εἶπον, μόνοις δ’ ἐφεῖσθαι τοῦτο ποιεῖν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀαρῶνος γένους, καταβοώντων δ’ ἐξιέναι καὶ μὴ παρανομεῖν εἰς τὸν θεόν, ὀργισθεὶς ἠπείλησεν αὐτοῖς θάνατον, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄξουσι. [225] μεταξὺ δὲ σεισμὸς ἐκλόνησε τὴν γῆν μέγας καὶ διαστάντος τοῦ ναοῦ φέγγος ἡλίου λαμπρὸν ἐξέλαμψε καὶ τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως ὄψει προσέπεσεν, ὡς τῷ μὲν εὐθέως λέπραν ἐπιδραμεῖν, πρὸ δὲ τῆς πόλεως πρὸς τῇ καλουμένῃ Ἐρωγῇ τοῦ ὄρους ἀπορραγῆναι τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν δύσιν καὶ κυλισθὲν τέσσαρας σταδίους ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνατολικὸν ὄρος στῆναι, ὡς τάς τε παρόδους ἐμφραγῆναι καὶ τοὺς παραδείσους τοὺς βασιλικούς. [226] ἐπεὶ δὲ κατειλημμένην τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπὸ τῆς λέπρας εἶδον οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἔφραζόν τε αὐτῷ τὴν συμφορὰν καὶ ἐκέλευον ἐξιέναι τῆς πόλεως ὡς ἐναγῆ. ὁ δ’ ὑπ’ αἰσχύνης τε τοῦ συμβεβηκότος δεινοῦ καὶ τοῦ μηκέτ’ αὐτῷ παρρησίαν εἶναι τὸ κελευόμενον ἐποίει, τῆς ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον διανοίας καὶ τῶν διὰ τοῦτο εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἀσεβημάτων ταλαίπωρον οὕτως καὶ οἰκτρὰν ὑπομείνας δίκην. [227] καὶ χρόνον μέν τινα διῆγεν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἰδιώτην ἀποζῶν βίον τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῷ Ἰωθάμου τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντος, ἔπειτα ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ ἀθυμίας τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἀπέθανεν, ἔτη μὲν βιώσας ὀκτὼ καὶ ἑξήκοντα, τούτων δὲ βασιλεύσας πεντηκονταδύο. ἐκηδεύθη δὲ μόνος ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ κήποις.

4. While Uzziah was in this state, and making preparation [for futurity], he was corrupted in his mind by pride, and became insolent, and this on account of that abundance which he had of things that will soon perish, and despised that power which is of eternal duration [which consisted in piety towards God, and in the observation of the laws]; so he fell by occasion of the good success of his affairs, and was carried headlong into those sins of his father, which the splendor of that prosperity he enjoyed, and the glorious actions he had done, led him into, while he was not able to govern himself well about them. Accordingly, when a remarkable day was come, and a general festival was to be celebrated, he put on the holy garment, and went into the temple to offer incense to God upon the golden altar, which he was prohibited to do by Azariah the high priest, who had

fourscore priests with him, and who told him that it was not lawful for him to offer sacrifice, and that “none besides the posterity of Aaron were permitted so to do.” And when they cried out that he must go out of the temple, and not transgress against God, he was wroth at them, and threatened to kill them, unless they would hold their peace. In the mean time a great earthquake shook the ground and a rent was made in the temple, and the bright rays of the sun shone through it, and fell upon the king’s face, insomuch that the leprosy seized upon him immediately. And before the city, at a place called Eroge, half the mountain broke off from the rest on the west, and rolled itself four furlongs, and stood still at the east mountain, till the roads, as well as the king’s gardens, were spoiled by the obstruction. Now, as soon as the priests saw that the king’s face was infected with the leprosy, they told him of the calamity he was under, and commanded that he should go out of the city as a polluted person. Hereupon he was so confounded at the sad distemper, and sensible that he was not at liberty to contradict, that he did as he was commanded, and underwent this miserable and terrible punishment for an intention beyond what befitted a man to have, and for that impiety against God which was implied therein. So he abode out of the city for some time, and lived a private life, while his son Jotham took the government; after which he died with grief and anxiety at what had happened to him, when he had lived sixty-eight years, and reigned of them fifty-two; and was buried by himself in his own gardens.

XI

CHAPTER 11. How Zachariah Shallum, Menahem Pekahiah And Pekah Took The Government Over The Israelites; And How Pul And Tiglath-Pileser Made An Expedition Against The Israelites. How Jotham, The Son Of Uzziah Reigned Over The Tribe Of Judah; And What Things Nahum Prophesied Against The Assyrians.

(1) [228] Ὁ δὲ τοῦ Ἱεροβάμου παῖς Ζαχαρίας ἓξ μῆνας βασιλεύσας τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν δολοφονηθεὶς ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ φίλου τινὸς Σελλήμου μὲν τοὔνομα Ἰαβήσου δὲ υἱοῦ, ὃς καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν μετ᾽ αὐτὸν παραλαβὼν οὐ πλείονα χρόνον ἡμερῶν αὐτὴν κατέσχε τριάκοντα. [229] ὁ γὰρ στρατηγὸς Μαναῆμος κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ὢν ἐν Θάρσῃ πόλει καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ζαχαρίαν ἀκούσας ἄρας μετὰ πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Σαμάρειαν, καὶ συμβαλὼν εἰς μάχην ἀναιρεῖ τὸν Σέλλημον καὶ βασιλέα καταστήσας ἑαυτὸν ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Θαψὰν παραγίνεται πόλιν. [230] οἱ δ᾽ ἐν αὐτῇ τὰς πύλας μοχλῷ κλείσαντες οὐκ εἰσεδέξαντο τὸν βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ ἀμυνόμενος αὐτοὺς τὴν πέριξ ἐδῄου χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος λαμβάνει πολιορκίᾳ. [231] φέρων δὲ χαλεπῶς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν Θαψίων πραχθεῖσι πάντας αὐτοὺς διεχρήσατο μηδὲ νηπίων φεισάμενος ὠμότητος ὑπερβολὴν οὐ καταλιπὼν οὐδὲ ἀγριότητος: ἃ γὰρ οὐδὲ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων τινὰς συγγνωστὸν διαθεῖναι γενομένους ὑποχειρίους, ταῦτα τοὺς ὁμοφύλους οὗτος εἰργάσατο. [232] βασιλεύσας οὖν τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ὁ Μαναῆμος ἐπ᾽ ἔτη μὲν δέκα σκαιὸς καὶ πάντων ὠμότατος διέμενεν ὤν, στρατεύσαντος δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν Φούλου τοῦ Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέως εἰς μὲν ἀγῶνα καὶ μάχην οὐκ ἀπαντᾷ τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις, πείσας δὲ χίλια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου λαβόντα ἀναχωρῆσαι διαλύεται τὸν πόλεμον. [233] τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιον τοῦτο συνήνεγκε τὸ πλῆθος Μαναήμῳ πραχθὲν κατὰ κεφαλὴν δραχμὰς πεντήκοντα. τελευτήσας δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα κηδεύεται μὲν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ, καταλείπει δὲ τῆς βασιλείας τὸν υἱὸν Φακέαν διάδοχον, ὃς τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς κατακολουθήσας ὠμότητι δυσὶν ἔτεσι μόνοις ἦρξεν. [234] ἔπειτα δολοφονηθεὶς ἐν συμποσίῳ μετὰ φίλων ἀπέθανε Φακέου τινός, ὃς ἦν χιλίαρχος, ἐπιβουλεύσαντος αὐτῷ, παιδὸς δὲ Ῥομελία. κατασχὼν δὲ καὶ οὗτος ὁ Φακέας τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔτεσιν εἴκοσιν ἀσεβής τε ἦν καὶ παράνομος. [235] ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς Θαγλαθφαλλάσαρ τοὔνομα ἐπιστρατευσάμενος τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις καὶ τήν τε Γαλαδηνὴν ἅπασαν καταστρεψάμενος καὶ τὴν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου χώραν καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτῇ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν καλουμένην καὶ Κύδισσα καὶ Ἄσωρα

τοὺς οἰκήτορας αἰχμαλωτίσας μετέστησεν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέως ἐν τούτοις ἡμῖν δεδηλώσθω.

1. Now when Zachariah, the son of Jeroboam, had reigned six months over Israel, he was slain by the treachery of a certain friend of his, whose name was Shallum, the son of Jabesh, who took the kingdom afterward, but kept it no longer than thirty days; for Menahem, the general of his army, who was at that time in the city Tirzah, and heard of what had befallen Zachariah, removed thereupon with all his forces to Samaria, and joining battle with Shallum, slew him; and when he had made himself king, he went thence, and came to the city Tiphsah; but the citizens that were in it shut their gates, and barred them against the king, and would not admit him: but in order to be avenged on them, he burnt the country round about it, and took the city by force, upon a siege; and being very much displeased at what the inhabitants of Tiphsah had done, he slew them all, and spared not so much as the infants, without omitting the utmost instances of cruelty and barbarity; for he used such severity upon his own countrymen, as would not be pardonable with regard to strangers who had been conquered by him. And after this manner it was that this Menahem continued to reign with cruelty and barbarity for ten years. But when Pul, king of Assyria, had made an expedition against him, he did not think meet to fight or engage in battle with the Assyrians, but he persuaded him to accept of a thousand talents of silver, and to go away, and so put an end to the war. This sum the multitude collected for Menahem, by exacting fifty drachme as poll-money for every head; after which he died, and was buried in Samaria, and left his son Pekahiah his successor in the kingdom, who followed the barbarity of his father, and so ruled but two years only, after which he was slain with his friends at a feast, by the treachery of one Pekah, the general of his horse, and the son of Remaliah, who laid snares for him. Now this Pekah held the government twenty years, and proved a wicked man and a transgressor. But the king of Assyria, whose name was Tiglath-Pileser, when he had made an expedition against the Israelites, and had overrun all the land of Gilead, and the region beyond Jordan, and the adjoining country, which is called Galilee, and Kadesh, and Hazor, he made the inhabitants prisoners, and transplanted them into his own kingdom. And so much shall suffice to have related here concerning the king of Assyria.

(2) [236] Ἰωσᾶς δὲ Ὀζία παῖς ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκ μητρὸς μὲν ἀστῆς γεγονὼς καλουμένης δὲ Ἰεράσης. οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐδεμιᾶς ἀρετῆς ἀπελείπετο, ἀλλ᾽ εὐσεβὴς μὲν τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, δίκαιος δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ὑπῆρχεν, ἐπιμελὴς δὲ τῶν κατὰ πόλιν: [237] ὅσα γὰρ ἐπισκευῆς ἐδεῖτο καὶ κόσμου ταῦτα φιλοτίμως ἐξειργάσατο, στοὰς μὲν τὰς ἐν τῷ ναῷ ἱδρύσας καὶ

προπύλαια, τὰ δὲ καταπεπτωκότα τῶν τειχῶν ἀνέστησε πύργους παμμεγέθεις καὶ δυσαλώτους οἰκοδομήσας, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἴ τι κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν ἠμέλητο πολλὴν ἐπιστροφὴν ἐποιεῖτο. [238] στρατευσάμενος δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμμανίτας καὶ κρατήσας αὐτῶν τῇ μάχῃ προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς φόρους κατὰ πᾶν ἔτος αὐτῷ τελεῖν ἑκατὸν τάλαντα καὶ σίτου κόρους μυρίους, τοσούτους δὲ καὶ κριθῆς. ηὔξησε δ' οὕτω τὴν βασιλείαν, ὥστε ἀκαταφρόνητον μὲν αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων εἶναι, τοῖς δ' οἰκείοις εὐδαίμονα.

2. Now Jotham the son of Uzziah reigned over the tribe of Judah in Jerusalem, being a citizen thereof by his mother, whose name was Jerusha. This king was not defective in any virtue, but was religious towards God, and righteous towards men, and careful of the good of the city [for what part soever wanted to be repaired or adorned he magnificently repaired and adorned them]. He also took care of the foundations of the cloisters in the temple, and repaired the walls that were fallen down, and built very great towers, and such as were almost impregnable; and if any thing else in his kingdom had been neglected, he took great care of it. He also made an expedition against the Ammonites, and overcame them in battle, and ordered them to pay tribute, a hundred talents, and ten thousand cori of wheat, and as many of barley, every year, and so augmented his kingdom, that his enemies could not despise it, and his own people lived happily.

(3) [239] Ἦν δέ τις κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν προφήτης Ναοῦμος ὄνομα, ὃς περὶ τῆς Ἀσσυρίων καταστροφῆς καὶ τῆς Νίνου προφητεύων ἔλεγεν, ὡς ἔσται Νινύας κολυμβήθρα ὕδατος κινουμένη: οὕτως καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἅπας ταρασσόμενος καὶ κλυδωνιζόμενος οἰχήσεται φεύγων λεγόντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους "στῆτε καὶ μείνατε καὶ χρυσὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄργυρον ἁρπάσατε." ἔσται δ' οὐδεὶς βουλησόμενος: [240] σώζειν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐθελήσουσι τὰς ψυχὰς μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ κτήματα: δεινὴ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἔρις ἕξει καὶ θρῆνος πάρεσίς τε τῶν μελῶν, αἵ τε ὄψεις ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου μέλαιναι τελέως αὐτοῖς γενήσονται. [241] ποῦ δὲ ἔσται τὸ κατοικητήριον τῶν λεόντων καὶ ἡ μήτηρ σκύμνων; λέγει δέ σοι ὁ θεός, Νινύα, ὅτι ἀφανιῶ σε καὶ οὐκέτι λέοντες ἐκ [242] σοῦ πορευόμενοι ἐπιτάξουσι τῷ κόσμῳ." καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις ἐπροφήτευσεν οὗτος ὁ προφήτης περὶ Νινύης, ἃ λέγειν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην, ἵνα δὲ μὴ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ὀχληρὸς δοκῶ παρέλιπον. συνέβη δὲ πάντα τὰ προειρημένα περὶ Νινύης μετὰ ἔτη ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα. περὶ μὲν τούτων ἀποχρώντως ἡμῖν δεδήλωται.

3. Now there was at that time a prophet, whose name was Nahum, who spake after this manner concerning the overthrow of the Assyrians and of Nineveh: "Nineveh shall be a pool of water in motion so shall all her people be troubled,

and tossed, and go away by flight, while they say one to another, Stand, stand still, seize their gold and silver, for there shall be no one to wish them well, for they will rather save their lives than their money; for a terrible contention shall possess them one with another, and lamentation, and loosing of the members, and their countenances shall be perfectly black with fear. And there will be the den of the lions, and the mother of the young lions! God says to thee, Nineveh, that they shall deface thee, and the lion shall no longer go out from thee to give laws to the world." And indeed this prophet prophesied many other things besides these concerning Nineveh, which I do not think necessary to repeat, and I here omit them, that I may not appear troublesome to my readers; all which thing happened about Nineveh a hundred and fifteen years afterward: so this may suffice to have spoken of these matters.

XII

CHAPTER 12. How Upon The Death Of Jotham, Ahaz Reigned In His Stead; Against Whom Rezin, King Of Syria And Pekah King Of Israel, Made War; And How Tiglath-Pileser, King Of Assyria Came To The Assistance Of Ahaz, And Laid Syria Waste And Removing The Damascenes Into Media Placed Other Nations In Their Room.

(1) [243] Ὁ δὲ Ἰώθαμος μετήλλαξεν ἔτη βιώσας ἓν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα βασιλεύσας δ᾽ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἑκκαίδεκα, θάπτεται δὲ ἐν ταῖς βασιλικαῖς θήκαις. ἔρχεται δ᾽ εἰς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἄχαζον ἡ βασιλεία, ὃς ἀσεβέστατος εἰς τὸν θεὸν γενόμενος καὶ τοὺς πατρίους παραβὰς νόμους τοὺς Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέας ἐμιμήσατο βωμοὺς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀναστήσας καὶ θύων ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν τοῖς εἰδώλοις, οἷς καὶ ἴδιον ὡλοκαύτωσε παῖδα κατὰ τὰ Χαναναίων ἔθη, καὶ τούτοις ἄλλα παραπλήσια διεπράττετο. [244] ἔχοντος δ᾽ οὕτως καὶ μεμηνότος ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁ τῶν Σύρων καὶ Δαμασκηνῶν βασιλεὺς Ῥαασὴς καὶ Φακέας ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν: φίλοι γὰρ ἦσαν: καὶ συνελάσαντες αὐτὸν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐπὶ πολὺν ἐπολιόρκουν χρόνον διὰ τὴν τῶν τειχῶν ὀχυρότητα μηδὲν ἀνύοντες. [245] ὁ δὲ τῶν Σύρων βασιλεὺς λαβὼν τὴν πρὸς τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσσῃ πόλιν Ἠλαθοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἀποκτείνας ἐγκατῴκισεν αὐτῇ Σύρους. τοὺς δ᾽ ἐντοῖς φρουρίοις ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς πέριξ Ἰουδαίους διαφθείρας καὶ λείαν πολλὴν ἀπελάσας εἰς Δαμασκὸν μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀνέζευξεν. [246] ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν βασιλεὺς γνοὺς τοὺς Σύρους ἐπ᾽ οἴκου κεχωρηκότας καὶ νομίσας ἀξιόμαχος εἶναι τῷ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεῖ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐξήγαγε, καὶ συμβαλὼν ἐνικήθη κατὰ μῆνιν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἣν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀσεβήμασιν αὐτοῦ πολλοῖς ἅμα καὶ μεγάλοις εἶχεν: [247] δώδεκα γὰρ μυριάδες κατ᾽ ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἀνῃρέθησαν, ὧν ὁ στρατηγὸς Ζαχάριν τὸν υἱὸν ἀπέκτεινεν ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀχάζου Ἀμασίας ὄνομα, καὶ τὸν ἐπίτροπον τῆς βασιλείας ἁπάσης Ἐρκὰμ καὶ τὸν τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς στρατηγὸν Ἐλικὰν αἰχμάλωτον ἔλαβον, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας ἀπήγαγον, καὶ πολλὴν λείαν διαρπάσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς Σαμάρειαν.

1. Now Jotham died when he had lived forty-one years, and of them reigned sixteen, and was buried in the sepulchers of the kings; and the kingdom came to his son Ahaz, who proved most impious towards God, and a transgressor of the

laws of his country. He imitated the kings of Israel, and reared altars in Jerusalem, and offered sacrifices upon them to idols; to which also he offered his own son as a burnt-offering, according to the practices of the Canaanites. His other actions were also of the same sort. Now as he was going on in this mad course, Rezin, the king of Syria and Damascus, and Pekah, the king of Israel, who were now at amity one with another, made war with him; and when they had driven him into Jerusalem, they besieged that city a long while, making but a small progress, on account of the strength of its walls; and when the king of Syria had taken the city Elath, upon the Red Sea, and had slain the inhabitants, he peopled it with Syrians; and when he had slain those in the [other] garrisons, and the Jews in their neighborhood, and had driven away much prey, he returned with his army back to Damascus. Now when the king of Jerusalem knew that the Syrians were returned home, he, supposing himself a match for the king of Israel, drew out his army against him, and joining battle with him was beaten; and this happened because God was angry with him, on account of his many and great enormities. Accordingly there were slain by the Israelites one hundred and twenty thousand of his men that day, whose general, Amaziah by name, slew Zechariah the king's son, in his conflict with Ahaz, as well as the governor of the kingdom, whose name was Azricam. He also carried Elkanah, the general of the troops of the tribe of Judah, into captivity. They also carried the women and children of the tribe of Benjamin captives; and when they had gotten a great deal of prey, they returned to Samaria.

(2) [248] Ὠδηδὰς δέ τις, ὃς κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ προφήτης ὑπῆρχεν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ, τῷ στρατῷ πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἀπαντήσας μεγάλῃ βοῇ τὴν νίκην αὐτοῖς οὐ διὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ἰσχὺν αὐτῶν ἐδήλου γενέσθαι, διὰ δὲ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ χόλον, ὃν εἶχεν ἐπ᾽ Ἄχαζον τὸν βασιλέα. [249] καὶ κατεμέμφετο τῇ μὲν εὐπραγίᾳ τῇ κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ μὴ ἀρκεσθέντας, ἀλλὰ τολμήσαντας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς καὶ Βενιαμίτιδος συγγενεῖς ὄντας αἰχμαλωτίσαι. συνεβούλευέ τε αὐτοῖς ἀπολῦσαι τούτους εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπαθεῖς: ἀπειθήσαντας γὰρ τῷ θεῷ δίκην ὑφέξειν. [250] ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν λαὸς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συνελθὼν ἐπεσκέπτετο περὶ τούτων. ἀναστὰς δέ τις Βαραχίας ὄνομα τῶν εὐδοκιμούντων ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ ἄλλοι μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ τρεῖς ἔλεγον οὐκ ἐπιτρέψειν τοῖς ὁπλίταις εἰσαγαγεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἵνα μὴ πάντες ἀπολώμεθα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ: μόνον γὰρ ἀπόχρη τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡμᾶς ἐξαμαρτεῖν, ὡς οἱ προφῆται λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ καινότερα τούτων ἀσεβήματα [251] δρᾶν.᾽᾽ ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατιῶται συνεχώρησαν ἐκείνοις ποιεῖν ὃ ἐδόκει συμφέρειν. παραλαβόντες οὖν οἱ προειρημένοι ἄνδρες τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἔλυσάν τε καὶ ἐπιμελείας ἠξίωσαν καὶ δόντες ἐφόδια εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπέλυσαν

ἀβλαβεῖς, οὐδὲν δ᾽ ἧττον καὶ τέσσαρες αὐτοῖς συνῆλθον καὶ μέχρις Ἰεριχοῦντος προπέμψαντες οὐκ ἄπωθεν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἀνέστρεψαν εἰς Σαμάρειαν.

2. Now there was one Obed, who was a prophet at that time in Samaria; he met the army before the city walls, and with a loud voice told them that they had gotten the victory not by their own strength, but by reason of the anger God had against king Ahaz. And he complained that they were not satisfied with the good success they had had against him, but were so bold as to make captives out of their kinsmen the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. He also gave them counsel to let them go home without doing them any harm, for that if they did not obey God herein, they should be punished. So the people of Israel came together to their assembly, and considered of these matters, when a man whose name was Berechiah, and who was one of chief reputation in the government, stood up, and the others with him, and said, "We will not suffer the citizens to bring these prisoners into the city, lest we be all destroyed by God; we have sins enough of our own that we have committed against him, as the prophets assure us; nor ought we therefore to introduce the practice of new crimes." When the soldiers heard that, they permitted them to do what they thought best. So the forenamed men took the captives, and let them go, and took care of them, and gave them provisions, and sent them to their own country, without doing them any harm. However, these four went along with them, and conducted them as far as Jericho, which is not far from Jerusalem, and returned to Samaria.

(3) [252] Ἄχαζος δ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς ταῦτα παθὼν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν πέμψας πρὸς τὸν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέα Θαγλαθφαλλασάρην συμμαχίαν αὐτὸν παρασχεῖν παρεκάλει πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας καὶ Σύρους καὶ Δαμασκηνοὺς χρήματα πολλὰ δώσειν ὑπισχνούμενος, ἔπεμψε δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ λαμπρὰς δωρεάς. [253] ὁ δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων ἀφικομένων ὡς αὐτὸν ἦκε σύμμαχος Ἀχάζῳ, καὶ στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τοὺς Σύρους τήν τε χώραν αὐτῶν ἐπόρθησε καὶ τὴν Δαμασκὸν κατὰ κράτος εἶλε καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Ἀρασὴν ἀπέκτεινε. τοὺς δὲ Δαμασκηνοὺς ἀπῴκισεν εἰς τὴν ἄνω Μηδίαν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων μεταστήσας τινὰς εἰς τὴν Δαμασκὸν κατῴκισε. [254] τὴν δὲ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν γῆν κακώσας πολλοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς αἰχμαλώτους συνέλαβε. ταῦτ᾽ αὐτοῦ διαπραξαμένου τοὺς Σύρους ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄρας τὸν χρυσὸν ὃς ἦν ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς θησαυροῖς καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον τὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ εἴ τι κάλλιστον ἀνάθημα, τοῦτο βαστάσας ἦκεν ἔχων εἰς Δαμασκὸν καὶ ἔδωκε τῷ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεῖ κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας: καὶ πάντων αὐτῷ χάριν ἔχειν ὁμολογήσας ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. [255] ἦν δ᾽ οὕτως ἀνόητος καὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἀσυλλόγιστος ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὥστε οὐδὲ πολεμούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Σύρων ἐπαύσατο τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῶν προσκυνῶν, ἀλλὰ διετέλει τούτους σεβόμενος ὡς παρεξομένους αὐτῷ τὴν νίκην.

[256] ἡττηθεὶς δὲ πάλιν τοὺς Ἀσσυρίων ἤρξατο τιμᾶν θεοὺς καὶ πάντας ἐῴκει μᾶλλον τιμήσων ἢ τὸν πατρῷον καὶ ἀληθῶς θεόν, ὃς αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ἥττης ὀργιζόμενος ἦν αἴτιος. [257] ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δ' ὀλιγωρίας καὶ καταφρονήσεως ἦλθεν, ὡς καὶ τέλεον ἀποκλεῖσαι τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὰς νενομισμένας ἀπαγορεῦσαι θυσίας ἐπιφέρειν καὶ περιδῦσαι τῶν ἀναθημάτων αὐτόν. ταῦθ' ὑβρίσας τὸν θεὸν ἐτελεύτησεν ἔτη μὲν βιώσας ἓξ καὶ τριάκοντα, βασιλεύσας δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν ἑκκαίδεκα, τὸν δ' υἱὸν Ἐζεκίαν διάδοχον καταλιπών.

3. Hereupon king Ahaz, having been so thoroughly beaten by the Israelites, sent to Tiglath-Pileser, king of the Assyrians, and sued for assistance from him in his war against the Israelites, and Syrians, and Damascenes, with a promise to send him much money; he sent him also great presents at the same time. Now this king, upon the reception of those ambassadors, came to assist Ahaz, and made war upon the Syrians, and laid their country waste, and took Damascus by force, and slew Rezin their king, and transplanted the people of Damascus into the Upper Media, and brought a colony of Assyrians, and planted them in Damascus. He also afflicted the land of Israel, and took many captives out of it. While he was doing thus with the Syrians, king Ahaz took all the gold that was in the king's treasures, and the silver, and what was in the temple of God, and what precious gifts were there, and he carried them with him, and came to Damascus, and gave it to the king of Assyria, according to his agreement. So he confessed that he owed him thanks for all he had done for him, and returned to Jerusalem. Now this king was so sottish and thoughtless of what was for his own good, that he would not leave off worshipping the Syrian gods when he was beaten by them, but he went on in worshipping them, as though they would procure him the victory; and when he was beaten again, he began to honor the gods of the Assyrians; and he seemed more desirous to honor any other gods than his own paternal and true God, whose anger was the cause of his defeat; nay, he proceeded to such a degree of despite and contempt [of God's worship], that he shut up the temple entirely, and forbade them to bring in the appointed sacrifices, and took away the gifts that had been given to it. And when he had offered these indignities to God, he died, having lived thirty-six years, and of them reigned sixteen; and he left his son Hezekiah for his successor.

XIII

CHAPTER 13. How Pekah Died By The Treachery Of Hoshea Who Was A Little After Subdued By Shalmaneser; And How Hezekiah Reigned Instead Of Ahaz; And What Actions Of Piety And Justice He Did.

(1) [258] Ἀπέθανε δ' ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς Φακέας ἐπιβουλεύσαντος αὐτῷ φίλου τινὸς Ὡσήου ὄνομα, ὃς κατασχὼν τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπ' ἔτη ἐννέα πονηρός τε ἦν καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὀλίγωρος. [259] στρατεύει δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς Σαλμανάσσας καὶ κρατήσας αὐτοῦ, τὸν γὰρ θεὸν οὐκ εἶχεν Ὡσῆος εὐμενῆ, καὶ σύμμαχον ἐποιήσατο καὶ φόρους ἐπέταξεν αὐτῷ τελεῖν ὡρισμένους. [260] ἔτει δὲ τετάρτῳ Ὡσήου τῆς βασιλείας ἐβασίλευσεν Ἐζεκίας ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἀχάζου υἱὸς καὶ Ἀβίας ἀστῆς τὸ γένος. φύσις δ' ἦν αὐτῷ χρηστὴ καὶ δικαία καὶ εὐσεβής: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο πρῶτον εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν παρελθὼν οὐδ' ἀναγκαιότερον οὐδὲ συμφορώτερον αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ὑπέλαβε τοῦ θρησκεύειν τὸν θεόν, ἀλλὰ συγκαλέσας τὸν λαὸν καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς Ληουίτας ἐδημηγόρησεν ἐν αὐτοῖς λέγων: [261] "οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε μέν, ὡς διὰ τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ἁμαρτίας τοὐμοῦ παραβάντος τὴν πρὸς θεὸν ὁσίαν καὶ τιμὴν πολλῶν ἐπειράθητε καὶ μεγάλων κακῶν, διαφθαρέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ ἀναπεισθέντες οὓς αὐτὸς ἐδοκίμαζεν εἶναι θεοὺς τούτοις προσκυνεῖν: [262] παραινῶ δὲ ὑμῖν ἔργῳ μεμαθηκότας, ὡς ἔστι δεινὸν τὸ ἀσεβεῖν, τούτου μὲν ἤδη λήθην ποιήσασθαι, καθᾶραι δ' αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν προτέρων μιασμάτων τούς τε ἱερεῖς καὶ Ληουίτας καὶ συνελθόντας οὕτως ἀνοῖξαι τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ καθάραντας αὐτὸ ταῖς ἐξ ἔθους θυσίαις εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν καὶ πάτριον ἀνακαλέσασθαι τιμήν. οὕτως γὰρ τὸν θεὸν εὐμενῆ ποιήσαιμεν ἀφέντα τὴν ὀργήν."

1. About the same time Pekah, the king of Israel, died by the treachery of a friend of his, whose name was Hoshea, who retained the kingdom nine years' time, but was a wicked man, and a despiser of the Divine worship; and Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria, made an expedition against him, and overcame him, [which must have been because he had not God favorable nor assistant to him,] and brought him to submission, and ordered him to pay an appointed tribute. Now, in the fourth year of the reign of Hoshea, Hezekiah, the son of Ahaz, began to reign in Jerusalem; and his mother's name was Abijah, a citizen of Jerusalem. His nature was good, and righteous, and religious; for when he came to the kingdom, he thought that nothing was prior, or more necessary, or more advantageous to

himself, and to his subjects, than to worship God. Accordingly, he called the people together, and the priests, and the Levites, and made a speech to them, and said, “You are not ignorant how, by the sins of my father, who transgressed that sacred honor which was due to God, you have had experience of many and great miseries, while you were corrupted in your mind by him, and were induced to worship those which he supposed to be gods; I exhort you, therefore, who have learned by sad experience how dangerous a thing impiety is, to put that immediately out of your memory, and to purify yourselves from your former pollutions, and to open the temple to these priests and Levites who are here convened, and to cleanse it with the accustomed sacrifices, and to recover all to the ancient honor which our fathers paid to it; for by this means we may render God favorable, and he will remit the anger he hath had to us.”

(2) [263] Ταῦτ’ εἰπόντος τοῦ βασιλέως οἱ ἱερεῖς ἀνοίγουσί τε τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἀνοίξαντες τὰ σκεύη τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὰ μιάσματα ἐκβαλόντες τὰς ἐξ ἔθους τῷ βωμῷ θυσίας ἐπέφερον. διαπέμψας δ’ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν ὑπ’ αὐτὸν χώραν ἐκάλει τὸν λαὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τὴν τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτὴν ἄξοντα: πολὺν γὰρ ἐκλελοίπει χρόνον διὰ τὰς τῶν προειρημένων βασιλέων παρανομίας. [264] ἐξαπέστειλε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας προτρεπόμενος αὐτοὺς ἀφέντας τὸν ἄρτι βίον εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐπανελθεῖν συνήθειαν καὶ σέβειν τὸν θεόν: καὶ γὰρ ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτοῖς παραγενομένοις εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τὴν τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτὴν ἄγειν καὶ συμπανηγυρίζειν αὐτοῖς. ταῦτα δ’ ἔλεγε παραινεῖν, οὐχ ὅπως ὑπακούσωσιν αὐτοῦ εἰ μὴ θέλουσι, τοῦ δ’ ἐκείνοις συμφέροντος ἕνεκα: μακαρίους γὰρ ἔσεσθαι. [265] οἱ δὲ Ἰσραηλῖται παραγενομένων τῶν πρέσβεων καὶ δηλωσάντων αὐτοῖς τὰ παρὰ τοῦ ἰδίου βασιλέως οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐπείσθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις ὡς ἀνοήτους ἐχλεύασαν, καὶ τοὺς προφήτας δὲ ὁμοίως ταῦτα παραινοῦντας καὶ προλέγοντας ἃ πείσονται μὴ μεταθέμενοι πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν τοῦ θεοῦ διέπτυον καὶ τελευταῖον συλλαβόντες αὐτοὺς ἀπέκτειναν. [266] καὶ οὐδὲ μέχρι τούτων αὐτοῖς ἤρκεσε παρανομοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ χείρω τῶν προειρημένων ἐπενοοῦντο καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσαντο, πρὶν ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτοὺς ἀμυνόμενος τῆς ἀσεβείας ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν ὑποχειρίους. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων αὖθις δηλώσομεν. [267] πολλοὶ μέντοι τῆς Μανασσίτιδος φυλῆς καὶ Ζαβούλου καὶ Ἰσσαχάρου πεισθέντες οἷς οἱ προφῆται παρήνεσαν εἰς εὐσέβειαν μετεβάλοντο. καὶ οὗτοι πάντες εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς Ἐζεκίαν συνέδραμον, ὅπως τῷ θεῷ προσκυνήσωσιν.

2. When the king had said this, the priests opened the temple; and when they had set in order the vessels of God, and east out what was impure, they laid the accustomed sacrifices upon the altar. The king also sent to the country that was under him, and called the people to Jerusalem to celebrate the feast of

unleavened bread, for it had been intermitted a long time, on account of the wickedness of the forementioned kings. He also sent to the Israelites, and exhorted them to leave off their present way of living, and return to their ancient practices, and to worship God, for that he gave them leave to come to Jerusalem, and to celebrate, all in one body, the feast of unleavened bread; and this he said was by way of invitation only, and to be done of their own good-will, and for their own advantage, and not out of obedience to him, because it would make them happy. But the Israelites, upon the coming of the ambassadors, and upon their laying before them what they had in charge from their own king, were so far from complying therewith, that they laughed the ambassadors to scorn, and mocked them as fools: as also they affronted the prophets, which gave them the same exhortations, and foretold what they would suffer if they did not return to the worship of God, insomuch that at length they caught them, and slew them; nor did this degree of transgressing suffice them, but they had more wicked contrivances than what have been described: nor did they leave off, before God, as a punishment for their impiety, brought them under their enemies: but of that more hereafter. However, many there were of the tribe of Manasseh, and of Zebulon, and of Issachar, who were obedient to what the prophets exhorted them to do, and returned to the worship of God. Now all these came running to Jerusalem, to Hezekiah, that they might worship God [there].

(3) [268] Ἀφικομένων δὲ τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἐζεκίας ἀναβὰς εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ἔθυσεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ταύρους ἑπτὰ καὶ κριοὺς τοσούτους καὶ ἄρνας ἑπτὰ καὶ ἐρίφους τοσούτους. ἐπιθέντες δὲ τὰς χεῖρας ταῖς κεφαλαῖς τῶν ἱερείων αὐτός τε ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καλλιερεῖν ἐφῆκαν. [269] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔθυόν τε καὶ ὠλοκαύτουν, οἱ δὲ Λευῖται περιεστῶτες ἐν κύκλῳ μετὰ τῶν μουσικῶν ὀργάνων ᾖδον ὕμνους εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἔψαλλον ὡς ἐδιδάχθησαν ὑπὸ Δαυίδου, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἱερεῖς βυκάνας ἔχοντες ἐπεσάλπιζον τοῖς ὑμνῳδοῦσι. τούτων δὲ γινομένων ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ῥίψαντες αὐτοὺς ὅ τε βασιλεὺς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος προσεκύνουν τὸν θεόν. [270] ἔπειτα θύει μὲν βοῦς ἑβδομήκοντα κριοὺς ἑκατὸν ἄρνας διακοσίους, τῷ πλήθει δὲ πρὸς εὐωχίαν ἐχαρίσατο βοῦς μὲν ἑξακοσίους τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ θρέμματα τρισχίλια: καὶ πάντα μὲν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἀκολούθως ἐποίησαν τῷ νόμῳ. τούτοις δ’ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡδόμενος εὐωχεῖτο μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ τῷ θεῷ χάριν ἔχειν ὁμολογῶν. [271] ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτῆς θύσαντες τὴν λεγομένην φάσκα τὰς ἄλλας τὸ λοιπὸν θυσίας ἐπετέλουν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἑπτά. τῷ δὲ πλήθει πάρεξ ὧν ἐκαλλιέρησαν αὐτοὶ ταύρους μὲν δισχιλίους θρέμματα δὲ ἑπτακισχίλια ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐχαρίσατο. τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἐποίησαν: χιλίους μὲν γὰρ ταύρους ἔδοσαν αὐτοῖς θρέμματα δὲ χίλια καὶ τεσσαράκοντα. [272] καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀπὸ Σολόμωνος τοῦ

βασιλέως οὐκ ἀχθεῖσα ἡ ἑορτὴ τότε πρῶτον λαμπρῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως ἐπετελέσθη. ὡς δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν αὐτοῖς πέρας εἶχεν, ἐξελθόντες εἰς τὴν χώραν ἤγνισαν αὐτήν: [273] καὶ τὴν πόλιν δὲ παντὸς ἐκάθηραν μιάσματος εἰδώλων, τάς τε καθημερινὰς θυσίας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιτελεῖσθαι διέταξε κατὰ τὸν νόμον, καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ Ληουίταις τὰς δεκάτας ὥρισε παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους δίδοσθαι καὶ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τῶν καρπῶν, ἵν' ἀεὶ τῇ θρησκείᾳ παραμένωσι καὶ τῆς θεραπείας ὦσιν ἀχώριστοι τοῦ θεοῦ. [274] καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος συνεισέφερε παντοδαπὸν καρπὸν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ Λευίταις, ἀποθήκας δὲ καὶ ταμιεῖα τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς κατασκευάσας ἑκάστῳ διένειμε τῶν ἱερέων καὶ Ληουιτῶν καὶ παισὶν αὐτῶν καὶ γυναιξί: [275] καὶ οὕτω πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν θρησκείαν ἐπανῆλθον. ταῦτα δὲ τὸν προειρημένον τρόπον ὁ βασιλεὺς καταστησάμενος πόλεμον ἐξήνεγκε πρὸς τοὺς Παλαιστίνους καὶ νικήσας κατέσχεν ἁπάσας ἀπὸ Γάζης μέχρι Γίττης πόλεις τῶν πολεμίων. ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς πέμψας ἠπείλει πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ καταστρέψεσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, εἰ μὴ τοὺς φόρους, οὓς ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ τὸ πρῶτον ἐτέλει, τούτους ἀποδώσει. [276] Ἐζεκίας δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀπειλῶν οὐκ ἐφρόντισ', ἐθάρρει δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ τῷ προφήτῃ Ἡσαίᾳ, παρ' οὗ πάντ' ἀκριβῶς τὰ μέλλοντα ἐπυνθάνετο. καὶ ὧδε μὲν ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐχέτω τὰ περὶ τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως.

3. When these men were come, king Hezekiah went up into the temple, with the rulers and all the people, and offered for himself seven bulls, and as many rams, with seven lambs, and as many kids of the goats. The king also himself, and the rulers, laid their hands on the heads of the sacrifices, and permitted the priests to complete the sacred offices about them. So they both slew the sacrifices, and burnt the burnt-offerings, while the Levites stood round about them, with their musical instruments, and sang hymns to God, and played on their psalteries, as they were instructed by David to do, and this while the rest of the priests returned the music, and sounded the trumpets which they had in their hands; and when this was done, the king and the multitude threw themselves down upon their face, and worshipped God. He also sacrificed seventy bulls, one hundred rams, and two hundred lambs. He also granted the multitude sacrifices to feast upon, six hundred oxen, and three thousand other cattle; and the priests performed all things according to the law. Now the king was so pleased herewith, that he feasted with the people, and returned thanks to God; but as the feast of unleavened bread was now come, when they had offered that sacrifice which is called the passover, they after that offered other sacrifices for seven days. When the king had bestowed on the multitude, besides what they sanctified of themselves, two thousand bulls, and seven thousand other cattle, the same thing was done by the rulers; for they gave them a thousand bulls, and a

thousand and forty other cattle. Nor had this festival been so well observed from the days of king Solomon, as it was now first observed with great splendor and magnificence; and when the festival was ended, they went out into the country and purged it, and cleansed the city of all the pollution of the idols. The king also gave order that the daily sacrifices should be offered, at his own charges, and according to the law; and appointed that the tithes and the first-fruits should be given by the multitude to the priests and Levites, that they might constantly attend upon Divine service, and never be taken off from the worship of God. Accordingly, the multitude brought together all sorts of their fruits to the priests and the Levites. The king also made garners and receptacles for these fruits, and distributed them to every one of the priests and Levites, and to their children and wives; and thus did they return to their old form of Divine worship. Now when the king had settled these matters after the manner already described, he made war upon the Philistines, and beat them, and possessed himself of all the enemy's cities, from Gaza to Gath; but the king of Assyria sent to him, and threatened to overturn all his dominions, unless he would pay him the tribute which his father paid him formerly; but king Hezekiah was not concerned at his threatenings, but depended on his piety towards God, and upon Isaiah the prophet, by whom he inquired and accurately knew all future events. And thus much shall suffice for the present concerning this king Hezekiah.

XIV

CHAPTER 14. How Shalmaneser Took Samaria By Force And How He Transplanted The Ten Tribes Into Media, And Brought The Nation Of The Cutheans Into Their Country [In Their Room].

(1) [277] Σαλμανάσσης δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεύς, ἐπεὶ ἠγγέλη αὐτῷ ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς Ὡσείης πέμψας κρύφα πρὸς Σώαν τὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν τὴν κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ, παροξυνθεὶς ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαμάρειαν ἔτει ἑβδόμῳ τῆς Ὡσήου βασιλείας. [278] οὐ δεξαμένου δ᾽ αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως ἔτεσι πολιορκήσας τρισὶν εἷλε κατὰ κράτος τὴν Σαμάρειαν, ἔνατον μὲν ἔτος Ὡσήου βασιλεύοντος ἕβδομον δὲ Ἐζεκίου τοῦ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν βασιλέως, καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἡγεμονίαν ἄρδην ἠφάνισε καὶ πάντα τὸν λαὸν μετῴκισεν εἰς τὴν Μηδίαν καὶ Περσίδα, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Ὡσῆν ζῶντα ἔλαβε. [279] καὶ μεταστήσας ἄλλα ἔθνη ἀπὸ Χούθου τόπου τινός, ἔστι γὰρ ἐν τῇ Περσίδι ποταμὸς τοῦτ᾽ ἔχων τοὔνομα, κατῴκισεν εἰς τὴν Σαμάρειαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν χώραν. [280] μετῴκησαν οὖν αἱ δέκα φυλαὶ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας μετὰ ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐνακοσίων τεσσαρακονταεπτά, ἀφ᾽ οὗ χρόνου τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐξῆλθον αὐτῶν οἱ πρόγονοι, ὃν δὲ κατέσχον τὴν χώραν ταύτην στρατηγοῦντος Ἰησοῦ ἔστιν ἐτῶν ὀκτακοσίων: ἀφ᾽ οὗ δ᾽ ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ Ῥοβοάμου τοῦ Δαυίδου υἱωνοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἱεροβοάμῳ παρέδοσαν, ὥς μοι καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωται, ἔτη ἐστὶ διακόσια τεσσαράκοντα μῆνες ἑπτὰ ἡμέραι ἑπτά. [281] καὶ τέλος μὲν τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας τοιοῦτο κατέλαβε παραβάντας τοὺς νόμους καὶ παρακούσαντας τῶν προφητῶν, οἳ προύλεγον ταύτην αὐτοῖς τὴν συμφορὰν μὴ παυσαμένοις τῶν ἀσεβημάτων. [282] ἦρξε δ᾽ αὐτοῖς τῶν κακῶν ἡ στάσις, ἣν ἐστασίασαν πρὸς Ῥοβόαμον τὸν Δαυίδου υἱωνὸν Ἱερόβαμον τὸν τούτου δοῦλον αὐτῶν ἀποδείξαντες βασιλέα, ὃς εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἐξαμαρτὼν ἐχθρὸν αὐτοῖς τοῦτο ἐποίησε μιμησαμένοις τὴν ἐκείνου παρανομίαν. ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν ἧς ἦν ἄξιος δίκης ταύτην ὑπέσχεν.

1. When Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria, had it told him, that [Hoshea] the king of Israel had sent privately to So, the king of Egypt, desiring his assistance against him, he was very angry, and made an expedition against Samaria, in the seventh year of the reign of Hoshea; but when he was not admitted [into the city] by the king, he besieged Samaria three years, and took it by force in the ninth year of the reign of Hoshea, and in the seventh year of Hezekiah, king of Jerusalem, and quite demolished the government of the Israelites, and transplanted all the people into Media and Persia among whom he took king

Hoshea alive; and when he had removed these people out of this their land he transplanted other nations out of Cuthah, a place so called, [for there is [still] a river of that name in Persia,] into Samaria, and into the country of the Israelites. So the ten tribes of the Israelites were removed out of Judea nine hundred and forty-seven years after their forefathers were come out of the land of Egypt, and possessed themselves of the country, but eight hundred years after Joshua had been their leader, and, as I have already observed, two hundred and forty years, seven months, and seven days after they had revolted from Rehoboam, the grandson of David, and had given the kingdom to Jeroboam. And such a conclusion overtook the Israelites, when they had transgressed the laws, and would not hearken to the prophets, who foretold that this calamity would come upon them, if they would not leave off their evil doings. What gave birth to these evil doings, was that sedition which they raised against Rehoboam, the grandson of David, when they set up Jeroboam his servant to be their king, when, by sinning against God, and bringing them to imitate his bad example, made God to be their enemy, while Jeroboam underwent that punishment which he justly deserved.

(2) [283] Ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς ἐπῆλθε πολεμῶν τήν τε Συρίαν πᾶσαν τήν τε Φοινίκην, τό τε ὄνομα τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τοῖς Τυρίων ἀρχείοις ἀναγέγραπται: ἐστράτευσε γὰρ ἐπὶ Τύρον βασιλεύοντος αὐτῆς Ἐλουλαίου. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ τούτοις Μένανδρος ὁ τῶν χρονικῶν ποιησάμενος τὴν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ τὰ τῶν Τυρίων ἀρχεῖα μεταφράσας εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν γλῶτταν, ὃς οὕτως ἐδήλωσε: [284] "καὶ Ἐλουλαῖος θεμένων αὐτῷ Πύας ὄνομα ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη τριακονταέξ. οὗτος ἀποστάντων Κιτταίων ἀναπλεύσας προσηγάγετο αὐτοὺς πάλιν. ἐπὶ τούτου Σελάμψας ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς ἐπῆλθε Φοινίκην πολεμῶν ἅπασαν, ὅστις σπεισάμενος εἰρήνην μετὰ πάντων ἀνεχώρησεν ὀπίσω: [285] ἀπέστη τε Τυρίων Σιδὼν καὶ Ἄρκη καὶ ἡ πάλαι Τύρος καὶ πολλαὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις, αἳ τῷ Ἀσσυρίων ἑαυτὰς βασιλεῖ παρέδοσαν. δι' ἃ Τυρίων οὐχ ὑποταγέντων πάλιν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὑπέστρεψε Φοινίκων συμπληρωσάντων αὐτῷ ναῦς ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἐπικώπους ὀκτακοσίους. [286] αἷς ἐπιπλεύσαντες οἱ Τύριοι ναυσὶ δεκαδύο τῶν νεῶν τῶν ἀντιπάλων διασπαρεισῶν λαμβάνουσιν αἰχμαλώτους ἄνδρας εἰς πεντακοσίους: ἐπετάθη δὴ πάντων ἐν Τύρῳ τιμή. [287] διὰ ταῦτ' ἀναζεύξας ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς κατέστησε φύλακας ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν ὑδραγωγείων, οἳ διακωλύσουσι Τυρίους ἀρύεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο ἔτεσι πέντε γενόμενον ἐκαρτέρησαν πίνοντες ἐκ φρεάτων ὀρυκτῶν." καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν τοῖς Τυρίων ἀρχείοις γεγραμμένα κατὰ Σαλμανάσσου τοῦ Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέως ταῦτ' ἐστίν.

2. And now the king of Assyria invaded all Syria and Phoenicia in a hostile manner. The name of this king is also set down in the archives of Tyre, for he made an expedition against Tyre in the reign of Eluleus; and Menander attests to it, who, when he wrote his Chronology, and translated the archives of Tyre into the Greek language, gives us the following history: "One whose name was Eluleus reigned thirty-six years; this king, upon the revolt of the Citteans, sailed to them, and reduced them again to a submission. Against these did the king of Assyria send an army, and in a hostile manner overrun all Phoenicia, but soon made peace with them all, and returned back; but Sidon, and Ace, and Palsetyrus revolted; and many other cities there were which delivered themselves up to the king of Assyria. Accordingly, when the Tyrians would not submit to him, the king returned, and fell upon them again, while the Phoenicians had furnished him with threescore ships, and eight hundred men to row them; and when the Tyrians had come upon them in twelve ships, and the enemy's ships were dispersed, they took five hundred men prisoners, and the reputation of all the citizens of Tyre was thereby increased; but the king of Assyria returned, and placed guards at their rivers and aqueducts, who should hinder the Tyrians from drawing water. This continued for five years; and still the Tyrians bore the siege, and drank of the water they had out of the wells they dug." And this is what is written in the Tyrian archives concerning Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria.

(3) [288] Οἱ δὲ μετοικισθέντες εἰς τὴν Σαμάρειαν Χουθαῖοι, ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐχρῶντο μέχρι δεῦρο τῇ προσηγορίᾳ διὰ τὸ ἐκ τῆς Χουθᾶ καλουμένης χώρας μεταχθῆναι, αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Περσίδι καὶ ποταμὸς τοῦτ' ἔχων ὄνομα, ἕκαστοι κατὰ ἔθνος ἴδιον θεὸν εἰς τὴν Σαμάρειαν κομίσαντες, πέντε δ' ἦσαν, καὶ τούτους καθὼς ἦν πάτριον αὐτοῖς σεβόμενοι παροξύνουσι τὸν μέγιστον θεὸν εἰς ὀργὴν καὶ χόλον. [289] λοιμὸν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐνέσκηψεν, ὑφ' οὗ φθειρόμενοι οὐδεμίαν τῶν κακῶν θεραπείαν ἐπινοοῦντες χρησμῷ θρησκεύειν τὸν μέγιστον θεόν, ὡς τοῦτο σωτήριον αὐτοῖς ὄν, ἔμαθον. πέμψαντες οὖν πρὸς τὸν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέα πρέσβεις ἐδέοντο ἱερεῖς αὐτοῖς ὧν ἔλαβεν αἰχμαλώτων τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας πολεμήσας ἀποστεῖλαι. [290] πέμψαντός τε τὰ νόμιμα καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον ὁσίαν διδαχθέντες ἐθρήσκευον αὐτὸν φιλοτίμως καὶ τοῦ λοιμοῦ παραχρῆμα ἐπαύσαντο. χρώμενοί τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔθεσι διατελοῦσιν οἱ κατὰ μὲν τὴν Ἑβραίων γλῶτταν Χουθαῖοι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλήνων Σαμαρεῖται, [291] οἳ πρὸς μεταβολὴν συγγενεῖς μὲν ὄταν εὖ πράττοντας βλέπωσι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀποκαλοῦσιν ὡς ἐξ Ἰωσήπου φύντες καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκεῖθεν τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντες οἰκειότητος, ὅταν δὲ πταίσαντας ἴδωσιν, οὐδαμόθεν αὐτοῖς προσήκειν λέγουσιν οὐδ' εἶναι δίκαιον οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς εὐνοίας ἢ γένους, ἀλλὰ

μετοίκους ἀλλοεθνεῖς ἀποφαίνουσιν αὐτούς. περὶ μὲν τούτων ἔξομεν εὐκαιρότερον εἰπεῖν.

3. But now the Cutheans, who removed into Samaria, [for that is the name they have been called by to this time, because they were brought out of the country called Cuthah, which is a country of Persia, and there is a river of the same name in it,] each of them, according to their nations, which were in number five, brought their own gods into Samaria, and by worshipping them, as was the custom of their own countries, they provoked Almighty God to be angry and displeased at them, for a plague seized upon them, by which they were destroyed; and when they found no cure for their miseries, they learned by the oracle that they ought to worship Almighty God, as the method for their deliverance. So they sent ambassadors to the king of Assyria, and desired him to send them some of those priests of the Israelites whom he had taken captive. And when he thereupon sent them, and the people were by them taught the laws, and the holy worship of God, they worshipped him in a respectful manner, and the plague ceased immediately; and indeed they continue to make use of the very same customs to this very time, and are called in the Hebrew tongue Cutlans, but in the Greek tongue Samaritans. And when they see the Jews in prosperity, they pretend that they are changed, and allied to them, and call them kinsmen, as though they were derived from Joseph, and had by that means an original alliance with them; but when they see them falling into a low condition, they say they are no way related to them, and that the Jews have no right to expect any kindness or marks of kindred from them, but they declare that they are sojourners, that come from other countries. But of these we shall have a more seasonable opportunity to discourse hereafter.

Liber X

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ βίβλῳ *τῶν* Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Στρατεία τοῦ Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέως Σεναχειρίβου ἐπὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ πολιορκία τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν Ἐζεκίου.

β. ὡς ἐφθάρη τὸ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων στράτευμα λοιμικῶς ἐν μιᾷ νυκτὶ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν ἀναζεύξας οἴκαδε ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς τῶν τέκνων ἀπέθανεν.

γ. ὡς τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον μετ᾽ εἰρήνης Ἐζεκίας διαγαγὼν ἐτελεύτησε διάδοχον τῆς βασιλείας Μανασσῆν καταλιπών.

δ. ὅτι στρατεύσαντες ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν οἱ Χαλδαίων καὶ Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεῖς καὶ νικήσαντες αὐτὸν αἰχμάλωτον λαβόντες ἤγαγον εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, καὶ κατασχόντες αὐτόθι πολὺν χρόνον εἰς τὴν [αὐτὴν] βασιλείαν πάλιν ἀπέλυσαν.

ε. ὡς τὸν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα Νεχαῶνα στρατευσάμενον ἐπὶ Βαβυλωνίους καὶ ποιούμενον διὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίας τὴν ὁδὸν κωλύων ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωσίας ὑπαντᾷ: μάχης δὲ γενομένης τραυματίας κομισθεὶς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τελευτᾷ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰωάζην ἀπέδειξαν οἱ Ἱεροσολυμῖται βασιλέα.

ς. ὡς συμβαλὼν ὁ Νεχαὼς τῷ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεῖ κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν καὶ ὑποστρέφων εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἦκεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἰωάζην ἤγαγεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, τὸν δ᾽ ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰωάκειμον ἀνέδειξε βασιλέα τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν.

ζ. Ναβουχοδονοσάρου τοῦ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέως στρατεία εἰς Συρίαν, καὶ ὡς πᾶσαν αὐτὴν καταστρεψάμενος ἄχρι τῶν ὅρων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀνέβη εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν Ἰωάκειμον φίλον ἠνάγκασεν εἶναι καὶ σύμμαχον.

η. ὡς μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τὴν τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου πάλιν ὁ Ἰωάκειμος ἐφρόνησε τὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ στρατεύσας ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁ Ναβουχοδονόσαρος καὶ πολιορκήσας τῆς πόλεως παραδούσης ἑαυτὴν μετὰ χρόνον τὸν μὲν Ἰωάκειμον ἀπέκτεινεν, Ἰωάκειμον δὲ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ κατέστησε βασιλέα: καὶ ὡς πολλὰ χρήματα λαβὼν ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων εὐθέως εἰς Συρίαν ὑπέστρεψεν.

θ. ὅτι μετανοήσας ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν Ἰωάκειμον ποιῆσαι βασιλέα καὶ στρατεύσας ἐπὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐγκρατὴς τοῦ Ἰωακείμου γίνεται παραδόντος αὐτὸν μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῶν φίλων, ὅπως τ᾽ ἔλαβε πολλοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ὁ Βαβυλώνιος καὶ ἀναθήματα βαστάσας ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα τὸν Ἰεχονίου θεῖον Σαχχίαν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν βασιλέα καταστήσας.

ι. ὡς καὶ τοῦτον ἀκούσας βούλεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους συμμαχίαν ποιήσασθαι καὶ φιλίαν στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα κατὰ κράτος αἱρεῖ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐμπρήσας τὸν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν δῆμον καὶ Σεδεκίαν μετῴκισεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα.

ια. ὡς Ναβουχοδονόσαρος τελευτήσας διάδοχον καταλείπει τῆς βασιλείας τὸν υἱόν, καὶ ὡς καταλύεται ἡ τούτων ἀρχὴ ὑπὸ Κύρου τοῦ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλέως.

ιβ. ὅσα συνέβη τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν παρὰ τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν ρπβ μῆνας [στιγμα] ἡμέρας ι.

BOOK X. Containing The Interval Of One Hundred And Eighty-Two Years And A Half. — From The Captivity Of The Ten Tribes To The First Year Of Cyrus.

I

CHAPTER 1. How Sennacherib Made An Expedition Against Hezekiah; What Threatenings Rabshakeh Made To Hezekiah When Sennacherib Was Gone Against The Egyptians; How Isaiah The Prophet Encouraged Him; How Sennacherib Having Failed Of Success In Egypt, Returned Thence To Jerusalem; And How Upon His Finding His Army Destroyed, He Returned Home; And What Befell Him A Little Afterward.

(1) [1] Ἐζεκίου δὲ τοῦ τῶν δύο φυλῶν βασιλέως τέταρτον ἤδη καὶ δέκατον ἔτος τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἔχοντος ὁ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεὺς Σεναχείριμος ὄνομα στρατεύει μετὰ πολλῆς παρασκευῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν κατὰ κράτος τε ἁπάσας αἱρεῖ τὰς πόλεις τὰς τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς καὶ Βενιαμίτιδος. [2] μέλλοντος δ᾽ ἄγειν τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ἐπὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα φθάνει πρεσβευσάμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπακούσεσθαι καὶ φόρον ὃν ἂν τάξῃ τελέσειν ὑπισχνούμενος. Σεναχείριμος δὲ μαθὼν τὰ παρὰ τῶν πρέσβεων ἔγνω μὴ πολεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀξίωσιν προσδέχεται καὶ ἀργυρίου μὲν τάλαντα τριακόσια χρυσίου δὲ τριάκοντα λαβὼν φίλος ἀναχωρήσειν ὡμολόγει πίστεις δοὺς τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ἐνόρκους, ἢ μὴν ἀδικήσας μηδὲν αὐτὸν οὕτως ἀναστρέψειν. [3] ὁ δ᾽ Ἐζεκίας πεισθεὶς καὶ κενώσας τοὺς θησαυροὺς πέμπει τὰ χρήματα νομίζων ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τοῦ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἀγῶνος. [4] ὁ δὲ Ἀσσύριος λαβὼν ταῦτα τῶν μὲν ὡμολογημένων οὐδὲν ἐφρόντισεν, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ᾽ Αἰγυπτίους καὶ Αἰθίοπας, τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν Ῥαψάκην μετὰ πολλῆς ἰσχύος σὺν καὶ δυσὶν ἄλλοις τῶν ἐν τέλει κατέλιπε πορθήσοντας τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. τούτων δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα Θαρατὰ καὶ Ἀράχαρις ἦν.

1. It was now the fourteenth year of the government of Hezekiah, king of the two tribes, when the king of Assyria, whose name was Sennacherib, made an expedition against him with a great army, and took all the cities of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin by force; and when he was ready to bring his army against Jerusalem, Hezekiah sent ambassadors to him beforehand, and promised to submit, and pay what tribute he should appoint. Hereupon Sennacherib, when he heard of what offers the ambassadors made, resolved not to proceed in the war, but to accept of the proposals that were made him; and if he might receive three

hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold, he promised that he would depart in a friendly manner; and he gave security upon oath to the ambassadors that he would then do him no harm, but go away as he came. So Hezekiah submitted, and emptied his treasures, and sent the money, as supposing he should be freed from his enemy, and from any further distress about his kingdom. Accordingly, the Assyrian king took it, and yet had no regard to what he had promised; but while he himself went to the war against the Egyptians and Ethiopians, he left his general Rabshakeh, and two other of his principal commanders, with great forces, to destroy Jerusalem. The names of the two other commanders were Tartan and Rabsaris.

(2) [5] Ὡς δ᾽ ἐλθόντες πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, πέμψαντες πρὸς τὸν Ἐζεκίαν ἠξίουν αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν εἰς λόγους. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπὸ δειλίας οὐ πρόεισι, τρεῖς δὲ τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους φίλους αὐτῷ ἐξέπεμψε, τὸν τῆς βασιλείας ἐπίτροπον Ἐλιακίαν ὄνομα καὶ Σουβαναῖον καὶ Ἰώανον τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων. [6] οὗτοι μὲν οὖν προελθόντες ἀντικρὺ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῆς στρατιᾶς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἔστησαν, θεασάμενος δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὁ στρατηγὸς Ῥαψάκης ἐκέλευσεν ἀπελθόντας Ἐζεκίᾳ λέγειν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς μέγας Σεναχείριμος πυνθάνεται αὐτοῦ, τίνι θαρρῶν καὶ πεποιθὼς φεύγει δεσπότην αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκροάσασθαι μὴ θέλει καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν οὐ δέχεται τῇ πόλει; ἢ διὰ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους τὴν αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν ἐλπίζων ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνων αὐτῶν καταγωνίσασθαι; [7] εἰ δὲ τοῦτο προσδοκᾷ, δηλοῦν αὐτῷ, ὅτι ἀνόητός ἐστι καὶ ὅμοιος ἀνθρώπῳ, ὃς καλάμῳ ἐπερειδόμενος τεθλασμένῳ πρὸς τῷ καταπεσεῖν ἔτι καὶ τὴν χεῖρα διαπαρεὶς ᾔσθετο τῆς βλάβης. εἰδέναι δ᾽ ὅτι καὶ βουλήσει θεοῦ τὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν στρατείαν πεποίηται, ὃς αὐτῷ καταστρέψασθαι καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλείαν δέδωκεν, ἵνα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τοὺς ἀρχομένους [8] ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ διαφθείρῃ.” ταῦτα δὲ τὸν Ῥαψάκην ἑβραιστὶ λέγοντα, τῆς γὰρ γλώττης εἶχεν ἐμπείρως, ὁ Ἐλιάκειμος φοβούμενος, μὴ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπακοῦσαν εἰς ταραχὴν ἐμπέσῃ, συριστὶ φράζειν ἠξίου. συνεὶς δ᾽ ὁ στρατηγὸς τὴν ὑπόνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ δέος μείζονι καὶ διατόρῳ τῇ φωνῇ χρώμενος ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ ἑβραιστὶ λέγειν, ὅπως ἀκούσαντες τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως προστάγματα πάντες τὸ συμφέρον ἕλωνται παραδόντες αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν: [9] δῆλον γὰρ ὡς τὸν λαὸν ὑμεῖς τε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐλπίσι παρακρουόμενοι ματαίαις ἀντέχειν πείθετε. εἰ δὲ θαρρεῖτε καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἡμῶν ἀπώσεσθαι νομίζετε, δισχιλίους ἐκ τῆς ἐμοὶ παρούσης ἵππους ἕτοιμός εἰμι ὑμῖν παρέχειν, οἷς ἰσαρίθμους ἐπιβάτας δόντες ἐμφανίσατε τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν: ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἂν οὕς γε μὴ ἔχετε τούτους δῴητε. [10] τί τοιγαροῦν βραδύνετε παραδιδόναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοῖς κρείττοσι καὶ ληψομένοις ὑμᾶς καὶ μὴ θέλοντας; καίτοι τὸ μὲν ἑκούσιον τῆς παραδόσεως ἀσφαλὲς ὑμῖν, τὸ δὲ ἀκούσιον πολεμουμένοις ἐπικίνδυνον καὶ συμφορῶν αἴτιον φανεῖται.”

2. Now as soon as they were come before the walls, they pitched their camp, and sent messengers to Hezekiah, and desired that they might speak with him; but he did not himself come out to them for fear, but he sent three of his most intimate friends; the name of one was Eliakim, who was over the kingdom, and Shebna, and Joah the recorder. So these men came out, and stood over against the commanders of the Assyrian army; and when Rabshakeh saw them, he bid them go and speak to Hezekiah in the manner following: That Sennacherib, the great king, desires to know of him, on whom it is that he relies and depends, in flying from his lord, and will not hear him, nor admit his army into the city? Is it on account of the Egyptians, and in hopes that his army would be beaten by them? Whereupon he lets him know, that if this be what he expects, he is a foolish man, and like one who leans on a broken reed; while such a one will not only fall down, but will have his hand pierced and hurt by it. That he ought to know he makes this expedition against him by the will of God, who hath granted this favor to him, that he shall overthrow the kingdom of Israel, and that in the very same manner he shall destroy those that are his subjects also. When Rabshakeh had made this speech in the Hebrew tongue, for he was skillful in that language, Eliakim was afraid lest the multitude that heard him should be disturbed; so he desired him to speak in the Syrian tongue. But the general, understanding what he meant, and perceiving the fear that he was in, he made his answer with a greater and a louder voice, but in the Hebrew tongue; and said, that "since they all heard what were the king's commands, they would consult their own advantage in delivering up themselves to us; for it is plain the both you and your king dissuade the people from submitting by vain hopes, and so induce them to resist; but if you be courageous, and think to drive our forces away, I am ready to deliver to you two thousand of these horses that are with me for your use, if you can set as many horsemen on their backs, and show your strength; but what you have not you cannot produce. Why therefore do you delay to deliver up yourselves to a superior force, who can take you without your consent? although it will be safer for you to deliver yourselves up voluntarily, while a forcible capture, when you are beaten, must appear more dangerous, and will bring further calamities upon you."

(3) [11] Ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες ὅ τε δῆμος καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων λέγοντος ἀπήγγειλαν Ἐζεκίᾳ. ὁ δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀποδὺς ἐσθῆτα, ἀμφιασάμενος δὲ σάκκους καὶ σχῆμα ταπεινὸν ἀναλαβὼν τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τὸν θεὸν ἱκέτευε καὶ βοηθῆσαι τῷ μηδεμίαν ἄλλην ἐλπίδα ἔχοντι σωτηρίας ἠντιβόλει. [12] πέμψας δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων τινὰς καὶ τῶν ἱερέων πρὸς Ἡσαίαν τὸν προφήτην ἠξίου δεηθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ποιησάμενον

θυσίας ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν νεμεσῆσαι μὲν ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἐλπίσιν, ἐλεῆσαι δὲ τὸν αὐτοῦ λαόν. [13] ὁ δὲ προφήτης ταῦτα ποιήσας χρηματίσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ παρεθάρρυνεν αὐτόν τε τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν φίλους προλέγων ἀμαχητὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἡττηθέντας ἀναχωρήσειν αἰσχρῶς καὶ οὐχὶ μεθ᾽ οἵου νῦν εἰσι θράσους: [14] τὸν γὰρ θεὸν προνοεῖν ὅπως διαφθαρῶσι: καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἀσσυρίων Σεναχείριμον διαμαρτόντα τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον πραγμάτων καὶ ἐπανερχόμενον εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπολεῖσθαι σιδήρῳ προύλεγεν.

3. When the people, as well as the ambassadors, heard what the Assyrian commander said, they related it to Hezekiah, who thereupon put off his royal apparel, and clothed himself with sackcloth, and took the habit of a mourner, and, after the manner of his country, he fell upon his face, and besought God, and entreated him to assist them, now they had no other hope of relief. He also sent some of his friends, and some of the priests, to the prophet Isaiah, and desired that he would pray to God, and offer sacrifices for their common deliverance, and so put up supplications to him, that he would have indignation at the expectations of their enemies, and have mercy upon his people. And when the prophet had done accordingly, an oracle came from God to him, and encouraged the king and his friends that were about him; and foretold that their enemies should be beaten without fighting, and should go away in an ignominious manner, and not with that insolence which they now show, for that God would take care that they should be destroyed. He also foretold that Sennacherib, the king of Assyria, should fail of his purpose against Egypt, and that when he came home he should perish by the sword.

(4) [15] Ἔτυχε δ᾽ ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ γεγραφὼς τῷ Ἐζεκίᾳ ὁ Ἀσσύριος ἐπιστολάς, ἐν αἷς ἀνόητον μὲν αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν ὑπολαμβάνοντα τὴν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῷ διαφεύξεσθαι δουλείαν ἔθνη πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα κεχειρωμένῳ, ἠπείλει δὲ πανωλεθρίᾳ διαφθερεῖν αὐτὸν παραλαβών, εἰ μὴ τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξας ἑκὼν αὐτοῦ δέξεται τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. [16] ταῦτ᾽ ἀναγνοὺς καταφρονεῖ διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πεποίθησιν, τὰς δ᾽ ἐπιστολὰς πτύξας εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἔσω κατέθετο. πάλιν δὲ τῷ θεῷ τὰς εὐχὰς αὐτοῦ ποιησαμένου περὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς ἁπάντων σωτηρίας Ἡσαίας ὁ προφήτης ἐπήκοον αὐτὸν ἔφασκε γεγονέναι καὶ κατὰ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν μὴ πολιορκηθήσεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύρου, μέλλοντι πάντων ἀδεεῖς τῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ γενομένων γεωργήσειν μετ᾽ εἰρήνης καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιμελήσεσθαι κτημάτων οὐδὲν φοβουμένους. [17] ὀλίγου δὲ χρόνου διελθόντος καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς διαμαρτὼν τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐπιβολῆς ἄπρακτος ἀνεχώρησεν ἐπ᾽ οἴκου δι᾽ αἰτίαν τοιαύτην: πολὺς αὐτῷ χρόνος ἐτρίβετο πρὸς τὴν Πηλουσίου πολιορκίαν, καὶ τῶν χωμάτων ἤδη μετεώρων ὄντων, ἃ πρὸς τοῖς

τείχεσιν ἤγειρε, καὶ ὅσον οὔπω μέλλοντος προσβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἀκούει τὸν τῶν Αἰθιόπων βασιλέα Θαρσικὴν πολλὴν ἄγοντα δύναμιν ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἥκειν διεγνωκότα ποιήσασθαι τὴν πορείαν διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου καὶ ἐξαίφνης εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἐμβαλεῖν. [18] ταραχθεὶς οὖν ὑπὸ τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς Σεναχείριμος ἐΠὶ τὸν ἱερέα τὸν Ἡφαίστου στρατεῦσαι ἔλεγεν ὡς Οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἔλθοι βασιλέα ἱερέα ὄντα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, πολιορκῶν δὲ τὸ Πηλούσιον ἔλυσε τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης: ηὔξατο ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τῷ θεῷ, ᾧ γενόμενος ἐπήκοος ὁ θεὸς πληγὴν ἐνσκήπτει τῷ Ἄραβι: [19] πλανᾶται γὰρ κἀν τούτῳ οὐκ Ἀσσυρίων λέγων τὸν βασιλέα ἀλλ᾽ Ἀράβων: μυῶν γὰρ πλῆθός φησι μιᾷ νυκτὶ τὰ τόξα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὅπλα διαφαγεῖν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὴ ἔχοντα τόξα τὸν βασιλέα τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπάγειν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηλουσίου. [20] καὶ Ἡρόδοτος μὲν οὕτως ἱστορεῖ, Βηρωσὸς δὲ ὁ τὰ Χαλδαικὰ συγγραψάμενος μνημονεύει τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ Σεναχειρίμου, καὶ ὅτι τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἦρχε καὶ ὅτι πάσῃ ἐπεστρατεύσατο τῇ Ἀσίᾳ [καὶ τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ] λέγων οὕτως:

4. About the same time also the king of Assyria wrote an epistle to Hezekiah, in which he said he was a foolish man, in supposing that he should escape from being his servant, since he had already brought under many and great nations; and he threatened, that when he took him, he would utterly destroy him, unless he now opened the gates, and willingly received his army into Jerusalem. When he read this epistle, he despised it, on account of the trust that he had in God; but he rolled up the epistle, and laid it up within the temple. And as he made his further prayers to God for the city, and for the preservation of all the people, the prophet Isaiah said that God had heard his prayer, and that he should not be besieged at this time by the king of Assyria that for the future he might be secure of not being at all disturbed by him; and that the people might go on peaceably, and without fear, with their husbandry and other affairs. But after a little while the king of Assyria, when he had failed of his treacherous designs against the Egyptians, returned home without success, on the following occasion: He spent a long time in the siege of Pelusium; and when the banks that he had raised over against the walls were of a great height, and when he was ready to make an immediate assault upon them, but heard that Tirhaka, king of the Ethiopians, was coming and bringing great forces to aid the Egyptians, and was resolved to march through the desert, and so to fall directly upon the Assyrians, this king Sennacherib was disturbed at the news, and, as I said before, left Pelusium, and returned back without success. Now concerning this Sennacherib, Herodotus also says, in the second book of his histories, how “this king came against the Egyptian king, who was the priest of Vulcan; and that as

he was besieging Pelusium, he broke up the siege on the following occasion: This Egyptian priest prayed to God, and God heard his prayer, and sent a judgment upon the Arabian king." But in this Herodotus was mistaken, when he called this king not king of the Assyrians, but of the Arabians; for he saith that "a multitude of mice gnawed to pieces in one night both the bows and the rest of the armor of the Assyrians, and that it was on that account that the king, when he had no bows left, drew off his army from Pelusium." And Herodotus does indeed give us this history; nay, and Berosus, who wrote of the affairs of Chaldea, makes mention of this king Sennacherib, and that he ruled over the Assyrians, and that he made an expedition against all Asia and Egypt; and says thus:

(5) [21] Ὑποστρέψας δ' ὁ Σεναχείριμος ἀπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων πολέμων εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, καταλαβὼν ἐκεῖ τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ στρατηγῷ Ῥαψάκῃ δύναμιν Τοῦ θεοῦ λοιμικὴν ἐνσκήψαντος αὐτοῦ τῷ στρατῷ νόσον κατὰ τὴν πρώτην νύκτα τῆς πολιορκίας διαφθείρονται μυριάδες ὀκτωκαίδεκα καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι σὺν ἡγεμόσι καὶ ταξιάρχαις. [22] ὑπὸ ταύτης δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς εἰς φόβον καὶ δεινὴν ἀγωνίαν καταστὰς καὶ δείσας περὶ τῷ στρατῷ παντὶ φεύγει μετὰ τῆς λοιπῆς δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν τὴν Νίνου προσαγορευθεῖσαν. [23] καὶ διατρίψας ἐν αὐτῇ ὀλίγον χρόνον δολοφονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων παίδων Ἀνδρομάχου καὶ Σελευκάρου τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον καὶ ἀνετέθη τῷ ἰδίῳ ναῷ Ἀράσκῃ λεγομένῳ. καὶ οἱ μὲν φυγαδευθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἀπῆραν, διαδέχεται δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν μετ' αὐτοὺς καταφρονῶν τοῦ Σεναχειρίμου Ἀσαραχόδδας. καὶ τὸ μὲν τῆς Ἀσσυρίων στρατείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας τέλος τοιοῦτο συνέβη γενέσθαι.

5. "Now when Sennacherib was returning from his Egyptian war to Jerusalem, he found his army under Rabshakeh his general in danger [by a plague], for God had sent a pestilential distemper upon his army; and on the very first night of the siege, a hundred fourscore and five thousand, with their captains and generals, were destroyed. So the king was in a great dread and in a terrible agony at this calamity; and being in great fear for his whole army, he fled with the rest of his forces to his own kingdom, and to his city Nineveh; and when he had abode there a little while, he was treacherously assaulted, and died by the hands of his elder sons, Adrammelech and Seraser, and was slain in his own temple, which was called Araske. Now these sons of his were driven away on account of the murder of their father by the citizens, and went into Armenia, while Assarachoddas took the kingdom of Sennacherib." And this proved to be the conclusion of this Assyrian expedition against the people of Jerusalem.

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CHAPTER 2. How Hezekiah Was Sick, And Ready To Die; And How God Bestowed Upon Him Fifteen Years Longer Life, [And Secured That Promise] By The Going Back Of The Shadow Ten Degrees.

(1) [24] Ἐζεκίας δ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς παραδόξως ἀπαλλαγεὶς τῶν φόβων χαριστηρίους σὺν ἅπαντι τῷ λαῷ θυσίας ἐπετέλεσε τῷ θεῷ, μηδεμιᾶς ἄλλης αἰτίας τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς μὲν διαφθειράσης τοὺς δὲ φόβῳ τῆς ὁμοίας τελευτῆς ἀπαλλαξάσης ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἢ τῆς συμμαχίας τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. [25] πάσῃ δὲ χρησάμενος σπουδῇ καὶ φιλοτιμίᾳ περὶ τὸν θεὸν μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ νόσῳ χαλεπῇ περιπεσὼν ἀπέγνωστο μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν, χρηστὸν δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν προσδοκῶν, οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ φίλοι. τῇ δὲ νόσῳ προσετίθετο καὶ ἀθυμία δεινὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀπαιδίαν λογιζομένου, καὶ ὅτι μέλλοι τελευτᾶν ἔρημον καταλιπὼν τὸν οἶκον καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν γνησίας διαδοχῆς. [26] κάμνων οὖν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐννοίας μάλιστα καὶ ὀδυρόμενος ἱκέτευε τὸν θεὸν αὐτῷ ζωῆς ὀλίγον χρόνον προσεπιδοῦναι μέχρι τέκνων γονῆς, καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἢ πατὴρ γένηται τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτὸν ἐᾶσαι καταλιπεῖν. [27] ἐλεήσας δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τῆς αἰτήσεως ἀποδεξάμενος, ὅτι μὴ διὰ τὸ μέλλειν στέρεσθαι τῶν ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας ἀγαθῶν ὠδύρετο τὴν ὑπονοηθεῖσαν τελευτὴν ἔτι τε χρόνον ζωῆς αὐτῷ δεηθείη παρασχεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ παῖδας αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τοὺς ὑποδεξομένους τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐκείνου, πέμψας Ἡσαίαν τὸν προφήτην ἐκέλευσε δηλοῦν αὐτῷ, ὅτι καὶ διαφεύξεται τὴν νόσον μετὰ τρίτην ἡμέραν καὶ βιώσεται μετ᾽ αὐτὴν ἔτη πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ παῖδες αὐτῷ γενήσονται. [28] ταῦτα τοῦ προφήτου φήσαντος κατ᾽ ἐντολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς νόσου καὶ τὸ παράδοξον τῶν ἀπηγγελμένων ἀπιστῶν σημεῖόν τι καὶ τεράστιον ἠξίου ποιῆσαι τὸν Ἡσαίαν, ἵνα αὐτῷ πιστεύσῃ λέγοντι ταῦτα ἥκοντι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ: τὰ γὰρ παράλογα καὶ μείζω τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῖς ὁμοίοις πιστοῦται πράγμασιν. [29] ἐρωτήσαντος δ᾽ αὐτὸν τί βούλεται σημεῖον γενέσθαι, τὸν ἥλιον ἠξίωσεν, ἐπειδὴ σκιὰν ἐπὶ δέκα βαθμοὺς ἀποκλίνας ἤδη πεποίηκεν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀναστρέψαι τόπον ποιήσας αὐτὴν πάλιν παρασχεῖν. τοῦ δὲ προφήτου τὸν θεὸν παρακαλέσαντος, ὥστε τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτ᾽ ἐπιδεῖξαι τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἰδὼν ὅπερ ἤθελεν εὐθὺς λυθεὶς τῆς νόσου ἄνεισιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τῷ θεῷ προσκυνήσας εὐχὰς ἐποιήσατο.

1. Now king Hezekiah being thus delivered, after a surprising manner, from the dread he was in, offered thank-offerings to God, with all his people, because nothing else had destroyed some of their enemies, and made the rest so fearful of undergoing the same fate that they departed from Jerusalem, but that Divine

assistance. Yet, while he was very zealous and diligent about the worship of God, did he soon afterwards fall into a severe distemper, insomuch that the physicians despaired of him, and expected no good issue of his sickness, as neither did his friends: and besides the distemper itself, there was a very melancholy circumstance that disordered the king, which was the consideration that he was childless, and was going to die, and leave his house and his government without a successor of his own body; so he was troubled at the thoughts of this his condition, and lamented himself, and entreated of God that he would prolong his life for a little while till he had some children, and not suffer him to depart this life before he was become a father. Hereupon God had mercy upon him, and accepted of his supplication, because the trouble he was under at his supposed death was not because he was soon to leave the advantages he enjoyed in the kingdom, nor did he on that account pray that he might have a longer life afforded him, but in order to have sons, that might receive the government after him. And God sent Isaiah the prophet, and commanded him to inform Hezekiah, that within three days' time he should get clear of his distemper, and should survive it fifteen years, and that he should have children also. Now, upon the prophet's saying this, as God had commanded him, he could hardly believe it, both on account of the distemper he was under, which was very sore, and by reason of the surprising nature of what was told him; so he desired that Isaiah would give him some sign or wonder, that he might believe him in what he had said, and be sensible that he came from God; for things that are beyond expectation, and greater than our hopes, are made credible by actions of the like nature. And when Isaiah had asked him what sign he desired to be exhibited, he desired that he would make the shadow of the sun, which he had already made to go down ten steps [or degrees] in his house, to return again to the same place, and to make it as it was before. And when the prophet prayed to God to exhibit this sign to the king, he saw what he desired to see, and was freed from his distemper, and went up to the temple, where he worshipped God, and made vows to him.

(2) [30] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ συνέβη τὴν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Μήδων καταλυθῆναι: δηλώσω δὲ περὶ τούτων ἐν ἑτέροις. ὁ δὲ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεὺς Βαλάδας ὄνομα πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Ἐζεκίαν πρέσβεις δῶρα κομίζοντας σύμμαχόν τε αὐτὸν εἶναι παρεκάλει καὶ φίλον. [31] ὁ δὲ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς ἡδέως ἀποδεξάμενος ἑστιασάμενός τε καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἐπιδείξας αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅπλων παρασκευὴν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πολυτέλειαν, ὅσην ἐν λίθοις εἶχε καὶ χρυσῷ, δῶρά τε δοὺς κομίζειν τῷ Βαλάδῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέλυσεν. [32] Ἡσαίου δὲ τοῦ προφήτου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικομένου καὶ πυνθανομένου πόθεν εἶεν οἱ

παρόντες, ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἔλεγε παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐλθεῖν αὐτούς: ἐπιδεῖξαι δὲ πάντ᾽ αὐτοῖς, ὅπως ἰδόντες τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τούτου στοχαζόμενοι σημαίνειν ἔχωσι τῷ βασιλεῖ. [33] ὁ δὲ προφήτης ὑποτυχών "ἴσθι, φησίν, οὐ μετ᾽ ὀλίγον χρόνον εἰς Βαβυλῶνά σου τοῦτον μετατεθησόμενον τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνους εὐνουχισθησομένους καὶ ἀπολέσαντας τὸ ἄνδρας εἶναι τῷ Βαβυλωνίῳ δουλεύσοντας βασιλεῖ: ταῦτα γὰρ προλέγειν τὸν θεόν. [34] ὁ δ᾽ Ἐζεκίας λυπηθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἔφη μὲν οὐκ ἂν βούλεσθαι τοιαύταις συμφοραῖς τὸ ἔθνος αὐτοῦ περιπεσεῖν, ἐπεὶ δ᾽ οὐκ εἶναι δυνατὸν τὰ τῷ θεῷ δεδογμένα μεταβαλεῖν, ηὔχετο μέχρι τῆς αὐτοῦ ζωῆς εἰρήνην ὑπάρξαι. μνημονεύει δὲ τοῦ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέως Βαλαδᾶ Βηρωσός. [35] ὢν δ᾽ οὗτος ὁ προφήτης θεῖος ὁμολογουμένως καὶ θαυμάσιος τὴν ἀλήθειαν, πεποιθὼς τῷ μηδὲν ὅλως ψευδὲς εἰπεῖν ἅπανθ᾽ ὅσα προεφήτευσεν ἐγγράψας βίβλοις κατέλιπεν ἐκ τοῦ τέλους γνωρισθησόμενα τοῖς αὖθις ἀνθρώποις. καὶ οὐχ οὗτος μόνος ὁ προφήτης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοι δώδεκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν τὸ αὐτὸ ἐποίησαν, καὶ πᾶν εἴ τι φαῦλον γίνεται παρ᾽ ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀποβαίνει προφητείαν. ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν αὖθις ἐξαγγελοῦμεν ἕκαστον.

2. At this time it was that the dominion of the Assyrians was overthrown by the Medes; but of these things I shall treat elsewhere. But the king of Babylon, whose name was Baladan, sent ambassadors to Hezekiah, with presents, and desired he would be his ally and his friend. So he received the ambassadors gladly, and made them a feast, and showed them his treasures, and his armory, and the other wealth he was possessed of, in precious stones and in gold, and gave them presents to be carried to Baladan, and sent them back to him. Upon which the prophet Isaiah came to him, and inquired of him whence those ambassadors came; to which he replied, that they came from Babylon, from the king; and that he had showed them all he had, that by the sight of his riches and forces he might thereby guess at [the plenty he was in], and be able to inform the king of it. But the prophet rejoined, and said, "Know thou, that, after a little while, these riches of thine shall be carried away to Babylon, and thy posterity shall be made eunuchs there, and lose their manhood, and be servants to the king of Babylon; for that God foretold such things would come to pass." Upon which words Hezekiah was troubled, and said that he was himself unwilling that his nation should fall into such calamities; yet since it is not possible to alter what God had determined, he prayed that there might be peace while he lived. Berosus also makes mention of this Baladan, king of Babylon. Now as to this prophet [Isaiah], he was by the confession of all, a divine and wonderful man in speaking truth; and out of the assurance that he had never written what was false, he wrote down all his prophecies, and left them behind him in books, that their

accomplishment might be judged of from the events by posterity: nor did this prophet do so alone, but the others, which were twelve in number, did the same. And whatsoever is done among us, Whether it be good, or whether it be bad, comes to pass according to their prophecies; but of every one of these we shall speak hereafter.

III

CHAPTER 3. How Manasseh Reigned After Hezekiah; And How When He Was In Captivity He Returned To God And Was Restored To His Kingdom And Left It To [His Son] Amon.

(1) [36] Ἐπιβιοὺς δ’ ὃν προειρήκαμεν χρόνον ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἐζεκίας καὶ πάντα τοῦτον ἐν εἰρήνῃ διαγαγὼν τελευτᾷ πεντηκοστὸν μὲν καὶ τέταρτον ἔτος τῆς ζωῆς διανύσας, εἴκοσι δὲ βασιλεύσας καὶ ἐννέα. [37] διαδεξάμενος δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Μανασσῆς ἐκ μητρὸς μὲν Ἐχίβας τοὔνομα πολίτιδος γεγονώς, ἀπέρρηξεν ἑαυτὸν τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐτράπετο πᾶν εἶδος πονηρίας ἐπιδειξάμενος ἐν τῷ τρόπῳ καὶ μηδὲν ἀσεβὲς παραλιπών, ἀλλὰ μιμούμενος τὰς τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν παρανομίας, οἳ εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἁμαρτόντες ἀπώλοντο: μιᾶναι δὲ καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐτόλμησε τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν. [38] ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς εἰς τὸν θεὸν καταφρονήσεως ὁρμώμενος πάντας τοὺς δικαίους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τῶν προφητῶν ἔσχε φειδὼ καὶ τούτων δέ τινας καθ’ ἡμέραν ἀπέσφαζεν, ὥστε αἵματι ῥεῖσθαι τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. [39] λαβὼν οὖν ὀργὴν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ θεὸς πέμπει προφήτας πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸ πλῆθος, δι’ ὧν αὐτοῖς ἠπείλησε τὰς αὐτὰς συμφοράς, αἷς συνέβη περιπεσεῖν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτῶν Ἰσραηλίτας εἰς αὐτὸν ἐξυβρίζοντας. οἱ δὲ τοῖς μὲν λόγοις οὐκ ἐπίστευον, παρ’ ὧν ἠδύναντο κερδῆσαι τὸ μηδενὸς πειραθῆναι κακοῦ, τοῖς δ’ ἔργοις ἔμαθον ἀληθῆ τὰ παρὰ τῶν προφητῶν.

1. When king Hezekiah had survived the interval of time already mentioned, and had dwelt all that time in peace, he died, having completed fifty-four years of his life, and reigned twenty-nine. But when his son Manasseh, whose mother’s name was Hephzibah, of Jerusalem, had taken the kingdom, he departed from the conduct of his father, and fell into a course of life quite contrary thereto, and showed himself in his manners most wicked in all respects, and omitted no sort of impiety, but imitated those transgressions of the Israelites, by the commission of which against God they had been destroyed; for he was so hardy as to defile the temple of God, and the city, and the whole country; for, by setting out from a contempt of God, he barbarously slew all the righteous men that were among the Hebrews; nor would he spare the prophets, for he every day slew some of them, till Jerusalem was overflown with blood. So God was angry at these proceedings, and sent prophets to the king, and to the multitude, by whom he threatened the very same calamities to them which their brethren the Israelites, upon the like affronts offered to God, were now under. But these men would not

believe their words, by which belief they might have reaped the advantage of escaping all those miseries; yet did they in earnest learn that what the prophets had told them was true.

(2) [40] Ὡς γὰρ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπέμενον, πόλεμον ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐκίνει παρά τε τοῦ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων καὶ Χαλδαίων βασιλέως, ὃς στρατιὰν πέμψας εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν τήν τε χώραν αὐτῶν ἐλεηλάτησε καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Μανασσῆν δόλῳ ληφθέντα καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀχθέντα πρὸς ἣν ἠβούλετο τιμωρίαν εἶχεν ὑποχείριον. [41] ὁ δὲ Μανασσῆς τότε συνεὶς ἐν οἵοις κακοῖς ἐστι καὶ πάντων ἑαυτὸν αἴτιον νομίζων ἐδεῖτο τοῦ θεοῦ παρέχειν αὐτῷ φιλάνθρωπον καὶ ἐλεήμονα τὸν πολέμιον. χαρίζεται τοῦτο τῆς ἱκεσίας ἐπακούσας ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ὁ Μανασσῆς ἀπολυθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέως ἀνασώζεται. [42] γενόμενος δ᾽ εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα τῶν μὲν προτέρων ἁμαρτημάτων περὶ τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν μνήμην ἐσπούδαζεν, εἰ δυνατὸν αὐτῷ γένοιτο, τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκβαλεῖν, ὧν ἐπιβουλεύειν ὥρμησε καὶ πάσῃ χρῆσθαι περὶ αὐτὸν δεισιδαιμονίᾳ: καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἥγνισε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκάθηρε καὶ πρὸς μόνῳ τὸ λοιπὸν ἦν τῷ χάριν τε τῆς σωτηρίας ἐκτείνειν τῷ θεῷ καὶ διατηρεῖν αὐτὸν εὐμενῆ παρ᾽ ὅλον τὸν βίον. [43] τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ πράττειν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐδίδασκε μεμαθηκώς, οἷα παρὰ μικρὸν ἐχρήσατο συμφορᾷ διὰ τὴν ἐναντίαν πολιτείαν. ἐπισκευάσας δὲ καὶ τὸν βωμὸν τὰς νομίμους θυσίας ἐπετέλει, καθὼς διέταξε Μωυσῆς. [44] διοικησάμενος δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν θρησκείαν ὃν δεῖ τρόπον καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἀσφαλείας προενόησεν, ὥστε τὰ παλαιὰ τείχη μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπισκευάσας σπουδῆς καὶ ἕτερον αὐτοῖς ἐπιβαλεῖν, ἀναστῆσαί τε καὶ πύργους ὑψηλοτάτους τά τε πρὸ τῆς πόλεως φρούρια τοῖς τ᾽ ἄλλοις καὶ δὴ καὶ σιτίων πάντων τῶν εἰς αὐτὰ χρησίμων ὀχυρώτερα ποιῆσαι. [45] ἀμέλει δὲ τῇ πρὸς ταῦτα μεταβολῇ χρησάμενος οὕτω τὸν μεταξὺ διῆγε βίον, ὡς μακαριστὸς εἶναι καὶ ζηλωτὸς ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου λογιζομένου, ἀφ᾽ οὗ τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβεῖν ἤρξατο. [46] ζήσας οὖν ἔτη ἑξήκοντα ἑπτὰ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον βασιλεύσας ἔτη πέντε καὶ πεντήκοντα. καὶ θάπτεται μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ παραδείσοις, ἡ βασιλεία δὲ εἰς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ παραγίνεται Ἀμμῶνα μητρὸς Ἐμασέλμης μὲν ὄνομα τετυχηκότα, ἐκ δὲ πόλεως Ἰαζαβάτης ὑπαρχούσης.

2. And when they persevered in the same course of life, God raised up war against them from the king of Babylon and Chaldea, who sent an army against Judea, and laid waste the country; and caught king Manasseh by treachery, and ordered him to be brought to him, and had him under his power to inflict what punishment he pleased upon him. But then it was that Manasseh perceived what a miserable condition he was in, and esteeming himself the cause of all, he besought God to render his enemy humane and merciful to him. Accordingly, God heard his prayer, and granted him what he prayed for. So Manasseh was

released by the king of Babylon, and escaped the danger he was in; and when he was come to Jerusalem, he endeavored, if it were possible, to cast out of his memory those his former sins against God, of which he now repented, and to apply himself to a very religious life. He sanctified the temple, and purged the city, and for the remainder of his days he was intent on nothing but to return his thanks to God for his deliverance, and to preserve him propitious to him all his life long. He also instructed the multitude to do the same, as having very nearly experienced what a calamity he was fallen into by a contrary conduct. He also rebuilt the altar, and offered the legal sacrifices, as Moses commanded. And when he had re-established what concerned the Divine worship, as it ought to be, he took care of the security of Jerusalem: he did not only repair the old walls with great diligence, but added another wall to the former. He also built very lofty towers, and the garrisoned places before the city he strengthened, not only in other respects, but with provisions of all sorts that they wanted. And indeed, when he had changed his former course, he so led his life for the time to come, that from the time of his return to piety towards God he was deemed a happy man, and a pattern for imitation. When therefore he had lived sixty-seven years, he departed this life, having reigned fifty-five years, and was buried in his own garden; and the kingdom came to his son Amon, whose mother's name was Meshulemeth, of the city of Jotbath.

IV

CHAPTER 4. How Amon Reigned Instead Of Manasseh; And After Amon Reigned Josiah; He Was Both Righteous And Religious. As Also Concerning Huldah The Prophetess.

(1) [47] Οὗτος μιμησάμενος τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔργα, ἃ νέος ὢν ἐκεῖνος ἐτόλμησεν, ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων οἰκετῶν ἀπέθανεν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας τῆς αὐτοῦ βιώσας ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ εἴκοσι, βασιλεύσας δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν δύο. [48] μετῆλθε δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ πλῆθος τοὺς φονεῖς καὶ τῷ πατρὶ συνθάπτουσι τὸν Ἀμμῶνα, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ Ἰωσίᾳ παραδιδοῦσιν ὀκταετεῖ τὴν ἡλικίαν ὄντι, ᾧ μήτηρ ἐκ πόλεως μὲν ἦν Βοσκέθ, Ἰέδις δὲ τοὔνομα. [49] τὴν δὲ φύσιν αὐτὸς ἄριστος ὑπῆρχε καὶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν εὖ γεγονὼς Δαυίδου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ σκοπῷ καὶ κανόνι τῆς ὅλης περὶ τὸν βίον ἐπιτηδεύσεως ἐκείνῳ κεχρημένος. [50] γενόμενος δὲ ἐτῶν δυοκαίδεκα τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἐπεδείξατο: τὸν γὰρ λαὸν ἐσωφρόνιζε καὶ παρῄνει τῆς περὶ τῶν εἰδώλων δόξης ὡς οὐχὶ θεῶν ὄντων ἀποστάντας σέβειν τὸν πάτριον θεόν, τά τε τῶν προγόνων ἐπισκοπῶν ἔργα τὰ μὲν ἁμαρτηθέντα διώρθου συνετῶς ὡς ἂν πρεσβύτατος καὶ νοῆσαι τὸ δέον ἱκανώτατος, ὅσα δ' εὕρισκεν εὖ γεγονότα κατὰ χώραν ἐφύλαττέ τε καὶ ἐμιμεῖτο. [51] ταῦτα δ' ἔπραττε σοφίᾳ καὶ ἐπινοίᾳ τῆς φύσεως χρώμενος καὶ τῇ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων πειθόμενος συμβουλίᾳ καὶ παραδόσει: τοῖς γὰρ νόμοις κατακολουθῶν ὡς περὶ τὴν τάξιν τῆς πόλεως καὶ περὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείας εὐοδεῖν τε συνέβαινε διὰ τὴν τῶν πρώτων παρανομίαν μὴ τυγχάνειν ἀλλ' ἐξηφανίσθαι: [52] περιιὼν γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν τά τε ἄλση τὰ τοῖς ξενικοῖς ἀνειμένα θεοῖς ἐξέκοψε καὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς αὐτῶν κατέσκαψεν, εἴ τι δ' ἀνάθημα τούτοις ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων ἀνέκειτο περιυβρίζων κατέσπα. [53] καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τὸν λαὸν ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ αὐτοὺς δόξης εἰς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείαν ἐπέστρεψε καὶ τὰς συνήθεις ἐπέφερε θυσίας αὐτοῦ τῷ βωμῷ καὶ τὰς ὁλοκαυτώσεις. ἀπέδειξε δέ τινας κριτὰς καὶ ἐπισκόπους, ὡς ἂν διοικοῖεν τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις πράγματα περὶ παντὸς τὸ δίκαιον ποιούμενοι καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς οὐκ ἔλασσον αὐτὸ περιέποντες. [54] διαπέμψας δὲ κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον τοὺς βουλομένους ἐκέλευε κομίζειν εἰς ἐπισκευὴν τοῦ ναοῦ, ὅσον τις ἢ προαιρέσεως ἢ δυνάμεως ἔχει. [55] κομισθέντων δὲ τῶν χρημάτων τῆς ἐπιμελείας τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τῆς εἰς τοῦτο δαπάνης προύστησε τόν τ' ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως Ἀμασίαν καὶ τὸν γραμματέα Σαφᾶν καὶ τὸν γραφέα τῶν ὑπομνημάτων Ἰωάτην καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ἐλιακίαν, [56] οἳ μηδὲν ὑπερθέσει μηδὲ ἀναβολῇ δόντες ἀρχιτέκτονας καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα πρὸς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν χρήσιμα παρασκευάσαντες

εἴχοντο τῶν ἔργων. καὶ ὁ μὲν ναὸς οὕτως ἐπισκευασθεὶς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως εὐσέβειαν φανερὰν ἐποίησεν.

1. This Amon imitated those works of his father which he insolently did when he was young: so he had a conspiracy made against him by his own servants, and was slain in his own house, when he had lived twenty-four years, and of them had reigned two. But the multitude punished those that slew Amon, and buried him with his father, and gave the kingdom to his son Josiah, who was eight years old. His mother was of the city of Boscath, and her name was Jedidah. He was of a most excellent disposition, and naturally virtuous, and followed the actions of king David, as a pattern and a rule to him in the whole conduct of his life. And when he was twelve years old, he gave demonstrations of his religious and righteous behavior; for he brought the people to a sober way of living, and exhorted them to leave off the opinion they had of their idols, because they were not gods, but to worship their own God. And by repeating on the actions of his progenitors, he prudently corrected what they did wrong, like a very elderly man, and like one abundantly able to understand what was fit to be done; and what he found they had well done, he observed all the country over, and imitated the same. And thus he acted in following the wisdom and sagacity of his own nature, and in compliance with the advice and instruction of the elders; for by following the laws it was that he succeeded so well in the order of his government, and in piety with regard to the Divine worship. And this happened because the transgressions of the former kings were seen no more, but quite vanished away; for the king went about the city, and the whole country, and cut down the groves which were devoted to strange gods, and overthrew their altars; and if there were any gifts dedicated to them by his forefathers, he made them ignominious, and plucked them down; and by this means he brought the people back from their opinion about them to the worship of God. He also offered his accustomed sacrifices and burnt-offerings upon the altar. Moreover, he ordained certain judges and overseers, that they might order the matters to them severally belonging, and have regard to justice above all things, and distribute it with the same concern they would have about their own soul. He also sent over all the country, and desired such as pleased to bring gold and silver for the repairs of the temple, according to every one’s inclinations and abilities. And when the money was brought in, he made one Maaseiah the governor of the city, and Shaphan the scribe, and Joab the recorder, and Eliakim the high priest, curators of the temple, and of the charges contributed thereto; who made no delay, nor put the work off at all, but prepared architects, and whatsoever was proper for

those repairs, and set closely about the work. So the temple was repaired by this means, and became a public demonstration of the king's piety.

(2) [57] Ὄγδοον δ' ἤδη καὶ δέκατον τῆς βασιλείας ἔτος ἔχων πέμπει πρὸς Ἐλιακίαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα κελεύων τὸ περισσὸν χωνεύσαντα ποιῆσαι κρατῆρας καὶ σπονδεῖα καὶ φιάλας εἰς τὴν διακονίαν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὅσος ἂν ᾖ χρυσὸς ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ τοῦτον προκομίσαντας εἰς τοὺς κρατῆρας ὁμοίως καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα σκεύη δαπανῆσαι. [58] προκομίζων δὲ τὸν χρυσὸν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἐλιακίας ἐντυγχάνει ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ταῖς Μωυσέος ἐν τῷ ναῷ κειμέναις καὶ προκομίσας δίδωσι τῷ γραμματεῖ Σαφᾷ. ὁ δὲ ἀναγνοὺς παραγίνεται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πάντα ὅσα κελεύει γενέσθαι τέλος ἔχοντα ἐδήλου, παρανέγνω δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς βίβλους [αὐτῶν]. [59] ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ περιρρηξάμενος τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὸν ἀρχιερέα καλέσας Ἐλιακίαν καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν γραμματέα καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων φίλων τινὰς ἔπεμψε πρὸς τὴν προφῆτιν Ὀολδά, γυναῖκα δὲ Σαλλούμου τῶν ἐν δόξῃ τινὸς καὶ δι' εὐγένειαν ἐπιφανοῦς, καὶ προσελθόντας ἐκέλευε λέγειν ἱλάσκεσθαι τὸν θεὸν καὶ πειρᾶσθαι ποιεῖν εὐμενῆ: δέος γὰρ εἶναι, μὴ παραβάντων τοὺς Μωυσέος νόμους τῶν προγόνων αὐτῶν κινδυνεύσωσιν ἀνάστατοι γενέσθαι καὶ τῆς οἰκείας ἐκπεσόντες ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίας ἔρημοι πάντων καταστρέψωσιν οἰκτρῶς τὸν βίον. [60] ἀκούσασα δ' ἡ προφῆτις παρὰ τῶν πεμφθέντων ταῦτα δι' αὐτῶν ἃ ἐπέστειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἀπελθόντας πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα λέγειν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν θεῖον ἤδη κατ' αὐτῶν ψῆφον ἤνεγκεν, ἣν οὐχ ἱκεσίαις ἄν τις ἄκυρον ποιήσειεν, ἀπολέσαι τὸν λαὸν καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐκβαλεῖν καὶ πάντων ἀφελέσθαι τῶν νῦν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν παραβάντας τοὺς νόμους καὶ τοσούτῳ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ μὴ μετανοήσαντας, τῶν τε προφητῶν τοῦτο παραινούντων σωφρονεῖν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀσεβήμασι τιμωρίαν προλεγόντων: [61] ἦν, ἵνα πεισθῶσιν, ὅτι θεός ἐστι καὶ οὐδὲν ἐψεύδετο τούτων ἃ αὐτοῖς διὰ τῶν προφητῶν κατήγγειλε, πάντως αὐτοῖς ποιήσειν. δι' αὐτὸν μέντοι δίκαιον γενόμενον ἐφέξειν ἔτι τὰς συμφοράς, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν τὰ κατεψηφισμένα πάθη τοῖς ὄχλοις ἐπιπέμψειν.

2. But when he was now in the eighteenth year of his reign, he sent to Eliakim the high priest, and gave order, that out of what money was overplus, he should cast cups, and dishes, and vials, for ministration [in the temple]; and besides, that they should bring all the gold or silver which was among the treasures, and expend that also in making cups and the like vessels. But as the high priest was bringing out the gold, he lighted upon the holy books of Moses that were laid up in the temple; and when he had brought them out, he gave them to Shaphan the scribe, who, when he had read them, came to the king, and informed him that all was finished which he had ordered to be done. He also read over the books to him, who, when he had heard them read, rent his garment, and called for Eliakim

the high priest, and for [Shaphan] the scribe, and for certain [other] of his most particular friends, and sent them to Huldah the prophetess, the wife of Shallum, [which Shallum was a man of dignity, and of an eminent family,] and bid them go to her, and say that [he desired] she would appease God, and endeavor to render him propitious to them, for that there was cause to fear, lest, upon the transgression of the laws of Moses by their forefathers, they should be in peril of going into captivity, and of being cast out of their own country; lest they should be in want of all things, and so end their days miserably. When the prophetess had heard this from the messengers that were sent to her by the king, she bid them go back to the king, and say that "God had already given sentence against them, to destroy the people, and cast them out of their country, and deprive them of all the happiness they enjoyed;" which sentence none could set aside by any prayers of theirs, since it was passed on account of their transgressions of the laws, and of their not having repented in so long a time, while the prophets had exhorted them to amend, and had foretold the punishment that would ensue on their impious practices; which threatening God would certainly execute upon them, that they might be persuaded that he is God, and had not deceived them in any respect as to what he had denounced by his prophets; that yet, because Josiah was a righteous man, he would at present delay those calamities, but that after his death he would send on the multitude what miseries he had determined for them.

(3) [62] Οἱ μὲν οὖν τῆς γυναικὸς προφητευσάσης ἐλθόντες ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ βασιλεῖ. ὁ δὲ περιπέμψας πανταχοῦ τὸν λαὸν ἐκέλευε συνελθεῖν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τούς θ' ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς Λευίτας, πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν παρεῖναι προστάξας. [63] ἀθροισθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀνέγνω τὰς ἱερὰς βίβλους, ἔπειτα στὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐν μέσῳ τῷ πλήθει ὅρκους ποιήσασθαι καὶ πίστεις ἠνάγκασεν, ἢ μὴν θρησκεύσειν τὸν θεὸν καὶ φυλάξειν τοὺς Μωυσέος νόμους. [64] οἱ δὲ προθύμως τ' ἐπήνεσαν καὶ τὰ παραινεθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ποιήσειν ὑπέστησαν θύοντές τε παραχρῆμα καὶ καλλιεροῦντες ἤδη τὸν θεὸν ἱκέτευον εὐμενῆ καὶ ἵλεων αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν. [65] τὸν δὲ ἀρχιερέα προσέταξεν εἴ τι περισσὸν ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων σκεῦος τοῖς εἰδώλοις καὶ ξενικοῖς θεοῖς κατασταθὲν ἦν ἐν τῷ ναῷ, τοῦτο ἐκβαλεῖν. συναθροισθέντων δὲ πολλῶν καταπρήσας αὐτὰ τὴν σποδὸν αὐτῶν διέσπειρε καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς τῶν εἰδώλων οὐκ ὄντας ἐκ τοῦ Ἀαρῶνος γένους ἀπέκτεινε.

3. So these messengers, upon this prophecy of the woman, came and told it to the king; whereupon he sent to the people every where, and ordered that the priests and the Levites should come together to Jerusalem; and commanded that those of every age should be present also. And when they had gathered together, he

first read to them the holy books; after which he stood upon a pulpit, in the midst of the multitude, and obliged them to make a covenant, with an oath, that they would worship God, and keep the laws of Moses. Accordingly, they gave their assent willingly, and undertook to do what the king had recommended to them. So they immediately offered sacrifices, and that after an acceptable manner, and besought God to be gracious and merciful to them. He also enjoined the high priest, that if there remained in the temple any vessel that was dedicated to idols, or to foreign gods, they should cast it out. So when a great number of such vessels were got together, he burnt them, and scattered their ashes abroad, and slew the priests of the idols that were not of the family of Aaron.

(4) [66] Ταῦτα δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις διαπραξάμενος ἦκεν εἰς τὴν χώραν καὶ τὰ κατασκευασθέντα ἐν αὐτῇ ὑπὸ Ἱεροβοάμου τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τιμὴν τῶν ξενικῶν θεῶν ἠφάνισε καὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ, ὃν κατεσκεύασε πρῶτος Ἱερόβαμος, κατέκαυσε. [67] ταῦτα δὲ προφήτην κατελθόντα πρὸς Ἱερόβαμον θυσιάζοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ παντὸς ἀκούοντος τοῦ λαοῦ προκαταγγεῖλαι τὰ γενησόμενα, ὅτι τις ἐκ τοῦ Δαυίδου γένους Ἰωσίας τοὔνομα ποιήσει τὰ προειρημένα. συνέβη δὲ ταῦτα λαβεῖν τέλος μετὰ ἔτη τριακόσια καὶ ἑξηκονταέν.

4. And when he had done thus in Jerusalem, he came into the country, and utterly destroyed what buildings had been made therein by king Jeroboam, in honor of strange gods; and he burnt the bones of the false prophets upon that altar which Jeroboam first built; and, as the prophet [Jadon], who came to Jeroboam when he was offering sacrifice, and when all the people heard him, foretold what would come to pass, *viz.* that a certain man of the house of David, Josiah by name, should do what is here mentioned. And it happened that those predictions took effect after three hundred and sixty-one years.

(5) [68] Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωσίας πορευθεὶς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, ὅσοι τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν καὶ τὴν δουλείαν τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων διέφυγον, ἀφεῖναι μὲν τὰς ἀσεβεῖς πράξεις καὶ τὰς τιμὰς τὰς πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους θεοὺς ἐγκαταλιπεῖν ἔπεισε, τὸν δὲ πάτριον καὶ μέγιστον θεὸν εὐσεβεῖν καὶ τούτῳ προσανέχειν: [69] τὰς οἰκίας τε καὶ τὰς κώμας ἠρεύνησε καὶ τὰς πόλεις, μή τις ἔνδον ἔχοι τι τῶν εἰδώλων ὑπονοῶν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τοῖς βασιλευομένοις ἐφεστῶτα ἅρματα, ἃ κατεσκεύασαν οἱ πρόγονοι, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον ἦν ᾧ προσεκύνουν ὡς θεῷ ἐβάστασε: [70] καὶ καθαρίσας οὕτω τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τὸν λαὸν συνεκάλεσε κἀκεῖ τὴν ἀζύμων ἑορτὴν καὶ τὴν πάσχα λεγομένην ἤγαγεν: ἐδωρήσατό τε τῷ λαῷ τὸ πάσχα νεογνοὺς ἐρίφους καὶ ἄρνας δισμυρίους, βοῦς δ’ εἰς ὁλοκαυτώματα τρισχιλίους. [71] παρεῖχον δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱερέων οἱ πρῶτοι διὰ τὸ πάσχα τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἄρνας

δισχιλίους ἑξακοσίους καὶ τοῖς Λευίταις πεντακισχιλίους ἄρνας ἔδοσαν οἱ προεστῶτες αὐτῶν, βοῦς δὲ πεντακοσίους. [72] καὶ γενομένης οὕτως ἀφθόνου τῆς τῶν ἱερείων εὐπορίας τὰς θυσίας ἐπετέλουν τοῖς Μωυσέος νόμοις, ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἱερέων ἐξηγουμένων καὶ διακονουμένων τοῖς ὄχλοις, καὶ τοῦ μηδεμίαν ἄλλην οὕτως ἀχθῆναι τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἑορτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Σαμουήλου τοῦ προφήτου χρόνων αἴτιον ἦν τὸ πάντα κατὰ νόμους καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν παρατήρησιν τῆς πατρίου συνηθείας ἐπιτελεσθῆναι. [73] ζήσας δ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Ἰωσίας ἔτι δὲ καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ τῇ παρὰ πᾶσιν εὐδοξίᾳ κατέστρεψε τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τὸν βίον:

5. After these things, Josiah went also to such other Israelites as had escaped captivity and slavery under the Assyrians, and persuaded them to desist from their impious practices, and to leave off the honors they paid to strange gods, but to worship rightly their own Almighty God, and adhere to him. He also searched the houses, and the villages, and the cities, out of a suspicion that somebody might have one idol or other in private; nay, indeed, he took away the chariots [of the sun] that were set up in his royal palace, which his predecessors had framed, and what thing soever there was besides which they worshipped as a god. And when he had thus purged all the country, he called the people to Jerusalem, and there celebrated the feast of unleavened bread, and that called the passover. He also gave the people for paschal sacrifices, young kids of the goats, and lambs, thirty thousand, and three thousand oxen for burnt-offerings. The principal of the priests also gave to the priests against the passover two thousand and six hundred lambs; the principal of the Levites also gave to the Levites five thousand lambs, and five hundred oxen, by which means there was great plenty of sacrifices; and they offered those sacrifices according to the laws of Moses, while every priest explained the matter, and ministered to the multitude. And indeed there had been no other festival thus celebrated by the Hebrews from the times of Samuel the prophet; and the plenty of sacrifices now was the occasion that all things were performed according to the laws, and according to the custom of their forefathers. So when Josiah had after this lived in peace, nay, in riches and reputation also, among all men, he ended his life in the manner following.

V

CHAPTER 5. How Josiah Fought With Neco [King Of Egypt.] And Was Wounded And Died In A Little Time Afterward; As Also How Neco Carried Jehoahaz, Who Had Been Made King Into Egypt And Delivered The Kingdom To Jehoiakim; And [Lastly] Concerning Jeremiah And Ezekiel.

(1) [74] Νεχαῦς ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς ἐγείρας στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἤλασε ποταμὸν Μήδους πολεμήσων καὶ τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους, οἳ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων κατέλυσαν ἀρχήν: τῆς γὰρ Ἀσίας βασιλεῦσαι πόθον εἶχε. [75] γενομένου δ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ Μένδην πόλιν, ἣν δ' αὕτη τῆς Ἰωσίου βασιλείας, μετὰ δυνάμεως εἶργεν αὐτὸν διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ποιεῖσθαι χώρας τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μήδους ἔλασιν. πέμψας δὲ κήρυκα πρὸς αὐτὸν Νεχαῦς οὐκ ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατεύειν ἔλεγεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ὡρμηκέναι: μὴ παροξύνειν δ' αὐτὸν ἐκέλευεν, ὥστε πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ κωλύοντι βαδίζειν ἐφ' οὗ διέγνωκεν. [76] Ἰωσίας δὲ οὐ προσίετο τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Νεχαῦ, ἀλλ' οὕτως εἶχεν ὡς μὴ συγχωρεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν οἰκείαν διέρχεσθαι, τῆς πεπρωμένης οἶμαι εἰς τοῦτ' αὐτὸν παρορμησάσης, ἵνα λάβῃ πρόφασιν κατ' αὐτοῦ. [77] διατάσσοντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ἐφ' ἅρματος ἀπὸ κέρως ἐπὶ κέρας ὀχουμένου τοξεύσας τις αὐτὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἔπαυσε τῆς πρὸς τὴν μάχην σπουδῆς: τῷ τραύματι γὰρ περιαλγὴς ὢν ἐκέλευσεν ἀνακληθῆναι τὸ στράτευμα καὶ ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. τελευτᾷ δ' ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς ἐκεῖ τὸν βίον καὶ κηδεύεται ἐν ταῖς πατρῴαις θήκαις μεγαλοπρεπῶς βιώσας μὲν ἔτη τριακονταεννέα, βασιλεύσας δὲ τούτων ἓν καὶ τριάκοντα. [78] πένθος δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ μέγα τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ἤχθη πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὀδυρομένου καὶ κατηφοῦντος: Ἱερεμίας δὲ ὁ προφήτης ἐπικήδειον αὐτοῦ συνέταξε μέλος [θρηνητικόν], ὃ καὶ μέχρι νῦν διαμένει. [79] οὗτος ὁ προφήτης καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα τῇ πόλει δεινὰ προεκήρυξεν ἐν γράμμασι καταλιπὼν καὶ τὴν νῦν ἐφ' ἡμῶν γενομένην ἅλωσιν τήν τε Βαβυλῶνος αἵρεσιν. οὐ μόνον δὲ οὗτος προεθέσπισε ταῦτα τοῖς ὄχλοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ προφήτης Ἰεζεκίηλος, ὃς πρῶτος περὶ τούτων δύο βίβλους γράψας κατέλιπεν. [80] ἦσαν δὲ οἱ δύο τῷ γένει ἱερεῖς, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Ἱερεμίας ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις διῆγεν ἀπὸ τρισκαιδεκάτου ἔτους τῆς Ἰωσίου βασιλείας ἕως οὗ κατεσκάφη ἡ πόλις καὶ ὁ ναός. τὰ μέντοι γε συμβάντα περὶ τοῦτον τὸν προφήτην κατὰ χώραν δηλώσομεν.

1. Now Neco, king of Egypt, raised an army, and marched to the river Euphrates, in order to fight with the Medes and Babylonians, who had overthrown the

dominion of the Assyrians, for he had a desire to reign over Asia. Now when he was come to the city Mendes, which belonged to the kingdom of Josiah, he brought an army to hinder him from passing through his own country, in his expedition against the Medes. Now Neco sent a herald to Josiah, and told him that he did not make this expedition against him, but was making haste to Euphrates; and desired that he would not provoke him to fight against him, because he obstructed his march to the place whither he had resolved to go. But Josiah did not admit of this advice of Neco, but put himself into a posture to hinder him from his intended march. I suppose it was fate that pushed him on this conduct, that it might take an occasion against him; for as he was setting his army in array, and rode about in his chariot, from one wing of his army to another, one of the Egyptians shot an arrow at him, and put an end to his eagerness of fighting; for being sorely wounded, he command a retreat to be sounded for his army, and returned to Jerusalem, and died of that wound; and was magnificently buried in the sepulcher of his fathers, when he had lived thirty-nine years, and of them had reigned thirty-one. But all the people mourned greatly for him, lamenting and grieving on his account many days; and Jeremiah the prophet composed an elegy to lament him, which is extant till tills time also. Moreover, this prophet denounced beforehand the sad calamities that were coming upon the city. He also left behind him in writing a description of that destruction of our nation which has lately happened in our days, and the taking of Babylon; nor was he the only prophet who delivered such predictions beforehand to the multitude, but so did Ezekiel also, who was the first person that wrote, and left behind him in writing two books concerning these events. Now these two prophets were priests by birth, but of them Jeremiah dwelt in Jerusalem, from the thirteenth year of the reign of Josiah, until the city and temple were utterly destroyed. However, as to what befell this prophet, we will relate it in its proper place.

(2) [81] Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἰωσίου, καθὼς προειρήκαμεν, τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ διαδέχεται Ἰώαζος τοὔνομα τρίτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἤδη ἔτος γεγονώς. καὶ οὗτος μὲν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐβασίλευσε μητρὸς Ἀμιτάλης καὶ πόλεως Τομάνης ἀσεβὴς δὲ καὶ μιαρὸς τὸν τρόπον: [82] ὁ δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς ὑποστρέψας ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης μεταπέμπεται τὸν Ἰώαζον πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀμαθὰ καλουμένην πόλιν, ἥτις ἐστὶ τῆς Συρίας, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐλθόντα ἔδησε, τῷ δὲ πρεσβυτέρῳ αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῷ ὁμοπατρίῳ ὄντι Ἐλιακείμῳ τοὔνομα τὴν βασιλείαν παραδίδωσι μετονομάσας αὐτὸν Ἰωάκειμον: τῇ δὲ χώρᾳ ἐπέταξεν ἑκατὸν ἀργυρίου τάλαντα, ἓν δὲ χρυσίου. [83] καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐτέλει ὁ Ἰωάκειμος τὸ πλῆθος τῶν χρημάτων, τὸν δὲ Ἰώαζον ἀπήγαγεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ὃς καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν αὐτῇ βασιλεύσας

μῆνας τρεῖς ἡμέρας δέκα. ἡ δὲ τοῦ Ἰωακείμου μήτηρ ἐκαλεῖτο Ζαβουδᾶ, ἐκ πόλεως δ' ἦν Ἀβουμᾶς. ἐτύγχανε δ' ὢν τὴν φύσιν ἄδικος καὶ κακοῦργος καὶ μήτε πρὸς θεὸν ὅσιος μήτε πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἐπιεικής.

2. Upon the death of Josiah, which we have already mentioned, his son, Jehoahaz by name, took the kingdom, being about twenty-three years old. He reigned in Jerusalem; and his mother was Hamutal, of the city Libhah. He was an impious man, and impure in his course of life; but as the king of Egypt returned from the battle, he sent for Jehoahaz to come to him, to the city called Hamath which belongs to Syria; and when he was come, he put him in bands, and delivered the kingdom to a brother of his, by the father's side, whose name was Eliakim, and changed his name to Jehoiakim and laid a tribute upon the land of a hundred talents of silver, and a talent of gold; and this sum of money Jehoiakim paid by way of tribute; but Neco carried away Jehoahaz into Egypt, where he died when he had reigned three months and ten days. Now Jehoiakim's mother was called Zebudah, of the city Rumah. He was of a wicked disposition, and ready to do mischief; nor was he either religions towards God, or good-natured towards men.

VI

CHAPTER 6. How Nebuchadnezzar, When He Had Conquered The King Of Egypt Made An Expedition Against The Jews, And Slew Jehoiakim, And Made Jeholachin His Son King.

(1) [84] Ἔτος δ’ αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας τέταρτον ἤδη ἔχοντος τὴν Βαβυλωνίων ἀρχὴν παραλαμβάνει Ναβουχοδονόσορος ὄνομα, ὃς ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν μετὰ μεγάλης παρασκευῆς ἐπὶ Καρχάμισσαν ἀναβαίνει πόλιν, ἔστι δ’ αὕτη πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ, διεγνωκὼς πολεμεῖν τῷ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Νεχαῦ: ὑπὸ τούτῳ γὰρ ἦν ἅπασα ἡ Συρία. [85] μαθὼν δὲ τὴν τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου προαίρεσιν καὶ τὴν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν στρατείαν ὁ Νεχαῦς οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ὠλιγώρησεν, ἀλλὰ σὺν πολλῇ χειρὶ τὸν Ναβουχοδονόσορον ἀμυνούμενος ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην. [86] συμβολῆς δὲ γενομένης ἡττήθη καὶ πολλὰς ἀπέβαλε μυριάδας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ. διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Εὐφράτην ὁ Βαβυλώνιος τὴν ἄχρι Πηλουσίου παραλαμβάνει Συρίαν πάρεξ τῆς Ἰουδαίας. [87] τέσσαρα δ’ ἔτη βασιλεύοντος ἤδη τοῦ Ναβουχοδονοσόρου ὄγδοον ἦν τῷ Ἰωακείμῳ τῷ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἔχοντι τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ στρατεύει μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ὁ Βαβυλώνιος φόρους αἰτῶν τὸν Ἰωάκειμον ἢ πολεμήσειν ἀπειλῶν. ὁ δὲ δείσας τὴν ἀπειλὴν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀντικαταλλαξάμενος τῶν χρημάτων ἤνεγκεν αὐτῷ φόρους οὓς ἔταξεν ἐπὶ ἔτη τρία.

1. Now in the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim, one whose name was Nebuchadnezzar took the government over the Babylonians, who at the same time went up with a great army to the city Carchemish, which was at Euphrates, upon a resolution he had taken to fight with Neco king of Egypt, under whom all Syria then was. And when Neco understood the intention of the king of Babylon, and that this expedition was made against him, he did not despise his attempt, but made haste with a great band of men to Euphrates to defend himself from Nebuchadnezzar; and when they had joined battle, he was beaten, and lost many ten thousands [of his soldiers] in the battle. So the king of Babylon passed over Euphrates, and took all Syria, as far as Pelusium, excepting Judea. But when Nebuchadnezzar had already reigned four years, which was the eighth of Jehoiakim’s government over the Hebrews, the king of Babylon made an expedition with mighty forces against the Jews, and required tribute of Jehoiakim, and threatened upon his refusal to make war against him. He was aftrighted at his threatening, and bought his peace with money, and brought the tribute he was ordered to bring for three years.

(2) [88] Τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ στρατεύειν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἀκούσας ἐπὶ τὸν Βαβυλώνιον καὶ τοὺς φόρους αὐτῷ μὴ δοὺς διεψεύσθη τῆς ἐλπίδος: [89] οἱ γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι ποιήσασθαι τὴν στρατείαν οὐκ ἐθάρρησαν. ταῦτα δὲ ὁ προφήτης Ἱερεμίας κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν προύλεγεν, ὡς μάτην ταῖς παρὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐλπίσι προσανέχουσι, καὶ ὡς δεῖ τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέως ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι, καὶ Ἰωακείμῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ χειρωθῆναι ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ. [90] ἀλλὰ ταῦτ᾽ οὐδὲν χρήσιμον οὐκ ὄντων τῶν σωθησομένων ἐλέγετο: καὶ γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ἀκούοντες παρημέλουν, καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν λαμβάνοντες τὰ λεγόμενα ὡς οἰωνιζομένου κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ προφήτου τὸν Ἱερεμίαν ᾐτιῶντο, καὶ ὑπάγοντες δίκῃ καταψηφισθῆναι πρὸς τιμωρίαν ἠξίουν. [91] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἤνεγκαν τὰς ψήφους κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ οἳ καὶ ἀπέγνωσαν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, οἱ δὲ σοφῆς ὄντες διανοίας ἀπέλυσαν τὸν προφήτην ἀπὸ τῆς αὐλῆς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συνεβούλευσαν μηδὲν διαθεῖναι κακὸν τὸν Ἱερεμίαν. [92] ἔλεγον γὰρ οὐ μόνον τοῦτον προλέγειν τῇ πόλει τὰ μέλλοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ Μιχαίαν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα κατηγγελκέναι καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους, ὧν οὐδεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν τότε βασιλέων οὐδὲν ἔπαθεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς προφήτης τοῦ θεοῦ τιμῆς ἔτυχε. [93] τούτοις καταπραύναντες τὸ πλῆθος τοῖς λόγοις ἐρρύσαντο τῆς κατεψηφισμένης αὐτοῦ κολάσεως τὸν Ἱερεμίαν, ὃς ἁπάσας αὐτοῦ τὰς προφητείας συγγραψάμενος νηστεύοντος τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἐκκλησιάζοντος ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ μηνὶ ἐνάτῳ τοῦ πέμπτου ἔτους τῆς Ἰωακείμου βασιλείας ἀνέγνω τὴν βίβλον, ἣν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων συμβήσεσθαι τῇ πόλει καὶ τῷ ναῷ καὶ τοῖς ὄχλοις ἦν συντεταχώς. [94] ἀκούσαντες δ᾽ οἱ ἡγεμόνες λαμβάνουσι παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὸ βιβλίον καὶ κελεύουσιν αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν γραμματέα Βαροῦχον ἐκποδὼν αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι, μή τισι δῆλοι γένωνται, τὸ δὲ βιβλίον αὐτοὶ φέροντες τῷ βασιλεῖ διδόασιν. ὁ δὲ παρόντων αὐτῷ τῶν φίλων ἐκέλευσε τὸν αὐτοῦ γραμματέα λαβόντα ἀναγνῶναι. [95] ἀκούσας δὲ τῶν ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ καὶ ὀργισθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς διέρρηξέ τε καὶ βαλὼν εἰς πῦρ ἠφάνισε, ζητηθέντας δὲ τόν τε Ἱερεμίαν καὶ τὸν γραμματέα Βαροῦχον ἐκέλευσεν ἀχθῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸν κολασθησομένους. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν διαφεύγουσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ὀργήν.

2. But on the third year, upon hearing that the king of the Babylonians made an expedition against the Egyptians, he did not pay his tribute; yet was he disappointed of his hope, for the Egyptians durst not fight at this time. And indeed the prophet Jeremiah foretold every day, how vainly they relied on their hopes from Egypt, and how the city would be overthrown by the king of Babylon, and Jehoiakim the king would be subdued by him. But what he thus spake proved to be of no advantage to them, because there were none that should escape; for both the multitude and the rulers, when they heard him, had no concern about what they heard; but being displeased at what was said, as if the prophet were a diviner against the king, they accused Jeremiah, and bringing him

before the court, they required that a sentence and a punishment might be given against him. Now all the rest gave their votes for his condemnation, but the elders refused, who prudently sent away the prophet from the court of [the prison], and persuaded the rest to do Jeremiah no harm; for they said that he was not the only person who foretold what would come to the city, but that Micah signified the same before him, as well as many others, none of which suffered any thing of the kings that then reigned, but were honored as the prophets of God. So they mollified the multitude with these words, and delivered Jeremiah from the punishment to which he was condemned. Now when this prophet had written all his prophecies, and the people were fasting, and assembled at the temple, on the ninth month of the fifth year of Jehoiakim, he read the book he had composed of his predictions of what was to befall the city, and the temple, and the multitude. And when the rulers heard of it, they took the book from him, and bid him and Baruch the scribe to go their ways, lest they should be discovered by one or other; but they carried the book, and gave it to the king; so he gave order, in the presence of his friends, that his scribe should take it, and read it. When the king heard what it contained, he was angry, and tore it, and cast it into the fire, where it was consumed. He also commanded that they should seek for Jeremiah, and Baruch the scribe, and bring them to him, that they might be punished. However, they escaped his anger.

(3) [96] Μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον στρατευόμενον ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν τὸν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέα δέχεται κατὰ δέος τῶν προειρημένων ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτου τούτου, οὐδὲν νομίζων πείσεσθαι δεινὸν μηδὲ ἀποκλείσας μηδὲ πολεμήσας, [97] ἀπελθὼν δ᾽ εἰς αὐτὸν ὁ Βαβυλώνιος οὐκ ἐφύλαξε τὰς πίστεις, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους καὶ κάλλει διαφέροντας τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἀπέκτεινε μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰωακείμου, ὃν ἄταφον ἐκέλευσε ῥιφῆναι πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν: τὸν δὲ υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰωάκειμον κατέστησε βασιλέα τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς πόλεως. [98] τοὺς δ᾽ ἐν ἀξιώματι τρισχιλίους ὄντας τὸν ἀριθμὸν αὐτοῦ αἰχμαλώτους λαβὼν ἀπήγαγεν εἰς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα: ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἦν καὶ ὁ προφήτης Ἰεζεκίηλος παῖς ὤν. καὶ τέλος μὲν τοιοῦτον Ἰωάκειμον τὸν βασιλέα κατέσχε βιώσαντα μὲν ἓξ καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη βασιλεύσαντα δὲ τούτων ἕνδεκα, ὁ δὲ διαδεξάμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἰωάκειμος, ἐκ μητρὸς μὲν Νοόστης ὄνομα πολίτιδος δέ, ἐβασίλευσε μῆνας τρεῖς ἡμέρας δέκα.

3. Now, a little time afterwards, the king of Babylon made an expedition against Jehoiakim, whom he received [into the city], and this out of fear of the foregoing predictions of this prophet, as supposing he should suffer nothing that was terrible, because he neither shut the gates, nor fought against him; yet when he was come into the city, he did not observe the covenants he had made, but he

slew such as were in the flower of their age, and such as were of the greatest dignity, together with their king Jehoiakim, whom he commanded to be thrown before the walls, without any burial; and made his son Jehoiachin king of the country, and of the city: he also took the principal persons in dignity for captives, three thousand in number, and led them away to Babylon; among which was the prophet Ezekiel, who was then but young. And this was the end of king Jehoiakim, when he had lived thirty-six years, and of them reigned eleven. But Jehoiachin succeeded him in the kingdom, whose mother's name was Nehushta; she was a citizen of Jerusalem. He reigned three months and ten days.

VII

CHAPTER 7. That The King Of Babylon Repented Of Making Jehoiachin King, And Took Him Away To Babylon And Delivered The Kingdom To Zedekiah. This King Would Not Believe What Was Predicted By Jeremiah And Ezekiel But Joined Himself To The Egyptians; Who When They Came Into Judea, Were Vanquished By The King Of Babylon; As Also What Befell Jeremiah.

(1) [99] Τὸν δὲ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέα δόντα τὴν βασιλείαν Ἰωακείμῳ παραχρῆμα ἔλαβε δέος: ἔδεισε γάρ, μὴ μνησικακήσας αὐτῷ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀναιρέσεως ἀποστήσῃ τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ: πέμψας τοιγαροῦν δύναμιν ἐπολιόρκει τὸν Ἰωάκειμον ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις. [100] ὁ δὲ φύσει χρηστὸς ὢν καὶ δίκαιος οὐκ ἠξίου τὴν πόλιν κινδυνεύουσαν δι᾽ αὐτὸν περιορᾶν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπάρας τὴν μητέρα καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς παραδίδωσι τοῖς πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου στρατηγοῖς ὅρκους παρ᾽ αὐτῶν λαβὼν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν μήτ᾽ αὐτοὺς παθεῖν μήτε τὴν πόλιν. [101] οἷς οὐδ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν ἡ πίστις ἔμεινεν: οὐ γὰρ ἐφύλαξεν αὐτὴν ὁ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεύς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐπέστειλεν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει λαβόντας αἰχμαλώτους νέους τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ τεχνίτας δεδεμένους ἄγειν πρὸς αὐτόν, ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι πάντες εἰς μυρίους ὀκτακοσίους τριακονταδύο, καὶ τὸν Ἰωάκειμον μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῶν φίλων. [102] τούτους δὴ κομισθέντας πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶχεν ἐν φυλακῇ: τὸν δὲ θεῖον τοῦ Ἰωακείμου Σαχχίαν ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα ὅρκους παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ λαβών, ἢ μὴν φυλάξειν αὐτῷ τὴν χώραν καὶ μηδὲν νεωτερίσειν μηδὲ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις εὐνοήσειν.

1. But a terror seized on the king of Babylon, who had given the kingdom to Jehoiachin, and that immediately; he was afraid that he should bear him a grudge, because of his killing his father, and thereupon should make the country revolt from him; wherefore he sent an army, and besieged Jehoiachin in Jerusalem; but because he was of a gentle and just disposition, he did not desire to see the city endangered on his account, but he took his mother and kindred, and delivered them to the commanders sent by the king of Babylon, and accepted of their oaths, that neither should they suffer any harm, nor the city; which agreement they did not observe for a single year, for the king of Babylon did not keep it, but gave orders to his generals to take all that were in the city

captives, both the youth and the handicraftsmen, and bring them bound to him; their number was ten thousand eight hundred and thirty-two; as also Jehoiachin, and his mother and friends. And when these were brought to him, he kept them in custody, and appointed Jehoiachin's uncle, Zedekiah, to be king; and made him take an oath, that he would certainly keep the kingdom for him, and make no innovation, nor have any league of friendship with the Egyptians.

(2) [103] Σαχχίας δ' ἦν ἐτῶν μὲν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑνός, ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν παρέλαβεν, ὁμομήτριος μὲν Ἰωακείμου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, τῶν δὲ δικαίων καὶ τοῦ δέοντος ὑπερόπτης: καὶ γὰρ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἦσαν ἀσεβεῖς περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ πᾶς ὄχλος ἐπ' ἐξουσίας ὕβριζεν ἃ ἤθελεν: [104] διὸ καὶ ὁ προφήτης Ἱερεμίας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθὼν πολλάκις ἐμαρτύρατο κελεύων τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἀσεβείας καὶ παρανομίας καταλιπεῖν, προνοεῖν δὲ τοῦ δικαίου, καὶ μήτε τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῷ εἶναι ἐν αὐτοῖς πονηροὺς προσανέχειν μήτε τοῖς ψευδοπροφήταις ἀπατῶσιν αὐτὸν πεπιστευκέναι, ὡς οὐκέτι πολεμήσει τὴν πόλιν ὁ Βαβυλώνιος καὶ ὡς Αἰγύπτιοι στρατεύσουσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ νικήσουσι: ταῦτα γὰρ οὐκ ἀληθῆ λέγειν οὐδ' οὕτως ὀφείλοντα γενέσθαι. [105] ὁ δὲ Σαχχίας ἐφ' ὅσον μὲν ἤκουσε τοῦ προφήτου ταῦτα λέγοντος ἐπείθετο αὐτῷ καὶ συνήδει πᾶσιν ὡς ἀληθεύουσι καὶ συμφέρον αὐτῷ πεπιστευκέναι: διέφθειρον δὲ πάλιν αὐτὸν οἱ φίλοι καὶ διῆγον ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ προφήτου πρὸς ἅπερ ἤθελον. [106] προεφήτευσε δὲ καὶ Ἰεζεκίηλος ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τὰς μελλούσας τῷ λαῷ συμφορὰς καὶ γράψας ταῦτα ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. ταῖς δὲ προφητείαις αὐτῶν Σαχχίας ἠπίστησεν ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας: τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα συμφωνοῦντα εἰπεῖν συνέβη, ὡς ἥ τε πόλις ἁλώσεται καὶ Σαχχίας αὐτὸς αἰχμάλωτος ἔσται, διεφώνησε δὲ Ἰεζεκίηλος εἰπὼν οὐκ ὄψεσθαι Βαβυλῶνα τὸν Σαχχίαν τοῦ Ἱερεμίου φάσκοντος αὐτῷ, ὅτι δεδεμένον αὐτὸν ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἄξει βασιλεύς. [107] καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ταὐτὸν αὐτοὺς ἑκατέρους λέγειν καὶ περὶ ὧν συμφωνεῖν ἐδόκουν ὡς οὐδ' ἐκεῖνα ἀληθῆ λέγουσι καταγνούς: καίτοι πάντ' αὐτῷ κατὰ τὰς προφητείας ἀπήντησεν, ἅπερ εὐκαιρότερον δηλώσομεν.

2. Now Zedekiah was twenty and one year's old when he took the government; and had the same mother with his brother Jehoiakim, but was a despiser of justice and of his duty, for truly those of the same age with him were wicked about him, and the whole multitude did what unjust and insolent things they pleased; for which reason the prophet Jeremiah came often to him, and protested to him, and insisted, that he must leave off his impieties and transgressions, and take care of what was right, and neither give ear to the rulers, [among whom were wicked men,] nor give credit to their false prophets, who deluded them, as if the king of Babylon would make no more war against them, and as if the Egyptians would make war against him, and conquer him, since what they said was not true, and the events would not prove such [as they expected]. Now as to

Zedekiah himself, while he heard the prophet speak, he believed him, and agreed to every thing as true, and supposed it was for his advantage; but then his friends perverted him, and dissuaded him from what the prophet advised, and obliged him to do what they pleased. Ezekiel also foretold in Babylon what calamities were coming upon the people, which when he heard, he sent accounts of them unto Jerusalem. But Zedekiah did not believe their prophecies, for the reason following: It happened that the two prophets agreed with one another in what they said as in all other things, that the city should be taken, and Zedekiah himself should be taken captive; but Ezekiel disagreed with him, and said that Zedekiah should not see Babylon, while Jeremiah said to him, that the king of Babylon should carry him away thither in bonds....

(3) [108] Τὴν συμμαχίαν δὲ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους ἐπ᾽ ἔτη ὀκτὼ κατασχὼν διέλυσε τὰς πρὸς αὐτοὺς πίστεις καὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις προστίθεται καταλύσειν τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους ἐλπίσας, αἳ μετ᾽ ἐκείνων ἐγένοντο. [109] μαθὼν δὲ τοῦτο ὁ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεὺς ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν χώραν κακώσας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ φρούρια λαβὼν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν ἦκε τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν πολιορκήσων αὐτήν. [110] ὁ δ᾽ Αἰγύπτιος ἀκούσας ἐν οἷς ἐστιν ὁ σύμμαχος αὐτοῦ Σαχχίας ἀναλαβὼν πολλὴν δύναμιν ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὡς λύσων τὴν πολιορκίαν. ὁ δὲ Βαβυλώνιος ἀφίσταται τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, ἀπαντήσας δὲ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς τῇ μάχῃ νικᾷ καὶ τρεψάμενος αὐτοὺς εἰς φυγὴν ἐξ ὅλης διώκει τῆς Συρίας. [111] ὡς δ᾽ ἀνεχώρησεν ὁ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, ἐξηπάτησαν οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται τὸν Σαχχίαν λέγοντες οὔτε τὸν Βαβυλώνιον ἔτι αὐτὸν πολεμήσειν καὶ τοὺς ὁμοφύλους, οὓς ἀναστήσειεν ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας εἰς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, μετὰ πάντων ἀνήξειν τῶν τοῦ ναοῦ σκευῶν, ὧν ἐσύλησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκ τοῦ νεώ. [112] τἀναντία δὲ τούτων καὶ ἀληθῆ προελθὼν Ἱερεμίας προεφήτευσεν, ὡς ποιοῦσι μὲν κακῶς καὶ ἐξαπατῶσι τὸν βασιλέα, παρὰ δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ὄφελος, ἀλλὰ νικήσας αὐτοὺς ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἐπιστρατεύσειν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα μέλλει, καὶ πολιορκήσει τε καὶ τῷ λιμῷ διαφθερεῖ τὸν δῆμον, καὶ τοὺς περιλειφθέντας αἰχμαλώτους ἄξει, καὶ τὰς οὐσίας διαρπάσει, καὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ πλοῦτον ἐκφορήσας ἔτι καὶ αὐτὸν ἐμπρήσει καὶ κατασκάψει τὴν πόλιν, καὶ δουλεύσομεν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐτοῦ ἐπ᾽ ἔτη ἑβδομήκοντα. [113] παύσουσι δ᾽ ἡμᾶς τότε τῆς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῖς δουλείας Πέρσαι τε καὶ Μῆδοι καταλύσαντες Βαβυλωνίους, ἀφ᾽ ὧν εἰς τήνδε ἀπολυθέντες οἰκοδομήσομεν τὸν ναὸν πάλιν καὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα κατα [114] στήσομεν.” ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Ἱερεμίας ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πλειόνων ἐπιστεύετο, οἱ δὲ ἡγεμόνες καὶ οἱ ἀσεβεῖς ὡς ἐξεστηκότα τῶν φρενῶν αὐτὸν οὕτως ἐξεφαύλιζον. δόξαν δὲ αὐτῷ που καὶ εἰς τὴν πατρίδα παραγενέσθαι λεγομένην Ἀναθὼθ σταδίους δ᾽ ἀπέχουσαν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων εἴκοσι, συντυχὼν κατὰ τὴν

ὁδὸν τῶν ἀρχόντων τις συλλαβὼν κατέσχε συκοφαντῶν ὡς πρὸς τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους αὐτομολοῦντα. [115] ὁ δὲ ψευδῆ μὲν ἐκεῖνον ἔλεγεν αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρειν αὐτῷ, βαδίζειν δ' αὐτὸν ἔφασκεν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα. ὁ δ' οὐ πεισθεὶς ἀλλὰ λαβὼν αὐτὸν ἤγαγεν εἰς δίκην πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ὑφ' ὧν πᾶσαν αἰκίαν καὶ βασάνους ὑπομείνας ἐφυλάττετο πρὸς τιμωρίαν. καὶ χρόνον μέν τινα διῆγεν οὕτως ἀδίκως πάσχων τὰ προειρημένα.

3. Now when Zedekiah had preserved the league of mutual assistance he had made with the Babylonians for eight years, he brake it, and revolted to the Egyptians, in hopes, by their assistance, of overcoming the Babylonians. When the king of Babylon knew this, he made war against him: he laid his country waste, and took his fortified towns, and came to the city Jerusalem itself to besiege it. But when the king of Egypt heard what circumstances Zedekiah his ally was in, he took a great army with him, and came into Judea, as if he would raise the siege; upon which the king of Babylon departed from Jerusalem, and met the Egyptians, and joined battle with them, and beat them; and when he had put them to flight, he pursued them, and drove them out of all Syria. Now as soon as the king of Babylon was departed from Jerusalem, the false prophets deceived Zedekiah, and said that the king of Babylon would not any more make war against him or his people, nor remove them out of their own country into Babylon; and that those then in captivity would return, with all those vessels of the temple of which the king of Babylon had despoiled that temple. But Jeremiah came among them, and prophesied what contradicted those predictions, and what proved to be true, that they did ill, and deluded the king; that the Egyptians would be of no advantage to them, but that the king of Babylon would renew the war against Jerusalem, and besiege it again, and would destroy the people by famine, and carry away those that remained into captivity, and would take away what they had as spoils, and would carry off those riches that were in the temple; nay, that, besides this, he would burn it, and utterly overthrow the city, and that they should serve him and his posterity seventy years; that then the Persians and the Medes should put an end to their servitude, and overthrow the Babylonians; "and that we shall be dismissed, and return to this land, and rebuild the temple, and restore Jerusalem." When Jeremiah said this, the greater part believed him; but the rulers, and those that were wicked, despised him, as one disordered in his senses. Now he had resolved to go elsewhere, to his own country, which was called Anathoth, and was twenty furlongs distant from Jerusalem; and as he was going, one of the rulers met him, and seized upon him, and accused him falsely, as though he were going as a deserter to the Babylonians; but Jeremiah said that he accused him falsely, and added, that he was only going to his own country;

but the other would not believe him, but seized upon him, and led him away to the rulers, and laid an accusation against him, under whom he endured all sorts of torments and tortures, and was reserved to be punished; and this was the condition he was in for some time, while he suffered what I have already described unjustly.

(4) [116] Ἔτει δ' ἐνάτῳ τῆς Σαχχίου βασιλείας καὶ ἡμέρᾳ δεκάτῃ τοῦ δεκάτου μηνὸς στρατεύει τὸ δεύτερον ὁ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ προσκαθίσας αὐτῇ μῆνας ὀκτωκαίδεκα μετὰ πάσης πολιορκεῖ φιλοτιμίας. συνεπέθετο δὲ εἰς ταὐτὸ πολιορκουμένοις τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις δύο τὰ μέγιστα τῶν παθῶν, λιμὸς καὶ φθορὰ λοιμικὴ ἐνσκήψαντα σφοδρῶς. [117] ἐν δὲ τῇ εἱρκτῇ τυγχάνων ὁ προφήτης Ἱερεμίας οὐχ ἡσύχαζεν, ἀλλ' ἐκεκράγει καὶ ἐκήρυσσε παραινῶν τῷ πλήθει δέξασθαι τὸν Βαβυλώνιον ἀνοίξαντας τὰς πύλας: σωθήσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς πανοικὶ τοῦτο πράξαντας, εἰ δὲ μή, διαφθαρήσεσθαι. [118] προύλεγεν δ' ὡς εἰ μὲν ἐπιμένοι τις ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντως ἀπολεῖται θατέρῳ ἢ λιμῷ δαπανηθεὶς ἢ σιδήρῳ τῷ τῶν πολεμίων, εἰ δὲ φύγοι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, διαδράσεται τὸν θάνατον. [119] οὐδὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς δὲ ὄντες τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐπίστευον οἱ ταῦτ' ἀκούοντες τῶν ἡγεμόνων, ἀλλὰ μετ' ὀργῆς ἀπήγγελλον ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ κατηγοροῦντες κατηγοροῦντες κατηγοροῦντες

denunciation of miseries weakened the alacrity of the multitude, who were otherwise ready to expose themselves to dangers for him, and for their country, while he, in a way of threatening, warned them to flee to the enemy, and told them that the city should certainly be taken, and be utterly destroyed.

(5) [120] Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπὸ χρηστότητος καὶ δικαιοσύνης οὐδὲν ἰδίᾳ παρωξύνθη, ἵνα δὲ μὴ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἀπεχθάνηται παρὰ τοιοῦτον καιρὸν ἀντιπράττων αὐτῶν τῇ προαιρέσει, τὸν προφήτην ἐφῆκεν αὐτοῖς ποιεῖν ὅτι ἂν θέλωσιν. [121] ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἐφέντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν εἱρκτὴν εἰσελθόντες καὶ παραλαβόντες αὐτὸν εἴς τινα λάκκον βορβόρου πλήρη καθίμησαν, ὅπως ἰδίῳ θανάτῳ πνιγεὶς ἀποθάνῃ. ὁ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ αὐχένος ὑπὸ τοῦ πηλοῦ περισχεθεὶς ἐν τούτοις ἦν. [122] τῶν δ᾽ οἰκετῶν τις τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τιμῇ τυγχάνων Αἰθίοψ τὸ γένος τὸ περὶ τὸν προφήτην πάθος ἀπήγγειλε τῷ βασιλεῖ φάσκων οὐκ ὀρθῶς ταῦτα τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτοῦ πεποιηκέναι καταποντίσαντας εἰς βόρβορον τὸν προφήτην καὶ τοῦ διὰ τῶν δεσμῶν θανάτου πικρότερον οὕτως ἐσόμενον ἐπινοήσαντας κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ. [123] ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ μετανοήσας ἐν τῷ παραδοῦναι τὸν προφήτην τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐκέλευσε τὸν Αἰθίοπα τριάκοντα τῶν βασιλικῶν παραλαβόντα καὶ σχοίνους καὶ πᾶν ὃ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ προφήτου σωτηρίαν ἐπινοεῖν χρήσιμον μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀνελκύσαι τὸν Ἱερεμίαν. ὁ δ᾽ Αἰθίοψ παραλαβὼν οὓς ἐπετάγη ἀνέσπασεν ἐκ τοῦ βορβόρου τὸν προφήτην καὶ διαφῆκεν ἀφύλακτον.

5. But for the king himself, he was not at all irritated against Jeremiah, such was his gentle and righteous disposition; yet, that he might not be engaged in a quarrel with those rulers at such a time, by opposing what they intended, he let them do with the prophet whatsoever they would; whereupon, when the king had granted them such a permission, they presently came into the prison, and took him, and let him down with a cord into a pit full of mire, that he might be suffocated, and die of himself. So he stood up to the neck in the mire which was all about him, and so continued; but there was one of the king's servants, who was in esteem with him, an Ethiopian by descent, who told the king what a state the prophet was in, and said that his friends and his rulers had done evil in putting the prophet into the mire, and by that means contriving against him that he should suffer a death more bitter than that by his bonds only. When the king heard this, he repented of his having delivered up the prophet to the rulers, and bid the Ethiopian take thirty men of the king's guards, and cords with them, and whatsoever else they understood to be necessary for the prophet's preservation, and to draw him up immediately. So the Ethiopian took the men he was ordered to take, and drew up the prophet out of the mire, and left him at liberty [in the prison].

(6) [124] Μεταπεμψαμένου δ᾽ αὐτὸν κρύφα τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τί δύναται φράζειν αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα σημαίνειν ἐρομένου, ἔχειν μὲν ἔλεγεν, οὐ πιστευθήσεσθαι δ᾽ εἰπὼν οὐδὲ παραινέσας ἀκουσθήσεσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς δὴ μέγα κακόν τι εἰργασμένον ἀπολέσαι διέγνωσαν οἱ σοὶ φίλοι, φησί, καὶ ποῦ νῦν εἰσιν οἱ τὸν Βαβυλώνιον οὐκέθ᾽ ἡμῖν ἐπιστρατεύσειν φάσκοντες καὶ ἀπατῶντες ὑμᾶς; εὐλαβοῦμαι δὲ νῦν γε τὴν ἀλήθειαν εἰπεῖν, μή με κατακρίνῃς θανάτῳ.” τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ὅρκους αὐτῷ δόντος, [125] ὡς οὔτε αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἀναιρήσει οὔτε τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐκδώσει, θαρσήσας τῇ δεδομένῃ πίστει συνεβούλευσεν αὐτῷ παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις: [126] ταῦτα δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν δι᾽ αὐτοῦ προφητεύειν ἔλεγεν, εἴ γε βούλεται σώζεσθαι καὶ τὸν ἐφεστῶτα κίνδυνον διαφυγεῖν καὶ μήτε τὴν πόλιν εἰς ἔδαφος πεσεῖν, μήτε τὸν ναὸν ἐμπρησθέντα Γὰρ αὐτὸν τούτων παραίτιον ἔσεσθαι τῶν κακῶν τοῖς πολίταις καὶ αὐτῷ πανοικὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς. [127] ὁ δὲ ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας βούλεσθαι μὲν αὐτὸς ἔφη ποιεῖν ἃ παραινεῖ καὶ λέγει συνοίσειν αὐτῷ γινόμενα, δεδιέναι δὲ τοὺς αὐτομολήσαντας τῶν ὁμοφύλων πρὸς τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους, μὴ διαβληθεὶς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ κολασθῇ. [128] παρεθάρσυνε δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ προφήτης καὶ μάτην ὑπονοεῖν τὴν τιμωρίαν ἔλεγεν: οὐδενὸς γὰρ κακοῦ πειραθήσεσθαι παραδόντα τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις οὔτ᾽ αὐτὸν οὔτε τὰ τέκνα οὔτε τὰς γυναῖκας, μενεῖν δὲ καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἀπαθῆ. [129] καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἰερεμίαν ταῦτ᾽ εἰπόντα ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπέλυσεν προστάξας αὐτῷ πρὸς μηδένα τῶν πολιτῶν ἐξενεγκεῖν τὰ δόξαντ᾽ αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν, εἰ μαθόντες αὐτὸν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ μετάπεμπτον γεγονέναι πυνθάνονται τί κληθεὶς εἴποι πρὸς αὐτόν, φράζειν τι τούτων, ἀλλὰ σκήπτεσθαι πρὸς αὐτούς, ὅτι δεηθείη μὴ ἐν δεσμῷ τυγχάνειν καὶ φυλακῇ. [130] καὶ δὴ τοῦτο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔλεγεν: ἐπυνθάνοντο γὰρ ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὸν προφήτην, τί περὶ αὐτῶν ἀφίκοιτο πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα σκήπτεσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐλέχθη.

6. But when the king had sent to call him privately, and inquired what he could say to him from God, which might be suitable to his present circumstances, and desired him to inform him of it, Jeremiah replied, that he had somewhat to say; but he said withal, he should not be believed, nor, if he admonished them, should be hearkened to; “for,” said he, “thy friends have determined to destroy me, as though I had been guilty of some wickedness; and where are now those men who deceived us, and said that the king of Babylon would not come and fight against us any more? but I am afraid now to speak the truth, lest thou shouldst condemn me to die.” And when the king had assured him upon oath, that he would neither himself put him to death, nor deliver him up to the rulers, he became bold upon that assurance that was given him, and gave him this advice: That he should deliver the city up to the Babylonians; and he said that it was God who prophesied this by him, that [he must do so] if he would be preserved, and

escape out of the danger he was in, and that then neither should the city fall to the ground, nor should the temple be burned; but that [if he disobeyed] he would be the cause of these miseries coming upon the citizens, and of the calamity that would befall his whole house. When the king heard this, he said that he would willingly do what he persuaded him to, and what he declared would be to his advantage, but that he was afraid of those of his own country that had fallen away to the Babylonians, lest he should be accused by them to the king of Babylon, and be punished. But the prophet encouraged him, and said he had no cause to fear such punishment, for that he should not have the experience of any misfortune, if he would deliver all up to the Babylonians, neither himself, nor his children, nor his wives, and that the temple should then continue unhurt. So when Jeremiah had said this, the king let him go, and charged him to betray what they had resolved on to none of the citizens, nor to tell any of these matters to any of the rulers, if they should have learned that he had been sent for, and should inquire of him what it was that he was sent for, and what he had said to him; but to pretend to them that he besought him that he might not be kept in bonds and in prison. And indeed he said so to them; for they came to the prophet, and asked him what advice it was that he came to give the king relating to them. And thus I have finished what concerns this matter.

VIII

CHAPTER 8. How The King Of Babylon Took Jerusalem And Burnt The Temple And Removed The People Of Jerusalem And Zedekiah To Babylon. As Also, Who They Were That Had Succeeded In The High Priesthood Under The Kings.

(1) [131] Τῆς δὲ πολιορκίας τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἐντεταμένως σφόδρα καὶ προθύμως εἶχετο: πύργους τε γὰρ μεγάλων οἰκοδομήσας χωμάτων ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀνεῖργε τοὺς τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐφεστῶτας, καὶ πολλὰ περὶ τὸν κύκλον ὅλον ἤγειρε χώματα τοῖς τείχεσι τὸ ὕψος ἴσα. [132] καρτερῶς δὲ καὶ προθύμως ἔφερον οἱ ἐντὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν: ἔκαμνον γὰρ οὔτε πρὸς τὸν λιμὸν οὔτε πρὸς τὴν νόσον τὴν λοιμικήν, ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἔνδον ὑπὸ τούτων ἐλαυνόμενοι τῶν παθῶν τὰς ψυχὰς ἔρρωντο πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, μήτε πρὸς τὰς ἐπινοίας τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα καταπληττόμενοι, ἀλλ᾽ ἀντιμηχανήματα πρὸς πάντα τὰ παρ᾽ ἐκείνων ἀντεπινοοῦντες: [133] ὡς εἶναι τὸν ὅλον ἀγῶνα καὶ τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις καὶ τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις τῆς ὀξύτητος καὶ συνέσεως, τῶν μὲν πλέον ἐν ταύτῃ δυνηθῆναι τὴν ἀναίρεσιν οἰομένων εἶναι τῆς πόλεως, τῶν δὲ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐν οὐκ ἄλλῳ τιθεμένων ἢ ἐν τῷ μὴ καμεῖν μηδ᾽ ἀπειπεῖν ἀντεφευρίσκοντας οἷς μάταια τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπελεγχθήσεται μηχανήματα. [134] καὶ ταῦθ᾽ ὑπέμειναν ἐπὶ μῆνας ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἕως οὗ διεφθάρησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ τῶν βελῶν, ἅπερ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων εἰς αὐτοὺς ἠκόντιζον οἱ πολέμιοι.

1. Now the king of Babylon was very intent and earnest upon the siege of Jerusalem; and he erected towers upon great banks of earth, and from them repelled those that stood upon the walls; he also made a great number of such banks round about the whole city, whose height was equal to those walls. However, those that were within bore the siege with courage and alacrity, for they were not discouraged, either by the famine, or by the pestilential distemper, but were of cheerful minds in the prosecution of the war, although those miseries within oppressed them also, and they did not suffer themselves to be terrified, either by the contrivances of the enemy, or by their engines of war, but contrived still different engines to oppose all the other withal, till indeed there seemed to be an entire struggle between the Babylonians and the people of Jerusalem, which had the greater sagacity and skill; the former party supposing they should be thereby too hard for the other, for the destruction of the city; the latter placing their hopes of deliverance in nothing else but in persevering in such inventions

in opposition to the other, as might demonstrate the enemy's engines were useless to them. And this siege they endured for eighteen months, until they were destroyed by the famine, and by the darts which the enemy threw at them from the towers.

(2) [135] Ἡιρέθη δ' ἡ πόλις ἐνδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς Σαχχίου βασιλείας τοῦ τετάρτου μηνὸς τῇ ἐνάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ. εἶλον δ' οὖν οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, οἷς ἐπίστευσε τὴν πολιορκίαν ὁ Ναβουχοδονόσορος: αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐν Ἀραβαθᾶ διέτριβε πόλει. τὰ δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ὀνόματα, εἴ τις ἐπιζητήσειε γνῶναι, οἵτινες τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πορθήσαντες ὑπέταξαν, ἦν Ῥεγάλσαρος, Ἀρέμαντος, Σεμέγαρος, Ναβώσαρις, Ἀχαράμψαρις. [136] ἀλούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως περὶ μέσην νύκτα καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῶν πολεμίων εἰσελθόντων εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν γνοὺς ὁ Σαχχίας ὁ βασιλεύς, παραλαβὼν τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ τοὺς φίλους φεύγει μετ' αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως διὰ τῆς καρτερᾶς φάραγγος καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου. [137] φρασάντων δὲ τοῦτό τινων αὐτομόλων τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον ὥρμησαν διώκειν αὐτόν, καταλαβόντες δὲ οὐκ ἄπωθεν Ἰεριχοῦντος ἐκυκλώσαντο αὐτόν: οἱ δὲ φίλοι καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες οἱ συμφυγόντες τῷ Σαχχίᾳ ἐπεὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐγγὺς ὄντας εἶδον, καταλιπόντες αὐτὸν διεσπάρησαν ἄλλος ἀλλαχοῦ καὶ σώζειν ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος ἔγνω. [138] περιλειφθέντα τε αὐτὸν σὺν ὀλίγοις ζωγρήσαντες οἱ πολέμιοι μετὰ τῶν τέκνων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ἤγαγον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. παραγενόμενον δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ναβουχοδονόσαρος ἀσεβῆ καὶ παράσπονδον ἀποκαλεῖν ἤρξατο καὶ ἀμνήμονα τῶν πρόσω λόγων, οὓς ἐποιήσατο σώζειν αὐτῷ τὴν χώραν ὑποσχόμενος. [139] ὠνείδιζε δὲ καὶ ἀχαριστίαν παρ' αὐτοῦ μὲν λαβόντι τὴν βασιλείαν, Ἰωακείμου γὰρ αὐτὴν οὖσαν ἀφελόμενον ἐκείνῳ δοῦναι, χρησαμένῳ δὲ τῇ δυνάμει κατὰ τοῦ παρασχόντος: "ἀλλὰ μέγας, εἶπεν, ὁ θεός, ὃς μισήσας σου τὸν τρόπον ὑποχείριον ἡμῖν ἔθηκε." [140] χρησάμενος δὲ τούτοις πρὸς Σαχχίαν τοῖς λόγοις τοὺς υἱοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἀνελεῖν καὶ τοὺς φίλους παραχρῆμα αὐτοῦ τε Σαχχίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰχμαλώτων βλεπόντων, ἔπειτα τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐκκόψας τοῦ Σαχχίου δήσας ἤγαγεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα. [141] καὶ ταῦτ' αὐτῷ συνέβη, ἃ Ἱερεμίας τε καὶ Ἰεζεκίηλος προεφήτευσαν αὐτῷ, ὅτι συλληφθεὶς ἀχθήσεται πρὸς τὸν Βαβυλώνιον καὶ λαλήσει αὐτῷ κατὰ στόμα καὶ ὄψεται τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἱερεμίας εἶπε, τυφλωθεὶς δὲ καὶ ἀχθεὶς εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ταύτην οὐκ εἶδε καθὼς Ἰεζεκίηλος προεῖπε.

2. Now the city was taken on the ninth day of the fourth month, in the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah. They were indeed only generals of the king of Babylon, to whom Nebuchadnezzar committed the care of the siege, for he abode himself in the city of Riblah. The names of these generals who ravaged and subdued Jerusalem, if any one desire to know them, were these: Nergal

Sharezer, Samgar Nebo, Rabsaris, Sorsechim, and Rabmag. And when the city was taken about midnight, and the enemy's generals were entered into the temple, and when Zedekiah was sensible of it, he took his wives, and his children, and his captains, and his friends, and with them fled out of the city, through the fortified ditch, and through the desert; and when certain of the deserters had informed the Babylonians of this, at break of day, they made haste to pursue after Zedekiah, and overtook him not far from Jericho, and encompassed him about. But for those friends and captains of Zedekiah who had fled out of the city with him, when they saw their enemies near them, they left him, and dispersed themselves, some one way, and some another, and every one resolved to save himself; so the enemy took Zedekiah alive, when he was deserted by all but a few, with his children and his wives, and brought him to the king. When he was come, Nebuchadnezzar began to call him a wicked wretch, and a covenant-breaker, and one that had forgotten his former words, when he promised to keep the country for him. He also reproached him for his ingratitude, that when he had received the kingdom from him, who had taken it from Jehoiachin, and given it to him, he had made use of the power he gave him against him that gave it; "but," said he, "God is great, who hated that conduct of thine, and hath brought thee under us." And when he had used these words to Zedekiah, he commanded his sons and his friends to be slain, while Zedekiah and the rest of the captains looked on; after which he put out the eyes of Zedekiah, and bound him, and carried him to Babylon. And these things happened to him, as Jeremiah and Ezekiel had foretold to him, that he should be caught, and brought before the king of Babylon, and should speak to him face to face, and should see his eyes with his own eyes; and thus far did Jeremiah prophesy. But he was also made blind, and brought to Babylon, but did not see it, according to the prediction of Ezekiel.

(3) [142] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἱκανῶς ἐμφανίσαι δυνάμενα τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ φύσιν τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσιν εἰρήκαμεν, ὅτι ποικίλη τέ ἐστι καὶ πολύτροπος καὶ καθ' ὥραν ἀπαντᾷ τεταγμένως, ἅ τε δεῖ γενέσθαι προλέγει, τήν τε τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄγνοιαν καὶ ἀπιστίαν, ὑφ' ἧς οὐδὲν προιδεῖν εἰάθησαν τῶν ἀποβησομένων, ἀφύλακτοι δὲ ταῖς συμφοραῖς παρεδόθησαν, ὡς ἀμήχανον αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν πεῖραν διαφυγεῖν.

3. We have said thus much, because it was sufficient to show the nature of God to such as are ignorant of it, that it is various, and acts many different ways, and that all events happen after a regular manner, in their proper season, and that it foretells what must come to pass. It is also sufficient to show the ignorance and incredulity of men, whereby they are not permitted to foresee any thing that is

future, and are, without any guard, exposed to calamities, so that it is impossible for them to avoid the experience of those calamities.

(4) [143] Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τοῦ Δαυίδου γένους βασιλεύσαντες οὕτως κατέστρεψαν τὸν βίον, εἴκοσι μὲν καὶ εἷς γενόμενοι μέχρι τοῦ τελευταίου βασιλέως, ἔτη δὲ πάντες βασιλεύσαντες πεντακόσια καὶ δεκατέσσαρα καὶ μῆνας ἓξ καὶ ἡμέρας δέκα, ἐξ ὧν εἴκοσι τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέσχεν ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν βασιλεὺς Σαοῦλος οὐκ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς φυλῆς ὑπάρχων.

4. And after this manner have the kings of David's race ended their lives, being in number twenty-one, until the last king, who all together reigned five hundred and fourteen years, and six months, and ten days; of whom Saul, who was their first king, retained the government twenty years, though he was not of the same tribe with the rest.

(5) [144] Ὁ δὲ Βαβυλώνιος πέμπει τὸν αὐτοῦ στρατηγὸν Ναβουζαρδάνην εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα συλήσοντα τὸν ναόν, προστάξας ἅμα καὶ καταπρῆσαι αὐτόν τε καὶ τὰ βασίλεια τήν τε πόλιν εἰς ἔδαφος καθελεῖν καὶ τὸν λαὸν εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν μεταστῆσαι. [145] ὃς γενόμενος ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐνδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς Σαχχίου βασιλείας συλᾷ τε τὸν ναὸν καὶ βαστάζει τὰ σκεύη τοῦ θεοῦ χρυσᾶ τε καὶ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν μέγαν λουτῆρα, ὃν Σολόμων ἀνέθηκεν, ἔτι γε μὴν τοὺς στύλους τοὺς χαλκοῦς καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν τάς τε χρυσᾶς τραπέζας καὶ τὰς λυχνίας. [146] βαστάσας δὴ ταῦτα ἀνῆψε τὸν ναὸν μηνὶ πέμπτῳ τῇ νουμηνίᾳ ἐνδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς Σαχχίου βασιλείας, ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ δὲ τῆς Ναβουχοδονοσόρου: ἐνέπρησε δὲ καὶ τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατέστρεψεν. [147] ἐνεπρήσθη δὲ ὁ ναὸς μετὰ τετρακόσια ἔτη καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ μῆνας ἓξ καὶ δέκα ἡμέρας, ἀφ' οὗ κατεσκευάσθη: τῇ δ' ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μεταναστάσει τοῦ λαοῦ τότε ἦν ἔτη χίλια ἑξηκονταδύο μῆνες ἓξ ἡμέραι δέκα: τῷ δὲ κατακλυσμῷ μέχρι τῆς τοῦ ναοῦ πορθήσεως χρόνος ἦν ὁ πᾶς ἐτῶν χιλίων ἐνακοσίων πεντηκονταεπτὰ μηνῶν ἓξ ἡμερῶν δέκα: [148] ἐξ οὗ δ' ἐγεννήθη ὁ Ἄδαμος μέχρι τῶν περὶ τὸν ναὸν συμβάντων ἔτη ἐστὶ τετρακισχίλια πεντακόσια δεκατρία μῆνες ἓξ ἡμέραι δέκα. τοσοῦτον μὲν οὖν τὸ τούτων τῶν ἐτῶν πλῆθος: ὅσα γε μὴν ἐπράχθη καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν συμβεβηκότων δεδηλώκαμεν. [149] ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς τοῦ Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέως κατασκάψας τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸν λαὸν μεταναστήσας ἔλαβεν αἰχμαλώτους τὸν ἀρχιερέα Σεβαῖον καὶ τὸν μετ' αὐτὸν ἱερέα Σεφενίαν καὶ τοὺς φυλάσσοντας τὸ ἱερὸν ἡγεμόνας, τρεῖς δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν εὐνοῦχον καὶ τοὺς φίλους τοῦ Σαχχίου ἑπτὰ καὶ τὸν γραμματέα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλους ἡγεμόνας ἑξήκοντα, οὓς ἅπαντας μεθ' ὧν ἐσύλησε σκευῶν ἐκόμισε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα εἰς Σαλάβαθα πόλιν τῆς Συρίας. [150] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοῦ μὲν ἀρχιερέως καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐκέλευσεν ἐκεῖ τὰς κεφαλὰς

ἀποτεμεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ πάντας τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τὸν Σαχχίαν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα δέσμιον ἐπήγετο καὶ Ἰωσάδακον τὸν ἀρχιερέα ὄντα υἱὸν Σαραία τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, ὃν ἀπέκτεινεν ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἐν Ἀριβαθᾶ πόλει τῆς Συρίας, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἡμῖν δεδήλωται.

5. And now it was that the king of Babylon sent Nebuzaradan, the general of his army, to Jerusalem, to pillage the temple, who had it also in command to burn it and the royal palace, and to lay the city even with the ground, and to transplant the people into Babylon. Accordingly, he came to Jerusalem in the eleventh year of king Zedekiah, and pillaged the temple, and carried out the vessels of God, both gold and silver, and particularly that large laver which Solomon dedicated, as also the pillars of brass, and their chapiters, with the golden tables and the candlesticks; and when he had carried these off, he set fire to the temple in the fifth month, the first day of the month, in the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah, and in the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar: he also burnt the palace, and overthrew the city. Now the temple was burnt four hundred and seventy years, six months, and ten days after it was built. It was then one thousand and sixty-two years, six months, and ten days from the departure out of Egypt; and from the deluge to the destruction of the temple, the whole interval was one thousand nine hundred and fifty-seven years, six months, and ten days; but from the generation of Adam, until this befell the temple, there were three thousand five hundred and thirteen years, six months, and ten days; so great was the number of years hereto belonging. And what actions were done during these years we have particularly related. But the general of the Babylonian king now overthrew the city to the very foundations, and removed all the people, and took for prisoners the high priest Seraiah, and Zephaniah the priest that was next to him, and the rulers that guarded the temple, who were three in number, and the eunuch who was over the armed men, and seven friends of Zedekiah, and his scribe, and sixty other rulers; all which, together with the vessels which they had pillaged, he carried to the king of Babylon to Riblah, a city of Syria. So the king commanded the heads of the high priest and of the rulers to be cut off there; but he himself led all the captives and Zedekiah to Babylon. He also led Josedek the high priest away bound. He was the son of Seraiah the high priest, whom the king of Babylon had slain in Riblah, a city of Syria, as we just now related.

(6) [151] Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ γένος διεξήλθομεν τὸ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τίνες ἦσαν δεδηλώκαμεν καὶ τοὺς χρόνους αὐτῶν, ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην καὶ τῶν ἀρχιερέων εἰπεῖν τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τίνες ἦσαν οἱ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην καταδείξαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι. [152] πρῶτος μὲν οὖν Σάδωκος ἀρχιερεὺς ἐγένετο τοῦ ναοῦ, ὃν Σολόμων ᾠκοδόμησε: μετ᾽ αὐτὸν δ᾽ ὁ υἱὸς Ἀχιμᾶς διαδέχεται τὴν τιμὴν καὶ μετὰ

Ἀχιμᾶν Ἀζαρίας, τούτου δὲ Ἰώραμος, τοῦ δὲ Ἰωράμου Ἴως, μετ᾽ αὐτὸν δὲ Ἀξιώραμος, [153] τοῦ δὲ Ἀξιωράμου Φιδέας, τοῦ δὲ Φιδέα Σουδαίας, τοῦ δὲ Σουδαία Ἰουῆλος, τοῦ δὲ Ἰώθαμος, Ἰωθάμου δὲ Οὐρίας, Οὐρία δὲ Νηρίας, Νηρία δὲ Ὠδαίας, τοῦ δὲ Σαλοῦμος, Σαλούμου δὲ Ἐλκίας, Ἐλκία δ᾽ Ἄζαρος, τοῦ δὲ Ἰωσάδακος ὁ αἰχμαλωτισθεὶς εἰς Βαβυλῶνα. οὗτοι πάντες παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς διεδέξαντο τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην.

6. And now, because we have enumerated the succession of the kings, and who they were, and how long they reigned, I think it necessary to set down the names of the high priests, and who they were that succeeded one another in the high priesthood under the Kings. The first high priest then at the temple which Solomon built was Zadok; after him his son Achimas received that dignity; after Achimas was Azarias; his son was Joram, and Joram's son was Isus; after him was Axioramus; his son was Phidens, and Phideas's son was Sudeas, and Sudeas's son was Juelus, and Juelus's son was Jotham, and Jotham's son was Urias, and Urias's son was Nerias, and Nerias's son was Odeas, and his son was Sallumus, and Sallumus's son was Elcias, and his son [was Azarias, and his son] was Sareas, and his son was Josedec, who was carried captive to Babylon. All these received the high priesthood by succession, the sons from their father.

(7) [154] Παραγενόμενος δ᾽ εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ὁ βασιλεὺς Σαχχίαν μὲν εἶχεν ἄχρις οὗ καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν εἱρκτῇ, θάψας δ᾽ αὐτὸν βασιλικῶς τὰ σκεύη τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Ἱεροσολύμων συληθέντα ναοῦ ἀνέθηκε τοῖς ἰδίοις θεοῖς, τὸν δὲ λαὸν κατῴκισεν ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίτιδι χώρᾳ, τὸν δὲ ἀρχιερέα ἀπέλυσε τῶν δεσμῶν.

7. When the king was come to Babylon, he kept Zedekiah in prison until he died, and buried him magnificently, and dedicated the vessels he had pillaged out of the temple of Jerusalem to his own gods, and planted the people in the country of Babylon, but freed the high priest from his bonds.

IX

CHAPTER 9. How Nebuzaradan Set Gedaliah Over The Jews That Were Left In Judea Which Gedaliah Was A Little Afterward Slain By Ishmael; And How Johanan After Ishmael Was Driven Away Went Down Into Egypt With The People Which People Nebuchadnezzar When He Made An Expedition Against The Egyptians Took Captive And Brought Them Away To Babylon.

(1) [155] Ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς Ναβουζαρδάνης αἰχμαλωτίσας τὸν τῶν Ἑβραίων λαὸν τοὺς πένητας καὶ αὐτομόλους ἐκεῖ κατέλιπεν ἀποδείξας αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνα Γαδαλίαν ὄνομ᾽ Ἀικάμου παῖδα τῶν εὖ γεγονότων ἐπιεικῆ καὶ δίκαιον, ἐπέταξε δ᾽ αὐτοῖς τὴν χώραν ἐργαζομένοις τῷ βασιλεῖ τελεῖν φόρον ὡρισμένον. [156] Ἱερεμίαν δὲ τὸν προφήτην λαβὼν ἐκ τῆς εἱρκτῆς ἔπειθεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα σὺν αὐτῷ παραγενέσθαι: κεκελεῦσθαι γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως πάντ᾽ αὐτῷ χορηγεῖν: εἰ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ βούλεται, δηλοῦν αὐτῷ ποῦ μένειν διέγνωκεν, ἵνα τοῦτο ἐπισταλῇ τῷ βασιλεῖ. [157] ὁ δὲ προφήτης οὔθ᾽ ἕπεσθαι ἤθελεν οὔτ᾽ ἀλλαχόσε που μένειν, ἡδέως δ᾽ εἶχεν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐρειπίοις τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῖς ταλαιπώροις αὐτῆς διαζῆσαι λειψάνοις. γνοὺς δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν προαίρεσιν ὁ στρατηγός, τῷ Γαδαλίᾳ προστάξας, ὃν κατέλιπεν, αὐτίκα πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν καὶ χορηγίαν ὅσων ἂν δέηται δωρησάμενός τε αὐτὸν δωρεαῖς πολυτελέσιν ἀπέλυσεν. [158] καὶ Ἱερεμίας μὲν κατέμεινεν [εἰς Δάναν] ἐν πόλει τῆς χώρας Μοσφοθᾶ καλουμένῃ παρακαλέσας τὸν Ναβουζαρδάνην, ἵν᾽ αὐτῷ συναπολύσῃ τὸν μαθητὴν Βαροῦχον Νήρου δὲ παῖδα ἐξ ἐπισήμου σφόδρα οἰκίας ὄντα καὶ τῇ πατρίῳ γλώττῃ διαφερόντως πεπαιδευμένον.

1. Now the general of the army, Nebuzaradan, when he had carried the people of the Jews into captivity, left the poor, and those that had deserted, in the country, and made one, whose name was Gedaliah, the son of Ahikam, a person of a noble family, their governor; which Gedaliah was of a gentle and righteous disposition. He also commanded them that they should cultivate the ground, and pay an appointed tribute to the king. He also took Jeremiah the prophet out of prison, and would have persuaded him to go along with him to Babylon, for that he had been enjoined by the king to supply him with whatsoever he wanted; and if he did not like to do so, he desired him to inform him where he resolved to

dwell, that he might signify the same to the king. But the prophet had no mind to follow him, nor to dwell any where else, but would gladly live in the ruins of his country, and in the miserable remains of it. When the general understood what his purpose was, he enjoined Gedaliah, whom he left behind, to take all possible care of him, and to supply him with whatsoever he wanted. So when he had given him rich presents, he dismissed him. Accordingly, Jeremiah abode in a city of that country, which was called Mispah; and desired of Nebuzaradan that he would set at liberty his disciple Baruch, the son of Neriah, one of a very eminent family, and exceeding skillful in the language of his country.

(2) [159] Ναβουζαρδάνης δὲ ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ὥρμησεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα. οἱ δὲ πολιορκουμένων Ἱεροσολύμων φυγόντες διασκεδασθέντες κατὰ τὴν χώραν, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους ἤκουσαν ἀνακεχωρηκότας καὶ λείψανά τινα καταλελοιπότας ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν γῇ [καὶ] τοὺς ταύτην ἐργασομένους, συλλεχθέντες πανταχόθεν ἦκον πρὸς τὸν Γαδαλίαν εἰς Μασαφθά. [160] ἡγεμόνες δ' ἦσαν ἐν αὐτοῖς Ἰωάδης υἱὸς Καρίου καὶ Σερέας καὶ Ἰωαζανίας καὶ ἕτεροι πρὸς τούτοις, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους ἦν τις Ἰσμάηλος πονηρὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ δολιώτατος, ὃς πολιορκουμένων τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἔφυγε πρὸς τὸν Ἀμμανιτῶν βασιλέα Βααλεὶμ καὶ συνδιήγαγεν αὐτῷ τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον. [161] τούτους τοίνυν γενομένους αὐτοῦ Γαδαλίας ἔπεισε μένειν αὐτίκα μηδὲν δεδιότας τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους: γεωργοῦντας γὰρ τὴν χώραν οὐδὲν πείσεσθαι δεινόν. ταῦτα ὀμνὺς αὐτοῖς διεβεβαιοῦτο καὶ προστάτην αὐτὸν ἔχειν λέγων, ὥστε εἴ τις ἐνοχλοίη τεύξεσθαι τῆς προθυμίας: [162] καὶ συνεβούλευε κατοικεῖν [εἰς] ἣν ἕκαστος βούλεται πόλιν ἀποστέλλοντα μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ ἀνακτίζειν τὰ ἐδάφη καὶ κατοικεῖν: προεῖπέ τε παρασκευάζεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἕως ἔτι καιρός ἐστι σῖτον καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἔλαιον, ὅπως ἔχωσι διὰ τοῦ χειμῶνος τρέφεσθαι. ταῦτα διαλεχθεὶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπέλυσε [διὰ] τῆς χώρας εἰς ὃν ἕκαστος ἐβούλετο τόπον.

2. When Nebuzaradan had done thus, he made haste to Babylon. But as to those that fled away during the siege of Jerusalem, and had been scattered over the country, when they heard that the Babylonians were gone away, and had left a remnant in the land of Jerusalem, and those such as were to cultivate the same, they came together from all parts to Gedaliah to Mispah. Now the rulers that were over them were Johanan, the son of Kareah, and Jezaniah, and Seraiah, and others beside them. Now there was of the royal family one Ishmael, a wicked man, and very crafty, who, during the siege of Jerusalem, fled to Baalis, the king of the Ammonites, and abode with him during that time; and Gedaliah persuaded them, now they were there, to stay with him, and to have no fear of the Babylonians, for that if they would cultivate the country, they should suffer no harm. This he assured them of by oath; and said that they should have him for

their patron, and that if any disturbance should arise, they should find him ready to defend them. He also advised them to dwell in any city, as every one of them pleased; and that they would send men along with his own servants, and rebuild their houses upon the old foundations, and dwell there; and he admonished them beforehand, that they should make preparation, while the season lasted, of corn, and wine, and oil, that they might have whereon to feed during the winter. When he had thus discoursed to them, he dismissed them, that every one might dwell in what place of the country he pleased.

(3) [163] Διαδραμούσης δὲ φήμης εἰς τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἔθνη, ὅτι τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς παρ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐλθόντας Γαδαλίας ἐδέξατο φιλανθρώπως καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτοῖς γεωργοῦσι κατοικεῖν ἐφῆκεν, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ τελεῖν φόρον τῷ Βαβυλωνίῳ, συνέδραμον αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὸν Γαδαλίαν καὶ τὴν χώραν κατῴκησαν. [164] κατανοήσαντες δὲ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Γαδαλίου χρηστότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν Ἰωάννης καὶ οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἡγεμόνες ὑπερηγάπησαν αὐτὸν καὶ Βαάλιμον τὸν τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν βασιλέα ἔλεγον πέμψαι Ἰσμάηλον ἀποκτενοῦντα αὐτὸν δόλῳ κρυφίως, ὅπως αὐτὸς ἄρχῃ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν: εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ γένους τοῦ βασιλικοῦ. [165] ῥύσεσθαί γε μὴν ἔλεγον αὐτὸν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, ἂν αὐτοῖς ἐφῇ κτεῖναι τὸν Ἰσμάηλον, ὡς οὐδενὸς γνωσομένου: δεδιέναι γὰρ ἔφασκον, μὴ φονευθεὶς αὐτὸς ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου παντελὴς ἀπώλεια γένηται τῶν ὑπολελειμμένων τῆς τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἰσχύος. [166] ὁ δ᾽ ἀπιστεῖν αὐτοῖς ὡμολόγει κατ᾽ ἀνδρὸς εὖ πεπονθότος ἐπιβουλὴν τοιαύτην ἐμφανίσασιν: οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς εἶναι παρὰ τηλικαύτην ἐρημίαν ὧν ἔχρῃζε μὴ διαμαρτόντα οὕτως πονηρὸν εἰς τὸν εὐεργετήσαντα καὶ ἀνόσιον εὑρεθῆναι, ὡς τῷ μὲν τὸ ἀδίκημα τὸ μὴ ὑπ᾽ ἄλλων ἐπιβουλευόμενον σῶσαι, σπουδάζειν δὲ αὐτὸν αὐτόχειρα ζητεῖν αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι. [167] οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ εἰ ταῦτ᾽ ἀληθῆ δεῖ δοκεῖν, ἄμεινον ἔφασκεν ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου μᾶλλον, ἢ καταφυγόντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ πιστεύσαντα τὴν ἰδίαν σωτηρίαν καὶ παρακαταθέμενον αὐτῷ διαφθεῖραι.

3. Now when this report was spread abroad as far as the nations that bordered on Judea, that Gedaliah kindly entertained those that came to him, after they had fled away, upon this [only] condition, that they should pay tribute to the king of Babylon, they also came readily to Gedaliah, and inhabited the country. And when Johanan, and the rulers that were with him, observed the country, and the humanity of Gedaliah, they were exceedingly in love with him, and told him that Baalis, the king of the Ammonites, had sent Ishmael to kill him by treachery, and secretly, that he might have the dominion over the Israelites, as being of the royal family; and they said that he might deliver himself from this treacherous design, if he would give them leave to slay Ishmael, and nobody should know it, for they told him they were afraid that, when he was killed by the other, the

entire ruin of the remaining strength of the Israelites would ensue. But he professed that he did not believe what they said, when they told him of such a treacherous design, in a man that had been well treated by him; because it was not probable that one who, under such a want of all things, had failed of nothing that was necessary for him, should be found so wicked and ungrateful towards his benefactor, that when it would be an instance of wickedness in him not to save him, had he been treacherously assaulted by others, to endeavor, and that earnestly, to kill him with his own hands: that, however, if he ought to suppose this information to be true, it was better for himself to be slain by the other, than to destroy a man who fled to him for refuge, and intrusted his own safety to him, and committed himself to his disposal.

(4) [168] Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰωάννης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν ἡγεμόνων μὴ δυνηθέντες πεῖσαι τὸν Γαδαλίαν ἀπῆλθον. χρόνου δὲ διελθόντος ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα παραγίνεται πρὸς Γαδαλίαν εἰς Μασφαθὰ πόλιν Ἰσμάηλος μετ᾽ ἀνδρῶν δέκα, οὓς λαμπρᾷ τραπέζῃ καὶ ξενίοις ὑποδεξάμενος εἰς μέθην προήχθη φιλοφρονούμενος τὸν Ἰσμάηλον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. [169] θεασάμενος δ᾽ αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχοντα καὶ βεβαπτισμένον εἰς ἀναισθησίαν καὶ ὕπνον ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης ὁ Ἰσμάηλος ἀναπηδήσας μετὰ τῶν δέκα φίλων ἀποσφάττει τὸν Γαδαλίαν καὶ τοὺς κατακειμένους σὺν αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ. καὶ μετὰ τὴν τούτων ἀναίρεσιν ἐξελθὼν νυκτὸς ἅπαντας φονεύει τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἰουδαίους καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων καταλειφθέντας ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν στρατιωτῶν. [170] τῇ δ᾽ ἐπιούσῃ μετὰ δώρων ἦκον πρὸς Γαδαλίαν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ὀγδοήκοντα μηδενὸς τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐγνωκότος. ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἰσμάηλος εἴσω τε αὐτοὺς καλεῖ ὡς πρὸς Γαδαλίαν, καὶ παρελθόντων ἀποκλείσας τὴν αὔλειον ἐφόνευσε καὶ τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν εἰς λάκκον τινὰ βαθύν, ὡς ἂν ἀφανῆ γένοιτο, κατεπόντισε. [171] διεσώθησαν δὲ τῶν ὀγδοήκοντα τούτων ἀνδρῶν οἳ μὴ πρότερον ἀναιρεθῆναι παρεκάλεσαν πρὶν ἢ τὰ κεκρυμμένα ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς αὐτῷ παραδῶσιν ἔπιπλά τε καὶ ἐσθῆτα καὶ σῖτον. ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας ἐφείσατο τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων Ἰσμάηλος: [172] τὸν δ᾽ ἐν τῇ Μασφάθῃ λαὸν σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ νηπίοις ᾐχμαλώτισεν, ἐν οἷς καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Σαχχίου θυγατέρας, ἃς Ναβουζαρδάνης ὁ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων στρατηγὸς παρὰ Γαδαλίᾳ καταλελοίπει. ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸν Ἀμμανιτῶν βασιλέα.

4. So Johanan, and the rulers that were with him, not being able to persuade Gedaliah, went away. But after the interval of thirty days was over, Ishmael came again to Gedaliah, to the city Mispah, and ten men with him; and when he had feasted Ishmael, and those that were with him, in a splendid manner at his table, and had given them presents, he became disordered in drink, while he endeavored to be very merry with them; and when Ishmael saw him in that case,

and that he was drowned in his cups to the degree of insensibility, and fallen asleep, he rose up on a sudden, with his ten friends, and slew Gedaliah, and those that were with him at the feast; and when he had slain them, he went out by night, and slew all the Jews that were in the city, and those soldiers also which were left therein by the Babylonians. But the next day fourscore men came out of the country with presents to Gedaliah, none of them knowing what had befallen him; when Ishmael saw them, he invited them in to Gedaliah, and when they were come in, he shut up the court, and slew them, and cast their dead bodies down into a certain deep pit, that they might not be seen; but of these fourscore men Ishmael spared those that entreated him not to kill them, till they had delivered up to him what riches they had concealed in the fields, consisting of their furniture, and garments, and corn: but he took captive the people that were in Mispah, with their wives and children; among whom were the daughters of king Zedekiah, whom Nebuzaradan, the general of the army of Babylon, had left with Gedaliah. And when he had done this, he came to the king of the Ammonites.

(5) [173] Ἀκούσας δ᾽ ὁ Ἰωάννης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἡγεμόνες [τὰ ἐν τῇ Μασφαθῇ] τὰ πεπραγμένα ὑπὸ Ἰσμαήλου καὶ τὸν Γαδαλίου θάνατον ἠγανάκτησαν, καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ἕκαστος ὁπλίτας παραλαβὼν ὥρμησαν πολεμήσοντες τὸν Ἰσμάηλον καὶ καταλαμβάνουσιν αὐτὸν πρὸς τῇ πηγῇ ἐν Ἰβρῶνι. [174] οἱ δὲ αἰχμαλωτισθέντες ὑπὸ Ἰσμαήλου τὸν Ἰωάννην ἰδόντες καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας εὐθύμως διετέθησαν βοήθειαν αὐτοῖς ἥκειν ὑπολαμβάνοντες, καὶ καταλιπόντες τὸν αἰχμαλωτίσαντα πρὸς Ἰωάννην ἀνεχώρησαν. Ἰσμάηλος μὲν οὖν μετ᾽ ἀνδρῶν ὀκτὼ φεύγει πρὸς τὸν τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν βασιλέα. [175] ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης παραλαβὼν οὓς ἀνέσωσεν ἐκ τῶν Ἰσμαήλου χειρῶν καὶ τοὺς εὐνούχους καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ νήπια εἴς τινα τόπον Μάνδρα λεγόμενον παραγίνεται. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἐπέμεινεν αὐτόθι, διεγνώκεισαν δ᾽ ἐκεῖθεν ἄραντες εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐλθεῖν φοβούμενοι, μὴ κτείνωσιν αὐτοὺς οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι μείναντας ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ὑπὲρ Γαδαλία τοῦ κατασταθέντος ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνος ὀργισθέντες πεφονευμένου.

5. But when Johanan and the rulers with him heard of what was done at Mispah by Ishmael, and of the death of Gedaliah, they had indignation at it, and every one of them took his own armed men, and came suddenly to fight with Ishmael, and overtook him at the fountain in Hebron. And when those that were carried away captives by Ishmael saw Johanan and the rulers, they were very glad, and looked upon them as coming to their assistance; so they left him that had carried them captives, and came over to Johanan: then Ishmael, with eight men, fled to the king of the Ammonites; but Johanan took those whom he had rescued out of the hands of Ishmael, and the eunuchs, and their wives and children, and came to

a certain place called Mandra, and there they abode that day, for they had determined to remove from thence and go into Egypt, out of fear, lest the Babylonians should slay them, in case they continued in the country, and that out of anger at the slaughter of Gedaliah, who had been by them set over it for governor.

(6) [176] Ὄντων δ᾽ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς βουλῆς προσίασιν Ἱερεμίᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ Ἰωάννης ὁ τοῦ Καρίου καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ παρακαλοῦντες δεηθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅπως ἀμηχανοῦσιν αὐτοῖς περὶ τοῦ τί χρὴ ποιεῖν τοῦτ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὑποδείξῃ, ὀμόσαντες ποιήσειν ὅ τι ἂν αὐτοῖς Ἱερεμίας εἴπῃ. [177] ὑποσχομένου δὲ τοῦ προφήτου διακονήσειν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν συνέβη μετὰ δέκα ἡμέρας αὐτῷ φανέντα τὸν θεὸν εἰπεῖν δηλῶσαι Ἰωάννῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγεμόσι καὶ τῷ λαῷ παντί, ὅτι μένουσι μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ χώρᾳ παρέσται καὶ πρόνοιαν ἕξει καὶ τηρήσει παρὰ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων οὓς δεδίασιν ἀπαθεῖς, πορευομένους δὲ εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπολείψει καὶ ταὐτὰ διαθήσει ὀργισθείς, ἃ καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτῶν ἔμπροσθεν οἴδατε [178] πεπονθότας.” ταῦτα εἰπὼν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ τῷ λαῷ τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς προλέγειν ὁ προφήτης οὐκ ἐπιστεύετο, ὡς κατὰ ἐντολὴν τὴν ἐκείνου μένειν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ κελεύει, χαριζόμενον δὲ Βαρούχῳ τῷ ἰδίῳ μαθητῇ καταψεύδεσθαι μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ, πείθειν δὲ μένειν αὐτόθι, ὡς ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων διαφθαρῶσι. [179] παρακούσας οὖν ὅ τε λαὸς καὶ Ἰωάννης τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ συμβουλίας, ἣν αὐτοῖς διὰ τοῦ προφήτου παρῄνεσεν, ἀπῆρεν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἄγων καὶ τὸν Ἱερεμίαν καὶ τὸν Βαροῦχον.

6. Now while they were under this deliberation, Johanan, the son of Kareah, and the rulers that were with him, came to Jeremiah the prophet, and desired that he would pray to God, that because they were at an utter loss about what they ought to do, he would discover it to them, and they sware that they would do whatsoever Jeremiah should say to them. And when the prophet said he would be their intercessor with God, it came to pass, that after ten days God appeared to him, and said that he should inform Johanan, and the other rulers, and all the people, that he would be with them while they continued in that country, and take care of them, and keep them from being hurt by the Babylonians, of whom they were afraid; but that he would desert them if they went into Egypt, and, out of this wrath against them, would inflict the same punishments upon them which they knew their brethren had already endured. So when the prophet had informed Johanan and the people that God had foretold these things, he was not believed, when he said that God commanded them to continue in the country; but they imagined that he said so to gratify Baruch, his own disciple, and belied God, and that he persuaded them to stay there, that they might be destroyed by the Babylonians. Accordingly, both the people and Johanan disobeyed the

counsel of God, which he gave them by the prophet, and removed into Egypt, and carried Jeremiah and Barnch along with him.

(7) [180] Γενομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκεῖ σημαίνει τὸ θεῖον τῷ προφήτῃ μέλλοντα στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, καὶ προειπεῖν ἐκέλευε τῷ λαῷ τήν τε ἅλωσιν τῆς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ ὅτι τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀποκτενεῖ, τοὺς δὲ αἰχμαλώτους λαβὼν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἄξει. [181] καὶ ταῦτα συνέβη: τῷ γὰρ πέμπτῳ τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων πορθήσεως ἔτει, ὅ ἐστι τρίτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν τῆς Ναβουχοδονοσόρου βασιλείας, στρατεύει Ναβουχοδονόσορος ἐπὶ τὴν κοίλην Συρίαν, καὶ κατασχὼν αὐτὴν ἐπολέμησε καὶ Μωαβίταις καὶ Ἀμμανίταις. [182] ποιησάμενος δὲ ὑπήκοα ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον καταστρεψόμενος αὐτήν, καὶ τὸν μὲν τότε βασιλέα κτείνει, καταστήσας δὲ ἕτερον τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ πάλιν Ἰουδαίους αἰχμαλωτίσας ἤγαγεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα. [183] καὶ τὸ μὲν Ἑβραίων γένος ἐν τοιούτῳ τέλει γενόμενον παρειλήφαμεν δὶς ἐλθὸν πέραν Εὐφράτου: ὑπὸ Ἀσσυρίων μὲν γὰρ ἐξέπεσεν ὁ τῶν δέκα φυλῶν λαὸς ἀπὸ Σαμαρείας βασιλεύοντος αὐτῶν Ὡσήου, ἔπειτα τῶν δύο φυλῶν ὑπὸ Ναβουχοδονοσόρου τοῦ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέως καὶ τῶν Χαλδαίων ὃς ὑπελείφθη τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἁλόντων. [184] Σαλμανάσσης μὲν οὖν ἀναστήσας τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας κατῴκισεν ἀντ᾽ αὐτῶν τὸ τῶν Χουθαίων ἔθνος, οἳ πρότερον ἐνδοτέρω τῆς Περσίδος καὶ τῆς Μηδίας ἦσαν, τότε μέντοι Σαμαρεῖς ἐκλήθησαν τὴν τῆς χώρας εἰς ἣν κατῳκίσθησαν προσηγορίαν ἀναλαβόντες: ὁ δὲ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεὺς τὰς δύο φυλὰς ἐξαγαγὼν οὐδὲν ἔθνος εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν κατῴκισε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔρημος ἡ Ἰουδαία πᾶσα καὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ὁ ναὸς διέμεινεν ἔτεσιν ἑβδομήκοντα. [185] τὸν δὲ σύμπαντα χρόνον, ὃς ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν αἰχμαλωσίας ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν δύο φυλῶν ἀνάστασιν ἐληλύθει, ἑκατὸν ἔτη καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ μῆνας ἓξ καὶ δέκα ἡμέρας συνέβη γενέσθαι.

7. And when they were there, God signified to the prophet that the king of Babylon was about making an expedition against the Egyptians, and commanded him to foretell to the people that Egypt should be taken, and the king of Babylon should slay some of them and, should take others captive, and bring them to Babylon; which things came to pass accordingly; for on the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, which was the twenty-third of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, he made an expedition against Celesyria; and when he had possessed himself of it, he made war against the Ammonites and Moabites; and when he had brought all these nations under subjection, he fell upon Egypt, in order to overthrow it; and he slew the king that then reigned and set up another; and he took those Jews that were there captives, and led them away to Babylon. And such was the end of the nation of the Hebrews, as it hath been delivered down to us, it having twice gone beyond Euphrates; for the people of the ten

tribes were carried out of Samaria by the Assyrians, in the days of king Hoshea; after which the people of the two tribes that remained after Jerusalem was taken [were carried away] by Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon and Chaldea. Now as to Shalmanezer, he removed the Israelites out of their country, and placed therein the nation of the Cutheans, who had formerly belonged to the inner parts of Persia and Media, but were then called Samaritans, by taking the name of the country to which they were removed; but the king of Babylon, who brought out the two tribes, placed no other nation in their country, by which means all Judea and Jerusalem, and the temple, continued to be a desert for seventy years; but the entire interval of time which passed from the captivity of the Israelites, to the carrying away of the two tribes, proved to be a hundred and thirty years, six months, and ten days.

X

CHAPTER 10. Concerning Daniel And What Befell Him At Babylon.

(1) [186] Ὁ δὲ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεὺς Ναβουχοδονόσορος τοὺς εὐγενεστάτους λαβὼν τῶν Ἰουδαίων παῖδας καὶ τοὺς Σαχχίου τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν συγγενεῖς, οἳ καὶ ταῖς ἀκμαῖς τῶν σωμάτων καὶ ταῖς εὐμορφίαις τῶν ὄψεων ἦσαν περίβλεπτοι, παιδαγωγοῖς καὶ τῇ δι᾽ αὐτῶν θεραπείᾳ παραδίδωσι ποιήσας τινὰς αὐτῶν ἐκτομίας: [187] τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ὅσα κατεστρέψατο ληφθέντας ἐν ὥρᾳ τῆς ἡλικίας διαθεὶς ἐχορήγει μὲν αὐτοῖς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης αὐτοῦ εἰς δίαιταν, ἐπαίδευε δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐπιχώρια καὶ τὰ τῶν Χαλδαίων ἐξεδίδασκε γράμματα: ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι σοφίαν ἱκανοὶ περὶ ἣν ἐκέλευε διατρίβειν. [188] ἦσαν δ᾽ ἐν τούτοις τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Σαχχίου γένους τέσσαρες καλοί τε καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τὰς φύσεις, ὧν ὁ μὲν Δανίηλος ἐκαλεῖτο, ὁ δὲ Ἀνανίας, ὁ δὲ Μισάηλος, ὁ δὲ τέταρτος Ἀζαρίας. τούτους ὁ Βαβυλώνιος μετωνόμασε καὶ χρῆσθαι προσέταξεν ἑτέροις ὀνόμασι. [189] καὶ τὸν μὲν Δανίηλον ἐκάλουν Βαλτάσαρον, τὸν δ᾽ Ἀνανίαν Σεδράχην, Μισάηλον δὲ Μισάχην, τὸν δ᾽ Ἀζαρίαν Ἀβδεναγώ. τούτους ὁ βασιλεὺς δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν εὐφυίας καὶ σπουδῆς τῆς περὶ τὴν παίδευσιν καὶ σοφίας ἐν προκοπῇ γενομένους εἶχεν ἐν τιμῇ καὶ στέργων διετέλει.

1. But now Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, took some of the most noble of the Jews that were children, and the kinsmen of Zedekiah their king, such as were remarkable for the beauty of their bodies, and the comeliness of their countenances, and delivered them into the hands of tutors, and to the improvement to be made by them. He also made some of them to be eunuchs; which course he took also with those of other nations whom he had taken in the flower of their age, and afforded them their diet from his own table, and had them instructed in the institutes of the country, and taught the learning of the Chaldeans; and they had now exercised themselves sufficiently in that wisdom which he had ordered they should apply themselves to. Now among these there were four of the family of Zedekiah, of most excellent dispositions, one of whom was called Daniel, another was called Ananias, another Misael, and the fourth Azarias; and the king of Babylon changed their names, and commanded that they should make use of other names. Daniel he called Baltasar; Ananias, Shadrach; Misael, Meshach; and Azarias, Abednego. These the king had in esteem, and continued to love, because of the very excellent temper they were of, and because of their application to learning, and the profess they had made in wisdom.

(2) [190] Δόξαν δὲ Δανιήλῳ μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν σκληραγωγεῖν ἑαυτὸν καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς τραπέζης ἐδεσμάτων ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ καθόλου πάντων τῶν ἐμψύχων, προσελθὼν Ἀσχάνῃ τῷ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτῶν ἐμπεπιστευμένῳ εὐνούχῳ τὰ μὲν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτοῖς κομιζόμενα παρεκάλεσεν αὐτὸν ἀναλίσκειν λαμβάνοντα, παρέχειν δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὄσπρια καὶ φοίνικας εἰς διατροφὴν καὶ εἴ τι τῶν ἀψύχων ἕτερον βούλοιτο: πρὸς γὰρ τὴν τοιαύτην δίαιταν αὐτοὺς κεκινῆσθαι, τῆς δ᾽ ἑτέρας περιφρονεῖν. [191] ὁ δ᾽ εἶναι μὲν ἕτοιμος ἔλεγεν ὑπηρετεῖν αὐτῶν τῇ προαιρέσει, ὑφορᾶσθαι δέ, μὴ κατάδηλοι τῷ βασιλεῖ γενηθέντες ἐκ τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ἰσχνότητος καὶ τῆς τροπῆς τῶν χαρακτήρων, συμμεταβάλλειν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀνάγκη τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰς χρόας ἅμα τῇ διαίτῃ, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων παίδων εὐπαθούντων ἐλεγχθέντες αἴτιοι κινδύνου καὶ τιμωρίας αὐτῷ καταστῶσιν. [192] ἔχοντα τοίνυν πρὸς τοῦτ᾽ εὐλαβῶς τὸν Ἀσχάνην πείθουσιν ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμέρας ταῦτα παρασχεῖν αὐτοῖς πείρας ἕνεκα καὶ μὴ μεταβαλούσης μὲν αὐτοῖς τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ἕξεως ἐπιμένειν τοῖς αὐτοῖς, ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι εἰς αὐτὴν βλαβησομένων, εἰ δὲ μειωθέντας ἴδοι καὶ κάκιον τῶν ἄλλων ἔχοντας, ἐπὶ τὴν προτέραν αὐτοὺς δίαιταν ἄγειν. [193] ὡς δὲ οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἐλύπει τὴν τροφὴν ἐκείνην προσφερομένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εὐτραφέστεροι τὰ σώματα καὶ μείζονες ἐγίνοντο, ὡς τοὺς μὲν ἐνδεεστέρους ὑπολαμβάνειν οἷς τὴν βασιλικὴν συνέβαινεν εἶναι χορηγίαν, τοὺς δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Δανιήλου δοκεῖν ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ καὶ τρυφῇ τῇ πάσῃ βιοῦν, ἔκτοτε μετ᾽ ἀδείας ὁ Ἀσχάνης ἃ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ δείπνου καθ᾽ ἡμέραν συνήθως ἔπεμπε τοῖς παισὶν ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς ἐλάμβανεν, ἐχορήγει δ᾽ αὐτοῖς τὰ προειρημένα. [194] οἱ δὲ ὡς καὶ τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτοῖς διὰ τοῦτο καθαρῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν παιδείαν ἀκραιφνῶν γεγενημένων καὶ τῶν σωμάτων πρὸς φιλοπονίαν εὐτονωτέρων, οὔτε γὰρ ἐκείνας ἐφείλκοντο καὶ βαρείας εἶχον ὑπὸ τροφῆς ποικίλης οὔτε ταῦτα μαλακώτερα διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν, πᾶσαν ἑτοίμως ἐξέμαθον παιδείαν ἥτις ἦν παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις καὶ τοῖς Χαλδαίοις. μάλιστα δὲ Δανίηλος ἱκανῶς ἤδη σοφίας ἐμπείρως ἔχων περὶ κρίσεις ὀνείρων ἐσπουδάκει, καὶ τὸ θεῖον αὐτῷ φανερὸν ἐγίνετο.

2. Now Daniel and his kinsmen had resolved to use a severe diet, and to abstain from those kinds of food which came from the king’s table, and entirely to forbear to eat of all living creatures. So he came to Ashpenaz, who was that eunuch to whom the care of them was committed, and desired him to take and spend what was brought for them from the king, but to give them pulse and dates for their food, and any thing else, besides the flesh of living creatures, that he pleased, for that their inclinations were to that sort of food, and that they despised the other. He replied, that he was ready to serve them in what they desired, but he suspected that they would be discovered by the king, from their meagre bodies, and the alteration of their countenances, because it could not be

avoided but their bodies and colors must be changed with their diet, especially while they would be clearly discovered by the finer appearance of the other children, who would fare better, and thus they should bring him into danger, and occasion him to be punished; yet did they persuade Arioch, who was thus fearful, to give them what food they desired for ten days, by way of trial; and in case the habit of their bodies were not altered, to go on in the same way, as expecting that they should not be hurt thereby afterwards; but if he saw them look meagre, and worse than the rest, he should reduce them to their former diet. Now when it appeared that they were so far from becoming worse by the use of this food, that they grew plumper and fuller in body than the rest, insomuch that he thought those who fed on what came from the king's table seemed less plump and full, while those that were with Daniel looked as if they had lived in plenty, and in all sorts of luxury. Arioch, from that time, securely took himself what the king sent every day from his supper, according to custom, to the children, but gave them the forementioned diet, while they had their souls in some measure more pure, and less burdened, and so fitter for learning, and had their bodies in better tune for hard labor; for they neither had the former oppressed and heavy with variety of meats, nor were the other effeminate on the same account; so they readily understood all the learning that was among the Hebrews, and among the Chaldeans, as especially did Daniel, who being already sufficiently skillful in wisdom, was very busy about the interpretation of dreams; and God manifested himself to him.

(3) [195] Μετὰ δ' ἔτος δεύτερον τῆς Αἰγύπτου πορθήσεως ὁ βασιλεὺς Ναβουχοδονόσορος ὄναρ ἰδὼν θαυμαστόν, οὗ τὴν ἔκβασιν κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους αὐτὸς αὐτῷ ἐδήλωσεν ὁ θεός, τούτου μὲν ἐπιλανθάνεται διαναστὰς ἐκ τῆς κοίτης, μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ τοὺς Χαλδαίους καὶ τοὺς μάγους καὶ τοὺς μάντεις, ὡς εἴη τι ὄναρ ἑωρακὼς ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς περὶ τὴν λήθην ὧν εἶδε μηνύων ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς λέγειν, ὅτι τε ἦν τὸ ὄναρ καὶ [τί] τὸ σημεῖον. [196] τῶν δὲ ἀδύνατον εἶναι λεγόντων ἀνθρώποις τοῦτο εὑρεῖν, εἰ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐκθοῖτο τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ ἐνυπνίου φράσειν τὸ σημεῖον ὑποσχομένων, θάνατον ἠπείλησεν αὐτοῖς, εἰ μὴ τὸ ὄναρ εἴποιεν, προσέταξε τε πάντας αὐτοὺς ἀναιρεθῆναι ποιῆσαι τὸ κελευσθὲν ὁμολογήσαντας μὴ δύνασθαι. [197] Δανίηλος δ' ἀκούσας, ὅτι προσέταξε πάντας τοὺς σοφοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποθανεῖν, ἐν τούτοις δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν κινδυνεύειν, πρόσεισιν Ἀριόχῃ τῷ τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τοῦ βασιλέως ἀρχὴν πεπιστευμένῳ. [198] δεηθεὶς δὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν μαθεῖν, δι' ἣν ὁ βασιλεὺς πάντας εἴη προστεταχὼς ἀναιρεθῆναι τοὺς σοφοὺς καὶ Χαλδαίους καὶ μάγους, καὶ μαθὼν τὸ περὶ τὸ ἐνύπνιον καὶ ὅτι κελευσθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦτ' αὐτῷ δηλοῦν ἐπιλελησμένῳ φήσαντες μὴ

δύνασθαι παρώξυναν αὐτόν, παρεκάλεσε τὸν Ἀριόχην εἰσελθόντα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα μίαν αἰτήσασθαι νύκτα τοῖς μάγοις [καὶ ταύτῃ] τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ἐπισχεῖν: ἐλπίζειν γὰρ δι᾽ αὐτῆς δεηθεὶς τοῦ θεοῦ γνώσεσθαι τὸ ἐνύπνιον. [199] ὁ δὲ Ἀριόχης ταῦτ᾽ ἀπήγγειλε τῷ βασιλεῖ Δανίηλον ἀξιοῦν. καὶ ὁ μὲν κελεύει τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ἐπισχεῖν τῶν μάγων ἕως γνῷ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν τὴν Δανιήλου: ὁ δὲ παῖς μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν ὑποχωρήσας πρὸς ἑαυτὸν δι᾽ ὅλης ἱκετεύει τὸν θεὸν τῆς νυκτὸς γνωρίσαι καὶ τοὺς μάγους καὶ τοὺς Χαλδαίους, οἷς δεῖ καὶ αὐτοὺς συναπολέσθαι, ῥύσασθαι δὲ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ὀργῆς ἐμφανίσαντα τὴν ὄψιν αὐτῷ καὶ ποιήσαντα δήλην, ἧς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπελέληστο διὰ τῆς παρελθούσης νυκτὸς ἰδὼν κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους. [200] ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἅμα τούς τε κινδυνεύοντας ἐλεήσας καὶ τὸν Δανίηλον τῆς σοφίας ἀγασάμενος τό τε ὄναρ αὐτῷ γνώριμον ἐποίησε καὶ τὴν κρίσιν, ὡς ἂν καὶ τὸ σημαινόμενον ὁ βασιλεὺς παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ μάθοι. [201] Δανίηλος δὲ γνοὺς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα περιχαρὴς ἀνίσταται καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς δηλώσας τοὺς μὲν ἀπεγνωκότας ἤδη τοῦ ζῆν καὶ πρὸς τῷ τεθνάναι τὴν διάνοιαν ἔχοντας εἰς εὐθυμίαν καὶ τὰς περὶ τοῦ βίου διήγειρεν ἐλπίδας, [202] εὐχαριστήσας δὲ τῷ θεῷ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ἔλεον λαβόντι τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτῶν γενομένης ἡμέρας παραγίνεται πρὸς Ἀριόχην καὶ ἄγειν αὐτὸν ἠξίου πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα: δηλῶσαι γὰρ αὐτῷ βούλεσθαι τὸ ἐνύπνιον, ὅ φησιν ἰδεῖν πρὸ τῆς παρελθούσης νυκτός.

3. Now two years after the destruction of Egypt, king Nebuchadnezzar saw a wonderful dream, the accomplishment of which God showed him in his sleep; but when he arose out of his bed, he forgot the accomplishment. So he sent for the Chaldeans and magicians, and the prophets, and told them that he had seen a dream, and informed them that he had forgotten the accomplishment of what he had seen, and he enjoined them to tell him both what the dream was, and what was its signification; and they said that this was a thing impossible to be discovered by men; but they promised him, that if he would explain to them what dream he had seen, they would tell him its signification. Hereupon he threatened to put them to death, unless they told him his dream; and he gave command to have them all put to death, since they confessed they could not do what they were commanded to do. Now when Daniel heard that the king had given a command, that all the wise men should be put to death, and that among them himself and his three kinsmen were in danger, he went to Arioch, who was captain of the king's guards, and desired to know of him what was the reason why the king had given command that all the wise men, and Chaldeans, and magicians should be slain. So when he had learned that the king had had a dream, and had forgotten it, and that when they were enjoined to inform the king of it, they had said they could not do it, and had thereby provoked him to anger, he desired of Arioch that he would go in to the king, and desire respite for the

magicians for one night, and to put off their slaughter so long, for that he hoped within that time to obtain, by prayer to God, the knowledge of the dream. Accordingly, Arioch informed the king of what Daniel desired. So the king bid them delay the slaughter of the magicians till he knew what Daniel's promise would come to; but the young man retired to his own house, with his kinsmen, and besought God that whole night to discover the dream, and thereby deliver the magicians and Chaldeans, with whom they were themselves to perish, from the king's anger, by enabling him to declare his vision, and to make manifest what the king had seen the night before in his sleep, but had forgotten it. Accordingly, God, out of pity to those that were in danger, and out of regard to the wisdom of Daniel, made known to him the dream and its interpretation, that so the king might understand by him its signification also. When Daniel had obtained this knowledge from God, he arose very joyful, and told it his brethren, and made them glad, and to hope well that they should now preserve their lives, of which they despaired before, and had their minds full of nothing but the thoughts of dying. So when he had with them returned thanks to God, who had commiserated their youth, when it was day he came to Arioch, and desired him to bring him to the king, because he would discover to him that dream which he had seen the night before.

(4) [203] Εἰσελθὼν δὲ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Δανίηλος παρῃτεῖτο πρῶτον μὴ σοφώτερον αὐτὸν δόξαι τῶν ἄλλων Χαλδαίων καὶ μάγων, ὅτι μηδενὸς ἐκείνων τὸ ὄναρ εὑρεῖν δυνηθέντος αὐτὸς αὐτὸ μέλλοι λέγειν: οὐ γὰρ κατ᾽ ἐμπειρίαν οὐδ᾽ ὅτι τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἐκπεπόνηται τοῦτο γίνεται, ἀλλ᾽ ἐλεήσας ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς κινδυνεύοντας ἀποθανεῖν δεηθέντι περί τε τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν καὶ τὸ ὄναρ καὶ τὴν κρίσιν αὐτοῦ φανερὰν ἐποίησεν. [204] οὐχ ἧττον γὰρ τῆς ἐφ᾽ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς καταδικασθεῖσιν ὑπὸ σοῦ μὴ ζῆν λύπης περὶ τῆς σῆς αὐτοῦ δόξης ἐφρόντιζον ἀδίκως οὕτως ἄνδρας καὶ ταῦτα καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς ἀποθανεῖν κελεύσαντος, οἷς οὐδὲν μὲν ἀνθρωπίνης σοφίας ἐχόμενον προσέταξας, ὃ δ᾽ ἦν θεοῦ τοῦτο ἀπῄτεις παρ᾽ αὐτῶν. [205] σοὶ τοίνυν φροντίζοντι περὶ τοῦ τίς ἄρξει τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς μετὰ σέ, κοιμηθέντι βουλόμενος δηλῶσαι πάντας ὁ θεὸς τοὺς βασιλεύσοντας ὄναρ ἔδειξε τοιοῦτον: [206] ἔδοξας ὁρᾶν ἀνδριάντα μέγαν ἑστῶτα, οὗ τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν συνέβαινεν εἶναι χρυσῆν, τοὺς δὲ ὤμους καὶ τοὺς βραχίονας ἀργυροῦς, τὴν δὲ γαστέρα καὶ τοὺς μηροὺς χαλκέους, κνήμας δὲ καὶ πόδας σιδηροῦς. [207] εἶτα λίθον ἐξ ὄρους ἀπορραγέντα ἐμπεσεῖν τῷ ἀνδριάντι καὶ τοῦτον καταβαλόντα συνθρύψαι καὶ μηδὲν αὐτοῦ μέρος ὁλόκληρον ἀφεῖναι, ὡς τὸν μὲν χρυσὸν καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον καὶ τὸν χαλκὸν καὶ τὸν σίδηρον ἀλεύρων λεπτότερον γενέσθαι, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀνέμου πνεύσαντος σφοδροτέρου ὑπὸ τῆς βίας ἁρπαγέντα διασπαρῆναι, τὸν δὲ λίθον αὐξῆσαι τοσοῦτον, ὡς ἅπασαν δοκεῖν τὴν

γῆν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πεπληρῶσθαι. [208] τὸ μὲν οὖν ὄναρ, ὅπερ εἶδες, τοῦτ᾽ ἔστιν, ἡ δὲ κρίσις αὐτοῦ τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον: ἡ μὲν χρυσῆ κεφαλὴ σέ τε ἐδήλου καὶ τοὺς πρὸ σοῦ βασιλέας Βαβυλωνίους ὄντας: αἱ δὲ χεῖρες καὶ οἱ ὦμοι σημαίνουσιν ὑπὸ δύο καταλυθήσεσθαι βασιλέων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὑμῶν: [209] τὴν δὲ ἐκείνων ἕτερός τις ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως καθαιρήσει χαλκὸν ἠμφιεσμένος, καὶ ταύτην ἄλλη παύσει τὴν ἰσχὺν ὁμοία σιδήρῳ καὶ κρατήσει δὲ εἰς ἅπαντα διὰ τὴν τοῦ σιδήρου φύσιν: εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὴν στερροτέραν τῆς τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀργύρου καὶ τοῦ χαλκοῦ. [210] ἐδήλωσε δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ λίθου Δανίηλος τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἀλλ᾽ ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ἔδοξε τοῦτο ἱστορεῖν τὰ παρελθόντα καὶ τὰ γεγενημένα συγγράφειν οὐ τὰ μέλλοντα ὀφείλοντι, εἰ δέ τις τῆς ἀκριβείας γλιχόμενος οὐ περιίσταται πολυπραγμονεῖν, ὡς καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀδήλων τί γενήσεται βούλεσθαι μαθεῖν, σπουδασάτω τὸ βιβλίον ἀναγνῶναι τὸ Δανιήλου: εὑρήσει δὲ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν.

4. When Daniel was come in to the king, he excused himself first, that he did not pretend to be wiser than the other Chaldeans and magicians, when, upon their entire inability to discover his dream, he was undertaking to inform him of it; for this was not by his own skill, or on account of his having better cultivated his understanding than the rest; but he said, “God hath had pity upon us, when we were in danger of death, and when I prayed for the life of myself, and of those of my own nation, hath made manifest to me both the dream, and the interpretation thereof; for I was not less concerned for thy glory than for the sorrow that we were by thee condemned to die, while thou didst so unjustly command men, both good and excellent in themselves, to be put to death, when thou enjoinedst them to do what was entirely above the reach of human wisdom, and requiredst of them what was only the work of God. Wherefore, as thou in thy sleep wast solicitous concerning those that should succeed thee in the government of the whole world, God was desirous to show thee all those that should reign after thee, and to that end exhibited to thee the following dream: Thou seemedst to see a great image standing before thee, the head of which proved to be of gold, the shoulders and arms of silver, and the belly and the thighs of brass, but the legs and the feet of iron; after which thou sawest a stone broken off from a mountain, which fell upon the image, and threw it down, and brake it to pieces, and did not permit any part of it to remain whole; but the gold, the silver, the brass, and the iron, became smaller than meal, which, upon the blast of a violent wind, was by force carried away, and scattered abroad, but the stone did increase to such a degree, that the whole earth beneath it seemed to be filled therewith. This is the dream which thou sawest, and its interpretation is as follows: The head of gold denotes thee, and the kings of Babylon that have been before thee; but the two

hands and arms signify this, that your government shall be dissolved by two kings; but another king that shall come from the west, armed with brass, shall destroy that government; and another government, that shall be like unto iron, shall put an end to the power of the former, and shall have dominion over all the earth, on account of the nature of iron, which is stronger than that of gold, of silver, and of brass." Daniel did also declare the meaning of the stone to the king but I do not think proper to relate it, since I have only undertaken to describe things past or things present, but not things that are future; yet if any one be so very desirous of knowing truth, as not to wave such points of curiosity, and cannot curb his inclination for understanding the uncertainties of futurity, and whether they will happen or not, let him be diligent in reading the book of Daniel, which he will find among the sacred writings.

(5) [211] Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ναβουχοδονόσαρος ἀκηκοὼς ταῦτα καὶ ἐπιγνοὺς τὸ ὄναρ ἐξεπλάγη τὴν τοῦ Δανιήλου φύσιν καὶ πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον, ᾧ τρόπῳ τὸν θεὸν προσκυνοῦσι, τούτῳ τὸν Δανίηλον ἠσπάζετο: [212] καὶ θύειν δὲ ὡς θεῷ προσέταξεν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν αὐτῷ τοῦ ἰδίου θεοῦ θέμενος ἁπάσης ἐπίτροπον τῆς βασιλείας ἐποίησε καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ, οὓς ὑπὸ φθόνου καὶ βασκανίας εἰς κίνδυνον ἐμπεσεῖν συνέβη τῷ βασιλεῖ προσκρούσαντας ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης: [213] ὁ βασιλεὺς κατασκευάσας χρύσεον ἀνδριάντα πηχῶν τὸ μὲν ὕψος ἑξήκοντα τὸ πλάτος δὲ ἕξ, στήσας αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος πεδίῳ καὶ μέλλων καθιεροῦν αὐτὸν συνεκάλεσεν ἐξ ἁπάσης ἧς ἦρχε γῆς τοὺς πρώτους πρῶτον αὐτοῖς προστάξας, ὅταν σημαινούσης ἀκούσωσι τῆς σάλπιγγος, τότε πεσόντας προσκυνεῖν τὸν ἀνδριάντα: τοὺς δὲ μὴ ποιήσαντας ἠπείλησεν εἰς τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς ἐμβληθῆναι κάμινον. [214] πάντων οὖν μετὰ τὸ σημαινούσης ἐπακοῦσαι τῆς σάλπιγγος προσκυνούντων τὸν ἀνδριάντα τοὺς Δανιήλου συγγενεῖς οὐ ποιῆσαι τοῦτό φασι μὴ βουληθέντας παραβῆναι τοὺς πατρίους νόμους. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐλεγχθέντες εὐθὺς εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐμβληθέντες θείᾳ σώζονται προνοίᾳ καὶ παραδόξως διαφεύγουσι τὸν θάνατον. [215] ἀΛλὰ κατὰ λογισμὸν οἶμαι τῷ μηδὲν ἀδικήσαντας εἰς αὐτὸ βληθῆναι οὐχ ἥψατο, καίειν δ' ἀσθενὲς ἦν ἔχον ἐν ἑαυτῷ τοὺς παῖδας τοῦ θεοῦ κρείττονα τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ὥστε μὴ δαπανηθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς παρασκευάσαντος. τοῦτο συνέστησεν αὐτοὺς τῷ βασιλεῖ ὡς δικαίους καὶ θεοφιλεῖς, διὸ μετὰ ταῦτα πάσης ἀξιούμενοι παρ' αὐτοῦ τιμῆς διετέλουν.

5. When Nebuchadnezzar heard this, and recollected his dream, he was astonished at the nature of Daniel, and fell upon his knee; and saluted Daniel in the manner that men worship God, and gave command that he should be sacrificed to as a god. And this was not all, for he also imposed the name, of his own god upon him, [Baltasar,] and made him and his kinsmen rulers of his

whole kingdom; which kinsmen of his happened to fall into great danger by the envy and malice [of their enemies]; for they offended the king upon the occasion following: he made an image of gold, whose height was sixty cubits, and its breadth six cubits, and set it in the great plain of Babylon; and when he was going to dedicate the image, he invited the principal men out of all the earth that was under his dominions, and commanded them, in the first place, that when they should hear the sound of the trumpet, they should then fall down and worship the image; and he threatened, that those who did not so, should be cast into a fiery furnace. When therefore all the rest, upon the hearing of the sound of the trumpet, worshipped the image, they relate that Daniel's kinsmen did not do it, because they would not transgress the laws of their country. So these men were convicted, and cast immediately into the fire, but were saved by Divine Providence, and after a surprising manner escaped death, for the fire did not touch them; and I suppose that it touched them not, as if it reasoned with itself, that they were cast into it without any fault of theirs, and that therefore it was too weak to burn the young men when they were in it. This was done by the power of God, who made their bodies so far superior to the fire, that it could not consume them. This it was which recommended them to the king as righteous men, and men beloved of God, on which account they continued in great esteem with him.

(6) [216] Ὀλίγῳ δ' ὕστερον χρόνῳ πάλιν ὁρᾷ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὁ βασιλεὺς ὄψιν ἑτέραν, ὡς ἐκπεσὼν τῆς ἀρχῆς μετὰ θηρίων ἕξει τὴν δίαιταν καὶ διαζήσας οὕτως ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρημίας ἔτεσιν ἑπτὰ αὖθις τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολήψεται. τοῦτο θεασάμενος τοὖναρ πάλιν τοὺς μάγους συγκαλέσας ἀνέκρινεν αὐτοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τί σημαίνοι λέγειν ἠξίου. [217] τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων οὐθεὶς ἠδυνήθη τὴν τοῦ ἐνυπνίου διάνοιαν εὑρεῖν οὐδ' ἐμφανίσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ, Δανίηλος δὲ μόνος καὶ τοῦτ' ἔκρινε καὶ καθὼς οὗτος αὐτῷ προεῖπεν ἀπέβη. διατρίψας γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρημίας τὸν προειρημένον χρόνον οὐδενὸς τολμήσαντος ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι παρὰ τὴν ἑπταετίαν, δεηθεὶς τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολαβεῖν πάλιν εἰς αὐτὴν ἐπανέρχεται. [218] ἐγκαλέσῃ δέ μοι μηδεὶς οὕτως ἕκαστα τούτων ἀπαγγέλλοντι διὰ τῆς γραφῆς, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις εὑρίσκω βιβλίοις: καὶ γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἱστορίας πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιζητήσοντάς τι περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἢ μεμψομένους ἠσφαλισάμην, μόνον τε μεταφράζειν τὰς Ἑβραίων βίβλους εἰπὼν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶτταν καὶ ταῦτα δηλώσειν μήτε προστιθεὶς τοῖς πράγμασιν αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ μήτ' ἀφαιρῶν ὑπεισχημένος.

6. A little after this the king saw in his sleep again another vision; how he should fall from his dominion, and feed among the wild beasts, and that when he halt lived in this manner in the desert for seven years, he should recover his

dominion again. When he had seen this dream, he called the magicians together again, and inquired of them about it, and desired them to tell him what it signified; but when none of them could find out the meaning of the dream, nor discover it to the king, Daniel was the only person that explained it; and as he foretold, so it came to pass; for after he had continued in the wilderness the forementioned interval of time, while no one durst attempt to seize his kingdom during those seven years, he prayed to God that he might recover his kingdom, and he returned to it. But let no one blame me for writing down every thing of this nature, as I find it in our ancient books; for as to that matter, I have plainly assured those that think me defective in any such point, or complain of my management, and have told them in the beginning of this history, that I intended to do no more than translate the Hebrew books into the Greek language, and promised them to explain those facts, without adding any thing to them of my own, or taking any thing away from there.

XI

CHAPTER 11. Concerning Nebuchadnezzar And His Successors And How Their Government Was Dissolved By The Persians; And What Things Befell Daniel In Media; And What Prophecies He Delivered There.

(1) [219] Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ναβουχοδονόσορος ἔτη τρία καὶ τεσσαράκοντα βασιλεύσας τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον ἀνὴρ δραστήριος καὶ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων εὐτυχέστερος γενόμενος. μέμνηται δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τῶν πράξεων καὶ Βηρωσὸς ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Χαλδαικῶν ἱστοριῶν λέγων οὕτως: [220] “ἀκούσας δ᾽ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσορος, ὅτι ὁ τεταγμένος σατράπης ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν Συρίαν τὴν κοίλην καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην τόποις ἀποστάτης αὐτοῦ γέγονεν, οὐ δυνάμενος αὐτὸς κακοπαθεῖν συστήσας τῷ υἱῷ Ναβουχοδονοσόρῳ ὄντι ἐν ἡλικίᾳ μέρη τινὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν. [221] συμμίξας δὲ Ναβουχοδονόσορος τῷ ἀποστάτῃ καὶ παραταξάμενος αὐτοῦ τε ἐκράτησε καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν ἐποιήσατο. τῷ τε πατρὶ αὐτοῦ Ναβουχοδονοσόρῳ συνέβη κατ᾽ αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν ἀρρωστήσαντι ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίων πόλει μεταλλάξαι τὸν βίον ἔτη βασιλεύσαντα εἴκοσι καὶ ἕν. [222] αἰσθόμενος δὲ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν Ναβουχοδονοσάρου καὶ καταστήσας τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον πράγματα καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν χώραν καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ Φοινίκων καὶ Σύρων καὶ τῶν κατ᾽ Αἴγυπτον ἐθνῶν συντάξας τισὶ τῶν φίλων μετὰ τῆς βαρυτάτης δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ὠφελείας ἀνακομίζειν εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν, αὐτὸς ὁρμήσας ὀλιγοστὸς διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου παραγίνεται εἰς Βαβυλῶνα. [223] παραλαβὼν δὲ τὰ πράγματα διοικούμενα ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων καὶ διατηρουμένην τὴν βασιλείαν ὑπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου αὐτῶν, κυριεύσας ὁλοκλήρου τῆς πατρικῆς ἀρχῆς τοῖς μὲν αἰχμαλώτοις παραγενομένοις συνέταξεν ἀποικίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδειοτάτοις τῆς Βαβυλωνίας τόποις ἀποδεῖξαι, [224] αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου λαφύρων τό τε τοῦ Βήλου ἱερὸν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κοσμήσας φιλοτίμως τήν τε ὑπάρχουσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πόλιν καὶ ἕτερα καταχαρισάμενος καὶ ἀναγκάσας πρὸς τὸ μηκέτι δύνασθαι τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας τὸν ποταμὸν ἀναστρέψαντας ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν [κατασκευάζειν] περιεβάλετο τρεῖς μὲν τῆς ἔνδον πόλεως περιβόλους, τρεῖς δ᾽ ἔξω τούτων δὲ τῆς ὀπτῆς πλίνθου. [225] καὶ τειχίσας ἀξιολόγως τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς πυλῶνας κοσμήσας ἱεροπρεπῶς κατεσκεύασεν ἐν τοῖς πατρικοῖς βασιλείοις ἕτερα βασίλεια ἐχόμενα αὐτῶν, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἀνάστημα καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν πολυτέλειαν περισσὸν ἴσως ἂν εἴη λέγειν, πλὴν ὅσον τὰ μεγάλα καὶ ὑπερήφανα συνετελέσθη

ἡμέραις πεντεκαίδεκα. [226] [ἐν δὲ] τοῖς βασιλείοις τούτοις ἀναλήμματα λίθινα ἀνῳκοδόμησε τὴν ὄψιν ἀποδοὺς ὁμοιοτάτην τοῖς ὄρεσι, καταφυτεύσας δένδρεσι παντοδαποῖς ἐξειργάσατο καὶ κατεσκεύασε τὸν καλούμενον κρεμαστὸν παράδεισον διὰ τὸ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἐπιθυμεῖν τῆς οἰκείας διαθέσεως ὡς τεθραμμένην ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Μηδίαν [227] τόποις.” καὶ Μεγασθένης δὲ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν Ἰνδικῶν μνημονεύει αὐτῶν δι’ ἧς ἀποφαίνειν πειρᾶται τοῦτον τὸν βασιλέα τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν πράξεων ὑπερβεβηκότα τὸν Ἡρακλέα: καταστρέψασθαι γὰρ αὐτόν φησι Λιβύης τὴν πολλὴν καὶ Ἰβηρίαν. [228] καὶ Διοκλῆς δ’ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Περσικῶν μνημονεύει τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ Φιλόστρατος ἐν ταῖς Ἰνδικαῖς καὶ Φοινικικαῖς ἱστορίαις, ὅτι οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπολιόρκησε τὴν Τύρον ἔτεσι τρισὶ καὶ δέκα βασιλεύοντος κατ’ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν Ἰθωβάλου τῆς Τύρου. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων ἱστορούμενα περὶ τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως ταῦτα ἦν.

1. Now when king Nebuchadnezzar had reigned forty-three years, he ended his life. He was an active man, and more fortunate than the kings that were before him. Now Berosus makes mention of his actions in the third book of his Chaldaic History, where he says thus: “When his father Nebuchodonosor [Nabopollassar] heard that the governor whom he had set over Egypt, and the places about Coelesyria and Phoenicia, had revolted from him, while he was not himself able any longer to undergo the hardships [of war], he committed to his son Nebuchadnezzar, who was still but a youth, some parts of his army, and sent them against him. So when Nebuchadnezzar had given battle, and fought with the rebel, he beat him, and reduced the country from under his subjection, and made it a branch of his own kingdom; but about that time it happened that his father Nebuchodonosor [Nabopollassar] fell ill, and ended his life in the city Babylon, when he had reigned twenty-one years; and when he was made sensible, as he was in a little time, that his father Nebuchodonosor [Nabopollassar] was dead, and having settled the affairs of Egypt, and the other countries, as also those that concerned the captive Jews, and Phoenicians, and Syrians, and those of the Egyptian nations; and having committed the conveyance of them to Babylon to certain of his friends, together with the gross of his army, and the rest of their ammunition and provisions, he went himself hastily, accompanied with a few others, over the desert, and came to Babylon. So he took upon him the management of public affairs, and of the kingdom which had been kept for him by one that was the principal of the Chaldeans, and he received the entire dominions of his father, and appointed, that when the captives came, they should be placed as colonies, in the most proper places of Babylonia; but then he adorned the temple of Belus, and the rest of the temples,

in a magnificent manner, with the spoils he had taken in the war. He also added another city to that which was there of old, and rebuilt it, that such as would besiege it hereafter might no more turn the course of the river, and thereby attack the city itself. He therefore built three walls round about the inner city, and three others about that which was the outer, and this he did with burnt brick. And after he had, after a becoming manner, walled the city, and adorned its gates gloriously, he built another palace before his father's palace, but so that they joined to it; to describe whose vast height and immense riches it would perhaps be too much for me to attempt; yet as large and lofty as they were, they were completed in fifteen days. He also erected elevated places for walking, of stone, and made it resemble mountains, and built it so that it might be planted with all sorts of trees. He also erected what was called a pensile paradise, because his wife was desirous to have things like her own country, she having been bred up in the palaces of Media." Megasthenes also, in his fourth book of his Accounts of India, makes mention of these things, and thereby endeavors to show that this king [Nebuchadnezzar] exceeded Hercules in fortitude, and in the greatness of his actions; for he saith that he conquered a great part of Libya and Iberia. Diocles also, in the second book of his Accounts of Persia, mentions this king; as does Philostrates in his Accounts both of India and of Phoenicia, say, that this king besieged Tyre thirteen years, while at the same time Ethbaal reigned at Tyre. These are all the histories that I have met with concerning this king.

(2) [229] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ναβουχοδονοσόρου τελευτὴν Ἀβιλμαθαδάχος ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαμβάνει, ὃς εὐθὺς τὸν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλέα Ἰεχονίαν τῶν δεσμῶν ἀφεὶς ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις τῶν φίλων εἶχε πολλὰς αὐτῷ δωρεὰς δοὺς καὶ ποιήσας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ βασιλέων: [230] ὁ γὰρ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ τὴν πίστιν οὐκ ἐφύλαξεν Ἰεχονίᾳ παραδόντι μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων καὶ τῆς συγγενείας ὅλης ἑκουσίως αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, ὡς ἂν μὴ κατασκαφείη ληφθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῆς πολιορκίας, καθὼς προειρήκαμεν. [231] τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀβιλμαθαδάχου μετὰ ἔτη ὀκτωκαίδεκα τῆς βασιλείας Ἠγλίσαρος ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαμβάνει, καὶ κατασχὼν αὐτὴν ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα καταστρέφει τὸν βίον. μετὰ δ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Λαβοσόρδαχον ἀφικνεῖται τῆς βασιλείας ἡ διαδοχή, καὶ μῆνας ποιήσασα παρ' αὐτῷ τοὺς πάντας ἐννέα τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ μεταβαίνει πρὸς Βαλτασάρην τὸν καλούμενον Ναβοάνδηλον παρὰ τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις. [232] ἐπὶ τοῦτον στρατεύουσι Κῦρός τε ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ Δαρεῖος ὁ Μήδων. καὶ πολιορκουμένων τοὺς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι θαυμάσιόν τι καὶ τεράστιον θέαμα συνέβη: κατέκειτο δειπνῶν καὶ πίνων ἐν οἴκῳ μεγάλῳ καὶ πρὸς ἑστιάσεις πεποιημένῳ βασιλικὰς μετὰ τῶν παλλακίδων καὶ τῶν φίλων. [233] δόξαν δὲ αὐτῷ κομισθῆναι κελεύει ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου

ναοῦ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ σκεύη, ἃ συλήσας Ναβουχοδονόσορος ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων οὐκ ἐχρῆτο μέν, εἰς δὲ τὸν αὐτοῦ ναὸν κατέθηκεν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπὸ θράσους προαχθείς, ὥστε αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι, μεταξὺ πίνων καὶ βλασφημῶν τὸν θεὸν ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ὁρᾷ χεῖρα προιοῦσαν καὶ τῷ τοίχῳ τινὰς συλλαβὰς ἐγγράφουσαν. [234] ταραχθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ὄψεως συνεκάλεσε τοὺς μάγους καὶ τοὺς Χαλδαίους, πᾶν τοῦτο τὸ γένος ὅσον ἦν ἐν τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις τά τε σημεῖα καὶ τὰ ὀνείρατα κρίνειν δυνάμενον, ὡς ἂν αὐτῷ δηλώσωσι τὰ γεγραμμένα. [235] τῶν δὲ μάγων οὐδὲν εὑρίσκειν δυναμένων οὐδὲ συνιέναι λεγόντων ὑπ᾽ ἀγωνίας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ πολλῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ λύπης κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐκήρυξε τὴν χώραν τῷ τὰ γράμματα καὶ τὴν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν δηλουμένην διάνοιαν σαφῆ ποιήσαντι δώσειν ὑπισχνούμενος στρεπτὸν περιαυχένιον χρύσεον καὶ πορφυρᾶν ἐσθῆτα φορεῖν, ὡς οἱ τῶν Χαλδαίων βασιλεῖς, καὶ τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς. [236] τούτου γενομένου τοῦ κηρύγματος ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ μάγοι συνδραμόντες καὶ φιλοτιμησάμενοι πρὸς τὴν εὕρεσιν τῶν γραμμάτων οὐδὲν ἔλαττον ἠπόρησαν. [237] ἀθυμοῦντα δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτῳ θεασαμένη τὸν βασιλέα ἡ μάμμη αὐτοῦ παραθαρσύνειν ἤρξατο καὶ λέγειν, ὡς ἔστι τις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας αἰχμάλωτος ἐκεῖθεν τὸ γένος ἀχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ναβουχοδονοσόρου πορθήσαντος Ἱεροσόλυμα Δανίηλος ὄνομα, σοφὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ δεινὸς εὑρεῖν τὰ ἀμήχανα καὶ μόνῳ τῷ θεῷ γνώριμα, ὃς Ναβουχοδονοσόρῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ μηδενὸς ἄλλου δυνηθέντος εἰπεῖν περὶ ὧν ἔχρῃζεν εἰς φῶς ἤγαγε τὰ ζητούμενα. [238] μεταπεμψάμενον οὖν αὐτὸν ἠξίου παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ πυνθάνεσθαι περὶ τῶν γραμμάτων καὶ τὴν ἀμαθίαν τὴν τῶν οὐχ εὑρόντων αὐτὰ κατακρίνειν, κἂν σκυθρωπὸν ᾖ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ σημαινόμενον.

2. But now, after the death of Nebuchadnezzar, Evil-Merodach his son succeeded in the kingdom, who immediately set Jeconiah at liberty, and esteemed him among his most intimate friends. He also gave him many presents, and made him honorable above the rest of the kings that were in Babylon; for his father had not kept his faith with Jeconiah, when he voluntarily delivered up himself to him, with his wives and children, and his whole kindred, for the sake of his country, that it might not be taken by siege, and utterly destroyed, as we said before. When Evil-Mcrodach was dead, after a reign of eighteen years, Niglissar his son took the government, and retained it forty years, and then ended his life; and after him the succession in the kingdom came to his son Labosordacus, who continued in it in all but nine months; and when he was dead, it came to Baltasar, who by the Babylonians was called Naboandelus; against him did Cyrus, the king of Persia, and Darius, the king of Media, make war; and when he was besieged in Babylon, there happened a wonderful and prodigious vision. He was sat down at supper in a large room, and there were a great many vessels of

silver, such as were made for royal entertainments, and he had with him his concubines and his friends; whereupon he came to a resolution, and commanded that those vessels of God which Nebuchadnezzar had plundered out of Jerusalem, and had not made use of, but had put them into his own temple, should be brought out of that temple. He also grew so haughty as to proceed to use them in the midst of his cups, drinking out of them, and blaspheming against God. In the mean time, he saw a hand proceed out of the wall, and writing upon the wall certain syllables; at which sight, being disturbed, he called the magicians and Chaldeans together, and all that sort of men that are among these barbarians, and were able to interpret signs and dreams, that they might explain the writing to him. But when the magicians said they could discover nothing, nor did understand it, the king was in great disorder of mind, and under great trouble at this surprising accident; so he caused it to be proclaimed through all the country, and promised, that to him who could explain the writing, and give the signification couched therein, he would give him a golden chain for his neck, and leave to wear a purple garment, as did the kings of Chaldea, and would bestow on him the third part of his own dominions. When this proclamation was made, the magicians ran together more earnestly, and were very ambitious to find out the importance of the writing, but still hesitated about it as much as before. Now when the king's grandmother saw him cast down at this accident, she began to encourage him, and to say, that there was a certain captive who came from Judea, a Jew by birth, but brought away thence by Nebuchadnezzar when he had destroyed Jerusalem, whose name was Daniel, a wise man, and one of great sagacity in finding out what was impossible for others to discover, and what was known to God alone, who brought to light and answered such questions to Nebuchadnezzar as no one else was able to answer when they were consulted. She therefore desired that he would send for him, and inquire of him concerning the writing, and to condemn the unskilfulness of those that could not find their meaning, and this, although what God signified thereby should be of a melancholy nature.

(3) [239] Ταῦτ' ἀκούσας καλεῖ τὸν Δανίηλον ὁ Βαλτασάρης καὶ διαλεχθεὶς ὡς πύθοιτο περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς σοφίας, ὅτι θεῖον αὐτῷ πνεῦμα συμπάρεστι καὶ μόνος ἐξευρεῖν ἱκανώτατος ἃ μὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰς ἐπίνοιαν ἔρχεται, φράζειν αὐτῷ τὰ γεγραμμένα καὶ τί σημαίνει μηνύειν ἠξίου: [240] τοῦτο γὰρ ποιήσαντι πορφύραν δώσειν ἐνδεδύσθαι καὶ χρύσεον περὶ αὐχένα στρεπτὸν καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ μέρος τιμὴν καὶ γέρας τῆς σοφίας, ὡς ἂν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπισημότατος γένοιτο τοῖς ὁρῶσι καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐφ' ᾗ τούτων ἔτυχε πυνθανομένοις. [241] Δανίηλος δὲ τὰς μὲν δωρεὰς αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἠξίου: τὸ γὰρ

σοφὸν καὶ θεῖον ἀδωροδόκητον εἶναι καὶ προῖκα τοὺς δεομένους ὠφελεῖν, μηνύσειν δ᾽ αὐτῷ τὰ γεγραμμένα σημαίνοντα καταστροφὴν αὐτῷ τοῦ βίου, ὅτι μηδ᾽ οἷς ὁ πρόγονος αὐτοῦ διὰ τὰς εἰς θεὸν ὕβρεις ἐκολάσθη τούτοις ἔμαθεν εὐσεβεῖν καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν μηχανᾶσθαι: [242] ἀλλὰ καὶ Ναβουχοδονοσόρου μεταστάντος εἰς δίαιταν θηρίων ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἠσέβησε καὶ μετὰ πολλὰς ἱκεσίας καὶ δεήσεις ἐλεηθέντος ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τὸν θεὸν ὡς τὴν ἅπασαν ἔχοντα δύναμιν καὶ προνοούμενον τῶν ἀνθρώπων μέχρις οὗ καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν ὑμνοῦντος, λήθην αὐτὸς ἔλαβε τούτων καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐβλασφήμησε τὸ θεῖον, τοῖς δὲ σκεύεσιν αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν παλλακίδων διηκονεῖτο. [243] ταῦτα ὁρῶντα τὸν θεὸν ὀργισθῆναι αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ τῶν γεγραμμένων προκαταγγέλλειν, εἰς οἷον αὐτὸν καταστρέψαι δεῖ τέλος. ἐδήλου δὲ τὰ γράμματα τάδε: μάνη: τούτῳ δὲ ἔλεγεν Ἑλλάδι γλώσσῃ σημαίνοιτο ἂν ἀριθμός, ὥσπερ τῆς ζωῆς σου τὸν χρόνον καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἠρίθμηκεν ὁ θεὸς [καὶ] περισσεύειν ἔτι σοι βραχὺν χρόνον. [244] θέκελ: σημαίνει τοῦτο τὸν σταθμόν: στήσας οὖν σου λέγει τὸν χρόνον τῆς βασιλείας ὁ θεὸς ἤδη καταφερομένην δηλοῖ. φαρές: καὶ τοῦτο κλάσμα δηλοῖ καθ᾽ Ἑλλάδα γλῶτταν: κλάσει τοιγαροῦν σου τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ Μήδοις αὐτὴν καὶ Πέρσαις διανεμεῖ.

3. When Baltasar heard this, he called for Daniel; and when he had discoursed to him what he had learned concerning him and his wisdom, and how a Divine Spirit was with him, and that he alone was fully capable of finding out what others would never have thought of, he desired him to declare to him what this writing meant; that if he did so, he would give him leave to wear purple, and to put a chain of gold about his neck, and would bestow on him the third part of his dominion, as an honorary reward for his wisdom, that thereby he might become illustrious to those who saw him, and who inquired upon what occasion he obtained such honors. But Daniel desired that he would keep his gifts to himself; for what is the effect of wisdom and of Divine revelation admits of no gifts, and bestows its advantages on petitioners freely; but that still he would explain the writing to him; which denoted that he should soon die, and this because he had not learnt to honor God, and not to admit things above human nature, by what punishments his progenitor had undergone for the injuries he had offered to God; and because he had quite forgotten how Nebuchadnezzar was removed to feed among wild beasts for his impieties, and did not recover his former life among men and his kingdom, but upon God’s mercy to him, after many supplications and prayers; who did thereupon praise God all the days of his life, as one of almighty power, and who takes care of mankind. [He also put him in mind] how he had greatly blasphemed against God, and had made use of his vessels amongst his concubines; that therefore God saw this, and was angry with him,

and declared by this writing beforehand what a sad conclusion of his life he should come to. And he explained the writing thus: “MANEH. This, if it be expounded in the Greek language, may signify a Number, because God hath numbered so long a time for thy life, and for thy government, and that there remains but a small portion. THEKEL This signifies a weight, and means that God hath weighed thy kingdom in a balance, and finds it going down already. — PHARES. This also, in the Greek tongue, denotes a fragment. God will therefore break thy kingdom in pieces, and divide it among the Medes and Persians.”

(4) [245] Δανιήλου δὲ ταῦτα τῷ βασιλεῖ σημαίνειν φράσαντος τὰ ἐν τῷ τοίχῳ γράμματα τὸν μὲν Βαλτασάρην, οἷον εἰκὸς ἐφ᾽ οὕτω χαλεποῖς τοῖς δεδηλωμένοις, λύπη καὶ συμφορὰ κατέλαβεν: [246] οὐ μὴν ὡς προφήτῃ αὐτῷ κακῶν γενομένῳ τὰς δωρεὰς ἃς ὑπέσχετο δώσειν οὐ δίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ πάσας παρέσχε, τὸ μὲν ἐφ᾽ οἷς δοθήσονται λογιζόμενος ἴδιον αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀνάγκης, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχὶ τοῦ προφητεύσαντος εἶναι, τὰ δὲ ὡμολογημένα κρίνων ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ δικαίου, κἂν ᾖ σκυθρωπὰ τὰ μέλλοντα συμβαίνειν οὕτως ἔκρινε: [247] μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον αὐτός τε ἐλήφθη καὶ ἡ πόλις Κύρου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν στρατεύσαντος: Βαλτάσαρος γάρ ἐστιν, ἐφ᾽ οὗ τὴν αἵρεσιν τῆς Βαβυλῶνος συνέβη γενέσθαι, βασιλεύσαντος αὐτοῦ ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτη. [248] τῶν μὲν οὖν Ναβουχοδονοσόρου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγγόνων τὸ τέλος τοιοῦτον παρειλήφαμεν γενόμενον: Δαρείῳ δὲ τῷ καταλύσαντι τὴν Βαβυλωνίων ἡγεμονίαν μετὰ Κύρου τοῦ συγγενοῦς ἔτος ἦν ἑξηκοστὸν καὶ δεύτερον, ὅτε τὴν Βαβυλῶνα εἷλεν, ὃς ἦν Ἀστυάγους υἱός, ἕτερον δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐκαλεῖτο ὄνομα: [249] ὃς καὶ Δανίηλον τὸν προφήτην λαβὼν ἤγαγεν εἰς Μηδίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ πάσης αὐτῷ τιμῆς μεταδιδοὺς εἶχε σὺν αὐτῷ: τῶν τριῶν γὰρ σατραπῶν ἦν, οὓς ἐπὶ τῶν ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων σατραπειῶν κατέστησε: τοσούτους γὰρ ἐποίησε Δαρεῖος εἰς αὐτήν.

4. When Daniel had told the king that the writing upon the wall signified these events, Baltasar was in great sorrow and affliction, as was to be expected, when the interpretation was so heavy upon him. However, he did not refuse what he had promised Daniel, although he were become a foreteller of misfortunes to him, but bestowed it all upon him; as reasoning thus, that what he was to reward was peculiar to himself, and to fate, and did not belong to the prophet, but that it was the part of a good and a just man to give what he had promised, although the events were of a melancholy nature. Accordingly, the king determined so to do. Now, after a little while, both himself and the city were taken by Cyrus, the king of Persia, who fought against him; for it was Baltasar, under whom Babylon was taken, when he had reigned seventeen years. And this is the end of the posterity of king Nebuchadnezzar, as history informs us; but when Babylon was taken by

Darius, and when he, with his kinsman Cyrus, had put an end to the dominion of the Babylonians, he was sixty-two years old. He was the son of Astyages, and had another name among the Greeks. Moreover, he took Daniel the prophet, and carried him with him into Media, and honored him very greatly, and kept him with him; for he was one of the three presidents whom he set over his three hundred and sixty provinces, for into so many did Darius part them.

(5) [250] Δανίηλος τοίνυν ὢν ἐν τοιαύτῃ τιμῇ καὶ λαμπρᾷ σπουδῇ παρὰ τῷ Δαρείῳ καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντα ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ μόνος, ὡς ἂν ἔχων τὸ θεῖον πεπιστευμένος ἐν αὐτῷ, παραλαμβανόμενος ἐφθονήθη: βασκαίνουσι γὰρ οἱ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ἑτέρους ἐν πλείονι τιμῇ παρὰ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι βλέποντες. [251] ζητούντων δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀφορμὴν διαβολῆς καὶ κατηγορίας τῶν ἀχθομένων ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ εὐδοκιμοῦντι παρὰ τῷ Δαρείῳ παρεῖχεν αἰτίαν οὐδεμίαν: ὢν γὰρ καὶ χρημάτων ἐπάνω καὶ παντὸς λήμματος περιορῶν, αἴσχιστον αὐτῷ δοκεῖν κἂν ὑπὲρ ὧν δοθείη καλῶς πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν, οὐδ᾽ ἡντιναοῦν τοῖς ζηλοτυποῦσιν αὐτὸν ἐγκλημάτων εὕρεσιν παρεῖχεν. [252] οἱ δ᾽ ὡς οὐδὲν εἶχον, ὃ κατειπόντες αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ζημιώσουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τιμὴν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ διαβολῇ, τρόπον ἄλλον ἐζήτουν καθ᾽ ὃν αὐτὸν ἐκποδὼν ποιήσονται. ὁρῶντες οὖν τὸν Δανίηλον τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας προσευχόμενον τῷ θεῷ πρόφασιν ἔγνωσαν εὑρηκέναι, δι᾽ ἧς ἀπολέσουσιν αὐτόν. [253] καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δαρεῖον ἐλθόντες ἀπήγγελλον αὐτῷ, ὡς τοῖς σατράπαις αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι δόξειεν ἐπὶ τριάκονθ᾽ ἡμέρας ἀνεῖναι τὸ πλῆθος, ὅπως μήτ᾽ αὐτῷ τις μήτε τοῖς θεοῖς δεόμενος αὐτῶν καὶ εὐχόμενος εἴη, τὸν μέντοι γε αὐτῶν παραβάντα ταύτην τὴν γνώμην εἰς τὸν τῶν λεόντων ἔκριναν ῥῖψαι λάκκον ἀπολούμενον.

5. However, while Daniel was in so great dignity, and in so great favor with Darius, and was alone intrusted with every thing by him, a having somewhat divine in him, he was envied by the rest; for those that see others in greater honor than themselves with kings envy them; and when those that were grieved at the great favor Daniel was in with Darius sought for an occasion against him, he afforded them no occasion at all, for he was above all the temptations of money, and despised bribery, and esteemed it a very base thing to take any thing by way of reward, even when it might be justly given him; he afforded those that envied him not the least handle for an accusation. So when they could find nothing for which they might calumniate him to the king, nothing that was shameful or reproachful, and thereby deprive him of the honor he was in with him, they sought for some other method whereby they might destroy him. When therefore they saw that Daniel prayed to God three times a day, they thought they had gotten an occasion by which they might ruin him; so they came to Darius and told him that the princes and governors had thought proper to allow

the multitude a relaxation for thirty days, that no one might offer a petition or prayer either to himself or to the gods, but that, “he who shall transgress this decree shall be east into the den of lions, and there perish.”

(6) [254] Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς οὐ συνιδὼν τὴν κακουργίαν οὐδ’ ἐπὶ τὸν Δανίηλον ταῦτα κατεσκευασμένους ὑπονοήσας ἀρέσκεσθαι τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἔφη δεδογμένοις, καὶ κυρώσειν τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῶν ἐπαγγελλόμενος προτίθησι πρόγραμμα δηλοῦν τῷ πλήθει τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς σατράπαις. [255] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες φυλαττόμενοι τὰ προστεταγμένα μὴ παραβῆναι ἠρέμουν, Δανιήλῳ δὲ φροντὶς οὐδ’ ἡτισοῦν τούτων ἦν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἔθος εἶχεν ἱστάμενος ηὔχετο τῷ θεῷ πάντων ὁρώντων. [256] οἱ δὲ σατράπαι τῆς ἀφορμῆς αὐτοῖς ἣν ἐσπούδαζον λαβεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Δανίηλον παραφανείσης εὐθὺς ἦκον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ κατηγόρουν ὡς παραβαίνοντος μόνου τοῦ Δανιήλου τὰ προστεταγμένα: μηδενὸς γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων τολμῶντος προσεύχεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ τοῦτ’ οὐ δι’ ἀσέβειαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ φυλακὴν καὶ διατήρησιν ὑΠὸ τοῦ φθόνου: [257] ἀπὸ γὰρ μείζονος ἧς προσεδόκων εὐνοίας τοῦτο ποιεῖν τὸν Δαρεῖον ὑπολαμβάνοντες, ὡς καὶ καταφρονήσαντι τῶν ἐκείνου προσταγμάτων συγγνώμην ἑτοίμως νέμειν, καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο βασκαίνοντες τῷ Δανιήλῳ, οὔτε μετεβάλλοντο πρὸς τὸ ἡμερώτερον, ῥίπτειν δ’ αὐτὸν ἠξίουν κατὰ τὸν νόμον εἰς τὸν λάκκον τῶν λεόντων. [258] ἐλπίσας δ’ ὁ Δαρεῖος, ὅτι ῥύσεται τὸ θεῖον αὐτὸν καὶ οὐδὲν μὴ πάθῃ δεινὸν ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ εὐθύμως φέρειν τὰ συμβαίνοντα: καὶ βληθέντος εἰς τὸν λάκκον σφραγίσας τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ στομίου κείμενον ἀντὶ θύρας λίθον ἀνεχώρησε, δι’ ὅλης δ’ ἄσιτος τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ ἄυπνος διῆγεν ἀγωνιῶν περὶ τοῦ Δανιήλου: [259] μεθ’ ἡμέραν δὲ ἀναστὰς ἐπὶ τὸν λάκκον ἦλθε καὶ σωζομένην τὴν σφραγῖδα εὑρών, ᾗ σημηνάμενος τὸν λίθον κατελελοίπει, ἀνοίξας ἀνεβόησε καλῶν τὸν Δανίηλον καὶ πυνθανόμενος εἰ σώζεται. τοῦ δὲ ἐπακούσαντος τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ μηδὲν παθεῖν εἰπόντος, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀνελκυσθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ λάκκου τοῦ τῶν θηρίων. [260] οἱ δὲ ἐχθροὶ θεασάμενοι τὸν Δανίηλον μηδὲν πεπονθότα δεινὸν διὰ μὲν τὸ θεῖον καὶ τὴν τούτου πρόνοιαν οὐκ ἠξίουν αὐτὸν σώζεσθαι, πεπληρωμένους δὲ τοὺς λέοντας τροφῆς μὴ ἅψασθαι μηδὲ προσελθεῖν τῷ Δανιήλῳ νομίζοντες τοῦτο ἔλεγον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. [261] ὁ δὲ μισήσας αὐτοὺς τῆς πονηρίας παραβληθῆναι μὲν πολλὰ κελεύει τοῖς λέουσι κρέα, κορεσθέντων δ’ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοῦ Δανιήλου προσέταξεν εἰς τὸν λάκκον βληθῆναι, ὅπως εἰ διὰ κόρον αὐτοῖς οὐ προσήξουσιν οἱ λέοντες μάθοι. [262] σαφὲς δ’ ἐγένετο τῷ Δαρείῳ τῶν σατραπῶν παραβληθέντων τοῖς θηρίοις, ὅτι τὸ θεῖον ἔσωσε τὸν Δανίηλον: οὐδενὸς γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐφείσαντο οἱ λέοντες, ἀλλὰ πάντας διεσπάραττον ὡσανεὶ σφόδρα λιμώττοντες καὶ τροφῆς ἐνδεεῖς. ἠρέθισε δ’ αὐτοὺς οὐ τὸ πεινῆν οἶμαι μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν ἀφθόνων κρεῶν πεπληρωμένους, ἀλλ’ ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κακία, δήλη

γὰρ καὶ τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζῴοις ἦν αὕτη, πρὸς τιμωρίαν ἢ γένοιτο τοῦ θεοῦ προαιρουμένου.

6. Whereupon the king, not being acquainted with their wicked design, nor suspecting that it was a contrivance of theirs against Daniel, said he was pleased with this decree of theirs, and he promised to confirm what they desired; he also published an edict to promulgate to the people that decree which the princes had made. Accordingly, all the rest took care not to transgress those injunctions, and rested in quiet; but Daniel had no regard to them, but, as he was wont, he stood and prayed to God in the sight of them all; but the princes having met with the occasion they so earnestly sought to find against Daniel, came presently to the king, and accused him, that Daniel was the only person that transgressed the decree, while not one of the rest durst pray to their gods. This discovery they made, not because of his impiety, but because they had watched him, and observed him out of envy; for supposing that Darius did thus out of a greater kindness to him than they expected, and that he was ready to grant him pardon for this contempt of his injunctions, and envying this very pardon to Daniel, they did not become more honorable to him, but desired he might be cast into the den of lions according to the law. So Darius, hoping that God would deliver him, and that he would undergo nothing that was terrible by the wild beasts, bid him bear this accident cheerfully. And when he was cast into the den, he put his seal to the stone that lay upon the mouth of the den, and went his way, but he passed all the night without food and without sleep, being in great distress for Daniel; but when it was day, he got up, and came to the den, and found the seal entire, which he had left the stone sealed withal; he also opened the seal, and cried out, and called to Daniel, and asked him if he were alive. And as soon as he heard the king's voice, and said that he had suffered no harm, the king gave order that he should be drawn up out of the den. Now when his enemies saw that Daniel had suffered nothing which was terrible, they would not own that he was preserved by God, and by his providence; but they said that the lions had been filled full with food, and on that account it was, as they supposed, that the lions would not touch Daniel, nor come to him; and this they alleged to the king. But the king, out of an abhorrence of their wickedness, gave order that they should throw in a great deal of flesh to the lions; and when they had filled themselves, he gave further order that Daniel's enemies should be cast into the den, that he might learn whether the lions, now they were full, would touch them or not. And it appeared plain to Darius, after the princes had been cast to the wild beasts, that it was God who preserved Daniel for the lions spared none of them, but tore them all to pieces, as if they had been very hungry, and wanted food. I suppose

therefore it was not their hunger, which had been a little before satisfied with abundance of flesh, but the wickedness of these men, that provoked them [to destroy the princes]; for if it so please God, that wickedness might, by even those irrational creatures, be esteemed a plain foundation for their punishment.

(7) [263] Διαφθαρέντων οὖν τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων Δανιήλῳ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ὁ βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος καθ' ὅλην ἔπεμψε τὴν χώραν ἐπαινῶν τὸν θεόν, ὃν Δανίηλος προσκυνεῖ, καὶ μόνον αὐτὸν εἶναι ἔλεγεν ἀληθῆ καὶ τὸ πάντων κράτος ἔχοντα: ἔσχε δὲ καὶ τὸν Δανίηλον ἐν ὑπερβαλλούσῃ τιμῇ πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἀποδείξας τῶν φίλων. [264] ὢν δὲ οὕτως ἐπίσημος καὶ λαμπρὸς ἐπὶ δόξῃ τοῦ θεοφιλὴς εἶναι Δανίηλος ᾠκοδόμησεν ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις τῆς Μηδικῆς βάριν εὐπρεπέστατόν τι κατασκεύασμα καὶ θαυμασίως πεποιημένον, ἢ μέχρι δεῦρο μὲν ἔστι καὶ σώζεται, τοῖς δ' ὁρῶσι δοκεῖ προσφάτως κατεσκευάσθαι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἐκείνης ἧς ἕκαστος αὐτὴν ἡμέρας ἱστορεῖ γεγονέναι: οὕτως νεαρὸν αὐτῆς καὶ ἀκμαῖον τὸ κάλλος καὶ μηδαμοῦ γεγηρακὸς ὑπὸ τοσούτου χρόνου: [265] πάσχει γὰρ καὶ τὰ κατασκευάσματα ταὐτὸν ἀνθρώποις καὶ πολιοῦται καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν λυόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐτῶν καὶ τὴν εὐπρέπειαν μαραινόμενα. θάπτουσι δ' ἐν τῇ βάρει τούς τε Μήδων βασιλέας καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Πάρθων ἄχρι τοῦ δεῦρο, καὶ ὁ ταύτην πεπιστευμένος Ἰουδαῖός ἐστιν ἱερεὺς καὶ τοῦτο γίνεται μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας. [266] ἄξιον δὲ τἀνδρὸς τούτου καὶ ὃ μάλιστ' ἂν θαυμάσαι τις ἀκούσας διελθεῖν: ἀπαντᾷ γὰρ αὐτῷ παραδόξως ὡς ἑνί τινι τῶν μεγίστων καὶ παρὰ τὸν τῆς ζωῆς χρόνον τιμή τε καὶ δόξα ἡ παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τοῦ πλήθους, καὶ τελευτήσας δὲ μνήμην αἰώνιον ἔχει. [267] τὰ γὰρ βιβλία, ὅσα δὴ συγγραψάμενος καταλέλοιπεν, ἀναγινώσκεται παρ' ἡμῖν ἔτι καὶ νῦν καὶ πεπιστεύκαμεν ἐξ αὐτῶν, ὅτι Δανίηλος ὡμίλει τῷ θεῷ: οὐ γὰρ τὰ μέλλοντα μόνον προφητεύων διετέλει, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι προφῆται, ἀλλὰ καὶ καιρὸν ὥριζεν, εἰς ὃν ταῦτα ἀποβήσεται: [268] καὶ τῶν προφητῶν τὰ χείρω προλεγόντων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δυσχεραινομένων ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τοῦ πλήθους Δανίηλος ἀγαθῶν ἐγίνετο προφήτης αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς εὐφημίας τῶν προλεγομένων εὔνοιαν ἐπισπᾶσθαι παρὰ πάντων, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ τέλους αὐτῶν ἀληθείας πίστιν καὶ δόξαν ὁμοῦ θειότητος παρὰ τοῖς ὄχλοις ἀποφέρεσθαι. [269] κατέλιπε δὲ γράψας, ὅθεν ἡμῖν ἀληθὲς τὸ τῆς προφητείας αὐτοῦ ἀκριβὲς καὶ ἀπαράλλακτον ἐποίησε δῆλον: φησὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν γενόμενον ἐν Σούσοις ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει τῆς Περσίδος, ὡς ἐξῆλθεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον μετὰ ἑταίρων αὐτοῦ, σεισμοῦ καὶ κλόνου τῆς γῆς ἐξαίφνης γενομένου καταλειφθείη μόνος φευγόντων τῶν φίλων καὶ πέσοι μὲν ἐπὶ στόμα ταραχθεὶς ἐπὶ τὰς δύο χεῖρας, τινὸς δ' ἁψαμένου αὐτοῦ καὶ μεταξὺ κελεύοντος ἀναστῆναι καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα συμβήσεσθαι τοῖς πολίταις ἰδεῖν μετὰ πολλὰς γενεάς. [270] ἀναστάντι δ' αὐτῷ δειχθῆναι κριὸν ἐσήμαινε μέγαν, πολλὰ μὲν ἐκπεφυκότα κέρατα, τελευταῖον δ' αὐτῶν ὑψηλότερον ἔχοντα. ἔπειτ'

ἀναβλέψαι μὲν εἰς τὴν δύσιν, θεάσασθαι δὲ τράγον ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς δι᾽ ἀέρος φερόμενον συρράξαντα τῷ κριῷ καὶ τοῖς κέρασι ῥήξαντα δὶς καταβαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πατῆσαι. [271] εἶτα τὸν τράγον ἰδεῖν ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου μέγιστον ἀναφύσαντα κέρας, οὗ κλασθέντος ἀναβλαστῆσαι τέσσαρα καθ᾽ ἕκαστον τῶν ἀνέμων τετραμμένα. ἐξ αὐτῶν δ᾽ ἀνασχεῖν καὶ ἄλλο μικρότερον ἀνέγραψεν, ὃ αὐξῆσαν ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ ὁ ταῦτα ἐπιδεικνὺς θεὸς πολεμήσειν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔθνος καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀναιρήσειν κατὰ κράτος, καὶ συγχεεῖν τὰ περὶ τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὰς θυσίας κωλύσειν γενέσθαι ἐπὶ ἡμέρας χιλίας διακοσίας ἐνενήκοντα ἕξ. [272] ταῦτα μὲν ἰδεῖν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῷ ἐν Σούσοις ὁ Δανίηλος ἔγραψε, κρῖναι δ᾽ αὐτὸν τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ φαντάσματος ἐδήλου τὸν θεὸν οὕτως: τὸν μὲν κριὸν βασιλείας τὰς Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν σημαίνειν ἔφασκε, τὰ δὲ κέρατα τοὺς βασιλεύειν μέλλοντας, τὸ δὲ ἔσχατον κέρας σημαίνειν τὸν ἔσχατον βασιλέα: τοῦτον γὰρ διοίσειν ἁπάντων πλούτῳ τε καὶ δόξῃ. [273] τὸν δὲ τράγον δηλοῦν, ὡς ἐκ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τις βασιλεύων ἔσται, ὃς τῷ Πέρσῃ συμβαλὼν δὶς κρατήσει τῇ μάχῃ καὶ παραλήψεται τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἅπασαν. [274] δηλοῦσθαι δ᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου κέρατος τοῦ ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ τοῦ τράγου τὸν πρῶτον βασιλέα καὶ τὴν τῶν τεσσάρων ἀναβλάστησιν ἐκπεσόντος ἐκείνου καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὰ τέσσαρα κλίματα τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν ἀποστροφὴν ἑκάστου τοὺς διαδόχους μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως ἐμφανίζεσθαι καὶ διαμερισμὸν εἰς αὐτοὺς τῆς βασιλείας, οὔτε δὲ παῖδας αὐτοῦ τούτους ὄντας οὔτε συγγενεῖς, πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἄρξειν τῆς οἰκουμένης. [275] γενήσεσθαι δ᾽ ἐκ τούτων τινὰ βασιλέα τὸν ἐκπολεμήσοντα τό τε ἔθνος καὶ τοὺς νόμους αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν κατὰ τούτους ἀφαιρησόμενον πολιτείαν καὶ συλήσοντα τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐπ᾽ ἔτη τρία κωλύσοντα ἐπιτελεσθῆναι. [276] καὶ δὴ ταῦτα ἡμῶν συνέβη παθεῖν τῷ ἔθνει ὑπὸ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς, καθὼς εἶδεν ὁ Δανίηλος καὶ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἔμπροσθεν ἀνέγραψε τὰ γενησόμενα. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον ὁ Δανίηλος καὶ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας ἀνέγραψε, καὶ ὅτι ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐρημωθήσεται. [277] ταῦτα πάντα ἐκεῖνος θεοῦ δείξαντος αὐτῷ συγγράψας κατέλειψεν: ὥστε τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας καὶ τὰ συμβαίνοντα σκοποῦντας θαυμάζειν ἐπὶ τῇ παρὰ θεοῦ τιμῇ τὸν Δανίηλον καὶ τοὺς Ἐπικουρείους ἐκ τούτων εὑρίσκειν πεπλανημένους, [278] οἳ τήν τε πρόνοιαν ἐκβάλλουσι τοῦ βίου καὶ θεὸν οὐκ ἀξιοῦσιν ἐπιτροπεύειν τῶν πραγμάτων, οὐδ᾽ ὑπὸ τῆς μακαρίας καὶ ἀφθάρτου πρὸς διαμονὴν τῶν ὅλων οὐσίας κυβερνᾶσθαι τὰ σύμπαντα, ἄμοιρον δὲ ἡνιόχου καὶ ἀφρόντιστον τὸν κόσμον αὐτομάτως φέρεσθαι λέγουσιν. [279] ὃς εἰ τοῦτον ἀπροστάτητος ἦν τὸν τρόπον, καθάπερ καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐρήμους κυβερνητῶν καταδυομένας ὁρῶμεν ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἢ καὶ τὰ ἅρματα περιτρεπόμενα μὴ ἔχοντα τοὺς ἡνιοχοῦντας, συντριβεὶς ἂν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπρονοήτου συμφορᾶς ἀπωλώλει καὶ διεφθείρετο. [280] τοῖς οὖν προειρημένοις ὑπὸ Δανιήλου δοκοῦσί μοι σφόδρα τῆς ἀληθοῦς δόξης διαμαρτάνειν οἱ τῷ θεῷ μηδεμίαν εἶναι περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀποφαινόμενοι πρόνοιαν: οὐ γὰρ ἂν κατὰ

τὴν ἐκείνου προφητείαν, εἰ συνέβαινεν αὐτοματισμῷ τινι τὸν κόσμον διάγειν, πάντα ἐωρῶμεν ἀποβαίνοντα. [281] ἐγὼ μὲν περὶ τούτων ὡς εὗρον καὶ ἀνέγνων οὕτως ἔγραψα: εἰ δέ τις ἄλλως δοξάζειν βουλήσεται περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀνέγκλητον ἐχέτω τὴν ἑτερογνωμοσύνην.

7. When therefore those that had intended thus to destroy Daniel by treachery were themselves destroyed, king Darius sent [letters] over all the country, and praised that God whom Daniel worshipped, and said that he was the only true God, and had all power. He had also Daniel in very great esteem, and made him the principal of his friends. Now when Daniel was become so illustrious and famous, on account of the opinion men had that he was beloved of God, he built a tower at Ecbatana, in Media: it was a most elegant building, and wonderfully made, and it is still remaining, and preserved to this day; and to such as see it, it appears to have been lately built, and to have been no older than that very day when any one looks upon it, it is so fresh flourishing, and beautiful, and no way grown old in so long time; for buildings suffer the same as men do, they grow old as well as they, and by numbers of years their strength is dissolved, and their beauty withered. Now they bury the kings of Media, of Persia, and Parthia in this tower to this day, and he who was entrusted with the care of it was a Jewish priest; which thing is also observed to this day. But it is fit to give an account of what this man did, which is most admirable to hear, for he was so happy as to have strange revelations made to him, and those as to one of the greatest of the prophets, insomuch, that while he was alive he had the esteem and applause both of the kings and of the multitude; and now he is dead, he retains a remembrance that will never fail, for the several books that he wrote and left behind him are still read by us till this time; and from them we believe that Daniel conversed with God; for he did not only prophesy of future events, as did the other prophets, but he also determined the time of their accomplishment. And while prophets used to foretell misfortunes, and on that account were disagreeable both to the kings and to the multitude, Daniel was to them a prophet of good things, and this to such a degree, that by the agreeable nature of his predictions, he procured the goodwill of all men; and by the accomplishment of them, he procured the belief of their truth, and the opinion of [a sort of] divinity for himself, among the multitude. He also wrote and left behind him what made manifest the accuracy and undeniable veracity of his predictions; for he saith, that when he was in Susa, the metropolis of Persia, and went out into the field with his companions, there was, on the sudden, a motion and concussion of the earth, and that he was left alone by himself, his friends fleeing away from him, and that he was disturbed, and fell on his face, and on his two hands, and that a

certain person touched him, and, at the same time, bid him rise, and see what would befall his countrymen after many generations. He also related, that when he stood up, he was shown a great rain, with many horns growing out of his head, and that the last was higher than the rest: that after this he looked to the west, and saw a he-goat carried through the air from that quarter; that he rushed upon the ram with violence, and smote him twice with his horns, and overthrew him to the ground, and trampled upon him: that afterward he saw a very great horn growing out of the head of the he-goat, and that when it was broken off, four horns grew up that were exposed to each of the four winds, and he wrote that out of them arose another lesser horn, which, as he said, waxed great; and that God showed to him that it should fight against his nation, and take their city by force, and bring the temple worship to confusion, and forbid the sacrifices to be offered for one thousand two hundred and ninety-six days. Daniel wrote that he saw these visions in the Plain of Susa; and he hath informed us that God interpreted the appearance of this vision after the following manner: He said that the ram signified the kingdoms of the Medes and Persians, and the horns those kings that were to reign in them; and that the last horn signified the last king, and that he should exceed all the kings in riches and glory: that the he-goat signified that one should come and reign from the Greeks, who should twice fight with the Persian, and overcome him in battle, and should receive his entire dominion: that by the great horn which sprang out of the forehead of the he-goat was meant the first king; and that the springing up of four horns upon its falling off, and the conversion of every one of them to the four quarters of the earth, signified the successors that should arise after the death of the first king, and the partition of the kingdom among them, and that they should be neither his children, nor of his kindred, that should reign over the habitable earth for many years; and that from among them there should arise a certain king that should overcome our nation and their laws, and should take away their political government, and should spoil the temple, and forbid the sacrifices to be offered for three years' time. And indeed it so came to pass, that our nation suffered these things under Antiochus Epiphanes, according to Daniel's vision, and what he wrote many years before they came to pass. In the very same manner Daniel also wrote concerning the Roman government, and that our country should be made desolate by them. All these things did this man leave in writing, as God had showed them to him, insomuch that such as read his prophecies, and see how they have been fulfilled, would wonder at the honor wherewith God honored Daniel; and may thence discover how the Epicureans are in an error, who cast Providence out of human life, and do not believe that God takes care of the affairs of the world, nor that the universe is governed and continued in being by that blessed and immortal

nature, but say that the world is carried along of its own accord, without a ruler and a curator; which, were it destitute of a guide to conduct it, as they imagine, it would be like ships without pilots, which we see drowned by the winds, or like chariots without drivers, which are overturned; so would the world be dashed to pieces by its being carried without a Providence, and so perish, and come to nought. So that, by the forementioned predictions of Daniel, those men seem to me very much to err from the truth, who determine that God exercises no providence over human affairs; for if that were the case, that the world went on by mechanical necessity, we should not see that all things would come to pass according to his prophecy. Now as to myself, I have so described these matters as I have found them and read them; but if any one is inclined to another opinion about them, let him enjoy his different sentiments without any blame from me.

Liber XI

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ ἑνδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Ὡς Κῦρος ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀπολύσας ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοῖς οἰκοδομῆσαι τὸν ναὸν δοὺς αὐτοῖς χρήματα.

β. ὅτι διεκώλυσαν αὐτοὺς οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως ἡγεμόνες κατασκευάσαι τὸ ἱερὸν ἐμποδὼν γενόμενοι τοῖς ἔργοις.

γ. ὡς Κύρου τελευτήσαντος Καμβύσης ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ παραλαβὼν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐκ παντὸς ἀπηγόρευσε τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις οἰκοδομῆσαι τὸν ναόν.

δ. ὅτι Δαρεῖος ὁ Ὑστάσπεω βασιλεύσας Περσῶν ἐτίμησεν τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος καὶ τὸν ναὸν αὐτῶν ἀνῳκοδόμησεν.

ε. ὡς μετ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Ξέρξης οἰκείως πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους διετέθη.

ς. ὅτι βασιλεύοντος Ἀρταξέρξου Ἰουδαίων πᾶν τὸ ἔθνος ἐκινδύνευσεν.

ζ. ὡς Βαγώας ὁ Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ νεωτέρου στρατηγὸς πολλὰ εἰς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐξύβρισεν.

η. ὡς ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος εὐεργέτησεν αὐτοὺς κρατήσας τῆς Ἰουδαίας.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν σμγ μηνῶν ε.

BOOK XI. Containing The Interval Of Two Hundred And Fifty-Three Years And Five Months. — From The First Of Cyrus To The Death Of Alexander The Great.

I

CHAPTER 1. How Cyrus, King Of The Persians, Delivered The Jews Out Of Babylon And Suffered Them To Return To Their Own Country And To Build Their Temple, For Which Work He Gave Them Money.

(1) [1] Τῷ δὲ πρώτῳ τῆς Κύρου βασιλείας ἔτει, τοῦτο δ' ἦν ἑβδομηκοστὸν ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας μεταναστῆναι τὸν λαὸν ἡμῶν ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας εἰς Βαβυλῶνα συνέπεσεν, ἠλέησεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν καὶ τὴν συμφορὰν ἐκείνων τῶν ταλαιπώρων, καὶ καθὼς προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς διὰ Ἱερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου πρὶν ἢ κατασκαφῆναι τὴν πόλιν, [2] ὡς μετὰ τὸ δουλεῦσαι Ναβουχοδονοσόρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ταύτην ὑπομεῖναι τὴν δουλείαν ἐπὶ ἔτη ἑβδομήκοντα πάλιν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πάτριον ἀποκαταστήσει γῆν καὶ τὸν ναὸν οἰκοδομήσουσι καὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἀπολαύσουσιν εὐδαιμονίας, ταῦτ' αὐτοῖς παρέσχεν. [3] παρορμήσας γὰρ τὴν Κύρου ψυχὴν ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν γράψαι κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὅτι Κῦρος ὁ βασιλεὺς λέγει: "ἐπεί με ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγιστος τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα, πείθομαι τοῦτον εἶναι, ὃν τὸ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἔθνος προσκυνεῖ. [4] καὶ γὰρ τοὐμὸν προεῖπεν ὄνομα διὰ τῶν προφητῶν, καὶ ὅτι τὸν ναὸν αὐτοῦ οἰκοδομήσω ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ χώρᾳ."

1. In the first year of the reign of Cyrus which was the seventieth from the day that our people were removed out of their own land into Babylon, God commiserated the captivity and calamity of these poor people, according as he had foretold to them by Jeremiah the prophet, before the destruction of the city, that after they had served Nebuchadnezzar and his posterity, and after they had undergone that servitude seventy years, he would restore them again to the land of their fathers, and they should build their temple, and enjoy their ancient prosperity. And these things God did afford them; for he stirred up the mind of Cyrus, and made him write this throughout all Asia: "Thus saith Cyrus the king: Since God Almighty hath appointed me to be king of the habitable earth, I believe that he is that God which the nation of the Israelites worship; for indeed he foretold my name by the prophets, and that I should build him a house at Jerusalem, in the country of Judea."

(2) [5] Ταῦτα δ' ἔγνω Κῦρος ἀναγινώσκων τὸ βιβλίον, ὃ τῆς αὐτοῦ προφητείας ὁ Ἡσαίας κατέλιπεν πρὸ ἐτῶν διακοσίων καὶ δέκα: οὗτος γὰρ ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ εἶπε ταῦτα λέγειν τὸν θεόν, ὅτι βούλομαι Κῦρον ἐγὼ πολλῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ μεγάλων

ἀποδείξας βασιλέα πέμψαι μου τὸν λαὸν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν γῆν καὶ οἰκοδομῆσαί μου τὸν ναόν. [6] ταῦτα Ἡσαίας προεφήτευσεν ἔμπροσθεν ἢ κατασκαφῆναι τὸν ναὸν ἔτεσιν ἑκατὸν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα. ταῦτ᾽ οὖν ἀναγνόντα τὸν Κῦρον καὶ θαυμάσαντα τὸ θεῖον ὁρμή τις ἔλαβεν καὶ φιλοτιμία ποιῆσαι τὰ γεγραμμένα, καὶ καλέσας τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι Ἰουδαίων συγχωρεῖν αὐτοῖς ἔφη βαδίζειν εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν πατρίδα καὶ ἀναστῆσαί τε τὴν πόλιν Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ναόν: [7] ἔσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦτον σύμμαχον αὐτόν τε γράψειν τοῖς γειτονεύουσιν ἐκείνῃ τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν ἰδίων ἡγεμόνων καὶ σατραπῶν, ἵνα συμβάλωνται χρυσὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄργυρον εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ πρὸς τούτοις θρέμματα πρὸς τὰς θυσίας.

2. This was known to Cyrus by his reading the book which Isaiah left behind him of his prophecies; for this prophet said that God had spoken thus to him in a secret vision: “My will is, that Cyrus, whom I have appointed to be king over many and great nations, send back my people to their own land, and build my temple.” This was foretold by Isaiah one hundred and forty years before the temple was demolished. Accordingly, when Cyrus read this, and admired the Divine power, an earnest desire and ambition seized upon him to fulfill what was so written; so he called for the most eminent Jews that were in Babylon, and said to them, that he gave them leave to go back to their own country, and to rebuild their city Jerusalem, and the temple of God, for that he would be their assistant, and that he would write to the rulers and governors that were in the neighborhood of their country of Judea, that they should contribute to them gold and silver for the building of the temple, and besides that, beasts for their sacrifices.

(3) [8] Ταῦτα Κύρου καταγγείλαντος τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις ἐξώρμησαν οἱ τῶν δύο φυλῶν ἄρχοντες τῆς Ἰούδα καὶ Βενιαμίτιδος οἵ τε Λευῖται καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. πολλοὶ γὰρ κατέμειναν ἐν τῇ Βαβυλῶνι τὰ κτήματα καταλιπεῖν οὐ θέλοντες. [9] καὶ παραγενομένοις αὐτοῖς οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως φίλοι πάντες ἐβοήθουν καὶ συνεισέφερον εἰς τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευὴν οἱ μὲν χρυσὸν οἱ δ᾽ ἄργυρον οἱ δὲ βοσκημάτων πλῆθος σὺν ἵπποις. καὶ τάς τε εὐχὰς ἀπεδίδοσαν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὰς νομιζομένας κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν θυσίας ἐπετέλουν, ὥσπερ ἀνακτιζομένης αὐτοῖς τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἀναβιούσης τῆς ἀρχαίας περὶ τὴν θρησκείαν συνηθείας. [10] ἀπέπεμψε δ᾽ αὐτοῖς Κῦρος καὶ τὰ σκεύη τοῦ θεοῦ, ἃ συλήσας τὸν ναὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ναβουχοδονόσορος εἰς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐκόμισεν. [11] παρέδωκεν δὲ ταῦτα φέρειν Μιθριδάτῃ τῷ γαζοφύλακι αὐτοῦ προστάξας δοῦναι αὐτὰ Ἀβεσσάρῳ, ὅπως φυλάττῃ μέχρι τῆς οἰκοδομίας τοῦ ναοῦ, τελεσθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ παραδῷ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν καὶ ἄρχουσιν τοῦ πλήθους εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀποθησομένοις. [12] πέμπει δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Συρίᾳ σατράπας Κῦρος τάδε λέγουσαν:

“βασιλεὺς Κῦρος Σισίνῃ καὶ Σαραβασάνῃ χαίρειν. Ἰουδαίων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ χώρᾳ κατοικούντων ἐπέτρεψα τοῖς βουλομένοις εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ἀπελθοῦσι πατρίδα τήν τε πόλιν ἀνακτίζειν καὶ τὸν ναὸν οἰκοδομῆσαι τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τόπου, ἐφ᾽ οὗ καὶ πρότερον. [13] κατέπεμψα δέ μου καὶ τὸν γαζοφύλακα Μιθριδάτην καὶ Ζοροβάβηλον τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἵνα θεμελίους βάλωνται τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ οἰκοδομήσωσιν αὐτὸν ὕψος μὲν ἑξήκοντα πηχῶν τῶν δ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ εὖρος, λίθου μὲν ξεστοῦ τρεῖς ποιησάμενοι δόμους καὶ ἕνα ξύλινον ἐγχώριον, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ θυσιαστήριον, ἐφ᾽ οὗ θύσουσιν τῷ θεῷ. [14] τὴν δὲ εἰς ταῦτα δαπάνην ἐκ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ γενέσθαι βούλομαι. καὶ τὰ σκεύη δέ, ἃ ἐσύλησεν ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσορος ὁ βασιλεύς, ἔπεμψα παραδοὺς Μιθριδάτῃ τῷ γαζοφύλακι καὶ Ζοροβαβήλῳ τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἵνα διακομίσωσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ἀποκαταστήσωσιν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ. [15] ὁ δ᾽ ἀριθμὸς αὐτῶν ἐστιν τοσοῦτος: ψυκτῆρες χρύσεοι πεντήκοντα, ἀργύρεοι τετρακόσιοι, θηρίκλεια χρύσεα πεντήκοντα, ἀργύρεα τετρακόσια, κάδοι χρύσεοι πεντήκοντα, ἀργύρεοι πεντακόσιοι, σπονδεῖα χρύσεα τεσσαράκοντα, ἀργύρεα τριακόσια, φιάλαι χρυσαῖ τριάκοντα, ἀργύρεαι δισχίλιαι τετρακόσιαι, σκεύη τε ἄλλα μεγάλα χίλια. [16] συγχωρῶ δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν ἐκ προγόνων εἰθισμένην τιμὴν κτηνῶν καὶ οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου δραχμὰς εἴκοσιν μυριάδας καὶ πεντακισχιλίας πεντακοσίας καὶ εἰς σεμίδαλιν πυρῶν ἀρτάβας δισμυρίας πεντακοσίας. κελεύω δὲ τὴν τούτων χορηγίαν ἐκ τῶν Σαμαρείας γίνεσθαι φόρων. [17] ἐποίσουσι δὲ τὰ ἱερὰ ταῦτα κατὰ τοὺς Μωυσέως νόμους οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ προσφέροντες εὔξονται τῷ θεῷ περὶ σωτηρίας τε τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ, ὅπως ἡ Περσῶν βασιλεία διαμείνῃ. τοὺς δὲ παρακούσαντας τούτων καὶ ἀκυρώσαντας ἀνασταυρωθῆναι [18] βούλομαι καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν εἶναι βασιλικάς.” καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐπιστολὴ ταῦτα ἐδήλου: τῶν δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας συνελθόντων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα μυριάδες ἦσαν τέσσαρες καὶ δισχίλιοι τετρακόσιοι ἑξήκοντα δύο.

3. When Cyrus had said this to the Israelites, the rulers of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, with the Levites and priests, went in haste to Jerusalem; yet did many of them stay at Babylon, as not willing to leave their possessions; and when they were come thither, all the king’s friends assisted them, and brought in, for the building of the temple, some gold, and some silver, and some a great many cattle and horses. So they performed their vows to God, and offered the sacrifices that had been accustomed of old time; I mean this upon the rebuilding of their city, and the revival of the ancient practices relating to their worship. Cyrus also sent back to them the vessels of God which king Nebuchadnezzar had pillaged out of the temple, and had carried to Babylon. So he committed these things to Mithridates, the treasurer, to be sent away, with an order to give them

to Sanabassar, that he might keep them till the temple was built; and when it was finished, he might deliver them to the priests and rulers of the multitude, in order to their being restored to the temple. Cyrus also sent an epistle to the governors that were in Syria, the contents whereof here follow:

"King Cyrus To Sisinnes And Sathrabuzanes Sendeth Greeting.

"I have given leave to as many of the Jews that dwell in my country as please to return to their own country, and to rebuild their city, and to build the temple of God at Jerusalem on the same place where it was before. I have also sent my treasurer Mithridates, and Zorobabel, the governor of the Jews, that they may lay the foundations of the temple, and may build it sixty cubits high, and of the same latitude, making three edifices of polished stones, and one of the wood of the country, and the same order extends to the altar whereon they offer sacrifices to God. I require also that the expenses for these things may be given out of my revenues. Moreover, I have also sent the vessels which king Nebuchadnezzar pillaged out of the temple, and have given them to Mithridates the treasurer, and to Zorobabel the governor of the Jews, that they may have them carried to Jerusalem, and may restore them to the temple of God. Now their number is as follows: Fifty chargers of gold, and five hundred of silver; forty Thericlean cups of gold, and five hundred of silver; fifty basons of gold, and five hundred of silver; thirty vessels for pouring [the drink-offerings], and three hundred of silver; thirty vials of gold, and two thousand four hundred of silver; with a thousand other large vessels. I permit them to have the same honor which they were used to have from their forefathers, as also for their small cattle, and for wine and oil, two hundred and five thousand and five hundred drachme; and for wheat flour, twenty thousand and five hundred artabae; and I give order that these expenses shall be given them out of the tributes due from Samaria. The priests shall also offer these sacrifices according to the laws of Moses in Jerusalem; and when they offer them, they shall pray to God for the preservation of the king and of his family, that the kingdom of Persia may continue. But my will is, that those who disobey these injunctions, and make them void, shall be hung upon a cross, and their substance brought into the king's treasury." And such was the import of this epistle. Now the number of those that came out of captivity to Jerusalem, were forty-two thousand four hundred and sixty-two.

II

CHAPTER 2. How Upon The Death Of Cyrus The Jews Were Hindered In Building Of The Temple By The Cutheans, And The Neighboring Governors; And How Cambyses Entirely Forbade The Jews To Do Any Such Thing.

(1) [19] Βαλλομένων δὲ τοὺς θεμελίους τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ περὶ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν αὐτοῦ λίαν ἐσπουδακότων, τὰ πέριξ ἔθνη καὶ μάλιστα τὸ Χουθαίων, οὓς ἐκ τῆς Περσίδος καὶ Μηδικῆς ἀγαγὼν Σαλμανασσάρης ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς κατῴκισεν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ, ὅτε τὸν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν λαὸν ἀνάστατον ἐποίησεν, παρεκάλουν τοὺς σατράπας καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμελουμένους ἐμποδίζειν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους πρός τε τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἀνάστασιν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευήν. [20] οἱ δὲ καὶ χρήμασιν διαφθαρέντες ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀπημπόλησαν τοῖς Χουθαίοις τὸ περὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀμελὲς καὶ ῥᾴθυμον τῆς οἰκοδομῆς: Κύρῳ γὰρ περί τε ἄλλους ἀσχοληθέντι πολέμους ἄγνοια τούτων ἦν καὶ στρατευσαμένῳ γε ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας εὐθὺς συνέβη τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον. [21] Καμβύσου δὲ τοῦ Κύρου παιδὸς τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντος οἱ ἐν Συρίᾳ καὶ Φοινίκῃ καὶ Ἀμμανίτιδι καὶ Μωαβίτιδι καὶ Σαμαρείᾳ γράφουσιν ἐπιστολὴν Καμβύσῃ δηλοῦσαν τάδε: [22] “δέσποτα, οἱ παῖδές σου Ῥάθυμος ὁ πάντα τὰ πραττόμενα γράφων καὶ Σεμέλιος ὁ γραμματεὺς καὶ οἱ τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ καὶ Φοινίκῃ κριταί. γινώσκειν σε δεῖ, βασιλεῦ, ὅτι Ἰουδαῖοι οἱ εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἀναχθέντες ἐληλύθασιν εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν καὶ τήν τε πόλιν τὴν ἀποστάτιν καὶ πονηρὰν οἰκοδομοῦσιν καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπισκευάζουσιν τὰ τείχη καὶ ναὸν ἀνεγείρουσιν. [23] ἴσθι μέντοι γε τούτων γενομένων οὔτε φόρους αὐτοὺς τελεῖν ὑπομενοῦντας οὔτε δὲ ὑπακούειν ἐθελήσοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἀντιστήσονται καὶ ἄρχειν μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπακούειν ἐθελήσουσιν. [24] ἐνεργουμένων οὖν τῶν περὶ τὸν ναὸν καὶ σπουδαζομένων καλῶς ἔχειν ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν γράψαι σοι, βασιλεῦ, καὶ μὴ περιιδεῖν, ὅπως ἐπισκέψῃ τὰ τῶν πατέρων σου βιβλία: εὑρήσεις γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀποστάτας καὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἐχθροὺς Ἰουδαίους καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν, ἣ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν ἠρημώθη. [25] ἔδοξε δ᾽ ἡμῖν καὶ τοῦτό σοι δηλῶσαι ἀγνοούμενον ἴσως, ὅτι τῆς πόλεως οὕτως συνοικισθείσης καὶ τὸν κύκλον τῶν τειχῶν ἀπολαβούσης ἀποκλείεταί σοι ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἐπὶ κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην.”

1. When the foundations of the temple were laying, and when the Jews were very zealous about building it, the neighboring nations, and especially the Cutheans, whom Shalmanezer, king of Assyria, had brought out of Persia and Media, and

had planted in Samaria, when he carried the people of Israel captives, besought the governors, and those that had the care of such affairs, that they would interrupt the Jews, both in the rebuilding of their city, and in the building of their temple. Now as these men were corrupted by them with money, they sold the Cutheans their interest for rendering this building a slow and a careless work, for Cyrus, who was busy about other wars, knew nothing of all this; and it so happened, that when he had led his army against the Massagetae, he ended his life. But when Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, had taken the kingdom, the governors in Syria, and Phoenicia, and in the countries of Amlnon, and Moab, and Samaria, wrote an epistle to Calnbyses; whose contents were as follow: "To our lord Cambyses. We thy servants, Rathumus the historiographer, and Semellius the scribe, and the rest that are thy judges in Syria and Phoenicia, send greeting. It is fit, O king, that thou shouldst know that those Jews which were carried to Babylon are come into our country, and are building that rebellious and wicked city, and its market-places, and setting up its walls, and raising up the temple; know therefore, that when these things are finished, they will not be willing to pay tribute, nor will they submit to thy commands, but will resist kings, and will choose rather to rule over others than be ruled over themselves. We therefore thought it proper to write to thee, O king, while the works about the temple are going on so fast, and not to overlook this matter, that thou mayst search into the books of thy fathers, for thou wilt find in them that the Jews have been rebels, and enemies to kings, as hath their city been also, which, for that reason, hath been till now laid waste. We thought proper also to inform thee of this matter, because thou mayst otherwise perhaps be ignorant of it, that if this city be once inhabited and be entirely encompassed with walls, thou wilt be excluded from thy passage to Celesyria and Phoenicia."

(2) [26] Ἀναγνοὺς δὲ ὁ Καμβύσης τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ φύσει πονηρὸς ὢν κινεῖται πρὸς τὰ δεδηλωμένα καὶ γράφει τάδε λέγων: "βασιλεὺς Καμβύσης Ῥαθύμῳ τῷ γράφοντι τὰ προσπίπτοντα καὶ Βεελζέμῳ καὶ Σεμελίῳ γραμματεῖ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τοῖς συντασσομένοις καὶ οἰκοῦσιν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ καὶ Φοινίκῃ τάδε λέγει. [27] ἀναγνοὺς τὰ πεμφθέντα παρ' ὑμῶν γράμματα ἐκέλευσα ἐπισκέψασθαι τὰ τῶν προγόνων μου βιβλία, καὶ εὑρέθη ἡ πόλις ἐχθρὰ βασιλεῦσιν ἀεὶ γεγενημένη, καὶ στάσεις καὶ πολέμους οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες πραγματευσάμενοι, καὶ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν ἔγνωμεν δυνατοὺς καὶ βιαίους φορολογήσαντας κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην. [28] ἐγὼ τοίνυν προσέταξα μὴ συγχωρεῖν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις οἰκοδομεῖν τὴν πόλιν, μὴ ἐπὶ πλέον αὐξηθῇ τὰ τῆς κακίας αὐτῶν, ᾗ χρώμενοι πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς διατετελέ [29] κασιν." τούτων ἀναγνωσθέντων τῶν γραμμάτων ὁ Ῥάθυμος καὶ Σεμέλιος ὁ γραμματεὺς καὶ οἱ τούτοις συντεταγμένοι παραχρῆμα ἐπιπηδήσαντες ἵπποις

ἔσπευσαν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πλῆθος ἐπαγόμενοι πολύ, καὶ διεκώλυσαν οἰκοδομεῖν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν ναόν. [30] καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπεσχέθη τὰ ἔργα μέχρι τοῦ δευτέρου ἔτους τῆς Δαρείου βασιλείας τοῦ Περσῶν ἐπ᾽ ἄλλα ἔτη ἐννέα: Καμβύσης γὰρ ἓξ ἔτη βασιλεύσας, καταστρεψάμενος ἐν τούτοις τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὑποστρέψας ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν Δαμασκῷ.

2. When Cambyses had read the epistle, being naturally wicked, he was irritated at what they told him, and wrote back to them as follows: “Cambyses the king, to Rathumus the historiographer, to Beeltethmus, to Semellius the scribe, and the rest that are in commission, and dwelling in Samaria and Phoenicia, after this manner: I have read the epistle that was sent from you; and I gave order that the books of my forefathers should be searched into, and it is there found that this city hath always been an enemy to kings, and its inhabitants have raised seditions and wars. We also are sensible that their kings have been powerful and tyrannical, and have exacted tribute of Celesyria and Phoenicia. Wherefore I gave order, that the Jews shall not be permitted to build that city, lest such mischief as they used to bring upon kings be greatly augmented.” When this epistle was read, Rathumus, and Semellius the scribe, and their associates, got suddenly on horseback, and made haste to Jerusalem; they also brought a great company with them, and forbade the Jews to build the city and the temple. Accordingly, these works were hindered from going on till the second year of the reign of Darius, for nine years more; for Cambyses reigned six years, and within that time overthrew Egypt, and when he was come back, he died at Damascus.

III

CHAPTER 3. How After The Death Of Cambyses And The Slaughter Of The Magi But Under The Reign Of Darius, Zorobabel Was Superior To The Rest In The Solution Of Problems And Thereby Obtained This Favor Of The King, That The Temple Should Be Built.

(1) [31] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν μάγων ἀναίρεσιν, οἳ μετὰ τὸν Καμβύσου θάνατον τὴν Περσῶν ἀρχὴν ἐνιαυτῷ κατέσχον οἱ λεγόμενοι ἑπτὰ οἶκοι τῶν Περσῶν τὸν Ὑστάσπου παῖδα Δαρεῖον ἀπέδειξαν βασιλέα. οὗτος ἰδιώτης ὢν ηὔξατο τῷ θεῷ, εἰ γένοιτο βασιλεύς, πάντα τὰ σκεύη τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅσα ἦν ἔτι ἐν Βαβυλῶνι, πέμψειν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. [32] ἔτυχεν δὲ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ἀφικόμενος πρὸς Δαρεῖον ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων Ζοροβάβηλος, ὃς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων Ἰουδαίων ἡγεμὼν ἀπεδέδεικτο: πάλαι γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ φιλία πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, δι᾽ ἣν καὶ σωματοφυλακεῖν αὐτὸν μετ᾽ ἄλλων δύο κριθεὶς ἄξιος ἀπέλαυεν ἧς ἤλπισεν τιμῆς.

1. After the slaughter of file Magi, who, upon the death of Cambyses, attained the government of the Persians for a year, those families which were called the seven families of the Persians appointed Darius, the son of Hystaspes, to be their king. Now he, while he was a private man, had made a vow to God, that if he came to be king, he would send all the vessels of God that were in Babylon to the temple at Jerusalem. Now it so fell out, that about this time Zorobabel, who had been made governor of the Jews that had been in captivity, came to Darius, from Jerusalem; for there had been an old friendship between him and the king. He was also, with two others, thought worthy to be guard of the king’s body; and obtained that honor which he hoped for.

(2) [33] Τῷ δὲ πρώτῳ τῆς βασιλείας ἔτει Δαρεῖος ὑποδέχεται λαμπρῶς καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς παρασκευῆς τούς τε περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς οἴκοι γεγονότας καὶ τοὺς τῶν Μήδων ἡγεμόνας καὶ σατράπας τῆς Περσίδος καὶ τοπάρχας τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἄχρι τῆς Αἰθιοπίας καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν ἑκατὸν εἰκοσιεπτὰ σατραπειῶν. [34] ἐπεὶ δὲ κατευωχηθέντες ἄχρι κόρου καὶ πλησμονῆς ἀνέλυσαν κοιμηθησόμενοι παρ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἕκαστοι, Δαρεῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν κοίτην καὶ βραχὺ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀναπαυσάμενος ἔξυπνος γίνεται, καὶ μηκέτι κατακοιμηθῆναι δυνάμενος εἰς ὁμιλίαν τρέπεται μετὰ τῶν τριῶν σωματοφυλάκων, [35] καὶ τῷ λόγον ἐροῦντι περὶ

ὧν αὐτὸς ἀνακρίνειν μέλλει τὸν ἀληθέστερον καὶ συνετώτερον, τούτῳ γέρας δώσειν ὑπισχνεῖται νικητήριον πορφύραν ἐνδύσασθαι καὶ ἐν ἐκπώμασιν χρυσοῖς πίνειν καὶ ἐπὶ χρυσίου καθεύδειν καὶ ἅρμα χρυσοχάλινον καὶ κίδαριν βύσσινον καὶ περιαυχένιον χρύσεον, καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν ἕξειν προεδρίαν διὰ τὴν σοφίαν καὶ συγγενής μου, [36] ἔφη, κληθήσεται.” ταύτας ἐπαγγειλάμενος αὐτοῖς παρέξειν τὰς δωρεὰς ἐρωτᾷ μὲν τὸν πρῶτον, εἰ ὁ οἶνος ὑπερισχύει, τὸν δεύτερον δέ, εἰ οἱ βασιλεῖς, τὸν τρίτον δέ, εἰ αἱ γυναῖκες ἢ τούτων μᾶλλον ἡ ἀλήθεια. ταῦτα προθεὶς αὐτοῖς ζητεῖν ἡσύχασεν. [37] ὄρθρου δὲ μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς μεγιστᾶνας καὶ σατράπας καὶ τοπάρχας τῆς Περσίδος καὶ Μηδικῆς καὶ καθίσας ἐν ᾧ χρηματίζειν εἰώθει, τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἕκαστον ἐκέλευσεν πάντων ἀκουόντων ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν προκειμένων.

2. Now, in the first year of the king’s reign, Darius feasted those that were about him, and those born in his house, with the rulers of the Medes, and princes of the Persians, and the toparchs of India and Ethiopia, and the generals of the armies of his hundred and twenty-seven provinces. But when they had eaten and drunk to satiety, and abundantly, they every one departed to go to bed at their own houses, and Darius the king went to bed; but after he had rested a little part of the night, he awaked, and not being able to sleep any more, he fell into conversation with the three guards of his body, and promised, that to him who should make an oration about points that he should inquire of, such as should be most agreeable to truth, and to the dictates of wisdom, he would grant it as a reward of his victory, to put on a purple garment, and to drink in cups of gold, and to sleep upon gold, and to have a chariot with bridles of gold, and a head tire of fine linen, and a chain of gold about his neck, and to sit next to himself, on account of his wisdom; “and,” says he, “he shall be called my cousin.” Now when he had promised to give them these gifts, he asked the first of them, “Whether wine was not the strongest?” — the second, “Whether kings were not such?” — and the third, “Whether women were not such? or whether truth was not the strongest of all?” When he had proposed that they should make their inquiries about these problems, he went to rest; but in the morning he sent for his great men, his princes, and toparchs of Persia and Media, and set himself down in the place where he used to give audience, and bid each of the guards of his body to declare what they thought proper concerning the proposed questions, in the hearing of them all.

(3) [38] Καὶ ὁ πρῶτος ἤρξατο λέγειν τὴν τοῦ οἴνου δύναμιν οὕτως αὐτὴν ἐμφανίζων: “ἄνδρες γὰρ εἶπεν, ἐγὼ τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῦ οἴνου τεκμαιρόμενος πάντα ὑπερβάλλουσαν εὑρίσκω τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ: [39] σφάλλει γὰρ τῶν πινόντων αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπατᾷ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως τῇ τοῦ ὀρφανοῦ καὶ δεομένου

κηδεμόνος ὁμοίαν τίθησιν, καὶ τὴν τοῦ δούλου διεγείρει πρὸς παρρησίαν τοῦ ἐλευθέρου, ἥ τε τοῦ πένητος ὁμοία γίνεται τῇ τοῦ πλουσίου: [40] μεταποιεῖ γὰρ καὶ μεταγεννᾷ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐν αὐταῖς ἐγγενόμενος, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐν συμφορᾷ καθεστηκότων σβέννυσι τὸ λυποῦν, τοὺς δὲ ἀλλότρια χρέα λαβόντας εἰς λήθην ἄγει καὶ ποιεῖ δοκεῖν αὐτοὺς ἁπάντων πλουσιωτάτους, ὡς μηδὲν μικρὸν φθέγγεσθαι, ταλάντων δὲ μεμνῆσθαι καὶ τῶν τοῖς εὐδαίμοσι προσηκόντων ὀνομάτων. [41] ἔτι γε μὴν στρατηγῶν καὶ βασιλέων ἀναισθήτους ἀπεργάζεται καὶ φίλων καὶ συνήθων ἐξαιρεῖ μνήμην: ὁπλίζει γὰρ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ κατὰ τῶν φιλτάτων καὶ δοκεῖν ποιεῖ πάντων ἀλλοτριωτάτους. [42] καὶ ὅταν νήψαντες τύχωσιν καὶ καταλίπῃ διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ οἶνος κοιμωμένους, ἀνίστανται μηθὲν ὧν ἔπραξαν παρὰ τὴν μέθην εἰδότες. τούτοις ἐγὼ τεκμαιρόμενος εὑρίσκω τὸν οἶνον ὑπερκρατοῦντα πάντων καὶ βιαιότατον.”

3. Accordingly, the first of them began to speak of the strength of wine, and demonstrated it thus: “When,” said he, “I am to give my opinion of wine, O you men, I find that it exceeds every thing, by the following indications: It deceives the mind of those that drink it, and reduces that of the king to the same state with that of the orphan, and he who stands in need of a tutor; and erects that of the slave to the boldness of him that is free; and that of the needy becomes like that of the rich man, for it changes and renews the souls of men when it gets into them; and it quenches the sorrow of those that are under calamities, and makes men forget the debts they owe to others, and makes them think themselves to be of all men the richest; it makes them talk of no small things, but of talents, and such other names as become wealthy men only; nay more, it makes them insensible of their commanders, and of their kings, and takes away the remembrance of their friends and companions, for it arms men even against those that are dearest to them, and makes them appear the greatest strangers to them; and when they are become sober, and they have slept out their wine in the night, they arise without knowing any thing they have done in their cups. I take these for signs of power, and by them discover that wine is the strongest and most insuperable of all things.”

(4) [43] Ὡς δὲ ὁ πρῶτος ἀποφηνάμενος περὶ τῆς ἰσχύος τοῦ οἴνου τὰ προειρημένα ἐπαύσατο, ὁ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν ἤρξατο λέγειν περὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως δυνάμεως, ταύτην ἀποδεικνὺς τὴν ἰσχυροτάτην καὶ πλέον τῶν ἄλλων δυναμένην, ὅσα βίαν ἔχειν ἢ σύνεσιν δοκεῖ. τὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς ἀποδείξεως ἐντεῦθεν ἐλάμβανεν: [44] πάντων μὲν εἶπεν ἀνθρώπους περικρατεῖν, οἳ καὶ τὴν γῆν καταναγκάζουσιν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν εἶναι χρησίμην αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἃ θέλουσιν, τούτων δ᾽ ἄρχουσιν οἱ βασιλεῖς καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσιν: οἱ δὲ τοῦ κρατίστου καὶ ἰσχυροτάτου ζῴου δεσπόζοντες ἀνυπέρβλητοι τὴν δύναμιν οὗτοι καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν εἰκότως ἂν εἶεν. [45]

ἀμέλει πολέμους ἐπιτάττοντες καὶ κινδύνους τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἀκούονται, καὶ πέμποντες αὐτοὺς ἐπ᾽ ἐχθροὺς καταπειθεῖς διὰ τὴν ἰσχὺν τὴν αὐτῶν ἔχουσιν, καὶ ὄρη μὲν κατεργάζεσθαι καὶ τείχη κατασπᾶν καὶ πύργους κελεύουσιν, καὶ κτείνεσθαι δ᾽ οἱ κελευσθέντες καὶ κτείνειν ὑπομένουσιν, ἵνα μὴ τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως δόξωσι παραβαίνειν προστάγματα, νικήσαντες δὲ τὴν ὠφέλειαν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου τῷ βασιλεῖ κομίζουσιν. [46] καὶ οἱ μὴ στρατευόμενοι [δὲ ἀλλὰ] γῆν ἐργαζόμενοι καὶ ἀροῦντες ὅταν πονήσαντες καὶ ἅπασαν τὴν τῶν ἔργων ταλαιπωρίαν ὑπομείναντες θερίσωσιν καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς συνέλωσιν, τοὺς φόρους τῷ βασιλεῖ κομίζουσιν. [47] ὃ δ᾽ ἂν οὗτος εἴπῃ καὶ κελεύσῃ τοῦτο ἐξ ἀνάγκης οὐδὲν ὑπερβαλομένων γίνεται. ἔτι ὁ μὲν τρυφῆς ἁπάσης καὶ ἡδονῆς ἀναπιμπλάμενος καθεύδει, φυλάσσεται δὲ ὑπὸ γρηγορούντων καὶ ὡσανεὶ δεδεμένων ὑπὸ φόβου: [48] καταλιπεῖν γὰρ οὐδὲ εἷς τολμᾷ κοιμώμενον οὐδὲ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναχωρήσας ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἓν ἔργον ἡγούμενος τῶν ἀναγκαίων τὸ φυλάττειν τὸν βασιλέα τούτῳ προσμένει. πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς δόξειεν τὴν πάντων ἰσχὺν ὑπερβάλλειν, ᾧ τοσοῦτο πλῆθος πείθεται κελεύοντι;”

4. As soon as the first had given the forementioned demonstrations of the strength of wine, he left off; and the next to him began to speak about the strength of a king, and demonstrated that it was the strongest of all, and more powerful than any thing else that appears to have any force or wisdom. He began his demonstration after the following manner; and said, “They are men who govern all things; they force the earth and the sea to become profitable to them in what they desire, and over these men do kings rule, and over them they have authority. Now those who rule over that animal which is of all the strongest and most powerful, must needs deserve to be esteemed insuperable in power and force. For example, when these kings command their subjects to make wars, and undergo dangers, they are hearkened to; and when they send them against their enemies, their power is so great that they are obeyed. They command men to level mountains, and to pull down walls and towers; nay, when they are commanded to be killed and to kill, they submit to it, that they may not appear to transgress the king’s commands; and when they have conquered, they bring what they have gained in the war to the king. Those also who are not soldiers, but cultivate the ground, and plough it, and when, after they have endured the labor and all the inconveniences of such works of husbandry, they have reaped and gathered in their fruits, they bring tributes to the king; and whatsoever it is which the king says or commands, it is done of necessity, and that without any delay, while he in the mean time is satiated with all sorts of food and pleasures, and sleeps in quiet. He is guarded by such as watch, and such as are, as it were, fixed down to the place through fear; for no one dares leave him, even when he is

asleep, nor does any one go away and take care of his own affairs; but he esteems this one thing the only work of necessity, to guard the king, and accordingly to this he wholly addicts himself. How then can it be otherwise, but that it must appear that the king exceeds all in strength, while so great a multitude obeys his injunctions?"

(5) [49] Σιωπήσαντος δὲ καὶ τούτου περὶ τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ὁ τρίτος Ζοροβάβηλος διδάσκειν αὐτοὺς ἤρξατο λέγων οὕτως: "ἰσχυρὸς μὲν καὶ ὁ οἶνος καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς, ᾧ πάντες ὑπακούουσιν, ἀλλὰ κρείττους τὴν δύναμιν τούτων αἱ γυναῖκες: [50] τόν τε γὰρ βασιλέα γυνὴ παρήγαγεν εἰς τὸ φῶς καὶ τοὺς φυτεύσαντας ἀμπέλους, αἳ ποιοῦσιν τὸν οἶνον, γυναῖκές εἰσιν αἱ τίκτουσαί τε καὶ τρέφουσαι, καθόλου δ' οὐδέν ἐστιν, ὃ μὴ παρ' αὐτῶν ἔχομεν: καὶ γὰρ τὰς ἐσθῆτας αὗται ὑφαίνουσιν ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ κατ' οἶκον διὰ ταύτας ἐπιμελείας καὶ φυλακῆς ἀξιοῦται. [51] καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἀποζευχθῆναι γυναικῶν, ἀλλὰ χρυσὸν πολὺν κτησάμενοι καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ ἄλλο τι τῶν πολυτελῶν καὶ σπουδῆς ἀξίων, ὅταν ἴδωμεν εὔμορφον γυναῖκα, πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἀφέντες τῷ εἴδει τῆς ὁραθείσης προσκεχήναμεν καὶ ὑπομένομεν παραχωρῆσαι τῶν ὄντων ἡμῖν, ἵνα τοῦ κάλλους ἀπολαύσωμεν καὶ μεταλάβωμεν. [52] ἐγκαταλείπομεν δὲ καὶ πατέρας [καὶ μητέρας] καὶ τὴν θρεψαμένην γῆν, καὶ τῶν φιλτάτων πολλάκις λήθην ἔχομεν διὰ τὰς γυναῖκας, καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀφιέναι μετ' αὐτῶν καρτεροῦμεν. οὕτως δ' ἂν μάλιστα τὴν ἰσχὺν τῶν γυναικῶν κατανοήσαιτε: [53] οὐχὶ πονοῦντες καὶ πᾶσαν ταλαιπωρίαν ὑπομένοντες καὶ διὰ γῆς καὶ διὰ θαλάττης, ὅταν ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν πόνων περιγένηταί τινα, αὐτὰ φέροντες ὡς δεσποίναις ταῖς γυναιξὶν διδόαμεν; [54] καὶ τὸν βασιλέα δὲ τὸν τοσούτων κύριον εἶδόν ποτε ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥαβεζάκου τοῦ Θεμασίου παιδὸς Ἀπάμης παλλακῆς δ' αὐτοῦ ῥαπιζόμενον, καὶ τὸ διάδημα ἀφαιρουμένης καὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ κεφαλῇ περιτιθείσης ἀνεχόμενον καὶ μειδιώσης μὲν μειδιῶντα ὀργιζομένης δὲ σκυθρωπάζοντα καὶ τῇ τῶν παθῶν μεταβολῇ κολακεύοντα τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ διαλλάττοντα ἐκ τοῦ σφόδρα ταπεινὸν αὐτὸν ποιεῖν, εἴ ποτε δυσχεραίνουσαν ἔβλεπεν."

5. Now when this man had held his peace, the third of them, who was Zorobabel, began to instruct them about women, and about truth, who said thus: "Wine is strong, as is the king also, whom all men obey, but women are superior to them in power; for it was a woman that brought the king into the world; and for those that plant the vines and make the wine, they are women who bear them, and bring them up: nor indeed is there any thing which we do not receive from them; for these women weave garments for us, and our household affairs are by their means taken care of, and preserved in safety; nor can we live separate from women. And when we have gotten a great deal of gold and silver, and any other thing that is of great value, and deserving regard, and see a beautiful woman, we

leave all these things, and with open mouth fix our eyes upon her countenance, and are willing to forsake what we have, that we may enjoy her beauty, and procure it to ourselves. We also leave father, and mother, and the earth that nourishes us, and frequently forget our dearest friends, for the sake of women; nay, we are so hardy as to lay down our lives for them. But what will chiefly make you take notice of the strength of women is this that follows: Do not we take pains, and endure a great deal of trouble, and that both by land and sea, and when we have procured somewhat as the fruit of our labors, do not we bring them to the women, as to our mistresses, and bestow them upon them? Nay, I once saw the king, who is lord of so many people, smitten on the face by Apame, the daughter of Rabsases Themasius, his concubine, and his diadem taken away from him, and put upon her own head, while he bore it patiently; and when she smiled he smiled, and when she was angry he was sad; and according to the change of her passions, he flattered his wife, and drew her to reconciliation by the great humiliation of himself to her, if at my time he saw her displeased at him."

(6) [55] Εἰς ἀλλήλους δὲ ἀφορώντων τῶν σατραπῶν καὶ ἡγεμόνων περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἤρξατο λέγειν "ἀπέδειξα μέν, εἰπών, ὅσον αἱ γυναῖκες ἰσχύουσιν, ἀσθενέστεραι δ' ὅμως καὶ αὗται καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς ἀληθείας ὑπάρχουσιν. εἰ γάρ ἐστιν ἡ γῆ μεγίστη καὶ ὑψηλὸς ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ταχὺς ὁ ἥλιος, ταῦτα δὲ πάντα κινεῖται κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀληθινὸς δέ ἐστιν καὶ δίκαιος οὗτος, ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας δεῖ καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἰσχυροτάτην ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ μηδὲν πρὸς αὐτὴν τὸ ἄδικον δυνάμενον. [56] ἔτι γε μὴν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα θνητὰ καὶ ὠκύμορα εἶναι συμβέβηκεν τῶν ἰσχὺν ἐχόντων, ἀθάνατον δὲ ἡ ἀλήθεια χρῆμα καὶ ἀίδιον. παρέχει δ' ἡμῖν οὐ κάλλος χρόνῳ μαραινόμενον οὐδὲ περιουσίαν ἀφαιρετὴν ὑπὸ τύχης, ἀλλὰ τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ νόμιμα, διακρίνουσα ἀπ' αὐτῶν τὰ ἄδικα καὶ ἀπελέγχουσα."

6. And when the princes and rulers looked one upon another, he began to speak about truth; and he said, "I have already demonstrated how powerful women are; but both these women themselves, and the king himself, are weaker than truth; for although the earth be large, and the heaven high, and the course of the sun swift, yet are all these moved according to the will of God, who is true and righteous, for which cause we also ought to esteem truth to be the strongest of all things, and that what is unrighteous is of no force against it. Moreover, all things else that have any strength are mortal and short-lived, but truth is a thing that is immortal and eternal. It affords us not indeed such a beauty as will wither away by time, nor such riches as may be taken away by fortune, but righteous rules

and laws. It distinguishes them from injustice, and puts what is unrighteous to rebuke."

(7) [57] Καταπαύει μὲν ὁ Ζοροβάβηλος τὸν περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον, ἐπιβοήσαντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους ὡς ἄριστα εἰπόντος, καὶ ὅτι τὸ ἀληθὲς ἰσχὺν ἄτρεπτον καὶ ἀγήρω μόνον ἔχοι, προσέταξεν αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς αἰτήσασθαί τι πάρεξ ὧν αὐτὸς ἦν ὑπεσχημένος: δώσειν γὰρ ὄντι σοφῷ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μᾶλλον φανέντι συνετῷ: "συγκαθεσθήσῃ δέ μοι, [58] φησίν, καὶ κεκλήσῃ συγγενὴς ἐμός." ταῦτ' εἰπόντος ὑπέμνησεν αὐτὸν τῆς εὐχῆς, ἣς ἐποιήσατο, εἰ λάβοι τὴν βασιλείαν: αὕτη δ' ἂν εἴη οἰκοδομῆσαι μὲν Ἱεροσόλυμα, κατασκευάσαι δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ναόν, ἀποκαταστῆσαι δὲ καὶ τὰ σκεύη, ὅσα συλήσας Ναβουχοδονόσορος εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἐκόμισεν. καὶ τοῦτ', ἔφη, τοὐμὸν αἴτημά ἐστιν, ὅ μοι νῦν ἐπιτρέπεις αἰτήσασθαι κριθέντι σοφῷ καὶ συνετῷ."

7. So when Zorobabel had left off his discourse about truth, and the multitude had cried out aloud that he had spoken the most wisely, and that it was truth alone that had immutable strength, and such as never would wax old, the king commanded that he should ask for somewhat over and above what he had promised, for that he would give it him because of his wisdom, and that prudence wherein he exceeded the rest; "and thou shalt sit with me," said the king, "and shalt be called my cousin." When he had said this, Zorobabel put him in mind of the vow he had made in case he should ever have the kingdom. Now this vow was, "to rebuild Jerusalem, and to build therein the temple of God; as also to restore the vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had pillaged, and carried to Babylon. And this," said he, "is that request which thou now permittest me to make, on account that I have been judged to be wise and understanding."

(8) [59] Ἡσθεὶς ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναστὰς κατεφίλησέν τε αὐτὸν καὶ τοῖς τοπάρχαις καὶ σατράπαις γράφει κελεύων προπέμψαι τὸν Ζοροβάβηλον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ μέλλοντας ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἐξιέναι τοῦ ναοῦ. [60] ἐπέστειλε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν Συρίᾳ καὶ Φοινίκῃ ξύλα κέδρινα κατακομίζειν ἐκ τοῦ Λιβάνου τεμόντας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ συγκατασκευάζειν αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ πάντας ἔγραψεν ἐλευθέρους εἶναι τοὺς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀπελθόντας. [61] καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους τοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ σατράπας ἐκώλυσεν ἐπιτάττειν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τὰς βασιλικὰς χρείας, ἀνῆκέ τε πᾶσαν ἣν ἂν κατασχεῖν δυνηθῶσιν τῆς χώρας ἀτελῆ φόρων αὐτοῖς νέμεσθαι. προσέταξε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους καὶ Σαμαρείτας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς κοίλης Συρίας ἀφεῖναι τὰς κώμας, ἃς τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατεῖχον, καὶ προσέτι τάλαντα πεντήκοντα εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ δοθῆναι. [62] θύειν τε αὐτοῖς τὰς νενομισμένας θυσίας ἐπέτρεψε καὶ τὴν χορηγίαν ἅπασαν καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν στολήν, ᾗ θεραπεύουσι τὸν θεὸν ὅ τε ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ οἱ

ἱερεῖς, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων γίνεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς Λευίταις τὰ ὄργανα, [63] οἷς ὑμνοῦσι τὸν θεόν, καὶ τοῖς φύλαξι τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ προσέταξεν κλήρους γῆς δοθῆναι καὶ κατὰ ἕκαστον ἔτος ὡρισμένον τι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βίου χρείαν ἀργύριον, πέμψαι δὲ καὶ τὰ σκεύη, καὶ πάντα, ὅσα Κῦρος πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐβουλήθη περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀποκαταστάσεως, ταῦτα καὶ Δαρεῖος διετάξατο.

8. So the king was pleased with what he had said, and arose and kissed him; and wrote to the toparchs and governors, and enjoined them to conduct Zorobabel and those that were going with him to build the temple. He also sent letters to those rulers that were in Syria and Phoenicia to cut down and carry cedar trees from Lebanon to Jerusalem, and to assist him in building the city. He also wrote to them, that all the captives who should go to Judea should be free; and he prohibited his deputies and governors to lay any king's taxes upon the Jews; he also permitted that they should have all that land which they could possess themselves of without tributes. He also enjoined the Idumeans and Samaritans, and the inhabitants of Celesyria, to restore those villages which they had taken from the Jews; and that, besides all this, fifty talents should be given them for the building of the temple. He also permitted them to offer their appointed sacrifices, and that whatsoever the high priest and the priests wanted, and those sacred garments wherein they used to worship God, should be made at his own charges; and that the musical instruments which the Levites used in singing hymns to God should be given them. Moreover, he charged them, that portions of land should be given to those that guarded the city and the temple, as also a determinate sum of money every year for their maintenance; and withal he sent the vessels. And all that Cyrus intended to do before him relating to the restoration of Jerusalem, Darius also ordained should be done accordingly.

(9) [64] Τυχὼν οὖν τούτων παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ζοροβάβηλος ἐξελθὼν ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλείων καὶ ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐχαριστεῖν ἤρξατο τῷ θεῷ τῆς σοφίας καὶ τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ νίκης, ἣν Δαρείου παρόντος ἔλαβεν: οὐ γὰρ ἂν τούτων ἀξιωθῆναι μὴ σοῦ, φησί, δέσποτα, [65] τυχὼν εὐμενοῦς.᾽᾽ ταῦτ᾽ οὖν περὶ τῶν παρόντων εὐχαριστήσας τῷ θεῷ καὶ πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα δεηθεὶς αὐτὸν παρέχειν ὅμοιον, ἦκεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα καὶ τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις εὐηγγελίσατο τὰ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως. [66] οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες εὐχαριστοῦσι μὲν τῷ θεῷ πάλιν αὐτοῖς ἀποδιδόντι τὴν πάτριον γῆν, εἰς δὲ πότον καὶ κώμους τραπέντες ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ διήγαγον εὐωχούμενοι καὶ τὴν ἀνάκτησιν καὶ παλιγγενεσίαν τῆς πατρίδος ἑορτάζοντες. [67] ἔπειτα τοὺς ἀναβησομένους εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἡγεμόνας ἐκ τῶν πατρίων φυλῶν σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις καὶ ὑποζυγίοις ἐπελέξαντο, οἳ Δαρείου συμπέμψαντος ἕως τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ὥδευον μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ τρυφῆς,

ψαλλόμενοι καὶ καταυλούμενοι καὶ περιψοφούμενοι τοῖς κυμβάλοις. προέπεμπε δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ ὑπολειπόμενον τῶν Ἰουδαίων πλῆθος μετὰ παιδιᾶς.

9. Now when Zorobabel had obtained these grants from the king, he went out of the palace, and looking up to heaven, he began to return thanks to God for the wisdom he had given him, and the victory he had gained thereby, even in the presence of Darius himself; for, said he, "I had not been thought worthy of these advantages, O Lord, unless thou hadst been favorable to me." When therefore he had returned these thanks to God for the present circumstances he was in, and had prayed to him to afford him the like favor for the time to come, he came to Babylon, and brought the good news to his countrymen of what grants he had procured for them from the king; who, when they heard the same, gave thanks also to God that he restored the land of their forefathers to them again. So they betook themselves to drinking and eating, and for seven days they continued feasting, and kept a festival, for the rebuilding and restoration of their country: after this they chose themselves rulers, who should go up to Jerusalem, out of the tribes of their forefathers, with their wives, and children, and cattle, who traveled to Jerusalem with joy and pleasure, under the conduct of those whom Darius sent along with them, and making a noise with songs, and pipes, and cymbals. The rest of the Jewish multitude also besides accompanied them with rejoicing.

(10) [68] Καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἀπήεσαν ἐξ ἑκάστης πατριᾶς ἀριθμὸς ὄντες ὡρισμένος. ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔδοξε τὰ τῶν πατριῶν καταλέγειν ὀνόματα, ἵνα μὴ τὴν τῶν ἀναγινωσκόντων διάνοιαν τῆς συναφῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀποσπάσας δυσπαρακολούθητον αὐτοῖς ποιήσω τὴν διήγησιν. [69] τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιον τῶν ἀπερχομένων περὶ ἔτη δώδεκα τὴν ἡλικίαν γεγονότων ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς καὶ Βενιαμίτιδος ἦν μυριάδες τετρακόσιαι ἑξηκονταδύο καὶ ὀκτακισχίλιοι, Λευῖται δὲ τέσσαρες καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα, γυναικῶν δὲ ἀναμὶξ καὶ νηπίων σώματα ἦν τετρακισμύρια ἑπτακόσια τεσσαρακονταδύο. [70] πάρεξ δὲ τούτων Λευῖται μὲν ἦσαν ὑμνῳδοὶ ἑκατὸν εἰκοσιοκτώ, πυλωροὶ δὲ ἑκατὸν δέκα, δοῦλοι δὲ ἱεροὶ τριακόσιοι ἐνενηκονταδύο, ἄλλοι τε πρὸς τούτοις λέγοντες μὲν εἶναι τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν οὐ δυνάμενοι δὲ ἐπιδεῖξαι τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ἑξακόσιοι πεντηκονταδύο. [71] ἐξεβλήθησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱερέων ἐκ τῆς τιμῆς ἠγμένοι γυναῖκας, ὧν οὔτ' αὐτοὶ τὸ γένος εἶχον εἰπεῖν οὔτ' ἐν ταῖς γενεαλογίαις τῶν Λευιτῶν καὶ ἱερέων εὑρέθησαν: ἦσαν δὲ ὡς πεντακόσιοι καὶ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι. [72] τὸ δὲ τῶν θεραπόντων πλῆθος εἵπετο τοῖς ἀναβαίνουσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἑπτακισχιλίων τριακοσίων τριακονταεπτά, ψάλται δὲ καὶ ψάλτριαι διακόσιοι τεσσαρακονταπέντε, κάμηλοι τετρακόσιαι τριακονταπέντε, ὑποζύγια πεντακισχίλια πεντακόσια εἰκοσιπέντε. [73] ἡγεμὼν δὲ τῆς κατηριθμημένης πληθύος ἦν ὁ Σαλαθιήλου παῖς Ζοροβάβηλος ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν ὢν τῶν Δαυίδου

γεγονὼς ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς, καὶ Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς Ἰωσεδέκου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως. πρὸς τούτοις ὁ Μαρδοχαῖος καὶ Σερεβαῖος ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους κεκριμένοι ἄρχοντες ἦσαν, οἳ καὶ συνεβάλοντο μνᾶς μὲν χρυσίου ἑκατὸν ἀργύρου δὲ πεντακισχιλίας. [74] οὕτως μὲν οὖν οἵ τε ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ Λευῖται καὶ μέρος τι τοῦ παντὸς λαοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὃς ἦν ἐν τῇ Βαβυλῶνι, κατῳκίσθησαν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα: τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πλῆθος εἰς τὰς ἰδίας ἀνεχώρησεν πατρίδας.

10. And thus did these men go, a certain and determinate number out of every family, though I do not think it proper to recite particularly the names of those families, that I may not take off the mind of my readers from the connexion of the historical facts, and make it hard for them to follow the coherence of my narrations; but the sum of those that went up, above the age of twelve years, of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, was four hundred and sixty-two myriads and eight thousand the Levites were seventy-four; the number of the women and children mixed together was forty thousand seven hundred and forty-two; and besides these, there were singers of the Levites one hundred and twenty-eight, and porters one hundred and ten, and of the sacred ministers three hundred and ninety-two; there were also others besides these, who said they were of the Israelites, but were not able to show their genealogies, six hundred and sixty-two: some there were also who were expelled out of the number and honor of the priests, as having married wives whose genealogies they could not produce, nor were they found in the genealogies of the Levites and priests; they were about five hundred and twenty-five: the multitude also of servants that followed those that went up to Jerusalem were seven thousand three hundred and thirty-seven; the singing men and singing women were two hundred and forty-five; the camels were four hundred and thirty-five; the beasts used to the yoke were five thousand five hundred and twenty-five; and the governors of all this multitude thus numbered were Zorobabel, the son of Salathiel, of the posterity of David, and of the tribe of Judah; and Jeshua, the son of Josedek the high priest; and besides these there were Mordecai and Serebeus, who were distinguished from the multitude, and were rulers, who also contributed a hundred pounds of gold, and five thousand of silver. By this means therefore the priests and the Levites, and a certain part of the entire people of the Jews that were in Babylon, came and dwelt in Jerusalem; but the rest of the multitude returned every one to their own countries.

IV

CHAPTER 4. How The Temple Was Built While The Cutheans Endeavored In Vain To Obstruct The Work.

(1) [75] Ἑβδόμῳ δὲ μηνὶ τῆς ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος αὐτῶν ἐξόδου περιπέμψαντες ὅ τε ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰησοῦς καὶ Ζοροβάβηλος ὁ ἄρχων τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας συνήγαγον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πανδημεὶ μηδὲν προθυμίας ἀπολιπόντες, [76] κατεσκεύασάν τε θυσιαστήριον ἐφ᾽ οὗ καὶ πρότερον ἦν ᾠκοδομημένον τόπου, ὅπως τὰς νομίμους ἀναφέρωσι θυσίας ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ κατὰ τοὺς Μωυσέως νόμους. ταῦτα δὲ ποιοῦντες οὐκ ἦσαν ἐν ἡδονῇ τοῖς προσχωρίοις ἔθνεσιν πάντων αὐτοῖς ἀπεχθανομένων. [77] ἤγαγον δὲ καὶ τὴν σκηνοπηγίαν κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρόν, ὡς ὁ νομοθέτης περὶ αὐτῆς διετάξατο, καὶ προσφορὰς μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους ἐνδελεχισμοὺς καὶ τὰς θυσίας τῶν σαββάτων καὶ πασῶν τῶν ἁγίων ἑορτῶν, οἵ τε πεποιημένοι τὰς εὐχὰς ἀπεδίδοσαν θύοντες ἀπὸ νουμηνίας τοῦ ἑβδόμου μηνός. [78] ἤρξαντο δὲ καὶ τῆς οἰκοδομίας τοῦ ναοῦ πολλὰ τοῖς τε λατόμοις καὶ τέκτοσι χρήματα δόντες καὶ τὰ πρὸς τροφὴν τῶν εἰσαγομένων, τοῖς τε Σιδωνίοις ἡδὺ καὶ κοῦφον ἦν τά τε κέδρινα κατάγουσιν ἐκ τοῦ Λιβάνου ξύλα δήσασιν αὐτὰ καὶ σχεδίαν πηξαμένοις εἰς τὸν τῆς Ἰόππης κομίζειν λιμένα: τοῦτο γὰρ πρῶτος μὲν Κῦρος ἐκέλευσεν, τότε δὲ Δαρείου κελεύσαντος ἐγίνετο.

1. Now in the seventh month after they were departed out of Babylon, both Jeshua the high priest, and Zorobabel the governor, sent messengers every way round about, and gathered those that were in the country together to Jerusalem universally, who came very gladly thither. He then built the altar on the same place it had formerly been built, that they might offer the appointed sacrifices upon it to God, according to the laws of Moses. But while they did this, they did not please the neighboring nations, who all of them bare an ill-will to them. They also celebrated the feast of tabernacles at that time, as the legislator had ordained concerning it; and after they offered sacrifices, and what were called the daily sacrifices, and the oblations proper for the Sabbaths, and for all the holy festivals. Those also that had made vows performed them, and offered their sacrifices from the first day of the seventh month. They also began to build the temple, and gave a great deal of money to the masons and to the carpenters, and what was necessary for the maintenance of the workmen. The Sidonians also were very willing and ready to bring the cedar trees from Libanus, to bind them together, and to make a united float of them, and to bring them to the port of

Joppa, for that was what Cyrus had commanded at first, and what was now done at the command of Darius.

(2) [79] Ὧν τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καθόδου τῶν Ἰουδαίων μηνὶ δευτέρῳ παραγενομένων συνείχετο ἡ τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευή: καὶ τοὺς θεμελίους ἐγείραντες τῇ νουμηνίᾳ τοῦ δευτέρου μηνὸς τοῦ δευτέρου ἔτους ἐπῳκοδόμουν, προστησάμενοι τῶν ἔργων Λευιτῶν τε τοὺς εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἤδη γεγονότας καὶ Ἰησοῦν καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ Ζοδμοῆλον τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰούδα τοῦ Ἀμιναδάβου καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ. [80] καὶ ὁ μὲν ναὸς πάσῃ χρησαμένων σπουδῇ τῶν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐγκεχειρισμένων θᾶττον ἢ προσεδόκησεν ἄν τις ἔλαβεν τέλος. ἀπαρτισθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ μετὰ σαλπίγγων οἱ ἱερεῖς ταῖς συνήθεσι στολαῖς κεκοσμημένοι καὶ οἱ Λευῖται καὶ οἱ Ἀσάφου παῖδες ἀναστάντες ὕμνουν τὸν θεόν, ὡς τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν εὐλογίαν Δαυίδης κατέδειξε πρῶτος. [81] οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευῖται καὶ τῶν πατριῶν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τὸν πρότερον [ναὸν] ταῖς μνήμαις ἀναπολοῦντες μέγιστόν τε καὶ πολυτελέστατον, καὶ τὸν γεγενημένον ὁρῶντες ὑπὸ πτωχείας ἐνδεέστερον τοῦ πάλαι κατασκευαζόμενον, ὅσον εἶεν τῆς ἀρχαίας εὐδαιμονίας ὑποβεβηκότες καὶ τῆς ἀξίας τοῦ ναοῦ λογιζόμενοι κατήφουν, καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τούτῳ λύπης κρατεῖν οὐ δυνάμενοι μέχρι θρήνων καὶ δακρύων προήγοντο. [82] ὁ δὲ λαὸς ἠγάπα τοῖς παροῦσιν καὶ τῷ μόνον οἰκοδομῆσαι τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ πρότερον ὄντος οὐδένα λόγον ποιούμενος οὐδ᾽ ἀνάμνησιν οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν σύγκρισιν τὴν ἐκείνου βασανίζων αὐτὸν ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἐλάττοσιν οἷς ὑπελάμβανεν. [83] ὑπερεφώνει δὲ τὸν τῶν σαλπίγγων ἦχον καὶ τὴν τοῦ πλήθους χαρὰν ἡ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ ἱερέων ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐδόκουν ἐλαττοῦσθαι τὸν ναὸν τοῦ κατασκαφέντος οἰμωγή.

2. In the second year of their coming to Jerusalem, as the Jews were there in the second month, the building of the temple went on apace; and when they had laid its foundations on the first day of the second month of that second year, they set, as overseers of the work, such Levites as were full twenty years old; and Jeshua and his sons and brethren, and Codmiel the brother of Judas, the son of Aminadab, with his sons; and the temple, by the great diligence of those that had the care of it, was finished sooner than any one would have expected. And when the temple was finished, the priests, adorned with their accustomed garments, stood with their trumpets, while the Levites, and the sons of Asaph, stood and sung hymns to God, according as David first of all appointed them to bless God. Now the priests and Levites, and the elder part of the families, recollecting with themselves how much greater and more sumptuous the old temple had been, seeing that now made how much inferior it was, on account of their poverty, to that which had been built of old, considered with themselves how much their happy state was sunk below what it had been of old, as well as their temple.

Hereupon they were disconsolate, and not able to contain their grief, and proceeded so far as to lament and shed tears on those accounts; but the people in general were contented with their present condition; and because they were allowed to build them a temple, they desired no more, and neither regarded nor remembered, nor indeed at all tormented themselves with the comparison of that and the former temple, as if this were below their expectations; but the wailing of the old men and of the priests, on account of the deficiency of this temple, in their opinion, if compared with that which had been demolished, overcame the sounds of the trumpets and the rejoicing of the people.

(3) [84] Τῆς δὲ βοῆς τῶν σαλπίγγων ἀκούσαντες οἱ Σαμαρεῖται, ἐτύγχανον γὰρ ἀπεχθανόμενοι τῇ τε Ἰούδα φυλῇ καὶ τῇ Βενιαμίτιδι, συνέδραμον τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ θορύβου μαθεῖν θέλοντες. γνόντες δὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλωτισθέντας εἰς Βαβυλῶνα τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀνακτίζοντας τὸ ἱερόν, προσίασιν τῷ Ζοροβαβήλῳ καὶ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἡγουμένοις τῶν πατριῶν ἀξιοῦντες αὐτοῖς ἐπιτραπῆναι συγκατασκευάσαι τὸν ναὸν καὶ κοινωνῆσαι τῆς οἰκοδομίας: [85] "σεβόμεθα γὰρ οὐκ ἔλαττον ἐκείνων τὸν θεόν, ἔφασκον, καὶ τοῦτον ὑπερευχόμεθα καὶ τῆς θρησκείας ἐσμὲν ἐπιθυμηταὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου, ἀφ' οὗ Σαλμανασσάρης ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῆς Χουθίας [86] ἡμᾶς μετήγαγεν καὶ Μηδίας ἐνθάδε." τούτους αὐτῶν ποιησαμένων τοὺς λόγους Ζοροβάβηλος καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ οἱ τῶν πατριῶν ἡγεμόνες τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔφασαν τῆς μὲν οἰκοδομίας αὐτοῖς ἀδύνατον εἶναι κοινωνεῖν, αὐτῶν προσταχθέντων κατασκευάσαι τὸν ναὸν πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Κύρου νῦν δὲ ὑπὸ Δαρείου: [87] προσκυνεῖν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐφιέναι καὶ τοῦτο μόνον εἶναι κοινόν, εἰ βούλονται, πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀφικνουμένοις εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν σέβειν τὸν θεόν.

3. But when the Samaritans, who were still enemies to the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, heard the sound of the trumpets, they came running together, and desired to know what was the occasion of this tumult; and when they perceived that it was from the Jews, who had been carried captive to Babylon, and were rebuilding their temple, they came to Zorobabel and to Jeshua, and to the heads of the families, and desired that they would give them leave to build the temple with them, and to be partners with them in building it; for they said, "We worship their God, and especially pray to him, and are desirous of their religious settlement, and this ever since Shalmanezer, the king of Assyria, transplanted us out of Cuthah and Media to this place." When they said thus, Zorobabel and Jeshua the high priest, and the heads of the families of the Israelites, replied to them, that it was impossible for them to permit them to be their partners, whilst they [only] had been appointed to build that temple at first by Cyrus, and now by Darius, although it was indeed lawful for them to come and worship there if they

pleased, and that they could allow them nothing but that in common with them, which was common to them with all other men, to come to their temple and worship God there.

(4) [88] Ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Χουθαῖοι, τὴν γὰρ προσηγορίαν οἱ Σαμαρεῖται ταύτην ἔχουσιν, ἠγανάκτησαν καὶ πείθουσιν τὰ ἐν Συρίᾳ ἔθνη τῶν σατραπῶν δεηθῆναι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὅνπερ ἐπὶ Κύρου πρότερον εἶτ᾽ ἐπὶ Καμβύσου μετ᾽ αὐτόν, ἐπισχεῖν τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευὴν καὶ σπουδάζουσιν περὶ αὐτὸν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀναβολὴν καὶ τριβὴν πραγματεύσασθαι. [89] κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἀναβάντων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα Σισίνου τοῦ τῆς Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης ἐπάρχου καὶ Σαρωβαζάνου μετὰ καί τινων ἑτέρων καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐρομένων, τίνος αὐτοῖς συγχωρήσαντος οὕτως οἰκοδομοῦσιν τὸν ναόν, ὡς φρούριον μᾶλλον αὐτὸν εἶναι ἢ ἱερόν, καὶ τί δήποτε τὰς στοὰς καὶ τὰ τείχη περιβεβλήκασιν τῇ πόλει σφόδρα ὀχυρά, [90] Ζοροβάβηλος καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰησοῦς δούλους μὲν αὐτοὺς ἔφασαν εἶναι τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ, τὸν δὲ ναὸν τοῦτον αὐτῷ κατασκευασθέντα ὑπὸ βασιλέως αὐτῶν εὐδαίμονος καὶ πάντας ὑπερβάλλοντος ἀρετῇ πολὺν διαμεῖναι χρόνον. [91] ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν πατέρων ἀσεβησάντων εἰς τὸν θεὸν Ναβουχοδονόσορος ὁ Βαβυλωνίων καὶ Χαλδαίων βασιλεὺς ἑλὼν τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος αὐτήν τε καθεῖλεν καὶ τὸν ναὸν συλήσας ἐνέπρησεν καὶ τὸν λαὸν μετῴκισεν αἰχμάλωτον μεταγαγὼν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, [92] Κῦρος ὁ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν τῆς Βαβυλωνίας καὶ Περσίδος βασιλεὺς ἔγραψεν οἰκοδομῆσαι τὸν ναόν, καὶ πάνθ᾽ ὅσα μετήγαγεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσορος ἀναθήματα καὶ σκεύη Ζοροβαβήλῳ παραδοὺς καὶ Μιθριδάτῃ τῷ γαζοφύλακι προσέταξεν κομίσαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὸν ἴδιον ἀποκατασταθῆναι ναὸν οἰκοδομηθέντα. [93] τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπέστειλεν ἐν τάχει γενέσθαι Σαβάσηρον κελεύσας ἀναβάντα εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τῆς οἰκοδομίας τοῦ ναοῦ ποιήσασθαι πρόνοιαν. ὃς μετὰ τὸ λαβεῖν παρὰ Κύρου γράμματα, παραγενόμενος εὐθὺς τοὺς θεμελίους κατεβάλετο, καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου κατασκευαζόμενος μέχρι καὶ τοῦ δεῦρο διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν κακοήθειάν ἐστιν ἀτελής. [94] εἰ τοίνυν βούλεσθε καὶ δοκιμάζετε, γράψατε ταῦτα Δαρείῳ, ὅπως ἐπισκεψάμενος τὰ τῶν βασιλέων ὑπομνήματα εὕρῃ μηδὲν ἡμᾶς ὧν λέγομεν καταψευσαμένους.”

4. When the Cuthearts heard this, for the Samaritans have that appellation, they had indignation at it, and persuaded the nations of Syria to desire of the governors, in the same manner as they had done formerly in the days of Cyrus, and again in the days of Cambyses afterwards, to put a stop to the building of the temple, and to endeavor to delay and protract the Jews in their zeal about it. Now at this time Sisinnes, the governor of Syria and Phoenicia, and Sathrabuzanes, with certain others, came up to Jerusalem, and asked the rulers of the Jews, by whose grant it was that they built the temple in this manner, since it was more

like to a citadel than a temple? and for what reason it was that they built cloisters and walls, and those strong ones too, about the city? To which Zorobabel and Jeshua the high priest replied, that they were the servants of God Almighty; that this temple was built for him by a king of theirs, that lived in great prosperity, and one that exceeded all men in virtue; and that it continued a long time, but that because of their fathers' impiety towards God, Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Babylonians and of the Chaldeans, took their city by force, and destroyed it, and pillaged the temple, and burnt it down, and transplanted the people whom he had made captives, and removed them to Babylon; that Cyrus, who, after him, was king of Babylonia and Persia, wrote to them to build the temple, and committed the gifts and vessels, and whatsoever Nebuchadnezzar had carried out of it, to Zorobabel, and Mithridates the treasurer; and gave order to have them carried to Jerusalem, and to have them restored to their own temple, when it was built; for he had sent to them to have that done speedily, and commanded Sanabassar to go up to Jerusalem, and to take care of the building of the temple; who, upon receiving that epistle from Cyrus, came, and immediately laid its foundations; "and although it hath been in building from that time to this, it hath not yet been finished, by reason of the malignity of our enemies. If therefore you have a mind, and think it proper, write this account to Darius, that when he hath consulted the records of the kings, he may find that we have told you nothing that is false about this matter."

(5) [95] Ταῦτ' εἰπόντων τοῦ τε Ζοροβαβήλου καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ὁ Σισίννης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τὴν μὲν οἰκοδομίαν ἐπισχεῖν οὐ διέγνωσαν ἕως ἂν ταῦτα δηλωθῇ Δαρείῳ, παραχρῆμα δ' αὐτῷ περὶ τούτων ἔγραψαν. [96] τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων κατεπτηχότων καὶ δεδιότων μὴ μεταδόξῃ τῷ βασιλεῖ περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευῆς, ὄντες κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον δύο προφῆται παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἀγγαῖος καὶ Ζαχαρίας θαρρεῖν αὐτοὺς παρώρμων καὶ μηδὲν ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν ὑφορᾶσθαι δύσκολον, ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα προλέγοντος. πιστεύοντες δὲ τοῖς προφήταις ἐντεταμένως εἶχοντο τῆς οἰκοδομίας μηδεμίαν ἡμέραν ἀνιέμενοι.

5. When Zorobabel and the high priest had made this answer, Sisinnes, and those that were with him, did not resolve to hinder the building, until they had informed king Darius of all this. So they immediately wrote to him about these affairs; but as the Jews were now under terror, and afraid lest the king should change his resolutions as to the building of Jerusalem and of the temple, there were two prophets at that time among them, Haggai and Zechariah, who encouraged them, and bid them be of good cheer, and to suspect no discouragement from the Persians, for that God foretold this to them. So, in

dependence on those prophets, they applied themselves earnestly to building, and did not intermit one day.

(6) [97] Δαρεῖος δὲ τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν αὐτῷ γραψάντων καὶ κατηγορούντων διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὡς τήν τε πόλιν ὀχυροῦσι καὶ τὸν ναὸν φρουρίῳ προσεοικότα μᾶλλον ἢ ἱερῷ κατασκευάζουσιν, λεγόντων δὲ μὴ συνοίσειν αὐτῷ τὰ γινόμενα καὶ προσέτι τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἐπιδεικνύντων τὰς Καμβύσου, δι' ὧν ἐκώλυσεν ἐκεῖνος οἰκοδομεῖν τὸν ναόν, [98] μαθὼν παρ' αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀσφαλῆ τοῖς πράγμασιν αὐτοῦ τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἀποκατάστασιν ἔσεσθαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Σισίννου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ κομισθέντα ἀνέγνω γράμματα, προσέταξεν ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ζητηθῆναι τὰ περὶ τούτων. [99] καὶ εὑρέθη ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις τῇ βάρει τῇ ἐν Μηδίᾳ βιβλίον, ἐν ᾧ τάδε ἦν ἀναγεγραμμένα: "ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς βασιλείας ἔτει Κῦρος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσεν τὸν ναὸν οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ὕψος μὲν πηχῶν ἑξήκοντα εὖρος δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν, διὰ δόμων λιθίνων βία τε ξεστῶν τριῶν καὶ ξυλίνου δόμου ἑνὸς ἐγχωρίου. [100] καὶ τὴν εἰς ταῦτα δαπάνην ἐκ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως γίνεσθαι διετάξατο, καὶ τὰ σκεύη, ἃ συλήσας Ναβουχοδονόσορος εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἐκόμισεν, ἀποδοθῆναι τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις, [101] τὴν δὲ ἐπιμέλειαν τούτων εἶναι Ἀναβασσάρου τοῦ ἐπάρχου καὶ τῆς Συρίας τε καὶ Φοινίκης ἡγεμόνος καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων αὐτοῦ, ὅπως αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀφέξονται τοῦ τόπου, τοῖς δὲ δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰουδαίοις τε καὶ ἡγεμόσιν αὐτῶν ἐπιτρέψουσιν οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὸν ναόν. [102] καὶ συλλαβέσθαι δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον διετάξατο, κἀκ τοῦ φόρου τοῦ τῆς χώρας ἧς ἐπετροπεύοντο τελεῖν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις εἰς θυσίας λόγον ταύρους καὶ κριοὺς καὶ ἄρνας καὶ ἐρίφους καὶ σεμίδαλιν καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ οἶνον καὶ τἆλλα, ὅσα ἂν οἱ ἱερεῖς ὑπαγορεύσωσιν, εὔχωνται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ Περσῶν. [103] τοὺς δὲ παραβάντας τι τῶν ἐπεσταλμένων συλληφθέντας ἐκέλευσεν ἀνασταυρωθῆναι καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν καταταγῆναι κτῆσιν. καὶ κατηύξατο πρὸς τούτοις τῷ θεῷ, ὅπως εἴ τις ἐπιχειρήσειε διακωλῦσαι τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τοῦ ναοῦ, βαλὼν αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς ἐπίσχῃ τῆς ἀδικίας."

6. Now Darius, when the Samaritans had written to him, and in their epistle had accused the Jews, how they fortified the city, and built the temple more like to a citadel than to a temple; and said, that their doings were not expedient for the king's affairs; and besides, they showed the epistle of Cambyses, wherein he forbade them to build the temple: and when Darius thereby understood that the restoration of Jerusalem was not expedient for his affairs, and when he had read the epistle that was brought him from Sisinnes, and those that were with him, he gave order that what concerned these matters should be sought for among the royal records. Whereupon a book was found at Ecbatana, in the tower that was in

Media, wherein was written as follows: “Cyrus the king, in the first year of his reign, commanded that the temple should be built in Jerusalem; and the altar in height threescore cubits, and its breadth of the same, with three edifices of polished stone, and one edifice of stone of their own country; and he ordained that the expenses of it should be paid out of the king’s revenue. He also commanded that the vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had pillaged [out of the temple], and had carried to Babylon, should be restored to the people of Jerusalem; and that the care of these things should belong to Sanabassar, the governor and president of Syria and Phoenicia, and his associates, that they may not meddle with that place, but may permit the servants of God, the Jews and their rulers, to build the temple. He also ordained that they should assist them in the work; and that they should pay to the Jews, out of the tribute of the country where they were governors, on account of the sacrifices, bulls, and rams, and lambs, and kids of the goats, and fine flour, and oil, and wine, and all other things that the priests should suggest to them; and that they should pray for the preservation of the king, and of the Persians; and that for such as transgressed any of these orders thus sent to them, he commanded that they should be caught, and hung upon a cross, and their substance confiscated to the king’s use. He also prayed to God against them, that if any one attempted to hinder the building of the temple, God would strike him dead, and thereby restrain his wickedness.”

(7) [104] Ταῦθ’ εὑρὼν ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν τοῖς Κύρου Δαρεῖος ἀντιγράφει τῷ Σισίννῃ καὶ τοῖς ἑταίροις αὐτοῦ τάδε λέγων: “βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος Σισίννῃ τῷ ἐπάρχῳ καὶ Σαραβαζάνῃ καὶ τοῖς ἑταίροις αὐτῶν χαίρειν. τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ὑμῖν ἧς ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν εὗρον τοῖς Κύρου ἀπέσταλκα καὶ βούλομαι γίνεσθαι πάντα, καθὼς ἐν αὐτῇ περιέχει. [105] ἔρρωσθε.” μαθόντες οὖν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ὁ Σισίννης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως προαίρεσιν ταύτῃ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀκόλουθα ποιεῖν διέγνωσαν. ἐπεστάτουν οὖν τῶν ἱερῶν ἔργων συλλαμβανόμενοι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τῶν γερόντων ἄρχουσιν. [106] καὶ ἠνύετο κατὰ πολλὴν σπουδὴν ἡ κατασκευὴ τοῦ ναοῦ προφητευόντων Ἀγγαίου καὶ Ζαχαρίου κατὰ πρόσταγμα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μετὰ βουλήσεως Κύρου τε καὶ Δαρείου τῶν βασιλέων, ᾠκοδομήθη δὲ ἐν ἔτεσιν ἑπτά. [107] τοῦ δ’ ἐνάτου τῆς Δαρείου βασιλείας ἔτους εἰκάδι καὶ τρίτῃ μηνὸς δωδεκάτου, ὃς καλεῖται παρὰ μὲν ἡμῖν Ἄδαρ παρὰ δὲ Μακεδόσιν Δύστρος, προσφέρουσιν θυσίας οἵ τε ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευῖται καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν πλῆθος ἀνανεωτικὰς τῶν πρότερον ἀγαθῶν μετὰ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν τοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνακαινισθὲν ἀπειληφέναι ταύρους ἑκατὸν κριοὺς διακοσίους ἄρνας τετρακοσίους χιμάρους δώδεκα κατὰ φυλήν, τοσαῦται γάρ εἰσιν αἱ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν φυλαί, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἥμαρτεν ἑκάστη. [108] ἔστησάν τε κατὰ τοὺς Μωυσέως νόμους οἵ τε ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ Λευῖται θυρωροὺς

ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστου πυλῶνος: ᾠκοδομήκεσαν γὰρ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ τὰς ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ ναοῦ στοὰς τοῦ ἔνδοθεν ἱεροῦ.

7. When Darius had found this book among the records of Cyrus, he wrote an answer to Sisinnes and his associates, whose contents were these: “King Darius to Sisinnes the governor, and to Sathrabuzanes, sendeth greeting. Having found a copy of this epistle among the records of Cyrus, I have sent it you; and I will that all things be done as is therein written. Fare ye well.” So when Sisinnes, and those that were with him, understood the intention of the king, they resolved to follow his directions entirely for the time to come. So they forwarded the sacred works, and assisted the elders of the Jews, and the princes of the Sanhedrim; and the structure of the temple was with great diligence brought to a conclusion, by the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah, according to God’s commands, and by the injunctions of Cyrus and Darius the kings. Now the temple was built in seven years’ time. And in the ninth year of the reign of Darius, on the twenty-third day of the twelfth month, which is by us called Adar, but by the Macedonians Dystrus, the priests, and Levites, and the other multitude of the Israelites, offered sacrifices, as the renovation of their former prosperity after their captivity, and because they had now the temple rebuilt, a hundred bulls, two hundred rains, four hundred lambs, and twelve kids of the goats, according to the number of their tribes, [for so many are the tribes of the Israelites,] and this last for the sins of every tribe. The priests also and the Levites set the porters at every gate, according to the laws of Moses. The Jews also built the cloisters of the inner temple that were round about the temple itself.

(8) [109] Ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτῆς μηνὶ τῷ πρώτῳ, κατὰ μὲν Μακεδόνας Ξανθικῷ λεγομένῳ κατὰ δὲ ἡμᾶς Νισάν, συνερρύη πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἤγαγον ἀγνεύοντες μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ, [110] καὶ τὴν πάσχα προσαγορευομένην θυσίαν τῇ τετράδι καὶ δεκάτῃ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς ἐπιτελέσαντες κατευωχήθησαν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ μηδεμιᾶς φειδόμενοι πολυτελείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ὁλοκαυτώσεις ἐπιφέροντες τῷ θεῷ καὶ χαριστηρίους θυσίας ἱερουργοῦντες ἀνθ᾽ ὧν αὐτοὺς ποθοῦν τὸ θεῖον πάλιν εἰς τὴν πάτριον γῆν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ νόμους ἤγαγεν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως διάνοιαν εὐμενῆ κατέστησεν αὐτοῖς. [111] καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐπιδαψιλευόμενοι ταῖς θυσίαις καὶ τῇ περὶ τὸν θεὸν φιλοτιμίᾳ κατῴκησαν ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις πολιτείᾳ χρώμενοι ἀριστοκρατικῇ μετὰ ὀλιγαρχίας: οἱ γὰρ ἀρχιερεῖς προεστήκεσαν τῶν πραγμάτων ἄχρι οὗ τοὺς Ἀσαμωναίου συνέβη βασιλεύειν ἐκγόνους. [112] πρὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐβασιλεύοντο ἀπὸ Σαούλου πρῶτον ἀρξάμενοι καὶ Δαυίδου ἐπὶ ἔτη πεντακόσια τριακονταδύο μῆνας ἓξ ἡμέρας δέκα, πρὸ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων τούτων ἄρχοντες

αὐτοὺς διεῖπον οἱ προσαγορευόμενοι κριταὶ καὶ μόναρχοι, καὶ τοῦτον πολιτευόμενοι τὸν τρόπον ἔτεσιν πλέον ἢ πεντακοσίοις διήγαγον μετὰ Μωυσῆν ἀποθανόντα καὶ Ἰησοῦν τὸν στρατηγόν. [113] καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῶν ἀνασωθέντων ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας Ἰουδαίων ἐν τοῖς Κύρου καὶ Δαρείου χρόνοις ἐν τούτοις ὑπῆρχεν.

8. And as the feast of unleavened bread was at hand, in the first month, which, according to the Macedonians, is called Xanthicus, but according to us Nisan, all the people ran together out of the villages to the city, and celebrated the festival, having purified themselves, with their wives and children, according to the law of their country; and they offered the sacrifice which was called the Passover, on the fourteenth day of the same month, and feasted seven days, and spared for no cost, but offered whole burnt-offerings to God, and performed sacrifices of thanksgiving, because God had led them again to the land of their fathers, and to the laws thereto belonging, and had rendered the mind of the king of Persia favorable to them. So these men offered the largest sacrifices on these accounts, and used great magnificence in the worship of God, and dwelt in Jerusalem, and made use of a form of government that was aristocratical, but mixed with an oligarchy, for the high priests were at the head of their affairs, until the posterity of the Asamoneans set up kingly government; for before their captivity, and the dissolution of their polity, they at first had kingly government from Saul and David for five hundred and thirty-two years, six months, and ten days; but before those kings, such rulers governed them as were called judges and monarchs. Under this form of government they continued for more than five hundred years after the death of Moses, and of Joshua their commander. And this is the account I had to give of the Jews who had been carried into captivity, but were delivered from it in the times of Cyrus and Darius.

(9) [114] Οἱ δὲ Σαμαρεῖς ἀπεχθῶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ βασκάνως διακείμενοι πολλὰ κακὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἰργάσαντο πλούτῳ τε πεποιθότες καὶ συγγένειαν προσποιούμενοι τὴν Περσῶν, ἐπειδήπερ ἐκεῖθεν ἦσαν. [115] ὅσα τε γὰρ ἐκελεύσθησαν ἐκ τῶν φόρων ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὰς θυσίας τελεῖν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις παρέχειν οὐκ ἤθελον τούς τε ἐπάρχους σπουδάζοντας αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ συνεργοῦντας εἶχον, ἄλλα τε ὅσα βλάπτειν ἢ δι᾽ ἑαυτῶν ἢ δι᾽ ἑτέρων ἠδύναντο τοὺς Ἰουδαίους οὐκ ἀπώκνουν. [116] ἔδοξεν οὖν πρεσβευσαμένοις τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Δαρεῖον κατηγορῆσαι τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν, καὶ πρεσβεύουσιν Ζοροβάβηλος καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ἀρχόντων τέσσαρες. [117] ὡς δὲ τὰ ἐγκλήματα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας, ἃς κατὰ τῶν Σαμαρέων ἐπέφερον, ἔγνω παρὰ τῶν πρέσβεων ὁ βασιλεύς, δοὺς αὐτοῖς κομίζειν ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἐπάρχους τῆς Σαμαρείας καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἀπέπεμψεν. [118] τὰ δὲ γεγραμμένα ἦν τοιάδε:

“βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος Ταγανᾷ καὶ Σαμβᾷ τοῖς ἐπάρχοις καὶ Σαμαρειτῶν Σαδράκῃ καὶ Βουήδωνι καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς συνδούλοις αὐτῶν τοῖς ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ. Ζοροβάβηλος καὶ Ἀνανίας καὶ Μαρδοχαῖος Ἰουδαίων πρεσβευταὶ ἠτιῶντο ὑμᾶς ὡς ἐνοχλοῦντας αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ μὴ χορηγοῦντας ἃ προσέταξα ὑμῖν εἰς τὰς θυσίας τελεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀναλώματα. [119] βούλομαι οὖν ὑμᾶς ἀναγνόντας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν χορηγεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γαζοφυλακείου τῶν φόρων τῆς Σαμαρείας πάνθ’ ὅσα πρὸς θυσίας ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς χρήσιμα, καθὼς οἱ ἱερεῖς ἀξιοῦσιν, ἵνα μὴ διαλείπωσιν καθ’ ἡμέραν θύοντες μηδ’ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ καὶ Περσῶν εὐχόμενοι τῷ θεῷ.” καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐπιστολὴ ταῦτα περιεῖχεν.

9. But the Samaritans, being evil and enviously disposed to the Jews, wrought them many mischiefs, by reliance on their riches, and by their pretense that they were allied to the Persians, on account that thence they came; and whatsoever it was that they were enjoined to pay the Jews by the king’s order out of their tributes for the sacrifices, they would not pay it. They had also the governors favorable to them, and assisting them for that purpose; nor did they spare to hurt them, either by themselves or by others, as far as they were able. So the Jews determined to send an embassage to king Darius, in favor of the people of Jerusalem, and in order to accuse the Samaritans. The ambassadors were Zorobabel, and four others of the rulers; and as soon as the king knew from the ambassadors the accusations and complaints they brought against the Samaritans, he gave them an epistle to be carried to the governors and council of Samaria; the contents of which epistle were these: “King Darius to Tanganas and Sambabas, the governors of the Sainaritans, to Sadraces and Bobelo, and the rest of their fellow servants that are in Samaria: Zorobabel, Ananias, and Mordecai, the ambassadors of the Jews, complain of you, that you obstruct them in the building of the temple, and do not supply them with the expenses which I commanded you to do for the offering their sacrifices. My will therefore is this, That upon the reading of this epistle, you supply them with whatsoever they want for their sacrifices, and that out of the royal treasury, of the tributes of Samaria, as the priest shall desire, that they may not leave off offering their daily sacrifices, nor praying to God for me and the Persians.” And these were the contents of that epistle.

V

CHAPTER 5. How Xerxes The Son Of Darius Was Well Disposed To The Jews; As Also Concerning Esdras And Nehemiah.

(1) [120] Δαρείου δὲ τελευτήσαντος παραλαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Ξέρξης ἐκληρονόμησεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβειάν τε καὶ τιμήν: ἅπαντα γὰρ ἀκολούθως τῷ πατρὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν θρησκείαν ἐποίησεν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἔσχεν φιλοτιμότατα. [121] κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἀρχιερεὺς ἦν Ἰησοῦ παῖς Ἰωάκειμος ὄνομα. ὑπῆρχεν δὲ καὶ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι δίκαιος ἀνὴρ καὶ δόξης ἀπολαύων ἀγαθῆς παρὰ τῷ πλήθει πρῶτος ἱερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ καλούμενος Ἔζδρας, ὃς τῶν Μωυσέως νόμων ἱκανῶς ἔμπειρος ὢν γίνεται φίλος τῷ βασιλεῖ Ξέρξῃ. [122] γνοὺς δὲ ἀναβῆναι εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ἐπαγαγέσθαι τινὰς τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τυγχανόντων Ἰουδαίων παρεκάλεσεν τὸν βασιλέα δοῦναι αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς σατράπας τῆς Συρίας ἐπιστολήν, ὑφ᾽ ἧς αὐτοῖς γνωρισθήσεται τίς εἴη. [123] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς γράφει πρὸς τοὺς σατράπας ἐπιστολὴν τοιάνδε: “βασιλεὺς βασιλέων Ξέρξης Ἔζδρᾳ ἱερεῖ καὶ ἀναγνώστῃ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ νόμων χαίρειν. τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ φιλανθρωπίας ἔργον εἶναι νομίσας τὸ τοὺς βουλομένους ἐκ τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους καὶ Λευιτῶν ὄντων ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ βασιλείᾳ συναπαίρειν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, τοῦτο προσέταξα, καὶ ὁ βουλόμενος ἀπίτω, [124] καθάπερ ἔδοξέν μοι καὶ τοῖς ἑπτά μου συμβούλοις, ὅπως τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπισκέψωνται τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀκολούθως καὶ ἀπενέγκωσι δῶρα τῷ Ἰσραηλιτῶν θεῷ, ἅπερ ηὐξάμην ἐγώ τε καὶ οἱ φίλοι: [125] καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον ὅσον ἂν εὑρεθῇ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ὠνομασμένον τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο πᾶν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα κομισθῆναι τῷ θεῷ εἰς τὰς θυσίας, πάντα τε, ὅσα βούλει ἐξ ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ κατασκευάσαι, ποιεῖν ἐξέστω σοι μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν. [126] καὶ τὰ δεδομένα σοι ἱερὰ σκεύη ἀναθήσεις καὶ ὅσων ἂν ἐπίνοιαν λάβῃς καὶ ταῦτα προσεξεργάσῃ τὴν εἰς αὐτὰ δαπάνην ποιούμενος ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γαζοφυλακείου. [127] ἔγραψα δὲ καὶ τοῖς γαζοφύλαξιν τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς Φοινίκης, ἵνα τῶν ὑπὸ Ἔζδρα τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ ἀναγνώστου τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ νόμων ἐπισταλέντων ἐπιμεληθῶσιν. ὅπως δὲ μηδεμίαν ὀργὴν ἐπ᾽ ἐμὲ λάβῃ τὸ θεῖον ἢ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐκγόνους, πάντ᾽ ἀξιῶ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ πυροῦ κόρων ἑκατὸν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι τῷ θεῷ κατὰ τὸν νόμον. [128] καὶ ὑμῖν δὲ λέγω, ὅπως τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν καὶ Λευίταις καὶ ἱεροψάλταις καὶ θυρωροῖς καὶ ἱεροδούλοις καὶ γραμματεῦσιν τοῦ ἱεροῦ μήτε φόρους ἐπιτάξητε μήτε ἄλλο μηδὲν ἐπίβουλον ἢ φορτικὸν εἰς αὐτοὺς γένηται. [129] καὶ σὺ δέ, Ἔζδρα, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίαν ἀπόδειξον κριτάς, ὅπως δικάσωσιν ἐν Συρίᾳ καὶ Φοινίκῃ πάσῃ τοὺς ἐπισταμένους σου τὸν νόμον, καὶ τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσιν δὲ παρέξεις αὐτὸν μαθεῖν, [130] ἵνα ἄν τις τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν σου παραβαίνῃ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ νόμον ἢ τὸν

βασιλικόν, ὑπόσχῃ τιμωρίαν, ὡς οὐ κατ᾽ ἄγνοιαν αὐτὸν παραβαίνων, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἐπιστάμενος μὲν τολμηρῶς δὲ παρακούων καὶ καταφρονῶν. κολασθήσονται δ᾽ ἤτοι θανάτῳ ἢ ζημίᾳ χρηματικῇ. ἔρρωσο.”

1. Upon the death of Darius, Xerxes his son took the kingdom, who, as he inherited his father’s kingdom, so did he inherit his piety towards God, and honor of him; for he did all things suitably to his father relating to Divine worship, and he was exceeding friendly to the Jews. Now about this time a son of Jeshua, whose name was Joacim, was the high priest. Moreover, there was now in Babylon a righteous man, and one that enjoyed a great reputation among the multitude. He was the principal priest of the people, and his name was Esdras. He was very skillful in the laws of Moses, and was well acquainted with king Xerxes. He had determined to go up to Jerusalem, and to take with him some of those Jews that were in Babylon; and he desired that the king would give him an epistle to the governors of Syria, by which they might know who he was. Accordingly, the king wrote the following epistle to those governors: “Xerxes, king of kings, to Esdras the priest, and reader of the Divine law, greeting. I think it agreeable to that love which I bear to mankind, to permit those of the Jewish nation that are so disposed, as well as those of the priests and Levites that are in our kingdom, to go together to Jerusalem. Accordingly, I have given command for that purpose; and let every one that hath a mind go, according as it hath seemed good to me, and to my seven counselors, and this in order to their review of the affairs of Judea, to see whether they be agreeable to the law of God. Let them also take with them those presents which I and my friends have vowed, with all that silver and gold that is found in the country of the Babylonians, as dedicated to God, and let all this be carried to Jerusalem to God for sacrifices. Let it also be lawful for thee and thy brethren to make as many vessels of silver and gold as thou pleasest. Thou shalt also dedicate those holy vessels which have been given thee, and as many more as thou hast a mind to make, and shall take the expenses out of the king’s treasury. I have, moreover, written to the treasurers of Syria and Phoenicia, that they take care of those affairs that Esdras the priest, and reader of the laws of God, is sent about. And that God may not be at all angry with me, or with my children, I grant all that is necessary for sacrifices to God, according to the law, as far as a hundred cori of wheat. And I enjoin you not to lay any treacherous imposition, or any tributes, upon their priests or Levites, or sacred singers, or porters, or sacred servants, or scribes of the temple. And do thou, O Esdras, appoint judges according to the wisdom [given thee] of God, and those such as understand the law, that they may judge in all Syria and Phoenicia; and do thou instruct those also which are

ignorant of it, that if any one of thy countrymen transgress the law of God, or that of the king, he may be punished, as not transgressing it out of ignorance, but as one that knows it indeed, but boldly despises and contemns it; and such may be punished by death, or by paying fines. Farewell."

(2) [131] Λαβὼν δὲ Ἔζδρας ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὑπερήσθη καὶ τῷ θεῷ προσκυνεῖν ἤρξατο, τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς αὐτὸν χρηστότητος ἐκεῖνον αἴτιον ὁμολογῶν γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ χάριν ἔλεγεν εἶναι. ἀναγνοὺς δ' ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῖς αὐτόθι παροῦσιν Ἰουδαίοις, αὐτὴν μὲν κατέσχεν, τὸ δ' ἀντίγραφον αὐτῆς πρὸς ἅπαντας ἔπεμψεν τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Μηδίαν ὄντας. [132] μαθόντες δὲ οὗτοι τὴν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβειαν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἔζδραν εὔνοιαν ἅπαντες μὲν ὑπερηγάπησαν, πολλοὶ δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς κτήσεις ἀναλαβόντες ἦλθον εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ποθοῦντες τῆς εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καθόδου. [133] ὁ δὲ πᾶς λαὸς τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινεν: διὸ καὶ δύο φυλὰς εἶναι συμβέβηκεν ἐπί τε τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης Ῥωμαίοις ὑπακουούσας, αἱ δὲ δέκα φυλαὶ πέραν εἰσὶν Εὐφράτου ἕως δεῦρο, μυριάδες ἄπειροι καὶ ἀριθμῷ γνωσθῆναι μὴ δυνάμεναι. [134] πρὸς δὲ Ἔζδραν ἀφικνοῦνται ἱερέων καὶ Λευιτῶν καὶ θυρωρῶν καὶ ἱεροψαλτῶν καὶ ἱεροδούλων πολλοὶ τὸν ἀριθμόν. συναγαγὼν δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ Εὐφράτου καὶ τρεῖς ἐπιδιατρίψας ἐκεῖ ἡμέρας νηστείαν αὐτοῖς παρήγγειλεν, ὅπως εὐχὰς ποιήσονται τῷ θεῷ περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν παθεῖν ἄτοπον ἢ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἤ τινος ἄλλου δυσκόλου προσπεσόντος αὐτοῖς: [135] φθάσας γὰρ ὁ Ἔζδρας εἰπεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὅτι διασώσει αὐτοὺς ὁ θεός, οὐ κατηξίωσεν ἱππεῖς αὐτὸν αἰτῆσαι τοὺς προπέμψοντας. ποιησάμενοι δὲ τὰς εὐχάς, ἄραντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐφράτου δωδεκάτῃ τοῦ πρώτου μηνὸς τοῦ ἑβδόμου ἔτους τῆς Ξέρξου βασιλείας παρεγένοντο εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα μηνὶ πέμπτῳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους. [136] καὶ παραχρῆμα τοῖς γαζοφύλαξιν ὁ Ἔζδρας οὖσιν ἐκ τοῦ τῶν ἱερέων γένους παρέστησεν τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα, ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἑξακόσια πεντήκοντα, σκεύη ἀργυρᾶ ταλάντων ἑκατόν, καὶ χρύσεα σκεύη ταλάντων εἴκοσι, καὶ χαλκᾶ σκεύη χρυσοῦ κρείττονα σταθμὸν ἔχοντα ταλάντων δώδεκα: ταῦτα γὰρ ἐδωρήσατο ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ σύμβουλοι αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι μένοντες Ἰσραηλῖται. [137] παραδοὺς δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ὁ Ἔζδρας ἀπέδωκε τῷ θεῷ τὰς ἐκ τῶν ὁλοκαυτώσεων νενομισμένας γίνεσθαι θυσίας, ταύρους δώδεκα ὑπὲρ κοινῆς τοῦ λαοῦ σωτηρίας, κριοὺς ἐνενήκοντα, ἄρνας ἑβδομηκονταδύο, ἐρίφους εἰς παραίτησιν τῶν ἡμαρτημένων δεκαδύο. [138] τοῖς δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως οἰκονόμοις καὶ τοῖς ἐπάρχοις τῆς κοίλης Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης τὰ γράμματα τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπέδωκεν. οἱ δὲ τὸ προσταχθὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ποιεῖν ἀνάγκην ἔχοντες ἐτίμησάν τε τὸ ἔθνος καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν αὐτῷ χρείαν συνήργησαν.

2. When Esdras had received this epistle, he was very joyful, and began to worship God, and confessed that he had been the cause of the king's great favor to him, and that for the same reason he gave all the thanks to God. So he read the epistle at Babylon to those Jews that were there; but he kept the epistle itself, and sent a copy of it to all those of his own nation that were in Media. And when these Jews had understood what piety the king had towards God, and what kindness he had for Esdras, they were all greatly pleased; nay, many of them took their effects with them, and came to Babylon, as very desirous of going down to Jerusalem; but then the entire body of the people of Israel remained in that country; wherefore there are but two tribes in Asia and Europe subject to the Iomans, while the ten tribes are beyond Euphrates till now, and are an immense multitude, and not to be estimated by numbers. Now there came a great number of priests, and Levites, and porters, and sacred singers, and sacred servants to Esdras. So he gathered those that were in the captivity together beyond Euphrates, and staid there three days, and ordained a fast for them, that they might make their prayers to God for their preservation, that they might suffer no misfortunes by the way, either from their enemies, or from any other ill accident; for Esdras had said beforehand that he had told the king how God would preserve them, and so he had not thought fit to request that he would send horsemen to conduct them. So when they had finished their prayers, they removed from Euphrates on the twelfth day of the first month of the seventh year of the reign of Xerxes, and they came to Jerusalem on the fifth month of the same year. Now Esdras presented the sacred money to the treasurers, who were of the family of the priests, of silver six hundred and fifty talents, vessels of silver one hundred talents, vessels of gold twenty talents, vessels of brass, that was more precious than gold, twelve talents by weight; for these Presents had been made by the king and his counselors, and by all the Israelites that staid at Babylon. So when Esdras had delivered these things to the priests, he gave to God, as the appointed sacrifices of whole burnt-offerings, twelve bulls on account of the common preservation of the people, ninety rams, seventy-two lambs, and twelve kids of the goats, for the remission of sins. He also delivered the king's epistle to the king's officers, and to the governors of Celesyria and Phoenicia; and as they were under a necessity of doing what was enjoined by him, they honored our nation, and were assistant to them in all their necessities.

(3) [139] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐβουλεύσατο Ἔσδρας, προεχώρησεν δ' αὐτῷ κρίναντος αὐτὸν ἄξιον οἶμαι τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν βουληθέντων διὰ χρηστότητα καὶ δικαιοσύνην. [140] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον προσελθόντων αὐτῷ τινων κατηγορούντων, ὥς τινες τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ Λευιτῶν παραβεβήκασι τὴν πολιτείαν

καὶ λελύκασιν τοὺς πατρίους νόμους ἀλλοεθνεῖς ἠγμένοι γυναῖκας καὶ τὸ ἱερατικὸν γένος συγκεχύκασιν, [141] δεομένων τε βοηθῆσαι τοῖς νόμοις, μὴ κοινὴν ἐπὶ πάντας ὀργὴν λαβὼν πάλιν αὐτοὺς εἰς συμφορὰς ἐμβάλῃ, διέρρηξε μὲν εὐθὺς ὑπὸ λύπης τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐσπάρασσεν καὶ τὰ γένεια ὑβρίζων ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τε ἑαυτὸν ἔρριψεν ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην λαβεῖν τοὺς πρώτους τοῦ λαοῦ. [142] λογιζόμενος δὲ ὅτι, ἐὰν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτοὺς τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν προστάξῃ τέκνα, οὐκ ἀκουσθήσεται, διέμενεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κείμενος. συνέτρεχον οὖν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ μέτριοι πάντες κλαίοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ γεγενημένῳ λύπης συμμεταλαμβάνοντες. [143] ἀναστὰς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ὁ Ἔσδρας καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, αἰσχύνεσθαι μὲν ἔλεγεν αὐτὸν ἀναβλέψαι διὰ τὰ ἡμαρτημένα τῷ λαῷ, ὃς τῆς μνήμης ἐξέβαλεν τὰ τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν αὐτῶν συμπεσόντα, [144] παρεκάλει δὲ τὸν θεὸν σπέρμα τι καὶ λείψανον ἐκ τῆς τότε συμφορᾶς αὐτῶν καὶ αἰχμαλωσίας περισώσαντα καὶ πάλιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν γῆν ἀποκαταστήσαντα [καὶ τοὺς Περσῶν βασιλέας ἀναγκάσαντα] λαβεῖν οἶκτον αὐτῶν, καὶ συγγνωμονῆσαι τοῖς νῦν ἡμαρτημένοις, ἄξια μὲν θανάτου πεποιηκόσιν, ὧν δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ χρηστότητι καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους ἀφιέναι τῆς κολάσεως.

3. Now these things were truly done under the conduct of Esdras; and he succeeded in them, because God esteemed him worthy of the success of his conduct, on account of his goodness and righteousness. But some time afterward there came some persons to him, and brought an accusation against certain of the multitude, and of the priests and Levites, who had transgressed their settlement, and dissolved the laws of their country, by marrying strange wives, and had brought the family of the priests into confusion. These persons desired him to support the laws, lest God should take up a general anger against them all, and reduce them to a calamitous condition again. Hereupon he rent his garment immediately, out of grief, and pulled off the hair of his head and beard, and cast himself upon the ground, because this crime had reached the principal men among the people; and considering that if he should enjoin them to cast out their wives, and the children they had by them, he should not be hearkener to, he continued lying upon the ground. However, all the better sort came running to him, who also themselves wept, and partook of the grief he was under for what had been done. So Esdras rose up from the ground, and stretched out his hands towards heaven, and said that he was ashamed to look towards it, because of the sins which the people had committed, while they had cast out of their memories what their fathers had undergone on account of their wickedness; and he besought God, who had saved a seed and a remnant out of the calamity and captivity they had been in, and had restored them again to Jerusalem, and to their

own land, and had obliged the kings of Persia to have compassion on them, that he would also forgive them their sins they had now committed, which, though they deserved death, yet, was it agreeable to the mercy of God, to remit even to these the punishment due to them.

(4) [145] Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπαύσατο τῶν εὐχῶν: θρηνούντων δὲ πάντων, ὅσοι πρὸς αὐτὸν σὺν γυναιξὶν καὶ τέκνοις συνῆλθον, Ἀχόνιός τις ὀνόματι πρῶτος τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν, προσελθὼν αὐτοὺς μὲν ἁμαρτεῖν ἔλεγεν ἀλλοεθνεῖς ἐνοικισαμένους γυναῖκας, ἔπειθε δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐξορκίσαι πάντας ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτὰς καὶ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν γεγενημένα, κολασθήσεσθαι δὲ τοὺς οὐχ ὑπακούσαντας τῷ νόμῳ. [146] πεισθεὶς οὖν τούτοις ὁ Ἔζδρας ἐποίησεν ὀμόσαι τοὺς φυλάρχους τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν Λευιτῶν καὶ Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἀποπέμψασθαι τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα κατὰ τὴν Ἀχονίου συμβουλίαν. [147] λαβὼν δὲ τοὺς ὅρκους εὐθὺς ὥρμησεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ εἰς τὸ παστοφόριον τὸ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἐλιασίβου καὶ μηδενὸς ὅλως διὰ τὴν λύπην γευσάμενος ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν διήγαγεν αὐτόθι. [148] γενομένου δὲ κηρύγματος ὥστε πάντας τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας συνελθεῖν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, ὡς τῶν ἐν δυσὶν ἢ τρισὶν ἡμέραις οὐκ ἀπαντησάντων ἀπαλλοτριωθησομένων τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων κρίσιν ἀφιερωθησομένης, συνῆλθον ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς καὶ Βενιαμίτιδος ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις εἰκάδι τοῦ ἐνάτου μηνός, ὃς κατὰ μὲν Ἑβραίους Ξένιος, κατὰ δὲ Μακεδόνας Ἀπελλαῖος καλεῖται. [149] καθισάντων δὲ ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, παρόντων ἅμα καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κρύους ἀηδῶς διακειμένων, ἀναστὰς Ἔζδρας ἠτιᾶτο ἐκείνους λέγων παρανομῆσαι γήμαντας οὐκ ἐξ ὁμοφύλων: νῦν μέντοι γε ποιήσειν αὐτοὺς τῷ μὲν θεῷ κεχαρισμένα συμφέροντα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀποπεμψαμένους τὰς γυναῖκας. [150] οἱ δὲ ποιήσειν μὲν τοῦτο πάντες ἐξεβόησαν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος εἶναι πολύ, καὶ τὴν ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους χειμέριον, καὶ τὸ ἔργον οὐ μιᾶς οὐδὲ δευτέρας ἡμέρας ὑπάρχειν. ἀλλ᾽ οἵ τε ἡγεμόνες τούτοις καὶ οἱ συνοικοῦντες ταῖς ἀλλοφύλοις παραγενέσθωσαν λαβόντες χρόνον καὶ πρεσβυτέρους ἐξ οὗ ἂν θελήσωσιν [151] τόπου τοὺς συνεπισκεψομένους τὸ τῶν γεγαμηκότων πλῆθος.” καὶ ταῦτα δόξαν αὐτοῖς ἀρξάμενοι τῇ νουμηνίᾳ τοῦ δεκάτου μηνὸς ἀναζητεῖν τοὺς συνοικοῦντας ταῖς ἀλλοεθνέσιν εὗρον ἕως τῆς τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ ἐχομένου νουμηνίας ποιησάμενοι τὴν ἔρευναν πολλοὺς ἔκ τε τῶν Ἰησοῦ ἐκγόνων τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν Λευιτῶν καὶ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, [152] οἳ καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν γεγενημένα τῆς τῶν νόμων φυλακῆς ἢ τῶν πρὸς αὐτὰ φίλτρων ποιούμενοι πλείονα λόγον εὐθὺς ἐξέβαλον καὶ θυσίας ἐξευμενίζοντες τὸν θεὸν ἐπήνεγκαν κριοὺς καταθύσαντες αὐτῷ. τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν λέγειν οὐκ ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι. [153] τὸ μὲν οὖν ἁμάρτημα τὸ περὶ τοὺς γάμους τῶν προειρημένων οὕτως ἐπανορθώσας Ἔζδρας ἐκαθάρισεν τὴν περὶ ταῦτα συνήθειαν, ὥστ᾽ αὐτὴν τοῦ λοιποῦ μόνιμον εἶναι.

4. After Esdras had said this, he left off praying; and when all those that came to him with their wives and children were under lamentation, one whose name was Jechonias, a principal man in Jerusalem, came to him, and said that they had sinned in marrying strange wives; and he persuaded him to adjure them all to cast those wives out, and the children born of them, and that those should be punished who would not obey the law. So Esdras hearkened to this advice, and made the heads of the priests, and of the Levites, and of the Israelites, swear that they would put away those wives and children, according to the advice of Jechonias. And when he had received their oaths, he went in haste out of the temple into the chamber of Johanan, the son of Eliasib, and as he had hitherto tasted nothing at all for grief, so he abode there that day. And when proclamation was made, that all those of the captivity should gather themselves together to Jerusalem, and those that did not meet there in two or three days should be banished from the multitude, and that their substance should b appropriated to the uses of the temple, according to the sentence of the elders, those that were of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin came together in three days, *viz.* on the twentieth day of the ninth month, which, according to the Hebrews, is called Tebeth, and according to the Macedonians, Apelleius. Now as they were sitting in the upper room of the temple, where the elders also were present, but were uneasy because of the cold, Esdras stood up and accused them, and told them that they had sinned in marrying wives that were not of their own nation; but that now they would do a thing both pleasing to God, and advantageous to themselves, if they would put those wives away. Accordingly, they all cried out that they would do so. That, however, the multitude was great, and that the season of the year was winter, and that this work would require more than one or two days. “Let their rulers, therefore, [said they,] and those that have married strange wives, come hither at a proper time, while the elders of every place, that are in common to estimate the number of those that have thus married, are to be there also.” Accordingly, this was resolved on by them, and they began the inquiry after those that had married strange wives on the first day of the tenth month, and continued the inquiry to the first day of the next month, and found a great many of the posterity of Jeshua the high priest, and of the priests and Levites, and Israelites, who had a greater regard to the observation of the law than to their natural affection, and immediately cast out their wives, and the children which were born of them. And in order to appease God, they offered sacrifices, and slew rams, as oblations to him; but it does not seem to me to be necessary to set down the names of these men. So when Esdras had reformed this sin about the marriages of the forementioned persons, he reduced that practice to purity, so that it continued in that state for the time to come.

(5) [154] Τῷ δ᾽ ἑβδόμῳ μηνὶ τὴν σκηνοπηγίαν ἑορτάζοντες καὶ σχεδὸν ἅπαντος τοῦ λαοῦ συνεληλυθότος ἐπ᾽ αὐτήν, ἀνελθόντες εἰς τὸ ἀνειμένον τοῦ ναοῦ πρὸς τὴν πύλην τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἀποβλέπουσαν ἐδεήθησαν τοῦ Ἔζδρα τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς ἀναγνῶναι τοὺς Μωυσέως. [155] ὁ δὲ μέσος τοῦ πλήθους σταθεὶς ἀνέγνω καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐποίησεν ἀπ᾽ ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας ἕως μεσημβρίας: οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἀναγινωσκομένων τῶν νόμων δίκαιοι μὲν πρὸς τὸ παρὸν καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἐδιδάσκοντο εἶναι, περὶ δὲ τῶν παρῳχημένων ἐδυσφόρουν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ δακρύειν προήχθησαν ἐνθυμούμενοι πρὸς αὐτούς, ὅτι μηδὲν ἂν τῶν πεπειραμένων κακῶν ἔπαθον, εἰ τὸν νόμον διεφύλαττον. [156] ὁ δὲ Ἔζδρας οὕτως ὁρῶν αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας ἐκέλευσεν ἀπιέναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ δακρύειν: εἶναι γὰρ ἑορτὴν καὶ μὴ δεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ κλαίειν: οὐ γὰρ ἐξεῖναι: προυτρέπετο δὲ μᾶλλον πρὸς εὐωχίαν ὁρμήσαντας ποιεῖν τὰ πρόσφορα τῇ ἑορτῇ καὶ κεχαρισμένα, καὶ τὴν μετάνοιαν καὶ λύπην τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἐξημαρτημένοις ἀσφάλειάν τε ἕξειν καὶ φυλακὴν τοῦ μηδὲν ὅμοιον συμπεσεῖν. [157] οἱ δὲ ταῦτα Ἔζδρα παραινοῦντος ἑορτάζειν ἤρξαντο καὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦντες ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας ὀκτὼ ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα μετὰ ὕμνων τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ἐπανορθώσεως τῶν περὶ τὸ πολίτευμα παρανομηθέντων Ἔζδρᾳ χάριν εἰδότες. [158] ᾧ συνέβη μετὰ τὴν παρὰ τῷ λαῷ δόξαν γηραιῷ τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον καὶ ταφῆναι μετὰ πολλῆς φιλοτιμίας ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ Ἰωακείμου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἀποθανόντος παῖς αὐτοῦ Ἐλεάσιβος τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην διεδέξατο.

5. Now when they kept the feast of tabernacles in the seventh month and almost all the people were come together to it, they went up to the open part of the temple, to the gate which looked eastward, and desired of Esdras that the laws of Moses might be read to them. Accordingly, he stood in the midst of the multitude and read them; and this he did from morning to noon. Now, by hearing the laws read to them, they were instructed to be righteous men for the present and for the future; but as for their past offenses, they were displeased at themselves, and proceeded to shed tears on their account, as considering with themselves that if they had kept the law, they had endured none of these miseries which they had experienced. But when Esdras saw them in that disposition, he bade them go home, and not weep, for that it was a festival, and that they ought not to weep thereon, for that it was not lawful so to do. He exhorted them rather to proceed immediately to feasting, and to do what was suitable to a feast, and what was agreeable to a day of joy; but to let their repentance and sorrow for their former sins be a security and a guard to them, that they fell no more into the like offenses. So upon Esdras's exhortation they began to feast; and when they had so done for eight days, in their tabernacles, they departed to their own homes, singing hymns to God, and returning thanks to Esdras for his reformation

of what corruptions had been introduced into their settlement. So it came to pass, that after he had obtained this reputation among the people, he died an old man, and was buried in a magnificent manner at Jerusalem. About the same time it happened also that Joacim, the high priest, died; and his son Eliasib succeeded in the high priesthood.

(6) [159] Τῶν δ' αἰχμαλωτισθέντων τις Ἰουδαίων οἰνοχόος τοῦ βασιλέως Ξέρξου Νεεμίας ὄνομα περιπατῶν πρὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως τῶν Περσῶν Σούσων, ξένων τινῶν ἀπὸ μακρᾶς ὁδοιπορίας εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσιόντων ἐπακούσας ἑβραιστὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμιλούντων προσελθὼν αὐτοῖς ἐπυνθάνετο, πόθεν εἶεν παραγενόμενοι. [160] ἀποκριναμένων δ' ἥκειν ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, πῶς αὐτῶν ἔχει τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ἡ μητρόπολις Ἱεροσόλυμα, πάλιν ἤρξατο πυνθάνεσθαι. [161] κακῶς δ' ἔχειν εἰπόντων, καθῃρῆσθαι γὰρ εἰς ἔδαφος τὰ τείχη καὶ τὰ πέριξ ἔθνη πολλὰ διατιθέναι κακὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, ἡμέρας μὲν κατατρεχόντων τὴν χώραν καὶ διαρπαζόντων, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς κακῶς ἀπεργαζομένων, ὡς πολλοὺς ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων αἰχμαλώτους ἀπῆχθαι καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς πλήρεις εὑρίσκεσθαι καθ' ἡμέραν νεκρῶν, [162] ἐδάκρυσεν ὁ Νεεμίας ἐλεήσας τῆς συμφορᾶς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους, καὶ ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, "ἄχρι τίνος, εἶπεν, ὦ δέσποτα, περιόψει ταῦτα πάσχον τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν οὕτως ἅρπαγμα [163] πάντων καὶ λάφυρον γενόμενον;" διατρίβοντος δ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῇ πύλῃ καὶ ταῦτα ἀποδυρομένου προελθών τις ἤγγειλεν αὐτῷ μέλλειν ἤδη κατακλίνεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα. ὁ δ' εὐθὺς ὡς εἶχεν μηδὲ ἀπολουσάμενος διακονήσων ἔσπευσεν τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ πότου διακονίαν. [164] ὡς δὲ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ὁ βασιλεὺς διεχύθη καὶ ἡδίων αὐτοῦ γενόμενος ἀπέβλεψεν εἰς τὸν Νεεμίαν, κατεσκυθρωπακότα θεασάμενος, διὰ τί κατηφὴς εἴη ἀνέκρινεν. [165] ὁ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ δεηθεὶς χάριν τινὰ καὶ πειθὼ παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ λέγοντι, "πῶς, φησίν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, δύναμαί σοι μὴ βλέπεσθαι τοιοῦτος μηδὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀλγεῖν, ὅπου τῆς πατρίδος μου Ἱεροσολύμων, ἐν ᾗ τάφοι καὶ μνήματα προγόνων τῶν ἐμῶν εἰσιν, ἀκούω βεβλῆσθαι κατὰ τῆς γῆς τὰ τείχη καὶ τὰς πύλας ἐμπεπρησμένας αὐτῆς; ἀλλὰ χάρισαί μοι πορευθέντι τὸ τεῖχος ἀνεγεῖραι καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ λεῖπον προσοι [166] κοδομῆσαι." ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς διδόναι τε τὴν δωρεὰν κατένευσεν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς σατράπας κομίσαι γράμματα, ὅπως τιμῆς τε αὐτὸν ἀξιώσωσι καὶ πᾶσαν παράσχωσιν χορηγίαν εἰς ἅπερ βούλεται. "πέπαυσο δή, φησί, λυπούμενος καὶ χαίρων ἡμῖν τοῦ λοιποῦ δια [167] κόνει." ὁ μὲν οὖν Νεεμίας προσκυνήσας τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς ὑποσχέσεως εὐχαριστήσας τὸ κατηφὲς τοῦ προσώπου καὶ συγκεχυμένον ἀπεκάθηρεν τῇ περὶ τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων ἡδονῇ. καλέσας δὲ αὐτὸν τῇ ἐπιούσῃ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ πρὸς Ἀδδαῖον ἐπιστολὴν κομίσαι τὸν τῆς Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Σαμαρείας ἔπαρχον, ἐν ᾗ περί τε τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ Νεεμίου καὶ χορηγίας τῆς εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ἐπεστάλκει.

6. Now there was one of those Jews that had been carried captive who was cup-bearer to king Xerxes; his name was Nehemiah. As this man was walking before Susa, the metropolis of the Persians, he heard some strangers that were entering the city, after a long journey, speaking to one another in the Hebrew tongue; so he went to them, and asked them whence they came. And when their answer was, that they came from Judea, he began to inquire of them again in what state the multitude was, and in what condition Jerusalem was; and when they replied that they were in a bad state for that their walls were thrown down to the ground, and that the neighboring nations did a great deal of mischief to the Jews, while in the day time they overran the country, and pillaged it, and in the night did them mischief, insomuch that not a few were led away captive out of the country, and out of Jerusalem itself, and that the roads were in the day time found full of dead men. Hereupon Nehemiah shed tears, out of commiseration of the calamities of his countrymen; and, looking up to heaven, he said, "How long, O Lord, wilt thou overlook our nation, while it suffers so great miseries, and while we are made the prey and spoil of all men?" And while he staid at the gate, and lamented thus, one told him that the king was going to sit down to supper; so he made haste, and went as he was, without wishing himself, to minister to the king in his office of cup-bearer. But as the king was very pleasant after supper, and more cheerful than usual, he cast his eyes on Nehemiah, and seeing him look sad, he asked him why he was sad. Whereupon he prayed to God to give him favor, and afford him the power of persuading by his words, and said, "How can I, O king, appear otherwise than thus, and not be in trouble, while I hear that the walls of Jerusalem, the city where are the sepulchers of my fathers, are thrown down to the ground, and that its gates are consumed by fire? But do thou grant me the favor to go and build its wall, and to finish the building of the temple." Accordingly, the king gave him a signal that he freely granted him what he asked; and told him that he should carry an epistle to the governors, that they might pay him due honor, and afford him whatsoever assistance he wanted, and as he pleased. "Leave off thy sorrow then," said the king, "and be cheerful in the performance of thy office hereafter." So Nehemiah worshipped God, and gave the king thanks for his promise, and cleared up his sad and cloudy countenance, by the pleasure he had from the king's promises. Accordingly, the king called for him the next day, and gave him an epistle to be carried to Adeus, the governor of Syria, and Phoenicia, and Samaria; wherein he sent to him to pay due honor to Nehemiah, and to supply him with what he wanted for his building.

(7) [168] Γενόμενος οὖν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἐθελοντὶ ἀκολουθοῦντας αὐτῷ παραλαβὼν ἦκεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πέμπτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν

ἔτος ἤδη βασιλεύοντος Ξέρξου, καὶ δείξας τῷ θεῷ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἀποδίδωσιν τῷ Ἀδδαίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπάρχοις, καὶ συγκαλέσας πάντα τὸν λαὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα στὰς ἐν μέσῳ τῷ ἱερῷ τοιούτους ἐποιήσατο πρὸς αὐτὸν τοὺς λόγους: [169] "ἄνδρες Ἰουδαῖοι, τὸν μὲν θεὸν ἴστε μνήμῃ τῶν πατέρων Ἀβράμου καὶ Ἰσάκου καὶ Ἰακώβου παραμένοντα καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων δικαιοσύνης οὐκ ἐγκαταλείποντα τὴν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πρόνοιαν: ἀμέλει συνήργησέν μοι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως λαβεῖν ἐξουσίαν, ὅπως ὑμῶν τὸ τεῖχος ἀναστήσω καὶ τὸ λείψανον τοῦ ἱεροῦ τελειώσω. [170] βούλομαι δ' ὑμᾶς τὴν τῶν γειτονευόντων ἡμῖν ἐθνῶν δυσμένειαν σαφῶς εἰδότας, καὶ ὅτι πρὸς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν, εἰ μάθοιεν περὶ ταύτην ἡμᾶς φιλοτιμουμένους, ἐνστήσονται καὶ πολλὰ πραγματεύσονται πρὸς αὐτὴν ἡμῖν ἐμπόδια, [171] θαρρεῖν μὲν τῷ θεῷ πρῶτον ὡς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων ἀπέχθειαν στησομένους, μήτε δ' ἡμέρας μήτε νυκτὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνιέναι τῆς οἰκοδομίας, ἀλλὰ πάσῃ σπουδῇ χρωμένους συνέχειν τὸ ἔργον, [172] ὥς γε καιρὸς ἴδιός ἐστιν." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκέλευσεν εὐθὺς τοὺς ἄρχοντας μετρῆσαι τὸ τεῖχος καὶ διανεῖμαι τὴν ἐργασίαν αὐτοῦ τῷ λαῷ κατὰ κώμας τε καὶ πόλεις κατὰ τὸ ἑκάστοις δυνατόν, ὑποσχόμενος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν συλλήψεσθαι πρὸς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν διέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. [173] καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πρὸς τὸ ἔργον παρεσκευάζοντο. ἐκλήθησαν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἀνέβησαν ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς, ἧς πρώτης ἐλθούσης εἰς ἐκείνους τοὺς τόπους αὐτοί τε καὶ ἡ χώρα τὴν προσηγορίαν αὐτοῖς μετέλαβον.

7. Now when he was come to Babylon, and had taken with him many of his countrymen, who voluntarily followed him, he came to Jerusalem in the twenty and fifth year of the reign of Xerxes. And when he had shown the epistles to God he gave them to Adeus, and to the other governors. He also called together all the people to Jerusalem, and stood in the midst of the temple, and made the following speech to them: "You know, O Jews, that God hath kept our fathers, Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in mind continually, and for the sake of their righteousness hath not left off the care of you. Indeed he hath assisted me in gaining this authority of the king to raise up our wall, and finish what is wanting of the temple. I desire you, therefore who well know the ill-will our neighboring nations bear to us, and that when once they are made sensible that we are in earnest about building, they will come upon us, and contrive many ways of obstructing our works, that you will, in the first place, put your trust in God, as in him that will assist us against their hatred, and to intermit building neither night nor day, but to use all diligence, and to hasten on the work, now we have this especial opportunity for it." When he had said this, he gave order that the rulers should measure the wall, and part the work of it among the people, according to their villages and cities, as every one's ability should require. And

when he had added this promise, that he himself, with his servants, would assist them, he dissolved the assembly. So the Jews prepared for the work: that is the name they are called by from the day that they came up from Babylon, which is taken from the tribe of Judah, which came first to these places, and thence both they and the country gained that appellation.

(8) [174] Ἀκούσαντες δὲ τὴν τῶν τειχῶν οἰκοδομὴν σπευδομένην Ἀμμανῖται καὶ Μωαβῖται καὶ Σαμαρεῖται καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ [κοίλῃ] Συρίᾳ νεμόμενοι χαλεπῶς ἔφερον καὶ διετέλουν ἐπιβουλὰς αὐτοῖς συντιθέντες τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῶν ἐμποδίζοντες, πολλούς τε τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπέκτειναν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐζήτουν τὸν Νεεμίαν διαφθεῖραι μισθούμενοί τινας τῶν ἀλλοφύλων, ἵν' αὐτὸν ἀνέλωσιν. [175] εἰς φόβον δὲ καὶ ταραχὴν αὐτοὺς ἐνέβαλλον καὶ φήμας αὐτοῖς διέστελλον ὡς πολλῶν ἐπιστρατεύειν αὐτοῖς μελλόντων ἐθνῶν, ὑφ' ὧν ἐκταρασσόμενοι μικροῦ τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἀπέστησαν. [176] τὸν δὲ Νεεμίαν οὐδὲν τούτων ἐξέστησεν τῆς σπουδῆς τῆς περὶ τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ στῖφός τι φυλακῆς ἕνεκα τοῦ σώματος περιβαλλόμενος ἀτρύτως ὑπέμενεν, ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐπιθυμίας ἀναισθητῶν καὶ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας. οὕτως δὲ καὶ συντεταμένως καὶ προνοητικῶς αὐτοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας εἶχεν οὐχὶ φοβούμενος τὸν θάνατον, ἀλλὰ πεπεισμένος, ὅτι μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ τελευτὴν οὐκέτ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς πολίταις ἀναστήσεται τὰ τείχη. [177] ἐκέλευσεν δὲ ἐξῆς τοὺς οἰκοδομοῦντας ὅπλα περιζωννυμένους ἐργάζεσθαι, καὶ ὁ μὲν οἰκοδόμος μάχαιραν εἶχεν καὶ ὁ τὴν ὕλην παρακομίζων, θυρεοὺς δ' ἔγγιστα αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσεν κεῖσθαι καὶ σαλπιγκτὰς ἀπὸ πεντακοσίων ἔστησεν ποδῶν προστάξας, ἂν ἐπιφανῶσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, τοῦτο σημῆναι τῷ λαῷ, ἵν' ὁπλισάμενοι μάχωνται καὶ μὴ γυμνοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιπέσωσιν. [178] αὐτὸς δὲ νύκτωρ περιήρχετο τῆς πόλεως τὸν κύκλον οὐδὲν κάμνων οὔτε τοῖς ἔργοις οὔτε τῇ διαίτῃ οὔτε τοῖς ὕπνοις: οὐδενὶ γὰρ τούτων πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀνάγκην ἐχρῆτο. [179] καὶ ταύτην ὑπέμεινε τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν ἐπὶ ἔτη δύο καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας: ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ τῷ χρόνῳ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀνῳκοδομήθη τὸ τεῖχος, ὀγδόῳ καὶ εἰκοστῷ τῆς Ξέρξου βασιλείας ἔτει μηνὶ ἐνάτῳ. [180] τέλος δὲ τῶν τειχῶν λαβόντων Νεεμίας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἔθυσαν τῷ θεῷ ὑπὲρ τῆς τούτων οἰκοδομίας καὶ διῆγον ἐφ' ἡμέρας ὀκτὼ εὐωχούμενοι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἔθνη τὰ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ κατῳκημένα τῆς τῶν τειχῶν οἰκοδομίας πέρας ἔχειν ἀκουσθείσης ἐδυσφόρει. [181] Νεεμίας δὲ τὴν πόλιν ὁρῶν ὀλιγανθρωπουμένην τοὺς ἱερεῖς τε καὶ Λευίτας παρεκάλεσεν τὴν χώραν ἐκλιπόντας μετελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ μένειν ἐν αὐτῇ κατασκευάσας τὰς οἰκίας αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων: [182] τόν τε γεωργοῦντα λαὸν τὰς δεκάτας τῶν καρπῶν ἐκέλευσε φέρειν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, ἵνα τρέφεσθαι διηνεκῶς ἔχοντες οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευῖται μὴ καταλείπωσι τὴν θρησκείαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἡδέως ὑπήκουσαν οἷς Νεεμίας διετάξατο, πολυανθρωποτέραν δὲ τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν οὕτως συνέβη γενέσθαι. [183] πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα καλὰ καὶ

ἐπαίνων ἄξια φιλοτιμησάμενος ὁ Νεεμίας ἐτελεύτησεν εἰς γῆρας ἀφικόμενος. ἀνὴρ δὲ ἐγένετο χρηστὸς τὴν φύσιν καὶ δίκαιος καὶ περὶ τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς φιλοτιμότατος, μνημεῖον αἰώνιον αὐτῷ καταλιπὼν τὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τείχη. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Ξέρξου βασιλέως ἐγένετο.

8. But now when the Ammonites, and Moabites, and Samaritans, and all that inhabited Celesyria, heard that the building went on apace, they took it heinously, and proceeded to lay snares for them, and to hinder their intentions. They also slew many of the Jews, and sought how they might destroy Nehemiah himself, by hiring some of the foreigners to kill him. They also put the Jews in fear, and disturbed them, and spread abroad rumors, as if many nations were ready to make an expedition against them, by which means they were harassed, and had almost left off the building. But none of these things could deter Nehemiah from being diligent about the work; he only set a number of men about him as a guard to his body, and so unweariedly persevered therein, and was insensible of any trouble, out of his desire to perfect this work. And thus did he attentively, and with great forecast, take care of his own safety; not that he feared death, but of this persuasion, that if he were dead, the walls for his citizens would never be raised. He also gave orders that the builders should keep their ranks, and have their armor on while they were building. Accordingly, the mason had his sword on, as well as he that brought the materials for building. He also appointed that their shields should lie very near them; and he placed trumpeters at every five hundred feet, and charged them, that if their enemies appeared, they should give notice of it to the people, that they might fight in their armor, and their enemies might not fall upon them naked. He also went about the compass of the city by night, being never discouraged, neither about the work itself, nor about his own diet and sleep, for he made no use of those things for his pleasure, but out of necessity. And this trouble he underwent for two years and four months; for in so long a time was the wall built, in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Xerxes, in the ninth month. Now when the walls were finished, Nehemiah and the multitude offered sacrifices to God for the building of them, and they continued in feasting eight days. However, when the nations which dwelt in Syria heard that the building of the wall was finished, they had indignation at it. But when Nehemiah saw that the city was thin of people, he exhorted the priests and the Levites that they would leave the country, and remove themselves to the city, and there continue; and he built them houses at his own expenses; and he commanded that part of the people which were employed in cultivating the land to bring the tithes of their fruits to Jerusalem, that the priests and Levites having whereof they might live perpetually, might

not leave the Divine worship; who willingly hearkened to the constitutions of Nehemiah, by which means the city Jerusalem came to be fuller of people than it was before. So when Nehemiah had done many other excellent things, and things worthy of commendation, in a glorious manner, he came to a great age, and then died. He was a man of a good and righteous disposition, and very ambitious to make his own nation happy; and he hath left the walls of Jerusalem as an eternal monument for himself. Now this was done in the days of Xerxes.

VI

CHAPTER 6. Concerning Esther And Mordecai And Haman; And How In The Reign Of Artaxerxes The Whole Nation Of The Jews Was In Danger Of Perishing.

(1) [184] Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ξέρξου τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς τὸν υἱὸν Κῦρον, ὃν Ἀρταξέρξην Ἕλληνες καλοῦσιν, συνέβη μεταβῆναι. τούτου τὴν Περσῶν ἔχοντος ἡγεμονίαν ἐκινδύνευσεν τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἅπαν σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἀπολέσθαι. τὴν δ' αἰτίαν μετ' οὐ πολὺ δηλώσομεν: [185] πρέπει γὰρ τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως διηγεῖσθαι πρῶτον, ὡς ἔγημεν Ἰουδαίαν γυναῖκα τοῦ γένους οὖσαν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ, ἣν καὶ σῶσαι τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν λέγουσιν. [186] παραλαβὼν γὰρ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ Ἀρταξέρξης καὶ καταστήσας ἀπὸ Ἰνδίας ἄχρι Αἰθιοπίας τῶν σατραπειῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ εἰκοσιεπτὰ οὐσῶν ἄρχοντας, τῷ τρίτῳ τῆς βασιλείας ἔτει τούς τε φίλους καὶ τὰ Περσῶν ἔθνη καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτῶν ὑποδεξάμενος ἑστιᾷ πολυτελῶς, οἷον εἰκὸς παρὰ βασιλεῖ τοῦ πλούτου παρασκευαζομένῳ τὴν ἐπίδειξιν ποιήσασθαι, ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα. [187] ἔπειτα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς αὐτῶν ἐν Σούσοις ἐπὶ ἡμέρας κατευώχησεν ἑπτά. τὸ δὲ συμπόσιον ἦν αὐτοῖς τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον γεγενημένον: σκήνωμα πηξάμενος ἐκ χρυσέων καὶ ἀργυρέων κιόνων ὕφη λίνεα καὶ πορφύρεα κατ' αὐτῶν διεπέτασεν, ὥστε πολλὰς μυριάδας κατακλίνεσθαι. [188] διηκονοῦντο δ' ἐκπώμασι χρυσέοις καὶ τοῖς διὰ λίθου πολυτελοῦς εἰς τέρψιν ἅμα καὶ θέαν πεποιημένοις. προσέταττεν δὲ καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις μὴ βιάζεσθαι πίνειν τὸ ποτὸν αὐτοῖς συνεχῶς προσφέροντας, ὡς καὶ παρὰ Πέρσαις γίγνεται, ἀλλ' ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς ὃ βούλεται τῶν κατακειμένων ἕκαστος φιλοφρονεῖσθαι. [189] διαπέμψας δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν χώραν παρήγγειλεν ἀνεῖσθαι τῶν ἔργων ἀφιεμένους καὶ ἑορτάζειν ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις. [190] ὁμοίως τε τῶν γυναικῶν ἡ βασίλισσα Ἄστη συνήγαγεν συμπόσιον ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, ἣν ἐπιδεῖξαι βουλόμενος τοῖς ἐστιωμένοις ὁ βασιλεὺς πέμψας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ἥκειν κάλλει τὰς γυναῖκας ἁπάσας ὑπερβάλλουσαν. [191] ἡ δὲ φυλακῇ τῶν παρὰ Πέρσαις νόμων, οἳ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις βλέπεσθαι τὰς γυναῖκας ἀπηγορεύκασιν, οὐκ ἐπορεύετο πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ πολλάκις τοὺς εὐνούχους ἀποστέλλοντος πρὸς αὐτὴν οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐνέμεινεν παραιτουμένη τὴν ἄφιξιν, [192] ὡς εἰς ὀργὴν παροξυνθέντα τὸν βασιλέα λῦσαι μὲν τὸ συμπόσιον, ἀναστάντα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἑπτὰ τῶν Περσῶν, οἳ τὴν τῶν νόμων ἐξήγησιν ἔχουσι παρ' αὐτοῖς, καλέσαντα κατηγορεῖν τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ λέγειν, ὡς ὑβρισθείη πρὸς αὐτῆς: κληθεῖσα γὰρ [193] ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πολλάκις εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ὑπήκουσεν οὐδὲ ἅπαξ."

προσέταξεν οὖν δηλοῦν, τίνα κατ᾽ αὐτῆς νόμον ὁρίζουσιν. ἑνὸς δ᾽ ἐξ αὐτῶν Μουχαίου ὄνομα εἰπόντος οὐκ αὐτῷ μόνῳ ταύτην γεγονέναι τὴν ὕβριν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι Πέρσαις, οἷς κινδυνεύεται καταφρονουμένοις ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν αἴσχιστα διαγεγονέναι τὸν βίον: [194] οὐδεμία γὰρ τοῦ συνοικοῦντος ἀνδρὸς αἰδῶ ποιήσεται παράδειγμα τὴν τῆς βασιλίσσης ὑπερηφανίαν πρὸς σὲ τὸν κρατοῦντα ἁπάντων ἔχουσα. παρακελευομένου δὲ τὴν οὕτως ἐνυβρίζουσαν αὐτῷ ζημιῶσαι μεγάλην ζημίαν καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντα διαγγεῖλαι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης κεκυρωμένα, ἔδοξε τὴν Ἄστην ἐκβαλεῖν καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ἐκείνης τιμὴν ἑτέρᾳ γυναικί.

1. After the death of Xerxes, the kingdom came to be transferred to his son Cyrus, whom the Greeks called Artaxerxes. When this man had obtained the government over the Persians, the whole nation of the Jews, with their wives and children, were in danger of perishing; the occasion whereof we shall declare in a little time; for it is proper, in the first place, to explain somewhat relating to this king, and how he came to marry a Jewish wife, who was herself of the royal family also, and who is related to have saved our nation; for when Artaxerxes had taken the kingdom, and had set governors over the hundred twenty and seven provinces, from India even unto Ethiopia, in the third year of his reign, he made a costly feast for his friends, and for the nations of Persia, and for their governors, such a one as was proper for a king to make, when he had a mind to make a public demonstration of his riches, and this for a hundred and fourscore days; after which he made a feast for other nations, and for their ambassadors, at Shushan, for seven days. Now this feast was ordered after the manner following: He caused a tent to be pitched, which was supported by pillars of gold and silver, with curtains of linen and purple spread over them, that it might afford room for many ten thousands to sit down. The cups with which the waiters ministered were of gold, and adorned with precious stones, for pleasure and for sight. He also gave order to the servants that they should not force them to drink, by bringing them wine continually, as is the practice of the Persians, but to permit every one of the guests to enjoy himself according to his own inclination. Moreover, he sent messengers through the country, and gave order that they should have a remission of their labors, and should keep a festival many days, on account of his kingdom. In like manner did Vashti the queen gather her guests together, and made them a feast in the palace. Now the king was desirous to show her, who exceeded all other women in beauty, to those that feasted with him, and he sent some to command her to come to his feast. But she, out of regard to the laws of the Persians, which forbid the wives to be seen by strangers, did not go to the king and though he oftentimes sent the eunuchs to

her, she did nevertheless stay away, and refused to come, till the king was so much irritated, that he brake up the entertainment, and rose up, and called for those seven who had the interpretation of the laws committed to them, and accused his wife, and said that he had been affronted by her, because that when she was frequently called by him to his feast, she did not obey him once. He therefore gave order that they should inform him what could be done by the law against her. So one of them, whose name was Memucan, said that this affront was offered not to him alone, but to all the Persians, who were in danger of leading their lives very ill with their wives, if they must be thus despised by them; for that none of their wives would have any reverence for their husbands, if they, "had such an example of arrogance in the queen towards thee, who rulest over all." Accordingly, he exhorted him to punish her, who had been guilty of so great an affront to him, after a severe manner; and when he had so done, to publish to the nations what had been decreed about the queen. So the resolution was to put Vashti away, and to give her dignity to another woman.

(2) [195] Διακείμενος δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐρωτικῶς καὶ μὴ φέρων τὴν διάζευξιν, καταλλαγῆναι μὲν αὐτῇ διὰ τὸν νόμον οὐκ ἐδύνατο, λυπούμενος δὲ ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀδυνάτοις οἷς ἤθελεν διετέλει. βλέποντες δ᾽ αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχοντα χαλεπῶς οἱ φίλοι συνεβούλευον τὴν μὲν τῆς γυναικὸς μνήμην καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα μηδὲν ὠφελούμενον ἐκβαλεῖν, [196] ζητῆσαι δὲ περιπέμψαντα καθ᾽ ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην παρθένους εὐπρεπεῖς, ὧν τὴν προκριθεῖσαν ἕξειν γυναῖκα: σβέννυσθαι γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τὴν προτέραν φιλόστοργον ἑτέρας ἐπεισαγωγῇ, καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἐκείνην εὔνουν ἀποσπώμενον κατὰ μικρὸν γίνεσθαι τῆς συνούσης. [197] πεισθεὶς δὲ τῇ συμβουλίᾳ ταύτῃ προσέταξέ τισιν ἐπιλεξαμένους τὰς εὐδοκιμούσας ἐπ᾽ εὐμορφίᾳ τῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ παρθένων ἀγαγεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν. [198] συναχθεισῶν δὲ πολλῶν εὑρέθη τις ἐν Βαβυλῶνι κόρη τῶν γονέων ἀμφοτέρων ὀρφανὴ παρὰ τῷ θείῳ Μαρδοχαίῳ, τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ, τρεφομένη: οὗτος δ᾽ ἦν ἐκ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς, τῶν δὲ πρώτων παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις. [199] πασῶν δὲ τὴν Ἐσθῆρα συνέβαινεν, τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν αὐτῇ τοὔνομα, τῷ κάλλει διαφέρειν καὶ τὴν χάριν τοῦ προσώπου τὰς ὄψεις τῶν θεωμένων μᾶλλον ἐπάγεσθαι. [200] παραδοθεῖσα δὲ αὕτη τινὶ τῶν εὐνούχων εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν πάσης ἐτύγχανε προνοίας ἀρωμάτων ἀφθονίᾳ καὶ πολυτελείᾳ τῶν ἀλειμμάτων ὧν χρῄζει τὰ σώματα καταρδομένη, καὶ τούτων ἀπέλαυον ἐπὶ μῆνας ἓξ τετρακόσιαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν οὖσαι. [201] ὅτε δ᾽ ἐνόμιζεν ἀποχρώντως τῷ προειρημένῳ χρόνῳ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχειν τὰς παρθένους καὶ τοῦ βαδίζειν αὐτὰς ἐπὶ κοίτην βασιλέως ἀξίας ἤδη γεγονέναι, καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν μίαν ἔπεμπεν τῷ βασιλεῖ συνεσομένην. [202] ὁ δὲ πλησιάζων εὐθὺς ἀπέπεμπεν πρὸς τὸν εὐνοῦχον. ἀφικομένης δὲ τῆς Ἐσθήρας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡσθεὶς αὐτῇ καὶ πεσὼν τῆς κόρης εἰς ἔρωτα νομίμως αὐτὴν ἄγεται γυναῖκα καὶ γάμους αὐτῇ

ποιεῖται δωδεκάτῳ μηνὶ ἑβδόμου ἔτους τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας, Ἀδέρῳ δὲ καλουμένῳ. [203] διέπεμψε δὲ τοὺς ἀγγάρους λεγομένους εἰς πᾶν ἔθνος ἑορτάζειν τοὺς γάμους παραγγέλλων, αὐτὸς δὲ Πέρσας [καὶ τοὺς Μήδους] καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν ἐθνῶν ἑστιᾷ ἐπὶ μῆνα ὅλον ὑπὲρ τῶν γάμων αὐτοῦ, εἰσελθούσῃ δὲ εἰς τὸ βασίλειον περιτίθησι τὸ διάδημα, καὶ συνῴκησεν οὕτως Ἐσθήρα μὴ ποιήσασα φανερὸν αὐτῷ τὸ ἔθνος, ἐξ οὗπερ εἴη τυγχάνουσα. [204] μεταβὰς δὲ ὁ θεῖος αὐτῆς ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς Σοῦσα τῆς Περσίδος αὐτόθι διῆγεν ἑκάστης ἡμέρας πρὸς τοῖς βασιλείοις διατρίβων καὶ πυνθανόμενος περὶ τῆς κόρης, τίνα διάγει τρόπον: ἔστεργεν γὰρ αὐτὴν ὡς αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα.

2. But the king having been fond of her, did not well bear a separation, and yet by the law he could not admit of a reconciliation; so he was under trouble, as not having it in his power to do what he desired to do. But when his friends saw him so uneasy, they advised him to cast the memory of his wife, and his love for her, out of his mind, but to send abroad over all the habitable earth, and to search out for comely virgins, and to take her whom he should best like for his wife, because his passion for his former wife would be quenched by the introduction of another, and the kindness he had for Vashti would be withdrawn from her, and be placed on her that was with him. Accordingly, he was persuaded to follow this advice, and gave order to certain persons to choose out of the virgins that were in his kingdom those that were esteemed the most comely. So when a great number of these virgins were gathered together, there was found a damsel in Babylon, whose parents were both dead, and she was brought up with her uncle Mordecai, for that was her uncle's name. This uncle was of the tribe of Benjamin, and was one of the principal persons among the Jews. Now it proved that this damsel, whose name was Esther, was the most beautiful of all the rest, and that the grace of her countenance drew the eyes of the spectators principally upon her. So she was committed to one of the eunuchs to take the care of her; and she was very exactly provided with sweet odors, in great plenty, and with costly ointments, such as her body required to be anointed withal; and this was used for six months by the virgins, who were in number four hundred. And when the eunuch thought the virgins had been sufficiently purified, in the forementioned time, and were now fit to go to the king's bed, he sent one to be with the king ever day. So when he had accompanied with her, he sent her back to the eunuch; and when Esther had come to him, he was pleased with her, and fell in love with the damsel, and married her, and made her his lawful wife, and kept a wedding feast for her on the twelfth month of the seventh year of his reign, which was called Adar. He also sent angari, as they are called, or messengers, unto every nation, and gave orders that they should keep a feast for

his marriage, while he himself treated the Persians and the Medes, and the principal men of the nations, for a whole month, on account of this his marriage. Accordingly, Esther came to his royal palace, and he set a diadem on her head. And thus was Esther married, without making known to the king what nation she was derived from. Her uncle also removed from Babylon to Shushan, and dwelt there, being every day about the palace, and inquiring how the damsel did, for he loved her as though she had been his own daughter.

(3) [205] Ἔθηκε δὲ καὶ νόμον ὁ βασιλεὺς ὥστε μηδένα τῶν ἰδίων αὐτῷ προσιέναι μὴ κληθέντα, ὁπηνίκα ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου καθέζοιτο. περιεστήκεσαν δὲ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ πελέκεις ἔχοντες ἄνθρωποι πρὸς τὸ κολάζειν τοὺς προσιόντας ἀκλήτους τῷ θρόνῳ. [206] καθῆστο μέντοι λύγον χρυσέαν ἔχων αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεύς, ἣν ὅτε τινὰ σώζειν ἤθελεν τῶν ἀκλήτων προσιόντων ἐξέτεινεν πρὸς αὐτόν: ὁ δὲ ἁπτόμενος αὐτῆς ἀκίνδυνος ἦν. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἀρκούντως ἡμῖν δεδήλωται.

3. Now the king had made a law, that none of his own people should approach him unless he were called, when he sat upon his throne and men, with axes in their hands, stood round about his throne, in order to punish such as approached to him without being called. However, the king sat with a golden scepter in his hand, which he held out when he had a mind to save any one of those that approached to him without being called, and he who touched it was free from danger. But of this matter we have discoursed sufficiently.

(4) [207] Χρόνῳ δ’ ὕστερον ἐπιβουλευσάντων τῷ βασιλεῖ Βαγαθώου καὶ Θεοδοσίτου Βαρνάβαζος τῶν εὐνούχων οἰκέτης τοῦ ἑτέρου τὸ γένος ὢν Ἰουδαῖος συνεὶς τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τῷ θείῳ κατεμήνυσε τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ βασιλέως, Μαρδοχαῖος δὲ διὰ τῆς Ἐσθήρας φανεροὺς ἐποίησε τῷ βασιλεῖ τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας. [208] ταραχθεὶς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τἀληθὲς ἐξεῦρεν καὶ τοὺς μὲν εὐνούχους ἀνεσταύρωσεν, τῷ δὲ Μαρδοχαίῳ τότε μὲν οὐδὲν παρέσχεν ὡς αἰτίῳ τῆς σωτηρίας γεγονότι, μόνον δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα τοῖς τὰ ὑπομνήματα συγγραφομένοις ἐκέλευσε σημειώσασθαι καὶ προσμένειν αὐτὸν τοῖς βασιλείοις ὄντα φίλον ἀναγκαιότατον τῷ βασιλεῖ.

4. Some time after this [two eunuchs], Bigthan and Teresh, plotted against the king; and Barnabazus, the servant of one of the eunuchs, being by birth a Jew, was acquainted with their conspiracy, and discovered it to the queen’s uncle; and Mordecai, by the means of Esther, made the conspirators known to the king. This troubled the king; but he discovered the truth, and hanged the eunuchs upon a cross, while at that time he gave no reward to Mordecai, who had been the occasion of his preservation. He only bid the scribes to set down his name in the records, and bid him stay in the palace, as an intimate friend of the king.

(5) [209] Ἀμάνην δὲ Ἀμαδάθου μὲν υἱὸν τὸ γένος δὲ Ἀμαληκίτην εἰσιόντα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα προσεκύνουν οἵ τε ξένοι καὶ Πέρσαι ταύτην αὐτῷ τὴν τιμὴν παρ᾽ αὐτῶν Ἀρταξέρξου κελεύοντος γενέσθαι. [210] Μαρδοχαίου δὲ διὰ σοφίαν καὶ τὸν οἴκοθεν αὐτοῦ νόμον οὐ προσκυνοῦντος ἄνθρωπον, παραφυλάξας ὁ Ἀμάνης ἐπυνθάνετο, πόθεν εἴη. μαθὼν δ᾽ αὐτὸν ὄντα Ἰουδαῖον ἠγανάκτησεν καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν εἶπεν, ὡς οἱ μὲν ἐλεύθεροι Πέρσαι προσκυνοῦσιν αὐτόν, οὗτος δὲ δοῦλος ὢν οὐκ ἀξιοῖ τοῦτο ποιεῖν. [211] καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι θελήσας τὸν Μαρδοχαῖον αὐτὸν μὲν αἰτήσασθαι πρὸς κόλασιν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως μικρὸν ἡγήσατο, τὸ ἔθνος δὲ αὐτοῦ διέγνω πᾶν ἀφανίσαι: καὶ γὰρ φύσει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀπηχθάνετο, ὅτι καὶ τὸ γένος τῶν Ἀμαληκιτῶν, ἐξ ὧν ἦν αὐτός, ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν διέφθαρτο. [212] προσελθὼν οὖν τῷ βασιλεῖ κατηγόρει λέγων ἔθνος εἶναι πονηρόν, διεσπάρθαι δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ τῆς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ βασιλευομένης οἰκουμένης, ἄμικτον ἀσύμφυλον οὔτε θρησκείαν τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔχον οὔτε νόμοις χρώμενον ὁμοίοις, ἐχθρὸν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσι καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν τῷ σῷ λαῷ καὶ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις. [213] τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος, εἴ τινα θέλεις τοῖς ὑπηκόοις εὐεργεσίαν καταθέσθαι, κελεύσεις πρόρριζον ἀπολέσθαι μηδέ τι αὐτοῦ λείψανον καταλιπεῖν μήτ᾽ εἰς δουλείαν τινῶν φυλαχθέντων μήτε αἰχμαλωσίᾳ. [214] ἵνα μέντοι μὴ ζημιωθῇς τοὺς φόρους τοὺς παρ᾽ αὐτῶν γινομένους, ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας αὐτὸς ἐπηγγείλατο μυριάδας δώσειν ταλάντων ἀργυρίου τέσσαρας, ὅπου ἂν κελεύσῃ. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ χρήματα παρέχειν ἡδέως ἔλεγεν, ἵν᾽ ἀπὸ τούτων εἰρηνευθῇ τῶν κακῶν ἡ βασιλεία.

5. Now there was one Haman, the son of Amedatha, by birth an Amalekite, that used to go in to the king; and the foreigners and Persians worshipped him, as Artaxerxes had commanded that such honor should be paid to him; but Mordecai was so wise, and so observant of his own country's laws, that he would not worship the man When Haman observed this, he inquired whence he came; and when he understood that he was a Jew, he had indignation at him, and said within himself, that whereas the Persians, who were free men, worshipped him, this man, who was no better than a slave, does not vouchsafe to do so. And when he desired to punish Mordecai, he thought it too small a thing to request of the king that he alone might be punished; he rather determined to abolish the whole nation, for he was naturally an enemy to the Jews, because the nation of the Amalekites, of which he was; had been destroyed by them. Accordingly he came to the king, and accused them, saying, "There is a certain wicked nation, and it is dispersed over all the habitable earth the was under his dominion; a nation separate from others, unsociable, neither admitting the same sort of Divine worship that others do, nor using laws like to the laws of others, at enmity with thy people, and with all men, both in their manners and practices. Now, if thou wilt be a benefactor to thy subjects, thou wilt give order to destroy them utterly,

and not leave the least remains of them, nor preserve any of them, either for slaves or for captives." But that the king might not be damnified by the loss of the tributes which the Jews paid him, Haman promised to give him out of his own estate forty thousand talents whensoever he pleased; and he said he would pay this money very willingly, that the kingdom might be freed from such a misfortune.

(6) [215] Ταῦτα τοῦ Ἀμάνου ἀξιώσαντος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον αὐτῷ χαρίζεται καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὥστε ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς ὅ τι βούλεται. τυχὼν δὲ ὧν ἐπεθύμει Ἀμάνης παραχρῆμα πέμπει διάταγμα ὡς τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς ἅπαντα τὰ ἔθνη περιέχον τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον: [216] "βασιλεὺς μέγας Ἀρταξέρξης τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἰνδικῆς ἕως τῆς Αἰθιοπίας ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σατραπειῶν ἄρχουσι τάδε γράφει. πολλῶν ἐθνῶν ἄρξας καὶ πάσης ἧς ἐβουλήθην κρατήσας οἰκουμένης καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας ὑπερήφανον μηδὲ σκαιὸν εἰς τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἀναγκασθεὶς ἁμαρτεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπιεικῆ καὶ πρᾷον ἐμαυτὸν παρασχὼν καὶ προνοησάμενος εἰρήνης καὶ εὐνομίας αὐτοῖς, ἐζήτουν πῶς εἰς ἅπαντα τούτων ἀπολαύειν αὐτοῖς γένοιτο. [217] τοῦ δὲ διὰ σωφροσύνην καὶ δικαιοσύνην παρ' ἐμοὶ τὴν πρώτην μοῖραν δόξης καὶ τιμῆς ἔχοντος καὶ μετ' ἐμὲ δευτέρου διὰ πίστιν καὶ βέβαιον εὔνοιαν Ἀμάνου κηδεμονικῶς ὑποδείξαντός μοι παντάπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἀναμεμῖχθαι δυσμενὲς ἔθνος καὶ τοῖς νόμοις ἀλλόκοτον καὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἀνυπότακτον καὶ παρηλλαγμένον τοῖς ἔθεσι καὶ τὴν μοναρχίαν μισοῦν καὶ δύσνουν τοῖς ἡμετέροις πράγμασι, [218] κελεύω τοὺς δηλουμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ δευτέρου μου πατρὸς Ἀμάνου πάντας σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἀπολέσαι μηδεμίαν φειδῶ ποιησαμένους, μηδ' ἐλέῳ πλέον ἢ τοῖς ἐπεσταλμένοις πεισθέντας παρακοῦσαι τῶν γεγραμμένων. [219] καὶ τοῦτο γενέσθαι βούλομαι τῇ τετράδι καὶ δεκάτῃ τοῦ δωδεκάτου μηνὸς τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους, ὅπως οἱ πανταχόθεν ἡμῖν πολέμιοι μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ διαφθαρέντες τοῦ λοιποῦ μετ' εἰρήνης [220] ἡμῖν τὸν βίον διάγειν παρέχωσι." τούτου κομισθέντος τοῦ προστάγματος εἰς τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὴν χώραν ἕτοιμοι πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπώλειαν εἰς τὴν προειρημένην ἡμέραν ἐγίνοντο: ἐσπεύδετο δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ Σούσῃ. ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ Ἀμάνης πρὸς εὐωχίαις καὶ πότοις ἦσαν, ἐν ταραχῇ δ' ἦν ἡ πόλις.

6. When Haman had made this petition, the king both forgave him the money, and granted him the men, to do what he would with them. So Haman, having gained what he desired, sent out immediately a decree, as from the king, to all nations, the contents whereof were these: "Artaxerxes, the great king, to the rulers of the hundred twenty and seven provinces, from India to Ethiopia, sends this writing. Whereas I have governed many nations, and obtained the dominions of all the habitable earth, according to my desire, and have not been obliged to do any thing that is insolent or cruel to my subjects by such my power, but have

showed myself mild and gentle, by taking care of their peace and good order, and have sought how they might enjoy those blessings for all time to come. And whereas I have been kindly informed by Haman, who, on account of his prudence and justice, is the first in my esteem, and in dignity, and only second to myself, for his fidelity and constant good-will to me, that there is an ill-natured nation intermixed with all mankind, that is averse to our laws, and not subject to kings, and of a different conduct of life from others, that hateth monarchy, and of a disposition that is pernicious to our affairs, I give order that all these men, of whom Haman our second father hath informed us, be destroyed, with their wives and children, and that none of them be spared, and that none prefer pity to them before obedience to this decree. And this I will to be executed on the fourteenth day of the twelfth month of this present year, that so when all that have enmity to us are destroyed, and this in one day, we may be allowed to lead the rest of our lives in peace hereafter." Now when this decree was brought to the cities, and to the country, all were ready for the destruction and entire abolishment of the Jews, against the day before mentioned; and they were very hasty about it at Shushan, in particular. Accordingly, the king and Haman spent their time in feasting together with good cheer and wine, but the city was in disorder.

(7) [221] Ὁ δὲ Μαρδοχαῖος μαθὼν τὸ γινόμενον περιρρηξάμενος τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ σάκκον ἐνδυσάμενος καὶ καταχεάμενος σποδιὰν διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐφέρετο βοῶν, ὅτι μηδὲν ἀδικῆσαν ἔθνος ἀναιρεῖται, καὶ τοῦτο λέγων ἕως τῶν βασιλείων ἦλθεν καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ἔστη: οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν εἰσελθεῖν αὐτῷ τοιοῦτον περικειμένῳ σχῆμα. [222] τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ πάντες ἐποίησαν οἱ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν Ἰουδαῖοι, ἐν αἷς τὰ περὶ τούτων προετέθη γράμματα, θρηνοῦντες καὶ τὰς κατηγγελμένας αὐτοῖς συμφορὰς ὀδυρόμενοι. ὡς δ' ἀπήγγειλάν τινες τῇ βασιλίσσῃ τὸν Μαρδοχαῖον ἐν οὕτως οἰκτρῷ σχήματι πρὸ τῆς αὐλῆς ἑστῶτα, ταραχθεῖσα πρὸς τὴν ἀκοὴν ἐξέπεμπεν τοὺς μεταμφιάσοντας αὐτόν. [223] οὐ πεισθέντος δὲ ἀποδύσασθαι τὸν σάκκον, οὐ γὰρ ἐφ' ᾧ τοῦτον ἀναγκασθείη λαβεῖν δεινῷ πεπαῦσθαι τοῦτο, προσκαλεσαμένη τὸν εὐνοῦχον Ἀχράθεον, καὶ γὰρ ἔτυχεν αὐτῇ παρών, ἀπέστειλεν Μαρδοχαίῳ γνωσόμενον, τίνος συμβεβηκότος αὐτῷ σκυθρωποῦ πενθεῖ καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦτο περικείμενος οὐδ' αὐτῆς παρακαλούσης ἀπέθετο. [224] ὁ δὲ Μαρδοχαῖος ἐπέδειξε τῷ εὐνούχῳ τὴν αἰτίαν τό τε γράμμα τὸ κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰς ἅπασαν τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ βασιλεῖ χώραν διαπεμφθὲν καὶ τὴν τῶν χρημάτων ὑπόσχεσιν, ᾗ τὴν ἀπώλειαν τοῦ ἔθνους ᾐτεῖτο παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀμάνης. [225] δοὺς δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῶν ἐν Σούσοις προτεθέντων κομίσαι τῇ Ἐσθῆρι καὶ περὶ τούτων δεηθῆναι τοῦ βασιλέως ἐνετέλλετο καὶ σωτηρίας ἕνεκεν τοῦ ἔθνους μὴ ἀδοξῆσαι λαβεῖν σχῆμα ταπεινόν, ᾧ παραιτήσεται τοὺς Ἰουδαίους κινδυνεύοντας ἀπολέσθαι: τὸν γὰρ τὴν δευτέραν

ἔχοντα τῷ βασιλεῖ τιμὴν Ἀμάνην κατηγορήσαντ᾽ αὐτῶν παρωξυγκέναι κατ᾽ αὐτῶν τὸν βασιλέα. [226] ταῦτα γνοῦσα πέμπει πάλιν πρὸς Μαρδοχαῖον δηλοῦσα, ὅτι μήτε κληθείη πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ὁ εἰσερχόμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄκλητος ἀποθνήσκει, πλὴν εἰ μή τινα σώζειν βουλόμενος προτείνειεν τὸν χρυσῆν ῥάβδον: ᾧ γὰρ τοῦτο ποιήσειεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀκλήτῳ προσελθόντι, οὗτος οὐκ ἀποθνήσκει μόνος, [227] ἀλλὰ συγγνώμης τυχὼν σώζεται.” Μαρδοχαῖος δὲ τούτους κομίσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ εὐνούχου παρὰ τῆς Ἐσθῆρος τοὺς λόγους ἀπαγγέλλειν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῇ, μὴ τὴν ἰδίαν οὕτως σκοπεῖν σωτηρίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν κοινὴν τοῦ ἔθνους: εἰ γὰρ ἀμελήσειεν τούτου νῦν, ἔσεσθαι μὲν αὐτῷ βοήθειαν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πάντως, αὐτὴν δὲ καὶ τὸν πατρῷον οἶκον αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τῶν ὀλιγωρηθέντων διαφθαρήσεσθαι. [228] ἡ δὲ Ἐσθήρα ἐπέστειλεν μὲν τῷ Μαρδοχαίῳ τὸν αὐτὸν πέμψασα διάκονον εἰς Σοῦσα πορευθέντι τοὺς ἐκεῖ Ἰουδαίους εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγεῖν καὶ νηστεῦσαι πάντων ἀποσχομένους ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ ποιήσασα μετὰ τῶν θεραπαινίδων τότε προσελεύσεσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ παρὰ τὸν νόμον ὑπισχνεῖτο, κἂν ἀποθανεῖν δέῃ τοῦτο ὑπομενεῖν.

7. Now when Mordecai was informed of what was done, he rent his clothes, and put on sackcloth, and sprinkled ashes upon his head, and went about the city, crying out, that “a nation that had been injurious to no man was to be destroyed.” And he went on saying thus as far as to the king’s palace, and there he stood, for it was not lawful for him to go into it in that habit. The same thing was done by all the Jews that were in the several cities wherein this decree was published, with lamentation and mourning, on account of the calamities denounced against them. But as soon as certain persons had told the queen that Mordecai stood before the court in a mourning habit, she was disturbed at this report, and sent out such as should change his garments; but when he could not be induced to put off his sackcloth, because the sad occasion that forced him to put it on was not yet ceased, she called the eunuch Acratheus, for he was then present, and sent him to Mordecai, in order to know of him what sad accident had befallen him, for which he was in mourning, and would not put off the habit he had put on at her desire. Then did Mordecai inform the eunuch of the occasion of his mourning, and of the decree which was sent by the king into all the country, and of the promise of money whereby Haman brought the destruction of their nation. He also gave him a copy of what was proclaimed at Shushan, to be carried to Esther; and he charged her to petition the king about this matter, and not to think it a dishonorable thing in her to put on a humble habit, for the safety of her nation, wherein she might deprecate the ruin of the Jews, who were in danger of it; for that Haman, whose dignity was only inferior to that of the king, had accused the Jews, and had irritated the king against them. When she was

informed of this, she sent to Mordecai again, and told him that she was not called by the king, and that he who goes in to him without being called, is to be slain, unless when he is willing to save any one, he holds out his golden scepter to him; but that to whomsoever he does so, although he go in without being called, that person is so far from being slain, that he obtains pardon, and is entirely preserved. Now when the eunuch carried this message from Esther to Mordecai, he bade him also tell her that she must not only provide for her own preservation, but for the common preservation of her nation, for that if she now neglected this opportunity, there would certainly arise help to them from God some other way, but she and her father's house would be destroyed by those whom she now despised. But Esther sent the very same eunuch back to Mordecai [to desire him] to go to Shushan, and to gather the Jews that were there together to a congregation, and to fast and abstain from all sorts of food, on her account, and [to let him know that] she with her maidens would do the same: and then she promised that she would go to the king, though it were against the law, and that if she must die for it, she would not refuse it.

(8) [229] Καὶ Μαρδοχαῖος μὲν κατὰ τὰς Ἐσθῆρος ἐντολὰς τόν τε λαὸν ἐποίησεν νηστεῦσαι καὶ τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸς ἱκέτευσε μηδὲ νῦν ὑπεριδεῖν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔθνος ἀπολλύμενον, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ πρότερον αὐτοῦ πολλάκις προενόησεν καὶ ἁμαρτόντι συνέγνω, καὶ νῦν αὐτὸ ῥύσασθαι τῆς κατηγγελμένης ἀπωλείας: [230] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἁμαρτόν τι κινδυνεύειν ἀκλεῶς ἀποθανεῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν γὰρ εἶναι τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς Ἀμάνου ὀργῆς, ὅτι μὴ προσεκύνησα μηδ' ἣν σοί, δέσποτα, φησίν, τιμὴν παρεῖχον, ταύτην ἐκείνῳ παρασχεῖν ὑπέμενον, ὀργισθεὶς ταῦτα [231] κατὰ τῶν μὴ παραβαινόντων τοὺς σοὺς νόμους ἐμηχανήσατο." τὰς δ' αὐτὰς ἠφίει καὶ τὸ πλῆθος φωνάς, παρακαλοῦν προνοῆσαι τὸν θεὸν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἁπάσῃ τῇ γῇ Ἰσραηλίτας ἐξελέσθαι τῆς μελλούσης συμφορᾶς: καὶ γὰρ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτὴν εἶχον ἤδη καὶ προσεδόκων. ἱκέτευε δὲ καὶ Ἐσθήρα τὸν θεὸν τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ ῥίψασα κατὰ τῆς γῆς ἑαυτὴν καὶ πενθικὴν ἐσθῆτα περιθεμένη, [232] καὶ τροφῇ καὶ ποτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἡδέσιν ἀποταξαμένη τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἥτει τὸν θεὸν ἐλεηθῆναι μὲν αὐτήν, δόξαι δ' ὀφθεῖσαν τῷ βασιλεῖ πιθανὴν μὲν τοὺς λόγους παρακαλοῦσαν τὸ δὲ εἶδος εὐπρεπεστέραν τῆς τάχιον οὖσαν, [233] ἵν' ἀμφοτέροις καὶ πρὸς τὴν παραίτησιν ὀργῆς, εἴ τι παροξυνθείη πρὸς αὐτὴν ὁ βασιλεύς, χρήσαιτο καὶ πρὸς τὴν συνηγορίαν τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις σαλευόντων, μῖσός τε γενέσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τὴν ἀπώλειαν αὐτοῖς τὴν μέλλουσαν, ἐὰν ὀλιγωρηθῶσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, κατασκευάσοντας.

8. Accordingly, Mordecai did as Esther had enjoined him, and made the people fast; and he besought God, together with them, not to overlook his nation, particularly at this time, when it was going to be destroyed; but that, as he had

often before provided for them, and forgiven, when they had sinned, so he would now deliver them from that destruction which was denounced against them; for although it was not all the nation that had offended, yet must they so ingloriously be slain, and that he was himself the occasion of the wrath of Haman, "Because," said he, "I did not worship him, nor could I endure to pay that honor to him which I used to pay to thee, O Lord; for upon that his anger hath he contrived this present mischief against those that have not transgressed thy laws." The same supplications did the multitude put up, and entreated that God would provide for their deliverance, and free the Israelites that were in all the earth from this calamity which was now coming upon them, for they had it before their eyes, and expected its coming. Accordingly, Esther made supplication to God after the manner of her country, by casting herself down upon the earth, and putting on her mourning garments, and bidding farewell to meat and drink, and all delicacies, for three days' time; and she entreated God to have mercy upon her, and make her words appear persuasive to the king, and render her countenance more beautiful than it was before, that both by her words and beauty she might succeed, for the averting of the king's anger, in case he were at all irritated against her, and for the consolation of those of her own country, now they were in the utmost danger of perishing; as also that he would excite a hatred in the king against the enemies of the Jews, and those that had contrived their future destruction, if they proved to be contemned by him.

(9) [234] Ταῦθ' ἱκετεύουσα τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀποδύεται μὲν τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐκείνην καὶ τὸ σχῆμα μεταβάλλει, κοσμησαμένη δ' ὡς ἐχρῆν τὴν βασίλισσαν σὺν δυσὶν θεραπαίναις, ὧν ἡ μὲν ἐπερειδομένην αὐτὴν κούφως ἔφερεν, ἡ δὲ ἑπομένη τὸ βαθὺ τοῦ ἐνδύματος καὶ μέχρι τῆς γῆς κεχυμένον ἄκροις ἀπῃώρει τοῖς δακτύλοις, ἥκει πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, μεστὴ μὲν τὸ πρόσωπον ἐρυθήματος, προσηνὲς δὲ καὶ σεμνὸν ἐπικειμένη τὸ κάλλος. [235] εἰσῄει δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν μετὰ δέους. ὡς δὲ κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ καθεζομένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου γίνεται τὸν βασιλικὸν περικειμένου κόσμον, οὗτος δ' ἦν ἐκ ποικίλης μὲν ἐσθῆτος, [236] χρυσοῦ δὲ καὶ λίθου πολυτελοῦς, φοβερώτερον καὶ δι' αὐτὰ μᾶλλον θεασαμένη καί τι κἀκείνου προσιδόντος αὐτὴν ἀπηνέστερον καὶ διακεκαυμένῳ ὑπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς τῷ προσώπῳ, πάρεσις αὐτὴν εὐθὺς λαμβάνει καὶ τοῖς παρὰ πλευρὸν οὖσιν ἀχανὴς ἐπέπεσεν. [237] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς κατὰ βούλησιν οἶμαι τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν μετέβαλεν καὶ δείσας περὶ τῇ γυναικί, μὴ καὶ πάθῃ τι τῶν χειρόνων ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου, [238] ἀνεπήδησεν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου, καὶ ταῖς ἀγκάλαις αὐτὴν ὑπολαβὼν ἀνεκτᾶτο κατασπαζόμενός τε καὶ προσομιλῶν ἡδέως καὶ θαρρεῖν παρακαλῶν καὶ μηδὲν ὑποπτεύειν σκυθρωπόν, ὅτι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄκλητος ἔλθοι: τὸν γὰρ νόμον τοῦτον πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους κεῖσθαι, τὴν δὲ ὁμοίως αὐτῷ βασιλεύουσαν πᾶσαν

ἔχειν ἄδειαν. [239] ταῦτα λέγων τὸ σκῆπτρον αὐτῆς ἐνετίθει τῇ χειρὶ καὶ τὴν ῥάβδον ἐξέτεινεν ἐπὶ τὸν αὐχένα αὐτῆς διὰ τὸν νόμον εὐλαβείας αὐτὴν ἀπολύων. [240] ἡ δ' ὑπὸ τούτων ἀναζωπυρήσασα, "δέσποτ', εἶπεν, οὐκ ἔχω σοι τὸ αἰφνίδιον τοῦ συμβεβηκότος μοι ῥᾳδίως εἰπεῖν: ὡς γὰρ εἶδόν σε μέγαν καὶ καλὸν καὶ φοβερόν, εὐθὺς [241] ὑπεχώρει μου τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ κατελειπόμην ὑπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς." μόλις δ' αὐτῆς καὶ ταῦτα φθεγγομένης καὶ μετὰ ἀσθενείας αὐτόν τε ἀγωνία καὶ ταραχὴ κατελάμβανεν καὶ τὴν Ἐσθῆρ' εὐψυχεῖν καὶ τὰ κρείττω προσδοκᾶν παρεθάρρυνεν, ὡς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἡμίση τῆς βασιλείας, εἰ δέοιτο τούτων, παραχωρήσοντος αὐτῇ. [242] ἡ δὲ Ἐσθήρα ἐφ' ἑστίασιν αὐτὸν μετὰ Ἀμάνου τοῦ φίλου πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐλθεῖν ἠξίωσεν: παρεσκευακέναι γὰρ αὐτὴν δεῖπνον ἔλεγεν. ὡς δ' ἐπένευσεν καὶ παρῆσαν, μεταξὺ πίνων τὴν Ἐσθῆρα ἐκέλευσε δηλοῦν αὐτῷ, τί βούλεται: [243] μηδενὸς γὰρ ἀτυχήσειν, μηδ' ἂν τὸ μέρος τῆς βασιλείας ἐθελήσῃ [λαβεῖν]. ἡ δὲ εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἀνεβάλλετο φράζειν αὐτῷ τὴν αὐτῆς βούλησιν, εἰ πάλιν ἔλθοι πρὸς αὐτὴν μετὰ Ἀμάνου ἐφ' ἑστίασιν.

9. When Esther had used this supplication for three days, she put off those garments, and changed her habit, and adorned herself as became a queen, and took two of her handmaids with her, the one of which supported her, as she gently leaned upon her, and the other followed after, and lifted up her large train [which swept along the ground] with the extremities of her fingers. And thus she came to the king, having a blushing redness in her countenance, with a pleasant agreeableness in her behavior; yet did she go in to him with fear; and as soon as she was come over against him, as he was sitting on his throne, in his royal apparel, which was a garment interwoven with gold and precious stones, which made him seem to her more terrible, especially when he looked at her somewhat severely, and with a countenance on fire with anger, her joints failed her immediately, out of the dread she was in, and she fell down sideways in a swoon: but the king changed his mind, which happened, as I suppose, by the will of God, and was concerned for his wife, lest her fear should bring some very ill thing upon her, and he leaped from his throne, and took her in his arms, and recovered her, by embracing her, and speaking comfortably to her, and exhorting her to be of good cheer, and not to suspect any thing that was sad on account of her coming to him without being called, because that law was made for subjects, but that she, who was a queen, as well as he a king, might be entirely secure; and as he said this, he put the scepter into her hand, and laid his rod upon her neck, on account of the law; and so freed her from her fear. And after she had recovered herself by these encouragements, she said, "My lord, it is not easy for me, on the sudden, to say what hath happened, for as soon as I saw thee to be great, and comely, and terrible, my spirit departed from me, and I had no soul

left in me." And while it was with difficulty, and in a low voice, that she could say thus much, the king was in a great agony and disorder, and encouraged Esther to be of good cheer, and to expect better fortune, since he was ready, if occasion should require it, to grant her the half of his kingdom. Accordingly, Esther desired that he and his friend Haman would come to her to a banquet, for she said she had prepared a supper for him. He consented to it; and when they were there, as they were drinking, he bid Esther to let him know what she desired; for that she should not be disappointed though she should desire the half of his kingdom. But she put off the discovery of her petition till the next day, if he would come again, together with Haman, to her banquet.

(10) [244] Τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ὑποσχομένου ὁ Ἀμάνης ἐξῆλθεν περιχαρὴς ἐπὶ τῷ μόνον ἠξιῶσθαι συνδειπνεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ παρὰ τῇ Ἐσθήρᾳ, καὶ ὅτι μηδεὶς τοσαύτης ἄλλος τυγχάνει παρὰ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι τιμῆς. ἰδὼν δ' ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ Μαρδοχαῖον ὑπερηγανάκτησεν: οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ παρ' αὐτοῦ θεασαμένου πρὸς τιμὴν ἐγένετο. [245] καὶ παρελθὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν γυναῖκα Γάζασαν ἐκάλεσεν καὶ τοὺς φίλους. ὧν παρόντων διηγεῖτο τὴν τιμήν, ἧς οὐ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπολαύοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῆς βασιλίσσης: καὶ γὰρ τήμερον ὡς δειπνήσειεν παρ' αὐτῇ μόνος σὺν τῷ βασιλεῖ, κληθείη πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν. [246] ἔλεγέν τε μὴ ἀρέσκεσθαι Μαρδοχαῖον ὁρῶντα ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τὸν Ἰουδαῖον. τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Γαζάσης εἰπούσης κελεῦσαι ξύλον κοπῆναι πηχῶν ἑξήκοντα καὶ πρωὶ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως αἰτησάμενον ἀνασταυρῶσαι τὸν Μαρδοχαῖον, ἐπαινέσας τὴν γνώμην προσέταξεν τοῖς οἰκέταις ξύλον ἑτοιμασαμένους στῆσαι τοῦτο ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ πρὸς τιμωρίαν Μαρδοχαίῳ. [247] καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἦν ἕτοιμον: ὁ δὲ θεὸς κατεγέλα τῆς Ἀμάνου πονηρᾶς ἐλπίδος καὶ τὸ συμβησόμενον εἰδὼς ἐτέρπετο τῷ γενησομένῳ: τοῦ γὰρ βασιλέως διὰ νυκτὸς ἐκείνης ἀφαιρεῖται τὸν ὕπνον. [248] ὁ δ' οὐ βουλόμενος ἀργῶς ἀπολέσαι τὴν ἀγρυπνίαν, ἀλλ' εἴς τι τῶν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διαφερόντων αὐτὴν ἀναλῶσαι, τὸν γραμματέα κομίσαντα καὶ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων τὰ ὑπομνήματα καὶ τῶν ἰδίων πράξεων ἀναγινώσκειν αὐτῷ προσέταξεν. [249] κομίσαντος δὲ καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντος εὑρέθη τις δι' ἀριστείαν ἔν τινι γέρας εἰληφὼς χώραν, ἧς καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐγέγραπτο. ἕτερον δὲ διὰ πίστιν τετυχηκότα δωρεᾶς μηνύων ἦλθεν καὶ ἐπὶ Γαβαταῖον καὶ Θεοδέστην τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύσαντας εὐνούχους τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὧν μηνυτὴς Μαρδοχαῖος ἦν γεγενημένος. [250] φράσαντος δὲ τοῦτο μόνον τοῦ γραμματέως καὶ μεταβαίνοντος εἰς ἑτέραν πρᾶξιν ἐπέσχεν ὁ βασιλεὺς πυνθανόμενος, εἰ μὴ ἔχει γέρας αὐτῷ δοθὲν ἀναγεγραμμένον. ὁ δ' ὡς ἔφη μηδὲν εἶναι, κελεύσας ἡσυχάζειν, τίς ἡ τῆς νυκτὸς ὥρα, παρὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τεταγμένων ἐπυνθάνετο. [251] μαθὼν δ', ὡς ὄρθρος ἐστὶν ἤδη, προσέταξεν τῶν φίλων ὃν ἂν πρὸ τῆς αὐλῆς εὕρωσιν ἤδη παρόντα τοῦτον αὐτῷ δηλοῦν. ἔτυχέν τε ὥστε Ἀμάνην εὑρεθῆναι: θᾶττον γὰρ

τῆς συνήθους ὥρας ἐληλύθει περὶ τοῦ Μαρδοχαίου θανάτου δεησόμενος αὐτοῦ. [252] τῶν οὖν θεραπόντων εἰπόντων, ὅτι Ἀμάνης εἴη πρὸ τῆς αὐλῆς, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν εἰσκαλέσαι. εἰσελθόντος δέ "φίλον, εἶπεν, εἰδὼς ἐμαυτῷ σὲ μόνον εὔνουν συμβουλεῦσαί μοι παρακαλῶ, πῶς ἂν τιμήσαιμι τινὰ στεργόμενον ὑπ' [253] ἐμοῦ σφόδρα τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ μεγαλοφροσύνης ἀξίως." ὁ δὲ Ἀμάνης λογισάμενος, ἣν ἂν δῷ γνώμην ταύτην δώσειν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, φιλεῖσθαι γὰρ ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως μόνον, ἣν ᾤετο ἀρίστην εἶναι ταύτην φανερὰν ἐποίησεν. [254] εἶπεν γάρ "εἰ βούλοιο τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν φῂς ἀγαπᾶν δόξῃ περιβαλεῖν, ποίησον ἐφ' ἵππου βαδίζειν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐσθῆτά σοι φοροῦντα καὶ περιαυχένιον χρυσοῦν ἔχοντα καὶ προάγοντα τῶν ἀναγκαίων φίλων ἕνα κηρύσσειν δι' ὅλης τῆς πόλεως, ὅτι ταύτης τυγχάνει τῆς τιμῆς ὃν ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς τιμήσῃ." [255] ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀμάνης ταῦτα συνεβούλευσεν οἰόμενος εἰς αὐτὸν ἥξειν τοῦτο τὸ γέρας. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἡσθεὶς τῇ παραινέσει "προελθών. φησίν, ἔχεις γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ τὴν στολὴν καὶ τὸν στρεπτόν. ἐπιζήτησον Μαρδοχαῖον τὸν Ἰουδαῖον καὶ ταῦτα ἐκείνῳ δοὺς προάγων αὐτοῦ τὸν ἵππον, σὺ γάρ, ἔφη, μοι φίλος ἀναγκαῖος, ἴσθι διάκονος ὢν χρηστὸς σύμβουλος ἐγένου. ταῦτα δὲ αὐτῷ παρ' ἡμῶν [256] ἔσται σώσαντί μου τὴν ψυχήν." τούτων ἀκούσας παρὰ πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα τὴν διάνοιαν συνεχύθη καὶ πληγεὶς ὑπὸ ἀμηχανίας ἔξεισιν ἄγων τὸν ἵππον καὶ τὴν πορφύραν καὶ τὸ χρυσοῦν περιαυχένιον, καὶ τὸν Μαρδοχαῖον εὑρὼν πρὸ τῆς αὐλῆς σάκκον ἐνδεδυμένον ἐκέλευσεν ἀποθέμενον ἐνδύσασθαι τὴν πορφύραν. [257] ὁ δὲ οὐκ εἰδὼς τἀληθές, ἀλλὰ χλευάζεσθαι νομίζων "ὦ κάκιστε πάντων ἀνθρώπων, εἶπεν, οὕτως ἡμῶν ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἐπεγγελᾷς;" πεισθεὶς δ', ὡς ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῷ γέρας τοῦτ' εἴη δεδωκὼς ἀντὶ τῆς σωτηρίας, ἣν αὐτῷ παρέσχεν τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύσαντας εὐνούχους ἐλέγξας, ἐνδύεται τὴν πορφύραν, ἣν ὁ βασιλεὺς φορῶν ἀεὶ διετέλει, καὶ περιτίθεται τὸ περιαυχένιον, [258] καὶ ἐπιβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἐν κύκλῳ περιῄει τὴν πόλιν Ἀμάνου προάγοντος καὶ κηρύσσοντος, ὅτι τοῦτ' ἔσται παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ᾧ ἂν στέρξῃ καὶ τιμῆς ἄξιον δοκιμάσῃ. [259] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκπεριῆλθον τὴν πόλιν, ὁ μὲν Μαρδοχαῖος εἰσῄει πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, Ἀμάνης δ' ὑπ' αἰσχύνης πρὸς αὐτὸν παραγίνεται καὶ μετὰ δακρύων τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς. φίλοις τὰ συμβεβηκότα διηγεῖτο. οἱ δ' οὐκέτ' ἀμύνασθαι τὸν Μαρδοχαῖον ἔλεγον δυνήσεσθαι: τὸν γὰρ θεὸν εἶναι σὺν αὐτῷ.

10. Now when the king had promised so to do, Haman went away very glad, because he alone had the honor of supping with the king at Esther's banquet, and because no one else partook of the same honor with kings but himself; yet when he saw Mordecai in the court, he was very much displeased, for he paid him no manner of respect when he saw him. So he went home and called for his wife Zeresh, and his friends, and when they were come, he showed them what honor he enjoyed not only from the king, but from the queen also, for as he alone had

that day supped with her, together with the king, so was he also invited again for the next day; "yet," said he, "am I not pleased to see Mordecai the Jew in the court." Hereupon his wife Zeresh advised him to give order that a gallows should be made fifty cubits high, and that in the morning he should ask it of the king that Mordecai might be hanged thereon. So he commended her advice, and gave order to his servants to prepare the gallows, and to place it in the court, for the punishment of Mordecai thereon, which was accordingly prepared. But God laughed to scorn the wicked expectations of Haman; and as he knew what the event would be, he was delighted at it, for that night he took away the king's sleep; and as the king was not willing to lose the time of his lying awake, but to spend it in something that might be of advantage to his kingdom, he commanded the scribe to bring him the chronicles of the former kings, and the records of his own actions; and when he had brought them, and was reading them, one was found to have received a country on account of his excellent management on a certain occasion, and the name of the country was set down; another was found to have had a present made him on account of his fidelity: then the scribe came to Bigthan and Teresh, the eunuchs that had made a conspiracy against the king, which Mordecai had discovered; and when the scribe said no more but that, and was going on to another history, the king stopped him, and inquired "whether it was not added that Mordecai had a reward given him?" and when he said there was no such addition, he bade him leave off; and he inquired of those that were appointed for that purpose, what hour of the night it was; and when he was informed that it was already day, he gave order, that if they found any one of his friends already come, and standing before the court, they should tell him. Now it happened that Haman was found there, for he was come sooner than ordinary to petition the king to have Mordecai put to death; and when the servants said that Haman was before the court, he bid them call him in; and when he was come in, he said, "Because I know that thou art my only fast friend, I desire thee to give me advice how I may honor one that I greatly love, and that after a manner suitable to my magnificence." Now Haman reasoned with himself, that what opinion he should give it would be for himself, since it was he alone who was beloved by the king: so he gave that advice which he thought of all other the best; for he said, "If thou wouldst truly honor a man whom thou sayest thou dost love, give order that he may ride on horseback, with the same garment on which thou wearest, and with a gold chain about his neck, and let one of thy intimate friends go before him, and proclaim through the whole city, that whosoever the king honoreth obtaineth this mark of his honor." This was the advice which Haman gave, out of a supposal that such a reward would come to himself. Hereupon the king was pleased with the advice, and said, "Go thou therefore, for

thou hast the horse, the garment, and the chain, ask for Mordecai the Jew, and give him those things, and go before his horse and proclaim accordingly; for thou art," said he, "my intimate friend, and hast given me good advice; be thou then the minister of what thou hast advised me to. This shall be his reward from us, for preserving my life." When he heard this order, which was entirely unexpected, he was confounded in his mind, and knew not what to do. However, he went out and led the horse, and took the purple garment, and the golden chain for the neck, and finding Mordecai before the court, clothed in sackcloth, he bid him put that garment off, and put the purple garment on. But Mordecai, not knowing the truth of the matter, but thinking that it was done in mockery, said, "O thou wretch, the vilest of all mankind, dost thou thus laugh at our calamities?" But when he was satisfied that the king bestowed this honor upon him, for the deliverance he had procured him when he convicted the eunuchs who had conspired against him, he put on that purple garment which the king always wore, and put the chain about his neck, and got on horseback, and went round the city, while Haman went before and proclaimed, "This shall be the reward which the king will bestow on every one whom he loves, and esteems worthy of honor." And when they had gone round the city, Mordecai went in to the king; but Haman went home, out of shame, and informed his wife and friends of what had happened, and this with tears; who said, that he would never be able to be revenged of Mordecai, for that God was with him.

(11) [260] Ταῦτα δὲ τούτων ἔτι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμιλούντων ἦκον οἱ τῆς Ἐσθήρας εὐνοῦχοι τὸν Ἀμάνην ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐπισπεύδοντες. [261] Σαβουχάδας δὲ τῶν εὐνούχων εἷς ἰδὼν τὸν σταυρὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀμάνου οἰκίᾳ πεπηγότα, ὃν ἐπὶ Μαρδοχαῖον παρεσκευάκεισαν, καὶ πυθόμενος παρά τινος τῶν οἰκετῶν, ἐπὶ τίνα τοῦτον ἦσαν ἑτοιμασάμενοι, γνούς, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς βασιλίσσης θεῖον, τὸν γὰρ Ἀμάνην μέλλειν αὐτὸν αἰτεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς τιμωρίαν, τότε μὲν ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν. [262] ὡς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ τοῦ Ἀμάνου εὐωχηθεὶς ἠξίου τὴν βασίλισσαν λέγειν αὐτῷ, τίνος βούλεται δωρεᾶς τυχεῖν, ὡς ληψομένην οὗπερ ἂν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχῃ, τὸν τοῦ λαοῦ κίνδυνον ἀπωδύρετο καὶ πρὸς ἀπώλειαν ἔλεγεν μετὰ τοῦ ἔθνους ἐκδεδόσθαι, διὸ καὶ ποιεῖσθαι περὶ τούτων τοὺς λόγους: [263] οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἠνωχληκέναι αὐτῷ, εἰ πρὸς δουλείαν πικρὰν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἀπεμποληθῆναι: μέτριον γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ κακόν: παρεκάλει τε τούτων ἀπαλλαγῆναι. [264] ἐρωτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὑπὸ τίνος εἴη ταῦτα γεγενημένα, κατηγόρει τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη φανερῶς τοῦ Ἀμάνου καὶ τοῦτον ὄντα πονηρὸν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς κατεσκευακέναι τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἤλεγχεν. [265] ταραχθέντος δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἀναπηδήσαντος εἰς τοὺς κήπους ἐκ τοῦ συμποσίου, τῆς Ἐσθήρας ὁ Ἀμάνης ἤρξατο δεῖσθαι καὶ παρακαλεῖν συγγνῶναι

τῶν ἡμαρτημένων: συνῆκε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐν κακοῖς ὤν: ἐπί τε τῆς κλίνης αὐτοῦ πεσόντος καὶ τὴν βασίλισσαν παρακαλοῦντος ἐπεισελθὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν μᾶλλον παροξυνθεὶς εἶπεν, "ὦ κάκιστε πάντων, καὶ βιάζεσθαί μου [266] τὴν γυναῖκα ἐπιχειρεῖς;" Ἀμάνου δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο καταπλαγέντος καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι φθέγξασθαι δυνηθέντος, καὶ Σαβουζάνης ὁ εὐνοῦχος παρελθὼν κατηγόρει τοῦ Ἀμάνου, ὡς εὕροι σταυρὸν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ παρεσκευασμένον ἐπὶ Μαρδοχαῖον τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῷ πυνθανομένῳ τὸν οἰκέτην εἰπεῖν, ὅτε καλέσων αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἔλθοι πρὸς αὐτόν. εἶναι δὲ τὸν σταυρὸν ἔλεγεν ἑξήκοντα πήχεων τὸ ὕψος. [267] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας οὐκ ἄλλῃ τιμωρίᾳ περιβάλλειν ἔκρινεν τὸν Ἀμάνην ἢ τῇ κατὰ Μαρδοχαίου νενοημένῃ, καὶ κελεύει παραχρῆμα αὐτὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ σταυροῦ κρεμασθέντα ἀποθανεῖν. [268] ὅθεν ἐπέρχεταί μοι τὸ θεῖον θαυμάζειν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ δικαιοσύνην καταμανθάνειν, μὴ μόνον τὴν Ἀμάνου κολάσαντος πονηρίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κατ' ἄλλου μεμηχανημένην τιμωρίαν ταύτην ἐκείνου ποιήσαντος εἶναι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις μαθεῖν οὕτως [γνῶναι] παρεσχηκότος, ὡς ἃ καθ' ἑτέρου τις παρεσκεύασε ταῦτα λανθάνει καθ' ἑαυτοῦ πρῶτον ἑτοιμασάμενος.

11. Now while these men were thus talking one to another, Esther's eunuchs hastened Haman away to come to supper; but one of the eunuchs, named Sabuchadas, saw the gallows that was fixed in Haman's house, and inquired of one of his servants for what purpose they had prepared it. So he knew that it was for the queen's uncle, because Haman was about to petition the king that he might be punished; but at present he held his peace. Now when the king, with Haman, were at the banquet, he desired the queen to tell him what gifts she desired to obtain, and assured her that she should have whatsoever she had a mind to. She then lamented the danger her people were in; and said that "she and her nation were given up to be destroyed, and that she, on that account, made this her petition; that she would not have troubled him if he had only given order that they should be sold into bitter servitude, for such a misfortune would not have been intolerable; but she desired that they might be delivered from such destruction." And when the king inquired of her whom was the author of this misery to them, she then openly accused Haman, and convicted him, that he had been the wicked instrument of this, and had formed this plot against them. When the king was hereupon in disorder, and was gone hastily out of the banquet into the gardens, Haman began to intercede with Esther, and to beseech her to forgive him, as to what he had offended, for he perceived that he was in a very bad case. And as he had fallen upon the queen's bed, and was making supplication to her, the king came in, and being still more provoked at what he saw, "O thou wretch," said he, "thou vilest of mankind, dost thou aim to force in wife?" And

when Haman was astonished at this, and not able to speak one word more, Sabuchadas the eunuch came in and accused Haman, and said, He found a gallows at his house, prepared for Mordecai; for that the servant told him so much upon his inquiry, when he was sent to him to call him to supper. He said further, that the gallows was fifty cubits high: which, when the king heard, he determined that Haman should be punished after no other manner than that which had been devised by him against Mordecai; so he gave order immediately that he should be hung upon those gallows, and be put to death after that manner. And from hence I cannot forbear to admire God, and to learn hence his wisdom and his justice, not only in punishing the wickedness of Haman, but in so disposing it, that he should undergo the very same punishment which he had contrived for another; as also because thereby he teaches others this lesson, that what mischiefs any one prepares against another, he, without knowing of it, first contrives it against himself.

(12) [269] Ἀμάνης μὲν οὖν ἀμετρήτως τῇ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως χρώμενος τιμῇ τοῦτον διεφθάρη τὸν τρόπον, τὴν δὲ οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ ἐχαρίσατο τῇ βασιλίσσῃ. Μαρδοχαῖον δὲ προσκαλεσάμενος, καὶ γὰρ ἐδήλωσεν αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν συγγένειαν Ἐσθήρα, ὃν ἔδωκεν Ἀμάνῃ δακτύλιον τοῦτον Μαρδοχαίῳ δίδωσι. [270] δωρεῖται δὲ καὶ ἡ βασίλισσα Μαρδοχαίῳ τὴν Ἀμάνου κτῆσιν καὶ δεῖται τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπαλλάξαι τοῦ περὶ τῆς ζωῆς φόβου τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος, δηλοῦσα τὰ γραφέντα κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν ὑπὸ Ἀμάνου τοῦ Ἀμαδάθου: τῆς γὰρ πατρίδος αὐτῇ διαφθαρείσης καὶ τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἀπολομένων οὐκ ἂν ὑπομένειν τὸν βίον. [271] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὑπέσχετο μηδὲν ἄχαρι αὐτὴν μηδ᾽ οἷς ἐσπούδακεν ἐναντίον ἔσεσθαι, γράφειν δὲ ἃ βούλεται προσέταξε περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκείνην ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως ὀνόματος καὶ σημηναμένην αὐτοῦ τῇ σφραγῖδι πέμπειν εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν βασιλείαν: τοὺς γὰρ ἀναγνωσομένους τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ σημαντῆρος ἠσφαλισμένας ἐπιστολὰς οὐδὲν περὶ τῶν ἐγγεγραμμένων ἐναντιώσεσθαι. [272] μεταπεμφθέντας οὖν τοὺς βασιλικοὺς γραμματεῖς ἐκέλευσε γράφειν τοῖς ἔθνεσι περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοῖς τε οἰκονόμοις καὶ ἄρχουσιν ἀπὸ Ἰνδικῆς ἕως τῆς Αἰθιοπίας ἑκατὸν εἰκοσιεπτὰ σατραπειῶν ἡγουμένοις. τὰ δὲ γραφέντα τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον: [273] “βασιλεὺς μέγας Ἀρταξέρξης τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα φρονοῦσι χαίρειν. πολλοὶ διὰ μέγεθος εὐεργεσίας καὶ τιμῆς, ἣν δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν χρηστότητος τῶν παρεχόντων ἐκαρποῦντο, οὐκ εἰς τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους μόνον ἐξυβρίζουσιν, [274] ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀδικεῖν ὤκνησαν τοὺς εὐεργετοῦντας τὸ εὐχάριστον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀναιροῦντες, καὶ δι᾽ ἀπειροκαλίαν τῶν οὐκ ἐξ ὧν προσεδόκησαν ἀγαθῶν κόρον εἰς τοὺς αἰτίους ἀφέντες λήσεσθαι τὸ θεῖον ἐπὶ τούτοις νομίζουσι καὶ τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ διαφεύξεσθαι δίκην. [275] ἔνιοι δὲ ἐκ τούτων προστασίαν πραγμάτων ἐπιτραπέντες παρὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ μῖσος ἴδιον

ἔχοντες πρός τινας, παραλογισάμενοι τοὺς κρατοῦντας ψευδέσιν αἰτίαις καὶ διαβολαῖς ἔπεισαν κατὰ μηδὲν ἀδικούντων ὀργὴν ἀναλαβεῖν, ὑφ᾽ ἧς ἐκινδύνευσαν ἀπολέσθαι. [276] τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων οὐδ᾽ ἀκοῇ γνωρίμων ἡμῖν οὕτως ἰδεῖν ἔστιν ἔχον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τῶν παρὰ τὰς ἡμετέρας ὄψεις τετολμημένων, ὡς διαβολαῖς μὲν καὶ κατηγορίαις μὴ προσέχειν ἔτι τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδ᾽ οἷς ἕτεροι πείθειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν, κρίνειν δ᾽ ὅσα τις αὐτὸς οἶδεν πεπραγμένα, καὶ κολάζειν μὲν ἂν ᾖ τοιαῦτα, χαρίζεσθαι δ᾽ ἂν ἑτέρως ἔχῃ, τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῖς ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῖς λέγουσι προστιθέμενον. [277] ὡς μὲν Ἀμάνης, Ἀμαδάθου μὲν παῖς Ἀμαληκίτης δὲ τὸ γένος, ἀλλότριος ὢν τοῦ Περσῶν αἵματος, ἐπιξενωθεὶς ἡμῖν ἀπέλαυσεν τῆς πρὸς ἅπαντας χρηστότητος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, ὡς πατέρα μου τὸ λοιπὸν προσαγορεύεσθαι καὶ προσκυνούμενον διατελεῖν καὶ μεθ᾽ ἡμᾶς τὰ δεύτερα τῆς βασιλικῆς παρὰ πάντων τιμῆς ἀποφέρεσθαι, τὴν εὐτυχίαν οὐκ ἤνεγκεν οὐδὲ σώφρονι λογισμῷ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐταμίευσεν, [278] ἀλλὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἐπεβούλευσέ με καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τὸν αἴτιον αὐτῷ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀφελέσθαι, τὸν εὐεργέτην μου καὶ σωτῆρα Μαρδοχαῖον καὶ τὴν κοινωνὸν ἡμῖν τοῦ τε βίου καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἐσθῆρα κακούργως καὶ μετὰ ἀπάτης πρὸς ἀπώλειαν αἰτησάμενος: τούτῳ γάρ με τῷ τρόπῳ τῶν εὐνοούντων ἐρημώσας ἐβούλετο τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς ἄλλους μεταβαλεῖν. [279] ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁλιτηρίου πρὸς ἀπώλειαν ἐκδοθέντας Ἰουδαίους οὐ πονηροὺς κατανοήσας, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἄριστον πολιτευομένους τρόπον καὶ τῷ θεῷ προσανέχοντας, ὃς ἐμοί τε καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις ἡμῶν τὴν βασιλείαν διεφύλαξεν, οὐ μόνον ἀπολύω τῆς ἐκ τῶν προαπεσταλμένων τιμωρίας, οἷς ποιήσετε καλῶς μὴ προσέχοντες, [280] ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμῆς αὐτοὺς ἁπάσης τυγχάνειν βούλομαι, καὶ τὸν ταῦτα κατ᾽ αὐτῶν μηχανησάμενον πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν τῶν ἐν Σούσοις ἀνεσταύρωσα μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς, τοῦ πάντα ἐφορῶντος θεοῦ ταύτην αὐτῷ τὴν δίκην ἐπιβαλόντος. [281] κελεύω δὲ ὑμᾶς τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἐκθέντας εἰς ἅπασαν τὴν βασιλείαν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀφεῖναι τοῖς ἰδίοις νόμοις χρωμένους ζῆν μετ᾽ εἰρήνης καὶ βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς, ὅπως τοὺς ἐν οἷς ἠτύχησαν καιροῖς ἀδικήσαντας αὐτοὺς ἀμύνωνται, τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ δωδεκάτου μηνός, ὅς ἐστιν Ἄδαρ, τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ: [282] ταύτην γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ἀντὶ ὀλεθρίας σωτήριον πεποίηκεν. ἔστι δ᾽ ἀγαθὴ τοῖς εὐνοοῦσιν ἡμῖν ὑπόμνησις δὲ τῆς τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων κολάσεως. [283] εἰδέναι μέντοι γε βούλομαι καὶ πόλιν καὶ πᾶν ἔθνος, ἐὰν τῶν γεγραμμένων τινὸς παρακούσῃ, ὅτι καὶ πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ δαπανηθήσεται. τὰ μέντοι γεγραμμένα προτεθήτω καθ᾽ ὅλης τῆς ἡμῖν ὑπηκόου χώρας, καὶ παρασκευαζέσθωσαν πάντως εἰς τὴν προγεγραμμένην ἡμέραν, ἵνα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μετέλθωσιν.”

12. Wherefore Haman, who had immoderately abused the honor he had from the king, was destroyed after this manner, and the king granted his estate to the queen. He also called for Mordecai, [for Esther had informed him that she was

akin to him,] and gave that ring to Mordecai which he had before given to Haman. The queen also gave Haman's estate to Mordecai; and prayed the king to deliver the nation of the Jews from the fear of death, and showed him what had been written over all the country by Haman the son of Ammedatha; for that if her country were destroyed, and her countrymen were to perish, she could not bear to live herself any longer. So the king promised her that he would not do any thing that should be disagreeable to her, nor contradict what she desired; but he bid her write what she pleased about the Jews, in the king's name, and seal it with his seal, and send it to all his kingdom, for that those who read epistles whose authority is secured by having the king's seal to them, would no way contradict what was written therein. So he commanded the king's scribes to be sent for, and to write to the nations, on the Jews' behalf, and to his lieutenants and governors, that were over his hundred twenty and seven provinces, from India to Ethiopia. Now the contents of this epistle were these: "The great king Artaxerxes to our rulers, and those that are our faithful subjects, sendeth greeting. Many men there are who, on account of the greatness of the benefits bestowed on them, and because of the honor which they have obtained from the wonderful kind treatment of those that bestowed it, are not only injurious to their inferiors, but do not scruple to do evil to those that have been their benefactors, as if they would take away gratitude from among men, and by their insolent abuse of such benefits as they never expected, they turn the abundance they have against those that are the authors of it, and suppose they shall lie concealed from God in that case, and avoid that vengeance which comes from him. Some of these men, when they have had the management of affairs committed to them by their friends, and bearing private malice of their own against some others, by deceiving those that have the power, persuade them to be angry at such as have done them no harm, till they are in danger of perishing, and this by laying accusations and calumnies: nor is this state of things to be discovered by ancient examples, or such as we have learned by report only, but by some examples of such impudent attempts under our own eyes; so that it is not fit to attend any longer to calumnies and accusations, nor to the persuasions of others, but to determine what any one knows of himself to have been really done, and to punish what justly deserves it, and to grant favors to such as are innocent. This hath been the case of Haman, the son of Ammedatha, by birth an Amalekite, and alien from the blood of the Persians, who, when he was hospitably entertained by us, and partook of that kindness which we bear to all men to so great a degree, as to be called my father, and to be all along worshipped, and to have honor paid him by all in the second rank after the royal honor due to ourselves, he could not bear his good fortune, nor govern the magnitude of his prosperity

with sound reason; nay, he made a conspiracy against me and my life, who gave him his authority, by endeavoring to take away Mordecai, my benefactor, and my savior, and by basely and treacherously requiring to have Esther, the partner of my life, and of my dominion, brought to destruction; for he contrived by this means to deprive me of my faithful friends, and transfer the government to others: but since I perceived that these Jews, that were by this pernicious fellow devoted to destruction, were not wicked men, but conducted their lives after the best manner, and were men dedicated to the worship of that God who hath preserved the kingdom to me and to my ancestors, I do not only free them from the punishment which the former epistle, which was sent by Haman, ordered to be inflicted on them, to which if you refuse obedience, you shall do well; but I will that they have all honor paid to them. Accordingly, I have hanged up the man that contrived such things against them, with his family, before the gates of Shushan; that punishment being sent upon him by God, who seeth all things. And I give you in charge, that you publicly propose a copy of this epistle through all my kingdom, that the Jews may be permitted peaceably to use their own laws, and that you assist them, that at the same season whereto their miserable estate did belong, they may defend themselves the very same day from unjust violence, the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which is Adar; for God hath made that day a day of salvation instead of a day of destruction to them; and may it be a good day to those that wish us well, and a memorial of the punishment of the conspirators against us: and I will that you take notice, that every city, and every nation, that shall disobey any thing that is contained in this epistle, shall be destroyed by fire and sword. However, let this epistle be published through all the country that is under our obedience, and let all the Jews, by all means, be ready against the day before mentioned, that they may avenge themselves upon their enemies."

(13) [284] Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἱππεῖς οἱ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς διακομίζοντες εὐθὺς ἐξορμήσαντες τὴν προκειμένην ὁδὸν ἤνυον. ὁ δὲ Μαρδοχαῖος ὡς ἀναλαβὼν τὴν βασιλικὴν στολὴν καὶ τὸν στέφανον τὸν χρυσοῦν καὶ τὸν στρεπτὸν περιθέμενος προῆλθεν, ἰδόντες αὐτὸν οὕτως τετιμημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως οἱ ἐν Σούσοις ὄντες Ἰουδαῖοι κοινὴν ὑπέλαβον τὴν εὐπραγίαν αὐτοῦ. [285] χαρὰ δὲ καὶ σωτήριον φέγγος ἐκτιθεμένων τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως γραμμάτων καὶ τοὺς κατὰ πόλιν τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τοὺς κατὰ χώραν ἐπεῖχεν, ὡς πολλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν διὰ τὸν ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων φόβον περιτεμνόμενα τὴν αἰδῶ τὸ ἀκίνδυνον αὐτοῖς ἐκ τούτου πραγματεύσασθαι. [286] καὶ γὰρ τοῦ δωδεκάτου μηνὸς τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ, ὃς κατὰ μὲν Ἑβραίους Ἄδαρ καλεῖται κατὰ δὲ Μακεδόνας Δύστρος, οἱ κομίσαντες τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως γράμματα ἐδήλουν, ὅπως καθ' ἣν ἡμέραν αὐτοὶ κινδυνεύσειν

ἤμελλον ἐν ταύτῃ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀπολέσωσιν. [287] οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες τῶν σατραπειῶν καὶ οἱ τύραννοι καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς εἶχον ἐν τιμῇ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους: ὁ γὰρ ἐκ Μαρδοχαίου φόβος ἠνάγκαζεν αὐτοὺς σωφρονεῖν. [288] τοῦ δὲ γράμματος τοῦ βασιλικοῦ διὰ πάσης τῆς ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν χώρας γενομένου συνέπεσεν ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἐν Σούσοις Ἰουδαίους ἀποκτεῖναι τῶν ἐχθρῶν περὶ πεντακοσίους. [289] τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως τῶν ἀπολωλότων δηλώσαντος τὸν ἀριθμὸν Ἐσθήρᾳ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας τί ποτ᾽ εἴη γεγονὸς διαποροῦντος καὶ τί πρὸς τούτοις ἔτ᾽ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι βούλεται πυνθανομένου, πραχθήσεσθαι γάρ, παρεκάλεσεν ἐπιτραπῆναι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν οὕτως χρήσασθαι τοῖς ὑπολειπομένοις τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ τοὺς δέκα τοὺς Ἀμάνου παῖδας ἀνασταυρῶσαι. [290] καὶ τοῦτο μὲν προσέταξε τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὁ βασιλεὺς μηδὲν ἀντιλέγειν Ἐσθῆρι δυνάμενος: οἱ δὲ πάλιν συστραφέντες τῇ τετράδι καὶ δεκάτῃ τοῦ Δύστρου μηνὸς ἀπέκτειναν τῶν ἐναντίων ὡς τριακοσίους, καὶ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐκείνοις ὑπαρχόντων ἥψαντο κτημάτων. [291] ἀπέθανον δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν Ἰουδαίων τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῖς ἑπτακισμύριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι. καὶ τούτους μὲν ἀπέκτειναν τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνός, τὴν δὲ ἐχομένην ἑορτάσιμον ἐποίησαν. [292] ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν Σούσοις Ἰουδαῖοι τὴν τετράδα καὶ δεκάτην καὶ τὴν ἐχομένην τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς συναθροισθέντες εὐωχήθησαν. ὅθεν καὶ νῦν οἱ ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ Ἰουδαῖοι πάντες τὰς ἡμέρας ταύτας ἑορτάζουσιν διαπεμπόμενοι μερίδας ἀλλήλοις. [293] ἔγραψεν δὲ Μαρδοχαῖος τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀρταξέρξου βασιλείᾳ [ζῶσιν] Ἰουδαίοις ταύτας παραφυλάσσειν τὰς ἡμέρας καὶ ἑορτὴν ἄγειν αὐτὰς καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις παραδοῦναι τοῦ πρὸς πάντα διαμεῖναι τὸν χρόνον τὴν ἑορτὴν ἕνεκα καὶ μὴ λήθῃ παραπολέσθαι: [294] μελλήσαντας γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐν ταύταις διαφθείρεσθαι ταῖς ἡμέραις ὑπὸ Ἀμάνου δίκαια ποιήσειν, εἰ διαφυγόντες μὲν ἐν αὐταῖς τὸν κίνδυνον τοὺς δ᾽ ἐχθροὺς τιμωρησάμενοι παρατηρήσουσιν αὐτὰς εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ θεῷ. [295] διὰ ταῦτα μὲν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τὰς προειρημένας ἡμέρας ἑορτάζουσιν προσαγορεύσαντες αὐτὰς φρουρέας. ὁ δὲ Μαρδοχαῖος μέγας τε ἦν καὶ λαμπρὸς παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ συνδιεῖπεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολαύων ἅμα καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας τοῦ βίου τῇ βασιλίσσῃ. [296] ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τὰ πράγματα δι᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀμείνω πάσης ἐλπίδος. καὶ τὰ μὲν τούτοις βασιλεύοντος Ἀρταξέρξου συμβάντα τοῦτον εἶχεν τὸν τρόπον.

13. Accordingly, the horsemen who carried the epistles proceeded on the ways which they were to go with speed: but as for Mordecai, as soon as he had assumed the royal garment, and the crown of gold, and had put the chain about his neck, he went forth in a public procession; and when the Jews who were at Shushan saw him in so great honor with the king, they thought his good fortune was common to themselves also, and joy and a beam of salvation encompassed the Jews, both those that were in the cities, and those that were in the countries,

upon the publication of the king's letters, insomuch that many even of other nations circumcised their foreskin for fear of the Jews, that they might procure safety to themselves thereby; for on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which according to the Hebrews is called Adar, but according to the Macedonians, Dystrus, those that carried the king's epistle gave them notice, that the same day wherein their danger was to have been, on that very day should they destroy their enemies. But now the rulers of the provinces, and the tyrants, and the kings, and the scribes, had the Jews in esteem; for the fear they were in of Mordecai forced them to act with discretion. Now when the royal decree was come to all the country that was subject to the king, it fell out that the Jews at Shushan slew five hundred of their enemies; and when the king had told Esther the number of those that were slain in that city, but did not well know what had been done in the provinces, he asked her whether she would have any thing further done against them, for that it should be done accordingly: upon which she desired that the Jews might be permitted to treat their remaining enemies in the same manner the next day; as also that they might hang the ten sons of Haman upon the gallows. So the king permitted the Jews so to do, as desirous not to contradict Esther. So they gathered themselves together again on the fourteenth day of the month Dystrus, and slew about three hundred of their enemies, but touched nothing of what riches they had. Now there were slain by the Jews that were in the country, and in the other cities, seventy-five thousand of their enemies, and these were slain on the thirteenth day of the month, and the next day they kept as a festival. In like manner the Jews that were in Shushan gathered themselves together, and feasted on the fourteenth day, and that which followed it; whence it is that even now all the Jews that are in the habitable earth keep these days festival, and send portions to one another. Mordecai also wrote to the Jews that lived in the kingdom of Artaxerxes to observe these days, and celebrate them as festivals, and to deliver them down to posterity, that this festival might continue for all time to come, and that it might never be buried in oblivion; for since they were about to be destroyed on these days by Haman, they would do a right thing, upon escaping the danger in them, and on them inflicting punishment on their enemies, to observe those days, and give thanks to God on them; for which cause the Jews still keep the forementioned days, and call them days of Phurim (or Purim.) And Mordecai became a great and illustrious person with the king, and assisted him in the government of the people. He also lived with the queen; so that the affairs of the Jews were, by their means, better than they could ever have hoped for. And this was the state of the Jews under the reign of Artaxerxes.

CHAPTER 7. How John Slew His Brother Jesus In The Temple; And How Bagoses Offered Many Injuries To The Jews; And What Sanballat Did.

(1) [297] Ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Ἐλεασίβου τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην Ἰώδας ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ διεδέξατο. τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ τούτου τὴν τιμὴν Ἰωάννης υἱὸς ὢν αὐτοῦ παρέλαβεν, δι᾽ ὃν καὶ Βαγώσης ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ [ἄλλου] Ἀρταξέρξου τὸν ναὸν ἐμίανεν καὶ φόρους ἐπέταξε τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, πρὶν τὰς καθημερινὰς ἐπιφέρειν θυσίας ὑπὲρ ἀρνὸς ἑκάστου τελεῖν αὐτοὺς δημοσίᾳ δραχμὰς πεντήκοντα. [298] τούτου δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν τοιαύτην συνέβη γενέσθαι: ἀδελφὸς ἦν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ Ἰησοῦς: τούτῳ φίλῳ τυγχάνοντι ὁ Βαγώσης ὑπέσχετο τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην παρέξειν. [299] ἀπὸ ταύτης οὖν τῆς πεποιθήσεως Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῷ ναῷ διενεχθεὶς τῷ Ἰωάννῃ παρώξυνεν τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὥστ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν καὶ διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν τηλικοῦτο ἀσέβημα δρᾶσαι κατ᾽ ἀδελφοῦ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ὡς δεινὸν ἦν καὶ πρότερον, ὡς μήτε παρ᾽ Ἕλλησιν μήτε παρὰ βαρβάροις ὠμὸν οὕτως καὶ ἀσεβὲς ἔργον γεγονέναι. [300] τὸ μέντοι θεῖον οὐκ ἠμέλησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ λαὸς δι᾽ αὐτὴν τὴν αἰτίαν ἐδουλώθη καὶ ὁ ναὸς ἐμιάνθη ὑπὸ Περσῶν. Βαγώσης δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀρταξέρξου γνούς, ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐφόνευσεν, εὐθὺς ἐπιστὰς τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις μετὰ θυμοῦ ἤρξατο λέγειν: [301] “ἐτολμήσατε ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ φόνον ἐργάσασθαι.” πειρωμένου δ᾽ αὐτοῦ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἐκώλυον αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔφη: “πῶς οὐκ ἐγὼ καθαρώτερός εἰμι τοῦ ἀνηρημένου ἐν τῷ ναῷ;” καὶ τούτους ποιησάμενος τοὺς λόγους εἰς τὸν ναὸν εἰσέρχεται. ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν χρησάμενος τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ Βαγώσης τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἔτεσιν ἑπτὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰησοῦ τελευτῆς μετῆλθεν.

1. When Eliashib the high priest was dead, his son Judas succeeded in the high priesthood; and when he was dead, his son John took that dignity; on whose account it was also that Bagoses, the general of another Artaxerxes’s army, polluted the temple, and imposed tributes on the Jews, that out of the public stock, before they offered the daily sacrifices, they should pay for every lamb fifty shekels. Now Jesus was the brother of John, and was a friend of Bagoses, who had promised to procure him the high priesthood. In confidence of whose support, Jesus quarreled with John in the temple, and so provoked his brother, that in his anger his brother slew him. Now it was a horrible thing for John, when he was high priest, to perpetrate so great a crime, and so much the more horrible, that there never was so cruel and impious a thing done, neither by the

Greeks nor Barbarians. However, God did not neglect its punishment, but the people were on that very account enslaved, and the temple was polluted by the Persians. Now when Bagoses, the general of Artaxerxes's army, knew that John, the high priest of the Jews, had slain his own brother Jesus in the temple, he came upon the Jews immediately, and began in anger to say to them, "Have you had the impudence to perpetrate a murder in your temple?" And as he was aiming to go into the temple, they forbade him so to do; but he said to them, "Am not I purer than he that was slain in the temple?" And when he had said these words, he went into the temple. Accordingly, Bagoses made use of this pretense, and punished the Jews seven years for the murder of Jesus.

(2) [302] Καταστρέψαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἰωάννου τὸν βίον διαδέχεται τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰαδδοῦς. ἦν δὲ καὶ τούτῳ ἀδελφὸς Μανασσῆς ὄνομα, ᾧ Σαναβαλλέτης ὁ πεμφθεὶς εἰς Σαμάρειαν ὑπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ τελευταίου βασιλέως σατράπης Χουθαῖος τὸ γένος, ἐξ ὧν καὶ οἱ Σαμαρεῖς εἰσιν, [303] εἰδὼς λαμπρὰν οὖσαν τὴν πόλιν Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ κοίλῃ Συρίᾳ κατοικοῦσιν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ βασιλεῖς πράγματα παρασχόντας, ἀσμένως συνῴκισεν τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα Νικασὼ καλουμένην, οἰόμενος τὴν ἐπιγαμίαν ὅμηρον αὐτῷ γενήσεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους παντὸς εὔνοιαν.

2. Now when John had departed this life, his son Jaddua succeeded in the high priesthood. He had a brother, whose name was Manasseh. Now there was one Sanballat, who was sent by Darius, the last king [of Persia], into Samaria. He was a Cutheam by birth; of which stock were the Samaritans also. This man knew that the city Jerusalem was a famous city, and that their kings had given a great deal of trouble to the Assyrians, and the people of Celesyria; so that he willingly gave his daughter, whose name was Nicaso, in marriage to Manasseh, as thinking this alliance by marriage would be a pledge and security that the nation of the Jews should continue their good-will to him.

VIII

CHAPTER 8. Concerning Sanballat And Manasseh, And The Temple Which They Built On Mount Gerizzim; As Also How Alexander Made His Entry Into The City Jerusalem, And What Benefits He Bestowed On The Jews.

(1) [304] Κατὰ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν καιρὸν καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἐν Αἰγαῖς ὑπὸ Παυσανίου τοῦ Κεράστου ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τῶν Ὀρεστῶν γένους δολοφονηθεὶς ἀπέθανεν. [305] παραλαβὼν δ' ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, νικᾷ μὲν τοὺς Δαρείου στρατηγοὺς ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς, ἐπελθὼν δὲ τὴν Λυδίαν καὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν δουλωσάμενος καὶ τὴν Καρίαν ἐπιδραμὼν τοῖς ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ τόποις ἐπέβαλεν, καθὼς ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται.

1. About this time it was that Philip, king of Macedon, was treacherously assaulted and slain at Egae by Pausanias, the son of Cerastes, who was derived from the family of Oreste, and his son Alexander succeeded him in the kingdom; who, passing over the Hellespont, overcame the generals of Darius's army in a battle fought at Granicum. So he marched over Lydia, and subdued Ionia, and overran Caria, and fell upon the places of Pamphylia, as has been related elsewhere.

(2) [306] Οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πρεσβύτεροι δεινοπαθοῦντες ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν Ἰαδδοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἀδελφὸν ἀλλοφύλῳ συνοικοῦντα μετέχειν τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἐστασίαζον πρὸς αὐτόν: [307] ἡγοῦντο γὰρ τὸν τούτου γάμον ἐπιβάθραν τοῖς παρανομεῖν περὶ τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν συνοικήσεις βουλησομένοις γενέσθαι καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους αὐτοῖς κοινωνίας ἀρχὴν τοῦτο ἔσεσθαι. [308] ὑπάρξαι μέντοι καὶ τῆς προτέρας αἰχμαλωσίας αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν κακῶν αἴτιον τὸ περὶ τοὺς γάμους πλημμελῆσαί τινας καὶ ἀγαγέσθαι γυναῖκας οὐκ ἐπιχωρίας. ἐκέλευον οὖν τὸν Μανασσῆν διαζεύγνυσθαι τῆς γυναικὸς ἢ μὴ προσιέναι τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ. [309] τοῦ δ' ἀρχιερέως τῷ λαῷ συναγανακτοῦντος καὶ εἴργοντος τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ βωμοῦ, παραγενόμενος ὁ Μανασσῆς πρὸς τὸν πενθερὸν Σαναβαλλέτην στέργειν μὲν ἔλεγεν αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα Νικασώ, τῆς μέντοι γε ἱερατικῆς τιμῆς μεγίστης οὔσης ἐν τῷ ἔθνει καὶ τῷ γένει παραμενούσης οὐ βούλεσθαι δι' αὐτὴν στέρεσθαι. [310] τοῦ δὲ Σαναβαλλέτου μὴ μόνον τηρήσειν αὐτῷ τὴν ἱερωσύνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν παρέξειν δύναμιν καὶ τιμὴν ὑπισχνουμένου καὶ πάντων ἀποδείξειν ὧν αὐτὸς ἐπῆρχεν τόπων ἡγεμόνα βουλόμενον συνοικεῖν

αὐτοῦ τῇ θυγατρί, καὶ λέγοντος οἰκοδομήσειν ναὸν ὅμοιον ὄντα τῷ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαριζεὶν ὄρους, ὃ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σαμάρειαν ὀρῶν ἐστιν ὑψηλότατον, [311] καὶ ταῦτα ποιήσειν ἐπαγγελλομένου μετὰ τῆς Δαρείου γνώμης τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐπαρθεὶς ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν ὁ Μανασσῆς παρέμενεν τῷ Σαναβαλλέτῃ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην οἰόμενος ἕξειν Δαρείου δόντος: καὶ γὰρ συνέβαινεν τὸν Σαναβαλλέτην ἤδη πρεσβύτερον εἶναι. [312] πολλῶν δὲ ἱερέων καὶ Ἰσραηλιτῶν τοιούτοις γάμοις ἐπιπεπλεγμένων κατεῖχεν οὐ μικρὰ ταραχὴ τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας: ἀφίσταντο γὰρ ἅπαντες πρὸς τὸν Μανασσῆν τοῦ Σαναβαλλέτου χορηγοῦντος αὐτοῖς καὶ χρήματα καὶ χώραν εἰς γεωργίαν καὶ κατοίκησιν ἀπομερίζοντος καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ τῷ γαμβρῷ συμφιλοκαλοῦντος.

2. But the elders of Jerusalem being very uneasy that the brother of Jaddua the high priest, though married to a foreigner, should be a partner with him in the high priesthood, quarreled with him; for they esteemed this man's marriage a step to such as should be desirous of transgressing about the marriage of [strange] wives, and that this would be the beginning of a mutual society with foreigners, although the offense of some about marriages, and their having married wives that were not of their own country, had been an occasion of their former captivity, and of the miseries they then underwent; so they commanded Manasseh to divorce his wife, or not to approach the altar, the high priest himself joining with the people in their indignation against his brother, and driving him away from the altar. Whereupon Manasseh came to his father-in-law, Sanballat, and told him, that although he loved his daughter Nicaso, yet was he not willing to be deprived of his sacerdotal dignity on her account, which was the principal dignity in their nation, and always continued in the same family. And then Sanballat promised him not only to preserve to him the honor of his priesthood, but to procure for him the power and dignity of a high priest, and would make him governor of all the places he himself now ruled, if he would keep his daughter for his wife. He also told him further, that he would build him a temple like that at Jerusalem, upon Mount Gerizzini, which is the highest of all the mountains that are in Samaria; and he promised that he would do this with the approbation of Darius the king. Manasseh was elevated with these promises, and staid with Sanballat, upon a supposal that he should gain a high priesthood, as bestowed on him by Darius, for it happened that Sanballat was then in years. But there was now a great disturbance among the people of Jerusalem, because many of those priests and Levites were entangled in such matches; for they all revolted to Manasseh, and Sanballat afforded them money, and divided among them land for tillage, and habitations also, and all this in order every way to gratify his son-in-law.

(3) [313] Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν Δαρεῖος ἀκούσας, ὅτι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον διαβὰς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τοὺς σατράπας αὐτοῦ τῇ κατὰ Γράνικον μάχῃ κρατήσας προσωτέρω χωρεῖ, στρατιὰν ἱππικήν τε καὶ πεζικὴν συνήθροιζεν ἁπαντῆσαι διαγνοὺς τοῖς Μακεδόσιν πρὶν ἢ πᾶσαν αὐτοὺς ἐπιόντας καταστρέψασθαι τὴν Ἀσίαν. [314] περαιωσάμενος οὖν τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν καὶ τὸν Ταῦρον τὸ Κιλίκιον ὄρος ὑπερελθὼν ἐν Ἰσσῷ τῆς Κιλικίας τοὺς πολεμίους ὡς ἐκεῖ μαχησόμενος αὐτοῖς ἐξεδέχετο. [315] ἡσθεὶς δὲ τῇ Δαρείου καταβάσει ὁ Σαναβαλλέτης εὐθὺς ἔλεγεν τῷ Μανασσῇ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις τελέσειν, ὡς ἂν Δαρεῖος κρατήσας τῶν πολεμίων ὑποστρέψῃ: πέπειστο γὰρ οὐκ αὐτὸς μόνος ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ μηδ’ εἰς χεῖρας τοῖς Πέρσαις ἥξειν τοὺς Μακεδόνας διὰ τὸ πλῆθος. [316] ἀπέβη δ’ οὐχ ὡς προσεδόκων: συμβαλὼν γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἡττήθη καὶ πολλὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπολέσας ληφθέντων αἰχμαλώτων αὐτοῦ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν τέκνων ἔφυγεν εἰς Πέρσας. [317] Ἀλέξανδρος δ’ εἰς Συρίαν παραγενόμενος Δαμασκὸν αἱρεῖ καὶ Σιδῶνος κρατήσας ἐπολιόρκει Τύρον, ἠξίου τε ἀποστείλας γράμματα πρὸς τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέα συμμαχίαν τε αὐτῷ πέμπειν καὶ ἀγορὰν τῷ στρατεύματι παρασχεῖν καὶ ὅσα Δαρείῳ πρότερον ἐτέλουν δῶρα τούτῳ διδόναι τὴν Μακεδόνων φιλίαν ἑλομένους: [318] οὐ γὰρ μετανοήσειν ἐπὶ τούτοις. τοῦ δ’ ἀρχιερέως ἀποκριναμένου τοῖς γραμματοφόροις, ὡς ὅρκους εἴη δεδωκὼς Δαρείῳ μὴ βαστάζειν ὅπλα κατ’ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τούτους ἕως ἂν ᾖ Δαρεῖος ἐν τοῖς ζῶσιν μὴ παραβήσεσθαι φήσαντος, [319] ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος παρωξύνθη, καὶ τὴν μὲν Τύρον οὐκ ἔκρινεν καταλιπεῖν ὅσον οὐδέπω μέλλουσαν αἱρεῖσθαι, παραστησάμενος δὲ ταύτην ἠπείλει στρατεύσειν ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέα καὶ διδάξειν πάντας, πρὸς τίνας δὴ αὐτοῖς φυλακτέον τοὺς ὅρκους: [320] ὅθεν πονικώτερον χρησάμενος τῇ πολιορκίᾳ λαμβάνει τὴν Τύρον. καταστησάμενος δὲ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Γαζαίων πόλιν ἦλθεν καὶ τήν τε Γάζαν καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ φρούραρχον ὄνομα Βαβημάσιν ἐπολιόρκει.

3. About this time it was that Darius heard how Alexander had passed over the Hellespont, and had beaten his lieutenants in the battle at Granicum, and was proceeding further; whereupon he gathered together an army of horse and foot, and determined that he would meet the Macedonians before they should assault and conquer all Asia. So he passed over the river Euphrates, and came over Taurus, the Cilician mountain, and at Issus of Cilicia he waited for the enemy, as ready there to give him battle. Upon which Sanballat was glad that Darius was come down; and told Manasseh that he would suddenly perform his promises to him, and this as soon as ever Darius should come back, after he had beaten his enemies; for not he only, but all those that were in Asia also, were persuaded that the Macedonians would not so much as come to a battle with the Persians,

on account of their multitude. But the event proved otherwise than they expected; for the king joined battle with the Macedonians, and was beaten, and lost a great part of his army. His mother also, and his wife and children, were taken captives, and he fled into Persia. So Alexander came into Syria, and took Damascus; and when he had obtained Sidon, he besieged Tyre, when he sent all epistle to the Jewish high priest, to send him some auxiliaries, and to supply his army with provisions; and that what presents he formerly sent to Darius, he would now send to him, and choose the friendship of the Macedonians, and that he should never repent of so doing. But the high priest answered the messengers, that he had given his oath to Darius not to bear arms against him; and he said that he would not transgress this while Darius was in the land of the living. Upon hearing this answer, Alexander was very angry; and though he determined not to leave Tyre, which was just ready to be taken, yet as soon as he had taken it, he threatened that he would make an expedition against the Jewish high priest, and through him teach all men to whom they must keep their oaths. So when he had, with a good deal of pains during the siege, taken Tyre, and had settled its affairs, he came to the city of Gaza, and besieged both the city and him that was governor of the garrison, whose name was Babemeses.

(4) [321] Νομίσας δὲ καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἔχειν ὁ Σαναβαλλέτης τῆς ἐπιβολῆς Δαρείου μὲν ἀπέγνω, λαβὼν δὲ ὀκτακισχιλίους τῶν ἀρχομένων ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἦκεν καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτὸν ἀρχόμενον τῆς Τύρου πολιορκίας, ὧν τε αὐτὸς ἄρχει τόπων ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ παραδιδόναι τούτους καὶ δεσπότην αὐτὸν ἡδέως ἔχειν ἀντὶ Δαρείου τοῦ βασιλέως. [322] ἀσμένως δ᾽ αὐτὸν προσδεξαμένου θαρρῶν ἤδη περὶ τῶν προκειμένων ὁ Σαναβαλλέτης αὐτῷ λόγους προσέφερεν δηλῶν, ὡς γαμβρὸν μὲν ἔχοι Μανασσῆ τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέως Ἰαδδοῦ ἀδελφόν, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους αὐτῷ συμπαρόντας τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν θέλειν ἱερὸν ἐν τοῖς ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνῳ τόποις ἤδη κατασκευάσαι. [323] τοῦτο δ᾽ εἶναι καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ συμφέρον εἰς δύο διῃρῆσθαι τὴν Ἰουδαίων δύναμιν, ἵνα μὴ ὁμογνωμονοῦν τὸ ἔθνος μηδὲ συνεστός, εἰ νεωτερίσειέν ποτε, χαλεπὸν ᾖ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, καθὼς καὶ πρότερον τοῖς Ἀσσυρίων ἄρξασιν ἐγένετο. [324] συγχωρήσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου πᾶσαν εἰσενεγκάμενος σπουδὴν ᾠκοδόμησεν ὁ Σαναβαλλέτης τὸν ναὸν καὶ ἱερέα τὸν Μανασσῆ κατέστησεν, μέγιστον γέρας ἡγησάμενος τοῖς ἐκ τῆς θυγατρὸς γενησομένοις τοῦτ᾽ ἔσεσθαι. [325] μηνῶν δ᾽ ἑπτὰ τῇ Τύρου πολιορκίᾳ διεληλυθότων καὶ δύο τῇ Γάζης ὁ μὲν Σαναβαλλέτης ἀπέθανεν. Ἀλέξανδρος δ᾽ ἐξελὼν τὴν Γάζαν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ἀναβαίνειν ἐσπουδάκει. [326] ὁ δ᾽ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰαδδοῦς τοῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας ἦν ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ καὶ δέει, πῶς ἀπαντήσει τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἀμηχανῶν ὀργιζομένου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τῇ πρότερον ἀπειθείᾳ. παραγγείλας οὖν ἱκεσίαν τῷ λαῷ καὶ θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ μετ᾽

αὐτοῦ προσφέρων ἐδεῖτο ὑπερασπίσαι τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τῶν ἐπερχομένων κινδύνων ἀπαλλάξαι. [327] κατακοιμηθέντι δὲ μετὰ τὴν θυσίαν ἐχρημάτισεν αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὁ θεὸς θαρρεῖν καὶ στεφανοῦντας τὴν πόλιν ἀνοίγειν τὰς πύλας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους λευκαῖς ἐσθῆσιν, αὐτὸν δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἱερέων ταῖς νομίμοις στολαῖς ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ὑπάντησιν μηδὲν προσδοκῶντας πείσεσθαι δεινὸν προνοουμένου τοῦ θεοῦ. [328] διαναστὰς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ὕπνου ἔχαιρέν τε μεγάλως αὐτὸς καὶ τὸ χρηματισθὲν αὐτῷ πᾶσι μηνύσας καὶ ποιήσας ὅσα κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους αὐτῷ παρηγγέλη τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως παρουσίαν ἐξεδέχετο.

4. But Sanballat thought he had now gotten a proper opportunity to make his attempt, so he renounced Darius, and taking with him seven thousand of his own subjects, he came to Alexander; and finding him beginning the siege of Tyre, he said to him, that he delivered up to him these men, who came out of places under his dominion, and did gladly accept of him for his lord instead of Darius. So when Alexander had received him kindly, Sanballat thereupon took courage, and spake to him about his present affair. He told him that he had a son-in-law, Manasseh, who was brother to the high priest Jaddua; and that there were many others of his own nation, now with him, that were desirous to have a temple in the places subject to him; that it would be for the king's advantage to have the strength of the Jews divided into two parts, lest when the nation is of one mind, and united, upon any attempt for innovation, it prove troublesome to kings, as it had formerly proved to the kings of Assyria. Whereupon Alexander gave Sanballat leave so to do, who used the utmost diligence, and built the temple, and made Manasseh the priest, and deemed it a great reward that his daughter's children should have that dignity; but when the seven months of the siege of Tyre were over, and the two months of the siege of Gaza, Sanballat died. Now Alexander, when he had taken Gaza, made haste to go up to Jerusalem; and Jaddua the high priest, when he heard that, was in an agony, and under terror, as not knowing how he should meet the Macedonians, since the king was displeased at his foregoing disobedience. He therefore ordained that the people should make supplications, and should join with him in offering sacrifice to God, whom he besought to protect that nation, and to deliver them from the perils that were coming upon them; whereupon God warned him in a dream, which came upon him after he had offered sacrifice, that he should take courage, and adorn the city, and open the gates; that the rest should appear in white garments, but that he and the priests should meet the king in the habits proper to their order, without the dread of any ill consequences, which the providence of God would prevent. Upon which, when he rose from his sleep, he greatly rejoiced, and

declared to all the warning he had received from God. According to which dream he acted entirely, and so waited for the coming of the king.

(5) [329] Πυθόμενος δ᾽ αὐτὸν οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως ὄντα πρόεισι μετὰ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλήθους, ἱεροπρεπῆ καὶ διαφέρουσαν τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ποιούμενος τὴν ὑπάντησιν εἰς τόπον τινὰ Σαφειν λεγόμενον. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τοῦτο μεταφερόμενον εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν γλῶτταν σκοπὸν σημαίνει: τά τε γὰρ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸν ναὸν συνέβαινεν ἐκεῖθεν ἀφορᾶσθαι. [330] τῶν δὲ Φοινίκων καὶ τῶν ἀκολουθούντων Χαλδαίων ὅσα βασιλέως ὀργὴν εἰκὸς ἦν ἐπιτρέψειν αὐτοῖς τήν τε πόλιν διαρπάσειν καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα μετ᾽ αἰκίας ἀπολέσειν λογιζομένων, τὰ ἐναντία τούτων ἐγένετο. [331] ὁ γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτι πόρρωθεν ἰδὼν τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἐν ταῖς λευκαῖς ἐσθῆσιν, τοὺς δὲ ἱερεῖς προεστῶτας ἐν ταῖς βυσσίναις αὐτῶν, τὸν δὲ ἀρχιερέα ἐν τῇ ὑακινθίνῳ καὶ διαχρύσῳ στολῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχοντα τὴν κίδαριν καὶ τὸ χρυσοῦν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἔλασμα, ᾧ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγέγραπτο ὄνομα, προσελθὼν μόνος προσεκύνησεν τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα πρῶτος ἠσπάσατο. [332] τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων ὁμοῦ πάντων μιᾷ φωνῇ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀσπασαμένων καὶ κυκλωσαμένων αὐτόν, οἱ μὲν τῆς Συρίας βασιλεῖς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντος κατεπλάγησαν καὶ διεφθάρθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν διάνοιαν ὑπελάμβανον, [333] Παρμενίωνος δὲ μόνου προσελθόντος αὐτῷ καὶ πυθομένου, τί δήποτε προσκυνούντων αὐτὸν ἁπάντων αὐτὸς προσκυνήσειεν τὸν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέα; “οὐ τοῦτον, εἶπεν, προσεκύνησα, τὸν δὲ θεόν, οὗ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην οὗτος τετίμηται: [334] τοῦτον γὰρ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους εἶδον ἐν τῷ νῦν σχήματι ἐν Δίῳ τῆς Μακεδονίας τυγχάνων, καὶ πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν διασκεπτομένῳ μοι, πῶς ἂν κρατήσαιμι τῆς Ἀσίας, παρεκελεύετο μὴ μέλλειν ἀλλὰ θαρσοῦντα διαβαίνειν: αὐτὸς γὰρ ἡγήσεσθαί μου τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ τὴν Περσῶν παραδώσειν ἀρχήν. [335] ὅθεν ἄλλον μὲν οὐδένα θεασάμενος ἐν τοιαύτῃ στολῇ, τοῦτον δὲ νῦν ἰδὼν καὶ τῆς κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἀναμνησθεὶς ὄψεώς τε καὶ παρακελεύσεως, νομίζω θείᾳ πομπῇ τὴν στρατείαν πεποιημένος Δαρεῖον νικήσειν καὶ τὴν Περσῶν καταλύσειν δύναμιν καὶ πάνθ᾽ ὅσα κατὰ νοῦν ἐστί μοι προχωρήσειν.” [336] ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν πρὸς τὸν Παρμενίωνα καὶ δεξιωσάμενος τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων παραθεόντων εἰς τὴν πόλιν παραγίνεται. καὶ ἀνελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν θύει μὲν τῷ θεῷ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ὑφήγησιν, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἀξιοπρεπῶς ἐτίμησεν. [337] δειχθείσης δ᾽ αὐτῷ τῆς Δανιήλου βίβλου, ἐν ᾗ τινα τῶν Ἑλλήνων καταλύσειν τὴν Περσῶν ἀρχὴν ἐδήλου, νομίσας αὐτὸς εἶναι ὁ σημαινόμενος τότε μὲν ἡσθεὶς ἀπέλυσε τὸ πλῆθος, τῇ δ᾽ ἐπιούσῃ προσκαλεσάμενος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς αἰτεῖσθαι δωρεάς, ἃς ἂν αὐτοὶ θέλωσιν. [338] τοῦ δ᾽ ἀρχιερέως αἰτησαμένου χρήσασθαι τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις καὶ τὸ ἕβδομον ἔτος ἀνείσφορον εἶναι, συνεχώρησεν πάντα. παρακαλεσάντων δ᾽ αὐτόν, ἵνα καὶ τοὺς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι καὶ Μηδίᾳ Ἰουδαίους τοῖς

ἰδίοις ἐπιτρέψῃ νόμοις χρῆσθαι, ἀσμένως ὑπέσχετο ποιήσειν ἅπερ ἀξιοῦσιν. [339] εἰπόντος δ᾽ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος, εἴ τινες αὐτῷ βούλονται συστρατεύειν τοῖς πατρίοις ἔθεσιν ἐμμένοντες καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ζῶντες, ἑτοίμως ἔχειν ἐπάγεσθαι, πολλοὶ τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατείαν ἠγάπησαν.

5. And when he understood that he was not far from the city, he went out in procession, with the priests and the multitude of the citizens. The procession was venerable, and the manner of it different from that of other nations. It reached to a place called Sapha, which name, translated into Greek, signifies a prospect, for you have thence a prospect both of Jerusalem and of the temple. And when the Phoenicians and the Chaldeans that followed him thought they should have liberty to plunder the city, and torment the high priest to death, which the king's displeasure fairly promised them, the very reverse of it happened; for Alexander, when he saw the multitude at a distance, in white garments, while the priests stood clothed with fine linen, and the high priest in purple and scarlet clothing, with his mitre on his head, having the golden plate whereon the name of God was engraved, he approached by himself, and adored that name, and first saluted the high priest. The Jews also did all together, with one voice, salute Alexander, and encompass him about; whereupon the kings of Syria and the rest were surprised at what Alexander had done, and supposed him disordered in his mind. However, Parmenio alone went up to him, and asked him how it came to pass that, when all others adored him, he should adore the high priest of the Jews? To whom he replied, "I did not adore him, but that God who hath honored him with his high priesthood; for I saw this very person in a dream, in this very habit, when I was at Dios in Macedonia, who, when I was considering with myself how I might obtain the dominion of Asia, exhorted me to make no delay, but boldly to pass over the sea thither, for that he would conduct my army, and would give me the dominion over the Persians; whence it is that, having seen no other in that habit, and now seeing this person in it, and remembering that vision, and the exhortation which I had in my dream, I believe that I bring this army under the Divine conduct, and shall therewith conquer Darius, and destroy the power of the Persians, and that all things will succeed according to what is in my own mind." And when he had said this to Parmenio, and had given the high priest his right hand, the priests ran along by him, and he came into the city. And when he went up into the temple, he offered sacrifice to God, according to the high priest's direction, and magnificently treated both the high priest and the priests. And when the Book of Daniel was showed him wherein Daniel declared that one of the Greeks should destroy the empire of the Persians, he supposed that himself was the person intended. And as he was then glad, he dismissed the

multitude for the present; but the next day he called them to him, and bid them ask what favors they pleased of him; whereupon the high priest desired that they might enjoy the laws of their forefathers, and might pay no tribute on the seventh year. He granted all they desired. And when they entreated him that he would permit the Jews in Babylon and Media to enjoy their own laws also, he willingly promised to do hereafter what they desired. And when he said to the multitude, that if any of them would enlist themselves in his army, on this condition, that they should continue under the laws of their forefathers, and live according to them, he was willing to take them with him, many were ready to accompany him in his wars.

(6) [340] Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος ταῦτα διοικησάμενος ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐξεστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐχομένας πόλεις. πάντων δ᾽ αὐτὸν πρὸς οὓς ἀφίκοιτο φιλοφρόνως ἐκδεχομένων, Σαμαρεῖται μητρόπολιν τότε τὴν Σίκειμαν ἔχοντες κειμένην πρὸς τῷ Γαριζεὶν ὄρει καὶ κατῳκημένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστατῶν τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους, ἰδόντες ὅτι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους Ἀλέξανδρος οὕτω λαμπρῶς τετίμηκεν ἔγνωσαν αὐτοὺς Ἰουδαίους ὁμολογεῖν. [341] εἰσὶν γὰρ οἱ Σαμαρεῖς τοιοῦτοι τὴν φύσιν, ὡς ἤδη που καὶ πρότερον δεδηλώκαμεν: ἐν μὲν ταῖς συμφοραῖς ὄντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀρνοῦνται συγγενεῖς ὁμολογοῦντες τότε τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὅταν δέ τι λαμπρὸν περὶ αὐτοὺς ἴδωσιν ἐκ τύχης, ἐπιπηδῶσιν αὐτῶν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ προσήκειν αὐτοῖς λέγοντες καὶ ἐκ τῶν Ἰωσήπου γενεαλογοῦντες αὐτοὺς ἐκγόνων Ἐφραίμου καὶ Μανασσοῦς. [342] μετὰ λαμπρότητος οὖν καὶ πολλὴν ἐνδεικνύμενοι τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν προθυμίαν ἀπήντησαν τῷ βασιλεῖ μικροῦ δεῖν ἐγγὺς τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων. ἐπαινέσαντος δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου οἱ Σικιμῖται προσῆλθον αὐτῷ προσπαραλαβόντες καὶ οὓς Σαναβαλλέτης πρὸς αὐτὸν στρατιώτας ἀπέστειλεν καὶ παρεκάλουν παραγενόμενον εἰς τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν τιμῆσαι καὶ τὸ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἱερόν. [343] ὁ δ᾽ ἐκεῖνο μὲν αὖθις ὑποστρέφων ἰδεῖν ὑπέσχετο πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀξιούντων δὲ ἀφεῖναι τὸν φόρον αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἑβδοματικοῦ ἔτους, οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ σπείρειν, τίνες ὄντες ταῦτα παρακαλοῦσιν ἐπυνθάνετο. τῶν δ᾽ εἰπόντων Ἑβραῖοι μὲν εἶναι, [344] χρηματίζειν δ᾽ οἱ ἐν Σικίμοις Σιδώνιοι, πάλιν αὐτοὺς ἐπηρώτησεν, εἰ τυγχάνουσιν Ἰουδαῖοι. τῶν δ᾽ οὐκ εἶναι φαμένων "ἀλλ᾽ ἔγωγε ταῦτ᾽, εἶπεν, Ἰουδαίοις ἔδωκα, ὑποστρέψας μέντοι γε καὶ διδαχθεὶς ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν ἀκριβέστερον ποιήσω τὰ δόξαντα." τοῖς μὲν οὖν Σικιμίταις οὕτως ἀπετάξατο. [345] τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Σαναβαλλέτου στρατιώτας ἐκέλευσεν ἔπεσθαι εἰς Αἴγυπτον: ἐκεῖ γὰρ αὐτοῖς δώσειν κλήρους γῆς: ὃ καὶ μετ᾽ ὀλίγον ἐποίησεν ἐν τῇ Θηβαίδι φρουρεῖν τὴν χώραν αὐτοῖς προστάξας.

6. So when Alexander had thus settled matters at Jerusalem, he led his army into the neighboring cities; and when all the inhabitants to whom he came received him with great kindness, the Samaritans, who had then Shechem for their

metropolis, [a city situate at Mount Gerizzim, and inhabited by apostates of the Jewish nation,] seeing that Alexander had so greatly honored the Jews, determined to profess themselves Jews; for such is the disposition of the Samaritans, as we have already elsewhere declared, that when the Jews are in adversity, they deny that they are of kin to them, and then they confess the truth; but when they perceive that some good fortune hath befallen them, they immediately pretend to have communion with them, saying that they belong to them, and derive their genealogy from the posterity of Joseph, Ephraim, and Manasseh. Accordingly, they made their address to the king with splendor, and showed great alacrity in meeting him at a little distance from Jerusalem. And when Alexander had commended them, the Shechemites approached to him, taking with them the troops that Sanballat had sent him, and they desired that he would come to their city, and do honor to their temple also; to whom he promised, that when he returned he would come to them. And when they petitioned that he would remit the tribute of the seventh year to them, because they did but sow thereon, he asked who they were that made such a petition; and when they said that they were Hebrews, but had the name of Sidonians, living at Shechem, he asked them again whether they were Jews; and when they said they were not Jews, "It was to the Jews," said he, "that I granted that privilege; however, when I return, and am thoroughly informed by you of this matter, I will do what I shall think proper." And in this manner he took leave of the Shechenlites; but ordered that the troops of Sanballat should follow him into Egypt, because there he designed to give them lands, which he did a little after in Thebais, when he ordered them to guard that country.

(7) [346] Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ εἰς τοὺς διαδόχους ἐμερίσθη, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαριζεὶν ὄρους ἱερὸν ἔμεινεν. εἰ δέ τις αἰτίαν ἔσχεν παρὰ τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις κοινοφαγίας ἢ τῆς ἐν σαββάτοις παρανομίας ἤ τινος ἄλλου τοιούτου ἁμαρτήματος, παρὰ τοὺς Σικιμίτας ἔφευγεν λέγων ἀδίκως ἐκβεβλῆσθαι. [347] τετελευτήκει δὲ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἤδη τὸν καιρὸν καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰαδδοῦς καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην Ὀνίας ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ παρειλήφει. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας ἐν τούτοις ἐτύγχανεν ὄντα.

7. Now when Alexander was dead, the government was parted among his successors, but the temple upon Mount Gerizzim remained. And if any one were accused by those of Jerusalem of having eaten things common or of having broken the sabbath, or of any other crime of the like nature, he fled away to the Shechemites, and said that he was accused unjustly. About this time it was that Jaddua the high priest died, and Onias his son took the high priesthood. This was the state of the affairs of the people of Jerusalem at this time.

Liber XII

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ δωδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Ὡς Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου δόλῳ καὶ ἀπάτῃ παραλαβὼν τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πολλοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰς Αἴγυπτον μετῴκισεν.

β. ὡς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ κληθεὶς Φιλάδελφος τοὺς Ἰουδαίων νόμους εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν γλῶσσαν μετέβαλεν καὶ πολλοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀπέλυσεν Ἐλεαζάρῳ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ αὐτῶν χαριζόμενος, καὶ ἀναθήματα πολλὰ ἀνέθηκεν τῷ θεῷ.

γ. πῶς ἐτίμησαν οἱ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεῖς τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος καὶ πολίτας ἐποίησαν ἐν ταῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν κτισθείσαις πόλεσιν κατοικίσαντες.

δ. ἐκ τῆς γενομένης ἀτυχίας ἐπανόρθωσις ὑπὸ Ἰωσήπου τοῦ Τωβίου ποιησαμένου φιλίαν πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Ἐπιφανῆ.

ε. φιλία καὶ συμμαχία Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸς Ὀνίαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

ς. στάσις τῶν δυνατῶν Ἰουδαίων πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ὡς ἐπεκαλέσαντο Ἀντίοχον τὸν Ἐπιφανῆ.

ζ. ὅτι στρατευσάμενος Ἀντίοχος ἐπὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα τήν τε πόλιν παρέλαβεν καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐσύλησεν.

η. ὡς Ἀντιόχου κωλύσαντος τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις χρῆσθαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους μόνος ὁ Ἀσαμωναίου παῖς Ματταθίας κατεφρόνησεν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοὺς Ἀντιόχου στρατηγοὺς ἐνίκησεν.

θ. ἡ Ματταθίου τελευτή, γηραιοῦ μὲν ὄντος ἤδη, παραδόντος δὲ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων προστασίαν τοῖς παισίν.

ι. ὡς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰούδας τοῖς Ἀντιόχου στρατηγοῖς μαχεσάμενος τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἰς τὴν πάτριον ἐπανήγαγε πολιτείαν καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς ἀπεδείχθη ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ.

ια. ὡς ὁ Ἀντιόχου στρατηγὸς Ἀπολλώνιος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐμβαλὼν ἡττηθεὶς ἀπέθανεν.

ιβ. ἡ Σαίωνος καὶ Γοργίου στρατεία ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ ἧττα καὶ διαφορὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ.

ιγ. ὅτι στρατευσάμενος Ἰούδας ἐπὶ Ἀμμανίτας καὶ εἰς τὴν Γαλαδῖτιν ἐνίκησεν.

ιδ. ὡς Σίμων ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Τυρίους καὶ Πτολεμαεῖς ἐκράτησεν αὐτῶν.

ιε. Λυσίου στρατεία τοῦ Ἀντιόχου στρατηγοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίους καὶ ἥττα.

ις. ὡς Ἀντίοχος ὁ Ἐπιφανὴς ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν Πέρσαις.

ιζ. ὡς Ἀντίοχος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Εὐπάτωρ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίους μετὰ Λυσίου καὶ νικήσας ἐπολιόρκει Ἰούδαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐγκλείσας.

ιη. ὅτι πολλοῦ χρόνου τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τριβομένου φιλίαν ποιησάμενος πρὸς Ἰούδαν εὐπρεπῶς ἀνεχώρησεν ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας Ἀντίοχος.

ιθ. ὡς Βακχίδης ὁ Δημητρίου στρατηγὸς ἐπιστρατευσάμενος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἄπρακτος ἀνέστρεψε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα.

κ. ὡς Νικάνωρ μετὰ τὸν Βακχίδην πεμφθεὶς στρατηγὸς ἀπώλετο σὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ αὐτοῦ.

κα. ὅτι πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν Βακχίδης ἐκπεμφθεὶς ἐνίκησεν.

κβ. ὡς Ἰούδας διεφθάρη μαχόμενος.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν ρο.

BOOK XII. Containing The Interval Of A Hundred And Seventy Years. — From The Death Of Alexander The Great To The Death Of Judas Maccabeus.

I

CHAPTER 1. How Ptolemy The Son Of Lagus Took Jerusalem And Judea By Deceit And Treachery, And Carried Many Thence, And Planted Them In Egypt.

(1) [1] Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οὖν ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς καταλύσας τὴν Περσῶν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν τὸν προειρημένον καταστησάμενος τρόπον τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον. [2] μεταπεσούσης δ' εἰς πολλοὺς τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀντίγονος μὲν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπικρατεῖ, Σέλευκος δὲ Βαβυλῶνος καὶ τῶν κεῖθι ἐθνῶν, Λυσίμαχός τε τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον διεῖπεν, τὴν δὲ Μακεδονίαν εἶχεν Κάσσανδρος, Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Λάγου τὴν Αἴγυπτον εἰλήφει. [3] στασιαζόντων δὲ τούτων καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλοτιμουμένων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς πολέμους τε συνεχεῖς καὶ μακροὺς συνέβη γίγνεσθαι καὶ τὰς πόλεις κακοπαθεῖν καὶ πολλοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἀποβάλλειν τῶν οἰκητόρων, ὡς καὶ τὴν Συρίαν ἅπασαν ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου τότε Σωτῆρος χρηματίζοντος τἀναντία παθεῖν αὐτοῦ τῇ ἐπικλήσει. [4] κατέσχε δὲ οὗτος καὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα δόλῳ καὶ ἀπάτῃ χρησάμενος: ἐλθὼν γὰρ σαββάτοις εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὡς θύσων, μήτε τῶν Ἰουδαίων αὐτὸν ἀμυνομένων, οὐδὲν γὰρ ὑπενόουν πολέμιον, καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀνύποπτον καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ἀργίᾳ καὶ ῥαθυμίᾳ τυγχανόντων, ἀπόνως ἐγκρατὴς γίγνεται τῆς πόλεως καὶ πικρῶς ἦρχεν αὐτῆς. [5] μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ καὶ Ἀγαθαρχίδης ὁ Κνίδιος ὁ τὰς τῶν διαδόχων πράξεις συγγραψάμενος, ὀνειδίζων ἡμῖν δεισιδαιμονίαν ὡς δι' αὐτὴν ἀποβαλοῦσι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, λέγων οὕτως: [6] "ἔστιν ἔθνος Ἰουδαίων λεγόμενον, οἳ πόλιν ὀχυρὰν καὶ μεγάλην ἔχοντες Ἱεροσόλυμα ταύτην ὑπερεῖδον ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίῳ γενομένην ὅπλα λαβεῖν οὐ θελήσαντες, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἄκαιρον δεισιδαιμονίαν χαλεπὸν ὑπέμειναν ἔχειν δε [7] σπότην." Ἀγαθαρχίδης μὲν οὖν ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ ἔθνους ἡμῶν ἀπεφήνατο. ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος πολλοὺς αἰχμαλώτους λαβὼν ἀπό τε τῆς ὀρεινῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τῶν περὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα τόπων καὶ τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος καὶ τῶν ἐν Γαριζείν, κατῴκισεν ἅπαντας εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀγαγών. [8] ἐπεγνωκὼς δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων περί τε τὴν τῶν ὅρκων φυλακὴν καὶ τὰς πίστεις βεβαιοτάτους ὑπάρχοντας ἐξ ὧν ἀπεκρίναντο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πρεσβευσαμένῳ πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετὰ τὸ κρατῆσαι Δαρείου τῇ μάχῃ, πολλοὺς αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ φρούρια καταλοχίσας καὶ τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ποιήσας ἰσοπολίτας ὅρκους ἔλαβεν παρ' αὐτῶν, ὅπως τοῖς ἐκγόνοις τοῦ παραθεμένου τὴν πίστιν διαφυλάξωσιν. [9] οὐκ ὀλίγοι δ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον παρεγίγνοντο τῆς τε ἀρετῆς τῶν τόπων αὐτοὺς καὶ τῆς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου φιλοτιμίας προκαλουμένης. [10] στάσεις μέντοι γε τοῖς ἐκγόνοις αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς Σαμαρείτας τὴν πάτριον ἀγωγὴν τῶν ἐθῶν ἀποσώζειν προαιρουμένοις ἐγίγνοντο καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπολέμουν, τῶν μὲν

Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν τὸ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἱερὸν ἅγιον εἶναι λεγόντων καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐκεῖ πέμπειν ἀξιούντων, τῶν δὲ Σικιμιτῶν εἰς τὸ Γαριζεὶν ὄρος κελευόντων.

1. Now when Alexander, king of Macedon, had put an end to the dominion of the Persians, and had settled the affairs in Judea after the forementioned manner, he ended his life. And as his government fell among many, Antigonus obtained Asia, Seleucus Babylon; and of the other nations which were there, Lysimachus governed the Hellespont, and Cassander possessed Macedonia; as did Ptolemy the son of Lagus seize upon Egypt. And while these princes ambitiously strove one against another, every one for his own principality, it came to pass that there were continual wars, and those lasting wars too; and the cities were sufferers, and lost a great many of their inhabitants in these times of distress, insomuch that all Syria, by the means of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, underwent the reverse of that denomination of Savior, which he then had. He also seized upon Jerusalem, and for that end made use of deceit and treachery; for as he came into the city on a sabbath day, as if he would offer sacrifices he, without any trouble, gained the city, while the Jews did not oppose him, for they did not suspect him to be their enemy; and he gained it thus, because they were free from suspicion of him, and because on that day they were at rest and quietness; and when he had gained it, he ruled over it in a cruel manner. Nay, Agatharchides of Cnidus, who wrote the acts of Alexander's successors, reproaches us with superstition, as if we, by it, had lost our liberty; where he says thus: "There is a nation called the nation of the Jews, who inhabit a city strong and great, named Jerusalem. These men took no care, but let it come into the hands of Ptolemy, as not willing to take arms, and thereby they submitted to be under a hard master, by reason of their unseasonable superstition." This is what Agatharchides relates of our nation. But when Ptolemy had taken a great many captives, both from the mountainous parts of Judea, and from the places about Jerusalem and Samaria, and the places near Mount Gerizzim, he led them all into Egypt, and settled them there. And as he knew that the people of Jerusalem were most faithful in the observation of oaths and covenants; and this from the answer they made to Alexander, when he sent an embassage to them, after he had beaten Darius in battle; so he distributed many of them into garrisons, and at Alexandria gave them equal privileges of citizens with the Macedonians themselves; and required of them to take their oaths, that they would keep their fidelity to the posterity of those who committed these places to their care. Nay, there were not a few other Jews who, of their own accord, went into Egypt, as invited by the goodness of the soil, and by the liberality of Ptolemy. However, there were disorders among their posterity, with relation to the Samaritans, on account of their resolution to

preserve that conduct of life which was delivered to them by their forefathers, and they thereupon contended one with another, while those of Jerusalem said that their temple was holy, and resolved to send their sacrifices thither; but the Samaritans were resolved that they should be sent to Mount Gerizzim.

II

CHAPTER 2. How Ptolemy Philadelphus Procured The Laws Of The Jews To Be Translated Into The Greek Tongue And Set Many Captives Free, And Dedicated Many Gifts To God.

(1) [11] Βασιλεύσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔτη δώδεκα καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Σωτῆρος τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἕν, ἔπειτα τὴν βασιλείαν τῆς Αἰγύπτου παραλαβὼν ὁ Φιλάδελφος καὶ κατασχὼν αὐτὴν ἐπ᾽ ἔτη ἑνὸς δέοντα τεσσαράκοντα τόν τε νόμον ἡρμήνευσε καὶ τοὺς δουλεύοντας ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἀπέλυσε τῆς δουλείας ὄντας περὶ δώδεκα μυριάδας ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης: [12] Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεύς, ὃς ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν βιβλιοθηκῶν τοῦ βασιλέως, σπουδάζων εἰ δυνατὸν εἴη πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην συναγαγεῖν βιβλία καὶ συνωνούμενος, εἴ τι που μόνον ἀκούσειε σπουδῆς ἄξιον ὄν, τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως προαιρέσει, μάλιστα γὰρ τὰ περὶ τὴν συλλογὴν τῶν βιβλίων εἶχεν φιλοκάλως, συνηγωνίζετο. [13] ἐρομένου δ᾽ αὐτόν ποτε τοῦ Πτολεμαίου, πόσας ἤδη μυριάδας ἔχοι συνειλεγμένας βιβλίων, τῶν μὲν ὑπαρχόντων εἶπεν εἶναι περὶ εἴκοσι, ὀλίγου δὲ χρόνου εἰς πεντήκοντα συναθροίσειν. [14] μεμηνῦσθαι δ᾽ ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ πολλὰ εἶναι καὶ παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς νομίμων συγγράμματα σπουδῆς ἄξια καὶ τῆς βασιλέως βιβλιοθήκης, ἃ τοῖς ἐκείνων χαρακτῆρσιν καὶ τῇ διαλέκτῳ γεγραμμένα πόνον αὐτοῖς οὐκ ὀλίγον παρέξειν εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν μεταβαλλόμενα γλῶτταν. [15] δοκεῖ μὲν γὰρ εἶναι τῇ ἰδιότητι τῶν Συρίων γραμμάτων ἐμφερὴς ὁ χαρακτὴρ αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ὁμοίαν αὐτοῖς ἀπηχεῖν, ἰδιότροπον δὲ αὐτὴν εἶναι συμβέβηκεν. οὐδὲν οὖν ἔλεγεν κωλύειν καὶ ταῦτα μεταβαλόντα, δύνασθαι γὰρ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸ χορηγίας εὐποροῦντα, ἔχειν ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ καὶ τὰ παρ᾽ ἐκείνοις. [16] δόξας οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄριστα τὸν Δημήτριον φιλοτιμουμένῳ περὶ πλῆθος αὐτῷ βιβλίων ὑποτίθεσθαι γράφει τῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερεῖ ταῦτα γίγνεσθαι.

1. When Alexander had reigned twelve years, and after him Ptolemy Soter forty years, Philadelphus then took the kingdom of Egypt, and held it forty years within one. He procured the law to be interpreted, and set free those that were come from Jerusalem into Egypt, and were in slavery there, who were a hundred and twenty thousand. The occasion was this: Demetrius Phalerius, who was library keeper to the king, was now endeavoring, if it were possible, to gather together all the books that were in the habitable earth, and buying whatsoever was any where valuable, or agreeable to the king’s inclination, [who was very earnestly set upon collecting of books,] to which inclination of his Demetrius

was zealously subservient. And when once Ptolemy asked him how many ten thousands of books he had collected, he replied, that he had already about twenty times ten thousand; but that, in a little time, he should have fifty times ten thousand. But he said he had been informed that there were many books of laws among the Jews worthy of inquiring after, and worthy of the king's library, but which, being written in characters and in a dialect of their own, will cause no small pains in getting them translated into the Greek tongue; that the character in which they are written seems to be like to that which is the proper character of the Syrians, and that its sound, when pronounced, is like theirs also; and that this sound appears to be peculiar to themselves. Wherefore he said that nothing hindered why they might not get those books to be translated also; for while nothing is wanting that is necessary for that purpose, we may have their books also in this library. So the king thought that Demetrius was very zealous to procure him abundance of books, and that he suggested what was exceeding proper for him to do; and therefore he wrote to the Jewish high priest, that he should act accordingly.

(2) [17] Ἀρισταῖος δέ τις φίλος ὢν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ σπουδαζόμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διὰ μετριότητα, πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον ἔγνω παρακαλέσαι τὸν βασιλέα, ὅπως ἀπολύσῃ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους Ἰουδαίους ὅσοι κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν ἦσαν αὐτοῦ, [18] καιρὸν δ' ἐπιτήδειον τοῦτον εἶναι δοκιμάσας τῆς δεήσεως πρώτοις περὶ τούτου διαλέγεται τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῶν σωματοφυλάκων Σωσιβίῳ τῷ Ταραντίνῳ καὶ Ἀνδρέᾳ, συναγωνίσασθαι περὶ ὧν ἐντυγχάνειν μέλλει τῷ βασιλεῖ παρακαλῶν αὐτούς. [19] προσλαβὼν δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν προειρημένων γνώμην ὁ Ἀρισταῖος, προσελθὼν τῷ βασιλεῖ λόγους πρὸς αὐτὸν τοιούτους ἐποιήσατο: [20] "οὐ χρῆν ἀπατωμένους ἡμᾶς, ὦ βασιλεῦ, περιορᾶν, ἀλλὰ τἀληθὲς ἀπελέγχειν: τοὺς γὰρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων νόμους οὐ μεταγράψαι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ μεθερμηνεῦσαι διεγνωκότες εἰς τὸ σοὶ κεχαρισμένον, τίνι καὶ λόγῳ χρώμενοι τοῦτο πράξαιμεν ἂν πολλῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐν τῇ σῇ βασιλείᾳ δουλευόντων; [21] οὓς τῇ σαυτοῦ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ καὶ χρηστότητι ποιῶν ἀκολούθως ἀπόλυσον τῆς ταλαιπωρίας, τὴν βασιλείαν σου διέποντος τοῦ θεμένου τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς θεοῦ, καθὼς ἐμοὶ πολυπραγμονήσαντι μαθεῖν ὑπῆρξεν. [22] τὸν γὰρ ἅπαντα συστησάμενον θεὸν καὶ οὗτοι καὶ ἡμεῖς σεβόμεθα Ζῆνα καλοῦντες αὐτὸν ἐτύμως ἀπὸ τοῦ πᾶσιν ἐμφύειν τὸ ζῆν τὴν ἐπίκλησιν αὐτοῦ θέντες. ὅθεν εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τοὺς ἐξαίρετον τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν θρησκείαν πεποιημένους ἀπόδος τοῖς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ βίον ἀπολελοιπόσιν. [23] ἴσθι μέντοι γε, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὡς οὔτε γένει προσήκων αὐτοῖς οὔτε ὁμόφυλος ὢν ταῦτα περὶ αὐτῶν ἀξιῶ, πάντων δὲ ἀνθρώπων δημιούργημα ὄντων τοῦ θεοῦ: καὶ δὴ γιγνώσκων αὐτὸν ἡδόμενον τοῖς εὖ ποιοῦσιν ἐπὶ τοῦτο καὶ σὲ παρακαλῶ."

2. Now there was one Aristeus, who was among the king's most intimate friends, and on account of his modesty very acceptable to him. This Aristeus resolved frequently, and that before now, to petition the king that he would set all the captive Jews in his kingdom free; and he thought this to be a convenient opportunity for the making that petition. So he discoursed, in the first place, with the captains of the king's guards, Sosibius of Tarentum, and Andreas, and persuaded them to assist him in what he was going to intercede with the king for. Accordingly Aristeus embraced the same opinion with those that have been before mentioned, and went to the king, and made the following speech to him: "It is not fit for us, O king, to overlook things hastily, or to deceive ourselves, but to lay the truth open. For since we have determined not only to get the laws of the Jews transcribed, but interpreted also, for thy satisfaction, by what means can we do this, while so many of the Jews are now slaves in thy kingdom? Do thou then what will be agreeable to thy magnanimity, and to thy good nature: free them from the miserable condition they are in, because that God, who supporteth thy kingdom, was the author of their laws as I have learned by particular inquiry; for both these people, and we also, worship the same God the framer of all things. We call him, and that truly, by the name of GREEK, [or life, or Jupiter,] because he breathes life into all men. Wherefore do thou restore these men to their own country, and this do to the honor of God, because these men pay a peculiarly excellent worship to him. And know this further, that though I be not of kin to them by birth, nor one of the same country with them, yet do I desire these favors to be done them, since all men are the workmanship of God; and I am sensible that he is well-pleased with those that do good. I do therefore put up this petition to thee, to do good to them."

(3) [24] Ταῦτ' εἰπόντος τοῦ Ἀρισταίου ἀναβλέψας εἰς αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἱλαρῷ καὶ γεγηθότι τῷ προσώπῳ "πόσας, εἶπεν, ὑπολαμβάνεις τῶν ἀπολυθησομένων ἔσεσθαι μυριάδας;" ὑποτυχόντος δὲ Ἀνδρέου, παρειστήκει γάρ, καὶ φήσαντος ὀλίγῳ πλείονας ἔσεσθαι τῶν ἑνδεκα μυριάδων "ἦ μικρὰν ἄρα εἶπεν, ἡμᾶς, Ἀρισταῖε, δωρεὰν αἰτεῖς." Σωσιβίου δὲ καὶ τῶν παρόντων φησάντων, [25] ὡς ἄξιον αὐτὸν δέοι τῆς αὐτοῦ μεγαλοψυχίας τῷ παρεσχηκότι τὴν βασιλείαν θεῷ ποιήσασθαι χαριστήριον, διαχυθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσεν, ὅταν τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀποδιδῶσιν τὸ μισθοφορικόν, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς αἰχμαλώτων καταβαλεῖν δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι. [26] καὶ περὶ ὧν ἠξίουν προθεῖναι γράμματα ὑπέσχετο μεγαλοπρεπῶς τε ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν Ἀρισταίου προαίρεσιν βεβαιοῦντα καὶ πρὸ ταύτης τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βούλησιν, καθ' ἣν οὐ μόνον τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀχθέντας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου στρατιᾶς ἀπολύσειν ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς προυπάρχοντας ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ εἴ τινες αὖθις ἐπεισήχθησαν. [27] πλειόνων δ'

ἢ τετρακοσίων ταλάντων τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως γενήσεσθαι φαμένων ταῦτά τε συνεχώρει καὶ τὸ ἀντίγραφον τοῦ προστάγματος εἰς δήλωσιν τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως μεγαλοφροσύνης ἔγνωσαν διαφυλάξαι. [28] ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτον: "ὅσοι τῶν συστρατευσαμένων ἡμῶν τῷ πατρὶ τήν τε Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην ἐπέδραμον καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καταστρεψάμενοι σώματα λαβόντες αἰχμάλωτα διεκόμισαν εἴς τε τὰς πόλεις ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ ταῦτα ἀπημπόλησαν, τούς τε πρὸ αὐτῶν ὄντας ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ εἴ τινες νῦν εἰσήχθησαν, τούτους ἀπολυέτωσαν οἱ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου σώματος λαμβάνοντες δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι, οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται μετὰ καὶ τῶν ὀψωνίων, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς τραπέζης κομιζόμενοι τὰ λύτρα. [29] νομίζω γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς προαίρεσιν καὶ παρὰ τὸ δέον ᾠχμαλωτίσθαι, τήν τε χώραν αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν στρατιωτικὴν αὐθάδειαν κεκακῶσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν εἰς Αἴγυπτον αὐτῶν μεταγωγὴν πολλὴν ὠφέλειαν ἐκ τούτου τοῖς στρατιώταις γεγονέναι. [30] τὸ δίκαιον οὖν σκοπῶν καὶ τοὺς καταδεδυναστευμένους παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον ἐλεῶν ἀπολύειν κελεύω τοὺς ἐν ταῖς οἰκετείαις ὄντας Ἰουδαίους τὸ προγεγραμμένον κομιζομένους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν κεφάλαιον τοὺς κεκτημένους, καὶ μηδένα περὶ τούτων κακουργεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπακούειν τοῖς προστεταγμένοις. [31] βούλομαι δὲ τὰς ἀπογραφὰς ἀφ᾽ ἧς ἐξεπέμφθησαν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν ὑπάρχοντας, παραδεικνύντας εὐθὺς καὶ τὰ σώματα: τοῦτο γὰρ τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ πράγμασιν ἡγοῦμαι συμφέρειν. προσαγγελλέτω δὲ τοὺς ἀπειθήσαντας ὁ βουλόμενος, ὧν τὰς οὐσίας [32] εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν κτῆσιν ἀνενεχθῆναι βούλομαι." τούτου δὲ τοῦ προστάγματος ἀναγνωσθέντος τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἔχοντος, μόνου δὲ λείποντος τοῦ περὶ τῶν πρότερον καὶ τῶν αὖθις εἰσηγμένων Ἰουδαίων μὴ διεστάλθαι, προσέθηκεν αὐτὸς μεγαλοφρόνως καὶ τὸ περὶ τούτων φιλάνθρωπον, καὶ τὴν τῶν διαφόρων δόσιν οὖσαν ἀθρόαν ἐκέλευσεν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπομερίσαι καὶ τοῖς βασιλικοῖς τραπεζίταις. [33] γενομένου δὲ τούτου ταχέως ἐν ἑπτὰ ταῖς πάσαις ἡμέραις τέλος εἰλήφει τὰ δοχθέντα τῷ βασιλεῖ, τάλαντα δ᾽ ὑπὲρ ἑξήκοντα καὶ τετρακόσια τῶν λύτρων ἐγένετο: καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν νηπίων εἰσέπραττον οἱ δεσπόται τὰς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν δραχμάς, ὡς τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων διδόναι κελεύσαντος ἐν τῷ προγράψαι ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου σώματος λαμβάνειν τὸ προειρημένον.

3. When Aristeus was saying thus, the king looked upon him with a cheerful and joyful countenance, and said, "How many ten thousands dost thou suppose there are of such as want to be made free?" To which Andreas replied, as he stood by, and said, "A few more than ten times ten thousand." The king made answer, "And is this a small gift that thou askest, Aristeus?" But Sosibius, and the rest that stood by, said that he ought to offer such a thank-offering as was worthy of his greatness of soul, to that God who had given him his kingdom. With this

answer he was much pleased; and gave order, that when they paid the soldiers their wages, they should lay down [a hundred and] twenty drachmas for every one of the slaves? And he promised to publish a magnificent decree, about what they requested, which should confirm what Aristeus had proposed, and especially what God willed should be done; whereby he said he would not only set those free who had been led away captive by his father and his army, but those who were in this kingdom before, and those also, if any such there were, who had been brought away since. And when they said that their redemption money would amount to above four hundred talents, he granted it. A copy of which decree I have determined to preserve, that the magnanimity of this king may be made known. Its contents were as follows: "Let all those who were soldiers under our father, and who, when they overran Syria and Phoenicia, and laid waste Judea, took the Jews captives, and made them slaves, and brought them into our cities, and into this country, and then sold them; as also all those that were in my kingdom before them, and if there be any that have been lately brought thither, — be made free by those that possess them; and let them accept of [a hundred and] twenty drachmas for every slave. And let the soldiers receive this redemption money with their pay, but the rest out of the king's treasury: for I suppose that they were made captives without our father's consent, and against equity; and that their country was harassed by the insolence of the soldiers, and that, by removing them into Egypt, the soldiers have made a great profit by them. Out of regard therefore to justice, and out of pity to those that have been tyrannized over, contrary to equity, I enjoin those that have such Jews in their service to set them at liberty, upon the receipt of the before-mentioned sum; and that no one use any deceit about them, but obey what is here commanded. And I will that they give in their names within three days after the publication of this edict, to such as are appointed to execute the same, and to produce the slaves before them also, for I think it will be for the advantage of my affairs. And let every one that will inform against those that do not obey this decree, and I will that their estates be confiscated into the king's treasury." When this decree was read to the king, it at first contained the rest that is here inserted, and omitted only those Jews that had formerly been brought, and those brought afterwards, which had not been distinctly mentioned; so he added these clauses out of his humanity, and with great generosity. He also gave order that the payment, which was likely to be done in a hurry, should be divided among the king's ministers, and among the officers of his treasury. When this was over, what the king had decreed was quickly brought to a conclusion; and this in no more than seven days' time, the number of the talents paid for the captives being above four hundred and sixty, and this, because their masters required the [hundred and]

twenty drachmas for the children also, the king having, in effect, commanded that these should be paid for, when he said in his decree, that they should receive the forementioned sum for every slave.

(4) [34] Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ταῦτ᾽ ἐγένετο κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως βούλησιν μεγαλοπρεπῶς, ἐκέλευσε τὸν Δημήτριον εἰσδοῦναι καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαικῶν βιβλίων ἀναγραφῆς δόγμα: οὐδὲν γὰρ εἰκῆ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ᾠκονομεῖτο, πάντα δὲ μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας ἐπράττετο. [35] διὸ καὶ τὸ τῆς εἰσδόσεως ἀντίγραφον καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν κατατέτακται καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπεσταλμένων ἀναθημάτων καὶ τὸ ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστου κατασκευασθέν, ὡς ἀκριβεστάτην εἶναι τὴν τοῦ τεχνίτου τοῖς ὁρῶσι μεγαλουργίαν, καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν κατασκευασμάτων ἐξοχὴν τὸν ἑκάστου δημιουργὸν εὐθέως ποιήσειν γνώριμον. τῆς μέντοι γε εἰσδόσεως τὸ ἀντίγραφον ὑπῆρχε τοιοῦτον: [36] “βασιλεῖ μεγάλῳ παρὰ Δημητρίου. προστάξαντός σου, ὦ βασιλεῦ, περί τε τῶν ἔτι λειπόντων εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν τῆς βιβλιοθήκης συγγραμμάτων, ὅπως συναχθῇ, καὶ περὶ τῶν διαπεπτωκότων, ὅπως τῆς δεούσης ἐπιμελείας τύχῃ, πάσῃ κεχρημένος περὶ ταῦτα σπουδῇ δηλῶ σοι τὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίων νομοθεσίας βιβλία λείπειν ἡμῖν σὺν ἑτέροις: χαρακτῆρσιν γὰρ Ἑβραικοῖς γεγραμμένα καὶ φωνῇ τῇ ἐθνικῇ ἐστιν ἡμῖν ἀσαφῆ. [37] συμβέβηκε δ᾽ αὐτὰ καὶ ἀμελέστερον ἢ ἔδει σεσημάνθαι διὰ τὸ βασιλικῆς οὐ τετυχηκέναι προνοίας. ἔστι δ᾽ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ σοὶ διηκριβωμένα: φιλοσοφωτέραν γὰρ καὶ ἀκέραιον τὴν νομοθεσίαν εἶναι συμβέβηκεν ὡς ἂν οὖσαν θεοῦ. [38] διὸ καὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς αὐτῆς καὶ τοὺς συγγραφεῖς τῶν ἱστοριῶν οὐκ ἐπιμνησθῆναί φησιν Ἑκαταῖος ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης οὐδὲ τῶν κατ᾽ αὐτὴν πολιτευσαμένων ἀνδρῶν, ὡς ἀγνῆς οὔσης καὶ μὴ δέον αὐτὴν βεβήλοις στόμασιν διασαφεῖσθαι. [39] ἐὰν οὖν σοι δοκῇ, βασιλεῦ, γράψεις τῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερεῖ, ὅπως ἀποστείλῃ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἓξ ἀφ᾽ ἑκάστης φυλῆς τοὺς ἐμπειροτάτους τῶν νόμων, παρ᾽ ὧν τὸ τῶν βιβλίων σαφὲς καὶ σύμφωνον ἐκμαθόντες καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν ἀκριβὲς λαβόντες τῶν πραγμάτων ἀξίως ταῦτα τῆς σῆς προαιρέσεως συναγάγωμεν.”

4. Now when this had been done after so magnificent a manner, according to the king’s inclinations, he gave order to Demetrius to give him in writing his sentiments concerning the transcribing of the Jewish books; for no part of the administration is done rashly by these kings, but all things are managed with great circumspection. On which account I have subjoined a copy of these epistles, and set down the multitude of the vessels sent as gifts [to Jerusalem], and the construction of every one, that the exactness of the artificers’ workmanship, as it appeared to those that saw them, and which workman made every vessel, may be made manifest, and this on account of the excellency of the vessels themselves. Now the copy of the epistle was to this purpose: “Demetrius to the great king. When thou, O king, gavest me a charge concerning the

collection of books that were wanting to fill your library, and concerning the care that ought to be taken about such as are imperfect, I have used the utmost diligence about those matters. And I let you know, that we want the books of the Jewish legislation, with some others; for they are written in the Hebrew characters, and being in the language of that nation, are to us unknown. It hath also happened to them, that they have been transcribed more carelessly than they ought to have been, because they have not had hitherto royal care taken about them. Now it is necessary that thou shouldst have accurate copies of them. And indeed this legislation is full of hidden wisdom, and entirely blameless, as being the legislation of God; for which cause it is, as Hecateus of Abdera says, that the poets and historians make no mention of it, nor of those men who lead their lives according to it, since it is a holy law, and ought not to be published by profane mouths. If then it please thee, O king, thou mayst write to the high priest of the Jews, to send six of the elders out of every tribe, and those such as are most skillful of the laws, that by their means we may learn the clear and agreeing sense of these books, and may obtain an accurate interpretation of their contents, and so may have such a collection of these as may be suitable to thy desire."

(5) [40] Τοιαύτης οὖν τῆς εἰσδόσεως γενομένης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσεν τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ τῶν Ἰουδαίων Ἐλεαζάρῳ γραφῆναι περὶ τούτων ἅμα καὶ τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν δουλευόντων παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἰουδαίων δηλοῦντας αὐτῷ, καὶ πρὸς κατασκευὴν δὲ κρατήρων καὶ φιαλῶν καὶ σπονδείων ἔπεμψε χρυσίου μὲν ὁλκῆς τάλαντα πεντήκοντα, λίθων δὲ πολυτελῶν ἀσυλλόγιστόν τι πλῆθος. [41] προσέταξε δὲ καὶ τοὺς φύλακας τῶν κιβωτῶν, ἐν αἷς ἐτύγχανον οἱ λίθοι, τὴν ἐκλογὴν τοῖς τεχνίταις αὐτοῖς οὗπερ ἂν θελήσωσιν εἴδους ἐπιτρέπειν. διετάξατο δὲ καὶ νομίσματος εἰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς χρείας πρὸς ἑκατὸν τάλαντα τῷ ἱερεῖ δοθῆναι. [42] διηγήσομαι δὲ τὰ κατασκευάσματα καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς δημιουργίας αὐτῶν μετὰ τὸ προεκθέσθαι τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τῆς γραφείσης Ἐλεαζάρῳ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, ταύτην λαβόντι τὴν τιμὴν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης: [43] τελευτήσαντος Ὀνίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Σίμων γίγνεται διάδοχος ὁ καὶ δίκαιος ἐπικληθεὶς διά τε τὸ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβὲς καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους εὔνουν. [44] ἀποθανόντος δὲ τούτου καὶ νήπιον υἱὸν καταλιπόντος τὸν κληθέντα Ὀνίαν ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἐλεάζαρος, περὶ οὗ τὸν λόγον ποιούμεθα, τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην παρέλαβεν, ᾧ γράφει Πτολεμαῖος τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον: [45] "βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος Ἐλεαζάρῳ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ χαίρειν. πολλῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ κατῳκισμένων Ἰουδαίων, οὓς αἰχμαλωτισθέντας ὑπὸ Περσῶν ὅτ' ἐκράτουν ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ ἐτίμησεν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὸ στρατιωτικὸν κατέταξεν ἐπὶ μείζοσιν μισθοφοραῖς, τισὶν δὲ γενομένοις ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ σὺν αὐτῷ τὰ φρούρια καὶ τὴν τούτων φυλακὴν παρέθετο, ἵνα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ὦσιν φοβεροί, [46] τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγὼ

παραλαβὼν πᾶσι μὲν φιλανθρώπως ἐχρησάμην, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς σοῖς πολίταις, ὧν ὑπὲρ δέκα μὲν μυριάδας αἰχμαλώτων δουλευόντων ἀπέλυσα τοῖς δεσπόταις αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν λύτρα καταβαλών. [47] τοὺς δὲ ἀκμάζοντας ταῖς ἡλικίαις εἰς τὸν στρατιωτικὸν κατάλογον κατέταξα, τινὰς δὲ τῶν περὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ τὴν τῆς αὐλῆς πίστιν εἶναι δυναμένων ταύτης ἠξίωκα, νομίζων ἡδὺ τῷ θεῷ τῆς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ προνοίας ἀνάθημα τοῦτο καὶ μέγιστον ἀναθήσειν. [48] βουλόμενος δὲ καὶ τούτοις χαρίζεσθαι καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην Ἰουδαίοις τὸν νόμον ὑμῶν ἔγνων μεθερμηνεῦσαι, καὶ γράμμασιν Ἑλληνικοῖς ἐκ τῶν Ἑβραικῶν μεταγραφέντα κεῖσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ. [49] καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις ἐπιλεξάμενος ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ἓξ ἀφ᾽ ἑκάστης φυλῆς ἤδη πρεσβυτέρους, οἳ καὶ διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐμπείρως ἔχουσι τῶν νόμων καὶ δυνήσονται τὴν ἑρμηνείαν αὐτῶν ἀκριβῆ ποιήσασθαι: νομίζω γὰρ τούτων ἐπιτελεσθέντων μεγίστην δόξαν ἡμῖν περιγενήσεσθαι. [50] ἀπέσταλκα δέ σοι περὶ τούτων διαλεξομένους Ἀνδρέαν τὸν ἀρχισωματοφύλακα καὶ Ἀρισταῖον ἐμοὶ τιμιωτάτους, δι᾽ ὧν καὶ ἀπαρχὰς ἀναθημάτων εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπέσταλκα τάλαντα ἀργυρίου ἑκατόν. καὶ σὺ δ᾽ ἡμῖν ἐπιστέλλων περὶ ὧν ἂν θέλῃς ποιήσεις κεχαρισμένα.”

5. When this epistle was sent to the king, he commanded that an epistle should be drawn up for Eleazar, the Jewish high priest, concerning these matters; and that they should inform him of the release of the Jews that had been in slavery among them. He also sent fifty talents of gold for the making of large basons, and vials, and cups, and an immense quantity of precious stones. He also gave order to those who had the custody of the chest that contained those stones, to give the artificers leave to choose out what sorts of them they pleased. He withal appointed, that a hundred talents in money should be sent to the temple for sacrifices, and for other uses. Now I will give a description of these vessels, and the manner of their construction, but not till after I have set down a copy of the epistle which was written to Eleazar the high priest, who had obtained that dignity on the occasion following: When Onias the high priest was dead, his son Simon became his successor. He was called Simon the Just because of both his piety towards God, and his kind disposition to those of his own nation. When he was dead, and had left a young son, who was called Onias, Simon’s brother Eleazar, of whom we are speaking, took the high priesthood; and he it was to whom Ptolemy wrote, and that in the manner following: “King Ptolemy to Eleazar the high priest, sendeth greeting. There are many Jews who now dwell in my kingdom, whom the Persians, when they were in power, carried captives. These were honored by my father; some of them he placed in the army, and gave them greater pay than ordinary; to others of them, when they came with him into

Egypt, he committed his garrisons, and the guarding of them, that they might be a terror to the Egyptians. And when I had taken the government, I treated all men with humanity, and especially those that are thy fellow citizens, of whom I have set free above a hundred thousand that were slaves, and paid the price of their redemption to their masters out of my own revenues; and those that are of a fit age, I have admitted into them number of my soldiers. And for such as are capable of being faithful to me, and proper for my court, I have put them in such a post, as thinking this [kindness done to them] to be a very great and an acceptable gift, which I devote to God for his providence over me. And as I am desirous to do what will be grateful to these, and to all the other Jews in the habitable earth, I have determined to procure an interpretation of your law, and to have it translated out of Hebrew into Greek, and to be deposited in my library. Thou wilt therefore do well to choose out and send to me men of a good character, who are now elders in age, and six in number out of every tribe. These, by their age, must be skillful in the laws, and of abilities to make an accurate interpretation of them; and when this shall be finished, I shall think that I have done a work glorious to myself. And I have sent to thee Andreas, the captain of my guard, and Aristeus, men whom I have in very great esteem; by whom I have sent those first-fruits which I have dedicated to the temple, and to the sacrifices, and to other uses, to the value of a hundred talents. And if thou wilt send to us, to let us know what thou wouldst have further, thou wilt do a thing acceptable to me."

(6) [51] Τῆς οὖν ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ βασιλέως κομισθείσης πρὸς τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον ἀντιγράφει πρὸς αὐτὴν ὡς ἐνῆν μάλιστα φιλοτίμως. "ἀρχιερεὺς Ἐλεάζαρος βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ χαίρειν. ἐρρωμένων σοῦ τε καὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης Ἀρσινόης καὶ τῶν τέκνων καλῶς ἡμῖν ἔχει πάντα. [52] τὴν δ' ἐπιστολὴν λαβόντες μεγάλως ἥσθημεν ἐπὶ τῇ προαιρέσει σου, καὶ συναθροίσαντες τὸ πλῆθος ἀνέγνωμεν αὐτὴν ἐμφανίζοντες αὐτῷ ἣν ἔχεις πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβειαν. [53] ἐπεδείξαμεν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς φιάλας ἃς ἔπεμψας χρυσᾶς εἴκοσι καὶ ἀργυρᾶς τριάκοντα καὶ κρατῆρας πέντε καὶ τράπεζαν εἰς ἀνάθεσιν, ἄ τε εἰς θυσίαν καὶ εἰς ἐπισκευὴν ὧν ἂν δέηται τὸ ἱερὸν τάλαντα ἑκατόν, ἅπερ ἐκόμισαν Ἀνδρέας καὶ Ἀριστᾶιος οἱ τιμιώτατοί σου τῶν φίλων, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ παιδείᾳ διαφέροντες καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς ἄξιοι. [54] ἴσθι δ' ἡμᾶς τὸ σοὶ συμφέρον, κἂν ᾖ τι παρὰ φύσιν, ὑπομενοῦντας: ἀμείβεσθαι γὰρ ἡμᾶς δεῖ τὰς σὰς εὐεργεσίας πολυμερῶς εἰς τοὺς ἡμετέρους πολίτας κατατεθείσας. [55] εὐθὺς οὖν ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς σου καὶ τέκνων καὶ φίλων προσηγάγομεν θυσίας, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος εὐχὰς ἐποιήσατο γενέσθαι σοι τὰ κατὰ νοῦν καὶ φυλαχθῆναί σου τὴν βασιλείαν ἐν εἰρήνῃ, τήν τε τοῦ νόμου μεταγραφὴν ἐπὶ συμφέροντι τῷ σῷ λαβεῖν ὃ προαιρῇ τέλος. [56]

ἐπελεξάμην δὲ καὶ πρεσβυτέρους ἄνδρας ἓξ ἀπὸ φυλῆς ἑκάστης, οὓς πεπόμφαμεν ἔχοντας τὸν νόμον. ἔσται δὲ τῆς σῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης τὸ μεταγραφέντα τὸν νόμον εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀποπέμψαι μετ᾽ ἀσφαλείας τῶν κομιζόντων. ἔρρωσο.”

6. When this epistle of the king was brought to Eleazar, he wrote an answer to it with all the respect possible: “Eleazar the high priest to king Ptolemy, sendeth greeting. If thou and thy queen Arsinoe, and thy children, be well, we are entirely satisfied. When we received thy epistle, we greatly rejoiced at thy intentions; and when the multitude were gathered together, we read it to them, and thereby made them sensible of the piety thou hast towards God. We also showed them the twenty vials of gold, and thirty of silver, and the five large basons, and the table for the shew-bread; as also the hundred talents for the sacrifices, and for the making what shall be needful at the temple; which things Andreas and Aristeus, those most honored friends of thine, have brought us; and truly they are persons of an excellent character, and of great learning, and worthy of thy virtue. Know then that we will gratify thee in what is for thy advantage, though we do what we used not to do before; for we ought to make a return for the numerous acts of kindness which thou hast done to our countrymen. We immediately, therefore, offered sacrifices for thee and thy sister, with thy children and friends; and the multitude made prayers, that thy affairs may be to thy mind, and that thy kingdom may be preserved in peace, and that the translation of our law may come to the conclusion thou desirest, and be for thy advantage. We have also chosen six elders out of every tribe, whom we have sent, and the law with them. It will be thy part, out of thy piety and justice, to send back the law, when it hath been translated, and to return those to us that bring it in safety. Farewell.”

(7) [57] Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἀντέγραψεν. ἐμοὶ δ᾽ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἔδοξεν εἶναι τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα πρεσβυτέρων, οἳ τὸν νόμον ἐκόμιζον ὑπὸ Ἐλεαζάρου πεμφθέντες, δηλοῦν: ἦν γὰρ ταῦτα ὑπογεγραμμένα ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ. [58] τὴν μέντοι γε τῶν ἀναθημάτων πολυτέλειαν καὶ κατασκευήν, ἣν ἀπέστειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ θεῷ, οὐκ ἀνεπιτήδειον ἡγησάμην διελθεῖν, ὅπως ἅπασιν ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως περὶ τὸν θεὸν φιλοτιμία φανερὰ γένηται: ἄφθονον γὰρ τὴν εἰς ταῦτα δαπάνην χορηγῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ παρὼν ἀεὶ τοῖς τεχνίταις καὶ τὰ ἔργα ἐπιβλέπων οὐδὲν ἀμελῶς οὐδὲ ῥᾳθύμως εἴα γίγνεσθαι τῶν κατασκευασμάτων. [59] ὧν ἕκαστον οἷον ἦν τὴν πολυτέλειαν διηγήσομαι, τῆς μὲν ἱστορίας ἴσως οὐκ ἀπαιτούσης τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν, τὸ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως φιλόκαλον καὶ μεγαλόφρον οὕτω συστήσειν τοῖς ἐντευξομένοις ὑπολαμβάνων.

7. This was the reply which the high priest made. But it does not seem to me to be necessary to set down the names of the seventy [two] elders who were sent by Eleazar, and carried the law, which yet were subjoined at the end of the epistle. However, I thought it not improper to give an account of those very valuable and artificially contrived vessels which the king sent to God, that all may see how great a regard the king had for God; for the king allowed a vast deal of expenses for these vessels, and came often to the workmen, and viewed their works, and suffered nothing of carelessness or negligence to be any damage to their operations. And I will relate how rich they were as well as I am able, although perhaps the nature of this history may not require such a description; but I imagine I shall thereby recommend the elegant taste and magnanimity of this king to those that read this history.

(8) [60] Πρῶτον δὲ τὰ περὶ τῆς τραπέζης ἐκθήσομαι. εἶχεν μὲν οὖν δι᾽ ἐννοίας ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπερμεγεθέστατον τοῖς μέτροις ἀπεργάσασθαι τὸ κατασκεύασμα, προσέταξε δὲ μαθεῖν τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀνακειμένης ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις τραπέζης πόσον τέ ἐστιν καὶ εἰ δύναται τούτου μεῖζον κατασκευασθῆναι. [61] μαθὼν δὲ καὶ τὴν οὖσαν ἡλίκη τις ἦν, καὶ ὅτι αὐτῆς οὐδὲν κωλύει μείζονα γενέσθαι, φήσας καὶ πενταπλασίονα τῆς ὑπαρχούσης τῷ μεγέθει βούλεσθαι κατασκευάσαι, φοβεῖσθαι δέ, μὴ πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας ἄχρηστος διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ μεγέθους γένηται: βούλεσθαι γὰρ οὐκ ἀνακεῖσθαι μόνον εἰς θέαν τἀναθήματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας εὔχρηστα: [62] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λογισάμενος σύμμετρον κατεσκευάσθαι τὴν προτέραν τράπεζαν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ διὰ σπάνιν χρυσοῦ, τῷ μεγέθει μὲν οὐκ ἔγνω τὴν προυπάρχουσαν ὑπερβαλεῖν, τῇ δὲ ποικιλίᾳ καὶ τῷ κάλλει τῆς ὕλης ἀξιολογωτέραν κατασκευάσαι. [63] δεινὸς δὲ ὢν συνιδεῖν πραγμάτων παντοδαπῶν φύσιν καὶ λαβεῖν ἐπίνοιαν ἔργων καινῶν καὶ παραδόξων καὶ ὅσα ἦν ἄγραφα τὴν εὕρεσιν αὐτὸς παρέχων διὰ τὴν σύνεσιν καὶ ὑποδεικνὺς τοῖς τεχνίταις, ἐκέλευσεν ταῦτα κατασκευάζεσθαι καὶ τὰ ἀναγεγραμμένα πρὸς τὴν ἀκρίβειαν αὐτῶν ἀποβλέποντας ὁμοίως ἐπιτελεῖν.

8. And first I will describe what belongs to the table. It was indeed in the king's mind to make this table vastly large in its dimensions; but then he gave orders that they should learn what was the magnitude of the table which was already at Jerusalem, and how large it was, and whether there was a possibility of making one larger than it. And when he was informed how large that was which was already there, and that nothing hindered but a larger might be made, he said that he was willing to have one made that should be five times as large as the present table; but his fear was, that it might be then useless in their sacred ministrations by its too great largeness; for he desired that the gifts he presented them should not only be there for show, but should be useful also in their sacred

ministrations. According to which reasoning, that the former table was made of so moderate a size for use, and not for want of gold, he resolved that he would not exceed the former table in largeness; but would make it exceed it in the variety and elegancy of its materials. And as he was sagacious in observing the nature of all things, and in having a just notion of what was new and surprising, and where there was no sculptures, he would invent such as were proper by his own skill, and would show them to the workmen, he commanded that such sculptures should now be made, and that those which were delineated should be most accurately formed by a constant regard to their delineation.

(9) [64] Ὑποστησάμενοι τοίνυν ποιήσασθαι τὴν τράπεζαν δύο μὲν καὶ ἡμίσους πηχῶν τὸ μῆκος, ἑνὸς δὲ τὸ εὖρος, τὸ δ᾽ ὕψος ἑνὸς καὶ ἡμίσους, κατεσκεύαζον ἐκ χρυσοῦ τὴν ὅλην τοῦ ἔργου καταβολὴν ποιούμενοι. τὴν μὲν οὖν στεφάνην παλαιστιαίαν εἰργάσαντο, τὰ δὲ κυμάτια στρεπτὰ τὴν ἀναγλυφὴν ἔχοντα σχοινοειδῆ τῇ τορείᾳ θαυμαστῶς ἐκ τῶν τριῶν μερῶν μεμιμημένην. [65] τριγώνων γὰρ ὄντων αὐτῶν ἑκάστη γωνία τὴν αὐτὴν τῆς ἐκτυπώσεως εἶχεν διάθεσιν, ὡς στρεφομένων αὐτῶν μίαν καὶ μὴ διάφορον τὴν ἰδέαν αὐτοῖς συμπεριφέρεσθαι. τῆς δὲ στεφάνης τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ τὴν τράπεζαν ἐκκεκλιμένον ὡραίαν εἶχεν τὴν ἀποτύπωσιν, τὸ δ᾽ ἔξωθεν περιηγμένον ἔτι μᾶλλον τῷ κάλλει τῆς ἐργασίας ἦν ἐκπεπονημένον, ὡς ὑπ᾽ ὄψιν καὶ θεωρίαν ἐρχόμενον. [66] διὸ καὶ τὴν μὲν ὑπεροχὴν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν ὀξεῖαν συνέβαινε γίγνεσθαι, καὶ μηδεμίαν γωνίαν τριῶν οὐσῶν, ὡς προειρήκαμεν, περὶ τὴν μεταγωγὴν τῆς τραπέζης ἐλάσσονα βλέπεσθαι. ἐνδιέκειντο δὲ ταῖς σχοινίσιν τῆς τορείας λίθοι πολυτελεῖς παράλληλοι περόναις χρυσαῖς διὰ τρημάτων κατειλημμένοι. [67] τὰ δ᾽ ἐκ πλαγίου τῆς στεφάνης καὶ πρὸς ὄψιν ἀνατείνοντα ὠῶν ἐκ λίθου καλλίστου πεποιημένων θέσει κατακεκόσμητο ῥάβδοις τὴν ἀναγλυφὴν ἐοικότων πυκναῖς, αἳ περὶ τὸν κύκλον τῆς τραπέζης εἵληντο. [68] ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν τῶν ὠῶν διατύπωσιν στέφανον περιήγαγον οἱ τεχνῖται παντοίου καρποῦ φύσιν ἐντετορευμένον, ὡς ἀποκρέμασθαί τε βότρυς καὶ στάχυας ἀναστῆναι καὶ ῥόας ἀποκεκλεῖσθαι. τοὺς δὲ λίθους εἰς πᾶν γένος τῶν προειρημένων καρπῶν, ὡς ἑκάστου τὴν οἰκείαν ἐντετυπῶσθαι χρόαν, ἐξεργασάμενοι συνέδησαν τῷ χρυσῷ περὶ ὅλην τὴν τράπεζαν. [69] ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν στέφανον ὁμοίως ἡ τῶν ὠῶν διάθεσις πεποίητο καὶ ἡ τῆς ῥαβδώσεως ἀναγλυφή, τῆς τραπέζης ἐπ᾽ ἀμφότερον μέρος ἔχειν τὴν αὐτὴν τῆς ποικιλίας τῶν ἔργων καὶ γλαφυρότητος θέαν κατεσκευασμένης, ὡς καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων κυμάτων θέσιν καὶ τὴν τῆς στεφάνης μηδὲ τῆς τραπέζης ἐφ᾽ ἕτερον μέρος ἐναλλαττομένης γίγνεσθαι διάφορον, τὴν δ᾽ αὐτὴν ἄχρι καὶ τῶν ποδῶν ὄψιν τῆς ἐπιτεχνήσεως διατετάσθαι. [70] ἔλασμα γὰρ χρυσοῦ τὸ πλάτος τεσσάρων δακτύλων ποιήσαντες καθ᾽ ὅλου τοῦ τῆς τραπέζης πλάτους εἰς τοῦτο τοὺς πόδας αὐτῆς ἐνέθεσαν, ἔπειτα περόναις καὶ κατακλεῖσιν αὐτοὺς ἐνέσφιγγον τῇ τραπέζῃ

κατὰ τὴν στεφάνην, ἵνα τὴν θέαν τῆς καινουργίας καὶ πολυτελείας, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ τις ἂν στήσῃ τὴν τράπεζαν μέρει, παρέχωσι τὴν αὐτήν. [71] ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τραπέζης μαίανδρον ἐξέγλυψαν λίθους αὐτῷ κατὰ μέσον ἀξιολόγους ὥσπερ ἀστέρας ποικίλης ἰδέας ἐνθέντες, τόν τε ἄνθρακα καὶ τὸν σμάραγδον ἥδιστον προσαυγάζοντας αὐτῶν ἑκάτερον τοῖς ὁρῶσιν, τῶν τε ἄλλων γενῶν ὅσοι περισπούδαστοι καὶ ζηλωτοὶ πᾶσιν διὰ τὴν πολυτέλειαν τῆς φύσεως ὑπάρχουσιν. [72] μετὰ δὲ τὸν μαίανδρον πλέγμα τι σχοινοειδὲς περιῆκτο ῥόμβῳ τὴν κατὰ μέσον ὄψιν ἐμφερές, ἐφ᾽ οὗ κρύσταλλός τε λίθος καὶ ἤλεκτρον ἐντετύπωτο τῇ παραλλήλῳ τῆς ἰδέας γειτνιάσει ψυχαγωγίαν θαυμαστὴν παρέχον τοῖς βλέπουσιν. [73] τῶν δὲ ποδῶν ἦσαν αἱ κεφαλίδες εἰς κρίνα μεμιμημέναι τὰς ἐκφύσεις τῶν πετάλων ὑπὸ τὴν τράπεζαν ἀνακλωμένων, εἰς ὀρθὸν δὲ τὴν βλάστησιν ἔνδοθεν παρεχόντων ὁρᾶν. [74] ἡ δὲ βάσις αὐτοῖς ἦν ἐξ ἄνθρακος λίθου παλαιστιαία πεποιημένη σχῆμα κρηπῖδος ἀποτελοῦσα, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ὀκτὼ δακτύλων ἔχουσα, καθ᾽ οὗ τὸ πᾶν ἔλασμα τῶν ποδῶν ἐρήρειστο. [75] ἀνέγλυψαν δὲ λεπτομερεῖ καὶ φιλοπονωτάτῃ τορείᾳ τῶν ποδῶν ἕκαστον, κισσὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ κλήματα ἀμπέλων σὺν καὶ βότρυσιν ἐκφύσαντες, ὡς εἰκάσαι μηδὲν ἀποδεῖν τῆς ἀληθείας: καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ πνεῦμα διὰ λεπτότητα καὶ τὴν ἐπ᾽ ἄκρον αὐτῶν ἔκτασιν κινούμενα φαντασίαν τῶν κατὰ φύσιν μᾶλλον ἢ τέχνης μιμημάτων παρεῖχεν. [76] ἐκαινούργησαν δὲ ὥστε τρίπτυχον οἱονεὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ὅλης κατασκευάσαι τραπέζης τῆς ἁρμονίας πρὸς ἄλληλα τῶν μερῶν οὕτω συνδεδεμένης, ὡς ἀόρατον εἶναι καὶ μηδ᾽ ἐπινοεῖσθαι τὰς συμβολάς. ἥμισυ δὲ πήχεως οὐκ ἔλασσον τῇ τραπέζῃ τὸ πάχος συνέβαινεν εἶναι. [77] τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀνάθημα τοῦτο κατὰ πολλὴν τοῦ βασιλέως φιλοτιμίαν τοιοῦτο τῇ τε πολυτελείᾳ τῆς ὕλης καὶ τῇ ποικιλίᾳ τῆς καλλονῆς καὶ τῇ μιμήσει τῇ κατὰ τὴν τορείαν τῶν τεχνιτῶν συνετελέσθη, σπουδάσαντος εἰ καὶ μὴ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς προανακειμένης τῷ θεῷ τραπέζης ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι διάφορος, τῇ μέντοι γε τέχνῃ καὶ τῇ καινουργίᾳ καὶ τῇ λαμπρότητι τῆς κατασκευῆς πολὺ κρείττονα καὶ περίβλεπτον ἀπεργάσασθαι.

9. When therefore the workmen had undertaken to make the table, they framed it in length two cubits [and a half], in breadth one cubit, and in height one cubit and a half; and the entire structure of the work was of gold. They withal made a crown of a hand-breadth round it, with wave-work wreathed about it, and with an engraving which imitated a cord, and was admirably turned on its three parts; for as they were of a triangular figure, every angle had the same disposition of its sculptures, that when you turned them about, the very same form of them was turned about without any variation. Now that part of the crown-work that was enclosed under the table had its sculptures very beautiful; but that part which went round on the outside was more elaborately adorned with most beautiful

ornaments, because it was exposed to sight, and to the view of the spectators; for which reason it was that both those sides which were extant above the rest were acute, and none of the angles, which we before told you were three, appeared less than another, when the table was turned about. Now into the cordwork thus turned were precious stones inserted, in rows parallel one to the other, enclosed in golden buttons, which had ouches in them; but the parts which were on the side of the crown, and were exposed to the sight, were adorned with a row of oval figures obliquely placed, of the most excellent sort of precious stones, which imitated rods laid close, and encompassed the table round about. But under these oval figures, thus engraven, the workmen had put a crown all round it, where the nature of all sorts of fruit was represented, insomuch that the bunches of grapes hung up. And when they had made the stones to represent all the kinds of fruit before mentioned, and that each in its proper color, they made them fast with gold round the whole table. The like disposition of the oval figures, and of the engraved rods, was framed under the crown, that the table might on each side show the same appearance of variety and elegancy of its ornaments; so that neither the position of the wave-work nor of the crown might be different, although the table were turned on the other side, but that the prospect of the same artificial contrivances might be extended as far as the feet; for there was made a plate of gold four fingers broad, through the entire breadth of the table, into which they inserted the feet, and then fastened them to the table by buttons and button-holes, at the place where the crown was situate, that so on what side soever of the table one should stand, it might exhibit the very same view of the exquisite workmanship, and of the vast expenses bestowed upon it: but upon the table itself they engraved a meander, inserting into it very valuable stones in the middle like stars, of various colors; the carbuncle and the emerald, each of which sent out agreeable rays of light to the spectators; with such stones of other sorts also as were most curious and best esteemed, as being most precious in their kind. Hard by this meander a texture of net-work ran round it, the middle of which appeared like a rhombus, into which were inserted rock-crystal and amber, which, by the great resemblance of the appearance they made, gave wonderful delight to those that saw them. The chapiters of the feet imitated the first buddings of lilies, while their leaves were bent and laid under the table, but so that the chives were seen standing upright within them. Their bases were made of a carbuncle; and the place at the bottom, which rested on that carbuncle, was one palm deep, and eight fingers in breadth. Now they had engraven upon it with a very fine tool, and with a great deal of pains, a branch of ivy and tendrils of the vine, sending forth clusters of grapes, that you would guess they were nowise different from real tendrils; for they were so very thin, and so very far

extended at their extremities, that they were moved with the wind, and made one believe that they were the product of nature, and not the representation of art. They also made the entire workmanship of the table appear to be threefold, while the joints of the several parts were so united together as to be invisible, and the places where they joined could not be distinguished. Now the thickness of the table was not less than half a cubit. So that this gift, by the king's great generosity, by the great value of the materials, and the variety of its exquisite structure, and the artificer's skill in imitating nature with graying tools, was at length brought to perfection, while the king was very desirous, that though in largeness it were not to be different from that which was already dedicated to God, yet that in exquisite workmanship, and the novelty of the contrivances, and in the splendor of its construction, it should far exceed it, and be more illustrious than that was.

(10) [78] Τῶν δὲ κρατήρων χρύσεοι μὲν ἦσαν δύο, φολιδωτὴν δ' εἶχον ἀπὸ τῆς βάσεως μέχρι τοῦ διαζώματος τὴν τορείαν λίθων ταῖς σπείραις ποικίλων ἐνδεδεμένων. [79] εἶτα ἐπ' αὐτῇ μαίανδρος πηχυαῖος τὸ ὕψος ἐξείργαστο κατὰ σύνθεσιν λίθων παντοίων τὴν ἰδέαν, κατ' αὐτοῦ δὲ ῥάβδωσις ἀναγέγλυπτο, καθ' ἧς πλέγμα ῥομβωτὸν δικτύοις ἐμφερὲς ἕως τοῦ χείλους ἀνείλκυστο: [80] τὰ δὲ μέσα λίθων ἀσπίδια τετραδακτύλων ἀνεπλήρου τὸ κάλλος. περιεστέφετο δὲ τὰ χείλη τοῦ κρατῆρος κρίνων σμίλαξι καὶ ἀνθεμίσι καὶ βοτρύων σχοινίαις εἰς κύκλον περιηγμέναις. [81] τοὺς μὲν οὖν χρυσέους κρατῆρας δύο χωροῦντας ἑκάτερον ἀμφορέας τοῦτον κατεσκεύασαν τὸν τρόπον, οἱ δ' ἀργύρεοι τῶν ἐσόπτρων τὴν λαμπρότητα πολὺ διαυγέστεροι γεγόνεισαν, ὡς τρανοτέρας διὰ τούτων τὰς τῶν προσφερομένων ὄψεις ὁρᾶσθαι. [82] προσκατεσκεύασε δὲ τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ φιάλας τριάκοντα, ὧν ὅσα χρυσὸς ἦν ἀλλὰ μὴ λίθῳ πολυτελεῖ διείληπτο, σμίλαξι κισσοῦ καὶ πετάλοις ἀμπέλων ἐσκίαστο φιλοτέχνως ἐντετορευμένων. [83] ταῦτα δ' ἐγίγνετο μὲν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν τῶν ἐργαζομένων θαυμασίων ὄντων περὶ τὴν τέχνην, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως σπουδῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας διαφερόντως ἀπηρτίζετο: [84] οὐ γὰρ τῆς χορηγίας τὸ ἄφθονον καὶ μεγαλόψυχον τοῖς τεχνίταις παρεῖχεν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ χρηματίζειν τοῖς δημοσίοις πράγμασιν ἀπειρηκὼς αὐτὸς τοῖς κατασκευάζουσι παρῆν καὶ τὴν ὅλην ἐργασίαν ἐπέβλεπεν. αἴτιον δ' ἦν τοῦτο τῆς τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἐπιμελείας, οἳ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν τούτου σπουδὴν ἀποβλέποντες φιλοπονώτερον τοῖς ἔργοις προσελιπάρουν.

10. Now of the cisterns of gold there were two, whose sculpture was of scale-work, from its basis to its belt-like circle, with various sorts of stones enchased in the spiral circles. Next to which there was upon it a meander of a cubit in height; it was composed of stones of all sorts of colors. And next to this was the

rod-work engraven; and next to that was a rhombus in a texture of net-work, drawn out to the brim of the basin, while small shields, made of stones, beautiful in their kind, and of four fingers' depth, filled up the middle parts. About the top of the basin were wreathed the leaves of lilies, and of the convolvulus, and the tendrils of vines in a circular manner. And this was the construction of the two cisterns of gold, each containing two firkins. But those which were of silver were much more bright and splendid than looking-glasses, and you might in them see the images that fell upon them more plainly than in the other. The king also ordered thirty vials; those of which the parts that were of gold, and filled up with precious stones, were shadowed over with the leaves of ivy and of vines, artificially engraven. And these were the vessels that were after an extraordinary manner brought to this perfection, partly by the skill of the workmen, who were admirable in such fine work, but much more by the diligence and generosity of the king, who not only supplied the artificers abundantly, and with great generosity, with what they wanted, but he forbade public audiences for the time, and came and stood by the workmen, and saw the whole operation. And this was the cause why the workmen were so accurate in their performance, because they had regard to the king, and to his great concern about the vessels, and so the more indefatigably kept close to the work.

(11) [85] Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ πεμφθέντα εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου ἀναθήματα. ὁ δ' ἀρχιερεὺς Ἐλεάζαρος ἀναθεὶς αὐτὰ καὶ τιμήσας τοὺς κομίσαντας καὶ δῶρα τῷ βασιλεῖ δοὺς κομίζειν ἀπέλυσε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. [86] παραγενομένων δ' εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀκούσας Πτολεμαῖος τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐληλυθότας, εὐθὺς μεταπέμπεται τὸν Ἀνδρέαν καὶ τὸν Ἀρισταῖον τοὺς πρέσβεις. οἱ δ' ἀφικόμενοι τάς τε ἐπιστολάς, ἃς ἐκόμιζον αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, ἀπέδοσαν καὶ ὅσα φράζειν ἀπὸ λόγων ὑπέθετο ταῦτα ἐδήλωσαν. [87] σπεύδων δ' ἐντυχεῖν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων [πρεσβύταις] ἤκουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν τῶν νόμων, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους οὓς χρειῶν ἕνεκα παρεῖναι συνέβαινεν ἐκέλευσεν ἀπολῦσαι, παράδοξον τοῦτο ποιῶν καὶ παρὰ τὸ ἔθος: [88] οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τοιούτων αἰτιῶν ἀχθέντες διὰ πέμπτης ἡμέρας αὐτῷ προσῄεσαν, οἱ δὲ πρεσβεύοντες διὰ μηνός: τότε τοίνυν ἀπολύσας ἐκείνους τοὺς πεμφθέντας ὑπὸ Ἐλεαζάρου περιέμενεν. [89] ὡς δὲ παρῆλθον μετὰ καὶ τῶν δώρων οἱ γέροντες, ἃ τῷ βασιλεῖ κομίσαι ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν, καὶ τῶν διφθερῶν, αἷς ἐγγεγραμμένους εἶχον τοὺς νόμους χρυσοῖς γράμμασιν, ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτοὺς περὶ τῶν βιβλίων. [90] ὡς δ' ἀποκαλύψαντες τῶν ἐνειλημάτων ἐπέδειξαν αὐτῷ, θαυμάσας ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς ἰσχνότητος τοὺς ὑμένας καὶ τῆς συμβολῆς τὸ ἀνεπίγνωστον, οὕτως γὰρ ἥρμοστο, καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσας χρόνῳ πλείονι χάριν ἔχειν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς τε ἐλθοῦσιν καὶ μείζονα τῷ πέμψαντι,

πρὸ δὲ πάντων τῷ θεῷ, οὗ τοὺς νόμους εἶναι συμβέβηκεν. [91] ἐκβοησάντων δ' ὑφ' ἓν καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν συμπαρόντων γίγνεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ δι' ὑπερβολὴν ἡδονῆς εἰς δάκρυα προύπεσεν, φύσει τῆς μεγάλης χαρᾶς πασχούσης καὶ τὰ τῶν λυπηρῶν σύμβολα. [92] κελεύσας δὲ τὰ βιβλία δοῦναι τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς τάξεως τότε τοὺς ἄνδρας ἠσπάσατο, δίκαιον εἰπὼν εἶναι πρῶτον περὶ ὧν αὐτοὺς μετεπέμψατο ποιησάμενον τοὺς λόγους ἔπειτα κἀκείνους προσειπεῖν. τὴν μέντοι γε ἡμέραν, καθ' ἣν ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐπιφανῆ ποιήσειν καὶ κατὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἐπίσημον εἰς ὅλον τὸν τῆς ζωῆς χρόνον ἐπηγγέλλετο: [93] ἔτυχεν γὰρ ἡ αὐτὴ εἶναι τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς νίκης, ἣν Ἀντίγονον ναυμαχῶν ἐνίκησεν: συνεστιαθῆναί τε ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ καὶ καταλύσεις προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς δοθῆναι τὰς καλλίστας πρὸς τῇ ἄκρᾳ.

11. And these were what gifts were sent by Ptolemy to Jerusalem, and dedicated to God there. But when Eleazar the high priest had devoted them to God, and had paid due respect to those that brought them, and had given them presents to be carried to the king, he dismissed them. And when they were come to Alexandria, and Ptolemy heard that they were come, and that the seventy elders were come also, he presently sent for Andreas and Aristens, his ambassadors, who came to him, and delivered him the epistle which they brought him from the high priest, and made answer to all the questions he put to them by word of mouth. He then made haste to meet the elders that came from Jerusalem for the interpretation of the laws; and he gave command, that every body who came on other occasions should be sent away, which was a thing surprising, and what he did not use to do; for those that were drawn thither upon such occasions used to come to him on the fifth day, but ambassadors at the month's end. But when he had sent those away, he waited for these that were sent by Eleazar; but as the old men came in with the presents, which the high priest had given them to bring to the king, and with the membranes, upon which they had their laws written in golden letters he put questions to them concerning those books; and when they had taken off the covers wherein they were wrapt up, they showed him the membranes. So the king stood admiring the thinness of those membranes, and the exactness of the junctures, which could not be perceived; [so exactly were they connected one with another;] and this he did for a considerable time. He then said that he returned them thanks for coming to him, and still greater thanks to him that sent them; and, above all, to that God whose laws they appeared to be. Then did the elders, and those that were present with them, cry out with one voice, and wished all happiness to the king. Upon which he fell into tears by the violence of the pleasure he had, it being natural to men to afford the same indications in great joy that they do under sorrows. And when he had bid them

deliver the books to those that were appointed to receive them, he saluted the men, and said that it was but just to discourse, in the first place, of the errand they were sent about, and then to address himself to themselves. He promised, however, that he would make this day on which they came to him remarkable and eminent every year through the whole course of his life; for their coming to him, and the victory which he gained over Antigonus by sea, proved to be on the very same day. He also gave orders that they should sup with him; and gave it in charge that they should have excellent lodgings provided for them in the upper part of the city.

(12) [94] Ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν ξένων ἀποδοχῆς τεταγμένος Νικάνωρ Δωρόθεον καλέσας, ὃς εἶχεν τὴν περὶ τούτων πρόνοιαν, ἐκέλευεν ἑτοιμάζειν ἑκάστῳ τὰ δέοντα πρὸς τὴν δίαιταν. διετέτακτο δὲ τοῦτον ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν τρόπον: [95] κατὰ γὰρ πόλιν ἑκάστην, ὅσαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρῶνται περὶ τὴν δίαιταν, ἦν τούτων ἐπιμελόμενος καὶ κατὰ τὸ τῶν ἀφικνουμένων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔθος πάντ᾽ αὐτοῖς παρεσκευάζετο, ἵνα τῷ συνήθει τρόπῳ τῆς διαίτης εὐωχούμενοι μᾶλλον ἥδωνται καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν ὡς ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντες δυσχεραίνωσιν. ὃ δὴ καὶ περὶ τούτους ἐγένετο Δωροθέου διὰ τὴν περὶ τὸν βίον ἀκρίβειαν ἐπὶ τούτοις καθεστῶτος. [96] συνέστρωσε δὲ πάντα δι᾽ αὐτοῦ τὰ πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας ὑποδοχὰς καὶ διμερῆ τὴν κλισίαν ἐποίησεν οὑτωσὶ προστάξαντος τοῦ βασιλέως: τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἡμίσεις ἐκέλευσεν ἀνὰ χεῖρα κατακλιθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ κλισίαν, οὐδὲν ἀπολιπὼν τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἄνδρας τιμῆς. [97] ἐπεὶ δ᾽ οὕτως κατεκλίθησαν ἐκέλευσε τὸν Δωρόθεον, οἷς ἔθεσι χρώμενοι διατελοῦσιν πάντες οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφιγμένοι κατὰ ταῦτα ὑπηρετεῖν. [διὸ] καὶ τοὺς ἱεροκήρυκας καὶ θύτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, οἳ τὰς κατευχὰς ἐποιοῦντο, παρῃτήσατο, τῶν δὲ παραγενομένων ἕνα Ἐλισαῖον ὄνομα ὄντα ἱερέα παρεκάλεσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ποιήσασθαι κατευχάς. [98] ὁ δὲ στὰς εἰς μέσον ηὔχετο τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, εἶτα κρότος ἐξ ἁπάντων μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ βοῆς ἤρθη καὶ παυσάμενοι πρὸς εὐωχίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν παρεσκευασμένων ἐτράπησαν. [99] διαλιπὼν δ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐφ᾽ ὅσον ἔδοξεν ἀποχρῶντα καιρὸν εἶναι φιλοσοφεῖν ἤρξατο καὶ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν λόγους ἐπηρώτα φυσικούς, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ζητουμένων θεωρίαν ἀκριβῶς ἐκείνων περὶ παντὸς οὐτινοσοῦν λέγειν αὐτοῖς προβληθείη διασαφούντων, ἡδόμενος τούτοις ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας δώδεκα τὸ συμπόσιον ἐποιήσατο, [100] ὡς τῷ βουλομένῳ τὰ κατὰ μέρος γνῶναι τῶν ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ ζητηθέντων εἶναι μαθεῖν ἀναγνόντι τὸ Ἀρισταίου βιβλίον, ὃ συνέγραψεν διὰ ταῦτα.

12. Now he that was appointed to take care of the reception of strangers, Nicanor by name, called for Dorotheus, whose duty it was to make provision for them, and bid him prepare for every one of them what should be requisite for their diet

and way of living; which thing was ordered by the king after this manner: he took care that those that belonged to every city, which did not use the same way of living, that all things should be prepared for them according to the custom of those that came to him, that, being feasted according to the usual method of their own way of living, they might be the better pleased, and might not be uneasy at any thing done to them from which they were naturally averse. And this was now done in the case of these men by Dorotheus, who was put into this office because of his great skill in such matters belonging to common life; for he took care of all such matters as concerned the reception of strangers, and appointed them double seats for them to sit on, according as the king had commanded him to do; for he had commanded that half of their seats should be set at his right hand, and the other half behind his table, and took care that no respect should be omitted that could be shown them. And when they were thus set down, he bid Dorotheus to minister to all those that were come to him from Judea, after the manner they used to be ministered to; for which cause he sent away their sacred heralds, and those that slew the sacrifices, and the rest that used to say grace; but called to one of those that were come to him, whose name was Eleazar, who w a priest, and desired him to say grace; who then stood in the midst of them, and prayed, that all prosperity might attend the king, and those that were his subjects. Upon which an acclamation was made by the whole company, with joy and a great noise; and when that was over, they fell to eating their supper, and to the enjoyment of what was set before them. And at a little interval afterward, when the king thought a sufficient time had been interposed, he began to talk philosophically to them, and he asked every one of them a philosophical question and such a one as might give light in those inquiries; and when they had explained all the problems that had been proposed by the king about every point, he was well-pleased with their answers. This took up the twelve days in which they were treated; and he that pleases may learn the particular questions in that book of Aristeus, which he wrote on this very occasion.

(13) [101] Θαυμάζοντος δ' αὐτοὺς οὐ μόνον τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ καὶ Μενεδήμου τοῦ φιλοσόφου προνοίᾳ διοικεῖσθαι πάντα φήσαντος καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' εἰκὸς καὶ τοῦ λόγου δύναμιν καὶ κάλλος εὑρῆσθαι, παύονται μὲν περὶ τούτων ἐπιζητοῦντες. [102] γεγενῆσθαι δ' αὐτῷ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔλεγεν ἤδη παρόντων αὐτῶν: ὠφελῆσθαι γὰρ παρ' αὐτῶν μεμαθηκότα, πῶς δεῖ βασιλεύειν: κελεύει τε αὐτοῖς ἀνὰ τρία δοθῆναι τάλαντα καὶ τοὺς ἀποκαταστήσοντας ἐπὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν. [103] διελθουσῶν δὲ τριῶν ἡμερῶν παραλαβὼν αὐτοὺς ὁ Δημήτριος καὶ διελθὼν τὸ ἑπταστάδιον χῶμα τῆς θαλάσσης πρὸς τὴν νῆσον καὶ διαβὰς πρὸς τὴν γέφυραν, προελθὼν ἐπὶ τὰ βόρεια μέρη συνέδριον ἐποιήσατο ἐν τῷ

παρὰ τὴν ᾐόνα κατεσκευασμένῳ οἴκῳ πρὸς διάσκεψιν πραγμάτων ἠρεμίας καλῶς ἔχοντι. [104] ἀγαγὼν οὖν αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖ παρεκάλει πάντων, ὧν ἂν δεηθεῖεν εἰς τὴν ἑρμηνείαν τοῦ νόμου, παρόντων ἀκωλύτως ἐπιτελεῖν τὸ ἔργον. οἱ δ᾽ ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα φιλοτίμως καὶ φιλοπόνως ἀκριβῆ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν ποιούμενοι μέχρι μὲν ὥρας ἑνάτης πρὸς τούτῳ διετέλουν ὄντες, [105] ἔπειτ᾽ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀπηλλάττοντο θεραπείαν ἀφθόνως αὐτοῖς τῶν πρὸς τὴν δίαιταν χορηγουμένων καὶ προσέτι τοῦ Δωροθέου πολλὰ καὶ τῶν παρασκευαζομένων τῷ βασιλεῖ, προσέταξε γάρ, αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος. [106] πρωὶ δὲ πρὸς τὴν αὐλὴν παραγινόμενοι καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἀσπαζόμενοι πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀπῄεσαν τόπον καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ τὰς χεῖρας ἀπονιπτόμενοι καὶ καθαίροντες αὐτοὺς οὕτως ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν νόμων ἑρμηνείαν ἐτρέποντο.

[107] Μεταγραφέντος δὲ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν ἔργου τέλος ἐν ἡμέραις ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ δυσὶν λαβόντος, συναγαγὼν ὁ Δημήτριος τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἅπαντας εἰς τὸν τόπον, ἔνθα καὶ μετεβλήθησαν οἱ νόμοι, παρόντων καὶ τῶν ἑρμηνέων ἀνέγνω τούτους. [108] τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἀπεδέξατο μὲν καὶ τοὺς διασαφήσαντας πρεσβυτέρους τὸν νόμον, ἐπῄνεσεν δὲ καὶ τὸν Δημήτριον τῆς ἐπινοίας ὡς μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς εὑρετὴν γεγενημένον, παρεκάλεσάν τε δοῦναι καὶ τοῖς ἡγουμένοις αὐτῶν ἀναγνῶναι τὸν νόμον, ἠξίωσάν τε [πάντες] ὅ τε ἱερεὺς καὶ τῶν ἑρμηνέων οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ τοῦ πολιτεύματος οἱ προεστηκότες, ἐπεὶ καλῶς τὰ τῆς ἑρμηνείας ἀπήρτισται, καὶ διαμεῖναι ταῦθ᾽, ὡς ἔχοι, καὶ μὴ μετακινεῖν αὐτά. [109] ἁπάντων δ᾽ ἐπαινεσάντων τὴν γνώμην ἐκέλευσαν, εἴ τις ἢ περισσόν τι προσγεγραμμένον ὁρᾷ τῷ νόμῳ ἢ λεῖπον, πάλιν ἐπισκοποῦντα τοῦτο καὶ ποιοῦντα φανερὸν διορθοῦν, σωφρόνως τοῦτο πράττοντες, ἵνα τὸ κριθὲν ἅπαξ ἔχειν καλῶς εἰς ἀεὶ διαμένῃ.

13. And while not the king only, but the philosopher Menedemus also, admired them, and said that all things were governed by Providence, and that it was probable that thence it was that such force or beauty was discovered in these men's words, they then left off asking any more such questions. But the king said that he had gained very great advantages by their coming, for that he had received this profit from them, that he had learned how he ought to rule his subjects. And he gave order that they should have every one three talents given them, and that those that were to conduct them to their lodging should do it. Accordingly, when three days were over, Demetrius took them, and went over the causeway seven furlongs long: it was a bank in the sea to an island. And when they had gone over the bridge, he proceeded to the northern parts, and showed them where they should meet, which was in a house that was built near the shore, and was a quiet place, and fit for their discoursing together about their work. When he had brought them thither, he entreated them [now they had all

things about them which they wanted for the interpretation of their law] that they would suffer nothing to interrupt them in their work. Accordingly, they made an accurate interpretation, with great zeal and great pains, and this they continued to do till the ninth hour of the day; after which time they relaxed, and took care of their body, while their food was provided for them in great plenty: besides, Dorotheus, at the king's command, brought them a great deal of what was provided for the king himself. But in the morning they came to the court and saluted Ptolemy, and then went away to their former place, where, when they had washed their hands, and purified themselves, they betook themselves to the interpretation of the laws. Now when the law was transcribed, and the labor of interpretation was over, which came to its conclusion in seventy-two days, Demetrius gathered all the Jews together to the place where the laws were translated, and where the interpreters were, and read them over. The multitude did also approve of those elders that were the interpreters of the law. They withal commended Demetrius for his proposal, as the inventor of what was greatly for their happiness; and they desired that he would give leave to their rulers also to read the law. Moreover, they all, both the priest and the ancientest of the elders, and the principal men of their commonwealth, made it their request, that since the interpretation was happily finished, it might continue in the state it now was, and might not be altered. And when they all commended that determination of theirs, they enjoined, that if any one observed either any thing superfluous, or any thing omitted, that he would take a view of it again, and have it laid before them, and corrected; which was a wise action of theirs, that when the thing was judged to have been well done, it might continue for ever.

(14) [110] Ἐχάρη μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὴν αὐτοῦ προαίρεσιν εἴς τι χρήσιμον ὁρῶν τετελειωμένην, μάλιστα [ὡς] δὲ τῶν νόμων ἀναγνωσθέντων αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν ἐξεπλάγη τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον ἤρξατο ποιεῖσθαι λόγους, πῶς οὕτως θαυμαστῆς οὔσης τῆς νομοθεσίας οὐδεὶς οὔτε τῶν ἱστορικῶν αὐτῆς οὔτε τῶν ποιητῶν ἐπεμνήσθη. [111] ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος μηδένα τολμῆσαι τῆς τῶν νόμων τούτων ἀναγραφῆς ἅψασθαι διὰ τὸ θείαν αὐτὴν εἶναι καὶ σεμνὴν ἔφασκεν, καὶ ὅτι βλαβεῖεν ἤδη τινὲς τούτοις ἐγχειρήσαντες ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, [112] δηλῶν ὡς Θεόπομπός τε βουληθεὶς ἱστορῆσαί τι περὶ τούτων ἐταράχθη τὴν διάνοιαν πλείοσιν ἢ τριάκοντα ἡμέραις καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἀνέσεις ἐξιλάσκετο τὸν θεόν, ἐντεῦθεν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὴν παραφροσύνην ὑπονοῶν: οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄναρ εἶδεν ὅτι τοῦτ' αὐτῷ συμβαίη περιεργαζομένῳ τὰ θεῖα καὶ ταῦτ' ἐκφέρειν εἰς κοινοὺς ἀνθρώπους θελήσαντι: [113] καὶ ἀποσχόμενος κατέστη τὴν διάνοιαν. ἐδήλου δὲ καὶ περὶ Θεοδέκτου τοῦ τῶν τραγῳδιῶν ποιητοῦ ἀναφέρεσθαι, ὅτι βουληθεὶς ἔν τινι δράματι τῶν ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ

βύβλῳ γεγραμμένων μνησθῆναι τὰς ὄψεις γλαυκωθείη καὶ συνιδὼν τὴν αἰτίαν ἀπαλλαγείη τοῦ πάθους ἐξευμενισάμενος τὸν θεόν.

14. So the king rejoiced when he saw that his design of this nature was brought to perfection, to so great advantage; and he was chiefly delighted with hearing the Laws read to him; and was astonished at the deep meaning and wisdom of the legislator. And he began to discourse with Demetrius, "How it came to pass, that when this legislation was so wonderful, no one, either of the poets or of the historians, had made mention of it." Demetrius made answer, "that no one durst be so bold as to touch upon the description of these laws, because they were Divine and venerable, and because some that had attempted it were afflicted by God." He also told him, that "Theopompus was desirous of writing somewhat about them, but was thereupon disturbed in his mind for above thirty days' time; and upon some intermission of his distemper, he appeased God [by prayer], as suspecting that his madness proceeded from that cause." Nay, indeed, he further saw in a dream, that his distemper befell him while he indulged too great a curiosity about Divine matters, and was desirous of publishing them among common men; but when he left off that attempt, he recovered his understanding again. Moreover, he informed him of Theodectes, the tragic poet, concerning whom it was reported, that when in a certain dramatic representation he was desirous to make mention of things that were contained in the sacred books, he was afflicted with a darkness in his eyes; and that upon his being conscious of the occasion of his distemper, and appeasing God [by prayer], he was freed from that affliction.

(15) [114] Παραλαβὼν δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ταῦτα παρὰ τοῦ Δημητρίου, καθὼς προείρηται, προσκυνήσας αὐτοῖς ἐκέλευσε πολλὴν ποιεῖσθαι τῶν βιβλίων τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, ἵνα διαμείνῃ ταῦτα καθαρῶς, τούς τε ἑρμηνεύσαντας παρεκάλεσεν συνεχῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας παραγίγνεσθαι: [115] τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς τιμὴν τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν δώρων ὠφελείας λυσιτελήσειν: νῦν μὲν γὰρ εἶναι δίκαιον αὐτοὺς ἐκπέμπειν ἔλεγεν, ἑκουσίως δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντας τεύξεσθαι πάντων, ὧν ἥ τε αὐτῶν ἐστιν σοφία δικαία τυχεῖν καὶ ἡ ἐκείνου μεγαλοφροσύνη παρασχεῖν ἱκανή. [116] τότε μὲν οὖν ἐξέπεμψεν αὐτοὺς δοὺς ἑκάστῳ στολὰς ἀρίστας τρεῖς καὶ χρυσοῦ τάλαντα δύο καὶ κυλίκιον ταλάντου καὶ τὴν τοῦ συμποσίου στρωμνήν. [117] καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκείνοις ἔχειν ἐδωρήσατο. τῷ δ' ἀρχιερεῖ Ἐλεαζάρῳ δι' αὐτῶν ἔπεμψεν κλίνας ἀργυρόποδας δέκα καὶ τὴν ἀκόλουθον αὐτῶν ἐπισκευὴν καὶ κυλίκιον ταλάντων τριάκοντα, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ στολὰς δέκα καὶ πορφύραν καὶ στέφανον διαπρεπῆ καὶ βυσσίνης ὀθόνης ἱστοὺς ἑκατόν, ἔτι γε μὴν φιάλας καὶ τρύβλια καὶ σπονδεῖα καὶ κρατῆρας χρυσοῦς πρὸς ἀνάθεσιν δύο. [118] παρεκάλεσεν δ' αὐτὸν καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν,

ὅπως εἰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων θελήσειάν τινες πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν ἐπιτρέψῃ, περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενος τὴν μετὰ τῶν ἐν παιδείᾳ τυγχανόντων συνουσίαν καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον εἰς τοὺς τοιούτους ἡδέως ἔχων κατατίθεσθαι. καὶ τὰ μὲν εἰς δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν Ἰουδαίοις τοιαῦτα παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου συνέβη γενέσθαι.

15. And when the king had received these books from Demetrius, as we have said already, he adored them, and gave order that great care should be taken of them, that they might remain uncorrupted. He also desired that the interpreters would come often to him out of Judea, and that both on account of the respects that he would pay them, and on account of the presents he would make them; for he said it was now but just to send them away, although if, of their own accord, they would come to him hereafter, they should obtain all that their own wisdom might justly require, and what his generosity was able to give them. So he then sent them away, and gave to every one of them three garments of the best sort, and two talents of gold, and a cup of the value of one talent, and the furniture of the room wherein they were feasted. And these were the things he presented to them. But by them he sent to Eleazar the high priest ten beds, with feet of silver, and the furniture to them belonging, and a cup of the value of thirty talents; and besides these, ten garments, and purple, and a very beautiful crown, and a hundred pieces of the finest woven linen; as also vials and dishes, and vessels for pouring, and two golden cisterns to be dedicated to God. He also desired him, by an epistle, that he would give these interpreters leave, if any of them were desirous of coming to him, because he highly valued a conversation with men of such learning, and should be very willing to lay out his wealth upon such men. And this was what came to the Jews, and was much to their glory and honor, from Ptolemy Philadelphus.

III

CHAPTER 3. How The Kings Of Asia Honored The Nation Of The Jews And Made Them Citizens Of Those Cities Which They Built.

(1) [119] Ἔτυχον δὲ καὶ τῆς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων τῆς Ἀσίας τιμῆς, ἐπειδὴ συνεστράτευσαν αὐτοῖς: καὶ γὰρ Σέλευκος ὁ Νικάτωρ ἐν αἷς ἔκτισεν πόλεσιν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ τῇ κάτω Συρίᾳ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ μητροπόλει Ἀντιοχείᾳ πολιτείας αὐτοὺς ἠξίωσεν καὶ τοῖς ἐνοικισθεῖσιν ἰσοτίμους ἀπέφηνεν Μακεδόσιν καὶ Ἕλλησιν, ὡς τὴν πολιτείαν ταύτην ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένειν: [120] τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦτο: τοὺς Ἰουδαίους μὴ βουλομένους ἀλλοφύλῳ ἐλαίῳ χρῆσθαι λαμβάνειν ὡρισμένον τι παρὰ τῶν γυμνασιάρχων εἰς ἐλαίου τιμὴν ἀργύριον ἐκέλευσεν. ὃ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀντιοχέων ἐν τῷ νῦν πολέμῳ λῦσαι προαιρουμένου Μουκιανὸς ἡγεμὼν ὢν τότε τῆς Συρίας ἐτήρησεν, [121] καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κρατήσαντος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καὶ Τίτου τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης δεηθέντες οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς καὶ Ἀντιοχεῖς, ἵνα τὰ δίκαια τὰ τῆς πολιτείας μηκέτι μένῃ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, οὐκ ἐπέτυχον. [122] ἐξ οὗ τις ἂν κατανοήσειεν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιείκειαν καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνην, μάλιστα δὲ τὴν Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καὶ Τίτου, ὅτι καίτοι πολλὰ πονήσαντες ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους πολέμῳ καὶ πικρῶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντες, ὅτι μὴ παρέδοσαν αὐτοῖς τὰ ὅπλα μέχρις δ᾽ ἐσχάτου πολεμοῦντες ὑπέμειναν, [123] οὐδενὸς αὐτοὺς τῶν ὑπαρχόντων κατὰ τὴν προειρημένην πολιτείαν ἀφείλοντο: ἅμα γὰρ καὶ τῆς πρότερον ὀργῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων καὶ Ἀντιοχέων δήμων μεγίστων παρακλήσεως ἐκράτησαν, [124] ὥστε μηδὲν μήθ᾽ ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς τούτους χάριτος μήθ᾽ ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμηθέντας μισοπονηρίας ἐνδοῦναι πρὸς τὸ λῦσαί τι τῶν ἀρχαίων τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις φιλανθρώπων, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀνταραμένους αὐτοῖς ὅπλα καὶ χωρήσαντας διὰ μάχης δεδωκέναι τιμωρίαν φήσαντες τοὺς οὐδὲν ἐξαμαρτόντας οὐκ ἐδικαίουν ἀποστερεῖν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων.

1. The Jews also obtained honors from the kings of Asia when they became their auxiliaries; for Seleucus Nicator made them citizens in those cities which he built in Asia, and in the lower Syria, and in the metropolis itself, Antioch; and gave them privileges equal to those of the Macedonians and Greeks, who were the inhabitants, insomuch that these privileges continue to this very day: an argument for which you have in this, that whereas the Jews do not make use of oil prepared by foreigners, they receive a certain sum of money from the proper officers belonging to their exercises as the value of that oil; which money, when the people of Antioch would have deprived them of, in the last war, Mucianus, who was then president of Syria, preserved it to them. And when the people of

Alexandria and of Antioch did after that, at the time that Vespasian and Titus his son governed the habitable earth, pray that these privileges of citizens might be taken away, they did not obtain their request in which behavior any one may discern the equity and generosity of the Romans, especially of Vespasian and Titus, who, although they had been at a great deal of pains in the war against the Jews, and were exasperated against them, because they did not deliver up their weapons to them, but continued the war to the very last, yet did not they take away any of their forementioned privileges belonging to them as citizens, but restrained their anger, and overcame the prayers of the Alexandrians and Antiochians, who were a very powerful people, insomuch that they did not yield to them, neither out of their favor to these people, nor out of their old grudge at those whose wicked opposition they had subdued in the war; nor would they alter any of the ancient favors granted to the Jews, but said, that those who had borne arms against them, and fought them, had suffered punishment already, and that it was not just to deprive those that had not offended of the privileges they enjoyed.

(2) [125] Ὅμοιον δέ τι τούτῳ καὶ Μᾶρκον Ἀγρίππαν φρονήσαντα περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἴδαμεν: τῶν γὰρ Ἰώνων κινηθέντων ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς καὶ δεομένων τοῦ Ἀγρίππου, ἵνα τῆς πολιτείας, ἣν αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν Ἀντίοχος ὁ Σελεύκου υἱωνὸς ὁ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν Θεὸς λεγόμενος, [126] μόνοι μετέλθωσιν, ἀξιούντων δ᾽, εἰ συγγενεῖς εἰσιν αὐτοῖς Ἰουδαῖοι, σέβεσθαι τοὺς αὐτῶν θεούς, καὶ δίκης περὶ τούτων συστάσης ἐνίκησαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοῖς αὐτῶν ἔθεσι χρῆσθαι συνηγορήσαντος αὐτοῖς Νικολάου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ: ὁ γὰρ Ἀγρίππας ἀπεφήνατο μηδὲν αὐτῷ καινίζειν ἐξεῖναι. [127] τὸ δ᾽ ἀκριβὲς εἴ τις βούλεται καταμαθεῖν, ἀναγνώτω τοῦ Νικολάου τὴν ἑκατοστὴν καὶ εἰκοστὴν καὶ τρίτην καὶ τετάρτην. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ὑπ᾽ Ἀγρίππου κριθέντων οὐκ ἔστιν ἴσως θαυμάζειν: οὐ γὰρ ἐπολέμει τότε Ῥωμαίοις τὸ ἡμέτερον ἔθνος: [128] Οὐεσπασιανοῦ δ᾽ ἄν τις καὶ Τίτου τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην εἰκότως ἐκπλαγείη μετὰ πολέμους καὶ τηλικούτους ἀγῶνας οὓς ἔσχον πρὸς ἡμᾶς μετριοπαθησάντων. ἐπανάξω δὲ τὸν λόγον ὅθεν ἐπὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐξέβην.

2. We also know that Marcus Agrippa was of the like disposition towards the Jews: for when the people of Ionia were very angry at them, and besought Agrippa that they, and they only, might have those privileges of citizens which Antiochus, the grandson of Seleucus, [who by the Greeks was called The God,] had bestowed on them, and desired that, if the Jews were to be joint-partakers with them, they might be obliged to worship the gods they themselves worshipped: but when these matters were brought to the trial, the Jews prevailed, and obtained leave to make use of their own customs, and this under the

patronage of Nicolaus of Damascus; for Agrippa gave sentence that he could not innovate. And if any one hath a mind to know this matter accurately, let him peruse the hundred and twenty-third and hundred and twenty-fourth books of the history of this Nicolaus. Now as to this determination of Agrippa, it is not so much to be admired, for at that time our nation had not made war against the Romans. But one may well be astonished at the generosity of Vespasian and Titus, that after so great wars and contests which they had from us, they should use such moderation. But I will now return to that part of my history whence I made the present digression.

(3) [129] Τοὺς γὰρ Ἰουδαίους ἐπ᾽ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλεύοντος τῆς Ἀσίας ἔτυχεν αὐτούς τε πολλὰ ταλαιπωρῆσαι τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν κακουμένης καὶ τοὺς τὴν κοίλην Συρίαν νεμομένους. [130] πολεμοῦντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Φιλοπάτορα Πτολεμαῖον καὶ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαῖον ἐπικληθέντα δὲ Ἐπιφανῆ, κακοπαθεῖν συνέβαινεν αὐτοῖς καὶ νικῶντος καὶ πταίοντος ταὐτὰ πάσχειν, ὥστ᾽ οὐδὲν ἀπέλειπον χειμαζομένης νεὼς καὶ πονουμένης ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος ἑκατέρωθεν μεταξὺ τῆς εὐπραγίας τῆς Ἀντιόχου καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ θάτερον αὐτοῦ τροπῆς τῶν πραγμάτων κείμενοι. [131] νικήσας μέντοι τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ὁ Ἀντίοχος τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προσάγεται. τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Φιλοπάτορος ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ μεγάλην ἐξέπεμψε δύναμιν καὶ στρατηγὸν Σκόπαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ κοίλῃ Συρίᾳ, ὃς πολλάς τε αὐτῶν πόλεις ἔλαβεν καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον ἔθνος: πολεμούμενον γὰρ αὐτῷ προσέθετο. [132] μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ τὸν Σκόπαν Ἀντίοχος νικᾷ συμβαλὼν αὐτῷ πρὸς ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Ἰορδάνου καὶ πολλὴν αὐτοῦ τῆς στρατιᾶς διέφθειρεν. [133] ὕστερον δ᾽ Ἀντιόχου χειρωσαμένου τὰς ἐν τῇ κοίλῃ Συρίᾳ πόλεις, ἃς ὁ Σκόπας κατεσχήκει, καὶ τὴν Σαμάρειαν, ἑκουσίως αὐτῷ προσέθεντο οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ τῇ πόλει δεξάμενοι πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τῇ τε στρατιᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἐλέφασιν ἀφθονίαν παρέσχον καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ Σκόπα καταλειφθέντας ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων φρουροὺς πολιορκοῦντι προθύμως συνεμάχησαν. [134] ὁ οὖν Ἀντίοχος δίκαιον ἡγησάμενος τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρὸς αὐτὸν σπουδὴν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ἀμείψασθαι γράφει τοῖς τε στρατηγοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς φίλοις μαρτυρῶν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὑπὲρ ὧν εὖ πάθοι πρὸς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς ἃς ὑπὲρ τούτων διέγνω παρασχεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐμφανίζων. [135] παραθήσομαι δὲ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τὰς τοῖς στρατηγοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν γραφείσας προδιελθών, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ τούτοις ἡμῶν τοῖς λόγοις Πολύβιος ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης: ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἑξκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν αὐτοῦ φησιν οὕτως: “ὁ δὲ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου στρατηγὸς Σκόπας ὁρμήσας εἰς τοὺς ἄνω τόπους κατεστρέψατο ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος.” λέγει δὲ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ βίβλῳ, [136] ὡς τοῦ Σκόπα νικηθέντος ὑπ᾽ Ἀντιόχου τὴν μὲν Βατανέαν καὶ Σαμάρειαν καὶ Ἄβιλα καὶ Γάδαρα παρέλαβεν Ἀντίοχος, μετ᾽ ὀλίγον δὲ προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ προσαγορευόμενον Ἱεροσόλυμα κατοικοῦντες,

ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ πλείω λέγειν ἔχοντες καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τῆς γενομένης περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπιφανείας, εἰς [137] ἕτερον καιρὸν ὑπερθησόμεθα τὴν διήγησιν.” καὶ Πολύβιος μὲν ταῦτα ἱστόρησεν. ἡμεῖς δ’ ἐπανάξομεν τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τὴν διήγησιν παραθέμενοι πρῶτον τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου.

[138] Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Πτολεμαίῳ χαίρειν. τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ παραυτίκα μέν, ἡνίκα τῆς χώρας ἐπέβημεν αὐτῶν, ἐπιδειξαμένων τὸ πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλότιμον καὶ παραγενομένους δ’ εἰς τὴν πόλιν λαμπρῶς ἐκδεξαμένων καὶ μετὰ τῆς γερουσίας ἀπαντησάντων, ἄφθονον δὲ τὴν χορηγίαν τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τοῖς ἐλέφασι παρεσχημένων, συνεξελόντων δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ φρουροὺς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, [139] ἠξιώσαμεν καὶ αὐτοὶ τούτων αὐτοὺς ἀμείψασθαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἀναλαβεῖν κατεφθαρμένην ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τοὺς πολέμους συμπεσόντων καὶ συνοικίσαι τῶν διεσπαρμένων εἰς αὐτὴν πάλιν συνελθόντων. [140] πρῶτον δ’ αὐτοῖς ἐκρίναμεν διὰ τὴν εὐσέβειαν παρασχεῖν εἰς τὰς θυσίας σύνταξιν κτηνῶν τε θυσίμων καὶ οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου καὶ λιβάνου ἀργυρίου μυριάδας δύο καὶ σεμιδάλεως ἀρτάβας ἱερᾶς κατὰ τὸν ἐπιχώριον νόμον πυρῶν μεδίμνους χιλίους τετρακοσίους ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἁλῶν μεδίμνους τριακοσίους ἑβδομηκονταπέντε. [141] τελεῖσθαι δ’ αὐτοῖς ταῦτα βούλομαι, καθὼς ἐπέσταλκα, καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀπαρτισθῆναι ἔργον τάς τε στοὰς κἂν εἴ τι ἕτερον οἰκοδομῆσαι δέοι: ἡ δὲ τῶν ξύλων ὕλη κατακομιζέσθω ἐξ αὐτῆς τε τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Λιβάνου μηδενὸς πρασσομένου τέλος. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἐν οἷς ἂν ἐπιφανεστέραν γίγνεσθαι τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐπισκευὴν δέῃ. [142] πολιτευέσθωσαν δὲ πάντες οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους, ἀπολυέσθω δ’ ἡ γερουσία καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ γραμματεῖς τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ ἱεροψάλται ὧν ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς τελοῦσιν καὶ τοῦ στεφανιτικοῦ φόρου καὶ τοῦ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων. [143] ἵνα δὲ θᾶττον ἡ πόλις κατοικισθῇ, δίδωμι τοῖς τε νῦν κατοικοῦσιν καὶ κατελευσομένοις ἕως τοῦ Ὑπερβερεταίου μηνὸς ἀτελέσιν εἶναι μέχρι τριῶν ἐτῶν. [144] ἀπολύομεν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτοὺς τοῦ τρίτου μέρους τῶν φόρων, ὥστε αὐτῶν ἐπανορθωθῆναι τὴν βλάβην. καὶ ὅσοι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἁρπαγέντες δουλεύουσιν, αὐτούς τε τούτους καὶ τοὺς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν γεννηθέντας ἐλευθέρους ἀφίεμεν καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτοῖς ἀποδίδοσθαι κελεύομεν.”

3. Now it happened that in the reign of Antiochus the Great, who ruled over all Asia, that the Jews, as well as the inhabitants of Celesyria, suffered greatly, and their land was sorely harassed; for while he was at war with Ptolemy Philopater, and with his son, who was called Epiphanes, it fell out that these nations were equally sufferers, both when he was beaten, and when he beat the others: so that they were very like to a ship in a storm, which is tossed by the waves on both sides; and just thus were they in their situation in the middle between Antiochus’s prosperity and its change to adversity. But at length, when

Antiochus had beaten Ptolemy, he seized upon Judea; and when Philopater was dead, his son sent out a great army under Scopas, the general of his forces, against the inhabitants of Celesyria, who took many of their cities, and in particular our nation; which when he fell upon them, went over to him. Yet was it not long afterward when Antiochus overcame Scopas, in a battle fought at the fountains of Jordan, and destroyed a great part of his army. But afterward, when Antiochus subdued those cities of Celesyria which Scopas had gotten into his possession, and Samaria with them, the Jews, of their own accord, went over to him, and received him into the city [Jerusalem], and gave plentiful provision to all his army, and to his elephants, and readily assisted him when he besieged the garrison which was in the citadel of Jerusalem. Wherefore Antiochus thought it but just to requite the Jews' diligence and zeal in his service. So he wrote to the generals of his armies, and to his friends, and gave testimony to the good behavior of the Jews towards him, and informed them what rewards he had resolved to bestow on them for that their behavior. I will set down presently the epistles themselves which he wrote to the generals concerning them, but will first produce the testimony of Polybius of Megalopolis; for thus does he speak, in the sixteenth book of his history: "Now Scopas, the general of Ptolemy's army, went in haste to the superior parts of the country, and in the winter time overthrew the nation of the Jews?" He also saith, in the same book, that "when Seopas was conquered by Antiochus, Antiochus received Batanea, and Samaria, and Abila, and Gadara; and that, a while afterwards, there came in to him those Jews that inhabited near that temple which was called Jerusalem; concerning which, although I have more to say, and particularly concerning the presence of God about that temple, yet do I put off that history till another opportunity." This it is which Polybius relates. But we will return to the series of the history, when we have first produced the epistles of king Antiochus.

King Antiochus To Ptolemy, Sendeth Greeting.

"Since the Jews, upon our first entrance on their country, demonstrated their friendship towards us, and when we came to their city [Jerusalem], received us in a splendid manner, and came to meet us with their senate, and gave abundance of provisions to our soldiers, and to the elephants, and joined with us in ejecting the garrison of the Egyptians that were in the citadel, we have thought fit to reward them, and to retrieve the condition of their city, which hath been greatly depopulated by such accidents as have befallen its inhabitants, and to bring those that have been scattered abroad back to the city. And, in the first place, we have determined, on account of their piety towards God, to bestow on them, as a pension, for their sacrifices of animals that are fit for sacrifice, for wine, and oil,

and frankincense, the value of twenty thousand pieces of silver, and [six] sacred artabrae of fine flour, with one thousand four hundred and sixty medimni of wheat, and three hundred and seventy-five medimni of salt. And these payments I would have fully paid them, as I have sent orders to you. I would also have the work about the temple finished, and the cloisters, and if there be any thing else that ought to be rebuilt. And for the materials of wood, let it be brought them out of Judea itself and out of the other countries, and out of Libanus tax free; and the same I would have observed as to those other materials which will be necessary, in order to render the temple more glorious; and let all of that nation live according to the laws of their own country; and let the senate, and the priests, and the scribes of the temple, and the sacred singers, be discharged from poll-money and the crown tax and other taxes also. And that the city may the sooner recover its inhabitants, I grant a discharge from taxes for three years to its present inhabitants, and to such as shall come to it, until the month Hyperheretus. We also discharge them for the future from a third part of their taxes, that the losses they have sustained may be repaired. And all those citizens that have been carried away, and are become slaves, we grant them and their children their freedom, and give order that their substance be restored to them."

(4) [145] Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπιστολὴ ταῦτα περιεῖχεν. σεμνύνων δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πρόγραμμα κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν βασιλείαν ἐξέθηκεν περιέχον τάδε: μηδενὶ ἐξεῖναι ἀλλοφύλῳ εἰς τὸν περίβολον εἰσιέναι τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸν ἀπηγορευμένον τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, εἰ μὴ οἷς ἁγνισθεῖσίν ἐστιν ἔθιμον κατὰ τὸν πάτριον νόμον. [146] μηδ' εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσφερέσθω ἵππεια κρέα μηδὲ ἡμιόνεια μηδὲ ἀγρίων ὄνων καὶ ἡμέρων παρδάλεών τε καὶ ἀλωπέκων καὶ λαγῶν καὶ καθόλου δὲ πάντων τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων ζῴων τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις: μηδὲ τὰς δορὰς εἰσφέρειν ἐξεῖναι, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τρέφειν τι τούτων ἐν τῇ πόλει: μόνοις δὲ τοῖς προγονικοῖς θύμασιν, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τῷ θεῷ δεῖ καλλιερεῖν, ἐπιτετράφθαι χρῆσθαι. ὁ δέ τι τούτων παραβὰς ἀποτινύτω τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς τρισχιλίας."

[147] Ἔγραψε δὲ μαρτυρῶν ἡμῖν εὐσέβειάν τε καὶ πίστιν, ἡνίκα νεωτερίζοντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἐπύθετο καὶ Λυδίαν καθ' ὃν ἦν καιρὸν ἐν ταῖς ἄνω σατραπείαις, κελεύων Ζεῦξιν τὸν αὐτοῦ στρατηγὸν καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα φίλον πέμψαι τινὰς τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς Φρυγίαν. [148] γράφει δ' οὕτως: "βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Ζεύξιδι τῷ πατρὶ χαίρειν. εἰ ἔρρωσαι, εὖ ἂν ἔχοι, ὑγιαίνω δὲ καὶ αὐτός. [149] πυνθανόμενος τοὺς ἐν Λυδίᾳ καὶ Φρυγίᾳ νεωτερίζοντας μεγάλης ἐπιστροφῆς ἡγησάμην τοῦτό μοι δεῖσθαι, καὶ βουλευσαμένῳ μοι μετὰ τῶν φίλων, τί δεῖ ποιεῖν, ἔδοξεν εἰς τὰ φρούρια καὶ τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους τόπους τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας καὶ Βαβυλωνίας Ἰουδαίων οἴκους δισχιλίους σὺν ἐπισκευῇ μεταγαγεῖν. [150] πέπεισμαι γὰρ εὔνους αὐτοὺς ἔσεσθαι τῶν ἡμετέρων

φύλακας διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβειαν, καὶ μαρτυρουμένους δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων εἰς πίστιν οἶδα καὶ προθυμίαν εἰς ἃ παρακαλοῦνται: βούλομαι τοίνυν καίπερ ἐργώδους ὄντος τοῦ μεταγαγεῖν ὑποσχομένους νόμοις αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἰδίοις. [151] ὅταν δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀγάγῃς εἰς τοὺς προειρημένους τόπους, εἴς τ᾽ οἰκοδομίας οἰκιῶν αὐτοῖς δώσεις τόπον ἑκάστῳ καὶ χώραν εἰς γεωργίαν καὶ φυτείαν ἀμπέλων, καὶ ἀτελεῖς τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς καρπῶν ἀνήσεις ἐπὶ ἔτη δέκα. [152] μετρείσθωσαν δὲ καὶ ἄχρις ἂν τοὺς παρὰ τῆς γῆς καρποὺς λαμβάνωσιν σῖτον εἰς τὰς τῶν θεραπόντων διατροφάς: διδόσθω δὲ καὶ τοῖς εἰς τὰς χρείας ὑπηρετοῦσιν τὸ αὔταρκες, ἵνα τῆς παρ᾽ ἡμῶν τυγχάνοντες φιλανθρωπίας προθυμοτέρους παρέχωσιν αὐτοὺς περὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα. [153] πρόνοιαν δὲ ποιοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, ὅπως ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἐνοχλῆται.” περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Ἀντιόχου φιλίας τοῦ μεγάλου πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ταῦτα ἡμῖν ἀποχρώντως εἰρήσθω μαρτύρια.

4. And these were the contents of this epistle. He also published a decree through all his kingdom in honor of the temple, which contained what follows: “It shall be lawful for no foreigner to come within the limits of the temple round about; which thing is forbidden also to the Jews, unless to those who, according to their own custom, have purified themselves. Nor let any flesh of horses, or of mules, or of asses, he brought into the city, whether they be wild or tame; nor that of leopards, or foxes, or hares; and, in general, that of any animal which is forbidden for the Jews to eat. Nor let their skins be brought into it; nor let any such animal be bred up in the city. Let them only be permitted to use the sacrifices derived from their forefathers, with which they have been obliged to make acceptable atonements to God. And he that transgresseth any of these orders, let him pay to the priests three thousand drachmae of silver.” Moreover, this Antiochus bare testimony to our piety and fidelity, in an epistle of his, written when he was informed of a sedition in Phrygia and Lydia, at which time he was in the superior provinces, wherein he commanded Zenxis, the general of his forces, and his most intimate friend, to send some of our nation out of Babylon into Phrygia. The epistle was this:

King Antiochus To Zeuxis His Father, Sendeth Greeting.

“If you are in health, it is well. I also am in health. Having been informed that a sedition is arisen in Lydia and Phrygia, I thought that matter required great care; and upon advising with my friends what was fit to be done, it hath been thought proper to remove two thousand families of Jews, with their effects, out of Mesopotamia and Babylon, unto the castles and places that lie most convenient; for I am persuaded that they will be well-disposed guardians of our possessions,

because of their piety towards God, and because I know that my predecessors have borne witness to them, that they are faithful, and with alacrity do what they are desired to do. I will, therefore, though it be a laborious work, that thou remove these Jews, under a promise, that they shall be permitted to use their own laws. And when thou shalt have brought them to the places forementioned, thou shalt give everyone of their families a place for building their houses, and a portion of the land for their husbandry, and for the plantation of their vines; and thou shalt discharge them from paying taxes of the fruits of the earth for ten years; and let them have a proper quantity of wheat for the maintenance of their servants, until they receive bread corn out of the earth; also let a sufficient share be given to such as minister to them in the necessaries of life, that by enjoying the effects of our humanity, they may show themselves the more willing and ready about our affairs. Take care likewise of that nation, as far as thou art able, that they may not have any disturbance given them by any one." Now these testimonials which I have produced are sufficient to declare the friendship that Antiochus the Great bare to the Jews.

IV

CHAPTER 4. How Antiochus Made A League With Ptolemy And How Onias Provoked Ptolemy Euergetes To Anger; And How Joseph Brought All Things Right Again, And Entered Into Friendship With Him; And What Other Things Were Done By Joseph, And His Son Hyrcanus.

(1) [154] Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φιλίαν καὶ σπονδὰς πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον Ἀντίοχος ἐποιήσατο καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὴν θυγατέρα Κλεοπάτραν πρὸς γάμον παραχωρήσας αὐτῷ τῆς κοίλης Συρίας καὶ Σαμαρείας καὶ Ἰουδαίας καὶ Φοινίκης φερνῆς ὀνόματι. [155] καὶ διαιρεθέντων εἰς ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς βασιλέας τῶν φόρων τὰς ἰδίας ἕκαστοι τῶν ἐπισήμων ὠνοῦντο πατρίδας φορολογεῖν καὶ συναθροίζοντες τὸ προστεταγμένον κεφάλαιον τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐτέλουν. [156] ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ Σαμαρεῖς εὖ πράσσοντες πολλὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐκάκωσαν τήν τε χώραν αὐτῶν τεμόντες καὶ σώματα διαρπάσαντες: ἐγένετο δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ὀνίου. [157] τελευτήσαντος γὰρ Ἐλεαζάρου τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ὁ θεῖος αὐτοῦ Μανασσῆς παρέλαβεν, μεθ' ὃν καταστρέψαντα τὸν βίον Ὀνίας τὴν τιμὴν ἐξεδέξατο Σίμωνος υἱὸς ὢν τοῦ δικαίου κληθέντος: Σίμων δ' ἦν ἀδελφὸς Ἐλεαζάρου, καθὼς προεῖπον. [158] οὗτος ὁ Ὀνίας βραχὺς ἦν τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ χρημάτων ἥττων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ φόρον, ὃν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν οἱ πατέρες αὐτοῦ ἐτέλουν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, τάλαντα εἴκοσιν ἀργυρίου μὴ δούς, εἰς ὀργὴν ἐκίνησεν τὸν βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον [τὸν Εὐεργέτην, ὃς ἦν πατὴρ τοῦ Φιλοπάτορος]. [159] καὶ πέμψας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρεσβευτὴν ᾐτιᾶτο τὸν Ὀνίαν ὡς οὐκ ἀποδιδόντα τοὺς φόρους καὶ ἠπείλει κληρουχήσειν αὐτῶν τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἀπολαβὼν καὶ πέμψειν τοὺς ἐνοικήσοντας στρατιώτας. ἀκούσαντες δὲ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι συνεχύθησαν, τὸν δὲ Ὀνίαν τούτων ἐδυσώπει διὰ τὴν φιλοχρηματίαν οὐδέν.

1. After this Antiochus made a friendship and league with Ptolemy, and gave him his daughter Cleopatra to wife, and yielded up to him Celesyria, and Samaria, and Judea, and Phoenicia, by way of dowry. And upon the division of the taxes between the two kings, all the principal men framed the taxes of their several countries, and collecting the sum that was settled for them, paid the same to the [two] kings. Now at this time the Samaritans were in a flourishing condition, and much distressed the Jews, cutting off parts of their land, and carrying off slaves. This happened when Onias was high priest; for after Eleazar's death, his uncle

Manasseh took the priesthood, and after he had ended his life, Onias received that dignity. He was the son of Simon, who was called The Just: which Simon was the brother of Eleazar, as I said before. This Onias was one of a little soul, and a great lover of money; and for that reason, because he did not pay that tax of twenty talents of silver, which his forefathers paid to these things out of their own estates, he provoked king Ptolemy Euergetes to anger, who was the father of Philopater. Euergetes sent an ambassador to Jerusalem, and complained that Onias did not pay his taxes, and threatened, that if he did not receive them, he would seize upon their land, and send soldiers to live upon it. When the Jews heard this message of the king, they were confounded; but so sordidly covetous was Onias, that nothing of things nature made him ashamed.

(2) [160] Ἰώσηπος δέ τις, νέος μὲν ἔτι τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἐπὶ σεμνότητι δὲ καὶ προνοίᾳ δικαιοσύνης δόξαν ἔχων παρὰ τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις, Τωβίου μὲν πατρός, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ὀνίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἀδελφῆς γεγονώς, δηλωσάσης αὐτῷ τῆς μητρὸς τὴν τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ παρουσίαν, ἔτυχεν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀποδημῶν εἰς Φικόλαν κώμην ἐξ ἧς ὑπῆρχεν, [161] ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπέπληττε τῷ Ὀνίᾳ μὴ προνοουμένῳ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς κινδύνους τὸ ἔθνος βουλομένῳ περιστῆσαι διὰ τὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἀποστέρησιν, δι᾽ ἃ καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τὴν προστασίαν λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν καὶ τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς τιμῆς ἐπιτυχεῖν. [162] εἰ δ᾽ ἐρωτικῶς οὕτως ἔχοι τῶν χρημάτων, ὡς δι᾽ αὐτὰ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα κινδυνεύουσαν ἰδεῖν ὑπομεῖναι καὶ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν παθόντας αὐτοῦ τοὺς πολίτας, συνεβούλευσεν ἀπελθόντα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα δεηθῆναι αὐτοῦ ἢ πάντων αὐτῷ παραχωρῆσαι τῶν χρημάτων ἢ μέρους. [163] τοῦ δὲ Ὀνίου μήτε ἄρχειν θέλειν ἀποκριναμένου καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην δ᾽ εἰ δυνατόν ἐστιν ἑτοίμως ἔχειν ἀποθέσθαι λέγοντος μήτε ἀναβήσεσθαι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, μέλειν γὰρ αὐτῷ περὶ τούτων οὐδέν, εἰ πρεσβεύειν αὐτῷ συγχωρεῖ πρὸς τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἔθνους ἐπηρώτησεν. [164] φήσαντος δὲ ἐπιτρέπειν ἀναβὰς εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ὁ Ἰώσηπος καὶ συγκαλέσας τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν μηδὲν ταράσσεσθαι μηδὲ φοβεῖσθαι παρῄνει διὰ τὴν Ὀνίου τοῦ θείου περὶ αὐτῶν ἀμέλειαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ἀδείᾳ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σκυθρωποτέρας ἐλπίδος τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοὺς ἔχειν ἠξίου: πρεσβεύσειν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐπηγγέλλετο πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πείσειν αὐτόν, ὅτι μηδὲν ἀδικοῦσιν. [165] καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τούτων ἀκοῦσαν εὐχαριστεῖ τῷ Ἰωσήπῳ, καταβὰς δ᾽ αὐτὸς ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ξενίᾳ τε ὑποδέχεται τὸν παρὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου πεπρεσβευκότα καὶ δωρησάμενος αὐτὸν πολυτελέσι δωρεαῖς καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἑστιάσας φιλοτίμως ἡμέρας προέπεμψε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, φράσας αὐτῷ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀκολουθήσειν: [166] καὶ γὰρ ἔτι μᾶλλον γεγόνει πρόθυμος πρὸς τὴν ἄφιξιν τὴν παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ προτρεψαμένου καὶ παρορμήσαντος εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐλθεῖν καὶ πάντων ὧν ἂν δέηται παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τυχεῖν αὐτὸν

ποιήσειν ὑποσχομένου: τὸ γὰρ ἐλευθέριον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν τοῦ ἤθους λίαν ἠγάπησεν.

2. There was now one Joseph, young in age, but of great reputation among the people of Jerusalem, for gravity, prudence, and justice. His father's name was Tobias; and his mother was the sister of Onias the high priest, who informed him of the coming of the ambassador; for he was then sojourning at a village named Phicol, where he was born. Hereupon he came to the city [Jerusalem], and reproved Onias for not taking care of the preservation of his countrymen, but bringing the nation into dangers, by not paying this money. For which preservation of them, he told him he had received the authority over them, and had been made high priest; but that, in case he was so great a lover of money, as to endure to see his country in danger on that account, and his countrymen suffer the greatest damages, he advised him to go to the king, and petition him to remit either the whole or a part of the sum demanded. Onias's answer was this: That he did not care for his authority, and that he was ready, if the thing were practicable, to lay down his high priesthood; and that he would not go to the king, because he troubled not himself at all about such matters. Joseph then asked him if he would not give him leave to go ambassador on behalf of the nation. He replied, that he would give him leave. Upon which Joseph went up into the temple, and called the multitude together to a congregation, and exhorted them not to be disturbed nor aftrighted, because of his uncle Onias's carelessness, but desired them to be at rest, and not terrify themselves with fear about it; for he promised them that he would be their ambassador to the king, and persuade him that they had done him no wrong. And when the multitude heard this, they returned thanks to Joseph. So he went down from the temple, and treated Ptolemy's ambassador in a hospitable manner. He also presented him with rich gifts, and feasted him magnificently for many days, and then sent him to the king before him, and told him that he would soon follow him; for he was now more willing to go to the king, by the encouragement of the ambassador, who earnestly persuaded him to come into Egypt, and promised him that he would take care that he should obtain every thing that he desired of Ptolemy; for he was highly pleased with his frank and liberal temper, and with the gravity of his deportment.

(3) [167] Καὶ ὁ μὲν πρεσβευτὴς ἐλθὼν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπήγγειλεν τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν τοῦ Ὀνίου ἀγνωμοσύνην καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ Ἰωσήπου χρηστότητος ἐδήλου, καὶ ὅτι μέλλοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἥξειν παραιτησόμενος τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων τὸ πλῆθος: εἶναι γὰρ αὐτοῦ προστάτην: ἀμέλει τοσαύτῃ [περὶ] τῶν ἐγκωμίων τῶν περὶ τοῦ νεανίσκου διετέλεσε χρώμενος περιουσίᾳ, ὥστε καὶ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα

αὐτοῦ Κλεοπάτραν προδιέθηκεν οἰκείως ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν Ἰώσηπον οὔπω παρόντα. [168] ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος διαπέμψας πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰς Σαμάρειαν καὶ δανεισάμενος ἀργύριον καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἑτοιμασάμενος ἐσθῆτάς τε καὶ ἐκπώματα καὶ ὑποζύγια, καὶ ταῦθ᾽ ὡς περὶ δισμυρίας δραχμὰς παρασκευασάμενος εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν παρεγένετο. [169] ἔτυχεν δὲ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν πάντας ἀναβαίνειν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων τῶν τῆς Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης πρώτους καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν τελῶν ὠνήν: κατ᾽ ἔτος δὲ αὐτὰ τοῖς δυνατοῖς τῶν ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει ἐπίπρασκεν ὁ βασιλεύς. [170] ὁρῶντες οὖν οὗτοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐχλεύαζον ἐπὶ πενίᾳ καὶ λιτότητι. ὡς δ᾽ εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀφικόμενος ἐν Μέμφει τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἤκουσεν ὄντα, ὑπαντησάμενος συνέβαλεν αὐτῷ. [171] καθεζομένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπ᾽ ὀχήματος μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ μετὰ Ἀθηνίωνος φίλου, οὗτος δ᾽ ἦν ὁ πρεσβεύσας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ παρὰ Ἰωσήπῳ ξενισθείς, θεασάμενος αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀθηνίων εὐθὺς ἐποίει τῷ βασιλεῖ γνώριμον, τοῦτον εἶναι λέγων, περὶ οὗ παραγενόμενος ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ἀπήγγειλεν, ὡς ἀγαθός τε εἴη καὶ φιλότιμος νεανίσκος. [172] ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος πρῶτός τε αὐτὸν ἠσπάσατο καὶ δὴ ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὸ ὄχημα παρεκάλεσεν καὶ καθεσθέντος ἤρξατο περὶ τῶν Ὀνίᾳ πραττομένων ἐγκαλεῖν. ὁ δέ "συγγίνωσκε, φησίν, αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ γῆρας: οὐ γὰρ λανθάνει σε πάντως, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς πρεσβύτας καὶ τὰ νήπια τὴν αὐτὴν διάνοιαν ἔχειν συμβέβηκεν. παρὰ δ᾽ ἡμῶν ἔσται σοι τῶν νέων ἅπαντα, [173] ὥστε μηδὲν αἰτιᾶσθαι." ἡσθεὶς δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῇ χάριτι καὶ τῇ εὐτραπελίᾳ τοῦ νεανίσκου μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ὡς ἤδη καὶ πεπειραμένος ἀγαπᾶν ἤρξατο, ὡς ἔν τε τοῖς βασιλείοις αὐτὸν κελεῦσαι διαιτᾶσθαι καὶ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τῆς ἑστιάσεως τῆς ἰδίας ἔχειν. [174] γενομένου δ᾽ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως ἰδόντες οἱ πρῶτοι τῆς Συρίας συγκαθεζόμενον αὐτῷ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἀηδῶς ἔφερον.

3. When Ptolemy's ambassador was come into Egypt, he told the king of the thoughtless temper of Onias; and informed him of the goodness of the disposition of Joseph; and that he was coming to him to excuse the multitude, as not having done him any harm, for that he was their patron. In short, he was so very large in his encomiums upon the young man, that he disposed both the king and his wife Cleopatra to have a kindness for him before he came. So Joseph sent to his friends at Samaria, and borrowed money of them, and got ready what was necessary for his journey, garments and cups, and beasts for burden, which amounted to about twenty thousand drachmae, and went to Alexandria. Now it happened that at this time all the principal men and rulers went up out of the cities of Syria and Phoenicia, to bid for their taxes; for every year the king sold them to the men of the greatest power in every city. So these men saw Joseph journeying on the way, and laughed at him for his poverty and meanness. But

when he came to Alexandria, and heard that king Ptolemy was at Memphis, he went up thither to meet with him; which happened as the king was sitting in his chariot, with his wife, and with his friend Athenion, who was the very person who had been ambassador at Jerusalem, and had been entertained by Joseph. As soon therefore as Athenion saw him, he presently made him known to the king, how good and generous a young man he was. So Ptolemy saluted him first, and desired him to come up into his chariot; and as Joseph sat there, he began to complain of the management of Onias: to which he answered, "Forgive him, on account of his age; for thou canst not certainly be unacquainted with this, that old men and infants have their minds exactly alike; but thou shalt have from us, who are young men, every thing thou desirest, and shalt have no cause to complain." With this good humor and pleasantry of the young man, the king was so delighted, that he began already, as though he had had long experience of him, to have a still greater affection for him, insomuch that he bade him take his diet in the king's palace, and be a guest at his own table every day. But when the king was come to Alexandria, the principal men of Syria saw him sitting with the king, and were much offended at it.

(4) [175] Ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας, καθ' ἣν ἔμελλεν τὰ τέλη πιπράσκεσθαι τῶν πόλεων, ἠγόραζον οἱ τοῖς ἀξιώμασιν ἐν ταῖς πατρίσιν διαφέροντες. εἰς ὀκτακισχίλια δὲ τάλαντα συναθροιζομένων τῶν τῆς κοίλης Συρίας τελῶν καὶ τῆς Φοινίκης καὶ Ἰουδαίας σὺν τῇ Σαμαρείᾳ, [176] προσελθὼν Ἰώσηπος τοὺς μὲν ὠνουμένους διέβαλλεν ὡς συνθεμένους ὀλίγην αὐτῷ τιμὴν ὑφίστασθαι τῶν τελῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ διπλασίονα δώσειν ὑπισχνεῖτο καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτόντων εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ τὰς οὐσίας ἀναπέμψειν αὐτῷ: καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τοῖς τέλεσι συνεπιπράσκετο. [177] τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἡδέως ἀκούσαντος καὶ ὡς αὔξοντι τὴν πρόσοδον αὐτοῦ κατακυροῦν τὴν ὠνὴν τῶν τελῶν ἐκείνῳ φήσαντος, ἐρομένου δὲ εἰ καὶ τοὺς ἐγγυησομένους αὐτὸν ἔχει, σφόδρ' ἀστείως ἀπεκρίνατο: "δώσω γὰρ εἶπεν ἀνθρώπους ἀγαθοὺς καὶ καλούς, [178] οἷς οὐκ ἀπιστήσετε." λέγειν δὲ τούτους οἵτινες εἶεν εἰπόντος, "αὐτόν, εἶπεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, σέ τε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν σὴν ὑπὲρ ἑκατέρου μέρους ἐγγυησομένους δίδωμί σοι." γελάσας δ' ὁ Πτολεμαῖος συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ δίχα τῶν ὁμολογούντων ἔχειν τὰ τέλη. [179] τοῦτο σφόδρα τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐλθόντας ἐλύπησεν ὡς παρευδοκιμηθέντας. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπανῆκον εἰς τὰς ἰδίας ἕκαστοι πατρίδας μετ' αἰσχύνης.

4. And when the day came on which the king was to let the taxes of the cities to farm, and those that were the principal men of dignity in their several countries were to bid for them, the sum of the taxes together, of Celesyria, and Phoenicia, and Judea, with Samaria, [as they were bidden for,] came to eight thousand

talents. Hereupon Joseph accused the bidders, as having agreed together to estimate the value of the taxes at too low a rate; and he promised that he would himself give twice as much for them: but for those who did not pay, he would send the king home their whole substance; for this privilege was sold together with the taxes themselves. The king was pleased to hear that offer; and because it augmented his revenues, he said he would confirm the sale of the taxes to him. But when he asked him this question, Whether he had any sureties that would be bound for the payment of the money? he answered very pleasantly, "I will give such security, and those of persons good and responsible, and which you shall have no reason to distrust." And when he bid him name them who they were, he replied, "I give thee no other persons, O king, for my sureties, than thyself, and this thy wife; and you shall be security for both parties." So Ptolemy laughed at the proposal, and granted him the farming of the taxes without any sureties. This procedure was a sore grief to those that came from the cities into Egypt, who were utterly disappointed; and they returned every one to their own country with shame.

(5) [180] Ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως πεζῶν μὲν στρατιώτας δισχιλίους, ἠξίωσε γὰρ βοήθειάν τινα λαβεῖν, ἵνα τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καταφρονοῦντας ἔχῃ βιάζεσθαι, καὶ δανεισάμενος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ παρὰ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως φίλων τάλαντα πεντακόσια εἰς Συρίαν ἐξώρμησεν. [181] γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι τοὺς φόρους ἀπαιτῶν τοὺς Ἀσκαλωνίτας, ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ἐβούλοντο διδόναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσύβριζον αὐτόν, συλλαβὼν αὐτῶν τοὺς πρωτεύοντας ὡς εἴκοσιν ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν εἰς χίλια τάλαντα ἀθροισθείσας ἔπεμψε τῷ βασιλεῖ, δηλῶν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ γεγενημένα. [182] θαυμάσας δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Πτολεμαῖος τοῦ φρονήματος καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐπαινέσας ἐφίησιν αὐτῷ ποιεῖν ὅ τι βούλεται. ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες οἱ Σύροι κατεπλάγησαν καὶ παράδειγμα τῆς ἀπειθείας χαλεπὸν ἔχοντες τοὺς τῶν Ἀσκαλωνιτῶν ἄνδρας ἀνῃρημένους ἀνοίγοντες τὰς πύλας ἐδέχοντο προθύμως τὸν Ἰώσηπον καὶ τοὺς φόρους ἐτέλουν. [183] ἐπιχειρούντων δὲ καὶ Σκυθοπολιτῶν ὑβρίζειν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ παρέχειν τοὺς φόρους αὐτῷ, οὓς μηδὲν ἀμφισβητοῦντες ἐτέλουν, καὶ τούτων ἀποκτείνας τοὺς πρώτους τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν ἀπέστειλε τῷ βασιλεῖ. [184] συναγαγὼν δὲ πολλὰ χρήματα καὶ κέρδη μεγάλα ποιήσας ἐκ τῆς ὠνῆς τῶν τελῶν, εἰς τὸ διαμεῖναι τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ δύναμιν τοῖς οὖσι κατεχρήσατο, τὴν ἀφορμὴν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς τότε εὐτυχίας τηρεῖν φρόνιμον ἡγούμενος ἐξ αὐτῶν ὧν αὐτὸς ἐκέκτητο: [185] πολλὰ γὰρ ὑπὸ χεῖρα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ δῶρα ἔπεμπεν καὶ τοῖς φίλοις αὐτῶν καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν δυνατοῖς ὠνούμενος διὰ τούτων τὴν εὔνοιαν τὴν παρ' αὐτῶν.

5. But Joseph took with him two thousand foot soldiers from the king, for he desired he might have some assistance, in order to force such as were refractory in the cities to pay. And borrowing of the king's friends at Alexandria five hundred talents, he made haste back into Syria. And when he was at Askelon, and demanded the taxes of the people of Askelon, they refused to pay any thing, and affronted him also; upon which he seized upon about twenty of the principal men, and slew them, and gathered what they had together, and sent it all to the king, and informed him what he had done. Ptolemy admired the prudent conduct of the man, and commended him for what he had done, and gave him leave to do as he pleased. When the Syrians heard of this, they were astonished; and having before them a sad example in the men of Askelon that were slain, they opened their gates, and willingly admitted Joseph, and paid their taxes. And when the inhabitants of Scythopolis attempted to affront him, and would not pay him those taxes which they formerly used to pay, without disputing about them, he slew also the principal men of that city, and sent their effects to the king. By this means he gathered great wealth together, and made vast gains by this farming of the taxes; and he made use of what estate he had thus gotten, in order to support his authority, as thinking it a piece of prudence to keep what had been the occasion and foundation of his present good fortune; and this he did by the assistance of what he was already possessed of, for he privately sent many presents to the king, and to Cleopatra, and to their friends, and to all that were powerful about the court, and thereby purchased their good-will to himself.

(6) [186] Ἀπέλαυσε δὲ ταύτης τῆς εὐτυχίας ἐπὶ ἔτη εἴκοσι καὶ δύο, πατὴρ μὲν γενόμενος ἐκ μιᾶς γυναικὸς παίδων ἑπτά, ποιησάμενος δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Σολυμίου θυγατρὸς ἕνα Ὑρκανὸν ὄνομα. [187] γαμεῖ δὲ ταύτην ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης: τἀδελφῷ ποτε συνελθὼν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἄγοντι καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα γάμων ὥραν ἔχουσαν, ὅπως αὐτὴν συνοικίσῃ τινὶ τῶν ἐπ᾽ ἀξιώματος Ἰουδαίων, καὶ δειπνῶν παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὀρχηστρίδος εἰσελθούσης εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον εὐπρεποῦς ἐρασθεὶς τῷ ἀδελφῷ τοῦτο μηνύει παρακαλῶν αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ καὶ νόμῳ κεκώλυται παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις ἀλλοφύλῳ πλησιάζειν γυναικί, συγκρύψαντα τὸ ἁμάρτημα καὶ διάκονον ἀγαθὸν γενόμενον παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ ὥστ᾽ ἐκπλῆσαι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. [188] ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς ἀσμένως δεξάμενος τὴν διακονίαν, κοσμήσας τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα νυκτὸς ἤγαγε πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ συγκατεκοίμισεν. ὁ δ᾽ ὑπὸ μέθης ἀγνοήσας τἀληθὲς συνέρχεται τῇ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ θυγατρί, καὶ τούτου γενομένου πολλάκις ἤρα σφοδρότερον. ἔφη δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν, ὡς κινδυνεύει τῷ ζῆν ἐρῶν ὀρχηστρίδος, ἧς ἴσως οὐκ ἂν αὐτῷ παραχωρήσειν τὸν βασιλέα. [189] τοῦ δὲ ἀδελφοῦ μηδὲν ἀγωνιᾶν παρακαλοῦντος, ἀπολαύειν δ᾽ ἧς ἐρᾷ μετ᾽ ἀδείας καὶ γυναῖκα ἔχειν αὐτὴν φήσαντος καὶ τἀληθὲς αὐτῷ φανερὸν ποιήσαντος, ὡς

ἕλοιτο μᾶλλον τὴν ἰδίαν ὑβρίσαι θυγατέρα ἢ περιιδεῖν ἐκεῖνον ἐν αἰσχύνῃ γενόμενον, ἐπαινέσας αὐτὸν Ἰώσηπος τῆς φιλαδελφίας συνῴκησεν αὐτοῦ τῇ θυγατρὶ καὶ παῖδα ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐγέννησεν Ὑρκανόν, ὡς προειρήκαμεν. [190] ἔτι δὲ ὢν τρισκαίδεκα ἐτῶν οὗτος ὁ παῖς νεώτερος ἐπεδείκνυτο τὴν φυσικὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ σύνεσιν, ὡς ζηλοτυπηθῆναι δεινῶς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὄντα πολὺ κρείττονα καὶ φθονηθῆναι δυνάμενον. [191] τοῦ δὲ Ἰωσήπου γνῶναι θελήσαντος, τίς αὐτῷ τῶν υἱῶν πρὸς ἀρετὴν εὖ πέφυκεν καὶ καθ' ἕνα πέμψαντος πρὸς τοὺς παιδεύειν τότε δόξαν ἔχοντας, οἱ λοιποὶ μὲν ὑπὸ ῥᾳθυμίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸ φιλεργεῖν μαλακίας ἀνόητοι καὶ ἀμαθεῖς ἐπανῆκον αὐτῷ, μετὰ δ' ἐκείνους τὸν νεώτατον Ὑρκανόν, [192] δοὺς αὐτῷ τριακόσια ζεύγη βοῶν, ἐξέπεμψεν ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν δύο εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν σπεροῦντα τὴν γῆν ἀποκρύψας τοὺς ζευκτῆρας ἰμάντας. [193] ὁ δὲ γενόμενος ἐν τῷ τόπῳ καὶ τοὺς ἰμάντας οὐκ ἔχων, τῆς μὲν τῶν βοηλατῶν γνώμης κατηλόγησεν συμβουλευόντων πέμπειν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα κομιοῦντάς τινας τοὺς ἰμάντας, τὸν δὲ καιρὸν ἡγησάμενος μὴ δεῖν ἀπολλύναι περιμένοντα τοὺς ἀποσταλησομένους ἐπενόησέν τι στρατηγικὸν καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας πρεσβύτερον. [194] κατασφάξας γὰρ δέκα ζεύγη τὰ μὲν κρέα τοῖς ἐργάταις διένειμεν, τεμὼν δὲ τὰς δορὰς αὐτῶν καὶ ποιήσας ἰμάντας ἐνέδησεν τούτοις τὰ ζυγά, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον σπείρας ἦν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ προσέταξε γῆν ὑπέστρεψε πρὸς αὐτόν. [195] ἐλθόντα δ' ὁ πατὴρ ὑπερηγάπησεν τοῦ φρονήματος, καὶ τὴν ὀξύτητα τῆς διανοίας καὶ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῇ τολμηρὸν ἐπαινέσας ὡς μόνον ὄντα γνήσιον ἔτι μᾶλλον ἔστεργεν ἀχθομένων ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν.

6. This good fortune he enjoyed for twenty-two years, and was become the father of seven sons by one wife; he had also another son, whose name was Hyrcanus, by his brother Solymius's daughter, whom he married on the following occasion. He once came to Alexandria with his brother, who had along with him a daughter already marriageable, in order to give her in wedlock to some of the Jews of chief dignity there. He then supped with the king, and falling in love with an actress that was of great beauty, and came into the room where they feasted, he told his brother of it, and entreated him, because a Jew is forbidden by their law to come near to a foreigner, to conceal his offense; and to be kind and subservient to him, and to give him an opportunity of fulfilling his desires. Upon which his brother willingly entertained the proposal of serving him, and adorned his own daughter, and brought her to him by night, and put her into his bed. And Joseph, being disordered with drink, knew not who she was, and so lay with his brother's daughter; and this did he many times, and loved her exceedingly; and said to his brother, that he loved this actress so well, that he should run the hazard of his life [if he must part with her], and yet probably the king would not give him leave [to take her with him]. But his brother bid him be

in no concern about that matter, and told him he might enjoy her whom he loved without any danger, and might have her for his wife; and opened the truth of the matter to him, and assured him that he chose rather to have his own daughter abused, than to overlook him, and see him come to [public] disgrace. So Joseph commended him for this his brotherly love, and married his daughter; and by her begat a son, whose name was Hyrcanus, as we said before. And when this his youngest son showed, at thirteen years old, a mind that was both courageous and wise, and was greatly envied by his brethren, as being of a genius much above them, and such a one as they might well envy, Joseph had once a mind to know which of his sons had the best disposition to virtue; and when he sent them severally to those that had then the best reputation for instructing youth, the rest of his children, by reason of their sloth and unwillingness to take pains, returned to him foolish and unlearned. After them he sent out the youngest, Hyrcanus, and gave him three hundred yoke of oxen, and bid him go two days' journey into the wilderness, and sow the land there, and yet kept back privately the yokes of the oxen that coupled them together. When Hyrcanus came to the place, and found he had no yokes with him, he condemned the drivers of the oxen, who advised him to send some to his father, to bring them some yokes; but he thinking that he ought not to lose his time while they should be sent to bring him the yokes, he invented a kind of stratagem, and what suited an age older than his own; for he slew ten yoke of the oxen, and distributed their flesh among the laborers, and cut their hides into several pieces, and made him yokes, and yoked the oxen together with them; by which means he sowed as much land as his father had appointed him to sow, and returned to him. And when he was come back, his father was mightily pleased with his sagacity, and commended the sharpness of his understanding, and his boldness in what he did. And he still loved him the more, as if he were his only genuine son, while his brethren were much troubled at it.

(7) [196] Ὡς δ' ἀπήγγειλέ τις αὐτῷ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν υἱὸν τῷ βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ πάντες οἱ πρῶτοι τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς ὑπηκόου χώρας ἑορτάζοντες τὴν γενέσιον ἡμέραν τοῦ παιδίου μετὰ μεγάλης παρασκευῆς εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐξώρμων, αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπὸ γήρως κατείχετο, τῶν δὲ υἱῶν ἀπεπειρᾶτο εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἀπελθεῖν βούλεται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. [197] τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων παραιτησαμένων καὶ πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας συνουσίας ἀγροικότερον ἔχειν φησάντων, τὸν δ' ἀδελφὸν Ὑρκανὸν πέμπειν συμβουλευσάντων, ἡδέως ἀκούσας καλεῖ τὸν Ὑρκανὸν καὶ εἰ δύναται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα βαδίσαι καὶ πρόθυμός ἐστιν ἀνέκρινεν. [198] ἐπαγγειλαμένου δὲ πορεύσεσθαι καὶ δεῖσθαι χρημάτων οὐ πολλῶν φήσαντος εἰς τὴν ὁδόν, ζήσεσθαι γὰρ ἐπιεικῶς ὥστε

ἀρκέσειν αὐτῷ δραχμὰς μυρίας, ἥσθη τοῦ παιδὸς τῇ σωφροσύνῃ. [199] διαλιπὼν δὲ ὀλίγον ὁ παῖς συνεβούλευε τῷ πατρὶ δῶρα μὲν αὐτόθεν μὴ πέμπειν τῷ βασιλεῖ, δοῦναι δὲ ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τὸν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ οἰκονόμον, ὅπως αὐτῷ παρέχῃ πρὸς ὠνὴν ὧν ἂν εὕρῃ καλλίστων καὶ πολυτελῶν χρήματα. [200] ὁ δὲ νομίζων δέκα ταλάντων ἔσεσθαι τὴν εἰς τὰς δωρεὰς τῷ βασιλεῖ δαπάνην καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπαινέσας ὡς παραινοῦντα καλῶς, γράφει τῷ οἰκονόμῳ Ἀρίονι, ὃς ἅπαντα τὰ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ χρήματα αὐτοῦ διῴκει οὐκ ὄντα ἐλάσσω τρισχιλίων ταλάντων: [201] ὁ γὰρ Ἰώσηπος τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας χρήματα ἔπεμπεν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ τῆς προθεσμίας ἐνισταμένης, καθ' ἣν ἔδει τῷ βασιλεῖ τοὺς φόρους ἀπαριθμεῖν, ἔγραφεν τῷ Ἀρίονι τοῦτο ποιεῖν. [202] πρὸς οὖν τοῦτον ἀπαιτήσας τὸν πατέρα ἐπιστολήν, λαβὼν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὥρμησεν. ἐξελθόντος δ' αὐτοῦ γράφουσιν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως φίλοις, ἵν' αὐτὸν διαφθείρωσιν.

7. But when one told him that Ptolemy had a son just born, and that all the principal men of Syria, and the other countries subject to him, were to keep a festival, on account of the child's birthday, and went away in haste with great retinues to Alexandria, he was himself indeed hindered from going by old age; but he made trial of his sons, whether any of them would be willing to go to the king. And when the elder sons excused themselves from going, and said they were not courtiers good enough for such conversation, and advised him to send their brother Hyrcanus, he gladly hearkened to that advice, and called Hyrcanus, and asked him whether he would go to the king, and whether it was agreeable to him to go or not. And upon his promise that he would go, and his saying that he should not want much money for his journey, because he would live moderately, and that ten thousand drachmas would be sufficient, he was pleased with his son's prudence. After a little while, the son advised his father not to send his presents to the king from thence, but to give him a letter to his steward at Alexandria, that he might furnish him with money, for purchasing what should be most excellent and most precious. So he thinking that the expense of ten talents would be enough for presents to be made the king, and commending his son, as giving him good advice, wrote to Arion his steward, that managed all his money matters at Alexandria; which money was not less than three thousand talents on his account, for Joseph sent the money he received in Syria to Alexandria. And when the day appointed for the payment of the taxes to the king came, he wrote to Arion to pay them. So when the son had asked his father for a letter to the steward, and had received it, he made haste to Alexandria. And when he was gone, his brethren wrote to all the king's friends, that they should destroy him.

(8) [203] Ὡς δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀπέδωκε τῷ Ἀρίονι τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ἐπερωτήσαντος αὐτοῦ, πόσα βούλεται τάλαντα λαβεῖν, ἤλπισε δ' αὐτὸν αἰτήσειν δέκα ἢ βραχεῖ τούτων πλέον, εἰπόντος χιλίων χρῄζειν ὀργισθεὶς ἐπέπληττεν αὐτῷ ὡς ἀσώτως ζῆν διεγνωκότι, καὶ πῶς ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ συναγάγοι τὴν οὐσίαν [ὡς] πονῶν καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ἀντέχων ἐδήλου καὶ μιμητὴν αὐτὸν ἠξίου γενέσθαι τοῦ γεγεννηκότος: δώσειν δ' οὐδὲν πλέον ταλάντων δέκα καὶ ταῦτα εἰς δωρεὰς τῷ βασιλεῖ. [204] παροξυνθεὶς δ' ὁ παῖς εἰς δεσμὰ τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐνέβαλεν. τῆς δὲ τοῦ Ἀρίονος γυναικὸς τοῦτο δηλωσάσης τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ καὶ δεηθείσης, ὅπως ἐπιπλήξῃ τῷ παιδί, σφόδρα γὰρ ἦν ὁ Ἀρίων ἐν τιμῇ παρ' αὐτῇ, φανερὸν τῷ βασιλεῖ τοῦτο ἐποίησεν ἡ Κλεοπάτρα. [205] ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Ὑρκανὸν θαυμάζειν ἔλεγεν, πῶς ἀποσταλεὶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς οὔτε ὀφθείη αὐτῷ καὶ προσέτι δήσειεν τὸν οἰκονόμον: [206] ἐλθόντα οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῷ μηνύειν ἐκέλευσεν. τὸν δέ φασιν ἀποκρίνασθαι τῷ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως λέγειν αὐτῷ, ὅτι νόμος ἐστὶ παρ' αὐτῷ κωλύων τὸν γεννηθέντα γεύσασθαι θυσιῶν, πρὶν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἔλθῃ καὶ θύσῃ τῷ θεῷ: κατὰ δὴ τοῦτον τὸν λογισμὸν οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν περιμένων τὰ δῶρα κομίσαι τοῦ πατρὸς εὐεργέτῃ γεγενημένῳ. [207] τὸν δὲ δοῦλον κολάσαι παρακούσαντα ὧν προσέταξεν: διαφέρειν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἢ μικρὸν εἶναί τινα δεσπότην ἢ μέγαν: ἂν οὖν μὴ κολάζωμεν τοὺς τοιούτους, καὶ σὺ προσδόκα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων καταφρονηθήσεσθαι." ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ Πτολεμαῖος εἰς γέλωτα ἐτράπη καὶ τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην τοῦ παιδὸς ἐθαύμασεν.

8. But when he was come to Alexandria, he delivered his letter to Arion, who asked him how many talents he would have [hoping he would ask for no more than ten, or a little more]; he said he wanted a thousand talents. At which the steward was angry, and rebuked him, as one that intended to live extravagantly; and he let him know how his father had gathered together his estate by painstaking, and resisting his inclinations, and wished him to imitate the example of his father: he assured him withal, that he would give him but ten talents, and that for a present to the king also. The son was irritated at this, and threw Arion into prison. But when Arion's wife had informed Cleopatra of this, with her entreaty, that she would rebuke the child for what he had done, [for Arion was in great esteem with her,] Cleopatra informed the king of it. And Ptolemy sent for Hyrcanus, and told him that he wondered, when he was sent to him by his father, that he had not yet come into his presence, but had laid the steward in prison. And he gave order, therefore, that he should come to him, and give an account of the reason of what he had done. And they report that the answer he made to the king's messenger was this: That "there was a law of his that forbade a child that was born to taste of the sacrifice, before he had been at

the temple and sacrificed to God. According to which way of reasoning he did not himself come to him in expectation of the present he was to make to him, as to one who had been his father's benefactor; and that he had punished the slave for disobeying his commands, for that it mattered not Whether a master was little or great: so that unless we punish such as these, thou thyself mayst also expect to be despised by thy subjects." Upon hearing this his answer he fell a laughing, and wondered at the great soul of the child.

(9) [208] Μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀρίων, ὅτι τοῦτον ὁ βασιλεὺς διετέθη τὸν τρόπον καὶ μηδεμία βοήθειά ἐστιν αὐτῷ, δοὺς τὰ χίλια τάλαντα τῷ παιδὶ τῶν δεσμῶν ἀπελύθη. καὶ τρεῖς διαλιπὼν ἡμέρας ὁ Ὑρκανὸς ἠσπάσατο τοὺς βασιλέας. [209] οἱ δὲ ἀσμένως αὐτὸν εἶδον καὶ φιλοφρόνως εἱστίασαν διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τιμήν. λάθρα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἀπελθὼν ὠνεῖται παρ' αὐτῶν παῖδας μὲν ἑκατὸν γράμματα ἐπισταμένους καὶ ἀκμαιοτάτους, ἑνὸς ἕκαστον ταλάντου, ἑκατὸν δὲ παρθένους τῆς αὐτῆς τιμῆς ἑκάστην. [210] κληθεὶς δ' ἐφ' ἑστίασιν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα μετὰ τῶν πρώτων τῆς χώρας ὑποκατακλίνεται πάντων, καταφρονηθεὶς ὡς παῖς ἔτι τὴν ἡλικίαν ὑπὸ τῶν τοὺς τόπους κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν διανεμόντων. [211] τῶν δὲ συγκατακειμένων πάντων τῶν μερῶν τὰ ὀστᾶ, ἀφῄρουν γὰρ αὐτοὶ τὰς σάρκας, σωρευόντων ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Ὑρκανοῦ, ὡς πληρῶσαι τὴν παρακειμένην αὐτῷ τράπεζαν, [212] Τρύφων ὃς ἦν τοῦ βασιλέως ἄθυρμα καὶ πρὸς τὰ σκώμματα καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πότοις γέλωτας ἀπεδέδεικτο, παρακαλεσάντων αὐτὸν τῶν κατακειμένων τῇ τραπέζῃ παρεστὼς τῷ βασιλεῖ, "ὁρᾷς, εἶπεν, ὦ δέσποτα, τὰ παρακείμενα Ὑρκανῷ ὀστᾶ; ἐκ τούτου στόχασαι, ὅτι καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ τὴν Συρίαν ἅπασαν [213] περιέδυσεν ὡς οὗτος ταῦτα τῶν σαρκῶν ἐγύμνωσεν." γελάσαντος δὲ πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Τρύφωνος λόγον τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἐρομένου τὸν Ὑρκανόν, ὅτι τοσαῦτ' αὐτῷ παράκειται ὀστᾶ, "εἰκότως, εἶπεν, ὦ δέσποτα: τοὺς μὲν γὰρ κύνας τὰ ὀστᾶ σὺν τοῖς κρέασιν κατεσθίειν, ὥσπερ οὗτοι" πρὸς τοὺς κατακειμένους ἐπιβλέπων, ὅτι μηθὲν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν ἔκειτο, "οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι τὸ κρέας ἐσθίουσιν, τὰ δ' ὀστᾶ ῥίπτουσιν, [214] ὅπερ ἄνθρωπος ὢν κἀγὼ νῦν πεποίηκα." ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς θαυμάζει τὴν ἀπόκρισιν αὐτοῦ σοφὴν οὕτως γενομένην καὶ πάντας ἐκέλευσεν ἀνακροτῆσαι τῆς εὐτραπελίας ἀποδεχόμενος αὐτόν. [215] τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως φίλων πορευόμενος καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν δυνατῶν τοὺς μὲν ἠσπάζετο, παρὰ δὲ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀπεπυνθάνετο, τί μέλλουσιν διδόναι τῷ βασιλεῖ δῶρον ἐν τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ γενεσίῳ. [216] τῶν δὲ ἀνὰ δέκα τάλαντα μέλλειν διδόναι φησάντων τοὺς μέν, τοὺς δὲ ἐν ἀξίᾳ κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς οὐσίας ἕκαστον αὐτῶν, ὑπεκρίνετο λυπεῖσθαι διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τοιαύτην προσενεγκεῖν δωρεάν: πλέον γὰρ πέντε ταλάντων οὐκ ἔχειν. οἱ δὲ θεράποντες ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες ἀπήγγελλον τοῖς δεσπόταις. [217] χαιρόντων δ' αὐτῶν ὡς καταγνωσθησομένου τοῦ Ἰωσήπου καὶ προσκρούσοντος

τῷ βασιλεῖ διὰ τὴν βραχύτητα τῆς δωρεᾶς, ἐνστάσης τῆς ἡμέρας οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι προσέφερον τῷ βασιλεῖ ταλάντων οἱ λίαν μεγαλοδωρεῖσθαι νομίζοντες οὐ πλεῖον εἴκοσι, ὁ δ᾽ Ὑρκανὸς οὓς ὠνήσατο παῖδας ἑκατὸν καὶ παρθένους τοσαύτας ἀνὰ τάλαντον ἑκάστῳ φέρειν δοὺς προσήγαγεν τοὺς μὲν τῷ βασιλεῖ, τὰς δὲ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ. [218] πάντων δὲ θαυμασάντων τὴν παρ᾽ ἐλπίδα τῶν δώρων πολυτέλειαν καὶ τῶν βασιλέων αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῖς φίλοις ἔτι καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν θεραπείαν τοῦ βασιλέως οὖσιν πολλῶν ἄξια ταλάντων δῶρα ἔδωκεν, ὡς διαφυγεῖν τὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν κίνδυνον: τούτοις γὰρ ἐγεγράφεισαν αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ διαχρήσασθαι τὸν Ὑρκανόν. [219] Πτολεμαῖος δὲ τὴν μεγαλοψυχίαν ἀγασάμενος τοῦ μειρακίου προσέταξεν αὐτῷ δωρεὰν ἣν βούλεται λαμβάνειν. ὁ δ᾽ οὐδὲν πλέον ἠξίωσεν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἢ γράψαι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ. [220] τιμήσας οὖν αὐτὸν φιλοτιμότατα καὶ δωρεὰς δοὺς λαμπρὰς καὶ τῷ τε πατρὶ γράψας καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιτρόποις ἐξέπεμψεν. [221] ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τούτων τετυχηκότα τὸν Ὑρκανὸν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ μετὰ μεγάλης ἐπανερχόμενον τιμῆς, ἐξῆλθον ὑπαντησόμενοι καὶ διαφθεροῦντες αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰδότος: ὀργιζόμενος γὰρ αὐτῷ ἕνεκεν τῶν εἰς τὰς δωρεὰς χρημάτων οὐκ ἐφρόντιζεν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ. τὴν ὀργὴν μέντοι τὴν πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἀπεκρύπτετο φοβούμενος τὸν βασιλέα. [222] συμβαλόντων δ᾽ αὐτῷ τῶν ἀδελφῶν εἰς μάχην ἄλλους τε τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν καὶ δύο τῶν ἀδελφῶν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διεσώθησαν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. παραγενόμενον δ᾽ αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπεὶ μηδεὶς ἐδέχετο, δείσας ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ κἀκεῖ διέτριβεν φορολογῶν τοὺς βαρβάρους.

9. When Arion was apprized that this was the king’s disposition, and that he had no way to help himself, he gave the child a thousand talents, and was let out of prison. So after three days were over, Hyrcanus came and saluted the king and queen. They saw him with pleasure, and feasted him in an obliging manner, out of the respect they bare to his father. So he came to the merchants privately, and bought a hundred boys, that had learning, and were in the flower of their ages, each at a talent apiece; as also he bought a hundred maidens, each at the same price as the other. And when he was invited to feast with the king among the principal men in the country, he sat down the lowest of them all, because he was little regarded, as a child in age still; and this by those who placed every one according to their dignity. Now when all those that sat with him had laid the bones Of the several parts on a heap before Hyrcanus, [for they had themselves taken away the flesh belonging to them,] till the table where he sat was filled full with them, Trypho, who was the king’s jester, and was appointed for jokes and laughter at festivals, was now asked by the guests that sat at the table [to expose

him to laughter]. So he stood by the king, and said, “Dost thou not see, my lord, the bones that lie by Hyrcanus? by this similitude thou mayst conjecture that his father made all Syria as bare as he hath made these bones.” And the king laughing at what Trypho said, and asking of Hyrcanus, How he came to have so many bones before him? he replied, “Very rightfully, my lord; for they are dogs that eat the flesh and the bones together, as these thy guests have done, [looking in the mean time at those guests,] for there is nothing before them; but they are men that eat the flesh, and cast away the hones, as I, who am also a man, have now done.” Upon which the king admired at his answer, which was so wisely made; and bid them all make an acclamation, as a mark of their approbation of his jest, which was truly a facetious one. On the next day Hyrcanus went to every one of the king’s friends, and of the men powerful at court, and saluted them; but still inquired of the servants what present they would make the king on his son’s birthday; and when some said that they would give twelve talents, and that others of greater dignity would every one give according to the quantity of their riches, he pretended to every one of them to be grieved that he was not able to bring so large a present; for that he had no more than five talents. And when the servants heard what he said, they told their masters; and they rejoiced in the prospect that Joseph would be disapproved, and would make the king angry, by the smallness of his present. When the day came, the others, even those that brought the most, offered the king not above twenty talents; but Hyrcanus gave to every one of the hundred boys and hundred maidens that he had bought a talent apiece, for them to carry, and introduced them, the boys to the king, and the maidens to Cleopatra; every body wondering at the unexpected richness of the presents, even the king and queen themselves. He also presented those that attended about the king with gifts to the value of a great number of talents, that he might escape the danger he was in from them; for to these it was that Hyrcanus’s brethren had written to destroy him. Now Ptolemy admired at the young man’s magnanimity, and commanded him to ask what gift he pleased. But he desired nothing else to be done for him by the king than to write to his father and brethren about him. So when the king had paid him very great respects, and had given him very large gifts, and had written to his father and his brethren, and all his commanders and officers, about him, he sent him away. But when his brethren heard that Hyrcanus had received such favors from the king, and was returning home with great honor, they went out to meet him, and to destroy him, and that with the privity of their father; for he was angry at him for the [large] sum of money that he bestowed for presents, and so had no concern for his preservation. However, Joseph concealed the anger he had at his son, out of fear of the king. And when Hyrcanus’s brethren came to fight him, he slew many

others of those that were with them, as also two of his brethren themselves; but the rest of them escaped to Jerusalem to their father. But when Hyrcanus came to the city, where nobody would receive him, he was afraid for himself, and retired beyond the river Jordan, and there abode, but obliging the barbarians to pay their taxes.

(10) [223] Ἐβασίλευσεν δὲ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν τῆς Ἀσίας Σέλευκος ὁ Σωτὴρ ἐπικαλούμενος υἱὸς ὢν Ἀντιόχου τοῦ μεγάλου. [224] τελευτᾷ δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ὑρκανοῦ πατὴρ Ἰώσηπος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος καὶ μεγαλόφρων, καὶ τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων λαὸν ἐκ πτωχείας καὶ πραγμάτων ἀσθενῶν εἰς λαμπροτέρας ἀφορμὰς τοῦ βίου καταστήσας, εἴκοσι ἔτη καὶ δύο τὰ τέλη τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς Φοινίκης καὶ Σαμαρείας κατασχών. ἀπέθανεν δὲ καὶ ὁ θεῖος αὐτοῦ Ὀνίας τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην Σίμωνι τῷ παιδὶ καταλιπών.

[225] Τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ τούτου ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ διάδοχος τῆς τιμῆς Ὀνίας γίνεται, πρὸς ὃν ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς Ἄρειος πρεσβείαν τε ἔπεμψεν καὶ ἐπιστολάς, ὧν τὸ ἀντίγραφόν ἐστι τοιοῦτο: “βασιλεὺς Λακεδαιμονίων Ἄρειος Ὀνίᾳ χαίρειν. [226] ἐντυχόντες γραφῇ τινι εὕρομεν, ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς εἶεν γένους Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ἄβραμον οἰκειότητος. δίκαιον οὖν ἐστιν ἀδελφοὺς ὑμᾶς ὄντας διαπέμπεσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς περὶ ὧν ἂν βούλησθε. [227] ποιήσομεν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῦτο, καὶ τά τε ὑμέτερα ἴδια νομιοῦμεν καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν κοινὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔξομεν. Δημοτέλης ὁ φέρων τὰ γράμματα διαπέμπει τὰς ἐπιστολάς. τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐστὶν τετράγωνα: ἡ σφραγίς ἐστιν ἀετὸς δράκοντος ἐπειλημμένος.”

10. At this time Seleucus, who was called Soter, reigned over Asia, being the son of Antiochus the Great. And [now] Hyrcanus’s father, Joseph, died. He was a good man, and of great magnanimity; and brought the Jews out of a state of poverty and meanness, to one that was more splendid. He retained the farm of the taxes of Syria, and Phoenicia, and Samaria twenty-two years. His uncle also, Onias, died [about this time], and left the high priesthood to his son Simeon. And when he was dead, Onias his son succeeded him in that dignity. To him it was that Areus, king of the Lacedemonians, sent an embassage, with an epistle; the copy whereof here follows:

“Areus, King Of The Lacedemonians, To Onias, Sendeth Greeting.

“We have met with a certain writing, whereby we have discovered that both the Jews and the Lacedemonians are of one stock, and are derived from the kindred of Abraham It is but just therefore that you, who are our brethren, should send to us about any of your concerns as you please. We will also do the same thing,

and esteem your concerns as our own, and will look upon our concerns as in common with yours. Demoteles, who brings you this letter, will bring your answer back to us. This letter is four-square; and the seal is an eagle, with a dragon in his claws.”

(11) [228] Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπιστολὴ ἡ πεμφθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως τοῦτον περιεῖχε τὸν τρόπον. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἰωσήπου τὸν λαὸν συνέβη στασιάσαι διὰ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ. τῶν γὰρ πρεσβυτέρων πόλεμον ἐξενεγκαμένων πρὸς Ὑρκανόν, ὃς ἦν νεώτατος τῶν Ἰωσήπου τέκνων, διέστη τὸ πλῆθος. [229] καὶ οἱ μὲν πλείους τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις συνεμάχουν καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Σίμων διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν: ὁ δὲ Ὑρκανὸς ἐπανελθεῖν μὲν οὐκέτι ἔγνω εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, προσκαθίσας δὲ τοῖς πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου συνεχῶς ἐπολέμει τοὺς Ἄραβας, ὡς πολλοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ λαβεῖν αἰχμαλώτους. [230] ᾠκοδόμησεν δὲ βᾶριν ἰσχυρὰν ἐκ λίθου λευκοῦ κατασκευάσας πᾶσαν μέχρι καὶ τῆς στέγης ἐγγλύψας ζῷα παμμεγεθέστατα, περιήγαγεν δ’ αὐτῇ εὖριπον μέγαν καὶ βαθύν. [231] ἐκ δὲ τῆς καταντικρὺ τοῦ ὄρους πέτρας διατεμὼν αὐτῆς τὸ προέχον σπήλαια πολλῶν σταδίων τὸ μῆκος κατεσκεύασεν. ἔπειτα οἴκους ἐν αὐτῇ τοὺς μὲν εἰς συμπόσια τοὺς δ’ εἰς ὕπνον καὶ δίαιταν ἐποίησεν, ὑδάτων δὲ διαθεόντων πλῆθος, ἃ καὶ τέρψις ἦν καὶ κόσμος τῆς αὐλῆς, εἰσήγαγεν. [232] τὰ μέντοι στόμια τῶν σπηλαίων ὥστε ἕνα δι’ αὐτῶν εἰσδῦναι καὶ μὴ πλείους βραχύτερα ἤνοιξεν: καὶ ταῦτ’ ἐπίτηδες ἀσφαλείας ἕνεκα τοῦ μὴ πολιορκηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ κινδυνεῦσαι ληφθεὶς κατεσκεύασεν. [233] προσῳκοδόμησε δὲ καὶ αὐλὰς τῷ μεγέθει διαφερούσας καὶ παραδείσοις ἐκόσμησε παμμήκεσι. καὶ τοιοῦτον ἀπεργασάμενος τὸν τόπον Τύρον ὠνόμασεν. οὗτος ὁ τόπος ἐστὶ μεταξὺ τῆς Ἀραβίας καὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου οὐ πόρρω τῆς Ἐσσεβωνίτιδος. [234] ἦρξε δ’ ἐκείνων τῶν μερῶν ἐπὶ ἔτη ἑπτά, πάντα τὸν χρόνον ὃν Σέλευκος τῆς Συρίας ἐβασίλευσεν. ἀποθανόντος δὲ τούτου μετ’ αὐτὸν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀντίοχος ὁ κληθεὶς Ἐπιφανὴς τὴν βασιλείαν κατέσχεν. [235] τελευτᾷ δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικαλούμενος Ἐπιφανής, καταλιπὼν δύο παῖδας ἔτι βραχεῖς τὴν ἡλικίαν, ὧν ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος Φιλομήτωρ ἐκαλεῖτο, Φύσκων δὲ ὁ νεώτερος. [236] Ὑρκανὸς δὲ ὁρῶν μεγάλην δύναμιν ἔχοντα τὸν Ἀντίοχον καὶ δείσας, μὴ συλληφθεὶς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ κολασθῇ διὰ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Ἄραβας αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα, τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον αὐτόχειρ αὐτοῦ γενόμενος. τὴν δ’ οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν Ἀντίοχος λαμβάνει.

11. And these were the contents of the epistle which was sent from the king of the Lacedemonians. But, upon the death of Joseph, the people grew seditious, on account of his sons. For whereas the elders made war against Hyrcanus, who was the youngest of Joseph’s sons, the multitude was divided, but the greater part joined with the elders in this war; as did Simon the high priest, by reason he

was of kin to them. However, Hyrcanus determined not to return to Jerusalem any more, but seated himself beyond Jordan, and was at perpetual war with the Arabians, and slew many of them, and took many of them captives. He also erected a strong castle, and built it entirely of white stone to the very roof, and had animals of a prodigious magnitude engraven upon it. He also drew round it a great and deep canal of water. He also made caves of many furlongs in length, by hollowing a rock that was over against him; and then he made large rooms in it, some for feasting, and some for sleeping and living in. He introduced also a vast quantity of waters which ran along it, and which were very delightful and ornamental in the court. But still he made the entrances at the mouth of the caves so narrow, that no more than one person could enter by them at once. And the reason why he built them after that manner was a good one; it was for his own preservation, lest he should be besieged by his brethren, and run the hazard of being caught by them. Moreover, he built courts of greater magnitude than ordinary, which he adorned with vastly large gardens. And when he had brought the place to this state, he named it Tyre. This place is between Arabia and Judea, beyond Jordan, not far from the country of Heshbon. And he ruled over those parts for seven years, even all the time that Seleucus was king of Syria. But when he was dead, his brother Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, took the kingdom. Ptolemy also, the king of Egypt, died, who was besides called Epiphanes. He left two sons, and both young in age; the elder of which was called Philometer, and the youngest Physcon. As for Hyrcanus, when he saw that Antiochus had a great army, and feared lest he should be caught by him, and brought to punishment for what he had done to the Arabians, he ended his life, and slew himself with his own hand; while Antiochus seized upon all his substance.

V

CHAPTER 5. How, Upon The Quarrels One Against Another About The High Priesthood Antiochus Made An Expedition Against Jerusalem, Took The City And Pillaged The Temples. And Distressed The Jews' As Also How Many Of The Jews Forsook The Laws Of Their Country; And How The Samaritans Followed The Customs Of The Greeks And Named Their Temple At Mount Gerizzim The Temple Of Jupiter Hellenius.

(1) [237] Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἀποθανόντος καὶ Ὀνίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ [Ἰησοῦ] τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην Ἀντίοχος δίδωσιν: ὁ γὰρ παῖς, ὃν Ὀνίας καταλελοίπει, ἔτι νήπιος ἦν. δηλώσομεν δὲ τὰ περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς τούτου κατὰ χώραν ἕκαστα. [238] Ἰησοῦς δέ, οὗτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ τοῦ Ὀνίου ἀδελφός, τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀφῃρέθη προσοργισθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ δόντος αὐτὴν τῷ νεωτάτῳ αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῷ Ὀνίᾳ τοὔνομα. Σίμωνι γὰρ οὗτοι τρεῖς ἐγένοντο παῖδες, καὶ εἰς τοὺς τρεῖς ἦκεν ἡ ἀρχιερωσύνη, καθὼς δεδηλώκαμεν. [239] ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰησοῦς Ἰάσονα αὐτὸν μετωνόμασεν, ὁ δὲ Ὀνίας ἐκλήθη Μενέλαος. στασιάσαντος οὖν τοῦ προτέρου ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ πρὸς τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα κατασταθέντα Μενέλαον καὶ τοῦ πλήθους διανεμηθέντος εἰς ἑκατέρους, ἐκ τῆς Μενελάου μοίρας οἱ Τωβίου παῖδες ἐγένοντο, [240] τὸ δὲ πλέον τοῦ λαοῦ τῷ Ἰάσονι συνελάμβανεν, ὑφ' οὗ καὶ πονούμενοι ὅ τε Μενέλαος καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ τοῦ Τωβίου πρὸς Ἀντίοχον ἀνεχώρησαν δηλοῦντες αὐτῷ, ὅτι βούλονται τοὺς πατρίους νόμους καταλιπόντες καὶ τὴν κατ' αὐτοὺς πολιτείαν ἔπεσθαι τοῖς βασιλικοῖς καὶ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν πολιτείαν ἔχειν. [241] παρεκάλεσαν οὖν αὐτὸν ἐπιτρέψαι αὐτοῖς οἰκοδομῆσαι γυμνάσιον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. συγχωρήσαντος δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν αἰδοίων περιτομὴν ἐπεκάλυψαν, ὡς ἂν εἶεν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀπόδυσιν Ἕλληνες, τά τε ἄλλα πάνθ' ὅσα ἦν αὐτοῖς πάτρια παρέντες ἐμιμοῦντο τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ἔργα.

1. About this time, upon the death of Onias the high priest, they gave the high priesthood to Jesus his brother; for that son which Onias left [or Onias IV.] was yet but an infant; and, in its proper place, we will inform the reader of all the circumstances that befell this child. But this Jesus, who was the brother of Onias, was deprived of the high priesthood by the king, who was angry with him, and

gave it to his younger brother, whose name also was Onias; for Simon had these three sons, to each of which the priesthood came, as we have already informed the reader. This Jesus changed his name to Jason, but Onias was called Menelaus. Now as the former high priest, Jesus, raised a sedition against Menelaus, who was ordained after him, the multitude were divided between them both. And the sons of Tobias took the part of Menelaus, but the greater part of the people assisted Jason; and by that means Menelaus and the sons of Tobias were distressed, and retired to Antiochus, and informed him that they were desirous to leave the laws of their country, and the Jewish way of living according to them, and to follow the king's laws, and the Grecian way of living. Wherefore they desired his permission to build them a Gymnasium at Jerusalem. And when he had given them leave, they also hid the circumcision of their genitals, that even when they were naked they might appear to be Greeks. Accordingly, they left off all the customs that belonged to their own country, and imitated the practices of the other nations.

(2) [242] Ἀντίοχος δὲ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῷ χωρούσης κατὰ τρόπον ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον διέγνω στρατεύσασθαι, πόθον αὐτῆς λαβὼν καὶ διὰ τὸ τῶν Πτολεμαίου παίδων καταφρονεῖν ἀσθενῶν ἔτι τυγχανόντων καὶ μηδέπω πράγματα τηλικαῦτα διέπειν δυναμένων. [243] γενόμενος οὖν μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως κατὰ τὸ Πηλούσιον καὶ δόλῳ τὸν Φιλομήτορα Πτολεμαῖον ἐκπεριελθὼν καταλαμβάνει τὴν Αἴγυπτον, καὶ γενόμενος ἐν τοῖς περὶ Μέμφιν τόποις καὶ κατασχὼν ταύτην ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ὡς πολιορκίᾳ παραστησόμενος αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ βασιλεύοντα χειρωσόμενος Πτολεμαῖον. [244] ἀπεκρούσθη δ' οὐ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ὅλης Αἰγύπτου, Ῥωμαίων αὐτῷ παραγγειλάντων ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς χώρας, καθὼς ἤδη που καὶ πρότερον ἐν ἄλλοις δεδηλώκαμεν. [245] διηγήσομαι δὲ κατὰ μέρος τὰ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν βασιλέα, ὡς τήν τε Ἰουδαίαν ἐχειρώσατο καὶ τὸν ναόν: ἐν γὰρ τῇ πρώτῃ μου πραγματείᾳ κεφαλαιωδῶς αὐτῶν ἐπιμνησθεὶς ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην νῦν εἰς τὴν ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς αὐτῶν ἐπανελθεῖν ὑφήγησιν.

2. Now Antiochus, upon the agreeable situation of the affairs of his kingdom, resolved to make an expedition against Egypt, both because he had a desire to gain it, and because he contemned the son of Ptolemy, as now weak, and not yet of abilities to manage affairs of such consequence; so he came with great forces to Pelusium, and circumvented Ptolemy Philometor by treachery, and seized upon Egypt. He then came to the places about Memphis; and when he had taken them, he made haste to Alexandria, in hopes of taking it by siege, and of subduing Ptolemy, who reigned there. But he was driven not only from Alexandria, but out of all Egypt, by the declaration of the Romans, who charged

him to let that country alone; according as I have elsewhere formerly declared. I will now give a particular account of what concerns this king, how he subdued Judea and the temple; for in my former work I mentioned those things very briefly, and have therefore now thought it necessary to go over that history again, and that with great accuracy.

(3) [246] Ὑποστρέψας ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου διὰ τὸ παρὰ Ῥωμαίων δέος ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ἐξεστράτευσεν, καὶ γενόμενος ἐν αὐτῇ ἔτει ἑκατοστῷ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ τρίτῳ μετὰ τοὺς ἀπὸ Σελεύκου βασιλεῖς ἀμαχητὶ λαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν ἀνοιξάντων αὐτῷ τὰς πύλας ὅσοι τῆς ἐκείνου προαιρέσεως ἦσαν. [247] ἐγκρατὴς δ' οὕτως τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων γενόμενος πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν τῶν τἀναντία φρονούντων καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ συλήσας ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν.

3. King Antiochus returning out of Egypt for fear of the Romans, made an expedition against the city Jerusalem; and when he was there, in the hundred and forty-third year of the kingdom of the Seleucidse, he took the city without fighting, those of his own party opening the gates to him. And when he had gotten possession of Jerusalem, he slew many of the opposite party; and when he had plundered it of a great deal of money, he returned to Antioch.

(4) [248] Συνέβη δὲ μετὰ ἔτη δύο τῷ ἑκατοστῷ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ πέμπτῳ ἔτει μηνὸς πέμπτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι, ὃς καλεῖται κατὰ μὲν ἡμᾶς Ἐξελέους, κατὰ δὲ Μακεδόνας Ἀπελλαῖος, ὀλυμπιάδι ἑκατοστῇ καὶ πεντηκοστῇ καὶ τρίτῃ μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἀναβῆναι τὸν βασιλέα εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ προσποιησάμενον εἰρήνην ἀπάτῃ περιγενέσθαι τῆς πόλεως. [249] ἐφείσατο δὲ τότε οὐδὲ τῶν εἰσδεξαμένων αὐτὸν διὰ τὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ πλοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πλεονεξίας, χρυσὸν γὰρ ἑώρα πολὺν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον τῶν ἀναθημάτων κόσμον πολυτελέστατον, ἵνα συλήσῃ τοῦτον, ὑπέμεινε τὰς πρὸς ἐκείνους αὐτῷ σπονδὰς παραβῆναι. [250] περιδύσας οὖν τὸν ναόν, ὡς καὶ τὰ σκεύη τοῦ θεοῦ βαστάσαι λυχνίας χρυσᾶς καὶ βωμὸν χρύσεον καὶ τράπεζαν καὶ τὰ θυσιαστήρια, καὶ μηδὲ τῶν καταπετασμάτων ἀποσχόμενος, ἅπερ ἦν ἐκ βύσσου καὶ κόκκου πεποιημένα, κενώσας δὲ καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς τοὺς ἀποκρύφους καὶ μηδὲν ὅλως ὑπολιπών, εἰς μέγα τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐπὶ τούτοις πένθος ἐνέβαλεν. [251] καὶ γὰρ τὰς καθημερινὰς θυσίας, ἃς προσέφερον τῷ θεῷ κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ἐκώλυσεν αὐτοὺς προσφέρειν, καὶ διαρπάσας πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν τοὺς δ' αἰχμαλώτους γυναιξὶν ἅμα καὶ τέκνοις ἔλαβεν, ὡς τῶν ζωγρηθέντων περὶ μυρίους γενέσθαι τὸ πλῆθος. [252] ἐνέπρησε δ' αὐτῆς τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ καταβαλὼν τὰ τείχη τὴν ἐν τῇ κάτω πόλει ᾠκοδόμησεν ἄκραν: ἦν γὰρ ὑψηλὴ καὶ ὑπερκειμένη τὸ ἱερόν: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὴν ὀχυρώσας τείχεσιν ὑψηλοῖς καὶ πύργοις φρουρὰν Μακεδονικὴν

ἐγκατέστησεν. ἔμενον δ᾽ οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ καὶ τοῦ πλήθους οἱ ἀσεβεῖς καὶ πονηροὶ τὸν τρόπον, ὑφ᾽ ὧν πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ τοὺς πολίτας συνέβη παθεῖν. [253] ἐποικοδομήσας δὲ καὶ τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ βωμὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς σύας ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κατέσφαξε, θυσίαν οὐ νόμιμον οὐδὲ πάτριον τῇ Ἰουδαίων θρησκείᾳ ταύτην ἐπιτελῶν. ἠνάγκασε δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀφεμένους τὴν περὶ τὸν αὐτῶν θεὸν θρησκείαν τοὺς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ νομιζομένους σέβεσθαι, οἰκοδομήσαντας δὲ ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει καὶ κώμῃ τεμένη αὐτῶν καὶ βωμοὺς καθιδρύσαντας θύειν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς σῦς καθ᾽ ἡμέραν. [254] ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ μὴ περιτέμνειν αὐτοὺς τὰ τέκνα, κολάσειν ἀπειλήσας εἴ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιῶν εὑρεθείη. κατέστησε δὲ καὶ ἐπισκόπους, οἳ προσαναγκάσουσιν αὐτοὺς τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα ποιεῖν. [255] καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ μὲν ἑκοντὶ οἱ δὲ καὶ δι᾽ εὐλάβειαν τῆς ἐπηγγελμένης τιμωρίας κατηκολούθουν οἷς ὁ βασιλεὺς διετέτακτο, οἱ δὲ δοκιμώτατοι καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς εὐγενεῖς οὐκ ἐφρόντισαν αὐτοῦ, τῶν δὲ πατρίων ἐθῶν πλείονα λόγον ἔσχον ἢ τῆς τιμωρίας, ἣν οὐ πειθομένοις ἠπείλησεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν αἰκιζόμενοι καὶ πικρὰς βασάνους ὑπομένοντες ἀπέθνησκον. [256] καὶ γὰρ μαστιγούμενοι καὶ τὰ σώματα λυμαινόμενοι ζῶντες ἔτι καὶ ἐμπνέοντες ἀνεσταυροῦντο, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν, οὓς περιέτεμνον παρὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως προαίρεσιν, ἀπῆγχον ἐκ τῶν τραχήλων αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀνεσταυρωμένων γονέων ἀπαρτῶντες. ἠφανίζετο δ᾽ εἴ που βίβλος εὑρεθείη ἱερὰ καὶ νόμος, καὶ παρ᾽ οἷς εὑρέθη καὶ αὐτοὶ κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπώλλυντο.

4. Now it came to pass, after two years, in the hundred forty and fifth year, on the twenty-fifth day of that month which is by us called Chasleu, and by the Macedonians Apelleus, in the hundred and fifty-third olympiad, that the king came up to Jerusalem, and, pretending peace, he got possession of the city by treachery; at which time he spared not so much as those that admitted him into it, on account of the riches that lay in the temple; but, led by his covetous inclination, [for he saw there was in it a great deal of gold, and many ornaments that had been dedicated to it of very great value,] and in order to plunder its wealth, he ventured to break the league he had made. So he left the temple bare, and took away the golden candlesticks, and the golden altar [of incense], and table [of shew-bread], and the altar [of burnt-offering]; and did not abstain from even the veils, which were made of fine linen and scarlet. He also emptied it of its secret treasures, and left nothing at all remaining; and by this means cast the Jews into great lamentation, for he forbade them to offer those daily sacrifices which they used to offer to God, according to the law. And when he had pillaged the whole city, some of the inhabitants he slew, and some he carried captive, together with their wives and children, so that the multitude of those captives that were taken alive amounted to about ten thousand. He also burnt down the

finest buildings; and when he had overthrown the city walls, he built a citadel in the lower part of the city, for the place was high, and overlooked the temple; on which account he fortified it with high walls and towers, and put into it a garrison of Macedonians. However, in that citadel dwelt the impious and wicked part of the [Jewish] multitude, from whom it proved that the citizens suffered many and sore calamities. And when the king had built an idol altar upon God's altar, he slew swine upon it, and so offered a sacrifice neither according to the law, nor the Jewish religious worship in that country. He also compelled them to forsake the worship which they paid their own God, and to adore those whom he took to be gods; and made them build temples, and raise idol altars in every city and village, and offer swine upon them every day. He also commanded them not to circumcise their sons, and threatened to punish any that should be found to have transgressed his injunction. He also appointed overseers, who should compel them to do what he commanded. And indeed many Jews there were who complied with the king's commands, either voluntarily, or out of fear of the penalty that was denounced. But the best men, and those of the noblest souls, did not regard him, but did pay a greater respect to the customs of their country than concern as to the punishment which he threatened to the disobedient; on which account they every day underwent great miseries and bitter torments; for they were whipped with rods, and their bodies were torn to pieces, and were crucified, while they were still alive, and breathed. They also strangled those women and their sons whom they had circumcised, as the king had appointed, hanging their sons about their necks as they were upon the crosses. And if there were any sacred book of the law found, it was destroyed, and those with whom they were found miserably perished also.

(5) [257] Ταῦτα βλέποντες οἱ Σαμαρεῖται πάσχοντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους οὐκέθ' ὡμολόγουν αὐτοὺς εἶναι συγγενεῖς αὐτῶν οὐδὲ τὸν ἐν Γαριζεὶν ναὸν τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ, τῇ φύσει ποιοῦντες ἀκόλουθα, ἣν δεδηλώκαμεν, καὶ λέγοντες αὐτοὺς Μήδων ἀποίκους καὶ Περσῶν: καὶ γάρ εἰσιν τούτων ἄποικοι. [258] πέμψαντες οὖν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον πρέσβεις καὶ ἐπιστολὴν ἐδήλουν τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα: "βασιλεῖ Ἀντιόχῳ θεῷ ἐπιφανεῖ ὑπόμνημα παρὰ τῶν ἐν Σικίμοις Σιδωνίων. [259] οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι διά τινας αὐχμοὺς τῆς χώρας παρακολουθήσαντες ἀρχαίᾳ τινὶ δεισιδαιμονίᾳ ἔθος ἐποίησαν σέβειν τὴν παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις λεγομένην σαββάτων ἡμέραν, ἱδρυσάμενοι δὲ ἀνώνυμον ἐν τῷ Γαριζεὶν λεγομένῳ ὄρει ἱερὸν ἔθυον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὰς καθηκούσας θυσίας. [260] σοῦ δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τῆς πονηρίας αὐτῶν ἀξίως χρησαμένου, οἱ τὰ βασιλικὰ διοικοῦντες οἰόμενοι κατὰ συγγένειαν ἡμᾶς ταὐτὰ ποιεῖν ἐκείνοις ταῖς ὁμοίαις αἰτίαις περιάπτουσιν, ὄντων ἡμῶν τὸ ἀνέκαθεν Σιδωνίων, καὶ τοῦτο φανερόν

ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀναγραφῶν. [261] ἀξιοῦμεν οὖν σε τὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα προστάξαι Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ μεριδάρχῃ καὶ Νικάνορι τῷ τὰ βασιλικὰ πράττοντι μηδὲν ἡμῖν ἐνοχλεῖν προσάπτουσι τὰς τῶν Ἰουδαίων αἰτίας, ἡμῶν καὶ τῷ γένει καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσιν ἀλλοτρίων ὑπαρχόντων, προσαγορευθῆναι δὲ τὸ ἀνώνυμον ἱερὸν Διὸς Ἑλληνίου: γενομένου γὰρ τούτου παυσόμεθα μὲν ἐνοχλούμενοι, τοῖς δ᾽ ἔργοις μετὰ ἀδείας [262] προσανέχοντες μείζονάς σοι ποιήσομεν τὰς προσόδους.” ταῦτα τῶν Σαμαρέων δεηθέντων ἀντέγραψεν αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς τάδε: “βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Νικάνορι. οἱ ἐν Σικίμοις Σιδώνιοι ἐπέδωκαν τὸ κατακεχωρισμένον ὑπόμνημα. [263] ἐπεὶ οὖν συμβουλευομένοις ἡμῖν μετὰ τῶν φίλων παρέστησαν οἱ πεμφθέντες ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν, ὅτι μηδὲν τοῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐγκλήμασι προσήκουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ἔθεσιν αἱροῦνται χρώμενοι ζῆν, ἀπολύομέν τε αὐτοὺς τῶν αἰτιῶν, καὶ τὸ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἱερόν, καθάπερ ἠξιώκασι, προσαγορευθήτω Διὸς Ἑλ [264] ληνίου.” ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ μεριδάρχῃ ἐπέστειλεν ἕκτῳ ἔτει καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ μηνὸς Ἑκατομβαιῶνος Ὑρκανίου ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῃ.

5. When the Samaritans saw the Jews under these sufferings, they no longer confessed that they were of their kindred, nor that the temple on Mount Gerizzim belonged to Almighty God. This was according to their nature, as we have already shown. And they now said that they were a colony of Medes and Persians; and indeed they were a colony of theirs. So they sent ambassadors to Antiochus, and an epistle, whose contents are these: “To king Antiochus the god, Epiphanes, a memorial from the Sidonians, who live at Shechem. Our forefathers, upon certain frequent plagues, and as following a certain ancient superstition, had a custom of observing that day which by the Jews is called the Sabbath. And when they had erected a temple at the mountain called Gerrizzim, though without a name, they offered upon it the proper sacrifices. Now, upon the just treatment of these wicked Jews, those that manage their affairs, supposing that we were of kin to them, and practiced as they do, make us liable to the same accusations, although we be originally Sidonians, as is evident from the public records. We therefore beseech thee, our benefactor and Savior, to give order to Apollonius, the governor of this part of the country, and to Nicanor, the procurator of thy affairs, to give us no disturbance, nor to lay to our charge what the Jews are accused for, since we are aliens from their nation, and from their customs; but let our temple, which at present hath no name at all be named the Temple of Jupiter Hellenius. If this were once done, we should be no longer disturbed, but should be more intent on our own occupation with quietness, and so bring in a greater revenue to thee.” When the Samaritans had petitioned for this, the king sent them back the following answer, in an epistle: “King

Antiochus to Nicanor. The Sidonians, who live at Shechem, have sent me the memorial enclosed. When therefore we were advising with our friends about it, the messengers sent by them represented to us that they are no way concerned with accusations which belong to the Jews, but choose to live after the customs of the Greeks. Accordingly, we declare them free from such accusations, and order that, agreeable to their petition, their temple be named the Temple of Jupiter Hellenius." He also sent the like epistle to Apollonius, the governor of that part of the country, in the forty-sixth year, and the eighteenth day of the month Hecatorabeom.

VI

CHAPTER 6. How, Upon Antiochus's Prohibition To The Jews To Make Use Of The Laws Of Their Country Mattathias, The Son Of Asamoneus, Alone Despised The King, And Overcame The Generals Of Antiochus's Army; As Also Concerning The Death Of Mattathias, And The Succession Of Judas.

(1) [265] Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἦν τις οἰκῶν ἐν Μωδαὶ κώμῃ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ὄνομα Ματταθίας, υἱὸς Ἰωάννου τοῦ Συμεῶνος τοῦ Ἀσαμωναίου, ἱερεὺς ἐξ ἐφημερίδος Ἰώαβος, Ἱεροσολυμίτης. [266] ἦσαν δ' αὐτῷ υἱοὶ πέντε, Ἰωάννης ὁ καλούμενος Γάδδης καὶ Σίμων ὁ κληθεὶς Θάτις καὶ Ἰούδας ὁ καλούμενος Μακαβαῖος καὶ Ἐλεάζαρος ὁ κληθεὶς Αὐρὰν καὶ Ἰωνάθης ὁ κληθεὶς Ἀφφοῦς. [267] οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ματταθίας ἀπωδύρετο τοῖς τέκνοις τὴν κατάστασιν τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τήν τε τῆς πόλεως διαρπαγὴν καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τὴν σύλησιν καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τὰς συμφοράς, ἔλεγέν τε κρεῖττον αὐτοῖς εἶναι ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρίων νόμων ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ζῆν οὕτως ἀσεβῶς.

1. Now at this time there was one whose name was Mattathias, who dwelt at Modin, the son of John, the son of Simeon, the son of Asamoneus, a priest of the order of Joarib, and a citizen of Jerusalem. He had five sons; John, who was called Gaddis, and Simon, who was called Matthes, and Judas, who was called Maccabeus, and Eleazar, who was called Auran, and Jonathan, who was called Apphus. Now this Mattathias lamented to his children the sad state of their affairs, and the ravage made in the city, and the plundering of the temple, and the calamities the multitude were under; and he told them that it was better for them to die for the laws of their country, than to live so ingloriously as they then did.

(2) [268] Ἐλθόντων δὲ εἰς τὴν Μωδαὶν κώμην τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καθεσταμένων ἐπὶ τῷ ποιεῖν ἀναγκάζειν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἃ διετέτακτο καὶ θύειν τοὺς ἐκεῖ κελευόντων, ὡς ὁ βασιλεὺς κελεύσειεν, διά τε τὴν δόξαν τήν τε διὰ τὰ ἄλλα καὶ διὰ τὴν εὐπαιδίαν ἀξιούντων τὸν Ματταθίαν προκατάρχειν τῶν θυσιῶν, [269] κατακολουθήσειν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς πολίτας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τιμηθήσεσθαι πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως, ὁ Ματταθίας οὐκ ἔφασκεν ποιήσειν, οὐδ' εἰ τὰ πάντα ἔθνη τοῖς Ἀντιόχου προστάγμασιν ἢ διὰ φόβον ἢ δι' εὐαρέστησιν ὑπακούει, πεισθήσεσθαί ποτ' αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν τέκνων τὴν πάτριον θρησκείαν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν. [270] ὡς δὲ σιωπήσαντος αὐτοῦ προσελθών τις τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθυσεν εἰς μέσον καθ' ἃ

προσέταξεν Ἀντίοχος, θυμωθεὶς ὁ Ματταθίας ὥρμησεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν παίδων ἐχόντων κοπίδας καὶ αὐτόν τε ἐκεῖνον διέφθειρεν καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀπελλῆν, ὃς ἐπηνάγκαζεν, διεχρήσατο μετ᾽ ὀλίγων στρατιωτῶν, [271] καὶ τὸν βωμὸν καθελὼν ἀνέκραγεν, "εἴ τις ζηλωτὴς ἐστιν τῶν πατρίων ἐθῶν καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείας, ἐπέσθω, φησίν, ἐμοί," καὶ ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ἐξώρμησεν καταλιπὼν ἅπασαν τὴν αὐτοῦ κτῆσιν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ. [272] τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ καὶ ἄλλοι ποιήσαντες μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν ἔφυγον εἰς τὴν ἔρημον καὶ ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις διῆγον. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦθ᾽ οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατηγοὶ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ὅσην εἶναι συνέβαινεν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἀναλαβόντες ἐδίωξαν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον τοὺς Ἰουδαίους. [273] καὶ καταλαβόντες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτοὺς ἐπεχείρουν πείθειν μετανοήσαντας αἱρεῖσθαι τὰ συμφέροντα καὶ μὴ προσάγειν αὐτοῖς ἀνάγκην, ὥστ᾽ αὐτοῖς χρήσασθαι πολέμου νόμῳ: [274] μὴ προσδεχομένων δὲ τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλὰ τἀναντία φρονούντων, συμβάλλουσιν αὐτοῖς εἰς μάχην σαββάτων ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ὡς εἶχον οὕτως ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις αὐτοὺς κατέφλεξαν οὐδὲ ἀμυνομένους ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τὰς εἰσόδους ἐμφράξαντας: τοῦ δὲ ἀμύνασθαι διὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀπέσχοντο μηδ᾽ ἐν κακοῖς παραβῆναι τὴν τοῦ σαββάτου τιμὴν θελήσαντες: ἀργεῖν γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐν αὐτῇ νόμιμόν ἐστιν. [275] ἀπέθανον μὲν οὖν σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἐμπνιγέντες τοῖς σπηλαίοις ὡσεὶ χίλιοι, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ διασωθέντες τῷ Ματταθίᾳ προσέθεντο κἀκεῖνον ἄρχοντα ἀπέδειξαν. [276] ὁ δὲ καὶ σαββάτοις αὐτοὺς ἐδίδαξε μάχεσθαι λέγων, ὡς εἰ μὴ ποιήσουσι τοῦτο φυλαττόμενοι τὸ νόμιμον, αὐτοῖς ἔσονται πολέμιοι, τῶν μὲν ἐχθρῶν κατ᾽ ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτοῖς προσβαλλόντων, αὐτῶν δ᾽ οὐκ ἀμυνομένων, κωλύσειν τε μηδὲν οὕτως ἀμαχητὶ πάντας ἀπολέσθαι. [277] ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν ἔπεισεν αὐτούς, καὶ ἄχρι δεῦρο μένει παρ᾽ ἡμῖν τὸ καὶ σαββάτοις, εἴ ποτε δεήσειεν, μάχεσθαι. [278] ποιήσας οὖν δύναμιν πολλὴν περὶ αὐτὸν Ματταθίας τούς τε βωμοὺς καθεῖλεν καὶ τοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντας ἀπέκτεινεν, ὅσους λαβεῖν ὑποχειρίους ἠδυνήθη: πολλοὶ γὰρ δι᾽ εὐλάβειαν διεσπάρησαν εἰς τὰ πέριξ ἔθνη: τῶν τε παίδων τοὺς οὐ περιτετμημένους ἐκέλευσε περιτέμνεσθαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ κωλύειν καθεσταμένους ἐκβαλών.

2. But when those that were appointed by the king were come to Modin, that they might compel the Jews to do what they were commanded, and to enjoin those that were there to offer sacrifice, as the king had commanded, they desired that Mattathias, a person of the greatest character among them, both on other accounts, and particularly on account of such a numerous and so deserving a family of children, would begin the sacrifice, because his fellow citizens would follow his example, and because such a procedure would make him honored by the king. But Mattathias said he would not do it; and that if all the other nations would obey the commands of Antiochus, either out of fear, or to please him, yet

would not he nor his sons leave the religious worship of their country. But as soon as he had ended his speech, there came one of the Jews into the midst of them, and sacrificed, as Antiochus had commanded. At which Mattathias had great indignation, and ran upon him violently, with his sons, who had swords with them, and slew both the man himself that sacrificed, and Apelles the king's general, who compelled them to sacrifice, with a few of his soldiers. He also overthrew the idol altar, and cried out, "If," said he, "any one be zealous for the laws of his country, and for the worship of God, let him follow me." And when he had said this, he made haste into the desert with his sons, and left all his substance in the village. Many others did the same also, and fled with their children and wives into the desert, and dwelt in caves. But when the king's generals heard this, they took all the forces they then had in the citadel at Jerusalem, and pursued the Jews into the desert; and when they had overtaken them, they in the first place endeavored to persuade them to repent, and to choose what was most for their advantage, and not put them to the necessity of using them according to the law of war. But when they would not comply with their persuasions, but continued to be of a different mind, they fought against them on the sabbath day, and they burnt them as they were in the caves, without resistance, and without so much as stopping up the entrances of the caves. And they avoided to defend themselves on that day, because they were not willing to break in upon the honor they owed the sabbath, even in such distresses; for our law requires that we rest upon that day. There were about a thousand, with their wives and children, who were smothered and died in these caves; but many of those that escaped joined themselves to Mattathias, and appointed him to be their ruler, who taught them to fight, even on the sabbath day; and told them that unless they would do so, they would become their own enemies, by observing the law [so rigorously], while their adversaries would still assault them on this day, and they would not then defend themselves, and that nothing could then hinder but they must all perish without fighting. This speech persuaded them. And this rule continues among us to this day, that if there be a necessity, we may fight on sabbath days. So Mattathias got a great army about him, and overthrew their idol altars, and slew those that broke the laws, even all that he could get under his power; for many of them were dispersed among the nations round about them for fear of him. He also commanded that those boys which were not yet circumcised should be circumcised now; and he drove those away that were appointed to hinder such their circumcision.

(3) [279] Ἄρξας δ' ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ καταπεσὼν εἰς νόσον προσκαλεῖται τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ περιστησάμενος αὐτοὺς "ἐγὼ μέν, εἶπεν, ὦ παῖδες, ἄπειμι τὴν εἱμαρμένην

πορείαν, παρατίθεμαι δ᾽ ὑμῖν τοὐμὸν φρόνημα καὶ παρακαλῶ μὴ γενέσθαι κακοὺς αὐτοῦ φύλακας, [280] ἀλλὰ μεμνημένους τῆς τοῦ φύσαντος ὑμᾶς καὶ θρεψαμένου προαιρέσεως ἔθη τε σώζειν τὰ πάτρια καὶ κινδυνεύουσαν οἴχεσθαι τὴν ἀρχαίαν πολιτείαν ἀνακτᾶσθαι μὴ συμφερομένους τοῖς ἢ διὰ βούλησιν ἢ δι᾽ ἀνάγκην προδιδοῦσιν αὐτήν, [281] ἀλλ᾽ ἀξιῶ παῖδας ὄντας ἐμοὺς ἐμμεῖναι καὶ βίας ἀπάσης καὶ ἀνάγκης ἐπάνω γενέσθαι, τὰς ψυχὰς οὕτω παρασκευασαμένους, ὥστ᾽ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων, ἂν δέῃ, λογιζομένους τοῦθ᾽, ὅτι τὸ θεῖον τοιούτους ὑμᾶς ὁρῶν οὐχ ὑπερόψεται, τῆς δ᾽ ἀρετῆς ἀγασάμενον ἀποδώσει πάλιν ὑμῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἐν ᾗ ζήσεσθε μετ᾽ ἀδείας τῶν ἰδίων ἀπολαύοντες ἐθῶν, ἀποκαταστήσει: [282] θνητὰ μὲν γὰρ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπίκηρα, τῇ δὲ τῶν ἔργων μνήμῃ τάξιν ἀθανασίας λαμβάνομεν, ἧς ἐρασθέντας ὑμᾶς βούλομαι διώκειν τὴν εὔκλειαν καὶ τὰ μέγιστα ὑφισταμένους μὴ ὀκνεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπολιπεῖν τὸν βίον. [283] μάλιστα δ᾽ ὑμῖν ὁμονοεῖν παραινῶ καὶ πρὸς ὅ τις ὑμῶν πέφυκεν ἀμείνων θατέρου πρὸς τοῦτ᾽ εἴκοντας ἀλλήλοις οἰκείαις χρῆσθαι ταῖς ἀρεταῖς. καὶ Σίμωνα μὲν τὸν ἀδελφὸν συνέσει προύχοντα πατέρα ἡγεῖσθε καὶ οἷς ἂν οὗτος συμβουλεύσῃ πείθεσθε, [284] Μακαβαῖον δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς δι᾽ ἀνδρείαν καὶ ἰσχὺν στρατηγὸν ἕξετε: τὸ γὰρ ἔθνος οὗτος ἐκδικήσει καὶ ἀμυνεῖται τοὺς πολεμίους. προσίεσθε δὲ καὶ τοὺς δικαίους καὶ θεοσεβεῖς καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν αὔξετε.”

3. But when he had ruled one year, and was fallen into a distemper, he called for his sons, and set them round about him, and said, “O my sons, I am going the way of all the earth; and I recommend to you my resolution, and beseech you not to be negligent in keeping it, but to be mindful of the desires of him who begat you, and brought you up, and to preserve the customs of your country, and to recover your ancient form of government, which is in danger of being overturned, and not to be carried away with those that, either by their own inclination, or out of necessity, betray it, but to become such sons as are worthy of me; to be above all force and necessity, and so to dispose your souls, as to be ready, when it shall be necessary, to die for your laws; as sensible of this, by just reasoning, that if God see that you are so disposed he will not overlook you, but will have a great value for your virtue, and will restore to you again what you have lost, and will return to you that freedom in which you shall live quietly, and enjoy your own customs. Your bodies are mortal, and subject to fate; but they receive a sort of immortality, by the remembrance of what actions they have done. And I would have you so in love with this immortality, that you may pursue after glory, and that, when you have undergone the greatest difficulties, you may not scruple, for such things, to lose your lives. I exhort you, especially, to agree one with another; and in what excellency any one of you exceeds

another, to yield to him so far, and by that means to reap the advantage of every one's own virtues. Do you then esteem Simon as your father, because he is a man of extraordinary prudence, and be governed by him in what counsels be gives you. Take Maccabeus for the general of your army, because of his courage and strength, for he will avenge your nation, and will bring vengeance on your enemies. Admit among you the righteous and religious, and augment their power."

(4) [285] Ταῦτα διαλεχθεὶς τοῖς παισὶν καὶ τὸν θεὸν εὐξάμενος σύμμαχον αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι καὶ τῷ λαῷ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀνασῶσαι πάλιν τοῦ βίου συνήθειαν, μετ' οὐ πολὺ τελευτᾷ, καὶ θάπτεται μὲν ἐν Μωδαὶ πένθος ἐπ' αὐτῷ μέγα παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ ποιησαμένου, διεδέξατο δὲ τὴν προστασίαν τῶν πραγμάτων ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Ἰούδας ὁ καὶ Μακκαβαῖος ἑκατοστῷ ἔτει καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ ἕκτῳ. [286] συναραμένων δ' αὐτῷ προθύμως τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τούς τε πολεμίους ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ τοὺς παρανομήσαντας τῶν ὁμοφύλων εἰς τὰ πάτρια διεχρήσατο καὶ ἐκαθάρισεν ἀπὸ παντὸς μιάσματος τὴν γῆν.

4. When Mattathias had thus discoursed to his sons, and had prayed to God to be their assistant, and to recover to the people their former constitution, he died a little afterward, and was buried at Modin; all the people making great lamentation for him. Whereupon his son Judas took upon him the administration of public affairs, in the hundred forty and sixth year; and thus, by the ready assistance of his brethren, and of others, Judas cast their enemies out of the country, and put those of their own country to death who had transgressed its laws, and purified the land of all the pollutions that were in it.

VII

CHAPTER 7. How Judas Overthrew The Forces Of Apollonius And Seron And Killed The Generals Of Their Armies Themselves; And How When, A Little While Afterwards Lysias And Gorgias Were Beaten He Went Up To Jerusalem And Purified The Temple.

(1) [287] Ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ τῆς Σαμαρείας στρατηγὸς ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν. ὁ δὲ ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ καὶ συμβαλὼν κρατεῖ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, οὗ καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν, ᾗ χρῆσθαι συνέβαινεν ἐκεῖνον, σκυλεύσας αὐτὸς εἶχεν, πλείους δὲ τραυματίας ἐποίησεν καὶ πολλὴν λείαν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου λαβὼν τῶν πολεμίων ἀνεχώρησεν. [288] Σήρων δ᾽ ὁ τῆς κοίλης Συρίας στρατηγός, ἀκούσας ὅτι πολλοὶ προσκεχωρήκασιν τῷ Ἰούδᾳ καὶ δύναμιν ἤδη περιβέβληται πρὸς ἀγῶνας καὶ πολέμους ἀξιόλογον, ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἔγνω στρατεύσασθαι προσήκειν ὑπολαμβάνων τοὺς εἰς τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως προστάγματα παρανομοῦντας πειρᾶσθαι κολάζειν. [289] συναγαγὼν οὖν δύναμιν ὅση παρῆν αὐτῷ, προσκαταλέξας δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοὺς φυγάδας καὶ ἀσεβεῖς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν παρεγίγνετο: προελθὼν δὲ ἄχρι Βαιθώρων κώμης τῆς Ἰουδαίας αὐτόθι στρατοπεδεύεται. [290] ὁ δὲ Ἰούδας ἀπαντήσας αὐτῷ καὶ συμβαλεῖν προαιρούμενος, ἐπεὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἑώρα πρὸς τὴν μάχην διά τε τὴν ὀλιγότητα καὶ δι᾽ ἀσιτίαν, νενηστεύκεσαν γάρ, ὀκνοῦντας, παρεθάρσυνεν λέγων οὐκ ἐν τῷ πλήθει τὸ νικᾶν εἶναι καὶ κρατεῖν τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβεῖν. [291] καὶ τούτου σαφέστατον ἔχειν παράδειγμα τοὺς προγόνους, οἳ διὰ δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων νόμων καὶ τέκνων ἀγωνίζεσθαι πολλὰς πολλάκις ἥττησαν μυριάδας: τὸ γὰρ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν ἰσχυρὰ δύναμις. [292] ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν πείθει τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ καταφρονήσαντας τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἐναντίων ὁμόσε χωρῆσαι τῷ Σήρωνι, καὶ συμβαλὼν τρέπει τοὺς Σύρους: πεσόντος γὰρ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πάντες φεύγειν ὥρμησαν, ὡς ἐν τούτῳ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς ἀποκειμένης. ἐπιδιώκων δ᾽ ἄχρι τοῦ πεδίου κτείνει τῶν πολεμίων ὡσεὶ ὀκτακοσίους: οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διεσώθησαν εἰς τὴν παραλίαν.

1. When Apollonius, the general of the Samaritan forces, heard this, he took his army, and made haste to go against Judas, who met him, and joined battle with him, and beat him, and slew many of his men, and among them Apollonius himself, their general, whose sword being that which he happened then to wear, he seized upon, and kept for himself; but he wounded more than he slew, and

took a great deal of prey from the enemy's camp, and went his way. But when Seron, who was general of the army of Celesyria, heard that many had joined themselves to Judas, and that he had about him an army sufficient for fighting, and for making war, he determined to make an expedition against him, as thinking it became him to endeavor to punish those that transgressed the king's injunctions. He then got together an army, as large as he was able, and joined to it the runagate and wicked Jews, and came against Judas. He came as far as Bethhoron, a village of Judea, and there pitched his camp; upon which Judas met him; and when he intended to give him battle, he saw that his soldiers were backward to fight, because their number was small, and because they wanted food, for they were fasting, he encouraged them, and said to them, that victory and conquest of enemies are not derived from the multitude in armies, but in the exercise of piety towards God; and that they had the plainest instances in their forefathers, who, by their righteousness, exerting themselves on behalf of their own laws, and their own children, had frequently conquered many ten thousands, — for innocence is the strongest army. By this speech he induced his men to condemn the multitude of the enemy, and to fall upon Seron. And upon joining battle with him, he beat the Syrians; and when their general fell among the rest, they all ran away with speed, as thinking that to be their best way of escaping. So he pursued them unto the plain, and slew about eight hundred of the enemy; but the rest escaped to the region which lay near to the sea.

(2) [293] Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος μεγάλως ὠργίσθη τοῖς γεγενημένοις, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκείαν δύναμιν ἀθροίσας καὶ πολλοὺς ἐκ τῶν νήσων μισθοφόρους παραλαβὼν ἡτοιμάζετο περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἔαρος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐμβαλεῖν. [294] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν διανείμας ἑώρα τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἐπιλείποντας καὶ χρημάτων ἔνδειαν οὖσαν, οὔτε γὰρ οἱ φόροι πάντες ἐτελοῦντο διὰ τὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν στάσεις μεγαλόψυχός τε ὢν καὶ φιλόδωρος οὐκ ἠρκεῖτο τοῖς οὖσιν, ἔγνω πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Περσίδα πορευθεὶς τοὺς φόρους τῆς χώρας συναγαγεῖν. [295] καταλιπὼν οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων Λυσίαν τινὰ δόξαν ἔχοντα παρ' αὐτῷ, Καὶ τὰ μέχρι τῶν Αἰγύπτου ὅρων καὶ τῆς κάτωθεν Ἀσίας ἀπ' Εὐφράτου διήκοντα ποταμοῦ καὶ μέρος τι τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων, [296] τρέφειν μὲν Ἀντίοχον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ μετὰ πάσης φροντίδος ἐνετείλατο ἕως ἂν οὗ παραγένηται, καταστρεψάμενον δὲ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ τοὺς οἰκοῦντας αὐτὴν ἐξανδραποδισάμενον ἀφανίσαι τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ἀπολέσαι. [297] καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπιστείλας τῷ Λυσίᾳ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος ἐξήλασεν εἰς τὴν Περσίδα τῷ ἑκατοστῷ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ ἑβδόμῳ ἔτει, καὶ περαιωσάμενος τὸν Εὐφράτην ἀνέβαινεν πρὸς τοὺς ἄνω σατράπας.

2. When king Antiochus heard of these things, he was very angry at what had happened; so he got together all his own army, with many mercenaries, whom he had hired from the islands, and took them with him, and prepared to break into Judea about the beginning of the spring. But when, upon his mustering his soldiers, he perceived that his treasures were deficient, and there was a want of money in them, for all the taxes were not paid, by reason of the seditions there had been among the nations he having been so magnanimous and so liberal, that what he had was not sufficient for him, he therefore resolved first to go into Persia, and collect the taxes of that country. Hereupon he left one whose name was Lysias, who was in great repute with him governor of the kingdom, as far as the bounds of Egypt, and of the Lower Asia, and reaching from the river Euphrates, and committed to him a certain part of his forces, and of his elephants, and charged him to bring up his son Antiochus with all possible care, until he came back; and that he should conquer Judea, and take its inhabitants for slaves, and utterly destroy Jerusalem, and abolish the whole nation. And when king Antiochus had given these things in charge to Lysias, he went into Persia; and in the hundred and forty-seventh year he passed over Euphrates, and went to the superior provinces.

(3) [298] Ὁ δὲ Λυσίας ἐπιλεξάμενος Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Δορυμένους καὶ Νικάνορα καὶ Γοργίαν, ἄνδρας δυνατοὺς τῶν φίλων τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ παραδοὺς αὐτοῖς πεζῆς μὲν δυνάμεως μυριάδας τέσσαρας, ἱππεῖς δὲ ἑπτακισχιλίους, ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν. οἱ δὲ ἄχρις Ἐμμαοῦ πόλεως ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τῇ πεδινῇ καταστρατοπεδεύονται. [299] προσγίγνονται δ᾽ αὐτοῖς σύμμαχοι ἀπό τε τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς πέριξ χώρας καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν πεφευγότων Ἰουδαίων, ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ τῶν ἐμπόρων τινὲς ὡς ὠνησόμενοι τοὺς αἰχμαλωτισθησομένους, πέδας μὲν κομίζοντες αἷς δήσουσιν τοὺς ληφθησομένους, ἄργυρον δὲ καὶ χρυσὸν τιμὴν αὐτῶν καταθησόμενοι. [300] τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐναντίων Ἰούδας κατανοήσας ἔπειθε τοὺς οἰκείους στρατιώτας θαρρεῖν καὶ παρεκελεύετο τὰς ἐλπίδας τῆς νίκης ἔχοντας ἐν τῷ θεῷ τοῦτον ἱκετεύειν τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ σάκκους περιθεμένους, καὶ τὸ σύνηθες αὐτῷ σχῆμα τῆς ἱκεσίας παρὰ τοὺς μεγάλους κινδύνους ἐπιδείξαντας τούτῳ δυσωπῆσαι παρασχεῖν αὐτοῖς τὸ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κράτος. [301] διατάξας δὲ τὸν ἀρχαῖον αὐτοὺς τρόπον καὶ πάτριον κατὰ χιλιάρχους καὶ ταξιάρχους καὶ τοὺς νεογάμους ἀπολύσας καὶ τοὺς τὰς κτήσεις νεωστὶ πεποιημένους, ὅπως μὴ διὰ τὴν τούτων ἀπόλαυσιν φιλοζωοῦντες ἀτολμότερον μάχωνται, καταστὰς τοιούτοις παρώρμα λόγοις πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα τοὺς αὐτοῦ στρατιώτας: [302] “καιρὸς μὲν [οὖν] ὑμῖν οὐκ ἄλλος ἀναγκαιότερος τοῦ παρόντος, ὦ ἑταῖροι, εἰς εὐψυχίαν καὶ κινδύνων καταφρόνησιν καταλείπεται: νῦν γὰρ ἔστιν ἀνδρείως ἀγωνισαμένοις τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολαβεῖν,

ἣν καὶ δι᾽ αὐτὴν ἅπασιν ἀγαπητὴν οὖσαν ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ ἐξουσίας τοῦ θρησκεύειν τὸ θεῖον ποθεινοτέραν εἶναι συμβέβηκεν. [303] ὡς οὖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι κειμένων ὑμῖν ταύτην τε ἀπολαβεῖν καὶ τὸν εὐδαίμονα καὶ μακάριον βίον ἀνακτήσασθαι, οὗτος δ᾽ ἦν ὁ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν πάτριον συνήθειαν, ἢ τὰ αἴσχιστα παθεῖν καὶ μηδὲ σπέρμα τοῦ γένους ὑμῶν ὑπολειφθῆναι κακῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ γενομένων, [304] οὕτως ἀγωνίζεσθε, τὸ μὲν ἀποθανεῖν καὶ μὴ πολεμοῦσιν ὑπάρξον ἡγούμενοι, τὸ δ᾽ ὑπὲρ τηλικούτων ἐπάθλων, ἐλευθερίας πατρίδος νόμων εὐσεβείας, αἰώνιον τὴν εὔκλειαν κατασκευάσειν πεπιστευκότες: ἑτοιμάζεσθε τοιγαροῦν οὕτως τὰς ψυχὰς ὡς αὔριον ἅμ᾽ ἡμέρᾳ συμβαλοῦντες τοῖς πολεμίοις.”

3. Upon this Lysias chose Ptolemy, the son of Dorymenes, and Nicanor, and Gorgias, very potent men among the king’s friends, and delivered to them forty thousand foot soldiers, and seven thousand horsemen, and sent them against Judea, who came as far as the city Emmaus, and pitched their camp in the plain country. There came also to them auxiliaries out of Syria, and the country round about; as also many of the runagate Jews. And besides these came some merchants to buy those that should be carried captives, [having bonds with them to bind those that should be made prisoners,] with that silver and gold which they were to pay for their price. And when Judas saw their camp, and how numerous their enemies were, he persuaded his own soldiers to be of good courage, and exhorted them to place their hopes of victory in God, and to make supplication to him, according to the custom of their country, clothed in sackcloth; and to show what was their usual habit of supplication in the greatest dangers, and thereby to prevail with God to grant you the victory over your enemies. So he set them in their ancient order of battle used by their forefathers, under their captains of thousands, and other officers, and dismissed such as were newly married, as well as those that had newly gained possessions, that they might not fight in a cowardly manner, out of an inordinate love of life, in order to enjoy those blessings. When he had thus disposed his soldiers, he encouraged them to fight by the following speech, which he made to them: “O my fellow soldiers, no other time remains more opportune than the present for courage and contempt of dangers; for if you now fight manfully, you may recover your liberty, which, as it is a thing of itself agreeable to all men, so it proves to be to us much more desirable, by its affording us the liberty of worshipping God. Since therefore you are in such circumstances at present, you must either recover that liberty, and so regain a happy and blessed way of living, which is that according to our laws, and the customs of our country, or to submit to the most opprobrious sufferings; nor will any seed of your nation remain if you be beat in this battle. Fight therefore manfully; and suppose that you must die, though you

do not fight; but believe, that besides such glorious rewards as those of the liberty of your country, of your laws, of your religion, you shall then obtain everlasting glory. Prepare yourselves, therefore, and put yourselves into such an agreeable posture, that you may be ready to fight with the enemy as soon as it is day tomorrow morning."

(4) [305] Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰούδας ταῦτα παραθαρσύνων τὴν στρατιὰν ἔλεξεν. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων πεμψάντων Γοργίαν μετὰ πεντακισχιλίων πεζῶν καὶ χιλίων ἱππέων, ὅπως διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιπέσῃ τῷ Ἰούδᾳ, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ὁδηγοὺς ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ τινας τῶν πεφευγότων Ἰουδαίων, αἰσθόμενος ὁ τοῦ Ματταθίου παῖς ἔγνω καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιπεσεῖν καὶ ταῦτα διῃρημένης αὐτῶν τῆς δυνάμεως. [306] καθ' ὥραν οὖν δειπνοποιησάμενος καὶ πολλὰ πυρὰ καταλιπὼν ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου δι' ὅλης ὤδευε τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἐμμαοῖ τῶν πολεμίων. οὐχ εὑρὼν δ' ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὁ Γοργίας, ἀλλ' ὑπονοήσας ἀναχωρήσαντας αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι κεκρύφθαι, πορευθεὶς ἔγνω ζητεῖν, ὅπου ποτ' εἶεν. [307] περὶ δὲ τὸν ὄρθρον ἐπιφαίνεται τοῖς ἐν Ἐμμαοῖ πολεμίοις ὁ Ἰούδας μετὰ τρισχιλίων φαύλως ὡπλισμένων διὰ πενίαν, καὶ θεασάμενος τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἄριστα πεφραγμένους καὶ μετ' ἐμπειρίας πολλῆς ἐστρατοπεδευμένους, προτρεψάμενος τοὺς ἰδίους, ὡς καὶ γυμνοῖς τοῖς σώμασιν μάχεσθαι δεῖ καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἤδη που καὶ τοῖς οὕτως ἔχουσιν τὸ κατὰ τῶν πλειόνων καὶ ὡπλισμένων κράτος ἔδωκεν ἀγασάμενον αὐτοὺς τῆς εὐψυχίας, ἐκέλευσε σημῆναι τοὺς σαλπιγκτάς. [308] ἔπειτ' ἐμπεσὼν ἀπροσδοκήτοις τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ ἐκπλήξας αὐτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ ταράξας πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν ἀνθισταμένους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς διώκων ἦλθεν ἄχρι Γαζάρων καὶ τῶν πεδίων τῆς Ἰδουμαίας καὶ Ἀζώτου καὶ Ἰαμνείας: ἔπεσόν τε αὐτῶν ὡς περὶ τρισχιλίους. [309] Ἰούδας δὲ τῶν μὲν σκύλων παρεκελεύετο μὴ ἐπιθυμεῖν τοὺς αὐτοῦ στρατιώτας: ἔτι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀγῶνά τινα καὶ μάχην [εἶναι] πρὸς Γοργίαν καὶ τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμιν: κρατήσαντας δὲ καὶ τούτων τότε σκυλεύσειν ἐπ' ἀδείας ἔλεγεν τοῦτο μόνον ἔχοντας καὶ μηδὲν ἕτερον ἐκδεχομένους. [310] ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ διαλεγομένου ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας ὑπερκύψαντες οἱ τοῦ Γοργίου τὴν μὲν στρατιὰν ἣν ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ κατέλιπον ὁρῶσιν τετραμμένην, τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον ἐμπεπρησμένον: ὁ γὰρ καπνὸς αὐτοῖς πόρρωθεν οὖσιν τοῦ συμβεβηκότος δήλωσιν ἔφερεν. [311] ὡς οὖν ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχοντα ἔμαθον οἱ σὺν Γοργίᾳ καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Ἰούδου πρὸς παράταξιν ἑτοίμους κατενόησαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ δείσαντες εἰς φυγὴν ἐτράπησαν. [312] ὁ δὲ Ἰούδας ὡς ἀμαχητὶ τῶν μετὰ Γοργίου στρατιωτῶν ἡττημένων ὑποστρέψας ἀνῃρεῖτο τὰ σκῦλα, πολὺν δὲ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ πορφύραν καὶ ὑάκινθον λαβὼν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ὑπέστρεψε χαίρων καὶ ὑμνῶν τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατωρθωμένοις: οὐ μικρὰ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ νίκη πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν συνεβάλλετο.

4. And this was the speech which Judas made to encourage them. But when the enemy sent Gorgias, with five thousand foot and one thousand horse, that he might fall upon Judas by night, and had for that purpose certain of the runagate Jews as guides, the son of Mattathias perceived it, and resolved to fall upon those enemies that were in their camp, now their forces were divided. When they had therefore supped in good time, and had left many fires in their camp, he marched all night to those enemies that were at Emmaus. So that when Gorgias found no enemy in their camp, but suspected that they were retired, and had hidden themselves among the mountains, he resolved to go and seek them wheresoever they were. But about break of day Judas appeared to those enemies that were at Emmaus, with only three thousand men, and those ill armed, by reason of their poverty; and when he saw the enemy very well and skillfully fortified in their camp, he encouraged the Jews, and told them that they ought to fight, though it were with their naked bodies, for that God had sometimes of old given such men strength, and that against such as were more in number, and were armed also, out of regard to their great courage. So he commanded the trumpeters to sound for the battle; and by thus falling upon the enemies when they did not expect it, and thereby astonishing and disturbing their minds, he slew many of those that resisted him, and went on pursuing the rest as far as Gadara, and the plains of Idumea, and Ashdod, and Jamnia; and of these there fell about three thousand. Yet did Judas exhort his soldiers not to be too desirous of the spoils, for that still they must have a contest and battle with Gorgias, and the forces that were with him; but that when they had once overcome them, then they might securely plunder the camp, because they were the only enemies remaining, and they expected no others. And just as he was speaking to his soldiers, Gorgias's men looked down into that army which they left in their camp, and saw that it was overthrown, and the camp burnt; for the smoke that arose from it showed them, even when they were a great way off, what had happened. When therefore those that were with Gorgias understood that things were in this posture, and perceived that those that were with Judas were ready to fight them, they also were affrighted, and put to flight; but then Judas, as though he had already beaten Gorgias's soldiers without fighting, returned and seized on the spoils. He took a great quantity of gold, and silver, and purple, and blue, and then returned home with joy, and singing hymns to God for their good success; for this victory greatly contributed to the recovery of their liberty.

(5) [313] Λυσίας δὲ συγχυθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἐκπεμφθέντων ἥττῃ τῷ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἀθροίσας ἓξ καὶ πεντακισχιλίους λαβὼν ἱππεῖς ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, καὶ ἀναβὰς εἰς τὴν ὀρεινὴν ἐν Βεθσούροις κώμῃ τῆς

Ἰουδαίας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο. [314] ἀπήντησε δὲ μετὰ μυρίων Ἰούδας, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἰδὼν τῶν πολεμίων σύμμαχον ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὸν θεὸν εὐξάμενος, συμβαλὼν τοῖς προδρόμοις τῶν πολεμίων νικᾷ τούτους καὶ φονεύσας αὐτῶν ὡς πεντακισχιλίους τοῖς λοιποῖς ἦν ἐπίφοβος. [315] ἀμέλει κατανοήσας ὁ Λυσίας τὸ φρόνημα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὡς ἕτοιμοι τελευτᾶν εἰσιν, εἰ μὴ ζήσουσιν ἐλεύθεροι, καὶ δείσας αὐτῶν τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν ὡς ἰσχύν, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν λοιπὴν δύναμιν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ διέτριβεν ἐκεῖ ξενολογῶν καὶ παρασκευαζόμενος μετὰ μείζονος στρατιᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐμβαλεῖν.

5. Hereupon Lysias was confounded at the defeat of the army which he had sent, and the next year he got together sixty thousand chosen men. He also took five thousand horsemen, and fell upon Judea; and he went up to the hill country of Bethsur, a village of Judea, and pitched his camp there, where Judas met him with ten thousand men; and when he saw the great number of his enemies, he prayed to God that he would assist him, and joined battle with the first of the enemy that appeared, and beat them, and slew about five thousand of them, and thereby became terrible to the rest of them. Nay, indeed, Lysias observing the great spirit of the Jews, how they were prepared to die rather than lose their liberty, and being afraid of their desperate way of fighting, as if it were real strength, he took the rest of the army back with him, and returned to Antioch, where he listed foreigners into the service, and prepared to fall upon Judea with a greater army.

(6) [316] Τοσαυτάκις οὖν ἡττημένων ἤδη τῶν Ἀντιόχου τοῦ βασιλέως στρατηγῶν ὁ Ἰούδας ἐκκλησιάσας ἔλεγεν μετὰ πολλὰς νίκας, ἃς ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν, ἀναβῆναι δεῖν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸν ναὸν καθαρίσαι καὶ τὰς νενομισμένας θυσίας προσφέρειν. [317] ὡς δὲ παραγενόμενος μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τὸν ναὸν ἔρημον εὗρεν καὶ καταπεπρησμένας τὰς πύλας καὶ φυτὰ διὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν αὐτόματα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀναβεβλαστηκότα, θρηνεῖν ἤρξατο μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπὶ τῇ ὄψει τοῦ ναοῦ συγχυθείς. [318] ἐπιλεξάμενος δέ τινας τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν προσέταξε τούτοις ἐκπολεμῆσαι τοὺς τὴν ἄκραν φυλάττοντας, ἄχρι τὸν ναὸν αὐτὸς ἁγνίσειεν. καὶ καθάρας ἐπιμελῶς αὐτὸν εἰσεκόμισε καινὰ σκεύη, λυχνίαν τράπεζαν βωμόν, ἐκ χρυσοῦ πεποιημένα, ἀπήρτησεν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐμπετάσματα τῶν θυρῶν καὶ τὰς θύρας αὐτὰς ἐπέθηκεν, καθελὼν δὲ καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον καινὸν ἐκ λίθων συμμίκτων ᾠκοδόμησεν οὐ λελαξευμένων ὑπὸ σιδήρου. [319] πέμπτῃ δὲ καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ Ἐξελέου μηνός, ὃν οἱ Μακεδόνες Ἀπελλαῖον καλοῦσιν, ἦψάν τε φῶτα ἐπὶ τῆς λυχνίας καὶ ἐθυμίασαν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ ἄρτους ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν ἐπέθεσαν καὶ ὡλοκαύτησαν ἐπὶ τοῦ καινοῦ θυσιαστηρίου. [320] ἔτυχεν δὲ ταῦτα κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν γίνεσθαι, καθ᾽ ἣν καὶ μετέπεσεν αὐτῶν ἡ ἅγιος θρησκεία εἰς βέβηλον καὶ κοινὴν συνήθειαν μετὰ ἔτη

τρία: τὸν γὰρ ναὸν ἐρημωθέντα ὑπὸ Ἀντιόχου διαμεῖναι τοιοῦτον ἔτεσι συνέβη τρισίν: [321] ἔτει γὰρ πέμπτῳ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ ἑκατοστῷ ταῦτα περὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐγένετο, πέμπτῃ δὲ καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ Ἀπελλαίου μηνὸς ὀλυμπιάδι ἑκατοστῇ καὶ πεντηκοστῇ καὶ τρίτῃ, ἀνενεώθη δὲ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν πέμπτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τοῦ Ἀπελλαίου μηνὸς ὀγδόῳ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ ἑκατοστῷ ἔτει ὀλυμπιάδι ἑκατοστῇ καὶ πεντηκοστῇ καὶ τετάρτῃ. [322] τὴν δ᾽ ἐρήμωσιν τοῦ ναοῦ συνέβη γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν Δανιήλου προφητείαν πρὸ τετρακοσίων καὶ ὀκτὼ γενομένην ἐτῶν: ἐδήλωσεν γάρ, ὅτι Μακεδόνες καταλύσουσιν αὐτόν.

6. When therefore the generals of Antiochus's armies had been beaten so often, Judas assembled the people together, and told them, that after these many victories which God had given them, they ought to go up to Jerusalem, and purify the temple, and offer the appointed sacrifices. But as soon as he, with the whole multitude, was come to Jerusalem, and found the temple deserted, and its gates burnt down, and plants growing in the temple of their own accord, on account of its desertion, he and those that were with him began to lament, and were quite confounded at the sight of the temple; so he chose out some of his soldiers, and gave them order to fight against those guards that were in the citadel, until he should have purified the temple. When therefore he had carefully purged it, and had brought in new vessels, the candlestick, the table [of shew-bread], and the altar [of incense], which were made of gold, he hung up the veils at the gates, and added doors to them. He also took down the altar [of burnt-offering], and built a new one of stones that he gathered together, and not of such as were hewn with iron tools. So on the five and twentieth day of the month Casleu, which the Macedonians call Apeliens, they lighted the lamps that were on the candlestick, and offered incense upon the altar [of incense], and laid the loaves upon the table [of shew-bread], and offered burnt-offerings upon the new altar [of burnt-offering]. Now it so fell out, that these things were done on the very same day on which their Divine worship had fallen off, and was reduced to a profane and common use, after three years' time; for so it was, that the temple was made desolate by Antiochus, and so continued for three years. This desolation happened to the temple in the hundred forty and fifth year, on the twenty-fifth day of the month Apeliens, and on the hundred fifty and third olympiad: but it was dedicated anew, on the same day, the twenty-fifth of the month Apeliens, on the hundred and forty-eighth year, and on the hundred and fifty-fourth olympiad. And this desolation came to pass according to the prophecy of Daniel, which was given four hundred and eight years before; for he declared that the Macedonians would dissolve that worship [for some time].

(7) [323] Ἑώρταζε δὲ ὁ Ἰούδας μετὰ τῶν πολιτῶν τὴν ἀνάκτησιν τῆς περὶ τὸν ναὸν θυσίας ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας ὀκτὼ μηδὲν ἀπολιπὼν ἡδονῆς εἶδος, ἀλλὰ πολυτελέσι μὲν καὶ λαμπραῖς ταῖς θυσίαις κατευωχῶν αὐτούς, ὕμνοις δὲ καὶ ψαλμοῖς τὸν μὲν θεὸν τιμῶν αὐτοὺς δὲ τέρπων. [324] τοσαύτῃ δ᾽ ἐχρήσαντο τῇ περὶ τὴν ἀνανέωσιν τῶν ἐθῶν ἡδονῇ μετὰ χρόνον πολὺν ἀπροσδοκήτως ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ γενόμενοι τῆς θρησκείας, ὡς νόμον θεῖναι τοῖς μετ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἑορτάζειν τὴν ἀνάκτησιν τῶν περὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας ὀκτώ. [325] καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο τὴν ἑορτὴν ἄγομεν καλοῦντες αὐτὴν φῶτα ἐκ τοῦ παρ᾽ ἐλπίδας οἶμαι ταύτην ἡμῖν φανῆναι τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν προσηγορίαν θέμενοι τῇ ἑορτῇ. [326] τειχίσας δ᾽ ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδρομὰς τῶν πολεμίων πύργους οἰκοδομησάμενος ὑψηλοὺς φύλακας ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐγκατέστησεν, καὶ τὴν Βεθσούραν δὲ πόλιν ὠχύρωσεν, ὅπως ἀντὶ φρουρίου αὐτῇ πρὸς τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνάγκας ἔχῃ χρῆσθαι.

7. Now Judas celebrated the festival of the restoration of the sacrifices of the temple for eight days, and omitted no sort of pleasures thereon; but he feasted them upon very rich and splendid sacrifices; and he honored God, and delighted them by hymns and psalms. Nay, they were so very glad at the revival of their customs, when, after a long time of intermission, they unexpectedly had regained the freedom of their worship, that they made it a law for their posterity, that they should keep a festival, on account of the restoration of their temple worship, for eight days. And from that time to this we celebrate this festival, and call it Lights. I suppose the reason was, because this liberty beyond our hopes appeared to us; and that thence was the name given to that festival. Judas also rebuilt the walls round about the city, and reared towers of great height against the incursions of enemies, and set guards therein. He also fortified the city Bethsura, that it might serve as a citadel against any distresses that might come from our enemies.

VIII

CHAPTER 8. How Judas Subdued The Nations Round About; And How Simon Beat The People Of Tyre And Ptolemais; And How Judas Overcame Timotheus, And Forced Him To Fly Away, And Did Many Other Things After Joseph And Azarias Had Been Beaten.

(1) [327] Τούτων οὕτως γενομένων τὰ πέριξ ἔθνη πρὸς τὴν ἀναζωπύρησιν καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν τῶν Ἰουδαίων χαλεπῶς διακείμενα πολλοὺς ἐπισυνιστάμενα διέφθειρεν ἐνέδραις καὶ ἐπιβουλαῖς αὐτῶν ἐγκρατῆ γιγνόμενα. πρὸς τούτους πολέμους συνεχεῖς ἐκφέρων ὁ Ἰούδας ἐπέχειν αὐτοὺς τῆς καταδρομῆς καὶ ὧν ἐποίουν κακῶς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐπειρᾶτο. [328] καὶ τοῖς Ἠσαῦ υἱοῖς Ἰδουμαίοις ἐπιπεσὼν κατὰ τὴν Ἀκραβατηνὴν πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν καὶ ἐσκύλευσεν. συγκλείσας δὲ καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ Βαάνου λοχῶντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους περικαθίσας ἐπολιόρκει καὶ τούς τε πύργους αὐτῶν ἐνεπίμπρα καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας διέφθειρεν. [329] ἔπειτ' ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμμανίτας ἐξώρμησεν δύναμιν μεγάλην καὶ πολυάνθρωπον ἔχοντας, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Τιμόθεος. χειρωσάμενος δὲ καὶ τούτους τὴν Ἰαζωρῶν ἐξαιρεῖ πόλιν, καὶ τάς τε γυναῖκας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ τέκνα λαβὼν αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐμπρήσας εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὑπέστρεψεν. [330] μαθόντα δ' αὐτὸν τὰ γειτονεύοντα τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀνεστροφότα συναθροίζεται εἰς τὴν Γαλαδηνὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅροις αὐτῶν Ἰουδαίους. οἱ δὲ καταφυγόντες εἰς Διάθημα τὸ φρούριον πέμψαντες πρὸς Ἰούδαν ἐδήλουν αὐτῷ, ὅτι λαβεῖν ἐσπούδακεν Τιμόθεος τὸ χωρίον, εἰς ὃ συνεπεφεύγεσαν. [331] ἀναγινωσκομένων δὲ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τούτων κἀκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἄγγελοι παραγίγνονται σημαίνοντες ἐπισυνῆχθαι τοὺς ἐκ Πτολεμαίδος καὶ Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν τῆς Γαλιλαίας.

1. When these things were over, the nations round about the Jews were very uneasy at the revival of their power, and rose up together, and destroyed many of them, as gaining advantage over them by laying snares for them, and making secret conspiracies against them. Judas made perpetual expeditions against these men, and endeavored to restrain them from those incursions, and to prevent the mischiefs they did to the Jews. So he fell upon the Idumeans, the posterity of Esau, at Acrabattene, and slew a great many of them, and took their spoils. He also shut up the sons of Bean, that laid wait for the Jews; and he sat down about them, and besieged them, and burnt their towers, and destroyed the men [that

were in them]. After this he went thence in haste against the Ammonites, who had a great and a numerous army, of which Timotheus was the commander. And when he had subdued them, he seized on the city Jazer, and took their wives and their children captives, and burnt the city, and then returned into Judea. But when the neighboring nations understood that he was returned, they got together in great numbers in the land of Gilead, and came against those Jews that were at their borders, who then fled to the garrison of Dathema; and sent to Judas, to inform him that Timotheus was endeavoring to take the place whither they were fled. And as these epistles were reading, there came other messengers out of Galilee, who informed him that the inhabitants of Ptolemais, and of Tyre and Sidon, and strangers of Galilee, were gotten together.

(2) [332] Πρὸς οὖν ἀμφοτέρας τὰς τῶν ἠγγελμένων χρείας σκεψάμενος Ἰούδας ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν, Σίμωνα μὲν τὸν ἀδελφὸν προσέταξεν ὡς τρισχιλίους τῶν ἐπιλέκτων λαβόντα τοῖς ἐν Γαλιλαίᾳ βοηθὸν ἐξελθεῖν Ἰουδαίοις. [333] αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ Ἰωνάθης ὁ ἕτερος ἀδελφὸς μετ᾽ ὀκτακισχιλίων στρατιωτῶν ὥρμησαν εἰς τὴν Γαλαδῖτιν: κατέλιπεν δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων τῆς δυνάμεως Ἰώσηπόν τε τὸν Ζαχαρία καὶ Ἀζαρίαν προστάξας αὐτοῖς φυλάττειν ἐπιμελῶς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ συνάπτειν πόλεμον πρὸς μηδένα, ἕως ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπανέλθῃ. [334] ὁ μὲν οὖν Σίμων παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν καὶ συμβαλὼν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς εἰς φυγὴν αὐτοὺς ἔτρεψεν καὶ μέχρι τῶν πυλῶν τῆς Πτολεμαίδος διώξας ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν ὡς περὶ τρισχιλίους, καὶ τά τε σκῦλα λαβὼν τῶν ἀνῃρημένων καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους Ἰουδαίους καὶ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν αὐτῶν ἐπαγόμενος εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν πάλιν ἀνέστρεψεν.

2. Accordingly Judas, upon considering what was fit to be done, with relation to the necessity both these cases required, gave order that Simon his brother should take three thousand chosen men, and go to the assistance of the Jews in Galilee, while he and another of his brothers, Jonathan, made haste into the land of Gilead, with eight thousand soldiers. And he left Joseph, the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, to be over the rest of the forces; and charged them to keep Judea very carefully, and to fight no battles with any persons whomsoever until his return. Accordingly, Simon-went into Galilee, and fought the enemy, and put them to flight, and pursued them to the very gates of Ptolemais, and slew about three thousand of them, and took the spoils of those that were slain, and those Jews whom they had made captives, with their baggage, and then returned home.

(3) [335] Ἰούδας δὲ ὁ Μακαβαῖος καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰωνάθης διαβάντες τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν καὶ ὁδὸν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τριῶν ἀνύσαντες ἡμερῶν τοῖς Ναβαταίοις εἰρηνικῶς ὑπαντῶσιν περιτυγχάνουσιν. [336] ὧν διηγησαμένων τὰ

περὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Γαλάτιδι, ὡς πολλοὶ κακοπαθοῦσιν αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις ἀπειλημμένοι καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν τῆς Γαλάτιδος, καὶ παραινεσάντων αὐτῷ σπεύδειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους καὶ ζητεῖν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν σώζειν τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς, πεισθεὶς ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον, καὶ προσπεσὼν πρώτοις τοῖς τὴν Βοσόραν κατοικοῦσιν καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὴν καταβαλὼν πᾶν τὸ ἄρρεν καὶ μάχεσθαι δυνάμενον διέφθειρεν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὑφῆψεν. [337] ἐπιγενομένης δὲ νυκτὸς οὐδ᾽ οὕτως ἐπέσχεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὁδεύσας δι᾽ αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὸ φρούριον, ἔνθα τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐγκεκλεῖσθαι συνέβαινεν περικαθεζομένου τὸ χωρίον Τιμοθέου μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, ἔωθεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸ παραγίνεται. [338] καὶ καταλαβὼν ἤδη τοῖς τείχεσι προσβεβληκότας τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς μὲν κλίμακας, ὥστε ἀναβαίνειν ἐπ᾽ αὐτά, τοὺς δὲ μηχανήματα προσφέροντας, κελεύσας τὸν σαλπικτὴν σημῆναι καὶ παρορμήσας τοὺς στρατιώτας ὑπὲρ ἀδελφῶν καὶ συγγενῶν διακινδυνεῦσαι προθύμως, εἰς τρία διελὼν τὸν στρατὸν ἐπιπίπτει κατὰ νώτου τοῖς πολεμίοις. [339] οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Τιμόθεον αἰσθόμενοι, ὅτι Μακαβαῖος εἴη, πεῖραν ἤδη καὶ πρότερον αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀνδρείας καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις εὐτυχίας εἰληφότες φυγῇ χρῶνται: ἐφεπόμενος δὲ μετὰ τοῦ στρατεύματος ὁ Ἰούδας ἀναιρεῖ μὲν αὐτῶν ὡς ὀκτακισχιλίους, [340] ἀπονεύσας δ᾽ εἰς Μελλὰ πόλιν οὕτως λεγομένην τῶν ἀλλοφύλων λαμβάνει καὶ ταύτην καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄρρενας ἅπαντας ἀποκτείνει, τὴν δὲ πόλιν αὐτὴν ἐμπίπρησιν. ἄρας δ᾽ ἐκεῖθεν τήν τε Χασφομάκη καὶ Βοσὸρ καὶ πολλὰς ἄλλας πόλεις τῆς Γαλάτιδος καταστρέφεται.

3. Now as for Judas Maccabeus, and his brother Jonathan, they passed over the river Jordan; and when they had gone three days journey, they lighted upon the Nabateans, who came to meet them peaceably, and who told them how the affairs of those in the land of Gilead stood; and how many of them were in distress, and driven into garrisons, and into the cities of Galilee; and exhorted him to make haste to go against the foreigners, and to endeavor to save his own countrymen out of their hands. To this exhortation Judas hearkened, and returned to the wilderness; and in the first place fell upon the inhabitants of Bosor, and took the city, and beat the inhabitants, and destroyed all the males, and all that were able to fight, and burnt the city. Nor did he stop even when night came on, but he journeyed in it to the garrison where the Jews happened to be then shut up, and where Timotheus lay round the place with his army. And Judas came upon the city in the morning; and when he found that the enemy were making an assault upon the walls, and that some of them brought ladders, on which they might get upon those walls, and that others brought engines [to batter them], he bid the trumpeter to sound his trumpet, and he encouraged his soldiers cheerfully to undergo dangers for the sake of their brethren and kindred; he also parted his army into three bodies, and fell upon the backs of their

enemies. But when Timotheus's men perceived that it was Maccabeus that was upon them, of both whose courage and good success in war they had formerly had sufficient experience, they were put to flight; but Judas followed them with his army, and slew about eight thousand of them. He then turned aside to a city of the foreigners called Malle, and took it, and slew all the males, and burnt the city itself. He then removed from thence, and overthrew Casphom and Bosor, and many other cities of the land of Gilead.

(4) [341] Χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ Τιμόθεος δύναμιν μεγάλην παρασκευασάμενος καὶ συμμάχους ἄλλους τε παραλαβὼν καὶ Ἀράβων τινὰς μισθῷ πείσας αὐτῷ συστρατεύειν ἦκεν ἄγων τὴν στρατιὰν πέραν τοῦ χειμάρρου Ῥομφῶν ἄντικρυς: πόλις δ' ἦν αὕτη: [342] καὶ παρεκελεύετο τοὺς στρατιώτας, εἰ συμβάλοιεν εἰς μάχην τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, προθύμως ἀγωνίζεσθαι καὶ κωλύειν αὐτοὺς διαβαίνειν τὸν χείμαρρον: διαβάντων γὰρ ἦτταν αὐτοῖς προύλεγεν. [343] Ἰούδας δ' ἀκούσας παρεσκευάσθαι τὸν Τιμόθεον πρὸς μάχην ἀναλαβὼν ἅπασαν τὴν οἰκείαν δύναμιν ἔσπευδεν ἐπὶ τὸν πολέμιον, καὶ περαιωσάμενος τὸν χείμαρρον ἐπιπίπτει τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ὑπαντιάζοντας ἀνῄρει, τοὺς δ' εἰς δέος ἐμβαλὼν ῥίψαντας τὰ ὅπλα φεύγειν ἠνάγκασεν. [344] καὶ τινὲς μὲν αὐτῶν διέδρασαν, οἱ δ' εἰς τὸ καλούμενον ἐγκρανὰς τέμενος συμφυγόντες ἤλπισαν τεύξεσθαι σωτηρίας. Ἰούδας δὲ τὴν πόλιν καταλαβόμενος αὐτούς τε ἀπέκτεινεν καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἐνέπρησεν ποικίλῃ χρησάμενος ἰδέᾳ τῆς ἀπωλείας τῶν πολεμίων.

4. But not long after this, Timotheus prepared a great army, and took many others as auxiliaries; and induced some of the Arabians, by the promise of rewards, to go with him in this expedition, and came with his army beyond the brook, over against the city Raphon; and he encouraged his soldiers, if it came to a battle with the Jews, to fight courageously, and to hinder their passing over the brook; for he said to them beforehand, that "if they come over it, we shall be beaten." And when Judas heard that Timotheus prepared himself to fight, he took all his own army, and went in haste against Timotheus his enemy; and when he had passed over the brook, he fell upon his enemies, and some of them met him, whom he slew, and others of them he so terrified, that he compelled them to throw down their arms and fly; and some of them escaped, but some of them fled to what was called the Temple of Camaim, and hoped thereby to preserve themselves; but Judas took the city, and slew them, and burnt the temple, and so used several ways of destroying his enemies.

(5) [345] Ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος καὶ συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἐν τῇ Γαλάτιδι Ἰουδαίους μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτοῖς ἀποσκευῆς οἷός τε ἦν εἰς τὴν

Ἰουδαίαν ἐπαναγαγεῖν. [346] ὡς δ᾽ ἦκεν ἐπί τινα πόλιν Ἐμφρὼν ὄνομα ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ κειμένην καὶ οὔτε ἄλλην αὐτῷ τραπομένῳ βαδίζειν δυνατὸν ἦν οὔτε ἀναστρέφειν ἤθελεν, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ παρεκάλει τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντας ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῷ διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀπελθεῖν: τάς τε γὰρ πύλας λίθοις ἐμπεφράκεσαν καὶ τὴν διέξοδον ἀπετέμοντο. [347] μὴ πειθομένων δὲ τῶν Ἐμφραίων παρορμήσας τοὺς μεθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ κυκλωσάμενος ἐπολιόρκει, καὶ δι᾽ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς προσκαθίσας ἐξαιρεῖ τὴν πόλιν καὶ πᾶν ὅσον ἄρρεν ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ κτείνας καὶ καταπρήσας ἅπασαν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἔσχεν: τοσοῦτον δ᾽ ἦν τὸ τῶν πεφονευμένων πλῆθος, ὡς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν βαδίζειν τῶν νεκρῶν. [348] διαβάντες δὲ τὸν Ἰορδάνην ἦκον εἰς τὸ μέγα πεδίον, οὗ κεῖται κατὰ πρόσωπον πόλις Βεθσάνη καλουμένη πρὸς Ἑλλήνων Σκυθόπολις. [349] κἀκεῖθεν ὁρμηθέντες εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν παρεγένοντο ψάλλοντές τε καὶ ὑμνοῦντες καὶ τὰς συνήθεις ἐν τοῖς ἐπινικίοις παιδιὰς ἄγοντες, ἔθυσάν τε χαριστηρίους ὑπέρ τε τῶν κατωρθωμένων θυσίας καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ στρατεύματος σωτηρίας: οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς πολέμοις τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπέθανεν.

5. When he had done this, he gathered the Jews together, with their children and wives, and the substance that belonged to them, and was going to bring them back into Judea; but as soon as he was come to a certain city, whose name was Ephron, that lay upon the road, [and it was not possible for him to go any other way, so he was not willing to go back again,] he then sent to the inhabitants, and desired that they would open their gates, and permit them to go on their way through the city; for they had stopped up the gates with stones, and cut off their passage through it. And when the inhabitants of Ephron would not agree to this proposal, he encouraged those that were with him, and encompassed the city round, and besieged it, and, lying round it by day and night, took the city, and slew every male in it, and burnt it all down, and so obtained a way through it; and the multitude of those that were slain was so great, that they went over the dead bodies. So they came over Jordan, and arrived at the great plain, over against which is situate the city Bethshah, which is called by the Greeks Scythopolis. And going away hastily from thence, they came into Judea, singing psalms and hymns as they went, and indulging such tokens of mirth as are usual in triumphs upon victory. They also offered thank-offerings, both for their good success, and for the preservation of their army, for not one of the Jews was slain in these battles.

(6) [350] Ἰώσηπος δὲ ὁ Ζαχαρίου καὶ Ἀζαρίας, οὓς κατέλιπεν στρατηγοὺς ὁ Ἰούδας καθ᾽ ὃν καιρὸν Σίμων μὲν ὑπῆρχεν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ πολεμῶν τοὺς ἐν τῇ Πτολεμαίδι, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἰούδας καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰωνάθης ἐν τῇ Γαλάτιδι, βουληθέντες καὶ αὐτοὶ δόξαν περιποιήσασθαι στρατηγῶν τὰ πολεμικὰ γενναίων

τὴν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῖς δύναμιν ἀναλαβόντες ἦλθον εἰς Ἰάμνειαν. [351] Γοργίου δὲ τοῦ τῆς Ἰαμνείας στρατηγοῦ ὑπαντήσαντος συμβολῆς γενομένης δισχιλίους ἀποβάλλουσι τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ φεύγοντες ἄχρι τῶν τῆς Ἰουδαίας ὅρων [διώκονται]. [352] συνέβη δ᾽ αὐτοῖς τὸ πταῖσμα τοῦτο παρακούσασιν ὧν αὐτοῖς Ἰούδας ἐπέστειλεν, μὴ συμβαλεῖν εἰς μάχην μηδενὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐκείνου παρουσίας: πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτοῦ στρατηγήμασιν καὶ τὸ κατὰ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον καὶ τὸν Ἀζαρίαν πταῖσμα θαυμάσειεν ἄν τις, ὃ συνῆκεν εἰ παρακινήσουσίν τι τῶν ἐπεσταλμένων αὐτοῖς ἐσόμενον. [353] ὁ δὲ Ἰούδας καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ πολεμοῦντες τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους οὐκ ἀνίεσαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐνέκειντο πανταχόθεν αὐτοῖς, τήν τε Χεβρῶνα πόλιν καταλαβόμενοι ὅσον ὀχυρὸν αὐτῆς καθεῖλον καὶ τοὺς πύργους ἐμπρήσαντες ἐδῄουν τὴν ἀλλόφυλον χώραν καὶ Μάρισαν πόλιν, εἴς τε Ἄζωτον ἐλθόντες καὶ λαβόντες αὐτὴν διήρπασαν. πολλὰ δὲ σκῦλα καὶ λείαν κομίζοντες εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὑπέστρεψαν.

6. But as to Joseph, the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, whom Judas left generals [of the rest of his forces] at the same time when Simon was in Galilee, fighting against the people of Ptolemais, and Judas himself, and his brother Jonathan, were in the land of Gilead, did these men also affect the glory of being courageous generals in war, in order whereto they took the army that was under their command, and came to Jamnia. There Gorgias, the general of the forces of Jamnia, met them; and upon joining battle with him, they lost two thousand of their army, and fled away, and were pursued to the very borders of Judea. And this misfortune befell them by their disobedience to what injunctions Judas had given them, not to fight with any one before his return. For besides the rest of Judas's sagacious counsels, one may well wonder at this concerning the misfortune that befell the forces commanded by Joseph and Azarias, which he understood would happen, if they broke any of the injunctions he had given them. But Judas and his brethren did not leave off fighting with the Idumeans, but pressed upon them on all sides, and took from them the city of Hebron, and demolished all its fortifications, and set all its towers on fire, and burnt the country of the foreigners, and the city Marissa. They came also to Ashdod, and took it, and laid it waste, and took away a great deal of the spoils and prey that were in it, and returned to Judea.

IX

CHAPTER 9. Concerning The Death Of Antiochus Epiphane. How Antiochus Eupator Fought Against Juda And Besieged Him In The Temple And Afterwards Made Peace With Him And Departed; Of Alcimus And Onias.

(1) [354] Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος τὴν ἄνω χώραν ἐπερχόμενος ἀκούει πόλιν ἐν τῇ Περσίδι πλούτῳ διαφέρουσαν Ἐλυμαίδα τοὔνομα καὶ πολυτελὲς ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἀναθημάτων πλῆρες εἶναι ἔτι γε μὴν ὅπλα καὶ θώρακας, ἃ καταλιπεῖν ἐπυνθάνετο τὸν υἱὸν τὸν Φιλίππου βασιλέα δὲ Μακεδόνων Ἀλέξανδρον. [355] κινηθεὶς οὖν ὑπὸ τούτων ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλυμαίδα καὶ προσβαλὼν αὐτὴν ἐπολιόρκει. τῶν δ' ἐν αὐτῇ μὴ καταπλαγέντων τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ μηδὲ τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἀλλὰ καρτερῶς ἀντισχόντων ἀποκρούεται τῆς ἐλπίδος: ἀπωσάμενοι γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐπεξελθόντες ἐδίωξαν, ὥστ' αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα φεύγοντα καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποβαλόντα τῆς στρατιᾶς. [356] λυπουμένῳ δ' ἐπὶ τῇ διαμαρτίᾳ ταύτῃ προσαγγέλλουσίν τινες καὶ τὴν τῶν στρατηγῶν ἧτταν, οὓς πολεμήσοντας τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καταλελοίπει, καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν ἤδη τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων. [357] προσγενομένης οὖν καὶ τῆς περὶ τούτων φροντίδος τῇ προτέρᾳ συγχυθεὶς ὑπὸ ἀθυμίας εἰς νόσον κατέπεσεν, ἧς μηκυνομένης καὶ αὐξανόντων τῶν παθῶν συνείς, ὅτι μέλλοι τελευτᾶν, συγκαλεῖ τοὺς φίλους καὶ τήν τε νόσον αὐτοῖς χαλεπὴν οὖσαν ἐμήνυε καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα πάσχει κακώσας τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος παρεδήλου συλήσας τὸν ναὸν καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καταφρονήσας, καὶ ταῦτα λέγων ἐξέπνευσεν. [358] ὥστε θαυμάζειν Πολύβιον τὸν Μεγαλοπολίτην, ὃς ἀγαθὸς ὢν ἀνὴρ ἀποθανεῖν λέγει τὸν Ἀντίοχον βουληθέντα τὸ τῆς ἐν Πέρσαις Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν συλῆσαι: τὸ γὰρ μηκέτι ποιῆσαι τὸ ἔργον βουλευσάμενον οὐκ ἔστιν τιμωρίας ἄξιον. [359] εἰ δὲ διὰ τοῦτο Πολυβίῳ δοκεῖ καταστρέψαι τὸν βίον Ἀντίοχον οὕτως, πολὺ πιθανώτερον διὰ τὴν ἱεροσυλίαν τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ναοῦ τελευτῆσαι τὸν βασιλέα. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτου οὐ διαφέρομαι τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μεγαλοπολίτου λεγομένην αἰτίαν ταύτην ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀληθῆ νομιζόντων.

1. About this time it was that king Antiochus, as he was going over the upper countries, heard that there was a very rich city in Persia, called Elymais; and therein a very rich temple of Diana, and that it was full of all sorts of donations dedicated to it; as also weapons and breastplates, which, upon inquiry, he found had been left there by Alexander, the son of Philip, king of Macedonia. And

being incited by these motives, he went in haste to Elymais, and assaulted it, and besieged it. But as those that were in it were not terrified at his assault, nor at his siege, but opposed him very courageously, he was beaten off his hopes; for they drove him away from the city, and went out and pursued after him, insomuch that he fled away as far as Babylon, and lost a great many of his army. And when he was grieving for this disappointment, some persons told him of the defeat of his commanders whom he had left behind him to fight against Judea, and what strength the Jews had already gotten. When this concern about these affairs was added to the former, he was confounded, and by the anxiety he was in fell into a distemper, which, as it lasted a great while, and as his pains increased upon him, so he at length perceived he should die in a little time; so he called his friends to him, and told them that his distemper was severe upon him; and confessed withal, that this calamity was sent upon him for the miseries he had brought upon the Jewish nation, while he plundered their temple, and contemned their God; and when he had said this, he gave up the ghost. Whence one may wonder at Polybius of Megalopolis, who, though otherwise a good man, yet saith that "Antiochus died because he had a purpose to plunder the temple of Diana in Persia;" for the purposing to do a thing, but not actually doing it, is not worthy of punishment. But if Polybius could think that Antiochus thus lost his life on that account, it is much more probable that this king died on account of his sacrilegious plundering of the temple at Jerusalem. But we will not contend about this matter with those who may think that the cause assigned by this Polybius of Megalopolis is nearer the truth than that assigned by us.

(2) [360] Ὁ δ' Ἀντίοχος πρὶν ἢ τελευτᾶν καλέσας Φίλιππον ἕνα τῶν ἑταίρων τῆς βασιλείας αὐτὸν ἐπίτροπον καθίστησιν, καὶ δοὺς αὐτῷ τὸ διάδημα καὶ τὴν στολὴν καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ἐκέλευσε κομίσαντα δοῦναι, δεηθεὶς προνοῆσαι τῆς ἀνατροφῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τηρῆσαι τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκείνῳ. [361] ἀπέθανεν δὲ Ἀντίοχος ἐνάτῳ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ ἑκατοστῷ ἔτει. Λυσίας δὲ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ δηλώσας τῷ πλήθει τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀντίοχον, αὐτὸς γὰρ εἶχεν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, ἀποδείκνυσι βασιλέα καλέσας αὐτὸν Εὐπάτορα.

2. However, Antiochus, before he died, called for Philip, who was one of his companions, and made him the guardian of his kingdom; and gave him his diadem, and his garment, and his ring, and charged him to carry them, and deliver them to his son Antiochus; and desired him to take care of his education, and to preserve the kingdom for him. This Antiochus died in the hundred forty and ninth year; but it was Lysias that declared his death to the multitude, and appointed his son Antiochus to be king, [of whom at present he had the care,] and called him Eupator.

(3) [362] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ οἱ ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων φρουροὶ καὶ φυγάδες τῶν Ἰουδαίων πολλὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἰργάσαντο: τοὺς γὰρ ἀναβαίνοντας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ θῦσαι βουλομένους ἐξαίφνης ἐκτρέχοντες οἱ φρουροὶ διέφθειραν: ἐπέκειτο γὰρ τῷ ἱερῷ ἡ ἄκρα. [363] τούτων οὖν συμβαινόντων αὐτοῖς Ἰούδας ἐξελεῖν διέγνω τὴν φρουράν, καὶ συναγαγὼν τὸν λαὸν ἅπαντα τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ καρτερῶς ἐπολιόρκει. ἔτος ἦν τοῦτο τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῖς ἀπὸ Σελεύκου ἑκατοστὸν καὶ πεντηκοστόν. κατασκευάσας οὖν μηχανήματα καὶ χώματα ἐγείρας φιλοπόνως προσέκειτο τῇ τῆς ἄκρας αἱρέσει. [364] πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ φυγάδων νύκτωρ ἐξελθόντες εἰς τὴν χώραν καί τινας τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ ἀσεβῶν συναγαγόντες ἦκον πρὸς Ἀντίοχον τὸν βασιλέα, οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ὑπερορᾶσθαι δεινὰ πάσχοντας ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοφύλων καὶ ταῦθ' ὑπομένοντας διὰ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ, τὴν μὲν πάτριον αὐτῶν καταλύσαντας θρησκείαν, ἣν δὲ προσέταξεν ταύτης ἀντιποιουμένους: [365] κινδυνεύειν οὖν ὑπὸ Ἰούδου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν αἱρεθῆναι καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως κατασταθέντας, εἰ μή τις παρ' αὐτοῦ βοήθεια πεμφθείη. [366] ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ παῖς Ἀντίοχος ὠργίσθη καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ φίλους μεταπεμψάμενος ἐκέλευσε μισθοφόρους συναγαγεῖν καὶ ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας τοὺς στρατεύσιμον ἡλικίαν ἔχοντας. καὶ συνήχθη στρατὸς πεζῶν μὲν ὡσεὶ δέκα μυριάδες, ἱππεῖς δὲ δισμύριοι, ἐλέφαντες δὲ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα.

3. At this time it was that the garrison in the citadel of Jerusalem, with the Jewish runagates, did a great deal of harm to the Jews; for the soldiers that were in that garrison rushed out upon the sudden, and destroyed such as were going up to the temple in order to offer their sacrifices, for this citadel adjoined to and overlooked the temple. When these misfortunes had often happened to them, Judas resolved to destroy that garrison; whereupon he got all the people together, and vigorously besieged those that were in the citadel. This was in the hundred and fiftieth year of the dominion of the Seleucidse. So he made engines of war, and erected bulwarks, and very zealously pressed on to take the citadel. But there were not a few of the runagates who were in the place that went out by night into the country, and got together some other wicked men like themselves, and went to Antiochus the king, and desired of him that he would not suffer them to be neglected, under the great hardships that lay upon them from those of their own nation; and this because their sufferings were occasioned on his father's account, while they left the religious worship of their fathers, and preferred that which he had commanded them to follow: that there was danger lest the citadel, and those appointed to garrison it by the king, should be taken by Judas, and those that were with him, unless he would send them succors. When Antiochus, who was but a child, heard this, he was angry, and sent for his

captains and his friends, and gave order that they should get an army of mercenaries together, with such men also of his own kingdom as were of an age fit for war. Accordingly, an army was collected of about a hundred thousand footmen, and twenty thousand horsemen, and thirty-two elephants.

(4) [367] Ταύτην οὖν ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἐξώρμησεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας μετὰ Λυσίου πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς ἔχοντος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Βηθσοῦραν ἀναβαίνει πόλιν σφόδρα ἐχυρὰν καὶ δυσάλωτον καὶ περικαθίσας ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν. [368] ἰσχυρῶς δὲ ἀντεχόντων τῶν Βηθσουραίων καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν αὐτοῦ τῶν μηχανημάτων ἐμπρησάντων, ἐπεξῆλθον γὰρ αὐτῷ, χρόνος ἐτρίβετο πολὺς περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν. [369] Ἰούδας δὲ τὴν ἔφοδον τοῦ βασιλέως ἀκούσας ἀφίσταται μὲν τοῦ τὴν ἄκραν πολιορκεῖν, ἀπαντήσας δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ βάλλεται στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ τῶν στενῶν ἔν τινι τόπῳ Βεθζαχαρίᾳ λεγομένῳ σταδίους ἀπέχοντι τῶν πολεμίων ἑβδομήκοντα. [370] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὁρμήσας ἀπὸ τῆς Βεθσούρας ἤγαγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τὰ στενὰ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἰούδα στρατόπεδον, ἅμ᾽ ἡμέρᾳ δὲ πρὸς μάχην διέτασσε τὴν στρατιάν. [371] τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἐλέφαντας ἐποίησεν ἀλλήλοις ἔπεσθαι διὰ τὴν στενοχωρίαν οὐ δυναμένων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πλάτος τετάχθαι, εἰς δὲ κύκλον ἐλέφαντος ἑκάστου συμπροῆσαν πεζοὶ μὲν χίλιοι, ἱππεῖς δὲ πεντακόσιοι: ἔφερον δὲ οἱ ἐλέφαντες πύργους τε ὑψηλοὺς καὶ τοξότας: τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν δύναμιν ἑκατέρωθεν ἐποίησεν ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη φίλους αὐτῆς προτάξας. [372] κελεύσας δὲ ἀλαλάξαι τὴν στρατιὰν προσβάλλει τοῖς πολεμίοις, γυμνώσας τάς τε χρυσᾶς καὶ χαλκᾶς ἀσπίδας, ὥστε αὐγὴν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀφίεσθαι λαμπράν: συνεπήχει δὲ τὰ ὄρη κεκραγότων αὐτῶν. ταῦτα ὁρῶν ὁ Ἰούδας οὐ κατεπλάγη, δεξάμενος δὲ γενναίως τοὺς πολεμίους τῶν προδρόμων περὶ ἑξακοσίους ἀναιρεῖ. [373] Ἐλεάζαρος δ᾽ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, ὃν Αὐρὸν ἐκάλουν, ἰδὼν τὸν ὑψηλότατον τῶν ἐλεφάντων ὡπλισμένον θώραξι βασιλικοῖς καὶ νομίζων ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὸν βασιλέα εἶναι παρεβάλετο σφόδρα εὐκαρδίως ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁρμήσας, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν περὶ τὸν ἐλέφαντα κτείνας τοὺς ἄλλους διεσκέδασεν, ὑποδὺς δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν γαστέρα καὶ πλήξας ἀπέκτεινε τὸν ἐλέφαντα. [374] ὁ δ᾽ ἐπικατενεχθεὶς τῷ Ἐλεαζάρῳ διαφθείρει τὸν ἄνδρα ὑπὸ τοῦ βάρους. καὶ οὗτος μὲν εὐψύχως πολλοὺς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπολέσας τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν.

4. So the king took this army, and marched hastily out of Antioch, with Lysias, who had the command of the whole, and came to Idumea, and thence went up to the city Bethsnra, a city that was strong, and not to be taken without great difficulty. He set about this city, and besieged it. And while the inhabitants of Bethsura courageously opposed him, and sallied out upon him, and burnt his engines of war, a great deal of time was spent in the siege. But when Judas heard of the king's coming, he raised the siege of the citadel, and met the king, and

pitched his camp in certain straits, at a place called Bethzachriah, at the distance of seventy furlongs from the enemy; but the king soon drew his forces from Bethsura, and brought them to those straits. And as soon as it was day, he put his men in battle-array, and made his elephants follow one another through the narrow passes, because they could not be set sideways by one another. Now round about every elephant there were a thousand footmen, and five hundred horsemen. The elephants also had high towers [upon their backs], and archers [in them]. And he also made the rest of his army to go up the mountains, and put his friends before the rest; and gave orders for the army to shout aloud, and so he attacked the enemy. He also exposed to sight their golden and brazen shields, so that a glorious splendor was sent from them; and when they shouted the mountains echoed again. When Judas saw this, he was not terrified, but received the enemy with great courage, and slew about six hundred of the first ranks. But when his brother Eleazar, whom they called Auran, saw the tallest of all the elephants armed with royal breastplates, and supposed that the king was upon him, he attacked him with great quickness and bravery. He also slew many of those that were about the elephant, and scattered the rest, and then went under the belly of the elephant, and smote him, and slew him; so the elephant fell upon Eleazar, and by his weight crushed him to death. And thus did this man come to his end, when he had first courageously destroyed many of his enemies.

(5) [375] Ὁ δὲ Ἰούδας ὁρῶν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἰσχὺν ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ πρὸς πολιορκίαν παρεσκευάζετο: Ἀντίοχος δὲ τὸ μέν τι τῆς στρατιᾶς εἰς Βεθσοῦραν ἔπεμψεν πολεμήσων αὐτήν, τῷ δὲ λοιπῷ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτὸς ἦκεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. [376] οἱ μὲν οὖν Βεθσουρῖται τὴν ἰσχὺν καταπλαγέντες καὶ σπανίζοντα βλέποντες τὰ ἐπιτήδεια παραδιδόασιν ἑαυτοὺς ὅρκους λαβόντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν πείσεσθαι κακὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως. Ἀντίοχος δὲ λαβὼν τὴν πόλιν ἄλλο μὲν αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν διέθηκεν, μόνον δὲ γυμνοὺς ἐξέβαλεν, φρουρὰν δὲ κατέστησεν ἰδίαν ἐν τῇ πόλει. [377] πολλῷ δὲ χρόνῳ τὸ ἱερὸν πολιορκῶν τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις προσεκαθέζετο καρτερῶς τῶν ἔνδοθεν ἀμυνομένων: πρὸς ἕκαστον γὰρ ὧν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἔστησε μηχάνημα κἀκεῖνοι πάλιν ἀντεμηχανῶντο. [378] τροφὴ δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐπιλελοίπει, τοῦ μὲν ὄντος ἀπανηλωμένου καρποῦ, τῆς δὲ γῆς ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἔτει μὴ γεωργημένης, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ εἶναι τὸ ἕβδομον ἔτος, καθ᾽ ὃ νόμος ἡμῖν ἀργὴν ἐᾶν τὴν χώραν, ἀσπόρου μεμενηκυίας. πολλοὶ τοιγαροῦν τῶν πολιορκουμένων ἀπεδίδρασκον διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπορίαν, ὡς ὀλίγους ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καταλειφθῆναι.

5. But Judas, seeing the strength of the enemy, retired to Jerusalem, and prepared to endure a siege. As for Antiochus, he sent part of his army to Bethsura, to besiege it, and with the rest of his army he came against Jerusalem; but the

inhabitants of Bethsura were terrified at his strength; and seeing that their provisions grew scarce, they delivered themselves up on the security of oaths that they should suffer no hard treatment from the king. And when Antiochus had thus taken the city, he did them no other harm than sending them out naked. He also placed a garrison of his own in the city. But as for the temple of Jerusalem, he lay at its siege a long time, while they within bravely defended it; for what engines soever the king set against them, they set other engines again to oppose them. But then their provisions failed them; what fruits of the ground they had laid up were spent and the land being not ploughed that year, continued unsowed, because it was the seventh year, on which, by our laws, we are obliged to let it lay uncultivated. And withal, so many of the besieged ran away for want of necessaries, that but a few only were left in the temple.

(6) [379] Καὶ τοῖς μὲν πολιορκουμένοις ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοιαῦτα συνέβαινεν εἶναι τὰ πράγματα. Λυσίας δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς, ἐπεὶ Φίλιππος αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Περσίδος ἥκων ἐδηλώθη [καὶ] τὰ πράγματα εἰς αὐτὸν κατασκευάζειν, εἶχον μὲν ὥστε τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀφέντες ὁρμᾶν ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον, οὐ μὴν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι φανερὸν τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἔγνωσαν, [380] ἀλλ᾽ ἐκέλευσεν τὸν Λυσίαν ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐν κοινῷ διαλεχθῆναι μηδὲν μὲν τῶν περὶ Φίλιππον ἐμφανίζοντα, τὴν δὲ πολιορκίαν ὅτι χρονιωτάτη γένοιτ᾽ ἂν δηλοῦντα, καὶ τὴν ὀχυρότητα τοῦ χωρίου, καὶ ὅτι τὰ τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῖς ἤδη ἐπιλείποι, καὶ ὡς πολλὰ δεῖ καταστῆσαι τῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ πραγμάτων, [381] καὶ ὡς δοκεῖ πολὺ κρεῖττον εἶναι σπονδὰς ποιησαμένους πρὸς τοὺς πολιορκουμένους καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς ὅλον αὐτῶν τὸ ἔθνος ἐπιτρέψαντας αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις, ὧν ἀφαιρεθέντες νῦν ἐξεπολεμώθησαν, χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα. ταῦτα τοῦ Λυσίου φήσαντος ἠρέσθη τό τε στράτευμα καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῇ γνώμῃ.

6. And these happened to be the circumstances of such as were besieged in the temple. But then, because Lysias, the general of the army, and Antiochus the king, were informed that Philip was coming upon them out of Persia, and was endeavoring to get the management of public affairs to himself, they came into these sentiments, to leave the siege, and to make haste to go against Philip; yet did they resolve not to let this be known to the soldiers or to the officers: but the king commanded Lysias to speak openly to the soldiers and the officers, without saying a word about the business of Philip; and to intimate to them that the siege would be very long; that the place was very strong; that they were already in want of provisions; that many affairs of the kingdom wanted regulation; and that it was much better to make a league with the besieged, and to become friends to their whole nation, by permitting them to observe the laws of their fathers, while

they broke out into this war only because they were deprived of them, and so to depart home. When Lysias had discoursed thus to them, both the army and the officers were pleased with this resolution.

(7) [382] Καὶ πέμψας ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν Ἰούδαν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πολιορκουμένους εἰρήνην τε ἐπηγγείλατο καὶ συγχωρεῖν τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις χρωμένους ζῆν. οἱ δὲ ἀσμένως δεξάμενοι τοὺς λόγους λαβόντες ὅρκους τε καὶ πίστεις ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ. [383] εἰσελθὼν δὲ Ἀντίοχος εἰς αὐτὸ καὶ θεασάμενος ὀχυρὸν οὕτως τὸ χωρίον παρέβη τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ κελεύει τὴν δύναμιν παραστᾶσαν καθελεῖν τὸ τεῖχος εἰς ἔδαφος. καὶ ταῦτα ποιήσας ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπαγόμενος Ὀνίαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα, ὃς καὶ Μενέλαος ἐκαλεῖτο. [384] Λυσίας γὰρ συνεβούλευσεν τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸν Μενέλαον ἀνελεῖν, εἰ βούλεται τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἠρεμεῖν καὶ μηδὲν ἐνοχλεῖν αὐτῷ: τοῦτον γὰρ ἄρξαι τῶν κακῶν πείσαντ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὸν πατέρα τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀναγκάσαι τὴν πάτριον θρησκείαν καταλιπεῖν. [385] πέμψας οὖν τὸν Μενέλαον ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς Βέροιαν τῆς Συρίας διέφθειρεν ἀρχιερατεύσαντα μὲν ἔτη δέκα, πονηρὸν δὲ γενόμενον καὶ ἀσεβῆ καὶ ἵνα αὐτὸς ἄρχῃ τὸ ἔθνος ἀναγκάσαντα τοὺς ἰδίους παραβῆναι νόμους. ἀρχιερεὺς δὲ ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸν Μενελάου θάνατον Ἄλκιμος ὁ καὶ Ἰάκιμος κληθείς. [386] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος ὁρῶν ἤδη τὸν Φίλιππον κρατοῦντα τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπολέμει πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὸν ὑποχείριον ἀπέκτεινεν. [387] ὁ δὲ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως υἱὸς Ὀνίας, ὃν προείπομεν ἔτι παῖδα τελευτήσαντος ἀφίεσθαι τοῦ πατρός, ἰδὼν ὅτι τὸν θεῖον αὐτοῦ Μενέλαον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνελὼν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην Ἀλκίμῳ δέδωκεν οὐκ ὄντι τῆς τῶν ἀρχιερέων γενεᾶς, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ Λυσίου πεισθεὶς μεταθεῖναι τὴν τιμὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς οἰκίας εἰς ἕτερον οἶκον, φεύγει πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα. [388] καὶ τιμῆς ἀξιωθεὶς ὑπό τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς Κλεοπάτρας λαμβάνει τόπον ἀξιώσας ἐν τῷ νομῷ τῷ Ἡλιοπολίτῃ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὅμοιον τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ᾠκοδόμησεν ἱερόν. περὶ τούτου μὲν οὖν εὐκαιρότερον ἡμῖν ἔσται διελθεῖν.

7. Accordingly the king sent to Judas, and to those that were besieged with them, and promised to give them peace, and to permit them to make use of, and live according to, the laws of their fathers; and they gladly received his proposals; and when they had gained security upon oath for their performance, they went out of the temple. But when Antiochus came into it, and saw how strong the place was, he broke his oaths, and ordered his army that was there to pluck down the walls to the ground; and when he had so done, he returned to Antioch. He also carried with him Onias the high priest, who was also called Menelaus; for Lysias advised the king to slay Menelaus, if he would have the Jews be quiet, and cause him no further disturbance, for that this man was the origin of all the mischief the Jews had done them, by persuading his father to compel the Jews to

leave the religion of their fathers. So the king sent Menelaus to Berea, a city of Syria, and there had him put to death, when he had been high priest ten years. He had been a wicked and an impious man; and, in order to get the government to himself, had compelled his nation to transgress their own laws. After the death of Menelaus, Alcimus, who was also called Jacimus, was made high priest. But when king Antiochus found that Philip had already possessed himself of the government, he made war against him, and subdued him, and took him, and slew him. Now as to Onias, the son of the high priest, who, as we before informed you, was left a child when his father died, when he saw that the king had slain his uncle Menelaus, and given the high priesthood to Alcimus, who was not of the high priest stock, but was induced by Lysias to translate that dignity from his family to another house, he fled to Ptolemy, king of Egypt; and when he found he was in great esteem with him, and with his wife Cleopatra, he desired and obtained a place in the Nomus of Heliopolis, wherein he built a temple like to that at Jerusalem; of which therefore we shall hereafter give an account, in a place more proper for it.

X

CHAPTER 10. How Bacchides, The General Of Demetrius's Army, Made An Expedition Against Judea, And Returned Without Success; And How Nicanor Was Sent A Little Afterward Against Judas And Perished, Together With His Army; As Also Concerning The Death Of Alcimus And The Succession Of Judas.

(1) [389] Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν φυγὼν Δημήτριος ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ὁ Σελεύκου υἱὸς καὶ καταλαβόμενος τῆς Συρίας Τρίπολιν περιτίθησιν μὲν ἑαυτῷ διάδημα, συναγαγὼν δέ τινας περὶ αὐτὸν μισθοφόρους εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν εἰσῆλθεν, πάντων αὐτὸν ἡδέως προσδεχομένων καὶ παραδιδόντων αὐτούς. [390] συλλαβόντες δὲ καὶ Ἀντίοχον τὸν βασιλέα καὶ Λυσίαν ζῶντας ἀνάγουσιν αὐτῷ. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν κελεύσαντος Δημητρίου παραχρῆμα διεφθάρησαν βασιλεύσαντος Ἀντιόχου ἔτη δύο, καθὼς ἤδη που καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ δεδήλωται. [391] συστραφέντες δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πονηροὶ καὶ φυγάδες καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν Ἄλκιμος ὁ ἀρχιερεύς, κατηγόρουν τοῦ ἔθνους παντὸς καὶ Ἰούδα καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ, [392] λέγοντες ὡς τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ πάντας ἀπεκτόνασιν καὶ ὅσοι τὰ ἐκείνου φρονοῦντες καὶ περιμένοντες αὐτὸν ὑπῆρχον ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τούτους ἀπολωλέκασιν αὐτούς τε τῆς οἰκείας γῆς ἐκβαλόντες ἀλλοτρίας ἐπήλυδας πεποιήκασιν, ἠξίουν τε πέμψαντα τῶν ἰδίων τινὰ φίλων γνῶναι δι᾽ αὐτοῦ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἰούδαν τετολμημένα.

1. About the same time Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, fled away from Rome, and took Tripoli, a city of Syria, and set the diadem on his own head. He also gathered certain mercenary soldiers together, and entered into his kingdom, and was joyfully received by all, who delivered themselves up to him. And when they had taken Autiochus the king, and Lysias, they brought them to him alive; both which were immediately put to death by the command of Demetrius, when Antiochus had reigned two years, as we have already elsewhere related. But there were now many of the wicked Jewish runagates that came together to him, and with them Alcimus the high priest, who accused the whole nation, and particularly Judas and his brethren; and said that they had slain all his friends, and that those in his kingdom that were of his party, and waited for his return, were by them put to death; that these men had ejected them out of their own

country, and caused them to be sojourners in a foreign land; and they desired that he would send some one of his own friends, and know from him what mischief Judas's party had done.

(2) [393] Ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος παροξυνθεὶς ἐκπέμπει Βακχίδην φίλον Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς βασιλέως, ἄνδρα χρηστὸν καὶ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν ἅπασαν πεπιστευμένον, δοὺς αὐτῷ δύναμιν καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα παραθέμενος αὐτῷ Ἄλκιμον ἐντειλάμενος ἀποκτεῖναι Ἰούδαν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. [394] ἐξορμήσας δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ὁ Βακχίδης μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἔπεμψε πρὸς τὸν Ἰούδαν καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ περὶ φιλίας καὶ εἰρήνης διαλεγόμενος: δόλῳ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐβούλετο λαβεῖν. [395] ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν: ἑώρα γάρ, ὅτι μετὰ στρατιᾶς πάρεστιν τοσαύτης, μεθ' ὅσης ἐπὶ πόλεμόν τις, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπ' εἰρήνην ἔρχεται. τινὲς μέντοι γε τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου προσέχοντες οἷς ὁ Βακχίδης ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο καὶ νομίσαντες οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ Ἀλκίμου πείσεσθαι δεινὸν ὄντος ὁμοφύλου πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνεχώρησαν, [396] καὶ λαβόντες ὅρκους παρ' ἀμφοτέρων μήτε αὐτούς τι παθεῖν μήτε τοὺς ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ὄντας προαιρέσεως ἐπίστευσαν αὐτοὺς ἐκείνοις. ὁ δὲ Βακχίδης ὀλιγωρήσας τῶν ὅρκων ἑξήκοντα μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους, ὅσοι διενοοῦντο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀναχωρεῖν, ἐπέστρεψεν τοῖς πρώτοις τὴν πίστιν μὴ φυλάξας. [397] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἀπελθὼν κατὰ κώμην Βηρζηθὼ λεγομένην ἐγένετο, πέμψας συλλαμβάνει πολλοὺς τῶν αὐτομολούντων καί τινας τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ πάντας ἀποκτείνας προσέταξεν τοῖς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ πᾶσιν ὑπακούειν Ἀλκίμῳ, καὶ μετὰ στρατιᾶς τινος, ἵν' ἔχῃ τηρεῖν τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ, καταλιπὼν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Δημήτριον ὑπέστρεψεν.

2. At this Demetrius was very angry, and sent Bacchides, a friend of Antiochus Epiphanes, a good man, and one that had been intrusted with all Mesopotamia, and gave him an army, and committed Alcimus the high priest to his care; and gave him charge to slay Judas, and those that were with him. So Bacchides made haste, and went out of Antioch with his army; and when he was come into Judea, he sent to Judas and his brethren, to discourse with them about a league of friendship and peace, for he had a mind to take him by treachery. But Judas did not give credit to him, for he saw that he came with so great an army as men do not bring when they come to make peace, but to make war. However, some of the people acquiesced in what Bacchides caused to be proclaimed; and supposing they should undergo no considerable harm from Alcimus, who was their countryman, they went over to them; and when they had received oaths from both of them, that neither they themselves, nor those of the same sentiments, should come to any harm, they intrusted themselves with them. But Bacchides troubled not himself about the oaths he had taken, but slew threescore

of them, although, by not keeping his faith with those that first went over, he deterred all the rest, who had intentions to go over to him, from doing it. But as he was gone out of Jerusalem, and was at the village called Bethzetho, he sent out, and caught many of the deserters, and some of the people also, and slew them all; and enjoined all that lived in the country to submit to Alcimus. So he left him there, with some part of the army, that he might have wherewith to keep the country in obedience and returned to Antioch to king Demetrius.

(3) [398] Ἄλκιμος δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ βουλόμενος βεβαιώσασθαι καὶ συνείς, ὅτι κατασκευάσας εὔνουν τὸ πλῆθος ἀσφαλέστερον ἄρξει, χρηστοῖς ἅπαντας ὑπήγετο λόγοις καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἑκάστῳ καὶ χάριν ὁμιλῶν ταχὺ δὴ μάλα χεῖρα πολλὴν καὶ δύναμιν περιεβάλετο: [399] τούτων δ᾽ ἦσαν οἱ πλείους ἐκ τῶν ἀσεβῶν καὶ πεφυγαδευμένων, οἷς ὑπηρέταις καὶ στρατιώταις χρώμενος ἐπήρχετο τὴν χώραν καὶ ὅσους ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ Ἰούδα φρονοῦντας ηὕρισκεν ἐφόνευεν. [400] ὁρῶν δὲ τὸν Ἄλκιμον ἤδη μέγαν ὁ Ἰούδας γινόμενον καὶ πολλοὺς διεφθαρκότα τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ ὁσίων τοῦ ἔθνους, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιπορευόμενος τὴν χώραν διέφθειρεν τοὺς ταὐτὰ ἐκείνῳ φρονοῦντας. βλέπων δὲ ἑαυτὸν Ἄλκιμος ἀντέχειν τῷ Ἰούδᾳ μὴ δυνάμενον, ἀλλ᾽ ἡττώμενον αὐτοῦ τῆς ἰσχύος, ἐπὶ τὴν παρὰ Δημητρίου τοῦ βασιλέως συμμαχίαν ἔγνω τραπέσθαι. [401] παραγενόμενος οὖν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν παρώξυνεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν, κατηγορῶν ὡς πολλὰ μὲν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πεπόνθοι κακά, πλείω δὲ γένοιτ᾽ ἄν, εἰ μὴ προκαταληφθείη καὶ δοίη δίκην δυνάμεως ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἰσχυρᾶς ἀποσταλείσης.

3. But Alcimus was desirous to have the dominion more firmly assured to him; and understanding that, if he could bring it about that the multitude should be his friends, he should govern with greater security, he spake kind words to them all, and discoursed to each of them after an agreeable and pleasant manner; by which means he quickly had a great body of men and an army about him, although the greater part of them were of the wicked, and the deserters. With these, whom he used as his servants and soldiers, he went all over the country, and slew all that he could find of Judas's party. But when Judas saw that Alcimus was already become great, and had destroyed many of the good and holy men of the country, he also went all over the country, and destroyed those that were of the other party. But when Alcimus saw that he was not able to oppose Judas, nor was equal to him in strength, he resolved to apply himself to king Demetrius for his assistance; so he came to Antioch, and irritated him against Judas, and accused him, alleging that he had undergone a great many miseries by his means, and that he would do more mischief unless he were prevented, and brought to punishment, which must be done by sending a powerful force against him.

(4) [402] Ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος τοῦτ᾽ ἤδη καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις αὐτοῦ πράγμασιν ἐπισφαλὲς ἡγησάμενος εἶναι τὸ περιιδεῖν Ἰούδαν ἐν ἰσχύι τοσαύτῃ γενόμενον, ἐκπέμπει Νικάνορα τὸν εὐνούστατον αὐτῷ καὶ πιστότατον τῶν φίλων, οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως αὐτῷ συμφυγών, καὶ δοὺς δύναμιν ὅσην ὑπέλαβεν ἀρκέσειν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Ἰούδαν ἐκέλευσεν μηδεμίαν φειδὼ ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ ἔθνους. [403] ὁ δὲ Νικάνωρ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πολεμεῖν μὲν εὐθὺς οὐ διέγνω τῷ Ἰούδᾳ, δόλῳ δ᾽ ὑποχείριον λαβεῖν κρίνας προσπέμπει λόγους εἰρηνικοὺς αὐτῷ, μηδεμίαν μὲν ἀνάγκην εἶναι φάσκων πολεμεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν, ὅρκους δ᾽ αὐτῷ διδόναι περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν πείσεσθαι δεινόν: ἥκειν γὰρ μετὰ φίλων ἐπὶ τῷ ποιῆσαι φανερὰν αὐτοῖς τὴν Δημητρίου τοῦ βασιλέως διάνοιαν, ὡς περὶ τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν φρονεῖ. [404] ταῦτα διαπρεσβευσαμένου τοῦ Νικάνορος ὁ Ἰούδας καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ πεισθέντες καὶ μηδεμίαν ἀπάτην ὑποπτεύσαντες διδόασιν πίστεις αὐτῷ καὶ δέχονται τὸν Νικάνορα μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. ὁ δὲ ἀσπασάμενος τὸν Ἰούδαν [καὶ] μεταξὺ προσομιλῶν δίδωσι τοῖς οἰκείοις τι σημεῖον, ὅπως συλλάβωσι τὸν Ἰούδαν. [405] ὁ δὲ συνεὶς τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐκπηδήσας πρὸς τοὺς ἰδίους συνέφυγεν. φανερᾶς δὲ τῆς προαιρέσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐνέδρας ὁ Νικάνωρ γενομένης πολεμεῖν ἔκρινεν τῷ Ἰούδᾳ, καὶ συγκροτήσας καὶ παρασκευασάμενος τὰ πρὸς τὴν μάχην συμβάλλει κατά τινα κώμην Καφαρσαλαμὰ καὶ νικήσας ἀναγκάζει τὸν Ἰούδαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἄκραν φεύγειν.

4. So Demetrius, being already of opinion that it would be a thing pernicious to his own affairs to overlook Judas, now he was becoming so great, sent against him Nicanor, the most kind and most faithful of all his friends; for he it was who fled away with him from the city of Rome. He also gave him as many forces as he thought sufficient for him to conquer Judas withal, and bid him not to spare the nation at all. When Nicanor was come to Jerusalem, he did not resolve to fight Judas immediately, but judged it better to get him into his power by treachery; so he sent him a message of peace, and said there was no manner of necessity for them to fight and hazard themselves; and that he would give him his oath that he would do him no harm, for that he only came with some friends, in order to let him know what king Demetrius's intentions were, and what opinion he had of their nation. When Nicanor had delivered this message, Judas and his brethren complied with him, and suspecting no deceit, they gave him assurances of friendship, and received Nicanor and his army; but while he was saluting Judas, and they were talking together, he gave a certain signal to his own soldiers, upon which they were to seize upon Judas; but he perceived the treachery, and ran back to his own soldiers, and fled away with them. So upon this discovery of his purpose, and of the snares laid for Judas, Nicanor

determined to make open war with him, and gathered his army together, and prepared for fighting him; and upon joining battle with him at a certain village called Capharsalama, he beat Judas, and forced him to fly to that citadel which was at Jerusalem.

(5) [406] Ἔτι δ᾽ αὐτῷ κατιόντι ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀπαντήσαντες τῶν ἱερέων τινὲς καὶ πρεσβυτέρων ἠσπάζοντο καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐπεδείκνυον, ἃς ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔλεγον ἐπιφέρειν τῷ θεῷ. ὁ δὲ βλασφημήσας αὐτοὺς ἠπείλησεν, εἰ μὴ παραδοίη τὸν Ἰούδαν ὁ λαὸς αὐτῷ, καθαιρήσειν ὅταν ἐπανέλθῃ τὸν ναόν. [407] καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ᾽ ἀπειλήσας ἐξῆλθεν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, οἱ δ᾽ ἱερεῖς εἰς δάκρυα διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις λύπην προέπεσον καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἱκέτευον ῥύσασθαι ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων αὐτούς. [408] ὁ δὲ Νικάνωρ, ὡς ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐξελθὼν ἐγένετο κατά τινα κώμην Βηθωρου λεγομένην, αὐτόθι στρατοπεδεύεται προσγενομένης αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλης ἀπὸ Συρίας δυνάμεως: Ἰούδας δὲ ἐν Ἀδασοῖς ἑτέρᾳ κώμῃ σταδίους ἀπεχούσῃ τριάκοντα τῆς Βηθωροῦ στρατοπεδεύεται δισχιλίους στρατιώτας ἔχων. [409] τούτους παρορμήσας μὴ καταπλαγῆναι τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων πλῆθος, μηδὲ λογίζεσθαι πρὸς πόσους ἀγωνίζεσθαι μέλλουσιν, ἀλλὰ τίνες ὄντες καὶ περὶ οἵων ἐπάθλων κινδυνεύουσιν ἐνθυμουμένους εὐψύχως ὁμόσε χωρῆσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ἐξάγει, καὶ συμβαλὼν τῷ Νικάνορι καὶ καρτερᾶς τῆς μάχης γενομένης κρατεῖ τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ πολλούς τε αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν καὶ τελευταῖον αὐτὸς ὁ Νικάνωρ λαμπρῶς ἀγωνιζόμενος ἔπεσεν. [410] οὗ πεσόντος οὐδὲ τὸ στράτευμα ἔμεινεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀπολέσαντες εἰς φυγὴν ἐτράπησαν ῥίψαντες τὰς πανοπλίας. ἐπιδιώκων δὲ ὁ Ἰούδας ἐφόνευσεν καὶ ταῖς σάλπιγξι ταῖς πέριξ κώμαις ἐσήμαινεν, ὅτι νικῴη τοὺς πολεμίους. [411] οἱ δ᾽ ἐν αὐταῖς ἀκούσαντες ἐξεπήδων ὡπλισμένοι καὶ τοῖς φεύγουσιν ὑπαντῶντες ἔκτεινον αὐτοὺς γενόμενοι κατὰ πρόσωπον, ὥστ᾽ ἐκ τῆς μάχης ταύτης οὐδεὶς διέφυγεν ὄντων αὐτῶν ἐννακισχιλίων. [412] τὴν δὲ νίκην συνέβη γενέσθαι ταύτην τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ λεγομένου παρὰ μὲν Ἰουδαίοις Ἄδαρ κατὰ δὲ Μακεδόνας Δύστρου. ἄγουσιν δ᾽ ἐν τούτῳ τὰ νικητήρια κατὰ πᾶν ἔτος καὶ ἑορτὴν νομίζουσι τὴν ἡμέραν. ἐξ ἐκείνου μέντοι τοῦ χρόνου πρὸς ὀλίγον τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος τῶν πολέμων ἀναπαυσάμενον καὶ εἰρήνης ἀπολαῦον ἔπειτα εἰς ἀγῶνας πάλιν καὶ κινδύνους κατέστη.

5. And when Nicanor came down from the citadel unto the temple, some of the priests and elders met him, and saluted him; and showed him the sacrifices which they offered to God for the king: upon which he blasphemed, and threatened them, that unless the people would deliver up Judas to him, upon his return he would pull down their temple. And when he had thus threatened them, he departed from Jerusalem. But the priests fell into tears out of grief at what he had said, and besought God to deliver them from their enemies But now for

Nicanor, when he was gone out of Jerusalem, and was at a certain village called Bethoron, he there pitched his camp, another army out of Syria having joined him. And Judas pitched his camp at Adasa, another village, which was thirty furlongs distant from Bethoron, having no more than one thousand soldiers. And when he had encouraged them not to be dismayed at the multitude of their enemies, nor to regard how many they were against whom they were going to fight, but to consider who they themselves were, and for what great rewards they hazarded themselves, and to attack the enemy courageously, he led them out to fight, and joining battle with Nicanor, which proved to be a severe one, he overcame the enemy, and slew many of them; and at last Nicanor himself, as he was fighting gloriously, fell: — upon whose fall the army did not stay; but when they had lost their general, they were put to flight, and threw down their arms. Judas also pursued them and slew them, and gave notice by the sound of the trumpets to the neighboring villages that he had conquered the enemy; which, when the inhabitants heard, they put on their armor hastily, and met their enemies in the face as they were running away, and slew them, insomuch that not one of them escaped out of this battle, who were in number nine thousand This victory happened to fall on the thirteenth day of that month which by the Jews is called Adar and by the Macedonians Dystrus; and the Jews thereon celebrate this victory every year, and esteem it as a festival day. After which the Jewish nation were, for a while, free from wars, and enjoyed peace; but afterward they returned into their former state of wars and hazards.

(6) [413] Τῷ δ᾽ ἀρχιερεῖ τῷ Ἀλκίμῳ βουληθέντι καθελεῖν τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ ἁγίου παλαιὸν ὂν καὶ κατεσκευασμένον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων προφητῶν, πληγή τις αἰφνίδιος ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ προσέπεσεν, ὑφ᾽ ἧς ἄφωνός τε ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν κατηνέχθη καὶ βασανισθεὶς ἐπὶ συχνὰς ἡμέρας ἀπέθανεν ἀρχιερατεύσας ἔτη τέσσαρα. [414] τελευτήσαντος δὲ τούτου τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ὁ λαὸς τῷ Ἰούδᾳ δίδωσιν, ὃς ἀκούσας περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεως καὶ ὅτι καταπεπολεμήκασιν τήν τε Γαλατίαν καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ Καρχηδόνα τῆς Λιβύης καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τὴν Ἑλλάδα κεχείρωνται καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς Περσέα καὶ Φίλιππον καὶ τὸν μέγαν Ἀντίοχον, ἔγνω φιλίαν ποιήσασθαι πρὸς αὐτούς. [415] πέμψας οὖν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων Εὐπόλεμον τὸν Ἰωάννου υἱὸν καὶ Ἰάσονα τὸν Ἐλεαζάρου παρεκάλει δι᾽ αὐτῶν συμμάχους εἶναι καὶ φίλους, καὶ Δημητρίῳ γράψαι, ὅπως μὴ πολεμῇ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους. [416] ἐλθόντας δὲ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Ἰούδα πρεσβευτὰς ἡ σύγκλητος δέχεται καὶ διαλεχθεῖσα περὶ ὧν ἐπέμφθησαν τὴν συμμαχίαν ἐπινεύει. ποιήσασα δὲ περὶ τούτου δόγμα τὸ μὲν ἀντίγραφον εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀπέστειλεν, αὐτὸ δ᾽ εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον εἰς χαλκᾶς ἐγγράψαντες δέλτους ἀνέθεσαν. [417] ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτον: “δόγμα συγκλήτου περὶ συμμαχίας καὶ

εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος τὸ Ἰουδαίων. μηδένα τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων Ῥωμαίοις πολεμεῖν τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνει μηδὲ τοῖς πολεμοῦσι χορηγεῖν ἢ σῖτον ἢ πλοῖα ἢ χρήματα. [418] ἐὰν δὲ ἐπίωσί τινες Ἰουδαίοις, βοηθεῖν Ῥωμαίους αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, καὶ πάλιν, ἂν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐπίωσίν τινες, Ἰουδαίους αὐτοῖς συμμαχεῖν. ἂν δέ τι πρὸς ταύτην τὴν συμμαχίαν θελήσῃ τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἢ προσθεῖναι ἢ ἀφελεῖν, τοῦτο κοινῇ γινέσθω γνώμῃ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων, ὃ δ' ἂν προστεθῇ τοῦτ' εἶναι κύριον. [419] ἐγράφη τὸ δόγμα ὑπὸ Εὐπολέμου τοῦ Ἰωάννου παιδὸς καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰάσονος τοῦ Ἐλεαζάρου ἐπ' ἀρχιερέως μὲν τοῦ ἔθνους Ἰούδα, στρατηγοῦ δὲ Σίμωνος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ." καὶ τὴν μὲν πρώτην Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς Ἰουδαίους φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν οὕτως συνέβη γενέσθαι.

6. But now as the high priest Alcimus, was resolving to pull down the wall of the sanctuary, which had been there of old time, and had been built by the holy prophets, he was smitten suddenly by God, and fell down. This stroke made him fall down speechless upon the ground; and undergoing torments for many days, he at length died, when he had been high priest four years. And when he was dead, the people bestowed the high priesthood on Judas; who hearing of the power of the Romans, and that they had conquered in war Galatia, and Iberia, and Carthage, and Libya; and that, besides these, they had subdued Greece, and their kings, Perseus, and Philip, and Antiochus the Great also; he resolved to enter into a league of friendship with them. He therefore sent to Rome some of his friends, Eupolemus the son of John, and Jason the son of Eleazar, and by them desired the Romans that they would assist them, and be their friends, and would write to Demetrius that he would not fight against the Jews. So the senate received the ambassadors that came from Judas to Rome, and discoursed with them about the errand on which they came, and then granted them a league of assistance. They also made a decree concerning it, and sent a copy of it into Judea. It was also laid up in the capitol, and engraven in brass. The decree itself was this: "The decree of the senate concerning a league of assistance and friendship with the nation of the Jews. It shall not be lawful for any that are subject to the Romans to make war with the nation of the Jews, nor to assist those that do so, either by sending them corn, or ships, or money; and if any attack be made upon the Jews, the Romans shall assist them, as far as they are able; and again, if any attack be made upon the Romans, the Jews shall assist them. And if the Jews have a mind to add to, or to take away any thing from, this league of assistance, that shall be done with the common consent of the Romans. And whatsoever addition shall thus be made, it shall be of force." This decree was written by Eupolemus the son of John, and by Jason the son of Eleazar, when Judas was high priest of the nation, and Simon his brother was general of

the army. And this was the first league that the Romans made with the Jews, and was managed after this manner.

XI

CHAPTER 11. That Bacchides Was Again Sent Out Against Judas; And How Judas Fell As He Was Courageously Fighting.

(1) [420] Δημήτριος δ' ἀπαγγελθείσης αὐτῷ τῆς Νικάνορος τελευτῆς καὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας τοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ. στρατεύματος πάλιν τὸν Βακχίδην μετὰ δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐξέπεμψεν. [421] ὃς ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐξορμήσας καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐν Ἀρβήλοις πόλει τῆς Γαλιλαίας στρατοπεδεύεται, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἐκεῖ σπηλαίοις ὄντας, πολλοὶ γὰρ εἰς αὐτὰ συμπεφεύγεσαν, ἐκπολιορκήσας καὶ λαβὼν ἄρας ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα σπουδὴν ἐποιεῖτο. [422] μαθὼν δὲ τὸν Ἰούδαν ἔν τινι κώμῃ Ζηθῶ τοὔνομα κατεστρατοπεδευμένον ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἠπείγετο μετὰ πεζῶν μὲν δισμυρίων, ἱππέων δὲ δισχιλίων: τῷ Ἰούδᾳ δ' ἦσαν οἱ πάντες χίλιοι. οὗτοι τὸ Βακχίδου πλῆθος θεωρήσαντες ἔδεισαν καὶ τὴν παρεμβολὴν καταλιπόντες ἔφυγον πάντες πλὴν ὀκτακοσίων. [423] Ἰούδας δὲ καταλειφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων στρατιωτῶν [καὶ] τῶν πολεμίων ἐπικειμένων καὶ μηδένα καιρὸν αὐτῷ πρὸς συλλογὴν τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπιτρεπόντων οἷός τ' ἦν μετὰ τῶν ὀκτακοσίων συμβαλεῖν τοῖς τοῦ Βακχίδου, [καὶ] προτρεπόμενός τε τούτους εὐψύχως ὑφίστασθαι τὸν κίνδυνον παρεκάλει χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην. [424] τῶν δὲ λεγόντων, ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶ πρὸς τοσοῦτο μέγεθος στρατιᾶς ἀξιόμαχοι, συμβουλευόντων δὲ νῦν μὲν ἀναχωρεῖν καὶ σώζειν αὐτούς, αὖθις δὲ συναγαγόντας τοὺς ἰδίους τοῖς ἐχθροῖς συμβαλεῖν, "μὴ τοῦτ', εἶπεν, ἥλιος ἐπίδοι γενόμενον, ἵν' ἐγὼ τὰ νῶτά μου δείξω τοῖς πολεμίοις. [425] ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τελευτὴν ὁ παρών μοι καιρὸς φέρει καὶ δεῖ πάντως ἀπολέσθαι μαχόμενον, στήσομαι γενναίως πᾶν ὑπομένων τὸ μέλλον ἢ Τοῖς ἤδη κατωρθωμένοις καὶ τῇ περὶ αὐτῶν δόξῃ προσβαλῶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς νῦν φυγῆς ὕβριν." καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας παρακαλῶν τοῦ κινδύνου καταφρονήσαντας ὁμόσε χωρῆσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἔλεγεν.

1. But when Demetrius was informed of the death of Nicanor, and of the destruction of the army that was with him, he sent Bacchides again with an army into Judea, who marched out of Antioch, and came into Judea, and pitched his camp at Arbela, a city of Galilee; and having besieged and taken those that were there in caves, [for many of the people fled into such places,] he removed, and made all the haste he could to Jerusalem. And when he had learned that Judas had pitched his camp at a certain village whose name was Bethzetho, he led his army against him: they were twenty thousand foot-men, and two thousand horsemen. Now Judas had no more soldiers than one thousand. When these saw

the multitude of Bacchides's men, they were afraid, and left their camp, and fled all away, excepting eight hundred. Now when Judas was deserted by his own soldiers, and the enemy pressed upon him, and gave him no time to gather his army together, he was disposed to fight with Bacchides's army, though he had but eight hundred men with him; so he exhorted these men to undergo the danger courageously, and encouraged them to attack the enemy. And when they said they were not a body sufficient to fight so great an army, and advised that they should retire now, and save themselves and that when he had gathered his own men together, then he should fall upon the enemy afterwards, his answer was this: "Let not the sun ever see such a thing, that I should show my back to the enemy and although this be the time that will bring me to my end, and I must die in this battle, I will rather stand to it courageously, and bear whatsoever comes upon me, than by now running away bring reproach upon my former great actions, or tarnish their glory." This was the speech he made to those that remained with him, whereby he encouraged them to attack the enemy.

(2) [426] Ὁ δὲ Βακχίδης ἐξαγαγὼν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τὴν δύναμιν πρὸς μάχην παρετάσσετο, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἱππεῖς ἐξ ἑκατέρων τῶν κεράτων ἔταξε, τοὺς δὲ ψιλοὺς καὶ τοξότας προέστησεν πάσης τῆς φάλαγγος, αὐτὸς δ' ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ. [427] οὕτως δὲ συντάξας τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπεὶ προσέμιξεν τῷ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπέδῳ, σημῆναι τὸν σαλπικτὴν ἐκέλευσεν καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀλαλάξασαν προσιέναι. [428] τὸ δ' αὐτὸ ποιήσας ὁ Ἰούδας συμβάλλει τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ καρτερῶς ἀμφοτέρων ἀγωνιζομένων καὶ τῆς μάχης μέχρι δυσμῶν παρατεινομένης, ἰδὼν ὁ Ἰούδας τὸν Βακχίδην καὶ τὸ κρατερὸν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι τυγχάνον, παραλαβὼν τοὺς εὐψυχοτάτους ὥρμησεν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ μέρος τῆς τάξεως, καὶ προσβαλὼν τοῖς ἐκεῖ διέσπα αὐτῶν τὴν φάλαγγα. [429] ὡσάμενος δ' εἰς μέσους εἰς φυγὴν ἐβιάσατο αὐτούς, καὶ διώκει μέχρι Ἐζᾶ ὄρους οὕτω λεγομένου. θεασάμενοι δὲ τὴν τροπὴν τῶν ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι οἱ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἔχοντες ἐκυκλώσαντο τὸν Ἰούδαν διώκοντα καὶ λαμβάνουσι μέσον αὐτὸν κατόπιν γενόμενοι. [430] ὁ δὲ φυγεῖν οὐ δυνάμενος, ἀλλὰ περιεσχημένος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, στὰς ἐμάχετο μετὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ. πολλοὺς δὲ κτείνας τῶν ἀντιπάλων καὶ κατάκοπος γενόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς ἔπεσεν, ἐπὶ καλοῖς μὲν πρότερον γεγενημένοις, ἐφ' ὁμοίοις δὲ ὅτε ἀπέθνησκεν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφείς. [431] πεσόντος δὲ Ἰούδα πρὸς μηδένα τὸ λοιπὸν ἀφορᾶν ἔχοντες οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατηγοῦ δὲ τοιούτου στερηθέντες ἔφυγον. [432] λαβόντες δὲ τὸ σῶμα παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὑπόσπονδον Σίμων καὶ Ἰωνάθης ἀδελφοὶ τοῦ Ἰούδα, κομίσαντες εἰς τὴν Μωδεεῖν κώμην, ὅπου καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῶν τέθαπτο, κηδεύουσιν πενθήσαντος ἐπὶ συχνὰς αὐτὸν τοῦ πλήθους ἡμέρας καὶ τιμήσαντος κοινῇ τοῖς νενομισμένοις. [433] καὶ τέλος μὲν τοιοῦτον κατέσχεν Ἰούδαν, ἄνδρα γενναῖον καὶ μεγαλοπόλεμον

γενόμενον καὶ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐντολῶν Ματταθίου μνήμονα καὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐλευθερίας καὶ δρᾶσαι καὶ παθεῖν ὑποστάντα. [434] τοιοῦτος οὖν τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑπάρξας μέγιστον αὐτοῦ κλέος καὶ μνημεῖον κατέλιπεν, ἐλευθερώσας τὸ ἔθνος καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ Μακεδόσιν ἐξαρπάσας αὐτὸ δουλείας. τὴν δ' ἀρχιερωσύνην ἔτος τρίτον κατασχὼν ἀπέθανεν.

2. But Bacchldes drew his army out of their camp, and put them in array for the battle. He set the horsemen on both the wings, and the light soldiers and the archers he placed before the whole army, but he was himself on the right wing. And when he had thus put his army in order of battle, and was going to join battle with the enemy, he commanded the trumpeter to give a signal of battle, and the army to make a shout, and to fall on the enemy. And when Judas had done the same, he joined battle with them; and as both sides fought valiantly, and the battle continued till sun-set, Judas saw that Bacehides and the strongest part of the army was in the right wing, and thereupon took the most courageous men with him, and ran upon that part of the army, and fell upon those that were there, and broke their ranks, and drove them into the middle, and forced them to run away, and pursued them as far as to a mountain called Aza: but when those of the left wing saw that the right wing was put to flight, they encompassed Judas, and pursued him, and came behind him, and took him into the middle of their army; so being not able to fly, but encompassed round about with enemies, he stood still, and he and those that were with him fought; and when he had slain a great many of those that came against him, he at last was himself wounded, and fell and gave up the ghost, and died in a way like to his former famous actions. When Judas was dead, those that were with him had no one whom they could regard [as their commander]; but when they saw themselves deprived of such a general, they fled. But Simon and Jonathan, Judas's brethren, received his dead body by a treaty from the enemy, and carried it to the village of Modin, where their father had been buried, and there buried him; while the multitude lamented him many days, and performed the usual solemn rites of a funeral to him. And this was the end that Judas came to. He had been a man of valor and a great warrior, and mindful of the commands of their father Matrathins; and had undergone all difficulties, both in doing and suffering, for the liberty of his countrymen. And when his character was so excellent [while he was alive], he left behind him a glorious reputation and memorial, by gaining freedom for his nation, and delivering them from slavery under the Macedonians. And when he had retained the high priesthood three years, he died.

Liber XIII

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Ὡς Ἰωνάθης ἀδελφὸς ὢν Ἰούδα τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρέλαβεν.

β. ὡς πολεμήσας Βακχίδην ἠνάγκασεν φιλίαν ποιησάμενον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρας.

γ. ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς Ἀντιόχου υἱὸς ἐλθὼν εἰς Συρίαν ἐξήνεγκεν πόλεμον πρὸς Δημήτριον.

δ. ὡς Δημήτριος πρεσβευσάμενος πρὸς Ἰωνάθην ποιεῖται συμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν αὐτόν τε πολλοῖς δωρησάμενος καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν.

ε. ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ ὑπερβαλὼν τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Δημητρίου καὶ ἀποδείξας Ἰωνάθην ἀρχιερέα συμμαχεῖν ἔπεισεν αὐτῷ.

ς. ἡ Ὀνίου φιλία πρὸς τὸν Φιλομήτορα Πτολεμαῖον κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν γενομένη, καὶ ὡς ᾠκοδόμησεν τὸν Ὀνίου καλούμενον ναὸν πρὸς τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὄντα.

ζ. ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρος ἀποθανόντος Δημητρίου σφόδρα ἐτίμησεν Ἰωνάθην.

η. ὡς Δημήτριος ὁ Δημητρίου παῖς πλεύσας εἰς τὴν Συρίαν ἀπὸ Κρήτης καὶ πολεμήσας τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ κρατήσας αὐτοῦ αὐτὸς ἐβασίλευσεν φιλίαν πρὸς Ἰωνάθην ποιησάμενος.

θ. ὡς Τρύφων ὁ Ἀπαμεὺς καταπολεμήσας Δημήτριον Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱῷ παρέδωκεν τὴν βασιλείαν ποιησάμενος καὶ αὐτὸς σύμμαχον Ἰωνάθην.

ι. ὡς Δημητρίου ὑπὸ Πάρθων αἰχμαλώτου ληφθέντος παρεσπόνδησεν τὸν Ἰωνάθην καὶ δόλῳ λαβὼν αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινεν καὶ πόλεμον ἐξήνεγκεν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Σίμωνα.

ια. ὡς Σίμωνι τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐνεχείρισεν τὸ ἔθνος καὶ ἀπέδειξεν αὐτὸν ἀρχιερέα.

ιβ. ὡς ἐπολιόρκησεν ἐν Δώροις Τρύφωνα σύμμαχος γενόμενος Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ Δημητρίου ἀδελφῷ τῷ καὶ Εὐσεβεῖ ἐπικληθέντι.

ιγ. ὡς Τρύφωνος ἀναιρεθέντος Ἀντίοχος ἐπολέμησεν Σίμωνα κἀκεῖνος Κενδεβαῖον τὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτοῦ νικήσας τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐξέβαλεν.

ιδ. ὅτι ὑπὸ τοῦ γαμβροῦ Πτολεμαίου ἐν συμποσίῳ δολοφονηθεὶς ἀπέθανεν, καὶ Πτολεμαῖος δήσας αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ἐπεχείρησεν κατασχεῖν.

ιε. ὡς ὁ νεώτατος τῶν Σίμωνος υἱῶν Ὑρκανὸς φθάσας αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παραλαβὼν ἐπολιόρκησεν τὸν Πτολεμαῖον εἴς τι φρούριον ἐγκλείσας Δαγὼν καλούμενον.

ις. ὡς στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Ὑρκανὸν Ἀντίοχος ὁ καλούμενος Εὐσεβὴς καὶ προσκαθίσας τῇ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλει διέλυσε τὴν πολιορκίαν λαβὼν παρὰ Ὑρκανοῦ τάλαντα τριακόσια καὶ συμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ φιλίαν συνθέμενος.

ιζ. Ὑρκανοῦ στρατεία μετὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχου τελευτὴν ἐν Μήδοις ἀποθανόντος ἐπὶ Συρίαν καὶ ὡς πολλὰς πόλεις κατὰ κράτος εἶλεν.

ιη. φιλία πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ζαβίνα κληθέντος.

ιθ. ὡς ἡττηθεὶς ὑφ᾽ Ὑρκανοῦ Ἀντίοχος ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἐξέπεσεν τῆς Ἰουδαίας.

κ. ὡς παραλαβὼν Ἀριστόβουλος τὴν ἀρχὴν διάδημα περιέθετο πρῶτος.

κα. ὡς τελευτήσαντος Ἀριστοβούλου ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβὼν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην καὶ Ἀραβίαν καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐχειρώσατο.

κβ. Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λαθούρου πρὸς αὐτὸν μάχη καὶ νίκη.

κγ. ὡς στρατευσάμενος Δημήτριος ὁ Εὔκαιρος λεγόμενος ἐπὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκράτησεν αὐτοῦ.

κδ. Ἀντιόχου τοῦ καὶ Διονύσου λεγομένου στρατεία ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίαν καὶ ὡς ἐκράτησεν τῇ μάχῃ.

κε. ὡς μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρα τὴν βασιλείαν ἔτεσιν ἐννέα κατασχοῦσα καὶ βιώσασα μετὰ εἰρήνης καὶ δόξης ἀπέθανεν.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ δύο.

BOOK XIII. Containing The Interval Of Eighty-Two Years. — From The Death Of Judas Maccabeus To The Death Of Queen Alexandra.

I

CHAPTER 1. How Jonathan Took The Government After His Brother Judas; And How He, Together With His Brother Simon, Waged War Against Bacchides.

(1) [1] Τίνα μὲν οὖν τρόπον τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος καταδουλωσαμένων αὐτὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀνεκτήσατο τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ δι᾽ ὅσων καὶ πηλίκων ἀγώνων ὁ στρατηγὸς αὐτῶν ἐλθὼν Ἰούδας ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μαχόμενος, ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης βίβλῳ δεδηλώκαμεν. [2] μετὰ δὲ τὴν τελευτὴν τὴν Ἰούδου πᾶν ὅσον ἦν ἔτι τῶν ἀσεβῶν καὶ παραβεβηκότων τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν ἐπεφύη τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ πανταχόθεν αὐτοὺς ἀκμάζον ἐκάκου. [3] συνελάμβανε δὲ τῇ τούτων πονηρίᾳ καὶ λιμὸς τὴν χώραν καταλαβών, ὡς πολλοὺς διὰ τὴν σπάνιν τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τοῖς παρ᾽ ἀμφοτέρων ἀπό τε τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν δεινοῖς ἀντέχειν αὐτομολῆσαι πρὸς τοὺς Μακεδόνας. [4] Βακχίδης δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοὺς ἀποστάντας τῆς πατρίου συνηθείας καὶ τὸν κοινὸν βίον προῃρημένους συναθροίσας τούτοις ἐνεχείρισεν τὴν τῆς χώρας ἐπιμέλειαν, οἳ καὶ συλλαμβάνοντες τοὺς Ἰούδου φίλους καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου φρονοῦντας τῷ Βακχίδῃ παρέδοσαν: ὁ δὲ βασανίζων πρῶτον αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν αἰκιζόμενος ἔπειθ᾽ οὕτως διέφθειρεν. [5] ταύτης δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τηλικαύτης γενομένης, ἡλίκης οὐκ ἦσαν πεπειραμένοι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἐπάνοδον, οἱ περιλειφθέντες τῶν ἑταίρων τῶν Ἰούδου βλέποντες ἀπολλύμενον οἰκτρῶς τὸ ἔθνος προσελθόντες αὐτοῦ τῷ ἀδελφῷ Ἰωνάθῃ μιμεῖσθαι τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου περὶ τῶν ὁμοφύλων πρόνοιαν ἠξίουν ἀποθανόντος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνων ἐλευθερίας, καὶ μὴ περιορᾶν ἀπροστάτητον τὸ ἔθνος μηδ᾽ ἐν οἷς φθείρεται. [6] ὁ δ᾽ Ἰωνάθης φήσας ἑτοίμως ἔχειν ἀποθνήσκειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ νομισθεὶς κατὰ μηδὲν εἶναι χείρων τἀδελφοῦ στρατηγὸς ἀποδείκνυται τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

1. By what means the nation of the Jews recovered their freedom when they had been brought into slavery by the Macedonians, and what struggles, and how great battles, Judas, the general of their army, ran through, till he was slain as he was fighting for them, hath been related in the foregoing book; but after he was dead, all the wicked, and those that transgressed the laws of their forefathers, sprang up again in Judea, and grew upon them, and distressed them on every side. A famine also assisted their wickedness, and afflicted the country, till not a few, who by reason of their want of necessaries, and because they were not able to bear up against the miseries that both the famine and their enemies brought upon them, deserted their country, and went to the Macedonians. And now

Bacchides gathered those Jews together who had apostatized from the accustomed way of living of their forefathers, and chose to live like their neighbors, and committed the care of the country to them, who also caught the friends of Judas, and those of his party, and delivered them up to Bacchides, who when he had, in the first place, tortured and tormented them at his pleasure, he, by that means, at length killed them. And when this calamity of the Jews was become so great, as they had never had experience of the like since their return out of Babylon, those that remained of the companions of Judas, seeing that the nation was ready to be destroyed after a miserable manner, came to his brother Jonathan, and desired him that he would imitate his brother, and that care which he took of his countrymen, for whose liberty in general he died also; and that he would not permit the nation to be without a governor, especially in those destructive circumstances wherein it now was. And where Jonathan said that he was ready to die for them, and esteemed no inferior to his brother, he was appointed to be the general of the Jewish army.

(2) [7] Ὁ δὲ Βακχίδης ἀκούσας καὶ φοβηθείς, μὴ παράσχῃ πράγματα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ὁ Ἰωνάθης, ὡς καὶ πρότερον Ἰούδας, ἀποκτεῖναι δόλῳ τοῦτον ἐζήτει. [8] ταύτην δὲ ἔχων τὴν προαίρεσιν οὐκ ἔλαθεν τὸν Ἰωνάθην οὐδὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Σίμωνα, ἀλλὰ γὰρ μαθόντες οὗτοι καὶ παραλαβόντες τοὺς ἑταίρους ἅπαντας εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν τὴν ἔγγιστα τῆς πόλεως τὸ τάχος ἔφυγον, καὶ παραγενόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ καλούμενον λάκκου Ἀσφὰρ αὐτόθι διῆγον. [9] ὁ δὲ Βακχίδης αἰσθόμενος αὐτοὺς ἀπηρκότας καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ τυγχάνοντας ὥρμησεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου στρατοπεδευσάμενος ἀνελάμβανε τὴν δύναμιν. [10] Ἰωνάθης δὲ γνοὺς τὸν Βακχίδην ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἥκοντα πέμπει τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰωάννην τὸν καὶ Γάδδειν λεγόμενον πρὸς τοὺς Ναβαταίους Ἄραβας, ἵνα παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀποθῆται τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἕως οὗ πολεμήσουσι πρὸς Βακχίδην: ἦσαν γὰρ φίλοι. [11] τὸν δὲ Ἰωάννην ἀπιόντα πρὸς τοὺς Ναβαταίους ἐνεδρεύσαντες ἐκ Μηδάβας πόλεως οἱ Ἀμαραίου παῖδες αὐτόν τε συλλαμβάνουσι καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ, καὶ διαρπάσαντες ὅσα ἐπεκομίζετο κτείνουσι τὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ τοὺς ἑταίρους αὐτοῦ πάντας. δίκην μέντοι γε τούτων ὑπέσχον τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀξίαν, ἣν μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δηλώσομεν.

2. When Bacchides heard this, and was afraid that Jonathan might be very troublesome to the king and the Macedonians, as Judas had been before him, he sought how he might slay him by treachery. But this intention of his was not unknown to Jonathan, nor to his brother Simon; but when these two were apprized of it, they took all their companions, and presently fled into that wilderness which was nearest to the city; and when they were come to a lake

called Asphar, they abode there. But when Bacchides was sensible that they were in a low state, and were in that place, he hasted to fall upon them with all his forces, and pitching his camp beyond Jordan, he recruited his army. But when Jonathan knew that Bacchides Was coming upon him, he sent his brother John, who was also called Gaddis, to the Nabatean Arabs, that he might lodge his baggage with them until the battle with Bacchides should be over, for they were the Jews' friends. And the sons of Ambri laid an ambush for John from the city Medaba, and seized upon him, and upon those that were with him, and plundered all that they had with them. They also slew John, and all his companions. However, they were sufficiently punished for what they now did by John's brethren, as we shall relate presently.

(3) [12] Ὁ δὲ Βακχίδης γνοὺς τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἐν τοῖς ἕλεσι τοῦ Ἰορδάνου κατεστρατοπεδευμένον παραφυλάξας τὴν τῶν σαββάτων ἡμέραν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἦκεν ὡς οὐ μαχούμενον ἐκείνῃ διὰ τὸν νόμον. [13] ὁ δὲ παρορμήσας τοὺς ἑταίρους καὶ περὶ τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὸν κίνδυνον εἰπὼν μέσοις ἀπειλημμένοις τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ὡς φυγὴν οὐκ ἔχουσιν, οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπῄεσαν ὁ ποταμὸς δ' ἦν κατόπιν αὐτῶν, εὐξάμενος δὲ καὶ τῷ θεῷ νίκην αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν συνάπτει τοῖς πολεμίοις. [14] ὧν πολλοὺς καταβαλὼν ἐπεὶ τολμηρῶς εἶδεν ἐπερχόμενον αὐτῷ τὸν Βακχίδην, ἐξέτεινε τὴν δεξιὰν ὡς πλήξων αὐτόν. τοῦ δὲ προιδομένου καὶ τὴν πληγὴν ἐκκλίναντος ἀποπηδήσας μετὰ τῶν ἑταίρων εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν διενήξατο, καὶ τοῦτον διασώζονται τὸν τρόπον εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, τῶν πολεμίων οὐκέτι τὸν ποταμὸν ἀντιδιαβάντων ὑποστρέψαντος εὐθὺς τοῦ Βακχίδου εἰς τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἄκραν. [15] ἀπέβαλεν δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς ὡς περὶ δισχιλίους. πολλὰς δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίας καταλαβόμενος πόλεις ὁ Βακχίδης ὠχύρωσεν, καὶ τὴν Ἰεριχοῦντα καὶ Ἀμμαοῦν καὶ Βαιθωροῦν καὶ Βέθηλα καὶ Θαμναθὰ καὶ Φαραθὼ καὶ Τοχόαν καὶ Γάζαρα, [16] καὶ πύργους ἐν ἑκάστῃ τῶν πόλεων οἰκοδομήσας καὶ τείχη περιβαλὼν αὐταῖς καρτερὰ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει διαφέροντα δύναμιν εἰς αὐτὰς κατέστησεν, ὅπως κακοῦν ἐκεῖθεν ὁρμώμενοι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἔχωσιν. [17] μάλιστα δὲ τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἄκραν ὠχύρωσεν. λαβὼν δὲ καὶ τοὺς τῶν πρώτων τῆς Ἰουδαίας παῖδας ὁμήρους εἰς τὴν ἄκραν αὐτοὺς ἐνέκλεισεν καὶ τοῦτον ἐφύλαττεν τὸν τρόπον.

3. But when Bacchides knew that Jonathan had pitched his camp among the lakes of Jordan, he observed when their sabbath day came, and then assaulted him, [as supposing that he would not fight because of the law for resting on that day]: but he exhorted his companions [to fight]; and told them that their lives were at stake, since they were encompassed by the river, and by their enemies, and had no way to escape, for that their enemies pressed upon them from before, and the river was behind them. So after he had prayed to God to give them the victory,

he joined battle with the enemy, of whom he overthrew many; and as he saw Bacchides coming up boldly to him, he stretched out his right hand to smite him; but the other foreseeing and avoiding the stroke, Jonathan with his companions leaped into the river, and swam over it, and by that means escaped beyond Jordan while the enemies did not pass over that river; but Bacchides returned presently to the citadel at Jerusalem, having lost about two thousand of his army. He also fortified many cities of Judea, whose walls had been demolished; Jericho, and Emmaus, and Betboron, and Bethel, and Tinma, and Pharatho, and Tecoa, and Gazara, and built towers in every one of these cities, and encompassed them with strong walls, that were very large also, and put garrisons into them, that they might issue out of them, and do mischief to the Jews. He also fortified the citadel at Jerusalem more than all the rest. Moreover, he took the sons of the principal Jews as pledges, and shut them up in the citadel, and in that manner guarded it.

(4) [18] Ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ καιρὸν παραγενόμενός τις πρὸς Ἰωνάθην καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Σίμωνα τοὺς Ἀμαραίου παῖδας ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς γάμον ἐπιτελοῦντας καὶ τὴν νύμφην ἄγοντας ἀπὸ Ναβαθὰ πόλεως θυγατέρα τινὸς οὖσαν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἄραψιν, μέλλειν δὲ γίνεσθαι παραπομπὴν τῆς κόρης λαμπρὰν καὶ πολυτελῆ. [19] οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην καὶ Σίμωνα καιρὸν ἐπιτηδειότατον εἰς τὴν ἐκδικίαν τἀδελφοῦ νομίσαντες αὐτοῖς παραφανῆναι, καὶ λήψεσθαι τὴν ὑπὲρ Ἰωάννου δίκην παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πολλῆς ἐξουσίας ὑπολαβόντες ἐξώρμησαν εἰς τὰ Μήδαβα καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐν τῷ ὄρει λοχῶντες ἔμενον. [20] ὡς δ᾽ εἶδον αὐτοὺς ἄγοντας τὴν παρθένον καὶ τὸν νυμφίον καὶ φίλων σὺν αὐτοῖς οἷον εἰκὸς ἐν γάμοις ὄχλον, ἀναπηδήσαντες ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἀπέκτειναν ἅπαντας καὶ τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὅση τότε εἵπετο λεία τοῖς ἀνθρώποις λαβόντες ὑπέστρεψαν. [21] καὶ τιμωρίαν μὲν ὑπὲρ Ἰωάννου τἀδελφοῦ παρὰ τῶν υἱῶν Ἀμαραίου τοιαύτην ἀπέλαβον: αὐτοί τε γὰρ οὗτοι καὶ οἱ συνεπόμενοι τούτοις φίλοι καὶ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν καὶ τέκνα διεφθάρησαν ὄντες τετρακόσιοι.

4. About the same time one came to Jonathan, and to his brother Simon, and told them that the sons of Ambri were celebrating a marriage, and bringing the bride from the city Gabatha, who was the daughter of one of the illustrious men among the Arabians, and that the damsel was to be conducted with pomp, and splendor, and much riches: so Jonathan and Simon thinking this appeared to be the fittest time for them to avenge the death of their brother, and that they had forces sufficient for receiving satisfaction from them for his death, they made haste to Medaba, and lay in wait among the mountains for the coming of their enemies; and as soon as they saw them conducting the virgin, and her

bridegroom, and such a great company of their friends with them as was to be expected at this wedding, they sallied out of their ambush, and slew them all, and took their ornaments, and all the prey that then followed them, and so returned, and received this satisfaction for their brother John from the sons of Ambri; for as well those sons themselves, as their friends, and wives, and children that followed them, perished, being in number about four hundred.

(5) [22] Σίμων μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἰωνάθης εἰς τὰ ἕλη τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὑποστρέψαντες αὐτόθι κατέμενον. Βακχίδης δὲ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἅπασαν φρουραῖς ἀσφαλισάμενος ὑπέστρεψεν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. καὶ τότε μὲν ἐπ᾽ ἔτη δύο τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἠρέμησεν πράγματα. [23] οἱ δὲ φυγάδες καὶ οἱ ἀσεβεῖς ὁρῶντες τὸν Ἰωνάθην καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀδείας ἐνδιατρίβοντας τῇ χώρᾳ διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην πέμπουσιν πρὸς Δημήτριον τὸν βασιλέα, παρακαλοῦντες ἀποστεῖλαι Βακχίδην ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνάθου σύλληψιν: ἐδήλουν γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀπόνως ἐσομένην, καὶ νυκτὶ μιᾷ μὴ προσδοκῶσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσόντες ἀποκτενεῖν ἅπαντας. [24] τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἐκπέμψαντος τὸν Βακχίδην, γενόμενος οὗτος ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ πᾶσιν ἔγραψεν τοῖς φίλοις καὶ Ἰουδαίοις καὶ συμμάχοις συλλαβεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἰωνάθην. [25] σπουδαζόντων δὲ πάντων καὶ μὴ δυναμένων κρατῆσαι τοῦ Ἰωνάθου, ἐφυλάσσετο γὰρ σφόδρα τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ᾐσθημένος, ὁ Βακχίδης ὀργισθεὶς τοῖς φυγάσιν ὡς ψευσαμένοις αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν βασιλέα πεντήκοντα αὐτῶν τοὺς ἡγουμένους συλλαβὼν ἀπέκτεινεν. [26] ὁ δὲ Ἰωνάθης σὺν τἀδελφῷ καὶ τοῖς ἑταίροις εἰς Βηθαλαγὰν ἀναχωρεῖ κώμην οὖσαν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ φοβηθεὶς τὸν Βακχίδην, καὶ οἰκοδομήσας πύργους καὶ τείχη περιβαλόμενος αὐτὸν ἔσχεν ἀσφαλῶς πεφρουρημένον. [27] Βακχίδης δὲ ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας τήν τε μεθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ στρατιὰν ἄγων καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοὺς συμμάχους παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἦκεν, καὶ προσβαλὼν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ὀχυρώμασιν ἐπὶ πολλὰς αὐτὸν ἡμέρας ἐπολιόρκει. [28] ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὴν σπουδὴν τῆς πολιορκίας οὐκ ἐνδίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ καρτερῶς ἀντιστὰς Σίμωνα μὲν τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει καταλείπει τῷ Βακχίδῃ πολεμήσοντα, λάθρα δ᾽ αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐξελθὼν καὶ συναγαγὼν χεῖρα πολλὴν παρὰ τῶν τὰ αὐτοῦ φρονούντων νυκτὸς ἐπιπίπτει τῷ τοῦ Βακχίδου στρατοπέδῳ καὶ συχνοὺς αὐτῶν διαφθείρας φανερὸς καὶ τἀδελφῷ Σίμωνι γίνεται τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπιπεσών. [29] καὶ γὰρ οὗτος αἰσθόμενος ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κτεινομένους τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπέξεισιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ τά τε μηχανήματα τὰ πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐνέπρησε τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ φόνον αὐτῶν ἱκανὸν εἰργάσατο. [30] θεασάμενος δ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁ Βακχίδης ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπειλημμένον καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν τοὺς δ᾽ ὄπισθεν προσκειμένους, εἰς ἀθυμίαν ἅμα καὶ ταραχὴν τῆς διανοίας ἐνέπεσεν τῷ παρ᾽ ἐλπίδας ἀποβάντι τῆς πολιορκίας συγχυθείς. [31] τὸν μέντοι γε ὑπὲρ τούτων θυμὸν εἰς τοὺς φυγάδας, οἳ μετεπέμψαντο παρὰ τοῦ

βασιλέως αὐτόν, ἀπέσκηψεν ὡς ἐξηπατηκότας, ἐβούλετο δὲ τελευτήσας τὴν πολιορκίαν, εἰ δυνατόν, εὐπρεπῶς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ὑποστρέψαι.

5. However, Simon and Jonathan returned to the lakes of the river, and abode there. But Bacchides, when he had secured all Judea with his garrisons, returned to the king; and then it was that the affairs of Judea were quiet for two years. But when the deserters and the wicked saw that Jonathan and those that were with him lived in the country very quietly, by reason of the peace, they sent to king Demetrius, and excited him to send Bacchides to seize upon Jonathan, which they said was to be done without any trouble, and in one night's time; and that if they fell upon them before they were aware, they might slay them all. So the king sent Bacchides, who, when he was come into Judea, wrote to all his friends, both Jews and auxiliaries, that they should seize upon Jonathan, and bring him to him; and when, upon all their endeavors, they were not able to seize upon Jonathan, for he was sensible of the snares they laid for him, and very carefully guarded against them, Bacchides was angry at these deserters, as having imposed upon him, and upon the king, and slew fifty of their leaders: whereupon Jonathan, with his brother, and those that were with him, retired to Bethagla, a village that lay in the wilderness, out of his fear of Bacchides. He also built towers in it, and encompassed it with walls, and took care that it should be safely guarded. Upon the hearing of which Bacchides led his own army along with him, and besides took his Jewish auxiliaries, and came against Jonathan, and made an assault upon his fortifications, and besieged him many days; but Jonathan did not abate of his courage at the zeal Bacchides used in the siege, but courageously opposed him. And while he left his brother Simon in the city to fight with Bacchides, he went privately out himself into the country, and got a great body of men together of his own party, and fell upon Bacchides's camp in the night time, and destroyed a great many of them. His brother Simon knew also of this his falling upon them, because he perceived that the enemies were slain by him; so he sallied out upon them, and burnt the engines which the Macedonians used, and made a great slaughter of them. And when Bacchides saw himself encompassed with enemies, and some of them before and some behind him, he fell into despair and trouble of mind, as confounded at the unexpected ill success of this siege. However, he vented his displeasure at these misfortunes upon those deserters who sent for him from the king, as having deluded him. So he had a mind to finish this siege after a decent manner, if it were possible for him so to do, and then to return home.

(6) [32] Μαθὼν δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν Ἰωνάθης πρεσβεύεται πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας, ὅπως ἀποδῶσιν ἀλλήλοις οὓς εἰλήφασιν αἰχμαλώτους

ἑκάτεροι. [33] νομίσας δὲ ταύτην εὐπρεπεστάτην ὁ Βακχίδης τὴν ἀναχώρησιν σπένδεται πρὸς τὸν Ἰωνάθην φιλίαν, καὶ ὤμοσαν μὴ στρατεύσειν ἔτι κατ᾽ ἀλλήλων, καὶ τούς τε αἰχμαλώτους ἀποδοὺς καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους κομισάμενος ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ μετὰ ταύτην τὴν ἀναχώρησιν οὐκέτι εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐνέβαλεν. [34] ὁ δὲ Ἰωνάθης ταύτης τῆς ἀδείας λαβόμενος καὶ ποιούμενος ἐν Μαχμᾶ πόλει τὴν δίαιταν αὐτόθι τοῖς ὄχλοις διεῖπε τὰ πράγματα καὶ τοὺς πονηροὺς καὶ ἀσεβεῖς κολάζων ἐκάθηρεν οὕτως ἀπὸ τούτων τὸ ἔθνος.

6. When Jonathan understood these his intentions, he sent ambassadors to him about a league of friendship and mutual assistance, and that they might restore those they had taken captive on both sides. So Bacchides thought this a pretty decent way of retiring home, and made a league of friendship with Jonathan, when they sware that they would not any more make war one against another. Accordingly, he restored the captives, and took his own men with him, and returned to the king at Antioch; and after this his departure, he never came into Judea again. Then did Jonathan take the opportunity of this quiet state of things, and went and lived in the city Michmash; and there governed the multitude, and punished the wicked and ungodly, and by that means purged the nation of them.

II

CHAPTER 2. How Alexander [Bala] In His War With Demetrius, Granted Jonathan Many Advantages And Appointed Him To Be High Priest And Persuaded Him To Assist Him Although Demetrius Promised Him Greater Advantages On The Other Side. Concerning The Death Of Demetrius.

(1) [35] Ἔτει δ᾽ ἑξηκοστῷ καὶ ἑκατοστῷ τὸν Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς υἱὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀναβάντα εἰς Συρίαν συνέβη καταλαβέσθαι Πτολεμαίδα ἐκ προδοσίας τῶν ἔνδον στρατιωτῶν: ἀπεχθῶς γὰρ εἶχον πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον διὰ τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ δυσέντευκτον. [36] ἀποκλείσας γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰς τετραπύργιόν τι βασίλειον, ὃ κατεσκεύασεν αὐτὸς οὐκ ἄπωθεν τῆς Ἀντιοχείας, οὐδένα προσίετο, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὰ πράγματα ῥάθυμος ἦν καὶ ὀλίγωρος, ὅθεν αὐτῷ καὶ μᾶλλον τὸ παρὰ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων μῖσος ἐξήφθη, καθὼς ἤδη καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδηλώκαμεν. [37] γενόμενον οὖν ἐν Πτολεμαίδι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀκούσας ὁ Δημήτριος ἦγεν ἅπασαν ἀναλαβὼν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν τὴν δύναμιν. ἔπεμψεν δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ἰωνάθην πρέσβεις περὶ συμμαχίας καὶ εὐνοίας: φθάσαι γὰρ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον διέγνω, μὴ προδιαλεχθεὶς ἐκεῖνος αὐτῷ σχῇ τὴν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ βοήθειαν. [38] τοῦτο δ᾽ ἐποίει φοβηθείς, μὴ μνησικακήσας ὁ Ἰωνάθης αὐτῷ τῆς ἔχθρας συνεπιθῆται. προσέταξεν οὖν αὐτῷ συναθροίζειν δύναμιν καὶ κατασκευάζειν ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς

ὁμήρους, οὓς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐνέκλεισε Βακχίδης ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, ἀπολαβεῖν. [39] τοιούτων οὖν αὐτῷ τῶν παρὰ Δημητρίου προσπεσόντων ὁ Ἰωνάθης παραγενόμενος εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀνέγνω τοῦ βασιλέως ἀκουόντων τοῦ τε λαοῦ καὶ τῶν φρουρούντων τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. [40] ἀναγνωσθέντων δὲ τούτων οἱ ἀσεβεῖς καὶ φυγάδες οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως λίαν ἔδεισαν ἐπιτετροφότος Ἰωνάθῃ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατιὰν συλλέγειν καὶ τοὺς ὁμήρους ἀπολαβεῖν. ὁ δὲ τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἑκάστῳ τὸν ἴδιον ἀπέδωκεν. [41] καὶ οὕτως μὲν Ἰωνάθης ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις τὴν μονὴν ἐποιεῖτο καινίζων τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν κατασκευάζων ἕκαστον. ἐκέλευσε γὰρ οἰκοδομηθῆναι καὶ τὰ τείχη τῆς πόλεως ἐκ λίθων τετραγώνων, ὡς ἂν ᾖ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους ἀσφαλέστερα. [42] ταῦτα δ᾽ ὁρῶντες οἱ τῶν φρουρίων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ φύλακες ἐκλιπόντες αὐτὰ πάντες ἔφυγον εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν πάρεξ τῶν ἐν Βαιθσούρᾳ πόλει καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων: οὗτοι γὰρ ἡ πλείων μοῖρα τῶν ἀσεβῶν καὶ πεφευγότων Ἰουδαίων ἦσαν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰς φρουρὰς οὐκ ἐγκατέλιπον.

1. Now in the hundred and sixtieth year, it fell out that Alexander, the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, came up into Syria, and took Ptolemais the soldiers within having betrayed it to him; for they were at enmity with Demetrius, on account of his insolence and difficulty of access; for he shut himself up in a palace of his that had four towers which he had built himself, not far from Antioch and admitted nobody. He was withal slothful and negligent about the public affairs, whereby the hatred of his subjects was the more kindled against him, as we have elsewhere already related. When therefore Demetrius heard that Alexander was in Ptolemais, he took his whole army, and led it against him; he also sent ambassadors to Jonathan about a league of mutual assistance and friendship, for he resolved to be beforehand with Alexander, lest the other should treat with him first, and gain assistance from him; and this he did out of the fear he had lest Jonathan should remember how ill Demetrius had formerly treated him, and should join with him in this war against him. He therefore gave orders that Jonathan should be allowed to raise an army, and should get armor made, and should receive back those hostages of the Jewish nation whom Baechides had shut up in the citadel of Jerusalem. When this good fortune had befallen Jonathan, by the concession of Demetrius, he came to Jerusalem, and read the king’s letter in the audience of the people, and of those that kept the citadel. When these were read, these wicked men and deserters, who were in the citadel, were greatly afraid, upon the king’s permission to Jonathan to raise an army, and to receive back the hostages. So he delivered every one of them to his own parents. And thus did Jonathan make his abode at Jerusalem, renewing the

city to a better state, and reforming the buildings as he pleased; for he gave orders that the walls of the city should be rebuilt with square stones, that it might be more secure from their enemies. And when those that kept the garrisons that were in Judea saw this, they all left them, and fled to Antioch, excepting those that were in the city Bethsura, and those that were in the citadel of Jerusalem, for the greater part of these was of the wicked Jews and deserters, and on that account these did not deliver up their garrisons.

(2) [43] Γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τάς τε ὑποσχέσεις, ἃς ἐποιήσατο Δημήτριος πρὸς Ἰωνάθην, καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁπόσα διέθηκεν πολεμῶν τοὺς Μακεδόνας καὶ πάλιν οἷα πεπονθὼς αὐτὸς εἴη ὑπὸ Δημητρίου καὶ Βακχίδου τοῦ Δημητρίου στρατηγοῦ, σύμμαχον οὐκ ἂν εὑρεῖν Ἰωνάθου ἀμείνω πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἔλεγεν ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ, ὃς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους ἐστὶν ἀνδρεῖος, καὶ μῖσος οἰκεῖον ἔχει πρὸς Δημήτριον πολλὰ πεπονθὼς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κακὰ καὶ πεποιηκώς. [44] εἰ τοιγαροῦν δοκεῖ φίλον ποιεῖσθαι αὐτὸν κατὰ Δημητρίου, νῦν ἐστιν οὐκ ἄλλοτε χρησιμώτερον παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν.” δόξαν οὖν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς φίλοις πέμπειν πρὸς τὸν Ἰωνάθην γράφει τοιαύτην ἐπιστολήν: [45] “βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος Ἰωνάθῃ τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν. τὴν μὲν ἀνδρείαν σου καὶ πίστιν ἀκηκόαμεν πάλαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πεπόμφαμεν πρὸς σὲ περὶ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας. χειροτονοῦμεν δέ σε σήμερον ἀρχιερέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ φίλον ἐμὸν καλεῖσθαι. ἀπέσταλκά σοι καὶ δωρεὰς στολὴν πορφυρᾶν καὶ στέφανον χρύσεον καὶ παρακαλῶ τιμηθέντα ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν ὅμοιον γίνεσθαι περὶ ἡμᾶς.”

2. When Alexander knew what promises Demetrius had made Jonathan, and withal knew his courage, and what great things he had done when he fought the Macedonians, and besides what hardships he had undergone by the means of Demetrius, and of Bacchides, the general of Demetrius’s army, he told his friends that he could not at present find any one else that might afford him better assistance than Jonathan, who was both courageous against his enemies, and had a particular hatred against Demetrius, as having both suffered many hard things from him, and acted many hard things against him. If therefore they were of opinion that they should make him their friend against Demetrius, it was more for their advantage to invite him to assist them now than at another time. It being therefore determined by him and his friends to send to Jonathan, he wrote to him this epistle: “King Alexander to his brother Jonathan, sendeth greeting. We have long ago heard of thy courage and thy fidelity, and for that reason have sent to thee, to make with thee a league of friendship and mutual assistance. We therefore do ordain thee this day the high priest of the Jews, and that thou beest called my friend. I have also sent thee, as presents, a purple robe and a golden

crown, and desire that, now thou art by us honored, thou wilt in like manner respect us also."

(3) [46] Δεξάμενος δὲ ὁ Ἰωνάθης τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐνδύεται μὲν τὴν ἱερατικὴν στολὴν τῆς σκηνοπηγίας ἐνστάσης μετὰ ἔτη τέσσαρα ἢ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰούδαν ἀποθανεῖν: καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἀρχιερεύς τις ἐγεγόνει: συνάγει δὲ δύναμιν πολλὴν καὶ πλῆθος ὅπλων ἐχάλκευεν. [47] Δημήτριον δὲ σφόδρα ταῦτ' ἐλύπησεν μαθόντα καὶ τῆς βραδυτῆτος ἑαυτὸν ἐποίησεν αἰτιᾶσθαι, ὅτι μὴ προλαβὼν Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸς ἐφιλανθρωπεύσατο τὸν Ἰωνάθην, ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ καταλίποι καιρὸν εἰς τοῦτο. γράφει τοίνυν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιστολὴν τῷ Ἰωνάθῃ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δηλοῦσαν τάδε: [48] "βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος Ἰωνάθῃ καὶ τῷ ἔθνει τῶν Ἰουδαίων χαίρειν. ἐπειδὴ διετηρήσατε τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλίαν καὶ πειράσασιν ὑμᾶς τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐχθροῖς οὐ προσέθεσθε, καὶ ταύτην μὲν ὑμῶν ἐπαινῶ τὴν πίστιν καὶ παρακαλῶ δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐμμένειν ἀπολῃψομένους ἀμοιβὰς παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ χάριτας. [49] τοὺς γὰρ πλείστους ὑμῶν ἀνήσω τῶν φόρων καὶ τῶν συντάξεων, ἃς ἐτελεῖτε τοῖς πρὸ ἐμοῦ βασιλεῦσιν καὶ ἐμοί, νῦν τε ὑμῖν ἀφίημι τοὺς φόρους, οὓς ἀεὶ παρέχετε. πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τὴν τιμὴν ὑμῖν χαρίζομαι τῶν ἁλῶν καὶ τῶν στεφάνων, οὓς προσεφέρετε ἡμῖν, καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν τρίτων τοῦ καρποῦ καὶ τοῦ ἡμίσους τοῦ ξυλίνου καρποῦ τὸ γινόμενον ἐμοὶ μέρος ὑμῖν ἀφίημι ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας. [50] καὶ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἑκάστης ὃ ἔδει μοι δίδοσθαι τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ κατοικούντων καὶ τῶν τριῶν τοπαρχιῶν τῶν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ προσκειμένων Σαμαρείας καὶ Γαλιλαίας καὶ Περαίας, τούτους παραχωρῶ ὑμῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον. [51] καὶ τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον εἶναι βούλομαι καὶ ἐλευθέραν ἕως τῶν ὅρων αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης καὶ τῶν τελῶν. τὴν δὲ ἄκραν ἐπιτρέπω τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ ὑμῶν Ἰωνάθῃ, οὓς δ' ἂν αὐτὸς δοκιμάσῃ πιστοὺς καὶ φίλους τούτους ἐν αὐτῇ φρουροὺς καταστῆσαι, ἵνα φυλάσσωσιν ἡμῖν αὐτήν. [52] καὶ Ἰουδαίων δὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλωτισθέντας καὶ δουλεύοντας ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἀφίημι ἐλευθέρους. κελεύω δὲ μηδὲ ἀγγαρεύεσθαι τὰ Ἰουδαίων ὑποζύγια: τὰ δὲ σάββατα καὶ ἑορτὴν ἅπασαν καὶ τρεῖς καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἡμέρας ἔστωσαν ἀτελεῖς. [53] τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ κατοικοῦντας Ἰουδαίους ἐλευθέρους καὶ ἀνεπηρεάστους ἀφίημι, καὶ τοῖς στρατεύεσθαι μετ' ἐμοῦ βουλομένοις ἐπιτρέπω καὶ μέχρις τρισμυρίων ἐξέστω τοῦτο: τῶν δ' αὐτῶν, ὅποι ἂν ἀπίωσι, τεύξονται ὧν καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν στράτευμα μεταλαμβάνει. καταστήσω δ' αὐτῶν οὓς μὲν εἰς τὰ φρούρια, τινὰς δὲ περὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τοὐμοῦ σώματος, καὶ ἡγεμόνας δὲ ποιήσω τῶν περὶ τὴν ἐμὴν αὐλήν. [54] ἐπιτρέπω δὲ καὶ τοῖς πατρῴοις χρῆσθαι νόμοις καὶ τούτους φυλάττειν, καὶ τοῖς τρισὶν τοῖς προσκειμένοις τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ νομοῖς ὑποτάσσεσθαι βούλομαι, καὶ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ δὲ ἐπιμελὲς εἶναι, ἵνα μηδὲ εἷς Ἰουδαῖος ἄλλο ἔχῃ ἱερὸν προσκυνεῖν ἢ μόνον τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. [55] δίδωμι δ' ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν καὶ εἰς τὴν δαπάνην τῶν θυσιῶν κατ'

ἔτος μυριάδας πεντεκαίδεκα, τὰ δὲ περισσεύοντα τῶν χρημάτων ὑμέτερα εἶναι βούλομαι: τὰς δὲ μυρίας δραχμάς, ἃς ἐλάμβανον ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ οἱ βασιλεῖς, ὑμῖν ἀφίημι διὰ τὸ προσήκειν αὐτὰς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν τοῖς λειτουργοῦσιν τῷ ἱερῷ. [56] καὶ ὅσοι δ' ἂν φύγωσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ εἰς τὰ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ χρηματίζοντα ἢ βασιλικὰ ὀφείλοντες χρήματα ἢ δι' ἄλλην αἰτίαν, ἀπολελύσθωσαν οὗτοι καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῖς σῶα ἔστω. [57] ἐπιτρέπω δὲ καὶ ἀνακαινίζειν τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ οἰκοδομεῖν τῆς εἰς ταῦτα δαπάνης ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν γινομένης, καὶ τὰ τείχη δὲ συγχωρῶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως οἰκοδομεῖσθαι καὶ πύργους ὑψηλοὺς ἐγείρειν καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν ἀνιστᾶν πάντα. εἰ δέ τι καὶ φρούριόν ἐστιν, ὃ συμφέρει τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ Ἰουδαίων ὀχυρὸν εἶναι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν κατασκευασθήτω."

3. When Jonathan had received this letter, he put on the pontifical robe at the time of the feast of tabernacles, four years after the death of his brother Judas, for at that time no high priest had been made. So he raised great forces, and had abundance of armor got ready. This greatly grieved Demetrius when he heard of it, and made him blame himself for his slowness, that he had not prevented Alexander, and got the good-will of Jonathan, but had given him time so to do. However, he also himself wrote a letter to Jonathan, and to the people, the contents whereof are these: "King Demetrius to Jonathan, and to the nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting. Since you have preserved your friendship for us, and when you have been tempted by our enemies, you have not joined yourselves to them, I both commend you for this your fidelity, and exhort you to continue in the same disposition, for which you shall be repaid, and receive rewards from us; for I will free you from the greatest part of the tributes and taxes which you formerly paid to the kings my predecessors, and to myself; and I do now set you free from those tributes which you have ever paid; and besides, I forgive you the tax upon salt, and the value of the crowns which you used to offer to me and instead of the third part of the fruits [of the field], and the half of the fruits of the trees, I relinquish my part of them from this day: and as to the poll-money, which ought to be given me for every head of the inhabitants of Judea, and of the three toparchies that adjoin to Judea, Samaria, and Galilee, and Peres, that I relinquish to you for this time, and for all time to come. I will also that the city of Jerusalem be holy and inviolable, and free from the tithe, and from the taxes, unto its utmost bounds. And I so far recede from my title to the citadel, as to permit Jonathan your high priest to possess it, that he may place such a garrison in it as he approves of for fidelity and good-will to himself, that they may keep it for us. I also make free all those Jews who have been made captives and slaves in my kingdom. I also give order that the beasts of the Jews be not pressed for

our service; and let their sabbaths, and all their festivals, and three days before each of them, be free from any imposition. In the same manner, I set free the Jews that are inhabitants of my kingdom, and order that no injury be done them. I also give leave to such of them as are willing to list themselves in my army, that they may do it, and those as far as thirty thousand; which Jewish soldiers, wheresoever they go, shall have the same pay that my own army hath; and some of them I will place in my garrisons, and some as guards about mine own body, and as rulers over those that are in my court. I give them leave also to use the laws of their forefathers, and to observe them; and I will that they have power over the three toparchies that are added to Judea; and it shall be in the power of the high priest to take care that no one Jew shall have any other temple for worship but only that at Jerusalem. I bequeath also, out of my own revenues, yearly, for the expenses about the sacrifices, one hundred and fifty thousand [drachmae]; and what money is to spare, I will that it shall be your own. I also release to you those ten thousand drachmae which the kings received from the temple, because they appertain to the priests that minister in that temple. And whosoever shall fly to the temple at Jerusalem, or to the places thereto belonging, or who owe the king money, or are there on any other account, let them be set free, and let their goods be in safety. I also give you leave to repair and rebuild your temple, and that all be done at my expenses. I also allow you to build the walls of your city, and to erect high towers, and that they be erected at my charge. And if there be any fortified town that would be convenient for the Jewish country to have very strong, let it be so built at my expenses."

(4) [58] Ταῦτα μὲν ὑπισχνούμενος καὶ χαριζόμενος ἔγραψεν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις Δημήτριος. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς δύναμιν μεγάλην συναγαγὼν μισθοφόρων καὶ τῶν προσθεμένων ἐκ τῆς Συρίας αὐτῷ στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Δημήτριον ἐστράτευσεν. [59] καὶ μάχης γενομένης τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον κέρας τοῦ Δημητρίου τρέπεται τοὺς ἐναντίους εἰς φυγὴν καὶ ἐδίωξεν ἄχρι πολλοῦ κτείνει τε συχνοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ διαρπάζει τὸ στρατόπεδον, τὸ δὲ δεξιόν, οὗ συνέβαινεν εἶναι τὸν Δημήτριον, ἡττᾶται. [60] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἔφυγον, Δημήτριος δὲ γενναίως μαχόμενος οὐκ ὀλίγους μὲν ἀναιρεῖ τῶν πολεμίων, διώκων δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐλαύνει τὸν ἵππον εἰς τέλμα βαθὺ καὶ δυσεκπόρευτον, ἔνθα συνέβη πεσόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ ἵππου μὴ δυνάμενον διαφυγεῖν ἀναιρεθῆναι. [61] τὸ γὰρ συμβεβηκὸς περὶ αὐτὸν ἰδόντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἀνέστρεψαν καὶ κυκλωσάμενοι τὸν Δημήτριον πάντες ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἠκόντιζον. ὁ δὲ πεζὸς ὢν γενναίως ἀπεμάχετο, καὶ τελευταῖον τραύματα λαβὼν πολλὰ καὶ μηκέτ' ἀντέχειν δυνάμενος κατέπεσεν. καὶ τέλος μὲν τοιοῦτον τὸν Δημήτριον κατέλαβεν ἔτη βασιλεύσαντα ἕνδεκα, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδηλώκαμεν.

4. This was what Demetrius promised and granted to the Jews by this letter. But king Alexander raised a great army of mercenary soldiers, and of those that deserted to him out of Syria, and made an expedition against Demetrius. And when it was come to a battle, the left wing of Demetrius put those who opposed them to flight, and pursued them a great way, and slew many of them, and spoiled their camp; but the right wing, where Demetrius happened to be, was beaten; and as for all the rest, they ran away. But Demetrius fought courageously, and slew a great many of the enemy; but as he was in the pursuit of the rest, his horse carried him into a deep bog, where it was hard to get out, and there it happened, that upon his horse's falling down, he could not escape being killed; for when his enemies saw what had befallen him, they returned back, and encompassed Demetrius round, and they all threw their darts at him; but he, being now on foot, fought bravely. But at length he received so many wounds, that he was not able to bear up any longer, but fell. And this is the end that Demetrius came to, when he had reigned eleven years, as we have elsewhere related.

III

CHAPTER 3. The Friendship That Was Between Onias And Ptolemy Philometor; And How Onias Built A Temple In Egypt Like To That At Jerusalem.

(1) [62] Ὁ δὲ Ὀνίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως υἱὸς ὁμώνυμος δὲ ὢν τῷ πατρί, ὃς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ φυγὼν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον τὸν ἐπικαλούμενον Φιλομήτορα διῆγεν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἰρήκαμεν, ἰδὼν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν κακουμένην ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ τῶν βασιλέων αὐτῶν, [63] βουλόμενος αὑτῷ δόξαν καὶ μνήμην αἰώνιον κατασκευάσαι, διέγνω πέμψας πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν βασίλισσαν Κλεοπάτραν αἰτήσασθαι παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐξουσίαν, ὅπως οἰκοδομήσειεν ναὸν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ παραπλήσιον τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ Λευίτας καὶ ἱερεῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου γένους καταστήσῃ. [64] τοῦτο δ᾽ ἐβούλετο θαρρῶν μάλιστα τῷ προφήτῃ Ἡσαίᾳ, ὃς ἔμπροσθεν ἔτεσιν ἑξακοσίοις πλέον γεγονὼς προεῖπεν, ὡς δεῖ πάντως ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οἰκοδομηθῆναι ναὸν τῷ μεγίστῳ θεῷ ὑπ᾽ ἀνδρὸς Ἰουδαίου. διὰ ταῦτα οὖν ἐπηρμένος Ὀνίας γράφει Πτολεμαίῳ καὶ Κλεοπάτρᾳ τοιαύτην ἐπιστολήν: [65] “πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ὑμῖν χρείας τετελεκὼς ἐν τοῖς κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργοις μετὰ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθείας, καὶ γενόμενος ἔν τε τῇ κοίλῃ Συρίᾳ καὶ Φοινίκῃ, καὶ εἰς Λεόντων δὲ πόλιν τοῦ Ἡλιοπολίτου σὺν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ εἰς ἄλλους τόπους ἀφικόμενος τοῦ ἔθνους, [66] καὶ πλείστους εὑρὼν παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον ἔχοντας ἱερὰ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δύσνους ἀλλήλοις, ὃ καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις συμβέβηκεν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς θρησκείας οὐχ ὁμόδοξον, ἐπιτηδειότατον εὑρὼν τόπον ἐν τῷ προσαγορευομένῳ τῆς ἀγρίας Βουβάστεως ὀχυρώματι βρύοντα ποικίλης ὕλης καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ζῴων μεστόν, [67] δέομαι συγχωρῆσαί μοι τὸ ἀδέσποτον ἀνακαθάραντι ἱερὸν καὶ συμπεπτωκὸς οἰκοδομῆσαι ναὸν τῷ μεγίστῳ θεῷ καθ᾽ ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις αὐτοῖς μέτροις ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ τῆς σῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν τέκνων, ἵν᾽ ἔχωσιν οἱ τὴν Αἴγυπτον κατοικοῦντες Ἰουδαῖοι εἰς αὐτὸ συνιόντες κατὰ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμόνοιαν ταῖς σαῖς ἐξυπηρετεῖν χρείαις: [68] καὶ γὰρ Ἡσαίας ὁ προφήτης τοῦτο προεῖπεν: ἔσται θυσιαστήριον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ: καὶ πολλὰ δὲ προεφήτευσεν ἄλλα τοιαῦτα διὰ τὸν τόπον.”

1. But then the son of Onias the high priest, who was of the same name with his father, and who fled to king Ptolemy, who was called Philometor, lived now at Alexandria, as we have said already. When this Onias saw that Judea was oppressed by the Macedonians and their kings, out of a desire to purchase to himself a memorial and eternal fame he resolved to send to king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra, to ask leave of them that he might build a temple in Egypt like

to that at Jerusalem, and might ordain Levites and priests out of their own stock. The chief reason why he was desirous so to do, was, that he relied upon the prophet Isaiah, who lived above six hundred years before, and foretold that there certainly was to be a temple built to Almighty God in Egypt by a man that was a Jew. Onias was elevated with this prediction, and wrote the following epistle to Ptolemy and Cleopatra: "Having done many and great things for you in the affairs of the war, by the assistance of God, and that in Celesyria and Phoenicia, I came at length with the Jews to Leontopolis, and to other places of your nation, where I found that the greatest part of your people had temples in an improper manner, and that on this account they bare ill-will one against another, which happens to the Egyptians by reason of the multitude of their temples, and the difference of opinions about Divine worship. Now I found a very fit place in a castle that hath its name from the country Diana; this place is full of materials of several sorts, and replenished with sacred animals; I desire therefore that you will grant me leave to purge this holy place, which belongs to no master, and is fallen down, and to build there a temple to Almighty God, after the pattern of that in Jerusalem, and of the same dimensions, that may be for the benefit of thyself, and thy wife and children, that those Jews which dwell in Egypt may have a place whither they may come and meet together in mutual harmony one with another, and he subservient to thy advantages; for the prophet Isaiah foretold that, 'there should be an altar in Egypt to the Lord God;'" and many other such things did he prophesy relating to that place.

(2) [69] Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ὀνίας τῷ βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ γράφει. κατανοήσειε δ' ἄν τις αὐτοῦ τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ γυναικὸς ἐξ ἧς ἀντέγραψαν ἐπιστολῆς: τὴν γὰρ ἁμαρτίαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ νόμου παράβασιν εἰς τὴν Ὀνίου κεφαλὴν ἀνέθεσαν: [70] ἀντέγραψαν γὰρ οὕτως: "βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος καὶ βασίλισσα Κλεοπάτρα Ὀνίᾳ χαίρειν. ἀνέγνωμέν σου τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀξιοῦντος ἐπιτραπῆναί σοι τὸ ἐν Λεόντων πόλει τοῦ Ἡλιοπολίτου ἱερὸν συμπεπτωκὸς ἀνακαθᾶραι, προσαγορευόμενον δὲ τῆς ἀγρίας Βουβάστεως. διὸ καὶ θαυμάζομεν, εἰ ἔσται τῷ θεῷ κεχαρισμένον τὸ καθιδρυσόμενον ἱερὸν ἐν ἀσελγεῖ τόπῳ καὶ πλήρει ζῴων ἱερῶν. [71] ἐπεὶ δὲ σὺ φῂς Ἡσαίαν τὸν προφήτην ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου τοῦτο προειρηκέναι, συγχωροῦμέν σοι, εἰ μέλλει τοῦτ' ἔσεσθαι κατὰ τὸν νόμον: ὥστε μηδὲν ἡμᾶς δοκεῖν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐξημαρτηκέναι."

2. And this was what Onias wrote to king Ptolemy. Now any one may observe his piety, and that of his sister and wife Cleopatra, by that epistle which they wrote in answer to it; for they laid the blame and the transgression of the law upon the head of Onias. And this was their reply: "King Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra to Onias, send greeting. We have read thy petition, wherein thou desirest leave to

be given thee to purge that temple which is fallen down at Leontopolis, in the Nomus of Heliopolis, and which is named from the country Bubastis; on which account we cannot but wonder that it should be pleasing to God to have a temple erected in a place so unclean, and so full of sacred animals. But since thou sayest that Isaiah the prophet foretold this long ago, we give thee leave to do it, if it may be done according to your law, and so that we may not appear to have at all offended God herein."

(3) [72] Λαβὼν οὖν τὸν τόπον ὁ Ὀνίας κατεσκεύασεν ἱερὸν καὶ βωμὸν τῷ θεῷ ὅμοιον τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, μικρότερον δὲ καὶ πενιχρότερον. τὰ δὲ μέτρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ σκεύη νῦν οὐκ ἔδοξέ μοι δηλοῦν: ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ μου βίβλῳ τῶν Ἰουδαικῶν ἀναγέγραπται. [73] εὗρεν δὲ Ὀνίας καὶ Ἰουδαίους τινὰς ὁμοίους αὐτῷ ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευίτας τοὺς ἐκεῖ θρησκεύσοντας. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τούτου ἀρκούντως ἡμῖν δεδήλωται.

3. So Onias took the place, and built a temple, and an altar to God, like indeed to that in Jerusalem, but smaller and poorer. I do not think it proper for me now to describe its dimensions or its vessels, which have been already described in my seventh book of the Wars of the Jews. However, Onias found other Jews like to himself, together with priests and Levites, that there performed Divine service. But we have said enough about this temple.

(4) [74] Τοὺς δ' ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἰουδαίους καὶ Σαμαρεῖς, οἳ τὸ ἐν Γαριζεὶν προσεκύνουν ἱερόν, κατὰ τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου χρόνους συνέβη στασιάσαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαίου διεκρίνοντο, τῶν μὲν Ἰουδαίων λεγόντων κατὰ τοὺς Μωυσέος νόμους ᾠκοδομῆσθαι τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, τῶν δὲ Σαμαρέων τὸ ἐν Γαριζείν. [75] παρεκάλεσάν τε σὺν τοῖς φίλοις καθίσαντα τὸν βασιλέα τοὺς περὶ τούτων ἀκοῦσαι λόγους καὶ τοὺς ἡττηθέντας θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι. τὸν μὲν οὖν ὑπὲρ τῶν Σαμαρέων λόγον Σαββαῖος ἐποιήσατο καὶ Θεοδόσιος, τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν καὶ Ἰουδαίων Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ Μεσαλάμου. [76] ὤμοσαν δὲ τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἢ μὴν ποιήσεσθαι τὰς ἀποδείξεις κατὰ τὸν νόμον, παρεκάλεσάν τε τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, ὅπως ὃν ἂν λάβῃ παραβαίνοντα τοὺς ὅρκους ἀποκτείνῃ. ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς πολλοὺς τῶν φίλων εἰς συμβουλίαν παραλαβὼν ἐκάθισεν ἀκουσόμενος τῶν λεγόντων. [77] οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τυγχάνοντες Ἰουδαῖοι σφόδρα ἠγωνίων περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἷς ἀγανακτεῖν περὶ τοῦ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις συνέβαινεν ἱεροῦ: χαλεπῶς γὰρ ἔφερον, εἰ τοῦτό τινες καταλύσουσιν οὕτως ἀρχαῖον καὶ διασημότατον τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ὑπάρχον. [78] τοῦ δὲ Σαββαίου καὶ Θεοδοσίου συγχωρησάντων τῷ Ἀνδρονίκῳ πρώτῳ ποιήσασθαι τοὺς λόγους, ἤρξατο τῶν ἀποδείξεων ἐκ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν διαδοχῶν τῶν ἀρχιερέων, ὡς

ἕκαστος παρὰ πατρὸς τὴν τιμὴν ἐκδεξάμενος ἦρξε τοῦ ναοῦ, καὶ ὅτι πάντες οἱ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεῖς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐτίμησαν ἀναθήμασιν καὶ λαμπροτάταις δωρεαῖς, τοῦ δ᾽ ἐν Γαριζεὶν ὡς οὐδὲ ὄντος οὐδεὶς λόγον οὐδ᾽ ἐπιστροφὴν ἐποιήσατο. [79] ταῦτα λέγων Ἀνδρόνικος καὶ πολλὰ τούτοις ὅμοια πείθει τὸν βασιλέα κρῖναι μὲν κατὰ τοὺς Μωυσέος νόμους οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερόν, ἀποκτεῖναι δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Σαββαῖον καὶ Θεοδόσιον. καὶ τὰ μὲν γενόμενα τοῖς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἰουδαίοις κατὰ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Φιλομήτορα ταῦτα ἦν.

4. Now it came to pass that the Alexandrian Jews, and those Samaritans who paid their worship to the temple that was built in the days of Alexander at Mount Gerizzim, did now make a sedition one against another, and disputed about their temples before Ptolemy himself; the Jews saying that, according to the laws of Moses, the temple was to be built at Jerusalem; and the Samaritans saying that it was to be built at Gerizzim. They desired therefore the king to sit with his friends, and hear the debates about these matters, and punish those with death who were baffled. Now Sabbeus and Theodosius managed the argument for the Samaritans, and Andronicus, the son of Messalamus, for the people of Jerusalem; and they took an oath by God and the king to make their demonstrations according to the law; and they desired of Ptolemy, that whomsoever he should find that transgressed what they had sworn to, he would put him to death. Accordingly, the king took several of his friends into the council, and sat down, in order to hear what the pleaders said. Now the Jews that were at Alexandria were in great concern for those men, whose lot it was to contend for the temple at Jerusalem; for they took it very ill that any should take away the reputation of that temple, which was so ancient and so celebrated all over the habitable earth. Now when Sabbeus and Tlteodosius had given leave to Andronicus to speak first, he began to demonstrate out of the law, and out of the successions of the high priests, how they every one in succession from his father had received that dignity, and ruled over the temple; and how all the kings of Asia had honored that temple with their donations, and with the most splendid gifts dedicated thereto. But as for that at Gerizzm, he made no account of it, and regarded it as if it had never had a being. By this speech, and other arguments, Andronicus persuaded the king to determine that the temple at Jerusalem was built according to the laws of Moses, and to put Sabbeus and Theodosius to death. And these were the events that befell the Jews at Alexandria in the days of Ptolemy Philometor.

IV

CHAPTER 4. How Alexander Honored Jonathan After An Extraordinary Manner; And How Demetrius, The Son Of Demetrius, Overcame Alexander And Made A League Of Friendship With Jonathan.

(1) [80] Δημητρίου δ’ ἀποθανόντος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, καθὼς ἐπάνω δεδηλώκαμεν, Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν τῆς Συρίας παραλαβὼν βασιλείαν γράφει τῷ Φιλομήτορι Πτολεμαίῳ μνηστευόμενος αὐτοῦ πρὸς γάμον τὴν θυγατέρα, δίκαιον εἶναι λέγων τῷ τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρχὴν κομισαμένῳ καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν εἰς αὐτὴν προαχθέντι καὶ κρατήσαντι Δημητρίου καὶ μηδὲ τἆλλα ἐσομένῳ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν οἰκειότητος ἀναξίῳ συνάψαι συγγένειαν. [81] Πτολεμαῖος δὲ προσδεξάμενος ἡδέως τὴν μνηστείαν ἀντιγράφει χαίρειν τε λέγων ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ πατρῴαν οὖσαν ἀπειληφέναι, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα δώσειν ὑπισχνεῖται, ἀπαντᾶν δ’ αὐτὸν εἰς Πτολεμαίδα τὴν θυγατέρα μέλλοντι ἄγειν ἐκέλευσεν: αὐτὸς γὰρ αὐτὴν μέχρι ταύτης παραπέμψειν ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου κἀκεῖ συνοικίσειν αὐτῷ τὴν παῖδα. [82] καὶ Πτολεμαῖος μὲν ταῦτα γράψας παραγίνεται μετὰ σπουδῆς εἰς Πτολεμαίδα καὶ Κλεοπάτραν ἄγων τὴν θυγατέρα. εὑρὼν δ’ ἐκεῖ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καθὼς ἐπέστειλεν προαπηντηκότα δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὴν παῖδα καὶ φερνὴν ἄργυρόν τε καὶ χρυσὸν ὅσον εἰκὸς ἦν δοῦναι βασιλέα.

1. Demetrius being thus slain in battle, as we have above related, Alexander took the kingdom of Syria; and wrote to Ptolemy Philometor, and desired his daughter in marriage; and said it was but just that he should be joined an affinity to one that had now received the principality of his forefathers, and had been promoted to it by God’s providence, and had conquered Demetrius, and that was on other accounts not unworthy of being related to him. Ptolemy received this proposal of marriage gladly; and wrote him an answer, saluting him on account of his having received the principality of his forefathers; and promising him that he would give him his daughter in marriage; and assured him that he was coming to meet him at Ptolemais, and desired that he would there meet him, for that he would accompany her from Egypt so far, and would there marry his child to him. When Ptolemy had written thus, he came suddenly to Ptolemais, and brought his daughter Cleopatra along with him; and as he found Alexander there before him, as he desired him to come, he gave him his child in marriage, and for her portion gave her as much silver and gold as became such a king to give.

(2) [83] Τῶν δὲ γάμων ἐπιτελουμένων Ἀλέξανδρος Ἰωνάθῃ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ γράψας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἥκειν εἰς Πτολεμαίδα. παραγενόμενος δὲ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέας καὶ δωρησάμενος αὐτοὺς λαμπρᾶς τῆς παρ᾽ ἀμφοτέρων ἀπέλαυσε τιμῆς. [84] Ἀλέξανδρος δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἠνάγκασεν καὶ ἀποδυσάμενον τὴν οἰκείαν ἐσθῆτα λαβεῖν πορφύραν, καὶ συγκαθεσθῆναι ποιήσας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος προσέταξεν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας εἰς μέσην μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ προελθόντας τὴν πόλιν κηρῦξαι, μηδενὶ κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ λέγειν ἐφεῖσθαι μηδὲ παρέχειν αὐτῷ πράγματα. [85] τοῦτο δὲ ποιησάντων τῶν ἡγεμόνων ὁρῶντες τὴν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως κεκηρυγμένην Ἰωνάθῃ τιμὴν οἱ κατηγορεῖν παρεσκευασμένοι καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεχθῶς ἔχοντες ἀπέδρασαν, μὴ καὶ προσλάβωσίν τι κακὸν δεδιότες. τοσαύτῃ δὲ σπουδῇ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐχρῆτο, ὥστ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ πρῶτον ἀναγράψαι τῶν φίλων.

2. When the wedding was over, Alexander wrote to Jonathan the high priest, and desired him to come to Ptolemais. So when he came to these kings, and had made them magnificent presents, he was honored by them both. Alexander compelled him also to put off his own garment, and to take a purple garment, and made him sit with him in his throne; and commanded his captains that they should go with him into the middle of the city, and proclaim, that it was not permitted to any one to speak against him, or to give him any disturbance. And when the captains had thus done, those that were prepared to accuse Jonathan, and who bore him ill-will, when they saw the honor that was done him by proclamation, and that by the king’s order, ran away, and were afraid lest some mischief should befall them. Nay, king Alexander was so very kind to Jonathan, that he set him down as the principal of his friends.

(3) [86] Ἔτει δὲ πέμπτῳ καὶ ἑξηκοστῷ πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν Δημήτριος ὁ Δημητρίου μετὰ πολλῶν μισθοφόρων, οὓς παρέσχεν αὐτῷ Λασθένης ὁ Κρής, ἄρας ἀπὸ τῆς Κρήτης κατέπλευσεν εἰς Κιλικίαν. [87] τοῦτο δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀκούσαντα εἰς ἀγωνίαν καὶ ταραχὴν ἐνέβαλεν καὶ παραχρῆμα ἐκ τῆς Φοινίκης εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἔσπευσεν, ἵνα τὰ ἐκεῖ πρὶν ἢ Δημήτριον ἐλθεῖν ἀσφαλῶς θῆται. [88] κατέλιπεν δὲ τῆς κοίλης Συρίας Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν Τάον ἡγεμόνα, ὃς μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως εἰς Ἰάμνειαν ἐλθὼν ἔπεμψε πρὸς Ἰωνάθην τὸν ἀρχιερέα, λέγων ἄδικον εἶναι μόνον αὐτὸν ἐπ᾽ ἀδείας ζῆν καὶ μετὰ ἐξουσίας οὐχ ὑποτασσόμενον τῷ βασιλεῖ: τοῦτο δ᾽ αὐτῷ παρὰ πάντων ὄνειδος φέρειν, ὅτι μὴ ὑποτάξειεν αὐτὸν τῷ βασιλεῖ. [89] μὴ τοίνυν σαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν καθήμενος ἐξαπάτα νομίζων ἰσχὺν ἔχειν, ἀλλ᾽ εἰ θαρρεῖς τῇ σαυτοῦ δυνάμει καταβὰς εἰς τὸ πεδίον τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ στρατιᾷ συγκρίθητι, καὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς νίκης ἐπιδείξει τὸν ἀνδρειότατον. [90] ἴσθι μέντοι γε τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐξ ἑκάστης πόλεως ἐμοὶ συστρατεύεσθαι: καὶ γὰρ δὴ τοὺς σοὺς προγόνους οἱ ἀεὶ νικῶντές εἰσιν οὗτοι. ποιήσῃ δὲ τὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀγῶνα ἐν

τοιαύτῃ γῇ, ἐν ᾗ λίθοις οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλ᾽ ὅπλοις ἀμύνασθαι οὐδὲ τόπος εἰς ὃν ἡττώμενος φεύξῃ.”

3. But then, upon the hundred and sixty-fifth year, Demetrius, the son of Demetrius, came from Crete with a great number of mercenary soldiers, which Lasthenes, the Cretian, brought him, and sailed to Cilicia. This thing cast Alexander into great concern and disorder when he heard it; so he made haste immediately out of Phoenicia, and came to Antioch, that he might put matters in a safe posture there before Demetrius should come. He also left Apollonius Daus governor of Celesyria, who coming to Jamnia with a great army, sent to Jonathan the high priest, and told him that it was not right that he alone should live at rest, and with authority, and not be subject to the king; that this thing had made him a reproach among all men, that he had not yet made him subject to the king. “Do not thou therefore deceive thyself, and sit still among the mountains, and pretend to have forces with thee; but if thou hast any dependence on thy strength, come down into the plain, and let our armies be compared together, and the event of the battle will demonstrate which of us is the most courageous. However, take notice, that the most valiant men of every city are in my army, and that these are the very men who have always beaten thy progenitors; but let us have the battle in such a place of the country where we may fight with weapons, and not with stones, and where there may be no place whither those that are beaten may fly.”

(4) [91] Παροξυνθεὶς δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Ἰωνάθης μυρίους ἐπιλεξάμενος στρατιώτας ὥρμησεν ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων μετὰ καὶ Σίμωνος τἀδελφοῦ, καὶ γενόμενος ἐν Ἰόππῃ στρατοπεδεύεται τῆς πόλεως ἔξω τῶν Ἰοππηνῶν ἀποκλεισάντων αὐτῷ τὰς πύλας: φρουρὰν γὰρ ἔνδον εἶχον ὑπὸ Ἀπολλωνίου κατασταθεῖσαν. [92] τοῦ δὲ Ἰωνάθου πρὸς πολιορκίαν αὐτῶν παρασκευαζομένου, φοβηθέντες μὴ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἐξέλῃ κατὰ κράτος ἀνοίγουσιν αὐτῷ τὰς πύλας. ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἀκούσας τὴν Ἰόππην κατειλημμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωνάθου τρισχιλίους ἱππεῖς παραλαβὼν καὶ πεζοὺς ὀκτακισχιλίους εἰς Ἄζωτον ἦλθεν κἀκεῖθεν ἄρας ἠρέμα καὶ βάδην ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πορείαν, ἐλθὼν δ᾽ εἰς τὴν Ἰόππην ἀναχωρῶν ἕλκει τὸν Ἰωνάθην εἰς τὸ πεδίον τῇ ἵππῳ καταφρονῶν καὶ τὰς τῆς νίκης ἐλπίδας ἔχων ἐν αὐτῇ. [93] προελθὼν δ᾽ Ἰωνάθης ἐδίωκεν εἰς Ἄζωτον τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον. ὁ δ᾽, ὡς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ συνέβη γενέσθαι τὸν πολέμιον, ὑποστρέψας εἰς μάχην αὐτῷ συνέβαλεν. [94] τοῦ δ᾽ Ἀπολλωνίου χιλίους ἱππεῖς καθίσαντος εἰς ἐνέδραν ἔν τινι χειμάρρῳ, ὡς ἂν κατόπιν ἐπιφανεῖεν τοῖς πολεμίοις, αἰσθόμενος ὁ Ἰωνάθης οὐ κατεπλάγη: τάξας δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐν πλινθίῳ κατ᾽ ἀμφότερα τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμύνασθαι παρεσκευάσατο, καὶ κατὰ πρόσωπον καὶ τοῖς ὄπισθεν ἐπελευσομένοις αὐτὸν ἀντιτάξας. [95] τῆς δὲ μάχης ἕως ἑσπέρας προβαινούσης,

δοὺς Σίμωνι τἀδελφῷ μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦτον μὲν ἐκέλευσε συμβαλεῖν τῇ φάλαγγι τῶν ἐχθρῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ προσέταξεν φραξαμένους τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀποδέχεσθαι τὰ βέλη τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἱππέων. [96] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐποίησαν τὸ κελευσθέν, οἱ δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ἱππεῖς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀφέντες τὰ βέλη μέχρι καὶ ἐξεκενώθησαν οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἔβλαπτον: οὐ γὰρ διικνεῖτο τῶν σωμάτων τὰ βαλλόμενα, συμπεφραγμένοις δὲ ταῖς ἀσπίσιν συνηνωμέναις ὑπὸ πυκνότητος ἐπαφιέμενα ῥᾳδίως ἐκρατεῖτο καὶ ἄπρακτα ἐφέρετο. [97] ὡς δὲ παρείθησαν ἀπὸ πρωὶ μέχρι δείλης ὀψίας ἀκοντίζοντες εἰς αὐτοὺς οἱ πολέμιοι, νοήσας Σίμων κεκμηκότας αὐτοὺς συμβάλλει τῇ φάλαγγι, καὶ προθυμίᾳ χρησαμένων πολλῇ τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτοῦ τρέπει τοὺς ἐχθροὺς εἰς φυγήν. [98] θεασάμενοι δὲ τοὺς πεζοὺς φεύγοντας οἱ ἱππεῖς οὐδ᾽ αὐτοὶ μένουσιν, ἀλλὰ πάρετοι μὲν ὄντες αὐτοὶ διὰ τὸ μέχρι δείλης μάχεσθαι, τῆς δὲ παρὰ τῶν πεζῶν ἐλπίδος αὐτοῖς ἀπολωλυίας, ἀκόσμως καὶ συγκεχυμένως ἔφευγον, ὡς διασχισθέντας αὐτοὺς διὰ παντὸς σκορπισθῆναι τοῦ πεδίου. [99] διώκων δ᾽ αὐτοὺς Ἰωνάθης μέχρι τῆς Ἀζώτου καὶ πολλοὺς ἀναιρῶν ἀπογνόντας τῆς σωτηρίας ἠνάγκασεν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Δαγῶνος ναὸν καταφυγεῖν, ὃς ἦν ἐν Ἀζώτῳ. λαβὼν δ᾽ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς Ἰωνάθης τὴν πόλιν αὐτήν τε ἐνέπρησεν καὶ τὰς περὶ αὐτὴν κώμας. [100] ἀπέσχετο δ᾽ οὐδὲ τοῦ Δαγῶνος ἱεροῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐνέπρησεν καὶ τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸ συμφυγόντας διέφθειρεν. τὸ δὲ πᾶν πλῆθος τῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεσόντων καὶ καταφλεγέντων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῶν πολεμίων ἦσαν ὀκτακισχίλιοι. [101] κρατήσας οὖν τοσαύτης δυνάμεως ἆρας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀζώτου εἰς Ἀσκάλωνα παραγίνεται, καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύσαντος ἔξω τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῦ προῆλθον εἰς ἀπάντησιν αὐτῷ οἱ Ἀσκαλωνῖται ξένια προσφέροντες αὐτῷ καὶ τιμῶντες. ὁ δὲ ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτοὺς τῆς προαιρέσεως ἀνέστρεψεν ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πολλὴν ἐπαγόμενος λείαν, ἣν ἔλαβεν νικήσας τοὺς πολεμίους. [102] Ἀλέξανδρος δ᾽ ἀκούσας ἡττημένον τὸν αὐτοῦ στρατηγὸν Ἀπολλώνιον προσεποιεῖτο χαίρειν, ὅτι παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην Ἰωνάθῃ συνέβαλεν φίλῳ ὄντι καὶ συμμάχῳ, καὶ πέμπει πρὸς Ἰωνάθην μαρτυρῶν αὐτῷ καὶ γέρα καὶ τιμὰς διδοὺς πόρπην χρυσέαν, ὡς ἔστιν ἔθος δίδοσθαι τοῖς τῶν βασιλέων συγγενέσιν, καὶ τὴν Ἀκκάρωνα καὶ τὴν τοπαρχίαν αὐτῆς εἰς κληρουχίαν ἐπιτρέπει.

4. With this Jonathan was irritated; and choosing himself out ten thousand of his soldiers, he went out of Jerusalem in haste, with his brother Simon, and came to Joppa, and pitched his camp on the outside of the city, because the people of Joppa had shut their gates against him, for they had a garrison in the city put there by Apollonius. But when Jonathan was preparing to besiege them, they were afraid he would take them by force, and so they opened the gates to him. But Apollonius, when he heard that Joppa was taken by Jonathan, took three thousand horsemen, and eight thousand footmen and came to Ashdod; and

removing thence, he made his journey silently and slowly, and going up to Joppa, he made as if he was retiring from the place, and so drew Jonathan into the plain, as valuing himself highly upon his horsemen, and having his hopes of victory principally in them. However, Jonathan sallied out, and pursued Apollonius to Ashdod; but as soon as Apollonius perceived that his enemy was in the plain, he came back and gave him battle. But Apollonius had laid a thousand horsemen in ambush in a valley, that they might be seen by their enemies as behind them; which when Jonathan perceived, he was under no consternation, but ordering his army to stand in a square battle-array, he gave them a charge to fall on the enemy on both sides, and set them to face those that attacked them both before and behind; and while the fight lasted till the evening, he gave part of his forces to his brother Simon, and ordered him to attack the enemies; but for himself, he charged those that were with him to cover themselves with their armor, and receive the darts of the horsemen, who did as they were commanded; so that the enemy's horsemen, while they threw their darts till they had no more left, did them no harm, for the darts that were thrown did not enter into their bodies, being thrown upon the shields that were united and conjoined together, the closeness of which easily overcame the force of the darts, and they flew about without any effect. But when the enemy grew remiss in throwing their darts from morning till late at night, Simon perceived their weariness, and fell upon the body of men before him; and because his soldiers showed great alacrity, he put the enemy to flight. And when the horsemen saw that the footmen ran away, neither did they stay themselves, but they being very weary, by the duration of the fight till the evening, and their hope from the footmen being quite gone, they basely ran away, and in great confusion also, till they were separated one from another, and scattered over all the plain. Upon which Jonathan pursued them as far as Ashdod, and slew a great many of them, and compelled the rest, in despair of escaping, to fly to the temple of Dagon, which was at Ashdod; but Jonathan took the city on the first onset, and burnt it, and the villages about it; nor did he abstain from the temple of Dagon itself, but burnt it also, and destroyed those that had fled to it. Now the entire multitude of the enemies that fell in the battle, and were consumed in the temple, were eight thousand. When Jonathan therefore had overcome so great an army, he removed from Ashdod, and came to Askelon; and when he had pitched his camp without the city, the people of Askelon came out and met him, bringing him hospitable presents, and honoring him; so he accepted of their kind intentions, and returned thence to Jerusalem with a great deal of prey, which he brought thence when he conquered his enemies. But when Alexander heard that Apollonius, the general of his army, was beaten, he pretended to be glad of it, because he had fought

with Jonathan his friend and ally against his directions. Accordingly, he sent to Jonathan, and gave testimony to his worth; and gave him honorary rewards, as a golden button, which it is the custom to give the king's kinsmen, and allowed him Ekron and its toparchy for his own inheritance.

(5) [103] Ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν καὶ βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλομήτωρ ἐπικληθεὶς ναυτικὴν ἄγων δύναμιν καὶ πεζὴν εἰς Συρίαν ἦκεν συμμαχήσων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ: γαμβρὸς γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ. [104] καὶ πᾶσαι προθύμως αὐτὸν αἱ πόλεις Ἀλεξάνδρου κελεύσαντος ἐκδεχόμεναι παρέπεμπον ἕως Ἀζώτου πόλεως, ἔνθα πάντες κατεβόων αὐτοῦ περὶ τοῦ ἐμπεπρησμένου ἱεροῦ αὐτῶν Δαγῶνος κατηγοροῦντες Ἰωνάθου τοῦτο ἀφανίσαντος καὶ τὴν χώραν πυρπολήσαντος καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀποκτείναντος. [105] καὶ Πτολεμαῖος μὲν ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ἡσύχασεν, Ἰωνάθης δὲ εἰς Ἰόππην ἀπαντήσας Πτολεμαίῳ ξενίων τε λαμπρῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ τυγχάνει καὶ τιμῆς ἁπάσης, ἔπειτα προπέμψας αὐτὸν ἕως τοῦ Ἐλευθέρου καλουμένου ποταμοῦ πάλιν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.

5. About this time it was that king Ptolemy, who was called Philometor, led an army, part by the sea, and part by land, and came to Syria, to the assistance of Alexander, who was his son-in-law; and accordingly all the cities received him willingly, as Alexander had commanded them to do, and conducted him as far as Ashdod; where they all made loud complaints about the temple of Dagon, which was burnt, and accused Jonathan of having laid it waste, and destroyed the country adjoining with fire, and slain a great number of them. Ptolemy heard these accusations, but said nothing. Jonathan also went to meet Ptolemy as far as Joppa, and obtained from him hospitable presents, and those glorious in their kinds, with all the marks of honor; and when he had conducted him as far as the river called Eleutherus, he returned again to Jerusalem.

(6) [106] Γενόμενος δ' ἐν Πτολεμαίδι παρὰ πᾶσαν προσδοκίαν μικροῦ διεφθάρη Πτολεμαῖος ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου δι' Ἀμμωνίου, ὃς ἐτύγχανεν αὐτῷ φίλος ὤν. [107] φανερᾶς δὲ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς γενομένης Πτολεμαῖος γράφει τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πρὸς κόλασιν ἐξαιτῶν τὸν Ἀμμώνιον, ἐπιβουλευθῆναι λέγων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ δίκην διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτὸν ὑποσχεῖν ἀξιῶν. οὐκ ἐκδιδόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου συνεὶς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον εἶναι τὸν ἐπιβουλεύσαντα χαλεπῶς διετέθη πρὸς αὐτόν. [108] τοῖς δὲ Ἀντιοχεῦσιν καὶ πρότερον ἦν προσκεκρουκὼς Ἀλέξανδρος διὰ τὸν Ἀμμώνιον: πολλὰ γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπόνθεισαν κακά. τιμωρίαν μέντοι τῶν τετολμημένων Ἀμμώνιος ὑπέσχεν κατασφαγεὶς αἰσχρῶς ὡς γυνή, κρύπτειν ἑαυτὸν σπουδάσας στολῇ γυναικείῳ, καθὼς ἐν ἄλλοις δεδηλώκαμεν.

6. But as Ptolemy was at Ptolemais, he was very near to a most unexpected destruction; for a treacherous design was laid for his life by Alexander, by the means of Ammonius, who was his friend; and as the treachery was very plain, Ptolemy wrote to Alexander, and required of him that he should bring Ammonius to condign punishment, informing him what snares had been laid for him by Ammonius, and desiring that he might be accordingly punished for it. But when Alexander did not comply with his demands, he perceived that it was he himself who laid the design, and was very angry at him. Alexander had also formerly been on very ill terms with the people of Antioch, for they had suffered very much by his means; yet did Ammonius at length undergo the punishment his insolent crimes had deserved, for he was killed in an opprobrious manner, like a woman, while he endeavored to conceal himself in a feminine habit, as we have elsewhere related.

(7) [109] Πτολεμαῖος δὲ μεμψάμενος αὐτὸν τοῦ τε συνοικίσαι τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῆς τε συμμαχίας τῆς κατὰ Δημητρίου διαλύεται τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν συγγένειαν: [110] ἀποσπάσας γὰρ τὴν θυγατέρα πέμπει πρὸς Δημήτριον εὐθὺς περὶ συμμαχίας καὶ φιλίας συντιθέμενος, τήν τε θυγατέρα δώσειν αὐτῷ ὑπισχνούμενος γυναῖκα καὶ καταστήσειν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρχήν. ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος ἡσθεὶς τοῖς πεπρεσβευμένοις δέχεται τὴν συμμαχίαν καὶ τὸν γάμον. [111] ἓν δ' ἔτι Πτολεμαίῳ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀγώνισμα ὑπελείπετο πεῖσαι τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς δέξασθαι Δημήτριον ἀπεχθῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν διακειμένους ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Δημήτριος εἰς αὐτοὺς παρηνόμησεν. κατεπράξατο δὲ καὶ τοῦτο: [112] μισοῦντες γὰρ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οἱ Ἀντιοχεῖς διὰ τὸν Ἀμμώνιον, ὡς δεδηλώκαμεν, ῥᾳδίως αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐξέβαλον. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκπεσὼν τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἦλθεν εἰς Κιλικίαν. [113] ἐλθὼν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς Πτολεμαῖος βασιλεὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἀναδείκνυται καὶ ἀναγκασθεὶς δύο περιτίθεται διαδήματα, ἓν μὲν τὸ τῆς Ἀσίας, ἕτερον δὲ τὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου. [114] χρηστὸς δὲ ὢν φύσει καὶ δίκαιος καὶ τῶν λαμπρῶν οὐκ ἐφιέμενος πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ λογίσασθαι τὰ μέλλοντα συνετός, φείσασθαι τοῦ μὴ δόξαι εἶναι Ῥωμαίοις ἐπίφθονος ἔκρινεν, καὶ συναγαγὼν τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν πείθει δέξασθαι τὸν Δημήτριον αὐτούς, [115] λέγων οὐδενὸς μνησικακήσειν αὐτοῖς περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτὸν εὐεργετηθέντα, διδάσκαλός τε ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἡγεμὼν ἔσεσθαι αὐτῷ διωμολογήσατο καὶ φαύλοις ἐγχειροῦντι πράγμασιν οὐκ ἐπιτρέψειν ὑπέσχετο. αὐτῷ δ' ἔφασκεν ἀρκεῖν τὴν τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλείαν. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν πείθει τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς δέξασθαι τὸν Δημήτριον.

7. Hereupon Ptolemy blamed himself for having given his daughter in marriage to Alexander, and for the league he had made with him to assist him against Demetrius; so he dissolved his relation to him, and took his daughter away from

him, and immediately sent to Demetrius, and offered to make a league of mutual assistance and friendship with him, and agreed with him to give him his daughter in marriage, and to restore him to the principality of his fathers. Demetrius was well pleased with this embassage, and accepted of his assistance, and of the marriage of his daughter. But Ptolemy had still one more hard task to do, and that was to persuade the people of Antioch to receive Demetrius, because they were greatly displeased at him, on account of the injuries his father Demetrius had done them; yet did he bring this about; for as the people of Antioch hated Alexander on Ammonius's account, as we have shown already, they were easily prevailed with to cast him out of Antioch; who, thus expelled out of Antioch, came into Cilicia. Ptolemy came then to Antioch, and was made king by its inhabitants, and by the army; so that he was forced to put on two diadems, the one of Asia, the other of Egypt: but being naturally a good and a righteous man, and not desirous of what belonged to others, and besides these dispositions, being also a wise man in reasoning about futurities, he determined to avoid the envy of the Romans; so he called the people of Antioch together to an assembly, and persuaded them to receive Demetrius; and assured them that he would not be mindful of what they did to his father in case he should be now obliged by them; and he undertook that he would himself be a good monitor and governor to him, and promised that he would not permit him to attempt any bad actions; but that, for his own part, he was contented with the kingdom of Egypt. By which discourse he persuaded the people of Antioch to receive Demetrius.

(8) [116] Τοῦ δ' Ἀλεξάνδρου σὺν στρατεύματι πολλῷ καὶ μεγάλῃ παρασκευῇ ὁρμήσαντος ἐκ τῆς Κιλικίας εἰς τὴν Συρίαν καὶ τὴν Ἀντιοχέων γῆν ἐμπρήσαντος καὶ διαρπάσαντος Πτολεμαῖος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξεστράτευσεν μετὰ τοῦ γαμβροῦ Δημητρίου: ἤδη γὰρ αὐτῷ πρὸς γάμον ἐδεδώκει τὴν θυγατέρα: καὶ νικήσαντες εἰς φυγὴν ἐτρέψαντο τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. [117] οὗτος μὲν οὖν εἰς Ἀραβίαν φεύγει. συνέβη δὲ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τὸν ἵππον τὸν Πτολεμαίου φωνῆς ἀκούσαντα ἐλέφαντος ταραχθῆναι καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἀποσεισάμενον καταβαλεῖν, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἰδόντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁρμῆσαι καὶ τραύματα πολλὰ δόντας αὐτῷ κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς εἰς κίνδυνον τὸν περὶ θανάτου καταστῆσαι: τῶν γὰρ σωματοφυλάκων αὐτὸν ἐξαρπασάντων χαλεπῶς οὕτως εἶχεν, ὡς ἐφ' ἡμέρας τέσσαρας μήτε συνεῖναί τι μήτε φθέγξασθαι δυνηθῆναι. [118] τοῦ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν κεφαλὴν ὁ τῶν Ἀράβων δυνάστης ἀποτεμὼν Ζάβειλος ἀπέστειλεν Πτολεμαίῳ, ὃς τῇ πέμπτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνενεγκὼν ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων καὶ φρονήσας ἥδιστον ἄκουσμα καὶ θέαμα τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν ἅμα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀκούει καὶ θεᾶται. [119] καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ πλησθεὶς τῆς ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τεθνηκότι χαρᾶς καὶ αὐτὸς

κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον. ἐβασίλευσεν δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Βάλας ἐπιλεγόμενος ἔτη πέντε, καθὼς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδηλώκαμεν.

8. But now Alexander made haste with a numerous and great army, and came out of Cilicia into Syria, and burnt the country belonging to Antioch, and pillaged it; whereupon Ptolemy, and his son-in-law Demetrius, brought their army against him, [for he had already given him his daughter in marriage,] and beat Alexander, and put him to flight; and accordingly he fled into Arabia. Now it happened in the time of the battle that Ptolemy' horse, upon hearing the noise of an elephant, cast him off his back, and threw him on the ground; upon the sight of which accident, his enemies fell upon him, and gave him many wounds upon his head, and brought him into danger of death; for when his guards caught him up, he was so very ill, that for four days' time he was not able either to understand or to speak. However, Zabdiel, a prince among the Arabians, cut off Alexander's head, and sent it to Ptolemy, who recovering of his wounds, and returning to his understanding, on the fifth day, heard at once a most agreeable hearing, and saw a most agreeable sight, which were the death and the head of Alexander; yet a little after this his joy for the death of Alexander, with which he was so greatly satisfied, he also departed this life. Now Alexander, who was called Balas, reigned over Asia five years, as we have elsewhere related.

(9) [120] Παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν Δημήτριος ὁ Νικάτωρ ἐπιλεγόμενος ὑπὸ πονηρίας ἤρξατο διαφθείρειν τὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου στρατεύματα, τῆς τε πρὸς αὐτὸν συμμαχίας ἐκλαθόμενος καὶ ὅτι πενθερὸς ἦν αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τὸν τῆς Κλεοπάτρας γάμον συγγενής. οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιῶται φεύγουσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν πεῖραν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, τῶν δ' ἐλεφάντων Δημήτριος ἐγκρατὴς γίνεται. [121] Ἰωνάθης δ' ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς Ἰουδαίας στρατιὰν συναγαγὼν προσβαλὼν ἐπολιόρκει τὴν ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἄκραν ἔχουσαν Μακεδονικὴν φρουρὰν καὶ τῶν ἀσεβῶν τινας καὶ πεφευγότων τὴν πάτριον συνήθειαν. [122] οὗτοι δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κατεφρόνουν ὧν Ἰωνάθης ἐμηχανᾶτο περὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν πεπιστευκότες τῇ ὀχυρότητι τοῦ χωρίου, νυκτὸς δέ τινες τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πονηρῶν ἐξελθόντες ἦκον πρὸς Δημήτριον καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν αὐτῷ τῆς ἄκρας ἐμήνυσαν. [123] ὁ δὲ τοῖς ἠγγελμένοις παροξυνθείς, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἦκεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην. γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Πτολεμαίδι γράφει κελεύων αὐτὸν σπεῦσαι πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Πτολεμαίδα. [124] ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν πολιορκίαν οὐκ ἔπαυσεν, τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους τοῦ λαοῦ παραλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ ἐσθῆτα καὶ πλῆθος ξενίων κομίζων ἦκεν πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον, καὶ τούτοις δωρησάμενος αὐτὸν θεραπεύει τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ τιμηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λαμβάνει βεβαίαν ἔχειν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην, καθὼς καὶ παρὰ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων ἐκέκτητο. [125] κατηγορούντων δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν φυγάδων ὁ

Δημήτριος οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρακαλέσαντος αὐτόν, ὅπως ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἁπάσης καὶ τῶν τριῶν τοπαρχιῶν Σαμαρείας καὶ Ἰόππης καὶ Γαλιλαίας τριακόσια τελῇ τάλαντα, δίδωσιν καὶ περὶ πάντων ἐπιστολάς, αἳ περιεῖχον τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον: [126] "βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος Ἰωνάθῃ τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ τῷ ἔθνει τῶν Ἰουδαίων χαίρειν. τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἧς ἔγραψα Λασθένει τῷ συγγενεῖ ἡμῶν ἀπεστάλκαμεν ὑμῖν, ἵνα εἰδῆτε. [127] βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος Λασθένει τῷ πατρὶ χαίρειν. τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνει ὄντι φίλῳ καὶ τὰ δίκαια τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς φυλάττοντι τῆς εὐνοίας ἔκρινα χάριν παρασχεῖν. καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς νομοὺς Ἀφαίρεμα καὶ Λύδδα καὶ Ῥαμαθαιν, οἳ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ προσετέθησαν ἀπὸ τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος, καὶ τὰ προσκυροῦντα τούτοις, [128] ἔτι τε ὅσα παρὰ τῶν θυόντων ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐλάμβανον οἱ πρὸ ἐμοῦ βασιλεῖς, καὶ ὅσα ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν φυτῶν, καὶ τἆλλα τὰ προσήκοντα ἡμῖν, καὶ τὰς λίμνας τῶν ἁλῶν καὶ τοὺς κομιζομένους ἡμῖν στεφάνους ἀφίημι αὐτοῖς, καὶ οὐδὲν παραβιβασθήσεται τούτων ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν οὐδὲ εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον. φρόντισον οὖν, ἵνα τούτων ἀντίγραφον γένηται καὶ δοθῇ Ἰω [129] νάθῃ καὶ ἐν ἐπισήμῳ τόπῳ τοῦ ἁγίου ἱεροῦ τεθῇ." τὰ μὲν δὴ γραφέντα ταῦτα ἦν. ὁρῶν δὲ ὁ Δημήτριος εἰρήνην οὖσαν καὶ μηδένα κίνδυνον μηδὲ πολέμου φόβον ὑπάρχοντα διέλυσε τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶν ἐμείωσεν, καὶ μόνοις τοῦτον ἐχορήγει τοῖς ξενολογηθεῖσιν, οἳ συνανέβησαν ἐκ Κρήτης αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων νήσων. [130] ἔχθρα τοιγαροῦν αὐτῷ καὶ μῖσος ἐκ τούτου γίνεται παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οἷς αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν οὐκέτι παρεῖχεν, οἱ δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖς καὶ ἐπ' εἰρήνης χορηγοῦντες αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως διετέλουν, ἵν' εὐνοοῦντας ἔχωσιν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀγῶσιν εἰ δεήσειέν ποτε προθύμους.

9. But when Demetrius, who was styled Nicator, had taken the kingdom, he was so wicked as to treat Ptolemy's soldiers very hardly, neither remembering the league of mutual assistance that was between them, nor that he was his son-in-law and kinsman, by Cleopatra's marriage to him; so the soldiers fled from his wicked treatment to Alexandria; but Demetrius kept his elephants. But Jonathan the high priest levied an army out of all Judea, and attacked the citadel at Jerusalem, and besieged it. It was held by a garrison of Macedonians, and by some of those wicked men who had deserted the customs of their forefathers. These men at first despised the attempts of Jonathan for taking the place, as depending on its strength; but some of those wicked men went out by night, and came to Demetrius, and informed him that the citadel was besieged; who was irritated with what he heard, and took his army, and came from Antioch, against Jonathan. And when he was at Antioch, he wrote to him, and commanded him to come to him quickly to Ptolemais: upon which Jonathan did not intermit the siege of the citadel, but took with him the elders of the people, and the priests,

and carried with him gold, and silver, and garments, and a great number of presents of friendship, and came to Demetrius, and presented him with them, and thereby pacified the king's anger. So he was honored by him, and received from him the confirmation of his high priesthood, as he had possessed it by the grants of the kings his predecessors. And when the Jewish deserters accused him, Demetrius was so far from giving credit to them, that when he petitioned him that he would demand no more than three hundred talents for the tribute of all Judea, and the three toparchies of Samaria, and Perea, and Galilee, he complied with the proposal, and gave him a letter confirming all those grants; whose contents were as follows: "King Demetrius to Jonathan his brother, and to the nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting. We have sent you a copy of that epistle which we have written to Lasthones our kinsman, that you may know its contents. 'King Demetrus to Lasthenes our father, sendeth greeting. I have determined to return thanks, and to show favor to the nation of the Jews, which hath observed the rules of justice in our concerns. Accordingly, I remit to them the three prefectures, Apherims, and Lydda, and Ramatha, which have been added to Judea out of Samaria, with their appurtenances; as also what the kings my predecessors received from those that offered sacrifices in Jerusalem, and what are due from the fruits of the earth, and of the trees, and what else belongs to us; with the salt-pits, and the crowns that used to be presented to us. Nor shall they be compelled to pay any of those taxes from this time to all futurity. Take care therefore that a copy of this epistle be taken, and given to Jonathan, and be set up in an eminent place of their holy temple.'" And these were the contents of this writing. And now when Demetrius saw that there was peace every where, and that there was no danger, nor fear of war, he disbanded the greatest part of his army, and diminished their pay, and even retained in pay no others than such foreigners as came up with him from Crete, and from the other islands. However, this procured him ill-will and hatred from the soldiers; on whom he bestowed nothing from this time, while the kings before him used to pay them in time of peace as they did before, that they might have their good-will, and that they might be very ready to undergo the difficulties of war, if any occasion should require it.

V

CHAPTER 5. How Trypho After He Had Beaten Demetrius Delivered The Kingdom To Antiochus The Son Of Alexander, And Gained Jonathan For His Assistant; And Concerning The Actions And Embassies Of Jonathan.

(1) [131] Ἀμέλει ταύτην νοήσας τὴν δύσνοιαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς Δημήτριον Ἀλεξάνδρου τις στρατηγὸς Ἀπαμεὺς τὸ γένος Διόδοτος ὁ καὶ Τρύφων ἐπικληθείς, παραγίνεται πρὸς Μάλχον τὸν Ἄραβα, ὃς ἔτρεφε τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸν Ἀντίοχον, καὶ δηλώσας αὐτῷ τὴν δυσμένειαν τὴν τῶν στρατευμάτων πρὸς Δημήτριον ἔπειθεν αὐτῷ δοῦναι τὸν Ἀντίοχον: βασιλέα γὰρ αὐτὸν ποιήσειν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποκαταστήσειν. [132] ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀντεῖχεν ὑπ᾽ ἀπιστίας, ὕστερον δὲ πολλῷ χρόνῳ προσλιπαρήσαντος τοῦ Τρύφωνος νικᾶται τὴν προαίρεσιν εἰς ἃ Τρύφων παρεκάλει. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τούτου τἀνδρὸς ἐν τούτοις ὑπῆρχεν.

1. Now there was a certain commander of Alexander’s forces, an Apanemian by birth, whose name was Diodotus, and was also called Trypho, took notice the ill-will of the soldiers bare to Demetrius, and went to Malchus the Arabian, who brought up Antiochus, the son of Alexander, and told him what ill-will the army bare Demetrius, and persuaded him to give him Antiochus, because he would make him king, and recover to him the kingdom of his father. Malchus at the first opposed him in this attempt, because he could not believe him; but when Trypho lay hard at him for a long time, he over-persuaded him to comply with Trypho’s intentions and entreaties. And this was the state Trypho was now in.

(2) [133] Ὁ δ᾽ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰωνάθης ἐξελθεῖν βουλόμενος τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίων φυγάδας καὶ ἀσεβεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἁπάσῃ τῇ χώρᾳ φρουρούς, πέμψας πρὸς Δημήτριον δῶρα καὶ πρεσβευτὰς παρεκάλει τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασι τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐκβαλεῖν. [134] ὁ δ᾽ οὐ ταῦτα μόνον αὐτῷ παρέξειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μείζω τούτων ὑπισχνεῖται μετὰ τὸν ἐν χερσὶ πόλεμον: τούτῳ γὰρ νῦν εὐσχολεῖν. ἠξίου δ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ συμμαχίαν πέμψαι δηλῶν ἀποστῆναι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ. καὶ Ἰωνάθης μὲν τρισχιλίους ἐπιλεξάμενος στρατιώτας ἔπεμψεν.

2. But Jonathan the high priest, being desirous to get clear of those that were in the citadel of Jerusalem, and of the Jewish deserters, and wicked men, as well as of those in all the garrisons in the country, sent presents and ambassadors to

Demetrius, and entreated him to take away his soldiers out of the strong holds of Judea. Demetrius made answer, that after the war, which he was now deeply engaged in, was over, he would not only grant him that, but greater things than that also; and he desired he would send him some assistance, and informed him that his army had deserted him. So Jonathan chose out three thousand of his soldiers, and sent them to Demetrius.

(3) [135] Ἀντιοχεῖς δὲ μισοῦντες τὸν Δημήτριον ὑπὲρ ὧν πεπόνθεισαν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κακῶς, ἀπεχθανόμενοι δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ τὸν πατέρα Δημήτριον πολλὰ εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐξαμαρτόντα, καιρὸν ἐπετήρουν λαβεῖν καθ᾽ ὃν ἐπιθοῖντο αὐτῷ. [136] νοήσαντες δὲ συμμαχίαν παροῦσαν παρὰ Ἰωνάθου τῷ Δημητρίῳ καὶ συμφρονήσαντες, ὅτι πολλὴν ἀθροίσει δύναμιν, εἰ μὴ φθάσαντες προκαταλάβοιεν αὐτόν, ἁρπάσαντες τὰ ὅπλα καὶ περιστάντες τοῖς βασιλείοις αὐτοῦ τρόπῳ πολιορκίας καὶ τὰς ἐξόδους διαλαβόντες ἐζήτουν χειρώσασθαι τὸν βασιλέα. [137] ὁ δὲ τὸν δῆμον ὁρῶν τὸν τῶν Ἀντιοχέων ἐκπεπολεμωμένον πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν ὅπλοις ὄντα, παραλαβὼν τοὺς μισθοφόρους καὶ τοὺς πεμφθέντας ὑπὸ Ἰωνάθου Ἰουδαίους συμβάλλει τοῖς Ἀντιοχεῦσιν καὶ βιασθεὶς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν, πολλαὶ γὰρ ἦσαν μυριάδες, ἡττᾶται. [138] βλέποντες δὲ τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς κρατοῦντας οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐπὶ τὰς στέγας τῶν βασιλείων ἀναβάντες ἐκεῖθεν ἔβαλλον τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς, καὶ τοῦ μὲν αὐτοί τι πάσχειν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ὄντες πορρωτάτω διὰ τὸ ὕψος, ποιοῦντες δ᾽ αὐτοὺς κακῶς διὰ τὸ ἄνωθεν μάχεσθαι τῶν σύνεγγυς αὐτοὺς οἰκιῶν ἀπώσαντο. [139] καὶ ταύταις μὲν εὐθὺς πῦρ ἐνῆκαν, ἡ δὲ φλὸξ ἐφ᾽ ὅλην διατείνουσα τὴν πόλιν πυκνῶν τῶν οἰκιῶν οὐσῶν καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα ἐκ ξύλων ᾠκοδομημένων πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἐνέμετο. [140] οἱ δ᾽ Ἀντιοχεῖς μὴ δυνάμενοι βοηθῆσαι μηδὲ κρατῆσαι τοῦ πυρὸς εἰς φυγὴν ἐτράπησαν. τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων ἀπὸ δώματος ἐπὶ δῶμα διαπηδώντων καὶ τοῦτον αὐτοὺς διωκόντων τὸν τρόπον παράδοξον συνέβη γενέσθαι τὴν δίωξιν. [141] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὁρῶν τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς σῶσαι τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐσπουδακότας καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μηκέτι μαχομένους δι᾽ ἄλλων αὐτοῖς ἐπιτίθεται στενωπῶν, καὶ συμβαλὼν πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν, ὡς ἀναγκασθῆναι ῥῖψαι τὰς πανοπλίας καὶ παραδοῦναι αὐτοὺς τῷ Δημητρίῳ. [142] συγγνοὺς δ᾽ αὐτοῖς τῶν τετολμημένων καταπαύει τὴν στάσιν. δωρησάμενος δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τὰς ἐκ τῶν σκύλων ὠφελείας καὶ ὡς αἰτιωτάτοις τῆς νίκης αὐτῷ γεγενημένοις εὐχαριστήσας ἀπέπεμψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς Ἰωνάθην μαρτυρῶν αὐτῷ τῆς συμμαχίας. [143] ὕστερον δὲ πονηρὸς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐγένετο καὶ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις διεψεύσατο καὶ πόλεμον ἠπείλησεν, εἰ μὴ τοὺς φόρους αὐτῷ πάντας ἀποδώσει, οὓς ὤφειλεν τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων βασιλέων. καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐποίησεν ἄν, εἰ μὴ Τρύφων αὐτὸν ἐπέσχεν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην αὐτοῦ παρασκευὴν ἀντιμετέσπασεν εἰς τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ φροντίδας. [144] ὑποστρέψας γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίας εἰς τὴν Συρίαν μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀντιόχου, μειράκιον δ᾽ ἦν οὗτος τὴν

ἡλικίαν, περιτίθησιν αὐτῷ τὸ διάδημα. καὶ προσχωρήσαντος τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ παντός, ὃ καταλελοίπει τὸν Δημήτριον διὰ τὸ μὴ τυγχάνειν μισθῶν, πόλεμον ἐκφέρει πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον, καὶ συμβαλὼν αὐτῷ κρατεῖ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τούς τε ἐλέφαντας καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀντιοχέων πόλιν λαμβάνει.

3. Now the people of Antioch hated Demetrius, both on account of what mischief he had himself done them, and because they were his enemies also on account of his father Demetrius, who had greatly abused them; so they watched some opportunity which they might lay hold on to fall upon him. And when they were informed of the assistance that was coming to Demetrius from Jonathan, and considered at the same time that he would raise a numerous army, unless they prevented him, and seized upon him, they took their weapons immediately, and encompassed his palace in the way of a siege, and seizing upon all the ways of getting out, they sought to subdue their king. And when he saw that the people of Antioch were become his bitter enemies and that they were thus in arms, he took the mercenary soldiers which he had with them, and those Jews who were sent by Jonathan, and assaulted the Antiochians; but he was overpowered by them, for they were many ten thousands, and was beaten. But when the Jews saw that the Antiochians were superior, they went up to the top of the palace, and shot at them from thence; and because they were so remote from them by their height, that they suffered nothing on their side, but did great execution on the others, as fighting from such an elevation, they drove them out of the adjoining houses, and immediately set them on fire, whereupon the flame spread itself over the whole city, and burnt it all down. This happened by reason of the closeness of the houses, and because they were generally built of wood. So the Antioehians, when they were not able to help themselves, nor to stop the fire, were put to flight. And as the Jews leaped from the top of one house to the top of another, and pursued them after that manner, it thence happened that the pursuit was so very surprising. But when the king saw that the Antiochians were were busy in saving their children and their wives, and so did not fight any longer, he fell upon them in the narrow passages, and fought them, and slew a great many of them, till at last they were forced to throw down their arms, and to deliver themselves up to Demetrius. So he forgave them this their insolent behavior, and put an end to the sedition; and when he had given rewards to the Jews out of the rich spoils he had gotten, and had returned them thanks, as the cause of his victory, he sent them away to Jerusalem to Jonathan, with an ample testimony of the assistance they had afforded him. Yet did he prove an ill man to Jonathan afterward, and broke the promises he had made; and he threatened that he would make war upon him, unless he would pay all that tribute which the Jewish nation

owed to the first kings [of Syria]. And this he had done, if Trypho had not hindered him, and diverted his preparations against Jonathan to a concern for his own preservation; for he now returned out of Arabia into Syria, with the child Antiochus, for he was yet in age but a youth, and put the diadem on his head; and as the whole forces that had left Demetrius, because they had no pay, came to his assistance, he made war upon Demetrius, and joining battle with him, overcame him in the fight, and took from him both his elephants and the city Antioch.

(4) [145] Δημήτριος μὲν οὖν ἡττηθεὶς ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Κιλικίαν, ὁ δὲ παῖς Ἀντίοχος πέμψας πρὸς Ἰωνάθην πρεσβευτὰς καὶ γράμματα φίλον τε καὶ σύμμαχον αὐτὸν ἐποιεῖτο καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἐβεβαίου καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων παρεχώρει νομῶν, οἳ τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων προσετέθησαν. [146] ἔτι γε μὴν σκεύη χρυσᾶ καὶ ἐκπώματα καὶ πορφυρᾶν ἐσθῆτα χρῆσθαι τούτοις ἐπιτρέπων ἀπέστειλεν καὶ πόρπῃ δ' αὐτὸν δωρεῖται χρυσέᾳ καὶ τῶν πρώτων αὐτοῦ καλεῖσθαι φίλων. τὸν ἀδελφὸν δ' αὐτοῦ Σίμωνα στρατηγὸν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπὸ κλίμακος τῆς Τυρίων ἕως Αἰγύπτου καθίστησιν. [147] Ἰωνάθης δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς παρ' Ἀντιόχου γεγενημένοις εἰς αὐτὸν ἡσθεὶς πέμψας πρὸς αὐτόν τε καὶ Τρύφωνα πρεσβευτὰς εἶναί τε φίλος ὡμολόγει καὶ σύμμαχος καὶ πολεμήσειν σὺν αὐτῷ πρὸς Δημήτριον, διδάσκων ὡς οὐδ' αὐτῷ χάριτας ἀποδοίη πολλῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ χρηστῶν ἐν οἷς ἐδεῖτο τυχών, ἀλλὰ προσαδικήσειεν ἀνθ' ὧν εὖ πάθοι.

4. Demetrius, upon this defeat, retired into Cilicia; but the child Antiochus sent ambassadors and an epistle to Jonathan, and made him his friend and confederate, and confirmed to him the high priesthood, and yielded up to him the four prefectures which had been added to Judea. Moreover, he sent him vessels and cups of gold, and a purple garment, and gave him leave to use them. He also presented him with a golden button, and styled him one of his principal friends, and appointed his brother Simon to be the general over the forces, from the Ladder of Tyre unto Egypt. So Jonathan was so pleased with these grants made him by Antiochus, that he sent ambassadors to him and to Trypho, and professed himself to be their friend and confederate, and said he would join with him in a war against Demetrius, informing him that he had made no proper returns for the kindness he had done him; for that when he had received many marks of kindness from him, when he stood in great need of them, he, for such good turns, had requited him with further injuries.

(5) [148] Συγχωρήσαντος οὖν Ἀντιόχου δύναμιν αὐτῷ συναγαγόντι πολλὴν ἔκ τε Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης τοῖς Δημητρίου πολεμῆσαι στρατηγοῖς εὐθὺς ὥρμησεν εἰς τὰς πόλεις. αἱ δὲ λαμπρῶς μὲν ἐξεδέξαντο, στρατιὰν δ' οὐκ ἔδοσαν. [149]

παραγενόμενος δ᾽ ἐκεῖθεν πρὸς Ἀσκάλωνα πόλιν καὶ τῶν Ἀσκαλωνιτῶν φιλοτίμως αὐτῷ μετὰ δώρων ἀπαντησάντων, αὐτούς τε τούτους παρεκάλει καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ κοίλῃ Συρίᾳ πόλεων ἑκάστην ἀποστᾶσαν Δημητρίου προσθέσθαι μὲν Ἀντιόχῳ, σὺν αὐτῷ δὲ πολεμούσας πειρᾶσθαι παρὰ Δημητρίου δίκην λαμβάνειν ὧν ἁμάρτοι ποτ᾽ εἰς αὐτάς: εἶναι δ᾽ αὐταῖς βουλομέναις ταῦτα φρονεῖν πολλὰς αἰτίας. [150] πείσας δ᾽ ὁμολογῆσαι πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον συμμαχεῖν τὰς πόλεις εἰς Γάζαν παρεγένετο προσαξόμενος καὶ τὴν παρὰ τούτων εὔνοιαν Ἀντιόχῳ. πολὺ δ᾽ εὗρεν τῆς προσδοκίας τοὺς Γαζαίους ἀλλοτριώτερον ἔχοντας: ἀπέκλεισαν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰς πύλας καὶ τὸν Δημήτριον ἐγκαταλιπόντες οὐκ ἔγνωσαν Ἀντιόχῳ προσχωρῆσαι. [151] τοῦτο παρώξυνεν εἰς πολιορκίαν τὸν Ἰωνάθην καὶ τῆς χώρας τὴν κάκωσιν: μέρος γὰρ τῆς στρατιᾶς περικαθίσας τῇ Γάζῃ τῷ λοιπῷ τὴν γῆν αὐτὸς ἐπιὼν διέφθειρεν καὶ ἐνεπίμπρα. ταῦτα δὲ πάσχοντας ἑαυτοὺς ὁρῶντες οἱ Γαζῖται καὶ μηδεμίαν ἀπὸ Δημητρίου βοήθειαν αὐτοῖς γινομένην, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν λυποῦν ἤδη παρόν, τὸ δ᾽ ὠφελῆσον μακρὰν ἔτι καὶ ἄδηλον εἰ παραγένοιτο, σῶφρον ἔκριναν εἶναι τοῦτ᾽ ἀφέντες παραμένειν ἐκεῖνο θεραπεύειν. [152] πέμψαντες οὖν πρὸς τὸν Ἰωνάθην φιλίαν τε ὡμολόγουν καὶ συμμαχίαν: οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄνθρωποι πρὸ πείρας τῶν δεινῶν οὐ συνιᾶσιν τὸ συμφέρον, ἀλλ᾽ ὅταν ἔν τινι κακῷ γενόμενοι τύχωσιν, τότε γνωσιμαχήσαντες ἃ μηδ᾽ ὅλως βλαβέντας ἄμεινον ἦν ποιεῖν ταῦθ᾽ ὕστερον ζημιωθέντες αἱροῦνται. [153] ὁ δὲ συνθέμενος πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν καὶ λαβὼν ὁμήρους τούτους μὲν ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν ἐπῆλθεν ἄχρι Δαμασκοῦ.

5. So Antiochus gave Jonathan leave to raise himself a numerous army out of Syria and Phoenicia and to make war against Demetrius's generals; whereupon he went in haste to the several cities which received him splendidly indeed, but put no forces into his hands. And when he was come from thence to Askelon, the inhabitants of Askelon came and brought him presents, and met him in a splendid manner. He exhorted them, and every one of the cities of Celesyria, to forsake Demetrius, and to join with Antiochus; and, in assisting him, to endeavor to punish Demetrius for what offenses he had been guilty of against themselves; and told them there were many reasons for that their procedure, if they had a mind so to do. And when he had persuaded those cities to promise their assistance to Antiochus, he came to Gaza, in order to induce them also to be friends to Antiochus; but he found the inhabitants of Gaza much more alienated from him than he expected, for they had shut their gates against him; and although they had deserted Demetrius, they had not resolved to join themselves to Antiochus. This provoked Jonathan to besiege them, and to harass their country; for as he set a part of his army round about Gaza itself, so with the rest he overran their land, and spoiled it, and burnt what was in it. When the of Gaza

saw themselves in this state of affliction, and that no assistance came to them from Demetrius, that what distressed them was at hand, but what should profit them was still at a great distance, and it was uncertain whether it would come at all or not, they thought it would be prudent conduct to leave off any longer continuance with them, and to cultivate friendship with the other; so they sent to Jonathan, and professed they would be his friends, and afford him assistance: for such is the temper of men, that before they have had the trial of great afflictions, they do not understand what is for their advantage; but when they find themselves under such afflictions, they then change their minds, and what it had been better for them to have done before they had been at all damaged, they choose to do, but not till after they have suffered such damages. However, he made a league of friendship with them, and took from them hostages for their performance of it, and sent these hostages to Jerusalem, while he went himself over all the country, as far as Damascus.

(6) [154] Τῶν δὲ Δημητρίου στρατηγῶν ἀκουσθέντων αὐτῷ προελθεῖν εἰς Κέδασαν σὺν πολλῇ στρατιᾷ, μεταξὺ δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη τῆς τε Τυρίων γῆς καὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας: ἀπάξειν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Συρίας ὑπέλαβον ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Γαλιλαίων συμμαχίαν: τῆς γὰρ Γαλιλαίας ὄντας αὐτοὺς οὐ περιόψεσθαι πολεμουμένους: ὑπήντησεν αὐτοῖς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Σίμωνα καταλιπὼν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ, [155] ὃς στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς χώρας συναγαγὼν ὡς ἐνῆν ἱκανώτατον τὴν Βεθσούραν πολιορκῶν προσεκάθητο χωρίον τῆς Ἰουδαίας ὀχυρώτατον: κατεῖχεν γὰρ αὐτὸ φρουρὰ Δημητρίου. δεδήλωται δ' ἡμῖν τοῦτο καὶ πρότερον. [156] ὡς δὲ χώματα μὲν ἐγείραντος τοῦ Σίμωνος, μηχανήματα δ' ἱστάντος καὶ πολλῇ σπουδῇ χρωμένου περὶ τὴν τῆς Βεθσούρου πολιορκίαν ἔδεισαν οἱ φρουροί, μὴ κατὰ κράτος ἐξαιρεθέντος τοῦ χωρίου διαφθαρῶσιν, πέμψαντες πρὸς τὸν Σίμωνα ἠξίουν ὅρκους λαβόντες, ὥστε μηδὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παθεῖν, καταλιπεῖν τὸ χωρίον καὶ πρὸς Δημήτριον ἀπελθεῖν. [157] ὁ δὲ δοὺς ταύτας αὐτοῖς τὰς πίστεις ἐκβάλλει μὲν ἐκείνους ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, αὐτὸς δὲ φρουρὰν καθίστησιν ἰδίαν.

6. But when he heard that the generals of Demetrius's forces were come to the city Cadesh with a numerous army, [the place lies between the land of the Tyrians and Galilee,]for they supposed they should hereby draw him out of Syria, in order to preserve Galilee, and that he would not overlook the Galileans, who were his own people, when war was made upon them, he went to meet them, having left Simon in Judea, who raised as great an army as he was able out of the country, and then sat down before Bethsura, and besieged it, that being the strongest place in all Judea; and a garrison of Demetrius's kept it, as we have already related. But as Simon was raising banks, and bringing his engines of war against Bethsura, and was very earnest about the siege of it, the garrison was

afraid lest the place should be taken of Simon by force, and they put to the sword; so they sent to Simon, and desired the security of his oath, that they should come to no harm from him, and that they would leave the place, and go away to Demetrius. Accordingly he gave them his oath, and ejected them out of the city, and he put therein a garrison of his own.

(7) [158] Ἰωνάθης δὲ ἄρας ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἀπὸ τῶν ὑδάτων τῶν Γενησάρων λεγομένων, ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐτύγχανεν ἐστρατοπεδευκώς, εἰς τὸ καλούμενον Ἀσὼρ πεδίον προῆλθεν οὐκ εἰδὼς ὄντας ἐν αὐτῇ τοὺς πολεμίους. [159] μαθόντες δὲ πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας οἱ τοῦ Δημητρίου μέλλειν Ἰωνάθην ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς βαδίζειν ἐνέδραν αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς λοχήσοντας ἐν τῷ ὄρει καθίσαντες αὐτοὶ μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπήντων εἰς τὸ πεδίον: οὓς ἰδὼν ὁ Ἰωνάθης ἑτοίμους πρὸς μάχην παρεσκευάζετο καὶ αὐτὸς τοὺς ἰδίους στρατιώτας πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὡς ἠδύνατο. [160] τῶν δὲ εἰς τὴν ἐνέδραν ὑπὸ τῶν Δημητρίου στρατηγῶν κατασταθέντων κατὰ νώτου τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις γενομένων, δείσαντες μὴ μέσοι ληφθέντες ἀπόλωνται, φεύγειν ὥρμησαν. [161] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες τὸν Ἰωνάθην κατέλιπον, ὀλίγοι δέ τινες ὡς περὶ πεντήκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὑπέμειναν, καὶ Ματθίας ὁ Ἀψαλώμου καὶ Ἰούδας ὁ Χαψέου τῆς ἁπάσης δυνάμεως ἡγεμόνες ὄντες: τολμηρῶς δὲ καὶ μετὰ ἀπογνώσεως εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ὠσάμενοι τῷ τε θάρσει κατέπληξαν αὐτοὺς καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἀπέστρεψαν εἰς φυγήν. [162] οἱ δ᾽ ἀναχωρήσαντες τῶν Ἰωνάθου στρατιωτῶν ὡς εἶδον τοὺς πολεμίους τραπέντας, ἐπισυλλεγέντες ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ὥρμησαν αὐτοὺς διώκειν καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐποίησαν μέχρι Κεδάσων, οὗ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἦν τοῖς πολεμίοις.

7. But Jonathan removed out of Galilee, and from the waters which are called Gennesar, for there he was before encamped, and came into the plain that is called Asor, without knowing that the enemy was there. When therefore Demetrius's men knew a day beforehand that Jonathan was coming against them, they laid an ambush in the mountain, who were to assault him on the sudden, while they themselves met him with an army in the plain; which army, when Jonathan saw ready to engage him, he also got ready his own soldiers for the battle as well as he was able; but those that were laid in ambush by Demetrius's generals being behind them, the Jews were afraid lest they should be caught in the midst between two bodies, and perish; so they ran away in haste, and indeed all the rest left Jonathan; but a few there were, in number about fifty, who staid with him, and with them Mattathias, the son of Absalom, and Judas, the son of Chapseus, who were commanders of the whole army. These marched boldly, and like men desperate, against the enemy, and so pushed them, that by their courage they daunted them, and with their weapons in their hands they put them to flight. And when those soldiers of Jonathan that had retired saw

the enemy giving way, they got together after their flight, and pursued them with great violence; and this did they as far as Cadesh, where the camp of the enemy lay.

(8) [163] Κρατήσας οὖν Ἰωνάθης τῇ μάχῃ λαμπρῶς καὶ δισχιλίους τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀποκτείνας ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. ὁρῶν οὖν, ὅτι πάντ᾽ αὐτῷ κατὰ νοῦν προνοίᾳ θεοῦ χωρεῖ, πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πρεσβευτὰς ἀπέστειλεν, ἀνανεώσασθαι βουλόμενος τὴν γενομένην τῷ ἔθνει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔμπροσθεν φιλίαν. [164] τοῖς δ᾽ αὐτοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ἐπέστειλεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀναστρέφουσιν πρὸς τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας ἀφικέσθαι καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπομνῆσαι φιλίαν καὶ συγγένειαν. οἱ δ᾽ ὡς ἦλθον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην παρελθόντες εἰς τὴν βουλὴν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ παρὰ Ἰωνάθου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως εἰπόντες, ὡς πέμψειεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς συμμαχίας βεβαιώσει, [165] τῆς βουλῆς ἐπικυρωσάσης τὰ πρότερον αὐτῇ περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων φιλίας ἐγνωσμένα καὶ δούσης ἐπιστολὰς πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ Εὐρώπης καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἄρχοντας αὐτοῖς κομίζειν, ὅπως ἀσφαλοῦς τῆς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν κομιδῆς δι᾽ αὐτῶν τύχωσιν, ἀναστρέφοντες εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην παρεγένοντο καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς, ἃς ἔλαβον παρὰ Ἰωνάθου, αὐτοῖς ἀπέδοσαν. [166] τὸ δ᾽ ἀντίγραφον ἦν τόδε: “ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰωνάθης τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἡ γερουσία καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἱερέων Λακεδαιμονίων ἐφόροις καὶ γερουσίᾳ καὶ δήμῳ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς χαίρειν. εἰ ἐρρωμένοις ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια χωρεῖ κατὰ νοῦν, οὕτως ἂν ἔχοι ὡς βουλόμεθα, ἐρρώμεθα δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς. [167] ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις κομισθείσης Ὀνίᾳ τῷ γενομένῳ ἀρχιερεῖ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν παρὰ Ἀρέως τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος ὑμῶν ἐπιστολῆς διὰ Δημοτέλους περὶ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ὑμῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς συγγενείας, ἧς ὑποτέτακται τὸ ἀντίγραφον, τήν τε ἐπιστολὴν ἐδεξάμεθα προθύμως καὶ τῷ Δημοτέλει καὶ τῷ Ἀρεῖ εὐνοικῶς διετέθημεν, οὐ δεόμενοι τῆς τοιαύτης ἀποδείξεως διὰ τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἡμῶν πεπιστεῦσθαι γραμμάτων, [168] τὸ μὲν προκατάρχειν τῆς ἀναγνωρίσεως οὐδὲ δοκιμάζομεν μὴ καὶ προαρπάζειν δοκῶμεν τὴν παρ᾽ ὑμῶν διδομένην δόξαν, πολλῶν δὲ χρόνων διαγενομένων ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναποληθείσης ἡμῖν οἰκειότητος ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς καὶ ἐπωνύμοις ἡμέραις θυσίας τῷ θεῷ προσφέροντες καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας τε καὶ νίκης αὐτὸν παρακαλοῦμεν. [169] πολλῶν δ᾽ ἡμᾶς πολέμων περιστάντων διὰ τὴν τῶν γειτνιώντων πλεονεξίαν οὔθ᾽ ὑμῖν οὔτ᾽ ἄλλῳ τῶν προσηκόντων ἡμῖν ἐνοχλεῖν ἐκρίναμεν. καταγωνισάμενοι δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους πέμποντες πρὸς Ῥωμαίους Νουμήνιον τὸν Ἀντιόχου καὶ Ἀντίπατρον τὸν Ἰάσονος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γερουσίας ὄντων παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἐν τιμῇ, ἐδώκαμεν αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπιστολάς, ὅπως ἀνανεώσωνται τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἡμῖν συγγένειαν. [170] καλῶς οὖν ποιήσετε καὶ αὐτοὶ γράφοντες ἡμῖν καὶ περὶ ὧν ἂν δέησθε ἐπιστέλλοντες, ὡς εἰς ἅπαντα προθυμησομένοις ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας προαιρέσεως.” οἱ μὲν οὖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τούς τε πρεσβευτὰς φιλοφρόνως

ὑπεδέξαντο καὶ ψήφισμα ποιησάμενοι περὶ συμμαχίας καὶ φιλίας πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπέστειλαν.

8. Jonathan having thus gotten a glorious victory, and slain two thousand of the enemy, returned to Jerusalem. So when he saw that all his affairs prospered according to his mind, by the providence of God, he sent ambassadors to the Romans, being desirous of renewing that friendship which their nation had with them formerly. He enjoined the same ambassadors, that, as they came back, they should go to the Spartans, and put them in mind of their friendship and kindred. So when the ambassadors came to Rome, they went into their senate, and said what they were commanded by Jonathan the high priest to say, how he had sent them to confirm their friendship. The senate then confirmed what had been formerly decreed concerning their friendship with the Jews, and gave them letters to carry to all the kings of Asia and Europe, and to the governors of the cities, that they might safely conduct them to their own country. Accordingly, as they returned, they came to Sparta, and delivered the epistle which they had received of Jonathan to them; a copy of which here follows: "Jonathan the high priest of the Jewish nation, and the senate, and body of the people of the Jews, to the ephori, and senate, and people of the Lacedemonians, send greeting. If you be well, and both your public and private affairs be agreeable to your mind, it is according to our wishes. We are well also. When in former times an epistle was brought to Onias, who was then our high priest, from Areus, who at that time was your king, by Demoteles, concerning the kindred that was between us and you, a copy of which is here subjoined, we both joyfully received the epistle, and were well pleased with Demoteles and Areus, although we did not need such a demonstration, because we were satisfied about it from the sacred writings yet did not we think fit first to begin the claim of this relation to you, lest we should seem too early in taking to ourselves the glory which is now given us by you. It is a long time since this relation of ours to you hath been renewed; and when we, upon holy and festival days, offer sacrifices to God, we pray to him for your preservation and victory. As to ourselves, although we have had many wars that have compassed us around, by reason of the covetousness of our neighbors, yet did not we determine to be troublesome either to you, or to others that were related to us; but since we have now overcome our enemies, and have occasion to send Numenius the son of Antiochus, and Antipater the son of Jason, who are both honorable men belonging to our senate, to the Romans, we gave them this epistle to you also, that they might renew that friendship which is between us. You will therefore do well yourselves to write to us, and send us an account of what you stand in need of from us, since we are in all things disposed to act

according to your desires." So the Lacedemonians received the ambassadors kindly, and made a decree for friendship and mutual assistance, and sent it to them.

(9) [171] Κατὰ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον τρεῖς αἱρέσεις τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἦσαν, αἳ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων διαφόρως ὑπελάμβανον, ὧν ἡ μὲν Φαρισαίων ἐλέγετο, ἡ δὲ Σαδδουκαίων, ἡ τρίτη δὲ Ἐσσηνῶν. [172] οἱ μὲν οὖν Φαρισαῖοι τινὰ καὶ οὐ πάντα τῆς εἱμαρμένης ἔργον εἶναι λέγουσιν, τινὰ δ' ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς ὑπάρχειν συμβαίνειν τε καὶ μὴ γίνεσθαι. τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἐσσηνῶν γένος πάντων τὴν εἱμαρμένην κυρίαν ἀποφαίνεται καὶ μηδὲν ὃ μὴ κατ' ἐκείνης ψῆφον ἀνθρώποις ἀπαντᾶν. [173] Σαδδουκαῖοι δὲ τὴν μὲν εἱμαρμένην ἀναιροῦσιν οὐδὲν εἶναι ταύτην ἀξιοῦντες οὐδὲ κατ' αὐτὴν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα τέλος λαμβάνειν, ἅπαντα δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς κεῖσθαι, ὡς καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους ἡμᾶς γινομένους καὶ τὰ χείρω παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀβουλίαν λαμβάνοντας. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἀκριβεστέραν πεποίημαι δήλωσιν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ βίβλῳ τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς πραγματείας.

9. At this time there were three sects among the Jews, who had different opinions concerning human actions; the one was called the sect of the Pharisees, another the sect of the Sadducees, and the other the sect of the Essens. Now for the Pharisees, they say that some actions, but not all, are the work of fate, and some of them are in our own power, and that they are liable to fate, but are not caused by fate. But the sect of the Essens affirm, that fate governs all things, and that nothing befalls men but what is according to its determination. And for the Sadducees, they take away fate, and say there is no such thing, and that the events of human affairs are not at its disposal; but they suppose that all our actions are in our own power, so that we are ourselves the causes of what is good, and receive what is evil from our own folly. However, I have given a more exact account of these opinions in the second book of the Jewish War.

(10) [174] Οἱ δὲ τοῦ Δημητρίου στρατηγοὶ τὴν γεγενημένην ἧττραν ἀναμαχέσασθαι βουλόμενοι, πλείω τῆς προτέρας δύναμιν συναγαγόντες ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην. ὁ δὲ ἐπιόντας πυθόμενος ὀξέως ἀπήντησεν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν Ἀμαθῖτιν: οὐ γὰρ ἔγνω σχολὴν αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν, ὥστ' εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐμβαλεῖν. [175] στρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ἄπωθεν σταδίοις πεντήκοντα πέμπει τοὺς κατοψομένους αὐτῶν τὴν παρεμβολὴν καὶ πῶς εἶεν ἐστρατοπεδευκότες. τῶν δὲ κατασκόπων πάντ' αὐτῷ φρασάντων καί τινας συλλαβόντων νυκτός, οἳ αὐτοῖς μέλλειν ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐμήνυον, προγνοὺς ἠσφαλίσατο, [176] προφυλακάς τε ποιησάμενος ἔξω τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τὴν δύναμιν δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἔχων ἅπασαν καὶ παρηγγελκὼς αὐτοῖς τὰς ψυχὰς ἐρρωμένους εἶναι καὶ ταῖς διανοίαις οὕτως ἔχειν, ὡς καὶ διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς εἰ

δεήσειε μαχεσομένους, ὥστε μὴ λαθεῖν αὐτῶν τὴν προαίρεσιν. [177] οἱ δὲ τοῦ Δημητρίου στρατηγοὶ πυθόμενοι τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἐγνωκότα οὐκέτι τὴν γνώμην ἦσαν ὑγιεῖς, ἀλλ᾽ ἐτάραττεν αὐτοὺς τὸ καταφώρους τοῖς ἐχθροῖς γεγονέναι καὶ μηδενὶ προσδοκᾶν αὐτῶν ἐπικρατήσειν ἑτέρῳ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς διημαρτημένης: ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ φανεροῦ διακινδυνεύοντες οὐκ ἐνόμιζον εἶναι τοῖς Ἰωνάθου ἀξιόμαχοι. [178] φυγὴν οὖν ἐβουλεύσαντο, καὶ πυρὰ καύσαντες πολλά, ὡς ὁρῶντες οἱ πολέμιοι μένειν αὐτοὺς ὑπολάβοιεν, ἀνεχώρησαν. ὁ δὲ Ἰωνάθης ἔωθεν προσμίξας αὐτῶν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ καταλαβὼν ἔρημον αὐτό, συνεὶς ὅτι πεφεύγασιν ἐδίωκεν. [179] οὐ μέντοι φθάνει καταλαβεῖν: ἤδη γὰρ τὸν Ἐλεύθερον ποταμὸν διαβεβηκότες ἦσαν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ. ποιησάμενος οὖν ἐκεῖθεν τὴν ὑποστροφὴν εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν καὶ πολεμήσας τοὺς Ναβατηνοὺς καὶ πολλὴν αὐτῶν λείαν ἀπελάσας καὶ λαβὼν αἰχμαλώτους ἐλθὼν εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἐκεῖ πάντα ἀπέδοτο. [180] ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ Σίμων ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἅπασαν ἐπελθὼν καὶ τὴν Παλαιστίνην ἕως Ἀσκάλωνος ἠσφαλίσατο φρουρίοις, καὶ ποιήσας ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς οἰκοδομήμασιν ὀχυρώτατα καὶ ταῖς φυλακαῖς ἦλθεν εἰς Ἰόππην καὶ καταλαβόμενος αὐτὴν εἰσήγαγεν μεγάλην φρουράν: ἤκουσε γὰρ τοὺς Ἰοππηνοὺς βουλομένους τοῖς Δημητρίου στρατηγοῖς παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν.

10. But now the generals of Demetrius being willing to recover the defeat they had had, gathered a greater army together than they had before, and came against Jonathan; but as soon as he was informed of their coming, he went suddenly to meet them, to the country of Hamoth, for he resolved to give them no opportunity of coming into Judea; so he pitched his camp at fifty furlongs' distance from the enemy, and sent out spies to take a view of their camp, and after what manner they were encamped. When his spies had given him full information, and had seized upon some of them by night, who told him the enemy would soon attack him, he, thus apprized beforehand, provided for his security, and placed watchmen beyond his camp, and kept all his forces armed all night; and he gave them a charge to be of good courage, and to have their minds prepared to fight in the night time, if they should be obliged so to do, lest their enemy's designs should seem concealed from them. But when Demetrius's commanders were informed that Jonathan knew what they intended, their counsels were disordered, and it alarmed them to find that the enemy had discovered those their intentions; nor did they expect to overcome them any other way, now they had failed in the snares they had laid for them; for should they hazard an open battle, they did not think they should be a match for Jonathan's army, so they resolved to fly; and having lighted many fires, that when the enemy saw them they might suppose they were there still, they retired. When Jonathan came to give them battle in the morning in their camp, and found

it deserted, and understood they were fled, he pursued them; yet he could not overtake them, for they had already passed over the river Eleutherus, and were out of danger. So when Jonathan was returned thence, he went into Arabia, and fought against the Nabateans, and drove away a great deal of their prey, and took [many] captives, and came to Damascus, and there sold off what he had taken. About the same time it was that Simon his brother went over all Judea and Palestine, as far as Askelon, and fortified the strong holds; and when he had made them very strong, both in the edifices erected, and in the garrisons placed in them, he came to Joppa; and when he had taken it, he brought a great garrison into it, for he heard that the people of Joppa were disposed to deliver up the city to Demetrius's generals.

(11) [181] Ταῦτ' οὖν διοικησάμενοι ὅ τε Σίμων καὶ Ἰωνάθης ἦλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. συναγαγὼν δὲ τὸν λαὸν ἅπαντα εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν Ἰωνάθης συνεβουλεύετο τά τε τείχη τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἐπισκευάσαι καὶ τὸ καθῃρημένον τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν περιβόλου πάλιν ἀναστῆσαι καὶ πύργοις ὑψηλοῖς ἐξοχυρῶσαι τὰ περὶ αὐτό, [182] πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ μέσον τῆς πόλεως ἄλλο τεῖχος ἀνοικοδομησαμένους ἀποφράξαι τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ φρουροῖς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῆς εὐπορίας αὐτοὺς τῶν σιτίων τοῦτον ἀποκλεῖσαι τὸν τρόπον, ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ φρούρια ποιῆσαι πολὺ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλείας ὀχυρώτερα. [183] τῆς δὲ γνώμης καὶ τῷ πλήθει δοκιμασθείσης καλῶς ἔχειν αὐτὸς μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ᾠκοδόμει, Σίμωνα δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐξέπεμψεν ἀσφαλισόμενον. [184] ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος διαβὰς εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν ἦκεν ταύτην τε βουλόμενος καὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα κατασχεῖν, [185] καὶ τῶν ἄνω σατραπειῶν ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος ἐντεῦθεν ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ὅλης τῆς βασιλείας ἀφορμάς: καὶ γὰρ οἱ ταύτῃ κατοικοῦντες Ἕλληνες καὶ Μακεδόνες συνεχῶς ἐπρεσβεύοντο πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀφίκοιτο, παραδώσειν μὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπισχνούμενοι, συγκαταπολεμήσειν δὲ Ἀρσάκην τὸν Πάρθων βασιλέα. [186] ταύταις ἐπαρθεὶς ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ὥρμησεν πρὸς αὐτούς, εἰ καταστρέψαιτο τοὺς Πάρθους καὶ γένοιτ' αὐτῷ δύναμις, τὸν Τρύφωνα πολεμῆσαι διεγνωκὼς καὶ τῆς Συρίας ἐκβαλεῖν. δεξαμένων δὲ αὐτὸν προθύμως τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, συναγαγὼν δύναμιν ἐπολέμησεν πρὸς τὸν Ἀρσάκην, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν ἀποβαλὼν αὐτὸς ζῶν ἐλήφθη, καθὼς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται.

11. When Simon and Jonathan had finished these affairs, they returned to Jerusalem, where Jonathan gathered all the people together, and took counsel to restore the walls of Jerusalem, and to rebuild the wall that encompassed the temple, which had been thrown down, and to make the places adjoining stronger by very high towers; and besides that, to build another wall in the midst of the city, in order to exclude the market-place from the garrison, which was in the

citadel, and by that means to hinder them from any plenty of provisions; and moreover, to make the fortresses that were in the country much stronger and more defensible than they were before. And when these things were approved of by the multitude, as rightly proposed, Jonathan himself took care of the building that belonged to the city, and sent Simon away to make the fortresses in the country more secure than formerly. But Demetrius passed over [Euphrates], and came into Mesopotamia, as desirous to retain that country still, as well as Babylon; and when he should have obtained the dominion of the upper provinces, to lay a foundation for recovering his entire kingdom; for those Greeks and Macedonians who dwelt there frequently sent ambassadors to him, and promised, that if he would come to them, they would deliver themselves up to him, and assist him in fighting against Arsaces, the king of the Parthians. So he was elevated with these hopes, and came hastily to them, as having resolved, that if he had once overthrown the Parthians, and gotten an army of his own, he would make war against Trypho, and eject him out of Syria; and the people of that country received him with great alacrity. So he raised forces, with which he fought against Arsaces, and lost all his army, and was himself taken alive, as we have elsewhere related.

VI

CHAPTER 6. How Jonathan Was Slain By Treachery; And How Thereupon The Jews Made Simon Their General And High Priest: What Courageous Actions He Also Performed Especially Against Trypho.

(1) [187] Τρύφων δ᾽ ἐπειδὴ τὰ περὶ τὸν Δημήτριον ἔγνω τοιοῦτο λαβόντα τέλος οὐκέτ᾽ ἦν Ἀντιόχῳ βέβαιος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεβούλευεν ὥστ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνας τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτὸς κατασχεῖν. ἐνεπόδιζέ γε μὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν προαίρεσιν ταύτην ὁ παρὰ Ἰωνάθου φόβος φίλου τυγχάνοντος Ἀντιόχῳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ᾽ ἐκποδὼν ποιήσασθαι τὸν Ἰωνάθην πρῶτον ἔγνω καὶ τότε τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἐγχειρεῖν. [188] ἀπάτῃ δ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ δόλῳ κρίνας ἀνελεῖν εἰς Βαιθσὰν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας παραγίνεται τὴν καλουμένην ὑφ᾽ Ἑλλήνων Σκυθόπολιν, εἰς ἣν μετὰ τεσσάρων αὐτῷ μυριάδων Ἰωνάθης ἀπήντησεν ἐπιλέκτου στρατοῦ: πολεμήσοντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἥκειν ὑπελάμβανεν. [189] ὁ δ᾽ ἕτοιμον εἰς μάχην γνοὺς τὸν Ἰωνάθην ὑπέρχεται δώροις αὐτὸν καὶ φιλοφρονήσει, καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν αὐτοῦ πειθαρχεῖν Ἰωνάθῃ προσέταξεν, τούτοις πιστώσασθαι βουλόμενος εὔνοιαν καὶ πᾶσαν ὑπόνοιαν ἐξελεῖν εἰς τὸ καταφρονήσαντα λαβεῖν ἀφύλακτον οὐδὲν προορώμενον. [190] τήν τε στρατιὰν συνεβούλευεν ἀπολῦσαι: καὶ γὰρ νῦν οὐ δεόντως αὐτὴν ἐπάγεσθαι, πολέμου μὲν οὐκ ὄντος, εἰρήνης δὲ ἐχούσης τὰ πράγματα: κατασχόντα μέντοι γε περὶ αὐτὸν ὀλίγους εἰς Πτολεμαίδα συνελθεῖν παρεκάλει: παραδώσειν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν τά τε ἄλλα πάνθ᾽ ὅσα κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐστὶν ὀχυρώματα ποιήσειν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ: καὶ γὰρ τούτων ἕνεκα παρεῖναι.

1. Now when Trypho knew what had befallen Demetrius, he was no longer firm to Antiochus, but contrived by subtlety to kill him, and then take possession of his kingdom; but the fear that he was in of Jonathan was an obstacle to this his design, for Jonathan was a friend to Antiochus, for which cause he resolved first to take Jonathan out of the way, and then to set about his design relating to Antiochus; but he judging it best to take him off by deceit and treachery, came from Antioch to Bethshan, which by the Greeks is called Scythopolis, at which place Jonathan met him with forty thousand chosen men, for he thought that he came to fight him; but when he perceived that Jonathan was ready to fight, he attempted to gain him by presents and kind treatment, and gave order to his captains to obey him, and by these means was desirous to give assurance of his good-will, and to take away all suspicions out of his mind, that so he might make

him careless and inconsiderate, and might take him when he was unguarded. He also advised him to dismiss his army, because there was no occasion for bringing it with him when there was no war, but all was in peace. However, he desired him to retain a few about him, and go with him to Ptolemais, for that he would deliver the city up to him, and would bring all the fortresses that were in the country under his dominion; and he told him that he came with those very designs.

(2) [191] Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰωνάθης οὐδὲν τούτων ὑπονοήσας, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπ᾽ εὐνοίας καὶ γνώμης ἀληθοῦς τὸν Τρύφωνα συμβουλεῦσαι ταῦτα πιστεύσας τὴν μὲν στρατιὰν ἀπέλυσεν, τρισχιλίους δὲ κατασχὼν μόνους τοὺς μὲν δισχιλίους ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν χιλίων ἦκεν εἰς Πτολεμαίδα σὺν Τρύφωνι. [192] τῶν δ᾽ ἐν τῇ Πτολεμαίδι κλεισάντων τὰς πύλας, τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Τρύφωνος προστεταγμένον, Ἰωνάθην ἐζώγρησεν, τοὺς δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ πάντας ἀπέκτεινεν. ἔπεμψεν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ καταλειφθέντας δισχιλίους, ὅπως ἂν καὶ τούτους ἀπολέσωσιν: [193] ἀλλ᾽ οὗτοι μὲν ὑπὸ φήμης τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην συμβεβηκότων ἔφθησαν πρὶν ἢ τοὺς ὑπὸ Τρύφωνος ἀπεσταλμένους ἀφικέσθαι φραξάμενοι τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπελθεῖν. οἱ δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς πεμφθέντες ἰδόντες ἑτοίμους ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἀγωνίζεσθαι μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐνοχλήσαντες πρὸς τὸν Τρύφωνα ὑπέστρεψαν.

2. Yet did not Jonathan suspect any thing at all by this his management, but believed that Trypho gave him this advice out of kindness, and with a sincere design. Accordingly, he dismissed his army, and retained no more than three thousand of them with him, and left two thousand in Galilee; and he himself, with one thousand, came with Trypho to Ptolemais. But when the people of Ptolemais had shut their gates, as it had been commanded by Trypho to do, he took Jonathan alive, and slew all that were with him. He also sent soldiers against those two thousand that were left in Galilee, in order to destroy them; but those men having heard the report of what had happened to Jonathan, they prevented the execution; and before those that were sent by Trypho came, they covered themselves with their armor, and went away out of the country. Now when those that were sent against them saw that they were ready to fight for their lives, they gave them no disturbance, but returned back to Trypho.

(3) [194] Οἱ δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀκούσαντες τὴν Ἰωνάθου σύλληψιν καὶ τὴν τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιωτῶν ἀπώλειαν αὐτόν τε ἐκεῖνον ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν ὠλοφύροντο καὶ δεινὴ τἀνδρὸς ἐπιζήτησις παρὰ πᾶσιν ἦν, [195] δέος τε μέγα καὶ κατὰ λόγον αὐτοῖς ἐμπεσὸν ἐλύπει, μὴ τῆς Ἰωνάθου ἀνδρείας ἅμα καὶ προνοίας ἀφῃρημένων τὰ πέριξ ἔθνη χαλεπῶς ἔχοντα πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ διὰ Ἰωνάθην

ἠρεμοῦντα νῦν αὐτοῖς ἐπισυστῇ καὶ πολεμοῦντες εἰς τοὺς περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων κινδύνους ἀναγκάζωνται καθίστασθαι. [196] καὶ δὴ τοῦτ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὡς ὑπενόουν συνέπεσεν: τὸν γὰρ Ἰωνάθου ἀκούσαντες θάνατον οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν πολεμεῖν ἤρξαντο τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ὡς ἀποροῦντας ἡγεμόνος. αὐτὸς δ᾽ ὁ Τρύφων δύναμιν συναγαγὼν γνώμην εἶχεν ἀναβὰς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πολεμεῖν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ. [197] Σίμων δ᾽ ὁρῶν πρὸς ταῦτα τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας καταπεπληγότας, βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὑποστῆναι προθύμως ἐπιόντα τὸν Τρύφωνα θαρραλεωτέρους ποιῆσαι τῷ λόγῳ, συγκαλέσας τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὸν ἱερὸν ἐντεῦθεν αὐτοὺς παρακαλεῖν ἤρξατο: [198] “τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐλευθερίας, ὁμόφυλοι, μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐγώ τε καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί μου ὡς ἐτολμήσαμεν ἀσμένως ἀποθανεῖν οὐκέτ᾽ ἀγνοεῖτε. παραδειγμάτων δὲ τοιούτων εὐποροῦντός μου κἀκ τοῦ θνήσκειν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς θρησκείας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας οἰκίας γενομένους ἡγησαμένου φόβος οὐδὲ εἷς ἔσται τηλικοῦτος, ὃς ταύτην ἡμῶν τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκβαλεῖ τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀντεισάξει δ᾽ εἰς αὐτὴν φιλοζωίαν καὶ δόξης καταφρόνησιν. [199] ὅθεν ὡς οὐκ ἀποροῦντες ἡγεμόνος οἵου τε καὶ πάσχειν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τὰ μέγιστα καὶ δρᾶν ἔπεσθέ μοι προθύμως ἐφ᾽ οὓς ἂν ἡγῶμαι: οὔτε γὰρ κρείττων ἐγὼ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἐμῶν, ἵνα φείδωμαι τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ ψυχῆς, οὔτε χείρων, ἵν᾽ ὃ κάλλιστον ἐκείνοις ἔδοξεν τὸ τελευτᾶν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείας ὑμῶν τοῦτ᾽ ἐγὼ φύγω καὶ καταλίπω. [200] οἷς δέ με δεῖ γνήσιον ἐκείνων ἀδελφὸν φανῆναι τούτοις ἀδελφὸν ἐμαυτὸν ἐπιδείξω: θαρρῶ γὰρ ὡς καὶ δίκην ληψόμενος παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ πάντας ὑμᾶς μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν ὕβρεως ῥυσόμενος καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀπόρθητον μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ διαφυλάξων: τὰ γὰρ ἔθνη βλέπω καταφρονήσαντα ὑμῶν ὡς οὐκ ἐχόντων ἡγεμόνα πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν ὡρμημένα.”

3. But when the people of Jerusalem heard that Jonathan was taken, and that the soldiers who were with him were destroyed, they deplored his sad fate; and there was earnest inquiry made about him by every body, and a great and just fear fell upon them, and made them sad, lest, now they were deprived of the courage and conduct of Jonathan, the nations about them should bear them ill-will; and as they were before quiet on account of Jonathan they should now rise up against them, and by making war with them, should force them into the utmost dangers. And indeed what they suspected really befell them; for when those nations heard of the death of Jonathan, they began to make war with the Jews as now destitute of a governor and Trypho himself got an army together, and had intention to go up to Judea, and make war against its inhabitants. But when Simon saw that the people of Jerusalem were terrified at the circumstances they were in, he desired to make a speech to them, and thereby to render them more resolute in opposing Trypho when he should come against them. He then called the people together

into the temple, and thence began thus to encourage them: “O my countrymen, you are not ignorant that our father, myself, and my brethren, have ventured to hazard our lives, and that willingly, for the recovery of your liberty; since I have therefore such plenty of examples before me, and we of our family have determined with ourselves to die for our laws, and our Divine worship, there shall no terror be so great as to banish this resolution from our souls, nor to introduce in its place a love of life, and a contempt of glory. Do you therefore follow me with alacrity whithersoever I shall lead you, as not destitute of such a captain as is willing to suffer, and to do the greatest things for you; for neither am I better than my brethren that I should be sparing of my own life, nor so far worse than they as to avoid and refuse what they thought the most honorable of all things, — I mean, to undergo death for your laws, and for that worship of God which is peculiar to you; I will therefore give such proper demonstrations as will show that I am their own brother; and I am so bold as to expect that I shall avenge their blood upon our enemies, and deliver you all with your wives and children from the injuries they intend against you, and, with God’s assistance, to preserve your temple from destruction by them; for I see that these nations have you in contempt, as being without a governor, and that they thence are encouraged to make war against you.”

(4) [201] Τούτους ποιησαμένου τοῦ Σίμωνος τοὺς λόγους ἀνεθάρσησεν τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐνδεδωκὸς ὑπὸ δειλίας ἀνηγέρθη πρὸς τὴν ἀμείνω καὶ ἀγαθὴν ἐλπίδα, ὡς ἀθρόως πάντα τὸν λαὸν ἐκβοῆσαι τὸν Σίμωνα αὐτῶν ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ ἀντὶ Ἰούδου καὶ Ἰωνάθου τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν προστασίαν ἔχειν: ἔσεσθαι γὰρ πρὸς ὅ τι κελεύσαι πειθηνίους. [202] συναθροίσας δ’ εὐθὺς πᾶν ὅσον ἦν τὸ πολεμικὸν τῆς οἰκείας ἰσχύος ἔσπευδε τὰ τείχη τῆς πόλεως ἀνοικοδομῆσαι, καὶ πύργοις αὐτὴν ὑψηλοτάτοις καὶ καρτεροῖς ἀσφαλισάμενος ἀπέστειλεν μὲν Ἰωνάθην τινὰ φίλον Ἀψαλώμου παῖδα μετὰ στρατιᾶς εἰς Ἰόππην προστάξας αὐτῷ τοὺς οἰκήτορας ἐκβαλεῖν: ἐδεδίει γάρ, μὴ παραδῶσιν οὗτοι τὴν πόλιν τῷ Τρύφωνι. αὐτὸς δ’ ὑπομείνας ἐφύλαττε τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα.

4. By this speech of Simon he inspired the multitude with courage; and as they had been before dispirited through fear, they were now raised to a good hope of better things, insomuch that the whole multitude of the people cried out all at once that Simon should be their leader; and that instead of Judas and Jonathan his brethren, he should have the government over them; and they promised that they would readily obey him in whatsoever he should command them. So he got together immediately all his own soldiers that were fit for war, and made haste in rebuilding the walls of the city, and strengthening them by very high and strong towers, and sent a friend of his, one Jonathan, the son of Absalom, to Joppa, and

gave him order to eject the inhabitants out of the city, for he was afraid lest they should deliver up the city to Trypho; but he himself staid to secure Jerusalem.

(5) [203] Ὁ δὲ Τρύφων ἄρας ἐκ Πτολεμαίδος μετὰ στρατιᾶς πολλῆς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν παραγίνεται καὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην δέσμιον ἄγων. ἀπήντησε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Σίμων μετὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως εἰς Ἄδδιδα πόλιν, ἥτις ἐπ' ὄρους κειμένη τυγχάνει, ὑφ' ἧς ὑπόκειται τὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίας πεδία. [204] γνοὺς δὲ Τρύφων ἡγεμόνα τὸν Σίμωνα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καθεσταμένον ἔπεμψεν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦτον ἀπάτῃ καὶ δόλῳ περιελθεῖν βουλόμενος, κελεύων αὐτόν, εἰ θέλει λυθῆναι τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰωνάθην, πέμψαι τάλαντα ἑκατὸν ἀργυρίου καὶ δύο τῶν παίδων τῶν Ἰωνάθου ὁμήρους, ὅπως μὴ ἀφεθεὶς ἀποστήσῃ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν βασιλέως: ἄρτι γὰρ αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ ἀργύριον, ὃ τῷ βασιλεῖ χρησάμενος ὤφειλε, φυλάττεσθαι δεδεμένον. [205] ὁ δὲ Σίμων τὴν τέχνην τὴν τοῦ Τρύφωνος οὐκ ἠγνόησεν, ἀλλὰ συνεὶς ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον ἀπολέσει δοὺς καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν οὐ λύσει, μετ' αὐτοῦ δὲ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐκδώσει τῷ πολεμίῳ, φοβούμενος δέ, μὴ διαβληθῇ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ὡς αἴτιος αὐτὸς τἀδελφῷ θανάτου γενόμενος, ὅτι μήτε τὰ χρήματα μήτε τοὺς υἱοὺς ἔδωκεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, συναγαγὼν τὴν στρατιὰν ἐδήλωσεν αὐτῇ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Τρύφωνος, [206] εἰπὼν ὅτι ταῦτα καὶ ἐνέδραν καὶ ἐπιβουλὴν ἔχει: ὅμως αἱρετώτερον εἶναι πέμψαι τὰ χρήματ' αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς ἢ τοῖς ὑπὸ Τρύφωνος προβαλλομένοις μὴ ὑπακούσαντα λαβεῖν αἰτίαν ὡς τὸν ἀδελφὸν σῶσαι μὴ θελήσας. καὶ Σίμων μὲν τούς τε Ἰωνάθου παῖδας ἐξέπεμψεν καὶ τὰ χρήματα. [207] λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Τρύφων οὐκ ἐτήρησεν τὴν πίστιν οὐδὲ ἀπέλυσε τὸν Ἰωνάθην, ἀλλὰ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀναλαβὼν ἐκπεριῆλθε τὴν χώραν καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ἀναβαίνειν διεγνώκει τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ παραγενόμενος ἦκεν εἰς Ἄδωρα πόλιν τῆς Ἰδουμαίας. ἀντιπαρῆγεν δ' ὁ Σίμων μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀεὶ καταστρατοπεδευόμενος ἐξ ἐναντίας αὐτοῦ.

5. But Trypho removed from Ptoeinais with a great army, and came into Judea, and brought Jonathan with him in bonds. Simon also met him with his army at the city Adida, which is upon a hill, and beneath it lie the plains of Judea. And when Trypho knew that Simon was by the Jews made their governor, he sent to him, and would have imposed upon him by deceit and trencher, and desired, if he would have his brother Jonathan released, that he would send him a hundred talents of silver, and two of Jonathan's sons as hostages, that when he shall be released, he may not make Judea revolt from the king; for that at present he was kept in bonds on account of the money he had borrowed of the king, and now owed it to him. But Simon was aware of the craft of Trypho; and although he knew that if he gave him the money he should lose it, and that Trypho would not set his brother free and withal should deliver the sons of Jonathan to the enemy, yet because he was afraid that he should have a calumny raised against him

among the multitude as the cause of his brother's death, if he neither gave the money, nor sent Jonathan's sons, he gathered his army together, and told them what offers Trypho had made; and added this, that the offers were ensnaring and treacherous, and yet that it was more eligible to send the money and Jonathan's sons, than to be liable to the imputation of not complying with Trypho's offers, and thereby refusing to save his brother. Accordingly, Simon sent the sons of Jonathan and the money; but when Trypho had received them, he did not keep his promise, nor set Jonathan free, but took his army, and went about all the country, and resolved to go afterward to Jerusalem by the way of Idumea, while Simon went over against him with his army, and all along pitched his own camp over against his.

(6) [208] Τῶν δ' ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ πεμψάντων πρὸς Τρύφωνα καὶ παρακαλούντων σπεῦσαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ τροφὰς αὐτοῖς πέμψαι, παρεσκεύασε τὴν ἵππον ὡς διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐσόμενος. ἀλλὰ χιὼν διὰ νυκτὸς πολλὴ πεσοῦσα καὶ τάς τε ὁδοὺς καλύψασα καὶ ἄπορον ἵπποις μάλιστα πεζεύειν ὑπὸ βάθους τὴν πορείαν παρασχοῦσα διεκώλυσεν αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. [209] διόπερ ἐκεῖθεν ἄρας ὁ Τρύφων εἰς τὴν κοίλην ἀφικνεῖται Συρίαν, σπουδῇ τε εἰς τὴν Γαλαδῖτιν ἐμβαλὼν τόν τε Ἰωνάθην ἀποκτείνας αὐτόθι καὶ ταφῆναι κελεύσας αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ὑπέστρεψεν. [210] ὁ δὲ Σίμων πέμψας εἰς Βασκὰ πόλιν μετακομίζει τὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ὀστᾶ, καὶ κηδεύει μὲν ταῦτα ἐν Μωδεεῖ τῇ πατρίδι, πένθος δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ μέγα πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐποιήσατο. [211] Σίμων δὲ καὶ μνημεῖον μέγιστον ᾠκοδόμησεν τῷ τε πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐκ λίθου λευκοῦ καὶ ἀνεξεσμένου. εἰς πολὺ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ περίοπτον ἀναγαγὼν ὕψος στοὰς περὶ αὐτὸ βάλλεται καὶ στύλους μονολίθους θαυμαστὸν ἰδεῖν χρῆμα ἀνίστησιν, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ πυραμίδας ἑπτὰ τοῖς τε γονεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἑκάστῳ μίαν ᾠκοδόμησεν εἰς ἔκπληξιν μεγέθους τε ἕνεκα καὶ κάλλους πεποιημένας, αἳ καὶ μέχρι δεῦρο σώζονται. [212] καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς Ἰωνάθου ταφῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν μνημείων οἰκοδομίας τοῖς οἰκείοις Σίμωνος τοσαύτην σπουδὴν οἴδαμεν γενομένην. ἀπέθανεν δὲ Ἰωνάθης ἀρχιερατεύων ἔτη τέσσαρα προστὰς τοῦ γένους. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς τούτου τελευτῆς ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

6. But when those that were in the citadel had sent to Trypho, and besought him to make haste and come to them, and to send them provisions, he prepared his cavalry as though he would be at Jerusalem that very night; but so great a quantity of snow fell in the night, that it covered the roads, and made them so deep, that there was no passing, especially for the cavalry. This hindered him from coming to Jerusalem; whereupon Trypho removed thence, and came into Celesyria, and falling vehemently upon the land of Gilead, he slew Jonathan there; and when he had given order for his burial, he returned himself to

Antioch. However, Simon sent some to the city Basca to bring away his brother's bones, and buried them in their own city Modin; and all the people made great lamentation over him. Simon also erected a very large monument for his father and his brethren, of white and polished stone, and raised it a great height, and so as to be seen a long way off, and made cloisters about it, and set up pillars, which were of one stone apiece; a work it was wonderful to see. Moreover, he built seven pyramids also for his parents and his brethren, one for each of them, which were made very surprising, both for their largeness and beauty, and which have been preserved to this day; and we know that it was Simon who bestowed so much zeal about the burial of Jonathan, and the building of these monuments for his relations. Now Jonathan died when he had been high priest four years and had been also the governor of his nation. And these were the circumstances that concerned his death.

(7) [213] Σίμων δὲ κατασταθεὶς ἀρχιερεὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἔτει τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς Μακεδόσι δουλείας τὸν λαὸν ἠλευθέρωσεν ὡς μηκέτι φόρους αὐτοῖς τελεῖν: ἡ δὲ ἐλευθερία καὶ τὸ ἀνείσφορον τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις μετὰ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔτη τῶν Συρίας βασιλέων ἐξ οὗ χρόνου Σέλευκος ὁ Νικάτωρ ἐπικληθεὶς κατέσχεν Συρίαν ὑπῆρξεν. [214] τοσαύτη δ' ἦν ἡ τοῦ πλήθους περὶ τὸν Σίμωνα φιλοτιμία, ὥστ' ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους συμβολαίοις καὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις γράμμασιν ἐπὶ πρώτου ἔτους γράφειν Σίμωνος καὶ εὐεργέτου Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἐθνάρχου: εὐτύχησαν γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ σφόδρα καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῶν περιοίκων ἐκράτησαν. [215] κατεστρέψατο γὰρ Σίμων Γάζαρά τε πόλιν καὶ Ἰόππην καὶ Ἰάμνειαν, ἐκπολιορκήσας δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἄκραν εἰς ἔδαφος αὐτὴν καθεῖλεν, ὡς ἂν μὴ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὁρμητήριον ᾖ καταλαμβανομένοις αὐτὴν τοῦ κακῶς ποιεῖν, ὡς καὶ τότε. καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσας ἄριστον ἐδόκει καὶ συμφέρον καὶ τὸ ὄρος ἐφ' οὗ τὴν ἄκραν εἶναι συνέβαινεν καθελεῖν, ὅπως ὑψηλότερον ᾖ τὸ ἱερόν. [216] καὶ δὴ τοῦτ' ἔπειθεν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καλέσας τὸ πλῆθος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γίνεσθαι, ὧν τε ἔπαθον ὑπὸ τῶν φρουρῶν καὶ τῶν φυγάδων Ἰουδαίων ὑπομιμνήσκων, ἅ τε πάθοιεν ἄν, εἰ πάλιν κατάσχοι τὴν βασιλείαν ἀλλόφυλος φρουρᾶς ἐν αὐτῇ κατασταθείσης. [217] ταῦτα λέγων πείθει τὸ πλῆθος παραινῶν αὐτῷ τὰ συμφέροντα. καὶ πάντες προσβαλόντες καθῄρουν τὸ ὄρος καὶ μήτε νυκτὸς μήθ' ἡμέρας ἀπολυόμενοι τοῦ ἔργου τρισὶν αὐτὸ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἔτεσιν κατήγαγον εἰς ἔδαφος καὶ πεδινὴν λειότητα. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξεῖχεν ἁπάντων τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς ἄκρας καὶ τοῦ ὄρους ἐφ' ᾧ ἦν καθῃρημένων. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ Σίμωνος πραχθέντα τοῦτον εἶχεν τὸν τρόπον.

7. But Simon, who was made high priest by the multitude, on the very first year of his high priesthood set his people free from their slavery under the Macedonians, and permitted them to pay tribute to them no longer; which liberty

and freedom from tribute they obtained after a hundred and seventy years of the kingdom of the Assyrians, which was after Seleucus, who was called Nicator, got the dominion over Syria. Now the affection of the multitude towards Simon was so great, that in their contracts one with another, and in their public records, they wrote, “in the first year of Simon the benefactor and ethnarch of the Jews;” for under him they were very happy, and overcame the enemies that were round about them; for Simon overthrew the city Gazara, and Joppa, and Jamhis. He also took the citadel of Jerusalem by siege, and cast it down to the ground, that it might not be any more a place of refuge to their enemies when they took it, to do them a mischief, as it had been till now. And when he had done this, he thought it their best way, and most for their advantage, to level the very mountain itself upon which the citadel happened to stand, that so the temple might be higher than it. And indeed, when he had called the multitude to an assembly, he persuaded them to have it so demolished, and this by putting them in mind what miseries they had suffered by its garrison and the Jewish deserters, and what miseries they might hereafter suffer in case any foreigner should obtain the kingdom, and put a garrison into that citadel. This speech induced the multitude to a compliance, because he exhorted them to do nothing but what was for their own good: so they all set themselves to the work, and leveled the mountain, and in that work spent both day and night without any intermission, which cost them three whole years before it was removed, and brought to an entire level with the plain of the rest of the city. After which the temple was the highest of all the buildings, now the citadel, as well as the mountain whereon it stood, were demolished. And these actions were thus performed under Simon.

VII

CHAPTER 7. How Simon Confederated Himself With Antiochus Pius, And Made War Against Trypho, And A Little Afterward, Against Cendebeus, The General Of Antiochus's Army; As Also How Simon Was Murdered By His Son-In-Law Ptolemy, And That By Treachery.

(1) [218] Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας τῆς Δημητρίου τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸν Ἀντίοχον, ὃς καὶ Θεὸς ἐπεκλήθη, Τρύφων διέφθειρεν ἐπιτροπεύων αὐτοῦ τέσσαρα βασιλεύσαντα ἔτη. καὶ τὸν μέν, ὡς χειριζόμενος ἀποθάνοι, διήγγειλεν: [219] τοὺς δὲ φίλους καὶ τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους διέπεμπε πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἐπαγγελλόμενος αὐτοῖς χρήματα πολλὰ δώσειν, εἰ βασιλέα χειροτονήσουσιν αὐτόν, Δημήτριον μὲν ὑπὸ Πάρθων αἰχμάλωτον γεγονέναι μηνύων, τὸν δ' ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀντίοχον παρελθόντα εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν πολλὰ ποιήσειν αὐτοῖς κακὰ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἀμυνόμενον. [220] οἱ δ' ἐλπίσαντες εὐπορίαν ἐκ τῆς Τρύφωνι δοθείσης βασιλείας ἀποδεικνύουσιν αὐτὸν ἄρχοντα. γενόμενος δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγκρατὴς ὁ Τρύφων διέδειξεν τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν οὖσαν πονηράν: ἰδιώτης μὲν γὰρ ὢν ἐθεράπευεν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ μετριότητα ὑπεκρίνατο δελεάζων αὐτὸ τούτοις εἰς ἅπερ ἐβούλετο, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν λαβὼν ἀπεδύσατο τὴν ὑπόκρισιν καὶ ὁ ἀληθὴς Τρύφων ἦν. [221] τοὺς οὖν ἐχθροὺς διὰ ταῦτ' ἐποίει κρείττονας: τὸ μὲν γὰρ στρατιωτικὸν αὐτὸν μισοῦν ἀφίστατο πρὸς Κλεοπάτραν τὴν Δημητρίου γυναῖκα τότε ἐν Σελευκείᾳ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἐγκεκλεισμένην. [222] ἀλωμένου δὲ καὶ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Δημητρίου ἀδελφοῦ, ὃς ἐπεκαλεῖτο Σωτήρ, καὶ μηδεμιᾶς αὐτὸν πόλεως δεχομένης διὰ Τρύφωνα, πέμπει πρὸς αὐτὸν Κλεοπάτρα καλοῦσα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπί τε γάμῳ καὶ βασιλείᾳ. ἐκάλει δὲ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἐπὶ τούτοις ἅμα μὲν τῶν φίλων αὐτὴν ἀναπεισάντων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐνδιδόντων τινῶν ἐκ τῆς Σελευκείας τῷ Τρύφωνι δείσασα.

1. Now a little while after Demetrius had been carried into captivity, Trypho his governor destroyed Antiochus, the son of Alexander, who was also called The God, and this when he had reigned four years, though he gave it out that he died under the hands of the surgeons. He then sent his friends, and those that were most intimate with him, to the soldiers, and promised that he would give them a great deal of money if they would make him king. He intimated to them that Demetrius was made a captive by the Parthians; and that Demetrius's brother Atitiochus, if he came to be king, would do them a great deal of mischief, in way

of revenge for their revolting from his brother. So the soldiers, in expectation of the wealth they should get by bestowing the kingdom on Trypho, made him their ruler. However, when Trypho had gained the management of affairs, he demonstrated his disposition to be wicked; for while he was a private person, he cultivated familiarity with the multitude, and pretended to great moderation, and so drew them on artfully to whatsoever he pleased; but when he had once taken the kingdom, he laid aside any further dissimulation, and was the true Trypho; which behavior made his enemies superior to him; for the soldiery hated him, and revolted from him to Cleopatra, the wife of Demetrius, who was then shut up in Seleucia with her children. But as Antiochus, the brother of Demetrius who was called Soter, was not admitted by any of the cities on account of Trypho, Cleopatra sent to him, and invited him to marry her, and to take the kingdom. The reasons why she made this invitation were these: That her friends persuaded her to it, and that she was afraid for herself, in case some of the people of Seleucia should deliver up the city to Trypho.

(2) [223] Γενόμενος δ' ἐν τῇ Σελευκείᾳ ὁ Ἀντίοχος καὶ τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτῷ καθ' ἡμέραν αὐξανομένης ὥρμησε πολεμήσων τὸν Τρύφωνα, καὶ κρατήσας αὐτοῦ τῇ μάχῃ τῆς ἄνω Συρίας ἐξέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Φοινίκην διώξας ἄχρι ταύτης εἵς τε Δῶρα φρούριόν τι δυσάλωτον ἐπολιόρκει συμφυγόντα. πέμπει δὲ καὶ πρὸς Σίμωνα τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέα περὶ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας πρέσβεις. [224] ὁ δὲ προσδέχεται προθύμως αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀξίωσιν, καὶ χρήματά τε πολλὰ καὶ τροφὴν τοῖς τὰ Δῶρα [στρατιώταις] πολιορκοῦσι πέμψας τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἀφθόνως ἐχορήγησεν, ὡς τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων αὐτῷ πρὸς ὀλίγον καιρὸν κριθῆναι φίλων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Τρύφων ἐκ τῆς Δώρας φυγὼν εἰς Ἀπάμειαν καὶ ληφθεὶς ἐν αὐτῇ πολιορκίᾳ διεφθάρη βασιλεύσας ἔτη τρία.

2. As Antlochuswas now come to Seleucia, and his forces increased every day, he marched to fight Trypho; and having beaten him in the battle, he ejected him out of the Upper Syria into Phoenicia, and pursued him thither, and besieged him in Dora which was a fortress hard to be taken, whither he had fled. He also sent ambassadors to Simon the Jewish high priest, about a league of friendship and mutual assistance; who readily accepted of the invitation, and sent to Antiochus great sums of money and provisions for those that besieged Dora, and thereby supplied them very plentifully, so that for a little while he was looked upon as one of his most intimate friends; but still Trypho fled from Dora to Apamia, where he was taken during the siege, and put to death, when he had reigned three years.

(3) [225] Ὁ δ’ Ἀντίοχος ὑπὸ πλεονεξίας καὶ φαυλότητος λήθην τῶν ἐκ Σίμωνος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς χρείας ὑπηρετηθέντων ἐποιήσατο, καὶ δύναμιν στρατιωτικὴν Κενδεβαίῳ παραδοὺς τῶν φίλων ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς Ἰουδαίας πόρθησιν καὶ τὴν Σίμωνος ἅλωσιν ἐξαπέστειλεν. [226] Σίμων δ’ ἀκούσας τὴν Ἀντιόχου παρανομίαν καὶ πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἤδη ὅμως ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ δικαίων τῶν παρ’ Ἀντιόχου γινομένων τυγχάνειν παρορμηθεὶς καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας φρόνημα κρεῖττον λαβὼν νεανικῶς ἐστρατήγει τοῦ πολέμου. [227] καὶ τοὺς μὲν υἱεῖς μετὰ τῶν μαχιμωτέρων προεκπέμπει στρατιωτῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ κατ’ ἄλλο μέρος προῄει μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ πολλοὺς ἐν τοῖς φαραγγώδεσι τῶν ὀρῶν τούτους εἰς ἐνέδραν καταστήσας διαμαρτάνει μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν ἐπιχειρήσεων, κρατήσας δὲ διὰ πάσης τῶν πολεμίων ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὸν λοιπὸν διήγαγεν χρόνον, ποιησάμενος καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους συμμαχίαν.

3. However, Antiochus forgot the kind assistance that Simon had afforded him in his necessity, by reason of his covetous and wicked disposition, and committed an army of soldiers to his friend Cendebeus, and sent him at once to ravage Judea, and to seize Simon. When Simon heard of Antiochus’s breaking his league with him, although he were now in years, yet, provoked with the unjust treatment he had met with from Antiochus, and taking a resolution brisker than his age could well bear, he went like a young man to act as general of his army. He also sent his sons before among the most hardy of his soldiers, and he himself marched on with his army another way, and laid many of his men in ambushes in the narrow valleys between the mountains; nor did he fail of success in any one of his attempts, but was too hard for his enemies in every one of them. So he led the rest of his life in peace, and did also himself make a league with the Romans.

(4) [228] Ἦρξε μὲν οὖν ὀκτὼ τὰ πάντα τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔτη, τελευτᾷ δὲ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἐν συμποσίῳ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ γαμβροῦ ταύτην ἐπ’ αὐτὸν συστησαμένου, ὃς καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς δύο παῖδας συλλαβὼν καὶ δεδεμένους ἔχων ἔπεμψεν καὶ ἐπὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν τρίτον, τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Ὑρκανὸς ἦν ὄνομα, τοὺς διαφθεροῦντας. [229] αἰσθόμενος δὲ τοὺς ἐλθόντας ὁ νεανίσκος διαφυγὼν τὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν κίνδυνον εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἠπείγετο, θαρρῶν τῷ πλήθει διὰ τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς εὐεργεσίας καὶ διὰ τὸ Πτολεμαίου τοῖς ὄχλοις μῖσος. σπουδάσαντα δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖον εἰσελθεῖν δι’ ἄλλης πύλης ὁ δῆμος ἀπεώσατο τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ἤδη προσδεδεγμένος.

4. Now he was the ruler of the Jews in all eight years; but at a feast came to his end. It was caused by the treachery of his son-in-law Ptolemy, who caught also his wife, and two of his sons, and kept them in bonds. He also sent some to kill

John the third son, whose name was Hyrcanus; but the young man perceiving them coming, he avoided the danger he was in from them, and made haste into the city [Jerusalem], as relying on the good-will of the multitude, because of the benefits they had received from his father, and because of the hatred the same multitude bare to Ptolemy; so that when Ptolemy was endeavoring to enter the city by another gate, they drove him away, as having already admitted Hyrcanus.

VIII

CHAPTER 8. Hyrcanus Receives The High Priesthood, And Ejects Ptolemy Out Of The Country. Antiochus Makes War Against Hyrcanus And Afterwards Makes A League With Him.

(1) [230] Καὶ ὁ μὲν εἰς ἕν τι τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἰεριχοῦντος ἐρυμάτων ἀνεχώρησεν Δαγὼν λεγόμενον. ἀπολαβὼν δὲ τὴν πάτριον ἀρχιερωσύνην Ὑρκανὸς καὶ τὸν θεὸν πρώταις θυσίαις παραστησάμενος ἐπὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐξεστράτευσεν, καὶ προσβαλὼν τῷ χωρίῳ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις περιῆν αὐτοῦ, ἡττᾶτο δὲ μόνῳ τῷ πρὸς τὴν μητέρα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς οἴκτῳ. [231] τούτους γὰρ Πτολεμαῖος ἀναγαγὼν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐξ ἀπόπτου ᾐκίζετο καὶ κατακρημνίσειν οὐκ ἀφισταμένου τῆς πολιορκίας ἠπείλει. ὁ δ᾽ ὅσον [ἂν] ἐνδοίη τῆς περὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν τοῦ χωρίου σπουδῆς, τοσοῦτο χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς φιλτάτοις ἡγούμενος πρὸς τὸ μὴ κακῶς πάσχειν, ἐξέλυε τὸ πρόθυμον. [232] ἡ μέντοι μήτηρ ὀρέγουσα τὰς χεῖρας ἱκέτευε μὴ μαλακίζεσθαι δι᾽ αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ πλέον ὀργῇ χρώμενον ἐλεῖν σπουδάσαι τὸ χωρίον καὶ τὸν ἐχθρὸν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῷ ποιήσαντα τιμωρῆσαι τοῖς φιλτάτοις: ἡδὺν γὰρ αὐτῇ τὸν μετ᾽ αἰκίας [εἶναι] θάνατον, εἰ δίκην ὑπόσχοι τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς παρανομίας ὁ ταῦτα ποιῶν πολέμιος. [233] τὸν δὲ Ὑρκανὸν ταῦτα μὲν λεγούσης τῆς μητρὸς ὁρμή τις ἐλάμβανεν πρὸς τὴν αἵρεσιν τοῦ φρουρίου, ἡνίκα δ᾽ αὐτὴν ἴδοι τυπτομένην καὶ σπαραττομένην, ἐξελύετο καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰς τὴν μητέρα πραττομένοις συμπαθείας ἥττων ἐγίνετο. [234] ἑλκομένης δ᾽ οὕτως εἰς χρόνον τῆς πολιορκίας ἐνίσταται τὸ ἔτος ἐκεῖνο, καθ᾽ ὃ συμβαίνει τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀργεῖν: κατὰ δὲ ἑπτὰ ἔτη τοῦτο παρατηροῦσιν, ὡς ἐν ταῖς ἑβδομάσιν ἡμέραις. [235] καὶ Πτολεμαῖος, ὑπὸ ταύτης ἀνεθεὶς τοῦ πολέμου τῆς αἰτίας ἀποκτείνει τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς τοῦ Ὑρκανοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τοῦτο δράσας πρὸς Ζήνωνα φεύγει τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Κοτυλᾶν, τυραννεύοντα τῆς Φιλαδελφέων πόλεως.

1. So Ptolemy retired to one of the fortresses that was above Jericho, which was called Dagon. But Hyrcanus having taken the high priesthood that had been his father’s before, and in the first place propitiated God by sacrifices, he then made an expedition against Ptolemy; and when he made his attacks upon the place, in other points he was too hard for him, but was rendered weaker than he, by the commiseration he had for his mother and brethren, and by that only; for Ptolemy brought them upon the wall, and tormented them in the sight of all, and threatened that he would throw them down headlong, unless Hyrcanus would leave off the siege. And as he thought that so far as he relaxed as to the siege and taking of the place, so much favor did he show to those that were dearest to him

by preventing their misery, his zeal about it was cooled. However, his mother spread out her hands, and begged of him that he would not grow remiss on her account, but indulge his indignation so much the more, and that he would do his utmost to take the place quickly, in order to get their enemy under his power, and then to avenge upon him what he had done to those that were dearest to himself; for that death would be to her sweet, though with torment, if that enemy of theirs might but be brought to punishment for his wicked dealings to them. Now when his mother said so, he resolved to take the fortress immediately; but when he saw her beaten, and torn to pieces, his courage failed him, and he could not but sympathize with what his mother suffered, and was thereby overcome. And as the siege was drawn out into length by this means, that year on which the Jews used to rest came on; for the Jews observe this rest every seventh year, as they do every seventh day; so that Ptolemy being for this cause released from the war, he slew the brethren of Hyrcanus, and his mother; and when he had so done, he fled to Zeno, who was called Cotylas, who was then the tyrant of the city Philadelphia.

(2) [236] Ἀντίοχος δὲ χαλεπῶς ἔχων ἐφ᾽ οἷς ὑπὸ Σίμωνος ἔπαθεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐνέβαλεν τετάρτῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, πρώτῳ δὲ τῆς Ὑρκανοῦ ἀρχῆς, ὀλυμπιάδι ἑκατοστῇ καὶ ἑξηκοστῇ καὶ δευτέρᾳ. [237] δηώσας δὲ τὴν χώραν τὸν Ὑρκανὸν εἰς αὐτὴν ἐνέκλεισε τὴν πόλιν, ἣν ἑπτὰ στρατοπέδοις περιλαβὼν ἤνυσε μὲν οὐδὲν ὅλως τὸ πρῶτον διά τε τὴν τῶν τειχῶν ὀχυρότητα καὶ δι᾽ ἀρετὴν τῶν ἐμπολιορκουμένων ἔτι γε μὴν ὕδατος ἀπορίαν, ἧς αὐτοὺς ἀπέλυσεν ὄμβρος κατενεχθεὶς πολὺς δυομένης πλειάδος. [238] κατὰ δὲ τὸ βόρειον μέρος τοῦ τείχους, καθ᾽ ὃ συνέβαινεν αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπίπεδον εἶναι, πύργους ἀναστήσας ἑκατὸν τριωρόφους ἀνεβίβασεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς στρατιωτικὰ τάγματα. [239] καὶ προσβολὰς ὁσημέραι ποιησάμενος τάφρον τε βαθεῖαν καὶ πολλὴν τὸ εὖρος καὶ διπλῆν τεμόμενος, ἀπετείχισεν τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας. οἱ δὲ πολλὰς ἐκδρομὰς ἀντεπινοοῦντες, εἰ μὲν ἀφυλάκτοις που προσπέσοιεν τοῖς πολεμίοις, πολλὰ ἔδρων αὐτούς, αἰσθομένων δὲ ἀνεχώρουν εὐχερῶς. [240] ἐπεὶ δὲ βλαβερὰν κατενόησεν Ὑρκανὸς τὴν πολυανθρωπίαν, ἀναλισκομένων τε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τάχιον ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς καὶ μηδενὸς οἷον εἰκὸς ἐκ πολυχειρίας ἔργου γιγνομένου, τὸ μὲν ἀχρεῖον αὐτῆς ἀποκρίνας ἐξέβαλεν, ὅσον δ᾽ ἦν ἀκμαῖον καὶ μάχιμον τοῦτο μόνον κατέσχεν. [241] Ἀντίοχος μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἀπολεχθέντας ἐξελθεῖν ἐκώλυεν, οἱ δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς μεταξὺ τείχεσι κακούμενοι ταῖς βασάνοις ἀπέθνησκον οἰκτρῶς. ἐπιστάσης γε μὴν τῆς σκηνοπηγίας ἑορτῆς ἐλεοῦντες αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐντὸς πάλιν εἰσεδέξαντο. [242] πέμψαντος δ᾽ Ὑρκανοῦ πρὸς Ἀντίοχον καὶ σπονδὰς ἡμερῶν ἑπτὰ διὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἀξιώσαντος γενέσθαι, τῇ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείᾳ εἴκων σπένδεται καὶ προσέτι θυσίαν εἰσέπεμψε μεγαλοπρεπῆ, ταύρους χρυσοκέρωτας

καὶ μεστὰ παντοίων ἀρωμάτων ἐκπώματα χρύσεά τε καὶ ἀργύρεα. [243] καὶ τὴν μὲν θυσίαν δεξάμενοι παρὰ τῶν κομιζόντων οἱ πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις ὄντες ἄγουσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, Ἀντίοχος δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν εἱστία, πλεῖστον Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς διενέγκας, ὃς τὴν πόλιν ἑλὼν ὗς μὲν κατέθυσεν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν, τὸν νεὼν δὲ τῷ ζωμῷ τούτων περιέρρανε συγχέας τὰ Ἰουδαίων νόμιμα καὶ τὴν πάτριον αὐτῶν εὐσέβειαν, ἐφ' οἷς ἐξεπολεμώθη τὸ ἔθνος καὶ ἀκαταλλάκτως εἶχεν. [244] τοῦτον μέντοι τὸν Ἀντίοχον δι' ὑπερβολὴν τῆς θρησκείας Εὐσεβῆ πάντες ἐκάλεσαν.

2. But Antiochus, being very uneasy at the miseries that Simon had brought upon him, he invaded Judea in the fourth years' of his reign, and the first year of the principality of Hyrcanus, in the hundred and sixty-second olympiad. And when he had burnt the country, he shut up Hyrcanus in the city, which he encompassed round with seven encampments; but did just nothing at the first, because of the strength of the walls, and because of the valor of the besieged, although they were once in want of water, which yet they were delivered from by a large shower of rain, which fell at the setting of the Pleiades However, about the north part of the wall, where it happened the city was upon a level with the outward ground, the king raised a hundred towers of three stories high, and placed bodies of soldiers upon them; and as he made his attacks every day, he cut a double ditch, deep and broad, and confined the inhabitants within it as within a wall; but the besieged contrived to make frequent sallies out; and if the enemy were not any where upon their guard, they fell upon them, and did them a great deal of mischief; and if they perceived them, they then retired into the city with ease. But because Hyrcanus discerned the inconvenience of so great a number of men in the city, while the provisions were the sooner spent by them, and yet, as is natural to suppose, those great numbers did nothing, he separated the useless part, and excluded them out of the city, and retained that part only which were in the flower of their age, and fit for war. However, Antiochus would not let those that were excluded go away, who therefore wandering about between the wails, and consuming away by famine, died miserably; but when the feast of tabernacles was at hand, those that were within commiserated their condition, and received them in again. And when Hyrcanus sent to Antiochus, and desired there might be a truce for seven days, because of the festival, he gave way to this piety towards God, and made that truce accordingly. And besides that, he sent in a magnificent sacrifice, bulls with their horns gilded, with all sorts of sweet spices, and with cups of gold and silver. So those that were at the gates received the sacrifices from those that brought them, and led them to the temple, Antiochus the mean while feasting his army, which was a quite

different conduct from Antiochus Epiphanes, who, when he had taken the city, offered swine upon the altar, and sprinkled the temple with the broth of their flesh, in order to violate the laws of the Jews, and the religion they derived from their forefathers; for which reason our nation made war with him, and would never be reconciled to him; but for this Antiochus, all men called him Antiochus the Pious, for the great zeal he had about religion.

(3) [245] Ἀποδεξάμενος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν Ὑρκανὸς καὶ μαθὼν τὴν περὶ τὸ θεῖον σπουδὴν ἐπρεσβεύσατο πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀξιῶν τὴν πάτριον αὐτοῖς πολιτείαν ἀποδοῦναι. ὁ δὲ ἀπωσάμενος τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τῶν μὲν παραινούντων ἐξελεῖν τὸ ἔθνος διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἄλλους αὐτῶν τῆς διαίτης ἀμιξίαν οὐκ ἐφρόντιζεν, [246] πειθόμενος δὲ κατ᾽ εὐσέβειαν πάντα ποιεῖν τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ἀπεκρίνατο, παραδοῦναι μὲν τὰ ὅπλα τοὺς πολιορκουμένους καὶ δασμὸν αὐτῷ τελεῖν Ἰόππης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων πάρεξ τῆς Ἰουδαίας φρουράν τε δεξαμένους ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀπηλλάχθαι τοῦ πολέμου. [247] οἱ δὲ τἆλλα μὲν ὑπομένειν, τὴν δὲ φρουρὰν οὐχ ὡμολόγουν διὰ τὴν ἀμιξίαν οὐκ ἐφικνούμενοι πρὸς ἄλλους. ἀντὶ μέντοι γε τῆς φρουρᾶς ὁμήρους ἐδίδοσαν καὶ τάλαντα ἀργυρίου πεντακόσια, ὧν εὐθὺς τὰ τριακόσια καὶ τοὺς ὁμήρους προσδεξαμένου τοῦ βασιλέως ἔδοσαν, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Ὑρκανοῦ ἀδελφός, καθεῖλεν δὲ καὶ τὴν στεφάνην τῆς πόλεως. [248] ἐπὶ τούτοις μὲν οὖν Ἀντίοχος τὴν πολιορκίαν λύσας ἀνεχώρησεν.

3. Accordingly, Hyrcanus took this moderation of his kindly; and when he understood how religious he was towards the Deity, he sent an embassage to him, and desired that he would restore the settlements they received from their forefathers. So he rejected the counsel of those that would have him utterly destroy the nation, by reason of their way of living, which was to others unsociable, and did not regard what they said. But being persuaded that all they did was out of a religious mind, he answered the ambassadors, that if the besieged would deliver up their arms, and pay tribute for Joppa, and the other cities which bordered upon Judea, and admit a garrison of his, on these terms he would make war against them no longer. But the Jews, although they were content with the other conditions, did not agree to admit the garrison, because they could not associate with other people, nor converse with them; yet were they willing, instead of the admission of the garrison, to give him hostages, and five hundred talents of silver; of which they paid down three hundred, and sent the hostages immediately, which king Antiochus accepted. One of those hostages was Hyrcanus's brother. But still he broke down the fortifications that encompassed the city. And upon these conditions Antiochus broke up the siege, and departed.

(4) [249] Ὑρκανὸς δὲ τὸν Δαυίδου τάφον ἀνοίξας, ὃς πλούτῳ τούς ποτε βασιλεῖς ὑπερέβαλεν, τρισχίλια μὲν ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἐξεκόμισεν, ὁρμώμενος δ' ὑπὸ τούτων πρῶτος Ἰουδαίων ξενοτροφεῖν ἤρξατο. [250] γίνεται δ' αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς Ἀντίοχον φιλία καὶ συμμαχία, καὶ δεξάμενος αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀφθόνως πάντα τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ φιλοτίμως παρέσχεν. καὶ ποιουμένῳ τὴν ἐπὶ Πάρθους αὐτῷ στρατείαν συνεξώρμησεν Ὑρκανός. μάρτυς δὲ τούτων ἡμῖν ἐστιν καὶ Νικόλαος ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς οὕτως ἱστορῶν: [251] "τρόπαιον δὲ στήσας Ἀντίοχος ἐπὶ τῷ Λύκῳ ποταμῷ νικήσας Ἰνδάτην τὸν Πάρθων στρατηγὸν αὐτόθι ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας δύο δεηθέντος Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ Ἰουδαίου διά τινα ἑορτὴν πάτριον, ἐν ᾗ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις οὐκ ἦν νόμιμον ἐξοδεύειν." καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὐ ψεύδεται λέγων: [252] ἐνέστη γὰρ ἡ πεντηκοστὴ ἑορτὴ μετὰ τὸ σάββατον, οὐκ ἔξεστι δ' ἡμῖν οὔτε τοῖς σαββάτοις οὔτ' ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ὁδεύειν. [253] συμβαλὼν δ' Ἀντίοχος Ἀρσάκῃ τῷ Πάρθῳ πολλήν τε τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπέβαλεν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπόλλυται, τὴν δὲ τῶν Σύρων βασιλείαν ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ διαδέχεται Δημήτριος Ἀρσάκου αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἀπολύσαντος καθ' ὃν χρόνον Ἀντίοχος εἰς τὴν Παρθυηνὴν ἐνέβαλεν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται.

4. But Hyrcanus opened the sepulcher of David, who excelled all other kings in riches, and took out of it three thousand talents. He was also the first of the Jews that, relying on this wealth, maintained foreign troops. There was also a league of friendship and mutual assistance made between them; upon which Hyrcanus admitted him into the city, and furnished him with whatsoever his army wanted in great plenty, and with great generosity, and marched along with him when he made an expedition against the Parthians; of which Nicolaus of Damascus is a witness for us; who in his history writes thus: "When Antiochus had erected a trophy at the river Lycus, upon his conquest of Indates, the general of the Parthians, he staid there two days. It was at the desire of Lyrcanus the Jew, because it was such a festival derived to them from their forefathers, whereon the law of the Jews did not allow them to travel." And truly he did not speak falsely in saying so; for that festival, which we call Pentecost, did then fall out to be the next day to the Sabbath. Nor is it lawful for us to journey, either on the Sabbath day, or on a festival day But when Antiochus joined battle with Arsaces, the king of Parthin, he lost a great part of his army, and was himself slain; and his brother Demetrius succeeded in the kingdom of Syria, by the permission of Arsaces, who freed him from his captivity at the same time that Antiochus attacked Parthin, as we have formerly related elsewhere.

IX

CHAPTER 9. How, After The Death Of Antiochus, Hyrcanus Made An Expedition Against Syria, And Made A League With The Romans. Concerning The Death Of King Demetrius And Alexander.

(1) [254] Ὑρκανὸς δὲ ἀκούσας τὸν Ἀντιόχου θάνατον εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν Συρίᾳ πόλεις ἐξεστράτευσεν οἰόμενος αὐτὰς εὑρήσειν, ὅπερ ἦν, ἐρήμους τῶν μαχίμων καὶ ῥύεσθαι δυναμένων. [255] Μήδαβαν μὲν οὖν πολλὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτῷ ταλαιπωρηθείσης ἕκτῳ μηνὶ εἶλεν, ἔπειτα καὶ Σαμόγαν καὶ τὰ πλησίον εὐθὺς αἱρεῖ Σίκιμά τε πρὸς τούτοις καὶ Γαριζεὶν τό τε Κουθαίων γένος, [256] ὃ περιοικεῖ τὸν εἰκασθέντα τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερῷ ναόν, ὃν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπέτρεψεν οἰκοδομῆσαι Σαναβαλλέτῃ τῷ στρατηγῷ διὰ τὸν γαμβρὸν Μανασσῆν τὸν Ἰαδδοῦς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἀδελφόν, ὡς πρότερον δεδηλώκαμεν. συνέβη δὲ τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον ἔρημον γενέσθαι μετὰ ἔτη διακόσια. [257] Ὑρκανὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας αἱρεῖ πόλεις Ἄδωρα καὶ Μάρισαν, καὶ ἅπαντας τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους ὑπὸ χεῖρα ποιησάμενος ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοῖς μένειν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, εἰ περιτέμνοιντο τὰ αἰδοῖα καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίων νόμοις χρήσασθαι θέλοιεν. [258] οἱ δὲ πόθῳ τῆς πατρίου γῆς καὶ τὴν περιτομὴν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τοῦ βίου δίαιταν ὑπέμειναν τὴν αὐτὴν Ἰουδαίοις ποιήσασθαι. κἀκείνοις αὐτοῖς χρόνος ὑπῆρχεν ὥστε εἶναι τὸ λοιπὸν Ἰουδαίους.

1. But when Hyrcanus heard of the death of Antiochus, he presently made an expedition against the cities of Syria, hoping to find them destitute of fighting men, and of such as were able to defend them. However, it was not till the sixth month that he took Medaba, and that not without the greatest distress of his army. After this he took Samega, and the neighboring places; and besides these, Shechem and Gerizzim, and the nation of the Cutheans, who dwelt at the temple which resembled that temple which was at Jerusalem, and which Alexander permitted Sanballat, the general of his army, to build for the sake of Manasseh, who was son-in-law to Jaddua the high priest, as we have formerly related; which temple was now deserted two hundred years after it was built. Hyrcanus took also Dora and Marissa, cities of Idumea, and subdued all the Idumeans; and permitted them to stay in that country, if they would circumcise their genitals, and make use of the laws of the Jews; and they were so desirous of living in the country of their forefathers, that they submitted to the use of circumcision, and of the rest of the Jewish ways of living; at which time therefore this befell them, that they were hereafter no other than Jews.

(2) [259] Ὑρκανὸς δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἀνανεώσασθαι τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν βουλόμενος πέμπει πρὸς αὐτοὺς πρεσβείαν. καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος δεξαμένη τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ γράμματα ποιεῖται πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ: [260] Φάννιος Μάρκου υἱὸς στρατηγὸς βουλὴν ἤγαγεν πρὸ ὀκτὼ εἰδῶν Φεβρουαρίων ἐν Κομιτίῳ παρόντος Λουκίου Μαννίου Λουκίου υἱοῦ Μεντίνα καὶ Γαίου Σεμπρωνίου πενναίου υἱοῦ Φαλέρνα περὶ ὧν ἐπρέσβευσεν Σίμων Δοσιθέου καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Διόδωρος Ἰάσονος ἄνδρες καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ δήμου τοῦ Ἰουδαίων, [261] [οἳ] καὶ διελέχθησαν περὶ φιλίας τῆς ὑπαρχούσης τούτοις καὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς Ῥωμαίους καὶ τῶν δημοσίων πραγμάτων, ὅπως τε Ἰόππη καὶ λιμένες καὶ Γάζωρα καὶ πηγαὶ καὶ ὅσας πόλεις αὐτῶν ἄλλας καὶ χωρία πολεμῶν ἔλαβεν Ἀντίοχος παρὰ τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα ταῦτα ἀποκατασταθῇ, [262] ἵνα τε τοῖς στρατιώταις τοῖς βασιλικοῖς μὴ ἐξῇ διὰ τῆς χώρας τῆς αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων αὐτῶν διέρχεσθαι, καὶ ὅπως τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκεῖνον ψηφισθέντα ὑπὸ Ἀντιόχου παρὰ τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα ἄκυρα γένηται, [263] ἵνα τε πρέσβεις πέμψαντες ἀποδοθῆναί τε αὐτοῖς ποιήσωσιν τὰ ὑπ᾽ Ἀντιόχου ἀφαιρεθέντα καὶ τὴν χώραν διατιμήσωνται τὴν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ διεφθαρμένην, ὅπως τε αὐτοῖς πρός τε βασιλεῖς καὶ δήμους ἐλευθέρους γράμματα δῶσιν εἰς ἀσφάλειαν τῆς εἰς οἶκον ἐπανόδου. [264] ἔδοξεν οὖν περὶ τούτων ταῦτα: ἀνανεώσασθαι φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν πρὸς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ ὑπὸ δήμου πεμφθέντας ἀγαθοῦ καὶ φίλου. [265] περὶ μέντοι γραμμάτων ἀπεκρίναντο βουλεύσεσθαι, ὅταν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἡ σύγκλητος εὐσχολήσῃ, σπουδάσειν τε τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδὲν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀδίκημα τοιοῦτο γενέσθαι, δοῦναί τε αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατηγὸν Φάννιον χρήματα ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου, ὅπως ἂν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπανέλθοιεν. [266] Φάννιος μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἀποπέμπει τοὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρέσβεις χρήματά τε δοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου καὶ δόγμα συγκλήτου πρὸς τοὺς διαπέμψοντας καὶ ἀσφαλῆ παρεξομένους τὴν οἴκαδε παρουσίαν.

2. But Hyrcanus the high priest was desirous to renew that league of friendship they had with the Romans. Accordingly, he sent an embassage to them; and when the senate had received their epistle, they made a league of friendship with them, after the manner following: “Fanius, the son of Marcus, the praetor, gathered the senate together on the eighth day before the Ides of February, in the senate-house, when Lucius Manlius, the son of Lucius, of the Mentine tribe, and Caius Sempronius, the son of Caius, of the Falernian tribe, were present. The occasion was, that the ambassadors sent by the people of the Jews Simon, the son of Dositheus, and Apollonius, the son of Alexander, and Diodorus, the son of Jason, who were good and virtuous men, had somewhat to propose about that league of friendship and mutual assistance which subsisted between them and the Romans, and about other public affairs, who desired that Joppa, and the

havens, and Gazara, and the springs [of Jordan], and the several other cities and countries of theirs, which Antiochus had taken from them in the war, contrary to the decree of the senate, might be restored to them; and that it might not be lawful for the king's troops to pass through their country, and the countries of those that are subject to them; and that what attempts Antiochus had made during that war, without the decree of the senate, might be made void; and that they would send ambassadors, who should take care that restitution be made them of what Antiochus had taken from them, and that they should make an estimate of the country that had been laid waste in the war; and that they would grant them letters of protection to the kings and free people, in order to their quiet return home. It was therefore decreed, as to these points, to renew their league of friendship and mutual assistance with these good men, and who were sent by a good and a friendly people." But as to the letters desired, their answer was, that the senate would consult about that matter when their own affairs would give them leave; and that they would endeavor, for the time to come, that no like injury should be done to them; and that their praetor Fanius should give them money out of the public treasury to bear their expenses home. And thus did Fanius dismiss the Jewish ambassadors, and gave them money out of the public treasury; and gave the decree of the senate to those that were to conduct them, and to take care that they should return home in safety.

(3) [267] Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ Ὑρκανὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα ἐν τούτοις ὑπῆρχεν, Δημητρίῳ δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ προθυμουμένῳ στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Ὑρκανὸν οὐκ ἐξεγένετο καιρὸς οὐδὲ ἀφορμὴ τῶν τε Σύρων καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεχθανομένων, πονηρὸς γὰρ ἦν, καὶ πεμψάντων πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Φύσκωνα ἐπικληθέντα πρέσβεις, ὅπως τινὰ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Σελεύκου γένους παραδῷ αὐτοῖς ἀπολῃψόμενον τὴν βασιλείαν. [268] τοῦ δὲ Πτολεμαίου πέμψαντος Ἀλέξανδρον μετὰ στρατιᾶς τὸν Ζεβίναν ἐπιλεγόμενον καὶ μάχης πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον γενομένης, ὁ μὲν ἡττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ φεύγει πρὸς Κλεοπάτραν τὴν γυναῖκα εἰς Πτολεμαίδα καὶ μὴ δεξαμένης αὐτὸν τῆς γυναικὸς ἐκεῖθεν ἀπελθὼν εἰς Τύρον ἁλίσκεται καὶ πολλὰ παθὼν ὑπὸ τῶν μισούντων ἀπέθανεν. [269] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν φιλίαν ποιεῖται πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα. ἔπειτα πολεμήσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Δημητρίου παιδὸς Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Γρυποῦ ἐπικληθέντος, ἡττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ διαφθείρεται.

3. And thus stood the affairs of Hyrcanus the high priest. But as for king Demetrius, who had a mind to make war against Hyrcanus, there was no opportunity nor room for it, while both the Syrians and the soldiers bare ill-will to him, because he was an ill man. But when they had sent ambassadors to Ptolemy, who was called Physcon, that he would send them one of the family at

Seleueus, in order to take the kingdom, and he had sent them Alexander, who was called Zebina, with an army, and there had been a battle between them, Demetrius was beaten in the fight, and fled to Cleopatra his wife, to Ptolemais; but his wife would not receive him. He went thence to Tyre, and was there caught; and when he had suffered much from his enemies before his death, he was slain by them. So Alexander took the kingdom, and made a league with Hyrcanus, who yet, when he afterward fought with Antiochus the son of Demetrius, who was called Grypus, was also beaten in the fight, and slain.

X

CHAPTER 10. How Upon The Quarrel Between Antiochus Grypus And Antiochus Cyzicenus About The Kingdom Hyrcanus Tooksamaria, And Utterly Demolished It; And How Hyrcaus Joined Himself To The Sect Of The Sadducees, And Left That Of The Pharisees.

(1) [270] Παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν τῆς Συρίας βασιλείαν ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν στρατεύειν εὐλαβὴς ἦν τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀκούων τὸν ὁμομήτριον, Ἀντίοχος δὲ κἀκεῖνος ἐκαλεῖτο, δύναμιν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Κυζίκου συλλέγειν. [271] μένων δὲ κατὰ χώραν ἔγνω παρασκευάζειν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον τὴν τἀδελφοῦ, ὃς Κυζικηνὸς μὲν ἐπεκλήθη διὰ τὸ τραφῆναι ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει, πατρὸς δ᾽ ἦν Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐπικληθέντος, ὃς ἐν Πάρθοις ἀπέθανεν: οὗτος δὲ ἀδελφὸς ἦν Δημητρίου τοῦ Γρυποῦ πατρός. συνέβη μέντοι μίαν τοῖς δυσὶν ἀδελφοῖς γῆμαι Κλεοπάτραν, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἱστορήκαμεν. [272] ὁ δὲ Κυζικηνὸς Ἀντίοχος παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Συρίαν πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν πολεμῶν διετέλει. Ὑρκανὸς δὲ πάντα ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐν εἰρήνῃ διῆγεν: [273] καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς μετὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχου τελευτὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀπέστη καὶ οὔτε ὡς ὑπήκοος οὔτε ὡς φίλος αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἔτι παρεῖχεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα ἐν ἐπιδόσει πολλῇ καὶ ἀκμῇ κατὰ τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ζαβιναίου καιρούς, καὶ μάλιστ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. ὁ γὰρ πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτοῖς πόλεμος σχολὴν Ὑρκανῷ καρποῦσθαι τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπ᾽ ἀδείας παρεῖχεν, ὡς ἄπειρόν τι χρημάτων πλῆθος συναγαγεῖν. [274] τοῦ μέντοι γε Κυζικηνοῦ τὴν γῆν κακοῦντος φανερῶς καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ προαίρεσιν ἐπεδείκνυτο, καὶ τῶν ἀπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου συμμάχων ἔρημον ὁρῶν τὸν Ἀντίοχον καὶ αὐτόν τε πράττοντα κακῶς καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγῶσιν, ἀμφοτέρων κατεφρόνησεν.

1. When Antiochus had taken the kingdom, he was afraid to make war against Judea, because he heard that his brother by the same mother, who was also called Antiochus, was raising an army against him out of Cyzicum; so he staid in his own land, and resolved to prepare himself for the attack he expected from his brother, who was called Cyzicenus, because he had been brought up in that city. He was the son of Antiochus that was called Soter, who died in Parthia. He was the brother of Demetrius, the father of Grypus; for it had so happened, that one and the same Cleopatra was married to two who were brethren, as we have related elsewhere. But Antiochus Cyzicenus coming into Syria, continued many

years at war with his brother. Now Hyrcanus lived all this while in peace; for after the death of Antlochus, he revolted from the Macedonians, nor did he any longer pay them the least regard, either as their subject or their friend; but his affairs were in a very improving and flourishing condition in the times of Alexander Zebina, and especially under these brethren, for the war which they had with one another gave Hyrcanus the opportunity of enjoying himself in Judea quietly, insomuch that he got an immense quantity of money. How ever, when Antiochus Cyzicenus distressed his land, he then openly showed what he meant. And when he saw that Antiochus was destitute of Egyptian auxiliaries, and that both he and his brother were in an ill condition in the struggles they had one with another, he despised them both.

(2) [275] Καὶ στρατεύει μὲν ἐπὶ Σαμάρειαν πόλιν ὀχυρωτάτην, περὶ ἧς, ὅτι καλεῖται νῦν Σεβαστὴ κτισθεῖσα ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου, κατὰ χώραν δηλώσομεν. προσβαλὼν δ' αὐτῇ φιλοπόνως ἐπολιόρκει μισοπονηρῶν τοῖς Σαμαρεῦσιν ὑπὲρ ὧν Μαρισηνοὺς ἀποίκους ὄντας Ἰουδαίων καὶ συμμάχους ἠδίκησαν ὑπακούοντες τοῖς τῶν Σύρων βασιλεῦσιν. [276] περιβαλὼν οὖν τάφρον πανταχόθεν τῇ πόλει καὶ διπλοῦν τεῖχος ὡς ἀπὸ σταδίων ὀγδοήκοντα τοὺς υἱοὺς ἐφίστησιν Ἀντίγονον καὶ Ἀριστόβουλον. ὧν ἐπικειμένων εἰς τοῦτο ἀνάγκης ὑπὸ λιμοῦ προαχθῆναι τοὺς Σαμαρεῖς συνέπεσεν, ὡς ἅψασθαι μὲν καὶ τῶν ἀήθων, ἐπικαλέσασθαι δὲ βοηθὸν Ἀντίοχον τὸν Κυζικηνόν. [277] ὃς ἑτοίμως ἐπὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν ἀφικόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἀριστόβουλον ἡττᾶται, διωχθεὶς δ' ἄχρι Σκυθοπόλεως ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν διέφυγεν. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς Σαμαρεῖς ὑποστρέψαντες συγκλείουσι πάλιν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος αὐτούς, ὡς καὶ δεύτερον ἐπικαλέσασθαι σύμμαχον πέμψαντες τὸν αὐτὸν Ἀντίοχον. [278] ὃς παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λαθούρου μεταπεμψάμενος ἄνδρας εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους, οὓς ἀκούσης τῆς μητρὸς ἐκεῖνος καὶ ὅσον οὔπω τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτὸν ἐκβεβληκυίας ἐξαπέστειλεν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπιὼν ἐπόρθει τὴν Ὑρκανοῦ χώραν μετὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων λῃστρικῶς, μάχεσθαι μὲν αὐτῷ κατὰ πρόσωπον οὐ τολμῶν, οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀξιόχρεως ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ, νομίζων δὲ τῇ κακώσει τῆς γῆς ἀναγκάσειν Ὑρκανὸν λῦσαι τὴν τῆς Σαμαρείας πολιορκίαν. [279] ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπώλλυεν ἐνέδραις περιπίπτων, ἀπῆρεν εἰς Τρίπολιν Καλλιμάνδρῳ καὶ Ἐπικράτει τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους πόλεμον ἐπιτρέψας.

2. So he made an expedition against Samaria which was a very strong city; of whose present name Sebaste, and its rebuilding by Herod, we shall speak at a proper time; but he made his attack against it, and besieged it with a great deal of pains; for he was greatly displeased with the Samaritans for the injuries they had done to the people of Merissa, a colony of the Jews, and confederate with them, and this in compliance to the kings of Syria. When he had therefore drawn a ditch, and built a double wall round the city, which was fourscore furlongs long,

he set his sons Antigonus and Arisrobulna over the siege; which brought the Samaritans to that great distress by famine, that they were forced to eat what used not to be eaten, and to call for Antiochus Cyzicenus to help them, who came readily to their assistance, but was beaten by Aristobulus; and when he was pursued as far as Scythopolis by the two brethren, he got away. So they returned to Samaria, and shut them again within the wall, till they were forced to send for the same Antiochus a second time to help them, who procured about six thousand men from Ptolemy Lathyrus, which were sent them without his mother's consent, who had then in a manner turned him out of his government. With these Egyptians Antiochus did at first overrun and ravage the country of Hyrcanus after the manner of a robber, for he durst not meet him in the face to fight with him, as not having an army sufficient for that purpose, but only from this supposal, that by thus harassing his land he should force Hyrcanus to raise the siege of Samaria; but because he fell into snares, and lost many of his soldiers therein, he went away to Tripoli, and committed the prosecution of the war against the Jews to Callimander and Epicrates.

(3) [280] Καλλίμανδρος μὲν οὖν θρασύτερον τοῖς πολεμίοις προσενεχθεὶς εἰς φυγὴν τραπόμενος παραχρῆμα διεφθάρη. Ἐπικράτης δὲ ὑπὸ φιλοχρηματίας τήν τε Σκυθόπολιν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πρὸς ταύτῃ χωρία προύδωκε φανερῶς τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, τὴν δὲ Σαμαρείας πολιορκίαν διαλύειν οὐκ ἠδύνατο. [281] Ὑρκανὸς μὲν οὖν τὴν πόλιν ἑλὼν ἐνιαυτῷ πολιορκήσας οὐκ ἠρκέσθη μόνῳ τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἠφάνισεν ἐπίκλυστον τοῖς χειμάρροις ποιήσας: διασκάψας γὰρ αὐτὴν ὥστ' εἰς χαράδρας μεταπεσεῖν τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ γενέσθαι ποτὲ πόλιν αὐτὴν ἀφείλετο. [282] παράδοξον δέ τι καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Ὑρκανοῦ λέγεται, τίνα τρόπον αὐτῷ τὸ θεῖον εἰς λόγους ἦλθεν: φασὶν γάρ, ὅτι κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν, καθ' ἣν οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ τῷ Κυζικηνῷ συνέβαλον, αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ ναῷ θυμιῶν μόνος ὢν ἀρχιερεὺς ἀκούσειε φωνῆς, ὡς οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ νενικήκασιν ἀρτίως τὸν Ἀντίοχον. [283] καὶ τοῦτο προελθὼν ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ παντὶ τῷ πλήθει φανερὸν ἐποίησεν, καὶ συνέβη οὕτως γενέσθαι. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ὑρκανὸν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

3. But as to Callimander, he attacked the enemy too rashly, and was put to flight, and destroyed immediately; and as to Epicrates, he was such a lover of money, that he openly betrayed Scythopolis, and other places near it, to the Jews, but was not able to make them raise the siege of Samaria. And when Hyrcanus had taken that city, which was not done till after a year's siege, he was not contented with doing that only, but he demolished it entirely, and brought rivulets to it to drown it, for he dug such hollows as might let the water run under it; nay, he took away the very marks that there had ever been such a city there. Now a very surprising thing is related of this high priest Hyrcanus, how God came to

discourse with him; for they say that on the very same day on which his sons fought with Antiochus Cyzicenus, he was alone in the temple, as high priest, offering incense, and heard a voice, that his sons had just then overcome Antiochus. And this he openly declared before all the multitude upon his coming out of the temple; and it accordingly proved true; and in this posture were the affairs of Hyrcanus.

(4) [284] Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἔτυχε τὸν καιρὸν μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ τῇ χώρᾳ Ἰουδαίους εὐπραγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ κατοικοῦντας καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Κύπρῳ: [285] Κλεοπάτρα γὰρ ἡ βασίλισσα πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν στασιάζουσα Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Λάθουρον ἐπιλεγόμενον κατέστησεν ἡγεμόνας Χελκίαν καὶ Ἀνανίαν υἱοὺς ὄντας Ὀνίου τοῦ οἰκοδομήσαντος τὸν ναὸν ἐν τῷ Ἡλιοπολίτῃ νομῷ πρὸς τὸν ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις, ὡς καὶ πρόσθεν δεδηλώκαμεν. [286] παραδοῦσα δὲ τούτοις ἡ Κλεοπάτρα τὴν στρατιὰν οὐδὲν δίχα τῆς τούτων γνώμης ἔπραττεν, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ καὶ Στράβων ἡμῖν ὁ Καππάδοξ λέγων οὕτως: [287] "οἱ γὰρ πλείους, οἵ τε συνελθόντες καὶ οἱ ὕστερον ἐπιπεμπόμενοι παρὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας εἰς Κύπρον, μετεβάλοντο παραχρῆμα πρὸς τὸν Πτολεμαῖον: μόνοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ὀνίου γενόμενοι Ἰουδαῖοι συνέμενον διὰ τὸ τοὺς πολίτας αὐτῶν εὐδοκιμεῖν μάλιστα παρὰ τῇ βασιλίσσῃ Χελκίαν τε καὶ Ἀνανίαν." ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ Στράβων φησίν.

4. Now it happened at this time, that not only those Jews who were at Jerusalem and in Judea were in prosperity, but also those of them that were at Alexandria, and in Egypt and Cyprus; for Cleopatra the queen was at variance with her son Ptolemy, who was called Lathyrus, and appointed for her generals Chelcias and Ananias, the sons of that Onias who built the temple in the prefecture of Heliopolis, like to that at Jerusalem, as we have elsewhere related. Cleopatra intrusted these men with her army, and did nothing without their advice, as Strabo of Cappadocia attests, when he saith thus, "Now the greater part, both those that came to Cyprus with us, and those that were sent afterward thither, revolted to Ptolemy immediately; only those that were called Onias's party, being Jews, continued faithful, because their countrymen Chelcias and Ananias were in chief favor with the queen." These are the words of Strabo.

(5) [288] Ὑρκανῷ δὲ φθόνον ἐκίνησεν παρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἡ εὐπραγία, μάλιστα δ' οἱ Φαρισαῖοι κακῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶχον, αἵρεσις ὄντες μία τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπάνω δεδηλώκαμεν. τοσαύτην δὲ ἔχουσι τὴν ἰσχὺν παρὰ τῷ πλήθει, ὡς καὶ κατὰ βασιλέως τι λέγοντες καὶ κατ' ἀρχιερέως εὐθὺς πιστεύεσθαι. [289] μαθητὴς δὲ αὐτῶν ἦν καὶ Ὑρκανὸς καὶ σφόδρα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἠγαπᾶτο. καὶ δὴ καλέσας αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ἑστίασιν καὶ φιλοφρόνως ὑποδεξάμενος, ἐπεὶ σφόδρα

ἡδομένους ἑώρα, λέγειν ἤρξατο πρὸς αὐτούς, ὡς ἴσασιν μὲν αὐτὸν βουλόμενον εἶναι δίκαιον καὶ πάντα ποιοῦντα ἐξ ὧν ἀρέσειεν ἂν τῷ θεῷ καὶ αὐτοῖς: [290] οἱ γὰρ Φαρισαῖοι φιλοσοφοῦσιν: ἠξίου γε μήν, εἰ βλέπουσιν αὐτὸν ἁμαρτάνοντα καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς δικαίας ἐκτρεπόμενον εἰς αὐτὴν ἐπαναγαγεῖν καὶ ἐπανορθοῦν. τῶν δὲ μαρτυρησάντων αὐτῷ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ὁ μὲν ἥσθη τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, [291] εἷς δέ τις τῶν κατακειμένων Ἐλεάζαρος ὄνομα, κακοήθης ὢν φύσει καὶ στάσει χαίρων "ἐπεί, φησίν, ἠξίωσας γνῶναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, θέλεις δὲ εἶναι δίκαιος, τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀπόθου, καὶ μόνον ἀρκείτω σοι τὸ ἄρχειν τοῦ λαοῦ." τὴν δ' αἰτίαν αὐτοῦ πυθομένου, [292] δι' ἣν ἀποθοῖτο τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην "ὅτι, φησίν, ἀκούομεν παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων αἰχμάλωτόν σου γεγονέναι τὴν μητέρα βασιλεύοντος Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς." ψευδὴς λόγος ἦν: καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ὑρκανὸς παρωξύνθη καὶ πάντες δ' οἱ Φαρισαῖοι σφοδρῶς ἠγανάκτησαν.

5. However, this prosperous state of affairs moved the Jews to envy Hyrcanus; but they that were the worst disposed to him were the Pharisees, who were one of the sects of the Jews, as we have informed you already. These have so great a power over the multitude, that when they say any thing against the king, or against the high priest, they are presently believed. Now Hyrcanus was a disciple of theirs, and greatly beloved by them. And when he once invited them to a feast, and entertained them very kindly, when he saw them in a good humor, he began to say to them, that they knew he was desirous to be a righteous man, and to do all things whereby he might please God, which was the profession of the Pharisees also. However, he desired, that if they observed him offending in any point, and going out of the right way, they would call him back and correct him. On which occasion they attested to his being entirely virtuous; with which commendation he was well pleased. But still there was one of his guests there, whose name was Eleazar, a man of an ill temper, and delighting in seditious practices. This man said, "Since thou desirest to know the truth, if thou wilt be righteous in earnest, lay down the high priesthood, and content thyself with the civil government of the people," And when he desired to know for what cause he ought to lay down the high priesthood, the other replied, "We have heard it from old men, that thy mother had been a captive under the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. " This story was false, and Hyrcanus was provoked against him; and all the Pharisees had a very great indignation against him.

(6) [293] Τῶν δ' ἐκ τῶν Σαδδουκαίων τῆς αἱρέσεως, οἳ τὴν ἐναντίαν τοῖς Φαρισαίοις προαίρεσιν ἔχουσιν, Ἰωνάθης τις ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα φίλος ὢν Ὑρκανῷ τῇ κοινῇ πάντων Φαρισαίων γνώμῃ ποιήσασθαι τὰς βλασφημίας τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον ἔλεγεν: καὶ τοῦτ' ἔσεσθαι φανερὸν αὐτῷ πυθομένῳ παρ' ἐκείνων, τίνος ἄξιός ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις κολάσεως. [294] τοῦ δὲ Ὑρκανοῦ τοὺς Φαρισαίους

ἐρομένου, τίνος αὐτὸν ἄξιον ἡγοῦνται τιμωρίας: πειραθήσεσθαι γὰρ οὐ μετὰ τῆς ἐκείνων γνώμης γεγονέναι τὰς βλασφημίας τιμησαμένων αὐτὸν τῷ μέτρῳ τῆς δίκης, πληγῶν ἔφασαν καὶ δεσμῶν: οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει λοιδορίας ἕνεκα θανάτῳ ζημιοῦν, ἄλλως τε καὶ φύσει πρὸς τὰς κολάσεις ἐπιεικῶς ἔχουσιν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι. [295] πρὸς τοῦτο λίαν ἐχαλέπηνεν καὶ δοκοῦν ἐκείνοις ποιήσασθαι τὰς βλασφημίας τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐνόμισεν. μάλιστα δ' αὐτὸν ἐπιπαρώξυνεν Ἰωνάθης καὶ διέθηκεν οὕτως, [296] ὥστε τῇ Σαδδουκαίων ἐποίησεν προσθέσθαι μοίρᾳ τῶν Φαρισαίων ἀποστάντα καὶ τά τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατασταθέντα νόμιμα τῷ δήμῳ καταλῦσαι καὶ τοὺς φυλάττοντας αὐτὰ κολάσαι. μῖσος οὖν ἐντεῦθεν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἐγένετο. [297] περὶ μέντοι τούτων αὖθις ἐροῦμεν. νῦν δὲ δηλῶσαι βούλομαι, ὅτι νόμιμά τινα παρέδοσαν τῷ δήμῳ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ἐκ πατέρων διαδοχῆς, ἅπερ οὐκ ἀναγέγραπται ἐν τοῖς Μωυσέως νόμοις, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ταῦτα τὸ Σαδδουκαίων γένος ἐκβάλλει, λέγον ἐκεῖνα δεῖν ἡγεῖσθαι νόμιμα τὰ γεγραμμένα, τὰ δ' ἐκ παραδόσεως τῶν πατέρων μὴ τηρεῖν. [298] καὶ περὶ τούτων ζητήσεις αὐτοῖς καὶ διαφορὰς γίνεσθαι συνέβαινεν μεγάλας, τῶν μὲν Σαδδουκαίων τοὺς εὐπόρους μόνον πειθόντων τὸ δὲ δημοτικὸν οὐχ ἑπόμενον αὐτοῖς ἐχόντων, τῶν δὲ Φαρισαίων τὸ πλῆθος σύμμαχον ἐχόντων. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων τῶν δύο καὶ τῶν Ἐσσηνῶν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ μου τῶν Ἰουδαικῶν ἀκριβῶς δεδήλωται.

6. Now there was one Jonathan, a very great friend of Hyrcanus's, but of the sect of the Sadducees, whose notions are quite contrary to those of the Pharisees. He told Hyrcanus that Eleazar had cast such a reproach upon him, according to the common sentiments of all the Pharisees, and that this would be made manifest if he would but ask them the question, What punishment they thought this man deserved? for that he might depend upon it, that the reproach was not laid on him with their approbation, if they were for punishing him as his crime deserved. So the Pharisees made answer, that he deserved stripes and bonds, but that it did not seem right to punish reproaches with death. And indeed the Pharisees, even upon other occasions, are not apt to be severe in punishments. At this gentle sentence, Hyrcanus was very angry, and thought that this man reproached him by their approbation. It was this Jonathan who chiefly irritated him, and influenced him so far, that he made him leave the party of the Pharisees, and abolish the decrees they had imposed on the people, and to punish those that observed them. From this source arose that hatred which he and his sons met with from the multitude: but of these matters we shall speak hereafter. What I would now explain is this, that the Pharisees have delivered to the people a great many observances by succession from their fathers, which are not written in the laws of Moses; and for that reason it is that the Sadducees reject them, and say that we are to esteem

those observances to be obligatory which are in the written word, but are not to observe what are derived from the tradition of our forefathers. And concerning these things it is that great disputes and differences have arisen among them, while the Sadducees are able to persuade none but the rich, and have not the populace obsequious to them, but the Pharisees have the multitude on their side. But about these two sects, and that of the Essens, I have treated accurately in the second book of Jewish affairs.

(7) [299] Ὑρκανὸς δὲ παύσας τὴν στάσιν καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτὴν βιώσας εὐδαιμόνως καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διοικησάμενος ἄριστον τρόπον ἔτεσιν ἐνὶ καὶ τριάκοντα τελευτᾷ καταλιπὼν υἱοὺς πέντε, τριῶν τῶν μεγίστων ἄξιος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κριθείς, ἀρχῆς τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς τιμῆς καὶ προφητείας: [300] συνῆν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ θεῖον καὶ τὴν τῶν μελλόντων πρόγνωσιν παρεῖχεν αὐτῷ τε εἰδέναι καὶ προλέγειν οὕτως, ὥστε καὶ περὶ τῶν δύο τῶν πρεσβυτέρων παίδων ὅτι μὴ μενοῦσιν τῶν πραγμάτων κύριοι προεῖπεν. ὧν τὴν καταστροφὴν εἰς τὸ μαθεῖν ὅσον τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπέβησαν εὐτυχίας ἄξιον ἀφηγήσασθαι.

7. But when Hyrcanus had put an end to this sedition, he after that lived happily, and administered the government in the best manner for thirty-one years, and then died, leaving behind him five sons. He was esteemed by God worthy of three of the greatest privileges, — the government of his nation, the dignity of the high priesthood, and prophecy; for God was with him, and enabled him to know futurities; and to foretell this in particular, that, as to his two eldest sons, he foretold that they would not long continue in the government of public affairs; whose unhappy catastrophe will be worth our description, that we may thence learn how very much they were inferior to their father’s happiness.

XI

CHAPTER 11. How Aristobulus, When He Had Taken The Government First Of All Put A Diadem On His Head, And Was Most Barbarously Cruel To His Mother And His Brethren; And How, After He Had Slain Antigonus, He Himself Died.

(1) [301] Τελευτήσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ὁ πρεσβύτατος Ἀριστόβουλος τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς βασιλείαν μεταθεῖναι δόξας, ἔκρινεν γὰρ οὕτω, διάδημα πρῶτος ἐπιτίθεται μετὰ τετρακοσίων ἀριθμὸν ἐτῶν καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑνὸς καὶ μηνῶν τριῶν ἀφ᾽ οὗ τῆς ὑπὸ Βαβυλωνίοις δουλείας ἀπαλλαγεὶς ὁ λαὸς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν κατῆλθεν. [302] στέργων δὲ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὸν μετ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἀντίγονον τοῦτον μὲν τῶν ὁμοίων ἠξίου, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους εἶχεν ἐν δεσμοῖς. εἶρξε δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῷ διενεχθεῖσαν, ἐκείνην γὰρ Ὑρκανὸς τῶν ὅλων κυρίαν καταλείπει, καὶ μέχρι τοσαύτης ὠμότητος προῆλθεν, ὥστ᾽ αὐτὴν καὶ λιμῷ διέφθειρεν δεδεμένην. [303] προστίθησιν δὲ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀντίγονον, ὃν στέργειν ἐδόκει μάλιστα καὶ κοινωνὸν εἶχεν τῆς βασιλείας, ἐκ διαβολῶν ἀπαλλοτριωθεὶς πρὸς αὐτόν, αἷς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐκ ἐπίστευεν, τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ φιλεῖν αὐτὸν οὐ προσέχων τοῖς λεγομένοις, τὰ δὲ καὶ φθονούμενον ἡγούμενος διαβάλλεσθαι. [304] τοῦ δὲ Ἀντιγόνου ποτὲ λαμπρῶς ἀπὸ στρατείας ἐπανελθόντος καὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς, καθ᾽ ἣν σκηνοπηγοῦσιν τῷ θεῷ, κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ἐνστάσης, ἔτυχεν τὸν μὲν Ἀριστόβουλον εἰς νόσον καταπεσεῖν, τὸν δὲ Ἀντίγονον ἐπιτελοῦντα τὴν ἑορτὴν ἀναβῆναι λαμπρῶς σφόδρα κεκοσμημένον μετὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ὁπλιτῶν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὰ πλείω περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τἀδελφοῦ εὔχεσθαι, [305] τοὺς δὲ πονηροὺς καὶ διαστῆσαι τὴν ὁμόνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐσπουδακότας ἀφορμῇ χρησαμένους τῇ τε περὶ τὴν πομπὴν τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου φιλοτιμίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κατωρθωμένοις ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ κακοήθως ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον ἐξαίρειν τὰ περὶ τὴν πομπὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ, [306] καὶ ὡς οὐ κατ᾽ ἰδιώτην ἕκαστον ἦν τῶν γινομένων, ἀλλὰ φρονήματος ἔνδειξιν ἔχειν βασιλικοῦ τὰ πραττόμενα, καὶ ὡς κτείνειν αὐτὸν μέλλοι μετὰ στίφους ἐληλυθὼς καρτεροῦ, λογιζόμενον εὐήθως αὐτὸν βασιλεύειν ἑνὸν τιμῆς μεταλαμβάνοντα δοκεῖν μεγάλων τυγχάνειν.

1. Now when their father Hyrcanus was dead, the eldest son Aristobulus, intending to change the government into a kingdom, for so he resolved to do, first of all put a diadem on his head, four hundred eighty and one years and three months after the people had been delivered from the Babylonish slavery, and

were returned to their own country again. This Aristobulus loved his next brother Antigonus, and treated him as his equal; but the others he held in bonds. He also cast his mother into prison, because she disputed the government with him; for Hyrcanus had left her to be mistress of all. He also proceeded to that degree of barbarity, as to kill her in prison with hunger; nay, he was alienated from his brother Antigonus by calumnies, and added him to the rest whom he slew; yet he seemed to have an affection for him, and made him above the rest a partner with him in the kingdom. Those calumnies he at first did not give credit to, partly because he loved him, and so did not give heed to what was said against him, and partly because he thought the reproaches were derived from the envy of the relaters. But when Antigonus was once returned from the army, and that feast was then at hand when they make tabernacles to [the honor of God,] it happened that Arlstobulus was fallen sick, and that Antigonus went up most splendidly adorned, and with his soldiers about him in their armor, to the temple to celebrate the feast, and to put up many prayers for the recovery of his brother, when some wicked persons, who had a great mind to raise a difference between the brethren, made use of this opportunity of the pompous appearance of Antigonus, and of the great actions which he had done, and went to the king, and spitefully aggravated the pompous show of his at the feast, and pretended that all these circumstances were not like those of a private person; that these actions were indications of an affectation of royal authority; and that his coming with a strong body of men must be with an intention to kill him; and that his way of reasoning was this: That it was a silly thing in him, while it was in his power to reign himself, to look upon it as a great favor that he was honored with a lower dignity by his brother.

(2) [307] Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ τούτοις ἄκων πειθόμενος καὶ τοῦ ἀνύποπτος εἶναι τἀδελφῷ προνοῶν καὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἅμα φροντίζων, διίστησι τοὺς σωματοφύλακας ἔν τινι τῶν ὑπογείων ἀφωτίστῳ, κατέκειτο δὲ ἐν τῇ βάρει μετονομασθείσῃ δὲ Ἀντωνίᾳ, καὶ προσέταξεν ἀνόπλου μὲν ἅπτεσθαι μηδένα, κτείνειν δὲ τὸν Ἀντίγονον, ἂν ὡπλισμένος πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰσίῃ. [308] πέμπει μέντοι πρὸς Ἀντίγονον αὐτὸς ἄνοπλον αὐτὸν ἀξιῶν ἥκειν. ἡ δὲ βασίλισσα καὶ οἱ συνεπιβουλεύοντες αὐτῇ κατ᾽ Ἀντιγόνου πείθουσι τὸν πεμφθέντα τἀναντία λέγειν, ὡς ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἀκούσας, ὅτι κατασκευάσειεν ὅπλα καὶ κόσμον πολεμικόν, παραγίνεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν παρακαλεῖ ὡπλισμένον, ὅπως ἴδοι τὴν κατασκευήν. [309] ὁ δ᾽ Ἀντίγονος μηδὲν ὑπιδόμενος κακοῦργον, ἀλλὰ θαρρῶν τῇ παρὰ τἀδελφοῦ διαθέσει, ὡς εἶχεν ἐνδεδυμένος τὴν πανοπλίαν παρεγένετο πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ἐπιδείξων αὐτῷ τὰ ὅπλα. γενόμενον δ᾽ αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸν Στράτωνος λεγόμενον πύργον, οὗ συνέβαινεν ἀφώτιστον εἶναι σφόδρα τὴν

πάροδον, ἀποκτείνουσιν οἱ σωματοφύλακες. [310] διέδειξέν γε μὴν ὁ τούτου θάνατος, ὅτι μηδὲν μήτε φθόνου μήτε διαβολῆς ἰσχυρότερον, μηδ' ὅ τι μᾶλλον εὔνοιαν καὶ φυσικὴν οἰκειότητα διίστησιν, ἢ ταῦτα τὰ πάθη. [311] μάλιστα δ' ἄν τις θαυμάσειεν καὶ Ἰούδαν τινά, Ἐσσηνὸν μὲν τὸ γένος, οὐδέποτε δ' ἐν οἷς προεῖπεν διαψευσάμενον τἀληθές: οὗτος γὰρ ἰδὼν τὸν Ἀντίγονον παριόντα τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνεβόησεν ἐν τοῖς ἑταίροις αὐτοῦ καὶ γνωρίμοις, οἳ διδασκαλίας ἕνεκα τοῦ προλέγειν τὰ μέλλοντα παρέμενον, [312] ὡς ἀποθανεῖν αὐτῷ καλὸν διεψευσμένῳ ζῶντος Ἀντιγόνου, ὃν σήμερον τεθνήξεσθαι προειπὼν ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ Στράτωνος πύργῳ περιόντα ὁρᾷ, καὶ τοῦ μὲν χωρίου περὶ σταδίους ἀπέχοντος νῦν ἑξακοσίους, ὅπου φονευθήσεσθαι προεῖπεν αὐτόν, τῆς δ' ἡμέρας ἤδη τὸ πλεῖστον ἠνυσμένον, ὥστ' αὐτῷ κινδυνεύειν τὸ μάντευμα ψεῦδος εἶναι. [313] ταῦτ' οὖν λέγοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατηφοῦντος ἀγγέλλεται τεθνεὼς Ἀντίγονος ἐν τῷ ὑπογείῳ, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ Στράτωνος ἐκαλεῖτο πύργος, ὁμώνυμον τῇ παραλίῳ Καισαρείᾳ. τὸν μὲν οὖν μάντιν τοῦτο διετάραξεν.

2. Aristobulus yielded to these imputations, but took care both that his brother should not suspect him, and that he himself might not run the hazard of his own safety; so he ordered his guards to lie in a certain place that was under ground, and dark; [he himself then lying sick in the tower which was called Antonia;] and he commanded them, that in case Antigonus came in to him unarmed, they should not touch any body, but if armed, they should kill him; yet did he send to Antigonus, and desired that he would come unarmed; but the queen, and those that joined with her in the plot against Antigonus, persuaded the messenger to tell him the direct contrary: how his brother had heard that he had made himself a fine suit of armor for war, and desired him to come to him in that armor, that he might see how fine it was. So Antigonus suspecting no treachery, but depending on the good-will of his brother, came to Aristobulus armed, as he used to be, with his entire armor, in order to show it to him; but when he was come to a place which was called Strato's Tower, where the passage happened to be exceeding dark, the guards slew him; which death of his demonstrates that nothing is stronger than envy and calumny, and that nothing does more certainly divide the good-will and natural affections of men than those passions. But here one may take occasion to wonder at one Judas, who was of the sect of the Essens, and who never missed the truth in his predictions; for this man, when he saw Antigonus passing by the temple, cried out to his companions and friends, who abode with him as his scholars, in order to learn the art of foretelling things to come? "That it was good for him to die now, since he had spoken falsely about Antigonus, who is still alive, and I see him passing by, although he had foretold he should die at the place called Strato's Tower that very day, while yet

the place is six hundred furlongs off, where he had foretold he should be slain; and still this day is a great part of it already past, so that he was in danger of proving a false prophet." As he was saying this, and that in a melancholy mood, the news came that Antigonus was slain in a place under ground, which itself was called also Strato's Tower, or of the same name with that Cesarea which is seated at the sea. This event put the prophet into a great disorder.

(3) [314] Ἀριστόβουλον δὲ τῆς ἀδελφοκτονίας εὐθὺς εἰσῆλθεν μετάνοια καὶ νόσος ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῆς διανοίας ὑπὸ τοῦ μύσους κεκακωμένης, ὡς διαφθαρέντων αὐτῷ ὑπὸ ἀκράτου τῆς ὀδύνης τῶν ἐντὸς αἷμα ἀναφέρειν. ὃ τῶν διακονουμένων τις παίδων κατὰ δαιμόνιον οἶμαι πρόνοιαν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον, οὗ σφαγέντος Ἀντιγόνου σπίλους ἔτι τοῦ αἵματος ἐκείνου συνέβαινεν εἶναι, κομίζων ὀλισθὼν ἐξέχεεν. [315] γενομένης δὲ βοῆς παρὰ τῶν ἰδόντων ὡς τοῦ παιδὸς ἐξεπίτηδες ἐκχέαντος ἐκεῖ τὸ αἷμα, ἀκούσας Ἀριστόβουλος τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπύθετο, καὶ μὴ λεγόντων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπετείνετο μαθεῖν, φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπονοούντων ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις εἶναι χείρονα τὰ σιγώμενα. [316] ὡς δ' ἀπειλοῦντος καὶ βιαζομένου τοῖς φόβοις τἀληθὲς εἶπον, προχεῖται μὲν αὐτῷ πληγέντι τὴν διάνοιαν ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος πολλὰ δάκρυα, βύθιον δὲ ἀνοιμώξας, "οὐκ ἄρ', εἶπεν, λήσειν ἐπ' ἀσεβέσιν οὕτω καὶ μιαροῖς τολμήμασι τὸν θεὸν ἔμελλον, ἀλλά με ταχεῖα ποινὴ συγγενοῦς φόνου μετελήλυθεν. [317] καὶ μέχρι τίνος, ὦ σῶμα ἀναιδέστατον, ψυχὴν ὀφειλομένην ἀδελφοῦ καὶ μητρὸς καθέξεις δαίμοσιν; τί δ' οὐκ ἀθρόαν αὐτὴν ταύτην ἀποδίδως, κατὰ μέρος [318] δ' ἐπισπένδω τοὐμὸν αἷμα τοῖς μιαιφονηθεῖσιν;" ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπαποθνήσκει τοῖς λόγοις βασιλεύσας ἐνιαυτόν, χρηματίσας μὲν Φιλέλλην, πολλὰ δ' εὐεργετήσας τὴν πατρίδα, πολεμήσας Ἰτουραίους καὶ πολλὴν αὐτῶν τῆς χώρας τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ προσκτησάμενος ἀναγκάσας τε τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, εἰ βούλονται μένειν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, περιτέμνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίων νόμους ζῆν. [319] φύσει δ' ἐπιεικεῖ κέχρητο καὶ σφόδρα ἦν αἰδοῦς ἥττων, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ τούτῳ καὶ Στράβων ἐκ τοῦ Τιμαγένους ὀνόματος λέγων οὕτως: "ἐπιεικής τε ἐγένετο οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις χρήσιμος: χώραν τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς προσεκτήσατο καὶ τὸ μέρος τοῦ τῶν Ἰτουραίων ἔθνους ᾠκειώσατο δεσμῷ συνάψας τῇ τῶν αἰδοίων περιτομῇ."

3. But Aristobulus repented immediately of this slaughter of his brother; on which account his disease increased upon him, and he was disturbed in his mind, upon the guilt of such wickedness, insomuch that his entrails were corrupted by his intolerable pain, and he vomited blood: at which time one of the servants that attended upon him, and was carrying his blood away, did, by Divine Providence, as I cannot but suppose, slip down, and shed part of his blood at the very place where there were spots of Antigonus's blood, there slain, still remaining; and when there was a cry made by the spectators, as if the servant had on purpose

shed the blood on that place, Aristobulus heard it, and inquired what the matter was; and as they did not answer him, he was the more earnest to know what it was, it being natural to men to suspect that what is thus concealed is very bad: so upon his threatening, and forcing them by terrors to speak, they at length told him the truth; whereupon he shed many tears, in that disorder of mind which arose from his consciousness of what he had done, and gave a deep groan, and said, “I am not therefore, I perceive, to be concealed from God, in the impious and horrid crimes I have been guilty of; but a sudden punishment is coming upon me for the shedding the blood of my relations. And now, O thou most impudent body of mine, how long wilt thou retain a soul that ought to die, in order to appease the ghosts of my brother and my mother? Why dost thou not give it all up at once? And why do I deliver up my blood drop by drop to those whom I have so wickedly murdered?” In saying which last words he died, having reigned a year. He was called a lover of the Grecians; and had conferred many benefits on his own country, and made war against Iturea, and added a great part of it to Judea, and compelled the inhabitants, if they would continue in that country, to be circumcised, and to live according to the Jewish laws. He was naturally a man of candor, and of great modesty, as Strabo bears witness, in the name of Timagenes; who says thus: “This man was a person of candor, and very serviceable to the Jews; for he added a country to them, and obtained a part of the nation of the Itureans for them, and bound them to them by the bond of the circumcision of their genitals.”

XII

CHAPTER 12. How Alexander When He Had Taken The Government Made An Expedition Against Ptolemais, And Then Raised The Siege Out Of Fear Of Ptolemy Lathyrus; And How Ptolemy Made War Against Him, Because He Had Sent To Cleopatra To Persuade Her To Make War Against Ptolemy, And Yet Pretended To Be In Friendship With Him, When He Beat The Jews In The Battle.

(1) [320] Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀριστοβούλου Σαλίνα ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ, λεγομένη δὲ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Ἀλεξάνδρα, λύσασα τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ, δεδεμένους γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἶχεν Ἀριστόβουλος, ὡς προειρήκαμεν, Ἰαναῖον τὸν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον βασιλέα καθίστησιν τὸν καὶ καθ' ἡλικίαν προύχοντα καὶ μετριότητα, [321] ᾧ καὶ συνέβη γεννηθέντι εὐθὺς μισηθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ μηκέτι εἰς ὄψιν ἀφικέσθαι. τὸ δ' αἴτιον τοῦ μίσους τοιόνδε λέγεται γενέσθαι: [322] στέργων μάλιστα τῶν παίδων Ὑρκανὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους Ἀντίγονον καὶ Ἀριστόβουλον φανέντα κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν ἐπηρώτα, τίς αὐτοῦ τῶν παίδων μέλλει ἔσεσθαι διάδοχος. τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ τοὺς τούτου χαρακτῆρας δείξαντος, λυπηθεὶς ὅτι τῶν ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῦ πάντων οὗτος ἔσται κληρονόμος, γενόμενον εἴασεν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ τρέφεσθαι. ὁ μέντοι θεὸς οὐ διεψεύσατο τὸν Ὑρκανόν. [323] τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν μετὰ τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου τελευτὴν οὗτος παραλαβὼν τὸν μὲν τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπιχειροῦντα τῇ βασιλείᾳ διεχρήσατο, τὸν δ' ἕτερον ἀπραγμόνως ζῆν προαιρούμενον εἶχεν ἐν τιμῇ.

1. When Aristobulus was dead, his wife Salome, who, by the Greeks, was called Alexandra, let his brethren out of prison, [for Aristobulus had kept them in bonds, as we have said already,] and made Alexander Janneus king, who was the superior in age and in moderation. This child happened to be hated by his father as soon as he was born, and could never be permitted to come into his father's sight till he died. The occasion of which hatred is thus reported: when Hyrcanus chiefly loved the two eldest of his sons, Antigonus and Aristobutus, God appeared to him in his sleep, of whom he inquired which of his sons should be his successor. Upon God's representing to him the countenance of Alexander, he was grieved that he was to be the heir of all his goods, and suffered him to be brought up in Galilee However, God did not deceive Hyrcanus; for after the

death of Aristobulus, he certainly took the kingdom; and one of his brethren, who affected the kingdom, he slew; and the other, who chose to live a private and quiet life, he had in esteem.

(2) [324] Καταστησάμενος δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὃν ᾤετο συμφέρειν αὐτῷ τρόπον στρατεύει ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίδα, τῇ δὲ μάχῃ κρατήσας ἐνέκλεισε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ περικαθίσας αὐτοὺς ἐπολιόρκει. τῶν γὰρ ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ Πτολεμαὶς αὐτῷ καὶ Γάζα μόναι χειρωθῆναι ὑπελείποντο, καὶ Ζώιλος δὲ ὁ κατασχὼν τὸν Στράτωνος πύργον τύραννος καὶ Δῶρα. [325] τοῦ δὲ Φιλομήτορος Ἀντιόχου καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀντιόχου, ὃς ἐπεκαλεῖτο Κυζικηνός, πολεμούντων ἀλλήλους καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν ἀπολλύντων ἦν οὐδεμία τοῖς Πτολεμαεῦσιν βοήθεια παρ᾽ αὐτῶν. [326] ἀλλὰ πονουμένοις τῇ πολιορκίᾳ Ζώιλος ὁ τὸν Στράτωνος πύργον κατεσχηκὼς [παρῆν] καὶ τὰ Δῶρα σύνταγμα τρέφων στρατιωτικὸν καὶ τυραννίδι ἐπιχειρῶν διὰ τὴν τῶν βασιλέων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἅμιλλαν μικρὰ τοῖς Πτολεμαιεῦσι παρεβοήθει: [327] οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ βασιλεῖς οὕτως εἶχον οἰκείως πρὸς αὐτούς, ὥστ᾽ ἐλπίσαι τινὰ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ὠφέλειαν. ἑκάτεροι γὰρ ταὐτὸν τοῖς ἀθληταῖς ἔπασχον, οἳ τῇ δυνάμει μὲν ἀπηγορευκότες αἰσχυνόμενοι δὲ παραχωρῆσαι διετέλουν ἀργίᾳ καὶ ἀναπαύσει διαφέροντες τὸν ἀγῶνα. [328] λοιπὴ δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐλπὶς ἦν ἡ παρὰ τῶν Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων καὶ τοῦ Κύπρον ἔχοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λαθούρου, ὃς ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκπεσὼν εἰς Κύπρον παρεγένετο. πέμψαντες οὖν πρὸς τοῦτον οἱ Πτολεμαιεῖς παρεκάλουν ἐλθόντα σύμμαχον ἐκ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου χειρῶν αὐτοὺς ῥύσασθαι κινδυνεύοντας. [329] ἐπελπισάντων δ᾽ αὐτὸν τῶν πρέσβεων, ὡς διαβὰς εἰς Συρίαν ἕξει Γαζαίους συνεστῶτας μετὰ τῶν Πτολεμαιῶν καὶ Ζώιλον, ἔτι γε μὴν Σιδωνίους καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους αὐτῷ συλλήψεσθαι λεγόντων, ἐπαρθεὶς πρὸς τὸν ἔκπλουν ἔσπευδεν.

2. When Alexander Janneus had settled the government in the manner that he judged best, he made an expedition against Ptolemais; and having overcome the men in battle, he shut them up in the city, and sat round about it, and besieged it; for of the maritime cities there remained only Ptolemais and Gaza to be conquered, besides Strato's Tower and Dora, which were held by the tyrant Zoilus. Now while Antiochus Philometor, and Antiochus who was called Cyzicenus, were making war one against another, and destroying one another's armies, the people of Ptolemais could have no assistance from them; but when they were distressed with this siege, Zoilus, who possessed Strato's Tower and Dora, and maintained a legion of soldiers, and, on occasion of the contest between the kings, affected tyranny himself, came and brought some small assistance to the people of Ptolemais; nor indeed had the kings such a friendship for them, as that they should hope for any advantage from them. Both those

kings were in the case of wrestlers, who finding themselves deficient in strength, and yet being ashamed to yield, put off the fight by laziness, and by lying still as long as they can. The only hope they had remaining was from the kings of Egypt, and from Ptolemy Lathyrus, who now held Cyprus, and who came to Cyprus when he was driven from the government of Egypt by Cleopatra his mother. So the people of Ptolemais sent to this Ptolemy Lathyrus, and desired him to come as a confederate, to deliver them, now they were in such danger, out of the hands of Alexander. And as the ambassadors gave him hopes, that if he would pass over into Syria, he would have the people of Gaza on the side of those of Ptolemais; as also they said, that Zoilus, and besides these the Sidonians, and many others, would assist them; so he was elevated at this, and got his fleet ready as soon as possible.

(3) [330] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τοὺς Πτολεμαιᾶς Δημαίνετος πιθανὸς ὢν αὐτοῖς τότε καὶ δημαγωγῶν μεταβαλέσθαι τὰς γνώμας ἐποίησεν, ἄμεινον εἶναι φήσας ἐπ᾽ ἀδήλῳ τῷ γενησομένῳ διακινδυνεύειν πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους μᾶλλον ἢ φανερὰν εἰσδέξασθαι δουλείαν δεσπότῃ παραδόντας αὐτούς, καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ μὴ τὸν παρόντα μόνον ἔχειν πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ μείζω τὸν ἀπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου. [331] τὴν γὰρ Κλεοπάτραν οὐ περιόψεσθαι δύναμιν αὐτῷ κατασκευαζόμενον Πτολεμαῖον ἐκ γειτόνων, ἀλλ᾽ ἥξειν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς μετὰ μεγάλης στρατιᾶς: σπουδάσαι γὰρ αὐτὴν ὥστε καὶ τῆς Κύπρου τὸν υἱὸν ἐκβαλεῖν: εἶναι δὲ Πτολεμαίῳ μὲν διαμαρτόντι τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀποφυγὴν πάλιν τὴν Κύπρον, αὐτοῖς δὲ κινδύνων τὸν ἔσχατον. [332] ὁ μὲν οὖν Πτολεμαῖος κατὰ τὸν πόρον μαθὼν τὴν τῶν Πτολεμαιῶν μεταβολὴν οὐδὲν ἧττον ἔπλευσεν καὶ καταχθεὶς εἰς τὴν καλουμένην Συκάμινον ἐνταυθοῖ τὴν δύναμιν ἐξεβίβασεν. [333] ἦν δὲ ὁ πᾶς στρατὸς αὐτῷ πεζοί τε ἅμα καὶ ἱππεῦσιν περὶ τρισμυρίους, οὓς προαγαγὼν πλησίον τῆς Πτολεμαίδος καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενος, ἐπεὶ μήτε τοὺς παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ πρέσβεις ἐδέχοντο μήτε τῶν λόγων ἠκροῶντο, μεγάλως ἐφρόντιζεν.

3. But in this interval Demenetus, one that was of abilities to persuade men to do as he would have them, and a leader of the populace, made those of Ptolemais change their opinions; and said to them, that it was better to run the hazard of being subject to the Jews, than to admit of evident slavery by delivering themselves up to a master; and besides that, to have not only a war at present, but to expect a much greater war from Egypt; for that Cleopatra would not overlook an army raised by Ptolemy for himself out of the neighborhood, but would come against them with a great army of her own, and this because she was laboring to eject her son out of Cyprus also; that as for Ptolemy, if he fail of his hopes, he can still retire to Cyprus, but that they will be left in the greatest danger possible. Now Ptolemy, although he had heard of the change that was

made in the people of Ptolemais, yet did he still go on with his voyage, and came to the country called Sycamine, and there set his army on shore. This army of his, in the whole horse and foot together, were about thirty thousand, with which he marched near to Ptolemais, and there pitched his camp. But when the people of Ptolemais neither received his ambassadors, nor would hear what they had to say, he was under a very great concern.

(4) [334] Ἐλθόντων δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ζωίλου τε καὶ τῶν Γαζαίων καὶ δεομένων συμμαχεῖν αὐτοῖς πορθουμένης αὐτοῖς τῆς χώρας ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, λύει μὲν τὴν πολιορκίαν δείσας τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀπαγαγὼν δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐστρατήγει τὸ λοιπὸν λάθρα μὲν τὴν Κλεοπάτραν ἐπὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον μεταπεμπόμενος, φανερῶς δὲ φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑποκρινόμενος. [335] καὶ τετρακόσια δὲ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα δώσειν ὑπέσχετο χάριν ἀντὶ τούτων αἰτῶν Ζώιλον ἐκποδὼν ποιήσασθαι τὸν τύραννον καὶ τὴν χώραν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις προσνεῖμαι. τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἡδέως τὴν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ποιησάμενος φιλίαν χειροῦται τὸν Ζώιλον. [336] ὕστερον δὲ ἀκούσας λάθρα διαπεμψάμενον αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ Κλεοπάτραν λύει τοὺς γεγενημένους πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅρκους καὶ προσβαλὼν ἐπολιόρκει τὴν Πτολεμαίδα μὴ δεξαμένην αὐτόν. καταλιπὼν δ’ ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας στρατηγοὺς καὶ μέρος τι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτὸς τῷ λοιπῷ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καταστρεψόμενος ὥρμησεν. [337] ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου διάνοιαν μαθὼν συνήθροισεν καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ πέντε μυριάδας τῶν ἐγχωρίων, ὡς δ’ ἔνιοι συγγραφεῖς εἰρήκασιν ὀκτώ, καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἀπήντα τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ. Πτολεμαῖος δ’ ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπεσὼν Ἀσωχειτω τῆς Γαλιλαίας πόλει σάββασιν αἱρεῖ κατὰ κράτος αὐτὴν καὶ περὶ μύρια σώματα καὶ πολλὴν ἑτέραν ἔλαβε λείαν.

4. But when Zoilus and the people of Gaza came to him, and desired his assistance, because their country was laid waste by the Jews, and by Alexander, Alexander raised the siege, for fear of Ptolemy: and when he had drawn off his army into his own country, he used a stratagem afterwards, by privately inviting Cleopatra to come against Ptolemy, but publicly pretending to desire a league of friendship and mutual assistance with him; and promising to give him four hundred talents of silver, he desired that, by way of requital, he would take off Zoilus the tyrant, and give his country to the Jews. And then indeed Ptolemy, with pleasure, made such a league of friendship with Alexander, and subdued Zoilus; but when he afterwards heard that he had privily sent to Cleopatra his mother, he broke the league with him, which yet he had confirmed with an oath, and fell upon him, and besieged Ptolemais, because it would not receive him. However, leaving his generals, with some part of his forces, to go on with the siege, he went himself immediately with the rest to lay Judea waste; and when

Alexander understood this to be Ptolemy's intention, he also got together about fifty thousand soldiers out of his own country; nay, as some writers have said, eighty thousand He then took his army, and went to meet Ptolemy; but Ptolemy fell upon Asochis, a city of Galilee, and took it by force on the sabbath day, and there he took about ten thousand slaves, and a great deal of other prey.

(5) [338] Πειράσας δὲ καὶ Σέπφωριν μικρὸν ἄπωθεν τῆς πεπορθημένης πολλοὺς ἀποβαλὼν ἦει πολεμήσων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. ὑπήντησε δ' αὐτῷ πρὸς τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ Ἀλέξανδρος περί τινα τόπον λεγόμενον Ἀσωφὼν οὐ πόρρωθεν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ καὶ βάλλεται στρατόπεδον πλησίον τῶν πολεμίων. [339] εἶχεν μέντοι τοὺς προμαχομένους ὀκτακισχιλίους, οὓς ἑκατονταμάχους προσηγόρευσεν, ἐπιχάλκοις χρωμένους τοῖς θυρεοῖς. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου προμαχοῦσιν ἐπίχαλκοι αἱ ἀσπίδες. τοῖς μέντοι γε ἄλλοις ἔλαττον ἔχοντες οἱ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου εὐλαβέστερον συνῆψαν εἰς τὸν κίνδυνον. [340] θάρσος δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐκ ὀλίγον ἐνεποίησεν ὁ τακτικὸς Φιλοστέφανος διαβῆναι κελεύσας τὸν ποταμόν, οὗ μεταξὺ ἦσαν ἐστρατοπεδευκότες. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ κωλύειν αὐτῶν τὴν διάβασιν οὐκ ἔδοξεν: ἐνόμιζεν γάρ, εἰ κατὰ νώτου λάβοιεν τὸν ποταμόν, ῥᾷον αἱρήσειν τοὺς πολεμίους φεύγειν ἐκ τῆς μάχης οὐ δυναμένους. [341] κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἦν ἔργα χειρῶν καὶ προθυμίας παραπλήσια καὶ πολὺς ἐγένετο φόνος ἐξ ἑκατέρων τῶν στρατευμάτων, ὑπερτέρων δὲ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου γινομένων Φιλοστέφανος διελὼν τὴν δύναμιν δεξιῶς τοῖς ἐνδιδοῦσιν ἐπεκούρει. [342] μηδενὸς δὲ τῷ κλιθέντι μέρει τῶν Ἰουδαίων προσβοηθοῦντος τούτους μὲν συνέβαινε φεύγειν μὴ βοηθούντων τῶν πλησίον ἀλλὰ κοινωνούντων τῆς φυγῆς, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τὰ ἐναντία τούτων ἔπραττον: [343] ἐπόμενοι γὰρ ἔκτεινον τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον τραπέντας αὐτοὺς ἅπαντας ἐδίωκον φονεύοντες ἕως οὗ καὶ ὁ σίδηρος αὐτοῖς ἠμβλύνθη κτείνουσιν καὶ αἱ χεῖρες παρείθησαν. [344] τρισμυρίους γοῦν ἔφασαν αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν, Τιμαγένης δὲ πεντακισμυρίους εἴρηκεν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ληφθῆναι, τοὺς δ' εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα διαφεύγειν χωρία.

5. He then tried to take Sepphoris, which was a city not far from that which was destroyed, but lost many of his men; yet did he then go to fight with Alexander; which Alexander met him at the river Jordan, near a certain place called Saphoth, [not far from the river Jordan,] and pitched his camp near to the enemy. He had however eight thousand in the first rank, which he styled Hecatontomachi, having shields of brass. Those in the first rank of Ptolemy's soldiers also had shields covered with brass. But Ptolemy's soldiers in other respects were inferior to those of Alexander, and therefore were more fearful of running hazards; but Philostephanus, the camp-master, put great courage into them, and ordered them to pass the river, which was between their camps. Nor

did Alexander think fit to hinder their passage over it; for he thought, that if the enemy had once gotten the river on their back, that he should the easier take them prisoners, when they could not flee out of the battle: in the beginning of which, the acts on both sides, with their hands, and with their alacrity, were alike, and a great slaughter was made by both the armies; but Alexander was superior, till Philostephanus opportunely brought up the auxiliaries, to help those that were giving way; but as there were no auxiliaries to afford help to that part of the Jews that gave way, it fell out that they fled, and those near them did no assist them, but fled along with them. However, Ptolemy's soldiers acted quite otherwise; for they followed the Jews, and killed them, till at length those that slew them pursued after them when they had made them all run away, and slew them so long, that their weapons of iron were blunted, and their hands quite tired with the slaughter; for the report was, that thirty thousand men were then slain. Timagenes says they were fifty thousand. As for the rest, they were part of them taken captives, and the other part ran away to their own country.

(6) [345] Πτολεμαῖος δὲ μετὰ τὴν νίκην προσκαταδραμὼν τὴν χώραν ὀψίας ἐπιγενομένης ἔν τισι κώμαις τῆς Ἰουδαίας κατέμεινεν, ἃς γυναικῶν εὑρὼν μεστὰς καὶ νηπίων ἐκέλευσεν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀποσφάττοντας αὐτοὺς καὶ κρεουργοῦντας ἔπειτα εἰς λέβητας ζέοντας ἐνιέντας τὰ μέλη ἀπάρχεσθαι. [346] τοῦτο δὲ προσέταξεν, ἵν' οἱ διαφυγόντες ἐκ τῆς μάχης καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐλθόντες σαρκοφάγους ὑπολάβωσιν εἶναι τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς καταπλαγῶσι ταῦτ' ἰδόντες. [347] λέγει δὲ καὶ Στράβων καὶ Νικόλαος, ὅτι τοῦτον αὐτοῖς ἐχρήσαντο τὸν τρόπον, καθὼς κἀγὼ προείρηκα. ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ τὴν Πτολεμαίδα κατὰ κράτος, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις φανερὸν πεποιήκαμεν.

6. After this victory, Ptolemy overran all the country; and when night came on, he abode in certain villages of Judea, which when he found full of women and children, he commanded his soldiers to strangle them, and to cut them in pieces, and then to cast them into boiling caldrons, and then to devour their limbs as sacrifices. This commandment was given, that such as fled from the battle, and came to them, might suppose their enemies were cannibals, and eat men's flesh, and might on that account be still more terrified at them upon such a sight. And both Strabo and Nicholaus [of Damascus] affirm, that they used these people after this manner, as I have already related. Ptolemy also took Ptolemais by force, as we have declared elsewhere.

XIII

CHAPTER 13. How Alexander, upon the League of Mutual Defense Which Cleopatra Had Agreed with Him, Made an Expedition Against Coelesyria, and Utterly Overthrew the City of Gaza; and How He Slew Many Ten Thousands of Jews That Rebelled Against Him. Also Concerning Antiochus Grypus, Seleucus Antiochus Cyziceius, and Antiochus Pius, and Others.

(1) [348] Κλεοπάτρα δ' ὁρῶσα τὸν υἱὸν αὐξανόμενον καὶ τήν τε Ἰουδαίαν ἀδεῶς πορθοῦντα καὶ τὴν Γαζαίων πόλιν ὑπήκοον ἔχοντα, περιιδεῖν οὐκ ἔγνω τοῦτον ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαις ὄντα καὶ ποθοῦντα τὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων μείζω γενόμενον, [349] ἀλλὰ παραχρῆμα μετὰ καὶ ναυτικῆς καὶ πεζῆς δυνάμεως ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξώρμησεν ἡγεμόνας τῆς ὅλης στρατιᾶς ἀποδείξασα Χελκίαν καὶ Ἀνανίαν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τοὺς υἱωνοὺς καὶ διαθήκας πέμψασα Κῴοις παρέθετο. [350] κελεύσασα δὲ τὸν υἱὸν Ἀλέξανδρον στόλῳ μεγάλῳ παραπλεῖν εἰς Φοινίκην ἡ Κλεοπάτρα μετὰ πάσης αὐτὴ τῆς δυνάμεως ἦκεν εἰς Πτολεμαίδα, μὴ δεξαμένων δὲ αὐτὴν τῶν Πτολεμαιῶν πολιορκεῖ τὴν πόλιν. [351] Πτολεμαῖος δ' ἐκ τῆς Συρίας ἀπελθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἔσπευσεν, αἰφνιδίως αὐτὴν οἰόμενος κενὴν οὖσαν στρατιᾶς καθέξειν: ἀλλὰ διαμαρτάνει τῆς ἐλπίδος. κατὰ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν χρόνον συνέβη καὶ Χελκίαν τὸν ἕτερον τῶν τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἡγεμόνων ἀποθανεῖν περὶ κοίλην Συρίαν διώκοντα Πτολεμαῖον.

1. When Cleopatra saw that her son was grown great, and laid Judea waste, without disturbance, and had gotten the city of Gaza under his power, she resolved no longer to overlook what he did, when he was almost at her gates; and she concluded, that now he was so much stronger than before, he would be very desirous of the dominion over the Egyptians; but she immediately marched against him, with a fleet at sea and an army of foot on land, and made Chelcias and Ananias the Jews generals of her whole army, while she sent the greatest part of her riches, her grandchildren, and her testament, to the people of Cos Cleopatra also ordered her son Alexander to sail with a great fleet to Phoenicia; and when that country had revolted, she came to Ptolemais; and because the people of Ptolemais did not receive her, she besieged the city; but Ptolemy went out of Syria, and made haste unto Egypt, supposing that he should find it

destitute of an army, and soon take it, though he failed of his hopes. At this time Chelcias, one of Cleopatra's generals, happened to die in Celesyria, as he was in pursuit of Ptolemy.

(2) [352] Ἀκούσασα δ' ἡ Κλεοπάτρα τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν τὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ ὅτι τὰ περὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον οὐχ ὃν προσεδόκα τρόπον προκεχώρηκεν αὐτῷ, πέμψασα μέρος τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐξέβαλεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πάλιν ὑποστρέψας τὸν χειμῶνα διέτριψεν ἐν Γάζῃ. [353] Κλεοπάτρα δ' ἐν τούτῳ τὴν ἐν Πτολεμαίδι φρουρὰν ἐκ πολιορκίας λαμβάνει καὶ τὴν πόλιν. Ἀλεξάνδρου δ' αὐτὴν μετὰ δώρων περιελθόντος καὶ θεραπείας ὁποίας ἄξιον ἦν πεπονθότα μὲν κακῶς ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου, καταφυγῆς δ' οὐκ ἄλλης ἢ ταύτης εὐποροῦντα, τινὲς μὲν τῶν φίλων καὶ ταῦτα συνεβούλευον αὐτῇ λαβεῖν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπελθούσῃ κατασχεῖν καὶ μὴ περιιδεῖν ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ ἑνὶ τοσοῦτο πλῆθος ἀγαθῶν Ἰουδαίων κείμενον. [354] Ἀνανίας δὲ συνεβούλευσε τούτοις ἐναντία, λέγων ἄδικα ποιήσειν αὐτήν, εἰ σύμμαχον ἄνθρωπον ἀφαιρήσεται τῆς ἰδίας ἐξουσίας καὶ ταῦτα συγγενῆ ἡμέτερον: οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοεῖν βούλομαί σε, φησίν, εἰ τὸ πρὸς τοῦτον ἄδικον ἐχθροὺς ἅπαντας ἡμᾶς σοι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους κατα [355] σκευάζει." ταῦτα δὲ Ἀνανία παραινέσαντος ἡ Κλεοπάτρα πείθεται μηδὲν ἀδικῆσαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀλλὰ συμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐποιήσατο ἐν Σκυθοπόλει τῆς κοίλης Συρίας.

2. When Cleopatra heard of her son's attempt, and that his Egyptian expedition did not succeed according to his expectations, she sent thither part of her army, and drove him out of that country; so when he was returned out of Egypt again, he abode during the winter at Gaza, in which time Cleopatra took the garrison that was in Ptolemais by siege, as well as the city; and when Alexander came to her, he gave her presents, and such marks of respect as were but proper, since under the miseries he endured by Ptolemy he had no other refuge but her. Now there were some of her friends who persuaded her to seize Alexander, and to overrun and take possession of the country, and not to sit still and see such a multitude of brave Jews subject to one man. But Ananias's counsel was contrary to theirs, who said that she would do an unjust action if she deprived a man that was her ally of that authority which belonged to him, and this a man who is related to us; "for [said he] I would not have thee ignorant of this, that what in justice thou dost to him will make all us that are Jews to be thy enemies." This desire of Ananias Cleopatra complied with, and did no injury to Alexander, but made a league of mutual assistance with him at Scythopolis, a city of Celesyria.

(3) [356] Ὁ δὲ τῶν ἐκ Πτολεμαίου φόβων ἐλευθερωθεὶς στρατεύεται μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν κοίλην Συρίαν, αἱρεῖ δὲ Γάδαρα πολιορκήσας δέκα μησίν, αἱρεῖ δὲ καὶ Ἀμαθοῦντα μέγιστον ἔρυμα τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰορδάνην κατῳκημένων, ἔνθα καὶ τὰ

κάλλιστα καὶ σπουδῆς ἄξια Θεόδωρος ὁ Ζήνωνος εἶχεν. ὃς οὐ προσδοκῶσιν ἐπιπεσὼν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις μυρίους αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνει καὶ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου διαρπάζει. [357] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὐ καταπλήττει τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπιστρατεύει τοῖς θαλαττίοις μέρεσιν, Ῥαφείᾳ καὶ Ἀνθηδόνι, ἣν ὕστερον βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης Ἀγριππιάδα προσηγόρευσεν, καὶ κατὰ κράτος εἷλεν καὶ ταύτην. [358] ὁρῶν δὲ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐκ τῆς Γάζης εἰς Κύπρον ἀνακεχωρηκότα, τὴν δὲ μητέρα αὐτοῦ Κλεοπάτραν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ὀργιζόμενος δὲ τοῖς Γαζαίοις, ὅτι Πτολεμαῖον ἐπεκαλέσαντο βοηθόν, ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν προενόμευσεν. [359] Ἀπολλοδότου δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν Γαζαίων μετὰ δισχιλίων ξένων καὶ μυρίων οἰκετῶν νύκτωρ ἐπιπεσόντος τῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων στρατοπέδῳ ἐφ᾽ ὅσον μὲν ὑπῆρχεν ἡ νὺξ ἐνίκων οἱ Γαζαῖοι δόκησιν παρασχόντες τοῖς πολεμίοις ὡς ἐπεληλυθότος αὐτοῖς Πτολεμαίου, γενομένης δὲ ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς δόξης ἐλεγχθείσης μαθόντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τἀληθὲς ἐπισυστρέφονται καὶ τοῖς Γαζαίοις προσβαλόντες ἀναιροῦσιν αὐτῶν περὶ χιλίους. [360] τῶν δὲ Γαζαίων ἀντεχόντων καὶ μήτε ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας μήτε ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἀναιρουμένων ἐνδιδόντων, πᾶν γὰρ ὁτιοῦν ὑπέμενον παθεῖν ἢ ὑπὸ τῷ πολεμίῳ γενέσθαι, προσεπήγειρεν δ᾽ αὐτῶν τὴν προθυμίαν καὶ Ἀρέτας ὁ Ἀράβων βασιλεὺς ἐπίδοξος ὢν ἥξειν αὐτοῖς σύμμαχος. [361] ἀλλὰ συνέβη πρῶτον τὸν Ἀπολλόδοτον διαφθαρῆναι: Λυσίμαχος γὰρ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ζηλοτυπῶν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις εὐδοκιμεῖν, κτείνας αὐτὸν καὶ στρατιωτικὸν συγκροτήσας ἐνδίδωσιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν πόλιν. [362] ὁ δ᾽ εὐθὺς μὲν εἰσελθὼν ἠρέμει, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὴν δύναμιν ἐπαφῆκε τοῖς Γαζαίοις ἐπιτρέψας τιμωρεῖν αὐτούς: οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἀλλαχῆ τρεπόμενοι τοὺς Γαζαίους ἀπέκτειναν. ἦσαν δ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἐκεῖνοι τὰς ψυχὰς ἀγεννεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς παραπίπτουσιν ἀμυνόμενοι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους οὐκ ἐλάττονας αὐτῶν διέφθειραν. [363] ἔνιοι δὲ μονούμενοι τὰς οἰκίας ἐνεπίμπρασαν, ὡς μηδὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν λάφυρον εἶναι τοῖς πολεμίοις λαβεῖν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν αὐτόχειρες ἐγένοντο τῆς ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς αὐτὰ δουλείας οὕτως ἀπαλλάττειν ἠναγκασμένοι. [364] τῶν δὲ βουλευτῶν ἦσαν οἱ πάντες πεντακόσιοι συμφυγόντες εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν: συνεδρευόντων γὰρ τὴν ἐπίθεσιν συνέβη γενέσθαι: ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος τούτους τε ἀναιρεῖ καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἐπικατασκάψας ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐνιαυτῷ πολιορκήσας.

3. So when Alexander was delivered from the fear he was in of Ptolemy, he presently made an expedition against Coelesyria. He also took Gadara, after a siege of ten months. He took also Areathus, a very strong fortress belonging to the inhabitants above Jordan, where Theodorus, the son of Zeno, had his chief treasure, and what he esteemed most precious. This Zeno fell unexpectedly upon the Jews, and slew ten thousand of them, and seized upon Alexander's baggage. Yet did not this misfortune terrify Alexander; but he made an expedition upon

the maritime parts of the country, Raphia and Anthedon, [the name of which king Herod afterwards changed to Agrippias,] and took even that by force. But when Alexander saw that Ptolemy was retired from Gaza to Cyprus, and his mother Cleopatra was returned to Egypt, he grew angry at the people of Gaza, because they had invited Ptolemy to assist them, and besieged their city, and ravaged their country. But as Apollodotus, the general of the army of Gaza, fell upon the camp of the Jews by night, with two thousand foreign and ten thousand of his own forces, while the night lasted, those of Gaza prevailed, because the enemy was made to believe that it was Ptolemy who attacked them; but when day was come on, and that mistake was corrected, and the Jews knew the truth of the matter, they came back again, and fell upon those of Gaza, and slew of them about a thousand. But as those of Gaza stoutly resisted them, and would not yield for either their want of any thing, nor for the great multitude that were slain, [for they would rather suffer any hardship whatever than come under the power of their enemies,] Aretas, king of the Arabians, a person then very illustrious, encouraged them to go on with alacrity, and promised them that he would come to their assistance; but it happened that before he came Apollodotus was slain; for his brother Lysimachus envying him for the great reputation he had gained among the citizens, slew him, and got the army together, and delivered up the city to Alexander, who, when he came in at first, lay quiet, but afterward set his army upon the inhabitants of Gaza, and gave them leave to punish them; so some went one way, and some went another, and slew the inhabitants of Gaza; yet were not they of cowardly hearts, but opposed those that came to slay them, and slew as many of the Jews; and some of them, when they saw themselves deserted, burnt their own houses, that the enemy might get none of their spoils; nay, some of them, with their own hands, slew their children and their wives, having no other way but this of avoiding slavery for them; but the senators, who were in all five hundred, fled to Apollo's temple, [for this attack happened to be made as they were sitting,] whom Alexander slew; and when he had utterly overthrown their city, he returned to Jerusalem, having spent a year in that siege.

(4) [365] Ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτον καιρὸν καὶ Ἀντίοχος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Γρυπὸς ἀποθνήσκει ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέωνος ἐπιβουλευθείς, βιώσας μὲν ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα καὶ πέντε, βασιλεύσας δὲ ἐννέα καὶ εἴκοσι. [366] διαδεξάμενος δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ ὁ παῖς Σέλευκος ἐπολέμει μὲν τῷ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀδελφῷ Ἀντιόχῳ, ὃς ἐπεκαλεῖτο Κυζικηνός, νικήσας δ' αὐτὸν καὶ λαβὼν ἀπέκτεινεν. [367] μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ τοῦ Κυζικηνοῦ παῖς Ἀντίοχος, ὁ Εὐσεβὴς καλούμενος, παραγενηθεὶς εἰς Ἄραδον καὶ περιθέμενος διάδημα πολεμεῖ τῷ Σελεύκῳ, καὶ κρατήσας ἐξήλασεν αὐτὸν ἐκ

πάσης τῆς Συρίας. [368] ὁ δὲ φυγὼν εἰς Κιλικίαν καὶ γενόμενος ἐν τῇ Μόψου ἑστίᾳ πάλιν αὐτοὺς εἰσέπραττε χρήματα. ὁ δὲ τῶν Μοψεστέων δῆμος ἀγανακτήσας ὑφῆψεν αὐτοῦ τὰ βασίλεια καὶ διέφθειρεν αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν φίλων. [369] Ἀντιόχου δὲ τοῦ Κυζικηνοῦ παιδὸς βασιλεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Ἀντίοχος ὁ Σελεύκου ἀδελφὸς ἐκφέρει πόλεμον πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ νικηθεὶς ἀπόλλυται μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς. μετὰ δ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Φίλιππος ἐπιθέμενος διάδημα μέρους τινὸς τῆς Συρίας ἐβασίλευσεν. [370] Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Λάθουρος τὸν τρίτον αὐτῶν ἀδελφὸν Δημήτριον τὸν Ἄκαιρον λεγόμενον ἐκ Κνίδου μεταπεμψάμενος κατέστησεν ἐν Δαμασκῷ βασιλέα. [371] τούτοις δὲ τοῖς δυσὶν ἀδελφοῖς καρτερῶς ἀνθιστάμενος Ἀντίοχος ταχέως ἀπέθανεν: Λαοδίκῃ γὰρ ἐλθὼν σύμμαχος τῇ τῶν Σαμηνῶν βασιλίσσῃ Πάρθους πολεμούσῃ μαχόμενος ἀνδρείως ἔπεσεν. τὴν δὲ Συρίαν οἱ δύο κατεῖχον ἀδελφοὶ Δημήτριος καὶ Φίλιππος, καθὼς ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται.

4. About this very time Antiochus, who was called Grypus, died His death was caused by Heracleon's treachery, when he had lived forty-five years, and had reigned twenty-nine. His son Seleucus succeeded him in the kingdom, and made war with Antiochus, his father's brother, who was called Antiochus Cyzicenus, and beat him, and took him prisoner, and slew him. But after a while Antiochus, the son of Cyzicenus, who was called Pius, came to Aradus, and put the diadem on his own head, and made war with Seleucus, and beat him, and drove him out of all Syria. But when he fled out of Syria, he came to Mopsuestia again, and levied money upon them; but the people of Mopsuestin had indignation at what he did, and burnt down his palace, and slew him, together with his friends. But when Antiochus, the son of Cyzicenus, was king of Syria, Antiochus, the brother of Seleucus, made war upon him, and was overcome, and destroyed, he and his army. After him, his brother Philip put on the diadem, and reigned over some part of Syria; but Ptolemy Lathyrus sent for his fourth brother Demetrius, who was called Eucerus, from Cnidus, and made him king of Damascus. Both these brothers did Antiochus vehemently oppose, but presently died; for when he was come as an auxiliary to Laodice, queen of the Gileadites, when she was making war against the Parthians, and he was fighting courageously, he fell, while Demetrius and Philip governed Syria, as hath been elsewhere related.

(5) [372] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῶν οἰκείων πρὸς αὐτὸν στασιασάντων, ἐπανέστη γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ ἔθνος ἑορτῆς ἀγομένης καὶ ἑστῶτος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ θύειν μέλλοντος κιτρίοις αὐτὸν ἔβαλλον, νόμου ὄντος παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐν τῇ σκηνοπηγίᾳ ἔχειν ἕκαστον θύρσους ἐκ φοινίκων καὶ κιτρίων, δεδηλώκαμεν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ἄλλοις, προσεξελοιδόρησαν δ᾽ αὐτὸν ὡς ἐξ αἰχμαλώτων γεγονότα καὶ τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τοῦ θύειν ἀνάξιον, [373] ἐπὶ τούτοις ὀργισθεὶς κτείνει μὲν αὐτῶν

περὶ ἑξακισχιλίους, δρύφακτον δὲ ξύλινον περὶ τὸν βωμὸν καὶ τὸν ναὸν βαλόμενος μέχρι τοῦ θριγκοῦ, εἰς ὃν μόνοις ἐξῆν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν εἰσιέναι, τούτῳ τὴν τοῦ πλήθους ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀπέφραττεν εἴσοδον. [374] ἔτρεφεν δὲ καὶ ξένους Πισίδας καὶ Κίλικας: Σύροις γὰρ πολέμιος ὢν οὐκ ἐχρῆτο. καταστρεψάμενος δὲ τῶν Ἀράβων Μωαβίτας καὶ Γαλααδίτας εἰς φόρου ἀπαγωγήν, κατερείπει καὶ Ἀμαθοῦντα Θεοδώρου μὴ τολμῶντος αὐτῷ συμβαλεῖν. [375] συνάψας δὲ μάχην πρὸς Ὀβέδαν τὸν Ἀράβων βασιλέα καὶ πεσὼν εἰς ἐνέδραν ἐν χωρίοις τραχέσι καὶ δυσβάτοις ὑπὸ πλήθους καμήλων εἰς βαθεῖαν κατερράχθη φάραγγα κατὰ Γάδαρα κώμην τῆς ιουδάνιδος καὶ μόλις αὐτὸς διασώζεται, φεύγων δ᾽ ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παραγίνεται. [376] καὶ πρὸς τὴν κακοπραγίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπιθεμένου τοῦ ἔθνους πολεμήσας πρὸς αὐτὸ ἔτεσιν ἓξ ἀναιρεῖ τῶν Ἰουδαίων οὐκ ἔλαττον πέντε μυριάδας. παρακαλοῦντος δὲ παῦσαι τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν δυσμένειαν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐμίσουν αὐτὸν διὰ τὰ συμβεβηκότα. πυνθανομένου δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τί βούλονται, πάντες γενέσθαι ἐβόησαν ἀποθανεῖν αὐτόν, καὶ πρὸς Δημήτριον τὸν Ἄκαιρον ἔπεμψαν παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν.

5. As to Alexander, his own people were seditious against him; for at a festival which was then celebrated, when he stood upon the altar, and was going to sacrifice, the nation rose upon him, and pelted him with citrons [which they then had in their hands, because] the law of the Jews required that at the feast of tabernacles every one should have branches of the palm tree and citron tree; which thing we have elsewhere related. They also reviled him, as derived from a captive, and so unworthy of his dignity and of sacrificing. At this he was in a rage, and slew of them about six thousand. He also built a partition-wall of wood round the altar and the temple, as far as that partition within which it was only lawful for the priests to enter; and by this means he obstructed the multitude from coming at him. He also maintained foreigners of Pisidie and Cilicia; for as to the Syrians, he was at war with them, and so made no use of them. He also overcame the Arabians, such as the Moabites and Gileadites, and made them bring tribute. Moreover, he demolished Amathus, while Theodorus durst not fight with him; but as he had joined battle with Obedas, king of the Arabians, and fell into an ambush in the places that were rugged and difficult to be traveled over, he was thrown down into a deep valley, by the multitude of the camels at Gadurn, a village of Gilead, and hardly escaped with his life. From thence he fled to Jerusalem, where, besides his other ill success, the nation insulted him, and he fought against them for six years, and slew no fewer than fifty thousand of them. And when he desired that they would desist from their ill-will to him, they hated him so much the more, on account of what had already happened; and when he had asked them what he ought to do, they all cried out, that he ought to

kill himself. They also sent to Demetrius Eucerus, and desired him to make a league of mutual defense with them.

XIV

CHAPTER 14. How Demetrius Eucerus Overcame Alexander And Yet In A Little Time Retired Out Of The Country For Fear; As Also How Alexander Slew Many Of The Jews And Thereby Got Clear Of His Troubles. Concerning The Death Of Demetrius.

(1) [377] Ὁ δὲ μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐλθὼν καὶ παραλαβὼν τοὺς ἐπικαλεσαμένους περὶ Σίκιμα πόλιν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ μετὰ μισθοφόρων ἑξακισχιλίων καὶ διακοσίων Ἰουδαίων τε περὶ δισμυρίους οἳ ἐφρόνουν τὰ ἐκείνου παραλαβὼν ἀντεπῄει τῷ Δημητρίῳ: τούτῳ δ᾽ ἦσαν ἱππεῖς μὲν τρισχίλιοι, πεζῶν δὲ τέσσαρες μυριάδες. [378] πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἑκατέροις ἐπράχθη, τοῦ μὲν ἀποστῆσαι τοὺς μισθοφόρους ὡς ὄντας Ἕλληνας πειρωμένου, τοῦ δὲ τοὺς σὺν Δημητρίῳ Ἰουδαίους. μηδετέρου δὲ πεῖσαι δυνηθέντος, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς μάχην συμβαλόντων, νικᾷ Δημήτριος, καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι μὲν οἱ Ἀλεξάνδρου μισθοφόροι πάντες πίστεως ἅμα καὶ ἀνδρείας ἐπίδειξιν ποιησάμενοι, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν Δημητρίου στρατιωτῶν.

1. So Demetrius came with an army, and took those that invited him, and pitched his camp near the city Shechem; upon which Alexander, with his six thousand two hundred mercenaries, and about twenty thousand Jews, who were of his party, went against Demetrius, who had three thousand horsemen, and forty thousand footmen. Now there were great endeavors used on both sides, — Demetrius trying to bring off the mercenaries that were with Alexander, because they were Greeks, and Alexander trying to bring off the Jews that were with Demetrius. However, when neither of them could persuade them so to do, they came to a battle, and Demetrius was the conqueror; in which all Alexander's mercenaries were killed, when they had given demonstration of their fidelity and courage. A great number of Demetrius's soldiers were slain also.

(2) [379] Φεύγοντος δ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδρου εἰς τὰ ὄρη κατὰ οἶκτον τῆς μεταβολῆς συλλέγονται παρ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἰουδαίων ἑξακισχίλιοι. καὶ τότε μὲν δείσας ὑποχωρεῖ Δημήτριος. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐπολέμουν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ νικώμενοι πολλοὶ ἀπέθνησκον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις. [380] κατακλείσας δὲ τοὺς δυνατωτάτους αὐτᾶν ἐν Βαιθομμει πόλει ἐπολιόρκει, λαβὼν δὲ τὴν πόλιν καὶ γενόμενος ἐγκρατὴς αὐτῶν ἀνήγαγεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ πάντων ὠμότατον ἔργον ἔδρασεν: ἑστιώμενος γὰρ ἐν ἀπόπτῳ μετὰ τῶν παλλακίδων ἀνασταυρῶσαι προσέταξεν αὐτῶν ὡς ὀκτακοσίους, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἔτι ζώντων παρὰ

τὰς ἐκείνων ὄψεις ἀπέσφαττεν, [381] ὑπὲρ μὲν ὧν ἠδίκητο ἀμυνόμενος, ἄλλως δὲ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ταύτην εἰσπραττόμενος τὴν δίκην, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα, ὅπερ ἦν εἰκός, ἐταλαιπωρήθη τοῖς πρὸς αὐτοὺς πολέμοις καὶ εἰς τοὔσχατον ἦκε κινδύνου ψυχῆς τε πέρι καὶ βασιλείας, οὐκ ἀρκουμένων ἀγωνίζεσθαι κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτούς, [382] ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλλοφύλους ἐπαγόντων καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον εἰς τοῦτο ἀνάγκης ἀγαγόντων, ὥστε ἠν κατεστρέψατο γῆν ἐν Γαλααδίτιδι καὶ Μωαβίτιδι καὶ τὰ χωρία τῶν Ἀράβων τῷ βασιλεῖ παραδοῦναι, ὅπως ἂν μὴ ξυνάρηται σφίσι τὸν κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ πόλεμον, ἄλλα τε μυρία ἐς ὕβριν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπήρειαν πραξάντων. [383] ἀλλ᾽ [οὖν οὐκ] ἐπιτηδείως δοκεῖ ταῦτα δρᾶσαι, ὥστε διὰ τὴν τῆς ὠμότητος ὑπερβολὴν ἐπικληθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων Θρακίδαν. οἱ δ᾽ ἀντιστασιῶται αὐτοῦ τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες περὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους φεύγουσιν νυκτὸς καὶ παρ᾽ ὃν ἔζη χρόνον Ἀλέξανδρος ἦσαν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ. καὶ οὗτος μὲν ἀπηλλαγμένος τῆς ἐκ τούτων ταραχῆς μετὰ πάσης τὸ λοιπὸν ἠρεμίας ἐβασίλευσεν.

2. Now as Alexander fled to the mountains, six thousand of the Jews hereupon came together [from Demetrius] to him out of pity at the change of his fortune; upon which Demetrius was afraid, and retired out of the country; after which the Jews fought against Alexander, and being beaten, were slain in great numbers in the several battles which they had; and when he had shut up the most powerful of them in the city Bethome, he besieged them therein; and when he had taken the city, and gotten the men into his power, he brought them to Jerusalem, and did one of the most barbarous actions in the world to them; for as he was feasting with his concubines, in the sight of all the city, he ordered about eight hundred of them to be crucified; and while they were living, he ordered the throats of their children and wives to be cut before their eyes. This was indeed by way of revenge for the injuries they had done him; which punishment yet was of an inhuman nature, though we suppose that he had been never so much distressed, as indeed he had been, by his wars with them, for he had by their means come to the last degree of hazard, both of his life and of his kingdom, while they were not satisfied by themselves only to fight against him, but introduced foreigners also for the same purpose; nay, at length they reduced him to that degree of necessity, that he was forced to deliver back to the king of Arabia the land of Moab and Gilead, which he had subdued, and the places that were in them, that they might not join with them in the war against him, as they had done ten thousand other things that tended to affront and reproach him. However, this barbarity seems to have been without any necessity, on which account he bare the name of a Thracian among the Jews whereupon the soldiers that had fought against him, being about eight thousand in number, ran away by night, and continued fugitives all the time that Alexander lived; who being now

freed from any further disturbance from them, reigned the rest of his time in the utmost tranquillity.

(3) [384] Δημήτριος δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀπελθὼν εἰς Βέροιαν ἐπολιόρκει τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Φίλιππον ὄντων αὐτῷ πεζῶν μὲν μυρίων, χιλίων δὲ ἱππέων. Στράτων δ' ὁ τῆς Βεροίας τύραννος Φιλίππῳ συμμαχῶν Ἄζιζον τὸν Ἀράβων φύλαρχον ἐπεκαλεῖτο καὶ Μιθριδάτην τὸν Σινάκην τὸν Παρθυαίων ὕπαρχον. [385] ὧν ἀφικομένων μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως καὶ πολιορκούντων Δημήτριον ἐντὸς τοῦ χαρακώματος, εἴσω τοῖς τε τοξεύμασι καὶ τῇ δίψῃ συνέχοντες αὐτὸν ἠνάγκασαν τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ σφᾶς παραδοῦναι. λαφυραγωγήσαντες δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τὸν Δημήτριον παραλαβόντες τὸν μὲν τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ τῷ τότε βασιλεύοντι Πάρθων ἔπεμψαν, τῶν δ' αἰχμαλώτων οὓς Ἀντιοχέων εἶναι πολίτας συνέβαινε τούτους προῖκα τοῖς Ἀντιοχεῦσιν ἀπέδωκαν. [386] Μιθριδάτης δ' ὁ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλεὺς Δημήτριον εἶχεν ἐν τιμῇ τῇ πάσῃ μέχρι νόσῳ κατέστρεψε Δημήτριος τὸν βίον. Φίλιππος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης εὐθὺς εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἐλθὼν καὶ κατασχὼν αὐτὴν ἐβασίλευσεν τῆς Συρίας.

3. But when Demetrius was departed out of Judea, he went to Berea, and besieged his brother Philip, having with him ten thousand footmen, and a thousand horsemen. However Strato, the tyrant of Berea, the confederate of Philip, called in Zizon, the ruler of the Arabian tribes, and Mithridates Sinax, the ruler of the Parthians, who coming with a great number of forces, and besieging Demetrius in his encampment, into which they had driven them with their arrows, they compelled those that were with him by thirst to deliver up themselves. So they took a great many spoils out of that country, and Demetrius himself, whom they sent to Mithridates, who was then king of Parthis; but as to those whom they took captives of the people of Antioch, they restored them to the Antiochinus without any reward. Now Mithridates, the king of Parthis, had Demetrius in great honor, till Demetrius ended his life by sickness. So Philip, presently after the fight was over, came to Antioch, and took it, and reigned over Syria.

XV

CHAPTER 15. How Antiochus, Who Was Called Dionysus, And After Him Aretas Made Expeditions Into Judea; As Also How Alexander Took Many Cities And Then Returned To Jerusalem, And After A Sickness Of Three Years Died; And What Counsel He Gave To Alexandra.

(1) [387] Ἔπειτα Ἀντίοχος ὁ κληθεὶς Διόνυσος ἀδελφὸς ὢν Φιλίππου, τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντιποιούμενος εἰς Δαμασκὸν παραγίνεται, καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ πραγμάτων ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος ἐβασίλευσεν. ἐκστρατεύσαντος δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἄραβας αὐτοῦ Φίλιππος ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας ἐπὶ Δαμασκὸν ἦλθεν. [388] Μιλησίου δ᾽, ὃς καταλέλειπτο τῆς ἄκρας φύλαξ καὶ τῶν Δαμασκηνῶν, παραδόντος αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν, ἀχάριστος εἰς αὐτὸν γενόμενος καὶ μηδὲν ὧν ἐλπίσας ἐδέξατο αὐτὸν παρασχών, ἀλλὰ τῷ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ φόβῳ βουληθεὶς δοκεῖν παραλαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἢ τῇ χάριτι τῇ Μιλησίου δωρούμενος αὐτὸν οἷς ἐχρῆν, ὑπωπτεύετο καὶ πάλιν ἐκπίπτει τῆς Δαμασκοῦ: [389] ἐξορμήσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ εἰς ἱππόδρομον ἀπέκλεισεν ὁ Μιλήσιος καὶ τὴν Δαμασκὸν Ἀντιόχῳ διεφύλαξεν. ὃς ἀκούσας τὰ περὶ τὸν Φίλιππον ὑπέστρεψεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίας, στρατεύεται δ᾽ εὐθὺς ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὁπλίταις μὲν ὀκτακισχιλίοις, ἱππεῦσι δὲ ὀκτακοσίοις. [390] δείσας δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ τάφρον ὀρύττει βαθεῖαν ἀπὸ τῆς Χαβερσαβᾶ ἀρξάμενος, ἣ νῦν Ἀντιπατρὶς καλεῖται, ἄχρι τῆς εἰς Ἰόππην θαλάσσης, ᾗ καὶ μόνον ἦν ἐπίμαχον: τεῖχός τ᾽ ἐγείρας καὶ πύργους ἀναστήσας ξυλίνους καὶ μεταπύργια ἐπὶ σταδίους ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα ἐξεδέχετο τὸν Ἀντίοχον. [391] ὁ δὲ ταῦτα πάντα ἐμπρήσας διεβίβαζε ταύτῃ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν. ἀναχωροῦντος δὲ τοῦ Ἄραβος τὰ πρῶτα, ἔπειτα μετὰ μυρίων ἱππέων ἐξαίφνης ἐπιφανέντος ὑπαντήσας τούτοις Ἀντίοχος καρτερῶς ἐμάχετο, καὶ δὴ νικῶν ἀπέθανεν παραβοηθῶν τῷ πονοῦντι μέρει. πεσόντος δ᾽ Ἀντιόχου καὶ τὸ στράτευμα φεύγει εἰς Κανὰ κώμην, ἔνθα τὸ πλεῖον αὐτῶν λιμῷ φθείρεται.

1. After this, Antiochus, who was called Dionysus, and was Philip's brother, aspired to the dominion, and came to Damascus, and got the power into his hands, and there he reigned; but as he was making war against the Arabians, his brother Philip heard of it, and came to Damascus, where Milesius, who had been left governor of the citadel, and the Damascens themselves, delivered up the city to him; yet because Philip was become ungrateful to him, and had bestowed upon him nothing of that in hopes whereof he had received him into the city, but

had a mind to have it believed that it was rather delivered up out of fear than by the kindness of Milesius, and because he had not rewarded him as he ought to have done, he became suspected by him, and so he was obliged to leave Damascus again; for Milesius caught him marching out into the Hippodrome, and shut him up in it, and kept Damascus for Antiochus [Eucerus], who hearing how Philip's affairs stood, came back out of Arabia. He also came immediately, and made an expedition against Judea, with eight thousand armed footmen, and eight hundred horsemen. So Alexander, out of fear of his coming, dug a deep ditch, beginning at Chabarzaba, which is now called Antipatris, to the sea of Joppa, on which part only his army could be brought against him. He also raised a wall, and erected wooden towers, and intermediate redoubts, for one hundred and fifty furlongs in length, and there expected the coming of Antiochus; but he soon burnt them all, and made his army pass by that way into Arabia. The Arabian king [Aretas] at first retreated, but afterward appeared on the sudden with ten thousand horsemen. Antiochus gave them the meeting, and fought desperately; and indeed when he had gotten the victory, and was bringing some auxiliaries to that part of his army that was in distress, he was slain. When Antiochus was fallen, his army fled to the village Cana, where the greatest part of them perished by famine.

(2) [392] Βασιλεύει δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν τῆς κοίλης Συρίας Ἀρέτας κληθεὶς εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν Δαμασκὸν ἐχόντων διὰ τὸ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Μενναίου μῖσος. στρατεύσας δ' ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ περὶ Ἄδιδα χωρίον μάχῃ νικήσας Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπὶ συνθήκαις ἀνεχώρησεν ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας.

2. After him Arems reigned over Celesyria, being called to the government by those that held Damascus, by reason of the hatred they bare to Ptolemy Menneus. He also made thence an expedition against Judea, and beat Alexander in battle, near a place called Adida; yet did he, upon certain conditions agreed on between them, retire out of Judea.

(3) [393] Ἀλέξανδρος δ' ἐλάσας αὖθις ἐπὶ Δίαν πόλιν αἱρεῖ ταύτην, καὶ στρατεύσας ἐπὶ Ἔσσαν, οὗ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια Ζήνωνι συνέβαινεν εἶναι, τρισὶν μὲν περιβάλλει τείχεσιν τὸ χωρίον, ἀμαχὶ δὲ [λαβὼν] τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ Γαύλαναν καὶ Σελεύκειαν ἐξώρμησεν. [394] παραλαβὼν δὲ καὶ ταύτας προσεξεῖλεν καὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχου λεγομένην φάραγγα καὶ Γάμαλα τὸ φρούριον. ἐγκαλῶν δὲ πολλὰ Δημητρίῳ τῷ τῶν τόπων ἄρχοντι περιέδυσεν αὐτόν, καὶ τρίτον ἤδη πεπληρωκὼς ἔτος τῆς στρατείας εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ὑπέστρεψεν προθύμως αὐτὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων διὰ τὴν εὐπραγίαν δεχομένων.

3. But Alexander marched again to the city Dios, and took it; and then made an expedition against Essa, where was the best part of Zeno's treasures, and there he encompassed the place with three walls; and when he had taken the city by fighting, he marched to Golan and Seleucia; and when he had taken these cities, he, besides them, took that valley which is called The Valley of Antiochus, as also the fortress of Gamala. He also accused Demetrius, who was governor of those places, of many crimes, and turned him out; and after he had spent three years in this war, he returned to his own country, when the Jews joyfully received him upon this his good success.

(4) [395] Κατὰ δὴ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἤδη τῶν Σύρων καὶ Ἰδουμαίων καὶ Φοινίκων πόλεις εἶχον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πρὸς θαλάσσῃ μὲν Στράτωνος πύργον Ἀπολλωνίαν Ἰόππην Ἰάμνειαν Ἄζωτον Γάζαν Ἀνθηδόνα Ῥάφειαν Ῥινοκόρουρα, [396] ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ κατὰ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν Ἄδωρα καὶ Μάρισαν καὶ ὅλην Ἰδουμαίαν, Σαμάρειαν Καρμήλιον ὄρος καὶ τὸ Ἰταβύριον ὄρος Σκυθόπολιν Γάδαρα, Γαυλανίτιδας Σελεύκειαν Γάβαλα, [397] Μωαβίτιδας Ἡσεβὼν Μήδαβα Λεμβὰ Ορωναιμαγελεθων Ζόαρα Κιλίκων αὐλῶνα Πέλλαν, ταύτην κατέσκαψεν ὑποσχομένων τῶν ἐνοικούντων ἐς πάτρια τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθη μεταβαλεῖσθαι, ἄλλας τε πόλεις πρωτευούσας τῆς Συρίας ἦσαν κατεστραμμένοι.

4. Now at this time the Jews were in possession of the following cities that had belonged to the Syrians, and Idumeans, and Phoenicians: At the sea-side, Strato's Tower, Apollonia, Joppa, Jamhis, Ashdod, Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia, and Rhinocolura; in the middle of the country, near to Idumea, Adorn, and Marissa; near the country of Samaria, Mount Carmel, and Mount Tabor, Scythopolis, and Gadara; of the country of Gaulonitis, Seleucia and Gabala; in the country of Moab, Heshbon, and Medaba, Lemba, and Oronas, Gelithon, Zorn, the valley of the Cilices, and Pollo; which last they utterly destroyed, because its inhabitants would not bear to change their religious rites for those peculiar to the Jews. The Jews also possessed others of the principal cities of Syria, which had been destroyed.

(5) [398] Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκ μέθης εἰς νόσον καταπεσὼν καὶ τρισὶν ἔτεσιν τεταρταίῳ πυρετῷ συσχεθεὶς οὐκ ἀπέστη τῶν στρατειῶν, ἕως οὗ τοῖς πόνοις ἐξαναλωθεὶς ἀπέθανεν ἐν τοῖς Γερασηνῶν ὅροις πολιορκῶν Ῥάγαβα φρούριον πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου. [399] ὁρῶσα δ' αὐτὸν ἡ βασίλισσα πρὸς τῷ τελευτᾶν ὄντα καὶ μηδεμίαν ὑπογράφοντα μηκέτι σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα, κλαίουσα καὶ κοπτομένη τῆς μελλούσης ἐρημίας αὐτήν τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἀπωδύρετο καί "τίνι καταλείπεις οὕτως ἐμέ τε καὶ τὰ τέκνα τῆς παρ' ἄλλων βοηθείας δεόμενα" πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν "καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδώς, πῶς διάκειται [400] πρὸς σὲ δυσμενῶς τὸ

ἔθνος.” ὁ δὲ συνεβούλευεν αὐτῇ πείθεσθαι μὲν οἷς ὑποθήσεται πρὸς τὸ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀσφαλῶς κατέχειν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων, κρύψαι δὲ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἕως ἂν ἐξέλῃ τὸ χωρίον. [401] ἔπειτα ὡς ἀπὸ νίκης λαμπρῶς εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα παραγινομένην τοῖς Φαρισαίοις ἐξουσίαν τινὰ παρασχεῖν: τούτους γὰρ ἐπαινοῦντας αὐτὴν ἀντὶ τῆς τιμῆς εὔνουν καταστήσειν αὐτῇ τὸ ἔθνος, δύνασθαι δὲ πολὺ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τούτους ἔφασκε βλάψαι τε μισοῦντας καὶ φίλους διακειμένους ὠφελῆσαι: [402] μάλιστα γὰρ πιστεύεσθαι παρὰ τῷ πλήθει περὶ ὧν ἂν κἂν φθονῶσίν τι χαλεπὸν λέγωσιν, αὐτόν τε προσκροῦσαι τῷ ἔθνει διὰ τούτους ἔλεγεν ὑβρισθέντας ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ. [403] “σὺ τοίνυν, εἶπεν, ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις γενομένη μετάπεμψαι μὲν τοὺς στασιώτας αὐτῶν, ἐπιδείξασα δὲ τὸ σῶμα τοὐμὸν ἐκείνοις ὅπως μοι βούλονται χρῆσθαι μετὰ πολλῆς ἀξιοπιστίας ἐπίτρεπε, εἴτε καθυβρίζειν ἀταφίᾳ μου θελήσουσι τὸν νεκρὸν ὡς πολλὰ πεπονθότες ἐξ ἐμοῦ, εἴτ᾽ ἄλλην τινὰ κατ᾽ ὀργὴν αἰκίαν τῷ σώματι προσφέρειν. ὑπόσχου τε καὶ μηδὲν δίχα τῆς ἐκείνων γνώμης ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διαπράξεσθαι. [404] ταῦτά σου πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰπούσης ἐγώ τε λαμπροτέρας ἀξιωθήσομαι πρὸς αὐτῶν κηδείας ἧς ἂν ἔτυχον ἐκ σοῦ, μηδὲν διὰ τὸ ἐξεῖναι ποιεῖν μου κακῶς τὸν νεκρὸν διαθεῖναι θελησάντων, σύ τε βεβαίως ἄρξεις.” ταῦτα παραινέσας τῇ γυναικὶ τελευτᾷ βασιλεύσας ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι, βιώσας δ᾽ ἓν καὶ πεντήκοντα.

5. After this, king Alexander, although he fell into a distemper by hard drinking, and had a quartan ague, which held him three years, yet would not leave off going out with his army, till he was quite spent with the labors he had undergone, and died in the bounds of Ragaba, a fortress beyond Jordan. But when his queen saw that he was ready to die, and had no longer any hopes of surviving, she came to him weeping and lamenting, and bewailed herself and her sons on the desolate condition they should be left in; and said to him, “To whom dost thou thus leave me and my children, who are destitute of all other supports, and this when thou knowest how much ill-will thy nation bears thee?” But he gave her the following advice: That she need but follow what he would suggest to her, in order to retain the kingdom securely, with her children: that she should conceal his death from the soldiers till she should have taken that place; after this she should go in triumph, as upon a victory, to Jerusalem, and put some of her authority into the hands of the Pharisees; for that they would commend her for the honor she had done them, and would reconcile the nation to her for he told her they had great authority among the Jews, both to do hurt to such as they hated, and to bring advantages to those to whom they were friendly disposed; for that they are then believed best of all by the multitude when they speak any severe thing against others, though it be only out of envy at them. And he said

that it was by their means that he had incurred the displeasure of the nation, whom indeed he had injured. “Do thou, therefore,” said he, “when thou art come to Jerusalem, send for the leading men among them, and show them my body, and with great appearance of sincerity, give them leave to use it as they themselves please, whether they will dishonor the dead body by refusing it burial, as having severely suffered by my means, or whether in their anger they will offer any other injury to that body. Promise them also that thou wilt do nothing without them in the affairs of the kingdom. If thou dost but say this to them, I shall have the honor of a more glorious Funeral from them than thou couldst have made for me; and when it is in their power to abuse my dead body, they will do it no injury at all, and thou wilt rule in safety.” So when he had given his wife this advice, he died, after he had reigned twenty-seven years, and lived fifty years within one.

XVI

CHAPTER 16. How Alexandra By Gaining The GoodWill Of The Pharisees, Retained The Kingdom Nine Years, And Then, Having Done Many Glorious Actions Died.

(1) [405] Ἡ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρα τὸ φρούριον ἐξελοῦσα κατὰ τὰς τοῦ: ἀνδρὸς ὑποθήκας τοῖς τε Φαρισαίοις διελέχθη καὶ πάντα ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνοις θεμένη τά τε περὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας, τῆς μὲν ὀργῆς αὐτοὺς τῆς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἔπαυσεν, εὔνους δ᾽ ἐποίησεν καὶ φίλους. [406] οἱ δ᾽ εἰς τὸ πλῆθος παρελθόντες ἐδημηγόρουν τὰς πράξεις τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου διηγούμενοι, καὶ ὅτι δίκαιος αὐτοῖς ἀπόλοιτο βασιλεύς, καὶ τὸν δῆμον εἰς πένθος καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κατήφειαν ἐξεκαλέσαντο τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, ὥστε καὶ λαμπρότερον ἤ τινα τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων αὐτὸν ἐκήδευσαν. [407] δύο μέντοι γε υἱοὺς Ἀλέξανδρος κατέλιπεν Ὑρκανὸν καὶ Ἀριστόβουλον, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν διέθετο. τῶν δὲ παίδων Ὑρκανὸς μὲν ἀσθενὴς ἦν πράγματα διοικεῖν καὶ βίον ἡσύχιον μᾶλλον ἠγαπηκώς, ὁ δὲ νεώτερος Ἀριστόβουλος δραστήριός τε ἦν καὶ θαρσαλέος. ἐστέργετο μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἡ γυνὴ διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν ἐφ᾽ οἷς ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ἐξήμαρτεν δυσχεραίνειν.

1. So Alexandra, when she had taken the fortress, acted as her husband had suggested to her, and spake to the Pharisees, and put all things into their power, both as to the dead body, and as to the affairs of the kingdom, and thereby pacified their anger against Alexander, and made them bear goodwill and friendship to him; who then came among the multitude, and made speeches to them, and laid before them the actions of Alexander, and told them that they had lost a righteous king; and by the commendation they gave him, they brought them to grieve, and to be in heaviness for him, so that he had a funeral more splendid than had any of the kings before him. Alexander left behind him two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, but committed the kingdom to Alexandra. Now, as to these two sons, Hyrcanus was indeed unable to manage public affairs, and delighted rather in a quiet life; but the younger, Aristobulus, was an active and a bold man; and for this woman herself, Alexandra, she was loved by the multitude, because she seemed displeased at the offenses her husband had been guilty of.

(2) [408] Ἡ δὲ ἀρχιερέα μὲν ἀπεδείκνυεν Ὑρκανὸν διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, πολὺ μέντοι πλέον διὰ τὸ ἄπραγμον αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάντα τοῖς Φαρισαίοις ἐπέτρεπεν ποιεῖν, οἷς

καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐκέλευσεν πειθαρχεῖν καὶ εἴ τι δὲ καὶ τῶν νομίμων Ὑρκανὸς ὁ πενθερὸς αὐτῆς κατέλυσεν ὧν εἰσήνεγκαν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι κατὰ τὴν πατρῴαν παράδοσιν, τοῦτο πάλιν ἀποκατέστησεν. [409] τὸ μὲν οὖν ὄνομα τῆς βασιλείας εἶχεν αὐτή, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι: καὶ γὰρ φυγάδας οὗτοι κατῆγον καὶ δεσμώτας ἔλυον καὶ καθάπαξ οὐδὲν δεσποτῶν διέφερον. ἐποιεῖτο μέντοι καὶ ἡ γυνὴ τῆς βασιλείας πρόνοιαν, καὶ πολὺ μισθοφορικὸν συνίστησιν, καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν δύναμιν ἀπέδειξεν διπλασίονα, ὡς καταπλῆξαι τοὺς πέριξ τυράννους καὶ λαβεῖν ὅμηρα αὐτῶν. [410] ἠρέμει δ' ἡ χώρα πᾶσα πάρεξ τῶν Φαρισαίων: οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπετάρασσον τὴν βασίλειαν πείθοντες, ὅπως κτείνειεν τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παραινέσαντας ἀνελεῖν τοὺς ὀκτακοσίους. εἶτα αὐτοὶ τούτων ἕνα σφάττουσιν Διογένην καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἄλλους ἐπ' ἄλλοις, [411] ἕως οὗ οἱ δυνατοὶ παρελθόντες εἰς τὸ βασίλειον καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν Ἀριστόβουλος, ἐφ᾽κει γὰρ τοῖς γινομένοις δυσανασχετῶν καὶ δῆλος ἦν, καθάπαξ εἰ ἀφορμῆς λάβοιτο, μὴ ἐπιτρέψων τῇ μητρί, ἀνεμίμνησκον ὅσα κατώρθωσαν τοσούτοις κινδύνοις, δι' ὧν τὸ βέβαιον τῆς ἐν σφίσι πίστεως πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην ἐπεδείξαντο, ἀνθ' ὧν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μεγίστων ἠξιώθησαν. [412] καὶ ἐδέοντο μὴ ἄχρι τοῦ παντὸς ἔμπαλιν τρέψαι σφίσι τὰς ἐλπίδας: ἀποφυγόντας γὰρ τὸν ἐκ πολεμίων κίνδυνον ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν δίκην βοσκημάτων κόπτεσθαι μηδεμιᾶς τιμωρίας οὔσης. [413] ἔλεγόν τε ὡς, εἰ μὲν ἀρκεσθεῖεν τοῖς ἀνῃρημένοις οἱ ἀντίδικοι, διὰ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς δεσπότας γνήσιον μετρίως οἴσειν τὰ ξυμβάντα, εἰ δ' αὖ μέλλοιεν ταὐτὰ μετιέναι, ᾐτοῦντο μάλιστα μὲν δοθῆναι σφίσιν ἀπαλλαγήν: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ὑπομεῖναι χωρὶς αὐτῆς πορίσασθαι τὸ σωτήριον, ἀλλ' ἀσμενίζειν θνήσκοντες πρὸς τοῖς βασιλείοις, ὡς μὴ συγγνοῖεν ἀπιστίαν αὐτοῖς. [414] αἶσχός τε εἶναι σφίσι τε καὶ τῇ βασιλευούσῃ, εἰ πρὸς αὐτῆς ἀμελούμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκδεχθείησαν: ἀντὶ παντὸς γὰρ τιμήσεσθαι Ἀρέταν τε τὸν Ἄραβα καὶ τοὺς μονάρχους, εἰ ἀποξενολογήσειεν τοσούσδε ἄνδρας, οἷς ἦν τάχα που φρικῶδες αὐτῶν καὶ τοὔνομα τὸ πρὶν ἀκουσθῆναι. [415] εἰ δὲ μή, τό γε δεύτερον, εἰ τοὺς Φαρισαίους αὐτῇ προτιμᾶν ἔγνωσταί, κατατάξαι ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις: εἰ γὰρ ὧδε δαίμων τις ἐπενεμέσησεν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρου οἴκῳ, αὐτούς γε μὴν ἂν ἀποδεῖξαι καὶ ἐν ταπεινῷ σχήματι βιοτεύοντας.

2. So she made Hyrcanus high priest, because he was the elder, but much more because he cared not to meddle with politics, and permitted the Pharisees to do every thing; to whom also she ordered the multitude to be obedient. She also restored again those practices which the Pharisees had introduced, according to the traditions of their forefathers, and which her father-in-law, Hyrcanus, had abrogated. So she had indeed the name of the regent, but the Pharisees had the authority; for it was they who restored such as had been banished, and set such as were prisoners at liberty, and, to say all at once, they differed in nothing from

lords. However, the queen also took care of the affairs of the kingdom, and got together a great body of mercenary soldiers, and increased her own army to such a degree, that she became terrible to the neighboring tyrants, and took hostages of them: and the country was entirely at peace, excepting the Pharisees; for they disturbed the queen, and desired that she would kill those who persuaded Alexander to slay the eight hundred men; after which they cut the throat of one of them, Diogenes; and after him they did the same to several, one after another, till the men that were the most potent came into the palace, and Aristobulus with them, for he seemed to be displeased at what was done; and it appeared openly, that if he had an opportunity, he would not permit his mother to go on so. These put the queen in mind what great dangers they had gone through, and great things they had done, whereby they had demonstrated the firmness of their fidelity to their master, insomuch that they had received the greatest marks of favor from him; and they begged of her, that she would not utterly blast their hopes, as it now happened, that when they had escaped the hazards that arose from their [open] enemies, they were to be cut off at home by their [private] enemies, like brute beasts, without any help whatsoever. They said also, that if their adversaries would be satisfied with those that had been slain already, they would take what had been done patiently, on account of their natural love to their governors; but if they must expect the same for the future also, they implored of her a dismission from her service; for they could not bear to think of attempting any method for their deliverance without her, but would rather die willingly before the palace gate, in case she would not forgive them. And that it was a great shame, both for themselves and for the queen, that when they were neglected by her, they should come under the lash of her husband's enemies; for that Aretas, the Arabian king, and the monarchs, would give any reward, if they could get such men as foreign auxiliaries, to whom their very names, before their voices be heard, may perhaps be terrible; but if they could not obtain this their second request, and if she had determined to prefer the Pharisees before them, they still insisted that she would place them every one in her fortresses; for if some fatal demon hath a constant spite against Alexander's house, they would be willing to bear their part, and to live in a private station there.

(3) [416] Πολλὰ τοιαῦτα λεγόντων καὶ εἰς οἶκτον τῶν τεθνεώτων καὶ τῶν κινδυνευόντων τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου δαίμονας ἐπικαλουμένων, ἅπαντες οἱ περιεστῶτες ὥρμησαν εἰς δάκρυα, καὶ μάλιστα Ἀριστόβουλος ὅπως ἔχοι γνώμης ἐδήλου πολλὰ τὴν μητέρα κακίζων. [417] ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν αὐτοὶ σφίσι τῶν συμφορῶν ἐγένοντο αἴτιοι, κατὰ φιλαρχίαν ἐκλελυσσηκυίᾳ γυναικὶ παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς βασιλεύειν γενεᾶς ἐν ἀκμῇ οὔσης ἐπιτρέψαντες: ἡ δὲ οὐκ ἔχουσα ὅ τι

πράξειε μετὰ τοῦ εὐπρεποῦς τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν χωρίων σφίσιν ἐπέτρεψεν, ὅτι μὴ Ὑρκανίας καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείου καὶ Μαχαιροῦντος, ἔνθα τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἦν αὐτῇ. [418] καὶ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ τὸν υἱὸν Ἀριστόβουλον μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπὶ Δαμασκὸν κατὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Μενναίου λεγομένου, ὃς βαρὺς ἦν τῇ πόλει γείτων. ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν οὐδὲν ἐργασάμενοι σπουδῆς ἄξιον ὑπέστρεψαν.

3. As these men said thus, and called upon Alexander's ghost for commiseration of those already slain, and those in danger of it, all the bystanders brake out into tears. But Aristobulus chiefly made manifest what were his sentiments, and used many reproachful expressions to his mother, [saying,] "Nay, indeed, the case is this, that they have been themselves the authors of their own calamities, who have permitted a woman who, against reason, was mad with ambition, to reign over them, when there were sons in the flower of their age fitter for it." So Alexandra, not knowing what to do with any decency, committed the fortresses to them, all but Hyrcania, and Alexandrium, and Macherus, where her principal treasures were. After a little while also, she sent her son Aristobulus with an army to Damascus against Ptolemy, who was called Menneus, who was such a bad neighbor to the city; but he did nothing considerable there, and so returned home.

(4) [419] Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἀγγέλλεται Τιγράνης στρατοῦ μυριάσι τριάκοντα ἐμβεβληκὼς εἰς τὴν Συρίαν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀφιξόμενος. τοῦτο ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἐφόβησε τὴν βασίλισσαν καὶ τὸ ἔθνος. δῶρα δὴ καὶ πολλὰ καὶ λόγου ἄξια πέμπουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ πρέσβεις πολιορκοῦντι Πτολεμαίδα. [420] βασίλισσα γὰρ Σελήνη ἡ καὶ Κλεοπάτρα καλουμένη τῶν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ κατέχειν, ἣ καὶ ἐνήγαγεν τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἀποκλεῖσαι Τιγράνη νῦν ἐτύγχανεν καὶ ἐδέοντο χρηστὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους συγγινώσκειν. [421] ὁ δὲ ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐκ διαστήματος θεραπείας ἐλπίδας ὑπέθετο χρηστάς. ἅρτι δὲ τῆς Πτολεμαίδος ἑαλωκυίας ἀγγέλλεται Τιγράνῃ Λεύκολλον διώκοντα Μιθριδάτην ἐκείνου μὲν διαμαρτεῖν εἰς τοὺς Ἴβηρας ἀναφυγόντος, τὴν δὲ Ἀρμενίαν πορθήσαντα πολιορκεῖν Τιγράνης δὲ καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐπιγνοὺς ἀνεχώρει τὴν ἐπ᾽ οἴκου.

4. About this time news was brought that Tigranes, the king of Armenia, had made an irruption into Syria with five hundred thousand soldiers, and was coming against Judea. This news, as may well be supposed, terrified the queen and the nation. Accordingly, they sent him many and very valuable presents, as also ambassadors, and that as he was besieging Ptolemais; for Selene the queen, the same that was also called Cleopatra, ruled then over Syria, who had persuaded the inhabitants to exclude Tigranes. So the Jewish ambassadors

interceded with him, and entreated him that he would determine nothing that was severe about their queen or nation. He commended them for the respects they paid him at so great a distance, and gave them good hopes of his favor. But as soon as Ptolemais was taken, news came to Tigranes, that Lucullus, in his pursuit of Mithridates, could not light upon him, who was fled into Iberia, but was laying waste Armenia, and besieging its cities. Now when Tigranes knew this, he returned home.

(5) [422] Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τῆς βασιλίσσης εἰς νόσον χαλεπὴν ἐμπεσούσης δόξαν Ἀριστοβούλῳ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι τῆς νυκτὸς ὑπεξελθὼν μεθ' ἑνὸς τῶν θεραπόντων ᾔει ἐπὶ τὰ φρούρια, ἵνα οἱ πατρῷοι κατετάχθησαν αὐτῷ φίλοι. [423] πάλαι γὰρ ἀχθόμενος οἷς ἔπραττεν ἡ μήτηρ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔδεισε, μὴ ἀποθανούσης ἐπὶ τοῖς Φαρισαίοις τὸ πᾶν γένος αὐτοῖς ὑπάρξειεν: ἑώρα γὰρ τὸ ἀδύνατον τοῦ μέλλοντος διαδέχεσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀδελφοῦ. [424] ξυνῄδει δὲ ἡ γυνὴ μόνη τῇ πράξει, ἣν κατέλιπεν αὐτόθι μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς. καὶ πρῶτον ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἄγαβα, ἔνθα Γαλαίστης ἦν τῶν δυνατῶν, ὑπεδέχθη πρὸς αὐτοῦ. [425] μεθ' ἡμέραν δὲ αἴσθησις γίνεται τῇ βασιλίσσῃ τῆς Ἀριστοβούλου φυγῆς, καὶ μέχρι τινὸς ᾤετο γεγονέναι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν οὐκ ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ: ὡς μέντοι ἦκον ἀπαγγέλλοντες ἄλλοι ἐπ' ἄλλοις, ὅτι κατειλήφει τὸ πρῶτον χωρίον καὶ τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ξύμπαντα, εὐθὺς γὰρ ἑνὸς ἀρξαμένου πάντα ἠπείγετο πρὸς τὸ ἐκείνου βούλημα, τότε δὴ ἐν μεγίσταις ταραχαῖς ὑπῆρχεν ἥ τε βασίλισσα καὶ τὸ ἔθνος. [426] ᾔδεισαν γὰρ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ δύνασθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ κρατῦναι τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ὄντα, ἐδεδίεσάν τε, μὴ ποινὴν εἰσπράξαιτο ὧν παρῴνησαν αὐτῷ τὸν οἶκον. δόξαν οὖν τήν τε γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ γενεὰν εἰς τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ φρούριον κατέθεσαν. [427] Ἀριστοβούλῳ δὲ ὡς ἂν ἐκ πολλῶν συχνὰ ἀνήχθη, ἀφ' ὧν ἤδη καὶ κόσμος βασίλειος περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν: σχεδὸν γὰρ ἐν ἡμέραις δεκαπέντε χωρίων ἐκράτησεν εἰκοσιδύο, ὅθεν ἀφορμὰς ἔχων στρατιὰν ἤθροιζεν ἀπὸ Λιβάνου καὶ Τράχωνος καὶ τῶν μονάρχων: οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τῷ πλείονι ὑπαγόμενοι ῥᾳδίως ὑπήκουον: ἄλλως δὲ νομίζοντες, εἰ δὴ ξυλλάβοιεν αὐτῷ, τῶν μὴ προσδοκωμένων οὐχ ἧσσον καρπώσεσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν ὡς αὐτοὶ τοῦ κρατῆσαι πρόφασις γενηθέντες. [428] τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ Ὑρκανὸς ἐσῄεσαν ὡς τὴν βασίλισσαν καὶ ἐδέοντο ὑποθέσθαι γνώμην περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων: τὸν γὰρ Ἀριστόβουλον τῶν πάντων σχεδὸν ἤδη κυριεύειν, ὁπότε χωρίων τοσούτων κρατήσειεν: ἄτοπον δέ, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα κάμνοι, περιούσης αὐτῆς κατὰ σφᾶς βουλεύεσθαι: περιεστάναι δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον οὐ διὰ μακροῦ σφίσιν. [429] ἡ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσε πράττειν ὅ τι δοκοῦσι χρήσιμον εἶναι: πολλὰς δ' ἀφορμὰς αὐτοῖς λείπεσθαι, τὸ ἔθνος ἐρρωμένον καὶ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς γαζοφυλακίοις χρήματα: αὐτῇ μὲν γὰρ μικρὸν ἔτι μέλειν τῶν πραγμάτων ὡς ἂν ὑπολείποντος ἤδη τοῦ σώματος.

5. After this, when the queen was fallen into a dangerous distemper, Aristobulus resolved to attempt the seizing of the government; so he stole away secretly by night, with only one of his servants, and went to the fortresses, wherein his friends, that were such from the days of his father, were settled; for as he had been a great while displeased at his mother's conduct, so he was now much more afraid, lest, upon her death, their whole family should be under the power of the Pharisees; for he saw the inability of his brother, who was to succeed in the government; nor was any one conscious of what he was doing but only his wife, whom he left at Jerusalem with their children. He first of all came to Agaba, where was Galestes, one of the potent men before mentioned, and was received by him. When it was day, the queen perceived that Aristobulus was fled; and for some time she supposed that his departure was not in order to make any innovation; but when messengers came one after another with the news that he had secured the first place, the second place, and all the places, for as soon as one had begun they all submitted to his disposal, then it was that the queen and the nation were in the greatest disorder, for they were aware that it would not be long ere Aristobulus would be able to settle himself firmly in the government. What they were principally afraid of was this, that he would inflict punishment upon them for the mad treatment his house had had from them. So they resolved to take his wife and children into custody, and keep them in the fortress that was over the temple. Now there was a mighty conflux of people that came to Aristobulus from all parts, insomuch that he had a kind of royal attendants about him; for in a little more than fifteen days he got twenty-two strong places, which gave him the opportunity of raising an army from Libanus and Trachonitis, and the monarchs; for men are easily led by the greater number, and easily submit to them. And besides this, that by affording him their assistance, when he could not expect it, they, as well as he, should have the advantages that would come by his being king, because they had been the occasion of his gaining the kingdom. Now the eiders of the Jews, and Hyrcanus with them, went in unto the queen, and desired that she would give them her sentiments about the present posture of affairs, for that Aristobulus was in effect lord of almost all the kingdom, by possessing of so many strong holds, and that it was absurd for them to take any counsel by themselves, how ill soever she were, whilst she was alive, and that the danger would be upon them in no long time. But she bid them do what they thought proper to be done; that they had many circumstances in their favor still remaining, a nation in good heart, an army, and money in their several treasuries; for that she had small concern about public affairs now, when the strength of her body already failed her.

(6) [430] Ταῦτ᾽ εἰποῦσα μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ ἐτελεύτησεν βασιλεύσασα ἔτη ἐννέα, τὰ δὲ σύμπαντα βιώσασα τρία καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα, γυνὴ τῷ ἀσθενεῖ τοῦ φύλου κατ᾽ οὐδὲν χρησαμένη: δεινὴ γὰρ εἰς τὸ φίλαρχον ἐν ταῖς μάλιστα γενομένη διήλεγξεν ἔργοις τό τε πρακτικὸν τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ γνώμης καὶ τὸ ἀσύνετον τῶν ἀεὶ πταιόντων περὶ τὰς δυναστείας ἀνδρῶν. [431] τὸ γὰρ παρὸν κρεῖττον ἀξιοῦσα τοῦ μέλλοντος καὶ πάντα δεύτερα τιθεμένη τοῦ ἐγκρατῶς ἄρχειν, οὔτε καλοῦ οὔτε δικαίου ἕνεκά γε τούτων ἐπεστρέφετο. [432] εἰς γοῦν τοῦτο τῷ οἴκῳ ἀτυχίας τὰ πράγματα περιέστησεν, ὥσθ᾽ ἣν μετὰ πλείστων κινδύνων καὶ ταλαιπωρίας περιεκτήσατο δυναστείαν ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῶν μὴ προσηκόντων γυναικὶ χρόνοις οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον ἀφαιρεθῆναι, τοῖς μὲν δυσμενῶς ἔχουσιν πρὸς τὸ γένος αὐτῶν τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην προσθεῖσα, τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔρημον τῶν προκηδομένων ποιησαμένη. [433] καὶ ξυμφορῶν δὲ ἐνέπλησε καὶ ταραχῆς ἐξ ὧν ζῶσα ἐπολιτεύσατο καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τὸ βασίλειον: οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καίπερ οὕτως ἄρξασα ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀταραξίᾳ τὸ ἔθνος διεφύλαξεν. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ Ἀλεξάνδραν τὴν βασίλισσαν τοῦτο εἶχεν τὸ τέλος: ἔρχομαι δὲ λέξων τὰ τοῖς υἱέσιν αὐτῆς συμβεβηκότα Ἀριστοβούλῳ καὶ Ὑρκανῷ μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνης τελευτὴν ἐν τῇ μετὰ ταύτην μου βίβλῳ.

6. Now a little while after she had said this to them, she died, when she had reigned nine years, and had in all lived seventy-three. A woman she was who showed no signs of the weakness of her sex, for she was sagacious to the greatest degree in her ambition of governing; and demonstrated by her doings at once, that her mind was fit for action, and that sometimes men themselves show the little understanding they have by the frequent mistakes they make in point of government; for she always preferred the present to futurity, and preferred the power of an imperious dominion above all things, and in comparison of that had no regard to what was good, or what was right. However, she brought the affairs of her house to such an unfortunate condition, that she was the occasion of the taking away that authority from it, and that in no long time afterward, which she had obtained by a vast number of hazards and misfortunes, and this out of a desire of what does not belong to a woman, and all by a compliance in her sentiments with those that bare ill-will to their family, and by leaving the administration destitute of a proper support of great men; and, indeed, her management during her administration while she was alive, was such as filled the palace after her death with calamities and disturbance. However, although this had been her way of governing, she preserved the nation in peace. And this is the conclusion of the affairs of, Alexandra.

Liber XIV

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Ὡς μετὰ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρας θάνατον ὁ νεώτερος αὐτῆς τῶν παίδων Ἀριστόβουλος ἐπολέμησεν πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν τὸν ἀδελφὸν περὶ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ κρατήσας αὐτοῦ συνεδίωξεν εἰς τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις βᾶριν, ἔπειθ᾽ ὡς συμβάντες ἔκριναν βασιλεύειν μὲν Ἀριστόβουλον, Ὑρκανὸν δὲ ἰδιωτεύειν.

β. περὶ Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ γένους αὐτοῦ καὶ τίνα τρόπον ἐκ μικρᾶς καὶ τῆς τυχούσης ἀφορμῆς εἰς λαμπρότητα καὶ δόξαν ἅμα τοῖς παισὶν προήχθη καὶ μέγεθος δυνάμεως, καὶ ὅτι πείσαντος Ὑρκανὸν Ἀντιπάτρου φυγεῖν ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων πρὸς Ἀρέταν τὸν τῶν Ἀράβων βασιλέα ἱκέτευσεν ἐλθὼν καταγαγεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν γῆν τε πολλὴν δώσειν καὶ χρήματα ὑποσχόμενος.

γ. ὡς Ἀρέτας προσδεξάμενος τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον καὶ συμβαλὼν καὶ κρατήσας τῇ μάχῃ συνεδίωξεν ἐπὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ περικαθίσας τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν.

δ. ὡς Σκαῦρον πέμψαντος ἀπὸ Ἀρμενίας εἰς Συρίαν Μάγνου Πομπηίου ἦκον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπό τε Ὑρκανοῦ καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου πρέσβεις περὶ συμμαχίας παρακαλοῦντες.

ε. ὅτι Σκαῦρος τετρακοσίοις διαφθαρεὶς ταλάντοις Ἀριστοβούλῳ προσέθετο.

ς. ὡς Ὑρκανὸς καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐπὶ Πομπηίου δικαιολογοῦνται.

[ζ. ὡς Πομπηίου εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐλθόντος Ἀριστόβουλος καὶ Ὑρκανὸς ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἦκον περὶ τῆς βασιλείας δικαιολογούμενοι.]

η. Πομπηίου ὑπέρθεσις διαγνώσεσθαι φήσαντος περὶ ὧν ἀλλήλοις ἐνεκάλουν, ἐπειδὰν εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων χώραν παραγένηται, καὶ ὅτι συνεὶς Ἀριστόβουλος τίνα ἔχει διάνοιαν Πομπήιος ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Ἰουδαίαν, καὶ ὡς ἀγανακτήσαντος αὐτοῦ καὶ στρατεύσαντος ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειον Ἀριστόβουλος ἀνεχώρησεν τὸ φρούριον ὀχυρὸν ὂν καὶ δυσκαταμάχητον.

θ. ὡς Πομπήιος τοῦτο συνιδὼν στρατηγήματι χρησάμενος ἔπεισεν τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον καταλιπόντα τὸ φρούριον καταβῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς βεβαιωσόμενον αὐτῷ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, οἷς πεισθέντα καὶ πολλάκις δικαιολογησάμενον πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἠνάγκασε τοῖς φουράρχοις τῇ αὐτοῦ χειρὶ γράψαι καὶ παραδοῦναι αὐτῷ τὰ φρούρια.

ι. ὡς Ἀριστόβουλος τοῦτο ποιήσας διὰ φόβον ἔπειτα δυσχεράνας ἐπὶ τῷ μηδενὸς ὧν προσεδόκα παρὰ Πομπηίου τυγχάνειν ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.

ια. ὡς Πομπηίου κατὰ πόδας μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς παρακολουθήσαντος μετενόησεν Ἀριστόβουλος καὶ προελθὼν ἄχρι Ἰεριχοῦντος ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ καὶ συγγνώμης τυχεῖν δεηθεὶς περὶ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰ χρήματα παραδώσειν ὑπέσχετο, καὶ Πομπηίου πέμψαντος Γαβίνιον μετὰ ἐπιλέκτων στρατιωτῶν ἐπί τε τὴν τῆς πόλεως παράληψιν καὶ τῶν χρημάτων οἱ Ἱεροσολυμῖται τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ὁρῶντες ἐν φυλακῇ καθεστῶτα τὰς πύλας ἀπέκλεισαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις.

ιβ. ὡς ἐπὶ τούτῳ παροξυνθεὶς Πομπήιος Ἀριστόβουλον μὲν ἔδησεν, προσαγαγὼν δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν, καὶ δέχονται μὲν αὐτὸν οἱ τὰ Ὑρκανοῦ φρονοῦντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἄνω, οἱ δὲ τὰ Ἀριστοβούλου φεύγουσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν.

ιγ. ὡς αἱρεῖ κατὰ κράτος τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὴν κάτω πόλιν ὁ Πομπήιος τῷ τρίτῳ μηνί.

ιδ. περὶ τῆς ἐπιεικείας αὐτοῦ καὶ θεοσεβείας, ὅτι μηδενὸς ἔψαυσεν τῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ πολλῶν ὄντων τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ χρημάτων.

ιε. ὅτι ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ποιήσας φόροις ὑποτελῆ καὶ Ὑρκανὸν ἀποδείξας ἐθνάρχην Ἀριστόβουλον μὲν δέσμιον μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνήγαγεν, Σκαῦρον δὲ τῆς Συρίας ἐπίτροπον κατέλιπεν.

ις. ὅτι Σκαύρου στρατεύσαντος ἐπὶ Πέτραν βασίλειον οὖσαν τῶν Ἀράβων καὶ πολιορκοῦντος, ἐν ἐνδείᾳ τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτοῦ γενομένων Ἀντίπατρος πείθει τὸν Ἄραβα δόντα Σκαύρῳ τάλαντα τριακόσια συμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι.

ιζ. ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου παῖς φυγὼν Πομπήιον καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἰουδαίαν στρατιᾶς αὐτῷ πολλῆς γενομένης πόλεμον ἐξήνεγκεν πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν καὶ Ἀντίπατρον.

ιη. ὡς ὑπὸ Γαβινίου κρατηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ καὶ κατακλεισθεὶς εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειον τὸ φρούριον ἐπολιορκεῖτο.

ιθ. ὡς Γαβίνιος πεισάσης τῆς μητρὸς τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου παραδοῦναι αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸ φρούριον λαβὼν τὸν μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀφῆκεν, ἔγραψεν δὲ καὶ τῇ συγκλήτῳ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ, οἳ ἦσαν μετὰ Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ πατρὸς δεδεμένοι, λῦσαι καὶ ἀποπέμψαι πρὸς τὴν μητέρα, δηλῶν αὐτῆς τὸ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πιστὸν καὶ ὡς ἔστιν ἀξία ταύτης τῆς χάριτος τυγχάνειν.

κ. ὡς μετὰ ταῦτα φυγόντα ἐκ Ῥώμης Ἀριστόβουλον εἰς Ἰουδαίαν λαβὼν Γαβίνιος αἰχμάλωτον πάλιν ἀνέπεμψεν εἰς Ῥώμην.

κα. Κράσσου κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Πάρθους στρατείαν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀνάβασις καὶ σύλησις τῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ χρημάτων.

κβ. φυγὴ Πομπηίου εἰς Ἤπειρον καὶ Σκιπίωνος ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντος εἰς Συρίαν ἄφιξις ἐντολὴν ἔχοντος ἀποκτεῖναι Ἀλέξανδρον.

κγ. ὅτι Καῖσαρ λύσας Ἀριστόβουλον οἷός τε ἦν πέμψαι μετὰ δύο ταγμάτων εἰς Ἰουδαίαν, ἔφθη δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ Πομπηίου φρονούντων διαφθαρεὶς Ἀριστόβουλος φαρμάκῳ.

κδ. Καίσαρος ἐπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου στρατεία, καὶ ὡς συνεμάχησαν αὐτῷ Ὑρκανός τε καὶ Ἀντίπατρος καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους αὐτῷ συμμάχους ἐποίησαν.

κε. Ἀντιπάτρου προθύμως ἀγωνισαμένου κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἀριστεία καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φιλία πρὸς Καίσαρα, καὶ ὡς Ὑρκανὸν Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ χαίρων ἐτίμησεν μεγάλως ἐπιτρέψας αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἀναστῆσαι τείχη.

κς. ὡς Ἀντιπάτρῳ τὴν τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπιτροπὴν ἐνεχείρισεν.

κζ. Καίσαρος ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ δόγματα συγκλήτου περὶ τῆς πρὸς Ἰουδαίους φιλίας.

κη. ὅτι Ἀντίπατρος τοῖς παισὶν Ἡρώδῃ μὲν τὴν τῆς Γαλιλαίας πρόνοιαν Φασαήλῳ δ᾽ ἐπέτρεψεν τὴν Ἱεροσολύμων.

κθ. ὡς Καῖσαρ Σέξστος δωροδοκηθεὶς ὑφ᾽ Ἡρώδου ἡγεμόνος ὄντος ἐν Συρίᾳ μέγαν καὶ ἔνδοξον ἐποίησεν Ἡρώδην καταστήσας ἄρχοντα τῆς κοίλης Συρίας.

λ. ὡς Κάσσιος Καίσαρος ἀποθανόντος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀναβὰς τήν τε χώραν ἐκάκωσεν καὶ τάλαντα ὀκτακόσια παρ᾽ αὐτῶν εἰσεπράξατο, πῶς τε Ἡρώδης ἐκ τῆς εἰσπράξεως τῶν χρημάτων σπουδαῖος ἔδοξεν Κασσίῳ.

λα. Μαλίχου τελευτὴ τοῦ πρὸς Ἡρώδην στασιάσαντος Κασσίου κελεύσαντος.

λβ. θάνατος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας πρεσβευτῶν ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου μετὰ τὴν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ νίκην ἐν Συρίᾳ γενομένου καὶ ἀγανακτήσαντος ἐπὶ τῷ Ἡρώδου κατηγορῆσαι. ταῦτα δ᾽ ἔπραξεν χρήμασι πείσαντος αὐτὸν τοῦ Ἡρώδου.

λγ. στρατεία Πάρθων εἰς Συρίαν, καθ᾽ ἣν τὸν Ἀριστοβούλου υἱὸν Ἀντίγονον εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν κατήγαγον.

λδ. ὡς Ὑρκανὸν καὶ Φασάηλον τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἡρώδου αἰχμαλώτους ἔλαβον.

λε. ὡς Ἡρώδης φεύγων ἐκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ δεηθεὶς Ἀντωνίου χρήματα πολλὰ ὑποσχόμενος ἀπεδείχθη ὑπό τε τῆς

συγκλήτου καὶ Καίσαρος βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἰουδαίας.

λς. ἔκπλους Ἡρώδου μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπὸ Ῥώμης εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ μάχη πρὸς Ἀντίγονον στρατιᾶς αὐτῷ Ῥωμαικῆς ἑπομένης καὶ ἡγεμόνος Σίλωνος.

λζ. ὡς Σίλωνος Ἱεροσόλυμα πολιορκήσαντος ὑπὸ Σοσσίου καὶ Ἡρώδου Ἀντίγονος διεφθάρη.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν λβ.

BOOK XIV. Containing The Interval Of Thirty-Two Years. — From The Death Of Queen Alexandra To The Death Of Antigonus.

I

CHAPTER 1. The War Between Aristobulus And Hyrcanus About The Kingdom; And How They Made Anagreement That Aristobulus Should Be King, And Hyrcanus Live A Private Life; As Also How Hyrcanus A Little Afterward Was Persuaded By Antipater To Fly To Aretas.

(1) [1] Τῶν δὲ περὶ Ἀλεξάνδραν τὴν βασίλισσαν καὶ τὸν θάνατον αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης ἡμῖν βίβλῳ δεδηλωμένων τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα καὶ προσεχῆ νῦν ἐροῦμεν, οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς ἢ τοῦ μηδὲν παραλιπεῖν τῶν πραγμάτων ἢ δι᾽ ἄγνοιαν ἢ διὰ κάματον τῆς μνήμης προμηθούμενοι. [2] τὴν γὰρ ἱστορίαν καὶ τὴν μήνυσιν τῶν ἀγνοουμένων τοῖς πολλοῖς πραγμάτων διὰ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα δεῖ μὲν καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας κάλλος, ὅσον δὴ τοῦτ᾽ ἔστιν ἔκ τε τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ τῆς τούτων ἁρμονίας καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τούτοις συμβάλλεται κόσμον τῷ λόγῳ, [3] τοῖς ἀναγνωσομένοις ἔχειν, ὡς ἂν μετὰ χάριτός τινος καὶ ἡδονῆς τὴν ἐμπειρίαν παραλαμβάνοιεν, πάντων δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς ἀκριβείας τοὺς συγγραφεῖς στοχάζεσθαι μηδὲν τοῦ τἀληθῆ λέγειν τοῖς περὶ ὧν οὐκ ἴσασιν αὐτοὶ πιστεύειν αὐτοῖς μέλλουσιν προτιμῶντας.

1. We have related the affairs of queen Alexandra, and her death, in the foregoing book and will now speak of what followed, and was connected with those histories; declaring, before we proceed, that we have nothing so much at heart as this, that we may omit no facts, either through ignorance or laziness; for we are upon the history and explication of such things as the greatest part are unacquainted withal, because of their distance from our times; and we aim to do it with a proper beauty of style, so far as that is derived from proper words harmonically disposed, and from such ornaments of speech also as may contribute to the pleasure of our readers, that they may entertain the knowledge of what we write with some agreeable satisfaction and pleasure. But the principal scope that authors ought to aim at above all the rest, is to speak accurately, and to speak truly, for the satisfaction of those that are otherwise unacquainted with such transactions, and obliged to believe what these writers inform them of.

(2) [4] Παραλαβόντος γὰρ τὴν βασιλείαν Ὑρκανοῦ τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει τῆς ἑβδόμης καὶ ἑβδομηκοστῆς πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν ὀλυμπιάδος, ὑπατεύοντος Ῥωμαίων Κυίντου

Ὁρτησίου καὶ Κυίντου Μετέλλου, ὃς δὴ καὶ Κρητικὸς ἐπεκαλεῖτο, πόλεμον εὐθὺς ἐκφέρει πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀριστόβουλος, καὶ τῆς μάχης αὐτῷ γενομένης πρὸς Ἰεριχοῦντι πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτομολοῦσιν. [5] οὗ γενομένου φεύγει πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν Ὑρκανός, ἔνθα συνέβαινεν κατεῖρχθαι τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῆς μητρός, καθὼς προειρήκαμεν, καὶ τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας δὲ καταφυγόντας εἰς τὸν τοῦ ἱεροῦ περίβολον αἱρεῖ προσβαλών. [6] καὶ λόγους ποιησάμενος πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν περὶ συμβάσεως καταλύεται τὴν ἔχθραν ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεύειν μὲν Ἀριστόβουλον, αὐτὸν δὲ ζῆν ἀπραγμόνως καρπούμενον ἀδεῶς τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ κτῆσιν. [7] ταῦτα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ συνθέμενοι καὶ ὅρκοις καὶ δεξιαῖς πιστωσάμενοι τὰς ὁμολογίας καὶ κατασπασάμενοι τοῦ πλήθους παντὸς ὁρῶντος ἀλλήλους ἀνεχώρησαν, ὁ μὲν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, Ὑρκανὸς δ᾽ ὡς ἰδιώτης τυγχάνων εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου.

2. Hyrcanus then began his high priesthood on the third year of the hundred and seventy-seventh olympiad, when Quintus Hortensius and Quintus Metellus, who was called Metellus of Crete, were consuls at Rome; when presently Aristobulus began to make war against him; and as it came to a battle with Hyrcanus at Jericho, many of his soldiers deserted him, and went over to his brother; upon which Hyrcanus fled into the citadel, where Aristobulus's wife and children were imprisoned by their mother, as we have said already, and attacked and overcame those his adversaries that had fled thither, and lay within the walls of the temple. So when he had sent a message to his brother about agreeing the matters between them, he laid aside his enmity to him on these conditions, that Aristobulus should be king, that he should live without intermeddling with public affairs, and quietly enjoy the estate he had acquired. When they had agreed upon these terms in the temple, and had confirmed the agreement with oaths, and the giving one another their right hands, and embracing one another in the sight of the whole multitude, they departed; the one, Aristobulus, to the palace; and Hyrcanus, as a private man, to the former house of Aristobulus.

(3) [8] Φίλος δέ τις Ὑρκανοῦ Ἰδουμαῖος Ἀντίπατρος λεγόμενος, πολλῶν μὲν εὐπόρει χρημάτων, δραστήριος δὲ ὢν τὴν φύσιν καὶ στασιαστὴς ἀλλοτρίως εἶχεν πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον καὶ διαφόρως διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ὑρκανὸν εὔνοιαν. [9] Νικόλαος μέντοι φησὶν ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς τοῦτον εἶναι γένος ἐκ τῶν πρώτων Ἰουδαίων τῶν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀφικομένων. ταῦτα δὲ λέγει χαριζόμενος Ἡρώδῃ τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκ τύχης τινὸς γενομένῳ, περὶ οὗ κατὰ καιρὸν δηλώσομεν. [10] οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ Ἀντίπατρος Ἀντίπας τὸ πρῶτον ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν τὸ ὄνομα, ὃν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ στρατηγὸν ἀποδειξάντων

ὅλης τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ποιήσασθαι φιλίαν πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοροῦντας αὐτῷ Ἄραβας καὶ Γαζαίους καὶ Ἀσκαλωνίτας λέγουσιν πολλαῖς αὐτοὺς καὶ μεγάλαις ἐξιδιωσάμενον δωρεαῖς. [11] τὴν οὖν Ἀριστοβούλου δυναστείαν ὁ νεώτερος Ἀντίπατρος ὑφορώμενος καὶ δεδιώς, μή τι πάθῃ διὰ τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν μῖσος, ἐπισυνιστᾷ κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ κρύφα διαλεγόμενος τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοὺς δυναστεύοντας, ἄδικον εἶναι λέγων περιορᾶν Ἀριστόβουλον ἀδίκως ἔχοντα τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν ταύτης ἐκβεβληκότα πρεσβύτερον ὄντα, κατέχοντα δ᾽ αὐτὴν οὖσαν ἐκείνου διὰ τὸ πρεσβεῖον. [12] τούτους τε συνεχῶς πρὸς τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ποιούμενος διετέλει τοὺς λόγους, καὶ ὅτι κινδυνεύσει τῷ ζῆν, εἰ μὴ φυλάξαιτο ποιήσας αὐτὸν ἐκποδών: τοὺς γὰρ φίλους τοὺς Ἀριστοβούλου μηδένα παραλείπειν καιρὸν ἔλεγεν συμβουλεύοντας αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν ὡς τότε βεβαίως ἕξοντα τὴν ἀρχήν. [13] τούτοις Ὑρκανὸς ἠπίστει τοῖς λόγοις φύσει χρηστὸς ὢν καὶ διαβολὴν δι᾽ ἐπιείκειαν οὐ προσιέμενος ῥᾳδίως. ἐποίει δ᾽ αὐτὸν τὸ ἄπραγμον καὶ τὸ παρειμένον τῆς διανοίας τοῖς ὁρῶσιν ἀγεννῆ καὶ ἄνανδρον δοκεῖν: τῆς δ᾽ ἐναντίας φύσεως ἦν Ἀριστόβουλος, δραστήριος καὶ διεγηγερμένος τὸ φρόνημα.

3. But there was a certain friend of Hyrcanus, an Idumean, called Antipater, who was very rich, and in his nature an active and a seditious man; who was at enmity with Aristobulus, and had differences with him on account of his good-will to Hyrcanus. It is true that Nicolatls of Damascus says, that Antipater was of the stock of the principal Jews who came out of Babylon into Judea; but that assertion of his was to gratify Herod, who was his son, and who, by certain revolutions of fortune, came afterward to be king of the Jews, whose history we shall give you in its proper place hereafter. However, this Antipater was at first called Antipas, and that was his father's name also; of whom they relate this: That king Alexander and his wife made him general of all Idumea, and that he made a league of friendship with those Arabians, and Gazites, and Ascalonites, that were of his own party, and had, by many and large presents, made them his fast friends. But now this younger Antipater was suspicious of the power of Aristobulus, and was afraid of some mischief he might do him, because of his hatred to him; so he stirred up the most powerful of the Jews, and talked against him to them privately; and said that it was unjust to overlook the conduct of Aristobulus, who had gotten the government unrighteously, and ejected his brother out of it, who was the elder, and ought to retain what belonged to him by prerogative of his birth. And the same speeches he perpetually made to Hyrcanus; and told him that his own life would be in danger, unless he guarded himself, and got shut of Aristobulus; for he said that the friends of Aristobulus omitted no opportunity of advising him to kill him, as being then, and not before, sure to retain his principality. Hyrcanus gave no credit to these words of his, as

being of a gentle disposition, and one that did not easily admit of calumnies against other men. This temper of his not disposing him to meddle with public affairs, and want of spirit, occasioned him to appear to spectators to be degenerous and unmanly; while. Aristobulus was of a contrary temper, an active man, and one of a great and generous soul.

(4) [14] Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ὁ Ἀντίπατρος οὐ προσέχοντα ἑώρα τοῖς λόγοις τὸν Ὑρκανόν, οὐ διέλιπεν ἑκάστης ἡμέρας πλαττόμενος καὶ διαβάλλων πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ὡς ἀποκτεῖναι θέλοντα, καὶ μόλις ἐγκείμενος πείθει πρὸς Ἀρέταν αὐτῷ συμβουλεύσας φυγεῖν τὸν Ἀράβων βασιλέα: πεισθέντι γὰρ ἔσεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς σύμμαχος ὑπισχνεῖτο. [15] ὁ δὲ ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούων συμφέρειν ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς τὸν Ἀρέταν ἀποδρᾶναι, ἔστιν δὲ ὅμορος τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ Ἀραβία, καὶ δὴ πέμπει πρῶτον Ὑρκανὸς πρὸς τὸν τῶν Ἀράβων βασιλέα τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ληψόμενον πίστεις, ὡς οὐκ ἐκδώσει τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἱκέτην αὐτοῦ γενόμενον. [16] λαβὼν δὲ τὰς πίστεις ὁ Ἀντίπατρος ὑπέστρεψε πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ παραλαβὼν αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς πόλεως ὑπεξελθὼν νύκτωρ καὶ πολλὴν ἀνύσας ὁδὸν ἦκεν ἄγων εἰς τὴν καλουμένην Πέτραν, ὅπου τὰ βασίλεια ἦν τῷ Ἀρέτᾳ. [17] μάλιστα δὲ ὢν φίλος τῷ βασιλεῖ κατάγειν τὸν Ὑρκανὸν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν παρεκάλει: καὶ τοῦθ᾽ ἑκάστης ἡμέρας ποιῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀνιείς, ἀλλὰ καὶ δωρεὰς προιέμενος, πείθει τὸν Ἀρέταν. [18] οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Ὑρκανὸς ὑπέσχετο αὐτῷ καταχθεὶς καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν κομισάμενος ἀποδώσειν τήν τε χώραν καὶ τὰς δώδεκα πόλεις, ἃς Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ τῶν Ἀράβων ἀφείλετο. ἦσαν δ᾽ αὗται Μήδαβα, Λιββα, Ναβαλώθ, Ἀραβαθα, Γαλανθώνη, Ζωιρα, Ὡρωναιδιγωβασιλισσαρυδδα, Αλουσα, Ωρυβδα.

4. Since therefore Antipater saw that Hyrcanus did not attend to what he said, he never ceased, day by day, to charge reigned crimes upon Aristobulus, and to calumniate him before him, as if he had a mind to kill him; and so, by urging him perpetually, he advised him, and persuaded him to fly to Aretas, the king of Arabia; and promised, that if he would comply with his advice, he would also himself assist him and go with him. When Hyrcanus heard this, he said that it was for his advantage to fly away to Aretas. Now Arabia is a country that borders upon Judea. However, Hyrcanus sent Antipater first to the king of Arabia, in order to receive assurances from him, that when he should come in the manner of a supplicant to him, he would not deliver him up to his enemies. So Antipater having received such assurances, returned to Hyrcanus to Jerusalem. A while afterward he took Hyrcanus, and stole out of the city by night, and went a great journey, and came and brought him to the city called Petra, where the palace of Aretas was; and as he was a very familiar friend of that king, he persuaded him to bring back Hyrcanus into Judea, and this persuasion he

continued every day without any intermission. He also proposed to make him presents on that account. At length he prevailed with Aretas in his suit. Moreover, Hyrcanus promised him, that when he had been brought thither, and had received his kingdom, he would restore that country, and those twelve cities which his father Alexander had taken from the Arabians, which were these, Medaba, Naballo, Libias, Tharabasa, Agala, Athone, Zoar, Orone, Marissa, Rudda, Lussa, and Oruba.

II

CHAPTER 2. How Aretas And Hyrcanus Made An Expedition Against Aristobulus And Besieged Jerusalem; And How Scaurus The Roman General Raised The Siege. Concerning The Death Of Onias.

(1) [19] Τούτων αὐτῷ τῶν ὑποσχέσεων γενομένων ὁ Ἀρέτας ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον μετὰ πέντε μυριάδων ἱππέων ἅμα καὶ πεζῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ νικᾷ τῇ μάχῃ. πολλῶν δὲ μετὰ τὴν νίκην πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν αὐτομολησάντων μονωθεὶς ὁ Ἀριστόβουλος ἔφυγεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. [20] ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀράβων βασιλεὺς πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὰν ἀγαγὼν καὶ προσβαλὼν τῷ ἱερῷ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ἐπολιόρκει προστιθεμένου καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῷ Ὑρκανῷ καὶ συμπολιορκοῦντος αὐτῷ, μόνων δὲ τῶν ἱερέων τῷ Ἀριστοβούλῳ προσμενόντων. [21] ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀρέτας ἐξῆς βαλόμενος στρατόπεδα τῶν Ἀράβων καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἰσχυρῶς ἐνέκειτο τῇ πολιορκίᾳ. τούτων δὲ γινομένων κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτῆς, ἣν πάσχα λέγομεν, οἱ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκλιπόντες τὴν χώραν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἔφυγον. [22] Ὀνίαν δέ τινα ὄνομα δίκαιον ὄντα καὶ θεοφιλῆ, ὃς ἀνομβρίας ποτὲ οὔσης ηὔξατο τῷ θεῷ λῦσαι τὸν αὐχμὸν καὶ γενόμενος ἐπήκοος ὁ θεὸς ὗσεν, κρύψαντα ἑαυτὸν διὰ τὸ τὴν στάσιν ὁρᾶν ἰσχυρὰν ἐπιμένουσαν, ἀναχθέντα εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἠξίουν, ὡς ἔπαυσε τὴν ἀνομβρίαν εὐξάμενος, ἵν' οὕτως ἀρὰς θῇ κατὰ Ἀριστοβούλου καὶ τῶν συστασιαστῶν αὐτοῦ. [23] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀντιλέγων καὶ παραιτούμενος ἐβιάσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, στὰς μέσος αὐτῶν εἶπεν: [24] "ὦ θεὲ βασιλεῦ τῶν ὅλων, ἐπεὶ οἱ μετ' ἐμοῦ συνεστῶτες σὸς δῆμός ἐστιν καὶ οἱ πολιορκούμενοι δὲ ἱερεῖς σοί, δέομαι μήτε κατὰ τούτων ἐκείνοις ὑπακοῦσαι μήτε κατ' ἐκείνων ἃ οὗτοι παρακαλοῦσιν εἰς τέλος ἀγαγεῖν." καὶ τὸν μὲν ταῦτ' εὐξάμενον περιστάντες οἱ πονηροὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατέλευσαν.

1. After these promises had been given to Aretas, he made an expedition against Aristobulus with an army of fifty thousand horse and foot, and beat him in the battle. And when after that victory many went over to Hyrcanus as deserters, Aristobulus was left desolate, and fled to Jerusalem; upon which the king of Arabia took all his army, and made an assault upon the temple, and besieged Aristobulus therein, the people still supporting Hyreanus, and assisting him in the siege, while none but the priests continued with Aristobulus. So Aretas united the forces of the Arabians and of the Jews together, and pressed on the siege vigorously. As this happened at the time when the feast of unleavened bread was celebrated, which we call the passover, the principal men among the Jews left the country, and fled into Egypt. Now there was one, whose name was

Onias, a righteous man he was, and beloved of God, who, in a certain drought, had prayed to God to put an end to the intense heat, and whose prayers God had heard, and had sent them rain. This man had hid himself, because he saw that this sedition would last a great while. However, they brought him to the Jewish camp, and desired, that as by his prayers he had once put an end to the drought, so he would in like manner make imprecations on Aristobulus and those of his faction. And when, upon his refusal, and the excuses that he made, he was still by the multitude compelled to speak, he stood up in the midst of them, and said, "O God, the King of the whole world! since those that stand now with me are thy people, and those that are besieged are also thy priests, I beseech thee, that thou wilt neither hearken to the prayers of those against these, nor bring to effect what these pray against those." Whereupon such wicked Jews as stood about him, as soon as he had made this prayer, stoned him to death.

(2) [25] Ὁ δὲ θεὸς ταύτης αὐτοὺς παραχρῆμα ἐτιμωρήσατο τῆς ὠμότητος καὶ δίκην εἰσεπράξατο τοῦ Ὀνίου φόνου τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ: πολιορκουμένων τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου συνέβη τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐπιστῆναι τὴν καλουμένην φάσκα, καθ' ἣν ἔθος ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πολλὰ θύειν τῷ θεῷ. [26] ἀποροῦντες δὲ θυμάτων οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ἠξίωσαν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους παρασχεῖν χρήματα λαβόντας ἀντὶ τῶν θυμάτων ὅσα θέλουσιν. τῶν δέ, εἰ βούλονται λαβεῖν, χιλίας δραχμὰς ὑπὲρ ἑκάστης κεφαλῆς καταβαλεῖν κελευόντων, προθύμως ὅ τε Ἀριστόβουλος καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς ὑπέστησαν καὶ διὰ τῶν τειχῶν καθιμήσαντες ἔδωκαν αὐτοῖς τὰ χρήματα. [27] κἀκεῖνοι λαβόντες οὐκ ἀπέδωκαν τὰ θύματα, ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτο πονηρίας ἦλθον, ὥστε παραβῆναι τὰς πίστεις καὶ ἀσεβῆσαι τὸν θεὸν τὰ πρὸς τὰς θυσίας μὴ παρασχόντες τοῖς δεομένοις. [28] παρασπονδηθέντες δὲ οἱ ἱερεῖς ηὔξαντο τὸν θεὸν δίκην αὐτῶν εἰσπράξασθαι παρὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀνεβάλετο τὴν τιμωρίαν, ἀλλὰ πνεῦμα πολὺ καὶ βίαιον ἐπιπέμψας τὸν καρπὸν ἁπάσης τῆς χώρας διέφθειρεν, ὡς τὸν μόδιον τοῦ σίτου τότε αὐτοὺς ἐξωνεῖσθαι δραχμῶν ἕνδεκα.

2. But God punished them immediately for this their barbarity, and took vengeance of them for the murder of Onias, in the manner following: While the priests and Aristobulus were besieged, it happened that the feast called the passover was come, at which it is our custom to offer a great number of sacrifices to God; but those that were with Aristobulus wanted sacrifices, and desired that their countrymen without would furnish them with such sacrifices, and assured them they should have as much money for them as they should desire; and when they required them to pay a thousand drachmae for each head of cattle, Aristobulus and the priests willingly undertook to pay for them accordingly, and those within let down the money over the walls, and gave it

them. But when the others had received it, they did not deliver the sacrifices, but arrived at that height of wickedness as to break the assurances they had given, and to be guilty of impiety towards God, by not furnishing those that wanted them with sacrifices. And when the priests found they had been cheated, and that the agreements they had made were violated, they prayed to God that he would avenge them on their countrymen. Nor did he delay that their punishment, but sent a strong and vehement storm of wind, that destroyed the fruits of the whole country, till a modius of wheat was then bought for eleven drachmae.

(3) [29] Ἐν τούτῳ πέμπει Σκαῦρον εἰς Συρίαν Πομπήιος αὐτὸς ὢν ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ καὶ πολεμῶν ἔτι Τιγράνῃ. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Δαμασκὸν Λόλλιον καὶ Μέτελλον νεωστὶ τὴν πόλιν ᾑρηκότας εὑρὼν αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἠπείγετο. [30] παραγενομένου δὲ πρέσβεις ἦκον πρὸς αὐτὸν παρά τε Ἀριστοβούλου καὶ Ὑρκανοῦ συμμαχεῖν ἀξιούντων ἑκατέροις. ὑπισχνουμένου δὲ Ἀριστοβούλου τετρακόσια δώσειν τάλαντα, τοῦ δὲ Ὑρκανοῦ τούτων οὐκ ἐλάττονα παρέξειν, προσδέχεται τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου ὑπόσχεσιν: [31] καὶ γὰρ εὔπορος χρημάτων καὶ μεγαλόψυχος ἦν καὶ μετριωτέρων ἠξίου τυγχάνειν, ὁ δὲ πένης ἦν καὶ γλίσχρος καὶ περὶ μειζόνων τὴν ἄπιστον προύτεινεν ἐπαγγελίαν. οὐ γὰρ ἴσον ἦν βίᾳ πόλιν ἑλεῖν ἐν ταῖς μάλιστα ὀχυρὰν καὶ δυνατήν, ἢ φυγάδας ἐκβαλεῖν μετὰ τοῦ Ναβαταίων πλήθους οὐκ εὖ πρὸς πόλεμον διακειμένων. [32] τούτῳ τοίνυν προσθέμενος διὰ τὰς προειρημένας αἰτίας λαβὼν τὰ χρήματα λύει τὴν πολιορκίαν, κελεύσας ἀναχωρεῖν τὸν Ἀρέταν ἢ πολέμιον αὐτὸν Ῥωμαίων ἀποδειχθήσεσθαι. [33] καὶ Σκαῦρος μὲν εἰς Δαμασκὸν πάλιν ἀνεχώρησεν, Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἐπί τε Ἀρέταν καὶ Ὑρκανὸν ἐστράτευσεν καὶ συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς περὶ τὸν καλούμενον Παπυρῶνα νικᾷ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ κτείνει περὶ ἑξακισχιλίους τῶν πολεμίων, μεθ᾽ ὧν ἔπεσεν καὶ Φαλλίων ὁ Ἀντιπάτρου ἀδελφός.

3. In the mean time Pompey sent Scaurus into Syria, while he was himself in Armenia, and making war with Tigranes; but when Scaurus was come to Damascus, and found that Lollins and Metellus had newly taken the city, he came himself hastily into Judea. And when he was come thither, ambassadors came to him, both from Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, and both desired he would assist them. And when both of them promised to give him money, Aristobulus four hundred talents, and Hyrcanus no less, he accepted of Aristobulus's promise, for he was rich, and had a great soul, and desired to obtain nothing but what was moderate; whereas the other was poor, and tenacious, and made incredible promises in hopes of greater advantages; for it was not the same thing to take a city that was exceeding strong and powerful, as it was to eject out of the country some fugitives, with a greater number of Mabateans, who were no very

warlike people. He therefore made an agreement with Aristobulus, for the reasons before mentioned, and took his money, and raised the siege, and ordered Aretas to depart, or else he should be declared an enemy to the Romans. So Scaurus returned to Damascus again; and Aristobulus, with a great army, made war with Aretas and Hyrcanus, and fought them at a place called Papyron, and beat them in the battle, and slew about six thousand of the enemy, with whom fell Phalion also, the brother of Antipater.

III

CHAPTER 3. How Aristobulus And Hyrcanus Came To Pompey In Order To Argue Who Ought To Have The Kingdom; And How Upon The Plight Of Aristobulus To The Fortress Alexandrium Pompey Led His Army Against Him And Ordered Him To Deliver Up The Fortresses Whereof He Was Possessed.

(1) [34] Μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ Πομπηίου εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἀφικομένου καὶ κοίλην Συρίαν ἐπιόντος ἦκον παρ᾽ αὐτὸν πρέσβεις ἐξ ὅλης Συρίας καὶ Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας: ἔπεμψε γὰρ αὐτῷ μέγα δῶρον Ἀριστόβουλος ἄμπελον χρυσῆν ἐκ πεντακοσίων ταλάντων. [35] μέμνηται δὲ τοῦ δώρου καὶ Στράβων ὁ Καππάδοξ λέγων οὕτως: “ἦλθεν δὲ καὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου πρεσβεία καὶ στέφανος ἀπὸ χρυσῶν τετρακισχιλίων καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας εἴτε ἄμπελος εἴτε κῆπος: τερπωλὴν ὠνόμαζον τὸ δημιούργημα. [36] τοῦτο μέντοι τὸ δῶρον ἱστορήκαμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀνακείμενον ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπετωλίου ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχον Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλέως. ἐτιμήθη δὲ εἶναι πεντακοσίων ταλάντων” Ἀριστόβουλον μὲν οὖν τοῦτο λέγεται πέμψαι τὸν Ἰουδαίων δυνάστην.

1. A Little afterward Pompey came to Damascus, and marched over Celesyria; at which time there came ambassadors to him from all Syria, and Egypt, and out of Judea also, for Aristobulus had sent him a great present, which was a golden vine of the value of five hundred talents. Now Strabo of Cappadocia mentions this present in these words: “There came also an embassage out of Egypt, and a crown of the value of four thousand pieces of gold; and out of Judea there came another, whether you call it a vine or a garden; they call the thing Terpole, the Delight. However, we ourselves saw that present reposited at Rome, in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, with this inscription, ‘The gift of Alexander, the king of the Jews.’ It was valued at five hundred talents; and the report is, that Aristobulus, the governor of the Jews, sent it.”

(2) [37] Μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἦκον πάλιν πρέσβεις πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀντίπατρος μὲν ὑπὲρ Ὑρκανοῦ, Νικόδημος δὲ ὑπὲρ Ἀριστοβούλου, ὃς δὴ καὶ κατηγόρει τῶν λαβόντων χρήματα Γαβινίου μὲν πρότερον Σκαύρου δὲ ὕστερον, τοῦ μὲν τριακόσια τοῦ δὲ τετρακόσια τάλαντα, πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τούτους ἐχθροὺς

αὐτῷ κατασκευάζων. [38] κελεύσας δὲ ἥκειν τοὺς διαμφισβητοῦντας ἐνισταμένου τοῦ ἔαρος ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῶν χειμαδίων ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τῆς Δαμασκηνῆς. καὶ τήν τε ἄκραν ἐν παρόδῳ τὴν ἐν Ἀπαμείᾳ κατέσκαψεν, ἣν ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἐτείχισεν Ἀντίοχος, [39] καὶ τὴν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Μενναίου χώραν κατενόησεν, ἀνδρὸς πονηροῦ καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλάσσονος Διονυσίου τοῦ Τριπολίτου τοῦ πελεκισθέντος, ᾧπερ καὶ κηδεύων ἐτύγχανεν, χιλίοις μέντοι ταλάντοις ἐξωνησαμένου τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων τιμωρίαν, οἷς Πομπήιος τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐμισθοδότησεν. [40] ἐξεῖλεν δὲ καὶ Λυσιάδα χωρίον, οὗ τύραννος ἦν Σίλας ὁ Ἰουδαῖος. διελθὼν δὲ τὰς πόλεις τήν τε Ἡλιούπολιν καὶ τὴν Χαλκίδα καὶ τὸ διεῖργον ὄρος ὑπερβαλὼν τὴν κοίλην προσαγορευομένην Συρίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἦκεν. [41] ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων διήκουσεν καὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων αὐτῶν, οἳ πρός τε ἀλλήλους διεφέροντο Ὑρκανὸς καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος καὶ τὸ ἔθνος πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους, τὸ μὲν οὐκ ἀξιοῦν βασιλεύεσθαι: πάτριον γὰρ εἶναι τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τοῦ τιμωμένου παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς θεοῦ πειθαρχεῖν, ὄντας δὲ τούτους ἀπογόνους τῶν ἱερέων εἰς ἄλλην μετάγειν ἀρχὴν τὸ ἔθνος ζητῆσαι, ὅπως καὶ δοῦλον γένοιτο. [42] Ὑρκανὸς δὲ κατηγόρει, ὅτι πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἀφαιρεθείη τὸ πρεσβεῖον ὑπὸ Ἀριστοβούλου καὶ μικρὸν ἔχοι μέρος τῆς χώρας ὑφ᾽ αὐτῷ, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην βίᾳ λαβὼν Ἀριστόβουλος: [43] τάς τε καταδρομὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὁμόρους καὶ τὰ πειρατήρια τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν συστήσαντα διέβαλεν, οὐκ ἂν οὐδ᾽ ἀποστῆναι λέγων τὸ ἔθνος αὐτοῦ, εἰ μὴ βίαιός τις καὶ ταραχώδης ὑπῆρχεν. συνηγόρουν δὲ αὐτῷ ταῦτα λέγοντι πλείους ἢ χίλιοι τῶν δοκιμωτάτων Ἰουδαίων Ἀντιπάτρου παρασκευάσαντος. [44] ὁ δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἐκπεσεῖν αὐτὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς τὴν ἐκείνου φύσιν ἠτιᾶτο ἄπρακτον οὖσαν καὶ διὰ τοῦτ᾽ εὐκαταφρόνητον, αὐτὸν δ᾽ ἔλεγεν φόβῳ τοῦ μὴ πρὸς ἄλλους μεταστῆναι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν ἀνάγκης αὐτὴν ὑπελθεῖν, προσαγορεύεσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦτο ὅπερ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν πατέρα. [45] καὶ δὴ μάρτυρας τούτων ἐκάλει τοὺς νέους καὶ σοβαρωτέρους, ὧν ἐβδελύττοντο τὰς πορφυρίδας καὶ τὰς κόμας καὶ τὰ φάλαρα καὶ τὸν ἄλλον κόσμον, ὃν ὥσπερ οὐ δίκην ὑφέξοντες, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς εἰς πομπὴν προιόντες περιέκειντο.

2. In a little time afterward came ambassadors again to him, Antipater from Hyrcanus, and Nicodemus from Aristobulus; which last also accused such as had taken bribes; first Gabinius, and then Scaurus, — the one three hundred talents, and the other four hundred; by which procedure he made these two his enemies, besides those he had before. And when Pompey had ordered those that had controversies one with another to come to him in the beginning of the spring, he brought his army out of their winter quarters, and marched into the country of Damascus; and as he went along he demolished the citadel that was at Apamia, which Antiochus Cyzicenus had built, and took cognizance of the country of

Ptolemy Menneus, a wicked man, and not less so than Dionysius of Tripoli, who had been beheaded, who was also his relation by marriage; yet did he buy off the punishment of his crimes for a thousand talents, with which money Pompey paid the soldiers their wages. He also conquered the place called Lysias, of which Silas a Jew was tyrant. And when he had passed over the cities of Heliopolis and Chalcis, and got over the mountain which is on the limit of Colesyria, he came from Pella to Damascus; and there it was that he heard the causes of the Jews, and of their governors Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who were at difference one with another, as also of the nation against them both, which did not desire to be under kingly' government, because the form of government they received from their forefathers was that of subjection to the priests of that God whom they worshipped; and [they complained], that though these two were the posterity of priests, yet did they seek to change the government of their nation to another form, in order to enslave them. Hyrcanus complained, that although he were the elder brother, he was deprived of the prerogative of his birth by Aristobulus, and that he had but a small part of the country under him, Aristobulus having taken away the rest from him by force. He also accused him, that the incursions which had been made into their neighbors' countries, and the piracies that had been at sea, were owing to him; and that the nation would not have revolted, unless Aristobulus had been a man given to violence and disorder; and there were no fewer than a thousand Jews, of the best esteem among them, who confirmed this accusation; which confirmation was procured by Antipater. But Aristobulus alleged against him, that it was Hyrcanus's own temper, which was inactive, and on that account contemptible, which caused him to be deprived of the government; and that for himself, he was necessitated to take it upon him, for fear lest it should be transferred to others. And that as to his title [of king], it was no other than what his father had taken [before him]. He also called for witnesses of what he said some persons who were both young and insolent; whose purple garments, fine heads of hair, and other ornaments, were detested [by the court], and which they appeared in, not as though they were to plead their cause in a court of justice, but as if they were marching in a pompous procession.

(3) [46] Πομπήιος δὲ τούτων ἀκούσας καὶ καταγνοὺς Ἀριστοβούλου βίαν, τότε μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀπέπεμψεν διαλεχθεὶς πρᾴως, ἐλθὼν δ' εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἔλεγεν διατάξειν ἕκαστα, ἐπειδὰν τὰ τῶν Ναβαταίων πρῶτον ἴδῃ. τέως δὲ ἐκέλευσεν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν θεραπεύων ἅμα τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον, μὴ τὴν χώραν ἀποστήσῃ καὶ διακλεισθείη τῶν παρόδων. [47] ἔτυχεν μέντοι τοῦτο ἐξ Ἀριστοβούλου

γενόμενον: οὐ γὰρ ἀναμείνας οὐδὲν ὧν διελέχθη πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Πομπήιος εἰς Δειλον πόλιν ἦλθεν κἀκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀπῆρεν.

3. When Pompey had heard the causes of these two, and had condemned Aristobulus for his violent procedure, he then spake civilly to them, and sent them away; and told them, that when he came again into their country, he would settle all their affairs, after he had first taken a view of the affairs of the Nabateans. In the mean time, he ordered them to be quiet; and treated Aristobulus civilly, lest he should make the nation revolt, and hinder his return; which yet Aristobulus did; for without expecting any further determination, which Pompey had promised them, he went to the city Delius, and thence marched into Judea.

(4) [48] Ὀργίζεται δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Πομπήιος, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ναβαταίους ἀναλαβὼν στρατιὰν ἔκ τε Δαμασκοῦ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Συρίας ἐπικουρικὰ σὺν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίων τάγμασιν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον. [49] ὡς δὲ παραμειψάμενος Πέλλαν καὶ Σκυθόπολιν εἰς Κορέας ἦκεν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ τῆς Ἰουδαίας διεξιόντι τὴν μεσόγειον, ἐνταῦθα εἴς τι περικαλλὲς ἔρυμα ἐπ' ἄκρου τοῦ ὄρους ἱδρυμένον Ἀλεξάνδρειον Ἀριστοβούλου συμπεφευγότος, πέμψας ἐκέλευσεν ἥκειν πρὸς αὐτόν. [50] ὁ δὲ παραινούντων πολλῶν μὴ πολεμεῖν Ῥωμαίοις κάτεισιν καὶ δικαιολογησάμενος πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀναβαίνει Πομπηίου συγχωρήσαντος. [51] καὶ τοῦτ' ἐποίησεν δὶς καὶ τρίς, ἅμα μὲν κολακεύων τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐλπίδα καὶ πρὸς ἕκαστον ὧν κελεύσειεν Πομπήιος ὑπακούειν ὑποκρινόμενος, ἅμα δὲ ἀναχωρῶν εἰς τὸ ἔρυμα ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ καταλύειν αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν ἀφορμὴν αὐτῷ παρασκευαζόμενος, δεδιὼς μὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς Ὑρκανὸν περιστήσῃ. [52] κελεύοντος δὲ Πομπηίου παραδιδόναι τὰ ἐρύματα καὶ τοῖς φρουράρχοις ἐπιστέλλειν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρί, παραδέχεσθαι δὲ ἄλλως ἀπείρητο, πείθεται μέν, δυσανασχετῶν δ' ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ἐν παρασκευῇ τοῦ πολεμεῖν ἐγίνετο. [53] καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ Πομπηίῳ στρατιὰν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἄγοντι καθ' ὁδὸν ἀφικόμενοί τινες ἐκ πόντου τὴν Μιθριδάτου τελευτὴν ἐμήνυον τὴν ἐκ Φαρνάκου τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῷ γενομένην.

4. At this behavior Pompey was angry; and taking with him that army which he was leading against the Nabateans, and the auxiliaries that came from Damascus, and the other parts of Syria, with the other Roman legions which he had with him, he made an expedition against Aristobulus; but as he passed by Pella and Scythopolis, he came to Corem, which is the first entrance into Judea when one passes over the midland countries, where he came to a most beautiful fortress that was built on the top of a mountain called Alexandrium, whither Aristobulus

had fled; and thence Pompey sent his commands to him, that he should come to him. Accordingly, at the persuasions of many that he would not make war with the Romans, he came down; and when he had disputed with his brother about the right to the government, he went up again to the citadel, as Pompey gave him leave to do; and this he did two or three times, as flattering himself with the hopes of having the kingdom granted him; so that he still pretended he would obey Pompey in whatsoever he commanded, although at the same time he retired to his fortress, that he might not depress himself too low, and that he might be prepared for a war, in case it should prove as he feared, that Pompey would transfer the government to Hyrcanus. But when Pompey enjoined Aristobulus to deliver up the fortresses he held, and to send an injunction to their governors under his own hand for that purpose, for they had been forbidden to deliver them up upon any other commands, he submitted indeed to do so; but still he retired in displeasure to Jerusalem, and made preparation for war. A little after this, certain persons came out of Pontus, and informed Pompey, as he was on the way, and conducting his army against Aristobulus, that Mithridates was dead, and was slain by his son Pharmaces.

IV

CHAPTER 4. How Pompey When The Citizens Of Jerusalem Shut Their Gates Against Him Besieged The City And Took It By Force; As Also What Other Things He Did In Judea.

(1) [54] Στρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ περὶ Ἰεριχοῦντα, οὗ τὸν φοίνικα συμβέβηκε τρέφεσθαι καὶ τὸ ὀποβάλσαμον μύρων ἀκρότατον, ὃ τῶν θάμνων τεμνομένων ὀξεῖ λίθῳ ἀναπιδύει ὥσπερ ὀπός, ἔωθεν ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐχώρει. [55] καὶ μετανοήσας Ἀριστόβουλος ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς Πομπήιον, καὶ χρήματά τε διδοὺς καὶ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις αὐτὸν εἰσδεχόμενος παρεκάλει παύσασθαι τοῦ πολέμου καὶ πράττειν μετ᾽ εἰρήνης ὅ τι βούλεται. συγγνοὺς δὲ ὁ Πομπήιος αὐτῷ δεομένῳ πέμπει Γαβίνιον καὶ στρατιώτας ἐπί τε τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὴν πόλιν. [56] οὐ μὴν ἐπράχθη τι τούτων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπανῆλθεν ὁ Γαβίνιος τῆς τε πόλεως ἀποκλεισθεὶς καὶ τὰ χρήματα μὴ λαβών, τῶν Ἀριστοβούλου στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ἐπιτρεψάντων τὰ συγκείμενα γενέσθαι. [57] ὀργὴ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτοις Πομπήιον λαμβάνει, καὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ἐν φυλακῇ καταστήσας αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔρχεται τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα οὖσαν ὀχυράν, μόνῳ δὲ τῷ βορείῳ μέρει φαύλως ἔχουσαν: περιέρχεται γὰρ αὐτὴν φάραγξ εὐρεῖά τε καὶ βαθεῖα ἐντὸς ἀπολαμβάνουσα τὸ ἱερὸν λιθίνῳ περιβόλῳ καρτερῶς πάνυ τετειχισμένον.

1. Now when Pompey had pitched his camp at Jericho, [where the palm tree grows, and that balsam which is an ointment of all the most precious, which upon any incision made in the wood with a sharp stone, distills out thence like a juice,] he marched in the morning to Jerusalem. Hereupon Aristobulus repented of what he was doing, and came to Pompey, had [promised to] give him money, and received him into Jerusalem, and desired that he would leave off the war, and do what he pleased peaceably. So Pompey, upon his entreaty, forgave him, and sent Gabinius, and soldiers with him, to receive the money and the city: yet was no part of this performed; but Gabinius came back, being both excluded out of the city, and receiving none of the money promised, because Aristobulus's soldiers would not permit the agreements to be executed. At this Pompey was very angry, and put Aristobulus into prison, and came himself to the city, which was strong on every side, excepting the north, which was not so well fortified, for there was a broad and deep ditch that encompassed the city and included within it the temple, which was itself encompassed about with a very strong stone wall.

(2) [58] Ἦν δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔνδον στάσις οὐχ ὁμονοούντων περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἐδόκει παραδιδόναι Πομπηίῳ τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ τὰ Ἀριστοβούλου φρονοῦντες ἀποκλείειν τε καὶ πολεμεῖν παρήνουν τῷ κἀκεῖνον ἔχεσθαι δεδεμένον. φθάσαντες δὲ οὗτοι τὸ ἱερὸν καταλαμβάνουσι καὶ τὴν τείνουσαν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ γέφυραν εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰς πολιορκίαν εὐτρεπιζόμενοι. [59] οἱ δὲ ἕτεροι δεξάμενοι τὴν στρατιὰν ἐνεχείρισαν Πομπηίῳ τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰ βασίλεια. Πομπήιος δὲ Πείσωνα τὸν ὑποστράτηγον πέμψας σὺν στρατιᾷ τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰ βασίλεια ἐφρούρει καὶ τὰς οἰκίας τὰς πρὸς τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ ὅσα ἦν ἔξω περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ὠχύρου. [60] καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον λόγους συμβατηρίους τοῖς ἐντὸς προσέφερεν, οὐχ ὑπακουόντων δὲ εἰς ἃ προεκαλεῖτο τὰ πέριξ ἐτείχιζε χωρία πρὸς ἅπαντα Ὑρκανοῦ προθύμως ὑπηρετοῦντος. Πομπήιος δὲ ἔωθεν στρατοπεδεύεται κατὰ τὸ βόρειον τοῦ ἱεροῦ μέρος, ὅθεν ἦν ἐπίμαχον. [61] ἀνεστήκεσαν δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα μεγάλοι πύργοι καὶ τάφρος τε ὀρώρυκτο καὶ βαθείᾳ περιείχετο φάραγγι: ἀπερρώγει γὰρ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τῆς γεφύρας ἀνατετραμμένης ἐφ᾽ οὗ δὴ Πομπήιος καὶ τὸ χῶμα ὁσημέραι ταλαιπωρούμενος ἐγήγερτο τεμνόντων τὴν πέριξ ὕλην Ῥωμαίων. [62] καὶ ἐπειδὴ τοῦτ᾽ εἶχεν ἱκανῶς μόλις πλησθείσης τῆς τάφρου διὰ βάθος ἄπειρον προσβαλὼν μηχανὰς καὶ ὄργανα ἐκ Τύρου κομισθέντα ἐπιστήσας κατήρασσε τὸ ἱερὸν τοῖς πετροβόλοις. [63] εἰ δὲ μὴ πάτριον ἦν ἡμῖν ἀργεῖν τὰς ἑβδομάδας ἡμέρας, οὐκ ἂν ἠνύσθη τὸ χῶμα κωλυόντων ἐκείνων: ἄρχοντας μὲν γὰρ μάχης καὶ τύπτοντας ἀμύνασθαι δίδωσιν ὁ νόμος, ἄλλο δέ τι δρῶντας τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἐᾷ.

2. Now there was a sedition of the men that were within the city, who did not agree what was to be done in their present circumstances, while some thought it best to deliver up the city to Pompey; but Aristobulus's party exhorted them to shut the gates, because he was kept in prison. Now these prevented the others, and seized upon the temple, and cut off the bridge which reached from it to the city, and prepared themselves to abide a siege; but the others admitted Pompey's army in, and delivered up both the city and the king's palace to him. So Pompey sent his lieutenant Piso with an army, and placed garrisons both in the city and in the palace, to secure them, and fortified the houses that joined to the temple, and all those which were more distant and without it. And in the first place, he offered terms of accommodation to those within; but when they would not comply with what was desired, he encompassed all the places thereabout with a wall, wherein Hyrcanus did gladly assist him on all occasions; but Pompey pitched his camp within [the wall], on the north part of the temple, where it was most practicable; but even on that side there were great towers, and a ditch had been dug, and a deep valley begirt it round about, for on the parts towards the city were precipices, and the bridge on which Pompey had gotten in was broken

down. However, a bank was raised, day by day, with a great deal of labor, while the Romans cut down materials for it from the places round about. And when this bank was sufficiently raised, and the ditch filled up, though but poorly, by reason of its immense depth, he brought his mechanical engines and battering-rams from Tyre, and placing them on the bank, he battered the temple with the stones that were thrown against it. And had it not been our practice, from the days of our forefathers, to rest on the seventh day, this bank could never have been perfected, by reason of the opposition the Jews would have made; for though our law gives us leave then to defend ourselves against those that begin to fight with us and assault us, yet does it not permit us to meddle with our enemies while they do any thing else.

(3) [64] Ὃ δὴ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι συνιδόντες κατ᾽ ἐκείνας τὰς ἡμέρας, ἃ δὴ σάββατα καλοῦμεν, οὔτ᾽ ἔβαλλον τοὺς Ἰουδαίους οὔτε εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ὑπήντων, χοῦν δὲ καὶ πύργους ἀνίστασαν καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα προσῆγον, ὥστ᾽ αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἐνεργὰ ταῦτ᾽ εἶναι. [65] μάθοι δ᾽ ἄν τις ἐντεῦθεν τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ἧς ἔχομεν περὶ τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβείας καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν νόμων, μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πολιορκίας διὰ φόβον ἐμποδιζομένων πρὸς τὰς ἱερουργίας, ἀλλὰ δὶς τῆς ἡμέρας πρωί τε καὶ περὶ ἐνάτην ὥραν ἱερουργούντων ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ, καὶ μηδὲ εἴ τι περὶ τὰς προσβολὰς δύσκολον εἴη τὰς θυσίας παυόντων. [66] καὶ γὰρ ἁλούσης τῆς πόλεως περὶ τρίτον μῆνα τῇ τῆς νηστείας ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ ἐνάτην καὶ ἑβδομηκοστὴν καὶ ἑκατοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα ὑπατευόντων Γαίου Ἀντωνίου καὶ Μάρκου Τυλλίου Κικέρωνος οἱ πολέμιοι μὲν εἰσπεσόντες ἔσφαττον τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, [67] οἱ δὲ πρὸς ταῖς θυσίαις οὐδὲν ἧττον ἱερουργοῦντες διετέλουν, οὔτε ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου τοῦ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς οὔθ᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἤδη φονευομένων ἀναγκασθέντες ἀποδρᾶναι πᾶν θ᾽ ὅ τι δέοι παθεῖν τοῦτο παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὑπομεῖναι τοῖς βωμοῖς κρεῖττον εἶναι νομίζοντες ἢ παρελθεῖν τι τῶν νομίμων. [68] ὅτι δὲ οὐ λόγος ταῦτα μόνον ἐστὶν ἐγκώμιον ψευδοῦς εὐσεβείας ἐμφανίζων, ἀλλ᾽ ἀλήθεια, μαρτυροῦσι πάντες οἱ τὰς κατὰ Πομπήιον πράξεις ἀναγράψαντες, ἐν οἷς καὶ Στράβων καὶ Νικόλαος καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῖς Τίτος Λίβιος ὁ τῆς Ῥωμαικῆς ἱστορίας συγγραφεύς.

3. Which thing when the Romans understood, on those days which we call Sabbaths they threw nothing at the Jews, nor came to any pitched battle with them; but raised up their earthen banks, and brought their engines into such forwardness, that they might do execution the next day. And any one may hence learn how very great piety we exercise towards God, and the observance of his laws, since the priests were not at all hindered from their sacred ministrations by their fear during this siege, but did still twice a-day, in the morning and about the ninth hour, offer their sacrifices on the altar; nor did they omit those sacrifices, if any melancholy accident happened by the stones that were thrown among them;

for although the city was taken on the third month, on the day of the fast, upon the hundred and seventy-ninth olympiad, when Caius Antonius and Marcus Tullius Cicero were consuls, and the enemy then fell upon them, and cut the throats of those that were in the temple; yet could not those that offered the sacrifices be compelled to run away, neither by the fear they were in of their own lives, nor by the number that were already slain, as thinking it better to suffer whatever came upon them, at their very altars, than to omit any thing that their laws required of them. And that this is not a mere brag, or an encomium to manifest a degree of our piety that was false, but is the real truth, I appeal to those that have written of the acts of Pompey; and, among them, to Strabo and Nicolaus [of Damascus]; and besides these two, Titus Livius, the writer of the Roman History, who will bear witness to this thing.

(4) [69] Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ μηχανήματος προσαχθέντος σεισθεὶς ὁ μέγιστος τῶν πύργων κατηνέχθη καὶ παρέρρηξέν τι χωρίον, εἰσεχέοντο μὲν οἱ πολέμιοι, πρῶτος δὲ αὐτῶν Κορνήλιος Φαῦστος Σύλλα παῖς σὺν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώταις ἐπέβη τοῦ τείχους, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Φούριος ἑκατοντάρχης ἅμα τοῖς ἑπομένοις κατὰ θάτερον μέρος, διὰ μέσων δὲ Φάβιος καὶ αὐτὸς ἑκατοντάρχης σὺν στίφει καρτερῷ. [70] φόνου δὲ ἦν τὰ πάντα ἀνάπλεα. καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, οἱ δ' ὑπὸ ἀλλήλων ἀνῃροῦντο, εἰσὶν δ' οἳ καὶ κατὰ κρημνῶν ἑαυτοὺς ἐρρίπτουν καὶ πῦρ ἐνιέντες εἰς τὰς οἰκίας ἐνεπίμπραντο τὰ γινόμενα καρτερεῖν οὐχ ὑπομένοντες. [71] ἔπεσον δὲ τῶν μὲν Ἰουδαίων εἰς μυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους, Ῥωμαίων δὲ πάνυ ὀλίγοι. ἐλήφθη δὲ αἰχμάλωτος καὶ Ἀψάλωμος, θεῖος ἅμα καὶ πενθερὸς Ἀριστοβούλου. παρηνομήθη δὲ οὐ σμικρὰ περὶ τὸν ναὸν ἄβατόν τε ὄντα ἐν τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ καὶ ἀόρατον: [72] παρῆλθεν γὰρ εἰς τὸ ἐντὸς ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ εἶδον ὅσα μὴ θεμιτὸν ἦν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἢ μόνοις τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν. ὄντων δὲ τραπέζης τε χρυσῆς καὶ λυχνίας ἱερᾶς καὶ σπονδείων καὶ πλήθους ἀρωμάτων, χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς ἱερῶν χρημάτων εἰς δύο χιλιάδας ταλάντων, οὐδενὸς ἥψατο δι' εὐσέβειαν, ἀλλὰ κἀν τούτῳ ἀξίως ἔπραξεν τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς. [73] τῇ τε ὑστεραίᾳ καθαίρειν παραγγείλας τὸ ἱερὸν τοῖς ναοπόλοις καὶ τὰ νόμιμα ἐπιφέρειν τῷ θεῷ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀπέδωκεν Ὑρκανῷ διά τε τἆλλα ὅσα χρήσιμος ὑπῆρξεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ὅτι τοὺς κατὰ τὴν χώραν Ἰουδαίους Ἀριστοβούλῳ συμπολεμεῖν ἐκώλυσεν, καὶ τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ πολέμου τῷ πελέκει διεχρήσατο. τὸν δὲ Φαῦστον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὅσοι τῷ τείχει προθύμως ἐπέβησαν τῶν πρεπόντων ἀριστείων ἠξίωσεν. [74] καὶ τὰ μὲν Ἱεροσόλυμα ὑποτελῆ φόρου Ῥωμαίοις ἐποίησεν, ἃς δὲ πρότερον οἱ ἔνοικοι πόλεις ἐχειρώσαντο τῆς κοίλης Συρίας ἀφελόμενος ὑπὸ τῷ σφετέρῳ στρατηγῷ ἔταξεν καὶ τὸ σύμπαν ἔθνος ἐπὶ μέγα πρότερον αἰρόμενον ἐντὸς τῶν ἰδίων ὅρων συνέστειλεν. [75] καὶ Γάδαρα μὲν μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν καταστραφεῖσαν

ἀνέκτισεν Δημητρίῳ χαριζόμενος τῷ Γαδαρεῖ ἀπελευθέρῳ αὐτοῦ: τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς Ἵππον καὶ Σκυθόπολιν καὶ Πέλλαν καὶ Δῖον καὶ Σαμάρειαν ἔτι τε Μάρισαν καὶ Ἄζωτον καὶ Ἰάμνειαν καὶ Ἀρέθουσαν τοῖς οἰκήτορσιν ἀπέδωκεν. [76] καὶ ταύτας μὲν ἐν τῇ μεσογείῳ χωρὶς τῶν κατεσκαμμένων, Γάζαν δὲ πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ Ἰόππην καὶ Δῶρα καὶ Στράτωνος πύργον, ἣ κτίσαντος αὐτὴν Ἡρώδου μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ λιμέσιν τε καὶ ναοῖς κοσμήσαντος, Καισάρεια μετωνομάσθη, πάσας ὁ Πομπήιος ἀφῆκεν ἐλευθέρας καὶ προσένειμεν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ.

4. But when the battering-engine was brought near, the greatest of the towers was shaken by it, and fell down, and broke down a part of the fortifications, so the enemy poured in apace; and Cornelius Faustus, the son of Sylla, with his soldiers, first of all ascended the wall, and next to him Furius the centurion, with those that followed on the other part, while Fabius, who was also a centurion, ascended it in the middle, with a great body of men after him. But now all was full of slaughter; some of the Jews being slain by the Romans, and some by one another; nay, some there were who threw themselves down the precipices, or put fire to their houses, and burnt them, as not able to bear the miseries they were under. Of the Jews there fell twelve thousand, but of the Romans very few. Absalom, who was at once both uncle and father-in-law to Aristobulus, was taken captive; and no small enormities were committed about the temple itself, which, in former ages, had been inaccessible, and seen by none; for Pompey went into it, and not a few of those that were with him also, and saw all that which it was unlawful for any other men to see but only for the high priests. There were in that temple the golden table, the holy candlestick, and the pouring vessels, and a great quantity of spices; and besides these there were among the treasures two thousand talents of sacred money: yet did Pompey touch nothing of all this, on account of his regard to religion; and in this point also he acted in a manner that was worthy of his virtue. The next day he gave order to those that had the charge of the temple to cleanse it, and to bring what offerings the law required to God; and restored the high priesthood to Hyrcanus, both because he had been useful to him in other respects, and because he hindered the Jews in the country from giving Aristobulus any assistance in his war against him. He also cut off those that had been the authors of that war; and bestowed proper rewards on Faustus, and those others that mounted the wall with such alacrity; and he made Jerusalem tributary to the Romans, and took away those cities of Celesyria which the inhabitants of Judea had subdued, and put them under the government of the Roman president, and confined the whole nation, which had elevated itself so high before, within its own bounds. Moreover, he rebuilt Gadara, which had been demolished a little before, to gratify Demetrius of Gadara, who was his

freedman, and restored the rest of the cities, Hippos, and Scythopolis, and Pella, and Dios, and Samaria, as also Marissa, and Ashdod, and Jamnia, and Arethusa, to their own inhabitants: these were in the inland parts. Besides those that had been demolished, and also of the maritime cities, Gaza, and Joppa, and Dora, and Strato's Tower; which last Herod rebuilt after a glorious manner, and adorned with havens and temples, and changed its name to Caesarea. All these Pompey left in a state of freedom, and joined them to the province of Syria.

(5) [77] Τούτου τοῦ πάθους τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις αἴτιοι κατέστησαν Ὑρκανὸς καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος πρὸς ἀλλήλους στασιάσαντες: τήν τε γὰρ ἐλευθερίαν ἀπεβάλομεν καὶ ὑπήκοοι Ῥωμαίοις κατέστημεν καὶ τὴν χώραν, ἣν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐκτησάμεθα τοὺς Σύρους ἀφελόμενοι, ταύτην ἠναγκάσθημεν ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς Σύροις, [78] καὶ προσέτι πλείω ἢ μύρια τάλαντα Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ παρ' ἡμῶν εἰσεπράξαντο, καὶ ἡ βασιλεία πρότερον τοῖς κατὰ γένος ἀρχιερεῦσιν διδομένη, τιμὴ δημοτικῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐγένετο. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων κατὰ χώραν ἐροῦμεν. [79] Πομπήιος δὲ τήν τε κοίλην ἄλλην Συρίαν ἕως Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ καὶ Αἰγύπτου Σκαύρῳ παραδοὺς καὶ δύο τάγματα Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ Κιλικίας ᾤχετο ἐπειγόμενος εἰς Ῥώμην. ἐπήγετο δὲ μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς καὶ Ἀριστόβουλον δεδεμένον: δύο γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτῷ θυγατέρες καὶ τοσοῦτοι υἱεῖς, ὧν Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ἀπέδρα, ὁ δὲ νεώτερος Ἀντίγονος συναπεκομίζετο εἰς Ῥώμην ἅμα ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς.

5. Now the occasions of this misery which came upon Jerusalem were Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, by raising a sedition one against the other; for now we lost our liberty, and became subject to the Romans, and were deprived of that country which we had gained by our arms from the Syrians, and were compelled to restore it to the Syrians. Moreover, the Romans exacted of us, in a little time, above ten thousand talents; and the royal authority, which was a dignity formerly bestowed on those that were high priests, by the right of their family, became the property of private men. But of these matters we shall treat in their proper places. Now Pompey committed Celesyria, as far as the river Euphrates and Egypt, to Scaurus, with two Roman legions, and then went away to Cilicia, and made haste to Rome. He also carried bound along with him Aristobulus and his children; for he had two daughters, and as many sons; the one of which ran away, but the younger, Antigonus, was carried to Rome, together with his sisters.

V

CHAPTER 5. How Scaurus Made A League Of Mutual Assistance With Aretas; And What Gabinius Did In Judea, After He Had Conquered Alexander, The Son Of Aristobulus.

(1) [80] Σκαύρου δ᾽ ἐπὶ Πέτραν τῆς Ἀραβίας στρατεύσαντος καὶ διὰ τὸ δυσάλωτον εἶναι τὰ ἐν κύκλῳ δῃοῦντος αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος λιμήναντος Ἀντίπατρος κατ᾽ ἐντολὴν Ὑρκανοῦ σῖτον ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, ὅσων ἐνέδει, παρεῖχεν. [81] πεμφθεὶς δὲ πρὸς Ἀρέταν πρεσβευτὴς ὑπὸ Σκαύρου διὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ξενίαν πείθει αὐτὸν ἀργύριον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ δῃωθῆναι τὴν χώραν δοῦναι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγγυητὴς τριακοσίων ταλάντων γίνεται. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔλυσε τὸν πόλεμον Σκαῦρος οὐχ ἧττον αὐτὸς ἢ συνέβαινεν Ἀρέταν ἐπιθυμεῖν τοῦτο γενέσθαι βουλόμενος.

1. Scaurus made now an expedition against Petrea, in Arabia, and set on fire all the places round about it, because of the great difficulty of access to it. And as his army was pinched by famine, Antipater furnished him with corn out of Judea, and with whatever else he wanted, and this at the command of Hyrcanus. And when he was sent to Aretas, as an ambassador by Scaurus, because he had lived with him formerly, he persuaded Aretas to give Scaurus a sum of money, to prevent the burning of his country, and undertook to be his surety for three hundred talents. So Scaurus, upon these terms, ceased to make war any longer; which was done as much at Scaurus's desire, as at the desire of Aretas.

(2) [82] Χρόνῳ δ᾽ ὕστερον Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν Ἰουδαίαν κατατρέχοντος τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου παιδὸς Γαβίνιος ἐκ Ῥώμης στρατηγὸς εἰς Συρίαν ἦκεν, ὃς ἄλλα τε λόγου ἄξια διεπράξατο καὶ ἐπ᾽ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐστράτευσεν, μηκέτι Ὑρκανοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου ῥώμην ἀντέχειν δυναμένου, ἀλλ᾽ ἀνεγείρειν ἤδη καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τεῖχος ἐπιχειροῦντος, ὅπερ καθεῖλεν Πομπήιος. [83] ἀλλὰ τούτου μὲν αὐτὸν ἐπέσχον οἱ ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαῖοι. περιιὼν δὲ ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν χώραν πολλοὺς ὥπλιζεν τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ συνέλεξεν ταχὺ μυρίους μὲν ὁπλίτας πεντακοσίους δὲ πρὸς τοῖς χιλίοις ἱππεῖς, Ἀλεξάνδρειόν τε ὠχύρου τὸ πρὸς ταῖς Κορέαις ἔρυμα καὶ Μαχαιροῦντα πρὸς τοῖς Ἀραβίοις ὄρεσιν. [84] ἔρχεται οὖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν Γαβίνιος Μᾶρκον Ἀντώνιον προπέμψας σὺν ἄλλοις ἡγεμόσιν: οἱ δὲ ὁπλίσαντες Ῥωμαίων τοὺς ἑπομένους καὶ σὺν τούτοις τοὺς ὑπηκόους Ἰουδαίους, ὧν Πειθόλαος ἡγεῖτο καὶ Μάλιχος, προσλαβόντες δὲ καὶ τὸ Ἀντιπάτρου ἑταιρικὸν ὑπήντων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ: ἠκολούθει δὲ καὶ Γαβίνιος σὺν τῇ φάλαγγι. [85]

καὶ ἀναχωρεῖ μὲν ἐγγὺς Ἱεροσολύμων Ἀλέξανδρος, συμπεσόντων δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἐκεῖ καὶ μάχης γενομένης κτείνουσι μὲν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν πολεμίων περὶ τρισχιλίους, ζωγροῦσι δὲ οὐκ ἔλαττον.

2. Some time after this, when Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, made an incursion into Judea, Gabinius came from Rome into Syria, as commander of the Roman forces. He did many considerable actions; and particularly made war with Alexander, since Hyrcanus was not yet able to oppose his power, but was already attempting to rebuild the wall of Jerusalem, which Pompey had overthrown, although the Romans which were there restrained him from that his design. However, Alexander went over all the country round about, and armed many of the Jews, and suddenly got together ten thousand armed footmen, and fifteen hundred horsemen, and fortified Alexandrium, a fortress near to Corem, and Macherus, near the mountains of Arabia. Gabinius therefore came upon him, having sent Marcus Antonius, with other commanders, before. These armed such Romans as followed them; and, together with them, such Jews as were subject to them, whose leaders were Pitholaus and Malichus; and they took with them also their friends that were with Antipater, and met Alexander, while Gabinius himself followed with his legion. Hereupon Alexander retired to the neighborhood of Jerusalem, where they fell upon one another, and it came to a pitched battle, in which the Romans slew of their enemies about three thousand, and took a like number alive.

(3) [86] Ἐν τούτῳ Γαβίνιος ἐπ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδρειον ἐλθὼν προυκαλεῖτο τοὺς ἔνδον εἰς διαλύσεις συγγνώσεσθαι περὶ τῶν πρόσθεν αὐτοῖς ἡμαρτημένων ὁμολογῶν. στρατοπεδευομένων δὲ πολλῶν πρὸ τοῦ ἐρύματος πολεμίων, ἐφ᾽ οὓς ἀνῆεσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος ἐπιφανῶς ἀγωνισάμενος καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνας ἔδοξεν ἠριστευκέναι. [87] Γαβίνιος μὲν οὖν μέρος τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐνταυθοῖ καταλιπών, ἕως ἂν ἐκπολιορκηθῇ τὸ χωρίον, αὐτὸς ἐπῄει τὴν ἄλλην Ἰουδαίαν, καὶ ὅσαις ἐπετύγχανεν καθῃρημέναις τῶν πόλεων κτίζειν παρεκελεύετο. [88] καὶ ἀνεκτίσθησαν Σαμάρεια καὶ Ἄζωτος καὶ Σκυθόπολις καὶ Ἀνθηδὼν καὶ Ῥάφεια καὶ Ἄδωρα Μάρισά τε καὶ Γάζα καὶ ἄλλαι οὐκ ὀλίγαι. τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων πειθομένων οἷς ὁ Γαβίνιος προσέταττεν βεβαίως οἰκηθῆναι τότε συνέβαινε τὰς πόλεις πολὺν χρόνον ἐρήμους γενομένας.

3. At which time Gabinius came to Alexandrium, and invited those that were in it to deliver it up on certain conditions, and promised that then their former offenses should be forgiven. But as a great number of the enemy had pitched their camp before the fortress, whom the Romans attacked, Marcus Antonius fought bravely, and slew a great number, and seemed to come off with the

greatest honor. So Gabinius left part of his army there, in order to take the place, and he himself went into other parts of Judea, and gave order to rebuild all the cities that he met with that had been demolished; at which time were rebuilt Samaria, Ashdod, Scythopolis, Anthedon, Raphia, and Dora; Marissa also, and Gaza, and not a few others besides. And as the men acted according to Gabinius's command, it came to pass, that at this time these cities were securely inhabited, which had been desolate for a long time.

(4) [89] Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπάνεισιν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρειον, καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν αὐτοῦ κρατύνοντος διαπρεσβεύεται πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρος συγγινώσκειν τε αὐτῷ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων δεόμενος καὶ παραδιδοὺς τῶν ἐρυμάτων Ὑρκανίαν τε καὶ Μαχαιροῦντα, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειον. [90] καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Γαβίνιος κατέσκαψεν. τῆς δ' Ἀλεξάνδρου μητρὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθούσης, ἣ ἐφρόνει τὰ Ῥωμαίων τοῦ τε ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τέκνων ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐχομένων, συνεχώρησεν αὐτῇ ταῦτα ἅπερ ἠξίου, καὶ διοικησάμενος τὰ πρὸς αὐτὴν Ὑρκανὸν κατήγαγεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα σχήσοντα τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐπιμέλειαν. [91] πέντε δὲ συνέδρια καταστήσας εἰς ἴσας μοίρας διένειμε τὸ ἔθνος, καὶ ἐπολιτεύοντο οἱ μὲν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις οἱ δὲ ἐν Γαδάροις οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἀμαθοῦντι, τέταρτοι δ' ἦσαν ἐν Ἱεριχοῦντι, καὶ τὸ πέμπτον ἐν Σαπφώροις τῆς Γαλιλαίας. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπηλλαγμένοι δυναστείας ἐν ἀριστοκρατίᾳ διῆγον.

4. When Gabinius had done thus in the country, he returned to Alexandrium; and when he urged on the siege of the place, Alexander sent an embassage to him, desiring that he would pardon his former offenses; he also delivered up the fortresses, Hyrcania and Macherus, and at last Alexandrium itself which fortresses Gabinius demolished. But when Alexander's mother, who was of the side of the Romans, as having her husband and other children at Rome, came to him, he granted her whatsoever she asked; and when he had settled matters with her, he brought Hyrcanus to Jerusalem, and committed the care of the temple to him. And when he had ordained five councils, he distributed the nation into the same number of parts. So these councils governed the people; the first was at Jerusalem, the second at Gadara, the third at Amathus, the fourth at Jericho, and the fifth at Sepphoris in Galilee. So the Jews were now freed from monarchic authority, and were governed by an aristocracy.

VI

CHAPTER 6. How Gabinius Caught Aristobulus After He Had Fled From Rome, And Sent Him Back To Rome Again; And Now The Same Gabinius As He Returned Out Of Egypt Overcame Alexander And The Nabateans In Battle.

(1) [92] Ἀριστοβούλου δὲ διαδράντος ἐκ Ῥώμης εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρειον, ὅπερ ἦν νεωστὶ κατεσκαμμένον, ἀνακτίζειν προαιρουμένου, πέμπει Γαβίνιος ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν στρατιώτας καὶ ἡγεμόνας Σισένναν τε καὶ Ἀντώνιον καὶ Σερουίλιον κωλύσοντάς τε τὸ χωρίον αὐτὸν κατασχεῖν καὶ συλληψομένους αὐτόν. [93] πολλοὶ δ᾽ Ἀριστοβούλῳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν εὔκλειαν προσέρρεον καὶ δὴ καὶ νεωτέροις χαίροντες ἀεὶ πράγμασιν: Πειθόλαος γοῦν τις ὑποστράτηγος ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὢν μετὰ χιλίων ηὐτομόλησεν πρὸς αὐτόν: [94] οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν προστιθεμένων ἦσαν ἄνοπλοι. διεγνώκει δ᾽ εἰς Μαχαιροῦντα ἀπανίστασθαι Ἀριστόβουλος: τούτους μὲν οὖν ἀπέλυσεν ἀπόρους ὄντας: οὐ γὰρ ἐγίνοντο αὐτῷ χρήσιμοι πρὸς τὰ ἔργα: τοὺς δ᾽ ὡπλισμένους περὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους ὄντας ἀναλαβὼν ᾤχετο. [95] καὶ προσπεσόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων καρτερῶς ἡττῶνται τῇ μάχῃ γενναίως οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ προθύμως ἀγωνισάμενοι, βιασαμένων τε τῶν πολεμίων εἰς φυγὴν τρέπονται. καὶ φονεύονται μὲν αὐτῶν εἰς πεντακισχιλίους, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ σκεδασθέντες ὡς ἐδύναντο σώζειν αὐτοὺς ἐπειρῶντο. [96] χιλίων μέντοι πλείονας ἔχων Ἀριστόβουλος εἰς Μαχαιροῦντα διέφυγεν ὠχύρου τε τὸ χωρίον καὶ πράττων κακῶς οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐλπίδος ἀγαθῆς εἴχετο. δύο δ᾽ ἡμέρας ἀντισχὼν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ καὶ πολλὰ τραύματα λαβὼν αἰχμάλωτος μετ᾽ Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ παιδός, ὃς δὴ καὶ συνέφυγεν ἐκ Ῥώμης αὐτῷ, πρὸς Γαβίνιον ἄγεται. [97] καὶ τοιαύτῃ μὲν Ἀριστόβουλος χρησάμενος τύχῃ πάλιν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀναπέμπεται καὶ δεθεὶς αὐτόθι κατείχετο, βασιλεύσας μὲν καὶ ἀρχιερατεύσας ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἕξ, ἀνὴρ δὲ λαμπρὸς καὶ μεγαλόψυχος γενόμενος. τὰ μέντοι τέκνα αὐτοῦ ἀνῆκεν ἡ σύγκλητος Γαβινίου γράψαντος τοῦθ᾽ ὑπεσχῆσθαι τῇ μητρὶ παραδούσῃ τὰ ἐρύματα. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπανέρχεται.

1. Now Aristobulus ran away from Rome to Judea, and set about the rebuilding of Alexandrium, which had been newly demolished. Hereupon Gabinius sent soldiers against him, add for their commanders Sisenna, and Antonius, and Servilius, in order to hinder him from getting possession of the country, and to take him again. And indeed many of the Jews ran to Aristobulus, on account of

his former glory, as also because they should be glad of an innovation. Now there was one Pitholaus, a lieutenant at Jerusalem, who deserted to him with a thousand men, although a great number of those that came to him were unarmed; and when Aristobulus had resolved to go to Macherus, he dismissed those people, because they were unarmed; for they could not be useful to him in what actions he was going about; but he took with him eight thousand that were armed, and marched on; and as the Romans fell upon them severely, the Jews fought valiantly, but were beaten in the battle; and when they had fought with alacrity, but were overborne by the enemy, they were put to flight; of whom were slain about five thousand, and the rest being dispersed, tried, as well as they were able, to save themselves. However, Aristobulus had with him still above a thousand, and with them he fled to Macherus, and fortified the place; and though he had had ill success, he still had good hope of his affairs; but when he had struggled against the siege for two days' time, and had received many wounds, he was brought as a captive to Gabinius, with his son Antigonus, who also fled with him from Rome. And this was the fortune of Aristobulus, who was sent back again to Rome, and was there retained in bonds, having been both king and high priest for three years and six months; and was indeed an eminent person, and one of a great soul. However, the senate let his children go, upon Gabinius's writing to them that he had promised their mother so much when she delivered up the fortresses to him; and accordingly they then returned into Judea.

(2) [98] Γαβινίῳ δὲ ἐπὶ Πάρθους στρατεύοντι καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἤδη πεπεραιωμένῳ μετέδοξεν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὑποστρέψαντι καταστῆσαι Πτολεμαῖον εἰς αὐτήν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται. [99] Γαβινίῳ μέντοι κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν ἣν ἐφ' Ὑρκανὸν ἐστείλατο Ἀντίπατρος ὑπηρέτησεν σῖτον καὶ ὅπλα καὶ χρήματα, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ Πηλούσιον τῶν Ἰουδαίων οὗτος αὐτῷ προσηγάγετο καὶ συμμάχους ἐποίησεν φύλακας ὄντας τῶν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐμβολῶν. [100] ἐπανελθὼν δ' ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καταλαμβάνει τὴν Συρίαν στάσει καὶ ταραχῇ νοσοῦσαν: ὁ γὰρ Ἀριστοβούλου παῖς Ἀλέξανδρος παρελθὼν ἐξ ὑστέρου πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ βίαν πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπέστησεν, στρατεύματι δὲ μεγάλῳ τὴν χώραν ἐπερχόμενος ἔκτεινε πάντας ὅσους ἐπιτύχοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἵς τε ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον Γαριζεὶν συμφυγόντας προσέκειτο πολιορκῶν.

2. Now when Gabinius was making an expedition against the Parthians, and had already passed over Euphrates, he changed his mind, and resolved to return into Egypt, in order to restore Ptolemy to his kingdom. This hath also been related elsewhere. However, Antipater supplied his army, which he sent against Archelaus, with corn, and weapons, and money. He also made those Jews who were above Pelusium his friends and confederates, and had been the guardians of

the passes that led into Egypt. But when he came back out of Egypt, he found Syria in disorder, with seditions and troubles; for Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, having seized on the government a second time by force, made many of the Jews revolt to him; and so he marched over the country with a great army, and slew all the Romans he could light upon, and proceeded to besiege the mountain called Gerizzim, whither they had retreated.

(3) [101] Ὁ δὲ Γαβίνιος τοιαῦτα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν καταλαβὼν Ἀντίπατρον, συνετὸς γὰρ ἦν, πέμπει πρὸς τοὺς νενοσηκότας, εἰ παῦσαι δυνηθείη τῆς παραφροσύνης αὐτοὺς καὶ πεῖσαι πρὸς τὸν ἀμείνω λογισμὸν ἐπανελθεῖν. [102] ὁ δ' ἐλθὼν πολλοὺς μὲν ἐσωφρόνισεν καὶ προσηγάγετο τῷ δέοντι, τὸν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκ ἠδυνήθη κατασχεῖν: στρατοῦ γὰρ ἔχων οὗτος μυριάδας τρεῖς Ἰουδαίων ἀπήντησεν Γαβινίῳ καὶ συμβαλὼν ἡττᾶται πεσόντων αὐτῷ μυρίων περὶ τὸ Ἰταβύριον ὄρος.

3. But when Gabinius found Syria in such a state, he sent Antipater, who was a prudent man, to those that were seditious, to try whether he could cure them of their madness, and persuade them to return to a better mind; and when he came to them, he brought many of them to a sound mind, and induced them to do what they ought to do; but he could not restrain Alexander, for he had an army of thirty thousand Jews, and met Gabinius, and joining battle with him, was beaten, and lost ten thousand of his men about Mount Tabor.

(4) [103] Καταστησάμενος δὲ Γαβίνιος τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν, ὡς ἦν Ἀντιπάτρῳ θέλοντι, ἐπὶ τὴν Ναβαταίων ἔρχεται, καὶ κρατεῖ μὲν τούτων τῇ μάχῃ, Πάρθων δὲ φυγάδας Μιθριδάτην καὶ Ὀρσάνην ἐλθόντας προύπεμψεν, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ ἀπέδρασαν αὐτόν. [104] καὶ Γαβίνιος μὲν ἔργα μεγάλα καὶ λαμπρὰ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν δράσας ἀπῆρεν εἰς Ῥώμην Κράσσῳ παραδοὺς τὴν ἀρχήν. περὶ δὲ τῆς Πομπηίου καὶ Γαβινίου στρατείας ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίους γράφει Νικόλαος ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς καὶ Στράβων ὁ Καππάδοξ οὐδὲν ἕτερος ἑτέρου καινότερον λέγων.

4. So Gabinius settled the affairs which belonged to the city Jerusalem, as was agreeable to Antipater's inclination, and went against the Nabateans, and overcame them in battle. He also sent away in a friendly manner Mithridates and Orsanes, who were Parthian deserters, and came to him, though the report went abroad that they had run away from him. And when Gabinius had performed great and glorious actions, in his management of the affairs of war, he returned to Rome, and delivered the government to Crassus. Now Nicolaus of Damascus, and Strabo of Cappadocia, both describe the expeditions of Pompey and Gabinius against the Jews, while neither of them say anything new which is not in the other.

CHAPTER 7. How Crassus Came Into Judea, And Pillaged The Temple; And Then Marched Against The Parthians And Perished, With His Army. Also How Cassius Obtained Syria, And Put A Stop To The Parthians And Then Went Up To Judea.

(1) [105] Κράσσος δὲ ἐπὶ Πάρθους μέλλων στρατεύειν ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ χρήματα, ἃ Πομπήιος καταλελοίπει, δισχίλια δ' ἦν τάλαντα, βαστάσας οἷός τε ἦν καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν ἅπαντα, τάλαντα δ' οὗτος ἦν ὀκτακισχίλια, περιδύειν τοῦ ναοῦ. [106] λαμβάνει δὲ καὶ δοκὸν ὁλοσφύρητον χρυσῆν ἐκ μνῶν τριακοσίων πεποιημένην: ἡ δὲ μνᾶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἰσχύει λίτρας δύο ἥμισυ. παρέδωκε δ' αὐτῷ ταύτην τὴν δοκὸν ὁ τῶν χρημάτων φύλαξ ἱερεὺς Ἐλεάζαρος ὄνομα, οὐ διὰ πονηρίαν, [107] ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ἦν καὶ δίκαιος, ἀλλὰ πεπιστευμένος τὴν τῶν καταπετασμάτων τοῦ ναοῦ φυλακὴν ὄντων θαυμασίων τὸ κάλλος καὶ πολυτελῶν τὴν κατασκευὴν ἐκ δὲ τῆς δοκοῦ ταύτης κρεμαμένων, ἐπεὶ τὸν Κράσσον ἑώρα περὶ τὴν τοῦ χρυσίου γινόμενον συλλογήν, δείσας περὶ τῷ παντὶ κόσμῳ [καὶ] τοῦ ναοῦ τὴν δοκὸν αὐτῷ τὴν χρυσῆν λύτρον ἀντὶ πάντων ἔδωκεν, [108] ὅρκους παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβὼν μηδὲν ἄλλο κινήσειν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ, μόνῳ δὲ ἀρκεσθήσεσθαι τῷ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δοθησομένῳ πολλῶν ὄντι μυριάδων ἀξίῳ. ἡ δὲ δοκὸς αὕτη ἦν ἐν ξυλίνῃ δοκῷ κενῇ, καὶ τοῦτο τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐλάνθανεν ἅπαντας, ὁ δὲ Ἐλεάζαρος μόνος ἠπίστατο. [109] ὁ μέντοι Κράσσος καὶ ταύτην ὡς οὐδενὸς ἀψόμενος ἄλλου τῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ λαμβάνει, καὶ παραβὰς τοὺς ὅρκους ἅπαντα τὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ χρυσὸν ἐξεφόρησεν.

1. Now Crassus, as he was going upon his expedition against the Parthians, came into Judea, and carried off the money that was in the temple, which Pompey had left, being two thousand talents, and was disposed to spoil it of all the gold belonging to it, which was eight thousand talents. He also took a beam, which was made of solid beaten gold, of the weight of three hundred minae, each of which weighed two pounds and a half. It was the priest who was guardian of the sacred treasures, and whose name was Eleazar, that gave him this beam, not out of a wicked design, for he was a good and a righteous man; but being intrusted with the custody of the veils belonging to the temple, which were of admirable beauty, and of very costly workmanship, and hung down from this beam, when he saw that Crassus was busy in gathering money, and was in fear for the entire ornaments of the temple, he gave him this beam of gold as a ransom for the

whole, but this not till he had given his oath that he would remove nothing else out of the temple, but be satisfied with this only, which he should give him, being worth many ten thousand [shekels]. Now this beam was contained in a wooden beam that was hollow, but was known to no others; but Eleazar alone knew it; yet did Crassus take away this beam, upon the condition of touching nothing else that belonged to the temple, and then brake his oath, and carried away all the gold that was in the temple.

(2) [110] Θαυμάσῃ δὲ μηδείς, εἰ τοσοῦτος ἦν πλοῦτος ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ἱερῷ πάντων τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην Ἰουδαίων καὶ σεβομένων τὸν θεὸν ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης εἰς αὐτὸ συμφερόντων ἐκ πολλῶν πάνυ χρόνων. [111] οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ἀμάρτυρον τὸ μέγεθος τῶν προειρημένων χρημάτων, οὐδ' ὑπὸ ἀλαζονείας ἡμετέρας καὶ περιττολογίας ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξαίρεται πλῆθος, ἀλλὰ πολλοί τε ἄλλοι τῶν συγγραφέων ἡμῖν μαρτυροῦσιν καὶ Στράβων ὁ Καππάδοξ λέγων οὕτως: [112] "πέμψας δὲ Μιθριδάτης [εἰς Κῶ] ἔλαβε τὰ χρήματα, ἃ παρέθετο ἐκεῖ Κλεοπάτρα βασίλισσα, καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὀκτα [113] κόσια τάλαντα." ἡμῖν δὲ δημόσια χρήματα οὐκ ἔστιν ἢ μόνα τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ δῆλον, ὅτι ταῦτα μετήνεγκαν εἰς Κῶ τὰ χρήματα οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἰουδαῖοι διὰ τὸν Μιθριδάτου φόβον: οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ πόλιν τε ὀχυρὰν ἔχοντας καὶ τὸν ναὸν πέμπειν χρήματα εἰς Κῶ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ κατοικοῦντας Ἰουδαίους πιθανὸν τοῦτ' ἐστὶ ποιῆσαι μηδὲν Μιθριδάτην δεδιότας. [114] μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ τόπῳ ὁ αὐτὸς Στράβων, ὅτι καθ' ὃν καιρὸν διέβη Σύλλας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πολεμήσων Μιθριδάτῃ καὶ Λεύκολλον πέμψας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν Κυρήνῃ στάσιν Τοῦ ἔθνους ἡμῶν ἡ οἰκουμένη πεπλήρωτο, λέγων οὕτως: [115] "τέτταρες δ' ἦσαν ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Κυρηναίων, ἥ τε τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ ἡ τῶν γεωργῶν τρίτη δ' ἡ τῶν μετοίκων τετάρτη δ' ἡ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. αὕτη δ' εἰς πᾶσαν πόλιν ἤδη καὶ παρελήλυθεν καὶ τόπον οὐκ ἔστι ῥᾳδίως εὑρεῖν τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὃς οὐ παραδέδεκται τοῦτο τὸ φῦλον μηδ' ἐπικρατεῖται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. [116] τήν τε Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὴν Κυρηναίων ἅτε τῶν αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνων τυχοῦσαν τῶν τε ἄλλων συχνὰ ζηλῶσαι συνέβη καὶ δὴ τὰ συντάγματα τῶν Ἰουδαίων θρέψαι διαφερόντως καὶ συναυξῆσαι χρώμενα τοῖς πατρίοις τῶν Ἰουδαίων νόμοις. [117] ἐν γοῦν Αἰγύπτῳ κατοικία τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐστὶν ἀποδεδειγμένη χωρὶς καὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλεως ἀφώρισται μέγα μέρος τῷ ἔθνει τούτῳ. καθίσταται δὲ καὶ ἐθνάρχης αὐτῶν, ὃς διοικεῖ τε τὸ ἔθνος καὶ διαιτᾷ κρίσεις καὶ συμβολαίων ἐπιμελεῖται καὶ προσταγμάτων, ὡς ἂν πολιτείας ἄρχων αὐτοτελοῦς. [118] ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μὲν οὖν ἴσχυσε τὸ ἔθνος διὰ τὸ Αἰγυπτίους εἶναι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καὶ διὰ τὸ πλησίον ἔσεσθαι τὴν κατοικίαν τοὺς ἀπελθόντας ἐκεῖθεν, εἰς δὲ τὴν Κυρηναίαν μετέβη διὰ τὸ καὶ ταύτην ὅμορον

εἶναι τῇ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων [ἀρχῇ] καθάπερ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης πρότερον.” Στράβων μὲν δὴ ταῦτα λέγει.

2. And let no one wonder that there was so much wealth in our temple, since all the Jews throughout the habitable earth, and those that worshipped God, nay, even those of Asia and Europe, sent their contributions to it, and this from very ancient times. Nor is the largeness of these sums without its attestation; nor is that greatness owing to our vanity, as raising it without ground to so great a height; but there are many witnesses to it, and particularly Strabo of Cappadocia, who says thus: “Mithridates sent to Cos, and took the money which queen Cleopatra had deposited there, as also eight hundred talents belonging to the Jews.” Now we have no public money but only what appertains to God; and it is evident that the Asian Jews removed this money out of fear of Mithridates; for it is not probable that those of Judea, who had a strong city and temple, should send their money to Cos; nor is it likely that the Jews who are inhabitants of Alexandria should do so neither, since they were ill no fear of Mithridates. And Strabo himself bears witness to the same thing in another place, that at the same time that Sylla passed over into Greece, in order to fight against Mithridates, he sent Lucullus to put an end to a sedition that our nation, of whom the habitable earth is full, had raised in Cyrene; where he speaks thus: “There were four classes of men among those of Cyrene; that of citizens, that of husbandmen, the third of strangers, and the fourth of Jews. Now these Jews are already gotten into all cities; and it is hard to find a place in the habitable earth that hath not admitted this tribe of men, and is not possessed by them; and it hath come to pass that Egypt and Cyrene, as having the same governors, and a great number of other nations, imitate their way of living, and maintain great bodies of these Jews in a peculiar manner, and grow up to greater prosperity with them, and make use of the same laws with that nation also. Accordingly, the Jews have places assigned them in Egypt, wherein they inhabit, besides what is peculiarly allotted to this nation at Alexandria, which is a large part of that city. There is also an ethnarch allowed them, who governs the nation, and distributes justice to them, and takes care of their contracts, and of the laws to them belonging, as if he were the ruler of a free republic. In Egypt, therefore, this nation is powerful, because the Jews were originally Egyptians, and because the land wherein they inhabit, since they went thence, is near to Egypt. They also removed into Cyrene, because that this land adjoined to the government of Egypt, as well as does Judea, or rather was formerly under the same government.” And this is what Strabo says.

(3) [119] Κράσσος δὲ πάντα διοικήσας ὃν αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο τρόπον ἐξώρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Παρθυαίαν: καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν σὺν ἅπαντι διεφθάρη τῷ στρατῷ, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται, Κάσσιος δὲ εἰς Συρίαν φυγὼν καὶ περιποιησάμενος αὐτὴν Πάρθοις ἐμποδὼν ἦν ἐκτρέχουσιν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν διὰ τὴν κατὰ Κράσσου νίκην. [120] αὖθις δ᾽ εἰς Τύρον ἀφικόμενος ἀνέβη καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν. Ταριχέας μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς προσπεσὼν αἱρεῖ καὶ περὶ τρισμυρίους ἀνθρώπους ἀνδραποδίζει, Πειθόλαον δὲ τὸν τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου στάσιν διαδεδεγμένον κτείνει πρὸς τοῦτ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἀντιπάτρου παραστησαμένου, [121] ᾧ πολύ τε καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτῷ συνέβαινε δύνασθαι καὶ πλείστου τότε ἄξιος ἦν καὶ παρὰ Ἰουδαίων οἷς παρὼν ἄγεται γυναῖκα τῶν ἐπισήμων ἐξ Ἀραβίας Κύπρον ὄνομα, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ τέσσαρες ἐγένοντο παῖδες, Φασάηλος καὶ Ἡρώδης, ὃς ὕστερον βασιλεὺς γίνεται, Ἰώσηπός τε καὶ Φερώρας, θυγάτηρ τε Σαλώμη. [122] οὗτος ὁ Ἀντίπατρος ἐπεποίητο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους δυνάστας φιλίαν τε καὶ ξενίαν, μάλιστα δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀράβων, ᾧ καὶ τὰ τέκνα πολεμῶν πρὸς Ἀριστόβουλον παρέθετο. Κάσσιος μὲν οὖν ἀναστρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἠπείγετο ὑπαντιάσων τοῖς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιοῦσιν, ὡς καὶ ὑπ᾽ ἄλλων δεδήλωται.

3. So when Crassus had settled all things as he himself pleased, he marched into Parthia, where both he himself and all his army perished, as hath been related elsewhere. But Cassius, as he fled from Rome to Syria, took possession of it, and was an impediment to the Parthians, who by reason of their victory over Crassus made incursions upon it. And as he came back to Tyre, he went up into Judea also, and fell upon Tarichee, and presently took it, and carried about thirty thousand Jews captives; and slew Pitholaus, who succeeded Aristobulus in his seditious practices, and that by the persuasion of Antipater, who proved to have great interest in him, and was at that time in great repute with the Idumeans also: out of which nation he married a wife, who was the daughter of one of their eminent men, and her name was Cypros, by whom he had four sons, Phasael, and Herod, who was afterwards made king, and Joseph, and Pheroras; and a daughter, named Salome. This Antipater cultivated also a friendship and mutual kindness with other potentates, but especially with the king of Arabia, to whom he committed his children, while he fought against Aristobulus. So Cassius removed his camp, and marched to Euphrates, to meet those that were coming to attack him, as hath been related by others.

(4) [123] Χρόνῳ δ᾽ ὕστερον Καῖσαρ κατασχὼν Ῥώμην μετὰ τὸ Πομπήιον καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον φυγεῖν πέραν τοῦ Ἰονίου παραλύσας τῶν δεσμῶν Ἀριστόβουλον εἰς Συρίαν πέμπειν διεγνώκει δύο παραδοὺς αὐτῷ τάγματα, ὡς ἂν εὐτρεπίζοι τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτὴν δυνατὸς ὤν. [124] Ἀριστόβουλος δ᾽ οὐκ ὤνατο τῶν ἐλπίδων, ἐφ᾽ αἷς ἔτυχε τῆς παρὰ Καίσαρος ἐξουσίας, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸν φθάσαντες οἱ τὰ Πομπηίου

φρονοῦντες φαρμάκῳ διαφθείρουσιν, θάπτουσι δ' αὐτὸν οἱ τὰ Καίσαρος θεραπεύοντες πράγματα, καὶ ὁ νεκρὸς ἔκειτο ἐν μέλιτι κεκηδευμένος ἐπὶ χρόνον πολὺν ἕως Ἀντώνιος αὐτὸν ὕστερον ἀποπέμψας εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐν ταῖς βασιλικαῖς θήκαις ἐποίησεν τεθῆναι. [125] Σκιπίων δ' ἐπιστείλαντος αὐτῷ Πομπηίου ἀποκτεῖναι Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀριστοβούλου αἰτιασάμενος τὸν νεανίσκον ἐπὶ τοῖς τὸ πρῶτον εἰς Ῥωμαίους ἐξημαρτημένοις τῷ πελέκει διεχρήσατο. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τελευτᾷ. [126] τοὺς δ' ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Μενναίου παρέλαβεν δυναστεύων Χαλκίδος τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ Λιβάνῳ ὄρει, καὶ πέμψας τὸν υἱὸν Φιλιππίωνα εἰς Ἀσκάλωνα παρὰ τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου γυναῖκα ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῇ συναποστέλλειν τὸν υἱὸν Ἀντίγονον καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας, ὧν τῆς ἑτέρας ἐρασθεὶς Ἀλεξάνδρας ὁ Φιλιππίων ἄγεται γυναῖκα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνελὼν αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ Πτολεμαῖος γαμεῖ τε τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτῆς πρόνοιαν ποιούμενος διετέλει.

4. But some time afterward Cesar, when he had taken Rome, and after Pompey and the senate were fled beyond the Ionian Sea, freed Aristobulus from his bonds, and resolved to send him into Syria, and delivered two legions to him, that he might set matters right, as being a potent man in that country. But Aristobulus had no enjoyment of what he hoped for from the power that was given him by Cesar; for those of Pompey's party prevented it, and destroyed him by poison; and those of Caesar's party buried him. His dead body also lay, for a good while, embalmed in honey, till Antony afterward sent it to Judea, and caused him to be buried in the royal sepulcher. But Scipio, upon Pompey's sending to him to slay Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, because the young man was accused of what offenses he had been guilty of at first against the Romans, cut off his head; and thus did he die at Antioch. But Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, who was the ruler of Chalcis, under Mount Libanus, took his brethren to him, and sent his son Philippion to Askelon to Aristobulus's wife, and desired her to send back with him her son Antigonus, and her daughters; the one of which, whose name was Alexandra, Philippion fell in love with, and married her, though afterward his father Ptolemy slew him, and married Alexandra, and continued to take care of her brethren.

VIII

CHAPTER 8. The Jews Become Confederates With Caesar When He Fought Against Egypt. The Glorious Actions Of Antipater, And His Friendship With Caesar. The Honors Which The Jews Received From The Romans And Athenians.

(1) [127] Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Πομπηίου θάνατον καὶ τὴν νίκην τὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ Καίσαρι πολεμοῦντι κατ᾽ Αἴγυπτον πολλὰ χρήσιμον αὐτὸν παρέσχεν Ἀντίπατρος ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπιμελητὴς ἐξ ἐντολῆς Ὑρκανοῦ. [128] Μιθριδάτῃ τε γὰρ τῷ Περγαμηνῷ κομίζοντι ἐπικουρικὸν καὶ ἀδυνάτως ἔχοντι διὰ Πηλουσίου ποιήσασθαι τὴν πορείαν, περὶ δὲ Ἀσκάλωνα διατρίβοντι, ἦκεν Ἀντίπατρος ἄγων Ἰουδαίων ὁπλίτας τρισχιλίους ἐξ Ἀραβίας τε συμμάχους ἐλθεῖν ἐπραγματεύσατο τοὺς ἐν τέλει: [129] καὶ δι᾽ αὐτὸν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν ἅπαντες ἐπεκούρουν ἀπολείπεσθαι τῆς ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος προθυμίας οὐ θέλοντες, Ἰάμβλιχός τε ὁ δυνάστης καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Σοαίμου Λίβανον ὄρος οἰκῶν αἵ τε πόλεις σχεδὸν ἅπασαι. [130] Μιθριδάτης δὲ ἄρας ἐκ Συρίας εἰς Πηλούσιον ἀφικνεῖται καὶ μὴ δεχομένων αὐτὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν. ἠρίστευσε δὲ Ἀντίπατρος κατασύρας τι τοῦ τείχους καὶ ὁδὸν εἰσπεσεῖν παρέσχετο τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰς τὴν πόλιν. [131] καὶ τὸ μὲν Πηλούσιον οὕτως εἶχεν. τοὺς δὲ περὶ Ἀντίπατρον καὶ Μιθριδάτην ἀπιόντας πρὸς Καίσαρα διεκώλυον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι οἱ τὴν Ὀνίου [χώραν] λεγομένην κατοικοῦντες. πείθει δὲ καὶ τούτους τὰ αὐτῶν φρονῆσαι κατὰ τὸ ὁμόφυλον Ἀντίπατρος καὶ μάλιστα ἐπιδείξας αὐτοῖς τὰς Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἐπιστολάς, ἐν αἷς αὐτοὺς φίλους εἶναι Καίσαρος παρεκάλει καὶ ξένια καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια χορηγεῖν τῷ στρατῷ. [132] καὶ οἱ μὲν ὡς ἑώρων Ἀντίπατρον καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα συνθέλοντας ὑπήκουον. τούτους δὲ προσθεμένους ἀκούσαντες οἱ περὶ Μέμφιν ἐκάλουν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην πρὸς ἑαυτούς: κἀκεῖνος ἐλθὼν καὶ τούτους παραλαμβάνει.

1. Now after Pompey was dead, and after that victory Caesar had gained over him, Antipater, who managed the Jewish affairs, became very useful to Caesar when he made war against Egypt, and that by the order of Hyrcanus; for when Mithridates of Pergainus was bringing his auxiliaries, and was not able to continue his march through Pelusium, but obliged to stay at Askelon, Antipater came to him, conducting three thousand of the Jews, armed men. He had also taken care the principal men of the Arabians should come to his assistance; and on his account it was that all the Syrians assisted him also, as not willing to

appear behindhand in their alacrity for Cesar, *viz.* Jamblicus the ruler, and Ptolemy his son, and Tholomy the son of Sohemus, who dwelt at Mount Libanus, and almost all the cities. So Mithridates marched out of Syria, and came to Pelusium; and when its inhabitants would not admit him, he besieged the city. Now Antipater signalized himself here, and was the first who plucked down a part of the wall, and so opened a way to the rest, whereby they might enter the city, and by this means Pelusium was taken. But it happened that the Egyptian Jews, who dwelt in the country called Onion, would not let Antipater and Mithridates, with their soldiers, pass to Caesar; but Antipater persuaded them to come over with their party, because he was of the same people with them, and that chiefly by showing them the epistles of Hyrcanus the high priest, wherein he exhorted them to cultivate friendship with Caesar, and to supply his army with money, and all sorts of provisions which they wanted; and accordingly, when they saw Antipater and the high priest of the same sentiments, they did as they were desired. And when the Jews about Memphis heard that these Jews were come over to Caesar, they also invited Mithridates to come to them; so he came and received them also into his army.

(2) [133] Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ καλούμενον Δέλτα ἤδη περιεληλύθει, συμβάλλει τοῖς πολεμίοις περὶ τὸ καλούμενον Ἰουδαίων στρατόπεδον. εἶχε δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας Μιθριδάτης, τὸ δ' εὐώνυμον Ἀντίπατρος. [134] συμπεσόντων δὲ εἰς μάχην κλίνεται τὸ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου κέρας καὶ παθεῖν ἂν ἐκινδύνευσεν τὰ δεινότατα, εἰ μὴ παρὰ τὴν ᾐόνα τοῦ ποταμοῦ σὺν τοῖς οἰκείοις στρατιώταις Ἀντίπατρος παραθέων νενικηκὼς ἤδη τοὺς πολεμίους τὸν μὲν ῥύεται, προτρέπει δ' εἰς φυγὴν τοὺς νενικηκότας Αἰγυπτίους. [135] αἱρεῖ δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπιμείνας τῇ διώξει, τόν τε Μιθριδάτην ἐκάλει πλεῖστον ἐν τῇ τροπῇ διασχόντα. ἔπεσον δὲ τῶν μὲν περὶ τοῦτον ὀκτακόσιοι, τῶν δ' Ἀντιπάτρου πεντήκοντα. [136] Μιθριδάτης δὲ περὶ τούτων ἐπιστέλλει Καίσαρι τῆς τε νίκης αὐτοῖς ἅμα καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αἴτιον τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ἀποφαίνων, ὥστε τὸν Καίσαρα τότε μὲν ἐπαινεῖν αὐτόν, κεχρῆσθαι δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν πόλεμον εἰς τὰ κινδυνωδέστατα τῷ Ἀντιπάτρῳ: καὶ δὴ καὶ τρωθῆναι συνέβη παρὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας αὐτῷ.

2. And when Mithridates had gone over all Delta, as the place is called, he came to a pitched battle with the enemy, near the place called the Jewish Camp. Now Mithridates had the right wing, and Antipater the left; and when it came to a fight, that wing where Mithridates was gave way, and was likely to suffer extremely, unless Antipater had come running to him with his own soldiers along the shore, when he had already beaten the enemy that opposed him; so he delivered Mithridates, and put those Egyptians who had been too hard for him to flight. He also took their camp, and continued in the pursuit of them. He also

recalled Mithridates, who had been worsted, and was retired a great way off; of whose soldiers eight hundred fell, but of Antipater's fifty. So Mithridates sent an account of this battle to Caesar, and openly declared that Antipater was the author of this victory, and of his own preservation, insomuch that Caesar commended Antipater then, and made use of him all the rest of that war in the most hazardous undertakings; he happened also to be wounded in one of those engagements.

(3) [137] Καταλύσας μέντοι Καῖσαρ μετὰ χρόνον τὸν πόλεμον καὶ εἰς Συρίαν ἀποπλεύσας ἐτίμησεν μεγάλως, Ὑρκανῷ μὲν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην βεβαιώσας, Ἀντιπάτρῳ δὲ πολιτείαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ δοὺς καὶ ἀτέλειαν πανταχοῦ. [138] λέγεται δ' ὑπὸ πολλῶν Ὑρκανὸν ταύτης κοινωνῆσαι τῆς στρατείας καὶ ἐλθεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, μαρτυρεῖ δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ καὶ Στράβων ὁ Καππάδοξ λέγων ἐξ Ἀσινίου ὀνόματος οὕτως: "μετὰ τὸν Μιθριδάτην εἰσβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον [139] καὶ Ὑρκανὸν τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέα." ὁ δ' αὐτὸς οὗτος Στράβων καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις πάλιν ἐξ Ὑψικράτους ὀνόματος λέγει οὕτως: "τὸν δὲ Μιθριδάτην ἐξελθεῖν μόνον, κληθέντα δ' εἰς Ἀσκάλωνα Ἀντίπατρον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπιμελητὴν τρισχιλίους αὐτῷ στρατιώτας συμπαρασκευάσαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δυνάστας προτρέψαι, κοινωνῆσαι δὲ τῆς στρατείας καὶ Ὑρκανὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα." ταῦτα μὲν Στράβων φησίν.

3. However, when Caesar, after some time, had finished that war, and was sailed away for Syria, he honored Antipater greatly, and confirmed Hyrcanus in the high priesthood; and bestowed on Antipater the privilege of a citizen of Rome, and a freedom from taxes every where; and it is reported by many, that Hyrcanus went along with Antipater in this expedition, and came himself into Egypt. And Strabo of Cappadocia bears witness to this, when he says thus, in the name of Aslnius: "After Mithridates had invaded Egypt, and with him Hyrcanus the high priest of the Jews." Nay, the same Strabo says thus again, in another place, in the name of Hypsicrates, that "Mithridates at first went out alone; but that Antipater, who had the care of the Jewish affairs, was called by him to Askelon, and that he had gotten ready three thousand soldiers to go along with him, and encouraged other governors of the country to go along with him also; and that Hyrcanus the high priest was also present in this expedition." This is what Strabo says.

(4) [140] Ἐλθὼν δὲ καὶ Ἀντίγονος ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου πρὸς Καίσαρα τήν τε τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπωδύρετο τύχην καὶ ὡς δι' αὐτὸν ἀποθάνοι φαρμάκοις ἀναιρεθεὶς Ἀριστόβουλος καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ κτείναντος πελέκει Σκιπίωνος, ἐδεῖτό τε λαβεῖν οἶκτον αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκβεβλημένου, Ὑρκανοῦ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ Ἀντιπάτρου κατηγόρει βιαίως ἐξηγουμένων τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν

παρανομησάντων. [141] παρὼν δ᾽ Ἀντίπατρος ἀπελογεῖτο μὲν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἑώρα τὴν κατηγορίαν κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ γεγενημένην, νεωτεριστὰς δ᾽ ἀπέφαινε τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον καὶ στασιώδεις, ὅσα τε πονήσειεν αὐτὸς καὶ συνεργήσειεν ὑπεμίμνησκεν ἐπὶ τοῖς στρατεύμασιν Ποιούμενος τοὺς λόγους ὧν αὐτὸς ἦν μάρτυς. [142] δικαίως τε ἔλεγεν Ἀριστόβουλον μὲν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνάσπαστον γεγονέναι πολέμιον ἀεὶ καὶ μηδέποτε εὔνουν ὑπάρξαντα Ῥωμαίοις, τὸν δ᾽ ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ κολασθέντα ἐπὶ λῃστείᾳ ὑπὸ Σκιπίωνος τυχεῖν ὧν ἄξιος ἦν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ κατὰ βίαν καὶ ἀδικίαν τοῦτο παθεῖν τοῦ δράσαντος.

4. But Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, came at this time to Caesar, and lamented his father's fate; and complained, that it was by Antipater's means that Aristobulus was taken off by poison, and his brother was beheaded by Scipio, and desired that he would take pity of him who had been ejected out of that principality which was due to him. He also accused Hyrcanus and Antipater as governing the nation by violence, and offering injuries to himself. Antipater was present, and made his defense as to the accusations that were laid against him. He demonstrated that Antigonus and his party were given to innovation, and were seditious persons. He also put Caesar in mind what difficult services he had undergone when he assisted him in his wars, and discoursed about what he was a witness of himself. He added, that Aristobulus was justly carried away to Rome, as one that was an enemy to the Romans, and could never be brought to be a friend to them, and that his brother had no more than he deserved from Scipio, as being seized in committing robberies; and that this punishment was not inflicted on him in a way of violence or injustice by him that did it.

(5) [143] Τούτους Ἀντιπάτρου ποιησαμένου τοὺς λόγους Καῖσαρ Ὑρκανὸν μὲν ἀποδείκνυσιν ἀρχιερέα, Ἀντιπάτρῳ δ᾽ ἐφίησιν δυναστείαν ἣν αὐτὸς προαιρεῖται. τούτου δὲ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ ποιησαμένου τὴν κρίσιν, ἐπίτροπον αὐτὸν ἀποδείκνυσιν τῆς Ἰουδαίας. [144] ἐπιτρέπει δὲ καὶ Ὑρκανῷ τὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἀναστῆσαι τείχη ταύτην αἰτησαμένῳ τὴν χάριν: ἔτι γὰρ ἐρήριπτο Πομπηίου καταβαλόντος: καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιστέλλει τοῖς ὑπάτοις εἰς Ῥώμην ἀναγράψαι ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ. καὶ τὸ γενόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον: [145] "Λεύκιος Οὐαλέριος Λευκίου υἱὸς στρατηγὸς συνεβουλεύσατο τῇ συγκλήτῳ εἴδοις Δεκεμβρίαις ἐν τῷ τῆς Ὁμονοίας ναῷ. γραφομένῳ τῷ δόγματι παρῆσαν Λούκιος Κωπώνιος Λευκίου υἱὸς Κολλίνα καὶ Παπείριος Κυρίνα. [146] περὶ ὧν Ἀλέξανδρος Ἰάσονος καὶ Νουμήνιος Ἀντιόχου καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος Δωροθέου Ἰουδαίων πρεσβευταί, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ σύμμαχοι διελέχθησαν ἀνανεούμενοι τὰς προυπηργμένας πρὸς Ῥωμαίους χάριτας καὶ τὴν φιλίαν, [147] καὶ ἀσπίδα χρυσῆν σύμβολον τῆς συμμαχίας γενομένην ἀνήνεγκαν ἀπὸ χρυσῶν μυριάδων πέντε, καὶ γράμματ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἠξίωσαν δοθῆναι πρός τε τὰς αὐτονομουμένας

πόλεις καὶ πρὸς βασιλεῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς λιμένας ἀδείας τυγχάνειν καὶ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖσθαι, [148] ἔδοξεν συνθέσθαι φιλίαν καὶ χάριτας πρὸς αὐτούς, καὶ ὅσων ἐδεήθησαν τυχεῖν ταῦτ᾽ αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν καὶ τὴν κομισθεῖσαν ἀσπίδα προσδέξασθαι.” ταῦτα ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Ὑρκανοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ ἐθνάρχου ἔτους ἑνάτου μηνὸς Πανέμου.

[149] Εὕρατο δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δήμου τιμὰς Ὑρκανὸς πολλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς αὐτοὺς χρήσιμος γενόμενος, ἔπεμψάν τε αὐτῷ ψήφισμα τοῦτον περιέχον τὸν τρόπον: “ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως καὶ ἱερέως Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου μηνὸς Πανέμου πέμπτῃ ἀπιόντος ἐπεδόθη [τοῖς στρατηγοῖς] ψήφισμα Ἀθηναίων. [150] ἐπὶ Ἀγαθοκλέους ἄρχοντος Εὐκλῆς Μενάνδρου Ἀλιμούσιος ἐγραμμάτευε Μουνυχιῶνος ἐνδεκάτῃ τῆς πρυτανείας ἐκκλησίας ἀγομένης ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν Δωρόθεος Ἐρχιεὺς καὶ οἱ συμπρόεδροι Τῷ δήμῳ, Διονύσιος Διονυσίου εἶπεν: [151] ἐπειδὴ Ὑρκανὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ ἐθνάρχης τῶν Ἰουδαίων διατελεῖ κοινῇ τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ἰδίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν ἑκάστῳ εὔνους ὢν καὶ πάσῃ χρώμενος περὶ αὐτοὺς σπουδῇ καὶ τοὺς παραγινομένους Ἀθηναίων ἢ κατὰ πρεσβείαν ἢ κατ᾽ ἰδίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑποδέχεται φιλοφρόνως καὶ προπέμπει τῆς ἀσφαλοῦς αὐτῶν ἐπανόδου προνοούμενος, [152] ἐμαρτυρήθη μὲν καὶ πρότερον περὶ τούτων, δεδόχθαι δὲ καὶ νῦν Διονυσίου τοῦ Θεοδώρου Σουνιέως εἰσηγησαμένου καὶ περὶ τῆς τἀνδρὸς ἀρετῆς ὑπομνήσαντος τὸν δῆμον, καὶ ὅτι προαίρεσιν ἔχει ποιεῖν ἡμᾶς ὅ τι ποτ᾽ ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθόν, [153] τιμῆσαι τὸν ἄνδρα χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀριστείῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον, καὶ στῆσαι αὐτοῦ εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Δήμου καὶ τῶν Χαρίτων, ἀνειπεῖν δὲ τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγῳδῶν τῶν καινῶν ἀγομένων καὶ Παναθηναίων καὶ Ἐλευσινίων καὶ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν, [154] ἐπιμεληθῆναι δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς διαμένοντί τε αὐτῷ καὶ φυλάττοντι τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὔνοιαν εἶναι πᾶν ὅ τι ἂν ἐπινοήσωμεν εἰς τιμὴν καὶ χάριν τῆς τἀνδρὸς σπουδῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας, ἵνα τούτων γινομένων φαίνηται ὁ δῆμος ἡμῶν ἀποδεχόμενος τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τῆς προσηκούσης ἀμοιβῆς ἀξιῶν καὶ ζηλώσῃ τὴν περὶ ἡμᾶς σπουδὴν τῶν ἤδη τετιμημένων: [155] ἑλέσθαι δὲ καὶ πρέσβεις ἐξ ἁπάντων Ἀθηναίων, οἵτινες τὸ ψήφισμά τε αὐτῷ κομιοῦσι καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν προσδεξάμενον τὰς τιμὰς πειρᾶσθαί τι ποιεῖν ἀγαθὸν ἡμῶν ἀεὶ τὴν πόλιν.” αἱ μὲν οὖν παρὰ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων τιμαὶ πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ διὰ τούτων ἡμῖν δεδήλωνται.

5. When Antipater had made this speech, Caesar appointed Hyrcauus to be high priest, and gave Antipater what principality he himself should choose, leaving the determination to himself; so he made him procurator of Judea. He also gave Hyrcanus leave to raise up the walls of his own city, upon his asking that favor of him, for they had been demolished by Pompey. And this grant he sent to the

consuls to Rome, to be engraven in the capitol. The decree of the senate was this that follows: "Lucius Valerius, the son of Lucius the praetor, referred this to the senate, upon the Ides of December, in the temple of Concord. There were present at the writing of this decree Lucius Coponius, the son of Lucius of the Colline tribe, and Papirius of the Quirine tribe, concerning the affairs which Alexander, the son of Jason, and Numenius, the son of Antiochus, and Alexander, the son of Dositheus, ambassadors of the Jews, good and worthy men, proposed, who came to renew that league of goodwill and friendship with the Romans which was in being before. They also brought a shield of gold, as a mark of confederacy, valued at fifty thousand pieces of gold; and desired that letters might be given them, directed both to the free cities and to the kings, that their country and their havens might be at peace, and that no one among them might receive any injury. It therefore pleased [the senate] to make a league of friendship and goodwill with them, and to bestow on them whatsoever they stood in need of, and to accept of the shield which was brought by them. This was done in the ninth year of Hyrcanus the high priest and ethnarch, in the month Panemus." Hyreanus also received honors from the people of Athens, as having been useful to them on many occasions. And when they wrote to him, they sent him this decree, as it here follows "Under the prutaneia and priesthood of Dionysius, the son of Esculapius, on the fifth day of the latter part of the month Panemus, this decree of the Athenians was given to their commanders, when Agathocles was archon, and Eucles, the son of Menander of Alimusia, was the scribe. In the month Munychion, on the eleventh day of the prutaneia, a council of the presidents was held in the theater. Dorotheus the high priest, and the fellow presidents with him, put it to the vote of the people. Dionysius, the son of Dionysius, gave the sentence. Since Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnareh of the Jews, continues to bear goodwill to our people in general, and to every one of our citizens in particular, and treats them with all sorts of kindness; and when any of the Athenians come to him, either as ambassadors, or on any occasion of their own, he receives them in an obliging manner, and sees that they are conducted back in safety, of which we have had several former testimonies; it is now also decreed, at the report of Theodosius, the son of Theodorus, and upon his putting the people in mind of the virtue of this man, and that his purpose is to do us all the good that is in his power, to honor him with a crown of gold, the usual reward according to the law, and to erect his statue in brass in the temple of Demus and of the Graces; and that this present of a crown shall be proclaimed publicly in the theater, in the Dionysian shows, while the new tragedies are acting; and in the Panathenean, and Eleusinian, and Gymnical shows also; and that the commanders shall take care, while he continues in his friendship, and

preserves his goodwill to us, to return all possible honor and favor to the man for his affection and generosity; that by this treatment it may appear how our people receive the good kindly, and repay them a suitable reward; and he may be induced to proceed in his affection towards us, by the honors we have already paid him. That ambassadors be also chosen out of all the Athenians, who shall carry this decree to him, and desire him to accept of the honors we do him, and to endeavor always to be doing some good to our city." And this shall suffice us to have spoken as to the honors that were paid by the Romans and the people of Athens to Hyrcanus.

IX

CHAPTER 9. How Antipater Committed The Care Of Galilee To Herod, And That Of Jerusalem To Phasaelus; As Also How Herod Upon The Jews' Envy At Antipater Was Accused Before Hyrcanus.

(1) [156] Καῖσαρ δὲ διοικήσας τὰ κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν ἀπέπλευσεν. ὡς δὲ Καίσαρα προπέμψας ἐκ τῆς Συρίας Ἀντίπατρος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὑπέστρεψεν, ἀνεγείρει μὲν εὐθὺς τὸ τεῖχος ὑπὸ Πομπηίου καθῃρημένον καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὴν χώραν θόρυβον ἐπιὼν κατέστελλεν, ἀπειλῶν τε ἅμα καὶ συμβουλεύων ἠρεμεῖν: [157] τοὺς μὲν γὰρ τὰ Ὑρκανοῦ φρονοῦντας ἐν εὐδίᾳ διάξειν καὶ βιώσεσθαι τῶν ἰδίων ἀπολαύοντας κτημάτων ἀταράχως, προστιθεμένους δὲ ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ νεωτερίζειν ἐλπίσιν καὶ τοῖς ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν κέρδεσιν προσανέχοντας αὐτὸν μὲν ἕξειν ἀντὶ προστάτου δεσπότην, Ὑρκανὸν δὲ ἀντὶ βασιλέως τύραννον, Ῥωμαίους δὲ καὶ Καίσαρα πικροὺς ἀνθ᾽ ἡγεμόνων πολεμίους: οὐ γὰρ ἀνέξεσθαι μετακινούμενον ὃν αὐτοὶ κατέστησαν. ταῦτα λέγων καθίστα τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν.

1. Now when Caesar had settled the affairs of Syria, he sailed away. And as soon as Antipater had conducted Caesar out of Syria, he returned to Judea. He then immediately raised up the wall which had been thrown down by Pompey; and, by coming thither, he pacified that tumult which had been in the country, and this by both threatening and advising them to be quiet; for that if they would be of Hyrcanus's side, they would live happily, and lead their lives without disturbance, and in the enjoyment of their own possessions; but if they were addicted to the hopes of what might come by innovation, and aimed to get wealth thereby, they should have him a severe master instead of a gentle governor, and Hyrcanus a tyrant instead of a king, and the Romans, together with Caesar, their bitter enemies instead of rulers, for that they would never bear him to be set aside whom they had appointed to govern. And when Antipater had said this to them, he himself settled the affairs of this country.

(2) [158] Βραδὺν δ᾽ ὁρῶν καὶ νωθῆ τὸν Ὑρκανὸν Φασάηλον μὲν τὸν πρεσβύτατον τῶν παίδων Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τῶν πέριξ στρατηγὸν ἀποδείκνυσιν, τῷ δὲ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἡρώδῃ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐπέτρεψεν νέῳ παντάπασιν ὄντι: πεντεκαίδεκα γὰρ ἐγεγόνει μόνα ἔτη. [159] βλάπτει δὲ οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἡ νεότης, ἀλλ᾽ ὢν τὸ φρόνημα γενναῖος ὁ νεανίας ἀφορμὴν εὑρίσκει παραχρῆμα εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τῆς ἀρετῆς. καταλαβὼν γὰρ Ἐζεκίαν τὸν ἀρχιλῃστὴν τὰ προσεχῆ τῆς Συρίας κατατρέχοντα σὺν μεγάλῳ στίφει, τοῦτον συλλαβὼν κτείνει καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ

λῃστῶν. [160] σφόδρα δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἠγάπησαν οἱ Σύροι: ποθοῦσι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀπηλλάχθαι τοῦ λῃστηρίου τὴν χώραν ἐκαθάρευσεν. ὕμνουν γοῦν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ κατά τε κώμας καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ὡς εἰρήνην αὐτοῖς παρεσχηκότα καὶ ἀσφαλῆ τῶν κτημάτων ἀπόλαυσιν. ἐγένετο δὲ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Σέξτῳ Καίσαρι γνώριμος ὄντι συγγενεῖ τοῦ μεγάλου Καίσαρος καὶ διέποντι τὴν Συρίαν. [161] ζῆλος δ' ἐμπίπτει τῶν Ἡρώδῃ πεπραγμένων Φασαήλῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, καὶ πρὸς τὴν εὐδοκίμησιν αὐτοῦ κινηθεὶς ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο μὴ ἀπολειφθῆναι τῆς ὁμοίας εὐφημίας, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις εὐνουστέρους ἐποιεῖτο, δι' αὐτοῦ μὲν ἔχων τὴν πόλιν, οὔτε δὲ ἀπειροκάλως τοῖς πράγμασι προσφερόμενος οὔτ' ἐξυβρίζων εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν. [162] ταῦτ' Ἀντίπατρον ἐποίει θεραπείας παρὰ τοῦ ἔθνους τυγχάνειν βασιλικῆς καὶ τιμῶν οἵων ἄν τις μεταλαμβάνοι τῶν ὅλων ὢν δεσπότης. ὑπὸ μέντοι τῆς ἐκ τούτων λαμπρότητος οὐδὲν οἷα φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν πολλάκις τῆς πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν εὐνοίας παρέβη καὶ πίστεως.

2. And seeing that Hyrcanus was of a slow and slothful temper, he made Phasaelus, his eldest son, governor of Jerusalem, and of the places that were about it, but committed Galilee to Herod, his next son, who was then a very young man, for he was but fifteen years of age But that youth of his was no impediment to him; but as he was a youth of great mind, he presently met with an opportunity of signalizing his courage; for finding that there was one Hezekiah, a captain of a band of robbers, who overran the neighboring parts of Syria with a great troop of them, he seized him and slew him, as well as a great number of the other robbers that were with him; for which action he was greatly beloved by the Syrians; for when they were very desirous to have their country freed from this nest of robbers, he purged it of them. So they sung songs in his commendation in their villages and cities, as having procured them peace, and the secure enjoyment of their possessions; and on this account it was that he became known to Sextus Caesar, who was a relation of the great Caesar, and was now president of Syria. Now Phasaetus, Herod's brother, was moved with emulation at his actions, and envied the fame he had thereby gotten, and became ambitious not to be behindhand with him in deserving it. So he made the inhabitants of Jerusalem bear him the greatest good-will while he held the city himself, but did neither manage its affairs improperly, nor abuse his authority therein. This conduct procured from the nation to Antipater such respect as is due to kings, and such honors as he might partake of if he were an absolute lord of the country. Yet did not this splendor of his, as frequently happens, in the least diminish in him that kindness and fidelity which he owed to Hyrcanus.

(3) [163] Οἱ δ' ἐν τέλει τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὁρῶντες τὸν Ἀντίπατρον καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ μεγάλως αὐξανομένους εὐνοίᾳ τε τῇ παρὰ τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ προσόδῳ τῇ τε παρὰ

τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τῶν Ὑρκανοῦ χρημάτων, κακοήθως εἶχον πρὸς αὐτόν: [164] καὶ γὰρ φιλίαν ὁ Ἀντίπατρος ἦν πεποιημένος πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορας καὶ χρήματα πείσας πέμψαι τὸν Ὑρκανὸν αὐτὸς λαβὼν νοσφίζεται τὴν δωρεάν: ὡς ἰδίαν γὰρ ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ ὡς Ὑρκανοῦ διδόντος ἔπεμψεν. [165] ταῦθ᾽ Ὑρκανὸς ἀκούων οὐκ ἐφρόντιζεν, ἐν δέει δὲ ἦσαν οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὁρῶντες τὸν Ἡρώδην βίαιον καὶ τολμηρὸν καὶ τυραννίδος γλιχόμενον: καὶ προσελθόντες Ὑρκανῷ φανερῶς ἤδη κατηγόρουν Ἀντιπάτρου, καί “μέχρι πότε, ἔφασαν, ἐπὶ τοῖς πραττομένοις ἡσυχάσεις; ἢ οὐχ ὁρᾷς Ἀντίπατρον μὲν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν διεζωσμένους, σαυτὸν μέντοι τῆς βασιλείας ὄνομα μόνον ἀκούοντα; [166] ἀλλὰ μὴ λανθανέτω σε ταῦτα μηδὲ ἀκίνδυνος εἶναι νόμιζε ῥαθυμῶν περί τε σαυτῷ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ: οὐ γὰρ ἐπίτροποί σοι τῶν πραγμάτων Ἀντίπατρος καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ νῦν εἰσιν, μηδὲ ἀπάτα σαυτὸν τοῦτο οἰόμενος, ἀλλὰ δεσπόται φανερῶς ἀνωμολόγηνται: [167] καὶ γὰρ Ἡρώδης ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Ἐζεκίαν ἀπέκτεινεν καὶ πολλοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ παραβὰς τὸν ἡμέτερον νόμον, ὃς κεκώλυκεν ἄνθρωπον ἀναιρεῖν καὶ πονηρὸν ὄντα, εἰ μὴ πρότερον κατακριθείη τοῦτο παθεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ συνεδρίου. μὴ λαβὼν δὲ ἐξουσίαν παρὰ σοῦ ταῦτα ἐτόλμησεν.”

3. But now the principal men among the Jews, when they saw Antipater and his sons to grow so much in the good-will the nation bare to them, and in the revenues which they received out of Judea, and out of Hyrcanus’s own wealth, they became ill-disposed to him; for indeed Antipater had contracted a friendship with the Roman emperors; and when he had prevailed with Hyrcanus to send them money, he took it to himself, and purloined the present intended, and sent it as if it were his own, and not Hyrcanus’s gift to them. Hyrcanus heard of this his management, but took no care about it; nay, he rather was very glad of it. But the chief men of the Jews were therefore in fear, because they saw that Herod was a violent and bold man, and very desirous of acting tyrannically; so they came to Hyrcanus, and now accused Antipater openly, and said to him, “How long wilt thou be quiet under such actions as are now done? Or dost thou not see that Antipater and his sons have already seized upon the government, and that it is only the name of a king which is given thee? But do not thou suffer these things to be hidden from thee, nor do thou think to escape danger by being so careless of thyself and of thy kingdom; for Antipater and his sons are not now stewards of thine affairs: do not thou deceive thyself with such a notion; they are evidently absolute lords; for Herod, Antipater’s son, hath slain Hezekiah, and those that were with him, and hath thereby transgressed our law, which hath forbidden to slay any man, even though he were a wicked man, unless he had been first condemned to suffer death by the Sanhedrim yet hath he been so insolent as to do this, and that without any authority from thee.”

(4) [168] Ὑρκανὸς δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα πείθεται: προσεξῆψαν δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ αἱ μητέρες τῶν ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου πεφονευμένων: αὗται γὰρ καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ παρακαλοῦσαι τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν δῆμον, ἵνα δίκην Ἡρώδης ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῶν πεπραγμένων ὑπόσχῃ, διετέλουν. [169] κινηθεὶς οὖν ὑπὸ τούτων Ὑρκανὸς Ἡρώδην ἐκάλει δικασόμενον ὑπὲρ ὧν διεβάλλετο. ὁ δὲ ἦκεν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ παραινέσαντος μὴ ὡς ἰδιώτῃ μετὰ δ᾽ ἀσφαλείας εἰσελθεῖν καὶ φυλακῆς τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα, τά τε κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ὡς ἐνόμισεν αὐτῷ συμφέρειν ἀσφαλίσασθαι. τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἁρμοσάμενος καὶ μετὰ στίφους ἀποχρῶντος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν ὁδόν, ὡς μήτε ἐπίφοβος Ὑρκανῷ δόξειε μετὰ μείζονος παραγενόμενος τάγματος μήτε γυμνὸς καὶ ἀφύλακτος, ᾔει πρὸς τὴν δίκην. [170] Σέξτος μέντοι ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμὼν γράφει παρακαλῶν Ὑρκανὸν ἀπολῦσαι τὸν Ἡρώδην ἐκ τῆς δίκης καὶ προσαπειλῶν παρακούσαντι. τῷ δ᾽ ἦν ἀφορμὴ τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Σέξστου γράμμα πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου παθόντα ἀπολῦσαι τὸν Ἡρώδην: ἠγάπα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὡς υἱόν. [171] καταστὰς δὲ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ μετὰ τοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ τάγματος Ἡρώδης κατέπληξεν ἅπαντας καὶ κατηγορεῖν ἐθάρρει τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδεὶς τῶν πρὶν ἀφικέσθαι διαβαλλόντων, ἀλλ᾽ ἦν ἡσυχία καὶ τοῦ τί χρὴ ποιεῖν ἀπορία. [172] διακειμένων δ᾽ οὕτως εἷς τις Σαμαίας ὄνομα, δίκαιος ἀνὴρ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῦ δεδιέναι κρείττων, ἀναστὰς εἶπεν: “ἄνδρες σύνεδροι καὶ βασιλεῦ, εἰς δίκην μὲν οὔτ᾽ αὐτὸς οἶδά τινα τῶν πώποτε εἰς ὑμᾶς κεκλημένων οὕτω παραστάντα οὔτε ὑμᾶς ἔχειν εἰπεῖν ὑπολαμβάνω, ἀλλὰ πᾶς ὁστισδηποτοῦν ἀφῖκται εἰς τὸ συνέδριον τοῦτο κριθησόμενος ταπεινὸς παρίσταται καὶ σχήματι δεδοικότος καὶ ἔλεον θηρωμένου παρ᾽ ὑμῶν, κόμην τ᾽ ἐπιθρέψας καὶ ἐσθῆτα μέλαιναν ἐνδεδυμένος. [173] ὁ δὲ βέλτιστος Ἡρώδης φόνου δίκην φεύγων καὶ ἐπ᾽ αἰτίᾳ τοιαύτῃ κεκλημένος ἔστηκε τὴν πορφύραν περικείμενος καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν κεκοσμημένος τῇ συνθέσει τῆς κόμης καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχων ὁπλίτας, ἵνα ἂν κατακρίνωμεν αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸν νόμον, κτείνῃ μὲν ἡμᾶς, αὐτὸν δὲ σώσῃ βιασάμενος τὸ δίκαιον. [174] ἀλλ᾽ Ἡρώδην μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐκ ἂν μεμψαίμην, εἰ τὸ αὐτοῦ συμφέρον ποιεῖται περὶ πλείονος ἢ τὸ νόμιμον, ὑμᾶς δὲ καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τοσαύτην ἄδειαν αὐτῷ παρασχόντας. ἴστε μέντοι τὸν θεὸν μέγαν, καὶ οὗτος, ὃν νῦν δι᾽ Ὑρκανὸν ἀπολῦσαι βούλεσθε, [175] κολάσει ὑμᾶς τε καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα.” διήμαρτεν δ᾽ οὐδὲν τῶν εἰρημένων. ὁ γὰρ Ἡρώδης τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν πάντας ἀπέκτεινεν τοὺς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ Ὑρκανὸν αὐτὸν χωρὶς τοῦ Σαμαίου: [176] σφόδρα γὰρ αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἐτίμησεν καὶ ὅτι τῆς πόλεως μετὰ ταῦτα πολιορκουμένης ὑπό τε Ἡρώδου καὶ Σοσσίου παρῄνεσεν τῷ δήμῳ δέξασθαι τὸν Ἡρώδην εἰπὼν διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας οὐ δύνασθαι διαφυγεῖν αὐτόν. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων κατὰ χώραν ἐροῦμεν.

4. Upon Hyrcanus hearing this, he complied with them. The mothers also of those that had been slain by Herod raised his indignation; for those women continued

every day in the temple, persuading the king and the people that Herod might undergo a trial before the Sanhedrim for what he had done. Hyrcanus was so moved by these complaints, that he summoned Herod to come to his trial for what was charged upon him. Accordingly he came; but his father had persuaded him to come not like a private man, but with a guard, for the security of his person; and that when he had settled the affairs of Galilee in the best manner he could for his own advantage, he should come to his trial, but still with a body of men sufficient for his security on his journey, yet so that he should not come with so great a force as might look like terrifying Hyrcanus, but still such a one as might not expose him naked and unguarded [to his enemies.] However, Sextus Caesar, president of Syria, wrote to Hyrcanus, and desired him to clear Herod, and dismiss him at his trial, and threatened him beforehand if he did not do it. Which epistle of his was the occasion of Hyrcanus delivering Herod from suffering any harm from the Sanhedrim, for he loved him as his own son. But when Herod stood before the Sanhedrim, with his body of men about him, he aftrighted them all, and no one of his former accusers durst after that bring any charge against him, but there was a deep silence, and nobody knew what was to be done. When affairs stood thus, one whose name was Sameas, a righteous man he was, and for that reason above all fear, rose up, and said, "O you that are assessors with me, and O thou that art our king, I neither have ever myself known such a case, nor do I suppose that any one of you can name its parallel, that one who is called to take his trial by us ever stood in such a manner before us; but every one, whosoever he be, that comes to be tried by this Sanhedrim, presents himself in a submissive manner, and like one that is in fear of himself, and that endeavors to move us to compassion, with his hair dishevelled, and in a black and mourning garment: but this admirable man Herod, who is accused of murder, and called to answer so heavy an accusation, stands here clothed in purple, and with the hair of his head finely trimmed, and with his armed men about him, that if we shall condemn him by our law, he may slay us, and by overbearing justice may himself escape death. Yet do not I make this complaint against Herod himself; he is to be sure more concerned for himself than for the laws; but my complaint is against yourselves, and your king, who gave him a license so to do. However, take you notice, that God is great, and that this very man, whom you are going to absolve and dismiss, for the sake of Hyrcanus, will one day punish both you and your king himself also." Nor did Sameas mistake in any part of this prediction; for when Herod had received the kingdom, he slew all the members of this Sanhedrim, and Hyrcanus himself also, excepting Sameas, for he had a great honor for him on account of his righteousness, and because, when the city was afterward besieged by Herod and Sosius, he

persuaded the people to admit Herod into it; and told them that for their sins they would not be able to escape his hands: — which things will be related by us in their proper places.

(5) [177] Ὑρκανὸς δὲ ὁρῶν ὡρμημένους πρὸς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τὴν Ἡρώδου τοὺς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τὴν δίκην εἰς ἄλλην ἡμέραν ἀνεβάλετο, καὶ πέμψας κρύφα πρὸς Ἡρώδην συνεβούλευσεν αὐτῷ φυγεῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως: οὕτω γὰρ τὸν κίνδυνον διαφεύξεσθαι. [178] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Δαμασκὸν ὡς φεύγων τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ παραγενόμενος πρὸς Σέξτον Καίσαρα καὶ τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀσφαλισάμενος οὕτως εἶχεν, ὡς εἰ καλοῖτο πάλιν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἐπὶ δίκην οὐχ ὑπακουσόμενος. [179] ἠγανάκτουν δὲ οἱ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ἐπειρῶντο διδάσκειν, ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα εἴη κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ. τὸν δ᾽ οὐκ ἐλάνθανε μέν, πράττειν δ᾽ οὐδὲν εἶχεν ὑπὸ ἀνανδρίας καὶ ἀνοίας. [180] Σέξστου δὲ ποιήσαντος Ἡρώδην στρατηγὸν κοίλης Συρίας, χρημάτων γὰρ αὐτῷ τοῦτο ἀπέδοτο, Ὑρκανὸς ἦν ἐν φόβῳ, μὴ στρατεύσηται Ἡρώδης ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν. οὐ πολὺ δὲ τοῦ δέους ἐβράδυνεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἦκεν ἄγων ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἡρώδης στρατιὰν ὀργιζόμενος τῆς δίκης αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ κληθῆναι πρὸς τὸ λόγον ὑποσχεῖν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ. [181] διεκώλυσαν δ᾽ αὐτὸν προσβαλεῖν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ὑπαντήσαντες ὅ τε πατὴρ Ἀντίπατρος καὶ ὁ ἀδελφός, καὶ τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτοῦ καταπαύσαντες καὶ παρακαλέσαντες ἔργῳ μὲν ἐγχειρεῖν μηδενί, καταπληξάμενον δὲ ἀπειλῇ μόνον μὴ χωρῆσαι περαιτέρω κατὰ τοῦ παρασχόντος αὐτῷ εἰς τοῦτο παρελθεῖν τὸ ἀξίωμα. [182] ἠξίουν τε περὶ τοῦ κληθέντα ἐπὶ δίκην ἐλθεῖν ἀγανακτοῦντα μεμνῆσθαι καὶ τῆς ἀφέσεως καὶ χάριν αὐτῆς εἰδέναι καὶ μὴ πρὸς μὲν τὸ σκυθρωπότερον ἀπαντᾶν, περὶ δὲ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀχαριστεῖν: [183] λογίζεσθαι δ᾽ ὡς, εἰ καὶ πολέμου ῥοπὰς βραβεύει τὸ θεῖον, πλέον ἐστὶ τῆς στρατείας τὸ ἄδικον, διὸ καὶ τὴν νίκην μὴ πάντῃ προσδοκᾶν μέλλοντα πολεμεῖν βασιλεῖ καὶ συντρόφῳ, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν εὐεργετήσαντι, μηδὲν δὲ χαλεπὸν αὐτὸν εἰργασμένῳ, περὶ δὲ ὧν ἐγκαλεῖ διὰ πονηροὺς συμβούλους ἀλλὰ μὴ δι᾽ αὐτὸν ὑπόνοιαν αὐτῷ καὶ σκιὰν δυσκόλου τινὸς παρεσχημένῳ. [184] πείθεται τούτοις Ἡρώδης ὑπολαβὼν εἰς τὰς ἐλπίδας ἀποχρῆν αὐτῷ τὸ καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐπιδείξασθαι τῷ ἔθνει μόνον. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν οὕτως εἶχεν.

5. But when Hyrcanus saw that the members of the Sanhedrim were ready to pronounce the sentence of death upon Herod, he put off the trial to another day, and sent privately to Herod, and advised him to fly out of the city, for that by this means he might escape. So he retired to Damascus, as though he fled from the king; and when he had been with Sextus Caesar, and had put his own affairs in a sure posture, he resolved to do thus; that in case he were again summoned before the Sanhedrim to take his trial, he would not obey that summons. Hereupon the members of the Sanhedrim had great indignation at this posture of affairs, and endeavored to persuade Hyrcanus that all these things were against

him; which state of matters he was not ignorant of; but his temper was so unmanly, and so foolish, that he was able to do nothing at all. But when Sextus had made Herod general of the army of Celesyria, for he sold him that post for money, Hyrcanus was in fear lest Herod should make war upon him; nor was the effect of what he feared long in coming upon him; for Herod came and brought an army along with him to fight with Hyrcanus, as being angry at the trial he had been summoned to undergo before the Sanhedrim; but his father Antipater, and his brother [Phasaelus], met him, and hindered him from assaulting Jerusalem. They also pacified his vehement temper, and persuaded him to do no overt action, but only to affright them with threatenings, and to proceed no further against one who had given him the dignity he had: they also desired him not only to be angry that he was summoned, and obliged to come to his trial, but to remember withal how he was dismissed without condemnation, and how he ought to give Hyrcanus thanks for the same; and that he was not to regard only what was disagreeable to him, and be unthankful for his deliverance. So they desired him to consider, that since it is God that turns the scales of war, there is great uncertainty in the issue of battles, and that therefore he ought of to expect the victory when he should fight with his king, and him that had supported him, and bestowed many benefits upon him, and had done nothing itself very severe to him; for that his accusation, which was derived from evil counselors, and not from himself, had rather the suspicion of some severity, than any thing really severe in it. Herod was persuaded by these arguments, and believed that it was sufficient for his future hopes to have made a show of his strength before the nation, and done no more to it — and in this state were the affairs of Judea at this time.

X

CHAPTER 10. The Honors That Were Paid The Jews; And The Leagues That Were Made By The Romans And Other Nations, With Them.

(1) [185] Καῖσαρ δ᾽ ἐλθὼν εἰς Ῥώμην ἕτοιμος ἦν πλεῖν ἐπ᾽ Ἀφρικῆς πολεμήσων Σκιπίωνι καὶ Κάτωνι, πέμψας δ᾽ Ὑρκανὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν παρεκάλει βεβαιώσασθαι τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν. [186] ἔδοξεν δ᾽ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναί μοι πάσας ἐκθέσθαι τὰς γεγενημένας Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσιν αὐτῶν τιμὰς καὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν, ἵνα μὴ λανθάνῃ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας, ὅτι καὶ οἱ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ οἱ τῆς Εὐρώπης βασιλεῖς διὰ σπουδῆς ἔσχον ἡμᾶς τήν τε ἀνδρείαν ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν πίστιν ἀγαπήσαντες. [187] ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς δυσμένειαν ἀπιστοῦσι τοῖς ὑπὸ Περσῶν καὶ Μακεδόνων ἀναγεγραμμένοις περὶ ἡμῶν τῷ μηκέτ᾽ αὐτὰ πανταχοῦ μηδ᾽ ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις ἀποκεῖσθαι τόποις, ἀλλὰ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν τε αὐτοῖς καί τισιν ἄλλοις τῶν βαρβάρων, [188] πρὸς δὲ τὰ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων δόγματα οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντειπεῖν: ἔν τε γὰρ δημοσίοις ἀνάκειται τόποις τῶν πόλεων καὶ ἔτι νῦν ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ χαλκαῖς στήλαις ἐγγέγραπται, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Καῖσαρ Ἰούλιος τοῖς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἰουδαίοις ποιήσας χαλκῆν στήλην ἐδήλωσεν, ὅτι Ἀλεξανδρέων πολῖταί εἰσιν, ἐκ τούτων ποιήσομαι καὶ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν. [189] παραθήσομαι δὲ τὰ γενόμενα ὑπό τε τῆς συγκλήτου δόγματα καὶ Ἰουλίου Καίσαρος πρός τε Ὑρκανὸν καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν.

1. Now when Caesar was come to Rome, he was ready to sail into Africa to fight against Scipio and Cato, when Hyrcanus sent ambassadors to him, and by them desired that he would ratify that league of friendship and mutual alliance which was between them, And it seems to me to be necessary here to give an account of all the honors that the Romans and their emperor paid to our nation, and of the leagues of mutual assistance they have made with it, that all the rest of mankind may know what regard the kings of Asia and Europe have had to us, and that they have been abundantly satisfied of our courage and fidelity; for whereas many will not believe what hath been written about us by the Persians and Macedonians, because those writings are not every where to be met with, nor do lie in public places, but among us ourselves, and certain other barbarous nations, while there is no contradiction to be made against the decrees of the Romans, for they are laid up in the public places of the cities, and are extant still in the capitol, and engraven upon pillars of brass; nay, besides this, Julius Caesar made a pillar of brass for the Jews at Alexandria, and declared publicly that they were citizens of Alexandria. Out of these evidences will I demonstrate what I say; and

will now set down the decrees made both by the senate and by Julius Caesar, which relate to Hyrcanus and to our nation.

(2) [190] Γάιος Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς δικτάτωρ τὸ δεύτερον Σιδωνίων ἄρχουσιν βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. εἰ ἔρρωσθε εὖ ἂν ἔχοι, κἀγὼ δὲ ἔρρωμαι σὺν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. [191] τῆς γενομένης ἀναγραφῆς ἐν τῇ δέλτῳ πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν υἱὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἐθνάρχην Ἰουδαίων πέπομφα ὑμῖν τὸ ἀντίγραφον, ἵν' ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις ὑμῶν ἀνακέηται γράμμασιν. βούλομαι δὲ καὶ ἑλληνιστὶ καὶ ῥωμαιστὶ ἐν δέλτῳ χαλκῇ τοῦτο ἀνατεθῆναι. [192] ἔστιν δὴ τοῦτο: Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς μετὰ συμβουλίου γνώμης ἐπέκρινα. ἐπεὶ Ὑρκανὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἰουδαῖος καὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις ἔν τε εἰρήνῃ καὶ πολέμῳ πίστιν τε καὶ σπουδὴν περὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα πράγματα ἐπεδείξατο, ὡς αὐτῷ πολλοὶ μεμαρτυρήκασιν αὐτοκράτορες, [193] καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔγγιστα ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ πολέμῳ μετὰ χιλίων πεντακοσίων στρατιωτῶν ἦκεν σύμμαχος καὶ πρὸς Μιθριδάτην ἀποσταλεὶς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πάντας ἀνδρείᾳ τοὺς ἐν τάξει ὑπερέβαλεν, [194] διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας Ὑρκανὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ἐθνάρχας Ἰουδαίων εἶναι ἀρχιερωσύνην τε Ἰουδαίων διὰ παντὸς ἔχειν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἔθη, εἶναί τε αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ συμμάχους ἡμῖν ἔτι τε καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἄνδρα φίλοις ἀριθμεῖσθαι, [195] ὅσα τε κατὰ τοὺς ἰδίους αὐτῶν νόμους ἐστὶν ἀρχιερατικὰ φιλάνθρωπα, ταῦτα κελεύω κατέχειν αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ: ἄν τε μεταξὺ γένηταί τις ζήτησις περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀγωγῆς, ἀρέσκει μοι κρίσιν γίνεσθαι [παρ' αὐτοῖς]. παραχειμασίαν δὲ ἢ χρήματα πράσσεσθαι οὐ δοκιμάζω.

2. "Caius Julius Caesar, imperator and high priest, and dictator the second time, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Sidon, sendeth greeting. If you be in health, it is well. I also and the army are well. I have sent you a copy of that decree, registered on the tables, which concerns Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, that it may be laid up among the public records; and I will that it be openly proposed in a table of brass, both in Greek and in Latin. It is as follows: I Julius Caesar, imperator the second time, and high priest, have made this decree, with the approbation of the senate. Whereas Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander the Jew, hath demonstrated his fidelity and diligence about our affairs, and this both now and in former times, both in peace and in war, as many of our generals have borne witness, and came to our assistance in the last Alexandrian war, with fifteen hundred soldiers; and when he was sent by me to Mithridates, showed himself superior in valor to all the rest of that army; — for these reasons I will that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, and his children, be ethnarchs of the Jews, and have the high priesthood of the Jews for ever, according to the customs of their forefathers, and that he and his sons

be our confederates; and that besides this, everyone of them be reckoned among our particular friends. I also ordain that he and his children retain whatsoever privileges belong to the office of high priest, or whatsoever favors have been hitherto granted them; and if at any time hereafter there arise any questions about the Jewish customs, I will that he determine the same. And I think it not proper that they should be obliged to find us winter quarters, or that any money should be required of them."

(3) [196] Γαίου Καίσαρος αὐτοκράτορος ὑπάτου δεδομένα συγκεχωρημένα προσκεκριμένα ἐστὶν οὕτως ἔχοντα. ὅπως τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους ἄρχῃ, καὶ τοὺς δεδομένους τόπους καρπίζωνται, καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς αὐτὸς καὶ ἐθνάρχης τῶν Ἰουδαίων προιστῆται τῶν ἀδικουμένων. [197] πέμψαι δὲ πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸν ἀρχιερέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς περὶ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας διαλεξομένους: ἀνατεθῆναι δὲ καὶ χαλκῆν δέλτον ταῦτα περιέχουσαν ἔν τε τῷ Καπετωλίῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι καὶ Τύρῳ καὶ ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς ἐγκεχαραγμένην γράμμασιν Ῥωμαικοῖς καὶ Ἑλληνικοῖς. [198] ὅπως τε τὸ δόγμα τοῦτο πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ταμίαις καὶ τοῖς τούτων ἡγουμένοις Εἵς τε τοὺς φίλους ἀνενέγκωσιν καὶ ξένια τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς παρασχεῖν καὶ τὰ διατάγματα διαπέμψαι πανταχοῦ.

3. "The decrees of Caius Caesar, consul, containing what hath been granted and determined, are as follows: That Hyrcanus and his children bear rule over the nation of the Jews, and have the profits of the places to them bequeathed; and that he, as himself the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, defend those that are injured; and that ambassadors be sent to Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest of the Jews, that may discourse with him about a league of friendship and mutual assistance; and that a table of brass, containing the premises, be openly proposed in the capitol, and at Sidon, and Tyre, and Askelon, and in the temple, engraven in Roman and Greek letters: that this decree may also be communicated to the quaestors and praetors of the several cities, and to the friends of the Jews; and that the ambassadors may have presents made them; and that these decrees be sent every where."

(4) [199] Γάιος Καῖσαρ αὐτοκράτωρ δικτάτωρ ὕπατος τιμῆς καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας ἕνεκεν συνεχώρησεν ἐπὶ συμφέροντι καὶ τῇ συγκλήτῳ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων Ὑρκανὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸν καὶ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ἀρχιερεῖς τε καὶ ἱερεῖς Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους εἶναι ἐπὶ τοῖς δικαίοις, οἷς καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην διακατέσχον.

4. "Caius Caesar, imperator, dictator, consul, hath granted, That out of regard to the honor, and virtue, and kindness of the man, and for the advantage of the

senate, and of the people of Rome, Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, both he and his children, be high priests and priests of Jerusalem, and of the Jewish nation, by the same right, and according to the same laws, by which their progenitors have held the priesthood."

(5) [200] Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὕπατος τὸ πέμπτον ἔκρινεν τούτους ἔχειν καὶ τειχίσαι τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν, καὶ κατέχειν αὐτὴν Ὑρκανὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀρχιερέα Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἐθνάρχην ὡς ἂν αὐτὸς προαιρῆται. [201] ὅπως τε Ἰουδαίοις ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῆς μισθώσεως [ἔτει] τῆς προσόδου κόρον ὑπεξέλωνται καὶ μήτε ἐργολαβῶσί τινες μήτε φόρους τοὺς αὐτοὺς τελῶσιν.

5. "Caius Caesar, consul the fifth time, hath decreed, That the Jews shall possess Jerusalem, and may encompass that city with walls; and that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, retain it in the manner he himself pleases; and that the Jews be allowed to deduct out of their tribute, every second year the land is let [in the Sabbatic period], a corus of that tribute; and that the tribute they pay be not let to farm, nor that they pay always the same tribute."

(6) [202] Γάιος Καῖσαρ αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ δεύτερον ἔστησεν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὅπως τελῶσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλεως Ἰόππης ὑπεξαιρουμένης χωρὶς τοῦ ἑβδόμου ἔτους, ὃν σαββατικὸν ἐνιαυτὸν προσαγορεύουσιν, ἐπεὶ ἐν αὐτῷ μήτε τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων καρπὸν λαμβάνουσιν μήτε σπείρουσιν. [203] καὶ ἵνα ἐν Σιδῶνι τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τὸν φόρον ἀποδιδῶσιν τὸ τέταρτον τῶν σπειρομένων, πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι καὶ Ὑρκανῷ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ τὰς δεκάτας τελῶσιν, ἃς ἐτέλουν καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις αὐτῶν. [204] καὶ ὅπως μηδεὶς μήτε ἄρχων μήτε ἀντάρχων μήτε στρατηγὸς ἢ πρεσβευτὴς ἐν τοῖς ὅροις τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀνιστὰς συμμαχίαν καὶ στρατιώτας ἐξῇ τούτῳ χρήματα εἰσπράττεσθαι ἢ εἰς παραχειμασίαν ἢ ἄλλῳ τινὶ ὀνόματι, ἀλλ' εἶναι πανταχόθεν ἀνεπηρεάστους. [205] ὅσα τε μετὰ ταῦτα ἔσχον ἢ ἐπρίαντο καὶ διακατέσχον καὶ ἐνεμήθησαν, ταῦτα πάντα αὐτοὺς ἔχειν. Ἰόππην τε πόλιν, ἣν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἔσχον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ποιούμενοι τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν αὐτῶν εἶναι, καθὼς καὶ τὸ πρῶτον, ἡμῖν ἀρέσκει, [206] φόρους τε ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως Ὑρκανὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸν καὶ παῖδας αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῶν τὴν γῆν νεμομένων χώρας λιμένος ἐξαγωγίου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Σιδῶνι μοδίους δισμυρίους χοε ὑπεξαιρουμένου τοῦ ἑβδόμου ἔτους, ὃν σαββατικὸν καλοῦσιν, καθ' ὃν οὔτε ἀροῦσιν οὔτε τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων καρπὸν λαμβάνουσιν. [207] τάς τε κώμας τὰς ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ, ἃς Ὑρκανὸς καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι πρότερον αὐτοῦ διακατέσχον, ἀρέσκει τῇ συγκλήτῳ ταῦτα Ὑρκανὸν καὶ Ἰουδαίους ἔχειν ἐπὶ τοῖς δικαίοις οἷς καὶ πρότερον εἶχον. [208] μένειν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς δίκαια, ὅσα πρὸς ἀλλήλους Ἰουδαίοις καὶ τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ

ἱερεῦσιν ἦν τά τε φιλάνθρωπα ὅσα τε τοῦ δήμου ψηφισαμένου καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου ἔσχον. ἐπὶ τούτοις τε τοῖς δικαίοις χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς ἐξεῖναι ἐν Λύδδοις. [209] τούς τε τόπους καὶ χώραν καὶ ἐποίκια, ὅσα βασιλεῦσι Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης συμμάχοις οὖσι Ῥωμαίων κατὰ δωρεὰν ὑπῆρχε καρποῦσθαι, ταῦτα δοκιμάζει ἡ σύγκλητος Ὑρκανὸν τὸν ἐθνάρχην καὶ Ἰουδαίους ἔχειν. [210] δεδόσθαι δὲ Ὑρκανῷ καὶ παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ πρεσβευταῖς τοῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πεμφθεῖσιν ἔν τε πυγμῇ μονομάχων καὶ θηρίων καθεζομένοις μετὰ τῶν συγκλητικῶν θεωρεῖν Αἰτησαμένους παρὰ δικτάτορος ἢ παρὰ ἱππάρχου παρελθεῖν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον εἰσάγωσιν καὶ τὰ ἀποκρίματα αὐτοῖς ἀποδιδῶσιν ἐν ἡμέραις δέκα ταῖς ἁπάσαις, ἀφ᾽ ἧς ἂν τὸ δόγμα γένηται.

6. “Caius Caesar, imperator the second time, hath ordained, That all the country of the Jews, excepting Joppa, do pay a tribute yearly for the city Jerusalem, excepting the seventh, which they call the sabbatical year, because thereon they neither receive the fruits of their trees, nor do they sow their land; and that they pay their tribute in Sidon on the second year [of that sabbatical period], the fourth part of what was sown: and besides this, they are to pay the same tithes to Hyrcanus and his sons which they paid to their forefathers. And that no one, neither president, nor lieutenant, nor ambassador, raise auxiliaries within the bounds of Judea; nor may soldiers exact money of them for winter quarters, or under any other pretense; but that they be free from all sorts of injuries; and that whatsoever they shall hereafter have, and are in possession of, or have bought, they shall retain them all. It is also our pleasure that the city Joppa, which the Jews had originally, when they made a league of friendship with the Romans, shall belong to them, as it formerly did; and that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, and his sons, have as tribute of that city from those that occupy the land for the country, and for what they export every year to Sidon, twenty thousand six hundred and seventy-five modii every year, the seventh year, which they call the Sabbatic year, excepted, whereon they neither plough, nor receive the product of their trees. It is also the pleasure of the senate, that as to the villages which are in the great plain, which Hyrcanus and his forefathers formerly possessed, Hyrcanus and the Jews have them with the same privileges with which they formerly had them also; and that the same original ordinances remain still in force which concern the Jews with regard to their high priests; and that they enjoy the same benefits which they have had formerly by the concession of the people, and of the senate; and let them enjoy the like privileges in Lydda. It is the pleasure also of the senate that Hyrcanus the ethnarch, and the Jews, retain those places, countries, and villages which belonged to the kings of Syria and Phoenicia, the confederates of the Romans, and which they had bestowed on

them as their free gifts. It is also granted to Hyrcanus, and to his sons, and to the ambassadors by them sent to us, that in the fights between single gladiators, and in those with beasts, they shall sit among the senators to see those shows; and that when they desire an audience, they shall be introduced into the senate by the dictator, or by the general of the horse; and when they have introduced them, their answers shall be returned them in ten days at the furthest, after the decree of the senate is made about their affairs."

(7) [211] Γάιος Καῖσαρ αὐτοκράτωρ δικτάτωρ τὸ τέταρτον ὕπατός τε τὸ πέμπτον δικτάτωρ ἀποδεδειγμένος διὰ βίου λόγους ἐποιήσατο περὶ τῶν δικαίων τῶν Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀρχιερέως Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἐθνάρχου τοιούτους: [212] [τῶν] πρὸ ἐμοῦ αὐτοκρατόρων ἐν ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις μαρτυρησάντων Ὑρκανῷ ἀρχιερεῖ Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ἰουδαίοις ἐπί τε συγκλήτου καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων, εὐχαριστήσαντος δὲ καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου αὐτοῖς, καλῶς ἔχει καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀπομνημονεύειν καὶ προνοεῖν, ὡς Ὑρκανῷ καὶ τῷ ἔθνει τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τοῖς Ὑρκανοῦ παισὶν ὑπὸ συγκλήτου καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων ἀξία τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὐνοίας αὐτῶν καὶ ὧν εὐεργέτησαν ἡμᾶς χάρις ἀνταποδοθῇ.

7. "Caius Caesar, imperator, dictator the fourth time, and consul the fifth time, declared to be perpetual dictator, made this speech concerning the rights and privileges of Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews. Since those imperators that have been in the provinces before me have borne witness to Hyrcanus, the high priest of the Jews, and to the Jews themselves, and this before the senate and people of Rome, when the people and senate returned their thanks to them, it is good that we now also remember the same, and provide that a requital be made to Hyrcanus, to the nation of the Jews, and to the sons of Hyrcanus, by the senate and people of Rome, and that suitably to what good-will they have shown us, and to the benefits they have bestowed upon us."

(8) [213] Ἰούλιος Γάιος ὑιοσο στρατηγὸς ὕπατος Ῥωμαίων Παριανῶν ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἐνέτυχόν μοι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐν Δήλῳ καί τινες τῶν παροίκων Ἰουδαίων παρόντων καὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων πρέσβεων καὶ ἐνεφάνισαν, ὡς ὑμεῖς ψηφίσματι κωλύετε αὐτοὺς τοῖς πατρίοις ἔθεσι καὶ ἱεροῖς χρῆσθαι. [214] ἐμοὶ τοίνυν οὐκ ἀρέσκει κατὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων φίλων καὶ συμμάχων τοιαῦτα γίνεσθαι ψηφίσματα καὶ κωλύεσθαι αὐτοὺς ζῆν κατὰ τὰ αὐτῶν ἔθη καὶ χρήματα εἰς σύνδειπνα καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ εἰσφέρειν, τοῦτο ποιεῖν αὐτῶν μηδ' ἐν Ῥώμῃ κεκωλυμένων. [215] καὶ γὰρ Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὁ ἡμέτερος στρατηγὸς [καὶ] ὕπατος ἐν τῷ διατάγματι κωλύων θιάσους συνάγεσθαι κατὰ πόλιν μόνους τούτους οὐκ ἐκώλυσεν οὔτε χρήματα συνεισφέρειν οὔτε σύνδειπνα ποιεῖν. [216] ὁμοίως δὲ

κἀγὼ τοὺς ἄλλους θιάσους κωλύων τούτοις μόνοις ἐπιτρέπω κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἔθη καὶ νόμιμα συνάγεσθαί τε καὶ ἑστιᾶσθαι. καὶ ὑμᾶς οὖν καλῶς ἔχει, εἴ τι κατὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων φίλων καὶ συμμάχων ψήφισμα ἐποιήσατε, τοῦτο ἀκυρῶσαι διὰ τὴν περὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν καὶ εὔνοιαν.

8. "Julius Caius, praetor [consul] of Rome, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Parians, sendeth greeting. The Jews of Delos, and some other Jews that sojourn there, in the presence of your ambassadors, signified to us, that, by a decree of yours, you forbid them to make use of the customs of their forefathers, and their way of sacred worship. Now it does not please me that such decrees should be made against our friends and confederates, whereby they are forbidden to live according to their own customs, or to bring in contributions for common suppers and holy festivals, while they are not forbidden so to do even at Rome itself; for even Caius Caesar, our imperator and consul, in that decree wherein he forbade the Bacchanal rioters to meet in the city, did yet permit these Jews, and these only, both to bring in their contributions, and to make their common suppers. Accordingly, when I forbid other Bacchanal rioters, I permit these Jews to gather themselves together, according to the customs and laws of their forefathers, and to persist therein. It will be therefore good for you, that if you have made any decree against these our friends and confederates, to abrogate the same, by reason of their virtue and kind disposition towards us."

(9) [217] Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Γαίου θάνατον Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος καὶ Πόπλιος Δολαβέλλας ὕπατοι ὄντες τήν τε σύγκλητον συνήγαγον καὶ τοὺς παρ' Ὑρκανοῦ πρέσβεις παραγαγόντες διελέχθησαν περὶ ὧν ἠξίουν καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐποίησαν, καὶ πάντα συγχωρεῖν αὐτοῖς ἡ σύγκλητος ἐψηφίσατο ὅσων τυγχάνειν ἐβούλοντο. [218] παρατέθειμαι δὲ καὶ τὸ δόγμα, ὅπως τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῶν λεγομένων ἐγγύθεν ἔχωσιν οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες τὴν πραγματείαν. ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτον:

9. Now after Caius was slain, when Marcus Antonius and Publius Dolabella were consuls, they both assembled the senate, and introduced Hyrcanus's ambassadors into it, and discoursed of what they desired, and made a league of friendship with them. The senate also decreed to grant them all they desired. I add the decree itself, that those who read the present work may have ready by them a demonstration of the truth of what we say. The decree was this:

(10) [219] Δόγμα συγκλήτου ἐκ τοῦ ταμιείου ἀντιγεγραμμένον ἐκ τῶν δέλτων τῶν δημοσίων τῶν ταμιευτικῶν Κοίντῳ Ῥουτιλίῳ Κοίντῳ Κορνηλίῳ ταμίαις κατὰ πόλιν, δέλτῳ δευτέρᾳ καὶ ἐκ τῶν πρώτων πρώτῃ. πρὸ τριῶν εἰδῶν Ἀπριλλίων ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ὁμονοίας. γραφομένῳ παρῆσαν Λούκιος Καλπούρνιος Μενηνία Πείσων, [220] Σερουίνιος Παπίνιος Λεμωνία Κούιντος, Γάιος Κανείνιος Τηρητίνα

Ῥέβιλος, Πόπλιος Τηδήτιος Λευκίου υἱὸς Πολλία, Λεύκιος Ἀπούλιος Λευκίου υἱὸς Σεργία, Φλάβιος Λευκίου Λεμωνία, Πόπλιος Πλαύτιος Ποπλίου Παπειρία, Μᾶρκος Σέλλιος Μάρκου Μαικία, Λεύκιος Ἐρούκιος Λουκίου Στηλητίνα, Μᾶρκος Κούιντος Μάρκου υἱὸς Πολλία Πλανκῖνος, [221] Ποὔπλιος Σέρριος Πόπλιος Δολοβέλλας Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος ὕπατοι λόγους ἐποιήσαντο περὶ ὧν δόγματι συγκλήτου Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων ἔκρινεν καὶ εἰς τὸ ταμιεῖον οὐκ ἔφθασεν ἀνενεχθῆναι, περὶ τούτων ἀρέσκει ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, ὡς καὶ Ποπλίῳ Δολαβέλλᾳ καὶ Μάρκῳ Ἀντωνίῳ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἔδοξεν, ἀνενεγκεῖν τε ταῦτα εἰς δέλτους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ πόλιν ταμίας, ὅπως φροντίσωσιν καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰς δέλτους ἀναθεῖναι διπτύχους. [222] ἐγένετο πρὸ πέντε εἰδῶν Φεβρουαρίων ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ὁμονοίας. οἱ δὲ πρεσβεύοντες παρὰ Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἦσαν οὗτοι: Λυσίμαχος Παυσανίου Ἀλέξανδρος Θεοδώρου Πάτροκλος Χαιρέου Ἰωάννης Ὀνείου.

10. “The decree of the senate, copied out of the treasury, from the public tables belonging to the quaestors, when Quintus Rutilius and Caius Cornelius were quaestors, and taken out of the second table of the first class, on the third day before the Ides of April, in the temple of Concord. There were present at the writing of this decree, Lucius Calpurnius Piso of the Menenian tribe, Servius Papinins Potitus of the Lemonian tribe, Caius Caninius Rebilius of the Terentine tribe, Publius Tidetius, Lucius Apulinus, the son of Lucius, of the Sergian tribe, Flavius, the son of Lucius, of the Lemonian tribe, Publius Platins, the son of Publius, of the Papyrian tribe, Marcus Acilius, the son of Marcus, of the Mecian tribe, Lucius Erucius, the son of Lucius, of the Stellatine tribe, Mareils Quintus Plancillus, the son of Marcus, of the Pollian tribe, and Publius Serius. Publius Dolabella and Marcus Antonius, the consuls, made this reference to the senate, that as to those things which, by the decree of the senate, Caius Caesar had adjudged about the Jews, and yet had not hitherto that decree been brought into the treasury, it is our will, as it is also the desire of Publius Dolabella and Marcus Antonius, our consuls, to have these decrees put into the public tables, and brought to the city quaestors, that they may take care to have them put upon the double tables. This was done before the fifth of the Ides of February, in the temple of Concord. Now the ambassadors from Hyrcanus the high priest were these: Lysimachus, the son of Pausanias, Alexander, the son of Theodorus, Patroclus, the son of Chereas, and Jonathan the son of Onias.”

(11) [223] Ἔπεμψεν δὲ τούτων Ὑρκανὸς τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἕνα καὶ πρὸς Δολαβέλλαν τὸν τῆς Ἀσίας τότε ἡγεμόνα, παρακαλῶν ἀπολῦσαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τῆς στρατείας καὶ τὰ πάτρια τηρεῖν ἔθη καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ζῆν ἐπιτρέπειν: [224] οὗ τυχεῖν αὐτῷ ῥᾳδίως ἐγένετο: λαβὼν γὰρ ὁ Δολοβέλλας τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ὑρκανοῦ

γράμματα, μηδὲ βουλευσάμενος ἐπιστέλλει τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἅπασιν γράψας τῇ Ἐφεσίων πόλει πρωτευούσῃ τῆς Ἀσίας περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. ἡ δὲ ἐπιστολὴ τοῦτον περιεῖχεν τὸν τρόπον:

11. Hyrcanus sent also one of these ambassadors to Dolabella, who was then the prefect of Asia, and desired him to dismiss the Jews from military services, and to preserve to them the customs of their forefathers, and to permit them to live according to them. And when Dolabella had received Hyrcanus's letter, without any further deliberation, he sent an epistle to all the Asiatics, and particularly to the city of the Ephesians, the metropolis of Asia, about the Jews; a copy of which epistle here follows:

(12) [225] Ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Ἀρτέμωνος μηνὸς Ληναιῶνος προτέρᾳ. Δολοβέλλας αὐτοκράτωρ Ἐφεσίων ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. [226] Ἀλέξανδρος Θεοδώρου πρεσβευτὴς Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ ἐθνάρχου τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐνεφάνισέν μοι περὶ τοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι στρατεύεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ μήτε ὅπλα βαστάζειν δύνασθαι μήτε ὁδοιπορεῖν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν σαββάτων, μήτε τροφῶν τῶν πατρίων καὶ συνήθων κατὰ τούτους εὐπορεῖν. [227] ἐγώ τε οὖν αὐτοῖς, καθὼς καὶ οἱ πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἡγεμόνες, δίδωμι τὴν ἀστρατείαν καὶ συγχωρῶ χρῆσθαι τοῖς πατρίοις ἐθισμοῖς ἱερῶν ἕνεκα καὶ ἁγίοις συναγομένοις, καθὼς αὐτοῖς νόμιμον, καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὰς θυσίας ἀφαιρεμάτων, ὑμᾶς τε βούλομαι ταῦτα γράψαι κατὰ πόλεις.

12. "When Artermon was prytanis, on the first day of the month Leneon, Dolabella, imperator, to the senate, and magistrates, and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting. Alexander, the son of Theodorus, the ambassador of Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, appeared before me, to show that his countrymen could not go into their armies, because they are not allowed to bear arms or to travel on the sabbath days, nor there to procure themselves those sorts of food which they have been used to eat from the times of their forefathers; — I do therefore grant them a freedom from going into the army, as the former prefects have done, and permit them to use the customs of their forefathers, in assembling together for sacred and religious purposes, as their law requires, and for collecting oblations necessary for sacrifices; and my will is, that you write this to the several cities under your jurisdiction."

(13) [228] Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Δολαβέλλας Ὑρκανοῦ πρεσβευσαμένου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐχαρίσατο τοῖς ἡμετέροις. Λεύκιος δὲ Λέντλος ὕπατος εἶπεν: πολίτας Ῥωμαίων Ἰουδαίους ἱερὰ Ἰουδαικὰ ἔχοντας καὶ ποιοῦντας ἐν Ἐφέσῳ πρὸ τοῦ βήματος δεισιδαιμονίας ἕνεκα στρατείας ἀπέλυσα πρὸ δώδεκα καλανδῶν Ὀκτωβρίων Λευκίῳ Λέντλῳ Γαίῳ Μαρκέλλῳ ὑπάτοις. [229] παρῆσαν Τίτος Ἄμπιος Τίτου

υἱὸς Βάλβος Ὁρατία πρεσβευτής, Τίτος Τόνγιος Τίτου υἱὸς Κροστομίνα, Κόιντος Καίσιος Κοίντου, Τίτος Πομπήιος Τίτου Λογγῖνος, Γάιος Σερουίλιος Γαίου υἱὸς Τηρητίνα Βράκκος χιλίαρχος, Πόπλιος Κλούσιος Ποπλίου Ἐτωρία [Γάλλος], Γάιος Σέντιος Γαίου Υἱὸς Σαβατίνα.

13. And these were the concessions that Dolabella made to our nation when Hyrcanus sent an embassage to him. But Lucius the consul's decree ran thus: "I have at my tribunal set these Jews, who are citizens of Rome, and follow the Jewish religious rites, and yet live at Ephesus, free from going into the army, on account of the superstition they are under. This was done before the twelfth of the calends of October, when Lucius Lentulus and Caius Marcellus were consuls, in the presence of Titus Appius Balgus, the son of Titus, and lieutenant of the Horatian tribe; of Titus Tongins, the son of Titus, of the Crustumine tribe; of Quintus Resius, the son of Quintus; of Titus Pompeius Longinus, the son of Titus; of Catus Servilius, the son of Caius, of the Terentine tribe; of Bracchus the military tribune; of Publius Lucius Gallus, the son of Publius, of the Veturian tribe; of Caius Sentins, the son of Caius, of the Sabbatine tribe; of Titus Atilius Bulbus, the son of Titus, lieutenant and vice-praetor to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting. Lucius Lentulus the consul freed the Jews that are in Asia from going into the armies, at my intercession for them; and when I had made the same petition some time afterward to Phanius the imperator, and to Lucius Antonius the vice-quaestor, I obtained that privilege of them also; and my will is, that you take care that no one give them any disturbance."

(14) [230] Τίτος Ἄμπιος Τίτου υἱὸς Βάλβος πρεσβευτὴς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος Ἐφεσίων ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. Ἰουδαίους τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Λεύκιος Λέντλος ὁ ὕπατος ἐμοῦ ἐντυχόντος ἀπέλυσεν τῆς στρατείας. αἰτησάμενος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ παρὰ Φαννίου τοῦ ἀντιστρατήγου καὶ παρὰ Λευκίου Ἀντωνίου τοῦ ἀντιταμίου ἐπέτυχον ὑμᾶς τε βούλομαι φροντίσαι, ἵνα μή τις αὐτοῖς διενοχλῇ.

14. The decree of the Delians. "The answer of the praetors, when Beotus was archon, on the twentieth day of the month Thargeleon. While Marcus Piso the lieutenant lived in our city, who was also appointed over the choice of the soldiers, he called us, and many other of the citizens, and gave order, that if there be here any Jews who are Roman citizens, no one is to give them any disturbance about going into the army, because Cornelius Lentulus, the consul, freed the Jews from going into the army, on account of the superstition they are under; — you are therefore obliged to submit to the praetor." And the like decree was made by the Sardians about us also.

(15) [231] Ψήφισμα Δηλίων. ἐπ᾽ ἄρχοντος Βοιωτοῦ μηνὸς Θαργηλιῶνος εἰκοστῇ χρηματισμὸς στρατηγῶν. Μᾶρκος Πείσων πρεσβευτὴς ἐνδημῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν ὁ καὶ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῆς στρατολογίας προσκαλεσάμενος ἡμᾶς καὶ ἱκανοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν προσέταξεν, [232] ἵνα εἴ τινές εἰσιν Ἰουδαῖοι πολῖται Ῥωμαίων τούτοις μηδεὶς ἐνοχλῇ περὶ στρατείας, διὰ τὸ τὸν ὕπατον Λούκιον Κορνήλιον Λέντλον δεισιδαιμονίας ἕνεκα ἀπολελυκέναι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τῆς στρατείας. διὸ πείθεσθαι ἡμᾶς δεῖ τῷ στρατηγῷ. ὅμοια δὲ τούτοις καὶ Σαρδιανοὶ περὶ ἡμῶν ἐψηφίσαντο.

15. "Caius Phanius, the son of Caius, imperator and consul, to the magistrates of Cos, sendeth greeting. I would have you know that the ambassadors of the Jews have been with me, and desired they might have those decrees which the senate had made about them; which decrees are here subjoined. My will is, that you have a regard to and take care of these men, according to the senate's decree, that they may be safely conveyed home through your country."

(16) [233] Γάιος Φάννιος Γαίου υἱὸς στρατηγὸς ὕπατος Κῴων ἄρχουσι χαίρειν. βούλομαι ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι, ὅτι πρέσβεις Ἰουδαίων μοι προσῆλθον ἀξιοῦντες λαβεῖν τὰ συγκλήτου δόγματα τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν γεγονότα. ὑποτέτακται δὲ τὰ δεδογμένα. ὑμᾶς οὖν θέλω φροντίσαι καὶ προνοῆσαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατὰ τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα, ὅπως διὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας χώρας εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀσφαλῶς ἀνακομισθῶσιν.

16. The declaration of Lucius Lentulus the consul: "I have dismissed those Jews who are Roman citizens, and who appear to me to have their religious rites, and to observe the laws of the Jews at Ephesus, on account of the superstition they are under. This act was done before the thirteenth of the calends of October."

(17) [234] Λεύκιος Λέντλος ὕπατος λέγει: πολίτας Ῥωμαίων Ἰουδαίους, οἵτινές μοι ἱερὰ ἔχειν καὶ ποιεῖν Ἰουδαικὰ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐδόκουν, δεισιδαιμονίας ἕνεκα ἀπέλυσα. τοῦτο ἐγένετο πρὸ δώδεκα καλανδῶν Κουιντιλίων.

17. "Lucius Antonius, the son of Marcus, vice-quaestor, and vice-praetor, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Sardians, sendeth greeting. Those Jews that are our fellow citizens of Rome came to me, and demonstrated that they had an assembly of their own, according to the laws of their forefathers, and this from the beginning, as also a place of their own, wherein they determined their suits and controversies with one another. Upon their petition therefore to me, that these might be lawful for them, I gave order that these their privileges be preserved, and they be permitted to do accordingly."

(18) [235] Λούκιος Ἀντώνιος Μάρκου υἱὸς ἀντιταμίας καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος Σαρδιανῶν ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. Ἰουδαῖοι πολῖται ἡμέτεροι

προσελθόντες μοι ἐπέδειξαν αὐτοὺς σύνοδον ἔχειν ἰδίαν κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς καὶ τόπον ἴδιον, ἐν ᾧ τά τε πράγματα καὶ τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀντιλογίας κρίνουσιν, τοῦτό τε αἰτησαμένοις ἵν᾽ ἐξῇ ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς τηρῆσαι καὶ ἐπιτρέψαι ἔκρινα.

18. The declaration of Marcus Publius, the son of Spurius, and of Marcus, the son of Marcus, and of Lucius, the son of Publius: "We went to the proconsul, and informed him of what Dositheus, the son of Cleopatrida of Alexandria, desired, that, if he thought good, he would dismiss those Jews who were Roman citizens, and were wont to observe the rites of the Jewish religion, on account of the superstition they were under. Accordingly, he did dismiss them. This was done before the thirteenth of the calends of October."

(19) [236] Μᾶρκος Πόπλιος σπιρίου υἱὸς καὶ Μᾶρκος Μάρκου Ποπλίου υἱὸς Λουκίου λέγουσιν. Λέντλῳ τἀνθυπάτῳ προσελθόντες ἐδιδάξαμεν αὐτὸν περὶ ὧν Δοσίθεος Κλεοπατρίδου Ἀλεξανδρεὺς λόγους ἐποιήσατο, [237] ὅπως πολίτας Ῥωμαίων Ἰουδαίους ἱερὰ Ἰουδαικὰ ποιεῖν εἰωθότας, ἂν αὐτῷ φανῇ, δεισιδαιμονίας ἕνεκα ἀπολύσῃ: καὶ ἀπέλυσε πρὸ δώδεκα καλανδῶν Κουιντιλίων Λευκίῳ Λέντλῳ Γαίῳ Μαρκέλλῳ ὑπάτοις. [238] παρῆσαν Τίτος Ἄμπιος Τίτου υἱὸς Βάλβος Ὁρατία πρεσβευτής, Τίτος Τόνγιος Κροστομίνα, Κόιντος Καίσιος Κοίντου, Τίτος Πήιος Τίτου υἱὸς Κορνηλία Λογγῖνος, Γάιος Σερουίλιος Γαίου Τηρητείνα Βρόκχος χιλίαρχος, Πόπλιος Κλούσιος Ποπλίου υἱὸς Ἐτωρία Γάλλος, [239] Γάιος Τεύτιος Γαίου Αἰμιλία χιλίαρχος, Σέξτος Ἀτίλιος Σέξτου υἱὸς Αἰμιλία Σέσρανος, Γάιος Πομπήιος Γαίου υἱὸς Σαβατίνα, Τίτος Ἄμπιος Τίτου Μένανδρος, Πόπλιος Σερουίλιος Ποπλίου υἱὸς Στράβων, Λεύκιος Πάκκιος Λευκίου Κολλίνα Καπίτων, Αὖλος Φούριος Αὔλου υἱὸς Τέρτιος, Ἄππιος Μηνᾶς. [240] ἐπὶ τούτων ὁ Λέντλος δόγμα ἐξέθετο: πολίτας Ῥωμαίων Ἰουδαίους, οἵτινες ἱερὰ Ἰουδαικὰ ποιεῖν εἰώθασιν, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ πρὸ τοῦ βήματος δεισιδαιμονίας ἕνεκα ἀπέλυσα.

19. "In the month Quntius, when Lucius Lentulus and Caius Mercellus were consuls; and there were present Titus Appius Balbus, the son of Titus, lieutenant of the Horatian tribe, Titus Tongius of the Crustumine tribe, Quintus Resius, the son of Quintus, Titus Pompeius, the son of Titus, Cornelius Longinus, Caius Servilius Bracchus, the son of Caius, a military tribune, of the Terentine tribe, Publius Clusius Gallus, the son of Publius, of the Veturian tribe, Caius Teutius, the son of Caius, a milital tribune, of the EmilJan tribe, Sextus Atilius Serranus, the son of Sextus, of the Esquiline tribe, Caius Pompeius, the son of Caius, of the Sabbatine tribe, Titus Appius Menander, the son of Titus, Publius Servilius Strabo, the son of Publius, Lucius Paccius Capito, the son of Lucius, of the

Colline tribe, Aulus Furius Tertius, the son of Aulus, and Appius Menus. In the presence of these it was that Lentulus pronounced this decree: I have before the tribunal dismissed those Jews that are Roman citizens, and are accustomed to observe the sacred rites of the Jews at Ephesus, on account of the superstition they are under."

(20) [241] Λαοδικέων ἄρχοντες Γαίῳ Ῥαβελλίῳ Γαίου υἱῷ ὑπάτῳ χαίρειν. Σώπατρος Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως πρεσβευτὴς ἀπέδωκεν ἡμῖν τὴν παρὰ σοῦ ἐπιστολήν, δι' ἧς ἐδήλου ἡμῖν παρὰ Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέως ἐληλυθότας τινὰς γράμματα κομίσαι περὶ τοῦ ἔθνους αὐτῶν γεγραμμένα, [242] ἵνα τά τε σάββατα αὐτοῖς ἐξῇ ἄγειν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἱερὰ ἐπιτελεῖν κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους, ὅπως τε μηδεὶς αὐτοῖς ἐπιτάσσῃ διὰ τὸ φίλους αὐτοὺς ἡμετέρους εἶναι καὶ συμμάχους, ἀδικήσῃ τε μηδὲ εἷς αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἐπαρχίᾳ, ὡς Τραλλιανῶν τε ἀντειπόντων κατὰ πρόσωπον μὴ ἀρέσκεσθαι τοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν δεδογμένοις ἐπέταξας ταῦτα οὕτως γίνεσθαι: παρακεκλῆσθαι δέ σε, ὥστε καὶ ἡμῖν γράψαι περὶ αὐτῶν. [243] ἡμεῖς οὖν κατακολουθοῦντες τοῖς ἐπεσταλμένοις ὑπὸ σοῦ τήν τε ἐπιστολὴν τὴν ἀποδοθεῖσαν ἐδεξάμεθα καὶ κατεχωρίσαμεν εἰς τὰ δημόσια ἡμῶν γράμματα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν ἐπέσταλκας προνοήσομεν, ὥστε μηδὲν μεμφθῆναι.

20. "The magistrates of the Laodiceans to Caius Rubilius, the son of Caius, the consul, sendeth greeting. Sopater, the ambassador of Hyrcanus the high priest, hath delivered us an epistle from thee, whereby he lets us know that certain ambassadors were come from Hyrcanus, the high priest of the Jews, and brought an epistle written concerning their nation, wherein they desire that the Jews may be allowed to observe their Sabbaths, and other sacred rites, according to the laws of their forefathers, and that they may be under no command, because they are our friends and confederates, and that nobody may injure them in our provinces. Now although the Trallians there present contradicted them, and were not pleased with these decrees, yet didst thou give order that they should be observed, and informedst us that thou hadst been desired to write this to us about them. We therefore, in obedience to the injunctions we have received from thee, have received the epistle which thou sentest us, and have laid it up by itself among our public records. And as to the other things about which thou didst send to us, we will take care that no complaint be made against us."

(21) [244] Πόπλιος Σερουίλιος Ποπλίου υἱὸς Γάλβας ἀνθύπατος Μιλησίων ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. [245] Πρύτανις Ἑρμοῦ υἱὸς πολίτης ὑμέτερος προσελθών μοι ἐν Τράλλεσιν ἄγοντι τὴν ἀγόραιον ἐδήλου παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν γνώμην Ἰουδαίοις ὑμᾶς προσφέρεσθαι καὶ κωλύειν αὐτοὺς τά τε σάββατα ἄγειν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ

πάτρια τελεῖν καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς μεταχειρίζεσθαι, καθὼς ἔθος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς, αὐτόν τε κατὰ τοὺς νόμους εὐθυνκέναι τὸ [δίκαιον] ψήφισμα. [246] βούλομαι οὖν ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι, ὅτι διακούσας ἐγὼ λόγων ἐξ ἀντικαταστάσεως γενομένων ἐπέκρινα μὴ κωλύεσθαι Ἰουδαίους τοῖς αὐτῶν ἔθεσι χρῆσθαι.

21. "Publius Servilius, the son of Publius, of the Galban tribe, the proconsul, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Mileslans, sendeth greeting. Prytanes, the son of Hermes, a citizen of yours, came to me when I was at Tralles, and held a court there, and informed me that you used the Jews in a way different from my opinion, and forbade them to celebrate their Sabbaths, and to perform the Sacred rites received from their forefathers, and to manage the fruits of the land, according to their ancient custom; and that he had himself been the promulger of your decree, according as your laws require: I would therefore have you know, that upon hearing the pleadings on both sides, I gave sentence that the Jews should not be prohibited to make use of their own customs."

(22) [247] Ψήφισμα Περγαμηνῶν. ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Κρατίππου μηνὸς Δαισίου [πρώτῃ] γνώμη στρατηγῶν. ἐπεὶ Ῥωμαῖοι κατακολουθοῦντες τῇ τῶν προγόνων ἀγωγῇ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀσφαλείας κινδύνους ἀναδέχονται καὶ φιλοτιμοῦνται τοὺς συμμάχους καὶ φίλους ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ καὶ βεβαίᾳ καταστῆσαι εἰρήνῃ, [248] πέμψαντος πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοῦ ἔθνους τοῦ Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως αὐτῶν πρέσβεις Στράτωνα Θεοδότου Ἀπολλώνιον Ἀλεξάνδρου Αἰνείαν Ἀντιπάτρου Ἀριστόβουλον Ἀμύντου Σωσίπατρον Φιλίππου ἄνδρας καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθούς, [249] καὶ περὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρη ἐμφανισάντων ἐδογμάτισεν ἡ σύγκλητος περὶ ὧν ἐποιήσαντο τοὺς λόγους, ὅπως μηδὲν ἀδικῇ Ἀντίοχος ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντιόχου υἱὸς Ἰουδαίους συμμάχους Ῥωμαίων, ὅπως τε φρούρια καὶ λιμένας καὶ χώραν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἀφείλετο αὐτῶν ἀποδοθῇ καὶ ἐξῇ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν λιμένων μηδ' ἐξαγαγεῖν, [250] ἵνα τε μηδεὶς ἀτελὴς ᾖ ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίων χώρας ἢ τῶν λιμένων αὐτῶν ἐξάγων βασιλεὺς ἢ δῆμος ἢ μόνος Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρέων βασιλεὺς διὰ τὸ εἶναι σύμμαχος ἡμέτερος καὶ φίλος, καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἰόππῃ φρουρὰν ἐκβαλεῖν, καθὼς ἐδεήθησαν: [251] τῆς βουλῆς ἡμῶν Λούκιος Πέττιος ἀνὴρ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς προσέταξεν, ἵνα φροντίσωμεν ταῦτα οὕτως γενέσθαι, καθὼς ἡ σύγκλητος ἐδογμάτισεν, προνοῆσαί τε τῆς ἀσφαλοῦς εἰς οἶκον τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἀνακομιδῆς. [252] ἀπεδεξάμεθα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὸν Θεόδωρον, ἀπολαβόντες δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα, καὶ ποιησαμένου μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὴν Ὑρκανοῦ ἐμφανίσαντος ἀρετὴν καὶ μεγαλοψυχίαν, [253] καὶ ὅτι κοινῇ πάντας εὐεργετεῖ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν τοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικομένους, τά τε γράμματα εἰς τὰ δημόσια ἡμῶν ἀπεθέμεθα καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντα ποιεῖν ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων σύμμαχοι ὄντες Ῥωμαίων κατὰ τὸ τῆς

συγκλήτου δόγμα ἐψηφισάμεθα. [254] ἐδεήθη δὲ καὶ Θεόδωρος τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἡμῖν ἀποδοὺς τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγῶν, ἵνα πέμψωσι πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν τὸ ἀντίγραφον τοῦ ψηφίσματος καὶ πρέσβεις δηλώσοντας τὴν τοῦ ἡμετέρου δήμου σπουδὴν καὶ παρακαλέσοντας συντηρεῖν τε καὶ αὔξειν αὐτὸν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλίαν καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τινος αἴτιον γίνεσθαι, [255] ὡς ἀμοιβάς τε τὰς προσηκούσας ἀπολεψόμενον μεμνημένον τε ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Ἄβραμον καιροῖς, ὃς ἦν πάντων Ἑβραίων πατήρ, οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμῶν ἦσαν αὐτοῖς φίλοι, καθὼς καὶ ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις εὑρίσκομεν γράμμασιν.

22. The decree of those of Pergamus. “When Cratippus was prytanis, on the first day of the month Desius, the decree of the praetors was this: Since the Romans, following the conduct of their ancestors, undertake dangers for the common safety of all mankind, and are ambitious to settle their confederates and friends in happiness, and in firm peace, and since the nation of the Jews, and their high priest Hyrcanus, sent as ambassadors to them, Strato, the son of Theodatus, and Apollonius, the son of Alexander, and Eneas, the son of Antipater, and Aristobulus, the son of Amyntas, and Sosipater, the son of Philip, worthy and good men, who gave a particular account of their affairs, the senate thereupon made a decree about what they had desired of them, that Antiochus the king, the son of Antiochus, should do no injury to the Jews, the confederates of the Romans; and that the fortresses, and the havens, and the country, and whatsoever else he had taken from them, should be restored to them; and that it may be lawful for them to export their goods out of their own havens; and that no king nor people may have leave to export any goods, either out of the country of Judea, or out of their havens, without paying customs, but only Ptolemy, the king of Alexandria, because he is our confederate and friend; and that, according to their desire, the garrison that is in Joppa may be ejected. Now Lucius Pettius, one of our senators, a worthy and good man, gave order that we should take care that these things should be done according to the senate’s decree; and that we should take care also that their ambassadors might return home in safety. Accordingly, we admitted Theodorus into our senate and assembly, and took the epistle out his hands, as well as the decree of the senate. And as he discoursed with great zeal about the Jews, and described Hyrcanus’s virtue and generosity, and how he was a benefactor to all men in common, and particularly to every body that comes to him, we laid up the epistle in our public records; and made a decree ourselves, that since we also are in confederacy with the Romans, we would do every thing we could for the Jews, according to the senate’s decree. Theodorus also, who brought the epistle, desired of our praetors, that they would send Hyrcanus a copy of that decree, as also ambassadors to signify to him the

affection of our people to him, and to exhort them to preserve and augment their friendship for us, and be ready to bestow other benefits upon us, as justly expecting to receive proper requitals from us; and desiring them to remember that our ancestors were friendly to the Jews even in the days of Abraham, who was the father of all the Hebrews, as we have [also] found it set down in our public records."

(23) [256] Ψήφισμα Ἁλικαρνασέων. ἐπὶ ἱερέως Μέμνονος τοῦ Ἀριστείδου, κατὰ δὲ ποίησιν Εὐωνύμου, Ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἔΔοξε τῷ δήμῳ εἰσηγησαμένου Μάρκου Ἀλεξάνδρου. [257] ἐπεὶ [τὸ] πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβές τε καὶ ὅσιον ἐν ἅπαντι καιρῷ διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχομεν κατακολουθοῦντες τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὄντι εὐεργέτῃ καὶ οἷς περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔγραψεν, ὅπως συντελῶνται αὐτοῖς αἱ εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἱεροποιίαι καὶ ἑορταὶ αἱ εἰθισμέναι καὶ σύνοδοι, [258] δεδόχθαι καὶ ἡμῖν Ἰουδαίων τοὺς βουλομένους ἄνδρας τε καὶ γυναῖκας τά τε σάββατα ἄγειν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ συντελεῖν κατὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίων νόμους καὶ τὰς προσευχὰς ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ κατὰ τὸ πάτριον ἔθος. ἂν δέ τις κωλύσῃ ἢ ἄρχων ἢ ἰδιώτης, τῷδε τῷ ζημιώματι ὑπεύθυνος ἔστω καὶ ὀφειλέτω τῇ πόλει.

23. The decree of those of Halicarnassus. "When Memnon, the son of Orestidas by descent, but by adoption of Euonymus, was priest, on the —— day of the month Aristerion, the decree of the people, upon the representation of Marcus Alexander, was this: Since we have ever a great regard to piety towards God, and to holiness; and since we aim to follow the people of the Romans, who are the benefactors of all men, and what they have written to us about a league of friendship and mutual assistance between the Jews and our city, and that their sacred offices and accustomed festivals and assemblies may be observed by them; we have decreed, that as many men and women of the Jews as are willing so to do, may celebrate their Sabbaths, and perform their holy offices, according to Jewish laws; and may make their proseuchae at the sea-side, according to the customs of their forefathers; and if any one, whether he be a magistrate or private person, hindereth them from so doing, he shall be liable to a fine, to be applied to the uses of the city."

(24) [259] Ψήφισμα Σαρδιανῶν. ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ στρατηγῶν εἰσηγησαμένων. ἐπεὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Ἰουδαῖοι πολῖται πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα φιλάνθρωπα ἐσχηκότες διὰ παντὸς παρὰ τοῦ δήμου καὶ νῦν εἰσελθόντες ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον παρεκάλεσαν, [260] ἀποκαθισταμένων αὐτοῖς τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἵνα κατὰ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἔθη συνάγωνται καὶ

πολιτεύωνται καὶ διαδικάζωνται πρὸς αὐτούς, δοθῇ τε καὶ τόπος αὐτοῖς, εἰς ὃν συλλεγόμενοι μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων ἐπιτελοῦσιν τὰς πατρίους εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας τῷ θεῷ: [261] δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ συγκεχωρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς συνερχομένοις ἐν ταῖς ἀποδεδειγμέναις ἡμέραις πράσσειν τὰ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτῶν νόμους, ἀφορισθῆναι δ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ τόπον ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν εἰς οἰκοδομίαν καὶ οἴκησιν αὐτῶν, ὃν ἂν ὑπολάβωσιν πρὸς τοῦτ᾽ ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι, ὅπως τε τοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἀγορανόμοις ἐπιμελὲς ᾖ καὶ τὰ ἐκείνοις πρὸς τροφὴν ἐπιτήδεια ποιεῖν εἰσάγεσθαι.

24. The decree of the Sardians. “This decree was made by the senate and people, upon the representation of the praetors: Whereas those Jews who are fellow citizens, and live with us in this city, have ever had great benefits heaped upon them by the people, and have come now into the senate, and desired of the people, that upon the restitution of their law and their liberty, by the senate and people of Rome, they may assemble together, according to their ancient legal custom, and that we will not bring any suit against them about it; and that a place may be given them where they may have their congregations, with their wives and children, and may offer, as did their forefathers, their prayers and sacrifices to God. Now the senate and people have decreed to permit them to assemble together on the days formerly appointed, and to act according to their own laws; and that such a place be set apart for them by the praetors, for the building and inhabiting the same, as they shall esteem fit for that purpose; and that those that take care of the provision for the city, shall take care that such sorts of food as they esteem fit for their eating may be imported into the city.”

(25) [262] Ψήφισμα Ἐφεσίων. ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Μηνοφίλου μηνὸς Ἀρτεμισίου τῇ προτέρᾳ ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ, Νικάνωρ Εὐφήμου εἶπεν εἰσηγησαμένων τῶν στρατηγῶν. [263] ἐπεὶ ἐντυχόντων τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἰουδαίων Μάρκῳ Ἰουλίῳ Ποντίου υἱῷ Βρούτῳ ἀνθυπάτῳ, ὅπως ἄγωσι τὰ σάββατα καὶ πάντα ποιῶσιν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια αὐτῶν ἔθη μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς ἐμποδὼν γινομένου, [264] ὁ στρατηγὸς συνεχώρησεν, δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ, τοῦ πράγματος Ῥωμαίοις ἀνήκοντος, μηδένα κωλύεσθαι παρατηρεῖν τὴν τῶν σαββάτων ἡμέραν μηδὲ πράττεσθαι ἐπιτίμιον, ἐπιτετράφθαι δ᾽ αὐτοῖς πάντα ποιεῖν κατὰ τοὺς ἰδίους αὐτῶν νόμους.

25. The decree of the Ephesians. “When Menophilus was prytanis, on the first day of the month Artemisius, this decree was made by the people: Nicanor, the son of Euphemus, pronounced it, upon the representation of the praetors. Since the Jews that dwell in this city have petitioned Marcus Julius Pompeius, the son of Brutus, the proconsul, that they might be allowed to observe their Sabbaths, and to act in all things according to the customs of their forefathers, without

impediment from any body, the praetor hath granted their petition. Accordingly, it was decreed by the senate and people, that in this affair that concerned the Romans, no one of them should be hindered from keeping the sabbath day, nor be fined for so doing, but that they may be allowed to do all things according to their own laws."

(26) [265] Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἐστιν καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα τῇ συγκλήτῳ καὶ τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίων δόγματα πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν γεγενημένα καὶ πόλεσιν ψηφίσματα καὶ γράμματα πρὸς τὰς περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων δικαίων ἐπιστολὰς ἀντιπεφωνημένα τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν, περὶ ὧν ἁπάντων ἐξ ὧν παρατεθείμεθα πιστεύειν τοῖς ἀναγνωσομένοις οὐ βασκάνως ἡμῶν τὴν γραφὴν πάρεστιν. [266] ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐναργῆ καὶ βλεπόμενα τεκμήρια παρεχόμεθα τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἡμῖν φιλίας γενομένης ἐπιδεικνύντες αὐτὰ χαλκαῖς στήλαις καὶ δέλτοις ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ μέχρι νῦν διαμένοντα καὶ διαμενοῦντα, τὴν μὲν πάντων παράθεσιν ὡς περιττήν τε ἅμα καὶ ἀτερπῆ παρῃτησάμην, [267] οὐδένα δ' οὕτως ἡγησάμην σκαιόν, ὃς οὐχὶ καὶ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡμῖν πιστεύσει φιλανθρωπίας, ὅτι ταύτην καὶ διὰ πλειόνων ἐπεδείξαντο πρὸς ἡμᾶς δογμάτων, καὶ ἡμᾶς οὐχ ὑπολήψεται περὶ ὧν εἶναί φαμεν ἀληθεύειν ἐξ ὧν ἐπεδείξαμεν. τὴν μὲν οὖν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς γενομένην δεδηλώκαμεν.

26. Now there are many such decrees of the senate and imperators of the Romans and those different from these before us, which have been made in favor of Hyrcanus, and of our nation; as also, there have been more decrees of the cities, and rescripts of the praetors, to such epistles as concerned our rights and privileges; and certainly such as are not ill-disposed to what we write may believe that they are all to this purpose, and that by the specimens which we have inserted; for since we have produced evident marks that may still be seen of the friendship we have had with the Romans, and demonstrated that those marks are engraven upon columns and tables of brass in the capitol, that axe still in being, and preserved to this day, we have omitted to set them all down, as needless and disagreeable; for I cannot suppose any one so perverse as not to believe the friendship we have had with the Romans, while they have demonstrated the same by such a great number of their decrees relating to us; nor will they doubt of our fidelity as to the rest of those decrees, since we have shown the same in those we have produced, And thus have we sufficiently explained that friendship and confederacy we at those times had with the Romans.

XI

CHAPTER 11. How Marcus, Succeeded Sextus When He Had Been Slain By Bassus's Treachery; And How, After The Death Of Caesar, Cassius Came Into Syria, And Distressed Judea; As Also How Malichus Slew Antipater And Was Himself Slain By Herod.

(1) [268] Συνέβη δ' ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ταραχθῆναι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης: Βάσσος Καικίλιος εἷς τῶν τὰ Πομπηίου φρονούντων ἐπιβουλὴν συνθεὶς ἐπὶ Σέξστον Καίσαρα κτείνει μὲν ἐκεῖνον, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ στράτευμα αὐτοῦ παραλαβὼν ἐκράτει τῶν πραγμάτων, πόλεμός τε μέγας περὶ τὴν Ἀπάμειαν συνέστη τῶν Καίσαρος στρατηγῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐλθόντων μετά τε ἱππέων καὶ πεζῆς δυνάμεως. [269] τούτοις δὲ καὶ Ἀντίπατρος συμμαχίαν ἔπεμψεν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων κατὰ μνήμην ὧν εὐεργετήθησαν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τιμωρεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ δίκην παρὰ τοῦ πεφονευκότος εἰσπράξασθαι δίκαιον ἡγούμενος. [270] χρονιζομένου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου Μοῦρκος μὲν ἦλθεν ἐκ Ῥώμης εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Σέξστου, Καῖσαρ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Κάσσιον καὶ Βροῦτον ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ κτείνεται κατασχὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἕξ. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται.

1. Now it so fell out, that about this very time the affairs of Syria were in great disorder, and this on the occasion following: Cecilius Bassus, one of Pompey's party, laid a treacherous design against Sextus Caesar, and slew him, and then took his army, and got the management of public affairs into his own hand; so there arose a great war about Apamia, while Caesar's generals came against him with an army of horsemen and footmen; to these Antipater also sent succors, and his sons with them, as calling to mind the kindnesses they had received from Caesar, and on that account he thought it but just to require punishment for him, and to take vengeance on the man that had murdered him. And as the war was drawn out into a great length, Marcus came from Rome to take Sextus's government upon him. But Caesar was slain by Cassius and Brutus in the senate-house, after he had retained the government three years and six months. This fact however, is related elsewhere.

(2) [271] Τοῦ δ' ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρος θανάτῳ πολέμου συνερρωγότος καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει πάντων ἐπὶ στρατιᾶς συλλογὴν ἄλλου ἄλλῃ διεσπαρμένων, ἀφικνεῖται Κάσσιος εἰς Συρίαν παραληψόμενος τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀπάμειαν στρατόπεδα: [272] καὶ λύσας τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀμφοτέρους προσάγεται τόν τε Βάσσον καὶ τὸν Μοῦρκον τάς τε

πόλεις ἐπερχόμενος ὅπλα τε καὶ στρατιώτας συνήθροιζεν καὶ φόρους αὐταῖς μεγάλους ἐπετίθει: μάλιστα δὲ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐκάκωσεν ἑπτακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου πραττόμενος. [273] Ἀντίπατρος δ' ὁρῶν ἐν μεγάλῳ φόβῳ καὶ ταραχῇ τὰ πράγματα μερίζει τὴν τῶν χρημάτων εἴσπραξιν καὶ ἑκατέρῳ τῶν υἱῶν συνάγειν δίδωσιν τὰ μὲν Μαλίχῳ κακοήθως πρὸς αὐτὸν διακειμένῳ, τὰ δὲ ἄλλοις προσέταξεν εἰσπράττεσθαι. [274] καὶ πρῶτος Ἡρώδης ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἰσπραξάμενος ὅσα ἦν αὐτῷ προστεταγμένα φίλος ἦν εἰς τὰ μάλιστα Κασσίῳ: σῶφρον γὰρ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίους ἤδη θεραπεύειν καὶ τὴν παρ' αὐτῶν κατασκευάζειν εὔνοιαν ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων πόνων. [275] ἐπιπράσκοντο δ' αὔτανδροι οἱ τῶν ἄλλων [πόλεων] ἐπιμεληταί, καὶ τέσσαρας πόλεις ἐξηνδραπόδισε τότε Κάσσιος, ὧν ἦσαν αἱ δυνατώταται Γόφνα τε καὶ Ἀμμαοῦς, πρὸς ταύταις δὲ Λύδδα καὶ Θάμνα. [276] ἐπεξῆλθε δ' ἂν ὑπ' ὀργῆς Κάσσιος ὥστε καὶ Μάλιχον ἀνελεῖν, ὥρμητο γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ Ὑρκανὸς δι' Ἀντιπάτρου ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων αὐτῷ πέμψας ἐπέσχε τῆς ὁρμῆς.

2. As the war that arose upon the death of Caesar was now begun, and the principal men were all gone, some one way, and some another, to raise armies, Cassius came from Rome into Syria, in order to receive the [army that lay in the] camp at Apamia; and having raised the siege, he brought over both Bassus and Marcus to his party. He then went over the cities, and got together weapons and soldiers, and laid great taxes upon those cities; and he chiefly oppressed Judea, and exacted of it seven hundred talents: but Antipater, when he saw the state to be in so great consternation and disorder, he divided the collection of that sum, and appointed his two sons to gather it; and so that part of it was to be exacted by Malichus, who was ill-disposed to him, and part by others. And because Herod did exact what is required of him from Galilee before others, he was in the greatest favor with Cassius; for he thought it a part of prudence to cultivate a friendship with the Romans, and to gain their goodwill at the expense of others; whereas the curators of the other cities, with their citizens, were sold for slaves; and Cassius reduced four cities into a state of slavery, the two most potent of which were Gophna and Emmaus; and, besides these, Lydia and Thamna. Nay, Cassius was so very angry at Malichus, that he had killed him, [for he assaulted him,] had not Hyrcanus, by the means of Antipater, sent him a hundred talents of his own, and thereby pacified his anger against him.

(3) [277] Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κάσσιος ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀπῆρεν, Μάλιχος ἐπεβούλευσεν Ἀντιπάτρῳ τὴν τούτου τελευτὴν ἀσφάλειαν Ὑρκανοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς εἶναι νομίζων. οὐ μὴν ἔλαθεν τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ταῦτα φρονῶν, ἀλλ' αἰσθόμενος γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐχώρει πέραν Ἰορδάνου καὶ στρατὸν Ἀράβιον ἅμα καὶ ἐγχώριον συνήθροιζεν. [278] δεινὸς δὲ ὢν ὁ Μάλιχος ἠρνεῖτο μὲν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, ἀπολογούμενος δὲ μεθ'

ὅρκων αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς παισίν, καὶ ὡς Φασαήλου μὲν Ἱεροσόλυμα φρουροῦντος, Ἡρώδου δὲ ἔχοντος τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν ὅπλων οὐδ᾽ ἂν εἰς νοῦν ἐβάλετο τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν ὁρῶν τὴν ἀπορίαν, καταλλάσσεται πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίπατρον, [279] καὶ συνέβησαν Μούρκου κατὰ Συρίαν στρατηγοῦντος, ὃς αἰσθόμενος νεωτεροποιοῦντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν τὸν Μάλιχον ἦλθε μὲν ὡς παρὰ μικρὸν αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν, Ἀντιπάτρου δὲ παρακαλέσαντος περιέσωσεν.

3. But after Cassius was gone out of Judea, Malichus laid snares for Antipater, as thinking that his death would-be the preservation of Hyrcanus's government; but his design was not unknown to Antipater, which when he perceived, he retired beyond Jordan, and got together an army, partly of Arabs, and partly of his own countrymen. However, Malichus, being one of great cunning, denied that he had laid any snares for him, and made his defense with an oath, both to himself and his sons; and said that while Phasaelus had a garrison in Jerusalem, and Herod had the weapons of war in his custody, he could never have a thought of any such thing. So Antipater, perceiving the distress that Malichus was in, was reconciled to him, and made an agreement with him: this was when Marcus was president of Syria; who yet perceiving that this Malichus was making a disturbance in Judea, proceeded so far that he had almost killed him; but still, at the intercession of Antipater, he saved him.

(4) [280] Ἦν δὲ ἄρα φονέα περισώσας Ἀντίπατρος αὐτοῦ τὸν Μάλιχον: Κάσσιος μὲν γὰρ καὶ Μοῦρκος στρατὸν ἀθροίζοντες τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἅπασαν ἐνεχείρισαν Ἡρώδῃ καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν κοίλης Συρίας ἐποίησαν πλοῖα δόντες καὶ δύναμιν ἱππικήν τε καὶ πεζικήν, ὑποσχόμενοί τε καὶ βασιλέα τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀναδείξειν μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον: συνειστήκει γὰρ τότε πρός τε Ἀντώνιον καὶ τὸν νέον Καίσαρα. [281] Μάλιχος δὲ δείσας τότε μάλιστα τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ἐκποδὼν ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ πείσας ἀργυρίῳ τὸν Ὑρκανοῦ οἰνοχόον, παρ᾽ ᾧ ἑκάτεροι εἰστιῶντο, φαρμάκῳ κτείνει τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ ὁπλίτας ἔχων εὐτρέπιζεν τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν. [282] γνόντων δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τὴν κατὰ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἡρώδου καὶ Φασαήλου καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐχόντων, ἠρνεῖτο πάλιν ὁ Μάλιχος καὶ ἔξαρνος ἦν τοῦ φόνου. [283] καὶ Ἀντίπατρος μὲν εὐσεβείᾳ τε καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ διενεγκὼν καὶ τῇ περὶ τὴν πατρίδα σπουδῇ τοῦτον ἐτελεύτησεν τὸν τρόπον. τῶν δὲ παίδων αὐτοῦ Ἡρώδης μὲν εὐθὺς ἔγνω τιμωρεῖν τῷ πατρὶ μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ Μάλιχον ἐλθών. Φασαήλῳ δὲ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ δόλῳ μᾶλλον ἐδόκει περιγίνεσθαι τἀνδρός, μὴ πολέμου κατάρχειν νομισθῶσιν ἐμφυλίου. [284] τήν τε οὖν ἀπολογίαν τὴν Μαλίχου προσδέχεται καὶ πιστεύειν ὑποκρίνεται μηδὲν αὐτὸν περὶ τὸν Ἀντιπάτρου θάνατον κακουργῆσαι, τάφον τε ἐκόσμει τῷ πατρί. καὶ παραγενόμενος Ἡρώδης εἰς Σαμάρειαν καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτὴν κεκακωμένην ἀνεκτᾶτο καὶ τὰ νείκη διέλυε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

4. However, Antipater little thought that by saving Malichus he had saved his own murderer; for now Cassius and Marcus had got together an army, and intrusted the entire care of it with Herod, and made him general of the forces of Celesyria, and gave him a fleet of ships, and an army of horsemen and footmen; and promised him, that after the war was over they would make him king of Judea; for a war was already begun between Antony and the younger Caesar: but as Malichus was most afraid of Antipater, he took him out of the way; and by the offer of money, persuaded the butler of Hyrcanus, with whom they were both to feast, to kill him by poison. This being done, and he having armed men with him, settled the affairs of the city. But when Antipater's sons, Herod and Phasaelus, were acquainted with this conspiracy against their father, and had indignation at it, Malichus denied all, and utterly renounced any knowledge of the murder. And thus died Antipater, a man that had distinguished himself for piety and justice, and love to his country. And whereas one of his sons, Herod, resolved immediately to revenge their father's death, and was coming upon Malichus with an army for that purpose, the elder of his sons, Phasaelus, thought it best rather to get this man into their hands by policy, lest they should appear to begin a civil war in the country; so he accepted of Malichus's defense for himself, and pretended to believe him that he had had no hand in the violent death of Antipater his father, but erected a fine monument for him. Herod also went to Samaria; and when he found them in great distress, he revived their spirits, and composed their differences.

(5) [285] Μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δ᾽ ἐνστάσης τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἑορτῆς παρεγίνετο σὺν τοῖς στρατιώταις εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ δείσας ὁ Μάλιχος ἀνέπεισεν Ὑρκανὸν μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῷ εἰσιέναι. καὶ πείθεται μὲν Ὑρκανός, προβέβλητο δὲ αἰτίαν τῆς ἀποκωλύσεως τὸ μὴ δεῖν ὄχλον ἀλλοδαπὸν ἀγνεύοντος εἰσδέχεσθαι τοῦ πλήθους. [286] ὀλίγον δὲ φροντίσας Ἡρώδης τῶν ἀγγέλων νύκτωρ εἴσεισιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ φοβερὸς ἦν τῷ Μαλίχῳ, ὁ δ᾽ οὐκ ἀνίησιν τὴν ὑπόκρισιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐδάκρυεν τὸν Ἀντίπατρον καὶ ἀνεκαλεῖτο φανερῶς ὡς φίλος, κρύφα δὲ φυλακὴν τοῦ σώματος ἐποιεῖτο. [287] ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς περὶ Ἡρώδην μὴ ἀπελέγχειν αὐτοῦ τὴν προσποίησιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ἀνύποπτον ἀντιφιλοφρονεῖσθαι τὸν Μάλιχον.

5. However, a little after this, Herod, upon the approach of a festival, came with his soldiers into the city; whereupon Malichus was aftrighted, and persuaded Hyrcanus not to permit him to come into the city. Hyrcanus complied; and, for a pretense of excluding him, alleged, that a rout of strangers ought not to be admitted when the multitude were purifying themselves. But Herod had little regard to the messengers that were sent to him, and entered the city in the night

time, and aftrighted Malichus; yet did he remit nothing of his former dissimulation, but wept for Antipater, and bewailed him as a friend of his with a loud voice; but Herod and his friends though, it proper not openly to contradict Malichus's hypocrisy, but to give him tokens of mutual friendship, in order to prevent his suspicion of them.

(6) [288] Κασσίῳ μέντοι περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς τοῦ πατρὸς Ἡρώδης ἐπέστελλεν, κἀκεῖνος εἰδώς, οἷος εἴη τὸν τρόπον Μάλιχος, ἀντεπιστέλλει τιμωρεῖν τῷ πατρί, καὶ λάθρα διαπέμπει πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Τύρῳ χιλιάρχους κελεύων αὐτοὺς συμπράττειν Ἡρώδῃ δίκαια μέλλοντι πράξειν. [289] ὡς δὲ Λαοδίκειαν ᾑρηκότος Κασσίου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπῆεσαν κοινῇ στεφάνους τε αὐτῷ καὶ χρήματα κομίζοντες, Ἡρώδης μὲν προσεδόκα δώσειν τὸν Μάλιχον τιμωρίαν ἐκεῖ γενόμενον, [290] ὁ δὲ περὶ Τύρον τῆς Φοινίκης ὑπιδόμενος τὸ πρᾶγμα μειζόνων ἐφήπτετο, καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῷ ὁμηρεύοντος ἐν Τύρῳ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔγνω τοῦτόν τε ὑπεκκλέψαι καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀπαίρειν σπεύδοντος ἐπ' Ἀντώνιον Κασσίου τό τε ἔθνος ἀποστήσας αὐτὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέχειν. [291] τοῖς δὲ βεβουλευμένοις ὅ τε δαίμων ἀντέπραξεν καὶ δεινὸς ὢν Ἡρώδης τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτοῦ κατανοῆσαι, ὃς προεισπέμψας θεράποντα τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν ἐπὶ δείπνου παρασκευήν, καὶ γὰρ ἑστιάσειν αὐτοὺς ἅπαντας προειρήκει, ταῖς δ' ἀληθείαις πρὸς τοὺς χιλιάρχους, ἐξελθεῖν ἐπὶ Μάλιχον πείθει μετὰ ξιφιδίων. [292] οἱ δ' ἐπεξελθόντες καὶ πλησίον τῆς πόλεως αὐτῷ περιτυχόντες ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ κατακεντοῦσι τὸν ἄνδρα. Ὑρκανὸς μὲν οὖν ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως τοῦ γεγονότος εἰς ἀφωνίαν ἐτράπη, μόλις δ' ἀνενεγκὼν ἐπυνθάνετο τῶν περὶ Ἡρώδην, ὅ τι ποτε εἴη τὸ γεγενημένον καὶ τίς ὁ Μάλιχον ἀνῃρηκώς. [293] εἰπόντων δὲ Κάσσιον τοῦτο προστάξαι, ἐπῄνεσεν τὸ ἔργον, πονηρὸν γὰρ εἶναι πάνυ καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπίβουλον. καὶ Μάλιχος μὲν ταύτην ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς Ἀντίπατρον παρανομίας δίκην ἐξέτισεν.

6. However, Herod sent to Cassius, and informed him of the murder of his father; who knowing what sort of man Malichus was as to his morals, sent him back word that he should revenge his father's death; and also sent privately to the commanders of his army at Tyre, with orders to assist Herod in the execution of a very just design of his. Now when Cassius had taken Laodicea, they all went together to him, and carried him garlands and money; and Herod thought that Malichus might be punished while he was there; but he was somewhat apprehensive of the thing, and designed to make some great attempt, and because his son was then a hostage at Tyre, he went to that city, and resolved to steal him away privately, and to march thence into Judea; and as Cassius was in haste to march against Antony, he thought to bring the country to revolt, and to procure the government for himself. But Providence opposed his counsels; and

Herod being a shrewd man, and perceiving what his intention was, he sent thither beforehand a servant, in appearance indeed to get a supper ready, for he had said before that he would feast them all there, but in reality to the commanders of the army, whom he persuaded to go out against Malichus, with their daggers. So they went out and met the man near the city, upon the sea-shore, and there stabbed him. Whereupon Hyrcanus was so astonished at what had happened, that his speech failed him; and when, after some difficulty, he had recovered himself, he asked Herod what the matter could be, and who it was that slew Malichus; and when he said that it was done by the command of Cassius, he commended the action; for that Malichus was a very wicked man, and one that conspired against his own country. And this was the punishment that was inflicted on Malichus for what he wickedly did to Antipater.

(7) [294] Κασσίου δ᾽ ἐκ Συρίας ἀπάραντος ταραχὴ γίνεται κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν: Ἔλιξ γὰρ ὑπολειφθεὶς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις μετὰ στρατιᾶς ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ Φασάηλον ὅ τε δῆμος ἔνοπλος ἦν. [295] Ἡρώδης δὲ παρὰ Φάβιον ἐπορεύετο ἐν Δαμασκῷ στρατηγοῦντα, καὶ βουλόμενος προσδραμεῖν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὑπὸ νόσου κωλύεται, ἕως οὗ Φασάηλος δι᾽ αὐτοῦ κρείττων Ἕλικος γενόμενος κατακλείει μὲν αὐτὸν εἰς πύργον, εἶτα δὲ ὑπόσπονδον ἀφίησιν, τόν τε Ὑρκανὸν ἐμέμφετο πολλὰ μὲν εὖ παθόντα ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν συμπράττοντα δὲ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς. [296] ὁ γὰρ ἀδελφὸς Μαλίχου τότε ἀποστήσας οὐκ ὀλίγα χωρία ἐφρούρει καὶ Μάσαδαν τὸ πάντων ἐρυμνότατον. ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦτον ῥαίσας Ἡρώδης ἐκ τῆς νόσου παραγίνεται καὶ ἀφελόμενος αὐτοῦ πάντα ὅσα εἶχεν χωρία ὑπόσπονδον ἀπέλυσεν.

7. But when Cassius was marched out of Syria, disturbances arose in Judea; for Felix, who was left at Jerusalem with an army, made a sudden attempt against Phasaelus, and the people themselves rose in arms; but Herod went to Fabius, the prefect of Damascus, and was desirous to run to his brother’s assistance, but was hindered by a distemper that seized upon him, till Phasaelus by himself had been too hard for Felix, and had shut him up in the tower, and there, on certain conditions, dismissed him. Phasaelus also complained of Hyrcanus, that although he had received a great many benefits from them, yet did he support their enemies; for Malichus’s brother had made many places to revolt, and kept garrisons in them, and particularly Masada, the strongest fortress of them all. In the mean time, Herod was recovered of his disease, and came and took from Felix all the places he had gotten; and, upon certain conditions, dismissed him also.

XII

CHAPTER 12. Herod Ejects Antigonus, The Son Of Aristobulus Out Of Judea, And Gains The Friendship Of Antony, Who Was Now Come Into Syria, By Sending Him Much Money; On Which Account He Would Not Admit Of Those That Would Have Accused Herod: And What It Was That Antony Wrote To The Tyrians In Behalf.

(1) [297] Ἀντίγονον δὲ τὸν Ἀριστοβούλου στρατιὰν ἀθροίσαντα καὶ Φάβιον τεθεραπευκότα χρήμασιν κατῆγεν Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Μενναίου διὰ τὸ κήδευμα. συνεμάχει δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Μαρίων, ὃν Τυρίων καταλελοίπει τύραννον Κάσσιος: τυραννίσι γὰρ διαλαβὼν τὴν Συρίαν οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐφρούρησεν. [298] ὁ δὲ Μαρίων καὶ εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ὅμορον οὖσαν ἐνέβαλεν καὶ τρία καταλαβὼν ἐρύματα διὰ φρουρᾶς εἶχεν. ἐλθὼν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον Ἡρώδης ἅπαντα μὲν αὐτὸν ἀφείλετο, τοὺς δὲ Τυρίων φρουροὺς φιλανθρώπως ἀπέλυσεν ἔστιν οἷς καὶ δωρεὰς δοὺς διὰ τὸ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν εὔνουν. [299] ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ὑπήντησεν Ἀντιγόνῳ καὶ μάχην αὐτῷ συνάψας νικᾷ καὶ ὅσον οὔπω τῶν ἄκρων ἐπιβάντα τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐξέωσεν. εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα δὲ παραγενόμενον στεφάνοις ἀνέδουν Ὑρκανός τε καὶ ὁ δῆμος. [300] ἐγεγάμβρευτο δ' ἤδη καθ' ὁμολογίαν τῷ Ὑρκανοῦ γένει καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ προειστήκει μέλλων ἄγεσθαι τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου θυγατέρα, Ὑρκανοῦ δὲ θυγατριδῆν, ἐξ ἧς πατὴρ μὲν γίνεται τριῶν ἀρρένων, δύο δὲ θηλειῶν. ἦκτο δὲ πρότερον καὶ γυναῖκα δημότιν Δῶριν ὄνομα ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ πρεσβύτατος γίνεται Ἀντίπατρος.

1. Now Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, brought back into Judea Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, who had already raised an army, and had, by money, made Fabius to be his friend, add this because he was of kin to him. Marion also gave him assistance. He had been left by Cassius to tyrannize over Tyre; for this Cussiris was a man that seized on Syria, and then kept it under, in the way of a tyrant. Marion also marched into Galilee, which lay in his neighborhood, and took three of his fortresses, and put garrisons into them to keep them. But when Herod came, he took all from him; but the Tyrian garrison he dismissed in a very civil manner; nay, to some of the soldiers he made presents out of the goodwill he bare to that city. When he had despatched these affairs, and was gone to meet Antigonus, he joined battle with him, and beat him, and drove him out of Judea

presently, when he was just come into its borders. But when he was come to Jerusalem, Hyrcanus and the people put garlands about his head; for he had already contracted an affinity with the family of Hyrcanus by having espoused a descendant of his, and for that reason Herod took the greater care of him, as being to marry the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, add the granddaughter of Hyrcanus, by which wife he became the father of three male and two female children. He had also married before this another wife, out of a lower family of his own nation, whose name was Doris, by whom he had his eldest son Antipater.

(2) [301] Κάσσιον μὲν οὖν χειροῦνται Ἀντώνιός τε καὶ Καῖσαρ περὶ Φιλίππους, ὡς καὶ παρ᾽ ἄλλοις δεδήλωται. μετὰ δὲ τὴν νίκην Καῖσαρ μὲν ἐπ᾽ Ἰταλίας ἐχώρει, Ἀντώνιος δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπῆρεν: γενομένῳ δὲ ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ αἱ πανταχόθεν ἀπήντων πρεσβεῖαι. [302] παρῆσαν δὲ καὶ Ἰουδαίων οἱ ἐν τέλει κατηγοροῦντες τῶν περὶ Φασάηλον καὶ Ἡρώδην, πρόσχημα μὲν εἶναι λέγοντες τῆς βασιλείας Ὑρκανόν, τούτους δὲ τὴν πᾶσαν ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν. [303] Ἡρώδην δὲ Ἀντώνιος διὰ πολλῆς εἶχε τιμῆς ἐλθόντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ἀπολογίᾳ τῶν κατηγορούντων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο συνέβη μηδὲ λόγου τυχεῖν τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας: διεπέπρακτο δὲ τοῦτο χρήμασιν Ἡρώδης παρ᾽ Ἀντωνίου. [304] ἐπεὶ δ᾽ εἰς Ἔφεσον ἦκεν Ἀντώνιος, ἔπεμψεν Ὑρκανὸς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ τὸ ἔθνος τὸ ἡμέτερον πρεσβείαν πρὸς αὐτὸν στέφανόν τε κομίζουσαν χρυσοῦν καὶ παρακαλοῦσαν τοὺς αἰχμαλωτισθέντας ὑπὸ Κασσίου Ἰουδαίους οὐ νόμῳ πολέμου γράψαντα τοῖς κατὰ τὰς ἐπαρχίας ἐλευθέρους ἀπολῦσαι καὶ τὴν χώραν, ἣν ἐν τοῖς Κασσίου καιροῖς ἀφῃρέθησαν, ἀποδοῦναι. [305] ταῦτα κρίνας Ἀντώνιος ἀξιοῦν δίκαια τοὺς Ἰουδαίους παραχρῆμα ἔγραψεν Ὑρκανῷ καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, ἐπέστειλεν δὲ καὶ τοῖς Τυρίοις καὶ διάταγμα ἔπεμπε περιέχον ταῦτα.

2. Now Antonius and Caesar had beaten Cassius near Philippi, as others have related; but after the victory, Caesar went into Gaul, [Italy,] and Antony marched for Asia, who, when he was arrived at Bithynia, he had ambassadors that met him from all parts. The principal men also of the Jews came thither, to accuse Phasaelus and Herod; and they said that Hyrcanus had indeed the appearance of reigning, but that these men had all the power: but Antony paid great respect to Herod, who was come to him to make his defense against his accusers, on which account his adversaries could not so much as obtain a hearing; which favor Herod had gained of Antony by money. But still, when Antony was come to Ephesus, Hyrcanus the high priest, and our nation, sent an embassage to him, which carried a crown of gold with them, and desired that he would write to the governors of the provinces, to set those Jews free who had been carried captive by Cassius, and this without their having fought against him, and to restore them

that country, which, in the days of Cassius, had been taken from them. Antony thought the Jews' desires were just, and wrote immediately to Hyrcanus, and to the Jews. He also sent, at the same time, a decree to the Tyrians; the contents of which were to the same purpose.

(3) [306] Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος αὐτοκράτωρ Ὑρκανῷ ἀρχιερεῖ καὶ ἐθνάρχῃ καὶ τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνει χαίρειν. εἰ ἔρρωσθε, εὖ ἂν ἔχοι, ἔρρωμαι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ τοῦ στρατεύματος. [307] Λυσίμαχος Παυσανίου καὶ Ἰώσηπος Μενναίου καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος Θεοδώρου πρεσβευταὶ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ μοι συντυχόντες τήν τε ἔμπροσθεν ἐν Ῥώμῃ τελεσθεῖσαν αὐτοῖς πρεσβείαν ἀνενεώσαντο καὶ τὴν νῦν ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους σπουδαίως διέθεντο, ἣν ἔχεις εὔνοιαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐμφανίσαντες. [308] πεπεισμένος οὖν καὶ ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ἐκ τῶν λόγων, ὅτι οἰκειότατα ἔχετε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ τὸ ἀραρὸς ὑμῶν ἦθος καὶ θεοσεβὲς κατανοήσας, [309] ἴδιον ἥγημαι Καταδραμόντων δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἅπασαν τῶν ἐναντιωθέντων ἡμῖν τε καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ μήτε πόλεων μήτε ἡρῴων ἀποσχομένων μήτε ὅρκους οὓς ἐποιήσαντο φυλαξάντων, ἡμεῖς ὡς οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἰδίου μόνον ἀγῶνος, ἀλλ' ὡς ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων κοινοῦ, τοὺς αἰτίους καὶ τῶν εἰς ἀνθρώπους παρανομιῶν καὶ τῶν εἰς θεοὺς ἁμαρτημάτων ἠμυνάμεθα, δι' ἃ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἀπεστράφθαι δοκοῦμεν, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἀηδῶς ἐπεῖδεν τὸ ἐπὶ Καίσαρι μύσος. [310] ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς αὐτῶν τὰς θεμάχους, ἃς ὑπεδέξατο ἡ Μακεδονία καθάπερ ἴδιος αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀνοσίων τολμημάτων ἀήρ, καὶ τὴν σύγχυσιν τῆς ἠμιμανοῦς κακοηθείας κατὰ Φιλίππους τῆς Μακεδονίας συνεκρότουν, καὶ τόπους εὐφυεῖς καταλαμβανόμενοι μέχρι θαλάσσης ἀποτετειχισμένους ὄρεσιν, ὡς πύλῃ μιᾷ τὴν πάροδον ταμιεύεσθαι, τῶν θεῶν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀδίκοις ἐγχειρήμασιν κατεψηφισμένων ἐκρατήσαμεν. [311] καὶ Βροῦτος συμφυγὼν εἰς Φιλίππους καὶ συγκλεισθεὶς ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐκοινώνησεν Κασσίῳ τῆς ἀπωλείας. τούτων κεκολασμένων εἰρήνης τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπολαύσειν ἐλπίζομεν καὶ ἀναπεπαῦσθαι τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου. [312] κοινὴν οὖν ποιούμεθα καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις τὴν ὑπὸ θεοῦ δοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν εἰρήνην: ὥσπερ οὖν ἐκ νόσου μεγάλης τὸ τῆς Ἀσίας σῶμα νῦν διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν νίκην ἀναφέρειν. ἔχων τοίνυν καὶ σὲ διὰ μνήμης καὶ τὸ ἔθνος αὔξειν φροντίσω τῶν ὑμῖν συμφερόντων. [313] ἐξέθηκα δὲ καὶ γράμματα κατὰ πόλεις, ὅπως εἴ τινες ἐλεύθεροι ἢ δοῦλοι ὑπὸ δόρυ ἐπράθησαν ὑπὸ Γαίου Κασσίου ἢ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῷ τεταγμένων ἀπολυθῶσιν οὗτοι, τοῖς τε ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δοθεῖσιν καὶ Δολαβέλλα φιλανθρώποις χρῆσθαι ὑμᾶς βούλομαι. Τυρίους τε κωλύω βιαίους εἶναι περὶ ὑμᾶς καὶ ὅσα κατέχουσιν Ἰουδαίων ταῦτα ἀποκαταστῆσαι κελεύω. τὸν δὲ στέφανον ὃν ἔπεμψας ἐδεξάμην.

3. "Marcus Antonius, imperator, to Hyrcanus the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, sendeth greeting. It you be in health, it is well; I am also in health, with the

army. Lysimachus, the son of Pausanias, and Josephus, the son of Menneus, and Alexander, the son of Theodorus, your ambassadors, met me at Ephesus, and have renewed the embassage which they had formerly been upon at Rome, and have diligently acquitted themselves of the present embassage, which thou and thy nation have intrusted to them, and have fully declared the goodwill thou hast for us. I am therefore satisfied, both by your actions and your words, that you are well-disposed to us; and I understand that your conduct of life is constant and religious: so I reckon upon you as our own. But when those that were adversaries to you, and to the Roman people, abstained neither from cities nor temples, and did not observe the agreement they had confirmed by oath, it was not only on account of our contest with them, but on account of all mankind in common, that we have taken vengeance on those who have been the authors of great injustice towards men, and of great wickedness towards the gods; for the sake of which we suppose it was that the sun turned away his light from us, as unwilling to view the horrid crime they were guilty of in the case of Caesar. We have also overcome their conspiracies, which threatened the gods themselves, which Macedonia received, as it is a climate peculiarly proper for impious and insolent attempts; and we have overcome that confused rout of men, half mad with spite against us, which they got together at Philippi in Macedonia, when they seized on the places that were proper for their purpose, and, as it were, walled them round with mountains to the very sea, and where the passage was open only through a single gate. This victory we gained, because the gods had condemned those men for their wicked enterprises. Now Brutus, when he had fled as far as Philippi, was shut up by us, and became a partaker of the same perdition with Cassius; and now these have received their punishment, we suppose that we may enjoy peace for the time to come, and that Asia may be at rest from war. We therefore make that peace which God hath given us common to our confederates also, insomuch that the body of Asia is now recovered out of that distemper it was under by the means of our victory. I, therefore, bearing in mind both thee and your nation, shall take care of what may be for your advantage. I have also sent epistles in writing to the several cities, that if any persons, whether free-men or bond-men, have been sold under the spear by Caius Cassius, or his subordinate officers, they may be set free. And I will that you kindly make use of the favors which I and Dolabella have granted you. I also forbid the Tyrians to use any violence with you; and for what places of the Jews they now possess, I order them to restore them. I have withal accepted of the crown which thou sentest me."

(4) [314] Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος αὐτοκράτωρ Τυρίων ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἐμφανισάντων μοι ἐν Ἐφέσῳ Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ ἐθνάρχου πρεσβευτῶν καὶ χώραν αὐτῶν ὑμᾶς κατέχειν λεγόντων, εἰς ἣν ἐνέβητε κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἐναντιουμένων ἡμῖν ἐπικράτειαν, [315] ἐπεὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας πόλεμον ἀνεδεξάμεθα καὶ τῶν εὐσεβῶν καὶ δικαίων ποιούμενοι πρόνοιαν ἠμυνάμεθα τοὺς μήτε χάριτος ἀπομνημονεύσαντας μήτε ὅρκους φυλάξαντας, βούλομαι καὶ τὴν ἀφ᾽ ὑμῶν εἰρήνην τοῖς συμμάχοις ἡμῶν ὑπάρχειν καὶ ὅσα παρὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐλάβετε ἀνταγωνιστῶν μὴ συγχωρεῖν, [ἀλλὰ] ταῦτα ἀποδοθῆναι τοῖς ἀφῃρημένοις. [316] οὔτε γὰρ ἐπαρχίας ἐκείνων οὐθεὶς οὔτε στρατόπεδα τῆς συγκλήτου δούσης ἔλαβεν, ἀλλὰ βίᾳ καθαρπάσαντες ἐχαρίσαντο βιαίως τοῖς πρὸς ἃ ἠδίκουν χρησίμοις αὐτοῖς γινομένοις. [317] δίκην οὖν αὐτῶν δεδωκότων τούς τε συμμάχους τοὺς ἡμετέρους ὅσα ποτ᾽ εἶχον ἀξιοῦμεν ἀκωλύτους διακατέχειν καὶ ὑμᾶς, εἴ τινα χωρία Ὑρκανοῦ ὄντα τοῦ ἐθνάρχου Ἰουδαίων πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἢ Γάιον Κάσσιον πόλεμον οὐ συγκεχωρημένον ἐπάγοντα ἐπιβῆναι τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἡμῶν νῦν ἔχετε, ἀποδοῦναι αὐτῷ βίαν τε αὐτοῖς μηδεμίαν προσφέρειν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀσθενεῖς αὐτοὺς ποιεῖν τῶν ἰδίων δεσπόζειν. [318] εἰ δέ τινα ἔχετε πρὸς αὐτὸν δικαιολογίαν, ὅταν ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐξέσται ὑμῖν ταύτῃ χρήσασθαι, ἡμῶν ἕκαστα τοῖς συμμάχοις ὁμοίως τοῖς κρίμασιν φυλασσόντων.

4. “Marcus Antonius, imperator, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Tyre, sendeth greeting. The ambassadors of Hyrcanus, the high priest and ethnarch [of the Jews], appeared before me at Ephesus, and told me that you are in possession of part of their country, which you entered upon under the government of our adversaries. Since, therefore, we have undertaken a war for the obtaining the government, and have taken care to do what was agreeable to piety and justice, and have brought to punishment those that had neither any remembrance of the kindnesses they had received, nor have kept their oaths, I will that you be at peace with those that are our confederates; as also, that what you have taken by the means of our adversaries shall not be reckoned your own, but be returned to those from whom you took them; for none of them took their provinces or their armies by the gift of the senate, but they seized them by force, and bestowed them by violence upon such as became useful to them in their unjust proceedings. Since, therefore, those men have received the punishment due to them, we desire that our confederates may retain whatsoever it was that they formerly possessed without disturbance, and that you restore all the places which belong to Hyrcanus, the ethnarch of the Jews, which you have had, though it were but one day before Caius Cassius began an unjustifiable war against us, and entered into our province; nor do you use any force against him, in order to

weaken him, that he may not be able to dispose of that which is his own; but if you have any contest with him about your respective rights, it shall be lawful for you to plead your cause when we come upon the places concerned, for we shall alike preserve the rights and hear all the causes of our confederates."

(5) [319] Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος αὐτοκράτωρ Τυρίων ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. διάταγμα ἐμὸν ἀπέσταλκα πρὸς ὑμᾶς, περὶ οὗ βούλομαι ὑμᾶς φροντίσαι, ἵνα αὐτὸ εἰς τὰς δημοσίας ἐντάξητε δέλτους γράμμασι Ῥωμαικοῖς καὶ Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ ἔχητε αὐτὸ γεγραμμένον, ὅπως ὑπὸ πάντων ἀναγινώσκεσθαι δύνηται. [320] Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος αὐτοκράτωρ τριῶν ἀνδρῶν καταστάντων περὶ τῶν δημοσίων πραγμάτων εἶπεν: ἐπεὶ Γάιος Κάσσιος ταύτῃ τῇ ὑποστάσει ἀλλοτρίαν ἐπαρχίαν κατεχομένην ὑπὸ στρατοπέδων καὶ συμμάχους ὄντας διήρπασεν καὶ ἐξεπολιόρκησεν τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος φίλον ὑπάρχον τοῦ Ῥωμαίων δήμου, [321] τὴν ἀπόνοιαν τὴν ἐκείνου τοῖς ὅπλοις κρατήσαντες διατάγμασιν καὶ κρίμασιν ἐπανορθούμεθα τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διηρπασμένα, ὥστε ἀποκατασταθῆναι ταῦτα τοῖς συμμάχοις ἡμῶν: καὶ ὅσα ἐπράθη Ἰουδαίων ἤτοι σώματα Ἰουδαίων ἢ κτῆσις ταῦτα ἀφεθήτω, τὰ μὲν σώματα ἐλεύθερα, ὡς ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἡ δὲ κτῆσις τοῖς πρότερον κυρίοις. [322] τὸν δ' οὐχ ὑπακούσαντα τῷ ἐμῷ διατάγματι δίκην συστήσασθαι βούλομαι, κἂν ἀλῷ τότε κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πράγματος ἀξίαν μελήσει μοι ἐπεξελθεῖν τὸν οὐχ ὑπακούσαντα.

5. "Marcus Antonius, imperator, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Tyre, sendeth greeting. I have sent you my decree, of which I will that ye take care that it be engraven on the public tables, in Roman and Greek letters, and that it stand engraven in the most illustrious places, that it may be read by all. Marcus Antonius, imperator, one of the triumvirate over the public affairs, made this declaration: Since Caius Cassius, in this revolt he hath made, hath pillaged that province which belonged not to him, and was held by garrisons there encamped, while they were our confederates, and hath spoiled that nation of the Jews that was in friendship with the Roman people, as in war; and since we have overcome his madness by arms, we now correct by our decrees and judicial determinations what he hath laid waste, that those things may be restored to our confederates. And as for what hath been sold of the Jewish possessions, whether they be bodies or possessions, let them be released; the bodies into that state of freedom they were originally in, and the possessions to their former owners. I also will that he who shall not comply with this decree of mine shall be punished for his disobedience; and if such a one be caught, I will take care that the offenders suffer condign punishment."

(6) [323] Τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ Σιδωνίοις καὶ Ἀντιοχεῦσιν καὶ Ἀραδίοις ἔγραψεν. παρεθέμεθα μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα εὐκαίρως τεκμήρια γενησόμενα ἧς φαμὲν Ῥωμαίους ποιήσασθαι προνοίας ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἔθνους.

6. The same thing did Antony write to the Sidonians, and the Antiochians, and the Aradians. We have produced these decrees, therefore, as marks for futurity of the truth of what we have said, that the Romans had a great concern about our nation.

XIII

CHAPTER 13. How Antony Made Herod And Phasaelus Tetrarchs, After They Had Been Accused To No Purpose; And How The Parthians When They Brought Antigonus Into Judea Took Hyrcanus And Phasaelus Captives. Herod's Flight; And What Afflictions Hyrcanus And Phasaelus Endured.

(1) [324] Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰς Συρίαν Ἀντωνίου παραγενομένου Κλεοπάτρα περὶ Κιλικίαν ἐντυχοῦσα δι' ἔρωτος αὐτὸν ἐκεχείρωτο. καὶ δὴ πάλιν Ἰουδαίων ἑκατὸν οἱ δυνατώτατοι παραγίνονται πρὸς αὐτὸν κατηγοροῦντες Ἡρώδου καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν προστησάμενοι σφῶν τοὺς δεινοτάτους λέγειν. [325] ἀντέλεγεν δὲ αὐτοῖς Μεσσάλας ὑπὲρ τῶν νεανίσκων παρόντος καὶ Ὑρκανοῦ, ὃς κηδεστὴς ἐτύγχανεν ἤδη γεγενημένος. ἀκροασάμενος δὲ ἀμφοτέρων Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ Δάφνης πυνθάνεται Ὑρκανοῦ, πότεροι τοῦ ἔθνους ἄμεινον προίστανται: [326] φήσαντος δὲ τοὺς περὶ Ἡρώδην, Ἀντώνιος καὶ πάλαι οἰκείως ἔχων πρὸς αὐτοὺς διὰ τὴν πατρῴαν ξενίαν, ἣν ἡνίκα σὺν Γαβινίῳ παρῆν ἐπεποίητο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν, τούτους μὲν ἀμφοτέρους τετράρχας καθίστησιν καὶ τὰ Ἰουδαίων αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέπει πράγματα, γράφει δὲ καὶ γράμματα Πεντεκαίδεκα τῶν ἀντιστασιαστῶν ἔδησεν, μέλλοντος δὲ καὶ κτείνειν αὐτοὺς παρῃτήσαντο οἱ περὶ Ἡρώδην.

1. When after this Antony came into Syria, Cleopatra met him in Cilicia, and brought him to fall in love with her. And there came now also a hundred of the most potent of the Jews to accuse Herod and those about him, and set the men of the greatest eloquence among them to speak. But Messala contradicted them, on behalf of the young men, and all this in the presence of Hyrcanus, who was Herod's father-in-law already. When Antony had heard both sides at Daphne, he asked Hyrcanus who they were that governed the nation best. He replied, Herod and his friends. Hereupon Antony, by reason of the old hospitable friendship he had made with his father [Antipater], at that time when he was with Gabinius, he made both Herod and Phasaelus tetrarchs, and committed the public affairs of the Jews to them, and wrote letters to that purpose. He also bound fifteen of their adversaries, and was going to kill them, but that Herod obtained their pardon.

(2) [327] Ἠρέμουν δ' οὐδ' οὕτως ἐπανελθόντες ἐκ τῆς πρεσβείας, ἀλλ' ἀπήντων πάλιν Ἀντωνίῳ χίλιοι εἰς Τύρον ἐκεῖ δόξαντι ἀφικέσθαι. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος πολλοῖς διεφθαρμένος ἤδη χρήμασιν ὑπό τε Ἡρώδου καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ τῷ κατὰ

τόπον ἄρχοντι προσέταξεν κολάσαι τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς τῶν Ἰουδαίων νεωτέρων ἐπιθυμοῦντας πραγμάτων καὶ τοῖς περὶ Ἡρώδην συγκαθιστάναι τὴν ἀρχήν. [328] ταχὺ δὲ Ἡρώδης, ἵδρυντο γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ψάμμου πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, προιὼν ἀπιέναι παρεκελεύετο, συνῆν δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Ὑρκανός, ὡς μεγάλου κακοῦ εἰ προέλθοιεν εἰς φιλονεικίαν ἐσομένου. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο. [329] παραχρῆμα δ' ἐκδραμόντες Ῥωμαῖοι σὺν ἐγχειριδίοις τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν, πλείους δὲ κατέτρωσαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διαφυγόντες ἐπ' οἴκου ἡσύχαζον. τοῦ δὲ δήμου καταβοῶντος Ἡρώδου παροξυνθεὶς Ἀντώνιος τοὺς δεδεμένους ἀπέκτεινεν.

2. Yet did not these men continue quiet when they were come back, but a thousand of the Jews came to Tyre to meet him there, whither the report was that he would come. But Antony was corrupted by the money which Herod and his brother had given him; and so he gave order to the governor of the place to punish the Jewish ambassadors, who were for making innovations, and to settle the government upon Herod; but Herod went out hastily to them, and Hyrcanus was with him, [for they stood upon the shore before the city,] and he charged them to go their ways, because great mischief would befall them if they went on with their accusation. But they did not acquiesce; whereupon the Romans ran upon them with their daggers, and slew some, and wounded more of them, and the rest fled away and went home, and lay still in great consternation. And when the people made a clamor against Herod, Antony was so provoked at it, that he slew the prisoners.

(3) [330] Δευτέρῳ δ' ἔτει Συρίαν κατέσχον Πάκορός τε ὁ βασιλέως παῖς καὶ Βαζαφράνης σατράπης ὢν Πάρθων. τελευτᾷ δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Μενναίου καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Λυσανίας παραλαβὼν διαπράττεται φιλίαν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον τὸν Ἀριστοβούλου, πρὸς τοῦτο χρήσιμον τὸν σατράπην παραλαβὼν μέγα παρ' αὐτῷ δυνάμενον. [331] Ἀντίγονος δ' ὑπισχνεῖτο χίλια τάλαντα καὶ πεντακοσίας γυναῖκας δώσειν Πάρθοις, εἰ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ὑρκανὸν ἀφελόμενοι παραδώσουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην ἀνέλοιεν. [332] οὐ μὴν ἔδωκεν: ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν Πάρθοι διὰ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐστράτευσαν κατάγοντες Ἀντίγονον, Πάκορος μὲν διὰ τῆς παραθαλαττίου, ὁ δὲ σατράπης Βαζαφράνης διὰ τῆς μεσογείου. [333] Τύριοι μὲν οὖν ἀποκλείουσι Πάκορον, Σιδώνιοι δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαεῖς ἐδέξαντο. ἴλην μέντοι Πάκορος ἱππέων εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐξέπεμψεν κατασκεψομένην τε τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν καὶ Ἀντιγόνῳ συμπράξουσαν, ἡγεμόνα τε ὁμώνυμον τοῦ βασιλέως οἰνοχόον. [334] ἐκ δὲ τῶν περὶ Κάρμηλον τὸ ὄρος Ἰουδαίων πρὸς Ἀντίγονον ἐλθόντων καὶ συνεισβαλεῖν ἑτοίμως ἐχόντων, προσεδόκα δὲ τῆς χώρας μέρος τι λαβεῖν ὁ Ἀντίγονος, δρυμοὶ δὲ τὸ χωρίον καλεῖται, καί τινων ὑπαντιασάντων αὐτοὺς διεκπίπτουσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα οἱ ἄνθρωποι. προσγενομένων δέ τινων πολλοὶ συστραφέντες ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια ἦκον

καὶ ταῦτα ἐπολιόρκουν. [335] προσβοηθούντων δὲ τῶν περὶ Φασάηλον καὶ Ἡρώδην καὶ μάχης γενομένης κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν νικῶσιν οἱ νεανίσκοι τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ συνδιώξαντες εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν πέμπουσιν ὁπλίτας τινὰς εἰς τὰς πλησίον οἰκίας φρουρήσοντας αὐτάς, οὓς ἐπαναστὰς ὁ δῆμος συμμάχων ὄντας ἐρήμους σὺν αὐτοῖς οἴκοις κατέπρησεν. [336] ὑπὲρ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀδικίας ταύτης Ἡρώδης μετ᾽ ὀλίγον τιμωρίαν παρὰ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν λαμβάνει συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς εἰς μάχην καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνας.

3. Now, in the second year, Pacorus, the king of Parthia's son, and Barzapharnes, a commander of the Parthians, possessed themselves of Syria. Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, also was now dead, and Lysanias his son took his government, and made a league of friendship with Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus; and in order to obtain it, made use of that commander, who had great interest in him. Now Antigonus had promised to give the Parthians a thousand talents, and five hundred women, upon condition they would take the government away from Hyrcanus, and bestow it upon him, and withal kill Herod. And although he did not give them what he had promised, yet did the Parthians make an expedition into Judea on that account, and carried Antigonus with them. Pacorus went along the maritime parts, but the commander Barzapharnes through the midland. Now the Tyrians excluded Pacorus, but the Sidontans and those of Ptolemais received him. However, Pacorus sent a troop of horsemen into Judea, to take a view of the state of the country, and to assist Antigonus; and sent also the king's butler, of the same name with himself. So when the Jews that dwelt about Mount Carmel came to Antigonus, and were ready to march with him into Judea, Antigonus hoped to get some part of the country by their assistance. The place is called Drymi; and when some others came and met them, the men privately fell upon Jerusalem; and when some more were come to them, they got together in great numbers, and came against the king's palace, and besieged it. But as Phasaelus's and Herod's party came to the other's assistance, and a battle happened between them in the market-place, the young men beat their enemies, and pursued them into the temple, and sent some armed men into the adjoining houses to keep them in, who yet being destitute of such as should support them, were burnt, and the houses with them, by the people who rose up against them. But Herod was revenged on these seditious adversaries of his a little afterward for this injury they had offered him, when he fought with them, and slew a great number of them.

(4) [337] Γινομένων δ᾽ ὁσημέραι ἀκροβολισμῶν αὐτοῖς ἀνέμενον οἱ πολέμιοι τὸν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὄχλον εἰς τὴν καλουμένην πεντηκοστήν, ἑορτὴ δ᾽ ἐστίν, μέλλοντα ἥξειν. [338] τῆς δ᾽ ἡμέρας ἐνστάσης πολλαὶ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀθροίζονται μυριάδες

ἀνθρώπων ὡπλισμένων τε καὶ ἀνόπλων. κατεῖχον δὲ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν οἱ παρόντες πλὴν τῶν περὶ τὰ βασίλεια: ταῦτα γὰρ σὺν ὀλίγοις στρατιώταις οἱ περὶ Ἡρώδην ἐφρούρουν. [339] Φασάηλος μὲν οὖν τὸ τεῖχος ἐφύλασσεν, Ἡρώδης δὲ λόχον ἔχων ἐπέξεισιν τοῖς πολεμίοις κατὰ τὸ προάστειον, καὶ καρτερῶς μαχεσάμενος πολλάς τε μυριάδας τρέπει, τῶν μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν φευγόντων, τῶν δ᾽ εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, ἔστιν δ᾽ ὧν εἰς τὸ ἔξω χαράκωμα: ἦν γάρ τι αὐτόθι: παρεβοήθει δὲ καὶ Φασάηλος. [340] Πάκορος δ᾽ ὁ Πάρθων στρατηγὸς σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ὀλίγοις Ἀντιγόνου δεηθέντος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔρχεται, λόγῳ μὲν ὡς καταπαύσειεν τὴν στάσιν, τὸ δ᾽ ἀληθὲς συμπράξων ἐκείνῳ τὴν ἀρχήν. [341] Φασαήλου δ᾽ ὑπαντήσαντος καὶ δεξαμένου ξενίᾳ Πάκορος πείθει πρεσβεύσασθαι παρὰ Βαζαφράνην αὐτόν, δόλον τινὰ τοῦτον συντιθείς. καὶ Φασάηλος οὐδὲν ὑπιδόμενος πείθεται μὴ ἐπαινοῦντος Ἡρώδου τοῖς πραττομένοις διὰ τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄπιστον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πακόρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἥκουσιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι κελεύοντος.

4. But while there were daily skirmishes, the enemy waited for the coming of the multitude out of the country to Pentecost, a feast of ours so called; and when that day was come, many ten thousands of the people were gathered together about the temple, some in armor, and some without. Now those that came guarded both the temple and the city, excepting what belonged to the palace, which Herod guarded with a few of his soldiers; and Phasaelus had the charge of the wall, while Herod, with a body of his men, sallied out upon the enemy, who lay in the suburbs, and fought courageously, and put many ten thousands to flight, some flying into the city, and some into the temple, and some into the outer fortifications, for some such fortifications there were in that place. Phasaelus came also to his assistance; yet was Pacorus, the general of the Parthians, at the desire of Antigonus, admitted into the city, with a few of his horsemen, under pretence indeed as if he would still the sedition, but in reality to assist Antigonus in obtaining the government. And when Phasaelus met him, and received him kindly, Pacorus persuaded him to go himself as ambassador to Barzapharnes, which was done fraudulently. Accordingly, Phasaelus, suspecting no harm, complied with his proposal, while Herod did not give his consent to what was done, because of the perfidiousness of these barbarians, but desired Phasaelus rather to fight those that were come into the city.

(5) [342] Ὤιχοντο δ᾽ οὖν πρεσβεύοντες Ὑρκανός τε καὶ Φασάηλος, Πάκορος δὲ καταλιπὼν Ἡρώδῃ διακοσίους ἱππεῖς καὶ δέκα τῶν λεγομένων ἐλευθέρων προύπεμψεν αὐτούς. γενομένοις δ᾽ ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ μεθ᾽ ὅπλων ὑπαντῶσιν οἱ ταύτῃ τῶν πολεμίων ὑφεστῶτες. [343] καὶ Βαζαφράνης τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτοὺς ὑποδέχεται προθύμως καὶ δῶρα δίδωσιν, ἔπειτα ἐπεβούλευεν. πλησίον δὲ μετὰ ἱππέων ὑπὲρ θαλάττης οἱ περὶ Φασάηλον κατάγονται καὶ ἐνταῦθ᾽ ἀκούσαντες,

ὡς Ἀντίγονος ὑπόσχοιτο χίλια τάλαντα καὶ γυναῖκας πεντακοσίας τοῖς Πάρθοις κατ᾽ αὐτῶν, δι᾽ ὑποψίας εἶχον ἤδη τοὺς βαρβάρους. [344] οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ νύκτωρ ἐπιβουλευομένους αὐτοὺς ἀπήγγειλέν τις φυλακῆς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τἀφανοῦς περιισταμένης, καὶ συνελήφθησαν ἄν, εἰ μὴ περιέμενον ἕως [ἂν] οἱ περὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα Πάρθοι Ἡρώδην συλλάβοιεν, μὴ προανῃρημένων τούτων ἐκεῖνος αἰσθόμενος διαφύγοι. καὶ ἦν ταῦθ᾽ οὕτως ἔχοντα καὶ οἱ φύλακες αὐτῶν ἑωρῶντο. [345] Φασαήλῳ μὲν οὖν παρῄνουν τινὲς εὐθὺς ἀφιππάσασθαι καὶ μὴ περιμένειν, μάλιστα μέντοι πρὸς ταῦτα αὐτὸν Ὀφέλλιος ἐνῆγεν, ὃς ἀκηκόει παρὰ Σαραμάλλα τοῦ πλουσιωτάτου τῶν ἐν Συρίᾳ τότε καὶ πλοῖα πρὸς τὴν φυγὴν ὑπισχνεῖτο: ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἦν ἡ θάλασσα. [346] ὁ δὲ Ὑρκανὸν ἀπολιπεῖν οὐκ ἠξίου οὐδὲ παρακινδυνεύειν τἀδελφῷ: προσελθὼν δὲ πρὸς τὸν Βαζαφράνην οὐ δίκαια ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν τοιαῦτα βουλευόμενον περὶ αὐτῶν: χρημάτων τε γὰρ δεομένῳ πλείονα ἔσεσθαι παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ὧν Ἀντίγονος δίδωσιν, καὶ ἄλλως δεινὸν εἶναι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πίστει συνελθόντας πρεσβευτὰς ἀποκτεῖναι μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας. [347] ὁ δὲ βάρβαρος ταῦτα λέγοντος ὤμνυεν μηδὲν ἀληθὲς εἶναι τῶν ὑπονοουμένων, ἀλλὰ ψευδεῖς αὐτὸν ὑποψίας ταράξαι, ἀπῄει τε πρὸς Πάκορον.

5. So both Hyrcanus and Phasaelus went on the embassage; but Pacorus left with Herod two hundred horsemen, and ten men, who were called the freemen, and conducted the others on their journey; and when they were in Galilee, the governors of the cities there met them in their arms. Barzaphanles also received them at the first with cheerfulness, and made them presents, though he afterward conspired against them; and Phasaelus, with his horsemen, were conducted to the sea-side. But when they heard that Antigonus had promised to give the Parthians a thousand talents, and five hundred women, to assist him against them, they soon had a suspicion of the barbarians. Moreover, there was one who informed them that snares were laid for them by night, while a guard came about them secretly; and they had then been seized upon, had not they waited for the seizure of Herod by the Parthians that were about Jerusalem, lest, upon the slaughter of Hyrcanus and Phasaelus, he should have an intimation of it, and escape out of their hands. And these were the circumstances they were now in; and they saw who they were that guarded them. Some persons indeed would have persuaded Phasaelus to fly away immediately on horseback, and not stay any longer; and there was one Ophellius, who, above all the rest, was earnest with him to do so; for he had heard of this treachery from Saramalla, the richest of all the Syrians at that time, who also promised to provide him ships to carry him off; for the sea was just by them. But he had no mind to desert Hyrcanus, nor bring his brother into danger; but he went to Barzapharnes, and told him he did not act justly when he made such a contrivance against them; for that if he

wanted money, he would give him more than Antigonus; and besides, that it was a horrible thing to slay those that came to him upon the security of their oaths, and that when they had done them no injury. But the barbarian swore to him that there was no truth in any of his suspicions, but that he was troubled with nothing but false proposals, and then went away to Pacorus.

(6) [348] Οἰχομένου δὲ τῶν Πάρθων ἐδέσμευόν τινες Ὑρκανὸν καὶ Φασάηλον πολλὰ τῆς ἐπιορκίας κακίζοντα τοὺς Πάρθους. ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην ἀπεσταλμένος εὐνοῦχος ἐντολὰς εἶχεν προαγαγὼν αὐτὸν ἔξω τοῦ τείχους συλλαμβάνειν. [349] ἔτυχον δὲ ἄγγελοι παρὰ Φασαήλου πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ δηλώσει τῆς τῶν Πάρθων ἀπιστίας, οὓς τῶν πολεμίων συλλαβόντων γνοὺς Ἡρώδης πρόσεισι Πακόρῳ καὶ Πάρθων τοῖς δυνατοῖς ὡς οὖσιν τῶν ἄλλων δεσπόταις. [350] οἱ δὲ τὸ πᾶν εἰδότες ὑπεκρίνοντο δολερῶς καὶ δεῖν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν μετὰ σφῶν ἐξελθόντα πρὸ τοῦ τείχους ὑπαντᾶν τοῖς τὰ γράμματα κομίζουσιν: οὐδέπω γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰλῆφθαι πρὸς τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν, ἥκειν μέντοι δηλοῦντας ὅσα κατορθώσειε Φασάηλος. [351] τούτοις Ἡρώδης οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν: ἀκηκόει γὰρ τὴν σύλληψιν τἀδελφοῦ παρ' ἑτέρων: καὶ παραινούσης δὲ τῆς Ὑρκανοῦ θυγατρός, ἧς ἐγγεγύητο τὴν παῖδα, ἔτι μᾶλλον ὑπώπτευε τοὺς Πάρθους. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι ταύτῃ οὐ προσεῖχον, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπίστευεν λίαν ἔμφρονι γυναικί.

6. But as soon as he was gone away, some men came and bound Hyrcanus and Phasaelus, while Phasaelus greatly reproached the Parthians for their perjury; However, that butler who was sent against Herod had it in command to get him without the walls of the city, and seize upon him; but messengers had been sent by Phasaelus to inform Herod of the perfidiousness of the Parthians. And when he knew that the enemy had seized upon them, he went to Pacorus, and to the most potent of the Parthians, as to the lord of the rest, who, although they knew the whole matter, dissembled with him in a deceitful way; and said that he ought to go out with them before the walls, and meet those which were bringing him his letters, for that they were not taken by his adversaries, but were coming to give him an account of the good success Phasaelus had had. Herod did not give credit to what they said; for he had heard that his brother was seized upon by others also; and the daughter of Hyrcanus, whose daughter he had espoused, was his monitor also [not to credit them], which made him still more suspicious of the Parthians; for although other people did not give heed to her, yet did he believe her as a woman of very great wisdom.

(7) [352] Βουλευομένων δὲ τῶν Πάρθων, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, οὐ γὰρ ἤρεσκεν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀνδρὶ τηλικούτῳ, καὶ ὑπερθεμένων εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν, ἐν τοιαύταις ταραχαῖς Ἡρώδης γενόμενος καὶ μᾶλλον οἷς ἤκουσεν περὶ τἀδελφοῦ

καὶ τῆς Πάρθων ἐπιβουλῆς ἢ τοῖς ἐναντίοις προστιθέμενος, ἐσπέρας ἐπελθούσης ἔγνω ταύτῃ πρὸς φυγὴν χρήσασθαι καὶ μὴ διαμέλλειν ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀδήλοις τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κινδύνοις. [353] ἄρας οὖν σὺν οἷς εἶχεν ὁπλίταις καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἐπιθέμενος μητέρα τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀδελφὴν καὶ ἣν ἔμελλεν ἄξεσθαι πρὸς γάμον Ἀλεξάνδρου θυγατέρα τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου παιδὸς τήν τε ταύτης μητέρα, Ὑρκανοῦ δ᾽ ἦν θυγάτηρ, καὶ τὸν νεώτατον ἀδελφὸν τήν τε θεραπείαν πᾶσαν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ὄχλον τὸν σὺν αὐτοῖς, ἐδίωκεν τὴν ἐπὶ Ἰδουμαίας λαθὼν τοὺς πολεμίους. [354] ὧν οὐδεὶς ἂν οὕτως στερρὸς τὴν φύσιν εὑρέθη, ὃς τότε παρὼν τοῖς πραττομένοις οὐκ ἂν ᾤκτειρεν αὐτοὺς τῆς τύχης, γυναίων ἐπαγομένων νήπια τέκνα καὶ μετὰ δακρύων καὶ οἰμωγῆς ἀπολειπουσῶν τὴν πατρίδα καὶ φίλους ἐν δεσμοῖς καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἔτι χρηστὸν προσδεχομένων.

7. Now while the Parthians were in consultation what was fit to be done; for they did not think it proper to make an open attempt upon a person of his character; and while they put off the determination to the next day, Herod was under great disturbance of mind, and rather inclining to believe the reports he heard about his brother and the Parthians, than to give heed to what was said on the other side, he determined, that when the evening came on, he would make use of it for his flight, and not make any longer delay, as if the dangers from the enemy were not yet certain. He therefore removed with the armed men whom he had with him; and set his wives upon the beasts, as also his mother, and sister, and her whom he was about to marry, [Mariamne,] the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, with her mother, the daughter of Hyrcanus, and his youngest brother, and all their servants, and the rest of the multitude that was with him, and without the enemy's privity pursued his way to Idumea. Nor could any enemy of his who then saw him in this case be so hardhearted, but would have commiserated his fortune, while the women drew along their infant children and left their own country, and their friends in prison, with tears in their eyes, and sad lamentations, and in expectation of nothing but what was of a melancholy nature.

(8) [355] Ἀλλ᾽ Ἡρώδης ἐπάνω τῆς ἐκ τοῦ δεινοῦ πληγῆς τὸ φρόνημα ποιησάμενος αὐτός τε ἦν πρὸς τὸ δεινὸν εὔψυχος καὶ παριὼν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν θαρρεῖν ἕκαστον παρεκελεύετο καὶ μὴ παρέχειν αὐτὸν ἔκδοτον τῇ λύπῃ: τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτοὺς βλάπτειν πρὸς τὴν φυγήν, ἐν ᾗ τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς μόνῃ κεῖσθαι συμβέβηκεν. [356] καὶ οἱ μὲν ὡς Ἡρώδης παρῄνει φέρειν τὴν συμφορὰν ἐπειρῶντο. μικροῦ δ᾽ αὐτὸν διεχρήσατο τοῦ ζεύγους περιτραπέντος καὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῷ κινδυνευσάσης ἀποθανεῖν, διά τε τὸ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ πάθος καὶ διὰ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι, μὴ καταλάβωσιν αὐτὸν οἱ πολέμιοι διώκοντες τριβῆς περὶ τὸ πταῖσμα γενομένης.

[357] σπασάμενον γοῦν αὐτὸν τὸ ξίφος καὶ μέλλοντα πλήττειν αὐτὸν κατέσχον οἱ παρόντες, τῷ τε πλήθει κατισχύσαντες καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἐχρῆν αὐτοὺς ἐγκαταλιπεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐσομένους λέγοντες: οὐ γὰρ εἶναι γενναίου τῶν δεινῶν αὐτὸν ἐλευθερώσαντα τοὺς φίλους ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑπεριδεῖν. [358] βιασθεὶς οὖν ἀποσχέσθαι τοῦ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν τολμήματος αἰδοῖ τε τῶν λεγομένων καὶ πλήθει τῶν οὐκ ἐπιτρεπόντων αὐτοῦ τῇ χειρὶ διακονεῖν οἷς ἐντεθύμητο, ἀνακτησάμενος τὴν μητέρα καὶ θεραπείας ἧς ὁ καιρὸς ἤπειγεν ἀξιώσας ἐβάδιζεν τὴν προκειμένην ὁδὸν συντονωτέραν ποιούμενος τὴν πορείαν εἰς Μάσαδαν τὸ ἔρυμα. πολλὰς δὲ μάχας πρὸς τοὺς ἐπεξελθόντας καὶ διώκοντας τῶν Πάρθων μαχεσάμενος πάσας ἐνίκησεν.

8. But for Herod himself, he raised his mind above the miserable state he was in, and was of good courage in the midst of his misfortunes; and as he passed along, he bid them every one to be of good cheer, and not to give themselves up to sorrow, because that would hinder them in their flight, which was now the only hope of safety that they had. Accordingly, they tried to bear with patience the calamity they were under, as he exhorted them to do; yet was he once almost going to kill himself, upon the overthrow of a waggon, and the danger his mother was then in of being killed; and this on two accounts, because of his great concern for her, and because he was afraid lest, by this delay, the enemy should overtake him in the pursuit: but as he was drawing his sword, and going to kill himself therewith, those that were present restrained him, and being so many in number, were too hard for him; and told him that he ought not to desert them, and leave them a prey to their enemies, for that it was not the part of a brave man to free himself from the distresses he was in, and to overlook his friends that were in the same distresses also. So he was compelled to let that horrid attempt alone, partly out of shame at what they said to him, and partly out of regard to the great number of those that would not permit him to do what he intended. So he encouraged his mother, and took all the care of her the time would allow, and proceeded on the way he proposed to go with the utmost haste, and that was to the fortress of Masada. And as he had many skirmishes with such of the Parthians as attacked him and pursued him, he was conqueror in them all.

(9) [359] Ἔμεινε δ᾽ αὐτῷ παρὰ τὴν φυγὴν οὐδὲ τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀσφαλῆ, συνεπέθεντο δὲ καὶ οὗτοι γενομένοις ἀπὸ σταδίων ἑξήκοντα τῆς πόλεως προσβάλλοντές τε καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἐρχόμενοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν. [360] οὓς δὴ καὶ τρεψάμενος καὶ κρατήσας οὐχ ὡς ἐν ἀπορίᾳ καὶ ἀνάγκῃ τις τοιαύτῃ καθεστώς, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς κάλλιστα καὶ μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος πρὸς πόλεμον παρεσκευασμένος, ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χωρίῳ, ἐν ᾧ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκράτησε, μετὰ χρόνον βασιλεύσας ἔκτισε καὶ βασίλειον κατεσκεύασεν ἀξιολογώτατον καὶ

πόλιν περὶ αὐτὸ Ἡρωδίαν προσαγορεύσας. [361] γενομένῳ δὲ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ἐν Θρήσᾳ χωρίῳ οὕτω καλουμένῳ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἰώσηπος ὑπήντησεν καὶ βουλὴν περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἦγε, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, πολλοῦ μὲν πλήθους ἐπαγομένου καὶ δίχα τῶν μισθοφορούντων αὐτοῖς, τοῦ δὲ χωρίου τῆς Μεσάδας, εἰς ὃ προύκειτο συμφυγεῖν ἐλάττονος ὄντος ὑποδέξασθαι τοσοῦτον ὄχλον. [362] τοὺς μὲν οὖν πλείους ἀπέλυσεν ὑπὲρ ἐννέα χιλιάδας ὄντας ἄλλον ἀλλαχῆ κελεύσας διὰ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας σώζειν αὐτούς, δοὺς ἐφόδια: ὅσοι δ’ ἦσαν κοῦφοι καὶ τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους ἀναλαβὼν εἰς τὸ ἔρυμα παραγίνεται καὶ καταθέμενος αὐτόθι τάς τε γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς ἑπομένους, ἦσαν δὲ ὡς ὀκτακόσιοι, σίτου τε ὄντος ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ καὶ ὕδατος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων ἁπάντων διαρκούντως αὐτοῖς ἐξώρμησεν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Πέτρας τῆς Ἀραβίας. [363] ἅμα δ’ ἡμέρᾳ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων διήρπαζον οἱ Πάρθοι καὶ τὸ βασίλειον, μόνων δὲ ἀπείχοντο τῶν Ὑρκανοῦ χρημάτων: τὰ δ’ ἦν ὡς τριακόσια τάλαντα. [364] πολλὰ δὲ τῶν Ἡρώδου διέφυγεν καὶ μάλισθ’ ὅσα προκομισθῆναι κατὰ προμήθειαν τἀνδρὸς εἰς τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν ἐφθάκει. τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἀπέχρησε τοῖς Πάρθοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐξιόντες ἐκάκουν καὶ Μάρισάν τε πόλιν δυνατὴν ἀνέστησαν.

9. Nor indeed was he free from the Jews all along as he was in his flight; for by that time he was gotten sixty furlongs out of the city, and was upon the road, they fell upon him, and fought hand to hand with him, whom he also put to flight, and overcame, not like one that was in distress and in necessity, but like one that was excellently prepared for war, and had what he wanted in great plenty. And in this very place where he overcame the Jews it was that he some time afterward build a most excellent palace, and a city round about it, and called it Herodium. And when he was come to Idumea, at a place called Thressa, his brother Joseph met him, and he then held a council to take advice about all his affairs, and what was fit to be done in his circumstances, since he had a great multitude that followed him, besides his mercenary soldiers, and the place Masada, whither he proposed to fly, was too small to contain so great a multitude; so he sent away the greater part of his company, being above nine thousand, and bid them go, some one way, and some another, and so save themselves in Idumea, and gave them what would buy them provisions in their journey. But he took with him those that were the least encumbered, and were most intimate with him, and came to the fortress, and placed there his wives and his followers, being eight hundred in number, there being in the place a sufficient quantity of corn and water, and other necessaries, and went directly for Petra, in Arabia. But when it was day, the Parthians plundered all Jerusalem, and the palace, and abstained from nothing but Hyrcanus’s money, which was three

hundred talents. A great deal of Herod's money escaped, and principally all that the man had been so provident as to send into Idumea beforehand; nor indeed did what was in the city suffice the Parthians, but they went out into the country, and plundered it, and demolished the city Marissa.

(10) [365] Καὶ Ἀντίγονος μὲν οὕτως καταχθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πάρθων βασιλέως Ὑρκανὸν καὶ Φασάηλον δεσμώτας παραλαμβάνει. σφόδρα δ' ἦν ἄθυμος τῶν γυναικῶν αὐτὸν διαφυγουσῶν, ἃς τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνεθυμεῖτο δώσειν, τοῦτον αὐτοῖς τὸν μισθὸν μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων ὑποσχόμενος. [366] φοβούμενος δὲ τὸν Ὑρκανόν, μὴ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποκαταστήσῃ, παραστάς, ἐτηρεῖτο δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Πάρθων, ἐπιτέμνει αὐτοῦ τὰ ὦτα πραγματευόμενος μηκέτ' αὖθις εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην διὰ τὸ λελωβῆσθαι, τοῦ νόμου τῶν ὁλοκλήρων εἶναι τὴν τιμὴν ἀξιοῦντος. [367] Φασάηλον δ' ἄν τις θαυμάσειε τῆς εὐψυχίας, ὃς γνοὺς αὐτὸν ἀποσφάττεσθαι μέλλοντα οὐχὶ τὸν θάνατον ἡγήσατο δεινόν, τὸ δ' ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ τοῦτο παθεῖν πικρότατον καὶ αἴσχιστον ὑπολαβών, τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἔχων ἐλευθέρας ὑπὸ δεσμῶν πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν πέτρᾳ προσαράξας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐξήγαγε μὲν αὐτὸν ὡς ἐδόκει κάλλιστα τοῦ ζῆν παρὰ τοιαύτην ἀπορίαν, τῆς δ' ἐξουσίας τοῦ κτεῖναι πρὸς ἡδονὴν αὐτὸν ἀφείλετο τὸν πολέμιον. [368] λέγουσι δ', ὡς τραύματος μεγάλου γενομένου φαρμάκοις αὐτὸν ὑποπέμψας ἰατροὺς Ἀντίγονος ὡς ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ διέφθειρεν θανασίμοις χρησαμένων εἰς τὸ τραῦμα. [369] πρὸ μέντοι τοῦ τελέως ἀφεῖναι τὴν ψυχὴν ὁ Φασάηλος ἀκούσας παρά τινος γυναίου τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἡρώδην τοὺς πολεμίους διαπεφευγότα σφόδρα τὴν τελευτὴν εὐθύμως ὑπέμεινεν καταλιπὼν τὸν ἐκδικῆσαι τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τιμωρήσασθαι δυνάμενον.

10. And thus was Antigonus brought back into Judea by the king of the Parthians, and received Hyrcanus and Phasaelus for his prisoners; but he was greatly cast down because the women had escaped, whom he intended to have given the enemy, as having promised they should have them, with the money, for their reward: but being afraid that Hyrcanus, who was under the guard of the Parthians, might have his kingdom restored to him by the multitude, he cut off his ears, and thereby took care that the high priesthood should never come to him any more, because he was maimed, while the law required that this dignity should belong to none but such as had all their members entire But now one cannot but here admire the fortitude of Phasaelus, who, perceiving that he was to be put to death, did not think death any terrible thing at all; but to die thus by the means of his enemy, this he thought a most pitiable and dishonorable thing; and therefore, since he had not his hands at liberty, but the bonds he was in prevented him from killing himself thereby, he dashed his head against a great stone, and thereby took away his own life, which he thought to be the best thing

he could do in such a distress as he was in, and thereby put it out of the power of the enemy to bring him to any death he pleased. It is also reported, that when he had made a great wound in his head, Antigonus sent physicians to cure it, and, by ordering them to infuse poison into the wound, killed him. However, Phasaelus hearing, before he was quite dead, by a certain woman, that his brother Herod had escaped the enemy, underwent his death cheerfully, since he now left behind him one who would revenge his death, and who was able to inflict punishment on his enemies.

XIV

CHAPTER 14. How Herod Got Away From The King Of Arabia And Made Haste To Go Into Egypt And Thence Went Away In Haste Also To Rome; And How, By Promising A Great Deal Of Money To Antony He Obtained Of The Senate And Of Caesar To Be Made King Of The Jews.

(1) [370] Ἡρώδην δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν περιεστηκότων αὐτὸν κακῶν οὐ κατέπληττεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐποίει δεινὸν εὑρίσκειν ἐπιβολὰς ἔργων παραβόλων. πρὸς γὰρ Μάλιχον τὸν Ἀράβων βασιλέα πολλὰ πρόσθεν εὐεργετημένον ἀπῄει τὴν ἀμοιβὴν κομιούμενος, ὅτε μάλιστα ἐδεῖτο, χρήματα ληψόμενος εἴτε δάνειον εἴτε δωρεὰν ὡς ἂν πολλῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τετυχηκότος. [371] οὐ γὰρ εἰδὼς τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔσπευδεν λυτρώσασθαι παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων αὐτὸν λύτρον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καταβαλὼν νόμισμα ἕως τριακοσίων ταλάντων. ἐπήγετο δὲ καὶ τὸν Φασαήλου παῖδα διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν ἑπταετῆ τυγχάνοντα, παρασχὼν αὐτὸν ἐνέχυρον τοῖς Ἄραψιν. [372] ἀγγέλων δ᾽ αὐτὸν ὑπαντησάντων παρὰ τοῦ Μαλίχου, δι᾽ ὧν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀναχωρεῖν: παρηγγελκέναι γὰρ αὐτῷ Πάρθους Ἡρώδην μὴ δέχεσθαι: ταύτῃ δ᾽ ἐχρῆτο προφάσει ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἀποδοῦναι τὰ χρέα καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει παρὰ τοῖς Ἄραψιν εἰς τοῦτο ἐναγόντων, ὅπως ἀποστερήσωσιν τὰς παρακαταθήκας, ἃς παρὰ Ἀντιπάτρου λαβόντες ἔτυχον, [373] ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἐνοχλήσων ἀφικνεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτούς, μόνον δὲ διαλεξόμενος περὶ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων αὐτῷ πραγμάτων.

1. As for Herod, the great miseries he was in did not discourage him, but made him sharp in discovering surprising undertakings; for he went to Malchus, king of Arabia, whom he had formerly been very kind to, in order to receive somewhat by way of requital, now he was in more than ordinary want of it, and desired he would let him have some money, either by way of loan, or as his free gift, on account of the many benefits he had received from him; for not knowing what was become of his brother, he was in haste to redeem him out of the hand of his enemies, as willing to give three hundred talents for the price of his redemption. He also took with him the son of Phasaelus, who was a child of but seven years of age, for this very reason, that he might be a hostage for the repayment of the money. But there came messengers from Malchus to meet him, by whom he was desired to be gone, for that the Parthians had laid a charge upon him not to entertain Herod. This was only a pretense which he made use of, that

he might not be obliged to repay him what he owed him; and this he was further induced to by the principal men among the Arabians, that they might cheat him of what sums they had received from [his father] Antipater, and which he had committed to their fidelity. He made answer, that he did not intend to be troublesome to them by his coning thither, but that he desired only to discourse with them about certain affairs that were to him of the greatest importance.

(2) [374] Ἔπειτα δόξαν ἀναχωρεῖν ἀπήει μάλα σωφρόνως τὴν ἐπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου. καὶ τότε μὲν ἔν τινι ἱερῷ κατάγεται, καταλελοίπει γὰρ αὐτόθι πολλοὺς τῶν ἑπομένων, τῇ δ᾽ ὑστεραίᾳ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ῥινοκούρουρα ἐκεῖ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἤκουσεν. [375] Μαλίχῳ δὲ μεταγνόντι καὶ μεταθέοντι τὸν Ἡρώδην οὐδὲν τούτου περισσότερον ἐγένετο: πορρωτάτω γὰρ ἦν ἤδη σπεύδων τὴν ἐπὶ Πηλουσίου. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα νῆες ὁρμοῦσαι αὐτόθι εἶργον τοῦ ἐπ᾽ Ἀλεξανδρείας πλοῦ, τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐντυγχάνει, ὑφ᾽ ὧν κατ᾽ αἰδῶ καὶ πολλὴν ἐντροπὴν προπεμφθεὶς εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὑπὸ Κλεοπάτρας κατείχετο. [376] πεῖσαι μέντοι μένειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἠδυνήθη εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπειγόμενον χειμῶνός τε ὄντος καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐν ταραχῇ καὶ σάλῳ πολλῷ δηλουμένων.

2. Hereupon he resolved to go away, and did go very prudently the road to Egypt; and then it was that he lodged in a certain temple; for he had left a great many of his followers there. On the next day he came to Rhinocolura, and there it was that he heard what was befallen his brother. Though Malehus soon repented of what he had done, and came running after Herod; but with no manner of success, for he was gotten a very great way off, and made haste into the road to Pelusium; and when the stationary ships that lay there hindered him from sailing to Alexandria, he went to their captains, by whose assistance, and that out of much reverence of and great regard to him, he was conducted into the city [Alexandria], and was retained there by Cleopatra; yet was she not able to prevail with him to stay there, because he was making haste to Rome, even though the weather was stormy, and he was informed that the affairs of Italy were very tumultuous, and in great disorder.

(3) [377] Ἀναχθεὶς οὖν ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ Παμφυλίας καὶ χειμῶνι σφοδρῷ περιπεσὼν μόλις εἰς Ῥόδον διασώζεται φορτίων ἀποβολῆς γενομένης. καὶ δύο μὲν ἐνταυθοῖ τῶν φίλων αὐτῷ συνήντησαν, Σαππῖνός τε καὶ Πτολεμαῖος. [378] εὑρὼν δὲ τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Κάσσιον πολέμου κεκακωμένην οὐδ᾽ ἐν ἀπόροις ὢν εὖ ποιεῖν αὐτὴν ὤκνησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν αὐτὴν ἀνεκτᾶτο. τριήρη τε κατασκευάσας, καὶ ἀναχθεὶς ἐκεῖθεν σὺν τοῖς φίλοις ἐπ᾽ Ἰταλίας εἰς Βρεντέσιον κατάγεται. [379] κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀφικόμενος πρῶτον μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ φράζει τὰ συμβάντα αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, καὶ πῶς ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Φασάηλος ὑπὸ

Πάρθων ἀπόλοιτο συλληφθεὶς καὶ Ὑρκανὸς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν αἰχμάλωτος ἔχοιτο, καὶ ὡς Ἀντίγονον καταστήσειαν βασιλέα χρήματα δώσειν ὑποσχόμενον χίλια τάλαντα καὶ γυναῖκας πεντακοσίας, αἳ τῶν πρώτων κἀκ τοῦ γένους τοῦ αὐτῶν ἔμελλον ἔσεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι ταύτας νυκτὸς ἐκκομίσειεν καὶ διαφύγοι τὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν χεῖρας πολλὰς ὑπομείνας ταλαιπωρίας. [380] εἶτ᾽ ἐπιδιακινδυνεύειν † αὐτῷ τοὺς οἰκείους πολιορκουμένους πλεύσειέ τε διὰ χειμῶνος καὶ παντὸς καταφρονήσειε δεινοῦ σπεύδων ἐπὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας τὰς παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μόνην βοήθειαν.

3. So he set sail from thence to Pamphylia, and falling into a violent storm, he had much ado to escape to Rhodes, with the loss of the ship’s burden; and there it was that two of his friends, Sappinas and Ptolemeus, met with him; and as he found that city very much damaged in the war against Cassius, though he were in necessity himself, he neglected not to do it a kindness, but did what he could to recover it to its former state. He also built there a three-decked ship, and set sail thence, with his friends, for Italy, and came to the port of Brundusium; and when he was come from thence to Rome, he first related to Antony what had befallen him in Judea, and how Phasaelus his brother was seized on by the Parthians, and put to death by them, and how Hyrcanus was detained captive by them, and how they had made Antigonus king, who had promised them a sum of money, no less than a thousand talents, with five hundred women, who were to be of the principal families, and of the Jewish stock; and that he had carried off the women by night; and that, by undergoing a great many hardships, he had escaped the hands of his enemies; as also, that his own relations were in danger of being besieged and taken, and that he had sailed through a storm, and contemned all these terrible dangers of it, in order to come, as soon as possible, to him, who was his hope and only succor at this time.

(4) [381] Ἀντώνιον δ᾽ οἶκτος εἰσέρχεται τῆς Ἡρώδου μεταβολῆς, καὶ τῷ κοινῷ χρησάμενος λογισμῷ περὶ τῶν ἐν ἀξιώματι τοσούτῳ καθεστώτων ὡς κἀκείνων ὑποκειμένων τῇ τύχῃ, τὰ μὲν κατὰ μνήμην τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου ξενίας, [382] τὰ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ χρημάτων ὧν αὐτῷ δώσειν Ἡρώδης, εἰ γένοιτο βασιλεύς, ὑπέσχετο καθὼς καὶ πρότερον τετράρχης ἀπεδέδεικτο, πολὺ μέντοι μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ πρὸς Ἀντίγονον μῖσος, στασιαστὴν γὰρ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐχθρὸν αὐτὸν ὑπελάμβανεν, πρόθυμος ἦν οἷς Ἡρώδης παρεκάλει συλλαμβάνεσθαι. [383] Καῖσαρ μὲν οὖν καὶ διὰ τὰς Ἀντιπάτρου στρατείας, ἃς κατ᾽ Αἴγυπτον αὐτοῦ τῷ πατρὶ συνδιήνεγκεν, καὶ τὴν ξενίαν καὶ τὴν ἐν ἅπασιν εὔνοιαν, καὶ χαριζόμενος δὲ Ἀντωνίῳ σφόδρα περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην ἐσπουδακότι, πρὸς τὴν ἀξίωσιν καὶ τὴν ὧν ἐβούλετο Ἡρώδης συνεργίαν ἑτοιμότερος ἦν. [384] συναγαγόντες δὲ τὴν βουλὴν Μεσσάλας καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἀτρατῖνος, παραστησάμενοι τὸν Ἡρώδην τάς τε τοῦ πατρὸς εὐεργεσίας

αὐτοῦ διεξῆεσαν καὶ ἣν αὐτὸς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εἶχεν εὔνοιαν ὑπεμίμνησκον, κατηγοροῦντες ἅμα καὶ πολέμιον ἀποφαίνοντες τὸν Ἀντίγονον οὐκ ἐξ ὧν τὸ πρῶτον προσέκρουσεν αὐτοῖς μόνον, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι καὶ παρὰ Πάρθων τὴν ἀρχὴν λάβοι Ῥωμαίους ὑπεριδών. [385] τῆς δὲ βουλῆς ἐπὶ τούτοις παρωξυμμένης παρελθὼν Ἀντώνιος ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς, ὡς καὶ πρὸς τὸν κατὰ Πάρθων πόλεμον Ἡρώδην βασιλεύειν συμφέρει. καὶ δόξαν τοῦτο πᾶσι ψηφίζονται.

4. This account made Antony commiserate the change that had happened in Herod's condition; and reasoning with himself that this was a common case among those that are placed in such great dignities, and that they are liable to the mutations that come from fortune, he was very ready to give him the assistance he desired, and this because he called to mind the friendship he had had with Antipater because Herod offered him money to make him king, as he had formerly given it him to make him tetrarch, and chiefly because of his hatred to Antigonus; for he took him to be a seditious person, and an enemy to the Romans. Caesar was also the forwarder to raise Herod's dignity, and to give him his assistance in what he desired, on account of the toils of war which he had himself undergone with Antipater his father in Egypt, and of the hospitality he had treated him withal, and the kindness he had always showed him, as also to gratify Antony, who was very zealous for Herod. So a senate was convocated; and Messala first, and then Atratinus, introduced Herod into it, and enlarged upon the benefits they had received from his father, and put them in mind of the good-will he had borne to the Romans. At the same time, they accused Antigonus, and declared him an enemy, not only because of his former opposition to them, but that he had now overlooked the Romans, and taken the government from the Parthians. Upon this the senate was irritated; and Antony informed them further, that it was for their advantage in the Parthian war that Herod should be king. This seemed good to all the senators; and so they made a decree accordingly.

(5) [386] Καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέγιστον ἦν τῆς Ἀντωνίου περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην σπουδῆς, ὅτι μὴ μόνον αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν οὐκ ἐλπίζοντι περιεποιήσατο, οὐ γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνέβη ταύτην αἰτησόμενος, οὐ γὰρ ἐνόμιζεν αὐτῷ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους παρέξειν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἔθος ἔχοντας αὐτὴν διδόναι, [387] ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ τῷ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφῷ λαβεῖν ἀξιώσων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ υἱωνῷ τυγχάνοντι πρὸς μὲν πατρὸς Ἀριστοβούλου πρὸς δὲ μητρὸς Ὑρκανοῦ, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι καὶ ἑπτὰ ταῖς πάσαις ἡμέραις παρέσχεν αὐτῷ τυχόντι τῶν οὐδὲ προσδοκηθέντων ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας. [388] τοῦτον μὲν οὖν τὸν νεανίσκον Ἡρώδης ἀπέκτεινεν, ὡς κατὰ καιρὸν δηλώσομεν: λυθείσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς μέσον ἔχοντες Ἡρώδην Ἀντώνιος καὶ Καῖσαρ ἐξῆεσαν προαγόντων ἅμα ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρχαῖς τῶν ὑπάτων θύσοντές τε καὶ τὸ δόγμα

καταθησόμενοι εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον. [389] ἐστιᾷ δὲ τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν τῆς βασιλείας Ἀντώνιος. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαμβάνει τυχὼν αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τῆς ἑκατοστῆς καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς καὶ τετάρτης ὀλυμπιάδος ὑπατεύοντος Γναίου Δομετίου Καλβίνου τὸ δεύτερον καὶ Γαίου Ἀσινίου Πωλίωνος.

5. And this was the principal instance of Antony's affection for Herod, that he not only procured him a kingdom which he did not expect, [for he did not come with an intention to ask the kingdom for himself, which he did not suppose the Romans would grant him, who used to bestow it on some of the royal family, but intended to desire it for his wife's brother, who was grandson by his father to Aristobulus, and to Hyrcanus by his mother,] but that he procured it for him so suddenly, that he obtained what he did not expect, and departed out of Italy in so few days as seven in all. This young man [the grandson] Herod afterward took care to have slain, as we shall show in its proper place. But when the senate was dissolved, Antony and Caesar went out of the senate house with Herod between them, and with the consuls and other magistrates before them, in order to offer sacrifices, and to lay up their decrees in the capitol. Antony also feasted Herod the first day of his reign. And thus did this man receive the kingdom, having obtained it on the hundred and eighty-fourth olympiad, when Caius Domitius Calvinus was consul the second time, and Caius Asinius Pollio [the first time].

(6) [390] Τοῦτον δὲ ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον Ἀντίγονος ἐπολιόρκει τοὺς ἐν Μασάδα, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων αὐτοῖς ὑπαρχόντων, μόνου δὲ σπανίζοντος ὕδατος, ὡς διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Ἡρώδου Ἰώσηπον σὺν διακοσίοις τῶν οἰκείων ἀποδρᾶναι βουλεύσασθαι πρὸς Ἄραβας: ἀκηκόει γὰρ ὡς Μάλχος τῶν εἰς Ἡρώδην ἁμαρτημάτων μετανοεῖ. [391] κατέσχε δ' αὐτὸν ὕσας διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ὁ θεός: τῶν γὰρ ἐκδοχείων πλησθέντων τοῦ ὕδατος οὐκέτι τῆς φυγῆς ἐδεῖτο, ἀλλὰ τεθαρσηκότες ἤδη καὶ πλέον ἢ κατὰ τὴν εὐπορίαν τοῦ σπανίζοντος, ὡς ἐκ θεοῦ προνοίας ταύτης αὐτοῖς γεγενημένης, ἐπεξιόντες καὶ συμπλεκόμενοι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον τοῖς μὲν φανερῶς, τοῖς δὲ καὶ λάθρα, πολλοὺς αὐτῶν διέφθειραν. [392] κἀν τούτῳ Βεντίδιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς πεμφθεὶς ἐκ Συρίας ὥστε Πάρθους ἀνείργειν, μετ' ἐκείνους εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν παρέβαλεν τῷ λόγῳ μὲν Ἰωσήπῳ συμμαχήσων, τὸ δ' ὅλον ἦν αὐτῷ στρατήγημα χρήματα παρ' Ἀντιγόνου λαβεῖν: ἔγγιστα γοῦν Ἱεροσολύμων στρατοπεδευόμενος ἀποχρώντως ἠργυρίσατο τὸν Ἀντίγονον. [393] καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἀνεχώρησεν σὺν τῇ πλείονι δυνάμει, ἵνα δὲ μὴ κατάφωρον γένηται τὸ λῆμμα, Σίλωνα μετὰ μέρους τινὸς τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατέλιπεν, ὃν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐθεράπευεν Ἀντίγονος, ὅπως μηδὲν ἐνοχλοίη, προσδοκῶν καὶ πάλιν αὐτῷ Πάρθους ἐπαμυνεῖν.

6. All this while Antigonus besieged those that were in Masada, who had plenty of all other necessaries, but were only in want of water insomuch that on this occasion Joseph, Herod's brother, was contriving to run away from it, with two hundred of his dependents, to the Arabians; for he had heard that Malchus repented of the offenses he had been guilty of with regard to Herod; but God, by sending rain in the night time, prevented his going away, for their cisterns were thereby filled, and he was under no necessity of running away on that account; but they were now of good courage, and the more so, because the sending that plenty of water which they had been in want of seemed a mark of Divine Providence; so they made a sally, and fought hand to hand with Antigonus's soldiers, [with some openly, with some privately,] and destroyed a great number of them. At the same time Ventidius, the general of the Romans, was sent out of Syria, to drive the Parthians out of it, and marched after them into Judea, in pretense indeed to succor Joseph; but in reality the whole affair was no more than a stratagem, in order to get money of Antigonus; so they pitched their camp very near to Jerusalem, and stripped Antigonus of a great deal of money, and then he retired himself with the greater part of the army; but, that the wickedness he had been guilty of might be found out, he left Silo there, with a certain part of his soldiers, with whom also Antigonus cultivated an acquaintance, that he might cause him no disturbance, and was still in hopes that the Parthians would come again and defend him.

XV

CHAPTER 15. How Herod Sailed Out Of Italy To Judea, And Fought With Antigonus And What Other Things Happened In Judea About That Time.

(1) [394] Ἡρώδης δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἤδη καταπεπλευκὼς εἰς Πτολεμαίδα καὶ συναγηοχὼς δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην ξένων τε ἅμα καὶ ὁμοφύλων ἤλαυνε διὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον. συνελάμβανον δ' αὐτῷ Σίλων τε καὶ Βεντίδιος πεισθέντες ὑπὸ Δελλίου συγκατάγειν Ἡρώδην τοῦ πεμφθέντος ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου. [395] Βεντίδιος μὲν οὖν ἐτύγχανεν τὰς ταραχὰς τὰς διὰ Πάρθους ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οὔσας καθιστάμενος, Σίλων δ' ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ χρήμασιν ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου διεφθαρμένος. Ἡρώδῃ μέντοι προιόντι καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἡ δύναμις ηὔξετο καὶ πᾶσα Γαλιλαία πλὴν ὀλίγων αὐτῷ προστέθειτο. [396] ὡρμηκότα δ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Μεσάδα, ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ ἦν τὸ σῶσαι τοὺς ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ πολιορκουμένους συγγενεῖς ὄντας, ἐμποδὼν Ἰόππη γίνεται: πολεμίαν γὰρ οὖσαν αὐτὴν ἐχρῆν ἐξελεῖν πρότερον, ὅπως μηδὲν ὑπολείπηται κατὰ νώτου τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἔρυμα χωροῦντος ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων. [397] ποιησαμένου δὲ καὶ Σίλωνος ταύτην πρόφασιν τῆς ἀπαναστάσεως καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων διωκόντων αὐτὸν Ἡρώδης μετ' ὀλίγου στίφους ἐπέξεισιν καὶ τρέπεται μὲν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, Σίλωνα δὲ σώζει κακῶς ἀμυνόμενον, ἑλών τε τὴν Ἰόππην ἔσπευδεν ῥυσόμενος τοὺς ἐν Μασάδα οἰκείους. [398] τῶν δ' ἐπιχωρίων οἱ μὲν αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν πατρῴαν προσεχώρουν φιλίαν, οἱ δὲ διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ δόξαν, ἄλλοι δὲ κατ' ἀμοιβὴν τῆς παρ' ἀμφοτέρων εὐεργεσίας, οἱ πλείους δὲ διὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας, ἃς ὡς ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ βεβαίῳ τὸ λοιπὸν εἶχον.

1. By this time Herod had sailed out of Italy to Ptolemais, and had gotten together no small army, both of strangers and of his own countrymen, and marched through Galilee against Antignus. Silo also, and Ventidius, came and assisted him, being persuaded by Dellius, who was sent by Antony to assist in bringing back Herod. Now for Ventidius, he was employed in composing the disturbances that had been made in the cities by the means of the Parthians; and for Silo, he was in Judea indeed, but corrupted by Antigonus. However, as Herod went along his army increased every day, and all Galilee, with some small exception, joined him; but as he was to those that were in Masada, [for he was obliged to endeavor to save those that were in that fortress now they were besieged, because they were his relations,] Joppa was a hinderance to him, for it was necessary for him to take that place first, it being a city at variance with him, that no strong hold might be left in his enemies' hands behind him when he should go to Jerusalem.

And when Silo made this a pretense for rising up from Jerusalem, and was thereupon pursued by the Jews, Herod fell upon them with a small body of men, and both put the Jews to flight and saved Silo, when he was very poorly able to defend himself; but when Herod had taken Joppa, he made haste to set free those of his family that were in Masada. Now of the people of the country, some joined him because of the friendship they had had with his father, and some because of the splendid appearance he made, and others by way of requital for the benefits they had received from both of them; but the greatest number came to him in hopes of getting somewhat from him afterward, if he were once firmly settled in the kingdom.

(2) [399] Ἤθροιστο δὴ δύναμις βαρεῖα, καὶ προιόντος Ἀντίγονος τῶν παρόδων τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους τόπους ἐνέδραις καὶ λόχοις κατελάμβανεν καὶ καθάπαξ οὐδὲν ἐκ τούτου τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ μικρὰ παντάπασιν ἔβλαπτεν. [400] Ἡρώδης δὲ τοὺς ἐκ Μασάδας οἰκείους παραλαβὼν καὶ Ῥῆσαν τὸ φρούριον ᾔει πρὸς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, συνῆπτε δ' αὐτῷ τὸ μετὰ Σίλωνος στρατιωτικὸν καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὴν ἰσχὺν καταπλαγέντες. [401] στρατοπεδευσαμένου δὲ κατὰ τὸ πρὸς δύσιν τῆς πόλεως κλίμα οἱ κατὰ τοῦτο τεταγμένοι φύλακες ἠκόντιζόν τε καὶ ἐτόξευον εἰς αὐτούς, [402] ἐνίων δὲ καὶ κατὰ στῖφος ἐξιόντων καὶ τοῖς προτεταγμένοις εἰς χεῖρας ἐρχομένων, Ἡρώδης τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκέλευσεν κηρύσσειν περὶ τὸ τεῖχος, ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τε παρείη τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς πόλεως, μηδὲν μηδὲ τοῖς φανεροῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν μνησικακήσων, ἀλλὰ παρέξων καὶ τοῖς διαφορωτάτοις ἀμνηστίαν τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἁμαρτημάτων. [403] τοῦ δὲ Ἀντιγόνου πρὸς τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρώδου κηρυχθέντα λέγοντος πρός τε Σίλωνα καὶ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα, ὡς παρὰ τὴν αὐτῶν δικαιοσύνην Ἡρώδῃ δώσουσιν τὴν βασιλείαν ἰδιώτῃ τε ὄντι καὶ Ἰδουμαίῳ, τουτέστιν ἡμιιουδαίῳ, δέον τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ γένους οὖσι παρέχειν ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς. [404] καὶ γὰρ εἰ νυνὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχουσιν χαλεπῶς καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ὡς λαβόντα παρὰ Πάρθων ἀφελέσθαι διεγνώκασιν, εἶναί γε πολλοὺς ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ τοὺς ληψομένους κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὴν βασιλείαν, οἳ μηδὲν ἐξημαρτηκότες αὐτοὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους καὶ ἱερεῖς ὄντες οὐκ ἂν εἰκότα πάσχοιεν τῆς τιμῆς στερόμενοι. [405] ταῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτῶν λεγόντων καὶ προελθόντων εἰς βλασφημίας Ἀντίγονος ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐπέτρεπεν τοῖς ἰδίοις. οἱ δὲ τοξεύοντες καὶ πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ κατ' αὐτῶν χρώμενοι ῥᾳδίως αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἐτρέψαντο.

2. Herod had now a strong army; and as he marched on, Antigonus laid snares and ambushes in the passes and places most proper for them; but in truth he thereby did little or no damage to the enemy. So Herod received those of his family out of Masada, and the fortress Ressa, and then went on for Jerusalem. The soldiery also that was with Silo accompanied him all along, as did many of

the citizens, being afraid of his power; and as soon as he had pitched his camp on the west side of the city, the soldiers that were set to guard that part shot their arrows and threw their darts at him; and when some sallied out in a crowd, and came to fight hand to hand with the first ranks of Herod's army, he gave orders that they should, in the first place, make proclamation about the wall, that he came for the good of the people, and for the preservation of the city, and not to bear any old grudge at even his most open enemies, but ready to forget the offenses which his greatest adversaries had done him. But Antigonus, by way of reply to what Herod had caused to be proclaimed, and this before the Romans, and before Silo also, said that they would not do justly, if they gave the kingdom to Herod, who was no more than a private man, and an Idumean, *i.e.* a half Jew, whereas they ought to bestow it on one of the royal family, as their custom was; for that in case they at present bear an ill-will to him, and had resolved to deprive him of the kingdom, as having received it from the Parthians, yet were there many others of his family that might by their law take it, and these such as had no way offended the Romans; and being of the sacerdotal family, it would be an unworthy thing to put them by. Now while they said thus one to another, and fell to reproaching one another on both sides, Antigonus permitted his own men that were upon the wall to defend themselves, who using their bows, and showing great alacrity against their enemies, easily drove them away from the towers.

(3) [406] Τότε καὶ Σίλων ἀπεκαλύψατο τὴν δωροδοκίαν: καθῆκε γὰρ τῶν οἰκείων στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ὀλίγους σπάνιν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καταβοᾶν καὶ χρήματα εἰς τροφὰς αἰτεῖν καὶ χειμάσοντας ἀπάγειν εἰς τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους τόπους, τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν ὄντων ἐρήμων διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀντιγόνου στρατιωτῶν ἀνεσκευάσθαι, ἐκίνει τε τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο. [407] Ἡρώδης δ' ἐνέκειτο παρακαλῶν τούς τε ὑπὸ τῷ Σίλωνι ἡγεμόνας καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας μὴ καταλιπεῖν αὐτόν, Καίσαρός τε καὶ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου προτρεψάντων αὐτόν: προνοήσειν γὰρ αὐτῶν τῆς εὐπορίας καὶ παρέξειν αὐτοῖς ἀφθονίαν ὧν ἐπιζητοῦσιν ῥᾳδίως. [408] καὶ μετὰ τὴν δέησιν εὐθὺς ἐξορμήσας εἰς τὴν χώραν οὐκέτ' οὐδεμίαν Σίλωνι τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως πρόφασιν ὑπελίπετο: πλῆθος γὰρ ὅσον οὐδ' ἤλπισέν τις τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐκόμισεν, τοῖς τε περὶ Σαμάρειαν ᾠκειωμένοις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπέστειλεν σῖτα καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ βοσκήματα τά τε ἄλλα πάντα κατάγειν εἰς Ἰεριχοῦντα τοῦ μηδὲ τὰς ἑξῆς ἡμέρας εἰς χορηγίαν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπιλιπεῖν. [409] οὐκ ἐλάνθανε δὲ ταῦτ' Ἀντίγονον, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀπέπεμψεν κατὰ τὴν χώραν τοὺς εἴρξοντας καὶ λοχήσοντας τοὺς σιτηγοῦντας, οἱ δὲ πειθόμενοι τοῖς Ἀντιγόνου προστάγμασιν καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος ὁπλιτῶν περὶ Ἰεριχοῦντα ἀθροίσαντες παρεφύλασσον ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρῶν καθεσθέντες τοὺς τὰ

ἐπιτήδεια κομίζοντας. [410] οὐ μὴν Ἡρώδης τούτων πραττομένων ἠρέμει, δέκα δὲ σπείρας ἀναλαβών, ὧν πέντε μὲν Ῥωμαίων, πέντε δὲ Ἰουδαίων ἦσαν, καὶ μισθοφόρους μιγάδας πρὸς οἷς ὀλίγους τῶν ἱππέων ἐπὶ Ἰεριχοῦντα παραγίνεται, καὶ τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐκλελειμμένην καταλαβών, πεντακοσίους δὲ τὰ ἄκρα κατειληφότας σὺν γυναιξὶν καὶ γενεαῖς, τούτους μὲν ἀπέλυσεν λαβών, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ εἰσπεσόντες διήρπασαν τὴν πόλιν μεσταῖς ἐπιτυγχάνοντες παντοίων κειμηλίων ταῖς οἰκίαις. [411] Ἰεριχοῦντος μὲν οὖν φρουρὰν καταλιπὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπέστρεψεν καὶ χειμάσουσαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων στρατιὰν εἰς τὰς προσκεχωρηκυίας διαφῆκεν Ἰδουμαίαν καὶ Γαλιλαίαν καὶ Σαμάρειαν. [412] ἔτυχεν δὲ καὶ Ἀντίγονος παρὰ Σίλωνος ἀντὶ τῆς δωροδοκίας ὥστε ὑποδέξασθαι τοῦ στρατοῦ μοῖραν ἐν Λύδδοις θεραπεύων Ἀντώνιον. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐν ἀφθόνοις διῆγον ἀνειμένοι τῶν ὅπλων.

3. And now it was that Silo discovered that he had taken bribes; for he set a good number of his soldiers to complain aloud of the want of provisions they were in, and to require money to buy them food; and that it was fit to let them go into places proper for winter quarters, since the places near the city were a desert, by reason that Antigonus's soldiers had carried all away; so he set the army upon removing, and endeavored to march away; but Herod pressed Silo not to depart, and exhorted Silo's captains and soldiers not to desert him, when Caesar, and Antony, and the senate had sent him thither, for that he would provide them plenty of all the things they wanted, and easily procure them a great abundance of what they required; after which entreaty, he immediately went out into the country, and left not the least pretense to Silo for his departure; for he brought an unexpected quantity of provisions, and sent to those friends of his who inhabited about Samaria to bring down corn, and wine, and oil, and cattle, and all other provisions, to Jericho, that those might be no want of a supply for the soldiers for the time to come. Antigonus was sensible of this, and sent presently over the country such as might restrain and lie in ambush for those that went out for provisions. So these men obeyed the orders of Antigonus, and got together a great number of armed men about Jericho, and sat upon the mountains, and watched those that brought the provisions. However, Herod was not idle in the mean time, for he took ten bands of soldiers, of whom five were of the Romans, and five of the Jews, with some mercenaries among them, and with some few horsemen, and came to Jericho; and as they found the city deserted, but that five hundred of them had settled themselves on the tops of the hills, with their wives and children, those he took and sent away; but the Romans fell upon the city, and plundered it, and found the houses full of all sorts of good things. So the king left a garrison at Jericho, and came back again, and sent the Roman army to

take their winter quarters in the countries that were come over to him, Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria. And so much did Antigonus gain of Silo for the bribes he gave him, that part of the army should be quartered at Lydda, in order to please Antony. So the Romans laid their weapons aside, and lived in plenty of all things.

(4) [413] Ἡρώδῃ δ᾽ οὐκ ἐδόκει μένειν ἐφ᾽ ἡσυχίας, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰώσηπον σὺν δισχιλίοις ὁπλίταις καὶ τετρακοσίοις ἱππεῦσιν ἐξέπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δ᾽ εἰς Σαμάρειαν παραγενόμενος καὶ καταθέμενος αὐτόθι τήν τε μητέρα καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἐξεληλυθότας ἤδη ἐκ τῶν Μασάδων ἐπὶ Γαλιλαίας ᾤχετο ἐξαιρήσων τινὰ τῶν χωρίων ὑπ᾽ Ἀντιγόνου φρουραῖς κατειλημμένα. [414] διελθὼν δὲ εἰς Σέπφωριν νίφοντος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν Ἀντιγόνου φρουρῶν ὑπεξελθόντων ἐν ἀφθόνοις ἦν τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις. [415] εἶτ᾽ ἐκεῖθεν ληστῶν τινων ἐν σπηλαίοις κατοικούντων ἱππέων ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἴλην ἐκπέμπει καὶ ὁπλιτικοῦ τρία τέλη παῦσαι κακουργοῦντας ἐγνωκώς: [416] ἔγγιστα δ᾽ ἦν ταῦτα κώμης Ἀρβήλων λεγομένης. εἰς δὲ τεσσαρακοστὴν ἡμέραν αὐτὸς ἦκεν πανστρατιᾷ, καὶ θρασέως ἐξελθόντων τῶν πολεμίων κλίνεται μὲν τὸ εὐώνυμον αὐτῶν κέρας τῆς φάλαγγος, ἐπιφανεὶς δ᾽ αὐτὸς μετὰ στίφους τρέπει μὲν εἰς φυγὴν τοὺς πάλαι νικῶντας, ἀναστρέφει δὲ τοὺς φεύγοντας. [417] ἐνέκειτο δὲ διώκων τοὺς πολεμίους ἄχρι Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ φεύγοντας κατ᾽ ἄλλας ὁδούς, καὶ προσάγεται μὲν πᾶσαν τὴν Γαλιλαίαν πλὴν τῶν ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις κατοικούντων, διανέμει δὲ καὶ ἀργύριον κατ᾽ ἄνδρα δοὺς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα δραχμάς, τοῖς δὲ ἡγεμόσιν πολὺ πλέον, εἰς τὰ χειμάδια διέπεμψεν. [418] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Σίλων ἦκεν παρ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν ἐν τοῖς χειμαδίοις Ἀντιγόνου τροφὰς παρέχειν οὐ θέλοντος: μῆνα γὰρ οὐ πλέον αὐτοὺς ὁ ἀνὴρ ἔθρεψεν, διέπεμψεν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κύκλῳ κελεύων τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἀνασκευάσασθαι καὶ εἰς τὰ ὄρη φεύγειν, ὡς μηδὲν ἔχοντες Ῥωμαῖοι λιμῷ διαφθαρεῖεν. [419] Ἡρώδης δὲ τὴν μὲν τούτων πρόνοιαν Φερώρᾳ τῷ νεωτάτῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπιτρέπει κελεύσας αὐτὸν ἅμα τειχίζειν καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειον. ὁ δὲ ταχέως τε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ πολλῇ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐποίησεν τό τε Ἀλεξάνδρειον ἠρημωμένον ἀνέκτισεν.

4. But Herod was not pleased with lying still, but sent out his brother Joseph against Idumea with two thousand armed footmen, and four hundred horsemen, while he himself came to Samaria, and left his mother and his other relations there, for they were already gone out of Masada, and went into Galilee, to take certain places which were held by the garrisons of Antigonus; and he passed on to Sepphoris, as God sent a snow, while Antigonus's garrisons withdrew themselves, and had great plenty of provisions. He also went thence, and resolved to destroy those robbers that dwelt in the caves, and did much mischief in the country; so he sent a troop of horsemen, and three companies of armed

footmen, against them. They were very near to a village called Arbela; and on the fortieth day after, he came himself with his whole army: and as the enemy sallied out boldly upon him, the left wing of his army gave way; but he appearing with a body of men, put those to flight who were already conquerors, and recalled his men that ran away. He also pressed upon his enemies, and pursued them as far as the river Jordan, though they ran away by different roads. So he brought over to him all Galilee, excepting those that dwelt in the caves, and distributed money to every one of his soldiers, giving them a hundred and fifty drachmae apiece, and much more to their captains, and sent them into winter quarters; at which time Silo came to him, and his commanders with him, because Antigonus would not give them provisions any longer, for he supplied them for no more than one month; nay, he had sent to all the country about, and ordered them to carry off the provisions that were there, and retire to the mountains, that the Romans might have no provisions to live upon, and so might perish by famine. But Herod committed the care of that matter to Pheroras, his youngest brother, and ordered him to repair Alexandrium also. Accordingly, he quickly made the soldiers abound with great plenty of provisions, and rebuilt Alexandrium, which had been before desolate.

(5) [420] Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Ἀντώνιος μὲν διέτριβεν ἐν Ἀθήναις, κατὰ δὲ Συρίαν Οὐεντίδιος Σίλωνα μεταπεμπόμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους ἐπέστελλεν πρῶτον μὲν Ἡρώδῃ συλλαμβάνεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν σφέτερον καλεῖν τοὺς συμμάχους. [421] ὁ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις λῃστὰς ἐπειγόμενος Σίλωνα μὲν ἐξέπεμψεν Οὐεντιδίῳ, αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνους ἐξώρμησεν. [422] ἦν δ᾽ ἐν ὄρεσιν τὰ σπήλαια τελέως ἐξερρωγόσιν καὶ κατὰ τὸ μεσαίτατον ἀποκρήμνους ἔχοντα τὰς παρόδους καὶ πέτραις ὀξείαις ἐμπεριεχόμενα: [423] ἐν δὴ τούτοις μετὰ πάντων τῶν οἰκείων ἐφώλευον. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς λάρνακας ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς πηξάμενος καθίει ταύτας σιδηραῖς ἁλύσεσιν ἐκδεδεμένας διὰ μηχανῆς ἀπὸ κορυφῆς τοῦ ὄρους, μήτε κάτωθεν ἀνιέναι διὰ τὴν ὀξύτητα τοῦ ὄρους δυναμένων μήτε ἄνωθεν καθέρπειν ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς. [424] αἱ δὲ λάρνακες πλήρεις ὁπλιτῶν ὑπῆρχον ἅρπας μεγάλας ἐχόντων, αἷς ἔμελλον ἐπισπώμενοι τοὺς ἀνθεστῶτας τῶν λῃστῶν κτείνειν καταφερομένους. τὴν μέντοι γε κάθεσιν τῶν λαρνάκων σφαλερὰν εἶναι συνέβαινεν κατὰ βάθους ἀπείρου γινομένην: ἔνδον μέντοι καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια παρῆν αὐτοῖς. [425] ὡς δὲ καθιμήθησαν αἱ λάρνακες, ἑτόλμα δ᾽ οὐδεὶς προσελθεῖν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν στομίων, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ δέους ἠρέμουν, μάχαιράν τις περιζωσάμενος τῶν ὁπλοφόρων καὶ ταῖν χεροῖν ἀμφοτέραιν δραξάμενος ἁλύσεως, ἀφ᾽ ἧς ἤρτητο ἡ λάρναξ, κατῄει ἐπὶ τὰ στόμια δυσχεράνας τὴν τριβὴν τῶν ἐπεξιέναι μὴ τολμώντων. [426] καὶ γενόμενος κατά τι στόμιον πρῶτα μὲν παλτοῖς ἀνακόπτει τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ στομίου, ἔπειτα

ἅρπῃ τοὺς ἀνθεστῶτας ἐπισπασάμενος ὠθεῖ κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ, καὶ τοῖς ἔνδον ἐπεισελθὼν ἀποσφάττει τε πολλοὺς καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν λάρνακα ἡσύχασεν. [427] φόβος δὲ εἶχε τοὺς ἄλλους τῆς οἰμωγῆς ἀκούοντας καὶ περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀπόγνωσις, τὸ μέντοι γε πᾶν ἔργον ἐπέσχεν ἐπεξελθοῦσιν: καὶ πολλοὶ συγχωρήσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπικηρυκευσάμενοι παρέδοσαν σφᾶς ὑπηκόους εἶναι. [428] τῷ δ᾽ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἐχρήσαντο τῇ προσβολῇ, μᾶλλον ἔτι τῶν ἐν τοῖς πήγμασιν ἐπεξιόντων αὐτοῖς καὶ κατὰ θύρας μαχομένων πῦρ τε ἐνιέντων. [429] ἐξαφθέντων τε τῶν ἄντρων, πολλὴ γὰρ ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς ὕλη, πρεσβύτης τις ἀπειλημμένος ἔνδον σὺν ἑπτὰ τέκνοις καὶ γυναικί, δεομένων τούτων ἐᾶσαι σφᾶς ὑπεξελθεῖν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, στὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ στομίου τὸν ἀεὶ πρῶτον ἐξιόντα τῶν παίδων ἀπέσφαττεν, εἰς ὃ πάντας διεχρήσατο, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, καὶ ῥίψας κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐπικατέβαλεν ἑαυτὸν θάνατον πρὸ δουλείας ὑπομένων. [430] πολλὰ δὲ πρῶτον ὠνείδισεν τὸν Ἡρώδην εἰς ταπεινότητα καί τοι τοῦ βασιλέως, ἦν γὰρ ἄποπτα αὐτῷ τὰ γινόμενα, δεξιάν τε προτείνοντος καὶ πᾶσαν ἄδειαν. τὰ μὲν οὖν σπήλαια τούτων γενομένων ἤδη πάντα ἐκεχείρωτο.

5. About this time it was that Antony continued some time at Athens, and that Ventidius, who was now in Syria, sent for Silo, and commanded him to assist Herod, in the first place, to finish the present war, and then to send for their confederates for the war they were themselves engaged in; but as for Herod, he went in haste against the robbers that were in the caves, and sent Silo away to Ventidius, while he marched against them. These caves were in mountains that were exceeding abrupt, and in their middle were no other than precipices, with certain entrances into the caves, and those caves were encompassed with sharp rocks, and in these did the robbers lie concealed, with all their families about them; but the king caused certain chests to be made, in order to destroy them, and to be hung down, bound about with iron chains, by an engine, from the top of the mountain, it being not possible to get up to them, by reason of the sharp ascent of the mountains, nor to creep down to them from above. Now these chests were filled with armed men, who had long hooks in their hands, by which they might pull out such as resisted them, and then tumble them down, and kill them by so doing; but the letting the chests down proved to be a matter of great danger, because of the vast depth they were to be let down, although they had their provisions in the chests themselves. But when the chests were let down, and not one of those in the mouths of the caves durst come near them, but lay still out of fear, some of the armed men girt on their armor, and by both their hands took hold of the chain by which the chests were let down, and went into the mouths of the caves, because they fretted that such delay was made by the

robbers not daring to come out of the caves; and when they were at any of those mouths, they first killed many of those that were in the mouths with their darts, and afterwards pulled those to them that resisted them with their hooks, and tumbled them down the precipices, and afterwards went into the caves, and killed many more, and then went into their chests again, and lay still there; but, upon this, terror seized the rest, when they heard the lamentations that were made, and they despaired of escaping. However, when the night came on, that put an end to the whole work; and as the king proclaimed pardon by a herald to such as delivered themselves up to him, many accepted of the offer. The same method of assault was made use of the next day; and they went further, and got out in baskets to fight them, and fought them at their doors, and sent fire among them, and set their caves on fire, for there was a great deal of combustible matter within them. Now there was one old man who was caught within one of these caves, with seven children and a wife; these prayed him to give them leave to go out, and yield themselves up to the enemy; but he stood at the cave's mouth, and always slew that child of his who went out, till he had destroyed them every one, and after that he slew his wife, and cast their dead bodies down the precipice, and himself after them, and so underwent death rather than slavery: but before he did this, he greatly reproached Herod with the meanness of his family, although he was then king. Herod also saw what he was doing, and stretched out his hand, and offered him all manner of security for his life; by which means all these caves were at length subdued entirely.

(6) [431] Καταστήσας δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς αὐτόθι στρατηγὸν Πτολεμαῖον εἰς Σαμάρειαν ᾤχετο σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ἑξακοσίοις ὁπλίταις δὲ τρισχιλίοις ὡς μάχῃ κριθησόμενος πρὸς Ἀντίγονον. [432] οὐ μὴν τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ προυχώρησεν τὰ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν, ἀλλ' οἱ καὶ πρότερον τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ταράξαντες ἐπεξελθόντες αὐτὸν διεχρήσαντο καὶ τοῦτο δράσαντες συμφεύγουσιν εἴς τε τὰ ἕλη καὶ τὰ δύσβατα τῶν χωρίων, ἄγοντες καὶ διαρπάζοντες τὴν αὐτόθι πᾶσαν. [433] τιμωρεῖται δὲ τούτους Ἡρώδης ἐπανελθών: τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀναιρεῖ τῶν ἀποστάντων, τοὺς δ' ἀναφυγόντας εἰς ἐρυμνὰ χωρία πολιορκίᾳ παραστησάμενος αὐτούς τε ἀπέκτεινεν καὶ τὰ ἐρύματα κατέσκαψεν. ἐζημίωσε δὲ παύσας οὕτως τὴν νεωτεροποιίαν καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἑκατὸν ταλάντοις.

6. And when the king had set Ptolemy over these parts of the country as his general, he went to Samaria, with six hundred horsemen, and three thousand armed footmen, as intending to fight Antigonus. But still this command of the army did not succeed well with Ptolemy, but those that had been troublesome to Galilee before attacked him, and slew him; and when they had done this, they fled among the lakes and places almost inaccessible laying waste and plundering

whatsoever they could come at in those places. But Herod soon returned, and punished them for what they had done; for some of these rebels he slew, and others of them, who had fled to the strong holds he besieged, and both slew them, and demolished their strong holds. And when he had thus put an end to their rebellion, he laid a fine upon the cities of a hundred talents.

(7) [434] Ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ Πακόρου πεσόντος ἐν μάχῃ καὶ τῶν Πάρθων πταισάντων πέμπει βοηθὸν ὁ Βεντίδιος Ἡρώδῃ Μαχαιρᾶν σὺν δυσὶ τάγμασι καὶ χιλίοις ἱππεῦσιν ἐπισπεύδοντος Ἀντωνίου. [435] Μαχαιρᾶς μὲν οὖν Ἀντιγόνου καλοῦντος αὐτὸν παρὰ τὴν Ἡρώδου γνώμην χρήμασι διεφθαρμένος ἀπῄει ὡς κατασκεψόμενος αὐτοῦ τὰ πράγματα. τὴν δὲ διάνοιαν ὑπιδόμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν τῆς ἀφίξεως Ἀντίγονος οὐδὲ προσεδέξατο, ἀλλὰ σφενδόναις βάλλων αὐτὸν ἀνεῖργεν, καὶ διεδήλου τὴν αὐτοῦ προαίρεσιν. [436] αἰσθόμενος δὲ τὰ βέλτιστα Ἡρώδην αὐτῷ παραινοῦντα καὶ αὐτὸν διημαρτηκότα παρακούσαντα τῆς ἐκείνου συμβουλίας, ἀνεχώρει μὲν εἰς Ἀμμαοῦν πόλιν, οἷς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν Ἰουδαίοις περιετύγχανεν τούτους ἀπέσφαττεν ἐχθρούς τε καὶ φίλους ὀργιζόμενος ὑπὲρ ὧν πεπόνθει. [437] παροξυνθεὶς δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ Σαμαρείας ᾔει: πρὸς γὰρ Ἀντώνιον ἐγνώκει περὶ τούτων ἀφικέσθαι: δεῖσθαι γὰρ οὐχὶ τοιούτων συμμάχων, οἳ βλάψουσι μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους: ἐξαρκεῖν δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν Ἀντιγόνου καθαίρεσιν. [438] παρακολουθῶν δ᾽ ὁ Μαχαιρᾶς ἐδεῖτο μένειν: εἰ δὲ οὕτως ὥρμηκεν, ἀλλὰ τόν γε ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰώσηπον παρακαθιστάνειν σφίσι προσπολεμοῦσιν Ἀντιγόνῳ. καὶ διαλλάττεται μὲν πολλὰ τοῦ Μαχαιρᾶ δεηθέντος, καταλιπὼν δὲ τὸν Ἰώσηπον αὐτόθι σὺν στρατῷ παρῄνεσεν μὴ ἀποκινδυνεύειν μηδὲ τῷ Μαχαιρᾷ διαφέρεσθαι.

7. In the mean time, Pacorus was fallen in a battle, and the Parthians were defeated, when Ventidius sent Macheras to the assistance of Herod, with two legions, and a thousand horsemen, while Antony encouraged him to make haste. But Macheras, at the instigation of Antigonus, without the approbation of Herod, as being corrupted by money, went about to take a view of his affairs; but Antigonus suspecting this intention of his coming, did not admit him into the city, but kept him at a distance, with throwing stones at him, and plainly showed what he himself meant. But when Macheras was sensible that Herod had given him good advice, and that he had made a mistake himself in not hearkening to that advice, he retired to the city Emmaus; and what Jews he met with he slew them, whether they were enemies or friends, out of the rage he was in at what hardships he had undergone. The king was provoked at this conduct of his, and went to Samaria, and resolved to go to Antony about these affairs, and to inform him that he stood in no need of such helpers, who did him more mischief than they did his enemies; and that he was able of himself to beat Antigonus. But

Macheras followed him, and desired that he would not go to Antony; or if he was resolved to go, that he would join his brother Joseph with them, and let them fight against Antigonus. So he was reconciled to Macheras, upon his earnest entreaties. Accordingly, he left Joseph there with his army, but charged him to run no hazards, nor to quarrel with Macheras.

(8) [439] Αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἔσπευδεν, ἐτύγχανεν γὰρ πολιορκῶν Σαμόσατα τὸ πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ χωρίον, σὺν ἱππόταις τε καὶ πεζοῖς κατὰ συμμαχίαν αὐτῷ παροῦσιν. [440] παραγενόμενος δ' εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ πολλοῖς ἐπιτυχὼν ἠθροισμένοις καὶ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον μὲν σπουδὴν βαδίζειν ἔχουσιν, ὑπὸ δέους δὲ διὰ τὸ κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ πολλοὺς ἀναιρεῖν οὐ τολμῶντας ἐξορμᾶν, παραθαρσύνας αὐτὸς ἡγεμὼν γίνεται τῆς ὁδοῦ. [441] κατὰ δὲ σταθμὸν δεύτερον Τῶν Σαμοσάτων ἑλόχα μὲν αὐτόθι τῶν βαρβάρων ἐνέδρα τοὺς φοιτῶντας πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, δρυμῶν δὲ τὰς εἰσβολὰς τὰς εἰς τὰ πεδία διαλαμβανόντων προλοχίζουσιν αὐτόθι τῶν ἱππέων οὐκ ὀλίγους ἠρεμήσοντας ἕως ἂν εἰς τὸ ἱππήλατον οἱ διεξιόντες ἔλθοιεν. [442] ὡς δ' οἱ πρῶτοι διεξῆλθον, ὀπισθοφυλακεῖ μὲν Ἡρώδης, προσπίπτουσι δὲ ἐξαπιναίως οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ὄντες εἰς πεντακοσίους, καὶ τρεψαμένων τοὺς πρώτους ἐπιδραμὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῇ ῥύμῃ τῇ περὶ αὐτὸν παραχρῆμα μὲν ἀνακόπτει τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐπεγείρει δὲ τὸ τῶν οἰκείων φρόνημα καὶ θαρραλέους ἀπεργάζεται, καὶ τῶν πάλαι φευγόντων ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς μαχομένων ἐκτείνοντο πάντοθεν οἱ βάρβαροι. [443] ἐπέκειτο δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναιρῶν καὶ τὰ διηρπασμένα, πολλὰ δ' ἦν σκευοφόρα καὶ ἀνδράποδα, πάντα ἀνασωσάμενος προῄει. [444] καὶ πλειόνων αὐτοῖς ἐπιθεμένων τῶν ἐν τοῖς δρυμῶσιν, οἳ πλησίον τῆς εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἐκβολῆς ἦσαν, καὶ τούτοις προσμίξας αὐτὸς μετὰ στίφους καρτεροῦ τρέπεται καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνας ἀδεᾶ τοῖς ἑπομένοις ὁδὸν παρεῖχεν: οἱ δὲ σωτῆρα καὶ προστάτην αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν.

8. But for his own part, he made haste to Antony [who was then at the siege of Samosata, a place upon Euphrates] with his troops, both horsemen and footmen, to be auxiliaries to him. And when he came to Antioch, and met there a great number of men gotten together that were very desirous to go to Antony, but durst not venture to go, out of fear, because the barbarians fell upon men on the road, and slew many, so he encouraged them, and became their conductor upon the road. Now when they were within two days' march of Samosata, the barbarians had laid an ambush there to disturb those that came to Antony, and where the woods made the passes narrow, as they led to the plains, there they laid not a few of their horsemen, who were to lie still until those passengers were gone by into the wide place. Now as soon as the first ranks were gone by, [for Herod brought on the rear,] those that lay in ambush, who were about five hundred, fell upon them on the sudden, and when they had put the foremost to

flight, the king came riding hard, with the forces that were about him, and immediately drove back the enemy; by which means he made the minds of his own men courageous, and imboldened them to go on, insomuch that those who ran away before now returned back, and the barbarians were slain on all sides. The king also went on killing them, and recovered all the baggage, among which were a great number of beasts for burden, and of slaves, and proceeded on in his march; and whereas there were a great number of those in the woods that attacked them, and were near the passage that led into the plain, he made a sally upon these also with a strong body of men, and put them to flight, and slew many of them, and thereby rendered the way safe for those that came after; and these called Herod their savior and protector.

(9) [445] Ἐπεὶ δὲ πλησίον τῶν Σαμοσάτων γεγόνει, πέμπει τὸ στράτευμα ὑπαντησόμενον Ἀντώνιος σὺν τῷ οἰκείῳ κόσμῳ τιμὴν Ἡρώδῃ ταύτην ἀπονέμων καὶ ἐπικουρίας ἕνεκα: τὴν γὰρ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀκηκόει κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπίθεσιν. [446] καὶ δὴ παρόντα τε εἶδεν ἀσμένως καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα μαθὼν ἐδεξιοῦτο καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐθαύμαζεν, αὐτός τε περιλαβὼν αὐτὸν Ἀντώνιος ὡς εἶδεν ἠσπάζετο προυτίμα τε νεωστὶ βασιλέα ἀποδείξας. [447] Ἀντιόχου δὲ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ τὸ ἔρυμα παραδόντος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παυσαμένου τοῦ πολέμου Σοσσίῳ μὲν Ἀντώνιος παραδίδωσιν Παρακελευσάμενος δὲ Ἡρώδῃ συμμαχεῖν αὐτὸς ἐπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου ἐχώρει. καὶ Σόσσιος μὲν δύο τάγματα ἐπικουρικὰ Ἡρώδῃ προύπεμψεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τοῦ πλείονος στρατοῦ ἠκολούθει.

9. And when he was near to Samosata, Antony sent out his army in all their proper habiliments to meet him, in order to pay Herod this respect, and because of the assistance he had given him; for he had heard what attacks the barbarians had made upon him [in Judea]. He also was very glad to see him there, as having been made acquainted with the great actions he had performed upon the road. So he entertained him very kindly, and could not but admire his courage. Antony also embraced him as soon as he saw him, and saluted him after a most affectionate manner, and gave him the upper hand, as having himself lately made him a king; and in a little time Antiochus delivered up the fortress, and on that account this war was at an end; then Antony committed the rest to Sosius, and gave him orders to assist Herod, and went himself to Egypt. Accordingly, Sosius sent two legions before into Judea to the assistance of Herod, and he followed himself with the body of the army.

(10) [448] Ἔτυχεν δ᾽ ἤδη κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν τεθνεὼς Ἰώσηπος τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ: λήθην μὲν ὧν αὐτῷ παρήγγειλεν ὁ ἀδελφὸς πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἀπερχόμενος λαμβάνει, στρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη, πέντε γὰρ αὐτῷ σπείρας

Μαχαιρᾶ δόντος ἐπὶ Ἰεριχοῦντος ἠπείγετο βουλόμενος ἐκθερίσαι τὸν σῖτον αὐτῶν, [449] καὶ νεοσυλλέκτου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατεύματος ὄντος, καὶ πολέμων ἀπείρως ἔχοντος καὶ γὰρ πολὺ ἐκ Συρίας ἦν τὸ κατειλεγμένον, ἐπιθεμένων αὐτόθι τῶν πολεμίων, ἀποληφθεὶς ἐν δυσχωρίαις αὐτός τε ἀποθνήσκει γενναίως μαχόμενος καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν ἀπέβαλεν: ἓξ γὰρ σπεῖραι διεφθάρησαν. [450] κρατήσας δὲ τῶν νεκρῶν Ἀντίγονος ἀποτέμνει τὴν Ἰωσήπου κεφαλὴν πεντήκοντα ταλάντων αὐτὴν ῥυομένου Φερώρα τἀδελφοῦ. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀποστάντες Γαλιλαῖοι τῶν παρὰ σφίσι δυνατῶν τοὺς τὰ Ἡρώδου φρονοῦντας ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ κατεπόντωσαν, καὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας πολλὰ ἐνεωτερίσθη. Μαχαιρᾶς δὲ χωρίον Ητον ἐξωχύρου.

10. Now Joseph was already slain in Judea, in the manner following: He forgot what charge his brother Herod had given him when he went to Antony; and when he had pitched his camp among the mountains, for Macheras had lent him five regiments, with these he went hastily to Jericho, in order to reap the corn thereto belonging; and as the Roman regiments were but newly raised, and were unskillful in war, for they were in great part collected out of Syria, he was attacked by the enemy, and caught in those places of difficulty, and was himself slain, as he was fighting bravely, and the whole army was lost, for there were six regiments slain. So when Antigonus had got possession of the dead bodies, he cut off Joseph's head, although Pheroras his brother would have redeemed it at the price of fifty talents. After which defeat, the Galileans revolted from their commanders, and took those of Herod's party, and drowned them in the lake, and a great part of Judea was become seditious; but Macheras fortified the place Gitta [in Samaria].

(11) [451] Παρῆσαν δ' ἄγγελοι τῶν πεπραγμένων πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ἐν Δάφνῃ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐδήλωσαν αὐτῷ τὴν κατὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τύχην, προσδεχομένῳ μέντοι καὶ αὐτῷ διά τινας ὀνείρων ὄψεις τρανῶς προφαινούσας τὸν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ θάνατον. [452] ἐπειχθεὶς οὖν κατὰ τὴν πορείαν ὡς κατὰ Λίβανον τὸ ὄρος γίνεται, ὀκτακοσίους μὲν τῶν αὐτόθι προσλαμβάνει, ἔχων δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαικὸν ἓν τάγμα εἰς Πτολεμαίδα παραγίνεται, κἀκεῖθεν νυκτὸς ἀναστὰς μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ προῄει διὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας. [453] ὑπήντων δ' οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ κρατηθέντες τῇ μάχῃ κατεκλείσθησαν εἰς χωρίον, ὅθεν ἦσαν ὡρμηκότες τῇ προτεραίᾳ: προσβολὰς δὴ τοὐντεῦθεν [ἔωθεν] ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ πολλοῦ χειμῶνος καταρραγέντος οὐδὲν ποιεῖν δυνάμενος ἀπάγει τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὰς πλησίον κώμας. ἐλθόντος δ' αὐτῷ παρ' Ἀντωνίου καὶ δευτέρου τάγματος οἱ τὸ χωρίον ἔχοντες φοβηθέντες νυκτὸς ἐξέλιπον αὐτό. [454] καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔσπευδεν ἐπὶ Ἰεριχοῦντος τιμωρήσασθαι κατὰ νοῦν ἔχων αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τἀδελφοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέζευξεν, εἱστία μὲν τοὺς ἐν τέλει, μετὰ δὲ τὴν συνουσίαν παρῆλθεν εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον ἀπολύσας τοὺς παρόντας. [455]

ἐνταῦθα ἴδοι τις ἂν τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ εὔνοιαν: πίπτει μὲν γὰρ ἡ στέγη τοῦ οἰκήματος, οὐδένα δὲ ἀπολαβοῦσα διέφθειρεν, ὥστε πάντας πιστεῦσαι τὸν Ἡρώδην εἶναι θεοφιλῆ, μέγαν οὕτω καὶ παράδοξον διαφυγόντα κίνδυνον.

11. At this time messengers came to Herod, and informed him of what had been done; and when he was come to Daphne by Antioch, they told him of the ill fortune that had befallen his brother; which yet he expected, from certain visions that appeared to him in his dreams, which clearly foreshowed his brother's death. So he hastened his march; and when he came to Mount Libanus, he received about eight hundred of the men of that place, having already with him also one Roman legion, and with these he came to Ptolemais. He also marched thence by night with his army, and proceeded along Galilee. Here it was that the enemy met him, and fought him, and were beaten, and shut up in the same place of strength whence they had sallied out the day before. So he attacked the place in the morning; but by reason of a great storm that was then very violent, he was able to do nothing, but drew off his army into the neighboring villages; yet as soon as the other legion that Antony sent him was come to his assistance, those that were in garrison in the place were afraid, and deserted it in the night time. Then did the king march hastily to Jericho, intending to avenge himself on the enemy for the slaughter of his brother; and when he had pitched his tents, he made a feast for the principal commanders; and after this collation was over, and he had dismissed his guests, he retired to his own chamber; and here may one see what kindness God had for the king, for the upper part of the house fell down when nobody was in it, and so killed none, insomuch that all the people believed that Herod was beloved of God, since he had escaped such a great and surprising danger.

(12) [456] Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τῶν πολεμίων ἐξακισχίλιοι ἀπ' ἄκρων κατιόντες τῶν ὀρῶν εἰς μάχην ἐφόβουν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. οἱ δὲ γυμνῆτες προσιόντες τοῖς παλτοῖς ἔβαλλον καὶ λίθοις τοὺς περὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἐξεληλυθότας αὐτόν τε παλτῷ τις παρὰ τὴν λαπάραν ἔβαλεν. [457] Ἀντίγονος δ' ἐπὶ τὴν Σαμάρειαν πέμπει στρατηγὸν Πάππον ὄνομα σὺν δυνάμει πολλῇ βουλόμενος παρασχεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις δόξαν πολεμοῦντος ἐκ περιουσίας. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Μαχαιρᾷ τῷ στρατηγῷ προσεκάθητο: Ἡρώδης δὲ πέντε πόλεις καταλαβὼν τοὺς ἐγκαταληφθέντας περὶ δισχιλίους ὄντας ἐφόνευσεν αὐτάς τε τὰς πόλεις ἐμπρήσας ἐπανῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν Πάππον: [458] ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο δ' οὗτος περὶ κώμην Ἰσάνας καλουμένην καὶ πολλῶν αὐτῷ προσρεόντων ἐκ τῆς Ἰεριχοῦς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἰουδαίας, ἐπεὶ πλησίον γίνεται, τῶν πολεμίων ἐπεξελθόντων αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ θράσους συμβαλὼν κρατεῖ τῇ μάχῃ, καὶ τιμωρῶν τὰδελφῷ φεύγουσιν εἰς τὴν κώμην εἵπετο κτείνων.

[459] πεπληρωμένων δὲ τῶν οἰκήσεων ὁπλιτῶν καί τινων ἀναφευγόντων ἐπὶ τὰς στέγας κρατεῖ τούτων, καὶ τοὺς ὀρόφους τῶν οἴκων ἀνασκάπτων ἔμπλεα τὰ κάτω τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἑώρα ἀθρόων ἀπειλημμένων. [460] τούτους μὲν οὖν πέτραις ἄνωθεν βάλλοντες σωρηδὸν ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλοις ἀνῄρουν: καὶ θέαμα τοῦτο δεινότατον ἦν κατὰ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον νεκρῶν τὸ πλῆθος ἀπείρων ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλοις κειμένων. [461] τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον μάλιστα τὰ φρονήματα τῶν πολεμίων ἔκλασεν καραδοκούντων τὸ μέλλον: ἐωρῶντο γὰρ παμπληθεῖς πόρρωθεν συγγενόμενοι περὶ τὴν κώμην: οἳ τότε ἔφευγον, καὶ εἰ μὴ χειμὼν ἐπέσχεν βαθύς, ἦκεν ἂν καὶ ἐπὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἡ βασιλέως στρατιὰ θαρροῦσα τῷ νενικηκέναι, καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἦν ἂν εἰργασμένη: καὶ γὰρ Ἀντίγονος ἤδη τὴν παντελῆ φυγὴν ἐσκόπει καὶ ἀπανάστασιν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.

12. But the next day six thousand of the enemy came down from the tops of the mountains to fight the Romans, which greatly terrified them; and the soldiers that were in light armor came near, and pelted the king's guards that were come out with darts and stones, and one of them hit him on the side with a dart. Antigonus also sent a commander against Samaria, whose name was Pappus, with some forces, being desirous to show the enemy how potent he was, and that he had men to spare in his war with them. He sat down to oppose Macheras; but Herod, when he had taken five cities, took such as were left in them, being about two thousand, and slew them, and burnt the cities themselves, and then returned to go against Pappus, who was encamped at a village called Isanas; and there ran in to him many out of Jericho and Judea, near to which places he was, and the enemy fell upon his men, so stout were they at this time, and joined battle with them, but he beat them in the fight; and in order to be revenged on them for the slaughter of his brother, he pursued them sharply, and killed them as they ran away; and as the houses were full of armed men, and many of them ran as far as the tops of the houses, he got them under his power, and pulled down the roofs of the houses, and saw the lower rooms full of soldiers that were caught, and lay all on a heap; so they threw stones down upon them as they lay piled one upon another, and thereby killed them; nor was there a more frightful spectacle in all the war than this, where beyond the walls an immense multitude of dead men lay heaped one upon another. This action it was which chiefly brake the spirits of the enemy, who expected now what would come; for there appeared a mighty number of people that came from places far distant, that were now about the village, but then ran away; and had it not been for the depth of winter, which then restrained them, the king's army had presently gone to Jerusalem, as being very courageous at this good success, and the whole work had been done

immediately; for Antigonus was already looking about how he might fly away and leave the city.

(13) [462] Τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεύς, ὀψία γὰρ ἦν, δειπνοποιεῖσθαι κελεύει τοὺς στρατιώτας, αὐτὸς δέ, ἐκεκμήκει γάρ, εἰσελθὼν εἴς τι δωμάτιον περὶ λουτρὸν ἦν. ἔνθα καὶ κίνδυνος αὐτῷ μέγιστος συνέπεσεν, ὃν κατὰ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν διέφυγεν: [463] γυμνοῦ γὰρ ὄντος αὐτοῦ καὶ μετὰ παιδὸς ἑνὸς ἀκολούθου λουομένου [ἐν τῷ] ἐντὸς οἰκήματι τῶν πολεμίων τινὲς ὡπλισμένοι συμπεφευγότες αὐτόθι διὰ φόβον μεταξὺ λουομένου ὁ πρῶτος ὑπεξέρχεται ξίφος ἔχων γυμνὸν καὶ διὰ θυρῶν χωρεῖ, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον δεύτερος καὶ τρίτος ὁμοίως ὡπλισμένοι, οὐδὲν βλάψαντες τὸν βασιλέα ὑπ᾽ ἐκπλήξεως, ἀγαπῶντες δὲ τὸ μηδὲν αὐτοὶ παθόντες εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν διεκπεσεῖν. [464] τῇ δ᾽ ὑστεραίᾳ τὴν μὲν Πάππου κεφαλήν, ἀνῄρητο γάρ, ἀποκόψας Φερώρᾳ ἔπεμψεν ποινὴν ἀνθ᾽ ὧν ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ πάθοι: οὗτος γὰρ ἦν αὐτόχειρ ἐκείνου γεγενημένος.

13. At this time the king gave order that the soldiers should go to supper, for it was late at night, while he went into a chamber to use the bath, for he was very weary; and here it was that he was in the greatest danger, which yet, by God's providence, he escaped; for as he was naked, and had but one servant that followed him, to be with him while he was bathing in an inner room, certain of the enemy, who were in their armor, and had fled thither, out of fear, were then in the place; and as he was bathing, the first of them came out with his naked sword drawn, and went out at the doors, and after him a second, and a third, armed in like manner, and were under such a consternation, that they did no hurt to the king, and thought themselves to have come off very well ill suffering no harm themselves in their getting out of the house. However, on the next day, he cut off the head of Pappus, for he was already slain, and sent it to Pheroras, as a punishment of what their brother had suffered by his means, for he was the man that slew him with his own hand.

(14) [465] Λήξαντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἄρας ἐκεῖθεν ἐγγὺς τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἔρχεται καὶ πλησίον στρατοπεδεύεται τῆς πόλεως: τρίτον δὲ ἔτος τοῦτο ἦν αὐτῷ ἐξ οὗ βασιλεὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀποδέδεικτο. [466] ἀναστρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ καὶ πλησίον ἐλθὼν τοῦ τείχους κατὰ τὸ ἐπιμαχώτατον πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ στρατοπεδεύεται προσβαλεῖν διεγνωκώς, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν ποτε Πομπήιος. τρισὶν δὲ διαλαβὼν χώμασιν τὸν τόπον πύργους ἀνίστα πολλῇ τε χειρὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον χρώμενος καὶ τέμνων τὴν πέριξ ὕλην. [467] παρακαταστήσας δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους, ἱδρυμένης ἔτι τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτὸς εἰς Σαμάρειαν ἐπὶ τὸν γάμον ᾤχετο ἀξόμενος τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου θυγατέρα: ταύτην γὰρ ἦν ἐγγεγυημένος, ὥς μοι καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται.

14. When the rigor of winter was over, Herod removed his army, and came near to Jerusalem, and pitched his camp hard by the city. Now this was the third year since he had been made king at Rome; and as he removed his camp, and came near that part of the wall where it could be most easily assaulted, he pitched that camp before the temple, intending to make his attacks in the same manner as did Pompey. So he encompassed the place with three bulwarks, and erected towers, and employed a great many hands about the work, and cut down the trees that were round about the city; and when he had appointed proper persons to oversee the works, even while the army lay before the city, he himself went to Samaria, to complete his marriage, and to take to wife the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus; for he had betrothed her already, as I have before related.

XVI

CHAPTER 16. How Herod, When He Had Married Mariamne Took Jerusalem With The Assistance Of Sosius By Force; And How The Government Of The Asamoneans Was Put An End To.

(1) [468] Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς γάμους ἦλθεν μὲν διὰ Φοινίκης Σόσσιος προεκπέμψας τὴν δύναμιν διὰ τῆς μεσογαίας, ἦλθεν δὲ καὶ ὁ στρατὸς πλῆθος ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν, παρεγένετο δὲ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος οὐκ ὀλίγον πρὸς τῷ πάλαι στρατὸν ἄγων: [469] περὶ τρισμυρίους γὰρ ἦσαν. πάντες δ' ἐπὶ τὸ Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἠθροίζοντο τεῖχος, καὶ διεκάθητο πρὸς τῷ βορείῳ τείχει τῆς πόλεως στρατιᾶς ἔνδεκα μὲν οὖσα τέλη ὁπλιτικοῦ, ἓξ δὲ χιλιάδες ἱππέων, ἄλλα δὲ ἐπικουρικὰ ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας, δύο δ' ἡγεμόνες, Σόσσιος μὲν ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου σταλεὶς σύμμαχος, Ἡρώδης δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, ὡς Ἀντίγονον ἀφελόμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποδειχθέντα ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολέμιον αὐτὸς ἀντ' ἐκείνου βασιλεὺς εἴη κατὰ τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα.

1. After the wedding was over, came Sosius through Phoenicia, having sent out his army before him over the midland parts. He also, who was their commander, came himself, with a great number of horsemen and footmen. The king also came himself from Samaria, and brought with him no small army, besides that which was there before, for they were about thirty thousand; and they all met together at the walls of Jerusalem, and encamped at the north wall of the city, being now an army of eleven legions, armed men on foot, and six thousand horsemen, with other auxiliaries out of Syria. The generals were two: Sosius, sent by Antony to assist Herod, and Herod on his own account, in order to take the government from Antigonus, who was declared all enemy at Rome, and that he might himself be king, according to the decree of the Senate.

(2) [470] Μετὰ δὲ πολλῆς προθυμίας καὶ ἔριδος ἅτε σύμπαντος ἠθροισμένου τοῦ πλήθους οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην ἀντεπολέμουν κατειληθέντες ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους, πολλά τε ἐπεφήμιζον περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ πολλὰ ἐπ' εὐφημίᾳ τοῦ δήμου, ὡς ῥυσομένου τῶν κινδύνων αὐτοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ. [471] τά τε ἐκτὸς τῆς πόλεως ἀπεσκευάσαντο, ὡς μηδ' ὅσα τροφὴ δύναιτο εἶναι ὑπολιπεῖν ἢ ἀνθρώποις ἢ ὑποζυγίοις, λῃστείαις τε λάθρα χρώμενοι ἀπορίαν παρέσχον. [472] ταῦτα δ' Ἡρώδης συνιδὼν πρὸς μὲν τὰς λῃστείας ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαιροτάτοις τόποις παρελόχιζεν, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πέμπων ὁπλιτικὰ τέλη πόρρωθεν ἀγορὰν συνεκόμιζεν, ὡς ὀλίγου χρόνου πολλὴν ἀφθονίαν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι τῶν ἀναγκαίων. [473] ἦρτο δὲ συνεχῶς ἤδη πολλῆς χειρὸς ἐργαζομένης καὶ τὰ τρία

χώματα εὐπετῶς: θέρος τε γὰρ ἦν καὶ οὐδὲν ἐμποδὼν πρὸς τὴν ἀνάστασιν οὔτ᾽ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀέρος οὔτ᾽ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐργαζομένων, τά τε μηχανήματα προσάγοντες κατέσειον τὸ τεῖχος καὶ πάσαις ἐχρῶντο πείραις. [474] οὐ μὴν ἐξέπληττον τοὺς ἔνδον, ἀλλὰ ἀντετεχνῶντο κἀκεῖνοι πρὸς τὰ παρὰ τούτων γινόμενα οὐκ ὀλίγα, ἐπεκθέοντές τε τὰ μὲν ἡμίεργα ἐνεπίμπρασαν τὰ δ᾽ ἐξειργασμένα, εἴς τε χεῖρας ἰόντες οὐδὲν κακίους τὰς τόλμας Ῥωμαίων ἦσαν, ἐπιστήμῃ δ᾽ ἐλείποντο. [475] πρός τε τὰς μηχανὰς ἀντετείχιζον ἐρειπομένων τῶν πρώτων οἰκοδομημάτων, ὑπὸ γῆν τε ἀπαντῶντες ἐν ταῖς μεταλλεύσεσιν διεμάχοντο, ἀπονοίᾳ δὲ τὸ πλέον ἢ προμηθείᾳ χρώμενοι προσελιπάρουν τῷ πολέμῳ εἰς τοὔσχατον, καὶ ταῦτα μεγάλου στρατοῦ περικαθημένου σφᾶς καὶ λιμῷ ταλαιπωρούμενοι καὶ σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων: τὸν γὰρ ἑβδοματικὸν ἐνιαυτὸν συνέβη κατὰ ταῦτ᾽ εἶναι. [476] ἀναβαίνουσιν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος πρῶτον μὲν λογάδες εἴκοσι, ἔπειτα δὲ ἑκατόνταρχοι Σοσσίου: ᾑρέθη γὰρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τεῖχος ἡμέραις τεσσαράκοντα, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον πεντεκαίδεκα: καί τινες τῶν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐνεπρήσθησαν στοῶν, ἃς Ἡρώδης Ἀντίγονον ἐμπρῆσαι διέβαλεν, μῖσος αὐτῷ πραγματευόμενος παρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων γενέσθαι. [477] ᾑρημένου δὲ τοῦ ἔξωθεν ἱεροῦ καὶ τῆς κάτω πόλεως εἰς τὸ ἔσωθεν ἱερὸν καὶ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι συνέφυγον, δείσαντες δὲ μὴ διακωλύσωσιν αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς καθημερινὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν τῷ θεῷ, πρεσβεύονται ἐπιτρέψαι παρακαλοῦντες θύματα αὐτοῖς μόνον εἰσκομίζεσθαι: ὁ δ᾽ ὡς ἐνδωσόντων αὐτῶν συνεχώρει ταῦτα. [478] καὶ ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ἑώρα γινόμενον παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ὧν ὑπενόει, ἀλλὰ ἰσχυρῶς ἀντέχοντας ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀντιγόνου βασιλείας, προσβαλὼν κατὰ κράτος εἷλεν τὴν πόλιν. [479] καὶ πάντα εὐθὺς φόνων ἦν ἀνάπλεα τῶν μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ τῇ τριβῇ τῆς πολιορκίας διωργισμένων, τοῦ δὲ περὶ Ἡρώδην Ἰουδαικοῦ μηδὲν ὑπολιπεῖν σπεύδοντος ἀντίπαλον. [480] ἐσφάττοντο δὲ παμπληθεῖς ἔν τε τοῖς στενωποῖς καὶ κατὰ τὰς οἰκίας συνωθούμενοι καὶ τῷ ναῷ προσφεύγοντες, ἦν τε οὔτε νηπίων οὔτε γήρως ἔλεος οὔτε ἀσθενείας γυναικῶν φειδώ, ἀλλὰ καίτοι περιπέμποντος τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ φείδεσθαι παρακαλοῦντος οὐδεὶς ἐκράτησεν τῆς δεξιᾶς, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ μεμηνότες πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν ἐπεξῄεσαν. [481] ἔνθα καὶ Ἀντίγονος μήτε τῆς πάλαι μήτε τῆς τότε τύχης ἔννοιαν λαβὼν κάτεισι μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς βάρεως, προσπίπτει δὲ τοῖς Σοσσίου ποσίν, κἀκεῖνος μηδὲν αὐτὸν οἰκτείρας πρὸς τὴν μεταβολὴν ἐπεκρότησεν μὲν ἀκρατῶς καὶ Ἀντιγόνην ἐκάλεσεν, οὐ μὴν ὡς γυναῖκά γε φρουρᾶς ἐλεύθερον ἀφῆκεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν δεθεὶς ἐφυλάττετο.

2. Now the Jews that were enclosed within the walls of the city fought against Herod with great alacrity and zeal [for the whole nation was gathered together]; they also gave out many prophecies about the temple, and many things agreeable to the people, as if God would deliver them out of the dangers they were in; they had also carried off what was out of the city, that they might not leave any thing

to afford sustenance either for men or for beasts; and by private robberies they made the want of necessaries greater. When Herod understood this, he opposed ambushes in the fittest places against their private robberies, and he sent legions of armed men to bring its provisions, and that from remote places, so that in a little time they had great plenty of provisions. Now the three bulwarks were easily erected, because so many hands were continually at work upon it; for it was summer time, and there was nothing to hinder them in raising their works, neither from the air nor from the workmen; so they brought their engines to bear, and shook the walls of the city, and tried all manner of ways to get it; yet did not those within discover any fear, but they also contrived not a few engines to oppose their engines withal. They also sallied out, and burnt not only those engines that were not yet perfected, but those that were; and when they came hand to hand, their attempts were not less bold than those of the Romans, though they were behind them in skill. They also erected new works when the former were ruined, and making mines underground, they met each other, and fought there; and making use of brutish courage rather than of prudent valor, they persisted in this war to the very last; and this they did while a mighty army lay round about them, and while they were distressed by famine and the want of necessaries, for this happened to be a Sabbatic year. The first that scaled the walls were twenty chosen men, the next were Sosius's centurions; for the first wall was taken in forty days, and the second in fifteen more, when some of the cloisters that were about the temple were burnt, which Herod gave out to have been burnt by Antigonus, in order to expose him to the hatred of the Jews. And when the outer court of the temple and the lower city were taken, the Jews fled into the inner court of the temple, and into the upper city; but now fearing lest the Romans should hinder them from offering their daily sacrifices to God, they sent an embassage, and desired that they would only permit them to bring in beasts for sacrifices, which Herod granted, hoping they were going to yield; but when he saw that they did nothing of what he supposed, but bitterly opposed him, in order to preserve the kingdom to Antigonus, he made an assault upon the city, and took it by storm; and now all parts were full of those that were slain, by the rage of the Romans at the long duration of the siege, and by the zeal of the Jews that were on Herod's side, who were not willing to leave one of their adversaries alive; so they were murdered continually in the narrow streets and in the houses by crowds, and as they were flying to the temple for shelter, and there was no pity taken of either infants or the aged, nor did they spare so much as the weaker sex; nay, although the king sent about, and besought them to spare the people, yet nobody restrained their hand from slaughter, but, as if they were a company of madmen, they fell upon persons of all ages, without distinction; and

then Antigonus, without regard to either his past or present circumstances, came down from the citadel, and fell down at the feet of Sosius, who took no pity of him, in the change of his fortune, but insulted him beyond measure, and called him Antigone [i.e. a woman, and not a man;] yet did he not treat him as if he were a woman, by letting him go at liberty, but put him into bonds, and kept him in close custody.

(3) [482] Πρόνοια δ' ἦν Ἡρώδῃ κρατοῦντι τῶν πολεμίων τοῦ κρατῆσαι καὶ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων συμμάχων: ὥρμητο γὰρ τὸ ξενικὸν πλῆθος ἐπὶ θέᾳ τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν ναὸν ἁγίων. [483] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοὺς μὲν παρακαλῶν τοὺς δ' ἀπειλῶν ἔστιν δ' οὓς καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀνέστελλεν, ἥττης χαλεπωτέραν ἡγούμενος τὴν νίκην, εἴ τι τῶν ἀθεάτων παρ' αὐτῶν ὀφθείη. [484] διεκώλυέ τε καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἁρπαγάς, πολλὰ διατεινάμενος πρὸς Σόσσιον, εἰ χρημάτων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν πόλιν κενώσαντες καταλείψουσιν αὐτὸν ἐρημίας βασιλέα, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τοσούτῳ πολιτῶν φόνῳ βραχὺ καὶ τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡγεμονίαν ἀντάλλαγμα κρίνει. [485] τοῦ δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς πολιορκίας τὰς ἁρπαγὰς δικαίως τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπιτρέπειν φαμένου, αὐτὸς ἔφη διανεμεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χρημάτων τοὺς μισθοὺς ἑκάστοις. [486] οὕτως τε τὴν λοιπὴν ἐξωνησάμενος πόλιν τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἐπλήρωσεν: λαμπρῶς μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστον στρατιώτην, ἀναλόγως δὲ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, βασιλικώτατα δ' αὐτὸν ἐδωρήσατο Σόσσιον, ὡς πάντας ἀπελθεῖν χρημάτων εὐποροῦντας.

3. And now Herod having overcome his enemies, his care was to govern those foreigners who had been his assistants, for the crowd of strangers rushed to see the temple, and the sacred things in the temple; but the king, thinking a victory to be a more severe affliction than a defeat, if any of those things which it was not lawful to see should be seen by them, used entreaties and threatenings, and even sometimes force itself, to restrain them. He also prohibited the ravage that was made in the city, and many times asked Sosius whether the Romans would empty the city both of money and men, and leave him king of a desert; and told him that he esteemed the dominion over the whole habitable earth as by no means an equivalent satisfaction for such a murder of his citizens'; and when he said that this plunder was justly to be permitted the soldiers for the siege they had undergone, he replied, that he would give every one their reward out of his own money; and by this means be redeemed what remained of the city from destruction; and he performed what he had promised him, for he gave a noble present to every soldier, and a proportionable present to their commanders, but a most royal present to Sosius himself, till they all went away full of money.

(4) [487] Τοῦτο τὸ πάθος συνέβη τῇ Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλει ὑπατεύοντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ Μάρκου Ἀγρίππα καὶ Κανιδίου Γάλλου ἐπὶ τῆς ἑκατοστῆς ὀγδοηκοστῆς καὶ πέμπτης ὀλυμπιάδος τῷ τρίτῳ μηνὶ τῇ ἑορτῇ τῆς νηστείας, ὥσπερ ἐκ περιτροπῆς τῆς γενομένης ἐπὶ Πομπηίου τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις συμφορᾶς: [488] καὶ γὰρ ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου τῇ αὐτῇ ἑάλωσαν ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ ἔτη εἰκοσιεπτά. Σόσσιος δὲ χρυσοῦν ἀναθεὶς τῷ θεῷ στέφανον ἀνέζευξεν ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων Ἀντίγονον ἄγων δεσμώτην Ἀντωνίῳ. [489] δείσας δὲ Ἡρώδης μὴ φυλαχθεὶς Ἀντίγονος ὑπ᾽ Ἀντωνίου καὶ κομισθεὶς εἰς Ῥώμην ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ δικαιολογήσηται πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον, ἐπιδεικνὺς αὐτὸν μὲν ἐκ βασιλέων, Ἡρώδην δὲ ἰδιώτην, καὶ ὅτι προσῆκεν αὐτοῦ βασιλεύειν τοὺς παῖδας διὰ τὸ γένος, εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς Ῥωμαίους ἐξήμαρτεν: [490] ταῦτα φοβούμενος πολλοῖς χρήμασι πείθει τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀνελεῖν Ἀντίγονον. οὗ γενομένου τοῦ δέους μὲν Ἡρώδης ἀπαλλάσσεται, παύεται δ᾽ οὕτως ἡ τοῦ Ἀσσαμωναίου ἀρχὴ μετὰ ἔτη ἑκατὸν εἰκοσιέξ. οἶκος λαμπρὸς οὗτος ἦν καὶ διάσημος γένους τε ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς ἱερατικῆς τιμῆς ὧν τε ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἔθνους οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ διεπράξαντο. [491] ἀλλ᾽ οὗτοι μὲν διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους στάσιν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπέβαλον, μετέβη δ᾽ εἰς Ἡρώδην τὸν Ἀντιπάτρου οἰκίας ὄντα δημοτικῆς καὶ γένους ἰδιωτικοῦ καὶ ὑπακούοντος τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τὸ τέλος τῆς Ἀσσαμωναίων γενεᾶς παρειλήφαμεν.

4. This destruction befell the city of Jerusalem when Marcus Agrippa and Caninius Gallus were consuls of Rome on the hundred eighty and fifth olympiad, on the third month, on the solemnity of the fast, as if a periodical revolution of calamities had returned since that which befell the Jews under Pompey; for the Jews were taken by him on the same day, and this was after twenty-seven years' time. So when Sosius had dedicated a crown of gold to God, he marched away from Jerusalem, and carried Antigonus with him in bonds to Antony; but Herod was afraid lest Antigonus should be kept in prison [only] by Antony, and that when he was carried to Rome by him, he might get his cause to be heard by the senate, and might demonstrate, as he was himself of the royal blood, and Herod but a private man, that therefore it belonged to his sons however to have the kingdom, on account of the family they were of, in case he had himself offended the Romans by what he had done. Out of Herod's fear of this it was that he, by giving Antony a great deal of money, endeavored to persuade him to have Antigonus slain, which if it were once done, he should be free from that fear. And thus did the government of the Asamoneans cease, a hundred twenty and six years after it was first set up. This family was a splendid and an illustrious one, both on account of the nobility of their stock, and of the dignity of the high priesthood, as also for the glorious actions their ancestors had performed for our nation; but these men lost the government by their dissensions

one with another, and it came to Herod, the son of Antipater, who was of no more than a vulgar family, and of no eminent extraction, but one that was subject to other kings. And this is what history tells us was the end of the Asamonean family.

Liber XV

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Ὡς ληφθείσης τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλεως ὑπὸ Σοσσίου καὶ Ἡρώδου Ἀντώνιος μὲν Ἀντίγονον ἐπελέκισεν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, Ἡρώδης δὲ τεσσαρακονταπέντε τῶν ἐκείνου φίλων πρώτους Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἐπανείλετο καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἠργυρολόγησεν.

β. ὃν τρόπον Ὑρκανὸς ὁ πρῶτος βασιλεὺς Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς ἀφεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλέως Ἀρσάκου πρὸς Ἡρώδην ὑπέστρεψεν.

γ. ὡς Ἡρώδης Ἀριστόβουλον τὸν τῆς γυναικὸς Μαριάμμης ἀδελφὸν ἀρχιερέα καταστήσας μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ διαφθαρῆναι παρεσκεύασεν.

δ. ὡς Κλεοπάτρα τῇ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ἀράβων ἐπιβουλεύουσα βασιλείᾳ μέρη λαβεῖν αὐτῶν ἴσχυνε παρ᾽ Ἀντωνίου.

ε. Κλεοπάτρας εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν παρουσία.

ς. ὡς Ἡρώδης ἐπολέμησεν Ἀρέτᾳ καθ᾽ ὃν καιρὸν Ἀντώνιος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐν τῇ κατ᾽ Ἄκτιον νικᾶται μάχῃ.

ζ. περὶ τοῦ γενομένου σεισμοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ τῆς φθορᾶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν βοσκημάτων.

η. λόγος Ἡρώδου πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀθυμοῦντας πρὸς τὰ πάθη καὶ τὴν ἧτταν τὴν γενομένην.

θ. ὡς ἀνάγκην ἔχων Ἡρώδης ἀπιέναι πρὸς Καίσαρα νενικηκότα διέφθειρεν Ὑρκανόν.

ι. ὡς ἔσχε καὶ παρὰ Καίσαρος τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ παρέπεμψεν αὐτὸν ἐπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου.

ια. ὡς Ἡρώδης ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐτιμήθη.

ιβ. ὡς ἐπανελθὼν ψευδέσι διαβολαῖς παρωξύνθη τὴν γυναῖκα Μαριάμμην ἀποκτεῖναι.

ιγ. περὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ Συρίαν γεγονότος καὶ ὡς διέσωσε τὰ πλήθη καὶ τὰς πόλεις Ἡρώδης.

ιδ. κτίσεις πόλεων Ἑλληνίδων ἃς Ἡρώδης ἐποιήσατο.

ιε. ὡς καθελὼν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις τὸν ἀρχαῖον ναὸν ἄλλον ἀνέστησεν μετὰ ἔτη ἑξακόσια διπλοῦν τοῖς μέτροις.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν ιη.

BOOK XV. Containing The Interval Of Eighteen Years. — From The Death Of Antigonus To The Finishing Of The Temple By Herod.

I

CHAPTER 1. Concerning Pollio And Sameas. Herod Slays The Principal Of Antigonus's Friends, And Spoils The City Of Its Wealth. Antony Beheads Antigonus.

(1) [1] Σόσσιος μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἡρώδης ὡς κατὰ κράτος ἔλαβον Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ πρὸς τούτοις αἰχμάλωτον Ἀντίγονον, ἡ πρὸ ταύτης ἡμῖν ἐδήλωσεν βίβλος: τὰ δ' ἐκείνῃ συνεχῆ νῦν ἐροῦμεν. [2] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τῆς ὅλης Ἰουδαίας ἐνεχειρίσθη τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἡρώδης, τοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πλήθους ὅσοι μὲν ἦσαν ἰδιωτεύοντες ἔτι τἀκείνου φρονοῦντες ἐν προαγωγῇ τούτους ἐποιεῖτο, τοὺς δὲ τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ἑλομένους οὐκ ἐπέλιπε τιμωρούμενος καὶ κολάζων καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν. [3] ἐτιμῶντο δὲ μάλιστα παρ' αὐτῷ Πολλίων ὁ Φαρισαῖος καὶ Σαμαίας ὁ τούτου μαθητής: πολιορκουμένων γὰρ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων οὗτοι συνεβούλευον τοῖς πολίταις δέξασθαι τὸν Ἡρώδην, ἀνθ' ὧν καὶ τὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἀπελάμβανον. [4] ὁ δὲ Πολλίων οὗτος καὶ κρινομένου ποτὲ Ἡρώδου τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προεῖπεν ὀνειδίζων Ὑρκανῷ καὶ τοῖς δικάζουσιν, ὡς περισωθεὶς Ἡρώδης ἅπαντας αὐτοὺς ἐπεξελεύσεται: καὶ τοῦτο χρόνῳ προύβη τοῦ θεοῦ τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ τελειώσαντος.

1. How Sosius and Herod took Jerusalem by force; and besides that, how they took Antigonus captive, has been related by us in the foregoing book. We will now proceed in the narration. And since Herod had now the government of all Judea put into his hands, he promoted such of the private men in the city as had been of his party, but never left off avenging and punishing every day those that had chosen to be of the party of his enemies. But Pollio the Pharisee, and Sameas, a disciple of his, were honored by him above all the rest; for when Jerusalem was besieged, they advised the citizens to receive Herod, for which advice they were well requited. But this Pollio, at the time when Herod was once upon his trial of life and death, foretold, in way of reproach, to Hyrcanus and the other judges, how this Herod, whom they suffered now to escape, would afterward inflict punishment on them all; which had its completion in time, while God fulfilled the words he had spoken.

(2) [5] Ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε κρατήσας τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων πάντα συνεφόρει τὸν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ κόσμον ἔτι καὶ τοὺς εὐπόρους ἀφαιρούμενος, καὶ συναγαγὼν πλῆθος ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσίου παντὶ τούτῳ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐδωρεῖτο καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν φίλους. [6] ἀπέκτεινε δὲ τεσσαρακονταπέντε τοὺς πρώτους ἐκ τῆς αἱρέσεως

Ἀντιγόνου φύλακας περιστήσας ταῖς πύλαις τῶν τειχῶν, ἵνα μή τις συνεκκομισθῇ τοῖς τεθνεῶσι, καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἠρεύνων, καὶ πᾶν τὸ εὑρισκόμενον ἀργύριον ἢ χρυσίον ἤ τι κειμήλιον ἀνεφέρετο τῷ βασιλεῖ, [7] πέρας τε κακῶν οὐδὲν ἦν: τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἡ πλεονεξία τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἐν χρείᾳ γεγενημένου διεφόρει, τὴν δὲ χώραν μένειν ἀγεώργητον τὸ ἑβδοματικὸν ἠνάγκαζεν ἔτος: ἐνεστήκει γὰρ τότε, καὶ σπείρειν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τὴν γῆν ἀπηγορευμένον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν. [8] Ἀντώνιος δὲ λαβὼν αἰχμάλωτον τὸν Ἀντίγονον δέσμιον ἔγνω μέχρι θριάμβου φυλάττειν, ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἤκουσεν νεωτερίζειν τὸ ἔθνος κἀκ τοῦ πρὸς Ἡρώδην μίσους εὔνουν Ἀντιγόνῳ διαμένον, ἔγνω τοῦτον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ πελεκίσαι: σχεδὸν γὰρ οὐδαμῶς ἠρεμεῖν ἠδύναντο οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. [9] μαρτυρεῖ δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ Στράβων ὁ Καππάδοξ λέγων οὕτως: "Ἀντώνιος δὲ Ἀντίγονον τὸν Ἰουδαῖον ἀχθέντα εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν πελεκίζει. καὶ ἔδοξε μὲν οὗτος πρῶτος Ῥωμαίων βασιλέα πελεκίσαι, οὐκ οἰηθεὶς ἕτερον τρόπον μεταθεῖναι ἂν τὰς γνώμας τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὥστε δέξασθαι τὸν ἀντ᾽ ἐκείνου καθεσταμένον Ἡρώδην: οὐδὲ γὰρ βασανιζόμενοι βασιλέα ἀναγορεύειν αὐτὸν ὑπέμειναν: [10] οὕτως μέγα τι ἐφρόνουν περὶ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως. τὴν οὖν ἀτιμίαν ἐνόμισε μειώσειν Τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν μνήμης, μειώσειν δὲ καὶ τὸ πρὸς Ἡρώδην μῖσος." ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Στράβων.

2. At this time Herod, now he had got Jerusalem under his power, carried off all the royal ornaments, and spoiled the wealthy men of what they had gotten; and when, by these means, he had heaped together a great quantity of silver and gold, he gave it all to Antony, and his friends that were about him. He also slew forty-five of the principal men of Antigonus's party, and set guards at the gates of the city, that nothing might be carried out together with their dead bodies. They also searched the dead, and whatsoever was found, either of silver or gold, or other treasure, it was carried to the king; nor was there any end of the miseries he brought upon them; and this distress was in part occasioned by the covetousness of the prince regent, who was still in want of more, and in part by the Sabbatic year, which was still going on, and forced the country to lie still uncultivated, since we are forbidden to sow our land in that year. Now when Antony had received Antigonus as his captive, he determined to keep him against his triumph; but when he heard that the nation grew seditious, and that, out of their hatred to Herod, they continued to bear good-will to Antigonus, he resolved to behead him at Antioch, for otherwise the Jews could no way be brought to be quiet. And Strabo of Cappadocia attests to what I have said, when he thus speaks: "Antony ordered Antigonus the Jew to be brought to Antioch, and there to be beheaded. And this Antony seems to me to have been the very first man who beheaded a king, as supposing he could no other way bend the

minds of the Jews so as to receive Herod, whom he had made king in his stead; for by no torments could they he forced to call him king, so great a fondness they had for their former king; so he thought that this dishonorable death would diminish the value they had for Antigonus's memory, and at the same time would diminish the hatred they bare to Herod." Thus far Strabo.

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CHAPTER 2. How Hyrcanus Was Set At

Liberty By The Parthians, And Returned To Herod; And What Alexandra Did When She Heard That Ananelus Was Made High Priest.

(1) [11] Κατασχόντος δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἡρώδου πυθόμενος Ὑρκανὸς ὁ ἀρχιερεύς, ἦν δὲ παρὰ Πάρθοις αἰχμάλωτος, ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς Ἡρώδην τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἀπολυθεὶς τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ: [12] Βαζαφράνης καὶ Πάκορος οἱ τῶν Πάρθων στρατηγοί, λαβόντες αἰχμαλώτους Ὑρκανὸν τὸν πρῶτον ἀρχιερέα γενόμενον εἶτα βασιλέα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἡρώδου Φασάηλον εἰς Πάρθους ἀνῆγον. [13] καὶ Φασάηλος μὲν οὐ φέρων τὴν ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς αἰσχύνην, πάσης δὲ ζωῆς κρείττονα τὸν μετὰ δόξης ἡγούμενος θάνατον αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ γίνεται φονεύς, καθὼς προεῖπον.

1. Now after Herod was in possession of the kingdom, Hyrcanus the high priest, who was then a captive among the Parthians, came to him again, and was set free from his captivity, in the manner following: Barzapharnes and Pacorus, the generals of the Parthians, took Hyreanus, who was first made high priest and afterward king, and Herod's brother, Phasaelus captives, and were them away into Parthis. Phasaelus indeed could not bear the reproach of being in bonds; and thinking that death with glory was better than any life whatsoever, he became his own executioner, as I have formerly related.

(2) [14] Ὑρκανῷ δ' ἀναχθέντι Φραάτης ὁ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλεὺς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπιεικέστερον προσηνέχθη, τὸ τῆς εὐγενείας αὐτοῦ διάσημον προπεπυσμένος. διὰ τοῦτο δεσμῶν μὲν ἀφῆκεν, ἐν Βαβυλῶνι δὲ κατάγεσθαι παρεῖχεν, ἔνθα καὶ πλῆθος ἦν Ἰουδαίων. [15] οὗτοι τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ἐτίμων ὡς ἀρχιερέα καὶ βασιλέα καὶ πᾶν τὸ μέχρις Εὐφράτου νεμόμενον Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος: τῷ δ' ἦν ἀγαπητὰ ταῦτα. [16] πυθόμενος δὲ τὸν Ἡρώδην παρειληφέναι τὴν βασιλείαν ἀντιμετεχώρει ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε φιλοστόργως διακείμενος καὶ τῆς χάριτος ἀπομνησθήσεσθαι προσδοκῶν, κρινόμενον ὅτι καὶ μέλλοντα θανάτῳ ζημιοῦσθαι τοῦ κινδύνου καὶ τῆς κολάσεως ἐρρύσατο. λόγους οὖν προσέφερε τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἰέναι παρ' αὐτὸν ἐσπουδακώς. [17] οἱ δὲ περιείχοντο καὶ μένειν ἠξίουν τὰς ὑπουργίας ἅμα καὶ τὰς τιμὰς λέγοντες, ὡς οὐδὲν ἐνδεὲς αὐτῷ τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς ἢ βασιλεῖς τιμῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν εἴη, καὶ τὸ μεῖζον, ὅτι μηδὲ ἐκεῖ τούτων μεταλαβεῖν δύναται κατὰ λώβην τοῦ σώματος, ἣν ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου πάθοι, τάς τε χάριτας οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀποδίδοσθαι παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων, ἃς ἔλαβον ἰδιωτεύοντες, ἐξαλλαττούσης αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἀλόγως τῆς τύχης.

2. But when Hyrcanus was brought into Parthia the king Phraates treated him after a very gentle manner, as having already learned of what an illustrious family he was; on which account he set him free from his bonds, and gave him a habitation at Babylon, where there were Jews in great numbers. These Jews honored Hyrcanus as their high priest and king, as did all the Jewish nation that dwelt as far as Euphrates; which respect was very much to his satisfaction. But when he was informed that Herod had received the kingdom, new hopes came upon him, as having been himself still of a kind disposition towards him, and expecting that Herod would bear in mind what favor he had received from him; and when he was upon his trial, and when he was in danger that a capital sentence would be pronounced against him, he delivered him from that danger, and from all punishment. Accordingly, he talked of that matter with the Jew that came often to him with great affection; but they endeavored to retain him among them, and desired that he would stay with them, putting him in mind of the kind offices and honors they did him, and that those honors they paid him were not at all inferior to what they could pay to either their high priests or their kings; and what was a greater motive to determine him, they said, was this, that he could not have those dignities [in Judea] because of that maim in his body, which had been inflicted on him by Antigonus; and that kings do not use to requite men for those kindnesses which they received when they were private persons, the height of their fortune making usually no small changes in them.

(3) [18] Τοιαῦτα κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον ὑποτεινόντων Ὑρκανὸς πόθον εἶχεν ἀπιέναι, καὶ γράφων Ἡρώδης παρεκάλει δεῖσθαι Φραάτου καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ Ἰουδαίων μὴ φθονῆσαι δυνάμει κοινὴν ἕξοντι τὴν βασιλείαν: ἄρτι γὰρ εἶναι καιρὸν αὐτῷ μὲν ἐκτῖσαι τὰς χάριτας ὧν εὖ πάθοι καὶ τραφεὶς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ περισωθείς, ἐκείνῳ δὲ κομίζεσθαι. [19] ταῦτα γράφων Ὑρκανῷ πέμπει καὶ παρὰ τὸν Φραάτην πρεσβευτὴν Σαραμάλλαν καὶ δῶρα πλείω, μὴ διακωλῦσαι τὰς εἰς τὸν εὐεργέτην αὐτοῦ χάριτας ὁμοίως φιλανθρωπευόμενον. [20] ἦν δ᾽ οὐκ ἐντεῦθεν ἡ σπουδή, διὰ δὲ τὸ μὴ κατ᾽ ἀξίαν αὐτὸς ἄρχειν δεδοίκει τὰς ἐξ εὐλόγων μεταβολὰς καὶ τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ὑποχείριον ἔχειν ἔσπευδεν ἢ καὶ παντάπασιν ἐκποδὼν ποιήσασθαι: τοῦτο γὰρ ἔπραξεν ἐν ὑστέρῳ.

3. Now although they suggested these arguments to him for his own advantage, yet did Hyrcanus still desire to depart. Herod also wrote to him, and persuaded him to desire of Phraates, and the Jews that were there, that they should not grudge him the royal authority, which he should have jointly with himself, for that now was the proper time for himself to make him amends for the favors he had received from him, as having been brought up by him, and saved by him also, as well as for Hyrcanus to receive it. And as he wrote thus to Hyrcanus, so

did he send also Saramallas, his ambassador, to Phraates, and many presents with him, and desired him in the most obliging way that he would be no hinderance to his gratitude towards his benefactor. But this zeal of Herod's did not flow from that principle, but because he had been made governor of that country without having any just claim to it, he was afraid, and that upon reasons good enough, of a change in his condition, and so made what haste he could to get Hyrcanus into his power, or indeed to put him quite out of the way; which last thing he compassed afterward.

(4) [21] Τότε μέντοι γε ἐπειδὴ παρῆν πεπεισμένος ἐφέντος τε τοῦ Πάρθου καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων χρήματα παρασχομένων, ἀπάσῃ τιμῇ δεξάμενος αὐτὸν ἔν τε τοῖς συλλόγοις τὸν πρῶτον ἔνεμε τόπον καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἑστιάσεις προκατακλίνων ἐξηπάτα πατέρα καλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶς τὸ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἀνύποπτον πραγματευόμενος. [22] ὑποκαθίστατο δὲ καὶ τἆλλα πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐξ ὧν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐστασιάσθη: φυλαττόμενος γάρ τινα τῶν ἐπισήμων ἀποδεικνύειν ἀρχιερέα τοῦ θεοῦ, μεταπεμψάμενος ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ἱερέα τῶν ἀσημοτέρων Ἀνάνηλον ὀνόματι τούτῳ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην δίδωσιν.

4. Accordingly, when Hyrcanus came, full of assurance, by the permission of the king of Parthia, and at the expense of the Jews, who supplied him with money, Herod received him with all possible respect, and gave him the upper place at public meetings, and set him above all the rest at feasts, and thereby deceived him. He called him his father, and endeavored, by all the ways possible, that he might have no suspicion of any treacherous design against him. He also did other things, in order to secure his government, which yet occasioned a sedition in his own family; for being cautious how he made any illustrious person the high priest of God, he sent for an obscure priest out of Babylon, whose name was Ananelus, and bestowed the high priesthood upon him.

(5) [23] Εὐθὺς οὖν οὐκ ἤνεγκεν Ἀλεξάνδρα τὴν ἐπήρειαν, θυγάτηρ μὲν Ὑρκανοῦ, γυνὴ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου βασιλέως, ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου παῖδας ἔχουσα τὸν μὲν ὥρᾳ κάλλιστον Ἀριστόβουλον καλούμενον, τὴν δὲ Ἡρώδῃ συνοικοῦσαν Μαριάμμην εὐμορφίᾳ διάσημον. [24] ἐτετάρακτο δὲ καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔφερεν τὴν ἀτιμίαν τοῦ παιδός, εἰ περιόντος ἐκείνου τῶν ἐπικλήτων τις ἀξιοῦται τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης, καὶ γράφει Κλεοπάτρᾳ μουσουργοῦ τινος αὐτῇ συμπραγματευομένου τὰ περὶ τὴν κομιδὴν τῶν γραμμάτων αἰτεῖσθαι παρ' Ἀντωνίου τῷ παιδὶ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην.

5. However, Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus, and wife of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus the king, who had also brought Alexander [two] children, could not bear this indignity. Now this son was one of the greatest comeliness, and was

called Aristobulus; and the daughter, Mariamne, was married to Herod, and eminent for her beauty also. This Alexandra was much disturbed, and took this indignity offered to her son exceeding ill, that while he was alive, any one else should be sent for to have the dignity of the high priesthood conferred upon him. Accordingly, she wrote to Cleopatra [a musician assisting her in taking care to have her letters carried] to desire her intercession with Antony, in order to gain the high priesthood for her son.

(6) [25] Ἀντωνίου δὲ ῥαθυμότερον ὑπακούοντος, ὁ φίλος αὐτοῦ Δέλλιος εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἐλθὼν ἐπί τινας χρείας ὡς εἶδεν τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον, ἠγάσθη τε τῆς ὥρας καὶ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ κάλλος τοῦ παιδὸς ἐθαύμασεν, οὐχ ἧττον δὲ τὴν Μαριάμμην συνοικοῦσαν τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ δῆλος ἦν καλλίπαιδά τινα τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν διειληφώς. [26] ἐκείνης δὲ εἰς λόγους ἐλθούσης αὐτῷ πείθει γραψαμένην ἀμφοτέρων εἰκόνας Ἀντωνίῳ διαπέμψασθαι: θεασαμένου γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἀτευκτήσειν ὧν ἀξιοῖ. [27] τούτοις ἐπαρθεῖσα τοῖς λόγοις Ἀλεξάνδρα πέμπει τὰς εἰκόνας Ἀντωνίῳ: καὶ Δέλλιος ἐτερατεύετο λέγων οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων αὐτῷ δοκεῖν, ἀλλά τινος θεοῦ γενέσθαι τοὺς παῖδας. ἐπραγματεύετο δὲ δι’ ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς ἑλκύσαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον. [28] ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν κόρην ᾐδέσθη μεταπέμπεσθαι γεγαμημένην Ἡρώδῃ καὶ τὰς εἰς Κλεοπάτραν ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου διαβολὰς φυλαττόμενος, ἐπέστελλε δὲ πέμπειν τὸν παῖδα σὺν εὐπρεπείᾳ προστιθείς, εἰ μὴ βαρὺ δοκοίη. [29] τούτων ἀπενεχθέντων πρὸς Ἡρώδην οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἔκρινεν ὥρᾳ τε κάλλιστον ὄντα τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ἑκκαιδεκαέτης γὰρ ὢν ἐτύγχανεν, καὶ γένει προύχοντα πέμπειν παρὰ τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ἰσχύοντα μὲν ὡς οὐκ ἄλλος ἐν τῷ τότε Ῥωμαίων, ἕτοιμον δὲ τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς αὐτὸν ὑποθεῖναι καὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀπαρακαλύπτως ἐκ τοῦ δύνασθαι ποριζόμενον. [30] ἀντέγραψεν οὖν ὡς, εἰ μόνον ἐξέλθοι τῆς χώρας τὸ μειράκιον, ἅπαντα πολέμου καὶ ταραχῆς ἀναπλησθήσεται Ἰουδαίων ἐλπισάντων μεταβολὴν καὶ νεωτερισμὸν ἐπ’ ἄλλῳ βασιλεῖ.

6. But as Antony was slow in granting this request, his friend Dellius came into Judea upon some affairs; and when he saw Aristobulus, he stood in admiration at the tallness and handsomeness of the child, and no less at Mariarune, the king’s wife, and was open in his commendations of Alexandra, as the mother of most beautiful children. And when she came to discourse with him, he persuaded her to get pictures drawn of them both, and to send them to Antony, for that when he saw them, he would deny her nothing that she should ask. Accordingly, Alexandra was elevated with these words of his, and sent the pictures to Antony. Dellius also talked extravagantly, and said that these children seemed not derived from men, but from some god or other. His design in doing so was to entice Antony into lewd pleasures with them, who was ashamed to send for the

damsel, as being the wife of Herod, and avoided it, because of the reproaches he should have from Cleopatra on that account; but he sent, in the most decent manner he could, for the young man; but added this withal, unless he thought it hard upon him so to do. When this letter was brought to Herod, he did not think it safe for him to send one so handsome as was Aristobulus, in the prime of his life, for he was sixteen years of age, and of so noble a family, and particularly not to Antony, the principal man among the Romans, and one that would abuse him in his amours, and besides, one that openly indulged himself in such pleasures as his power allowed him without control. He therefore wrote back to him, that if this boy should only go out of the country, all would be in a state of war and uproar, because the Jews were in hopes of a change in the government, and to have another king over them.

(7) [31] Τούτοις δὲ παραιτησάμενος τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔγνω μὴ μέχρι παντὸς ἀτιμάζειν τὸν παῖδα καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς Μαριάμμης ἐγκειμένης λιπαρῶς ἀποδοῦναι τἀδελφῷ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην, καὶ συμφέρειν αὐτῷ κρίνων, ἵνα μηδ' ἀποδημῆσαι δυνατὸν ᾖ τετιμημένῳ, σύλλογον ποιήσας τῶν φίλων ᾐτιᾶτο πολλὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν, [32] κρύφα τε ἐπιβουλεῦσαι λέγων τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ διὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας πράττειν, ὅπως αὐτὸς μὲν ἀφαιρεθῇ τὴν ἀρχήν, τὸ δὲ μειράκιον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ παραλάβῃ τὰ πράγματα δι' Ἀντωνίου. [33] καὶ ταῦτα βούλεσθαι μὲν ἐκείνην οὐ δικαίως, ὁπότε καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα συναποστεροίη τῆς οὔσης αὐτῇ τιμῆς καὶ ταραχὰς ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ πραγματεύοιτο, πολλὰ πονήσαντος αὐτοῦ καὶ κτησαμένου κινδύνοις οὐ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν. [34] οὐ μὴν ἀπομνημονεύσας αὐτὸς ὢν οὐ καλῶς ἐκείνη πράξειεν ἀποστήσεσθαι τοῦ δίκαιος εἶναι περὶ αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ἔφη διδόναι τῷ παιδὶ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην καὶ πάλαι προκαταστήσασθαι τὸν Ἀνάνηλον παιδίου παντάπασιν ὄντος Ἀριστοβούλου. [35] τοιαῦτα δὲ λέγοντος οὐκ ἀσκέπτως, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἠξίου μάλιστα πεφροντισμένως εἰς ἀπάτην γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν συμπαραληφθέντων φίλων, περιπαθὴς ἅμα καὶ χαρᾷ τῶν οὐ προσδοκηθέντων καὶ δέει τῆς ὑποψίας Ἀλεξάνδρα μετὰ δακρύων ἀπελογεῖτο, [36] περὶ μὲν τῆς ἱερωσύνης φαμένη πᾶν ὁτιοῦν ὑπ' ἀδοξίας σπουδάσαι, βασιλείᾳ δὲ μήτε ἐπιτίθεσθαι μήτ' ἄν, εἰ καὶ προσίοι, βούλεσθαι λαβεῖν, καὶ νῦν ἀποχρώντως τιμῆς ἔχουσα διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐκείνου καὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ δύνασθαι μᾶλλον ἑτέρων ἄρχειν αὐτὸν ἅπαντι τῷ γένει περιοῦσαν. [37] νῦν τε νενικημένη ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις δέχεσθαι μὲν εἰς τὸν υἱὸν τὴν τιμήν, ἔσεσθαι δὲ πρὸς πᾶν ὑπήκοος, παραιτεῖσθαι δὲ κἂν εἴ τι διὰ γένος καὶ τὴν οὖσαν αὐτῇ παρρησίαν προπετέστερον ὑπ' ἀναξιοπαθείας δράσειεν. [38] οὕτως ἀλλήλοις ὁμιλήσαντες καὶ σπουδαιότερον ἢ θᾶττον ἐν δεξιαῖς διελύοντο πάσης ὑποψίας, ὡς ἐδόκουν, ἐξῃρημένης.

7. When Herod had thus excused himself to Antony, he resolved that he would not entirely permit the child or Alexandra to be treated dishonorably; but his wife Mariamne lay vehemently at him to restore the high priesthood to her brother; and he judged it was for his advantage so to do, because if he once had that dignity, he could not go out of the country. So he called his friends together, and told them that Alexandra privately conspired against his royal authority, and endeavored, by the means of Cleopatra, so to bring it about, that he might be deprived of the government, and that by Antony's means this youth might have the management of public affairs in his stead; and that this procedure of hers was unjust, since she would at the same time deprive her daughter of the dignity she now had, and would bring disturbances upon the kingdom, for which he had taken a great deal of pains, and had gotten it with extraordinary hazards; that yet, while he well remembered her wicked practices, he would not leave off doing what was right himself, but would even now give the youth the high priesthood; and that he formerly set up Ananelus, because Aristobulus was then so very young a child. Now when he had said this, not at random, but as he thought with the best discretion he had, in order to deceive the women, and those friends whom he had taken to consult withal, Alexandra, out of the great joy she had at this unexpected promise, and out of fear from the suspicions she lay under, fell a weeping; and made the following apology for herself; and said, that as to the [high] priesthood, she was very much concerned for the disgrace her son was under, and so did her utmost endeavors to procure it for him; but that as to the kingdom, she had made no attempts, and that if it were offered her [for her son], she would not accept it; and that now she would be satisfied with her son's dignity, while he himself held the civil government, and she had thereby the security that arose from his peculiar ability in governing to all the remainder of her family; that she was now overcome by his benefits, and thankfully accepted of this honor showed by him to her son, and that she would hereafter be entirely obedient. And she desired him to excuse her, if the nobility of her family, and that freedom of acting which she thought that allowed her, had made her act too precipitately and imprudently in this matter. So when they had spoken thus to one another, they came to an agreement, and all suspicions, so far as appeared, were vanished away.

III

CHAPTER 3. How Herod Upon His Making Aristobulus High Priest Took Care That He Should Be Murdered In A Little Time; And What Apology He Made To Antony About Aristobulus; As Also Concerning Joseph And Mariamne.

(1) [39] Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης εὐθὺς μὲν ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην Ἀνάνηλον ὄντα μέν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἴπομεν, οὐκ ἐπιχώριον, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην ἀπῳκισμένων Ἰουδαίων: οὐ γὰρ ὀλίγαι μυριάδες τοῦδε τοῦ λαοῦ περὶ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ἀπῳκίσθησαν. [40] ἔνθεν ἦν Ἀνάνηλος ἀρχιερατικοῦ γένους καὶ πάλαι κατὰ συνήθειαν Ἡρώδῃ σπουδαζόμενος. τοῦτον αὐτὸς μὲν ἐτίμησεν, ὅτε τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν, αὐτὸς δὲ κατέλυσεν ἐπὶ τῷ παῦσαι τὰς οἰκείας ταραχὰς παράνομα ποιῶν: οὐ γὰρ ἄλλος γέ τις ἀφῃρέθη τὴν τιμὴν ἅπαξ παραλαβών. [41] ἀλλὰ πρῶτος μὲν Ἀντίοχος ὁ Ἐπιφανὴς ἔλυσε τὸν νόμον ἀφελόμενος μὲν Ἰησοῦν, καταστήσας δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ὀνίαν, δεύτερος δὲ Ἀριστόβουλος Ὑρκανὸν ἀφείλετο τὸν ἀδελφόν, Ἡρώδης δὲ τρίτος ἀντιπαρέδωκεν τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀριστοβούλῳ τῷ παιδί.

1. So king Herod immediately took the high priesthood away from Ananelus, who, as we said before, was not of this country, but one of those Jews that had been carried captive beyond Euphrates; for there were not a few ten thousands of this people that had been carried captives, and dwelt about Babylonia, whence Ananelus came. He was one of the stock of the high priests and had been of old a particular friend of Herod; and when he was first made king, he conferred that dignity upon him, and now put him out of it again, in order to quiet the troubles in his family, though what he did was plainly unlawful, for at no other time [of old] was any one that had once been in that dignity deprived of it. It was Antiochus Epiphanes who first brake that law, and deprived Jesus, and made his brother Onias high priest in his stead. Aristobulus was the second that did so, and took that dignity from his brother [Hyrcanus]; and this Herod was the third, who took that high office away [from Arianflus], and gave it to this young man, Aristobulus, in his stead.

(2) [42] Καὶ τότε μὲν ἐδόκει τεθεραπευκέναι τὰ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν. οὐ μὴν ὅπερ εἰκὸς ἦν ἐν διαλλαγαῖς ἀνυπόπτως διετέλει, τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν ἐπί τε τοῖς ἐγχειρηθεῖσιν ἤδη καὶ καιρὸν εἰ λάβοιτο νεωτέρων πραγμάτων ἠξιωκὼς δεδοικέναι. [43] προσέταττεν οὖν ἔν τε τοῖς βασιλείοις διατρίβειν καὶ μηδὲν ἀπ᾽ ἐξουσίας δρᾶν,

ἐπιμελεῖς τε ἦσαν φυλακαί, λανθάνοντος οὐδ᾽ εἴ τι πρὸς τὴν καθ᾽ ἡμέραν δίαιταν ἐπιτηδεύοιτο. [44] ταῦτα πάντα κατὰ μικρὸν ἐξηγρίου αὐτὴν καὶ μῖσος ἐπεφύετο: φρονήματος γὰρ ἔμπλεως οὖσα γυναικείου τὰς ἐκ τῆς ὑποψίας ἐπιμελείας ἀνηξιοπάθει, παντὸς οὐτινοσοῦν ἀξιοῦσα μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς παρρησίας στερομένη τιμῆς εὐπρεπείᾳ μετὰ δουλείας καὶ φόβων καταζῆν. [45] ἔπεμπεν οὖν παρὰ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν ἐν οἷς εἴη συνεχὲς ὀδυρομένη καὶ παρακαλοῦσα προσβοηθεῖν αὐτῇ κατὰ δύναμιν. ἡ δὲ λαθοῦσαν ἐκέλευσεν ἐπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου σὺν τῷ παιδὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀποδιδράσκειν. [46] ἐδόκει ταῦτα καὶ τεχνάζεται τοιάδε: δύο λάρνακας ὡς εἰς ἐκκομιδὴν νεκρῶν παρασκευασαμένη ταύταις αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐνέβαλεν, ἐπιτάξασα τῶν οἰκετῶν τοῖς συνειδόσιν διὰ νυκτὸς ἐκφέρειν. ἦν δὲ τοὐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ θάλατταν ὁδὸς αὐτοῖς καὶ πλοῖον, ὃ διαπλεύσειν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἔμελλεν, παρεσκευασμένον. [47] ταῦτα Σαββίωνι τῶν ἐκείνης φίλων Αἴσωπος οἰκέτης αὐτῆς ἀπαγγέλλει προπεσὼν ὡς εἰδότι φράσαι. πυθόμενος δὲ Σαββίων, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἐχθρὸς Ἡρώδου [πρότερον], ὅτι τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων Ἀντιπάτρῳ κατὰ τὴν φαρμακείαν εἷς ἐνομίζετο, τὸ μῖσος ὑπαλλάξεσθαι τῇ περὶ τὴν μήνυσιν εὐνοίᾳ προσεδόκησεν καὶ καταλέγει τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρας ἐπιβουλήν. [48] ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν ἕως τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως ἐάσας προελθεῖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοφώρῳ τοῦ δρασμοῦ συνέλαβεν, παρῆκεν δὲ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, χαλεπὸν μὲν οὐδέν, εἰ καὶ σφόδρα βουλομένῳ ἦν αὐτῷ, διαθεῖναι τολμήσας, οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἀνασχέσθαι Κλεοπάτραν αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν μίσει λαβοῦσαν, ἐμφαίνων δὲ μεγαλοψυχίαν μᾶλλον ἐξ ἐπιεικείας αὐτοῖς συνεγνωκέναι. [49] προύκειτο μέντοι παντάπασιν αὐτῷ τὸ μειράκιον ἐκποδὼν ποιεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ μὴ ταχὺ μηδ᾽ ἅμα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐδόκει πιθανώτερον εἰς τὸ λανθάνειν.

2. And now Herod seemed to have healed the divisions in his family; yet was he not without suspicion, as is frequently the case, of people seeming to be reconciled to one another, but thought that, as Alexandra had already made attempts tending to innovations, so did he fear that she would go on therein, if she found a fit opportunity for so doing; so he gave a command that she should dwell in the palace, and meddle with no public affairs. Her guards also were so careful, that nothing she did in private life every day was concealed. All these hardships put her out of patience, by little and little and she began to hate Herod; for as she had the pride of a woman to the utmost degree, she had great indignation at this suspicious guard that was about her, as desirous rather to undergo any thing that could befall her, than to be deprived of her liberty of speech, and, under the notion of an honorary guard, to live in a state of slavery and terror. She therefore sent to Cleopatra, and made a long complaint of the circumstances she was in, and entreated her to do her utmost for her assistance. Cleopatra hereupon advised her to take her son with her, and come away

immediately to her into Egypt. This advice pleased her; and she had this contrivance for getting away: She got two coffins made, as if they were to carry away two dead bodies and put herself into one, and her son into the other and gave orders to such of her servants as knew of her intentions to carry them away in the night time. Now their road was to be thence to the sea-side and there was a ship ready to carry them into Egypt. Now Aesop, one of her servants, happened to fall upon Sabion, one of her friends, and spake of this matter to him, as thinking he had known of it before. When Sabion knew this, [who had formerly been an enemy of Herod, and been esteemed one of those that laid snares for and gave the poison to [his father] Antipater,] he expected that this discovery would change Herod's hatred into kindness; so he told the king of this private stratagem of Alexandra: whereupon be suffered her to proceed to the execution of her project, and caught her in the very fact; but still he passed by her offense; and though he had a great mind to do it, he durst not inflict any thing that was severe upon her, for he knew that Cleopatra would not bear that he should have her accused, on account of her hatred to him; but made a show as if it were rather the generosity of his soul, and his great moderation, that made him forgive them. However, he fully proposed to himself to put this young man out of the way, by one means or other; but he thought he might in probability be better concealed in doing it, if he did it not presently, nor immediately after what had lately happened.

(3) [50] Καὶ τῆς σκηνοπηγίας ἐπεχούσης, ἑορτὴ δέ ἐστιν αὕτη παρ' ἡμῖν εἰς τὰ μάλιστα τηρουμένη, ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας ὑπερεβάλλετο καὶ πρὸς εὐφροσύναις αὐτός τε καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἦν. ἐκίνησεν δ' αὐτὸν ὅμως κἀκ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπισπεῦσαι τὰ περὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἐμφανῶς παροξύνων ὁ φθόνος. [51] τὸ γὰρ μειράκιον Ἀριστόβουλος ἕβδομον ἐπὶ τοῖς δέκα γεγονὸς ἔτος, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀνῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν συντελέσων τὰ θύματα, τόν τε κόσμον ἔχων τὸν τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν θρησκείαν ἐκτελῶν, κάλλει τε κάλλιστος καὶ μεγέθει πλέον ἢ πρὸς τὴν ἡλικίαν ὑπεράγων, τοῦ γε μὴν περὶ τὸ γένος ἀξιώματος πλεῖστον ἐν τῇ μορφῇ διαφαίνων, [52] ὁρμή τε τῷ πλήθει πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας ἐγένετο καὶ τῶν Ἀριστοβούλῳ τῷ πάππῳ πεπραγμένων ἐναργὴς ἡ μνήμη παρέστη, νικώμενοί τε κατὰ μικρὸν ἐξηλέγχοντο τὰς διαθέσεις χαίροντες ὁμοῦ καὶ συγχεόμενοι καὶ φωνὰς εὐφήμους εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφιέντες εὐχαῖς μεμιγμένας, ὡς ἐμφανῆ γενέσθαι τὴν εὔνοιαν τῶν ὄχλων καὶ προπετεστέραν ἐν βασιλείᾳ δοκεῖν τὴν ὧν πεπόνθεσαν ὁμολογίαν. [53] ἐπὶ τούτοις ἅπασιν Ἡρώδης ἔγνω τὴν προαίρεσιν, ἣν εἶχεν εἰς τὸ μειράκιον, ἐξεργάσασθαι. καὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς παρελθούσης εἱστιᾶτο μὲν ἐν Ἰεριχοῦντι δεχομένης αὐτοὺς τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρας, φιλοφρονούμενος δὲ τὸ μειράκιον καὶ προέλκων εἰς ἀδεῆ πότον ἕτοιμος ἦν

συμπαίζειν καὶ νεανιεύεσθαι κεχαρισμένως ἐκείνῳ. [54] τοῦ δὲ περὶ τὸν τόπον ἰδιώματος θερινωτέρου τυγχάνοντος συνειλεγμένοι τάχιον ἐξῆλθον ἀλύοντες, καὶ ταῖς κολυμβήθραις ἐπιστάντες, αἳ μεγάλαι περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν ἐτύγχανον, ἀνέψυχον τὸ θερμότατον τῆς μεσημβρίας. [55] καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἑώρων τοὺς νέοντας τῶν οἰκετῶν καὶ φίλων, ἔπειτα προαχθέντος καὶ τοῦ μειρακίου τῷ καὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην παροξῦναι, τῶν φίλων οἷς ταῦτα ἐπιτέτακτο σκότους ἐπέχοντος βαροῦντες ἀεὶ καὶ βαπτίζοντες ὡς ἐν παιδιᾷ νηχόμενον οὐκ ἀνῆκαν, ἕως καὶ παντάπασιν ἀποπνῖξαι. [56] καὶ διεφθάρη μὲν οὕτως Ἀριστόβουλος, ὀκτωκαίδεκα μὲν οὐ πάντα βιοὺς ἔτη, τὴν δ᾽ ἱερωσύνην κατασχὼν ἐνιαυτόν, ἣν Ἀνάνηλος ἐκομίσατο πάλιν.

3. And now, upon the approach of the feast of tabernacles, which is a festival very much observed among us, he let those days pass over, and both he and the rest of the people were therein very merry; yet did the envy which at this time arose in him cause him to make haste to do what he was about, and provoke him to it; for when this youth Aristobulus, who was now in the seventeenth year of his age, went up to the altar, according to the law, to offer the sacrifices, and this with the ornaments of his high priesthood, and when he performed the sacred offices, he seemed to be exceedingly comely, and taller than men usually were at that age, and to exhibit in his countenance a great deal of that high family he was sprung from, — a warm zeal and affection towards him appeared among the people, and the memory of the actions of his grandfather Aristobulus was fresh in their minds; and their affections got so far the mastery of them, that they could not forbear to show their inclinations to him. They at once rejoiced and were confounded, and mingled with good wishes their joyful acclamations which they made to him, till the good-will of the multitude was made too evident; and they more rashly proclaimed the happiness they had received from his family than was fit under a monarchy to have done. Upon all this, Herod resolved to complete what he had intended against the young man. When therefore the festival was over, and he was feasting at Jericho with Alexandra, who entertained them there, he was then very pleasant with the young man, and drew him into a lonely place, and at the same time played with him in a juvenile and ludicrous manner. Now the nature of that place was hotter than ordinary; so they went out in a body, and of a sudden, and in a vein of madness; and as they stood by the fish-ponds, of which there were large ones about the house, they went to cool themselves [by bathing], because it was in the midst of a hot day. At first they were only spectators of Herod’s servants and acquaintance as they were swimming; but after a while, the young man, at the instigation of Herod, went into the water among them, while such of Herod’s acquaintance, as he had

appointed to do it, dipped him as he was swimming, and plunged him under water, in the dark of the evening, as if it had been done in sport only; nor did they desist till he was entirely suffocated. And thus was Aristobulus murdered, having lived no more in all than eighteen years, and kept the high priesthood one year only; which high priesthood Ananelus now recovered again.

(4) [57] Ἐξαγγελθέντος δὲ τοῦ πάθους ταῖς γυναιξὶν εὐθὺς μὲν ἐκ μεταβολῆς θρῆνος ἦν ἐπὶ προκειμένῳ τῷ νεκρῷ καὶ πένθος ἄσχετον, ἥ τε πόλις τοῦ λόγου διαδοθέντος ὑπερήλγει πάσης ἑστίας οἰκειουμένης τὴν συμφορὰν ὡς οὐκ ἐπ᾽ ἀλλοτρίῳ γενομένην. [58] Ἀλεξάνδρα δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκπαθὴς ἦν συνέσει τῆς ἀπωλείας, τὸ μὲν ἀλγοῦν ἐκ τοῦ γινώσκειν ὅπως ἐπράχθη πλεῖον ἔχουσα, τὸ δ᾽ ἐγκαρτερεῖν ἀναγκαῖον ἐπὶ μείζονος κακοῦ προσδοκίᾳ ποιουμένη. [59] καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ἦλθεν αὐτοχειρίᾳ περιγράψασθαι τὸν βίον, ἐπέστη δ᾽ ὅμως, εἰ δύναιτο ζῶσα προσαρκέσαι τῷ κατ᾽ ἐπιβουλὰς ἀνόμως διεφθαρμένῳ, τό τε πλέον ἐντεῦθεν αὐτῇ παρεκρότει τὸν βίον, καὶ τὸ μηδεμίαν ὑποψίαν ἐνδοῦναι τοῦ κατὰ πρόνοιαν ἀπολέσθαι τὸν υἱὸν ἱκανὸν εἰς εὐκαιρίαν ἀμύνης ἐνόμιζε. [60] κἀκείνη μὲν ἐγκρατῶς ἔφερε τὴν ὑποψίαν. Ἡρώδης δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔξωθεν πιθανῶς ἀπεσκευάζετο, μὴ μετὰ προνοίας γενέσθαι τῷ παιδὶ τὸν θάνατον, οὐχ ὅσα πρὸς πένθος ἐπιτηδεύων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δάκρυσι χρώμενος καὶ σύγχυσιν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐμφαίνων ἀληθινήν, τάχα μὲν καὶ τοῦ πάθους ἀπονικῶντος αὐτὸν ἐν ὄψει τῆς τε ὥρας καὶ τοῦ κάλλους, εἰ καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ὁ θάνατος τοῦ παιδὸς ἐνομίζετο, δῆλον δ᾽ ὡς ἀπολογίαν αὐτὰ πραγματευόμενος. [61] τά γε μὴν εἰς τὴν πολυτέλειαν τῆς ἐκφορᾶς καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπεδείξατο, πολλὴν μὲν τὴν παρασκευὴν περί τε τὰς θήκας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν θυμιαμάτων ποιησάμενος, πολὺν δὲ συγκαταθάπτων κόσμον, ὡς ἐκπλῆξαι τὸ λυπηρὸν τῆς ἐν ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἀλγηδόνος καὶ παραμυθήσασθαι τούτῳ τῷ μέρει.

4. When this sad accident was told the women, their joy was soon changed to lamentation, at the sight of the dead body that lay before them, and their sorrow was immoderate. The city also [of Jerusalem], upon the spreading of this news, were in very great grief, every family looking on this calamity as if it had not belonged to another, but that one of themselves was slain. But Alexandra was more deeply affected, upon her knowledge that he had been destroyed [on purpose]. Her sorrow was greater than that of others, by her knowing how the murder was committed; but she was under the necessity of bearing up under it, out of her prospect of a greater mischief that might otherwise follow; and she oftentimes came to an inclination to kill herself with her own hand, but still she restrained herself, in hopes she might live long enough to revenge the unjust murder thus privately committed; nay, she further resolved to endeavor to live longer, and to give no occasion to think she suspected that her son was slain on

purpose, and supposed that she might thereby be in a capacity of revenging it at a proper opportunity. Thus did she restrain herself, that she might not be noted for entertaining any such suspicion. However, Herod endeavored that none abroad should believe that the child's death was caused by any design of his; and for this purpose he did not only use the ordinary signs of sorrow, but fell into tears also, and exhibited a real confusion of soul; and perhaps his affections were overcome on this occasion, when he saw the child's countenance so young and so beautiful, although his death was supposed to tend to his own security. So far at least this grief served as to make some apology for him; and as for his funeral, that he took care should be very magnificent, by making great preparation for a sepulcher to lay his body in, and providing a great quantity of spices, and burying many ornaments together with him, till the very women, who were in such deep sorrow, were astonished at it, and received in this way some consolation.

(5) [62] Τὴν δ' Ἀλεξάνδραν ἥττησε μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων, ἀεὶ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον ἡ μνήμη τοῦ κακοῦ παρέχουσα τὴν ὀδύνην ὀδυρτικὴν ἐποίει καὶ φιλόνεικον, καὶ γράφει τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν Ἡρώδου τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ καὶ τὴν ἀπώλειαν τοῦ παιδός. [63] ἡ δὲ καὶ πάλαι σπεύδουσα προσαρκέσαι δεομένῃ καὶ τὰς ἀτυχίας οἰκτείρουσα τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρας αὐτῆς ἐποιεῖτο τὸ πᾶν πρᾶγμα καὶ Ἀντώνιον οὐκ ἀνίει τίσασθαι τὸν φόνον τοῦ παιδὸς παροξύνουσα: οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον Ἡρώδην δι' αὐτοῦ καταστάντα βασιλέα τῆς οὐδὲν προσηκούσης ἀρχῆς εἰς τοὺς ὄννως βασιλεῖς τοιαύτας ἐπιδείκνυσθαι παρανομίας. [64] τούτοις ἀναπειθόμενος Ἀντώνιος ὡς ἐπὶ Λαοδικείας ἐστάλη, πέμπει κελεύων Ἡρώδην ἐλθόντα τῶν εἰς Ἀριστόβουλον ἀπολύσασθαι: πεπρᾶχθαι γὰρ οὐκ ὀρθῶς τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, εἰ δι' αὐτοῦ γέγονεν. [65] ὁ δὲ τήν τε αἰτίαν δεδοικὼς καὶ τὴν Κλεοπάτρας δυσμένειαν, ὡς οὐκ ἀνῆκεν ἐξεργαζομένη κακῶς αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔχειν, ἔγνω μὲν ὑπακούειν, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλο τι πράττειν ἐνῆν, καταλιπὼν δὲ τὸν θεῖον αὐτοῦ Ἰώσηπον ἐπίτροπον τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ πραγμάτων ἐνετείλατο λεληθότως, εἰ πάθοι τι παρ' Ἀντωνίῳ, παραχρῆμα καὶ τὴν Μαριάμμην ἀνελεῖν: [66] αὐτός τε γὰρ ἔχειν φιλοστόργως πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ δεδοικέναι τὴν ὕβριν, εἰ καὶ τεθνηκότος ἐκείνη κατ' εὐμορφίαν ἄλλῳ τινὶ σπουδάζοιτο. [67] τὸ δὲ σύμπαν ἐνέφαινεν ὁρμὴν Ἀντωνίου περὶ τὴν ἄνθρωπον, ὅτι καὶ πάλαι παρακηκοὼς ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐμορφίας ἐτύγχανεν. Ἡρώδης μὲν [οὖν] ἐπιστείλας ταῦτα καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς ἔχων ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων ἀπῄει πρὸς Ἀντώνιον.

5. However, no such things could overcome Alexandra's grief; but the remembrance of this miserable case made her sorrow, both deep and obstinate. Accordingly, she wrote an account of this treacherous scene to Cleopatra, and how her son was murdered; but Cleopatra, as she had formerly been desirous to

give her what satisfaction she could, and commiserating Alexandra's misfortunes, made the case her own, and would not let Antony be quiet, but excited him to punish the child's murder; for that it was an unworthy thing that Herod, who had been by him made king of a kingdom that no way belonged to him, should be guilty of such horrid crimes against those that were of the royal blood in reality. Antony was persuaded by these arguments; and when he came to Laodicea, he sent and commanded Herod to come and make his defense, as to what he had done to Aristobulus, for that such a treacherous design was not well done, if he had any hand in it. Herod was now in fear, both of the accusation, and of Cleopatra's ill-will to him, which was such that she was ever endeavoring to make Antony hate him. He therefore determined to obey his summons, for he had no possible way to avoid it. So he left his uncle Joseph procurator for his government, and for the public affairs, and gave him a private charge, that if Antony should kill him, he also should kill Mariamne immediately; for that he had a tender affection for this his wife, and was afraid of the injury that should be offered him, if, after his death, she, for her beauty, should be engaged to some other man: but his intimation was nothing but this at the bottom, that Antony had fallen in love with her, when he had formerly heard somewhat of her beauty. So when Herod had given Joseph this charge, and had indeed no sure hopes of escaping with his life, he went away to Antony.

(6) [68] Ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως ὢν τῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ πραγμάτων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο συνεχὲς ἐντυγχάνων τῇ Μαριάμμῃ περί τε τὰς πραγματείας καὶ τιμῆς ἕνεκεν, ἣν ἔδει βασιλευούσῃ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι, καθίει συνεχεῖς ὁμιλίας ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἡρώδου πρὸς αὐτὴν εὐνοίας καὶ φιλοστοργίας. [69] ἐξειρωνευομένων δὲ γυναικείως τοὺς λόγους καὶ μάλιστα τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρας, ὑπερεσπουδακὼς ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἐπιδεῖξαι τὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ βασιλέως προήχθη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐντολὴν εἰπεῖν, πίστιν αὐτὰ ποιούμενος ὡς οὐδὲ χωρὶς ἐκείνης ζῆν δύναται κἂν εἰ πάσχοι δεινόν τι οὐκ ἀξιοῦντος οὐδὲ θανάτῳ διεζεῦχθαι. [70] ταῦτα μὲν Ἰώσηπος. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες, ὡς εἰκός, οὐ τὸ φιλόστοργον τῆς περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην διαθέσεως, τὸ δὲ χαλεπόν, εἰ μηδ᾽ ἀποθνήσκοντος ὑστερήσειεν ἀπωλείας καὶ θανάτου τυραννικοῦ, προλαμβάνουσαι χαλεπὴν τὴν ὑπόνοιαν τοῦ ῥηθέντος εἶχον.

6. But as Joseph was administering the public affairs of the kingdom, and for that reason was very frequently with Mariamne, both because his business required it, and because of the respects he ought to pay to the queen, he frequently let himself into discourses about Herod's kindness, and great affection towards her; and when the women, especially Alexandra, used to turn his discourses into feminine raillery, Joseph was so over-desirous to demonstrate the kings inclinations, that he proceeded so far as to mention the charge he had received,

and thence drew his demonstration, that Herod was not able to live without her; and that if he should come to any ill end, he could not endure a separation from her, even after he was dead. Thus spake Joseph. But the women, as was natural, did not take this to be an instance of Herod's strong affection for them, but of his severe usage of them, that they could not escape destruction, nor a tyrannical death, even when he was dead himself. And this saying [of Joseph] was a foundation for the women's severe suspicions about him afterwards.

(7) [71] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ λόγος ἐγένετο κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν παρὰ τῶν ἐν ἔχθει τὸν Ἡρώδην ἐχόντων, ὡς Ἀντώνιος αἰκισάμενος αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνειεν. ἡ δὲ φήμη πάντας μὲν ἐτάραξεν, ὡς εἰκός, τοὺς περὶ τὸ βασίλειον, μάλιστα δὲ καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας. [72] Ἀλεξάνδρα δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἀναπείθει τῶν βασιλείων ἐξελθόντα σὺν αὐταῖς προσφυγεῖν τοῖς σημείοις τοῦ Ῥωμαικοῦ τάγματος, ὃ τότε περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ φρουρᾷ τῆς βασιλείας ἐστρατοπέδευεν ἡγουμένου υἱοῦ ἰούδα: [73] διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο πρῶτον μέν, εἰ καί τις ἀπαντήσειεν ταραχὴ περὶ τὴν αὐλήν, ἐν ἀσφαλεστέρῳ διάξειν αὐτοὶ Ῥωμαίους εὐμενεῖς ἔχοντες: ἔπειτα καὶ τεύξεσθαι παντὸς ἠλπικέναι τὴν Μαριάμμην Ἀντωνίου θεασαμένου, δι' οὗ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναλήψεσθαι καὶ μηδενὸς ὑστερήσειν ὧν εἰκὸς τοῖς ἐν εὐγενείᾳ βασιλικῇ γεγονόσιν.

7. At this time a report went about the city Jerusalem among Herod's enemies, that Antony had tortured Herod, and put him to death. This report, as is natural, disturbed those that were about the palace, but chiefly the women; upon which Alexandra endeavored to persuade Joseph to go out of the palace, and fly away with them to the ensigns of the Roman legion, which then lay encamped about the city, as a guard to the kingdom, under the command of Julius; for that by this means, if any disturbance should happen about the palace, they should be in greater security, as having the Romans favorable to them; and that besides, they hoped to obtain the highest authority, if Antony did but once see Mariamne, by whose means they should recover the kingdom, and want nothing which was reasonable for them to hope for, because of their royal extraction.

(8) [74] Ἐπὶ τούτων δὲ τῶν λογισμῶν τετυχηκόσιν αὐτοῖς γράμματα παρ' Ἡρώδου περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἀφίκετο τῆς φήμης ἐναντία καὶ τῶν προλαληθέντων. [75] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐγένετο παρ' Ἀντωνίῳ, ταχὺ μὲν αὐτὸν ἀνεκτήσατο τοῖς δώροις ἃ φέρων ἦκεν ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, ταχὺ δὲ ταῖς ὁμιλίαις παρεστήσατο χαλεπῶς ἔχειν εἰς αὐτόν, οἵ τε τῆς Κλεοπάτρας λόγοι πρὸς τὴν ἐξ ἐκείνου θεραπείαν ἧττον ἠδυνήθησαν: [76] οὐ γὰρ ἔφη καλῶς ἔχειν Ἀντώνιος βασιλέα περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν γεγενημένων εὐθύνας ἀπαιτεῖν: οὕτως γὰρ ἂν οὐδὲ βασιλεὺς εἴη: δόντας δὲ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας καταξιώσαντας ἐᾶν αὐτῇ χρῆσθαι. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ

τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖσθαι τὰ περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς συμφέρειν. [77] ὑπὲρ τούτων Ἡρώδης ἔγραφεν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας διεξῄει τιμάς, ἃς ἔχοι παρ᾽ Ἀντωνίῳ συνθακῶν ἐν ταῖς διαγνώσεσιν καὶ συνεστιώμενος ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστης ἡμέρας, καὶ τούτων ὅπως τυγχάνοι χαλεπῆς εἰς τὰς διαβολὰς αὐτῷ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας οὔσης: πόθῳ γὰρ τῆς χώρας ἐξαιτουμένη τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῇ προσγενέσθαι πάντα τρόπον ἐκποδὼν αὐτὸν ἐσπουδάκει ποιεῖσθαι. [78] δικαίου μέντοι τυγχάνων Ἀντωνίου μηδὲν ἔτι δυσχερὲς προσδοκᾶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θᾶττον ἥξειν βεβαιοτέραν τὴν εὔνοιαν τὴν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ προσειληφὼς τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν. [79] καὶ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ μηκέτι προσεῖναι τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς πλεονεξίας Ἀντωνίου δόντος ἀνθ᾽ ὧν ἠξίου τὴν κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ διὰ τούτου παρηγορήσαντος ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀποσκευασαμένου τὰς ἐντεύξεις, ἃς ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐποιεῖτο.

8. But as they were in the midst of these deliberations, letters were brought from Herod about all his affairs, and proved contrary to the report, and of what they before expected; for when he was come to Antony, he soon recovered his interest with him, by the presents he made him, which he had brought with him from Jerusalem; and he soon induced him, upon discoursing with him, to leave off his indignation at him, so that Cleopatra's persuasions had less force than the arguments and presents he brought to regain his friendship; for Antony said that it was not good to require an account of a king, as to the affairs of his government, for at this rate he could be no king at all, but that those who had given him that authority ought to permit him to make use of it. He also said the same things to Cleopatra, that it would be best for her not busily to meddle with the acts of the king's government. Herod wrote an account of these things, and enlarged upon the other honors which he had received from Antony; how he sat by him at his hearing causes, and took his diet with him every day, and that he enjoyed those favors from him, notwithstanding the reproaches that Cleopatra so severely laid against him, who having a great desire of his country, and earnestly entreating Antony that the kingdom might be given to her, labored with her utmost diligence to have him out of the way; but that he still found Antony just to him, and had no longer any apprehensions of hard treatment from him; and that he was soon upon his return, with a firmer additional assurance of his favor to him, in his reigning and managing public affairs; and that there was no longer any hope for Cleopatra's covetous temper, since Antony had given her Celesyria instead of what she had desired; by which means he had at once pacified her, and got clear of the entreaties which she made him to have Judea bestowed upon her.

(9) [80] Τούτων τῶν γραμμάτων ἀπενεχθέντων ἐπαύσαντο μὲν ἐκείνης τῆς ὁρμῆς, ἣν ὡς ἀπολωλότος εἶχον καταφυγεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, οὐ μὴν ἔλαθεν αὐτῶν ἡ προαίρεσις, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ παραπέμψας ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντώνιον ἐπὶ Πάρθους εἰς τὴν

Ἰουδαίαν ὑπέστρεψεν, εὐθὺς μὲν ἥ τε ἀδελφὴ Σαλώμη καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῷ τὴν διάνοιαν ἣν ἔσχον οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν ἀπεσήμηναν, [81] ἡ δὲ Σαλώμη καὶ κατὰ τἀνδρὸς Ἰωσήπου λόγον εἶπεν τὸ ἐΝ διαβολῇ ποιοῦσα καὶ τῇ Μαριάμμῃ συγγενόμενον διατελεῖν. ἔλεγεν δὲ ταῦτα χαλεπῶς ἔχουσα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκ πλείονος, ὅτι κατὰ τὰς διαφορὰς φρονήματι χρωμένη μείζονι τὴν ἐκείνων ἐξωνείδιζεν δυσγένειαν. [82] Ἡρώδης δὲ θερμῶς ἀεὶ καὶ ἐρωτικῶς πρὸς τὴν Μαριάμμην ἔχων εὐθὺς ἐξετετάρακτο καὶ τὴν ζηλοτυπίαν οὐκ ἔφερεν, ἐπικρατούμενος δ᾽ ἀεὶ τοῦ μὴ προπετές τι ποιῆσαι διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα, συντόνῳ τῷ πάθει καὶ τῷ ζήλῳ παρωξυμμένος ἰδίᾳ τὴν Μαριάμμην ἀνέκρινεν ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸς τὸν Ἰώσηπον. [83] ἀπομνυμένης δ᾽ ἐκείνης καὶ πάνθ᾽ ὅσα τῇ μηδὲν ἁμαρτούσῃ προσῆν εἰς ἀπολογίαν καταλογιζομένης, ἀνεπείθετο κατὰ μικρὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ μετέβαινεν ἐκ τῆς ὀργῆς ἡττώμενος τῆς περὶ τὴν γυναῖκα φιλοστοργίας, ὡς ἀπολογεῖσθαι περὶ ὧν ἔδοξεν ἀκούσας πεπιστευκέναι καὶ περὶ τῆς κοσμιότητος αὐτῇ πολλὴν ὁμολογεῖν χάριν. [84] αὐτός τε ὅπως ἔχοι στοργῆς καὶ εὐνοίας πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀνωμολογεῖτο καὶ τέλος, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς φιλεῖ, προύπιπτον εἰς δάκρυα μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς ἐμπεφυκότες ἀλλήλοις. [85] ἀεὶ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον τοῦ βασιλέως πιστουμένου τὴν αὐτοῦ διάθεσιν ‘‘οὐ φιλοῦντος, εἶπεν ἡ Μαριάμμη, τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν, εἰ πάσχοι τι χαλεπὸν ὑπ᾽ Ἀντωνίου, κἀμὲ συναπολέσθαι τὴν οὐδενὸς αἰτίαν’’. [86] τούτου προπεσόντος τοῦ λόγου περιπαθήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς εὐθὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτὴν ἀφῆκεν, ἐβόα δὲ καὶ τῶν αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ τριχῶν ἐδράττετο, περιφανὲς φώριον ἔχειν τῆς τοῦ Ἰωσήπου πρὸς αὐτὴν κοινωνίας λέγων: [87] οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐξειπεῖν ἃ κατ᾽ ἰδίαν ἤκουσεν μὴ μεγάλης αὐτοῖς πίστεως ἐγγενομένης. οὕτως δ᾽ ἔχων ὀλίγου μὲν ἀπέκτεινε τὴν γυναῖκα, νικώμενος δὲ τῷ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔρωτι ταύτης μὲν τῆς ὁρμῆς ἐκράτησεν ἑαυτοῦ διακαρτερήσας ὀδυνηρῶς καὶ δυσχερῶς, τὸν μέντοι Ἰώσηπον οὐδ᾽ εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθόντα διαχρήσασθαι προσέταξεν καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν ὡς ἁπάντων παραιτίαν δήσας ἐφύλαττεν.

9. When these letters were brought, the women left off their attempt for flying to the Romans, which they thought of while Herod was supposed to be dead; yet was not that purpose of theirs a secret; but when the king had conducted Antony on his way against the Partnians, he returned to Judea, when both his sister Salome and his mother informed him of Alexandra’s intentions. Salome also added somewhat further against Joseph, though it was no more than a calumny, that he had often had criminal conversation with Mariamne. The reason of her saying so was this, that she for a long time bare her ill-will; for when they had differences with one another, Mariamne took great freedoms, and reproached the rest for the meanness of their birth. But Herod, whose affection to Mariamne was always very warm, was presently disturbed at this, and could not bear the

torments of jealousy, but was still restrained from doing any rash thing to her by the love he had for her; yet did his vehement affection and jealousy together make him ask Mariamne by herself about this matter of Joseph; but she denied it upon her oath, and said all that an innocent woman could possibly say in her own defense; so that by little and little the king was prevailed upon to drop the suspicion, and left off his anger at her; and being overcome with his passion for his wife, he made an apology to her for having seemed to believe what he had heard about her, and returned her a great many acknowledgments of her modest behavior, and professed the extraordinary affection and kindness he had for her, till at last, as is usual between lovers, they both fell into tears, and embraced one another with a most tender affection. But as the king gave more and more assurances of his belief of her fidelity, and endeavored to draw her to a like confidence in him, Marianme said, "Yet was not that command thou gavest, that if any harm came to thee from Antony, I, who had been no occasion of it, should perish with thee, a sign of thy love to me?" When these words were fallen from her, the king was shocked at them, and presently let her go out of his arms, and cried out, and tore his hair with his own hands, and said, that "now he had an evident demonstration that Joseph had had criminal conversation" with his wife; for that he would never have uttered what he had told him alone by himself, unless there had been such a great familiarity and firm confidence between them. And while he was in this passion he had like to have killed his wife; but being still overborne by his love to her, he restrained this his passion, though not without a lasting grief and disquietness of mind. However, he gave order to slay Joseph, without permitting him to come into his sight; and as for Alexandra, he bound her, and kept her in custody, as the cause of all this mischief.

IV

CHAPTER 4. How Cleopatra, When She Had Gotten From Antony Some Parts Of Judea And Arabia Came Into Judea; And How Herod Gave Her Many Presents And Conducted Her On Her Way Back To Egypt.

(1) [88] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Συρίαν ταραχὰς εἶχεν οὐκ ἀνιείσης τῆς Κλεοπάτρας τὸν Ἀντώνιον μὴ πᾶσιν ἐπιχειρεῖν: ἔπειθεν γὰρ ἀφαιρούμενον ἑκάστων τὰς δυναστείας αὐτῇ διδόναι καὶ πλεῖστον ἴσχυεν ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπιθυμίας. [89] φύσει δὲ πλεονεξίᾳ χαίρουσα παρανομίας οὐδὲν ἔλιπεν, τὸν μὲν ἀδελφόν, ᾧ τὴν βασιλείαν ἤδει γενησομένην, προανελοῦσα φαρμάκοις πεντεκαιδέκατον ἔτος ἔχοντα, τὴν δ᾽ ἀδελφὴν Ἀρσινόην ἱκετεύουσαν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ πρὸς τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἀποκτείνασα δι᾽ Ἀντωνίου: [90] χρημάτων μὲν γὰρ εἵνεκεν, εἴ που μόνον ἐλπισθείη, καὶ ναοὶ καὶ τάφοι παρενομήθησαν, οὔθ᾽ ἱεροῦ τινος οὕτως ἀσύλου δόξαντος, ὡς μὴ περιαιρεθῆναι τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ κόσμον, οὔτε βεβήλου μὴ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων παθόντος, εἰ μέλλοι μόνον εἰς εὐπορίαν τῇ τῆς ἀδικούσης πλεονεξίᾳ. [91] τὸ δ᾽ ὅλον οὐδὲν αὔταρκες ἦν γυναικὶ καὶ πολυτελεῖ καὶ δουλευούσῃ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, μὴ καὶ τὰ πάντα πρὸς τὴν ἐπίνοιαν ἐνδεῖν ὧν ἐσπουδάκει. διὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἤπειγεν ἀεί τι τῶν ἄλλων ἀφαιρούμενον αὐτῇ χαρίζεσθαι, καὶ διαβᾶσα σὺν ἐκείνῳ τὴν Συρίαν ἐπενόει κτῆμα ποιήσασθαι. [92] Λυσανίαν μὲν οὖν τὸν Πτολεμαίου Πάρθους αἰτιασαμένη τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπάγειν ἀποκτίννυσιν, ἤτει δὲ παρ᾽ Ἀντωνίου τήν τε Ἰουδαίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀράβων ἀξιοῦσα τοὺς βασιλεύοντας αὐτῶν ἀφελέσθαι. [93] τῷ δ᾽ Ἀντωνίῳ τὸ μὲν ὅλον ἡττᾶσθαι συνέβαινεν τῆς γυναικός, ὡς μὴ μόνον ἐκ τῆς ὁμιλίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ φαρμάκοις δοκεῖν ὑπακούειν εἰς ὅ τι ἂν ἐκείνη θέλῃ, τὸ μέντοι περιφανὲς τῆς ἀδικίας ἐξεδυσώπει μὴ μέχρι τοσούτου κατήκοον γινόμενον ἐπὶ μεγίστοις ἁμαρτάνειν. [94] ἵν᾽ οὖν μήτ᾽ ἀρνηθῇ παντάπασιν μήθ᾽ ὅσα προσέταττεν ἐκείνη διαπραξάμενος ἐκ φανεροῦ δόξῃ κακός, μέρη τῆς χώρας ἑκατέρου παρελόμενος τούτοις αὐτὴν ἐδωρήσατο. [95] δίδωσιν δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐντὸς Ἐλευθέρου ποταμοῦ πόλεις ἄχρις Αἰγύπτου χωρὶς Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος, ἐκ προγόνων εἰδὼς ἐλευθέρας, πολλὰ λιπαρούσης αὐτῆς αὐτῇ δοθῆναι.

1. Now at this time the affairs of Syria were in confusion by Cleopatra's constant persuasions to Antony to make an attempt upon every body's dominions; for she persuaded him to take those dominions away from their several princes, and bestow them upon her; and she had a mighty influence upon him, by reason of his being enslaved to her by his affections. She was also by nature very covetous, and stuck at no wickedness. She had already poisoned her brother,

because she knew that he was to be king of Egypt, and this when he was but fifteen years old; and she got her sister Arsinoe to be slain, by the means of Antony, when she was a supplicant at Diana's temple at Ephesus; for if there were but any hopes of getting money, she would violate both temples and sepulchers. Nor was there any holy place that was esteemed the most inviolable, from which she would not fetch the ornaments it had in it; nor any place so profane, but was to suffer the most flagitious treatment possible from her, if it could but contribute somewhat to the covetous humor of this wicked creature: yet did not all this suffice so extravagant a woman, who was a slave to her lusts, but she still imagined that she wanted every thing she could think of, and did her utmost to gain it; for which reason she hurried Antony on perpetually to deprive others of their dominions, and give them to her. And as she went over Syria with him, she contrived to get it into her possession; so he slew Lysanias, the son of Ptolemy, accusing him of his bringing the Parthians upon those countries. She also petitioned Antony to give her Judea and Arabia; and, in order thereto, desired him to take these countries away from their present governors. As for Antony, he was so entirely overcome by this woman, that one would not think her conversation only could do it, but that he was some way or other bewitched to do whatsoever she would have him; yet did the grossest parts of her injustice make him so ashamed, that he would not always hearken to her to do those flagrant enormities she would have persuaded him to. That therefore he might not totally deny her, nor, by doing every thing which she enjoined him, appear openly to be an ill man, he took some parts of each of those countries away from their former governors, and gave them to her. Thus he gave her the cities that were within the river Eleutherus, as far as Egypt, excepting Tyre and Sidon, which he knew to have been free cities from their ancestors, although she pressed him very often to bestow those on her also.

(2) [96] Τούτων ἡ Κλεοπάτρα τυχοῦσα καὶ παραπέμψασα μέχρις Εὐφράτου τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπ᾽ Ἀρμενίαν στρατευόμενον ἀνέστρεφεν καὶ γίνεται μὲν ἐν Ἀπαμείᾳ καὶ Δαμασκῷ, παρῆλθεν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν Ἡρώδου συντυχόντος αὐτῇ καὶ τῆς τε Ἀραβίας τὰ δοθέντα καὶ τὰς περὶ τὸν Ἰεριχοῦντα προσόδους [Ἡρώδου] μισθωσαμένου: φέρει δ᾽ ἡ χώρα τὸ βάλσαμον, ὃ τιμιώτατον τῶν ἐκεῖ καὶ παρὰ μόνοις φύεται, τόν τε φοίνικα πολὺν καὶ καλόν. [97] ἐν τούτοις οὖσα καὶ πλείονος αὐτῇ συνηθείας πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδην γινομένης διεπείραζεν εἰς συνουσίαν ἐλθεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ, φύσει μὲν ἀπαρακαλύπτως ταῖς ἐντεῦθεν ἡδοναῖς χρωμένη, τάχα δέ τι καὶ παθοῦσα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐρωτικὸν ἢ καὶ τὸ πιθανώτερον ἀρχὴν ἐνέδρας τὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ γενησομένην ὕβριν ὑποκατασκευάζουσα: τὸ δὲ σύμπαν ἐξ ἐπιθυμίας ἡττῆσθαι διέφαινεν. [98] Ἡρώδης δὲ καὶ πάλαι μὲν οὐκ εὔνους ἦν τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ

χαλεπὴν εἰς ἅπαντας ἐπιστάμενος, τότε δὲ καὶ μισεῖν ἀξιῶν, εἰ δι᾽ ἀσέλγειαν εἰς τοῦτο πρόεισιν, καὶ φθῆναι τιμωρούμενος, εἰ ἐνεδρεύουσα τοιούτοις ἐγχειροίη, τοὺς μὲν λόγους αὐτῆς διεκρούσατο, βουλὴν δ᾽ ἐποιήσατο σὺν τοῖς φίλοις ὑποχείριον ἔχων ἀποκτεῖναι: [99] πολλῶν γὰρ ἀπαλλάξειν κακῶν ἅπαντας οἷς ἐγένετό τε ἤδη χαλεπὴ καὶ προσεδοκᾶτο: τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ λυσιτελήσειν οὐδ᾽ ἐκείνῳ πιστῆς ἐσομένης, εἴ τις αὐτὸν καιρὸς ἢ χρεία κατάσχοι τοιούτων δεησόμενον. [100] ταῦτα βουλευόμενον ἐκώλυον οἱ φίλοι, πρῶτον μὲν διδάσκοντες, ὡς οὐκ ἄξιον μείζω πράττοντα κινδύνων τὸν φανερώτατον ἀναλαμβάνειν, ἐγκείμενοι δὲ καὶ δεόμενοι μηδὲν ἐκ προπετείας ἐπιτηδεύειν: [101] οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἀνασχέσθαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον, οὐδ᾽ εἰ σφόδρα τις αὐτῷ τὸ συμφέρον στήσειε πρὸ τῶν ὀμμάτων: τόν τε γὰρ ἔρωτα μᾶλλον ὑπεκκαύσειν τὸ δοκεῖν βίᾳ καὶ κατ᾽ ἐπιβουλὴν αὐτῆς στέρεσθαι, μέτριον δὲ οὐδὲν εἰς τὴν ἀπολογίαν φανεῖσθαι, τοῦ μὲν ἐπιχειρήματος εἰς γυναῖκα γεγενημένου μέγιστον ἀξίωμα τῶν κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἐσχηκυῖαν τὸν χρόνον, τῆς δ᾽ ὠφελείας, εἰ καὶ ταύτην τις οἰηθείη, σὺν αὐθαδείᾳ καὶ καταγνώσει τῆς ἐκείνου διαθέσεως φανουμένης. [102] ἐξ ὧν οὐκ ἄδηλον, ὡς μεγάλων καὶ ἀπαύστων κακῶν ἀναπλησθήσεται τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ γένος, ἐξὸν ἀποκρουσάμενον τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, εἰς ἣν ἐκείνη παρακαλεῖ, θέσθαι τὸν καιρὸν εὐσχημόνως. [103] τοιαῦτα δεδιττόμενοι καὶ τὸ κινδυνῶδες ἐξ εἰκότος παραδηλοῦντες ἐπέσχον αὐτὸν τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως. ὁ δὲ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν δωρεαῖς θεραπεύσας ἐπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου προύπεμψεν.

2. When Cleopatra had obtained thus much, and had accompanied Antony in his expedition to Armenia as far as Euphrates, she returned back, and came to Apamia and Damascus, and passed on to Judea, where Herod met her, and farmed of her parts of Arabia, and those revenues that came to her from the region about Jericho. This country bears that balsam, which is the most precious drug that is there, and grows there alone. The place bears also palm trees, both many in number, and those excellent in their kind. When she was there, and was very often with Herod, she endeavored to have criminal conversation with the king; nor did she affect secrecy in the indulgence of such sort of pleasures; and perhaps she had in some measure a passion of love to him; or rather, what is most probable, she laid a treacherous snare for him, by aiming to obtain such adulterous conversation from him: however, upon the whole, she seemed overcome with love to him. Now Herod had a great while borne no good-will to Cleopatra, as knowing that she was a woman irksome to all; and at that time he thought her particularly worthy of his hatred, if this attempt proceeded out of lust; he had also thought of preventing her intrigues, by putting her to death, if such were her endeavors. However, he refused to comply with her proposals, and called a counsel of his friends to consult with them whether he should not

kill her, now he had her in his power; for that he should thereby deliver all those from a multitude of evils to whom she was already become irksome, and was expected to be still so for the time to come; and that this very thing would be much for the advantage of Antony himself, since she would certainly not be faithful to him, in case any such season or necessity should come upon him as that he should stand in need of her fidelity. But when he thought to follow this advice, his friends would not let him; and told him that, in the first place, it was not right to attempt so great a thing, and run himself thereby into the utmost danger; and they laid hard at him, and begged of him to undertake nothing rashly, for that Antony would never bear it, no, not though any one should evidently lay before his eyes that it was for his own advantage; and that the appearance of depriving him of her conversation, by this violent and treacherous method, would probably set his affections more on a flame than before. Nor did it appear that he could offer any thing of tolerable weight in his defense, this attempt being against such a woman as was of the highest dignity of any of her sex at that time in the world; and as to any advantage to be expected from such an undertaking, if any such could be supposed in this case, it would appear to deserve condemnation, on account of the insolence he must take upon him in doing it: which considerations made it very plain that in so doing he would find his government filled with mischief, both great and lasting, both to himself and his posterity, whereas it was still in his power to reject that wickedness she would persuade him to, and to come off honorably at the same time. So by thus affrighting Herod, and representing to him the hazard he must, in all probability, run by this undertaking, they restrained him from it. So he treated Cleopatra kindly, and made her presents, and conducted her on her way to Egypt.

(3) [104] Ἀντώνιος δὲ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν λαβὼν Ἀρταβάζην τὸν Τιγράνου σὺν τοῖς παισὶν σατράπαις δέσμιον εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀποπέμπει, δωρούμενος τούτοις τὴν Κλεοπάτραν καὶ τῷ παντὶ κόσμῳ τῆς βασιλείας, ὃν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔλαβεν. [105] Ἀρμενίας δὲ ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀρταξίας ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν ἐκείνου παίδων διαδρὰς ἐν τῷ τότε. καὶ τοῦτον Ἀρχέλαος καὶ Νέρων Καῖσαρ ἐκβαλόντες Τιγράνην τὸν νεώτερον ἀδελφὸν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν κατήγαγον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν ὑστέρῳ.

3. But Antony subdued Armenia, and sent Artabazes, the son of Tigranes, in bonds, with his children and procurators, to Egypt, and made a present of them, and of all the royal ornaments which he had taken out of that kingdom, to Cleopatra. And Artaxias, the eldest of his sons, who had escaped at that time, took the kingdom of Armenia; who yet was ejected by Archclaus and Nero Caesar, when they restored Tigranes, his younger brother, to that kingdom; but this happened a good while afterward.

(4) [106] Περὶ δὲ τοὺς φόρους, οὓς ἔδει τελεῖν τῆς ὑπ᾽ Ἀντωνίου δοθείσης χώρας, ὁ μὲν Ἡρώδης δίκαιος ἦν οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἡγούμενος διδόναι τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ μίσους αἰτίαν. [107] ὁ δ᾽ Ἄραψ Ἡρώδου τὴν φορὰν ἐπιδεξαμένου χρόνον μέν τινα παρεῖχεν ἐκείνῳ τὰ διακόσια τάλαντα, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ κακοήθης ἦν καὶ βραδὺς εἰς τὰς ἀποδόσεις καὶ μόλις εἰ καὶ μέρη τινὰ διαλύσειεν οὐδὲ ταῦτα διδόναι δοκῶν ἀζημίως.

4. But then, as to the tributes which Herod was to pay Cleopatra for that country which Antony had given her, he acted fairly with her, as deeming it not safe for him to afford any cause for Cleopatra to hate him. As for the king of Arabia, whose tribute Herod had undertaken to pay her, for some time indeed he paid him as much as came to two hundred talents; but he afterwards became very niggardly and slow in his payments, and could hardly be brought to pay some parts of it, and was not willing to pay even them without some deductions.

V

CHAPTER 5. How Herod Made War With The King Of Arabia, And After They Had Fought Many Battles, At Length Conquered Him, And Was Chosen By The Arabs To Be Governor Of That Nation; As Also Concerning A Great Earthquake.

(1) [108] Ἡρώδης δὲ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀγνωμονοῦντος καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν δικαίων ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντος εἶχεν μὲν ὡς ἐπεξελευσόμενος, προθεσμίᾳ δὲ ἐχρήσατο τῷ Ῥωμαικῷ πολέμῳ. [109] τῆς γὰρ ἐπ᾽ Ἀκτίῳ μάχης προσδοκωμένης, ἣν ἐπὶ τῆς ἑβδόμης καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν ὀλυμπιάδος συνέβη γενέσθαι, Καῖσαρ μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἔμελλεν ἀγωνιεῖσθαι πραγμάτων, Ἡρώδης δὲ καὶ τῆς χώρας εὐβοτουμένης αὐτῷ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον καὶ προσόδων καὶ δυνάμεως εὐρημένων, Ἀντωνίῳ συμμαχίαν κατέλεξεν ἐπιμελέστατα ταῖς παρασκευαῖς χρησάμενος. [110] Ἀντώνιος δὲ τῆς μὲν ἐκείνου συμμαχίας οὐδὲν ἔφη δεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ Ἄραβα, καὶ γὰρ ἀκηκόει παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας τὴν ἀπιστίαν, ἐπεξελθεῖν προσέταττεν. ἠξίου γὰρ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα ταῦτα λυσιτελεῖν αὐτῇ τὸν ἕτερον ὑπὸ θατέρου κακῶς πάσχειν ἡγουμένη. [111] τούτων αὐτῷ παρ᾽ Ἀντωνίου λεχθέντων ὑποστρέψας Ἡρώδης συνεῖχεν τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ὡς εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἐμβαλῶν, καὶ παρασκευασθέντος ἱππικοῦ καὶ πεζῆς δυνάμεως εἰς Διόσπολιν ἀφικνεῖται τῶν Ἀράβων ἐκεῖ συναντώντων: οὐ γὰρ ἐλελήθει τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτούς: καὶ μάχης καρτερᾶς γενομένης ἐκράτησαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. [112] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πολλὴ στρατιὰ τῶν Ἀράβων εἰς Κάνατα συνῄει: χωρία δ᾽ ἐστὶ ταῦτα τῆς κοίλης Συρίας: Ἡρώδης τε προπεπυσμένος ἦκεν ἄγων ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς τὸ πλεῖστον ἧς εἶχεν δυνάμεως, καὶ πλησιάσας ἐν καλῷ στρατοπεδεύεσθαι διεγνώκει χάρακά τε βαλόμενος ἐξ εὐκαίρου ταῖς μάχαις ἐπιχειρεῖν. [113] ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ διατάττοντος ἐβόα τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων παρελόμενον τῆς τριβῆς ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἄραβας: ὥρμητο δὲ καὶ τῷ συντετάχθαι πιστεύειν καλῶς καὶ ταῖς προθυμίαις ἄμεινον ἐχόντων ὅσοι τὴν πρώτην μάχην νενικήκεσαν οὐδ᾽ εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἐπιτρέψαντες τοῖς ἐναντίοις. [114] θορυβούντων οὖν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐπιδεικνυμένων σπουδὴν ἔγνω τῇ προθυμίᾳ τοῦ πλήθους ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποχρήσασθαι, καὶ προειπών, ὡς οὐ λελείψεται τῆς ἐκείνων ἀρετῆς, πρῶτος ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἠγήσατο πάντων κατ᾽ οἰκεῖα τέλη συνακολουθησάντων. [115] ἔκπληξις δ᾽ εὐθὺς ἐμπίπτει τοῖς Ἄραψιν: ἀντιστάντες γὰρ εἰς ὀλίγον ὡς ἑώρων ἀμάχους ὄντας καὶ μεστοὺς φρονήματος, ἔφευγον οἱ πλείους ἐγκλίναντες κἂν διεφθάρησαν Ἀθηνίωνος μὴ κακώσαντος Ἡρώδην καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους. [116] οὗτος γὰρ ὢν στρατηγὸς μὲν Κλεοπάτρας ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ,

διάφορος δὲ Ἡρώδῃ, τὸ μέλλον οὐκ ἀπαρασκεύως ἐσκόπει, δρασάντων μέν τι λαμπρὸν τῶν Ἀράβων ἐγνωκὼς ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, ἡττωμένων δέ, ὃ καὶ συνέβη, τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας συνεληλυθόσι τῶν οἰκείων παρεσκευασμένος ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις. [117] καὶ τότε κεκμηκόσι τε καὶ νικᾶν οἰομένοις ἀπροσδοκήτως ἐπιπεσὼν πολὺν ἐποίει φόνον: τάς τε γὰρ προθυμίας εἰς τοὺς ὁμολογουμένους ἐχθροὺς ἐκδαπανήσαντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ τῷ νικᾶν ἐπ᾽ ἀδείας χρώμενοι ταχὺ τῶν ἐπιχειρησάντων ἡττῶντο καὶ πολλὰς ἐλάμβανον πληγὰς ἐν χωρίοις ἀφίπποις καὶ πετρώδεσιν, ὧν πλείω τὴν ἐμπειρίαν εἶχον οἱ τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ποιησάμενοι. [118] κακῶς δὲ πασχόντων οἵ τε Ἄραβες αὐτοὺς ἀνειλήφεσαν καὶ πάλιν ὑποστρέψαντες ἔκτεινον ἤδη τετραμμένους. ἐγένοντο δὲ παντοδαπαὶ κτιννυμένων ἀπώλειαι, καὶ τῶν διαπιπτόντων οὐ πολλοὶ συνέφευγον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. [119] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης ἀπεγνωκὼς τὰ κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἀφιππάζεται βοήθειαν ἄξων: οὐ μὴν ἔφθη καίπερ ἐσπουδακὼς ἐπαρκεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον ἥλω τῶν Ἰουδαίων, οἱ δ᾽ Ἄραβες οὐδὲ μετρίως εὐτυχήκεσαν ἐκ παραλόγου νίκην τε ἧς πλεῖστον ἀπεδέησαν ἀνειληφότες καὶ πολλὴν τῶν ἐναντίων ἀφῃρημένοι δύναμιν. [120] τοὐντεῦθεν ὁ μὲν Ἡρώδης λῃστείαις ἐχρῆτο καὶ τὰ πολλὰ κατατρέχων τὴν τῶν Ἀράβων ἐκάκου ταῖς ἐπιδρομαῖς στρατοπεδευόμενος ἐπὶ τῶν ὅρων, καὶ τὸ μὲν σύμπαν ἐξίστατο κατὰ τοὐμφανὲς εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, οὐκ ἀζήμιος δὲ γινόμενος τῇ συνεχείᾳ καὶ τῷ φιλοπόνῳ τῶν τε οἰκείων ἐπεμελεῖτο παντὶ τρόπῳ τὸ πταῖσμα διορθούμενος.

1. Hereupon Herod held himself ready to go against the king of Arabia, because of his ingratitude to him, and because, after all, he would do nothing that was just to him, although Herod made the Roman war an occasion of delaying his own; for the battle at Actium was now expected, which fell into the hundred eighty and seventh olympiad, where Caesar and Antony were to fight for the supreme power of the world; but Herod having enjoyed a country that was very fruitful, and that now for a long time, and having received great taxes, and raised great armies therewith, got together a body of men, and carefully furnished them with all necessaries, and designed them as auxiliaries for Antony. But Antony said he had no want of his assistance; but he commanded him to punish the king of Arabia; for he had heard both from him, and from Cleopatra, how perfidious he was; for this was what Cleopatra desired, who thought it for her own advantage that these two kings should do one another as great mischief as possible. Upon this message from Antony, Herod returned back, but kept his army with him, in order to invade Arabia immediately. So when his army of horsemen and footmen was ready, he marched to Diospolis, whither the Arabians came also to meet them, for they were not unapprized of this war that was coming upon them; and after a great battle had been fought, the Jews had

the victory. But afterward there were gotten together another numerous army of the Arabians, at Cana, which is a place of Celesyria. Herod was informed of this beforehand; so he came marching against them with the greatest part of the forces he had; and when he was come near to Cana, he resolved to encamp himself; and he cast up a bulwark, that he might take a proper season for attacking the enemy; but as he was giving those orders, the multitude of the Jews cried out that he should make no delay, but lead them against the Arabians. They went with great spirit, as believing they were in very good order; and those especially were so that had been in the former battle, and had been conquerors, and had not permitted their enemies so much as to come to a close fight with them. And when they were so tumultuous, and showed such great alacrity, the king resolved to make use of that zeal the multitude then exhibited; and when he had assured them he would not be behindhand with them in courage, he led them on, and stood before them all in his armor, all the regiments following him in their several ranks: whereupon a consternation fell upon the Arabians; for when they perceived that the Jews were not to be conquered, and were full of spirit, the greater part of them ran away, and avoided fighting; and they had been quite destroyed, had not Anthony fallen upon the Jews, and distressed them; for this man was Cleopatra's general over the soldiers she had there, and was at enmity with Herod, and very wistfully looked on to see what the event of the battle would be. He had also resolved, that in case the Arabians did any thing that was brave and successful, he would lie still; but in case they were beaten, as it really happened, he would attack the Jews with those forces he had of his own, and with those that the country had gotten together for him. So he fell upon the Jews unexpectedly, when they were fatigued, and thought they had already vanquished the enemy, and made a great slaughter of them; for as the Jews had spent their courage upon their known enemies, and were about to enjoy themselves in quietness after their victory, they were easily beaten by these that attacked them afresh, and in particular received a great loss in places where the horses could not be of service, and which were very stony, and where those that attacked them were better acquainted with the places than themselves. And when the Jews had suffered this loss, the Arabians raised their spirits after their defeat, and returning back again, slew those that were already put to flight; and indeed all sorts of slaughter were now frequent, and of those that escaped, a few only returned into the camp. So king Herod, when he despaired of the battle, rode up to them to bring them assistance; yet did he not come time enough to do them any service, though he labored hard to do it; but the Jewish camp was taken; so that the Arabians had unexpectedly a most glorious success, having gained that victory which of themselves they were no way likely to have gained, and slaying

a great part of the enemy's army: whence afterward Herod could only act like a private robber, and make excursions upon many parts of Arabia, and distress them by sudden incursions, while he encamped among the mountains, and avoided by any means to come to a pitched battle; yet did he greatly harass the enemy by his assiduity, and the hard labor he took in this matter. He also took great care of his own forces, and used all the means he could to restore his affairs to their old state.

(2) [121] Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ τῆς ἐπ' Ἀκτίῳ μάχης συνεσταμένης Καίσαρι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἑβδόμου δ' ὄντος Ἡρώδῃ τῆς βασιλείας ἔτους σεισθεῖσα ἡ γῆ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὡς οὐκ ἄλλοτε ἐδόκει, τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ κτηνῶν πολὺν φθόρον ἐποίησεν. [122] ἐφθάρησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ ταῖς πεπτωκυίαις οἰκίαις περὶ τρισμυρίους: τὸ μέντοι στρατιωτικὸν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ διαιτώμενον οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους κατεβλάβη. [123] ταῦτα πυνθανομένοις τοῖς Ἄραψιν καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' ἀλήθειαν ἐξαγγελλόντων αὐτοῖς ὅσοι τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν γεγονότων λόγους τῷ μίσει τῶν ἀκουσομένων ἐχαρίζοντο μεῖζον ἐπῄει φρονεῖν, ὡς τῆς τε χώρας ἀνατετραμμένης τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ διεφθορότων τῶν ἀνθρώπων μηδὲν ἔτι μηδ' εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀντίπαλον καταλελεῖφθαι δοκεῖν. [124] καὶ τῶν τε Ἰουδαίων τοὺς πρέσβεις, ἦκον γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις, συλλαβόντες ἀπέκτειναν καὶ μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν αὐτῶν. [125] οἱ δ' οὔτε τὴν ἔφοδον ἐξεδέξαντο καὶ πρὸς τὰς συμφορὰς ἀθύμως διακείμενοι προίεντο τὰ πράγματα, πλεῖστον ἀπογνώσεως ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πεπονθότες: οὐ γὰρ ἦν οὔτε ἰσοτιμίας ἐλπὶς προηττημένοις ἐν ταῖς μάχαις οὔτε βοηθείας κεκακωμένων αὐτοῖς τῶν οἴκοι πραγμάτων. [126] οὕτως οὖν ἐχόντων ἐπῆγεν ὁ βασιλεὺς λόγῳ τε πείθων τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ πειρώμενος ἀναλαμβάνειν αὐτῶν πεπτωκότα τὰ φρονήματα. προδιακινήσας δὲ καὶ παραθαρρύνας τινὰς τῶν ἀμεινόνων ἐτόλμησεν ἤδη καὶ τῷ πλήθει διαλέγεσθαι πρότερον ὀκνῶν αὐτό, μὴ καὶ χαλεπῷ χρήσηται διὰ τὰς ἀτυχίας. παρεκάλει δὲ τοιούτους ποιούμενος εἰς τὸν ὄχλον τοὺς λόγους:

2. At this time it was that the fight happened at Actium, between Octavius Caesar and Antony, in the seventh year of the reign of Herod and then it was also that there was an earthquake in Judea, such a one as had not happened at any other time, and which earthquake brought a great destruction upon the cattle in that country. About ten thousand men also perished by the fall of houses; but the army, which lodged in the field, received no damage by this sad accident. When the Arabians were informed of this, and when those that hated the Jews, and pleased themselves with aggravating the reports, told them of it, they raised their spirits, as if their enemy's country was quite overthrown, and the men were utterly destroyed, and thought there now remained nothing that could oppose them. Accordingly, they took the Jewish ambassadors, who came to them after

all this had happened, to make peace with them, and slew them, and came with great alacrity against their army; but the Jews durst not withstand them, and were so cast down by the calamities they were under, that they took no care of their affairs, but gave up themselves to despair; for they had no hope that they should be upon a level again with them in battles, nor obtain any assistance elsewhere, while their affairs at home were in such great distress also. When matters were in this condition, the king persuaded the commanders by his words, and tried to raise their spirits, which were quite sunk; and first he endeavored to encourage and embolden some of the better sort beforehand, and then ventured to make a speech to the multitude, which he had before avoided to do, lest he should find them uneasy thereat, because of the misfortunes which had happened; so he made a consolatory speech to the multitude, in the manner following:

(3) [127] "Οὐκ ἀγνοῶ μὲν, ἄνδρες, ὅτι πολλὰ παρὰ τόνδε τὸν καιρὸν γεγένηται πρὸς τὰς πράξεις ἡμῖν ἐναντιώματα, καὶ θαρρεῖν εἰκὸς ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις οὐδὲ τοὺς πλεῖστον ἀνδραγαθίᾳ διενηνοχότας. [128] ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ κατεπείγει τε πολεμεῖν καὶ τῶν γεγονότων οὐδέν ἐστιν τοιοῦτον, ὃ μὴ δι' ἑνὸς ἔργου καλῶς πραχθέντος ἐπανορθώσεται, παρακαλέσαι προειλόμην ὑμᾶς ἅμα καὶ διδάξαι δι' ὧν ἂν ἐμμείναιτε τοῖς οἰκείοις φρονήμασιν. [129] βούλομαι δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολεμεῖν ὡς δικαίως αὐτὸ ποιοῦμεν ἐπιδεῖξαι, διὰ τὴν ὕβριν τῶν ἐναντίων ἠναγκασμένοι: μέγιστον γὰρ εἰ μάθοιτε τοῦτο προθυμίας ὑμῖν αἴτιον ἔσται: μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο δεῖξαι, διότι καὶ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν δεινὸν οὐδέν ἐστιν καὶ πλείστας εἰς τὸ νικᾶν ἔχομεν τὰς ἐλπίδας. [130] ἄρξομαι δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου μάρτυρας ὑμᾶς ποιούμενος ὧν λέγω: τὴν γὰρ τῶν Ἀράβων παρανομίαν ἴστε μὲν δήπου καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας οὕτως ἀπίστως διακειμένων, ὡς εἰκὸς ἔχειν τὸ βάρβαρον καὶ ἀνεννόητον θεοῦ, πλεῖστα μέντοι προσέκρουσαν ἡμῖν πλεονεξίᾳ καὶ φθόνῳ καὶ ταῖς ταραχαῖς ἐφεδρεύοντες ἐξ ὑπογύου. [131] καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ τί δεῖ λέγειν; ἀλλὰ κινδυνεύοντας αὐτοὺς τῆς οἰκείας ἀρχῆς ἐκπεσεῖν καὶ δουλεύειν Κλεοπάτρᾳ τίνες ἄλλοι τοῦ δέους ἀπήλλαξαν; ἡ γὰρ ἐμὴ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον φιλία κἀκείνου πρὸς ἡμᾶς διάθεσις αἰτία γεγένηται μηδὲ τούτους ἀνήκεστόν τι παθεῖν, φυλαττομένου τἀνδρὸς μηδὲν ἐπιτηδεύειν, ὃ δύναιτ' ἂν ὕποπτον ἡμῖν γενέσθαι. [132] βουληθέντος δὲ ὅμως Κλεοπάτρᾳ μέρη τινὰ παρασχεῖν ἀφ' ἑκατέρας τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ τοῦτο διῳκησάμην ἐγώ, καὶ πολλὰ δῶρα δοὺς ἰδίᾳ τὸ μὲν ἀσφαλὲς ἀμφοτέροις ἐπορισάμην, τὰς δὲ δαπάνας αὐτὸς ἀνέλαβον, διακόσια μὲν δοὺς τάλαντα, διακοσίων δ' ἐγγυητὴς γενόμενος, ἃ τῇ μὲν προσοδευομένῃ γέγονεν, αὐτοὶ δ' ὑπὸ τούτων ἀπεστερήμεθα. [133] καίτοι γε ἄξιον ἦν μηδενὶ τῶν ὄντων Ἰουδαίους φόρον ἢ τῆς χώρας ἀπόμοιραν τελεῖν, εἰ δ' οὖν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπέρ γε τούτων οὓς αὐτοὶ σεσώκαμεν, οὐδὲ τοὺς Ἄραβας ὁμολογήσαντας ἐντεύξεως καὶ χάριτος ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐδόκουν τυγχάνειν ἀδικεῖν ἡμᾶς ἀποστεροῦντας, καὶ

ταῦτα οὐ πολεμίους ὄντας, ἀλλὰ φίλους. [134] ὡς ἥ γε πίστις ἔχουσα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμιωτάτους τόπον τοῖς γε φίλοις ἀναγκαιοτάτη τετηρῆσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ παρὰ τούτοις, οἳ τὸ μὲν κερδαίνειν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου κάλλιστον ὑπειλήφασιν, τὸ δ᾽ ἄδικον οὐκ ἐπιζήμιον, εἰ μόνον κερδαίνειν δυνηθεῖεν. [135] ἔστιν οὖν ἔτι ζήτησις ὑμῖν, εἰ δεῖ τοὺς ἀδίκους τιμωρεῖσθαι, τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλομένου καὶ παραγγέλλοντος ἀεὶ μισεῖν τὴν ὕβριν καὶ τὴν ἀδικίαν, καὶ ταῦτα οὐ μόνον δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον πόλεμον ἐξιόντων; [136] ἃ γὰρ ὁμολογεῖται παρανομώτατα τοῖς τε Ἕλλησιν καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις, ταῦτα ἔπραξαν εἰς τοὺς ἡμετέρους πρέσβεις ἀποσφάξαντες αὐτούς, τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἱεροὺς καὶ ἀσύλους εἶναι φαμένων τοὺς κήρυκας, ἡμῶν δὲ τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν δογμάτων καὶ τὰ ὁσιώτατα τῶν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις δι᾽ ἀγγέλων παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μαθόντων: τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ ἀνθρώποις θεὸν εἰς ἐμφάνειαν ἄγει καὶ πολεμίους πολεμίοις διαλλάττειν δύναται. [137] ποῖον οὖν μεῖζον ἂν γένοιτο ἀσέβημα ἢ πρέσβεις ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου διαλεγομένους; πῶς δ᾽ ἂν ἔτι δύναιντο ἢ περὶ τὸν βίον εὐσταθεῖν ἢ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον εὐτυχεῖν τοιούτων αὐτοῖς πεπραγμένων; ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδαμῶς δοκοῦσιν. [138] ἴσως τοίνυν τὸ μὲν ὅσιον καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστιν μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν, ἀνδρειότεροι δὲ ἢ πλείους ἐκεῖνοι τετυχήκασιν. ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν ἀνάξιον ὑμῖν ταῦτα λέγειν: μεθ᾽ ὧν γὰρ τὸ δίκαιόν ἐστιν μετ᾽ ἐκείνων ὁ θεός, θεοῦ δὲ παρόντος καὶ πλῆθος καὶ ἀνδρεία πάρεστιν. [139] ἵνα δὲ καὶ τὰ καθ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐξετάσωμεν, ἐνικήσαμεν τῇ πρώτῃ μάχῃ: συμβαλόντες τὴν δευτέραν οὐδὲ ἀντέσχον ἡμῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ἔφυγον εὐθὺς οὐχ ὑπομείναντες τὴν ἔφοδον καὶ τὰ φρονήματα: νικῶσιν ἡμῖν Ἀθηνίων ἐπέθετο πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον ἐπάγων. [140] πότερον ἀνδραγαθία τοῦτ᾽ ἔστιν ἐκείνων ἢ δευτέρα παρανομία καὶ ἐνέδρα; τί οὖν ἔλαττον φρονοῦμεν ἐφ᾽ οἷς μείζους ἔχειν δεῖ τὰς ἐλπίδας; πῶς δ᾽ ἂν καταπλαγείημεν τοὺς ὅταν μὲν ἐξ ἀληθείας ἀγωνίζωνται πάντοτε νικωμένους, ὅταν δὲ κρατεῖν νομισθῶσιν ἐξ ἀδικίας αὐτὸ ποιοῦντας; [141] πῶς δ᾽ ἄν, εἰ καὶ γενναίους ἡγεῖταί τις αὐτούς, οὐ παρ᾽ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ μᾶλλον ὁρμηθείη; τὸ γὰρ εὔψυχον οὐκ ἐν τῷ τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τῷ δύνασθαι καὶ τῶν ἰσχυροτέρων κρατεῖν. [142] εἰ δέ τινα καταπλήξεται τὰ οἰκεῖα πάθη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν σεισμὸν συμβεβηκότα, πρῶτον μὲν ἐννοηθήτω, διότι τοῦτ᾽ αὐτὸ καὶ τοὺς Ἄραβας ἐξαπατᾷ μείζω τὰ γενόμενα τῆς ἀληθείας ὑπειληφότας, ἔπειτα ὡς οὐ καλὸν ἐκείνοις τε τόλμης καὶ ἡμῖν δειλίας τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν γενέσθαι: [143] οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐξ οἰκείου τινὸς ἀγαθοῦ τὸ εὔψυχον ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τῆς περὶ ἡμᾶς ὡς κάμνοντας ἤδη τοῖς κακοῖς ἐλπίδος, ἡμεῖς δὲ χωρήσαντες ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς παραιρησόμεθα μὲν ἐκείνων τὸ μεῖζον φρονεῖν, ἀναληψόμεθα δ᾽ αὐτοὶ τὸ μηκέτι θαρροῦσιν μάχεσθαι. [144] καὶ γὰρ οὔτε κεκακώμεθα τοσοῦτον οὔθ᾽, ὅπερ οἴονταί τινες, ὀργὴν θεοῦ παρέχει τὸ γεγονός, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα συμπτώματα γίνεται καὶ πάθη τινά. καὶ εἰ κατὰ θεοῦ γνώμην πέπρακται, δῆλον ὡς καὶ πέπαυται κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην ἀρκουμένου τοῖς γεγονόσιν: βουλόμενος γὰρ ἔτι μᾶλλον

ἀδικεῖν, οὐκ ἂν μετεβάλετο. [145] τὸν δὲ πόλεμον ὅτι καὶ θέλει τοῦτον ἐνεργεῖσθαι καὶ δίκαιον οἶδεν, δεδήλωκεν αὐτός: ἐνίων γὰρ ἐν τῷ σεισμῷ περὶ τὴν χώραν ἀπολομένων οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἔπαθεν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἐσώθητε, φανερὸν ποιοῦντος τοῦ θεοῦ, διότι κἂν εἰ πανδημεὶ μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν ἐστρατεύεσθε, περιῆν ἂν ὑμῖν μηδὲν ἀνήκεστον παθεῖν. [146] ταῦτα ἐνθυμηθέντες καὶ τὸ μεῖζον ὅτι παρὰ πάντα καιρὸν προιστάμενον ἔχετε τὸν θεόν, ἐπεξέλθετε δικαίαις ἀνδραγαθίαις τοὺς ἀδίκους μὲν πρὸς φιλίαν, ἀσπόνδους δὲ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, ἀνοσίους δὲ εἰς πρέσβεις, ἀεὶ δὲ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρετῆς ἡττημένους."

3. "You are not unacquainted, my fellow soldiers, that we have had, not long since, many accidents that have put a stop to what we are about, and it is probable that even those that are most distinguished above others for their courage can hardly keep up their spirits in such circumstances; but since we cannot avoid fighting, and nothing that hath happened is of such a nature but it may by ourselves be recovered into a good state, and this by one brave action only well performed, I have proposed to myself both to give you some encouragement, and, at the same time, some information; both which parts of my design will tend to this point; that you may still continue in your own proper fortitude. I will then, in the first place, demonstrate to you that this war is a just one on our side, and that on this account it is a war of necessity, and occasioned by the injustice of our adversaries; for if you be once satisfied of this, it will be a real cause of alacrity to you; after which I will further demonstrate, that the misfortunes we are under are of no great consequence, and that we have the greatest reason to hope for victory. I shall begin with the first, and appeal to yourselves as witnesses to what I shall say. You are not ignorant certainly of the wickedness of the Arabians, which is to that degree as to appear incredible to all other men, and to include somewhat that shows the grossest barbarity and ignorance of God. The chief things wherein they have affronted us have arisen from covetousness and envy; and they have attacked us in an insidious manner, and on the sudden. And what occasion is there for me to mention many instances of such their procedure? When they were in danger of losing their own government of themselves, and of being slaves to Cleopatra, what others were they that freed them from that fear? for it was the friendship. I had with Antony, and the kind disposition he was in towards us, that hath been the occasion that even these Arabians have not been utterly undone, Antony being unwilling to undertake any thing which might be suspected by us of unkindness: but when he had a mind to bestow some parts of each of our dominions on Cleopatra, I also managed that matter so, that by giving him presents of my own, I might obtain a security to both nations, while I undertook myself to answer for the money, and

gave him two hundred talents, and became surety for those two hundred more which were imposed upon the land that was subject to this tribute; and this they have defrauded us of, although it was not reasonable that Jews should pay tribute to any man living, or allow part of their land to be taxable; but although that was to be, yet ought we not to pay tribute for these Arabians, whom we have ourselves preserved; nor is it fit that they, who have professed [and that with great integrity and sense of our kindness] that it is by our means that they keep their principality, should injure us, and deprive us of what is our due, and this while we have been still not their enemies, but their friends. And whereas observation of covenants takes place among the bitterest enemies, but among friends is absolutely necessary, this is not observed among these men, who think gain to be the best of all things, let it be by any means whatsoever, and that injustice is no harm, if they may but get money by it: is it therefore a question with you, whether the unjust are to be punished or not? when God himself hath declared his mind that so it ought to be, and hath commanded that we ever should hate injuries and injustice, which is not only just, but necessary, in wars between several nations; for these Arabians have done what both the Greeks and barbarians own to be an instance of the grossest wickedness, with regard to our ambassadors, which they have beheaded, while the Greeks declare that such ambassadors are sacred and inviolable. And for ourselves, we have learned from God the most excellent of our doctrines, and the most holy part of our law, by angels or ambassadors; for this name brings God to the knowledge of mankind, and is sufficient to reconcile enemies one to another. What wickedness then can be greater than the slaughter of ambassadors, who come to treat about doing what is right? And when such have been their actions, how is it possible they can either live securely in common life, or be successful in war? In my opinion, this is impossible; but perhaps some will say, that what is holy, and what is righteous, is indeed on our side, but that the Arabians are either more courageous or more numerous than we are. Now, as to this, in the first place, it is not fit for us to say so, for with whom is what is righteous, with them is God himself; now where God is, there is both multitude and courage. But to examine our own circumstances a little, we were conquerors in the first battle; and when we fought again, they were not able to oppose us, but ran away, and could not endure our attacks or our courage; but when we had conquered them, then came Athenion, and made war against us without declaring it; and pray, is this an instance of their manhood? or is it not a second instance of their wickedness and treachery? Why are we therefore of less courage, on account of that which ought to inspire us with stronger hopes? and why are we terrified at these, who, when they fight upon the level, are continually beaten, and when they seem to be conquerors,

they gain it by wickedness? and if we suppose that any one should deem them to be men of real courage, will not he be excited by that very consideration to do his utmost against them? for true valor is not shown by fighting against weak persons, but in being able to overcome the most hardy. But then if the distresses we are ourselves under, and the miseries that have come by the earthquake, hath aftrighted any one, let him consider, in the first place, that this very thing will deceive the Arabians, by their supposal that what hath befallen us is greater than it really is. Moreover, it is not right that the same thing that emboldens them should discourage us; for these men, you see, do not derive their alacrity from any advantageous virtue of their own, but from their hope, as to us, that we are quite cast down by our misfortunes; but when we boldly march against them, we shall soon pull down their insolent conceit of themselves, and shall gain this by attacking them, that they will not be so insolent when we come to the battle; for our distresses are not so great, nor is what hath happened all indication of the anger of God against us, as some imagine; for such things are accidental, and adversities that come in the usual course of things; and if we allow that this was done by the will of God, we must allow that it is now over by his will also, and that he is satisfied with what hath already happened; for had he been willing to afflict us still more thereby, he had not changed his mind so soon. And as for the war we are engaged in, he hath himself demonstrated that he is willing it should go on, and that he knows it to be a just war; for while some of the people in the country have perished, all you who were in arms have suffered nothing, but are all preserved alive; whereby God makes it plain to us, that if you had universally, with your children and wives, been in the army, it had come to pass that you had not undergone any thing that would have much hurt you. Consider these things, and, what is more than all the rest, that you have God at all times for your Protector; and prosecute these men with a just bravery, who, in point of friendship, are unjust, in their battles perfidious, towards ambassadors impious, and always inferior to you in valor."

(4) [147] Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πολὺ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀμείνους ἐγίνοντο πρὸς τὴν μάχην. Ἡρώδης δὲ θυσίας κατὰ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιήσας καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀναλαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἄραβας διαβὰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπεδεύεται πλησίον. [148] ἐδόκει δ' αὐτῷ φρούριον ἐν μέσῳ κείμενον καταλαβεῖν: οὕτως γὰρ αὐτὸς μὲν ὠφεληθήσεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ θᾶττον συνάψαι τὴν μάχην καὶ εἰ παρέλκειν δέοι ἐρυμνὸν αὐτῷ πεπορισμένος τὸ στρατόπεδον. [149] τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ τῶν Ἀράβων προνοούντων ἅμιλλα γίνεται περὶ τοῦ χωρίου καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀκροβολισμοῖς, εἶτα δὴ καὶ πλείους εἰς χεῖρας ἐρχόμενοι παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἕως ἡττηθέντες οἱ παρὰ τῶν Ἀράβων ἀπεχώρουν.

[150] τοῦτο εὐθὺς εἰς ἐλπίδας τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις οὐ μικρὸν ἐγεγόνει. καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ ἐΝνοούμενον πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς μάχην ἰέναι βουλόμενον θρασύτερον ἐπεχείρησεν αὐτῶν τὸν χάρακα διασπᾶν καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου προσάγων ἅπτεσθαι: τούτοις γὰρ ἐκβιασθέντες προῆεσαν ἄτακτοι καὶ προθυμίας ἢ τῆς εἰς τὸ νικᾶν ἐλπίδος οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ἐσχηκότες. [151] ὅμως δ' οὖν εἰς χεῖρας ᾖεσαν πλείους τε ὄντες καὶ διὰ τὸ κατεπείγειν ἐπὶ τὸ τολμηρὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης στρατηγούμενοι, καὶ μάχη γίνεται καρτερὰ πιπτόντων ἑκατέρωθεν οὐκ ὀλίγων, τέλος δὲ τραπέντες οἱ Ἄραβες ἔφευγον. [152] ἦν δὲ φόνος ἐγκλινάντων, ὡς μὴ μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων θνήσκειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς παραιτίους γίνεσθαι τῶν κακῶν, ὑπό τε πλήθους καὶ φορᾶς ἀτάκτου συμπατουμένων καὶ περιπιπτόντων τοῖς οἰκείοις ὅπλοις: [153] πεντακισχίλιοι γοῦν αὐτῶν ἐγένοντο νεκροί. τὸ δ' ἄλλο πλῆθος ἔφθη μὲν εἰς τὸ χαράκωμα συμφυγεῖν, εἶχεν δ' οὐκ ἐν βεβαίῳ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καὶ μᾶλλον ὕδατος. οἵ τε Ἰουδαῖοι διώκοντες συνεισπεσεῖν μὲν οὐ κατίσχυσαν, [154] περικαθεζόμενοι δὲ τῷ χάρακι καὶ παρατηροῦντες εἰσόδου τε τοὺς ἐπαρκοῦντας καὶ ἐξόδου φυγεῖν βουλομένους εἶργον.

4. When the Jews heard this speech, they were much raised in their minds, and more disposed to fight than before. So Herod, when he had offered the sacrifices appointed by the law made haste, and took them, and led them against the Arabians; and in order to that passed over Jordan, and pitched his camp near to that of the enemy. He also thought fit to seize upon a certain castle that lay in the midst of them, as hoping it would be for his advantage, and would the sooner produce a battle; and that if there were occasion for delay, he should by it have his camp fortified; and as the Arabians had the same intentions upon that place, a contest arose about it; at first they were but skirmishes, after which there came more soldiers, and it proved a sort of fight, and some fell on both sides, till those of the Arabian side were beaten and retreated. This was no small encouragement to the Jews immediately; and when Herod observed that the enemy's army was disposed to any thing rather than to come to an engagement, he ventured boldly to attempt the bulwark itself, and to pull it to pieces, and so to get nearer to their camp, in order to fight them; for when they were forced out of their trenches, they went out in disorder, and had not the least alacrity, or hope of victory; yet did they fight hand to hand, because they were more in number than the Jews, and because they were in such a disposition of war that they were under a necessity of coming on boldly; so they came to a terrible battle, while not a few fell on each side. However, at length the Arabians fled; and so great a slaughter was made upon their being routed, that they were not only killed by their enemies, but became the authors of their own deaths also, and were trodden

down by the multitude, and the great current of people in disorder, and were destroyed by their own armor; so five thousand men lay dead upon the spot, while the rest of the multitude soon ran within the bulwark for safety, but had no firm hope of safety, by reason of their want of necessaries, and especially of water. The Jews pursued them, but could not get in with them, but sat round about the bulwark, and watched any assistance that would get in to them, and prevented any there, that had a mind to it, from running away.

(5) [155] Ἐν τοιούτοις οὖν ὄντες οἱ Ἄραβες ἐπρεσβεύοντο πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδην, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπὲρ διαλύσεως, ἔπειτα, τὸ γὰρ δίψος ἤπειγεν, πᾶν ὁτιοῦν ὑφιστάμενοι καὶ τυχεῖν εἰς τὸ παρὸν ἀδείας ἠξιωκότες. [156] ὁ δ᾽ οὔτε πρέσβεις οὔτε λύτρα τῶν ἡλωκότων οὔτ᾽ ἄλλο τι μέτριον προσίετο φιλόνεικος ὢν ἐκδικῆσαι τὰς παρανομίας τὰς εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνων γεγενημένας. καταναγκαζόμενοί τε τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τῷ δίψει προιόντες αὐτοὺς ἐνεχείριζον ἄγειν καὶ δεῖν, [157] [καὶ] πέντε μὲν ἡμέραις τετρακισχίλιοι τὸ πλῆθος οὕτως ἑάλωσαν, τῇ δ᾽ ἕκτῃ πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ διέγνωσαν ἐξιέναι πολέμου νόμῳ χωρήσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐγχειρεῖν, καὶ εἰ δέοι τι πάσχειν, αἱρούμενοι καὶ μὴ διαφθείρεσθαι κατ᾽ ὀλίγους ἀδόξως. [158] ταῦτα δὲ γνόντες ἐξῆλθον μὲν τοῦ χαρακώματος, διήρκεσαν δ᾽ οὐδαμῶς τῇ μάχῃ, λαμπρῶς μὲν ἀγωνίσασθαι κεκακωμένοι καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ σώματα τόπον οὐκ ἔχοντες, κέρδος δ᾽ εἰ θνήσκοιεν ἐν συμφορᾷ τὸ ζῆν ποιούμενοι, καὶ πίπτουσιν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ μάχῃ περὶ ἑπτακισχιλίους. [159] τοιαύτῃ δὲ πληγῇ χρησαμένων φρονήματος μὲν ὅσον ἦν πρότερον αὐτοῖς ἀφῄρηντο, τεθαυμακότες δὲ ἐν ταῖς οἰκείαις συμφοραῖς τὴν Ἡρώδου στρατηγίαν εἵς τε τὸ λοιπὸν εἶξαν καὶ προστάτην ἀπεφήναντο τοῦ ἔθνους. [160] ὁ δὲ πλεῖστον ἐπὶ τοῖς εὐημερήμασιν ἠξιωκὼς φρονεῖν ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, προσειληφὼς ἀξίωμα καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν.

5. When the Arabians were in these circumstances, they sent ambassadors to Herod, in the first place, to propose terms of accommodation, and after that to offer him, so pressing was their thirst upon them, to undergo whatsoever he pleased, if he would free them from their present distress; but he would admit of no ambassadors, of no price of redemption, nor of any other moderate terms whatever, being very desirous to revenge those unjust actions which they had been guilty of towards his nation. So they were necessitated by other motives, and particularly by their thirst, to come out, and deliver themselves up to him, to be carried away captives; and in five days' time the number of four thousand were taken prisoners, while all the rest resolved to make a sally upon their enemies, and to fight it out with them, choosing rather, if so it must be, to die therein, than to perish gradually and ingloriously. When they had taken this resolution, they came out of their trenches, but could no way sustain the fight,

being too much disabled, both in mind and body, and having not room to exert themselves, and thought it an advantage to be killed, and a misery to survive; so at the first onset there fell about seven thousand of them, after which stroke they let all the courage they had put on before fall, and stood amazed at Herod's warlike spirit under his own calamities; so for the future they yielded, and made him ruler of their nation; whereupon he was greatly elevated at so seasonable a success, and returned home, taking great authority upon him, on account of so bold and glorious an expedition as he had made.

VI

CHAPTER 6. How Herod Slew Hyrcanus And Then Hasted Away To Caesar, And Obtained The Kingdom From Him Also; And How A Little Time Afterward, He Entertained Caesar In A Most Honorable Manner.

(1) [161] Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα καλῶς εἶχεν αὐτῷ δυσεπιχειρήτῳ κατὰ πάντα γεγενημένῳ, κίνδυνος δ᾽ ἐμπίπτει τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων κρίσιν ἐξάγων Ἀντώνιον Καίσαρος ἐν τῇ κατ᾽ Ἄκτιον μάχῃ νενικηκότος: [162] τότε γὰρ ἀπέγνωστο αὐτῷ τε Ἡρώδῃ τὰ πράγματα καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ὁμοίως ἐχθροῖς τε καὶ φίλοις: οὐ γὰρ ἦν εἰκὸς ἀτιμώρητον μενεῖν τοσαύτης αὐτῷ φιλίας πρὸς Ἀντώνιον γεγενημένης. [163] ἦν οὖν τοῖς μὲν φίλοις ἀπόγνωσις τῶν κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐλπίδων, ὅσοι δ᾽ ἐχθρῶς εἶχον ἐδόκουν μὲν ἐξ ἐμφανοῦς συνάχθεσθαι, πάθος δὲ λεληθὸς ἐφηδομένων εἶχον ὡς ἀμείνονος τευξόμενοι τῆς μεταβολῆς. [164] αὐτός τε Ἡρώδης τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ὁρῶν μόνον ἐπ᾽ ἀξιώματος βασιλικοῦ συμφέρειν ᾤετο μηκέτ᾽ ἐμποδὼν ἐᾶν, εἰ μὲν περισωθείη καὶ διαφύγοι τὸν κίνδυνον, ἀσφαλὲς ἡγούμενος πρὸς τὸ μὴ τοῖς τοιούτοις αὐτοῦ καιροῖς ἐφορμεῖν ἄνδρα τυχεῖν τῆς βασιλείας ἀξιώτερον, εἰ δὲ καὶ πάσχοι τι διὰ Καίσαρος, φθόνῳ τὸν μόνον ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας γενησόμενον ἐπιθυμῶν ἐξελεῖν.

1. Herod’s other affairs were now very prosperous, and he was not to be easily assaulted on any side. Yet did there come upon him a danger that would hazard his entire dominions, after Antony had been beaten at the battle of Actium by Caesar [Octarian]; for at that time both Herod’s enemies and friends despaired of his affairs, for it was not probable that he would remain without punishment, who had showed so much friendship for Antony. So it happened that his friends despaired, and had no hopes of his escape; but for his enemies, they all outwardly appeared to be troubled at his case, but were privately very glad of it, as hoping to obtain a change for the better. As for Herod himself he saw that there was no one of royal dignity left but Hyrcanus, and therefore he thought it would be for his advantage not to suffer him to be an obstacle in his way any longer; for that in case he himself survived, and escaped the danger he was in, he thought it the safest way to put it out of the power of such a man to make any attempt against him, at such junctures of affairs, as was more worthy of the kingdom than himself; and in case he should be slain by Caesar, his envy prompted him to desire to slay him that would otherwise be king after him.

(2) [165] Ταῦτα δ᾽ αὐτοῦ δι᾽ ἐννοίας ἔχοντος ἐνεδόθη τι καὶ παρ᾽ ἐκείνων: ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ὑρκανὸς ἐπιεικείᾳ τρόπου καὶ τότε καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον οὐκ ἠξίου πολυπραγμονεῖν οὐδὲ νεωτέρων ἅπτεσθαι, συγχωρῶν τῇ τύχῃ πᾶν τὸ δι᾽ ἐκείνης γινόμενον ἠγαπηκέναι. [166] φιλόνεικος δ᾽ ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρα καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς μεταβολῆς ἀκρατῶς φέρουσα λόγους ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, μὴ μέχρι παντὸς ἀναμεῖναι τὴν Ἡρώδου παρανομίαν εἰς τὸν αὐτῶν οἶκον, ἀλλὰ προλαβεῖν ἀσφαλείᾳ τὰς αὖθις ἐλπίδας, [167] καὶ γράφειν ἠξίου περὶ τούτων Μάλχῳ τῷ τὴν ἀραβαρχίαν ἔχοντι δέξασθαί τε αὐτὸν καὶ δι᾽ ἀσφαλείας ἔχειν: ὑπεξελθόντων γὰρ εἰ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην οὕτως χωρήσειεν, ὡς εἰκὸς ἐν ἔχθρᾳ Καίσαρος, αὐτοὺς ἔσεσθαι τοὺς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολαμβάνοντας μόνους καὶ διὰ τὸ γένος καὶ διὰ τὴν εὔνοιαν τῶν ὄχλων. [168] ταῦτα πειθούσης ὁ μὲν Ὑρκανὸς διωθεῖτο τοὺς λόγους, φιλόνεικον δέ τι καὶ γυναικεῖον αὐτῆς πεπονθυίας καὶ μήτε νύκτα μήθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἀπολειπομένης, ἀλλ᾽ ἀεὶ περὶ τούτων καὶ τῆς Ἡρώδου πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπιβουλῆς διαλεγομένης, ἀνεπείσθη τέλος ἐπιστολὴν δοῦναι Δοσιθέῳ τινὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν φίλων, ἐν ᾗ συντέτακτο πέμπειν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἄραβα τοὺς ἀναληψομένους καὶ παραπέμψοντας ἱππέας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσφαλτῖτιν λίμνην: αὕτη δ᾽ ἀπέχει τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ὅρων σταδίους τριακοσίους. [169] ἐπίστευεν δὲ τῷ Δοσιθέῳ θεραπεύοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν καὶ τῆς πρὸς Ἡρώδην δυσνοίας οὐ μικρὰς αἰτίας ἔχοντος: Ἰωσήπου τε γάρ, ὃν ἐκεῖνος ἀνῃρήκει, συγγενὴς ἦν καὶ τῶν ἐν Τύρῳ φονευθέντων ὑπ᾽ Ἀντωνίου πρότερον ἀδελφός. [170] οὐ μὴν ἐπήγαγεν ταῦτα τὸν Δοσίθεον Ὑρκανῷ πιστὸν εἰς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν γενέσθαι, προτιμήσας δὲ τῶν ἐκείνου τὰς ἐκ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἐλπίδας ἐπιδίδωσιν Ἡρώδῃ τὴν ἐπιστολήν. [171] ὁ δὲ τῆς εὐνοίας ἀποδεξάμενος ἔτι καὶ τοῦτο προσυπουργῆσαι παρεκελεύετο, πτύξαντα τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ κατασημηνάμενον ἀποδοῦναι τῷ Μάλχῳ καὶ τὰ παρ᾽ ἐκείνου γράμματα λαβεῖν: οὐ γὰρ μικρὸν τὸ διάφορον καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην αὐτὸν εἰδέναι. [172] ταῦτα δὲ τοῦ Δοσιθέου προθύμως ὑπουργήσαντος ὁ μὲν Ἄραψ ἀντεπέστελλεν αὐτόν τε Ὑρκανὸν δέχεσθαι καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πάντας καὶ Ἰουδαίων ὅσοι τὰ ἐκείνου φρονοῦσιν, δύναμίν τε πέμψειν τὴν μετ᾽ ἀσφαλείας αὐτοὺς κομιοῦσαν καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν ἐνδεήσειν ὧν ἠξίου. [173] ὡς δὲ καὶ ταύτην Ἡρώδης ἐδέξατο τὴν ἐπιστολήν, εὐθύς τε μεταπέμπεται τὸν Ὑρκανὸν καὶ περὶ τῶν γενομένων αὐτῷ συνθηκῶν πρὸς τὸν Μάλχον ἀνέκρινεν. ἀρνησαμένου δὲ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς δείξας τῷ συνεδρίῳ διεχειρίσατο τὸν ἄνδρα.

2. While Herod had these things in his mind, there was a certain occasion afforded him: for Hyrcanus was of so mild a temper, both then and at other times, that he desired not to meddle with public affairs, nor to concern himself with innovations, but left all to fortune, and contented himself with what that afforded him: but Alexandra [his daughter] was a lover of strife, and was

exceeding desirous of a change of the government, and spake to her father not to bear for ever Herod's injurious treatment of their family, but to anticipate their future hopes, as he safely might; and desired him to write about these matters to Malchus, who was then governor of Arabia, to receive them, and to secure them [from Herod], for that if they went away, and Herod's affairs proved to be as it was likely they would be, by reason of Caesar's enmity to him, they should then be the only persons that could take the government; and this, both on account of the royal family they were of, and on account of the good disposition of: the multitude to them. While she used these persuasions, Hyrcanus put off her suit; but as she showed that she was a woman, and a contentious woman too, and would not desist either night or day, but would always be speaking to him about these matters, and about Herod's treacherous designs, she at last prevailed with him to intrust Dositheus, one of his friends, with a letter, wherein his resolution was declared; and he desired the Arabian governor to send to him some horsemen, who should receive him, and conduct him to the lake Asphaltites, which is from the bounds of Jerusalem three hundred furlongs: and he did therefore trust Dositheus with this letter, because he was a careful attendant on him, and on Alexandra, and had no small occasions to bear ill-will to Herod; for he was a kinsman of one Joseph, whom he had slain, and a brother of those that were formerly slain at Tyre by Antony: yet could not these motives induce Dositheus to serve Hyrcanus in this affair; for, preferring the hopes he had from the present king to those he had from him, he gave Herod the letter. So he took his kindness in good part, and bid him besides do what he had already done, that is, go on in serving him, by rolling up the epistle and sealing it again, and delivering it to Malchus, and then to bring back his letter in answer to it; for it would be much better if he could know Malchus's intentions also. And when Dositheus was very ready to serve him in this point also, the Arabian governor returned back for answer, that he would receive Hyrcanus, and all that should come with him, and even all the Jews that were of his party; that he would, moreover, send forces sufficient to secure them in their journey; and that he should be in no want of any thing he should desire. Now as soon as Herod had received this letter, he immediately sent for Hyrcanus, and questioned him about the league he had made with Malchus; and when he denied it, he showed his letter to the Sanhedrim, and put the man to death immediately.

(3) [174] Ταῦτα δὲ γράφομεν ἡμεῖς, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡρώδου περιείχετο. τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις οὐ κατὰ ταῦτα συμφωνεῖ: τὸν γὰρ Ἡρώδην οὐκ ἐπὶ τοιούτοις δοκοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς μᾶλλον Ὑρκανῷ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπάγοντα κατὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ τρόπον ἀποκτεῖναι: [175] γράφουσι γὰρ οὕτως, ἐν

συμποσίῳ τινὶ μηδὲν ὑποψίας ἐνδιδόντα λόγον Ὑρκανῷ προσφέρειν, εἴ τινας ἐπιστολὰς παρὰ τοῦ Μάλχου λάβοι, καὶ τὸν μὲν ὁμολογῆσαι προσαγορευτικὰ γράμματα κομίσασθαι, [176] τὸν δ', εἰ καί τινα δωρεὰν εἰληφὼς εἴη, πάλιν ἐπερέσθαι: τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν πλέον ἢ κτηνῶν ἀναβατικῶν τέτταρα πέμψαντος αὐτῷ λαβεῖν, εἰς αἰτίαν τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπαναφέροντα δωροδοκίας καὶ προδοσίας ἀπάγχειν προστάξαι τὸν ἄνδρα. [177] τεκμήρια δὲ τοῦ μηδὲν ἁμαρτόντα τοιούτῳ τέλει περιπεσεῖν καταλογίζονται τὴν ἐπιείκειαν τοῦ τρόπου καὶ τὸ μήτ' ἐν νεότητι θράσους ἢ προπετείας ἐπίδειξιν πεποιῆσθαι μήθ' ὅτε τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτὸς εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ κἀν ταύτῃ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν κατὰ τὴν διοίκησιν Ἀντιπάτρῳ παρακεχωρηκέναι. [178] τότε δ' ἐντῶ πλείω μὲν ἢ ὀγδοήκοντα γεγονὼς ἐτύγχανεν ἔτη, κρατοῦντα δὲ μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας τὸν Ἡρώδην ἠπίστατο, διαβεβήκει δὲ καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην τοὺς ἐν τῷ πέραν τιμῶντας αὐτὸν καταλιπὼν ὡς ὅλος ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ γενησόμενος: ἐγχειρεῖν οὖν τι καὶ καινοτέρων ἅπτεσθαι πάντων ἀπιθανώτατον καὶ οὐ πρὸς τῆς ἐκείνου φύσεως, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα σκῆψιν Ἡρώδου γενέσθαι.

3. And this account we give the reader, as it is contained in the commentaries of king Herod: but other historians do not agree with them, for they suppose that Herod did not find, but rather make, this an occasion for thus putting him to death, and that by treacherously laying a snare for him; for thus do they write: That Herod and he were once at a treat, and that Herod had given no occasion to suspect [that he was displeased at him], but put this question to Hyrcanus, Whether he had received any letters from Malchus? and when he answered that he had received letters, but those of salutation only; and when he asked further, whether he had not received any presents from him? and when he had replied that he had received no more than four horses to ride on, which Malchus had sent him; they pretended that Herod charged these upon him as the crimes of bribery and treason, and gave order that he should be led away and slain. And in order to demonstrate that he had been guilty of no offense, when he was thus brought to his end, they alleged how mild his temper had been, and that even in his youth he had never given any demonstration of boldness or rashness, and that the case was the same when he came to be king, but that he even then committed the management of the greatest part of public affairs to Antipater; and that he was now above fourscore years old, and knew that Herod's government was in a secure state. He also came over Euphrates, and left those who greatly honored him beyond that river, though he were to be entirely under Herod's government; and that it was a most incredible thing that he should enterprise any thing by way of innovation, and not at all agreeable to his temper, but that this was a plot of Herod's contrivance.

(4) [179] Τοῦτο μὲν τὸ τέλος Ὑρκανῷ συνέπεσεν τοῦ βίου ποικίλαις καὶ πολυτρόποις χρησαμένῳ ταῖς ἐν τῷ ζῆν τύχαις: εὐθὺς μὲν [γὰρ] ἐν ἀρχῇ βασιλευούσης αὐτῷ τῆς μητρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρας ἀρχιερεὺς καταστὰς τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους ἔτεσιν ἐννέα τὴν τιμὴν κατέσχεν. [180] παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποθανούσης τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῷ καὶ ταύτην κατασχὼν τρεῖς μῆνας ἐκπίπτει μὲν ὑπ᾽ Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, κατάγεται δ᾽ αὖθις ὑπὸ Πομπηίου καὶ πάσας τὰς τιμὰς ἀπολαβὼν ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα διετέλεσεν ἐν αὐτοῖς. [181] ἀφαιρεθεὶς δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ὑπ᾽ Ἀντιγόνου καὶ λωβηθεὶς τὸ σῶμα παρὰ Πάρθοις αἰχμάλωτος ἐγένετο. κἀκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπανῄει χρόνῳ διὰ τὰς ἐξ Ἡρώδου προτεινομένας ἐλπίδας, ὧν οὐδὲν αὐτῷ κατὰ προσδοκίαν ἀπήντα πολυπαθείᾳ βίου χρησαμένῳ, τὸ δυσχερέστατον δέ, ὡς προειρήκαμεν, ἐν γήρᾳ τέλους οὐκ ἀξίου τυχεῖν: [182] δοκεῖ γὰρ ἐπιεικὴς καὶ μέτριος ἐν πᾶσιν γενέσθαι καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ διοικηταῖς ἄγειν, οὐ πολυπράγμων οὐδὲ δεινὸς ὢν βασιλείας ἐπιστατεῖν, Ἀντιπάτρῳ τε καὶ Ἡρώδῃ μέχρι τοῦδε προελθεῖν ἐγένετο διὰ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν τὴν ἐκείνου, καὶ τὸ πέρας οὔτε δίκαιον οὔτ᾽ εὐσεβὲς ἐξ αὐτῶν εὕρατο τοιούτου τέλους.

4. And this was the fate of Hyrcanus; and thus did he end his life, after he had endured various and manifold turns of fortune in his lifetime. For he was made high priest of the Jewish nation in the beginning of his mother Alexandra's reign, who held the government nine years; and when, after his mother's death, he took the kingdom himself, and held it three months, he lost it, by the means of his brother Aristobulus. He was then restored by Pompey, and received all sorts of honor from him, and enjoyed them forty years; but when he was again deprived by Antigonus, and was maimed in his body, he was made a captive by the Parthians, and thence returned home again after some time, on account of the hopes that Herod had given him; none of which came to pass according to his expectation, but he still conflicted with many misfortunes through the whole course of his life; and, what was the heaviest calamity of all, as we have related already, he came to an end which was undeserved by him. His character appeared to be that of a man of a mild and moderate disposition, and suffered the administration of affairs to be generally done by others under him. He was averse to much meddling with the public, nor had shrewdness enough to govern a kingdom. And both Antipater and Herod came to their greatness by reason of his mildness; and at last he met with such an end from them as was not agreeable either to justice or piety.

(5) [183] Ὁ δὲ Ἡρώδης ὡς καὶ τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ἐκποδὼν ἐποιήσατο, σπεύδων πρὸς Καίσαρα καὶ μηδὲν ἐλπίσαι περὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ πραγμάτων δυνάμενος χρηστὸν ἐκ τῆς γενομένης αὐτῷ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον φιλίας, ὕποπτον μὲν εἶχεν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν,

μὴ τῷ καιρῷ συνεπιθεμένη τὸ πλῆθος ἀποστήσῃ καὶ στασιάσῃ τὰ περὶ τὴν βασιλείαν πράγματα. [184] παρετίθετο δὲ πάντα Φερώρᾳ τἀδελφῷ, καὶ τὴν μητέρα Κύπρον καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν καὶ τὴν γενεὰν ἅπασαν ἐν Μασάδοις κατεστήσατο παρακελευσάμενος, εἴ τι περὶ αὐτὸν ἀκούσαιεν δυσχερές, ἔχεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων. [185] Μαριάμμην δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα, δυνατὸν γὰρ οὐκ ἦν ἐν διαφορᾷ τῇ πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν καὶ τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἐκείνου δίαιταν τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν, ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείῳ σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρᾳ τῇ μητρὶ κατεστήσατο Ἰώσηπον τὸν ταμιαίαν καὶ τὸν Ἰτουραῖον Σόαιμον ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν καταλιπών, πιστοτάτους μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενομένους αὐτῷ, τότε δὲ προφάσει τιμῆς φρουρεῖν ἀπολειφθέντας τὰς γυναῖκας. [186] ἦν δὲ κἀκείνοις ἐντολὴ μαθόντας τι περὶ αὐτοῦ δυσχερὲς ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀμφοτέρας μεταχειρίσασθαι, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν εἰς δύναμιν τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ σὺν τἀδελφῷ Φερώρᾳ διατηρεῖν.

5. Now Herod, as soon as he had put Hyrcanus out of the way, made haste to Caesar; and because he could not have any hopes of kindness from him, on account of the friendship he had for Antony, he had a suspicion of Alexandra, lest she should take this opportunity to bring the multitude to a revolt, and introduce a sedition into the affairs of the kingdom; so he committed the care of every thing to his brother Pheroras, and placed his mother Cypros, and his sister [Salome], and the whole family at Masada, and gave him a charge, that if he should hear any sad news about him, he should take care of the government. But as to Mariamne his wife, because of the misunderstanding between her and his sister, and his sister's mother, which made it impossible for them to live together, he placed her at Alexandrium, with Alexandra her mother, and left his treasurer Joseph and Sohemus of Iturea to take care of that fortress. These two had been very faithful to him from the beginning, and were now left as a guard to the women. They also had it in charge, that if they should hear any mischief had befallen him, they should kill them both, and, as far as they were able, to preserve the kingdom for his sons, and for his brother Pheroras.

(6) [187] Ταύτας δοὺς τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτὸς εἰς Ῥόδον ἠπείγετο Καίσαρι συντυχεῖν. κἀπειδὴ κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀφῄρητο μὲν τὸ διάδημα, τοῦ δ᾽ ἄλλου περὶ αὐτὸν ἀξιώματος οὐδὲν ὑφεικώς, ὅτε καὶ κοινωνῆσαι λόγου κατὰ τὴν συντυχίαν ἠξιώθη, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐνέφηνεν τὸ μεγαλεῖον τοῦ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν φρονήματος, [188] οὔτ᾽ εἰς ἱκεσίαν, ὡς εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τοιούτοις, τραπόμενος οὔτε δέησίν τινα προτείνων ὡς ἐφ᾽ ἡμαρτημένοις, ἀποδοὺς δὲ τὸν λογισμὸν τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀνυποτιμήτως. [189] ἔλεγεν γὰρ τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ φιλίαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι μεγίστην πρὸς Ἀντώνιον καὶ πάντα πρᾶξαι κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν, ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνῳ γενήσεται τὰ πράγματα, στρατείας μὲν οὐ κοινωνήσας κατὰ περιολκὰς τῶν Ἀράβων, πέμψας δὲ καὶ χρήματα καὶ σῖτον ἐκείνῳ. [190] καὶ ταῦτ᾽ εἶναι

μετριώτερα τῶν ἐπιβαλλόντων αὐτῷ γενέσθαι: τὸν γὰρ ὁμολογοῦντα μὲν εἶναι φίλον, εὐεργέτην δ' ἐκεῖνον ἐπιστάμενον, παντὶ μέρει καὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος καὶ περιουσίας συγκινδυνεύειν δέον ὧν αὐτὸς ἔλαττον ἢ καλῶς εἶχεν ἀναστραφεὶς ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνό γε συνειδέναι καλῶς ἑαυτῷ πεποιηκότι τὸ μηδ' ἡττηθέντα τὴν ἐν Ἀκτίῳ μάχην καταλιπεῖν, [191] μηδὲ συμμεταβῆναι ταῖς ἐλπίσιν φανερῶς ἤδη μεταβαινούσης καὶ τῆς τύχης, φυλάξαι δ' αὐτὸν, εἰ καὶ μὴ συναγωνιστὴν ἀξιόχρεων, ἀλλὰ σύμβουλόν γε δεξιώτατον Ἀντωνίῳ τὴν μίαν αἰτίαν τοῦ κἂν σώζεσθαι καὶ μὴ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκπεσεῖν ὑποδεικνύντα, Κλεοπάτραν ἐπανελέσθαι: [192] προανῃρημένης γὰρ ἐκείνης αὐτῷ τε τῶν πραγμάτων ἄρχειν ὑπεῖναι καὶ τὰς πρὸς σὲ συμβάσεις ῥᾷον εὑρίσκεσθαι τῆς ἔχθρας. ὧν οὐδὲν ἐκεῖνος ἐννοηθεὶς ἀλυσιτελῶς μὲν αὐτῷ, συμφερόντως δὲ σοὶ προετίμησεν τὴν ἀβουλίαν. [193] νῦν οὖν εἰ μὲν τῇ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ὀργῇ κρίνεις καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν προθυμίαν, οὐκ ἂν εἴη μοι τῶν πεπραγμένων ἄρνησις οὐδ' ἀπαξιώσω τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εὔνοιαν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ λέγειν, εἰ δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον ἀνελών, τίς εἰμι πρὸς τοὺς εὐεργέτας καὶ ποῖος φίλος ἐξετάζοις, ἐνέσται σοι πείρᾳ τῶν ἤδη γεγενημένων ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι: τοῦ γὰρ ὀνόματος ὑπαλλαγέντος οὐδὲν ἔλαττον αὐτὸ τὸ τῆς φιλίας βέβαιον ἐν ἡμῖν εὐδοκιμεῖν δυνήσεται."

6. When he had given them this charge, he made haste to Rhodes, to meet Caesar; and when he had sailed to that city, he took off his diadem, but remitted nothing else of his usual dignity. And when, upon his meeting him, he desired that he would let him speak to him, he therein exhibited a much more noble specimen of a great soul; for he did not betake himself to supplications, as men usually do upon such occasions, nor offered him any petition, as if he were an offender; but, after an undaunted manner, gave an account of what he had done; for he spake thus to Caesar: That he had the greatest friendship for Antony, and did every thing he could that he might attain the government; that he was not indeed in the army with him, because the Arabians had diverted him; but that he had sent him both money and corn, which was but too little in comparison of what he ought to have done for him; "for if a man owns himself to be another's friend, and knows him to be a benefactor, he is obliged to hazard every thing, to use every faculty of his soul, every member of his body, and all the wealth he hath, for him, in which I confess I have been too deficient. However, I am conscious to myself, that so far I have done right, that I have not deserted him upon his defeat at Actium; nor upon the evident change of his fortune have I transferred my hopes from him to another, but have preserved myself, though not as a valuable fellow soldier, yet certainly as a faithful counselor, to Antony, when I demonstrated to him that the only way that he had to save himself, and not to lose all his

authority, was to slay Cleopatra; for when she was once dead, there would be room for him to retain his authority, and rather to bring thee to make a composition with him, than to continue at enmity any longer. None of which advises would he attend to, but preferred his own rash resolution before them, which have happened unprofitably for him, but profitably for thee. Now, therefore, in case thou determinest about me, and my alacrity in serving Antony, according to thy anger at him, I own there is no room for me to deny what I have done, nor will I be ashamed to own, and that publicly too, that I had a great kindness for him. But if thou wilt put him out of the case, and only examine how I behave myself to my benefactors in general, and what sort of friend I am, thou wilt find by experience that we shall do and be the same to thyself, for it is but changing the names, and the firmness of friendship that we shall bear to thee will not be disapproved by thee."

(7) [194] Τοιαῦτα λέγων καὶ παράπαν ἐμφαίνων τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐλευθέριον οὐ μετρίως ἐπεσπᾶτο τὸν Καίσαρα φιλότιμον ὄντα καὶ λαμπρόν, ὥστ᾽ αὐτῷ τὰς τῶν ἐγκλημάτων αἰτίας σύστασιν ἤδη τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εὐνοίας πραγματεύεσθαι. [195] καὶ τό τε διάδημα πάλιν ἀποκαθίστησιν αὐτῷ καὶ προτρεψάμενος μηδὲν ἐλάττω περὶ αὐτὸν ἢ πρότερον ἦν περὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον φαίνεσθαι, διὰ πάσης ἦγε τιμῆς, προσθεὶς ὅτι καιταιδιος γράψειεν, ἁπάσῃ προθυμίᾳ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς μονομάχους αὐτῷ συλλαβέσθαι τὸν Ἡρώδην. [196] τοσαύτης ἀποδοχῆς ἠξιωμένος καὶ παρ᾽ ἐλπίδας ὁρῶν αὐτῷ πάλιν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς βεβαιοτέραν τὴν βασιλείαν δόσει Καίσαρος καὶ δόγματι Ῥωμαίων, ὅπερ ἐκεῖνος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ βέβαιον ἐπραγματεύσατο, παρέπεμψεν ἐπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου Καίσαρα, δωρησάμενος ὑπὲρ δύναμιν αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς φίλους καὶ πᾶσαν ἐμφαίνων μεγαλοψυχίαν. [197] ᾐτεῖτο δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἀντωνίῳ συνήθων Ἀλέξανδρον ὡς μηδὲν ἀνήκεστον παθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τούτου μὲν οὐκ ἔτυχεν ὅρκῳ προκατειλημμένου Καίσαρος: [198] ἐπανῄει δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πλείονί τε τιμῇ καὶ παρρησίᾳ καὶ τοῖς τὰ ἐναντία προσδοκήσασιν ἔκπληξιν παρέσχεν ὡς ἀεὶ τὸ λαμπρότερον ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων κατ᾽ εὐμένειαν τοῦ θεοῦ προσεπικτώμενος. εὐθὺς οὖν περὶ τὴν ὑποδοχὴν ἐγεγόνει Καίσαρος ἀπὸ Συρίας εἰς Αἴγυπτον εἰσβαλεῖν μέλλοντος. [199] κἀπειδὴ παρῆν, δέχεται μὲν αὐτὸν ἐν Πτολεμαίδι πάσῃ τῇ βασιλικῇ θεραπείᾳ, παρέσχεν δὲ καὶ τῷ στρατεύματι ξένια καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀφθονίαν. κἀν τοῖς εὐνουστάτοις ἐξητάζετο τάς τε δυνάμεις ἐκτάττοντος συνιππαζόμενος καὶ δεχόμενος αὐτὸν καὶ φίλους ἀνδρῶσιν ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα πᾶσιν εἰς πολυτέλειαν καὶ πλοῦτον ὑπηρεσίας ἠσκημένοις. [200] παρέσχεν δὲ καὶ τὴν ἄνυδρον διερχομένοις τὴν τῶν ἐπειγόντων χορηγίαν, ὡς μήτε οἴνου μήτε ὕδατος, ὃ καὶ μᾶλλον ἦν ἐν χρείᾳ τοῖς στρατιώταις, ὑστερηθῆναι. αὐτόν γε μὴν Καίσαρα ταλάντοις ὀκτακοσίοις ἐδωρήσατο καὶ παρέστησεν ἅπασιν ἔννοιαν λαβεῖν, ὅτι

τῆς βασιλείας ἧς εἶχεν πολὺ μείζω καὶ λαμπρότερα κατὰ τὰς ὑπουργίας ἐπεδείκνυτο. [201] τοῦτ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ μᾶλλον εἰς πίστιν εὐνοίας καὶ προθυμίας ἐπισυνίστη καὶ πλεῖστον ἠνέγκατο τῇ χρείᾳ τοῦ καιροῦ τὸ μεγαλόψυχον ἁρμόσας. ὁ δὲ καὶ πάλιν ἐπανιόντων ἀπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου τῶν πρώτων οὐδενὸς τὰς ὑπηρεσίας ἥττων ἐφάνη.

7. By this speech, and by his behavior, which showed Caesar the frankness of his mind, he greatly gained upon him, who was himself of a generous and magnificent temper, insomuch that those very actions, which were the foundation of the accusation against him, procured him Caesar's good-will. Accordingly, he restored him his diadem again; and encouraged him to exhibit himself as great a friend to himself as he had been to Antony, and then had him in great esteem. Moreover, he added this, that Quintus Didius had written to him that Herod had very readily assisted him in the affair of the gladiators. So when he had obtained such a kind reception, and had, beyond all his hopes, procured his crown to be more entirely and firmly settled upon him than ever by Caesar's donation, as well as by that decree of the Romans, which Caesar took care to procure for his greater security, he conducted Caesar on his way to Egypt, and made presents, even beyond his ability, to both him and his friends, and in general behaved himself with great magnanimity. He also desired that Caesar would not put to death one Alexander, who had been a companion of Antony; but Caesar had sworn to put him to death, and so he could not obtain that his petition. And now he returned to Judea again with greater honor and assurance than ever, and affrighted those that had expectations to the contrary, as still acquiring from his very dangers greater splendor than before, by the favor of God to him. So he prepared for the reception of Caesar, as he was going out of Syria to invade Egypt; and when he came, he entertained him at Ptolemais with all royal magnificence. He also bestowed presents on the army, and brought them provisions in abundance. He also proved to be one of Caesar's most cordial friends, and put the army in array, and rode along with Caesar, and had a hundred and fifty men, well appointed in all respects, after a rich and sumptuous manner, for the better reception of him and his friends. He also provided them with what they should want, as they passed over the dry desert, insomuch that they lacked neither wine nor water, which last the soldiers stood in the greatest need of; and besides, he presented Caesar with eight hundred talents, and procured to himself the good-will of them all, because he was assisting to them in a much greater and more splendid degree than the kingdom he had obtained could afford; by which means he more and more demonstrated to Caesar the firmness of his friendship, and his readiness to assist him; and what was of the

greatest advantage to him was this, that his liberality came at a seasonable time also. And when they returned again out of Egypt, his assistances were no way inferior to the good offices he had formerly done them.

VII

CHAPTER 7. How Herod Slew Sohemus And Mariamne And Afterward Alexandra And Costobarus, And His Most Intimate Friends, And At Last The Sons Of Babbas Also.

(1) [202] Τότε μέντοι γενόμενος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τεταραγμένην αὐτῷ τὴν οἰκίαν καταλαμβάνει καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐχούσας τήν τε γυναῖκα Μαριάμμην καὶ τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἐκείνης Ἀλεξάνδραν. [203] οἰηθεῖσαι γάρ, ὅπερ ἦν ὕποπτον, οὐκ εἰς ἀσφάλειαν τῶν σωμάτων εἰς ἐκεῖνο κατατεθῆναι τὸ χωρίον, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς φρουρᾷ μηθενὸς μήτε τῶν ἄλλων μήθ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐξουσίαν ἔχοιεν, χαλεπῶς ἔφερον. [204] ἥ τε Μαριάμμη τὸν μὲν ἔρωτα τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπόκρισιν ἄλλως καὶ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον αὐτῷ γινομένην ἀπάτην ὑπελάμβανεν, ἤχθετο δὲ τῷ μηδ᾽ εἰ πάσχοι τι δεινὸν ἐκεῖνος ἐλπίδα τοῦ βιώσεσθαι δι᾽ αὐτὸν ἐσχηκέναι καὶ τὰς Ἰωσήπῳ δοθείσας ἐντολὰς ἀνεμνημόνευεν, ὥστ᾽ ἤδη διὰ θεραπείας εἶχεν τοὺς φρουροὺς καὶ μᾶλλον τὸν Σόαιμον, ἐν ἐκείνῳ τὸ πᾶν ἐπισταμένη. [205] Σόαιμος δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὰς ἀρχὰς πιστὸς ἦν οὐδὲν ὧν Ἡρώδης ἐνετέταλτο παριείς, λόγοις δὲ καὶ δωρεαῖς λιπαρέστερον τῶν γυναικῶν ἐκθεραπευουσῶν αὐτὸν ἡττᾶτο κατὰ μικρὸν ἤδη καὶ τέλος ἐξεῖπεν ἁπάσας τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ βασιλέως, μάλιστα μὲν οὐδ᾽ ἐλπίσας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποστρέψειν ἐξουσίας: [206] ἐν ᾧ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκφυγὼν τὸν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κίνδυνον οὐ μικρὰ χαριεῖσθαι ταῖς γυναιξὶν ὑπελάμβανεν, αἷς ἦν εἰκὸς οὐκ ἀποτεύξεσθαι τοῦ περιόντος ἀξιώματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλέον εἰς τὴν ἀμοιβὴν ἕξειν εἰ βασιλευούσας ἢ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἀγχοῦ γενησομένας. [207] ἐπήλπιζε δ᾽ αὐτὸν οὐχ ἧττον, εἰ καὶ πάντα κατὰ νοῦν πράξας ὑποστρέψειεν Ἡρώδης, μηδὲν ὅτι τῇ γυναικὶ δυνήσεσθαι βουλομένῃ γε ἀντειπεῖν: ἠπίστατο γὰρ τὸν πρὸς τὴν Μαριάμμην ἔρωτα μείζονα λόγου τῷ βασιλεῖ. [208] ταῦτα προσεκλύσαντα τὰς ἐντολὰς ἐξαγγεῖλαι Μαριάμμη χαλεπῶς ἤκουσεν, εἰ μηδὲν πέρας αὐτῇ τῶν ἐξ Ἡρώδου κινδύνων ἔσται, χαλεπῶς δὲ διέκειτο, μηδενὸς μὲν τυχεῖν αὐτὸν τῶν ἴσων εὐχομένη, δυσύποιστον δ᾽ εἰ τύχοι τὸν μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ βίον κρίνουσα. καὶ τοῦτο διέδειξεν ἐν ὑστέρῳ μηδὲν ἐπικρυψαμένη τοῦ κατ᾽ αὐτὴν πάθους.

1. However, when he came into his kingdom again, he found his house all in disorder, and his wife Mariamne and her mother Alexandra very uneasy; for as they supposed [what was easy to be supposed] that they were not put into that fortress [Alexandrium] for the security of their persons, but as into a garrison for their imprisonment, and that they had no power over any thing, either of others or of their own affairs, they were very uneasy; and Mariamne supposing that the king’s love to her was but hypocritical, and rather pretended [as advantageous to

himself] than real, she looked upon it as fallacious. She also was grieved that he would not allow her any hopes of surviving him, if he should come to any harm himself. She also recollected what commands he had formerly given to Joseph, insomuch that she endeavored to please her keepers, and especially Sohemus, as well apprized how all was in his power. And at the first Sohemus was faithful to Herod, and neglected none of the things he had given him in charge; but when the women, by kind words and liberal presents, had gained his affections over to them, he was by degrees overcome, and at length discovered to them all the king's injunctions, and this on that account principally, that he did not so much as hope he would come back with the same authority he had before; so that he thought he should both escape any danger from him, mid supposed that he did hereby much gratify the women, who were likely not to be overlooked in the settling of the government; nay, that they would be able to make him abundant recompense, since they must either reign themselves, or be very near to him that should reign. He had a further ground of hope also, that though Herod should have all the success he could wish for, and should return again, he could not contradict his wife in what she desired, for he knew that the king's fondness for his wife was inexpressible. These were the motives that drew Sohemus to discover what injunctions had been given him. So Mariamne was greatly displeased to hear that there was no end of the dangers she was under from Herod, and was greatly uneasy at it, and wished that he might obtain no favors [from Caesar], and esteemed it almost an insupportable task to live with him any longer; and this she afterward openly declared, without concealing her resentment.

(2) [209] Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ μεγάλοις οἷς παρ᾽ ἐλπίδας εὐτυχήκει καταπεπλευκὼς πρώτῃ μέν, ὡς εἰκός, τῇ γυναικὶ περὶ τούτων εὐηγγελίζετο, μόνην δὲ ἐκ πάντων διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα καὶ τὴν οὖσαν αὐτῷ συνήθειαν προτιμῶν ἠσπάζετο. [210] τῇ δ᾽ οὔτε τὰς εὐημερίας διηγουμένου χαίρειν μᾶλλον ἢ χαλεπῶς φέρειν συνέβαινεν οὔτ᾽ ἐπικρύπτεσθαι τὸ πάθος δυνατὸν ἦν. ἀλλ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἀδοξίας καὶ τῆς περιούσης εὐγενείας πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀσπασμοὺς ἀνέστενεν, τοῖς δὲ διηγήμασιν ἄχθεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ συγχαίρειν ἐνέφαινεν, ὡς οὐχ ὕποπτα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ καταφανῆ γινόμενα τὸν Ἡρώδην ἐπιταράττειν. [211] ἠδημόνει μὲν γὰρ ὁρῶν τὸ παράλογον τῆς γυναικὸς εἰς αὐτὸν μῖσος οὐκ ἀποκεκρυμμένον, ἤχθετο δὲ τῷ πράγματι καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα φέρειν ἀδυνατῶν ταῖς τε ὀργαῖς καὶ ταῖς διαλλαγαῖς οὐκ ἐνέμενεν, ἀεὶ δὲ ἀπὸ θατέρου μεταβαίνων εἰς θάτερον ἐφ᾽ ἑκατέρῳ πολλὴν εἶχεν ἀπορίαν. [212] οὕτως οὖν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ στυγεῖν καὶ στέργειν ἀποληφθεὶς καὶ πολλάκις ἕτοιμος ὢν ἀμύνασθαι τῆς ὑπερηφανίας αὐτὴν διὰ τὸ προκατειλῆφθαι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀσθενέστερος εἰς τὸ μεταστήσασθαι τὴν ἄνθρωπον ἐγίνετο. τὸ δὲ σύμπαν ἡδέως

ἂν ἐκείνην κολάσας ἐδεδοίκει, μὴ λάθοι μείζονα παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀποθανούσης εἰσπραττόμενος.

2. And now Herod sailed home with joy, at the unexpected good success he had had; and went first of all, as was proper, to this his wife, and told her, and her only, the good news, as preferring her before the rest, on account of his fondness for her, and the intimacy there had been between them, and saluted her; but so it happened, that as he told her of the good success he had had, she was so far from rejoicing at it, that she rather was sorry for it; nor was she able to conceal her resentments, but, depending on her dignity, and the nobility of her birth, in return for his salutations, she gave a groan, and declared evidently that she rather grieved than rejoiced at his success, and this till Herod was disturbed at her, as affording him, not only marks of her suspicion, but evident signs of her dissatisfaction. This much troubled him, to see that this surprising hatred of his wife to him was not concealed, but open; and he took this so ill, and yet was so unable to bear it, on account of the fondness he had for her, that he could not continue long in any one mind, but sometimes was angry at her, and sometimes reconciled himself to her; but by always changing one passion for another, he was still in great uncertainty, and thus was he entangled between hatred and love, and was frequently disposed to inflict punishment on her for her insolence towards him; but being deeply in love with her in his soul, he was not able to get quit of this woman. In short, as he would gladly have her punished, so was he afraid lest, ere he were aware, he should, by putting her to death, bring a heavier punishment upon himself at the same time.

(3) [213] Συνιδοῦσαι δ᾽ οὕτως αὐτὸν ἔχοντα πρὸς τὴν Μαριάμμην ἥ τε ἀδελφὴ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ κάλλιστον ᾠήθησαν τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ πρὸς ἐκείνην μίσους εἰληφέναι καὶ διελάλουν οὐ μικρῶς παροξύνουσαι τὸν Ἡρώδην διαβολαῖς μῖσος ὁμοῦ καὶ ζηλοτυπίαν ἐμποιεῖν δυνησομέναις. [214] ὁ δ᾽ οὔτε τῶν τοιούτων ἀηδῶς ἤκουσεν λόγων οὔτε δρᾶν τι κατὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ὡς πεπιστευκὼς ἀπεθάρρει, χεῖρον μέντοι πρὸς αὐτὴν εἶχεν ἀεὶ καὶ τὸ πάθος ἀντεξεκαίετο, τῆς μὲν οὐκ ἀποκρυπτομένης τὴν διάθεσιν, τοῦ δὲ τὸν ἔρωτα πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀεὶ μεταλαμβάνοντος. [215] κἂν εὐθὺς ἐπράχθη τι τῶν ἀνηκέστων: νῦν δὲ Καίσαρος ἀγγελθέντος κρατεῖν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τεθνηκότων Ἀντωνίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας ἔχειν Αἴγυπτον, ἐπειγόμενος εἰς τὸ Καίσαρι ἁπαντᾶν κατέλιπεν ὡς εἶχεν τὰ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν. [216] ἐξιόντι δὲ Μαριάμμη παραστησομένη τὸν Σόαιμον πολλήν τε χάριν τῆς ἐπιμελείας ὡμολόγει καὶ μεριδαρχίαν αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ᾐτήσατο. [217] κἀκεῖνος μὲν τυγχάνει τῆς τιμῆς. Ἡρώδης δὲ γενόμενος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Καίσαρί τε μετὰ πλείονος παρρησίας εἰς λόγους ἦλθεν ὡς ἥδη φίλος καὶ μεγίστων ἠξιώθη: τῶν τε γὰρ Κλεοπάτραν δορυφορούντων Γαλατῶν τετρακοσίοις αὐτὸν ἐδωρήσατο καὶ τὴν

χώραν ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῷ πάλιν, ἣν δι᾽ ἐκείνης ἀφῃρέθη. προσέθηκεν δὲ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ Γάδαρα καὶ Ἵππον καὶ Σαμάρειαν ἔτι δὲ τῆς παραλίου Γάζαν καὶ Ἀνθηδόνα καὶ Ἰόπην καὶ Στράτωνος πύργον.

3. When Herod's sister and mother perceived that he was in this temper with regard to Mariamne they thought they had now got an excellent opportunity to exercise their hatred against her and provoked Herod to wrath by telling him, such long stories and calumnies about her, as might at once excite his hatred and his jealousy. Now, though he willingly enough heard their words, yet had not he courage enough to do any thing to her as if he believed them; but still he became worse and worse disposed to her, and these ill passions were more and more inflamed on both sides, while she did not hide her disposition towards him, and he turned his love to her into wrath against her. But when he was just going to put this matter past all remedy, he heard the news that Caesar was the victor in the war, and that Antony and Cleopatra were both dead, and that he had conquered Egypt; whereupon he made haste to go to meet Caesar, and left the affairs of his family in their present state. However, Mariamne recommended Sohemus to him, as he was setting out on his journey, and professed that she owed him thanks for the care he had taken of her, and asked of the king for him a place in the government; upon which an honorable employment was bestowed upon him accordingly. Now when Herod was come into Egypt, he was introduced to Caesar with great freedom, as already a friend of his, and received very great favors from him; for he made him a present of those four hundred Galatians who had been Cleopatra's guards, and restored that country to him again, which, by her means, had been taken away from him. He also added to his kingdom Gadara, Hippos, and Samaria; and, besides those, the maritime cities, Gaza, and Anthedon, and Joppa, and Strato's Tower.

(4) [218] Ἐπιτυχὼν δὲ καὶ τούτων λαμπρότερος ἦν, καὶ τὸν μὲν Καίσαρα παρέπεμψεν ἐπ᾽ Ἀντιοχείας, αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἐπανελθὼν ὅσον ᾤετο τὰ πράγματα αὐτῷ διὰ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπιδιδόναι πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν, τοσοῦτον ἔκαμνεν τοῖς οἰκείοις καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τὸν γάμον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ μᾶλλον εὐτυχεῖν ἐδόκει πρότερον: ἔρωτα γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἐλάττω τῶν ἱστορουμένων ἐπεπόνθει μετὰ τοῦ δικαίου τῆς Μαριάμμης. [219] ἡ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σώφρων καὶ πιστὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦν, εἶχεν δέ τι καὶ γυναικεῖον ὁμοῦ καὶ χαλεπὸν ἐκ φύσεως, ἱκανῶς μὲν ἐντρυφῶσα δεδουλωμένῳ διὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ τὸ βασιλεύεσθαι καὶ κρατεῖν ἄλλον αὐτῆς οὐ συγκαταλογιζομένη τῷ καιρῷ πολλάκις μὲν ὑβριστικῶς αὐτῷ προσηνέχθη καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐκεῖνος ἐξειρωνευόμενος ἔφερεν ἐγκρατῶς καὶ μειζόνως, [220] ἀναφανδὸν δὲ τήν τε μητέρα καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἐπὶ δυσγενείᾳ διεχλεύαζεν καὶ κακῶς ἔλεγεν, ὥστ᾽ ἤδη στάσιν ἐν ταῖς γυναιξὶν εἶναι καὶ μῖσος ἄσπονδον, ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε καὶ

διαβολὰς μείζονας. [221] ἥ τε ὑποψία τρεφομένη παρέτεινεν ἐνιαυτοῦ μῆκος ἐξ οὗ παρὰ Καίσαρος Ἡρώδης ὑπεστρόφει. τέλεον μέντοι προοικονομούμενον ἐκ πλείονος ἐξερράγη τοιαύτης ἀφορμῆς ἐγγενομένης: [222] κατακλινόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς ὡς ἀναπαύσασθαι μεσημβρίας οὔσης ἐκάλει τὴν Μαριάμμην ὑπὸ φιλοστοργίας, ἧς ἀεὶ περὶ αὐτὴν εἶχεν. ἡ δὲ εἰσῆλθεν μέν, οὐ μὴν καὶ κατεκλίθη σπουδάζοντος ἐκφαυλίσασα καὶ προσλοιδορηθεῖσα, τόν τε πατέρα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆς ὡς ἀπεκτόνοι. [223] χαλεπῶς δ᾽ ἐκείνου τὴν ὕβριν ἐνηνοχότος καὶ γεγονότος εἰς προπέτειαν ἑτοίμου, τῆς ταραχῆς αἰσθομένη μείζονος ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφὴ Σαλώμη παρεσκευασμένον ἐκ πλείστου τὸν οἰνοχόον εἰσπέμπει κελεύουσα λέγειν, ὡς πείθοι Μαριάμμη φίλτρον αὐτῇ συγκατασκευάσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ. [224] κἂν ταραχθῇ καὶ πυνθάνηται, τί ποτε τοῦτ᾽ ἦν, λέγειν ὅτι φάρμακον ἐκείνης μὲν ἐχούσης αὐτοῦ δὲ διακονῆσαι παρακαλουμένου, μὴ κινηθέντος δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῷ φίλτρῳ τὸν λόγον ἀργὸν ἐᾶν: οὐδένα γὰρ αὐτῷ κίνδυνον φέρειν. τοιαῦτα προδιδάξασα κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν εἰσπέμπει διαλεξόμενον. [225] ὁ δὲ πιθανῶς ἅμα καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς εἰσῄει, δῶρα μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν Μαριάμμην παρεσχῆσθαι λέγων, ἀναπείθειν δὲ φίλτρον αὐτῷ διδόναι. πρὸς τοῦτο διακινηθέντος καὶ τί τὸ φίλτρον εἴη ἐρωτήσαντος, φάρμακον εἶπεν ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνης διδόμενον, οὗ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτὸς οὐκ εἰδέναι, διὸ καὶ προσαγγεῖλαι τοῦτ᾽ ἀσφαλέστερον αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ διειληφότα. [226] τοιούτων ἀκούσας Ἡρώδης λόγων καὶ πρότερον κακῶς διακείμενος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἠρεθίσθη, τόν τ᾽ εὐνοῦχον, ὃς ἦν τῇ Μαριάμμῃ πιστότατος, ἐβασάνιζεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ φαρμάκου γινώσκων, ὡς οὐ χωρὶς ἐκείνου τι δυνατὸν ἦν οὔτε μεῖζον οὔτε ἔλαττόν τι πεπρᾶχθαι. [227] γενόμενος δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἀνάγκαις ὁ ἄνθρωπος, οὐδὲν μὲν ὧν ἕνεκεν ἐβασανίζετο λέγειν εἶχεν, τὸ μέντοι τῆς γυναικὸς ἔχθος εἰς αὐτὸν ἔφη γενέσθαι διὰ τοὺς λόγους, οὓς ὁ Σόαιμος αὐτῇ φράσαι. [228] ταῦτα δ᾽ ἔτι λέγοντος μέγα βοήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἂν ἔφη Σόαιμον πιστότατον ὄντα τόν γε ἄλλον χρόνον αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ καταπροδοῦναι τὰς ἐντολάς, εἰ μὴ καὶ περαιτέρω προεληλύθει τῆς πρὸς τὴν Μαριάμμην κοινωνίας. [229] καὶ τὸν μὲν Σόαιμον εὐθὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἀποκτεῖναι συλλαβόντας: τῇ δὲ γυναικὶ κρίσιν ἀπεδίδου συναγαγὼν τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν κατηγορίαν ἐσπουδασμένην ποιούμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ τὰς διαβολὰς φίλτρων καὶ φαρμάκων. ἦν δὲ ἀκρατὴς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ κρίσεως ὀργιλαίτερος, καὶ τέλος οὕτως ἔχοντα γινώσκοντες αὐτὸν οἱ παρόντες θάνατον αὐτῆς κατεψηφίσαντο. [230] διενεχθείσης δὲ τῆς γνώμης ὑπεγίνετο μέν τι καὶ τοιοῦτον αὐτῷ τε καί τισιν τῶν παρόντων μὴ προπετῶς οὕτως ἀναιρεῖν, καταθέσθαι δὲ εἰς ἔν τι τῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ φρουρίων. [231] ἐσπουδάσθη δὲ ταῖς περὶ τὴν Σαλώμην ἐκποδὼν ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἄνθρωπον καὶ μᾶλλον ἔπεισαν τὸν βασιλέα τὰς ταραχὰς τοῦ πλήθους, εἰ ζῶσα τύχοι, φυλάξασθαι συμβουλεύουσαι. Μαριάμμη μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἤγετο τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ.

4. Upon these new acquisitions, he grew more magnificent, and conducted Caesar as far as Antioch; but upon his return, as much as his prosperity was augmented by the foreign additions that had been made him, so much the greater were the distresses that came upon him in his own family, and chiefly in the affair of his wife, wherein he formerly appeared to have been most of all fortunate; for the affection he had for Mariamne was no way inferior to the affections of such as are on that account celebrated in history, and this very justly. As for her, she was in other respects a chaste woman, and faithful to him; yet had she somewhat of a woman rough by nature, and treated her husband imperiously enough, because she saw he was so fond of her as to be enslaved to her. She did not also consider seasonably with herself that she lived under a monarchy, and that she was at another's disposal, and accordingly would behave herself after a saucy manner to him, which yet he usually put off in a jesting way, and bore with moderation and good temper. She would also expose his mother and his sister openly, on account of the meanness of their birth, and would speak unkindly of them, insomuch that there was before this a disagreement and unpardonable hatred among the women, and it was now come to greater reproaches of one another than formerly, which suspicions increased, and lasted a whole year after Herod returned from Caesar. However, these misfortunes, which had been kept under some decency for a great while, burst out all at once upon such an occasion as was now offered; for as the king was one day about noon lain down on his bed to rest him, he called for Mariamne, out of the great affection he had always for her. She came in accordingly, but would not lie down by him; and when he was very desirous of her company, she showed her contempt of him; and added, by way of reproach, that he had caused her father and her brother to be slain. And when he took this injury very unkindly, and was ready to use violence to her, in a precipitate manner, the king's sister Salome, observing that he was more than ordinarily disturbed, sent in to the king his cup-bearer, who had been prepared long beforehand for such a design, and bid him tell the king how Mariamne had persuaded him to give his assistance in preparing a love potion for him; and if he appeared to be greatly concerned, and to ask what that love potion was, to tell him that she had the potion, and that he was desired only to give it him; but that in case he did not appear to be much concerned at this potion, to let the thing drop; and that if he did so, no harm should thereby come to him. When she had given him these instructions, she sent him in at this time to make such a speech. So he went in, after a composed manner, to gain credit to what he should say, and yet somewhat hastily, and said that Mariamne had given him presents, and persuaded him to give him a love potion. And when this moved the king, he said that this love potion was a composition that she had given him, whose effects he

did not know, which was the reason of his resolving to give him this information, as the safest course he could take, both for himself and for the king. When Herod heard what he said, and was in an ill disposition before, his indignation grew more violent; and he ordered that eunuch of Mariamne, who was most faithful to her, to be brought to torture about this potion, as well knowing it was not possible that any thing small or great could be done without him. And when the man was under the utmost agonies, he could say nothing concerning the thing he was tortured about, but so far he knew, that Mariamne's hatred against him was occasioned by somewhat that Sohemus had said to her. Now as he was saying this, Herod cried out aloud, and said that Sohemus, who had been at all other times most faithful to him, and to his government, would not have betrayed what injunctions he had given him, unless he had had a nearer conversation than ordinary with Mariamne. So he gave order that Sohemus should be seized on and slain immediately; but he allowed his wife to take her trial; and got together those that were most faithful to him, and laid an elaborate accusation against her for this love potion and composition, which had been charged upon her by way of calumny only. However, he kept no temper in what he said, and was in too great a passion for judging well about this matter. Accordingly, when the court was at length satisfied that he was so resolved, they passed the sentence of death upon her; but when the sentence was passed upon her, this temper was suggested by himself, and by some others of the court, that she should not be thus hastily put to death, but be laid in prison in one of the fortresses belonging to the kingdom: but Salome and her party labored hard to have the woman put to death; and they prevailed with the king to do so, and advised this out of caution, lest the multitude should be tumultuous if she were suffered to live; and thus was Mariamne led to execution.

(5) [232] Συνθεωρήσασα δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρα, καὶ διότι μικρὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχοι μὴ καὶ αὐτὴ τῶν ὁμοίων ἐξ Ἡρώδου τυχεῖν, ἐναντίως πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον θράσος καὶ λίαν ἀπρεπῶς μετεβάλετο: [233] βουλομένη γὰρ ἐμφῆναι τὴν ἄγνοιαν ὧν ἐκείνη τὰς αἰτίας εἶχεν, ἐκπηδήσασα καὶ λοιδορουμένη τῇ θυγατρὶ πάντων ἀκουόντων ἐβόα κακὴν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ἀχάριστον γενέσθαι καὶ δίκαια πάσχειν ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις τολμήσασαν: οὐ γὰρ ἀμείψασθαι δεόντως τὸν πάντων αὐτῶν εὐεργέτην. [234] τοιαῦτα μεταξὺ καθυποκρινομένης ἀσχημόνως καὶ τολμώσης ἐφάπτεσθαι καὶ τῶν τριχῶν, πολλὴ μέν, ὡς εἰκός, καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἡ κατάγνωσις ἦν τῆς ἀπρεποῦς προσποιήσεως, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐνεφάνη παρ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀπολλυμένης: [235] οὔτε γὰρ λόγον δοῦσα τὴν ἀρχὴν οὔτε ταραχθεῖσα πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνης δυσχέρειαν ἐπέβλεπεν ἀλλ' ὡς ὑπὸ φρονήματος τὴν ἁμαρτίαν καὶ μᾶλλον ἄχθεσθαι περιφανῶς ἀσχημονούσης ἐνέφηνεν. [236] αὐτή γε μὴν

ἀτρεμαίῳ τῷ καταστήματι καὶ τῇ χρόᾳ τῆς σαρκὸς ἀμεταβλήτῳ πρὸς τὸν θάνατον ἀπῄει, τὴν εὐγένειαν οὐδ᾽ ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ἄδηλον τοῖς ἐπιθεωροῦσιν αὐτὴν ἐμφαίνουσα.

5. When Alexandra observed how things went, and that there were small hopes that she herself should escape the like treatment from Herod, she changed her behavior to quite the reverse of what might have been expected from her former boldness, and this after a very indecent manner; for out of her desire to show how entirely ignorant she was of the crimes laid against Mariamne, she leaped out of her place, and reproached her daughter in the hearing of all the people; and cried out that she had been an ill woman, and ungrateful to her husband, and that her punishment came justly upon her for such her insolent behavior, for that she had not made proper returns to him who had been their common benefactor. And when she had for some time acted after this hypocritical manner, and been so outrageous as to tear her hair, this indecent and dissembling behavior, as was to be expected, was greatly condemned by the rest of the spectators, as it was principally by the poor woman who was to suffer; for at the first she gave her not a word, nor was discomposed at her peevishness, and only looked at her, yet did she out of a greatness of soul discover her concern for her mother's offense, and especially for her exposing herself in a manner so unbecoming her; but as for herself, she went to her death with an unshaken firmness of mind, and without changing the color of her face, and thereby evidently discovered the nobility of her descent to the spectators, even in the last moments of her life.

(6) [237] Κἀκείνη μὲν οὕτως ἀπέθανεν γυνὴ καὶ πρὸς ἐγκράτειαν καὶ πρὸς μεγαλοψυχίαν ἄριστα γεγενημένη, τὸ δ᾽ ἐπιεικὲς ἔλιπεν αὐτῇ καὶ πλεῖον ἦν ἐν τῇ φύσει τὸ φιλόνεικον: κάλλει δὲ σώματος καὶ τῷ περὶ τὰς ἐντεύξεις ἀξιώματι μειζόνως φράσαι τὰς κατ᾽ αὐτὴν ὑπερῆγεν, [238] ἥ τε πλείων ἀφορμὴ τοῦ μὴ κεχαρισμένως τῷ βασιλεῖ μηδὲ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ζῆν ἐντεῦθεν ἐγεγόνει: θεραπευομένη γὰρ διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα καὶ δυσχερὲς οὐδὲν ἐξ ἐκείνου προσδοκῶσα τὴν παρρησίαν ἀσύμμετρον εἶχεν. [239] ἠνία δ᾽ αὐτὴν καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς οἰκείους καὶ ταῦτα πάντα πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὡς ἐπεπόνθει λέγειν ἠξίου, καὶ πέρας ἐξενίκησεν ἐχθρὰς αὐτῇ γενέσθαι τήν τε μητέρα καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τοῦ βασιλέως κἀκεῖνον αὐτόν, ᾧ μόνῳ τὸ μὴ παθεῖν τι δυσχερὲς ἀπεπίστευεν.

6. And thus died Mariamne, a woman of an excellent character, both for chastity and greatness of soul; but she wanted moderation, and had too much of contention in her nature; yet had she all that can be said in the beauty of her body, and her majestic appearance in conversation; and thence arose the greatest part of the occasions why she did not prove so agreeable to the king, nor live so

pleasantly with him, as she might otherwise have done; for while she was most indulgently used by the king, out of his fondness for her, and did not expect that he could do any hard thing to her, she took too unbounded a liberty. Moreover, that which most afflicted her was, what he had done to her relations, and she ventured to speak of all they had suffered by him, and at last greatly provoked both the king's mother and sister, till they became enemies to her; and even he himself also did the same, on whom alone she depended for her expectations of escaping the last of punishments.

(7) [240] Ἀναιρεθείσης δ' αὐτῆς τότε καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξήφθη τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ βασιλέως ἔχοντος μὲν οὕτως, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἐδηλώσαμεν: οὐ γὰρ ἀπαθὴς οὐδ' οἷος ἂν ἐκ συνηθείας ἦν ὁ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔρως, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρότερον ἦρξεν ἐνθουσιαστικῶς καὶ τῇ παρρησίᾳ τῆς συμβιώσεως οὐκ ἀπενικήθη μὴ πλείων ἀεὶ γίνεσθαι: [241] τότε μέντοι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐδόκει κατὰ νέμεσίν τινα τῆς κατὰ τὴν Μαριάμμην ἀπωλείας ἐπιθέσθαι, καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ἀνακλήσεις ἦσαν αὐτῆς, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ θρῆνος ἀσχήμων, ἐπενόει δὲ πᾶν εἴ τι δυνατὸν εἰς ψυχαγωγίαν πότους καὶ συνουσίας αὐτῷ πραγματευόμενος, καὶ τούτων οὐδὲν ἤρκει. [242] τὰς οὖν διοικήσεις τῶν κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν παρῃτεῖτο καὶ τοσοῦτον ἥττητο τοῦ πάθους, ὥστ' αὐτὸν ἤδη καὶ καλεῖν τὴν Μαριάμμην προστάξαι τοῖς ὑπηρέταις ὡς ζῶσαν ἔτι καὶ δυναμένην ὑπακούειν. [243] οὕτως δὲ ἔχοντος ἐπιγίνεται λοιμώδης νόσος, ἣ καὶ τῶν ὄχλων τοὺς πλείους καὶ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐντιμοτάτους διέφθειρεν καὶ παρέσχεν ἅπασιν ἐξυπονοῆσαι κατὰ μῆνιν τοῦτο συνενεχθῆναι τῶν κατὰ τὴν γενομένην παρανομίαν ἐπὶ τῇ Μαριάμμῃ. [244] χεῖρον οὖν διετίθει καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ τέλος εἰς τὰς ἐρημίας αὐτὸν διδοὺς καὶ προφάσει κυνηγεσίων ταύταις ἐναδημονῶν οὐκ ἔφθη πλείους διενεγκεῖν ἡμέρας καὶ περιπίπτει νόσῳ δυσχερεστάτῃ: [245] φλόγωσις γὰρ ἦν καὶ πεῖσις ἰνίου καὶ τῆς διανοίας παραλλαγή: τῶν τε θεραπευμάτων οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν ἐξήνυεν, ἀλλ' ἐναντιούμενα τέως εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν ἦγεν. [246] ὅσοι τε περὶ αὐτὸν ἦσαν ἰατροὶ τὰ μὲν οἷς αὐτοὶ προσέφερον βοηθήμασιν οὐδὲν ὑπεικούσης τῆς νόσου, τὰ δὲ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως οὐκ ἔχοντος ἄλλως ἢ κατὰ τὸ βιαζόμενον τῆς ἀρρωστίας διαιτᾶσθαι, πάνθ' οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἐπενεχθείη παρέχειν ἠξίουν, τὸ δύσελπι τῆς σωτηρίας ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ τῆς διαίτης ἀνατιθέντες τῇ τύχῃ. κἀκεῖνος μὲν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ τῇ κληθείσῃ Σεβαστῇ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐνοσηλεύετο.

7. But when she was once dead, the king's affections for her were kindled in a more outrageous manner than before, whose old passion for her we have already described; for his love to her was not of a calm nature, nor such as we usually meet with among other husbands; for at its commencement it was of an enthusiastic kind, nor was it by their long cohabitation and free conversation together brought under his power to manage; but at this time his love to

Mariamne seemed to seize him in such a peculiar manner, as looked like Divine vengeance upon him for the taking away her life; for he would frequently call for her, and frequently lament for her in a most indecent manner. Moreover, he bethought him of every thing he could make use of to divert his mind from thinking of her, and contrived feasts and assemblies for that purpose, but nothing would suffice; he therefore laid aside the administration of public affairs, and was so far conquered by his passion, that he would order his servants to call for Mariamne, as if she were still alive, and could still hear them. And when he was in this way, there arose a pestilential disease, and carried off the greatest part of the multitude, and of his best and most esteemed friends, and made all men suspect that this was brought upon them by the anger of God, for the injustice that had been done to Mariamne. This circumstance affected the king still more, till at length he forced himself to go into desert places, and there, under pretense of going a hunting, bitterly afflicted himself; yet had he not borne his grief there many days before he fell into a most dangerous distemper himself: he had an inflammation upon him, and a pain in the hinder part of his head, joined with madness; and for the remedies that were used, they did him no good at all, but proved contrary to his case, and so at length brought him to despair. All the physicians also that were about him, partly because the medicines they brought for his recovery could not at all conquer the disease, and partly because his diet could be no other than what his disease inclined him to, desired him to eat whatever he had a mind to, and so left the small hopes they had of his recovery in the power of that diet, and committed him to fortune. And thus did his distemper go on, while he was at Samaria, now called Sebaste.

(8) [247] Διατρίβουσα δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἀλεξάνδρα καὶ πυνθανομένη τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐσπουδάκει τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν φρουρίων ἐγκρατὴς γενέσθαι. [248] δύο δ᾽ ἦν, ἓν μὲν αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως, ἕτερον δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καὶ τούτων οἱ κρατοῦντες ὑποχείριον τὸ πᾶν ἔθνος ἐσχήκασιν: τὰς μὲν γὰρ θυσίας οὐκ ἄνευ τούτων οἷόν τε γενέσθαι, τὸ δὲ μὴ ταύτας συντελεῖν οὐδενὶ Ἰουδαίων δυνατὸν τοῦ ζῆν ἑτοιμότερον ἂν παραχωρησάντων ἢ τῆς θρησκείας, ἣν εἰς τὸν θεὸν εἰώθασιν συντελεῖν. [249] τοῖς οὖν ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν φυλακτηρίων Ἀλεξάνδρα προσήνεγκεν τοὺς λόγους, ὡς δέον αὐτῇ καὶ τοῖς ἐξ Ἡρώδου παιδίοις παραδοῦναι, μὴ καὶ φθῇ τις ἐκείνου μεταλλάξαντος ἕτερος ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων: ῥωσθέντι μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀσφαλέστερον τῶν οἰκειοτάτων διατηρήσει. [250] τούτους τοὺς λόγους αὐτῆς οὐκ ἐπιεικῶς ἤνεγκαν, ἀλλὰ πιστοὶ καὶ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ὄντες ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐν τῷ τότε διέμειναν μίσει τε τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρας καὶ τῷ μηδ᾽ ὅσιον ὑπολαμβάνειν ζῶντα τὸν Ἡρώδην ἀπεγνωκέναι: φίλοι γὰρ ἄνωθεν ἦσαν, εἷς δ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνεψιὸς τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀχίαβος. [251]

εὐθὺς οὖν ἐξήγγειλαν πέμψαντες ἐκείνῳ τὴν γνώμην τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρας. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν οὐδὲν ἀναβαλλόμενος ἀποκτεῖναι προσέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ μόλις καὶ σὺν κακοπαθείᾳ διαφυγὼν τὴν νόσον χαλεπὸς ἦν ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι κεκακωμένος ὁμοῦ πρὸς τὸ δυσάρεστον καὶ πάσαις ταῖς αἰτίαις ἑτοιμοτέρως εἰς τιμωρίαν τῶν ὑποπεσόντων ἐχρῆτο. [252] φονεύει δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους αὐτῷ φίλους Κοστόβαρον καὶ Λυσίμαχον καὶ τὸν Γαδία καλούμενον Ἀντίπατρον ἔτι δὲ Δοσίθεον ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης:

8. Now Alexandra abode at this time at Jerusalem; and being informed what condition Herod was in, she endeavored to get possession of the fortified places that were about the city, which were two, the one belonging to the city itself, the other belonging to the temple; and those that could get them into their hands had the whole nation under their power, for without the command of them it was not possible to offer their sacrifices; and to think of leaving on those sacrifices is to every Jew plainly impossible, who are still more ready to lose their lives than to leave off that Divine worship which they have been wont to pay unto God. Alexandra, therefore, discoursed with those that had the keeping of these strong holds, that it was proper for them to deliver the same to her, and to Herod's sons, lest, upon his death, any other person should seize upon the government; and that upon his recovery none could keep them more safely for him than those of his own family. These words were not by them at all taken in good part; and as they had been in former times faithful [to Herod], they resolved to continue so more than ever, both because they hated Alexandra, and because they thought it a sort of impiety to despair of Herod's recovery while he was yet alive, for they had been his old friends; and one of them, whose name was Achiabus, was his cousin-german. They sent messengers therefore to acquaint him with Alexandra's design; so he made no longer delay, but gave orders to have her slain; yet was it still with difficulty, and after he had endured great pain, that he got clear of his distemper. He was still sorely afflicted, both in mind and body, and made very uneasy, and readier than ever upon all occasions to inflict punishment upon those that fell under his hand. He also slew the most intimate of his friends, Costobarus, and Lysimachus, and Cadias, who was also called Antipater; as also Dositheus, and that upon the following occasion.

(9) [253] Κοστόβαρος ἦν γένει μὲν Ἰδουμαῖος, ἀξιώματος τῶν πρώτων παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ προγόνων ἱερατευσάντων τῷ Κωζαι: θεὸν δὲ τοῦτον Ἰδουμαῖοι νομίζουσιν. [254] Ὑρκανοῦ δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ Ἰουδαίων ἔθη καὶ νόμιμα μεταστήσαντος Ἡρώδης παραλαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν ἄρχοντα τῆς Ἰδουμαίας καὶ Γάζης ἀποδείκνυσιν τὸν Κοστόβαρον καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀδελφὴν Σαλώμην Ἰώσηπον ἀνελὼν τὸν εἰληφότα πρότερον αὐτήν, ὡς ἐδηλώσαμεν. [255]

Κοστόβαρος δὲ τούτων τυχὼν ἀσμένως καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἤρθη μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῆς εὐτυχίας καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐξέβαινεν, οὔθ' αὐτῷ καλὸν ἡγούμενος ἄρχοντος Ἡρώδου τὸ προσταττόμενον ποιεῖν οὔτε τοῖς Ἰδουμαίοις τὰ Ἰουδαίων μεταλαβοῦσιν ὑπ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι. [256] καὶ διαπέμπεται πρὸς Κλεοπάτραν τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν φάμενος ἀεὶ τῶν ἐκείνης προγόνων γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' εἶναι δίκαιον αἰτεῖσθαι παρ' Ἀντωνίου τὴν χώραν: αὐτὸς γὰρ ἕτοιμος εἶναι μεταφέρειν τὴν εὔνοιαν εἰς ἐκείνην. [257] ἔπραττεν δὲ ταῦτα τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ μὲν οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀρεσκόμενος, εἰ δὲ παραιρεθείη τῶν πλειόνων Ἡρώδης, εὐεπιχείρητον ἤδη νομίζων καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν ἄρξαι τοῦ τῶν Ἰδουμαίων γένους καὶ μεῖζον πράξειν: ἐπιδιέβαινεν γὰρ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν οὐκ ὀλίγας ἀφορμὰς ἔχων γένους καὶ χρημάτων, ἃ μετὰ διηνεκοῦς αἰσχροκερδείας ἐπεπόριστο, καὶ μικρὸν οὐδὲν ἐπενόει. [258] Κλεοπάτρα μὲν οὖν Ἀντωνίου δεηθεῖσα περὶ τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἀποτυγχάνει. λέγονται δὲ πρὸς Ἡρώδην οἱ λόγοι κἀκεῖνος ἕτοιμος ὢν ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν Κοστόβαρον ὅμως τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ δεηθείσης καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἀφίησιν καὶ συγγνώμης ἠξίωσεν, οὐκ ἀνύποπτον αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν ἔχων τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως τῆς τότε.

9. Costobarus was an Idumean by birth, and one of principal dignity among them, and one whose ancestors had been priests to the Koze, whom the Idumeans had [formerly] esteemed as a god; but after Hyrcanus had made a change in their political government, and made them receive the Jewish customs and law, Herod made Costobarus governor of Idumea and Gaza, and gave him his sister Salome to wife; and this was upon the slaughter of [his uncle] Joseph, who had that government before, as we have related already. When Costobarus had gotten to be so highly advanced, it pleased him and was more than he hoped for, and he was more and more puffed up by his good success, and in a little while he exceeded all bounds, and did not think fit to obey what Herod, as their ruler, commanded him, or that the Idumeans should make use of the Jewish customs, or be subject to them. He therefore sent to Cleopatra, and informed her that the Idumeans had been always under his progenitors, and that for the same reason it was but just that she should desire that country for him of Antony, for that he was ready to transfer his friendship to her; and this he did, not because he was better pleased to be under Cleopatra's government, but because he thought that, upon the diminution of Herod's power, it would not be difficult for him to obtain himself the entire government over the Idumeans, and somewhat more also; for he raised his hopes still higher, as having no small pretenses, both by his birth and by these riches which he had gotten by his constant attention to filthy lucre; and accordingly it was not a small matter that he aimed at. So Cleopatra desired this country of Antony, but failed of her purpose. An account of this was brought

to Herod, who was thereupon ready to kill Costobarus; yet, upon the entreaties of his sister and mother, he forgave him, and vouchsafed to pardon him entirely; though he still had a suspicion of him afterward for this his attempt.

(10) [259] Χρόνου δὲ διελθόντος ἐπισυνέβη τὴν Σαλώμην στασιάσαι πρὸς τὸν Κοστόβαρον, καὶ πέμπει μὲν εὐθὺς αὐτῷ γραμμάτιον ἀπολυομένη τὸν γάμον οὐ κατὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίων νόμους: ἀνδρὶ μὲν γὰρ ἔξεστιν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν τοῦτο ποιεῖν, γυναικὶ δὲ οὐδὲ διαχωρισθείσῃ καθ᾽ αὑτὴν γαμηθῆναι μὴ τοῦ πρότερον ἀνδρὸς ἐφιέντος. [260] οὐ μὴν ἡ Σαλώμη τὸν ἐγγενῆ νόμον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀπ᾽ ἐξουσίας ἑλομένη τήν τε συμβίωσιν προαπηγόρευσεν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἡρώδην ἔλεγεν ὑπὸ τῆς εἰς ἐκεῖνον εὐνοίας ἀποστῆναι τἀνδρός: ἐγνωκέναι γὰρ αὐτὸν μετ᾽ Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ Λυσιμάχου καὶ Δοσιθέου νεωτέρων ἐφιέμενον. καὶ πίστιν παρεῖχεν τοῦ λόγου τοὺς Σάββα παῖδας, ὅτι διασώζοιντο παρ᾽ αὐτῷ χρόνον ἐνιαυτῶν ἤδη δεκαδύο. [261] τοῦτο δὲ εἶχεν οὕτως καὶ πολλὴν ἔκπληξιν ἐνεποίησεν τῷ βασιλεῖ παρ᾽ ἐλπίδας ἀκουσθέν, ἐκεκίνητό τε μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ λόγου: τὰ γὰρ περὶ τοὺς Σάββα παῖδας ἐσπουδάσθη μὲν αὐτῷ πρότερον ἐπεξελθεῖν αὐτοὺς δυσμενεῖς γενομένους τῇ διαθέσει, τότε δὲ διὰ τὸ μῆκος τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῆς μνήμης ἐξεληλύθεσαν. [262] ἡ δὲ ἔχθρα πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ μῖσος ἀπὸ τοιούτων ἦν: Ἀντιγόνου τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχοντος Ἡρώδης μὲν ἐπολιόρκει δυνάμει τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν, ὑπὸ δὲ χρείας κακῶν, ὅσα τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις παρίσταται, πλείους ἦσαν οἱ τὸν Ἡρώδην ἐπικαλούμενοι καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀπονεύοντες ἤδη ταῖς ἐλπίσιν. [263] ὄντες δὲ ἐπ᾽ ἀξιώματος οἱ τοῦ Σάββα παῖδες καὶ παρὰ τῷ πλήθει δυνατοί, πιστοὶ διετέλουν Ἀντιγόνῳ τόν τε Ἡρώδην διέβαλλον ἀεὶ καὶ συμφυλάττειν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν τὴν ἐκ γένους ἀρχὴν προύτρεπον. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ἅμα καὶ συμφέρειν αὐτὰ νομίζοντες ἐπὶ τοιούτων ἐπολιτεύοντο. [264] τῆς δὲ πόλεως ἁλισκομένης καὶ κρατοῦντος τῶν πραγμάτων Ἡρώδου Κοστόβαρος ἀποδειχθεὶς τὰς διεκβολὰς ἀναφράττειν καὶ φρουρεῖν τὴν πόλιν, ὡς μὴ διαπίπτειν ἐξ αὐτῆς τοὺς ὑπόχρεως τῶν πολιτῶν ἢ τἀναντία τῷ βασιλεῖ πολιτευομένους, εἰδὼς ἐν ὑπολήψει καὶ τιμῇ τοὺς Σάββα τῷ παντὶ πλήθει καὶ νομίζων μέγα μέρος αὐτῷ γενήσεσθαι πρὸς τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν ἐκείνων σωτηρίαν ὑπεξέθετο καὶ κατέκρυψεν ἐν οἰκείοις χωρίοις. [265] καὶ τότε μὲν Ἡρώδην, διεληλύθει γὰρ ἡ τῆς ἀληθείας ὑποψία, πιστωσάμενος ὅρκοις ἦ μὴν οὐδὲν εἰδέναι τῶν κατ᾽ ἐκείνους ἀφεῖτο τῆς ὑπονοίας. αὖθις δὲ κηρύγματα καὶ μήνυτρα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκτιθέντος καὶ πάντα τρόπον ἐρεύνης ἐπινοοῦντος οὐκ ἦλθεν εἰς ὁμολογίαν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τὸ πρῶτον ἔξαρνος γενέσθαι τὸ φωραθῆναι τοὺς ἄνδρας οὐκ ἀνυποτίμητον αὐτῷ πεπεισμένος οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῆς εὐνοίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἤδη τοῦ λανθάνειν αὐτοὺς περιείχετο. [266] περὶ τούτων ἐξαγγελθέντων αὐτῷ διὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς πέμψας εἰς τοὺς τόπους, ἐν οἷς διατρίβειν ἐμηνύθησαν, ἐκείνους τε καὶ

τοὺς συγκαταιτιαθέντας ἀπέκτεινεν, ὥστ᾽ εἶναι μηδὲν ὑπόλοιπον ἐκ τῆς Ὑρκανοῦ συγγενείας, ἀλλὰ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτεξούσιον αὐτῷ μηδενὸς ὄντος ἐπ᾽ ἀξιώματος ἐμποδὼν ἵστασθαι τοῖς παρανομουμένοις.

10. But some time afterward, when Salome happened to quarrel with Costobarus, she sent him a bill of divorce and dissolved her marriage with him, though this was not according to the Jewish laws; for with us it is lawful for a husband to do so; but a wife; if she departs from her husband, cannot of herself be married to another, unless her former husband put her away. However, Salome chose to follow not the law of her country, but the law of her authority, and so renounced her wedlock; and told her brother Herod, that she left her husband out of her good-will to him, because she perceived that he, with Antipater, and Lysimachus, and Dositheus, were raising a sedition against him; as an evidence whereof, she alleged the case of the sons of Babas, that they had been by him preserved alive already for the interval of twelve years; which proved to be true. But when Herod thus unexpectedly heard of it, he was greatly surprised at it, and was the more surprised, because the relation appeared incredible to him. As for the fact relating to these sons of Babas, Herod had formerly taken great pains to bring them to punishment, as being enemies to his government; but they were now forgotten by him, on account of the length of time [since he had ordered them to be slain]. Now the cause of his ill-will and hatred to them arose hence, that while Antigonus was king, Herod, with his army, besieged the city of Jerusalem, where the distress and miseries which the besieged endured were so pressing, that the greater number of them invited Herod into the city, and already placed their hopes on him. Now the sons of Babas were of great dignity, and had power among the multitude, and were faithful to Antigonus, and were always raising calumnies against Herod, and encouraged the people to preserve the government to that royal family which held it by inheritance. So these men acted thus politically, and, as they thought, for their own advantage; but when the city was taken, and Herod had gotten the government into his hands, and Costobarus was appointed to hinder men from passing out at the gates, and to guard the city, that those citizens that were guilty, and of the party opposite to the king, might not get out of it, Costobarus, being sensible that the sons of Babas were had in respect and honor by the whole multitude, and supposing that their preservation might be of great advantage to him in the changes of government afterward, he set them by themselves, and concealed them in his own farms; and when the thing was suspected, he assured Herod upon oath that he really knew nothing of that matter, and so overcame the suspicions that lay upon him; nay, after that, when the king had publicly proposed a reward for the discovery, and had put in

practice all sorts of methods for searching out this matter, he would not confess it; but being persuaded that when he had at first denied it, if the men were found, he should not escape unpunished, he was forced to keep them secret, not only out of his good-will to them, but out of a necessary regard to his own preservation also. But when the king knew the thing, by his sister's information, he sent men to the places where he had the intimation they were concealed, and ordered both them, and those that were accused as guilty with them, to be slain, insomuch that there were now none at all left of the kindred of Hyrcanus, and the kingdom was entirely in Herod's own power, and there was nobody remaining of such dignity as could put a stop to what he did against the Jewish laws.

VIII

CHAPTER 8. How Ten Men Of The Citizens [Of Jerusalem] Made A Conspiracy Against Herod, For The Foreign Practices He Had Introduced, Which Was A Transgression Of The Laws Of Their Country. Concerning The Building Of Sebaste And Cesarea, And Other Edifices Of Herod.

(1) [267] Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξέβαινεν τῶν πατρίων ἐθῶν καὶ ξενικοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ὑποδιέφθειρεν τὴν πάλαι κατάστασιν ἀπαρεγχείρητον οὖσαν, ἐξ ὧν οὐ μικρὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν αὖθις χρόνον ἠδικήθημεν ἀμεληθέντων ὅσα πρότερον ἐπὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἦγεν τοὺς ὄχλους: [268] πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀγῶνα πενταετηρικὸν ἀθλημάτων κατεστήσατο Καίσαρι καὶ θέατρον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ᾠκοδόμησεν, αὖθίς τ᾽ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ μέγιστον ἀμφιθέατρον, περίοπτα μὲν ἄμφω τῇ πολυτελείᾳ, τοῦ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἔθους ἀλλότρια: χρῆσίς τε γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ θεαμάτων τοιούτων ἐπίδειξις οὐ παραδίδοται. [269] τὴν μέντοι πανήγυριν ἐκεῖνος ἐπιφανεστάτην τὴν τῆς πενταετηρίδος συνετέλει καταγγείλας τε τοῖς πέριξ καὶ συγκαλῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ παντὸς ἔθνους. οἱ δ᾽ ἀθληταὶ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων ἀπὸ πάσης γῆς ἐκαλοῦντο κατ᾽ ἐλπίδα τῶν προκειμένων καὶ τῆς νίκης εὐδοξίᾳ, συνελέγησάν τε οἱ κορυφαιότατοι τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν: [270] οὐ γὰρ μόνον τοῖς περὶ τὰς γυμνικὰς ἀσκήσεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ μουσικῇ διαγινομένοις καὶ θυμελικοῖς καλουμένοις προυτίθει μέγιστα νικητήρια: καὶ διεσπούδαστο πάντας τοὺς ἐπισημοτάτους ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἅμιλλαν. [271] προύθηκεν δὲ καὶ τεθρίπποις καὶ συνωρίσιν καὶ κέλησιν οὐ μικρὰς δωρεάς, καὶ πάνθ᾽, ὅσα κατὰ πολυτέλειαν ἢ σεμνοπρέπειαν παρ᾽ ἑκάστοις ἐσπούδαστο φιλοτιμίᾳ τοῦ διάσημον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὴν ἐπίδειξιν ἐξεμιμήσατο. [272] τό γε μὴν θέατρον ἐπιγραφαὶ κύκλῳ περιεῖχον Καίσαρος καὶ τρόπαια τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἃ πολεμήσας ἐκεῖνος ἐκτήσατο, χρυσοῦ τε ἀπέφθου καὶ ἀργύρου πάντων αὐτῷ πεποιημένων. [273] τὰ δ᾽ εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν οὐδὲν οὕτως ἦν οὔτ᾽ ἐσθῆτος τίμιον οὔτε σκευῆς λίθων, ὃ μὴ τοῖς ὁρωμένοις ἀγωνίσμασιν συνεπεδείκνυτο. παρασκευὴ δὲ καὶ θηρίων ἐγένετο λεόντων τε πλείστων αὐτῷ συναχθέντων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσα καὶ τὰς ἀλκὰς ὑπερβαλλούσας ἔχει καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἐστὶν σπανιώτερα: [274] τούτων αὐτῶν τε πρὸς ἄλληλα συμπλοκαὶ καὶ μάχαι πρὸς αὐτὰ τῶν κατεγνωσμένων ἀνθρώπων ἐπετηδεύοντο, τοῖς μὲν ξένοις ἔκπληξις ὁμοῦ τῆς δαπάνης καὶ ψυχαγωγία τῶν περὶ τὴν θέαν κινδύνων, τοῖς δ᾽ ἐπιχωρίοις φανερὰ κατάλυσις τῶν τιμωμένων παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐθῶν: [275] ἀσεβὲς μὲν γὰρ ἐκ προδήλου κατεφαίνετο θηρίοις

ἀνθρώπους ὑπορρίπτειν ἐπὶ τέρψει τῆς ἀνθρώπων θέας, ἀσεβὲς δὲ ξενικοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἐξαλλάττειν τοὺς ἐθισμούς. [276] πάντων δὲ μᾶλλον ἐλύπει τὰ τρόπαια: δοκοῦντες γὰρ εἰκόνας εἶναι τὰς τοῖς ὅπλοις περιειλημμένας, ὅτι μὴ πάτριον ἦν αὐτοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα σέβειν, οὐ μετρίως ἐδυσχέραινον.

1. On this account it was that Herod revolted from the laws of his country, and corrupted their ancient constitution, by the introduction of foreign practices, which constitution yet ought to have been preserved inviolable; by which means we became guilty of great wickedness afterward, while those religious observances which used to lead the multitude to piety were now neglected; for, in the first place, he appointed solemn games to be celebrated every fifth year, in honor of Caesar, and built a theater at Jerusalem, as also a very great amphitheater in the plain. Both of them were indeed costly works, but opposite to the Jewish customs; for we have had no such shows delivered down to us as fit to be used or exhibited by us; yet did he celebrate these games every five years, in the most solemn and splendid manner. He also made proclamation to the neighboring countries, and called men together out of every nation. The wrestlers also, and the rest of those that strove for the prizes in such games, were invited out of every land, both by the hopes of the rewards there to be bestowed, and by the glory of victory to be there gained. So the principal persons that were the most eminent in these sorts of exercises were gotten together, for there were very great rewards for victory proposed, not only to those that performed their exercises naked, but to those that played the musicians also, and were called Thymelici; and he spared no pains to induce all persons, the most famous for such exercises, to come to this contest for victory. He also proposed no small rewards to those who ran for the prizes in chariot races, when they were drawn by two, or three, or four pair of horses. He also imitated every thing, though never so costly or magnificent, in other nations, out of an ambition that he might give most public demonstration of his grandeur. Inscriptions also of the great actions of Caesar, and trophies of those nations which he had conquered in his wars, and all made of the purest gold and silver, encompassed the theater itself; nor was there any thing that could be subservient to his design, whether it were precious garments, or precious stones set in order, which was not also exposed to sight in these games. He had also made a great preparation of wild beasts, and of lions themselves in great abundance, and of such other beasts as were either of uncommon strength, or of such a sort as were rarely seen. These were prepared either to fight with one another, or that men who were condemned to death were to fight with them. And truly foreigners were greatly surprised and delighted at the vastness of the expenses here exhibited, and at the great dangers that were

here seen; but to natural Jews, this was no better than a dissolution of those customs for which they had so great a veneration. It appeared also no better than an instance of barefaced impiety, to throw men to wild beasts, for the affording delight to the spectators; and it appeared an instance of no less impiety, to change their own laws for such foreign exercises: but, above all the rest, the trophies gave most distaste to the Jews; for as they imagined them to be images, included within the armor that hung round about them, they were sorely displeased at them, because it was not the custom of their country to pay honors to such images.

(2) [277] Ἐλάνθανον δ' οὐδὲ τὸν Ἡρώδην ἐκταραττόμενοι: καὶ βίαν μὲν ἐπάγειν ἄκαιρον ᾤετο, καθωμίλει δ' ἐνίους καὶ παρηγόρει τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας ἀφαιρούμενος. οὐ μὴν ἔπειθεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ δυσχερείας ὧν ἐδόκουν ἐκεῖνον πλημμελεῖν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐξεβόων, εἰ καὶ πάντα δοκοῖεν οἰστά, μὴ φέρειν εἰκόνας ἀνθρώπων ἐν τῇ πόλει, τὰ τρόπαια λέγοντες: οὐ γὰρ εἶναι πάτριον αὐτοῖς. [278] Ἡρώδης δὲ τεταραγμένους ὁρῶν καὶ μὴ ῥᾳδίως ἂν μεταπεσόντας, εἰ μὴ τύχοιεν παρηγορίας, καλέσας αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους εἰς τὸ θέατρον παρήγαγεν καὶ δείξας τὰ τρόπαια, τί ποτ' ἔστιν ὃ δοκεῖ ταῦτα αὐτοῖς ἐπύθετο. [279] τῶν δὲ ἐκβοησάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰκόνες, ἐπιτάξας ἀφαιρεθῆναι τὸν περιθέσιμον κόσμον ἐπιδείκνυσιν αὐτοῖς γυμνὰ τὰ ξύλα. τὰ δ' εὐθὺς ἦν ἀποσυληθέντα γέλως καὶ πλεῖστον εἰς διάχυσιν ἐδυνήθη τὸ καὶ πρότερον αὐτοὺς ἐν εἰρωνείᾳ τίθεσθαι τὰς κατασκευὰς τῶν ἀγαλμάτων.

2. Nor was Herod unacquainted with the disturbance they were under; and as he thought it unseasonable to use violence with them, so he spake to some of them by way of consolation, and in order to free them from that superstitious fear they were under; yet could not he satisfy them, but they cried out with one accord, out of their great uneasiness at the offenses they thought he had been guilty of, that although they should think of bearing all the rest yet would they never bear images of men in their city, meaning the trophies, because this was disagreeable to the laws of their country. Now when Herod saw them in such a disorder, and that they would not easily change their resolution unless they received satisfaction in this point, he called to him the most eminent men among them, and brought them upon the theater, and showed them the trophies, and asked them what sort of things they took these trophies to be; and when they cried out that they were the images of men, he gave order that they should be stripped of these outward ornaments which were about them, and showed them the naked pieces of wood; which pieces of wood, now without any ornament, became matter of great sport and laughter to them, because they had before always had the ornaments of images themselves in derision.

(3) [280] Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῦ παρακρουσαμένου τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὴν ὁρμὴν ἣν ἐπεπόνθεισαν ἐξ ὀργῆς διαχέαντος, οἱ μὲν πλείους εἶχον ὡς μεταβεβλῆσθαι καὶ μὴ χαλεπαίνειν ἔτι, [281] τινὲς δ' αὐτῶν ἐπέμενον τῇ δυσχερείᾳ τῶν οὐκ ἐξ ἔθους ἐπιτηδευμάτων, καὶ τὸ καταλύεσθαι τὰ πάτρια μεγάλων ἡγούμενοι ἀρχὴν κακῶν ὅσιον ᾠήθησαν ἀποκινδυνεῦσαι μᾶλλον ἢ δοκεῖν ἐξαλλαττομένης αὐτοῖς τῆς πολιτείας περιορᾶν Ἡρώδην πρὸς βίαν ἐπεισάγοντα τὰ μὴ δι' ἔθους ὄντα, καὶ λόγῳ μὲν βασιλέα, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ πολέμιον φαινόμενον τοῦ παντὸς ἔθνους. [282] ἐκ δὲ τούτου συνομοσάμενοι πάντα κίνδυνον ὑποδύεσθαι δέκα τῶν πολιτῶν ἄνδρες, ξιφίδια τοῖς ἱματίοις ὑποβαλόντες, [283] ἦν δ' αὐτοῖς δι' ἀναξιοπάθειαν ὧν ἤκουεν καὶ τῶν διεφθορότων τις τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς συνομωμοσμένος, οὐχ ὡς ἐνεργῆσαί τι καὶ δρᾶν εἰς τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἱκανός, ἀλλ' ἐν ἑτοίμῳ κατατιθεὶς αὐτὸν παθεῖν εἴ τι κἀκείνοις συμβαίνοι δυσχερές, ὥστε μὴ μετρίαν τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῖς ἐπιχειροῦσι δι' αὐτὸν γενέσθαι,

3. When therefore Herod had thus got clear of the multitude, and had dissipated the vehemency of passion under which they had been, the greatest part of the people were disposed to change their conduct, and not to be displeased at him any longer; but still some of them continued in their displeasure against him, for his introduction of new customs, and esteemed the violation of the laws of their country as likely to be the origin of very great mischiefs to them, so that they deemed it an instance of piety rather to hazard themselves [to be put to death], than to seem as if they took no notice of Herod, who, upon the change he had made in their government, introduced such customs, and that in a violent manner, which they had never been used to before, as indeed in pretense a king, but in reality one that showed himself an enemy to their whole nation; on which account ten men that were citizens [of Jerusalem] conspired together against him, and sware to one another to undergo any dangers in the attempt, and took daggers with them under their garments [for the purpose of killing Herod]. Now there was a certain blind man among those conspirators who had thus sworn to one another, on account of the indignation he had against what he heard to have been done; he was not indeed able to afford the rest any assistance in the undertaking, but was ready to undergo any suffering with them, if so be they should come to any harm, insomuch that he became a very great encourager of the rest of the undertakers.

(4) [284] ταῦτα γνόντες ἀπὸ συνθήματος εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἐχώρουν, ἐλπίσαντες μὲν οὐδ' αὐτὸν Ἡρώδην διαφευξεῖσθαι προσπεσόντων ἐξ ἀφανοῦς, πολλοὺς δ', εἰ καὶ μὴ τυγχάνοιεν ἐκείνου, τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀναιρήσειν οἰόμενοι: καὶ ταῦτ' αὐτοῖς ἀρκέσειν, εἰ καὶ θνήσκοιεν, εἰς ἔννοιαν ὧν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξυβρίζειν ἐδόκει τὸ πλῆθος καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἀγαγεῖν. [285] ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν προκαταστάντες ἐπὶ

τοιαύτης ἦσαν προθυμίας: εἷς δὲ τῶν ὑφ᾽ Ἡρώδου πολυπραγμονεῖν καὶ διαγγέλλειν τὰ τοιαῦτα τεταγμένων ἐξευρηκὼς ὅλην τὴν ἐπίθεσιν εἰς τὸ θέατρον εἰσιέναι μέλλοντι τῷ βασιλεῖ κατεμήνυσεν. [286] ὁ δ᾽, οὐ γὰρ ἀνοίκειον ᾠήθη τὸν λόγον εἴς τε τὸ μῖσος ἀφορῶν, ὃ συνῄδει παρὰ τῶν πλειόνων αὐτῷ, καὶ τὰς ταραχὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς καθ᾽ ἕκαστα γινομένοις παρυφισταμένας, ἀναχωρήσας εἰς τὸ βασίλειον ὀνομαστὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς αἰτίαις ἐκάλει. [287] προσπιπτόντων δ᾽ αὐτοῖς τῶν ὑπηρετῶν αὐτόφωροι λαμβανόμενοι τὸ μὲν ὡς οὐκ ἂν διαφύγοιεν ᾔδεσαν, ἐπεκόσμησαν δὲ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν καταστροφὴν τοῦ τέλους τῷ μηδὲν ὑφιέναι τοῦ φρονήματος: [288] οὐ γὰρ ἐντραπέντες οὐδ᾽ ἀρνησάμενοι τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀνέδειξαν μὲν ἤδη κρατούμενα τὰ ξίφη, διωμολογήσαντο δὲ καλῶς καὶ σὺν εὐσεβείᾳ τὴν συνωμοσίαν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι, κέρδους μὲν οὐδενὸς οὐδ᾽ οἰκείων ἕνεκεν παθῶν, τὸ δὲ πλέον ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν ἐθῶν, ἃ καὶ πᾶσιν ἢ φυλάττειν ἢ θνήσκειν πρὸ αὐτῶν ἄξιον. [289] τοιαῦτα μὲν ἐκεῖνοι τῇ προαιρέσει τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐμπαρρησιασάμενοι περιστάντων αὐτοῖς τῶν βασιλικῶν ἤγοντο καὶ πᾶσαν αἰκίαν ὑπομείναντες διεφθάρησαν. μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ τὸν ταῦτα μηνύσαντα κατὰ μῖσος ἁρπασάμενοί τινες οὐκ ἀπέκτειναν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μελιστὶ διελόντες προύθεσαν κυσίν. [290] ἐωρᾶτο δὲ πολλοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν τὰ γινόμενα καὶ κατεμήνυσεν οὐδείς, ἕως Ἡρώδου πικροτέραν καὶ φιλόνεικον ποιουμένου τὴν ἔρευναν ἐκβασανισθεῖσαι γυναῖκές τινες ὠμολόγησαν ἃ πραχθέντα εἶδον. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐνεργησάντων ἐγένετο τιμωρία πανοικὶ τὴν προπέτειαν αὐτῶν ἐπεξιόντος, [291] ἡ δ᾽ ἐπιμονὴ τοῦ πάθους καὶ τὸ τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων πίστεως ἀκατάπληκτον οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἐποίει τὸν Ἡρώδην, εἰ μὴ μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας κρατοίη, καὶ διέγνω πάντοθεν περιειληφέναι τὸ πλῆθος, ὡς μὴ νεωτεριζόντων φανερὰν γενέσθαι τὴν ἀπόστασιν.

4. When they had taken this resolution, and that by common consent, they went into the theater, hoping that, in the first place, Herod himself could not escape them, as they should fall upon him so unexpectedly; and supposing, however, that if they missed him, they should kill a great many of those that were about him; and this resolution they took, though they should die for it, in order to suggest to the king what injuries he had done to the multitude. These conspirators, therefore, standing thus prepared beforehand, went about their design with great alacrity; but there was one of those spies of Herod, that were appointed for such purposes, to fish out and inform him of any conspiracies that should be made against him, who found out the whole affair, and told the king of it, as he was about to go into the theater. So when he reflected on the hatred which he knew the greatest part of the people bore him, and on the disturbances that arose upon every occasion, he thought this plot against him not to be improbable. Accordingly, he retired into his palace, and called those that were

accused of this conspiracy before him by their several names; and as, upon the guards falling upon them, they were caught in the very fact, and knew they could not escape, they prepared themselves for their ends with all the decency they could, and so as not at all to recede from their resolute behavior, for they showed no shame for what they were about, nor denied it; but when they were seized, they showed their daggers, and professed that the conspiracy they had sworn to was a holy and pious action; that what they intended to do was not for gain, or out of any indulgence to their passions, but principally for those common customs of their country, which all the Jews were obliged to observe, or to die for them. This was what these men said, out of their undaunted courage in this conspiracy. So they were led away to execution by the king's guards that stood about them, and patiently underwent all the torments inflicted on them till they died. Nor was it long before that spy who had discovered them was seized on by some of the people, out of the hatred they bore to him; and was not only slain by them, but pulled to pieces, limb from limb, and given to the dogs. This execution was seen by many of the citizens, yet would not one of them discover the doers of it, till upon Herod's making a strict scrutiny after them, by bitter and severe tortures, certain women that were tortured confessed what they had seen done; the authors of which fact were so terribly punished by the king, that their entire families were destroyed for this their rash attempt; yet did not the obstinacy of the people, and that undaunted constancy they showed in the defense of their laws, make Herod any easier to them, but he still strengthened himself after a more secure manner, and resolved to encompass the multitude every way, lest such innovations should end in an open rebellion.

(5) [292] Ἐξωχυρωμένης οὖν αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς αὐλῆς, ἐν ᾗ διητᾶτο, τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τῇ περὶ τὸ φρούριον ὀχυρότητι τὸ καλούμενον Ἀντωνίαν κατασκευασθὲν δι' αὐτοῦ, τρίτον παντὶ τῷ λαῷ τὴν Σαμάρειαν ἐνόησεν ἐπιτείχισμα, καλέσας μὲν αὐτὴν Σεβαστήν, [293] οἰόμενος δὲ κατὰ τῆς χώρας οὐδὲν ἔλαττον ἰσχυροποιεῖν τὸν τόπον, ἀπέχοντα μὲν Ἱεροσολύμων μιᾶς ὁδὸν ἡμέρας, εὔχρηστον δ' ὄντα καὶ κοινὸν ἐπί τε τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῇ χώρᾳ γενησόμενον. τῷ δὲ ἔθνει παντὶ φρούριον ἐνῳκοδόμησεν τὸ πάλαι μὲν καλούμενον Στράτωνος πύργον, Καισάρειαν δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προσαγορευθέν. [294] ἔν τε τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἱππέων περὶ αὐτὸν ἀποκληρώσας χωρίον συνέκτισεν ἐπί τε τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ Γάβα καλούμενον καὶ τῇ Περαίᾳ τὴν Ἐσεβωνῖτιν. [295] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ μέρος αἰεί τι πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ἐπεξευρίσκων καὶ διαλαμβάνων φυλακαῖς τὸ πᾶν ἔθνος, ὡς ἥκιστα μὲν ἀπ' ἐξουσίας εἰς ταραχὰς προπίπτειν, αἷς καὶ μικροῦ κινήματος ἐγγενομένου συνεχὲς ἐχρῶντο, λανθάνειν δὲ μηδ' εἰ παρακινοῖεν ἐφεστηκότων αἰεί τινων πλησίον, οἳ καὶ γινώσκειν καὶ

κωλύειν ἐδύναντο. [296] τότε δὲ τὴν Σαμάρειαν ὡρμημένος τειχίζειν πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν συμμαχησάντων αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους, πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν ὁμόρων συμπολίζειν ἐπετήδευεν, ὑπό τε φιλοτιμίας τοῦ νέον ἐγείρειν καὶ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ πρότερον οὐκ ἐν ταῖς ἐπισήμοις οὖσαν, καὶ μᾶλλον ὅτι πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν αὐτῷ τὸ φιλότιμον ἐπετηδεύετο, τήν τε προσηγορίαν ὑπήλλαττε Σεβαστὴν καλῶν καὶ τῆς χώρας ἀρίστην οὖσαν τὴν πλησίον κατεμέριζεν τοῖς οἰκήτορσιν, ὡς εὐθὺς ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ συνιόντας οἰκεῖν, [297] καὶ τείχει καρτερῷ τὴν πόλιν περιέβαλεν τό τε τοῦ χωρίου πρόσαντες εἰς ἐρυμνότητα κατασκευαζόμενος καὶ μέγεθος οὐχ ὡς τὸ πρῶτον ἀλλ᾽ ὥστε μηδὲν ἀποδεῖν τῶν ἐλλογιμωτάτων πόλεων περιλαμβάνων: στάδιοι γὰρ ἦσαν εἴκοσιν. [298] ἐντὸς δὲ καὶ κατὰ μέσην τριῶν ἡμισταδίων τέμενος ἀνῆκεν παντοίως κεκοσμημένον καὶ ναὸν ἐν αὐτῷ μεγέθει καὶ κάλλει τῶν ἐλλογιμωτάτων ἤγειρεν, ἔν τε τοῖς κατὰ μέρος διὰ πάντων ἐκόσμει τὴν πόλιν, τὸ μὲν ἀναγκαῖον τῆς ἀσφαλείας ὁρῶν καὶ τῇ τῶν περιβόλων ἐρυμνότητι φρούριον αὐτὴν ποιούμενος ἐπὶ τῇ μείζονι, τὸ δ᾽ εὐπρεπὲς ὡς ἂν ἐκ τοῦ φιλοκαλεῖν καὶ μνημεῖα φιλανθρωπίας ἀπολιπεῖν ἐν ὑστέρῳ.

5. Since, therefore, he had now the city fortified by the palace in which he lived, and by the temple which had a strong fortress by it, called Antonia, and was rebuilt by himself, he contrived to make Samaria a fortress for himself also against all the people, and called it Sebaste, supposing that this place would be a strong hold against the country, not inferior to the former. So he fortified that place, which was a day's journey distant from Jerusalem, and which would be useful to him in common, to keep both the country and the city in awe. He also built another fortress for the whole nation; it was of old called Strato's Tower, but was by him named Cesarea. Moreover, he chose out some select horsemen, and placed them ill the great plain; and built [for them] a place in Galilee, called Gaba with Hesebonitis, in Perea. And these were the places which he particularly built, while he always was inventing somewhat further for his own security, and encompassing the whole nation with guards, that they might by no means get from under his power, nor fall into tumults, which they did continually upon any small commotion; and that if they did make any commotions, he might know of it, while some of his spies might be upon them from the neighborhood, and might both be able to know what they were attempting, and to prevent it. And when he went about building the wall of Samaria, he contrived to bring thither many of those that had been assisting to him in his wars, and many of the people in that neighborhood also, whom he made fellow citizens with the rest. This he did out of an ambitious desire of building a temple, and out of a desire to make the city more eminent than it had been before; but principally because he contrived that it might at once be for his

own security, and a monument of his magnificence. He also changed its name, and called it Sebaste. Moreover, he parted the adjoining country, which was excellent in its kind, among the inhabitants of Samaria, that they might be in a happy condition, upon their first coming to inhabit. Besides all which, he encompassed the city with a wall of great strength, and made use of the acclivity of the place for making its fortifications stronger; nor was the compass of the place made now so small as it had been before, but was such as rendered it not inferior to the most famous cities; for it was twenty furlongs in circumference. Now within, and about the middle of it, he built a sacred place, of a furlong and a half [in circuit], and adorned it with all sorts of decorations, and therein erected a temple, which was illustrious on account of both its largeness and beauty. And as to the several parts of the city, he adorned them with decorations of all sorts also; and as to what was necessary to provide for his own security, he made the walls very strong for that purpose, and made it for the greatest part a citadel; and as to the elegance of the building, it was taken care of also, that he might leave monuments of the fineness of his taste, and of his beneficence, to future ages.

IX

CHAPTER 9. Concerning The Famine That Happened In Judea And Syria; And How Herod, After He Had Married Another Wife, Rebuilt Cesarea, And Other Grecian Cities.

(1) [299] Κατὰ τοῦτον μὲν οὖν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τρισκαιδέκατον ὄντα τῆς Ἡρώδου βασιλείας πάθη μέγιστα τὴν χώραν ἐπέλαβεν, εἴτε δὴ τοῦ θεοῦ μηνίσαντος ἢ καὶ κατὰ περιόδους οὕτως ἀπαντήσαντος τοῦ κακοῦ: [300] πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ αὐχμοὶ διηνεκεῖς ἐγένοντο, καὶ διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἄκαρπος ἡ γῆ μηδ' ὅσα κατ' αὐτὴν ἀναβλαστάνειν, ἔπειτα καὶ τῆς διαίτης κατὰ τὴν ἔνδειαν τῶν σιτίων ἐξαλλαττομένης νόσοι τῶν σωμάτων καὶ πάθος ἤδη λοιμικὸν ἐκράτει, διηνεκῶς ἀντεφοδιαζομένων αὐτοῖς τῶν κακῶν. [301] τό τε γὰρ ἠπορῆσθαι θεραπείας καὶ τροφῆς ἐπέτεινεν εἰς πλέον ἀρξαμένην ἰσχυρῶς τὴν λοιμώδη νόσον ἥ τε φθορὰ τῶν οὕτως ἀπολλυμένων ἀφῃρεῖτο καὶ τοὺς περιόντας εὐθυμίας, ἐπεὶ προσαρκεῖν ταῖς ἀπορίαις ἐξ ἐπιμελείας [οὐκ] ἐδύναντο. [302] φθαρέντων γε μὴν τῶν ἐπ' ἔτος καρπῶν καὶ τῶν ὅσοι πρότερον ἀπέκειντο δεδαπανημένων, οὐδὲν εἰς ἐλπίδα χρηστὴν ὑπελείπετο μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ προσδοκίαν ἐπιτείνοντος τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ οὐδὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν μόνον, ὥστ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι μὲν οὐδὲν ὑπόλοιπον, ἀπολωλέναι δὲ καὶ τῶν περιόντων τὰ σπέρματα μηδὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἀνείσης τῆς γῆς. [303] ἥ τε ἀνάγκη πολλὰ διὰ τὰς χρείας ἐκαινούργει. καὶ τὰς ἀπορίας οὐκ ἐλάττους εἶναι συνέβαινεν αὐτῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ, τῶν τε φόρων, οὓς ἐλάμβανεν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, ἀφῃρημένῳ καὶ τὰ χρήματα δεδαπανηκότι πρὸς φιλοτιμίαν ὧν τὰς πόλεις ἐπεσκεύαζεν. [304] ἦν δὲ οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ βοηθείας ἄξιον ἐδόκει προκατειληφότος τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ μῖσος εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀρχομένων: τὸ γὰρ οὐκ εὖ πράττειν φιλαίτιον αἰεὶ κατὰ τῶν προεστηκότων.

1. Now on this very year, which was the thirteenth year of the reign of Herod, very great calamities came upon the country; whether they were derived from the anger of God, or whether this misery returns again naturally in certain periods of time for, in the first place, there were perpetual droughts, and for that reason the ground was barren, and did not bring forth the same quantity of fruits that it used to produce; and after this barrenness of the soil, that change of food which the want of corn occasioned produced distempers in the bodies of men, and a pestilential disease prevailed, one misery following upon the back of another; and these circumstances, that they were destitute both of methods of cure and of food, made the pestilential distemper, which began after a violent manner, the more lasting. The destruction of men also after such a manner

deprived those that survived of all their courage, because they had no way to provide remedies sufficient for the distresses they were in. When therefore the fruits of that year were spoiled, and whatsoever they had laid up beforehand was spent, there was no foundation of hope for relief remaining, but the misery, contrary to what they expected still increased upon them; and this not only on that year, while they had nothing for themselves left [at the end of it], but what seed they had sown perished also, by reason of the ground not yielding its fruits on the second year. This distress they were in made them also, out of necessity, to eat many things that did not use to be eaten; nor was the king himself free from this distress any more than other men, as being deprived of that tribute he used to have from the fruits of the ground, and having already expended what money he had, in his liberality to those whose cities he had built; nor had he any people that were worthy of his assistance, since this miserable state of things had procured him the hatred of his subjects: for it is a constant rule, that misfortunes are still laid to the account of those that govern.

(2) [305] Ἐν τοιούτοις διενοεῖτο βοηθεῖν τῷ καιρῷ: χαλεπὸν δ' ἦν οὔτε τῶν πλησίον ἐχόντων ἀποδόσθαι σιτία τῷ μηδ' αὐτοὺς ἐλάττω πεπονθέναι, χρημάτων τε οὐκ ὄντων, εἰ καὶ δυνατὸν ὀλίγων ἐπὶ πολλοῖς εὐπορηθῆναι. [306] καλῶς μέντοι νομίζων ἔχειν πάντως εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν [μὴ] ἀμελεῖν, τὸν ὄντα κόσμον ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις αὐτοῦ συνέκοψεν ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ, μήτε τῆς ἐν ταῖς κατασκευαῖς ἐπιμελείας μήτ' εἴ τι τέχνῃ τίμιον ἦν τούτου φεισάμενος. [307] ἔπεμπε δ' ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου τὰ χρήματα Πετρωνίου τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἀπὸ Καίσαρος εἰληφότος. οὗτος οὐκ ὀλίγων ἐπ' αὐτὸν καταπεφευγότων διὰ τὰς αὐτὰς χρείας, ἰδίᾳ τε φίλος ὢν Ἡρώδῃ καὶ διασώσασθαι θέλων τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῷ, πρώτοις μὲν ἔδωκεν ἐξάγειν τὸν σῖτον, εἰς ἅπαντα δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὠνὴν καὶ τὸν ἔκπλουν συνήργησεν, ὡς μέγα μέρος ἢ τὸ πᾶν γενέσθαι ταύτης τῆς βοηθείας. [308] ὁ γὰρ Ἡρώδης, τούτων ἀφικομένων ἐν ἀφορμῇ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τὴν αὐτοῦ προστιθεὶς οὐ μόνον ἀντιμετέστησεν τὰς γνώμας τῶν πρότερον χαλεπῶς ἐχόντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγίστην ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἐπίδειξιν τῆς εὐνοίας καὶ τῆς προστασίας. [309] πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὅσοις οἷόν τε δι' αὐτῶν τὰ περὶ τὰς τροφὰς ἐκπονεῖν ἔνειμε τοῦ σίτου τὴν ἔκταξιν ἀκριβεστάτην ποιούμενος, ἔπειτα πολλῶν ὄντων, οἳ κατὰ γῆρας ἤ τινα προσοῦσαν ἄλλην ἀσθένειαν οὐχ ἱκανῶς εἶχον αὐτοῖς παρασκευάζειν τὰ σιτία, προυνόει καταστήσας ἀρτοποιοὺς καὶ παρέχων ἑτοίμας τὰς τροφάς. [310] ἐπιμέλειαν δὲ καὶ τοῦ μὴ διαχειμάσαι μετὰ κινδύνων αὐτοὺς ἐποιήσατο συγκατειληφυίας καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἀπορίας, ἐφθαρμένων καὶ παντάπασιν ἐξαναλωθέντων τῶν βοσκημάτων, ὡς οὔτε ἐρίων εἶναι χρῆσιν οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων σκεπασμάτων. [311] ἐκπορισθέντων δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τούτων ταῖς πλησίον ἤδη πόλεσιν ἐπεβάλλετο τὰς ὠφελείας παρέχειν σπέρματα τοῖς ἐν Συρίᾳ διαδούς. καὶ τοῦτ' ὤνησεν οὐχ ἧττον

αὐτὸν εὐστοχηθείσης εἰς εὐφορίαν τῆς χάριτος, ὡς ἅπασιν ἱκανὰ τὰ περὶ τὰς τροφὰς γενέσθαι. [312] τὸ δὲ σύμπαν ἀμήτου περὶ τὴν γῆν ὑποφανέντος οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ πέντε μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων, οὓς αὐτὸς ἔθρεψεν καὶ περιεποίησεν, εἰς τὴν χώραν διέπεμψεν, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον κακωθεῖσαν αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν ὑπὸ πάσης φιλοτιμίας καὶ σπουδῆς ἀναλαβὼν οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ τοὺς πέριξ ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς κακοπαθείαις ὄντας ἐπεκούφισεν. [313] οὐ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅστις ὑπὸ χρείας ἐντυχὼν ἀπελείφθη μὴ βοήθειαν εὕρασθαι κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ δῆμοι καὶ πόλεις καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ὅσοις ἀπορία διὰ τὸ πλειόνων προίστασθαι συνετύγχανεν, ἐπ' αὐτὸν καταφεύγοντες ἔσχον ὧν ἐδεήθησαν, [314] ὥστε γενέσθαι λογιζομένων τοὺς μὲν ἔξω τῆς ἀρχῆς δοθέντας σίτου κόρους μυρίους, ὁ δὲ κόρος δύναται μεδίμνους Ἀττικοὺς δέκα, τοὺς δ' εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν βασιλείαν περὶ ὀκτάκις μυρίους. [315] ταύτην δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν τῆς χάριτος εὐκαιρίαν οὕτως ἐν αὐτοῖς τε τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἰσχῦσαι συνέβη καὶ διαβοηθῆναι παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥστε τὰ μὲν πάλαι μίση κινηθέντα διὰ τὸ παραχαράττειν ἔνια τῶν ἐθῶν καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐξαιρεθῆναι καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἔθνους, ἀντικατάλλαγμα δὲ φαίνεσθαι τὴν ἐν τῇ βοηθείᾳ τῶν δεινοτάτων φιλοτιμίαν. [316] εὔκλεια δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἦν, καὶ δοκεῖ τὰ δυσχερῆ συμβῆναι μὲν αὐτῷ μείζω λόγου, κακώσαντα δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν οὐχ ἥκιστα πρὸς εὐδοξίαν ὠφελῆσαι: τὸ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἀπορίαις μεγαλόψυχον παρὰ δόξαν ἐπιδειξάμενος ἀντιμετέστησε τοὺς πολλούς, ὡς ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς δοκεῖν οὐχ οἷον ἡ πεῖρα τῶν πάλαι γεγενημένων, ἀλλ' οἷον ἡ μετὰ τῆς χρείας ἐπιμέλεια παρεστήσατο.

2. In these circumstances he considered with himself how to procure some seasonable help; but this was a hard thing to be done, while their neighbors had no food to sell them; and their money also was gone, had it been possible to purchase a little food at a great price. However, he thought it his best way, by all means, not to leave off his endeavors to assist his people; so he cut off the rich furniture that was in his palace, both of silver and gold, insomuch that he did not spare the finest vessels he had, or those that were made with the most elaborate skill of the artificers, but sent the money to Petronius, who had been made prefect of Egypt by Caesar; and as not a few had already fled to him under their necessities, and as he was particularly a friend to Herod, and desirous to have his subjects preserved, he gave leave to them in the first place to export corn, and assisted them every way, both in purchasing and exporting the same; so that he was the principal, if not the only person, who afforded them what help they had. And Herod taking care the people should understand that this help came from himself, did thereby not only remove the ill opinion of those that formerly hated him, but gave them the greatest demonstration possible of his good-will to them, and care of them; for, in the first place, as for those who were able to provide

their own food, he distributed to them their proportion of corn in the exactest manner; but for those many that were not able, either by reason of their old age, or any other infirmity, to provide food for themselves, he made this provision for them, the bakers should make their bread ready for them. He also took care that they might not be hurt by the dangers of winter, since they were in great want of clothing also, by reason of the utter destruction and consumption of their sheep and goats, till they had no wool to make use of, nor any thing else to cover themselves withal. And when he had procured these things for his own subjects, he went further, in order to provide necessaries for their neighbors, and gave seed to the Syrians, which thing turned greatly to his own advantage also, this charitable assistance being afforded most seasonably to their fruitful soil, so that every one had now a plentiful provision of food. Upon the whole, when the harvest of the land was approaching, he sent no fewer than fifty thousand men, whom he had sustained, into the country; by which means he both repaired the afflicted condition of his own kingdom with great generosity and diligence, and lightened the afflictions of his neighbors, who were under the same calamities; for there was nobody who had been in want that was left destitute of a suitable assistance by him; nay, further, there were neither any people, nor any cities, nor any private men, who were to make provision for the multitudes, and on that account were in want of support, and had recourse to him, but received what they stood in need of, insomuch that it appeared, upon a computation, that the number of cori of wheat, of ten attic medimni apiece, that were given to foreigners, amounted to ten thousand, and the number that was given in his own kingdom was about fourscore thousand. Now it happened that this care of his, and this seasonable benefaction, had such influence on the Jews, and was so cried up among other nations, as to wipe off that old hatred which his violation of some of their customs, during his reign, had procured him among all the nation, and that this liberality of his assistance in this their greatest necessity was full satisfaction for all that he had done of that nature, as it also procured him great fame among foreigners; and it looked as if these calamities that afflicted his land, to a degree plainly incredible, came in order to raise his glory, and to be to his great advantage; for the greatness of his liberality in these distresses, which he now demonstrated beyond all expectation, did so change the disposition of the multitude towards him, that they were ready to suppose he had been from the beginning not such a one as they had found him to be by experience, but such a one as the care he had taken of them in supplying their necessities proved him now to be.

(3) [317] Περὶ δὲ τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον καὶ συμμαχικὸν ἔπεμψεν Καίσαρι πεντακοσίους ἐπιλέκτους τῶν σωματοφυλάκων, οὓς Γάλλος Αἴλιος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν ἦγεν εἰς πολλὰ χρησίμους αὐτῷ γενομένους. [318] πάλιν οὖν αὐτῷ τῶν πραγμάτων πρὸς ἐπίδοσιν εὐθηνουμένων βασίλειον ἐξῳκοδόμει περὶ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ὑπερμεγέθεις οἴκους ἐγείρων καὶ κόσμῳ κατασκευάζων πολυτελεστάτῳ χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθων καὶ περιαλειμμάτων ὡς ἕΚαστον αὐτῶν κλισίας μὲν ἔχειν παμπόλλους ἄνδρας ὑποδέχεσθαι Κατὰ μέτρα δὲ καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας: ὁ μὲν γὰρ Καίσαρος, ὁ δὲ Ἀγρίππα κέκλητο. [319] προσέλαβεν δὲ καὶ γάμον αὐτῷ κινηθεὶς ἐξ ἐρωτικῆς ἐπιθυμίας μηδένα τοῦ κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ἡδονὴν ζῆν ὑπολογισμὸν ποιούμενος. ἀρχὴ δ’ αὐτῷ τῶν γάμων ἐγένετο τοιάδε: [320] Σίμων ἦν Ἱεροσολυμίτης υἱὸς Βοηθοῦ τινος Ἀλεξανδρέως, ἱερεὺς ἐν τοῖς γνωρίμοις, εἶχεν δὲ θυγατέρα καλλίστην τῶν τότε νομιζομένην. [321] ὄντος οὖν λόγου παρὰ τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις αὐτῆς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκοῆς τὸν Ἡρώδη κεκινῆσθαι συνέβαινεν, ὡς δὲ καὶ θεασάμενον ἡ τῆς παιδὸς ἐξέπληξεν ὥρα, τὸ μὲν ἀπ’ ἐξουσίας χρώμενον διατελεῖν ἅπαν ἀπεδοκίμαζεν ὑποπτεύων ὅπερ ἦν, εἰς βίαν καὶ τυραννίδα διαβληθήσεσθαι, βέλτιον δ’ ᾤετο γάμῳ τὴν κόρην λαβεῖν. [322] καὶ τοῦ Σίμωνος ὄντος ἀδοξοτέρου μὲν ἢ πρὸς οἰκειότητα, μείζονος δὲ ἢ καταφρονεῖσθαι, τὸν ἐπιεικέστερον τρόπον μετῄει τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν αὔξων αὐτοὺς καὶ τιμιωτέρους ἀποφαίνων: αὐτίκα γοῦν Ἰησοῦν μὲν τὸν τοῦ Φοαβιτος ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην, Σίμωνα δὲ καθίστησιν ἐπὶ τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τὸ κῆδος πρὸς αὐτὸν συνάπτεται.

3. About this time it was that he sent five hundred chosen men out of the guards of his body as auxiliaries to Caesar, whom Aelius Gallus led to the Red Sea, and who were of great service to him there. When therefore his affairs were thus improved, and were again in a flourishing condition, he built himself a palace in the upper city, raising the rooms to a very great height, and adorning them with the most costly furniture of gold, and marble scats, and beds; and these were so large that they could contain very many companies of men. These apartments were also of distinct magnitudes, and had particular names given them; for one apartment was called Caesar’s, another Agrippa’s. He also fell in love again, and married another wife, not suffering his reason to hinder him from living as he pleased. The occasion of this his marriage was as follows: There was one Simon, a citizen of Jerusalem, the son of one Boethus, a citizen of Alexandria, and a priest of great note there; this man had a daughter, who was esteemed the most beautiful woman of that time; and when the people of Jerusalem began to speak much in her commendation, it happened that Herod was much affected with what was said of her; and when he saw the damsel, he was smitten with her beauty, yet did he entirely reject the thoughts of using his authority to abuse her,

as believing, what was the truth, that by so doing he should be stigmatized for violence and tyranny; so he thought it best to take the damsel to wife. And while Simon was of a dignity too inferior to be allied to him, but still too considerable to be despised, he governed his inclinations after the most prudent manner, by augmenting the dignity of the family, and making them more honorable; so he immediately deprived Jesus, the son of Phabet, of the high priesthood, and conferred that dignity on Simon, and so joined in affinity with him [by marrying his daughter].

(4) [323] Τελεσθέντος δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ γάμου προσκατεσκευάσατο φρούριον ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων, ἐν οἷς ἐνίκα Ἰουδαίους, ὅτε τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκπεσόντος Ἀντίγονος ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἦν. [324] τοῦτο δὲ τὸ φρούριον ἀπέχει μὲν Ἱεροσολύμων περὶ ἑξήκοντα σταδίους, φύσει δὲ ἐχυρὸν καὶ πρὸς κατασκευὴν ἐπιτηδειότατόν ἐστιν ἐΓγὺς ἐπιεικῶς κολωνὸς εἰς ὕψος ἀνιὼν χειροποίητον, ὡς εἶναι μαστοειδὴς τὴν περιφοράν, διείληπται δὲ κυκλοτερέσι πύργοις ὀρθίαν ἔχων ἄνοδον ξεσταῖς βαθμίσιν ἐξῳκοδομημένην εἰς διακοσίους. ἐντὸς δ' αὐτοῦ καταγωγαὶ βασίλειοι πολυτελεῖς εἰς ἀσφάλειαν ὁμοῦ καὶ κόσμον πεποιημέναι: [325] περὶ δὲ τὴν βάσιν τοῦ λόφου διατριβαὶ κατασκευῆς ἀξιοθεάτου τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τῆς εἰσαγωγῆς τῶν ὑδάτων, οὐ γὰρ οὗτος ὁ τόπος ἔσχηκεν, ἐκ μακροῦ καὶ διὰ πλειόνων ἀναλωμάτων πεποιημένης. τὰ δ' ἐπίπεδα περιῳκοδόμηται πόλις οὐδεμιᾶς ἐλάσσων τὸν λόφον ἀκρόπολιν ἔχουσα τῆς ἄλλης οἰκήσεως.

4. When this wedding was over, he built another citadel in that place where he had conquered file Jews when he was driven out of his government, and Antigonus enjoyed it. This citadel is distant from Jerusalem about threescore furlongs. It was strong by nature, and fit for such a building. It is a sort of a moderate hill, raised to a further height by the hand of man, till it was of the shape of a woman's breast. It is encompassed with circular towers, and hath a strait ascent up to it, which ascent is composed of steps of polished stones, in number two hundred. Within it are royal and very rich apartments, of a structure that provided both for security and for beauty. About the bottom there are habitations of such a structure as are well worth seeing, both on other accounts, and also on account of the water which is brought thither from a great way off, and at vast expenses, for the place itself is destitute of water. The plain that is about this citadel is full of edifices, not inferior to any city in largeness, and having the hill above it in the nature of a castle.

(5) [326] Πάντων δ' αὐτῷ προκεχωρηκότων εἰς δέον ὧν ἠλπίκει τὰς μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ βασιλείᾳ ταραχὰς οὐδ' ὁπωσοῦν δι' ὑποψίας εἶχεν ἑκατέρωθεν ὑπηκόους παραστησάμενος, φόβῳ μὲν ὧν ἀπαραίτητος εἰς τὰς τιμωρίας, τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν δὲ

ὧν μεγαλόψυχος ἐν ταῖς περιπετείαις εὑρίσκετο. [327] περιεβάλλετο δὲ τὴν ἔξωθεν ἀσφάλειαν ὥσπερ ἐπιτείχισμα καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ποιούμενος: πόλεσίν τε γὰρ ὡμίλει δεξιῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως καὶ τοὺς δυνάστας ἐθεράπευεν εὐκαιρίαις ὧν ἑκάστους ἐδωρεῖτο μείζους τὰς χάριτας ἐμποιῶν καὶ τὸ μεγαλόψυχον φύσει πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν εὐπρεπὲς ἔχων, ὥστ᾽ αὐτῷ πάντα διὰ πάντων αὔξεσθαι πρὸς τὸ πλεῖον ἀεὶ προχωρούντων. [328] ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς εἰς τοῦτο φιλοτιμίας καὶ τῆς θεραπείας, ἣν ἐθεράπευεν Καίσαρα καὶ Ῥωμαίων τοὺς πλεῖστον δυναμένους, ἐκβαίνειν τῶν ἐθῶν ἠναγκάζετο καὶ πολλὰ τῶν νομίμων παραχαράττειν, πόλεις τε κτίζων ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας καὶ ναοὺς ἐγείρων, οὐκ ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, [329] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἠνέσχοντο τῶν τοιούτων ἀπηγορευμένων ἡμῖν ὡς ἀγάλματα καὶ τύπους μεμορφωμένους τιμᾶν πρὸς τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν τρόπον, τὴν δ᾽ ἔξω χώραν καὶ τὰ πέριξ οὕτως κατεσκευάζετο, [330] Ἰουδαίοις μὲν ἀπολογούμενος μὴ καθ᾽ αὐτὸν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ ἐντολῆς καὶ προσταγμάτων αὐτὰ ποιεῖν, Καίσαρι δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις τὸ μηδὲ τῶν οἰκείων ἐθῶν ὅσον τῆς ἐκείνων τιμῆς ἐστοχάσθαι χαριζόμενος, αὐτὸς μέντοι τὸ σύμπαν αὐτοῦ στοχαζόμενος ἢ καὶ φιλοτιμούμενος μείζω τὰ μνημεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῖς αὖθις ὑπολιπέσθαι. ὅθεν καὶ περὶ τὰς ἐπισκευὰς τῶν πόλεων ἐκεκίνητο καὶ πλείστας εἰς τοῦτο τὰς δαπάνας ἐποιεῖτο.

5. And now, when all Herod's designs had succeeded according to his hopes, he had not the least suspicion that any troubles could arise in his kingdom, because he kept his people obedient, as well by the fear they stood in of him, for he was implacable in the infliction of his punishments, as by the provident care he had showed towards them, after the most magnanimous manner, when they were under their distresses. But still he took care to have external security for his government as a fortress against his subjects; for the orations he made to the cities were very fine, and full of kindness; and he cultivated a seasonable good understanding with their governors, and bestowed presents on every one of them, inducing them thereby to be more friendly to him, and using his magnificent disposition so as his kingdom might be the better secured to him, and this till all his affairs were every way more and more augmented. But then this magnificent temper of his, and that submissive behavior and liberality which he exercised towards Caesar, and the most powerful men of Rome, obliged him to transgress the customs of his nation, and to set aside many of their laws, and by building cities after an extravagant manner, and erecting temples, — not in Judea indeed, for that would not have been borne, it being forbidden for us to pay any honor to images, or representations of animals, after the manner of the Greeks; but still he did thus in the country [properly] out of our bounds, and in the cities thereof The apology which he made to the Jews for these things was this: That all was done, not out of his own inclinations, but by the commands

and injunctions of others, in order to please Caesar and the Romans, as though he had not the Jewish customs so much in his eye as he had the honor of those Romans, while yet he had himself entirely in view all the while, and indeed was very ambitious to leave great monuments of his government to posterity; whence it was that he was so zealous in building such fine cities, and spent such vast sums of money upon them.

(6) [331] Κατιδὼν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ χωρίον ἐπιτηδειότατον δέξασθαι πόλιν, ὃ πάλαι Στράτωνος ἐκαλεῖτο πύργος, τῇ τε διαγραφῇ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐπεβάλλετο καὶ τοῖς οἰκοδομήμασιν ἀνιστὰς ἅπασαν οὐ παρέργως, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ λευκῆς πέτρας, καὶ διακοσμῶν καὶ βασιλείοις πολυτελεστάτοις καὶ διαίταις πολιτικαῖς, [332] τὸ δὲ μέγιστον καὶ πλείστην ἐργασίαν παρασχόν, ἀκλύστῳ λιμένι, μέγεθος μὲν κατὰ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καταγωγὰς δ᾽ ἔνδον ἔχοντι καὶ δευτέρους ὑφόρμους, τῇ δὲ δομήσει περίβλεπτον, ὅτι μηδ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ τόπου τὴν ἐπιτηδειότητα τῆς μεγαλουργίας εἶχεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεισάκτοις καὶ πολλαῖς ἐξετελειώθη ταῖς δαπάναις. [333] κεῖται μὲν γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ κατὰ τὸν εἰς Αἴγυπτον παράπλουν Ἰόππης μεταξὺ καὶ Δώρων, πολισμάτια ταῦτ᾽ ἐστὶν παράλια δύσορμα διὰ τὰς κατὰ λίβα προσβολάς, αἳ ἀεὶ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ πόντου θῖνας ἐπὶ τὴν ᾐόνα σύρουσαι καταγωγὴν οὐ διδόασιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἔστιν ἀναγκαῖον ἀποσαλεύειν τὰ πολλὰ τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἐπ᾽ ἀγκύρας. [334] τοῦτο τὸ δυσδιάθετον τῆς χώρας διορθούμενος καὶ περιγράψας τὸν κύκλον τοῦ λιμένος ἐφ᾽ ὅσον ἦν αὐταρκες πρὸς τῇ χέρσῳ μεγάλοις στόλοις ἐνορμεῖσθαι λίθους ὑπερμεγέθεις καθίει εἰς τὸ βάθος εἰς ὀργυιὰς εἴκοσι. πεντήκοντα ποδῶν ἦσαν οἱ πλείους τὸ μῆκος καὶ πλάτος οὐκ ἔλαττον δεκαοκτώ, βάθος δὲ ἐννέα, τούτων δὲ οἱ μὲν μείζους οἱ δὲ ἐλάττους. [335] ἡ δὲ ἐνδόμησις ὅσον ἦν † ἐβάλλετο κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης διακοσίους πόδας. τούτων τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ προβέβλητο κυματωγαῖς, ὡς ἀπομάχεσθαι περικλώμενον ἐκεῖ τὸν κλύδωνα: προκυμία γοῦν ἐκαλεῖτο: τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν περιεῖχεν λίθινον τεῖχος πύργοις διειλημμένον, [336] ὧν ὁ μέγιστος Δρούσιον ὀνομάζεται, πάνυ καλόν τι χρῆμα, τὴν προσηγορίαν εἰληφὼς ἀπὸ Δρούσου τοῦ Καίσαρος προγόνου τελευτήσαντος νέου. [337] ψαλίδες δὲ ἐμπεποίηνται συνεχεῖς καταγωγαὶ τοῖς ναυτίλοις, τὸ δὲ πρὸ αὐτῶν ἀπόβασις πλατεῖα κύκλῳ περιεστεφάνωκεν τὸν πάντα λιμένα, περίπατος τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἥδιστος. ὁ δ᾽ εἴσπλους καὶ τὸ στόμα πεποίηται πρὸς βορέαν ἀνέμων αἰθριώτατον. [338] βάσις δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου παντὸς ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν εἰσπλεόντων πύργος νενασμένος ἐπὶ πολὺ στερρῶς ἀντέχειν, κατὰ δεξιὰν δὲ δύο λίθοι μεγάλοι καὶ τοῦ κατὰ θάτερα πύργου μείζους, ὀρθοὶ καὶ συνεζευγμένοι. [339] περίκεινται δὲ ἐν κύκλῳ τὸν λιμένα λειοτάτου λίθου κατασκευὴ συνεχεῖς οἰκήσεις κἀν τῷ μέσῳ κολωνός τις, ἐφ᾽ οὗ νεὼς Καίσαρος ἄποπτος τοῖς εἰσπλέουσιν ἄγαλμά τε τὸ μὲν Ῥώμης, τὸ δὲ Καίσαρος: ἥ τε πόλις αὐτὴ Καισάρεια καλεῖται καλλίστης καὶ τῆς ὕλης καὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τετυχηκυῖα. [340]

τὰ δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ αὐτὴν ὑπόνομοί τε καὶ λαῦραι πραγματείαν οὐκ ἐλάττω τῶν ὑπερῳκοδομημένων ἔχουσαι. τούτων αἱ μὲν κατὰ σύμμετρα διαστήματα φέρουσιν εἰς τὸν λιμένα καὶ τὴν θάλατταν, μία δ᾽ ἐγκαρσία πάσας ὑπέζωκεν, ὡς τούς τε ὄμβρους εὐμαρῶς καὶ τὰ λύματα τῶν οἰκητόρων συνεκδίδοσθαι τήν τε θάλατταν, ὅταν ἔξωθεν ἐπείγηται, διαρρεῖν καὶ τὴν σύμπασαν ὑποκλύζειν πόλιν. [341] κατεσκεύαζεν δ᾽ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ θέατρον καὶ πρὸς τῷ νοτίῳ τοῦ λιμένος ὄπισθεν ἀμφιθέατρον πολὺν ὄχλον ἀνθρώπων δέχεσθαι δυνάμενον καὶ κείμενον ἐπιτηδείως ἀποπτεύειν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. ἡ μὲν δὴ πόλις οὕτως ἐξετελέσθη δωδεκαετεῖ χρόνῳ καὶ ταῖς ἐργασίαις οὐκ ἐγκαμόντος καὶ ταῖς δαπάναις ἐπαρκέσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως.

6. Now upon his observation of a place near the sea, which was very proper for containing a city, and was before called Strato's Tower, he set about getting a plan for a magnificent city there, and erected many edifices with great diligence all over it, and this of white stone. He also adorned it with most sumptuous palaces and large edifices for containing the people; and what was the greatest and most laborious work of all, he adorned it with a haven, that was always free from the waves of the sea. Its largeness was not less than the Pyrmum [at Athens], and had towards the city a double station for the ships. It was of excellent workmanship; and this was the more remarkable for its being built in a place that of itself was not suitable to such noble structures, but was to be brought to perfection by materials from other places, and at very great expenses. This city is situate in Phoenicia, in the passage by sea to Egypt, between Joppa and Dora, which are lesser maritime cities, and not fit for havens, on account of the impetuous south winds that beat upon them, which rolling the sands that come from the sea against the shores, do not admit of ships lying in their station; but the merchants are generally there forced to ride at their anchors in the sea itself. So Herod endeavored to rectify this inconvenience, and laid out such a compass towards the land as might be sufficient for a haven, wherein the great ships might lie in safety; and this he effected by letting down vast stones of above fifty feet in length, not less than eighteen in breadth, and nine in depth, into twenty fathom deep; and as some were lesser, so were others bigger than those dimensions. This mole which he built by the sea-side was two hundred feet wide, the half of which was opposed to the current of the waves, so as to keep off those waves which were to break upon them, and so was called Procymatia, or the first breaker of the waves; but the other half had upon it a wall, with several towers, the largest of which was named Drusus, and was a work of very great excellence, and had its name from Drusus, the son-in-law of Caesar, who died young. There were also a great number of arches where the mariners dwelt.

There was also before them a quay, [or landing place,] which ran round the entire haven, and was a most agreeable walk to such as had a mind to that exercise; but the entrance or mouth of the port was made on the north quarter, on which side was the stillest of the winds of all in this place: and the basis of the whole circuit on the left hand, as you enter the port, supported a round turret, which was made very strong, in order to resist the greatest waves; while on the right hand, as you enter, stood two vast stones, and those each of them larger than the turret, which were over against them; these stood upright, and were joined together. Now there were edifices all along the circular haven, made of the politest stone, with a certain elevation, whereon was erected a temple, that was seen a great way off by those that were sailing for that haven, and had in it two statues, the one of Rome, the other of Caesar. The city itself was called Cesarea, which was also itself built of fine materials, and was of a fine structure; nay, the very subterranean vaults and cellars had no less of architecture bestowed on them than had the buildings above ground. Some of these vaults carried things at even distances to the haven and to the sea; but one of them ran obliquely, and bound all the rest together, that both the rain and the filth of the citizens were together carried off with ease, and the sea itself, upon the flux of the tide from without, came into the city, and washed it all clean. Herod also built therein a theater of stone; and on the south quarter, behind the port, an amphitheater also, capable of holding a vast number of men, and conveniently situated for a prospect to the sea. So this city was thus finished in twelve years; during which time the king did not fail to go on both with the work, and to pay the charges that were necessary.

X

CHAPTER 10. How Herod Sent His Sons To Rome; How Also He Was Accused By Zenodorus And The Gadarens, But Was Cleared Of What They Accused Him Of And Withal Gained To Himself The Good-Will Of Caesar. Concerning The Pharisees, The Essens And Manahem.

(1) [342] Ἐπὶ τοιούτοις δὲ ὢν καὶ τῆς Σεβαστῆς ἤδη πεπολισμένης ἔγνω τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ πέμπειν εἰς Ῥώμην Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Ἀριστόβουλον, συντευξομένους Καίσαρι. [343] τούτοις ἀνελθοῦσιν καταγωγὴ μὲν ἦν Πολλίωνος οἶκος ἀνδρὸς τῶν μάλιστα σπουδασάντων περὶ τὴν Ἡρώδου φιλίαν, ἐφεῖτο δὲ κἀν τοῖς Καίσαρος κατάγεσθαι: καὶ γὰρ ἐξεδέξατο μετὰ πάσης φιλανθρωπίας τοὺς παῖδας: καὶ δίδωσιν Ἡρώδῃ τὴν βασιλείαν ὅτῳ βούλεται βεβαιοῦν τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγονότων, καὶ χώραν ἔτι τόν τε Τράχωνα καὶ Βαταναίαν καὶ Αὐρανῖτιν: ἔδωκεν δὲ διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν παραλαβών. [344] Ζηνόδωρός τις ἐμεμίσθωτο τὸν οἶκον τὸν Λυσανίου. τούτῳ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὰς προσόδους οὐκ ἤρκει, τὰ λῃστήρια δὲ ἔχων ἐν τῷ Τράχωνι πλείω τὴν πρόσοδον ἔφερεν: οἰκοῦσι γὰρ ἄνδρες ἐξ ἀπονοίας ζῶντες τοὺς τόπους, οἳ τὰ Δαμασκηνῶν ἐλῄζοντο, καὶ Ζηνόδωρος οὔτ᾽ εἴργεν αὐτός τε τῶν ὠφελειῶν ἐκοινώνει. [345] κακῶς δὲ πάσχοντες οἱ πλησιόχωροι Οὐάρρωνος κατεβόων τοῦ τότε ἡγεμονεύοντος καὶ γράφειν ἠξίουν Καίσαρι τοῦ Ζηνοδώρου τὴν ἀδικίαν. Καῖσαρ δὲ ἀνενεχθέντων τούτων ἀντέγραφεν ἐξελεῖν τὰ λῃστήρια τήν τε χώραν Ἡρώδῃ προσένειμεν, ὡς διὰ τῆς ἐπιμελείας τῆς ἐκείνου μηκέτ᾽ ἂν ὀχληρῶν τῶν περὶ τὸν Τράχωνα γενησομένων τοῖς πλησίον: [346] οὐδὲ γὰρ ῥᾴδιον ἦν ἐπισχεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐν ἔθει τὸ λῃστεύειν πεποιημένους καὶ βίον οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ἔχοντας: οὔτε γὰρ πόλεις αὐτοῖς οὔτε κτήσεις ἀγρῶν, ὑποφυγαὶ δὲ κατὰ τῆς γῆς καὶ σπήλαια καὶ κοινὴ μετὰ τῶν βοσκημάτων δίαιτα. μεμηχάνηνται δὲ καὶ συναγωγὰς ὑδάτων καὶ προπαρασκευὰς σιτίων αἳ δύνανται πλεῖστον ἐξ ἀφανοῦς ἀντέχειν. [347] αἵ γε μὴν εἴσοδοι στεναὶ καὶ καθ᾽ ἕνα παρερχομένων, τὰ δ᾽ ἔνδον ἀπίστως μεγάλα πρὸς εὐρυχωρίαν ἐξειργασμένων: τὸ δ᾽ ὑπὲρ τὰς οἰκήσεις ἔδαφος οὐχ ὑψηλόν, ἀλλ᾽ οἷον ἐξ ἐπιπέδου. πέτρα δὲ τὸ σύμπαν σκληρὰ καὶ δύσοδος, εἰ μὴ τρίβῳ χρῷτό τις ἐξ ὁδηγίας: [348] οὐδὲ γὰρ αὖται κατ᾽ ὀρθὸν ἀλλὰ πολλὰς ἕλικας ἐξελίττονται. τούτοις ἐπειδὴ τῶν εἰς τοὺς πλησίον κακουργημάτων ἐκωλύοντο, καὶ κατ᾽ ἀλλήλων ἦν ὁ τῆς λῃστείας τρόπος, ὡς μηδὲν ἀνομίας ἐν τούτῳ λελεῖφθαι. λαβὼν δὲ τὴν χάριν Ἡρώδης

παρὰ Καίσαρος καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν χώραν ὁδηγῶν ἐμπειρίᾳ τούς τε πονηρευομένους αὐτῶν κατέπαυσεν καὶ τοῖς πέριξ ἀδεῆ τὴν εἰρήνην παρέσχεν.

1. When Herod was engaged in such matters, and when he had already re-edified Sebaste, [Samaria,] he resolved to send his sons Alexander and Aristobulus to Rome, to enjoy the company of Caesar; who, when they came thither, lodged at the house of Pollio, who was very fond of Herod's friendship; and they had leave to lodge in Caesar's own palace, for he received these sons of Herod with all humanity, and gave Herod leave to give his, kingdom to which of his sons he pleased; and besides all this, he bestowed on him Trachon, and Batanea, and Auranitis, which he gave him on the occasion following: One Zenodorus had hired what was called the house of Lysanias, who, as he was not satisfied with its revenues, became a partner with the robbers that inhabited the Trachonites, and so procured himself a larger income; for the inhabitants of those places lived in a mad way, and pillaged the country of the Damascenes, while Zenodorus did not restrain them, but partook of the prey they acquired. Now as the neighboring people were hereby great sufferers, they complained to Varro, who was then president [of Syria], and entreated him to write to Caesar about this injustice of Zenodorus. When these matters were laid before Caesar, he wrote back to Varro to destroy those nests of robbers, and to give the land to Herod, that so by his care the neighboring countries might be no longer disturbed with these doings of the Trachonites; for it was not an easy firing to restrain them, since this way of robbery had been their usual practice, and they had no other way to get their living, because they had neither any city of their own, nor lands in their possession, but only some receptacles and dens in the earth, and there they and their cattle lived in common together. However, they had made contrivances to get pools of water, and laid up corn in granaries for themselves, and were able to make great resistance, by issuing out on the sudden against any that attacked them; for the entrances of their caves were narrow, in which but one could come in at a time, and the places within incredibly large, and made very wide but the ground over their habitations was not very high, but rather on a plain, while the rocks are altogether hard and difficult to be entered upon, unless any one gets into the plain road by the guidance of another, for these roads are not straight, but have several revolutions. But when these men are hindered from their wicked preying upon their neighbors, their custom is to prey one upon another, insomuch that no sort of injustice comes amiss to them. But when Herod had received this grant from Caesar, and was come into this country, he procured skillful guides, and put a stop to their wicked robberies, and procured peace and quietness to the neighboring people.

(2) [349] Ὁ δὲ Ζηνόδωρος ἀχθόμενος πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἀφαιρέσει, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ φθόνῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἡρώδου μετειληφότος, ἀνῆλθεν εἰς Ῥώμην κατηγορήσων αὐτοῦ. κἀκεῖνος μὲν ἄπρακτος ἀναστρέφει. [350] πέμπεται δ' Ἀγρίππας τῶν πέραν Ἰονίου διάδοχος Καίσαρι: καὶ τούτῳ περὶ Μιτυλήνην χειμάζοντι συντυχὼν Ἡρώδης, ἦν γὰρ εἰς τὰ μάλιστα φίλος καὶ συνήθης, πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀνέστρεφεν. [351] Γαδαρέων δέ τινες ἐπ' Ἀγρίππαν ἦλθον κατηγοροῦντες αὐτοῦ, καὶ τούτους ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲ λόγον αὐτοῖς δοὺς ἀναπέμπει τῷ βασιλεῖ δεσμίους. οἵ τε Ἄραβες καὶ πάλαι δυσμενῶς ἔχοντες πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἡρώδου διεκεκίνηντο καὶ στασιάζειν ἐπεχείρουν αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα τότε καὶ μετ' αἰτίας, ὡς ἐδόκουν, εὐλογωτέρας: [352] ὁ γὰρ Ζηνόδωρος ἀπογινώσκων ἤδη τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ἔφθη τῆς ἐπαρχίας μέρος τι τὴν Αὐρανῖτιν αὐτοῖς ἀποδόσθαι ταλάντων πεντήκοντα. ταύτης ἐμπεριεχομένης τῇ δωρεᾷ Καίσαρος ὡς μὴ δικαίως ἀφαιρούμενοι διημφισβήτουν, πολλάκις μὲν ταῖς καταδρομαῖς καὶ τῷ βιάζεσθαι θέλειν, ἄλλοτε δὲ καὶ πρὸς δικαιολογίαν ἰόντες. [353] ἀνέπειθον δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπόρους τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ δυσμενεῖς, ἦσαν δ' ἐπελπίζοντες ἀεὶ καὶ πρὸς τὸν νεωτερισμὸν ἐνδιδόντες, ᾧ μάλιστα χαίρουσιν οἱ κακῶς πράττοντες τῷ βίῳ. ταῦτα δὲ ἐκ μακροῦ πραττόμενα γινώσκων Ἡρώδης ὅμως οὐκ εἰς τὸ δυσμενές, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιλογισμοῦ παρηγόρει ταῖς ταραχαῖς οὐκ ἀξιῶν ἀφορμὰς ἐνδιδόναι.

2. Hereupon Zenodorus was grieved, in the first place, because his principality was taken away from him; and still more so, because he envied Herod, who had gotten it; So he went up to Rome to accuse him, but returned back again without success. Now Agrippa was [about this time] sent to succeed Caesar in the government of the countries beyond the Ionian Sea, upon whom Herod lighted when he was wintering about Mitylene, for he had been his particular friend and companion, and then returned into Judea again. However, some of the Gadarens came to Agrippa, and accused Herod, whom he sent back bound to the king without giving them the hearing. But still the Arabians, who of old bare ill-will to Herod's government, were nettled, and at that time attempted to raise a sedition in his dominions, and, as they thought, upon a more justifiable occasion; for Zenodorus, despairing already of success as to his own affairs, prevented [his enemies], by selling to those Arabians a part of his principality, called Auranitis, for the value of fifty talents; but as this was included in the donations of Caesar, they contested the point with Herod, as unjustly deprived of what they had bought. Sometimes they did this by making incursions upon him, and sometimes by attempting force against him, and sometimes by going to law with him. Moreover, they persuaded the poorer soldiers to help them, and were troublesome to him, out of a constant hope that they should reduce the people to

raise a sedition; in which designs those that are in the most miserable circumstances of life are still the most earnest; and although Herod had been a great while apprized of these attempts, yet did not he indulge any severity to them, but by rational methods aimed to mitigate things, as not willing to give any handle for tumults.

(3) [354] Ἤδη δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἑπτακαιδεκάτου προελθόντος ἔτους Καῖσαρ εἰς Συρίαν ἀφίκετο. καὶ τότε τῶν Γάδαρα κατοικούντων οἱ πλεῖστοι κατεβόων Ἡρώδου βαρὺν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτάγμασιν καὶ τυραννικὸν εἶναι. [355] ταῦτα δὲ ἀπετόλμων μάλιστα μὲν ἐγκειμένου καὶ διαβάλλοντος αὐτὸν Ζηνοδώρου καὶ παρασχόντος ὅρκους, ὡς οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψει μὴ πάντα τρόπον ἀφελέσθαι μὲν τῆς Ἡρώδου βασιλείας, προσθήσειν δὲ τῇ διοικήσει τῇ Καίσαρος. [356] τούτοις ἀναπεισθέντες οἱ Γαδαρεῖς οὐ μικρὰν καταβοὴν ἐποιήσαντο θράσει τοῦ μηδὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ Ἀγρίππα παραδοθέντας ἐν τιμωρίᾳ γενέσθαι διέντος Ἡρώδου καὶ μηδὲν κακὸν εἰργασμένου: καὶ γὰρ εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἐδόκει δυσπαραίτητος μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις, μεγαλόψυχος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἁμαρτόντας ἀφιέναι. [357] κατηγορούντων οὖν ὕβρεις καὶ ἁρπαγὰς καὶ κατασκαφὰς ἱερῶν ὁ μὲν Ἡρώδης ἀταρακτήσας ἕτοιμος ἦν εἰς τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ἐδεξιοῦτο δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ταραχῆς τοῦ πλήθους μεταβαλὼν τῆς εὐνοίας. [358] καὶ κατὰ μὲν τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν οἱ περὶ τούτων ἐρρέθησαν λόγοι, ταῖς δ᾽ ἑξῆς οὐ προῆλθεν ἡ διάγνωσις: οἱ γὰρ Γαδαρεῖς ὁρῶντες τὴν ῥοπὴν αὐτοῦ τε Καίσαρος καὶ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ προσδοκήσαντες ὅπερ ἦν εἰκὸς ἐκδοθήσεσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ, κατὰ φόβον αἰκίας οἱ μὲν ἀπέσφαττον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ νυκτί, τινὲς δὲ καθ᾽ ὕψους ἠφίεσαν, ἄλλοι δ᾽ εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐμπίπτοντες ἑκοντὶ διεφθείροντο. [359] ταῦτα δὲ ἐδόκει κατάγνωσις τῆς προπετείας καὶ ἁμαρτίας, ἔνθεν οὐδὲ μελλήσας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέλυεν τῶν αἰτιῶν Ἡρώδην. ἐπισυμπίπτει δὲ οὐ μέτριον εὐτύχημα τοῖς ἤδη γεγονόσιν: ὁ γὰρ Ζηνόδωρος ῥαγέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ σπλάγχνου καὶ πολλοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν ὑποχωροῦντος αἵματος ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας ἐκλείπει τὸν βίον. [360] Καῖσαρ δὲ καὶ τὴν τούτου μοῖραν οὐκ ὀλίγην οὖσαν Ἡρώδῃ δίδωσιν, ἣ μεταξὺ τοῦ Τράχωνος ἦν καὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, Οὐλάθαν καὶ Πανιάδα καὶ τὴν πέριξ χώραν. ἐγκαταμίγνυσιν δ᾽ αὐτὴν τοῖς ἐπιτροπεύουσιν τῆς Συρίας ἐντειλάμενος μετὰ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης τὰ πάντα ποιεῖν. [361] τό τε σύνολον εἰς τοῦτο προῆλθεν εὐτυχίας, ὥστε δύο τούτων τὴν ἀρχὴν Ῥωμαίων διεπόντων τοσήνδε τὸ μέγεθος οὖσαν, Καίσαρος καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἀγρίππου, κατὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὔνοιαν Καῖσαρ μὲν οὐδένα μετὰ Ἀγρίππαν Ἡρώδου προετίμησεν, Ἀγρίππας δὲ μετὰ Καίσαρα πρῶτον ἀπεδίδου φιλίας τόπον Ἡρώδῃ. [362] τοσαύτης δὲ ἐχόμενος παρρησίας τῷ μὲν ἀδελφῷ Φερώρᾳ παρὰ Καίσαρος ᾐτήσατο τετραρχίαν αὐτὸς ἀπονείμας ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας πρόσοδον ἑκατὸν ταλάντων, ὡς εἰ καί τι πάσχοι, τὰ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν καὶ μὴ τοὺς υἱεῖς αὐτῆς κρατεῖν. [363] Καίσαρα δ᾽ ἐπὶ

θάλατταν προπέμψας ὡς ἐπανῆκεν, ἐν τῇ Ζηνοδώρου περικαλλέστατον αὐτῷ ναὸν ἐγείρει πέτρας λευκῆς πλησίον τοῦ Πανίου καλουμένου. [364] σπήλαιον ἐν ὄρει περικαλλές ἐστιν, ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸ δὲ γῆς ὀλίσθημα καὶ βάθος ἀπερρωγὸς ἄβατον ὕδατος ἀκινήτου πλέον, καθύπερθε δ᾽ ὄρος παμμέγεθες, ὑπὸ δὲ τὸ σπήλαιον ἀνατέλλουσιν αἱ πηγαὶ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ. τοῦτον ἐπισημότατον ὄντα τὸν τόπον καὶ τῷ ναῷ προσεκόσμησεν, ὃν ἀφιέρου Καίσαρι.

3. Now when Herod had already reigned seventeen years, Caesar came into Syria; at which time the greatest part of the inhabitants of Gadara clamored against Herod, as one that was heavy in his injunctions, and tyrannical. These reproaches they mainly ventured upon by the encouragement of Zenodorus, who took his oath that he would never leave Herod till he had procured that they should be severed from Herod's kingdom, and joined to Caesar's province. The Gadarens were induced hereby, and made no small cry against him, and that the more boldly, because those that had been delivered up by Agrippa were not punished by Herod, who let them go, and did them no harm; for indeed he was the principal man in the world who appeared almost inexorable in punishing crimes in his own family, but very generous in remitting the offenses that were committed elsewhere. And while they accused Herod of injuries, and plunderings, and subversions of temples, he stood unconcerned, and was ready to make his defense. However, Caesar gave him his right hand, and remitted nothing of his kindness to him, upon this disturbance by the multitude; and indeed these things were alleged the first day, but the hearing proceeded no further; for as the Gadarens saw the inclination of Caesar and of his assessors, and expected, as they had reason to do, that they should be delivered up to the king, some of them, out of a dread of the torments they might undergo, cut their own throats in the night time, and some of them threw themselves down precipices, and others of them cast themselves into the river, and destroyed themselves of their own accord; which accidents seemed a sufficient condemnation of the rashness and crimes they had been guilty of; whereupon Caesar made no longer delay, but cleared Herod from the crimes he was accused of. Another happy accident there was, which was a further great advantage to Herod at this time; for Zenodorus's belly burst, and a great quantity of blood issued from him in his sickness, and he thereby departed this life at Antioch in Syria; so Caesar bestowed his country, which was no small one, upon Herod; it lay between Trachon and Galilee, and contained Ulatha, and Paneas, and the country round about. He also made him one of the procurators of Syria, and commanded that they should do every thing with his approbation; and, in short, he arrived at that pitch of felicity, that whereas there were but two men that

governed the vast Roman empire, first Caesar, and then Agrippa, who was his principal favorite, Caesar preferred no one to Herod besides Agrippa, and Agrippa made no one his greater friend than Herod besides Caesar. And when he had acquired such freedom, he begged of Caesar a tetrarchy for his brother Pheroras, while he did himself bestow upon him a revenue of a hundred talents out of his own kingdom, that in case he came to any harm himself, his brother might be in safety, and that his sons might not have dominion over him. So when he had conducted Caesar to the sea, and was returned home, he built him a most beautiful temple, of the whitest stone, in Zenodorus's country, near the place called Panlure. This is a very fine cave in a mountain, under which there is a great cavity in the earth, and the cavern is abrupt, and prodigiously deep, and frill of a still water; over it hangs a vast mountain; and under the caverns arise the springs of the river Jordan. Herod adorned this place, which was already a very remarkable one, still further by the erection of this temple, which he dedicated to Caesar.

(4) [365] Τότε καὶ τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἀφῆκε τῶν φόρων τοῖς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς ἀναλάβοιεν ἐκ τῆς ἀφορίας, τὸ δὲ πλέον ἀνακτώμενος ἔχοντας δυσμενῶς: κατὰ γὰρ τὴν ἐξεργασίαν τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὡς ἂν λυομένης αὐτοῖς τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ μεταπιπτόντων τῶν ἐθῶν χαλεπῶς ἔφερον, καὶ λόγοι δὲ πόντων ἐγίνοντο παροξυνομένων ἀεὶ καὶ ταραττομένων. [366] ὁ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ τοιοῦτον πολλὴν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐπῆγεν, ἀφαιρούμενος μὲν τὰς εὐκαιρίας, ἐπιτάττων δ' ἀεὶ γίνεσθαι πρὸς τοῖς πόνοις, ἦν δ' οὔτε σύνοδος ἐφειμένη τοῖς περὶ τὴν πόλιν οὔτε κοινωνία περιπάτου καὶ διαίτης, ἀλλ' ἐτετήρητο τὰ πάντα. καὶ χαλεπαὶ τῶν φωραθέντων ἦσαν αἱ κολάσεις, πολλοί τε καὶ φανερῶς καὶ λεληθότως εἰς τὸ φρούριον ἀναγόμενοι τὴν Ὑρκανίαν ἐκεῖ διεφθείροντο, κἀν τῇ πόλει κἀν ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις ἦσαν οἱ τοὺς συνιόντας εἰς ταὐτὸν ἐπισκοποῦντες. [367] ἤδη δέ φασιν οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἀμελεῖν τοῦ τοιούτου μέρους, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἰδιώτου σχῆμα λαμβάνοντα καταμίγνυσθαι νύκτωρ εἰς τοὺς ὄχλους, καὶ πεῖραν αὐτῶν, ἣν ἔχουσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς, λαμβάνειν. [368] τοὺς μὲν οὖν παντάπασιν ἐξαυθαδιζομένους πρὸς τὸ μὴ συμπεριφέρεσθαι τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν πάντας ἐπεξῄει τοὺς τρόπους, τὸ δ' ἄλλο πλῆθος ὅρκοις ἠξίου πρὸς τὴν πίστιν ὑπάγεσθαι καὶ συνηνάγκαζεν ἐνώμοτον αὐτῷ τὴν εὔνοιαν ἢ μὴν διαφυλάξειν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁμολογεῖν. [369] οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ κατὰ θεραπείαν καὶ δέος εἶκον οἷς ἠξίου, τοὺς δὲ φρονήματος μεταποιουμένους καὶ δυσχεραίνοντας ἐπὶ τῷ καταναγκάζεσθαι πάντα τρόπον ἐκποδὼν ἐποιεῖτο. [370] συνέπειθεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς περὶ Πολλίωνα τὸν Φαρισαῖον καὶ Σαμαίαν καὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις συνδιατριβόντων τοὺς πλείστους ὀμνύειν: οἱ δ' οὔτε συνεχώρησαν οὔθ' ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀρνησαμένοις ἐκολάσθησαν ἐντροπῆς διὰ τὸν Πολλίωνα τυχόντες. [371]

ἀφείθησαν δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἀνάγκης καὶ οἱ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν Ἐσσαῖοι καλούμενοι: γένος δὲ τοῦτ᾽ ἔστιν διαίτῃ χρώμενον τῇ παρ᾽ Ἕλλησιν ὑπὸ Πυθαγόρου καταδεδειγμένῃ. [372] περὶ τούτων μὲν οὖν ἐν ἄλλοις σαφέστερον διέξειμι. τοὺς δὲ Ἐσσηνοὺς ἀφ᾽ οἵας αἰτίας ἐτίμα μεῖζόν τι φρονῶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἢ κατὰ τὴν θνητὴν φύσιν, εἰπεῖν ἄξιον: οὐ γὰρ ἀπρεπὴς ὁ λόγος φανεῖται τῷ τῆς ἱστορίας γένει παραδηλῶν καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τούτων ὑπόληψιν.

4. At which time Herod released to his subjects the third part of their taxes, under pretense indeed of relieving them, after the dearth they had had; but the main reason was, to recover their good-will, which he now wanted; for they were uneasy at him, because of the innovations he had introduced in their practices, of the dissolution of their religion, and of the disuse of their own customs; and the people every where talked against him, like those that were still more provoked and disturbed at his procedure; against which discontents he greatly guarded himself, and took away the opportunities they might have to disturb him, and enjoined them to be always at work; nor did he permit the citizens either to meet together, or to walk or eat together, but watched every thing they did, and when any were caught, they were severely punished; and many there were who were brought to the citadel Hyrcania, both openly and secretly, and were there put to death; and there were spies set every where, both in the city and in the roads, who watched those that met together; nay, it is reported that he did not himself neglect this part of caution, but that he would oftentimes himself take the habit of a private man, and mix among the multitude, in the night time, and make trial what opinion they had of his government: and as for those that could no way be reduced to acquiesce under his scheme of government, he prosecuted them all manner of ways; but for the rest of the multitude, he required that they should be obliged to take an oath of fidelity to him, and at the same time compelled them to swear that they would bear him good-will, and continue certainly so to do, in his management of the government; and indeed a great part of them, either to please him, or out of fear of him, yielded to what he required of them; but for such as were of a more open and generous disposition, and had indignation at the force he used to them, he by one means or other made away, with them. He endeavored also to persuade Pollio the Pharisee, and Satneas, and the greatest part of their scholars, to take the oath; but these would neither submit so to do, nor were they punished together with the rest, out of the reverence he bore to Pollio. The Essens also, as we call a sect of ours, were excused from this imposition. These men live the same kind of life as do those whom the Greeks call Pythagoreans, concerning whom I shall discourse more fully elsewhere. However, it is but fit to set down here the reasons wherefore Herod had these

Essens in such honor, and thought higher of them than their mortal nature required; nor will this account be unsuitable to the nature of this history, as it will show the opinion men had of these Essens.

(5) [373] Ἦν τις τῶν Ἐσσηνῶν Μανάημος ὄνομα καὶ τἆλλα κατὰ τὴν προαίρεσιν τοῦ βίου καλοκαγαθίαν μαρτυρούμενος καὶ πρόγνωσιν ἐκ θεοῦ τῶν μελλόντων ἔχων. οὗτος ἔτι παῖδα τὸν Ἡρώδην εἰς διδασκάλου φοιτῶντα κατιδὼν βασιλέα Ἰουδαίων προσηγόρευσεν. [374] ὁ δ' ἀγνοεῖν ἢ κατειρωνεύεσθαι νομίζων αὐτὸν ἀνεμίμνησκεν ἰδιώτης ὤν. Μανάημος δὲ μειδιάσας ἠρέμα καὶ τύπτων τῇ χειρὶ κατὰ τῶν γλουτῶν "ἀλλά τοι καὶ βασιλεύσεις, ἔφη, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐδαιμόνως ἀπάξεις: ἠξίωσαι γὰρ ἐκ θεοῦ. καὶ μέμνησο τῶν Μαναήμου πληγῶν, ὥστε σοι καὶ τοῦτο σύμβολον εἶναι τῶν κατὰ τὴν τύχην μεταπτώσεων. [375] ἄριστος γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος λογισμός, εἰ καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἀγαπήσειας καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβειαν ἐπιείκειαν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας: ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ οἶδά σε τοιοῦτον ἔσεσθαι τὸ πᾶν ἐπιστάμενος. [376] εὐτυχίᾳ μὲν γὰρ ὅσον οὐκ ἄλλος διοίσεις καὶ τεύξῃ δόξης αἰωνίου, λήθην δ' εὐσεβείας ἕξεις καὶ τοῦ δικαίου. ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἂν λάθοι τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τῇ καταστροφῇ τοῦ βίου τῆς ἀντ' αὐτῶν [377] ὀργῆς ἀπομνημονευομένης." τούτοις αὐτίκα μὲν ἥκιστα τὸν νοῦν προσεῖχεν ἐλπίδι λειπόμενος αὐτῶν Ἡρώδης, κατὰ μικρὸν δὲ ἀρθεὶς ἕως καὶ τοῦ βασιλεύειν καὶ εὐτυχεῖν ἐν τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἀρχῆς μεταπέμπεται τὸν Μανάημον καὶ περὶ τοῦ χρόνου πόσον ἄρξει διεπυνθάνετο. [378] Μανάημος δὲ τὸ μὲν σύμπαν οὐκ εἶπεν: ὡς δὲ σιωπῶντος αὐτοῦ, μόνον εἰ δέκα γενήσονται βασιλείας ἐνιαυτοὶ προσεπύθετο καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ τριάκοντα εἰπὼν τὸν ὅρον οὐκ ἐπέθηκε τῷ τέλει τῆς προθεσμίας, Ἡρώδης δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἀρκεσθεὶς τόν τε Μανάημον ἀφῆκεν δεξιωσάμενος καὶ πάντας ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοὺς Ἐσσηνοὺς τιμῶν διετέλει. [379] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἰ καὶ παράδοξα δηλῶσαι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἠξιώσαμεν καὶ περὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἐμφῆναι, διότι πολλοὶ [διὰ] τοιούτων ὑπὸ καλοκαγαθίας καὶ τῆς τῶν θείων ἐμπειρίας ἀξιοῦνται.

5. Now there was one of these Essens, whose name was Manahem, who had this testimony, that he not only conducted his life after an excellent manner, but had the foreknowledge of future events given him by God also. This man once saw Herod when he was a child, and going to school, and saluted him as king of the Jews; but he, thinking that either he did not know him, or that he was in jest, put him in mind that he was but a private man; but Manahem smiled to himself, and clapped him on his backside with his hand, and said, "However that be, thou wilt be king, and wilt begin thy reign happily, for God finds thee worthy of it. And do thou remember the blows that Manahem hath given thee, as being a signal of the change of thy fortune. And truly this will be the best reasoning for thee, that thou love justice [towards men], and piety towards God, and clemency towards

thy citizens; yet do I know how thy whole conduct will be, that thou wilt not be such a one, for thou wilt excel all men in happiness, and obtain an everlasting reputation, but wilt forget piety and righteousness; and these crimes will not be concealed from God, at the conclusion of thy life, when thou wilt find that he will be mindful of them, and punish time for them." Now at that time Herod did not at all attend to what Manahem said, as having no hopes of such advancement; but a little afterward, when he was so fortunate as to be advanced to the dignity of king, and was in the height of his dominion, he sent for Manahem, and asked him how long he should reign. Manahem did not tell him the full length of his reign; wherefore, upon that silence of his, he asked him further, whether he should reign ten years or not? He replied, "Yes, twenty, nay, thirty years;" but did not assign the just determinate limit of his reign. Herod was satisfied with these replies, and gave Manahem his hand, and dismissed him; and from that time he continued to honor all the Essens. We have thought it proper to relate these facts to our readers, how strange soever they be, and to declare what hath happened among us, because many of these Essens have, by their excellent virtue, been thought worthy of this knowledge of Divine revelations.

XI

CHAPTER 11. How Herod Rebuilt The Temple And Raised It Higher And Made It More Magnificent Than It Was Before; As Also Concerning That Tower Which He Called Antonia.

(1) [380] Τότε δ' οὖν ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου τῆς Ἡρώδου βασιλείας γεγονότος ἐνιαυτοῦ μετὰ τὰς προειρημένας πράξεις ἔργον οὐ τὸ τυχὸν ἐπεβάλετο, τὸν νεὼν τοῦ θεοῦ δι' αὐτοῦ κατασκευάσασθαι μείζω τε τὸν περίβολον καὶ πρὸς ὕψος ἀξιοπρεπέστερον ἐγείρειν, ἡγούμενος ἁπάντων αὐτῷ τῶν πεπραγμένων περισημότερον, ὥσπερ ἦν, ἐκτελεσθήσεσθαι τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς αἰώνιον μνήμην ἀρκέσειν. [381] οὐχ ἕτοιμον δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπιστάμενος οὐδὲ ῥᾴδιον ἔσεσθαι πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως ἠξίου λόγῳ προκαταστησάμενος ἐγχειρῆσαι τῷ παντί, καὶ συγκαλέσας αὐτοὺς ἔλεγε τοιάδε: [382] "τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μοι τῶν κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν πεπραγμένων, ἄνδρες ὁμόφυλοι, περισσὸν ὑπολαμβάνω λέγειν. καίτοι τοῦτον ἐγένετο τὸν τρόπον, ὡς ἐλάττω μὲν ἐμοὶ τὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν κόσμον, πλείω δὲ ὑμῖν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν φέρειν. [383] οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς δυσχερεστάτοις ἀμελήσας τῶν εἰς τὰς ὑμετέρας χρείας διαφερόντων οὔτε ἐν τοῖς κατασκευάσμασιν ἐπιτηδεύσας ἐμαυτῷ μᾶλλον ἢ καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν τὸ ἀνεπηρέαστον, οἶμαι σὺν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλήσει πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ὅσον οὐ πρότερον ἀγηοχέναι τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος. [384] τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ μέρος ἐξεργασθέντα περὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ πόλεις ὅσας ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τοῖς ἐπικτήτοις ἐγείραντες κόσμῳ τῷ καλλίστῳ τὸ γένος ἡμῶν ηὐξήσαμεν, περίεργά μοι δοκεῖ λέγειν εἰδόσιν. τὸ δὲ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως, ᾗ νῦν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐπιβάλλομαι, παντὸς εὐσεβέστατον καὶ κάλλιστον ἐφ' ἡμῶν γενέσθαι νῦν ἐκφανῶ: [385] τὸν γὰρ ναὸν τοῦτον ᾠκοδόμησαν μὲν τῷ μεγίστῳ θεῷ πατέρες ἡμέτεροι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἐπάνοδον, ἐνδεῖ δ' αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος εἰς ὕψος ἑξήκοντα πήχεις: τοσοῦτον γὰρ ὑπερεῖχεν ὁ πρῶτος ἐκεῖνος, ὃν Σολομῶν ἀνῳκοδόμησεν. [386] καὶ μηδεὶς ἀμέλειαν εὐσεβείας τῶν πατέρων καταγνώτω: γέγονεν γὰρ οὐ παρ' ἐκείνους ἐλάττων ὁ ναός, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα καὶ Κῦρος καὶ Δαρεῖος ὁ Ὑστάσπου τὰ μέτρα τῆς δομήσεως ἔδοσαν, οἷς ἐκεῖνοι καὶ τοῖς ἀπογόνοις δουλεύσαντες καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους Μακεδόσιν οὐκ ἔσχον εὐκαιρίαν τὸ πρῶτον τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀρχέτυπον εἰς ταὐτὸν ἀναγαγεῖν μέγεθος. [387] ἐπειδὴ δὲ νῦν ἐγὼ μὲν ἄρχω θεοῦ βουλήσει, περίεστιν δὲ καὶ μῆκος εἰρήνης καὶ κτῆσις χρημάτων καὶ μέγεθος προσόδων, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον φίλοι καὶ δι' εὐνοίας οἱ πάντων ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν κρατοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι, πειράσομαι τὸ παρημελημένον ἀνάγκῃ καὶ δουλείᾳ τοῦ πρότερον χρόνου διορθούμενος τελείαν ἀποδοῦναι τῷ θεῷ τὴν ἀνθ' ὧν ἔτυχον τῆσδε τῆς βασιλείας εὐσέβειαν."

1. And now Herod, in the eighteenth year of his reign, and after the acts already mentioned, undertook a very great work, that is, to build of himself the temple of God, and make it larger in compass, and to raise it to a most magnificent altitude, as esteeming it to be the most glorious of all his actions, as it really was, to bring it to perfection; and that this would be sufficient for an everlasting memorial of him; but as he knew the multitude were not ready nor willing to assist him in so vast a design, he thought to prepare them first by making a speech to them, and then set about the work itself; so he called them together, and spake thus to them: "I think I need not speak to you, my countrymen, about such other works as I have done since I came to the kingdom, although I may say they have been performed in such a manner as to bring more security to you than glory to myself; for I have neither been negligent in the most difficult times about what tended to ease your necessities, nor have the buildings. I have made been so proper to preserve me as yourselves from injuries; and I imagine that, with God's assistance, I have advanced the nation of the Jews to a degree of happiness which they never had before; and for the particular edifices belonging to your own country, and your own cities, as also to those cities that we have lately acquired, which we have erected and greatly adorned, and thereby augmented the dignity of your nation, it seems to me a needless task to enumerate them to you, since you well know them yourselves; but as to that undertaking which I have a mind to set about at present, and which will be a work of the greatest piety and excellence that can possibly be undertaken by us, I will now declare it to you. Our fathers, indeed, when they were returned from Babylon, built this temple to God Almighty, yet does it want sixty cubits of its largeness in altitude; for so much did that first temple which Solomon built exceed this temple; nor let any one condemn our fathers for their negligence or want of piety herein, for it was not their fault that the temple was no higher; for they were Cyrus, and Darius the son of Hystaspes, who determined the measures for its rebuilding; and it hath been by reason of the subjection of those fathers of ours to them and to their posterity, and after them to the Macedonians, that they had not the opportunity to follow the original model of this pious edifice, nor could raise it to its ancient altitude; but since I am now, by God's will, your governor, and I have had peace a long time, and have gained great riches and large revenues, and, what is the principal filing of all, I am at amity with and well regarded by the Romans, who, if I may so say, are the rulers of the whole world, I will do my endeavor to correct that imperfection, which hath arisen from the necessity of our affairs, and the slavery we have been under formerly, and to make a thankful return, after the most pious manner, to God, for what

blessings I have received from him, by giving me this kingdom, and that by rendering his temple as complete as I am able."

(2) [388] Ὁ μὲν Ἡρώδης ταῦτ' εἶπεν, ἐξέπληξε δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὁ λόγος παρὰ δόξαν ἐμπεσών. καὶ τὸ μὲν τῆς ἐλπίδος ἄπιστον οὐκ ἐπήγειρεν αὐτούς, ἠδημόνουν δέ, μὴ φθάσας καταλῦσαι τὸ πᾶν ἔργον οὐκ ἐξαρκέσει πρὸς τέλος ἀγαγεῖν τὴν προαίρεσιν: ὅ τε κίνδυνος αὐτοῖς μείζων ἐφαίνετο καὶ δυσεγχείρητον ἐδόκει τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἐπιβολῆς. [389] οὕτως δ' αὐτῶν διακειμένων παρεθάρρυνεν ὁ βασιλεύς, οὐ πρότερον καθαιρήσειν φάμενος τὸν ναὸν μὴ πάντων αὐτῷ τῶν εἰς συντέλειαν παρεσκευασμένων. καὶ ταῦτα προειπὼν οὐκ ἐψεύσατο: [390] χιλίας γὰρ εὐτρεπίσας ἁμάξας, αἳ βαστάσουσι τοὺς λίθους, ἐργάτας δὲ μυρίους τοὺς ἐμπειροτάτους ἐπιλεξάμενος καὶ ἱερεῦσιν τὸν ἀριθμὸν χιλίοις ἱερατικὰς ὠνησάμενος στολάς, καὶ τοὺς μὲν διδάξας οἰκοδόμους, ἑτέρους δὲ τέκτονας, ἥπτετο τῆς κατασκευῆς ἁπάντων αὐτῷ προθύμως προευτρεπισμένων.

2. And this was the speech which Herod made to them; but still this speech aftrighted many of the people, as being unexpected by them; and because it seemed incredible, it did not encourage them, but put a damp upon them, for they were afraid that he would pull down the whole edifice, and not be able to bring his intentions to perfection for its rebuilding; and this danger appeared to them to be very great, and the vastness of the undertaking to be such as could hardly be accomplished. But while they were in this disposition, the king encouraged them, and told them he would not pull down their temple till all things were gotten ready for building it up entirely again. And as he promised them this beforehand, so he did not break his word with them, but got ready a thousand waggons, that were to bring stones for the building, and chose out ten thousand of the most skillful workmen, and bought a thousand sacerdotal garments for as many of the priests, and had some of them taught the arts of stone-cutters, and others of carpenters, and then began to build; but this not till every thing was well prepared for the work.

(3) [391] Ἀνελὼν δὲ τοὺς ἀρχαίους θεμελίους καὶ καταβαλόμενος ἑτέρους ἐπ' αὐτῶν ναὸν ἤγειρεν μήκει μὲν ἑκατὸν ὄντα πηχῶν, τὸ δ' ὕψος εἴκοσι περιττοῖς, οὓς τῷ χρόνῳ συνιζησάντων τῶν θεμελίων ὑπέβη. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν κατὰ τοὺς Νέρωνος καιροὺς ἐπεγείρειν ἐγνώκειμεν. [392] ᾠκοδομήθη δὲ ὁ ναὸς ἐκ λίθων λευκῶν τε καὶ κραταιῶν τὸ μέγεθος ἑκάστων περὶ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι πήχεις ἐπὶ μῆκος, ὀκτὼ δὲ ὕψος, εὖρος δὲ περὶ δώδεκα. [393] καὶ παντὸς αὐτοῦ καθότι καὶ τῆς βασιλείου στοᾶς τὸ μὲν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν ταπεινότατον, ὑψηλότατον δὲ τὸ μεσαίτατον, ὡς περίοπτον ἐκ πολλῶν σταδίων εἶναι τοῖς τὴν χώραν νεμομένοις, μᾶλλον δ' εἴ τινες κατ' ἐναντίον οἰκοῦντες ἢ προσιόντες τύχοιεν. [394] θύρας δὲ

ἐπὶ τῆς εἰσόδου σὺν τοῖς ὑπερθυρίοις ἴσον ἐχούσας τῷ ναῷ ποικίλοις ἐμπετάσμασιν κεκόσμητο, τὰ μὲν ἄνθη ἁλουργέσιν, κίονας δὲ ἐνυφασμένους. [395] καθύπερθε δ' αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τοῖς τριχώμασιν ἄμπελος διετέτατο χρυσῆ τοὺς βότρυας ἀπαιωρουμένους ἔχουσα, θαῦμα καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους καὶ τῆς τέχνης τοῖς ἰδοῦσιν, οἷον ἐν πολυτελείᾳ τῆς ὕλης τὸ κατασκευασθὲν ἦν. [396] περιελάμβανεν δὲ καὶ στοαῖς μεγίσταις τὸν ναὸν ἅπαντα πρὸς τὴν ἀναλογίαν ἐπιτηδεύων καὶ τὰς δαπάνας τῶν πρὶν ὑπερβαλλόμενος, ὡς οὐκ ἄλλος τις δοκεῖ ἐπικεκοσμηκέναι τὸν ναόν. ἄμφω δ' ἦσαν μετὰ τοῦ τείχους, αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ τεῖχος ἔργον μέγιστον ἀνθρώποις ἀκουσθῆναι. [397] λόφος ἦν πετρώδης ἀνάντης ἠρέμα πρὸς τοῖς ἑῴοις μέρεσιν τῆς πόλεως ὑπτιούμενος ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν ἄκραν. [398] τοῦτον ὁ πρῶτος ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς Σολομῶν κατ' ἐπιφροσύνην μεγάλαις ἐργασίαις ἀπετείχιζεν τὰ περὶ τὴν ἄκραν ἄνωθεν, ἀπετείχιζεν δὲ κάτωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ῥίζης ἀρχόμενος, ἣν βαθεῖα περιθεῖ φάραγξ ἠλιβάτοις πέτραις μολίβδῳ δεδεμέναις πρὸς ἀλλήλας, ἀπολαμβάνων αἰεί τι τῆς ἔσω χώρας καὶ προβαίνων εἰς βάθος, [399] ὥστ' ἄπειρον εἶναι τό τε μέγεθος τῆς δομῆς καὶ τὸ ὕψος τετραγώνου γεγενημένης, ὡς τὰ μὲν μεγέθη τῶν λίθων ἀπὸ μετώπου κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ὁρᾶσθαι, τὰ δ' ἐντὸς σιδήρῳ διησφαλισμένα συνέχειν τὰς ἁρμογὰς ἀκινήτους τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ. [400] τῆς δ' ἐργασίας οὕτω συναπτούσης εἰς ἄκρον τὸν λόφον ἀπεργασάμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν κορυφὴν καὶ τὰ κοῖλα τῶν περὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐμπλήσας ἰσόπεδον τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τὴν ἄνω καὶ λεῖον ἐποίησεν. τοῦτ' ἦν τὸ πᾶν περίβολος τεττάρων σταδίων τὸν κύκλον ἔχων, ἑκάστης γωνίας στάδιον μῆκος ἀπολαμβανούσης. [401] ἐνδοτέρω δὲ τούτου καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἄκραν ἄλλο τεῖχος ἄνω λίθινον περιθεῖ, κατὰ μὲν ἑῴαν ῥάχιν ἰσομήκη τῷ τείχει στοὰν ἔχον διπλῆν, ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ νεὼ τετυχηκότος ἀφορῶσαν εἰς τὰς θύρας αὐτοῦ. [402] ταύτην πολλοὶ βασιλεῖς οἱ πρόσθεν κατεσκεύασαν. τοῦ δ' ἱεροῦ παντὸς ἦν ἐν κύκλῳ πεπηγμένα σκῦλα βαρβαρικά, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης ἀνέθηκεν προσθεὶς ὅσα καὶ τῶν Ἀράβων ἔλαβεν.

3. So Herod took away the old foundations, and laid others, and erected the temple upon them, being in length a hundred cubits, and in height twenty additional cubits, which [twenty], upon the sinking of their foundations fell down; and this part it was that we resolved to raise again in the days of Nero. Now the temple was built of stones that were white and strong, and each of their length was twenty-five cubits, their height was eight, and their breadth about twelve; and the whole structure, as also the structure of the royal cloister, was on each side much lower, but the middle was much higher, till they were visible to those that dwelt in the country for a great many furlongs, but chiefly to such as lived over against them, and those that approached to them. The temple had doors also at the entrance, and lintels over them, of the same height with the

temple itself. They were adorned with embroidered veils, with their flowers of purple, and pillars interwoven; and over these, but under the crown-work, was spread out a golden vine, with its branches hanging down from a great height, the largeness and fine workmanship of which was a surprising sight to the spectators, to see what vast materials there were, and with what great skill the workmanship was done. He also encompassed the entire temple with very large cloisters, contriving them to be in a due proportion thereto; and he laid out larger sums of money upon them than had been done before him, till it seemed that no one else had so greatly adorned the temple as he had done. There was a large wall to both the cloisters, which wall was itself the most prodigious work that was ever heard of by man. The hill was a rocky ascent, that declined by degrees towards the east parts of the city, till it came to an elevated level. This hill it was which Solomon, who was the first of our kings, by Divine revelation, encompassed with a wall; it was of excellent workmanship upwards, and round the top of it. He also built a wall below, beginning at the bottom, which was encompassed by a deep valley; and at the south side he laid rocks together, and bound them one to another with lead, and included some of the inner parts, till it proceeded to a great height, and till both the largeness of the square edifice and its altitude were immense, and till the vastness of the stones in the front were plainly visible on the outside, yet so that the inward parts were fastened together with iron, and preserved the joints immovable for all future times. When this work [for the foundation] was done in this manner, and joined together as part of the hill itself to the very top of it, he wrought it all into one outward surface, and filled up the hollow places which were about the wall, and made it a level on the external upper surface, and a smooth level also. This hill was walled all round, and in compass four furlongs, [the distance of] each angle containing in length a furlong: but within this wall, and on the very top of all, there ran another wall of stone also, having, on the east quarter, a double cloister, of the same length with the wall; in the midst of which was the temple itself. This cloister looked to the gates of the temple; and it had been adorned by many kings in former times; and round about the entire temple were fixed the spoils taken from barbarous nations; all these had been dedicated to the temple by Herod, with the addition of those he had taken from the Arabians.

(4) [403] Κατὰ δὲ τὴν βόρειον πλευρὰν ἀκρόπολις ἐγγώνιος εὐερκὴς ἐτετείχιστο διάφορος ἐχυρότητι. ταύτην οἱ πρὸ Ἡρώδου τοῦ Ἀσαμωναίων γένους βασιλεῖς καὶ ἀρχιερεῖς ᾠκοδόμησαν καὶ βᾶριν ἐκάλεσαν, ὡς ἐκεῖ τὴν ἱερατικὴν αὐτοῖς ἀποκεῖσθαι στολήν, ἣν ὅταν δέῃ θύειν τότε μόνον ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἀμφιέννυται. [404] ταύτην Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐφύλαξεν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν

ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἦν μέχρι τῶν Τιβερίου Καίσαρος χρόνων. [405] ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ Οὐιτέλλιος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμὼν ἐπιδημήσας τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις, δεξαμένου τοῦ πλήθους αὐτὸν λαμπρότατα πάνυ θέλων αὐτοὺς τῆς εὐποιίας ἀμείψασθαι, ἐπεὶ παρεκάλεσαν τὴν ἱερὰν στολὴν ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτῶν ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν, ἔγραψεν περὶ τούτων Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι κἀκεῖνος ἐπέτρεψεν, καὶ παρέμεινεν ἡ ἐξουσία τῆς στολῆς τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις μέχρις ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας. [406] μετὰ τοῦτον δὲ Κάσσιος Λογγῖνος ὁ τὴν Συρίαν τότε διοικῶν καὶ Κούσπιος Φᾶδος ὁ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπίτροπος κελεύουσιν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἰς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν καταθέσθαι τὴν στολήν: Ῥωμαίους γὰρ αὐτῆς εἶναι δεῖν κυρίους, καθὼς καὶ πρότερον ἦσαν. [407] πέμπουσιν οὖν Ἰουδαῖοι πρέσβεις πρὸς Κλαύδιον Καίσαρα περὶ τούτων παρακαλέσοντας. ὧν ἀναβάντων ὁ νεώτερος βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας ἐν Ῥώμῃ τυγχάνων αἰτησάμενος παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔλαβεν ἐντειλαμένου Οὐιτελλίῳ τῷ τῆς Συρίας ἀντιστρατήγῳ. [408] πρότερον δ᾽ ἦν ὑπὸ σφραγῖδα τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τῶν γαζοφυλάκων, καὶ πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας τῆς ἑορτῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίων φρούραρχον ἀναβαίνοντες οἱ γαζοφύλακες καὶ καταμανθάνοντες τὴν ἑαυτῶν σφραγῖδα τὴν στολὴν ἐλάμβανον. εἶτ᾽ αὖθις τῆς ἑορτῆς παρελθούσης εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν κομίσαντες τόπον καὶ τῷ φρουράρχῳ δείξαντες σύμφωνον τὴν σφραγῖδα κατετίθεντο. [409] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους τῶν ἐπισυμβεβηκότων παρεδηλώθη. τότε δ᾽ οὖν ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης καὶ ταύτην τὴν βᾶριν ὀχυρωτέραν κατασκευάσας ἐπ᾽ ἀσφαλείᾳ καὶ φυλακῇ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, χαριζόμενος Ἀντωνίῳ φίλῳ μὲν αὐτοῦ Ῥωμαίων δὲ ἄρχοντι προσηγόρευσεν Ἀντωνίαν.

4. Now on the north side [of the temple] was built a citadel, whose walls were square, and strong, and of extraordinary firmness. This citadel was built by the kings of the Asamonean race, who were also high priests before Herod, and they called it the Tower, in which were reposited the vestments of the high priest, which the high priest only put on at the time when he was to offer sacrifice. These vestments king Herod kept in that place; and after his death they were under the power of the Romans, until the time of Tiberius Caesar; under whose reign Vitellius, the president of Syria, when he once came to Jerusalem, and had been most magnificently received by the multitude, he had a mind to make them some requital for the kindness they had shewn him; so, upon their petition to have those holy vestments in their own power, he wrote about them to Tiberius Caesar, who granted his request: and this their power over the sacerdotal vestments continued with the Jews till the death of king Agrippa; but after that, Cassius Longinus, who was president of Syria, and Cuspius Fadus, who was procurator of Judea, enjoined the Jews to reposit those vestments in the tower of Antonia, for that they ought to have them in their power, as they formerly had.

However, the Jews sent ambassadors to Claudius Caesar, to intercede with him for them; upon whose coming, king Agrippa, junior, being then at Rome, asked for and obtained the power over them from the emperor, who gave command to Vitellius, who was then commander in Syria, to give it them accordingly. Before that time they were kept under the seal of the high priest, and of the treasurers of the temple; which treasurers, the day before a festival, went up to the Roman captain of the temple guards, and viewed their own seal, and received the vestments; and again, when the festival was over, they brought it to the same place, and showed the captain of the temple guards their seal, which corresponded with his seal, and reposited them there. And that these things were so, the afflictions that happened to us afterwards [about them] are sufficient evidence. But for the tower itself, when Herod the king of the Jews had fortified it more firmly than before, in order to secure and guard the temple, he gratified Antonius, who was his friend, and the Roman ruler, and then gave it the name of the Tower of Antonia.

(5) [410] Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἑσπερίοις μέρεσιν τοῦ περιβόλου πύλαι τέτταρες ἐφέστασαν, ἡ μὲν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια τείνουσα τῆς ἐν μέσῳ φάραγγος εἰς δίοδον ἀπειλημμένης, αἱ δύο δὲ εἰς τὸ προάστειον, ἡ λοιπὴ δ᾽ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν βαθμίσιν πολλαῖς κάτω τε εἰς τὴν φάραγγα διειλημμένη καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἄνω πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν πρόσβασιν: ἄντικρυς γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἔκειτο τοῦ ἱεροῦ θεατροειδὴς οὖσα περιεχομένη βαθείᾳ φάραγγι κατὰ πᾶν τὸ νότιον κλίμα. [411] τὸ δὲ τέταρτον αὐτοῦ μέτωπον τὸ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν εἶχε μὲν καὶ αὐτὸ πύλας κατὰ μέσον, ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ δὲ τὴν βασίλειον στοὰν τριπλῆν κατὰ μῆκος διιοῦσαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑῴας φάραγγος ἐπὶ τὴν ἑσπέριον: οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐκτεῖναι προσωτέρω δυνατόν. [412] ἔργον δ᾽ ἦν ἀξιαφηγητότατον τῶν ὑφ᾽ ἡλίῳ: μεγάλου γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ τῆς φάραγγος ἀναλήμματος καὶ οὐδ᾽ ἀνεκτοῦ κατιδεῖν, εἴ τις ἄνωθεν εἰς τὸν βυθὸν εἰσκύπτοι, παμμέγεθες ὕψος ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ τῆς στοᾶς ἀνέστηκεν, ὡς εἴ τις ἀπ᾽ ἄκρου τοῦ ταύτης τέγους ἄμφω συντιθεὶς τὰ βάθη διοπτεύοι, σκοτοδινιᾶν οὐκ ἐξικνουμένης τῆς ὄψεως εἰς ἀμέτρητον τὸν βυθόν. [413] κίονες δ᾽ ἐφέστασαν κατ᾽ ἀντίστοιχον ἀλλήλοις ἐπὶ μῆκος τέτραχα, συνεδέδετο γὰρ ὁ τέταρτος στοῖχος λιθοδομήτῳ τείχει, καὶ πάχος ἦν ἑκάστου κίονος εἰς τρεῖς ἐπισυναπτόντων ἀλλήλοις τὰς ὀργυιὰς περιλαβεῖν, μῆκος δὲ ποδῶν ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι διπλῆς σπείρας ὑπειλημένης. [414] πλῆθος δὲ συμπάντων δύο καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν κιονοκράνων αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸν Κορίνθιον τρόπον ἐπεξειργασμένων γλυφαῖς ἔκπληξιν ἐμποιούσαις διὰ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς μεγαλουργίαν. [415] τεττάρων δὲ στίχων ὄντων τρεῖς ἀπολαμβάνουσι τὰς διὰ μέσου χώρας ταῖς στοαῖς. τῶν δὲ αἱ μὲν δύο παράλληλοι τὸν αὐτὸν γεγόνασι τρόπον, εὖρος ἑκατέρας πόδες τριάκοντα, μῆκος δὲ στάδιον, ὕψος δὲ πόδες ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα: τῆς δὲ μέσης εὖρος μὲν ἡμιόλιον, ὕψος δὲ διπλάσιον: ἀνεῖχεν γὰρ

πλεῖστον παρὰ τὰς ἑκατέρωθεν. [416] αἱ δ’ ὀροφαὶ ξύλοις ἐξήσκηντο γλυφαῖς πολυτρόποις σχημάτων ἰδέαις, καὶ τὸ τῆς μέσης βάθος ἐπὶ μεῖζον ἠγείρετο περιδεδομημένου τοῖς ἐπιστυλίοις προμετωπιδίου τοίχου κίονας ἔχοντος ἐνδεδομημένους καὶ ξεστοῦ παντὸς ὄντος, ὡς ἄπιστα τοῖς οὐκ εἰδόσιν καὶ σὺν ἐκπλήξει θεατὰ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν εἶναι. [417] τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ πρῶτος περίβολος ἦν. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ ἀπέχων οὐ πολὺ δεύτερος, προσβατὸς βαθμίσιν ὀλίγαις, ὃν περιεῖχεν ἑρκίον λιθίνου δρυφάκτου γραφῇ κωλῦον εἰσιέναι τὸν ἀλλοεθνῆ θανατικῆς ἀπειλουμένης τῆς ζημίας. [418] εἶχεν δ’ ὁ μὲν ἐντὸς περίβολος κατὰ μὲν τὸ νότιον καὶ βόρειον κλίμα τριστοίχους πυλῶνας ἀλλήλων διεστῶτας, κατὰ δὲ ἡλίου βολὰς ἕνα τὸν μέγαν, δι’ οὗ παρῄειμεν ἀγνοὶ μετὰ γυναικῶν. [419] ἐσωτέρω δὲ κἀκείνου γυναιξὶν ἄβατον ἦν τὸ ἱερόν. ἐκείνου δ’ ἐνδοτέρω τρίτον, ὅπου τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν εἰσελθεῖν ἐξὸν ἦν μόνοις. [ὁ ναὸς ἐν τούτῳ] καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βωμὸς ἦν, ἐφ’ οὗ τὰς θυσίας ὡλοκαυτοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ. [420] τούτων εἰς οὐδένα τῶν τριῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης παρῆλθεν: ἐκεκώλυτο γὰρ οὐκ ὢν ἱερεύς. ἀλλὰ κἀν τοῖς ἔργοις τὰ περὶ τὰς στοὰς καὶ τοὺς ἔξω περιβόλους ἐπραγματεύετο καὶ ταῦτ’ ᾠκοδόμησεν ἔτεσιν ὀκτώ.

5. Now in the western quarters of the enclosure of the temple there were four gates; the first led to the king’s palace, and went to a passage over the intermediate valley; two more led to the suburbs of the city; and the last led to the other city, where the road descended down into the valley by a great number of steps, and thence up again by the ascent for the city lay over against the temple in the manner of a theater, and was encompassed with a deep valley along the entire south quarter; but the fourth front of the temple, which was southward, had indeed itself gates in its middle, as also it had the royal cloisters, with three walks, which reached in length from the east valley unto that on the west, for it was impossible it should reach any farther: and this cloister deserves to be mentioned better than any other under the sun; for while the valley was very deep, and its bottom could not be seen, if you looked from above into the depth, this further vastly high elevation of the cloister stood upon that height, insomuch that if any one looked down from the top of the battlements, or down both those altitudes, he would be giddy, while his sight could not reach to such an immense depth. This cloister had pillars that stood in four rows one over against the other all along, for the fourth row was interwoven into the wall, which [also was built of stone]; and the thickness of each pillar was such, that three men might, with their arms extended, fathom it round, and join their hands again, while its length was twenty-seven feet, with a double spiral at its basis; and the number of all the pillars [in that court] was a hundred and sixty-two. Their chapiters were made with sculptures after the Corinthian order, and caused

an amazement [to the spectators], by reason of the grandeur of the whole. These four rows of pillars included three intervals for walking in the middle of this cloister; two of which walks were made parallel to each other, and were contrived after the same manner; the breadth of each of them was thirty feet, the length was a furlong, and the height fifty feet; but the breadth of the middle part of the cloister was one and a half of the other, and the height was double, for it was much higher than those on each side; but the roofs were adorned with deep sculptures in wood, representing many sorts of figures. The middle was much higher than the rest, and the wall of the front was adorned with beams, resting upon pillars, that were interwoven into it, and that front was all of polished stone, insomuch that its fineness, to such as had not seen it, was incredible, and to such as had seen it, was greatly amazing. Thus was the first enclosure. In the midst of which, and not far from it, was the second, to be gone up to by a few steps: this was encompassed by a stone wall for a partition, with an inscription, which forbade any foreigner to go in under pain of death. Now this inner enclosure had on its southern and northern quarters three gates [equally] distant one from another; but on the east quarter, towards the sun-rising, there was one large gate, through which such as were pure came in, together with their wives; but the temple further inward in that gate was not allowed to the women; but still more inward was there a third [court of the] temple, whereinto it was not lawful for any but the priests alone to enter. The temple itself was within this; and before that temple was the altar, upon which we offer our sacrifices and burnt-offerings to God. Into none of these three did king Herod enter, for he was forbidden, because he was not a priest. However, he took care of the cloisters and the outer enclosures, and these he built in eight years.

(6) [421] Τοῦ δὲ ναοῦ διὰ τῶν ἱερέων οἰκοδομηθέντος ἐνιαυτῷ καὶ μησὶν πέντε ἅπας ὁ λαὸς ἐπληρώθη χαρᾶς καὶ τοῦ τάχους πρῶτον μὲν τῷ θεῷ τὰς εὐχαριστηρίους ἐποιοῦντο, μετὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς προθυμίας τοῦ βασιλέως ἑορτάζοντες καὶ κατευφημοῦντες τὴν ἀνάκτισιν. [422] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τριακοσίους ἔθυσε τῷ θεῷ βοῦς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ κατὰ δύναμιν, ὧν οὐχ οἷόν τε τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἰπεῖν: ἐκφεύγει γὰρ τὸ δύνασθαι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εἰπεῖν: [423] συνεπεπτώκει γὰρ τῇ προθεσμίᾳ τοῦ περὶ τὸν ναὸν ἔργου καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἣν ἐξ ἔθους ἑώρταζον, ἐς ταὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, καὶ περισημοτάτην ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τὴν ἑορτὴν γενέσθαι.

6. But the temple itself was built by the priests in a year and six months; upon which all the people were full of joy; and presently they returned thanks, in the first place, to God; and in the next place, for the alacrity the king had showed. They feasted and celebrated this rebuilding of the temple: and for the king, he

sacrificed three hundred oxen to God, as did the rest every one according to his ability; the number of which sacrifices is not possible to set down, for it cannot be that we should truly relate it; for at the same time with this celebration for the work about the temple fell also the day of the king's inauguration, which he kept of an old custom as a festival, and it now coincided with the other, which coincidence of them both made the festival most illustrious.

(7) [424] Κατεσκευάσθη δὲ καὶ κρυπτὴ διώρυξ τῷ βασιλεῖ, φέρουσα μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντωνίας μέχρι τοῦ ἔσωθεν ἱεροῦ πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολικὴν θύραν, ἐφ' ἧς αὐτῷ καὶ πύργον κατεσκεύασεν, ἵν' ἔχῃ διὰ τῶν ὑπογέων εἰς αὐτὸν ἀνιέναι, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου νεωτερισμὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι φυλαττόμενος. [425] λέγεται δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν οἰκοδομουμένου τοῦ ναοῦ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας οὐχ ὕειν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς νυξὶ γίνεσθαι τοὺς ὄμβρους, ὡς μὴ κωλυσιεργεῖν. καὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον οἱ πατέρες ἡμῖν παρέδωκαν, οὐδ' ἐστὶν ἄπιστον, εἰ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἀπίδοι τις ἐμφανείας τοῦ θεοῦ. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐξῳκοδομήθη τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον.

7. There was also an occult passage built for the king; it led from Antonia to the inner temple, at its eastern gate; over which he also erected for himself a tower, that he might have the opportunity of a subterraneous ascent to the temple, in order to guard against any sedition which might be made by the people against their kings. It is also reported, that during the time that the temple was building, it did not rain in the daytime, but that the showers fell in the nights, so that the work was not hindered. And this our fathers have delivered to us; nor is it incredible, if any one have regard to the manifestations of God. And thus was performed the work of the rebuilding of the temple.

Liber XVI

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ ἑξκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Ὃν τρόπον Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ὑπέστρεψαν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα.

β. ὡς Σαλώμη καὶ Φερώρας οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφοὶ ταῖς κατ᾽ αὐτῶν διαβολαῖς ἐχρῶντο.

γ. ὡς γυναῖκας δοὺς τοῖς περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον Ἡρώδης πρὸς Ἀγρίππαν ἐξέπλευσεν εἰς Μιτυλήνην κἀκεῖθεν αὐτὸν ἔπεισεν εἰς Ἰουδαίαν παραγενέσθαι.

δ. ἄφοδος Ἀγρίππα εἰς Ἰωνίαν καὶ ὡς Ἡρώδης τὸ δεύτερον ἐξέπλευσεν πρὸς Ἀγρίππαν εἰς τὸν Βόσπορον.

ε. ἔντευξις τῶν κατ᾽ Ἰωνίαν Ἰουδαίων Ἀγρίππᾳ παρόντος Ἡρώδου περὶ ὧν ᾐτιῶντο τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

ς. ὡς Ἀγρίππας ἐβεβαίωσε μὲν αὐτοῖς τοὺς νόμους, Ἡρώδης δὲ εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ὑπέστρεψεν.

ζ. ὡς διελέξατο τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις Ἡρώδης καὶ τὸ τέταρτον αὐτοῖς ἀφῆκεν τῶν φόρων τοῦ παρεληλυθότος ἔτους.

η. ὡς ἐστασιάσθη τὰ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν Ἡρώδῃ προτιμῶντι μὲν Ἀντίπατρον τὸν πρεσβύτατον υἱὸν χαλεπῶς δὲ τῶν περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον φερόντων τὴν ὕβριν.

θ. ὡς Ἀντιπάτρου διατρίβοντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοὺς περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον Ἡρώδης ἄγων ἐπὶ Καίσαρος αὐτῶν κατηγόρησεν.

ι. Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀπολογία ἐπὶ Καίσαρος καὶ διαλλαγαὶ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα.

ια. ὡς ἀγῶνας ἤγαγε πεντετηρικοὺς Ἡρώδης ἐπὶ τῇ Καισαρείας κτίσει.

ιβ. πρεσβεία τῶν ἀπὸ Κυρήνης καὶ Ἀσίας Ἰουδαίων ὡς Καίσαρα περὶ ὧν ᾐτιῶντο τοὺς Ἕλληνας πραγμάτων.

ιγ. ἀντίγραφα ἐπιστολῶν, ἃς Καῖσαρ καὶ Ἀγρίππας ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ταῖς πόλεσιν.

ιδ. ὡς ἀπορῶν χρημάτων Ἡρώδης κατῆλθεν εἰς τὸν Δαυίδου τάφον καὶ δειμάτων αὐτὸν ταραξάντων μνημεῖον ἔστησεν ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου.

ιε. ὡς Ἀρχέλαος ὁ Καππαδόκων βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρον τῷ πατρὶ διήλλαξεν δεθέντα ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πρότερον καὶ ὡς ὁ μὲν εἰς Καππαδοκίαν, Ἡρώδης δὲ εἰς

Ῥώμην ἀνῆλθεν.

ις. ἀπόστασις τῶν τὸν Τράχωνα οἰκούντων καὶ παράληψις διὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῆς χώρας.

ιζ. ὡς Ἡρώδης τοὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν διαφυγόντας τῶν ἀποστατῶν ἐξῃτεῖτο καὶ μὴ τυγχάνων ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐπιτρέποντος Σατορνίνου.

ιη. ὡς κατηγόρησε Σύλλαιος Ἄραψ ἐπὶ Καίσαρος περὶ τῆς ἐμβολῆς Ἡρώδου καὶ ὡς διὰ Νικολάου ἀπελύσατο τὰς αἰτίας ὀργιζομένου Καίσαρος.

ιθ. διαβολαὶ Εὐρυκλέους κατὰ τῶν παίδων πρὸς Ἡρώδην, καὶ ὡς ἔδησεν αὐτοὺς ὁ πατὴρ καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι περὶ αὐτῶν ἔγραψεν.

κ. ὡς Καίσαρος ἐξουσίαν δόντος ἐν Βηρυτῷ παρὰ τῷ συνεδρίῳ κατηγόρησε τῶν παίδων καὶ ὡς θανόντες ἐτάφησαν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείῳ.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν ιβ.

BOOK XVI. Containing The Interval Of Twelve Years. — From The Finishing Of The Temple By Herod To The Death Of Alexander And Aristobulus.

I

CHAPTER 1. A Law Of Herod's About, Thieves. Salome And Pheroras Calumniate Alexander And Aristobulus, Upon Their Return From Rome For Whom Yet Herod Provides Wives.

(1) [1] Ἐν δὲ τῇ διοικήσει τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων ἐσπουδακὼς ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς κατὰ μέρος ἀδικίας ἀναστεῖλαι τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἁμαρτανομένων τίθησι νόμον οὐδὲν ἐοικότα τοῖς πρώτοις, ὃν αὐτὸς ἐβεβαίου, τοὺς τοιχωρύχους ἀποδιδόμενος ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῇ τῆς βασιλείας, ὅπερ ἦν οὐκ εἰς τὴν τιμωρίαν μόνον τῶν πασχόντων φορτικόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατάλυσιν περιεῖχεν τῶν πατρίων ἐθῶν. [2] τὸ γὰρ ἀλλοφύλοις καὶ μὴ τὴν αὐτὴν δίαιταν ἔχουσιν τοῦ ζῆν δουλεύειν καὶ βιάζεσθαι πάνθ' ὅσα προσέταττον ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐκεῖνοι ποιεῖν ἁμαρτία πρὸς τὴν θρησκείαν ἦν, οὐ κόλασις τῶν ἁλισκομένων, πεφυλαγμένης ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τῆς τοιαύτης τιμωρίας: [3] ἐκέλευον γὰρ οἱ νόμοι τετραπλᾶ καταβάλλειν τὸν κλέπτην, οὐκ ἔχοντα δὲ πιπράσκεσθαι μέν, ἀλλ' οὔτι γε τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις οὐδ' ὥστε διηνεκῆ τὴν δουλείαν ὑπομένειν: ἔδει γὰρ ἀφεῖσθαι μετὰ ἑξαετίαν. [4] τὸ δ' ὥσπερ ὡρίσθη τότε χαλεπὴν καὶ παράνομον γενέσθαι τὴν κόλασιν ὑπερηφανίας ἐδόκει μέρος, οὐ βασιλικῶς ἀλλὰ τυραννικῶς αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων ὀλιγώρως θεῖναι τὴν τιμωρίαν νενοηκότος. [5] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καθ' ὁμοιότητα τοῦ λοιποῦ τρόπου γιγνόμενα μέρος ἦν τῶν διαβολῶν καὶ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῷ δυσνοίας.

1. As king Herod was very zealous in the administration of his entire government, and desirous to put a stop to particular acts of injustice which were done by criminals about the city and country, he made a law, no way like our original laws, and which he enacted of himself, to expose house-breakers to be ejected out of his kingdom; which punishment was not only grievous to be borne by the offenders, but contained in it a dissolution of the customs of our forefathers; for this slavery to foreigners, and such as did not live after the manner of Jews, and this necessity that they were under to do whatsoever such men should command, was an offense against our religious settlement, rather than a punishment to such as were found to have offended, such a punishment being avoided in our original laws; for those laws ordain, that the thief shall restore fourfold; and that if he have not so much, he shall be sold indeed, but not to foreigners, nor so that he be under perpetual slavery, for he must have been released after six years. But this law, thus enacted, in order to introduce a severe and illegal punishment, seemed to be a piece of insolence of Herod, when he did not act as a king, but as a tyrant,

and thus contemptuously, and without any regard to his subjects, did he venture to introduce such a punishment. Now this penalty, thus brought into practice, was like Herod's other actions, and became a part of his accusation, and an occasion of the hatred he lay under.

(2) [6] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ καὶ τὸν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πλοῦν ἐποιήσατο Καίσαρί τε συντυχεῖν ὁρμηθεὶς καὶ θεάσασθαι τοὺς παῖδας ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διατρίβοντας. Καῖσαρ δὲ τά τε ἄλλα φιλοφρόνως αὐτὸν ἐξεδέξατο καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ὡς ἤδη τελειωθέντας ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν ἀπέδωκεν ἄγειν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν. [7] ὡς δ' ἦκον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας, σπουδὴ περὶ τὰ μειράκια τῶν ὄχλων ἦν, καὶ περίοπτοι πᾶσιν ἐγεγόνεισαν τῷ τε μεγέθει τῆς περὶ αὐτοὺς τύχης κοσμούμενοι καὶ βασιλικοῦ κατὰ τὰς μορφὰς ἀξιώματος οὐκ ἀποδέοντες. [8] ἐπίφθονοί τε εὐθέως ἐδόκουν Σαλώμῃ τε τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφῇ καὶ τοῖς Μαριάμμην ταῖς διαβολαῖς κατηγωνισμένοις: οὗτοι γὰρ ᾤοντο δυναστευόντων αὐτῶν δίκην δώσειν τῶν εἰς τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἐκείνων παρανομηθέντων. [9] τὴν αὐτὴν οὖν ταύτην ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ δέους εἰς τὴν κατ' ἐκείνων διαβολὴν μετέφερον λογοποιοῦντες οὐ καθ' ἡδονὰς συνεῖναι τῷ πατρὶ διὰ τὸν τῆς μητρὸς θάνατον, ὡς μηδὲ ὅσιον εἶναι δοκεῖν ἐπὶ ταὐτὸν συνιέναι τῷ τῆς τεκούσης φονεῖ: [10] ταῦτα γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπὶ τὸ πιθανὸν τῆς αἰτίας φέροντες κακοῦν ἐδύναντο καὶ τῆς εὐνοίας ἧς εἶχεν εἰς τοὺς παῖδας ἀφαιρεῖν: οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄντικρυς ἔλεγον, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἐσκόρπιζον τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους: ἐξ οὗ πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδην ἀναφερομένων ὑποκατεσκευάζετο μῖσος οὐδ' αὐτῇ τῇ φύσει χρόνῳ νικώμενον. [11] ἐν μέντοι τῷ τότε πάσης ὑποψίας καὶ διαβολῆς μείζονι χρώμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῇ τοῦ γεγεννηκέναι φιλοστοργίᾳ καὶ τιμῆς ἧς ἔδει μετεδίδου καὶ γυναῖκας ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γεγονόσιν ἐζεύγνυεν, Ἀριστοβούλῳ μὲν τὴν Σαλώμης θυγατέρα Βερενίκην, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ τὴν Ἀρχελάου τοῦ Καππαδόκων βασιλέως Γλαφύραν.

2. Now at this time it was that he sailed to Italy, as very desirous to meet with Caesar, and to see his sons who lived at Rome; and Caesar was not only very obliging to him in other respects, but delivered him his sons again, that he might take them home with him, as having already completed themselves in the sciences; but as soon as the young men were come from Italy, the multitude were very desirous to see them, and they became conspicuous among them all, as adorned with great blessings of fortune, and having the countenances of persons of royal dignity. So they soon appeared to be the objects of envy to Salome, the king's sister, and to such as had raised calumnies against Mariamne; for they were suspicious, that when these came to the government, they should be punished for the wickedness they had been guilty of against their mother; so they made this very fear of theirs a motive to raise calumnies against them also.

They gave it out that they were not pleased with their father's company, because he had put their mother to death, as if it were not agreeable to piety to appear to converse with their mother's murderer. Now, by carrying these stories; that had indeed a true foundation [in the fact], but were only built on probabilities as to the present accusation, they were able to do them mischief, and to make Herod take away that kindness from his sons which he had before borne to them; for they did not say these things to him openly, but scattered abroad such words, among the rest of the multitude; from which words, when carried to Herod, he was induced [at last] to hate them, and which natural affection itself, even in length of time, was not able to overcome; yet was the king at that time in a condition to prefer the natural affection of a father before all the suspicions and calumnies his sons lay under. So he respected them as he ought to do, and married them to wives, now they were of an age suitable thereto. To Aristobulus he gave for a wife Bernice, Salome's daughter; and to Alexander, Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia.

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CHAPTER 2. How Herod Twice Sailed To Agrippa; And How Upon The Complaint In Ionia Against The Greeks Agrippa Confirmed The Laws To Them.

(1) [12] Ταῦτα διοικήσας, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Μᾶρκον Ἀγρίππαν ἐπύθετο καταπεπλευκέναι πάλιν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐπειχθεὶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἠξίωσεν εἴς τε τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ παρελθεῖν καὶ τυχεῖν ὧν ἔδει παρὰ ἀνδρὸς ξένου καὶ φίλου. [13] κἀκεῖνος μὲν εἴξας λιπαρῶς ἐγκειμένου ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, Ἡρώδης δὲ οὐδὲν ἀρεσκείας ἀπέλιπεν ἔν τε ταῖς νεοκτίστοις πόλεσιν ὑποδεχόμενος αὐτὸν καὶ μετὰ τοῦ τὰς κατασκευὰς ἐπιδεικνύναι πᾶσαν ἀπόλαυσιν διαίτης καὶ πολυτελείας ἐξαλλάττων αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς φίλοις ἔν τε τῇ Σεβαστῇ καὶ Καισαρείᾳ περὶ τὸν λιμένα τὸν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κατεσκευασμένον κἀν τοῖς ἐρύμασιν, ἃ πολλαῖς δαπάναις ἐξῳκοδόμησεν, τό τε Ἀλεξάνδρειον καὶ Ἡρώδειον καὶ τὴν Ὑρκανίαν. [14] ἦγεν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ὑπαντῶντός τε τοῦ δήμου παντὸς ἐν ἑορτώδει στολῇ καὶ δεχομένου τὸν ἄνδρα σὺν εὐφημίαις. Ἀγρίππας δὲ τῷ θεῷ μὲν ἑκατόμβην κατέθυσεν, ἑστιᾷ δὲ τὸν δῆμον οὐδενὸς τῶν μεγίστων πλήθει λειπόμενον. [15] αὐτὸς δὲ ὅσον ἐπὶ τῷ καθ᾽ ἡδονὴν κἂν ἔτι πλείους ἐπιμείνας ἡμέρας διὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἠπείγετο: τὸν γὰρ πλοῦν ἐπιβαίνοντος τοῦ χειμῶνος οὐκ ἐνόμιζεν ἀσφαλῆ κομιζομένῳ πάλιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης εἰς τὴν Ἰωνίαν.

1. When Herod had despatched these affairs, and he understood that Marcus Agrippa had sailed again out of Italy into Asia, he made haste to him, and besought him to come to him into his kingdom, and to partake of what he might justly expect from one that had been his guest, and was his friend. This request he greatly pressed, and to it Agrippa agreed, and came into Judea; whereupon Herod omitted nothing that might please him. He entertained him in his new-built cities, and showed him the edifices he had built, and provided all sorts of the best and most costly dainties for him and his friends, and that at Sebaste and Cesarea, about that port that he had built, and at the fortresses which he had erected at great expenses, Alexandrium, and Herodium, and Hyrcania. He also conducted him to the city Jerusalem, where all the people met him in their festival garments, and received him with acclamations. Agrippa also offered a hecatomb of sacrifices to God; and feasted the people, without omitting any of the greatest dainties that could be gotten. He also took so much pleasure there, that he abode many days with them, and would willingly have staid longer, but that the season of the year made him make haste away; for as winter was coming

on, he thought it not safe to go to sea later, and yet he was of necessity to return again to Ionia.

(2) [16] Ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ἀπέπλει πολλαῖς αὐτὸν δωρεαῖς τετιμηκότος Ἡρώδου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐπισημοτάτους. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς χειμάσας ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις ἔαρος ἠπείγετο συντυχεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν εἰς Βόσπορον εἰδὼς στρατείαν προηγούμενον. [17] καὶ πλεύσας διὰ Ῥόδου καὶ Κῶ προσέσχεν, περὶ Λέσβον οἰόμενος ἐπικαταλήψεσθαι τὸν Ἀγρίππαν. ἐκεῖ δ' αὐτὸν ἀπολαμβάνει πνεῦμα βόρειον εἶργον τὴν ἀναγωγὴν τῶν νεῶν. [18] ὁ δ' ἐπιδιέτριβεν ἡμέρας πλείους ἐν τῇ Χίῳ καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν προσιόντων αὐτῷ δεξιούμενος ἀνελάμβανεν βασιλικαῖς δωρεαῖς, αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἰδὼν πεπτωκυῖαν στοάν, ἣν ἐν τῷ Μιθριδατικῷ πολέμῳ καθαιρεθεῖσαν οὐχ ὥσπερ τὰ ἄλλα διὰ μέγεθος καὶ κάλλος ἀναστῆναι ῥᾴδιον ἦν, [19] χρήματα δοὺς ὅσα μὴ μόνον ἐπαρκεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περιττεύειν ἐδύνατο πρὸς τὴν συντέλειαν τοῦ κατασκευάσματος, ἐνετέλλετο μὴ περιορᾶν, ἀλλὰ θᾶττον ἐγείρειν ἀποκαθιστάντας τῇ πόλει τὸν ἴδιον κόσμον. [20] αὐτὸς δὲ λήξαντος τοῦ πνεύματος εἰς Μιτυλήνην κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Βυζάντιον παρακομισθείς, ὡς ἤκουσεν ἐντὸς Κυανέων ἤδη πεπλευκέναι τὸν Ἀγρίππαν, μετέσπευδεν ὡς ἐνῆν. [21] καὶ περὶ Σινώπην τὴν ἐν Πόντῳ καταλαβὼν ἀπροσδόκητος μὲν ὤφθη ταῖς ναυσὶ προσπλέων, ἄσμενος δὲ ἐφάνη πολλαί τε φιλοφρονήσεις ἦσαν, ἅτε καὶ μεγίστην πίστιν εἰληφέναι δοκοῦντος εὐνοίας καὶ φιλοστοργίας τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν Ἀγρίππου, τοσοῦτον μὲν πλοῦν ἀνύσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως, οὐκ ἀπολειφθέντος δὲ τῆς ἐκείνου χρείας, ἣν μετὰ τοῦ καταλιπεῖν ἀρχὴν καὶ διοίκησιν οἰκείων πραγμάτων προυργιαιτέραν ἔθετο. [22] πᾶν γοῦν ἦν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν Ἡρώδης, ἔν τε τοῖς πραγματικοῖς συναγωνιστὴς κἀν τοῖς κατὰ μέρος σύμβουλος, ἡδὺς δὲ κἀν ταῖς ἀνέσεσι καὶ μόνος ἁπάντων κοινωνὸς ὀχληρῶν μὲν διὰ τὴν εὔνοιαν, ἡδέων δὲ διὰ τὴν τιμήν. [23] ὡς δ' αὐτοῖς κατείργαστο καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Πόντον, ὧν ἕνεκεν Ἀγρίππας ἐστάλη, τὴν ἀνακομιδὴν οὐκέτ' ἐδόκει ποιεῖσθαι πλέουσιν, ἀλλὰ διαμειψάμενοι τήν τε Παφλαγονίαν καὶ Καππαδοκίαν κἀκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τῆς μεγάλης Φρυγίας ὁδεύσαντες εἰς Ἔφεσον ἀφίκοντο, πάλιν δὲ ἐξ Ἐφέσου διέπλευσαν εἰς Σάμον. [24] πολλαὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ κατὰ πόλιν ἑκάστην εὐεργεσίαι τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ τὰς χρείας τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ἐγένοντο: καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὅσα διὰ χρημάτων ἦν ηπίξεως οὐ παρέλειπεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὰς δαπάνας ποιούμενος καὶ τῶν παρὰ Ἀγρίππα τισὶν ἐπιζητουμένων μεσίτης ἦν καὶ διεπράττετο μηδενὸς ἀτυχῆσαι τοὺς δεομένους. [25] ὄντος δὲ κἀκείνου χρηστοῦ καὶ μεγαλοψύχου πρὸς τὸ παρέχειν ὅσα τοῖς ἠξιωκόσιν ὠφέλιμα ὄντα μηδένα τῶν ἄλλων ἐλύπει, πλεῖστον ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐποίει ῥοπὴ προτρέπουσα πρὸς τὰς εὐεργεσίας οὐ βραδύνοντα τὸν Ἀγρίππαν. [26] Ἰλιεῦσι μέν γε αὐτὸν διήλλαξεν, διέλυσεν δὲ Χίοις τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Καίσαρος

ἐπιτρόπους χρήματα καὶ τῶν εἰσφορῶν ἀπήλλαξεν, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις καθὸ δεηθεῖεν ἕκαστοι παρίστατο.

2. So Agrippa went away, when Herod had bestowed on him, and on the principal of those that were with him, many presents; but king Herod, when he had passed the winter in his own dominions, made haste to get to him again in the spring, when he knew he designed to go to a campaign at the Bosptiorus. So when he had sailed by Rhodes and by Cos, he touched at Lesbos, as thinking he should have overtaken Agrippa there; but he was taken short here by a north wind, which hindered his ship from going to the shore; so he continued many days at Chius, and there he kindly treated a great many that came to him, and obliged them by giving them royal gifts. And when he saw that the portico of the city was fallen down, which as it was overthrown in the Mithridatic war, and was very large and fine building, so was it not so easy to rebuild that as it was the rest, yet did he furnish a sum not only large enough for that purpose, but what was more than sufficient to finish the building; and ordered them not to overlook that portico, but to rebuild it quickly, that so the city might recover its proper ornaments. And when the high winds were laid, he sailed to Mytilene, and thence to Byzantium; and when he heard that Agrippa was sailed beyond the Cyanean rocks, he made all the haste possible to overtake him, and came up with him about Sinope, in Pontus. He was seen sailing by the ship-men most unexpectedly, but appeared to their great joy; and many friendly salutations there were between them, insomuch that Agrippa thought he had received the greatest marks of the king's kindness and humanity towards him possible, since the king had come so long a voyage, and at a very proper season, for his assistance, and had left the government of his own dominions, and thought it more worth his while to come to him. Accordingly, Herod was all in all to Agrippa, in the management of the war, and a great assistant in civil affairs, and in giving him counsel as to particular matters. He was also a pleasant companion for him when he relaxed himself, and a joint partaker with him in all things; ill troubles because of his kindness, and in prosperity because of the respect Agrippa had for him. Now as soon as those affairs of Pontus were finished, for whose sake Agrippa was sent thither, they did not think fit to return by sea, but passed through Paphlagonia and Cappadocia; they then traveled thence over great Phrygia, and came to Ephesus, and then they sailed from Ephesus to Samos. And indeed the king bestowed a great many benefits on every city that he came to, according as they stood in need of them; for as for those that wanted either money or kind treatment, he was not wanting to them; but he supplied the former himself out of his own expenses: he also became an intercessor with Agrippa for

all such as sought after his favor, and he brought things so about, that the petitioners failed in none of their suits to him, Agrippa being himself of a good disposition, and of great generosity, and ready to grant all such requests as might be advantageous to the petitioners, provided they were not to the detriment of others. The inclination of the king was of great weight also, and still excited Agrippa, who was himself ready to do good; for he made a reconciliation between the people of Ilium, at whom he was angry, and paid what money the people of Chius owed Caesar's procurators, and discharged them of their tributes; and helped all others, according as their several necessities required.

(3) [27] Τότε δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν αὐτῶν γενομένων πολὺ πλῆθος Ἰουδαίων, ὃ τὰς πόλεις ᾤκει, προσῆει καιροῦ καὶ παρρησίας ἐπειλημμένοι, καὶ τὰς ἐπηρείας ἔλεγον, ἃς ἐπηρεάζοντο μήτε νόμοις οἰκείοις ἐώμενοι χρῆσθαι δίκας τε ἀναγκαζόμενοι διδόναι κατ᾽ ἐπήρειαν τῶν εὐθυνόντων ἐν ἱεραῖς ἡμέραις, [28] καὶ τῶν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα χρημάτων ἀνατιθεμένων ἀφαιροῖντο στρατειῶν καὶ λειτουργιῶν ἀναγκαζόμενοι κοινωνεῖν καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα δαπανᾶν τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων, ὧν ἀφείθησαν αἰεὶ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρεψάντων κατὰ τοὺς οἰκείους ζῆν νόμους. [29] τοιαῦτα καταβοώντων παρεστήσατο μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀκοῦσαι τὸν Ἀγρίππαν αὐτῶν δικαιολογουμένων, Νικόλαον δέ τινα τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων ἔδωκεν εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τὰ δίκαια. [30] τοῦ δὲ Ἀγρίππου Ῥωμαίων τε τοὺς ἐν τέλει καὶ βασιλέων καὶ δυναστῶν τοὺς παρόντας αὐτῷ συνέδρους ποιησαμένου καταστὰς ὁ Νικόλαος ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔλεξεν:

3. But now, when Agrippa and Herod were in Ionia, a great multitude of Jews, who dwelt in their cities, came to them, and laying hold of the opportunity and the liberty now given them, laid before them the injuries which they suffered, while they were not permitted to use their own laws, but were compelled to prosecute their law-suits, by the ill usage of the judges, upon their holy days, and were deprived of the money they used to lay up at Jerusalem, and were forced into the army, and upon such other offices as obliged them to spend their sacred money; from which burdens they always used to be freed by the Romans, who had still permitted them to live according to their own laws. When this clamor was made, the king desired of Agrippa that he would hear their cause, and assigned Nicolaus, one of his friends, to plead for those their privileges. Accordingly, when Agrippa had called the principal of the Romans, and such of the kings and rulers as were there, to be his assessors, Nicolaus stood up, and pleaded for the Jews, as follows: "It is of necessity incumbent on such as are in distress to have recourse to those that have it in their power to free them from those injuries they lie under; and for those that now are complainants, they approach you with great assurance; for as they have formerly often obtained

your favor, so far as they have even wished to have it, they now only entreat that you, who have been the donors, will take care that those favors you have already granted them may not be taken away from them. We have received these favors from you, who alone have power to grant them, but have them taken from us by such as are no greater than ourselves, and by such as we know are as much subjects as we are; and certainly, if we have been vouchsafed great favors, it is to our commendation who have obtained them, as having been found deserving of such great favors; and if those favors be but small ones, it would be barbarous for the donors not to confirm them to us. And for those that are the hinderance of the Jews, and use them reproachfully, it is evident that they affront both the receivers, while they will not allow those to be worthy men to whom their excellent rulers themselves have borne their testimony, and the donors, while they desire those favors already granted may be abrogated. Now if any one should ask these Gentiles themselves, which of the two things they would choose to part with, their lives, or the customs of their forefathers, their solemnities, their sacrifices, their festivals, which they celebrated in honor of those they suppose to be gods? I know very well that they would choose to suffer any thing whatsoever rather than a dissolution of any of the customs of their forefathers; for a great many of them have rather chosen to go to war on that account, as very solicitous not to transgress in those matters. And indeed we take an estimate of that happiness which all mankind do now enjoy by your means from this very thing, that we are allowed every one to worship as our own institutions require, and yet to live [in peace]; and although they would not be thus treated themselves, yet do they endeavor to compel others to comply with them, as if it were not as great an instance of impiety profanely to dissolve the religious solemnities of any others, as to be negligent in the observation of their own towards their gods. And let us now consider the one of these practices. Is there any people, or city, or community of men, to whom your government and the Roman power does not appear to be the greatest blessing ‘. Is there any one that can desire to make void the favors they have granted? No one is certainly so mad; for there are no men but such as have been partakers of their favors, both public and private; and indeed those that take away what you have granted, can have no assurance but every one of their own grants made them by you may be taken from them also; which grants of yours can yet never be sufficiently valued; for if they consider the old governments under kings, together with your present government, besides the great number of benefits which this government hath bestowed on them, in order to their happiness, this is instead of all the rest, that they appear to be no longer in a state of slavery, but of freedom.

(4) [31] “Ἅπασι μέν, ὦ μέγιστε Ἀγρίππα, τοῖς ἐν χρείᾳ γεγενημένοις ἀνάγκη καταφεύγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀφελέσθαι τὰς ἐπηρείας αὐτῶν δυνησομένους, τοῖς δὲ νῦν ἐντυγχάνουσιν καὶ παρρησία: [32] τυχόντες γὰρ πρότερον ὑμῶν οἵους ηὔξαντο πολλάκις, τὸ μὴ τὰς χάριτας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι δι᾽ ὑμῶν αἰτοῦνται τῶν δεδωκότων, καὶ ταῦτα εἰληφότες μὲν αὐτὰς παρὰ τούτων, οἷς μόνοις διδόναι δύναμις, ἀφαιρούμενοι δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ οὐδενὸς κρείττονος, ἀλλ᾽ οὓς ἴσον ἔχειν αὐτοῖς ἀρχομένους ὁμοίως ὑμῶν ἴσασιν. [33] καίτοι γε εἴτε μεγάλων ἠξιώθησαν, ἔπαινός ἐστιν τῶν τετυχηκότων ὅτι τοσούτων παρέσχον αὐτοὺς ἀξίους, εἴτε μικρῶν, αἰσχρὸν μὴ καὶ ταῦτα βεβαιοῦν δεδωκότας. [34] οἵ γε μὴν ἐμποδὼν ὄντες καὶ πρὸς ἐπήρειαν χρώμενοι Ἰουδαίοις εὔδηλον ὡς ἄμφω ἀδικοῦσιν, τοὺς εἰληφότας, εἰ μὴ νομίζοιεν ἀγαθοὺς οἷς οἱ κρατοῦντες ἐμαρτύρησαν ἐν τῷ καὶ τοιαῦτα δεδωκέναι, καὶ τοὺς δεδωκότας, εἰ τὰς χάριτας αὐτῶν ἀβεβαίους ἀξιοῦσιν γενέσθαι. [35] εἰ δέ τις αὐτοὺς ἔροιτο δύο τούτων θάτερον ἐθέλοιεν ἂν ἀφαιρεθῆναι, τὸ ζῆν ἢ τὰ πάτρια ἔθη τὰς πομπὰς τὰς θυσίας τὰς ἑορτάς, ἃς τοῖς νομιζομένοις προσάγουσι θεοῖς, εὖ οἶδ᾽, ὅτι πάντα μᾶλλον αἱρήσονται παθεῖν ἢ καταλῦσαί τι τῶν πατρίων: [36] καὶ γὰρ τοὺς πολέμους οἱ πολλοὶ διὰ ταῦτα αἱροῦνται φυλαττόμενοι μὴ παραβαίνειν αὐτά, καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, ἣν νῦν τὸ σύμπαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος δι᾽ ὑμᾶς ἔχει, τούτῳ μετροῦμεν τῷ ἐξεῖναι κατὰ χώραν ἑκάστοις τὰ οἰκεῖα τιμῶσιν αὔξειν καὶ διαζῆν. [37] τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἂν αὐτοὶ παθεῖν ἑλόμενοι βιάζονται δρᾶν κατ᾽ ἄλλων ὥσπερ οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀσεβοῦντες, εἴτε τῶν οἰκείων εἰς θεοὺς ὁσίων ἀμελοῖεν, εἴτε τὰ οἰκεῖα τισὶν ἀνοσίως καταλύοιεν. [38] τόδ᾽ ἕτερον δ᾽ ἤδη σκοπήσομεν: ἔστι τις δῆμος ἢ πόλις ἢ κοινὸν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων, οἷς οὐ μέγιστον ἀγαθῶν πέφυκε προστασία τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρχῆς καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαικὸν κράτος; ἐθέλοι δ᾽ ἄν τις ἀκύρους τὰς ἐντεῦθεν εἶναι χάριτας; [39] οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ μαινόμενος: οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰσὶν οἱ μὴ μετέχοντες αὐτῶν ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ. καὶ μὴν οἱ τινὰς ὧν ὑμεῖς ἔδοτε παραιρούμενοι βέβαιον οὐδ᾽ αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ὧν δι᾽ ὑμᾶς ἔχουσιν ὑπολείπονται. [40] καίτοι τὰς μὲν τούτων χάριτας οὐδὲ μετρῆσαι δυνατόν ἐστιν: εἰ γὰρ ἐκλογίσαιντο τὴν πάλαι βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν νῦν ἀρχήν, πολλῶν ὄντων ὅσα πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπέδωκεν, ἔτι κατὰ πάντων ἀρκεῖ τὸ μηκέτι δούλους ἀλλ᾽ ἐλευθέρους φαίνεσθαι. [41] τὰ δ᾽ ἡμέτερα καὶ λαμπρῶς πραττόντων οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπίφθονα: δι᾽ ὑμᾶς γὰρ καὶ μετὰ πάντων εὐτυχοῦμεν καὶ τούτου μόνου μετέχειν ἠξιώσαμεν, ἀκωλύτως τὴν πάτριον εὐσέβειαν διαφυλάττειν, ὃ καὶ καθ᾽ αὐτὸ δόξειεν οὐκ ἐπίφθονον καὶ πρὸς τῶν συγχωρούντων εἶναι: [42] τὸ γὰρ θεῖον, εἰ χαίρει τιμώμενον, χαίρει τοῖς ἐπιτρέπουσι τιμᾶν, ἐθῶν τε τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπάνθρωπον μὲν οὐδέν ἐστιν, εὐσεβῆ δὲ πάντα καὶ τῇ συνήθει δικαιοσύνῃ συγκαθωσιωμένα. [43] καὶ οὔτε ἀποκρυπτόμεθα τὰ παραγγέλματα, οἷς χρώμεθα πρὸς τὸν βίον ὑπομνήμασιν τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἐπιτηδευμάτων, τήν τε ἑβδόμην τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνίεμεν τῇ μαθήσει τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐθῶν καὶ νόμου, μελέτην ὥσπερ ἄλλου τινὸς καὶ τούτων ἀξιοῦντες εἶναι δι᾽ ὧν οὐχ

ἁμαρτησόμεθα. [44] καλὰ μὲν οὖν, ἐὰν ἐξετάζῃ τις καὶ καθ᾽ αὑτὰ τὰ ἔθη, παλαιὰ δ᾽ ἡμῖν, κἂν μή τισιν δοκῇ, ὥστ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ τοῦ χρόνου τιμητὸν δυσαποδίδακτον εἶναι τοῖς ὁσίως παρειληφόσιν καὶ διαφυλάττουσιν. [45] τούτων ἡμᾶς ἀφαιροῦνται κατ᾽ ἐπήρειαν, χρήματα μὲν ἃ τῷ θεῷ συμφέρομεν ἐπώνυμα διαφθείροντες καὶ φανερῶς ἱεροσυλοῦντες, τέλη δ᾽ ἐπιτιθέντες κἀν ταῖς ἑορταῖς ἄγοντες ἐπὶ δικαστήρια καὶ πραγματείας ἄλλας, οὐ κατὰ χρείαν τῶν συναλλαγμάτων, ἀλλὰ κατ᾽ ἐπήρειαν τῆς θρησκείας, ἣν συνίσασιν ἡμῖν, μῖσος οὐ δίκαιον οὐδ᾽ αὐτεξούσιον αὐτοῖς πεπονθότες. [46] ἡ γὰρ ὑμετέρα κατὰ πάντων ἀρχὴ γενομένη μία τὴν μὲν εὔνοιαν ἐνεργὸν τὴν δὲ δύσνοιαν ἄνεργον ποιεῖ τοῖς τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀντ᾽ ἐκείνου προαιρουμένοις. [47] ταῦτ᾽ οὖν ἀξιοῦμεν, ὦ μέγιστε Ἀγρίππα, μὴ κακῶς πάσχειν μηδ᾽ ἐπηρεάζεσθαι μηδὲ κωλύεσθαι τοῖς ἔθεσι χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἡμετέροις μηδ᾽ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τῶν ὄντων μηδ᾽ ἃ μὴ βιαζόμεθα τούτους ὑπὸ τούτων βιάζεσθαι: καὶ γὰρ οὐ δίκαια μόνον ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν δεδομένα πρότερον. [48] ἔτι καὶ δυναίμεθ᾽ ἂν πολλὰ δόγματα τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ κειμένας δέλτους ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀναγινώσκειν, ἃ δῆλον μὲν ὡς μετὰ πεῖραν τῆς ἡμετέρας εἰς ὑμᾶς πίστεως ἐδόθη, κύρια δὲ κἂν εἰ μηδενὸς ὕπαρξιν ἐχαρίσασθε. [49] σχεδὸν γὰρ οὐ μόνοις ἡμῖν ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τὰ μὲν ὄντα φυλάξαντες, μείζω δὲ τῶν ἐλπισθέντων προσθέντες εὐεργετεῖτε τῷ κρατεῖν, καὶ δύναιτ᾽ ἄν τις ἐπεξιὼν τὰς ἑκάστων εὐτυχίας, ἃς δι᾽ ὑμῶν ἔχουσιν, ἀπερίληπτον ποιῆσαι τὸν λόγον. [50] ἵνα μέντοι καὶ δικαίως ἁπάντων αὐτῶν τυγχάνοντας ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιδείξωμεν, ἀρκεῖ πρὸς παρρησίαν ἡμῖν τὰ πρότερον σιωπήσασιν τὸν βασιλεύοντα νῦν ἡμῶν καὶ σοὶ παρακαθεζόμενον εἰπεῖν. [51] ᾧ ποία μὲν εὔνοια πρὸς τὸν ὑμέτερον οἶκον παραλέλειπται; ποία δὲ πίστις ἐνδεής ἐστιν; τίς δὲ οὐ νενόηται τιμή; ποία δὲ χρεία μὴ εἰς πρῶτον ὁρᾷ; τί δὴ κωλύει καὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας χάριτας τῶν εἰς τοσούτων εὐεργεσιῶν ἀριθμὸν εἶναι; [52] καλὸν δ᾽ ἴσως μηδὲ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀντιπάτρου παραλιπεῖν ἀνδραγαθίαν ἀμνημόνευτον, ὃς εἰς Αἴγυπτον εἰσβεβληκότος Καίσαρος δισχιλίοις ὁπλίταις βοηθήσας οὔτ᾽ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ γῆν ἀγῶσιν οὔθ᾽ ὅτε νεῶν ἔδει δεύτερος ἐξητάζετο. [53] καὶ τί δεῖ λέγειν, ὅσην ἐκεῖνοι παρέσχον ῥοπὴν τῷ τότε καιρῷ καὶ πόσων καὶ τίνων δωρεῶν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἠξιώθησαν καθ᾽ ἕνα, δέον ἀναμνῆσαι τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, ἃς ἔγραψεν τότε Καῖσαρ τῇ συγκλήτῳ, καὶ ὡς δημοσίᾳ τιμὰς καὶ πολιτείαν ἔλαβεν Ἀντίπατρος; [54] ἀρκέσει γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ τεκμήρια τοῦ καὶ τὰς χάριτας ἡμᾶς κατ᾽ ἀξίαν ἔχειν καὶ παρὰ σοῦ τὸ βέβαιον αὐτῶν αἰτεῖν, παρ᾽ οὗ καὶ μὴ πρότερον δοθείσας ἦν ἐλπίσαι τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς ὑμᾶς διάθεσιν καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁρῶσιν. [55] ἀπαγγέλλεται δ᾽ ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖ Ἰουδαίων, ὡς μὲν ἐπέβης τῆς χώρας εὐμενής, ὡς δὲ ἀπέδωκας τῷ θεῷ τέλεια θύματα τιμῶν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τελείαις εὐχαῖς, ὡς δὲ τὸν δῆμον εἱστίασας καὶ τὰ παρ᾽ ἐκείνου ξένια προσήκω. [56] ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα καὶ ἔθνει καὶ πόλει πρὸς ἄνδρα τοσούτων ἐπιστατοῦντα πραγμάτων

δεξιώματα καὶ σύμβολα φιλίας χρὴ δοκεῖν, ἣν ἀπέδωκας τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνει τῆς Ἡρώδου προξενούσης αὐτὴν ἑστίας. [57] τούτων ὑπομιμνήσκοντές σε καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ παρόντος καὶ συγκαθεζομένου βασιλέως ἠξιώκαμεν περιττὸν οὐδέν, ἃ δ' αὐτοὶ δεδώκατε ταῦθ' ὑπ' ἄλλων μὴ περιιδεῖν ἀφαιρουμένους."

4. Now the privileges we desire, even when we are in the best circumstances, are not such as deserve to be envied, for we are indeed in a prosperous state by your means, but this is only in common with others; and it is no more than this which we desire, to preserve our religion without any prohibition; which as it appears not in itself a privilege to be envied us, so it is for the advantage of those that grant it to us; for if the Divinity delights in being honored, it must delight in those that permit them to be honored. And there are none of our customs which are inhuman, but all tending to piety, and devoted to the preservation of justice; nor do we conceal those injunctions of ours by which we govern our lives, they being memorials of piety, and of a friendly conversation among men. And the seventh day we set apart from labor; it is dedicated to the learning of our customs and laws, we thinking it proper to reflect on them, as well as on any [good] thing else, in order to our avoiding of sin. If any one therefore examine into our observances, he will find they are good in themselves, and that they are ancient also, though some think otherwise, insomuch that those who have received them cannot easily be brought to depart from them, out of that honor they pay to the length of time they have religiously enjoyed them and observed them. Now our adversaries take these our privileges away in the way of injustice; they violently seize upon that money of ours which is owed to God, and called sacred money, and this openly, after a sacrilegious manner; and they impose tributes upon us, and bring us before tribunals on holy days, and then require other like debts of us, not because the contracts require it, and for their own advantage, but because they would put an affront on our religion, of which they are conscious as well as we, and have indulged themselves in an unjust, and to them involuntary, hatred; for your government over all is one, tending to the establishing of benevolence, and abolishing of ill-will among such as are disposed to it. This is therefore what we implore from thee, most excellent Agrippa, that we may not be ill-treated; that we may not be abused; that we may not be hindered from making use of our own customs, nor be despoiled of our goods, nor be forced by these men to do what we ourselves force nobody to do; for these privileges of ours are not only according to justice, but have formerly been granted us by you. And we are able to read to you many decrees of the senate, and the tables that contain them, which are still extant in the capitol, concerning these things, which it is evident were granted after you had

experience of our fidelity towards you, which ought to be valued, though no such fidelity had been; for you have hitherto preserved what people were in possession of, not to us only, but almost to all men, and have added greater advantages than they could have hoped for, and thereby your government is become a great advantage to them. And if any one were able to enumerate the prosperity you have conferred on every nation, which they possess by your means, he could never put an end to his discourse; but that we may demonstrate that we are not unworthy of all those advantages we have obtained, it will be sufficient for us, to say nothing of other things, but to speak freely of this king who now governs us, and is now one of thy assessors; and indeed in what instance of good-will, as to your house, hath he been deficient? What mark of fidelity to it hath he omitted? What token of honor hath he not devised? What occasion for his assistance of you hath he not regarded at the very first? What hindereth; therefore, but that your kindnesses may be as numerous as his so great benefits to you have been? It may also perhaps be fit not here to pass over in silence the valor of his father Antipater, who, when Caesar made an expedition into Egypt, assisted him with two thousand armed men, and proved inferior to none, neither in the battles on land, nor in the management of the navy; and what need I say any thing of how great weight those soldiers were at that juncture? or how many and how great presents they were vouchsafed by Caesar? And truly I ought before now to have mentioned the epistles which Caesar wrote to the senate; and how Antipater had honors, and the freedom of the city of Rome, bestowed upon him; for these are demonstrations both that we have received these favors by our own deserts, and do on that account petition thee for thy confirmation of them, from whom we had reason to hope for them, though they had not been given us before, both out of regard to our king's disposition towards you, and your disposition towards him. And further, we have been informed by those Jews that were there with what kindness thou camest into our country, and how thou offeredst the most perfect sacrifices to God, and honoredst him with remarkable vows, and how thou gavest the people a feast, and acceptedst of their own hospitable presents to thee. We ought to esteem all these kind entertainments made both by our nation and to our city, to a man who is the ruler and manager of so much of the public affairs, as indications of that friendship which thou hast returned to the Jewish nation, and which hath been procured them by the family of Herod. So we put thee in mind of these things in the presence of the king, now sitting by thee, and make our request for no more but this, that what you have given us yourselves you will not see taken away by others from us."

(5) [58] Τοιαῦτα μὲν τοῦ Νικολάου διελθόντος ἐγένετο οὐδεμία τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀντικατάστασις: οὐδὲ γὰρ ὡς ἐν δικαστηρίῳ περὶ τῶν προκειμένων διελάμβανον, ἀλλ᾽ ἦν ἔντευξις ὧν ἐβιάζοντο. [59] κἀκείνων ἀπολογία μὲν οὐδεμία τοῦ μὴ ταῦτα ποιεῖν, πρόφασις δέ, ὡς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν νεμόμενοι πάντα νῦν ἀδικοῖεν. οἱ δὲ ἐγγενεῖς τε αὐτοὺς ἐδείκνυσαν κἀν τῷ τὰ οἰκεῖα τιμᾶν μηδὲν λυποῦντες οἰκεῖν. [60] συνιδὼν οὖν Ἀγρίππας βιαζομένους ἀπεκρίνατο ταῦτα: διὰ μὲν τὴν Ἡρώδου πρὸς αὐτὸν εὔνοιάν τε καὶ φιλίαν ἕτοιμος εἶναι πᾶν ὁτιοῦν χαρίζεσθαι Ἰουδαίοις, ἃ δὲ ἀξιοῦσιν καὶ καθ᾽ αὑτὰ δίκαια δοκεῖν: ὥστ᾽, εἰ μὲν ἐδέοντο καὶ πλειόνων, οὐκ ἂν ὀκνῆσαι τά γε μὴ λυποῦντα τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν παρασχεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἃ καὶ πρότερον εἰλήφασιν ἄκυρα μὴ γενέσθαι, βεβαιοῦν αὐτοῖς ἀνεπηρεάστοις ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις διατελεῖν ἔθεσιν. [61] τοιαῦτα εἰπὼν διέλυε τὸν σύλλογον. Ἡρώδης δὲ προσεστὼς κατησπάζετο καὶ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν διαθέσεως ὡμολόγει χάριν. ὁ δὲ καὶ εἰς ταῦτα φιλοφρονούμενος ἴσον αὐτὸν παρεῖχεν ἀντεμπλεκόμενος καὶ κατασπαζόμενος. [62] καὶ τότε μὲν ἀνεχώρησεν: ἀπὸ δὲ Σάμου πλεῖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπ᾽ οἴκου διέγνω καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν παραιτησάμενος ἀνήχθη, κατάγεται δ᾽ εἰς Καισάρειαν οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον ἡμέραις πνευμάτων ἐπιτηδείων τυχών. κἀκεῖθεν ἐλθὼν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα συνήγαγεν ἐκκλησίαν πάνδημον: ἦν δὲ πολὺς κἀκ τῆς χώρας ὄχλος. [63] ὁ δὲ παρελθὼν ἀπολογισμόν τε τῆς ὅλης ἐκδημίας ἐποιήσατο καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, ὅσοι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἦσαν, ὡς δι᾽ αὐτὸν ἀνεπηρεάστως εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν ἕξουσιν διηγήσατο. [64] τό τε σύμπαν ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐτυχίαις καὶ τῇ διοικήσει τῆς ἀρχῆς [ὡς] οὐδενὸς παραλείποιτο τῶν ἐκείνοις συμφερόντων, ἀγαλλόμενος τὸ τέταρτον τῶν φόρων ἀφίησιν αὐτοῖς τοῦ παρεληλυθότος ἔτους. [65] οἱ δὲ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῇ χάριτι δεδημαγωγημένοι μετὰ πλείστης χαρᾶς ἀπῄεσαν πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ συνευχόμενοι τῷ βασιλεῖ.

5. When Nicolaus had made this speech, there was no opposition made to it by the Greeks, for this was not an inquiry made, as in a court of justice, but an intercession to prevent violence to be offered to the Jews any longer; nor did the Greeks make any defense of themselves, or deny what it was supposed they had done. Their pretense was no more than this, that while the Jews inhabited in their country, they were entirely unjust to them [in not joining in their worship] but they demonstrated their generosity in this, that though they worshipped according to their institutions, they did nothing that ought to grieve them. So when Agrippa perceived that they had been oppressed by violence, he made this answer: That, on account of Herod's good-will and friendship, he was ready to grant the Jews whatsoever they should ask him, and that their requests seemed to him in themselves just; and that if they requested any thing further, he should not scruple to grant it them, provided they were no way to the detriment of the Roman government; but that while their request was no more than this, that what privileges they had already given them might not be abrogated, he confirmed this to them, that they might continue in the observation of their own customs, without any one offering them the least injury. And when he had said thus, he dissolved the assembly; upon which Herod stood up and saluted him, and gave him thanks for the kind disposition he showed to them. Agrippa also took this in a very obliging manner, and saluted him again, and embraced him in his arms; after which he went away from Lesbos; but the king determined to sail from Samos to his own country; and when he had taken

his leave of Agrippa, he pursued his voyage, and landed at Cesarea in a few days' time, as having favorable winds; from whence he went to Jerusalem, and there gathered all the people together to an assembly, not a few being there out of the country also. So he came to them, and gave them a particular account of all his journey, and of the affairs of all the Jews in Asia, how by his means they would live without injurious treatment for the time to come. He also told them of the entire good fortune he had met with and how he had administered the government, and had not neglected any thing which was for their advantage; and as he was very joyful, he now remitted to them the fourth part of their taxes for the last year. Accordingly, they were so pleased with his favor and speech to them, that they went their ways with great gladness, and wished the king all manner of happiness.

III

CHAPTER 3

How Great Disturbances Arose In Herods Family On His Preferring Antipater His Eldest Son Before The Rest, Till Alexander Took That Injury Very Heinously.

(1) [66] Προύβαινε δ' ἀεὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν στάσιν τῆς οἰκίας καὶ χαλεπωτέραν ἐλάμβανε τὴν ἐπίδοσιν, ἀντιμεταλαβούσης μὲν ὥσπερ ἐκ κληρονομίας τὸ κατὰ τῶν νεανίσκων μῖσος τῆς Σαλώμης καὶ πᾶν ὅσον εὐδοκιμήκει κατὰ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν εἰς ἀπόνοιαν καὶ θράσος λαμβανούσης μηδένα τῶν ἐξ ἐκείνης καταλιπεῖν, ὃς δυνήσεται τιμωρῆσαι τῷ θανάτῳ τῆς δι' αὐτὴν ἀνῃρημένης, [67] ἐχόντων δέ τι καὶ τῶν νεανίσκων θρασὺ καὶ δύσνουν εἰς τὸν γεγεννηκότα μνήμῃ τε τῆς μητρὸς οἷα πάθοι παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν καὶ τῇ τοῦ κρατεῖν ἐπιθυμίᾳ. [68] πάλιν τε τὸ κακὸν ὅμοιον ἐγεγόνει τοῖς πρώτοις, βλασφημίαι μὲν ἐξ ἐκείνων εἵς τε τὴν Σαλώμην καὶ τὸν Φερώραν, κακοήθειαι δὲ τούτων εἰς τὰ μειράκια καὶ μετὰ πραγματείας ἐπιβουλή: [69] τὸ μὲν γὰρ μῖσος ἴσον ἦν ἐξ ἀλλήλων, ὁ δὲ τρόπος τοῦ μισεῖν οὐχ ὅμοιος: ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ λοιδορηθῆναι καὶ προσονειδίσαι προπετεῖς εὐγενὲς ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπειρίας οἰόμενοι τὸ τῆς ὀργῆς ἀνυπόστολον, οἱ δ' οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ πραγματικῶς καὶ κακοήθως ἐχρῶντο ταῖς διαβολαῖς, προέλκοντες ἀεὶ τὰ μειράκια καὶ τὸ θρασὺ καταλογιζόμενοι βίαιον ἔσεσθαι πρὸς τὸν γεγεννηκότα. [70] τὸ γὰρ οὐκ αἰδεῖσθαι ταῖς τῆς μητρὸς ἁμαρτίαις οὐδ' οἴεσθαι δίκαια παθεῖν ἐκείνην ἄσχετον εἶναι πρὸς τὸ μὴ τὸν αἴτιον δοκοῦντα τιμωρήσεσθαι καὶ δι' αὐτοχειρίας. [71] τέλος οὖν ἀνεπλήσθη πᾶσα ἡ πόλις τῶν τοιούτων λόγων καὶ καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἀγωνίσμασιν ἠλεῖτο μὲν ἡ τῶν μειρακίων ἀπειρία, κατίσχυεν δὲ ἡ τῆς Σαλώμης ἐπιμέλεια καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τὰς ἀφορμὰς τοῦ μὴ ψευδῆ λέγειν ἐλάμβανεν. [72] οἱ γὰρ οὕτως ἀχθόμενοι τῷ θανάτῳ τῆς μητρός, ἐπειδὴ κἀκείνην καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς κακῶς ἔλεγεν, ἐφιλονείκουν ἐλεεινὴν μέν, ὥσπερ ἦν, ἀποφαίνειν τὴν καταστροφὴν τῆς μητρός, ἐλεεινοὺς δὲ αὐτούς, οἳ τοῖς ἐκείνης φονεῦσιν ἀναγκάζονται συζῆν καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνειν.

1. But now the affairs in Herod's family were in more and more disorder, and became more severe upon him, by the hatred of Salome to the young men [Alexander and Aristobulus], which descended as it were by inheritance [from their mother Mariamne]; and as she had fully succeeded against their mother, so she proceeded to that degree of madness and insolence, as to endeavor that none of her posterity might be left alive, who might have it in their power to revenge her death. The young men had also somewhat of a bold and uneasy disposition

towards their father occasioned by the remembrance of what their mother had unjustly suffered, and by their own affectation of dominion. The old grudge was also renewed; and they east reproaches on Salome and Pheroras, who requited the young men with malicious designs, and actually laid treacherous snares for them. Now as for this hatred, it was equal on both sides, but the manner of exerting that hatred was different; for as for the young men, they were rash, reproaching and affronting the others openly, and were inexperienced enough to think it the most generous to declare their minds in that undaunted manner; but the others did not take that method, but made use of calumnies after a subtle and a spiteful manner, still provoking the young men, and imagining that their boldness might in time turn to the offering violence to their father; for inasmuch as they were not ashamed of the pretended crimes of their mother, nor thought she suffered justly, these supposed that might at length exceed all bounds, and induce them to think they ought to be avenged on their father, though it were by despatching him with their own hands. At length it came to this, that the whole city was full of their discourses, and, as is usual in such contests, the unskilfulness of the young men was pitied; but the contrivance of Salome was too hard for them, and what imputations she laid upon them came to be believed, by means of their own conduct; for they who were so deeply affected with the death of their mother, that while they said both she and themselves were in a miserable case, they vehemently complained of her pitiable end, which indeed was truly such, and said that they were themselves in a pitiable case also, because they were forced to live with those that had been her murderers, and to be partakers with them.

(2) [73] Ταῦτα προῄει μειζόνως καιρὸν ἐχούσης τῆς στάσεως ἐν ἀποδημίᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως. ὡς δ' ἐπανῆλθεν Ἡρώδης καὶ τῷ πλήθει διελέξατο, καθὼς προειρήκαμεν, προσέπιπτον εὐθὺς οἱ λόγοι παρά τε τοῦ Φερώρα καὶ τῆς Σαλώμης μέγαν αὐτῷ τὸν κίνδυνον εἶναι τὸν παρὰ τῶν νεανίσκων ἀνάφανδα διαπειλουμένων, ὡς οὐκ ἀνέξονται μὴ τισάμενοι τῆς μητρὸς τὸν φόνον. [74] προσετίθεσαν δ' ἔτι καὶ ὡς ταῖς παρ' Ἀρχελάου τοῦ Καππάδοκος ἐλπίσιν ἐπανέχοιεν, ὡς δι' ἐκείνου πρός τε Καίσαρα ἀφιξόμενοι καὶ κατηγορήσοντες τοῦ πατρός. [75] Ἡρώδης δὲ ἐτετάρακτο μὲν εὐθὺς ἀκούσας τοιούτων, ἐξεπέπληκτο δὲ μᾶλλον, ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινὲς ἀπήγγελλον, ἀνέκαμπτε τῇ συμφορᾷ τά τε πρῶτα καταλογιζόμενος ὡς οὔτε τῶν φιλτάτων οὔτε τῆς στεργομένης αὐτῷ γυναικὸς ὤνατο διὰ τὰς ἐγγινομένας ταραχὰς κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν, τό τε μᾶλλον τοῦ προσπεπτωκότος ἤδη βαρὺ καὶ μεῖζον ἐκείνων ὑπολαμβάνων ἐν συγχύσει τῆς ψυχῆς ἦν. [76] τῷ γὰρ ὄντι πλεῖστα μὲν καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδας τῶν ἔξωθεν εἰς εὐτυχίαν αὐτῷ τὸ δαιμόνιον προσετίθει, μέγιστα δὲ τῶν οἴκοι καὶ μηδὲ προσδοκώμενα

δυστυχεῖν αὐτῷ συνέβαινεν, ἑκατέρου προιόντος ὡς οὐκ ἄν τις ᾠήθη καὶ παρέχοντος ἀμφήριστον τὴν ὑπερβολήν, εἰ [77] δέον τὴν τοσαύτην εὐτυχίαν τῶν ἔξωθεν πραγμάτων ἀλλάξασθαι τῶν οἴκοι κακῶν, ἢ τοιοῦτο μέγεθος τῶν περὶ τοὺς οἰκείους συμφορῶν διαφυγεῖν ἐν τῷ μηδὲ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας θαυμαζόμενα κεκτῆσθαι.

2. These disorders increased greatly, and the king's absence abroad had afforded a fit opportunity for that increase; but as soon as Herod was returned, and had made the forementioned speech to the multitude, Pheroras and Salome let fill words immediately as if he were in great danger, and as if the young men openly threatened that they would not spare him any longer, but revenge their mother's death upon him. They also added another circumstance, that their hopes were fixed on Archclaus, the king of Cappadocia, that they should be able by his means to come to Caesar, and accuse their father. Upon hearing such things, Herod was immediately disturbed; and indeed was the more astonished, because the same things were related to him by some others also. He then called to mind his former calamity, and considered that the disorders in his family had hindered him from enjoying any comfort from those that were dearest to him or from his wife whom he loved so well; and suspecting that his future troubles would soon be heavier and greater than those that were past, he was in great confusion of mind; for Divine Providence had in reality conferred upon him a great many outward advantages for his happiness, even beyond his hopes; but the troubles he had at home were such as he never expected to have met with, and rendered him unfortunate; nay, both sorts came upon him to such a degree as no one could imagine, and made it a doubtful question, whether, upon the comparison of both, he ought to have exchanged so great a success of outward good things for so great misfortunes at home, or whether he ought not to have chosen to avoid the calamities relating to his family, though he had, for a compensation, never been possessed of the admired grandeur of a kingdom.

(3) [78] Ταρασσόμενος δὲ καὶ διακείμενος τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει τῶν μειρακίων ἕτερον αὐτῷ γενόμενον ἰδιωτεύοντι παῖδα προσήγετο καὶ τοῦτον ἐδόκει τιμᾶν, ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Ἀντίπατρος, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐν ὑστέρῳ καὶ τελέως ἡττηθεὶς αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντ' εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἀναφέρων, [79] οἰόμενος δὲ παραιρήσεσθαι τοῦ θράσους τοὺς ἐκ Μαριάμμης καὶ μᾶλλον εἰς νουθεσίαν τὴν ἐκείνων οἰκονομῶν αὐτό. τὸ γὰρ αὔθαδες οὐκ ἂν [εἴη] παρ' αὐτοῖς, εἰ τοῦτο πεισθεῖεν, ὅτι μὴ μόνοις μηδ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἡ διαδοχὴ τῆς βασιλείας ὀφείλεται. [80] διὸ καὶ καθάπερ ἔφεδρόν τινα τὸν Ἀντίπατρον εἰσῆγεν οἰόμενος ὀρθῶς προνοεῖν καὶ κατασταλέντων τῶν μειρακίων ἐξεῖναι εὐκαίρως χρῆσθαι βελτίοσιν. [81] τὸ δ' οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐνόησεν ἀπέβη: τοῖς τε γὰρ παισὶν οὐ μετρίως ἐδόκει κεχρῆσθαι τῇ πρὸς

αὐτοὺς ἐπηρείᾳ, καὶ δεινὸς ὢν τὸν τρόπον Ἀντίπατρος, ἐπειδὴ παρρησίας τινὸς τῆς οὐ πρότερον οὔσης ἐλπίδος ἀντεποιήσατο, μίαν ἔσχεν ὑπόθεσιν κακοῦ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς μὴ παραχωρεῖν τῶν πρωτείων, ἀλλ᾽ ἔχεσθαι τοῦ πατρός, ἤδη μὲν ἠλλοτριωμένου ταῖς διαβολαῖς, εὐμεταχειρίστου δ᾽ ὄντος εἰς ὅπερ ἐσπουδάκει, πολὺ χαλεπώτερον ἀεὶ γενέσθαι τοῖς διαβεβλημένοις. [82] ἦσαν οὖν οὐ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ μόνου οἱ λόγοι φυλαττομένου δι᾽ αὐτοῦ δόξαι τὰ τοιαῦτα καταμηνύειν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐχρῆτο συνεργοῖς τοῖς ἀνυπόπτοις καὶ διὰ τὴν εὔνοιαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα πιστευθησομένοις αὐτὸ ποιεῖν. [83] ἤδη δὲ πλείους ἐγεγόνεισαν οἱ κἀκεῖνον ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἠλπίκει θεραπεύοντες καὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην ἐκ τοῦ δοκεῖν κατ᾽ εὔνοιαν τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγειν ὑπαγόμενοι. καὶ τούτων πολυπροσώπως καὶ πιστῶς ἀλλήλοις συναγωνιζομένων ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον αἱ παρὰ τῶν μειρακίων ἀφορμαὶ προσεγίνοντο: [84] καὶ γὰρ καὶ δάκρυα πολλάκις ἦν κατ᾽ ἐπήρειαν ὧν ἠτιμάζοντο καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἀνάκλησις καὶ τὸν πατέρα φανερῶς ἤδη πρὸς τοὺς φίλους οὐ δίκαιον ἐλέγχειν ἐπετήδευον, ἅπερ ἅπαντα κακοήθως ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον καιροφυλακούμενα καὶ μειζόνως πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδην ἐξαγγελλόμενα προύβαινεν οὐ μικρὰν ἀπεργαζόμενα τὴν τῆς οἰκίας στάσιν. [85] ἀχθόμενος γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς ταῖς διαβολαῖς καὶ ταπεινῶσαι βουλόμενος τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Μαριάμμης μείζονα ἀεὶ πρὸς τιμὴν Ἀντιπάτρῳ παρεῖχεν, καὶ τέλος ἡττηθεὶς ἐπεισήγαγε μὲν τὴν ἐκείνου μητέρα, Καίσαρι δὲ πολλάκις γράφων ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰδίᾳ συνίστη σπουδαιότερον. [86] Ἀγρίππου γε μὴν ἀνιόντος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας δεκαετῆ γεγενημένην, πλεύσας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ συντυγχάνων μόνον τε τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ἐπήγετο καὶ παρέδωκεν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνάγειν μετὰ πολλῶν δώρων Καίσαρι φίλον ἐσόμενον, ὥστε ἤδη πάντα δοκεῖν ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνῳ καὶ παρεῶσθαι παντάπασιν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς τὰ μειράκια.

3. As he was thus disturbed and afflicted, in order to depress these young men, he brought to court another of his sons, that was born to him when he was a private man; his name was Antipater; yet did he not then indulge him as he did afterwards, when he was quite overcome by him, and let him do every thing as he pleased, but rather with a design of depressing the insolence of the sons of Marianme, and managing this elevation of his so, that it might be for a warning to them; for this bold behavior of theirs [he thought] would not be so great, if they were once persuaded that the succession to the kingdom did not appertain to them alone, or must of necessity come to them. So he introduced Antipater as their antagonist, and imagined that he made a good provision for discouraging their pride, and that after this was done to the young men, there might be a proper season for expecting these to be of a better disposition; but the event proved otherwise than he intended, for the young men thought he did them a very great injury; and as Antipater was a shrewd man, when he had once

obtained this degree of freedom, and began to expect greater things than he had before hoped for, he had but one single design in his head, and that was to distress his brethren, and not at all to yield to them the pre-eminence, but to keep close to his father, who was already alienated from them by the calumnies he had heard about them, and ready to be wrought upon in any way his zeal against them should advise him to pursue, that he might be continually more and more severe against them. Accordingly, all the reports that were spread abroad came from him, while he avoided himself the suspicion as if those discoveries proceeded from him; but he rather chose to make use of those persons for his assistants that were unsuspected, and such as might be believed to speak truth by reason of the good-will they bore to the king; and indeed there were already not a few who cultivated a friendship with Antipater, in hopes of gaining somewhat by him, and these were the men who most of all persuaded Herod, because they appeared to speak thus out of their good-will to him: and with these joint accusations, which from various foundations supported one another's veracity, the young men themselves afforded further occasions to Antipater also; for they were observed to shed tears often, on account of the injury that was offered them, and had their mother in their mouths; and among their friends they ventured to reproach their father, as not acting justly by them; all which things were with an evil intention reserved in memory by Antipater against a proper opportunity; and when they were told to Herod, with aggravations, increased the disorder so much, that it brought a great tumult into the family; for while the king was very angry at imputations that were laid upon the sons of Mariamne, and was desirous to humble them, he still increased the honor that he had bestowed on Antipater, and was at last so overcome by his persuasions, that he brought his mother to court also. He also wrote frequently to Caesar in favor of him, and more earnestly recommended him to his care particularly. And when Agrippa was returning to Rome, after he had finished his ten years' government in Asia. Herod sailed from Judea; and when he met with him, he had none with him but Antipater, whom he delivered to Agrippa, that he might take him along with him, together with many presents, that so he might become Caesar's friend, insomuch that things already looked as if he had all his father's favor, and that the young men were already entirely rejected from any hopes of the kingdom.

IV

CHAPTER 4. How During Antipater's Abode At Rome, Herod Brought Alexander And Aristobulus Before Caesar And Accused Them. Alexander's Defense Of Himself Before Caesar And Reconciliation To His Father.

(1) [87] Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τιμὴν καὶ τὸ πρῶτον εἶναι δοκεῖν Ἀντιπάτρῳ προυχώρει τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν: καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ πᾶσιν ἐπεσταλκότος Ἡρώδου τοῖς φίλοις διάσημος ἦν: [88] ἤχθετο δὲ τῷ μὴ παρεῖναι μηδὲ ἔχειν ἐξ εὐκαίρου διαβάλλειν ἀεὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐδεδοίκει μεταβολὴν τοῦ πατρός, εἴ τι καὶ καθ' αὐτὸν ἀξιώσει ἐπιεικέστερον εἰς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Μαριάμμης φρονεῖν. [89] ταῦτα δὲ δι' ἐννοίας ἔχων οὐκ ἀφίστατο τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προαιρέσεως, ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖθεν, ὅτε ἀνιάσειν τι καὶ παροξυνεῖν ἤλπιζεν τὸν πατέρα κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, συνεχῶς ἐπέστελλεν, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς ὑπεραγωνιῶν αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς ἀφ' ἧς εἶχεν [ἐν] φύσει κακοηθείας τὴν ἐλπίδα μεγάλην καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὖσαν ἐμπορευόμενος, [90] ἕως εἰς τοῦτο προήγαγεν τὸν Ἡρώδην ὀργῆς καὶ δυσφημίας, ὡς ἤδη μὲν ἔχων δυσμενῶς τοῖς μειρακίοις, ἐν δὲ κατοκνεῖν εἰς τοιοῦτον ἐμβῆναι πάθος, ὡς μήτ' ἀμελῶν μήτ' ἐκ προπετείας ἁμαρτάνοι, κρεῖττον ἡγήσατο πλεύσας εἰς Ῥώμην ἐκεῖ τῶν παίδων κατηγορεῖν παρὰ Καίσαρι, καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῷ τοιοῦτον ἐπιτρέπειν, ὃ καὶ διὰ μέγεθος τῆς ἀσεβείας ὕποπτον ἦν. [91] ὡς δὲ ἀνῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἐγένετο μὲν μέχρι τῆς Ἀκυληίας πόλεως Καίσαρι συντυχεῖν ἐπειγόμενος, ἐλθὼν δ' εἰς λόγους καὶ καιρὸν αἰτησάμενος ἐπὶ μεγάλοις οἷς ἐδόκει δυστυχεῖν παρεστήσατο μὲν τοὺς παῖδας, ᾐτιᾶτο δὲ τῆς ἀπονοίας καὶ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως, [92] ὡς ἐχθρῶς ἔχουσιν ἅπαντα τρόπον ἐσπουδακότες [μισεῖν] τὸν ἑαυτῶν πατέρα μεταχειρίσασθαι καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ὠμοτάτῳ τρόπῳ παραλαβεῖν: ὁ δ' οὐδὲ θνήσκων ἐξ ἀνάγκης μᾶλλον ἢ κρίσει παραδοῦναι τῷ διαμείναντι πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐσεβεστέρῳ παρὰ Καίσαρος ἐξουσίαν ἔχοι. [93] τοῖς δ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ πλέον, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ ταύτης στεροῖντο καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἐλάττων λόγος, εἰ μόνον ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν πατέρα δυνηθεῖεν: οὕτως ἄγριόν τι καὶ μιαρὸν ἐντετηκέναι ταῖς ψυχαῖς αὐτῶν μῖσος. καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀτυχίαν αὐτὸς ἐκ μακροῦ φέρων ἀναγκασθῆναι νῦν ἐξηγεῖσθαι Καίσαρι καὶ μιαίνειν αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀκοὰς τοιούτοις λόγοις. [94] καίτοι τί μὲν εἴησαν παθόντες ἐξ αὐτοῦ δυσχερές; ἐπὶ τίνι δὲ μέμφονται βαρὺν ὄντα; πῶς δ' οἷόν τε καὶ δίκαιον ἦν αὐτὸς ἐκτήσατο πολλοῖς πόνοις καὶ κινδύνοις ἀρχήν, ταύτης οὐκ ἐᾶν κύριον εἶναι κρατεῖν τε καὶ διδόναι τῷ κατ' ἀξίαν; [95] ὡς τοῦτό γε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἆθλον εὐσεβείας ἐκτίθεται τῷ μέλλοντι πρὸς τὸν ποτὲ γενήσεσθαι τοιούτῳ τὴν

ἐπιμέλειαν, ἅτε καὶ τῆς ἀμοιβῆς τοσῆσδε οὔσης ἐπιτυγχάνειν. [96] ὅτι δὲ μηδὲ εὐσεβὲς αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τούτου πολυπραγμονεῖν, εὔδηλον: ὁ γὰρ ἀεί τι περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐνθυμούμενος συγκαταλογίζεται τὸν θάνατον τοῦ γεγεννηκότος, μεθ᾽ ὃν ἄλλως οὐκ ἔστιν τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβεῖν. [97] αὐτὸς δ᾽ ὅσα βασιλευομένοις καὶ βασιλέως παισὶν οὐχ ὑστέρησεν μέχρι νῦν ἀποδιδούς, οὐ κόσμον, οὐχ ὑπηρεσίαν, οὐ τρυφήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γάμους τοὺς ἐπισημοτάτους παρεσχῆσθαι, τῷ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἀδελφῆς, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ τὴν Ἀρχελάου τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρα συνοικίσας, [98] τὸ δὲ μέγιστον οὐδ᾽ ἐπὶ τοιούτοις ἦν εἶχεν ἐξουσίαν ταύτῃ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν χρησάμενος ἀγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν κοινὸν εὐεργέτην Καίσαρα, καὶ παρελόμενον αὐτοῦ πᾶν, ὅσον ἢ πατὴρ ἀσεβούμενος ἢ βασιλεὺς ἐπιβουλευόμενος δύναται, κρίσεως ἰσοτιμίᾳ παρεστακέναι: [99] δεήσει μέντοι μὴ παντάπασιν αὐτὸν ἀτιμώρητον γενέσθαι μηδ᾽ ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις φόβοις καταζῆν, οὐδ᾽ ἐκείνοις λυσιτελοῦντος ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐνεθυμήθησαν ὁρᾶν τὸν ἥλιον, εἰ νῦν διαφύγοιεν, ἔργῳ μέγιστα τῶν ἀνθρωπείων καὶ δράσαντας καὶ πεισομένους.

1. And now what happened during Antipater's absence augmented the honor to which he had been promoted, and his apparent eminence above his brethren; for he had made a great figure in Rome, because Herod had sent recommendations of him to all his friends there; only he was grieved that he was not at home, nor had proper opportunities of perpetually calumniating his brethren; and his chief fear was, lest his father should alter his mind, and entertain a more favorable opinion of the sons of Mariamne; and as he had this in his mind, he did not desist from his purpose, but continually sent from Rome any such stories as he hoped might grieve and irritate his father against his brethren, under pretense indeed of a deep concern for his preservation, but in truth such as his malicious mind dictated, in order to purchase a greater hope of the succession, which yet was already great in itself: and thus he did till he had excited such a degree of anger in Herod, that he was already become very ill-disposed towards the young men; but still while he delayed to exercise so violent a disgust against them, and that he might not either be too remiss or too rash, and so offend, he thought it best to sail to Rome, and there accuse his sons before Caesar, and not indulge himself in any such crime as might be heinous enough to be suspected of impiety. But as he was going up to Rome, it happened that he made such haste as to meet with Caesar at the city Aquilei so when he came to the speech of Caesar, he asked for a time for hearing this great cause, wherein he thought himself very miserable, and presented his sons there, and accused them of their mad actions, and of their attempts against him: That they were enemies to him; and by all the means they were able, did their endeavors to show their hatred to their own father, and would take away his life, and so obtain his kingdom, after the most barbarous

manner: that he had power from Caesar to dispose of it, not by necessity, but by choice, to him who shall exercise the greatest piety towards him; while these my sons are not so desirous of ruling, as they are, upon a disappointment thereof, to expose their own life, if so be they may but deprive their father of his life; so wild and polluted is their mind by time become, out of their hatred to him: that whereas he had a long time borne this his misfortune, he was now compelled to lay it before Caesar, and to pollute his ears with such language, while he himself wants to know what severity they have ever suffered from him, or what hardships he hath ever laid upon them to make them complain of him; and how they can think it just that he should not be lord of that kingdom which he in a long time, and with great danger, had gained, and not allow him to keep it and dispose of it to him who should deserve best; and this, with other advantages, he proposes as a reward for the piety of such a one as will hereafter imitate the care he hath taken of it, and that such a one may gain so great a requital as that is: and that it is an impious thing for them to pretend to meddle with it beforehand; for he who hath ever the kingdom in his view, at the same time reckons upon procuring the death of his father, because otherwise he cannot come at the government: that as for himself, he had hitherto given them all that he was able, and what was agreeable to such as are subject to the royal authority, and the sons of a king; what ornaments they wanted, with servants and delicate fare, and had married them into the most illustrious families, the one [Aristobulus] to his sister's daughter, but Alexander to the daughter of king Archelaus; and, what was the greatest favor of all, when their crimes were so very bad, and he had authority to punish them, yet had he not made use of it against them, but had brought them before Caesar, their common benefactor, and had not used the severity which, either as a father who had been impiously abused, or as a king who had been assaulted treacherously, he might have done, but made them stand upon a level with him in judgment: that, however, it was necessary that all this should not be passed over without punishment, nor himself live in the greatest fears; nay, that it was not for their own advantage to see the light of the sun after what they have done, although they should escape at this time, since they had done the vilest things, and would certainly suffer the greatest punishments that ever were known among mankind.

(2) [100] Ταῦτα μὲν Ἡρώδης ἐμπαθῶς ᾐτιάσατο παρὰ Καίσαρι τοὺς αὐτοῦ παῖδας. τῶν δὲ νεανίσκων ἤδη μὲν καὶ λέγοντος δάκρυα καὶ σύγχυσις ἦν: μᾶλλον δ' ἐπεὶ κατέπαυσεν Ἡρώδης τὸν λόγον τῷ μὲν ἔξω τῆς τοιαύτης ἀσεβείας γενέσθαι τὸν λόγον πιστὸν εἶχον ἐν τῷ συνειδότι, [101] τὸ δ' ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιφέρεσθαι τὰς διαβολὰς δυσαπολόγητον ὥσπερ ἦν ἤδεσαν, οὐκ εὐσχημονοῦντος οὐδὲ τοῦ κατὰ

παρρησίαν λόγου πρὸς τὸν καιρόν, εἰ μέλλοιεν ἐκ βίας ἀεὶ καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐλέγχειν πεπλανημένον. [102] ἦν οὖν ἀπορία τοῦ δύνασθαι λέγειν καὶ δάκρυα καὶ τέλος οἰμωγὴ συμπαθεστέρα, δεδοικότων μέν, εἰ δόξουσιν ἐκ τοῦ συνειδότος ἠπορῆσθαι, ῥᾳδίαν δ᾽ οὐχ εὑρισκομένων τὴν ἀπολογίαν ὑπό τε νεότητος καὶ ταραχῆς, ἣν ἐπεπόνθεισαν. [103] οὐ μὴν ὅ γε Καῖσαρ ἐπιβλέπων αὐτοὺς ὡς εἶχον ἀσύνετον ἐποιεῖτο τὸ μὴ κατὰ συνείδησιν ἀτοπωτέραν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ ἀπειρίας καὶ μετριότητος ὀκνεῖν, ἐλεεινοί τ᾽ ἐγεγόνεισαν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἰδίᾳ καὶ τὸν πατέρα διεκίνησαν ἀληθινῷ τῷ πάθει συνεχόμενον.

2. These were the accusations which Herod laid with great vehemency against his sons before Caesar. Now the young men, both while he was speaking, and chiefly at his concluding, wept, and were in confusion. Now as to themselves, they knew in their own conscience they were innocent; but because they were accused by their father, they were sensible, as the truth was, that it was hard for them to make their apology, since though they were at liberty to speak their minds freely as the occasion required, and might with force and earnestness refute the accusation, yet was it not now decent so to do. There was therefore a difficulty how they should be able to speak; and tears, and at length a deep groan, followed, while they were afraid, that if they said nothing, they should seem to be in this difficulty from a consciousness of guilt, — nor had they any defense ready, by reason of their youth, and the disorder they were under; yet was not Caesar unapprized, when he looked upon them in the confusion they were in, that their delay to make their defense did not arise from any consciousness of great enormities, but from their unskilfulness and modesty. They were also commiserated by those that were there in particular; and they moved their father’s affections in earnest till he had much ado to conceal them.

(3) [104] Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεῖδον εὐμένειάν τινα καὶ παρ᾽ ἐκείνου καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ἕκαστον τοὺς μὲν συνδακρύοντας, ἅπαντας δὲ συναλγοῦντας, ἄτερος αὐτῶν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπικαλεσάμενος αὐτὸν ἐπεχείρει διαλύειν τὰς αἰτίας καί, [105] “πάτερ, εἶπεν, ἡ μὲν σὴ πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὔνοια δήλη καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτὴν τὴν κρίσιν: οὐκ ἂν γάρ, εἴ τι δυσχερὲς ἐνενόεις ἐφ᾽ ἡμῖν, ἐπὶ τὸν πάντας σώζοντα προήγαγες: [106] καὶ γὰρ παρούσης μὲν ἐξουσίας ὡς βασιλεῖ, παρούσης δὲ ὡς πατρὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας ἐπεξιέναι, τὸ εἰς Ῥώμην ἄγειν καὶ τοῦτον ποιεῖσθαι μάρτυρα σώζοντος ἦν: οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀποκτεῖναί τινα προαιρούμενος εἰς ἱερὰ καὶ ναοὺς ἄγει. [107] τὸ δ᾽ ἡμέτερον ἤδη χεῖρον: οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑπομείναιμεν ἔτι ζῆν, εἰ τοιοῦτον ἠδικηκέναι πατέρα πεπιστεύμεθα. καὶ μήποτε τοῦτ᾽ ἐκείνου χεῖρον ἀντὶ τοῦ τεθνάναι μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας τὸ ζῆν ἀδικεῖν ὑποπτευομένους. [108] εἰ μὲν οὖν εὕροι λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας ἡ παρρησία, μακάριον καὶ σὲ πεῖσαι καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον διαφυγεῖν, εἰ δ᾽ οὕτως ἡ διαβολὴ κρατεῖ, περιττὸς ἡμῖν ὁ νῦν ἥλιος, ὃν τί δεῖ

βλέπειν μετὰ τῆς ὑποψίας; [109] τὸ μὲν οὖν φάναι βασιλείας ἐπιθυμεῖν, εὔκαιρος εἰς νέους αἰτία, καὶ τὸ προστιθέναι τὴν τῆς ἀθλίας μητρός, ἱκανὸν ἐκ τῆς πρώτης τὴν νῦν ἀτυχίαν ἐξεργάζεσθαι. [110] βλέψον δέ, εἰ μὴ κοινὰ ταῦτα καὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως λέγεσθαι δυνησόμενα: κωλύσει γὰρ οὐδέν, τῷ βασιλεύοντι παῖδες εἰ εἰσὶν νέοι καὶ μήτηρ αὐτῶν ἀποθανοῦσα, πάντας ὑπόπτους εἶναι τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιβούλους δοκεῖν. ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τὸ ὕποπτον πρὸς τοιαύτην ἀσέβειαν ἀρκετόν. [111] εἰπάτω δέ τις, ἡμῖν εἰ τετόλμηται τοιοῦτον, ᾧ καὶ τὰ μὴ πιστὰ πίστιν εἴωθεν ὑπ᾽ ἐνεργείας λαμβάνειν. φαρμάκου παρασκευὴν ἐλέγχειν δύναταί τις ἢ συνωμοσίαν ἡλικιωτῶν ἢ διαφθορὰν οἰκετῶν ἢ γράμματα κατὰ σοῦ γεγραμμένα; [112] καίτοι τούτων ἕκαστον ἔσθ᾽ ὅπη καὶ μὴ γενόμενον ἐκ διαβολῆς ἐπλάσθη: χαλεπὸν γὰρ οὐχ ὁμονοῶν οἶκος ἐν βασιλείᾳ: καὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, ἣν σὺ φῂς ἔπαθλον εὐσεβείας, συμβαίνει πολλάκις αἰτίαν γενέσθαι τοῖς πονηροτάτοις ἐλπίδων, δι᾽ ἃς οὐδεμίαν ὑποστολὴν ποιοῦνται κακοηθείας. [113] ἀδίκημα μὲν οὖν οὐδεὶς ἐρεῖ καθ᾽ ἡμῶν: τὰς δὲ διαβολὰς πῶς ἂν λύσειεν ὁ ἀκοῦσαι μὴ θέλων; ἐλαλήσαμέν τι μετὰ παρρησίας. οὐκ εἰς σέ: τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἄδικον: ἀλλ᾽ εἰς τοὺς οὐδ᾽ ὅ τι λελάλητο μὴ σιωπῶντας. [114] τὴν μητέρα τις ἡμῶν ἔκλαυσεν. οὐχ ὅτι τέθνηκεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι καὶ νεκρὰ κακῶς ἤκουσεν ὑπὸ τῶν οὐκ ἀξίων. ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμοῦμεν ἧς ἴσμεν ἔχοντα τὸν πατέρα; τί καὶ θέλοντες; εἰ μὲν εἰσὶν ἡμῖν τιμαὶ βασιλέων, ὥσπερ εἰσίν, οὐ κενοσπουδοῦμεν; [115] εἰ δ᾽ οὐκ εἰσίν, οὐκ ἐλπίζομεν; ἢ σὲ διαχειρισάμενοι κρατήσειν τὴν βασιλείαν προσεδοκήσαμεν, οἷς οὔτε γῆ βάσιμος οὔτε πλωτὴ θάλαττα μετὰ τοιοῦτον ἔργον; ἡ δὲ τῶν ἀρχομένων εὐσέβεια καὶ θρησκεία τοῦ παντὸς ἔθνους ἠνέσχετο ἂν πατροκτόνους ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων εἶναι καὶ εἰς τὸν ἁγιώτατον ὑπὸ σοῦ κατασκευασθέντα ναὸν εἰσιέναι. [116] τί δ᾽ εἰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κατεφρονήσαμεν, ἐδύνατό τις φονεύσας ἀτιμώρητος μένειν ζῶντος Καίσαρος; οὔτ᾽ ἀσεβεῖς οὕτως ἐγέννησας οὔτ᾽ ἀλογίστους, ἀτυχεστέρους δ᾽ ἴσως ἢ σοὶ καλῶς εἶχεν. [117] εἰ δὲ μήτ᾽ αἰτίας ἔχεις μήτ᾽ ἐπιβουλὰς εὑρίσκεις, τί σοι πρὸς πίστιν αὔταρκες τοιαύτης δυσσεβείας; ἡ μήτηρ τέθνηκεν: ἀλλά τοι τὰ κατ᾽ ἐκείνην οὐδὲ παροξύνειν ἡμᾶς ἀλλὰ νουθετεῖν ἠδύνατο. [118] πλείω μὲν ἀπολογεῖσθαι δυνάμεθα, λόγον δ᾽ οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται τὰ μὴ γενόμενα. διόπερ ἐπὶ τῷ πάντων δεσπότῃ Καίσαρι μεσιτεύοντι τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν συντιθέμεθα ταύτην τὴν συνθήκην: [119] εἰ μὲν ἀνύποπτον ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς διάθεσιν ἀπολαμβάνεις, ὦ πάτερ, ζήσομεν, οὐδ᾽ οὕτως μὲν εὐτυχῶς: δεινὸν γὰρ τῶν μεγάλων κακῶν καὶ ψευδὴς αἰτία. [120] παρούσης δέ τινος ὀρρωδίας σὺ μὲν ἐν τῇ κατὰ σαυτὸν εὐσεβείᾳ μένε, δώσομεν δὲ λόγον ἡμεῖς ἑαυτοῖς. οὐχ οὕτως ὁ βίος ἡμῖν τίμιος, ὡς ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἐπ᾽ ἀδικίᾳ τοῦ δεδωκότος.”

3. But when they saw there was a kind disposition arisen both in him and in Caesar, and that every one of the rest did either shed tears, or at least did all grieve with them, the one of them, whose name was Alexander, called to his

father, and attempted to answer his accusation, and said, “O father, the benevolence thou hast showed to us is evident, even in this very judicial procedure, for hadst thou had any pernicious intentions about us, thou hadst not produced us here before the common savior of all, for it was in thy power, both as a king and as a father, to punish the guilty; but by thus bringing us to Rome, and making Caesar himself a witness to what is done, thou intimatest that thou intendest to save us; for no one that hath a design to slay a man will bring him to the temples, and to the altars; yet are our circumstances still worse, for we cannot endure to live ourselves any longer, if it be believed that we have injured such a father; nay, perhaps it would be worse for us to live with this suspicion upon us, that we have injured him, than to die without such guilt. And if our open defense may be taken to be true, we shall be happy, both in pacifying thee, and in escaping the danger we are in; but if this calumny so prevails, it is more than enough for us that we have seen the sun this day; which why should we see, if this suspicion be fixed upon us? Now it is easy to say of young men, that they desire to reign; and to say further, that this evil proceeds from the case of our unhappy mother. This is abundantly sufficient to produce our present misfortune out of the former; but consider well, whether such an accusation does not suit all such young men, and may not be said of them all promiscuously; for nothing can hinder him that reigns, if he have children, and their mother be dead, but the father may have a suspicion upon all his sons, as intending some treachery to him; but a suspicion is not sufficient to prove such an impious practice. Now let any man say, whether we have actually and insolently attempted any such thing, whereby actions otherwise incredible use to be made credible? Can any body prove that poison hath been prepared? or prove a conspiracy of our equals, or the corruption of servants, or letters written against thee? though indeed there are none of those things but have sometimes been pretended by way of calumny, when they were never done; for a royal family that is at variance with itself is a terrible thing; and that which thou callest a reward of piety often becomes, among very wicked men, such a foundation of hope, as makes them leave no sort of mischief untried. Nor does any one lay any wicked practices to our charge; but as to calumnies by hearsay, how can he put an end to them, who will not hear what we have to say? Have we talked with too great freedom? Yes; but not against thee, for that would be unjust, but against those that never conceal any thing that is spoken to them. Hath either of us lamented our mother? Yes; but not because she is dead, but because she was evil spoken of by those that had no reason so to do. Are we desirous of that dominion which we know our father is possessed of? For what reason can we do so? If we already have royal honors, as we have, should not we labor in vain? And if we have them not, yet are not we in

hopes of them? Or supposing that we had killed thee, could we expect to obtain thy kingdom? while neither the earth would let us tread upon it, nor the sea let us sail upon it, after such an action as that; nay, the religion of all your subjects, and the piety of the whole nation, would have prohibited parricides from assuming the government, and from entering into that most holy temple which was built by thee But suppose we had made light of other dangers, can any murderer go off unpunished while Caesar is alive? We are thy sons, and not so impious or so thoughtless as that comes to, though perhaps more unfortunate than is convenient for thee. But in case thou neither findest any causes of complaint, nor any treacherous designs, what sufficient evidence hast thou to make such a wickedness of ours credible? Our mother is dead indeed, but then what befell her might be an instruction to us to caution, and not an incitement to wickedness. We are willing to make a larger apology for ourselves; but actions never done do not admit of discourse. Nay, we will make this agreement with thee, and that before Caesar, the lord of all, who is now a mediator between us, If thou, O father, canst bring thyself, by the evidence of truth, to have a mind free from suspicion concerning us let us live, though even then we shall live in an unhappy way, for to be accused of great acts of wickedness, though falsely, is a terrible thing; but if thou hast any fear remaining, continue thou on in thy pious life, we will give this reason for our own conduct; our life is not so desirable to us as to desire to have it, if it tend to the harm of our father who gave it us."

(4) [121] Τοιαῦτα δὲ λέγοντος ὅ τε Καῖσαρ οὐδὲ πρότερον πιστεύων τῷ μεγέθει τῆς διαβολῆς ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξηλλάττετο καὶ συνεχὲς εἰς τὸν Ἡρώδην ἀπέβλεπεν ὁρῶν κἀκεῖνον ὑποσυγχυνόμενον, ἀγωνία τε τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐνεπεπτώκει καὶ περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν ὁ λόγος διαδοθεὶς ἐπίφθονον ἐποίει τὸν βασιλέα. [122] τὸ γὰρ ἄπιστον τῆς διαβολῆς καὶ τὸ περὶ τοὺς νεανίσκους ἐν ἀκμῇ καὶ κάλλει σωμάτων ἐλεεινὸν ἐπεσπᾶτο βοήθειαν: ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ δεξιῶς καὶ μετὰ φρονήσεως ὑπήντησεν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἦν οὐδ' ἐκείνοις ἔτι ταὐτὸν σχῆμα, κλαίουσι μὲν ὅμως καὶ σὺν κατηφείᾳ πρὸς τὴν γῆν νενευκόσιν, [123] ἡ δ' ἐλπὶς ἀμείνων ὑπεφαίνετο, καὶ δόξας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸν ἔπειθεν εὔλογα κατηγορηκέναι διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἔχειν [ἐξελέγχειν] ἀπολογίας τινὸς ἐδεῖτο. [124] Καῖσαρ δὲ μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν τοὺς μὲν νεανίσκους, εἰ καὶ πόρρω τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς διαβολῆς δοκοῦσιν, αὐτό γε τοῦτο ἁμαρτεῖν ἔφη τὸ μὴ τοιούτους αὐτοὺς παρασχεῖν τῷ πατρί, ὡς μηδὲ γενέσθαι τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λόγον. [125] Ἡρώδην δὲ παρεκάλει πᾶσαν ὑπόνοιαν ἐκβαλόντα διαλλάττεσθαι τοῖς παισίν: οὐ γὰρ εἶναι δίκαιον οὐδὲ πιστεύειν τὰ τοιαῦτα κατὰ τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ. δύνασθαι δὲ τὴν μετάνοιαν ἀμφοτέροις οὐ μόνον ἰάσασθαι τὰ συμβεβηκότα, παροξῦναι δὲ τὴν εὔνοιαν, ἐν ᾧ τὸ προπετὲς ἑκάτεροι τῆς ὑποψίας ἀπολογούμενοι σπουδῇ πλείονι

περὶ ἀλλήλους ἀξιώσουσι κεχρῆσθαι. [126] τοιαῦτα νουθετῶν ἔνευσε τοῖς νεανίσκοις. ἐκείνων δὲ βουλομένων ὑποπεσεῖν ἐπὶ δεήσει προαναλαβὼν αὐτοὺς ὁ πατὴρ δακρύοντας ἠσπάζετο παρ᾽ ἕκαστον ἐν μέρει περιπτύσσων, ὡς μηδένα τῶν παρατυγχανόντων ἐλεύθερον ἢ δοῦλον ἀπαθῆ γενέσθαι.

4. When Alexander had thus spoken, Caesar, who did not before believe so gross a calumny, was still more moved by it, and looked intently upon Herod, and perceived he was a little confounded: the persons there present were under an anxiety about the young men, and the fame that was spread abroad made the king hated, for the very incredibility of the calumny, and the commiseration of the flower of youth, the beauty of body, which were in the young men, pleaded for assistance, and the more so on this account, that Alexander had made their defense with dexterity and prudence; nay, they did not themselves any longer continue in their former countenances, which had been bedewed with tears, and cast downwards to the ground, but now there arose in them hope of the best; and the king himself appeared not to have had foundation enough to build such an accusation upon, he having no real evidence wherewith to correct them. Indeed he wanted some apology for making the accusation; but Caesar, after some delay, said, that although the young men were thoroughly innocent of that for which they were calumniated, yet had they been so far to blame, that they had not demeaned themselves towards their father so as to prevent that suspicion which was spread abroad concerning them. He also exhorted Herod to lay all such suspicions aside, and to be reconciled to his sons; for that it was not just to give any credit to such reports concerning his own children; and that this repentance on both sides might still heal those breaches that had happened between them, and might improve that their good-will to one another, whereby those on both sides, excusing the rashness of their suspicions, might resolve to bear a greater degree of affection towards each other than they had before. After Caesar had given them this admonition, he beckoned to the young men. When therefore they were disposed to fall down to make intercession to their father, he took them up, and embraced them, as they were in tears, and took each of them distinctly in his arms, till not one of those that were present, whether free-man or slave, but was deeply affected with what they saw.

(5) [127] Τότε μὲν οὖν εὐχαριστήσαντες Καίσαρι μετ᾽ ἀλλήλων ἀπῆεσαν καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἀντίπατρος ὑποκρινόμενος ἐφήδεσθαι ταῖς διαλλαγαῖς. [128] ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὑστέραις ἡμέραις Ἡρώδης μὲν ἐδωρεῖτο Καίσαρα τριακοσίοις ταλάντοις θέας τε καὶ διανομὰς ποιούμενον τῷ Ῥωμαίων δήμῳ, Καῖσαρ δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ μετάλλου τοῦ Κυπρίων χαλκοῦ τὴν ἡμίσειαν πρόσοδον καὶ τῆς ἡμισείας τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔδωκεν καὶ τἆλλα ξενίαις καὶ καταγωγαῖς ἐτίμησεν, [129] καὶ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας

αὐτῷ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐφῆκεν ὃν ἂν αἱρῆται τῶν παίδων διάδοχον καθιστάνειν ἢ καὶ διανέμειν μέρος ἑκάστῳ τῆς τιμῆς εἰς πάντας ἐλευσομένης. ἐκείνου δὲ ἤδη θέλοντος αὐτὸ ποιεῖν οὐκ ἐπιτρέψειν ἔφη ζῶντι μὴ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τῶν παίδων κρατεῖν.

5. Then did they return thanks to Caesar, and went away together; and with them went Antipater, with an hypocritical pretense that he rejoiced at this reconciliation. And in the last days they were with Caesar, Herod made him a present of three hundred talents, as he was then exhibiting shows and largesses to the people of Rome; and Caesar made him a present of half the revenue of the copper mines in Cyprus, and committed the care of the other half to him, and honored him with other gifts and incomes; and as to his own kingdom, he left it in his own power to appoint which of his sons he pleased for his successor, or to distribute it in parts to every one, that the dignity might thereby come to them all. And when Herod was disposed to make such a settlement immediately, Caesar said he would not give him leave to deprive himself, while he was alive, of the power over his kingdom, or over his sons.

(6) [130] Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐπανῆει πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν. ἀποδημοῦντος δὲ οὐ μικρὸν μέρος ἀπέστη τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ περὶ τὸν Τράχωνα, καὶ τούτους οἱ καταλειφθέντες στρατηγοὶ χειρωσάμενοι πάλιν ὑπακούειν ἠνάγκασαν. [131] Ἡρώδης δὲ πλέων σὺν τοῖς παισὶν ὡς ἐγένετο κατὰ Κιλικίαν ἐν Ἐλαιούσῃ τῇ μετωνομασμένῃ νῦν Σεβαστῇ καταλαμβάνει τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Καππαδοκίας Ἀρχέλαον, ὃς αὐτὸν ἐκδέχεται φιλοφρόνως ἡδόμενος ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν παίδων διαλλαγαῖς καὶ τῷ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὃς εἶχεν αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα, τῆς αἰτίας ἀπολελύσθαι, δωρεάς τε ἀντέδοσαν ἀλλήλοις ἃς εἰκὸς βασιλεῖς. [132] ἐντεῦθεν Ἡρώδης ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίας ἐλθὼν καὶ γενόμενος ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων κατὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν διελέγετο, τὴν Καίσαρος εἰς αὐτὸν φιλοφροσύνην καὶ τἆλλα διεξιὼν ὅσα κατὰ μέρος αὐτῷ πραχθέντα συμφέρειν ἡγεῖτο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους εἰδέναι. [133] τέλος ἐπὶ νουθεσίᾳ τῶν παίδων κατέστρεφε τὸν λόγον τοὺς περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος εἰς ὁμόνοιαν παρακαλῶν καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς μετ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀποδεικνύων βασιλέας γενέσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν Ἀντίπατρον, εἶτα καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Μαριάμμης Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Ἀριστόβουλον. [134] ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε πάντας ἀποβλέπειν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀξιῶν καὶ βασιλέα καὶ δεσπότην ἁπάντων δοκεῖν μήτε γήρᾳ παραποδιζόμενον, ἐν ᾧ τοῦ χρόνου τὸ πρὸς ἀρχὴν ἐμπειρότατον ἔχειν, οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἐλαττούμενον, ἃ δύναται καὶ βασιλείας κρατεῖν καὶ παίδων ἄρχειν, τούς τε ἡγεμόνας καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν εἰ πρὸς ἕνα βλέποιεν αὐτὸν ἀτάραχον ἔφη τὸν βίον ἕξειν καὶ πᾶσαν ἀφορμὴν εὐδαιμονίας ἐξ ἀλλήλων ἔσεσθαι. [135] ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν ἀφίησιν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τοῖς πλείστοις μὲν ἀρεστὰ

διειλεγμένος, ἐνίοις δ’ οὐχ ὁμοίως: ἤδη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμίλλης καὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων ἃς ἐδεδώκει τοῖς παισὶ νενεωτέριστο πολλὰ καὶ νεωτέρων ἐφιέμενοι

6. After this, Herod returned to Judea again. But during his absence no small part of his dominion about Trachon had revolted, whom yet the commanders he left there had vanquished, and compelled to a submission again. Now as Herod was sailing with his sons, and was come over against Cilicia, to [the island] Eleusa, which hath now changed its name for Sebaste, he met with Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, who received him kindly, as rejoicing that he was reconciled to his sons, and that the accusation against Alexander, who had married his daughter, was at an end. They also made one another such presents as it became kings to make, From thence Herod came to Judea and to the temple, where he made a speech to the people concerning what had been done in this his journey. He also discoursed to them about Caesar’s kindness to him, and about as many of the particulars he had done as he thought it for his advantage other people should be acquainted with. At last he turned his speech to the admonition of his sons; and exhorted those that lived at court, and the multitude, to concord; and informed them that his sons were to reign after him; Antipater first, and then Alexander and Aristobulus, the sons of Mariamne: but he desired that at present they should all have regard to himself, and esteem him king and lord of all, since he was not yet hindered by old age, but was in that period of life when he must be the most skillful in governing; and that he was not deficient in other arts of management that might enable him to govern the kingdom well, and to rule over his children also. He further told the rulers under him, and the soldiery, that in case they would look upon him alone, their life would be led in a peaceable manner, and they would make one another happy. And when he had said this, he dismissed the assembly. Which speech was acceptable to the greatest part of the audience, but not so to them all; for the contention among his sons, and the hopes he had given them, occasioned thoughts and desires of innovations among them.

V

CHAPTER 5. How Herod Celebrated The Games That Were To Return Every Fifth Year Upon The Building Of Cesarea; And How He Built And Adorned Many Other Places After A Magnificent Manner; And Did Many Other Actions Gloriously

(1) [136] Περὶ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον συντέλειαν ἔλαβεν ἡ Καισάρεια Σεβαστή, ἣν ᾠκοδόμει δεκάτῳ μὲν ἔτει πρὸς τέλος ἐλθούσης αὐτῷ τῆς ὅλης κατασκευῆς, ἐκπεσούσης δὲ τῆς προθεσμίας εἰς ὄγδοον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπ᾽ ὀλυμπιάδος δευτέρας καὶ ἐνενηκοστῆς πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατόν. [137] ἦν οὖν εὐθὺς ἐν καθιερώσει μείζονες ἑορταὶ καὶ παρασκευαὶ πολυτελέσταται: κατηγγέλκει μὲν γὰρ ἀγῶνα μουσικῆς καὶ γυμνικῶν ἀθλημάτων, παρεσκευάκει δὲ πολὺ πλῆθος μονομάχων καὶ θηρίων ἵππων τε δρόμον καὶ τὰ πολυτελέστερα τῶν ἔν τε τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ παρ᾽ ἄλλοις τισὶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων. [138] ἀνετίθει δὲ καὶ τοῦτον τὸν ἀγῶνα Καίσαρι κατὰ πενταετηρίδα παρεσκευασμένος ἄγειν αὐτόν: ὁ δ᾽ αὐτῷ πᾶσαν τὴν εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα παρασκευὴν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων διεπέμπετο τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἐπικοσμῶν. [139] ἰδίᾳ δὲ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ Καίσαρος Ἰουλία πολλὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ πολυτελεστάτων ἀπέστειλεν, ὡς μηδὲν ὑστερεῖν τὰ πάντα συντιμώμενα ταλάντων πεντακοσίων. [140] συνελθόντος δ᾽ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὄχλου πλείονος κατὰ θεωρίαν καὶ πρεσβείας, ἃς ἔπεμπον οἱ δῆμοι δι᾽ ἃς ἐπεπόνθεισαν εὐεργεσίας, ἅπαντας ἐξεδέξατο καὶ καταγωγαῖς καὶ τραπέζαις καὶ διηνεκέσιν ἑορταῖς, τῆς πανηγύρεως ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐχούσης τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν θεαμάτων ψυχαγωγίας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς νυξὶ τὰς εὐφροσύνας καὶ τὴν εἰς τοῦτο πολυτέλειαν, ὡς ἐπίσημον γενέσθαι τὴν μεγαλοψυχίαν αὐτοῦ: [141] εἰς πάντα γὰρ ἅπερ [ἂν] ἐπιτηδεύσειεν ἐφιλονείκει τὴν τῶν ἤδη γεγενημένων ἐπίδειξιν ὑπερβαλέσθαι, καί φασιν αὐτόν τε Καίσαρα καὶ Ἀγρίππαν πολλάκις εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἀποδέοι τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἡρώδῃ τῆς οὔσης ἐν αὐτῷ μεγαλοψυχίας: ἄξιον γὰρ εἶναι καὶ Συρίας ἁπάσης καὶ Αἰγύπτου τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχειν.

1. About this time it was that Cesarea Sebaste, which he had built, was finished. The entire building being accomplished: in the tenth year, the solemnity of it fell into the twenty-eighth year of Herod's reign, and into the hundred and ninety-second olympiad. There was accordingly a great festival and most sumptuous preparations made presently, in order to its dedication; for he had appointed a contention in music, and games to be performed naked. He had also gotten ready a great number of those that fight single combats, and of beasts for the like

purpose; horse races also, and the most chargeable of such sports and shows as used to be exhibited at Rome, and in other places. He consecrated this combat to Caesar, and ordered it to be celebrated every fifth year. He also sent all sorts of ornaments for it out of his own furniture, that it might want nothing to make it decent; nay, Julia, Caesar's wife, sent a great part of her most valuable furniture [from Rome], insomuch that he had no want of any thing. The sum of them all was estimated at five hundred talents. Now when a great multitude was come to that city to see the shows, as well as the ambassadors whom other people sent, on account of the benefits they had received from Herod, he entertained them all in the public inns, and at public tables, and with perpetual feasts; this solemnity having in the day time the diversions of the fights, and in the night time such merry meetings as cost vast sums of money, and publicly demonstrated the generosity of his soul; for in all his undertakings he was ambitious to exhibit what exceeded whatsoever had been done before of the same kind. And it is related that Caesar and Agrippa often said, that the dominions of Herod were too little for the greatness of his soul; for that he deserved to have both all the kingdom of Syria, and that of Egypt also.

(2) [142] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν πανήγυριν ταύτην καὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς πόλιν ἄλλην ἀνήγειρεν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῷ λεγομένῳ Καφαρσαβᾶ τόπον ἔνυδρον καὶ χώραν ἀρίστην φυτοῖς ἐκλέξας, ποταμοῦ τε περιρρέοντος τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν καὶ καλλίστου κατὰ μέγεθος τῶν φυτῶν περιειληφότος ἄλσους. [143] ταύτην ἀπὸ Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀντιπατρίδα προσηγόρευσεν. ἐπώνυμον δὲ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ χωρίον ὑπὲρ Ἰεριχοῦν οἰκοδομήσας ἀσφαλείᾳ τε διάφορον καὶ καταγωγαῖς ἥδιστον ἐκάλεσεν Κύπρον. [144] Φασαήλῳ τε τῷ ἀδελφῷ μνημεῖα διὰ τὴν γεγενημένην εἰς αὐτὸν φιλοστοργίαν ἀνετίθει τὰ κάλλιστα, πύργον ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως ἀναστήσας οὐδὲν ἐλάττω τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Φάρον, ὃν προσηγόρευσεν Φασάηλον, ἀσφαλείας τε τῇ πόλει μέρος ὄντα καὶ μνήμης τῷ τετελευτηκότι διὰ τὴν προσηγορίαν. [145] ὁμώνυμον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ πόλιν περὶ τὸν αὐλῶνα τῆς Ἰεριχοῦντος ἔκτισεν ἀπιόντων κατὰ βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, δι᾽ ἧς καὶ τὴν πέριξ χώραν ἔρημον οὖσαν ἐνεργοτέραν ἐποίησεν ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις τῶν οἰκητόρων. Φασαηλίδα καὶ ταύτην ἐκάλει.

2. After this solemnity and these festivals were over, Herod erected another city in the plain called Capharsaba, where he chose out a fit place, both for plenty of water and goodness of soil, and proper for the production of what was there planted, where a river encompassed the city itself, and a grove of the best trees for magnitude was round about it: this he named Antipatris, from his father Antipater. He also built upon another spot of ground above Jericho, of the same name with his mother, a place of great security and very pleasant for habitation, and called it Cypros. He also dedicated the finest monuments to his brother

Phasaelus, on account of the great natural affection there had been between them, by erecting a tower in the city itself, not less than the tower of Pharos, which he named Phasaelus, which was at once a part of the strong defenses of the city, and a memorial for him that was deceased, because it bare his name. He also built a city of the same name in the valley of Jericho, as you go from it northward, whereby he rendered the neighboring country more fruitful by the cultivation its inhabitants introduced; and this also he called Phasaelus.

(3) [146] Τὰς δὲ ἄλλας εὐεργεσίας ἄπορον εἰπεῖν ὅσας ἀπέδωκεν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἔν τε Συρίᾳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ παρ᾽ οἷς ποτ᾽ ἂν ἀποδημήσας τύχοι: καὶ γὰρ πλείους λειτουργίας καὶ δημοσίων ἔργων κατασκευὰς καὶ χρήματα τοῖς δεομένοις [ἔργοις] εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν προτέρων ἔργων ἐκλελοιπότων ἄφθονα χαρίσασθαι δοκεῖ. [147] τὰ δὲ μέγιστα καὶ διασημότατα τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ Ῥοδίοις μὲν τό τε Πύθιον ἀνέστησεν οἰκείοις ἀναλώμασιν καὶ παρέσχεν ἀργυρίου πολλὰ τάλαντα πρὸς ναυπηγίαν. Νικοπολίταις δὲ τοῖς ἐπ᾽ Ἀκτίῳ κτισθεῖσιν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν δημοσίων συγκατεσκεύασεν. [148] Ἀντιοχεῦσι δὲ τοῖς ἐν Συρίᾳ μεγίστην πόλιν οἰκοῦσιν, ἣν κατὰ μῆκος τέμνει πλατεῖα, ταύτην αὐτὴν στοαῖς παρ᾽ ἑκάτερα καὶ λίθῳ τὴν ὕπαιθρον ὁδὸν ξεστῷ καταστορέσας πλεῖστον εἰς κόσμον καὶ τὴν τῶν οἰκούντων εὐχρηστίαν ὠφέλησεν. [149] τόν γε μὴν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἀγῶνα πολὺ τῆς προσηγορίας ἀδοξότερον ὑπ᾽ ἀχρηματίας διατεθειμένον τιμιώτερον ἐποίει χρημάτων προσόδους καταστήσας καὶ πρὸς θυσίας καὶ τὸν ἄλλον κόσμον ἐσεμνοποίησεν τὴν πανήγυριν. διὰ δὴ ταύτην τὴν φιλοτιμίαν διηνεκὴς ἀγωνοθέτης παρὰ τοῖς Ἠλείοις ἀνεγράφη.

3. But as for his other benefits, it is impossible to reckon them up, those which he bestowed on cities, both in Syria and in Greece, and in all the places he came to in his voyages; for he seems to have conferred, and that after a most plentiful manner, what would minister to many necessities, and the building of public works, and gave them the money that was necessary to such works as wanted it, to support them upon the failure of their other revenues: but what was the greatest and most illustrious of all his works, he erected Apollo’s temple at Rhodes, at his own expenses, and gave them a great number of talents of silver for the repair of their fleet. He also built the greatest part of the public edifices for the inhabitants of Nicopolis, at Actium; and for the Antiochinus, the inhabitants of the principal city of Syria, where a broad street cuts through the place lengthways, he built cloisters along it on both sides, and laid the open road with polished stone, and was of very great advantage to the inhabitants. And as to the olympic games, which were in a very low condition, by reason of the failure of their revenues, he recovered their reputation, and appointed revenues

for heir maintenance, and made that solemn meeting more venerable, as to the sacrifices and other ornaments; and by reason of this vast liberality, he was generally declared in their inscriptions to be one of the perpetual managers of those games.

(4) [150] Τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις ἐπέρχεται θαυμάζειν τὸ διεστὸς τῆς ἐν τῇ φύσει προαιρέσεως: ὅταν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰς φιλοτιμίας καὶ τὰς εὐεργεσίας ἀπίδωμεν, αἷς ἐκέχρητο πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐκ ἄν τις αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν ἔλαττον τετιμημένων ἠρνήθη μὴ συνομολογεῖν εὐεργετικωτάτῃ κεχρῆσθαι τῇ φύσει. [151] ὅταν δὲ εἰς τὰς τιμωρίας καὶ ἀδικίας, ἃς εἰς τοὺς ἀρχομένους καὶ τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἐπεδείξατο βλέψῃ καὶ καταμάθῃ τὸ σκληρὸν καὶ τὸ δυσπαράκλητον τοῦ τρόπου, νικηθήσεται θηριώδη δοκεῖν καὶ πάσης μετριότητος ἀλλότριον. [152] ἔνθεν καὶ διάφορόν τινα καὶ μαχομένην ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ νομίζουσιν γενέσθαι τὴν προαίρεσιν. ἐγὼ δ᾽ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχων μίαν αἰτίαν ἀμφοτέρων τούτων ὑπολαμβάνω: [153] φιλότιμος γὰρ ὢν καὶ τούτου τοῦ πάθους ἡττημένος ἰσχυρῶς, προήγετο μὲν εἰς μεγαλοψυχίαν, εἴ που μνήμης εἰς αὖθις ἢ κατὰ τὸ παρὸν εὐφημίας ἐλπὶς ἐμπέσοι. [154] ταῖς δὲ δαπάναις ὑπὲρ δύναμιν χρώμενος ἠναγκάζετο χαλεπὸς εἶναι τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις: τὰ γὰρ εἰς οὓς ἐδαπάνα πολλὰ γενόμενα κακῶν ποριστὴν ἐξ ὧν ἐλάμβανεν ἐποίει. [155] καὶ συνειδὼς ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἠδίκει τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους μισούμενον ἑαυτὸν τὸ μὲν ἐπανορθοῦσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἐνόμιζεν: οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰς τὰς προσόδους λυσιτελὲς ἦν. ἀντεφιλονείκει δὲ τὴν δύσνοιαν αὐτὴν εὐπορίας ἀφορμὴν ποιούμενος. [156] περί γε μὴν τοὺς οἰκείους, εἴ τις ἢ λόγῳ μὴ θεραπεύοι τὸ δοῦλον ἐξομολογούμενος ἢ δόξειεν εἰς τὴν ἀρχήν τι παρακινεῖν, οὐχ ἱκανὸς ἑαυτοῦ κρατεῖν ἐγίνετο καὶ διεξῆλθεν ὁμοῦ συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους ἴσα πολεμίοις τιμωρούμενος ἐκ τοῦ μόνος ἐθέλειν τετιμῆσθαι τὰς τοιαύτας ἁμαρτίας ἀναλαμβάνων. [157] μαρτύριον δέ μοι τούτου τοῦ πάθους, ὅτι μέγιστον περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν, καὶ τὰ γινόμενα κατὰ τὰς Καίσαρος καὶ Ἀγρίππα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων τιμάς: οἷς γὰρ ἐθεράπευεν τοὺς κρείττονας, τούτοις καὶ αὐτὸς ἠξίου θεραπεύεσθαι καὶ τὸ κάλλιστον ὧν ᾤετο παρέχων ἐν τῷ διδόναι τὴν τοῦ τυχεῖν τῶν ὁμοίων ἐπιθυμίαν ἐδήλου. [158] τό γε μὴν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἠλλοτρίωται νόμῳ πρὸς πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ συνείθισται τὸ δίκαιον ἀντὶ τοῦ πρὸς δόξαν ἠγαπηκέναι. διόπερ οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ κεχαρισμένον, ὅτι μὴ δυνατὸν εἰκόσιν ἢ ναοῖς ἢ τοιούτοις ἐπιτηδεύμασιν κολακεύειν τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ φιλότιμον. [159] αἰτία μὲν αὕτη μοι δοκεῖ τῆς Ἡρώδου περὶ μὲν τοὺς οἰκείους καὶ συμβούλους ἁμαρτίας, περὶ δὲ τοὺς ἔξω καὶ μὴ προσήκοντας εὐεργεσίας.

4. Now some there are who stand amazed at the diversity of Herod’s nature and purposes; for when we have respect to his magnificence, and the benefits which he bestowed on all mankind, there is no possibility for even those that had the

least respect for him to deny, or not openly to confess, that he had a nature vastly beneficent; but when any one looks upon the punishments he inflicted, and the injuries he did, not only to his subjects, but to his nearest relations, and takes notice of his severe and unrelenting disposition there, he will be forced to allow that he was brutish, and a stranger to all humanity; insomuch that these men suppose his nature to be different, and sometimes at contradiction with itself; but I am myself of another opinion, and imagine that the occasion of both these sort of actions was one and the same; for being a man ambitious of honor, and quite overcome by that passion, he was induced to be magnificent, wherever there appeared any hopes of a future memorial, or of reputation at present; and as his expenses were beyond his abilities, he was necessitated to be harsh to his subjects; for the persons on whom he expended his money were so many, that they made him a very bad procurer of it; and because he was conscious that he was hated by those under him, for the injuries he did them, he thought it not an easy thing to amend his offenses, for that it was inconvenient for his revenue; he therefore strove on the other side to make their ill-will an occasion of his gains. As to his own court, therefore, if any one was not very obsequious to him in his language, and would not confess himself to be his slave, or but seemed to think of any innovation in his government, he was not able to contain himself, but prosecuted his very kindred and friends, and punished them as if they were enemies and this wickedness he undertook out of a desire that he might be himself alone honored. Now for this, my assertion about that passion of his, we have the greatest evidence, by what he did to honor Caesar and Agrippa, and his other friends; for with what honors he paid his respects to them who were his superiors, the same did he desire to be paid to himself; and what he thought the most excellent present he could make another, he discovered an inclination to have the like presented to himself. But now the Jewish nation is by their law a stranger to all such things, and accustomed to prefer righteousness to glory; for which reason that nation was not agreeable to him, because it was out of their power to flatter the king’s ambition with statues or temples, or any other such performances; And this seems to me to have been at once the occasion of Herod’s crimes as to his own courtiers and counselors, and of his benefactions as to foreigners and those that had no relation to him.

VI

CHAPTER 6. An Embassage In Cyrene And Asia To Caesar, Concerning The Complaints They Had To Make Against The Greeks; With Copies Of The Epistles Which Caesar And Agrippa Wrote To The Cities For Them.

(1) [160] Τοὺς δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἰουδαίους καὶ ὅσους ἡ πρὸς Κυρήνῃ Λιβύη κατέσχεν ἐκάκουν αἱ πόλεις, τῶν μὲν πρότερον βασιλέων ἰσονομίαν αὐτοῖς παρεσχημένων, ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε δι᾽ ἐπηρείας ἐχόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων αὐτούς, ὡς καὶ χρημάτων ἱερῶν ἀφαίρεσιν ποιεῖσθαι καὶ καταβλάπτειν ἐν τοῖς ἐπὶ μέρους. [161] πάσχοντες δὲ κακῶς καὶ πέρας οὐδὲν εὑρίσκοντες τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπανθρωπίας ἐπρεσβεύσαντο παρὰ Καίσαρα καὶ περὶ τούτων. ὁ δ᾽ αὐτοῖς τὴν αὐτὴν ἰσοτέλειαν ἔδωκεν γράψας τοῖς κατὰ τὰς ἐπαρχίας, ὧν ὑπετάξαμεν τὰ ἀντίγραφα μαρτύρια τῆς διαθέσεως, ἣν ἔσχον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἄνωθεν οἱ κρατοῦντες.

1. Now the cities ill-treated the Jews in Asia, and all those also of the same nation which lived ill Libya, which joins to Cyrene, while the former kings had given them equal privileges with the other citizens; but the Greeks affronted them at this time, and that so far as to take away their sacred money, and to do them mischief on other particular occasions. When therefore they were thus afflicted, and found no end of their barbarous treatment they met with among the Greeks, they sent ambassadors to Caesar on those accounts, who gave them the same privileges as they had before, and sent letters to the same purpose to the governors of the provinces, copies of which I subjoin here, as testimonials of the ancient favorable disposition the Roman emperors had towards us.

(2) [162] “Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς ἀρχιερεὺς δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας λέγει. ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἔθνος τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων εὐχάριστον εὑρέθη οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ ἐνεστῶτι καιρῷ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ προγεγενημένῳ καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ῥωμαίων ὅ τε ἀρχιερεὺς αὐτῶν Ὑρκανός, [163] ἔδοξέ μοι καὶ τῷ ἐμῷ συμβουλίῳ μετὰ ὁρκωμοσίας γνώμῃ δήμου Ῥωμαίων τοὺς Ἰουδαίους χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἰδίοις θεσμοῖς κατὰ τὸν πάτριον αὐτῶν νόμον, καθὼς ἐχρῶντο ἐπὶ Ὑρκανοῦ ἀρχιερέως θεοῦ ὑψίστου, τά τε ἱερὰ Εἶναι ἐν ἀσυλίᾳ καὶ ἀναπέμπεσθαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ἀποδίδοσθαι τοῖς ἀποδοχεῦσιν Ἱεροσολύμων, ἐγγύας τε μὴ ὁμολογεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐν σάββασιν ἢ τῇ πρὸ αὐτῆς παρασκευῇ ἀπὸ ὥρας ἐνάτης. [164] ἐὰν δέ τις φωραθῇ κλέπτων τὰς ἱερὰς βίβλους αὐτῶν ἢ τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα ἔκ τε σαββατείου ἔκ τε ἀνδρῶνος, εἶναι αὐτὸν ἱερόσυλον καὶ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ

ἐνεχθῆναι εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τῶν Ῥωμαίων. [165] τό τε ψήφισμα τὸ δοθέν μοι ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς εὐσεβείας ἧς ἔχω πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ ὑπὲρ Γαίου Μαρκίου Κηνσωρίνου καὶ τοῦτο τὸ διάταγμα κελεύω ἀνατεθῆναι ἐν ἐπισημοτάτῳ τόπῳ τῷ γενηθέντι μοι ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐν Ἀγκύρῃ. ἐὰν δέ τις παραβῇ τι τῶν προειρημένων, δώσει δίκην οὐ μετρίαν. ἐστηλογραφήθη ἐν τῷ Καίσαρος ναῷ.”

2. “Caesar Augustus, high priest and tribune of the people, ordains thus: Since the nation of the Jews hath been found grateful to the Roman people, not only at this time, but in time past also, and chiefly Hyrcanus the high priest, under my father Caesar the emperor, it seemed good to me and my counselors, according to the sentence and oath of the people of Rome, that the Jews have liberty to make use of their own customs, according to the law of their forefathers, as they made use of them under Hyrcanus the high priest of the Almighty God; and that their sacred money be not touched, but be sent to Jerusalem, and that it be committed to the care of the receivers at Jerusalem; and that they be not obliged to go before any judge on the sabbath day, nor on the day of the preparation to it, after the ninth hour. But if any one be caught stealing their holy books, or their sacred money, whether it be out of the synagogue or public school, he shall be deemed a sacrilegious person, and his goods shall be brought into the public treasury of the Romans. And I give order that the testimonial which they have given me, on account of my regard to that piety which I exercise toward all mankind, and out of regard to Caius Marcus Censorinus, together with the present decree, be proposed in that most eminent place which hath been consecrated to me by the community of Asia at Ancyra. And if any one transgress any part of what is above decreed, he shall be severely punished.” This was inscribed upon a pillar in the temple of Caesar.

(3) [166] “Καῖσαρ Νωρβανῷ Φλάκκῳ χαίρειν. Ἰουδαῖοι ὅσοι ποτ᾽ οὖν εἰσίν, [οἳ] δι᾽ ἀρχαίαν συνήθειαν εἰώθασιν χρήματά τε ἱερὰ φέροντες ἀναπέμπειν ἀκωλύτως τοῦτο ποιείτωσαν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.” καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Καῖσαρ.

3. “Caesar to Norbanus Flaccus, sendeth greeting. Let those Jews, how many soever they be, who have been used, according to their ancient custom, to send their sacred money to Jerusalem, do the same freely.” These were the decrees of Caesar.

(4) [167] Ἀγρίππας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον: “Ἀγρίππας Ἐφεσίων ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. τῶν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀναφερομένων ἱερῶν χρημάτων τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ φυλακὴν βούλομαι τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ Ἰουδαίους ποιεῖσθαι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. [168] τούς τε

κλέπτοντας ἱερὰ γράμματα τῶν Ἰουδαίων καταφεύγοντάς τε εἰς τὰς ἀσυλίας βούλομαι ἀποσπᾶσθαι καὶ παραδίδοσθαι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, ᾧ δικαίῳ ἀποσπῶνται οἱ ἱερόσυλοι. ἔγραψα δὲ καὶ Σιλανῷ τῷ στρατηγῷ, ἵνα σάββασιν μηδεὶς ἀναγκάζῃ Ἰουδαῖον ἐγγύας ὁμολογεῖν.”

4. Agrippa also did himself write after the manner following, on behalf of the Jews: “Agrippa, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting. I will that the care and custody of the sacred money that is carried to the temple at Jerusalem be left to the Jews of Asia, to do with it according to their ancient custom; and that such as steal that sacred money of the Jews, and fly to a sanctuary, shall be taken thence and delivered to the Jews, by the same law that sacrilegious persons are taken thence. I have also written to Sylvanus the praetor, that no one compel the Jews to come before a judge on the sabbath day.”

(5) [169] “Μᾶρκος Ἀγρίππας Κυρηναίων ἄρχουσιν βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. οἱ ἐν Κυρήνῃ Ἰουδαῖοι, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἤδη ὁ Σεβαστὸς ἔπεμψεν πρὸς τὸν ἐν Λιβύῃ στρατηγὸν τόντε ὄντα Φλάβιον καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπιμελουμένους, ἵνα ἀνεπικωλύτως ἀναπέμπηται τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, ὡς ἔστιν αὐτοῖς πάτριον, [170] ἐνέτυχόν μοι νῦν, ὡς ὑπό τινων συκοφαντῶν ἐπηρεαζόμενοι καὶ ὡς ἐν προφάσει τελῶν μὴ ὀφειλομένων κωλύοιντο: οἷς ἀποκαθιστάνειν κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον ἐνοχλουμένοις, καὶ εἴ τινων ἱερὰ χρήματα ἀφῄρηνται τῶν πόλεων τοὺς εἰς ταῦτα ἀποκεκριμένους καὶ ταῦτα διορθώσασθαι τοῖς ἐκεῖ Ἰουδαίοις κελεύω.”

5. “Marcus Agrippa to the magistrates, senate, and people of Cyrene, sendeth greeting. The Jews of Cyrene have interceded with me for the performance of what Augustus sent orders about to Flavius, the then praetor of Libya, and to the other procurators of that province, that the sacred money may be sent to Jerusalem freely, as hath been their custom from their forefathers, they complaining that they are abused by certain informers, and under pretense of taxes which were not due, are hindered from sending them, which I command to be restored without any diminution or disturbance given to them. And if any of that sacred money in the cities be taken from their proper receivers, I further enjoin, that the same be exactly returned to the Jews in that place.”

(6) [171] “Γάιος Νωρβανὸς Φλάκκος ἀνθύπατος Σαρδιανῶν ἄρχουσι χαίρειν. Καῖσάρ μοι ἔγραψεν κελεύων μὴ κωλύεσθαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ὅσα ἂν ὦσιν κατὰ τὸ πάτριον αὐτοῖς ἔθος συναγαγόντες χρήματα ἀναπέμπειν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. ἔγραψα οὖν ὑμῖν, ἵν’ εἰδῆτε, ὅτι Καῖσαρ κἀγὼ οὕτως θέλομεν γίνεσθαι.”

6. “Caius Norbanus Flaccus, proconsul, to the magistrates of the Sardians, sendeth greeting. Caesar hath written to me, and commanded me not to forbid the Jews, how many soever they be, from assembling together according to the custom of their forefathers, nor from sending their money to Jerusalem. I have therefore written to you, that you may know that both Caesar and I would have you act accordingly.”

(7) [172] Οὐδὲν ἧττον καὶ Ἰούλιος Ἀντώνιος ἀνθύπατος ἔγραψεν “Ἐφεσίων ἄρχουσιν βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ κατοικοῦντες Ἰουδαῖοι εἰδοῖς Φεβρουαρίοις δικαιοδοτοῦντί μοι ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ὑπέδειξαν Καίσαρα τὸν Σεβαστὸν καὶ Ἀγρίππαν συγκεχωρηκέναι αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἰδίοις νόμοις καὶ ἔθεσιν, ἀπαρχάς τε, ἃς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας προαιρέσεως εὐσεβείας ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἀNακομιδῆς συμπορευομένους ποιεῖν ἀνεμποδίστως. [173] ᾔτουν τε, ὅπως κἀγὼ ὁμοίως τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Ἀγρίππα δοθεῖσιν τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην βεβαιώσω. ὑμᾶς οὖν βούλομαι εἰδέναι ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Ἀγρίππα βουλήμασιν συνεπιτρέπειν αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια χωρὶς ἐμποδισμοῦ.”

7. Nor did Julius Antonius, the proconsul, write otherwise. “To the magistrates, senate, and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting. As I was dispensing justice at Ephesus, on the Ides of February, the Jews that dwell in Asia demonstrated to me that Augustus and Agrippa had permitted them to use their own laws and customs, and to offer those their first-fruits, which every one of them freely offers to the Deity on account of piety, and to carry them in a company together to Jerusalem without disturbance. They also petitioned me that I also would confirm what had been granted by Augustus and Agrippa by my own sanction. I would therefore have you take notice, that according to the will of Augustus and Agrippa, I permit them to use and do according to the customs of their forefathers without disturbance.”

(8) [174] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν παρεθέμην ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ἐπειδὴ μέλλουσιν αἱ τῶν ἡμετέρων πράξεων ἀναγραφαὶ τὸ πλέον εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἰέναι, δεικνὺς αὐτοῖς ὅτι πάσης τιμῆς ἄνωθεν ἐπιτυγχάνοντες οὐδὲν τῶν πατρίων ἐκωλύθημεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων πράττειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεργούμεθα τὰ τῆς θρησκείας ἔχοντες καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν θεὸν τιμῶν. [175] ποιοῦμαι δὲ πολλάκις αὐτῶν τὴν μνήμην ἐπιδιαλλάττων τὰ γένη καὶ τὰς ἐμπεφυκυίας τοῖς ἀλογίστοις ἡμῶν τε κἀκείνων μίσους αἰτίας ὑπεξαιρούμενος. [176] ἔθεσιν μὲν γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστιν γένος ὃ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ χρῆται καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἔσθ’ ὅπη πολλῆς ἐγγιγνομένης τῆς διαφορᾶς: τὸ δίκαιον δὲ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὁμοίως ἐπιτηδεύοντες λυσιτελέστατον ὂν Ἕλλησίν τε καὶ βαρβάροις, [177] οὗ πλεῖστον οἱ παρ’ ἡμῖν νόμοι λόγον ἔχοντες ἅπασιν ἡμᾶς, εἰ

καθαρῶς ἐμμένοιμεν αὐτοῖς, εὔνους καὶ φίλους ἀπεργάζονται. [178] διὸ καὶ ταῦτα παρ᾽ ἐκείνων ἡμῖν ἀπαιτητέον καὶ δέον οὐκ ἐν τῇ διαφορᾷ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων οἴεσθαι τὸ ἀλλότριον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τῷ πρὸς καλοκαγαθίαν ἐπιτηδείως ἔχειν: τοῦτο γὰρ κοινὸν ἅπασιν καὶ μόνον ἱκανὸν διασώζειν τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον. ἐπάνειμι δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ συνεχῆ τῆς ἱστορίας.

8. I have been obliged to set down these decree because the present history of our own acts will go generally among the Greeks; and I have hereby demonstrated to them that we have formerly been in great esteem, and have not been prohibited by those governors we were under from keeping any of the laws of our forefathers; nay, that we have been supported by them, while we followed our own religion, and the worship we paid to God; and I frequently make mention of these decrees, in order to reconcile other people to us, and to take away the causes of that hatred which unreasonable men bear to us. As for our customs there is no nation which always makes use of the same, and in every city almost we meet with them different from one another; but natural justice is most agreeable to the advantage of all men equally, both Greeks and barbarians, to which our laws have the greatest regard, and thereby render us, if we abide in them after a pure manner, benevolent and friendly to all men; on which account we have reason to expect the like return from others, and to inform them that they ought not to esteem difference of positive institutions a sufficient cause of alienation, but [join with us in] the pursuit of virtue and probity, for this belongs to all men in common, and of itself alone is sufficient for the preservation of human life. I now return to the thread of my history.

VII

CHAPTER 7. How, Upon Herod's Going Down Into David's Sepulcher, The Sedition In His Family Greatly Increased.

(1) [179] Ὁ γὰρ Ἡρώδης πολλοῖς τοῖς ἀναλώμασιν εἵς τε τὰς ἔξω καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ χρώμενος, ἀκηκοὼς ἔτι τάχιον ὡς Ὑρκανὸς ὁ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλεὺς ἀνοίξας τὸν Δαυίδου τάφον ἀργυρίου λάβοι τρισχίλια τάλαντα κειμένων πολὺ πλειόνων ἔτι καὶ δυναμένων εἰς ἅπαν ἐπαρκέσαι ταῖς χορηγίαις, ἐκ πλείονος μὲν δι' ἐννοίας εἶχεν τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν, [180] ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε νυκτὸς ἀνοίξας τὸν τάφον εἰσέρχεται πραγματευσάμενος ἥκιστα μὲν τῇ πόλει φανερὸς εἶναι, παρειληφὼς δὲ τοὺς πιστοτάτους τῶν φίλων. [181] ἀποθέσιμα μὲν οὖν χρήματα καθάπερ Ὑρκανὸς οὐχ εὗρεν, κόσμον δὲ χρυσοῦν καὶ κειμηλίων πολύν, ὃν ἀνείλετο πάντα. σπουδὴν δ' εἶχεν ἐπιμελεστέραν ποιούμενος τὴν ἔρευναν ἐνδοτέρω τε χωρεῖν καὶ κατὰ τὰς θήκας, ἐν αἷς ἦν τοῦ Δαυίδου καὶ τοῦ Σολομῶνος τὰ σώματα. [182] καὶ δύο μὲν αὐτῷ τῶν δορυφόρων διεφθάρησαν φλογὸς ἔνδοθεν εἰσιοῦσιν ἀπαντώσης, ὡς ἐλέγετο, περίφοβος δ' αὐτὸς ἐξῄει, καὶ τοῦ δέους ἱλαστήριον μνῆμα λευκῆς πέτρας ἐπὶ τῷ στομίῳ κατεσκευάσατο πολυτελὲς τῇ δαπάνῃ. [183] τούτου καὶ Νικόλαος ὁ κατ' αὐτὸν ἱστοριογράφος μέμνηται τοῦ κατασκευάσματος, οὐ μὴν ὅτι καὶ κατῆλθεν, οὐκ εὐπρεπῆ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐπιστάμενος. διατελεῖ δὲ καὶ τἆλλα τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον χρώμενος τῇ γραφῇ: [184] ζῶντι γὰρ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ κεχαρισμένως ἐκείνῳ καὶ καθ' ὑπηρεσίαν ἀνέγραφεν, μόνων ἁπτόμενος τῶν εὔκλειαν αὐτῷ φερόντων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐμφανῶς ἀδίκων ἀντικατασκευάζων καὶ μετὰ πάσης σπουδῆς ἐπικρυπτόμενος, [185] ὅς γε καὶ τὸν Μαριάμμης θάνατον καὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτῆς οὕτως ὠμῶς τῷ βασιλεῖ πεπραγμένον εἰς εὐπρέπειαν ἀνάγειν βουλόμενος ἐκείνης τε ἀσέλγειαν καὶ τῶν νεανίσκων ἐπιβουλὰς καταψεύδεται, καὶ διατετέλεκεν τῇ γραφῇ τὰ μὲν πεπραγμένα δικαίως τῷ βασιλεῖ περιττότερον ἐγκωμιάζων, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν παρανομηθέντων ἐσπουδασμένως ἀπολογούμενος. [186] ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὖν πολλὴν ἄν τις, ὡς ἔφην, ἔχοι τὴν συγγνώμην: οὐ γὰρ ἱστορίαν τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀλλὰ ὑπουργίαν τῷ βασιλεῖ ταύτην ἐποιεῖτο. [187] ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ γένους ὄντες ἀγχοῦ τῶν ἐξ Ἀσαμωναίου βασιλέων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σὺν τιμῇ τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἔχοντες τὸ ψεύσασθαί τι περὶ αὐτῶν οὐκ εὐπρεπὲς ὑπειληφότες καθαρῶς καὶ δικαίως ἐκτίθεμεν τὰς πράξεις, πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἐγγόνων τῶν ἐκείνου καὶ βασιλεύοντας ἔτι δι' ἐντροπῆς ἔχοντες, τὴν δ' ἀλήθειαν πρὸ ἐκείνων τετιμηκότες, ἣν ὅτε δικαίως ἐγίνετο συνέβη τε παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις ὀργῇ τυγχάνειν.

1. As for Herod, he had spent vast sums about the cities, both without and within his own kingdom; and as he had before heard that Hyrcanus, who had been king before him, had opened David's sepulcher, and taken out of it three thousand talents of silver, and that there was a much greater number left behind, and indeed enough to suffice all his wants, he had a great while an intention to make the attempt; and at this time he opened that sepulcher by night, and went into it, and endeavored that it should not be at all known in the city, but took only his most faithful friends with him. As for any money, he found none, as Hyrcanus had done, but that furniture of gold, and those precious goods that were laid up there; all which he took away. However, he had a great desire to make a more diligent search, and to go farther in, even as far as the very bodies of David and Solomon; where two of his guards were slain, by a flame that burst out upon those that went in, as the report was. So he was terribly aftrighted, and went out, and built a propitiatory monument of that fright he had been in; and this of white stone, at the mouth of the sepulcher, and that at great expense also. And even Nicolaus his historiographer makes mention of this monument built by Herod, though he does not mention his going down into the sepulcher, as knowing that action to be of ill repute; and many other things he treats of in the same manner in his book; for he wrote in Herod's lifetime, and under his reign, and so as to please him, and as a servant to him, touching upon nothing but what tended to his glory, and openly excusing many of his notorious crimes, and very diligently concealing them. And as he was desirous to put handsome colors on the death of Mariamne and her sons, which were barbarous actions in the king, he tells falsehoods about the incontinence of Mariamne, and the treacherous designs of his sons upon him; and thus he proceeded in his whole work, making a pompous encomium upon what just actions he had done, but earnestly apologizing for his unjust ones. Indeed, a man, as I said, may have a great deal to say by way of excuse for Nicolaus; for he did not so properly write this as a history for others, as somewhat that might be subservient to the king himself. As for ourselves, who come of a family nearly allied to the Asamonean kings, and on that account have an honorable place, which is the priesthood, we think it indecent to say any thing that is false about them, and accordingly we have described their actions after an unblemished and upright manner. And although we reverence many of Herod's posterity, who still reign, yet do we pay a greater regard to truth than to them, and this though it sometimes happens that we incur their displeasure by so doing.

(2) [188] Ἡρώδης δὲ διὰ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν, ἣν ἐποιήσατο τῷ τάφῳ, χεῖρον ἐδόκει πράττειν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν, εἴτε δὴ τοῦ μηνίματος ἐπιδόντος εἰς ἃ μάλιστα

καὶ πρότερον ἐνόσει πλείω γενέσθαι πρὸς ἀνηκέστους ἐξελθεῖν συμφοράς, εἴτε καὶ τῆς τύχης ἐν ἐκείνῳ τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ποιουμένης ἐν οἷς τὸ κατὰ τὴν αἰτίαν εὔκαιρον οὐ μικρὰν πίστιν παρεῖχεν τοῦ διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν αὐτῷ τὰς συμφορὰς ἀπηντηκέναι. [189] στάσις γὰρ ἦν ὥσπερ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου κατὰ τὴν αὐλὴν καὶ μίση πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀνθυπερβαλλομένων ταῖς διαβολαῖς. [190] ἐστρατήγει δ᾽ ἀεὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν Ἀντίπατρος δεινὸς ὢν ἔξωθεν μὲν περιβάλλειν αὐτοὺς ταῖς αἰτίαις, αὐτὸς δὲ πολλάκις ἀπολογουμένου τόπον λαμβάνων, ἵν᾽ ᾖ τὸ δοκοῦν εὔνουν πιστὸν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις ὧν ἐδόκει. καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ποικίλως ἐκπεριεληλύθει τὸν πατέρα μόνος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου σωτηρίας ἅπαντα πράττειν αὐτὸς πεπιστευκώς. [191] ὁ δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖον, ὃς ἦν αὐτῷ διοικητὴς τῶν τῆς βασιλείας πραγμάτων, Ἀντιπάτρῳ συνίστη καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἐκείνου μητρὸς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπειγόντων ἐβουλεύετο. καὶ καθόλου τὰ πάντα ἦσαν οὗτοι καὶ πράττειν ὅσα θέλοιεν καὶ πρὸς δύσνοιαν ἄγειν τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ἔξωθεν οἷς ἐδόκει συμφέρειν. [192] οἱ δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς Μαριάμμης χαλεπώτερον ἀεὶ διετίθεντο, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ὑπ᾽ εὐγενείας οὐκ ἔφερον παρεωσμένοι καὶ τάξιν ἀτιμοτέραν ἔχοντες. [193] αἵ γε μὴν γυναῖκες, ἡ μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνοικοῦσα θυγάτηρ Ἀρχελάου Γλαφύρα μῖσος εἶχεν εἰς τὴν Σαλώμην κατά τε τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα διάθεσιν κἀκ τοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνης θυγατέρα δοκεῖν ὑπερηφανώτερον διακεῖσθαι: συνῴκει μὲν γὰρ Ἀριστοβούλῳ, τὴν δὲ ἰσοτιμίαν αὐτῆς ἀναξιοπάθει Γλαφύρα.

2. And indeed Herod’s troubles in his family seemed to be augmented by reason of this attempt he made upon David’s sepulcher; whether Divine vengeance increased the calamities he lay under, in order to render them incurable, or whether fortune made an assault upon him, in those cases wherein the seasonableness of the cause made it strongly believed that the calamities came upon him for his impiety; for the tumult was like a civil war in his palace, and their hatred towards one another was like that where each one strove to exceed another in calumnies. However, Antipater used stratagems perpetually against his brethren, and that very cunningly; while abroad he loaded them with accusations, but still took upon him frequently to apologize for them, that this apparent benevolence to them might make him be believed, and forward his attempts against them; by which means he, after various manners, circumvented his father, who believed all that he did was for his preservation. Herod also recommended Ptolemy, who was a great director of the affairs of his kingdom, to Antipater; and consulted with his mother about the public affairs also. And indeed these were all in all, and did what they pleased, and made the king angry against any other persons, as they thought it might be to their own advantage; but still the sons of Marianme were in a worse and worse condition perpetually; and while they were thrust out, and set in a more dishonorable rank, who yet by

birth were the most noble, they could not bear the dishonor. And for the women, Glaphyra, Alexander's wife, the daughter of Archclaus, hated Salome, both because of her love to her husband, and because Glaphyra seemed to behave herself somewhat insolently towards Salome's daughter, who was the wife of Aristobulus, which equality of hers to herself Glaphyra took very impatiently.

(3) [194] Δευτέρας οὖν ταύτης ἔριδος ἐμπεπτωκυίας οὐδ' ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφὸς Φερώρας ἔξω ταραχῆς ἦν, ἰδίαν δὲ ὑπόθεσιν ὑποψίας καὶ μίσους εἶχεν: ἐμπεπτώκει μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἔρωτα δουλευούσης αὐτῷ γυναικός, ἥττητο δὲ τῆς ἀνθρώπου μεμηνότως ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον κρατούμενος, ὥστ' αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγγυηθείσης θυγατρὸς τὴν μὲν ὑπερηφανῆσαι, πρὸς δὲ τῇ δούλῃ τὸν νοῦν εἶχεν. [195] ἤχθετο δὲ ἀτιμασθεὶς Ἡρώδης τῷ πολλὰ μὲν εὐεργετῆσαι τὸν ἀδελφόν, δυνάμει δὲ καὶ κοινωνὸν ἔχειν τῆς βασιλείας, οὐχ ὅμοιον εἰς τὰς ἀμοιβὰς ὁρῶν, κἀν τῷ προσώπῳ δυστυχεῖν ᾤετο. [196] καὶ τὴν μὲν κόρην μὴ τυχὼν Φερώρα δικαίου παιδὶ Φασαήλου δίδωσιν, αὐτὸς δὲ χρόνου διελθόντος οἰόμενος ἤδη παρηκμακέναι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τἀδελφῷ περί τε τῶν πρώτων ἠτιᾶτο καὶ τὴν δευτέραν ἠξίου λαμβάνειν, Κύπρος ἐκαλεῖτο. [197] Φερώρᾳ δὲ συμβουλεύει Πτολεμαῖος ἤδη ποτὲ παυσαμένῳ τῆς εἰς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀτιμίας καταβαλεῖν τὸν ἔρωτα: καὶ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν εἶναι δούλης ἡττώμενον ἀποστερεῖν μὲν αὐτὸν τῆς εὐνοίας τῆς παρὰ βασιλέως, αἴτιον δὲ κἀκείνῳ ταραχῆς καὶ μίσους πρὸς αὐτὸν καθίστασθαι. [198] ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνος ἰδὼν λυσιτελήσοντα τῷ καὶ πρότερον ἐν διαβολαῖς γενόμενος συνεγνῶσθαι, τὴν μὲν ἄνθρωπον ἤδη καὶ παῖδα ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔχων ἀποπέμπεται, βασιλεῖ δ' ὡμολόγει λήψεσθαι τὴν δευτέραν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα καὶ τριακοστὴν ἡμέραν συνέθετο τοῦ γάμου, συνεπομνύμενος ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι κοινώνημα πρὸς τὴν ἀποπεμφθεῖσαν ἔσται. [199] διελθουσῶν δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν τοσοῦτον ἦν ἥττων τοῦ ἔρωτος, ὥστε μηδὲν μὲν ἔτι ποιῆσαι τῶν ὡμολογημένων, πάλιν δὲ διατελεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ. [200] ταῦτα φανερῶς ἤδη τὸν Ἡρώδην ἐλύπει καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἦγεν. ἦσαν οὖν λόγοι τινὲς ἀεὶ παραπίπτοντες παρ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολλοὶ τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀφορμὴν τῶν κατὰ Φερώρου διαβολῶν ἐποιοῦντο. διέλειπεν δὲ οὐκ ἔσθ' ἥτις ἡμέρα οὐδ' ὥρα, καθ' ἣν ἀτρεμεῖν αὐτῷ συνέβαινεν, ἀλλ' ἀεί τι προσέπιπτεν καινῶν ἀγωνισμάτων συγγενῶν καὶ φιλτάτων εἰς ἀλλήλους πεποιημένων. [201] τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἡ Σαλώμη χαλεπὴ καὶ δύσνους οὖσα τοῖς ἐκ Μαριάμμης οὐδὲ τὴν ἑαυτῆς θυγατέρα συνοικοῦσαν Ἀριστοβούλῳ θατέρῳ τῶν νεανίσκων εἴα τῇ τοῦ γάμου πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εὐνοίᾳ χρῆσθαι, λέγειν τε εἴ τι λαλήσειεν κατ' ἰδίαν ἀναπείθουσα καὶ μηνύειν ἑαυτῇ κἀν τοῖς προσκρούμασιν, οἷα συμβαίνει, πολλὰς ὑποψίας εἰσάγουσα. [202] δι' ὧν αὐτὴ μὲν ἅπαντα τὰ κατ' ἐκείνους ἐμάνθανεν, δύσνουν δὲ τὴν παῖδα τῷ νεανίσκῳ πεποιήκει. [203] χαριζομένη δ' ἐκείνη τῇ μητρὶ πολλάκις ἔλεγεν, ὡς μέμνηνται μὲν ἰδιάζοντες ἐκεῖνοι τῆς Μαριάμμης, ἐστυγήκασι δὲ τὸν

πατέρα, συνεχὲς δὲ διαπειλοῦσιν, εἰ τύχοιεν αὐτοί ποτε τῆς ἀρχῆς, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων γυναικῶν παῖδας Ἡρώδῃ γεγενημένους κωμογραμματεῖς καταστήσειν: ἁρμόσειν γὰρ εἰς τοιαύτην χρείαν τὸ νῦν ἐπιμελὲς αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς παιδείαν ἐσπουδασμένον. [204] τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας, εἴ ποτε καὶ ταύτας ἴδοιεν τοῦ μητρῴου κόσμου μετειληφυίας, ἀντὶ τῆς παρούσης ἀβρότητος ἀπειλεῖν, ὡς τρύχεσιν ἠμφιεσμέναι καθειργοῦνται μηδὲ τὸν ἥλιον βλέπουσαι. [205] ταῦτ᾽ εὐθὺς ἀπηγγέλλετο διὰ τῆς Σαλώμης τῷ βασιλεῖ: κἀκεῖνος ἤκουεν μὲν ἀλγεινῶς, ἐπειρᾶτο δὲ διορθοῦν, ἐκακοῦτο δὲ ταῖς ὑποψίαις καὶ χείρων ἀεὶ γινόμενος ἅπασιν κατὰ πάντων ἐπίστευεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν ἐπιπλήξας τοῖς παισὶν ἀπολογησαμένων ῥᾴων εἰς τὸν καιρὸν ἐγίνετο, ταῖς δ᾽ ἑξῆς πολὺ χείρω προσέπεσεν.

3. Now, besides this second contention that had fallen among them, neither did the king's brother Pheroras keep himself out of trouble, but had a particular foundation for suspicion and hatred; for he was overcome with the charms of his wife, to such a degree of madness, that he despised the king's daughter, to whom he had been betrothed, and wholly bent his mind to the other, who had been but a servant. Herod also was grieved by the dishonor that was done him, because he had bestowed many favors upon him, and had advanced him to that height of power that he was almost a partner with him in the kingdom, and saw that he had not made him a due return for his labors, and esteemed himself unhappy on that account. So upon Pheroras's unworthy refusal, he gave the damsel to Phasaelus's son; but after some time, when he thought the heat of his brother's affections was over, he blamed him for his former conduct, and desired him to take his second daughter, whose name was Cypros. Ptolemy also advised him to leave off affronting his brother, and to forsake her whom he had loved, for that it was a base thing to be so enamored of a servant, as to deprive himself of the king's good-will to him, and become an occasion of his trouble, and make himself hated by him. Pheroras knew that this advice would be for his own advantage, particularly because he had been accused before, and forgiven; so he put his wife away, although he already had a son by her, and engaged to the king that he would take his second daughter, and agreed that the thirtieth day after should be the day of marriage; and sware he would have no further conversation with her whom he had put away; but when the thirty days were over, he was such a slave to his affections, that he no longer performed any thing he had promised, but continued still with his former wife. This occasioned Herod to grieve openly, and made him angry, while the king dropped one word or other against Pheroras perpetually; and many made the king's anger an opportunity for raising calumnies against him. Nor had the king any longer a single quiet day or

hour, but occasions of one fresh quarrel or another arose among his relations, and those that were dearest to him; for Salome was of a harsh temper, and ill-natured to Mariamne's sons; nor would she suffer her own daughter, who was the wife of Aristobulus, one of those young men, to bear a good-will to her husband, but persuaded her to tell her if he said any thing to her in private, and when any misunderstandings happened, as is common, she raised a great many suspicions out of it; by which means she learned all their concerns, and made the damsel ill-natured to the young man. And in order to gratify her mother, she often said that the young men used to mention Mariamne when they were by themselves; and that they hated their father, and were continually threatening, that if they had once got the kingdom, they would make Herod's sons by his other wives country schoolmasters, for that the present education which was given them, and their diligence in learning, fitted them for such an employment. And as for the women, whenever they saw them adorned with their mother's clothes, they threatened, that instead of their present gaudy apparel, they should be clothed in sackcloth, and confined so closely that they should not see the light of the sun. These stories were presently carried by Salome to the king, who was troubled to hear them, and endeavored to make up matters; but these suspicions afflicted him, and becoming more and more uneasy, he believed every body against every body. However, upon his rebuking his sons, and hearing the defense they made for themselves, he was easier for a while, though a little afterwards much worse accidents came upon him.

(4) [206] Ὁ γὰρ Φερώρας ἐλθὼν παρὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἔχοντα τὴν Ἀρχελάου θυγατέρα Γλαφύραν, ὡς ἐδηλώσαμεν, Σαλώμης ἔφη λεγούσης ἀκηκοέναι τὸν Ἡρώδην ἡττῆσθαι τοῦ τῆς Γλαφύρας ἔρωτος καὶ δυσπαρηγόρητον αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν εἶναι. [207] τοῦτο οὖν ἐκεῖνος ἀκούσας ὑπό τε νεότητος καὶ ζηλοτυπίας ἐξεκαίετο καὶ τὰ κατὰ τιμὴν εἰς τὴν παῖδα γινόμενα παρ' Ἡρώδου, πολλάκις δ' ἦσαν αἱ τοιαῦται φιλοφρονήσεις, ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἐλάμβανεν ἐξ ὑπονοιῶν διὰ τὸν ἐκπεσόντα λόγον. [208] οὐκ ἐκαρτέρησέν τε τὴν ὀδύνην τοῦ πράγματος, ἀλλὰ ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καταμηνύει τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Φερώρα ῥηθέντα μετὰ δακρύων. Ἡρώδης δὲ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐκπαθὴς γενόμενος καὶ τὸ σὺν αἰσχύνῃ τῆς διαβολῆς ἐψευσμένον οὐ φέρων ἐτετάρακτο. [209] καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ὠδύρετο τὴν πονηρίαν τῶν οἰκείων οἷος εἰς αὐτοὺς γενόμενος οἵων τυγχάνοι, μεταπέμπεται δὲ τὸν Φερώραν καὶ προσονειδίσας "κάκιστε πάντων, εἶπεν, εἰς τοῦτο τῆς ἀμέτρου καὶ περιττῆς ἦλθες ἀχαριστίας, ὡς τοιαῦτα μὲν περὶ ἡμῶν νοῆσαι, τοιαῦτα δὲ λαλεῖν; [210] ἆρ' οὐχ ὁρῶ τὴν σὴν προαίρεσιν, ὡς οὐ βλασφημίας ἐστοχασμένος τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους τῷ παιδὶ προσήνεγκας, ἐπιβουλὴν δὲ καὶ φάρμακον αὐτοὺς ποιούμενος τῆς ἐμῆς ἀπωλείας; τίς γὰρ ἄν, εἰ μὴ δαιμόνων ἀγαθῶν

ἔτυχεν, ὥσπερ οὗτος ὁ παῖς, ἠνέσχετο τὸν πατέρα μὴ τίσασθαι διὰ τοιαύτην ὑποψίαν; [211] πότερον δὲ λόγον εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν ἢ ξίφος εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτῷ δοκεῖς κατὰ τοῦ γεγεννηκότος; τί δέ σοι βούλεται τὸ μισοῦντά τε αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ πρὸς μόνην τὴν κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ βλασφημίαν εὔνοιαν ὑποκρίνασθαι καὶ περὶ τούτων λέγειν, ἃ τῆς σῆς ἀσεβείας ἦν καὶ νοῆσαι καὶ διαβαλεῖν; [212] ἔρρε κάκιστος εἰς εὐεργέτην καὶ ἀδελφὸν γενόμενος. καὶ σοὶ μὲν ἡ συνείδησις αὕτη συζήσειεν, ἐγὼ δὲ νικῴην ἀεὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς μήτε ἀμυνόμενος κατ᾽ ἀξίαν καὶ μειζόνως εὐεργετῶν ἢ τυχεῖν εἰσι δίκαιοι.”

4. For Pheroras came to Alexander, the husband of Glaphyra, who was the daughter of Archelaus, as we have already told you, and said that he had heard from Salome that Herod has enamored on Glaphyra, and that his passion for her was incurable. When Alexander heard that, he was all on fire, from his youth and jealousy; and he interpreted the instances of Herod’s obliging behavior to her, which were very frequent, for the worse, which came from those suspicions he had on account of that word which fell from Pheroras; nor could he conceal his grief at the thing, but informed him what word: Pheroras had said. Upon which Herod was in a greater disorder than ever; and not bearing such a false calumny, which was to his shame, was much disturbed at it; and often did he lament the wickedness of his domestics, and how good he had been to them, and how ill requitals they had made him. So he sent for Pheroras, and reproached him, and said, “Thou vilest of all men! art thou come to that unmeasurable and extravagant degree of ingratitude, as not only to suppose such things of me, but to speak of them? I now indeed perceive what thy intentions are. It is not thy only aim to reproach me, when thou usest such words to my son, but thereby to persuade him to plot against me, and get me destroyed by poison. And who is there, if he had not a good genius at his elbow, as hath my son, but would not bear such a suspicion of his father, but would revenge himself upon him? Dost thou suppose that thou hast only dropped a word for him to think of, and not rather hast put a sword into his hand to slay his father? And what dost thou mean, when thou really hatest both him and his brother, to pretend kindness to them, only in order to raise a reproach against me, and talk of such things as no one but such an impious wretch as thou art could either devise in their mind, or declare in their words? Begone, thou art such a plague to thy benefactor and thy brother, and may that evil conscience of thine go along with thee; while I still overcome my relations by kindness, and am so far from avenging myself of them, as they deserve, that I bestow greater benefits upon them than they are worthy of.”

(5) [213] Τοιαῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεύς. Φερώρας δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοφώρῳ τῇ μοχθηρίᾳ Σαλώμην ἔφη ταῦτα συμπείσειν καὶ παρ᾽ ἐκείνης εἶναι τοὺς λόγους. ἡ δὲ ὡς μόνον ἤκουσεν, ἐτύγχανεν δὲ παροῦσα, πιθανῶς ἀνεβόησεν, [214] ὡς οὐδὲν εἴη παρ᾽ αὐτῆς τοιοῦτον, καὶ ὅτι διὰ σπουδῆς ἐστιν ἅπασιν εἰς μῖσος ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὴν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ πάντα τρόπον ἐνέχειν διὰ τὴν εὔνοιαν, ἣν ἔχοι περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην ἀεὶ προγινώσκουσα τοὺς κινδύνους. [215] ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι: μόνη γὰρ ἀναπείθουσα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐκβάλλειν ἣν εἶχε γυναῖκα, λαμβάνειν δὲ θυγατέρα τὴν βασιλέως εἰκότως ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου μεμισῆσθαι. [216] τοιαῦτα λεγούσης καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ἐπιδραττομένης τῶν τριχῶν, πολλάκις δὲ τυπτούσης τὰ στέρνα, ἡ μὲν ὄψις εἶχέ τι πρὸς τὴν ἄρνησιν πιθανόν, ἡ δὲ κακοήθεια τοῦ τρόπου τὴν ἐν τοῖς γινομένοις ὑπόκρισιν ἀπεσήμαινεν. [217] ὁ δὲ Φερώρας εἰς μέσον ἀπείληπτο μηδὲν εὔσχημον εἰς ἀπολογίαν ἔχων, εἰπεῖν μὲν ὡμολογηκώς, ἀκοῦσαι δ᾽ οὐ πιστευόμενος. ἐγένετο δ᾽ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἥ τε σύγχυσις καὶ ἡ τῶν λόγων εἰς ἀλλήλους ἅμιλλα. [218] τέλος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τόν τε ἀδελφὸν καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν μεμισηκὼς ἀπεπέμπετο καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπαινέσας τῆς ἐγκρατείας καὶ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνενεγκεῖν τοὺς λόγους ὀψὲ τῆς ὥρας περὶ θεραπείαν τοῦ σώματος ἐγένετο. [219] τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς μάχης ἐμπεσούσης κακῶς ἤκουσεν ἡ Σαλώμη: παρ᾽ αὐτῆς γὰρ ἐδόκει κεκινῆσθαι τὰ περὶ τὴν διαβολήν: αἵ τε τοῦ βασιλέως γυναῖκες ἤχθοντο φύσει δυσχερεστάτην εἰδυῖαι καὶ γινομένην ἄλλοτ᾽ ἄλλην κατὰ καιροὺς ἐχθρὰν καὶ φίλην. ἔλεγον οὖν ἀεί τι πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδην κατ᾽ αὐτῆς καί τι συμπεσὸν ἐπὶ μεῖζον ἤγαγεν τὴν εἰς τοῦτο παρρησίαν.

5. Thus did the king speak. Whereupon Pheroras, who was caught in the very act of his villainy, said that "it was Salome who was the framer of this plot, and that the words came from her." But as soon as she heard that, for she was at hand, she cried out, like one that would be believed, that no such thing ever came out of her mouth; that they all earnestly endeavored to make the king hate her, and to make her away, because of the good-will she bore to Herod, and because she was always foreseeing the dangers that were coming upon him, and that at present there were more plots against him than usual; for while she was the only person who persuaded her brother to put away the wife he now had, and to take the king's daughter, it was no wonder if she were hated by him. As she said this, and often tore her hair, and often beat her breast, her countenance made her denial to be believed; but the peverseness of her manners declared at the same time her dissimulation in these proceedings; but Pheroras was caught between them, and had nothing plausible to offer in his own defense, while he confessed that he had said what was charged upon him, but was not believed when he said he had heard it from Salome; so the confusion among them was increased, and their quarrelsome words one to another. At last the king, out of his hatred to his

brother and sister, sent them both away; and when he had commended the moderation of his son, and that he had himself told him of the report, he went in the evening to refresh himself. After such a contest as this had fallen out among them, Salome's reputation suffered greatly, since she was supposed to have first raised the calumny; and the king's wives were grieved at her, as knowing she was a very ill-natured woman, and would sometimes be a friend, and sometimes an enemy, at different seasons: so they perpetually said one thing or another against her; and somewhat that now fell out made them the bolder in speaking against her.

(6) [220] Ἦν μὲν γὰρ ὁ τῆς Ἀραβίας βασιλεὺς Ὀβόδας ἀπράγμων καὶ νωθὴς τὴν φύσιν, Σύλλαιος δ' αὐτῷ διῴκει τὰ πολλὰ δεινὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν νέος ἔτι καὶ καλός. [221] ὑπὸ χρείας οὖν τινος ἐλθὼν ὡς τὸν Ἡρώδην συνδειπνῶν εἶδεν τὴν Σαλώμην, καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἔσχεν πρὸς αὐτήν, γινώσκων δ' ὅτι καὶ χήρα τυγχάνοι διελέγετο. [222] Σαλώμη δὲ καὶ χεῖρον ἢ πάλαι φερομένη παρὰ τἀδελφῷ καὶ τὸν νεανίσκον οὐκ ἀπαθῶς ὁρῶσα πρὸς τὸν γάμον ὥρμητο, ταῖς τε μεταξὺ φοιτώντων ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐνεφαίνετο πλείω τε καὶ μὴ μέτρια τῆς ἐκείνων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμολογίας. [223] ταῦτα δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες ἀνέφερον τῷ βασιλεῖ διαγελῶσαι τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην, Ἡρώδης δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Φερώρα προσεπυνθάνετο καὶ τηρεῖν ἠξίου παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον, πῶς τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐσχήκασιν. ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἀπήγγελλεν, ὅτι καὶ νεύμασιν καὶ βλέμμασιν οὐκ ἄδηλοι τῆς ὁρμῆς εἰσιν ἀμφότεροι. [224] μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ μὲν Ἄραψ ὕποπτος ὢν ἀπῄει: διαλιπὼν δὲ δύο μῆνας ἢ τρεῖς ἔρχεται πάλιν ὡς ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ καὶ λόγους Ἡρώδῃ προσέφερεν, ἀξιῶν αὐτῷ τὴν Σαλώμην δοθῆναι πρὸς γάμον: ἔσεσθαι γὰρ οὐκ ἀλυσιτελὲς τὸ κῆδος ἐπιμιξίᾳ τῆς τῶν Ἀράβων ἀρχῆς, ἣν αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν ἤδη παρεῖναι δυνάμει καὶ μᾶλλον ὀφείλεσθαι. [225] τοῦ δὲ Ἡρώδου τὸν λόγον ἀναφέροντος καὶ πυνθανομένου τῆς ἀδελφῆς, εἰ πρὸς τὸν γάμον ἑτοίμως ἔχει, ταχέως μὲν ἐκείνη προσήκατο, Σύλλαιος δὲ ἀξιούντων αὐτὸν ἐγγραφῆναι τοῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθεσι καὶ τότε γαμεῖν, ἄλλως γὰρ οὐκ εἶναι δυνατόν, οὐχ ὑπομείνας, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταλευσθήσεσθαι πρὸς τῶν Ἀράβων εἰπών, εἰ τοῦτο πράξειεν, ἀπαλλάττεται. [226] Σαλώμην οὖν ὅ τε Φερώρας ἤδη διέβαλλεν εἰς ἀκρασίαν καὶ μᾶλλον αἱ γυναῖκες, λέγουσαι κοινωνίαν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι πρὸς τὸν Ἄραβα. [227] τήν τε κόρην, ἣν τἀδελφῷ κατενεγύησεν ὁ βασιλεύς, ἣν ὁ μὲν Φερώρας οὐκ ἔλαβεν, ὡς προεῖπον, ἠττημένος τῆς γυναικός, αἰτούσης Σαλώμης εἰς τὸν υἱὸν τὸν ἐκ Κοστοβάρου γενόμενον ὥρμητο μὲν ἐκείνῳ συνοικίσαι, [228] μεταπείθεται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Φερώρα τόν τε νεανίσκον οὐκ εὔνουν ἔσεσθαι λέγοντος διὰ τὴν ἀπώλειαν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ δικαιότερον εἶναι λαβεῖν τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα τῆς τετραρχίας ὄντα διάδοχον. οὕτω δὲ συγγνώμην ᾐτεῖτο καὶ μὴ πείσας οὕτως. ἐκείνη μὲν οὖν

ἀντιμετατεθείσης τῆς ἐγγύης ἐγαμεῖτο τῷ Φερώρα μειρακίῳ φερνὴν ἐπιδόντος ἑκατὸν τάλαντα τοῦ βασιλέως.

6. There was one Obodas, king of Arabia, an inactive and slothful man in his nature; but Sylleus managed most of his affairs for him. He was a shrewd man, although he was but young, and was handsome withal. This Sylleus, upon some occasion coming to Herod, and supping with him, saw Salome, and set his heart upon her; and understanding that she was a widow, he discoursed with her. Now because Salome was at this time less in favor with her brother, she looked upon Sylleus with some passion, and was very earnest to be married to him; and on the days following there appeared many, and those very great, indications of their agreement together. Now the women carried this news to the king, and laughed at the indecency of it; whereupon Herod inquired about it further of Pheroras, and desired him to observe them at supper, how their behavior was one toward another; who told him, that by the signals which came from their heads and their eyes, they both were evidently in love. After this, Sylleus the Arabian being suspected, went away, but came again in two or three months afterwards, as it were on that very design, and spake to Herod about it, and desired that Salome might be given him to wife; for that his affinity might not be disadvantageous to his affairs, by a union with Arabia, the government of which country was already in effect under his power, and more evidently would be his hereafter. Accordingly, when Herod discoursed with his sister about it, and asked her whether she were disposed to this match, she immediately agreed to it. But when Sylleus was desired to come over to the Jewish religion, and then he should marry her, and that it was impossible to do it on any other terms, he could not bear that proposal, and went his way; for he said, that if he should do so, he should be stoned by the Arabs. Then did Pheroras reproach Salome for her incontinency, as did the women much more; and said that Sylleus had debauched her. As for that damsel which the king had betrothed to his brother Pheroras, but he had not taken her, as I have before related, because he was enamored on his former wife, Salome desired of Herod she might be given to her son by Costobarus; which match he was very willing to, but was dissuaded from it by Pheroras, who pleaded that this young man would not be kind to her, since his father had been slain by him, and that it was more just that his son, who was to be his successor in the tetrarchy, should have her. So he begged his pardon, and persuaded him to do so. Accordingly the damsel, upon this change of her espousals, was disposal of to this young man, the son of Pheroras, the king giving for her portion a hundred talents.

VIII

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CHAPTER 8. How Herod Took Up Alexander And Bound Him; Whom Yet Archelaus King Of Cappadocia Reconciled To His Father Herod Again.

(1) [229] Οὐκ ἀνεῖτο δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀεὶ καὶ μείζους τὰς ταραχὰς λαμβάνοντα, καὶ συμπίπτει τι τοιοῦτον ἐξ αἰτίας μὲν οὐκ εὐπρεποῦς, χωρῆσαν δὲ πρόσω κατὰ δυσχέρειαν: [230] ἦσαν εὐνοῦχοι τῷ βασιλεῖ διὰ κάλλος οὐ μετρίως ἐσπουδασμένοι. τούτων ὁ μὲν οἰνοχοεῖν, ὁ δὲ δεῖπνον προσφέρειν, ὁ δὲ κατακοιμίζειν βασιλέα πεπίστευτο καὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς. [231] καί τις ἀγγέλλει τῷ βασιλεῖ διαφθαρῆναι τούτους ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ παιδὸς ἐπὶ πολλοῖς χρήμασιν. ἀνακρίναντι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῆς γεγενημένης πρὸς αὐτὸν κοινωνίας καὶ μίξεως ὡμολόγουν, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν δυσχερὲς εἰς τὸν πατέρα συνειδέναι. [232] βασανιζόμενοι δὲ μᾶλλον κἀν ταῖς ἀνάγκαις ὄντες ἐπιτεινόντων ἀεὶ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν καὶ χαριζομένων τῷ Ἀντιπάτρῳ τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἔλεγον ὡς εἴη δυσμένεια πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ μῖσος ἔμφυτον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. [233] παραινοίη δ' αὐτοῖς Ἡρώδην μὲν ἀπεγνωκέναι περιττὸν ἤδη τετυχηκότα καὶ τῷ γήρᾳ παρακάλυμμα τοῦ χρόνου ποιούμενον, μελαίνοντα τὰς τρίχας καὶ κλέπτοντα τὸν ἔλεγχον τῆς ἡλικίας: εἰ δ' αὐτῷ προσέχοιεν τὸν νοῦν, περιγενομένης τῆς βασιλείας, ἣν καὶ μὴ βουλομένου τοῦ πατρὸς οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς εἶναι, ταχὺ τὸν πρῶτον ἕξειν ἐν αὐτῇ τόπον: [234] οὐ γὰρ μόνον διὰ τὸ γένος, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς ἕτοιμον αὐτῷ τὸ κρατεῖν εἶναι: πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἡγεμόνων, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν φίλων συνεστᾶσιν οὐχὶ πονηροὶ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν καὶ δρᾶν καὶ πάσχειν.

1. But still the affairs of Herod's family were no better, but perpetually more troublesome. Now this accident happened, which arose from no decent occasion, but proceeded so far as to bring great difficulties upon him. There were certain eunuchs which the king had, and on account of their beauty was very fond of them; and the care of bringing him drink was intrusted to one of them; of bringing him his supper, to another; and of putting him to bed, to the third, who also managed the principal affairs of the government; and there was one told the king that these eunuchs were corrupted by Alexander the king's son with great sums of money. And when they were asked whether Alexander had had criminal conversation with them, they confessed it, but said they knew of no further mischief of his against his father; but when they were more severely tortured, and were in the utmost extremity, and the tormentors, out of compliance with Antipater, stretched the rack to the very utmost, they said that Alexander bare great ill-will and innate hatred to his father; and that he told them that Herod

despaired to live much longer; and that, in order to cover his great age, he colored his hair black, and endeavored to conceal what would discover how old he was; but that if he would apply himself to him, when he should attain the kingdom, which, in spite of his father, could come to no one else, he should quickly have the first place in that kingdom under him, for that he was now ready to take the kingdom, not only as his birth-right, but by the preparations he had made for obtaining it, because a great many of the rulers, and a great many of his friends, were of his side, and those no ill men neither, ready both to do and to suffer whatsoever should come on that account.

(2) [235] Τούτων τῶν λόγων ἀκούσας Ἡρώδης ὅλος ἐγένετο τῆς ἐπηρείας καὶ τοῦ δέους, τὰ μὲν εἰς ὕβριν ῥηθέντα χαλεπῶς, τὰ δ' εἰς ὑπόνοιαν οὐκ ἀκινδύνως ἐκλαβών, ὥστε καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἠρεθίζετο καὶ πικρὸς ὢν ἐδεδοίκει, μὴ καί τι ταῖς ἀληθείαις συνέστηκεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἰσχυρότερον ἢ φυλάξασθαι πρὸς ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρόν. [236] ἔνθεν οὐδ' ἐκ φανεροῦ τὴν ἔρευναν ἐποιεῖτο, κατασκόπους δὲ τῶν ὑπονοουμένων διέπεμψεν. ὑποψία τε καὶ μίση πρὸς ἅπαντας ἦν, καὶ τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἐπ' ἀσφαλείᾳ λαμβάνων πολλὴν καὶ κατὰ τῶν οὐκ ἀξίων αὐτῇ χρώμενος διετέλει. [237] πέρας τε οὐδὲν ἦν, ἀλλὰ μένειν οἱ νομιζόμενοι μᾶλλον ὡς ἂν καὶ μᾶλλον ἰσχύοντες ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ φοβεροί: τοῖς δ' οἷς οὐκ ἦν συνήθεια πλείων ὀνομάσαι μόνον ἐδόκει, καὶ μέρος εὐθὺς ἀσφαλείας ἐδόκουν ἀπολλύμενοι. [238] τέλος τε οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ μηδὲν ἔχειν βέβαιον εἰς ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἐτράπησαν, νομίζοντες μέν, εἰ φθάσας ἕτερος τὸν ἕτερον διαβάλοι, τοῦτ' αὐτῷ πρὸς σωτηρίαν φέρειν, ἐπίφθονοι δ' εἴ ποτε τύχοιεν ὧν ἠξίουν γενόμενοι καὶ τὸ δικαίως αὐτοὶ παθεῖν ἐφ' οἷς ἄλλους ἠδίκησαν προσλαμβάνοντες μόνον. [239] ἤδη γοῦν οἰκείας τινὲς ἔχθρας ἐπεξήεσαν τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ καὶ καταφωραθέντες ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἐγένοντο, τὸν καιρὸν ὥσπερ ὄργανον καὶ πάγην ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς νοοῦντες καὶ συναλισκόμενοι τῇ πείρᾳ, καθ' ἣν ἑτέροις ἐπεβούλευον. [240] ἥ τε γὰρ μετάνοια τῷ βασιλεῖ ταχὺ διὰ τὸ μὴ προφανῶς ἁμαρτάνοντας ἀναιρεῖν ἐπεγίνετο καὶ ταύτης τὸ χαλεπὸν οὐκ εἰς τὸ παύσασθαι τὰ ὅμοια δρᾶν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ τιμωρήσασθαι τοῖς ἴσοις τοὺς ἐνδειξαμένους ἀπηρτίζετο.

2. When Herod heard this confession, he was all over anger and fear, some parts seeming to him reproachful, and some made him suspicious of dangers that attended him, insomuch that on both accounts he was provoked, and bitterly afraid lest some more heavy plot was laid against him than he should be then able to escape from; whereupon he did not now make an open search, but sent about spies to watch such as he suspected, for he was now overrun with suspicion and hatred against all about him; and indulging abundance of those suspicions, in order to his preservation, he continued to suspect those that were

guiltless; nor did he set any bounds to himself, but supposing that those who staid with him had the most power to hurt him, they were to him very frightful; and for those that did not use to come to him, it seemed enough to name them [to make them suspected], and he thought himself safer when they were destroyed. And at last his domestics were come to that pass, that being no way secure of escaping themselves, they fell to accusing one another, and imagining that he who first accused another was most likely to save himself; yet when any had overthrown others, they were hated; and they were thought to suffer justly who unjustly accused others, and they only thereby prevented their own accusation; nay, they now executed their own private enmities by this means, and when they were caught, they were punished in the same way. Thus these men contrived to make use of this opportunity as an instrument and a snare against their enemies; yet when they tried it, were themselves caught also in the same snare which they laid for others: and the king soon repented of what he had done, because he had no clear evidence of the guilt of those whom he had slain; and yet what was still more severe in him, he did not make use of his repentance, in order to leave off doing the like again, but in order to inflict the same punishment upon their accusers.

(3) [241] Τοιαύτη μὲν ἦν τῶν περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν ταραχή. πολλοῖς δὲ τῶν φίλων ἤδη καὶ τοῦτ᾽ αὐτὸ προεῖπεν, ὡς οὔτ᾽ ἐμφανίζεσθαι δέον αὐτῷ λοιπὸν οὔτ᾽ εἰς τὸ βασίλειον εἰσιέναι. ταύτην δὲ τὴν παραγγελίαν ἐποιεῖτο καθ᾽ ὧν ἡ παρρησία ἐλάττονος ἢ πλείονος ἐντροπῆς μετειλήφει: [242] καὶ γὰρ Ἀνδρόμαχον καὶ Γέμελλον ἄνδρας ἄνωθεν φίλους αὐτῷ, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν περὶ τὰς βασιλικὰς χρείας ἔν τε πρεσβείαις καὶ συμβουλίαις ὀνήσαντας αὐτοῦ τὸν οἶκον, συμπαιδεύσαντας δὲ τοὺς υἱοὺς καὶ τί γὰρ ἢ πρῶτον παρρησίας τόπον ἐσχηκότας παρῃτήσατο τότε, [243] τὸν μὲν, ὅτι Δημήτριος ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ συνήθης ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, Γέμελλον δὲ εὔνουν ἐπιστάμενος ἐκείνῳ: καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς τροφαῖς κἀν τῇ παιδείᾳ παραγεγόνει καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ συνδιέτριβεν ἀποδημίαν. παρῃτήσατο δὲ καὶ τούτους ἡδέως μὲν ἂν καὶ χεῖρον, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ μὴ κατ᾽ ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἀσήμων ἔχειν τὴν ἄχρι τοσούτων παρρησίαν τήν τε τιμὴν καὶ τὸ δύνασθαι κωλύειν ἁμαρτάνοντας παραιρούμενος

3. And in this state of disorder were the affairs of the palace; and he had already told many of his friends directly that they ought not to appear before him, her come into the palace; and the reason of this injunction was, that [when they were there], he had less freedom of acting, or a greater restraint on himself on their account; for at this time it was that he expelled Andromachus and Gamellus, men who had of old been his friends, and been very useful to him in the affairs of his kingdom, and been of advantage to his family, by their embassages and

counsels; and had been tutors to his sons, and had in a manner the first degree of freedom with him. He expelled Andromachus, because his son Demetrius was a companion to Alexander; and Gamellus, because he knew that he wished him well, which arose from his having been with him in his youth, when he was at school, and absent at Rome. These he expelled out of his palace, and was willing enough to have done worse by them; but that he might not seem to take such liberty against men of so great reputation, he contented himself with depriving them of their dignity, and of their power to hinder his wicked proceedings.

(4) [244] Ἦν δὲ τούτων ἁπάντων αἴτιος Ἀντίπατρος, ὃς ἐπειδὴ τὸ νενοσηκὸς τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς παρρησίας κατέμαθεν, ἔκπαλαι μὲν συνεδρεύων αὐτῷ προσέκειτο καὶ μᾶλλον ἐδόκει τι περαίνειν, τῶν ἀντέχειν δυναμένων ἕκαστος εἰ ὑπεξαιρεθείη. [245] τότε γοῦν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀνδρόμαχον ἀπελαθέντων λόγου καὶ παρρησίας πρῶτον μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅσους ᾤετο πιστοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ βασάνοις ἀνέκρινεν, εἴ τι κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ τολμηθὲν εἰδείησαν: οἱ δὲ ἀπέθνησκον οὐδὲν ἔχοντες λέγειν. [246] τῷ δ᾽ ἦν φιλονεικίας αἴτιον, εἰ μή τι τοιοῦτον οἷον ἐδόκει κακῶς εὑρίσκοιτο, καὶ δεινὸς Ἀντίπατρος τὸν μὲν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας ἀναίτιον εἰς ἐγκράτειαν καὶ πίστιν διαβαλεῖν, ἐπιπαροξῦναι δὲ ζητεῖν ἐκ πλειόνων τὸ λανθάνον τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως. [247] καί τις ἐν πολλοῖς τοῖς βασανιζομένοις εἶπεν, ὡς εἰδείη τὸν νεανίσκον λέγοντα πολλάκις, ὅταν ἐπαινούμενος αὐτὸς τύχῃ τό τε σῶμα ὡς εἴη μέγας καὶ τὴν τοξικὴν εὔστοχος καὶ τἆλλα τὰ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας, ὅτι ταῦτ᾽ αὐτῷ κακὰ μᾶλλον ἢπερ ἀγαθὰ παρὰ τῆς φύσεώς ἐστιν: ἄχθεσθαι γὰρ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς τὸν πατέρα καὶ φθονεῖν, [248] αὐτός τε ὅταν μὲν ἅμα περιπατῶν συστέλλειν αὐτὸν καὶ καθαιρεῖν ὡς μὴ μείζων ὁρᾶσθαι, τοξεύων δὲ ἐν τοῖς κυνηγεσίοις ἐκείνου παρόντος ἀπὸ σκοποῦ ῥίπτειν: τὴν γὰρ φιλοτιμίαν εἰδέναι τοῦ γεγεννηκότος τούτων εὐδοκιμούντων. [249] βασανιζομένῳ τῷ τε λόγῳ καὶ προσγινομένης ἀνέσεως τῷ σώματι προσετίθει δ᾽ ὅτι καὶ συνεργὸν ἔχων τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ἐν κυνηγεσίῳ λοχήσας Φεύγειν εἰς Ῥώμην, ἐπειδὰν τοῦτ᾽ αὐτῷ πραχθῇ, τὴν βασιλείαν αἰτησόμενος. [250] εὑρέθη δὲ καὶ γράμματα τοῦ νεανίσκου πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν, ἐν οἷς ἐμέμφετο τὸν πατέρα μὴ δίκαια ποιεῖν, Ἀντιπάτρῳ χώραν ἀπονέμοντα πρόσοδον διακοσίων ταλάντων φέρουσαν. [251] ἐπὶ τούτοις εὐθὺς μὲν ἔδοξέν τι πιστὸν ἔχειν Ἠρώδης, ὡς ᾤετο, κατὰ τῆς τῶν παίδων ὑποψίας καὶ συλλαβὼν ἔδησεν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. αὖθις δὲ οὐκ ἀνίει χαλεπὸς ὤν, τὰ μὲν οὐδ᾽ οἷς ἤκουσεν ἄγαν πεπιστευκώς: ἀναλογιζομένῳ γὰρ ἄξιον μὲν ἐπιβουλῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἐφαίνετο, μέμψεις δὲ καὶ νεανικαὶ φιλοτιμίαι, καὶ τὸ κτείναντα φανερῶς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ὁρμᾶν ἀπίθανον. [252] ἠξίου δὲ καὶ μεῖζόν τι λαβεῖν τῆς περὶ τὸν υἱὸν παρανομίας τεκμήριον καὶ φιλόνεικος ἦν μὴ δόξαι προπετῶς τὰ δεσμὰ κατεγνωκέναι. τῶν τε φίλων τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου βασανίζων τοὺς ἐν τέλει διέφθειρεν αὐτῶν οὐκ ὀλίγους οὐδὲν εἰπόντας ὧν

ἐκεῖνος ᾤετο. [253] πολλῆς δὲ τῆς εἰς τὸ τοιοῦτον ἑτοιμότητος οὔσης καὶ φόβου καὶ ταραχῆς περὶ τὸ βασίλειον, εἷς τις τῶν νεωτέρων ὡς ἐν ταῖς ἀνάγκαις ἐγένετο, διαπέμπειν ἔφη τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ φίλοις τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀξιοῦντα κληθῆναι θᾶττον ὑπὸ Καίσαρος: ἔχειν γὰρ αὐτῷ πρᾶξιν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν συνισταμένην μηνῦσαι Μιθριδάτην τὸν βασιλέα Πάρθων τοῦ πατρὸς ἡρημένου κατὰ Ῥωμαίων φίλον: εἶναι δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ φάρμακον ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι παρεσκευασμένον.

4. Now it was Antipater who was the cause of all this; who when he knew what a mad and licentious way of acting his father was in, and had been a great while one of his counselors, he hurried him on, and then thought he should bring him to do somewhat to purpose, when every one that could oppose him was taken away. When therefore Andromachus and his friends were driven away, and had no discourse nor freedom with the king any longer, the king, in the first place, examined by torture all whom he thought to be faithful to Alexander, Whether they knew of any of his attempts against him; but these died without having any thing to say to that matter, which made the king more zealous [after discoveries], when he could not find out what evil proceedings he suspected them of. As for Antipater, he was very sagacious to raise a calumny against those that were really innocent, as if their denial was only their constancy and fidelity [to Alexander], and thereupon provoked Herod to discover by the torture of great numbers what attempts were still concealed. Now there was a certain person among the many that were tortured, who said that he knew that the young man had often said, that when he was commended as a tall man in his body, and a skillful marksman, and that in his other commendable exercises he exceeded all men, these qualifications given him by nature, though good in themselves, were not advantageous to him, because his father was grieved at them, and envied him for them; and that when he walked along with his father, he endeavored to depress and shorten himself, that he might not appear too tall; and that when he shot at any thing as he was hunting, when his father was by, he missed his mark on purpose, for he knew how ambitious his father was of being superior in such exercises. So when the man was tormented about this saying, and had ease given his body after it, he added, that he had his brother Aristobulus for his assistance, and contrived to lie in wait for their father, as they were hunting, and kill him; and when they had done so to fly to Rome, and desire to have the kingdom given them. There were also letters of the young man found, written to his brother, wherein he complained that his father did not act justly in giving Antipater a country, whose [yearly] revenues amounted to two hundred talents. Upon these confessions Herod presently thought he had somewhat to depend on, in his own opinion, as to his suspicion about his sons; so he took up Alexander and bound

him: yet did he still continue to be uneasy, and was not quite satisfied of the truth of what he had heard; and when he came to recollect himself, he found that they had only made juvenile complaints and contentions, and that it was an incredible thing, that when his son should have slain him, he should openly go to Rome [to beg the kingdom]; so he was desirous to have some surer mark of his son's wickedness, and was very solicitous about it, that he might not appear to have condemned him to be put in prison too rashly; so he tortured the principal of Alexander's friends, and put not a few of them to death, without getting any of the things out of them which he suspected. And while Herod was very busy about this matter, and the palace was full of terror and trouble, one of the younger sort, when he was in the utmost agony, confessed that Alexander had sent to his friends at Rome, and desired that he might be quickly invited thither by Caesar, and that he could discover a plot against him; that Mithridates, the king of Parthia, was joined in friendship with his father against the Romans, and that he had a poisonous potion ready prepared at Askelori.

(5) [254] Τούτοις ἐπίστευσεν Ἡρώδης καί τινα παραμυθίαν τῆς προπετείας εἴληφεν ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν χειρόνων κολακευόμενος. καὶ τὸ μὲν φάρμακον εὐθὺς ἐσπουδακότι ζητεῖν οὐχ εὑρέθη. [255] τὴν δ' ὑπερβολὴν τῶν κακῶν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκ φιλονεικίας ἐπιρρῶσαι θέλων εἰς μὲν ἄρνησιν οὐκ ἐτράπετο, μετῄει δὲ τὴν προπέτειαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἁμαρτίᾳ μείζονι, τάχα δὲ καὶ διὰ τούτου βουλόμενος δυσωπῆσαι τὸ πρὸς τὰς διαβολὰς ἕτοιμον, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ εἰ καὶ ἔτυχεν πιστευθεὶς κακοῦν αὐτόν τε καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν βασιλείαν προῃρημένος. [256] γράμματα γὰρ γράψας ἐν βιβλίοις τέσσαρσιν ἀπέστειλεν, ὡς οὐδὲν δεῖ βασανίζειν οὐδὲ περαιτέρω χωρεῖν: γενέσθαι γὰρ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ ταύτης συλλαμβάνειν τόν τε Φερώραν καὶ τοὺς πιστοτάτους αὐτῷ τῶν φίλων, Σαλώμην δὲ καὶ νύκτωρ ἐπεισελθοῦσαν ἄκοντι μιγῆναι: [257] καὶ πάντας ἐπὶ ταὐτὸν ἥκειν τοὺς θᾶττον ἐκεῖνον ἐκποδὼν ποιησαμένους ἄδειαν τῆς ἀεὶ προσδοκίας ἔχειν. ἐν τούτοις καὶ Πτολεμαῖος διεβέβλητο καὶ Σαπίννιος οἱ πιστότατοι τῷ βασιλεῖ. [258] καὶ τί γὰρ ἢ καθάπερ λύττης τινὸς ἐμπεσούσης κατ' ἀλλήλων οἱ πάλαι φίλτατοι τεθηρίωντο, μήτ' ἀπολογίας μήτ' ἐλέγχου τόπον ἕως ἀληθείας ἐχόντων, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ γινομένης ἀκρίτου τινὸς εἰς ἅπαντας ἀπωλείας, καὶ τῶν μὲν δεσμά, τῶν δὲ θανάτους, τῶν δὲ τὸ ταῦτα μέλλειν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὀδυρομένων, ἡσυχία τε καὶ κατήφεια τὸ βασίλειον ἀπεκόσμει τῆς πρώτης εὐδαιμονίας. [259] καὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν Ἡρώδῃ πᾶς ὁ βίος ἐκτεταραγμένῳ καὶ τὸ μηδενὶ πιστεύειν μέγα τῆς προσδοκίας κολαστήριον ἔχοντι: πολλάκις γοῦν ὡς ἐπανιστάμενον αὐτῷ τὸν υἱὸν ἢ καὶ ξιφήρη παρεστῶτα διὰ φαντασίας ἐλάμβανεν. [260] οὕτως ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν πρὸς τούτῳ γινομένη πάθος ἀνεμάξατο μανίας οὐχ ἧττον δὲ καὶ ἀνοίας. καὶ τὰ περὶ ἐκεῖνον εἶχεν οὕτως.

5. To these accusations Herod gave credit, and enjoyed hereby, in his miserable case, some sort of consolation, in excuse of his rashness, as fiattering himself with finding things in so bad a condition; but as for the poisonous potion, which he labored to find, he could find none. As for Alexander, he was very desirous to aggravate the vast misfortunes he was under, so he pretended not to deny the accusations, but punished the rashness of his father with a greater crime of his own; and perhaps he was willing to make his father ashamed of his easy belief of such calumnies: he aimed especially, if he could gain belief to his story, to plague him and his whole kingdom; for he wrote four letters, and sent them to him, that he did not need to torture any more persons, for he had plotted against him; and that he had for his partners Pheroras and the most faithful of his friends; and that Salome came in to him by night, and that she lay with him whether he would or not; and that all men were come to be of one mind, to make away with him as soon as they could, and so get clear of the continual fear they were in from him. Among these were accused Ptolemy and Sapinnius, who were the most faithful friends to the king. And what more can be said, but that those who before were the most intimate friends, were become wild beasts to one another, as if a certain madness had fallen upon them, while there was no room for defense or refutation, in order to the discovery of the truth, but all were at random doomed to destruction; so that some lamented those that were in prison, some those that were put to death, and others lamented that they were in expectation of the same miseries; and a melancholy solitude rendered the kingdom deformed, and quite the reverse to that happy state it was formerly in. Herod's own life also was entirely disturbed; and because he could trust nobody, he was sorely punished by the expectation of further misery; for he often fancied in his imagination that his son had fallen upon him, or stood by him with a sword in his hand; and thus was his mind night and day intent upon this thing, and revolved it over and over, no otherwise than if he were under a distraction. And this was the sad condition Herod was now in.

(6) [261] Ἀρχέλαος δὲ ὁ τῶν Καππαδόκων βασιλεύς, ὡς ἐπύθετο τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἡρώδην, ἀγωνιῶν τε ὑπὲρ τῆς θυγατρὸς καὶ τοῦ νεανίσκου καὶ συναλγῶν ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ τῆς ἐπὶ τοσόνδε ταραχῆς, ἦκεν οὐκ ἐν παρέργῳ θέμενος τὰ πράγματα. [262] καὶ καταλαβὼν οὕτως ἔχοντα τὸ μὲν ἐπιτιμᾶν ἢ φάναι γενέσθαι τι προπετὲς αὐτῷ τελέως ἀνοίκειον εἰς τὸν καιρὸν ἡγήσατο: φιλονεικήσειν γὰρ κεκακωμένον καὶ μᾶλλον ἀπολογεῖσθαι σπεύδοντα πλείονος ὀργῆς ἀναπλησθήσεσθαι: [263] μετῆει δὲ τάξιν ἑτέραν τὴν ἐπανόρθωσιν τῶν ἠτυχημένων, ὀργιζόμενος τῷ νεανίσκῳ κἀκεῖνον ἐπιεικῆ λέγων τῷ μηδὲν ἐκ προπετείας ἐργάσασθαι, τόν τε γάμον διαλύσειν ἔφη πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ

μηδ᾽ ἂν τῆς θυγατρὸς φείσασθαι, εἴ τι συνειδυῖα τούτῳ οὐ κατεμήνυσεν. [264] τοιούτου δ᾽ ὄντος οὐ κατὰ προσδοκίαν ὧν Ἡρώδης ᾤετο, τὸ δὲ πλέον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὴν ὀργὴν ἐπιδεικνυμένου, μετέπιπτεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς χαλεπότητος καὶ λαβὼν ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου δοκεῖν τὰ πεπραγμένα πεποιηκέναι κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀντιμεθίστατο πάθος. [265] οἰκτρὸς δ᾽ ἦν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις, ὅτε μὲν ἀπελύοντό τινες τὰς τοῦ νεανίσκου διαβολὰς εἰς ὀργὴν ἐκταραττόμενος, ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ἀρχέλαος συγκατηγόρει, πρὸς δάκρυα καὶ λύπην οὐκ ἀπαθῆ μεθιστάμενος: ἐδεῖτο γοῦν ἐκείνου μήτε διαλύειν τὸν γάμον ὀργῆς τε ἔλαττον ἔχειν ἐφ᾽ οἷς ὁ νεανίσκος ἠδίκησεν. [266] Ἀρχέλαος δὲ παραλαβὼν ἐπιεικέστερον εἴς τε τοὺς φίλους μετέφερεν τὰς διαβολάς, ἐκείνων εἶναι λέγων νέον ὄντα καὶ κακοηθείας ἀναίσθητον διαφθεῖραι, τόν τε ἀδελφὸν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον εἰς ὑποψίαν καθίστη: [267] τοῦ γὰρ Ἡρώδου χαλεπῶς καὶ πρὸς τὸν Φερώραν ἔχοντος ὁ μὲν ἀπορίᾳ τοῦ διαλλάξοντος Ἀρχέλαον ὁρῶν μάλιστα δυνάμενον αὐτὸς τυχὼν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐτράπετο μελανείμων καὶ πάντα τὰ σημεῖα τῆς μετὰ μικρὸν ἀπωλείας ἔχων, [268] Ἀρχέλαος δὲ οὔτε ὑπερεῖδεν τὴν ἔντευξιν οὔτ᾽ ἔφη δυνατὸς εἶναι ταχὺ μεταπείθειν οὕτως ἔχοντα τὸν βασιλέα: βέλτιον δὲ εἶναι αὐτῷ προσιέναι καὶ δεῖσθαι, τῶν πάντων αἴτιον αὐτὸν ὁμολογοῦντα: ὠφελήσειν γὰρ οὕτως τοῦ θυμοῦ τὸ περιττόν, αὐτὸς δὲ συλλήψεσθαι παρών. [269] ταῦτα δὲ πεισθέντος αὐτοῦ συναμφότερον ἦν διαπεπραγμένον, αἵ τε διαβολαὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἀφῄρηντο τοῦ νεανίσκου καὶ Φερώραν Ἀρχέλαος διαλλάξας οὕτως εἰς Καππαδοκίαν ἀπῄει, κεχαρισμένος ὡς οὐκ ἄλλος ἐν τῇ τότε περιστάσει τῶν καιρῶν Ἡρώδῃ γενόμενος. ὅθεν καὶ δώροις αὐτὸν ἐτίμησεν πολυτελεστάτοις κἀν τοῖς ἄλλοις μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα φίλτατον ἡγησάμενος. [270] ἐποιήσατο δὲ καὶ συνθήκας εἰς Ῥώμην ἐλθεῖν, ἐπειδὴ περὶ τούτων ἐγέγραπτο Καίσαρι, καὶ μέχρις Ἀντιοχείας ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ παρῆλθον. ἐκεῖ καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα Συρίας Τίτιον ἐκ διαφορᾶς Ἀρχελάῳ κακῶς ἔχοντα διήλλαξεν Ἡρώδης καὶ πάλιν εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ὑποστρέφει.

6. But when Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, heard of the state that Herod was in, and being in great distress about his daughter, and the young man [her husband], and grieving with Herod, as with a man that was his friend, on account of so great a disturbance as he was under, he came [to Jerusalem] on purpose to compose their differences; and when he found Herod in such a temper, he thought it wholly unseasonable to reprove him, or to pretend that he had done any thing rashly, for that he should thereby naturally bring him to dispute the point with him, and by still more and more apologizing for himself to be the more irritated: he went, therefore, another way to work, in order to correct the former misfortunes, and appeared angry at the young man, and said that Herod had been so very mild a man, that he had not acted a rash part at all. He also said

he would dissolve his daughter's marriage with Alexander, nor could in justice spare his own daughter, if she were conscious of any thing, and did not inform Herod of it. When Archelaus appeared to be of this temper, and otherwise than Herod expected or imagined, and, for the main, took Herod's part, and was angry on his account, the king abated of his harshness, and took occasion from his appearing to have acted justly hitherto, to come by degrees to put on the affection of a father, and was on both sides to be pitied; for when some persons refuted the calumnies that were laid on the young man, he was thrown into a passion; but when Archclaus joined in the accusation, he was dissolved into tears and sorrow after an affectionate manner. Accordingly, he desired that he would not dissolve his son's marriage, and became not so angry as before for his offenses. So when Archclaus had brought him to a more moderate temper, he transferred the calumnies upon his friends; and said it must be owing to them that so young a man, and one unacquainted with malice, was corrupted; and he supposed that there was more reason to suspect the brother than the soft. Upon which Herod was very much displeased at Pheroras, who indeed now had no one that could make a reconciliation between him and his brother. So when he saw that Archclaus had the greatest power with Herod, he betook himself to him in the habit of a mourner, and like one that had all the signs upon him of an undone man. Upon this Archclaus did not overlook the intercession he made to him, nor yet did he undertake to change the king's disposition towards him immediately; and he said that it was better for him to come himself to the king, and confess himself the occasion of all; that this would make the king's anger not to be extravagant towards him, and that then he would be present to assist him. When he had persuaded him to this, he gained his point with both of them; and the calumnies raised against the young man were, beyond all expectation, wiped off. And Archclaus, as soon as he had made the reconciliation, went then away to Cappadocia, having proved at this juncture of time the most acceptable person to Herod in the world; on which account he gave him the richest presents, as tokens of his respects to him; and being on other occasions magnanimous, he esteemed him one of his dearest friends. He also made an agreement with him that he would go to Rome, because he had written to Caesar about these affairs; so they went together as far as Antioch, and there Herod made a reconciliation between Archclaus and Titus, the president of Syria, who had been greatly at variance, and so returned back to Judea.

IX

CHAPTER 9. Concerning The Revolt Of The Trachonites; How Sylleus Accused Herod Before Caesar; And How Herod, When Caesar Was Angry At Him, Resolved To Send Nicolaus To Rome.

(1) [271] Γενομένῳ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ κἀκεῖθεν ἐπανήκοντι συνέστη πόλεμος πρὸς τοὺς Ἄραβας ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης: οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὸν Τράχωνα Καίσαρος ἀφελομένου Ζηνόδωρον καὶ προσθέντος Ἡρῴδῃ τὴν χώραν λῃστεύειν μὲν οὐκ εἶχον ἐξουσίαν ἔτι, γεωργεῖν δὲ καὶ ζῆν ἡμέρως ἠναγκάζοντο. [272] τόδ' ἦν ἐκείνοις οὐχ αἱρετὸν οὐδὲ λυσιτέλειαν ἔφερεν ἡ γῆ πονούντων. ὅμως δὲ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὐκ ἐπιτρέποντος τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπείχοντο τῶν εἰς τοὺς περιοίκους ἀδικημάτων, καὶ πολλὴ διὰ τοῦτο ἦν εὐδοξία τῆς ἐπιμελείας Ἡρῴδῃ. [273] πλεύσαντος δ' εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, ὅτε καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου κατηγόρει καὶ παραθησόμενος Ἀντίπατρον τὸν υἱὸν παρεληλύθει Καίσαρι, λόγον ὡς ἀπολωλὼς εἴη διασπείροντες οἱ τὸν Τράχωνα νεμόμενοι τῆς τε ἀρχῆς ἀπέστησαν καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ συνήθη τοὺς πλησιοχώρους ἀδικεῖν ἐτρέποντο. [274] τότε μὲν οὖν αὐτοὺς οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπόντος ἐχειρώσαντο. περὶ τετταράκοντα δέ τινες ἀρχιλῃσταὶ κατὰ δέος τῶν ἡλωκότων ἐξέλιπον μὲν τὴν χώραν, [275] εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἀφορμήσαντες Συλλαίου δεξαμένου μετὰ τὴν ἀποτυχίαν τοῦ Σαλώμης γάμου, τόπον τε ἐρυμνὸν ἐκείνου δόντος ᾤκησαν καὶ κατατρέχοντες οὐ μόνον τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κοίλην Συρίαν ἅπασαν ἐλῄζοντο, παρέχοντος ὁρμητήρια τοῦ Συλλαίου καὶ κακῶς ποιοῦσιν ἄδειαν. [276] Ἡρῴδης δὲ ἐπανελθὼν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἔγνω πολλὰ τῶν οἰκείων αὐτῷ κεκακωμένα, καὶ τῶν μὲν λῃστῶν ἐγκρατὴς γενέσθαι οὐκ ἠδυνήθη διὰ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, ἣν ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἀράβων προστασίας ἐπορίσαντο, χαλεπῶς δὲ ἔχων αὐτὸς τῶν ἀδικημάτων περιελθὼν τὸν Τράχωνα τοὺς οἰκείους αὐτῶν ἀπέσφαξεν. [277] ἐντεῦθεν ἐκεῖνοι καὶ μᾶλλον πρὸς ὀργὰς ὧν ἐπεπόνθεισαν ὄντος αὐτοῖς καὶ νόμου πάντα τρόπον ἐπεξιέναι τοὺς τῶν οἰκείων φονεῖς ἀνυποτιμήτως τὴν Ἡρῴδου πᾶσαν ἄγοντες καὶ φέροντες διετέλουν. ἐκεῖνος δὲ διελέγετο περὶ τούτων τοῖς Καίσαρος ἡγεμόσιν Σατορνίνῳ τε καὶ Οὐολομνίῳ ἐπὶ κολάσει τοὺς λῃστὰς ἐξαιτούμενος. [278] ὅθεν ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἰσχυρῶς ἐχόντων πλείους μὲν ἐγίνοντο, πάντα δὲ ἐτάραττον ἐπ' ἀναστάσει τῆς Ἡρῴδου βασιλείας χωρία καὶ κώμας πορθοῦντες καὶ τοὺς λαμβανομένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπέσφαττον, ὡς εἶναι πολέμῳ τὴν ἀδικίαν ἐοικυῖαν: ἐγεγόνεισαν γὰρ ἤδη περὶ χιλίους. [279] ἐφ' οἷς ἀχθόμενος Ἡρῴδης τούς τε λῃστὰς ἐξῄτει καὶ χρέος ὃ διὰ Συλλαίου δανείσας ἔτυχεν Ὀβάδᾳ τάλαντα ἑξήκοντα, παρηκούσης αὐτῷ τῆς προθεσμίας ἀπολαβεῖν ἠξίου.

[280] Σύλλαιος δὲ τὸν μὲν Ὀβάδαν παρεωσμένος αὐτὸς δὲ ἅπαντα διοικῶν τούς τε λῃστὰς ἔξαρνος ἦν μὴ κατὰ τὴν Ἀραβίαν εἶναι καὶ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἀνεβάλλετο, περὶ ὧν ἐπί τε Σατορνίνου καὶ Οὐολομνίου τῶν Συρίας ἐπιστατούντων ἐγίνοντο λόγοι. [281] τέλος δὲ συνέθεντο δι᾽ ἐκείνων ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα τά τε χρήματα τὸν Ἡρώδην ἀπολαβεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἀλλήλων ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τῇ βασιλείᾳ Καὶ παρὰ μὲν Ἡρώδῃ τῶν Ἀράβων οὐδεὶς εὑρέθη τὸ σύνολον οὔτε ἐπ᾽ ἀδικίας οὔτε κατ᾽ ἄλλον τρόπον, οἱ δ᾽ Ἄραβες ἠλέγχοντο τοὺς λῃστὰς παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἔχειν.

1. When Herod had been at Rome, and was come back again, a war arose between him and the Arabians, on the occasion following: The inhabitants of Trachonitis, after Caesar had taken the country away from Zenodorus, and added it to Herod, had not now power to rob, but were forced to plough the land, and to live quietly, which was a thing they did not like; and when they did take that pains, the ground did not produce much fruit for them. However, at the first the king would not permit them to rob, and so they abstained from that unjust way of living upon their neighbors, which procured Herod a great reputation for his care. But when he was sailing to Rome, it was at that time when he went to accuse his son Alexander, and to commit Antipater to Caesar's protection, the Trachonites spread a report as if he were dead, and revolted from his dominion, and betook themselves again to their accustomed way of robbing their neighbors; at which time the king's commanders subdued them during his absence; but about forty of the principal robbers, being terrified by those that had been taken, left the country, and retired into Arabia, Sylleus entertaining them, after he had missed of marrying Salome, and gave them a place of strength, in which they dwelt. So they overran not only Judea, but all Celesyria also, and carried off the prey, while Sylleus afforded them places of protection and quietness during their wicked practices. But when Herod came back from Rome, he perceived that his dominions had greatly suffered by them; and since he could not reach the robbers themselves, because of the secure retreat they had in that country, and which the Arabian government afforded them, and yet being very uneasy at the injuries they had done him, he went all over Trachonitis, and slew their relations; whereupon these robbers were more angry than before, it being a law among them to be avenged on the murderers of their relations by all possible means; so they continued to tear and rend every thing under Herod's dominion with impunity. Then did he discourse about these robberies to Saturninus and Volumnius, and required that they should be punished; upon which occasion they still the more confirmed themselves in their robberies, and became more numerous, and made very great disturbances, laying waste the countries and

villages that belonged to Herod's kingdom, and killing those men whom they caught, till these unjust proceedings came to be like a real war, for the robbers were now become about a thousand; — at which Herod was sore displeased, and required the robbers, as well as the money which he had lent Obodas, by Sylleus, which was sixty talents, and since the time of payment was now past, he desired to have it paid him; but Sylleus, who had laid Obodas aside, and managed all by himself, denied that the robbers were in Arabia, and put off the payment of the money; about which there was a hearing before Saturninus and Volumnius, who were then the presidents of Syria. At last he, by their means, agreed, that within thirty days' time Herod should be paid his money, and that each of them should deliver up the other's subjects reciprocally. Now, as to Herod, there was not one of the other's subjects found in his kingdom, either as doing any injustice, or on any other account, but it was proved that the Arabians had the robbers amongst them.

(2) [282] Διελθούσης δὲ τῆς προθεσμίας Σύλλαιος οὐδὲν τῶν δικαίων πεποιηκὼς εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνέρχεται. ῥύσια δὲ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τῶν παρ' ἐκείνοις λῃστῶν Ἡρώδης ἐποιεῖτο, [283] καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Σατορνῖνον καὶ Οὐολόμνιον ἐπιτρεπόντων ἀγνωμονοῦντας ἐπεξιέναι στρατιάν τε ἔχων προήγαγεν εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἑπτὰ σταθμοὺς διανύσας, καὶ γενόμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ φρουρίου τοῦ τοὺς λῃστὰς ἔχοντος αἱρεῖ μὲν ἐξ ἐφόδου πάντας αὐτούς, κατασκάπτει δὲ τὸ χωρίον Ῥάεπτα καλούμενον: τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἐλύπησεν. [284] ἐκβοηθησάντων δὲ τῶν Ἀράβων ἡγουμένου Νακέβου μάχη γίνεται, καθ' ἣν ὀλίγοι μὲν τῶν Ἡρώδου, Νάκεβος δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἀράβων στρατηγὸς καὶ περὶ εἰκοσιπέντε τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ πίπτουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι πρὸς φυγὴν ἐτράποντο. [285] τισάμενος δὲ τούτους τρισχιλίους Ἰδουμαίων ἐπὶ τῇ Τραχωνίτιδι κατοικίσας ἦγεν λῃστὰς τοὺς ἐκεῖ, καὶ περὶ τούτων τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἔπεμπεν περὶ Φοινίκην οὖσιν, ἀποδεικνὺς ὅτι μηδὲν πλέον ὧν ἀγνωμονοῦντας ἐπεξελθεῖν ἔδει τοὺς Ἄραβας αὐτῷ πέπρακται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖνοι πολυπραγμονοῦντες εὕρισκον οὐ ψευδόμενον.

2. When this day appointed for payment of the money was past, without Sylleus's performing any part of his agreement, and he was gone to Rome, Herod demanded the payment of the money, and that the robbers that were in Arabia should be delivered up; and, by the permission of Saturninus and Volumnius, executed the judgment himself upon those that were refractory. He took an army that he had, and let it into Arabia, and in three days' time marched seven mansions; and when he came to the garrison wherein the robbers were, he made an assault upon them, and took them all, and demolished the place, which was called Raepta, but did no harm to any others. But as the Arabians came to their

assistance, under Naceb their captain, there ensued a battle, wherein a few of Herod's soldiers, and Naceb, the captain of the Arabians, and about twenty of his soldiers, fell, while the rest betook themselves to flight. So when he had brought these to punishment, he placed three thousand Idumeans in Trachonitis, and thereby restrained the robbers that were there. He also sent an account to the captains that were about Phoenicia, and demonstrated that he had done nothing but what he ought to do, in punishing the refractory Arabians, which, upon an exact inquiry, they found to be no more than what was true.

(3) [286] Ἄγγελοι δὲ Συλλαίῳ καταταχήσαντες εἰς Ῥώμην τὰ πεπραγμένα διεσάφουν εἰς μεῖζον, ὡς εἰκός, ἕκαστον τῶν γεγονότων αἴροντες. [287] ὁ δὲ ἤδη μὲν ἐπεπραγμάτευτο γνώριμος εἶναι Καίσαρι, τότε δὲ περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν ἀναστρεφόμενος ὡς ἤκουσεν εὐθὺς μεταμφιέννυται μέλαιναν ἐσθῆτα καὶ παρελθὼν ἔλεγεν ὡς αὐτόν, ὅτι πολέμῳ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν εἴη κεκακωμένα καὶ πᾶσα ἀνάστατος ἡ βασιλεία στρατιᾷ πορθήσαντος αὐτὴν Ἡρώδου. [288] δακρύων δὲ πεντακοσίους μὲν ἐπὶ δισχιλίοις Ἀράβων ἀπολωλέναι τοὺς πρώτους ἔλεγεν, ἀνῃρῆσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Νάκεβον οἰκεῖον αὐτῷ καὶ συγγενῆ, πλοῦτον δὲ διηρπάσθαι τὸν ἐν Ῥαέπτοις, καταπεφρονῆσθαι δὲ τὸν Ὀβόδαν ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας οὐκ ἀρκέσαντα τῷ πολέμῳ διὰ τὸ μήτ᾽ αὐτὸν μήτε τὴν Ἀραβικὴν δύναμιν παρεῖναι. [289] τοιαῦτα τοῦ Συλλαίου λέγοντος καὶ προστιθέντος ἐπιφθόνως, ὡς οὐδ᾽ ἂν αὐτὸς ἀπέλθοι τῆς χώρας μὴ πεπιστευκὼς ὅτι Καίσαρι μέλοι τὴν εἰρήνην ἅπασιν εἶναι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, μηδ᾽ εἰ παρὼν ἐτύγχανεν ἐκεῖ λυσιτελῆ ποιῆσαι τὸν πόλεμον Ἡρώδῃ, παροξυνθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀνέκρινε τῶν Ἡρώδου τοὺς παρόντας καὶ τῶν ἰδίων τοὺς ἀπὸ Συρίας ἥκοντας αὐτὸ μόνον, εἰ τὴν στρατιὰν Ἡρώδης ἐξαγάγοι. [290] τῶν δὲ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτὸ λέγειν ἀνάγκην ἐχόντων, τὸ δὲ ἐφ᾽ ὅτῳ καὶ πῶς οὐκ ἀκούοντος, ὀργή τε μείζων ἐγίνετο τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ γράφει πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδην τά τε ἄλλα χαλεπῶς καὶ τοῦτο τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τὸ κεφάλαιον, ὅτι πάλαι χρώμενος αὐτῷ φίλῳ νῦν ὑπηκόῳ χρήσεται. [291] γράφει δὲ καὶ Σύλλαιος ὑπὲρ τούτων τοῖς Ἄραψιν. οἱ δ᾽ ἐπαρθέντες οὔτε τῶν λῃστῶν ὅσοι διέφυγον ἐξεδίδοσαν οὔτε τὰ χρήματα διευλύτουν, νομάς τε ἃς ἐκείνου μισθωσάμενοι διακατεῖχον ἀμισθὶ ταύταις ἐχρῶντο, τεταπεινωμένου τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλέως διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος. [292] ἐπιτίθενται δὲ τῷ καιρῷ καὶ οἱ τὴν Τραχωνῖτιν ἔχοντες τῆς τῶν Ἰδουμαίων φρουρᾶς κατεξαναστάντες καὶ λῃστηρίοις χρώμενοι μετὰ τῶν Ἀράβων, οἳ ἐλεηλάτουν τὴν ἐκείνων χώραν οὐκ ἀπὸ ὠφελείας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μνησικακίας χαλεπώτεροι τὰς ἀδικίας ὄντες.

3. However, messengers were hasted away to Sylleus to Rome, and informed him what had been done, and, as is usual, aggravated every thing. Now Sylleus had already insinuated himself into the knowledge of Caesar, and was then about the

palace; and as soon as he heard of these things, he changed his habit into black, and went in, and told Caesar that Arabia was afflicted with war, and that all his kingdom was in great confusion, upon Herod's laying it waste with his army; and he said, with tears in his eyes, that two thousand five hundred of the principal men among the Arabians had been destroyed, and that their captain Nacebus, his familiar friend and kinsman, was slain; and that the riches that were at Raepta were carried off; and that Obodas was despised, whose infirm state of body rendered him unfit for war; on which account neither he, nor the Arabian army, were present. When Sylleus said so, and added invidiously, that he would not himself have come out of the country, unless he had believed that Caesar would have provided that they should all have peace one with another, and that, had he been there, he would have taken care that the war should not have been to Herod's advantage; Caesar was provoked when this was said, and asked no more than this one question, both of Herod's friends that were there, and of his own friends, who were come from Syria, Whether Herod had led an army thither? And when they were forced to confess so much, Caesar, without staying to hear for what reason he did it, and how it was done, grew very angry, and wrote to Herod sharply. The sum of his epistle was this, that whereas of old he had used him as his friend, he should now use him as his subject. Sylleus also wrote an account of this to the Arabians, who were so elevated with it, that they neither delivered up the robbers that had fled to them, nor paid the money that was due; they retained those pastures also which they had hired, and kept them without paying their rent, and all this because the king of the Jews was now in a low condition, by reason of Caesar's anger at him. Those of Trachonitis also made use of this opportunity, and rose up against the Idumean garrison, and followed the same way of robbing with the Arabians, who had pillaged their country, and were more rigid in their unjust proceedings, not only in order to get by it, but by way of revenge also.

(4) [293] Ἡρώδης δὲ ταῦτα πάντα φέρων ἠνείχετο μεταβεβληκυίας αὐτῷ τῆς παρρησίας, ἣν εἶχε διὰ Καίσαρα, καὶ τὸ μεῖζον ἀφῄρητο τοῦ φρονήματος: οὐδὲ γὰρ πέμψαντος αὐτοῦ πρεσβείαν ἀπολογησομένην ὁ Καῖσαρ ἠνέσχετο, πάλιν δὲ τοὺς συνελθόντας ἀπράκτους ἀνέπεμψεν. [294] ἦν δ' οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀθυμία καὶ δέος, ὅ τε Σύλλαιος οὐ μετρίως ἐλύπει πιστευθείς τε καὶ παρὼν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, τότε δὲ καὶ μειζόνων ἁπτόμενος: ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ὀβόδας ἐτεθνήκει, παραλαμβάνει δὲ τὴν τῶν Ἀράβων ἀρχὴν Αἰνείας ὁ μετονομασθεὶς αὖθις Ἀρέτας. [295] τοῦτον γὰρ ἐπεχείρει διαβολαῖς παρωσάμενος αὐτὸς ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν ἀρχήν, χρήματα μὲν πολλὰ διδοὺς τοῖς περὶ τὴν αὐλήν, πολλὰ δὲ Καίσαρι δώσειν ὑπισχνούμενος. ὁ δὲ τῷ μὴ τὸν Ἀρέταν ἐπιστείλαντα πρότερον αὐτῷ βασιλεύειν ὠργίζετο. [296]

πέμπει δὲ κἀκεῖνος ἐπιστολὴν καὶ δῶρα τῷ Καίσαρι στέφανόν τε χρυσοῦν ἀπὸ πολλῶν ταλάντων: ἡ δὲ ἐπιστολὴ κατηγόρει Σύλλαιον ὄντα πονηρὸν δοῦλον Ὀβόδαν τε φαρμάκοις διαφθεῖραι καὶ ζῶντος ἔτι κρατεῖν αὐτὸν τάς τε τῶν Ἀράβων μοιχεύοντα καὶ χρήματα δανειζόμενον, ὥστ᾽ ἐξιδιώσασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν. [297] προσέσχεν δὲ οὐδὲ τούτοις ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἀλλ᾽ ἀποπέμπει μηδὲν τῶν δώρων λαβών. τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ Ἀραβίαν ἀεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπεδίδου τὰ μὲν εἰς ἀταξίαν τὰ δ᾽ ὡς καταφθειρομένων μηδένα προεστάναι: [298] τῶν γὰρ βασιλέων ὁ μὲν οὐδέπω τὴν ἀρχὴν βεβαίαν ἔχων οὐχ ἱκανὸς ἦν κωλύειν τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας, Ἡρώδης δὲ ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἠμύνατο τάχιον ὀργισθέντος αὐτῷ Καίσαρος ἁπάσας τὰς εἰς αὐτὸν παρανομίας φέρειν ἠναγκάζετο. [299] πέρας δ᾽ οὐδὲν ὁρῶν τῶν περιεστώτων κακῶν ἔγνω πάλιν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀποστέλλειν, εἴ τι δύναιτο μετριώτερον εὑρεῖν διά τε τῶν φίλων καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν Καίσαρα τὴν ἐντυχίαν ποιησάμενος. κἀκεῖ μὲν ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς ἀπῄει Νικόλαος.

4. Now Herod was forced to bear all this, that confidence of his being quite gone with which Caesar's favor used to inspire him; for Caesar would not admit so much as an embassage from him to 'make an apology for him; and when they came again, he sent them away without success. So he was cast into sadness and fear; and Sylleus's circumstances grieved him exceedingly, who was now believed by Caesar, and was present at Rome, nay, sometimes aspiring higher. Now it came to pass that Obodas was dead; and Aeneas, whose name was afterward changed to Aretas, took the government, for Sylleus endeavored by calumnies to get him turned out of his principality, that he might himself take it; with which design he gave much money to the courtiers, and promised much money to Caesar, who indeed was angry that Aretas had not sent to him first before he took the kingdom; yet did Aeneas send an epistle and presents to Caesar, and a golden crown, of the weight of many talents. Now that epistle accused Sylleus as having been a wicked servant, and having killed Obodas by poison; and that while he was alive, he had governed him as he pleased; and had also debauched the wives of the Arabians; and had borrowed money, in order to obtain the dominion for himself: yet did not Caesar give heed to these accusations, but sent his ambassadors back, without receiving any of his presents. But in the mean time the affairs of Judea and Arabia became worse and worse, partly because of the anarchy they were under, and partly because, as bad as they were, nobody had power to govern them; for of the two kings, the one was not yet confirmed in his kingdom, and so had not authority sufficient to restrain the evil-doers; and as for Herod, Caesar was immediately angry at him for having avenged himself, and so he was compelled to bear all the injuries that were offered him. At length, when he saw no end of the mischief which

surrounded him, he resolved to send ambassadors to Rome again, to see whether his friends had prevailed to mitigate Caesar, and to address themselves to Caesar himself; and the ambassador he sent thither was Nicolans of Damascus.

X

CHAPTER 10. How Eurycles Falsely Accused Herod’s Sons; And How Their Father Bound Them, And Wrote To Caesar About Them. Of Sylleus And How He Was Accused By Nicolaus.

(1) [300] Ἐξετετάρακτο δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῷ πολὺ χεῖρον ἐσχηκότα περὶ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον. ὅλως μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ τὸν ἔμπροσθε χρόνον ἀσύνοπτον ἦν, ὡς τὸ μέγιστον καὶ δυσχερέστατον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων παθῶν ἀπειλεῖται τῇ βασιλείᾳ διὰ τῆς τύχης, ἐπέβαινεν δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον ηὐξήθη τότε παρὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν. [301] Εὐρυκλῆς ἀπὸ Λακεδαίμονος οὐκ ἄσημος τῶν ἐκεῖ κακὸς δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ἄνθρωπος καὶ περὶ τρυφὴν καὶ κολακείαν δεινὸς ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν ἔχειν τε καὶ μὴ δοκεῖν, ἐπιδημήσας ὡς τὸν Ἡρώδην δῶρά τε δίδωσιν αὐτῷ καὶ πλείω παρ’ ἐκείνου λαβὼν ταῖς εὐκαιρίαις τῶν ἐντεύξεων ἐπραγματεύσατο φίλος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα γενέσθαι βασιλέως. [302] ἦν δ’ αὐτῷ καταγωγὴ μὲν ἐν τοῖς Ἀντιπάτρου, πρόσοδος δὲ καὶ συνήθεια πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον: Ἀρχελάῳ γὰρ ἔλεγεν εἶναι τῷ Καππάδοκι διὰ σπουδῆς. [303] ὅθεν καὶ τὴν Γλαφύραν ὑπεκρίνατο τιμᾶν, καὶ πολὺς ἦν ἀφανῶς μὲν ἐκθεραπεύων ἅπαντας ἀεὶ δὲ τοῖς λαλουμένοις ἢ γινομένοις προσέχων, ὡς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀντιχαρίζεσθαι τὰς διαβολάς. [304] τέλος δὲ τοιοῦτος ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰς συντυχίας ἀπέβαινεν, ὡς ἐκείνῳ μὲν εἶναι φίλος τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις δοκεῖν κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον ἐκείνῳ προσεῖναι. οὗτος Ἀλέξανδρον παράγει νέον ὄντα καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐπεπόνθει μηδενὶ μὲν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον δὲ μόνον ἀδεῶς πεπεισμένον ἐξεῖναι λέγειν: [305] ἐνέφαινεν οὖν ἀχθόμενος, ὡς ὁ πατὴρ ἠλλοτρίωτο, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν μητέρα διηγεῖτο καὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον, ὅτι παρωθούμενος αὐτοὺς τῆς τιμῆς τὰ πάντα ἤδη δύναται. τούτων δὲ ἀνεκτὸν οὐδὲν ἔφη κατεσκευασμένου πρὸς μῖσος ἤδη τοῦ πατρός, ὡς μηδὲ συμποσίοις ἢ συλλόγοις ἀνέχεσθαι λέγων. [306] τοιαῦτα μὲν ἐκεῖνος, ὡς εἰκός, ἐφ’ οἷς ἤλγει: τοὺς δὲ λόγους Εὐρυκλῆς Ἀντιπάτρῳ τούτους ἀνέφερεν, λέγων μὲν ὡς οὐχ ἕνεκα σοῦ τοῦτ’ αὐτὸν ποιεῖν, νικᾶσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ σοῦ τιμώμενος τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ πράγματος καὶ φυλάττεσθαι παρακελευόμενος τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον: οὐ γὰρ ἀπαθῶς τούτων ἕκαστον λέγειν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὴν αὐτοχειρίαν. [307] Ἀντίπατρος μὲν οὖν εὔνουν ὑπολαμβάνων ἐκ τούτων μεγάλας αὐτῷ παρ’ ἕκαστα δωρεὰς ἐδίδου καὶ τέλος ἤδη πείθει πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδην ἀναφέρειν τὸν λόγον. [308] ὁ δ’ οὐκ ἦν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου δύσνοιαν ἐξ ὧν ἔλεγεν ἀκηκοέναι διηγούμενος ἀπίθανος, ἀλλ’ οὕτω διέθηκε τὸν βασιλέα περιάγων ἀεὶ τοῖς ῥήμασι καὶ παροξύνων, ὡς ἀμετάγνωστον ποιῆσαι τὸ μῖσος. ἐδήλωσεν δὲ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν καιρόν: [309] εὐθὺς γὰρ Εὐρυκλεῖ δίδωσιν

πεντήκοντα τάλαντα δωρεάν. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα λαβὼν καὶ πρὸς Ἀρχέλαον ἀναβὰς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Καππαδόκων τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπῄνει καὶ χρήσιμος ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ πολλὰ πρὸς τὰς διαλλαγὰς τὰς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα γεγενῆσθαι. [310] χρηματισάμενος δὲ καὶ παρ᾽ ἐκείνου πρὶν καταφωραθῆναι τῆς κακοηθείας ἀπῄει. Εὐρυκλῆς μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι παυσάμενος εἶναι μοχθηρὸς ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἀδικήμασιν ἀπεστερήθη τῆς πατρίδος.

1. The disorders about Herod's family and children about this time grew much worse; for it now appeared certain, nor was it unforeseen beforehand, that fortune threatened the greatest and most insupportable misfortunes possible to his kingdom. Its progress and augmentation at this time arose on the occasion following: One Eurycles, a Lacedemonian, [a person of note there, but a man of a perverse mind, and so cunning in his ways of voluptuousness and flattery, as to indulge both, and yet seem to indulge neither of them,] came in his travels to Herod, and made him presents, but so that he received more presents from him. He also took such proper seasons for insinuating himself into his friendship, that he became one of the most intimate of the king's friends. He had his lodging in Antipater's house; but he had not only access, but free conversation, with Alexander, as pretending to him that he was in great favor with Archclaus, the king of Cappadocia; whence he pretended much respect to Glaphyra, and in an occult manner cultivated a friendship with them all; but always attending to what was said and done, that he might be furnished with calumnies to please them all. In short, he behaved himself so to every body in his conversation, as to appear to be his particular friend, and he made others believe that his being any where was for that person's advantage. So he won upon Alexander, who was but young; and persuaded him that he might open his grievances to him with assurance and with nobody else. So he declared his grief to him, how his father was alienated from him. He related to him also the affairs of his mother, and of Antipater; that he had driven them from their proper dignity, and had the power over every thing himself; that no part of this was tolerable, since his father was already come to hate them; and he added, that he would neither admit them to his table, nor to his conversation. Such were the complaints, as was but natural, of Alexander about the things that troubled him; and these discourses Eurycles carried to Antipater, and told him he did not inform him of this on his own account, but that being overcome by his kindness, the great importance of the thing obliged him to do it; and he warned him to have a care of Alexander, for that what he said was spoken with vehemency, and that, in consequence of what he said, he would certainly kill him with his own hand. Whereupon Antipater, thinking him to be his friend by this advice, gave him presents upon all

occasions, and at length persuaded him to inform Herod of what he had heard. So when he related to the king Alexander's ill temper, as discovered by the words he had heard him speak, he was easily believed by him; and he thereby brought the king to that pass, turning him about by his words, and irritating him, till he increased his hatred to him and made him implacable, which he showed at that very time, for he immediately gave Eurycles a present of fifty talents; who, when he had gotten them, went to Archclaus, king of Cappadocia, and commended Alexander before him, and told him that he had been many ways of advantage to him, in making a reconciliation between him and his father. So he got money from him also, and went away, before his pernicious practices were found out; but when Eurycles was returned to Lacedemon, he did not leave off doing mischief; and so, for his many acts of injustice, he was banished from his own country.

(2) [311] Ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλεὺς οὐχ ὥσπερ πρότερον εἶχεν πρός τε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ἀκούειν μόνον τὰς κατ' αὐτῶν διαβολάς, ἀλλ' ἤδη διὰ μίσους οἰκείου γεγενημένος αὐτὸς εἰ καὶ μὴ λέγοι τις ἐξειργάζετο, [312] παρατηρῶν ἕκαστα καὶ πυνθανόμενος καὶ πᾶσιν ἐνδιδοὺς τοῖς βουλομένοις, εἴ τις ἔχοι τι κατ' ἐκείνων εἰπεῖν, Εὐάρατόν τε Κῷον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνειδέναι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὖν καθ' ἡδονὴν τὸ πάντων ἥδιστον Ἡρώδης ἐλάμβανεν.

2. But as for the king of the Jews, he was not now in the temper he was in formerly towards Alexander and Aristobulus, when he had been content with the hearing their calumnies when others told him of them; but he was now come to that pass as to hate them himself, and to urge men to speak against them, though they did not do it of themselves. He also observed all that was said, and put questions, and gave ear to every one that would but speak, if they could but say any thing against them, till at length he heard that Euaratus of Cos was a conspirator with Alexander; which thing to Herod was the most agreeable and sweetest news imaginable.

(3) [313] Ἐπιγίνεται δὲ κατὰ τῶν νεανίσκων μεῖζόν τι σκευωρουμένης ἀεὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτῶν διαβολῆς καὶ πᾶσιν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἄθλου τούτου προκειμένου λέγειν τι περὶ ἐκείνων δυσχερὲς πρὸς τῆς τοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἐδόκει σωτηρίας. [314] σωματοφύλακες ἦσαν Ἡρώδῃ δύο κατ' ἰσχὺν καὶ μέγεθος τιμώμενοι Ἰούκουνδος καὶ Τύραννος. οὗτοι προσκρούσαντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπεωσμένοι περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἦσαν συνιππαζόμενοι καὶ κατὰ τὰ γυμνάσια τιμώμενοι καί τι χρυσίον καὶ δωρεὰς ἄλλας ἔλαβον. [315] εὐθὺς οὖν καὶ τούτους ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν ὑποψίαις ἔχων ἐβασάνιζεν, οἱ δὲ διακαρτερήσαντες πολὺν χρόνον ὕστερον ἔλεγον, ὅτι πείθοι φονεύειν αὐτοὺς Ἡρώδην Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐπεὶ περὶ

κυνηγέσιον θηρίων διώκων προλάβοι: δυνατὸν γὰρ εἶναι λέγειν ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου κατενεχθεὶς ἐμπαρείη ταῖς αὐτοῦ λόγχαις: [316] καὶ γὰρ πρότερον αὐτῷ τοιοῦτον γενέσθαι πάθος. ἐπέδειξαν δὲ καὶ τὸ χρυσίον ἐν ἱππῶνι κατορωρυγμένον καὶ τὸν ἀρχικύνηγον ἐξήλεγχον, ὅτι καὶ λόγχας αὐτοῖς δοίη βασιλικὰς καὶ τοῖς Ἀλέξανδρον θεραπεύουσιν ὅπλα κελεύοντος ἐκείνου.

3. But still a greater misfortune came upon the young men; while the calumnies against them were continually increased, and, as a man may say, one would think it was every one's endeavor to lay some grievous thing to their charge, which might appear to be for the king's preservation. There were two guards of Herod's body, who were in great esteem for their strength and tallness, Jucundus and Tyrannus; these men had been cast off by Herod, who was displeased at them; these now used to ride along with Alexander, and for their skill in their exercises were in great esteem with him, and had some gold and other gifts bestowed on them. Now the king having an immediate suspicion of those men, had them tortured, who endured the torture courageously for a long time; but at last confessed that Alexander would have persuaded them to kill Herod, when he was in pursuit of the wild beasts, that it might be said he fell from his horse, and was run through with his own spear, for that he had once such a misfortune formerly. They also showed where there was money hidden in the stable under ground; and these convicted the king's chief hunter, that he had given the young men the royal hunting spears and weapons to Alexander's dependents, at Alexander's command.

(4) [317] Μετὰ τούτους ὁ φρούραρχος Ἀλεξανδρείου συλληφθεὶς ἐβασανίζετο: καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος αἰτίαν εἶχεν δέξεσθαι τῇ φρουρᾷ καὶ παρέξειν χρήματα τοῖς νεανίσκοις ὑπεσχῆσθαι τὰ κείμενα τῶν βασιλικῶν κατ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ φρούριον. [318] αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ὡμολόγησεν, υἱὸς δὲ αὐτοῦ παρελθὼν ταῦτ' ἔφη γενέσθαι, καὶ γράμματα ἐπέδωκεν ὡς εἰκάσαι τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου χειρός: "τελέσαντες σὺν θεῷ εἰπεῖν ἃ προεθέμεθα πάντα ἥξομεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς: ἀλλὰ πειράθητε, καθὼς ὑπέσχησθε, [319] δέξασθαι ἡμᾶς τῷ φρουρίῳ." μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ γραμματεῖον ὁ μὲν Ἡρώδης οὐκ ἐνδοιασίμως εἶχεν περὶ τῆς τῶν παίδων εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλῆς, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Διόφαντον ἔφη τὸν γραμματέα μιμήσασθαι τὸν τύπον καὶ δι' Ἀντιπάτρου κακουργηθῆναι τὸ γραμματίδιον: ὁ γάρ τοι Διόφαντος ἐδόκει τὰ τοιαῦτα δεινὸς ἐν ὑστέρῳ τε διελεγχθεὶς ἐπ' ἄλλοις οὕτως ἀπέθανεν.

4. After these, the commander of the garrison of Alexandrium was caught and tortured; for he was accused to have promised to receive the young men into his fortress, and to supply them with that money of the king's which was laid up in that fortress, yet did not he acknowledge any thing of it himself; but his son

came ill, and said it was so, and delivered up the writing, which, so far as could be guessed, was in Alexander's hand. Its contents were these: "When we have finished, by God's help, all that we have proposed to do, we will come to you; but do your endeavors, as you have promised, to receive us into your fortress." After this writing was produced, Herod had no doubt about the treacherous designs of his sons against him. But Alexander said that Diophantus the scribe had imitated his hand, and that the paper was maliciously drawn up by Antipater; for Diophantus appeared to be very cunning in such practices; and as he was afterward convicted of forging other papers, he was put to death for it.

(5) [320] Τοὺς δὲ βασανισθέντας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ εἰς τὸ πλῆθος προήγαγεν ἐν Ἰεριχοῦντι κατηγοροῦντας τῶν παίδων: καὶ τούτους μὲν ἐκ χειρὸς οἱ πολλοὶ βάλλοντες ἀπέκτειναν. [321] ὡρμημένων δὲ καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὁμοίως κτεῖναι, τοῦτο μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς παρῃτήσατο διὰ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Φερώρα τὸ πλῆθος ἀναστείλας, ἦν δὲ φυλακὴ καὶ τήρησις αὐτῶν καὶ προσῄει μὲν οὐδείς, πάντα δ' ἐπεσκοπεῖτο τὰ γινόμενα καὶ λαλούμενα, καὶ τί γὰρ ἢ καταδίκων εἶχον ἀδοξίαν καὶ δέος. [322] ἕτερος δ' αὐτῶν Ἀριστόβουλος ἐκ βαρυθυμίας ὑπαγόμενος καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τηθίδα καὶ πενθερὰν συναλγεῖν αὐτῷ ταῖς συμφοραῖς καὶ μισεῖν τὸν τοιαῦτα πειθόμενον "οὐ γάρ, ἔφη, καὶ σοὶ κίνδυνος ἀπωλείας διαβεβλημένῃ Συλλαίῳ κατ' ἐλπίδα [323] γάμων ἅπαντα τἀνθάδε προμηνύειν;" τούτους ἐκείνη ταχὺ μάλα τἀδελφῷ προσφέρει τοὺς λόγους. ὁ δ' οὐκέτι κατασχὼν αὐτὸν δῆσαί τε κελεύει καὶ διαστήσαντας ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ὅσα κακῶς ἐποίησαν ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ ταῦτα γραψαμένους ἀποφέρειν. [324] οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ τοῦτο προσετέτακτο αὐτοῖς, ἐγγράφουσιν ἐπιβουλὴν μὲν οὔτε νοῆσαι κατὰ τοῦ γεγεννηκότος οὔτε συσκευάσασθαι, δρασμῷ δὲ ἐπιβαλέσθαι καὶ τοῦτο δι' ἀνάγκην ὑπόπτου καὶ δυσχεροῦς ὄντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ βίου.

5. So the king produced those that had been tortured before the multitude at Jericho, in order to have them accuse the young men, which accusers many of the people stoned to death; and when they were going to kill Alexander and Aristobulus likewise, the king would not permit them to do so, but restrained the multitude, by the means of Ptolemy and Pheroras. However, the young men were put under a guard, and kept in custody, that nobody might come at them; and all that they did or said was watched, and the reproach and fear they were in was little or nothing different from those of condemned criminals: and one of them, who was Aristobulus, was so deeply affected, that he brought Salome, who was his aunt, and his mother-in-law, to lament with him for his calamities, and to hate him who had suffered things to come to that pass; when he said to her, "Art thou not in danger of destruction also, while the report goes that thou hadst disclosed beforehand all our affairs to Syllcus, when thou wast in hopes of

being married to him?" But she immediately carried these words to her brother. Upon this he was out of patience, and gave command to bind him; and enjoined them both, now they were kept separate one from the other, to write down the ill things they had done against their father, and bring the writings to him, So when this was enjoined them, they wrote this, that they had laid no treacherous designs, nor made any preparations against their father, but that they had intended to fly away; and that by the distress they were in, their lives being now uncertain and tedious to them.

(6) [325] Κατὰ δὲ τὸν χρόνον ἥκοντος ἐκ Καππαδοκίας πρεσβευτοῦ παρὰ Ἀρχελάου Μήλα τινός, ὃς ἦν δυνάστης τῶν ἐκείνου, βουλόμενος Ἡρώδης ἐνδείξασθαι τὴν δύσνοιαν Ἀρχελάου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκάλει τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὡς ἦν ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς καὶ πάλιν ἠρώτα περὶ τῆς φυγῆς, ὅπου καὶ πῶς ἐγνώκασιν ἀποχωρεῖν. [326] ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος πρὸς Ἀρχέλαον ἔφη κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Ῥώμην ὁμολογήσαντα διαπέμψειν: ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἄτοπον οὔτε δυσχερὲς ἐντεθυμῆσθαι κατὰ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδ' ὅσα συνεσκεύασται κακοηθείᾳ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀληθὲς εἶναί τι τούτων. [327] βούλεσθαι δ' ἂν ἔτι ζῆν καὶ τοὺς περὶ Τύραννον εἰς ἐξέτασιν ἀσφαλεστέραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους ἀπολέσθαι θᾶττον Ἀντιπάτρου τῷ πλήθει τοὺς ἰδίους ἐγκαθιστάντος φίλους.

6. About this time there came an ambassador out of Cappadocia from Archelaus, whose name was Melas; he was one of the principal rulers under him. So Herod, being desirous to show Archelaus's ill-will to him, called for Alexander, as he was in his bonds, and asked him again concerning his fight, whether and how they had resolved to retire Alexander replied, To Archclaus, who had promised to send them away to Rome; but that they had no wicked nor mischievous designs against their father, and that nothing of that nature which their adversaries had charged upon them was true; and that their desire was, that he might have examined Tyrannus and Jucundus more strictly, but that they had been suddenly slain by the means of Antipater, who put his own friends among the multitude [for that purpose].

(7) [328] Τοιαῦτα λέγοντος ἐκέλευσεν ἅμα τόν τε Μήλαν καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἄγειν ὡς Γλαφύραν τὴν Ἀρχελάου καὶ πυνθάνεσθαι παρ' αὐτῆς, εἰ μηδὲν ἠγνόει τῶν εἰς ἐπιβουλὴν Ἡρώδου γιγνομένων. [329] ὡς δὲ ἦκον, εὐθὺς μὲν Γλαφύρα δεσμώτην ἰδοῦσα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἔπληξε τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ καταπληξαμένη μέγα καὶ συμπαθὲς ἀνώμωξεν. ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῦ νεανίσκου δάκρυα καὶ τῶν παρόντων ὀδυνηρά τις θέα, μέχρι πλείονος οὐδὲ ἐφ' οἷς ἦκον εἰπεῖν ἢ πράττειν δυναμένων. [330] ὀψὲ δὲ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου, τούτῳ γὰρ ἄγειν αὐτὸν ἐπετέτακτο, φράζειν κελεύοντος εἴ τι τῶν πραττομένων ἡ γυνὴ σύνοιδεν αὐτῷ, "τί δ' οὐκ ἄν,

ἔφη, συνέγνω τῆς ψυχῆς ἐμοὶ στεργο [331] μένη πλέον καὶ κοινωνοῦσα τέκνων;" ἡ δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα μὲν ἀνεβόησεν, ὡς συνειδείη μὲν οὐδὲν ἄτοπον, εἰ δὲ φέροι πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν τὴν ἐκείνου τὸ καὶ καθ' αὑτῆς τι ψεύσασθαι, πάνθ' ὁμολογεῖν. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος "ἀσεβὲς μὲν οὐδέν, εἶπεν, οὐδ' ὧν ὑπονοοῦσιν οὓς ἥκιστα ἐχρῆν οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἐνόησα σύ τε οὐδὲν οἶσθα, ἀλλ' ὅτι [332] παρ' Ἀρχέλαον ἀποχωρεῖν ἐγνώκειμεν κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Ῥώμην." ταῦτ' ἐκείνης ὁμολογούσης ὁ μὲν Ἡρώδης Ἀρχέλαον ἐξεληλέγχθαι τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν δυσνοίας ὑπολαβὼν δίδωσιν Ὀλύμπῳ καὶ Οὐολομνίῳ γράμματα κελεύσας ἐν παράπλῳ μὲν Ἐλαιούσῃ τῆς Κιλικίας προσσχόντας Ἀρχελάῳ τε περὶ τούτων ἀποδοῦναι καὶ μεμψαμένους ὅτι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐφάψαιτο τοῖς παισὶν ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Ῥώμην πλεῖν. [333] κἂν εὕρωσιν ἀνύσαντά τι Νικόλαον, ὡς μηκέτ' αὐτῷ δυσχεραίνειν Καίσαρα, διδόναι τὰς ἐπιστολὰς καὶ τοὺς ἐλέγχους τοὺς κατὰ τῶν νεανίσκων συνεσκευασμένως ἐπέστειλεν. [334] Ἀρχέλαος μὲν οὖν ἀπελογεῖτο δέξασθαι μὲν τοὺς νεανίσκους ὁμολογήσας διὰ τὸ συμφέρειν αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνοις καὶ τῷ πατρὶ μὴ χαλεπώτερόν τι προστεθῆναι κατ' ὀργὴν ὧν ὑπόπτως ἔχοντες ἐστασίαζον: οὐ μὴν καὶ πρὸς Καίσαρα πέμψειν οὐδ' ἄλλο τι κατὰ δύσνοιαν τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὁμολογῆσαι τοῖς νεανίσκοις.

7. When this was said, Herod commanded that both Alexander and Melas should be carried to Glaphyra, Archelaus's daughter, and that she should be asked, whether she did not know somewhat of Alexander's treacherous designs against Herod? Now as soon as they were come to her, and she saw Alexander in bonds, she beat her head, and in a great consternation gave a deep and moving groan. The young man also fell into tears. This was so miserable a spectacle to those present, that, for a great while, they were not able to say or to do any thing; but at length Ptolemy, who was ordered to bring Alexander, bid him say whether his wife was conscious of his actions. He replied, "How is it possible that she, whom I love better than my own soul, and by whom I have had children, should not know what I do?" Upon which she cried out that she knew of no wicked designs of his; but that yet, if her accusing herself falsely would tend to his preservation, she would confess it all. Alexander replied, "There is no such wickedness as those [who ought the least of all so to do] suspect, which either I have imagined, or thou knowest of, but this only, that we had resolved to retire to Archelaus, and from thence to Rome." Which she also confessed. Upon which Herod, supposing that Archelaus's ill-will to him was fully proved, sent a letter by Olympus and Volumnius; and bid them, as they sailed by, to touch at Eleusa of Cilicia, and give Archelaus the letter. And that when they had ex-postulated with him, that he had a hand in his son's treacherous design against him, they should from thence sail to Rome; and that, in case they found Nicolaus had

gained any ground, and that Caesar was no longer displeased at him, he should give him his letters, and the proofs which he had ready to show against the young men. As to Archelaus, he made his defense for himself, that he had promised to receive the young men, because it was both for their own and their father's advantage so to do, lest some too severe procedure should be gone upon in that anger and disorder they were in on occasion of the present suspicions; but that still he had not promised to send them to Caesar; and that he had not promised any thing else to the young men that could show any ill-will to him.

(8) [335] Εἰς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ἀποκομισθέντες ἔσχον καιρὸν ἐπιδοῦναι τὰ γράμματα τῷ Καίσαρα διηλλαγμένον εὑρεῖν Ἡρώδῃ: τὰ γὰρ περὶ τὴν Νικολάου πρεσβείαν ἀπέβη τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον: [336] ὡς ἀνῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν ἐγένετο, πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ ἐφ' οἷς ἐληλύθει μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ Συλλαίου κατηγορεῖν ἠξίου, καὶ δῆλοι πρὸ τῆς ἐντυχίας ἦσαν ἀλλήλους πολεμοῦντες. [337] οἱ δὲ Ἄραβες ὑπονοήσαντες ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ Νικολάῳ προσελθόντες τὰς ἀδικίας ἁπάσας ἐμήνυον καὶ τῶν Ὀβόδου ὡς διαφθαρέντων πάντων ἐμφανῆ τεκμήρια παρέχοντες, ἦν γὰρ καὶ τῶν γραμμάτων αὐτοῦ ὃ κατὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν ὑφῃρημένοι διὰ τούτων ἤλεγχον. [338] ὁ δὲ Νικόλαος εὐτυχίαν τινὰ ταύτην ὁρῶν αὐτῷ προσγεγενημένην δι' αὐτῆς ἐπραγματεύετο τὸ μέλλον, ἐπείγων εἰς διαλλαγὰς ἐλθεῖν Ἡρώδῃ Καίσαρα: σαφῶς γὰρ ἠπίστατο βουλομένῳ μὲν ἀπολογεῖσθαι περὶ ὧν ἔπραξεν οὐκ ἔσεσθαι παρρησίαν, ἐθέλοντι δὲ κατηγορεῖν Συλλαίου γενήσεσθαι καιρὸν ὑπὲρ Ἡρώδου λέγειν. [339] συνεστώτων οὖν ἐπ' ἀλλήλους καὶ δοθείσης ἡμέρας ὁ Νικόλαος παρόντων αὐτῷ τῶν Ἀρέτα πρέσβεων τά τε ἄλλα κατηγόρει τοῦ Συλλαίου, τήν τε τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπώλειαν λέγων καὶ πολλῶν Ἀράβων, [340] χρήματά τε ὡς εἴη δεδανεισμένος ἐπ' οὐδὲν ὑγιές, καὶ μοιχείας ἐξελέγχων οὐ τῶν ἐν Ἀραβίᾳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ γυναικῶν: προσετίθει δὲ τὸ μέγιστον, ὡς ἐξαπατήσειεν Καίσαρα μηδὲν ἀληθὲς διδάξας ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἡρώδῃ πεπραγμένων. [341] ὡς δ' ἦκεν ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν τόπον, ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐξεῖργεν αὐτὸν τοῦτο μόνον ἀξιῶν ὑπὲρ Ἡρώδου λέγειν, εἰ μὴ στρατιὰν ἤγαγεν εἰς Ἀραβίαν μηδὲ δισχιλίους πεντακοσίους ἀποκτείνειεν τῶν ἐκεῖ μηδ' αἰχμαλώτους λάβοι τὴν χώραν διαρπάσας. [342] πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Νικόλαος ὑπὲρ τούτων ἔφη καὶ μάλιστα διδάξειν, ὅτι μηδὲν ἢ τὰ πλεῖστά γε αὐτῶν οὐ γέγονεν, ὡς σὺ ἀκήκοας καὶ δίκαιον ἦν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς χαλεπώτερον φέρειν. [343] πρὸς δὲ τὸ παράδοξον Καίσαρος ἐνδόντος αὐτὸν ἀκροατήν, τὸ δάνειον εἰπὼν τῶν πεντακοσίων ταλάντων καὶ τὴν συγγραφήν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τοῦτο ἦν προσγεγραμμένον ἐξεῖναι τῆς προθεσμίας παρελθούσης ῥύσια λαμβάνειν ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς χώρας, τὴν μὲν στρατείαν οὐ στρατείαν ἔλεγεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ δικαίαν τῶν ἰδίων ἀπαίτησιν χρημάτων: [344] καὶ μηδὲ ταύτην ταχὺ μηδ' ὡς ἐπέτρεπον αἱ συγγραφαί, πολλάκις μὲν ἐπὶ Σατορνῖνον ἐλθόντα καὶ Οὐολόμνιον τοὺς τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμόνας,

τελευταῖον δὲ ἐν Βηρυτῷ τούτων ἐναντίον Συλλαίου τὴν σὴν τύχην ἐπομόσαντος, ἢ μὴν ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα παρέξειν τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Ἡρώδου πεφευγότας. [345] ὧν οὐδὲν ποιήσαντος Συλλαίου πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐλθεῖν Ἡρώδην κἀκείνων ἐφέντων αὐτῷ λαμβάνειν τὰ ῥύσια μόγις οὕτως ἐξελθεῖν σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν. [346] ὁ μὲν δὴ πόλεμος, ὡς οὗτοι τραγῳδοῦντες ἔλεγον, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐπιστρατείας τοιαῦτα. καίτοι πῶς ἂν εἴη πόλεμος, ἐπιτρεψάντων μὲν τῶν σῶν ἡγεμόνων, δεδωκυίας δὲ τῆς συνθήκης, ἠσεβημένου δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν καὶ τοῦ σοῦ, Καῖσαρ, ὀνόματος; [347] τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐξῆς ἤδη λεκτέον. λῃσταὶ τῶν τὸν Τράχωνα κατοικούντων τετταράκοντα τὸ πρῶτον εἶτ᾽ αὖθις πλείονες τὰς Ἡρώδου κολάσεις διαφεύγοντες ὁρμητήριον ἐποιήσαντο τὴν Ἀραβίαν. τούτους ὑπεδέξατο Σύλλαιος ἐπὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους τρέφων καὶ χώραν ἔδωκε νέμεσθαι καὶ τὰ κέρδη τῶν λῃστῶν αὐτὸς ἐλάμβανεν. [348] ὡμολόγησε δὲ καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὅρκοις ἀποδώσειν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ δανείου προθεσμίαν. καὶ δύναιτ᾽ ἂν οὐκ ἐπιδεῖξαι κατὰ τὸ παρὸν οὔτ᾽ ἄλλον τινὰ τῆς Ἀράβων χώρας ἢ τούτους ἐξῃρημένους οὔτε πάντας, ἀλλ᾽ ὅσοι μὴ λαθεῖν ἴσχυσαν. [349] οὕτως οὖν καὶ τοῦ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἐπιφθόνου συκοφαντήματος πεφηνότος μέγιστον, ὦ Καῖσαρ, κατάμαθε πλάσμα καὶ ψεῦσμα πρὸς τὴν σὴν ὀργὴν αὐτῷ ποιηθέν. [350] φημὶ γὰρ ἐπελθούσης ἡμῖν τῆς τῶν Ἀράβων δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν περὶ Ἡρώδην πεσόντος ἑνὸς καὶ δευτέρου, τότε μόλις ἀμυνομένου Νάκεβον τὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι τοὺς πάντας ὧN ἕκαστον αὐτὸς εἰς ἑκατὸν ἀναφέρων δισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους τοὺς ἀπολωλότας ἔλεγεν.”

8. When these ambassadors were come to Rome, they had a fit opportunity of delivering their letters to Caesar, because they found him reconciled to Herod; for the circumstances of Nicolaus’s embassage had been as follows: As soon as he was come to Rome, and was about the court, he did not first of all set about what he was come for only, but he thought fit also to accuse Sylleus. Now the Arabians, even before he came to talk with them, were quarrelling one with another; and some of them left Sylleus’s party, and joining themselves to Nicolaus, informed him of all the wicked things that had been done; and produced to him evident demonstrations of the slaughter of a great number of Obodas’s friends by Sylleus; for when these men left Sylleus, they had carried off with them those letters whereby they could convict him. When Nicolaus saw such an opportunity afforded him, he made use of it, in order to gain his own point afterward, and endeavored immediately to make a reconciliation between Caesar and Herod; for he was fully satisfied, that if he should desire to make a defense for Herod directly, he should not be allowed that liberty; but that if he desired to accuse Sylleus, there would an occasion present itself of speaking on

Herod's behalf. So when the cause was ready for a hearing, and the day was appointed, Nicolaus, while Aretas's ambassadors were present, accused Sylleus, and said that he imputed to him the destruction of the king [Obodas], and of many others of the Arabians; that he had borrowed money for no good design; and he proved that he had been guilty of adultery, not only with the Arabian, but Reinan women also. And he added, that above all the rest he had alienated Caesar from Herod, and that all that he had said about the actions of Herod were falsities. When Nicolaus was come to this topic, Caesar stopped him from going on, and desired him only to speak to this affair of Herod, and to show that he had not led an army into Arabia, nor slain two thousand five hundred men there, nor taken prisoners, nor pillaged the country. To which Nicolaus made this answer: "I shall principally demonstrate, that either nothing at all, or but a very little, of those imputations are true, of which thou hast been informed; for had they been true, thou mightest justly have been still more angry at Herod." At this strange assertion Caesar was very attentive; and Nicolaus said that there was a debt due to Herod of five hundred talents, and a bond, wherein it was written, that if the time appointed be lapsed, it should be lawful to make a seizure out of any part of his country. "As for the pretended army," he said, "it was no army, but a party sent out to require the just payment of the money; that this was not sent immediately, nor so soon as the bond allowed, but that Sylleus had frequently come before Saturninus and Volumnius, the presidents of Syria; and that at last he had sworn at Berytus, by thy fortune, that he would certainly pay the money within thirty days, and deliver up the fugitives that were under his dominion. And that when Sylleus had performed nothing of this, Herod came again before the presidents; and upon their permission to make a seizure for his money, he, with difficulty, went out of his country with a party of soldiers for that purpose. And this is all the war which these men so tragically describe; and this is the affair of the expedition into Arabia. And how can this be called a war, when thy presidents permitted it, the covenants allowed it, and it was not executed till thy name, O Caesar, as well as that of the other gods, had been profaned? And now I must speak in order about the captives. There were robbers that dwelt in Trachonitis; at first their number was no more than forty, but they became more afterwards, and they escaped the punishment Herod would have inflicted on them, by making Arabia their refuge. Sylleus received them, and supported them with food, that they might be mischievous to all mankind, and gave them a country to inhabit, and himself received the gains they made by robbery; yet did he promise that he would deliver up these men, and that by the same oaths and same time that he sware and fixed for payment of his debt: nor can he by any means show that any other persons have at this time been taken out of Arabia

besides these, and indeed not all these neither, but only so many as could not conceal themselves. And thus does the calumny of the captives, which hath been so odiously represented, appear to be no better than a fiction and a lie, made on purpose to provoke thy indignation; for I venture to affirm that when the forces of the Arabians came upon us, and one or two of Herod's party fell, he then only defended himself, and there fell Nacebus their general, and in all about twenty-five others, and no more; whence Sylleus, by multiplying every single soldier to a hundred, he reckons the slain to have been two thousand five hundred."

(9) [351] Ταῦτα μᾶλλον ἐκίνει τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαιον ἐπιστραφεὶς ὀργῆς μεστὸς ἀνέκρινεν, ὁπόσοι τεθνήκασιν Ἀράβων. ἀπορουμένου δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ πεπλανῆσθαι λέγοντος αἵ τε συνθῆκαι τῶν δανείων ἀνεγινώσκοντο καὶ τὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων γράμματα πόλεις τε ὅσαι τὰ λῃστήρια κατῃτιῶντο, [352] καὶ πέρας εἰς τοῦτο μετέστη Καῖσαρ, ὡς τοῦ μὲν Συλλαίου καταγνῶναι θάνατον, Ἡρώδῃ δὲ διαλλάττεσθαι μετάνοιαν ἐφ' οἷς ἐκ διαβολῆς πικρότερον ἔγραψεν αὐτῷ πεπονθώς, καί τι τοιοῦτον εἰπεῖν εἰς τὸν Σύλλαιον, ὡς ἀναγκάσειεν αὐτὸν ψευδεῖ λόγῳ πρὸς ἄνδρα φίλον ἀγνωμονῆσαι. [353] τὸ δὲ σύμπαν ὁ μὲν Σύλλαιος ἀνεπέμπετο τὰς δίκας καὶ τὰ χρέα τοῖς δεδανεικόσιν ἀποδώσων εἶθ' οὕτω κολασθησόμενος. Ἀρέτᾳ δ' οὐκ εὐμενὴς ἦν Καῖσαρ, ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ δι' ἐκείνου καθ' αὐτὸν δὲ ἔλαβεν. ἐγνώκει δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν Ἡρώδῃ διδόναι, διεκώλυσεν δὲ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου πεμφθέντα γράμματα. [354] τοῖς γὰρ περὶ τὸν Ὄλυμπον καὶ Οὐολόμνιον εὐμενῆ Καίσαρα πυνθανομένοις εὐθὺς ἔδοξεν ἐξ ἐντολῆς Ἡρώδου τὰ περὶ τῶν παίδων γράμματα καὶ τοὺς ἐλέγχους ἀναδιδόναι. [355] Καῖσαρ δὲ ἀναγνοὺς τὸ μὲν ἀρχὴν ἄλλην προσθεῖναι γέροντι καὶ κακῶς πράττοντι τὰ περὶ τοὺς παῖδας οὐκ ᾠήθη καλῶς ἔχειν, δεξάμενος δὲ τοὺς παρὰ Ἀρέτα καὶ τοῦτο μόνον ἐπιτιμήσας, ὡς προπετείᾳ χρήσαιτο τῷ μὴ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀναμεῖναι λαβεῖν, τά τε δῶρα προσήκατο καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐβεβαίωσεν.

9. This provoked Caesar more than ever. So he turned to Sylleus full of rage, and asked him how many of the Arabians were slain. Hereupon he hesitated, and said he had been imposed upon. The covenants also were read about the money he had borrowed, and the letters of the presidents of Syria, and the complaints of the several cities, so many as had been injured by the robbers. The conclusion was this, that Sylleus was condemned to die, and that Caesar was reconciled to Herod, and owned his repentance for what severe things he had written to him, occasioned by calumny, insomuch that he told Sylleus, that he had compelled him, by his lying account of things, to be guilty of ingratitude against a man that was his friend. At the last all came to this, Sylleus was sent away to answer Herod's suit, and to repay the debt that he owed, and after that to be punished

[with death]. But still Caesar was offended with Aretas, that he had taken upon himself the government, without his consent first obtained, for he had determined to bestow Arabia upon Herod; but that the letters he had sent hindered him from so doing; for Olympus and Volumnius, perceiving that Caesar was now become favorable to Herod, thought fit immediately to deliver him the letters they were commanded by Herod to give him concerning his sons. When Caesar had read them, he thought it would not be proper to add another government to him, now he was old, and in an ill state with relation to his sons, so he admitted Aretas's ambassadors; and after he had just reproved him for his rashness, in not tarrying till he received the kingdom from him, he accepted of his presents, and confirmed him in his government.

XI

CHAPTER 11. How Herod, By Permission From Caesar Accused His Sons Before An Assembly Of Judges At Berytus; And What Tero Suffered For Using A Boundless And Military

Liberty Of Speech. Concerning Also The Death Of The Young Men And Their Burial At

Alexandrium.

(1) [356] Ἡρώδῃ δὲ γράφει διηλλαγμένος ἐπί τε τοῖς παισὶν ἄχθεσθαι λέγων καὶ δέον, εἰ μὲν ἀνοσιώτερόν τι τετολμήκασιν, ἐπεξιέναι πατραλόας ὄντας: αὐτῷ γὰρ ἐφεῖναι ταύτην τὴν ἐξουσίαν: εἰ δὲ δρασμὸν ἐνόησαν, ἄλλως νουθετήσαντα μηδὲν ἀνήκεστον διαπράττεσθαι. [357] συμβουλεύειν δὲ ἔχειν αὐτῷ συνέδριον ἀποδείξαντα περὶ Βηρυτόν, ἐν ᾗ κατοικοῦσιν Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ παραλαβόντα τούς τε ἡγεμόνας καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Καππαδόκων Ἀρχέλαον ὅσους τε τῶν ἄλλων οἴεται φιλίᾳ τε καὶ ἀξιώματι ἐπιφανεῖς μετὰ τῆς ἐκείνων γνώμης ὅ τι χρὴ διαλαμβάνειν. [358] Καῖσαρ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἐπέστελλεν. ὁ δὲ Ἡρώδης τῶν γραμμάτων ὡς αὐτὸν ἀπενεχθέντων περιχαρὴς μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς διαλλαγαῖς ἐγεγόνει, περιχαρὴς δὲ καὶ τῷ πάντ᾽ ἐξεῖναι κατὰ τῶν παίδων αὐτῷ. [359] καί πως τὸ μὲν οὐκ εὖ πράττειν ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ χαλεπὸν μὲν ἀλλ᾽ οὔτε θρασὺν οὔτε προπετῆ πρὸς τὴν ἀπώλειαν τῶν τέκνων παρεῖχεν αὐτόν, ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε μεταβολῆς ἀμείνονος καὶ παρρησίας ἐπιλαβόμενος τὸ μῖσος ἐκενοδόξει τὴν ἐξουσίαν. [360] διέπεμπεν οὖν ὅσους ἐδόκει καλεῖν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον Ἀρχελάου χωρίς: ἐκεῖνον δὲ δι᾽ ἔχθος οὐκ ἠξίου παρατυγχάνειν ἢ καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει νομίζων ἐμποδὼν ἔσεσθαι.

1. So Caesar was now reconciled to Herod, and wrote thus to him: That he was grieved for him on account of his sons; and that in case they had been guilty of any profane and insolent crimes against him, it would behoove him to punish them as parricides, for which he gave him power accordingly; but if they had only contrived to fly away, he would have him give them an admonition, and not proceed to extremity with them. He also advised him to get an assembly together, and to appoint some place near Berytus, which is a city belonging to the Romans, and to take the presidents of Syria, and Archelaus king of Cappadocia, and as many more as he thought to be illustrious for their friendship to him, and the dignities they were in, and determine what should be done by their approbation. These were the directions that Caesar gave him. Accordingly Herod, when the letter was brought to him, was immediately very glad of Caesar’s reconciliation to him, and very glad also that he had a complete authority given him over his sons. And it strangely came about, that whereas before, in his adversity, though he had indeed showed himself severe, yet had he not been very rash nor hasty in procuring the destruction of his sons; he now, in

his prosperity, took advantage of this change for the better, and the freedom he now had, to exercise his hatred against them after an unheard of manner; he therefore sent and called as many as he thought fit to this assembly, excepting Archclaus; for as for him, he either hated him, so that he would not invite him, or he thought he would be an obstacle to his designs.

(2) [361] Γενομένων δὲ ἐν Βηρυτῷ τῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσους τῶν πόλεων ἐκάλεσεν, τοὺς μὲν παῖδας, οὐ γὰρ ἠξίου παράγειν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον, ἐν κώμῃ τινὶ Σιδωνίων εἶχεν Παλαεστῶ καλουμένῃ πλησίον τῆς πόλεως, ὡς ἔχειν εἰ κληθεῖεν παραστῆσαι. [362] μόνος δὲ καὶ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν εἰσελθὼν ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα συγκαθημένων ἀνδρῶν κατηγόρει κατηγορίαν οὐκ ὀδυνηρὰν ὡς πρὸς ἀνάγκην ὧν ἠτύχει, πλεῖστον δὲ ἀπεοικυῖαν ᾗ πατὴρ ἐπὶ παισὶν εἴποι: [363] βίαιος γὰρ ἦν καὶ περὶ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῆς αἰτίας ἐτετάρακτο καὶ μέγιστα θυμοῦ καὶ ἀγριότητος ἐνεδίδου σημεῖα, τούς τε ἐλέγχους οὐκ ἐκείνοις ἐπιτρέπων καταμαθεῖν, ἀλλὰ συνηγορίαν αὐτοῖς προτιθεὶς πατρὶ κατὰ παίδων ἀσχήμονα, καὶ τὰ γραφέντα δι᾽ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἀναγινώσκων, ἐν οἷς ἐπιβουλὴ μὲν ἤ τις ἐπίνοια δυσσεβείας οὐκ ἐγέγραπτο, μόνον δὲ ὡς φυγεῖν βουλεύοιντο καὶ λοιδορίαι τινὲς εἰς αὐτὸν ὀνείδη περιέχουσαι διὰ τὴν δύσνοιαν. [364] ἐφ᾽ αἷς ἐκεῖνος ὡς ἐγένετο μᾶλλόν τε ἐξεβόα καὶ τὸ περιὸν εἰς ὁμολογίαν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς δι᾽ ἐκείνων ηὔξανεν ἐπομνύμενος, ὡς ἥδιον ἂν στέροιτο τοῦ ζῆν ἢ τοιούτων ἀκούειν λόγων. [365] τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον εἰπών, ὅτι καὶ τῇ φύσει καὶ τῇ Καίσαρος δόσει τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτὸς ἔχοι, προσέθηκεν αὐτῷ καὶ πάτριον νόμον κελεύειν, εἴ του κατηγορήσαντες οἱ γονεῖς ἐπιθοῖεν τῇ κεφαλῇ τὰς χεῖρας, ἐπάναγκες εἶναι τοῖς περιεστῶσιν βάλλειν καὶ τοῦτον ἀποκτείνειν τὸν τρόπον. [366] ὅπερ ἕτοιμος ὢν αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ ποιεῖν ὅμως ἀναμεῖναι τὴν ἐκείνων κρίσιν, ἥκειν μέντοι δικαστὰς μὲν οὐχ οὕτως ἐπὶ φανεροῖς οἷς ἐκ τῶν παίδων ὀλίγου πάθοι, συνοργισθῆναι δὲ καιρὸν ἔχοντας, ὡς οὐδενὶ καὶ τῶν πόρρω γεγονότων ἀμελῆσαι τοιαύτης ἐπιβουλῆς ἄξιον.

2. When the presidents, and the rest that belonged to the cities, were come to Berytus, he kept his sons in a certain village belonging to Sidon, called Platana, but near to this city, that if they were called, he might produce them, for he did not think fit to bring them before the assembly: and when there were one hundred and fifty assessors present, Herod came by himself alone, and accused his sons, and that in such a way as if it were not a melancholy accusation, and not made but out of necessity, and upon the misfortunes he was under; indeed, in such a way as was very indecent for a father to accuse his sons, for he was very vehement and disordered when he came to the demonstration of the crime they were accused of, and gave the greatest signs of passion and barbarity: nor would he suffer the assessors to consider of the weight of the evidence, but asserted

them to be true by his own authority, after a manner most indecent in a father against his sons, and read himself what they themselves had written, wherein there was no confession of any plots or contrivances against him, but only how they had contrived to fly away, and containing withal certain reproaches against him, on account of the ill-will he bare them; and when he came to those reproaches, he cried out most of all, and exaggerated what they said, as if they had confessed the design against him, and took his oath that he had rather lose his life than hear such reproachful words. At last he said that he had sufficient authority, both by nature and by Caesar's grant to him, [to do what he thought fit]. He also added an allegation of a law of their country, which enjoined this: That if parents laid their hands on the head of him that was accused, the standers by were obliged to cast stones at him, and thereby to slay him; which though he were ready to do in his own country and kingdom, yet did he wait for their determination; and yet they came thither not so much as judges, to condemn them for such manifest designs against him, whereby he had almost perished by his sons' means, but as persons that had an opportunity of showing their detestation of such practices, and declaring how unworthy a thing it must be in any, even the most remote, to pass over such treacherous designs [without punishment].

(3) [367] Ταῦτα τοῦ βασιλέως εἰπόντος καὶ τῶν νεανίσκων οὐδὲ ἕως ἀπολογίας παρηγμένων συμφρονήσαντες οἱ κατὰ τὸ συνέδριον, ὡς ἐπιεικείας καὶ διαλλαγῶν χεῖρον ἔχοι, τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐβεβαίουν αὐτῷ. [368] καὶ πρῶτον μὲν Σατορνῖνος ἀνὴρ ὑπατικὸς καὶ τῶν ἐπ' ἀξιώματος ἀπεφήνατο γνώμην ἀηδεστάτῃ περιστάσει χρώμενος: ἔφη γὰρ καταδικάζειν μὲν τῶν Ἡρώδου παίδων, κτείνειν δ' οὐκ οἴεσθαι δικαιοῦν αὐτὸς παῖδας ἔχων καὶ τοῦ πάθους μείζονος ὄντος, εἰ καὶ πάντα δι' αὐτοὺς δεδυστύχηκεν. [369] μετ' ἐκεῖνον οἱ Σατορνίνου παῖδες, εἵποντο γὰρ αὐτῷ πρεσβευταὶ τρεῖς ὄντες, τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἀπεφήναντο, Οὐολόμνιος δὲ ἄντικρυς ἔφη κολάζειν θανάτῳ τοὺς οὕτως ἀσεβήσαντας εἰς τὸν πατέρα. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ τῶν ἑξῆς οἱ πλείους, ὥστε καὶ μηκέτι ἄλλο τι δοκεῖν ἢ καταδεδικάσθαι τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ τοὺς νεανίσκους. [370] κἀκεῖθεν μὲν εὐθὺς Ἡρώδης ἦκεν ἄγων αὐτοὺς εἰς Τύρον, καὶ τοῦ τε Νικολάου πλεύσαντος ὡς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπυνθάνετο προδιηγησάμενος τὰ ἐν Βηρυτῷ, ἥντιν' ἔχοιεν γνώμην περὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἐν Ῥώμῃ αὐτοῦ φίλοι, [371] κἀκεῖνος εἶπεν, ὅτι δοκεῖ μὲν ἀσεβῆ εἶναι τὰ ἐκείνοις περὶ σὲ ἐγνωσμένα, χρῆναι μέντοι αὐτοὺς καθείρξαντα δεσμώτας φυλάττειν, [372] καὶ εἰ μὲν ἑτέρως σοι δοκοίη κολάζειν αὐτούς, μὴ φαίνοιο ὀργῇ τὸ πλεῖον ἢ γνώμῃ κεχρῆσθαι, εἰ δὲ τἀναντία ἀπολύειν, μὴ ἀνεπανόρθωτον εἴη σοι τὸ ἀτύχημα.

ταῦτα δοκεῖ καὶ ἐν Ῥώμη τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν σῶν φίλων.” καὶ ὃς σιωπήσας ἐν πολλῇ ἐγένετο συννοίᾳ κἀκεῖνον ἐκέλευσεν συμπλεῖν αὐτῷ.

3. When the king had said this, and the young men had not been produced to make any defense for themselves, the assessors perceived there was no room for equity and reconciliation, so they confirmed his authority. And in the first place, Saturninus, a person that had been consul, and one of great dignity, pronounced his sentence, but with great moderation and trouble; and said that he condemned Herod’s sons, but did not think they should be put to death. He had sons of his own, and to put one’s son to death is a greater misfortune than any other that could befall him by their means. After him Saturninus’s sons, for he had three sons that followed him, and were his legates, pronounced the same sentence with their father. On the contrary, Volumnius’s sentence was to inflict death on such as had been so impiously undutiful to their father; and the greatest part of the rest said the same, insomuch that the conclusion seemed to be, that the young men were condemned to die. Immediately after this Herod came away from thence, and took his sons to Tyre, where Nicolaus met him in his voyage from Rome; of whom he inquired, after he had related to him what had passed at Berytus, what his sentiments were about his sons, and what his friends at Rome thought of that matter. His answer was, “That what they had determined to do to thee was impious, and that thou oughtest to keep them in prison; and if thou thinkest any thing further necessary, thou mayst indeed so punish them, that thou mayst not appear to indulge thy anger more than to govern thyself by judgment; but if thou inclinest to the milder side, thou mayst absolve them, lest perhaps thy misfortunes be rendered incurable; and this is the opinion of the greatest part of thy friends at Rome also.” Whereupon Herod was silent, and in great thoughtfulness, and bid Nicolaus sail along with him.

(4) [373] Ὡς δ’ ἦλθεν εἰς Καισάρειαν γίνεται λόγος οὗν ἦν εὐθὺς ἅπασιν τῶν παίδων καὶ μετέωρος ἡ βασιλεία, ποῖ ποτε χωρήσειεν τὰ κατ’ αὐτοὺς ἐκδεχομένων: [374] δεινὸν γὰρ ὑπῆει πάντας δέος ἐκ παλαιοῦ καταστασιαζομένους εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πέρας ἐλθεῖν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν πάθεσιν ἐδυσχέραινον, οὐκ ἦν δ’ οὔτε εἰπεῖν τι προπετὲς οὔτ’ ἄλλου λέγοντος ἀκούειν ἀκίνδυνον, ἀλλ’ ἐγκεκλεισμένοι τὸν ἔλεον ὀδυνηρῶς μὲν ἀναύδως δὲ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ πάθους ἔφερον. [375] εἷς δὲ αὐτῶν πάλαι στρατιώτης ὄνομα Τίρων, υἱοῦ αὐτῷ καθ’ ἡλικίαν ὄντος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ φίλου, πάνθ’ ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑποδυόμενα δι’ ἡσυχίας ἦν, αὐτὸς ὑπ’ ἐλευθεριότητος ἐξελάλει καὶ βοᾶν ἠναγκάζετο πολλάκις ἐν τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἀπαρακαλύπτως λέγων, [376] ὡς ἀπόλοιτο μὲν ἡ ἀλήθεια, τὸ δὲ δίκαιον ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀνῃρημένον εἴη, κρατοίη δὲ τὰ ψεύσματα καὶ ἡ κακοήθεια καὶ τοσοῦτο νέφος ἐπάγοι τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὡς μηδὲ

τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων παθῶν ὁρᾶσθαι τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσιν. [377] τοιοῦτος ὢν ἐδόκει μὲν οὐκ ἀκινδύνως παρρησιάζεσθαι, τὸ δ᾽ εὔλογον ἐκίνει πάντας οὐκ ἀνάνδρως αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν ἱσταμένου. [378] διὸ καὶ πάνθ᾽ ἅπερ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος εἴποιεν ἡδέως ἤκουον ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου λεγόμενα καὶ τὸ καθ᾽ αὑτοὺς ἀσφαλὲς ἐν τῷ σιγᾶν προορώμενοι τὴν ἐκείνου παρρησίαν ὅμως ἀπεδέχοντο: τὸ γὰρ προσδοκώμενον πάθος ἐβιάζετο πάνθ᾽ ὁντινοῦν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λαλεῖν.

4. Now as they came to Cesarea, every body was there talking of Herod's sons, and the kingdom was in suspense, and the people in great expectation of what would become of them; for a terrible fear seized upon all men, lest the ancient disorders of the family should come to a sad conclusion, and they were in great trouble about their sufferings; nor was it without danger to say any rash thing about this matter, nor even to hear another saying it, but men's pity was forced to be shut up in themselves, which rendered the excess of their sorrow very irksome, but very silent yet was there an old soldier of Herod's, whose name was Tero, who had a son of the same age with Alexander, and his friend, who was so very free as openly to speak out what others silently thought about that matter; and was forced to cry out often among the multitude, and said, in the most unguarded manner, that truth was perished, and justice taken away from men, while lies and ill-will prevailed, and brought such a mist before public affairs, that the offenders were not able to see the greatest mischiefs that can befall men. And as he was so bold, he seemed not to have kept himself out of danger, by speaking so freely; but the reasonableness of what he said moved men to regard him as having behaved himself with great manhood, and this at a proper time also, for which reason every one heard what he said with pleasure; and although they first took care of their own safety by keeping silent themselves, yet did they kindly receive the great freedom he took; for the expectation they were in of so great an affliction, put a force upon them to speak of Tero whatsoever they pleased.

(5) [379] Ὁ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα μετὰ πάσης παρρησίας ὠσάμενος μόνος μόνῳ λέγειν ἠξίου, καὶ συγχωρήσαντος "οὐ δυνάμενος, εἶπεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, διακαρτερεῖν ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πάθει τὴν τολμηρὰν ταύτην παρρησίαν, ἀναγκαίαν δὲ σοὶ καὶ συμφέρουσαν, εἰ λάβοις τι χρήσιμον ἐξ αὐτῆς, προύκρινα τῆς ἐμῆς ἀσφαλείας. [380] ποῖ ποτε οἴχονταί σου καὶ πεπτώκασιν ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς αἱ φρένες; ποῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ περιττὸς ἐκεῖνος νοῦς, ᾧ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα κατώρθους; τίς δὲ ἡ τῶν φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν ἐρημία; [381] κρίνω δὲ οὐδὲ παρόντας αὐτοὺς συγγενεῖς εἶναι ἢ φίλους, οἳ περιορῶσι τοιοῦτο μῦσος ἐπὶ τῇ μακαριζομένῃ ποτὲ βασιλείᾳ. σὺ δ᾽ οὐ σκέψει τί τὸ πραττόμενόν ἐστιν; [382] δύο νεανίσκους ἐκ βασιλίδος γυναικὸς γενομένους εἰς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἄκρους ἀναιρήσεις σεαυτὸν ἐν γήρᾳ καταλιπὼν

ἐφ᾽ ἑνὶ παιδὶ κακῶς οἰκονομήσαντι τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐλπίδα καὶ συγγενέσιν, ὧν αὐτὸς τοσαυτάκις ἤδη κατέγνωκας θάνατον; [383] οὐκ ἐννοεῖς, ὅτι καὶ τῶν ὄχλων ἡ σιωπὴ τὴν αμογίαν ὅμως ὁρᾷ καὶ μισεῖ τὸ πάθος, ἥ τε στρατιὰ πᾶσα καὶ ταύτης οἱ πρωτεύοντες ἔλεον μὲν τῶν ἀτυχούντων, [384] μῖσος δὲ τῶν ταῦτα διαπραττομένων ἐσχήκασιν;" ἤκουεν τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν οὐ παντάπασιν ἀγνωμόνως, ἀλλὰ τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν, διεκίνησεν αὐτὸν ἀψαμένου τοῦ Τίρωνος ἐναργῶς τοῦ τε πάθους καὶ τῆς περὶ τοὺς οἰκείους ἀπιστίας. [385] αὖθις δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐπεδίδου κατὰ μικρὸν ἀμέτρῳ καὶ στρατιωτικῇ χρώμενος παρρησίᾳ: τὸ γὰρ ἀπαίδευτον ὑπεξέπιπτε τοῦ καιροῦ, ταραχῆς δὲ Ἡρώδης ἐνεπίμπλατο, [386] καὶ μᾶλλον ὀνειδίζεσθαι δοκῶν ἢ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ἀκούειν τῶν λόγων, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοὺς διακειμένους στρατιώτας καὶ τοὺς ἀγανακτοῦντας ἡγεμόνας ἐπύθετο, προστάττει τῷ τε ὀνόματι δηλωθέντων ἁπάντων καὶ τὸν Τίρωνα δήσαντας ἔχειν ἐν φυλακῇ.

5. This man had thrust himself into the king's presence with the greatest freedom, and desired to speak with him by himself alone, which the king permitted him to do, where he said this: "Since I am not able, O king, to bear up under so great a concern as I am under, I have preferred the use of this bold liberty that I now take, which may be for thy advantage, if thou mind to get any profit by it, before my own safety. Whither is thy understanding gone, and left thy soul empty? Whither is that extraordinary sagacity of thine gone whereby thou hast performed so many and such glorious-actions? Whence comes this solitude, and desertion of thy friends and relations? Of which I cannot but determine that they are neither thy friends nor relations, while they overlook such horrid wickedness in thy once happy kingdom. Dost not thou perceive what is doing? Wilt thou slay these two young men, born of thy queen, who are accomplished with every virtue in the highest degree, and leave thyself destitute in thy old age, but exposed to one son, who hath very ill managed the hopes thou hast given him,' and to relations, whose death thou hast so often resolved on thyself? Dost not thou take notice, that the very silence of the multitude at once sees the crime, and abhors the fact? The whole army and the officers have commiseration on the poor unhappy youths, and hatred to those that are the actors in this matter." These words the king heard, and for some time with good temper. But what can one say? When Tero plainly touched upon the bad behavior and perfidiousness of his domestics, he was moved at it; but Tero went on further, and by degrees used an unbounded military freedom of speech, nor was he so well disciplined as to accommodate himself to the time. So Herod was greatly disturbed, and seeming to be rather reproached by this speech, than to be hearing what was for his advantage, while he learned thereby that both the soldiers abhorred the thing

he was about, and the officers had indignation at it, he gave order that all whom Tero had named, and Tero himself, should be bound and kept in prison.

(6) [387] Τούτου γενηθέντος ἐπιτίθεται τῷ καιρῷ καὶ Τρύφων τις κουρεὺς τοῦ βασιλέως, ὃς ἔφη προσελθὼν ὡς πείθοι πολλάκις αὐτὸν ὁ Τίρων, ὁπόταν θεραπεύῃ βασιλέως ξυρῷ τὸν λαιμὸν ἀποτέμνειν: ἔσεσθαι γὰρ ἐν πρώτοις περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ μεγάλας λήψεσθαι δωρεάς. [388] ταῦτ᾽ εἰπόντα συλλαμβάνειν κελεύει, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα βάσανος ἦν τοῦ τε Τίρωνος καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ κουρέως. [389] διακαρτεροῦντός τε τοῦ Τίρωνος ὁρῶν ὁ νεανίσκος τὸν πατέρα χαλεπῶς μὲν ἤδη διακείμενον, ἔχοντα δὲ οὐδεμίαν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας αὐτῷ τε τὸ μέλλον ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὸν πάσχοντα δυσχερείας προῦπτον, ἔφη μηνύσειν τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, εἰ παραιτήσεται διὰ τοῦ φράσαι τῆς βασάνου καὶ τῆς αἰκίας αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν πατέρα. [390] δόντος δὲ πίστιν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔλεγεν ὡς εἴη τις συνθήκη ἐπιθέσθαι δι᾽ αὐτοχειρίας βασιλεῖ τὸν Τίρωνα, προσελθεῖν γὰρ εὔπορον εἶναι μόνον μόνῳ καὶ δράσαντα παθεῖν τι τῶν εἰκότων οὐκ ἀγεννὲς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ χαριζόμενον. [391] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖνος εἰπὼν ἐξαιρεῖται τὸν πατέρα τῆς ἀνάγκης, ἄδηλον εἴτε τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐκβιασθεὶς φράζειν, εἴτε κἂν παραγραφὴν νοήσας τινὰ ταύτην τῶν κακῶν αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ γεγεννηκότι.

6. When this was over, one Trypho, who was the king's barber, took the opportunity, and came and told the king, that Tero would often have persuaded him, when he trimmed him with a razor, to cut his throat, for that by this means he should be among the chief of Alexander's friends, and receive great rewards from him. When he had said this, the king gave order that Tero, and his son, and the barber should be tortured, which was done accordingly; but while Tero bore up himself, his son seeing his father already in a sad case, and had no hope of deliverance, and perceiving what would be the consequence of his terrible sufferings, said, that if the king would free him and his father from these torments for what he should say, he would tell the truth. And when the king had given his word to do so, he said that there was an agreement made, that Tero should lay violent hands on the king, because it was easy for him to come when he was alone; and that if, when he had done the thing, he should suffer death for it, as was not unlikely, it would be an act of generosity done in favor of Alexander. This was what Tero's son said, and thereby freed his father from the distress he was in; but uncertain it is whether he had been thus forced to speak what was true, or whether it were a contrivance of his, in order to procure his own and his father's deliverance from their miseries.

(7) [392] Ὁ δὲ Ἡρώδης οὐδ᾽ εἴ τι πρότερον ἦν αὐτῷ ἐνδοιάσιμον περὶ τὴν τεκνοκτονίαν τούτῳ τόπον ἢ χώραν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ καταλελοιπώς, ἀλλὰ πᾶν

ἐξῃρημένος τὸ δυνησόμενον αὐτῷ μετάνοιαν ἀμείνονος λογισμοῦ παρασχεῖν ἔσπευσεν ἤδη τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι τῇ προαιρέσει. [393] καὶ προαγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τριακοσίους τε τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοὺς ἐν αἰτίᾳ γενομένους καὶ τὸν Τίρωνα σὺν τῷ παιδὶ καὶ τῷ πρὸ ἐκείνου διελέγχοντι κουρεῖ κατηγορίαν ἁπάντων αὐτῶν ἐποιήσατο. [394] κἀκείνους μὲν τὸ πλῆθος ἀεὶ τοῖς παρατυχοῦσιν βάλλοντες ἀπέκτειναν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος ἀχθέντες εἰς Σεβαστὴν ἐπιτάξαντος τοῦ πατρὸς στραγγάλῃ κτείνονται. τὰ δὲ σώματα νύκτωρ εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειον ἀπέθεντο τοῦ τε μητροπάτορος ἐκεῖ καὶ τῶν πλείστων αὐτοῖς προγόνων κειμένων.

7. As for Herod, if he had before any doubt about the slaughter of his sons, there was now no longer any room left in his soul for it; but he had banished away whatsoever might afford him the least suggestion of reasoning better about this matter, so he already made haste to bring his purpose to a conclusion. He also brought out three hundred of the officers that were under an accusation, as also Tero and his son, and the barber that accused them before an assembly, and brought an accusation against them all; whom the multitude stoned with whatsoever came to hand, and thereby slew them. Alexander also and Aristobulus were brought to Sebaste, by their father's command, and there strangled; but their dead bodies were in the night time carried to Alexandraum, where their uncle by the mother's side, and the greatest part of their ancestors, had been deposited.

(8) [395] Ἴσως μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἄλογον ἐνίοις καταφαίνεται τρεφόμενον ἐκ πολλοῦ τὸ μῖσος οὕτως αὐξηθῆναι καὶ περαιτέρω προελθὸν ἀπονικῆσαι τὴν φύσιν. ἐπίστασις δὲ γένοιτ' ἂν εἰκότως, εἴτε εἰς τοὺς νεανίσκους ἀνοιστέον τὴν τοιαύτην αἰτίαν πρὸς αἰτίαν ἐνάγοντας τὸν πατέρα καὶ χρόνῳ παρασκευάσαντας ὑπὸ χαλεπότητος ἀνήκεστον αὐτοῖς, [396] εἴτε καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον, ἀπαθῆ καὶ περιττὸν ὄντα περὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὐδοξίας, ὡς μηδένα οἴεσθαι παραλειπτέον ἐφ' ᾧ πᾶν τὸ βουλόμενον ἀνίκητον ἔχειν, [397] ἢ καὶ τὴν τύχην παντὸς εὐγνώμονος λογισμοῦ μείζω τὴν δύναμιν ἐσχηκυῖαν, ὅθεν καὶ πειθόμεθα τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας πράξεις ὑπ' ἐκείνης προκαθωσιῶσθαι τῇ τοῦ γενέσθαι πάντως ἀνάγκῃ καὶ καλοῦμεν αὐτὴν εἱμαρμένην, ὡς οὐδενὸς ὄντος, ὃ μὴ δι' αὐτὴν γίνεται. [398] τοῦτον μὲν οὖν τὸν λόγον ὡς μείζω πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀρκέσει κινεῖν ἡμῖν τε αὐτοῖς ἀποδιδόντας τι καὶ τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων οὐκ ἀνυπευθύνους ποιοῦντας, ἃ πρὸ ἡμῶν ἤδη πεφιλοσόφηται καὶ τῷ νόμῳ. [399] τῶν δὲ ἄλλων δύο τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν παίδων μέμψαιτ' ἄν τις αἰτίαν ὑπό τε αὐθαδείας νεωτερικῆς καὶ βασιλικῆς οἰήσεως, ὅτι καὶ διαβολῶν ἠνείχοντο κατὰ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῶν πραττομένων αὐτῷ περὶ τὸν βίον οὐκ εὐμενεῖς ἦσαν ἐξετασταί, καὶ κακοήθεις μὲν ὑπονοεῖν, ἀκρατεῖς δὲ λέγειν,

εὐάλωται δὲ δι᾽ ἀμφότερα τοῖς ἐπιτηροῦσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸς χάριν καταμηνύουσιν. [400] ὁ μέντοι πατὴρ οὐδ᾽ ἐντροπῆς ἄξιος ἔοικεν φαίνεσθαι τοῦ περὶ ἐκείνους ἀσεβήματος, ὃς οὔτε πίστιν ἐπιβουλῆς ἐναργῆ λαβὼν οὔτε παρασκευὴν ἐπιχειρήσεως ἐλέγχειν ἔχων ἐτόλμησεν ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ φύντας, ἀρίστους μὲν τὰ σώματα καὶ περιποθήτους πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις, οὐκ ἀποδέοντας δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν, εἴ που θηρᾶν ἢ γυμνάζεσθαι τὰ πολέμων ἢ λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμπεσόντων ἔδει. [401] τούτων γὰρ ἁπάντων μετεῖχον, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον ὁ πρεσβύτερος: ἤρκει γάρ, εἰ καὶ κατέγνω, καὶ ζῶντας ὅμως ἐν δεσμοῖς ἢ ξενιτεύοντας ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔχειν μεγάλην ἀσφάλειαν αὐτῷ περιβεβλημένῳ τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν, δι᾽ ἣν οὐδὲν οὐδ᾽ ἐξ ἐφόδου καὶ βίας παθεῖν ἐδύνατο. [402] τὸ δ᾽ ἀποκτεῖναι ταχὺ καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν τοῦ νικῶντος αὐτὸν πάθους ἀσεβείας τεκμήριον ἀνυποτιμήτου Καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας οὔσης ἐν γήρᾳ τοσοῦτον ἐξήμαρτεν. [403] ἥ γε μὴν παρολκὴ καὶ τὸ χρονίζον οὐκ ἂν αὐτῷ συγγνώμην τινὰ φέροι: ταχὺ μὲν γὰρ ἐκπλαγέντα καὶ κεκινημένον χωρῆσαι πρός τι τῶν ἀτόπων, εἰ καὶ δυσχερές, ἀλλ᾽ ἀεὶ συμβαῖνον, ἐν ἐπιστάσει δὲ καὶ μήκει πολλάκις μὲν ὁρμηθέντα πολλάκις δὲ μελλήσαντα τὸ τελευταῖον ὑποστῆναι καὶ διαπράξασθαι, φονώσης καὶ δυσμετακινήτου ψυχῆς ἀπὸ τῶν χειρόνων. [404] ἐδήλωσεν δὲ καὶ τοῖς αὖθις οὐκ ἀποσχόμενος οὐδὲ τῶν περιλοίπων ὅσους ἐδόκει φιλτάτους, ἐφ᾽ οἷς τὸ μὲν δίκαιον ἔλαττον ἐποίει συμπαθεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους, τὸ δ᾽ ὠμὸν ὅμοιον ἦν τὸ μηδὲ ἐκείνων φεισάμενον. διέξιμεν δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἑξῆς ἀφηγούμενοι.

8. And now perhaps it may not seem unreasonable to some, that such an inveterate hatred might increase so much [on both sides], as to proceed further, and overcome nature; but it may justly deserve consideration, whether it be to be laid to the charge of the young men, that they gave such an occasion to their father's anger, and led him to do what he did, and by going on long in the same way put things past remedy, and brought him to use them so unmercifully; or whether it be to be laid to the father's charge, that he was so hard-hearted, and so very tender in the desire of government, and of other things that would tend to his glory, that tae would take no one into a partnership with him, that so whatsoever he would have done himself might continue immovable; or, indeed, whether fortune have not greater power than all prudent reasonings; whence we are persuaded that human actions are thereby determined beforehand by an inevitable necessity, and we call her Fate, because there is nothing which is not done by her; wherefore I suppose it will be sufficient to compare this notion with that other, which attribute somewhat to ourselves, and renders men not unaccountable for the different conducts of their lives, which notion is no other than the philosophical determination of our ancient law. Accordingly, of the two

other causes of this sad event, any body may lay the blame on the young men, who acted by youthful vanity, and pride of their royal birth, that they should bear to hear the calumnies that were raised against their father, while certainly they were not equitable judges of the actions of his life, but ill-natured in suspecting, and intemperate in speaking of it, and on both accounts easily caught by those that observed them, and revealed them to gain favor; yet cannot their father be thought worthy excuse, as to that horrid impiety which he was guilty of about them, while he ventured, without any certain evidence of their treacherous designs against him, and without any proofs that they had made preparations for such attempt, to kill his own sons, who were of very comely bodies, and the great darlings of other men, and no way deficient in their conduct, whether it were in hunting, or in warlike exercises, or in speaking upon occasional topics of discourse; for in all these they were skillful, and especially Alexander, who was the eldest; for certainly it had been sufficient, even though he had condemned them, to have kept them alive in bonds, or to let them live at a distance from his dominions in banishment, while he was surrounded by the Roman forces, which were a strong security to him, whose help would prevent his suffering any thing by a sudden onset, or by open force; but for him to kill them on the sudden, in order to gratify a passion that governed him, was a demonstration of insufferable impiety. He also was guilty of so great a crime in his older age; nor will the delays that he made, and the length of time in which the thing was done, plead at all for his excuse; for when a man is on a sudden amazed, and in commotion of mind, and then commits a wicked action, although this be a heavy crime, yet is it a thing that frequently happens; but to do it upon deliberation, and after frequent attempts, and as frequent puttings-off, to undertake it at last, and accomplish it, was the action of a murderous mind, and such as was not easily moved from that which is evil. And this temper he showed in what he did afterward, when he did not spare those that seemed to be the best beloved of his friends that were left, wherein, though the justice of the punishment caused those that perished to be the less pitied, yet was the barbarity of the man here equal, in that he did not abstain from their slaughter also. But of those persons we shall have occasion to discourse more hereafter.

Liber XVII

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ ἑπτακαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Ὡς Ἀντίπατρος ἐμισήθη ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ ἔθνους διὰ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡς διὰ ταῦτα ἐθεράπευεν τοὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολλοῖς χρήμασιν καὶ τὸν πεπιστευμένον τὴν Συρίαν Σατορνῖνον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ἡγεμόνας.

β. ὡς Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἰδὼν τὴν Τραχωνῖτιν χώραν μὴ δυναμένην εὐσταθεῖν διὰ τὰς ἐπιδρομὰς τῶν Ἀράβων, Ζάμαριν Ἰουδαῖον ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ὑποχωρήσαντα καὶ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ διαιτώμενον μεταπεμψάμενος ἐγκατῴκισεν αὐτῇ, καὶ ἐχρῆτο αὐτῷ προβλήματι πρὸς τοὺς Ἄραβας.

γ. ὡς Ἡρώδου τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ παῖδας προσποιησαμένου καὶ τὰς Φερώρα θυγατέρας μνηστεύσαντος αὐτοῖς, Ἀντίπατρος ἔπεισεν τὸν πατέρα τὴν μνηστείαν εἰς τοὺς παῖδας μεταθέσθαι τοὺς αὐτοῦ. καὶ ὡς ἐθεράπευσεν Ἀντίπατρος τοὺς περὶ Φερώραν βουλόμενος ἤδη δι᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπιβουλεῦσαι τῷ πατρί.

δ. ὡς γνοῦσα ἡ ἀδελφὴ τοῦ βασιλέως Σαλώμη κρυφαίως ἀπήγγειλεν τῷ ἀδελφῷ.

ε. ὡς Ἡρώδης παρήγγειλεν Ἀντιπάτρῳ μὴ φοιτᾶν πρὸς Φερώραν μηδὲ ἀπόρρητον μηδὲν ἀπαγγέλλειν αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ φανερῶς μὲν οὐδὲν ἐποίει, ἀλλὰ κρυπτῶς, καὶ ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἐλάνθανεν τὸν Ἡρώδην.

ς. ὡς Ἀντίπατρος ἔγραψεν τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ φίλοις παρακαλῶν αὐτοὺς γράψαι τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ πείθοντας, ἵνα πέμψῃ αὐτὸν πρὸς Καίσαρα μετὰ πολλῶν χρημάτων, καὶ πεισθεὶς Ἡρώδης ἐξέπεμψεν τὸν υἱόν.

ζ. ὡς Ἀντίπατρος ἔπεισεν Φερώραν, ἵνα ἀνέλῃ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Ἡρώδην φαρμάκῳ δοὺς αὐτὸς τὸ φάρμακον τῷ Φερώρᾳ. καὶ ὡς ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης παρήγγειλεν τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ Φερώρᾳ ἐκβαλεῖν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἢ ἀναχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας. ὁ δὲ ἀσμένως ἤκουσεν καὶ ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν τετραρχίαν κἀκεῖ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ τελευτᾷ.

η. κατηγορία τῆς γυναικὸς Φερώρα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν Φερώρα ὡς ἀναιρεθέντος φαρμάκῳ. καὶ ὡς Ἡρώδης ἐκζητήσας εὗρε τὸ φάρμακον κατεσκευασμένον ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου, καὶ βασανίσας ἔγνω τὰς Ἀντιπάτρου ἐπιβουλάς.

θ. κατάπλους Ἀντιπάτρου ἐκ Ῥώμης πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. καὶ ὡς κατηγορηθεὶς ὑπὸ Νικολάου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ καὶ καταγνωσθεὶς θάνατον ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ὑπὸ

Κυντιλλίου Οὐάρου τοῦ τότε πεπιστευμένου τὴν Συρίαν ἐδέθη μέχρι τῆς ἐσομένης διαγνώσεως ὑπὸ Καίσαρος.

ι. πρεσβεία πεμφθεῖσα ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου πρὸς Καίσαρα περὶ Ἀντιπάτρου. καὶ ὡς Καῖσαρ ἀκούσας τὰς κατηγορίας κατέγνω αὐτοῦ θάνατον.

ια. περὶ τῆς Ἡρώδου νόσου καὶ στάσεως τῶν Ἰουδαίων δι᾽ αὐτήν, καὶ κόλασις τῶν στασιαστῶν.

ιβ. ὡς δόξαντος Ἀντιπάτρου Ἡρώδην τετελευτηκέναι Ἀντίπατρος διαλεχθείη τῷ σωματοφύλακι περὶ ἀφέσεως, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα Ἀντιπάτρου ἀναίρεσις.

ιγ. Ἡρώδου τελευτὴ καὶ διαθήκη τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς Καίσαρα καὶ μερισμὸς πρὸς τοὺς τρεῖς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ. καὶ ὡς Ἀρχέλαον βασιλέα ποιεῖ τῆς Ἰουδαίας.

ιδ. ἐπιστολὴ Ἡρώδου πρὸς τὸν στρατὸν καὶ ἑκάστῳ αὐτῶν δωρεὰ καὶ παράκλησις πίστεως πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀρχέλαον.

ιε. ταφὴ Ἡρώδου ἐν Ἡρωδίῳ τῷ φρουρίῳ. καὶ ὡς ὁ λαὸς ἐστασίασεν πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀρχέλαον ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ.

ις. ὡς Ἀρχέλαος τρισχιλίους αὐτῶν ἀνεῖλεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔπλευσε πρὸς Καίσαρα σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ Ἡρώδῃ εἰς Ῥώμην πιστεύσας τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ τῷ ἀδελφῷ Φιλίππῳ.

ιζ. ὡς Σαβῖνος ὁ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ Καίσαρος ἐπίτροπος ἀνέβη εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα βίᾳ αἰτῶν τὰ Ἡρώδου χρήματα καὶ φρούρια παρὰ τῶν Ἀρχελάου ἐπιμελητῶν.

ιη. ὡς ἔπεισαν οἱ τοῦ Ἀρχελάου ἐπιμεληταὶ τὸν λαὸν χωρεῖν ἐπὶ ὅπλα καὶ πολιορκῆσαι τὸν Σαβῖνον καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀντωνίᾳ. καὶ ὡς ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Οὔαρος μετὰ μεγάλης δυνάμεως ἀνέβη εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ῥυσάμενος τὸν Σαβῖνον ἐκ τῆς πολιορκίας τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς στάσεως ἐκόλασεν καὶ καλῶς διαθεὶς τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἔγραψε Καίσαρι δηλῶν αὐτῷ τὰ πραχθέντα.

ιθ. ὡς Καῖσαρ τὰς Ἡρώδου διαθήκας βεβαίας ἐποίησεν φυλάξας τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ τὴν διαδοχήν. καὶ ὡς κατηγορεῖται Ἀρχέλαος ὑπὸ τῶν συγγενῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Καίσαρος καὶ νικήσας ἔλαβεν τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ βασιλεύσας μοχθηρῶς δεκαετίαν πάλιν κατηγορηθεὶς ἐξωρίσθη εἰς Βίενναν, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ μετέθηκεν Καῖσαρ εἰς ἐπαρχίαν.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν ιδ.

BOOK XVII. Containing The Interval Of Fourteen Years. — From The Death Of Alexander And Aristobulus To The Banishment Of Archelaus.

I

CHAPTER 1. How Antipater Was Hated By All The Nation [Of The Jews] For The Slaughter Of His Brethren; And How, For That Reason He Got Into Peculiar Favor With His Friends At Rome, By Giving Them Many Presents; As He Did Also With Saturninus, The President Of Syria And The Governors Who Were Under Him; And Concerning Herod's Wives And Children.

(1) [1] Ἀντιπάτρῳ δὲ ἀραμένῳ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἀσεβείᾳ τε τῇ ὑστάτῃ καὶ ἀλαστορίᾳ τῇ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς τὸν πατέρα περιβεβληκότι οὔτι κατὰ γνώμας ἡ ἐλπὶς τοῦ αὖθις βίου ἦν: ἀπαλλαγεὶς γὰρ φόβου τοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ διὰ τὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν μὴ ἐπικοινωνῆσον, ἐργωδέστερον καὶ ἄπορον αὐτῷ εὕρισκεν τὸ τῆς βασιλείας περιγενέσθαι: τοσόνδ᾽ ἐφύη τῷ ἔθνει μῖσος πρὸς αὐτόν. [2] ὄντος δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦδε χαλεποῦ πλειόνως παρελύπει τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἀλλοτρίως ἔχον τῇ γνώμῃ πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰς οὓς τὰ πάντα ἦν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἀνακείμενα τοῦ οἰκείου ἀσφαλοῦς, ὁπότε τύχοι τὸ ἔθνος νεωτέρων ὀριγνώμενον πραγμάτων: τοσόνδε κίνδυνον ἐμνήστευσεν αὐτῷ ὁ ὄλεθρος τῶν ἀδελφῶν. [3] οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ συνῆρχέν γε τῷ πατρὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὡς βασιλεὺς ὢν καὶ ἐπιστεύετο παρ᾽ αὐτῷ μειζόνως, ἐξ ὧν ἀπολωλέναι καλῶς εἶχεν εὐνοίας βεβαιώματα εὑρημένος, ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀσφαλείᾳ σωτηρίας τῆς Ἡρώδου τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐνδεδειχώς, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἔχθρᾳ τῇ πρὸς ἐκείνους καὶ πρὸ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τοιαίδε αὐτὸν περιεσπένδον ἀραί. [4] ἅπερ δὴ πάντα μηχαναὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην ὁδοῦ ἵσταντο Ἀντιπάτρῳ, ἐρημοῦντι αὐτὸν μὲν κατηγόρων ἐφ᾽ οἷς πράττειν διενοεῖτο, Ἡρώδην δὲ καταφυγῆς οἳ βοηθοῖεν αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου φανερῶς πολεμίου καταστάντος: [5] ὥστε μίσει μὲν τῷ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἔπρασσεν τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τῶν ἀδελφῶν, τὸ δὲ ἥπτετο μειζόνως τοῦ ἐγχειρῶν μὴ ἀφίεσθαι τῆς πράξεως: ἀποθνήσκοντος μὲν γὰρ Ἡρώδου, βεβαίως αὐτῷ περιγενομένης τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐξικνουμένου δὲ εἰς τὸ πλέον ἔτι ζῆν, κινδύνων ἀντιπεριστάντων ἐξαγγέλτου γενομένης τῆς πράξεως, ἧς συνθέτης γεγονὼς πολέμιον ἠνάγκαζε τὸν πατέρα καταστῆναι. [6] καὶ διὰ τοῦ χαρίζεσθαι πολυτελὴς ἦν τοὺς περὶ τὸν πατέρα, κέρδεσι μεγάλοις ἐκπλήσσων τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων μῖσος πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐπὶ Ῥώμης φίλους πομπαῖς μεγάλων δωρεῶν εὔνους καθιστάμενος, πρὸ πάντων δὲ Σατορνῖνον τὸν τῆς Συρίας ἐπιμελητήν. [7] ὑπάξεσθαί τε ἦν ἐλπὶς αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν Σατορνίνου ἀδελφὸν

μεγέθει δώρων, ἃ ἐδίδου, καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀνδρὶ πρώτῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην συνοικοῦσαν τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ χρώμενος. ψευσάμενός τε φιλίαν πρὸς τοὺς ὁμιλοῦντας δεινότατός τις ἦν πεπιστεῦσθαι καὶ μῖσος ἀράμενος ἐφ᾽ οὕστινας ἐπικρύψασθαι συνετώτατος. [8] οὐ μὴν ἠπάτα γε τὴν τηθίδα προκατανενοηκυῖαν ἐκ πλείονος αὐτὸν καὶ μηκέθ᾽ οἷαν οὖσαν παραλογισθῆναι καὶ διὰ τὸ ἤδη παρασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ ἀντιτετάχθαι αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ κακότροπον. [9] καίτοι θυγατρὶ αὐτῆς συνῴκει θεῖος πρὸς μητρὸς Ἀντιπάτρου προνοίᾳ τῇ ἐκείνου καὶ διαπράξει παραλαβὼν τὴν κόρην πρότερον Ἀριστοβούλῳ γεγαμημένην: τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν ὁ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς Καλλέα παῖς γυναῖκα εἶχεν. ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ κατανοεῖσθαι πονηρὸν ὄντα ἦν ἡ ἐπιγαμία τεῖχος, ὥσπερ οὐδ᾽ ἡ πρότερον συγγένεια πρὸς τὸ οὐ μεμισῆσθαι. [10] τὴν δὲ Σαλώμην Ἡρώδης ἐσπουδακυῖαν Συλλαίῳ τῷ Ἄραβι γαμηθῆναι κατ᾽ ἐρωτικὴν ἐπιθυμίαν βιάζεται τῷ Ἀλεξᾷ συνοικεῖν συμπρασσούσης αὐτῷ Ἰουλίας καὶ πειθούσης τὴν Σαλώμην μὴ ἀνήνασθαι τὸν γάμον, μὴ καὶ ἔχθρα καθίσταιτο αὐτοῖς προύπτως ὁμωμοκότος Ἡρώδου μὴ ἂν εὐνοήσειν Σαλώμῃ μὴ ὑποδεξαμένῃ τὸν Ἀλεξᾶ γάμον. καὶ ἐπείθετο Καίσαρός τε οὔσῃ γυναικὶ τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ καὶ ἄλλως συμβουλευούσῃ πάνυ συμφέροντα. [11] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀρχελάου θυγατέρα τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡρώδης ὡς τὸν αὐτῆς πατέρα ἐξέπεμψεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνῳκηκυῖαν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν προῖκα ἀποδούς, ὥστε ἀμφισβήτημα αὐτοῖς μηδὲν εἶναι.

1. When Antipater had thus taken off his brethren, and had brought his father into the highest degree of impiety, till he was haunted with furies for what he had done, his hopes did not succeed to his mind, as to the rest of his life; for although he was delivered from the fear of his brethren being his rivals as to the government, yet did he find it a very hard thing, and almost impracticable, to come at the kingdom, because the hatred of the nation against him on that account was become very great; and besides this very disagreeable circumstance, the affair of the soldiery grieved him still more, who were alienated from him, from which yet these kings derived all the safety which they had, whenever they found the nation desirous of innovation: and all this danger was drawn upon him by his destruction of his brethren. However, he governed the nation jointly with his father, being indeed no other than a king already; and he was for that very reason trusted, and the more firmly depended on, for the which he ought himself to have been put to death, as appearing to have betrayed his brethren out of his concern for the preservation of Herod, and not rather out of his ill-will to them, and, before them, to his father himself: and this was the accursed state he was in. Now all Antipater's contrivances tended to make his way to take off Herod, that he might have nobody to accuse him in the vile practices he was devising: and

that Herod might have no refuge, nor any to afford him their assistance, since they must thereby have Antipater for their open enemy; insomuch that the very plots he had laid against his brethren were occasioned by the hatred he bore his father. But at this time he was more than ever set upon the execution of his attempts against Herod, because if he were once dead, the government would now be firmly secured to him; but if he were suffered to live any longer, he should be in danger, upon a discovery of that wickedness of which he had been the contriver, and his father would of necessity then become his enemy. And on this account it was that he became very bountiful to his father's friends, and bestowed great sums on several of them, in order to surprise men with his good deeds, and take off their hatred against him. And he sent great presents to his friends at Rome particularly, to gain their good-will; and above all to Saturninus, the president of Syria. He also hoped to gain the favor of Saturninus's brother with the large presents he bestowed on him; as also he used the same art to [Salome] the king's sister, who had married one of Herod's chief friends. And when he counterfeited friendship to those with whom he conversed, he was very subtle in gaining their belief, and very cunning to hide his hatred against any that he really did hate. But he could not impose upon his aunt, who understood him of a long time, and was a woman not easily to be deluded, especially while she had already used all possible caution in preventing his pernicious designs. Although Antipeter's uncle by the mother's side was married to her daughter, and this by his own connivance and management, while she had before been married to Aristobulus, and while Salome's other daughter by that husband was married to the son of Calleas; yet that marriage was no obstacle to her, who knew how wicked he was, in her discovering his designs, as her former kindred to him could not prevent her hatred of him. Now Herod had compelled Salome, while she was in love with Sylleus the Arabian, and had taken a fondness for him, to marry Alexas; which match was by her submitted to at the instance of Julia, who persuaded Salome not to refuse it, lest she should herself be their open enemy, since Herod had sworn that he would never be friends with Salome, if she would not accept of Alexas for her husband; so she submitted to Julia as being Caesar's wife; and besides that, she advised her to nothing but what was very much for her own advantage. At this time also it was that Herod sent back king Archelaus's daughter, who had been Alexander's wife, to her father, returning the portion he had with her out of his own estate, that there might be no dispute between them about it.

(2) [12] Ἀνέτρεφεν δὲ αὐτὸς τῶν παίδων τὰ τέκνα πάνυ ἐπιμελῶς: ἦσαν γὰρ τῷ μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐκ Γλαφύρας ἄρσενες δύο, Ἀριστοβούλῳ δὲ ἐκ Βερενίκης τῆς

Σαλώμης θυγατρὸς ἄρσενές τε τρεῖς καὶ θήλειαι δύο. [13] καί ποτε παρόντων αὐτῷ τῶν φίλων παραστησάμενος τὰ παιδάρια καὶ τῶν υἱέων ἀνακλαύσας τὴν τύχην ηὔχετο μηδὲν τοιόνδε παισὶν τοῖς ἐκείνων συνελθεῖν, αὐξηθέντας δὲ ἀρετῇ καὶ συμφορᾷ τοῦ δικαίου τὰς τροφὰς ἀμείψασθαι, ἃς ποιοῖτο. [14] ἐγγεγύητό τε εἰς γάμον, ὁπότε ἀφικοίατο εἰς ὥραν τὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ, τῷ μὲν πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου παίδων Φερώρου θυγατέρα, τῷ δὲ Ἀριστοβούλου τὴν Ἀντιπάτρου, καὶ θυγατέρα τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου ἐπωνόμαζε παιδὶ τῷ Ἀντιπάτρου, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν τῶν Ἀριστοβούλου θυγατέρων Ἡρώδῃ παιδὶ τῷ αὐτοῦ: γίνεται δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ οὗτος ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως θυγατρός: πάτριον γὰρ πλείοσιν ἐν ταὐτῷ ἡμῖν συνοικεῖν. [15] ἔπρασσε δὲ τὰς μνηστείας τῶν παίδων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐλέῳ τῶν ὀρφανῶν εἰς εὔνοιαν αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν ἐπιγαμίαν τὸν Ἀντίπατρον προκαλούμενος. [16] Ἀντίπατρος δὲ γνώμῃ τῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς πολιτεύειν οὐκ ἐνέλιπεν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῖς γεγονότας, ἥ τε τοῦ πατρὸς σπουδὴ περὶ αὐτοὺς ἠρέθιζεν αὐτὸν μείζονας ἔσεσθαι τῶν ἀδελφῶν προσδεχόμενον, καὶ μάλιστα ὁπότε ἀνδρωθεῖεν, Ἀρχελάου προσληψομένου τοῖς θυγατριδοῖς βασιλέως ἀνδρὸς καὶ Φερώρου τῷ ληψομένῳ τὴν θυγατέρα: τετράρχης δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἦν. [17] ἐπήγειρε δ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος ἐλέῳ μὲν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ὀρφανοὺς χρώμενον, μίσει δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα ἐξαγαγεῖν οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμένον κακοτροπίᾳ τῇ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. ἐμηχανᾶτο οὖν διάλυσιν τῶν τῷ πατρὶ ἐγνωσμένων, ἐν δεινῷ τιθέμενος προσλήψει τοσῆσδε αὐτοὺς ὁμιλῆσαι δυνάμεως. [18] καὶ μετέπιπτεν Ἡρώδης εἴκων δεήσει τῇ Ἀντιπάτρου, ὥστε αὐτὸν μὲν τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου θυγατέρα γαμεῖν καὶ τὴν Φερώρου τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ. καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν ὁμολογιῶν τοῦ γάμου τοῦτον κινεῖται τὸν τρόπον ἄκοντος τοῦ βασιλέως.

2. Now Herod brought up his sons' children with great care; for Alexander had two sons by Glaphyra; and Aristobulus had three sons by Bernice, Salome's daughter, and two daughters; and as his friends were once with him, he presented the children before them; and deploring the hard fortune of his own sons, he prayed that no such ill fortune would befall these who were their children, but that they might improve in virtue, and obtain what they justly deserved, and might make him amends for his care of their education. He also caused them to be betrothed against they should come to the proper age of marriage; the elder of Alexander's sons to Pheroras's daughter, and Antipater's daughter to Aristobulus's eldest son. He also allotted one of Aristobulus's daughters to Antipater's son, and Aristobulus's other daughter to Herod, a son of his own, who was born to him by the high priest's daughter; for it is the ancient practice among us to have many wives at the same time. Now the king made these espousals for the children, out of commiseration of them now they were

fatherless, as endeavoring to render Antipater kind to them by these intermarriages. But Antipater did not fail to bear the same temper of mind to his brothers' children which he had borne to his brothers themselves; and his father's concern about them provoked his indignation against them upon this supposal, that they would become greater than ever his brothers had been; while Archclaus, a king, would support his daughter's sons, and Pheroras, a tetrarch, would accept of one of the daughters as a wife to his son. What provoked him also was this, that all the multitude would so commiserate these fatherless children, and so hate him [for making them fatherless], that all would come out, since they were no strangers to his vile disposition towards his brethren. He contrived, therefore, to overturn his father's settlements, as thinking it a terrible thing that they should be so related to him, and be so powerful withal. So Herod yielded to him, and changed his resolution at his entreaty; and the determination now was, that Antipater himself should marry Aristobulus's daughter, and Antipater's son should marry Pheroras's daughter. So the espousals for the marriages were changed after this manner, even without the king's real approbation.

(3) [19] Ἡρώδῃ δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον συνῴκουν ἐννέα γυναῖκες, ἥ τε Ἀντιπάτρου μήτηρ καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, ἐξ ἧς δὴ καὶ ὁμώνυμος αὐτῷ παῖς γεγόνει: ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀδελφοῦ παῖς αὐτῷ μία γεγαμημένη καὶ ἀνεψιὰ σὺν αὐτῇ. καὶ ταῖσδε μὲν τέκνον οὐδὲν ἐφύη. [20] ἦν δ' ἐν ταῖς γυναιξὶν κἀκ τοῦ Σαμαρέων ἔθνους μία καὶ παῖδες αὐτῆς Ἀντίπας καὶ Ἀρχέλαος καὶ θυγάτηρ Ὀλυμπιάς. καὶ ταύτην μὲν ὕστερον Ἰώσηπος γαμεῖ βασιλέως ἀδελφιδοῦς ὤν, Ἀρχέλαος δὲ καὶ Ἀντίπας ἐπὶ Ῥώμης παρά τινι ἰδίῳ τροφὰς εἶχον. [21] Κλεοπάτρα δὲ Ἱεροσολυμῖτις γεγάμητο αὐτῷ καὶ παῖδες ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἡρώδης τε ἐγεγόνεισαν καὶ Φίλιππος, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν Ῥώμῃ τροφὰς εἶχεν. καὶ Παλλὰς δὲ ἐν ταῖς γαμεταῖς Φασάηλον πεποιημένη παῖδα αὐτῷ, πρός γε μὴν ταύταις Φαῖδρα καὶ Ἐλπίς, ἐξ ὧν θυγατέρες δύο ἦσαν Ῥωξάνη καὶ Σαλώμη. [22] τὰς δὲ πρεσβυτέρας αὐτοῦ θυγατέρας ὁμομητρίας τῶν περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον, ὧν περιεώρα Φερώρας τὸν γάμον, συνῴκουν ἡ μὲν Ἀντιπάτρῳ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφῆς παιδὶ ὄντι, Φασαήλῳ δὲ ἡ ἑτέρα: καὶ οὗτος Ἡρώδου ἀδελφοῦ παῖς ἐγεγόνει. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Ἡρώδου τὸ γένος ἦν.

3. Now Herod the king had at this time nine wives; one of them Antipater's mother, and another the high priest's daughter, by whom he had a son of his own name. He had also one who was his brother's daughter, and another his sister's daughter; which two had no children. One of his wives also was of the Samaritan nation, whose sons were Antipas and Archelaus, and whose daughter was Olympias; which daughter was afterward married to Joseph, the king's brother's

son; but Archelaus and Antipas were brought up with a certain private man at Rome. Herod had also to wife Cleopatra of Jerusalem, and by her he had his sons Herod and Philip; which last was also brought up at Rome. Pallas also was one of his wives, which bare him his son Phasaelus. And besides these, he had for his wives Phedra and Elpis, by whom he had his daughters Roxana and Salome. As for his elder daughters by the same mother with Alexander and Aristobulus, and whom Pheroras neglected to marry, he gave the one in marriage to Antipater, the king's sister's son, and the other to Phasaelus, his brother's son. And this was the posterity of Herod.

II

CHAPTER 2. Concerning Zamaris, The Babylonian Jew; Concerning The Plots Laid By Antipater Against His Father; And Somewhat About The Pharisees.

(1) [23] Τότε δὲ βουλόμενος πρὸς Τραχωνίτας ἀσφαλὴς εἶναι, κώμην πόλεως μέγεθος οὐκ ἀποδέουσαν ἔγνω Ἰουδαίων κτίσαι ἐν μέσῳ, δυσέμβολόν τε ποιεῖν τὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐξ ἐγγίονος ὁρμώμενος ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος κακουργεῖν. [24] καὶ ἐπιστάμενος ἄνδρα Ἰουδαῖον ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας σὺν πεντακοσίοις ἱπποτοξόταις πᾶσι καὶ συγγενῶν πλήθει εἰς ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν τὸν Εὐφράτην διαβεβηκότα κατὰ τύχας ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῇ ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ τῆς Συρίας διαιτᾶσθαι Σατορνίνου τοῦ τότε στρατηγοῦντος εἰς ἐνοίκησιν αὐτῷ δεδωκότος χωρίον, [25] Οὐλαθὰ ὄνομα αὐτῷ, μετεπέμπετο τοῦτον σὺν τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἑπομένων, παρέξειν ὑπισχνούμενος γῆν ἐν τοπαρχίᾳ τῇ λεγομένῃ Βαταναίᾳ, ὡρίζετο δὲ αὕτη τῇ Τραχωνίτιδι, βουλόμενος πρόβλημα τὴν κατοίκησιν αὐτοῦ κτᾶσθαι, ἀτελῆ τε τὴν χώραν ἐπηγγέλλετο καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰσφορῶν ἀπηλλαγμένους ἁπασῶν, αἳ εἰωθυῖαι ἐγκατοικεῖν τὴν γῆν ἄπρακτον παρασχόμενος.

1. And now it was that Herod, being desirous of securing himself on the side of the Trachonites, resolved to build a village as large as a city for the Jews, in the middle of that country, which might make his own country difficult to be assaulted, and whence he might be at hand to make sallies upon them, and do them a mischief. Accordingly, when he understood that there was a man that was a Jew come out of Babylon, with five hundred horsemen, all of whom could shoot their arrows as they rode on horde-back, and, with a hundred of his relations, had passed over Euphrates, and now abode at Antioch by Daphne of Syria, where Saturninus, who was then president, had given them a place for habitation, called Valatha, he sent for this man, with the multitude that followed him, and promised to give him land in the toparchy called Batanea, which country is bounded with Trachonitis, as desirous to make that his habitation a guard to himself. He also engaged to let him hold the country free from tribute, and that they should dwell entirely without paying such customs as used to be paid, and gave it him tax-free.

(2) [26] Τούτοις πεισθεὶς ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἀφικνεῖται καὶ λαβὼν τὴν γῆν φρούρια ᾠκοδομήσατο καὶ κώμην, Βαρθύραν ὄνομα αὐτῇ θέμενος. πρόβλημά τε ἦν οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Τραχωνίτας καὶ Ἰουδαίων τοῖς ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἀφικνουμένοις κατὰ θυσίαν ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων τοῦ μὴ λῃστείαις ὑπὸ τῶν Τραχωνιτῶν κακουργεῖσθαι, πολλοί τε ὡς αὐτὸν ἀφίκοντο καὶ ἀπανταχόθεν,

οἷς τὰ Ἰουδαίων θεραπεύεται πάτρια. [27] καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ χώρα σφόδρα πολυάνθρωπος ἀδείᾳ τοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀτελοῦς, ἃ παρέμεινεν αὐτοῖς Ἡρώδου ζῶντος. Φίλιππος δὲ υἱὸς ἐκείνου παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὀλίγα τε καὶ ἐπ᾽ ὀλίγοις αὐτοὺς ἐπράξατο, [28] Ἀγρίππας μέντοι γε ὁ μέγας καὶ ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁμώνυμος καὶ πάνυ ἐξετρύχωσαν αὐτούς, οὐ μέντοι τὰ τῆς ἐλευθερίας κινεῖν ἠθέλησαν. παρ᾽ ὧν Ῥωμαῖοι δεξάμενοι τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ μὲν ἐλευθέρου καὶ αὐτοὶ τηροῦσιν τὴν ἀξίωσιν, ἐπιβολαῖς δὲ τῶν φόρων εἰς τὸ πάμπαν ἐπίεσαν αὐτούς. καὶ τάδε μὲν ᾗ καιρὸς ἀκριβώσομαι προιόντος τοῦ λόγου.

2. The Babylonian was reduced by these offers to come hither; so he took possession of the land, and built in it fortresses and a village, and named it Bathyra. Whereby this man became a safeguard to the inhabitants against the Trachonites, and preserved those Jews who came out of Babylon, to offer their sacrifices at Jerusalem, from being hurt by the Trachonite robbers; so that a great number came to him from all those parts where the ancient Jewish laws were observed, and the country became full of people, by reason of their universal freedom from taxes. This continued during the life of Herod; but when Philip, who was [tetrarch] after him, took the government, he made them pay some small taxes, and that for a little while only; and Agrippa the Great, and his son of the same name, although they harassed them greatly, yet would they not take their liberty away. From whom, when the Romans have now taken the government into their own hands, they still gave them the privilege of their freedom, but oppress them entirely with the imposition of taxes. Of which matter I shall treat more accurately in the progress of this history.

(3) [29] Τελευτᾷ δὲ Ζάμαρις ὁ Βαβυλώνιος, ὃς ἐπὶ κτήσει τῆσδε τῆς χώρας Ἡρώδῃ προσποιεῖται, ζήσας τε μετὰ ἀρετῆς καὶ παῖδας λειπόμενος ἀγαθούς, Ἰάκειμον μέν, ὃς ἀνδρείᾳ γενόμενος ἐπιφανὴς ἱππεύειν συνεκρότησε τὸ ὑφ᾽ αὑτῷ Βαβυλώνιον, καὶ ἴλη τῶνδε τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐδορυφόρει τούσδε τοὺς βασιλέας. [30] καὶ Ἰάκειμος δὲ ἐν γήρᾳ τελευτῶν Φίλιππον τὸν υἱὸν κατέλιπεν ἄνδρα κατὰ χεῖρας ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀρετῇ χρῆσθαι παρ᾽ ὁντινοῦν ἀξιόλογον. διόπερ φιλία [31] τε πιστὴ καὶ εὔνοια ἀσφαλὴς αὐτῷ πρὸς Ἀγρίππαν γίνεται τὸν βασιλέα, στρατιάν τε ὁπόσην ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔτρεφεν οὗτος ἀσκῶν διετέλει καὶ ὅπη ἐξοδεύειν δεήσειεν ἡγούμενος.

3. At length Zamaris the Babylonian, to whom Herod had given that country for a possession, died, having lived virtuously, and left children of a good character behind him; one of whom was Jacim, who was famous for his valor, and taught his Babylonians how to ride their horses; and a troop of them were guards to the forementioned kings. And when Jacim was dead in his old age, he left a son,

whose name was Philip, one of great strength in his hands, and in other respects also more eminent for his valor than any of his contemporaries; on which account there was a confidence and firm friendship between him and king Agrippa. He had also an army which he maintained as great as that of a king, which he exercised and led wheresoever he had occasion to march.

(4) [32] Ἡρώδου δ᾽ ἐν οἷς εἶπον ὄντος ἀφεώρα τὰ πάντα πράγματα εἰς Ἀντίπατρον, κἀφ᾽ οἷς ὠφελήσειεν κυροῦν οὐκ ἀπήλλακτο ἐξουσίας ἐπικεχωρηκότος τε τοῦ πατρὸς ἐλπίδι εὐνοίας καὶ πίστεως, καὶ περαιτέρω κτᾶσθαι τὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν τολμηρὸς καθιστάμενος διὰ τὸ ἄδηλος τῷ πατρὶ εἶναι κακουργῶν κἀφ᾽ οἷς εἴπειεν πιστότατος. [33] ἦν τε πᾶσιν φοβερὸς οὐχ οὕτως ἰσχύι τῆς ἐξουσίας, ὡς τοῦ κακοτρόπου τῷ προμηθεῖ: μάλιστα δ᾽ αὐτὸν Φερώρας ἐθεράπευεν καὶ ἀντεθεραπεύετο δεινῶς, πάνυ τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου περιστοιχίσαντος αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν συνισταμένου τὰ πρὸς αὐτόν: [34] ἐδεδούλωτο γὰρ Φερώρας γαμετῇ τε καὶ μητρὶ ταύτης καὶ ἀδελφῇ καὶ ταῦτα μισῶν τὰς ἀνθρώπους ὕβρει θυγατέρων αὐτοῦ παρθένων: ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως ἠνείχετο, πράσσειν τε οὐδὲν ἦν δίχα τῶν γυναικῶν ἐκπεριωδευκυιῶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἀλλήλαις εὐνοίᾳ συμπράσσειν τὰ πάντα μὴ ἀπηλλαγμένων, [35] ὥστε παντοίως ὁ Ἀντίπατρος ὑπῆκτο αὐτὰς καὶ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τῆς μητρός: ταὐτὸν γὰρ αἵδε αἱ τέσσαρες γυναῖκες ἔλεγον. καὶ Φερώρᾳ δὲ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον ἐπ᾽ οὐδαμινοῖς τισιν αἱ γνῶμαι διήλλασσον. [36] ἀντίσπασμα δ᾽ ἦν αὐτοῖς βασιλέως ἡ ἀδελφὴ περισκοποῦσά τε ἐκ πλείονος τὰ πάντα καὶ τὴν εὔνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ κακοῖς τοῖς Ἡρώδου πρασσομένην εἰδυῖά τε καὶ μηνύειν οὐκ ἀποτετραμμένη. [37] καὶ γνόντες ἐν ἀπεχθείᾳ βασιλεῖ τὴν εὔνοιαν αὐτῶν οὖσαν ἐπινοοῦσιν ὥστε φανερὰν μὲν μὴ εἶναι τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτῶν σύνοδον, μίσους δὲ καὶ λοιδοριῶν ᾗ καιρὸς προσποίησιν, καὶ μάλιστα Ἡρώδου παρατυγχάνοντος ἢ οἳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπαγγέλλειν ἔμελλον, κρυπτῶς δὲ τὰ τῆς εὐνοίας ὀχυρώτερα καθίστασθαι. [38] καὶ ἔπρασσον οὕτως. ἐλάνθανεν δὲ τὴν Σαλώμην οὔτε πρῶτον ἡ διάνοια αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε ὡρμημένων οὔτε ἐπειδὴ Χρῆσθαι οὐκ ἀπήλλακτο αὐτή: πάντα δὲ ἀνίχνευέν τε καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν μειζόνως ἐκδεινοῦσα ἀπεσήμαινεν συνόδους τε κρυπτὰς καὶ πότους βουλευτήριά τε ἀφανῶς κατεσκευασμένα, ὧν μὴ ἐπ᾽ ὀλέθρῳ τῷ ἐκείνου συντιθεμένων κἂν πεφανερῶσθαι μὴ κεκωλῦσθαι. [39] νῦν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ προὔπτου διαφόρους καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τῇ ἀλλήλων λέγοντας, εἰς δὲ τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῖς πολλοῖς τὴν εὔνοιαν ἀνατιθεμένους καὶ ὁπότε ἀλλήλοις συμμονωθεῖεν φίλια πράσσειν μὴ ἀπηλλαγμένους, ὁμολογεῖν πολεμεῖν πρὸς οὓς λανθάνειν χρώμενοι εὐνοίᾳ τῇ ἀλλήλων ἐσπουδάκοιεν. [40] καὶ ἡ μὲν ταῦτ᾽ ἀνίχνευέν τε καὶ ἀκριβῶν τυγχάνουσα τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἀνέφερεν συνιέντι μὲν ἤδη τὰ πολλὰ καὶ δι᾽ ἑαυτοῦ, εἰς δὲ τὸ θαρσεῖν οὐ διακενῆς ὑπονοῶν καθισταμένῳ διαβολαῖς τῆς ἀδελφῆς. [41] καὶ ἦν γὰρ μόριόν τι Ἰουδαικὸν ἀνθρώπων ἐπ᾽

ἐξακριβώσει μέγα φρονοῦν τοῦ πατρίου καὶ νόμων οἷς χαίρει τὸ θεῖον προσποιουμένων, οἷς ὑπῆκτο ἡ γυναικωνῖτις, Φαρισαῖοι καλοῦνται, βασιλεῖ δυναμένῳ μάλιστα πράσσειν προμηθεῖς κἀκ τοῦ προὔπτου εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν τε καὶ βλάπτειν ἐπηρμένοι. [42] παντὸς γοῦν τοῦ Ἰουδαικοῦ βεβαιώσαντος δι᾽ ὅρκων ἧ μὴν εὐνοήσειν Καίσαρι καὶ τοῖς βασιλέως πράγμασιν, οἵδε οἱ ἄνδρες οὐκ ὤμοσαν ὄντες ὑπὲρ ἑξακισχίλιοι, καὶ αὐτοὺς βασιλέως ζημιώσαντος χρήμασιν ἡ Φερώρου γυνὴ τὴν ζημίαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἰσφέρει. [43] οἱ δὲ ἀμειβόμενοι τὴν εὔνοιαν αὐτῆς, πρόγνωσιν δὲ ἐπεπίστευντο ἐπιφοιτήσει τοῦ θεοῦ, προύλεγον, ὡς Ἡρώδῃ μὲν καταπαύσεως ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ θεοῦ ἐψηφισμένης αὐτῷ τε καὶ γένει τῷ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, τῆς δὲ βασιλείας εἵς τε ἐκείνην περιηξούσης καὶ Φερώραν παῖδάς τε οἳ εἶεν αὐτοῖς. [44] καὶ τάδε, οὐ γὰρ ἐλάνθανεν τὴν Σαλώμην, ἐξάγγελτα βασιλεῖ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι τῶν περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν διαφθείροιέν τινας. καὶ βασιλεὺς τῶν τε Φαρισαίων τοὺς αἰτιωτάτους ἀναιρεῖ καὶ Βαγώαν τὸν εὐνοῦχον Κᾶρόν τέ τινα τῶν τότε προύχοντα ἀρετῇ τοῦ εὐπρεποῦς καὶ παιδικὰ ὄντα αὐτοῦ. κτείνει δὲ καὶ πᾶν ὅ τι τοῦ οἰκείου συνειστήκει οἷς ὁ Φαρισαῖος ἔλεγεν. [45] ἦρτο δὲ ὁ Βαγώας ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ὡς πατήρ τε καὶ εὐεργέτης ὀνομασθησόμενος τοῦ ἐπικατασταθησομένου προρρήσει βασιλέως: κατὰ χεῖρα γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τὰ πάντ᾽ εἶναι, παρέξοντος αὐτῷ γάμου τε ἰσχὺν καὶ παιδώσεως τέκνων γνησίων.

4. When the affairs of Herod were in the condition I have described, all the public affairs depended upon Antipater; and his power was such, that he could do good turns to as many as he pleased, and this by his father's concession, in hopes of his good-will and fidelity to him; and this till he ventured to use his power still further, because his wicked designs were concealed from his father, and he made him believe every thing he said. He was also formidable to all, not so much on account of the power and authority he had, as for the shrewdness of his vile attempts beforehand; but he who principally cultivated a friendship with him was Pheroras, who received the like marks of his friendship; while Antipater had cunningly encompassed him about by a company of women, whom he placed as guards about him; for Pheroras was greatly enslaved to his wife, and to her mother, and to her sister; and this notwithstanding the hatred he bare them for the indignities they had offered to his virgin daughters. Yet did he bear them, and nothing was to be done without the women, who had got this man into their circle, and continued still to assist each other in all things, insomuch that Antipater was entirely addicted to them, both by himself and by his mother; for these four women, said all one and the same thing; but the opinions of Pheroras and Antipater were different in some points of no consequence. But the king's sister [Salome] was their antagonist, who for a good while had looked about all their affairs, and was apprized that this their friendship was made in order to do

Herod some mischief, and was disposed to inform the king of it. And since these people knew that their friendship was very disagreeable to Herod, as tending to do him a mischief, they contrived that their meetings should not be discovered; so they pretended to hate one another, and to abuse one another when time served, and especially when Herod was present, or when any one was there that would tell him: but still their intimacy was firmer than ever, when they were private. And this was the course they took. But they could not conceal from Salome neither their first contrivance, when they set about these their intentions, nor when they had made some progress in them; but she searched out every thing; and, aggravating the relations to her brother, declared to him, as well their secret assemblies and compotations, as their counsels taken in a clandestine manner, which if they were not in order to destroy him, they might well enough have been open and public. But to appearance they are at variance, and speak about one another as if they intended one another a mischief, but agree so well together when they are out of the sight of the multitude; for when they are alone by themselves, they act in concert, and profess that they will never leave off their friendship, but will fight against those from whom they conceal their designs. And thus did she search out these things, and get a perfect knowledge of them, and then told her brother of them, who understood also of himself a great deal of what she said, but still durst not depend upon it, because of the suspicions he had of his sister's calumnies. For there was a certain sect of men that were Jews, who valued themselves highly upon the exact skill they had in the law of their fathers, and made men believe they were highly favored by God, by whom this set of women were inveigled. These are those that are called the sect of the Pharisees, who were in a capacity of greatly opposing kings. A cunning sect they were, and soon elevated to a pitch of open fighting and doing mischief. Accordingly, when all the people of the Jews gave assurance of their good-will to Caesar, and to the king's government, these very men did not swear, being above six thousand; and when the king imposed a fine upon them, Pheroras's wife paid their fine for them. In order to requite which kindness of hers, since they were believed to have the foreknowledge of things to come by Divine inspiration, they foretold how God had decreed that Herod's government should cease, and his posterity should be deprived of it; but that the kingdom should come to her and Pheroras, and to their children. These predictions were not concealed from Salome, but were told the king; as also how they had perverted some persons about the palace itself; so the king slew such of the Pharisees as were principally accused, and Bagoas the eunuch, and one Carus, who exceeded all men of that time in comeliness, and one that was his catamite. He slew also all those of his own family who had consented to what the Pharisees foretold; and for Bagoas, he had

been puffed up by them, as though he should be named the father and the benefactor of him who, by the prediction, was foretold to be their appointed king; for that this king would have all things in his power, and would enable Bagoas to marry, and to have children of his own body begotten.

III

CHAPTER 3. Concerning The Enmity Between Herod And Pheroras; How Herod Sent Antipater To Caesar; And Of The Death Of Pheroras.

(1) [46] Ἡρώδης δὲ κολάσας τῶν Φαρισαίων τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἐληλεγμένους συνέδριόν τε ποιεῖται τῶν φίλων καὶ κατηγορίαν τῆς Φερώρου γυναικός, τήν τε ὕβριν τῶν παρθένων τῇ τόλμῃ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀνατιθεὶς καὶ ἔγκλημα ταύτην ἀτιμίαν αὐτῷ ποιούμενος, [47] ὥστε ἀγωνοθετῶν στάσιν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν πόλεμον ἐκ φύσεως αὐτοῖς καὶ λόγῳ καὶ δι᾽ ἔργων ὁπόσα δύναιτο, τήν τε διάλυσιν τῆς ζημίας τῆς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐπιβληθείσης τέλεσι διαφευχθείσης τοῖς ἐκείνης, τῶν τε νῦν πεπραγμένων οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐ μετ᾽ αὐτῆς. [48] ἀνθ᾽ ὧν, ὦ Φερώρα, καλῶς εἶχεν οὐ δεήσει οὐδὲ γνωμῶν εἰσηγήσεως τῶν ἐμῶν αὐτοκέλευστον ἀποπέμπεσθαι γυναῖκα ταύτην ὡς πολέμου τοῦ πρός μέ σοι αἰτίαν ἐσομένην: καὶ νῦν, εἴπερ ἀντιποιῇ συγγενείας τῆς ἐμῆς, ἀπείπασθαι τήνδε τὴν γαμετήν: μενεῖς γὰρ [49] οὕτως ἀδελφός τε καὶ στέργειν οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμένος.” Φερώρας δὲ καίπερ λόγων ἀρετῇ περιωθούμενος οὔτε συγγενείας τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔλεγε κινήσειν δίκαιον οὐδὲν οὔτε τῶν πρὸς τὴν γαμετὴν εὐνοιῶν, αἱρεῖσθαί τε πρότερον θανεῖν ἢ ζῶν τολμᾶν ἀπεστερῆσθαι γυναικὸς αὐτῷ κεχαρισμένης. [50] Ἡρώδης δὲ Φερώρᾳ μὲν ὑπερεβάλλετο τὴν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὀργὴν καίπερ ἀνήδονον τιμωρίαν εἰσπεπραγμένος, Ἀντιπάτρῳ δὲ ἀπεῖπε καὶ μητρὶ τῇ ἐκείνου Φερώρᾳ τε μὴ ὁμιλεῖν καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν φυλάσσεσθαι τὸ εἰς ταὐτὸν συνεσόμενον. [51] οἱ δ᾽ ὡμολόγουν μέν, συνῆεσαν δὲ ᾗ καιρὸς καὶ συνεκώμαζον Φερώρας καὶ Ἀντίπατρος. ἐφοίτα δὲ λόγος ὁμιλεῖν καὶ Ἀντιπάτρῳ τὴν Φερώρου γυναῖκα συμπρασσούσης αὐτοῖς τὰ εἰς τὴν σύνοδον τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου μητρός.

1. When Herod had punished those Pharisees who had been convicted of the foregoing crimes, he gathered an assembly together of his friends, and accused Pheroras’s wife; and ascribing the abuses of the virgins to the impudence of that woman, brought an accusation against her for the dishonor she had brought upon them: that she had studiously introduced a quarrel between him and his brother, and, by her ill temper, had brought them into a state of war, both by her words and actions; that the fines which he had laid had not been paid, and the offenders had escaped punishment by her means; and that nothing which had of late been done had been done without her; “for which reason Pheroras would do well, if he would of his own accord, and by his own command, and not at my entreaty, or as following my opinion, put this his wife away, as one that will still be the occasion of war between thee and me. And now, Pheroras, if thou valuest thy

relation to me, put this wife of thine away; for by this means thou wilt continue to be a brother to me, and wilt abide in thy love to me." Then said Pheroras, [although he was pressed hard by the former words,] that as he would not do so unjust a thing as to renounce his brotherly relation to him, so would he not leave off his affection for his wife; that he would rather choose to die than to live, and be deprived of a wife that was so dear unto him. Hereupon Herod put off his anger against Pheroras on these accounts, although he himself thereby underwent a very uneasy punishment. However, he forbade Antipater and his mother to have any conversation with Pheroras, and bid them to take care to avoid the assemblies of the women; which they promised to do, but still got together when occasion served, and both Ptieroras and Antipater had their own merry meetings. The report went also, that Antipater had criminal conversation with Pheroras's wife, and that they were brought together by Antipater's mother.

(2) [52] Ὑφορώμενος δὲ τὸν πατέρα καὶ δεδιώς, μὴ εἰς πλεῖον προχωροίη τὰ τοῦ μίσους ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ, γράφει πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ φίλους κελεύων ἐπιστέλλειν Ἡρώδῃ πέμπειν ᾗ τάχος Ἀντίπατρον ὡς Καίσαρα. [53] οὗ γενομένου ἔπεμπεν Ἡρώδης Ἀντίπατρον δῶρα συμπέμψας ἀξιολογώτατα καὶ διαθήκην, ἐν ᾗ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἀντίπατρον ἀπεδείκνυε βασιλέα, ἢ φθάντος τελευτῆσαι Ἡρώδην τὸν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως θυγατρὸς υἱὸν αὐτῷ γεγενημένον. [54] συνεξορμᾷ δ᾽ Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ Σύλλαιος ὁ Ἄραψ μηδὲν ὧν προσέταξε Καῖσαρ διαπεπραγμένος, καὶ Ἀντίπατρος αὐτοῦ κατηγορεῖ ἐπὶ Καίσαρος περὶ ὧν πρότερον Νικόλαος. κατηγορεῖτο δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀρέτα Σύλλαιος, ὡς πολλοὺς ἀπεκτονὼς τῶν ἐν Πέτρᾳ ἀξιολόγων παρὰ γνώμην τὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ μάλιστα Σόαιμον ἄνδρα τῇ ἐς πάντα ἀρετῇ τιμᾶσθαι δικαιότατον, ἀνῃρηκέναι δὲ καὶ Φάβατον Καίσαρος δοῦλον. [55] καὶ Σύλλαιος αἰτίαν εἶχεν ἐκ τοιῶνδε ἐγκλημάτων: Κόρινθος ἦν Ἡρώδου σωματοφύλαξ τοῦ βασιλέως μάλιστα πιστευόμενος ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ. τοῦτον πείθει Σύλλαιος ἐπὶ χρήμασι μεγάλοις Ἡρώδην ἀποκτεῖναι, καὶ ὑπέσχετο. μαθὼν οὖν Φάβατος Συλλαίου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρηκότος διηγεῖται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. [56] ὁ δὲ τόν τε Κόρινθον βασανίζει συλλαβὼν καὶ πάντα ἀνάπυστα ἦν αὐτῷ. συλλαμβάνει δὲ καὶ δευτέρους Ἄραβας καταγορεύσει τῇ Κορίνθου πειθόμενος τὸν μὲν φύλαρχον ὄντα τὸν δὲ Συλλαίου φίλον. [57] οἳ καὐτοί, βασανίζει γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλεύς, ὡμολόγουν ὅτι παρεῖεν ἐξοτρύνοντες μὴ μαλακίζεσθαι Κόρινθον καὶ εἴ που δεήσειεν καὶ συγχειρουργήσοντες αὐτῷ τὸν φόνον. καὶ Σατορνῖνος δηλώσεως αὐτῷ πάντων ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου γενομένης εἰς Ῥώμην ἐξέπεμψεν αὐτούς.

2. But Antipater had now a suspicion of his father, and was afraid that the effects of his hatred to him might increase; so he wrote to his friends at Rome, and bid them to send to Herod, that he would immediately send Antipater to Caesar;

which when it was done, Herod sent Antipater thither, and sent most noble presents along with him; as also his testament, wherein Antipater was appointed to be his successor; and that if Antipater should die first, his son [Herod Philip] by the high priest's daughter should succeed. And, together with Antipater, there went to Rome Sylleus the Arabian, although he had done nothing of all that Caesar had enjoined him. Antipater also accused him of the same crimes of which he had been formerly accused by Herod. Sylleus was also accused by Aretas, that without his consent he had slain many of the chief of the Arabians at Petra; and particularly Soemus, a man that deserved to be honored by all men; and that he had slain Fabatus, a servant of Caesar. These were the things of which Sylleus was accused, and that on the occasion following: There was one Corinthus, belonging to Herod, of the guards of the king's body, and one who was greatly trusted by him. Sylleus had persuaded this man with the offer of a great sum of money to kill Herod; and he had promised to do it. When Fabatus had been made acquainted with this, for Sylleus had himself told him of it, he informed the king of it; who caught Corinthus, and put him to the torture, and thereby got out of him the whole conspiracy. He also caught two other Arabians, who were discovered by Corinthus; the one the head of a tribe, and the other a friend to Sylleus, who both were by the king brought to the torture, and confessed that they were come to encourage Corinthus not to fail of doing what he had undertaken to do; and to assist him with their own hands in the murder, if need should require their assistance. So Saturninns, upon Herod's discovering the whole to him, sent them to Rome.

(3) [58] Φερώραν δὲ ἰσχυρῶς ἐμμένοντα εὐνοίᾳ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀναχωρεῖν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ Ἡρώδης κελεύει. ὁ δὲ ἀσμένως ἐπὶ τὴν τετραρχίαν ἀπῆρεν, πολλὰ ὀμόσας οὐ πρότερον ἥξειν ἢ πύθοιτο Ἡρώδην τετελευτηκότα, ὥστε καὶ νοσήσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως ἀξιωθεὶς ἥκειν ἐπί τινων πίστεσιν ἐντολῶν, εἰ μέλλοι τελευτᾶν, οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ ὅρκου. [59] οὐ μὴν Ἡρώδης γε μιμεῖται τὸ ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε ἐκείνου γνώμην προαποφηνάμενον ἣν ἔχει, ἀλλ᾽ ἦκεν ὡς τὸν Φερώραν, ἐπειδὴ ὕστερον ἄρχεται νοσεῖν, καὶ μετακλήσεως αὐτῷ μὴ γενομένης, θανόντα δὲ περιστείλας ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἀγόμενος ταφῆς ἠξίου καὶ πένθος μέγα ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ προέθετο. [60] τοῦτο Ἀντιπάτρῳ καίτοι γε ἐπὶ Ῥώμης πεπλευκότι κακῶν ἐγένετο ἀρχὴ τῆς ἀδελφοκτονίας αὐτὸν τινυμένου θεοῦ. διηγήσομαι δὲ τὸν πάντα περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον παράδειγμα τῷ ἀνθρωπείῳ γενησόμενον τοῦ ἀρετῇ πολιτεύσοντος ἐπὶ πᾶσιν.

3. At this time Herod commanded Pheroras, that since he was so obstinate in his affection for his wife, he should retire into his own tetrarchy; which he did very willingly, and sware many oaths that he would not come again till he heard that

Herod was dead. And indeed when, upon a sickness of the king, he was desired to come to him before he died, that he might intrust him with some of his injunctions, he had such a regard to his oath, that he would not come to him; yet did not Herod so retain his hatred to Pheroras, but remitted of his purpose [not to see him], which he before had, and that for such great causes as have been already mentioned: but as soon as he began to be ill, he came to him, and this without being sent for; and when he was dead, he took care of his funeral, and had his body brought to Jerusalem, and buried there, and appointed a solemn mourning for him. This [death of Pheroras] became the origin of Antipater's misfortunes, although he were already sailed for Rome, God now being about to punish him for the murder of his brethren, I will explain the history of this matter very distinctly, that it may be for a warning to mankind, that they take care of conducting their whole lives by the rules of virtue.

IV

CHAPTER 4. Pheroras's Wife Is Accused By His Freedmen, As Guilty Of Poisoning Him; And How Herod, Upon Examining; Of The Matter By Torture Found The Poison; But So That It Had Been Prepared For Himself By His Son Antipater; And Upon An Inquiry By Torture He Discovered The Dangerous Designs Of Antipater.

(1) [61] Ἐπειδὴ Φερώρας τελευτᾷ ταφνίται ἐγεγόνεισαν αὐτοῦ ἀπελεύθεροι δύο τῶν Φερώρᾳ τιμίων οὗτοι προσελθόντες Ἡρώδῃ ἠξίουν μὴ ἀνεκδίκητον καταλιπεῖν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τὸν νεκρόν, ἀλλὰ ζήτησιν ποιεῖσθαι τῆς ἀλόγου τε καὶ δυστυχοῦς μεταστάσεως. [62] τοῦ δ' ἐπιστραφέντος τοῖς λόγοις, πιστὰ γὰρ ἐδόκει, δειπνῆσαι μὲν αὐτὸν ἔλεγον παρὰ τῇ γυναικὶ τῇ προτέρᾳ τῆς νόσου, φάρμακον δὲ προσκομισθὲν ἐν βρώματι μὴ πρότερον εἰωθότι ἐμφαγόντα ὑπὸ τούτου τελευτῆσαι: κομιστὸν μέντοι γενέσθαι τὸ φάρμακον ὑπὸ γυναικὸς ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίας λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ προσποιήσεσιν ἐρώτων, φίλτρον γὰρ δὴ ὄνομα αὐτῷ εἶναι, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἐπὶ τῇ Φερώρου τελευτῇ. [63] φαρμακιστόταται δέ εἰσι γυναικῶν αἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίας: ᾗ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεκάλουν καὶ τῆς Συλλαίου ἐρωμένης ἐν ταῖς μάλιστα ὡμολόγητο εἶναι φίλη, πείσουσαί τε αὐτὴν ἐπὶ πράσει τοῦ φαρμάκου εἰς τοὺς τόπους ἐληλύθεσαν ἥ τε μήτηρ τῆς τοῦ Φερώρου γυναικὸς καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ καὶ ἐπανῆκον αὐτὴν ἀγόμεναι τοῦ δείπνου πρότερον ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ. [64] ὑπὸ τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν λόγων παροξυνθεὶς δούλας τε ἐβασάνιζε τῶν γυναικῶν καί τινας καὶ ἐλευθέρας, καὶ ὄντος ἀφανοῦς τοῦ πράγματος διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἐξειπεῖν τελευταία τις περιουσῶν αὐτῆς τῶν ἀλγηδόνων ἄλλο μὲν ἔφη οὐδέν, θεὸν δ' ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τοιαῖσδε αἰκίαις δώσειν περιβαλεῖν τὴν Ἀντιπάτρου μητέρα κακῶν τῶν ἐπεχόντων αἰτίαν πᾶσιν γενομένην. [65] ταῦτα εἰς ἐπίστασιν Ἡρώδην ἄγει, καὶ τὰ πάντα βασάνοις τῶν γυναικῶν ἀνάπυστα ἦν, οἵ τε κῶμοι καὶ κρυπταὶ σύνοδοι καὶ δὴ καὶ λόγων πρὸς μόνον τὸν υἱὸν εἰρημένων ἐξοίσεις πρὸς τὰς Φερώρου γυναῖκας: ἦν δὲ ταλάντων ἑκατὸν δωρεὰς ἐπικρύπτεσθαι φράζειν πρὸς Φερώραν τῷ Ἀντιπάτρῳ κέλευσις ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός: [66] μῖσός τε πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ ὀλοφυρμοὶ πρὸς τὴν μητέρα, ὡς ἐπὶ μήκιστον τοῦ πατρὸς βιοῦν ἐξηγμένου καὶ αὐτῷ μηδὲν ἐλάσσονος τοῦ γήρως ἐπικειμένου, ὡς μηδ' ἂν ἐλθοῦσαν τὴν βασιλείαν ὁμοίως εὐφρᾶναί ποτ' αὐτόν: παρατρέφεσθαί τε πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ ἀδελφοὺς καὶ ἀδελφῶν παῖδας οὐδαμῶς ἀδεῆ τὴν ἐλπίδα παρεχομένους τἀσφαλοῦς: [67] καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ νῦν, εἴ τι πάσχειν, αὐτὸν

ἀδελφῷ μᾶλλον ἢ παιδὶ τῷ αὐτοῦ κελεύειν τὴν ἀρχὴν δίδοσθαι. ὠμότητά τε πολλὴν κατηγόρει τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὰς σφαγὰς τῶν υἱέων, φόβῳ τε μὴ καὶ αὐτῶν ἅπτοιτο ἤδη τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἄρασθαι τέχνην ἐπινοῆσαι, Φερώραν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ τετραρχίας.

1. As soon as Pheroras was dead, and his funeral was over, two of Pheroras's freed-men, who were much esteemed by him, came to Herod, and entreated him not to leave the murder of his brother without avenging it, but to examine into such an unreasonable and unhappy death. When he was moved with these words, for they seemed to him to be true, they said that Pheroras supped with his wife the day before he fell sick, and that a certain potion was brought him in such a sort of food as he was not used to eat; but that when he had eaten, he died of it: that this potion was brought out of Arabia by a woman, under pretense indeed as a love-potion, for that was its name, but in reality to kill Pheroras; for that the Arabian women are skillful in making such poisons: and the woman to whom they ascribe this was confessedly a most intimate friend of one of Sylleus's mistresses; and that both the mother and the sister of Pheroras's wife had been at the places where she lived, and had persuaded her to sell them this potion, and had come back and brought it with them the day before that his supper. Hereupon the king was provoked, and put the women slaves to the torture, and some that were free with them; and as the fact did not yet appear, because none of them would confess it, at length one of them, under the utmost agonies, said no more but this, that she prayed that God would send the like agonies upon Antipater's mother, who had been the occasion of these miseries to all of them. This prayer induced Herod to increase the women's tortures, till thereby all was discovered; their merry meetings, their secret assemblies, and the disclosing of what he had said to his son alone unto Pheroras's women. [Now what Herod had charged Antipater to conceal, was the gift of a hundred talents to him not to have any conversation with Pheroras.] And what hatred he bore to his father; and that he complained to his mother how very long his father lived; and that he was himself almost an old man, insomuch that if the kingdom should come to him, it would not afford him any great pleasure; and that there were a great many of his brothers, or brothers' children, bringing up, that might have hopes of the kingdom as well as himself, all which made his own hopes of it uncertain; for that even now, if he should himself not live, Herod had ordained that the government should be conferred, not on his son, but rather on a brother. He also had accused the king of great barbarity, and of the slaughter of his sons; and that it was out of the fear he was under, lest he should do the like to him, that made

him contrive this his journey to Rome, and Pheroras contrive to go to his own tetrarchy.

(2) [68] Ταῦτα συνῆδεν γὰρ τοῖς λόγοις τῆς ἀδελφῆς, καὶ πολὺ τοῦ μὴ ἀπιστίαν ἔτι ὑποπτεύεσθαι συνῆγεν αὐτοῖς, ὁ βασιλεὺς κρατυνάμενος ἐπὶ κακίᾳ τῇ Ἀντιπάτρου τὴν Δῶριν τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ πάντα τὸν περὶ αὐτὴν κόσμον ταλάντων πολλῶν ὄντα ἀφελόμενος ἔπειτα αὐτὴν ἀποπέμπεται καὶ ταῖς Φερώρου γυναιξὶν φιλίαν ἐσπείσατο. [69] μάλιστα δ' ἐξώτρυνεν εἰς ὀργὴν κατὰ τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν βασιλέα Σαμαρείτης ἀνὴρ Ἀντίπατρος ἐπιτροπεύων τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντίπατρον, ἄλλα τε αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖς βασάνοις κατειπὼν καὶ ὅτι παρασκευασάμενος φάρμακον θανάσιμον δοίη Φερώρᾳ κελεύσας παρὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν αὐτοῦ, ἵν' ὡς πλεῖστον ἀφεστήκοι τῶν ἐν τοιούτοις ὑποτοπασμῶν, τῷ πατρὶ δοῦναι. [70] καὶ κομίσαι μὲν Ἀντίφιλον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τὸ φάρμακον ἕνα τῶν Ἀντιπάτρου φίλων, σταλῆναι δὲ ὡς Φερώραν διὰ Θευδίωνος μητρὸς Ἀντιπάτρου ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως παιδός, καὶ οὕτως ἐλθεῖν τὸ φάρμακον εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν Φερώρου δόντος φυλάσσειν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς. [71] ἡ δὲ ὡμολόγει μὲν ἀνακρίναντος τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ δραμοῦσα ὡς κομίσειεν ῥίπτει κατὰ τέγους ἑαυτήν, οὐ μὴν τελευτᾷ ἐπὶ πόδας τῆς πτώσεως γενομένης. [72] καὶ οὕτως ἐπεὶ ἀνεκτήσατο αὐτὴν ἄδειάν τε αὐτῇ ὑπισχνούμενος καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις μηδὲν ἐπ' ἀφανισμῷ τἀληθοῦς τρεπομένῃ, τρίψειν γε μὴν κακοῖς τοῖς ὑστάτοις ἀγνωμονεῖν προθεμένην, ὑπισχνεῖται καὶ ὤμοσεν ἢ μὴν ἐρεῖν τὰ πάντα ὃν ἐπράχθη τρόπον, λέγουσα μὲν, ὡς ἔφασαν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀληθῆ τὰ πάντα. [73] "κεκόμισται γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ φάρμακον ὑπ' Ἀντιφίλου, ἀδελφὸς δ' ἐκείνῳ ἰατρὸς ὢν ἐπόρισεν, καὶ Θευδίωνος ὡς ἡμᾶς κομίσαντος ἐφύλασσον αὐτὴ παρὰ Φερώρου λαβοῦσα ἐπὶ σὲ ἡτοιμασμένον ὑπὸ Ἀντιπάτρου. [74] ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐνόσει Φερώρας καὶ ἐθεράπευες αὐτὸν ἀφικόμενος, ὁρῶν σου τὴν εὔνοιαν, ᾗ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐχρῶ, ἐπεκλάσθη τε τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ μετακαλέσας με, "ὦ γύναι, φησίν, περιώδευσέ με Ἀντίπατρος ἐπὶ πατρὶ μὲν τῷ αὐτοῦ, ἀδελφῷ δὲ τῷ 'μῷ, θανάσιμόν τε γνώμην συνθεὶς καὶ φάρμακον ᾧ διακονήσοιτο αὐτῇ πεπορισμένος. [75] νῦν οὖν, ἐπειδὴ ὅ τε ἀδελφὸς οὐδὲν ἀρετῇ πρότερον ᾗ ἐχρῆτο περὶ ἐμοῦ ὑφαιρῶν ὤπται ἐμέ τε ἐλπὶς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀπέσεσθαι τοῦ βίου, φέρε μὴ γνώμῃ ἀδελφοκτόνῳ ἀποτισοίμην προπάτορας τοὺς ἐμαυτοῦ, τὸ φάρμακον καίειν τε ἐμοῦ βλέποντος, κομίσασά τε οὐδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς πράσσειν τοῦ ἂν [76] δρὸς τὰς ἐπιστολάς." καὶ τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον καύσασαν τοῦ φαρμάκου τυχεῖν, ὑπολιπέσθαι δὲ ὀλίγον, ἵνα εἰ Φερώρου μεταστάντος περιέποι κακῶς αὐτὴν ὁ βασιλεύς, μεθίσταιτο αὐτῷ διάδρασιν ποιουμένη τῶν ἀναγκῶν. [77] ταῦτα εἰποῦσα τό τε φάρμακον καὶ τὴν πυξίδα εἰς τὸ μέσον παρῆγεν. καὶ ἀδελφὸς δὲ Ἀντιφίλου ἕτερος καὶ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ ἀνάγκαις τε καὶ βασάνων σφοδρότητι ταὐτὰ ἔλεγον καὶ ἐγνώριζον τὴν πυξίδα. [78] κατηγορεῖτο δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἡ

θυγάτηρ, γυνὴ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς πάντων ἵστωρ τούτων γενομένη κρύπτειν προθυμηθεῖσα αὐτά. καὶ διὰ τάδε Ἡρώδης ἐκείνην τε ἐξέβαλεν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς ἐξήλειψε τῶν διαθηκῶν εἰς ὃ βασιλεύσοι μενουσῶν, καὶ τὸν πενθερὸν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀφείλετο Σίμωνα τὸν τοῦ Βοηθοῦ, καθίσταται δὲ Ματθίαν τὸν Θεοφίλου Ἱεροσολυμίτην γένος.

2. These confessions agreed with what his sister had told him, and tended greatly to corroborate her testimony, and to free her from the suspicion of her unfaithfulness to him. So the king having satisfied himself of the spite which Doris, Antipater's mother, as well as himself, bore to him, took away from her all her fine ornaments, which were worth many talents, and then sent her away, and entered into friendship with Pheroras's women. But he who most of all irritated the king against his son was one Antipater, the procurator of Antipater the king's son, who, when he was tortured, among other things, said that Antipater had prepared a deadly potion, and given it to Pheroras, with his desire that he would give it to his father during his absence, and when he was too remote to have the least suspicion cast upon him thereto relating; that Antiphilus, one of Antipater's friends, brought that potion out of Egypt; and that it was sent to Pheroras by Thendion, the brother of the mother of Antipater, the king's son, and by that means came to Pheroras's wife, her husband having given it her to keep. And when the king asked her about it, she confessed it; and as she was running to fetch it, she threw herself down from the house-top; yet did she not kill herself, because she fell upon her feet; by which means, when the king had comforted her, and had promised her and her domestics pardon, upon condition of their concealing nothing of the truth from him, but had threatened her with the utmost miseries if she proved ungrateful [and concealed any thing]: so she promised, and swore that she would speak out every thing, and tell after what manner every thing was done; and said what many took to be entirely true, that the potion was brought out of Egypt by Antiphilus; and that his brother, who was a physician, had procured it; and that "when Thendion brought it us, she kept it upon Pheroras's committing it to her; and that it was prepared by Antipater for thee. When, therefore, Pheroras was fallen sick, and thou camest to him and tookest care of him, and when he saw the kindness thou hadst for him, his mind was overborne thereby. So he called me to him, and said to me, 'O woman! Antipater hath circumvented me in this affair of his father and my brother, by persuading me to have a murderous intention to him, and procuring a potion to be subservient thereto; do thou, therefore, go and fetch my potion, [since my brother appears to have still the same virtuous disposition towards me which he had formerly, and I do not expect to live long myself, and that I may not defile

my forefathers by the murder of a brother,] and burn it before my face:' that accordingly she immediately brought it, and did as her husband bade her; and that she burnt the greatest part of the potion; but that a little of it was left, that if the king, after Pheroras's death, should treat her ill, she might poison herself, and thereby get clear of her miseries." Upon her saying thus, she brought out the potion, and the box in which it was, before them all. Nay, there was another brother of Antiphilus, and his mother also, who, by the extremity of pain and torture, confessed the same things, and owned the box [to be that which had been brought out of Egypt]. The high priest's daughter also, who was the king's wife, was accused to have been conscious of all this, and had resolved to conceal it; for which reason Herod divorced her, and blotted her son out of his testament, wherein he had been mentioned as one that was to reign after him; and he took the high priesthood away from his father-in-law, Simeon the son of Boethus, and appointed Matthias the son of Theophilus, who was born at Jerusalem, to be high priest in his room.

(3) [79] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Βάθυλλος ἐκ Ῥώμης ἀπελεύθερος Ἀντιπάτρου παρῆν καὶ βασανισθεὶς εὑρίσκεται φάρμακον κομίζων δώσειν τε τῇ ἑαυτοῦ μητρὶ καὶ Φερώρᾳ, ὡς εἰ τὸ πρότερον μὴ ἅπτοιτο τοῦ βασιλέως, τούτῳ γοῦν μεταχειρίζοιντο αὐτόν. [80] ἀφίκετο δὲ γράμματα παρὰ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ φίλων τῷ Ἡρώδῃ γνώμῃ καὶ ὑπαγορεύσει Ἀντιπάτρου ἐπὶ κατηγορίᾳ Ἀρχελάου καὶ Φιλίππου συγκείμενα, ὡς δῆθεν διαβάλλοιέν τε τὸν πατέρα ἐπὶ σφαγῇ τῶν περὶ Ἀριστόβουλον καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον, δι' οἴκτου δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς λαμβάνοιεν: ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ἐκαλοῦντο ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός, οὐχ ὡς ἐφ' ἑτέροις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς κἀκείνους προσαπολωλεκόσι κατακλήσεως αὐτῶν γινομένης. [81] ταῦτα δὲ μεγάλων μισθῶν οἱ φίλοι τῷ Ἀντιπάτρῳ συνέπρασσον. γράφει δὲ καὐτὸς Ἀντίπατρος τῷ πατρὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ μεγίσταις τῶν αἰτιῶν καὶ παντελὲς ἀπαλλάσσειν φάσκων τὰ μειράκια, τῶν δὲ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν ποιούμενος. αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ περὶ Σύλλαιον ἠγωνίζετο καὶ θεραπεία τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν ἐγεγόνει κόσμος τε ἀξιοπρεπὴς ταλάντων ἐώνητο διακοσίων. [82] θαυμάσειε δ' ἄν τις, ὅτι τοσούτων ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ κατ' αὐτοῦ κεκινημένων μησὶ πρότερον ἑπτὰ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ δῆλον γένοιτο: αἴτιον δ' ἦν ἥ τε ἀκρίβεια καὶ φυλακὴ τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ μῖσος τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον: οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἦν, ὃς προθύμως κινδύνῳ τῷ αὐτοῦ πoριστὴς τῶν ἐκείνου ἀσφαλειῶν καθίστατο.

3. While this was doing, Bathyllus also, Antipater's freed-man, came from Rome, and, upon the torture, was found to have brought another potion, to give it into the hands of Antipater's mother, and of Pheroras, that if the former potion did not operate upon the king, this at least might carry him off. There came also letters from Herod's friends at Rome, by the approbation and at the suggestion of

Antipater, to accuse Archelaus and Philip, as if they calumniated their father on account of the slaughter of Alexander and Aristobulus, and as if they commiserated their deaths, and as if, because they were sent for home, [for their father had already recalled them,] they concluded they were themselves also to be destroyed. These letters had been procured by great rewards by Antipater's friends; but Antipater himself wrote to his father about them, and laid the heaviest things to their charge; yet did he entirely excuse them of any guilt, and said they were but young men, and so imputed their words to their youth. But he said that he had himself been very busy in the affair relating to Sylleus, and in getting interest among the great men; and on that account had bought splendid ornaments to present them withal, which cost him two hundred talents. Now one may wonder how it came about, that while so many accusations were laid against him in Judea during seven months before this time, he was not made acquainted with any of them. The causes of which were, that the roads were exactly guarded, and that men hated Antipater; for there was nobody who would run any hazard himself to gain him any advantages.

V

CHAPTER 5. Antipater’s Navigation From Rome To His Father; And How He Was Accused By Nicolaus Of Damascus And Condemned To Die By His Father, And By Quintilius Varus, Who Was Then President Of Syria; And How He Was Then Bound Till Caesar Should Be Informed Of His Cause.

(1) [83] Ἡρώδης δὲ Ἀντιπάτρου γεγραφότος πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς τὰ πάντα ᾗ χρῆν διαπεπραγμένος ἥξοι ἐν τάχει, ἐπικρυψάμενος τὴν ὀργὴν ἀντεπετίθει, κελεύων μὴ ἀπιέναι τῆς εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν, μὴ καί τι πάσχοι παρὰ τὴν ἐκδημίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἅμα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ κατηγορῶν ὡς ὀλίγον καταθήσεσθαι μέμψεις ἐπαγγελλόμενος τὰς πρὸς αὐτήν, [84] ὁπότε ἐκεῖνος ἀφίκοιτο, παντί τε τρόπῳ φιλότητα τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνεδείκνυτο, δεδιὼς μὴ καί τι ὑποτοπηθεὶς ὑπερβάλλοιτο μὲν ὁδοὺς τὰς πρὸς αὐτόν, τῇ δὲ Ῥώμῃ ἐνδιαιτώμενος κτήσεις ἐφεδρεύοι τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ δὴ καὶ διαπράσσοι τι αὐτῇ. [85] τούτοις ἐν Κιλικίᾳ τοῖς γράμμασιν ἐπιτυγχάνει, τοῖς δὲ τὴν Φερώρου τελευτὴν διασαφοῦσιν ἐν Τάραντι πρότερον, δεινῶς τε ἤνεγκεν οὐκ εὐνοίᾳ τῇ Φερώρου, διότι δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν οὐ διαπραξάμενος ὥσπερ ὑπέσχετο ἀπέθανε. [86] περὶ δὲ Κελένδεριν τῆς Κιλικίας γενόμενος ἐνεδοίαζεν ἤδη περὶ τοῦ οἴκαδε πλοῦ δεινῶς τῇ ἐκβολῇ τῆς μητρὸς λελυπημένος, καὶ τῶν φίλων οἱ μὲν ἐκέλευον αὐτὸν ταῦτά πῃ καραδοκοῦντα ἀνέχειν, οἱ δὲ μὴ διαμέλλειν τὸν οἴκαδε πλοῦν: λύσειν γὰρ παραγενόμενον αἰτίαν πᾶσαν, ὡς καὶ νῦν οὔτι ἑτέρωθεν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου ἀπουσίαν ἰσχὺν τοῖς κατηγόροις ὑπογενέσθαι. [87] τούτοις πεισθεὶς ἔπλει τε καὶ προσέσχε τῷ Σεβαστῷ λιμένι λεγομένῳ, ὃν κατασκευάσας Ἡρώδης πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐπὶ τιμῇ τῇ Καίσαρος καλεῖ Σεβαστόν. [88] ἐν προύπτοις δ’ ἦν Ἀντίπατρος ἤδη τοῖς κακοῖς μήτε προσιόντος αὐτῷ μηδενὸς μήτε προσαγορεύοντος ὥσπερ ὅτ’ ἐξῄει μετ’ εὐχῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπιφημισμάτων Ταῖς ἐναντιωτάταις ἀραῖς οὐκ ἐκωλύοντο αὐτὸν δέχεσθαι ποινὴν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἀποτίνειν ὑπειληφότες.

1. Now Herod, upon Antipater’s writing to him, that having done all that he was to do, and this in the manner he was to do it, he would suddenly come to him, concealed his anger against him, and wrote back to him, and bid him not delay his journey, lest any harm should befall himself in his absence. At the same time also he made some little complaint about his mother, but promised that he would lay those complaints aside when he should return. He withal expressed his entire affection for him, as fearing lest he should have some suspicion of him, and

defer his journey to him; and lest, while he lived at Rome, he should lay plots for the kingdom, and, moreover, do somewhat against himself. This letter Antipater met with in Cilicia; but had received an account of Pheroras's death before at Tarentum. This last news affected him deeply; not out of any affection for Pheroras, but because he was dead without having murdered his father, which he had promised him to do. And when he was at Celenderis in Cilicia, he began to deliberate with himself about his sailing home, as being much grieved with the ejection of his mother. Now some of his friends advised him that he should tarry a while some where, in expectation of further information. But others advised him to sail home without delay; for that if he were once come thither, he would soon put an end to all accusations, and that nothing afforded any weight to his accusers at present but his absence. He was persuaded by these last, and sailed on, and landed at the haven called Sebastus, which Herod had built at vast expenses in honor of Caesar, and called Sebastus. And now was Antipater evidently in a miserable condition, while nobody came to him nor saluted him, as they did at his going away, with good wishes of joyful acclamations; nor was there now any thing to hinder them from entertaining him, on the contrary, with bitter curses, while they supposed he was come to receive his punishment for the murder of his brethren.

(2) [89] Ἐτύγχανεν δ' ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν Οὔαρος Κοιντίλιος, διάδοχος μὲν Σατορνίνῳ τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἀρχῆς ἀπεσταλμένος, ἥκων δὲ αὐτός τε σύμβουλος Ἡρώδῃ περὶ τῶν ἐνεστηκότων αὐτῷ δεηθέντι. [90] καὶ αὐτῶν συνεδρευόντων παρῆν ὁ Ἀντίπατρος οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ ἐκπύστου γεγονότος. εἴσεισιν δὲ εἰς τὸ βασίλειον ἔτι πορφυρίδας ἀμπεχόμενος, καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν δέχονται οἱ ἐπὶ θύραις, ἀνείργουσι δὲ τοὺς φίλους. [91] ἐθορυβεῖτο δὲ ἤδη σαφῶς οἷ ἐληλύθει κατανοῶν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ προσιόντα αὐτὸν ὡς ἀσπάσαιτο ἀπεώσατο, ἀδελφοκτονίαν τε ἐπικαλῶν καὶ βούλευσιν ὀλέθρου τοῦ ἐπ' αὐτῷ, πάντων τε ἀκροατὴν καὶ δικαστὴν ἔσεσθαι Οὔαρον τῇ αὔριον. [92] καὶ ὁ μὲν τοιούτου κακοῦ ἅμα τε ἀκροαθέντος καὶ παρόντος τῷ μεγέθει περιφερόμενος ᾤχετο, ὑπαντιάζουσιν δ' αὐτὸν ἥ τε μήτηρ καὶ γυνή, αὕτη δὲ ἦν ἡδη Ἀντιγόνῳ παῖς τῷ πρὸ Ἡρώδου Ἰουδαίων βεβασιλευκότι, παρ' ὧν τὰ πάντα ἐκμαθὼν ἐν παρασκευαῖς τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἦν.

2. Now Quintilius Varus was at this time at Jerusalem, being sent to succeed Saturninus as president of Syria, and was come as an assessor to Herod, who had desired his advice in his present affairs; and as they were sitting together, Antipater came upon them, without knowing any thing of the matter; so he came into the palace clothed in purple. The porters indeed received him in, but excluded his friends. And now he was in great disorder, and presently

understood the condition he was in, while, upon his going to salute his father, he was repulsed by him, who called him a murderer of his brethren, and a plotter of destruction against himself, and told him that Varus should be his auditor and his judge the very next day; so he found that what misfortunes he now heard of were already upon him, with the greatness of which he went away in confusion; upon which his mother and his wife met him, [which wife was the daughter of Antigonus, who was king of the Jews before Herod,] from whom he learned all circumstances which concerned him, and then prepared himself for his trial.

(3) [93] Τῇ δ' ἐξῆς συνήδρευεν μὲν Οὔαρός τε καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς, εἰσεκλήθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀμφοῖν φίλοι καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς βασιλέως Σαλώμη τε ἡ ἀδελφή, εἶτ' εἴ τινες μηνύσειν ἔμελλον καὶ ὧν βάσανοι γεγόνασιν, δοῦλοί τε μητρῷοι τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου μικρῷ πρότερον συνειλημμένοι ἢ 'κεῖνον ἥκειν, ἐπιστολὴν φέροντες, ἧς τὸ κεφάλαιον τῶν γεγραμμένων ἦν μὴ ἐπανιέναι ὡς πάντων τῷ πατρὶ ἡκόντων εἰς πύστιν, μόνην τε ἂν καταφυγὴν αὐτῷ λείπεσθαι Καίσαρα καὶ σὺν αὐτῇ τὸ μὴ πατρὶ ὑποχείριον γενέσθαι. [94] Ἀντιπάτρου δὲ προσπεσόντος τῷ πατρὶ πρὸς τὰ γόνατα καὶ ἱκετεύοντος μὴ προδιεγνωσμένην καταστῆναι δίκην, ἀλλ' ἀκροάσεως αὐτοῦ γενομένης παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ ἀκεραίως μένειν δυναμένῳ, τοῦτον κελεύσας Ἡρώδης ἀπάγειν εἰς μέσον αὐτὸς ὠλοφύρατο τῶν παίδων τῆς ποιήσεως, ἣν ἐπὶ τοιαύταις αὐτῷ τύχαις γενομένην πρότερον ἢ τῆς δυσμενείας ἀνασπάσασθαι τῶν πρότερον εἰς Ἀντίπατρον ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτοῦ τὸ γῆρας, τροφάς τε καὶ παιδεύσεις ἃς ποιήσαιτο αὐτῶν ἐξηγούμενος καὶ πλούτου εὐπορίαν ἐν καιροῖς ὡς θελήσειαν προτεθεῖσαν εἰς πάντα: [95] ὧν οὐδὲν ἐπ' ἐμποδίσματι γενέσθαι τοῦ μὴ οὐκ ἐπιβουλῇ τῇ ἐκείνων κινδυνεῦσαι τελευτᾶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θᾶσσον δυσσεβῶς τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβεῖν ἢ φύσεως νόμῳ μεταστάντος εὐχῇ τε τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ δίκῃ. [96] τόν τε Ἀντίπατρον θαυμάζειν, τίνων ἐλπίδι ἐπαρθεὶς θαρσήσειεν ἐπὶ τοιαῦτα χωρεῖν μὴ ἀποτραπῆναι: διάδοχον μὲν γὰρ ἀποφήνασθαι διὰ γραμμάτων τῆς ἀρχῆς, ζῶντος δὲ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ μειονεκτεῖν ἀξιώματός τε ἐπιφανείᾳ καὶ δυνάμει ἐξουσίας, πεντήκοντα μὲν τάλαντα ἐπέτειον πρόσοδον κομισάμενον, δωρεὰν δ' εἰληφότα ὁδοῦ τῆς εἰς Ῥώμην τριακοσίων ταλάντων ἀριθμόν. [97] ἐπεκάλει δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν εἰ μὲν πονηρῶν γεγονότων κατηγορίαν προθεμένῳ μιμητῇ γεγονότι, διακενῆς δὲ τοιῶνδε ἐπαγωγὰς ἐπάγοντι αὐτῇ τῶν συγγενῶν: [98] τὰ γὰρ πάντα οὐδαμόθεν ἀλλὰ μηνύσει τῇ ἐκείνου μεμαθηκότα πρᾶξαι τὰ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πεπραγμένα γνώμῃ τῇ ἐκείνου, οὓς ἀπολύειν κακοῦ παντὸς κληρονόμον τῆς πατροκτονίας αὐτοῖς καθιστάμενον.

3. On the next day Varus and the king sat together in judgment, and both their friends were also called in, as also the king's relations, with his sister Salome, and as many as could discover any thing, and such as had been tortured; and besides these, some slaves of Antipater's mother, who were taken up a little

before Antipater's coming, and brought with them a written letter, the sum of which was this: That he should not come back, because all was come to his father's knowledge; and that Caesar was the only refuge he had left to prevent both his and her delivery into his father's hands. Then did Antipater fall down at his father's feet, and besought him not to prejudge his cause, but that he might be first heard by his father, and that his father would keep himself unprejudiced. So Herod ordered him to be brought into the midst, and then lamented himself about his children, from whom he had suffered such great misfortunes; and because Antipater fell upon him in his old age. He also reckoned up what maintenance and what education he had given them; and what seasonable supplies of wealth he had afforded them, according to their own desires; none of which favors had hindered them from contriving against him, and from bringing his very life into danger, in order to gain his kingdom, after an impious manner, by taking away his life before the course of nature, their father's wishes, or justice required that that kingdom should come to them; and that he wondered what hopes could elevate Antipater to such a pass as to be hardy enough to attempt such things; that he had by his testament in writing declared him his successor in the government; and while he was alive, he was in no respect inferior to him, either in his illustrious dignity, or in power and authority, he having no less than fifty talents for his yearly income, and had received for his journey to Rome no fewer than thirty talents. He also objected to him the case of his brethren whom he had accused; and if they were guilty, he had imitated their example; and if not, he had brought him groundless accusations against his near relations; for that he had been acquainted with all those things by him, and by nobody else, and had done what was done by his approbation, and whom he now absolved from all that was criminal, by becoming the inheritor of the guilt of such their parricide.

(4) [99] Ταῦθ' ἅμα λέγων εἰς δάκρυα τρέπεται λέγειν τε ἄπορος ἦν. καὶ Νικόλαος ὁ Δαμασκηνός, φίλος τε ὢν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὰ πάντα συνδιαιτώμενος ἐκείνῳ καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὃν πραχθεῖεν τρόπον παρατετευχώς, δεηθέντι τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ λοιπὰ εἰπεῖν ὁπόσα ἀποδείξεών τε καὶ ἐλέγχων ἐχόμενα ἦν. [100] καὶ τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου κατὰ δικαιολογίαν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τετραμμένου καὶ ὁπόσα παραδείγματα τῆς εὐνοίας πρὸς αὐτὸν διεξιόντος, τὰς τιμὰς αἳ ὑπῆρχον αὐτῷ προφερόμενος, ἃς μὴ ἄν ποτε γενέσθαι μὴ οὐκ ἀρετῆς ἀξίῳ περὶ αὐτὸν γεγονότι: [101] καὶ γὰρ ὁπόσα προιδεῖν δεήσειε πάντων προβεβουλευκέναι σωφρόνως, εἴ τέ τινα ἐδεῖτο χειρῶν, πόνῳ τῷ αὐτοῦ ἐκπεπρᾶχθαι τὰ πάντα, εἰκός τε οὐκ εἶναι τῶν ἀλλαχόθεν ἐπιβουλῶν τὸν πατέρα ἐξελόμενον αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλευτὴν καταστῆναι ἀφανίζοντα ἀρετήν, ἣ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἐμαρτυρεῖτο αὐτῷ, κακίᾳ τῇ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε

μελλούσῃ συνεῖναι. [102] καίτοι γε τοῦ μέλλοντος διάδοχον προαποδεδεῖχθαι καὶ τοῦ συναπολαυσομένου τιμῶν, αἳ εἰς τὸ παρὸν περιῆσαν, οὐκ ἐπικεκωλῦσθαι: εἰκός τε οὐκ εἶναι τὸν ἁπάντων ἀκινδύνως καὶ μετ᾽ ἀρετῆς ἔχοντα τὴν ἡμίσειαν μετὰ ψόγων καὶ κινδύνου ἐφίεσθαι τοῦ ὅλου ἄδηλον εἰ δυναμένου περιγενέσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα τεθεαμένον τὴν ζημίαν τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ μηνυτὴν μὲν καὶ κατηγορητὴν γενόμενον λανθάνειν δυναμένων, κολαστὴν δ᾽ ἐπεὶ φανεροὶ κατέστησαν πονηροὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ὄντες. [103] καὶ τάδε μὲν αὐτῷ τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἠγωνισμένων παραδείγματα εἶναι τῶν ἀκράτῳ εὐνοίᾳ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα πεπολιτευμένων: τῶν δ᾽ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης μάρτυρα εἶναι Καίσαρα ἐπίσης τῷ θεῷ ἀπατηθῆναι μὴ οἷόν τε ὄντα. [104] ὧν πίστιν εἶναι τὰ ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου γράμματα ἐπεσταλμένα, ὧν οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν ἰσχυροτέρας εἶναι τὰς διαβολὰς τῶν στασιάζειν αὐτοὺς προθεμένων τὰς πλείους ἀποδημίᾳ τῇ αὐτοῦ συντεθῆναι σχολῆς τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐγγενομένης, ἣν οὐκ ἂν αὐτοῖς ἐπιδημοῦντος παραγενέσθαι. [105] διαβάλλοντος δὲ καὶ τὰς βασάνους εἰς ψευδολογίαν, ὡς τῆς ἀνάγκης φύσιν ἐχούσης διδάσκειν τοὺς ὑποπεσόντας τὰ πολλὰ ἡδονῇ τῶν ἐφεστηκότων λέγειν,

4. When Herod had thus spoken, he fell a weeping, and was not able to say any more; but at his desire Nicolaus of Damascus, being the king’s friend, and always conversant with him, and acquainted with whatsoever he did, and with the circumstances of his affairs, proceeded to what remained, and explained all that concerned the demonstrations and evidences of the facts. Upon which Antipater, in order to make his legal defense, turned himself to his father, and enlarged upon the many indications he had given of his good-will to him; and instanced in the honors that had been done him, which yet had not been done, had he not deserved them by his virtuous concern about him; for that he had made provision for every thing that was fit to be foreseen beforehand, as to giving him his wisest advice; and whenever there was occasion for the labor of his own hands, he had not grudged any such pains for him. And that it was almost impossible that he, who had delivered his father from so many treacherous contrivances laid against him, should be himself in a plot against him, and so lose all the reputation he had gained for his virtue, by his wickedness which succeeded it; and this while he had nothing to prohibit him, who was already appointed his successor, to enjoy the royal honor with his father also at present; and that there was no likelihood that a person who had the one half of that authority without any danger, and with a good character, should hunt after the whole with infamy and danger, and this when it was doubtful whether he could obtain it or not; and when he saw the sad example of his brethren before him, and was both the informer and the accuser against them, at a time when they might not otherwise have been discovered; nay, was the author

of the punishment inflicted upon them, when it appeared evidently that they were guilty of a wicked attempt against their father; and that even the contentions there were in the king's family were indications that he had ever managed affairs out of the sincerest affection to his father. And as to what he had done at Rome, Caesar was a witness thereto, who yet was no more to be imposed upon than God himself; of whose opinions his letters sent hither are sufficient evidence; and that it was not reasonable to prefer the calumnies of such as proposed to raise disturbances before those letters; the greatest part of which calumnies had been raised during his absence, which gave scope to his enemies to forge them, which they had not been able to do if he had been there. Moreover he showed the weakness of the evidence obtained by torture, which was commonly false, because the distress men are in under such tortures naturally obliges them to say many things in order to please those that govern them. He also offered himself to the torture.

(5) [106] καὶ παρέχοντος αὐτὸν εἰς βάσανον, ἐπὶ τούτοις τροπῆς τοῦ συνεδρίου γενομένης, σφόδρα γὰρ ᾤκτειραν τὸν Ἀντίπατρον δάκρυσίν τε καὶ αἰκίαις τοῦ προσώπου χρώμενον, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς δι᾽ οἴκτου καταστῆναι φανερὸν δὲ ἤδη καὶ Ἡρώδην εἶναι καμπτόμενόν τι τῇ γνώμῃ καίπερ μὴ βουλόμενον ἔκδηλον εἶναι, Νικόλαος ἀρξάμενος οἷς τε ὁ βασιλεὺς κατήρξατο λόγοις παλιλλογεῖ μειζόνως ἐκδεινῶν καὶ ὁπόσα ἐκ βασάνων ἢ μαρτυριῶν συνῆγεν τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ ἐγκλήματος. [107] μάλιστα δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιπολὺ ἐξηγεῖτο τοῦ βασιλέως, ᾗ περί τε τροφὰς καὶ παιδεύματα χρησάμενος τῶν υἱέων οὐδαμόθεν εὕροιτο ὀνησιφόρον αὐτὴν περιπταίων ἑτέροις ἀφ᾽ ἑτέρων. [108] καίτοι γε οὐχ οὕτως θαυμάζειν τῶν προτέρων τὴν ἀβουλίαν, νεωτέρους γὰρ καὶ κακίᾳ συμβούλων διεφθαρμένους ἀπαλεῖψαι τὰ τῆς φύσεως δικαιώματα ἀρχῆς θᾶσσον ἢ χρῆν μεταποιεῖσθαι σπουδάσαντας, [109] Ἀντιπάτρου δ᾽ ἂν δικαίως τὴν μανίαν καταπλαγῆναι μὴ μόνον οἷς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς εὐεργετηθείη τὸν λογισμὸν ὥσπερ τὰ ἰοβολώτατα τῶν ἑρπετῶν μὴ μαλαχθέντος, καίτοι γε κἀκείνοις τινὸς ἐγγινομένης μαλακίας τοῦ ἀδικεῖν τοὺς εὐεργέτας, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τὰς τύχας τῶν ἀδελφῶν πρὸς τὸ οὐ μιμητὴν αὐτῶν καταστῆναι τῆς ὠμότητος ἐμποδὼν στάντος. [110] καίτοι γε, ὦ Ἀντίπατρε, τῶν ἀδελφῶν μηνυτής τε ὢν τολμήσειαν αὐτὸς ἦς καὶ ἐρευνητὴς τῶν ἐλέγχων καὶ κολαστὴς πεφωραμένων. καὶ οὐ τοῦ ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνοις ἐγκαλοῦμεν θυμῷ χρῆσθαι μὴ ἐλλιπόντος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μιμεῖσθαι τὴν ἀσέλγειαν αὐτῶν σπουδάσαντος ἐκπεπλήγμεθα, εὑρίσκοντες κἀκεῖνά σοι οὐκ ἐπ᾽ ἀσφαλείᾳ τοῦ πατρός, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ὀλέθρῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν πεπραγμένα, ὅπως μισοπονηρίᾳ τῇ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν φιλοπάτωρ εἶναι πεπιστευμένος ἀδεεστέραν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ κακουργεῖν παραλάβοις δύναμιν, ὃ δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις παρέστησας. [111] ἅμα γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἀνῄρεις ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἤλεγχες πονηροὺς γεγονότας καὶ τοὺς

ὁμοπραγήσαντας αὐτοῖς οὐχ ὑπεδίδους, φανερὸν τοῖς πᾶσιν καθιστάς, ὡς καὶ συνθήκην πρὸς αὐτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ποιησάμενος ἐπανείλω κατηγορεῖν, [112] βουλόμενος σοὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τῆς πατροκτονίας κερδαίνεσθαι καταμόνας καὶ δυοῖν ἀγώνοιν εὐφροσύνην καρπούμενος τρόπου τοῦ σοῦ ἀξίαν, φανεροῦ μὲν τοῦ κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ᾧ καὶ ἠγάλλου ὡς ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις, καὶ ἦν ἄξιον οὕτως φρονεῖν, [113] εἰ δὲ μήγε σὺ χείρων ἦς, κρυπτοῦ δέ, ὃν κατὰ τοῦ πατρὸς συντιθεὶς ἐκείνους μὲν οὐχ ὡς τῷ πατρὶ ἐπιβεβουλευκότας μισῶν, οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐξώκειλας αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ πρᾶξιν παραπλησίαν, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς διαδόχους τῆς ἡγεμονίας σου δικαιότερον ἂν γενομένους, τὸν δὲ πατέρα ἐπισφάζειν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, [114] ἵνα θᾶσσον ὡς ἐκείνων τε ἐπικαταψεύσαιο μὴ ἐλεγχθῇς καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς δίκας παρασχεῖν ἄξιος γένοιο ταύτην παρὰ τοῦ δυστυχοῦς εἰσπράξαιο πατρός, ἐπινοῶν πατροκτονίαν οὐ κοινήν, ἀλλ᾽ οἵαν μέχρι νῦν οὐχ ἱστόρησεν ὁ βίος. [115] οὐχ υἱὸς γὰρ μόνον πατρὶ ἐπεβούλευες, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλοῦντι καὶ εὐεργετηκότι, κοινωνὸς τῆς βασιλείας ὢν τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ διάδοχος προφανθεὶς καὶ τὴν μὲν ἡδονὴν τῆς ἐξουσίας ἤδη προλαμβάνειν μὴ ἐπικεκωλυμένος, ἐλπίδα δὲ τὴν εἰσαῦθις γνώμῃ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ γράμμασιν προησφαλισμένος. [116] ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἄρα τῇ Ἡρώδου ἀρετῇ τὰ πράγματα, γνώμῃ δὲ καὶ πονηρίᾳ ἔκρινες τῇ σεαυτοῦ, βουλόμενος τοῦ πάντων σοι ὑπακούσαντος πατρὸς καὶ τὸ μέρος ἀφαιρεῖσθαι καὶ ὃν προσεποιοῦ τοῖς λόγοις σώζειν τοῖς ἔργοις τοῦτον ἀφανίσαι ζητῶν, [117] καὶ μὴ μόνον αὐτὸς πονηρὸς καθιστάμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν μητέρα ὧν ἐπενόεις πιμπλὰς καὶ στασιοποιῶν τὴν εὔνοιαν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ τολμῶν θηρίον ἀποκαλεῖν τὸν πατέρα, παντὸς ἑρπετοῦ χαλεπωτέραν τὴν διάνοιαν κατεσκευασμένος, ᾗ τὸν ἐκείνων ἰὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς συγγενεστάτους καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοσούτοις εὐεργέτας παρεκάλεις ἐπὶ συμμαχίαις φυλάκων καὶ τέχναις ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν φρασσόμενος κατὰ τοῦ γέροντος, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἀρκούσης τῆς διανοίας μῖσος τὸ ὑποικουροῦν παραστῆσαι. [118] καὶ νῦν ἐλήλυθας μετὰ βασάνους ἐλευθέρων οἰκετῶν ἀνδράσι γυναιξὶν διὰ σὲ γεγονυίας μηνύσεις τῶν συνωμοτῶν ἀντιλογεῖν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ σπεύδων, καὶ μονονουχὶ τὸν πατέρα ἀναιρεῖν μεμελετηκὼς ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου, ἀλλ᾽ ἤδη καὶ νόμον τὸν κατὰ σοῦ γεγραμμένον καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τὴν Οὐάρου καὶ τοῦ δικαίου τὴν φύσιν, [119] οὕτως ἄρα τῇ ἀναιδείᾳ πέποιθας, ὥστε καὶ βασανίζεσθαι ἀξιοῖς, καὶ ψευδεῖς λέγων τὰς βασάνους τῶν προβεβασανισμένων, ἵν᾽ οἱ μὲν ῥυόμενοί σου τὸν πατέρα ἐκκρουσθῶσιν τοῦ ἠληθευκέναι, αἱ δὲ σαὶ βάσανοι δοκῶσι πισταί; [120] οὐ ῥύσῃ Οὔαρε τὸν βασιλέα τῆς ἐπηρείας τῶν συγγενῶν; οὐδὲ πονηρὸν θηρίον, ἐπ᾽ ὀλέθρῳ μὲν τῶν ἀδελφῶν εὔνοιαν προσποιούμενον τοῦ πατρός, ἔνθα δὲ μέλλοι καταμόνας ταχέως ἀποίσεσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν πάντων αὐτῷ θανασιμώτατον ἀναφαινόμενον; γνοὺς ὅτι πατροκτονία κοινόν ἐστιν ἀδίκημα καὶ τῆς φύσεως καὶ τοῦ βίου τὴν πεφηνυῖαν ὡς οὐδὲν ἠσσόνως τοῦ βεβουλευμένου καὶ ὁ μὴ κολάζων ἀδικεῖ τὴν φύσιν.”

5. Hereupon there was a change observed in the assembly, while they greatly pitied Antipater, who by weeping and putting on a countenance suitable to his sad case made them commiserate the same, insomuch that his very enemies were moved to compassion; and it appeared plainly that Herod himself was affected in his own mind, although he was not willing it should be taken notice of. Then did Nicolaus begin to prosecute what the king had begun, and that with great bitterness; and summed up all the evidence which arose from the tortures, or from the testimonies. He principally and largely cried up the king's virtues, which he had exhibited in the maintenance and education of his sons; while he never could gain any advantage thereby, but still fell from one misfortune to another. Although he owned that he was not so much surprised with that thoughtless behavior of his former sons, who were but young, and were besides corrupted by wicked counselors, who were the occasion of their wiping out of their minds the righteous dictates of nature, and this out of a desire of coming to the government sooner than they ought to do; yet that he could not but justly stand amazed at the horrid wickedness of Antipater, who, although he had not only had great benefits bestowed on him by his father, enough to tame his reason, yet could not be more tamed than the most envenomed serpents; whereas even those creatures admit of some mitigation, and will not bite their benefactors, while Antipater hath not let the misfortunes of his brethren be any hinderance to him, but he hath gone on to imitate their barbarity notwithstanding. "Yet wast thou, O Antipater! [as thou hast thyself confessed,] the informer as to what wicked actions they had done, and the searcher out of the evidence against them, and the author of the punishment they underwent upon their detection. Nor do we say this as accusing thee for being so zealous in thy anger against them, but are astonished at thy endeavors to imitate their profligate behavior; and we discover thereby that thou didst not act thus for the safety of thy father, but for the destruction of thy brethren, that by such outside hatred of their impiety thou mightest be believed a lover of thy father, and mightest thereby get thee power enough to do mischief with the greatest impunity; which design thy actions indeed demonstrate. It is true, thou tookest thy brethren off, because thou didst convict theft of their wicked designs; but thou didst not yield up to justice those who were their partners; and thereby didst make it evident to all men that thou madest a covenant with them against thy father, when thou chosest to be the accuser of thy brethren, as desirous to gain to thyself alone this advantage of laying plots to kill thy father, and so to enjoy double pleasure, which is truly worthy of thy evil disposition, which thou has openly showed against thy brethren; on which account thou didst rejoice, as having done a most famous exploit, nor was that behavior unworthy of thee. But if thy intention

were otherwise, thou art worse than they: while thou didst contrive to hide thy treachery against thy father, thou didst hate them, not as plotters against thy father, for in that case thou hadst not thyself fallen upon the like crime, but as successors of his dominions, and more worthy of that succession than thyself. Thou wouldst kill thy father after thy brethren, lest thy lies raised against them might be detected; and lest thou shouldst suffer what punishment thou hadst deserved, thou hadst a mind to exact that punishment of thy unhappy father, and didst devise such a sort of uncommon parricide as the world never yet saw. For thou who art his son didst not only lay a treacherous design against thy father, and didst it while he loved thee, and had been thy benefactor, had made thee in reality his partner in the kingdom, and had openly declared thee his successor, while thou wast not forbidden to taste the sweetness of authority already, and hadst the firm hope of what was future by thy father's determination, and the security of a written testament; but, for certain, thou didst not measure these things according to thy father's various disposition, but according to thy own thoughts and inclinations; and was desirous to take the part that remained away from thy too indulgent father, and soughtest to destroy him with thy deeds, whom thou in words pretendedst to preserve. Nor wast thou content to be wicked thyself, but thou filledst thy mother's head with thy devices, and raised disturbances among thy brethren, and hadst the boldness to call thy father a wild beast; while thou hadst thyself a mind more cruel than any serpent, whence thou sentest out that poison among thy nearest kindred and greatest benefactors, and invitedst them to assist thee and guard thee, and didst hedge thyself in on all sides, by the artifices of both men and women, against an old man, as though that mind of thine was not sufficient of itself to support so great a hatred as thou baredst to him. And here thou appearest, after the tortures of free-men, of domestics, of men and women, which have been examined on thy account, and after the informations of thy fellow conspirators, as making haste to contradict the truth; and hast thought on ways not only how to take thy father out of the world, but to disannul that written law which is against thee, and the virtue of Varus, and the nature of justice; nay, such is that impudence of thine on which thou confidest, that thou desirest to be put to the torture thyself, while thou allegest that the tortures of those already examined thereby have made them tell lies; that those that have been the deliverers of thy father may not be allowed to have spoken the truth; but that thy tortures may be esteemed the discoverers of truth. Wilt not thou, O Varus! deliver the king from the injuries of his kindred? Wilt not thou destroy this wicked wild beast, which hath pretended kindness to his father, in order to destroy his brethren; while yet he is himself alone ready to carry off the kingdom immediately, and appears to be the most bloody butcher to

him of them all? for thou art sensible that parricide is a general injury both to nature and to common life, and that the intention of parricide is not inferior to its perpetration; and he who does not punish it is injurious to nature itself."

(6) [121] Προσετίθει δὲ ἤδη τὰ τῆς μητρὸς Ἀντιπάτρου ὁπόσα πρός τινας ἦν κουφολογίᾳ γυναικείῳ εἰρημένα, μαντείας τε καὶ θυσίας ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ γεγονυίας καὶ ὁπόσα μετὰ τῶν Φερώρου γυναικῶν Ἀντιπάτρῳ ἠσέλγητο μετὰ οἴνου καὶ λύμης ἐρωτικῆς, τῶν τε βασάνων ἀνακρίσεις καὶ ὁπόσα μαρτυριῶν ἐχόμενα: πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παντοῖα ἦν τὰ μὲν προητοιμασμένα, τὰ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ὀξέως ἀπαγγέλλεσθαί τε καὶ βεβαιοῦσθαι ἐφευρημένα: [122] οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι κἂν εἴ τι κατὰ φόβον τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου, μὴ διαδρὰς ἀμύνοιτο αὐτούς, σιγῇ παρεδίδοσαν, ὁρῶντες αὐτὸν ἐπιβατὸν ταῖς κατηγορίαις τῶν ἀρξάντων γεγονότα καὶ τὴν ποτὲ πολλὴν αὐτῷ συστᾶσαν τύχην προφανῶς αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς παραδεδωκυῖαν, οἳ καὶ ἁπλήστως μίσους τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνεφοροῦντο: [123] κατέσπευδε δὲ τότε οὔτι τῇ ἔχθρᾳ τῶν ἐπικεχειρηκότων κατηγορεῖν, ὡς μεγέθει τόλμης ὧν ἐπενόησεν κακιῶν καὶ δυσμενείας τῆς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς, στάσεως καὶ ἀλληλοφθοριῶν ἀναπεπληκὼς τὸν οἶκον καὶ μήτε μίσει κατὰ δίκην μήτε φιλίᾳ δι' εὔνοιαν χρώμενος, ἀλλ' ὡς μελλήσοι αὐτῷ συμφέρειν: [124] ὧν ἁπάντων ἐκ πλέονος αὐτοῖς οἱ πολλοὶ προανεσκοπημένων, οἵπερ δὴ μάλιστα ἀρετῇ κρίνειν πεφύκασιν ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν διὰ τὸ καὶ ὀργῆς ἀπηλλαγμένως ἐπιψηφίζειν τοῖς γινομένοις, καταβοὰς ἐν τοῖς πρὶν εἰρχθέντες ποιεῖσθαι παραγενομένης ἀδείας ἐξέφερον εἰς μέσον ὁπόσα εἰδεῖεν. [125] πολύτροποί τε κακιῶν ἀποδείξεις ἦσαν οὐδαμόθεν ψεύδους αἰτίαν ἐγκαλεῖσθαι δυνάμεναι διὰ τὸ μήτ' εὐνοίᾳ τῇ πρὸς Ἡρώδην λέγειν τοὺς πολλοὺς μήτε ὑποψίᾳ κινδύνων σιγῆς ἐφ' οἷς ἔχοιεν εἰπεῖν ἐγκαλουμένης, ἀλλὰ τῷ πονηρά τε ἡγεῖσθαι τὰ πράγματα, καὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον οὐκ ἀσφαλείᾳ τῇ Ἡρώδου, πονηρίᾳ δὲ τῇ αὐτοῦ πάσης ἄξιον τιμωρίας. [126] πολλά τε ἦν καὶ παρὰ πολλῶν οἷς μὴ παρήγγελτο εἰπεῖν ἀγορευόμενα, ὥστε τὸν Ἀντίπατρον καίπερ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον πάντα δεινότατον ὄντα ψεύσασθαι καὶ ἀπερυθριάσαι μηδὲ ὅσον ἀπὸ φωνῆς ἐπ' ἀντιλέξει τὴν ἰσχὺν εἰσφέρεσθαι. [127] Νικολάου τε παυσαμένου τῶν τε λόγων καὶ τῶν ἐλέγχων Οὔαρος ἐκέλευσεν Ἀντίπατρον ἐπ' ἀπολογίᾳ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων χωρεῖν, εἴ τινες αὐτῷ παρασκευαὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐνόχῳ τοῖς ἐπιφερομένοις εἶναι, καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς εὔχεσθαι τὸν πατέρα εἰδέναι τῶν ὁμοίων εὐχόμενον μηδὲν αὐτὸν ἀδικοῦντα φωρᾶν. [128] ὁ δ' ἐπὶ στόμα ἔκειτο ἀνατετραμμένος τε τῷ θεῷ καὶ πᾶσι προτιθεὶς τὸ ἐπιμαρτυρῆσον αὐτῷ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν, ἢ τεκμηρίοις ἐμφανέσι παραστῆσαι μὴ οὐκ ἐπίβουλον αὐτὸν τοῦ πατρὸς γεγονέναι, [129] εἰωθότες μὲν καὶ πάντες οἷς ἐπιλείπει ἀρετῆς, ὁπότε μὲν ἐγχειρηταί τινα κακῶν εἶεν τοῦ θείου τὸ πᾶσιν παρατυγχάνειν ἀφορίσαντες γνώμῃ τῇ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα χωρεῖν, ὁπότε δὲ φωρώμενοι κινδυνεύοιεν δίκην ὑποσχεῖν, κατ' ἐπίκλησιν αὐτοῦ μαρτυρῶν τὰ πάντα

ἐκτρέπειν. [130] ὃ δὴ καὶ τῷ Ἀντιπάτρῳ συμβεβήκει: τὰ πάντα γὰρ ὡς ἐν ἐρημίᾳ τοῦ θείου διαπεπραγμένος, κατειργούσης αὐτὸν πανταχόθεν τῆς δίκης ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἀλλαχόθεν δικαιωμάτων, οἷς ἀπολύσαιτο τὰ ἐγκεκλημένα, αὖθις ἐνεπαροίνει τῇ ἀρετῇ τοῦ θείου, μαρτυρίαν ἐπισκήπτων αὐτῷ περὶ ἰσχύι τῇ ἐκείνου περιτο ἕως εἰς μέσους παραγαγόντος ὁπόσα ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ πράσσειν τολμᾶν οὐκ ἐνέλιπεν.

6. Nicolaus added further what belonged to Antipater's mother, and whatsoever she had prattled like a woman; as also about the predictions and the sacrifices relating to the king; and whatsoever Antipater had done lasciviously in his cups and his amours among Pheroras's women; the examination upon torture; and whatsoever concerned the testimonies of the witnesses, which were many, and of various kinds; some prepared beforehand, and others were sudden answers, which further declared and confirmed the foregoing evidence. For those men who were not acquainted with Antipater's practices, but had concealed them out of fear, when they saw that he was exposed to the accusations of the former witnesses, and that his great good fortune, which had supported him hitherto, had now evidently betrayed him into the hands of his enemies, who were now insatiable in their hatred to him, told all they knew of him. And his ruin was now hastened, not so much by the enmity of those that were his accusers, as by his gross, and impudent, and wicked contrivances, and by his ill-will to his father and his brethren; while he had filled their house with disturbance, and caused them to murder one another; and was neither fair in his hatred, nor kind in his friendship, but just so far as served his own turn. Now there were a great number who for a long time beforehand had seen all this, and especially such as were naturally disposed to judge of matters by the rules of virtue, because they were used to determine about affairs without passion, but had been restrained from making any open complaints before; these, upon the leave now given them, produced all that they knew before the public. The demonstrations also of these wicked facts could no way be disproved, because the many witnesses there were did neither speak out of favor to Herod, nor were they obliged to keep what they had to say silent, out of suspicion of any danger they were in; but they spake what they knew, because they thought such actions very wicked, and that Antipater deserved the greatest punishment; and indeed not so much for Herod's safety, as on account of the man's own wickedness. Many things were also said, and those by a great number of persons, who were no way obliged to say them, insomuch that Antipater, who used generally to be very shrewd in his lies and impudence, was not able to say one word to the contrary. When Nicolaus had left off speaking, and had produced the evidence, Varus bid Antipater to betake

himself to the making his defense, if he had prepared any thing whereby it might appear that he was not guilty of the crimes he was accused of; for that, as he was himself desirous, so did he know that his father was in like manner desirous also, to have him found entirely innocent. But Antipater fell down on his face, and appealed to God and to all men for testimonials of his innocency, desiring that God would declare, by some evident signals, that he had not laid any plot against his father. This being the usual method of all men destitute of virtue, that when they set about any wicked undertakings, they fall to work according to their own inclinations, as if they believed that God was unconcerned in human affairs; but when once they are found out, and are in danger of undergoing the punishment due to their crimes, they endeavor to overthrow all the evidence against them by appealing to God; which was the very thing which Antipater now did; for whereas he had done everything as if there were no God in the world, when he was on all sides distressed by justice, and when he had no other advantage to expect from any legal proofs, by which he might disprove the accusations laid against him, he impudently abused the majesty of God, and ascribed it to his power that he had been preserved hitherto; and produced before them all what difficulties he had ever undergone in his bold acting for his father's preservation.

(7) [131] Ὁ δὲ Οὔαρος ἐπειδὴ πολλάκις ἀνακρίνων τὸν Ἀντίπατρον οὐδὲν εὑρίσκετο πλέον τῆς ἀνακλήσεως τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁρῶν ἀπέραντον ὂν τὸ γινόμενον ἐκέλευσε τὸ φάρμακον εἰς μέσους ἐνεγκεῖν, ἵν' εἰδῇ τὴν περιοῦσαν αὐτῷ δύναμιν. [132] καὶ κομισθέντος τῶν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ τις ἐαλωκότων πίνει κελεύσαντος Οὐάρου καὶ παραχρῆμα ἔθανεν. τότε δὲ ἐξαναστὰς ἀπῄει τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ τῇ ἑξῆς ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας, ᾗπερ δὴ καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἦσαν αὐτῷ διατριβαὶ διὰ τὸ Σύροις τοῦτο βασίλειον εἶναι. Ἡρώδης δὲ παραχρῆμα μὲν ἔδησε τὸν υἱόν. [133] ἄδηλοι δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἦσαν αἱ Οὐάρου πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁμιλίαι καὶ τί εἰπὼν ἀπεληλύθει. εἰκάζετο δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς γνώμῃ τῇ ἐκείνου πράσσειν ὁπόσα περὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ἔπραξεν. δήσας δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς Ῥώμην ὡς Καίσαρα ἐκπέμπει γράμματα περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ γλώσσης διδάξοντας τὸν Καίσαρα τὴν κακίαν τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ Κωπωνίου γνώμη τὴν Καίσαρος. [134] ἁλίσκεται δὲ ὑπὸ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας καὶ ἐπιστολὴ ὑπὸ Ἀντιφίλου πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον γεγραμμένη, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ αὐτὸς διέτριβεν, καὶ λυθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τάδε ἐδήλου: "ἔπεμψά σοι τὴν παρ' Ἀκμῆς ἐπιστολὴν μὴ φεισάμενος τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς: οἶσθα γὰρ, ὅτι αὖθις κινδυνεύω ὑπὸ δύο οἰκιῶν, εἰ γνωσθείην. [135] σὺ δ' εὐτυχοίης περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα." καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐπιστολὴ τάδε ἐδήλου. ἐζήτει δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὴν ἑτέραν ἐπιστολήν, οὐ μὴν φανερά γε ἦν, καὶ τοῦ Ἀντιφίλου δοῦλος ὃς τὴν ἀναγνωσθεῖσαν ἔφερεν ἠρνεῖτο ἑτέραν παραλαβεῖν. [136] ἀπορίας οὖν ἐχούσης τὸν βασιλέα τῶν φίλων τις τῶν τοῦ Ἡρώδου θεώμενος ὑπερραμμένον τοῦ δούλου τὸν ἐντὸς χιτῶνα,

ἐνεδεδύκει γὰρ δύο, εἴκασεν ἐντὸς τῆς ἐπιπτυχῆς κρύπτεσθαι τὰ γράμματα: καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως. [137] λαμβάνουσιν οὖν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐγγεγραμμένα τε ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ τάδε: "Ἀκμὴ Ἀντιπάτρῳ. ἔγραψα τῷ πατρί σου οἵαν ἤθελες ἐπιστολὴν καὶ ἀντίγραφον ποιήσασα τῇ πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν κυρίαν ὡς παρὰ Σαλώμης ἔγραψα, ἣν ἀναγνοὺς οἶδ' ὅτι τιμω [138] ρήσεται Σαλώμην ὡς ἐπίβουλον." ἦν δὲ ἡ παρὰ τῆς Σαλώμης δοκοῦσα εἶναι πρὸς τὴν δέσποιναν αὐτῆς ὑπ' Ἀντιπάτρου ἐπ' ὀνόματι τῷ Σαλώμης ὅσα γοῦν ἡ διάνοια θέλοι ὑπηγορευμένη, λέξει δὲ συνέκειτο αὐτῆς. [139] τὰ δὲ γεγραμμένα ἦν τοιάδε: "Ἀκμὴ βασιλεῖ Ἡρώδῃ. ἐγὼ ἔργον ποιουμένη μηδέν σε λανθάνειν τῶν κατὰ σοῦ γινομένων, εὑροῦσα ἐπιστολὴν Σαλώμης πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν κυρίαν κατὰ σοῦ γεγραμμένην ἐπικινδύνως ἐμαυτῇ σοὶ δὲ ὠφελίμως ἐξεγραψάμην καὶ ἀπέστειλά σοι. ταύτην δὲ ἐκείνη ἔγραψεν γήμασθαι θέλουσα Συλλαίῳ. κατάσχισον οὖν τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ἵνα μὴ κἀγὼ τῷ ζῆν κιν [140] δυνεύσω." πρὸς δὲ αὐτὸν ἐγέγραπτο Ἀντίπατρον διασαφούσης, ὅτι διακονουμένη κελεύσματι τῷ ἐκείνου αὐτή τε γράψειε πρὸς Ἡρώδην, ὡς Σαλώμης ἐπιβούλως αὐτῷ πράσσειν ἐπειγομένης τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἀντίγραφον τῆς ὡς πρὸς δέσποιναν τὴν αὐτῆς πεμφθείσης ἐπιστολῆς ὑπὸ Σαλώμης ἀποπέμψειεν αὐτῷ. [141] ἦν δὲ ἡ Ἀκμὴ Ἰουδαία μὲν τὸ γένος, ἐδούλευε δὲ Ἰουλίᾳ τῇ Καίσαρος γυναικὶ καὶ ἔπρασσε ταῦτα φιλίᾳ τῇ Ἀντιπάτρου ὠνηθεῖσα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μεγάλῃ δόσει χρημάτων συγκακουργεῖν κατά τε τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κατὰ τῆς τηθίδος.

7. So when Varus, upon asking Antipater what he had to say for himself, found that he had nothing to say besides his appeal to God, and saw that there was no end of that, he bid them bring the potion before the court, that he might see what virtue still remained in it; and when it was brought, and one that was condemned to die had drank it by Varus's command, he died presently. Then Varus got up, and departed out of the court, and went away the day following to Antioch, where his usual residence was, because that was the palace of the Syrians; upon which Herod laid his son in bonds. But what were Varus's discourses to Herod was not known to the generality, and upon what words it was that he went away; though it was also generally supposed that whatsoever Herod did afterward about his son was done with his approbation. But when Herod had bound his son, he sent letters to Rome to Caesar about him, and such messengers withal as should, by word of mouth, inform Caesar of Antipater's wickedness. Now at this very time there was seized a letter of Antiphilus, written to Antipater out of Egypt [for he lived there]; and when it was opened by the king, it was found to contain what follows: "I have sent thee Acme's letter, and hazarded my own life; for thou knowest that I am in danger from two families, if I be discovered. I wish thee good success in thy affair." These were the contents of this letter; but the king made inquiry about the other letter also, for it did not appear; and

Antiphilus's slave, who brought that letter which had been read, denied that he had received the other. But while the king was in doubt about it, one of Herod's friends seeing a seam upon the inner coat of the slave, and a doubling of the cloth, [for he had two coats on,] he guessed that the letter might be within that doubling; which accordingly proved to be true. So they took out the letter, and its contents were these: "Acme to Antipater. I have written such a letter to thy father as thou desiredst me. I have also taken a copy and sent it, as if it came from Salome, to my lady [Livia]; which, when thou readest, I know that Herod Will punish Salome, as plotting against him?' Now this pretended letter of Salome to her lady was composed by Antipater, in the name of Salome, as to its meaning, but in the words of Acme. The letter was this: 'Acme to king Herod. I have done my endeavor that nothing that is done against thee should be concealed from thee. So, upon my finding a letter of Salome written to my lady against thee, I have written out a copy, and sent it to thee; with hazard to myself, but for thy advantage.' The reason why she wrote it was this, that she had a mind to be married to Sylleus. Do thou therefore tear this letter in pieces, that I may not come into danger of my life." Now Acme had written to Antipater himself, and informed him, that, in compliance with his command, she had both herself written to Herod, as if Salome had laid a sudden plot entirely against him, and had herself sent a copy of an epistle, as coming from Salome to her lady. Now Acme was a Jew by birth, and a servant to Julia, Caesar's wife; and did this out of her friendship for Antipater, as having been corrupted by him with a large present of money, to assist in his pernicious designs against his father and his aunt.

(8) [142] Ἡρώδης δὲ ἐκπλαγεὶς μεγέθει τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου κακίας ὥρμησεν μὲν καὶ παραχρῆμα αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν ὡς κύκηθρον μεγάλων γεγονότα πραγμάτων καὶ μὴ μόνον αὐτῷ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ ἐπιβεβουλευκότα καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος διεφθαρκότα τὴν οἰκίαν, ἐξώτρυνεν δ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἡ Σαλώμη στερνοτυπουμένη καὶ κτείνειν αὐτὴν κελεύουσα, εἴ τινος ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε πίστεως αἰτίαν ἀξιόχρεων οἵα τε παρασχεῖν γένοιτο. [143] Ἡρώδης δὲ μεταπέμψας ἀνέκρινεν τὸν υἱὸν κελεύων εἴ τι ἀντειπεῖν ἔχοι λέγειν μηδὲν ὑπιδόμενον, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀχανὴς ἦν, ἤρετο αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ πάντα πανταχοῦ πεφώραται πονηρὸς ὤν, τοὺς γοῦν συγκακουργήσαντας αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα μὴ μελλῆσαι κατειπεῖν. [144] ὁ δὲ Ἀντιφίλῳ τὴν πάντων αἰτίαν ἀνετίθει, ἕτερον δ' οὐδένα προυτίθει. Ἡρώδης δὲ περιαλγῶν ὥρμησεν μὲν πέμπειν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης τὸν υἱὸν ὡς Καίσαρα λόγον ὑφέξοντα τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε βουλευμάτων, [145] ἔπειτα δείσας, μὴ καὶ βοηθείᾳ φίλων εὑρίσκοιτο τοῦ κινδύνου διαφυγάς, αὐτὸν μὲν δέσμιον ὡς καὶ πρότερον

ἐφύλασσεν, αὖθις δὲ πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμπε καὶ γράμματα ἐπὶ κατηγορίᾳ τοῦ υἱέος ὁπόσα τε Ἀκμὴ συγκακουργήσειεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀντίγραφα τῶν ἐπιστολῶν.

8. Hereupon Herod was so amazed at the prodigious wickedness of Antipater, that he was ready to have ordered him to be slain immediately, as a turbulent person in the most important concerns, and as one that had laid a plot not only against himself, but against his sister also, and even corrupted Caesar's own domestics. Salome also provoked him to it, beating her breast, and bidding him kill her, if he could produce any credible testimony that she had acted in that manner. Herod also sent for his son, and asked him about this matter, and bid him contradict if he could, and not suppress any thing he had to say for himself; and when he had not one word to say, he asked him, since he was every way caught in his villainy, that he would make no further delay, but discover his associates in these his wicked designs. So he laid all upon Antiphilus, but discovered nobody else. Hereupon Herod was in such great grief, that he was ready to send his son to Rome to Caesar, there to give an account of these his wicked contrivances. But he soon became afraid, lest he might there, by the assistance of his friends, escape the danger he was in; so he kept him bound as before, and sent more ambassadors and letters [to Rome] to accuse his son, and an account of what assistance Acme had given him in his wicked designs, with copies of the epistles before mentioned.

VI

CHAPTER 6. Concerning The Disease That Herod Fell Into And The Sedition Which The Jews Raised Thereupon; With The Punishment Of The Seditious.

(1) [146] Καὶ οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἠπείγοντο ὁπόσα τε ἀνακρινομένους δεήσοι λέγειν προσεκδιδαχθέντες καὶ τὰ γράμματα φέροντες: εἰς νόσον δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐμπεσὼν διαθήκας γράφει τῷ νεωτάτῳ τῶν υἱῶν τὴν βασιλείαν διδοὺς μίσει τῷ τε πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχέλαον καὶ Φίλιππον ἐκ τῶν Ἀντιπάτρου διαβολῶν, Καίσαρί τε ταλάντων χιλίων καὶ γυναικὶ Ἰουλίᾳ τῇ Καίσαρος καὶ τέκνοις καὶ φίλοις καὶ ἀπελευθέροις Καίσαρος πεντακοσίων. [147] ἔνεμε δὲ καὶ τοῖς υἱέσιν χρήματα καὶ προσόδους καὶ ἀγροὺς καὶ υἱέσι τοῖς ἐκείνων, Σαλώμην δὲ ἐπὶ μέγα ἐπλούτιζεν τὴν ἀδελφὴν εὔνουν τε αὐτῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν διαμεμενηκυῖαν καὶ μηδαμόθι θρασυνομένην κακουργεῖν. [148] ἀπεγνωκὼς δὲ περιοίσειν, καὶ γὰρ περὶ ἔτος ἑβδομηκοστὸν ἦν, ἐξηγρίωσεν ἀκράτῳ τῇ ὀργῇ καὶ πικρίᾳ εἰς πάντα χρώμενος: αἴτιον δὲ ἦν δόξα τοῦ καταφρονεῖσθαι καὶ ἡδονῇ τὰς τύχας αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔθνος φέρειν: ἄλλως τ᾽ ἐπειδή τινες τῶν δημοτικωτέρων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐπανέστησαν αὐτῷ διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν.

1. Now Herod’s ambassadors made haste to Rome; but sent, as instructed beforehand, what answers they were to make to the questions put to them. They also carried the epistles with them. But Herod now fell into a distemper, and made his will, and bequeathed his kingdom to [Antipas], his youngest son; and this out of that hatred to Archclaus and Philip, which the calumnies of Antipater had raised against them. He also bequeathed a thousand talents to Caesar, and five hundred to Julia, Caesar’s wife, to Caesar’s children, and friends and freedmen. He also distributed among his sons and their sons his money, his revenues, and his lands. He also made Salome his sister very rich, because she had continued faithful to him in all his circumstances, and was never so rash as to do him any harm; and as he despaired of recovering, for he was about the seventieth year of his age, he grew fierce, and indulged the bitterest anger upon all occasions; the cause whereof was this, that he thought himself despised, and that the nation was pleased with his misfortunes; besides which, he resented a sedition which some of the lower sort of men excited against him, the occasion of which was as follows.

(2) [149] Ἦν Ἰούδας ὁ Σαριφαίου καὶ Ματθίας ὁ Μεργαλώθου Ἰουδαίων λογιώτατοι καὶ παρ᾽ οὕστινας ἐξηγηταὶ τῶν πατρίων νόμων, ἄνδρες καὶ δήμῳ προσφιλεῖς διὰ παιδείαν τοῦ νεωτέρου: ὁσημέραι γὰρ διημέρευον αὐτοῖς πάντες

οἷς προσποίησις ἀρετῆς ἐπετετήδευτο. [150] οἵ τε πυνθανόμενοι τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν νόσον θεραπεύειν ἄπορον οὖσαν ἐξῆραν τὸ νεώτερον, ὥστε ὁπόσα παρὰ νόμον τοῦ πατρίου κατεσκεύαστο ἔργα ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ταῦτα καθελόντες εὐσεβείας ἀγωνίσματα παρὰ τῶν νόμων φέρεσθαι: καὶ γὰρ δὴ διὰ τὴν τόλμαν αὐτῶν παρ᾽ ὃ διηγόρευεν ὁ νόμος τῆς ποιήσεως τά τε ἄλλα αὐτῷ συντυχεῖν, οἷς παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου διετρίβη, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν νόσον. [151] ἦν γὰρ τῷ Ἡρώδῃ τινὰ πραγματευθέντα παρὰ τὸν νόμον, ἃ δὴ ἐπεκάλουν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν καὶ Ματθίαν. κατεσκευάκει δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεγάλου πυλῶνος τοῦ ναοῦ ἀνάθημα καὶ λίαν πολυτελές, ἀετὸν χρύσεον μέγαν: κωλύει δὲ ὁ νόμος εἰκόνων τε ἀναστάσεις ἐπινοεῖν καί τινων ζῴων ἀναθέσεις ἐπιτηδεύεσθαι τοῖς βιοῦν κατ᾽ αὐτὸν προῃρημένοις. [152] ὥστε ἐκέλευον οἱ σοφισταὶ τὸν ἀετὸν κατασπᾶν: καὶ γὰρ εἴ τις γένοιτο κίνδυνος τῷ εἰς θάνατον ἀνακειμένῳ, πολὺ τῆς ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἡδονῆς λυσιτελεστέραν φαίνεσθαι τὴν προστιθεμένην ἀρετὴν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ φυλακῇ τοῦ πατρίου μελλήσουσι τελευτᾶν διὰ τὸ ἀίδιον τοῦ ἐπαινεῖσθαι φήμην κατασκευασαμένους ἔν τε τοῖς νῦν ἐπαινεθήσεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἐσομένοις ἀειμνημόνευτον καταλείπειν τὸν βίον. [153] καίτοι γε καὶ τοῖς ἀκινδύνως διαιτωμένοις ἄφυκτον εἶναι τὴν συμφοράν, ὥστε καλῶς ἔχειν τοῖς ἀρετῆς ὀριγνωμένοις τὸ κατεψηφισμένον αὐτοῦ μετ᾽ ἐπαίνων καὶ τιμῶν δεχομένοις ἀπιέναι τοῦ βίου. [154] φέρειν γὰρ κούφισιν πολλὴν τὸ ἐπὶ καλοῖς ἔργοις ὧν μνηστῆρα τὸν κίνδυνον εἶναι τελευτᾶν, καὶ ἅμα υἱέσι τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ὁπόσοι τοῦ συγγενοῦς καταλείποιντο ἄνδρες γυναῖκες καὶ τοῖσδε περιποιῆσαι ὄφελος εὐκλείᾳ τῇ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν.

2. There was one Judas, the son of Saripheus, and Matthias, the son of Margalothus, two of the most eloquent men among the Jews, and the most celebrated interpreters of the Jewish laws, and men well beloved by the people, because of their education of their youth; for all those that were studious of virtue frequented their lectures every day. These men, when they found that the king's distemper was incurable, excited the young men that they would pull down all those works which the king had erected contrary to the law of their fathers, and thereby obtain the rewards which the law will confer on them for such actions of piety; for that it was truly on account of Herod's rashness in making such things as the law had forbidden, that his other misfortunes, and this distemper also, which was so unusual among mankind, and with which he was now afflicted, came upon him; for Herod had caused such things to be made which were contrary to the law, of which he was accused by Judas and Matthias; for the king had erected over the great gate of the temple a large golden eagle, of great value, and had dedicated it to the temple. Now the law forbids those that propose to live according to it, to erect images or representations of any living

creature. So these wise men persuaded [their scholars] to pull down the golden eagle; alleging, that although they should incur any danger, which might bring them to their deaths, the virtue of the action now proposed to them would appear much more advantageous to them than the pleasures of life; since they would die for the preservation and observation of the law of their fathers; since they would also acquire an everlasting fame and commendation; since they would be both commended by the present generation, and leave an example of life that would never be forgotten to posterity; since that common calamity of dying cannot be avoided by our living so as to escape any such dangers; that therefore it is a right thing for those who are in love with a virtuous conduct, to wait for that fatal hour by such behavior as may carry them out of the world with praise and honor; and that this will alleviate death to a great degree, thus to come at it by the performance of brave actions, which bring us into danger of it; and at the same time to leave that reputation behind them to their children, and to all their relations, whether they be men or women, which will be of great advantage to them afterward.

(3) [155] Καὶ οἱ μὲν τοιούτοις λόγοις ἐξῆραν τοὺς νέους. ἀφικνεῖται δὲ λόγος εἰς αὐτοὺς τεθνάναι φράζων τὸν βασιλέα καὶ συνέπραττε τοῖς σοφισταῖς. καὶ μέσης ἡμέρας ἀνελθόντες κατέσπων τε καὶ πελέκεσιν ἐξέκοψαν τὸν ἀετὸν πολλῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ διατριβόντων. [156] καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀγγέλλεται γὰρ ἡ ἐπιχείρησις πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀπὸ μείζονος διανοίας ἢ ἐπράσσετο ὑπολαβὼν ἄνεισι χεῖρα πολλὴν ἀγόμενος, ὁπόσοι ἀνθέξοιεν τῷ πλήθει τῶν πειρωμένων καθαιρεῖν τὸ ἀνάθημα, ἐπιπεσών τε μὴ προσδεχομένοις, ἀλλ᾽ ὁποῖα ὄχλος φιλεῖ δόξῃ μᾶλλον ἀμαθεῖ ἢ προνοίᾳ ἀσφαλεῖ τετολμηκότας, ἀσυντάκτοις τε καὶ μηδὲν τοῦ ὀνήσοντος προανεσκοπημένοις, [157] τῶν τε νέων οὐκ ἐλάσσους τεσσαράκοντα ἀνδρῶν, οἳ θάρσει ἔμενον ἐπιόντα ἐς φυγὴν τοῦ λοιποῦ πλήθους καταστάντος, λαμβάνει καὶ τοὺς εἰσηγητὰς τοῦ τολμήματος Ἰούδαν καὶ Ματθίαν ἄδοξον ἡγουμένους ὑποχωρεῖν τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀνήγαγεν ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα. [158] ἐρομένου δὲ ἐπεὶ ἀφίκοντο ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως, εἰ τολμήσειαν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀνάθημα καθελεῖν, “ἀλλὰ καὶ πεφρόνηταί γε ἡμῖν τὰ φρονηθέντα καὶ πέπρακται τὰ πεπραγμένα μετ᾽ ἀρετῆς ἀνδράσι πρεπωδεστάτης: τοῦ τε γὰρ θείου τῇ ἀξιώσει βεβοήθηται ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ νόμου ἠκρόατο τὸ σῶφρον, [159] θαυμαστόν τε οὐδέν, εἰ τῶν σῶν δογμάτων ἀξιωτέρους τετηρῆσθαι ἡγησάμεθα νόμους, οὓς Μωσῆς ὑπαγορεύσει καὶ διδαχῇ τοῦ θεοῦ γραψάμενος κατέλιπεν. ἡδονῇ τε τὸν θάνατον οἴσομεν καὶ τιμωρίαν ἥντινα ἐπιβάλοις διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπ᾽ ἀδίκοις ἔργοις, ἀλλὰ φιλίᾳ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς [160] μέλλειν συνείσεσθαι τὸ ἐφομιλῆσον αὐτοῦ.” καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα πάντες ἔλεγον οὐδὲν ἐλλιπεστέρᾳ τῇ τόλμῃ τοῦ λόγου χρώμενοι, ᾗ θαρσήσαντες τὸ ἔργον πράττειν οὐκ ἀπετράποντο.

βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτοὺς καταδήσας μετέπεμπεν εἰς Ἰεριχοῦντα Ἰουδαίων τοὺς ἐν τέλει, [161] καὶ παραγενομένων ἐξεκλησίασεν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ θέατρον ἐπὶ κλινιδίου κείμενος ἀδυναμίᾳ τοῦ στῆναι, γωνεῖστων τε ἐφόσον αἴτινες ἦσαν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς γεγονυῖαι ἀνηριθμεῖτο, [162] καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τὴν κατασκευὴν ὡς μεγάλοις τέλεσι τοῖς αὐτοῦ γένοιτο μὴ δυνηθέντων ἔτεσιν ἑκατὸν εἰκοσιπέντε τῶν Ἀσαμωναίου ἐν οἷς ἐβασίλευον τοιόνδε τι ἐπὶ τιμῇ πρᾶξαι τοῦ θεοῦ, κοσμῆσαι δὲ καὶ ἀναθήμασιν ἀξιολόγοις. [163] ἀνθ᾽ ὧν ἐλπίδα μὲν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι κἂν μεθὸ θάνοι καταλελείψεσθαι μνήμην τε αὐτοῦ καὶ εὔκλειαν. κατεβόα τε ἤδη, διότι μηδὲ ζῶντα ὑβρίζειν ἀπόσχοιντο εἰς αὐτόν, ἀλλ᾽ ἡμέρας τε καὶ ἐν ὄψει τῆς πληθύος ὕβρει χρωμένους ἅψασθαι τῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἀνακειμένων καὶ καθαίρεσιν ὑβρίζοντάς τε ποιεῖσθαι, λόγῳ μὲν εἰς αὐτόν, ἀλήθειαν δὲ εἴ τις ἐξετάζοι τοῦ γεγονότος ἱεροσυλοῦντας.

3. And with such discourses as this did these men excite the young men to this action; and a report being come to them that the king was dead, this was an addition to the wise men's persuasions; so, in the very middle of the day, they got upon the place, they pulled down the eagle, and cut it into pieces with axes, while a great number of the people were in the temple. And now the king's captain, upon hearing what the undertaking was, and supposing it was a thing of a higher nature than it proved to be, came up thither, having a great band of soldiers with him, such as was sufficient to put a stop to the multitude of those who pulled down what was dedicated to God; so he fell upon them unexpectedly, and as they were upon this bold attempt, in a foolish presumption rather than a cautious circumspection, as is usual with the multitude, and while they were in disorder, and incautious of what was for their advantage; so he caught no fewer than forty of the young men, who had the courage to stay behind when the rest ran away, together with the authors of this bold attempt, Judas and Matthiss, who thought it an ignominious thing to retire upon his approach, and led them to the king. And when they were come to the king, and he asked them if they had been so bold as to pull down what he had dedicated to God, "Yes, [said they,] what was contrived we contrived, and what hath been performed we performed it, and that with such a virtuous courage as becomes men; for we have given our assistance to those things which were dedicated to the majesty of God, and we have provided for what we have learned by hearing the law; and it ought not to be wondered at, if we esteem those laws which Moses had suggested to him, and were taught him by God, and which he wrote and left behind him, more worthy of observation than thy commands. Accordingly we will undergo death, and all sorts of punishments which thou canst inflict upon us, with pleasure, since we are conscious to ourselves that we

shall die, not for any unrighteous actions, but for our love to religion." And thus they all said, and their courage was still equal to their profession, and equal to that with which they readily set about this undertaking. And when the king had ordered them to be bound, he sent them to Jericho, and called together the principal men among the Jews; and when they were come, he made them assemble in the theater, and because he could not himself stand, he lay upon a couch, and enumerated the many labors that he had long endured on their account, and his building of the temple, and what a vast charge that was to him; while the Asamoneans, during the hundred and twenty-five years of their government, had not been able to perform any so great a work for the honor of God as that was; that he had also adorned it with very valuable donations, on which account he hoped that he had left himself a memorial, and procured himself a reputation after his death. He then cried out, that these men had not abstained from affronting him, even in his lifetime, but that in the very day time, and in the sight of the multitude, they had abused him to that degree, as to fall upon what he had dedicated, and in that way of abuse had pulled it down to the ground. They pretended, indeed, that they did it to affront him; but if any one consider the thing truly, they will find that they were guilty of sacrilege against God therein.

(4) [164] Οἱ δὲ διὰ τὴν ὠμότητα αὐτοῦ, μὴ δὴ καὶ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐξαγριώσας εἰσπράττοιτο τιμωρίαν, οὔτε γνώμῃ ἔφασαν αὐτὰ πεπρᾶχθαι τῇ αὐτῶν, φαίνεσθαί τε αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμένα κολάσεως αὐτὰ εἶναι. ὁ δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις πραυτέρως ἔσχεν, Ματθίαν δὲ τὸν ἀρχιερέα παύσας ἱερᾶσθαι ὡς αἴτιον τοῦ μέρους τούτων γεγονότα καθίστα Ἰωάζαρον ἀρχιερέα, ἀδελφὸν γυναικὸς τῆς αὐτοῦ. [165] ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Μαθθίου τούτου ἱερωμένου συμβαίνει καὶ ἕτερον ἀρχιερέα καταστῆναι πρὸς μίαν ἡμέραν, ἣν Ἰουδαῖοι νηστείαν ἄγουσιν. [166] αἰτία δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἥδε: ὁ Ματθίας ἱερώμενος ἐν νυκτὶ τῇ φερούσῃ εἰς ἡμέραν, ᾗ ἡ νηστεία ἐνίστατο, ἔδοξεν ἐν ὀνείρατι ὠμιληκέναι [γυναικί], καὶ διὰ τόδε οὐ δυναμένου ἱερουργεῖν Ἰώσηπος ὁ τοῦ Ἐλλήμου συνιεράσατο αὐτῷ συγγενὴς ὤν. [167] Ἡρώδης δὲ τόν τε Ματθίαν ἐπεπαύκει τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης καὶ τὸν ἕτερον Ματθίαν, ὃς ἐγηγέρκει τὴν στάσιν, καὶ ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν ἑταίρων αὐτοῦ ἔκαυσεν ζώους. καὶ ἡ σελήνη δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτὶ ἐξέλιπεν.

4. But the people, on account of Herod's barbarous temper, and for fear he should be so cruel and to inflict punishment on them, said what was done was done without their approbation, and that it seemed to them that the actors might well be punished for what they had done. But as for Herod, he dealt more mildly with others [of the assembly] but he deprived Matthias of the high priesthood, as in part an occasion of this action, and made Joazar, who was Matthias's wife's

brother, high priest in his stead. Now it happened, that during the time of the high priesthood of this Matthias, there was another person made high priest for a single day, that very day which the Jews observed as a fast. The occasion was this: This Matthias the high priest, on the night before that day when the fast was to be celebrated, seemed, in a dream, to have conversation with his wife; and because he could not officiate himself on that account, Joseph, the son of Ellemus, his kinsman, assisted him in that sacred office. But Herod deprived this Matthias of the high priesthood, and burnt the other Matthias, who had raised the sedition, with his companions, alive. And that very night there was an eclipse of the moon.

(5) [168] Ἠρώδῃ δὲ μειζόνως ἡ νόσος ἐνεπικραίνετο δίκην ὧν παρανομήσειεν ἐκπρασσομένου τοῦ θεοῦ: πῦρ μὲν γὰρ μαλακὸν ἦν οὐχ ὧδε πολλὴν ἀποσημαῖνον τοῖς ἐπαφωμένοις τὴν φλόγωσιν ὁπόσην τοῖς ἐντὸς προσετίθει τὴν κάκωσιν. [169] ἐπιθυμία δὲ δεινὴ τοῦ δέξασθαί τι ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, οὐ γὰρ ἦν μὴ οὐχ ὑπουργεῖν, καὶ ἕλκωσις τῶν τε ἐντέρων καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ κόλου δειναὶ ἀλγηδόνες, καὶ φλέγμα ὑγρὸν περὶ τοὺς πόδας καὶ διαυγές: παραπλησία δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸ ἦτρον κάκωσις ἦν, ναὶ μὴν καὶ τοῦ αἰδοίου σῆψις σκώληκας ἐμποιοῦσα, πνεύματός τε ὀρθία ἔντασις καὶ αὐτὴ λίαν ἀηδὴς ἀχθηδόνι τε τῆς ἀποφορᾶς καὶ τῷ πυκνῷ τοῦ ἄσθματος, ἐσπασμένος τε περὶ πᾶν ἦν μέρος ἰσχὺν οὐχ ὑπομενητὴν προστιθέμενος. [170] ἐλέγετο οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν θειαζόντων καὶ οἷς ταῦτα προαποφθέγγεσθαι σοφίᾳ πρόκειται, ποινὴν τοῦ πολλοῦ δυσσεβοῦς ταύτην ὁ θεὸς εἰσπράσσεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως. [171] καίπερ δὲ μειζόνως ἢ ἀντίσχοι ἄν τις ταλαιπωρούμενος ἐν ἐλπίδι τοῦ ἀνασφαλοῦντος ἦν, ἰατρούς τε μεταπέμπων καὶ ὁπόσα ἀρωγὰ ὑπαγορεύσειαν χρῆσθαι μὴ ἀποτετραμμένος, ποταμόν τε περάσας Ἰορδάνην θερμοῖς τοῖς κατὰ Καλλιρρόην αὐτὸν παρεδίδου, ἅπερ σὺν τῇ ἐς πάντα ἀρετῇ καὶ πότιμά ἐστιν: ἔξεισιν δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο εἰς λίμνην τὴν ἀσφαλτοφόρον λεγομένην. [172] κἀνταῦθα τοῖς ἰατροῖς δοκῆσαν ὥστε ἀναθάλπειν αὐτόν, καθεθεὶς εἰς πύελον πλέων ἐλαίου δόξαν μεταστάσεως ἐνεποίησεν αὐτοῖς. τῶν δὲ οἰκετῶν οἰμωγῇ χρωμένων περιενεγκὼν καὶ μηδ᾽ ἥντινα ἀμφὶ τοῦ σωθησομένου ἐλπίδα ἔχων τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀνὰ πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς ἑκάστῳ κελεύει νεμηθῆναι: [173] πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν αὐτῶν καὶ φίλοις τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐδωρεῖτο. καὶ παρῆν αὖθις ἐπὶ Ἰεριχοῦντος μέλαινά τε αὐτὸν ἦρει χολὴ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐξαγριαίνουσα, ὥστε δὴ τελευτῶν πρᾶξιν τοιάνδε ἐπινοεῖ: [174] ἀφικομένων προστάγματι τῷ αὐτοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἀνδρῶν παντὸς τοῦ ἔθνους ὁποίποτε ἀξιολόγων: πολλοὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο ὡς τοῦ παντὸς ἔθνους κατακεκλημένου καὶ πάντων ἀκροασαμένων τοῦ διατάγματος, εἰς γὰρ θάνατον ἦν ἀνακείμενα τοῖς ἀλογήσασι τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἐμμαινομένου πᾶσιν τοῦ βασιλέως ὁμοίως τοῖς τε ἀναιτίοις καὶ παρεσχηκόσιν αἰτίαν: [175] συγκλείσας αὐτοὺς πάντας ἐν τῷ

ἱπποδρόμῳ τήν τε ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ Σαλώμην καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς Ἀλεξᾶν μεταπέμψας τεθνήξεσθαι μὲν οὐ πόρρω ἔλεγεν ἐπὶ τοσόνδε τῶν ἀλγηδόνων αὐτὸν περιεπουσῶν: καὶ τόδε μὲν οἰστόν τε καὶ πᾶσι φίλον παρατυγχάνειν, τὸ δὲ ὀλοφυρμῶν τε ἄπορον καὶ πένθους ἐνδεᾶ ὁποῖον ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ πράσσοιτο ἂν μάλιστα αὐτῷ λυπηρὸν εἶναι: [176] οὐ γὰρ ἀποσκοποῦν τὴν Ἰουδαίων διάνοιαν, ὡς εὐκτὸς αὐτοῖς καὶ πάνυ κεχαρισμένος ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ καὶ ζῶντος ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει ἐπείγεσθαι καὶ ὕβρει τῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ προτιθεμένων: [177] ἔργον δ᾽ ἄρα ἐκείνων εἶναι κούφισίν τινα αὐτῷ ψηφίσασθαι τοῦ ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε ἀλγεινοῦ: τὰ αὐτὰ γὰρ δὴ φρονῆσαι δόξῃ τῇ αὐτοῦ μὴ ἀπειπαμένων μέγαν τε αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐπιτάφιον γενέσθαι καὶ ὁποῖος οὐδ᾽ ἄλλοις βασιλέων καὶ πένθος διὰ τοῦ ἔθνους ἅπαντος ἐκ ψυχῆς ὀλοφυραμένων ἐπὶ παιδιᾷ καὶ γέλωτι αὐτοῦ. [178] ἐπὰν οὖν θεάσωνται τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφέντα αὐτόν, περιστήσαντας τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἀγνοοῦν ἔτι τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ, μὴ γὰρ πρότερον εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐξενεγκεῖν ἢ τάδε πρᾶξαι κελεύειν, ἀκοντίσαι τοὺς ἐγκαθειργμένους, καὶ πάντας τοῦτον ἀνελόντας τὸν τρόπον διχόθεν αὐτὸν οὐχ ἁμαρτήσαντας τοῦ εὐφρανοῦντος, κυρώσει τε ὧν ἐπιστείλειεν αὐτοῖς μέλλων τελευτᾶν καὶ τῷ πένθει ἀξιολόγῳ τετιμῆσθαι. [179] καὶ ὁ μὲν μετὰ δακρύων ποτνιώμενος καὶ τοῦ συγγενοῦς τὴν εὔνοιαν καὶ πίστιν τοῦ θείου προσκαλῶν ἐπέσκηπτε μὴ ἠτιμῶσθαι ἀξιῶν, κἀκεῖνοι ὠμολόγουν οὐ παραβήσεσθαι.

5. But now Herod’s distemper greatly increased upon him after a severe manner, and this by God’s judgment upon him for his sins; for a fire glowed in him slowly, which did not so much appear to the touch outwardly, as it augmented his pains inwardly; for it brought upon him a vehement appetite to eating, which he could not avoid to supply with one sort of food or other. His entrails were also ex-ulcerated, and the chief violence of his pain lay on his colon; an aqueous and transparent liquor also had settled itself about his feet, and a like matter afflicted him at the bottom of his belly. Nay, further, his privy-member was putrefied, and produced worms; and when he sat upright, he had a difficulty of breathing, which was very loathsome, on account of the stench of his breath, and the quickness of its returns; he had also convulsions in all parts of his body, which increased his strength to an insufferable degree. It was said by those who pretended to divine, and who were endued with wisdom to foretell such things, that God inflicted this punishment on the king on account of his great impiety; yet was he still in hopes of recovering, though his afflictions seemed greater than any one could bear. He also sent for physicians, and did not refuse to follow what they prescribed for his assistance, and went beyond the river Jordan, and bathed himself in the warm baths that were at Callirrhoe, which, besides their other general virtues, were also fit to drink; which water runs into the lake called

Asphaltiris. And when the physicians once thought fit to have him bathed in a vessel full of oil, it was supposed that he was just dying; but upon the lamentable cries of his domestics, he revived; and having no longer the least hopes of recovering, he gave order that every soldier should be paid fifty drachmae; and he also gave a great deal to their commanders, and to his friends, and came again to Jericho, where he grew so choleric, that it brought him to do all things like a madman; and though he were near his death, he contrived the following wicked designs. He commanded that all the principal men of the entire Jewish nation, wheresoever they lived, should be called to him. Accordingly, they were a great number that came, because the whole nation was called, and all men heard of this call, and death was the penalty of such as should despise the epistles that were sent to call them. And now the king was in a wild rage against them all, the innocent as well as those that had afforded ground for accusations; and when they were come, he ordered them to be all shut up in the hyppodrome, and sent for his sister Salome, and her husband Alexas, and spake thus to them: "I shall die in a little time, so great are my pains; which death ought to be cheerfully borne, and to be welcomed by all men; but what principally troubles me is this, that I shall die without being lamented, and without such mourning as men usually expect at a king's death." For that he was not unacquainted with the temper of the Jews, that his death would be a thing very desirable, and exceedingly acceptable to them, because during his lifetime they were ready to revolt from him, and to abuse the donations he had dedicated to God that it therefore was their business to resolve to afford him some alleviation of his great sorrows on this occasion; for that if they do not refuse him their consent in what he desires, he shall have a great mourning at his funeral, and such as never had any king before him; for then the whole nation would mourn from their very soul, which otherwise would be done in sport and mockery only. He desired therefore, that as soon as they see he hath given up the ghost, they shall place soldiers round the hippodrome, while they do not know that he is dead; and that they shall not declare his death to the multitude till this is done, but that they shall give orders to have those that are in custody shot with their darts; and that this slaughter of them all will cause that he shall not miss to rejoice on a double account; that as he is dying, they will make him secure that his will shall be executed in what he charges them to do; and that he shall have the honor of a memorable mourning at his funeral. So he deplored his condition, with tears in his eyes, and obtested them by the kindness due from them, as of his kindred, and by the faith they owed to God, and begged of them that they would not hinder him of this honorable mourning at his funeral. So they promised him not to transgress his commands.

(6) [180] Κατανοήσειεν δ’ ἄν τις τὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ ὅτῳ τὰ πρότερα ἤρεσκεν ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ φιλοζωεῖν πράξειε τὰ εἰς τοὺς συγγενεῖς πεπραγμένα, ἐκ γοῦν τῶν ἄρτι ἐπιστολῶν οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπειον εἰσφερομένην, [181] εἴγε καὶ ἀπιὼν τοῦ βίου πρόνοιαν εἶχεν, ὡς ἐν πένθει καὶ ἐρημίᾳ τῶν φιλτάτων τὸ πᾶν καταστήσειεν ἔθνος, ἕνα ἀπὸ ἑκάστου οἴκου κελεύων μεταχειρίσαι μηδὲν ἄδικον μήτε εἰς αὐτὸν δεδρακότας μήτε ἐφ’ ἑτέροις ἐγκλήμασιν κατηγορίας αὐτῶν γενομένης, εἰωθότων οἷς προσποίησις ἀρετῆς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δίκῃ ἐχθροὺς γεγονότας ἐν τοιοῖσδε καιροῖς τὰ μίση κατατίθεσθαι.

6. Now any one may easily discover the temper of this man’s mind, which not only took pleasure in doing what he had done formerly against his relations, out of the love of life, but by those commands of his which savored of no humanity; since he took care, when he was departing out of this life, that the whole nation should be put into mourning, and indeed made desolate of their dearest kindred, when he gave order that one out of every family should be slain, although they had done nothing that was unjust, or that was against him, nor were they accused of any other crimes; while it is usual for those who have any regard to virtue to lay aside their hatred at such a time, even with respect to those they justly esteemed their enemies.

VII

CHAPTER 7. Herod Has Thoughts Of Killing Himself With His Own Hand; And A Little Afterwards He Orders Antipater To Be Slain.

(1) [182] Ταῦτα δὲ ἐπιστέλλοντος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς συγγενεῖς γράμματα παρῆν ὑπὸ τῶν εἰς Ῥώμην πρέσβεων ἀπεσταλμένων πρὸς Καίσαρα. καὶ ἀναγνωσθέντων τὸ κεφάλαιον ἦν, ὡς τῆς τε Ἀκμῆς ὀργῇ τῇ Καίσαρος ἀνῃρημένης ἐφ᾽ οἷς Ἀντιπάτρῳ συγκακουργήσειεν, αὐτόν τε Ἀντίπατρον ὡς ἐπὶ γνώμῃ τῇ ἐκείνου ποιοῖτο ὡς πατρὸς καὶ βασιλέως, εἴτε φυγάδα ἐλαύνειν ἐθελήσειεν, εἴτε καὶ κτιννύειν. [183] τούτων ἀκροώμενος Ἡρώδης βραχὺ μὲν ἀνήνεγκεν ἡδονῇ τῶν γεγραμμένων θανάτῳ τε τῆς Ἀκμῆς ἐπαιρόμενος καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ παιδὶ τιμωρίας, περιουσῶν δὲ εἰς μέγα τῶν ἀλγηδόνων παρίετο τεταλαιπωρημένος σιτίων: καὶ ᾔτησε μῆλον καὶ μαχαίριον: ἦν γὰρ ἐν ἔθει καὶ πρότερον αὐτῷ περιλέψαντι αὐτὸ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ κατ᾽ ὀλίγον τεμόντι ἐσθίειν. [184] λαβὼν δὲ καὶ περισκεψάμενος γνώμην εἶχεν παίσων ἑαυτόν, κἂν ἐπεπράχει μὴ φθάσαντος αὐτοῦ καταλαβεῖν τὴν δεξιὰν Ἀχιάβου: ἀνεψιὸς ἦν αὐτοῦ. καὶ μέγα ἀνακραγόντος οἰμωγή τε αὖθις ἀνὰ τὸ βασίλειον ἦν καὶ θόρυβος μέγας ὡς οἰχομένου τοῦ βασιλέως. [185] καὶ ὁ Ἀντίπατρος, πιστεύει γὰρ τέλος ἀληθῶς τὸν πατέρα ἔχειν, θάρσει τε ἐχρῆτο ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις ὅλος ὡς ἤδη τῶν δεσμῶν ἀφησόμενος καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀκονιτὶ δεξόμενος εἰς χεῖρας, καὶ τῷ εἰρκτοφύλακι περὶ ἀφέσεως ἦν αὐτοῦ διάλογος μεγάλα ὑπισχνουμένου εἰς τὸ παρὸν καὶ ταὖθις, ὡς ἂν περὶ τοιῶνδε τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐνεστηκότος. [186] ὁ δὲ οὐ μόνον ἀπειθὴς ἦν πράσσειν ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἠξίου Ἀντίπατρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀποσημαίνει διάνοιαν τὴν ἐκείνου πολλῇ καὶ προσεισφορᾷ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ χρώμενος. [187] ὁ δὲ Ἡρώδης καὶ πρότερον οὐχ ἡσσώμενος οὐδ᾽ εὐνοίᾳ τοῦ υἱέος ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε τοῦ εἰρκτοφύλακος ταῦτα εἰρηκότος, ἀνεβόησέν τε ἀνατυψάμενος τὴν κεφαλὴν καίπερ ἐν τῷ ὑστάτῳ ὢν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγκῶνα περιάρας ἑαυτὸν κελεύει πέμψας τινὰ τῶν δορυφόρων μηδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος κτείνασιν αὐτὸν ἐν Ὑρκανίᾳ ταφὰς ἀσήμους ποιεῖσθαι.

1. As he was giving these commands to his relations, there came letters from his ambassadors, who had been sent to Rome unto Caesar, which, when they were read, their purport was this: That Acme was slain by Caesar, out of his indignation at what hand she had in Antipater's wicked practices; and that as to Antipater himself, Caesar left it to Herod to act as became a father and a king, and either to banish him, or to take away his life, which he pleased. When Herod heard this, he was somewhat better, out of the pleasure he had from the contents

of the letters, and was elevated at the death of Acme, and at the power that was given him over his son; but as his pains were become very great, he was now ready to faint for want of somewhat to eat; so he called for an apple and a knife; for it was his custom formerly to pare the apple himself, and soon afterwards to cut it, and eat it. When he had got the knife, he looked about, and had a mind to stab himself with it; and he had done it, had not his first cousin, Achiabus, prevented him, and held his hand, and cried out loudly. Whereupon a woeful lamentation echoed through the palace, and a great tumult was made, as if the king were dead. Upon which Antipater, who verily believed his father was deceased, grew bold in his discourse, as hoping to be immediately and entirely released from his bonds, and to take the kingdom into his hands without any more ado; so he discoursed with the jailer about letting him go, and in that case promised him great things, both now and hereafter, as if that were the only thing now in question. But the jailer did not only refuse to do what Antipater would have him, but informed the king of his intentions, and how many solicitations he had had from him [of that nature]. Hereupon Herod, who had formerly no affection nor good-will towards his son to restrain him, when he heard what the jailer said, he cried out, and beat his head, although he was at death's door, and raised himself upon his elbow, and sent for some of his guards, and commanded them to kill Antipater without tiny further delay, and to do it presently, and to bury him in an ignoble manner at Hyrcania.

VIII

CHAPTER 8. Concerning Herod's Death, And Testament, And Burial.

(1) [188] Τὰς δὲ διαθήκας αὖθις μετέγραφεν μεταβολῆς αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν διάνοιαν γενομένης, Ἀντίπαν μέν, ᾧ τὴν βασιλείαν καταλελοίπει, τετράρχην καθιστὰς Γαλιλαίας τε καὶ Περαίας, Ἀρχελάῳ δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν χαριζόμενος, [189] τὴν δὲ Γαυλωνῖτιν καὶ Τραχωνῖτιν καὶ Βαταναίαν καὶ Πανιάδα Φιλίππῳ παιδὶ μὲν τῷ αὐτοῦ Ἀρχελάου δὲ ἀδελφῷ γνησίῳ τετραρχίαν εἶναι, Ἰάμνειαν δὲ καὶ Ἄζωτον καὶ Φασαηλίδα Σαλώμῃ τῇ ἀδελφῇ κατανέμει καὶ ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου μυριάδας πεντήκοντα. [190] προυνόησε δὲ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, ὁπόσοι συγγενεῖς ἦσαν αὐτῷ, χρημάτων τε δόσεσι καὶ προσόδων ἀναφοραῖς ἑκάστους ἐν εὐπορίᾳ καθιστάμενος. Καίσαρι δὲ ἀργυρίου μὲν ἐπισήμου μυριάδας χιλίας, χωρὶς δὲ σκεύη τὰ μὲν χρυσοῦ τὰ δ' ἀργύρου καὶ ἐσθῆτα πάνυ πολλοῦ τέλους, Ἰουλίᾳ δὲ τῇ Καίσαρος γυναικὶ καί τισιν ἑτέροις πεντακοσίας μυριάδας. [191] ταῦτα πράξας ἡμέρᾳ πέμπτῃ μεθ' ὃ Ἀντίπατρον κτείνει τὸν υἱὸν τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας μεθ' ὃ μὲν ἀνεῖλεν Ἀντίγονον ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ τριάκοντα, μεθ' ὃ δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀπεδέδεικτο ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα, ἀνὴρ ὠμὸς εἰς πάντας ὁμοίως καὶ ὀργῆς μὲν ἥσσων κρείσσων δὲ τοῦ δικαίου, τύχῃ δὲ εἰ καί τις ἕτερος κεχρημένος εὐμενεῖ. [192] ἔκ τε γὰρ ἰδιώτου βασιλεὺς καταστὰς καὶ κινδύνοις περιστοιχιζόμενος μυρίοις πάντων ποιεῖται διάδρασιν καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἐξίκετο. ὁπόσα δὲ τὰ κατ' οἶκον περὶ υἱεῖς τοὺς αὐτοῦ, ὅσα μὲν γνώμῃ τῇ ἐκείνου καὶ πάνυ δεξιᾷ κεχρημένος διὰ τὸ κρίνας ἐχθροὺς κρατεῖν οὐχ ὑστερῆσαι, δοκεῖν δ' ἐμοὶ καὶ πάνυ δυστυχής.

1. And now Herod altered his testament upon the alteration of his mind; for he appointed Antipas, to whom he had before left the kingdom, to be tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, and granted the kingdom to Archclaus. He also gave Gaulonitis, and Trachonitis, and Paneas to Philip, who was his son, but own brother to Archclaus by the name of a tetrarchy; and bequeathed Jarnnia, and Ashdod, and Phasaelis to Salome his sister, with five hundred thousand [drachmae] of silver that was coined. He also made provision for all the rest of his kindred, by giving them sums of money and annual revenues, and so left them all in a wealthy condition. He bequeathed also to Caesar ten millions [of drachmae] of coined money, besides both vessels of gold and silver, and garments exceeding costly, to Julia, Caesar's wife; and to certain others, five millions. When he had done these things, he died, the fifth day after he had caused Antipater to be slain; having reigned, since he had procured Antigonus to be slain, thirty-four years; but since he had been declared king by the Romans,

thirty-seven. A man he was of great barbarity towards all men equally, and a slave to his passion; but above the consideration of what was right; yet was he favored by fortune as much as any man ever was, for from a private man he became a king; and though he were encompassed with ten thousand dangers, he got clear of them all, and continued his life till a very old age. But then, as to the affairs of his family and children, in which indeed, according to his own opinion, he was also very fortunate, because he was able to conquer his enemies, yet, in my opinion, he was herein very unfortunate.

(2) [193] Σαλώμη δὲ καὶ Ἀλεξᾶς πρὶν ἔκπυστον γενέσθαι τὸν θάνατον τοῦ βασιλέως τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ἱππόδρομον κατακεκλημένους ἐκπέμπονται ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτῶν, φάμενοι βασιλέα κελεύειν ἀπιοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς νέμεσθαι τὰ οἰκεῖα, πράσσεταί τε αὐτοῖς ἥδε εὐεργεσία μεγίστη εἰς τὸ ἔθνος. [194] ἐφανεροῦτο δ' ἤδη ὁ θάνατος τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ Σαλώμη καὶ Ἀλεξᾶς συναγαγόντες τὸ στρατιωτικὸν εἰς τὸ ἀμφιθέατρον τὸ ἐν Ἰεριχοῦντι πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιστολὴν ἀνέγνωσαν πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας γεγραμμένην ἐπὶ πίστεως εὐχαριστίᾳ καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ παρακλήσει τῶν ὁμοίων παροκωχῆς Ἀρχελάῳ τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ, ὃν βασιλέα καθίσταιτο. [195] εἶτα μέντοι Πτολεμαῖος τὸν σημαντῆρα τοῦ βασιλέως πεπιστευμένος τὰς διαθήκας ἀνέλεγεν, αἳ λήψεσθαι κύρωσιν οὐκ ἄλλως ἔμελλον ἢ Καίσαρος ἐντυχόντος αὐταῖς. βοὴ οὖν εὐθὺς ἦν ἐκτιμώντων Ἀρχέλαον βασιλέα, καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται κατὰ στίφη τε αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες εὔνοιάν τε ὑπισχνοῦνται καὶ προθυμίαν τὴν αὐτῶν καὶ συλλήπτορα τὸν θεὸν παρεκάλουν.

2. But then Salome and Alexas, before the king's death was made known, dismissed those that were shut up in the hippodrome, and told them that the king ordered them to go away to their own lands, and take care of their own affairs, which was esteemed by the nation a great benefit. And now the king's death was made public, when Salome and Alexas gathered the soldiery together in the amphitheater at Jericho; and the first thing they did was, they read Herod's letter, written to the soldiery, thanking them for their fidelity and good-will to him, and exhorting them to afford his son Archelaus, whom he had appointed for their king, like fidelity and good-will. After which Ptolemy, who had the king's seal intrusted to him, read the king's testament, which was to be of force no otherwise than as it should stand when Caesar had inspected it; so there was presently an acclamation made to Archelaus, as king; and the soldiers came by bands, and their commanders with them, and promised the same good-will to him, and readiness to serve him, which they had exhibited to Herod; and they prayed God to be assistant to him.

(3) [196] Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τάφον ἡτοίμαζον τῷ βασιλεῖ μελῆσαν Ἀρχελάῳ πολυτελεστάτην γενέσθαι τὴν ἐκκομιδὴν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ πάντα τὸν κόσμον προκομίσαντος εἰς ὃ συμπομπεύσειε τῷ νεκρῷ. [197] ἐφέρετο δὲ ἐπὶ κλίνης χρυσέας λίθοις πολυτελέσιν καὶ ποικίλοις διαπεπασμένης, στρωμνή τε ἦν ἁλουργὴς καὶ ἠμπέσχετο πορφυρίσιν ὁ νεκρὸς διαδήματι ἠσκημένος ὑπερκειμένου στεφάνου χρυσέου σκῆπτρόν τε τῇ δεξιᾷ παρακείμενον. [198] περί τε τὴν κλίνην οἵ τε υἱεῖς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἦν τῶν συγγενῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τὸ στρατιωτικὸν κατὰ οἰκεῖα ἔθνη ἢ προσηγορίας διέκειντο αὐτοῖς νεμηθέντες, πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ δορυφόροι, μετὰ δὲ τὸ Θρᾴκιον, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁπόσοι Γερμανῶν, καὶ τὸ Γαλατικὸν μετ᾽ αὐτούς, ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ πάντες τῷ πολεμιστηρίῳ. [199] τούτων δὲ κατόπιν ἤδη πᾶς ὁ στρατὸς ὥσπερ ἐς πόλεμον ἐξοδεύοντες [ὥσπερ] ὑπὸ λοχαγῶν ἀγόμενοι καὶ τοῖς ταξιαρχοῦσιν αὐτῶν. τούτοις ἐπετετάχατο πεντακόσιοι τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀρωματοφόροι. ᾔεσαν δὲ ἐπὶ Ἡρωδίου στάδια ὀκτώ: τῇδε γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο αἱ ταφαὶ κελεύσματι τῷ αὐτοῦ. Ἡρώδης μὲν δὴ τοῦτον ἐτελεύτα τὸν τρόπον.

3. After this was over, they prepared for his funeral, it being Archelaus's care that the procession to his father's sepulcher should be very sumptuous. Accordingly, he brought out all his ornaments to adorn the pomp of the funeral. The body was carried upon a golden bier, embroidered with very precious stones of great variety, and it was covered over with purple, as well as the body itself; he had a diadem upon his head, and above it a crown of gold: he also had a scepter in his right hand. About the bier were his sons and his numerous relations; next to these was the soldiery, distinguished according to their several countries and denominations; and they were put into the following order: First of all went his guards, then the band of Thracians, and after them the Germans; and next the band of Galatians, every one in their habiliments of war; and behind these marched the whole army in the same manner as they used to go out to war, and as they used to be put in array by their muster-masters and centurions; these were followed by five hundred of his domestics carrying spices. So they went eight furlongs to Herodium; for there by his own command he was to be buried. And thus did Herod end his life.

(4) [200] Ἀρχέλαος δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν ἑβδόμην ἡμέραν πένθος τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ τιμῶν διετέλει: τόσας γὰρ διαγορεύει τὸ νόμιμον τοῦ πατρίου. ἑστιάσας δὲ τοὺς ὁμίλους καὶ καταλύσας τὸ πένθος ἄνεισιν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν. ἦσάν τε εὐφημίαι καὶ ἔπαινοι καθ᾽ οὕστινας ἴοι ἑκάστων τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλοτιμουμένων εἰς τὸ δοκεῖν μείζοσι χρῆσθαι ταῖς εὐφημίαις. [201] ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ ὑψηλὸν βῆμα πεποιημένον ἀνελθὼν καὶ ἱδρυθεὶς εἰς θρόνον χρυσοῦν [πεποιημένον] ἀντεδεξιοῦτο τοὺς ὁμίλους χάρματι τῶν εὐφημιῶν τὴν εὔνοιαν αὐτῶν ἡδονῇ φέρων, χάριν τε

ὡμολόγει, διότι μηδὲν αὐτῷ μνησικακοῖεν ἀνθ᾽ ὧν ὁ πατὴρ εἰς αὐτοὺς ὑβρίσειεν καὶ πειράσεσθαι μὴ ἐλλείψειν ἀμειβόμενον τὸ πρόθυμον αὐτῶν. [202] ἄρτι μέντοι φειδὼ ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ βασιλείου ὀνόματος, τετιμῆσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸν τῇ ἀξιώσει ὅπερ βεβαίως Καῖσαρ ἐπικυρώσειε τὰς διαθήκας, αἳ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐγράφησαν αὐτοῦ: δι᾽ ἣν αἰτίαν οὐδὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐν Ἰεριχοῦντι τὸ διάδημα αὐτῷ περιθέσθαι προθυμουμένου δέξασθαι τὸ περιμάχητον τῆς ἐνθένδε τιμῆς διὰ τὸ μηδέπω τὸν κυρίως ἀποδώσοντα φανερὸν εἶναι παρασχόμενον. [203] περιιόντων μέν γε εἰς αὐτὸν τῶν πραγμάτων οὐ λείψειν ἀρετῆς τοῦ ἀμειψομένου τὴν εὔνοιαν αὐτῶν: σπουδάσειν γὰρ ἐν πᾶσιν τὰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς φανεῖσθαι τοῦ πατρὸς ἀμείνων τὰ πάντα. [204] οἱ δὲ οἷον ὄχλος εἴωθεν, φιλεῖν οἰόμενοι τὰς πρώτας εἶναι τῶν ἡμερῶν τὰς διανοίας ἐμφανίζειν τῶν παριόντων ἐπὶ τοιάσδε ἀρχάς, ὅσῳ πρᾴως καὶ θεραπευτικῶς ὁ Ἀρχέλαος διελέγετο αὐτοῖς, τοσῷδε μειζόνως τε ἐχρῶντο τοῖς ἐπαίνοις καὶ κατὰ αἰτήσεις δωρεῶν ἐτετράφατο, οἱ μὲν εἰσφορὰς ἃς ἐνιαυσίους φέροιεν ἐπικουφίζειν βοῇ χρώμενοι, οἱ δὲ αὖ δεσμωτῶν, οἳ ὑφ᾽ Ἡρώδου ἐδέδεντο, πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν κἀκ πολλῶν χρόνων, ἀπόλυσιν. [205] εἰσὶν δὲ οἳ ἄρσεις τῶν τελῶν ἃ ἐπὶ πράσεσιν ἢ ὠναῖς ἐπεβάλλετο πρασσόμενα πικρῶς ἠτοῦντο. ἀντέλεγέν τε οὐδαμῶς Ἀρχέλαος ἐπειρᾶτο ὁμίλους σπουδαῖος ὢν ποιεῖν πάντα διὰ τὸ νομίζειν μέγα πρᾶγμα εἰς τήρησιν τῆς ἀρχῆς γενήσεσθαι τὴν εὔνοιαν αὐτῷ τῆς πληθύος. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ θύσας τῷ θεῷ κατ᾽ εὐωχίαν τρέπεται μετὰ τῶν φίλων.

4. Now Archelaus paid him so much respect, as to continue his mourning till the seventh day; for so many days are appointed for it by the law of our fathers. And when he had given a treat to the multitude, and left off his motoring, he went up into the temple; he had also acclamations and praises given him, which way soever he went, every one striving with the rest who should appear to use the loudest acclamations. So he ascended a high elevation made for him, and took his seat, in a throne made of gold, and spake kindly to the multitude, and declared with what joy he received their acclamations, and the marks of the good-will they showed to him; and returned them thanks that they did not remember the injuries his father had done them to his disadvantage; and promised them he would endeavor not to be behindhand with them in rewarding their alacrity in his service, after a suitable manner; but that he should abstain at present from the name of king, and that he should have the honor of that dignity, if Caesar should confirm and settle that testament which his father had made; and that it was on this account, that when the army would have put the diadem on him at Jericho, he would not accept of that honor, which is usually so much desired, because it was not yet evident that he who was to be principally concerned in bestowing it would give it him; although, by his acceptance of the

government, he should not want the ability of rewarding their kindness to him and that it should be his endeavor, as to all things wherein they were concerned, to prove in every respect better than his father. Whereupon the multitude, as it is usual with them, supposed that the first days of those that enter upon such governments declare the intentions of those that accept them; and so by how much Archelaus spake the more gently and civilly to them, by so much did they more highly commend him, and made application to him for the grant of what they desired. Some made a clamor that he would ease them of some of their annual payments; but others desired him to release those that were put into prison by Herod, who were many, and had been put there at several times; others of them required that he would take away those taxes which had been severely laid upon what was publicly sold and bought. So Archelaus contradicted them in nothing, since he pretended to do all things so as to get the good-will of the multitude to him, as looking upon that good-will to be a great step towards his preservation of the government. Hereupon he went and offered sacrifice to God, and then betook himself to feast with his friends.

IX

CHAPTER 9. How The People Raised A Sedition Against Archelaus, And How He Sailed To Rome.

(1) [206] Ἐν τούτῳ δέ τινες τῶν Ἰουδαίων συνελθόντες νεωτέρων ἐπιθυμίᾳ πραγμάτων Ματθίαν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ὑφ᾽ Ἡρώδου ἀποθανόντας, οἳ παραχρῆμα τῆς εἰς τὸ πενθεῖσθαι τιμῆς φόβῳ τῷ ἐκείνου ἀπεστέρηντο, ἦσαν δὲ οἱ τῶν ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἀετοῦ δεδικαιωμένων, ἐπὶ μέγα τε τῇ βοῇ καὶ οἰμωγῇ χρώμενοι καί τινα ὡς κούφισιν φέροντα τοῖς τεθνεῶσιν ἀπερρίπτουν εἰς τὸν βασιλέα. [207] συνόδου τε αὐτοῖς γενομένης ἠξίουν τιμωρίαν αὐτοῖς ὑπ᾽ Ἀρχελάου γενέσθαι κολάσεσιν τῶν ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου τιμωμένων, καὶ πάντων γε καὶ πρῶτον καὶ ἐκδηλότατα τὸν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἀρχιερέα καθεστῶτα παύσαντα νομιμώτερόν τε ἅμα καὶ καθαρὸν ἀρχιερᾶσθαι ἄνδρα αἱρεῖσθαι. [208] τούτοις Ἀρχέλαος καίπερ δεινῶς φέρων ἐπένευεν τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ὁδὸν ἀνύεσθαι προκείμενον αὐτῷ τάχος ἐπὶ περισκοπήσει τῶν δοξάντων Καίσαρι. [209] πέμψας δὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν πειθοῖ χρῆσθαι, καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τοιούτοις μωρίας ἀποστάντας σκοπεῖν, θάνατόν τε, ὃς τοῖς φίλοις αὐτῶν συνέλθοι, μετὰ νόμων γεγονότα, καὶ τὰς αἰτήσεις ὡς ἐπὶ μέγα τοῦ ὑβρίζειν προίοιεν, τούς τε καιροὺς οὐκ ἐν τοιοῖσδε εἶναι, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ ὁμονοεῖν ἕως καταστησάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπινεύσει τῇ Καίσαρος ἀφίκοιτο ὡς αὐτούς: τότε γὰρ κοινῇ βουλεύσειν περὶ ὧν ἀξιοῖεν σὺν αὐτοῖς: ἄρτι δὲ ἀνέχειν, μὴ καὶ στασιάζειν δοκοῖεν.

1. At this time also it was that some of the Jews got together out of a desire of innovation. They lamented Matthias, and those that were slain with him by Herod, who had not any respect paid them by a funeral mourning, out of the fear men were in of that man; they were those who had been condemned for pulling down the golden eagle. The people made a great clamor and lamentation hereupon, and cast out some reproaches against the king also, as if that tended to alleviate the miseries of the deceased. The people assembled together, and desired of Archelaus, that, in way of revenge on their account, he would inflict punishment on those who had been honored by Herod; and that, in the first and principal place, he would deprive that high priest whom Herod had made, and would choose one more agreeable to the law, and of greater purity, to officiate as high priest. This was granted by Archelaus, although he was mightily offended at their importunity, because he proposed to himself to go to Rome immediately to look after Caesar’s determination about him. However, he sent the general of his forces to use persuasions, and to tell them that the death which was inflicted on their friends was according to the law; and to represent to them that their petitions about these things were carried to a great height of injury to him; that

the time was not now proper for such petitions, but required their unanimity until such time as he should be established in the government by the consent of Caesar, and should then be come back to them; for that he would then consult with them in common concerning the purport of their petitions; but that they ought at present to be quiet, lest they should seem seditious persons.

(2) [210] Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ὑπειπὼν καὶ διδάξας τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐκπέμπει πρὸς αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ βοῶντες λέγειν τε οὐκ εἴων καὶ εἰς κίνδυνον τοῦ ἀπολουμένου ἐκεῖνόν τε καθίστασαν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅστις γε ἐπὶ σωφρονισμῷ καὶ ἀποτροπῇ τοῦ μὴ τοιῶνδε ὀριγνᾶσθαι τολμήσειν φθέγξασθαι φανερὸς ἦν διὰ τὸ πάντα βουλήσει τῇ αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐξουσίᾳ τῶν ἐφεστηκότων συγχωρεῖν, [211] δεινὸν ἡγούμενοι, εἰ ζῶντός τε Ἡρώδου στερηθεῖεν τῶν φιλτάτων καὶ τελευτῆς αὐτῷ γενομένης τιμωριῶν τῶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς, ὠργηκότες ταῖς γνώμαις καὶ νόμιμόν τε καὶ δίκαιον ἡγούμενοι ὅ τι μελλήσοι ἡδονὴν αὐτοῖς φέρειν, κίνδυνον δὲ τὸν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ προιδέσθαι τε ἀμαθεῖς καὶ εἴ τῳ ὑποπτευθείη, ὑπερβολῆς αὐτῷ γενομένης τῆς παραχρῆμα ἡδονῆς ἐκ τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς ἐχθίστους δοκοῦντας αὐτοῖς. [212] πολλῶν δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀρχελάου πεμπομένων, οἳ διαλέξοιντο αὐτοῖς, τῶν τε ἐνεστώτων μὲν ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ δὲ τῇ αὐτῶν δοκεῖν παριόντων, ὅπως εἰς τὸ πραύτερον καταστήσονται αὐτούς, οὐδενὸς ἠνείχοντο εἰπεῖν ἀνάστασίς τε ἦν δεύειν ὀργῇ χρωμένων, φανεροί τε ἦσαν ἐπὶ μέγα αὐξήσοντες τὴν στάσιν πλήθους ἐπισυρρυέντος αὐτοῖς.

2. So when the king had suggested these things, and instructed his general in what he was to say, he sent him away to the people; but they made a clamor, and would not give him leave to speak, and put him in danger of his life, and as many more as were desirous to venture upon saying openly any thing which might reduce them to a sober mind, and prevent their going on in their present courses, because they had more concern to have all their own wills performed than to yield obedience to their governors; thinking it to be a thing insufferable, that, while Herod was alive, they should lose those that were most dear to them, and that when he was dead, they could not get the actors to be punished. So they went on with their designs after a violent manner, and thought all to be lawful and right which tended to please them, and being unskillful in foreseeing what dangers they incurred; and when they had suspicion of such a thing, yet did the present pleasure they took in the punishment of those they deemed their enemies overweigh all such considerations; and although Archelaus sent many to speak to them, yet they treated them not as messengers sent by him, but as persons that came of their own accord to mitigate their anger, and would not let one of them speak. The sedition also was made by such as were in a great passion; and it was

evident that they were proceeding further in seditious practices, by the multitude running so fast upon them.

(3) [213] Ἐνστάσης δὲ κατὰ τόνδε τὸν καιρὸν ἑορτῆς, ἐν ᾗ Ἰουδαίοις ἄζυμα προτίθεσθαι πάτριον: φάσκα δ' ἡ ἑορτὴ καλεῖται ὑπόμνημα οὖσα τῆς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἀπάρσεως αὐτῶν γενομένης, καὶ θύουσιν αὐτὴν προθύμως πλῆθός τε ἱερείων ὡς οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῃ κατακόπτειν ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς νόμιμον: [214] κάτεισιν δὲ πληθὺς ἀναρίθμητος ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑπερορίας ἐπὶ θρησκείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ οἱ νεωτερισταὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν τε καὶ Ματθίαν ἐξηγητὰς τῶν νόμων ὀδυρόμενοι συστάντες ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τροφῆς ηὐποροῦντο τοῖς στασιασταῖς οὐκ ὂν ἐν αἰσχύνῃ μεταιτεῖν αὐτούς. [215] καὶ δείσας Ἀρχέλαος, μὴ καί τι δεινὸν βλαστήσειεν αὐτῶν τῇ ἀπονοίᾳ, πέμπει σπεῖράν τε ὁπλιτῶν χιλίαρχόν τε τὴν ὁρμὴν τῶν ἐνεστηκότων πρότερον τὸν πάντα ὅμιλον τοῦ μανιώδους αὐτῶν πλέω καταστῆναι, καὶ εἴ τινες διάδηλοι πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων καθίσταιντο προθυμίᾳ τοῦ στασιάζειν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀγαγεῖν. [216] ἐπὶ τούτῳ οἱ στασιῶται τῶν ἐξηγητῶν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐξηγρίωσε βοῇ καὶ διακελευσμῷ χρώμενοι ὥρμησάν τε ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ περιστάντες λεύουσιν τοὺς πλείστους αὐτῶν. ὀλίγοι δέ τινες καὶ ὁ χιλίαρχος τραυματίαι διέφυγον. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ταῦτα πράξασιν διὰ χειρῶν αὖθις ἡ θυσία ἦν: [217] Ἀρχελάῳ δὲ ἄπορον ἐδόκει σώζεσθαι τὰ πάντα μὴ οὐκ ἀνακόψειν τὴν ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε ὁρμὴν τῆς πληθύος, ἐκπέμπει δὲ πᾶν τὸ στρατόπεδον Οἳ τούς τε αὐτόθι ἐσκηνωκότας κωλύοιεν τοῖς κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν βοηθεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας ὑπὸ τῶν πεζῶν δέχοιντο ἀντειλῆφθαι τἀσφαλοῦς ἤδη πεπιστευκότας. [218] καὶ εἰς μὲν τρισχιλίους ἄνδρας ἔκτειναν οἱ ἱππεῖς: τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ᾤχετο ἐπὶ ὄρη τὰ πλησίον ἰόντες. ἐκήρυσσε δ' Ἀρχέλαος ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτῶν πᾶσιν. οἱ δὲ ἀπῄεσαν τὴν ἑορτὴν καταλιπόντες φόβῳ κακοῦ μείζονος καίπερ θρασεῖς ὄντες διὰ τὸ ἀπαίδευτον. [219] Ἀρχέλαος δ' ἐπὶ θαλάσσης κατῄει μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς Νικόλαον καὶ Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Πτόλλαν τῶν φίλων ἐπαγόμενος, Φιλίππῳ τἀδελφῷ τὰ πάντα ἐφεὶς καθίστασθαι τοῦ οἴκου καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς. [220] συνεξῄει δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Σαλώμη ἡ Ἡρώδου ἀδελφὴ γενεὰν ἀγομένη τὴν αὐτῆς, πολλοί τε τῶν συγγενῶν, λόγῳ μὲν ὡς συναγωνιούμενοι τῷ Ἀρχελάῳ ἐπὶ κτήσει τῆς βασιλείας, ἔργῳ δὲ ἀντιπράξοντες καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ποιησόμενοι καταβοάς. [221] ὑπαντιάζει δ' ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τὸν Ἀρχέλαον Σαβῖνος Καίσαρος ἐπίτροπος τῶν ἐν Συρίᾳ πραγμάτων εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ὡρμημένος ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν Ἡρώδου χρημάτων. καὶ αὐτὸν τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ὁρμῆς ἔσχεν ὁ Οὔαρος παρελθών: διὰ γὰρ Πτολεμαίου μετάπεμπτος ὑπ' Ἀρχελάου παρῆν. [222] καὶ Οὐάρῳ Σαβῖνος χαριζόμενος οὔτε τὰς ἄκρας, ὅσαι ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἦσαν, παρέλαβεν οὔτε τοὺς θησαυροὺς κατεσημήνατο, εἶα δ' ἔχειν Ἀρχέλαον μέχρι Καίσαρι δόξειέν τι περὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔμενεν ἐν τῇ Καισαρείᾳ τοῦθ' ὑποσχόμενος. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκπλεῖ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης Ἀρχέλαος, Οὐάρῳ δ' ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας ἐγένοντο

κομιδαί, Σαβῖνος ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων χωρήσας παραλαμβάνει τὰ βασίλεια. [223] μεταπέμψας δὲ τοὺς φρουράρχους καὶ ὁπόσοι διοικηταὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἦσαν λόγους τε ἀπαιτεῖν πρόδηλος ἦν καὶ τὰς ἄκρας καθίστατο ᾗ αὐτῷ δοκοῖ. οὐ μὴν οἱ φύλακες ἐν ὀλίγῳ τὰς Ἀρχελάου ἐπιστολὰς ἐποιοῦντο, ἀλλ᾽ ἔμενον σώζοντες τὰ πάντα ᾗ προσετέτακτο αὐτοῖς. Καίσαρι δὲ φυλάσσειν ἕκαστ᾽ ἦν προσποίησις αὐτοῖς.

3. Now, upon the approach of that feast of unleavened bread, which the law of their fathers had appointed for the Jews at this time, which feast is called the Passover and is a memorial of their deliverance out of Egypt, when they offer sacrifices with great alacrity; and when they are required to slay more sacrifices in number than at any other festival; and when an innumerable multitude came thither out of the country, nay, from beyond its limits also, in order to worship God, the seditious lamented Judas and Matthias, those teachers of the laws, and kept together in the temple, and had plenty of food, because these seditious persons were not ashamed to beg it. And as Archelaus was afraid lest some terrible thing should spring up by means of these men's madness, he sent a regiment of armed men, and with them a captain of a thousand, to suppress the violent efforts of the seditious before the whole multitude should be infected with the like madness; and gave them this charge, that if they found any much more openly seditious than others, and more busy in tumultuous practices, they should bring them to him. But those that were seditious on account of those teachers of the law, irritated the people by the noise and clamors they used to encourage the people in their designs; so they made an assault upon the soldiers, and came up to them, and stoned the greatest part of them, although some of them ran away wounded, and their captain among them; and when they had thus done, they returned to the sacrifices which were already in their hands. Now Archelaus thought there was no way to preserve the entire government but by cutting off those who made this attempt upon it; so he sent out the whole army upon them, and sent the horsemen to prevent those that had their tents without the temple from assisting those that were within the temple, and to kill such as ran away from the footmen when they thought themselves out of danger; which horsemen slew three thousand men, while the rest went to the neighboring mountains. Then did Archelaus order proclamation to be made to them all, that they should retire to their own homes; so they went away, and left the festival, out of fear of somewhat worse which would follow, although they had been so bold by reason of their want of instruction. So Archelaus went down to the sea with his mother, and took with him Nicolaus and Ptolemy, and many others of his friends, and left Philip his brother as governor of all things belonging both to

his own family and to the public. There went out also with him Salome, Herod's sister who took with her, her children, and many of her kindred were with her; which kindred of hers went, as they pretended, to assist Archelaus in gaining the kingdom, but in reality to oppose him, and chiefly to make loud complaints of what he had done in the temple. But Sabinus, Caesar's steward for Syrian affairs, as he was making haste into Judea to preserve Herod's effects, met with Archclaus at Caesarea; but Varus [president of Syria] came at that time, and restrained him from meddling with them, for he was there as sent for by Archceaus, by the means of Ptolemy. And Sabinus, out of regard to Varus, did neither seize upon any of the castles that were among the Jews, nor did he seal up the treasures in them, but permitted Archelaus to have them, until Caesar should declare his resolution about them; so that, upon this his promise, he tarried still at Cesarea. But after Archelaus was sailed for Rome, and Varus was removed to Antioch, Sabinus went to Jerusalem, and seized on the king's palace. He also sent for the keepers of the garrisons, and for all those that had the charge of Herod's effects, and declared publicly that he should require them to give an account of what they had; and he disposed of the castles in the manner he pleased; but those who kept them did not neglect what Archelaus had given them in command, but continued to keep all things in the manner that had been enjoined them; and their pretense was, that they kept them all for Caesar.

(4) [224] Πλεῖ δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης καὶ Ἀντίπας Ἡρώδου μὲν παῖς, ἐπὶ δ' ἀντιποιήσει τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑποσχέσεσι Σαλώμης ἠρμένος ἐπὶ τῷ ἄρχειν καὶ πολὺ δικαιότερον Ἀρχελάου παραλήψεσθαι τὰ πράγματα ἠξιωκὼς τῷ κατὰ τὰς προτέρας διαθήκας βασιλεὺς ἀποπεφάνθαι, ἃς ἀσφαλεστέρας εἶναι τῶν ἐπιγραφεισῶν. [225] ἐπήγετο δὲ οὗτος τήν τε μητέρα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Νικολάου Πτολεμαῖον φίλον τε Ἡρώδῃ τιμιώτατον γεγενημένον καὶ αὐτῷ προσκείμενον. [226] μάλιστα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐνῆγεν ἐπ' ἀντιποιήσει τῆς βασιλείας φρονεῖν Εἰρηναῖος ῥήτωρ ἀνὴρ καὶ δόξῃ δεινότητος τῆς περὶ αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν πεπιστευμένος. διὸ δὴ καὶ τῶν κελευόντων εἴκειν Ἀρχελάῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ τε ὄντι κἀν ταῖς ἐπιδιαθήκαις ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐγγεγραμμένῳ βασιλεῖ οὐκ ἠνείχετο. [227] ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφίκετο, καὶ πάντων τῶν συγγενῶν ἀπόστασις ἦν πρὸς αὐτόν, οὐκ εὐνοίᾳ τῇ ἐκείνου, μίσει δὲ τῷ πρὸς Ἀρχέλαον, μάλιστα μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἐλευθερίας καὶ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγῷ τετάχθαι, εἰ δ' ἄρα τι ἀντισταίη, λυσιτελέστερον Ἀρχελάου τὸν Ἀντίπαν λογιζόμενοι, συνέπραττον Ἀντίπᾳ τὴν βασιλείαν. καὶ Σαβῖνος κατηγόρει παρὰ Καίσαρι τοῦ Ἀρχελάου διὰ γραμμάτων.

4. At the same time also did Antipas, another of Herod's sons, sail to Rome, in order to gain the government; being buoyed up by Salome with promises that he

should take that government; and that he was a much honester and fitter man than Archelaus for that authority, since Herod had, in his former testament, deemed him the worthiest to be made king, which ought to be esteemed more valid than his latter testament. Antipas also brought with him his mother, and Ptolemy the brother of Nicolaus, one that had been Herod's most honored friend, and was now zealous for Antipas; but it was Ireneus the orator, and one who, on account of his reputation for sagacity, was intrusted with the affairs of the kingdom, who most of all encouraged him to attempt to gain the kingdom; by whose means it was, that when some advised him to yield to Archelaus, as to his elder brother, and who had been declared king by their father's last will, he would not submit so to do. And when he was come to Rome, all his relations revolted to him; not out of their good-will to him, but out of their hatred to Archelaus; though indeed they were most of all desirous of gaining their liberty, and to be put under a Roman governor; but if there were too great an opposition made to that, they thought Antipas preferable to Archelaus, and so joined with him, in order to procure the kingdom for him. Sabinus also, by letters, accused Archelaus to Caesar.

(5) [228] Καῖσαρ δὲ Ἀρχελάου τε εἰσπέμψαντος ὡς αὐτὸν γράμματα, ἐν οἷς τὰ δικαιώματα προετίθει τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν διαθήκην τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς τῶν Ἡρώδου χρημάτων σὺν τῷ σημαντῆρι κομίζοντα Πτολεμαῖον, ἐκαραδόκει τὸ μέλλον. [229] ὁ δὲ ταῦτά τε ἀναγνοὺς τὰ γράμματα καὶ τὰς Οὐάρου καὶ Σαβίνου ἐπιστολὰς ὁπόσα τε χρήματα ἦν καὶ τί ἐπ᾽ ἔτος ἐφοίτα καὶ ὅσα Ἀντίπας ἐπ᾽ οἰκειώσει τῆς βασιλείας ἐπεπόμφει γράμματα συνῆγεν ἐπὶ παροκωχῇ γνωμῶν τοὺς φίλους, σὺν οἷς καὶ Γάιον τὸν Ἀγρίππου μὲν καὶ Ἰουλίας τῆς αὐτοῦ θυγατρὸς υἱὸν ποιητὸν δὲ αὐτῷ γεγονότα πρῶτόν τε καθεδούμενον παρέλαβε, καὶ κελεύει λέγειν τοῖς βουλομένοις περὶ τῶν ἐνεστηκότων. [230] καὶ πρῶτος ὁ Σαλώμης υἱὸς Ἀντίπατρος δεινότατός τε ὢν εἰπεῖν καὶ τῷ Ἀρχελάῳ ἐναντιώτατος ἔλεγεν Ἀρχελάῳ παιδιὰν τὸν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς εἶναι λόγον ἔργῳ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς πρότερον ἢ Καίσαρα συγχωρῆσαι παρειληφότι, ἐπικαλῶν τὰ τετολμημένα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπολωλόσι κατὰ τὴν ἑορτήν: [231] ὧν καὶ ἀδικούντων ἄλλως ἔσχεν τὴν τιμωρίαν εἰς τοὺς ἔξω χρῆσθαι δυναμένους ἀνακειμένην εἶναι, καὶ μὴ ὑπ᾽ ἀνδρὸς πεπρᾶχθαι, εἰ μὲν βασιλέως, ἀδικοῦντος τὸ Καίσαρος διαγνοίᾳ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔτι χρώμενον, εἰ δὲ ἰδιώτου, πολὺ χειρόνως, διὰ τὸ μὴ βασιλείας ἀντιποιουμένῳ καλῶς ἂν συγκεχωρῆσθαι, διὰ τὸ Καίσαρα τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι. [232] καθήπτετο δὲ αὐτοῦ ἡγεμόνων τινῶν ἐν τῷ στρατιωτικῷ μετάστασιν ἐπικαλῶν καὶ προκάθισιν ἐπὶ θρόνου βασιλείου καὶ δικῶν διάλυσιν ὡς ὑπὸ βασιλέως γενομένην κατανεύσεις τε αἰτήσεων τοῖς δημοσίᾳ αἰτουμένοις καὶ πάντων διάπραξιν, ὧν οὐδὲν ἂν μειζόνως ἐπινοῆσαι

καθεσταμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος εἰς τὴν ἀρχήν. [233] ἀνετίθει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἱπποδρόμου δεσμωτῶν τὴν ἄφεσιν καὶ πολλὰ τὰ μὲν γεγονότα τὰ δὲ καὶ πιστεύεσθαι δυνάμενα διὰ τὸ φύσιν ἔχειν γίνεσθαι ὑπό τε νεωτέρων καὶ φιλοτιμίᾳ τοῦ ἄρχειν προλαμβανόντων τὴν ἐξουσίαν, πένθους τε τοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἀμελείας καὶ κωμασμοὺς αὐτονυκτὶ τῇ ἐκείνου τελευτῇ γεγονότας, [234] ἐφ᾽ οἷς δὴ καὶ τὴν πληθὺν ἀρχὴν τοῦ στασιάζειν λαβεῖν, εἰ τοιαῦτα εὐεργετήσαντος αὐτὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ οὕτως μεγάλων ἠξιωκότος τοιοῖσδε ἀμείβεσθαι τὸν νέκυν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς δακρύειν μὲν προσποιούμενον τὰς ἡμέρας, ἀπολαύοντα δὲ ἡδονῇ τῇ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὅσαι νύκτες. [235] φανεῖσθαί τε καὶ περὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τοιόνδε ὄντα Ἀρχέλαον συγχωροῦντα τὴν βασιλείαν, ὁποῖος γένοιτο καὶ περὶ τὸν πατέρα: χορεύειν γὰρ καὶ ᾄδειν ὥσπερ ἐχθροῦ πεσόντος, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἀνδρὸς οὕτως μὲν συγγενοῦς, τηλικαῦτα δ᾽ εὐεργετεῖν ἐξηγμένου. [236] δεινότατόν τε πάντων ἀπέφηνε τὸ νῦν ἥκειν ἐπὶ Καίσαρος κατανεύσει τῇ ἐκείνου χρησόμενον τῇ βασιλείᾳ πάντων αὐτῷ προπεποιημένων, ὁπόσα γένοιτο ἂν ὑπὸ σοῦ βεβαίως ἤδη τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος παρεσχηκότος πρασσόμενα. [237] μάλιστα δὲ τὴν σφαγὴν τῶν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐδείνου τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὴν δυσσέβειαν, ὡς ἑορτῆς τε ἐνεστηκυίας καὶ ἱερείων ἐν τρόπῳ σφαχθεῖεν ἔνιοι μὲν ξένοι οἱ δὲ ἐγχώριοι, πλησθείη δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν νεκρῶν οὐχ ὑπ᾽ ἀλλοφύλου, ἀλλὰ τοῦ καὶ μετὰ νομίμων ὀνομάτων τῆς βασιλείας ἐφιεμένου τῆς πράξεως, ὅπως δυνηθείη πληρῶσαι τῆς φύσει τυραννίδος τὴν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις μεμισημένην ἀδικίαν. [238] δι᾽ ἣν μηδὲ ὄναρ ποτὲ ἑωρᾶσθαι βασιλείας αὐτῷ τὴν διαδοχὴν ἀρετῇ τοῦ πατρός: ἐπίστασθαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον καί τοι ἐχθρὸν αὐτῷ [ἐκ] τῶν διαθηκῶν ἰσχυρότερον Ἀντιπάτρῳ καθίστασθαι: κληθῆναι γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν οὐχὶ νοσοῦντος πρὸς τῷ σώματι καὶ τὴν ψυχήν, ἀλλὰ ἀκραιφνεῖ μὲν τῷ λογισμῷ χρωμένου, ἀλκῇ δὲ σώματος τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐφεστηκότος. [239] εἰ δὲ καὶ πρότερον εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπίσης τοῖς νῦν διατεθεῖσθαι τὸν πατέρα, ἀποπεφάνθαι ποταπὸς ἂν γένοιτο βασιλεὺς τὸν μὲν κύριον παρασχεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν Καίσαρα ἀφῃρημένον τοῦ δοῦναι τὴν ἐξουσίαν, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας ἰδιώτην ὄντα ἀκμὴν σφάζειν ἐν ἱερῷ μὴ ἀποτετραμμένον.

5. Now when Archelaus had sent in his papers to Caesar, wherein he pleaded his right to the kingdom, and his father's testament, with the accounts of Herod's money, and with Ptolemy, who brought Herod's seal, he so expected the event; but when Caesar had read these papers, and Varus's and Sabinus's letters, with the accounts of the money, and what were the annual incomes of the kingdom, and understood that Antipas had also sent letters to lay claim to the kingdom, he summoned his friends together, to know their opinions, and with them Caius, the son of Agrippa, and of Julia his daughter, whom he had adopted, and took him, and made him sit first of all, and desired such as pleased to speak their minds

about the affairs now before them. Now Antipater, Salome's son, a very subtle orator, and a bitter enemy to Archelaus, spake first to this purpose: That it was ridiculous in Archelaus to plead now to have the kingdom given him, since he had, in reality, taken already the power over it to himself, before Caesar had granted it to him; and appealed to those bold actions of his, in destroying so many at the Jewish festival; and if the men had acted unjustly, it was but fit the punishing of them should have been reserved to those that were out of the country, but had the power to punish them, and not been executed by a man that, if he pretended to be a king, he did an injury to Caesar, by usurping that authority before it was determined for him by Caesar; but if he owned himself to be a private person, his case was much worse, since he who was putting in for the kingdom could by no means expect to have that power granted him, of which he had already deprived Caesar [by taking it to himself]. He also touched sharply upon him, and appealed to his changing the commanders in the army, and his sitting in the royal throne beforehand, and his determination of law-suits; all done as if he were no other than a king. He appealed also to his concessions to those that petitioned him on a public account, and indeed doing such things, than which he could devise no greater if he had been already settled in the kingdom by Caesar. He also ascribed to him the releasing of the prisoners that were in the hippodrome, and many other things, that either had been certainly done by him, or were believed to be done, and easily might be believed to have been done, because they were of such a nature as to be usually done by young men, and by such as, out of a desire of ruling, seize upon the government too soon. He also charged him with his neglect of the funeral mourning for his father, and with having merry meetings the very night in which he died; and that it was thence the multitude took the handle of raising a tumult: and if Archelaus could thus requite his dead father, who had bestowed such benefits upon him, and bequeathed such great things to him, by pretending to shed tears for him in the day time, like an actor on the stage, but every night making mirth for having gotten the government, he would appear to be the same Archelaus with regard to Caesar, if he granted him the kingdom, which he hath been to his father; since he had then dancing and singing, as though an enemy of his were fallen, and not as though a man were carried to his funeral, that was so nearly related, and had been so great a benefactor to him. But he said that the greatest crime of all was this, that he came now before Caesar to obtain the government by his grant, while he had before acted in all things as he could have acted if Caesar himself, who ruled all, had fixed him firmly in the government. And what he most aggravated in his pleading was the slaughter of those about the temple, and the impiety of it, as done at the festival; and how they were slain like sacrifices

themselves, some of whom were foreigners, and others of their own country, till the temple was full of dead bodies: and all this was done, not by an alien, but by one who pretended to the lawful title of a king, that he might complete the wicked tyranny which his nature prompted him to, and which is hated by all men. On which account his father never so much as dreamed of making him his successor in the kingdom, when he was of a sound mind, because he knew his disposition; and in his former and more authentic testament, he appointed his antagonist Antipas to succeed; but that Archelaus was called by his father to that dignity when he was in a dying condition, both of body and mind; while Antipas was called when he was ripest in his judgment, and of such strength of body as made him capable of managing his own affairs: and if his father had the like notion of him formerly that he hath now showed, yet hath he given a sufficient specimen what a king he is likely to be, when he hath [in effect] deprived Caesar of that power of disposing of the kingdom, which he justly hath, and hath not abstained from making a terrible slaughter of his fellow citizens in the temple, while he was but a private person.

(6) [240] Καὶ Ἀντίπατρος μὲν τοιάδε εἰπὼν καὶ μαρτύρων παραστάσεσιν τὰ εἰρημένα κρατυνάμενος πολλοῖς τῶν συγγενῶν παύεται τοῦ λέγειν. ἀνίσταται δὲ Νικόλαος ὑπὲρ Ἀρχελάου καὶ ἔλεγεν τὰ μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ γνώμῃ τῶν πεπονθότων ἀναθεὶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἐξουσίᾳ τῇ Ἀρχελάου: τοὺς γὰρ ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε ἄρχοντας οὐ μόνον τῷ καθ᾽ αὑτοὺς ὑβρίζοντι εἶναι πονηρούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἀναγκάζοντι εἰς τὴν ἄμυναν τῶν εὐγνωμονεῖν προαιρουμένων. [241] ὡς δὲ πολέμια ἔδρων λόγῳ μὲν κατ᾽ Ἀρχελάου τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς εἰς Καίσαρα φανερὸν εἶναι: τοὺς γὰρ ὑβριοῦντας κωλυτὰς παραγενομένους ἢ ὑπ᾽ Ἀρχελάου πεπομφότος κτεῖναι ἐπιθεμένους οὔτε τοῦ θεοῦ οὔτε τοῦ νόμου τῆς ἑορτῆς ἐν φροντίδι γενομένους, [242] ὧν Ἀντίπατρον οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθαι ἐκδικητὴν καθιστάμενον ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ ἔχθρας τῆς αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἀρχέλαον ἢ φύσει τοῦ ἀρετῇ δικαίου. οἱ παρελθόντες καὶ μὴ πρὸς διανοουμένους ἄρχοντες ἀδίκων ἔργων, οἵδε εἰσὶν οἱ βιαζόμενοι καὶ μὴ θέλοντας τοὺς ἀμυνομένους ἐφ᾽ ὅπλα χωρεῖν. [243] ἀνετίθει δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν βουλῇ τῶν κατηγόρων: οὐδὲν γὰρ ὅ τι μὴ οὐ μετὰ γνώμης τῆς αὐτῶν γεγενημένον αἰτίᾳ τοῦ ἀδικεῖν ὑπάγεσθαι, οὐ τῇ φύσει τῇ οὕτως αὐτὰ γεγονότα πονηρὰ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τῷ βλάψειν ἂν δοκεῖν Ἀρχέλαον. τοσήνδε αὐτοῖς εἶναι βουλὴν τοῦ ὑβριοῦντος εἰς ἄνδρα συγγενῆ, καὶ πατρὸς μὲν εὐεργέτου, συνήθη δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ διὰ παντὸς οἰκείως πεπολιτευμένον. [244] τάς γε μὴν διαθήκας ὑπό τε σωφρονοῦντος γεγράφθαι τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ κυριωτέρας τῶν γεγραμμένων πρότερον διὰ τὸ Καίσαρι δεσπότῃ τῶν ὅλων καταλελεῖφθαι τὴν κρίσιν τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς γεγραμμένων. [245] μιμήσεσθαί τε οὐδαμῶς Καίσαρα τὴν ὕβριν αὐτῶν, οἳ τῆς Ἡρώδου παντοίως ἀπολαύσαντες παρ᾽ ὃν ἔζη καιρὸν δυνάμεως τὰ πάντα ἐπὶ

ὕβρει γνώμης ἐπείγοιντο αὐτοῦ, οὐδ᾽ αὐτῶν περὶ τὸν συγγενῆ τοιούτων γεγονότων. [246] οὔκουν Καίσαρά γε ἀνδρὸς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ πεποιημένου τὰ πάντα καὶ φίλου καὶ συμμάχου καταλύσειν τὰς διαθήκας ἐπὶ πίστει τῇ αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένας, οὐδὲ μιμήσεσθαι κακίαν τὴν ἐκείνων τὴν Καίσαρος ἀρετὴν καὶ πίστιν πρὸς ἅπασαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀνενδοίαστον γενομένην, [247] καὶ μανίαν καὶ λογισμῶν ἔκστασιν κατακρίνειν ἀνδρὸς βασιλέως, υἱεῖ μὲν ἀγαθῷ τὴν διαδοχὴν καταλελοιπότος, πίστει δὲ τῇ αὐτοῦ προσπεφευγότος: οὔτ᾽ ἁμαρτάνειν Ἡρώδην ποτὲ περὶ κρίσιν τοῦ διαδόχου σωφροσύνῃ κεχρημένον ἐπὶ τῇ Καίσαρος γνώμῃ τὰ πάντα ποιεῖσθαι.

6. So when Antipater had made this speech, and had confirmed what he had said by producing many witnesses from among Archelaus's own relations, he made an end of his pleading. Upon which Nicolaus arose up to plead for Archelaus, and said, "That what had been done at the temple was rather to be attributed to the mind of those that had been killed, than to the authority of Archelaus; for that those who were the authors of such things are not only wicked in the injuries they do of themselves, but in forcing sober persons to avenge themselves upon them. Now it is evident that what these did in way of opposition was done under pretense, indeed, against Archelaus, but in reality against Caesar himself, for they, after an injurious manner, attacked and slew those who were sent by Archelaus, and who came only to put a stop to their doings. They had no regard, either to God or to the festival, whom Antipater yet is not ashamed to patronize, whether it be out of his indulgence of an enmity to Archelaus, or out of his hatred of virtue and justice. For as to those who begin such tumults, and first set about such unrighteous actions, they are the men who force those that punish them to betake themselves to arms even against their will. So that Antipater in effect ascribes the rest of what was done to all those who were of counsel to the accusers; for nothing which is here accused of injustice has been done but what was derived from them as its authors; nor are those things evil in themselves, but so represented only in order to do harm to Archelaus. Such is these men's inclination to do an injury to a man that is of their kindred, their father's benefactor, and familiarity acquainted with them, and that hath ever lived in friendship with them; for that, as to this testament, it was made by the king when he was of a sound mind, and so ought to be of more authority than his former testament; and that for this reason, because Caesar is therein left to be the judge and disposer of all therein contained; and for Caesar, he will not, to be sure, at all imitate the unjust proceedings of those men, who, during Herod's whole life, had on all occasions been joint partakers of power with him, and yet do zealously endeavor to injure his determination, while they have not themselves

had the same regard to their kinsman [which Archelaus had]. Caesar will not therefore disannul the testament of a man whom he had entirely supported, of his friend and confederate, and that which is committed to him in trust to ratify; nor will Caesar's virtuous and upright disposition, which is known and uncontested through all the habitable world, imitate the wickedness of these men in condemning a king as a madman, and as having lost his reason, while he hath bequeathed the succession to a good son of his, and to one who flies to Caesar's upright determination for refuge. Nor can Herod at any time have been mistaken in his judgment about a successor, while he showed so much prudence as to submit all to Caesar's determination."

(7) [248] Καὶ Νικόλαος μὲν τοιάδε διελθὼν καταπαύει τὸν λόγον: Καῖσαρ δὲ Ἀρχέλαον προσπεσόντα αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰ γόνατα φιλοφρόνως τε ἀνίστη φάμενος ἀξιώτατον εἶναι τῆς βασιλείας πολλήν τε ἀπέφαινε τροπὴν γνώμης τῆς αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἄλλα πράξειν, ἀλλ' ὁπόσα αἵ τε διαθῆκαι ὑπηγόρευον καὶ Ἀρχελάῳ συνέφερεν. [249] οὐ μέντοι γε ἐκεκύρωτο οὐδέν, ὡς ἂν ἐχεγγύῳ παραδείγματι χρώμενον ἐπ' ἀδείας Ἀρχέλαον εἶναι. καὶ διαλύσεως τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενομένης ἐσκοπεῖτο καθ' αὑτόν, εἴτε Ἀρχελάῳ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπικυρωτέον, εἴτε νομὴν αὐτῆς ποιεῖσθαι παντὶ τῷ Ἡρώδου γένει καὶ ταῦτα πάντων πολλῆς ἐπικουρίας δεομένων.

7. Now when Nicolaus had laid these things before Caesar, he ended his plea; whereupon Caesar was so obliging to Archelaus, that he raised him up when he had cast himself down at his feet, and said that he well deserved the kingdom; and he soon let them know that he was so far moved in his favor, that he would not act otherwise than his father's testament directed, and than was for the advantage of Archelaus. However, while he gave this encouragement to Archelaus to depend on him securely, he made no full determination about him; and when the assembly was broken up, he considered by himself whether he should confirm the kingdom to Archelaus, or whether he should part it among all Herod's posterity; and this because they all stood in need of much assistance to support them.

X

CHAPTER 10. A Sedition Against Sabinus; And How Varus Brought The Authors Of It To Punishment.

(1) [250] Πρότερον δὲ ἢ κύρωσίν τινα τούτων γενέσθαι Μαλθάκη τε ἡ Ἀρχελάου μήτηρ νόσῳ τελευτᾷ καὶ παρὰ Οὐάρου τοῦ Συρίας στρατηγοῦ παρῆν γράμματα τὴν Ἰουδαίων ἀπόστασιν διασαφοῦντα: [251] τοῦ γὰρ Ἀρχελάου μετὰ τὸν ἔκπλουν ἐθορυβήθη τὸ πᾶν ἔθνος. καὶ Οὔαρος αὐτὸς ἐπεὶ παρὼν ὡς τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς κινήσεως τιμωρίᾳ περιβαλὼν καὶ τοῦ πολλοῦ τῆς στάσεως ἐπίσχεσιν ποιησάμενος πολλῆς γενομένης ἐπ᾽ Ἀντιοχείας τὴν ἀναζυγὴν ἐποιεῖτο, τάγμα ἓν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις λειπόμενος τὴν Ἰουδαίων νεωτεροποιίαν ἐπιστομιοῦντας. [252] οὐ μὴν ἐπεραίνετό γε οὐδὲν ἐπὶ παύλῃ τοῦ μὴ οὐ στασιάσοντος αὐτῶν. ὅτε γὰρ Οὔαρος ἀπῄει καὶ Σαβῖνος ὁ ἐπίτροπος τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπομείνας αὐτόθι μεγάλως τοὺς στασιώτας κατεπόνει, στρατιᾷ τε τῇ καταλελειμμένῃ πιστεύων, ὡς καὶ περιέσοιτο αὐτῶν, καὶ τῷ πλήθει: [253] πολλοὺς δὲ ὄντας ὁπλίσας δορυφόροις ἐχρῆτο αὐτοῖς ἐπείγων τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καὶ ἐκταράσσων ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει: τάς τε γὰρ ἄκρας ἐβιάζετο παραλαμβάνειν καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν χρημάτων ἐπ᾽ ἐρεύνῃ προθύμως ὥρμητο βίᾳ διὰ κέρδη καὶ πλεονεξιῶν ἐπιθυμίας.

1. But before these things could be brought to a settlement, Malthace, Archelaus's mother, fell into a distemper, and died of it; and letters came from Varus, the president of Syria, which informed Caesar of the revolt of the Jews; for after Archlaus was sailed, the whole nation was in a tumult. So Varus, since he was there himself, brought the authors of the disturbance to punishment; and when he had restrained them for the most part from this sedition, which was a great one, he took his journey to Antiocli, leaving one legion of his army at Jerusalem to keep the Jews quiet, who were now very fond of innovation. Yet did not this at all avail to put an end to that their sedition; for after Varus was gone away, Sabinus, Caesar's procurator, staid behind, and greatly distressed the Jews, relying on the forces that were left there that they would by their multitude protect him; for he made use of them, and armed them as his guards, thereby so oppressing the Jews, and giving them so great disturbance, that at length they rebelled; for he used force in seizing the citadels, and zealously pressed on the search after the king's money, in order to seize upon it by force, on account of his love of gain and his extraordinary covetousness.

(2) [254] Ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς, ἑορτὴ δὲ ἡμῶν ἐστιν πάτριος τοῦτο κεκλημένη, οὔτι κατὰ τὴν θρησκείαν μόνον παρῆσαν, ἀλλ᾽ ὀργῇ φέροντες τὴν

παροινίαν τῆς Σαβίνου ὕβρεως μυριάδες συνηθροίσθησαν ἀνθρώπων καὶ πάνυ πολλαὶ Γαλιλαίων τε καὶ Ἰδουμαίων, Ἱεριχουντίων τε ἦν πληθὺς καὶ ὁπόσοι περάσαντι Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν οἰκοῦσιν, αὐτῶν τε Ἰουδαίων πλῆθος πρὸς πάντας συνειλέχατο καὶ πολὺ προθυμότεροι τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ τῇ Σαβίνου ὡρμήκεσαν. [255] καὶ τρία μέρη νεμηθέντες ἐπὶ τοσῶνδε στρατοπεδεύονται χωρίων, οἱ μὲν τὸν ἱππόδρομον ἀπολαβόντες, καὶ τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν δύο μερῶν οἱ μὲν τῷ βορείῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τετραμμένοι, οἱ δὲ ἑῴαν μοῖραν εἶχον, μοῖρα δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ τρίτη τὰ πρὸς δυόμενον ἥλιον, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ βασίλειον ἦν. ἐπράσσετο δὲ τὰ πάντα αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ πολιορκίᾳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπανταχόθεν αὐτοῖς ἀποκεκλεισμένων. [256] καὶ Σαβῖνος, ἔδεισε γὰρ τό τε πλῆθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ φρονήματα ἀνδρῶν ἐν ὀλίγῳ τὸ θανεῖν ποιουμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡττᾶσθαι μὴ ἐθέλειν ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἀρετὴν κρίνειαν τὸ νικᾶν, παραχρῆμά τε ὡς τὸν Οὔαρον ἔπεμπε γράμματα καὶ τὸ σύνηθες οὐκ ἀνίει κελεύων ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος βοηθεῖν, ὡς κινδύνου μεγίστου τὸ ἐγκαταλειφθὲν στράτευμα περιεσχηκότος διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς μακρὰν ἐλπίζειν κατακοπήσεσθαι ληφθέντας αὐτούς. [257] αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦ φρουρίου τὸν ὑψηλότατον τῶν πύργων καταλαβόμενος Φασάηλον ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ Ἡρώδου ἀδελφοῦ Φασαήλου ᾠκοδομημένον τε καὶ οὕτως εἰρημένον τελευτῆς ὑπὸ Παρθυαίων αὐτῷ γενομένης, κατέσειε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπεξιέναι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδ᾽ εἰς τοὺς φίλους τολμῶν κατιέναι, τοὺς δ᾽ ἄλλους προαποθνήσκειν αὐτοῦ τῆς πλεονεξίας δικαιῶν. [258] τολμησάντων δ᾽ εἰς τὴν ἔξοδον τῶν Ῥωμαίων μάχη συνῆει καρτερά, καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πολλῶν μὲν ἔργων ἐκράτουν, οὐ μὴν τὰ φρονήματά γε τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἔκαμνε τῇ ὄψει τοῦ δεινοῦ πολλῶν αὐτοῖς πεπτωκότων, [259] περιοδεύσαντες δ᾽ ἀνίασιν ἐπὶ τὰς στοάς, αἵπερ ἦσαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸν ἔξω περίβολον περιέχουσαι, καὶ πολλοῖς ἀμάχου γενομένης λίθους τε ἠφίεσαν τοὺς μὲν ἐκ χειρὸς ὑπάραντες, οὓς δὲ σφενδονῶν, ἀθληταὶ τρόπου τοιαύτης μάχης ὄντες. [260] καὶ οἱ τοξόται πάντες παρατεταγμένοι μεγάλα ἔβλαπτον τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διὰ τὸ ὑπερδέξιοί τε εἶναι καὶ ἐπιχειρεῖσθαι μὲν ἄποροι διὰ τὸ ἀνέφικτον τοῖς εἰσακοντίζειν πειρωμένοις εἶναι, ῥᾴους δὲ κρατεῖσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἔχοντες. καὶ πολὺν μὲν χρόνον ἡ μάχη συνέστη τοιάδε οὖσα. [261] ἔπειτα Ῥωμαῖοι δεινῶς φέροντες τοῖς δρωμένοις πῦρ ἐνιᾶσιν ταῖς στοαῖς λαθόντες Ἰουδαίων τοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας ἐπ᾽ αὐταῖς. καὶ τὸ πῦρ ὑπό τε πολλῶν προστεθειμένον καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐγείρειν φλόγα δυναμένων ἥπτετο τοῦ ὀρόφου ᾗ τάχος. [262] ὁ δὲ ξύλωσιν παρέχων πίσσης τε καὶ κηροῦ πλέον ἔτι δὲ χρυσὸν ἐπαληλιμμένον εὐθέως ἥκειν, ἔργα τε μεγάλα ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἀξιολογώτατα ἠφανίζετο. καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν στοῶν ὄλεθρος οὗτος ἀπροσδόκητος κατέλαβεν: οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ ὀρόφου καταρραγέντος συγκατεφέροντο αὐτῷ, τοὺς δὲ περισταδὸν ἔβαλλον οἱ πολέμιοι: [263] πολλοὶ δὲ ἀπορίᾳ σωτηρίας τε καὶ ἐκπλήξει κακοῦ τοῦ περιεστηκότος, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἵεσαν αὐτούς, οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ξίφεσι χρώμενοι διάδρασιν αὐτοῦ ἐποιοῦντο, ὁπόσοι δὲ εἰς τὸ κατόπιν χωρήσαντες ὁδῷ

ᾗ ἀναβεβήκεσαν ἐσώζοντο, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πάντας ἔκτεινον γυμνούς τε ὄντας καὶ τὰ φρονήματα ἐκλελυμένους, οὐδὲν τῆς ἀπονοίας διὰ τὸ ἄνοπλον βοηθεῖν δυναμένης. [264] ἐσώθη τε τῶν ἀνελθόντων ἐπὶ τὸ τέγος οὐδ᾽ ὁστισοῦν. καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς ᾗ παρείκοι ὠσθέντες ἐκράτουν τοῦ θησαυροῦ, καθ᾽ ὃν ἱερὰ ἦν χρήματα. καὶ διεκλάπη μὲν πολλὰ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, Σαβῖνος δὲ περιεποίησεν εἰς τὸ φανερὸν τετρακόσια τάλαντα.

2. But on the approach of pentecost, which is a festival of ours, so called from the days of our forefathers, a great many ten thousands of men got together; nor did they come only to celebrate the festival, but out of their indignation at the madness of Sabinus, and at the injuries he offered them. A great number there was of Galileans, and Idumeans, and many men from Jericho, and others who had passed over the river Jordan, and inhabited those parts. This whole multitude joined themselves to all the rest, and were more zealous than the others in making an assault on Sabinus, in order to be avenged on him; so they parted themselves into three bands, and encamped themselves in the places following: — some of them seized on the hippodrome and of the other two bands, one pitched themselves from the northern part of the temple to the southern, on the east quarter; but the third band held the western part of the city, where the king's palace was. Their work tended entirely to besiege the Romans, and to enclose them on all sides. Now Sabinus was afraid of these men's number, and of their resolution, who had little regard to their lives, but were very desirous not to be overcome, while they thought it a point of puissance to overcome their enemies; so he sent immediately a letter to Varus, and, as he used to do, was very pressing with him, and entreated him to come quickly to his assistance, because the forces he had left were in imminent danger, and would probably, in no long time, be seized upon, and cut to pieces; while he did himself get up to the highest tower of the fortress Phasaelus, which had been built in honor of Phasaelus, king Herod's brother, and called so when the Parthians had brought him to his death. So Sabinus gave thence a signal to the Romans to fall upon the Jews, although he did not himself venture so much as to come down to his friends, and thought he might expect that the others should expose themselves first to die on account of his avarice. However, the Romans ventured to make a sally out of the place, and a terrible battle ensued; wherein, though it is true the Romans beat their adversaries, yet were not the Jews daunted in their resolutions, even when they had the sight of that terrible slaughter that was made of them; but they went round about, and got upon those cloisters which encompassed the outer court of the temple, where a great fight was still continued, and they cast stones at the Romans, partly with their hands, and partly with slings, as being much used to

those exercises. All the archers also in array did the Romans a great deal of mischief, because they used their hands dexterously from a place superior to the others, and because the others were at an utter loss what to do; for when they tried to shoot their arrows against the Jews upwards, these arrows could not reach them, insomuch that the Jews were easily too hard for their enemies. And this sort of fight lasted a great while, till at last the Romans, who were greatly distressed by what was done, set fire to the cloisters so privately, that those that were gotten upon them did not perceive it. This fire being fed by a great deal of combustible matter, caught hold immediately on the roof of the cloisters; so the wood, which was full of pitch and wax, and whose gold was laid on it with wax, yielded to the flame presently, and those vast works, which were of the highest value and esteem, were destroyed utterly, while those that were on the roof unexpectedly perished at the same time; for as the roof tumbled down, some of these men tumbled down with it, and others of them were killed by their enemies who encompassed them. There was a great number more, who, out of despair of saving their lives, and out of astonishment at the misery that surrounded them, did either cast themselves into the fire, or threw themselves upon their swords, and so got out of their misery. But as to those that retired behind the same way by which they ascended, and thereby escaped, they were all killed by the Romans, as being unarmed men, and their courage failing them; their wild fury being now not able to help them, because they were destitute of armor, insomuch that of those that went up to the top of the roof, not one escaped. The Romans also rushed through the fire, where it gave them room so to do, and seized on that treasure where the sacred money was reposited; a great part of which was stolen by the soldiers, and Sabinus got openly four hundred talents.

(3) [265] Ἰουδαίους δὲ ἐλύπει μὲν τὸ πάθος τῶν φίλων, οἳ ἐν τῇδε ἔπεσον τῇ μάχῃ, ἐλύπει δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἡ ἀφαίρεσις, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ ὅπερ αὐτῶν ἐτύγχανεν συνεστραμμένον καὶ μαχιμώτατον τούτῳ ἐμπεριέχοντες τὸ βασίλειον ἠπείλουν πῦρ τε ἐνήσειν αὐτῷ καὶ πάντας κτείνειν, κελεύοντες ᾗ τάχος ἀπιέναι καὶ πειθομένοις ὑπισχνούμενοι ἄδειαν καὶ Σαβίνῳ σὺν αὐτοῖς. [266] καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν τὸ πλεῖστον ηὐτομολήκεσαν σὺν αὐτοῖς, Ῥοῦφος δὲ καὶ Γρᾶτος τρισχιλίους τὸ μαχιμώτατον τοῦ Ἡρώδου στρατεύματος ἔχοντες ἄνδρας τοῖς σώμασι δραστηρίους Ῥωμαίοις προστίθενται. καί τι καὶ ἱππικὸν ἦν τῶν ὑπὸ τῷ Ῥούφῳ τεταγμένων, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ προσθήκη τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐγεγόνει. [267] Ἰουδαίοις δὲ οὐκ ἠμέλητο ἡ πολιορκία, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τείχη μετήλλευον καὶ τοῖς μεταβαλλομένοις ἐκέλευον μὴ ἐμποδισταῖς εἶναι τοῦ ἀπολησομένου χρόνῳ παροῦσαν αὐτοῖς ἐλευθερίαν τὴν πάτριον. [268] Σαβίνῳ μὲν οὖν εὐκτὸν ἀπιέναι μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, πιστεύειν δ᾽ οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν διὰ τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ τὸ λίαν

εὔγνωμον τῶν πολεμίων ἐπ᾽ ἀποτροπῇ τοῦ κατασταθησομένου εἶχεν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸν Οὔαρον ἥξειν προσδοκῶν ὑπέμενε τὴν πολιορκίαν.

3. But this calamity of the Jews' friends, who fell in this battle, grieved them, as did also this plundering of the money dedicated to God in the temple. Accordingly, that body of them which continued best together, and was the most warlike, encompassed the palace, and threatened to set fire to it, and kill all that were in it. Yet still they commanded them to go out presently, and promised, that if they would do so, they would not hurt them, nor Sabinus neither; at which time the greatest part of the king's troops deserted to them, while Rufus and Gratus, who had three thousand of the most warlike of Herod's army with them, who were men of active bodies, went over to the Romans. There was also a band of horsemen under the command of Ruffis, which itself went over to the Romans also. However, the Jews went on with the siege, and dug mines under the palace walls, and besought those that were gone over to the other side not to be their hinderance, now they had such a proper opportunity for the recovery of their country's ancient liberty; and for Sabinus, truly he was desirous of going away with his soldiers, but was not able to trust himself with the enemy, on account of what mischief he had already done them; and he took this great [pretended] lenity of theirs for an argument why he should not comply with them; and so, because he expected that Varus was coming, he still bore the siege.

(4) [269] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἕτερα μυρία θορύβων ἐχόμενα τὴν Ἰουδαίαν κατελάμβανεν πολλῶν πολλαχόσε οἳ κατ᾽ οἰκείων ἐλπίδας κερδῶν καὶ Ἰουδαίων ἔχθρας ἐπὶ τὸ πολεμεῖν ὡρμημένων: [270] δισχίλιοι μὲν τῶν ὑφ᾽ Ἡρώδῃ ποτὲ στρατευσαμένων καὶ ἤδη καταλελυκότες ἐν αὐτῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ συστάντες προσεπολέμουν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ἀντιστατοῦντος αὐτοῖς Ἀχιάβου τοῦ Ἡρώδου ἀνεψιοῦ, καὶ τῶν μὲν πεδίων εἰς τὰ μετέωρα ἀνεωσμένου δι᾽ ἐμπειρίαν τὴν εἰς τὰ πολεμικὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ταῖς δὲ δυσχωρίαις σώζοντος ὁπόσα δυνατά.

4. Now at this time there were ten thousand other disorders in Judea, which were like tumults, because a great number put themselves into a warlike posture, either out of hopes of gain to themselves, or out of enmity to the Jews. In particular, two thousand of Herod's old soldiers, who had been already disbanded, got together in Judea itself, and fought against the king's troops, although Achiabus, Herod's first cousin, opposed them; but as he was driven out of the plains into the mountainous parts by the military skill of those men, he kept himself in the fastnesses that were there, and saved what he could.

(5) [271] Ἰούδας δὲ ἦν Ἐζεκίου τοῦ ἀρχιλῃστοῦ υἱὸς ἐπὶ μέγα δυνηθέντος ὑφ᾽ Ἡρώδου δὲ μεγάλοις ληφθέντος πόνοις. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ἰούδας περὶ Σέπφωριν τῆς

Γαλιλαίας συστησάμενος πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν ἀπονενοημένων ἐπιδρομὴν τῷ βασιλείῳ ποιεῖται καὶ ὅπλων κρατήσας ὁπόσα αὐτόθι ἀπέκειτο ὥπλιζε τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἀποφέρεται χρήματα ὁπόσα κατελήφθη αὐτόθι, [272] φοβερός τε ἅπασιν ἦν ἄγων καὶ φέρων τοὺς προστυγχάνοντας ἐπιθυμίᾳ μειζόνων πραγμάτων καὶ ζηλώσει βασιλείου τιμῆς, οὐκ ἀρετῆς ἐμπειρίᾳ τοῦ δὲ ὑβρίζειν περιουσίᾳ κτήσεσθαι προσδοκῶν τὸ ἐντεῦθεν γέρας.

5. There was also Judas, the son of that Ezekias who had been head of the robbers; which Ezekias was a very strong man, and had with great difficulty been caught by Herod. This Judas, having gotten together a multitude of men of a profligate character about Sepphoris in Galilee, made an assault upon the palace [there,] and seized upon all the weapons that were laid up in it, and with them armed every one of those that were with him, and carried away what money was left there; and he became terrible to all men, by tearing and rending those that came near him; and all this in order to raise himself, and out of an ambitious desire of the royal dignity; and he hoped to obtain that as the reward not of his virtuous skill in war, but of his extravagance in doing injuries.

(6) [273] Ἦν δὲ καὶ Σίμων δοῦλος μὲν Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἄλλως δὲ ἀνὴρ εὐπρεπὴς καὶ μεγέθει καὶ ῥώμῃ σώματος ἐπὶ μέγα προύχων τε καὶ πεπιστευμένος. οὗτος ἀρθεὶς τῇ ἀκρισίᾳ τῶν πραγμάτων διάδημά τε ἐτόλμησε περιθέσθαι, [274] καί τινος πλήθους συστάντος καὶ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς ἀναγγελθεὶς μανίᾳ τῇ ἐκείνων καὶ εἶναι ἄξιος ἐλπίσας παρ᾽ ὀντινοῦν τό τε ἐν Ἰεριχοῦντι βασίλειον πίμπρησιν δι᾽ ἁρπαγῆς ἄγων τὰ ἐγκατειλημμένα, πολλάς τε καὶ ἄλλας τῶν βασιλικῶν οἰκήσεων πολλαχοῦ τῆς χώρας πῦρ ἐνιεὶς ἠφάνιζεν, τοῖς συνεστηκόσιν λείαν ἄγειν τὰ ἐγκαταλελειμμένα ἐπιτρέπων. [275] ἐπέπρακτο δ᾽ ἄν τι μεῖζον ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ μὴ ταχείας ἐπιστροφῆς γενομένης: ὁ γὰρ Γρᾶτος ὁ τῶν βασιλικῶν στρατιωτῶν Ῥωμαίοις προστεθειμένος μεθ᾽ ἧς εἶχεν δυνάμεως ὑπαντιάζει τὸν Σίμωνα, [276] καὶ μάχης αὐτοῖς μεγάλης ἐπὶ πολὺ γενομένης τό τε πολὺ τῶν Περαίων ἀσύντακτοι ὄντες καὶ τόλμῃ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπιστήμῃ μαχόμενοι ἐφθάρησαν, καὶ αὐτοῦ Σίμωνος διά τινος φάραγγος σώζοντος αὐτὸν Γρᾶτος ἐντυχὼν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτέμνει. [277] κατεπρήσθη δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐπ᾽ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ ἐν Ἀμμάθοις βασίλεια ὑπό τινων συστάντων ἀνδρῶν Σίμωνι παραπλησίων. οὕτως πολλὴ ἀφροσύνη ἐνεπολίτευσε τῷ ἔθνει διὰ τὸ βασιλέα μὲν οἰκεῖον οὐκ εἶναι τὸν καθέξοντα τὸ πλῆθος ἀρετῇ, τοὺς δ᾽ ἀλλοφύλους ἐπελθόντας σωφρονιστὰς τοῦ μὴ στασιάσοντος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπέκκαυμα αὐτῶν διά τε τοῦ ὑβρίζειν καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν γενέσθαι.

6. There was also Simon, who had been a slave of Herod the king, but in other respects a comely person, of a tall and robust body; he was one that was much

superior to others of his order, and had had great things committed to his care. This man was elevated at the disorderly state of things, and was so bold as to put a diadem on his head, while a certain number of the people stood by him, and by them he was declared to be a king, and thought himself more worthy of that dignity than any one else. He burnt down the royal palace at Jericho, and plundered what was left in it. He also set fire to many other of the king's houses in several places of the country, and utterly destroyed them, and permitted those that were with him to take what was left in them for a prey; and he would have done greater things, unless care had been taken to repress him immediately; for Gratus, when he had joined himself to some Roman soldiers, took the forces he had with him, and met Simon, and after a great and a long fight, no small part of those that came from Perea, who were a disordered body of men, and fought rather in a bold than in a skillful manner, were destroyed; and although Simon had saved himself by flying away through a certain valley, yet Gratus overtook him, and cut off his head. The royal palace also at Amathus, by the river Jordan, was burnt down by a party of men that were got together, as were those belonging to Simon. And thus did a great and wild fury spread itself over the nation, because they had no king to keep the multitude in good order, and because those foreigners who came to reduce the seditious to sobriety did, on the contrary, set them more in a flame, because of the injuries they offered them, and the avaricious management of their affairs.

(7) [278] Ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀθρόγγης ἀνὴρ οὔτε προγόνων ἐπιφανὴς ἀξιώματι οὔτε ἀρετῆς περιουσίᾳ ἤ τινων πλήθει χρημάτων, ποιμὴν δὲ καὶ ἀνεπιφανὴς τοῖς πᾶσιν εἰς τὰ πάντα ὤν, ἄλλως δὲ μεγέθει σώματος καὶ τῇ κατὰ χεῖρας ἀλκῇ διαπρέπων, ἐτόλμησεν ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ φρονῆσαι τῷ κτώμενόν τε αὐτὴν ἡδονῆς πλέον ὑβρίσαι καὶ θνήσκων οὐκ ἐν μεγάλοις τίθεσθαι τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε ἀνάλωμα γενησόμενον. [279] ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀδελφοὶ τέσσαρες μεγάλοι τε καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἐπὶ μέγα προύχειν τῇ κατὰ χεῖρας ἀρετῇ πεπιστευμένοι, πρόεχμα εἶναι τῆς καθέξεως τῆς βασιλείας δοκοῦντες, λόχου τε αὐτῶν ἦρχεν ἕκαστος: συλλέγεται γὰρ μεγάλη πληθὺς πρὸς αὐτούς. [280] καὶ οἵδε μὲν στρατηγοὶ ἦσαν καὶ ὑπεστράτευον αὐτῷ ὁπόσα εἰς τὰς μάχας φοιτῶντες δι᾽ αὐτῶν, ὁ δὲ διάδημα περιθέμενος βουλευτήριόν τε ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοῖς ποιητέοις καὶ τὰ πάντα γνώμῃ ἀνακείμενα εἶχεν τῇ αὐτοῦ. [281] διέμενέ τε ἐπὶ πολὺ τῷδε τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἡ ἰσχὺς βασιλεῖ τε κεκλημένῳ καὶ ἃ πράσσειν ἐθέλοι μὴ ἀποστερουμένῳ, φόνῳ τε καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν ἐπὶ μέγα προσκείμενοι Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ βασιλικῶν μίσει πολιτεύοντες ὁμοίως πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους, τοῦτο μὲν ὕβρει ᾗ χρήσαιντο ἐπὶ τῆς Ἡρώδου ἀρχῆς, Ῥωμαίους δὲ ὧν τὸ παρὸν ἔδοξαν ἀδικεῖν. [282] προιόντος δὲ χρόνου καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ὁμοίως ἐξηγριώθησαν διάφευξίς τε οὐκ ἦν τοῖς πᾶσιν

ἐμπεσεῖν, τὰ μὲν κέρδους ἐλπίδι, τὰ δὲ καὶ συνηθείᾳ τοῦ φονεύειν. ἐπιτίθενται δέ ποτε καὶ Ῥωμαίων λόχῳ κατὰ Ἐμμαοῦντα, οἳ σῖτόν τε καὶ ὅπλα τῆς στρατιᾶς ἔφερον. καὶ περιστάντες Ἄρειον μὲν τὸν ἑκατόνταρχον, ὃς ἡγεῖτο τοῦ παντὸς καὶ τεσσαράκοντα τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν πεζῶν τοὺς κρατίστους κατηκόντισαν. [283] οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ δείσαντες πρὸς τὸ πάθος αὐτῶν Γράτου σὺν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς, οἳ περὶ αὐτὸν ἦσαν, σκέπης αὐτοῖς γενομένης σώζονται τοὺς νεκροὺς καταλιπόντες. καὶ πολὺν μὲν τοιουτοτρόποις χρώμενοι χρόνον μάχαις Ῥωμαίους τε παρελύπησαν οὐκ εἰς ὀλίγα καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ἐκάκωσαν ἐπὶ μέγα. [284] χειροῦται δὲ αὐτῶν χρόνῳ ὕστερον ὁ μὲν Γράτῳ συμβαλὼν ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαίῳ, καὶ τὸν πρεσβύτατον Ἀρχελάου λαβόντος ὁ τελευταῖος πάθει τε τῷ ἐκείνου λελυπημένος καὶ ἄπορον ἐπὶ πλέον ὁρῶν τὴν σωτηρίαν ὑπὸ μονώσεως καὶ καμάτου πολλοῦ ψιλωθεὶς τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ δεξιαῖς καὶ πίστει τοῦ θείου Ἀρχελάῳ παραδίδωσιν αὐτόν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ὕστερον γίνεται.

7. But because Athronges, a person neither eminent by the dignity of his progenitors, nor for any great wealth he was possessed of, but one that had in all respects been a shepherd only, and was not known by any body; yet because he was a tall man, and excelled others in the strength of his hands, he was so bold as to set up for king. This man thought it so sweet a thing to do more than ordinary injuries to others, that although he should be killed, he did not much care if he lost his life in so great a design. He had also four brethren, who were tall men themselves, and were believed to be superior to others in the strength of their hands, and thereby were encouraged to aim at great things, and thought that strength of theirs would support them in retaining the kingdom. Each of these ruled over a band of men of their own; for those that got together to them were very numerous. They were every one of them also commanders; but when they came to fight, they were subordinate to him, and fought for him, while he put a diadem about his head, and assembled a council to debate about what things should be done, and all things were done according to his pleasure. And this man retained his power a great while; he was also called king, and had nothing to hinder him from doing what he pleased. He also, as well as his brethren, slew a great many both of the Romans and of the king's forces, an managed matters with the like hatred to each of them. The king's forces they fell upon, because of the licentious conduct they had been allowed under Herod's government; and they fell upon the Romans, because of the injuries they had so lately received from them. But in process of time they grew more cruel to all sorts of men, nor could any one escape from one or other of these seditions, since they slew some out of the hopes of gain, and others from a mere custom of slaying men. They once attacked a company of Romans at Emmaus, who were bringing corn and

weapons to the army, and fell upon Arius, the centurion, who commanded the company, and shot forty of the best of his foot soldiers; but the rest of them were aftrighted at their slaughter, and left their dead behind them, but saved themselves by the means of Gratus, who came with the king's troops that were about him to their assistance. Now these four brethren continued the war a long while by such sort of expeditions, and much grieved the Romans; but did their own nation also a great deal of mischief. Yet were they afterwards subdued; one of them in a fight with Gratus, another with Ptolemy; Archelaus also took the eldest of them prisoner; while the last of them was so dejected at the other's misfortune, and saw so plainly that he had no way now left to save himself, his army being worn away with sickness and continual labors, that he also delivered himself up to Archclaus, upon his promise and oath to God [to preserve his life.] But these things came to pass a good while afterward.

(8) [285] Λῃστηρίων δὲ ἡ Ἰουδαία πλέως ἦν, καὶ ὃς παρατύχοι τινῶν οἳ συστασιάσοιεν αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς προιστάμενος ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἠπείγετο, ὀλίγα μὲν καὶ ἐπ' ὀλίγοις Ῥωμαίοις λυπηροὶ καθιστάμενοι, τοῦ δὲ ὁμοφύλου φόνον ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἐμποιοῦντες.

8. And now Judea was full of robberies; and as the several companies of the seditious lighted upon any one to head them, he was created a king immediately, in order to do mischief to the public. They were in some small measure indeed, and in small matters, hurtful to the Romans; but the murders they committed upon their own people lasted a long while.

(9) [286] Οὔαρος δὲ ἐπειδὴ τὸ πρῶτον πυνθάνεται [τὰ πεπραγμένα] Σαβίνου γράψαντος πρὸς αὐτόν, δείσας περὶ τοῦ τάγματος δύο τὰ λοιπὰ ἀναλαβών, τρία γὰρ ἐπὶ Συρίας τὰ πάντα ἦν, καὶ ἴλας ἱππέων τέσσαρας ὁπόσα τε ἐπικουρικὰ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς οἵ τινες τετράρχαι τότε παρεῖχον, ἠπείγετο βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ τότε πολιορκουμένοις. [287] εἴρητο δὲ πᾶσιν εἰς Πτολεμαίδα ἐπείγεσθαι ὁπόσοι προεξεπέμποντο. διδόασί τε αὐτῷ καὶ Βηρύτιοι διιόντι αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν ἐπικούρους πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, πέμπει δὲ καὶ Ἀρέτας ὁ Πετραῖος ἔχθει τῷ Ἡρώδου φιλίαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων κτώμενος οὐκ ὀλίγην χεῖρα πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων. [288] σταθείσης δ' ἐν Πτολεμαίδι πάσης ἤδη τῆς δυνάμεως μέρος τι ταύτης τῷ υἱῷ παραδοὺς [καὶ] ἐνὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων Γαλιλαίους ἐξέπεμπεν πολεμεῖν, οἳ ὑπὲρ τῆς Πτολεμαίδος ἐχόμενοι κατοικοῦσιν. [289] ὃς ἐμβαλὼν τούς τε ἀντικαταστάντας εἰς μάχην τρέπεται καὶ Σέπφωριν ἑλὼν τοὺς μὲν οἰκήτορας ἠνδραποδίσατο, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐνέπρησεν. αὐτὸς δὲ Οὔαρος ἐπὶ Σαμαρείας τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ προιὼν τῆς μὲν πόλεως ἀπέσχετο διὰ τὸ ἀνέγκλητον ἐπὶ τοῖς νεωτερισμοῖς εἶναι, στρατοπεδεύεται δὲ ἔν τινι κώμῃ Πτολεμαίου κτήματι,

Ἀροὺς ὄνομα αὐτῇ. [290] καὶ οἱ Ἄραβες μίσει τῷ Ἡρώδου ἐμπιπρᾶσιν αὐτὴν ἐχθρῶς καὶ πρὸς φίλους τοὺς ἐκείνου ἔχοντες. κἀνθένδε προιόντες Σαμφὼ κώμην ἑτέραν διήρπασάν τε οἱ Ἄραβες καὶ ἔκαυσαν πάνυ ἐρυμνὴν οὖσαν, καὶ ἔφυγεν ἐν τῇ προόδῳ οὐδὲν αὐτούς, [291] ἀλλὰ πυρὸς καὶ φόνου τὰ πάντα μεστὰ ἦν. πίμπραται δὲ καὶ Ἐμμαοῦς Οὐάρου κελεύσαντος ἐπ᾽ ἐκδικίᾳ τῶν συντετελευτηκότων προεκλειφθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκητόρων. [292] ἐντεῦθεν δὲ καὶ Ἱεροσολύμοις ἤδη συνῆπτε, καὶ Ἰουδαίων οἱ κατὰ πολιορκίαν τοῦ τάγματος τῇδε στρατοπεδευόμενοι τὴν ὄψιν τῆς προσόδου τῶν στρατευμάτων οὐχ ὑπομείναντες ᾤχοντο ἡμίεργον τὴν πολιορκίαν καταλιπόντες. [293] οἱ δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἰουδαῖοι δεινῶς τοῦ Οὐάρου σφίσιν ἐγκαλοῦντος ἀπελύοντο τὰς αἰτίας, ὡς τῆς μὲν συνόδου τῆς πληθύος διὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν γενομένης, τοῦ δὲ πολέμου μηδαμὰ γνώμῃ τῇ αὐτῶν, τόλμῃ δὲ τῶν ἐπηλύδων συνελθόντες αὐτοῖς καὶ συμπολιορκηθέντες Ῥωμαίοις μᾶλλον ἢ πολιορκεῖν προθυμίαν σχόντες. [294] προαπηντήκασιν δὲ τῷ Οὐάρῳ Ἰώσηπός τε ἀνεψιὸς Ἡρώδου βασιλέως Γρᾶτος τε καὶ Ῥοῦφος τοὺς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῖς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἄγοντες καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων οἱ πολιορκούμενοι. Σαβῖνος δὲ οὐκ ἀφίκετο Οὐάρῳ εἰς ὄψιν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπεξῆλθεν τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ θάλασσαν.

9. As soon as Varus was once informed of the state of Judea by Sabinus's writing to him, he was afraid for the legion he had left there; so he took the two other legions, [for there were three legions in all belonging to Syria,] and four troops of horsemen, with the several auxiliary forces which either the kings or certain of the tetrarchs afforded him, and made what haste he could to assist those that were then besieged in Judea. He also gave order that all that were sent out for this expedition, should make haste to Ptolemais. The citizens of Berytus also gave him fifteen hundred auxiliaries as he passed through their city. Aretas also, the king of Arabia Petrea, out of his hatred to Herod, and in order to purchase the favor of the Romans, sent him no small assistance, besides their footmen and horsemen; and when he had now collected all his forces together, he committed part of them to his son, and to a friend of his, and sent them upon an expedition into Galilee, which lies in the neighborhood of Ptolemais; who made an attack upon the enemy, and put them to flight, and took Sepphoris, and made its inhabitants slaves, and burnt the city. But Varus himself pursued his march for Samaria with his whole army; yet did not he meddle with the city of that name, because it had not at all joined with the seditious; but pitched his camp at a certain village that belonged to Ptolemy, whose name was Arus, which the Arabians burnt, out of their hatred to Herod, and out of the enmity they bore to his friends; whence they marched to another village, whose name was Sampho, which the Arabians plundered and burnt, although it was a fortified and a strong

place; and all along this march nothing escaped them, but all places were full of fire and of slaughter. Emmaus was also burnt by Varus's order, after its inhabitants had deserted it, that he might avenge those that had there been destroyed. From thence he now marched to Jerusalem; whereupon those Jews whose camp lay there, and who had besieged the Roman legion, not bearing the coming of this army, left the siege imperfect: but as to the Jerusalem Jews, when Varus reproached them bitterly for what had been done, they cleared themselves of the accusation, and alleged that the conflux of the people was occasioned by the feast; that the war was not made with their approbation, but by the rashness of the strangers, while they were on the side of the Romans, and besieged together with them, rather than having any inclination to besiege them. There also came beforehand to meet Varus, Joseph, the cousin-german of king Herod, as also Gratus and Rufus, who brought their soldiers along with them, together with those Romans who had been besieged; but Sabinus did not come into Varus's presence, but stole out of the city privately, and went to the sea-side.

(10) [295] Οὔαρος δὲ κατὰ τὴν χώραν πέμψας τοῦ στρατοῦ μέρος ἐπεζήτει τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως. καὶ σημαινομένων τοὺς μὲν ἐκόλασεν ὡς αἰτιωτάτους, εἰσὶ δ' οὓς καὶ ἀφῆκεν: ἐγίνοντο δὲ οἱ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν σταυρωθέντες δισχίλιοι. [296] μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὴν μὲν αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν ἀποπέμπεται, χρήσιμον μὲν ὁρῶν ἐπ' οὐδαμοῖς οὖσαν πράγμασιν: πολλὰ δὲ ἠτάκτητο αὐτοῖς καὶ παρήκουστο τῶν δογμάτων καὶ ὧν ἠξίου Οὔαρος ἐφέσει κερδῶν, ἃ ἐκ τοῦ κακουργεῖν περιεγίνοντο αὐτοῖς. [297] αὐτὸς δὲ μυρίους Ἰουδαίους συνεστηκέναι πυνθανόμενος ἠπείγετο εἰς κατάληψιν αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ οὐδ' ἦκον εἰς χεῖρας, ἀλλὰ παρέδοσαν αὐτοὺς γνώμῃ τῇ Ἀχιάβου συνελθόντες. καὶ Οὔαρος τῷ πλήθει συγχωρῶν τὰς αἰτίας τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἔπεμπεν ἐπὶ Καίσαρα ὁπόσοι ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν αὐτῶν. [298] Καῖσαρ δὲ τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν πολλοὺς διῆκεν, ὁπόσοι δὲ συγγενεῖς ὄντες Ἡρώδου συνεστράτευον αὐτοῖς τούσδε ἐκόλασεν μόνους, εἰ μηδὲν φροντίσαντες τοῦ δικαίου κατὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἐστράτευον.

10. Upon this, Varus sent a part of his army into the country, to seek out those that had been the authors of the revolt; and when they were discovered, he punished some of them that were most guilty, and some he dismissed: now the number of those that were crucified on this account were two thousand. After which he disbanded his army, which he found no way useful to him in the affairs he came about; for they behaved themselves very disorderly, and disobeyed his orders, and what Varus desired them to do, and this out of regard to that gain which they made by the mischief they did. As for himself, when he was informed that ten thousand Jews had gotten together, he made haste to catch them; but they did not proceed so far as to fight him, but, by the advice of Achiabus, they came

together, and delivered themselves up to him: hereupon Varus forgave the crime of revolting to the multitude, but sent their several commanders to Caesar, many of whom Caesar dismissed; but for the several relations of Herod who had been among these men in this war, they were the only persons whom he punished, who, without the least regard to justice, fought against their own kindred.

XI

CHAPTER 11. An Embassage To Caesar; And How Caesar Confirmed Herod's Testament.

(1) [299] Οὔαρος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα καταστησάμενος καὶ φρουρὰν Ἱεροσολύμων τὸ καὶ πρότερον καταλιπὼν τάγμα ἐπ᾽ Ἀντιοχείας ἠπείγετο. Ἀρχελάῳ δ᾽ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἑτέρων πραγμάτων ἐφύοντο ἀρχαὶ κατὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας. [300] ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην πρεσβεία Ἰουδαίων Οὐάρου τὸν ἀπόστολον αὐτῶν τῷ ἔθνει ἐπικεχωρηκότος ὑπὲρ αἰτήσεως αὐτονομίας. καὶ ἦσαν οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις οἱ ἀποσταλέντες γνώμῃ τοῦ ἔθνους πεντήκοντα, συνίσταντο δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης Ἰουδαίων ὑπὲρ ὀκτακισχίλιοι. [301] Καίσαρός τε συνέδριον φίλων τε τῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ Ῥωμαίων τῶν πρώτων συνάγοντος ἐν ἱερῷ Ἀπόλλωνος μεγάλοις τέλεσιν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἱδρυμένῳ, οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν αὐτόθι Ἰουδαίων ἀφικνοῦνται, Ἀρχέλαος δὲ μετὰ τῶν φίλων. [302] ὁπόσοι δὲ συγγενεῖς τοῦ βασιλέως ἦσαν Ἀρχελάῳ μὲν συντετάχθαι διὰ μῖσος τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑστέρουν, τοῖς δὲ πρέσβεσιν ὁμοψηφεῖν κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ δεινὸν ἡγοῦντο ἐν αἰσχύνῃ τῇ αὐτῶν οἰόμενοι γενήσεσθαι παρὰ Καίσαρι κατ᾽ ἀνδρὸς οἰκείου τοιάδε πράσσειν προθυμεῖσθαι. [303] παρῆν δὲ ἤδη καὶ Φίλιππος ἀπὸ Συρίας ἐξοτρύναντος αὐτὸν Οὐάρου τὸ μὲν κεφάλαιον ἐπὶ συνηγορίᾳ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, πάνυ γὰρ εὐνόει Οὔαρος αὐτῷ, γινομένης δὲ τῇ βασιλείᾳ μεταπτώσεως, καὶ τάδε ὑπώπτευεν Οὔαρος νέμησιν αὐτῆς γενήσεσθαι διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς εἶναι τοὺς αὐτονομίας γλιχομένους, οὐχ ὑστεριῶν τοῦ κἂν αὐτὸς μοῖραν αὐτῆς τινα φέρεσθαι.

1. So when Varus had settled these affairs, and had placed the former legion at Jerusalem, he returned back to Antioch; but as for Archelaus, he had new sources of trouble come upon him at Rome, on the occasions following: for an embassage of the Jews was come to Rome, Varus having permitted the nation to send it, that they might petition for the liberty of living by their own laws. Now the number of the ambassadors that were sent by the authority of the nation were fifty, to which they joined above eight thousand of the Jews that were at Rome already. Hereupon Caesar assembled his friends, and the chief men among the Romans, in the temple of Apollo, which he had built at a vast charge; whither the ambassadors came, and a multitude of the Jews that were there already came with them, as did also Archelaus and his friends; but as for the several kinsmen which Archelaus had, they would not join themselves with him, out of their hatred to him; and yet they thought it too gross a thing for them to assist the ambassadors [against him], as supposing it would be a disgrace to them in Caesar's opinion to think of thus acting in opposition to a man of their own

kindred. Philip also was come hither out of Syria, by the persuasion of Varus, with this principal intention to assist his brother [Archelaus]; for Varus was his great friend: but still so, that if there should any change happen in the form of government, [which Varus suspected there would,] and if any distribution should be made on account of the number that desired the liberty of living by their own laws, that he might not be disappointed, but might have his share in it.

(2) [304] Λόγου οὖν τοῖς Ἰουδαίων πρέσβεσι δοθέντος, οἳ ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς βασιλείας ἤλπιζον λέγειν, ἐπὶ κατηγορίᾳ τῶν Ἡρώδου παρανομιῶν τρέπονται, βασιλέα μὲν ὀνόματι ἀποφαίνοντες αὐτόν, τῶν δ᾽ ἐν ταῖς τυραννίσιν ἑκάστης τὸ ἀνήκεστον ἀναδεξάμενον εἰς ταὐτὸν ἐπ᾽ ὀλέθρῳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων συνθέντα χρῆσθαι τὰ πολλὰ καὶ φύσει τῇ αὐτοῦ προσκαινουργεῖν οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμένον. [305] πολλῶν γοῦν ὄντων, οἳ ὀλέθροις ἀπολώλοιεν οὐχ ἱστορήσειν πω πρότερον, πολλῷ δὲ δυστυχεστέρους πάθους ἐκείνων τοὺς ζῶντας εἶναι, οὐ μόνον ὧν ὄψει καὶ διανοίᾳ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀνιαθεῖεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧν ταῖς οὐσίαις. [306] πόλεις τε τὰς μὲν περιοικίδας καὶ ὑπὸ ἀλλοφύλων οἰκουμένας κοσμοῦντα ὧν ἐκ παύσασθαι καὶ καταλύσεώς τε καὶ ἀφανισμῷ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ κατῳκημένων. [307] πενίας δὲ ἀπόρου τὸ ἔθνος ἀναπεπληκέναι σὺν ὀλίγοις εὔδαιμον παρειληφότα, τῶν τε εὐπατριδῶν ὁπότε κτείνειεν αὐτοὺς ἐπ᾽ ἀλόγοις αἰτίαις τὰς οὐσίας ἀποφερόμενον καὶ οἷς συγχωρήσειε τὴν ἀηδίαν τοῦ ζῆν ψίλωσιν χρημάτων καταδικάζοντα. [308] καὶ χωρὶς μὲν πράσσεσθαι φόρους ἐπιβαλλομένους ἑκάστοις τὸ ἐπ᾽ ἔτος, χωρὶς δὲ εὐπορίας εἶναι παρακαταβολὰς αὐτῷ τε καὶ οἰκείοις καὶ φίλοις καὶ τῶν δούλων οἳ ἐπ᾽ ἐκπράξει τῶν φόρων ἐξίοιεν διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι κτήσει τοῦ ἀνυβρίστως μηδ᾽ ὅπως μηδ᾽ ἀργυρίων διδομένων. [309] παρθένων μέντοι φθορὰς καὶ γυναικῶν αἰσχύνας, ὁπόσας ἐπὶ παροινίᾳ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου δρώμενα σιγᾶν διὰ τὸ ἡδονὴν ἴσην εἶναι τοῖς πεπονθόσι τοῦ μὴ γεγονέναι τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνέκπυστα αὐτὰ εἶναι: τοσήνδε Ἡρώδην ἐπεισάγεσθαι τὴν ὕβριν αὐτοῖς, ὁπόσην οὐδ᾽ ἂν θηρίον ἀνθρώπων ἐπιστατεῖν δυνάμεως αὐτῷ παραγενομένης. [310] πολλῶν γοῦν ἀναστάσεων καὶ μεταστάσεων παραλαβουσῶν τὸ ἔθνος οὐδεμίαν ἱστορεῖσθαι πώποτε τοιάνδε δυστυχίαν ἐπελθοῦσαν αὐτῷ, παράδειγμά τε κακώσεως ἣν αὐτῷ Ἡρώδης ἐπετίθει τὸ ἔθνος: [311] καὶ ταῦτ᾽ εἰκότως ἂν γενέσθαι τὸ ἀσμένως Ἀρχέλαον βασιλέα προσειπεῖν οἰήσει τοῦ πάντ᾽ ὄντιν᾽ οὖν τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐσόμενον Ἡρώδου μετριώτερον φαίνεσθαι, καὶ τόν τε πατέρα συνολοφύρεσθαι αὐτῷ θεραπεύοντας, εἴ γε μετρίου τυγχάνειν δυνηθεῖεν, καὶ τἆλλα οἰκειουμένους. [312] τοῦ δὲ δείσαντος μὴ οὐχὶ Ἡρώδου γνήσιος πιστεύοιτο υἱός, οὐδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἐπάξειν ἂν τῷ ἔθνει τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῦτα μηδέπω τέλεον κρατυνάμενον ἡγεμονίαν διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ Καίσαρι δοῦναι καὶ μὴ τὴν ἐξουσίαν εἶναι, [313] καὶ παράδειγμα τὴν τῆς εἰς αὖθις ἀρετῆς τιθέναι τοῖς ἀρχθησομένοις μετριότητος καὶ εὐνομίας, ᾗ χρήσαιτο ἂν

πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν πρώτοις ἀποδειχθείσης πράξεως ἐπί τε τοῖς πολίταις καὶ τῷ θεῷ τρισχιλίων ὁμοφύλων ἀνδρῶν σφαγὴν ἐν τῷ τεμένει ποιησάμενον. πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἤδη καὶ δικαίῳ μίσει χρῆσθαι κατ᾽ αὐτῶν πρὸς τῇ λοιπῇ ὠμότητι καὶ ἔγκλημα τῆς ἀντιστάσεως καὶ ἀντιλογίας ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ προφερόμενον; [314] ἦν δὲ κεφάλαιον αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀξιώσεως βασιλείας μὲν καὶ τοιῶνδε ἀρχῶν ἀπηλλάχθαι, προσθήκη δὲ Συρίας γεγονότες ὑποτάσσεσθαι τοῖς ἐκεῖσε πεμπομένοις στρατηγοῖς: φανερωθήσεσθαι γὰρ οὕτως, εἴτε ἀληθῶς στασιώδεις εἶεν καὶ νεωτερισμοῖς τὰ πολλὰ προσησκημένοι εἴτε καὶ οὔ, μετριωτέρων τυχόντες οἳ ἐπιστήσονται αὐτοῖς.”

2. Now upon the liberty that was given to the Jewish ambassadors to speak, they who hoped to obtain a dissolution of kingly government betook themselves to accuse Herod of his iniquities; and they declared that he was indeed in name a king, but that he had taken to himself that uncontrollable authority which tyrants exercise over their subjects, and had made use of that authority for the destruction of the Jews, and did not abstain from making many innovations among them besides, according to his own inclinations; and that whereas there were a great many who perished by that destruction he brought upon them, so many indeed as no other history relates, they that survived were far more miserable than those that suffered under him; not only by the anxiety they were in from his looks and disposition towards them, but from the danger their estates were in of being taken away by him. That he did never leave off adorning these cities that lay in their neighborhood, but were inhabited by foreigners; but so that the cities belonging to his own government were ruined, and utterly destroyed that whereas, when he took the kingdom, it was in an extraordinary flourishing condition, he had filled the nation with the utmost degree of poverty; and when, upon unjust pretenses, he had slain any of the nobility, he took away their estates; and when he permitted any of them to live, he condemned them to the forfeiture of what they possessed. And besides the annual impositions which he laid upon every one of them, they were to make liberal presents to himself, to his domestics and friends, and to such of his slaves as were vouchsafed the favor of being his tax-gatherers, because there was no way of obtaining a freedom from unjust violence without giving either gold or silver for it. That they would say nothing of the corruption of the chastity of their virgins, and the reproach laid on their wives for incontinency, and those things acted after an insolent and inhuman manner; because it was not a smaller pleasure to the sufferers to have such things concealed, than it would have been not to have suffered them. That Herod had put such abuses upon them as a wild beast would not have put on them, if he had power given him to rule over us; and that although their nation

had passed through many subversions and alterations of government, their history gave no account of any calamity they had ever been under, that could be compared with this which Herod had brought upon their nation; that it was for this reason that they thought they might justly and gladly salute Archelaus as king, upon this supposition, that whosoever should be set over their kingdom, he would appear more mild to them than Herod had been; and that they had joined with him in the mourning for his father, in order to gratify him, and were ready to oblige him in other points also, if they could meet with any degree of moderation from him; but that he seemed to be afraid lest he should not be deemed Herod's own son; and so, without any delay, he immediately let the nation understand his meaning, and this before his dominion was well established, since the power of disposing of it belonged to Caesar, who could either give it to him or not, as he pleased. That he had given a specimen of his future virtue to his subjects, and with what kind of moderation and good administration he would govern them, by that his first action, which concerned them, his own citizens, and God himself also, when he made the slaughter of three thousand of his own countrymen at the temple. How then could they avoid the just hatred of him, who, to the rest of his barbarity, hath added this as one of our crimes, that we have opposed and contradicted him in the exercise of his authority? Now the main thing they desired was this: That they might be delivered from kingly and the like forms of government, and might be added to Syria, and be put under the authority of such presidents of theirs as should be sent to them; for that it would thereby be made evident, whether they be really a seditious people, and generally fond of innovations, or whether they would live in an orderly manner, if they might have governors of any sort of moderation set over them.

(3) [315] Τοιαῦτα δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰρηκότων Νικόλαος τούς τε βασιλεῖς ἀπήλλασσε τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, Ἡρώδην μὲν διὰ τὸ παρ' ὃν ἔζη χρόνον τυχεῖν ἀκατηγόρητον: οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοὺς ἐγκαλεῖν ἔχοντας ἐπὶ μετρίοις παρὰ τοῦ ζῶντος τιμωρίαν λαβεῖν δυναμένους ἐπὶ νεκρῷ κατηγορίαν συντιθέναι: [316] τὰ δὲ ὑπ' Ἀρχελάου πραχθέντα ὕβρει τῇ ἐκείνων ἀνετίθει, οἳ ὀριγνώμενοι πραγμάτων παρὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ σφαγῆς ἄρξαντες τῶν κωλύειν ὑβρίζοντας προμηθουμένων ἀμύνης γενομένης ἐγκαλοῖεν. ἐνεκάλει δὲ νεωτεροποιίας αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦ στασιάζειν ἡδονὴν ἀπαιδευσίᾳ τοῦ πείθεσθαι δίκῃ καὶ νομίμοις ὑπὸ τοῦ θέλειν τὰ πάντα νικᾶν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Νικόλαος.

3. Now when the Jews had said this, Nicolaus vindicated the kings from those accusations, and said, that as for Herod, since he had never been thus accused all the time of his life, it was not fit for those that might have accused him of lesser

crimes than those now mentioned, and might have procured him to be punished during his lifetime, to bring an accusation against him now he is dead. He also attributed the actions of Archlaus to the Jews' injuries to him, who, affecting to govern contrary to the laws, and going about to kill those that would have hindered them from acting unjustly, when they were by him punished for what they had done, made their complaints against him; so he accused them of their attempts for innovation, and of the pleasure they took in sedition, by reason of their not having learned to submit to justice and to the laws, but still desiring to be superior in all things. This was the substance of what Nicolaus said.

(4) [317] Καῖσαρ δ' ἀκούσας διαλύει μὲν τὸ συνέδριον, ὀλίγων δ' ἡμερῶν ὕστερον Ἀρχέλαον βασιλέα μὲν οὐκ ἀποφαίνεται, τῆς δ' ἡμίσεως χώρας ἥπερ Ἡρώδῃ ὑπετέλει ἐθνάρχην καθίσταται, τιμήσειν ἀξιώματι βασιλείας ὑπισχνούμενος, εἴπερ τὴν εἰς αὐτὴν ἀρετὴν προσφέροιτο. [318] τὴν δ' ἑτέραν ἡμίσειαν νείμας διχῇ δυσὶν Ἡρώδου παισὶν ἑτέροις παρεδίδου Φιλίππῳ καὶ Ἀντίπᾳ τῷ πρὸς Ἀρχέλαον τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀμφισβητήσαντι περὶ τῆς ὅλης ἀρχῆς. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν ἥ τε Περαία καὶ τὸ Γαλιλαῖον ὑπετέλουν, φορά τε ἦν τάλαντα διακόσια τὸ ἐπ' ἔτος. [319] Βαταναία δὲ σὺν Τράχωνι καὶ Αὐρανῖτις σύν τινι μέρει οἴκου τοῦ Ζηνοδώρου λεγομένου Φιλίππῳ τάλαντα ἑκατὸν προσέφερεν: τὰ δ' Ἀρχελάῳ συντελοῦντα Ἰδουμαῖοί τε καὶ Ἰουδαία τό τε Σαμαρειτικόν. τετάρτην μοῖραν οὗτοι τῶν φόρων παραλέλυντο Καίσαρος αὐτοῖς κούφισιν ψηφισαμένου διὰ τὸ μὴ συναποστῆναι τῇ λοιπῇ πληθύι. [320] καὶ ἦσαν πόλεις αἳ Ἀρχελάῳ ὑπετέλουν Στράτωνός τε πύργος καὶ Σεβαστὴ σὺν Ἰόππῃ καὶ Ἱεροσολύμοις: Γάζαν γὰρ καὶ Γάδαρα καὶ Ἵππον, Ἑλληνίδες εἰσὶν πόλεις, ἀπορρήξας αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀκροάσεως Συρίας προσθήκην ποιεῖται. προσῄει δὲ Ἀρχελάῳ φορὰ χρημάτων τὸ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς τάλαντα ἑξακόσια ἐξ ἧς παρέλαβεν ἀρχῆς.

4. When Caesar had heard these pleadings, he dissolved the assembly; but a few days afterwards he appointed Archelaus, not indeed to be king of the whole country, but ethnarch of the one half of that which had been subject to Herod, and promised to give him the royal dignity hereafter, if he governed his part virtuously. But as for the other half, he divided it into two parts, and gave it to two other of Herod's sons, to Philip and to Antipas, that Antipas who disputed with Archelaus for the whole kingdom. Now to him it was that Peres and Galilee paid their tribute, which amounted annually to two hundred talents, while Batanea, with Trachonitis, as well as Auranitis, with a certain part of what was called the House of Zenodorus, paid the tribute of one hundred talents to Philip; but Idumea, and Judea, and the country of Samaria paid tribute to Archelaus, but had now a fourth part of that tribute taken off by the order of Caesar, who decreed them that mitigation, because they did not join in this revolt with the rest

of the multitude. There were also certain of the cities which paid tribute to Archelaus: Strato's Tower and Sebaste, with Joppa and Jerusalem; for as to Gaza, and Gadara, and Hippos, they were Grecian cities, which Caesar separated from his government, and added them to the province of Syria. Now the tribute-money that came to Archelaus every year from his own dominions amounted to six hundred talents.

(5) [321] Καὶ τάδε μὲν τοῖς Ἡρώδου υἱέσιν τῶν πατρῴων παρῆν. Σαλώμῃ δὲ πρὸς οἷς ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις ἀπονέμει, Ἰάμνεια δὲ ἦν ταῦτα καὶ Ἄζωτος καὶ Φασαηλὶς καὶ ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου μυριάδες πεντήκοντα, Καῖσαρ χαρίζεται καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι βασίλειον οἴκησιν. ἦν δὲ καὶ ταύτῃ πρόσοδος ἐκ πάντων ταλάντων ἑξήκοντα τὸ ἐπ' ἔτος: καὶ αὐτῆς ὁ οἶκος ἦν ἐν τῇ Ἀρχελάου ἀρχῇ. [322] κομίζονται δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τοῦ βασιλέως συγγενεῖς ὁπόσα αἱ διαθῆκαι διηγόρευον. δυοῖν δ' αὐτοῦ θυγατράσιν παρθένοις χωρὶς ὧν ὁ πατὴρ κατέλιπεν Καῖσαρ ἑκατέρᾳ δωρεὰν ἐπετίθει μυριάδων ἀνὰ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου καὶ συνῴκισεν αὐτὰς τοῖς Φερώρου υἱέσιν. [323] χαρίζεται δὲ καὶ ὁπόσα αὐτῷ καταλέλειπτο τοῖς παισὶν τοῦ βασιλέως ὄντα πεντακοσίων ταλάντων καὶ χιλίων, ὀλίγα τῶν σκευῶν ὑπεξελόμενος οὐχ οὕτως μεγέθει τέλους ὡς μνήμῃ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῷ κεχαρισμένα.

5. And so much came to Herod's sons from their father's inheritance. But Salome, besides what her brother left her by his testament, which were Jamnia, and Ashdod, and Phasaelis, and five hundred thousand [drachmae] of coined silver, Caesar made her a present of a royal habitation at Askelo; in all, her revenues amounted to sixty talents by the year, and her dwelling-house was within Archelaus's government. The rest also of the king's relations received what his testament allotted them. Moreover, Caesar made a present to each of Herod's two virgin daughters, besides what their father left them, of two hundred and fifty thousand [drachmae] of silver, and married them to Pheroras's sons: he also granted all that was bequeathed to himself to the king's sons, which was one thousand five hundred talents, excepting a few of the vessels, which he reserved for himself; and they were acceptable to him, not so much for the great value they were of, as because they were memorials of the king to him.

XII

CHAPTER 12. Concerning A Spurious Alexander.

(1) [324] Τούτων δὲ ταύτῃ διαπεπραγμένων ὑπὸ Καίσαρος νεανίας Ἰουδαῖος μὲν τὸ γένος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Σιδωνίων τεθραμμένος πόλεως παρά τινι τῶν Ῥωμαικῶν ἀπελευθέρων εἰσῴκισεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Ἡρώδου συγγένειαν ὁμοιότητι μορφῆς, ἣ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτῷ τὸν ἀνῃρημένον Ἡρώδου υἱὸν ἐμαρτυρεῖτο παρὰ τοῖς θεωροῦσιν. [325] καὶ τοῦτο παρόρμημα ἦν αὐτῷ εἰς τὸ μεταποιεῖσθαι τῆς ἡγεμονίας. καὶ ὁμοπράγμονα παραλαβὼν ὁμόφυλον ἄνδρα, ἔμπειρον δὲ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸ βασίλειον πονηρόν τε ἄλλως καὶ ταράξαι μεγάλα πράγματα φύσιν ἔχοντα καὶ τοιαύτης κακίας διδάσκαλον αὐτῷ γενόμενον, [326] ἀπέφαινεν αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Ἡρώδου παῖδα ὄντα διακεκλεμμένον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν ἐσταλμένων: κτείναντα γὰρ ἑτέρους, οἳ ἀπατήσειν ἔμελλον τοὺς θεωροῦντας, αὐτόν τε περιποιῆσαι καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀριστόβουλον. [327] καὶ τούτοις αὐτός τε ἀνεπτέρωτο, καὶ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας οὐκ ἀπήλλακτο ἀπατᾶν, ἀλλὰ Κρήτῃ προσενεχθεὶς Ἰουδαίων ὁπόσοις εἰς ὁμιλίαν ἀφίκετο ἐπηγάγετο εἰς πίστιν, καὶ χρημάτων εὐπορηθεὶς δόσει τῇ ἐκείνων ἐπὶ Μήλου διῆρεν. πολὺ πλέονα δὲ ἦν ἐντεῦθεν ὁπόσα αὐτῷ προσῄει χρήματα πίστει τῆς βασιλείου συγγενείας καὶ ἐλπίδι τοῦ ἀπολαβεῖν τὴν πάτριον ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀμείψασθαι τοὺς εὐεργέτας. [328] ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἠπείγετο παραπομπῇ τῶν ἰδιοξένων, καὶ Δικαιαρχείᾳ προσβαλὼν οὐκ ἠτύχει καὶ τοὺς τῇδε Ἰουδαίους ἀφ᾽ ὁμοίας ἀπάτης προσαγαγέσθαι, προσῄεσάν τε ὥσπερ βασιλεῖ οἵ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ὁπόσοις ξενία πρὸς Ἡρώδην καὶ εὔνοια ἦν. [329] αἴτιον δὲ ἦν τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ ἡδονῇ δεχόμενον τοὺς λόγους σὺν τῷ φερεγγύῳ τῆς μορφῆς: καὶ γὰρ τοῖς πάνυ ὠμιληκόσιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πολὺ τὸ πιστὸν ἐνετίθει τοῦ μὴ οὐχ ἕτερος ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸς εἶναι, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πλησίον ὤμνυσαν, [330] ὥστε καὶ προελθόντος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην λόγου τοῦ περὶ αὐτοῦ πᾶν τὸ τῇδε Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ὑπαντιάζοντες ἐξῄεσαν τῷ παρὰ δόξαν τῆς σωτηρίας θειάζοντες τὸ ἔργον καὶ χάρμα ποιούμενοι διὰ τὸ μητρῷον αὐτῶν γένος, ὁπότε χωροίη κατὰ τοῦ στενωποῦ διφροφορούμενος: [331] καὶ πάντα βασίλειον περὶ αὐτὸν σχῆμα ἦν ἀναλώμασιν τῶν ἰδιοξένων, μεγάλαι περιστάσεις ἐγίνοντο τῆς πληθύος ἐπιβοήσεις τε εὔφημοι ὁπόσα εἰκὸς τοῖς οὕτω παρ᾽ ἐλπίδα σωθεῖσιν συντυγχάνειν οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ ἐπράσσετο.

1. When these affairs had been thus settled by Caesar, a certain young man, by birth a Jew, but brought up by a Roman freed-man in the city Sidon, ingrafted himself into the kindred of Herod, by the resemblance of his countenance, which those that saw him attested to be that of Alexander, the son of Herod, whom he had slain; and this was an incitement to him to endeavor to obtain the government; so he took to him as an assistant a man of his own country, [one

that was well acquainted with the affairs of the palace, but, on other accounts, an ill man, and one whose nature made him capable of causing great disturbances to the public, and one that became a teacher of such a mischievous contrivance to the other,] and declared himself to be Alexander, and the son of Herod, but stolen away by one of those that were sent to slay him, who, in reality, slew other men, in order to deceive the spectators, but saved both him and his brother Aristobulus. Thus was this man elated, and able to impose on those that came to him; and when he was come to Crete, he made all the Jews that came to discourse with him believe him [to be Alexander]. And when he had gotten much money which had been presented to him there, he passed over to Melos, where he got much more money than he had before, out of the belief they had that he was of the royal family, and their hopes that he would recover his father's principality, and reward his benefactors; so he made haste to Rome, and was conducted thither by those strangers who entertained him. He was also so fortunate, as, upon his landing at Dicearchia, to bring the Jews that were there into the same delusion; and not only other people, but also all those that had been great with Herod, or had a kindness for him, joined themselves to this man as to their king. The cause of it was this, that men were glad of his pretenses, which were seconded by the likeness of his countenance, which made those that had been acquainted with Alexander strongly to believe that he was no other but the very same person, which they also confirmed to others by oath; insomuch that when the report went about him that he was coming to Rome, the whole multitude of the Jews that were there went out to meet him, ascribing it to Divine Providence that he has so unexpectedly escaped, and being very joyful on account of his mother's family. And when he was come, he was carried in a royal litter through the streets; and all the ornaments about him were such as kings are adorned withal; and this was at the expense of those that entertained him. The multitude also flocked about him greatly, and made mighty acclamations to him, and nothing was omitted which could be thought suitable to such as had been so unexpectedly preserved.

(2) [332] Καίσαρι δὲ ὡς ἀφίκετο ἀγγελία ἡ περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἠπίστει μὲν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἂν ῥᾳδίως ἀπατηθῆναι Ἡρώδην ἐν πράγμασιν ἐπὶ μέγα ἀνήκουσιν αὐτῷ, διδοὺς δὲ τῇ ἐλπίδι Κέλαδον τῶν αὐτοῦ τινὰ ἐξελευθέρων ὠμιληκότα τοῖς μειρακίοις πέμπει κελεύσας ἀγαγεῖν εἰς ὄψιν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. ὁ δὲ ἀνῆγεν οὐδέν τι βελτίων ἐπὶ τῇ κρίσει τῶν πολλῶν γενόμενος. [333] οὐ μὴν Καῖσάρ γε ἠπατᾶτο, ἀλλ' ἦν μὲν ἐμφερής, οὐ μὴν ὥστε ἀπατῆσαι τοὺς σωφρόνως ἐκλογίζεσθαι δυναμένους: αὐτουργίᾳ τε γὰρ ἐτέτρυτο ὁ ψευδαλέξανδρος καὶ παρὰ τὸ ἐκείνῳ ῥαδαλὸν τοῦ σώματος ὑπὸ τρυφῆς καὶ γενναιότητος συνερχόμενον διὰ τὰ

ἐναντία τῷδε ἐπισκληρότερον ἐξεβεβήκει τὸ σῶμα. [334] θεασάμενος οὖν συμπνευσμὸν ἐπὶ ψευδολογίᾳ διδασκάλου καὶ μαθητοῦ καὶ λόγων τολμηρῶν συγκρότησιν, ἐξήταζε περὶ Ἀριστοβούλου, τί καὶ γεγόνοι συνεκκλαπεὶς αὐτῷ, καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οὐ παραγεγόνοι μεταποιούμενος τῆς ἀξίας, ἧς προσῆκε τυγχάνειν τοὺς οὕτω γεγονότας; [335] φαμένου δ' ἐπὶ νήσου τῆς Κυπρίων καταλελεῖφθαι κινδύνων ὑφοράσει τῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν, εἰ περὶ αὐτῷ συσταίη τι δεινόν, μὴ παντελὲς ἐξαλείφοιτο τὸ Μαριάμμης γένος ἀλλὰ περιὼν Ἀριστόβουλος μένοι τοὺς ἐπιβεβουλευκότας, [336] ταῦτα διισχυριζομένου καὶ συνεστῶτος αὐτῷ τοῦ μηχανοποιοῦ τῆς πράξεως Καῖσαρ καταμόνας ἀπολαβὼν τὸ μειράκιον "ἀλλὰ σοὶ μισθός, ἔφη, προκείσεται τοῦ μὴ καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ ἀπάτῃ χρησομένου τὸ μὴ ἀπολούμενον τῆς σωτηρίας: φάθι δή μοι αὐτόν τε ὃς ὢν τυγχάνεις καὶ ὅς σε τοιάδε ᾔξε τολμῆσαι διανοεῖσθαι: μεῖζον γὰρ τὸ ἐπιβού [337] λευμα κακίας ἐγκεχείρηκας χρόνων οὓς γεγονὼς τυγχάνεις." καὶ δή, οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλως πράσσειν, φράζει πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα τὸ ἐπιβούλευμα, ὅν τε τρόπον καὶ ὑφ' οὗ τυγχάνοι συγκείμενον. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸν μὲν ψευδαλέξανδρον, οὐ γὰρ ἐψεύσατο ὁμολογίαν τὴν πρὸς αὐτόν, δραστήριον ὁρῶν αὐτουργῆσαι τῷ σώματι ἐρέσσειν ἐν τοῖς ναύταις καταλέγει, τὸν δὲ ἀναπείσαντα κτείνει. [338] καταδίκη δ' ἤρκει Μηλίοις ὁπόσα ἐτετελέκεσαν εἰς τὸν Ψευδαλέξανδρον διακενῆς ἀναλωκέναι. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸν ψευδαλέξανδρον τολμηρῶς συντεθέντα οὕτως ἀκλεῶς ἔσχεν.

2. When this thing was told Caesar, he did not believe it, because Herod was not easily to be imposed upon in such affairs as were of great concern to him; yet, having some suspicion it might be so, he sent one Celadus, a freed-man of his, and one that had conversed with the young men themselves, and bade him bring Alexander into his presence; so he brought him, being no more accurate in judging about him than the rest of the multitude. Yet did not he deceive Caesar; for although there was a resemblance between him and Alexander, yet was it not so exact as to impose on such as were prudent in discerning; for this spurious Alexander had his hands rough, by the labors he had been put to and instead of that softness of body which the other had, and this as derived from his delicate and generous education, this man, for the contrary reason, had a rugged body. When, therefore, Caesar saw how the master and the scholar agreed in this lying story, and in a bold way of talking, he inquired about Aristobulus, and asked what became of him who [it seems] was stolen away together with him, and for what reason it was that he did not come along with him, and endeavor to recover that dominion which was due to his high birth also. And when he said that he had been left in the isle of Crete, for fear of the dangers of the sea, that, in case any accident should come to himself, the posterity of Mariamne might not

utterly perish, but that Aristobulus might survive, and punish those that laid such treacherous designs against them; and when he persevered in his affirmations, and the author of the imposture agreed in supporting it, Caesar took the young man by himself, and said to him, “If thou wilt not impose upon me, thou shalt have this for thy reward, that thou shalt escape with thy life; tell me, then, who thou art, and who it was that had boldness enough to contrive such a cheat as this. For this contrivance is too considerable a piece of villainy to be undertaken by one of thy age.” Accordingly, because he had no other way to take, he told Caesar the contrivance, and after what manner and by whom it was laid together. So Caesar, upon observing the spurious Alexander to be a strong active man, and fit to work with his hands, that he might not break his promise to him, put him among those that were to row among the mariners, but slew him that induced him to do what he had done; for as for the people of Melos, he thought them sufficiently punished, in having thrown away so much of their money upon this spurious Alexander. And such was the ignominious conclusion of this bold contrivance about the spurious Alexander.

XIII

CHAPTER 13. How Archelaus Upon A Second Accusation, Was Banished To Vienna.

(1) [339] Ἀρχέλαος δὲ τὴν ἐθναρχίαν παραλαβὼν ἐπεὶ εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἀφικνεῖται, Ἰωάζαρον τὸν Βοηθοῦ ἀφελόμενος τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἐπικαλῶν αὐτῷ συστάντι τοῖς στασιώταις Ἐλεάζαρον τὸν ἐκείνου ἐπικαθίσταται ἀδελφόν. [340] ἀνοικοδομεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἰεριχοῦντι βασίλειον ἐκπρεπῶς, τῶν τε ὑδάτων ὁπόσα Νεαρὰν τὴν κώμην ὠφελεῖ ἐπιρρέοντα ἐξ ἡμισείας ἀπέστρεψεν ἐπαγωγὴν αὐτῷ ποιούμενος τῷ πεδίῳ φοίνιξιν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πεφυτευμένῳ, κώμην τε κτίσας Ἀρχελαίδα ὄνομα αὐτῇ τίθεται. [341] καὶ τοῦ πατρίου παράβασιν ποιησάμενος Γλαφύραν τὴν Ἀρχελάου μὲν θυγατέρα, Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ γαμετὴν γενομένην, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τέκνα ἦν αὐτῇ, ἀπώμοτον ὂν Ἰουδαίοις γαμετὰς ἀδελφῶν ἄγεσθαι, γαμεῖ. διατρίβει δὲ οὐδὲ ὁ Ἐλεάζαρος ἐν τῇ ἱερωσύνῃ ἐπικατασταθέντος αὐτῷ ζῶντι Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Σεὲ παιδός.

1. When Archelaus was entered on his ethnarchy, and was come into Judea, he accused Joazar, the son of Boethus, of assisting the seditious, and took away the high priesthood from him, and put Eleazar his brother in his place. He also magnificently rebuilt the royal palace that had been at Jericho, and he diverted half the water with which the village of Neara used to be watered, and drew off that water into the plain, to water those palm trees which he had there planted: he also built a village, and put his own name upon it, and called it Archelais. Moreover, he transgressed the law of our fathers and married Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, who had been the wife of his brother Alexander, which Alexander had three children by her, while it was a thing detestable among the Jews to marry the brother's wife. Nor did this Eleazar abide long in the high priesthood, Jesus, the son of Sie, being put in his room while he was still living.

(2) [342] Δεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀρχελάου οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔν τε Ἰουδαίοις καὶ Σαμαρεῦσι μὴ φέροντες τὴν ὠμότητα αὐτοῦ καὶ τυραννίδα κατηγοροῦσιν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Καίσαρος, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσαν αὐτὸν παραβεβηκότα τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ, ἵνα ἐπιεικῶς ἀναστραφῇ τὰ πρὸς αὐτούς. [343] ὁ τοίνυν Καῖσαρ ὡς ἤκουσεν, ὀργῇ φέρων τὸν ἐπίτροπον τὸν Ἀρχελάου τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ πραγμάτων, Ἀρχέλαος δὲ καὶ τούτῳ ὄνομα ἦν, μετακαλέσας γράφειν μὲν Ἀρχελάῳ ταπεινὸν ἡγεῖται, "σὺ δὲ παραχρῆμα, φησίν, πλέων μηδὲν [344] εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἐπαναγαγεῖν αὐτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς." καὶ ὃς ἔκπλουν ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ποιησάμενος καὶ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἰουδαίαν λαμβάνει τὸν Ἀρχέλαον ἐν εὐωχίαις ὄντα μετὰ τῶν φίλων, τήν τε διάνοιαν ἀποσημαίνει τὴν Καίσαρος καὶ ὥρμησεν

αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἔξοδον. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀφικομένου ἐπί τινων κατηγόρων ἀκροᾶται καὶ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ἐκεῖνον μὲν φυγάδα ἐλαύνει δοὺς οἰκητήριον αὐτῷ Βίενναν πόλιν τῆς Γαλατίας, τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἀπηνέγκατο.

2. But in the tenth year of Archelaus's government, both his brethren, and the principal men of Judea and Samaria, not being able to bear his barbarous and tyrannical usage of them, accused him before Caesar, and that especially because they knew he had broken the commands of Caesar, which obliged him to behave himself with moderation among them. Whereupon Caesar, when he heard it, was very angry, and called for Archelaus's steward, who took care of his affairs at Rome, and whose name was Archelaus also; and thinking it beneath him to write to Archelaus, he bid him sail away as soon as possible, and bring him to us: so the man made haste in his voyage, and when he came into Judea, he found Archelaus feasting with his friends; so he told him what Caesar had sent him about, and hastened him away. And when he was come [to Rome], Caesar, upon hearing what certain accusers of his had to say, and what reply he could make, both banished him, and appointed Vienna, a city of Gaul, to be the place of his habitation, and took his money away from him.

(3) [345] Πρότερον δὲ ἢ κληθεὶς ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἀνελθεῖν Ἀρχέλαος ὄναρ τοιόνδε ἐκδιηγεῖται τοῖς φίλοις θεασάμενος: ἀστάχυας δέκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν πλέους πυροῦ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀκμὴν ἀπειληφότας δόξα ἦν αὐτῷ βιβρωσκομένους ὑπὸ βοῶν θεωρεῖν. καὶ περιεγρόμενος φέρειν εἰς μέγα δόξαν τὴν ὄψιν αὐτῷ μεταστέλλεται τοὺς μάντεις, οἷς περὶ ὀνειράτων ἦσαν αἱ ἀναστροφαί. [346] σκιδναμένων δὲ ἑτέρων ἐφ' ἑτέροις, οὐ γὰρ εἰς ἕνα ἔκειτο πᾶσιν ἀφήγησις, Σίμων ἀνὴρ γένος Ἐσσαῖος ἀσφάλειαν αἰτησάμενος, μεταβολὴν πραγμάτων ἔλεγεν Ἀρχελάῳ φέρειν τὴν ὄψιν οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς πράγμασιν: [347] βόας μὲν γὰρ κακοπαθείας τε ἀποσαφεῖν διὰ τὸ ἔργοις ἐπιταλαιπωρεῖν τὸ ζῷον, μεταβολὰς δὲ αὖ πραγμάτων διὰ τὸ τὴν γῆν πόνῳ τῷ ἐκείνων ἀρουμένην ἐν ταὐτῷ μένειν οὐ δύνασθαι: τοὺς δὲ ἀστάχυας δέκα ὄντας τοσῶνδε ἀριθμὸν ἐνιαυτῶν ὁρίζειν, περιόδῳ γὰρ ἑνὸς παραγίνεσθαι θέρος, καὶ τὸν χρόνον ἐξήκειν Ἀρχελάῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας. [348] καὶ ὁ μὲν ταύτῃ ἐξηγήσατο τὸν ὄνειρον. πέμπτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ μεθ' ὃ τὸ πρῶτον αὐτοῦ ἡ ὄψις Ἀρχελάῳ συνῆλθεν ὁ ἀνακαλούμενος Ἀρχέλαος πεμπτὸς εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἀφίκετο.

3. Now, before Archelaus was gone up to Rome upon this message, he related this dream to his friends: That he saw ears of corn, in number ten, full of wheat, perfectly ripe, which ears, as it seemed to him, were devoured by oxen. And when he was awake and gotten up, because the vision appeared to beof great importance to him, he sent for the diviners, whose study was employed about

dreams. And while some were of one opinion, and some of another, [for all their interpretations did not agree,] Simon, a man of the sect of the Essens, desired leave to speak his mind freely, and said that the vision denoted a change in the affairs of Archelaus, and that not for the better; that oxen, because that animal takes uneasy pains in his labors, denoted afflictions, and indeed denoted, further, a change of affairs, because that land which is ploughed by oxen cannot remain in its former state; and that the ears of corn being ten, determined the like number of years, because an ear of corn grows in one year; and that the time of Archelaus's government was over. And thus did this man expound the dream. Now on the fifth day after this dream came first to Archelaus, the other Archelaus, that was sent to Judea by Caesar to call him away, came hither also.

(4) [349] Παραπλήσια δὲ καὶ Γλαφύρᾳ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ συντυγχάνει βασιλέως Ἀρχελάου θυγατρὶ οὔσῃ, ᾗ καὶ πρότερον εἶπον συνῴκει παρθένον λαβὼν Ἀλέξανδρος Ἡρώδου μὲν υἱὸς Ἀρχελάου δ' ἀδελφός. ἐπεὶ δὲ συμβαίνει τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτῆσαι, [350] Ἰόβᾳ τῷ Λιβύων βασιλεῖ γαμεῖται, μεταστάντος δὲ τοῦ Λίβυος χηρεύουσαν ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ Ἀρχέλαος ἄγεται τὴν συνοῦσαν αὐτῷ Μαριάμμην ἐκβαλών: τοσόσδε τῆς Γλαφύρας ἀνέστρεψεν ἔρως. [351] καὶ συνοικοῦσα τῷ Ἀρχελάῳ τοιόνδε ὄναρ θεᾶται: ἐδόκει τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιστάντα θεασαμένη χαίρειν καὶ περιβάλλειν προθύμως, τὸν δὲ κατάμεμψίν τε αὐτῆς ποιεῖσθαι καὶ φάναι: [352] "Γλαφύρα, συνηγορεῖς ἄρα λόγῳ, ὃς ἄπιστα ἔλεγεν εἶναι γυναιξίν, εἰ συνομόσασά τέ μοι καὶ συγκατοικισθεῖσα παρθένος παίδων ἡμῖν γεγονότων λήθῃ παραδίδως ἔρωτας τοὺς ἐμοὺς δευτέρων ἐπιθυμίᾳ γάμων. πληθώρα δέ σοι οὐδ' οὕτως ὕβρεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρίτον ἐτόλμησας σαυτῇ παρακατακλῖναι νυμφίον ἀπρεπῶς καὶ ἀναισχύντως ἐπεισιοῦσα οἴκῳ τῷ ἐμῷ, καὶ γάμον συντιθεμένη πρὸς Ἀρχέλαον ἄνδρα μὲν σεαυτῆς ἀδελφὸν δὲ ἡμέτερον. [353] ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔγωγε λήθην ποιήσομαι εὐνοίας τῆς σῆς, ἀπαλλάξω δέ σε παντὸς τοῦ ὀνειδιοῦντος ἐμὴν ὥσπερ ἦν κατασκευασάμενος." ταῦτα διηγησαμένη πρὸς τὰς συνήθεις τῶν γυναικῶν μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον.

4. The like accident befell Glaphyra his wife, who was the daughter of king Archelaus, who, as I said before, was married, while she was a virgin, to Alexander, the son of Herod, and brother of Archelaus; but since it fell out so that Alexander was slain by his father, she was married to Juba, the king of Lybia; and when he was dead, and she lived in widowhood in Cappadocia with her father, Archclaus divorced his former wife Mariamne, and married her, so great was his affection for this Glphyra; who, during her marriage to him, saw the following dream: She thought she saw Alexander standing by her, at which she rejoiced, and embraced him with great affection; but that he complained o

her, and said, O Glaphyra! thou provest that saying to be true, which assures us that women are not to be trusted. Didst not thou pledge thy faith to me? and wast not thou married to me when thou wast a virgin? and had we not children between us? Yet hast thou forgotten the affection I bare to thee, out of a desire of a second husband. Nor hast thou been satisfied with that injury thou didst me, but thou hast been so bold as to procure thee a third husband to lie by thee, and in an indecent and imprudent manner hast entered into my house, and hast been married to Archelaus, thy husband and my brother. However, I will not forget thy former kind affection for me, but will set thee free from every such reproachful action, and cause thee to be mine again, as thou once wast. When she had related this to her female companions, in a few days' time she departed this life.

(5) [354] Ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἀλλότρια νομίσας αὐτὰ τῷδε τῷ λόγῳ εἶναι διὰ τὸ περὶ τῶν βασιλέων αὐτὸν ἐνεστηκέναι καὶ ἄλλως ἐπὶ παραδείγματι φέρειν τοῦ τε ἀμφὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀθανασίας ἐμφεροῦς καὶ τοῦ θείου προμηθείᾳ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια περιειληφότος τῇ αὐτοῦ, καλῶς ἔχειν ἐνόμισα εἰπεῖν. ὅτῳ δὲ ἀπιστεῖται τὰ τοιάδε γνώμης ὀνινάμενος τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κώλυμα οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο τῷ ἐπ' ἀρετὴν αὐτῷ προστιθεμένῳ. [355] τῆς δ' Ἀρχελάου χώρας ὑποτελοῦς προσνεμηθείσης τῇ Σύρων πέμπεται Κυρίνιος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἀνὴρ ὑπατικὸς ἀποτιμησόμενός τε τὰ ἐν Συρίᾳ καὶ τὸν Ἀρχελάου ἀποδωσόμενος οἶκον.

5. Now I did not think these histories improper for the present discourse, both because my discourse now is concerning kings, and otherwise also on account of the advantage hence to be drawn, as well for the confirmation of the immortality of the soul, as of the providence of God over human affairs, I thought them fit to be set down; but if any one does not believe such relations, let him indeed enjoy his own opinion, but let him not hinder another that would thereby encourage himself in virtue. So Archelaus's country was laid to the province of Syria; and Cyrenius, one that had been consul, was sent by Caesar to take account of people's effects in Syria, and to sell the house of Archelaus.

Liber XVIII

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ ιη τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Ὡς Κυρίνιος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐπέμφθη τιμητὴς Συρίας καὶ Ἰουδαίας καὶ ἀποδωσόμενος τὴν Ἀρχελάου οὐσίαν.

β. ὡς Κωπώνιος ἐκ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ τάγματος ἐπέμφθη ἔπαρχος Ἰουδαίας.

γ. ὡς Ἰούδας ὁ Γαλιλαῖος ἔπεισεν τὸ πλῆθος μὴ ἀπογράψασθαι τὰς οὐσίας, μέχρις Ἰώζαρος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον ὑπακοῦσαι Ῥωμαίοις.

δ. τίνες αἱρέσεις καὶ ὁπόσαι παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις φιλοσόφων καὶ τίνες οἱ νόμοι.

ε. ὡς Ἡρώδης καὶ Φίλιππος οἱ τετράρχαι πόλεις ἔκτισαν εἰς τιμὴν Καίσαρος.

ς. ὡς Σαμαρεῖς ὀστᾶ νεκρῶν διαρρίψαντες εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸν λαὸν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἐμίαναν.

ζ. ὡς Σαλώμη ἡ ἀδελφὴ Ἡρώδου τελευτήσασα τὰ αὐτῆς κατέλιπεν Ἰουλίᾳ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος γαμετῇ.

η. ὡς Πόντιος Πιλᾶτος ἠθέλησε κρύφα εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα εἰσενέγκαι προτομὰς Καίσαρος, ὁ δὲ λαὸς οὐ κατεδέξατο στασιάσας.

θ. τὰ συμβάντα Ἰουδαίοις ἐν Ῥώμῃ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμαρέων.

ι. κατηγορία ὑπὸ Σαμαρέων Πιλάτου ἐπὶ Οὐιτελλίου καὶ ὡς Οὐιτέλλιος ἠνάγκασεν αὐτὸν ἀναβῆναι εἰς Ῥώμην λόγον τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀποδώσοντα.

ια. πόλεμος Ἡρώδου τοῦ τετράρχου πρὸς Ἀρέταν τὸν Ἀράβων βασιλέα καὶ ἧττα.

ιβ. ὡς Τιβέριος Καῖσαρ ἔγραψεν Οὐιτελλίῳ Ἀρταβάνην μὲν τὸν Πάρθον πεῖσαι ὁμήρους αὐτῷ πέμψαι, πρὸς Ἀρέταν δὲ πολεμεῖν.

ιγ. τελευτὴ Φιλίππου καὶ ὡς ἡ τετραρχία αὐτοῦ ἐπαρχία ἐγένετο.

ιδ. ἀπόπλους Ἀγρίππα εἰς Ῥώμην καὶ ὡς κατηγορηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου ἀπελευθέρου ἐδέθη.

ιε. ὃν τρόπον ἐλύθη ὑπὸ Γαίου μετὰ τὴν Τιβερίου τελευτὴν καὶ ἐγένετο βασιλεὺς τῆς Φιλίππου τετραρχίας.

ις. ὡς Ἡρώδης ἀναβὰς εἰς Ῥώμην ἐξωρίσθη καὶ ὡς τὴν τετραρχίαν αὐτοῦ ἐδωρήσατο Γάιος Ἀγρίππᾳ.

ιζ. στάσις τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ πρεσβεία ἀφ' ἑκατέρων πρὸς Γάιον.

ιη. κατηγορία Ἰουδαίων ὑπὸ Ἀπίωνος καὶ τῶν συμπρέσβεων ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ἔχειν Καίσαρος ἀνδριάντα.

ιθ. ὡς ἀγανακτήσας Γάιος πέμπει Πετρώνιον ἡγεμόνα εἰς Συρίαν πολεμῆσαι Ἰουδαίους, ἐὰν μὴ θελήσωσιν εἰσδέξασθαι αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀνδριάντα.

κ. τὴν συμβᾶσαν φθορὰν τοῖς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι Ἰουδαίοις δι' Ἀσιναῖον καὶ Ἀνιλαῖον τοὺς ἀδελφούς.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν λβ.

BOOK XVIII. Containing The Interval Of Thirty-Two Years. — From The Banishment Of Archelus To The Departure From Babylon.

I

CHAPTER 1. How Cyrenius Was Sent By Caesar To Make A Taxation Of Syria And Judea; And How Coponius Was Sent To Be Procurator Of Judea; Concerning Judas Of Galilee And Concerning The Sects That Were Among The Jews.

(1) [1] Κυρίνιος δὲ τῶν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν συναγομένων ἀνὴρ τάς τε ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἐπιτετελεκὼς καὶ διὰ πασῶν ὁδεύσας ὕπατος γενέσθαι τά τε ἄλλα ἀξιώματι μέγας σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπὶ Συρίας παρῆν, ὑπὸ Καίσαρος δικαιοδότης τοῦ ἔθνους ἀπεσταλμένος καὶ τιμητὴς τῶν οὐσιῶν γενησόμενος, [2] Κωπώνιός τε αὐτῷ συγκαταπέμπεται τάγματος τῶν ἱππέων, ἡγησόμενος Ἰουδαίων τῇ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐξουσίᾳ. παρῆν δὲ καὶ Κυρίνιος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προσθήκην τῆς Συρίας γενομένην ἀποτιμησόμενός τε αὐτῶν τὰς οὐσίας καὶ ἀποδωσόμενος τὰ Ἀρχελάου χρήματα. [3] οἱ δὲ καίπερ τὸ κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς ἐν δεινῷ φέροντες τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς ἀκρόασιν ὑποκατέβησαν τοῦ μὴ εἰς πλέον ἐναντιοῦσθαι πείσαντος αὐτοὺς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Ἰωαζάρου, Βοηθοῦ δὲ οὗτος υἱὸς ἦν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἡττηθέντες τοῦ Ἰωαζάρου τῶν λόγων ἀπετίμων τὰ χρήματα μηδὲν ἐνδοιάσαντες: [4] Ἰούδας δὲ Γαυλανίτης ἀνὴρ ἐκ πόλεως ὄνομα Γάμαλα Σάδδωκον Φαρισαῖον προσλαβόμενος ἠπείγετο ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει, τήν τε ἀποτίμησιν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἄντικρυς δουλείαν ἐπιφέρειν λέγοντες καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐπ᾽ ἀντιλήψει παρακαλοῦντες τὸ ἔθνος: [5] ὡς παρασχὸν μὲν κατορθοῦν εἰς τὸ εὔδαιμον ἀνακειμένης τῆς κτήσεως, σφαλεῖσιν δὲ τοῦ ταύτης περιόντος ἀγαθοῦ τιμὴν καὶ κλέος ποιήσεσθαι τοῦ μεγαλόφρονος, καὶ τὸ θεῖον οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ ἐπὶ συμπράξει τῶν βουλευμάτων εἰς τὸ κατορθοῦν συμπροθυμεῖσθαι μᾶλλον, ἂν μεγάλων ἐρασταὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ καθιστάμενοι μὴ ἐξαφίωνται πόνου τοῦ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς. [6] καὶ ἡδονῇ γὰρ τὴν ἀκρόασιν ὧν λέγοιεν ἐδέχοντο οἱ ἄνθρωποι, προύκοπτεν ἐπὶ μέγα ἡ ἐπιβολὴ τοῦ τολμήματος, κακόν τε οὐκ ἔστιν, οὗ μὴ φυέντος ἐκ τῶνδε τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ περαιτέρω τοῦ εἰπεῖν ἀνεπλήσθη τὸ ἔθνος: [7] πολέμων τε ἐπαγωγαῖς οὐχ οἷον τὸ ἄπαυστον τὴν βίαν ἔχειν, καὶ ἀποστέρησιν φίλων, οἳ καὶ ἐπελαφρύνοιεν τὸν πόνον, λῃστηρίων τε μεγάλων ἐπιθέσεσιν καὶ διαφθοραῖς ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων, δόξα μὲν τοῦ ὀρθουμένου τῶν κοινῶν, ἔργῳ δὲ οἰκείων κερδῶν ἐλπίσιν. [8] ἐξ ὧν στάσεις τε ἐφύησαν δι᾽ αὐτὰς καὶ φόνος πολιτικός, ὁ μὲν ἐμφυλίοις σφαγαῖς μανίᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἴς τε ἀλλήλους καὶ αὐτοὺς χρωμένων ἐπιθυμίᾳ τοῦ μὴ λείπεσθαι τῶν ἀντικαθεστηκότων, ὁ δὲ τῶν πολεμίων, λιμός τε εἰς ὑστάτην ἀνακείμενος ἀναισχυντίαν, καὶ πόλεων ἁλώσεις καὶ κατασκαφαί, μέχρι δὴ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνείματο πυρὶ τῶν πολεμίων

ἥδε ἡ στάσις. [9] οὕτως ἄρα ἡ τῶν πατρίων καίνισις καὶ μεταβολὴ μεγάλας ἔχει ῥοπὰς τοῦ ἀπολουμένου τοῖς συνελθοῦσιν, εἴ γε καὶ Ἰούδας καὶ Σάδδωκος τετάρτην φιλοσοφίαν ἐπείσακτον ἡμῖν ἐγείραντες καὶ ταύτης ἐραστῶν εὐπορηθέντες πρός τε τὸ παρὸν θορύβων τὴν πολιτείαν ἐνέπλησαν καὶ τῶν αὖθις κακῶν κατειληφότων ῥίζας ἐφυτεύσαντο τῷ ἀσυνήθει πρότερον φιλοσοφίας τοιᾶσδε: [10] περὶ ἧς ὀλίγα βούλομαι διελθεῖν, ἄλλως τε ἐπεὶ καὶ τῷ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν σπουδασθέντι τοῖς νεωτέροις ὁ φθόρος τοῖς πράγμασι συνέτυχε.

1. Now Cyrenius, a Roman senator, and one who had gone through other magistracies, and had passed through them till he had been consul, and one who, on other accounts, was of great dignity, came at this time into Syria, with a few others, being sent by Caesar to be a judge of that nation, and to take an account of their substance. Coponius also, a man of the equestrian order, was sent together with him, to have the supreme power over the Jews. Moreover, Cyrenius came himself into Judea, which was now added to the province of Syria, to take an account of their substance, and to dispose of Archelaus's money; but the Jews, although at the beginning they took the report of a taxation heinously, yet did they leave off any further opposition to it, by the persuasion of Joazar, who was the son of Beethus, and high priest; so they, being over-persuaded by Joazar's words, gave an account of their estates, without any dispute about it. Yet was there one Judas, a Gaulonite, of a city whose name was Gamala, who, taking with him Sadduc, a Pharisee, became zealous to draw them to a revolt, who both said that this taxation was no better than an introduction to slavery, and exhorted the nation to assert their liberty; as if they could procure them happiness and security for what they possessed, and an assured enjoyment of a still greater good, which was that of the honor and glory they would thereby acquire for magnanimity. They also said that God would not otherwise be assisting to them, than upon their joining with one another in such councils as might be successful, and for their own advantage; and this especially, if they would set about great exploits, and not grow weary in executing the same; so men received what they said with pleasure, and this bold attempt proceeded to a great height. All sorts of misfortunes also sprang from these men, and the nation was infected with this doctrine to an incredible degree; one violent war came upon us after another, and we lost our friends which used to alleviate our pains; there were also very great robberies and murder of our principal men. This was done in pretense indeed for the public welfare, but in reality for the hopes of gain to themselves; whence arose seditions, and from them murders of men, which sometimes fell on those of their own people, [by the madness of these men towards one another, while their desire was that none

of the adverse party might be left,] and sometimes on their enemies; a famine also coming upon us, reduced us to the last degree of despair, as did also the taking and demolishing of cities; nay, the sedition at last increased so high, that the very temple of God was burnt down by their enemies' fire. Such were the consequences of this, that the customs of our fathers were altered, and such a change was made, as added a mighty weight toward bringing all to destruction, which these men occasioned by their thus conspiring together; for Judas and Sadduc, who excited a fourth philosophic sect among us, and had a great many followers therein, filled our civil government with tumults at present, and laid the foundations of our future miseries, by this system of philosophy, which we were before unacquainted withal, concerning which I will discourse a little, and this the rather because the infection which spread thence among the younger sort, who were zealous for it, brought the public to destruction.

(2) [11] Ἰουδαίοις φιλοσοφίαι τρεῖς ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου τῶν πατρίων, ἥ τε τῶν Ἐσσηνῶν καὶ ἡ τῶν Σαδδουκαίων, τρίτην δὲ ἐφιλοσόφουν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι λεγόμενοι. καὶ τυγχάνει μέντοι περὶ αὐτῶν ἡμῖν εἰρημένα ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ βίβλῳ τοῦ Ἰουδαικοῦ πολέμου, μνησθήσομαι δ' ὅμως καὶ νῦν αὐτῶν ἐπ' ὀλίγον.

2. The Jews had for a great while had three sects of philosophy peculiar to themselves; the sect of the Essens, and the sect of the Sadducees, and the third sort of opinions was that of those called Pharisees; of which sects, although I have already spoken in the second book of the Jewish War, yet will I a little touch upon them now.

(3) [12] Οἵ τε γὰρ Φαρισαῖοι τὴν δίαιταν ἐξευτελίζουσιν οὐδὲν ἐς τὸ μαλακώτερον ἐνδιδόντες, ὧν τε ὁ λόγος κρίνας παρέδωκεν ἀγαθῶν ἔπονται τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ περιμάχητον ἡγούμενοι τὴν φυλακὴν ὧν ὑπαγορεύειν ἠθέλησεν. τιμῆς γε τοῖς ἡλικίᾳ προήκουσιν παραχωροῦσιν οὐδ' ἐπ' ἀντιλέξει τῶν εἰσηγηθέντων ταῦτα οἱ θράσει ἐπαιρόμενοι. [13] πράσσεσθαί τε εἱμαρμένῃ τὰ πάντα ἀξιοῦντες οὐδὲ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τὸ βουλόμενον τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὁρμῆς ἀφαιροῦνται δοκῆσαν τῷ θεῷ κρίσιν γενέσθαι καὶ τῷ ἐκείνης βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῷ ἐθελήσαντι προσχωρεῖν μετ' ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας. [14] ἀθάνατόν τε ἰσχὺν ταῖς ψυχαῖς πίστις αὐτοῖς εἶναι καὶ ὑπὸ χθονὸς δικαιώσεις τε καὶ τιμὰς οἷς ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας ἐπιτήδευσις ἐν τῷ βίῳ γέγονεν, καὶ ταῖς μὲν εἱργμὸν ἀίδιον προτίθεσθαι, ταῖς δὲ ῥᾳστώνην τοῦ ἀναβιοῦν. [15] καὶ δι' αὐτὰ τοῖς τε δήμοις πιθανώτατοι τυγχάνουσιν καὶ ὁπόσα θεῖα εὐχῶν τε ἔχεται καὶ ἱερῶν ποιήσεως ἐξηγήσει τῇ ἐκείνων τυγχάνουσιν πρασσόμενα. εἰς τοσόνδε ἀρετῆς αὐτοῖς αἱ πόλεις ἐμαρτύρησαν ἐπιτηδεύσει τοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσι κρείσσονος ἔν τε τῇ διαίτῃ τοῦ βίου καὶ λόγοις.

3. Now, for the Pharisees, they live meanly, and despise delicacies in diet; and they follow the conduct of reason; and what that prescribes to them as good for them they do; and they think they ought earnestly to strive to observe reason's dictates for practice. They also pay a respect to such as are in years; nor are they so bold as to contradict them in any thing which they have introduced; and when they determine that all things are done by fate, they do not take away the freedom from men of acting as they think fit; since their notion is, that it hath pleased God to make a temperament, whereby what he wills is done, but so that the will of man can act virtuously or viciously. They also believe that souls have an immortal rigor in them, and that under the earth there will be rewards or punishments, according as they have lived virtuously or viciously in this life; and the latter are to be detained in an everlasting prison, but that the former shall have power to revive and live again; on account of which doctrines they are able greatly to persuade the body of the people; and whatsoever they do about Divine worship, prayers, and sacrifices, they perform them according to their direction; insomuch that the cities give great attestations to them on account of their entire virtuous conduct, both in the actions of their lives and their discourses also.

(4) [16] Σαδδουκαίοις δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ὁ λόγος συναφανίζει τοῖς σώμασι, φυλακῇ δὲ οὐδαμῶς τινων μεταποίησις αὐτοῖς ἢ τῶν νόμων: πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς διδασκάλους σοφίας, ἣν μετίασιν, ἀμφιλογεῖν ἀρετὴν ἀριθμοῦσιν. [17] εἰς ὀλίγους δὲ ἄνδρας οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἀφίκετο, τοὺς μέντοι πρώτους τοῖς ἀξιώμασι, πράσσεταί τε ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν: ὁπότε γὰρ ἐπ' ἀρχὰς παρέλθοιεν, ἀκουσίως μὲν καὶ κατ' ἀνάγκας, προσχωροῦσι δ' οὖν οἷς ὁ Φαρισαῖος λέγει διὰ τὸ μὴ ἄλλως ἀνεκτοὺς γενέσθαι τοῖς πλήθεσιν.

4. But the doctrine of the Sadducees is this: That souls die with the bodies; nor do they regard the observation of any thing besides what the law enjoins them; for they think it an instance of virtue to dispute with those teachers of philosophy whom they frequent: but this doctrine is received but by a few, yet by those still of the greatest dignity. But they are able to do almost nothing of themselves; for when they become magistrates, as they are unwillingly and by force sometimes obliged to be, they addict themselves to the notions of the Pharisees, because the multitude would not otherwise bear them.

(5) [18] Ἐσσηνοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν θεῷ καταλείπειν φιλεῖ τὰ πάντα ὁ λόγος, ἀθανατίζουσιν δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς περιμάχητον ἡγούμενοι τοῦ δικαίου τὴν πρόσοδον. [19] εἰς δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀναθήματα στέλλοντες θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν διαφορότητι ἁγνειῶν, ἃς νομίζοιεν, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ εἰργόμενοι τοῦ κοινοῦ τεμενίσματος ἐφ' αὐτῶν τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν. βέλτιστοι δὲ ἄλλως [ἄνδρες] τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸ

πᾶν πονεῖν ἐπὶ γεωργίᾳ τετραμμένοι. [20] ἄξιον δ' αὐτῶν θαυμάσαι παρὰ πάντας τοὺς ἀρετῆς μεταποιουμένους τόδε διὰ τὸ μηδαμῶς ὑπάρξαν Ἑλλήνων ἢ βαρβάρων τισίν, ἀλλὰ μηδ' εἰς ὀλίγον, ἐκείνοις ἐκ παλαιοῦ συνελθὸν ἐν τῷ ἐπιτηδεύεσθαι μὴ κεκωλῦσθαι: τὰ χρήματά τε κοινά ἐστιν αὐτοῖς, ἀπολαύει δὲ οὐδὲν ὁ πλούσιος τῶν οἰκείων μειζόνως ἢ ὁ μηδ' ὁτιοῦν κεκτημένος: καὶ τάδε πράσσουσιν ἄνδρες ὑπὲρ τετρακισχίλιοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες. [21] καὶ οὔτε γαμετὰς εἰσάγονται οὔτε δούλων ἐπιτηδεύουσιν κτῆσιν, τὸ μὲν εἰς ἀδικίαν φέρειν ὑπειληφότες, τὸ δὲ στάσεως ἐνδιδόναι ποίησιν, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ζῶντες διακονίᾳ τῇ ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἐπιχρῶνται. [22] ἀποδέκτας δὲ τῶν προσόδων χειροτονοῦντες καὶ ὁπόσα ἡ γῆ φέροι ἄνδρας ἀγαθούς, ἱερεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ ποιήσει σίτου τε καὶ βρωμάτων. ζῶσι δὲ οὐδὲν παρηλλαγμένως, ἀλλ' ὅτι μάλιστα ἐμφέροντες Δακῶν τοῖς πλείστοις λεγομένοις.

5. The doctrine of the Essens is this: That all things are best ascribed to God. They teach the immortality of souls, and esteem that the rewards of righteousness are to be earnestly striven for; and when they send what they have dedicated to God into the temple, they do not offer sacrifices because they have more pure lustrations of their own; on which account they are excluded from the common court of the temple, but offer their sacrifices themselves; yet is their course of life better than that of other men; and they entirely addict themselves to husbandry. It also deserves our admiration, how much they exceed all other men that addict themselves to virtue, and this in righteousness; and indeed to such a degree, that as it hath never appeared among any other men, neither Greeks nor barbarians, no, not for a little time, so hath it endured a long while among them. This is demonstrated by that institution of theirs, which will not suffer any thing to hinder them from having all things in common; so that a rich man enjoys no more of his own wealth than he who hath nothing at all. There are about four thousand men that live in this way, and neither marry wives, nor are desirous to keep servants; as thinking the latter tempts men to be unjust, and the former gives the handle to domestic quarrels; but as they live by themselves, they minister one to another. They also appoint certain stewards to receive the incomes of their revenues, and of the fruits of the ground; such as are good men and priests, who are to get their corn and their food ready for them. They none of them differ from others of the Essens in their way of living, but do the most resemble those Dacae who are called Polistae [dwellers in cities].

(6) [23] Τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ τῶν φιλοσοφιῶν ὁ Γαλιλαῖος Ἰούδας ἡγεμὼν κατέστη, τὰ μὲν λοιπὰ πάντα γνώμῃ τῶν Φαρισαίων ὁμολογούσῃ, δυσνίκητος δὲ τοῦ ἐλευθέρου ἔρως ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς μόνον ἡγεμόνα καὶ δεσπότην τὸν θεὸν ὑπειληφόσιν. θανάτων τε ἰδέας ὑπομένειν παρηλλαγμένας ἐν ὀλίγῳ τίθενται καὶ

συγγενῶν τιμωρίας καὶ φίλων ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδένα ἄνθρωπον προσαγορεύειν δεσπότην. [24] ἐωρακόσιν δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς τὸ ἀμετάλλακτον αὐτῶν τῆς ἐπὶ τοιούτοις ὑποστάσεως περαιτέρω διελθεῖν παρέλιπον: οὐ γὰρ δέδοικα μὴ εἰς ἀπιστίαν ὑποληφθῇ τι τῶν λεγομένων ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς, τοὐναντίον δὲ μὴ ἐλασσόνως τοῦ ἐκείνων καταφρονήματος δεχομένου τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν τῆς ἀληδόνος ὁ λόγος ἀφηγῆται. [25] ἀνοίᾳ τε τῇ ἐντεῦθεν ἤρξατο νοσεῖν τὸ ἔθνος Γεσσίου Φλώρου, ὃς ἡγεμὼν ἦν, τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ ὑβρίζειν ἀπονοήσαντος αὐτοὺς ἀποστῆναι Ῥωμαίων. καὶ φιλοσοφεῖται μὲν Ἰουδαίοις τοσάδε.

6. But of the fourth sect of Jewish philosophy, Judas the Galilean was the author. These men agree in all other things with the Pharisaic notions; but they have an inviolable attachment to liberty, and say that God is to be their only Ruler and Lord. They also do not value dying any kinds of death, nor indeed do they heed the deaths of their relations and friends, nor can any such fear make them call any man lord. And since this immovable resolution of theirs is well known to a great many, I shall speak no further about that matter; nor am I afraid that any thing I have said of them should be disbelieved, but rather fear, that what I have said is beneath the resolution they show when they undergo pain. And it was in Gessius Florus's time that the nation began to grow mad with this distemper, who was our procurator, and who occasioned the Jews to go wild with it by the abuse of his authority, and to make them revolt from the Romans. And these are the sects of Jewish philosophy.

II

CHAPTER 2. Now Herod And Philip Built Several Cities In Honor Of Caesar. Concerning The Succession Of Priests And Procurators; As Also What Befell Phraates And The Parthians.

(1) [26] Κυρίνιος δὲ τὰ Ἀρχελάου χρήματα ἀποδόμενος ἤδη καὶ τῶν ἀποτιμήσεων πέρας ἐχουσῶν, αἳ ἐγένοντο τριακοστῷ καὶ ἑβδόμῳ ἔτει μετὰ τὴν Ἀντωνίου ἐν Ἀκτίῳ ἥτταν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος, Ἰωάζαρον τὸν ἀρχιερέα καταστασιασθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς πληθύος ἀφελόμενος τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς τιμῆς Ἄνανον τὸν Σεθὶ καθίσταται ἀρχιερέα. [27] Ἡρώδης δὲ καὶ Φίλιππος τετραρχίαν ἑκάτερος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρειληφότες καθίσταντο. καὶ Ἡρώδης Σέπφωριν τειχίσας πρόσχημα τοῦ Γαλιλαίου παντὸς ἠγόρευεν αὐτὴν Αὐτοκρατορίδα: Βηθαραμφθᾶ δέ, πόλις καὶ αὐτὴ τυγχάνει, τείχει περιλαβὼν Ἰουλιάδα ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος προσαγορεύει τῆς γυναικός. [28] Φίλιππος δὲ Πανεάδα τὴν πρὸς ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Ἰορδάνου κατασκευάσας ὀνομάζει Καισάρειαν, κώμην δὲ Βηθσαιδὰ πρὸς λίμνῃ τῇ Γεννησαρίτιδι πόλεως παρασχὼν ἀξίωμα πλήθει τε οἰκητόρων καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ δυνάμει Ἰουλίᾳ θυγατρὶ τῇ Καίσαρος ὁμώνυμον ἐκάλεσεν.

1. When Cyrenius had now disposed of Archelaus's money, and when the taxings were come to a conclusion, which were made in the thirty-seventh year of Caesar's victory over Antony at Actium, he deprived Joazar of the high priesthood, which dignity had been conferred on him by the multitude, and he appointed Ananus, the son of Seth, to be high priest; while Herod and Philip had each of them received their own tetrarchy, and settled the affairs thereof. Herod also built a wall about Sepphoris, [which is the security of all Galilee,] and made it the metropolis of the country. He also built a wall round Betharamphtha, which was itself a city also, and called it Julias, from the name of the emperor's wife. When Philip also had built Paneas, a city at the fountains of Jordan, he named it Cesarea. He also advanced the village Bethsaids, situate at the lake of Gennesareth, unto the dignity of a city, both by the number of inhabitants it contained, and its other grandeur, and called it by the name of Julias, the same name with Caesar's daughter.

(2) [29] Κωπωνίου δὲ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν διέποντος, ὃν ἔφην Κυρινίῳ συνεκπεμφθῆναι, τάδε πράσσεται. τῶν ἀζύμων τῆς ἑορτῆς ἀγομένης, ἣν πάσχα καλοῦμεν, ἐκ μέσης νυκτὸς ἐν ἔθει τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἦν ἀνοιγνύναι τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοὺς πυλῶνας. [30] καὶ τότε οὖν ἐπεὶ τὸ πρῶτον γίνεται ἡ ἄνοιξις αὐτῶν, ἄνδρες Σαμαρεῖται κρύφα

εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐλθόντες διάρριψιν ἀνθρωπείων ὀστῶν ἐν ταῖς στοαῖς καὶ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἤρξαντο μὴ πρότερον ἐπὶ τοιούτοις νομίζοντες τά τε ἄλλα διὰ φυλακῆς μείζονος ἦγον τὸ ἱερόν. [31] καὶ Κωπώνιος μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπαναχωρεῖ, διάδοχος δ᾽ αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς παραγίνεται Μᾶρκος Ἀμβιβουχος, ἐφ᾽ οὗ καὶ Σαλώμη ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡρώδου ἀδελφὴ μεταστᾶσα Ἰουλίᾳ μὲν Ἰάμνειάν τε καταλείπει καὶ τὴν τοπαρχίαν πᾶσαν, τήν τ᾽ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Φασαηλίδα καὶ Ἀρχελαίδα, ἔνθα φοινίκων πλείστη φύτευσις καὶ καρπὸς αὐτῶν ἄριστος. [32] διαδέχεται δὲ καὶ τοῦτον Ἄννιος Ῥοῦφος, ἐφ᾽ οὗ δὴ καὶ τελευτᾷ Καῖσαρ, δεύτερος μὲν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ γενόμενος ἑπτὰ δὲ καὶ πεντήκοντα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτη, πρὸς οἷς μῆνες ἓξ ἡμέραι δυοῖν πλείονες, τούτου δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ χρόνου δεκατέσσαρα ἔτη συνῆρξεν Ἀντώνιος, βιώσας ἔτη ἑβδομηκονταεπτά. [33] διαδέχεται δὲ τῷ Καίσαρι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Τιβέριος Νέρων γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰουλίας υἱὸς ὤν, τρίτος ἤδη οὗτος αὐτοκράτωρ, καὶ πεμπτὸς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ παρῆν Ἰουδαίοις ἔπαρχος διάδοχος Ἀννίῳ Ῥούφῳ Οὐαλέριος Γρᾶτος: [34] ὃς παύσας ἱεράσθαι Ἄνανον Ἰσμάηλον ἀρχιερέα ἀποφαίνει τὸν τοῦ Φαβί, καὶ τοῦτον δὲ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ μεταστήσας Ἐλεάζαρον τὸν Ἀνάνου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως υἱὸν ἀποδείκνυσιν ἀρχιερέα. ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ διαγενομένου καὶ τόνδε παύσας Σίμωνι τῷ Καμίθου τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην παραδίδωσιν. [35] οὐ πλείων δὲ καὶ τῷδε ἐνιαυτοῦ τὴν τιμὴν ἔχοντι διεγένετο χρόνος, καὶ Ἰώσηπος ὁ καὶ Καιάφας διάδοχος ἦν αὐτῷ. καὶ Γρᾶτος μὲν ταῦτα πράξας εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπανεχώρει ἕνδεκα ἔτη διατρίψας ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ, Πόντιος δὲ Πιλᾶτος διάδοχος αὐτῷ ἦκεν.

2. As Coponius, who we told you was sent along with Cyrenius, was exercising his office of procurator, and governing Judea, the following accidents happened. As the Jews were celebrating the feast of unleavened bread, which we call the Passover, it was customary for the priests to open the temple-gates just after midnight. When, therefore, those gates were first opened, some of the Samaritans came privately into Jerusalem, and threw about dead men’s bodies, in the cloisters; on which account the Jews afterward excluded them out of the temple, which they had not used to do at such festivals; and on other accounts also they watched the temple more carefully than they had formerly done. A little after which accident Coponius returned to Rome, and Marcus Ambivius came to be his successor in that government; under whom Salome, the sister of king Herod, died, and left to Julia, [Caesar’s wife,] Jamnia, all its toparchy, and Phasaelis in the plain, and Arehelais, where is a great plantation of palm trees, and their fruit is excellent in its kind. After him came Annius Rufus, under whom died Caesar, the second emperor of the Romans, the duration of whose reign was fifty-seven years, besides six months and two days [of which time Antonius ruled together with him fourteen years; but the duration of his life was

seventy-seven years]; upon whose death Tiberius Nero, his wife Julia's son, succeeded. He was now the third emperor; and he sent Valerius Gratus to be procurator of Judea, and to succeed Annius Rufus. This man deprived Ananus of the high priesthood, and appointed Ismael, the son of Phabi, to be high priest. He also deprived him in a little time, and ordained Eleazar, the son of Ananus, who had been high priest before, to be high priest; which office, when he had held for a year, Gratus deprived him of it, and gave the high priesthood to Simon, the son of Camithus; and when he had possessed that dignity no longer than a year, Joseph Caiaphas was made his successor. When Gratus had done those things, he went back to Rome, after he had tarried in Judea eleven years, when Pontius Pilate came as his successor.

(3) [36] Ἡρώδης δὲ ὁ τετράρχης, ἐπὶ μέγα γὰρ ἦν τῷ Τιβερίῳ φιλίας προελθών, οἰκοδομεῖται πόλιν ἐπώνυμον αὐτῷ Τιβεριάδα τοῖς κρατίστοις ἐπικτίσας αὐτὴν τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐπὶ λίμνῃ τῇ Γεννησαρίτιδι. θερμά τε οὐκ ἄπωθέν ἐστιν ἐν κώμῃ, Ἀμμαθοὺς ὄνομα αὐτῇ. [37] σύγκλυδες δὲ ᾤκισαν, οὐκ ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ τὸ Γαλιλαῖον ἦν, καὶ ὅσοι μὲν ἐκ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτῷ γῆς ἀναγκαστοὶ καὶ πρὸς βίαν εἰς τὴν κατοικίαν ἀγόμενοι, τινὲς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει. ἐδέξατο δὲ αὐτοῖς συνοίκους καὶ τοὺς πανταχόθεν ἐπισυναγομένους ἄνδρας ἀπόρους, [38] ἔστι δ' οὓς μηδὲ σαφῶς ἐλευθέρους, πολλά τε αὐτοὺς κἀπὶ πολλοῖς ἠλευθέρωσεν καὶ εὐηργέτησεν ἀνάγκασμα τοῦ μὴ ἀπολείψειν τὴν πόλιν ἐπιθείς, κατασκευαῖς τε οἰκήσεων τέλεσι τοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ γῆς ἐπιδόσει, εἰδὼς παράνομον τὸν οἰκισμὸν ὄντα καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰουδαίοις πατρίου διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ μνήμασιν, ἃ πολλὰ τῇδε ἦν, ἀνῃρημένοις τὴν ἵδρυσιν τῇ Τιβεριάδι γενέσθαι: μιαροὺς δὲ ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας εἶναι τοὺς οἰκήτορας ἀγορεύει ἡμῖν τὸ νόμιμον.

3. And now Herod the tetrarch, who was in great favor with Tiberius, built a city of the same name with him, and called it Tiberias. He built it in the best part of Galilee, at the lake of Gennesareth. There are warm baths at a little distance from it, in a village named Emmaus. Strangers came and inhabited this city; a great number of the inhabitants were Galileans also; and many were necessitated by Herod to come thither out of the country belonging to him, and were by force compelled to be its inhabitants; some of them were persons of condition. He also admitted poor people, such as those that were collected from all parts, to dwell in it. Nay, some of them were not quite free-men, and these he was benefactor to, and made them free in great numbers; but obliged them not to forsake the city, by building them very good houses at his own expenses, and by giving them land also; for he was sensible, that to make this place a habitation was to transgress the Jewish ancient laws, because many sepulchers were to be here

taken away, in order to make room for the city Tiberias whereas our laws pronounce that such inhabitants are unclean for seven days.

(4) [39] Τελευτᾷ δὲ καὶ Φραάτης ὁ Παρθυαίων βασιλεὺς κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐπιβουλῆς αὐτῷ γενομένης ὑπὸ Φραατάκου τοῦ υἱέος κατὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν. [40] Φραάτης παίδων αὐτῷ γενομένων γνησίων Ἰταλικῆς παιδίσκης ὄνομα αὐτῇ Θεσμοῦσα. ταύτῃ ὑπὸ Ἰουλίου Καίσαρος μετ᾽ ἄλλων δωρεῶν ἀπεσταλμένῃ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον παλλακίδι ἐχρῆτο, καταπλαγεὶς δὲ τῷ πολλῷ τῆς εὐμορφίας προιόντος τοῦ χρόνου καὶ παιδὸς αὐτῇ τοῦ Φραατάκου γενομένου γαμετήν τε τὴν ἄνθρωπον ἀποφαίνεται καὶ τιμίαν ἦγεν. [41] ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς εἴποι πιθανὴ τῷ βασιλεῖ γεγονυῖα καὶ σπεύδουσα τῷ παιδὶ τῷ αὐτῆς γενέσθαι τὴν Πάρθων ἡγεμονίαν ἑώρα μὴ ἄλλως γενησομένην μὴ ἀποσκευῆς αὐτῇ μηχανηθείσης τῶν γνησίων τοῦ Φραάτου παίδων. [42] πείθει οὖν αὐτὸν ἐκπέμπειν εἰς Ῥώμην ἐφ᾽ ὁμηρείᾳ τοὺς γνησίους παῖδας. καὶ οὗτοι μέν, οὐ γὰρ ἀντειπεῖν εὔπορον Φραάτῃ τοῖς Θεσμούσης ἐπιτάγμασιν, ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐξεπέμποντο. Φραατάκης δὲ μόνος ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι τρεφόμενος δεινὸν ἡγεῖτο καὶ ἅμα χρόνιον τοῦ πατρὸς διδόντος τὴν ἀρχὴν λαμβάνειν, ὥστε ἐπεβούλευε τῷ πατρὶ συμπράξει τῆς μητρός, ᾗ δὴ καὶ συνιέναι λόγος εἶχεν αὐτόν. [43] καὶ δι᾽ ἀμφότερα μισηθεὶς οὐδὲν ἡσσόνως τῆς πατροκτονίας τὸ μῦσος τοῦ μητρὸς ἔρωτος τιθεμένων τῶν ὑπηκόων, στάσει περιελαθεὶς πρότερον ἢ φῦναι μέγας ἐξέπεσε τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ οὕτως θνήσκει. [44] συμφρονήσαντες δὲ οἱ γενναιότατοι Πάρθων, ὡς ἀβασιλεύτοις μὲν ἀμήχανον πολιτεύεσθαι, οἱ δὲ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῶν Ἀρσακιδῶν, οὐ γὰρ ἑτέροις ἄρχειν νόμιμον, ἀπέχρη δὲ πολλάκις καὶ μέχρι νῦν περιυβρίσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν ἔκ τε γάμων τῆς Ἰταλικῆς παλλακίδος καὶ γενέσεων, Ὀρώδην ἐκάλουν πρεσβεύσαντες εἰς δάν, ἄλλως μὲν ἐπίφθονον τῷ πλήθει καὶ ὑπαίτιον καθ᾽ ὑπερβολὰς ὠμότητος, πάνυ γὰρ ἦν σκαιὸς καὶ δυσδιάθετος εἰς ὀργήν, ἕνα δὲ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γένους. [45] τοῦτον μὲν δὴ συστάντες ἀποκτείνουσιν, ὡς μὲν ἔνιοί φασιν, ἐν σπονδαῖς καὶ τραπέζαις, μαχαιροφορεῖν γὰρ ἔθος ἅπασιν, ὡς δ᾽ ὁ πλείων κατέχει λόγος, εἰς θήραν προαγαγόντες. [46] πρεσβεύσαντες δὲ εἰς Ῥώμην ᾐτοῦντο βασιλέα τῶν ὁμηρευόντων, καὶ πέμπεται Βονώνης προκριθεὶς τῶν ἀδελφῶν: ἐδόκει γὰρ χωρεῖν τὴν τύχην, ἣν αὐτῷ δύο μέγισται τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον ἡγεμονίαι προσέφερον, ἰδία καὶ ἀλλοτρία. [47] ταχεῖα δ᾽ ἀνατροπὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ὕπεισιν ἅτε καὶ φύσει σφαλεροὺς ὄντας πρός τε τὴν ἀναξιοπάθειαν, ἀνδραπόδῳ γὰρ ἀλλοτρίῳ ποιήσειν τὸ προστασσόμενον ἠξίουν, τὴν ὁμηρείαν ἀντὶ δουλείας ὀνομάζοντες, καὶ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως τὴν ἀδοξίαν: οὐ γὰρ [ἂν] πολέμου δικαίῳ δεδόσθαι τὸν βασιλεύσοντα Πάρθοις, ἀλλά, ὃ τῷ παντὶ χεῖρον, εἰρήνης ὕβρει. [48] παραχρῆμα δ᾽ ἐκάλουν Ἀρτάβανον Μηδίας βασιλεύοντα γένος Ἀρσακίδην: πείθεται δ᾽ Ἀρτάβανος καὶ μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἔπεισιν. ὑπαντιάζει δ᾽ αὐτῷ Βονώνης: καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον

συμφρονήσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Πάρθων παραταξάμενος νικᾷ, καὶ φεύγει πρὸς τοὺς ὅρους τῆς Μηδίας Ἀρτάβανος. [49] μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ συναγαγὼν συμβάλλει τε Βονώνῃ καὶ νικᾷ, καὶ Βονώνης εἰς Σελεύκειαν ἀφιππάζεται σὺν ὀλίγοις τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν. Ἀρτάβανος δὲ πολὺν τῇ τροπῇ φόνον ἐργασάμενος ὑπὲρ ἐκπλήξεως τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς Κτησιφῶντα μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἀναχωρεῖ. [50] κἀκεῖνος μὲν ἐβασίλευεν ἤδη Πάρθοις, Βονώνης δ᾽ εἰς Ἀρμενίαν διαπίπτει, καὶ κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς μὲν ἐφίετο τῆς χώρας καὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπρέσβευεν. [51] ὡς δ᾽ αὐτῷ Τιβέριος μὲν ἀπεῖπεν πρός τε τὴν ἀνανδρίαν καὶ τοῦ Πάρθου τὰς ἀπειλάς, ἀναπρεσβεύει γὰρ δὴ πόλεμον ἀνατεινόμενος, μηχανὴ δ᾽ ἦν ἑτέρας βασιλείας οὐδεμία, καὶ γὰρ οἱ περὶ Νιφάτην δυνατοὶ τῶν Ἀρμενίων Ἀρταβάνῳ προστίθενται, [52] παραδίδωσιν αὐτὸν Σιλανῷ τῷ τῆς Συρίας στρατηγῷ. κἀκεῖνος μὲν κατὰ αἰδῶ τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ κομιδῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ παρεφυλάσσετο: τὴν δὲ Ἀρμενίαν Ὀρώδῃ δίδωσιν Ἀρτάβανος ἐνὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παίδων.

4. About this time died Phraates, king of the Parthians, by the treachery of Phraataces his son, upon the occasion following: When Phraates had had legitimate sons of his own, he had also an Italian maid-servant, whose name was Thermusa, who had been formerly sent to him by Julius Caesar, among other presents. He first made her his concubine; but he being a great admirer of her beauty, in process of time having a son by her, whose name was Phraataces, he made her his legitimate wife, and had a great respect for her. Now she was able to persuade him to do any thing that she said, and was earnest in procuring the government of Parthia for her son; but still she saw that her endeavors would not succeed, unless she could contrive how to remove Phraates's legitimate sons [out of the kingdom;] so she persuaded him to send those his sons as pledges of his fidelity to Rome; and they were sent to Rome accordingly, because it was not easy for him to contradict her commands. Now while Phraataces was alone brought up in order to succeed in the government, he thought it very tedious to expect that government by his father's donation [as his successor]; he therefore formed a treacherous design against his father, by his mother's assistance, with whom, as the report went, he had criminal conversation also. So he was hated for both these vices, while his subjects esteemed this [wicked] love of his mother to be no way inferior to his parricide; and he was by them, in a sedition, expelled out of the country before he grew too great, and died. But as the best sort of Parthians agreed together that it was impossible they should be governed without a king, while also it was their constant practice to choose one of the family of Arsaces, [nor did their law allow of any others; and they thought this kingdom had been sufficiently injured already by the marriage with an Italian concubine, and by her issue,] they sent ambassadors, and called Orodes [to take the crown];

for the multitude would not otherwise have borne them; and though he was accused of very great cruelty, and was of an untractable temper, and prone to wrath, yet still he was one of the family of Arsaces. However, they made a conspiracy against him, and slew him, and that, as some say, at a festival, and among their sacrifices; [for it is the universal custom there to carry their swords with them;] but, as the more general report is, they slew him when they had drawn him out a hunting. So they sent ambassadors to Rome, and desired they would send one of those that were there as pledges to be their king. Accordingly, Vonones was preferred before the rest, and sent to them [for he seemed capable of such great fortune, which two of the greatest kingdoms under the sun now offered him, his own and a foreign one]. However, the barbarians soon changed their minds, they being naturally of a mutable disposition, upon the supposal that this man was not worthy to be their governor; for they could not think of obeying the commands of one that had been a slave, [for so they called those that had been hostages,] nor could they bear the ignominy of that name; and this was the more intolerable, because then the Parthians must have such a king set over them, not by right of war, but in time of peace. So they presently invited Artabanus, king of Media, to be their king, he being also of the race of Arsaces. Artabanus complied with the offer that was made him, and came to them with an army. So Vonones met him; and at first the multitude of the Parthians stood on this side, and he put his army in array; but Artabanus was beaten, and fled to the mountains of Media. Yet did he a little after gather a great army together, and fought with Vonones, and beat him; whereupon Vonones fled away on horseback, with a few of his attendants about him, to Seleucia [upon Tigris]. So when Artabanus had slain a great number, and this after he had gotten the victory by reason of the very great dismay the barbarians were in, he retired to Ctesiphon with a great number of his people; and so he now reigned over the Parthians. But Vonones fled away to Armenia; and as soon as he came thither, he had an inclination to have the government of the country given him, and sent ambassadors to Rome [for that purpose]. But because Tiberius refused it him, and because he wanted courage, and because the Parthian king threatened him, and sent ambassadors to him to denounce war against him if he proceeded, and because he had no way to take to regain any other kingdom, [for the people of authority among the Armenians about Niphates joined themselves to Artabanus,] he delivered up himself to Silanus, the president of Syria, who, out of regard to his education at Rome, kept him in Syria, while Artabanus gave Armenia to Orodes, one of his own sons.

(5) [53] Ἐτελεύτησεν δὲ καὶ ὁ τῆς Κομμαγηνῆς βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος, διέστη δὲ τὸ πλῆθος πρὸς τοὺς γνωρίμους καὶ πρεσβεύουσιν ἀφ᾽ ἑκατέρου μέρους, οἱ μὲν δυνατοὶ μεταβάλλειν τὸ σχῆμα τῆς πολιτείας εἰς ἐπαρχίαν ἀξιοῦντες, τὸ πλῆθος δὲ βασιλεύεσθαι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. [54] καὶ ψηφίζεται ἡ σύγκλητος Γερμανικὸν πέμπειν διορθώσοντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν πραγματευομένης αὐτῷ τῆς τύχης εὐκαιρίαν τοῦ θανάτου: καὶ γὰρ γενόμενος κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν καὶ πάντα διορθώσας ἀνῃρέθη φαρμάκῳ ὑπὸ Πείσωνος, καθὼς ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται.

5. At this time died Antiochus, the king of Commagene; whereupon the multitude contended with the nobility, and both sent ambassadors to [Rome]; for the men of power were desirous that their form of government might be changed into that of a [Roman] province; as were the multitude desirous to be under kings, as their fathers had been. So the senate made a decree that Germanicus should be sent to settle the affairs of the East, fortune hereby taking a proper opportunity for depriving him of his life; for when he had been in the East, and settled all affairs there, his life was taken away by the poison which Piso gave him, as hath been related elsewhere.

III

CHAPTER 3. Sedition Of The Jews Against Pontius Pilate. Concerning Christ, And What Befell Paulina And The Jews At Rome.

(1) [55] Πιλᾶτος δὲ ὁ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἡγεμὼν στρατιὰν ἐκ Καισαρείας ἀγαγὼν καὶ μεθιδρύσας χειμαδιοῦσαν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῶν νομίμων τῶν Ἰουδαικῶν ἐφρόνησε, προτομὰς Καίσαρος, αἳ ταῖς σημαίαις προσῆσαν, εἰσαγόμενος εἰς τὴν πόλιν, εἰκόνων ποίησιν ἀπαγορεύοντος ἡμῖν τοῦ νόμου. [56] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἱ πρότερον ἡγεμόνες ταῖς μὴ μετὰ τοιῶνδε κόσμων σημαίαις ἐποιοῦντο εἴσοδον τῇ πόλει. πρῶτος δὲ Πιλᾶτος ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ τὸ νύκτωρ γενέσθαι τὴν εἴσοδον ἱδρύεται τὰς εἰκόνας φέρων εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. [57] οἱ δ᾽ ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσαν κατὰ πληθὺν παρῆσαν εἰς Καισάρειαν ἱκετείαν ποιούμενοι ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ μεταθέσει τῶν εἰκόνων. καὶ μὴ συγχωροῦντος διὰ τὸ εἰς ὕβριν Καίσαρι φέρειν, ἐπείπερ οὐκ ἐξανεχώρουν λιπαρεῖν κατὰ ἕκτην ἡμέραν ἐν ὅπλοις ἀφανῶς ἐπικαθίσας τὸ στρατιωτικὸν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἦκεν. τὸ δ᾽ ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ κατεσκεύαστο, ὅπερ ἀπέκρυπτε τὸν ἐφεδρεύοντα στρατόν. [58] πάλιν δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἱκετείᾳ χρωμένων ἀπὸ συνθήματος περιστήσας τοὺς στρατιώτας ἠπείλει θάνατον ἐπιθήσειν ζημίαν ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος, εἰ μὴ παυσάμενοι θορυβεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀπίοιεν. [59] οἱ δὲ πρηνεῖς ῥίψαντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ γυμνοῦντες τὰς σφαγὰς ἡδονῇ δέξασθαι τὸν θάνατον ἔλεγον ἢ τολμήσειν τὴν σοφίαν παραβήσεσθαι τῶν νόμων. καὶ Πιλᾶτος θαυμάσας τὸ ἐχυρὸν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν νόμων παραχρῆμα τὰς εἰκόνας ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπανεκόμισεν εἰς Καισάρειαν.

1. But now Pilate, the procurator of Judea, removed the army from Cesarea to Jerusalem, to take their winter quarters there, in order to abolish the Jewish laws. So he introduced Caesar’s effigies, which were upon the ensigns, and brought them into the city; whereas our law forbids us the very making of images; on which account the former procurators were wont to make their entry into the city with such ensigns as had not those ornaments. Pilate was the first who brought those images to Jerusalem, and set them up there; which was done without the knowledge of the people, because it was done in the night time; but as soon as they knew it, they came in multitudes to Cesarea, and interceded with Pilate many days that he would remove the images; and when he would not grant their requests, because it would tend to the injury of Caesar, while yet they persevered in their request, on the sixth day he ordered his soldiers to have their weapons privately, while he came and sat upon his judgment-seat, which seat was so prepared in the open place of the city, that it concealed the army that lay ready to

oppress them; and when the Jews petitioned him again, he gave a signal to the soldiers to encompass them routed, and threatened that their punishment should be no less than immediate death, unless they would leave off disturbing him, and go their ways home. But they threw themselves upon the ground, and laid their necks bare, and said they would take their death very willingly, rather than the wisdom of their laws should be transgressed; upon which Pilate was deeply affected with their firm resolution to keep their laws inviolable, and presently commanded the images to be carried back from Jerusalem to Cesarea.

(2) [60] Ὑδάτων δὲ ἐπαγωγὴν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἔπραξεν δαπάνῃ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων ἐκλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ῥεύματος ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων διακοσίων, οἱ δ' οὐκ ἠγάπων τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸ ὕδωρ δρωμένοις πολλαί τε μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων συνελθόντες κατεβόων αὐτοῦ παύσασθαι τοῦ ἐπὶ τοιούτοις προθυμουμένου, τινὲς δὲ καὶ λοιδορίᾳ χρώμενοι ὕβριζον εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα, οἷα δὴ φιλεῖ πράσσειν ὅμιλος. [61] ὁ δὲ στολῇ τῇ ἐκείνων πολὺ πλῆθος στρατιωτῶν ἀμπεχόμενον, οἳ ἐφέροντο σκυτάλας ὑπὸ ταῖς στολαῖς, διαπέμψας εἰς ὃ περιέλθοιεν αὐτούς, αὐτὸς ἐκέλευσεν ἀναχωρεῖν. τῶν δὲ ὡρμηκότων εἰς τὸ λοιδορεῖν ἀποδίδωσι τοῖς στρατιώταις ὃ προσυνέκειτο σημεῖον. [62] οἱ δὲ καὶ πολὺ μειζόνως ἢπερ ἐπέταξεν Πιλᾶτος ἐχρῶντο πληγαῖς τούς τε θορυβοῦντας ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ μὴ κολάζοντες οἱ δ' εἰσεφέροντο μαλακὸν οὐδέν, ὥστε ἄοπλοι ληφθέντες ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν ἐκ παρασκευῆς ἐπιφερομένων πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν ταύτῃ καὶ ἀπέθνησκον, οἱ δὲ καὶ τραυματίαι ἀνεχώρησαν. καὶ οὕτω παύεται ἡ στάσις.

2. But Pilate undertook to bring a current of water to Jerusalem, and did it with the sacred money, and derived the origin of the stream from the distance of two hundred furlongs. However, the Jews were not pleased with what had been done about this water; and many ten thousands of the people got together, and made a clamor against him, and insisted that he should leave off that design. Some of them also used reproaches, and abused the man, as crowds of such people usually do. So he habited a great number of his soldiers in their habit, who carried daggers under their garments, and sent them to a place where they might surround them. So he bid the Jews himself go away; but they boldly casting reproaches upon him, he gave the soldiers that signal which had been beforehand agreed on; who laid upon them much greater blows than Pilate had commanded them, and equally punished those that were tumultuous, and those that were not; nor did they spare them in the least: and since the people were unarmed, and were caught by men prepared for what they were about, there were a great number of them slain by this means, and others of them ran away wounded. And thus an end was put to this sedition.

(3) [63] [Γίνεται δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἰησοῦς σοφὸς ἀνήρ, εἴγε ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρή: ἦν γὰρ παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητής, διδάσκαλος ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡδονῇ τἀληθῆ δεχομένων, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐπηγάγετο: ὁ χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν. [64] καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδείξει τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν παρ' ἡμῖν σταυρῷ ἐπιτετιμηκότος Πιλάτου οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο οἱ τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαπήσαντες: ἐφάνη γὰρ αὐτοῖς τρίτην ἔχων ἡμέραν πάλιν ζῶν τῶν θείων προφητῶν ταῦτά τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία περὶ αὐτοῦ θαυμάσια εἰρηκότων. εἰς ἔτι τε νῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὠνομασμένον οὐκ ἐπέλιπε τὸ φῦλον.]

3. Now there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man; for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles. He was [the] Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men amongst us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at the first did not forsake him; for he appeared to them alive again the third day; as the divine prophets had foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day.

(4) [65] Καὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ἕτερόν τι δεινὸν ἐθορύβει τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καὶ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἴσιδος τὸ ἐν Ῥώμῃ πράξεις αἰσχυνῶν οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμέναι συντυγχάνουσιν. καὶ πρότερον τοῦ τῶν Ἰσιακῶν τολμήματος μνήμην ποιησάμενος οὕτω μεταβιβῶ τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις γεγονότα. [66] Παυλῖνα ἦν τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης προγόνων τε ἀξιώματι τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἐπιτηδεύοντι κόσμον ἀρετῆς ἐπὶ μέγα προιοῦσα τῷ ὀνόματι, δύναμίς τε αὐτῇ χρημάτων ἦν καὶ γεγονυῖα τὴν ὄψιν εὐπρεπὴς καὶ τῆς ὥρας ἐν ᾗ μάλιστα ἀγάλλονται αἱ γυναῖκες εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν ἀνέκειτο ἡ ἐπιτήδευσις τοῦ βίου. ἐγεγάμητο δὲ Σατορνίνῳ τῶν εἰς τὰ πάντα ἀντισουμένων τῷ περὶ αὐτὴν ἀξιολόγῳ. [67] ταύτης ἐρᾷ Δέκιος Μοῦνδος τῶν τότε ἱππέων ἐν ἀξιώματι μεγάλῳ, καὶ μείζονα οὖσαν ἀλῶναι δώροις διὰ τὸ καὶ πεμφθέντων εἰς πλῆθος περιιδεῖν ἐξῆπτο μᾶλλον, ὥστε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας δραχμῶν Ἀτθίδων ὑπισχνεῖτο εὐνῆς μιᾶς. [68] καὶ μηδ' ὡς ἐπικλωμένης, οὐ φέρων τὴν ἀτυχίαν τοῦ ἔρωτος ἐνδείᾳ σιτίων θάνατον ἐπιτιμᾶν αὐτῷ καλῶς ἔχειν ἐνόμισεν ἐπὶ παύλῃ κακοῦ τοῦ κατειληφότος. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπεψήφιζέν τε τῇ οὕτω τελευτῇ καὶ πράσσειν οὐκ ἀπηλλάσσετο. [69] καὶ ἦν γὰρ ὄνομα Ἴδη πατρῷος ἀπελευθέρα τῷ Μούνδῳ παντοίων ἴδρις κακῶν, δεινῶς φέρουσα τοῦ νεανίσκου τῷ ψηφίσματι τοῦ θανεῖν, οὐ γὰρ ἀφανὴς ἦν ἀπολούμενος, ἀνεγείρει τε αὐτὸν ἀφικομένη διὰ λόγου πιθανή τε ἦν ἐλπίδων τινῶν ὑποσχέσεσιν, ὡς διαπραχθησομένων ὁμιλιῶν πρὸς τὴν Παυλῖναν αὐτῷ. [70] καὶ δεχομένου τὴν ἱκετείαν ἡδονῇ πέντε μυριάδων δεήσειν αὐτῇ μόνων ἔλεγεν ἐπὶ ἀλώσει τῆς γυναικός. καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀνεγείρασα τὸν νεανίσκον καὶ τὸ

αἰτηθὲν λαβοῦσα ἀργύριον οὐ τὰς αὐτὰς ὁδοὺς ἐστέλλετο τοῖς προδεδιακονημένοις ὁρῶσα τῆς γυναικὸς τὸ μηδαμῶς χρημάτων ἁλισκόμενον, εἰδυῖα δὲ αὐτὴν θεραπείᾳ τῆς Ἴσιδος σφόδρα ὑπηγμένην τεχνᾶταί τι τοιόνδε. [71] τῶν ἱερέων τισὶν ἀφικομένη διὰ λόγων ἐπὶ πίστεσιν μεγάλαις τὸ δὲ μέγιστον δόσει χρημάτων τὸ μὲν παρὸν μυριάδων δυοῖν καὶ ἡμίσει, λαβόντος δ᾽ ἔκβασιν τοῦ πράγματος ἑτέρῳ τοσῷδε, διασαφεῖ τοῦ νεανίσκου τὸν ἔρωτα αὐτοῖς, κελεύουσα παντοίως ἐπὶ τῷ ληψομένῳ τὴν ἄνθρωπον σπουδάσαι. [72] οἱ δ᾽ ἐπὶ πληγῇ τοῦ χρυσίου παραχθέντες ὑπισχνοῦντο. καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ γεραίτατος ὡς τὴν Παυλῖναν ὠσάμενος γενομένων εἰσόδων καταμόνας διὰ λόγων ἐλθεῖν ἠξίου. καὶ συγχωρηθὲν πεμπτὸς ἔλεγεν ἥκειν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀνούβιδος ἔρωτι αὐτῆς ἠσσημένου τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύοντός τε ὡς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν. [73] τῇ δὲ εὐκτὸς ὁ λόγος ἦν καὶ ταῖς τε φίλαις ἐνεκαλλωπίζετο τῇ ἐπὶ τοιούτοις ἀξιώσει τοῦ Ἀνούβιδος καὶ φράζει πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, δεῖπνόν τε αὐτῇ καὶ εὐνὴν τοῦ Ἀνούβιδος εἰσηγγέλθαι, συνεχώρει δ᾽ ἐκεῖνος τὴν σωφροσύνην τῆς γυναικὸς ἐξεπιστάμενος. [74] χωρεῖ οὖν εἰς τὸ τέμενος, καὶ δειπνήσασα, ὡς ὕπνου καιρὸς ἦν, κλεισθεισῶν τῶν θυρῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱερέως ἔνδον ἐν τῷ νεῷ καὶ τὰ λύχνα ἐκποδὼν ἦν καὶ ὁ Μοῦνδος, προεκέκρυπτο γὰρ τῇδε, οὐχ ἡμάρτανεν ὁμιλιῶν τῶν πρὸς αὐτήν, παννύχιόν τε αὐτῷ διηκονήσατο ὑπειληφυῖα θεὸν εἶναι. [75] καὶ ἀπελθόντος πρότερον ἢ κίνησιν ἄρξασθαι τῶν ἱερέων, οἳ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ᾔδεσαν, ἡ Παυλῖνα πρωὶ ὡς τὸν ἄνδρα ἐλθοῦσα τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἐκδιηγεῖται τοῦ Ἀνούβιδος καὶ πρὸς τὰς φίλας ἐνελαμπρύνετο λόγοις τοῖς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ. [76] οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἠπίστουν εἰς τὴν φύσιν τοῦ πράγματος ὁρῶντες, τὰ δ᾽ ἐν θαύματι καθίσταντο οὐκ ἔχοντες, ὡς χρὴ ἄπιστα αὐτὰ κρίνειν, ὁπότε εἵς τε τὴν σωφροσύνην καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα ἀπίδοιεν αὐτῆς. [77] τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν ὑπαντιάσας αὐτὴν ὁ Μοῦνδος “Παυλῖνα, φησίν, ἀλλά μοι καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας διεσώσω δυναμένη οἴκῳ προσθέσθαι τῷ σαυτῆς διακονεῖσθαί τε ἐφ᾽ οἷς προεκαλούμην οὐκ ἐνέλιπες. ἃ μέντοι εἰς Μοῦνδον ὑβρίζειν ἐπειρῶ, μηδέν μοι μελῆσαν τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος ἡδονῆς, [78] Ἀνούβιον ὄνομα ἐθέμην αὐτῷ.” καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπῄει ταῦτα εἰπών, ἡ δὲ εἰς ἔννοιαν τότε πρῶτον ἐλθοῦσα τοῦ τολμήματος περιρρήγνυταί τε τὴν στολὴν καὶ τἀνδρὶ δηλώσασα τοῦ παντὸς ἐπιβουλεύματος τὸ μέγεθος ἐδεῖτο μὴ περιῶφθαι βοηθείας τυγχάνειν: [79] ὁ δὲ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ἐπεσήμηνε τὴν πρᾶξιν. καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος μαθήσεως ἀκριβοῦς αὐτῷ γενομένης ἐξετάσει τῶν ἱερέων ἐκείνους τε ἀνεσταύρωσεν καὶ τὴν Ἴδην ὀλέθρου γενομένην αἰτίαν καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐφ᾽ ὕβρει συνθεῖσαν τῆς γυναικός, τόν τε ναὸν καθεῖλεν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἴσιδος εἰς τὸν Θύβριν ποταμὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐμβαλεῖν. Μοῦνδον δὲ φυγῆς ἐτίμησε, [80] κώλυμα τοῦ μὴ μειζόνως κολάζειν τὸ μετὰ ἔρωτος αὐτῷ ἡμαρτῆσθαι τὰ ἡμαρτημένα ἡγησάμενος. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἴσιδος τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ὑβρισμένα τοιαῦτα ἦν. ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀφήγησιν τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ Ἰουδαίοις κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον συντυχόντων, ὥς μοι καὶ προαπεσήμηνεν ὁ λόγος.

4. About the same time also another sad calamity put the Jews into disorder, and certain shameful practices happened about the temple of Isis that was at Rome. I will now first take notice of the wicked attempt about the temple of Isis, and will then give an account of the Jewish affairs. There was at Rome a woman whose name was Paulina; one who, on account of the dignity of her ancestors, and by the regular conduct of a virtuous life, had a great reputation: she was also very rich; and although she was of a beautiful countenance, and in that flower of her age wherein women are the most gay, yet did she lead a life of great modesty. She was married to Saturninus, one that was every way answerable to her in an excellent character. Decius Mundus fell in love with this woman, who was a man very high in the equestrian order; and as she was of too great dignity to be caught by presents, and had already rejected them, though they had been sent in great abundance, he was still more inflamed with love to her, insomuch that he promised to give her two hundred thousand Attic drachmae for one night's lodging; and when this would not prevail upon her, and he was not able to bear this misfortune in his amours, he thought it the best way to famish himself to death for want of food, on account of Paulina's sad refusal; and he determined with himself to die after such a manner, and he went on with his purpose accordingly. Now Mundus had a freed-woman, who had been made free by his father, whose name was Ide, one skillful in all sorts of mischief. This woman was very much grieved at the young man's resolution to kill himself, [for he did not conceal his intentions to destroy himself from others,] and came to him, and encouraged him by her discourse, and made him to hope, by some promises she gave him, that he might obtain a night's lodging with Paulina; and when he joyfully hearkened to her entreaty, she said she wanted no more than fifty thousand drachmae for the entrapping of the woman. So when she had encouraged the young man, and gotten as much money as she required, she did not take the same methods as had been taken before, because she perceived that the woman was by no means to be tempted by money; but as she knew that she was very much given to the worship of the goddess Isis, she devised the following stratagem: She went to some of Isis's priests, and upon the strongest assurances [of concealment], she persuaded them by words, but chiefly by the offer of money, of twenty-five thousand drachmae in hand, and as much more when the thing had taken effect; and told them the passion of the young man, and persuaded them to use all means possible to beguile the woman. So they were drawn in to promise so to do, by that large sum of gold they were to have. Accordingly, the oldest of them went immediately to Paulina; and upon his admittance, he desired to speak with her by herself. When that was granted him, he told her that he was sent by the god Anubis, who was fallen in love with her,

and enjoined her to come to him. Upon this she took the message very kindly, and valued herself greatly upon this condescension of Anubis, and told her husband that she had a message sent her, and was to sup and lie with Anubis; so he agreed to her acceptance of the offer, as fully satisfied with the chastity of his wife. Accordingly, she went to the temple, and after she had supped there, and it was the hour to go to sleep, the priest shut the doors of the temple, when, in the holy part of it, the lights were also put out. Then did Mundus leap out, [for he was hidden therein,] and did not fail of enjoying her, who was at his service all the night long, as supposing he was the god; and when he was gone away, which was before those priests who knew nothing of this stratagem were stirring, Paulina came early to her husband, and told him how the god Anubis had appeared to her. Among her friends, also, she declared how great a value she put upon this favor, who partly disbelieved the thing, when they reflected on its nature, and partly were amazed at it, as having no pretense for not believing it, when they considered the modesty and the dignity of the person. But now, on the third day after what had been done, Mundus met Paulina, and said, "Nay, Paulina, thou hast saved me two hundred thousand drachmae, which sum thou sightest have added to thy own family; yet hast thou not failed to be at my service in the manner I invited thee. As for the reproaches thou hast laid upon Mundus, I value not the business of names; but I rejoice in the pleasure I reaped by what I did, while I took to myself the name of Anubis." When he had said this, he went his way. But now she began to come to the sense of the grossness of what she had done, and rent her garments, and told her husband of the horrid nature of this wicked contrivance, and prayed him not to neglect to assist her in this case. So he discovered the fact to the emperor; whereupon Tiberius inquired into the matter thoroughly by examining the priests about it, and ordered them to be crucified, as well as Ide, who was the occasion of their perdition, and who had contrived the whole matter, which was so injurious to the woman. He also demolished the temple of Isis, and gave order that her statue should be thrown into the river Tiber; while he only banished Mundus, but did no more to him, because he supposed that what crime he had committed was done out of the passion of love. And these were the circumstances which concerned the temple of Isis, and the injuries occasioned by her priests. I now return to the relation of what happened about this time to the Jews at Rome, as I formerly told you I would.

(5) [81] Ἦν ἀνὴρ Ἰουδαῖος, φυγὰς μὲν τῆς αὐτοῦ κατηγορίᾳ τε παραβάσεων νόμων τινῶν καὶ δέει τιμωρίας τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς, πονηρὸς δὲ εἰς τὰ πάντα. καὶ δὴ τότε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διαιτώμενος προσεποιεῖτο μὲν ἐξηγεῖσθαι σοφίαν νόμων τῶν

Μωυσέως, [82] προσποιησάμενος δὲ τρεῖς ἄνδρας εἰς τὰ πάντα ὁμοιοτρόπους τούτοις ἐπιφοιτήσασαν Φουλβίαν τῶν ἐν ἀξιώματι γυναικῶν καὶ νομίμοις προσεληλυθυῖαν τοῖς Ἰουδαικοῖς πείθουσι πορφύραν καὶ χρυσὸν εἰς τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερὸν διαπέμψασθαι, καὶ λαβόντες ἐπὶ χρείας τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀναλώμασιν αὐτὰ ποιοῦνται, ἐφ᾽ ὅπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἡ αἴτησις ἐπράσσετο. [83] καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος, ἀποσημαίνει γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν φίλος ὢν Σατορνῖνος τῆς Φουλβίας ἀνὴρ ἐπισκήψει τῆς γυναικός, κελεύει πᾶν τὸ Ἰουδαικὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπελθεῖν. [84] οἱ δὲ ὕπατοι τετρακισχιλίους ἀνθρώπους ἐξ αὐτῶν στρατολογήσαντες ἔπεμψαν εἰς Σαρδὼ τὴν νῆσον, πλείστους δὲ ἐκόλασαν μὴ θέλοντας στρατεύεσθαι διὰ φυλακὴν τῶν πατρίων νόμων. καὶ οἱ μὲν δὴ διὰ κακίαν τεσσάρων ἀνδρῶν ἠλαύνοντο τῆς πόλεως.

5. There was a man who was a Jew, but had been driven away from his own country by an accusation laid against him for transgressing their laws, and by the fear he was under of punishment for the same; but in all respects a wicked man. He, then living at Rome, professed to instruct men in the wisdom of the laws of Moses. He procured also three other men, entirely of the same character with himself, to be his partners. These men persuaded Fulvia, a woman of great dignity, and one that had embraced the Jewish religion, to send purple and gold to the temple at Jerusalem; and when they had gotten them, they employed them for their own uses, and spent the money themselves, on which account it was that they at first required it of her. Whereupon Tiberius, who had been informed of the thing by Saturninus, the husband of Fulvia, who desired inquiry might be made about it, ordered all the Jews to be banished out of Rome; at which time the consuls listed four thousand men out of them, and sent them to the island Sardinia; but punished a greater number of them, who were unwilling to become soldiers, on account of keeping the laws of their forefathers. Thus were these Jews banished out of the city by the wickedness of four men.

IV

CHAPTER 4. How The Samaritans Made A Tumult And Pilate Destroyed Many Of Them; How Pilate Was Accused And What Things Were Done By Vitellius Relating To The Jews And The Parthians.

(1) [85] Οὐκ ἀπήλλακτο δὲ θορύβου καὶ τὸ Σαμαρέων ἔθνος: συστρέφει γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀνὴρ ἐν ὀλίγῳ τὸ ψεῦδος τιθέμενος κἀφ᾽ ἡδονῇ τῆς πληθύος τεχνάζων τὰ πάντα, κελεύων ἐπὶ τὸ Γαριζεὶν ὄρος αὐτῷ συνελθεῖν, ὃ ἁγνότατον αὐτοῖς ὀρῶν ὑπείληπται, ἰσχυρίζετό τε παραγενομένοις δείξειν τὰ ἱερὰ σκεύη τῇδε κατορωρυγμένα Μωυσέως τῇδε αὐτῶν ποιησαμένου κατάθεσιν. [86] οἱ δὲ ἐν ὅπλοις τε ἦσαν πιθανὸν ἡγούμενοι τὸν λόγον, καὶ καθίσαντες ἔν τινι κώμῃ, Τιραθανὰ λέγεται, παρελάμβανον τοὺς ἐπισυλλεγομένους ὡς μεγάλῳ πλήθει τὴν ἀνάβασιν εἰς τὸ ὄρος ποιησόμενοι. [87] φθάνει δὲ Πιλᾶτος τὴν ἄνοδον αὐτῶν προκαταλαβόμενος ἱππέων τε πομπῇ καὶ ὁπλιτῶν, οἳ συμβαλόντες τοῖς ἐν τῇ κώμῃ προσυνηθροισμένοις παρατάξεως γενομένης τοὺς μὲν ἔκτειναν, τοὺς δ᾽ εἰς φυγὴν τρέπονται ζωγρίᾳ τε πολλοὺς ἦγον, ὧν τοὺς κορυφαιοτάτους καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς φυγοῦσι δυνατωτάτους ἔκτεινε Πιλᾶτος.

1. But the nation of the Samaritans did not escape without tumults. The man who excited them to it was one who thought lying a thing of little consequence, and who contrived every thing so that the multitude might be pleased; so he bid them to get together upon Mount Gerizzim, which is by them looked upon as the most holy of all mountains, and assured them, that when they were come thither, he would show them those sacred vessels which were laid under that place, because Moses put them there So they came thither armed, and thought the discourse of the man probable; and as they abode at a certain village, which was called Tirathaba, they got the rest together to them, and desired to go up the mountain in a great multitude together; but Pilate prevented their going up, by seizing upon file roads with a great band of horsemen and foot-men, who fell upon those that were gotten together in the village; and when it came to an action, some of them they slew, and others of them they put to flight, and took a great many alive, the principal of which, and also the most potent of those that fled away, Pilate ordered to be slain.

(2) [88] Καταστάντος δὲ τοῦ θορύβου Σαμαρέων ἡ βουλὴ παρὰ Οὐιτέλλιον ὑπατικὸν ἴασιν ἄνδρα Συρίας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντα καὶ Πιλάτου κατηγόρουν ἐπὶ τῇ σφαγῇ τῶν ἀπολωλότων: οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ

διαφυγῇ τῆς Πιλάτου ὕβρεως εἰς τὴν Τιραθανὰ παραγενέσθαι. [89] καὶ Οὐιτέλλιος Μάρκελλον τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων ἐκπέμψας ἐπιμελητὴν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις γενησόμενον Πιλᾶτον ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἀπιέναι πρὸς ἃ κατηγοροῖεν οἱ Σαμαρεῖται διδάξοντα τὸν αὐτοκράτορα. καὶ Πιλᾶτος δέκα ἔτεσιν διατρίψας ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίας εἰς Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο ταῖς Οὐιτελλίου πειθόμενος ἐντολαῖς οὐκ ὂν ἀντειπεῖν. πρὶν δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἴσχειν αὐτὸν φθάνει Τιβέριος μεταστάς.

2. But when this tumult was appeased, the Samaritan senate sent an embassy to Vitellius, a man that had been consul, and who was now president of Syria, and accused Pilate of the murder of those that were killed; for that they did not go to Tirathaba in order to revolt from the Romans, but to escape the violence of Pilate. So Vitellius sent Marcellus, a friend of his, to take care of the affairs of Judea, and ordered Pilate to go to Rome, to answer before the emperor to the accusations of the Jews. So Pilate, when he had tarried ten years in Judea, made haste to Rome, and this in obedience to the orders of Vitellius, which he durst not contradict; but before he could get to Rome Tiberius was dead.

(3) [90] Οὐιτέλλιος δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀφικόμενος ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἀνῄει, καὶ ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἑορτὴ πάτριος, πάσχα δὲ καλεῖται, δεχθεὶς μεγαλοπρεπῶς Οὐιτέλλιος τὰ τέλη τῶν ὠνουμένων καρπῶν ἀνίησιν εἰς τὸ πᾶν τοῖς ταύτῃ κατοικοῦσιν καὶ τὴν στολὴν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τὸν πάντα αὐτοῦ κόσμον συνεχώρησεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ κειμένην ὑπὸ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἔχειν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, καθότι καὶ πρότερον ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσία. [91] τότε δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀντωνίᾳ, φρούριον δ' ἐστὶν οὕτως λεγόμενον, ἡ ἀπόθεσις αὐτῆς ἦν διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν: τῶν ἱερέων τις Ὑρκανός, πολλῶν δὲ ὄντων οἳ τόδε ἐκαλοῦντο τὸ ὄνομα ὁ πρῶτος, ἐπεὶ πλησίον τῷ ἱερῷ βᾶριν κατασκευασάμενος ταύτῃ τὰ πολλὰ τὴν δίαιταν εἶχεν καὶ τὴν στολήν, φύλαξ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῆς διὰ τὸ καὶ μόνῳ συγκεχωρῆσθαι τοῦ ἐνδύεσθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ταύτην εἶχεν ἀποκειμένην, ὁπότε εἰς τὴν πόλιν κατιὼν ἀναλαμβάνοι τὴν ἰδιωτικήν. [92] καὶ οἵ τε υἱεῖς αὐτοῦ ταῦτα πράσσειν ἐπετήδευσαν καὶ τέκνα ἐκείνων. Ἡρώδης δὲ βασιλεύσας τήν τε βᾶριν ταύτην ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ κειμένην κατασκευάσας πολυτελῶς Ἀντωνίαν καλεῖ ὀνόματι Ἀντωνίου φίλος ὤν, καὶ τὴν στολὴν ὥσπερ καὶ λαμβάνει τῇδε κειμένην κατεῖχεν, πιστεύων οὐδὲν νεωτεριεῖν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸν λαὸν διὰ τάδε. [93] ἔπρασσε δὲ ὅμοια τῷ Ἡρώδῃ καὶ ὁ ἐπικατασταθεὶς αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς Ἀρχέλαος υἱὸς ὤν, οὗ Ῥωμαῖοι παραδεξάμενοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκράτουν τῆς στολῆς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἀποκειμένης ἐν οἴκῳ λίθοις οἰκοδομηθέντι ὑπὸ σφραγῖδι τῶν τε ἱερέων καὶ τῶν γαζοφυλάκων τοῦ φρουράρχου τὸ ἐφ' ἡμέραν ἑκάστην λύχνον ἅπτοντος. [94] ἑπτὰ δ' ἡμέραις πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἀπεδίδοτο αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ φρουράρχου, καὶ ἀγνισθείσῃ χρησάμενος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς μετὰ μίαν τῆς ἑορτῆς ἡμέραν ἀπετίθετο αὖθις εἰς τὸν οἶκον, ἧπερ ἔκειτο καὶ πρότερον. τοῦτο ἐπράττετο τρισὶν ἑορταῖς ἑκάστου ἔτους καὶ τὴν νηστείαν. [95] Οὐιτέλλιος δὲ ἐπὶ

τῷ ἡμετέρῳ πατρίῳ ποιεῖται τὴν στολήν, ᾗ τε κείσοιτο μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν ἐπισκήψας τῷ φρουράρχῳ καὶ ὁπότε δέοι χρῆσθαι. καὶ ταῦτα πράξας ἐπὶ εὐεργεσίᾳ τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ἰώσηπον τὸν Καιάφαν ἐπικαλούμενον ἀπαλλάξας τῆς ἱερωσύνης Ἰωνάθην καθίστησιν Ἀνάνου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως υἱόν. ἐπ᾽ Ἀντιοχείας δ᾽ αὖθις ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ὁδόν.

3. But Vitellius came into Judea, and went up to Jerusalem; it was at the time of that festival which is called the Passover. Vitellius was there magnificently received, and released the inhabitants of Jerusalem from all the taxes upon the fruits that were bought and sold, and gave them leave to have the care of the high priest's vestments, with all their ornaments, and to have them under the custody of the priests in the temple, which power they used to have formerly, although at this time they were laid up in the tower of Antonia, the citadel so called, and that on the occasion following: There was one of the [high] priests, named Hyrcanus; and as there were many of that name, he was the first of them; this man built a tower near the temple, and when he had so done, he generally dwelt in it, and had these vestments with him, because it was lawful for him alone to put them on, and he had them there reposited when he went down into the city, and took his ordinary garments; the same things were continued to be done by his sons, and by their sons after them. But when Herod came to be king, he rebuilt this tower, which was very conveniently situated, in a magnificent manner; and because he was a friend to Antonius, he called it by the name of Antonia. And as he found these vestments lying there, he retained them in the same place, as believing, that while he had them in his custody, the people would make no innovations against him. The like to what Herod did was done by his son Archelaus, who was made king after him; after whom the Romans, when they entered on the government, took possession of these vestments of the high priest, and had them reposited in a stone-chamber, under the seal of the priests, and of the keepers of the temple, the captain of the guard lighting a lamp there every day; and seven days before a festival they were delivered to them by the captain of the guard, when the high priest having purified them, and made use of them, laid them up again in the same chamber where they had been laid up before, and this the very next day after the feast was over. This was the practice at the three yearly festivals, and on the fast day; but Vitellius put those garments into our own power, as in the days of our forefathers, and ordered the captain of the guard not to trouble himself to inquire where they were laid, or when they were to be used; and this he did as an act of kindness, to oblige the nation to him. Besides which, he also deprived Joseph, who was also called Caiaphas, of the high priesthood, and appointed Jonathan the son of Ananus, the

former high priest, to succeed him. After which, he took his journey back to Antioch.

(4) [96] Πέμπει δὲ καὶ Τιβέριος ὡς Οὐιτέλλιον γράμματα, κελεύων αὐτῷ πράσσειν φιλίαν πρὸς Ἀρτάβανον τὸν Πάρθων βασιλέα: ἐφόβει γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸς ὢν καὶ Ἀρμενίαν παρεσπασμένος μὴ ἐπὶ πλέον κακουργῇ: πιστεύειν δὲ τῇ φιλίᾳ μόνως ὁμήρων αὐτῷ διδομένων, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦ Ἀρταβάνου υἱέος. [97] ταῦτα δὲ γράφων Τιβέριος πρὸς τὸν Οὐιτέλλιον μεγάλαις δόσεσι χρημάτων πείθει καὶ τὸν Ἰβήρων καὶ τὸν Ἀλβανῶν βασιλέα πολεμεῖν Ἀρταβάνῳ μηδὲν ἐνδοιάσαι. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀντεῖχον, Ἀλανοὶ δὲ δίοδον αὐτοῖς διδόντες διὰ τῆς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς θύρας τὰς Κασπίας ἀνοίξαντες ἐπάγουσι τῷ Ἀρταβάνῳ. [98] καὶ ἥ τε Ἀρμενία ἀφῃρητο αὖθις καὶ πλησθείσης πολέμων τῆς Παρθυαίων γῆς οἵ τε πρῶτοι τῶν τῇδε ἐκτείνοντο ἀνδρῶν ἀνάστατά τε ἦν αὐτοῖς τὰ πάντα καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ὁ υἱὸς ἐκ τουτωνὶ τῶν μαχῶν ἔπεσε μετὰ πολλῶν στρατοῦ μυριάδων. [99] καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν πατέρα Ἀρτάβανον Οὐιτέλλιος πομπῇ χρημάτων εἵς τε συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους τοὺς ἐκείνου γενομένῃ ἐμέλλησε μὲν κτιννύειν διὰ τῶν τὰ δῶρα εἰληφότων, αἰσθόμενος δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ὁ Ἀρτάβανος ἄφυκτον οὖσαν διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν συντεθεῖσαν μὴ ἀνεῖσθαι τοῦ ἐπὶ πέρας ἐλθεῖν, [100] καὶ νομίζων καὶ ὁπόσον αὐτῷ καθαρῶς συνειστήκει καὶ τόδε ἤτοι ἐφθαρμένον ἐπὶ δόλῳ τὴν εὔνοιαν προσποιεῖσθαι ἢ πείρας αὐτῷ γενομένης μετατάξεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς προαφεστηκότας, εἵς τι τῶν ἄνω σατραπειῶν ἔσωζεν αὐτόν. καὶ πολλὴν μετὰ ταῦτα στρατιὰν ἀθροίσας Δαῶν τε καὶ Σακῶν καὶ πολεμήσας τοὺς ἀνθεστηκότας κατέσχε τὴν ἀρχήν.

4. Moreover, Tiberius sent a letter to Vitellius, and commanded him to make a league of friendship with Artabanus, the king of Parthia; for while he was his enemy, he terrified him, because he had taken Armenia away from him, lest he should proceed further, and told him he should no otherwise trust him than upon his giving him hostages, and especially his son Artabanus. Upon Tiberius's writing thus to Vitellius, by the offer of great presents of money, he persuaded both the king of Iberia and the king of Albania to make no delay, but to fight against Artabanus; and although they would not do it themselves, yet did they give the Scythians a passage through their country, and opened the Caspian gates to them, and brought them upon Artabanus. So Armenia was again taken from the Parthians, and the country of Parthis was filled with war, and the principal of their men were slain, and all things were in disorder among them: the king's son also himself fell in these wars, together with many ten thousands of his army. Vitellius had also sent such great sums of money to Artabanus's father's kinsmen and friends, that he had almost procured him to be slain by the means of those bribes which they had taken. And when Artabanus perceived that the plot

laid against him was not to be avoided, because it was laid by the principal men, and those a great many in number, and that it would certainly take effect, — when he had estimated the number of those that were truly faithful to him, as also of those who were already corrupted, but were deceitful in the kindness they professed to him, and were likely, upon trial, to go over to his enemies, he made his escape to the upper provinces, where he afterwards raised a great army out of the Dahae and Sacre, and fought with his enemies, and retained his principality.

(5) [101] Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Τιβέριος ἠξίου φιλίαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι πρὸς τὸν Ἀρτάβανον, ἐπεὶ δὲ κἀκεῖνος προκληθεὶς ἄσμενος ἐδέχετο τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν λόγον, ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην παρῆσαν ὅ τε Ἀρτάβανος καὶ Οὐιτέλλιος. [102] καὶ ζεύξεως τοῦ ποταμοῦ γενομένης κατὰ τὸ μεσαίτατον τῆς γεφύρας ἀλλήλους ὑπηντίαζον μετὰ φυλακῆς ἑκάτερος τῆς περὶ αὐτόν. καὶ λόγων αὐτοῖς συμβατικῶν γενομένων Ἡρώδης ὁ τετράρχης εἱστίασεν αὐτοὺς κατὰ μέσον τὸν πόρον σκηνίδα ἐπισκηψάμενος τῷ πόρῳ πολυτελῆ. [103] καὶ Ἀρτάβανος πέμπει Τιβερίῳ ὅμηρον Δαρεῖον τὸν υἱὸν μετὰ πολλῶν δώρων, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἄνδρα ἑπτάπηχυν τὸ μέγεθος Ἰουδαῖον τὸ γένος Ἐλεάζαρον ὄνομα: [104] διὰ μέντοι τὸ μέγεθος Γίγας ἐκαλεῖτο. ἐπὶ τούτοις Οὐιτέλλιος μὲν ἐπ᾽ Ἀντιοχείας ᾔει, Ἀρτάβανος δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας. Ἡρώδης δὲ βουλόμενος δι᾽ αὐτοῦ πρώτου γενέσθαι πύστιν Καίσαρι τῶν ὁμήρων τῆς λήψεως ἐκπέμπει γραμματοφόρους τὰ πάντα ἀκριβῶς γράψας εἰς ἐπιστολὴν καὶ μηδὲν ὑπολιπόμενος ἐπὶ μηνύσει τῷ ὑπατικῷ. [105] πρὸς Οὐιτελλίου δὲ ἐπιπεμφθεισῶν ἐπιστολῶν καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπισημήναντος πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς δῆλα αὐτῷ γένοιτο πρότερον πύστιν περὶ αὐτῶν Ἡρώδου προτεθεικότος, ταραχθεὶς ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος μεγάλως καὶ πεπονθέναι μειζόνως ἢ ἐπέπρακτο ὑπολαμβάνων ἄδηλον τὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἔκρυπτεν ὀργήν, μέχρι δὴ καὶ μετῆλθε Γαίου τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν παρειληφότος.

5. When Tiberius had heard of these things, he desired to have a league of friendship made between him and Artabanus; and when, upon this invitation, he received the proposal kindly, Artabanus and Vitellius went to Euphrates, and as a bridge was laid over the river, they each of them came with their guards about them, and met one another on the midst of the bridge. And when they had agreed upon the terms of peace Herod, the tetrarch erected a rich tent on the midst of the passage, and made them a feast there. Artabanus also, not long afterward, sent his son Darius as an hostage, with many presents, among which there was a man seven cubits tall, a Jew he was by birth, and his name was Eleazar, who, for his tallness, was called a giant. After which Vitellius went to Antioch, and Artabanus to Babylon; but Herod [the tetrarch] being desirous to give Caesar the first information that they had obtained hostages, sent posts with letters, wherein he had accurately described all the particulars, and had left nothing for the

consular Vitellius to inform him of. But when Vitellius's letters were sent, and Caesar had let him know that he was acquainted with the affairs already, because Herod had given him an account of them before, Vitellius was very much troubled at it; and supposing that he had been thereby a greater sufferer than he really was, he kept up a secret anger upon this occasion, till he could be revenged on him, which he was after Caius had taken the government.

(6) [106] Τότε δὲ καὶ Φίλιππος, Ἡρώδου δὲ ἦν ἀδελφός, τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον εἰκοστῷ μὲν ἐνιαυτῷ τῆς Τιβερίου ἀρχῆς, ἡγησάμενος δὲ αὐτὸς ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα τῆς Τραχωνίτιδος καὶ Γαυλανίτιδος καὶ τοῦ Βατανέων ἔθνους πρὸς αὐταῖς, μέτριον δὲ ἐν οἷς ἦρχεν παρασχὼν τὸν τρόπον καὶ ἀπράγμονα: [107] δίαιταν μὲν γὰρ τὸ πᾶν ἐν γῇ τῇ ὑποτελεῖ ἐποιεῖτο, πρόοδοι δ' ἦσαν αὐτῷ σὺν ὀλίγοις τῶν ἐπιλέκτων, καὶ τοῦ θρόνου εἰς ὃν ἔκρινεν καθεζόμενος ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἑπομένου, ὁπότε τις ὑπαντιάσας ἐν χρείᾳ γένοιτο αὐτῷ ἐπιβοηθεῖν, οὐδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἱδρύσεως τοῦ θρόνου ᾗ καὶ τύχοι γενομένης καθεζόμενος ἠκροᾶτο καὶ τιμωρίας τε ἐπετίμα τοῖς ἁλοῦσι καὶ ἠφίει τοὺς ἀδίκως ἐν ἐγκλήμασι γενομένους. [108] τελευτᾷ δ' ἐν Ἰουλιάδι καὶ αὐτοῦ κομισθέντος ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον, ὃ ἔτι πρότερον ᾠκοδόμησεν αὐτός, ταφαὶ γίνονται πολυτελεῖς. τὴν δ' ἀρχήν, οὐ γὰρ κατελίπετο παῖδας, Τιβέριος παραλαβὼν προσθήκην ἐπαρχίας ποιεῖται τῆς Σύρων, τοὺς μέντοι φόρους ἐκέλευσε συλλεγομένους ἐν τῇ τετραρχίᾳ τῇ ἐκείνου γενομένῃ κατατίθεσθαι.

6. About this time it was that Philip, Herod's brother, departed this life, in the twentieth year of the reign of Tiberius, after he had been tetrarch of Trachonitis and Gaulanitis, and of the nation of the Bataneans also, thirty-seven years. He had showed himself a person of moderation and quietness in the conduct of his life and government; he constantly lived in that country which was subject to him; he used to make his progress with a few chosen friends; his tribunal also, on which he sat in judgment, followed him in his progress; and when any one met him who wanted his assistance, he made no delay, but had his tribunal set down immediately, wheresoever he happened to be, and sat down upon it, and heard his complaint: he there ordered the guilty that were convicted to be punished, and absolved those that had been accused unjustly. He died at Julias; and when he was carried to that monument which he had already erected for himself beforehand, he was buried with great pomp. His principality Tiberius took, [for he left no sons behind him,] and added it to the province of Syria, but gave order that the tributes which arose from it should be collected, and laid up in his tetrachy.

CHAPTER 5. Herod The Tetrarch Makes War With Aretas, The King Of Arabia, And Is Beaten By Him As Also Concerning The Death Of John The Baptist. How Vitellius Went Up To Jerusalem; Together With Some Account Of Agrippa And Of The Posterity Of Herod The Great.

(1) [109] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ στασιάζουσιν Ἀρέτας τε ὁ Πετραῖος βασιλεὺς καὶ Ἡρώδης διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν: Ἡρώδης ὁ τετράρχης γαμεῖ τὴν Ἀρέτα θυγατέρα καὶ συνῆν χρόνον ἤδη πολύν. στελλόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης κατάγεται ἐν Ἡρώδου ἀδελφοῦ ὄντος οὐχ ὁμομητρίου: ἐκ γὰρ τῆς Σίμωνος τοῦ ἀρχιερέως θυγατρὸς Ἡρώδης ἐγεγόνει. [110] ἐρασθεὶς δὲ Ἡρωδιάδος τῆς τούτου γυναικός, θυγάτηρ δὲ ἦν Ἀριστοβούλου καὶ οὗτος ἀδελφὸς αὐτῶν, Ἀγρίππου δὲ ἀδελφὴ τοῦ μεγάλου, τολμᾷ λόγων ἅπτεσθαι περὶ γάμου. καὶ δεξαμένης συνθῆκαι γίνονται μετοικίσασθαι παρ᾽ αὐτόν, ὁπότε ἀπὸ Ῥώμης παραγένοιτο. ἦν δὲ ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ὥστε καὶ τοῦ Ἀρέτα τὴν θυγατέρα ἐκβαλεῖν. [111] καὶ ὁ μὲν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔπλει ταῦτα συνθέμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπανεχώρει διαπραξάμενος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐφ᾽ ἅπερ ἔσταλτο, ἡ γυνὴ πύστεως αὐτῇ τῶν πρὸς τὴν Ἡρωδιάδα συνθηκῶν γενομένης πρὶν ἔκπυστος αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὰ πάντα ἐκμαθοῦσα κελεύει πέμπειν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ Μαχαιροῦντος, μεθόριον δ᾽ ἐστὶ τῆς τε Ἀρέτα καὶ Ἡρώδου ἀρχῆς, γνώμην οὐκ ἐκφαίνουσα τὴν αὐτῆς. [112] καὶ ὁ Ἡρώδης ἐξέπεμψεν μηδὲν ᾐσθῆσθαι τὴν ἄνθρωπον προσδοκῶν. ἡ δέ, προαπεστάλκει γὰρ ἐκ πλείονος εἰς τὸν Μαχαιροῦντα τῷ τε πατρὶ αὐτῆς ὑποτελεῖ, πάντων εἰς τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ἡτοιμασμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἅμα τε παρῆν καὶ ἀφωρμᾶτο εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν κομιδῇ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκ διαδοχῆς παρῆν τε ὡς τὸν πατέρα ᾗ τάχος καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν Ἡρώδου διάνοιαν ἔφραζεν. [113] ὁ δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔχθρας ταύτην ποιησάμενος περί τε ὅρων ἐν γῇ τῇ Γαμαλικῇ, καὶ δυνάμεως ἑκατέρῳ συλλεγείσης εἰς πόλεμον καθίσταντο στρατηγοὺς ἀπεσταλκότες ἀνθ᾽ ἑαυτῶν. [114] καὶ μάχης γενομένης διεφθάρη πᾶς ὁ Ἡρώδου στρατὸς προδοσίας αὐτῷ γενομένης ὑπ᾽ ἀνδρῶν φυγάδων, οἳ ὄντες ἐκ τῆς Φιλίππου τετραρχίας Ἡρώδῃ συνεστράτευον. [115] ταῦτα Ἡρώδης γράφει πρὸς Τιβέριον. ὁ δὲ ὀργῇ φέρων τὴν Ἀρέτα ἐπιχείρησιν γράφει πρὸς Οὐιτέλλιον πόλεμον ἐξενεγκεῖν καὶ ἤτοι ζωὸν ἑλόντα ἀναγαγεῖν δεδεμένον ἢ κτεινομένου πέμπειν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν. καὶ Τιβέριος μὲν ταῦτα πράσσειν ἐπέστελλεν τῷ κατὰ Συρίαν στρατηγῷ.

1. About this time Aretas [the king of Arabia Petres] and Herod had a quarrel on the account following: Herod the tetrarch had, married the daughter of Aretas, and had lived with her a great while; but when he was once at Rome, he lodged with Herod, who was his brother indeed, but not by the same mother; for this Herod was the son of the high priest Sireoh's daughter. However, he fell in love with Herodias, this last Herod's wife, who was the daughter of Aristobulus their brother, and the sister of Agrippa the Great. This man ventured to talk to her about a marriage between them; which address, when she admitted, an agreement was made for her to change her habitation, and come to him as soon as he should return from Rome: one article of this marriage also was this, that he should divorce Aretas's daughter. So Antipus, when he had made this agreement, sailed to Rome; but when he had done there the business he went about, and was returned again, his wife having discovered the agreement he had made with Herodias, and having learned it before he had notice of her knowledge of the whole design, she desired him to send her to Macherus, which is a place in the borders of the dominions of Aretas and Herod, without informing him of any of her intentions. Accordingly Herod sent her thither, as thinking his wife had not perceived any thing; now she had sent a good while before to Macherus, which was subject to her father and so all things necessary for her journey were made ready for her by the general of Aretas's army; and by that means she soon came into Arabia, under the conduct of the several generals, who carried her from one to another successively; and she soon came to her father, and told him of Herod's intentions. So Aretas made this the first occasion of his enmity between him and Herod, who had also some quarrel with him about their limits at the country of Gamalitis. So they raised armies on both sides, and prepared for war, and sent their generals to fight instead of themselves; and when they had joined battle, all Herod's army was destroyed by the treachery of some fugitives, who, though they were of the tetrarchy of Philip, joined with Aretas's army.. So Herod wrote about these affairs to Tiberius, who being very angry at the attempt made by Aretas, wrote to Vitellius to make war upon him, and either to take him alive, and bring him to him in bonds, or to kill him, and send him his head. This was the charge that Tiberius gave to the president of Syria.

(2) [116] Τισὶ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐδόκει ὀλωλέναι τὸν Ἡρώδου στρατὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μάλα δικαίως τινυμένου κατὰ ποινὴν Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου βαπτιστοῦ. [117] κτείνει γὰρ δὴ τοῦτον Ἡρώδης ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κελεύοντα ἀρετὴν ἐπασκοῦσιν καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβείᾳ χρωμένοις βαπτισμῷ συνιέναι: οὕτω γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὴν βάπτισιν

ἀποδεκτὴν αὐτῷ φανεῖσθαι μὴ ἐπί τινων ἁμαρτάδων παραιτήσει χρωμένων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἁγνείᾳ τοῦ σώματος, ἅτε δὴ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς δικαιοσύνῃ προεκκεκαθαρμένης. [118] καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συστρεφομένων, καὶ γὰρ ἥσθησαν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῇ ἀκροάσει τῶν λόγων, δείσας Ἡρώδης τὸ ἐπὶ τοσόνδε πιθανὸν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μὴ ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει τινὶ φέροι, πάντα γὰρ ἐῴκεσαν συμβουλῇ τῇ ἐκείνου πράξοντες, πολὺ κρεῖττον ἡγεῖται πρίν τι νεώτερον ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι προλαβὼν ἀνελεῖν τοῦ μεταβολῆς γενομένης [μὴ] εἰς πράγματα ἐμπεσὼν μετανοεῖν. [119] καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑποψίᾳ τῇ Ἡρώδου δέσμιος εἰς τὸν Μαχαιροῦντα πεμφθεὶς τὸ προειρημένον φρούριον ταύτῃ κτίννυται. τοῖς δὲ Ἰουδαίοις δόξαν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ τῇ ἐκείνου τὸν ὄλεθρον ἐπὶ τῷ στρατεύματι γενέσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ κακῶσαι Ἡρώδην θέλοντος.

2. Now some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that very justly, as a punishment of what he did against John, that was called the Baptist: for Herod slew him, who was a good man, and commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism; for that the washing [with water] would be acceptable to him, if they made use of it, not in order to the putting away [or the remission] of some sins [only], but for the purification of the body; supposing still that the soul was thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness. Now when [many] others came in crowds about him, for they were very greatly moved [or pleased] by hearing his words, Herod, who feared lest the great influence John had over the people might put it into his power and inclination to raise a rebellion, [for they seemed ready to do any thing he should advise,] thought it best, by putting him to death, to prevent any mischief he might cause, and not bring himself into difficulties, by sparing a man who might make him repent of it when it would be too late. Accordingly he was sent a prisoner, out of Herod's suspicious temper, to Macherus, the castle I before mentioned, and was there put to death. Now the Jews had an opinion that the destruction of this army was sent as a punishment upon Herod, and a mark of God's displeasure to him.

(3) [120] Οὐιτέλλιος δὲ παρασκευασάμενος ὡς εἰς πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Ἀρέταν δυσὶ τάγμασιν ὁπλιτῶν ὅσοι τε περὶ αὐτὰ ψιλοὶ καὶ ἱππεῖς συμμαχοῦντες ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις βασιλειῶν ἀγόμενος, ἐπὶ τῆς Πέτρας ἠπείγετο καὶ ἔσχε Πτολεμαίδα. [121] ὡρμημένῳ δ᾽ αὐτῷ διὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἄγειν τὸν στρατὸν ὑπαντιάσαντες ἄνδρες οἱ πρῶτοι παρῃτοῦντο τὴν διὰ τῆς χώρας ὁδόν: οὐ γὰρ αὐτοῖς εἶναι πάτριον περιορᾶν εἰκόνας εἰς αὐτὴν φερομένας, πολλὰς δ᾽ εἶναι σημαίαις ἐπικειμένας. [122] καὶ πεισθεὶς μετέβαλέν τε τῆς γνώμης τὸ ἐπὶ τοιούτοις προβουλεῦσαν καὶ διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου πεδίου κελεύσας χωρεῖν τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτὸς μετὰ Ἡρώδου τοῦ τετράρχου καὶ τῶν φίλων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀνῄει θύσων

τῷ θεῷ ἑορτῆς πατρίου τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐνεστηκυίας. [123] εἰς ἣν ἀπαντήσας καὶ δεχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πλήθους ἐκπρεπῶς τρεῖς μὲν ἡμέρας ταύτῃ διατριβὴν ποιεῖται, ἐν αἷς Ἰωνάθην τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἀφελόμενος ἐγχειρίζει τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ Θεοφίλῳ, [124] τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ γραμμάτων αὐτῷ παραγενομένων, ἃ ἐδήλου τὴν Τιβερίου τελευτήν, ὥρκισεν τὴν πληθὺν ἐπ᾽ εὐνοίᾳ τῇ Γαίου. ἀνεκάλει δὲ καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἑκάστου χειμαδιᾶν πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν οὐκέθ᾽ ὁμοίως δυνάμενος διὰ τὸ εἰς Γάιον μεταπεπτωκέναι τὰ πράγματα. [125] ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀρέταν οἰωνοσκοπησάμενον πρὸς τὴν ἀγγελίαν τῶν Οὐιτελλίου στρατιωτῶν φάναι μηχανὴν οὐκ εἶναι τῷ στρατῷ τῆς ἐπὶ Πετραίους ὁδοῦ: τεθνήξεσθαι γὰρ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἢ τὸν πολεμεῖν κελεύσαντα ἢ τὸν γνώμῃ τῇ ἐκείνου ὡρμημένον διακονεῖσθαι ἢ ἐφ᾽ ὃν γένοιτο ἡ παρασκευὴ τοῦ στρατεύματος. [126] καὶ Οὐιτέλλιος μὲν ἐπ᾽ Ἀντιοχείας ἀνεχώρησεν. Ἀγρίππας δὲ ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου υἱὸς ἐνιαυτῷ πρότερον ἢ τελευτῆσαι Τιβέριον ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἄνεισι πράξων τι παρὰ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι δυνάμεώς τινος αὐτῷ παραγενομένης. [127] βούλομαι οὖν εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ μακρότερον περί τε Ἡρώδου καὶ γένους αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐγένετο, ἅμα μὲν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀνήκειν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν λόγον, ἅμα δὲ καὶ παράστασιν ἔχειν τοῦ θείου, ὡς οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ πλῆθος οὐδ᾽ ἄλλη τις ἀλκὴ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐπιτετευγμένων δίχα τῶν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβειῶν, [128] εἴ γε ἐντὸς ἑκατὸν ἐτῶν ἐξόδου συνέβη πλὴν ὀλίγων, πολλοὶ δ᾽ ἦσαν, διαφθαρῆναι τοὺς Ἡρώδου ἀπογόνους: φέροι δ᾽ ἄν τι κἀπὶ σωφρονισμῷ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους τὸ τὴν δυστυχίαν αὐτῶν μαθεῖν, [129] ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν διηγήσασθαι θαύματος ἀξιώτατον γεγενημένον, ὃς ἐκ πάνυ ἰδιώτου καὶ παρὰ πᾶσαν δόξαν τῶν εἰδότων αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοσόνδε ηὐξήθη δυνάμεως. εἴρηται μὲν οὖν μοι καὶ πρότερον περὶ αὐτῶν, λεχθήσεται δὲ καὶ νῦν ἀκριβῶς.

3. So Vitellius prepared to make war with Aretas, having with him two legions of armed men; he also took with him all those of light armature, and of the horsemen which belonged to them, and were drawn out of those kingdoms which were under the Romans, and made haste for Petra, and came to Ptolemais. But as he was marching very busily, and leading his army through Judea, the principal men met him, and desired that he would not thus march through their land; for that the laws of their country would not permit them to overlook those images which were brought into it, of which there were a great many in their ensigns; so he was persuaded by what they said, and changed that resolution of his which he had before taken in this matter. Whereupon he ordered the army to march along the great plain, while he himself, with Herod the tetrarch and his friends, went up to Jerusalem to offer sacrifice to God, an ancient festival of the Jews being then just approaching; and when he had been there, and been honorably entertained by the multitude of the Jews, he made a stay there for

three days, within which time he deprived Jonathan of the high priesthood, and gave it to his brother Theophilus. But when on the fourth day letters came to him, which informed him of the death of Tiberius, he obliged the multitude to take an oath of fidelity to Caius; he also recalled his army, and made them every one go home, and take their winter quarters there, since, upon the devolution of the empire upon Caius, he had not the like authority of making this war which he had before. It was also reported, that when Aretas heard of the coming of Vitellius to fight him, he said, upon his consulting the diviners, that it was impossible that this army of Vitellius's could enter Petra; for that one of the rulers would die, either he that gave orders for the war, or he that was marching at the other's desire, in order to be subservient to his will, or else he against whom this army is prepared. So Vitellius truly retired to Antioch; but Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, went up to Rome, a year before the death of Tiberius, in order to treat of some affairs with the emperor, if he might be permitted so to do. I have now a mind to describe Herod and his family, how it fared with them, partly because it is suitable to this history to speak of that matter, and partly because this thing is a demonstration of the interposition of Providence, how a multitude of children is of no advantage, no more than any other strength that mankind set their hearts upon, besides those acts of piety which are done towards God; for it happened, that, within the revolution of a hundred years, the posterity of Herod, which were a great many in number, were, excepting a few, utterly destroyed. One may well apply this for the instruction of mankind, and learn thence how unhappy they were: it will also show us the history of Agrippa, who, as he was a person most worthy of admiration, so was he from a private man, beyond all the expectation of those that knew him, advanced to great power and authority. I have said something of them formerly, but I shall now also speak accurately about them.

(4) [130] Ἡρώδῃ τῷ μεγάλῳ θυγατέρες ἐκ Μαριάμμης τῆς Ὑρκανοῦ θυγατρὸς γίνονται δύο, Σαλαμψιὼ μὲν ἡ ἑτέρα, ἣ γαμεῖται Φασαήλῳ τῷ αὐτῆς ἀνεψιῷ Φασαήλου παιδὶ ὄντι τοῦ Ἡρώδου ἀδελφοῦ δεδωκότος τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτήν, Κύπρος δὲ Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ αὐτὴ ἀνεψιῷ Ἡρώδου παιδὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς Σαλώμης. [131] καὶ Φασαήλῳ μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμψιοῦς γίνονται πέντε παῖδες Ἀντίπατρος Ἀλέξανδρος Ἡρώδης θυγατέρες τε Ἀλεξάνδρα καὶ Κύπρος, ἣν Ἀγρίππας γαμεῖ ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου. Ἀλεξάνδραν δὲ γαμεῖ μὲν Τίμιος Κύπριος ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀξιολόγων, παρ' ᾧ δὴ ἄτεκνος τελευτᾷ. [132] Κύπρῳ δ' ἐξ Ἀγρίππου μὲν ἄρρενες γίνονται δύο, θυγατέρες δὲ τρεῖς Βερενίκη Μαριάμμη Δρούσιλλα, Ἀγρίππας δὲ καὶ Δροῦσος τοῖς ἄρσεσιν ὀνόματα, ὧν ὁ Δροῦσος πρὶν ἡβῆσαι τελευτᾷ. [133] Τῷ δὲ πατρὶ τούτων Ἀγρίππας ἐτρέφετο μετὰ καὶ ἑτέρων ἀδελφῶν Ἡρώδης καὶ

Ἀριστόβουλος: καὶ Βερενίκη καὶ οἵδε παῖδες Ἡρώδου τοῦ υἱέος τοῦ μεγάλου: ἡ δὲ Βερενίκη Κοστοβάρου καὶ Σαλώμης παῖς τῆς Ἡρώδου ἀδελφῆς. [134] τούτους Ἀριστόβουλος νηπίους λείπεται θνήσκων ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, καθὰ προειρήκαμεν. ἡβήσαντες δ' ἄγονται Ἡρώδης μὲν οὗτος ὁ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ἀδελφὸς Μαριάμμην θυγατέρα Ὀλυμπιάδος τῆς Ἡρώδου βασιλέως θυγατρὸς καὶ Ἰωσήπου τοῦ Ἰωσήπου, ἀδελφὸς δὲ οὗτος Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως: ἴσχει τε ἐξ αὐτῆς υἱὸν Ἀριστόβουλον. [135] ὁ δὲ τρίτος τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ἀδελφὸς Ἀριστόβουλος γαμεῖ Ἰωτάπην Σαμψιγεράμου θυγατέρα τοῦ Ἐμεσῶν βασιλέως, θυγάτηρ τε αὐτοῖς γίνεται κωφή: ὄνομα καὶ τῇδε Ἰωτάπη. [136] καὶ τάδε μὲν τῶν ἀρσένων τέκνα. Ἡρωδιὰς δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ ἀδελφὴ γίνεται Ἡρώδῃ Ἡρώδου τοῦ μεγάλου παιδὶ γεγονότι ἐκ Μαριάμμης τῆς τοῦ Σίμωνος τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, καὶ αὐτοῖς Σαλώμη γίνεται, μεθ' ἧς τὰς γονὰς Ἡρωδιὰς ἐπὶ συγχύσει φρονήσασα τῶν πατρίων Ἡρώδῃ γαμεῖται τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τῷ ὁμοπατρίῳ ἀδελφῷ διαστᾶσα ζῶντος. τὴν δὲ Γαλιλαίων τετραρχίαν οὗτος εἶχεν. [137] ἡ δὲ θυγάτηρ αὐτῆς Σαλώμη Φιλίππῳ γαμεῖται Ἡρώδου παιδὶ τῷ τετράρχῃ τῆς Τραχωνίτιδος, καὶ ἄπαιδος τελευτήσαντος Ἀριστόβουλος αὐτὴν ἄγεται Ἡρώδου παῖς τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ἀδελφοῦ. παῖδες δὲ ἐγένοντο αὐτοῖς τρεῖς Ἡρώδης Ἀγρίππας Ἀριστόβουλος. [138] τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ Φασαήλου καὶ Σαλαμψιοῦς ἐστι γένος. Κύπρῳ δ' ἐξ Ἀντιπάτρου θυγάτηρ γίνεται Κύπρος, καὶ αὐτὴν Ἀλεξᾶς ὁ Ἑλκίας γαμεῖ τοῦ Ἀλεξᾶ, καὶ αὐτῆς θυγάτηρ ἦν Κύπρος. Ἡρώδης δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, οὓς ἀδελφοὺς ἔφην Ἀντιπάτρου, ἄτεκνοι τελευτῶσιν. [139] Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ τῷ Ἡρώδου παιδὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνῃρημένῳ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Τιγράνης ἐγεγόνεισαν υἱεῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἀρχελάου τοῦ Καππαδόκων βασιλέως θυγατρός. καὶ Τιγράνης μὲν βασιλεύων Ἀρμενίας κατηγοριῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης γενομένων ἅπαις τελευτᾷ. [140] Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ Τιγράνης ὁμώνυμος τῷ ἀδελφῷ γίνεται παῖς καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἀρμενίας ὑπὸ Νέρωνος ἐκπέμπεται υἱός τε Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτῷ γίνεται. γαμεῖ δ' οὗτος Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Κομμαγηνῶν βασιλέως θυγατέρα Ἰωτάπην, ἡσίοδός τε τῆς ἐν Κιλικίᾳ Οὐεσπασιανὸς αὐτὸν ἵσταται βασιλέα. [141] καὶ τὸ μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου γένος εὐθὺς ἅμα τῷ φυῆναι τὴν θεραπείαν ἐξέλιπεν τῶν Ἰουδαίοις ἐπιχωρίων μεταταξάμενοι πρὸς τὰ Ἕλλησι πάτρια: ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς θυγατράσιν Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀτέκνοις τελευτᾶν συνέπεσεν. [142] τῶν δὲ γενομένων Ἡρώδου ἀπογόνων οὓς κατέλεξα ἔμενον ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ Ἀγρίππας ὁ μέγας τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν. τούτων δέ μοι τοῦ γένους προδεδηλωμένων διέξειμι λοιπόν, ὁπόσαι Ἀγρίππᾳ τύχαι συνέλθοιεν, ὥς τε αὐτῶν διάδρασιν ποιησάμενος ἐπὶ μέγιστον ἀξιώματός τε ἅμα προκόψειεν καὶ δυνάμεως.

4. Herod the Great had two daughters by Mariamne, the [grand] daughter of Hyrcanus; the one was Salampsio, who was married to Phasaelus, her first cousin, who was himself the son of Phasaelus, Herod's brother, her father

making the match; the other was Cypros, who was herself married also to her first cousin Antipater, the son of Salome, Herod's sister. Phasaelus had five children by Salampsio; Antipater, Herod, and Alexander, and two daughters, Alexandra and Cypros; which last Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, married; and Timius of Cyprus married Alexandra; he was a man of note, but had by her no children. Agrippa had by Cypros two sons and three daughters, which daughters were named Bernice, Mariarune, and Drusius; but the names of the sons were Agrippa and Drusus, of which Drusus died before he came to the years of puberty; but their father, Agrippa, was brought up with his other brethren, Herod and Aristobulus, for these were also the sons of the son of Herod the Great by Bernice; but Bernice was the daughter of Costobarus and of Salome, who was Herod's sister. Aristobulus left these infants when he was slain by his father, together with his brother Alexander, as we have already related. But when they were arrived at years of puberty, this Herod, the brother of Agrippa, married Mariamne, the daughter of Olympias, who was the daughter of Herod the king, and of Joseph, the son of Joseph, who was brother to Herod the king, and had by her a son, Aristobulus; but Aristobulus, the third brother of Agrippa, married Jotape, the daughter of Sampsigeramus, king of Emesa; they had a daughter who was deaf, whose name also was Jotape; and these hitherto were the children of the male line. But Herodias, their sister, was married to Herod [Philip], the son of Herod the Great, who was born of Mariamne, the daughter of Simon the high priest, who had a daughter, Salome; after whose birth Herodias took upon her to confound the laws of our country, and divorced herself from her husband while he was alive, and was married to Herod [Antipas], her husband's brother by the father's side, he was tetrarch of Galilee; but her daughter Salome was married to Philip, the son of Herod, and tetrarch of Trachonitis; and as he died childless, Aristobulus, the son of Herod, the brother of Agrippa, married her; they had three sons, Herod, Agrippa, and Aristobulus; and this was the posterity of Phasaelus and Salampsio. But the daughter of Antipater by Cypros was Cypros, whom Alexas Selcias, the son of Alexas, married; they had a daughter, Cypros; but Herod and Alexander, who, as we told you, were the brothers of Antipater, died childless. As to Alexander, the son of Herod the king, who was slain by his father, he had two sons, Alexander and Tigranes, by the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. Tigranes, who was king of Armenia, was accused at Rome, and died childless; Alexander had a son of the same name with his brother Tigranes, and was sent to take possession of the kingdom of Armenia by Nero; he had a son, Alexander, who married Jotape, the daughter of Antiochus, the king of Commagena; Vespasian made him king of an island in Cilicia. But these descendants of Alexander, soon after their birth, deserted the Jewish religion,

and went over to that of the Greeks. But for the rest of the daughters of Herod the king, it happened that they died childless. And as these descendants of Herod, whom we have enumerated, were in being at the same time that Agrippa the Great took the kingdom, and I have now given an account of them, it now remains that I relate the several hard fortunes which befell Agrippa, and how he got clear of them, and was advanced to the greatest height of dignity and power.

VI

CHAPTER 6. Of The Navigation Of King Agrippa To Rome, To Tiberius Caesar; And Now Upon His Being Accused By His Own Freed-Man, He Was Bound; How Also He, Was Set At

Liberty By Caius, After Tiberius's Death And Was Made King Of The Tetrarchy Of Philip.

(1) [143] Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως ὀλίγον πρὸ τῆς τελευτῆς Ἀγρίππας ἐν Ῥώμῃ διαιτώμενος καὶ ὁμοτροφίας καὶ συνηθείας αὐτῷ πολλῆς γενομένης πρὸς Δροῦσον τὸν Τιβερίου τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος υἱὸν καὶ Ἀντωνίᾳ τῇ Δρούσου τοῦ μεγάλου γυναικὶ εἰς φιλίαν ἀφίκετο, Βερενίκης τῆς μητρὸς τιμωμένης παρ᾽ αὐτῇ καὶ προαγωγῶν ἠξιωκυίας τὸν υἱόν. [144] φύσει δὲ μέγας ὢν ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ δωρεῖσθαι πολυτελὴς ζώσης μὲν τῆς μητρὸς οὐκ ἐξέφαινε τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ θέλον διαδιδράσκειν αὐτῆς ἠξιωκὼς τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις γενομένην ὀργήν, [145] ἐπεὶ δὲ Βερενίκη τελευτᾷ, γενόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτοῦ τρόπῳ, τὰ μὲν εἰς πολυτέλειαν τῆς καθ᾽ ἡμέραν διαίτης, τὰ δ᾽ εἰς τῶν δωρεῶν τὸ μὴ μέτρῳ προιέμενον ἀνάλωσε τῶν χρημάτων, τὰ πλεῖστα δ᾽ εἰς τοὺς Καίσαρος ἀπελευθέρους ἐτετέλεστο ἐλπίδι πράξεως τῆς αὐτῶν, πενία τε ἐν ὀλίγῳ περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν. [146] καὶ τοῦτο ἦν κώλυμα τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ διαίτης, καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος τοῖς φίλοις τοῦ υἱέος τετελευτηκότος ἀπειπὼν φοιτᾶν εἰς ὄψιν αὐτῷ, διὰ τὸ ἀνερεθίζεσθαι πρὸς τὸ λυπεῖσθαι μνημονεύων τοῦ παιδὸς θεωρίᾳ τῇ ἐκείνων.

1. A Little before the death of Herod the king, Agrippa lived at Rome, and was generally brought up and conversed with Drusus, the emperor Tiberius's son, and contracted a friendship with Antonia, the wife of Drusus the Great, who had his mother Bernice in great esteem, and was very desirous of advancing her son. Now as Agrippa was by nature magnanimous and generous in the presents he made, while his mother was alive, this inclination of his mind did not appear, that he might be able to avoid her anger for such his extravagance; but when Bernice was dead, and he was left to his own conduct, he spent a great deal extravagantly in his daily way of living, and a great deal in the immoderate presents he made, and those chiefly among Caesar's freed-men, in order to gain their assistance, insomuch that he was, in a little time, reduced to poverty, and could not live at Rome any longer. Tiberius also forbade the friends of his deceased son to come into his sight, because on seeing them he should be put in mind of his son, and his grief would thereby be revived.

(2) [147] Διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας πλέων ᾤχετο κακοπραγῶν καὶ τεταπεινωμένος ὀλέθρῳ τε ὧν εἶχεν χρημάτων καὶ ἀπορίᾳ τοῦ ἐκτίσοντος τὰ χρέα τοῖς δανεισταῖς πολλοῖς τε οὖσιν καὶ ἀλεωρὰν οὐδ᾽ ἡντινοῦν ἐνδιδοῦσιν, ὥστε ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ποιητέων καὶ αἰσχύνῃ τῇ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὑποχωρήσας εἴς τινα πύργον ἐν Μαλάθοις τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ἐν περινοίᾳ τοῦ μεταστήσοντος αὐτὸν ἦν.

[148] αἰσθάνεται δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν Κύπρος ἡ γυνὴ παντοία τε ἦν ἀπείργουσα τῶν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις βουλευμάτων. διαπέμπεται δὲ καὶ ὡς τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ Ἡρωδιάδα Ἡρώδῃ τῷ τετράρχῃ συνοικοῦσαν γράμματα, δηλοῦσα τό τε ἐπὶ τοιούτοις τοῦ Ἀγρίππα προβουλεῦσαν καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην, ἣ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὰ ἐξήγαγεν: [149] ἐκέλευέν τε συγγενῆ οὖσαν βοηθεῖν θεωροῦσαν, ὡς αὐτὴ παντοίως ὡς κουφίζοι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ταῦτα ἐξ ὁμοίων ἀφορμῶν. οἱ δὲ μεταπέμψαντες αὐτὸν οἰκητήριον ἀπέδειξαν Τιβεριάδα καί τι καὶ ἀργύριον ὥρισαν εἰς τὴν δίαιταν, ἀγορανομίᾳ τε τῆς Τιβεριάδος ἐτίμησαν. [150] οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ πλεῖόν γε Ἡρώδης ἐνέμεινε τοῖς δεδογμένοις, καίτοι γε οὐδ᾽ ὡς ἀρκοῦντα ἦν: ἐν γὰρ Τύρῳ παρὰ συνουσίαν ὑπὸ οἴνου γενομένων αὐτοῖς λοιδοριῶν, ἀνεκτὸν οὐχ ἡγησάμενος Ἀγρίππας τοῦ Ἡρώδου τε ἐπονειδίσαντος εἰς ἀπορίαν καὶ τροφῆς ἀναγκαίας μετάδοσιν, ὡς Φλάκκον τὸν ὑπατικὸν εἴσεισιν φίλον ἐπὶ Ῥώμης τὰ μάλιστα αὐτῷ γεγονότα πρότερον: Συρίαν δὲ ἐν τῷ τότε διεῖπεν.

2. For these reasons he went away from Rome, and sailed to Judea, but in evil circumstances, being dejected with the loss of that money which he once had, and because he had not wherewithal to pay his creditors, who were many in number, and such as gave him no room for escaping them. Whereupon he knew not what to do; so, for shame of his present condition, he retired to a certain tower, at Malatha, in Idumea, and had thoughts of killing himself; but his wife Cypros perceived his intentions, and tried all sorts of methods to divert him from his taking such a course; so she sent a letter to his sister Herodias, who was now the wife of Herod the tetrarch, and let her know Agrippa's present design, and what necessity it was which drove him thereto, and desired her, as a kinswoman of his, to give him her help, and to engage her husband to do the same, since she saw how she alleviated these her husband's troubles all she could, although she had not the like wealth to do it withal. So they sent for him, and allotted him Tiberias for his habitation, and appointed him some income of money for his maintenance, and made him a magistrate of that city, by way of honor to him. Yet did not Herod long continue in that resolution of supporting him, though even that support was not sufficient for him; for as once they were at a feast at Tyre, and in their cups, and reproaches were cast upon one another, Agrippa thought that was not to be borne, while Herod hit him in the teeth with his poverty, and with his owing his necessary food to him. So he went to Flaccus, one that had been consul, and had been a very great friend to him at Rome formerly, and was now president of Syria.

(3) [151] Καὶ δεξαμένου Φλάκκου παρὰ τούτῳ διῆγεν παρακατεσχηκότος αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ Ἀριστοβούλου, ὃς ἀδελφὸς ὢν Ἀγρίππου διάφορός τ᾽ ἦν. οὐ μὴν ἐβλάπτοντο ἔχθρᾳ τῇ ἀλλήλων, ὥστε μὴ φιλίᾳ τοῦ ὑπατικοῦ τὰ εἰκότα τιμὴν

φέρεσθαι. [152] οὐ μὴν ὅ γε Ἀριστόβουλος ἀνίει τι τοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν δυσμενοῦς μέχρι καὶ εἰς ἔχθραν αὐτὸν Φλάκκῳ καθίστησιν, αἰτίαν τοιαύτην ἐπὶ τῇ δυσμενείᾳ παραλαβών. [153] Δαμασκηνοὶ Σιδωνίοις περὶ ὅρων διάφοροι καθεστῶτες, μέλλοντος Φλάκκου περὶ τούτων ἀκροᾶσθαι μαθόντες τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ὡς παρ᾽ αὐτῷ μέγα δύναιτ᾽ ἂν ἠξίουν μερίδος τῆς αὐτῶν γενέσθαι, ἀργύριόν τε πλεῖστον ὡμολογεῖτο αὐτῷ. [154] καὶ ὁ μὲν πάντα ἐπὶ τῇ βοηθείᾳ τῶν Δαμασκηνῶν ὥρμητο πράσσειν. Ἀριστόβουλος δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἐλάνθανεν αὐτὸν ἡ ὁμολογία τῶν χρημάτων, καταγορεύει πρὸς τὸν Φλάκκον. καὶ βασανιζομένου τοῦ πράγματος ἐπεὶ φανερὰ ἦν, ἐξωθεῖ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν φιλίας τῆς πρὸς αὐτόν. [155] ὁ δὲ εἰς ὑστάτην περιωσμένος ἀπορίαν εἰς Πτολεμαίδα παρῆν, καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἄπορον τῆς ἀλλαχόθι διαίτης γνώμην ἐποιεῖτο ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας πλεῖν. εἰργόμενος δὲ χρημάτων ἀπορίᾳ ἠξίου Μαρσύαν ὄντα αὐτοῦ ἀπελεύθερον ποριστὴν γενέσθαι τῶν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις μηχανῶν δανεισάμενον παρά τινος. [156] καὶ ὁ Μαρσύας Πρῶτον κελεύει Βερενίκης ὄντα ἀπελεύθερον τῆς Ἀγρίππου μητρός, διαθήκης δὲ τῆς ἐκείνου δικαίῳ ὑποτελοῦντα τῆς Ἀντωνίας, αὐτῷ γοῦν παρασχεῖν ἐπὶ γράμματι καὶ πίστει τῇ αὐτοῦ. [157] ὁ δέ, ἐπεκάλει γὰρ τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ χρημάτων τινῶν ἀποστέρησιν, ἀναγκάζει τὸν Μαρσύαν δύο μυριάδων Ἀτθίδων συμβόλαιον ποιησάμενον πεντακοσίαις καὶ δισχιλίαις ἔλασσον λαμβάνειν. συνεχώρει δ᾽ ἐκεῖνος κατὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἄλλως ποιεῖν. [158] εἰλημμένου δὲ τοῦ χρήματος τούτου Ἀγρίππας εἰς Ἀνθηδόνα παραγενόμενος καὶ λαβὼν ναῦν ἐν ἀναγωγαῖς ἦν. καὶ γνοὺς Ἐρέννιος Καπίτων ὁ τῆς Ἰαμνείας ἐπίτροπος πέμπει στρατιώτας, οἳ εἰσπράξονται αὐτὸν ἀργυρίου τριάκοντα μυριάδας θησαυρῷ τῷ Καίσαρος ὀφειλομένας ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, ἀνάγκας τε ἐπετίθεσαν τοῦ μενοῦντος. [159] καὶ τότε μὲν πείσεσθαι τοῖς κεκελευσμένοις προσποιητὸς ἦν, νυκτὸς δ᾽ ἐπιγενομένης κόψας τὰ ἀπόγεια ᾤχετο ἐπ᾽ Ἀλεξανδρείας πλέων. ἔνθα Ἀλεξάνδρου δεῖται τοῦ ἀλαβάρχου μυριάδας εἴκοσι δάνειον αὐτῷ δοῦναι. ὁ δ᾽ ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔφη παρασχεῖν, Κύπρῳ δὲ οὐκ ἠρνεῖτο τήν τε φιλανδρίαν αὐτῆς καταπεπληγμένος καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν ἅπασαν ἀρετήν. [160] ἡ δὲ ὑπισχνεῖτο, καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος πέντε τάλαντα αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ δοὺς τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν Δικαιαρχείᾳ γενομένοις παρέξειν ἐπηγγέλλετο, δεδιὼς τοῦ Ἀγρίππου τὸ εἰς τὰ ἀναλώματα ἕτοιμον. καὶ Κύπρος μὲν ἀπαλλάξασα τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας πλευσούμενον αὐτὴ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίας ἀνέζευξεν.

3. Hereupon Flaccus received him kindly, and he lived with him. Flaccus had also with him there Aristobulus, who was indeed Agrippa’s brother, but was at variance with him; yet did not their enmity to one another hinder the friendship of Flaccus to them both, but still they were honorably treated by him. However, Aristobulus did not abate of his ill-will to Agrippa, till at length he brought him into ill terms with Flaccus; the occasion of bringing on which estrangement was

this: The Damascens were at difference with the Sidonians about their limits, and when Flaccus was about to hear the cause between them, they understood that Agrippa had a mighty influence upon him; so they desired that he would be of their side, and for that favor promised him a great deal of money; so he was zealous in assisting the Damascens as far as he was able. Now Aristobulus had gotten intelligence of this promise of money to him, and accused him to Flaccus of the same; and when, upon a thorough examination of the matter, it appeared plainly so to be, he rejected Agrippa out of the number of his friends. So he was reduced to the utmost necessity, and came to Ptolemais; and because he knew not where else to get a livelihood, he thought to sail to Italy; but as he was restrained from so doing by want of money, he desired Marsyas, who was his freed-man, to find some method for procuring him so much as he wanted for that purpose, by borrowing such a sum of some person or other. So Marsyas desired of Peter, who was the freed-man of Bernice, Agrippa's mother, and by the right of her testament was bequeathed to Antonia, to lend so much upon Agrippa's own bond and security; but he accused Agrippa of having defrauded him of certain sums of money, and so obliged Marsyas, when he made the bond of twenty thousand Attic drachmae, to accept of twenty-five hundred drachma as less than what he desired, which the other allowed of, because he could not help it. Upon the receipt of this money, Agrippa came to Anthedon, and took shipping, and was going to set sail; but Herennius Capito, who was the procurator of Jamhis, sent a band of soldiers to demand of him three hundred thousand drachmae of silver, which were by him owing to Caesar's treasury while he was at Rome, and so forced him to stay. He then pretended that he would do as he bid him; but when night came on, he cut his cables, and went off, and sailed to Alexandria, where he desired Alexander the alabarch to lend him two hundred thousand drachmae; but he said he would not lend it to him, but would not refuse it to Cypros, as greatly astonished at her affection to her husband, and at the other instances of her virtue; so she undertook to repay it. Accordingly, Alexander paid them five talents at Alexandria, and promised to pay them the rest of that sum at Dicearchia [Puteoli]; and this he did out of the fear he was in that Agrippa would soon spend it. So this Cypros set her husband free, and dismissed him to go on with his navigation to Italy, while she and her children departed for Judea.

(4) [161] Ἀγρίππας δὲ εἰς Ποτιόλους παραβαλὼν ἐπιστολὴν ὡς Τιβέριον τὸν Καίσαρα γράφει διαιτώμενον ἐν Καπρέαις, παρουσίαν τε τὴν αὐτοῦ δηλῶν ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ καὶ ὄψει τῇ ἐκείνου, καὶ ἀξιῶν ἔφεσιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι εἰς Καπρέας παραβαλεῖν. [162] Τιβέριος δὲ οὐδὲν ἐνδοιάσας τά τε ἄλλα αὐτῷ γράφει

φιλανθρωπίᾳ χρώμενος, ἐκτίνει τε χάριν ἀποσημαίνων ἐπὶ τῷ σῶν ἐπανήκειν εἰς τὰς Καπρέας, ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἀφικνεῖται μηδὲν ὑφελὼν τοῦ ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι προθύμου ἠσπάζετό τε καὶ ἐξένιζεν. [163] τῇ δ᾽ ἑξῆς Καίσαρι γραμμάτων αὐτῷ παρὰ Ἐρεννίου Καπίτωνος ἀφικομένων, ὅτι Ἀγρίππας μυριάδας τριάκοντα δάνεισμα ποιήσας καὶ πρὸς τὰς καταβολὰς ἐκλιπὼν χρόνον τὸν συγκείμενον ἀπαιτήσεως γενομένης οἴχοιτο φυγὰς ἐκ τῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῷ χωρίων ἄκυρον αὐτὸν καθιστὰς τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ εἰσπραξομένῳ ἐξουσίας, [164] ταύτην ἀναγνοὺς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν περιαλγεῖ τε ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ διάκλεισιν γενέσθαι τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ κελεύει εἰσόδων τῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄχρι δὴ καταβολῆς τοῦ χρέους. ὁ δὲ μηδὲν τῇ ὀργῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος καταπλαγεὶς Ἀντωνίας δεῖται Γερμανικοῦ μητρὸς καὶ Κλαυδίου τοῦ ὕστερον γενομένου Καίσαρος, δάνεισμα αὐτῷ δοθῆναι τῶν τριάκοντα μυριάδων, ὡς φιλίας μὴ ἁμάρτοι τῆς πρὸς Τιβέριον. [165] ἡ δὲ Βερενίκης τε μνήμῃ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, σφόδρα γὰρ ἀλλήλαις ἐχρῶντο αἵδε αἱ γυναῖκες, καὶ αὐτῷ ὁμοτροφίας πρὸς τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κλαύδιον γεγενημένης, δίδωσι τὸ ἀργύριον, καὶ αὐτῷ ἀποτίσαντι τὸ χρέος ἀνεπικώλυτος ἦν ἡ φιλία τοῦ Τιβερίου. [166] αὖθις δὲ αὐτῷ Τιβέριος ὁ Καῖσαρ συνίστησιν υἱωνὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ κελεύων τὰ πάντα αὐτῷ ταῖς ἐξόδοις παρατυγχάνειν. Ἀγρίππας δὲ φιλίᾳ δεχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀντωνίας κατὰ θεραπείαν τρέπεται τὴν Γαίου υἱωνοῦ τε ὄντος αὐτῇ καὶ εὐνοίᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰς τὰ πρῶτα τιμωμένου. [167] καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλος Σαμαρεὺς γένος Καίσαρος δὲ ἀπελεύθερος: παρὰ τούτου δάνεισμα μυριάδας ἑκατὸν εὑρόμενος τῇ τε Ἀντωνίᾳ καταβάλλει τὸ ὀφειληθὲν χρέος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῷ ἀναλώματι θεραπεύων τὸν Γάιον μειζόνως ἐν ἀξιώματι ἦν παρ᾽ αὐτῷ.

4. And now Agrippa was come to Puteoli, whence he wrote a letter to Tiberius Caesar, who then lived at Capreae, and told him that he was come so far in order to wait on him, and to pay him a visit; and desired that he would give him leave to come over to Caprein: so Tiberius made no difficulty, but wrote to him in an obliging way in other respects; and withal told him he was glad of his safe return, and desired him to come to Capreae; and when he was come, he did not fail to treat him as kindly as he had promised him in his letter to do. But the next day came a letter to Caesar from Herennius Capito, to inform him that Agrippa had borrowed three hundred thousand drachmae, and not pad it at the time appointed; but when it was demanded of him, he ran away like a fugitive, out of the places under his government, and put it out of his power to get the money of him. When Caesar had read this letter, he was much troubled at it, and gave order that Agrippa should be excluded from his presence until he had paid that debt: upon which he was no way daunted at Caesar’s anger, but entreated Antonia, the mother of Germanicus, and of Claudius, who was afterward Caesar himself, to lend him those three hundred thousand drachmae, that he might not

be deprived of Tiberius's friendship; so, out of regard to the memory of Bernice his mother, [for those two women were very familiar with one another,] and out of regard to his and Claudius's education together, she lent him the money; and, upon the payment of this debt, there was nothing to hinder Tiberius's friendship to him. After this, Tiberius Caesar recommended to him his grandson, and ordered that he should always accompany him when he went abroad. But upon Agrippa's kind reception by Antonia, he betook him to pay his respects to Caius, who was her grandson, and in very high reputation by reason of the good-will they bare his father. Now there was one Thallus, a freed-man of Caesar, of whom he borrowed a million of drachmae, and thence repaid Antonia the debt he owed her; and by sending the overplus in paying his court to Caius, became a person of great authority with him.

(5) [168] Προιούσης δὲ ἐπὶ μέγα τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ τῆς πρὸς Γάιον φιλίας αἰωρουμένοις ποτὲ λόγος περὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου γίνεται, καὶ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου κατ᾽ εὐχὰς τραπομένου, μόνω δ᾽ ἤστην, ᾗ τάχος Τιβέριον ὑπεκστάντα τῆς ἀρχῆς Γαίῳ παραχωρεῖν ἀξιωτέρῳ τὰ πάντα ὄντι, τούτων ἀκροᾶται τῶν λόγων Εὔτυχος, Ἀγρίππου δ᾽ ἦν ἀπελεύθερος ἡνίοχος, καὶ παραχρῆμα μὲν σιγῇ παρεδίδου. [169] κλοπῆς δὲ ἱματίων αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ἐπικαλουμένης, καὶ ἀκριβῶς δὲ ἐκεκλόφει, φυγὼν καὶ ληφθεὶς ἀγωγῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Πείσωνα γενομένης, ὃς ἦν φύλαξ τῆς πόλεως, ἐρομένου τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς φυγῆς Καίσαρί φησιν ἀπορρήτους ἔχειν λόγους εἰπεῖν ἐπ᾽ ἀσφαλείᾳ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ φέροντας, ὥστε δήσας αὐτὸν ἔστελλεν εἰς τὰς Καπρέας, καὶ Τιβέριος τῷ αὐτοῦ τρόπῳ χρώμενος εἶχεν αὐτὸν δέσμιον, μελλητὴς εἰ καί τις ἕτερος βασιλέων ἢ τυράννων γενόμενος. [170] οὔτε γὰρ πρεσβειῶν ὑποδοχὰς ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἐποιεῖτο ἡγεμόσι τε ἢ ἐπιτρόποις ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ σταλεῖσιν οὐδεμία ἦν διαδοχή, ὁπότε μὴ φθαῖεν τετελευτηκότες: ὅθεν καὶ δεσμωτῶν ἀκροάσεως ἀπερίοπτος ἦν. [171] ὥστε καὶ τῶν φίλων ἐρομένων τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ ἐπὶ τοιούτοις ὀλκῇ χρωμένου, ἔφη τὰς μὲν πρεσβείας τρίβειν, ὅπως μὴ ἀπαλλαγῆς αὐταῖς ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος γενομένης ἕτεροι πρέσβεις ἐπιχειροτονηθέντες ἐπανίοιεν ὄχλος τε αὐτῷ γίγνοιτο ἐπιδοχαῖς αὐτῶν καὶ πομπαῖς προσκειμένῳ. [172] τὰς δ᾽ ἀρχὰς συγχωρεῖν τοῖς ἄπαξ εἰς αὐτὰς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καταστᾶσιν αἰδοῦς προμηθείᾳ τῶν ὑποτελῶν: φύσει μὲν γὰρ εἶναι πᾶσαν ἡγεμονίαν οἰκείαν τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν: τὰς δὲ μὴ πατρίους, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς ὀλίγον καὶ ἄδηλον ὁπότε ἀφαιρεθεῖεν καὶ μειζόνως ἐξοτρύνειν ἐπὶ κλοπαῖς τοὺς ἔχοντας. [173] εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐφεστήκασιν εἰς πλέον, αὐτοὺς ἄδην τῶν κλοπῶν ἔξειν ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ τῶν κεκερδημένων ἀμβλυτέρως τὸ λοιπὸν αὐταῖς χρωμένους. διαδοχῆς δ᾽ ἐπιπαραγενομένης ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος μηδαμῶς ἂν ἀρκέσαι τοὺς ἆθλα τοῖς ἄρχουσι προκειμένους ἀναστροφῆς αὐτοῖς οὐ διδομένης καιρῶν, ἐν οἷς πλήρεις οἱ προειληφότες γενόμενοι ὑποδιδοῖέν τε σπουδῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ λαμβάνειν, διὰ τὸ

πρὶν ἐν καιρῷ γενέσθαι μεταστῆναι. [174] παράδειγμά τε αὐτοῖς φησι τοῦτον τὸν λόγον: τραυματίᾳ τινὶ κειμένῳ μυῖαι κατὰ πλῆθος τὰς ὠτειλὰς περιέστασαν. καί τις τῶν παρατυχόντων οἰκτείρας αὐτοῦ τὴν δυστυχίαν καὶ νομίσας ἀδυναμίᾳ μὴ βοηθεῖν οἷός τ᾽ ἦν ἀποσοβεῖν αὐτὰς παραστάς. [175] καὶ δεομένου παύσασθαι τῶν ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε, ὑπολαβὼν ἤρετο τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ ἀπρομηθοῦς εἰς τὴν διαφυγὴν κακοῦ τοῦ ἐφεστηκότος. "μειζόνως γὰρ ἂν ἀδικοῖς με, εἶπε, ταύτας ἀπαγαγών. ταῖς μέν γε ἤδη πληρωθείσαις τοῦ αἵματος οὐκέθ᾽ ὁμοίως ἔπειξις ὄχλον μοι παρασχεῖν, ἀλλά πῃ καὶ ἀνίσχουσιν. αἱ δ᾽ ἀκραιφνεῖ τῷ κατ᾽ αὐτὰς λιμῷ συνελθοῦσαι καὶ τετρυμένον ἤδη παραλαμβάνουσαι κἂν ὀλέθρῳ παραδοῖεν". [176] διὰ τάδε οὖν καὐτὸς ὑπὸ πολλῶν τῶν κλοπῶν διεφθαρμένοις τοῖς ὑποτελέσιν προμηθὲς εἶναι μὴ συνεχὲς ἐξαποστέλλειν τοὺς ἡγησομένους, οἳ ἐν τρόπῳ μυιῶν ἐκπολεμοῖεν αὐτούς, φύσει πρὸς κέρδος ὀρωρεγμένοις σύμμαχον παραλαμβάνοντες τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ ταχέως ἀφαιρεθησομένου τὴν ἐνθένδε ἡδονήν. [177] μαρτυρήσει δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ περὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τοιούτοις φύσεως Τιβερίου τὸ ἔργον αὐτό: ἔτη γὰρ δύο πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσιν αὐτοκράτωρ γενόμενος δύο τοὺς πάντας Ἰουδαίοις ἐξέπεμψεν διοικήσοντας τὸ ἔθνος, Γρᾶτον τε καὶ Πιλᾶτον, ὃς αὐτῷ διεδέξατο τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. [178] καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ μὲν Ἰουδαίων τοιοῦτος ἦν, ἑτεροῖος δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ὑπηκόων. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν δεσμωτῶν τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀκροάσεως ἀπεσήμαινεν ὑπὸ τοῦ δικαιωθεῖσι μὲν θανάτῳ κούφισιν γενέσθαι τῶν ἐνεστηκότων κακῶν, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπ᾽ ἀρετῇ τῶν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις τύχῃ συνελθεῖν, τριβομένοις δὲ ἀχθηδόνι τῇ ἐπικειμένῃ μείζονα προσρέπειν τὴν δυστυχίαν.

5. Now as the friendship which Agrippa had for Caius was come to a great height, there happened some words to pass between them, as they once were in a chariot together, concerning Tiberius; Agrippa praying [to God] [for they two sat by themselves] that Tiberius might soon go off the stage, and leave the government to Caius, who was in every respect more worthy of it. Now Eutychus, who was Agrippa's freed-man, and drove his chariot, heard these words, and at that time said nothing of them; but when Agrippa accused him of stealing some garments of his, [which was certainly true,] he ran away from him; but when he was caught, and brought before Piso, who was governor of the city, and the man was asked why he ran away, he replied, that he had somewhat to say to Caesar, that tended to his security and preservation: so Piso bound him, and sent him to Capreae. But Tiberius, according to his usual custom, kept him still in bonds, being a delayer of affairs, if ever there was any other king or tyrant that was so; for he did not admit ambassadors quickly, and no successors were despatched away to governors or procurators of the provinces that had been formerly sent, unless they were dead; whence it was that he was so negligent in hearing the causes of prisoners; insomuch that when he was asked by his friends what was

the reason of his delay in such cases, he said that he delayed to hear ambassadors, lest, upon their quick dismission, other ambassadors should be appointed, and return upon him; and so he should bring trouble upon himself in their public reception and dismission: that he permitted those governors who had been sent once to their government [to stay there a long while], out of regard to the subjects that were under them; for that all governors are naturally disposed to get as much as they can; and that those who are not to fix there, but to stay a short time, and that at an uncertainty when they shall be turned out, do the more severely hurry themselves on to fleece the people; but that if their government be long continued to them; they are at last satiated with the spoils, as having gotten a vast deal, and so become at length less sharp in their pillaging; but that if successors are sent quickly, the poor subjects, who are exposed to them as a prey, will not be able to bear the new ones, while they shall not have the same time allowed them wherein their predecessors had filled themselves, and so grew more unconcerned about getting more; and this because they are removed before they have had time [for their oppressions]. He gave them an example to show his meaning: A great number of flies came about the sore places of a man that had been wounded; upon which one of the standers-by pitied the man's misfortune, and thinking he was not able to drive those flies away himself, was going to drive them away for him; but he prayed him to let them alone: the other, by way of reply, asked him the reason of such a preposterous proceeding, in preventing relief from his present misery; to which he answered, "If thou drivest these flies away, thou wilt hurt me worse; for as these are already full of my blood, they do not crowd about me, nor pain me so much as before, but are somewhat more remiss, while the fresh ones that come almost famished, and find me quite tired down already, will be my destruction. For this cause, therefore, it is that I am myself careful not to send such new governors perpetually to those my subjects, who are already sufficiently harassed by many oppressions, as may, like these flies, further distress them; and so, besides their natural desire of gain, may have this additional incitement to it, that they expect to be suddenly deprived of that pleasure which they take in it." And, as a further attestation to what I say of the dilatory nature of Tiberius, I appeal to this his practice itself; for although he was emperor twenty-two years, he sent in all but two procurators to govern the nation of the Jews, Gratus, and his successor in the government, Pilate. Nor was he in one way of acting with respect to the Jews, and in another with respect to the rest of his subjects. He further informed them, that even in the hearing of the causes of prisoners, he made such delays, because immediate death to those that must be condemned to die would be an alleviation of their present miseries, while

those wicked wretches have not deserved any such favor; “but I do it, that, by being harassed with the present calamity, they may undergo greater misery.”

(6) [179] Διὰ μὲν δὴ τάδε καὶ Εὔτυχος ἀκροάσεώς τε οὐκ ἐτύγχανε: καὶ δεσμοῖς ἐνείχετο. χρόνου δὲ ἐγγενομένου Τιβέριός τε ἐκ τῶν Καπρεῶν εἰς Τουσκουλανὸν παραγίνεται ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων ἑκατὸν τῆς Ῥώμης, καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἀξιοῖ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν διαπράξασθαι γενέσθαι τῷ Εὐτύχῳ τὴν ἀκρόασιν ἐφ᾽ οἵστισι τὴν κατηγορίαν ποιοῖτο αὐτοῦ. [180] τιμία δὲ ἦν Ἀντωνία Τιβερίῳ εἰς τὰ πάντα συγγενείας τε ἀξιώματι, Δρούσου γὰρ ἦν ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ γυνή, καὶ ἀρετῇ τοῦ σώφρονος: νέα γὰρ χηρεύειν παρέμεινεν γάμῳ τε ἀπεῖπεν τῷ πρὸς ἕτερον καίπερ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ κελεύοντός τινι γαμεῖσθαι, καὶ λοιδοριῶν ἀπηλλαγμένον διεσώσατο αὐτῆς τὸν βίον. [181] ἰδίᾳ τε εὐεργέτις ἦν εἰς τὰ μέγιστα τοῦ Τιβερίου: ἐπιβουλῆς γὰρ μεγάλης συστάσης ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Σηιάνου φίλου τε ἀνδρὸς καὶ δύναμιν ἐν τῷ τότε μεγίστην ἔχοντος διὰ τὸ τῶν στρατευμάτων εἶναι ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῷ, καὶ τῆς τε βουλῆς οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων προσέθεντο καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν διέφθαρτο, προυκοπτέν τε ἡ ἐπιβουλὴ ἐπὶ μέγα κἂν ἐπέπρακτο Σηιάνῳ τὸ ἔργον μὴ τῆς Ἀντωνίας τόλμῃ χρησαμένης σοφωτέρᾳ τῆς Σηιάνου κακουργίας. [182] ἐπεὶ γὰρ μανθάνει τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ συντεθειμένα, γράφει πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα ἀκριβῶς καὶ Πάλλαντι ἐπιδοῦσα τὰ γράμματα τῷ πιστοτάτῳ τῶν δούλων αὐτῆς ἐκπέμπει πρὸς Τιβέριον εἰς τὰς Καπρέας. ὁ δὲ μαθὼν τόν τε Σηιᾶνον κτείνει καὶ τοὺς συνεπιβούλους, τήν τε Ἀντωνίαν καὶ πρὶν ἀξιολόγως ἄγων τιμιωτέραν τε ὑπελάμβανεν κἀπὶ τοῖς πᾶσι πιθανήν. [183] ὑπὸ δὴ ταύτης τῆς Ἀντωνίας ὁ Τιβέριος παρακαλούμενος ἐξετάσαι τὸν Εὔτυχον, “ἀλλ᾽ εἰ μὲν καταψεύσειε, φησὶν ὁ Τιβέριος, [ἔτι δε] Ἀγρίππου τὰ εἰρημένα Εὔτυχος, ἀρκοῦσαν κομίζεται παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τιμωρίαν, ἣν ἐπιτετίμηκα αὐτός: εἰ δὲ βασανιζομένου ἀληθῆ φανείη τὰ εἰρημένα, μήπου κολάζειν ποθῶν τὸν ἀπελεύθερον ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν μᾶλλον καλοίη τὴν δίκην”. [184] καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας ταῦτα φαμένης πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀντωνίας πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐπέκειτο ἀξιῶν ἐξέτασιν γενέσθαι τοῦ πράγματος, καὶ ἡ Ἀντωνία, οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει πολὺς ὢν ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἐπὶ τοῖσδε δεῖσθαι, καιρὸν παραλαβοῦσα τοιοῦτον: [185] αἰωρεῖτο μὲν Τιβέριος ἐπὶ φορείου κείμενος, προιόντων Γαίου τε τοῦ ἐκείνης υἱωνοῦ καὶ Ἀγρίππα, ἀπ᾽ ἀρίστου δ᾽ ἦσαν, παραπεριπατοῦσα τῷ φορείῳ παρεκάλει καλεῖσθαί τε τὸν Εὔτυχον καὶ ἐξετάζεσθαι. [186] ὁ δέ “ἀλλ᾽ ἴστων μὲν Ἀντωνία, εἶπεν, οἱ θεοί, ὅτι μὴ τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ γνώμῃ ἀνάγκῃ δὲ τῆς σῆς παρακλήσεως ἐξαγόμενος πράξω τὰ πραξόμενα.” ταῦτα εἰπὼν κελεύει Μάκρωνα, ὃς Σηιανοῦ διάδοχος ἦν, τὸν Εὔτυχον ἀγαγεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς παρῆν. Τιβέριος δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἤρετο, τί καὶ ἔχοι λέγειν κατ᾽ ἀνδρὸς ἐλευθερίαν αὐτῷ παρεσχηκότος. [187] ὁ δέ φησιν, “ὦ δέσποτα, αἰωροῦντο μὲν ἐφ᾽ ἁμάξης Γάιός τε οὗτος καὶ Ἀγρίππας σὺν αὐτῷ καί σφων ἐζόμην παρὰ τοῖν ποδοῖν, λόγων δὲ πολλῶν ἀνακυκλουμένων

Ἀγρίππας φησὶ πρὸς Γάιον: εἰ γὰρ ἀφίκοιτό ποτε ἡμέρα, ᾗ μεταστὰς ὁ γέρων οὗτος χειροτονοίη σε ἡγεμόνα τῆς οἰκουμένης: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἡμῖν Τιβέριος ὁ υἱωνὸς αὐτοῦ γένοιτ᾽ ἂν ἐμποδὼν ὑπὸ σοῦ τελευτῶν, καὶ ἥ τε οἰκουμένη γένοιτ᾽ [188] ἂν μακαρία κἀγὼ πρὸ αὐτῆς.” Τιβέριος δὲ πιστὰ ἡγησάμενος τὰ εἰρημένα καὶ ἅμα μῆνιν ἀναφέρων τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ παλαιάν, διότι κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ θεραπεύειν Τιβέριον υἱωνόν τε αὐτοῦ γεγονότα καὶ Δρούσου παῖδα ὄντα, ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἀτίμως ἦγεν παρακροασάμενος τὰς ἐπιστολὰς καὶ πᾶς ὡς τὸν Γάιον μετεκάθιζεν, [189] “τοῦτον μὲν δή, φησί, Μάκρων, δῆσον.” Μάκρων δὲ τὰ μὲν οὐ σαφῶς ὄντινα προστάξειεν ἐξεπιστάμενος, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἂν προσδοκῶν περὶ τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ αὐτὸν κελεῦσαί τι τοιοῦτον, ἐπανεῖχεν ἀκριβωσόμενος τὰ εἰρημένα. [190] ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ὁ Καῖσαρ περιοδεύσας τὸν ἱππόδρομον λαμβάνει τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἑστηκότα, “καὶ μὴν δή, φησίν, Μάκρων, τοῦτον εἶπον δεθῆναι”. τοῦ δὲ ἐπανερομένου ὄντινα, “Ἀγρίππαν γε” εἶπεν. [191] καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας τρέπεται μὲν κατὰ δεήσεις, τοῦ τε παιδὸς ᾧ συνετέθραπτο μνημονεύων καὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου τῆς ἐκτροφῆς, οὐ μὴν ἤνυέν γέ τι, ἀλλ᾽ ἦγον αὐτὸν ἐν πορφυρίσι δέσμιον. [192] καὶ καῦμά τε γὰρ σφοδρὸν ἦν καὶ ὑπὸ οἴνου τοῦ ἐπὶ σιτίοις μὴ πολλοῦ γεγονότος δίψος ἐξέκαιεν αὐτόν, καί τι καὶ ἠγωνία καὶ τὸ παρ᾽ ἀξίαν προσελάμβανεν, θεασάμενός τινα τῶν Γαίου παίδων Θαυμαστὸν ὄνομα ὕδωρ ἐν ἀγγείῳ κομίζοντα ᾔτησε πιεῖν. [193] καὶ ὀρέξαντος προθύμως πιών, “ἀλλ᾽ εἴπερ ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθοῖς, φησίν, ὦ παῖ, τὰ τῆσδέ σου τῆς διακονίας γέγονεν, διαφυγῆς μοι γενομένης τῶνδε τῶν δεσμῶν οὐκ ἂν βραδύνοιμι ἐλευθερίαν εἰσπρασσόμενός σοι παρὰ Γαίου, ὃς καὶ δεσμώτῃ μοι γενομένῳ διακονεῖσθαι καθάπερ ἐν τῷ πρότερον καθεστηκότι σχήματι τῆς περὶ ἐμὲ ἀξιώσεως οὐκ ἐνέλιπες.” καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσατο [ταῦτα εἰπών, ἀλλὰ δὴ ἠμείψατο]: [194] ἐν ὑστέρῳ γὰρ βασιλεύσας τὸν Θαυμαστὸν μειζόνως ἐλεύθερόν τε ἀφῆκε παρὰ Γαίου Καίσαρος γεγονότος λαβὼν καὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἐπίτροπον καθίστησι, τελευτῶν τε τῷ υἱεῖ Ἀγρίππᾳ καὶ Βερενίκῃ τῇ θυγατρὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις διακονησόμενον κατέλιπεν, ἐν τιμῇ τε ὢν ταύτῃ γηραιὸς τελευτᾷ. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον.

6. On this account it was that Eutychus could not obtain a bearing, but was kept still in prison. However, some time afterward, Tiberius came from Capreae to Tusculanum, which is about a hundred furlongs from Rome. Agrippa then desired of Antonia that she would procure a hearing for Eutychus, let the matter whereof he accused him prove what it would. Now Antonia was greatly esteemed by Tiberius on all accounts, from the dignity of her relation to him, who had been his brother Drusus’s wife, and from her eminent chastity; for though she was still a young woman, she continued in her widowhood, and refused all other matches, although Augustus had enjoined her to be married to somebody else; yet did she all along preserve her reputation free from reproach.

She had also been the greatest benefactress to Tiberius, when there was a very dangerous plot laid against him by Sejanus, a man who had been her husband's friend, and wire had the greatest authority, because he was general of the army, and when many members of the senate and many of the freed-men joined with him, and the soldiery was corrupted, and the plot was come to a great height. Now Sejanus had certainly gained his point, had not Antonia's boldness been more wisely conducted than Sejanus's malice; for when she had discovered his designs against Tiberius, she wrote him an exact account of the whole, and gave the letter to Pallas, the most faithful of her servants, and sent him to Caprere to Tiberius, who, when he understood it, slew Sejanus and his confederates; so that Tiberius, who had her in great esteem before, now looked upon her with still greater respect, and depended upon her in all things. So when Tiberius was desired by this Antonia to examine Eutychus, he answered, "If indeed Eutychus hath falsely accused Agrippa in what he hath said of him, he hath had sufficient punishment by what I have done to him already; but if, upon examination, the accusation appears to be true, let Agrippa have a care, lest, out of desire of punishing his freed-man, he do not rather bring a punishment upon himself." Now when Antonia told Agrippa of this, he was still much more pressing that the matter might be examined into; so Antonia, upon Agrippa's lying hard at her continually to beg this favor, took the following opportunity: As Tiberius lay once at his ease upon his sedan, and was carried about, and Caius, her grandson, and Agrippa, were before him after dinner she walked by the sedan, and desired him to call Eutychus, and have him examined; to which he replied, "O Antonia! the gods are my witnesses that I am induced to do what I am going to do, not by my own inclination, but because I am forced to it by thy prayers." When he had said this, he ordered Macro, who succeeded Sejanus, to bring Eutychus to him; accordingly, without any delay, he was brought. Then Tiberius asked him what he had to say against a man who had given him his liberty. Upon which he said, "O my lord! this Caius, and Agrippa with him, were once riding in a chariot, when I sat at their feet, and, among other discourses that passed, Agrippa said to Caius, Oh that the day would once come when this old fellow will dies and name thee for the governor of the habitable earth! for then this Tiberius, his grandson, would be no hinderance, but would be taken off by thee, and that earth would be happy, and I happy also." Now Tiberius took these to be truly Agrippa's words, and bearing a grudge withal at Agrippa, because, when he had commanded him to pay his respects to Tiberius, his grandson, and the son of Drusus, Agrippa had not paid him that respect, but had disobeyed his commands, and transferred all his regard to Caius; he said to Macro, "Bind this man." But Macro, not distinctly knowing which of them it was whom he bid him bind, and not expecting that he

would have any such thing done to Agrippa, he forbore, and came to ask more distinctly what it was that he said. But when Caesar had gone round the hippodrome, he found Agrippa standing: “For certain,” said he, “Macro, this is the man I meant to have bound;” and when he still asked, “Which of these is to be bound?” he said “Agrippa.” Upon which Agrippa betook himself to make supplication for himself, putting him in mind of his son, with whom he was brought up, and of Tiberius [his grandson] whom he had educated; but all to no purpose; for they led him about bound even in his purple garments. It was also very hot weather, and they had but little wine to their meal, so that he was very thirsty; he was also in a sort of agony, and took this treatment of him heinously: as he therefore saw one of Caius’s slaves, whose name was Thaumastus, carrying some water in a vessel, he desired that he would let him drink; so the servant gave him some water to drink, and he drank heartily, and said, “O thou boy! this service of thine to me will be for thy advantage; for if I once get clear of these my bonds, I will soon procure thee thy freedom of Caius who has not been wanting to minister to me now I am in bonds, in the same manner as when I was in my former state and dignity.” Nor did he deceive him in what he promised him, but made him amends for what he had now done; for when afterward Agrippa was come to the kingdom, he took particular care of Thaumastus, and got him his liberty from Caius, and made him the steward over his own estate; and when he died, he left him to Agrippa his son, and to Bernice his daughter, to minister to them in the same capacity. The man also grew old in that honorable post, and therein died. But all this happened a good while later.

(7) [195] Ἀγρίππας δὲ τότε δεθεὶς εἱστήκει πρὸ τοῦ βασιλείου πρός τινι δένδρῳ κλιθεὶς ὑπὸ ἀθυμίας μετὰ πολλῶν οἳ ἐδέδεντο. καί τινος ὀρνέου καθίσαντος ἐπὶ τοῦ δένδρου, ᾧ Ἀγρίππας προσεκέκλιτο, βουβῶνα δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν ὄρνιν τοῦτον καλοῦσιν, τῶν δεσμωτῶν τις Γερμανὸς θεασάμενος ἤρετο τὸν στρατιώτην, ὅστις εἴη ὁ ἐν τῇ πορφυρίδι. [196] καὶ μαθὼν μὲν Ἀγρίππαν ὄνομα αὐτῷ, Ἰουδαῖον δὲ τὸ γένος καὶ τῶν ἐκείνῃ ἀξιολογωτάτων, ἠξίωσεν τὸν συνδεδεμένον αὐτῷ στρατιώτην πλησίον ἐλθεῖν διὰ λόγων: βούλεσθαι γάρ τινα ἀμφὶ τῶν πατρίων ἔρεσθαι αὐτόν. [197] καὶ τυχών, ἐπεὶ πλησίον ἵσταται, δι’ ἑρμηνέως “ὦ νεανία, φησίν, καταχθεῖ μέν σε τὸ αἰφνίδιον τῆς μεταβολῆς πολλήν τε οὕτως καὶ ἀθρόαν ἐπαγαγὸν τὴν τύχην, ἀπιστία δέ σοι λόγων, οἳ ἐπὶ διαφυγῇ κακοῦ τοῦ ἐφεστηκότος διαιροῖντο τοῦ θείου τὴν πρόνοιαν. [198] ἴσθι γε μήν, θεοὺς τοὺς ἐμοὶ πατρῴους καὶ τοὺς τοῖσδε ἐγχωρίους, οἳ τόνδε ἐπρυτάνευσαν ἡμῖν τὸν σίδηρον, ἐπομνύμενος λέξω τὰ πάντα οὔτε ἡδονῇ γλωσσάργῳ διδοὺς τὸν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς λόγον οὔτε διακενῆς εὐθυμεῖν σε ἐσπουδακώς. [199] αἱ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε προαγορεύσεις ὑστερηκότος τοῦ ἀποδείξοντος ἔργου χαλεπωτέραν

προστίθενται τὴν ἀχθηδόνα τοῦ μηδ᾽ εἰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀκροάσαιτο αὐτῶν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν κινδύνοις παραβαλλόμενος δίκαιον ἡγησάμην σοι διασαφῆσαι τὴν προαγόρευσιν τῶν θεῶν. [200] οὐκ ἔσθ᾽ ὅπως οὐκ εὐθέως ἀπαλλαγή τέ σοι τῶνδε τῶν δεσμῶν παρέσται καὶ πρόοδος ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἀξιώματός τε καὶ δυνάμεως, ζηλωτός τε ἂν γένοιο πᾶσιν, οἳ νῦν δι᾽ οἴκτου τὰς τύχας σου λαμβάνουσιν, εὐδαίμονά τε ἂν ποιοῖο τὴν τελευτὴν παισίν, οἷς ἔσῃ τὸν βίον καταλειπόμενος. μνημονεύειν δέ, ὁπότε εἰσαῦθις τὸν ὄρνιν θεάσαιο τοῦτον, πέντε ἡμέραις σοι τὴν τελευτὴν ἐσομένην. [201] ταῦτα πεπράξεται μὲν ἥπερ ἀποσημαίνει τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἐξαποστεῖλαν τουτονὶ τὸν ὄρνιν. προγνώσει τε αὐτῶν σύνεσιν τὴν παραγενομένην ἀποστερεῖν σε ἄδικον ἡγησάμην, ὅπως ἐπιστάμενος ἀγαθοῦ μέλλοντος λυσιτελεῖν ἐν ὀλίγῳ τὴν ἀχθηδόνα τοῦ παρόντος τιθοῖο. μνήμην δὲ ποιεῖσθαι εἰς χεῖράς σου παραγενομένου τοῦ εὐδαίμονος καὶ τοῦ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς διαφευξομένου δυστυχίαν, [202] ᾗ τανῦν σύνεσμεν.” καὶ ὁ μὲν Γερμανὸς τοσάδε προειπὼν εἰς τοσόνδε ὦφλεν τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ γέλωτα, ἐφ᾽ ὅσον ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον κατεφάνη τεθαυμάσθαι ἄξιος. ἡ δὲ Ἀντωνία χαλεπῶς φέρουσα τοῦ Ἀγρίππου τὴν δυστυχίαν τὸ μὲν Τιβερίῳ περὶ αὐτοῦ διαλέγεσθαι ἐργωδέστερον ἑώρα καὶ ἄλλως ἐπ᾽ ἀπράκτοις γενησόμενον, [203] εὑρίσκετο δ᾽ αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ Μάκρωνος στρατιωτῶν τε μετρίων ἀνδρῶν οἳ παραφυλάξειαν αὐτὸν ἐν φροντίσιν καὶ ἑκατοντάρχου τοῦ ἐφεστηξομένου τε ἐκείνοις καὶ συνδέτου ἐσομένου, λουτρά τε καθ᾽ ἡμέραν συγκεχωρῆσθαι καὶ ἀπελευθέρων καὶ φίλων εἰσόδους τήν τε ἄλλην ῥᾳστώνην, ἢ τῷ σώματι γένοιτ᾽ ἄν. [204] εἰσῄεσάν τε ὡς αὐτὸν φίλος τε Σίλας καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων Μαρσύας καὶ Στοιχεὺς τροφὰς εἰσκομίζοντες αἷς ἔχαιρεν καὶ δι᾽ ἐπιμελείας πάσης ἔχοντες, ἱμάτιά τε κομίζοντες ἐπὶ προσποιήσει πράσεως ὁπότε νὺξ γένοιτο ὑπεστρώνυσαν αὐτῷ συμπράξει τῶν στρατιωτῶν Μάκρωνος προειρηκότος: καὶ ταῦτα ἐπράσσετο ἐπὶ μῆνας ἕξ. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Ἀγρίππαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

7. Now Agrippa stood in his bonds before the royal palace, and leaned on a certain tree for grief, with many others, who were in bonds also; and as a certain bird sat upon the tree on which Agrippa leaned, [the Romans call this bird bubo,] [an owl,] one of those that were bound, a German by nation, saw him, and asked a soldier who that man in purple was; and when he was informed that his name was Agrippa, and that he was by nation a Jew, and one of the principal men of that nation, he asked leave of the soldier to whom he was bound, to let him come nearer to him, to speak with him; for that he had a mind to inquire of him about some things relating to his country; which liberty, when he had obtained, and as he stood near him, he said thus to him by an interpreter: “This sudden change of thy condition, O young man! is grievous to thee, as bringing on thee a manifold and very great adversity; nor wilt thou believe me, when I foretell how

thou wilt get clear of this misery which thou art now under, and how Divine Providence will provide for thee. Know therefore [and I appeal to my own country gods, as well as to the gods of this place, who have awarded these bonds to us] that all I am going to say about thy concerns shall neither be said for favor nor bribery, nor out of an endeavor to make thee cheerful without cause; for such predictions, when they come to fail, make the grief at last, and in earnest, more bitter than if the party had never heard of any such thing. However, though I run the hazard of my own self, I think it fit to declare to thee the prediction of the gods. It cannot be that thou shouldst long continue in these bonds; but thou wilt soon be delivered from them, and wilt be promoted to the highest dignity and power, and thou wilt be envied by all those who now pity thy hard fortune; and thou wilt be happy till thy death, and wilt leave thine happiness to the children whom thou shalt have. But do thou remember, when thou seest this bird again, that thou wilt then live but five days longer. This event will be brought to pass by that God who hath sent this bird hither to be a sign unto thee. And I cannot but think it unjust to conceal from thee what I foreknow concerning thee, that, by thy knowing beforehand what happiness is coming upon thee, thou mayst not regard thy present misfortunes. But when this happiness shall actually befall thee, do not forget what misery I am in myself, but endeavor to deliver me." So when the German had said this, he made Agrippa laugh at him as much as he afterwards appeared worthy of admiration. But now Antonia took Agrippa's misfortune to heart: however, to speak to Tiberius on his behalf, she took to be a very difficult thing, and indeed quite impracticable, as to any hope of success; yet did she procure of Macro, that the soldiers that kept him should be of a gentle nature, and that the centurion who was over them and was to diet with him, should be of the same disposition, and that he might have leave to bathe himself every day, and that his freed-men and friends might come to him, and that other things that tended to ease him might be indulged him. So his friend Silas came in to him, and two of his freed-men, Marsyas and Stechus, brought him such sorts of food as he was fond of, and indeed took great care of him; they also brought him garments, under pretense of selling them; and when night came on, they laid them under him; and the soldiers assisted them, as Macro had given them order to do beforehand. And this was Agrippa's condition for six months' time, and in this case were his affairs.

(8) [205] Τιβέριος δ' ἐπανελθὼν εἰς τὰς Καπρέας ἐμαλακίζετο τὰ μὲν πρῶτα μετρίως, ἐπιδούσης δ' εἰς τὸ μᾶλλον τῆς νόσου πονηρὰς ἔχων περὶ αὐτῷ τὰς ἐλπίδας Εὔοδον, ὃς ἦν αὐτῷ τιμιώτατος τῶν ἀπελευθέρων, κελεύει τὰ τέκνα προσαγαγεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν: χρήζειν γὰρ ἀφικέσθαι σφίσι διὰ λόγων πρὶν ἢ

τελευτᾶν. [206] ἦσαν δ’ αὐτῷ παῖδες γνήσιοι μὲν οὐκέτι: Δροῦσος γὰρ δὴ ὁ μόνος αὐτῷ γεγονὼς ἐτύγχανεν τεθνεώς: υἱὸς δὲ τούτου κατελείπετο Τιβέριος ἐπικαλούμενος Γέμελλος, Γάιός τε Γερμανικοῦ παῖς, ἀδελφοῦ υἱὸς γεγονώς, νεανίας τε ἤδη καὶ παιδείαν ἐκπεπονηκὼς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον εὐνοίᾳ τε τοῦ δήμου τιμώμενος διὰ τὴν Γερμανικοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρετήν: [207] ἐπὶ μέγιστον γὰρ δὴ οὗτος προῆλθεν παρὰ τοῖς πλήθεσι τιμῆς εὐσταθείᾳ τρόπου καὶ δεξιότητι τοῦ ὁμιλεῖν ἀνεπαχθὴς ὢν καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν κτώμενος τῷ βούλεσθαι ἴσος πᾶσιν εἶναι. [208] ἐξ ὧν οὐ μόνον ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ βουλὴ μειζόνως ἦγον αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὑποτελῶν ἕκαστον ἐθνῶν, οἱ μὲν ὡμιληκότες ἁλισκόμενοι τῇ χάριτι τῆς ἐντεύξεως, οἱ δὲ πύστει τῆς ἐκείνων ἀφηγήσεως παραλαμβάνοντες. [209] πένθος τε αὐτοῦ τελευτήσαντος προυτέθη πᾶσιν οὐ θεραπείᾳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιψευδομένων τὴν συμφοράν, λύπῃ δὲ ἀληθεῖ οἰκειουμένων διὰ τὸ ἴδιον τυχεῖν ἑκάστοις τὴν μετάστασιν αὐτοῦ ὑπειλῆφθαι: [210] οὕτως ἀνεπαχθῶς ὡμίλησε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. ἐξ ὧν μέγα ὄφελος καὶ τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ παρὰ πᾶσιν κατελέλειπτο τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ μάλιστα τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἦρτο, ἀρετὴν ἀριθμοῦντες τὸ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνῳ περιγενησομένης, εἰ δεήσει, καὶ τελευτᾶν.

8. But for Tiberius, upon his return to Caprein, he fell sick. At first his distemper was but gentle; but as that distemper increased upon him, he had small or no hopes of recovery. Hereupon he bid Euodus, who was that freed-man whom he most of all respected, to bring the children to him, for that he wanted to talk to them before he died. Now he had at present no sons of his own alive for Drusus, who was his only son, was dead; but Drusus’s son Tiberius was still living, whose additional name was Gemellus: there was also living Caius, the son of Germanicus, who was the son of his brother [Drusus]. He was now grown up, and had a liberal education, and was well improved by it, and was in esteem and favor with the people, on account of the excellent character of his father Germanicus, who had attained the highest honor among the multitude, by the firmness of his virtuous behavior, by the easiness and agreeableness of his conversing with the multitude, and because the dignity he was in did not hinder his familiarity with them all, as if they were his equals; by which behavior he was not only greatly esteemed by the people and the senate, but by every one of those nations that were subject to the Romans; some of which were affected when they came to him with the gracefulness of their reception by him, and others were affected in the same manner by the report of the others that had been with him; and, upon his death, there was a lamentation made by all men; not such a one as was to be made in way of flattery to their rulers, while they did but counterfeit sorrow, but such as was real; while every body grieved at his death, as if they had lost one that was near to them. And truly such had been his easy

conversation with men, that it turned greatly to the advantage of his son among all; and, among others, the soldiery were so peculiarly affected to him, that they reckoned it an eligible thing, if need were, to die themselves, if he might but attain to the government.

(9) [211] Ὁ δὲ Τιβέριος Εὐόδῳ πρόσταγμα ποιησάμενος κατὰ τὴν ὑστεραίαν ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω εἰσαγαγεῖν τοὺς παῖδας εὔχεται τοῖς πατρίοις θεοῖς σημεῖόν τι πρόφαντον αὐτῷ δεῖξαι περὶ τοῦ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν διαδεξομένου, σπεύδων μὲν τῷ υἱεῖ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτὴν καταλιπεῖν, μεῖζον δὲ δόξης τε καὶ βουλήσεως τῆς αὐτοῦ πεπιστευκὼς τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀποφανούμενον. [212] οἰώνισμα δ᾽ οὖν αὐτῷ προύκειτο, εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἥξειν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ὃς ἂν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἀφίκοιτο πρότερος πρὸς αὐτόν. ταῦτα διανοηθεὶς πέμπει παρὰ τοῦ υἱωνοῦ τὸν παιδαγωγὸν κελεύων ὑπὸ πρώτην ὥραν ἄγειν τὸν παῖδα ὡς αὐτόν, καταμελήσεσθαι στρατηγίας τὸν θεὸν ὑπολαμβάνων: ὁ δ᾽ ἀντεψήφιζεν αὐτοῦ τὴν χειροτονίαν. [213] ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ᾽ ἐνθυμησάμενος, ἐπεὶ τάχιστα ἡμέρα ἦν, κελεύει τὸν Εὔοδον εἰσκαλεῖν τῶν παίδων τὸν παρόντα πρότερον. ἐξελθὼν δ᾽ ἐκεῖνος καὶ τὸν Γάιον πρὸ τοῦ δωματίου καταλαβών, ὁ γὰρ Τιβέριος οὐ παρῆν μετεώρου τῆς τροφῆς αὐτῷ γενομένης, ᾔδει δὲ οὐδὲν ὧν ἐβούλετο ὁ δεσπότης, “καλεῖ σε, φησίν, ὁ πατήρ”, καὶ εἰσήγαγεν αὐτόν. [214] Τιβέριος δὲ ὡς θεᾶται Γάιον, τότε πρῶτον εἰς ἐπίνοιαν ἐλθὼν τοῦ θείου τῆς ἐξουσίας καὶ τὴν κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἡγεμονίαν παντελῶς ἀφῃρημένην ἐπικυροῦν οἷς ψηφίσαιτο δυνάμεως ἐκεῖθεν αὐτῷ μὴ παραγενομένης, πολλὰ δὴ κατολοφυράμενος αὐτὸν μὲν τοῦ ἐφ᾽ οἷς προβουλεύσειε κυροῦν ἀφῃρημένου τὸ κράτος, [215] Τιβέριον δὲ τὸν υἱωνόν, ὡς τῆς τε Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ὁμοῦ διαμάρτοι καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας κεχρημένον διὰ τὸ ἐπ᾽ ἄλλων κρειττόνων οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν εἰσηγησαμένω τὴν συναναστροφὴν κείσεσθαι τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτῷ τοῦ συγγενοῦς μὴ ὠφελεῖν δυναμένου, φόβῳ τε καὶ μίσει τοῦ ἐφεστηκότος χρησομένου πρὸς αὐτόν, τὰ μὲν ὡς προσεδρεύοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἀντεπιβουλεύειν ὑπέρ τε τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς ἀντιλήψεως τῶν πραγμάτων μὴ ἀφησόμενον. [216] ἦν δὲ καὶ γενεθλιαλογίᾳ Τιβέριος μάλιστα προσκείμενος καὶ κατορθούμενα αὐτῇ μειζόνως τῶν εἰς τόδε ἀνακειμένων ἑκόντων τὸν βίον ἐξηγμένος. Γάλβαν οὖν ποτε θεασάμενος ὡς αὐτὸν εἰσιόντα φησὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους αὐτῷ, ὡς παραγίνοιτο ἀνὴρ τῇ Ῥωμαίων προτιμησόμενος ἡγεμονίᾳ. [217] τά τε πάντα μαντειῶν ὁπόσα ἐχόμενα πιθανὰ ἡγούμενος ἡγεμόνων μάλιστα ἀνὴρ οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπαληθείοντος αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐχρῆτο αὐταῖς. [218] καὶ τότε ἐν χαλεποῖς ἦν συντυχίᾳ τοῦ γεγονότος, ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀπολωλότι τῷ υἱεῖ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀχθεινῶς διατιθέμενος καὶ κατάμεμψιν αὐτοῦ ποιούμενος τοῦ κατὰ τὴν οἰώνισιν προμηθοῦς: παρὸν γὰρ [ἂν] αὐτῷ λύπης ἀπηλλαγμένῳ τελευτᾶν ἀμαθίᾳ τῶν ἐσομένων, διατρίβεσθαι τῷ προεγνωκὼς τὴν ἐσομένην δυστυχίαν τῶν φιλτάτων τελευτᾶν. [219] καίπερ δὲ

συντεταραγμένος τῇ παρὰ δόξαν τῆς ἀρχῆς εἰς οὓς οὐκ ἤθελεν περιόδῳ, ἄκων δὲ καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος φησὶ γοῦν πρὸς τὸν Γάιον: "ὦ παῖ, καίπερ μοι συγγενεστέρου Τιβερίου ἢ κατὰ σὲ ὄντος δόξῃ τε τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ τῷ ὁμοψήφῳ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ τῶν θεῶν σοὶ φέρων ἐγχειρίζω τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν. [220] ἀξιῶ δέ σε μηδὲν ἀμνημονεῖν ὁμιλήσαντα αὐτῇ μήτ᾽ εὐνοίας τῆς ἐμῆς, ὃς εἰς τοσόνδε ἀξιώματος καθίστημι μέγεθος, [221] μήτε τοῦ πρὸς Τιβέριον συγγενοῦς, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπιστάμενον, ὡς σύν τε τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτοὺς τοιῶνδέ σοι κατασταίην ἀγαθῶν πορισταί, ἀμείβεσθαί μου τὸ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς πρόθυμον καὶ ἅμα Τιβερίου φροντίζειν διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν, ἄλλως τε γινώσκειν, ὡς τεῖχός σοι καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁμοῦ καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας περιὼν γίνοιτο ἂν Τιβέριος, φροίμιον δὲ τοῦ δυστυχοῦς μεθιστάμενος. [222] αἵ τε γὰρ μονώσεις ἐπικίνδυνοι τοῖς εἰς τηλικούτων πραγμάτων ὄγκον καταστᾶσιν καὶ θεοῖς οὐκ ἀτιμώρητα ὁπόσα παρὰ δίκην πρασσόμενα ἀφανίζοι τοῦ νόμου τὸ ἑτέρως πράσσειν παρακαλοῦν." ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Τιβέριος ἔλεγεν, [223] οὐ μὴν πιθανὸς ἦν Γαίῳ καίπερ ὑπισχνουμένῳ, ἀλλὰ καταστὰς εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τόν τε Τιβέριον μαντείαις ἀναιρεῖ ταῖς ἐκείνου καὐτὸς ἐπιβουλῶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν συντεθεισῶν μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ τελευτᾷ.

9. But when Tiberius had given order to Euodus to bring the children to him the next day in the morning, he prayed to his country gods to show him a manifest signal which of those children should come to the government; being very desirous to leave it to his son's son, but still depending upon what God should foreshow concerning them more than upon his own opinion and inclination; so he made this to be the omen, that the government should be left to him who should come to him first the next day. When he had thus resolved within himself, he sent to his grandson's tutor, and ordered him to bring the child to him early in the morning, as supposing that God would permit him to be made emperor. But God proved opposite to his designation; for while Tiberius was thus contriving matters, and as soon as it was at all day, he bid Euodus to call in that child which should be there ready. So he went out, and found Caius before the door, for Tiberius was not yet come, but staid waiting for his breakfast; for Euodus knew nothing of what his lord intended; so he said to Caius, "Thy father calls thee," and then brought him in. As soon as Tiberius saw Caius, and not before, he reflected on the power of God, and how the ability of bestowing the government on whom he would was entirely taken from him; and thence he was not able to establish what he had intended. So he greatly lamented that his power of establishing what he had before contrived was taken from him, and that his grandson Tiberius was not only to lose the Roman empire by his fatality, but his own safety also, because his preservation would now depend upon such as would be more potent than himself, who would think it a thing not to be borne,

that a kinsman should live with them, and so his relation would not be able to protect him; but he would be feared and bated by him who had the supreme authority, partly on account of his being next to the empire, and partly on account of his perpetually contriving to get the government, both in order to preserve himself, and to be at the head of affairs also. Now Tiberius had been very much given to astrology, and the calculation of nativities, and had spent his life in the esteem of what predictions had proved true, more than those whose profession it was. Accordingly, when he once saw Galba coming in to him, he said to his most intimate friends, that there came in a man that would one day have the dignity of the Roman empire. So that this Tiberius was more addicted to all such sorts of diviners than any other of the Roman emperors, because he had found them to have told him truth in his own affairs. And indeed he was now in great distress upon this accident that had befallen him, and was very much grieved at the destruction of his son's son, which he foresaw, and complained of himself, that he should have made use of such a method of divination beforehand, while it was in his power to have died without grief by this knowledge of futurity; whereas he was now tormented by his foreknowledge of the misfortune of such as were dearest to him, and must die under that torment. Now although he was disordered at this unexpected revolution of the government to those for whom he did not intend it, he spake thus to Caius, though unwillingly, and against his own inclination: "O child! although Tiberius be nearer related to me than thou art, I, by my own determination, and the conspiring suffrage of the gods, do give and put into thy hand the Roman empire; and I desire thee never to be unmindful when thou comest to it, either of my kindness to thee, who set thee in so high a dignity, or of thy relation to Tiberius. But as thou knowest that I am, together with and after the gods, the procurer of so great happiness to thee; so I desire that thou wilt make me a return for my readiness to assist thee, and wilt take care of Tiberius because of his near relation to thee. Besides which, thou art to know, that while Tiberius is alive, he will be a security to thee, both as to empire and as to thy own preservation; but if he die, that will be but a prelude to thy own misfortunes; for to be alone under the weight of such vast affairs is very dangerous; nor will the gods suffer those actions which are unjustly done, contrary to that law which directs men to act otherwise, to go off unpunished." This was the speech which Tiberius made, which did not persuade Caius to act accordingly, although he promised so to do; but when he was settled in the government, he took off this Tiberius, as was predicted by the other Tiberius; as he was also himself, in no long time afterward, slain by a secret plot laid against him.

(10) [224] Τιβέριος δὲ τὸν Γάιον ἀποδείξας διάδοχον τῆς ἡγεμονίας ὀλίγας ἐπιβιοὺς ἡμέρας ἔθανεν σχὼν αὐτὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ πέντε μῆνας πρὸς ἐνιαυτοῖν δυοῖν καὶ εἴκοσι. Γάιος δὲ ἦν αὐτοκράτωρ τέταρτος. [225] Ῥωμαίοις δ' ἦν μὲν πύστις τῆς Τιβερίου τελευτῆς εὐφραίνοντό τε τῷ ἀγαθῷ τῆς ἀγγελίας, οὐ μὴν πιστεύειν γε θάρσος ἦν αὐτοῖς, οὐ τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι, πρὸ πολλῶν γὰρ ἂν ἐτίμησαν χρημάτων τὸ ἐπαληθεῦσαν τῶν λόγων, δέει δὲ μὴ ψευδοῦς τῆς ἀγγελίας γενομένης προεξαναστάντες ἐπὶ δηλώσει τοῦ αὐτῶν χάρματος εἶτ' ἀπολλύοιντο διαβολῆς αὐτῶν γενομένης: [226] πλεῖστα γὰρ ἀνὴρ εἷς οὗτος Ῥωμαίων τοὺς εὐπατρίδας εἰργάσατο δεινὰ δυσόργητος ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὢν καὶ ἀνήκεστος εἰς τὸ ἐργάζεσθαι καταστάς, εἰ καὶ χωρὶς λόγου τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπανέλοιτο τοῦ μισεῖν, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι μὲν οἷς κρίνοιεν ἐξαγριοῦν φύσιν ἔχων, εἰς θάνατον δὲ καὶ τῶν κουφοτάτων ἀνατιθεὶς τὴν ζημίαν. [227] ὥστε ἡδονῇ τοῦ ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγου φέροντος τὴν ἀκρόασιν εἰς ὅσον ἐβούλοντο ἀπολαύσματι χρῆσθαι ἐπεκεκώλυντο δείμασι κακῶν, ἃ προεωρᾶτο ψευσθεῖσι τῆς ἐλπίδος. [228] Μαρσύας δὲ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ὁ ἀπελεύθερος πυθόμενος τοῦ Τιβερίου τὴν τελευτὴν ὠθεῖτο δρομαῖος τὸν Ἀγρίππαν εὐαγγελιούμενος, καὶ καταλαβὼν ἐν ἐξόδοις ὄντα εἰς τὸ βαλανεῖον συννεύσας πρὸς αὐτὸν γλώσσῃ τῇ Ἑβραίων "τέθνηκεν ὁ λέων" φησίν. [229] ὁ δὲ σύνεσίν τε τοῦ λόγου ποιησάμενος καὶ χάρματι τῷ ἐπ' αὐτῷ περιενεχθείς "ἀλλά σοι τῶν ἁπάντων καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷδε εὐαγγελίας χάριτες ἐν ἐμοὶ παντοῖαι γίνοιντο, μόνον ἀληθῆ τὰ λεγόμενα εἴη." καὶ ὁ ἑκατοντάρχης, [230] ὅσπερ τῇ φυλακῇ ἐφειστήκει τοῦ Ἀγρίππου, θεώμενος τήν τε σπουδὴν μεθ' οἵας ὁ Μαρσύας ἀφίκετο καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῶν λόγων χάρμα τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ συνελθόν, ὑποτοπήσας καίνωσίν τινα γεγονέναι τῶν λόγων ἤρετό σφας περὶ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἐφεστηκότος. [231] οἱ δὲ τέως μὲν παρέτρεπον, ἐγκειμένῳ δὲ ἀποσημαίνει ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ἤδη γὰρ φίλος ἦν, μηδὲν ἐνδοιάσας. ὁ δὲ ἐκοινοῦτό τε τὴν ἡδονὴν τοῦ λόγου διὰ τὸ εἰς ἀγαθὰ τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ φέρειν προυτίθει τε αὐτῷ δεῖπνον. εὐωχουμένων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ πότου προιόντος παρῆν τις λέγων ζῆν τε τὸν Τιβέριον καὶ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἐπανήξειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. [232] καὶ ὁ ἑκατοντάρχης δεινῶς θορυβηθεὶς τῷ λόγῳ διὰ τὸ εἰς θάνατον ἀνακείμενα πεπραχέναι δεσμώτῃ τε καὶ ἐπ' ἀγγελίᾳ θανάτου αὐτοκράτορος συνδιῃτῆσθαι μετὰ χάρματος, ἀπωθεῖταί τε τὸν Ἀγρίππαν τοῦ κλινιδίου καί "ἦπου, φησίν, λήσειν με ὑπονοεῖς θάνατον τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος κατεψευσμένος, ἀλλ' [233] οὐ κεφαλῇ τῇ σῇ τοῦτον ἀναμαξόμενος τὸν λόγον;" ταῦτα εἰπὼν κελεύει δῆσαι τὸν Ἀγρίππαν λελυκὼς πρότερον αὐτὸν φυλακήν τε ἀκριβεστέραν αὐτοῦ ἢ πρότερον καθίσταται. καὶ νύκτα μὲν ἐκείνην ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἐν τοιούτοις ἦν τοῖς κακοῖς. [234] τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ λόγος τε πλείων ἦν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἰσχυριζόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ Τιβερίου, ἐθάρρουν τε οἱ ἄνθρωποι φανερῶς ἤδη θροεῖν καί τινες καὶ θυσίας ἐπετέλουν, ἐπιστολαί τε ἀφίκοντο παρὰ τοῦ Γαίου, ἡ μὲν πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον τοῦ Τιβερίου διασαφοῦσα τὴν τελευτὴν καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ παράληψιν τῆς ἡγεμονίας γενομένην,

[235] ἡ δὲ πρὸς Πείσωνα τὸν φύλακα τῆς πόλεως τοῦτό τε ἀγορεύουσα, καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐκέλευεν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μεταστῆσαι εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, ἐν ᾗ πρότερον ἢ δεθῆναι δίαιταν εἶχεν. τότε ἐν θάρσει λοιπὸν ἦγεν τὰ περὶ αὐτῆς: φυλακὴ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τήρησις ἦν, μετὰ μέντοι ἀνέσεως τῆς εἰς τὴν δίαιταν. [236] Γάιος δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ Ῥώμης παρῆν ἄγων τοῦ Τιβερίου τὸ σῶμα, ταφάς τε αὐτοῦ ποιεῖται πολυτελεῖς νόμοις τοῖς πατρίοις, Ἀγρίππαν τε αὐθημερὸν λύειν ὄντα πρόθυμον κώλυμα Ἀντωνία ἦν οὔ τι μίσει τῷ πρὸς τὸν δεδεμένον προμηθείᾳ δὲ τοῦ Γαίου εὐπρεποῦς, μὴ δόξαν ἀπάγοιτο ἡδονῇ δεχομένου τὴν Τιβερίου τελευτὴν ἄνδρα ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου δεδεμένον λύων ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος. [237] διελθουσῶν μέντοι οὐ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἀποκείρει τε αὐτὸν καὶ μεταμφιέννυσιν, εἶτα δὲ τὸ διάδημα περιτίθησιν τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ βασιλέα καθίστησιν αὐτὸν τῆς Φιλίππου τετραρχίας δωρησάμενος αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν Λυσανίου τετραρχίαν, ἀλλάττει τε σιδηρᾷ ἀλύσει χρυσῆν ἰσόσταθμον. ἱππάρχην δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐκπέμπει Μάρυλλον.

10. So when Tiberius had at this time appointed Caius to be his successor, he outlived but a few days, and then died, after he had held the government twenty-two years five months and three days. Now Caius was the fourth emperor. But when the Romans understood that Tiberius was dead, they rejoiced at the good news, but had not courage to believe it; not because they were unwilling it should be true, for they would have given huge sums of money that it might be so, but because they were afraid, that if they had showed their joy when the news proved false, their joy should be openly known, and they should be accused for it, and be thereby undone. For this Tiberius had brought a vast number of miseries on the best families of the Romans, since he was easily inflamed with passion in all cases, and was of such a temper as rendered his anger irrevocable, till he had executed the same, although he had taken a hatred against men without reason; for he was by nature fierce in all the sentences he gave, and made death the penalty for the lightest offenses; insomuch that when the Romans heard the rumor about his death gladly, they were restrained from the enjoyment of that pleasure by the dread of such miseries as they foresaw would follow, if their hopes proved ill-grounded. Now Marsyas, Agrippa's freed-man, as soon as he heard of Tiberius's death, came running to tell Agrippa the news; and finding him going out to the bath, he gave him a nod, and said, in the Hebrew tongue, "The lion is dead;" who, understanding his meaning, and being overjoyed at the news, "Nay," said he, "but all sorts of thanks and happiness attend thee for this news of thine; only I wish that what thou sayest may prove true." Now the centurion who was set to keep Agrippa, when he saw with what haste Marsyas came, and what joy Agrippa had from what he said, he had a suspicion that his

words implied some great innovation of affairs, and he asked them about what was said. They at first diverted the discourse; but upon his further pressing, Agrippa, without more ado, told him, for he was already become his friend; so he joined with him in that pleasure which this news occasioned, because it would be fortunate to Agrippa, and made him a supper. But as they were feasting, and the cups went about, there came one who said that Tiberius was still alive, and would return to the city ill a few days. At which news the centurion was exceedingly troubled, because he had done what might cost him his life, to have treated so joyfully a prisoner, and this upon the news of the death of Caesar; so he thrust Agrippa from the couch whereon he lay, and said, "Dost thou think to cheat me by a lie about the emperor without punishment? and shalt not thou pay for this thy malicious report at the price of thine head?" When he had so said, he ordered Agrippa to be bound again, [for he had loosed him before,] and kept a severer guard over him than formerly, and in that evil condition was Agrippa that night; but the next day the rumor increased in the city, and confirmed the news that Tiberius was certainly dead; insomuch that men durst now openly and freely talk about it; nay, some offered sacrifices on that account. Several letters also came from Caius; one of them to the senate, which informed them of the death of Tiberius, and of his own entrance on the government; another to Piso, the governor of the city, which told him the same thing. He also gave order that Agrippa should be removed out of the camp, and go to that house where he lived before he was put in prison; so that he was now out of fear as to his own affairs; for although he was still in custody, yet it was now with ease to his own affairs. Now, as soon as Caius was come to Rome, and had brought Tiberius's dead body with him, and had made a sumptuous funeral for him, according to the laws of his country, he was much disposed to set Agrippa at liberty that very day; but Antonia hindered him, not out of any ill-will to the prisoner, but out of regard to decency in Caius, lest that should make men believe that he received the death of Tiberius with pleasure, when he loosed one whom he had bound immediately. However, there did not many days pass ere he sent for him to his house, and had him shaved, and made him change his raiment; after which he put a diadem upon his head, and appointed him to be king of the tetrarchy of Philip. He also gave him the tetrarchy of Lysanias, and changed his iron chain for a golden one of equal weight. He also sent Marullus to be procurator of Judea.

(11) [238] Δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς Γαίου Καίσαρος ἡγεμονίας Ἀγρίππας ἠξίου συγχώρησιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι πλεύσαντι τήν τε ἀρχὴν καταστήσασθαι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εἰς δέον οἰκονομησαμένῳ ἐπανιέναι. [239] καὶ συγχωροῦντος τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος παρῆν παρ' ἐλπίδας τε ὤφθη πᾶσι βασιλεὺς πολλήν τε τῆς τύχης ἐπεδείκνυεν ἐπὶ

τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῖς θεωροῦσιν ἐκ λογισμῶν ἀπορίας τε τῆς πρότερον καὶ τοῦ ἐν τῷ παρόντι εὐδαίμονος. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐμακάριζον τοῦ μὴ διαμαρτίᾳ χρησαμένου τῶν ἐλπίδων, οἱ δ' ἐν ἀπιστίᾳ περὶ τῶν γεγονότων ἦσαν.

11. Now, in the second year of the reign of Caius Caesar, Agrippa desired leave to be given him to sail home, and settle the affairs of his government; and he promised to return again, when he had put the rest in order, as it ought to be put. So, upon the emperor's permission, he came into his own country, and appeared to them all unexpectedly as asking, and thereby demonstrated to the men that saw him the power of fortune, when they compared his former poverty with his present happy affluence; so some called him a happy man, and others could not well believe that things were so much changed with him for the better.

VII

CHAPTER 7. How Herod The Tetrarch Was Banished.

(1) [240] Ἡρωδιὰς δὲ ἡ ἀδελφὴ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου συνοικοῦσα Ἡρώδῃ, τετράρχης δὲ οὗτος ἦν Γαλιλαίας καὶ Περαίας, φθόνῳ τἀδελφοῦ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐδέχετο ὁρῶσα ἐν πολὺ μείζονι ἀξιώματι γεγενημένον ἀνδρὸς τοῦ αὐτῆς, διὰ τὸ φυγῇ μὲν ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἔξοδον διαλῦσαι τὰ χρέα μὴ δυνάμενον, κάθοδον δὲ μετ᾽ ἀξιώματος καὶ οὕτως πολλοῦ τοῦ εὐδαίμονος. [241] ἐλυπεῖτο οὖν καὶ βαρέως ἔφερεν τῇ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῦ μεταβολῇ, καὶ μάλιστα ὁπότε θεάσαιτο μετὰ τῶν εἰωθότων παρασήμων τῆς βασιλείας ἐπιφοιτῶντά τε τοῖς πλήθεσιν, ἐπικρύπτεσθαι οὐκ ἠνείχετο τὴν δυστυχίαν τοῦ φθόνου, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐξῆρεν κελεύουσα ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης πλεῖν ἐπὶ μνηστείᾳ τῶν ἴσων: [242] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀνεκτὸν εἶναι σφίσι τὸ ζῆν, εἰ Ἀγρίππας Ἀριστοβούλου μὲν υἱὸς ὢν θανεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς κατεγνωσμένου, πενίᾳ δὲ ἀπόρῳ συνιών, ὡς τελέως αὐτῷ ἐπικουφίζεσθαι τἀναγκαῖα τοῦ ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας, φυγῇ δὲ τῶν δεδανεικότων τὸν πλοῦν πεποιημένος ἐπανεληλύθοι βασιλεύς, αὐτὸς δέ γε ὢν παῖς βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ συγγενοῦς τῆς ἀρχῆς καλοῦντος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ μεταποιήσει τῶν ἴσων καθέζοιτο ἀγαπῶν ἐν ἰδιωτείᾳ διαβιοῦν. [243] ἀλλ᾽ εἰ καὶ πρότερόν γε, Ἡρώδη, μηδὲν ἐλύπει σε τὸ ἐν ἐλάσσονι τιμῇ πατρὸς οὗ γέγονας εἶναι, νῦν γοῦν ὀρέχθητι συγγενοῦς ἀξιώματος μηδὲ ὑπόμενε ἡσσᾶσθαι προύχοντι τιμῆς ἀνδρὶ πλοῦτον τεθεραπευκότι τὸν σόν, μηδὲ πενίαν ἀποφήνῃς τὴν ἐκείνου τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐπορίας ἀρετῇ μᾶλλον χρῆσθαι δυναμένην, μηδὲ δευτερεύειν ἀνεπαίσχυντον ἡγοῦ τῶν χθές τε καὶ πρῴην ἐλέῳ τῷ σῷ διαβεβιωκότων. [244] ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἴωμεν, καὶ μήτε πόνου φειδώ τις ἔστω μήτε ἀργυρίου δαπάνης καὶ χρυσίου, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπ᾽ οὐδαμινοῖς ἐν βελτίοσιν γενέσθαι τὴν τήρησιν αὐτῶν ἀναλώσεως τῆς ἐπὶ κτήσει βασιλείας ἐσομένης.”

1. But Herodias, Agrippa’s sister, who now lived as wife to that Herod who was tetrarch of Galilee and Peres, took this authority of her brother in an envious manner, particularly when she saw that he had a greater dignity bestowed on him than her husband had; since, when he ran away, it was because he was not able to pay his debts; and now he was come back, he was in a way of dignity, and of great good fortune. She was therefore grieved and much displeased at so great a mutation of his affairs; and chiefly when she saw him marching among the multitude with the usual ensigns of royal authority, she was not able to conceal how miserable she was, by reason of the envy she had towards him; but she excited her husband, and desired him that he would sail to Rome, to court honors equal to his; for she said that she could not bear to live any longer, while

Agrippa, the son of that Aristobulus who was condemned to die by his father, one that came to her husband in such extreme poverty, that the necessaries of life were forced to be entirely supplied him day by day; and when he fled away from his creditors by sea, he now returned a king; while he was himself the son of a king, and while the near relation he bare to royal authority called upon him to gain the like dignity, he sat still, and was contented with a privater life. "But then, Herod, although thou wast formerly not concerned to be in a lower condition than thy father from whom thou wast derived had been, yet do thou now seek after the dignity which thy kinsman hath attained to; and do not thou bear this contempt, that a man who admired thy riches should be in greater honor than thyself, nor suffer his poverty to show itself able to purchase greater things than our abundance; nor do thou esteem it other than a shameful thing to be inferior to one who, the other day, lived upon thy charity. But let us go to Rome, and let us spare no pains nor expenses, either of silver or gold, since they cannot be kept for any better use than for the obtaining of a kingdom."

(2) [245] Ὁ δὲ τέως μὲν ἀπεμάχετο ἀγαπῶν τὴν ἡσυχίαν καὶ τῆς Ῥώμης τὸν ὄχλον δι᾽ ὑποψίας λαμβάνων ἀναδιδάσκειν τε αὐτὴν ἐπειρᾶτο, ἡ δ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ὅσον ἐξαναχωροῦντα ἑώρα μειζόνως ἐπέκειτο κελεύουσα μὴ ἀνιέναι πάντα πράσσειν ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ. [246] καὶ πέρας οὐκ ἀνῆκεν ἕως ἐξενίκησεν αὐτὸν ὁμογνώμονα αὐτῇ ἀκουσίως γενέσθαι διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἄλλως ἀποφυγεῖν αὐτῆς τὸ ἐπὶ τοιούτοις ψηφισάμενον, παρασκευασάμενός τε ὡς ἐνῆν πολυτελῶς καὶ φειδοῖ μηδενὸς χρώμενος ἀνήγετο ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἅμα καὶ τὴν Ἡρωδιάδα ἀγόμενος. [247] Ἀγρίππας δὲ τήν τε διάνοιαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν αἰσθόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς παρεσκευάζετο, ἐπεί τε ἐκπεπλευκότας ἀκούει, πέμπει καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης Φορτουνᾶτον αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων δῶρά τε κομίζοντα τῷ αὐτοκράτορι καὶ ἐπιστολὰς κατὰ τοῦ Ἡρώδου τὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν διδάξοντα ᾗ καιρὸς τὸν Γάιον. [248] ὁ δὲ ἐπαναχθεὶς τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην καὶ δεξιῷ χρησάμενος τῷ πλῷ τοσόνδε ἀπελίπετο τοῦ Ἡρώδου, ὥστε τὸν μὲν ἐντυχεῖν Γαίῳ, ὁ δὲ ἐπικατάγεται καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἀπεδίδου. καὶ προσέπλευσαν ἀμφότεροι Δικαιαρχείᾳ καὶ τὸν Γάιον ἐν Βαίαις λαμβάνουσιν. [249] πολύδριον δ᾽ ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦτο τῆς Καμπανίας ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων πέντε τῆς Δικαιαρχείας κείμενον, βασίλειοί τέ εἰσιν οἰκήσεις αὐτόθι πολυτελέσι κεχρημέναι κατασκευαῖς φιλοτιμηθέντος τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων ἑκάστου τοὺς προγεγονότας ὑπερβάλλεσθαι, λουτρά τε παρέχεται τὸ χωρίον θερμὰ γῆθεν αὐτόματα ἀνιέντα ἀγαθὰ ἐπί τε ἰάσει τοῖς χρωμένοις καὶ ἄλλως τῷ ἀνειμένῳ τῆς διαίτης συμφέροντα. [250] Γάιος δὲ ἅμα τε προσαγορεύων τὸν Ἡρώδην, πρῶτον δὲ αὐτῷ ἐνετύγχανεν, ἅμα τε τοῦ Ἀγρίππου τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἐπιὼν ἐπὶ κατηγορίᾳ τῇ ἐκείνου συγκειμένας, κατηγόρει δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁμολογίαν πρὸς Σηιανὸν κατὰ τῆς Τιβερίου ἀρχῆς καὶ πρὸς Ἀρτάβανον τὸν Πάρθον ἐπὶ τοῦ

παρόντος κατὰ τῆς Γαίου ἀρχῆς, [251] παράδειγμά τε ἦν αὐτῷ τοῦ λόγου μυριάσιν ἑπτὰ ὁπλιτῶν ἀρκέσουσα κατασκευὴ ἐν ταῖς Ἡρώδου ὁπλοθήκαις ἀποκειμένη, ἐκινεῖτό τε ὑπὸ τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ ἤρετο τὸν Ἡρώδην, εἰ ἀληθὴς ὁ περὶ τῶν ὅπλων λόγος. [252] τοῦ δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἕτερα εἰπεῖν διὰ τὸ ἀντιφθέγξασθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, εἰπόντος εἶναι τὰ ὅπλα, πιστὰ ἡγούμενος εἶναι τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποστάσει κατηγορούμενα, τὴν τετραρχίαν ἀφελόμενος αὐτὸν προσθήκην τῇ Ἀγρίππου βασιλείᾳ ποιεῖται καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὁμοίως τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ δίδωσιν, αὐτὸν δὲ φυγῇ ἀιδίῳ ἐζημίωσεν ἀποδείξας οἰκητήριον αὐτοῦ Λούγδουνον πόλιν τῆς Γαλλίας. [253] Ἡρωδιάδα δὲ μαθὼν Ἀγρίππου ἀδελφὴν οὖσαν τά τε χρήματα ἐδίδου ὁπόσα ἐκείνῃ ἰδίᾳ ἦν καὶ τοῦ μὴ κοινωνεῖν νομίσας τῷ ἀνδρὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς τεῖχος αὐτῇ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔλεγεν. [254] ἡ δέ "ἀλλὰ σὺ μέν, αὐτόκρατορ, εἶπεν, μεγαλοφρόνως τε καὶ ἀξιώματι τῷ σαυτοῦ πρεπόντως τάδε λέγεις, κώλυμα δέ μοί ἐστιν χρῆσθαί σου τῇ χάριτι τῆς δωρεᾶς εὔνοια ἡ πρὸς τὸν γεγαμηκότα, οὗ κοινωνόν με τῆς εὐδαιμονίας γενομένην οὐ δίκαιον ἐγκατα [255] λιπεῖν τὸ ἐπὶ ταῖς τύχαις καθεσταμένον." ὁ δὲ ὀργῇ τοῦ μεγαλόφρονος αὐτὴν ποιησάμενος συνήλαυνεν καὶ αὐτὴν τῷ Ἡρώδῃ καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῆς τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ δίδωσιν. Ἡρωδιάδι μὲν δὴ φθόνου τοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ Ἡρώδῃ γυναικείων ἀκροασαμένῳ κουφολογιῶν δίκην ταύτην ἐπετίμησεν ὁ θεός. [256] Γάιος δὲ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ τὸν ἑξῆς πάνυ μεγαλοφρόνως ἐχρῆτο τοῖς πράγμασιν καὶ μέτριον παρέχων αὐτὸν εἰς εὔνοιαν πολλὴν προυχώρει παρά τε Ῥωμαίοις αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις. προιὼν δ' ἐξίστατο τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φρονεῖν ὑπὸ μεγέθους τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκθειάζων ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐπ' ἀτιμίᾳ τοῦ θείου πολιτεύειν ἦρτο.

2. But for Herod, he opposed her request at this time, out of the love of ease, and having a suspicion of the trouble he should have at Rome; so he tried to instruct her better. But the more she saw him draw back, the more she pressed him to it, and desired him to leave no stone unturned in order to be king; and at last she left not off till she engaged him, whether he would or not, to be of her sentiments, because he could no otherwise avoid her importunity. So he got all things ready, after as sumptuous a manner as he was able, and spared for nothing, and went up to Rome, and took Herodias along with him. But Agrippa, when he was made sensible of their intentions and preparations, he also prepared to go thither; and as soon as he heard they set sail, he sent Fortunatus, one of his freed-men, to Rome, to carry presents to the emperor, and letters against Herod, and to give Caius a particular account of those matters, if he should have any opportunity. This man followed Herod so quick, and had so prosperous a voyage, and came so little after Herod, that while Herod was with Caius, he came himself, and delivered his letters; for they both sailed to Dicearchia, and found Caius at Bairn, which is itself a little city of Campania, at the distance of

about five furlongs from Dicearchia. There are in that place royal palaces, with sumptuous apartments, every emperor still endeavoring to outdo his predecessor's magnificence; the place also affords warm baths, that spring out of the ground of their own accord, which are of advantage for the recovery of the health of those that make use of them; and, besides, they minister to men's luxury also. Now Caius saluted Herod, for he first met with him, and then looked upon the letters which Agrippa had sent him, and which were written in order to accuse Herod; wherein he accused him, that he had been in confederacy with Sejanus against Tiberius's and that he was now confederate with Artabanus, the king of Parthia, in opposition to the government of Caius; as a demonstration of which he alleged, that he had armor sufficient for seventy thousand men ready in his armory. Caius was moved at this information, and asked Herod whether what was said about the armor was true; and when he confessed there was such armor there, for he could not deny the same, the truth of it being too notorious, Caius took that to be a sufficient proof of the accusation, that he intended to revolt. So he took away from him his tetrarchy, and gave it by way of addition to Agrippa's kingdom; he also gave Herod's money to Agrippa, and, by way of punishment, awarded him a perpetual banishment, and appointed Lyons, a city of Gaul, to be his place of habitation. But when he was informed that Herodias was Agrippa's sister, he made her a present of what money was her own, and told her that it was her brother who prevented her being put under the same calamity with her husband. But she made this reply: "Thou, indeed, O emperor! actest after a magnificent manner, and as becomes thyself in what thou offerest me; but the kindness which I have for my husband hinders me from partaking of the favor of thy gift; for it is not just that I, who have been made a partner in his prosperity, should forsake him in his misfortunes." Hereupon Caius was angry at her, and sent her with Herod into banishment, and gave her estate to Agrippa. And thus did God punish Herodias for her envy at her brother, and Herod also for giving ear to the vain discourses of a woman. Now Caius managed public affairs with great magnanimity during the first and second year of his reign, and behaved himself with such moderation, that he gained the good-will of the Romans themselves, and of his other subjects. But, in process of time, he went beyond the bounds of human nature in his conceit of himself, and by reason of the vastness of his dominions made himself a god, and took upon himself to act in all things to the reproach of the Deity itself.

VIII

CHAPTER 8. Concerning The Embassage Of The Jews To Caius; And How Caius Sent Petronius Into Syria To Make War Against The Jews, Unless They Would Receive His Statue.

(1) [257] Καὶ δὴ στάσεως ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ γενομένης Ἰουδαίων τε οἳ ἐνοικοῦσι καὶ Ἑλλήνων τρεῖς ἀφ᾽ ἑκατέρας τῆς στάσεως πρεσβευταὶ αἱρεθέντες παρῆσαν ὡς τὸν Γάιον. καὶ ἦν γὰρ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων πρέσβεων εἷς Ἀπίων, ὃς πολλὰ εἰς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐβλασφήμησεν ἄλλα τε λέγων καὶ ὡς τῶν Καίσαρος τιμῶν περιορῷεν: [258] πάντων γοῦν ὁπόσοι τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ὑποτελεῖς εἶεν βωμοὺς τῷ Γαίῳ καὶ νεὼς ἱδρυμένων τά τε ἄλλα πᾶσιν αὐτὸν ὥσπερ τοὺς θεοὺς δεχομένων, μόνους τούσδε ἄδοξον ἡγεῖσθαι ἀνδριᾶσι τιμᾶν καὶ ὅρκιον αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα ποιεῖσθαι. [259] πολλὰ δὲ καὶ χαλεπὰ Ἀπίωνος εἰρηκότος, ὑφ᾽ ὧν ἀρθῆναι ἤλπιζεν τὸν Γάιον καὶ εἰκὸς ἦν, Φίλων ὁ προεστὼς τῶν Ἰουδαίων τῆς πρεσβείας, ἀνὴρ τὰ πάντα ἔνδοξος Ἀλεξάνδρου τε τοῦ ἀλαβάρχου ἀδελφὸς ὢν καὶ φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἄπειρος, οἷός τε ἦν ἐπ᾽ ἀπολογίᾳ χωρεῖν τῶν κατηγορημένων. διακλείει δ᾽ αὐτὸν Γάιος κελεύσας ἐκποδὼν ἀπελθεῖν, [260] περιοργής τε ὢν φανερὸς ἦν ἐργασόμενός τι δεινὸν αὐτούς. ὁ δὲ Φίλων ἔξεισι περιυβρισμένος καί φησι πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, οἳ περὶ αὐτὸν ἦσαν, ὡς χρὴ θαρρεῖν, Γαίου λόγῳ μὲν αὐτοῖς ὠργισμένου, ἔργῳ δὲ ἤδη τὸν θεὸν ἀντιπαρεξάγοντος.

1. There was now a tumult arisen at Alexandria, between the Jewish inhabitants and the Greeks; and three ambassadors were chosen out of each party that were at variance, who came to Caius. Now one of these ambassadors from the people of Alexandria was Apion, who uttered many blasphemies against the Jews; and, among other things that he said, he charged them with neglecting the honors that belonged to Caesar; for that while all who were subject to the Roman empire built altars and temples to Caius, and in other regards universally received him as they received the gods, these Jews alone thought it a dishonorable thing for them to erect statues in honor of him, as well as to swear by his name. Many of these severe things were said by Apion, by which he hoped to provoke Caius to anger at the Jews, as he was likely to be. But Philo, the principal of the Jewish embassage, a man eminent on all accounts, brother to Alexander the alabarch, and one not unskillful in philosophy, was ready to betake himself to make his defense against those accusations; but Caius prohibited him, and bid him begone; he was also in such a rage, that it openly appeared he was about to do them some very great mischief. So Philo being thus affronted, went out, and said

to those Jews who were about him, that they should be of good courage, since Caius's words indeed showed anger at them, but in reality had already set God against himself.

(2) [261] Γάιος δὲ ἐν δεινῷ φέρων εἰς τοσόνδε ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων περιῶφθαι μόνων πρεσβευτὴν ἐπὶ Συρίας ἐκπέμπει Πετρώνιον διάδοχον Οὐιτελλίῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς, κελεύων χειρὶ πολλῇ εἰσβαλόντι εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, εἰ μὲν ἑκόντες δέχοιντο, ἱστᾶν αὐτοῦ ἀνδριάντα ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰ δ' ἀγνωμοσύνῃ χρῷντο, πολέμῳ κρατήσαντα τοῦτο ποιεῖν. [262] καὶ Πετρώνιος Συρίαν παραλαβὼν ἠπείγετο διακονεῖσθαι ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος, συμμαχίαν τε πλείστην ὅσην ἠδύνατο ἀθροίσας καὶ τάγματα δύο τῆς Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεως ἄγων ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίδος παρῆν αὐτόθι χειμάσων ὡς πρὸς ἔαρ τοῦ πολεμεῖν οὐκ ἀφεξόμενος, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Γάιον ἔγραφεν περὶ τῶν ἐπεγνωσμένων. ὁ δὲ ἐπῄνει τῆς προθυμίας αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκέλευεν μὴ ἀνιέναι πολεμεῖν δὲ μὴ πειθομένοις ἐντεταμένως. [263] Ἰουδαίων δὲ πολλαὶ μυριάδες παρῆσαν ὡς τὸν Πετρώνιον εἰς Πτολεμαίδα κατὰ δεήσεις μηδὲν ἐπὶ παρανομίᾳ σφᾶς ἐπαναγκάζειν καὶ παραβάσει τοῦ πατρίου νόμου. [264] εἰ δέ σοι πάντως πρόκειται τὸν ἀνδριάντα φέρειν καὶ ἱστᾶν, ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς πρότερον μεταχειρισάμενος πρᾶσσε τὰ δεδογμένα: οὐδὲ γὰρ δυνάμεθα περιόντες θεωρεῖν πράγματα ἡμῖν ἀπηγορευμένα ἀξιώματί τε τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ προπατόρων τῶν ἡμετέρων τῶν εἰς ἀρετὴν ἀνήκειν αὐτὰ κεχειροτονηκότων." Πετρώνιος δὲ ὀργὴν λαβὼν εἶπεν: [265] "ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν αὐτοκράτωρ ὢν βουλεύμασι χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ τάδε πράσσειν ἐπενόουν, κἂν δίκαιος ἦν ὑμῖν πρός με οὗτος ὁ λόγος. νυνὶ δέ μοι Καίσαρος ἐπεσταλκότος πᾶσα ἀνάγκη διακονεῖσθαι τοῖς ἐκείνῳ προανεψηφισμένοις διὰ τὸ εἰς ἀνηκεστοτέραν φέρειν ζημίαν τὴν παρακρόασιν αὐτῶν." "ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὕτως φρονεῖς, [266] ὦ Πετρώνιε, φασὶν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, ὡς μὴ ἂν ἐπιστολὰς τὰς Γαίου παρελθεῖν, οὐδ' ἂν αὐτοὶ παραβαίημεν τοῦ νόμου τὴν προαγόρευσιν θεοῦ πεισθέντες ἀρετῇ καὶ προγόνων πόνοις τῶν ἡμετέρων εἰς νῦν ἀπαράβατοι μεμενηκότες, οὐδ' ἂν τολμήσαιμεν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον κακοὶ γενέσθαι, ὥστε ὁπόσα ἐκείνῳ δόξειεν μὴ πρασσόμενα ἀγαθοῦ ῥοπὴν ἡμῖν φέρειν αὐτοὶ παραβαίνειν ποτ' ἂν θάνατον φοβηθέντες. [267] ὑπομενοῦμεν δὲ εἰς τύχας ἰόντες ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τε πατρίων καὶ κινδυνεύειν προθεμένοις ἐλπίδα οὖσαν ἐξεπιστάμενοι κἂν περιγενέσθαι διά τε τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ στησόμενον μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τε τῇ ἐκείνου τὰ δεινὰ ὑποδεχομένων καὶ τῆς τύχης τὸ ἐπ' ἀμφότερα φιλοῦν τοῖς πράγμασι παρατυγχάνειν, [268] ἐκ δὲ τοῦ σοὶ πείθεσθαι πολλὴν μὲν λοιδορίαν τοῦ ἀνάνδρου προσκεισομένην ὡς δι' αὐτὸ παράβασιν τοῦ νομίμου προσποιουμένοις, καὶ ἅμα πολλὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃς καὶ παρὰ σοὶ δικαστῇ γένοιτ' ἂν βελτίων Γαίου."

2. Hereupon Caius, taking it very heinously that he should be thus despised by the Jews alone, sent Petronius to be president of Syria, and successor in the

government to Vitellius, and gave him order to make an invasion into Judea, with a great body of troops; and if they would admit of his statue willingly, to erect it in the temple of God; but if they were obstinate, to conquer them by war, and then to do it. Accordingly, Petronius took the government of Syria, and made haste to obey Caesar's epistle. He got together as great a number of auxiliaries as he possibly could, and took with him two legions of the Roman army, and came to Ptolemais, and there wintered, as intending to set about the war in the spring. He also wrote word to Caius what he had resolved to do, who commended him for his alacrity, and ordered him to go on, and to make war with them, in case they would not obey his commands. But there came many ten thousands of the Jews to Petronius, to Ptolemais, to offer their petitions to him, that he would not compel them to transgress and violate the law of their forefathers; "but if," said they, "thou art entirely resolved to bring this statue, and erect it, do thou first kill us, and then do what thou hast resolved on; for while we are alive we cannot permit such things as are forbidden us to be done by the authority of our legislator, and by our forefathers' determination that such prohibitions are instances of virtue." But Petronius was angry at them, and said, "If indeed I were myself emperor, and were at liberty to follow my own inclination, and then had designed to act thus, these your words would be justly spoken to me; but now Caesar hath sent to me, I am under the necessity of being subservient to his decrees, because a disobedience to them will bring upon me inevitable destruction." Then the Jews replied, "Since, therefore, thou art so disposed, O Petronius! that thou wilt not disobey Caius's epistles, neither will we transgress the commands of our law; and as we depend upon the excellency of our laws, and, by the labors of our ancestors, have continued hitherto without suffering them to be transgressed, we dare not by any means suffer ourselves to be so timorous as to transgress those laws out of the fear of death, which God hath determined are for our advantage; and if we fall into misfortunes, we will bear them, in order to preserve our laws, as knowing that those who expose themselves to dangers have good hope of escaping them, because God will stand on our side, when, out of regard to him, we undergo afflictions, and sustain the uncertain turns of fortune. But if we should submit to thee, we should be greatly reproached for our cowardice, as thereby showing ourselves ready to transgress our law; and we should incur the great anger of God also, who, even thyself being judge, is superior to Caius."

(3) [269] Καὶ ὁ Πετρώνιος ἐκ τῶν λόγων θεασάμενος δυσνίκητον αὐτῶν τὸ φρονοῦν καὶ μὴ ἂν ἀμαχεὶ δύναμιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι διακονήσασθαι Γαίῳ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν τοῦ ἀνδριάντος πολὺν δὲ ἔσεσθαι φόνον, τούς τε φίλους ἀναλαβὼν καὶ

θεραπείαν, ἢ περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν, ἐπὶ Τιβεριάδος ἠπείγετο χρήζων κατανοῆσαι τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὰ πράγματα ὡς ἔχοι. [270] καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι μέγαν ἡγούμενοι τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολέμου κίνδυνον, πολὺ μείζονα δὲ κρίνοντες τὸν ἐκ τοῦ παρανομεῖν, αὖθις πολλαὶ μυριάδες ὑπηντίαζον Πετρώνιον εἰς τὴν Τιβεριάδα γενόμενον, [271] καὶ ἱκετείᾳ χρώμενοι μηδαμῶς εἰς ἀνάγκας τοιαύτας αὐτοὺς καθιστᾶν μηδὲ μιαίνειν ἀνδριάντος ἀναθέσει τὴν πόλιν, "πολεμήσετε ἄρα Καίσαρι, Πετρώνιος ἔφη, μήτε τὴν ἐκείνου παρασκευὴν λογιζόμενοι μήτε τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀσθένειαν;" οἱ δ' "οὐδαμῶς πολεμήσαιμεν, ἔφασαν, τεθνηξόμεθα δὲ πρότερον ἢ παραβῆναι τοὺς νόμους." ἐπί τε τὰ πρόσωπα κείμενοι καὶ τὰς σφαγὰς προδεικνύντες ἕτοιμοι κτιννύεσθαι ἔλεγον εἶναι. [272] καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπράσσετο ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ τοῦ γεωργεῖν ἀπερίοπτοι τὸ λοιπὸν ἦσαν καὶ ταῦτα τῆς ὥρας οὔσης πρὸς σπόρῳ, πολλή τε ἦν προαίρεσις αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦ θνήσκειν ἐπιθυμίας πρόθεσις, ἢ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν θεάσασθαι τοῦ ἀνδριάντος.

3. When Petronius saw by their words that their determination was hard to be removed, and that, without a war, he should not be able to be subservient to Caius in the dedication of his statue, and that there must be a great deal of bloodshed, he took his friends, and the servants that were about him, and hasted to Tiberias, as wanting to know in what posture the affairs of the Jews were; and many ten thousands of the Jews met Petronius again, when he was come to Tiberias. These thought they must run a mighty hazard if they should have a war with the Romans, but judged that the transgression of the law was of much greater consequence, and made supplication to him, that he would by no means reduce them to such distresses, nor defile their city with the dedication of the statue. Then Petronius said to them, "Will you then make war with Caesar, without considering his great preparations for war, and your own weakness?" They replied, "We will not by any means make war with him, but still we will die before we see our laws transgressed." So they threw themselves down upon their faces, and stretched out their throats, and said they were ready to be slain; and this they did for forty days together, and in the mean time left off the tilling of their ground, and that while the season of the year required them to sow it. Thus they continued firm in their resolution, and proposed to themselves to die willingly, rather than to see the dedication of the statue.

(4) [273] Ἐν τούτοις ὄντων τῶν πραγμάτων Ἀριστόβουλος ὁ Ἀγρίππου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφὸς καὶ Ἑλκίας ὁ μέγας ἄλλοι τε οἱ κράτιστοι τῆσδε τῆς οἰκίας καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι σὺν αὐτοῖς εἰσίασιν ὡς τὸν Πετρώνιον παρακαλοῦντες αὐτόν, [274] ἐπειδὴ τὴν προθυμίαν ὁρᾷ τῆς πληθύος, μηδὲν εἰς ἀπόνοιαν αὐτῆς παρακινεῖν, ἀλλὰ γράφειν πρὸς Γάιον τὸ ἀνήκεστον αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀποδοχὴν τοῦ ἀνδριάντος, πῶς τε ἀποστάντες τοῦ γεωργεῖν ἀντικαθέζονται, πολεμεῖν μὲν οὐ

βουλόμενοι διὰ τὸ μηδ᾽ ἂν δύνασθαι, θανεῖν δ᾽ ἔχοντες ἡδονὴν πρὶν παραβῆναι τὰ νόμιμα αὐτοῖς, ὥστε ἀσπόρου τῆς γῆς γενομένης λῃστεῖαι ἂν φύοιντο ἀδυναμίᾳ καταβολῆς τῶν φόρων. [275] ἴσως γὰρ ἂν ἐπικλασθέντα τὸν Γάιον μηδὲν ὠμὸν διανοηθῆναι μηδὲ ἐπ᾽ ἀναστάσει φρονῆσαι τοῦ ἔθνους: ἐμμένοντος δὲ τῇ τότε βουλῇ τοῦ πολεμεῖν τότε δὴ καὐτὸν ἅπτεσθαι τοῦ πράγματος. [276] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν Πετρώνιον παρεκάλουν. Πετρώνιος δὲ τοῦτο μὲν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον παντοίως ἐπικειμένων διὰ τὸ ὑπὲρ μεγάλων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν δέησιν καὶ πάσῃ μηχανῇ χρησαμένων εἰς τὰς ἱκετείας, [277] τοῦτο δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων θεώμενος τὴν ἀντιπαράταξιν τῆς γνώμης καὶ δεινὸν ἡγούμενος τοσαῖσδε ἀνθρώπων μυριάσιν μανίᾳ τῇ Γαίου διακονούμενος ἐπαγαγὼν θάνατον ἐν αἰτίᾳ τὸ πρὸς θεὸν σεβάσμιον ἔχειν καὶ μετὰ πονηρᾶς τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα βίον ἐλπίδος διαιτᾶσθαι, πολὺ κρεῖσσον ἡγεῖτο ἐπιστείλας τῷ Γαίῳ τὸ ἀνήκεστον αὐτῶν ὀΡγὴν φέροντος μὴ ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος δεδιακονημένου αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς: [278] τάχα μὲν γὰρ καὶ πείσειν: καὶ τῇ τὸ πρῶτον μανίᾳ τῆς γνώμης ἐπιμένοντος ἄψεσθαι πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς αὐτούς, εἰ δ᾽ ἄρα τι καὶ κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ τρέποι τῆς ὀργῆς, καλῶς ἔχειν τοῖς ἀρετῆς μεταποιουμένοις ὑπὲρ τοσῆσδε ἀνθρώπων πληθύος τελευτᾶν, ἔκρινε πιθανὸν ἡγεῖσθαι τῶν δεομένων τὸν λόγον.

4. When matters were in this state, Aristobulus, king Agrippa's brother, and Heleias the Great, and the other principal men of that family with them, went in unto Petronius, and besought him, that since he saw the resolution of the multitude, he would not make any alteration, and thereby drive them to despair; but would write to Caius, that the Jews had an insuperable aversion to the reception of the statue, and how they continued with him, and left of the tillage off their ground: that they were not willing to go to war with him, because they were not able to do it, but were ready to die with pleasure, rather than suffer their laws to be transgressed: and how, upon the land's continuing unsown, robberies would grow up, on the inability they would be under of paying their tributes; and that Caius might be thereby moved to pity, and not order any barbarous action to be done to them, nor think of destroying the nation: that if he continues inflexible in his former opinion to bring a war upon them, he may then set about it himself. And thus did Aristobulus, and the rest with him, supplicate Petronius. So Petronius, partly on account of the pressing instances which Aristobulus and the rest with him made, and because of the great consequence of what they desired, and the earnestness wherewith they made their supplication, — partly on account of the firmness of the opposition made by the Jews, which he saw, while he thought it a terrible thing for him to be such a slave to the madness of Caius, as to slay so many ten thousand men, only because of their religious

disposition towards God, and after that to pass his life in expectation of punishment; Petronius, I say, thought it much better to send to Caius, and to let him know how intolerable it was to him to bear the anger he might have against him for not serving him sooner, in obedience to his epistle, for that perhaps he might persuade him; and that if this mad resolution continued, he might then begin the war against them; nay, that in case he should turn his hatred against himself, it was fit for virtuous persons even to die for the sake of such vast multitudes of men. Accordingly, he determined to hearken to the petitioners in this matter.

(5) [279] Συγκαλέσας δὲ εἰς τὴν Τιβεριάδα τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, οἱ δὲ ἀφίκοντο πολλαὶ μυριάδες, καταστὰς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν τήν τε ἐν τῷ παρόντι στρατείαν οὐ γνώμης ἀπέφαινε τῆς αὐτοῦ τοῦ δὲ αὐτοκράτορος τῶν προσταγμάτων, τὴν ὀργὴν οὐδὲν εἰς ἀναβολάς, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα ἐπιφέρεσθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν τοῖς παρακροᾶσθαι θάρσος εἰσφερομένοις: ᾧ καλῶς ἔχον ἐστὶν τόν γε τιμῆς τοσαύτης ἐπιτετευχότα συγχωρήσει τῇ ἐκείνου οὐδὲν ἐναντίον πράσσειν: [280] οὐ μὴν δίκαιον ἡγοῦμαι ἀσφάλειάν τε καὶ τιμὴν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ μὴ οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὑμετέρου μὴ ἀπολουμένου τοσούτων ὄντων ἀναλοῦν διακονούμενον τῇ ἀρετῇ τοῦ νόμου, ὃν πάτριον ὄντα περιμάχητον ἡγεῖσθε, καὶ τῇ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀξιώσει καὶ δυνάμει τοῦ θεοῦ, οὗ τὸν ναὸν οὐκ ἂν περιιδεῖν τολμήσαιμι ὕβρει πεσεῖν τῆς τῶν ἡγεμονευόντων ἐξουσίας. [281] στέλλω δὲ ὡς Γάιον γνώμας τε τὰς ὑμετέρας διασαφῶν καί πῃ καὶ συνηγορίᾳ χρώμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς παρὰ γνώμην πεισομένην οἷς προύθεσθε ἀγαθοῖς. καὶ συμπράσσοι μὲν ὁ θεός, βελτίων γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνης μηχανῆς καὶ δυνάμεως ἡ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἐξουσία, πρυτανεύων ὑμῖν τε τὴν τήρησιν τῶν πατρίων καὶ αὐτῷ τὸ μηδὲν ἀνθρωπείαις παρὰ γνώμην βουλεύσεσι τιμῶν τῶν εἰωθυιῶν ἁμαρτεῖν. [282] εἰ δ᾽ ἐκπικρανθεὶς Γάιος εἰς ἐμὲ τρέψει τὸ ἀνήκεστον τῆς ὀργῆς, τλήσομαι πάντα κίνδυνον καὶ πᾶσαν ταλαιπωρίαν συνιοῦσαν τῷ σώματι καὶ τῇ τύχῃ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ὑμᾶς τοσούσδε ὄντας ἐπὶ οὕτως ἀγαθαῖς ταῖς πράξεσι διολλυμένους θεωρεῖν. [283] ἅπιτε οὖν ἐπὶ ἔργα τὰ αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι καὶ τῇ γῇ ἐπιπονεῖτε. πέμψω δ᾽ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Ῥώμης καὶ τὰ πάντα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν δι᾽ ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων οὐκ ἀποτραπήσομαι διακονεῖν.”

5. He then called the Jews together to Tiberias, who came many ten thousands in number; he also placed that army he now had with him opposite to them; but did not discover his own meaning, but the commands of the emperor, and told them that his wrath would, without delay, be executed on such as had the courage to disobey what he had commanded, and this immediately; and that it was fit for him, who had obtained so great a dignity by his grant, not to contradict him in any thing:— “yet,” said he, “I do not think it just to have such a regard to my own safety and honor, as to refuse to sacrifice them for your preservation, who

are so many in number, and endeavor to preserve the regard that is due to your law; which as it hath come down to you from your forefathers, so do you esteem it worthy of your utmost contention to preserve it: nor, with the supreme assistance and power of God, will I be so hardy as to suffer your temple to fall into contempt by the means of the imperial authority. I will, therefore, send to Caius, and let him know what your resolutions are, and will assist your suit as far as I am able, that you may not be exposed to suffer on account of the honest designs you have proposed to yourselves; and may God be your assistant, for his authority is beyond all the contrivance and power of men; and may he procure you the preservation of your ancient laws, and may not he be deprived, though without your consent, of his accustomed honors. But if Caius be irritated, and turn the violence of his rage upon me, I will rather undergo all that danger and that affliction that may come either on my body or my soul, than see so many of you to perish, while you are acting in so excellent a manner. Do you, therefore, every one of you, go your way about your own occupations, and fall to the cultivation of your ground; I will myself send to Rome, and will not refuse to serve you in all things, both by myself and by my friends.''

(6) [284] Ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ διαλύσας τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὸν σύλλογον προμηθεῖσθαι τῶν εἰς τὴν γεωργίαν ἠξίου τοὺς ἐν τέλει καὶ καθομιλεῖν τὸν λαὸν ἐλπίσι χρησταῖς. καὶ ὁ μὲν εὐθυμεῖν τὸ πλῆθος ἔσπευδεν. ὁ θεὸς δὲ παρρησίαν ἐπεδείκνυτο τὴν αὐτοῦ Πετρωνίῳ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅλοις σύλληψιν: [285] ἅμα τε γὰρ ἐπαύετο τοῦ λόγου, ὃν πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἶπεν, καὶ αὐτίκα ὑετὸν ἠφίει μέγαν παρ᾽ ἐλπίδα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις γενόμενον διὰ τὸ ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν αἴθριον ἔωθεν οὖσαν οὐδὲν ὄμβριον ἀποσημαίνειν ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἔτος αὐχμῷ μεγάλῳ κατεσχημένον ἐπ᾽ ἀπογνώσει ποιεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὕδατος τοῦ ἄνωθεν, εἰ καὶ σύννεφόν ποτε θεάσαιντο τὸν οὐρανόν. [286] ὥστε δὴ τότε πολλοῦ καὶ παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς καὶ παρὰ τὸ ἑτέρῳ δόξαν ἀφιγμένου ὕδατος τοῖς τε Ἰουδαίοις ἐλπὶς ἦν ἐπ᾽ οὐδαμοῖς ἀτυχήσειν Πετρώνιον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δεόμενον, ὅ τε Πετρώνιος κατεπέπληκτο μειζόνως ὁρῶν ἐναργῶς τὸν θεὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων προμηθούμενον καὶ πολλὴν ἀποσημήναντα τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, ὡς μηδ᾽ ἂν τοῖς ἔργῳ προθεμένοις τἀναντία φρονεῖν ἰσχὺν ἀντιλέξεως καταλελεῖφθαι. [287] ὡς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Γάιον σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς ὁπόσα ἔγραφεν, ἐπαγωγὰ δὲ ἦν τὰ πάντα καὶ παντοίως παρακαλοῦντα μὴ τοσαύτας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων ἀπονοεῖν, ἃς εἰ κτείνοι, οὐ γὰρ δίχα γε πολέμου παραχωρήσειν τοῦ νομίμου τῆς θρησκείας, προσόδου τε τῆς ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀποστερεῖσθαι καὶ τῷ τροπαίῳ τῆς ἀρᾶς ὑποτίθεσθαι τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα. [288] κἄλλως θείου τοῦ προεστηκότος αὐτῶν τὴν δύναμιν ὡς ἀκραιφνῆ ἀπέφαινεν καὶ μηδὲν ἐνδοίαστον ἐπὶ δυνάμει τῇ αὐτῆς ἐπιδείκνυσθαι καταλείπουσαν. καὶ Πετρώνιος μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

6. When Petronius had said this, and had dismissed rite assembly of the Jews, he desired the principal of them to take care of their husbandry, and to speak kindly to the people, and encourage them to have good hope of their affairs. Thus did he readily bring the multitude to be cheerful again. And now did God show his presence to Petronius, and signify to him that he would afford him his assistance in his whole design; for he had no sooner finished the speech that he made to the Jews, but God sent down great showers of rain, contrary to human expectation; for that day was a clear day, and gave no sign, by the appearance of the sky, of any rain; nay, the whole year had been subject to a great drought, and made men despair of any water from above, even when at any time they saw the heavens overcast with clouds; insomuch that when such a great quantity of rain came, and that in an unusual manner, and without any other expectation of it, the Jews hoped that Petronius would by no means fail in his petition for them. But as to Petronius, he was mightily surprised when he perceived that God evidently took care of the Jews, and gave very plain signs of his appearance, and this to such a degree, that those that were in earnest much inclined to the contrary had no power left to contradict it. This was also among those other particulars which he wrote to Caius, which all tended to dissuade him, and by all means to entreat him not to make so many ten thousands of these men go distracted; whom, if he should slay, [for without war they would by no means suffer the laws of their worship to be set aside,] he would lose the revenue they paid him, and would be publicly cursed by them for all future ages. Moreover, that God, who was their Governor, had shown his power most evidently on their account, and that such a power of his as left no room for doubt about it. And this was the business that Petronius was now engaged in.

(7) [289] Ἀγρίππας δὲ ὁ βασιλεύς, ἐτύγχανεν γὰρ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης διαιτώμενος, προύκοπτε φιλίᾳ τῇ πρὸς τὸν Γάιον μειζόνως. καί ποτε προθεὶς δεῖπνον αὐτῷ καὶ πρόνοιαν ἔχων πάντας ὑπερβαλέσθαι τέλεσί τε τοῖς εἰς τὸ δεῖπνον καὶ παρασκευῇ τοῦ εἰς ἡδονὴν φέροντος, [290] ὡς μὴ ὅπως ἄν τινα τῶν λοιπῶν, ἀλλὰ μηδ᾽ αὐτὸν Γάιον πιστεύειν ποτε ἰσωθῆναι θελήσοντα οὐχ ὅπως ὑπερβαλέσθαι: τοσοῦτον ὁ ἀνὴρ τῇ παρασκευῇ πάντας ὑπερῆρεν καὶ τῷ τὰ πάντα ἢ Καίσαρος ἐκφροντίσας παρασχεῖν. [291] καὶ ὁ Γάιος ἐκθαυμάσας τήν τε διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν, ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀρεσκείᾳ τῇ αὐτοῦ βιάζοιτο καὶ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν τῶν χρημάτων εὐπορίᾳ χρήσασθαι, βουλόμενός τε μιμήσασθαι τὴν Ἀγρίππου φιλοτιμίαν ἐφ᾽ ἡδονῇ τῇ αὐτοῦ πρασσομένην, ἀνειμένος ὑπὸ οἴνου καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν εἰς τὸ ἱλαρώτερον ἐκτετραμμένος, φησὶν ἐν συμποσίῳ παρακαλοῦντος εἰς πότον: [292] "Ἀγρίππα, καὶ πρότερον μέν σοι τιμὴν συνήδειν ᾗ ἐχρῶ τὰ πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ πολλὴν εὔνοιαν μετὰ κινδύνων ἀποδειχθεῖσαν, οἷς ὑπὸ Τιβερίου

περιέστης δι᾽ αὐτήν, ἐπιλείπεις τε οὐδὲν καὶ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν ἀρετῇ χρῆσθαι τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ὅθεν, αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ἡσσᾶσθαί με ὑπὸ τῆς σῆς σπουδῆς, ἀναλαβεῖν βούλομαι τὰ ἐλλελειμμένα πρότερον: [293] ὀλίγον γὰρ πᾶν ὁπόσον σοι δωρεῶν ἐχόμενον ἀπεμοιρασάμην. τὸ πᾶν, ὅπερ σοι ῥοπὴν ἂν προσθείη τοῦ εὐδαίμονος, δεδιακονήσεταί γάρ σοι προθυμίᾳ τε καὶ ἰσχύι τῇ ἐμῇ.” καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγεν οἰόμενος γῆν τε πολλὴν τῆς προσόδου αἰτήσεσθαι ἢ καί τινων προσόδους πόλεων, [294] ὁ δὲ καίπερ τὰ πάντα ἐφ᾽ οἷς αἰτήσαι παρασκευασάμενος οὐκ ἐφανέρου τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἀμείβεται τὸν Γάιον, ὅτι μήτε πρότερον κέρδος τὸ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καραδοκῶν παρὰ τὰς Τιβερίου ἐπιστολὰς θεραπεύσειεν αὐτὸν οὔτε νῦν πράσσειν τι τῶν εἰς χάριν τὴν ἐκείνου κερδῶν οἰκείων ἔν τισι λήψεσι. [295] μεγάλα δὲ εἶναι τὰ προδεδωρημένα καὶ περαιτέρω τοῦ θράσει χρωμένου τῶν ἐλπίδων: καὶ γὰρ εἰ τῆς σῆς ἐλάττονα γέγονεν δυνάμεως, τῆς γ᾽ ἐμοῦ τοῦ εἰληφότος διανοίας τε καὶ ἀξιώ [296] σεως μείζονα.” καὶ ὁ Γάιος ἐκπλαγεὶς τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ πλειόνως ἐνέκειτο εἰπεῖν, ὅ τι χαρίζοιτ᾽ ἂν αὐτῷ παρασχόμενος. ὁ δέ, “ἐπεί περ, ὦ δέσποτα, προθυμίᾳ τῇ σῇ δωρεῶν ἄξιον ἀποφαίνεις, αἰτήσομαι τῶν μὲν εἰς ὄλβον φερόντων οὐδὲν διὰ τὸ μεγάλως με ἐνδιαπρέπειν οἷς ἤδη παρέσχες: [297] ὅ τι δ᾽ ἂν σοὶ δόξαν προσποιοῖ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς καὶ τὸ θεῖον σύμμαχον ἐφ᾽ οἷς θελήσειας παρακαλοῖ κἀμοὶ πρὸς εὐκλείας γένοιτο παρὰ τοῖς πυνθανομένοις, ὡς μηθενὸς ὢν χρησαίμην ὑπὸ τῆς σῆς ἐξουσίας ἀτυχεῖν πώποτε γνόντι: ἀξιῶ γάρ σοι τοῦ ἀνδριάντος τὴν ἀνάθεσιν, ἣν ποιήσασθαι κελεύεις Πετρώνιον εἰς τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἱερόν, μηκέτι πράσσειν διανοεῖσθαι.”

7. But king Agrippa, who now lived at Rome, was more and more in the favor of Caius; and when he had once made him a supper, and was careful to exceed all others, both in expenses and in such preparations as might contribute most to his pleasure; nay, it was so far from the ability of others, that Caius himself could never equal, much less exceed it [such care had he taken beforehand to exceed all men, and particularly to make all agreeable to Caesar]; hereupon Caius admired his understanding and magnificence, that he should force himself to do all to please him, even beyond such expenses as he could bear, and was desirous not to be behind Agrippa in that generosity which he exerted in order to please him. So Caius, when he had drank wine plentifully, and was merrier than ordinary, said thus during the feast, when Agrippa had drunk to him: “I knew before now how great a respect thou hast had for me, and how great kindness thou hast shown me, though with those hazards to thyself, which thou underwentest under Tiberius on that account; nor hast thou omitted any thing to show thy good-will towards us, even beyond thy ability; whence it would be a base thing for me to be conquered by thy affection. I am therefore desirous to

make thee amends for every thing in which I have been formerly deficient; for all that I have bestowed on thee, that may be called my gifts, is but little. Everything that may contribute to thy happiness shall be at thy service, and that cheerfully, and so far as my ability will reach." And this was what Caius said to Agrippa, thinking he would ask for some large country, or the revenues of certain cities. But although he had prepared beforehand what he would ask, yet had he not discovered his intentions, but made this answer to Caius immediately: That it was not out of any expectation of gain that he formerly paid his respects to him, contrary to the commands of Tiberius, nor did he now do any thing relating to him out of regard to his own advantage, and in order to receive any thing from him; that the gifts he had already bestowed upon him were great, and beyond the hopes of even a craving man; for although they may be beneath thy power, [who art the donor,] yet are they greater than my inclination and dignity, who am the receiver. And as Caius was astonished at Agrippa's inclinations, and still the more pressed him to make his request for somewhat which he might gratify him with, Agrippa replied, "Since thou, O my lord! declarest such is thy readiness to grant, that I am worthy of thy gifts, I will ask nothing relating to my own felicity; for what thou hast already bestowed on me has made me excel therein; but I desire somewhat which may make thee glorious for piety, and render the Divinity assistant to thy designs, and may be for an honor to me among those that inquire about it, as showing that I never once fail of obtaining what I desire of thee; for my petition is this, that thou wilt no longer think of the dedication of that statue which thou hast ordered to be set up in the Jewish temple by Petronius."

(8) [298] Καὶ ὁ μὲν καίπερ ἐπικίνδυνον τοῦτο ἡγούμενος, εἰ γὰρ μὴ πιθανὰ ἔκρινε Γάιος, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἐς θάνατον ἔφερεν, διὰ τὸ μεγάλα νομίζειν τε καὶ εἶναι κύβον ἀναρριπτεῖν τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἡγεῖτο. [299] Γάιος δὲ [καὶ] ἅμα τε τῇ θεραπείᾳ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ἀνειλημμένος καὶ ἄλλως ἀπρεπὲς ὑπολαμβάνων ἐπὶ τοσῶνδε μαρτύρων ψευδὴς γενέσθαι περὶ ὧν προθύμως ἐβιάζετο αἰτεῖσθαι τὸν Ἀγρίππαν μετὰ τοῦ ὀξέος μεταμέλῳ χρώμενος, [300] ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου τὴν ἀρετὴν θαυμάσας, ἐν ὀλίγῳ αὔξειν τὴν οἰκείαν ἀρχὴν ἤτοι προσόδοις χρημάτων ἢ ἄλλῃ δυνάμει τοῦ κοινοῦ δὲ τῆς εὐθυμίας ἐπιμελοῖτο πρεσβεύων τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸ θεῖον, συνεχώρει καὶ γράφει πρὸς τὸν Πετρώνιον, ἐκεῖνον τῆς τε ἀθροίσεως τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπαινῶν καὶ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπεσταλκότος: [301] "νῦν οὖν εἰ μὲν φθάνεις τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἑστακώς, ἑστάτω: εἰ δὲ μήπω πεποίησαι τὴν ἀνάθεσιν, μηδὲν περαιτέρω κακοπαθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τόν τε στρατὸν διάλυε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἃ τὸ πρῶτόν σε ἔστειλα ἄπιθι: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔτι δέομαι τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ ἀνδριάντος Ἀγρίππᾳ χαριζόμενος ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἐμοὶ τιμωμένῳ μειζόνως ἢ ὥστε με

χρείᾳ τῇ [302] ἐκείνου καὶ οἷς κελεύσειεν ἀντειπεῖν.” Γάιος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα γράφει πρὸς τὸν Πετρώνιον πρότερον ἢ ἐντυχεῖν ἐΠὶ ἀποστάσει καταδόξας αὐτοὺς ἐπείγεσθαι, μηδὲν γὰρ ἕτερον ἀποσημαίνειν τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ πόλεμον ἄντικρυς Ῥωμαίοις ἀπειλεῖν. [303] καὶ περιαλγήσας ὡς ἐπὶ πείρᾳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτοῦ τετολμηκότων, ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἥσσων μὲν τοῦ αἰσχροῦ, κρείσσων δὲ τοῦ βελτίστου καὶ ἐφ᾽ οἵστισι κρίνειεν ὀργῇ χρῆσθαι παρ᾽ ὀντινοῦν ἐπειγόμενος παίδευσιν αὐτῆς οὐδ᾽ ἡντινοῦν προστιθείς, ἀλλ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἡδονῇ τιθεὶς τῇ ἐκείνης τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ εὐδαίμονος, γράφει πρὸς τὸν Πετρώνιον: [304] “ἐπειδὴ δῶρα ὁπόσα σοι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι παρέσχον ἐν μείζονι λόγῳ τῶν ἐμῶν πεποίησαι ἐντολῶν διακονεῖσθαι τὰ πάντα ἡδονῇ τῇ ἐκείνων ἀρθεὶς ἐπὶ παραβάσει τῶν ἐμῶν ἐντολῶν, κελεύω σε σαυτῷ. κριτὴν γενόμενον λογίσασθαι περὶ τοῦ ποιητέου σοι ὑποστάντα ὀργῇ τῇ ἐμῇ, ἐπεί τοι παράδειγμα ποιοῖντό σε οἵ τε νῦν πάντες καὶ ὁπόσοι ὕστεροι γένοιντ᾽ ἄν, μηδαμῶς ἀκυροῦν αὐτοκράτορος ἀνδρὸς ἐντολάς.”

8. And thus did Agrippa venture to cast the die upon this occasion, so great was the affair in his opinion, and in reality, though he knew how dangerous a thing it was so to speak; for had not Caius approved of it, it had tended to no less than the loss of his life. So Caius, who was mightily taken with Agrippa’s obliging behavior, and on other accounts thinking it a dishonorable thing to be guilty of falsehood before so many witnesses, in points wherein he had with such alacrity forced Agrippa to become a petitioner, and that it would look as if he had already repented of what he had said, and because he greatly admired Agrippa’s virtue, in not desiring him at all to augment his own dominions, either with larger revenues, or other authority, but took care of the public tranquillity, of the laws, and of the Divinity itself, he granted him what he had requested. He also wrote thus to Petronius, commending him for his assembling his army, and then consulting him about these affairs. “If therefore,” said’ he, “thou hast already erected my statue, let it stand; but if thou hast not yet dedicated it, do not trouble thyself further about it, but dismiss thy army, go back, and take care of those affairs which I sent thee about at first, for I have now no occasion for the erection of that statue. This I have granted as a favor to Agrippa, a man whom I honor so very greatly, that I am not able to contradict what he would have, or what he desired me to do for him.” And this was what Caius wrote to Petronius, which was before he received his letter, informing him that the Jews were very ready to revolt about the statue, and that they seemed resolved to threaten war against the Romans, and nothing else. When therefore Caius was much displeased that any attempt should be made against his government as he was a slave to base and vicious actions on all occasions, and had no regard to What was virtuous and honorable, and against whomsoever he resolved to show his

anger, and that for any cause whatsoever, he suffered not himself to be restrained by any admonition, but thought the indulging his anger to be a real pleasure, he wrote thus to Petronius: "Seeing thou esteemest the presents made thee by the Jews to be of greater value than my commands, and art grown insolent enough to be subservient to their pleasure, I charge thee to become thy own judge, and to consider what thou art to do, now thou art under my displeasure; for I will make thee an example to the present and to all future ages, that they. may not dare to contradict the commands of their emperor."

(9) [305] Ταύτην μὲν γράφει Πετρωνίῳ τὴν ἐπιστολήν, οὐ μὴν φθάνει γε ζῶντος Πετρώνιος δεξάμενος αὐτὴν βραδυνθέντος τοῦ πλοῦ τοῖς φέρουσιν εἰς τοσόνδε, ὥστε Πετρωνίῳ γράμματα πρὸ αὐτῆς ἀφικέσθαι, δι' ὧν μανθάνει τὴν Γαίου τελευτήν. [306] θεὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἄρ' ἀμνημονήσειν ἔμελλε Πετρωνίῳ κινδύνων, οὓς ἀνειλήφει ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Ἰουδαίων χάριτι καὶ τιμῇ τῇ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὸν Γάιον ἀποσκευασάμενος ὀργῆς ὧν ἐπὶ σεβασμῷ τῷ αὐτοῦ πράσσειν ἐτόλμησε, τὸν μισθὸν χρεολυτεῖν Συνευεργετεῖν τῷ Πετρωνίῳ ἥ τε Ῥώμη καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ἀρχή, μάλιστα δ' ὁπόσοι τῆς βουλῆς προύχοιεν ἀξιώματι, διὰ τὸ εἰς ἐκείνους ἀκράτῳ τῇ ὀργῇ χρῆσθαι τὸν Γάιον. [307] καὶ τελευτᾷ μὲν οὐ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον ἢ γράψαι τῷ Πετρωνίῳ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θανεῖν ἀνακειμένην ἐπιστολήν, τὴν δ' αἰτίαν, ἐξ ἧς τελευτᾷ, καὶ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τὸν τρόπον ἀφηγήσομαι προιόντος τοῦ λόγου. [308] Πετρωνίῳ δὲ προτέρα μὲν παρῆν ἡ διασαφοῦσα τοῦ Γαίου τὴν τελευτὴν ἐπιστολή, μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἡ κελεύουσα αὐτὸν τελευτᾶν αὐτόχειρα, καὶ ἤσθη τε τῇ συντυχίᾳ τοῦ ὀλέθρου, ὃς τὸν Γάιον κατέλαβεν, [309] καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν πρόνοιαν ἐξεθαύμασεν οὐδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος μισθὸν αὐτῷ τιμῆς τε τῆς εἰς τὸν ναὸς καὶ βοηθείας τῆς Ἰουδαίων σωτηρίας παρασχομένου. καὶ Πετρωνίῳ μὲν οὕτως μὴ ἂν τοπασθεὶς διεφεύχθη ῥᾳδίως ὁ κίνδυνος τοῦ θανεῖν.

9. This was the epistle which Caius wrote to. Petronius; but Petronius did not receive it while Caius was alive, that ship which carried it sailing so slow, that other letters came to Petronius before this, by which he understood that Caius was dead; for God would not forget the dangers Petronius had undertaken on account of the Jews, and of his own honor. But when he had taken Caius away, out of his indignation of what he had so insolently attempted in assuming to himself divine worship, both Rome and all that dominion conspired with Petronius, especially those that were of the senatorian order, to give Caius his due reward, because he had been unmercifully severe to them; for he died not long after he had written to Petronius that epistle which threatened him with death. But as for the occasion of his death, and the nature of the plot against him, I shall relate them in the progress of this narration. Now that epistle which informed Petronius of Caius's death came first, and a little afterward came that

which commanded him to kill himself with his own hands. Whereupon he rejoiced at this coincidence as to the death of Caius, and admired God's providence, who, without the least delay, and immediately, gave him a reward for the regard he had to the temple, and the assistance he afforded the Jews for avoiding the dangers they were in. And by this means Petronius escaped that danger of death, which he could not foresee.

IX

CHAPTER 9. What Befell The Jews That Were In Babylon On Occasion Of Asineus And Anileus, Two Brethren.

(1) [310] Γίνεται δὲ καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ καὶ μάλιστα τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν οἰκοῦντας Ἰουδαίους συμφορὰ δεινὴ καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς ἧστινος ἐλάσσων φόνος τε αὐτῶν πολὺς καὶ ὁπόσος οὐχ ἱστορημένος πρότερον. περὶ ὧν δὴ τὰ πάντα ἐπ᾽ ἀκριβὲς διηγησάμενος ἐκθήσομαι καὶ τὰς αἰτίας, ἀφ᾽ ὧν αὐτοῖς τὸ πάθος συνέτυχεν. [311] Νέερδα τῆς Βαβυλωνίας ἐστὶ πόλις ἄλλως τε πολυανδροῦσα καὶ χώραν ἀγαθὴν καὶ πολλὴν ἔχουσα καὶ σὺν ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀνάπλεως. ἔστιν δὲ καὶ πολεμίοις οὐκ εὐέμβολος περιόδῳ τε τοῦ Εὐφράτου πᾶσαν ἐντὸς αὐτὴν ἀπολαμβάνοντος καὶ κατασκευαῖς τειχῶν. [312] ἔστιν δὲ καὶ Νίσιβις πόλις κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦ ποταμοῦ περίρρουν, ὅθεν Ἰουδαῖοι τῇ φύσει τῶν χωρίων πεπιστευκότες τό τε δίδραχμον, ὃ τῷ θεῷ καταβάλλειν ἑκάστοις πάτριον, ταύτῃ κατετίθεντο καὶ ὁπόσα δὲ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, ἐχρῶντό τε ὥσπερ ταμιείῳ ταῖσδε ταῖς πόλεσιν. [313] ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἀνεπέμπετο ᾗ καιρός, πολλαί τε ἀνθρώπων μυριάδες τὴν κομιδὴν τῶν χρημάτων παρελάμβανον δεδιότες τὰς Παρθυαίων ἁρπαγὰς ὑποτελούσης ἐκείνοις τῆς Βαβυλωνίας. [314] καὶ ἦσαν γὰρ Ἀσιναῖος καὶ Ἀνιλαῖος Νεερδᾶται μὲν τὸ γένος, ἀλλήλων δὲ ἀδελφοί. καὶ αὐτούς, πατρὸς δ᾽ ἦσαν ὀρφανοί, ἡ μήτηρ προσέταξεν ἱστῶν μαθήσει ποιήσεως, οὐκ ὄντος ἁπρεποῦς τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ὥστε τοὺς ἄνδρας ταλασιουργεῖν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς. τούτοις ὁ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐφεστώς, καὶ γὰρ ἐμεμαθήκεσαν παρ᾽ αὐτῷ, βραδυτῆτα ἐπικαλέσας τῆς ἀφίξεως ἐκόλασε πληγαῖς. [315] οἱ δὲ ἐφ᾽ ὕβρει τὴν δικαίωσιν λογιζόμενοι, κατασπάσαντες τῶν ὅπλων πολλὰ ὁπόσα ἦν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας φυλασσόμενα ᾤχοντο εἴς τι χωρίον, διάρρηξιν μὲν ποταμῶν λεγόμενον, νομὰς δὲ ἀγαθὰς παρασχεῖν πεφυκὸς καὶ χιλὸν ὁπόσοι εἰς τὸν χειμῶνα ἀποτιθοῖντο. συνῄεσάν τε ὡς αὐτοὺς τῶν νέων οἱ ἀπορώτατοι, καὶ τούτους τοῖς ὅπλοις φραγνύντες στρατηγοί τε ἦσαν καὶ τῶν κακῶν ἡγεμόνες οὐκ ἐκωλύοντο εἶναι. [316] προελθόντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμαχον καὶ κατασκευάσαντες ἀκρόπολιν διέπεμπον πρὸς τοὺς νέμοντας φόρον αὐτοῖς κελεύοντες καταβάλλειν τῶν βοσκημάτων, ἢ ἀρκοῦσα ἐπιτροφὴ γίνοιτ᾽ ἄν, προστιθέντες φιλίαν τε πειθομένοις καὶ ἄμυναν τῶν ἀλλαχόθεν ποθὲν πολεμίων, σφαγὰς δὲ τῶν ποιμνίων ἀπειθοῦσιν. [317] οἱ δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἕτερα παρ᾽ αὐτὰ ποιεῖν, ἠκροῶντο καὶ τῶν προβάτων ἔστελλον ὁπόσα κελευσθεῖεν, ὥστε δὴ καὶ πλείων αὐτοῖς συνελέγετο ἰσχὺς κύριοί τε ἦσαν ἐφ᾽ οἷς βουλεύσειαν ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἐλαύνοντες κακουργεῖν. θεραπεύειν τε αὐτοὺς ἦρκτο πᾶς προστυγχάνων, καὶ ἦσαν φοβεροὶ

καὶ τοῖς πειρασομένοις, ὥστ᾽ ἤδη προύκοπτε λόγος περὶ αὐτῶν κἀπὶ τοῦ Πάρθων βασιλέως.

1. A Very sad calamity now befell the Jews that were in Mesopotamia, and especially those that dwelt in Babylonia. Inferior it was to none of the calamities which had gone before, and came together with a great slaughter of them, and that greater than any upon record before; concerning all which I shall speak accurately, and shall explain the occasions whence these miseries came upon them. There was a city of Babylonia called Neerda; not only a ver populous one, but one that had a good and a large territory about it, and, besides its other advantages, full of men also. It was, besides, not easily to be assaulted by enemies, from the river Euphrates encompassing it all round, and from the wails that were built about it. There was also the city Nisibis, situate on the same current of the river. For which reason the Jews, depending on the natural strength of these places, deposited in them that half shekel which every one, by the custom of our country, offers unto God, as well as they did other things devoted to him; for they made use of these cities as a treasury, whence, at a proper time, they were transmitted to Jerusalem; and many ten thousand men undertook the carriage of those donations, out of fear of the ravages of the Parthians, to whom the Babylonians were then subject. Now there were two men, Asineus and Anileus, of the city Neerda by birth, and brethren to one another. They were destitute of a father, and their mother put them to learn the art of weaving curtains, it not being esteemed disgrace among them for men to be weavers of cloth. Now he that taught them that art, and was set over them, complained that they came too late to their work, and punished them with stripes; but they took this just punishment as an affront, and carried off all the weapons which were kept in that house, which were not a few, and went into a certain place where was a partition of the rivers, and was a place naturally very fit for the feeding of cattle, and for preserving such fruits as were usually laid up against winter. The poorest sort of the young men also resorted to them, whom they armed with the weapons they had gotten, and became their captains; and nothing hindered them from being their leaders into mischief; for as soon as they were become invincible, and had built them a citadel, they sent to such as fed cattle, and ordered them to pay them so much tribute out of them as might be sufficient for their maintenance, proposing also that they would be their friends, if they would submit to them, and that they would defend them from all their other enemies on every side, but that they would kill the cattle of those that refused to obey them. So they hearkened to their proposals, [for they could do nothing else,] and sent them as many sheep as were required of them; whereby

their forces grew greater, and they became lords over all they pleased, because they marched suddenly, and did them a mischief, insomuch that every body who had to do with them chose to pay them respect; and they became formidable to such as came to assault them, till the report about them came to the ears of the king of Parthia himself.

(2) [318] Ὁ δὲ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας σατράπης μαθὼν ταῦτα καὶ βουληθεὶς ἔτι φυομένους κωλῦσαι πρίν τι μεῖζον κακὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀναστῆναι, συλλέξας στρατὸν ὅσον ἐδύνατο πλεῖστον καὶ τῶν Παρθυαίων καὶ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἤλασε πρὸς αὐτοὺς, φθῆναι θέλων προσβαλὼν ἐξελεῖν πρὶν ἐξάγγελτος γενέσθαι κατασκευάζων τὸν στρατόν. [319] περικαθίσας δὲ τὸ ἕλος ἡσύχαζεν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν, ἦν δὲ σάββατον ἀργίας παντὸς χρήματος Ἰουδαίοις ἡμέρα, οἰόμενος οὐ τολμήσειν ἀντιστατήσειν αὐτῷ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλὰ ἀμαχεὶ λαβὼν ἄξειν δεδεμένους, κατὰ βραχὺ δὲ προσῄει χρῄζων αἰφνίδιον ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπίπτωσιν. [320] Ἀσιναῖος δὲ ἐτύγχανε σὺν τοῖς ἑταίροις καθεζόμενος καὶ τὰ ὅπλα παρέκειτο αὐτοῖς "ἄνδρες, φησί, χρεμετισμός μοι ἵππων προσέπεσεν οὐ φορβάδων, ἀλλ' οἷος γένοιτ' ἂν ἀνδρῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπιβεβηκότων, ἐπεὶ καί τινος ἀνακρούσεως αἰσθάνομαι χαλινῶν: δέδια, μὴ λελήθασιν ἡμᾶς οἱ πολέμιοι περιστάντες. ἀλλά τις προίτω κατόπτης ἀπαγγελίαν ἡμῖν σαφῆ τῶν ἐνεστηκότων ποιησόμενος. εἴη δὲ ἐπὶ ψευδέσι μοι λελέχθαι τὰ εἰρημένα." καὶ ὁ μὲν τάδε εἶπεν, [321] καὶ ᾤχοντό τινες προσκοποῦντες τὸ γινόμενον καὶ ᾗ τάχος παρελθόντες, "καὶ οὔτε αὐτὸς ψεύδῃ σαφὴς εἰκαστὴς εἶναι τῶν πρασσομένων τοῖς πολεμίοις οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι πλειόνως ἐπιτρέψειν ἤμελλον ἡμῖν ὑβριεῖν. [322] περιειλήμμεθα δόλῳ μηδὲν βοσκημάτων διαφέροντες: τοσῆσδε ἵππου πλῆθος ἐπελαύνουσιν ἡμῖν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ χειρῶν κειμένοις διὰ τὸ κατείργεσθαι προαγο [323] ρεύσει τῶν πατρίων εἰς τὸ ἀργεῖν." Ἀσιναῖος δὲ οὐκ ἄρα γνώμῃ τοῦ κατασκόπου κρίνειν ἔμελλεν ἐπὶ τοῖς ποιητέοις, ἀλλὰ νομιμώτερον ἡγησάμενος τοῦ ἐπ' ἀπράκτοις τελευτῶντας εὐφραίνειν τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ ἀλκῆς δεξάμενος αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀνάγκης εἰς ἣν ἐνεπεπτώκει παρανομεῖν τιμωρίαν ἀπολαμβάνοι, εἰ δέοι τελευτᾶν, αὐτός τε ἀναλαμβάνει τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ θάρσος ἐνεποίει τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ ὅμοια ἀρετῆς. [324] ὁμόσε ἴασι τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ πολλοὺς κτείναντες αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ καταφρονοῦντας ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτοιμα χωρεῖν εἰς φυγὴν τρέπονται τὸ λοιπόν.

2. But when the governor of Babylonia understood this, and had a mind to put a stop to them before they grew greater, and before greater mischiefs should arise from them, he got together as great an army as he could, both of Parthians and Babylonians, and marched against them, thinking to attack them and destroy them before any one should carry them the news that he had got an army together. He then encamped at a lake, and lay still; but on the next day [it was the sabbath, which is among the Jews a day of rest from all sorts of work] he

supposed that the enemy would not dare to fight him thereon, but that he would take them and carry them away prisoners, without fighting. He therefore proceeded gradually, and thought to fall upon them on the sudden. Now Asineus was sitting with the rest, and their weapons lay by them; upon which he said, "Sirs, I hear a neighing of horses; not of such as are feeding, but such as have men on their backs; I also hear such a noise of their bridles, that I am afraid that some enemies are coming upon us to encompass us round. However, let somebody go to look about, and make report of what reality there is in the present state of things; and may what I have said prove a false alarm." And when he had said this, some of them went out to spy out what was the matter; and they came again immediately, and said to him, that "neither hast thou been mistaken in telling us what our enemies were doing, nor will those enemies permit us to be injurious to people any longer. We are caught by their intrigues like brute beasts, and there is a large body of cavalry marching upon us, while we are destitute of hands to defend ourselves withal, because we are restrained from doing it by the prohibition of our law, which obliges us to rest [on this day]." But Asiueus did not by any means agree with the opinion of his spy as to what was to be done, but thought it more agreeable to the law to pluck up their spirits in this necessity they were fallen into, and break their law by avenging themselves, although they should die in the action, than by doing nothing to please their enemies in submitting to be slain by them. Accordingly, he took up his weapons, and infused courage into those that were with him to act as courageously as himself. So they fell upon their enemies, and slew a great many of them, because they despised them and came as to a certain victory, and put the rest to flight.

(3) [325] Ὁ δὲ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλεύς, ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο αὐτῷ ἡ ἀγγελία τῆς μάχης, ἐκπλαγεὶς τῷ τολμήματι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπεθύμησεν αὐτοῖς ἐλθεῖν δι᾽ ὄψεως καὶ λόγων, καὶ πέμπει τὸν πιστότατον τῶν σωματοφυλάκων λέγοντα, [326] ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ἀρτάβανος καίπερ ἠδικημένος ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν ἐπιχειρήσεως αὐτοῦ τῇ ἀρχῇ γενομένης ἐν ἐλάσσονι τὴν καθ᾽ αὐτὸν ὀργὴν τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρετῆς ποιησάμενος ἀπέστειλέν με δεξιάς τε καὶ πίστιν δώσοντα ὑμῖν, συγχωρῶν ἄδειάν τε καὶ ἀσυλίαν ὁδῶν, χρήζων ἐπὶ φιλίᾳ προσχωρεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν δόλου τε καὶ ἀπάτης χωρίς, δῶρά τε δώσειν ὑπισχνεῖται καὶ τιμήν, ἥτις ὑμῖν πρὸς τῇ νῦν οὔσῃ ἀρετῇ μελλήσει δυνάμει τῇ ἐκείνου ὠφελεῖν." Ἀσιναῖος δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπερβάλλεται ὁδοὺς τὰς ἐκεῖ, [327] τὸν ἀδελφὸν δὲ Ἀνιλαῖον ἐκπέμπει μετὰ δώρων ὁπόσα πορίσαι ἦν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ᾤχετο καὶ εἴσοδος αὐτῷ γίνεται παρὰ βασιλέα. Ἀρτάβανος δὲ ἐπεὶ θεᾶται τὸν Ἀνιλαῖον καταμόνας ἥκοντα, ἤρετο τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ καὶ τὸν Ἀσιναῖον ἐφυστερηκότος. [328] ἐπεὶ δὲ πυνθάνεται αὐτὸν δείσαντα ἐν τῷ ἕλει ὑπομένειν, ὁ δὲ τούς τε πατρῴους θεοὺς ἐπώμνυτο μηδὲν κακὸν δράσειν αὐτοὺς

πίστει τῇ αὐτοῦ προσκεχωρηκότας, καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐδίδου, ὅπερ μέγιστον παρὰ πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάροις παράδειγμα τοῦ θαρσεῖν γίνεται τοῖς ὁμιλοῦσιν: [329] οὐ γὰρ ἂν ψεύσαιτό τις δεξιῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ δόσεων γενομένων οὐδὲ πιστεύειν ἐνδοιάσειεν, εἰ τοιᾶσδε ἀσφαλείας δόσις γίνοιτο παρὰ τῶν ἐν ὑποψίᾳ ἀδικήσειν καθεστηκότων. καὶ Ἀρτάβανος μὲν ταῦτα πράξας ἐκπέμπει τὸν Ἀνιλαῖον πείσοντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπανελθεῖν, [330] ἔπρασσεν δὲ ταῦτα βασιλεὺς χρῄζων ἐνστομισμάτων τῇ ἀρετῇ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀδελφῶν εἰς φιλίαν κτήσασθαι τῶν ἐκείνου σατραπειῶν ἐν ἀποστάσει τε οὐσῶν καὶ διανοίᾳ τοῦ ἀποστησομένου μέλλων ἐλάσειν ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς. [331] ἐδεδίει γάρ, μὴ καὶ περιεχομένου πολέμῳ τῷ ἐκείνῃ κατὰ χείρωσιν τῶν ἀφεστηκότων αὐξηθῶσιν ἐπὶ μέγα οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀσιναῖον καὶ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ἤτοι γε συστήσονται ἐπ᾽ ἀκροάσει τῇ αὐτῶν ἢ καὶ τούτου γε ἀποτυχόντες τοῦ κακῶσαι μειζόνως οὐ διαμάρτοιεν.

3. But when the news of this fight came to the king of Parthia, he was surprised at the boldness of these brethren, and was desirous to see them, and speak with them. He therefore sent the most trusty of all his guards to say thus to them: “That king Artsbanus, although he had been unjustly treated by you, who have made an attempt against his government, yet hath he more regard to your courageous behavior, than to the anger he bears to you, and hath sent me to give you his right hand and security; and he permits you to come to him safely, and without any violence upon the road; and he wants to have you address yourselves to him as friends, without meaning any guile or deceit to you. He also promises to make you presents, and to pay you those respects which will make an addition of his power to your courage, and thereby be of advantage to you.” Yet did Asineus himself put off his journey thither, but sent his brother Anileus with all such presents as he could procure. So he went, and was admitted to the king’s presence; and when Artabanus saw Anileus coming alone, he inquired into the reason why Asineus avoided to come along with him; and when he understood that he was afraid, and staid by the lake, he took an oath, by the gods of his country, that he would do them no harm, if they came to him upon the assurances he gave them, and gave him his right hand. This is of the greatest force there with all these barbarians, and affords a firm security to those who converse with them; for none of them will deceive you when once they have given you their right hands, nor will any one doubt of their fidelity, when that is once given, even though they were before suspected of injustice. When Artabanus had done this, he sent away Anileus to persuade his brother to come to him. Now this the king did, because he wanted to curb his own governors of provinces by the courage of these Jewish brethren, lest they should make a league with them; for they were ready for a revolt, and were disposed to rebel,

had they been sent on an expedition against them. He was also afraid, lest when he was engaged in a war, in order to subdue those governors of provinces that had revolted, the party of Asineus, and those in Babylonia, should be augmented, and either make war upon him, when they should hear of that revolt, or if they should be disappointed in that case, they would not fail of doing further mischief to him.

(4) [332] Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα διανοηθεὶς ἐκπέμπει τὸν Ἀνιλαῖον, ὁ δὲ πιθανὸς ἦν τῷ ἀδελφῷ τήν τε ἄλλην προθυμίαν εἰσηγούμενος τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ὅρκιον τὸ γεγενημένον, ὥστε δὴ ἠπείγοντο ὡς τὸν Ἀρτάβανον. [333] ὁ δὲ ἡδονῇ αὐτοὺς δέχεται παραγενομένους ἐθαύμαζεν τε τὸν Ἀσιναῖον τοῦ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν εὐψύχου, θεωρῶν παντελῶς ὄντα ὀφθῆναι βραχύν τε καὶ τοῖς τὸ πρῶτον ὄψει συνελθοῦσιν ἐνδοῦναι καταφρονήματος ἀφορμὰς ὡς οὐδενὶ κρίνοιεν αὐτόν, φησί τε πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, ὡς μείζονα ἐν τῇ παραθέσει παρέχοιτο τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ σώματος, παρά τε πότον δεικνὺς τὸν Ἀσιναῖον Ἀβδαγάσῃ τῷ αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδάρχῃ τό τε ὄνομα διασαφεῖ καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν ἀρετήν, ᾗ χρῷτο εἰς πόλεμον. [334] τοῦ δὲ Ἀβδαγάσου κελεύοντος συγχώρημα αὐτῷ γενέσθαι κτείναντα αὐτὸν ἅποινα ἀπολαβεῖν ὑπὲρ ὧν ὑβρίσειεν εἰς τὴν Παρθυαίων ἀρχήν “ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἄν, εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεύς, συγχώρημα διδοίην ἐπ’ ἀνδρὶ πίστει τῇ εἰς ἐμὲ τεθαρρηκότι καὶ προσέτι δεξιάν τε πέμψας καὶ θεῶν ὅρκοις πιθανὸς γενέσθαι σπουδάσας. [335] εἰ δὲ ἀνὴρ τυγχάνεις τὰ πολέμια ἀγαθός, μηδὲν ἐπιορκίας χρῄζων τῆς ἐμῆς Παρθυαίων ἐκδίκει τὴν ἀρχὴν περιυβρισμένην: ἐπαναχωροῦντι γὰρ ἐπιθέμενος περιγίνου κράτει τῷ [336] περὶ σὲ καὶ μετ’ ἀγνοίας τῆς ἐμῆς.” ἔωθεν δὲ μετακαλέσας τὸν Ἀσιναῖον “ὥρα σοι, φησίν, ὦ νεανία, χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ σαυτοῦ, μὴ καὶ πλείοσιν τῶν ἐνθάδε στρατηγῶν τὴν ὀργὴν ἐρεθίσειας ἐπιχειρεῖν σου τῇ σφαγῇ καὶ δίχα γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς. [337] παρακαταθήκην δέ σοι δίδωμι τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν γῆν ἀλήστευτόν τε καὶ ἀπαθῆ κακῶν ἐσομένην ὑπὸ τῶν σῶν φροντίδων. ἄξιον δέ μοι τυγχάνειν σου χρηστοῦ ἀνεπίκλητόν σοι παρασχόμενος τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ πίστιν, οὐκ [338] ἐπὶ κούφοις ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰς σωτηρίαν ἀνακειμένοις.” ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ δῶρα δοὺς τοτηνίκα ἐκπέμπει τὸν Ἀσιναῖον. ὁ δὲ εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν παραγενόμενος φρούρια κατασκευάζει καὶ ὁπόσα πρότερον ὠχύρου, μέγας τε ἐν ὀλίγῳ γεγόνει καὶ οἷος οὐκ ἄλλος τῶν πρότερον ἐκ τοιαύτης ἀφορμῆς ἅψασθαι πραγμάτων ἐν τόλμῃ γεγονότων, [339] Παρθυαίων τε αὐτὸν ἐθεράπευον οἱ ταύτῃ καταπεμπόμενοι στρατηγοί: μικρὸν γὰρ ἐδόκει καὶ τῆς κατ’ αὐτὸν ἧσσον ἀρετῆς ἡ ἐκ Βαβυλωνίων προιοῦσα τιμή. ἦν τε ἐν ἀξιώματι καὶ δυνάμει, πάντα τε ἤδη τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦρτο πράγματα, προύκοπτέν τε αὐτῶν ἡ εὐδαιμονία ἐπὶ ἔτη πεντεκαίδεκα.

4. When the king had these intentions, he sent away Anileus, and Anileus prevailed on his brother [to come to the king], when he had related to him the

king's good-will, and the oath that he had taken. Accordingly, they made haste to go to Artsbanus, who received them when they were come with pleasure, and admired Asineus's courage in the actions he had done, and this because he was a little man to see to, and at first sight appeared contemptible also, and such as one might deem a person of no value at all. He also said to his friends, how, upon the comparison, he showed his soul to be in all respects superior to his body; and when, as they were drinking together, he once showed Asineus to Abdagases, one of the generals of his army, and told him his name, and described the great courage he was of in war, and Abdagases had desired leave to kill him, and thereby to inflict on him a punishment for those injuries he had done to the Parthian government, the king replied, "I will never give thee leave to kill a man who hath depended on my faith, especially not after I have sent him my right hand, and endeavored to gain his belief by oaths made by the gods. But if thou be a truly warlike man, thou standest not in need of my perjury. Go thou then, and avenge the Parthian government; attack this man, when he is returned back, and conquer him by the forces that are under thy command, without my privity." Hereupon the king called for Asineus, and said to him, "It is time for thee, O thou young man! to return home, and not provoke the indignation of my generals in this place any further, lest they attempt to murder thee, and that without my approbation. I commit to thee the country of Babylonia in trust, that it may, by thy care, be preserved free from robbers, and from other mischiefs. I have kept my faith inviolable to thee, and that not in trifling affairs, but in those that concerned thy safety, and do therefore deserve thou shouldst be kind to me." When he had said this, and given Asineus some presents, he sent him away immediately; who, when he was come home, built fortresses, and became great in a little time, and managed things with such courage and success, as no other person, that had no higher a beginning, ever did before him. Those Parthian governors also, who were sent that way, paid him great respect; and the honor that was paid him by the Babylonians seemed to them too small, and beneath his deserts, although he were in no small dignity and power there; nay, indeed, all the affairs of Mesopotamia depended upon him, and he more and more flourished in this happy condition of his for fifteen years.

(5) [340] Ἀκμαζόντων δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀρχὴ αὐτοὺς ἐπικαταλαμβάνει κακῶν ἐκ τοιᾶσδε αἰτίας, ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἀρετήν, ᾗ προύκοψαν ἐπὶ μέγα δυνάμεως, ἐκτρέπουσιν εἰς ὕβριν ἐπὶ παραβάσει τῶν πατρίων ὑπὸ ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ ἡδονῆς ἐμπεσόντες τῶν Πάρθων τινί, στρατηγὸς δὲ ἀφίκετο τῶν ταύτῃ χωρίων, [341] ᾧ δὴ καὶ εἵπετο γαμετὴ τά τε ἄλλα καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐπαινεῖσθαι προειληφυῖα πασῶν καὶ μείζονα ῥοπὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ λαμβάνουσα θαύματι τοῦ εὐπρεποῦς. [342] ταύτης εἴτε

ἀκοῇ τῆς εὐπρεπείας ἐκμαθὼν εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως αὐτόπτης γενόμενος Ἀνιλαῖος ὁ τοῦ Ἀσιναίου ἀδελφὸς ἐραστής τε ἐγεγόνει καὶ πολέμιος, τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ ἄλλως ἐλπίζειν ἐκπράσσεσθαι τὴν σύνοδον τῆς γυναικὸς μὴ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὡς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ κτηθείσῃ παραλαβών, τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δυσαντίλεκτον κρίνειν τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. [343] ἅμα τε οὖν πολέμιος ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἀνὴρ κεχειροτόνητο κτείνων κιτιῶν καὶ μάχης ἐπάκτου γενομένης πεσόντος ἀνῃρημένου ἁλοῦσα ἐγεγάμητο τῷ ἐραστῇ. οὐ μὴν δίχα γε μεγάλων δυστυχιῶν Ἀνιλαίῳ τε ἅμα αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀσιναίῳ ἡ γυνὴ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ σύν τινι μεγάλῳ κακῷ διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν: [344] ἐπεὶ γὰρ τἀνδρὸς τεθνηκότος αἰχμάλωτος ἤγετο, τὰ ἀφιδρύματα τῶν θεῶν, ἅπερ τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ αὐτῇ πατρῷα ἦν, ἐπιχώριον δὲ τοῖς ἐκείνῃ πᾶσίν ἐστιν ἐπί τε τῆς οἰκίας ἔχειν σεβάσματα καὶ ἰοῦσιν ἐπὶ ξένης συνεπάγεσθαι, περιστέλλουσα καὶ ταύτῃ τοῦ πατρίου τὸ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἔθος συναπήγετο, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον λεληθότως αὐτῶν θρησκείαν ἐποιεῖτο, γαμετὴ δὲ ἀποδειχθεῖσα ἤδη τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῆς εἰωθότι καὶ μεθ᾽ οἵων νομίμων ἐπὶ τοῦ προτέρου ἀνδρὸς ἐθεράπευεν αὐτούς. [345] καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων οἱ μάλιστα τιμώμενοι παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Οὐδαμῶς πράσσοι Ἑβραικὰ οὐδὲ ὁπόσα νόμοις τοῖς αὐτῶν πρόσφορα γυναῖκα ἠγμένος ἀλλόφυλον καὶ παραβαίνουσαν θυσιῶν καὶ σεβασμῶν τῶν αὐτοῖς εἰωθότων τὴν ἀκρίβειαν: ὁρᾶν οὖν, μὴ τὰ πολλὰ τῇ ἡδονῇ τοῦ σώματος συγχωρῶν ἀπολέσειε τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ εὐπρεποῦς καὶ τὴν εἰς νῦν ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου προελθοῦσαν ἐξουσίαν. [346] ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπέραινον, ἀλλὰ καί τινα αὐτῶν τὸν μάλιστα τιμώμενον ὅτι πλέονι παρρησίᾳ χρήσαιτο ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ ὃς Θεώμενος εὐνοίας τε τῶν νόμων καὶ τοῦ κτείνοντος αὐτὸν τιμωρίαν ἐπηράσατο αὐτῷ τε Ἀνιλαίῳ καὶ Ἀσιναίῳ καὶ πᾶσιν ἑταίροις ὁμοίαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπαχθεῖσαν γενέσθαι τελευτήν, [347] τοῖς μὲν ὡς ἡγεμόσι παρανομιῶν γεγονόσι, τοῖς δέ, ὅτι μὴ βοηθοῖεν αὐτῷ τοιάδε πάσχοντι διὰ τὸ ἐκδικεῖν τοῖς νόμοις, οἱ δὲ ἐβαρύνοντο μέν, ἠνείχοντο δέ, μνημονεύοντες οὐκ ἐξ ἄλλης αἰτίας ἀλλ᾽ ἰσχύι τῇ ἐκείνων τῇ εὐδαιμονίᾳ συνελθόντες. [348] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν θεραπείαν ἀκροῶνται τῶν θεῶν τῶν Παρθυαίοις τιμωμένων, οὐκέτι ἀνεκτὸν ἡγούμενοι τοῦ Ἀνιλαίου τὸ ὑβρίζον εἰς τοὺς νόμους ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσιναῖον ἐλθόντες καὶ πλέονες ἤδη κατεβόων τοῦ Ἀνιλαίου, [349] φάμενοι καλῶς ἔχειν, εἰ μὴ πρότερον κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἑώρα τὸ ὠφελοῦν ἀλλὰ νῦν γοῦν ἐπιστροφὴν ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ γεγονότος πρὶν ἢ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐκείνῳ τε καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις γενέσθαι εἰς ὄλεθρον ἀνακειμένην, τόν τε γάμον τῆς ἀνθρώπου λέγοντες οὐ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν οὐδ᾽ αὐτοῖς εἰωθότων τεθεῖσθαι νόμων καὶ τὴν θρησκείαν ἣν ἐπιτηδεύοι ἡ γυνὴ ἐπ᾽ ἀτιμώσει θεοῦ τοῦ αὐτοῖς σεβασμίου πράσσεσθαι. [350] ὁ δὲ καὐτὸς ᾔδει μὲν τὴν ἁμαρτάδα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μεγάλων αἰτίαν οὖσαν κακῶν καὶ ἐσομένην, οὐ μὴν ἀπείχετό γε εὐνοίᾳ τοῦ συγγενοῦς νικώμενος καὶ συγγνώμην νέμων ὡς ὑπὸ κρείσσονος κακοῦ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας νικωμένου. [351] ἐπεὶ δὲ πλείους τε ὁσημέραι συνεστρέφοντο καὶ πλείους ἦσαν αἱ καταβοαί, τηνικαῦτα δή φησιν περὶ αὐτῶν πρὸς Ἀνιλαῖον τοῖς

τε πρῶτον γεγονόσιν ἐπιτιμῶν καὶ παύσασθαι τὸ λοιπὸν κελεύων τὴν ἄνθρωπον ἀποπεμψάμενον εἰς τοὺς συγγενεῖς. [352] ἐπράσσετο δὲ οὐδὲν ἐκ τῶν λόγων: καὶ ἡ γυνὴ δὲ αἰσθανομένη μὲν τοῦ θροῦ τοῦ κατέχοντος τοὺς λαοὺς δι᾽ αὐτήν, δεδοικυῖα δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ἀνιλαίου, μὴ καί τι πάθοι ἔρωτι τῷ πρὸς αὐτήν, φάρμακον τῷ Ἀσιναίῳ δοῦσα ἐν τοῖς σιτίοις μεθίστατο τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀδεής τε ἦν ἐπὶ κριτῇ τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν πραχθησομένων τῷ ἐραστῇ γενομένη.

5. But as their affairs were in so flourishing a state, there sprang up a calamity among them on the following occasion. When once they had deviated from that course of virtue whereby they had gained so great power, they affronted and transgressed the laws of their forefathers, and fell under the dominion of their lusts and pleasures. A certain Parthian, who came as general of an army into those parts, had a wife following him, who had a vast reputation for other accomplishments, and particularly was admired above all other women for her beauty. Anileus, the brother of Asineus, either heard of that her beauty from others, or perhaps saw her himself also, and so became at once her lover and her enemy; partly because he could not hope to enjoy this woman but by obtaining power over her as a captive, and partly because he thought he could not conquer his inclinations for her. As soon therefore as her husband had been declared an enemy to them, and was fallen in the battle, the widow of the deceased was married to this her lover. However, this woman did not come into their house without producing great misfortunes, both to Anileus himself, and to Asineus also; but brought great mischiefs upon them on the occasion following. Since she was led away captive, upon the death of her husband, she concealed the images of those gods which were their country gods, common to her husband and to herself: now it was the custom of that country for all to have the idols they worship in their own houses, and to carry them along with them when they go into a foreign land; agreeable to which custom of theirs she carried her idols with her. Now at first she performed her worship to them privately; but when she was become Anileus's married wife, she worshipped them in her accustomed manner, and with the same appointed ceremonies which she used in her former husband's days; upon which their most esteemed friends blamed him at first, that he did not act after the manner of the Hebrews, nor perform what was agreeable to their laws, in marrying a foreign wife, and one that transgressed the accurate appointments of their sacrifices and religious ceremonies; that he ought to consider, lest, by allowing himself in many pleasures of the body, he might lose his principality, on account of the beauty of a wife, and that high authority which, by God's blessing, he had arrived at. But when they prevailed not at all upon him, he slew one of them for whom he had the greatest respect, because of

the liberty he took with him; who, when he was dying, out of regard to the laws, imprecated a punishment upon his murderer Anileus, and upon Asineus also, and that all their companions might come to a like end from their enemies; upon the two first as the principal actors of this wickedness, and upon the rest as those that would not assist him when he suffered in the defense of their laws. Now these latter were sorely grieved, yet did they tolerate these doings, because they remembered that they had arrived at their present happy state by no other means than their fortitude. But when they also heard of the worship of those gods whom the Parthians adore, they thought the injury that Anileus offered to their laws was to be borne no longer; and a greater number of them came to Asineus, and loudly complained of Aniteus, and told him that it had been well that he had of himself seen what was advantageous to them; but that however it was now high time to correct what had been done amiss, before the crime that had been committed proved the ruin of himself and all the rest of them. They added, that the marriage of this woman was made without their consent, and without a regard to their old laws; and that the worship which this woman paid [to her gods] was a reproach to the God whom they worshipped. Now Asineus was sensible of his brother's offense, that it had been already the cause of great mischiefs, and would be so for the time to come; yet did he tolerate the same from the good-will he had to so near a relation, and forgiving it to him, on account that his brother was quite overborne by his wicked inclinations. But as more and more still came about him every day, and the clamors about it became greater, he at length spake to Anileus about these clamors, reproving him for his former actions, and desiring him for the future to leave them off, and send the woman back to her relations. But nothing was gained by these reproofs; for as the woman perceived what a tumult was made among the people on her account, and was afraid for Anileus, lest he should come to any harm for his love to her, she infused poison into Asineus's food, and thereby took him off, and was now secure of prevailing, when her lover was to be judge of what should be done about her.

(6) [353] Ἀνιλαῖος δὲ καταμόνας ἤδη τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παραλαβὼν ἐξάγει στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὰς Μιθριδάτου κώμας ἀνδρὸς πρώτου ἐν τῇ Παρθυηνῇ καὶ βασιλέως Ἀρταβάνου τὴν θυγατέρα γεγαμηκότος, διὰ λείας τε ἦγεν αὐτάς, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν χρήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα εὑρίσκεται, πολλὰ δὲ πρόβατα ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ὁπόσα ἐπὶ προσλήψει τοῦ εὐδαίμονος ὠφελεῖ τοῖς ἔχουσιν. [354] Μιθριδάτης δέ, ἐτύγχανε γὰρ τῇδε ὤν, ἐπειδὴ ἀκούει τῶν κωμῶν τὴν ἅλωσιν ἐν δεινῷ φέρων, ὁπότε μὴ προάρξαντος ἀδικεῖν Ἀνιλαῖος ἄρξαιτο καὶ παρόντος τοῦ ἀξιώματος ὑπεριδών, ἱππέας συναγαγὼν πλείστους ὅσους ἐδύνατο καὶ τῶν πλείστων τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ

παρῆν ὡς προσμίξων τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀνιλαῖον καὶ ἔν τινι κώμῃ τῶν αὐτοῦ σχὼν ἡσύχαζεν, ὡς τῇ ἐπιούσῃ μαχησόμενος διὰ τὸ εἶναι σαββάτων ἡμέραν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐν ἀργίᾳ διαγομένην. [355] Ἀνιλαῖος δὲ ταῦτα πυθόμενος παρὰ ἀνδρὸς Σύρου ἀλλοφύλου ἐξ ἑτέρας κώμης τέ τε ἄλλα φράζοντος ἀκριβῶς καὶ τὸ χωρίον, ἔνθα Μιθριδάτης ἤμελλεν δαίνυσθαι, δειπνοποιησάμενος καθ' ὥραν ἤλαυνε νυκτὸς ἀμαθέσι τῶν ποιουμένων χρῄζων τοῖς Παρθυαίοις ἐπιπεσεῖν. [356] καὶ περὶ τετάρτην φυλακὴν ἐπιπεσὼν τοὺς μὲν ἔτι κοιμωμένους ἀναιρεῖ τοὺς δὲ εἰς φυγὴν τρέπει, Μιθριδάτην δὲ ζωγρίᾳ λαβὼν ἦγεν ὡς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ὄνον γυμνὸν ἀναθέμενος, ἥπερ ἀτιμιῶν μεγίστη νομίζεται παρὰ Παρθυαίοις. [357] καταγαγὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν ὕλην μετὰ τοιοῦδε ὁρίσματος, [καὶ] κελευόντων τῶν φίλων ἀναιρεῖν τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἀνεδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς σπεύδων αὐτὸς ἐναντία: μὴ γὰρ καλῶς ἔχειν ἀναιρεῖν ἄνδρα γένους τε ὄντα τοῦ πρώτου παρὰ Παρθυαίοις καὶ ἐπιγαμίᾳ τῇ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα μειζόνως τιμώμενον: [358] νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἀνεκτὰ εἶναι τὰ πεπραγμένα: καὶ γὰρ εἰ περιύβρισται Μιθριδάτης, ἀλλ' οὖν σωτηρίᾳ τῆς ψυχῆς εὐεργετούμενον χάριτος μνήσεσθαι τοῖς τὰ τοιάδε παρασχοῦσιν, [359] παθόντος δέ τι ἀνήκεστον οὐκ ἀτρεμήσειν βασιλέα μὴ οὐ μεγάλην σφαγὴν Ἰουδαίων τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ποιησάμενον, ὧν φείδεσθαι καλῶς ἔχειν διά τε τὴν συγγένειαν καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀναστροφὴν εἶναι ἂν αὐτοῖς πταίσματός τινος γενομένου τὸ κατ' ἐκείνους ἀκμῆς πληθύι χρώμενον. [360] καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα διανοηθεὶς καὶ φράσας ἐν τῷ συλλόγῳ πιθανὸς ἦν ἀφίεταί τε Μιθριδάτης, ἐλθόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ὠνείδιζεν ἡ γυνή, εἰ μὴ προμηθήσεται βασιλέως τε γαμβρὸς ὢν καὶ ταύτῃ τιμωρῶν τιμωρηθήσεσθαι τοὺς ὑβρίσαντας εἰς αὐτὸν περιορώμενος, [361] ἀγαπῶν δὲ τὴν σωτηρίαν μετὰ αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνδρῶν γενομένην: καὶ νῦν ἐπανάδραμε τὴν ἀρετήν, ἣ θεοὺς ἐπόμνυμι τοὺς βασιλείους ἦ μὴν παραλυθήσεσθαι [362] τῆς πρὸς σὲ ἐπὶ γάμῳ κοινωνίας." ὁ δὲ αὖ τοῦτο μὲν τῶν ὀνειδῶν τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν ἀχθηδόνα μὴ φέρων, τοῦτο δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην δεδιώς, μὴ παραλύοιτο αὐτοῦ τῶν γάμων, ἄκων μὲν καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος συνάγει δ' οὖν στρατὸν ὅσον ἐδύνατο πλεῖστον καὶ ἤλαυνεν οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ὑπολαμβάνων ἔτι καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν, εἰ Παρθυαῖος ὢν ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίου περιωθοῖτο ἀντιπολεμοῦντος.

6. So Anileus took the government upon himself alone, and led his army against the villages of Mithridates, who was a man of principal authority in Parthin, and had married king Artabanus's daughter; he also plundered them, and among that prey was found much money, and many slaves, as also a great number of sheep, and many other things, which, when gained, make men's condition happy. Now when Mithridates, who was there at this time, heard that his villages were taken, he was very much displeased to find that Anileus had first begun to injure him, and to affront him in his present dignity, when he had not offered any injury to

him beforehand; and he got together the greatest body of horsemen he was able, and those out of that number which were of an age fit for war, and came to fight Anileus; and when he was arrived at a certain village of his own, he lay still there, as intending to fight him on the day following, because it was the sabbath, the day on which the Jews rest. And when Anileus was informed of this by a Syrian stranger of another village, who not only gave him an exact account of other circumstances, but told him where Mithridates would have a feast, he took his supper at a proper time, and marched by night, with an intent of falling upon the Parthians while they were unapprised what they should do; so he fell upon them about the fourth watch of the night, and some of them he slew while they were asleep, and others he put to flight, and took Mithridates alive, and set him naked upon an ass which, among the Parthians, is esteemed the greatest reproach possible. And when he had brought him into a wood with such a resolution, and his friends desired him to kill Mithridates, he soon told them his own mind to the contrary, and said that it was not right to kill a man who was of one of the principal families among the Parthians, and greatly honored with matching into the royal family; that so far as they had hitherto gone was tolerable; for although they had injured Mithridates, yet if they preserved his life, this benefit would be remembered by him to the advantage of those that gave it him; but that if he were once put to death, the king would not be at rest till he had made a great slaughter of the Jews that dwelt at Babylon; "to whose safety we ought to have a regard, both on account of our relation to them, and because if any misfortune befall us, we have no other place to retire to, since he hath gotten the flower of their youth under him." By this thought, and this speech of his made in council, he persuaded them to act accordingly; so Mithridates was let go. But when he was got away, his wife reproached him, that although he was son-in-law to the king, he neglected to avenge himself on those that had injured him, while he took no care about it, but was contented to have been made a captive by the Jews, and to have escaped them; and she bid him either to go back like a man of courage, or else she sware by the gods of their royal family that she would certainly dissolve her marriage with him. Upon which, partly because he could not bear the daily trouble of her taunts, and partly because he was afraid of her insolence, lest she should in earnest dissolve their marriage, he unwillingly, and against his inclinations, got together again as great an army as he could, and marched along with them, as himself thinking it a thing not to be borne any longer, that he, a Parthian, should owe his preservation to the Jews, when they had been too hard for him in the war.

(7) [363] Ἀνιλαῖος δὲ ὡς μανθάνει προσελαύνοντα δυνάμει πολλῇ τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἄδοξον ἡγησάμενος τὸ μένειν ἐν τοῖς ἕλεσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ φθάσας ὑπαντιάζειν τοὺς πολεμίους, εὐτυχίᾳ τε τῇ πρότερον ἐλπίζων ὅμοια πράξειν καὶ τήν τε ἀρετὴν τοῖς τολμῶσι καὶ εἰωθόσιν θαρρεῖν παρατυγχάνειν, ἐξῆγε τὴν δύναμιν. [364] πολλοί τε πρὸς τῷ οἰκείῳ στρατῷ προσεγεγόνεσαν αὐτῷ καθ᾽ ἁρπαγὴν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων τραπησόμενοι καὶ ὄψει πᾶν προεκπλήξοντες τοὺς πολεμίους. [365] προιοῦσι δὲ αὐτοῖς εἰς σταδίους ἐνενήκοντα καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀνύδρου τῆς πορείας γενομένης καὶ μεσημβρίας τά τε ἄλλα περιῆν τότε τὸ δίψος καὶ Μιθριδάτης ἐπιφανεὶς προσέβαλε τεταλαιπωρημένοις ἀπορίᾳ τοῦ πιεῖν καὶ δι᾽ αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν ὥραν φέρειν τὰ ὅπλα μὴ δυναμένοις. [366] τροπή τε οὖν γίνεται τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀνιλαῖον διὰ τὸ ἀπηγορευκότας ἀκραιφνέσι προσφέρεσθαι καὶ φόνος πολὺς πολλαί τε μυριάδες ἔπεσον ἀνδρῶν, Ἀνιλαῖος δὲ καὶ ὅσον περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν συνεστηκὸς ἐπὶ τῆς ὕλης ἐπανεχώρουν φυγῇ μεγάλην νίκης τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς χαρὰν Μιθριδάτῃ παρεσχηκότες. [367] Ἀνιλαίῳ δὲ προσῆει πλῆθος ἄπορον ἀνδρῶν πονηρῶν ἐν ὀλίγῳ τὴν σωτηρίαν ποιουμένων ῥᾳστώνης χάριτι τῆς εἰς τὸ παρόν, ὥστε ἀντανίσωμα τὴν τούτων πρόσοδον γενέσθαι πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολωλότων: οὐ μὴν ὅμοιοί γε ἦσαν τοῖς πεπτωκόσι διὰ τὸ ἀμελέτητον. [368] οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύταις ἐπιφοιτᾷ ταῖς κώμαις τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἀνάστατά τε ἦν πάντα ταῦτα ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀνιλαίου ὕβρεως. [369] καὶ οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι καὶ οἱ ὄντες ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ πέμπουσιν ἐς τὰ Νέερδα πρὸς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ Ἰουδαίους Ἀνιλαῖον ἐξαιτούμενοι, καὶ μὴ δεξομένοις τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, οὐδὲ γὰρ βουλομένοις ἔκδοτον παρασχεῖν δυνηθῆναι, εἰρήνην προυκαλοῦντο: οἱ δὲ καὶτοὶ χρῄζειν ἔλεγον τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης συμβάσεων καὶ πέμπουσι μετὰ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἄνδρας, οἳ διαλέξοιντο πρὸς τὸν Ἀνιλαῖον. [370] οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι κατοπτίας αὐτοῖς γενομένης μαθόντες τὸ χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ ἱδρυμένος ὁ Ἀνιλαῖος ἦν, ἐπιπεσόντες κρύφα νυκτὸς μεθύουσι καὶ καθ᾽ ὕπνον τετραμμένοις κτείνουσιν ἀδεῶς πάντας ὅσους ἐγκατέλαβον καὶ Ἀνιλαῖον αὐτόν.

7. But as soon as Anileus understood that Mithridates was marching with a great army against him, he thought it too ignominious a thing to tarry about the lakes, and not to take the first opportunity of meeting his enemies, and he hoped to have the same success, and to beat their enemies as they did before; as also he ventured boldly upon the like attempts. Accordingly, he led out his army, and a great many more joined themselves to that army, in order to betake themselves to plunder the people, and in order to terrify the enemy again by their numbers. But when they had marched ninety furlongs, while the road had been through dry [and sandy] places, and about the midst of the day, they were become very thirsty; and Mithridates appeared, and fell upon them, as they were in distress for want of water, on which account, and on account of the time of the day, they

were not able to bear their weapons. So Anileus and his men were put to an ignominious rout, while men in despair were to attack those that were fresh and in good plight; so a great slaughter was made, and many ten thousand men fell. Now Anileus, and all that stood firm about him, ran away as fast as they were able into a wood, and afforded Mithridates the pleasure of having gained a great victory over them. But there now came in to Anileus a conflux of bad men, who regarded their own lives very little, if they might but gain some present ease, insomuch that they, by thus coming to him, compensated the multitude of those that perished in the fight. Yet were not these men like to those that fell, because they were rash, and unexercised in war; however, with these he came upon the villages of the Babylonians, and a mighty devastation of all things was made there by the injuries that Anileus did them. So the Babylonians, and those that had already been in the war, sent to Neerda to the Jews there, and demanded Anileus. But although they did not agree to their demands, [for if they had been willing to deliver him up, it was not in their power so to do,] yet did they desire to make peace with them. To which the other replied, that they also wanted to settle conditions of peace with them, and sent men together with the Babylonians, who discoursed with Anileus about them. But the Babylonians, upon taking a view of his situation, and having learned where Anileus and his men lay, fell secretly upon them as they were drunk and fallen asleep, and slew all that they caught of them, without any fear, and killed Anileus himself also.

(8) [371] Βαβυλώνιοι δὲ ἀπαλλαγέντες τῆς Ἀνιλαίου βαρύτητος, ἐπιστόμισμα γὰρ ἦν αὐτῶν μίσει τῷ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, ἀεὶ γὰρ ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ διάφοροι καθεστήκεσαν αἰτίᾳ τῆς ἐναντιώσεως τῶν νόμων καὶ ὁποτέροις παραγένοιτο θαρρεῖν πρότεροι ἀλλήλων ἥπτοντο εἰ μὴ καὶ τότε οὖν ἀπολωλότων τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀνιλαῖον ἐπετίθεντο τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι. [372] οἱ δ’ ἐν δεινῷ τιθέμενοι τὴν ὕβριν τὴν ἐκ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων καὶ μήτε ἀντιτάξασθαι μάχῃ δυνάμενοι μήτε ἀνεκτὸν ἡγούμενοι τὴν συνοικίαν ᾤχοντο εἰς Σελεύκειαν τῶν ἐκείνῃ πόλιν ἀξιολογωτάτην Σελεύκου κτίσαντος αὐτὴν τοῦ Νικάτορος. οἰκοῦσιν δ’ αὐτὴν πολλοὶ μὲν Μακεδόνων, πλεῖστοι δὲ Ἕλληνες, ἔστιν δὲ καὶ Σύρων οὐκ ὀλίγον τὸ ἐμπολιτευόμενον. [373] εἰς μὲν δὴ ταύτην καταφεύγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν πέντε ἔτη ἀπαθεῖς κακῶν ἦσαν, τῷ δὲ ἕκτῳ ἔτει μετὰ τὸ πρῶτον φθορὰ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἐγένετο αὐτῶν καὶ καιναὶ κτίσεις ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ δι’ αὐτὴν ἄφιξις εἰς τὴν Σελεύκειαν ἐκδέχεται μείζων αὐτοὺς συμφορὰ δι’ αἰτίαν, ἣν ἀφηγήσομαι.

8. The Babylonians were now freed from Anileus’s heavy incursions, which had been a great restraint to the effects of that hatred they bore to the Jews; for they were almost always at variance, by reason of the contrariety of their laws; and

which party soever grew boldest before the other, they assaulted the other: and at this time in particular it was, that upon the ruin of Anileus's party, the Babylonians attacked the Jews, which made those Jews so, vehemently to resent the injuries they received from the Babylonians, that being neither able to fight them, nor bearing to live with them, they went to Seleucia, the principal city of those parts, which was built by Seleucus Nicator. It was inhabited by many of the Macedonians, but by more of the Grecians; not a few of the Syrians also dwelt there; and thither did the Jews fly, and lived there five years, without any misfortunes. But on the sixth year, a pestilence came upon these at Babylon, which occasioned new removals of men's habitations out of that city; and because they came to Seleucia, it happened that a still heavier calamity came upon them on that account which I am going to relate immediately.

(9) [374] Σελευκέων τοῖς Ἕλλησι πρὸς τοὺς Σύρους ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐν στάσει καὶ διχονοίᾳ ἐστὶν ὁ βίος καὶ κρατοῦσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες. τότε οὖν συνοικούντων αὐτοῖς Ἰουδαίων γενομένων ἐστασίαζον, καὶ οἱ Σύροι καθυπέρτεροι ἦσαν ὁμολογίᾳ τῇ Ἰουδαίων πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλοκινδύνων τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ πολεμεῖν προθύμως ἐντεταγμένων. [375] καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες περιωθούμενοι τῇ στάσει καὶ μίαν ὁρῶντες αὐτοῖς ἀφορμὴν τοῦ ἀνασώσασθαι τὸ πρότερον ἀξίωμα, εἰ δυνηθεῖεν παῦσαι ταὐτὸν λέγοντας Ἰουδαίους καὶ Σύρους, διελέγοντο ἕκαστοι πρὸς τῶν Σύρων τοὺς αὐτοῖς συνήθεις πρὸ τοῦ γεγονότας εἰρήνην τε καὶ φιλίαν ὑπισχνούμενοι. [376] οἱ δὲ ἐπείθοντο ἄσμενοι. ἐγίνοντο οὖν ἀφ' ἑκατέρων λόγοι καὶ τῶν πρώτων παρ' ἑκατέροις ἀνδρῶν προασσόντων ἐπιδιαλλαγὰς τάχιστα ἡ σύμβασις ἐγένετο, ὁμονοήσαντές τε μέγα τεκμήριον ἑκάτεροι εὐνοίας [παρ'] ἀλλήλοις ἠξίουν παρασχεῖν τὸ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἔχθος, ἐπιπεσόντες τε αἰφνίδιον αὐτοῖς κτείνουσι μυριάδας ὑπὲρ πέντε ἀνδρῶν, ἀπώλοντό τε πάντες πλὴν εἴ τινες ἐλέῳ φίλων ἢ γειτόνων ἐπιχωρηθὲν αὐτοῖς ἔφυγον. [377] τούτοις δὲ ἦν εἰς Κτησιφῶντα ἀποχώρησις πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα καὶ τῆς Σελευκείας πλησίον κειμένην, ἔνθα χειμάζει τε ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ πᾶν ἔτος καὶ πλείστη τῆς ἀποσκευῆς αὐτοῦ τῇδε ἀποκειμένη τυγχάνει. ἀσύνετα δὲ ἦν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἵδρυσιν πεποιημένοις τιμῇ τῆς βασιλείας Σελευκέων πεφροντικότων. [378] ἐφοβήθη δὲ καὶ πᾶν τὸ τῇδε Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος τούς τε Βαβυλωνίους καὶ τοὺς Σελευκεῖς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁπόσον ἦν Σύρων ἐμπολιτεῦον τοῖς τόποις ταὐτὸν ἔλεγον τοῖς Σελευκεῦσιν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους. [379] καὶ συνελέγησαν ὥστε πολὺ εἴς τε τὰ Νέερδα καὶ τὴν Νίσιβιν ὀχυρότητι τῶν πόλεων κτώμενοι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, καὶ ἄλλως πληθὺς ἅπασα μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν κατοικεῖται. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Ἰουδαίους τοὺς ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ κατῳκημένους τοιαῦτα ἦν.

9. Now the way of living of the people of Seleucia, which were Greeks and Syrians, was commonly quarrelsome, and full of discords, though the Greeks

were too hard for the Syrians. When, therefore, the Jews were come thither, and dwelt among them, there arose a sedition, and the Syrians were too hard for the other, by the assistance of the Jews, who are men that despise dangers, and very ready to fight upon any occasion. Now when the Greeks had the worst in this sedition, and saw that they had but one way of recovering their former authority, and that was, if they could prevent the agreement between the Jews and the Syrians, they every one discoursed with such of the Syrians as were formerly their acquaintance, and promised they would be at peace and friendship with them. Accordingly, they gladly agreed so to do; and when this was done by the principal men of both nations, they soon agreed to a reconciliation; and when they were so agreed, they both knew that the great design of such their union would be their common hatred to the Jews. Accordingly, they fell upon them, and slew about fifty thousand of them; nay, the Jews were all destroyed, excepting a few who escaped, either by the compassion which their friends or neighbors afforded them, in order to let them fly away. These retired to Ctesiphon, a Grecian city, and situate near to Seleucia, where the king [of Parthia] lives in winter every year, and where the greatest part of his riches are reposited; but the Jews had here no certain settlement, those of Seleucia having little concern for the king's honor. Now the whole nation of the Jews were in fear both of the Babylonians and of the Seleucians, because all the Syrians that live in those places agreed with the Seleucians in the war against the Jews; so the most of them gathered themselves together, and went to Neerda and Nisibis, and obtained security there by the strength of those cities; besides which their inhabitants, who were a great many, were all warlike men. And this was the state of the Jews at this time in Babylonia.

Liber XIX

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ ιθ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Ὡς Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ Κασσίου Χαιρέου ἀνῃρέθη καὶ ὡς Κλαύδιος ὁ θεῖος αὐτοῦ βιασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν παρέλαβεν.

β. στάσις τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατεύματα.

γ. πρεσβεία τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα πρὸς τὴν βουλήν, καὶ ὡς συνθέμενοι οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπεχώρησαν πρὸς Κλαύδιον καὶ κύριον αὐτὸν κατέστησαν τῶν πραγμάτων, ἡ δὲ βουλὴ μονωθεῖσα παρεκάλει Κλαύδιον αὐτῇ διαλλαγῆναι.

δ. ὡς Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ ἀποδίδωσιν Ἀγρίππᾳ τὴν πατρῴαν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν ἅπασαν προσθεὶς αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν Λυσανίου τετραρχίαν.

ε. προγράμματα Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκεῖ Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἐν πάσῃ αὐτοῦ ἀρχῇ.

ς. ἀπόπλους Ἀγρίππα τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς Ἰουδαίαν.

ζ. ἐπιστολὴ Πουπλίου Πετρωνίου τοῦ Συρίας ἡγεμόνος πρὸς Δωρίτας ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων.

η. ὡς βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας τὰ Ἱεροσολύμων τείχη πολυτελῶς κατασκευάζων ἀτελῆ τὴν σπουδὴν ἔσχεν μεταξὺ τελευτήσας.

θ. ὅσα ἔπραξεν ἐν τρισὶν ἔτεσιν ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὃν τρόπον τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν γ μηνῶν ς.

BOOK XIX. Containing The Interval Of Three Years And A Half. — From The Departure Out Of Babylon To Fadus, The Roman Procurator.

I

CHAPTER 1. How Caius Was Slain By Cherea.

(1) [1] Γάιος δὲ οὐκ εἰς μόνους Ἰουδαίους τοὺς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ τοὺς ὁπόσοι τῇδε οἰκοῦσιν ἐπεδείκνυτο τῆς ὕβρεως τὴν μανίαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ πάσης ἐσομένην γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἔστελλεν αὐτήν, ὁπόση Ῥωμαίοις ὑπακούει, μυρίων τε ἀνέπλησεν αὐτὴν κακῶν ὁπόσα μὴ ἱστόρητο πρότερον. [2] μάλιστα δὲ ᾐσθάνετο τοῦ δεινοῦ τῶν πρασσομένων ἡ Ῥώμη κατ᾽ οὐδὲν αὐτὴν τιμιωτέραν τῶν λοιπῶν πόλεων ἡγουμένου, ἀλλὰ τούς τε ἄλλους ἄγοντος καὶ φέροντος καὶ μάλιστα τὴν σύγκλητον καὶ ὁπόσοι τούτων εὐπατρίδαι καὶ προγόνων ἐπιφανείαις τιμώμενοι. [3] μυρία τε εὑρίσκετο καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἱππέων μὲν καλουμένων, ἀξιώματι δὲ καὶ δυνάμει χρημάτων ὅμοια τοῖς συγκλητικοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀγομένων διὰ τὸ ἐκ τούτων εἰς τὴν βουλὴν εἶναι κατακλήσεις: ὧν ἀτίμωσις ἦν καὶ μετανάστασις κτεινομένων τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα συλωμένων διὰ τὸ καὶ τὰς σφαγὰς ὡς τὸ πολὺ ἐπ᾽ ἀφαιρέσει τῶν χρημάτων αὐτοῖς συντυγχάνειν. [4] ἐξεθείαζέν τε ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὰς τιμὰς οὐκέτ᾽ ἀνθρωπίνως ἠξίου γίνεσθαι παρὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων αὐτῷ: εἵς τε τοῦ Διὸς φοιτῶν τὸ ἱερόν, ὃ Καπετώλιον μὲν καλοῦσιν τιμιώτατον δ᾽ ἄρα αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ἱερῶν, ἀδελφὸν ἐτόλμησε προσαγορεύειν τὸν Δία: [5] καὶ τἆλλα ἔπρασσεν μανίας οὐδὲν ἀπολελειμμένα, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἀπὸ Δικαιαρχείας τῆς πόλεως ἐν Καμπανίᾳ κειμένης εἰς Μισηνοὺς ἑτέραν πόλιν ἐπιθαλάσσιον, καὶ τὴν διάβασιν δεινὸν ἡγούμενος τριήρει περατοῦν, [6] καὶ ἄλλως ἐπιβάλλειν ἡγούμενος αὐτῷ δεσπότῃ ὄντι τῆς θαλάσσης ταῦτα καὶ ὁποῖα καὶ παρὰ γῆς ἀπαιτεῖν, ἀπ᾽ ἄκρων ἐπ᾽ ἄκρα σταδίους τριάκοντα μέτρον τῆς θαλάσσης [ζεύξας] καὶ εἴσω τὸν κόλπον ἀπολαβὼν πάντα ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τῇ γεφύρᾳ τὸ ἅρμα: θεῷ γὰρ ὄντι τοιαύτας ποιεῖσθαι καλῶς ἔχειν τὰς ὁδούς. [7] τῶν τε ἱερῶν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀσύλητον κατέλιπεν, ὁπόσα γραφῆς ἢ γλυφῆς ἐχόμενα καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς κατασκευὰς ἀνδριάντων καὶ ἀναθημάτων ἄγεσθαι κελεύσας παρ᾽ αὐτόν: οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἑτέρῳ τὰ καλὰ κεῖσθαι καλῶς ἔχειν ἢ ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ, τυγχάνειν δὲ τοῦτο οὖσαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν. [8] ἐκόσμει τε τοῖς ἐνθένδε ἀγομένοις τήν τε οἰκίαν καὶ τοὺς κήπους ὁπόσαι τε αὐτῷ καταγωγαὶ διὰ γῆς τῆς τῶν Ἰταλῶν. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Ὀλύμπιον τιμώμενον Δία ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ οὕτως ὠνομασμένον Ὀλύμπιον Φειδίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου πεποιηκότος ἐτόλμησε κελεῦσαι εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην μεταφέρειν. [9] οὐ μὴν ἔπραξέν γε τῶν ἀρχιτεκτόνων φαμένων πρὸς Μέμμιον Ῥῆγλον, ὃς ἐπετέτακτο τῇ κινήσει τοῦ Διός, ἀπολεῖσθαι τοὖργον κινήσεως αὐτοῦ γενομένης. λέγεται δὲ Μέμμιον διὰ ταῦτα καὶ σημείων μειζόνων γενομένων, ἢ ὡς ἄν τινα μὴ πιστὰ ἡγεῖσθαι, ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὴν ἀναίρεσιν. [10] καὶ γράφει τάδε πρὸς τὸν Γάιον ἐπ᾽ ἀπολογίᾳ τοῦ ἐκλιπεῖν ἀδιακόνητον τὴν

ἐπιστολήν, ἀπολέσθαι τε ἐκ τούτων αὐτῷ κινδύνου γενομένου σώζεται φθάνοντος ἤδη Γαίου τελευτῆσαι.

1. Now this Caius did not demonstrate his madness in offering injuries only to the Jews at Jerusalem, or to those that dwelt in the neighborhood; but suffered it to extend itself through all the earth and sea, so far as was in subjection to the Romans, and filled it with ten thousand mischiefs; so many indeed in number as no former history relates. But Rome itself felt the most dismal effects of what he did, while he deemed that not to be any way more honorable than the rest of the cities; but he pulled and hauled its other citizens, but especially the senate, and particularly the nobility, and such as had been dignified by illustrious ancestors; he also had ten thousand devices against such of the equestrian order, as it was styled, who were esteemed by the citizens equal in dignity and wealth with the senators, because out of them the senators were themselves chosen; these he treated after all ignominious manner, and removed them out of his way, while they were at once slain, and their wealth plundered, because he slew men generally in order to seize on their riches. He also asserted his own divinity, and insisted on greater honors to be paid him by his subjects than are due to mankind. He also frequented that temple of Jupiter which they style the Capitol, which is with them the most holy of all their temples, and had boldness enough to call himself the brother of Jupiter. And other pranks he did like a madman; as when he laid a bridge from the city Dicearchia, which belongs to Campania, to Misenum, another city upon the sea-side, from one promontory to another, of the length of thirty furlongs, as measured over the sea. And this was done because he esteemed it to be a most tedious thing to row over it in a small ship, and thought withal that it became him to make that bridge, since he was lord of the sea, and might oblige it to give marks of obedience as well as the earth; so he enclosed the whole bay within his bridge, and drove his chariot over it; and thought that, as he was a god, it was fit for him to travel over such roads as this was. Nor did he abstain from the plunder of any of the Grecian temples, and gave order that all the engravings and sculptures, and the rest of the ornaments of the statues and donations therein dedicated, should be brought to him, saying that the best things ought to be set no where but in the best place, and that the city of Rome was that best place. He also adorned his own house and his gardens with the curiosities brought from those temples, together with the houses he lay at when he traveled all over Italy; whence he did not scruple to give a command that the statue of Jupiter Olympius, so called because he was honored at the Olympian games by the Greeks, which was the work of Phidias the Athenian, should be brought to Rome. Yet did not he compass his end, because the

architects told Memmius Regulus, who was commanded to remove that statue of Jupiter, that the workmanship was such as would be spoiled, and would not bear the removal. It was also reported that Memmius, both on that account, and on account of some such mighty prodigies as are of an incredible nature, put off the taking it down, and wrote to Caius those accounts, as his apology for not having done what his epistle required of him; and that when he was thence in danger of perishing, he was saved by Caius being dead himself, before he had put him to death.

(2) [11] Εἰς τοῦτο δὲ προύβη τὸ μανικὸν αὐτῷ, ὥστε δὴ καὶ θυγατρὸς αὐτῷ γενομένης ἀνακομίσας ἐπὶ τὸ Καπετώλιον ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασι κατατίθεται τοῦ ἀγάλματος, κοινὸν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῷ Διὶ γεγονέναι τὸ τέκνον καὶ δύο χειροτονεῖν αὐτῆς πατέρας, ὁπότερον μείζονα φάμενος ἐν μέσῳ τε καταλιμπάνειν. [12] καὶ τάδε ἠνείχοντο πράσσοντα αὐτὸν οἱ ἄνθρωποι. ἐπεχείρησε δὲ καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις κατηγορίας ποιεῖσθαι τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐφ᾽ οἷστισιν ἐθελήσειαν ἐγκλήμασιν: δεινὰ γὰρ πάντα ἦν, ὁπόσα μέλλοι λέγεσθαι, διὰ τὸ χάριτί τε καὶ ὑπαγορεύσει τῇ ἐκείνου τὰ πολλὰ γίνεσθαι, [13] ὥστε ἤδη καὶ Κλαυδίου ἐτόλμα ποιήσασθαι Πολυδεύκης ὁ δοῦλος κατηγορίαν, καὶ Γάιος ἠνείχετο κατὰ πατρῴου τοῦ αὐτοῦ δίκης θανάτου λεγομένης ἐπ᾽ ἀκροάσει συνελθεῖν ἐλπίδι τοῦ παραλαβεῖν δύναμιν ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν. [14] οὐ μὴν ἐξεγένετό γε αὐτῷ. ἀναπεπληρωκότι δὲ αὐτῷ συκοφαντιῶν καὶ κακῶν πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἧς ἐπῆρχεν, καὶ πολλὴν τὴν δουλοκρατίαν ἐπῃρμένου τοῖς δεσπόταις ἐπιβουλαὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἤδη συνίσταντο, τῶν μὲν ἐπ᾽ ἀμύνῃ ὧν πάθοιεν ὀργὴν ποιουμένων, τῶν δὲ πρὶν ἐμπεσόντες κακῶν τυχεῖν μεγάλων τιθεμένων τὸ μεταχειρίσασθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον. [15] ὅθεν, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς τε ἁπάντων νόμοις καὶ τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ μεγάλην συνήνεγκεν εὐδαιμονίας ῥοπὴν ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ ἔθνει τε τῷ ἡμετέρῳ οὐδὲ εἰς ὀλίγον ἐξεγεγόνει μὴ οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι μὴ ταχείας αὐτῷ τελευτῆς παραγενομένης, βούλομαι [δὲ] δι᾽ ἀκριβείας τὸν πάντα περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον διελθεῖν, [16] ἄλλως τε ἐπειδὴ καὶ πολλὴν ἔχει πίστιν τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ παραμυθίαν τοῖς ἐν τύχαις κειμένοις καὶ σωφρονισμὸν τοῖς οἰομένοις ἀίδιον τὴν εὐτυχίαν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐπιμεταφέρειν κακῶς ἀρετῆς αὐτῇ μὴ παραγενομένης.

2. Nay, Caius's madness came to this height, that when he had a daughter born, he carried her into the capitol, and put her upon the knees of the statue, and said that the child was common to him and to Jupiter, and determined that she had two fathers, but which of these fathers were the greatest he left undetermined; and yet mankind bore him in such his pranks. He also gave leave to slaves to accuse their masters of any crimes whatsoever they pleased; for all such accusations were terrible, because they were in great part made to please him, and at his suggestion, insomuch that Pollux, Claudius's slave, had the boldness

to lay an accusation against Claudius himself; and Caius was not ashamed to be present at his trial of life and death, to hear that trial of his own uncle, in hopes of being able to take him off, although he did not succeed to his mind. But when he had filled the whole habitable world which he governed with false accusations and miseries, and had occasioned the greatest insults of slaves against their masters, who indeed in a great measure ruled them, there were many secret plots now laid against him; some in anger, and in order for men to revenge themselves, on account of the miseries they had already undergone from him; and others made attempts upon him, in order to take him off before they should fall into such great miseries, while his death came very fortunately for the preservation of the laws of all men, and had a great influence upon the public welfare; and this happened most happily for our nation in particular, which had almost utterly perished if he had not been suddenly slain. And I confess I have a mind to give a full account of this matter particularly, because it will afford great assurance of the power of God, and great comfort to those that are under afflictions, and wise caution to those who think their happiness will never end, nor bring them at length to the most lasting miseries, if they do not conduct their lives by the principles of virtue.

(3) [17] Ὁδοὺς μὲν δὴ τρεῖς ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάζετο καὶ τούτων ἑκάστης ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἶχον. Αἰμίλιός τε γὰρ Ῥῆγλος ἐκ Κορδύβης τῆς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γένος συνεῖχέν τινας ἢ δι᾽ ἐκείνων ἢ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ πρόθυμος ὢν ἄρασθαι Γάιον. [18] ἑτέρα δὲ αὐτοῖς συνεκροτεῖτο, ἧς Χαιρέας Κάσσιος χιλίαρχος ἡγεμὼν ἦν. Μινουκιανὸς δὲ Ἄννιος οὐκ ὀλίγη μοῖρα τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννίδα παρεσκευασμένων ἦν. [19] αἰτία δ᾽ αὐτοῖς μίσους τοῦ πρὸς Γάιον συνελθεῖν, Ῥήγλῳ μὲν τὸ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὀργίλον καὶ μίσει χρώμενον πρὸς τὰ μετ᾽ ἀδικίας ἐξαγόμενα: καὶ γὰρ ἔχει τι θυμοειδὲς ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ ἐλευθέριον, ὑφ᾽ οὗ μηδὲ στέγειν προστίθεσθαι τῶν βουλευμάτων: πολλοῖς γοῦν ἀνεκοινώσατο καὶ φίλοις καὶ ἄλλοις δοκοῦσιν αὐτῷ δραστηρίοις. [20] Μινουκιανὸς δὲ τὰ μὲν Λεπίδου τε ἐκδικία, φίλον γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰ μάλιστα ὄντα τοῦτον καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν σὺν ὀλίγοις ἀναιρεῖ Γάιος, καὶ ἄλλως φοβηθεὶς τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως τὸν Γάιον ἐπὶ θάνατον ἀνακειμένην ἐπαφιέναι τὴν ὀργὴν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐγχείρησιν ἐλθεῖν. [21] Χαιρέαν δὲ αἰσχύνην φέροντα ὀνείδη τε εἰς τὴν ἀνανδρίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαίου προφερομένου, καὶ ἄλλως τὸ ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρᾳ κινδυνεύειν φιλίᾳ καὶ θεραπείᾳ τὴν Γαίου τελευτὴν οὐ πάντ᾽ ἐλεύθερον ὑπολαμβάνων. [22] οἱ δὲ καὶ πᾶσι κοινῇ προτεθῆναι τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι σκέψιν τήν τε ὕβριν θεωμένοις καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἀκμὴν ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλων ἀκμάζουσαν διαφυγεῖν ἀραμένοις τὸν Γάιον: ἴσως μὲν γὰρ ἂν κατορθῶσαι, καλῶς δὲ κατορθοῦσι τηλικούτων ἀγαθῶν σχεῖν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς τε πόλεως καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας πονοῦσι καὶ μετὰ ὀλέθρου ἅπτεσθαι τοῦ

πράγματος. [23] παρὰ πάντα δὲ Χαιρέαν ἐπείγεσθαι ὀνόματός τε ἐπιθυμίᾳ μείζονος καὶ ἄλλως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδεέστερον προσιέναι τῷ Γαίῳ διὰ τὴν χιλιαρχίαν ῥᾳστώνης αὐτῷ κτείνειν ἐσομένης.

3. Now there were three several conspiracies made in order to take off Caius, and each of these three were conducted by excellent persons. Emilius Regulus, born at Corduba in Spain, got some men together, and was desirous to take Caius off, either by them or by himself. Another conspiracy there was laid by them, under the conduct of Cherea Cassius, the tribune [of the Pretorian band]. Minucianus Annins was also one of great consequence among those that were prepared to oppose his tyranny. Now the several occasions of these men's several hatred and conspiracy against Caius were these: Regulus had indignation and hatred against all injustice, for he had a mind naturally angry, and bold, and free, which made him not conceal his counsels; so he communicated them to many of his friends, and to others who seemed to him persons of activity and vigor: Minucianus entered into this conspiracy, because of the injustice done to Lepidus his particular friend, and one of the best character of all the citizens, whom Caius had slain, as also because he was afraid of himself, since Caius's wrath tended to the slaughter of all alike: and for Cherea, he came in, because he thought it a deed worthy of a free ingenuous man to kill Caius, and was ashamed of the reproaches he lay under from Caius, as though he were a coward; as also because he was himself in danger every day from his friendship with him, and the observance he paid him. These men proposed this attempt to all the rest that were concerned, who saw the injuries that were offered them, and were desirous that Caius's slaughter might succeed by their mutual assistance of one another, and they might themselves escape being killed by the taking off Caius; that perhaps they should gain their point; and that it would be a happy thing, if they should gain it, to approve themselves to so many excellent persons, as earnestly wished to be partakers with them in their design for the delivery of the city and of the government, even at the hazard of their own lives. But still Cherea was the most zealous of them all, both out of a desire of getting himself the greatest name, and also by reason of his access to Caius's presence with less danger, because he was tribune, and could therefore the more easily kill him.

(4) [24] Ἐν τούτῳ δ' ἱπποδρομίαι ἦσαν: καὶ σπουδάζεται γὰρ Ῥωμαίοις ἥδε ἡ θεωρία δεινῶς, συνίασίν τε προθύμως εἰς τὸν ἱππόδρομον καὶ ἐφ' οἷς χρήζοιεν δέονται τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων κατὰ πλῆθος συνελθόντες, οἱ δὲ ἀναντιλέκτους τὰς δεήσεις κρίνοντες οὐδαμῶς ἀχαριστοῦσιν. [25] ἐκέλευον δὴ καὶ τὸν Γάιον ἐκθύμῳ τῇ ἱκετείᾳ χρώμενοι τῶν τε τελῶν ἐπανιέναι καὶ τῶν φόρων ἐπικουφίζειν τι τοῦ ἐπαχθοῦς. ὁ δ' οὐκ ἠνείχετο, καὶ πλέον τι τῇ βοῇ χρωμένων ἄλλους ἄλλῃ

διαπέμψας κελεύει τοὺς βοῶντας λαβεῖν τε καὶ μηδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἀνελεῖν προαγαγόντας. [26] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκέλευε ταῦτα καὶ οἷς προσετέτακτο ἔπρασσον, πλεῖστοί τε ἦσαν οἱ ἐπὶ τοιούτοις ἀποθανόντες. καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἑώρα μέν, ἠνείχετο δὲ παυσάμενος τῆς βοῆς, ἐν ὀλίγῳ ἕνεκα τῶν χρημάτων ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρῶντες τὴν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις παραίτησιν εἰς θάνατον αὐτοῖς φέρουσαν. [27] ταῦτα Χαιρέαν ἐνήγαγεν μειζόνως ἅπτεσθαί τε τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ παύειν κατὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξηγριωκότα τὸν Γάιον, καὶ πολλάκις μὲν καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἑστιάσεις ἐμέλλησεν ἐπιχειρεῖν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ ἐπείχετο λογισμῷ, τὸ μὲν κτείνειν οὐκέτ᾽ ἐνδοιαστὸν κεκρικώς, τὸν δὲ καιρὸν περισκοπῶν, ὅπως μὴ εἰς κενόν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ καταπράξει τῶν βεβουλευμένων ταῖς χερσὶ χρῷτο.

4. Now at this time came on the horse-races [Circensian games]; the view of which games was eagerly desired by the people of Rome, for they come with great alacrity into the hippodrome [circus] at such times, and petition their emperors, in great multitudes, for what they stand in need of; who usually did not think fit to deny them their requests, but readily and gratefully granted them. Accordingly, they most importunately desired that Caius would now ease them in their tributes, and abate somewhat of the rigor of their taxes imposed upon them; but he would not hear their petition; and when their clamors increased, he sent soldiers some one way and some another, and gave order that they should lay hold on those that made the clamors, and without any more ado bring them out, and put them to death. These were Caius's commands, and those who were commanded executed the same; and the number of those who were slain on this occasion was very great. Now the people saw this, and bore it so far, that they left off clamoring, because they saw with their own eyes that this petition to be relieved, as to the payment of their money, brought immediate death upon them. These things made Cherea more resolute to go on with his plot, in order to put an end to this barbarity of Caius against men. He then at several times thought to fall upon Caius, even as he was feasting; yet did he restrain himself by some considerations; not that he had any doubt on him about killing him, but as watching for a proper season, that the attempt might not be frustrated, but that he might give the blow so as might certainly gain his purpose.

(5) [28] Ἐστρατεύετο δὲ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον οὐχ ἡδονῇ φέρων Γαίου τὴν ἀναστροφήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἵσταται Γάιος εἰσπραξόμενον τούς τε φόρους καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα καταβαλλόμενα εἰς τὸν Καίσαρος θησαυρὸν ἐφυστερήκει τοῖς καιροῖς διὰ τὸ ἐπιδιπλασιάζεσθαι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν, χρόνον ἐκεῖ ποιεῖται τῇ εἰσπράξει τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτοῦ χρώμενος μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ Γαίου προστάξει, [29] διὰ τὸ φειδοῖ χρῆσθαι τὰς τύχας οἴκτῳ λαμβάνων τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν εἴσπραξιν εἰς ὀργὴν προυκαλεῖτο τὸν Γάιον μαλακίαν ἐπικαλοῦντα αὐτῷ τοῦ σχολῇ συνάγεσθαι

αὐτῷ τὰ χρήματα. καὶ δὴ τά τε ἄλλα ὕβριζεν εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ ὁπότε τὸ σημεῖον αὐτῷ τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας καθηκούσης εἰς αὐτόν, θήλεά τε ἐδίδου τὰ ὀνόματα, [30] καὶ ταῦτα αἰσχύνης ἀνάπλεα καὶ ταῦτα ἔπρασσεν αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμένος ἔν τινων τελεταῖς μυστηρίων, ἃς αὐτὸς συνίστατο, στολάς τε ἐνδυόμενος γυναικείους καί τινων περιθέσεις πλοκαμίδων ἐπινοῶν ἄλλα τε ὁπόσα ἐπικαταψεύσασθαι θηλύτητα τῆς ὄψεως ἔμελλεν, αὐτὸς τὴν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις αἰσχύνην ἐτόλμα Χαιρέᾳ προσκαλεῖν. [31] Χαιρέᾳ δὲ καὶ ὁπότε μὲν παραλαμβάνοι τὸ σημεῖον ὀργὴ παρίστατο, μειζόνως δ' ὁπότε παραδιδοίη, γελώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν παραλαμβανόντων, ὥστε καὶ οἱ συγχιλίαρχοι παιδιὰν ἐποιοῦντο αὐτόν: ὁπότε γὰρ αὐτὸς μέλλοι τὸ σημεῖον παρ' αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος κομίζειν, προύλεγόν τινα τῶν εἰωθότων φέρειν εἰς παιδιάν. [32] διὰ ταῦτα δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ θάρσος παρίστατο κοινωνούς τινας παραλαμβάνειν, ὡς οὐκ ἐπ' ὀλίγοις ὀργῇ χρώμενος. καὶ ἦν γὰρ Πομπήδιος συγκλητικὸς μέν, τὰς ἀρχὰς δὲ διεληλυθὼς σχεδὸν ἁπάσας, Ἐπικούρειος δ' ἄλλως καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἀπράγμονος ἐπιτηδευτὴς βίου. [33] τοῦτον ἐνδείκνυσιν Τιμίδιος ἐχθρὸς ὢν ὡς λοιδορίᾳ χρησάμενον ἀπρεπεῖ κατὰ τοῦ Γαίου μάρτυρα παραλαμβάνων Κυιντιλίαν γυναῖκα τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἐπιφανείᾳ τοῦ ὡραίου περισπούδαστον πολλοῖς τε οὖσαν καὶ τῷ Πομπηδίῳ. [34] καὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπου, ψεῦδος γὰρ ἦν, δεινὸν ἡγουμένης μαρτυρίαν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ τοῦ ἐραστοῦ παρασχεῖν, βασάνων ἔχρῃζεν ὁ Τιμίδιος, καὶ Γάιος παρωξυμμένος κελεύει τὸν Χαιρέαν μηδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἀλλ' εὐθέως βασανίζειν τὴν Κυιντιλίαν, χρώμενος τῷ Χαιρέᾳ πρός τε τὰ φονικὰ καὶ ὁπόσα στρεβλώσεως δέοιτο ὑπὸ τοῦ νομίζειν ὠμότερον διακονήσεσθαι τὴν λοιδορίαν φεύγοντα τῆς μαλακίας. [35] Κυιντιλία δ' ἐπὶ τὴν βάσανον ἀγομένη τῶν συνιστόρων τινὸς ἐπιβαίνει τῷ ποδὶ ἀποσημαίνουσα θαρσεῖν καὶ μὴ τὰς βασάνους αὐτῆς δεδιέναι: διοίσειν γὰρ μετ' ἀνδραγαθίας. βασανίζει δ' αὐτὴν ὠμῶς ὁ Χαιρέας, ἄκων μέν, κατ' ἀνάγκας δὲ τὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ μηδὲν ἐνδοῦσαν ἦγεν εἰς τὴν ὄψιν τὴν Γαίου διακειμένην οὐκ ἐν ἡδονῇ τοῖς θεωροῦσι. [36] καὶ ὁ Γάιος παθών τι πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν τῆς Κυιντιλίας δεινῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλγηδόνων διακειμένης τοῦ τε ἐγκλήματος ἠφίει καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν Πομπήδιον, ἐκείνην δὲ καὶ χρημάτων δόσει τιμᾷ παραμυθίας ἐσομένων λώβης τε ἣν ἐλελώβητο εἰς τὴν εὐπρέπειαν τοῦ ἀφορήτου τῶν ἀλγηδόνων.

5. Cherea had been in the army a long time, yet was he not pleased with conversing so much with Caius. But Caius had set him to require the tributes, and other dues, which, when not paid in due time, were forfeited to Caesar's treasury; and he had made some delays in requiring them, because those burdens had been doubled, and had rather indulged his own mild disposition than performed Caius's command; nay, indeed, he provoked Caius to anger by his sparing men, and pitying the hard fortunes of those from whom he demanded the

taxes; and Caius upbraided him with his sloth and effeminacy in being so long about collecting the taxes. And indeed he did not only affront him in other respects, but when he gave him the watchword of the day, to whom it was to be given by his place, he gave him feminine words, and those of a nature very reproachful; and these watchwords he gave out, as having been initiated in the secrets of certain mysteries, which he had been himself the author of. Now although he had sometimes put on women's clothes, and had been wrapt in some embroidered garments to them belonging, and done a great many other things, in order to make the company mistake him for a woman; yet did he, by way of reproach, object the like womanish behavior to Cherea. But when Cherea received the watchword from him, he had indignation at it, but had greater indignation at the delivery of it to others, as being laughed at by those that received it; insomuch that his fellow tribunes made him the subject of their drollery; for they would foretell that he would bring them some of his usual watchwords when he was about to take the watchword from Caesar, and would thereby make him ridiculous; on which accounts he took the courage of assuming certain partners to him, as having just reasons for his indignation against Caius. Now there was one Pompedius, a senator, and one who had gone through almost all posts in the government, but otherwise an Epicurean, and for that reason loved to lead an inactive life. Now Timidius, an enemy of his, had informed Caius that he had used indecent reproaches against him, and he made use of Quintilia for a witness to them; a woman she was much beloved by many that frequented the theater, and particularly by Pompedius, on account of her great beauty. Now this woman thought it a horrible thing to attest to an accusation that touched the life of her lover, which was also a lie. Timidius, however, wanted to have her brought to the torture. Caius was irritated at this reproach upon him, and commanded Cherea, without any delay, to torture Quintilia, as he used to employ Cherea in such bloody matters, and those that required the torture, because he thought he would do it the more barbarously, in order to avoid that imputation of effeminacy which he had laid upon him. But Quintilia, when she was brought to the rack, trod upon the foot of one of her associates, and let him know that he might be of good courage, and not be afraid of the consequence of her tortures, for that she would bear them with magnanimity. Cherea tortured this woman after a cruel manner; unwillingly indeed, but because he could not help it. He then brought her, without being in the least moved at what she had suffered, into the presence of Caius, and that in such a state as was sad to behold; and Caius, being somewhat affected with the sight of Quintilia, who had her body miserably disordered by the pains she had undergone, freed both her and Pompedius of the crime laid to their charge. He

also gave her money to make her an honorable amends, and comfort her for that maiming of her body which she had suffered, and for her glorious patience under such insufferable torments.

(6) [37] Ταῦτα δεινῶς ἠνίασεν τὸν Χαιρέαν ὡς αἴτιον ἀνθρώποις καὶ ὑπὸ Γαίου παρηγορίας ἀξίοις ἐν αἰτίᾳ κακῶν τὸ ὅσον ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς γεγενημένοις, φησίν τε πρὸς Κλήμεντά τε καὶ Παπίνιον, ὧν Κλήμης μὲν ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων, Παπίνιος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν χιλιαρχῶν, [38] "ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ φυλακῇ γε, ὦ Κλήμης, τὰ πάντα τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἡμῖν πράσσειν οὐκ ἐλλέλειπται: τῶν γὰρ συνομωμοκότων αὐτοῦ κατὰ τῆς ἡγεμονίας προνοίᾳ καὶ πόνοις τοὺς μὲν ἀπεκτείναμεν, τοὺς δὲ ἐστρεβλώσαμεν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, ὡς ἐλεεινοὺς κἀκείνῳ γενέσθαι, μετὰ πόσης τε ἀρετῆς ἡμῖν ἐξάγεται τῶν στρατιῶν;" [39] σιγήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Κλήμεντος καὶ τὸ μὲν αἰσχύνῃ φέρειν τὰ προστασσόμενα καὶ τῷ βλέμματι καὶ τῷ ἐρυθήματι παριστάντος, λόγῳ δὲ αὐτοῖς τὴν μανίαν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος προσκαλεῖν ἄδικον ἡγουμένου προνοίᾳ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς, [40] Χαιρέας ἤδη θάρσει χρώμενος ἐν λόγοις ἦν κινδύνων ἀνειμένοις πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ κατέχοντα δεινὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπεξιών, καὶ ὅτι λόγῳ μὲν εἴη Γάιος ὁ τὴν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις αἰτίαν προτιθέμενος, [41] τοῖς δὲ τἀληθὲς ἐξετάζειν πειρωμένοις ἐγώ τε, ὦ Κλήμης, καὶ οὑτοσὶ ὁ Παπίνιος καὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν σύ, ταύτας Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ τῷ παντὶ ἀνθρωπείῳ τὰς στρέβλας προσφερόμενοι, οὐκ ἐπιτάγμασιν τοῖς Γαίου διακονούμενοι, γνώμῃ δὲ τῇ αὐτῶν, [42] εἰ παρὸν παῦσαι τοσαύτῃ ἤδη χρώμενον ὕβρει εἵς τε τοὺς πολίτας καὶ τοὺς ὑπηκόους διακονούμεθα, δορυφόροι καὶ δήμιοι καθεστηκότες ἀντὶ στρατιωτῶν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ταυτὶ φέροντες οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας οὐδ᾽ ἀρχῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ δουλουμένου τά τε σώματα αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ φρονήματα, μιαινόμενοι τῷ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν αἵματι σφαγῆς καὶ βασάνου τῆς ἐκείνων, μέχρι δή τις καὶ καθ᾽ ἡμῶν διακονήσεται τοιαῦτα Γαίῳ. [43] οὐ γὰρ εὐνοίᾳ γε πολιτεύσει διὰ τάδε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, δι᾽ ὑφοράσεως δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ἄλλως τοῦ πολλοῦ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἀποδεδωκότος: οὐ γὰρ δὴ στήσεταί ποτε Γαίῳ τὰ τῆς ὀργῆς διὰ τὸ μὴ δίκην ἀλλ᾽ ἡδονὴν πέρας αὐτῆς τυγχάνειν: σκοποὶ δὲ προσκεισόμεθα καὶτοί, δέον καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν τὸ ἀνεπιβούλευτόν τε καὶ ἐλεύθερον βεβαιοῦν καὶ ἡμῖν κινδύνων ἀπαλλαγὰς ψηφίσασθαι.

6. This matter sorely grieved Cherea, as having been the cause, as far as he could, or the instrument, of those miseries to men, which seemed worthy of consolation to Caius himself; on which account he said to Clement and to Papinius, [of whom Clement was general of the army, and Papinius was a tribune,] "To be sure, O Clement, we have no way failed in our guarding the emperor; for as to those that have made conspiracies against his government, some have been slain by our care and pains, and some have been by us tortured, and this to such a

degree, that he hath himself pitied them. How great then is our virtue in submitting to conduct his armies!" Clement held his peace, but showed the shame he was under in obeying Caius's orders, both by his eyes and his blushing countenance, while he thought it by no means right to accuse the emperor in express words, lest their own safety should be endangered thereby. Upon which Cherea took courage, and spake to him without fear of the dangers that were before him, and discoursed largely of the sore calamities under which the city and the government then labored, and said, "We may indeed pretend in words that Caius is the person unto whom the cause of such miseries ought to be imputed; but, in the opinion of such as are able to judge uprightly, it is I, O Clement! and this Papinius, and before us thou thyself, who bring these tortures upon the Romans, and upon all mankind. It is not done by our being subservient to the commands of Caius, but it is done by our own consent; for whereas it is in our power to put an end to the life of this man, who hath so terribly injured the citizens and his subjects, we are his guard in mischief, and his executioners instead of his soldiers, and are the instruments of his cruelty. We bear these weapons, not for our liberty, not for the Roman government, but only for his preservation, who hath enslaved both their bodies and their minds; and we are every day polluted with the blood that we shed, and the torments we inflict upon others; and this we do, till somebody becomes Caius's instrument in bringing the like miseries upon ourselves. Nor does he thus employ us because he hath a kindness for us, but rather because he hath a suspicion of us, as also because when abundance more have been killed, [for Caius will set no bounds to his wrath, since he aims to do all, not out of regard to justice, but to his own pleasure,] we shall also ourselves be exposed to his cruelty; whereas we ought to be the means of confirming the security and liberty of all, and at the same time to resolve to free ourselves from dangers."

(7) [44] Κλήμης δὲ τὴν μὲν διάνοιαν τὴν Χαιρέου φανερὸς ἦν ἐπαινῶν, σιγᾶν δ' ἐκέλευε, μὴ καὶ φοιτῶντος εἰς πλείονας τοῦ λόγου καὶ διαχεομένων ὁπόσα κρύπτεσθαι καλῶς ἔχοι πρὶν τυχεῖν πράξαντας ἐκπύστου τοῦ ἐπιβουλεύματος γενομένου κολασθεῖεν, χρόνῳ δὲ τῷ αὖθις καὶ τῇ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐλπίδι παραδιδόναι τὰ πάντα ὡς παραγενησομένης τινὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπικουρίας τυχαίου: [45] αὐτὸν μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ γήρως ἀφῃρῆσθαι τὴν ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε τόλμαν, τῶν μέντοι γε ὑπὸ σοῦ, Χαιρέα, συντεθέντων τε καὶ ῥηθέντων ἀσφαλέστερα μὲν ἴσως ἂν ὑποθοίμην, [46] εὐπρεπέστερα δὲ πῶς ἄν τις καὶ δύναιτο;" καὶ Κλήμης μὲν ὡς αὐτὸν ἀναλύει διὰ λογισμῶν τῶν τε ἀκροαθέντων καὶ ὁπόσων αὐτὸς εἰρήκει περιφερόμενος. Χαιρέας δὲ δείσας ὡς Κορνήλιον Σαβῖνον ἠπείγετο καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν χιλίαρχον ὄντα, ἀξιόλογον δ' ἄλλως ἐξεπιστάμενος αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ ἐλευθέρου ἐραστὴν καὶ

δι᾽ αὐτὸ τῇ καταστάσει τῶν πραγμάτων πολεμίως διακείμενον, [47] χρῄζων ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἔχεσθαι τῶν ἐγνωσμένων τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καλὰ νομίσας εἶναι προσθέσθαι καὶ δέει, μὴ ὑπὸ Κλήμεντος ἐκφοίτησις γένοιτο αὐτῶν, ἄλλως τε τὰς μελλήσεις καὶ τῶν καιρῶν τὰς ὑπερβολὰς πρὸς τῶν ὑπερβαλλομένων τιθέμενος.

7. Hereupon Clement openly commended Cherea's intentions, but bid him hold his tongue; for that in case his words should get out among many, and such things should be spread abroad as were fit to be concealed, the plot would come to be discovered before it was executed, and they should be brought to punishment; but that they should leave all to futurity, and the hope which thence arose, that some fortunate event would come to their assistance; that, as for himself, his age would not permit him to make any attempt in that case. "However, although perhaps I could suggest what may be safer than what thou, Cherea, hast contrived and said, yet trow is it possible for any one to suggest what is more for thy reputation?" So Clement went his way home, with deep reflections on what he had heard, and what he had himself said. Cherea also was under a concern, and went quickly to Cornelius Sabinus, who was himself one of the tribunes, and whom he otherwise knew to be a worthy man, and a lover of liberty, and on that account very uneasy at the present management of public affairs, he being desirous to come immediately to the execution of what had been determined, and thinking it right for him to propose it to the other, and afraid lest Clement should discover them, and besides looking upon delays and puttings off to be the next to desisting from the enterprise.

(8) [48] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀσμένῳ καὶ τῷ Σαβίνῳ τὰ πάντα ἦν, ἅτε καὶ αὐτῷ γνώμης μὲν οὐχ ὑστεροῦντι τῆς ἴσης, ἀπορίᾳ δὲ πρὸς ὅντινα εἰπὼν ἀσφαλὴς εἴη τὰ πρὸς ἐκείνους σιγῇ παραδιδόντος, ἐπεί τε ἀνδρὸς ηὐπόρητο οὐ μόνον στέγειν ὧν πύθοιτο προσθησομένου, ἀλλὰ καὶ γνώμην φανεροῦντος τὴν αὐτοῦ, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἧρτο, καὶ μηδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἐδεῖτο τοῦ Χαιρέου. [49] τρέπονταί τε ὡς Μινουκιανόν, αὐτοῖς μὲν ἐπιτηδεύσει ἀρετῆς καὶ τῷ ὁμοζήλῳ τοῦ μεγαλόφρονος συγγενῆ, Γαίῳ δ᾽ ὕποπτον τῆς Λεπίδου τελευτῆς, πάνυ γὰρ δὴ φίλοι ἐγένοντο Μινουκιανός τε καὶ Λέπιδος, καὶ δείματι κινδύνων τῶν καθ᾽ αὐτόν. [50] πᾶσι γὰρ τοῖς ἐν τέλει φοβερὸς ἦν Γάιος, ὡς ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἕκαστον καὶ πρὸς οὕστινας τῇ μανίᾳ χρῆσθαι μὴ ἀφησόμενος, [51] φανεροί τε ἀλλήλοις ἦσαν τῆς ἐπὶ πράγμασιν ἀχθηδόνος, διασαφεῖν μὲν ἀλλήλοις ἄντικρυς τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ μῖσος τὸ πρὸς Γάιον φόβῳ τε κινδύνων ἀφέμενοι ἄλλως τε αἰσθανόμενοι τοῦ ἀλλήλων μίσους πρὸς τὸν Γάιον καὶ δι᾽ αὐτὸ εὐνοίᾳ χρῆσθαι τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους μὴ ἀπηλλαγμένοι.

8. But as all was agreeable to Sabinus, who had himself, equally without Cherea, the same design, but had been silent for want of a person to whom he could

safely communicate that design; so having now met with one, who not only promised to conceal what he heard, but who had already opened his mind to him, he was much more encouraged, and desired of Cherea that no delay might be made therein. Accordingly they went to Minucianus, who was as virtuous a man, and as zealous to do glorious actions, as themselves, and suspected by Caius on occasion of the slaughter of Lepidus; for Minucianus and Lepidus were intimate friends, and both in fear of the dangers that they were under; for Caius was terrible to all the great men, as appearing ready to act a mad part towards each of them in particular, and towards all of: them in general; and these men were afraid of one another, while they were yet uneasy at the posture of affairs, but avoided to declare their mind and their hatred against Caius to one another, out of fear of the dangers they might be in thereby, although they perceived by other means their mutual hatred against Caius, and on that account were not averse to a mutual kindness one towards another.

(9) [52] Γενομένων δ' αὐτοῖς ἀξιώσεων ἐπείπερ συνέβαλον, εἰωθότες καὶ πρότερον ὁπότε συνέλθοιεν τίμιον ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν Μινουκιανὸν ὑπεροχῇ τε ἀξιώματος, γενναιότατος γὰρ ἦν τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐπαινουμένῳ, [53] μᾶλλον ὡς ἄπτοιτό τινος λόγου φθάσαι κἀκεῖνος εἴ ποτε Χαιρέαν, ὅ τι καὶ παραλάβοι σημεῖον τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης: ἀοίδιμος γὰρ διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἦν ἡ εἰς τὸν Χαιρέαν διὰ τῶν σημείων τῆς δόσεως πρασσομένη ὕβρις. [54] ὁ δὲ χάρματι τοῦ λόγου μηδὲν μελλήσας ἠμείβετο τοῦ Μινουκιανοῦ τὸ ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε πιστεῦσαν ὁμιλίᾳ χρήσασθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, καί "σύ μοι δίδως, εἶπεν, σημεῖον ἐλευθερίας, χάρις δέ σοι τοῦ ἀνεγείραντός με μειζόνως ἤπερ εἴωθα ἐμαυτὸν ὁρμᾶν, [55] οὐδέν μοι χρεία πλειόνων ἔτι λόγων, οἵ με θαρσοῖεν, εἰ δὴ καὶ σοὶ ταῦτα δοκεῖ, γνώμης τε τῆς αὐτῆς κοινωνοὶ καὶ πρότερον ἢ συνελθεῖν γεγόναμεν. καὶ ἓν μὲν ὑπέζωμαι ξίφος, ἀμφοῖν δ' ἂν ἀρκέσειεν. [56] ὥστε ἴθι καὶ ἔργων ἐχώμεθα, ἡγεμών τ' ἴσθι, ᾗ βούλοιο αὐτὸς κελεύων με χωρεῖν, ᾗ καὶ προσοίσομαι, ἐπικουρίᾳ τῇ σῇ συμπράσσοντος τε πίσυνος. οὐδὲ ἀπορία σιδήρου τοῖς τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς τὰ ἔργα προσφερομένοις, δι' ἣν καὶ ὁ σίδηρος δραστήριος εἴωθεν εἶναι. [57] ὥρμηκά τε εἰς τὴν πρᾶξιν οὐχ ὧν ἂν αὐτὸς πάθοιμι ἐλπίδι περιφερόμενος: οὐ γὰρ σχολὴ κινδύνους μοι κατανοεῖν τοὺς ἐμαυτοῦ δουλώσει τε πατρίδος ἐλευθερωτάτης ἐπαλγοῦντι τῶν νόμων τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀφῃρημένης τούς τε πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὀλέθρου διὰ Γάιον κατειληφότος. [58] ἄξιος δ' ἂν εἴην παρὰ σοὶ δικαστῇ πίστεως ἐπὶ τοιούτοις τυγχάνειν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὅμοια φρονεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ σὲ μὴ ἀπηλλάχθαι."

9. When Minuetanus and Cherea had met together, and saluted one another, [as they had been used on former conversations to give the upper hand to Minucianus, both on account of his eminent dignity, for he was the noblest of all the citizens, and highly commended by all men, especially when he made

speeches to them,] Minuetanus began first, and asked Cherea, What was the watchword he had received that day from Caius; for the affront which was offered Cherea, in giving the watchwords, was famous over the city. But Cherea made no delay so long as to reply to that question, out of the joy he had that Minueianus would have such confidence in him as to discourse with him. "But do thou," said he, "give me the watchword of liberty. And I return thee my thanks that thou hast so greatly encouraged me to exert myself after an extraordinary manner; nor do I stand in need of many words to encourage me, since both thou and I are of the same mind, and partakers of the same resolutions, and this before we have conferred together. I have indeed but one sword girt on, but this one will serve us both. Come on, therefore, let us set about the work. Do thou go first, if thou hast a mind, and bid me follow thee; or else I will go first, and thou shalt assist me, and we will assist one another, and trust one another. Nor is there a necessity for even one sword to such as have a mind disposed to such works, by which mind the sword uses to be successful. I am zealous about this action, nor am I solicitous what I may myself undergo; for I can not at leisure to consider the dangers that may come upon myself, so deeply am I troubled at the slavery our once free country is now under, and at the contempt cast upon our excellent laws, and at the destruction which hangs over all men, by the means of Caius. I wish that I may be judged by thee, and that thou mayst esteem me worthy of credit in these matters, seeing we are both of the same opinion, and there is herein no difference between us."

(10) [59] Μινουκιανὸς δὲ τὴν ὁρμὴν τῶν λόγων θεασάμενος ἡσπάζετό τε ἀσμένως καὶ προσπαρίστατο τὴν τόλμαν αὐτοῦ ἐπαινέσας τε καὶ ἀσπασάμενος μετ᾽ εὐχῶν καὶ ἱκετείας ἀπελύοντο. [60] καὶ ἰσχυρίζοντό τινες ὡς βεβαιοῦν τὰ εἰρημένα Εἰσιόντος γὰρ εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον Χαιρέου φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους γενέσθαι τινὸς ἐπ᾽ ἐξορμήσει κελεύοντος περαίνειν μὲν δὴ τὸ πρακτέον καὶ προσλαμβάνειν τὸ δαιμόνιον. [61] καὶ τὸν Χαιρέαν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπιδέσθαι, μὴ καί τινος τῶν συνωμοτῶν προδότου γεγονότος ἁλίσκοιτο, καὶ τέλος συνέντα ἐπὶ προτροπῇ φέρειν πρῶτον εἴτε παραινέσει τῶν συνεγνωκότων ἀντισημαίνοντός τινος, εἴτε δὴ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃς ἐφορᾷ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, αἴροντος αὐτόν. [62] διεληλύθει δὲ διὰ πολλῶν τὸ ἐπιβούλευμα καὶ πάντες ἐν ὅπλοις παρῆσαν, οἱ μὲν τῶν βουλευτῶν ὄντες οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς καὶ ὁπόσοι τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ συνῄδεσαν: οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἦν, ὃς μὴ ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ ἂν ἠρίθμει τὴν Γαίου μετάστασιν: [63] καὶ δι᾽ αὐτὸ πάντες ἠπείγοντο ὁποίῳ δύναιτό τις τρόπῳ μηδὲ ἑκὼν εἶναι τῆς ἐπὶ τοιούτοις ἀρετῆς ὑστερεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἔχοι προθυμίας ἢ δυνάμεως καὶ λόγοις καὶ δι᾽ ἔργων ἦρτο ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννοκτονίᾳ, [64] ἐπεὶ καὶ Κάλλιστος, ἀπελεύθερος δ᾽ ἦν Γαίου πλεῖστά τε ἀνὴρ εἷς οὗτος ἐπὶ μέγιστον δυνάμεως ἀφίκετο καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο

ἢ ἰσοτύραννον εἶχε τὴν δύναμιν φόβῳ τε τῶν πάντων καὶ μεγέθει χρημάτων, ἅπερ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ: [65] δωροδοκώτατος γὰρ ἦν καὶ ὑβριστότατος παρ᾽ ὁντινοῦν γίνεται, ἐξουσίᾳ χρησάμενος παρὰ τὸ εἰκός: καὶ ἄλλως τε τοῦ Γαίου τὴν φύσιν ἐξεπιστάμενος ἀνήκεστον οὖσαν καὶ ἐφ᾽ οἱστισι κρίνειεν οὐδαμῶς ἀντισπάσματι χρωμένην, αὐτῷ τε πολλὰς μὲν καὶ ἄλλας αἰτίας τοῦ κινδυνεύειν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν χρημάτων: [66] ὥστε δὴ καὶ Κλαύδιον ἐθεράπευε κρυπτῶς μετακαθίζων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλπίδι τοῦ κἂν εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἥξειν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Γαίου μεταστάντος, αὐτῷ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς τιμῆς τὴν ἐφ᾽ ὁμοίοις ἰσχὺν προκαταθέμενος χάριν καὶ φιλανθρωπίας λόγον. [67] ἐτόλμησεν γοῦν εἰπεῖν, ὡς κελευσθεὶς διαχρήσασθαι φαρμάκῳ τὸν Κλαύδιον μυρίας εὕροιτο τοῦ χρήματος τὰς ὑπερβολάς. [68] δοκεῖν δὲ προσεποιεῖτο Κάλλιστος ἐπὶ θήρᾳ τῇ Κλαυδίου τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, ἔπειτα οὔτε Γάιος ὡρμηκὼς μεταχειρίσασθαι Κλαύδιον ἠνείχετο τῶν Καλλίστου προφάσεων οὔτε Κάλλιστος κελευσθείς που τὴν πρᾶξιν εὐκτὸν ὑπελάμβανεν ἢ κακουργῶν εἰς τοῦ δεσπότου τὰς ἐπιστολὰς οὐκ ἂν ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα τὸν μισθὸν ἐκομίζετο. [69] ἀλλὰ δὴ Κλαυδίῳ μὲν ἔκ τινος θείας δυνάμεως χρήσασθαι μανιῶν τῶν Γαίου, Κάλλιστος προσποιήσασθαι χάριτος κατάθεσιν μηδαμῶς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ γενομένης.

10. When Minucianus saw the vehemency with which Cherea delivered himself, he gladly embraced him, and encouraged him in his bold attempt, commending him, and embracing him; so he let him go with his good wishes; and some affirm that he thereby confirmed Minuclanus in the prosecution of what had been agreed among them; for as Cherea entered into the court, the report runs, that a voice came from among the multitude to encourage him, which bid him finish what he was about, and take the opportunity that Providence afforded; and that Cherea at first suspected that some one of the conspirators had betrayed him, and he was caught, but at length perceived that it was by way of exhortation. Whether somebody that was conscious of what he was about, gave a signal for his encouragement, or whether it was God himself, who looks upon the actions of men, that encouraged him to go on boldly in his design, is uncertain. The plot was now communicated to a great many, and they were all in their armor; some of the conspirators being senators, and some of the equestrian order, and as many of the soldiery as were made acquainted with it; for there was not one of them who would not reckon it a part of his happiness to kill Caius; and on that account they were all very zealous in the affair, by what means soever any one could come at it, that he might not be behindhand in these virtuous designs, but might be ready with all his alacrity or power, both by words and actions, to complete this slaughter of a tyrant. And besides these, Callistus also, who was a freed-man of Caius, and was the only man that had arrived at the greatest degree

of power under him, — such a power, indeed, as was in a manner equal to the power of the tyrant himself, by the dread that all men had of him, and by the great riches he had acquired; for he took bribes most plenteously, and committed injuries without bounds, and was more extravagant in the use of his power in unjust proceedings than any other. He also knew the disposition of Caius to be implacable, and never to be turned from what he had resolved on. He had withal many other reasons why he thought himself in danger, and the vastness of his wealth was not one of the least of them; on which account he privately ingratiated himself with Claudius, and transferred his courtship to him, out of this hope, that in case, upon the removal of Caius, the government should come to him, his interest in such changes should lay a foundation for his preserving his dignity under him, since he laid in beforehand a stock of merit, and did Claudius good offices in his promotion. He had also the boldness to pretend that he had been persuaded to make away with Claudius, by poisoning him, but had still invented ten thousand excuses for delaying to do it. But it seems probable to me that Callistus only counterfeited this, in order to ingratiate himself with Claudius; for if Caius had been in earnest resolved to take off Claudius, he would not have admitted of Callistus's excuses; nor would Callistus, if he had been enjoined to do such an act as was desired by Caius, have put it off; nor if he had disobeyed those injunctions of his master, had he escaped immediate punishment; while Claudius was preserved from the madness of Caius by a certain Divine providence, and Callistus pretended to such a piece of merit as he no way deserved.

(11) [70] Τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Χαιρέαν ὑπερβολαὶ τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν ἦσαν ὀκνούντων πολλῶν οὐ γὰρ Χαιρέας ἔσται ἑκὼν εἶναι τοῦ πράσσειν ἀναβολὴν ἐποιεῖτο, πάντα καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον τῇ πράξει νομίζων. [71] καὶ γὰρ εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον ἀνιόντα καὶ τὰς θυσίας ὑπὲρ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἐπιτελουμένας ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαίου παρῆν πολλάκις καιρός, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἱστάμενον καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χρυσίου καὶ ἀργυρίου χρήματα διαρριπτοῦντα ὧσαι κατὰ κεφαλῆς, ὑψηλὸν δ' ἐστὶ τὸ τέγος εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν φέρον, ἐπί τε τῶν μυστηρίων ταῖς ποιήσεσιν ἃ συνίστατο: [72] πάντων γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀπερίοπτον εἶναι προνοίᾳ τοῦ ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐπρεπῶς ἀναστραφησομένου καὶ ἀπογνώσει τοῦ ἐν ἐπιχειρήσει τινὶ γενέσθαι πιστεύοντα εἰ δὲ μηδὲν τίμιον ὡς τῶν θεῶν αὐτῷ δύναμιν τοῦ θανάτου παρατυγχάνειν, [73] αὐτῷ δ' ἂν ἰσχὺν ἐγγενέσθαι καὶ μὴ σιδηροφορουμένῳ διαχρήσασθαι τότε Γάιον. οὕτως εὐχῆς εἶχε τοὺς συνωμότας ὁ Χαιρέας δεδιὼς τοὺς καιροὺς μὴ διαρρυεῖεν. [74] οἱ δὲ ἑώρων μὲν νομίμων τε χρῄζοντα καὶ ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐπειγόμενον, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἠξίουν εἰς ὀλίγον γοῦν ὑπερβολῇ χρήσασθαι, μὴ καί πῃ σφάλματος τῇ ἐπιχειρήσει συνελθόντος ταράξαιεν τὴν πόλιν ζητήσεων τῶν

συνεγνωκότων τὴν πρᾶξιν γινομένων καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς μελλήσουσιν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἄπορον τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν φραξαμένου Γαίου πρὸς αὐτοὺς μειζόνως. [75] καλῶς οὖν ἔχειν θεωριῶν ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ ἐπιτελουμένων ἅπτεσθαι τοῦ χρήματος: ἄγονται δὲ ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ πρώτου μεταστησαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ δήμου Καίσαρος εἰς αὐτὸν μικρόν τε πρὸ τοῦ βασιλείου καλύβης πηκτοῦ γενομένης, καὶ Ῥωμαίων τε οἱ εὐπατρίδαι θεωροῦσιν ὁμοῦ παισὶν καὶ γυναιξὶν καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ: [76] ῥᾳστώνην τε αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι πολλῶν μυριάδων ἀνθρώπων εἰς ὀλίγον χωρίον καθειργνυμένων ὥστε εἰσιόντι τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ποιήσασθαι δυνάμεως τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς, εἰ καί τινες προθυμοῖντο, μὴ παρατευξομένης αὐτῷ βοηθεῖν.

11. However, the execution of Cherea's designs was put off from day to day, by the sloth of many therein concerned; for as to Cherea himself, he would not willingly make any delay in that execution, thinking every time a fit time for it; for frequent opportunities offered themselves; as when Caius went up to the capitol to sacrifice for his daughter, or when he stood upon his royal palace, and threw gold and silver pieces of money among the people, he might be pushed down headlong, because the top of the palace, that looks towards the market-place, was very high; and also when he celebrated the mysteries, which he had appointed at that time; for he was then no way secluded from the people, but solicitous to do every thing carefully and decently, and was free from all suspicion that he should be then assaulted by any body; and although the gods should afford him no divine assistance to enable him to take away his life, yet had he strength himself sufficient to despatch Caius, even without a sword. Thus was Chorea angry at his fellow conspirators, for fear they should suffer a proper opportunity to pass by; and they were themselves sensible that he had just cause to be angry at them, and that his eagerness was for their advantage; yet did they desire he would have a little longer patience, lest, upon any disappointment they might meet with, they should put the city into disorder, and an inquisition should be made after the conspiracy, and should render the courage of those that were to attack Caius without success, while he would then secure himself more carefully than ever against them; that it would therefore be the best to set about the work when the shows were exhibited in the palace. These shows were acted in honor of that Caesar who first of all changed the popular government, and transferred it to himself; galleries being fixed before the palace, where the Romans that were patricians became spectators, together with their children and their wives, and Caesar himself was to be also a spectator; and they reckoned, among those many ten thousands who would there be crowded into a narrow compass, they should have a favorable opportunity to make their attempt upon him as he came in,

because his guards that should protect him, if any of them should have a mind to do it, would not here be able to give him any assistance.

(12) [77] Εἴχετο δὲ Χαιρέας, καὶ τῶν θεωριῶν ἐπελθουσῶν τῇ πρώτῃ δεδογμένον ἅπτεσθαι τῆς πράξεως ἰσχυρότερον ἦν τοῦ κατ᾽ ἐκείνους προβεβουλευκότος τὸ τῆς τύχης συγχωροῦν ὑπερβολάς, καὶ τὰς τρεῖς ὑπερβαλλομένου ταῖς νομίμοις ἡμέραις μόλις κατὰ τὴν τελευταίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπράχθη τὸ ἔργον. [78] Χαιρέας δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς συνωμότας "πολὺς μέν, εἶπεν, καὶ ὁ παρεληλυθὼς χρόνος ὀνειδίσαι τὸ ἐπιμέλλον ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς οὕτω βουλευθεῖσιν μετ᾽ ἀρετῆς, δεινὸν δέ, εἰ καὶ μηνύματος γενομένου διαπεσεῖται ἡ πρᾶξις καὶ Γάιος ὑβριεῖ μειζόνως. [79] ἢ οὐχ ὁρῶμεν, ὡς τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀφαιροῦμεν ὁπόσας τῶν ἡμερῶν προσθήκην τῇ Γαίου τυραννίδι χαριζόμεθα, δέον αὐτούς τ᾽ ἀδεεῖς τὸ λοιπὸν εἶναι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις αἰτίαν τοῦ εὐδαίμονος παρασχόντας δι᾽ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἅπαντος τοῖς αὖθις ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ [80] καὶ τιμῇ καταστῆναι;" τῶν δὲ οὔτε ἀντειπεῖν ὡς οὐ πάνυ καλοῖς δυναμένων οὔτε τὴν πρᾶξιν ἄντικρυς δεχομένων σιγῇ δὲ καταπεπληγότων "τί, φησίν, ὦ γενναῖοι, διαμέλλομεν; ἢ οὐχ ὁρᾶτε τὴν σήμερον τῶν θεωριῶν ἡμέραν ὑστάτην οὖσαν καὶ Γάιον ἐκπλευσού [81] μενον;" ἐπὶ γὰρ Ἀλεξανδρείας παρεσκεύαστο πλεῖν κατὰ θεωρίαν τῆς Αἰγύπτου. "καλὸν δὲ ἡμῖν προέσθαι τῶν χειρῶν τὸ ὄνειδος τῇ Ῥωμαίων μεγαλαυχίᾳ πομπεῦσον διά τε γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης. [82] πῶς δ᾽ οὐκ ἂν δικαίως κρίνοιμεν αὐτοὺς αἰσχύνῃ τῶν γενησομένων, εἴ τις αὐτὸν Αἰγύπτιος κτείνειεν τὴν ὕβριν οὐχ ἡγησάμενος ἀνασχετὸν τοῖς ἐλευθέροις γεγονόσιν; [83] ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐκέτι εἰς πλείονα ἀνέξομαι τὰς σκήψεις ὑμῶν, χωρήσω δὲ τοῖς κινδύνοις ὁμοῦ σήμερον ἡδονῇ φέρων πᾶν ὅ τι καὶ γένοιτο ἐξ αὐτῶν, οὐδ᾽ ἂν ὑπερβαλλοίμην εἴπερ εἴη: τί γὰρ δὴ καὶ γένοιτ᾽ ἂν ἀνδρὶ φρόνημα ἔχοντι τούτου σχετλιώτερον, ἕτερον Γάιον ἀναιρεῖν ἐμοῦ ζῶντος ἐμὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷδε ἀρετὴν ἀφῃρημένον;"

12. Cherea consented to this delay; and when the shows were exhibited, it was resolved to do the work the first day. But fortune, which allowed a further delay to his slaughter, was too hard for their foregoing resolution; and as three days of the regular times for these shows were now over, they had much ado to get the business done on the last day. Then Cherea called the conspirators together, and spake thus to them: "So much time passed away without effort is a reproach to us, as delaying to go through such a virtuous design as we are engaged in; but more fatal will this delay prove if we be discovered, and the design be frustrated; for Caius will then become more cruel in his unjust proceedings. Do we not see how long we deprive all our friends of their liberty, and give Caius leave still to tyrannize over them? while we ought to have procured them security for the future, and, by laying a foundation for the happiness of others, gain to ourselves great admiration and honor for all time to come." Now while the conspirators

had nothing tolerable to say by way of contradiction, and yet did not quite relish what they were doing, but stood silent and astonished, he said further, “O my brave comrades! why do we make such delays? Do not you see that this is the last day of these shows, and that Caius is about to go to sea? for he is preparing to sail to Alexandria, in order to see Egypt. Is it therefore for your honor to let a man go out of your hands who is a reproach to mankind, and to permit him to go, after a pompous manner, triumphing both at land and sea? Shall not we be justly ashamed of ourselves, if we give leave to some Egyptian or other, who shall think his injuries insufferable to free-men, to kill him? As for myself, I will no longer bear your stow proceedings, but will expose myself to the dangers of the enterprise this very day, and bear cheerfully whatsoever shall be the consequence of the attempt; nor, let them be ever so great, will I put them off any longer: for, to a wise and courageous man, what can be more miserable than that, while I am alive, any one else should kill Caius, and deprive me of the honor of so virtuous an action?”

(13) [84] Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἰπὼν αὐτός τε ὡρμήκει πράξων τὸ ἔργον καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐνεποίησε θάρσος πᾶσίν τε ἦν ἔρως ἅπτεσθαι τοῦ ἐγχειρήματος μηδὲν ὑπερβαλλομένοις, [85] ἔωθέν τε ἐπὶ τοῦ Παλατίου εἰώθει τὸ ξίφος ὑπεζωσμένος τῶν ἱππικῶν: ἔθος γὰρ δὴ τοῖς χιλιάρχοις τοῦτο ἐζωσμένοις αἰτεῖν παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τὸ σημεῖον, ἦν τε ἡ ἡμέρα καθήκουσα εἰς αὐτὸν τῆς παραλήψεως τοῦ σημείου. [86] ἄρτι τε συνῄει πληθὺς εἰς τὸ Παλάτιον ἐπὶ προκαταλήψει θέας πολλῷ θορύβῳ καὶ ὠθισμῷ, χαρᾷ φέροντος Γαίου τὴν ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε τῶν πολλῶν σπουδήν, παρὸ καὶ διακέκριτο οὐδὲν οὔτε τῇ συγκλήτῳ χωρίον οὔτε τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν, φύρδην δὲ ἔζοντο καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὁμοῦ αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ τῷ δούλῳ ἀναμεμιγμένον τὸ ἐλεύθερον. [87] Γάιος δὲ προόδων αὐτῷ γενομένων ἔθυσε τῷ Σεβαστῷ Καίσαρι, ᾧ δὴ καὶ τὰ τῆς θεωρίας ἤγετο, καὶ πίπτοντος τῶν ἱερείων τινὸς συνέβη αἵματι τὴν Ἀσπρήνα στολὴν ἑνὸς τῶν συγκλητικῶν ἀνάπλεων γενέσθαι. τοῦτο Γαίῳ γέλωτα μὲν παρέσχεν, ἦν δ’ ἄρα εἰς οἰωνὸν τῷ Ἀσπρήνᾳ φανερόν: ἐπικατασφάζεται γὰρ τῷ Γαίῳ. [88] Γάιον δ’ ἱστορεῖται παρὰ φύσιν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ εὐπροσηγορώτατον γενέσθαι κατ’ ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ δεξιότητι χρώμενον ὁμιλίας πάνθ’ ὁντινοῦν ἐκπλῆξαι τῶν παρατυγχανόντων. [89] μετὰ δὲ τὴν θυσίαν ἐπὶ τὴν θεωρίαν τραπεὶς ἐκαθέζετο καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν τῶν ἑταίρων οἱ ἀξιολογώτατοι. [90] κατεσκεύαστο δὲ τὸ θέατρον, πηκτὸν δὲ ἐγίνετο κατὰ ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν, τοιόνδε τρόπον: θύρας ἔχει δύο φερούσας τὴν μὲν εἰς αἴθριον, τὴν δ’ εἰς στοὰν εἰσόδοις καὶ ἀποχωρήσεσιν, ὅπως μὴ ταράσσοιντο οἱ ἔνδον ἀπειλημμένοι, ἐκ δ’ αὐτῆς τῆς καλύβης ἐνδοτέρω διαφράγμασιν ἑτέραν ἀπειληφυίαις ἐπ’ ἀναστροφῇ τοῖς ἀνταγωνισταῖς καὶ ὁπόσα ἀκροάματα. [91] συγκαθημένης δὲ τῆς πληθύος καὶ τοῦ Χαιρέου σὺν τοῖς χιλιάρχοις οὐκ ἄπωθεν

τοῦ Γαίου, δεξιὸν δὲ τοῦ θεάτρου κέρας ὁ Καῖσαρ εἶχεν, Βαθύβιός τις τῶν συγκλητικῶν ἀνὴρ ἐστρατηγηκὼς ἤρετο Κλούιον παρακαθεζόμενον αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτον ὑπατικόν, εἰ δή τις αὐτῷ νεωτέρων πραγμάτων πέρι ἀφίκοιτο πύστις, προμηθὴς γενόμενος τοῦ μὴ ἐξάκουστος εἶναι τάδε λέγων. [92] τοῦ δὲ φαμένου μηδὲν πεπύσθαι σημεῖον "τοιγαροῦν, ὦ Κλούιε, τυραννοκτονίας ἀγὼν πρόκειται." καὶ ὁ Κλούιος "ὦ γενναῖε, φησίν, σίγα, μή τις τ' ἄλλος [93] Ἀχαιῶν μῦθον ἀκούσῃ." πολλῆς δ' ὀπώρας ἐπιχεομένης τοῖς θεωροῖς καὶ πολλῶν ὀρνέων ὁπόσα τῷ σπανίῳ τίμια τοῖς κτωμένοις, ὁ Γάιος ἡδονῇ τὰς περὶ αὐτοῖς ἐθεώρει μάχας καὶ διαρπαγὰς οἰκειουμένων αὐτὰ τῶν θεωρῶν. [94] ἔνθα δὲ καὶ σημεῖα μανθάνει δύο γενέσθαι: καὶ γὰρ μῖμος εἰσάγεται, καθ' ὃν σταυροῦται ληφθεὶς ἡγεμών, ὅ τε ὀρχηστὴς δρᾶμα εἰσάγει Κινύραν, ἐν ᾧ αὐτός τε ἐκτείνετο καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ Μύρρα, αἷμά τε ἦν τεχνητὸν πολὺ καὶ περὶ τὸν σταυρωθέντα ἐκκεχυμένον καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Κινύραν. [95] ὁμολογεῖται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην γενέσθαι, ἐν ᾗ Φίλιππον τὸν Ἀμύντου Μακεδόνων βασιλέα κτείνει Παυσανίας εἷς τῶν ἑταίρων εἰς τὸ θέατρον εἰσιόντα. [96] Γαίου δ' ἐνδοιάζοντος, εἴτε παραμείνειεν εἰς τέλος τῇ θεωρίᾳ διὰ τὸ τελευταίαν εἶναι τὴν ἡμέραν εἴτε λουτρῷ χρησάμενος καὶ σίτῳ εἶτα ἐπανίοι καθὰ καὶ οἱ πρότερον, Μινουκιανὸς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Γαίου καθεζόμενος καὶ δεδιώς, μὴ διαλυθείη τὰ τῶν καιρῶν εἰς κενόν, ἐξαναστὰς ἐπειδὴ καὶ Χαιρέαν ἑώρα προεξεληλυθότα, ἠπείγετο θαρσύνειν αὐτὸν προελθών. [97] λαμβάνεται δ' αὐτοῦ τῆς στολῆς Γάιος κατὰ φιλοφροσύνην δῆθεν καί "ποῖ δή, φησίν, ὦ μακάριε;" καὶ ὁ μὲν αἰδοῖ δοκεῖν τοῦ Καίσαρος καθίζει, κρείσσων δ' ὁ φόβος ἦν ὀλίγον τε διαλιπὼν εἶτα διανίσταται. [98] καὶ ὁ Γάιος οὐδὲν ἐμποδὼν ἦν ἐξιόντι δοκῶν ἐπί τινι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἔξοδον. Ἀμβρώνας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς παρῄνει τῷ Γαίῳ καθὸ πρότερον ὑπεξελθόντι πρός τε λουτρῷ καὶ ἀρίστῳ γενέσθαι καὶ ἔπειτα δὲ εἰσελθεῖν, χρῄζων ἐπὶ πέρας ἀχθῆναι τὰ ἐγνωσμένα.

13. When Cherea had spoken thus, he zealously set about the work, and inspired courage into the rest to go on with it, and they were all eager to fall to it without further delay. So he was at the palace in the morning, with his equestrian sword girt on him; for it was the custom that the tribunes should ask for the watchword with their swords on, and this was the day on which Cherea was, by custom, to receive the watchword; and the multitude were already come to the palace, to be soon enough for seeing the shows, and that in great crowds, and one tumultuously crushing another, while Caius was delighted with this eagerness of the multitude; for which reason there was no order observed in the seating men, nor was any peculiar place appointed for the senators, or for the equestrian order; but they sat at random, men and women together, and free-men were mixed with the slaves. So Caius came out in a solemn manner, and offered sacrifice to

Augustus Caesar, in whose honor indeed these shows were celebrated. Now it happened, upon the fall of a certain priest, that the garment of Asprenas, a senator, was filled with blood, which made Caius laugh, although this was an evident omen to Asprenas, for he was slain at the same time with Caius. It is also related that Caius was that day, contrary to his usual custom, so very affable and good-natured in his conversation, that every one of those that were present were astonished at it. After the sacrifice was over, Caius betook himself to see the shows, and sat down for that purpose, as did also the principal of his friends sit near him. Now the parts of the theater were so fastened together, as it used to be every year, in the manner following: It had two doors, the one door led to the open air, the other was for going into, or going out of, the cloisters, that those within the theater might not be thereby disturbed; but out of one gallery there went an inward passage, parted into partitions also, which led into another gallery, to give room to the combatants and to the musicians to go out as occasion served. When the multitude were set down, and Cherea, with the other tribunes, were set down also, and the right corner of the theater was allotted to Caesar, one Vatinius, a senator, commander of the praetorian band, asked of Cluvius, one that sat by him, and was of consular dignity also, whether he had heard any thing of news, or not? but took care that nobody should hear what he said; and when Cluvius replied, that he had heard no news, "Know then," said Vatinius, "that the game of the slaughter of tyrants is to be played this day." But Cluvius replied "O brave comrade hold thy peace, lest some other of the Achaians hear thy tale." And as there was abundance of autumnal fruit thrown among the spectators, and a great number of birds, that were of great value to such as possessed them, on account of their rareness, Caius was pleased with the birds fighting for the fruits, and with the violence wherewith the spectators seized upon them: and here he perceived two prodigies that happened there; for an actor was introduced, by whom a leader of robbers was crucified, and the pantomime brought in a play called Cinyras, wherein he himself was to be slain, as well as his daughter Myrrha, and wherein a great deal of fictitious blood was shed, both about him that was crucified, and also about Cinyras. It was also confessed that this was the same day wherein Pausanias, a friend of Philip, the son of Amyntas, who was king of Macedonia, slew him, as he was entering into the theater. And now Caius was in doubt whether he should tarry to the end of the shows, because it was the last day, or whether he should not go first to the bath, and to dinner, and then return and sit down as before. Hereupon Minucianus, who sat over Caius, and was afraid that the opportunity should fail them, got up, because he saw Cherea was already gone out, and made haste out, to confirm him in his resolution; but Caius took hold of his garment, in an

obliging way, and said to him, “O brave man! whither art thou going?” Whereupon, out of reverence to Caesar, as it seemed, he sat down again; but his fear prevailed over him, and in a little time he got up again, and then Caius did no way oppose his going out, as thinking that he went out to perform some necessities of nature. And Asprenas, who was one of the confederates, persuaded Caius to go out to the bath, and to dinner, and then to come in again, as desirous that what had been resolved on might be brought to a conclusion immediately.

(14) [99] Καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Χαιρέαν ἔτασσον μὲν ἀλλήλους ᾗ καιρός τε καὶ ἐχρῆν ἕκαστον στάντα ᾗ προσταχθείη μὴ ἀπολιμπάνεσθαι ἐπιπονοῦντες. ἤχθοντο δὲ τῇ διατριβῇ καὶ τῷ μέλλεσθαι τὰ ἐν χερσίν, ἐπεὶ καὶ περὶ ἐνάτην ὥραν ἤδη τὰ τῆς ἡμέρας ἦν. [100] καὶ Χαιρέας βραδύνοντος Γαίου πρόθυμος ἦν ἐπεισελθεῖν ἐν τῇ καθέδρᾳ προσπεσὼν μέντοι προῄδει τοῦτο σὺν πολλῷ φόνῳ τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ ὁπόσοι τῶν ἱππέων παρῆσαν καίπερ δεδιὼς πρόθυμος ἦν, καλῶς ἔχειν ἡγούμενος πᾶσιν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ ἐλευθερίαν ὠνούμενος ἐν ὀλίγῳ τίθεσθαι τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἀπολουμένους. [101] καὶ δὴ τετραμμένων εἰς τὸ θέατρον εἰσόδῳ σημαίνεται Γάιος ἐξαναστὰς καὶ θόρυβος ἦν, ἀνέστρεφον δὲ καὶ οἱ συνωμόται καὶ ἀνεωθοῦντο τὴν πληθύν, λόγῳ μὲν διὰ τὸ δυσχεραίνειν τὸν Γάιον, ἔργῳ δὲ ἐπ’ ἀδείας βουλόμενοι ἐν ἐρημίᾳ τῶν ἀμυνουμένων καταστήσαντες αὐτὸν ἅπτεσθαι τῆς σφαγῆς. [102] προεξῆσαν δὲ Κλαύδιος μὲν ὁ πάτρως αὐτοῦ καὶ Μᾶρκος Βινίκιος ὁ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἀνὴρ ἔτι δὲ Οὐαλέριος Ἀσιατικός, οὓς οὐδὲ βουλομένοις διακλεῖσαι δύναμις ἦν αἰδοῖ τῆς ἀξιώσεως, εἵπετο δ’ αὐτὸς σὺν Παύλῳ Ἀρουντίῳ. [103] ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐντὸς ἦν τοῦ βασιλείου, τὰς μὲν ἐπ’ εὐθείας ὁδοὺς λείπει, καθ’ ἃς διεστήκεσαν τῶν δούλων οἱ θεραπεύοντες αὐτὸν καὶ προῆσαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Κλαύδιον: [104] τρέπεται δὲ κατὰ στενωπὸν ἠρεμηκότα καὶ ἐπὶ τόπον πρὸς λουτροῖς γενησόμενος ἅμα καὶ παῖδας οἳ ἥκεσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας κατανοήσων, πομπῆς αὐτῶν ἐκεῖθεν γενομένης ἐπὶ ὕμνοις μυστηρίων ἃ ἐπετέλει, ἔνιοι δὲ κατὰ πυρριχισμούς, οἳ ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἔσοιντο. [105] ὑπαντιάζει δ’ αὐτὸν Χαιρέας καὶ ᾔτησεν σημεῖον. τοῦ δὲ τῶν εἰς χλεύην ἀνακειμένων εἰπόντος οὐδὲν ἐνδοιάσας λοιδορίαις τε ἐχρᾶτο κατὰ τοῦ Γαίου καὶ σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἐπάγει πληγὴν σφοδράν: οὐ μήν γε ἦν καίριος. [106] καίτοι γέ φασίν τινες προνοίᾳ τοῦ Χαιρέου γενέσθαι τοῦ μὴ μιᾷ πληγῇ διεργάσασθαι τὸν Γάιον, ἀλλὰ τιμωρεῖσθαι μειζόνως πλήθει τραυμάτων. [107] οὐ μὴν ἐμοὶ πιθανὸς οὗτος ὁ λόγος διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπιχωρεῖν ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς πράξεσιν λογισμῷ χρῆσθαι τὸν φόβον, Χαιρέαν δέ, εἴπερ οὕτως ἐφρόνει, πάντων ἥγημαι μωρίᾳ διαφέρειν ἡδονὴν τῇ ὀργῇ χαριζόμενον μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἀπαλλαγὴν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς συνωμόταις κινδύνων χαριζόμενον, διὰ τὸ πολλὰς ἂν μηχανὰς ἔτι γενέσθαι βοηθειῶν Γαίῳ μὴ φθάντι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφεῖναι κἀνταῦθα Χαιρέᾳ λόγον ἂν γενέσθαι οὐ περὶ τῆς Γαίου τιμωρίας, ἀλλὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων, [108] ὅπου γε καὶ πράξαντι καλῶς

ἂν εἶχε σιγῇ χρωμένῳ διαδιδράσκειν τὰς ὀργὰς τῶν ἀμυνομένων, οὐχ ὅπως ἄδηλον εἰ τύχοι κατορθῶν ἐπ᾽ ἀλόγοις χρήζειν αὐτόν τε ἀπολέσαι καὶ τὸν καιρόν. καὶ τάδε μὲν εἰκάζειν παρέστω τοῖς βουλομένοις ᾗ καὶ θέλοιεν. [109] ὁ δὲ Γάιος ἀλγηδόνι τῆς πληγῆς περιφερόμενος, μεσσηγὺς γὰρ τοῦ τε ὤμου καὶ τοῦ τραχήλου φερόμενον τὸ ξίφος ἐπέσχεν ἡ κλεὶς προσωτέρω χωρεῖν, οὔτε ἀνεβόησεν ὑπ᾽ ἐκπλήξεως οὔτε ἐπεκαλέσατό τινας τῶν φίλων εἴτε ἀπιστίᾳ εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως ἀφρονήσει, στόνῳ δὲ χρησάμενος πρὸς τῆς ἀλγηδόνος τὸ περιὸν εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ἵετο φυγῇ. [110] καὶ δεξάμενος αὐτὸν Κορνήλιος Σαβῖνος τὴν διάνοιαν ἤδη προκατειργασμένον ὠθεῖ καὶ κλιθέντα ἐπὶ γόνυ πολλοὶ περιστάντες ἀφ᾽ ἑνὸς ἐγκελεύσματος ἔκοπτον τοῖς ξίφεσιν, παρακελευσμός τε τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς ἔρις αὐτοῖς ἦν. τελευταῖα δὲ Ἀκύλας, ὁμολογεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ πάντων πληγὴν ἐπαγαγών, μεθίστησιν αὐτὸν ἀκριβῶς. [111] ἀναθείη δ᾽ ἄν τις τὴν πρᾶξιν Χαιρέᾳ: καὶ γὰρ εἰ σὺν πολλοῖς ἐπράχθη τὸ ἔργον αὐτῷ, ἀλλ᾽ οὖν πρῶτός τε ἐνεθυμήθη εἶναι μέντοι αὐτῷ ὃς προλαβὼν πολὺ τῶν ἁπάντων, [112] καὶ πρῶτος μὲν τολμηρῶς ἐξεῖπεν τοῖς λοιποῖς, δεχομένων δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ λόγον σποράδας τε ἤθροισεν καὶ τὰ πάντα φρονίμως συγκροτήσας ἔνθα γνωμῶν εἰσηγήσεως ἐχρῆν πολὺ κρείσσων ἐγίγνετο καὶ λόγοις καθωμίλησεν χρηστοῖς ὡς οὐ τολμῶντας ἠνάγκασέν τε τοὺς ἅπαντας, [113] ἐπεί τε καιρὸς ἐλάμβανεν χειρὶ χρήσασθαι, φαίνεται κἀνταῦθα πρῶτός τε ὁρμήσας καὶ ἁψάμενος ἀρετῇ τοῦ φόνου καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐεπίβατον παρασχὼν καὶ προτεθνεῶτα Γάιον, ὥστ᾽ ἂν δικαίως καὶ ὁπόσα τοῖς λοιποῖς εἴη πεπραγμένα τῇ Χαιρέου γνώμῃ τε καὶ ἀρετῇ προστίθεσθαι καὶ πόνῳ τῶν χειρῶν.

14. So Cherea's associates placed themselves in order, as the time would permit them, and they were obliged to labor hard, that the place which was appointed them should not be left by them; but they had an indignation at the tediousness of the delays, and that what they were about should be put off any longer, for it was already about the ninth hour of the day; and Cherea, upon Caius's tarrying so long, had a great mind to go in, and fall upon him in his seat, although he foresaw that this could not be done without much bloodshed, both of the senators, and of those of the equestrian order that were present; and although he knew this must happen, yet had he a great mind to do so, as thinking it a right thing to procure security and freedom to all, at the expense of such as might perish at the same time. And as they were just going back into the entrance to the theater, word was brought them that Caius was arisen, whereby a tumult was made; hereupon the conspirators thrust away the crowd, under pretense as if Caius was angry at them, but in reality as desirous to have a quiet place, that should have none in it to defend him, while they set about Caius's slaughter. Now Claudius, his uncle, was gone out before, and Marcus Vinicius his sister's

husband, as also Valellus of Asia; whom though they had had such a mind to put out of their places, the reverence to their dignity hindered them so to do; then followed Caius, with Paulus Arruntius: and because Caius was now gotten within the palace, he left the direct road, along which those his servants stood that were in waiting, and by which road Claudius had gone out before, Caius turned aside into a private narrow passage, in order to go to the place for bathing, as also in order to take a view of the boys that came out of Asia, who were sent thence, partly to sing hymns in these mysteries which were now celebrated, and partly to dance in the Pyrrhic way of dancing upon the theatres. So Cherea met him, and asked him for the watchword; upon Caius's giving him one of his ridiculous words, he immediately reproached him, and drew his sword, and gave him a terrible stroke with it, yet was not this stroke mortal. And although there be those that say it was so contrived on purpose by Chorea, that Caius should not be killed at one blow, but should be punished more severely by a multitude of wounds; yet does this story appear to me incredible, because the fear men are under in such actions does not allow them to use their reason. And if Cherea was of that mind, I esteem him the greatest of all fools, in pleasing himself in his spite against Caius, rather than immediately procuring safety to himself and to his confederates from the dangers they were in, because there might many things still happen for helping Caius's escape, if he had not already given up the ghost; for certainly Cherea would have regard, not so much to the punishment of Caius, as to the affliction himself and his friends were in, while it was in his power, after such success, to keep silent, and to escape the wrath of Caius's defenders, and not to leave it to uncertainty whether he should gain the end he aimed at or not, and after an unreasonable manner to act as if he had a mind to ruin himself, and lose the opportunity that lay before him. But every body may guess as he please about this matter. However, Caius was staggered with the pain that the blow gave him; for the stroke of the sword falling in the middle, between the shoulder and the neck, was hindered by the first bone of the breast from proceeding any further. Nor did he either cry out, [in such astonishment was he,] nor did he call out for any of his friends; whether it were that he had no confidence in them, or that his mind was otherwise disordered, but he groaned under the pain he endured, and presently went forward and fled; when Cornelius Sabinus, who was already prepared in his mind so to do, thrust him down upon his knee, where many of them stood round about him, and struck him with their swords; and they cried out, and encouraged one another all at once to strike him again; but all agree that Aquila gave him the finishing stroke, which directly killed him. But one may justly ascribe this act to Cherea; for although many concurred in the act itself, yet was he the first contriver of it, and

began long before all the rest to prepare for it, and was the first man that boldly spake of it to the rest; and upon their admission of what he said about it, he got the dispersed conspirators together; he prepared every thing after a prudent manner, and by suggesting good advice, showed himself far superior to the rest, and made obliging speeches to them, insomuch that he even compelled them all to go on, who otherwise had not courage enough for that purpose; and when opportunity served to use his sword in hand, he appeared first of all ready so to do, and gave the first blow in this virtuous slaughter; he also brought Caius easily into the power of the rest, and almost killed him himself, insomuch that it is but just to ascribe all that the rest did to the advice, and bravery, and labors of the hands of Cherea.

(15) [114] Καὶ Γάιος μὲν τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ χρησάμενος τῆς τελευτῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ τῶν τραυμάτων ἀποψυχθεὶς ἔκειτο. [115] οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Χαιρέαν ἐπειδὴ κατείργαστο αὐτοῖς ἤδη Γάιος, ὁδοὺς μὲν τὰς αὐτὰς ἰόντες σώζειν αὐτοὺς ἀμήχανον ἑώρων, ὅκνῳ τε τῶν γεγονότων, οὐ γὰρ μικρὸν ἦν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἀνῃρηκόσι τὸ κινδύνευμα ὑπό τε ἀνοίας τοῦ δήμου τιμώμενον καὶ ὄντα προσφιλῆ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν μὴ ἀναιμωτὶ ποιησομένων τὴν ζήτησιν αὐτοῦ, [116] ἄλλως τε στενῶν οὐσῶν τῶν ὁδῶν, καθ' ἃς ἔπραξαν τὸ ἔργον, καὶ μεγάλου πλήθους ἐμφράξαντος αὐτὰς τῆς τε θεραπείας καὶ ὁπόσοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐκείνην παρῆσαν τὴν ἡμέραν, [117] ὁδούς τε ἑτέρας χωροῦντες παρῆσαν εἰς τὴν Γερμανικοῦ μὲν οἰκίαν τοῦ Γαίου πατρός, ὃν τότε ἀνῃρήκεσαν, συνημμένη δὲ ἐκείνη, διὰ τὸ ἓν τὸ βασίλειον ὂν ἐπ' οἰκοδομίαις ἑκάστου τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ γεγονότων ἀσκηθὲν ἀπὸ μέρους ὀνόματι τῶν οἰκοδομηθησομένων ἢ καί τι τῶν ἡμερῶν οἰκήσεις ἀρξάντων τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν παρασχέσθαι. [118] καὶ διεκπεσόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους τὴν ἔφοδον ἐν ἀδείᾳ τὸ παρὸν ἦσαν λανθάνοντος ἀκμὴν κακοῦ τοῦ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα παρειληφότος. [119] πρώτους δὲ εἰς τοὺς Γερμανοὺς ἡ αἴσθησις ἀφίκετο τῆς Γαίου τελευτῆς. δορυφόροι δ' ἦσαν οὗτοι ὁμώνυμοι τῷ ἔθνει ἀφ' οὗ κατειλέχατο Κελτικοῦ τάγμα παρεχόμενοι τὸ αὐτῶν. [120] θυμῷ δὲ χρῆσθαι πάτριόν ἐστιν αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ σπάνιον εἴ τισιν ἑτέροις βαρβάρων διὰ τὸ ἠσσόνως λογισμὸν ἐπιδέχεσθαι τῶν ποιουμένων, ῥωμαλέοι τε τοῖς σώμασι καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ ὁρμῇ συνιόντες τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὓς ἂν νομίσωσι, μεγάλα κατορθοῦντες. [121] οὗτοι οὖν πυθόμενοι τοῦ Γαίου τὴν σφαγὴν καὶ περιαλγήσαντες διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀρετῇ κρίνειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅλοις, ἀλλὰ συμφέροντι τῷ αὐτῶν, μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοῖς προσφιλὴς ἦν Γάιος δόσεσι χρημάτων τὸ εὔνουν αὐτῷ κτώμενος, [122] σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη, προειστήκει δ' αὐτῶν Σαβῖνος χιλιαρχῶν οὐ δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ γενναιότητα προγόνων, μονομάχος γὰρ ἦν, ἰσχύι δὲ σώματος τὴν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις κτησάμενος ἄθροισιν ἀρετήν, διεξῄεσαν τῆς οἰκίας ἀνερευνώμενοι τοὺς σφαγέας τοῦ Καίσαρος. [123]

Ἀσπρήναν τε κρεουργήσασιν αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ πρώτῳ περιπεσεῖν, οὗ τὴν στολὴν μιᾶναν τὸ αἷμα τῶν θυμάτων, ὥς μοι λέλεκται πρότερον, οὐκ ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθῷ τὴν συντυχίαν ἀπεσήμαινε τοῦ γεγονότος δεύτερος, Νωρβανὸς ὑπηντίαζεν ἐν τοῖς γενναιοτάτοις τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτοκράτορας παρεχόμενος τῶν προπατόρων. [124] καὶ μηδὲν αἰδουμένων αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀξίωσιν ἰσχύι προύχων ἀφαιρεῖται τὸ ξίφος τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν ἐπιόντων συμπλακεὶς φανερός τε ἦν οὐκ ἀπραγμόνως τεθνηξόμενος, μέχρι δὴ περισχεθεὶς πολλοῖς τῶν ἐπιφερομένων ἔπεσεν ὑπὸ πλήθους τραυμάτων. [125] τρίτος δὲ Ἀντήιος τῶν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς σὺν ὀλίγοις, οὐ τυχαίως τοῖς Γερμανοῖς καθάπερ οἱ πρότερον περιπεσών, ὑπὸ δὲ φιλοθεαμοσύνης καὶ ἡδονῆς τοῦ αὐτόπτης γενόμενος Γαίου κειμένου μῖσος εὐφρᾶναι τὸ πρὸς αὐτόν: τὸν γὰρ πατέρα τοῦ Ἀντηίου καὶ ὁμώνυμον φυγάδα ἐλάσας καὶ μὴ ἀρκεσθεὶς κτείνει στρατιώτας ἀποπέμψας. [126] καὶ παρῆν μὲν διὰ τάδε εὐφρανούμενος θεωρίᾳ τοῦ νεκροῦ, θορυβουμένης δὲ τῆς οἰκίας κρύπτειν αὐτὸν ἐνθυμησάμενος οὐ διαφυγγάνει τῶν Γερμανῶν τό τε εἰς τὴν ἔρευναν ἀκριβὲς κἀπὶ τοῖς φόνοις ὁμοίως τῶν τε αἰτίων καὶ μὴ ἐξαγριωσάντων. καὶ οἵδε μὲν ταύτῃ τεθνήκεσαν.

15. Thus did Caius come to his end, and lay dead, by the many wounds which had been given him. Now Cherea and his associates, upon Caius's slaughter, saw that it was impossible for them to save themselves, if they should all go the same way, partly on account of the astonishment they were under; for it was no small danger they had incurred by killing an emperor, who was honored and loved by the madness of the people, especially when the soldiers were likely to make a bloody inquiry after his murderers. The passages also were narrow wherein the work was done, which were also crowded with a great multitude of Caius's attendants, and of such of the soldiers as were of the emperor's guard that day; whence it was that they went by other ways, and came to the house of Germanicus, the father of Caius, whom they had now killed [which house adjoined to the palace; for while the edifice was one, it was built in its several parts by those particular persons who had been emperors, and those parts bare the names of those that built them or the name of him who had begun to build its parts]. So they got away from the insults of the multitude, and then were for the present out of danger, that is, so long as the misfortune which had overtaken the emperor was not known. The Germans were the first who perceived that Caius was slain. These Germans were Caius's guard, and carried the name of the country whence they were chosen, and composed the Celtic legion. The men of that country are naturally passionate, which is commonly the temper of some other of the barbarous nations also, as being not used to consider much about what they do; they are of robust bodies and fall upon their enemies as soon as

ever they are attacked by them; and which way soever they go, they perform great exploits. When, therefore, these German guards understood that Caius was slain, they were very sorry for it, because they did not use their reason in judging about public affairs, but measured all by the advantages themselves received, Caius being beloved by them because of the money he gave them, by which he had purchased their kindness to him; so they drew their swords, and Sabinus led them on. He was one of the tribunes, not by the means of the virtuous actions of his pro genitors, for he had been a gladiator, but he had obtained that post in the army by his having a robust body. So these Germans marched along the houses in quest of Caesar's murderers, and cut Asprenas to pieces, because he was the first man they fell upon, and whose garment it was that the blood of the sacrifices stained, as I have said already, and which foretold that this his meeting the soldiers would not be for his good. Then did Norbanus meet them, who was one of the principal nobility of and could show many generals of armies among his ancestors; but they paid no regard to his dignity; yet was he of such great strength, that he wrested the sword of the first of those that assaulted him out of his hands, and appeared plainly not to be willing to die without a struggle for his life, until he was surrounded by a great number of assailants, and died by the multitude of the wounds which they gave him. The third man was Anteius, a senator, and a few others with him. He did not meet with these Germans by chance, as the rest did before, but came to show his hatred to Caius, and because he loved to see Caius lie dead with his own eyes, and took a pleasure in that sight; for Caius had banished Anteius's father, who was of the same name with himself, and being not satisfied with that, he sent out his soldiers, and slew him; so he was come to rejoice at the sight of him, now he was dead. But as the house was now all in a tumult, when he was aiming to hide himself, he could not escape that accurate search which the Germans made, while they barbarously slew those that were guilty, and those that were not guilty, and this equally also. And thus were these [three] persons slain.

(16) [127] Εἰς δὲ τὸ θέατρον ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο ὁ λόγος περὶ τῆς Γαίου τελευτῆς, ἔκπληξίς τε καὶ ἀπιστία ἦν: οἱ μὲν γὰρ καὶ πάνυ ἡδονῇ δεχόμενοι τὸν ὄλεθρον αὐτοῦ κἂν πρὸ πολλοῦ ἡγησάμενοι σφίσιν ἀγαθὸν συνελθεῖν ὑπὸ δέους ἐν ἀπιστίᾳ ἦσαν. [128] εἰσὶ δ' οἷς καὶ πάνυ ἀπ' ἐλπίδων ἦν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐθέλειν τι τοιόνδε περὶ τῷ Γαίῳ γεγονέναι μηδὲ ἀληθείᾳ προστίθεσθαι διὰ τὸ μὴ οἷόν τε ἀνθρώπῳ εἶναι τοιᾶδε ἀρετῇ χρῆσθαι. [129] γύναια δ' ἦν ταῦτα καὶ παῖδες ὁπόσοι τε δοῦλοι καί τινες τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ, οἱ μὲν διὰ τὸ μισθοφορεῖν καὶ οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ συντυραννοῦντες καὶ διακονίᾳ τῆς κατ' ἐκεῖνον ὕβρεως ἐπανασειόμενοι τοῖς κρατίστοις τῶν πολιτῶν τιμῆς τε ἅμα καὶ ὠφελειῶν τυγχάνειν, [130] ἡ δὲ αὖ

γυναικωνῖτις καὶ τὸ νεώτερον, ὅπερ ὄχλος φιλεῖ, θεωρίαις τε καὶ μονομαχιῶν δόσεσιν καί τινων κρεανομιῶν ἡδοναῖς ἀνειλημμένοι, ἃ ἐπράσσετο λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ τῆς πληθύος, τὸ δ᾽ ἀληθὲς ἐκπιμπλάντα τῆς μανίας Γαίου τὴν ὠμότητα: [131] οἱ δὲ δοῦλοι διὰ τὸ ἐν προσηγορίᾳ τε εἶναι καὶ καταφρονήματι τῶν δεσποτῶν, ἀποστροφῆς τῷ ὑβρίζοντι αὐτὴν οὔσης τῆς κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἐπικουρίας: ῥᾴδιον γὰρ ψευσαμένοις τε κατὰ τῶν κυρίων πεπιστεῦσθαι καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐνδείξασιν αὐτῶν ἅμα ἐλευθέροις τε εἶναι καὶ πλουσίοις μισθῷ τῶν κατηγοριῶν διὰ τὸ ᾖθλα αὐτοῖς προκεῖσθαι τὰς ὀγδόας τῶν οὐσιῶν. [132] τῶν δὲ εὐπατριδῶν εἰ καί τισιν πιστὸς ὁ λόγος φανείη, τοῖς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ προειδέναι τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, τοῖς δ᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ θέλειν εὐκτὸν ἡγουμένοις, σιγῇ παρεδίδοτο οὐ μόνον ἡ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἠγγελμένοις χαρά, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ δόξα τῆς ἀκροάσεως, [133] οἱ μὲν δεδιότες, μὴ καὶ ψευσθεῖσιν ἐλπίδος τιμωρίᾳ συνέλθοιεν ὡς προεξορμήσασιν ἀποφήνασθαι τὴν διάνοιαν ἑαυτῶν, οἱ δ᾽ ἐξεπιστάμενοι διὰ τὸ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς μετασχεῖν μειζόνως ἔκρυπτον ἀλλήλων ἀγνοίᾳ καὶ δεδιότες, μὴ πρός τινα εἰπόντες, οἷς ἡ τυραννὶς ἑστῶσα ὠφέλιμος ἦν, ζῶντος Γαίου κολασθεῖεν ἐνδείξεως γενομένης. [134] ἐπεὶ καὶ ἕτερος ἐπεφοιτήκει λόγος ὠμιληκέναι μὲν τραύμασιν, οὐ μὴν ἀποθανεῖν, ἀλλὰ ζῶντα ἐν θεραπείαις ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν εἶναι. [135] ἦν τε πιστὸς οὐθεὶς οὐδενί, ᾧ κἂν θαρσήσας γνώμην ἀποφαίνοιτο τὴν αὐτοῦ: ἢ γὰρ φίλος ὢν ὕποπτος ἐγίνετο εὐνοίᾳ τῆς τυραννίδος ἢ καὶ μίσει πρὸς ἐκεῖνον χρώμενος τῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδαμόθεν εὐνοίᾳ χρωμένῳ διαφθείρειν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις πίστιν. [136] ἐλέγετο δὲ ὑπό τινων, οἳ καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς εὐπατρίδαις ἠφάνιζον τὸ εὐθυμοῦν τῆς ἐλπίδος, ἐν ἀμελείᾳ κινδύνων γεγονότα καὶ ἄφροντιν κομιδῇ τῶν τραυμάτων, ὥσπερ εἶχεν ᾑματωμένον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς διεκπεσεῖν κἀν δημηγορίαις εἶναι. [137] καὶ τάδε μὲν εἰκάζετο βουλήσει τῇ ἀλογίστῳ τῶν θροεῖν προθεμένων καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἀμφότερα δόξῃ τῶν ἀκουόντων λαμβανόμενα: οὐ μὴν τήν γ᾽ ἐνέδραν ἐξέλιπον δεδιότες τὴν ἐπενεχθησομένην προεξιοῦσιν αἰτίαν: οὐ γὰρ ἐφ᾽ ἧς ἀξιοῖεν διανοίας γενήσεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῖς τὴν κρίσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀφ᾽ ἧς εἰκάζειν ἐθελήσειαν τούς τε κατηγορήσοντας καὶ τοὺς δικάζοντας.

16. But when the rumor that Caius was slain reached the theater, they were astonished at it, and could not believe it; even some that entertained his destruction with great pleasure, and were more desirous of its happening than almost any other faction that could come to them, were under such a fear, that they could not believe it. There were also those who greatly distrusted it, because they were unwilling that any such thing should come to Caius, nor could believe it, though it were ever so true, because they thought no man could possibly so much power as to kill Caius. These were the women, and the children, and the slaves, and some of the soldiery. This last sort had taken his pay, and in a manner tyrannized with him, and had abused the best of the

citizens, in being subservient to his unjust commands, in order to gain honors and advantages to themselves; but for the women and the youth, they had been inveigled with shows, and the fighting of the gladiators, and certain distributions of flesh-meat among them, which things them pretense were designed for the pleasing of multitude, but in reality to satiate the barbarous cruelty and madness of Caius. The slaves also were sorry, because they were by Caius allowed to accuse and to despise their masters, and they could have recourse to his assistance when they had unjustly affronted them; for he was very easy in believing them against their masters, even when they the city, accused them falsely; and if they would discover what money their masters had, they might soon obtain both riches and liberty, as the rewards of their accusations, because the reward of these informers was the eighth part of the criminal's substance. As to the nobles, although the report appeared credible to some of them, either because they knew of the plot beforehand, or because they wished it might be true; however, they concealed not only the joy they had at the relation of it, but that they had heard any thing at all about it. These last acted so out of the fear they had, that if the report proved false, they should be punished, for having so soon let men know their minds. But those that knew Caius was dead, because they were partners with the conspirators, they concealed all still more cautiously, as not knowing one another's minds; and fearing lest they should speak of it to some of those to whom the continuance of tyranny was advantageous; and if Caius should prove to be alive, they might be informed against, and punished. And another report went about, that although Caius had been wounded indeed, yet was not he dead, but alive still, and under the physician's hands. Nor was any one looked upon by another as faithful enough to be trusted, and to whom any one would open his mind; for he was either a friend to Caius, and therefore suspected to favor his tyranny, or he was one that hated him, who therefore might be suspected to deserve the less credit, because of his ill-will to him. Nay, it was said by some [and this indeed it was that deprived the nobility of their hopes, and made them sad] that Caius was in a condition to despise the dangers he had been in, and took no care of healing his wounds, but was gotten away into the market-place, and, bloody as he was, was making an harangue to the people. And these were the conjectural reports of those that were so unreasonable as to endeavor to raise tumults, which they turned different ways, according to the opinions of the bearers. Yet did they not leave their seats, for fear of being accused, if they should go out before the rest; for they should not be sentenced according to the real intention with which they went out, but according to the supposals of the accusers and of the judges.

(17) [138] Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πλῆθος τῶν Γερμανῶν περιέσχε τὸ θέατρον ἐσπασμένων τὰ ξίφη, πᾶσι τοῖς θεωροῖς ἐλπὶς ἦν ἀπολεῖσθαι, καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν οὖτινος εἴσοδον πτοία εἶχεν αὐτούς, ὡς αὐτίκα μάλα συγκοπήσοιντο, ἐν ἀμηχάνοις τε ἦσαν οὔτ' ἀπιέναι θάρσος εἰσφερόμενοι οὔτε ἀκίνδυνον τὴν διατριβὴν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ θεάτρου πεπιστευκότες. [139] εἰσπιπτόντων τε ἤδη βοὴ τοῦ θεάτρου ῥήγνυται καθ' ἱκετείαν τρεπομένου τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὡς πάντων ἀγνοίας αὐτῇ γενομένης καὶ τῶν βουλευθέντων τοῖς ἐπαναστᾶσιν, εἰ δή τις καὶ γέγονεν ἐπανάστασις, καὶ τῶν γεγονότων. [140] φείδεσθαι οὖν καὶ μὴ τόλμης ἀλλοτρίας παρὰ τῶν οὐδ' ἐν αἰτίᾳ γενομένων ἀπολαμβάνειν τιμωρίαν, παρέντας ἐρεύνην τῶν πεπραχότων ὅ τι καὶ πεπραγμένον εἴη καταστῆναι. [141] καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτά τε καὶ περαιτέρω μετὰ δακρύων καὶ τύψεως προσώπων ἐπιθειάζοντες καὶ ποτνιώμενοι ὁπόσα ἀνεδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ κίνδυνος ἐστὼς πλησίον, καὶ ὡς ἄν τις ἀγωνιζόμενος περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς εἴποι τι, ἔλεγον. [142] θραύεται δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς ταῦτα ἡ ὀργὴ καὶ μεταμελῆσαν αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖς θεωροῖς βουλεύματος, ὠμόν τε γὰρ ἦν τοῦτο καὶ ἐκείνοις καίπερ ἐξηγριωκόσιν ἐδόκει, τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀσπρήναν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀπερεισαμένοις. [143] πρὸς ἃς μειζόνως ἔπαθον οἱ θεωροὶ λογισμῷ τε ἀξιώσεως τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἐλέῳ τοῦ πάθους, ὥστε παρ' ὀλίγον καὶ αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἐλλιπεστέρως τὰ τῶν κινδύνων ὁμιλήσαντα ἐπανασεσεῖσθαι, ὧν ἄδηλον εἶναι τὴν συμφορὰν εἴπερ εἰς τέλος φευχθῆναι δύναιτ' ἄν. [144] ὥστε κἂν εἴ τινες τῶν προθύμως μισούντων καὶ μετὰ δίκης τὸν Γάιον ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ εὐφροσυνῶν τῆς χώρας, διὰ τὸ ἐν ῥοπῇ μὲν τοῦ συναπολουμένου γεγονέναι, τὸ δὲ πιστὸν τοῦ περιεῖναι μηδέπω καὶ τότε ἐχέγγυον συνελθεῖν.

17. But now a multitude of Germans had surrounded the theater with their swords drawn: all the spectators looked for nothing but death, and at every one coming in a fear seized upon them, as if they were to be cut in pieces immediately; and in great distress they were, as neither having courage enough to go out of the theater, nor believing themselves safe from dangers if they tarried there. And when the Germans came upon them, the cry was so great, that the theater rang again with the entreaties of the spectators to the soldiers, pleading that they were entirely ignorant of every thing that related to such seditious contrivances, and that if there were any sedition raised, they knew nothing of it; they therefore begged that they would spare them, and not punish those that had not the least hand in such bold crimes as belonged to other persons, while they neglected to search after such as had really done whatsoever it be that hath been done. Thus did these people appeal to God, and deplore their infelicity with shedding of tears, and beating their faces, and said every thing that the most imminent danger and the utmost concern for their lives could dictate to them. This brake the fury

of the soldiers, and made them repent of what they minded to do to the spectators, which would have been the greatest instance of cruelty. And so it appeared to even these savages, when they had once fixed the heads of those that were slain with Asprenas upon the altar; at which sight the spectators were sorely afflicted, both upon the consideration of the dignity of the persons, and out of a commiseration of their sufferings; nay, indeed, they were almost in as great disorder at the prospect of the danger themselves were in, seeing it was still uncertain whether they should entirely escape the like calamity. Whence it was that such as thoroughly and justly hated Caius could yet no way enjoy the pleasure of his death, because they were themselves in jeopardy of perishing together with him; nor had they hitherto any firm assurance of surviving.

(18) [145] Ἦν δὲ Εὐάρεστος Ἀρούντιος τῶν κηρυσσόντων τὰ πωλούμενα καὶ δι᾽ αὐτὸ φωνῆς τε μεγέθει χρώμενος καὶ χρήματα περιβεβλημένος ὅμοια τοῖς Ῥωμαίων πλουσιωτάτοις, δύναμίς τε αὐτῷ ἦν ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐθελήσειε πράσσειν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἔν τε τῷ τότε κἀν τοῖς ὕστερον. [146] οὗτος διαθεὶς αὐτὸν ὡς ἐνῆν πενθιμώτατον, καίτοι μίσει καὶ παρ᾽ ὀντινοῦν ἐχρῆτο πρὸς Γάιον, ἀλλὰ μὴν κρείσσων ἡ διδασκαλία τοῦ φόβου καὶ στρατηγία περὶ τοῦ κερδησομένου τὴν σωτηρίαν τῆς εἰς τὸ παρὸν ἡδονῆς, [147] πάντα κόσμον ἐπιτηδεύσας ὡς ἄν τις ἐπὶ τοῖς τιμιωτάτοις παρεσκεύαστο ἀπολωλόσιν, ἀποσημαίνει τοῦ Γαίου τὸν θάνατον ἐπὶ τὸ θέατρον παρελθὼν καὶ ἔπαυσεν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ πλέον ἀγνοίᾳ συμπεριφέρεσθαι τοῦ γεγονότος. [148] ἤδη δὲ καὶ Στήλας Ἀρούντιος παρῆν ἀνακαλῶν τοὺς Γερμανοὺς καὶ οἱ χιλίαρχοι σὺν αὐτῷ κελεύοντες κατατίθεσθαι τὸν σίδηρον καὶ διασαφοῦντες Γαίου τὴν τελευτήν. [149] τοῦτο καὶ σαφέστατα ἔσωσεν τοὺς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ συνειλεγμένους καὶ πάντας, οἳ καὶ ὁπωσοῦν τοῖς Γερμανοῖς περιτύχοιεν: ἐλπίδος γὰρ αὐτοῖς παραγενομένης ἔμπνουν κεῖσθαι τὸν Γάιον οὐκ ἔσθ᾽ οὕτινος κακῶν ἂν ἀπέσχοντο. [150] τοσόνδε ἐπερίσσευσεν αὐτοῖς εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς κἂν μετὰ τοῦ καθ᾽ αὑτοὺς ἀπολουμένου τῆς ψυχῆς κτήσασθαι τὸ ἀνεπιβούλευτον αὐτῷ καὶ τοσαύτῃ δυστυχίᾳ συνεσόμενον. [151] παύονται δὲ τοῦ ὠργηκότος εἰς τὴν τιμωρίαν μαθήσεως σαφοῦς παραγενομένης αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ, διά τε τὸ εἰς ἀχρεῖον ἐπιδείξεσθαι τὸ πρόθυμον τῆς εὐνοίας, ὃς ἀμείψαιτο αὐτοὺς ἀπολωλότος, καὶ δέει, μὴ καὶ περαιτέρω τῇ ὕβρει χρωμένων ἐπιστροφὴ γένοιτο ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, εἴπερ εἰς ἐκείνην περισταίη τὸ κράτος, ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπικαταστάντος ἄρχοντος. [152] καὶ Γερμανοὶ εἰ καὶ μόλις, ἀλλ᾽ οὖν ἐπαύσαντο λύσσης τῆς ἐπὶ Γαίου τῷ θανάτῳ καταλαμβανομένης αὐτούς.

18. There was at this time one Euaristus Arruntius, a public crier in the market, and therefore of a strong and audible voice, who vied in wealth with the richest of the Romans, and was able to do what he pleased in the city, both then and

afterward. This man put himself into the most mournful habit he could, although he had a greater hatred against Caius than any one else; his fear and his wise contrivance to gain his safety taught him so to do, and prevailed over his present pleasure; so he put on such a mournful dress as he would have done had he lost his dearest friends in the world; this man came into the theater, and informed them of the death of Caius, and by this means put an end to that state of ignorance the men had been in. Arruntius also went round about the pillars, and called out to the Germans, as did the tribunes with him, bidding them put up their swords, and telling them that Caius was dead. And this proclamation it was plainly which saved those that were collected together in the theater, and all the rest who any way met the Germans; for while they had hopes that Caius had still any breath in him, they abstained from no sort of mischief; and such an abundant kindness they still had for Caius, that they would willingly have prevented the plot against him, and procured his escape from so sad a misfortune, at the expense of their own lives. But they now left off the warm zeal they had to punish his enemies, now they were fully satisfied that Caius was dead, because it was now in vain for them to show their zeal and kindness to him, when he who should reward them was perished. They were also afraid that they should be punished by the senate, if they should go on in doing such injuries; that is, in case the authority of the supreme governor should revert to them. And thus at length a stop was put, though not without difficulty, to that rage which possessed the Germans on account of Caius's death.

(19) [153] Χαιρέας δέ, σφόδρα γὰρ περὶ Μινουκιανῷ ἔδεισε, μὴ διαφθαρείη μανίᾳ τῶν Γερμανῶν περιπεσών, ἕκαστόν τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν μετῄει προμηθεῖσθαι τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ δεόμενος καὶ μὴ ἀπολώλοι πολλὴν ἐξέτασιν ποιούμενος. [154] καὶ Μινουκιανὸν μὲν Κλήμης, ἀνάγεται γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦτον, μεθίησιν πολλῶν μετ' ἄλλων συγκλητικῶν δικαιοσύνην τῇ πράξει συμμαρτυρῶν καὶ ἀρετὴν τοῖς ἐντεθυμημένοις καὶ πράσσειν μὴ ἀποδεδειλιακόσι: [155] τυραννίδα γὰρ εἰς ὀλίγον μὲν ἐλθεῖν ἡδονῇ τοῦ ὑβρίζειν ἐπαρθεῖσαν, εὐτυχεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἄρα ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀπαλλαγὰς τοῦ βίου μίσει τῆς ἀρετῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν χρωμένης, [156] ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοιαύτης δυστυχίας, ὁποίᾳ δὴ Γάιον συνελθεῖν πρὸ τῶν ἐπαναστάντων καὶ συνθέντων τὴν ἐπίθεσιν αὐτὸν ἐπίβουλον αὐτῷ γενόμενον καὶ διδάξαντα οἷς ὑβρίζων ἀφόρητος ἦν ἀφανίζων τοῦ νόμου τὴν πρόνοιαν πολέμῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν χρῆσθαι τοὺς φιλτάτους, καὶ νῦν λόγῳ μὲν εἶναι τούτους οἳ ἀνῃρήκασι Γάιον, ἔργῳ δὲ αὐτὸν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ κεῖσθαι διολωλότα.

19. But Cherea was so much afraid for Minucianus, lest he should light upon the Germans now they were in their fury, that he went and spike to every one of the soldiers, and prayed them to take care of his preservation, and made himself

great inquiry about him, lest he should have been slain. And for Clement, he let Minucianus go when he was brought to him, and, with many other of the senators, affirmed the action was right, and commended the virtue of those that contrived it, and had courage enough to execute it; and said that "tyrants do indeed please themselves and look big for a while, upon having the power to act unjustly; but do not however go happily out of the world, because they are hated by the virtuous; and that Caius, together with all his unhappiness, was become a conspirator against himself, before these other men who attacked him did so; and by becoming intolerable, in setting aside the wise provision the laws had made, taught his dearest friends to treat him as an enemy; insomuch that although in common discourse these conspirators were those that slew Caius, yet that, in reality, he lies now dead as perishing by his own self."

(20) [157] Ἤδη δὲ καὶ τὸ θέατρον ἐξανίστατο τῶν φυλακῶν αἳ τὸ κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς πάνυ πικραὶ ἐγένοντο ὑπανίσως. αἰτία δ᾽ ἦν τοῦ προθύμως καὶ διαφευξομένου τῶν θεωρῶν Ἀλκύων ὁ ἰατρός, συναρπασθεὶς μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ τινῶν τραυματιῶν, ἐκπέμψας δὲ τοὺς συνόντας λόγῳ μὲν ὡς καὶ μετελευσομένους ὁπόσα εἰς τὴν ἴασιν τοῖς τραυματίαις πρόσφορα, τὸ δ᾽ ἀληθὲς ὡς πείσοιντο κινδύνου τοῦ κατειληφότος. [158] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ βουλῆς τε γίνεται σύνοδος καὶ ὁ δῆμος ᾗπερ καὶ εἰώθασιν ἐκκλησιάζειν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καταστὰς ἐν ζητήσει τῶν σφαγέων τῶν Γαίου ἦσαν, ὁ μὲν δῆμος καὶ πάνυ ἐκθύμως, δοκεῖν δὲ καὶ ἡ βουλή. [159] καὶ ἦν γὰρ Ἀσιατικὸς Οὐαλέριος ὑπατικὸς ἀνήρ, οὗτος ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον καταστάς, θορυβούντων καὶ δεινὸν τιθεμένων τὸ ἔτι λανθάνον τῶν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἀπεκτονότων, ἐπεὶ προθύμως πάντες αὐτὸν ἤροντο, τίς ὁ πράξας τυγχάνει, "εἴθε γὰρ ἔγωγε" φησί. [160] καὶ προύθεσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ὕπατοι διάγραμμα Γαίου μὲν κατηγορίας ποιούμενοι, κελεύοντες δὲ τῷ τε δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἀπιέναι, τῷ μὲν δήμῳ πολλὴν ἀνέσεως ἐπαγγελλόμενοι ἐλπίδα, τῷ στρατιωτικῷ δὲ τιμῶν, εἰ ἐν κόσμῳ μείνειαν τῷ εἰωθότι μηδὲν ὑβρίζειν ἐξαγόμενοι: δέος γὰρ ἦν, μὴ ἐξαγριωσάντων ἀπολαύσειεν τοῦ κακοῦ ἡ πόλις καθ᾽ ἁρπαγὰς αὐτῶν καὶ συλήσεις τῶν ἱερῶν τρεπομένων. [161] ἐφθάκει δὲ ἤδη τῶν βουλευτῶν τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος συνειλεγμένον καὶ μάλιστα οἱ εἰς τοῦ Γαίου συνελθόντες τὸν φόνον θράσει τε ἤδη χρώμενοι κἀν καταφρονήματι μεγάλῳ ὄντες ὡς εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀνακειμένων δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων.

20. Now by this time the people in the theatre were arisen from their seats, and those that were within made a very great disturbance; the cause of which was this, that the spectators were too hasty in getting away. There was also one Aleyon, a physician, who hurried away, as if to cure those that were wounded, and under that pretense he sent those that were with him to fetch what things were necessary for the healing of those wounded persons, but in reality to get

them clear of the present dangers they were in. Now the senate, during this interval, had met, and the people also assembled together in the accustomed form, and were both employed in searching after the murderers of Caius. The people did it very zealously, but the senate in appearance only; for there was present Valerius of Asia, one that had been consul; this man went to the people, as they were in disorder, and very uneasy that they could not yet discover who they were that had murdered the emperor; he was then earnestly asked by them all who it was that had done it. He replied, “I wish I had been the man.” The consuls also published an edict, wherein they accused Caius, and gave order to the people then got together, and to the soldiers, to go home; and gave the people hopes of the abatement of the oppressions they lay under; and promised the soldiers, if they lay quiet as they used to do, and would not go abroad to do mischief unjustly, that they would bestow rewards upon them; for there was reason to fear lest the city might suffer harm by their wild and ungovernable behavior, if they should once betake themselves to spoil the citizens, or plunder the temples. And now the whole multitude of the senators were assembled together, and especially those that had conspired to take away the life of Caius, who put on at this time an air of great assurance, and appeared with great magnanimity, as if the administration of the public affairs were already devolved upon them.

CHAPTER 2. How The Senators Determined To Restore The Democracy; But The Soldiers Were For Preserving The Monarchy, Concerning The Slaughter Of Caius's Wife And Daughter. A Character Of Caius's Morals.

(1) [162] Ἐν τούτῳ δὴ ὄντων τῶν πραγμάτων αἰφνίδιον ἁρπάζεται Κλαύδιος ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας: οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται συνόδου γενομένης αὐτοῖς, ἀλλήλοις καὶ αὐτοῖς λόγον δόντες περὶ τοῖς ποιητέοις ἑώρων δημοκρατίαν ἀδύνατόν τε ὂν ἐν κράτει τοσῶνδε ἄν ποτε γενέσθαι πραγμάτων ἐξικομένην τε οὐκ ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθῷ τῷ αὐτῶν κτήσασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, [163] εἴ τέ τις τῶν κατὰ ἕνα σχήσοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, εἰς πάντα λυπηρὸν αὐτοῖς εἶναι μὴ οὐ συνεργοῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς καταστᾶσιν. [164] καλῶς οὖν ἔχειν ἀκρίτων ἔτι ὄντων τῶν πραγμάτων ἡγεμόνα αἱρεῖσθαι Κλαύδιον, πάτρωά τε ὄντα τοῦ τεθνεῶτος καὶ τῶν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν συλλεγομένων οὐδενὸς οὗτινος οὐκ ἀξιολογώτερον προγόνων τε ἀρετῇ καὶ τῷ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν παιδείαν μεμελετηκότι, [165] καὶ σταθέντα αὐτοκράτορα τιμήσειν τε τὰ εἰκότα καὶ ἀμείψεσθαι δωρεαῖς.᾽᾽ ταῦτα διανοοῦνταί τε καὶ ἔπραξαν ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα. [166] ἥρπαστο μὲν δὴ Κλαύδιος ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ. Ναῖος δὲ Σέντιος Σατορνῖνος καίτοι πεπυσμένος τὴν Κλαυδίου ἁρπαγήν, καὶ ὡς ἐπιδικάζοιτο τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄκων μὲν δοκεῖν, τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς καὶ βουλήσει τῇ αὐτοῦ, καταστὰς ἐπὶ τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ μηδὲν ἐκπλαγεὶς ἐλευθέροις τε καὶ γενναίοις ἀνδράσι πρεπόντως ποιεῖται παραίνεσιν τάδε λέγων.

1. When the public affairs were in this posture, Claudius was on the sudden hurried away out of his house; for the soldiers had a meeting together; and when they had debated about what was to be done, they saw that a democracy was incapable of managing such a vast weight of public affairs; and that if it should be set up, it would not be for their advantage; and in case any one of those already in the government should obtain the supreme power, it would in all respects be to their grief, if they were not assisting to him in this advancement; that it would therefore be right for them, while the public affairs were unsettled, to choose Claudius emperor, who was uncle to the deceased Caius, and of a superior dignity and worth to every one of those that were assembled together in the senate, both on account of the virtues of his ancestors, and of the learning he had acquired in his education; and who, if once settled in the empire, would reward them according to their deserts, and bestow largesses upon them. These

were their consultations, and they executed the same immediately. Claudius was therefore seized upon suddenly by the soldiery. But Cneas Sentins Saturninns, although he understood that Claudius was seized, and that he intended to claim the government, unwillingly indeed in appearance, but in reality by his own free consent, stood up in the senate, and, without being dismayed, made an exhortatory oration to them, and such a one indeed as was fit for men of freedom and generosity, and spake thus:

(2) [167] "Εἰ καὶ ἄπιστον, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, διὰ τὸ χρόνῳ πολλῷ ἥκειν ἀνέλπιστον οὖσαν ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἔχομεν τοῦ ἐλευθέρου τὴν ἀξίωσιν, ἄδηλον μὲν ἐφ' ὁπόσον παρατείνουσαν καὶ γνώμῃ θεῶν οἳ ἐχαρίσαντο αὐτὴν κειμένην, εὐφραίνειν δὲ ἀρκοῦσαν καὶ εἴπερ ἀφαιρεθείημεν αὐτῆς εὐδαιμονίᾳ συνάγουσαν: [168] ἱκανὴ γὰρ καὶ μία ὥρα τοῖς ἀρετῆς αἰσθανομένοις καὶ μετ' αὐτοτελοῦς τῆς διανοίας ἐν αὐτοδίκῳ τῇ πατρίδι καὶ μετὰ νόμων, οἷς ποτε ἤνθησε, διαιτωμένῃ βιωθεῖσα. [169] ἐμοὶ δὲ τῆς μὲν πρότερον ἐλευθερίας ἀμνημονεῖν ἔστι διὰ τὸ κατόπιν αὐτῆς γεγονέναι, τῆς δὲ νῦν ἁπλήστως πιμπλαμένῳ μακαριστούς τε ἡγεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐγγενηθέντας καὶ ἐντραφέντας αὐτῇ καὶ τῶν θεῶν οὐδὲν μειόνως ἀξίους τιμῆς τούσδε τοὺς ἄνδρας, οἳ ὀψὲ γοῦν κἀν τούτῳ τῆς ἡλικίας ἡμᾶς γεύσαντας αὐτῆς. [170] καὶ εἴη μὲν εἰς πᾶν τοῦ αἰῶνος τὸ ἐπιὸν παραμεῖναι τὴν ἄδειαν αὐτῆς, ἀρκοῦσα δ' ἂν γένοιτο καὶ ἥδε ἡ ἡμέρα τοῖς τε νεωτέροις ἡμῶν καὶ ὅσοι γεγηράκαμεν αἰὼν ὑπείληπται, τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις δόντων ἀγαθῶν αὐτῆς ἐν ὁμιλίᾳ γεγονότες μετασταῖεν, τοῖς δὲ [171] νεωτέροις παίδευμα ἀρετῆς καταστάσεως ἀγαθὸν ἀνδράσι τοῖσδε ἀφ' ὧν γεγόναμεν, νῦν δὲ ἤδη καὶ ἡμῖν διὰ τὴν ἄρτι ὥραν οὐδὲν προυργιαίτερον εἴη τοῦ ζῆν μετὰ ἀρετῆς, ἣ μόνη ἐκφροντίζει τῷ ἀνθρωπείῳ τὸ ἐλεύθερον: [172] ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ παλαιὰ οἶδα ἀκοῇ παραλαβών, οἷς δὲ ὄψει ὁμιλήσας ᾐσθόμην, οἵων κακῶν τὰς πολιτείας ἀναπιμπλᾶσιν αἱ τυραννίδες, κωλύουσαι μὲν πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν καὶ τοῦ μεγαλόφρονος ἀφαιρούμεναι τὸ ἐλεύθερον, κολακείας δὲ καὶ φόβου διδάσκαλοι καθιστάμεναι διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ τῶν νόμων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ ὀργῇ τῶν ἐφεστηκότων καταλιπεῖν τὰ πράγματα. [173] ἀφ' οὗ γὰρ Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ φρονήσας ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς δημοκρατίας καὶ διαβιασάμενος τὸν κόσμον τῶν νόμων τὴν πολιτείαν συνετάραξεν, κρείσσων μὲν τοῦ δικαίου γενόμενος, ἥσσων δὲ τοῦ κατ' ἰδίαν ἡδονὴν αὐτῷ κομιοῦντος, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι τῶν κακῶν οὐ διέτριψεν τὴν πόλιν, [174] φιλοτιμηθέντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἁπάντων, οἳ ἐκείνῳ διάδοχοι τῆς ἀρχῆς κατέστησαν, ἐπ' ἀφανισμῷ τοῦ πατρίου καὶ ὡς ἂν μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν ἐρημίαν τοῦ γενναίου καταλείποιεν, διὰ τὸ οἴεσθαι πρὸς ἀσφαλείας εἶναι τῆς αὐτῶν τὸ κιβδήλοις ἀνδράσιν ὁμιλεῖν καὶ τῶν ἀρετῇ προύχειν πεπιστευμένων οὐ μόνον ὑφαιρεῖν τι τοῦ αὐχήματος, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἐπιφημίζειν αὐτῷ τοῖς ὀλέθροις [175] τῶν ἁπάντων ἀΡιθμῷ τε πολλῶν ὄντων καὶ βαρύτητα

ἀνύποιστον ἐπιδειξαμένων καθ᾽ ἃ ἕκαστος ἦρξεν εἷς ὢν ὁ Γάιος ὁ σήμερον τεθνεὼς πλέω τε τῶν πάντων δεινὰ ἀπεδείξατο οὐ μόνον εἰς τοὺς συμπολίτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τοὺς συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους ἀπαίδευτον τὴν ὀργὴν ἐπαφιείς, ὁμοίως τοῖς ἅπασι καὶ μείζω κακὰ ἐντριβόμενος ἀδίκως τὴν τιμωρίαν εἰσπράσσεσθαι, ὠργικότων ὁμοίως εἴς τε ἀνθρώπους ἐξαγριώσας καὶ τοὺς θεούς. [176] τυραννίδι γὰρ οὐ κερδαίνεται τὸ ἡδὺ οὐδὲ μεθ᾽ ὕβρεως ἀποχρῆται, οὐκ εἰς τὰ χρήματα λελυπῆσθαι καὶ γαμετάς, ἀλλὰ τὸ πᾶν κέρδος ἐκ τοῦ πανοικεσίᾳ διοχλουμένου τῶν ἐχθρῶν. [177] ἐχθρὸν δὲ τυραννίδι πᾶν τὸ ἐλεύθερον, εἰς εὔνοιάν τε ἐκκαλεῖσθαι αὐτὴν καὶ τοῖς ἐν ὀλίγῳ τιθεμένοις ὁπόσα πεπόνθοιεν οὐκ ἔστιν. ἐξεπιστάμενοι γὰρ ὧν ἀναπλήσειαν κακῶν ἔστιν οὓς κἀκεῖνοι μεγαλοφρόνως καταφρονημάτων τε πρὸς τὴν τύχην, αὐτοὶ λανθάνειν αὐτοὺς ὧν πράξειαν μὴ δυνάμενοι μόνως πιστεύουσιν κτήσεσθαι τοῦ ὑπόπτου τὸ ἀδεές, εἰ παντελὲς αἱρεῖσθαι δυνηθεῖεν αὐτούς. [178] τοιούτων δὴ κακῶν ἀπογεγονότες καὶ ὑποτελεῖς ἀλλήλοις καταστάντες, αἵπερ πολιτειῶν ἐχεγγυώταται πρός τε τὸ παρὸν εὔνουν καὶ τὸ αὖθις ἀνεπιβούλευτον καὶ τὸ δόξαν οἰκείαν τῷ ὀρθουμένῳ τῆς πόλεως δικαιοί τε προνοῆσαι διὰ τὸ εἰς κοινὸν αὐτοῦ τὴν ὠφέλειαν ἀπαντᾶν καὶ ἀνταποφήνασθαι γνώμην, [179] οἷς μὴ ἀρέσκοιτο τὰ προεισηγημένα, οὐδαμῶς εἰς κίνδυνον φέρον, διὰ τὸ μὴ δεσπότην εἶναι τὸν ἐφεστηκότα, ᾧ ἀνεύθυνόν τε βλάπτοντι τὴν πόλιν καὶ αὐτοκράτορι μεταστήσασθαι τοὺς εἰρηκότας. [180] καὶ τέτροφε τὴν τυραννίδα οὐδὲν νεώτερον πλὴν ἥ τε ἀργία καὶ τὸ πρὸς οὐδὲν τῶν ἐκείνῃ θελομένων ἀντιλογίᾳ χρώμενον: [181] τῆς γὰρ εἰρήνης τοῦ τερπνοῦ ἡσσώμενοι καὶ μεμαθηκότες ἀνδραπόδων ἐν τρόπῳ ζῆν ὁπόσοι τε ἐπαίομεν συμφορὰς ἀνηκέστους κακοῖς τε τοῖς πέλας ἐπείδομεν φόβῳ τοῦ μετ᾽ ἀρετῆς τελευτᾶν μετὰ αἰσχύνης τῆς ὑστάτης ὑπομένοντες τὰς τελευτάς. [182] πρῶτον δὲ τοῖς ἀραμένοις τὸν τύραννον τιμὰς αἵτινες μέγισται ταύτας εἰσενεγκεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ Χαιρέᾳ τῷ Κασσίῳ: σὺν γὰρ τοῖς θεοῖς εἷς ἀνὴρ οὗτος πορισ τὴς ἡμῖν καὶ γνώμῃ καὶ χερσὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας πέφηνεν. [183] οὐ καλὸν μὴ ἀμνημονεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τῆς τυραννίδος ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας τῆς ἡμετέρας προβεβουλευκότος τε ἅμα καὶ προκεκινδυνευκότος, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ψηφίσασθαι τὰς τιμὰς πρῶτόν τε ἀνεπιτάκτους τοῦτο ἂν ἀποφήνασθαι. [184] ἔργον δὲ κάλλιστον καὶ ἐλευθέροις ἀνδράσι πρέπον ἀμείβεσθαι τοὺς εὐεργέτας, οἷος δὴ καὶ ἀνὴρ οὗτος περὶ ἡμᾶς πάντας γέγονεν οὐδὲν παραπλήσιος Κασσίῳ καὶ Βρούτῳ τοῖς Γάιον Ἰούλιον ἀνῃρηκόσιν, ἐπεί γε οἱ μὲν στάσεως καὶ πολέμων ἐμφυλίων ἀρχὰς ἐπανερρίπισαν τῇ πόλει, οὗτος δὲ μετὰ τῆς τυραννοκτονίας καὶ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν δεινῶν ἀπήλλαξεν τὴν πόλιν.”

2. “Although it be a thing incredible, O Romans! because of the great length of time, that so unexpected an event hath happened, yet are we now in possession of liberty. How long indeed this will last is uncertain, and lies at the disposal of

the gods, whose grant it is; yet such it is as is sufficient to make us rejoice, and be happy for the present, although we may soon be deprived of it; for one hour is sufficient to those that are exercised in virtue, wherein we may live with a mind accountable only to ourselves, in our own country, now free, and governed by such laws as this country once flourished under. As for myself, I cannot remember our former time of liberty, as being born after it was gone; but I am beyond measure filled with joy at the thoughts of our present freedom. I also esteem those that were born and bred up in that our former liberty happy men, and that those men are worthy of no less esteem than the gods themselves who have given us a taste of it in this age; and I heartily wish that this quiet enjoyment of it, which we have at present, might continue to all ages. However, this single day may suffice for our youth, as well as for us that are in years. It will seem an age to our old men, if they might die during its happy duration: it may also be for the instruction of the younger sort, what kind of virtue those men, from whose loins we are derived, were exercised in. As for ourselves, our business is, during the space of time, to live virtuously, than which nothing can be more to our advantage; which course of virtue it is alone that can preserve our liberty; for as to our ancient state, I have heard of it by the relations of others; but as to our later state, during my lifetime, I have known it by experience, and learned thereby what mischiefs tyrannies have brought upon this commonwealth, discouraging all virtue, and depriving persons of magnanimity of their liberty, and proving the teachers of flattery and slavish fear, because it leaves the public administration not to be governed by wise laws, but by the humor of those that govern. For since Julius Caesar took it into his head to dissolve our democracy, and, by overbearing the regular system of our laws, to bring disorders into our administration, and to get above right and justice, and to be a slave to his own inclinations, there is no kind of misery but what hath tended to the subversion of this city; while all those that have succeeded him have striven one with another to overthrow the ancient laws of their country, and have left it destitute of such citizens as were of generous principles, because they thought it tended to their safety to have vicious men to converse withal, and not only to break the spirits of those that were best esteemed for their virtue, but to resolve upon their utter destruction. Of all which emperors, who have been many in number, and who laid upon us insufferable hardships during the times of their government, this Caius, who hath been slain today, hath brought more terrible calamities upon us than did all the rest, not only by exercising his ungoverned rage upon his fellow citizens, but also upon his kindred and friends, and alike upon all others, and by inflicting still greater miseries upon them, as punishments, which they never deserved, he being equally furious against men and against the gods. For tyrants

are not content to gain their sweet pleasure, and this by acting injuriously, and in the vexation they bring both upon men's estates and their wives; but they look upon that to be their principal advantage, when they can utterly overthrow the entire families of their enemies; while all lovers of liberty are the enemies of tyranny. Nor can those that patiently endure what miseries they bring on them gain their friendship; for as they are conscious of the abundant mischiefs they have brought on these men, and how magnanimously they have borne their hard fortunes, they cannot but be sensible what evils they have done, and thence only depend on security from what they are suspicious of, if it may be in their power to take them quite out of the world. Since, then, we are now gotten clear of such great misfortunes, and are only accountable to one another, [which form of government affords us the best assurance of our present concord, and promises us the best security from evil designs, and will be most for our own glory in settling the city in good order,] you ought, every one of you in particular, to make provision for his own, and in general for the public utility: or, on the contrary, they may declare their dissent to such things as have been proposed, and this without any hazard of danger to come upon them, because they have now no lord set over them, who, without fear of punishment, could do mischief to the city, and had an uncontrollable power to take off those that freely declared their opinions. Nor has any thing so much contributed to this increase of tyranny of late as sloth, and a timorous forbearance of contradicting the emperor's will; while men had an over-great inclination to the sweetness of peace, and had learned to live like slaves; and as many of us as either heard of intolerable calamities that happened at a distance from us, or saw the miseries that were near us, out of the dread of dying virtuously, endured a death joined with the utmost infamy. We ought, then, in the first place, to decree the greatest honors we are able to those that have taken off the tyrant, especially to Cherea Cassius; for this one man, with the assistance of the gods, hath, by his counsel and by his actions, been the procurer of our liberty. Nor ought we to forget him now we have recovered our liberty, who, under the foregoing tyranny, took counsel beforehand, and beforehand hazarded himself for our liberties; but ought to decree him proper honors, and thereby freely declare that he from the beginning acted with our approbation. And certainly it is a very excellent thing, and what becomes free-men, to requite their benefactors, as this man hath been a benefactor to us all, though not at all like Cassius and Brutus, who slew Caius Julius [Caesar]; for those men laid the foundations of sedition and civil wars in our city; but this man, together with his slaughter of the tyrant, hath set our city free from all those sad miseries which arose from the tyranny."

(3) [185] Σέντιος μὲν τοιούτοις ἐχρῆτο τοῖς λόγοις καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἡδονῇ δεχομένων καὶ ὁπόσοι τῶν ἱππέων παρῆσαν. ἀναπηδήσας δέ τις Τρεβέλλιος Μάξιμος περιαιρεῖται τὸν δακτύλιον τοῦ Σεντίου, λίθος δὲ εἰκόνα Γαίου ἐγγεγλυμμένος ἐδεσμεύετο αὐτῷ, καὶ σπουδῇ τῶν λεγομένων καὶ ὧν ἐπενόει πράξειν, ὅπερ ᾤετο, ἐν λήθῃ γεγονότι Καὶ ἡ μὲν γλυφὴ κατάγνυται. [186] προεληλύθει δὲ ἡ νὺξ ἐπὶ μέγα, καὶ Χαιρέας δὲ σημεῖον ᾔτει τοὺς ὑπάτους, οἱ δὲ ἐλευθερίαν ἔδοσαν. ἐν θαύματι δὲ ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὅμοια ἀπιστίᾳ τὰ δρώμενα: [187] ἔτει γὰρ ἑκατοστῷ, μεθ' ὃ τὴν δημοκρατίαν τὸ πρῶτον ἀφῃρέθησαν, ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους σημείου ἡ παράδοσις: οὗτοι γὰρ πρότερον ἢ τυραννηθῆναι τὴν πόλιν κύριοι τῶν στρατιωτικῶν ἦσαν. [188] Χαιρέας δὲ τὸ σημεῖον λαβὼν παρεδίδου τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοῖς πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον συνεστηκόσιν. ἦσαν δὲ εἰς σπείρας τέσσαρας, οἷς τὸ ἀβασίλευτον τιμιώτερον τῆς τυραννίδος προύκειτο. [189] καὶ οἵδε μὲν ἀπῄεσαν μετὰ τῶν χιλιάρχων, ἀνεχώρει δὲ ἤδη καὶ ὁ δῆμος περιχαρὴς καὶ ἐλπίδος καὶ φρονήματος ἐπὶ τῷ κτησαμένῳ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοῖς, οὐκέτι ἐπὶ τῷ ἐφεστηκότι. καὶ τὰ πάντα ἦν ὁ Χαιρέας αὐτοῖς.

3. And this was the purport of Sentius's oration, which was received with pleasure by the senators, and by as many of the equestrian order as were present. And now one Trebellius Maximus rose up hastily, and took off Sentius's finger a ring, which had a stone, with the image of Caius engraven upon it, and which, in his zeal in speaking, and his earnestness in doing what he was about, as it was supposed, he had forgotten to take off himself. This sculpture was broken immediately. But as it was now far in the night, Cherea demanded of the consuls the watchword, who gave him this word, Liberty. These facts were the subjects of admiration to themselves, and almost incredible; for it was a hundred years since the democracy had been laid aside, when this giving the watchword returned to the consuls; for before the city was subject to tyrants, they were the commanders of the soldiers. But when Cherea had received that watchword, he delivered it to those who were on the senate's side, which were four regiments, who esteemed the government without emperors to be preferable to tyranny. So these went away with their tribunes. The people also now departed very joyful, full of hope and of courage, as having recovered their former democracy, and were no longer under an emperor; and Cherea was in very great esteem with them.

(4) [190] Χαιρέας δὲ ἐν δεινῷ τιθέμενος περιεῖναι τὴν θυγατέρα Γαίου καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, ἀλλὰ μὴ πανοικὶ τὸν ὄλεθρον αὐτῷ συντυχεῖν, ἐπεὶ καὶ πᾶν ὅ τι ὑπολείποιτο αὐτῶν ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῆς πόλεως λειφθήσεσθαι καὶ τῶν νόμων, ἄλλως τε πρόθεσιν ἐσπουδακὼς τελειώσασθαι τὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ πάνυ εὐφρᾶναι μῖσος τὸ πρὸς Γάιον, Ἰούλιον ἐκπέμπει Λοῦππον ἕνα τῶν χιλιάρχων κτενοῦντα τήν τε

γυναῖκα Γαίου καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα. [191] Κλήμεντος δ᾽ ὄντι συγγενεῖ τῷ Λούππῳ τὴν ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε προύθεσαν λειτουργίαν, ὅπως μετασχὼν κἂν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις τῆς τυραννοκτονίας ἀγάλλοιτο ἀρετῇ πρὸς τῶν πολιτικῶν, ὡς καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἐπιβουλεύματος δόξειε κοινωνεῖν τὸ πρῶτον συνθεμένων. [192] ἐνίοις δὲ τῶν συνωμοτῶν καὶ ὠμὸν ἐδόκει τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικὶ θράσει χρησόμενον αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ Γάιον φύσει τῇ αὐτοῦ χρώμενον ἢ συμβουλῇ τῇ ἐκείνης τὰ πάντα πρᾶξαι, ἐξ ὧν ἥ τε πόλις ἀπηγορεύκει τοῖς κατειληφόσι κακοῖς καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ὅ τι καὶ ἄνθος ἦν ἀπώλετο. [193] οἱ δὲ καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις ἐνεκάλουν αὐτῇ γνώμην τὸ δὲ πᾶν καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Γαίου πεπραγμένων κακῶν ἐκείνῃ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπέφερον φάρμακον τῷ Γαίῳ δοῦσαν ἐννοιῶν δούλωσιν καὶ ἐρώτων ἐπαγωγὰς αὐτῇ ψηφιούμενον, εἰς μανίαν μεταστάντος τὰ πάντα αὐτὴν εἶναι τὴν νεναυπηγημένην ἐπὶ ταῖς Ῥωμαίων τύχαις καὶ τῆς ὑποτελούσης αὐτοῖς οἰκουμένης. [194] καὶ πέρας κυρωθὲν ὥστε αὐτὴν τελευτᾶν, οὐδὲν γὰρ οἱ ἀποσπεύδοντες οἷοί τε ὠφελεῖν ἦσαν, ἐστέλλετο ὁ Λοῦππος: ἐβραδύνετο δὲ οὐδὲν μελλήσει τῇ κατ᾽ αὐτόν, ὥστε μὴ οὐκ εἰς καιρὸν δεδιακονῆσθαι τοῖς ἀπεσταλκόσιν, θέλων ἐπ᾽ οὐδαμοῖς μεμπτὸς εἶναι τῶν ἐπ᾽ ὠφελείᾳ τοῦ δήμου πεποιημένων. [195] παρελθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλείου λαμβάνει τὴν Καισωνίαν, γυνὴ δ᾽ ἦν τοῦ Γαίου, παρακατακειμένην τῷ σώματι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς χαμαιπετεῖ καὶ πάντων ἐν ἀτυχίᾳ ὧν χαρίζοιτ᾽ ἂν ὁ νόμος τοῖς μεταστᾶσιν, αἵματί τε ἀναπεφυρμένην ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων καὶ πολλῇ τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ συμφερομένην τῆς θυγατρὸς παρερριμμένης: ἠκούετό τε ἐν τοῖς τοιοῖσδε οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ κατάμεμψις τοῦ Γαίου, ὡς πιθανὴν οὐ σχόντος πολλάκις προηγορευκυῖαν αὐτήν. [196] ἐπ᾽ ἀμφότερα δὲ οὗτος ὁ λόγος καὶ τότε εἰκάζετο καὶ νῦν ἐφ᾽ ὁμοίοις πρόκειται τῇ διανοίᾳ τῶν ἀκροατῶν πρὸς ὅ τι θελήσειαν ῥοπὰς τὰς αὐτοῦ προστιθέμενοι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀποσημαίνειν ἔφασαν τὸν λόγον, ὡς συμβουλευομένης ἀποστάντα μανιῶν καὶ τοῦ εἰς τοὺς πολίτας ὠμοῦ μετρίως καὶ μετ᾽ ἀρετῆς ἐξηγεῖσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀπολέσθαι τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτοῦ χρώμενον. [197] οἱ δέ, ὡς λόγου τοῦ περὶ τῶν συνωμοτῶν ἐπιφοιτήσαντος Γαίῳ κελεύσειεν μηδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος πάντας μεταχειρισάμενον αὐτούς, κἂν εἰ μηδὲν ἀδικοῖεν, ἐν ἀδεεῖ κινδύνων καταστῆναι, καὶ τοῦτ᾽ εἶναι τὸ ἐπονειδιζόμενον, ὡς προηγορευκυίας διαπράξασθαι μαλακῷ γεγονότι. [198] καὶ τὰ μὲν λεχθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς Καισωνίας καὶ ὁποῖα οἱ ἄνθρωποι περὶ αὐτῆς ἐφρόνουν ταῦτα ἦν. ἡ δὲ ἐπεὶ θεᾶται τὴν πρόσοδον τοῦ Λούππου τό τε σῶμα τοῦ Γαίου προυδείκνυεν καὶ ἆσσον ἰέναι παρεκάλει μετ᾽ ὀλοφυρμοῦ καὶ δακρύων. [199] ἐπεὶ δὲ τῇ διανοίᾳ συνεστηκότα ἑώρα τὸν Λοῦππον, καὶ μηδὲν προσιόντα ὡς ἐπὶ πρᾶξιν οὐκ αὐτῷ κεχαρισμένην, γνωρίσασα ἐφ᾽ ὅ τι ἐχώρει τήν τε σφαγὴν ἐγύμνου καὶ πάνυ προθύμως ποτνιωμένη ὁποῖα εἰκὸς τοὺς οὕτω σαφῶς ἐν ἀπογνώσει τοῦ ζῆν γεγονότας καὶ κελεύουσα μὴ μέλλειν ἐπὶ τελειώσει τοῦ δράματος οὗ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς συνέθεσαν. [200] καὶ ἥδε μὲν εὐψύχως ταύτῃ τελευτᾷ

ὑπὸ τοῦ Λούππου καὶ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ τὸ θυγάτριον. καὶ Λοῦππος ταῦτα προαπαγγέλλων ἔσπευδεν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Χαιρέαν.

4. And now Cherea was very uneasy that Caius's daughter and wife were still alive, and that all his family did not perish with him, since whosoever was left of them must be left for the ruin of the city and of the laws. Moreover, in order to finish this matter with the utmost zeal, and in order to satisfy his hatred of Caius, he sent Julius Lupus, one of the tribunes, to kill Caius's wife and daughter. They proposed this office to Lupus as to a kinsman of Clement, that he might be so far a partaker of this murder of the tyrant, and might rejoice in the virtue of having assisted his fellow citizens, and that he might appear to have been a partaker with those that were first in their designs against him. Yet did this action appear to some of the conspirators to be too cruel, as to this using such severity to a woman, because Caius did more indulge his own ill-nature than use her advice in all that he did; from which ill-nature it was that the city was in so desperate a condition with the miseries that were brought on it, and the flower of the city was destroyed. But others accused her of giving her consent to these things; nay, they ascribed all that Caius had done to her as the cause of it, and said she had given a potion to Caius, which had made him obnoxious to her, and had tied him down to love her by such evil methods; insomuch that she, having rendered him distracted, was become the author of all the mischiefs that had befallen the Romans, and that habitable world which was subject to them. So that at length it was determined that she must die; nor could those of the contrary opinion at all prevail to have her saved; and Lupus was sent accordingly. Nor was there any delay made in executing what he went about, but he was subservient to those that sent him on the first opportunity, as desirous to be no way blameable in what might be done for the advantage of the people. So when he was come into the palace, he found Cesonia, who was Caius's wife, lying by her husband's dead body, which also lay down on the ground, and destitute of all such things as the law allows to the dead, and all over herself besmeared with the blood of her husband's wounds, and bewailing the great affliction she was under, her daughter lying by her also; and nothing else was heard in these her circumstances but her complaint of Caius, as if he had not regarded what she had often told him of beforehand; which words of hers were taken in a different sense even at that time, and are now esteemed equally ambiguous by those that hear of them, and are still interpreted according to the different inclinations of people. Now some said that the words denoted that she had advised him to leave off his mad behavior and his barbarous cruelty to the citizens, and to govern the public with moderation and virtue, lest he should perish by the same way, upon

their using him as he had used them. But some said, that as certain words had passed concerning the conspirators, she desired Caius to make no delay, but immediately to put them all to death, and this whether they were guilty or not, and that thereby he would be out of the fear of any danger; and that this was what she reproached him for, when she advised him so to do, but he was too slow and tender in the matter. And this was what Cesonia said, and what the opinions of men were about it. But when she saw Lupus approach, she showed him Caius's dead body, and persuaded him to come nearer, with lamentation and tears; and as she perceived that Lupus was in disorder, and approached her in order to execute some design disagreeable to himself, she was well aware for what purpose he came, and stretched out her naked throat, and that very cheerfully to him, bewailing her case, like one that utterly despaired of her life, and bidding him not to boggle at finishing the tragedy they had resolved upon relating to her. So she boldly received her death's wound at the hand of Lupus, as did the daughter after her. So Lupus made haste to inform Cherea of what he had done.

(5) [201] Γάιος μὲν δὴ τέταρτον ἐνιαυτὸν ἡγεμονεύσας Ῥωμαίων λείποντα τεσσάρων μηνῶν οὕτως τελευτᾷ, ἀνὴρ καὶ πρότερον ἢ τῇ ἀρχῇ συνῆλθεν σκαιός τε καὶ κακοτροπίας εἰς τὸ ἄκρον ἀφιγμένος, ἡδονῇ τε ἡσσώμενος καὶ φίλος διαβολῇ, καὶ τὰ μὲν φοβερὰ καταπεπληγμένος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐφ' οἷς θαρσήσειε φονικώτατος, τῆς τε ἐξουσίας ἐφ' ἑνὶ μόνῳ πιμπλάμενος τῷ ὑβρίζειν, εἰς οὓς ἥκιστα ἐχρῆν ἀλόγῳ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ χρώμενος καὶ πορισταὶς ἐκ τοῦ κτείνειν καὶ παρανομεῖν. [202] καὶ τοῦ μὲν θείου καὶ νομίμου μείζων ἐσπουδακὼς εἶναί τε καὶ δοκεῖν, ἡσσώμενος δὲ ἐπαίνων τῆς πληθύος καὶ πάντα, ὁπόσα αἰσχρὰ κρίνας ὁ νόμος ἐπιτιμᾷ τιμωρίαν, ἐνόμισεν ἀρετῆς. [203] καὶ φιλίας ἀμνήμων, εἰ καὶ πλείστη τε καὶ διὰ μεγίστων γένοιτο, οἷς τότε ὀργισθείη ἐκπλήξει κολάσεως καὶ ἐλαχίσταις, πολέμιον δὲ ἡγούμενος πᾶν τὸ ἀρετῇ συνερχόμενον, ἀναντίλεκτον ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς κελεύσειε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν λαμβάνων: [204] ὅθεν καὶ ἀδελφῇ γνησίᾳ συνῆν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῷ φύεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ἤρξατο σφοδρότερον τὸ μῖσος διὰ τὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου μὴ ἱστορημένον εἴς τε ἀπιστίαν καὶ ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς τὸν πράξαντα παρακαλεῖν. [205] ἔργον δὲ μέγα ἢ βασίλειον οὐδὲν αὐτῷ πεπραγμένον εἴποι ἄν τις ἢ ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῶν συνόντων καὶ αὖθις ἀνθρώπων ἐσομένων, πλήν γε τοῦ περὶ Ῥήγιον καὶ Σικελίαν ἐπινοηθέντος ἐν ὑποδοχῇ τῶν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου σιτηγῶν πλοίων: [206] τοῦτο δὲ ὁμολογουμένως μέγιστόν τε καὶ ὠφελιμώτατον τοῖς πλέουσιν: οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ τέλος γε ἀφίκετο, ἀλλ' ἡμίεργον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀμβλυτέρως αὐτῷ ἐπιπονεῖν κατελείφθη. [207] αἴτιον δ' ἦν ἡ περὶ τὰ ἀχρεῖα σπουδὴ καὶ τὸ δαπανῶντα εἰς ἡδονάς, αἳ καταμόνας ἔμελλον ὠφελεῖν, αὐτῷ ὑφαιρεῖν τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς κρείσσοσιν ἀνωμολογημένοις φιλοτιμίας. [208] ἄλλως δὲ

ῥήτωρ τε ἄριστος καὶ γλώσσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίοις πατρίῳ σφόδρα ἠσκημένος συνίει τ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα καὶ τοῖς ὑφ᾽ ἑτέρων συντεθεῖσίν τε καὶ ἐκ πλείονος προσυγκειμένοις ἀντειπὼν ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος φανῆναι πιθανώτερος ἐν μεγίστῳ πράγματι παρ᾽ ὁντινοῦν γενόμενος, εὐκολίᾳ τε εἰς αὐτὸ τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῷ εἰς ἰσχὺν αὐτῇ προσλαβεῖν μελέτην τοῦ ἐπιπονεῖν. [209] ἀδελφοῦ γὰρ παιδὸς υἱεῖ γεγονότι Τιβερίου, οὗ καὶ διάδοχος γίνεται, μέγα ἀνάγκασμα παιδείας ἀντέχεσθαι διὰ τὸ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὰ πρῶτα ἐν αὐτῇ κατορθῶν διαπρέπειν, καὶ συνεφιλοκάλει Γάιος συγγενοῦς τε ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἡγεμόνος εἴκων ἐπιστολαῖς ἐπρώτευσέν τε τῶν κατ᾽ αὐτὸν πολιτῶν. [210] οὐ μὴν ἀντισχεῖν οἷά τε ἐγένετο αὐτῷ τὰ ἐκ τῆς παιδείας συλλεγέντα ἀγαθὰ πρὸς τὸν ἐπελθόντα ὄλεθρον αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας: οὕτως ἄρα δυσπόριστον ἡ ἀρετὴ τοῦ σωφρονεῖν, οἷς ἀνυπεύθυνον τὸ πράσσειν ῥᾳστώνῃ πάρεστιν. [211] φίλοις μὲν κεχρῆσθαι καὶ πάντα ἀξιολόγοις ὑποσπουδασθεὶς τὸ κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς ὑπό τε παιδείας καὶ δόξης ζήλου τῶν κρειττόνων, μέχρι δὴ τῷ περιόντι τοῦ ὑβρίζειν ἀπαμφίασις εὐνοίᾳ τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐχρήσαντο μίσους ὑποφυέντος ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπιβουλευθεὶς τελευτᾷ.

5. This was the end of Caius, after he had reigned four years, within four months. He was, even before he came to be emperor, ill-natured, and one that had arrived at the utmost pitch of wickedness; a slave to his pleasures, and a lover of calumny; greatly affected by every terrible accident, and on that account of a very murderous disposition where he durst show it. He enjoyed his exorbitant power to this only purpose, to injure those who least deserved it, with unreasonable insolence and got his wealth by murder and injustice. He labored to appear above regarding either what was divine or agreeable to the laws, but was a slave to the commendations of the populace; and whatsoever the laws determined to be shameful, and punished, that he esteemed more honorable than what was virtuous. He was unmindful of his friends, how intimate soever, and though they were persons of the highest character; and if he was once angry at any of them, he would inflict punishment upon them on the smallest occasions, and esteemed every man that endeavored to lead a virtuous life his enemy. And whatsoever he commanded, he would not admit of any contradiction to his inclinations; whence it was that he had criminal conversation with his own sister; from which occasion chiefly it was also that a bitter hatred first sprang up against him among the citizens, that sort of incest not having been known of a long time; and so this provoked men to distrust him, and to hate him that was guilty of it. And for any great or royal work that he ever did, which might be for the present and for future ages, nobody can name any such, but only the haven that he made about Rhegium and Sicily, for the reception of the ships that brought corn from Egypt; which was indeed a work without dispute very great in

itself, and of very great advantage to the navigation. Yet was not this work brought to perfection by him, but was the one half of it left imperfect, by reason of his want of application to it; the cause of which was this, that he employed his studies about useless matters, and that by spending his money upon such pleasures as concerned no one's benefit but his own, he could not exert his liberality in things that were undeniably of great consequence. Otherwise he was an excellent orator, and thoroughly acquainted with the Greek tongue, as well as with his own country or Roman language. He was also able, off-hand and readily, to give answers to compositions made by others, of considerable length and accuracy. He was also more skillful in persuading others to very great things than any one else, and this from a natural affability of temper, which had been improved by much exercise and pains-taking; for as he was the grandson of the brother of Tiberius, whose successor he was, this was a strong inducement to his acquiring of learning, because Tiberius aspired after the highest pitch of that sort of reputation; and Caius aspired after the like glory for eloquence, being induced thereto by the letters of his kinsman and his emperor. He was also among the first rank of his own citizens. But the advantages he received from his learning did not countervail the mischief he brought upon himself in the exercise of his authority; so difficult it is for those to obtain the virtue that is necessary for a wise man, who have the absolute power to do what they please without control. At the first he got himself such friends as were in all respects the most worthy, and was greatly beloved by them, while he imitated their zealous application to the learning and to the glorious actions of the best men; but when he became insolent towards them, they laid aside the kindness they had for him, and began to hate him; from which hatred came that plot which they raised against him, and wherein he perished.

III

CHAPTER 3. How Claudius Was Seized Upon And Brought Out Of His House And Brought To The Camp; And How The Senate Sent An Embassage To Him.

(1) [212] Κλαύδιος δέ, καθάπερ ἀνώτερον ἔφην, ἀπορρήξεως αὐτῷ τῶν Γαίου ὁδῶν γενομένης καὶ τοῦ οἴκου θορυβηθέντος πάθει τῆς Καίσαρος τελευτῆς, ἐν ἀμηχάνοις ὢν περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἔν τινι στενωπῷ κατειλημμένος ἔκρυπτεν ἑαυτὸν οὐδεμίαν κινδύνων αἰτίαν πλὴν τῆς γενναιότητος ὑφορώμενος: [213] μέτριον γὰρ ἰδιώτης ὢν ἦγεν αὐτὸν καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀρκῶν ἦν, παιδείᾳ τε συνιὼν καὶ μάλιστα τῇ Ἑλληνίδι καὶ παντὸς τοῦ εἰς θόρυβον ἀνακειμένου παντοίως ἀπαλλάσσων αὐτόν. [214] τότε δὲ πτοίας κατειληφυίας τὸν ὄχλον καὶ τοῦ βασιλείου παντὸς στρατιωτικῆς μανίας ἀνάπλεω γεγονότος καὶ δειλίας καὶ ἀταξίας ἰδιωτῶν οἷον ἀπειληφότων σωματοφυλάκων, οἱ περὶ τὸ στρατηγικὸν καλούμενον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς καθαρώτατον, ἐν βουλῇ περὶ τοῖς πρακτέοις ἦσαν, ὅσοι δὲ καὶ παρετύγχανον, τὴν μὲν Γαίου τιμωρίαν ἐν ὀλίγῳ τιθέμενοι διὰ τὸ κατὰ δίκην αὐτῷ τὰς τύχας συνελθεῖν, [215] τὰ δὲ περὶ αὐτοὺς ἀνεσκοποῦντο μᾶλλον ὃν τρόπον σχήσοι καλῶς καὶ τῶν Γερμανῶν τε ἐν τιμωρίαις τῶν σφαγέων ὄντων ὠμότητος χάριτι τῆς ἑαυτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ συμφέροντος τοῖς πᾶσιν. [216] ὑφ᾽ ὧν ἁπάντων ὁ Κλαύδιος ἐθορυβεῖτο δεδιὼς περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας, ἄλλως τ᾽ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀσπρήναν ἐτεθέατο τὰς κεφαλὰς παραφερομένας: εἰστήκει δὲ κατά τι προσβατὸν ὀλίγαις βαθμῖσι χωρίον ὑπεσταλκὼς τῷ κατ᾽ αὐτὸ σκότῳ. [217] καὶ Γρᾶτος τῶν περὶ τὸ βασίλειόν τις στρατιωτῶν θεασάμενος καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀκριβωσομένου τὴν ὄψιν ἀμαθὴς ὢν διὰ τὸν σκότον, τοῦ δὲ ἄνθρωπον εἶναι τὸν ὑπολοχῶντα κριτὴς εἶναι μὴ ἀπηλλαγμένος, προσῄει τε ἐγγύτερον καὶ ὑποχωρεῖν ἠξιωκότος ἐπέκειτο καὶ καταλαβὼν ἐπιγνωρίζει “Γερμανικὸς μὲν οὗτος, φησὶν πρὸς τοὺς ἑπομένους, καὶ στησώμεθα τοῦτον ἡγεμόνα φερό [218] μενοι.” Κλαύδιος δὲ ἐφ᾽ ἁρπαγῇ παρεσκευασμένους ὁρῶν καὶ δείσας, μὴ κατὰ φωνὴν ἀποθάνοι τὴν Γαίου, φειδὼ σχεῖν ἠξίου τοῦ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀνεπαχθοῦς ἀνάμνησιν αὐτοῖς ὑποτιθεὶς καὶ τοῦ ἀπρομηθοῦς τῶν γεγονότων. [219] καὶ ὁ Γρᾶτος μειδιάσας ἐπισπᾶται τῆς δεξιᾶς, καί “παῦσαι, φησίν, μικρολογούμενος περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας δέον σε μεγαλοφρονεῖσθαι περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ἣν οἱ θεοὶ Γάιον ἀφῃρημένοι τῇ σῇ συνεχώρησαν ἀρετῇ πρόνοιαν τῆς οἰκουμένης λαβόντες. [220] ἀλλ᾽ ἴθι καὶ τῶν προγόνων ἀπολάμβανε τὸν θρόνον.” ἀνεβάσταζέν τε αὐτὸν οὐ πάνυ τοῖς ποσὶ βαίνειν δυνάμενον ὑπό τε φόβου καὶ χάρματος τῶν εἰρημένων.

1. Now Claudius, as I said before, went out of that way along which Caius was gone; and as the family was in a mighty disorder upon the sad accident of the murder of Caius, he was in great distress how to save himself, and was found to have hidden himself in a certain narrow place, though he had no other occasion for suspicion of any dangers, besides the dignity of his birth; for while he was a private man, he behaved himself with moderation, and was contented with his present fortune, applying himself to learning, and especially to that of the Greeks, and keeping himself entirely clear from every thing that might bring on any disturbance. But as at this time the multitude were under a consternation, and the whole palace was full of the soldiers' madness, and the very emperor's guards seemed under the like fear and disorder with private persons, the band called pretorian, which was the purest part of the army, was in consultation what was to be done at this juncture. Now all those that were at this consultation had little regard to the punishment Caius had suffered, because he justly deserved such his fortune; but they were rather considering their own circumstances, how they might take the best care of themselves, especially while the Germans were busy in punishing the murderers of Caius; which yet was rather done to gratify their own savage temper, than for the good of the public; all which things disturbed Claudius, who was afraid of his own safety, and this particularly because he saw the heads of Asprenas and his partners carried about. His station had been on a certain elevated place, whither a few steps led him, and whither he had retired in the dark by himself. But when Gratus, who was one of the soldiers that belonged to the palace, saw him, but did not well know by his countenance who he was, because it was dark, though he could well judge that it was a man who was privately there on some design, he came nearer to him; and when Claudius desired that he would retire, he discovered who he was, and owned him to be Claudius. So he said to his followers, "This is a Germanicus; come on, let us choose him for our emperor." But when Claudius saw they were making preparations for taking him away by force, and was afraid they would kill him, as they had killed Caius, he besought them to spare him, putting them in mind how quietly he had demeaned himself, and that he was unacquainted with what had been done. Hereupon Gratus smiled upon him, and took him by the right hand, and said, "Leave off, sir, these low thoughts of saving yourself, while you ought to have greater thoughts, even of obtaining the empire, which the gods, out of their concern for the habitable world, by taking Caius out of the way, commit to thy virtuous conduct. Go to, therefore, and accept of the throne of thy ancestors." So they took him up and carried him, because he was not then able to go on foot, such was his dread and his joy at what was told him.

(2) [221] Συνεστρέφοντο δὲ περὶ τὸν Γρᾶτον ἤδη καὶ πλείους τῶν σωματοφυλάκων καὶ θεωροῦντες τὸν Κλαύδιον ἀγόμενον δόξῃ τοῦ ἐπὶ κόλασιν ἕλκεσθαι Τῶν ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε ζημιῶν ὡς ἄνδρα ἀπράγμονα διὰ βίου τοῦ παντὸς καὶ κινδύνοις οὔτι μετρίως ἐπὶ τῆς Γαίου ἀρχῆς ὡμιληκότα, τινὲς δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐντρέπειν κρίσιν ἠξίουν τὴν περὶ αὐτόν. [222] καὶ πλειόνων τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ συστρεφομένων φυγαί τε ἦσαν τοῦ ὁμίλου καὶ προόδων ἀπορία τῷ Κλαυδίῳ δι᾽ ἀσθένειαν τοῦ σώματος, ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ τὸ φορεῖον αὐτοῦ φέροντες περὶ τὴν ἁρπαγὴν αὐτοῦ παραγενομένης φυγῆς ἔσωζον αὑτοὺς ἀπ᾽ ἐλπίδος θέμενοι τὴν σωτηρίαν τοῦ δεσπότου. [223] ἐν εὐρυχωρίᾳ δὲ τοῦ Παλατίου γενομένοις, πρῶτον δὲ οἰκηθῆναι τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως τοῦτο παραδίδωσιν ὁ περὶ αὐτῆς λόγος, καὶ ἤδη τοῦ δημοσίου ἀντιλαμβανομένοις πολὺ πλείων ἡ ἐπιφοίτησις ἦν τῶν στρατιωτῶν χαρᾷ τὴν ὄψιν δεχομένοις τοῦ Κλαυδίου, περὶ πλείστου τε ἦν αὐτοῖς αὐτοκράτορα στήσασθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον εὐνοίᾳ τε τῇ Γερμανικοῦ, ἀδελφὸς δὲ ἦν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ μέγα πᾶσιν τοῖς ὡμιληκόσιν καταλελοιπὼς κλέος τὸ αὐτοῦ. [224] ἀναλογισμός τε αὐτοὺς εἰσῄει τῆς τε πλεονεξίας τῶν ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ δυναστευόντων καὶ ὁπόσα ἐπὶ τῆς πρὶν ἀρχῆς ἡμάρτητο αὐτῇ. [225] πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀμήχανον τοῦ πράγματος κατενόουν, καὶ πάλιν εἰς ἑνὸς ἀρχὴν μεθισταμένων τῶν ὅλων κινδύνους αὐτοῖς φέρειν δι᾽ ἑνὸς κτησαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν [μεθισταμένων τῶν ὅλων] παρ᾽ ὃν ἐπιχωρήσει καὶ εὐνοίᾳ τῇ αὐτῶν λαβόντα Κλαύδιον μνημονεύσεις τε χάριτος αὐτοῖς ἀποδιδόντα τιμήν, ἣ ἐπὶ τοιούτοις γένοιτ᾽ ἂν ἀρκοῦσα.

2. Now there was already gathered together about Gratus a great number of the guards; and when they saw Claudius carried off, they looked with a sad countenance, as supposing that he was carried to execution for the mischiefs that had been lately done; while yet they thought him a man who never meddled with public affairs all his life long, and one that had met with no contemptible dangers under the reign of Caius; and some of them thought it reasonable that the consuls should take cognizance of these matters; and as still more and more of the soldiery got together, the crowd about him ran away, and Claudius could hardly go on, his body was then so weak; and those who carried his sedan, upon an inquiry that was made about his being carried off, ran away and saved themselves, as despairing of their Lord's preservation. But when they were come into the large court of the palace, [which, as the report goes about it, was inhabited first of all the parts of the city of Rome,] and had just reached the public treasury, many more soldiers came about him, as glad to see Claudius's face, and thought it exceeding right to make him emperor, on account of their kindness for Germanicus, who was his brother, and had left behind him a vast reputation among all that were acquainted with him. They reflected also on the

covetous temper of the leading men of the senate, and what great errors they had been guilty of when the senate had the government formerly; they also considered the impossibility of such an undertaking, as also what dangers they should be in, if the government should come to a single person, and that such a one should possess it as they had no hand in advancing, and not to Claudius, who would take it as their grant, and as gained by their good-will to him, and would remember the favors they had done him, and would make them a sufficient recompense for the same.

(3) [226] Ταῦτα πρός τε ἀλλήλους καὶ δι᾽ ἑαυτοὺς διεξήεσαν καὶ τοῖς ἀεὶ προσπίπτουσιν διηγοῦντο. οἱ δὲ πυνθανόμενοι προθύμως ἐδέχοντο τὴν πρόκλησιν, συμφράξαντές τε καὶ περικλάσαντες ἦγον ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου φοράδην ἀναβαστάσαντες, ὡς μὴ ἐμποδίζοιτο αὐτοῖς ἡ ἔπειξις. [227] διειστήκεσαν δὲ αἱ γνῶμαι τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς: οἱ μὲν ἀξιώματός τε τοῦ πρότερον ὀρεγόμενοι καὶ δουλείαν ἔπακτον αὐτοῖς ὕβρει τῶν τυράννων γενομένην φιλοτιμούμενοι διαδιδράσκειν χρόνῳ παρασχόν, [228] ὁ δὲ δῆμος φθόνῳ τε πρὸς ἐκείνην καθιστάμενος καὶ τῶν πλεονεξιῶν αὐτῆς ἐπιστόμισμα τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας εἰδὼς καὶ αὐτοῦ καταφυγὴν ἔχαιρεν Κλαυδίου τῇ ἁρπαγῇ στάσιν τε ἔμφυλον, ὁποία καὶ ἐπὶ Πομπηίου γένοιτο, ἀπαλλάξειν αὐτῶν ὑπελάμβανον τοῦτον αὐτοκράτορα καθισταμένου. [229] γνοῦσα δ᾽ ἡ βουλὴ τὸν Κλαύδιον ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀφιγμένον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον πέμπει πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἄνδρας ἀρετῇ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν, οἳ διδάξειαν μὴ δεῖν ἐπὶ καθέξει τῆς ἀρχῆς βιάζεσθαι, [230] παραχωρεῖν δὲ τῇ συγκλήτῳ τοσῶνδε ἀνδρῶν ἕνα ὄντα ἡσσώμενον καὶ τῷ νόμῳ παραχωροῦντα τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς κόσμου τὴν πρόνοιαν, μνημονεύοντα ὧν οἱ πρότεροι τύραννοι κακώσειαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ὧν ὑπὸ Γαίου καὶ αὐτὸς κινδυνεύσειεν σὺν αὐτοῖς, μηδὲ μισήσαντα τὴν βαρύτητα τῆς τυραννίδος ὑφ᾽ ἑτέρων πρασσομένης τῆς ὕβρεως αὐτὸν ἐθελουσίως ἐπὶ παροινίᾳ θαρσεῖν τῆς πατρίδος. [231] καὶ πειθομένῳ μὲν τοῦ πρότερον ἀπράγμονος τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιδεικνυμένῳ βέβαιον τιμάς τε ὑπάρξειν, αἳ ὑπὸ ἐλευθέρων ψηφισθεῖεν τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ ἐπιχωρήσει τοῦ νόμου τὸ μέρος ἄρχοντά τε καὶ ἀρχόμενον κερδανεῖν ἔπαινον ἀρετῆς. [232] εἰ δὲ ἀπονοοῖτο μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς Γαίου τελευτῆς σωφρονιζόμενος οὔτι γε αὐτοὶ ἐπιτρέψειν τῆς τε γὰρ στρατιᾶς πολὺ εἶναι τὸ συνεστηκὸς αὐτοῖς ὅπλων τε εὐπορίαν καὶ πληθὺν οἰκετῶν, οἳ χρήσαιντο αὐτοῖς. [233] μέγα δὲ μέρος τήν τε ἐλπίδα εἶναι καὶ τὴν τύχην, τούς τε θεοὺς οὐκ ἄλλοις συμμαχεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μετ᾽ ἀρετῆς καὶ τοῦ καλοῦ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ποιουμένοις. εἶναι δὲ τούτους, οἳ ἂν περὶ ἐλευθερίας μάχωνται τῆς πατρίδος.

3. These were the discourses the soldiers had one with another by themselves, and they communicated them to all such as came in to them. Now those that inquired

about this matter willingly embraced the invitation that was made them to join with the rest; so they carried Claudius into the camp, crowding about him as his guard, and encompassing him about, one chairman still succeeding another, that their vehement endeavors might not be hindered. But as to the populace and senators, they disagreed in their opinions. The latter were very desirous to recover their former dignity, and were zealous to get clear of the slavery that had been brought on them by the injurious treatment of the tyrants, which the present opportunity afforded them; but for the people, who were envious against them, and knew that the emperors were capable of curbing their covetous temper, and were a refuge from them, they were very glad that Claudius had been seized upon, and brought to them, and thought that if Claudius were made emperor, he would prevent a civil war, such as there was in the days of Pompey. But when the senate knew that Claudius was brought into the camp by the soldiers, they sent to him those of their body which had the best character for their virtues, that they might inform him that he ought to do nothing by violence, in order to gain the government; that he who was a single person, one either already or hereafter to be a member of their body, ought to yield to the senate, which consisted of so great a number; that he ought to let the law take place in the disposal of all that related to the public order, and to remember how greatly the former tyrants had afflicted their city, and what dangers both he and they had escaped under Caius; and that he ought not to hate the heavy burden of tyranny, when the injury is done by others, while he did himself willfully treat his country after a mad and insolent manner; that if he would comply with them, and demonstrate that his firm resolution was to live quietly and virtuously, he would have the greatest honors decreed to him that a free people could bestow; and by subjecting himself to the law, would obtain this branch of commendation, that he acted like a man of virtue, both as a ruler and a subject; but that if he would act foolishly, and learn no wisdom by Caius's death, they would not permit him to go on; that a great part of the army was got together for them, with plenty of weapons, and a great number of slaves, which they could make use of; that good hope was a great matter in such cases, as was also good fortune; and that the gods would never assist any others but those that undertook to act with virtue and goodness, who can be no other than such as fight for the liberty of their country.

(4) [234] Καὶ οἱ μὲν πρεσβευταὶ Οὐηράνιός τε καὶ Βρόγχος, δήμαρχοι δὲ ἦσαν ἀμφότεροι, τοῖσδε ἐχρῶντο τοῖς λόγοις καὶ καθικέτευον τοῖς γόνασιν αὐτοῦ προσπεσόντες μηδαμῶς πολέμοις καὶ κακοῖς ἐμβαλεῖν τὴν πόλιν, θεωροῦντες στρατιᾶς πληθύι τὸν Κλαύδιον πεφραγμένον καὶ τὸ μηδὲν τοὺς ὑπάτους ὄντας συγκρίσει τῇ πρὸς αὐτόν. [235] εἴ τε τῆς ἀρχῆς ὀρέγοιτο, παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς

δέχεσθαι διδομένην: αἰσιώτερον γὰρ καὶ εὐδαιμονέστερον χρῆσθαι τὸν μὴ μετὰ ὕβρεως ἀλλ᾽ εὐνοίᾳ τῶν διδόντων παραλαμβάνοντα.

4. Now these ambassadors, Veranius and Brocchus, who were both of them tribunes of the people, made this speech to Claudius; and falling down upon their knees, they begged of him that he would not throw the city into wars and misfortunes; but when they saw what a multitude of soldiers encompassed and guarded Claudius, and that the forces that were with the consuls were, in comparison of them, perfectly inconsiderable, they added, that if he did desire the government, he should accept of it as given by the senate; that he would prosper better, and be happier, if he came to it, not by the injustice, but by the good-will of those that would bestow it upon him.

IV

CHAPTER 4. What Things King Agrippa Did For Claudius; And How Claudius When He Had Taken The Government Commanded The Murderers Of Caius To Be Slain.

(1) [236] Κλαύδιος δέ, ἠπίστατο γὰρ μεθ᾽ οἵας αὐθαδείας ἀποσταλεῖεν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν γνώμῃ τῇ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μετριώτερον τρεπόμενος, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ περὶ αὐτοὺς φόβῳ διαναστὰς ἅμα μὲν θάρσει τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἅμα δὲ Ἀγρίππου τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύοντος μὴ προέσθαι τῶν χειρῶν τηλικαύτην ἀρχὴν ἥκουσαν αὐτόματον. [237] πράξας μὲν καὶ περὶ Γάιον οἷον εἰκὸς ἄνδρα ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ διὰ τιμῆς ἡγμένον, καὶ γὰρ τὸν νεκρὸν περιέσπεν τοῦ Γαίου καὶ ἀναθέμενος ἐπὶ κλίνης καὶ περιστείλας ἐκ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων εἰς τοὺς σωματοφύλακας ὑπεχώρει, ζῆν μὲν τὸν Γάιον ἀπαγγέλλων κακοπαθοῦντί γε ὑπὸ τραυμάτων ἰατροὺς μετέσεσθαι λέγων: [238] πυθόμενος δὲ τοῦ Κλαυδίου τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἁρπαγὴν ὠθεῖτο πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ καταλαβὼν τεταραγμένον καὶ οἷόν τε ἐκχωρεῖν τῇ συγκλήτῳ ἀνήγειρεν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι κελεύων τῆς ἡγεμονίας. [239] ταῦτα δὲ πρὸς τὸν Κλαύδιον εἰπὼν προσεχώρει πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ μετακαλούσης αὐτὸν τῆς βουλῆς χρισάμενος μύροις τὴν κεφαλὴν ὡς ἀπὸ συνουσίας γινομένης ἀναλύσεως αὐτῷ παρῆν καὶ ἤρετο τοὺς βουλευτάς, τί πέπραχε Κλαύδιος. [240] τῶν δὲ τὰ ὄντα φαμένων καὶ προσανερομένων, ἥντινα γνώμην ἔχοι περὶ τοῖς ὅλοις, τελευτᾶν μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατ᾽ ἐκείνην εὐκλεοῦς ἕτοιμος ἦν τοῖς λόγοις, σκοπεῖν δὲ ἐκέλευε περὶ τῷ συμφέροντι πᾶν ὅ τι καὶ εἰς ἡδονὴν φέροι ὑπεξελομένους: [241] χρείαν γὰρ εἶναι τοῖς ἀρχῆς μεταποιουμένοις καὶ ὅπλων καὶ στρατιωτῶν, οἳ φράξαιντο αὐτοῖς, μὴ καὶ ἀπαράσκευοι καταστάντες εἰς τάδε σφαλεῖεν. [242] ἀποκριναμένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ὅπλων τε εὐπορίαν καὶ χρήματα εἰσοίσειν, καὶ στρατιᾶς τὸ μέν τι αὐτοῖς εἶναι συνεστηκός, τὸ δὲ συγκροτήσειν ἐλευθερώσεως δούλων γενομένης. “εἴη μέν, ὦ βουλή, φησὶν ὁ Ἀγρίππας ὑποτυχών, πράσσειν ὁπόσα θυμὸς ὑμῖν, λεκτέον δὲ οὐδὲν ἐνδοιάσαντί μοι διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ φέρειν τὸν λόγον. [243] ἴστε μὴν στρατόν, ὃς ὑπὲρ Κλαυδίου μαχεῖται, πλήθει χρόνου ὁπλιτεύειν μεμελετηκότα, τὰ δ᾽ ἡμέτερα, συγκλύδων ἀνθρώπων πλῆθος δ᾽ ἔσται καὶ τῶν παρὰ δόξαν τῆς δουλείας ἀπηλλαγμένων, δυσκράτητα. πρὸς δὲ τεχνίτας μαχούμεθα προαγαγόντες ἄνδρας μηδ᾽ ὅπως σπάσαι τὰ ξίφη εἰδότας. [244] ὥστε μοι δοκεῖ πέμπειν ὡς Κλαύδιον πείσοντας κατατίθεσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, πρεσβεύειν τε ἕτοιμός εἰμι.”

1. Now Claudius, though he was sensible after what an insolent manner the senate had sent to him yet did he, according to their advice, behave himself for the

present with moderation; but not so far that he could not recover himself out of his fright; so he was encouraged [to claim the government] partly by the boldness of the soldiers, and partly by the persuasion of king Agrippa, who exhorted him not to let such a dominion slip out of his hands, when it came thus to him of its own accord. Now this Agrippa, with relation to Caius, did what became one that had been so much honored by him; for he embraced Caius's body after he was dead, and laid it upon a bed, and covered it as well as he could, and went out to the guards, and told them that Caius was still alive; but he said that they should call for physicians, since he was very ill of his wounds. But when he had learned that Claudius was carried away violently by the soldiers, he rushed through the crowd to him, and when he found that he was in disorder, and ready to resign up the government to the senate, he encouraged him, and desired him to keep the government; but when he had said this to Claudius, he retired home. And upon the senate's sending for him, he anointed his head with ointment, as if he had lately accompanied with his wife, and had dismissed her, and then came to them: he also asked of the senators what Claudius did; who told him the present state of affairs, and then asked his opinion about the settlement of the public. He told them in words that he was ready to lose his life for the honor of the senate, but desired them to consider what was for their advantage, without any regard to what was most agreeable to them; for that those who grasp at government will stand in need of weapons and soldiers to guard them, unless they will set up without any preparation for it, and so fall into danger. And when the senate replied that they would bring in weapons in abundance, and money, and that as to an army, a part of it was already collected together for them, and they would raise a larger one by giving the slaves their liberty, — Agrippa made answer, "O senators! may you be able to compass what you have a mind to; yet will I immediately tell you my thoughts, because they tend to your preservation. Take notice, then, that the army which will fight for Claudius hath been long exercised in warlike affairs; but our army will be no better than a rude multitude of raw men, and those such as have been unexpectedly made free from slavery, and ungovernable; we must then fight against those that are skillful in war, with men who know not so much as how to draw their swords. So that my opinion is, that we should send some persons to Claudius, to persuade him to lay down the government; and I am ready to be one of your ambassadors."

(2) [245] Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπεν, καὶ συγκαταθεμένων πεμφθεὶς σὺν ἑτέροις τήν τε ταραχὴν τῆς βουλῆς διηγεῖται καταμόνας πρὸς τὸν Κλαύδιον ἐδίδασκέν τε ἡγεμονικώτερον ἀποκρίνασθαι καὶ τῷ ἀξιώματι τῆς ἐξουσίας χρώμενον. [246]

ἔλεγεν οὖν Κλαύδιος, οὐ θαυμάζειν τὴν βουλὴν ἡδονῇ μὴ φέρουσαν ἄρχεσθαι διὰ τὸ ὠμότητι τετρῦσθαι τῶν πρότερον ἐπὶ τὸ ἡγεμονεύειν καταστάντων, γεύσειν τε αὐτοὺς ἐπιεικείᾳ τῇ καθ' αὑτὸν μετρίων καιρῶν, ὀνόματι μὲν μόνῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐσομένης, ἔργῳ δὲ κοινῆς πᾶσι προκεισομένης εἰς μέσον. διὰ πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ποικίλων ὠδευκότι πραγμάτων ἐν ὄψει τῇ ἐκείνων καλῶς ἔχειν μὴ ἀπιστεῖν. [247] καὶ οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις τοιούτων ἀκροάσει λόγων καθομιληθέντες ἐξεπέμποντο. Κλαύδιος δὲ τῷ στρατῷ συλλεχθέντι διελέγετο ὅρκους λαμβάνων ἢ μὴν ἐμμενεῖν πίστει τῇ πρὸς αὐτόν, δωρεῖται τοὺς σωματοφύλακας πεντακισχιλίαις δραχμαῖς κατὰ ἕκαστον ἄνδρα, τοῖς τε ἡγεμόσιν αὐτῶν ἀνάλογον τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ καὶ τοῖς ὅποι ποτὲ στρατοπέδοις ὑπισχνεῖτο τὰ ὅμοια.

2. Upon this speech of Agrippa, the senate complied with him, and he was sent among others, and privately informed Claudius of the disorder the senate was in, and gave him instructions to answer them in a somewhat commanding strain, and as one invested with dignity and authority. Accordingly, Claudius said to the ambassadors, that he did not wonder the senate had no mind to have an emperor over them, because they had been harassed by the barbarity of those that had formerly been at the head of their affairs; but that they should taste of an equitable government under him, and moderate times, while he should only be their ruler in name, but the authority should be equally common to them all; and since he had passed through many and various scenes of life before their eyes, it would be good for them not to distrust him. So the ambassadors, upon their hearing this his answer, were dismissed. But Claudius discoursed with the army which was there gathered together, who took oaths that they would persist in their fidelity to him; Upon which he gave the guards every man five thousand drachmae a-piece, and a proportionable quantity to their captains, and promised to give the same to the rest of the armies wheresoever they were.

(3) [248] Συνεκάλουν δὲ οἱ ὕπατοι τὴν βουλὴν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ νικηφόρου Διός: ἔτι δὲ νὺξ ἦν. τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει κλέπτοντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐνεδοίαζον πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόασιν, τοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἀγρῶν ἐγεγόνεισαν ἔξοδοι προορωμένοις ᾗ χωρήσει τὸ πᾶν ἐν ἀπογνώσει τοῦ ἐλευθέρου γεγονότος, καὶ πολὺ κρεῖττον ἐν ἀκινδύνῳ τοῦ δουλεύειν ὑπειληφότες διαβιοῦν ἀργίᾳ τοῦ πονεῖν ἢ κτώμενοι τὸ ἀξίωμα τῶν πατέρων περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀμφίβολοι καταστῆναι. [249] συνελέγησαν δ' ὅμως ἑκατὸν οὐ πλείους, καὶ διαβουλευομένων περὶ τῶν ἐν χερσὶν αἰφνίδιον αἴρεται βοὴ τοῦ συνεστηκότος αὐτοῖς στρατιωτικοῦ στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα κελευόντων τὴν βουλὴν ἑλέσθαι καὶ μὴ φθείρειν πολυαρχίᾳ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. [250] καὶ τὸ μὲν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀπεφαίνοντο περὶ τοῦ μὴ πᾶσιν, ἀλλ' ἑνὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐφέσιμον εἶναι, ὁρᾶν δὲ ἐκείνοις ἐπιτρέπειν, ὅστις τοσαύτης προστασίας ἄξιος. ὥστε ἐν ἀνίᾳ τὰ τῶν συγκλητικῶν ἦν πολὺ πλέον δι'

ἁμαρτίαν μὲν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐχήματος, φόβῳ δὲ τοῦ Κλαυδίου. [251] οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ ἦσαν οἱ ἐφιέμενοι γένους τε ἀξιώματι καὶ οἰκειότησιν γάμου: καὶ γὰρ Μινουκιανὸς Μᾶρκον καὶ τὸ καθ᾽ αὑτὸν γενναιότητι ἀξιόλογον ὄντα καὶ δὴ ἀδελφὴν Γαίου γεγαμηκότα Ἰουλίαν, πρόθυμός τε ἦν ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων, κατεῖχον δὲ οἱ ὕπατοι πρόφασιν ἐκ προφάσεως ἀναρτῶντες. [252] Οὐαλέριον δὲ Ἀσιατικὸν Μινουκιανὸς ἐκ τῶν Γαίου σφαγέων ἀνεῖχε τοιούτων διανοιῶν. ἐγεγόνει δ᾽ ἂν φόνος οὗ τινος ἐλάσσων ἐπιχωρηθέντων τῶν ἐπιθυμούντων τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ὥστε ἀντιτάξασθαι Κλαυδίῳ, ἄλλως τε καὶ οἱ μονομάχοι, [253] πλῆθος δ᾽ ἦν αὐτῶν ἀξιόλογον, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ νυκτοφυλακοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐρέται τε ὁπόσοι συνέρρεον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὥστε τῶν μετιόντων τὴν ἀρχὴν οἱ μὲν φειδοῖ τῆς πόλεως, οἱ δὲ καὶ φόβῳ τῷ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπέστησαν.

3. And now the consuls called the senate together into the temple of Jupiter the Conqueror, while it was still night; but some of those senators concealed themselves in the city, being uncertain what to do, upon the hearing of this summons; and some of them went out of the city to their own farms, as foreseeing whither the public affairs were going, and despairing of liberty; nay, these supposed it much better for them to be slaves without danger to themselves, and to live a lazy and inactive life, than by claiming the dignity of their forefathers, to run the hazard of their own safety. However, a hundred and no more were gotten together; and as they were in consultation about the present posture of affairs, a sudden clamor was made by the soldiers that were on their side, desiring that the senate would choose them an emperor, and not bring the government into ruin by setting up a multitude of rulers. So they fully declared themselves to be for the giving the government not to all, but to one; but they gave the senate leave to look out for a person worthy to be set over them, insomuch that now the affairs of the senate were much worse than before, because they had not only failed in the recovery of their liberty, which they boasted themselves of, but were in dread of Claudius also. Yet were there those that hankered after the government, both on account of the dignity of their families and that accruing to them by their marriages; for Marcus Minucianus was illustrious, both by his own nobility, and by his having married Julia, the sister of Caius, who accordingly was very ready to claim the government, although the consuls discouraged him, and made one delay after another in proposing it: that Minucianus also, who was one of Caius's murderers, restrained Valerius of Asia from thinking of such things; and a prodigious slaughter there had been, if leave had been given to these men to set up for themselves, and oppose Claudius. There were also a considerable number of gladiators besides,

and of those soldiers who kept watch by night in the city, and rowers of ships, who all ran into the camp; insomuch that, of those who put in for the government, some left off their pretensions in order to spare the city, and others out of fear for their own persons.

(4) [254] Ὑπὸ δὲ πρώτην ἀρχὴν τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ Χαιρέας καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ παρελθόντες ἐν ἐπιχειρήσει λόγων ἦσαν πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας. τῶν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ὡς ὁρᾷ παύοντας αὐτοὺς ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν οἵους τε ἄρχεσθαι, ἀνεθορύβησεν μὴ ἐφιέναι ὥστε εἰπεῖν διὰ τὸ ὡρμῆσθαι πάντας ἐπὶ τῷ μοναρχεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἡγησόμενον ἐκάλουν ὡς οὐκ ἀνεξόμενοι τὰς τριβάς. [255] τῇ συγκλήτῳ δὲ ἀπορία ἄρχειν τε καὶ ὃν ἀρχθεῖεν ἂν τρόπον οὔτε δεχομένων αὐτοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν Γαίου σφαγέων συγχωρεῖν τοῖς στρατιώταις οὐκ ἐφιέντων. [256] ἐν τοιούτοις δὲ ὄντων Χαιρέας τὴν ὀργὴν οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος πρὸς τὴν αἴτησιν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος δώσειν ἐπηγγέλλετο στρατηγόν, εἴ τις αὐτῷ σημεῖον παρὰ Εὐτύχου κομίσειεν. [257] ἦν δὲ ὁ Εὔτυχος οὗτος ἡνίοχος τοῦ καλουμένου πρασίνου περισπούδαστος Γαίῳ, καὶ περὶ τὰς οἰκοδομὰς τῶν στάσεων τοῦ περὶ ἐκεῖνον ἱππικοῦ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἐτρίβετο ἀτίμοις ἐργασίαις ἐπικείμενον. [258] εἰς ἅπερ ὁ Χαιρέας ὠνείδιζεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ τοιαῦτα, τήν τε κεφαλὴν κομιεῖν τοῦ Κλαυδίου: δεινὸν γάρ, εἰ μετὰ μανίαν παραφροσύνῃ δώσουσι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. [259] οὐ μὴν διετράπησάν γε ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων, ἀλλὰ σπασάμενοι τὰς μαχαίρας καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἀράμενοι ᾤχοντο ὡς τὸν Κλαύδιον κοινωνήσοντες τοῖς ὀμνύουσιν αὐτῷ. κατελείπετο δὲ ἥ τε σύγκλητος ἐπ᾽ ἐρημίας τῶν ἀμυνούντων καὶ οἱ ὕπατοι μηδὲν ἰδιωτῶν διαφέροντες. [260] ἔκπληξίς τε καὶ κατήφεια ἦν, οὐδ᾽ ὅτι χρήσαιντο αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰδότων διὰ τὸ ἀνηρεθίσθαι τὸν Κλαύδιον ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς, ἀλλήλοις τε ἐλοιδοροῦντο, καὶ μετάμελος ἦν αὐτοῖς. [261] καὶ Σαβῖνος εἷς τῶν Γαίου σφαγέων σφάζειν πρότερον αὐτὸν ἠπείλει παρελθὼν εἰς μέσους ἢ Κλαύδιον ἄρχοντα στήσεσθαι καὶ δουλοκρατίαν ἐπόψεσθαι καταλαβοῦσαν, τόν τε Χαιρέαν εἰς φιλοψυχίαν ἐπέπλησσεν, εἰ καταφρονήσας Γαίου πρῶτος ἀγαθὸν ὑπολαμβάνοι τὸ ζῆν τῆς ἐλευθερίας οὐδ᾽ οὕτως ἀποδοθῆναι δυναμένης τῇ πατρίδι. [262] Χαιρέας δὲ περὶ μὲν τοῦ θνήσκειν ἐνδοιαστὸν οὐδὲν φρονεῖν ἔλεγεν, βούλεσθαι μέντοι διακωδωνίζειν διάνοιαν τὴν Κλαυδίου.

4. But as soon as ever it was day, Cherea, and those that were with him, came into the senate, and attempted to make speeches to the soldiers. However, the multitude of those soldiers, when they saw that they were making signals for silence with their hands, and were ready to begin to speak to them, grew tumultuous, and would not let them speak at all, because they were all zealous to be under a monarchy; and they demanded of the senate one for their ruler, as not enduring any longer delays: but the senate hesitated about either their own

governing, or how they should themselves be governed, while the soldiers would not admit them to govern, and the murderers of Caius would not permit the soldiers to dictate to them. When they were in these circumstances, Cherea was not able to contain the anger he had, and promised, that if they desired an emperor, he would give them one, if any one would bring him the watchword from Eutychus. Now this Eutychus was charioteer of the green-band faction, styled Prasine, and a great friend of Caius, who used to harass the soldiery with building stables for the horses, and spent his time in ignominious labors, which occasioned Cherea to reproach them with him, and to abuse them with much other scurrilous language; and told them he would bring them the head of Claudius; and that it was an amazing thing, that, after their former madness, they should commit their government to a fool. Yet were not they moved with his words, but drew their swords, and took up their ensigns, and went to Claudius, to join in taking the oath of fidelity to him. So the senate were left without any body to defend them, and the very consuls differed nothing from private persons. They were also under consternation and sorrow, men not knowing what would become of them, because Claudius was very angry at them; so they fell a reproaching one another, and repented of what they had done. At which juncture Sabinus, one of Caius's murderers, threatened that he would sooner come into the midst of them and kill himself, than consent to make Claudius emperor, and see slavery returning upon them; he also abused Cherea for loving his life too well, while he who was the first in his contempt of Caius, could think it a good thin to live, when, even by all that they had done for the recovery of their liberty, they found it impossible to do it. But Cherea said he had no manner of doubt upon him about killing himself; that yet he would first sound the intentions of Claudius before he did it.

(5) [263] Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖσδε ἦσαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου πανταχόθεν ὠθεῖτο κατὰ θεραπείαν. καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων ὁ ἕτερος Κόιντος Πομπώνιος δι' αἰτίας ἦν τῷ στρατιωτικῷ μᾶλλον ὡς ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ τὴν σύγκλητον παρακαλῶν, ὥρμησάν τε σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη, κἂν ἐπέπρακτο αὐτοῖς μὴ Κλαυδίου διακεκωλυκότος. [264] παρακαθίζεται δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν ὕπατον ἐξαρπάσας τοῦ κινδύνου, τῶν δὲ συγκλητικῶν ὅσον ἦν σὺν τῷ Κοίντῳ οὐ μεθ' ὁμοίας ἐδέχετο τιμῆς: τινὲς δὲ καὶ πληγὰς ἔλαβον αὐτῶν ἀνωθούμενοι τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐντεύξεως, Ἀπώνιος δὲ τραυματίας ἀνεχώρει, ἦν τε κίνδυνος περὶ πάντας αὐτούς. [265] καὶ Ἀγρίππας ὁ βασιλεὺς προσελθὼν τῷ Κλαυδίῳ ἀξιοῖ τοῖς συγκλητικοῖς ἠπιώτερον καταστῆναι: γενομένου γάρ τινος κακοῦ περὶ τὴν βουλὴν οὐχ ἕξειν ὧν ἄρξειεν ἑτέρων. [266] πείθεται δὲ Κλαύδιος καὶ συγκαλεῖ τὴν βουλὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Παλατίου διὰ τῆς πόλεως φερόμενος παραπέμποντος αὐτὸν τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ σὺν πολλῇ

πάνυ κακώσει τῆς πληθύος. [267] προεξῆεσαν δὲ τῶν Γαίου σφαγέων εἰς τὸ φανερώτερον Χαιρέας καὶ Σαβῖνος εἰργόμενοι προόδων κατ᾽ ἐπιστολὰς Πολλίωνος, ὃν μικρῷ πρότερον Κλαύδιος στρατηγὸν ἧρητο τῶν σωματοφυλάκων. [268] Κλαύδιος δέ, ἐπείπερ εἰς τὸ Παλάτιον ἀφικνεῖται συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἑταίρους ψῆφον ἀνεδίδου περὶ Χαιρέου. τοῖς δὲ τὸ μὲν ἔργον λαμπρὸν ἐδόκει, ἀπιστίαν δ᾽ ἐπεκάλουν τῷ πεπραχότι καὶ αὐτῷ τιμωρίαν ἐπιβάλλειν δίκαιον ἡγοῦντο ἐπ᾽ ἀποτροπῇ τοῦ μέλλοντος χρόνου. [269] ἀπήγετο οὖν τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Λοῦππός τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων πλείους. λέγεται δὲ Χαιρέας μεγαλοφρόνως ἐνεγκεῖν τὴν συμφορὰν οὐ μόνον τῷ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀμεταπτώτῳ τοῦ σχήματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἷς ὀνειδίσειεν Λοῦππον εἰς δάκρυα ἐκτετραμμένον. [270] ἀποτιθεμένου γέ τοι τὴν στολὴν τοῦ Λούππου καὶ τὸ ῥῖγος αἰτιωμένου φησίν, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐναντία τοῦ Λούππου ποιήσαιτο πώποτε ῥῖγος. πλήθους τε ἀνθρώπων ἑπομένου κατὰ θέαν, ὡς ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸ χωρίον, ἤρετο τὸν στρατιώτην, εἰ διὰ μελέτης αὐτῷ γεγόνοιεν αἱ σφαγαὶ ἢ εἰ πρῶτον ἔχοι τὸ ξίφος ἐΚέλευε κομίζειν ᾧ Γάιον μεταχειρίσαιτο αὐτός: [271] θνήσκει δὲ εὐδαιμόνως μιᾶς πληγῆς αὐτῷ γενομένης. Λοῦππος δὲ οὐ πάνυ δεξιῶς ὑπεξῆλθεν ἀθυμίᾳ καὶ πληγῶν πλειόνων γενομένων διὰ τὸ μαλακῶς τὸν τράχηλον παρασχεῖν.

5. These were the debates [about the senate]; but in the camp every body was crowding on all sides to pay their court to Claudius; and the other consul, Quintus Pomponhis, was reproached by the soldiery, as having rather exhorted the senate to recover their liberty; whereupon they drew their swords, and were going to assault him, and they had done it, if Claudius had not hindered them, who snatched the consul out of the danger he was in, and set him by him. But he did not receive that part of the senate which was with Quintus in the like honorable manner; nay, some of them received blows, and were thrust away as they came to salute Claudius; nay, Aponius went away wounded, and they were all in danger. However, king Agrippa went up to Claudius, and desired he would treat the senators more gently; for if any mischief should come to the senate, he would have no others over whom to rule. Claudius complied with him, and called the senate together into the palace, and was carried thither himself through the city, while the soldiery conducted him, though this was to the great vexation of the multitude; for Cherea and Sabinus, two of Caius's murderers, went in the fore-front of them, in an open manner, while Pollio, whom Claudius, a little before, had made captain of his guards, had sent them an epistolary edict, to forbid them to appear in public. Then did Claudius, upon his coming to the palace, get his friends together, and desired their suffrages about Cherea. They said that the work he had done was a glorious one; but they accused him the he did it of perfidiousness, and thought it just to inflict the punishment [of death]

upon him, to discountenance such actions for the time to come. So Cherea was led to his execution, and Lupus and many other Romans with him. Now it is reported that Cherea bore this calamity courageously; and this not only by the firmness of his own behavior under it, but by the reproaches he laid upon Lupus, who fell into tears; for when Lupus laid his garment aside, and complained of the cold he said, that cold was never hurtful to Lupus [i.e. a wolf] And as a great many men went along with them to see the sight, when Cherea came to the place, he asked the soldier who was to be their executioner, whether this office was what he was used to, or whether this was the first time of his using his sword in that manner, and desired him to bring him that very sword with which he himself slew Caius. So he was happily killed at one stroke. But Lupus did not meet with such good fortune in going out of the world, since he was timorous, and had many blows leveled at his neck, because he did not stretch it out boldly [as he ought to have done].

(6) [272] Ὀλίγαις δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἐναγισμῶν ἐνεστηκότων Ῥωμαίων τὸ πλῆθος τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐπιφέροντες καὶ Χαιρέαν μοίραις ἐτίμησαν εἰς τὸ πῦρ τιθεμέναις, ἵλεων καὶ ἄμηνιν εἶναι τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀχαριστίας παρακαλοῦντες. καὶ Χαιρέᾳ μὲν τοιαύτη τελευτὴ τοῦ βίου συνέτυχεν. [273] Σαβῖνος δὲ Κλαυδίου μὴ μόνον τῆς αἰτίας παραλύοντος αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἣν εἶχεν ἐφιέντος, ἄδικον ἡγεῖτο τὴν ἐκλειπίαν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς συνωμότας πίστεως, σφάζει ἑαυτὸν περιπεσὼν τῷ ξίφει μέχρι δὴ καὶ τὴν κώπην τῷ τραύματι συνελθεῖν.

6. Now, a few days after this, as the Parental solemnities were just at hand, the Roman multitude made their usual oblations to their several ghosts, and put portions into the fire in honor of Cherea, and besought him to be merciful to them, and not continue his anger against them for their ingratitude. And this was the end of the life that Cherea came to. But for Sabinus, although Claudius not only set him at liberty, but gave him leave to retain his former command in the army, yet did he think it would be unjust in him to fail of performing his obligations to his fellow confederates; so he fell upon his sword, and killed himself, the wound reaching up to the very hilt of the sword.

V

CHAPTER 5. How Claudius Restored To Agrippa His Grandfathers Kingdoms And Augmented His Dominions; And How He Published An Edict In Behalf.

(1) [274] Κλαύδιος δὲ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ πᾶν ὅ τι ἦν ὕποπτον ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἀποσκευασάμενος διάγραμμα προυτίθει τήν τε ἀρχὴν Ἀγρίππα βεβαιῶν, ἣν ὁ Γάιος παρέσχε, καὶ δι᾽ ἐγκωμίων ἄγων τὸν βασιλέα. προσθήκην τε αὐτῷ ποιεῖται πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου βασιλευθεῖσαν, ὃς ἦν πάππος αὐτοῦ, Ἰουδαίαν καὶ Σαμάρειαν. [275] καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὡς ὀφειλόμενα τῇ οἰκειότητι τοῦ γένους ἀπεδίδου: Ἄβιλαν δὲ τὴν Λυσανίου καὶ ὁπόσα ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ ὄρει ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ προσετίθει, ὅρκιά τε αὐτῷ τέμνεται πρὸς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μέσης ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει. [276] Ἀντίοχον δὲ ἣν εἶχεν βασιλείαν ἀφελόμενος Κιλικίας μέρει τινὶ καὶ Κομμαγηνῇ δωρεῖται. λύει δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν ἀλαβάρχην φίλον ἀρχαῖον αὐτῷ γεγονότα καὶ Ἀντωνίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπιτροπεύσαντα τὴν μητέρα ὀργῇ τῇ Γαίου δεδεμένον, καὶ αὐτοῦ υἱὸς Βερενίκην τὴν Ἀγρίππου γαμεῖ θυγατέρα. [277] καὶ ταύτην μέν, τελευτᾷ γὰρ Μᾶρκος ὁ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸς παρθένον λαβών, ἀδελφῷ τῷ αὐτοῦ Ἀγρίππας Ἡρώδῃ δίδωσιν Χαλκίδος αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν εἶναι αἰτησάμενος παρὰ Κλαυδίου.

1. Now when Claudius had taken out of the way all those soldiers whom he suspected, which he did immediately, he published an edict, and therein confirmed that kingdom to Agrippa which Caius had given him, and therein commended the king highly. He also made all addition to it of all that country over which Herod, who was his grandfather, had reigned, that is, Judea and Samaria; and this he restored to him as due to his family. But for Abila of Lysanias, and all that lay at Mount Libanus, he bestowed them upon him, as out of his own territories. He also made a league with this Agrippa, confirmed by oaths, in the middle of the forum, in the city of Rome: he also took away from Antiochus that kingdom which he was possessed of, but gave him a certain part of Cilicia and Commagena: he also set Alexander Lysimachus, the alabarch, at liberty, who had been his old friend, and steward to his mother Antonia, but had been imprisoned by Caius, whose son [Marcus] married Bernice, the daughter of Agrippa. But when Marcus, Alexander's son, was dead, who had married her when she was a virgin, Agrippa gave her in marriage to his brother Herod, and begged for him of Claudius the kingdom of Chalcis.

(2) [278] Στασιάζεται δὲ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν τὸν χρόνον Ἰουδαίων τὰ πρὸς Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλεως. τελευτήσαντος γὰρ τοῦ Γαίου τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἐπὶ ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐκείνου τεταπεινωμένον καὶ δεινῶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων ὑβρισμένον ἀνεθάρσησέ τε καὶ ἐν ὅπλοις εὐθέως ἦν. [279] καὶ Κλαύδιος ἐπιστέλλει τῷ ἐπαρχοῦντι κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὥστε τὴν στάσιν καταστεῖλαι, πέμπει δὲ καὶ διάγραμμα παρακεκληκότων αὐτὸν Ἀγρίππου τε καὶ Ἡρώδου τῶν βασιλέων εἵς τε τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ Συρίαν γεγραμμένον τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον: [280] “Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας λέγει. [281] ἐπιγνοὺς ἀνέκαθεν τοὺς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἰουδαίους Ἀλεξανδρεῖς λεγομένους συγκατοικισθέντας τοῖς πρώτοις εὐθὺ καιροῖς Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι καὶ ἴσης πολιτείας παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων τετευχότας, καθὼς φανερὸν ἐγένετο ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν διαταγμάτων, [282] καὶ μετὰ τὸ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἡγεμονίᾳ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ὑποταχθῆναι πεφυλάχθαι αὐτοῖς τὰ δίκαια ὑπὸ τῶν πεμφθέντων ἐπάρχων κατὰ διαφόρους χρόνους μηδεμίαν τε ἀμφισβήτησιν περὶ τούτων γενομένην τῶν δικαίων αὐτοῖς, [283] ἅμα καὶ καθ᾽ ὃν καιρὸν Ἀκύλας ἦν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τελευτήσαντος τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐθνάρχου τὸν Σεβαστὸν μὴ κεκωλυκέναι ἐθνάρχας γίγνεσθαι βουλόμενον ὑποτετάχθαι ἑκάστους ἐμμένοντας τοῖς ἰδίοις ἔθεσιν καὶ μὴ παραβαίνειν ἀναγκαζομένους τὴν πάτριον θρησκείαν, [284] Ἀλεξανδρεῖς δὲ ἐπαρθῆναι κατὰ τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς Ἰουδαίων ἐπὶ τῶν Γαίου Καίσαρος χρόνων τοῦ διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἀπόνοιαν καὶ παραφροσύνην, ὅτι μὴ παραβῆναι ἠθέλησεν τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος τὴν πάτριον θρησκείαν καὶ θεὸν προσαγορεύειν αὐτόν, ταπεινώσαντος αὐτούς: [285] βούλομαι μηδὲν διὰ τὴν Γαίου παραφροσύνην τῶν δικαίων τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνει παραπεπτωκέναι, φυλάσσεσθαι δ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ πρότερον δικαιώματα ἐμμένουσι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἔθεσιν, ἀμφοτέροις τε διακελεύομαι τοῖς μέρεσι πλείστην ποιήσασθαι πρόνοιαν, ὅπως μηδεμία ταραχὴ γένηται μετὰ τὸ προτεθῆναί μου τὸ διάταγμα.”

2. Now about this time there was a sedition between the Jews and the Greeks, at the city of Alexandria; for when Caius was dead, the nation of the Jews, which had been very much mortified under the reign of Caius, and reduced to very great distress by the people of Alexandria, recovered itself, and immediately took up their arms to fight for themselves. So Claudius sent an order to the president of Egypt to quiet that tumult; he also sent an edict, at the requests of king Agrippa and king Herod, both to Alexandria and to Syria, whose contents were as follows: “Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, high priest, and tribune of the people, ordains thus: Since I am assured that the Jews of Alexandria, called Alexandrians, have been joint inhabitants in the earliest times with the Alexandrians, and have obtained from their kings equal privileges with

them, as is evident by the public records that are in their possession, and the edicts themselves; and that after Alexandria had been subjected to our empire by Augustus, their rights and privileges have been preserved by those presidents who have at divers times been sent thither; and that no dispute had been raised about those rights and privileges, even when Aquila was governor of Alexandria; and that when the Jewish ethnarch was dead, Augustus did not prohibit the making such ethnarchs, as willing that all men should be so subject [to the Romans] as to continue in the observation of their own customs, and not be forced to transgress the ancient rules of their own country religion; but that, in the time of Caius, the Alexandrians became insolent towards the Jews that were among them, which Caius, out of his great madness and want of understanding, reduced the nation of the Jews very low, because they would not transgress the religious worship of their country, and call him a god: I will therefore that the nation of the Jews be not deprived of their rights and privileges, on account of the madness of Caius; but that those rights and privileges which they formerly enjoyed be preserved to them, and that they may continue in their own customs. And I charge both parties to take very great care that no troubles may arise after the promulgation of this edict."

(3) [286] Τὸ μὲν οὖν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων διάταγμα τοῦτον ἦν τὸν τρόπον γεγραμμένον: τὸ δ' εἰς τὴν ἄλλην οἰκουμένην εἶχεν οὕτως: [287] "Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας ὕπατος χειροτονηθεὶς τὸ δεύτερον λέγει. [288] αἰτησαμένων με βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα καὶ Ἡρώδου τῶν φιλτάτων μοι, ὅπως συγχωρήσαιμι τὰ αὐτὰ δίκαια καὶ τοῖς ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἡγεμονίᾳ Ἰουδαίοις φυλάσσεσθαι, καθὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ἥδιστα συνεχώρησα οὐ μόνον τοῦτο τοῖς αἰτησαμένοις με χαριζόμενος, [289] ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ὧν παρεκλήθην ἀξίους κρίνας διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πίστιν καὶ φιλίαν, μάλιστα δὲ δίκαιον κρίνων μηδεμίαν μηδὲ Ἑλληνίδα πόλιν τῶν δικαίων τούτων ἀποτυγχάνειν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θείου Σεβαστοῦ αὐταῖς ἦν τετηρημένα. [290] καλῶς οὖν ἔχειν καὶ Ἰουδαίους τοὺς ἐν παντὶ τῷ ὑφ' ἡμᾶς κόσμῳ τὰ πάτρια ἔθη ἀνεπικωλύτως φυλάσσειν, οἷς καὶ αὐτοῖς ἤδη νῦν παραγγέλλω μου ταύτῃ τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ ἐπιεικέστερον χρῆσθαι καὶ μὴ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν δεισιδαιμονίας ἐξουθενίζειν, τοὺς ἰδίους δὲ νόμους φυλάσσειν. [291] τοῦτό μου τὸ διάταγμα τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν κολωνιῶν καὶ μουνικιπίων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἐκτός, βασιλεῖς τε καὶ δυνάστας διὰ τῶν ἰδίων πρεσβευτῶν ἐγγράψασθαι βούλομαι ἐκκείμενόν τε ἔχειν οὐκ ἔλαττον ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα ὅθεν ἐξ ἐπιπέδου καλῶς ἀναγνωσθῆναι δύναται."

3. And such were the contents of this edict on behalf of the Jews that was sent to Alexandria. But the edict that was sent into the other parts of the habitable earth was this which follows: “Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, high priest, tribune of the people, chosen consul the second time, ordains thus: Upon the petition of king Agrippa and king Herod, who are persons very dear to me, that I would grant the same rights and privileges should be preserved to the Jews which are in all the Roman empire, which I have granted to those of Alexandria, I very willingly comply therewith; and this grant I make not only for the sake of the petitioners, but as judging those Jews for whom I have been petitioned worthy of such a favor, on account of their fidelity and friendship to the Romans. I think it also very just that no Grecian city should be deprived of such rights and privileges, since they were preserved to them under the great Augustus. It will therefore be fit to permit the Jews, who are in all the world under us, to keep their ancient customs without being hindered so to do. And I do charge them also to use this my kindness to them with moderation, and not to show a contempt of the superstitious observances of other nations, but to keep their own laws only. And I will that this decree of mine be engraven on tables by the magistrates of the cities, and colonies, and municipal places, both those within Italy and those without it, both kings and governors, by the means of the ambassadors, and to have them exposed to the public for full thirty days, in such a place whence it may plainly be read from the ground.”

VI

CHAPTER 6. What Things Were Done By Agrippa At Jerusalem When He Was Returned Back Into Judea; And What It Was That Petronius Wrote To The Inhabitants Of Doris, In Behalf.

(1) [292] Τούτοις μὲν δὴ τοῖς διατάγμασιν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειάν τε καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην πᾶσαν ἀποσταλεῖσιν ἐδήλωσεν ἣν περὶ Ἰουδαίων ἔχοι γνώμην Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ: αὐτίκα δὲ Ἀγρίππαν κομιούμενον τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπὶ τιμαῖς λαμπροτέραις ἐξέπεμψε τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ἡγεμόσιν καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις διὰ γραμμάτων ἐπιστείλας ἐράσμιον ἄγειν αὐτόν. [293] ὁ δ', ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν τὸν ἐπὶ κρείττοσιν τύχαις ἀνερχόμενον, μετὰ τάχους ὑπέστρεψεν, εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα δ' ἐλθὼν χαριστηρίους ἐξεπλήρωσε θυσίας οὐδὲν τῶν κατὰ νόμον παραλιπών. [294] διὸ καὶ ναζιραίων ξυρᾶσθαι διέταξε μάλα συχνούς, τὴν δὲ χρυσῆν ἅλυσιν τὴν δοθεῖσαν αὐτῷ ὑπὸ Γαίου ἰσόσταθμον τῇ σιδηρᾷ, ᾗ τὰς ἡγεμονίδας χεῖρας ἐδέθη, τῆς στυγνῆς εἶναι τύχης ὑπόμνημα καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω μαρτυρίαν μεταβολῆς τῶν ἱερῶν ἐντὸς ἀνεκρέμασεν περιβόλων ὑπὲρ τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον, ἵν' ᾖ δεῖγμα καὶ τοῦ τὰ μεγάλα δύνασθαί ποτε πεσεῖν καὶ τοῦ τὸν θεὸν ἐγείρειν τὰ πεπτωκότα: [295] πᾶσι γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐνεφάνιζεν ἡ τῆς ἁλύσεως ἀνάθεσις, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας ἀπὸ μικρᾶς αἰτίας εἰς δεσμώτην ἀπέδυ τὸ πρὶν ἀξίωμα καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον τῆς πέδης ἐκβὰς εἰς βασιλέα τοῦ πάλαι λαμπρότερον ἠγέρθη. [296] διὰ τοῦτ' οὖν ἐννοεῖσθαι, ὅτι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως καὶ [πεσεῖν] ὀλισθάνειν τὰ μεγέθη καὶ τὰ κλιθέντα δύναται περιφανὲς λαβεῖν πάλιν ὕψος.

1. Now Claudius Caesar, by these decrees of his which were sent to Alexandria, and to all the habitable earth, made known what opinion he had of the Jews. So he soon sent Agrippa away to take his kingdom, now he was advanced to a more illustrious dignity than before, and sent letters to the presidents and procurators of the provinces that they should treat him very kindly. Accordingly, he returned in haste, as was likely he would, now he returned in much greater prosperity than he had before. He also came to Jerusalem, and offered all the sacrifices that belonged to him, and omitted nothing which the law required; on which account he ordained that many of the Nazarites should have their heads shorn. And for the golden chain which had been given him by Caius, of equal weight with that iron chain wherewith his royal hands had been bound, he hung it up within the limits of the temple, over the treasury, that it might be a memorial of the severe fate he had lain under, and a testimony of his change for the better; that it might be a demonstration how the greatest prosperity may have a fall, and that God

sometimes raises up what is fallen down: for this chain thus dedicated afforded a document to all men, that king Agrippa had been once bound in a chain for a small cause, but recovered his former dignity again; and a little while afterward got out of his bonds, and was advanced to be a more illustrious king than he was before. Whence men may understand that all that partake of human nature, how great soever they are, may fall; and that those that fall may gain their former illustrious dignity again.

(2) [297] Ἐντελῶς δ' οὖν θρησκεύσας τὸν θεὸν Ἀγρίππας Θεόφιλον μὲν τὸν Ἀνάνου τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης μετέστησεν, τῷ δὲ Βοηθοῦ Σίμωνι, τούτῳ Κανθηρᾶς ἐπίκλησις ἦν, τὴν ἐκείνου προσένειμε τιμήν. δύο δ' ἦσαν ἀδελφοὶ τῷ Σίμωνι καὶ πατὴρ Βοηθός, οὗ τῇ θυγατρὶ βασιλεὺς συνῴκησεν Ἡρώδης, ὡς ἀνωτέρω δεδήλωται. [298] σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς οὖν τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἔσχεν ὁ Σίμων καὶ σὺν τῷ πατρί, καθὰ καὶ πρότερον ἔσχον οἱ Σίμωνος τοῦ Ὀνία παῖδες τρεῖς ὄντες ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀρχῆς, ὅπερ ἐν ταῖς προαγούσαις γραφαῖς παρέδομεν.

2. And when Agrippa had entirely finished all the duties of the Divine worship, he removed Theophilus, the son of Ananus, from the high priesthood, and bestowed that honor of his on Simon the son of Boethus, whose name was also Cantheras whose daughter king Herod married, as I have related above. Simon, therefore, had the [high] priesthood with his brethren, and with his father, in like manner as the sons of Simon, the son of Onias, who were three, had it formerly under the government of the Macedonians, as we have related in a former book.

(3) [299] Καταστησάμενος δὲ τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς οὕτως ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας ἠμείψατο τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας: ἀνῆκε γοῦν αὐτοῖς τὰ ὑπὲρ ἑκάστης οἰκίας, ἐν καλῷ τιθέμενος ἀντιδοῦναι τοῖς ἠγαπηκόσιν στοργήν. ἔπαρχον δὲ ἀπέδειξεν παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος Σίλαν ἄνδρα πολλῶν αὐτῷ πόνων συμμετασχόντα. [300] παντάπασιν δὲ ὀλίγου χρόνου διελθόντος Δωρῖται νεανίσκοι τῆς ὁσιότητος προτιθέμενοι τόλμαν καὶ πεφυκότες εἶναι παραβόλως θρασεῖς Καίσαρος ἀνδριάντα κομίσαντες εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων συναγωγὴν ἀνέστησαν. [301] σφόδρα τοῦτο Ἀγρίππαν παρώξυνεν: κατάλυσιν γὰρ τῶν πατρίων αὐτοῦ νόμων ἐδύνατο. ἀμελλητὶ δὲ πρὸς Πούπλιον Πετρώνιον, ἡγεμὼν δὲ τῆς Συρίας οὗτος ἦν, παραγίνεται καὶ καταλέγει τῶν Δωριτῶν. [302] ὁ δ' οὐχ ἧττον ἐπὶ τῷ πραχθέντι χαλεπήνας, καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔκρινεν ἀσέβειαν τὴν τῶν ἐννόμων παράβασιν, τοῖς ἀποστᾶσι τῶν Δωριτῶν σὺν ὀργῇ ταῦτ' ἔγραψεν: [303] "Πούπλιος Πετρώνιος πρεσβευτὴς Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δωριέων τοῖς πρώτοις λέγει. [304] ἐπειδὴ τοσαύτῃ τόλμῃ ἀπονοίας τινὲς ἐχρήσαντο ἐξ ὑμῶν, ὥστε μηδὲ διὰ τὸ προτεθῆναι διάταγμα Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ περὶ τοῦ ἐφίεσθαι Ἰουδαίους φυλάσσειν τὰ

πάτρια πεισθῆναι ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ, [305] τἀναντία δὲ πάντα πρᾶξαι, συναγωγὴν Ἰουδαίων κωλύοντας εἶναι διὰ τὸ μεταθεῖναι ἐν αὐτῇ τὸν Καίσαρος ἀνδριάντα, παρανομοῦντας οὐκ εἰς μόνους Ἰουδαίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, οὗ ὁ ἀνδριὰς βέλτιον ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ ναῷ ἢ ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ ἐτίθετο καὶ ταῦτα ἐν τῷ τῆς συναγωγῆς τόπῳ, τοῦ φύσει δικαιοῦντος ἕνα ἕκαστον τῶν ἰδίων τόπων κυριεύειν κατὰ τὸ Καίσαρος ἐπίκριμα: [306] τοῦ γὰρ ἐμοῦ ἐπικρίματος μιμνήσκεσθαι γελοῖόν ἐστιν μετὰ τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος διάταγμα τοῦ ἐπιτρέψαντος Ἰουδαίοις τοῖς ἰδίοις ἔθεσι χρῆσθαι, ἔτι μέντοι γε καὶ συμπολιτεύεσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν κεκελευκότος: [307] τοὺς μὲν παρὰ τὸ διάταγμα τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τοιαῦτα τετολμηκότας, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἠγανάκτησαν οἱ δοκοῦντες αὐτῶν ἐξέχειν οὐ τῇ ἰδίᾳ προαιρέσει γεγενῆσθαι λέγοντες ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ πλήθους ὁρμῇ, ὑπὸ ἑκατοντάρχου Πρόκλου Οὐιτελλίου ἐκέλευσα ἐπ᾽ ἐμὲ ἀναχθῆναι τῶν πεπραγμένων λόγον ἀποδώσοντας, [308] τοῖς δὲ πρώτοις ἄρχουσι παραινῶ, εἰ μὴ βούλονται δοκεῖν κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν προαίρεσιν γεγενῆσθαι τὸ ἀδίκημα, ἐπιδεῖξαι τοὺς αἰτίους τῷ ἑκατοντάρχῃ μηδεμιᾶς στάσεως μηδὲ μάχης ἐῶντας ἀφορμὴν γενέσθαι, ἥνπερ δοκοῦσίν μοι θηρεύεσθαι διὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων, [309] κἀμοῦ καὶ τοῦ τιμιωτάτου μοι βασιλέως Ἀγρίππου οὐδενὸς μᾶλλον προνοουμένων, ἢ ἵνα μὴ ἀφορμῆς δραξάμενοι τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμύνης προφάσει συναθροισθὲν εἰς ἀπόνοιαν χωρῇ. [310] ἵνα δὲ γνωριμώτερον ᾖ, τί καὶ ὁ Σεβαστὸς περὶ ὅλου τοῦ πράγματος ἐφρόνησε, τὰ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ αὐτοῦ διατάγματα προτεθέντα προσέθηκα, ἅπερ εἰ καὶ γνώριμα πᾶσιν εἶναι δοκεῖ, τότε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἀνέγνω ὁ τιμιώτατός μοι βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας δικαιολογησάμενος περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀφαιρεθῆναι τῆς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ δωρεᾶς. [311] εἵς τε οὖν τὸ λοιπὸν παραγγέλλω μηδεμίαν πρόφασιν στάσεως μηδὲ ταραχῆς ζητεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ἑκάστους τὰ ἴδια ἔθη θρησκεύειν.”

3. When the king had settled the high priesthood after this manner, he returned the kindness which the inhabitants of Jerusalem had showed him; for he released them from the tax upon houses, every one of which paid it before, thinking it a good thing to requite the tender affection of those that loved him. He also made Silas the general of his forces, as a man who had partaken with him in many of his troubles. But after a very little while the young men of Doris, preferring a rash attempt before piety, and being naturally bold and insolent, carried a statue of Caesar into a synagogue of the Jews, and erected it there. This procedure of theirs greatly provoked Agrippa; for it plainly tended to the dissolution of the laws of his country. So he came without delay to Publius Petronius, who was then president of Syria, and accused the people of Doris. Nor did he less resent what was done than did Agrippa; for he judged it a piece of impiety to transgress the laws that regulate the actions of men. So he wrote the following letter to the

people of Doris in an angry strain: “Publius Petronius, the president under Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, to the magistrates of Doris, ordains as follows: Since some of you have had the boldness, or madness rather, after the edict of Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus was published, for permitting the Jews to observe the laws of their country, not to obey the same, but have acted in entire opposition thereto, as forbidding the Jews to assemble together in the synagogue, by removing Caesar’s statue, and setting it up therein, and thereby have offended not only the Jews, but the emperor himself, whose statue is more commodiously placed in his own temple than in a foreign one, where is the place of assembling together; while it is but a part of natural justice, that every one should have the power over the place belonging peculiarly to themselves, according to the determination of Caesar, — to say nothing of my own determination, which it would be ridiculous to mention after the emperor’s edict, which gives the Jews leave to make use of their own customs, as also gives order that they enjoy equally the rights of citizens with the Greeks themselves, — I therefore ordain that Proculus Vitellius, the centurion, bring those men to me, who, contrary to Augustus’s edict, have been so insolent as to do this thing, at which those very men, who appear to be of principal reputation among them, have an indignation also, and allege for themselves, ‘that it was not done with their consent, but by the violence of the multitude, that they may give an account of what hath been done. I also exhort the principal magistrates among them, unless they have a mind to have this action esteemed to be done with their consent, to inform the centurion of those that were guilty of it, and take care that no handle be hence taken for raising a sedition or quarrel among them; which those seem to me to treat after who encourage such doings; while both I myself, and king Agrippa, for whom I have the highest honor, have nothing more under our care, than that the nation of the Jews may have no occasion given them of getting together, under the pretense of avenging themselves, and become tumultuous. And that it may be more publicly known what Augustus hath resolved about this whole matter, I have subjoined those edicts which he hath lately caused to be published at Alexandria, and which, although they may be well known to all, yet did king Agrippa, for whom I have the highest honor, read them at that time before my tribunal, and pleaded that the Jews ought not to be deprived of those rights which Augustus hath granted them. I therefore charge you, that you do not, for the time to come, seek for any occasion of sedition or disturbance, but that every one be allowed to follow their own religious customs.”

(4) [312] Πετρώνιος μὲν οὖν οὕτω προυνόησε διορθώσεως μὲν τὸ παρανομηθὲν ἤδη τυχεῖν, γενέσθαι δὲ παραπλήσιον μηδὲν εἰς αὐτούς. [313] Ἀγρίππας δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀφείλετο μὲν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην τὸν Κανθηρᾶν Σίμωνα, Ἰωνάθην δὲ πάλιν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν ἦγεν τὸν Ἀνάνου τοῦτον ἀξιώτερον τῆς τιμῆς ὁμολογῶν εἶναι. τῷ δὲ οὐκ ἀσμενιστὸν ἐφάνη τὴν τοσαύτην ἀπολαβεῖν τιμήν, παρῃτεῖτο δ᾽ οὖν ταῦτα λέγων: [314] “σοὶ μέν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τετιμημένος χαίρω διὰ ψυχῆς ἔχων τοῦθ᾽ ὅ μοι γέρας δίδωσιν ἡ σὴ βουλὴ, καὶ πρὸς οὐδέν με τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἄξιον ἔκρινεν ὁ θεός. ἅπαξ δ᾽ ἐνδὺς στολισμὸν ἱερὸν ἀρκοῦμαι: τότε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἡμφιασάμην ὁσιώτερον ἢ νῦν ἀπολήψομαι. [315] σὺ δ᾽, εἰ βούλει τὸν ἀξιώτερον ἐμοῦ νῦν τὸ γέρας λαβεῖν, διδάχθητι: πάσης καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἁμαρτίας καὶ πρὸς σέ, βασιλεῦ, καθαρὸς ἀδελφὸς ἔστι μοι: πρέποντα τῇ τιμῇ τοῦτον [316] συνίστημι.” τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡσθεὶς τοῖς λόγοις τὸν Ἰωνάθην μὲν ἠγάσατο τῆς γνώμης, τἀδελφῷ δὲ αὐτοῦ Ματθίᾳ τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἔδωκε. καὶ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ Πετρώνιον μὲν Μάρσος διεδέξατο καὶ διεῖπε Συρίαν.

4. Thus did Petronius take care of this matter, that such a breach of the law might be corrected, and that no such thing might be attempted afterwards against the Jews. And now king Agrippa took the [high] priesthood away from Simon Cantheras, and put Jonathan, the son of Ananus, into it again, and owned that he was more worthy of that dignity than the other. But this was not a thing acceptable to him, to recover that his former dignity. So he refused it, and said, “O king! I rejoice in the honor that thou hast for me, and take it kindly that thou wouldst give me such a dignity of thy own inclinations, although God hath judged that I am not at all worthy of the high priesthood. I am satisfied with having once put on the sacred garments; for I then put them on after a more holy manner than I should now receive them again. But if thou desirest that a person more worthy than myself should have this honorable employment, give me leave to name thee such a one. I have a brother that is pure from all sin against God, and of all offenses against thyself; I recommend him to thee, as one that is fit for this dignity.” So the king was pleased with these words of his, and passed by Jonathan, and, according to his brother’s desire, bestowed the high priesthood upon Matthias. Nor was it long before Marcus succeeded Petronius, as president of Syria.

VII

CHAPTER 7. Concerning Silas And On What Account It Was That King Agrippa Was Angry At Him. How Agrippa Began To Encompass Jerusalem With A Wall; And What Benefits He Bestowed On The Inhabitants Of Berytus.

(1) [317] Σίλας δ' ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔπαρχος ἐπεὶ διὰ πάσης αὐτῷ τύχης ἐγεγόνει πιστὸς οὐδένα κίνδυνόν ποτε κοινωνεῖν ἀνηνάμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς σφαλερωτάτους ὑποδὺς πολλάκις πόνους, πεποιθήσεως ἦν ἀνάπλεως, προσήκειν ὑπολαμβάνων ἰσοτιμίαν βεβαιότητι φιλίας. [318] οὐδαμῆ τοίνυν ὑποκατεκλίνετο βασιλεῖ, παρρησίαν δὲ διὰ πάσης ὁμιλίας ἦγεν, κἀν ταῖς φιλοφρονήσεσιν ἐγίνετο φορτικὸς σεμνύνων ἑαυτὸν ἀμέτρως καὶ πολλάκις τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ στυγνὰ τῆς τύχης ἄγων εἰς ἀνάμνησιν, ἵνα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τότε σπουδὴν παραδεικνύῃ, συνεχῶς δ' ἦν, ὡς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κάμοι, πολλὰ διεξιών. [319] τούτων οὖν τὸ πλεονάζον ὀνειδισμὸς ἐδόκει: διὸ προσάντως ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐδέχετο τὴν ἀταμίευτον παρρησίαν τἀνδρός: οὐχ ἡδεῖαι γὰρ αἱ τῶν ἀδόξων χρόνων ἀναμνήσεις, εὐήθης δὲ ὁ διηνεκῶς ἅ ποτε ὠφέλησεν προφέρων. [320] τέλος γοῦν ἀνηρέθισε σφόδρα ὁ Σίλας τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν θυμὸν κἀκεῖνος ὀργῇ πλέον ἢ λογισμῷ διδοὺς οὐ τῆς ἐπαρχίας μόνον μετέστησε τὸν Σίλαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρέδωκεν δεθησόμενον εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου πατρίδα πέμψας. [321] χρόνῳ δὲ τὸν θυμὸν ἠμβλύνθη καὶ λογισμοῖς εἰλικρινέσι τὴν περὶ τἀνδρὸς κρίσιν ἐφῆκεν ἐν νῷ λαμβάνων ὅσους ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου πόνους ἐκεῖνος ἀνέτλη. ἡμέραν οὖν ἑορτάζων αὐτοῦ γενέθλιον, ὅτε πᾶσιν ὧν ἦρχεν εὐφροσύνη ᾖ καθίσταντο θαλίαι, τὸν Σίλαν ἀνεκάλει παραυτίκα συνέστιον αὐτῷ γενησόμενον. [322] τῷ δέ, τρόπος γὰρ ἐλευθέριος ἦν, ἐδόκει προσειληφέναι δικαίαν αἰτίαν ὀργῆς, ἣν οὐκ ἀπεκρύπτετο πρὸς τοὺς μετιόντας αὐτὸν λέγων: [323] "ἐπὶ ποίαν ὁ βασιλεὺς τιμὴν ἀνακαλεῖ με τὴν μετὰ μικρὸν ἀπολουμένην; οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ πρῶτά μοι γέρα τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας ἐτήρησεν, ἀπεσύλησεν δ' ὑβρίσας. [324] ἢ πεπαῦσθαι νενόμικέ με τῆς παρρησίας, ἣν ἀπὸ ποίου συνειδότος ἔχων βοήσομαι μᾶλλον, ὅσων αὐτὸν ἐξελυσάμην δεινῶν, ὅσους ἤνεγκα πόνους ἐκείνῳ ποριζόμενος σωτηρίαν τε καὶ τιμήν, ὧν γέρας ἠνεγκάμην δεσμὰ καὶ σκότιον εἱρκτήν. [325] οὐκ ἐγώ ποτε τούτων λήσομαι: τάχα μοι τὴν τῆς ἀριστείας συνεποίσεται μνήμην καὶ μεταστᾶσα τῆς σαρκὸς ἡ ψυχή." ταῦτα ἀνεβόα καὶ διετάττετο τῷ βασιλεῖ λέγειν. ὁ δ' ὡς ἀνιάτως ἑώρα διακείμενον, πάλιν εἴασεν ἐν φρουρᾷ.

1. Now Silas, the general of the king's horse, because he had been faithful to him under all his misfortunes, and had never refused to be a partaker with him in any of his dangers, but had oftentimes undergone the most hazardous dangers for him, was full of assurance, and thought he might expect a sort of equality with the king, on account of the firmness of the friendship he had showed to him. Accordingly, he would no where let the king sit as his superior, and took the like liberty in speaking to him upon all occasions, till he became troublesome to the king, when they were merry together, extolling himself beyond measure, and oft putting the king in mind of the severity of fortune he had undergone, that he might, by way of ostentation, demonstrate What zeal he had showed in his service; and was continually harping upon this string, what pains he had taken for him, and much enlarged still upon that subject. The repetition of this so frequently seemed to reproach the king, insomuch that he took this ungovernable liberty of talking very ill at his hands. For the commemoration of times when men have been under ignominy, is by no means agreeable to them; and he is a very silly man who is perpetually relating to a person what kindness he had done him. At last, therefore, Silas had so thoroughly provoked the king's indignation, that he acted rather out of passion than good consideration, and did not only turn Silas out of his place, as general of his horse, but sent him in bonds into his own country. But the edge of his anger wore off by length of time, and made room for more just reasonings as to his judgment about this man; and he considered how many labors he had undergone for his sake. So when Agrippa was solemnizing his birth-day, and he gave festival entertainments to all his subjects, he sent for Silas on the sudden to be his guest. But as he was a very frank man, he thought he had now a just handle given him to be angry; which he could not conceal from those that came for him, but said to them, "What honor is this the king invites me to, which I conclude will soon be over? For the king hath not let me keep those original marks of the good-will I bore him, which I once had from him; but he hath plundered me, and that unjustly also. Does he think that I can leave off that liberty of speech, which, upon the consciousness of my deserts, I shall use more loudly than before, and shall relate how many misfortunes I have been delivered from; how many labors I have undergone for him, whereby I procured him deliverance and respect; as a reward for which I have borne the hardships of bonds and a dark prison? I shall never forget this usage. Nay, perhaps, my very soul, when it is departed out of the body, will not forget the glorious actions I did on his account." This was the clamor he made, and he ordered the messengers to tell it to the king. So he perceived that Silas was incurable in his folly, and still suffered him to lie in prison.

(2) [326] Τὰ δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τείχη τὰ πρὸς τὴν καινὴν νεύοντα πόλιν δημοσίαις ὠχύρου δαπάναις, τῇ μὲν εὐρύνων εἰς πλάτος τῇ δὲ εἰς ὕψος ἐξαίρων, κἂν ἐξειργάσατο ταῦτα πάσης ἀνθρωπίνης κρείττονα βίας, εἰ μὴ Μάρσος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμὼν Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι διὰ γραμμάτων ἐδήλωσε τὸ πραττόμενον. [327] καὶ νεωτερισμόν τινα Κλαύδιος ὑποπτεύσας ἐπέστειλεν Ἀγρίππᾳ μετὰ σπουδῆς παύσασθαι τῆς τῶν τειχῶν ἐξοικοδομήσεως: ὁ δ᾽ ἀπειθεῖν οὐκ ἔκρινεν.

2. As for the walls of Jerusalem, that were adjoining to the new city [Bezetha], he repaired them at the expense of the public, and built them wider in breadth, and higher in altitude; and he had made them too strong for all human power to demolish, unless Marcus, the then president of Syria, had by letter informed Claudius Caesar of what he was doing. And when Claudius had some suspicion of attempts for innovation, he sent to Agrippa to leave off the building of those walls presently. So he obeyed, as not thinking it proper to contradict Claudius.

(3) [328] Ἐπεφύκει δ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος εὐεργετικὸς εἶναι ἐν δωρεαῖς καὶ μεγαλοφρονῆσαι ἔθνη φιλότιμος καὶ πολλοῖς ἀθρόως δαπανήμασιν ἀνιστὰς αὑτὸν εἰς ἐπιφάνειαν ἡδόμενος τῷ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ τῷ βιοῦν ἐν εὐφημίᾳ χαίρων, κατ᾽ οὐδὲν Ἡρώδῃ τῷ πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ βασιλεῖ τὸν τρόπον συμφερόμενος: [329] ἐκείνῳ γὰρ πονηρὸν ἦν ἦθος ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν ἀπότομον καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀπηχθημένων ἀταμίευτον, Ἕλλησι πλέον ἢ Ἰουδαίοις οἰκείως ἔχειν ὁμολογούμενος: ἀλλοφύλων γέ τοι πόλεις ἐσέμνυνεν δόσει χρημάτων βαλανείων θεάτρων τε ἄλλοτε κατασκευαῖς, ἔστιν αἷς ναοὺς ἀνέστησε, στοὰς ἄλλαις, ἀλλὰ Ἰουδαίων οὐδεμίαν πόλιν οὐδ᾽ ὀλίγης ἐπισκευῆς ἠξίωσεν οὐδὲ δόσεως ἀξίας μνημονευθῆναι. [330] πραὺς δ᾽ ὁ τρόπος Ἀγρίππᾳ καὶ πρὸς πάντας τὸ εὐεργετικὸν ὅμοιον. τοῖς ἀλλοεθνέσιν ἦν φιλάνθρωπος κἀκείνοις ἐνδεικνύμενος τὸ φιλόδωρον τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις ἀναλόγως χρηστὸς καὶ συμπαθὴς μᾶλλον. [331] ἡδεῖα γοῦν αὐτῷ δίαιτα καὶ συνεχὴς ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἦν καὶ τὰ πάτρια καθαρῶς ἐτήρει. διὰ πάσης γοῦν αὐτὸν ἦγεν ἁγνείας οὐδ᾽ ἡμέρα τις παρώδευεν αὐτῷ τὰ νόμιμα χηρεύουσα θυσίας.

3. Now this king was by nature very beneficent and liberal in his gifts, and very ambitious to oblige people with such large donations; and he made himself very illustrious by the many chargeable presents he made them. He took delight in giving, and rejoiced in living with good reputation. He was not at all like that Herod who reigned before him; for that Herod was ill-natured, and severe in his punishments, and had no mercy on them that he hated; and every one perceived that he was more friendly to the Greeks than to the Jews; for he adorned foreign cities with large presents in money; with building them baths and theatres besides; nay, in some of those places he erected temples, and porticoes in others;

but he did not vouchsafe to raise one of the least edifices in any Jewish city, or make them any donation that was worth mentioning. But Agrippa's temper was mild, and equally liberal to all men. He was humane to foreigners, and made them sensible of his liberality. He was in like manner rather of a gentle and compassionate temper. Accordingly, he loved to live continually at Jerusalem, and was exactly careful in the observance of the laws of his country. He therefore kept himself entirely pure; nor did any day pass over his head without its appointed sacrifice.

(4) [332] Καὶ δή τις ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀνὴρ ἐπιχώριος ἐξακριβάζειν δοκῶν τὰ νόμιμα, Σίμων ἦν ὄνομα τούτῳ, πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἀλίσας τηνικάδε τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς Καισάρειαν ἐκδεδημηκότος ἐτόλμησεν αὐτοῦ κατειπεῖν, ὡς οὐχ ὅσιος εἴη, δικαίως δ' ἂν εἴργοιτο τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς εἰσόδου προσηκούσης τοῖς ἐγγενέσιν. [333] δηλοῦται μὲν δὴ διὰ γραμμάτων ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῆς πόλεως τῷ βασιλεῖ δημηγορήσας Σίμων ταῦτα, μεταπέμπεται δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς καί, καθέζετο γὰρ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τότε, καθεσθῆναι παρ' αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν. ἠρέμα τε καὶ πρᾴως "εἰπέ μοι, φησίν, τί τῶν ἐνθάδε [334] γινομένων ἐστὶ παράνομον;" ὁ δὲ εἰπεῖν ἔχων οὐδὲν τυχεῖν ἐδεῖτο συγγνώμης. ἀλλὰ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῷ ἢ προσεδόκησέν τις διηλλάττετο τὴν πρᾳότητα κρίνων βασιλικωτέραν ὀργῆς καὶ πρέπειν εἰδὼς τοῖς μεγέθεσι θυμοῦ πλέον ἐπιείκειαν. τὸν Σίμωνα γοῦν καὶ δωρεᾶς τινος ἀξιώσας ἀπεπέμπετο.

4. However, there was a certain mall of the Jewish nation at Jerusalem, who appeared to be very accurate in the knowledge of the law. His name was Simon. This man got together an assembly, while the king was absent at Cesarea, and had the insolence to accuse him as not living holily, and that he might justly be excluded out of the temple, since it belonged only to native Jews. But the general of Agrippa's army informed him that Simon had made such a speech to the people. So the king sent for him; and as he was sitting in the theater, he bid him sit down by him, and said to him with a low and gentle voice, "What is there done in this place that is contrary to the law?" But he had nothing to say for himself, but begged his pardon. So the king was more easily reconciled to him than one could have imagined, as esteeming mildness a better quality in a king than anger, and knowing that moderation is more becoming in great men than passion. So he made Simon a small present, and dismissed him.

(5) [335] Πολλοῖς δὲ κατασκευάσας πολλὰ Βηρυτίους ἐξαιρέτως ἐτίμησεν: θέατρον γὰρ αὐτοῖς κατεσκεύασε πολυτελείᾳ τε καὶ κάλλει πολλῶν διαφέρον ἀμφιθέατρόν τε πολλῶν ἀναλωμάτων βαλανεῖα πρὸς τούτοις καὶ στοάς, ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν ἔργων στενότητι δαπανημάτων ἢ τὸ κάλλος ἀδικήσας ἢ τὸ μέγεθος.

[336] ἐπεδαψιλεύσατο δ᾽ αὐτῶν τὴν καθιέρωσιν μεγαλοπρεπῶς, ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ μὲν θεωρίας ἐπιτελῶν πάνθ᾽ ὅσα μουσικῆς ἔργα παράγων καὶ ποικίλης ποιητικὰ τέρψεως, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀμφιθεάτρῳ πλήθει μονομάχων τὴν αὐτοῦ δεικνὺς μεγαλόνοιαν. [337] ἔνθα καὶ τὴν κατὰ πλῆθος ἀντίταξιν βουληθεὶς γενέσθαι τῶν θεωμένων τέρψιν ἑπτακοσίους ἄνδρας ἑπτακοσίοις μαχησομένους εἰσέπεμψεν κακούργους ὅσους εἶχεν ἀποτάξας εἰς τήνδε τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἵν᾽ οἱ μὲν κολασθῶσιν, τὸ πολέμου δ᾽ ἔργον γένηται τέρψις εἰρήνης. τούτους μὲν οὖν πασσυδὶ διέφθειρεν.

5. Now as Agrippa was a great builder in many places, he paid a peculiar regard to the people of Berytus; for he erected a theater for them, superior to many others of that sort, both in Sumptuousness and elegance, as also an amphitheater, built at vast expenses; and besides these, he built them baths and porticoes, and spared for no costs in any of his edifices, to render them both handsome and large. He also spent a great deal upon their dedication, and exhibited shows upon them, and brought thither musicians of all sorts, and such as made the most delightful music of the greatest variety. He also showed his magnificence upon the theater, in his great number of gladiators; and there it was that he exhibited the several antagonists, in order to please the spectators; no fewer indeed than seven hundred men to fight with seven hundred other men and allotted all the malefactors he had for this exercise, that both the malefactors might receive their punishment, and that this operation of war might be a recreation in peace. And thus were these criminals all destroyed at once.

VIII

CHAPTER 8. What Other Acts Were Done By Agrippa Until His Death; And After What Manner He Died.

(1) [338] Ἐν Βηρυτῷ δὲ τελέσας τὰ προειρημένα μετῆλθεν εἰς Τιβεριάδα πόλιν τῆς Γαλιλαίας. ἦν δὲ ἄρα τοῖς ἄλλοις βασιλεῦσιν περίβλεπτος. ἦκε γοῦν παρ᾽ αὐτὸν Κομμαγηνῆς μὲν βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος, Ἐμεσῶν δὲ Σαμψιγέραμος καὶ Κότυς, τῆς μικρᾶς Ἀρμενίας οὗτος ἐβασίλευσεν, καὶ Πολέμων τὴν Πόντου κεκτημένος δυναστείαν Ἡρώδης τε: οὗτος ἀδελφὸς ἦν αὐτοῦ, ἦρχεν δὲ τῆς Χαλκίδος. [339] ὡμίλησε δὲ πᾶσιν κατά τε τὰς ὑποδοχὰς καὶ φιλοφρονήσεις ὡς μάλιστα διαδείξας φρονήσεως ὕψος καὶ διὰ τοῦτό γε δοκεῖν δικαίως τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως παρουσίᾳ τετιμῆσθαι. [340] ἀλλὰ γὰρ τούτων διατριβόντων ἔτι παρ᾽ αὐτῷ Μάρσος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμὼν παρεγένετο. πρὸς Ῥωμαίους οὖν τιμητικὸν τηρῶν ὑπαντησόμενος αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως ἀπωτέρω σταδίους ἑπτὰ προῆλθεν ὁ βασιλεύς. [341] τοῦτο δὲ ἄρα ἔμελλεν τῆς πρὸς Μάρσον ἀρχὴ γενήσεσθαι διαφορᾶς: συγκαθεζόμενος γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπήνης ἐπήγετο τοὺς ἄλλους βασιλέας, Μάρσῳ δ᾽ ἡ τούτων ὁμόνοια καὶ μέχρι τοσοῦδε φιλία πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπωπτεύθη συμφέρειν οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνοντι Ῥωμαίοις δυναστῶν τοσούτων συμφρόνησιν. εὐθὺς οὖν ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τινὰς πέμπων ἐπέστελλεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ δίχα μελλήσεως ἀπέρχεσθαι. [342] ταῦτα Ἀγρίππας ἀνιαρῶς ἐξεδέχετο: καὶ Μάρσῳ μὲν ἐκ τούτου διαφόρως ἔσχεν, τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην δὲ Ματθίαν ἀφελόμενος ἀντ᾽ αὐτοῦ κατέστησεν ἀρχιερέα Ἐλιωναῖον τὸν τοῦ Κιθαίρου παῖδα.

1. When Agrippa had finished what I have above related at Berytus, he removed to Tiberias, a city of Galilee. Now he was in great esteem among other kings. Accordingly there came to him Antiochus, king of Commalena, Sampsigeratnus, king of Emesa, and Cotys, who was king of the Lesser Armenia, and Polemo, who was king of Pontus, as also Herod his brother, who was king of Chalcis. All these he treated with agreeable entertainments, and after an obliging manner, and so as to exhibit the greatness of his mind, and so as to appear worthy of those respects which the kings paid to him, by coming thus to see him. However, while these kings staid with him, Marcus, the president of Syria, came thither. So the king, in order to preserve the respect that was due to the Romans, went out of the city to meet him, as far as seven furlongs. But this proved to be the beginning of a difference between him and Marcus; for he took with him in his chariot those other kings as his assessors. But Marcus had a suspicion what the meaning could be of so great a friendship of these kings one with another, and

did not think so close an agreement of so many potentates to be for the interest of the Romans. He therefore sent some of his domestics to every one of them, and enjoined them to go their ways home without further delay. This was very ill taken by Agrippa, who after that became his enemy. And now he took the high priesthood away from Matthias, and made Elioneus, the son of Cantheras, high priest in his stead.

(2) [343] Τρίτον δὲ ἔτος αὐτῷ βασιλεύοντι τῆς ὅλης Ἰουδαίας πεπλήρωτο, καὶ παρῆν εἰς πόλιν Καισάρειαν, ἣ τὸ πρότερον Στράτωνος πύργος ἐκαλεῖτο. συνετέλει δ' ἐνταῦθα θεωρίας εἰς τὴν Καίσαρος τιμὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου σωτηρίας ἑορτήν τινα ταύτην ἐπιστάμενος, καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν ἤθροιστο τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἐν τέλει καὶ προβεβηκότων εἰς ἀξίαν πλῆθος. [344] δευτέρᾳ δὴ τῶν θεωριῶν ἡμέρᾳ στολὴν ἐνδὺς ἐξ ἀργύρου πεποιημένην πᾶσαν, ὡς θαυμάσιον ὑφὴν εἶναι, παρῆλθεν εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας. ἔνθα ταῖς πρώταις τῶν ἡλιακῶν ἀκτίνων ἐπιβολαῖς ὁ ἄργυρος καταυγασθεὶς θαυμασίως ἀπέστιλβε μαρμαίρων τι φοβερὸν καὶ τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀτενίζουσι φρικῶδες. [345] εὐθὺς δὲ οἱ κόλακες τὰς οὐδὲ ἐκείνῳ πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν φωνὰς ἀνεβόων, θεὸν προσαγορεύοντες εὐμενής τε εἴης ἐπιλέγοντες, εἰ καὶ μέχρι νῦν ὡς ἄνθρωπον ἐφοβήθημεν, ἀλλὰ τοὐντεῦθεν κρείττονά σε θνητῆς φύ [346] σεως ὁμολογοῦμεν." οὐκ ἐπέπληξεν τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐδὲ τὴν κολακείαν ἀσεβοῦσαν ἀπετρίψατο. ἀνακύψας δ' οὖν μετ' ὀλίγον τὸν βουβῶνα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλῆς ὑπερκαθιζόμενον εἶδεν ἐπὶ σχοινίου τινός. ἄγγελον τοῦτον εὐθὺς ἐνόησεν κακῶν εἶναι τὸν καί ποτε τῶν ἀγαθῶν γενόμενον, καὶ διακάρδιον ἔσχεν ὀδύνην, ἄθρουν δ' αὐτῷ τῆς κοιλίας προσέφυσεν ἄλγημα μετὰ σφοδρότητος ἀρξάμενον. [347] ἀναθορὼν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, "ὁ θεὸς ὑμῖν ἐγώ, φησίν, ἤδη καταστρέφειν ἐπιτάττομαι τὸν βίον, παραχρῆμα τῆς εἱμαρμένης τὰς ἄρτι μου κατεψευσμένας φωνὰς ἐλεγχούσης: ὁ κληθεὶς ἀθάνατος ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἤδη θανεῖν ἀπάγομαι. δεκτέον δὲ τὴν πεπρωμένην, ᾗ θεὸς βεβούληται: καὶ γὰρ βεβιώκαμεν οὐδαμῇ φαύλως, [348] ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς μακαριζομένης λαμπρότητος." ταῦθ' ἅμα λέγων ἐπιτάσει τῆς ὀδύνης κατεπονεῖτο: μετὰ σπουδῆς οὖν εἰς τὸ βασίλειον ἐκομίσθη καὶ διῇξε λόγος εἰς πάντας, ὡς ἔχοι τοῦ τεθνάναι παντάπασι μετ' ὀλίγον. [349] ἡ πληθὺς δ' αὐτίκα σὺν γυναιξὶν καὶ παισὶν ἐπὶ σάκκων καθεσθεῖσα τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ τὸν θεὸν ἱκέτευεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως, οἰμωγῆς δὲ πάντ' ἦν ἀνάπλεα καὶ θρήνων. ἐν ὑψηλῷ δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς δωματίῳ κατακείμενος καὶ κάτω βλέπων αὐτοὺς πρηνεῖς καταπίπτοντας ἄδακρυς οὐδ' αὐτὸς διέμενεν. [350] συνεχεῖς δ' ἐφ' ἡμέρας πέντε τῷ τῆς γαστρὸς ἀλγήματι διεργασθεὶς τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν, ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἄγων πεντηκοστὸν ἔτος καὶ τέταρτον, τῆς βασιλείας δ' ἕβδομον. [351] τέτταρας μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Γαίου Καίσαρος ἐβασίλευσεν ἐνιαυτοὺς τῆς Φιλίππου μὲν τετραρχίας εἰς τριετίαν ἄρξας, τῷ τετάρτῳ δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἡρώδου προσειληφώς, τρεῖς δ' ἐπιλαβὼν

τῆς Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος αὐτοκρατορίας, ἐν οἷς τῶν τε προειρημένων ἐβασίλευσεν καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προσέλαβεν Σαμάρειάν τε καὶ Καισάρειαν. [352] προσωδεύσατο δ' ὅτι πλείστας αὐτῶν προσφορὰς διακοσίας ἐπὶ χιλίαις μυριάδας, πολλὰ μέντοι προσεδανείσατο: τῷ γὰρ φιλόδωρος εἶναι δαψιλέστερα τῶν προσιόντων ἀνήλισκεν, ἦν δὲ ἀφειδὲς αὐτοῦ τὸ φιλότιμον.

2. Now when Agrippa had reigned three years over all Judea, he came to the city Cesarea, which was formerly called Strato's Tower; and there he exhibited shows in honor of Caesar, upon his being informed that there was a certain festival celebrated to make vows for his safety. At which festival a great multitude was gotten together of the principal persons, and such as were of dignity through his province. On the second day of which shows he put on a garment made wholly of silver, and of a contexture truly wonderful, and came into the theater early in the morning; at which time the silver of his garment being illuminated by the fresh reflection of the sun's rays upon it, shone out after a surprising manner, and was so resplendent as to spread a horror over those that looked intently upon him; and presently his flatterers cried out, one from one place, and another from another, [though not for his good,] that he was a god; and they added, "Be thou merciful to us; for although we have hitherto reverenced thee only as a man, yet shall we henceforth own thee as superior to mortal nature." Upon this the king did neither rebuke them, nor reject their impious flattery. But as he presently afterward looked up, he saw an owl sitting on a certain rope over his head, and immediately understood that this bird was the messenger of ill tidings, as it had once been the messenger of good tidings to him; and fell into the deepest sorrow. A severe pain also arose in his belly, and began in a most violent manner. He therefore looked upon his friends, and said, "I, whom you call a god, am commanded presently to depart this life; while Providence thus reproves the lying words you just now said to me; and I, who was by you called immortal, am immediately to be hurried away by death. But I am bound to accept of what Providence allots, as it pleases God; for we have by no means lived ill, but in a splendid and happy manner." When he said this, his pain was become violent. Accordingly he was carried into the palace, and the rumor went abroad every where, that he would certainly die in a little time. But the multitude presently sat in sackcloth, with their wives and children, after the law of their country, and besought God for the king's recovery. All places were also full of mourning and lamentation. Now the king rested in a high chamber, and as he saw them below lying prostrate on the ground, he could not himself forbear weeping. And when he had been quite worn out by the pain in his belly for five days, he departed this life, being in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and

in the seventh year of his reign; for he reigned four years under Caius Caesar, three of them were over Philip's tetrarchy only, and on the fourth he had that of Herod added to it; and he reigned, besides those, three years under the reign of Claudius Caesar; in which time he reigned over the forementioned countries, and also had Judea added to them, as well as Samaria and Cesarea. The revenues that he received out of them were very great, no less than twelve millions of drachme. Yet did he borrow great sums from others; for he was so very liberal that his expenses exceeded his incomes, and his generosity was boundless.

(3) [353] Ἀγνοουμένης γε μὴν τοῖς πλήθεσιν τῆς ἐκπνοῆς αὐτοῦ συμφρονήσαντες Ἡρώδης τε ὁ τῆς Χαλκίδος δυναστεύων καὶ Ἑλκίας ὁ ἔπαρχος καὶ φίλος τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀρίστωνα ἔπεμψαν τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τὸν ἐπιτήδειον καὶ Σίλαν, ἐχθρὸς γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς, ἀπέσφαξαν ὡς δὴ τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσαντος.

3. But before the multitude were made acquainted with Agrippa's being expired, Herod the king of Chalcis, and Helcias the master of his horse, and the king's friend, sent Aristo, one of the king's most faithful servants, and slew Silas, who had been their enemy, as if it had been done by the king's own command.

IX

CHAPTER 9. What Things Were Done After The Death Of Agrippa; And How Claudius, On Account Of The Youth And Unskilfulness Of Agrippa, Junior, Sent Cuspius Fadus To Be Procurator Of Judea, And Of The Entire Kingdom.

(1) [354] Ἀγρίππας μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ κατέστρεψεν τὸν βίον, γένει δὲ αὐτῷ κατελέλειπτο υἱὸς μὲν Ἀγρίππας ἄγων ἔτος ἑπτακαιδέκατον, τρεῖς δὲ θυγατέρες, ὧν ἡ μὲν Ἡρώδῃ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀδελφῷ γεγάμητο Βερενίκη τὸ ἑκκαιδέκατον ἔτος γεγονυῖα, παρθένοι δ' ἦσαν αἱ δύο Μαριάμμη τε καὶ Δρούσιλλα, δεκαετὴς μὲν ἡ ἑτέρα, ἑξαετὴς δὲ Δρούσιλλα: [355] καθωμολόγηντο δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς γάμον Ἰουλίῳ μὲν Ἀρχελάῳ τοῦ Χελκίου παιδὶ Μαριάμμη, Δρούσιλλα δὲ Ἐπιφανεῖ, τοῦ δὲ τῆς Κομμαγηνῆς βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου υἱὸς ἦν οὗτος. [356] ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅτε ἐγνώσθη τὸν βίον ἐκλιπὼν Ἀγρίππας, Καισαρεῖς καὶ Σεβαστηνοὶ τῶν εὐποιιῶν αὐτοῦ λαθόμενοι τὰ τῶν δυσμενεστάτων ἐποίησαν: [357] βλασφημίας τε γὰρ ἀπερρίπτουν εἰς τὸν κατοιχόμενον ἀπρεπεῖς λέγεσθαι καὶ ὅσοι στρατευόμενοι τότε ἔτυχον, συχνοὶ δ' ἦσαν, οἴκαδε ἀπῆλθον καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρων ἁρπάσαντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐκόμισαν εἰς τὰ πορνεῖα καὶ στήσαντες ἐπὶ τῶν τεγῶν ὡς δυνατὸν ἦν ἀφύβριζον ἀσχημονέστερα διηγήσεως δρῶντες, [358] ἐπί τε τοῖς δημοσίοις κατακλινόμενοι τόποις πανδήμους ἑστιάσεις ἐπετέλουν στεφανούμενοι καὶ μυριζόμενοι καὶ σπένδοντες τῷ Χάρωνι προπόσεις τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκπνοῆς ἀλλήλοις ἀνταποδιδόντες. [359] ἀμνήμονες δ' ἦσαν οὐκ Ἀγρίππα μόνον χρησαμένου πολλαῖς εἰς αὐτοὺς φιλοτιμίαις, καὶ τοῦ πάππου δὲ Ἡρώδου: τὰς πόλεις ἐκεῖνος αὐτοῖς ἔκτισεν λιμένας τε καὶ ναοὺς κατεσκεύασεν λαμπροῖς δαπανήμασιν.

1. And thus did king Agrippa depart this life. But he left behind him a son, Agrippa by name, a youth in the seventeenth year of his age, and three daughters; one of which, Bernice, was married to Herod, his father's brother, and was sixteen years old; the other two, Mariamne and Drusilla, were still virgins; the former was ten years old, and Drusilla six. Now these his daughters were thus espoused by their father; Marlatone to Julius Archclaus Epiphanes, the son of Antiochus, the son of Chelcias; and Drusilla to the king of Commagena. But when it was known that Agrippa was departed this life, the inhabitants of Cesarea and of Sebaste forgot the kindnesses he had bestowed on them, and acted the part of the bitterest enemies; for they cast such reproaches upon the

deceased as are not fit to be spoken of; and so many of them as were then soldiers, which were a great number, went to his house, and hastily carried off the statues of this king's daughters, and all at once carried them into the brothel-houses, and when they had set them on the tops of those houses, they abused them to the utmost of their power, and did such things to them as are too indecent to be related. They also laid themselves down in public places, and celebrated general feastings, with garlands on their heads, and with ointments and libations to Charon, and drinking to one another for joy that the king was expired. Nay, they were not only unmindful of Agrippa, who had extended his liberality to them in abundance, but of his grandfather Herod also, who had himself rebuilt their cities, and had raised them havens and temples at vast expenses.

(2) [360] Ὁ δὲ τοῦ τεθνεῶτος υἱὸς Ἀγρίππας ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἦν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ τρεφόμενος παρὰ Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι. [361] πυθόμενός γε μὴν Καῖσαρ, ὅτι τέθνηκεν Ἀγρίππας, Σεβαστηνοὶ δὲ καὶ Καισαρεῖς ὑβρίκασιν εἰς αὐτόν, ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἤλγησεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀχαριστήσαντας ὠργίσθη. [362] πέμπειν οὖν εὐθέως ὥρμητο τὸν νεώτερον Ἀγρίππαν τὴν βασιλείαν διαδεξόμενον ἅμα βουλόμενος ἐμπεδοῦν τοὺς ὀμωμοσμένους ὅρκους, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐξελευθέρων καὶ φίλων οἱ πολὺ παρ' αὐτῷ δυνάμενοι ἀπέτρεψαν, σφαλερὸν εἶναι λέγοντες κομιδῇ νέῳ μηδὲ τοὺς παιδὸς ἐκβεβηκότι χρόνους ἐπιτρέπειν βασιλείας τηλικοῦτον μέγεθος, ᾧ μὴ δυνατὸν τὰς τῆς διοικήσεως φροντίδας ἐνεγκεῖν, καὶ τελείῳ δ' οὖν εἶναι βαρὺ βάσταγμα βασιλείαν. [363] ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοὺς εἰκότα λέγειν ὁ Καῖσαρ. ἔπαρχον οὖν τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τῆς ἁπάσης βασιλείας ἀπέστειλεν Κούσπιον Φᾶδον τῷ κατοιχομένῳ διδοὺς τιμὴν τὸ μὴ Μάρσον ἐπαγαγεῖν εἰς βασιλείαν αὐτῷ διάφορον. [364] ἐγνώκει δὲ πρὸ πάντων ἐπιστεῖλαι τῷ Φάδῳ Καισαρεῦσιν καὶ Σεβαστηνοῖς ἐπιπλῆξαι τῆς εἰς τὸν κατοιχόμενον ὕβρεως καὶ παροινίας εἰς τὰς ἔτι ζώσας, [365] τὴν ἴλην δὲ τῶν Καισαρέων καὶ τῶν Σεβαστηνῶν καὶ τὰς πέντε σπείρας εἰς Πόντον μεταγαγεῖν, ἵν' ἐκεῖ στρατεύοιντο, τῶν δ' ἐν Συρίᾳ Ῥωμαικῶν ταγμάτων ἐπιλέξαι στρατιώτας κατ' ἀριθμοὺς καὶ τὸν ἐκείνων ἀναπληρῶσαι τόπον. [366] οὐ μὴν οἱ κελευσθέντες μετέστησαν: πρεσβευσάμενοι γὰρ Κλαύδιον ἀπεμειλίξαντο καὶ μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπέτυχον, οἳ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιοῦσι χρόνοις τῶν μεγίστων Ἰουδαίοις ἐγένοντο συμφορῶν ἀρχὴ τοῦ κατὰ Φλῶρον πολέμου σπέρματα βαλόντες. ὅθεν Οὐεσπασιανὸς κρατήσας, ὡς μετ' ὀλίγον ἐροῦμεν, ἐξήγαγεν αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐπαρχίας.

2. Now Agrippa, the son of the deceased, was at Rome, and brought up with Claudius Caesar. And when Caesar was informed that Agrippa was dead, and that the inhabitants of Sebaste and Cesarea had abused him, he was sorry for the

first news, and was displeased with the ingratitude of those cities. He was therefore disposed to send Agrippa, junior, away presently to succeed his father in the kingdom, and was willing to confirm him in it by his oath. But those freed-men and friends of his, who had the greatest authority with him, dissuaded him from it, and said that it was a dangerous experiment to permit so large a kingdom to come under the government of so very young a man, and one hardly yet arrived at years of discretion, who would not be able to take sufficient care of its administration; while the weight of a kingdom is heavy enough to a grown man. So Caesar thought what they said to be reasonable. Accordingly he sent Cuspins Fadus to be procurator of Judea, and of the entire kingdom, and paid that respect to the eceased as not to introduce Marcus, who had been at variance with him, into his kingdom. But he determined, in the first place, to send orders to Fadus, that he should chastise the inhabitants of Caesarea and Sebaste for those abuses they had offered to him that was deceased, and their madness towards his daughters that were still alive; and that he should remove that body of soldiers that were at Cesarea and Sebaste, with the five regiments, into Pontus, that they might do their military duty there; and that he should choose an equal number of soldiers out of the Roman legions that were in Syria, to supply their place. Yet were not those that had such orders actually removed; for by sending ambassadors to Claudius, they mollified him, and got leave to abide in Judea still; and these were the very men that became the source of very great calamities to the Jews in after-times, and sowed the seeds of that war which began under Florus; whence it was that when Vespasian had subdued the country, he removed them out of his province, as we shall relate hereafter.

Liber XX

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ κ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας

α. Ὡς Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ μετὰ τὴν Ἀγρίππου τελευτὴν Φᾶδον ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἐπίτροπον.

β. στάσις Φιλαδελφηνῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Περαίᾳ κατοικοῦντας Ἰουδαίους περὶ ὅρων κώμης μιᾶς, καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ τούτων πολλῶν ἀναιρεθέντων Φιλαδελφηνῶν Φᾶδος ἀγανακτήσας τῶν Περαιτῶν Ἰουδαίων τοὺς πρώτους τρεῖς ἄνδρας λαβὼν ἀπέκτεινεν.

γ. ὡς Θολεμαῖος ὁ ἀρχιλῃστὴς τοὺς Ἄραβας λῃστεύων ληφθεὶς καὶ ἐπὶ Φᾶδον ἀχθεὶς ἀνῃρέθη.

δ. ὡς Φᾶδος καὶ Κάσσιος Λογγῖνος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμὼν ἀναβάντες εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκέλευσαν τὸν ποδήρη καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν στολὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀντωνίᾳ καταθέσθαι ὑπὸ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐξουσίᾳ, καθὰ καὶ πρότερον ἦν.

ε. παράκλησις ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρὸς Φᾶδον καὶ Λογγῖνον ἀξιούντων αὐτοὺς ἐπιτρέψαι πέμψαι πρεσβείαν πρὸς Καίσαρα Κλαύδιον περὶ τούτου.

ς. ὡς Φᾶδος λαβὼν ὁμήρους ἐπέτρεψεν.

ζ. ὡς Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ παρακληθεὶς ὑπ᾽ Ἀγρίππα τοῦ νεωτέρου συνεχώρησεν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τὰ αἰτήματα καὶ πρὸς Φᾶδον ἔγραψε περὶ τούτων.

η. ὃν τρόπον Ἑλένη ἡ τῶν Ἀδιαβηνῶν βασιλὶς καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτῆς Μονόβαζος καὶ Ἰζάτης καὶ τὸ πᾶν γένος αὐτῶν ἐζήλωσαν τὰ Ἰουδαίων ἔθη.

θ. ὡς Ἡρώδου τελευτήσαντος τοῦ τῆς Χαλκίδος βασιλέως Ἀγρίππας ὁ νεώτερος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν δόντος αὐτῷ Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος.

ι. ὡς Τιβέριος Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπίτροπος εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἐλθὼν τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰούδα τοῦ Γαλιλαίου τὸν ὄχλον ἀπατῶντας ἐκόλασεν.

ια. περὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ τοῦ γενομένου κατὰ τὴν χώραν.

ιβ. Κουμάνου ἄφιξις εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπιτρόπου πεμφθέντος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος.

ιγ. ὡς ἐπὶ τούτου πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀπώλοντο.

ιδ. στάσις Ἰουδαίων πρὸς Σαμαρεῖς καὶ ὡς πολλοὶ διεφθάρησαν τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν.

ιε. ὡς Μόδιος Κουαδρᾶτος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμὼν ἀκούσας ταῦτα καὶ ἀναβὰς εἰς Ἰουδαίαν τοὺς πρώτους τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ Σαμαρειτῶν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀναβῆναι, ὁμοίως καὶ Κούμανον τὸν ἐπίτροπον καὶ Κέλερα τὸν χιλίαρχον λόγον ὑφέξοντας Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων, τινὰς δὲ καὶ Ἰουδαίων αὐτὸς ἐκόλασεν.

ις. ὡς Κλαύδιος ἀκούσας αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους τῆς αἰτίας ἀπέλυσεν παρακληθεὶς ὑπὸ βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα, Κούμανον δὲ ἐξώρισε, Κέλερα δὲ τὸν χιλίαρχον καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν ἐκόλασεν.

ιζ. ὡς Φῆλιξ ἐπίτροπος πεμφθεὶς καὶ καταλαβὼν τὴν χώραν κεκακωμένην ὑπὸ τῶν λῃστῶν προυνοήσατο διαφθείρας αὐτοὺς εἰρήνην ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καταστῆσαι, τὸν δὲ πρῶτον τῶν λῃστῶν Ἐλεάζαρον ὄνομα δήσας εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνέπεμψεν.

ιη. ὡς ἐπιδημήσαντος Αἰγυπτίου τινὸς γόητος καὶ πολλῶν Ἰουδαίων ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πλανηθέντων Φῆλιξ ἐπεξελθὼν αὐτοῖς πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν.

ιθ. ὡς στασιάζοντας Ἰουδαίων τοὺς πρώτους ἐν Καισαρείᾳ πρὸς τοὺς Σύρους Φῆλιξ ὁ ἐπίτροπος ἔπαυσεν.

[κ. ὃν τρόπον Κλαυδίου τελευτήσαντος Νέρων τὴν ἀρχὴν διεδέξατο.]

κα. ὡς Πορκίου Φήστου πεμφθέντος εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἐπιτρόπου συνέβη κακωθῆναι τὴν χώραν ὑπὸ τῶν σικαρίων.

κβ. περὶ τῆς στοᾶς τοῦ ἔσωθεν ἱεροῦ καὶ ὃν τρόπον ὕψωσαν αὐτὴν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι.

κγ. ὡς Φῆστος ἀγανακτήσας ἐπὶ τούτῳ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν πρὸς Νέρωνα πείσοντας αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων.

κδ. ὡς τελευτήσαντος Φήστου ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ Ἀλβῖνος ἦλθεν διάδοχος.

κε. ὡς ἐπὶ τούτου ἐπαύσαντο οἱ σικάριοι τὴν χώραν κακοποιεῖν.

κς. ὡς Φλῶρος ἐλθὼν Ἀλβίνῳ διάδοχος τοσαῦτα διέθηκε τοὺς Ἰουδαίους κακά, ὡς ἀναγκάσαι αὐτοὺς ἐφ᾽ ὅπλα χωρῆσαι.

κζ. περὶ Ἰωσήπου καὶ γένους αὐτοῦ καὶ πολιτείας.

περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν κς.

BOOK XX. Containing The Interval Of Twenty-Two Years. — From Fadus The Procurator To Florus.

I

CHAPTER 1. A Sedition Of The Philadelphians Against The Jews; And Also Concerning The Vestments Of The High Priest.

(1) [1] Τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα, καθὼς ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης ἀπηγγέλκαμεν βίβλῳ, πέμπει Μάρσῳ διάδοχον Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Κάσσιον Λογγῖνον, μνήμῃ τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦτο χαριζόμενος, πολλὰ διὰ γραμμάτων ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ περιόντος ἀξιωθεὶς μηκέτι Μάρσον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν πραγμάτων προίστασθαι. [2] Φᾶδος δὲ ὡς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπίτροπος ἀφίκετο, καταλαμβάνει στασιάσαντας τοὺς τὴν Περαίαν κατοικοῦντας Ἰουδαίους πρὸς Φιλαδελφηνοὺς περὶ ὅρων κώμης μιᾶς λεγομένης πολεμίων ἀνδρῶν ἀνάπλεω: καὶ δὴ οἱ τῆς Περαίας χωρὶς γνώμης τῆς τῶν πρώτων παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα πολλοὺς τῶν Φιλαδελφηνῶν διαφθείρουσιν. [3] ταῦτα πυθόμενον τὸν Φᾶδον σφόδρα παρώξυνεν, ὅτι μὴ τὴν κρίσιν αὐτῷ παραλίποιεν, εἴπερ ὑπὸ τῶν Φιλαδελφηνῶν ἐνόμιζον ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ὅπλα χωρήσειαν. [4] λαβὼν οὖν τρεῖς τοὺς πρώτους αὐτῶν τοὺς καὶ τῆς στάσεως αἰτίους δῆσαι προσέταξεν, εἶτα τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν ἀνεῖλεν, Ἀννίβας δ᾽ ἦν ὄνομα τούτῳ, Ἀμαράμῳ δὲ καὶ Ἐλεαζάρῳ τοῖς δυσὶ φυγὴν ἐπέβαλεν. [5] ἀναιρεῖται δὲ καὶ Θολομαῖος ὁ ἀρχιλῃστὴς μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἀχθεὶς ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν διατεθεικὼς μέγιστα κακὰ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν καὶ τοὺς Ἄραβας, ἐκαθάρθη τε λῃστηρίων ἅπασα τοὐντεῦθεν Ἰουδαία προνοίᾳ καὶ φροντίδι τῇ Φάδου: [6] ὃς δὴ καὶ τότε μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν παρῆνεσεν αὐτοῖς τὸν ποδήρη χιτῶνα καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν στολήν, ἣν φορεῖν μόνος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἔθος ἔχει, εἰς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν, ἥπερ ἐστὶ φρούριον, καταθέσθαι κεισομένην ὑπὸ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐξουσίᾳ, καθὰ δὴ καὶ πρότερον ἦν. [7] οἱ δὲ ἀντιλέγειν μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμων, παρεκάλουν δ᾽ ὅμως τόν τε Φᾶδον καὶ τὸν Λογγῖνον, ἀφίκετο γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πολλὴν ἐπαγόμενος δύναμιν φόβῳ τοῦ μὴ τὰ προστάγματα Φάδου τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων νεωτερίζειν ἀναγκάσῃ, πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέψαι πρέσβεις ὡς Καίσαρα πέμψαι τοὺς αἰτησομένους παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἱερὰν στολὴν ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτῶν ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν, εἶτα δὲ περιμεῖναι μέχρις ἂν γνῶσιν, τί πρὸς ταῦτα Κλαύδιος ἀποκρίναιτο. [8] οἱ δὲ ἐπιτρέψειν αὐτοῖς ἔφασαν ἀποστεῖλαι τοὺς πρέσβεις, εἰ λάβοιεν τοὺς παῖδας ὁμηρεύσοντας. ὑπακουσάντων δ᾽ ἑτοίμως ἐκείνων καὶ δόντων ἐξεπέμφθησαν οἱ πρέσβεις. [9] παραγενομένων δὲ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτῶν γνοὺς ὁ νεώτερος Ἀγρίππας ὁ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος παῖς, καθ᾽ ἣν ἤκουσιν αἰτίαν, ἐτύγχανεν δὲ ὢν παρὰ Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι, καθὼς καὶ πρότερον εἴπομεν, παρακαλεῖ τὸν Καίσαρα συγχωρῆσαι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἅπερ ἠξίουν περὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς στολῆς καὶ Φάδῳ περὶ τούτων ἐπιστεῖλαι.

1. Upon the death of king Agrippa, which we have related in the foregoing book, Claudius Caesar sent Cassius Longinus as successor to Marcus, out of regard to the memory of king Agrippa, who had often desired of him by letters, while he was alive, that he would not suffer Marcus to be any longer president of Syria. But Fadus, as soon as he was come procurator into Judea, found quarrelsome doings between the Jews that dwelt in Perea, and the people of Philadelphia, about their borders, at a village called Mia, that was filled with men of a warlike temper; for the Jews of Perea had taken up arms without the consent of their principal men, and had destroyed many of the Philadelphians. When Fadus was informed of this procedure, it provoked him very much that they had not left the determination of the matter to him, if they thought that the Philadelphians had done them any wrong, but had rashly taken up arms against them. So he seized upon three of their principal men, who were also the causes of this sedition, and ordered them to be bound, and afterwards had one of them slain, whose name was Hannibal; and he banished the other two, Areram and Eleazar. Tholomy also, the arch robber, was, after some time, brought to him bound, and slain, but not till he had done a world of mischief to Idumea and the Arabians. And indeed, from that time, Judea was cleared of robberies by the care and providence of Fadus. He also at this time sent for the high priests and the principal citizens of Jerusalem, and this at the command of the emperor, and admonished them that they should lay up the long garment and the sacred vestment, which it is customary for nobody but the high priest to wear, in the tower of Antonia, that it might be under the power of the Romans, as it had been formerly. Now the Jews durst not contradict what he had said, but desired Fadus, however, and Longinus, [which last was come to Jerusalem, and had brought a great army with him, out of a fear that the [rigid] injunctions of Fadus should force the Jews to rebel,] that they might, in the first place, have leave to send ambassadors to Caesar, to petition him that they may have the holy vestments under their own power; and that, in the next place, they would tarry till they knew what answer Claudius would give to that their request. So they replied, that they would give them leave to send their ambassadors, provided they would give them their sons as pledges [for their peaceable behavior]. And when they had agreed so to do, and had given them the pledges they desired, the ambassadors were sent accordingly. But when, upon their coming to Rome, Agrippa, junior, the son of the deceased, understood the reason why they came, [for he dwelt with Claudius Caesar, as we said before,] he besought Caesar to grant the Jews their request about the holy vestments, and to send a message to Fadus accordingly.

(2) [10] Καλέσας δὲ Κλαύδιος τοὺς πρέσβεις ἔφη ταῦτα συγχωρεῖν καὶ ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς Ἀγρίππᾳ χάριν εἰδέναι, ταῦτα γὰρ ἐκείνου ποιεῖν ἀξιώσαντος, ἐπί τε ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν τοιαύτην ἐπιστολὴν ἔδωκεν: [11] "Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Γερμανικὸς δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ πέμπτον ὕπατος ἀποδεδειγμένος τὸ τέταρτον αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ δέκατον πατὴρ πατρίδος Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ Ἰουδαίων παντὶ ἔθνει χαίρειν. [12] Ἀγρίππα τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ὃν ἐγὼ ἔθρεψα καὶ ἔχω σὺν ἐμαυτῷ εὐσεβέστατον ὄντα, προσαγαγόντος μοι τοὺς ὑμετέρους πρέσβεις εὐχαριστοῦντας ἐφ' ᾗ πεποίημαι τοῦ ἔθνους ὑμῶν κηδεμονίᾳ, καὶ αἰτησαμένων σπουδαίως καὶ φιλοτίμως τὴν ἱερὰν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὸν στέφανον ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὑμῶν εἶναι, συγχωρῶ καθὼς ὁ κράτιστος καί μοι τιμιώτατος Οὐιτέλλιος ἐποίησεν. [13] συγκατεθέμην δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ πρῶτον διὰ τὸ ἐμαυτοῦ εὐσεβὲς καὶ τὸ βούλεσθαι ἑκάστους κατὰ τὰ πάτρια θρησκεύειν, ἔπειτα δὲ εἰδώς, ὅτι καὶ αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ Ἡρώδῃ καὶ Ἀριστοβούλῳ τῷ νεωτέρῳ, ὧν τὴν πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν περὶ ὑμᾶς γινώσκω σπουδήν Ταῦτα ποιήσας, πρὸς οὓς ἔστι μοι πλεῖστα δίκαια φιλίας κρατίστους ὄντας κἀμοὶ τιμίους. [14] ἔγραψα δὲ περὶ τούτων καὶ Κουσπίῳ Φάδῳ τῷ 'μῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ. οἱ τὰ γράμματα κομίζοντες Κορνήλιος Κέρωνος Τρύφων Θευδίωνος Δωρόθεος Ναθαναήλου Ἰωάννης Ἰωάννου. ἐγράφη πρὸ τεσσάρων καλανδῶν ἐΠὶ ὑπάτων Ῥούφου καὶ Πομπηίου Σιλουανοῦ."

2. Hereupon Claudius called for the ambassadors; and told them that he granted their request; and bade them to return their thanks to Agrippa for this favor, which had been bestowed on them upon his entreaty. And besides these answers of his, he sent the following letter by them: "Claudius Caesar Germanicus, tribune of the people the fifth time, and designed consul the fourth time, and imperator the tenth time, the father of his country, to the magistrates, senate, and people, and the whole nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting. Upon the presentation of your ambassadors to me by Agrippa, my friend, whom I have brought up, and have now with me, and who is a person of very great piety, who are come to give me thanks for the care I have taken of your nation, and to entreat me, in an earnest and obliging manner, that they may have the holy vestments, with the crown belonging to them, under their power, — I grant their request, as that excellent person Vitellius, who is very dear to me, had done before me. And I have complied with your desire, in the first place, out of regard to that piety which I profess, and because I would have every one worship God according to the laws of their own country; and this I do also because I shall hereby highly gratify king Herod, and Agrippa, junior, whose sacred regards to me, and earnest good-will to you, I am well acquainted with, and with whom I have the greatest friendship, and whom I highly esteem, and look on as persons

of the best character. Now I have written about these affairs to Cuspius Fadus, my procurator. The names of those that brought me your letter are Cornelius, the son of Cero, Trypho, the son of Theudio, Dorotheus, the son of Nathaniel, and John, the son of Jotre. This letter is dated before the fourth of the calends of July, when Ruffis and Pompeius Sylvanus are consuls."

(3) [15] Ἠιτήσατο δὲ καὶ Ἡρώδης, ὁ ἀδελφὸς μὲν Ἀγρίππα τοῦ τετελευτηκότος, Χαλκίδος δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον πεπιστευμένος, Κλαύδιον Καίσαρα τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ νεὼ καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀρχιερέων χειροτονίαν, πάντων τε ἐπέτυχεν. [16] ἐξ ἐκείνου τε πᾶσι τοῖς ἀπογόνοις αὐτοῦ παρέμεινεν ἡ ἐξουσία μέχρι τῆς τοῦ πολέμου τελευτῆς. καὶ δὴ ὁ Ἡρώδης μεθίστησιν τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης τὸν ἐπικαλούμενον Κανθήραν Ἰωσήπῳ τῷ Καμεὶ ἀντ' ἐκείνου τὴν διαδοχὴν τῆς τιμῆς παρασχόμενος.

3. Herod also, the brother of the deceased Agrippa, who was then possessed of the royal authority over Chalcis, petitioned Claudius Caesar for the authority over the temple, and the money of the sacred treasure, and the choice of the high priests, and obtained all that he petitioned for. So that after that time this authority continued among all his descendants till the end of the war Accordingly, Herod removed the last high priest, called Cimtheras, and bestowed that dignity on his successor Joseph, the son of Cantos.

II

CHAPTER 2. How Helena The Queen Of Adiabene And Her Son Izates, Embraced The Jewish Religion; And How Helena Supplied The Poor With Corn, When There Was A Great Famine At Jerusalem.

(1) [17] Κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τῶν Ἀδιαβηνῶν βασιλὶς Ἑλένη καὶ ὁ παῖς αὐτῆς Ἰζάτης εἰς τὰ Ἰουδαίων ἔθη τὸν βίον μετέβαλον διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν: [18] Μονόβαζος ὁ τῶν Ἀδιαβηνῶν βασιλεύς, ᾧ καὶ Βαζαῖος ἐπίκλησις ἦν, τῆς ἀδελφῆς Ἑλένης ἁλοὺς ἔρωτι τῇ πρὸς γάμου κοινωνίᾳ ἄγεται καὶ κατέστησεν ἐγκύμονα. συγκαθεύδων δέ ποτε τῇ γαστρὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τὴν χεῖρα προσαναπαύσας ἡνίκα καθύπνωσεν, φωνῆς τινος ἔδοξεν ὑπακούειν κελευούσης αἴρειν ἀπὸ τῆς νηδύος τὴν χεῖρα καὶ μὴ θλίβειν τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ βρέφος θεοῦ προνοίᾳ καὶ ἀρχῆς τυχὸν καὶ τέλους εὐτυχοῦς τευξόμενον. [19] ταραχθεὶς οὖν ὑπὸ τῆς φωνῆς εὐθὺς διεγερθεὶς ἔφραζε τῇ γυναικὶ ταῦτα, καί γε τὸν υἱὸν Ἰζάτην ἐπεκάλεσεν. [20] ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ Μονόβαζος τούτου πρεσβύτερος ἐκ τῆς Ἑλένης γενόμενος ἄλλοι τε παῖδες ἐξ ἑτέρων γυναικῶν. τὴν μέντοι πᾶσαν εὔνοιαν ὡς εἰς μονογενῆ τὸν Ἰζάτην ἔχων φανερὸς ἦν. [21] φθόνος δὲ τοὐντεῦθεν τῷ παιδὶ παρὰ τῶν ὁμοπατρίων ἀδελφῶν ἐφύετο κἀκ τούτου μῖσος ηὔξετο λυπουμένων ἁπάντων, ὅτι τὸν Ἰζάτην αὐτῶν ὁ πατὴρ προτιμᾷη. [22] ταῦτα δὲ καίπερ σαφῶς αἰσθανόμενος ὁ πατὴρ ἐκείνοις μὲν συνεγίνωσκεν ὡς μὴ διὰ κακίαν αὐτὸ πάσχουσιν ἀλλ᾽ ἤτοι παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἀξιῶν εὐνοίας τυγχάνειν, τὸν δὲ νεανίαν, σφόδρα γὰρ ἐδεδοίκει περὶ αὐτοῦ, μὴ μισούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν πάθοι τι, πολλὰ δωρησάμενος πρὸς Ἀβεννήριγον ἐκπέμπει τὸν Σπασίνου χάρακος βασιλέα, παρακατατιθέμενος ἐκείνῳ τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς σωτηρίαν. [23] ὁ δὲ Ἀβεννήριγος ἄσμενός τε δέχεται τὸν νεανίαν καὶ διὰ πολλῆς εὐνοίας ἄγων γυναῖκα μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν θυγατέρα, Σαμαχὼς δ᾽ ἦν ὄνομα ταύτῃ, δίδωσι: δωρεῖται δὲ χώραν, ἐξ ἧς μεγάλας λήψοιτο προσόδους.

1. About this time it was that Helena, queen of Adiabene, and her son Izates, changed their course of life, and embraced the Jewish customs, and this on the occasion following: Monobazus, the king of Adiabene, who had also the name of Bazeus, fell in love with his sister Helena, and took her to be his wife, and begat her with child. But as he was in bed with her one night, he laid his hand upon his wife's belly, and fell asleep, and seemed to hear a voice, which bid him take his hand off his wife's belly, and not hurt the infant that was therein, which, by God's providence, would be safely born, and have a happy end. This voice put him into disorder; so he awaked immediately, and told the story to his wife; and

when his son was born, he called him Izates. He had indeed Monobazus, his elder brother, by Helena also, as he had other sons by other wives besides. Yet did he openly place all his affections on this his only begotten son Izates, which was the origin of that envy which his other brethren, by the same father, bore to him; while on this account they hated him more and more, and were all under great affliction that their father should prefer Izates before them. Now although their father was very sensible of these their passions, yet did he forgive them, as not indulging those passions out of an ill disposition, but out of a desire each of them had to be beloved by their father. However, he sent Izates, with many presents, to Abennerig, the king of Charax-Spasini, and that out of the great dread he was in about him, lest he should come to some misfortune by the hatred his brethren bore him; and he committed his son's preservation to him. Upon which Abennerig gladly received the young man, and had a great affection for him, and married him to his own daughter, whose name was Samacha: he also bestowed a country upon him, from which he received large revenues.

(2) [24] Μονόβαζος δὲ ἤδη γηραιὸς ὢν καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ὀλίγον αὐτῷ τὸν λοιπὸν ὁρῶν χρόνον ἠθέλησεν εἰς ὄψιν ἀφικέσθαι τῷ παιδὶ πρὸ τοῦ τελευτῆσαι. μεταπεμψάμενος οὖν αὐτὸν ἀσπάζεται φιλοφρονέστατα, καὶ χώραν δίδωσιν Καρρῶν λεγομένην. [25] φέρειν δ' ἡ γῆ πλεῖστον τὸ ἄμωμον ἀγαθή: ἔστι δ' ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τὰ λείψανα τῆς λάρνακος, ᾗ Νῶχον ἐκ τῆς ἐπομβρίας διασεσῶσθαι λόγος ἔχει, καὶ μέχρι νῦν ταῦτα τοῖς ἰδεῖν βουλομένοις ἐπιδείκνυται. [26] διέτριβεν οὖν ὁ Ἰζάτης ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς τοῦ πατρός. ᾗ δ' ἐξέλιπεν ἡμέρᾳ τὸν βίον ὁ Μονόβαζος ἡ βασιλὶς Ἑλένη μεταπέμπεται πάντας τοὺς μεγιστᾶνας καὶ τῆς βασιλείας σατράπας καὶ τοὺς τὰς δυνάμεις πεπιστευμένους. [27] οἷς ἀφικομένοις, "ὅτι μὲν ὁ ἐμὸς ἀνήρ, εἶπε, τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῷ διάδοχον Ἰζάτην ηὔξατο γενέσθαι καὶ τοῦτον ἄξιον ἔκρινεν, οὐδ' ὑμᾶς λεληθέναι δοκῶ, περιμένω δὲ ὅμως καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν κρίσιν: μακάριος γὰρ οὐχ ὁ παρ' ἑνός, [28] ἀλλὰ πλειόνων καὶ θελόντων τὴν ἀρχὴν λαμβάνων." ἡ μὲν ταῦτ' εἶπεν ἐπὶ πείρᾳ τοῦ τί φρονοῖεν οἱ συγκληθέντες: οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες πρῶτον μὲν προσεκύνησαν τὴν βασιλίδα, καθὼς ἔθος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς, εἶτ' ἔφασαν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως γνώμην βεβαιοῦν καὶ ὑπακούσεσθαι χαίροντες Ἰζάτῃ δικαίως ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς προκριθέντι τῶν ἀδελφῶν κατὰ τὰς εὐχὰς τὰς ἁπάντων. [29] βούλεσθαί τ' ἔφασαν προαποκτεῖναι πρῶτον αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ συγγενεῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἰζάτην μετ' ἀσφαλείας κατασχεῖν: φθαρέντων γὰρ ἐκείνων καθαιρεθήσεσθαι πάντα τὸν φόβον τὸν ὑπὸ μίσους τοῦ παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ φθόνου γινόμενον. [30] πρὸς ταῦτα ἡ Ἑλένη χάριν μὲν αὐτοῖς ὡμολόγει τῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν Ἰζάτην εὐνοίας ἔχειν, παρεκάλει δ' ὅμως ἐπισχεῖν τὴν περὶ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως τῶν ἀδελφῶν γνώμην μέχρι ἂν Ἰζάτης παραγενόμενος συνδοκιμάσῃ.

[31] οἱ δ’ ἐπεὶ ἀνελεῖν συμβουλεύσαντες οὐκ ἔπεισαν, ἀλλὰ φυλάσσειν αὐτοὺς δεσμίους παρῄνουν μέχρι τῆς ἐκείνου παρουσίας ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τῆς ἑαυτῶν. συνεβούλευον δ’ αὐτῇ μεταξὺ προστήσασθαί τινα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπίτροπον, ᾧ μάλιστα πιστεύει. [32] πείθεται τούτοις ἡ Ἑλένη, καὶ καθίστησι τὸν πρεσβύτατον παῖδα Μονόβαζον βασιλέα περιθεῖσα τὸ διάδημα καὶ δοῦσα τὸν σημαντῆρα τοῦ πατρὸς δακτύλιον τήν τε σαμψηρὰν ὀνομαζομένην παρ’ αὐτοῖς, διοικεῖν τε τὴν βασιλείαν παρῄνεσεν μέχρι τῆς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ παρουσίας. [33] ἦκε δ’ οὗτος ταχέως ἀκούσας τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν καὶ διαδέχεται τὸν ἀδελφὸν Μονόβαζον ὑπεκστάντος τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῷ.

2. But when Monobazus was grown old, and saw that he had but a little time to live, he had a mind to come to the sight of his son before he died. So he sent for him, and embraced him after the most affectionate manner, and bestowed on him the country called Carra; it was a soil that bare amomum in great plenty: there are also in it the remains of that ark, wherein it is related that Noah escaped the deluge, and where they are still shown to such as are desirous to see them. Accordingly, Izates abode in that country until his father’s death. But the very day that Monobazus died, queen Helena sent for all the grandees, and governors of the kingdom, and for those that had the armies committed to their command; and when they were come, she made the following speech to them: “I believe you are not unacquainted that my husband was desirous Izates should succeed him in the government, and thought him worthy so to do. However, I wait your determination; for happy is he who receives a kingdom, not from a single person only, but from the willing suffrages of a great many.” This she said, in order to try those that were invited, and to discover their sentiments. Upon the hearing of which, they first of all paid their homage to the queen, as their custom was, and then they said that they confirmed the king’s determination, and would submit to it; and they rejoiced that Izates’s father had preferred him before the rest of his brethren, as being agreeable to all their wishes: but that they were desirous first of all to slay his brethren and kinsmen, that so the government might come securely to Izates; because if they were once destroyed, all that fear would be over which might arise from their hatred and envy to him. Helena replied to this, that she returned them her thanks for their kindness to herself and to Izates; but desired that they would however defer the execution of this slaughter of Izates’s brethren till he should be there himself, and give his approbation to it. So since these men had not prevailed with her, when they advised her to slay them, they exhorted her at least to keep them in bonds till he should come, and that for their own security; they also gave her counsel to set up some one whom she could put the greatest trust in, as a governor of the kingdom in the mean time. So queen

Helena complied with this counsel of theirs, and set up Monobazus, the eldest son, to be king, and put the diadem upon his head, and gave him his father's ring, with its signet; as also the ornament which they call Sampser, and exhorted him to administer the affairs of the kingdom till his brother should come; who came suddenly upon hearing that his father was dead, and succeeded his brother Monobazus, who resigned up the government to him.

(3) [34] Καθ' ὃν δὲ χρόνον ὁ Ἰζάτης ἐν τῷ Σπασίνου χάρακι διέτριβεν Ἰουδαῖός τις ἔμπορος Ἀνανίας ὄνομα πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας εἰσιὼν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐδίδασκεν αὐτὰς τὸν θεὸν σέβειν, ὡς Ἰουδαίοις πάτριον ἦν, [35] καὶ δὴ δι' αὐτῶν εἰς γνῶσιν ἀφικόμενος τῷ Ἰζάτῃ κἀκεῖνον ὁμοίως συνανέπεισεν μετακληθέντι τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰς τὴν Ἀδιαβηνὴν συνεξῆλθεν κατὰ πολλὴν ὑπακούσας δέησιν: συνεβεβήκει δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην ὁμοίως ὑφ' ἑτέρου τινὸς Ἰουδαίου διδαχθεῖσαν εἰς τοὺς ἐκείνων μετακεκομίσθαι νόμους. [36] ὁ δ' Ἰζάτης ὡς παρέλαβεν τὴν βασιλείαν, ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἀδιαβηνὴν καὶ θεασάμενος τούς τε ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συγγενεῖς δεδεμένους ἐδυσχέρανεν τῷ γεγονότι. [37] καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀνελεῖν ἢ φυλάττειν δεδεμένους ἀσεβὲς ἡγούμενος, τὸ δὲ μνησικακοῦντας ἔχειν σὺν αὐτῷ μὴ δεδεμένους σφαλερὸν εἶναι νομίζων, τοὺς μὲν ὁμηρεύσοντας μετὰ τέκνων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐξέπεμψε Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς Ἀρταβάνην τὸν Πάρθον ἐφ' ὁμοίαις προφάσεσιν ἀπέστειλεν.

3. Now, during the time Izates abode at Charax-Spasini, a certain Jewish merchant, whose name was Ananias, got among the women that belonged to the king, and taught them to worship God according to the Jewish religion. He, moreover, by their means, became known to Izates, and persuaded him, in like manner, to embrace that religion; he also, at the earnest entreaty of Izates, accompanied him when he was sent for by his father to come to Adiabene; it also happened that Helena, about the same time, was instructed by a certain other Jew and went over to them. But when Izates had taken the kingdom, and was come to Adiabene, and there saw his brethren and other kinsmen in bonds, he was displeased at it; and as he thought it an instance of impiety either to slay or imprison them, but still thought it a hazardous thing for to let them have their liberty, with the remembrance of the injuries that had been offered them, he sent some of them and their children for hostages to Rome, to Claudius Caesar, and sent the others to Artabanus, the king of Parthia, with the like intentions.

(4) [38] Πυθόμενος δὲ πάνυ τοῖς Ἰουδαίων ἔθεσιν χαίρειν τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἔσπευσε καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς ἐκεῖνα μεταθέσθαι, νομίζων τε μὴ ἂν εἶναι βεβαίως Ἰουδαῖος, εἰ μὴ περιτέμνοιτο, πράττειν ἦν ἕτοιμος. [39] μαθοῦσα δ' ἡ μήτηρ κωλύειν ἐπειρᾶτο ἐπιφέρειν αὐτῷ κίνδυνον λέγουσα: βασιλέα γὰρ εἶναι, καὶ

καταστήσειν εἰς πολλὴν δυσμένειαν τοὺς ὑπηκόους μαθόντας, ὅτι ξένων ἐπιθυμήσειεν καὶ ἀλλοτρίων αὐτοῖς ἐθῶν, οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαί τε βασιλεύοντος αὐτῶν Ἰουδαίου. [40] καὶ ἡ μὲν ταῦτ᾽ ἔλεγεν καὶ παντοίως ἐκώλυεν. ὁ δ᾽ εἰς τὸν Ἀνανίαν τοὺς λόγους ἀνέφερεν. τοῦ δὲ τῇ μητρὶ συμφάσκοντος καὶ συναπειλήσαντος ὡς εἰ μὴ πείθοι καταλιπὼν ἅπεισιν: [41] δεδοικέναι γὰρ ἔλεγεν, μὴ τοῦ πράγματος ἐκδήλου πᾶσιν γενομένου κινδυνεύσειε τιμωρίαν ὑποσχεῖν ὡς αὐτὸς αἴτιος τούτων καὶ διδάσκαλος τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀπρεπῶν ἔργων γενόμενος, δυνάμενον δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἔφη καὶ χωρὶς τῆς περιτομῆς τὸ θεῖον σέβειν, εἴγε πάντως κέκρικε ζηλοῦν τὰ πάτρια τῶν Ἰουδαίων: τοῦτ᾽ εἶναι κυριώτερον τοῦ περιτέμνεσθαι: [42] συγγνώμην δ᾽ ἕξειν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν θεὸν φήσαντος μὴ πράξαντι τὸ ἔργον δι᾽ ἀνάγκην καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῶν ὑπηκόων φόβον, ἐπείσθη μὲν τότε τοῖς λόγοις ὁ βασιλεύς. [43] μετὰ ταῦτα δέ, τὴν γὰρ ἐπιθυμίαν οὐκ ἐξεβεβλήκει παντάπασιν, Ἰουδαῖός τις ἕτερος ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἀφικόμενος Ἐλεάζαρος ὄνομα πάνυ περὶ τὰ πάτρια δοκῶν ἀκριβὴς εἶναι προετρέψατο πρᾶξαι τοὖργον. [44] ἐπεὶ γὰρ εἰσῆλθεν ἀσπασόμενος αὐτὸν καὶ κατέλαβε τὸν Μωυσέος νόμον ἀναγινώσκοντα, “λανθάνεις, εἶπεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ μέγιστα τοὺς νόμους καὶ δι᾽ αὐτῶν τὸν θεὸν ἀδικῶν: οὐ γὰρ ἀναγινώσκειν σε δεῖ μόνον αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρότερον τὰ προστασσόμενα ποιεῖν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν. [45] μέχρι τίνος ἀπερίτμητος μενεῖς; ἀλλ᾽ εἰ μήπω τὸν περὶ τούτου νόμον ἀνέγνως, ἵν᾽ εἰδῇς τίς ἐστιν ἡ ἀσέβεια, νῦν [46] ἀνάγνωθι.” ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐχ ὑπερεβάλετο τὴν πρᾶξιν, μεταστὰς δ᾽ εἰς ἕτερον οἴκημα καὶ τὸν ἰατρὸν εἰσκαλεσάμενος τὸ προσταχθὲν ἐτέλει καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος τήν τε μητέρα καὶ τὸν διδάσκαλον Ἀνανίαν ἐσήμαινεν αὐτὸν πεπραχέναι τοὖργον. [47] τοὺς δ᾽ ἔκπληξις εὐθὺς ἔλαβεν καὶ φόβος οὔτι μέτριος, μὴ τῆς πράξεως εἰς ἔλεγχον ἐλθούσης κινδυνεύσειεν μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποβαλεῖν οὐκ ἀνασχομένων τῶν ὑπηκόων ἄρχειν αὐτῶν ἄνδρα τῶν παρ᾽ ἑτέροις ζηλωτὴν ἐθῶν, κινδυνεύσειαν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῆς αἰτίας ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐνεχθείσης. [48] θεὸς δ᾽ ἦν ὁ κωλύσων ἄρα τοὺς ἐκείνων φόβους ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τέλος: πολλοῖς γὰρ αὐτόν τε τὸν Ἰζάτην περιπεσόντα κινδύνοις καὶ παῖδας τοὺς ἐκείνου διέσωσεν ἐξ ἀμηχάνων πόρον εἰς σωτηρίαν παρασχών, ἐπιδεικνὺς ὅτι τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀποβλέπουσιν καὶ μόνῳ πεπιστευκόσιν ὁ καρπὸς οὐκ ἀπόλλυται ὁ τῆς εὐσεβείας. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἀπαγγελοῦμεν.

4. And when he perceived that his mother was highly pleased with the Jewish customs, he made haste to change, and to embrace them entirely; and as he supposed that he could not be thoroughly a Jew unless he were circumcised, he was ready to have it done. But when his mother understood what he was about, she endeavored to hinder him from doing it, and said to him that this thing would bring him into danger; and that, as he was a king, he would thereby bring

himself into great odium among his subjects, when they should understand that he was so fond of rites that were to them strange and foreign; and that they would never bear to be ruled over by a Jew. This it was that she said to him, and for the present persuaded him to forbear. And when he had related what she had said to Ananias, he confirmed what his mother had said; and when he had also threatened to leave him, unless he complied with him, he went away from him, and said that he was afraid lest such an action being once become public to all, he should himself be in danger of punishment for having been the occasion of it, and having been the king's instructor in actions that were of ill reputation; and he said that he might worship God without being circumcised, even though he did resolve to follow the Jewish law entirely, which worship of God was of a superior nature to circumcision. He added, that God would forgive him, though he did not perform the operation, while it was omitted out of necessity, and for fear of his subjects. So the king at that time complied with these persuasions of Ananias. But afterwards, as he had not quite left off his desire of doing this thing, a certain other Jew that came out of Galilee, whose name was Eleazar, and who was esteemed very skillful in the learning of his country, persuaded him to do the thing; for as he entered into his palace to salute him, and found him reading the law of Moses, he said to him, "Thou dost not consider, O king! that thou unjustly breakest the principal of those laws, and art injurious to God himself, [by omitting to be circumcised]; for thou oughtest not only to read them, but chiefly to practice what they enjoin thee. How long wilt thou continue uncircumcised? But if thou hast not yet read the law about circumcision, and dost not know how great impiety thou art guilty of by neglecting it, read it now." When the king had heard what he said, he delayed the thing no longer, but retired to another room, and sent for a surgeon, and did what he was commanded to do. He then sent for his mother, and Ananias his tutor, and informed them that he had done the thing; upon which they were presently struck with astonishment and fear, and that to a great degree, lest the thing should be openly discovered and censured, and the king should hazard the loss of his kingdom, while his subjects would not bear to be governed by a man who was so zealous in another religion; and lest they should themselves run some hazard, because they would be supposed the occasion of his so doing. But it was God himself who hindered what they feared from taking effect; for he preserved both Izates himself and his sons when they fell into many dangers, and procured their deliverance when it seemed to be impossible, and demonstrated thereby that the fruit of piety does not perish as to those that have regard to him, and fix their faith upon him only. But these events we shall relate hereafter.

(5) [49] Ἑλένη δὲ ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως μήτηρ ὁρῶσα τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν εἰρηνευόμενα, τὸν δὲ υἱὸν αὐτῆς μακάριον καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι ζηλωτὸν καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοεθνέσι διὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν, ἐπιθυμίαν ἔσχεν εἰς τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ἀφικομένη τὸ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις περιβόητον ἱερὸν τοῦ θεοῦ προσκυνῆσαι καὶ χαριστηρίους θυσίας προσενεγκεῖν, ἐδεῖτό τε τοῦ παιδὸς ἐπιτρέψαι. [50] τοῦ δὲ πάνυ προθύμως τῇ μητρὶ παρακαλούσῃ κατανεύσαντος καὶ πολλὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν εἰς τὴν ἀποστολὴν ἑτοιμασαμένου καὶ χρήματα πλεῖστα δόντος, καταβαίνει εἰς τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν προπέμποντος ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦ παιδός. [51] γίνεται δὲ αὐτῆς ἡ ἄφιξις πάνυ συμφέρουσα τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις: λιμοῦ γὰρ αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον πιεζοῦντος καὶ πολλῶν ὑπ᾽ ἐνδείας ἀναλωμάτων φθειρομένων ἡ βασιλὶς Ἑλένη πέμπει τινὰς τῶν ἑαυτῆς, τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πολλῶν σῖτον ὠνησομένους χρημάτων, τοὺς δ᾽ εἰς Κύπρον ἰσχάδων φόρτον οἴσοντας. [52] ὡς δ᾽ ἐπανῆλθον ταχέως κομίζοντες τοῖς ἀπορουμένοις διένειμε τροφὴν καὶ μεγίστην αὐτῆς μνήμην τῆς εὐποιίας ταύτης εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἡμῶν ἔθνος καταλέλοιπε. [53] πυθόμενος δὲ καὶ ὁ παῖς αὐτῆς Ἰζάτης τὰ περὶ τὸν λιμὸν ἔπεμψε πολλὰ χρήματα τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἃ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἀγαθὰ πέπρακται μετὰ ταῦτα δηλώσομεν.

5. But as to Helena, the king's mother, when she saw that the affairs of Izates's kingdom were in peace, and that her son was a happy man, and admired among all men, and even among foreigners, by the means of God's providence over him, she had a mind to go to the city of Jerusalem, in order to worship at that temple of God which was so very famous among all men, and to offer her thank-offerings there. So she desired her son to give her leave to go thither; upon which he gave his consent to what she desired very willingly, and made great preparations for her dismission, and gave her a great deal of money, and she went down to the city Jerusalem, her son conducting her on her journey a great way. Now her coming was of very great advantage to the people of Jerusalem; for whereas a famine did oppress them at that time, and many people died for want of what was necessary to procure food withal, queen Helena sent some of her servants to Alexandria with money to buy a great quantity of corn, and others of them to Cyprus, to bring a cargo of dried figs. And as soon as they were come back, and had brought those provisions, which was done very quickly, she distributed food to those that were in want of it, and left a most excellent memorial behind her of this benefaction, which she bestowed on our whole nation. And when her son Izates was informed of this famine, he sent great sums of money to the principal men in Jerusalem. However, what favors

this queen and king conferred upon our city Jerusalem shall be further related hereafter.

III

CHAPTER 3. How Artabanus, the King of Parthia out of Fear of the Secret Contrivances of His Subjects Against Him, Went to Izates, and Was By Him Reinstated in His Government; as Also How Bardanes His Son Denounced War Against Izates.

(1) [54] Ὁ δὲ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλεὺς Ἀρταβάνης αἰσθόμενος τοὺς σατράπας ἐπιβουλὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν συντεθεικότας, μένειν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλὲς οὐχ ὁρῶν ἔγνω πρὸς Ἰζάτην ἀπαίρειν, πόρον παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ βουλόμενος σωτηρίας εὑρέσθαι καὶ κάθοδον εἰς τὴν ἀρχήν, εἰ δυνηθείη. [55] καὶ δὴ ἀφικνεῖται συγγενῶν τε καὶ οἰκετῶν περὶ χιλίους τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπαγόμενος συντυγχάνει τε τῷ Ἰζάτῃ καθ᾽ ὁδόν. [56] αὐτός τε σαφῶς ἐκεῖνον ἐπιστάμενος, ὑπ᾽ Ἰζάτου δὲ οὐ γινωσκόμενος, πλησίον καταστὰς πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ τὸ πάτριον προσεκύνησεν αὐτόν, εἶτα “βασιλεῦ, φησίν, μὴ περιίδῃς με τὸν σὸν ἱκέτην μηδ᾽ ὑπερηφανήσῃς δεομένου: ταπεινὸς γὰρ ἐκ μεταβολῆς γενόμενος καὶ ἐκ βασιλέως ἰδιώτης τῆς σῆς ἐπικουρίας χρῄζω. [57] βλέψον οὖν εἰς τὸ τῆς τύχης ἄστατον καὶ κοινὴν εἶναι νόμισον καὶ ὑπὲρ σαυτοῦ πρόνοιαν: ἐμοῦ γὰρ ἀνεκδικήτου περιοφθέντος ἔσονται θρασύτεροι πολλοὶ καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων. [58] ὁ μὲν ταῦτ᾽ ἔλεγεν δακρύων καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κάτω νεύων, ὁ δὲ Ἰζάτης ὡς ἤκουσε τοὔνομα καὶ εἶδεν ἱκέτην αὐτῷ παρεστῶτα τὸν Ἀρταβάνην, κατεπήδησεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου καί “θάρσησον, [59] εἶπεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μηδέ σε συγχείτω τὸ παρὸν ὡς ἀνήκεστον: ταχεῖα γὰρ ἔσται τῆς λύπης ἡ μεταβολή. φίλον δέ με καὶ σύμμαχον εὑρήσεις κρείττω τῆς ἐλπίδος: ἢ γὰρ εἰς τὴν Πάρθων σε καταστήσω βασιλείαν πάλιν ἢ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐκστήσομαι.”

1. But now Artabanus, king of the Parthians perceiving that the governors of the provinces had framed a plot against him, did not think it safe for him to continue among them; but resolved to go to Izates, in hopes of finding some way for his preservation by his means, and, if possible, for his return to his own dominions. So he came to Izates, and brought a thousand of his kindred and servants with him, and met him upon the road, while he well knew Izates, but Izates did not know him. When Artabanus stood near him, and, in the first place, worshipped him, according to the custom, he then said to him, “O king! do not thou overlook me thy servant, nor do thou proudly reject the suit I make thee; for as I am reduced to a low estate, by the change of fortune, and of a king am become a private man, I stand in need of thy assistance. Have regard, therefore, unto the

uncertainty of fortune, and esteem the care thou shalt take of me to be taken of thyself also; for if I be neglected, and my subjects go off unpunished, many other subjects will become the more insolent towards other kings also." And this speech Artabanus made with tears in his eyes, and with a dejected countenance. Now as soon as Izates heard Artabanus's name, and saw him stand as a supplicant before him, he leaped down from his horse immediately, and said to him, "Take courage, O king! nor be disturbed at thy present calamity, as if it were incurable; for the change of thy sad condition shall be sudden; for thou shalt find me to be more thy friend and thy assistant than thy hopes can promise thee; for I will either re-establish thee in the kingdom of Parthia, or lose my own."

(2) [60] Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀνεβίβαζεν τὸν Ἀρταβάνην ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον, παρείπετο δ' αὐτὸς πεζὸς τιμὴν ἀπονέμων ταυτηνὶ ὡς ἂν μείζονι βασιλεῖ. θεασάμενος δ' Ἀρταβάνης βαρέως ἤνεγκεν καὶ τὴν ἐφεστῶσαν αὐτῷ τύχην καὶ τιμὴν ἐπωμόσατο καταβήσεσθαι μὴ 'κείνου πάλιν ἀναβάντος καὶ προηγουμένου. [61] ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἤλατο καὶ ἀγαγὼν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν πᾶσαν τιμὴν ἀπένειμεν ἔν τε συνεδρίαις καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὰς ἑστιάσεις προκατακλίσεσιν, οὐκ εἰς τὸ παρὸν αὐτοῦ τῆς τύχης ἀποβλέπων, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πρότερον ἀξίωμα, καί τι καὶ λογισμῷ διδούς, ὡς κοιναὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἱ μεταβολαὶ τῆς τύχης. [62] γράφει τε πρὸς τοὺς Πάρθους πείθων αὐτοὺς τὸν Ἀρταβάνην ὑποδέξασθαι, πίστιν προτείνων τῆς τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀμνηστίας δεξιὰν καὶ ὅρκους καὶ μεσιτείαν τὴν αὐτοῦ. [63] τῶν δὲ Πάρθων δέξασθαι μὲν αὐτὸν θέλειν οὐκ ἀρνουμένων, μὴ δύνασθαι δὲ λεγόντων διὰ τὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἑτέρῳ πεπιστευκέναι, Κίνναμος δ' ἦν ὄνομα τῷ παρειληφότι, καὶ δεδοικέναι, μὴ στάσις αὐτοὺς ἐκ τούτου καταλάβῃ, [64] μαθὼν τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῶν ὁ Κίνναμος ταύτην αὐτὸς γράφει τῷ Ἀρταβάνῃ, τέθραπτο γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ φύσει δ' ἦν καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός, παρακαλῶν αὐτῷ πιστεύσαντα παραγενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολῃψόμενον τὴν αὐτοῦ. [65] καὶ ὁ Ἀρταβάνης πιστεύσας παρῆν. ὑπαντᾷ δ' αὐτῷ ὁ Κίνναμος καὶ προσκυνήσας βασιλέα τε προσαγορεύσας περιτίθησιν αὐτοῦ τῇ κεφαλῇ τὸ διάδημα ἀφελὼν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ.

2. When he had said this, he set Artabanus upon his horse, and followed him on foot, in honor of a king whom he owned as greater than himself; which, when Artabanus saw, he was very uneasy at it, and sware by his present fortune and honor that he would get down from his horse, unless Izates would get upon his horse again, and go before him. So he complied with his desire, and leaped upon his horse; and when he had brought him to his royal palace, he showed him all sorts of respect when they sat together, and he gave him the upper place at festivals also, as regarding not his present fortune, but his former dignity, and that upon this consideration also, that the changes of fortune are common to all

men. He also wrote to the Parthians, to persuade them to receive Artabanus again; and gave them his right hand and his faith, that he should forget what was past and done, and that he would undertake for this as a mediator between them. Now the Parthians did not themselves refuse to receive him again, but pleaded that it was not now in their power so to do, because they had committed the government to another person, who had accepted of it, and whose name was Cinnamus; and that they were afraid lest a civil war should arise on this account. When Cinnamus understood their intentions, he wrote to Artabanus himself, for he had been brought up by him, and was of a nature good and gentle also, and desired him to put confidence in him, and to come and take his own dominions again. Accordingly, Artabanus trusted him, and returned home; when Cinnamus met him, worshipped him, and saluted him as a king, and took the diadem off his own head, and put it on the head of Artabanus.

(3) [66] Καὶ Ἀρταβάνης οὕτω διὰ Ἰζάτου πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καθίσταται πρότερον αὐτῆς ἐκπεσὼν διὰ τοὺς μεγιστᾶνας. οὐκ ἐγένετο μὴν ἀμνήμων τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν εὐεργεσιῶν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀντιδωρεῖται τὸν Ἰζάτην ταῖς μεγίσταις τιμαῖς παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς: [67] τήν τε γὰρ τιάραν ὀρθὴν ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτῷ φορεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ κλίνης χρυσῆς καθεύδειν, ἅπερ μόνων ἐστὶ γέρα καὶ σημεῖα τῶν Πάρθων βασιλέων. [68] ἔδωκεν δὲ καὶ χώραν πολλὴν αὐτῷ κἀγαθὴν τοῦ τῶν Ἀρμενίων βασιλέως ἀποτεμόμενος, Νίσιβις δέ ἐστιν ὄνομα τῇ γῇ, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ πρότερον Μακεδόνες ἐκτίσαντο πόλιν Ἀντιόχειαν, ἣν Ἐπιμυγδονίαν προσηγόρευσαν. ταύταις μὲν δὴ ταῖς τιμαῖς ὁ Ἰζάτης ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλέως ἐτιμήθη.

3. And thus was Artahanus restored to his kingdom again by the means of Izates, when he had lost it by the means of the grandees of the kingdom. Nor was he unmindful of the benefits he had conferred upon him, but rewarded him with such honors as were of the greatest esteem among them; for he gave him leave to wear his tiara upright, and to sleep upon a golden bed, which are privileges and marks of honor peculiar to the kings of Parthia. He also cut off a large and fruitful country from the king of Armenia, and bestowed it upon him. The name of the country is Nisibis, wherein the Macedonians had formerly built that city which they called Antioch of Mygodonla. And these were the honors that were paid Izates by the king of the Parthians.

(4) [69] Μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον Ἀρταβάνης τελευτᾷ τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ παιδὶ Οὐαρδάνῃ καταλιπών. οὗτος δὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἰζάτην ἀφικόμενος ἔπειθεν αὐτὸν μέλλων πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν συστρατεύεσθαι καὶ συμμαχίαν ἑτοιμάζειν. [70] οὐ μὴν ἔπειθεν: ὁ γὰρ Ἰζάτης τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμίν τε καὶ τύχην ἐπιστάμενος ἀδυνάτοις αὐτὸν ἐνόμιζεν ἐπιχειρεῖν. [71] ἔτι τε πεπομφὼς πέντε μὲν

τὸν ἀριθμὸν υἱοὺς τὴν ἡλικίαν νέους γλῶτταν τὴν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν πάτριον καὶ παιδείαν ἀκριβῶς μαθησομένους, τὴν δὲ μητέρα προσκυνήσουσαν τὸ ἱερόν, ὡς προεῖπον, ὀκνηρότερος ἦν καὶ τὸν Οὐαρδάνην ἐκώλυεν συνεχῶς διηγούμενος τὰς Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεις τε καὶ πράξεις, διὰ τούτων οἰόμενος αὐτὸν φοβήσειν καὶ παύσειν ἐπιθυμοῦντα τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς στρατείας. [72] παροξυνθεὶς δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Πάρθος πόλεμον εὐθὺς πρὸς Ἰζάτην κατήγγειλεν. οὐ μὴν ἔλαβεν οὐδὲ τῆς ἐπὶ τούτῳ στρατείας ὄνησιν τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς ἐλπίδας αὐτοῦ πάσας ὑποτεμόντος: [73] μαθόντες γὰρ οἱ Πάρθοι τὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ Οὐαρδάνου καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατεύειν ἔκρινεν, αὐτὸν μὲν ἀναιροῦσιν, τὴν ἀρχὴν δὲ τῷ ἀδελφῷ Κοτάρδῃ παρέδοσαν. [74] καὶ τοῦτον δὲ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς τελευτήσαντα διαδέχεται Οὐολογέσης ὁ ἀδελφός, ὃς δὴ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοπατρίοις δυσὶν ἀδελφοῖς δυναστείας ἐπίστευσεν, Πακόρῳ μὲν τῷ καὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ τὴν Μήδων, Τιριδάτῃ δὲ τῷ νεωτέρῳ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν.

4. But in no long time Artabanus died, and left his kingdom to his son Bardanes. Now this Bardanes came to Izates, and would have persuaded him to join him with his army, and to assist him in the war he was preparing to make with the Romans; but he could not prevail with him. For Izates so well knew the strength and good fortune of the Romans, that he took Bardanes to attempt what was impossible to be done; and having besides sent his sons, five in number, and they but young also, to learn accurately the language of our nation, together with our learning, as well as he had sent his mother to worship at our temple, as I have said already, was the more backward to a compliance; and restrained Bardanes, telling him perpetually of the great armies and famous actions of the Romans, and thought thereby to terrify him, and desired thereby to hinder him from that expedition. But the Parthian king was provoked at this his behavior, and denounced war immediately against Izates. Yet did he gain no advantage by this war, because God cut off all his hopes therein; for the Parthians perceiving Bardanes's intentions, and how he had determined to make war with the Romans, slew him, and gave his kingdom to his brother Gotarzes. He also, in no long time, perished by a plot made against him, and Vologases, his brother, succeeded him, who committed two of his provinces to two of his brothers by the same father; that of the Medes to the elder, Pacorus; and Armenia to the younger, Tiridates.

IV

CHAPTER 4. How Izates Was Betrayed By His Own Subjects, And Fought Against By The Arabians And How Izates, By The Providence Of God, Was Delivered Out Of Their Hands.

(1) [75] Ὁ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφὸς Μονόβαζος καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς θεωροῦντες τὸν Ἰζάτην διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβειαν ζηλωτὸν παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις γεγενημένον ἔσχον ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ πάτρια καταλιπόντες ἔθεσι χρῆσθαι τοῖς Ἰουδαίων. [76] γίνεται δ' ἡ πρᾶξις αὐτῶν κατάφωρος τοῖς ὑπηκόοις, κἀπὶ τούτῳ χαλεπήναντες οἱ μεγιστᾶνες οὐκ ἐφανέρουν μὲν τὴν ὀργήν, κατὰ νοῦν δὲ ἔχοντες καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἐζήτουν δίκην εἰσπράξασθαι σπεύδοντες παρ' αὐτῶν. [77] καὶ δὴ γράφουσιν πρὸς Ἀβίαν τὸν Ἀράβων βασιλέα χρήματα πολλὰ δώσειν ὑπισχνούμενοι στρατεύσασθαι θελήσαντι κατὰ τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς βασιλέως, ἐπηγγέλλοντο δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν πρώτην συμβολὴν ἐγκαταλείψειν τὸν βασιλέα: θέλειν γὰρ αὐτὸν τιμωρήσασθαι μισήσαντα τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔθη: καὶ ὅρκοις τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐνδησάμενοι πίστιν σπεύδειν παρεκάλουν. [78] πείθεται δὲ ὁ Ἄραψ, καὶ πολλὴν ἐπαγόμενος δύναμιν ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰζάτην. μελλούσης δὲ τῆς πρώτης συμβολῆς πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν καταλείπουσιν τὸν Ἰζάτην ἐκ συνθήματος πάντες ὡς πανικῷ δείματι κατασχεθέντες, καὶ τὰ νῶτα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐντρέψαντες ἔφευγον. [79] οὐ μὴν ὁ Ἰζάτης κατεπλάγη, νοήσας δὲ προδοσίαν ὑπὸ τῶν μεγιστάνων γεγενῆσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑπεχώρησεν, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ζητήσας ὡς ἔμαθεν συντεταγμένους πρὸς τὸν Ἄραβα, τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους ἀναιρεῖ, τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ συμβαλὼν πλείστους μὲν ἀπέκτεινε, [80] πάντας δὲ φυγεῖν ἠνάγκασεν, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν βασιλέα διώκων εἴς τι φρούριον συνήλασεν Ἄρσαμον καλούμενον, καὶ προσμαχεσάμενος καρτερῶς εἷλε τὸ φρούριον διαρπάσας τε τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ λείαν πᾶσαν, πολλὴ δὲ ἦν, ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν Ἀδιαβηνὴν τὸν Ἀβίαν οὐ καταλαβὼν ζῶντα: περικαταλαμβανόμενος γὰρ ἑαυτὸν ἀνεῖλεν.

1. Now when the king's brother, Monobazus, and his other kindred, saw how Izates, by his piety to God, was become greatly esteemed by all men, they also had a desire to leave the religion of their country, and to embrace the customs of the Jews; but that act of theirs was discovered by Izates's subjects. Whereupon the grandees were much displeased, and could not contain their anger at them; but had an intention, when they should find a proper opportunity, to inflict a punishment upon them. Accordingly, they wrote to Abia, king of the Arabians, and promised him great sums of money, if he would make an expedition against

their king; and they further promised him, that, on the first onset, they would desert their king, because they were desirous to punish him, by reason of the hatred he had to their religious worship; then they obliged themselves, by oaths, to be faithful to each other, and desired that he would make haste in this design. The king of Arabia complied with their desires, and brought a great army into the field, and marched against Izates; and, in the beginning of the first onset, and before they came to a close fight, those Handees, as if they had a panic terror upon them, all deserted Izates, as they had agreed to do, and, turning their backs upon their enemies, ran away. Yet was not Izates dismayed at this; but when he understood that the grandees had betrayed him, he also retired into his camp, and made inquiry into the matter; and as soon as he knew who they were that made this conspiracy with the king of Arabia, he cut off those that were found guilty; and renewing the fight on the next day, he slew the greatest part of his enemies, and forced all the rest to betake themselves to flight. He also pursued their king, and drove him into a fortress called Arsamus, and following on the siege vigorously, he took that fortress. And when he had plundered it of all the prey that was in it, which was not small, he returned to Adiabene; yet did not he take Abia alive, because, when he found himself encompassed on every side, he slew himself.

(2) [81] Ἀποτυχόντες δὲ οἱ τῶν Ἀδιαβηνῶν μεγιστᾶνες τῆς πρώτης ἐπιχειρήσεως παραδόντος αὐτοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ βασιλεῖ οὐδ' ὡς ἠρέμουν, ἀλλὰ γράφουσιν πάλιν Οὐολογέσῃ, βασιλεὺς δὲ Πάρθων οὗτος ἦν, παρακαλοῦντες ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν τὸν Ἰζάτην, καταστῆσαι δ' αὐτοῖς ἕτερον δυνάστην καὶ τῷ γένει Πάρθον: μισεῖν γὰρ ἔλεγον τὸν ἑαυτῶν βασιλέα καταλύσαντα μὲν τὰ πάτρια, ξένων δ' ἐραστὴν ἐθῶν γενόμενον. [82] ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Πάρθος ἐπήρθη πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ προφάσεως δικαίας μηδεμίαν ἀφορμὴν ἔχων τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ δοθείσας τιμὰς ἔπεμψεν ἀπαιτῶν, ἀπειθήσαντι δὲ πόλεμον κατήγγελλεν. [83] ταράσσεται δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν οὐχὶ μετρίως ὁ Ἰζάτης, ὡς ἤκουσεν ταῦτα, κατάγνωσιν μὲν φέρειν αὐτῷ νομίσας τὸ τῶν δωρεῶν ἐξίστασθαι δοκεῖν διὰ φόβον τοῦτο πράξας. [84] εἰδὼς δέ, ὅτι καὶ ἀπολαβὼν ὁ Πάρθος τὰς τιμὰς οὐκ ἂν ἠρεμήσειεν, ἔκρινεν ἐπιτρέψαι τῷ κηδεμόνι θεῷ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς κίνδυνον, [85] καὶ τοῦτον μέγιστον ἡγησάμενος ἔχειν σύμμαχον κατατίθεται μὲν τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας εἰς τὰ τῶν φρουρίων ἀσφαλέστατα, τὸν σῖτον δὲ πάντα μὲν τὸν εἰς τὰς βάρεις ἐμπίπρησιν τόν τε χόρτον καὶ τὰς νομάς, ταῦτά τε προευτρεπισάμενος ἐξεδέχετο τοὺς πολεμίους. [86] παραγενομένου δὲ τοῦ Πάρθου μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως πεζῶν τε καὶ ἱππέων θᾶττον ἐλπίδος, ὥδευσε γὰρ συντόνως, βαλλομένου τε χάρακα πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ τὴν Ἀδιαβηνὴν καὶ τὴν Μηδίαν ὁρίζοντι, τίθησι καὶ ὁ Ἰζάτης τὸ στρατόπεδον οὐκ ἄπωθεν ἔχων περὶ

αὐτὸν ἱππεῖς τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἑξακισχιλίους. [87] ἀφικνεῖται δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἰζάτην ἄγγελος παρὰ τοῦ Πάρθου πεμφθείς, ὃς τὴν Πάρθων δύναμιν ὅση τίς ἐστιν ἤγγελλεν ἀπὸ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ μέχρι Βάκτρων τοὺς ὅρους αὐτῆς τιθέμενος καὶ τοὺς ὑπηκόους αὐτῆς βασιλέας καταλέγων. [88] ἠπείλει δὲ δώσειν αὐτὸν δίκας ἀχάριστον περὶ δεσπότας τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ γενόμενον, καὶ ῥύεσθαι τῶν βασιλέως αὐτὸν χειρῶν οὐδὲ τὸν θεὸν ὃν σέβει δυνήσεσθαι. [89] ταῦτα τοῦ ἀγγέλου φράσαντος ὁ Ἰζάτης εἰδέναι μὲν τὴν Πάρθων δύναμιν ἔφη πολὺ τῆς αὐτοῦ διαφέρουσαν, γινώσκειν δ' οὖν ἔτι μᾶλλον πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἔλεγεν κρείσσω τὸν θεόν. καὶ τοιαύτην δοὺς τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἱκετείαν ἐτρέπετο τοῦ θεοῦ, χαμαί τε ῥίψας αὐτὸν καὶ σποδῷ τὴν κεφαλὴν καταισχύνας μετὰ γυναικὸς καὶ τέκνων ἐνήστευεν ἀνακαλῶν τὸν θεὸν καὶ λέγων, [90] "εἰ μὴ μάτην, ὦ δέσποτα κύριε, τῆς σῆς ἐγενόμην χρηστότητος, τῶν πάντων δὲ δικαίως μόνον καὶ πρῶτον ἥγημαι κύριον, ἐλθὲ σύμμαχος οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ μόνον ἀμυνούμενος τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τῆς σῆς δυνάμεως [91] κατατετολμήκασιν." ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποτνιᾶτο δακρύων καὶ ὀδυρόμενος, ἐπήκοος δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἐγίνετο, καὶ κατ' ἐκείνην εὐθὺς τὴν νύκτα δεξάμενος Οὐολογέσης ἐπιστολάς, ἐν αἷς ἐγέγραπτο Δαῶν καὶ Σακῶν χεῖρα μεγάλην καταφρονήσασαν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀποδημίας ἐπιστρατευσαμένην διαρπάζειν τὴν Παρθυηνῶν, ἄπρακτος ἀνέζευξεν εἰς τοὐπίσω. καὶ Ἰζάτης οὕτω κατὰ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν τὰς ἀπειλὰς τοῦ Πάρθου διαφεύγει.

2. But although the grandees of Adiabene had failed in their first attempt, as being delivered up by God into their king's hands, yet would they not even then be quiet, but wrote again to Vologases, who was then king of Parthia, and desired that he would kill Izates, and set over them some other potentate, who should be of a Parthian family; for they said that they hated their own king for abrogating the laws of their forefathers, and embracing foreign customs. When the king of Parthia heard this, he boldly made war upon Izates; and as he had no just pretense for this war, he sent to him, and demanded back those honorable privileges which had been bestowed on him by his father, and threatened, on his refusal, to make war upon him. Upon hearing of this, Izates was under no small trouble of mind, as thinking it would be a reproach upon him to appear to resign those privileges that had been bestowed upon him out of cowardice; yet because he knew, that though the king of Parthia should receive back those honors, yet would he not be quiet, he resolved to commit himself to God, his Protector, in the present danger he was in of his life; and as he esteemed him to be his principal assistant, he intrusted his children and his wives to a very strong fortress, and laid up his corn in his citadels, and set the hay and the grass on fire. And when he had thus put things in order, as well as he could, he awaited the

coming of the enemy. And when the king of Parthia was come, with a great army of footmen and horsemen, which he did sooner than was expected, [for he marched in great haste,] and had cast up a bank at the river that parted Adiabene from Media, — Izates also pitched his camp not far off, having with him six thousand horsemen. But there came a messenger to Izates, sent by the king of Parthia, who told him how large his dominions were, as reaching from the river Euphrates to Bactria, and enumerated that king's subjects; he also threatened him that he should be punished, as a person ungrateful to his lords; and said that the God whom he worshipped could not deliver him out of the king's hands. When the messenger had delivered this his message, Izates replied that he knew the king of Parthia's power was much greater than his own; but that he knew also that God was much more powerful than all men. And when he had returned him this answer, he betook himself to make supplication to God, and threw himself upon the ground, and put ashes upon his head, in testimony of his confusion, and fasted, together with his wives and children. Then he called upon God, and said, "O Lord and Governor, if I have not in vain committed myself to thy goodness, but have justly determined that thou only art the Lord and principal of all beings, come now to my assistance, and defend me from my enemies, not only on my own account, but on account of their insolent behavior with regard to thy power, while they have not feared to lift up their proud and arrogant tongue against thee." Thus did he lament and bemoan himself, with tears in his eyes; whereupon God heard his prayer. And immediately that very night Vologases received letters, the contents of which were these, that a great band of Dahe and Sacse, despising him, now he was gone so long a journey from home, had made an expedition, and laid Parthis waste; so that he [was forced to] retire back, without doing any thing. And thus it was that Izates escaped the threatenings of the Parthians, by the providence of God.

(3) [92] Μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον πεντηκοστὸν μὲν καὶ πέμπτον ἀπὸ γενεᾶς πληρώσας ἔτος τέταρτον δὲ πρὸς εἰκοστῷ δυναστεύσας, καταλιπὼν παῖδας ἄρρενας εἰκοσιτέσσαρας καὶ θυγατέρας εἰκοσιτέσσαρας καταστρέφει τὸν βίον. [93] τὴν μέντοι διαδοχὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Μονόβαζον ἐκέλευεν παραλαβεῖν, ἀμειβόμενος αὐτὸν ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν αὐτοῦ μετὰ τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς θάνατον πιστῶς φυλάξειεν αὐτῷ τὴν δυναστείαν. [94] ἡ δὲ μήτηρ Ἑλένη τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς θάνατον ἀκούσασα βαρέως μὲν ἤνεγκεν ὡς εἰκὸς μητέρα στερομένην εὐσεβεστάτου παιδός, παραμυθίαν δ' ὅμως εἶχεν τὴν διαδοχὴν ἀκούσασα εἰς τὸν πρεσβύτερον αὐτῆς υἱὸν ἥκουσαν, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔσπευδεν. παραγενομένη δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀδιαβηνὴν οὐ πολὺν Ἰζάτῃ τῷ παιδὶ χρόνον ἐπεβίωσεν. [95] ὁ δὲ Μονόβαζος τά τε ἐκείνης ὁστᾶ καὶ τὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ πέμψας εἰς

Ἱεροσόλυμα θάψαι προσέταξεν ἐν ταῖς πυραμίσιν, ἃς ἡ μήτηρ κατεσκευάκει τρεῖς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τρία στάδια τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλεως ἀπεχούσας. [96] ἀλλὰ Μονόβαζος μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅσα κατὰ τὸν τῆς ζωῆς χρόνον ἔπραξεν, ὕστερον ἀπαγγελοῦμεν.

3. It was not long ere Izates died, when he had completed fifty-five years of his life, and had ruled his kingdom twenty-four years. He left behind him twenty-four sons and twenty-four daughters. However, he gave order that his brother Monobazus should succeed in the government, thereby requiting him, because, while he was himself absent after their father's death, he had faithfully preserved the government for him. But when Helena, his mother, heard of her son's death, she was in great heaviness, as was but natural, upon her loss of such a most dutiful son; yet was it a comfort to her that she heard the succession came to her eldest son. Accordingly, she went to him in haste; and when she was come into Adiabene, she did not long outlive her son Izates. But Monobazus sent her bones, as well as those of Izates, his brother, to Jerusalem, and gave order that they should be buried at the pyramids which their mother had erected; they were three in number, and distant no more than three furlongs from the city Jerusalem. But for the actions of Monobazus the king, which he did during the rest of his life, we will relate them hereafter.

V

CHAPTER 5. Concerning Theudas And The Sons Of Judas The Galilean; As Also What Calamity Fell Upon The Jews On The Day Of The Passover.

(1) [97] Φάδου δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπιτροπεύοντος γόης τις ἀνὴρ Θευδᾶς ὀνόματι πείθει τὸν πλεῖστον ὄχλον ἀναλαβόντα τὰς κτήσεις ἔπεσθαι πρὸς τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν αὐτῷ: προφήτης γὰρ ἔλεγεν εἶναι, καὶ προστάγματι τὸν ποταμὸν σχίσας δίοδον ἔχειν ἔφη παρέξειν αὐτοῖς ῥᾳδίαν. [98] καὶ ταῦτα λέγων πολλοὺς ἠπάτησεν. οὐ μὴν εἴασεν αὐτοὺς τῆς ἀφροσύνης ὄνασθαι Φᾶδος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξέπεμψεν ἴλην ἱππέων ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς, ἥτις ἀπροσδόκητος ἐπιπεσοῦσα πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνεῖλεν, πολλοὺς δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβεν, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Θευδᾶν ζωγρήσαντες ἀποτέμνουσι τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ κομίζουσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. [99] τὰ μὲν οὖν συμβάντα τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κατὰ τοὺς Κουσπίου Φάδου τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς χρόνους ταῦτ᾽ ἐγένετο.

1. Now it came to pass, while Fadus was procurator of Judea, that a certain magician, whose name was Theudas, persuaded a great part of the people to take their effects with them, and follow him to the river Jordan; for he told them he was a prophet, and that he would, by his own command, divide the river, and afford them an easy passage over it; and many were deluded by his words. However, Fadus did not permit them to make any advantage of his wild attempt, but sent a troop of horsemen out against them; who, falling upon them unexpectedly, slew many of them, and took many of them alive. They also took Theudas alive, and cut off his head, and carried it to Jerusalem. This was what befell the Jews in the time of Cuspius Fadus's government.

(2) [100] Ἦλθε δὲ Φάδῳ διάδοχος Τιβέριος Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀλεξάνδρου παῖς τοῦ καὶ ἀλαβαρχήσαντος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ γένει τε καὶ πλούτῳ πρωτεύσαντος τῶν ἐκεῖ καθ᾽ αὐτόν. διήνεγκε καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβείᾳ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου: τοῖς γὰρ πατρίοις οὐκ ἐνέμεινεν οὗτος ἔθεσιν. [101] ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ καὶ τὸν μέγαν λιμὸν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν συνέβη γενέσθαι, καθ᾽ ὃν καὶ ἡ βασίλισσα Ἑλένη πολλῶν χρημάτων ὠνησαμένη σῖτον ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου διένειμεν τοῖς ἀπορουμένοις, ὡς προεῖπον. [102] πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ οἱ παῖδες Ἰούδα τοῦ Γαλιλαίου ἀνήχθησαν τοῦ τὸν λαὸν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστήσαντος Κυρινίου τῆς Ἰουδαίας τιμητεύοντος, ὡς ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτων δεδηλώκαμεν, Ἰάκωβος καὶ Σίμων, οὓς ἀνασταυρῶσαι προσέταξεν Ἀλέξανδρος. [103] ὁ δὲ τῆς Χαλκίδος βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης μεταστήσας τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης Ἰώσηπον τὸν τοῦ Καμοιδὶ τὴν διαδοχὴν τῆς τιμῆς Ἀνανίᾳ τῷ τοῦ Νεβεδαίου δίδωσιν. Τιβερίῳ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ

Κουμανὸς ἀφίκετο διάδοχος. [104] καὶ τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον Ἡρώδης ὁ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα ἀδελφὸς ὀγδόῳ τῆς Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος ἀρχῆς ἔτει, καταλιπὼν τρεῖς υἱοὺς Ἀριστόβουλον μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πρώτης αὐτῷ τεχθέντα γυναικός, ἐκ Βερενίκης δὲ τῆς τἀδελφοῦ θυγατρὸς Βερενικιανὸν καὶ Ὑρκανόν. τὴν δ᾽ ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ Καῖσαρ Κλαύδιος Ἀγρίππᾳ τῷ νεωτέρῳ δίδωσιν.

2. Then came Tiberius Alexander as successor to Fadus; he was the son of Alexander the alabarch of Alexandria, which Alexander was a principal person among all his contemporaries, both for his family and wealth: he was also more eminent for his piety than this his son Alexander, for he did not continue in the religion of his country. Under these procurators that great famine happened in Judea, in which queen Helena bought corn in Egypt at a great expense, and distributed it to those that were in want, as I have related already. And besides this, the sons of Judas of Galilee were now slain; I mean of that Judas who caused the people to revolt, when Cyrenius came to take an account of the estates of the Jews, as we have showed in a foregoing book. The names of those sons were James and Simon, whom Alexander commanded to be crucified. But now Herod, king of Chalcis, removed Joseph, the son of Camydus, from the high priesthood, and made Ananias, the son of Nebedeu, his successor. And now it was that Cumanus came as successor to Tiberius Alexander; as also that Herod, brother of Agrippa the great king, departed this life, in the eighth year of the reign of Claudius Caesar. He left behind him three sons; Aristobulus, whom he had by his first wife, with Bernicianus, and Hyrcanus, both whom he had by Bernice his brother's daughter. But Claudius Caesar bestowed his dominions on Agrippa, junior.

(3) [105] Στάσεως δ᾽ ἐμπεσούσης τῇ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλει Κουμανοῦ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πράγματα διοικοῦντος ἐφθάρησαν ὑπὸ ταύτης πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. καὶ πρότερον ἀφηγήσομαι τὴν αἰτίαν, δι᾽ ἣν ταῦτα συνέβη: [106] τῆς πάσχα προσαγορευομένης ἑορτῆς ἐνστάσης, καθ᾽ ἣν ἔθος ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἄζυμα προσφέρεσθαι, πολλοῦ καὶ πανταχόθεν πλήθους συναχθέντος ἐπὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν δείσας ὁ Κουμανός, μὴ νεώτερόν τι παρὰ τούτων προσπέσῃ, κελεύει τῶν στρατιωτῶν μίαν τάξιν ἀναλαβοῦσαν τὰ ὅπλα ἐπὶ τῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ στοῶν ἑστάναι καταστελοῦντας τὸν νεωτερισμόν, εἰ ἄρα τις γένοιτο. [107] τοῦτο δὲ καὶ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπιτροπεύσαντες ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς ἔπραττον. [108] τετάρτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἑορτῆς στρατιώτης τις ἀνακαλύψας ἐπεδείκνυε τῷ πλήθει τὰ αἰδοῖα, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο θεασαμένων ὀργὴ καὶ θυμὸς ἦν οὐχ ἑαυτοὺς ὑβρίσθαι λεγόντων, ἀλλὰ τὸν θεὸν ἠσεβῆσθαι: τινὲς δὲ τῶν θρασυτέρων τὸν Κουμανὸν ἐβλασφήμουν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὸν στρατιώτην καθεῖσθαι λέγοντες. [109] Κουμανὸς δ᾽ ἀκούσας καὶ αὐτὸς οὐ μετρίως ἐρεθίζεται πρὸς τὰς βλασφημίας, παρῄνει μέντοι

παύσασθαι νεωτέρων ἐπιθυμοῦντας πραγμάτων μηδὲ στάσεις ἐξάπτειν ἐν ἑορτῇ. [110] μὴ πείθων δέ, μᾶλλον γὰρ ἐπέκειντο βλασφημοῦντες, κελεύει τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν τὰς πανοπλίας ἀναλαβὸν ἥκειν εἰς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν, φρούριον δ' ἦν τοῦτο, καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον εἴπομεν, ἐπικείμενον τῷ ἱερῷ. [111] παραγενομένους δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας θεασάμενον τὸ πλῆθος καὶ φοβηθὲν φεύγειν ὥρμησεν, τῶν δ' ἐξόδων στενῶν οὐσῶν διώκεσθαι νομίζοντες ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ συνωθούμενοι κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν πολλοὺς ἀλλήλοις ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς θλιβόμενοι διέφθειρον. [112] δύο γοῦν μυριάδες ἐξηριθμήθησαν τῶν κατὰ τὴν στάσιν ἐκείνην φθαρέντων. πένθος δ' ἦν τὸ λοιπὸν ἀντὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς, καὶ πάντες ἐκλαθόμενοι τῶν εὐχῶν καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν ἐπὶ θρήνους καὶ κλαυθμοὺς ἐτράποντο. τοιαῦτα μὲν ἑνὸς ἀσέλγεια στρατιώτου παθήματα γενέσθαι παρεσκεύασεν.

3. Now while the Jewish affairs were under the administration of Cureanus, there happened a great tumult at the city of Jerusalem, and many of the Jews perished therein. But I shall first explain the occasion whence it was derived. When that feast which is called the passover was at hand, at which time our custom is to use unleavened bread, and a great multitude was gathered together from all parts to that feast, Cumanus was afraid lest some attempt of innovation should then be made by them; so he ordered that one regiment of the army should take their arms, and stand in the temple cloisters, to repress any attempts of innovation, if perchance any such should begin; and this was no more than what the former procurators of Judea did at such festivals. But on the fourth day of the feast, a certain soldier let down his breeches, and exposed his privy members to the multitude, which put those that saw him into a furious rage, and made them cry out that this impious action was not done to approach them, but God himself; nay, some of them reproached Cumanus, and pretended that the soldier was set on by him, which, when Cumanus heard, he was also himself not a little provoked at such reproaches laid upon him; yet did he exhort them to leave off such seditious attempts, and not to raise a tumult at the festival. But when he could not induce them to be quiet for they still went on in their reproaches to him, he gave order that the whole army should take their entire armor, and come to Antonia, which was a fortress, as we have said already, which overlooked the temple; but when the multitude saw the soldiers there, they were affrighted at them, and ran away hastily; but as the passages out were but narrow, and as they thought their enemies followed them, they were crowded together in their flight, and a great number were pressed to death in those narrow passages; nor indeed was the number fewer than twenty thousand that perished in this tumult. So instead of a festival, they had at last a mournful day of it; and they all of them forgot their prayers and sacrifices, and betook themselves to lamentation and

weeping; so great an affliction did the impudent obsceneness of a single soldier bring upon them.

(4) [113] Οὔπω δ᾽ αὐτῶν τὸ πρῶτον πένθος ἐπέπαυτο καὶ κακὸν ἄλλο προσέπιπτεν: τῶν γὰρ ἀφεστώτων ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ τινες κατὰ τὴν δημοσίαν ὁδὸν ὡς ἑκατὸν σταδίων ἄπωθεν τῆς πόλεως Στέφανον Καίσαρος δοῦλον ὁδοιποροῦντα λῃστεύσαντες ἅπασαν αὐτοῦ τὴν κτῆσιν διαρπάζουσιν. [114] ἀκούσας δὲ τὸ πραχθὲν ὁ Κουμανὸς εὐθὺς πέμπει στρατιώτας, κελεύσας αὐτοῖς τὰς πλησίον κώμας διαρπάσαι, τοὺς δ᾽ ἐπιφανεστάτους αὐτῶν δήσαντας ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἄγειν. [115] τῆς δὲ πορθήσεως γενομένης τῶν στρατιωτῶν τις τοὺς Μωυσέως νόμους ἔν τινι κώμῃ λαβὼν κειμένους προκομίσας εἰς τὴν πάντων ὄψιν διέσχισεν ἐπιβλασφημῶν καὶ πολλὰ κατακερτομῶν. [116] Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες καὶ πολλοὶ συνδραμόντες καταβαίνουσιν εἰς Καισάρειαν, ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐτύγχανεν ὁ Κουμανὸς ὤν, ἱκετεύοντες μὴ αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ τὸν θεὸν οὗπερ οἱ νόμοι καθυβρίσθησαν ἐκδικῆσαι: ζῆν γὰρ οὐχ ὑπομένειν τῶν πατρίων αὐτοῖς οὕτως περιυβρισμένων. καὶ Κουμανὸς δείσας, [117] μὴ πάλιν νεωτερίσειεν τὸ πλῆθος, συμβουλευσάντων καὶ τῶν φίλων τὸν ἐνυβρίσαντα τοῖς νόμοις στρατιώτην πελεκίσας ἔπαυσεν τὴν στάσιν ἐκ δευτέρου μέλλουσαν ἐξάπτεσθαι.

4. Now before this their first mourning was over, another mischief befell them also; for some of those that raised the foregoing tumult, when they were traveling along the public road, about a hundred furlongs from the city, robbed Stephanus, a servant of Caesar, as he was journeying, and plundered him of all that he had with him; which things when Cureanus heard of, he sent soldiers immediately, and ordered them to plunder the neighboring villages, and to bring the most eminent persons among them in bonds to him. Now as this devastation was making, one of the soldiers seized the laws of Moses that lay in one of those villages, and brought them out before the eyes of all present, and tore them to pieces; and this was done with reproachful language, and much scurrility; which things when the Jews heard of, they ran together, and that in great numbers, and came down to Cesarea, where Cumanus then was, and besought him that he would avenge, not themselves, but God himself, whose laws had been affronted; for that they could not bear to live any longer, if the laws of their forefathers must be affronted after this manner. Accordingly Cumanus, out of fear lest the multitude should go into a sedition, and by the advice of his friends also, took care that the soldier who had offered the affront to the laws should be beheaded, and thereby put a stop to the sedition which was ready to be kindled a second time.

VI

CHAPTER 6. How There Happened A Quarrel Between The Jews And The Samaritans; And How Claudius Put An End To Their Differences.

(1) [118] Γίνεται δὲ καὶ Σαμαρείταις πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ἔχθρα δι᾽ αἰτίαν τοιαύτην: ἔθος ἦν τοῖς Γαλιλαίοις ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν παραγινομένοις ὁδεύειν διὰ τῆς Σαμαρέων χώρας. καὶ τότε καθ᾽ ὁδὸν αὐτοῖς κώμης Γιναῆς λεγομένης τῆς ἐν μεθορίῳ κειμένης Σαμαρείας τε καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου πεδίου τινὲς συνάψαντες μάχην πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀναιροῦσιν. [119] πυθόμενοι δὲ τὰ πραχθέντα τῶν Γαλιλαίων οἱ πρῶτοι πρὸς Κουμανὸν ἀφίκοντο καὶ παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν μετιέναι τῶν ἀνῃρημένων τὸν φόνον. ὁ δὲ χρήμασι πεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμαρέων ὠλιγώρησεν. [120] ἀγανακτήσαντες δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ Γαλιλαῖοι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔπειθον ἐφ᾽ ὅπλα χωρῆσαι καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀντέχεσθαι: δουλείαν γὰρ καὶ καθ᾽ αὑτὴν μὲν πικρὰν ἔλεγον εἶναι, τὴν ἐφ᾽ ὕβρει δὲ παντάπασιν ἀφόρητον. [121] τῶν δ᾽ ἐν τέλει καταπραύνειν αὐτοὺς πειρωμένων καὶ πείσειν τὸν Κουμανὸν ἐπαγγελλομένων δίκας εἰσπράξασθαι παρὰ τῶν ἀνῃρηκότων, ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐ προσέσχον, ἀναλαβόντες δὲ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ βοηθεῖν Ἐλεάζαρον τὸν τοῦ Δειναίου παρακαλέσαντες, λῃστὴς δ᾽ οὗτος ἦν ἔτη πολλὰ τὴν διατριβὴν ἐν ὄρει πεποιημένος, κώμας τινὰς τῶν Σαμαρέων ἐμπρήσαντες διαρπάζουσι. [122] Κουμανὸς δὲ τῆς πράξεως εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφικομένης ἀναλαβὼν τὴν τῶν Σεβαστηνῶν ἴλην καὶ πεζῶν τέσσαρα τάγματα τούς τε Σαμαρεῖς καθοπλίσας ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, καὶ συμβαλὼν πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν πλείους δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβεν. [123] οἱ δὲ πρῶτοι κατὰ τιμὴν καὶ γένος τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν, ὡς εἶδον εἰς οἷον κακῶν μέγεθος ἥκουσιν, μετενδυσάμενοι σάκκους καὶ σποδοῦ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀναπλήσαντες παντοῖοι τοὺς ἀφεστῶτας παρακαλοῦντες ἦσαν καὶ πείθοντες πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν θεμένους κατασκαφησομένην μὲν αὐτῶν τὴν πατρίδα, τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν πυρποληθησόμενον, αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ γυναικῶν σὺν τέκνοις ἀνδραποδισμοὺς ἐσομένους, μεταθέσθαι τὸν λογισμὸν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ῥίψαντας ἠρεμεῖν εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν ἀποχωρήσαντας εἰς τὰ αὐτῶν. [124] ταῦτα δὲ εἰπόντες ἔπεισαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν διελύθησαν, οἱ λῃσταὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχυροὺς τόπους πάλιν ἀπῆλθον. ἐξ ἐκείνου τε ἡ σύμπασα Ἰουδαία λῃστηρίων ἐπληρώθη.

1. Now there arose a quarrel between the Samaritans and the Jews on the occasion following: It was the custom of the Galileans, when they came to the holy city at the festivals, to take their journeys through the country of the Samaritans; and at this time there lay, in the road they took, a village that was called Ginea, which was situated in the limits of Samaria and the great plain,

where certain persons thereto belonging fought with the Galileans, and killed a great many of them. But when the principal of the Galileans were informed of what had been done, they came to Cumanus, and desired him to avenge the murder of those that were killed; but he was induced by the Samaritans, with money, to do nothing in the matter; upon which the Galileans were much displeased, and persuaded the multitude of the Jews to betake themselves to arms, and to regain their liberty, saying that slavery was in itself a bitter thing, but that when it was joined with direct injuries, it was perfectly intolerable, And when their principal men endeavored to pacify them, and promised to endeavor to persuade Cureanus to avenge those that were killed, they would not hearken to them, but took their weapons, and entreated the assistance of Eleazar, the son of Dineus, a robber, who had many years made his abode in the mountains, with which assistance they plundered many villages of the Samaritans. When Cumanus heard of this action of theirs, he took the band of Sebaste, with four regiments of footmen, and armed the Samaritans, and marched out against the Jews, and caught them, and slew many of them, and took a great number of them alive; whereupon those that were the most eminent persons at Jerusalem, and that both in regard to the respect that was paid them, and the families they were of, as soon as they saw to what a height things were gone, put on sackcloth, and heaped ashes upon their heads, and by all possible means besought the seditious, and persuaded them that they would set before their eyes the utter subversion of their country, the conflagration of their temple, and the slavery of themselves, their wives, and children, which would be the consequences of what they were doing; and would alter their minds, would cast away their weapons, and for the future be quiet, and return to their own homes. These persuasions of theirs prevailed upon them. So the people dispersed themselves, and the robbers went away again to their places of strength; and after this time all Judea was overrun with robberies.

(2) [125] Σαμαρέων δὲ οἱ πρῶτοι πρὸς Οὐμμίδιον Κοδρᾶτον τῆς Συρίας προεστηκότα κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐν Τύρῳ τυγχάνοντα παραγενόμενοι κατηγόρουν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὡς τὰς κώμας αὐτῶν ἐμπρήσειαν καὶ διαρπάσειαν, [126] καὶ περὶ μὲν ὧν αὐτοὶ πεπόνθασιν οὐχ οὕτως ἀγανακτεῖν ἔφασκον, ὡς ὅτι Ῥωμαίων καταφρονήσειαν, ἐφ᾽ οὓς κριτὰς ἐχρῆν αὐτοὺς εἴπερ ἠδίκουν παραγενέσθαι, ἢ νῦν ὡς οὐκ ἐχόντων ἡγεμόνας Ῥωμαίους καταδραμεῖν: ἥκειν οὖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐκδικίας τευξόμενοι. [127] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οἱ Σαμαρεῖς κατηγόρουν. Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ καὶ τῆς στάσεως καὶ τῆς μάχης αἰτίους γεγονέναι Σαμαρεῖς ἔφασαν, πρὸ πάντων δὲ Κουμανὸν δώροις ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν φθαρέντα καὶ παρασιωπήσαντα τὸν τῶν ἀνῃρημένων φόνον. [128] καὶ Κουαδρᾶτος ἀκούσας ὑπερτίθεται τὴν κρίσιν,

εἰπὼν ἀποφανεῖσθαι, ἐπειδὰν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν παραγενόμενος ἀκριβέστερον ἐπιγνῷ τὴν ἀλήθειαν. [129] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπῆεσαν ἄπρακτοι. μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον ὁ Κουαδρᾶτος ἦκεν εἰς Σαμάρειαν, ἔνθα διακούσας αἰτίους τῆς ταραχῆς ὑπέλαβε γεγονέναι τοὺς Σαμαρεῖς. Σαμαρέων δὲ καὶ Ἰουδαίων οὔστινας νεωτερίσαντας ἔμαθεν ἀνεσταύρωσεν οὓς Κουμανὸς ἔλαβεν αἰχμαλώτους. [130] κἀκεῖθεν εἰς κώμην τινὰ παραγενόμενος Λύδδαν πόλεως τὸ μέγεθος οὐκ ἀποδέουσαν καθίσας ἐπὶ βήματος κἀκ δευτέρου τῶν Σαμαρέων διακούσας διδάσκεται παρά τινος Σαμαρέως, ὅτι τῶν Ἰουδαίων τις πρῶτος ὄνομα Δόητος καί τινες σὺν αὐτῷ νεωτερισταὶ τέσσαρες τὸν ἀριθμὸν πείσειαν τὸν ὄχλον ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστάσει. [131] κἀκείνους μὲν ὁ Κουαδρᾶτος ἀνελεῖν προσέταξεν, τοὺς δὲ περὶ Ἀνανίαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἄνανον δήσας εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνέπεμψεν περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων λόγον ὑφέξοντας Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι. [132] κελεύει δὲ καὶ τοῖς τῶν Σαμαρέων πρώτοις καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις Κουμανῷ τε τῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ καὶ Κέλερι, χιλίαρχος δ᾽ ἦν οὗτος, ἐπ᾽ Ἰταλίας ἀπιέναι πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα κριθησομένους ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ περὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ζητήσεων. [133] αὐτὸς δὲ δείσας, μὴ τὸ πλῆθος πάλιν τῶν Ἰουδαίων νεωτερίσειεν, εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ἀφικνεῖται: καταλαμβάνει δ᾽ αὐτὴν εἰρηνευομένην καὶ πάτριον ἑορτὴν τῷ θεῷ τελοῦσαν. πιστεύσας οὖν μηδένα νεωτερισμὸν παρ᾽ αὐτῶν γενήσεσθαι καταλιπὼν ἑορτάζοντας ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν.

2. But the principal of the Samaritans went to Ummidius Quadratus, the president of Syria, who at that time was at Tyre, and accused the Jews of setting their villages on fire, and plundering them; and said withal, that they were not so much displeased at what they had suffered, as they were at the contempt thereby showed the Romans; while if they had received any injury, they ought to have made them the judges of what had been done, and not presently to make such devastation, as if they had not the Romans for their governors; on which account they came to him, in order to obtain that vengeance they wanted. This was the accusation which the Samaritans brought against the Jews. But the Jews affirmed that the Samaritans were the authors of this tumult and fighting, and that, in the first place, Cumanus had been corrupted by their gifts, and passed over the murder of those that were slain in silence; — which allegations when Quadratus heard, he put off the hearing of the cause, and promised that he would give sentence when he should come into Judea, and should have a more exact knowledge of the truth of that matter. So these men went away without success. Yet was it not long ere Quadratus came to Samaria, where, upon hearing the cause, he supposed that the Samaritans were the authors of that disturbance. But when he was informed that certain of the Jews were making innovations, he ordered those to be crucified whom Cumanus had taken captives. From whence

he came to a certain village called Lydda, which was not less than a city in largeness, and there heard the Samaritan cause a second time before his tribunal, and there learned from a certain Samaritan that one of the chief of the Jews, whose name was Dortus, and some other innovators with him, four in number, persuaded the multitude to a revolt from the Romans; whom Quadratus ordered to be put to death: but still he sent away Ananias the high priest, and Ananus the commander [of the temple], in bonds to Rome, to give an account of what they had done to Claudius Caesar. He also ordered the principal men, both of the Samaritans and of the Jews, as also Cumanus the procurator, and Ceier the tribune, to go to Italy to the emperor, that he might hear their cause, and determine their differences one with another. But he came again to the city of Jerusalem, out of his fear that the multitude of the Jews should attempt some innovations; but he found the city in a peaceable state, and celebrating one of the usual festivals of their country to God. So he believed that they would not attempt any innovations, and left them at the celebration of the festival, and returned to Antioch.

(3) [134] Οἱ περὶ Κουμανὸν δὲ καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν Σαμαρέων ἀναπεμφθέντες εἰς Ῥώμην λαμβάνουσι παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἡμέραν, καθ' ἣν περὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμφισβητήσεων λέγειν ἔμελλον. [135] σπουδὴ δὲ μεγίστη τῷ Κουμανῷ καὶ τοῖς Σαμαρεῦσιν ἦν παρὰ τῶν Καίσαρος ἀπελευθέρων καὶ φίλων, κἂν περιεγένοντο τῶν Ἰουδαίων, εἰ μή περ Ἀγρίππας ὁ νεώτερος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τυγχάνων κατασπευδομένους ἰδὼν τοὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρώτους ἐδεήθη πολλὰ τῆς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος γυναικὸς Ἀγριππίνης πεῖσαι τὸν ἄνδρα διακούσαντα πρεπόντως τῇ ἑαυτοῦ δικαιοσύνῃ τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως. [136] καὶ Κλαύδιος τῇ δεήσει ταύτῃ προευτρεπισθεὶς καὶ διακούσας, ὡς εὗρε τῶν κακῶν ἀρχηγοὺς τοὺς Σαμαρείτας γενομένους, τοὺς μὲν ἀναβάντας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἀναιρεθῆναι, τῷ Κουμανῷ δὲ φυγὴν ἐπέβαλεν, Κέλερα δὲ τὸν χιλίαρχον ἐκέλευσεν ἀγαγόντας εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πάντων ὁρώντων ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν σύραντας οὕτως ἀποκτεῖναι.

3. Now Cumanus, and the principal of the Samaritans, who were sent to Rome, had a day appointed them by the emperor whereon they were to have pleaded their cause about the quarrels they had one with another. But now Caesar's freed-men and his friends were very zealous on the behalf of Cumanus and the Samaritans; and they had prevailed over the Jews, unless Agrippa, junior, who was then at Rome, had seen the principal of the Jews hard set, and had earnestly entreated Agrippina, the emperor's wife, to persuade her husband to hear the cause, so as was agreeable to his justice, and to condemn those to be punished who were really the authors of this revolt from the Roman government: —

whereupon Claudius was so well disposed beforehand, that when he had heard the cause, and found that the Samaritans had been the ringleaders in those mischievous doings, he gave order that those who came up to him should be slain, and that Cureanus should be banished. He also gave order that Celer the tribune should be carried back to Jerusalem, and should be drawn through the city in the sight of all the people, and then should be slain.

VII

CHAPTER 7. Felix Is Made Procurator Of Judea; As Also Concerning Agrippa, Junior And His Sisters.

(1) [137] Πέμπει δὲ καὶ Κλαύδιον Φήλικα Πάλλαντος ἀδελφὸν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προστησόμενον πραγμάτων. [138] τῆς δ' ἀρχῆς δωδέκατον ἔτος ἤδη πεπληρωκὼς δωρεῖται τὸν Ἀγρίππαν τῇ Φιλίππου τετραρχίᾳ καὶ Βαταναίᾳ προσθεὶς αὐτῷ τὴν Τραχωνῖτιν σὺν Ἀβέλλᾳ: Λυσανία δ' αὕτη γεγόνει τετραρχία: τὴν Χαλκίδα δ' αὐτὸν ἀφαιρεῖται δυναστεύσαντα ταύτης ἔτη τέσσαρα. [139] λαβὼν δὲ τὴν δωρεὰν παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος Ἀγρίππας ἐκδίδωσι πρὸς γάμον Ἀζίζῳ τῷ Ἐμεσῶν βασιλεῖ περιτέμνεσθαι θελήσαντι Δρούσιλλαν τὴν ἀδελφήν: Ἐπιφανὴς γὰρ ὁ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ βασιλέως παῖς παρῃτήσατο τὸν γάμον μὴ βουληθεὶς τὰ Ἰουδαίων ἔθη μεταλαβεῖν καίπερ τοῦτο ποιήσειν προυπεσχημένος αὐτῆς τῷ πατρί. [140] καὶ Μαριάμμην δ' ἐξέδωκεν Ἀρχελάῳ τῷ Ἑλκίου παιδὶ πρότερον ὑπὸ Ἀγρίππα τοῦ πατρὸς ἁρμοσθεῖσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ γίνεται θυγάτηρ αὐτοῖς ὄνομα Βερενίκη.

1. So Claudius sent Felix, the brother of Pallas, to take care of the affairs of Judea; and when he had already completed the twelfth year of his reign, he bestowed upon Agrippa the tetrarchy of Philip and Batanea, and added thereto Trachonites, with Abila; which last had been the tetrarchy of Lysanias; but he took from him Chalcis, when he had been governor thereof four years. And when Agrippa had received these countries as the gift of Caesar, he gave his sister Drusilla in marriage to Azizus, king of Emesa, upon his consent to be circumcised; for Epiphanes, the son of king Antiochus, had refused to marry her, because, after he had promised her father formerly to come over to the Jewish religion, he would not now perform that promise. He also gave Mariamne in marriage to Archelaus, the son of Helcias, to whom she had formerly been betrothed by Agrippa her father; from which marriage was derived a daughter, whose name was Bernice.

(2) [141] Διαλύονται δὲ τῇ Δρουσίλλῃ πρὸς τὸν Ἄζιζον οἱ γάμοι μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον τοιαύτης ἐμπεσούσης αἰτίας: [142] καθ' ὃν χρόνον τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπετρόπευε Φῆλιξ θεασάμενος ταύτην, καὶ γὰρ ἦν κάλλει πασῶν διαφέρουσα, λαμβάνει τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπιθυμίαν, καὶ Ἄτομον ὀνόματι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων Ἰουδαῖον, Κύπριον δὲ τὸ γένος, μάγον εἶναι σκηπτόμενον πέμπων πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔπειθεν τὸν ἄνδρα καταλιποῦσαν αὐτῷ γήμασθαι, μακαρίαν ποιήσειν ἐπαγγελλόμενος μὴ ὑπερηφανήσασαν αὐτόν. [143] ἡ δὲ κακῶς πράττουσα καὶ φυγεῖν τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀδελφῆς Βερενίκης βουλομένη φθόνον αὐτῇ διὰ τὸ κάλλος

παρεκάλει παρ᾽ ἐκείνης οἰόμενος οὐκ ἐν ὀλίγοις ἔβλαπτεν, παραβῆναί τε τὰ πάτρια νόμιμα πείθεται καὶ τῷ Φήλικι γήμασθαι. [144] τεκοῦσα δ᾽ ἐξ αὐτοῦ παῖδα προσηγόρευσεν Ἀγρίππαν. ἀλλ᾽ ὃν μὲν τρόπον ὁ νεανίας οὗτος σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν τοῦ Βεσβίου ὄρους ἐπὶ τῶν Τίτου Καίσαρος χρόνων ἠφανίσθη, μετὰ ταῦτα δηλώσω.

2. But for the marriage of Drusilla with Azizus, it was in no long time afterward dissolved upon the following occasion: While Felix was procurator of Judea, he saw this Drusilla, and fell in love with her; for she did indeed exceed all other women in beauty; and he sent to her a person whose name was Simon one of his friends; a Jew he was, and by birth a Cypriot, and one who pretended to be a magician, and endeavored to persuade her to forsake her present husband, and marry him; and promised, that if she would not refuse him, he would make her a happy woman. Accordingly she acted ill, and because she was desirous to avoid her sister Bernice's envy, for she was very ill treated by her on account of her beauty, was prevailed upon to transgress the laws of her forefathers, and to marry Felix; and when he had had a son by her, he named him Agrippa. But after what manner that young man, with his wife, perished at the conflagration of the mountain Vesuvius, in the days of Titus Caesar, shall be related hereafter.

(3) [145] Βερενίκη δὲ μετὰ τὴν Ἡρώδου τελευτήν, ὃς αὐτῆς ἀνὴρ καὶ θεῖος ἐγεγόνει, πολὺν χρόνον ἐπιχηρεύσασα, φήμης ἐπισχούσης, ὅτι τἀδελφῷ συνείη, πείθει Πολέμωνα, Κιλικίας δὲ ἦν οὗτος βασιλεύς, περιτεμόμενον ἀγαγέσθαι πρὸς γάμον αὐτήν: οὕτως γὰρ ἐλέγξειν ᾤετο ψευδεῖς τὰς διαβολάς. [146] καὶ ὁ Πολέμων ἐπείσθη μάλιστα διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον αὐτῆς: οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ πολὺ συνέμεινεν ὁ γάμος, ἀλλ᾽ ἡ Βερενίκη δι᾽ ἀκολασίαν, ὡς ἔφασαν, καταλείπει τὸν Πολέμωνα. ὁ δ᾽ ἅμα τοῦ τε γάμου καὶ τοῦ τοῖς ἔθεσι τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐμμένειν ἀπήλλακτο. [147] τῷ αὐτῷ δὲ καιρῷ καὶ Μαριάμμη παραιτησαμένη τὸν Ἀρχέλαον συνῴκησε Δημητρίῳ τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἰουδαίων πρωτεύοντι γένει τε καὶ πλούτῳ: τότε δὴ καὶ τὴν ἀλαβαρχίαν αὐτὸς εἶχεν. γενόμενον δ᾽ αὐτῇ παιδίον ἐξ ἐκείνου Ἀγριππῖνον προσηγόρευσεν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν ἑκάστου τούτων μετὰ ἀκριβείας ὕστερον ἀπαγγελοῦμεν.

3. But as for Bernice, she lived a widow a long while after the death of Herod [king of Chalcis], who was both her husband and her uncle; but when the report went that she had criminal conversation with her brother, [Agrippa, junior,] she persuaded Poleme, who was king of Cilicia, to be circumcised, and to marry her, as supposing that by this means she should prove those calumnies upon her to be false; and Poleme was prevailed upon, and that chiefly on account of her riches. Yet did not this matrimony endure long; but Bernice left Poleme, and, as was

said, with impure intentions. So he forsook at once this matrimony, and the Jewish religion; and, at the same time, Mariamne put away Archclaus, and was married to Demetrius, the principal man among the Alexandrian Jews, both for his family and his wealth; and indeed he was then their alabarch. So she named her son whom she had by him Agrippinus. But of all these particulars we shall hereafter treat more exactly.

VIII

CHAPTER 8. After What Manner Upon The Death Of Claudius, Nero Succeeded In The Government; As Also What Barbarous Things He Did. Concerning The Robbers, Murderers And Impostors, That Arose While Felix And Festus Were Procurators Of Judea.

(1) [148] Τελευτᾷ δὲ Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ βασιλεύσας ἔτη δεκατρία καὶ μῆνας ὀκτὼ πρὸς ἡμέραις εἴκοσι, καὶ λόγος ἦν παρά τινων, ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς Ἀγριππίνης φαρμάκοις ἀνῄρητο. ταύτης πατὴρ μὲν ἦν Γερμανικὸς ὁ Καίσαρος ἀδελφός, ἀνὴρ δὲ γενόμενος Δομέτιος Ἠνόβαρβος ὁ τῶν ἐπισήμων κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν. [149] οὗ τελευτήσαντος χηρεύουσαν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον Κλαύδιος ἄγεται πρὸς γάμον ἐπαγομένην καὶ παῖδα Δομέτιον ὁμώνυμον τῷ πατρί. προανῃρήκει δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα Μεσσαλῖναν διὰ ζηλοτυπίαν, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ καὶ παῖδες ἐγεγόνεσαν Βρεττανικός τε καὶ Ὀκταουία. [150] ἦν γὰρ Ἀντωνιανὴ καὶ πρεσβυτάτη τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἣν ἐκ Πετίνης τῆς πρώτης γυναικὸς εἶχεν. καὶ δὴ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν ἥρμοσεν τῷ Νέρωνι: τοῦτο γὰρ ὕστερον αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσεν εἰσποιησάμενος υἱὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ.

1. Now Claudius Caesar died when he had reigned thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days; and a report went about that he was poisoned by his wife Agrippina. Her father was Germanicus, the brother of Caesar. Her husband was Domitius Aenobarbus, one of the most illustrious persons that was in the city of Rome; after whose death, and her long continuance in widowhood, Claudius took her to wife. She brought along with her a son, Domtitus, of the same name with his father. He had before this slain his wife Messalina, out of jealousy, by whom he had his children Britannicus and Octavia; their eldest sister was Antonia, whom he had by Pelina his first wife. He also married Octavia to Nero; for that was the name that Caesar gave him afterward, upon his adopting him for his son.

(2) [151] Δεδοικυῖα δ’ ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα, μὴ ὁ Βρεττανικὸς ἀνδρωθεὶς αὐτὸς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλάβοι, τῷ δὲ αὐτῆς παιδὶ προαρπάσαι βουλομένη τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τά τε περὶ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κλαυδίου, [152] καθάπερ ἦν λόγος, διεπράξατο, καὶ παραχρῆμα πέμπει τὸν τῶν στρατευμάτων ἔπαρχον Βοῦρρον καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς χιλιάρχους τῶν τε ἀπελευθέρων τοὺς πλεῖστον δυναμένους ἀπάξοντας εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν τὸν Νέρωνα καὶ προσαγορεύσοντας αὐτὸν αὐτοκράτορα. [153] Νέρων δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν οὕτως παραλαβὼν Βρεττανικὸν μὲν

ἀδήλως τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀναιρεῖ διὰ φαρμάκων, φανερῶς δ᾽ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φονεύει, ταύτην ἀμοιβὴν ἀποτίσας αὐτῇ οὐ μόνον τῆς γενέσεως ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ταῖς ἐκείνης μηχαναῖς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν παραλαβεῖν. κτείνει δὲ καὶ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν, ᾗ συνῴκει, πολλούς τε ἐπιφανεῖς ἄνδρας ὡς ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλὰς συντιθέντας.

2. But now Agrippina was afraid, lest, when Britannicus should come to man's estate, he should succeed his father in the government, and desired to seize upon the principality beforehand for her own son [Nero]; upon which the report went that she thence compassed the death of Claudius. Accordingly, she sent Burrhus, the general of the army, immediately, and with him the tribunes, and such also of the freed-men as were of the greatest authority, to bring Nero away into the camp, and to salute him emperor. And when Nero had thus obtained the government, he got Britannicus to be so poisoned, that the multitude should not perceive it; although he publicly put his own mother to death not long afterward, making her this requital, not only for being born of her, but for bringing it so about by her contrivances that he obtained the Roman empire. He also slew Octavia his own wife, and many other illustrious persons, under this pretense, that they plotted against him.

(3) [154] Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐῶ πλείω γράφειν: πολλοὶ γὰρ τὴν περὶ Νέρωνα συντετάχασιν ἱστορίαν, ὧν οἱ μὲν διὰ χάριν εὖ πεπονθότες ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας ἠμέλησαν, οἱ δὲ διὰ μῖσος καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέχθειαν οὕτως ἀναιδῶς ἐνεπαρῴνησαν τοῖς ψεύσμασιν, ὡς ἀξίους αὐτοὺς εἶναι καταγνώσεως. [155] καὶ θαυμάζειν οὐκ ἔπεισί μοι τοὺς περὶ Νέρωνος ψευσαμένους, ὅπου μηδὲ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενομένων γράφοντες τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῆς ἱστορίας τετηρήκασιν, καίτοι πρὸς ἐκείνους αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν μῖσος ἦν ἅτε μετ᾽ αὐτοὺς πολλῷ χρόνῳ γενομένοις. [156] ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοῖς μὲν οὐ προνοουμένοις τῆς ἀληθείας ἐξέστω γράφειν ὡς θέλουσιν, τούτῳ γὰρ χαίρειν ἐοίκασιν, [157] ἡμεῖς δὲ σκοπὸν προθέμενοι τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὰ μὲν ἀπηρτημένα τῆς προκειμένης ἡμῖν πραγματείας ἐπ᾽ ὀλίγον μνήμης ἀξιοῦμεν, τὰ δ᾽ ἡμῖν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις συμπεσόντα δηλοῦμεν οὐ παρέργως μήτε τὰς συμφορὰς μήτε τὰς ἁμαρτίας διασαφεῖν ὀκνοῦντες. ἐπανήξω τοίνυν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν οἰκείων πραγμάτων διήγησιν.

3. But I omit any further discourse about these affairs; for there have been a great many who have composed the history of Nero; some of which have departed from the truth of facts out of favor, as having received benefits from him; while others, out of hatred to him, and the great ill-will which they bare him, have so impudently raved against him with their lies, that they justly deserve to be condemned. Nor do I wonder at such as have told lies of Nero, since they have

not in their writings preserved the truth of history as to those facts that were earlier than his time, even when the actors could have no way incurred their hatred, since those writers lived a long time after them. But as to those that have no regard to truth, they may write as they please; for in that they take delight: but as to ourselves, who have made truth our direct aim, we shall briefly touch upon what only belongs remotely to this undertaking, but shall relate what hath happened to us Jews with great accuracy, and shall not grudge our pains in giving an account both of the calamities we have suffered, and of the crimes we have been guilty of. I will now therefore return to the relation of our own affairs.

(4) [158] Τῷ γὰρ πρώτῳ τῆς Νέρωνος ἀρχῆς ἔτει τελευτήσαντος τοῦ Ἐμέσων δυνάστου Ἀζίζου Σόεμος ἀδελφὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδέχεται. τὴν δὲ τῆς μικρᾶς Ἀρμενίας προστασίαν Ἀριστόβουλος Ἡρώδου τῆς Χαλκίδος βασιλέως παῖς ὑπὸ Νέρωνος ἐγχειρίζεται. [159] καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν δὲ δωρεῖται μοίρᾳ τινὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὁ Καῖσαρ Τιβεριάδα καὶ Ταριχέας ὑπακούειν αὐτῷ κελεύσας, δίδωσι δὲ καὶ Ἰουλιάδα πόλιν τῆς Περαίας καὶ κώμας τὰς περὶ αὐτὴν δεκατέσσαρας.

4. For in the first year of the reign of Nero, upon the death of Azizus, king of Emesa, Soemus, his brother, succeeded in his kingdom, and Aristobulus, the son of Herod, king of Chalcis, was intrusted by Nero with the government of the Lesser Armenia. Caesar also bestowed on Agrippa a certain part of Galilee, Tiberias, and Tarichae, and ordered them to submit to his jurisdiction. He gave him also Julias, a city of Perea, with fourteen villages that lay about it.

(5) [160] Τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πράγματα πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ἀεὶ τὴν ἐπίδοσιν ἐλάμβανεν: λῃστηρίων γὰρ ἡ χώρα πάλιν ἀνεπλήσθη καὶ γοήτων ἀνθρώπων, οἳ τὸν ὄχλον ἠπάτων. [161] ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν ὁ Φῆλιξ πολλοὺς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν σὺν τοῖς λῃσταῖς λαμβάνων ἀνῄρει, καὶ Ἐλεάζαρον δὲ τὸν Διναίου παῖδα τὸν συστησάμενον τῶν λῃστῶν τὸ σύνταγμα δι' ἐνέδρας εἷλεν ζῶντα: πίστιν γὰρ αὐτῷ προτείνας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν πείσεσθαι κακὸν πείθει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι καὶ δήσας ἀνέπεμψεν εἰς Ῥώμην. [162] ἔχων δὲ καὶ ἀπεχθῶς πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ἰωνάθην ὁ Φῆλιξ διὰ τὸ πολλάκις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ νουθετεῖσθαι περὶ τοῦ κρειττόνως προίστασθαι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πραγμάτων, μὴ καὶ μέμψιν αὐτὸς ὀφλοίη παρὰ τοῖς πλήθεσιν αἰτησάμενος ἐκεῖνον παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος πεμφθῆναι τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπίτροπον, πρόφασιν ἐπενόει δι' ἧς μεταστήσεται τὸν συνεχῶς ὀχληρὸν αὐτῷ γινόμενον: βαρὺ γὰρ τοῖς ἀδικεῖν θέλουσιν τὸ συνεχῶς νουθετοῦν. [163] καὶ δὴ διὰ τοιαύτης αἰτίας ὁ Φῆλιξ τὸν πιστότατον τῶν Ἰωνάθου φίλων Ἱεροσολυμίτην τὸ γένος Δωρᾶν ὀνόματι πείθει πολλὰ χρήματα δώσειν ὑπισχνούμενος ἐπαγαγεῖν τῷ Ἰωνάθῃ τοὺς [λῃστὰς] ἀναιρήσοντας, κἀκεῖνος ὑπακούσας ἐμηχανήσατο διὰ τῶν λῃστῶν πραχθῆναι τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ τὸν φόνον:

[164] ἀνέβησάν τινες αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὡς προσκυνήσοντες τὸν θεὸν ὑπὸ τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἔχοντες ξιφίδια καὶ συναναμιγέντες τῷ Ἰωνάθῃ κτείνουσιν αὐτόν. [165] ἀνεκδικήτου δὲ τούτου τοῦ φόνου μεμενηκότος μετὰ πάσης τὸ λοιπὸν ἀδείας ἀναβαίνοντες ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς οἱ λῃσταὶ καὶ τὸν σίδηρον ὁμοίως κεκρυμμένον ἔχοντες συναναμιγνύμενοι τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἀνῄρουν μέν τινας ἑαυτῶν ἐχθρούς, οὓς δ᾽ ἐπὶ χρήμασιν ἄλλοις ὑπηρετοῦντες, οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐνίους: καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ σφάττειν ἐτόλμων, οὐδ᾽ ἐν τούτῳ δοκοῦντες ἀσεβεῖν. [166] διὰ τοῦτ᾽ οἶμαι καὶ τὸν θεὸν μισήσαντα τὴν ἀσέβειαν αὐτῶν ἀποστραφῆναι μὲν ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν, τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν οὐκέτι καθαρὸν οἰκητήριον αὐτῷ κρίναντα Ῥωμαίους ἐπαγαγεῖν ἡμῖν καὶ τῇ πόλει καθάρσιον πῦρ καὶ δουλείαν ἐπιβαλεῖν σὺν γυναιξὶν καὶ τέκνοις σωφρονίσαι ταῖς συμφοραῖς βουλόμενον ἡμᾶς.

5. Now as for the affairs of the Jews, they grew worse and worse continually, for the country was again filled with robbers and impostors, who deluded the multitude. Yet did Felix catch and put to death many of those impostors every day, together with the robbers. He also caught Eleazar, the son of Dineas, who had gotten together a company of robbers; and this he did by treachery; for he gave him assurance that he should suffer no harm, and thereby persuaded him to come to him; but when he came, he bound him, and sent him to Rome. Felix also bore an ill-will to Jonathan, the high priest, because he frequently gave him admonitions about governing the Jewish affairs better than he did, lest he should himself have complaints made of him by the multitude, since he it was who had desired Caesar to send him as procurator of Judea. So Felix contrived a method whereby he might get rid of him, now he was become so continually troublesome to him; for such continual admonitions are grievous to those who are disposed to act unjustly. Wherefore Felix persuaded one of Jonathan's most faithful friends, a citizen of Jerusalem, whose name was Doras, to bring the robbers upon Jonathan, in order to kill him; and this he did by promising to give him a great deal of money for so doing. Doras complied with the proposal, and contrived matters so, that the robbers might murder him after the following manner: Certain of those robbers went up to the city, as if they were going to worship God, while they had daggers under their garments, and by thus mingling themselves among the multitude they slew Jonathan and as this murder was never avenged, the robbers went up with the greatest security at the festivals after this time; and having weapons concealed in like manner as before, and mingling themselves among the multitude, they slew certain of their own enemies, and were subservient to other men for money; and slew others, not only in remote parts of the city, but in the temple itself also; for they had the boldness

to murder men there, without thinking of the impiety of which they were guilty. And this seems to me to have been the reason why God, out of his hatred of these men's wickedness, rejected our city; and as for the temple, he no longer esteemed it sufficiently pure for him to inhabit therein, but brought the Romans upon us, and threw a fire upon the city to purge it; and brought upon us, our wives, and children, slavery, as desirous to make us wiser by our calamities.

(6) [167] Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν λῃστῶν ἔργα τοιαύτης ἀνοσιότητος ἐπλήρου τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ γόητες καὶ ἀπατεῶνες ἄνθρωποι τὸν ὄχλον ἔπειθον αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν ἕπεσθαι: [168] δείξειν γὰρ ἔφασαν ἐναργῆ τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν γινόμενα. καὶ πολλοὶ πεισθέντες τῆς ἀφροσύνης τιμωρίας ὑπέσχον: ἀναχθέντας γὰρ αὐτοὺς Φῆλιξ ἐκόλασεν. [169] ἀφικνεῖται δέ τις ἐξ Αἰγύπτου κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα προφήτης εἶναι λέγων καὶ συμβουλεύων τῷ δημοτικῷ πλήθει σὺν αὐτῷ πρὸς ὄρος τὸ προσαγορευόμενον ἐλαιῶν, ὃ τῆς πόλεως ἄντικρυς κείμενον ἀπέχει στάδια πέντε: [170] θέλειν γὰρ ἔφασκεν αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιδεῖξαι, ὡς κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ πίπτοι τὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν τείχη, δι' ὧν καὶ τὴν εἴσοδον αὐτοῖς παρέξειν ἐπηγγέλλετο. [171] Φῆλιξ δ' ὡς ἐπύθετο ταῦτα, κελεύει τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν ὁρμήσας ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων προσβάλλει τοῖς περὶ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον, καὶ τετρακοσίους μὲν αὐτῶν ἀνεῖλεν, διακοσίους δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβεν. [172] ὁ δ' Αἰγύπτιος αὐτὸς διαδρὰς ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο. πάλιν δ' οἱ λῃσταὶ τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ἠρέθιζον μηδὲν ὑπακούειν αὐτοῖς λέγοντες, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀπειθούντων κώμας ἐμπιπράντες διήρπαζον.

6. These works, that were done by the robbers, filled the city with all sorts of impiety. And now these impostors and deceivers persuaded the multitude to follow them into the wilderness, and pretended that they would exhibit manifest wonders and signs, that should be performed by the providence of God. And many that were prevailed on by them suffered the punishments of their folly; for Felix brought them back, and then punished them. Moreover, there came out of Egypt about this time to Jerusalem one that said he was a prophet, and advised the multitude of the common people to go along with him to the Mount of Olives, as it was called, which lay over against the city, and at the distance of five furlongs. He said further, that he would show them from hence how, at his command, the walls of Jerusalem would fall down; and he promised them that he would procure them an entrance into the city through those walls, when they were fallen down. Now when Felix was informed of these things, he ordered his soldiers to take their weapons, and came against them with a great number of horsemen and footmen from Jerusalem, and attacked the Egyptian and the people that were with him. He also slew four hundred of them, and took two

hundred alive. But the Egyptian himself escaped out of the fight, but did not appear any more. And again the robbers stirred up the people to make war with the Romans, and said they ought not to obey them at all; and when any persons would not comply with them, they set fire to their villages, and plundered them.

(7) [173] Γίνεται δὲ καὶ τῶν Καισάρειαν οἰκούντων Ἰουδαίων στάσις πρὸς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ Σύρους περὶ ἰσοπολιτείας: οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἰουδαῖοι πρωτεύειν ἠξίουν διὰ τὸ τὸν κτίστην τῆς Καισαρείας Ἡρώδην αὐτῶν βασιλέα γεγονέναι τὸ γένος Ἰουδαῖον, Σύροι δὲ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην ὡμολόγουν, ἔφασκον δὲ τὴν Καισάρειαν Στράτωνος πύργον τὸ πρότερον καλεῖσθαι καὶ τότε μηδένα γεγονέναι τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν Ἰουδαῖον οἰκήτορα. [174] ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ τῆς χώρας ἔπαρχοι λαβόντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς στάσεως πληγαῖς ἠκίσαντο καὶ τὴν ταραχὴν οὕτω κατέστειλαν πρὸς ὀλίγον. [175] πάλιν γὰρ οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ πλούτῳ θαρροῦντες καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καταφρονοῦντες τῶν Σύρων ἐβλασφήμουν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐρεθίσειν προσδοκῶντες. [176] οἱ δὲ χρήμασιν μὲν ἡττώμενοι, μέγα δὲ φρονοῦντες ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἐκεῖ στρατευομένων Καισαρεῖς εἶναι καὶ Σεβαστηνοὺς μέχρι μέν τινος καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους λόγῳ ὕβριζον, εἶτα λίθοις ἀλλήλους ἔβαλλον, ἕως πολλοὺς παρ᾽ ἀμφότερα τρωθῆναί τε καὶ πεσεῖν συνέβη: νικῶσί γε μὴν Ἰουδαῖοι. [177] Φῆλιξ δ᾽ ὡς ἐθεάσατο φιλονεικίαν ἐν πολέμου τρόπῳ γενομένην προπηδήσας παύεσθαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους παρεκάλει, μὴ πειθομένοις δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὁπλίσας ἐπαφίησι καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀνεῖλεν, πλείους δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβεν, οἰκίας δέ τινας τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πολλῶν πάνυ χρημάτων γεμούσας διαρπάζειν ἐφῆκεν. [178] οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπιεικέστεροι καὶ προύχοντες κατὰ τὴν ἀξίωσιν δείσαντες περὶ ἑαυτῶν παρεκάλουν τὸν Φήλικα τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀνακαλέσασθαι τῇ σάλπιγγι καὶ φείσασθαι τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτῶν δοῦναί τε μετάνοιαν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις. καὶ Φῆλιξ ἐπείσθη.

7. And now it was that a great sedition arose between the Jews that inhabited Cesarea, and the Syrians who dwelt there also, concerning their equal right to the privileges belonging to citizens; for the Jews claimed the pre-eminence, because Herod their king was the builder of Cesarea, and because he was by birth a Jew. Now the Syrians did not deny what was alleged about Herod; but they said that Cesarea was formerly called Strato's Tower, and that then there was not one Jewish inhabitant. When the presidents of that country heard of these disorders, they caught the authors of them on both sides, and tormented them with stripes, and by that means put a stop to the disturbance for a time. But the Jewish citizens depending on their wealth, and on that account despising the Syrians, reproached them again, and hoped to provoke them by such reproaches. However, the Syrians, though they were inferior in wealth, yet valuing

themselves highly on this account, that the greatest part of the Roman soldiers that were there were either of Cesarea or Sebaste, they also for some time used reproachful language to the Jews also; and thus it was, till at length they came to throwing stones at one another, and several were wounded, and fell on both sides, though still the Jews were the conquerors. But when Felix saw that this quarrel was become a kind of war, he came upon them on the sudden, and desired the Jews to desist; and when they refused so to do, he armed his soldiers, and sent them out upon them, and slew many of them, and took more of them alive, and permitted his soldiers to plunder some of the houses of the citizens, which were full of riches. Now those Jews that were more moderate, and of principal dignity among them, were afraid of themselves, and desired of Felix that he would sound a retreat to his soldiers, and spare them for the future, and afford them room for repentance for what they had done; and Felix was prevailed upon to do so.

(8) [179] Κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας δίδωσιν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην Ἰσμαήλῳ: Φαβεῖ παῖς οὗτος ἦν. [180] ἐξάπτεται δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι στάσις πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν, ἕκαστός τε αὐτῶν στῖφος ἀνθρώπων τῶν θρασυτάτων καὶ νεωτεριστῶν ἑαυτῷ ποιήσας ἡγεμὼν ἦν, καὶ συρράσσοντες ἐκακολόγουν τε ἀλλήλους καὶ λίθοις ἔβαλλον. ὁ δ' ἐπιπλήξων ἦν οὐδὲ εἷς, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν ἀπροστατήτῳ πόλει ταῦτ' ἐπράσσετο μετ' ἐξουσίας. [181] τοσαύτη δὲ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς κατέλαβεν ἀναίδεια καὶ τόλμα, ὥστε καὶ πέμπειν δούλους ἐτόλμων ἐπὶ τὰς ἅλωνας τοὺς ληψομένους τὰς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ὀφειλομένας δεκάτας, καὶ συνέβαινεν τοὺς ἀπορουμένους τῶν ἱερέων ὑπ' ἐνδείας τελευτᾶν. οὕτως ἐκράτει τοῦ δικαίου παντὸς ἡ τῶν στασιαζόντων βία.

8. About this time king Agrippa gave the high priesthood to Ismael, who was the son of Fabi. And now arose a sedition between the high priests and the principal men of the multitude of Jerusalem; each of which got them a company of the boldest sort of men, and of those that loved innovations about them, and became leaders to them; and when they struggled together, they did it by casting reproachful words against one another, and by throwing stones also. And there was nobody to reprove them; but these disorders were done after a licentious manner in the city, as if it had no government over it. And such was the impudence and boldness that had seized on the high priests, that they had the hardiness to send their servants into the threshing-floors, to take away those tithes that were due to the priests, insomuch that it so fell out that the poorest sort of the priests died for want. To this degree did the violence of the seditious prevail over all right and justice.

(9) [182] Πορκίου δὲ Φήστου διαδόχου Φήλικι πεμφθέντος ὑπὸ Νέρωνος οἱ πρωτεύοντες τῶν τὴν Καισάρειαν κατοικούντων Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀναβαίνουσιν Φήλικος κατηγοροῦντες, καὶ πάντως ἂν ἐδεδώκει τιμωρίαν τῶν εἰς Ἰουδαίους ἀδικημάτων, εἰ μὴ πολλὰ αὐτὸν ὁ Νέρων τἀδελφῷ Πάλλαντι παρακαλέσαντι συνεχώρησεν μάλιστα δὴ τότε διὰ τιμῆς ἄγων ἐκεῖνον. [183] καὶ τῶν ἐν Καισαρείᾳ δὲ οἱ πρῶτοι Σύρων Βήρυλλον, παιδαγωγὸς δ' ἦν οὗτος τοῦ Νέρωνος τάξιν τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐπιστολῶν πεπιστευμένος, πείθουσι πολλοῖς χρήμασιν αἰτήσασθαι παρὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος αὐτοῖς ἐπιστολὴν ἀκυροῦσαν τὴν Ἰουδαίων πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἰσοπολιτείαν. [184] καὶ Βήρυλλος τὸν αὐτοκράτορα παρακαλέσας ἐπέτυχε γραφῆναι τὴν ἐπιστολήν. αὕτη τῷ ἔθνει ἡμῶν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα κακῶν τὰς αἰτίας παρέσχεν: πυθόμενοι γὰρ οἱ κατὰ τὴν Καισάρειαν Ἰουδαῖοι τὰ γραφέντα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Σύρους στάσεως μᾶλλον εἶχοντο μέχρι δὴ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξῆψαν.

9. Now when Porcius Festus was sent as successor to Felix by Nero, the principal of the Jewish inhabitants of Cesarea went up to Rome to accuse Felix; and he had certainly been brought to punishment, unless Nero had yielded to the importunate solicitations of his brother Pallas, who was at that time had in the greatest honor by him. Two of the principal Syrians in Cesarea persuaded Burrhus, who was Nero's tutor, and secretary for his Greek epistles, by giving him a great sum of money, to disannul that equality of the Jewish privileges of citizens which they hitherto enjoyed. So Burrhus, by his solicitations, obtained leave of the emperor that an epistle should be written to that purpose. This epistle became the occasion of the following miseries that befell our nation; for when the Jews of Cesarea were informed of the contents of this epistle to the Syrians, they were more disorderly than before, till a war was kindled.

(10) [185] Ἀφικομένου δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν Φήστου συνέβαινεν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὑπὸ τῶν λῃστῶν κακοῦσθαι τῶν κωμῶν ἁπασῶν ἐμπιπραμένων τε καὶ διαρπαζομένων. [186] καὶ οἱ σικάριοι δὲ καλούμενοι, λῃσταὶ δέ εἰσιν οὗτοι, τότε μάλιστα ἐπλήθυον χρώμενοι ξιφιδίοις παραπλησίοις μὲν τὸ μέγεθος τοῖς τῶν Περσῶν ἀκινάκαις, ἐπικαμπέσι δὲ καὶ ὁμοίαις ταῖς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων σίκαις καλουμέναις, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν οἱ λῃστεύοντες ἔλαβον πολλοὺς ἀναιροῦντες. [187] ἀναμιγνύμενοι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς, καθὼς καὶ πρότερον εἴπομεν, τῷ πλήθει τῶν πανταχόθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν συρρεόντων οὓς βουληθεῖεν ῥᾳδίως ἀπέσφαττον, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ μεθ' ὅπλων ἐπὶ τὰς κώμας τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀφικόμενοι διήρπαζον καὶ ἐνεπίμπρασαν. [188] πέμπει δὲ Φῆστος δύναμιν ἱππικήν τε καὶ πεζικὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπατηθέντας ὑπό τινος ἀνθρώπου γόητος σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγελλομένου καὶ παῦλαν κακῶν, εἰ βουληθεῖεν

ἔπεσθαι μέχρι τῆς ἐρημίας αὐτῷ, καὶ αὐτόν τε ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἀπατήσαντα καὶ τοὺς ἀκολουθήσαντας διέφθειραν οἱ πεμφθέντες.

10. Upon Festus's coming into Judea, it happened that Judea was afflicted by the robbers, while all the villages were set on fire, and plundered by them. And then it was that the sicarii, as they were called, who were robbers, grew numerous. They made use of small swords, not much different in length from the Persian acinacae, but somewhat crooked, and like the Roman sicae, [or sickles,] as they were called; and from these weapons these robbers got their denomination; and with these weapons they slew a great many; for they mingled themselves among the multitude at their festivals, when they were come up in crowds from all parts to the city to worship God, as we said before, and easily slew those that they had a mind to slay. They also came frequently upon the villages belonging to their enemies, with their weapons, and plundered them, and set them on fire. So Festus sent forces, both horsemen and footmen, to fall upon those that had been seduced by a certain impostor, who promised them deliverance and freedom from the miseries they were under, if they would but follow him as far as the wilderness. Accordingly, those forces that were sent destroyed both him that had deluded them, and those that were his followers also.

(11) [189] Κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας ᾠκοδομήσατο μεγέθει διαφέρον οἴκημα ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πλησίον τοῦ ξυστοῦ. [190] τὸ δὲ βασίλειον ἐγεγόνει πάλαι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀσαμωναίου παίδων, ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ δὲ τόπου κείμενον τοῖς κατοπτεύειν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ βουλομένοις τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτερπεστάτην παρεῖχεν τὴν θέαν, ἧς ἐφιέμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖθεν ἀφεώρα κατακείμενος τὰ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν πρασσόμενα. [191] ταῦτα δὲ θεασάμενοι τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν οἱ προύχοντες δεινῶς ἐχαλέπαινον: οὐ γὰρ ἦν πάτριον τὰ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν δρώμενα κατοπτεύεσθαι καὶ μάλιστα τὰς ἱερουργίας. τοῖχον οὖν ἐγείρουσιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξέδρας ὑψηλόν, ἥτις ἦν ἐν τῷ ἔσωθεν ἱερῷ τετραμμένη πρὸς δύσιν. [192] οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τρικλίνου τὴν ἄποψιν οὗτος οἰκοδομηθεὶς ἀπετέμνετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς δυτικῆς στοᾶς τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἔξωθεν ἱερὸν οὔσης, ἔνθα τὰς φυλακὰς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ταῖς ἑορταῖς ἐποιοῦντο διὰ τὸ ἱερόν. [193] ἐπὶ τούτοις ἠγανάκτησεν ὅ τε βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας, μάλιστα δὲ Φῆστος ὁ ἔπαρχος, καὶ προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς καθελεῖν. οἱ δὲ παρεκάλεσαν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῖς δοῦναι πρεσβεῦσαι περὶ τούτου πρὸς Νέρωνα: ζῆν γὰρ οὐχ ὑπομένειν καθαιρεθέντος τινὸς μέρους τοῦ ἱεροῦ. [194] συγχωρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Φήστου πέμπουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν πρὸς Νέρωνα τοὺς πρώτους δέκα καὶ Ἰσμάηλον τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ Ἑλκίαν τὸν γαζοφύλακα. [195] Νέρων δὲ διακούσας αὐτῶν οὐ μόνον συνέγνω περὶ τοῦ πραχθέντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεχώρησεν ἐᾶν οὕτως τὴν οἰκοδομίαν, τῇ γυναικὶ Ποππαίᾳ, θεοσεβὴς γὰρ ἦν, ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων δεηθείσῃ χαριζόμενος, ἢ τοῖς μὲν δέκα προσέταξεν ἀπιέναι,

τὸν δ᾽ Ἑλκίαν καὶ τὸν Ἰσμάηλον ὁμηρεύσοντας παρ᾽ ἑαυτῇ κατέσχεν. [196] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ταῦθ᾽ ὡς ἐπύθετο δίδωσιν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην Ἰωσήπῳ τῷ Σίμωνος παιδὶ ἀρχιερέως ἐπικαλουμένῳ δὲ Καβί.

11. About the same time king Agrippa built himself a very large dining-room in the royal palace at Jerusalem, near to the portico. Now this palace had been erected of old by the children of Asamoneus and was situate upon an elevation, and afforded a most delightful prospect to those that had a mind to take a view of the city, which prospect was desired by the king; and there he could lie down, and eat, and thence observe what was done in the temple; which thing, when the chief men of Jerusalem saw they were very much displeased at it; for it was not agreeable to the institutions of our country or law that what was done in the temple should be viewed by others, especially what belonged to the sacrifices. They therefore erected a wall upon the uppermost building which belonged to the inner court of the temple towards the west, which wall when it was built, did not only intercept the prospect of the dining-room in the palace, but also of the western cloisters that belonged to the outer court of the temple also, where it was that the Romans kept guards for the temple at the festivals. At these doings both king Agrippa, and principally Festus the procurator, were much displeased; and Festus ordered them to pull the wall down again: but the Jews petitioned him to give them leave to send an embassage about this matter to Nero; for they said they could not endure to live if any part of the temple should be demolished; and when Festus had given them leave so to do, they sent ten of their principal men to Nero, as also Ismael the high priest, and Helcias, the keeper of the sacred treasure. And when Nero had heard what they had to say, he not only forgave them what they had already done, but also gave them leave to let the wall they had built stand. This was granted them in order to gratify Poppea, Nero’s wife, who was a religious woman, and had requested these favors of Nero, and who gave order to the ten ambassadors to go their way home; but retained Helcias and Ismael as hostages with herself. As soon as the king heard this news, he gave the high priesthood to Joseph, who was called Cabi, the son of Simon, formerly high priest.

IX

CHAPTER 9. Concerning Albinus Under Whose Procuratorship James Was Slain; As Also What Edifices Were Built By Agrippa.

(1) [197] Πέμπει δὲ Καῖσαρ Ἀλβῖνον εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἔπαρχον Φήστου τὴν τελευτὴν πυθόμενος. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀφείλετο μὲν τὸν Ἰώσηπον τὴν ἱερωσύνην, τῷ δὲ Ἀνάνου παιδὶ καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀνάνῳ λεγομένῳ τὴν διαδοχὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔδωκεν. [198] τοῦτον δέ φασι τὸν πρεσβύτατον Ἄνανον εὐτυχέστατον γενέσθαι: πέντε γὰρ ἔσχε παῖδας καὶ τούτους πάντας συνέβη ἀρχιερατεῦσαι τῷ θεῷ, αὐτὸς πρότερος τῆς τιμῆς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀπολαύσας, ὅπερ οὐδενὶ συνέβη τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἀρχιερέων. [199] ὁ δὲ νεώτερος Ἄνανος, ὃν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἔφαμεν εἰληφέναι, θρασὺς ἦν τὸν τρόπον καὶ τολμητὴς διαφερόντως, αἵρεσιν δὲ μετῄει τὴν Σαδδουκαίων, οἵπερ εἰσὶ περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ὠμοὶ παρὰ πάντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, καθὼς ἤδη δεδηλώκαμεν. [200] ἅτε δὴ οὖν τοιοῦτος ὢν ὁ Ἄνανος, νομίσας ἔχειν καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον διὰ τὸ τεθνάναι μὲν Φῆστον, Ἀλβῖνον δ᾽ ἔτι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὑπάρχειν, καθίζει συνέδριον κριτῶν καὶ παραγαγὼν εἰς αὐτὸ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ, Ἰάκωβος ὄνομα αὐτῷ, καί τινας ἑτέρους, ὡς παρανομησάντων κατηγορίαν ποιησάμενος παρέδωκε λευσθησομένους. [201] ὅσοι δὲ ἐδόκουν ἐπιεικέστατοι τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν εἶναι καὶ περὶ τοὺς νόμους ἀκριβεῖς βαρέως ἤνεγκαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ πέμπουσιν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα κρύφα παρακαλοῦντες αὐτὸν ἐπιστεῖλαι τῷ Ἀνάνῳ μηκέτι τοιαῦτα πράσσειν: μηδὲ γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ὀρθῶς αὐτὸν πεποιηκέναι. [202] τινὲς δ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν Ἀλβῖνον ὑπαντιάζουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ὁδοιποροῦντα καὶ διδάσκουσιν, ὡς οὐκ ἐξὸν ἦν Ἀνάνῳ χωρὶς τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης καθίσαι συνέδριον. [203] Ἀλβῖνος δὲ πεισθεὶς τοῖς λεγομένοις γράφει μετ᾽ ὀργῆς τῷ Ἀνάνῳ λήψεσθαι παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ δίκας ἀπειλῶν. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας διὰ τοῦτο τὴν Ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀφελόμενος αὐτὸν ἄρξαντα μῆνας τρεῖς Ἰησοῦν τὸν τοῦ Δαμναίου κατέστησεν.

1. And now Caesar, upon hearing the death of Festus, sent Albinus into Judea, as procurator. But the king deprived Joseph of the high priesthood, and bestowed the succession to that dignity on the son of Ananus, who was also himself called Ananus. Now the report goes that this eldest Ananus proved a most fortunate man; for he had five sons who had all performed the office of a high priest to God, and who had himself enjoyed that dignity a long time formerly, which had never happened to any other of our high priests. But this younger Ananus, who, as we have told you already, took the high priesthood, was a bold man in his temper, and very insolent; he was also of the sect of the Sadducees, who are

very rigid in judging offenders, above all the rest of the Jews, as we have already observed; when, therefore, Ananus was of this disposition, he thought he had now a proper opportunity [to exercise his authority]. Festus was now dead, and Albinus was but upon the road; so he assembled the sanhedrim of judges, and brought before them the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, whose name was James, and some others, [or, some of his companions]; and when he had formed an accusation against them as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned: but as for those who seemed the most equitable of the citizens, and such as were the most uneasy at the breach of the laws, they disliked what was done; they also sent to the king [Agrippa], desiring him to send to Ananus that he should act so no more, for that what he had already done was not to be justified; nay, some of them went also to meet Albinus, as he was upon his journey from Alexandria, and informed him that it was not lawful for Ananus to assemble a sanhedrim without his consent. Whereupon Albinus complied with what they said, and wrote in anger to Ananus, and threatened that he would bring him to punishment for what he had done; on which king Agrippa took the high priesthood from him, when he had ruled but three months, and made Jesus, the son of Damneus, high priest.

(2) [204] Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦκεν ὁ Ἀλβῖνος εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν, πᾶσαν εἰσηνέγκατο σπουδὴν καὶ πρόνοιαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν χώραν εἰρηνεύεσθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν σικαρίων διαφθείρας. [205] ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀνανίας καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπὶ μέγα προύκοπτε δόξης καὶ τῆς παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν εὐνοίας τε καὶ τιμῆς ἠξιοῦτο λαμπρῶς: ἦν γὰρ χρημάτων ποριστικός: καθ' ἡμέραν γοῦν τὸν Ἀλβῖνον καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα δώροις ἐθεράπευεν. [206] εἶχεν δ' οἰκέτας πάνυ μοχθηρούς, οἳ συναναστρεφόμενοι τοῖς θρασυτάτοις ἐπὶ τὰς ἅλωνας πορευόμενοι τὰς τῶν ἱερέων δεκάτας ἐλάμβανον βιαζόμενοι καὶ τοὺς μὴ διδόντας οὐκ ἀπείχοντο τύπτειν, [207] οἵ τε ἀρχιερεῖς ὅμοια τοῖς ἐκείνου δούλοις ἔπρασσον μηδενὸς κωλύειν δυναμένου. καὶ τῶν ἱερέων τοὺς πάλαι ταῖς δεκάταις τρεφομένους τότε συνέβαινε θνήσκειν τροφῆς ἀπορίᾳ.

2. Now as soon as Albinus was come to the city of Jerusalem, he used all his endeavors and care that the country might be kept in peace, and this by destroying many of the Sicarii. But as for the high priest, Ananias he increased in glory every day, and this to a great degree, and had obtained the favor and esteem of the citizens in a signal manner; for he was a great hoarder up of money: he therefore cultivated the friendship of Albinus, and of the high priest [Jesus], by making them presents; he also had servants who were very wicked, who joined themselves to the boldest sort of the people, and went to the thrashing-floors, and took away the tithes that belonged to the priests by

violence, and did not refrain from beating such as would not give these tithes to them. So the other high priests acted in the like manner, as did those his servants, without any one being able to prohibit them; so that [some of the] priests, that of old were wont to be supported with those tithes, died for want of food.

(3) [208] Πάλιν δ' οἱ σικάριοι κατὰ τὴν ἑορτήν, ἐνειστήκει γὰρ αὕτη, διὰ νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν πόλιν παρελθόντες συλλαμβάνουσι ζῶντα τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ στρατηγοῦντος Ἐλεαζάρου, παῖς δ' ἦν οὗτος Ἀνανίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, καὶ δήσαντες ἐξήγαγον. [209] εἶτα πέμψαντες πρὸς τὸν Ἀνανίαν ἀπολύσειν ἔφασαν τὸν γραμματέα πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰ πείσειεν τὸν Ἀλβῖνον δέκα δεσμώτας τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν ληφθέντας ἀπολῦσαι. καὶ ὁ Ἀνανίας διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην πείσας τὸν Ἀλβῖνον τῆς ἀξιώσεως ἐπέτυχεν. [210] τοῦτο μειζόνων κακῶν ἦρξεν: οἱ γὰρ λησταὶ παντοίως ἐπεμηχανῶντο τῶν Ἀνανίου τινὰς συλλαμβάνειν οἰκείων καὶ συνεχῶς ζωγροῦντες οὐκ ἀπέλυον πρὶν ἤ τινας τῶν σικαρίων ἀπολάβοιεν γενόμενοί τε πάλιν ἀριθμὸς οὐκ ὀλίγος ἀναθαρρήσαντες τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν ἐκάκουν.

3. But now the Sicarii went into the city by night, just before the festival, which was now at hand, and took the scribe belonging to the governor of the temple, whose name was Eleazar, who was the son of Ananus [Ananias] the high priest, and bound him, and carried him away with them; after which they sent to Ananias, and said that they would send the scribe to him, if he would persuade Albinus to release ten of those prisoners which he had caught of their party; so Ananias was plainly forced to persuade Albinus, and gained his request of him. This was the beginning of greater calamities; for the robbers perpetually contrived to catch some of Ananias's servants; and when they had taken them alive, they would not let them go, till they thereby recovered some of their own Sicarii. And as they were again become no small number, they grew bold, and were a great affliction to the whole country.

(4) [211] Κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας μείζονα τὴν Φιλίππου καλουμένην Καισάρειαν κατασκευάσας εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ Νέρωνος Νερωνιάδα προσηγόρευσεν, καὶ Βηρυτίοις δὲ θέατρον ἀπὸ πολλῶν χρημάτων κατεσκευασμένον ταῖς κατ' ἔτος θέαις ἐδωρεῖτο πολλὰς εἰς τοῦτο μυριάδας ἀναλίσκων: [212] σῖτον γὰρ ἐδίδου τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ἔλαιον διένεμεν καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν δὲ πόλιν ἀνδριάντων ἀναθέσεσιν καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀποτύποις εἰκόσιν ἐκόσμει καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν πάντα τὸν τῆς βασιλείας κόσμον ἐκεῖ μετήνεγκεν. μῖσος οὖν αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων ηὔξετο διὰ τὸ περιαιρούμενον τὰ ἐκείνων εἰς ξένην πόλιν κοσμεῖν. [213] λαμβάνει δὲ καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Γαμαλιήλου τὴν διαδοχὴν τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰησοῦν ἀφελομένου τὸν τοῦ Δαμναίου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο στάσις αὐτῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγένετο: σύστημα γὰρ τῶν θρασυτάτων

ποιησάμενοι πολλάκις μέχρι λίθων βολῆς ἀπὸ τῶν βλασφημιῶν ἐξέπιπτον. ὑπερεῖχεν δὲ Ἀνανίας τῷ πλούτῳ προσαγόμενος τοὺς λαμβάνειν ἑτοίμους. [214] Κοστόβαρος δὲ καὶ Σαοῦλος αὐτοὶ καθ᾽ αὑτοὺς μοχθηρὰ πλήθη συνῆγον γένους μὲν ὄντες βασιλικοῦ καὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἀγρίππαν συγγένειαν εὐνοίας τυγχάνοντες, βίαιοι δὲ καὶ ἁρπάζειν τὰ τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων ἕτοιμοι. ἐξ ἐκείνου μάλιστα τοῦ καιροῦ συνέβη τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν νοσεῖν προκοπτόντων πάντων ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον.

4. About this time it was that king Agrippa built Cesarea Philippi larger than it was before, and, in honor of Nero, named it Neronlas. And when he had built a theater at Berytus, with vast expenses, he bestowed on them shows, to be exhibited every year, and spent therein many ten thousand [drachmae]; he also gave the people a largess of corn, and distributed oil among them, and adorned the entire city with statues of his own donation, and with original images made by ancient hands; nay, he almost transferred all that was most ornamental in his own kingdom thither. This made him more than ordinarily hated by his subjects, because he took those things away that belonged to them to adorn a foreign city. And now Jesus, the son of Gamaliel, became the successor of Jesus, the son of Damneus, in the high priesthood, which the king had taken from the other; on which account a sedition arose between the high priests, with regard to one another; for they got together bodies of the boldest sort of the people, and frequently came, from reproaches, to throwing of stones at each other. But Ananias was too hard for the rest, by his riches, which enabled him to gain those that were most ready to receive. Costobarus also, and Saulus, did themselves get together a multitude of wicked wretches, and this because they were of the royal family; and so they obtained favor among them, because of their kindred to Agrippa; but still they used violence with the people, and were very ready to plunder those that were weaker than themselves. And from that time it principally came to pass that our city was greatly disordered, and that all things grew worse and worse among us.

(5) [215] Ὡς δ᾽ ἤκουσεν Ἀλβῖνος διάδοχον αὐτῷ Γέσσιον Φλῶρον ἀφικνεῖσθαι, βουλόμενος δοκεῖν τι τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις παρεσχῆσθαι προαγαγὼν τοὺς δεσμώτας, ὅσοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν προδήλως θανεῖν ἄξιοι, τούτους προσέταξεν ἀναιρεθῆναι, τοὺς δ᾽ ἐκ μικρᾶς καὶ τῆς τυχούσης αἰτίας εἰς τὴν εἱρκτὴν κατατεθέντας χρήματα λαμβάνων αὐτὸς ἀπέλυεν. καὶ οὕτως ἡ μὲν φυλακὴ τῶν δεσμωτῶν ἐκαθάρθη, ἡ χώρα δὲ λῃστῶν ἐπληρώθη.

5. But when Albinus heard that Gessius Florus was coming to succeed him, he was desirous to appear to do somewhat that might be grateful to the people of

Jerusalem; so he brought out all those prisoners who seemed to him to be most plainly worthy of death, and ordered them to be put to death accordingly. But as to those who had been put into prison on some trifling occasions, he took money of them, and dismissed them; by which means the prisons were indeed emptied, but the country was filled with robbers.

(6) [216] Τῶν δὲ Λευιτῶν, φυλὴ δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη, ὅσοιπερ ἦσαν ὑμνῳδοὶ πείθουσι τὸν βασιλέα καθίσαντα συνέδριον φορεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπίσης τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐπιτρέψαι λινῆν στολήν: πρέπειν γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνοις ἔφασκον ἀφ' ὧν μνημονευθήσεται καινοποιεῖν. [217] καὶ τῆς ἀξιώσεως οὐ διήμαρτον: ὁ γὰρ βασιλεὺς μετὰ γνώμης τῶν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἐποιχομένων συνεχώρησεν τοῖς ὑμνῳδοῖς ἀποθεμένους τὴν προτέραν ἐσθῆτα φορεῖν λινῆν οἵαν ἠθέλησαν. [218] μέρους δέ τινος τῆς φυλῆς λειτουργοῦντος κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τούτοις ἐπέτρεψεν τοὺς ὕμνους ἐκμαθεῖν, ὡς παρεκάλουν. πάντα δ' ἦν ἐναντία ταῦτα τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις, ὧν παραβαθέντων οὐκ ἐνῆν μὴ οὐχὶ δίκας ὑποσχεῖν.

6. Now as many of the Levites, which is a tribe of ours, as were singers of hymns, persuaded the king to assemble a sanhedrim, and to give them leave to wear linen garments, as well as the priests for they said that this would be a work worthy the times of his government, that he might have a memorial of such a novelty, as being his doing. Nor did they fail of obtaining their desire; for the king, with the suffrages of those that came into the sanhedrim, granted the singers of hymns this privilege, that they might lay aside their former garments, and wear such a linen one as they desired; and as a part of this tribe ministered in the temple, he also permitted them to learn those hymns as they had besought him for. Now all this was contrary to the laws of our country, which, whenever they have been transgressed, we have never been able to avoid the punishment of such transgressions.

(7) [219] Ἤδη δὲ τότε καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐτετέλεστο. βλέπων οὖν ὁ δῆμος ἀργήσαντας τοὺς τεχνίτας ὑπὲρ μυρίους καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους ὄντας καὶ μισθοφορίας ἐνδεεῖς ἐσομένους διὰ τὸ τὴν τροφὴν ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐργασίας πορίζεσθαι, [220] καὶ χρήματα μὲν ἀπόθετα διὰ τὸν ἐκ Ῥωμαίων φόβον ἔχειν οὐ θέλων, προνοούμενος δὲ τῶν τεχνιτῶν καὶ εἰς τούτους ἀναλοῦν τοὺς θησαυροὺς βουλόμενος, καὶ γὰρ εἰ μίαν τις ὥραν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐργάσαιτο, τὸν μισθὸν ὑπὲρ ταύτης εὐθέως ἐλάμβανεν, ἔπειθον τὸν βασιλέα τὴν ἀνατολικὴν στοὰν ἀνεγεῖραι. [221] ἦν δὲ ἡ στοὰ τοῦ μὲν ἔξωθεν ἱεροῦ, κειμένη δ' ἐν φάραγγι βαθείᾳ τετρακοσίων πηχῶν τοὺς τοίχους ἔχουσα ἐκ λίθου τετραγώνου κατεσκεύαστο καὶ λευκοῦ πάνυ, τὸ μὲν μῆκος ἑκάστου λίθου πήχεις εἴκοσι, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἕξ, ἔργον Σολόμωνος τοῦ βασιλέως πρώτου δειμαμένου τὸ σύμπαν ἱερόν. [222] ὁ βασιλεὺς δ', ἐπεπίστευτο

γὰρ ὑπὸ Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ, λογισάμενος παντὸς μὲν ἔργου τὴν καθαίρεσιν εἶναι ῥᾳδίαν δυσχερῆ δὲ τὴν κατασκευήν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς στοᾶς ταύτης καὶ μᾶλλον, χρόνου τε γὰρ καὶ πολλῶν χρημάτων εἰς τοῦργον δεήσειν, ἠρνήσατο μὲν περὶ τούτου δεομένοις, καταστορέσαι δὲ λευκῷ λίθῳ τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἐκώλυσεν. [223] Ἰησοῦν δὲ τὸν τοῦ Γαμαλιήλου τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀφελόμενος ἔδωκεν αὐτὴν Ματθίᾳ τῷ Θεοφίλου, καθ᾽ ὃν καὶ ὁ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμος Ἰουδαίοις ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν.

7. And now it was that the temple was finished. So when the people saw that the workmen were unemployed, who were above eighteen thousand and that they, receiving no wages, were in want because they had earned their bread by their labors about the temple; and while they were unwilling to keep by them the treasures that were there deposited, out of fear of [their being carried away by] the Romans; and while they had a regard to the making provision for the workmen; they had a mind to expend these treasures upon them; for if any one of them did but labor for a single hour, he received his pay immediately; so they persuaded him to rebuild the eastern cloisters. These cloisters belonged to the outer court, and were situated in a deep valley, and had walls that reached four hundred cubits [in length], and were built of square and very white stones, the length of each of which stones was twenty cubits, and their height six cubits. This was the work of king Solomon, who first of all built the entire temple. But king Agrippa, who had the care of the temple committed to him by Claudius Caesar, considering that it is easy to demolish any building, but hard to build it up again, and that it was particularly hard to do it to these cloisters, which would require a considerable time, and great sums of money, he denied the petitioners their request about that matter; but he did not obstruct them when they desired the city might be paved with white stone. He also deprived Jesus, the son of Gamaliel, of the high priesthood, and gave it to Matthias, the son of Theophilus, under whom the Jews' war with the Romans took its beginning.

X

CHAPTER 10. An Enumeration Of The High Priests.

(1) [224] Ἀναγκαῖον δ᾽ εἶναι νομίζω καὶ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ ταύτῃ προσῆκον διηγήσασθαι περὶ τῶν ἀρχιερέων, πῶς ἀρξάμενοι καὶ τίσιν ἔξεστι τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης μεταλαμβάνειν καὶ πόσοι γεγόνασιν μέχρι τῆς τοῦ πολέμου τελευτῆς. [225] πρῶτον μὲν οὖν πάντων λέγουσιν Ἀαρῶνα τὸν Μωυσέως ἀδελφὸν ἀρχιερατεῦσαι τῷ θεῷ, τελευτήσαντος δὲ ἐκείνου διαδέξασθαι τοὺς παῖδας εὐθὺς κἀπ᾽ ἐκείνων τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐτῶν διαμεῖναι τὴν τιμὴν ἅπασιν. [226] ὅθεν καὶ πάτριόν ἐστι μηδένα τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην λαμβάνειν ἢ τὸν ἐξ αἵματος τοῦ Ἀαρῶνος, ἑτέρου δὲ γένους οὐδ᾽ ἂν βασιλεὺς ὢν τύχῃ τεύξεται τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης. [227] ἐγένοντο οὖν πάντες τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀπὸ Ἀαρῶνος, ὡς ἔφαμεν, τοῦ πρώτου γενομένου μέχρι Φανάσου τοῦ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ὑπὸ τῶν στασιαστῶν ἀρχιερέως ἀναδειχθέντος ὀγδοήκοντα τρεῖς. [228] ἐκ τούτων κατὰ τὴν ἔρημον ἐπὶ τῶν Μωυσέως χρόνων τῆς σκηνῆς ἑστώσης, ἣν Μωυσῆς τῷ θεῷ κατεσκεύασεν, μέχρι τῆς εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἀφίξεως, ἔνθα Σολόμων ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ θεῷ τὸν ναὸν ἤγειρεν, ἀρχιεράτευσαν δεκατρεῖς. [229] τὸ γὰρ πρῶτον ἕως τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς τὰς ἀρχιερωσύνας εἶχον, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ παρὰ ζώντων διεδέχοντο. οἱ τοίνυν δεκατρεῖς οὗτοι τῶν δύο παίδων Ἀαρῶνος ὄντες ἔγγονοι κατὰ διαδοχὴν τὴν τιμὴν παρελάμβανον. ἐγένετο δὲ αὐτῶν ἀριστοκρατικὴ μὲν ἡ πρώτη πολιτεία, μετὰ ταύτην δὲ μοναρχία, βασιλέων δὲ τρίτη. [230] γίνεται δὲ τῶν ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸς ὧν ἦρξαν οἱ δεκατρεῖς ἀφ᾽ ἧς ἡμέρας οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐξέλιπον Αἴγυπτον Μωυσέως ἄγοντος μέχρι τῆς τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευῆς, ὃν Σολόμων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀνήγειρεν, ἔτη δώδεκα πρὸς τοῖς ἑξακοσίοις.

1. And now I think it proper and agreeable to this history to give an account of our high priests; how they began, who those are which are capable of that dignity, and how many of them there had been at the end of the war. In the first place, therefore, history informs us that Aaron, the brother of Moses, officiated to God as a high priest, and that, after his death, his sons succeeded him immediately; and that this dignity hath been continued down from them all to their posterity. Whence it is a custom of our country, that no one should take the high priesthood of God but he who is of the blood of Aaron, while every one that is of another stock, though he were a king, can never obtain that high priesthood. Accordingly, the number of all the high priests from Aaron, of whom we have spoken already, as of the first of them, until Phanas, who was made high priest during the war by the seditious, was eighty-three; of whom thirteen officiated as high priests in the wilderness, from the days of Moses, while the tabernacle was standing, until the people came into Judea, when king Solomon erected the

temple to God; for at the first they held the high priesthood till the end of their life, although afterward they had successors while they were alive. Now these thirteen, who were the descendants of two of the sons of Aaron, received this dignity by succession, one after another; for their form of government was an aristocracy, and after that a monarchy, and in the third place the government was regal. Now the number of years during the rule of these thirteen, from the day when our fathers departed out of Egypt, under Moses their leader, until the building of that temple which king Solomon erected at Jerusalem, were six hundred and twelve.

(2) [231] Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς δεκατρεῖς ἀρχιερέας ἐκείνους οἱ δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἔσχον ἀπὸ Σολόμωνος βασιλέως ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις αὐτὴν διαδεξάμενοι, μέχρι οὗ Ναβουχοδονόσορος ὁ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεὺς ἐπιστρατεύσας τῇ πόλει τὸν μὲν ναὸν ἐνέπρησεν, τὸ δὲ ἔθνος ἡμῶν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα μετήνεγκεν καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ἰωσαδάκην αἰχμάλωτον ἔλαβεν. [232] τούτων χρόνος τῆς ἱερωσύνης τετρακοσίων ἑξηκονταὲξ ἐτῶν ἐστι μηνῶν ἓξ ἡμερῶν δέκα ἤδη βασιλευομένων Ἰουδαίων. [233] μετὰ δὲ χρόνον ἐτῶν ἁλώσεως ἑβδομήκοντα τῆς ὑπὸ Βαβυλωνίων γενομένης Κῦρος ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἀπέλυσεν τοὺς ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος Ἰουδαίους ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκείαν γῆν πάλιν καὶ συνεχώρησεν τὸν ναὸν ἀνεγεῖραι. [234] τότε δὴ τῶν ὑποστρεψάντων αἰχμαλώτων Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ἰωσεδὲκ εἷς ὢν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην λαμβάνει. λαμβάνει δ’ οὗτος αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ἔγγονοι αὐτοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα συνάπαντες μέχρι βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Εὐπάτορος, ἐπολιτεύοντο δὲ δημοκρατικῶς ἔτη τετρακόσια δεκατέσσαρα.

2. After those thirteen high priests, eighteen took the high priesthood at Jerusalem, one in succession to another, from the days of king Solomon, until Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, made an expedition against that city, and burnt the temple, and removed our nation into Babylon, and then took Josadek, the high priest, captive; the times of these high priests were four hundred and sixty-six years, six months, and ten days, while the Jews were still under the regal government. But after the term of seventy years’ captivity under the Babylonians, Cyrus, king of Persia, sent the Jews from Babylon to their own land again, and gave them leave to rebuild their temple; at which time Jesus, the son of Josadek, took the high priesthood over the captives when they were returned home. Now he and his posterity, who were in all fifteen, until king Antiochus Eupator, were under a democratical government for four hundred and fourteen years.

(3) [235] Πρῶτος δ’ Ἀντίοχος ὁ προειρημένος καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς αὐτοῦ Λυσίας τὸν Ὀνίαν, ᾧ Μενέλαος ἐπίκλην, παύουσι τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἀνελόντες αὐτὸν ἐν

Βεροίᾳ καὶ καθιστᾶσιν Ἰάκιμον ἀρχιερέα, γένους μὲν τοῦ Ἀαρῶνος, οὐκ ὄντα δὲ τῆς οἰκίας ταύτης. [236] διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Ὀνίας ὁ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος Ὀνίου ἐξάδελφος ὁμώνυμος τῷ πατρὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ διὰ φιλίας ἀφικόμενος Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Φιλομήτορι καὶ Κλεοπάτρᾳ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ, πείθει τούτους κατὰ τὸν Ἡλιοπολίτην νομὸν δειμαμένους τῷ θεῷ ναὸν παραπλήσιον τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις αὐτὸν ἀρχιερέα καταστῆσαι. [237] ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ κατασκευασθέντος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πολλάκις ἐδηλώσαμεν. ὁ δὲ Ἰάκιμος ἔτη τρία τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην κατασχὼν ἐτελεύτησεν. διεδέξατο δ' αὐτὸν οὐδείς, ἀλλὰ διετέλεσεν ἡ πόλις ἐνιαυτοὺς ἑπτὰ χωρὶς ἀρχιερέως οὖσα. [238] πάλιν δὲ οἱ τῶν Ἀσαμωναίου παίδων ἔγγονοι τὴν προστασίαν τοῦ ἔθνους πιστευθέντες καὶ πολεμήσαντες Μακεδόσιν Ἰωνάθην ἀρχιερέα καθιστᾶσιν, ὃς ἦρξεν ἐνιαυτοὺς ἑπτά. [239] τελευτήσαντος δὲ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνέδρας τῆς ὑπὸ Τρύφωνος μηχανηθείσης, ὡς ἀνωτέρω που προειρήκαμεν, λαμβάνει τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην Σίμων ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ. [240] καὶ τοῦτον δὲ δόλῳ παρὰ συμπόσιον ὑπὸ τοῦ γαμβροῦ διαφθαρέντα διεδέξατο παῖς Ὑρκανὸς ὄνομα ὃν κατασχόντα τὴν ἱερωσύνην πλείονα τἀδελφοῦ χρόνον ἐνιαυτῷ, τριακονταὲν ἔτη τῆς τιμῆς Ὑρκανὸς ἀπολαύσας τελευτᾷ γηραιὸς Ἰούδᾳ τῷ καὶ Ἀριστοβούλῳ κληθέντι τὴν διαδοχὴν καταλιπών. [241] κληρονομεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῦτον ἀδελφὸς Ἀλέξανδρος, ὑπὸ νόσου μὲν τελευτήσαντα, τὴν ἱερωσύνην δὲ κατασχόντα μετὰ βασιλείας, καὶ γὰρ διάδημα πρῶτος περιέθετο ὁ Ἰούδας, ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα.

3. And then the forementioned Antiochus, and Lysias the general of his army, deprived Onias, who was also called Menelaus, of the high priesthood, and slew him at Berea; and driving away the son [of Onias the third], put Jaeimus into the place of the high priest, one that was indeed of the stock of Aaron, but not of that family of Onias. On which account Onias, who was the nephew of Onias that was dead, and bore the same name with his father, came into Egypt, and got into the friendship of Ptolemy Philometor, and Cleopatra his wife, and persuaded them to make him the high priest of that temple which he built to God in the prefecture of Heliopolis, and this in imitation of that at Jerusalem; but as for that temple which was built in Egypt, we have spoken of it frequently already. Now when Jacimus had retained the priesthood three years, he died, and there was no one that succeeded him, but the city continued seven years without a high priest. But then the posterity of the sons of Asamoneus, who had the government of the nation conferred upon them, when they had beaten the Macedonians in war, appointed Jonathan to be their high priest, who ruled over them seven years. And when he had been slain by the treacherous contrivance of Trypho, as we have related some where, Simon his brother took the high priesthood; and when he was destroyed at a feast by the treachery of his son-in-law, his own son, whose

name was Hyrcanus, succeeded him, after he had held the high priesthood one year longer than his brother. This Hyrcanus enjoyed that dignity thirty years, and died an old man, leaving the succession to Judas, who was also called Aristobulus, whose brother Alexander was his heir; which Judas died of a sore distemper, after he had kept the priesthood, together with the royal authority; for this Judas was the first that put on his head a diadem for one year.

(4) [242] Βασιλεύσας δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἱερατεύσας ἔτη εἰκοσιεπτὰ καταστρέφει τὸν βίον Ἀλεξάνδρᾳ τῇ γυναικὶ καταστῆσαι τὸν ἀρχιερατευσόμενον ἐπιτρέψας. ἡ δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀρχιερωσύνην Ὑρκανῷ δίδωσιν, αὐτὴ δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔτη ἐννέα κατασχοῦσα τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον: τὸν ἴσον δὲ χρόνον τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ὁ παῖς αὐτῆς Ὑρκανὸς ἔσχεν: [243] μετὰ γὰρ τὸν θάνατον αὐτῆς πολεμήσας πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀριστόβουλος καὶ νικήσας ἀφαιρεῖται μὲν ἐκεῖνον τὴν ἀρχήν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐβασίλευέ τε καὶ ἀρχιεράτευεν τοῦ ἔθνους. [244] ἔτει δὲ τρίτῳ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ πρὸς μησὶν τοῖς ἴσοις Πομπήιος ἐλθὼν καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος ἑλὼν αὐτὸν μὲν εἰς Ῥώμην μετὰ τῶν τέκνων δήσας ἔπεμψεν, τῷ δ' Ὑρκανῷ πάλιν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀποδοὺς τὴν μὲν τοῦ ἔθνους προστασίαν ἐπέτρεψεν, διάδημα δὲ φορεῖν ἐκώλυσεν. [245] ἦρξεν δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἐννέα τοῖς πρώτοις ὁ Ὑρκανὸς τέσσαρα καὶ εἴκοσιν. Βαζαφράνης δὲ καὶ Πάκορος οἱ τῆς Παρθυηνῆς δυνάσται διαβάντες τὸν Εὐφράτην καὶ πολεμήσαντες Ὑρκανῷ αὐτὸν μὲν ζωγρίᾳ συνέλαβον, τὸν Ἀριστοβούλου δὲ υἱὸν Ἀντίγονον κατέστησαν βασιλέα. [246] τρία δ' ἔτη καὶ τρεῖς μῆνας ἄρξαντα τοῦτον Σόσσιός τε καὶ Ἡρώδης ἐξεπολιόρκησαν, Ἀντώνιος δ' ἀνεῖλεν εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἀναχθέντα.

4. And when Alexander had been both king and high priest twenty-seven years, he departed this life, and permitted his wife Alexandra to appoint him that should be high priest; so she gave the high priesthood to Hyrcanus, but retained the kingdom herself nine years, and then departed this life. The like duration [and no longer] did her son Hyrcanus enjoy the high priesthood; for after her death his brother Aristobulus fought against him, and beat him, and deprived him of his principality; and he did himself both reign, and perform the office of high priest to God. But when he had reigned three years, and as many months, Pompey came upon him, and not only took the city of Jerusalem by force, but put him and his children in bonds, and sent them to Rome. He also restored the high priesthood to Hyrcanus, and made him governor of the nation, but forbade him to wear a diadem. This Hyrcanus ruled, besides his first nine years, twenty-four years more, when Barzapharnes and Pacorus, the generals of the Parthians, passed over Euphrates, and fought with Hyrcanus, and took him alive, and made Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, king; and when he had reigned three years

and three months, Sosius and Herod besieged him, and took him, when Antony had him brought to Antioch, and slain there.

(5) [247] Τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν Ἡρώδης παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐγχειρισθεὶς οὐκέτι τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀσαμωναίου γένους καθίστησιν ἀρχιερεῖς, ἀλλά τισιν ἀσήμοις καὶ μόνον ἐξ ἱερέων οὖσιν πλὴν ἑνὸς Ἀριστοβούλου τὴν τιμὴν ἀπένεμεν. [248] τὸν δ' Ἀριστόβουλον Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ ὑπὸ Πάρθων ληφθέντος υἱωνὸν ὄντα καταστήσας ἀρχιερέα τῇ ἀδελφῇ αὐτοῦ συνῴκησεν Μαριάμμῃ, τὴν τοῦ πλήθους πρὸς ἑαυτὸν θηρώμενος εὔνοιαν διὰ τὴν Ὑρκανοῦ μνήμην. εἶτα φοβηθείς, μὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον πάντες ἀποκλίνωσιν, ἀνεῖλεν αὐτὸν ἐν Ἰεριχοῖ πνιγῆναι μηχανησάμενος κολυμβῶντα, καθὼς ἤδη δεδηλώκαμεν. [249] μετὰ τοῦτον οὐκέτι τοῖς ἐγγόνοις τῶν Ἀσαμωναίου παίδων τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἐπίστευσεν. ἔπραξεν δὲ ὅμοια τῷ Ἡρώδῃ περὶ τῆς καταστάσεως τῶν ἱερέων Ἀρχέλαός τε ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον τὴν ἀρχὴν Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων παραλαβόντες. [250] εἰσὶν οὖν οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἡρώδου χρόνων ἀρχιερατεύσαντες μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας, ἧς τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὴν πόλιν Τίτος ἑλὼν ἐπυρπόλησεν, οἱ πάντες εἴκοσι καὶ ὀκτώ, χρόνος δὲ τούτων ἔτη πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν ἑπτά. [251] καὶ τινὲς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐπολιτεύσαντο ἐπί τε Ἡρώδου βασιλεύοντος καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀρχελάου τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ, μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων τελευτὴν ἀριστοκρατία μὲν ἦν ἡ πολιτεία, τὴν δὲ προστασίαν τοῦ ἔθνους οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ἐπεπίστευντο. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀρχιερέων ἱκανὰ ταῦτα.

5. Herod was then made king by the Romans, but did no longer appoint high priests out of the family of Asamoneus; but made certain men to be so that were of no eminent families, but barely of those that were priests, excepting that he gave that dignity to Aristobulus; for when he had made this Aristobulus, the grandson of that Hyrcanus who was then taken by the Parthians, and had taken his sister Mariarmne to wife, he thereby aimed to win the good-will of the people, who had a kind remembrance of Hyrcanus [his grandfather]. Yet did he afterward, out of his fear lest they should all bend their inclinations to Aristobulus, put him to death, and that by contriving how to have him suffocated as he was swimming at Jericho, as we have already related that matter; but after this man he never intrusted the priesthood to the posterity of the sons of Asamoneus. Archelaus also, Herod's son, did like his father in the appointment of the high priests, as did the Romans also, who took the government over the Jews into their hands afterward. Accordingly, the number of the high priests, from the days of Herod until the day when Titus took the temple and the City, and burnt them, were in all twenty-eight; the time also that belonged to them was a hundred and seven years. Some of these were the political governors of the people under the reign of Herod, and under the reign of Archelaus his son,

although, after their death, the government became an aristocracy, and the high priests were intrusted with a dominion over the nation. And thus much may suffice to be said concerning our high priests.

XI

CHAPTER 11. Concerning Florus The Procurator, Who Necessitated The Jews To Take Up Arms Against The Romans. The Conclusion.

(1) [252] Γέσσιος δὲ Φλῶρος ὁ πεμφθεὶς Ἀλβίνου διάδοχος ὑπὸ Νέρωνος πολλῶν ἐνέπλησε κακῶν Ἰουδαίους. Κλαζομένιος μὲν ἦν τὸ γένος οὗτος, ἐπήγετο δὲ γυναῖκα Κλεοπάτραν, δι' ἣν φίλην οὖσαν Ποππαίας τῆς Νέρωνος γυναικὸς καὶ πονηρίᾳ μηδὲν αὐτοῦ διαφέρουσαν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπέτυχεν. [253] οὕτω δὲ περὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐγένετο κακὸς καὶ βίαιος, ὥστε διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῶν κακῶν Ἀλβῖνον ἐπῄνουν ὡς εὐεργέτην Ἰουδαῖοι: [254] ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ ἐπεκρύπτετο τὴν πονηρίαν καὶ τοῦ μὴ παντάπασιν κατάφωρος εἶναι προυνόει, Γέσσιος δὲ Φλῶρος καθάπερ εἰς ἐπίδειξιν πονηρίας πεμφθεὶς τὰς εἰς τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν παρανομίας ἐπόμπευεν, μήτε ἁρπαγῆς παραλιπὼν μηδένα τρόπον μήτε ἀδίκου κολάσεως: [255] ἦν γὰρ ἄτεγκτος μὲν πρὸς ἔλεον, παντὸς δὲ κέρδους ἄπληστος, ᾧ γε μηδὲ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ὀλίγων διέφερεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λῃσταῖς ἐκοινώνησεν: ἀδεῶς γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦτ' ἔπραττον ἐχέγγυον παρ' ἐκείνου τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐπὶ τοῖς μέρεσιν ἔχειν πεπιστευκότες. [256] καὶ τοῦτο μέτριον οὐκ ἦν. ἀλλ' οἱ δυστυχεῖς Ἰουδαῖοι μὴ δυνάμενοι τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν λῃστῶν γινομένας πορθήσεις ὑπομένειν ἠναγκάζοντο τῶν ἰδίων ἠθῶν ἐξανιστάμενοι φεύγειν ἅπαντες, ὡς κρεῖττον ὁπουδήποτε παρὰ τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις κατοικήσοντες. [257] καὶ τί δεῖ πλείω λέγειν; τὸν γὰρ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ὁ καταναγκάσας ἡμᾶς ἄρασθαι Φλῶρος ἦν κρεῖττον ἡγουμένους ἀθρόως ἢ κατ' ὀλίγον ἀπολέσθαι. καὶ δὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν ὁ πόλεμος δευτέρῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς Φλώρου, δωδεκάτῳ δὲ τῆς Νέρωνος ἀρχῆς. [258] ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν δρᾶν ἠναγκάσθημεν ἢ παθεῖν ὑπεμείναμεν, ἀκριβῶς γνῶναι πάρεστιν τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐντυχεῖν ταῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ περὶ τοῦ Ἰουδαικοῦ πολέμου βίβλοις γεγραμμέναις.

1. Now Gessius Florus, who was sent as successor to Albinus by Nero, filled Judea with abundance of miseries. He was by birth of the city of Clazomene, and brought along with him his wife Cleopatra, [by whose friendship with Poppea, Nero's wife, he obtained this government,] who was no way different from him in wickedness. This Florus was so wicked, and so violent in the use of his authority, that the Jews took Albinus to have been [comparatively] their benefactor; so excessive were the mischiefs that he brought upon them. For Albinus concealed his wickedness, and was careful that it might not be discovered to all men; but Gessius Florus, as though he had been sent on purpose to show his crimes to every body, made a pompous ostentation of them to our

nation, as never omitting any sort of violence, nor any unjust sort of punishment; for he was not to be moved by pity, and never was satisfied with any degree of gain that came in his way; nor had he any more regard to great than to small acquisitions, but became a partner with the robbers themselves. For a great many fell then into that practice without fear, as having him for their security, and depending on him, that he would save them harmless in their particular robberies; so that there were no bounds set to the nation's miseries; but the unhappy Jews, when they were not able to bear the devastations which the robbers made among them, were all under a necessity of leaving their own habitations, and of flying away, as hoping to dwell more easily any where else in the world among foreigners [than in their own country]. And what need I say any more upon this head? since it was this Florus who necessitated us to take up arms against the Romans, while we thought it better to be destroyed at once, than by little and little. Now this war began in the second year of the government of Florus, and the twelfth year of the reign of Nero. But then what actions we were forced to do, or what miseries we were enabled to suffer, may be accurately known by such as will peruse those books which I have written about the Jewish war.

(2) [259] Παύσεται δ' ἐνταῦθά μοι τὰ τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας μεθ' ἣν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἠρξάμην γράφειν. περιέχει δ' αὕτη τὴν ἀπὸ πρώτης γενέσεως ἀνθρώπου παράδοσιν μέχρι ἔτους δωδεκάτου τῆς Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας τῶν ἡμῖν συμβεβηκότων τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κατά τε τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ Συρίαν καὶ Παλαιστίνην, [260] ὅσα τε πεπόνθαμεν ὑπὸ Ἀσσυρίων τε καὶ Βαβυλωνίων, τίνα τε Πέρσαι καὶ Μακεδόνες διατεθείκασιν ἡμᾶς, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους Ῥωμαῖοι: πάντα γὰρ οἶμαι μετ' ἀκριβείας συντεταχέναι. [261] τηρῆσαι δὲ πεπείραμαι καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀρχιερέων ἀναγραφὴν τῶν ἐν δισχιλίοις ἔτεσι γενομένων. ἀπλανῆ δὲ πεποίημαι καὶ τὴν περὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς διαδοχὴν τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς πολιτείας ἀπαγγέλλων μοναρχῶν τε δυναστείας, ὡς αἱ ἱεραὶ βίβλοι περὶ πάντων ἔχουσι τὴν ἀναγραφήν: τοῦτο γὰρ ποιήσειν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἱστορίας ἐπηγγειλάμην. [262] λέγω δὴ θαρσήσας ἤδη διὰ τὴν τῶν προτεθέντων συντέλειαν, ὅτι μηδεὶς ἂν ἕτερος ἠδυνήθη θελήσας μήτε Ἰουδαῖος μήτε ἀλλόφυλος τὴν πραγματείαν ταύτην οὕτως ἀκριβῶς εἰς Ἕλληνας ἐξενεγκεῖν: [263] ἔχω γὰρ ὁμολογούμενον παρὰ τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν πλεῖστον αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχώριον παιδείαν διαφέρειν καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν δὲ γραμμάτων ἐσπούδασα μετασχεῖν τὴν γραμματικὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἀναλαβών, τὴν δὲ περὶ τὴν προφορὰν ἀκρίβειαν πάτριος ἐκώλυσεν συνήθεια. [264] παρ' ἡμῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἐκείνους ἀποδέχονται τοὺς πολλῶν ἐθνῶν διάλεκτον ἐκμαθόντας διὰ τὸ κοινὸν εἶναι νομίζειν τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα τοῦτο μόνον οὐκ ἐλευθέροις τοῖς τυχοῦσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν τοῖς θέλουσι, μόνοις δὲ σοφίαν

μαρτυροῦσιν τοῖς τὰ νόμιμα σαφῶς ἐπισταμένοις καὶ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων δύναμιν ἑρμηνεῦσαι δυναμένοις. [265] διὰ τοῦτο πολλῶν πονησάντων περὶ τὴν ἄσκησιν ταύτην μόλις δύο τινὲς ἢ τρεῖς κατώρθωσαν καὶ τῶν πόνων τὴν ἐπικαρπίαν εὐθὺς ἔλαβον.

2. I shall now, therefore, make an end here of my Antiquities; after the conclusion of which events, I began to write that account of the war; and these Antiquities contain what hath been delivered down to us from the original creation of man, until the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, as to what hath befallen the Jews, as well in Egypt as in Syria and in Palestine, and what we have suffered from the Assyrians and Babylonians, and what afflictions the Persians and Macedonians, and after them the Romans, have brought upon us; for I think I may say that I have composed this history with sufficient accuracy in all things. I have attempted to enumerate those high priests that we have had during the interval of two thousand years; I have also carried down the succession of our kings, and related their actions, and political administration, without [considerable] errors, as also the power of our monarchs; and all according to what is written in our sacred books; for this it was that I promised to do in the beginning of this history. And I am so bold as to say, now I have so completely perfected the work I proposed to myself to do, that no other person, whether he were a Jew or foreigner, had he ever so great an inclination to it, could so accurately deliver these accounts to the Greeks as is done in these books. For those of my own nation freely acknowledge that I far exceed them in the learning belonging to Jews; I have also taken a great deal of pains to obtain the learning of the Greeks, and understand the elements of the Greek language, although I have so long accustomed myself to speak our own tongue, that I cannot pronounce Greek with sufficient exactness; for our nation does not encourage those that learn the languages of many nations, and so adorn their discourses with the smoothness of their periods; because they look upon this sort of accomplishment as common, not only to all sorts of free-men, but to as many of the servants as please to learn them. But they give him the testimony of being a wise man who is fully acquainted with our laws, and is able to interpret their meaning; on which account, as there have been many who have done their endeavors with great patience to obtain this learning, there have yet hardly been so many as two or three that have succeeded therein, who were immediately well rewarded for their pains.

(3) [266] ἴσως δ’ οὐκ ἂν ἐπίφθονον γένοιτο καὶ περὶ γένους τοὐμοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πράξεων βραχέα διεξελθεῖν ἕως ἔχω ζῶντας ἢ τοὺς ἐλέγξοντας ἢ τοὺς μαρτυρήσοντας.

[267] Ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ καταπαύσω τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν βιβλίοις μὲν εἴκοσι περιειλημμένην, ἓξ δὲ μυριάσι στίχων, κἂν τὸ θεῖον ἐπιτρέπῃ κατὰ περιδρομὴν ὑπομνήσω πάλιν τοῦ τε πολέμου καὶ τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἡμῖν μέχρι τῆς νῦν ἐνεστώσης ἡμέρας, ἥτις ἐστὶν τρισκαιδεκάτου μὲν ἔτους τῆς Δομετιανοῦ Καίσαρος ἀρχῆς, ἐμοὶ δ' ἀπὸ γενέσεως πεντηκοστοῦ τε καὶ ἕκτου. [268] προῄρημαι δὲ συγγράψαι κατὰ τὰς ἡμετέρας δόξας τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐν τέσσαρσι βίβλοις περὶ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν νόμων, διὰ τί κατ' αὐτοὺς τὰ μὲν ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν ποιεῖν, τὰ δὲ κεκώλυται.

3. And now it will not be perhaps an invidious thing, if I treat briefly of my own family, and of the actions of my own life while there are still living such as can either prove what I say to be false, or can attest that it is true; with which accounts I shall put an end to these Antiquities, which are contained in twenty books, and sixty thousand verses. And if God permit me, I will briefly run over this war, and to add what befell them further to that very day, the 13th of Domitian, or A.D. 03, is not, that I have observed, taken distinct notice of by any one; nor do we ever again, with what befell us therein to this very day, which is the thirteenth year of the reign of Caesar Domitian, and the fifty-sixth year of my own life. I have also an intention to write three books concerning our Jewish opinions about God and his essence, and about our laws; why, according to them, some things are permitted us to do, and others are prohibited.

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AGAINST APIO

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BOOK I.

I

[1] Ἱκανῶς μὲν ὑπολαμβάνω καὶ διὰ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν συγγραφῆς, κράτιστε ἀνδρῶν Ἐπαφρόδιτε, τοῖς ἐντευξομένοις αὐτῇ πεποιηκέναι φανερὸν περὶ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὅτι καὶ παλαιότατόν ἐστι καὶ τὴν πρώτην ὑπόστασιν ἔσχεν ἰδίαν, καὶ πῶς τὴν χώραν ἣν νῦν ἔχομεν κατῴκησε Πεντακισχιλίων ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸν ἱστορίαν περιέχουσαν ἐκ τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἱερῶν βίβλων διὰ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς φωνῆς συνεγραψάμην. [2] ἐπεὶ δὲ συχνοὺς ὁρῶ ταῖς ὑπὸ δυσμενείας ὑπό τινων εἰρημέναις προσέχοντας βλασφημίαις καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ γεγραμμένοις ἀπιστοῦντας τεκμήριόν τε ποιουμένους τοῦ νεώτερον εἶναι τὸ γένος ἡμῶν τὸ μηδεμιᾶς παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιφανέσι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἱστοριογράφων μνήμης ἠξιῶσθαι, [3] περὶ τούτων ἁπάντων ᾠήθην δεῖν γράψαι συντόμως τῶν μὲν λοιδορούντων τὴν δυσμένειαν καὶ τὴν ἑκούσιον ἐλέγξαι ψευδολογίαν, τῶν δὲ τὴν ἄγνοιαν ἐπανορθώσασθαι, διδάξαι δὲ πάντας, ὅσοι [4] τἀληθὲς εἰδέναι βούλονται, περὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχαιότητος. χρήσομαι δὲ τῶν μὲν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ λεγομένων μάρτυσι τοῖς ἀξιοπιστοτάτοις εἶναι περὶ πάσης ἀρχαιολογίας ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κεκριμένοις, τοὺς δὲ βλασφήμως περὶ ἡμῶν καὶ ψευδῶς γεγραφότας αὐτοὺς δι᾽ ἑαυτῶν ἐλεγχομένους παρέξω. [5] πειράσομαι δὲ καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἀποδοῦναι, δι᾽ ἃς οὐ πολλοὶ τοῦ ἔθνους ἡμῶν ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις Ἕλληνες ἐμνημονεύκασιν, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τοὺς οὐ παραλιπόντας τὴν περὶ ἡμῶν ἱστορίαν ποιήσω φανεροὺς τοῖς μὴ γιγνώσκουσιν ἢ προσποιουμένοις ἀγνοεῖν.

1. I Suppose that by my books of the Antiquity of the Jews, most excellent Epaphroditus, have made it evident to those who peruse them, that our Jewish nation is of very great antiquity, and had a distinct subsistence of its own originally; as also, I have therein declared how we came to inhabit this country wherein we now live. Those Antiquities contain the history of five thousand years, and are taken out of our sacred books, but are translated by me into the Greek tongue. However, since I observe a considerable number of people giving ear to the reproaches that are laid against us by those who bear ill-will to us, and will not believe what I have written concerning the antiquity of our nation, while they take it for a plain sign that our nation is of a late date, because they are not so much as vouchsafed a bare mention by the most famous historiographers among the Grecians. I therefore have thought myself under an obligation to write somewhat briefly about these subjects, in order to convict those that reproach us

of spite and voluntary falsehood, and to correct the ignorance of others, and withal to instruct all those who are desirous of knowing the truth of what great antiquity we really are. As for the witnesses whom I shall produce for the proof of what I say, they shall be such as are esteemed to be of the greatest reputation for truth, and the most skillful in the knowledge of all antiquity by the Greeks themselves. I will also show, that those who have written so reproachfully and falsely about us are to be convicted by what they have written themselves to the contrary. I shall also endeavor to give an account of the reasons why it hath so happened, that there have not been a great number of Greeks who have made mention of our nation in their histories. I will, however, bring those Grecians to light who have not omitted such our history, for the sake of those that either do not know them, or pretend not to know them already.

II

[6] Πρῶτον οὖν ἐπέρχεταί μοι πάνυ θαυμάζειν τοὺς οἰομένους δεῖν περὶ τῶν παλαιοτάτων ἔργων μόνοις προσέχειν τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ παρὰ τούτων πυνθάνεσθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἀπιστεῖν: πᾶν γὰρ ἐγὼ τοὐναντίον ὁρῶ συμβεβηκός, εἴ γε δεῖ μὴ ταῖς ματαίαις δόξαις ἐπακολουθεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ [7] αὐτῶν τὸ δίκαιον τῶν πραγμάτων λαμβάνειν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἅπαντα νέα καὶ χθὲς καὶ πρῴην, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, εὕροι γεγονότα, λέγω δὲ τὰς κτίσεις τῶν πόλεων καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς ἐπινοίας τῶν τεχνῶν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς τῶν νόμων ἀναγραφάς: πάντων δὲ νεωτάτη σχεδόν ἐστι παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἡ περὶ τὸ συγγράφειν [8] τὰς ἱστορίας ἐπιμέλεια. τὰ μέντοι παρ᾽ Αἰγυπτίοις τε καὶ Χαλδαίοις καὶ Φοίνιξιν, ἐῶ γὰρ νῦν ἡμᾶς ἐκείνοις συγκαταλέγειν, αὐτοὶ δήπουθεν ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀρχαιοτάτην τε καὶ μονιμωτάτην ἔχειν τῆς [9] μνήμης τὴν παράδοσιν: καὶ γὰρ τόπους ἅπαντες οἰκοῦσιν ἥκιστα ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ περιέχοντος φθοραῖς ὑποκειμένους καὶ πολλὴν ἐποιήσαντο πρόνοιαν τοῦ μηδὲν ἄμνηστον τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς πραττομένων παραλιπεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν δημοσίαις ἀναγραφαῖς ὑπὸ τῶν σοφωτάτων [10] ἀεὶ καθιεροῦσθαι. τὸν δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τόπον μυρίαι μὲν φθοραὶ κατέσχον ἐξαλείφουσαι τὴν μνήμην τῶν γεγονότων, ἀεὶ δὲ καινοὺς καθιστάμενοι βίους τοῦ παντὸς ἐνόμιζον ἄρχειν ἕκαστοι τῶν ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν, ὀψὲ δὲ καὶ μόλις ἔγνωσαν φύσιν γραμμάτων: οἱ γοῦν ἀρχαιοτάτην αὐτῶν τὴν χρῆσιν εἶναι θέλοντες παρὰ Φοινίκων [11] καὶ Κάδμου σεμνύνονται μαθεῖν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου δύναιτό τις ἂν δεῖξαι σωζομένην ἀναγραφὴν οὔτ᾽ ἐν ἱεροῖς οὔτ᾽ ἐν δημοσίοις ἀναθήμασιν, ὅπου γε καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίαν τοσούτοις ἔτεσι στρατευσάντων ὕστερον πολλὴ γέγονεν ἀπορία τε καὶ ζήτησις, εἰ γράμμασιν ἐχρῶντο, καὶ τἀληθὲς ἐπικρατεῖ μᾶλλον περὶ τοῦ τὴν νῦν οὖσαν τῶν γραμμάτων χρῆσιν ἐκείνους ἀγνοεῖν. [12] ὅλως δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν οὐδὲν

ὁμολογούμενον εὑρίσκεται γράμμα τῆς Ὁμήρου ποιήσεως πρεσβύτερον, οὗτος δὲ καὶ τῶν Τρωϊ¨κῶν ὕστερος φαίνεται γενόμενος, καί φασιν οὐδὲ τοῦτον ἐν γράμμασι τὴν αὐτοῦ ποίησιν καταλιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ διαμνημονευομένην ἐκ τῶν ᾀσμάτων ὕστερον συντεθῆναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλὰς ἐν αὐτῇ σχεῖν [13] τὰς διαφωνίας. οἱ μέντοι τὰς ἱστορίας ἐπιχειρήσαντες συγγράφειν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς, λέγω δὲ τοὺς περὶ Κάδμον τε τὸν Μιλήσιον καὶ τὸν Ἀργεῖον Ἀκουσίλαον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον εἴ τινες ἄλλοι λέγονται γενέσθαι, βραχὺ τῆς Περσῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατείας τῷ χρόνῳ προύλαβον. [14] ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῶν οὐρανίων τε καὶ θείων πρώτους παρ᾽ Ἕλλησι φιλοσοφήσαντας, οἷον Φερεκύδην τε τὸν Σύριον καὶ Πυθαγόραν καὶ Θάλητα, πάντες συμφώνως ὁμολογοῦσιν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Χαλδαίων γενομένους μαθητὰς ὀλίγα συγγράψαι, καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εἶναι δοκεῖ πάντων ἀρχαιότατα καὶ μόλις αὐτὰ πιστεύουσιν ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνων γεγράφθαι.

2. And now, in the first place, I cannot but greatly wonder at those men, who suppose that we must attend to none but Grecians, when we are inquiring about the most ancient facts, and must inform ourselves of their truth from them only, while we must not believe ourselves nor other men; for I am convinced that the very reverse is the truth of the case. I mean this, — if we will not be led by vain opinions, but will make inquiry after truth from facts themselves; for they will find that almost all which concerns the Greeks happened not long ago; nay, one may say, is of yesterday only. I speak of the building of their cities, the inventions of their arts, and the description of their laws; and as for their care about the writing down of their histories, it is very near the last thing they set about. However, they acknowledge themselves so far, that they were the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, and the Phoenicians (for I will not now reckon ourselves among them) that have preserved the memorials of the most ancient and most lasting traditions of mankind; for almost all these nations inhabit such countries as are least subject to destruction from the world about them; and these also have taken especial care to have nothing omitted of what was [remarkably] done among them; but their history was esteemed sacred, and put into public tables, as written by men of the greatest wisdom they had among them. But as for the place where the Grecians inhabit, ten thousand destructions have overtaken it, and blotted out the memory of former actions; so that they were ever beginning a new way of living, and supposed that every one of them was the origin of their new state. It was also late, and with difficulty, that they came to know the letters they now use; for those who would advance their use of these letters to the greatest antiquity pretend that they learned them from the Phoenicians and from Cadmus; yet is nobody able to demonstrate that they have any writing preserved from that time, neither in their temples, nor in any other

public monuments. This appears, because the time when those lived who went to the Trojan war, so many years afterward, is in great doubt, and great inquiry is made, whether the Greeks used their letters at that time; and the most prevailing opinion, and that nearest the truth, is, that their present way of using those letters was unknown at that time. However, there is not any writing which the Greeks agree to be genuine among them ancienter than Homer's Poems, who must plainly he confessed later than the siege of Troy; nay, the report goes, that even he did not leave his poems in writing, but that their memory was preserved in songs, and they were put together afterward, and that this is the reason of such a number of variations as are found in them. As for those who set themselves about writing their histories, I mean such as Cadmus of Miletus, and Acusilaus of Argos, and any others that may be mentioned as succeeding Acusilaus, they lived but a little while before the Persian expedition into Greece. But then for those that first introduced philosophy, and the consideration of things celestial and divine among them, such as Pherceydes the Syrian, and Pythagoras, and Thales, all with one consent agree, that they learned what they knew of the Egyptians and Chaldeans, and wrote but little And these are the things which are supposed to be the oldest of all among the Greeks; and they have much ado to believe that the writings ascribed to those men are genuine.

III

[15] Πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλογον τετυφῶσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὡς μόνους ἐπισταμένους τἀρχαῖα καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν περὶ αὐτῶν ἀκριβῶς παραδιδόντας; ἢ τίς οὐ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἂν τῶν συγγραφέων μάθοι ῥᾳδίως, ὅτι μηδὲν βεβαίως εἰδότες συνέγραφον, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἕκαστοι περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων εἴκαζον; τὸ πλεῖον γοῦν διὰ τῶν βιβλίων ἀλλήλους ἐλέγχουσι καὶ τἀναντιώτατα περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγειν οὐκ ὀκνοῦσι. [16] περίεργος δ᾽ ἂν εἴην ἐγὼ τοὺς ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον ἐπισταμένους διδάσκων ὅσα μὲν Ἑλλάνικος Ἀκουσιλάῳ περὶ τῶν γενεαλογιῶν διαπεφώνηκεν, ὅσα δὲ διορθοῦται τὸν Ἡσίοδον Ἀκουσίλαος, ἢ τίνα τρόπον Ἔφορος μὲν Ἑλλάνικον ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις ψευδόμενον ἐπιδείκνυσιν, Ἔφορον δὲ Τίμαιος καὶ Τίμαιον οἱ μετ᾽ ἐκεῖνον γεγονότες, Ἡρόδοτον δὲ πάντες. [17] ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν Σικελικῶν τοῖς περὶ Ἀντίοχον καὶ Φίλιστον ἢ Καλλίαν Τίμαιος συμφωνεῖν ἠξίωσεν, οὐδ᾽ αὖ περὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν οἱ τὰς Ἀτθίδας συγγεγραφότες ἢ περὶ τῶν Ἀργολικῶν οἱ τὰ περὶ Ἄργος ἱστοροῦντες ἀλλήλοις κατηκολουθήκασι. [18] καὶ τί δεῖ λέγειν περὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλεις καὶ βραχυτέρων; ὅπου γε περὶ τῆς Περσικῆς στρατείας καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πραχθέντων οἱ δοκιμώτατοι διαπεφωνήκασι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ Θουκυδίδης ὡς ψευδόμενος ὑπό τινων κατηγορεῖται καίτοι δοκῶν ἀκριβεστάτην τὴν καθ᾽ αὐτὸν ἱστορίαν συγγράφειν.

3. How can it then be other than an absurd thing, for the Greeks to be so proud, and to vaunt themselves to be the only people that are acquainted with antiquity, and that have delivered the true accounts of those early times after an accurate manner? Nay, who is there that cannot easily gather from the Greek writers themselves, that they knew but little on any good foundation when they set to write, but rather wrote their histories from their own conjectures? Accordingly, they confute one another in their own books to purpose, and are not ashamed. to give us the most contradictory accounts of the same things; and I should spend my time to little purpose, if I should pretend to teach the Greeks that which they know better than I already, what a great disagreement there is between Hellanicus and Acusilaus about their genealogies; in how many eases Acusilaus corrects Hesiod: or after what manner Ephorus demonstrates Hellanicus to have told lies in the greatest part of his history; as does Timeus in like manner as to Ephorus, and the succeeding writers do to Timeus, and all the later writers do to Herodotus nor could Timeus agree with Antiochus and Philistius, or with Callias, about the Sicilian History, no more than do the several writers of the Athide follow one another about the Athenian affairs; nor do the historians the like, that wrote the Argolics, about the affairs of the Argives. And now what need I say any more about particular cities and smaller places, while in the most approved writers of the expedition of the Persians, and of the actions which were therein performed, there are so great differences? Nay, Thucydides himself is accused of some as writing what is false, although he seems to have given us the exactest history of the affairs of his own time.

IV

[19] Αἰτίαι δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης διαφωνίας πολλαὶ μὲν ἴσως ἂν καὶ ἕτεραι τοῖς βουλομένοις ζητεῖν ἂν φανεῖεν, ἐγὼ δὲ δυσὶ ταῖς λεχθησομέναις τὴν μεγίστην ἰσχὺν ἀνατίθημι, καὶ προτέραν ἐρῶ [20] τὴν κυριωτέραν εἶναί μοι δοκοῦσαν: τὸ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὴ σπουδασθῆναι παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι δημοσίας γίνεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἑκάστοτε πραττομένων ἀναγραφὰς τοῦτο μάλιστα δὴ καὶ τὴν πλάνην καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ ψεύδεσθαι τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα βουληθεῖσι περὶ τῶν παλαιῶν τι γράφειν παρέσχεν. [21] οὐ γὰρ μόνον παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησιν ἠμελήθη τὰ περὶ τὰς ἀναγραφάς, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, οὓς αὐτόχθονας εἶναι λέγουσιν καὶ παιδείας ἐπιμελεῖς, οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον εὑρίσκεται γενόμενον, ἀλλὰ τῶν δημοσίων γραμμάτων ἀρχαιοτάτους εἶναί φασι τοὺς ὑπὸ Δράκοντος αὐτοῖς περὶ τῶν φονικῶν γραφέντας νόμους ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τῆς Πεισιστράτου τυραννίδος ἀνθρώπου γεγονότος. [22] περὶ μὲν γὰρ Ἀρκάδων τί δεῖ λέγειν αὐχούντων ἀρχαιότητα; μόλις γὰρ οὗτοι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα γράμμασιν ἐπαιδεύθησαν.

4. As for the occasions of so great disagreement of theirs, there may be assigned many that are very probable, if any have a mind to make an inquiry about them; but I ascribe these contradictions chiefly to two causes, which I will now mention, and still think what I shall mention in the first place to be the principal of all. For if we remember that in the beginning the Greeks had taken no care to have public records of their several transactions preserved, this must for certain have afforded those that would afterward write about those ancient transactions the opportunity of making mistakes, and the power of making lies also; for this original recording of such ancient transactions hath not only been neglected by the other states of Greece, but even among the Athenians themselves also, who pretend to be Aborigines, and to have applied themselves to learning, there are no such records extant; nay, they say themselves that the laws of Draco concerning murders, which are now extant in writing, are the most ancient of their public records; which Draco yet lived but a little before the tyrant Pisistratus. For as to the Arcadians, who make such boasts of their antiquity, what need I speak of them in particular, since it was still later before they got their letters, and learned them, and that with difficulty also.

V

[23] Ἅτε δὴ τοίνυν οὐδεμιᾶς προκαταβεβλημένης ἀναγραφῆς, ἣ καὶ τοὺς μαθεῖν βουλομένους διδάξειν ἔμελλεν καὶ τοὺς ψευδομένους ἐλέγξειν, ἡ πολλὴ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγένετο διαφωνία τοῖς συγγραφεῦσι. [24] δευτέραν δὲ πρὸς ταύτῃ θετέον ἐκείνην αἰτίαν: οἱ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ γράφειν ὁρμήσαντες οὐ περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐσπούδασαν, καίτοι τοῦτο πρόχειρόν ἐστιν ἀεὶ τὸ ἐπάγγελμα, λόγων δὲ δύναμιν [25] ἐπεδείκνυντο, καὶ καθ᾽ ὅντινα τρόπον ἐν τούτῳ παρευδοκιμήσειν τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπελάμβανον, κατὰ τοῦτον ἡρμόζοντο τινὲς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ μυθολογεῖν τραπόμενοι, τινὲς δὲ πρὸς χάριν ἢ τὰς πόλεις ἢ τοὺς βασιλέας ἐπαινοῦντες: ἄλλοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ κατηγορεῖν τῶν πράξεων ἢ τῶν γεγραφότων ἐχώρησαν ἐνευδοκιμήσειν τούτῳ νομίζοντες. [26] ὅλως δὲ τὸ πάντων ἐναντιώτατον ἱστορίᾳ πράττοντες διατελοῦσι: τῆς μὲν γὰρ ἀληθοῦς ἐστι τεκμήριον ἱστορίας, εἰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἅπαντες ταὐτὰ καὶ λέγοιεν καὶ γράφοιεν. οἱ δ᾽ εἰ ταῦτα γράψειαν ἑτέρως, οὕτως ἐνόμιζον αὐτοὶ φανεῖσθαι πάντων ἀληθέστατοι. [27] λόγων μὲν οὖν ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς ἐν τούτοις δεινότητος δεῖ παραχωρεῖν ἡμᾶς τοῖς συγγραφεῦσι τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς, οὐ μὴν καὶ τῆς περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀληθοῦς ἱστορίας καὶ μάλιστά γε τῆς περὶ τῶν ἑκάστοις ἐπιχωρίων.

5. There must therefore naturally arise great differences among writers, when they had no original records to lay for their foundation, which might at once inform those who had an inclination to learn, and contradict those that would tell

lies. However, we are to suppose a second occasion besides the former of these contradictions; it is this: That those who were the most zealous to write history were not solicitous for the discovery of truth, although it was very easy for them always to make such a profession; but their business was to demonstrate that they could write well, and make an impression upon mankind thereby; and in what manner of writing they thought they were able to exceed others, to that did they apply themselves, Some of them betook themselves to the writing of fabulous narrations; some of them endeavored to please the cities or the kings, by writing in their commendation; others of them fell to finding faults with transactions, or with the writers of such transactions, and thought to make a great figure by so doing. And indeed these do what is of all things the most contrary to true history; for it is the great character of true history that all concerned therein both speak and write the same things; while these men, by writing differently about the same things, think they shall be believed to write with the greatest regard to truth. We therefore [who are Jews] must yield to the Grecian writers as to language and eloquence of composition; but then we shall give them no such preference as to the verity of ancient history, and least of all as to that part which concerns the affairs of our own several countries.

VI

[28] Ὅτι μὲν οὖν παρ᾽ Αἰγυπτίοις τε καὶ Βαβυλωνίοις ἐκ μακροτάτων ἄνωθεν χρόνων τὴν περὶ τὰς ἀναγραφὰς ἐπιμέλειαν ὅπου μὲν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἦσαν ἐγκεχειρισμένοι καὶ περὶ ταύτας ἐφιλοσόφουν, Χαλδαῖοι δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις, καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα δὴ τῶν Ἕλλησιν ἐπιμιγνυμένων ἐχρήσαντο Φοίνικες γράμμασιν εἴς τε τὰς περὶ τὸν βίον οἰκονομίας καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν κοινῶν ἔργων παράδοσιν, [29] ἐπειδὴ συγχωροῦσιν ἅπαντες, ἐάσειν μοι δοκῶ. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων ὅτι τὴν αὐτήν, ἐῶ γὰρ λέγειν εἰ καὶ πλείω τῶν εἰρημένων ἐποιήσαντο περὶ τὰς ἀναγραφὰς ἐπιμέλειαν τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι καὶ τοῖς προφήταις τοῦτο προστάξαντες, καὶ ὡς μέχρι τῶν καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς χρόνων πεφύλακται μετὰ πολλῆς ἀκριβείας, εἰ δὲ δεῖ θρασύτερον εἰπεῖν καὶ φυλαχθήσεται, πειράσομαι συντόμως διδάσκειν.

6. As to the care of writing down the records from the earliest antiquity among the Egyptians and Babylonians; that the priests were intrusted therewith, and employed a philosophical concern about it; that they were the Chaldean priests that did so among the Babylonians; and that the Phoenicians, who were mingled among the Greeks, did especially make use of their letters, both for the common affairs of life, and for the delivering down the history of common transactions, I think I may omit any proof, because all men allow it so to be. But now as to our

forefathers, that they took no less care about writing such records, [for I will not say they took greater care than the others I spoke of,] and that they committed that matter to their high priests and to their prophets, and that these records have been written all along down to our own times with the utmost accuracy; nay, if it be not too bold for me to say it, our history will be so written hereafter; — I shall endeavor briefly to inform you.

VII

[30] Οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τούτων τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ τῇ θεραπείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ προσεδρεύοντας κατέστησαν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅπως τὸ γένος [31] τῶν ἱερέων ἄμικτον καὶ καθαρὸν διαμενεῖ προυνόησαν. δεῖ γὰρ τὸν μετέχοντα τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐξ ὁμοεθνοῦς γυναικὸς παιδοποιεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ πρὸς χρήματα μηδὲ τὰς ἄλλας ἀποβλέπειν τιμὰς, ἀλλὰ τὸ γένος ἐξετάζειν ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων λαμβάνοντα τὴν διαδοχὴν [32] καὶ πολλοὺς παρεχόμενον μάρτυρας. καὶ ταῦτα πράττομεν οὐ μόνον ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς Ἰουδαίας, ἀλλ᾽ ὅπου ποτὲ σύστημα τοῦ γένους ἐστὶν ἡμῶν κἀκεῖ τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἀποσώζεται τοῖς ἱερεῦσι περὶ τοὺς γάμους: [33] λέγω δὲ τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Βαβυλῶνι καὶ εἴ που τῆς ἄλλης οἰκουμένης τοῦ γένους τῶν ἱερέων εἰσί τινες διεσπαρμένοι: πέμπουσι γὰρ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα συγγράψαντες πατρόθεν τοὔνομα τῆς τε γαμετῆς [34] καὶ τῶν ἐπάνω προγόνων καὶ τίνες οἱ μαρτυροῦντες. πόλεμος δ᾽ εἰ κατάσχοι, καθάπερ ἤδη γέγονεν πολλάκις Ἀντιόχου τε τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐμβαλόντος καὶ Πομπηίου Μάγνου καὶ Κυντιλίου [35] Οὐάρου μάλιστα δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς χρόνοις, οἱ περιλειπόμενοι τῶν ἱερέων καινὰ πάλιν ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων γραμμάτων συνίστανται καὶ δοκιμάζουσι τὰς ὑπολειφθείσας γυναῖκας. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰς αἰχμαλώτους γενομένας προσίενται πολλάκις γεγονυιῶν [36] αὐταῖς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλόφυλον κοινωνίαν ὑφορώμενοι. τεκμήριον δὲ μέγιστον τῆς ἀκριβείας: οἱ γὰρ ἀρχιερεῖς οἱ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἀπὸ δισχιλίων ἐτῶν ὀνομαστοὶ παῖδες ἐκ πατρὸς εἰσὶν ἐν ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς. τοῖς δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων ὁτιοῦν γένοιτο εἰς παράβασιν ἀπηγόρευται μήτε τοῖς βωμοῖς παρίστασθαι μήτε μετέχειν τῆς ἄλλης ἁγιστείας. [37] εἰκότως οὖν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀναγκαίως, ἅτε μήτε τὸ ὑπογράφειν αὐτεξουσίου πᾶσιν ὄντος μήτε τινὸς ἐν τοῖς γραφομένοις ἐνούσης διαφωνίας, ἀλλὰ μόνον τῶν προφητῶν τὰ μὲν ἀνωτάτω καὶ παλαιότατα κατὰ τὴν ἐπίπνοιαν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μαθόντων, τὰ δὲ καθ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐγένετο σαφῶς συγγραφόντων,

7. For our forefathers did not only appoint the best of these priests, and those that attended upon the Divine worship, for that design from the beginning, but made provision that the stock of the priests should continue unmixed and pure; for he who is partaker of the priesthood must propagate of a wife of the same nation, without having any regard to money, or any other dignities; but he is to make a

scrutiny, and take his wife's genealogy from the ancient tables, and procure many witnesses to it. And this is our practice not only in Judea, but wheresoever any body of men of our nation do live; and even there an exact catalogue of our priests' marriages is kept; I mean at Egypt and at Babylon, or in any other place of the rest of the habitable earth, whithersoever our priests are scattered; for they send to Jerusalem the ancient names of their parents in writing, as well as those of their remoter ancestors, and signify who are the witnesses also. But if any war falls out, such as have fallen out a great many of them already, when Antiochus Epiphanes made an invasion upon our country, as also when Pompey the Great and Quintilius Varus did so also, and principally in the wars that have happened in our own times, those priests that survive them compose new tables of genealogy out of the old records, and examine the circumstances of the women that remain; for still they do not admit of those that have been captives, as suspecting that they had conversation with some foreigners. But what is the strongest argument of our exact management in this matter is what I am now going to say, that we have the names of our high priests from father to son set down in our records for the interval of two thousand years; and if any of these have been transgressors of these rules, they are prohibited to present themselves at the altar, or to be partakers of any other of our purifications; and this is justly, or rather necessarily done, because every one is not permitted of his own accord to be a writer, nor is there any disagreement in what is written; they being only prophets that have written the original and earliest accounts of things as they learned them of God himself by inspiration; and others have written what hath happened in their own times, and that in a very distinct manner also.

VIII

[38] οὐ μυριάδες βιβλίων εἰσὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀσυμφώνων καὶ μαχομένων, δύο δὲ μόνα πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι βιβλία τοῦ παντὸς ἔχοντα χρόνου τὴν ἀναγραφήν, τὰ δικαίως πεπιστευμένα. [39] καὶ τούτων πέντε μέν ἐστι Μωυσέως, ἃ τούς τε νόμους περιέχει καὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἀνθρωπογονίας παράδοσιν μέχρι τῆς αὐτοῦ τελευτῆς: οὗτος ὁ χρόνος ἀπολείπει τρισχιλίων ὀλίγῳ ἐτῶν. [40] ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Μωυσέως τελευτῆς μέχρι τῆς Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ μετὰ Ξέρξην Περσῶν βασιλέως οἱ μετὰ Μωυσῆν προφῆται τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς πραχθέντα συνέγραψαν ἐν τρισὶ καὶ δέκα βιβλίοις: αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ τέσσαρες ὕμνους εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑποθήκας τοῦ βίου περιέχουσιν. [41] ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀρταξέρξου μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου γέγραπται μὲν ἕκαστα, πίστεως δ' οὐχ ὁμοίας ἠξίωται τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν προφητῶν ἀκριβῆ διαδοχήν. [42] δῆλον δ' ἐστὶν ἔργῳ, πῶς ἡμεῖς πρόσιμεν τοῖς ἰδίοις γράμμασι: τοσούτου γὰρ αἰῶνος ἤδη παρῳχηκότος οὔτε προσθεῖναί

τις οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀφελεῖν αὐτῶν οὔτε μεταθεῖναι τετόλμηκεν, πᾶσι δὲ σύμφυτόν ἐστιν εὐθὺς ἐκ πρώτης γενέσεως Ἰουδαίοις τὸ νομίζειν αὐτὰ θεοῦ δόγματα καὶ τούτοις ἐμμένειν καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, εἰ δέοι, θνήσκειν ἡδέως. [43] ἤδη οὖν πολλοὶ πολλάκις ἑώρανται τῶν αἰχμαλώτων στρέβλας καὶ παντοίων θανάτων τρόπους ἐν θεάτροις ὑπομένοντες ἐπὶ τῷ μηδὲν ῥῆμα προέσθαι παρὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰς μετὰ τούτων ἀναγραφάς. [44] ὃ τίς ἂν ὑπομείνειεν Ἑλλήνων ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ; ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ὑπὲρ τοῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀφανισθῆναι συγγράμματα [45] τὴν τυχοῦσαν ὑποστήσεται βλάβην: λόγους γὰρ αὐτὰ νομίζουσιν εἶναι κατὰ τὴν τῶν γραψάντων βούλησιν ἐσχεδιασμένους, καὶ τοῦτο δικαίως καὶ περὶ τῶν παλαιοτέρων φρονοῦσιν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῶν νῦν ἐνίους ὁρῶσι τολμῶντας περὶ τούτων συγγράφειν, οἷς μήτ᾽ αὐτοὶ παρεγένοντο μήτε πυθέσθαι παρὰ τῶν εἰδότων ἐφιλοτιμήθησαν. [46] ἀμέλει καὶ περὶ τοῦ γενομένου νῦν ἡμῖν πολέμου τινὲς ἱστορίας ἐπιγράψαντες ἐξενηνόχασιν οὔτ᾽ εἰς τοὺς τόπους παραβαλόντες οὔτε πλησίον τούτων πραττομένων προσελθόντες, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ παρακουσμάτων ὀλίγα συνθέντες τῷ τῆς ἱστορίας ὀνόματι λίαν ἀναιδῶς ἐνεπαροίνησαν.

8. For we have not an innumerable multitude of books among us, disagreeing from and contradicting one another, [as the Greeks have,] but only twenty-two books, which contain the records of all the past times; which are justly believed to be divine; and of them five belong to Moses, which contain his laws and the traditions of the origin of mankind till his death. This interval of time was little short of three thousand years; but as to the time from the death of Moses till the reign of Artaxerxes king of Persia, who reigned after Xerxes, the prophets, who were after Moses, wrote down what was done in their times in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God, and precepts for the conduct of human life. It is true, our history hath been written since Artaxerxes very particularly, but hath not been esteemed of the like authority with the former by our forefathers, because there hath not been an exact succession of prophets since that time; and how firmly we have given credit to these books of our own nation is evident by what we do; for during so many ages as have already passed, no one has been so bold as either to add any thing to them, to take any thing from them, or to make any change in them; but it is become natural to all Jews immediately, and from their very birth, to esteem these books to contain Divine doctrines, and to persist in them, and, if occasion be willingly to die for them. For it is no new thing for our captives, many of them in number, and frequently in time, to be seen to endure racks and deaths of all kinds upon the theatres, that they may not be obliged to say one word against our laws and the records that contain them; whereas there are none at all among the Greeks who would undergo the least harm on that account, no, nor in case all the writings that are

among them were to be destroyed; for they take them to be such discourses as are framed agreeably to the inclinations of those that write them; and they have justly the same opinion of the ancient writers, since they see some of the present generation bold enough to write about such affairs, wherein they were not present, nor had concern enough to inform themselves about them from those that knew them; examples of which may be had in this late war of ours, where some persons have written histories, and published them, without having been in the places concerned, or having been near them when the actions were done; but these men put a few things together by hearsay, and insolently abuse the world, and call these writings by the name of Histories.

IX

[47] Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου παντὸς καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῷ κατὰ μέρος γενομένων ἀληθῆ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ἐποιησάμην τοῖς πράγμασιν [48] αὐτὸς ἅπασι παρατυχών: ἐστρατήγουν μὲν γὰρ τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν Γαλιλαίων ὀνομαζομένων ἕως ἀντέχειν δυνατὸν ἦν, ἐγενόμην δὲ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις συλληφθεὶς αἰχμάλωτος καί με διὰ φυλακῆς Οὐεσπασιανὸς καὶ Τίτος ἔχοντες ἀεὶ προσεδρεύειν αὐτοῖς ἠνάγκασαν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον δεδεμένον, αὖθις δὲ λυθεὶς συνεπέμφθην ἀπὸ [49] τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας Τίτῳ πρὸς τὴν Ἱεροσολύμων πολιορκίαν. ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ γενομένην τῶν πραττομένων οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ τὴν ἐμὴν γνῶσιν διέφυγεν: καὶ γὰρ τὰ κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ῥωμαίων ὁρῶν ἐπιμελῶς ἀνέγραφον καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν αὐτομόλων ἀπαγγελλόμενα μόνος [50] αὐτὸς συνίειν. εἶτα σχολῆς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ λαβόμενος, πάσης μοι τῆς πραγματείας ἐν παρασκευῇ γεγενημένης χρησάμενός τισι πρὸς τὴν Ἑλληνίδα φωνὴν συνεργοῖς οὕτως ἐποιησάμην τῶν πράξεων τὴν παράδοσιν. τοσοῦτον δέ μοι περιῆν θάρσος τῆς ἀληθείας, ὥστε πρώτους πάντων τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας τοῦ πολέμου γενομένους Οὐεσπασιανὸν [51] καὶ Τίτον ἠξίωσα λαβεῖν μάρτυρας. πρώτοις γὰρ δέδωκα τὰ βιβλία καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκείνους πολλοῖς μὲν Ῥωμαίων τοῖς συμπεπολεμηκόσι, πολλοῖς δὲ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐπίπρασκον, ἀνδράσι καὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς σοφίας μετεσχηκόσιν, ὧν ἐστιν Ἰούλιος Ἀρχέλαος, Ἡρώδης ὁ σεμνότατος, αὐτὸς ὁ θαυμασιώτατος βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας. [52] οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἅπαντες ἐμαρτύρησαν, ὅτι τῆς ἀληθείας προύστην ἐπιμελῶς, οὐκ ἂν ὑποστειλάμενοι καὶ σιωπήσαντες, εἴ τι κατ᾽ ἄγνοιαν ἢ χαριζόμενος μετέθηκα τῶν γεγονότων ἢ παρέλιπον.

9. As for myself, I have composed a true history of that whole war, and of all the particulars that occurred therein, as having been concerned in all its transactions; for I acted as general of those among us that are named Galileans, as long as it was possible for us to make any opposition. I was then seized on by the Romans, and became a captive. Vespasian also and Titus had me kept under a guard, and

forced me to attend them continually. At the first I was put into bonds, but was set at liberty afterward, and sent to accompany Titus when he came from Alexandria to the siege of Jerusalem; during which time there was nothing done which escaped my knowledge; for what happened in the Roman camp I saw, and wrote down carefully; and what informations the deserters brought [out of the city], I was the only man that understood them. Afterward I got leisure at Rome; and when all my materials were prepared for that work, I made use of some persons to assist me in learning the Greek tongue, and by these means I composed the history of those transactions. And I was so well assured of the truth of what I related, that I first of all appealed to those that had the supreme command in that war, Vespasian and Titus, as witnesses for me, for to them I presented those books first of all, and after them to many of the Romans who had been in the war. I also sold them to many of our own men who understood the Greek philosophy; among whom were Julius Archelaus, Herod [king of Chalcis], a person of great gravity, and king Agrippa himself, a person that deserved the greatest admiration. Now all these men bore their testimony to me, that I had the strictest regard to truth; who yet would not have dissembled the matter, nor been silent, if I, out of ignorance, or out of favor to any side, either had given false colors to actions, or omitted any of them.

X

[53] Φαῦλοι δέ τινες ἄνθρωποι διαβάλλειν μου τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐπικεχειρήκασιν ὥσπερ ἐν σχολῇ μειρακίων γύμνασμα προκεῖσθαι νομίζοντες κατηγορίας παραδόξου καὶ διαβολῆς, δέον ἐκεῖνο γιγνώσκειν, ὅτι δεῖ τὸν ἄλλοις παράδοσιν πράξεων ἀληθινῶν ὑπισχνούμενον αὐτὸν ἐπίστασθαι ταύτας πρότερον ἀκριβῶς ἢ παρηκολουθηκότα [54] τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἢ παρὰ τῶν εἰδότων πυνθανόμενον. ὅπερ ἐγὼ μάλιστα περὶ ἀμφοτέρας νομίζω πεποιηκέναι τὰς πραγματείας: τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαιολογίαν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων μεθερμήνευκα γεγονὼς ἱερεὺς ἐκ γένους καὶ μετεσχηκὼς τῆς φιλοσοφίας [55] τῆς ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς γράμμασι: τοῦ δὲ πολέμου τὴν ἱστορίαν ἔγραψα πολλῶν μὲν αὐτουργὸς πράξεων, πλείστων δ' αὐτόπτης γενόμενος, ὅλως δὲ τῶν λεχθέντων ἢ πραχθέντων οὐδοτιοῦν ἀγνοήσας. [56] πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἂν θρασεῖς τις ἡγήσαιτο τοὺς ἀνταγωνίζεσθαί μοι περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπικεχειρηκότας, οἳ κἂν τοῖς τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων ὑπομνήμασιν ἐντυχεῖν λέγωσιν, ἀλλ' οὔ γε καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις τῶν ἀντιπολεμούντων πράγμασι παρέτυχον.

10. There have been indeed some bad men, who have attempted to calumniate my history, and took it to be a kind of scholastic performance for the exercise of young men. A strange sort of accusation and calumny this! since every one that

undertakes to deliver the history of actions truly ought to know them accurately himself in the first place, as either having been concerned in them himself, or been informed of them by such as knew them. Now both these methods of knowledge I may very properly pretend to in the composition of both my works; for, as I said, I have translated the Antiquities out of our sacred books; which I easily could do, since I was a priest by my birth, and have studied that philosophy which is contained in those writings: and for the History of the War, I wrote it as having been an actor myself in many of its transactions, an eye-witness in the greatest part of the rest, and was not unacquainted with any thing whatsoever that was either said or done in it. How impudent then must those deserve to be esteemed that undertake to contradict me about the true state of those affairs! who, although they pretend to have made use of both the emperors' own memoirs, yet could not they he acquainted with our affairs who fought against them.

XI

[57] Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἀναγκαίαν ἐποιησάμην τὴν παρέκβασιν ἐπισημήνασθαι βουλόμενος τῶν ἐπαγγελλομένων τὰς ἱστορίας [58] συγγράφειν τὴν εὐχέρειαν. ἱκανῶς δὲ φανερόν, ὡς οἶμαι, πεποιηκὼς ὅτι πάτριός ἐστιν ἡ περὶ τῶν παλαιῶν ἀναγραφὴ τοῖς βαρβάροις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς Ἕλλησι, βούλομαι μικρὰ πρότερον διαλεχθῆναι πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας νέαν ἡμῶν ἀποφαίνειν τὴν κατάστασιν ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν περὶ ἡμῶν, ὥς φασιν ἐκεῖνοι, λελέχθαι παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς συγγραφεῦσιν. [59] εἶτα δὲ τὰς μαρτυρίας τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἐκ τῶν παρ' ἄλλοις γραμμάτων παρέξω καὶ τοὺς βεβλασφημηκότας ἡμῶν τὸ γένος ἀποδείξω λίαν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις βλασφημοῦντας.

11. This digression I have been obliged to make out of necessity, as being desirous to expose the vanity of those that profess to write histories; and I suppose I have sufficiently declared that this custom of transmitting down the histories of ancient times hath been better preserved by those nations which are called Barbarians, than by the Greeks themselves. I am now willing, in the next place, to say a few things to those that endeavor to prove that our constitution is but of late time, for this reason, as they pretend, that the Greek writers have said nothing about us; after which I shall produce testimonies for our antiquity out of the writings of foreigners; I shall also demonstrate that such as cast reproaches upon our nation do it very unjustly.

XII

[60] Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν οὔτε χώραν οἰκοῦμεν παράλιον οὔτ᾽ ἐμπορίαις χαίρομεν οὐδὲ ταῖς πρὸς ἄλλους διὰ τούτων ἐπιμιξίαις, ἀλλ᾽ εἰσὶ μὲν ἡμῶν αἱ πόλεις μακρὰν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀνῳκισμέναι, χώραν δὲ ἀγαθὴν νεμόμενοι ταύτην ἐκπονοῦμεν μάλιστα δὴ πάντων περὶ παιδοτροφίαν φιλοκαλοῦντες καὶ τὸ φυλάττειν τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν κατὰ τούτους παραδεδομένην εὐσέβειαν ἔργον ἀναγκαιότατον παντὸς τοῦ βίου πεποιημένοι. [61] προσούσης τοίνυν τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν βίον ἡμῶν ἰδιότητος οὐδὲν ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς χρόνοις ποιοῦν ἡμῖν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπιμιξίαν, ὥσπερ Αἰγυπτίοις μὲν τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐξαγόμενα καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰσαγόμενα, τοῖς δὲ τὴν παράλιον τῆς Φοινίκης κατοικοῦσιν ἡ περὶ τὰς καπηλείας καὶ [62] περὶ τὰς ἐμπορίας σπουδὴ διὰ τὸ φιλοχρηματεῖν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πρὸς λῃστείας, ὥσπερ ἄλλοι τινές, ἢ τὸ πλέον ἔχειν ἀξιοῦν πολεμοῦντες ἐτράπησαν ἡμῶν οἱ πατέρες καίτοι πολλὰς τῆς χώρας ἐχούσης μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἀτόλμων. [63] διὰ τοῦτο Φοίνικες μὲν αὐτοὶ κατ᾽ ἐμπορίαν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπεισπλέοντες εὐθὺς ἐγνώσθησαν καὶ δι᾽ ἐκείνων Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ πάντες, ἀφ᾽ ὧν τὸν φόρτον εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας διεκόμιζον μεγάλα πελάγη διαίροντες. [64] Μῆδοι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ Πέρσαι φανεροὶ κατέστησαν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπάρξαντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἠπείρου Πέρσαι στρατεύσαντες. Θρᾷκες δὲ διὰ γειτονίαν καὶ τὸ Σκυθικὸν ὑπὸ τῶν εἰς τὸν Πόντον ἐγνώσθη πλεόντων. [65] ὅλως γὰρ ἅπαντες οἱ παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν καὶ τὴν πρὸς ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἑσπέριον κατοικοῦντες τοῖς συγγράφειν τι βουλομένοις γνωριμώτεροι κατέστησαν, οἱ δὲ ταύτης [66] ἀνωτέρω τὰς οἰκήσεις ἔχοντες ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἠγνοήθησαν. καὶ τοῦτο φαίνεται καὶ περὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην συμβεβηκός, ὅπου γε τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως, τοιαύτην ἐκ μακροῦ δύναμιν κεκτημένης καὶ τοιαύτας πράξεις κατορθούσης πολεμικάς, οὔθ᾽ ὁ Ἡρόδοτος οὔτε Θουκυδίδης οὔτε τῶν ἅμα τούτοις γενομένων οὐδὲ εἷς ἐμνημόνευκεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὀψέ ποτε καὶ μόλις αὐτῶν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἡ γνῶσις διεξῆλθεν. [67] περὶ μὲν γὰρ Γαλατῶν τε καὶ Ἰβήρων οὕτως ἠγνόησαν οἱ δοκοῦντες ἀκριβέστατοι συγγραφεῖς, ὧν ἐστιν Ἔφορος, ὥστε πόλιν οἴεται μίαν εἶναι τοὺς Ἴβηρας τοὺς τοσοῦτο μέρος τῆς ἑσπερίου γῆς κατοικοῦντας, καὶ τὰ μήτε γενόμενα παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἔθη μήτε λεγόμενα γράφειν ὡς ἐκείνων αὐτοῖς χρωμένων ἐτόλμησαν. [68] αἴτιον δὲ τοῦ μὲν μὴ γιγνώσκειν τἀληθὲς τὸ λίαν ἀνεπίμικτον, τοῦ δὲ γράφειν ψευδῆ τὸ βούλεσθαι δοκεῖν τι πλέον τῶν ἄλλων ἱστορεῖν. πῶς οὖν ἔτι θαυμάζειν προσῆκεν, εἰ μηδὲ τὸ ἡμέτερον ἔθνος πολλοῖς ἐγιγνώσκετο μηδὲ τῆς ἐν τοῖς συγγράμμασι μνήμης ἀφορμὴν παρέσχεν, οὕτως μὲν ἀπῳκισμένον τῆς θαλάσσης, οὕτως δὲ βιοτεύειν προῃρημένον;

12. As for ourselves, therefore, we neither inhabit a maritime country, nor do we delight in merchandise, nor in such a mixture with other men as arises from it; but the cities we dwell in are remote from the sea, and having a fruitful country for our habitation, we take pains in cultivating that only. Our principal care of all

is this, to educate our children well; and we think it to be the most necessary business of our whole life to observe the laws that have been given us, and to keep those rules of piety that have been delivered down to us. Since, therefore, besides what we have already taken notice of, we have had a peculiar way of living of our own, there was no occasion offered us in ancient ages for intermixing among the Greeks, as they had for mixing among the Egyptians, by their intercourse of exporting and importing their several goods; as they also mixed with the Phoenicians, who lived by the sea-side, by means of their love of lucre in trade and merchandise. Nor did our forefathers betake themselves, as did some others, to robbery; nor did they, in order to gain more wealth, fall into foreign wars, although our country contained many ten thousands of men of courage sufficient for that purpose. For this reason it was that the Phoenicians themselves came soon by trading and navigation to be known to the Grecians, and by their means the Egyptians became known to the Grecians also, as did all those people whence the Phoenicians in long voyages over the seas carried wares to the Grecians. The Medes also and the Persians, when they were lords of Asia, became well known to them; and this was especially true of the Persians, who led their armies as far as the other continent [Europe]. The Thracians were also known to them by the nearness of their countries, and the Scythians by the means of those that sailed to Pontus; for it was so in general that all maritime nations, and those that inhabited near the eastern or western seas, became most known to those that were desirous to be writers; but such as had their habitations further from the sea were for the most part unknown to them which things appear to have happened as to Europe also, where the city of Rome, that hath this long time been possessed of so much power, and hath performed such great actions in war, is yet never mentioned by Herodotus, nor by Thucydides, nor by any one of their contemporaries; and it was very late, and with great difficulty, that the Romans became known to the Greeks. Nay, those that were reckoned the most exact historians [and Ephorus for one] were so very ignorant of the Gauls and the Spaniards, that he supposed the Spaniards, who inhabit so great a part of the western regions of the earth, to be no more than one city. Those historians also have ventured to describe such customs as were made use of by them, which they never had either done or said; and the reason why these writers did not know the truth of their affairs was this, that they had not any commerce together; but the reason why they wrote such falsities was this, that they had a mind to appear to know things which others had not known. How can it then be any wonder, if our nation was no more known to many of the Greeks, nor had given them any occasion to mention them in their writings, while they were so remote from the sea, and had a conduct of life so peculiar to themselves?

XIII

[69] Φέρε τοίνυν ἡμᾶς ἀξιοῦν τεκμηρίῳ χρῆσθαι περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὅτι μὴ παλαιόν ἐστιν αὐτῶν τὸ γένος, τῷ μηθὲν ἐν ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἀναγραφαῖς περὶ αὐτῶν εἰρῆσθαι. ἆρ᾽ οὐχὶ πάντως ἂν κατεγέλων αὐτὰς οἶμαι τὰς ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ νῦν εἰρημένας κομίζοντες αἰτίας καὶ μάρτυρας ἂν τοὺς πλησιοχώρους παρείχοντο τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχαιότητος; [70] κἀγὼ τοίνυν πειράσομαι τοῦτο ποιεῖν: Αἰγυπτίοις γὰρ καὶ Φοίνιξι μάλιστα δὴ χρήσομαι μάρτυσιν, οὐκ ἄν τινος ὡς ψευδῆ τὴν μαρτυρίαν διαβάλλειν δυνηθέντος: φαίνονται γὰρ καὶ δὴ μάλιστα πρὸς ἡμᾶς δυσμενῶς διατεθέντες κοινῇ μὲν ἅπαντες [71] Αἰγύπτιοι, Φοινίκων δὲ Τύριοι. περὶ μέντοι Χαλδαίων οὐκέτι ταὐτὸ τοῦτο δυναίμην ἂν λέγειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἀρχηγοὶ καθεστήκασιν καὶ διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν ἀναγραφαῖς Ἰουδαίων μνημονεύουσιν. [72] ὅταν δὲ τὰς περὶ τούτων πίστεις παράσχω, τότε καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συγγραφέων ἀποφανῶ τοὺς μνήμην Ἰουδαίων πεποιηκότας, ἵνα μηδὲ ταύτην ἔτι τὴν πρόφασιν οἱ βασκαίνοντες ἔχωσιν τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀντιλογίας.

13. Let us now put the case, therefore, that we made use of this argument concerning the Grecians, in order to prove that their nation was not ancient, because nothing is said of them in our records: would not they laugh at us all, and probably give the same reasons for our silence that I have now alleged, and would produce their neighbor nations as witnesses to their own antiquity? Now the very same thing will I endeavor to do; for I will bring the Egyptians and the Phoenicians as my principal witnesses, because nobody can complain Of their testimony as false, on account that they are known to have borne the greatest ill-will towards us; I mean this as to the Egyptians in general all of them, while of the Phoenicians it is known the Tyrians have been most of all in the same ill disposition towards us: yet do I confess that I cannot say the same of the Chaldeans, since our first leaders and ancestors were derived from them; and they do make mention of us Jews in their records, on account of the kindred there is between us. Now when I shall have made my assertions good, so far as concerns the others, I will demonstrate that some of the Greek writers have made mention of us Jews also, that those who envy us may not have even this pretense for contradicting what I have said about our nation.

XIV

[73] Ἄρξομαι δὲ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν παρ᾽ Αἰγυπτίοις γραμμάτων. αὐτὰ μὲν οὖν οὐχ οἷόν τε παρατίθεσθαι τἀκείνων, Μάνεθως δ᾽ ἦν τὸ γένος Αἰγύπτιος ἀνὴρ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς μετεσχηκὼς παιδείας, ὡς δῆλός ἐστιν: γέγραφεν γὰρ Ἑλλάδι φωνῇ

τὴν πάτριον ἱστορίαν ἔκ τε τῶν ἱερῶν, ὥς φησιν αὐτός, μεταφράσας καὶ πολλὰ τὸν Ἡρόδοτον ἐλέγχει τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν ὑπ᾽ ἀγνοίας ἐψευσμένον. [74] οὗτος δὴ τοίνυν ὁ Μάνεθως ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν ταῦτα περὶ ἡμῶν γράφει. παραθήσομαι δὲ τὴν λέξιν αὐτοῦ καθάπερ αὐτὸν [75] ἐκεῖνον παραγαγὼν μάρτυρα: “ Τοῦ τίμαιος ὄνομα. ἐπὶ τούτου οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅπως θεὸς ἀντέπνευσεν καὶ παραδόξως ἐκ τῶν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν μερῶν ἄνθρωποι τὸ γένος ἄσημοι καταθαρρήσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἐστράτευσαν καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἀμαχητὶ ταύτην κατὰ κράτος εἷλον, [76] καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμονεύσαντας ἐν αὐτῇ χειρωσάμενοι τὸ λοιπὸν τάς τε πόλεις ὠμῶς ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἱερὰ κατέσκαψαν, πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἐχθρότατά πως ἐχρήσαντο τοὺς μὲν σφάζοντες, [77] τῶν δὲ καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας εἰς δουλείαν ἄγοντες. πέρας δὲ καὶ βασιλέα ἕνα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐποίησαν, ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Σάλιτις. καὶ οὗτος ἐν τῇ Μέμφιδι κατεγίνετο τήν τε ἄνω καὶ κάτω χώραν δασμολογῶν καὶ φρουρὰν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδειοτάτοις καταλιπὼν τόποις. μάλιστα δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἠσφαλίσατο μέρη προορώμενος Ἀσσυρίων ποτὲ μεῖζον ἰσχυόντων ἐσομένην ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ἔφοδον. [78] εὑρὼν δὲ ἐν νομῷ τῷ Σεθροΐ¨τῃ πόλιν ἐπικαιροτάτην, κειμένην μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν τοῦ Βουβαστίτου ποταμοῦ, καλουμένην δ᾽ ἀπό τινος ἀρχαίας θεολογίας Αὔαριν, ταύτην ἔκτισέν τε καὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν ὀχυρωτάτην ἐποίησεν ἐνοικίσας αὐτῇ καὶ πλῆθος ὁπλιτῶν εἰς εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρας μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν προφυλακήν. [79] ἔνθα δὲ κατὰ θέρειαν ἤρχετο τὰ μὲν σιτομετρῶν καὶ μισθοφορίαν παρεχόμενος τὰ δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἐξοπλισίαις πρὸς φόβον τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπιμελῶς γυμνάζων. ἄρξας δ᾽ ἐννεακαίδεκα ἔτη τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησε. [80] μετὰ τοῦτον δὲ ἕτερος ἐβασίλευσεν τέσσαρα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη καλούμενος Βηών. μεθ᾽ ὃν ἄλλος Ἀπαχνὰς ἓξ καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη καὶ μῆνας ἑπτά. ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ Ἄπωφις ἓν καὶ ἑξήκοντα [81] καὶ Ἰαννὰς πεντήκοντα καὶ μῆνα ἕνα. ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ καὶ Ἄσσις ἐννέα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ μῆνας δύο. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἓξ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐγενήθησαν πρῶτοι ἄρχοντες ποθοῦντες ἀεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον τῆς Αἰγύπτου [82] ἐξᾶραι τὴν ῥίζαν. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τὸ σύμπαν αὐτῶν ἔθνος Ὑκσώς, τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν βασιλεῖς ποιμένες: τὸ γὰρ υκ καθ᾽ ἱερὰν γλῶσσαν βασιλέα σημαίνει, τὸ δὲ σὼς ποιμήν ἐστι καὶ ποιμένες κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν διάλεκτον, καὶ οὕτως συντιθέμενον γίνεται Ὑκσώς. [83] τινὲς δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτοὺς Ἄραβας εἶναι. ἐν δ᾽ ἄλλῳ ἀντιγράφῳ οὐ βασιλεῖς σημαίνεσθαι διὰ τῆς υ¨κ προσηγορίας, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον αἰχμαλώτους δηλοῦσθαι ποιμένας: τὸ γὰρ ὒκ πάλιν Αἰγυπτιστὶ καὶ τὸ ἃκ δασυνόμενον αἰχμαλώτους ῥητῶς μηνύει. καὶ τοῦτο μᾶλλον [84] πιθανώτερόν μοι φαίνεται καὶ παλαιᾶς ἱστορίας ἐχόμενον. τούτους τοὺς προκατωνομασμένους βασιλέας καὶ τοὺς τῶν ποιμένων καλουμένων καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν γενομένους κρατῆσαι τῆς Αἰγύπτου [85] φησὶν ἔτη πρὸς τοῖς πεντακοσίοις ἕνδεκα. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Θηβαΐ¨δος καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων γενέσθαι φησὶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ποιμένας ἐπανάστασιν καὶ πόλεμον συρραγῆναι μέγαν [86] καὶ πολυχρόνιον. ἐπὶ δὲ

βασιλέως, ᾧ ὄνομα εἶναι Μισφραγμούθωσις, ἡττωμένους φησὶ τοὺς ποιμένας ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἄλλης Αἰγύπτου πάσης ἐκπεσεῖν, κατακλεισθῆναι δ᾽ εἰς τόπον ἀρουρῶν ἔχοντα μυρίων [87] τὴν περίμετρον: Αὔαριν ὄνομα τῷ τόπῳ. τοῦτόν φησιν ὁ Μάνεθως ἅπαντα τείχει τε μεγάλῳ καὶ ἰσχυρῷ περιβαλεῖν τοὺς ποιμένας, ὅπως τήν τε κτῆσιν ἅπασαν ἔχωσιν ἐν ὀχυρῷ καὶ τὴν [88] λείαν τὴν ἑαυτῶν. τὸν δὲ Μισφραγμουθώσεως υἱὸν Θούμμωσιν ἐπιχειρῆσαι μὲν αὐτοὺς διὰ πολιορκίας ἐλεῖν κατὰ κράτος ὀκτὼ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα μυριάσι στρατοῦ προσεδρεύσαντα τοῖς τείχεσιν: ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀπέγνω, ποιήσασθαι συμβάσεις, ἵνα τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐκλιπόντες ὅποι βούλονται πάντες ἀβλαβεῖς ἀπέλθωσι. [89] τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὁμολογίαις πανοικησίᾳ μετὰ τῶν κτήσεων οὐκ ἐλάττους μυριάδων ὄντας εἴκοσι καὶ τεσσάρων ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου [90] τὴν ἔρημον εἰς Συρίαν διοδοιπορῆσαι. φοβουμένους δὲ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων δυναστείαν, τότε γὰρ ἐκείνους τῆς Ἀσίας κρατεῖν, ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἰουδαίᾳ καλουμένῃ πόλιν οἰκοδομησαμένους τοσαύταις μυριάσιν ἀνθρώπων ἀρκέσουσαν Ἱεροσόλυμα ταύτην ὀνομάσαι. [91] ἐν ἄλλῃ δέ τινι βίβλῳ τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν Μάνεθως τοῦτό φησιν τὸ ἔθνος τοὺς καλουμένους ποιμένας αἰχμαλώτους ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς αὐτῶν βίβλοις γεγράφθαι λέγων ὀρθῶς: καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἀνωτάτω προγόνοις ἡμῶν τὸ ποιμαίνειν πάτριον ἦν καὶ νομαδικὸν ἔχοντες τὸν βίον οὕτως ἐκαλοῦντο ποιμένες. [92] αἰχμάλωτοί τε πάλιν οὐκ ἀλόγως ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀνεγράφησαν, ἐπειδήπερ ὁ πρόγονος ἡμῶν Ἰώσηπος ἑαυτὸν ἔφη πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων αἰχμάλωτον εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὕστερον μετεπέμψατο τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιτρέψαντος. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν ἄλλοις ποιήσομαι τὴν ἐξέτασιν ἀκριβεστέραν.

14. I shall begin with the writings of the Egyptians; not indeed of those that have written in the Egyptian language, which it is impossible for me to do. But Manetho was a man who was by birth an Egyptian, yet had he made himself master of the Greek learning, as is very evident; for he wrote the history of his own country in the Greek tongue, by translating it, as he saith himself, out of their sacred records; he also finds great fault with Herodotus for his ignorance and false relations of Egyptian affairs. Now this Manetho, in the second book of his Egyptian History, writes concerning us in the following manner. I will set down his very words, as if I were to bring the very man himself into a court for a witness: “There was a king of ours whose name was Timaus. Under him it came to pass, I know not how, that God was averse to us, and there came, after a surprising manner, men of ignoble birth out of the eastern parts, and had boldness enough to make an expedition into our country, and with ease subdued it by force, yet without our hazarding a battle with them. So when they had gotten those that governed us under their power, they afterwards burnt down our

cities, and demolished the temples of the gods, and used all the inhabitants after a most barbarous manner; nay, some they slew, and led their children and their wives into slavery. At length they made one of themselves king, whose name was Salatis; he also lived at Memphis, and made both the upper and lower regions pay tribute, and left garrisons in places that were the most proper for them. He chiefly aimed to secure the eastern parts, as fore-seeing that the Assyrians, who had then the greatest power, would be desirous of that kingdom, and invade them; and as he found in the Saite Nomos, [Sethroite,] a city very proper for this purpose, and which lay upon the Bubastic channel, but with regard to a certain theologic notion was called Avaris, this he rebuilt, and made very strong by the walls he built about it, and by a most numerous garrison of two hundred and forty thousand armed men whom he put into it to keep it. Thither Salatis came in summer time, partly to gather his corn, and pay his soldiers their wages, and partly to exercise his armed men, and thereby to terrify foreigners. When this man had reigned thirteen years, after him reigned another, whose name was Beon, for forty-four years; after him reigned another, called Apachnas, thirty-six years and seven months; after him Apophis reigned sixty-one years, and then Janins fifty years and one month; after all these reigned Assis forty-nine years and two months. And these six were the first rulers among them, who were all along making war with the Egyptians, and were very desirous gradually to destroy them to the very roots. This whole nation was styled Hycsos, that is, Shepherd-kings: for the first syllable Hyc, according to the sacred dialect, denotes a king, as is Sos a shepherd; but this according to the ordinary dialect; and of these is compounded Hycsos: but some say that these people were Arabians." Now in another copy it is said that this word does not denote Kings, but, on the contrary, denotes Captive Shepherds, and this on account of the particle Hyc; for that Hyc, with the aspiration, in the Egyptian tongue again denotes Shepherds, and that expressly also; and this to me seems the more probable opinion, and more agreeable to ancient history. [But Manetho goes on]: "These people, whom we have before named kings, and called shepherds also, and their descendants," as he says, "kept possession of Egypt five hundred and eleven years." After these, he says, "That the kings of Thebais and the other parts of Egypt made an insurrection against the shepherds, and that there a terrible and long war was made between them." He says further, "That under a king, whose name was Alisphragmuthosis, the shepherds were subdued by him, and were indeed driven out of other parts of Egypt, but were shut up in a place that contained ten thousand acres; this place was named Avaris." Manetho says, "That the shepherds built a wall round all this place, which was a large and a strong wall, and this in order to keep all their possessions and their prey within

a place of strength, but that Thummosis the son of Alisphragmuthosis made an attempt to take them by force and by siege, with four hundred and eighty thousand men to lie rotund about them, but that, upon his despair of taking the place by that siege, they came to a composition with them, that they should leave Egypt, and go, without any harm to be done to them, whithersoever they would; and that, after this composition was made, they went away with their whole families and effects, not fewer in number than two hundred and forty thousand, and took their journey from Egypt, through the wilderness, for Syria; but that as they were in fear of the Assyrians, who had then the dominion over Asia, they built a city in that country which is now called Judea, and that large enough to contain this great number of men, and called it Jerusalem." Now Manetho, in another book of his, says, "That this nation, thus called Shepherds, were also called Captives, in their sacred books." And this account of his is the truth; for feeding of sheep was the employment of our forefathers in the most ancient ages and as they led such a wandering life in feeding sheep, they were called Shepherds. Nor was it without reason that they were called Captives by the Egyptians, since one of our ancestors, Joseph, told the king of Egypt that he was a captive, and afterward sent for his brethren into Egypt by the king's permission. But as for these matters, I shall make a more exact inquiry about them elsewhere.

XV

[93] Νυνὶ δὲ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ταύτης παρατίθεμαι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους μάρτυρας. πάλιν οὖν τὰ τοῦ Μανέθω πῶς ἔχει πρὸς τὴν τῶν χρόνων τάξιν ὑπογράψω. [94] φησὶ δὲ οὕτως: "μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τὸν λαὸν τῶν ποιμένων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ὁ ἐκβαλὼν αὐτοὺς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς Τέθμωσις ἐβασίλευσεν μετὰ ταῦτα ἔτη εἰκοσιπέντε καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν, καὶ παρέλαβεν [95] τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ αὐτοῦ υἱὸς Χέβρων ἔτη δεκατρία. μεθ' ὃν Ἀμένωφις εἴκοσι καὶ μῆνας ἑπτά. τοῦ δὲ ἀδελφὴ Ἀμεσσὴς εἰκοσιὲν καὶ μῆνας ἐννέα. τῆς δὲ Μήφρης δώδεκα καὶ μῆνας ἐννέα. τοῦ [96] δὲ Μηφραμούθωσις εἰκοσιπέντε καὶ μῆνας δέκα. τοῦ δὲ Θμῶσις ἐννέα καὶ μῆνας ὀκτώ. τοῦ δ' Ἀμένωφις τριάκοντα καὶ μῆνας δέκα. τοῦ δὲ Ὧρος τριακονταὲξ καὶ μῆνας πέντε. τοῦ δὲ θυγάτηρ Ἀκεγχερὴς δώδεκα καὶ μῆνα ἕνα. τῆς δὲ Ῥάθωτις ἀδελφὸς ἐννέα. [97] τοῦ δὲ Ἀκεγχήρης δώδεκα καὶ μῆνας πέντε. τοῦ δὲ Ἀκεγχήρης ἕτερος δώδεκα καὶ μῆνας τρεῖς. τοῦ δὲ Ἄρμαι¨ς τέσσαρα καὶ μῆνα ἕνα. τοῦ δὲ Ῥαμέσσης ἓν καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας. τοῦ δὲ Ἀρμέσσης Μιαμοῦν ἑξηκονταὲξ καὶ μῆνας δύο. τοῦ δὲ Ἀμένωφις δεκαεννέα [98] καὶ μῆνας ἕξ. τοῦ δὲ Σέθως ὁ καὶ Ῥαμέσσης ἱππικὴν καὶ ναυτικὴν ἔχων δύναμιν τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν Ἄρμαι¨ν ἐπίτροπον τῆς Αἰγύπτου

κατέστησεν καὶ πᾶσαν μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν ἄλλην βασιλικὴν περιέθηκεν ἐξουσίαν, μόνον δὲ ἐνετείλατο διάδημα μὴ φορεῖν μηδὲ τὴν βασιλίδα μητέρα τε τῶν τέκνων ἀδικεῖν, ἀπέχεσθαι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βασιλικῶν παλλακίδων. [99] αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Κύπρον καὶ Φοινίκην καὶ πάλιν Ἀσσυρίους τε καὶ Μήδους στρατεύσας ἅπαντας τοὺς μὲν δόρατι, τοὺς δὲ ἀμαχητὶ φόβῳ δὲ τῆς πολλῆς δυνάμεως ὑποχειρίους ἔλαβε καὶ μέγα φρονήσας ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐπραγίαις ἔτι καὶ θαρσαλεώτερον ἐπεπορεύετο τὰς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς πόλεις τε καὶ χώρας καταστρεφόμενος. [100] χρόνου τε ἱκανοῦ γεγονότος Ἅρμαι¨ς ὁ καταλειφθεὶς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πάντα τἄμπαλιν οἷς ἀδελφὸς παρῄνει μὴ ποιεῖν ἀδεῶς ἔπραττεν: καὶ γὰρ τὴν βασιλίδα βιαίως ἔσχεν καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις παλλακίσιν ἀφειδῶς διετέλει χρώμενος, πειθόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων [101] διάδημα ἐφόρει καὶ ἀντῆρε τῷ ἀδελφῷ. ὁ δὲ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερέων τῆς Αἰγύπτου γράψας βιβλίον ἔπεμψε τῷ Σεθώσει δηλῶν αὐτῷ πάντα καὶ ὅτι ἀντῆρεν ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἅρμαι¨ς. παραχρῆμα οὖν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Πηλούσιον καὶ ἐκράτησεν τῆς ἰδίας βασιλείας. [102] ἡ δὲ χώρα ἐκλήθη ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀνόματος Αἴγυπτος: λέγει γάρ, ὅτι ὁ μὲν Σέθως ἐκαλεῖτο Αἴγυπτος, Ἅρμαι¨ς δὲ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Δαναός.

15. But now I shall produce the Egyptians as witnesses to the antiquity of our nation. I shall therefore here bring in Manetho again, and what he writes as to the order of the times in this case; and thus he speaks: “When this people or shepherds were gone out of Egypt to Jerusalem, Tethtoosis the king of Egypt, who drove them out, reigned afterward twenty-five years and four months, and then died; after him his son Chebron took the kingdom for thirteen years; after whom came Amenophis, for twenty years and seven months; then came his sister Amesses, for twenty-one years and nine months; after her came Mephres, for twelve years and nine months; after him was Mephramuthosis, for twenty-five years and ten months; after him was Thmosis, for nine years and eight months; after him came Amenophis, for thirty years and ten months; after him came Orus, for thirty-six years and five months; then came his daughter Acenchres, for twelve years and one month; then was her brother Rathotis, for nine years; then was Acencheres, for twelve years and five months; then came another Acencheres, for twelve years and three months; after him Armais, for four years and one month; after him was Ramesses, for one year and four months; after him came Armesses Miammoun, for sixty-six years and two months; after him Amenophis, for nineteen years and six months; after him came Sethosis, and Ramesses, who had an army of horse, and a naval force. This king appointed his brother, Armais, to be his deputy over Egypt.” [In another copy it stood thus: “After him came Sethosis, and Ramesses, two brethren, the former of whom had a naval force, and in a hostile manner destroyed those that met him

upon the sea; but as he slew Ramesses in no long time afterward, so he appointed another of his brethren to be his deputy over Egypt.] He also gave him all the other authority of a king, but with these only injunctions, that he should not wear the diadem, nor be injurious to the queen, the mother of his children, and that he should not meddle with the other concubines of the king; while he made an expedition against Cyprus, and Phoenicia, and besides against the Assyrians and the Medes. He then subdued them all, some by his arms, some without fighting, and some by the terror of his great army; and being puffed up by the great successes he had had, he went on still the more boldly, and overthrew the cities and countries that lay in the eastern parts. But after some considerable time, Armais, who was left in Egypt, did all those very things, by way of opposition, which his brother had forbid him to do, without fear; for he used violence to the queen, and continued to make use of the rest of the concubines, without sparing any of them; nay, at the persuasion of his friends he put on the diadem, and set up to oppose his brother. But then he who was set over the priests of Egypt wrote letters to Sethosis, and informed him of all that had happened, and how his brother had set up to oppose him: he therefore returned back to Pelusium immediately, and recovered his kingdom again. The country also was called from his name Egypt; for Manetho says, that Sethosis was himself called Egyptus, as was his brother Armais called Danaus."

XVI

[103] Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Μάνεθως. δῆλον δέ ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων ἐτῶν τοῦ χρόνου συλλογισθέντος, ὅτι οἱ καλούμενοι ποιμένες ἡμέτεροι δὲ πρόγονοι τρισὶ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίοις πρόσθεν ἔτεσιν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀπαλλαγέντες τὴν χώραν ταύτην ἐπῴκησαν ἢ Δαναὸν εἰς Ἄργος ἀφικέσθαι: καίτοι τοῦτον ἀρχαιότατον Ἀργεῖοι νομίζουσι. [104] δύο τοίνυν ὁ Μάνεθως ἡμῖν τὰ μέγιστα μεμαρτύρηκεν ἐκ τῶν παρ᾽ Αἰγυπτίοις γραμμάτων, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ἑτέρωθεν ἄφιξιν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἔπειτα δὲ τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἀπαλλαγὴν οὕτως ἀρχαίαν τοῖς χρόνοις, ὡς ἐγγύς που προτερεῖν αὐτὴν τῶν Ἰλιακῶν ἔτεσι χιλίοις. [105] ὑπὲρ ὧν δ᾽ ὁ Μάνεθως οὐκ ἐκ τῶν παρ᾽ Αἰγυπτίοις γραμμάτων, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς αὐτὸς ὡμολόγηκεν ἐκ τῶν ἀδεσπότως μυθολογουμένων προστέθεικεν, ὕστερον ἐξελέγξω κατὰ μέρος ἀποδεικνὺς τὴν ἀπίθανον αὐτοῦ ψευδολογίαν.

16. This is Manetho's account. And evident it is from the number of years by him set down belonging to this interval, if they be summed up together, that these shepherds, as they are here called, who were no other than our forefathers, were delivered out of Egypt, and came thence, and inhabited this country, three hundred and ninety-three years before Danaus came to Argos; although the

Argives look upon him as their most ancient king Manetho, therefore, hears this testimony to two points of the greatest consequence to our purpose, and those from the Egyptian records themselves. In the first place, that we came out of another country into Egypt; and that withal our deliverance out of it was so ancient in time as to have preceded the siege of Troy almost a thousand years; but then, as to those things which Manetbo adds, not from the Egyptian records, but, as he confesses himself, from some stories of an uncertain original, I will disprove them hereafter particularly, and shall demonstrate that they are no better than incredible fables.

XVII

[106] Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἀπὸ τούτων ἤδη μετελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Φοίνιξιν ἀναγεγραμμένα περὶ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς ἐξ ἐκείνων μαρτυρίας παρασχεῖν. [107] ἔστι τοίνυν παρὰ Τυρίοις ἀπὸ παμπόλλων ἐτῶν γράμματα δημοσίᾳ γεγραμμένα καὶ πεφυλαγμένα λίαν ἐπιμελῶς περὶ τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς γενομένων καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους πραχθέντων μνήμης ἀξίων. [108] ἐν οἷς γέγραπται, ὅτι ὁ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ᾠκοδομήθη ναὸς ὑπὸ Σολομῶνος τοῦ βασιλέως ἔτεσι θᾶττον ἑκατὸν τεσσαρακοντατρισὶν καὶ μησὶν ὀκτὼ τοῦ κτίσαι Τυρίους Καρχηδόνα. [109] ἀνεγράφη δὲ παρ᾽ ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἀλόγως ἡ τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευὴ τοῦ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν: Εἵρωμος γὰρ ὁ τῶν Τυρίων βασιλεὺς φίλος ἦν τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν Σολομῶνος πατρικὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν διαδεδεγμένος. [110] οὗτος οὖν συμφιλοτιμούμενος εἰς τὴν τοῦ κατασκευάσματος τῷ Σολομῶνι λαμπρότητα χρυσίου μὲν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔδωκε τάλαντα, τεμὼν δὲ καλλίστην ὕλην ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους, ὃ καλεῖται Λίβανος, εἰς τὸν ὄροφον ἀπέστειλεν. ἀντεδωρήσατο δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Σολομὼν ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς καὶ δὴ καὶ χώραν τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐν τῇ Χαβουλῶν λεγομένῃ. [111] μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰς φιλίαν ἡ τῆς σοφίας συνῆγεν ἐπιθυμία: προβλήματα γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἀνταπέστελλον λύειν κελεύοντες, καὶ κρείττων ἐν τούτοις ἦν ὁ Σολομὼν καὶ τἆλλα σοφώτερος. σώζονται δὲ μέχρι νῦν παρὰ τοῖς Τυρίοις πολλαὶ τῶν [112] ἐπιστολῶν, ἃς ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔγραψαν. ὅτι δ᾽ οὐ λόγος ἐστὶν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ συγκείμενος ὁ περὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Τυρίοις γραμμάτων, παραθήσομαι μάρτυρα Δῖον ἄνδρα περὶ τὴν Φοινικικὴν ἱστορίαν ἀκριβῆ γεγονέναι πεπιστευμένον. οὗτος τοίνυν ἐν ταῖς [113] περὶ Φοινίκων ἱστορίαις γράφει τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον: “Ἀβιβάλου τελευτήσαντος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Εἵρωμος ἐβασίλευσεν. οὗτος τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς μέρη τῆς πόλεως προσέχωσεν καὶ μεῖζον τὸ ἄστυ ἐποίησεν καὶ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς τὸ ἱερὸν καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸ ὂν ἐν νήσῳ χώσας τὸν μεταξὺ τόπον συνῆψε τῇ πόλει καὶ χρυσοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἐκόσμησεν, ἀναβὰς δὲ εἰς τὸν Λίβανον ὑλοτόμησεν πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν κατασκευήν. [114] τὸν δὲ τυραννοῦντα Ἱεροσολύμων Σολομῶνα πέμψαι φασὶ πρὸς τὸν Εἵρωμον αἰνίγματα

καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἀξιοῦν, τὸν δὲ μὴ δυνηθέντα διακρῖναι τῷ λύσαντι χρήματα ἀποτίνειν. [115] ὁμολογήσαντα δὲ τὸν Εἴρωμον καὶ μὴ δυνηθέντα λῦσαι τὰ αἰνίγματα πολλὰ τῶν χρημάτων εἰς τὸ ἐπιζήμιον ἀναλῶσαι. εἶτα δὲ Ἀβδήμουνόν τινα Τύριον ἄνδρα τά τε προτεθέντα λῦσαι καὶ αὐτὸν ἄλλα προβαλεῖν, ἃ μὴ λύσαντα τὸν Σολομῶνα πολλὰ τῷ Εἰρώμῳ προσαποτῖσαι χρήματα.᾽᾽ Δῖος μὲν οὕτω περὶ τῶν προειρημένων ἡμῖν μεμαρτύρηκεν.

17. I will now, therefore, pass from these records, and come to those that belong to the Phoenicians, and concern our nation, and shall produce attestations to what I have said out of them. There are then records among the Tyrians that take in the history of many years, and these are public writings, and are kept with great exactness, and include accounts of the facts done among them, and such as concern their transactions with other nations also, those I mean which were worth remembering. Therein it was recorded that the temple was built by king Solomon at Jerusalem, one hundred forty-three years and eight months before the Tyrians built Carthage; and in their annals the building of our temple is related; for Hirom, the king of Tyre, was the friend of Solomon our king, and had such friendship transmitted down to him from his forefathers. He thereupon was ambitious to contribute to the splendor of this edifice of Solomon, and made him a present of one hundred and twenty talents of gold. He also cut down the most excellent timber out of that mountain which is called Libanus, and sent it to him for adorning its roof. Solomon also not only made him many other presents, by way of requital, but gave him a country in Galilee also, that was called Chabulon. But there was another passion, a philosophic inclination of theirs, which cemented the friendship that was betwixt them; for they sent mutual problems to one another, with a desire to have them unriddled by each other; wherein Solomon was superior to Hirom, as he was wiser than he in other respects: and many of the epistles that passed between them are still preserved among the Tyrians. Now, that this may not depend on my bare word, I will produce for a witness Dius, one that is believed to have written the Phoenician History after an accurate manner. This Dius, therefore, writes thus, in his Histories of the Phoenicians: “Upon the death of Abibalus, his son Hirom took the kingdom. This king raised banks at the eastern parts of the city, and enlarged it; he also joined the temple of Jupiter Olympius, which stood before in an island by itself, to the city, by raising a causeway between them, and adorned that temple with donations of gold. He moreover went up to Libanus, and had timber cut down for the building of temples. They say further, that Solomon, when he was king of Jerusalem, sent problems to Hirom to be solved, and desired he would send others back for him to solve, and that he who could not solve the

problems proposed to him should pay money to him that solved them. And when Hirom had agreed to the proposals, but was not able to solve the problems, he was obliged to pay a great deal of money, as a penalty for the same. As also they relate, that one OEabdemon, a man of Tyre, did solve the problems, and propose others which Solomon could not solve, upon which he was obliged to repay a great deal of money to Hirom." These things are attested to by Dius, and confirm what we have said upon the same subjects before.

XVIII

[116] Ἀλλὰ πρὸς τούτῳ παραθήσομαι καὶ Μένανδρον τὸν Ἐφέσιον. γέγραφεν δὲ οὗτος τὰς ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστου τῶν βασιλέων πράξεις τὰς παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις γενομένας ἐκ τῶν παρ᾽ ἑκάστοις ἐπιχωρίων γραμμάτων σπουδάσας τὴν ἱστορίαν μαθεῖν. [117] γράφων τοίνυν περὶ τῶν ἐν Τύρῳ βεβασιλευκότων ἔπειτα γενόμενος κατὰ τὸν Εἴρωμον ταῦτά φησι: "τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀβιβάλου διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ ὁ υἱὸς Εἴρωμος, ὃς βιώσας [118] ἔτη νγ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη λδ. οὗτος ἔχωσε τὸν Εὐρύχωρον τόν τε χρυσοῦν κίονα τὸν ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Διὸς ἀνέθηκεν, ἐπί τε ὕλην ξύλων ἀπελθὼν ἔκοψεν ἀπὸ τοῦ λεγομένου Λιβάνου ὄρους κέδρινα ξύλα εἰς τὰς τῶν ἱερῶν στέγας, καθελών τε τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἱερὰ καὶ [119] ναοὺς ᾠκοδόμησεν τό τε τοῦ Ἡρακλέους καὶ τῆς Ἀστάρτης, πρῶτόν τε τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἔγερσιν ἐποιήσατο ἐν τῷ Περιτίῳ μηνί, τοῖς τε Ἰτυκαίοις ἐπεστρατεύσατο μὴ ἀποδιδοῦσι τοὺς φόρους: οὓς καὶ ὑποτάξας ἑαυτῷ πάλιν ἀνέστρεψεν. [120] ἐπὶ τούτου ἦν Ἀβδήμουνος παῖς νεώτερος, ὃς ἀεὶ ἐνίκα τὰ προβλήματα, ἃ ἐπέταττε Σολομὼν ὁ Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλεύς." [121] ψηφίζεται δὲ ὁ χρόνος ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως ἄχρι Καρχηδόνος κτίσεως οὕτως: τελευτήσαντος Εἰρώμου διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν Βαλβάζερος υἱός, ὃς βιώσας ἔτη [122] μγ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ιζ. μετὰ τοῦτον Ἀβδάσταρτος υἱὸς βιώσας ἔτη λθ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη θ. τοῦτον οἱ τῆς τροφοῦ αὐτοῦ υἱοὶ τέσσαρες ἐπιβουλεύσαντες ἀπώλεσαν, ὧν ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἐβασίλευσεν Μεθουσάσταρτος ὁ Λεαστάρτου, ὃς βιώσας ἔτη νδ ἐβασίλευσεν [123] ἔτη ιβ. μετὰ τοῦτον ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀσθάρυμος βιώσας ἔτη νη ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη θ. οὗτος ἀπώλετο ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Φέλλητος, ὃς λαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν ἦρξεν μῆνας η βιώσας ἔτη ν. τοῦτον ἀνεῖλεν Εἰθώβαλος ὁ τῆς Ἀστάρτης ἱερεύς, ὃς βιώσας ἔτη [124] μη ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη λβ. τοῦτον διεδέξατο Βαλέζωρος υἱός, ὃς [125] βιώσας ἔτη με ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ἕξ. τούτου διάδοχος γέγονε Μέττηνος υἱός, ὃς βιώσας ἔτη λβ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη κθ. τούτου διάδοχος γέγονεν Πυγμαλίων, ὃς βιώσας ἔτη νη ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη μζ. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἑβδόμῳ ἔτει ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ φυγοῦσα ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ πόλιν ᾠκοδόμησεν Καρχηδόνα. [126] συνάγεται πᾶς ὁ χρόνος ἀπὸ τῆς Εἰρώμου βασιλείας μέχρι Καρχηδόνος κτίσεως ἔτη ρνε μῆνες η. ἐπεὶ δὲ δωδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς αὐτοῦ

βασιλείας ὁ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ᾠκοδομήθη ναός, γέγονεν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκοδομήσεως τοῦ ναοῦ μέχρι Καρχηδόνος [127] κτίσεως ἔτη ρμγ μῆνες η. τῆς μὲν οὖν παρὰ Φοινίκων μαρτυρίας τί δεῖ προσθεῖναι πλέον; βλέπεται γὰρ τἀληθὲς ἰσχυρῶς ὡμολογημένον καὶ πολὺ δήπου προάγειν τῆς τοῦ νεὼ κατασκευῆς τὴν τῶν προγόνων ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν χώραν ἄφιξιν: ὅτε γὰρ αὐτὴν πᾶσαν πολέμῳ παρέλαβον, τότε τὸν νεὼν κατεσκεύασαν. καὶ ταῦτα σαφῶς ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ δεδήλωται διὰ τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας.

18. And now I shall add Menander the Ephesian, as an additional witness. This Menander wrote the Acts that were done both by the Greeks and Barbarians, under every one of the Tyrian kings, and had taken much pains to learn their history out of their own records. Now when he was writing about those kings that had reigned at Tyre, he came to Hirom, and says thus: “Upon the death of Abibalus, his son Hirom took the kingdom; he lived fifty-three years, and reigned thirty-four. He raised a bank on that called the Broad Place, and dedicated that golden pillar which is in Jupiter’s temple; he also went and cut down timber from the mountain called Libanus, and got timber Of cedar for the roofs of the temples. He also pulled down the old temples, and built new ones; besides this, he consecrated the temples of Hercules and of Astarte. He first built Hercules’s temple in the month Peritus, and that of Astarte when he made his expedition against the Tityans, who would not pay him their tribute; and when he had subdued them to himself, he returned home. Under this king there was a younger son of Abdemon, who mastered the problems which Solomon king of Jerusalem had recommended to be solved.” Now the time from this king to the building of Carthage is thus calculated: “Upon the death of Hirom, Baleazarus his son took the kingdom; he lived forty-three years, and reigned seven years: after him succeeded his son Abdastartus; he lived twenty-nine years, and reigned nine years. Now four sons of his nurse plotted against him and slew him, the eldest of whom reigned twelve years: after them came Astartus, the son of Deleastartus; he lived fifty-four years, and reigned twelve years: after him came his brother Aserymus; he lived fifty-four years, and reigned nine years: he was slain by his brother Pheles, who took the kingdom and reigned but eight months, though he lived fifty years: he was slain by Ithobalus, the priest of Astarte, who reigned thirty-two years, and lived sixty-eight years: he was succeeded by his son Badezorus, who lived forty-five years, and reigned six years: he was succeeded by Matgenus his son; he lived thirty-two years, and reigned nine years: Pygmalion succeeded him; he lived fifty-six years, and reigned forty-seven years. Now in the seventh year of his reign, his sister fled away from him, and built the city Carthage in Libya.” So the whole time from the reign of

Hirom, till the building of Carthage, amounts to the sum of one hundred fifty-five years and eight months. Since then the temple was built at Jerusalem in the twelfth year of the reign of Hirom, there were from the building of the temple, until the building of Carthage, one hundred forty-three years and eight months. Wherefore, what occasion is there for alleging any more testimonies out of the Phoenician histories [on the behalf of our nation], since what I have said is so thoroughly confirmed already? and to be sure our ancestors came into this country long before the building of the temple; for it was not till we had gotten possession of the whole land by war that we built our temple. And this is the point that I have clearly proved out of our sacred writings in my Antiquities.

XIX

[128] Λέξω δὲ νῦν ἤδη τὰ παρὰ Χαλδαίοις ἀναγεγραμμένα καὶ ἱστορούμενα περὶ ἡμῶν, ἅπερ ἔχει πολλὴν ὁμολογίαν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς ἡμετέροις γράμμασι. [129] μάρτυς δὲ τούτων Βηρῶσος ἀνὴρ Χαλδαῖος μὲν τὸ γένος, γνώριμος δὲ τοῖς περὶ παιδείαν ἀναστρεφομένοις, ἐπειδὴ περί τε ἀστρονομίας καὶ περὶ τῶν παρὰ Χαλδαίοις φιλοσοφουμένων αὐτὸς εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐξήνεγκε τὰς συγγραφάς. [130] οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ Βηρῶσος ταῖς ἀρχαιοτάταις ἐπακολουθῶν ἀναγραφαῖς περί τε τοῦ γενομένου κατακλυσμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ φθορᾶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων καθάπερ Μωσῆς οὕτως ἱστόρηκεν καὶ περὶ τῆς λάρνακος, ἐν ᾗ Νῶχος ὁ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἀρχηγὸς διεσώθη προσενεχθείσης αὐτῆς ταῖς ἀκρωρείαις τῶν Ἀρμενίων ὀρῶν. [131] εἶτα τοὺς ἀπὸ Νώχου καταλέγων καὶ τοὺς χρόνους αὐτοῖς προστιθεὶς ἐπὶ Ναβοπαλάσσαρον παραγίνεται τὸν Βαβυλῶνος καὶ Χαλδαίων [132] βασιλέα καὶ τὰς τούτου πράξεις ἀφηγούμενος λέγει, τίνα τρόπον πέμψας ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν γῆν τὸν υἱὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ Ναβοκοδρόσορον μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως, ἐπειδήπερ ἀφεστῶτας αὐτοὺς ἐπύθετο, πάντων ἐκράτησεν καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐνέπρησε τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὅλως τε πάντα τὸν παρ᾽ ἡμῶν λαὸν ἀναστήσας εἰς Βαβυλῶνα μετῴκισεν, συνέβη δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐρημωθῆναι χρόνον ἐτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα μέχρι Κύρου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως. [133] κρατῆσαι δέ φησι τὸν Βαβυλώνιον Αἰγύπτου Συρίας Φοινίκης Ἀραβίας πάντας ὑπερβαλόμενον ταῖς πράξεσι τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ Χαλδαίων [134] καὶ Βαβυλωνίων βεβασιλευκότας. [εἶθ᾽ ἑξῆς ὑποκαταβὰς ὀλίγον ὁ Βηρῶσος πάλιν παρατίθεται ἐν τῇ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἱστοριογραφίᾳ.] αὐτὰ δὲ παραθήσομαι τὰ τοῦ Βηρώσου τοῦτον ἔχοντα [135] τὸν τρόπον: “ἀκούσας δ᾽ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Ναβοπαλάσαρος, ὅτι ὁ τεταγμένος σατράπης ἔν τε Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν Συρίαν τὴν κοίλην καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην τόποις ἀποστάτης γέγονεν, οὐ δυνάμενος αὐτὸς ἔτι κακοπαθεῖν συστήσας τῷ υἱῷ Ναβοκοδροσόρῳ ὄντι [136] ἔτι ἐν ἡλικίᾳ μέρη τινὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐξέπεμψεν

ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν. συμμίξας δὲ Ναβοκοδρόσορος τῷ ἀποστάτῃ καὶ παραταξάμενος αὐτοῦ τ᾽ ἐκράτει καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτῶν βασιλείαν ἐποιήσατο. τῷ τε πατρὶ αὐτοῦ συνέβη Ναβοπαλασάρῳ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἀρρωστήσαντι ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίων πόλει μεταλλάξαι τὸν [137] βίον ἔτη βεβασιλευκότι κα. αἰσθόμενος δὲ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν Ναβουκοδρόσορος, καταστήσας τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον πράγματα καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν χώραν καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ Φοινίκων καὶ Σύρων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐθνῶν συντάξας τισὶ τῶν φίλων μετὰ τῆς βαρυτάτης δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ὠφελείας ἀνακομίζειν εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν, αὐτὸς ὁρμήσας [138] ὀλιγοστὸς παρεγένετο διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου εἰς Βαβυλῶνα. καταλαβὼν δὲ τὰ πράγματα διοικούμενα ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων καὶ διατηρουμένην τὴν βασιλείαν ὑπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου αὐτῶν, κυριεύσας ὁλοκλήρου τῆς πατρικῆς ἀρχῆς τοῖς μὲν αἰχμαλώτοις παραγενομένοις συνέταξεν [αὐτοῖς] κατοικίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδειοτάτοις τῆς Βαβυλωνίας τόποις [139] ἀποδεῖξαι, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου λαφύρων τό τε Βήλου ἱερὸν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κοσμήσας φιλοτίμως τήν τε ὑπάρχουσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πόλιν καὶ ἑτέραν ἔξωθεν προσχαρισάμενος καὶ ἀναγκάσας πρὸς τὸ μηκέτι δύνασθαι τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας τὸν ποταμὸν ἀναστρέφοντας ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν κατασκευάζειν, περιεβάλετο τρεῖς μὲν τῆς ἔνδον πόλεως περιβόλους, τρεῖς δὲ τῆς ἔξω, τούτων δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐξ ὀπτῆς πλίνθου καὶ ἀσφάλτου, τοὺς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς πλίνθου. [140] καὶ τειχίσας ἀξιολόγως τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς πυλῶνας κοσμήσας ἱεροπρεπῶς προσκατεσκεύασεν τοῖς πατρικοῖς βασιλείοις ἕτερα βασίλεια ἐχόμενα ἐκείνων, [ὑπὲρ] ὧν ἀνάστημα καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν πολυτέλειαν μακρὸν ἴσως ἔσται ἐάν τις ἐξηγῆται, πλὴν ὄντα γε ὑπερβολὴν ὡς μεγάλα καὶ ὑπερήφανα συνετελέσθη ἡμέραις δεκαπέντε. [141] ἐν δὲ τοῖς βασιλείοις τούτοις ἀναλήμματα λίθινα ὑψηλὰ ἀνοικοδομήσας καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἀποδοὺς ὁμοιοτάτην τοῖς ὄρεσι, καταφυτεύσας δένδρεσι παντοδαποῖς ἐξειργάσατο καὶ κατεσκεύασε τὸν καλούμενον κρεμαστὸν παράδεισον διὰ τὸ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἐπιθυμεῖν τῆς ὀρείας διαθέσεως τεθραμμένην ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Μηδίαν τόποις.”

19. I will now relate what hath been written concerning us in the Chaldean histories, which records have a great agreement with our books in oilier things also. Berosus shall be witness to what I say: he was by birth a Chaldean, well known by the learned, on account of his publication of the Chaldean books of astronomy and philosophy among the Greeks. This Berosus, therefore, following the most ancient records of that nation, gives us a history of the deluge of waters that then happened, and of the destruction of mankind thereby, and agrees with Moses’s narration thereof. He also gives us an account of that ark wherein Noah, the origin of our race, was preserved, when it was brought to the highest part of the Armenian mountains; after which he gives us a catalogue of the posterity of

Noah, and adds the years of their chronology, and at length comes down to Nabolassar, who was king of Babylon, and of the Chaldeans. And when he was relating the acts of this king, he describes to us how he sent his son Nabuchodonosor against Egypt, and against our land, with a great army, upon his being informed that they had revolted from him; and how, by that means, he subdued them all, and set our temple that was at Jerusalem on fire; nay, and removed our people entirely out of their own country, and transferred them to Babylon; when it so happened that our city was desolate during the interval of seventy years, until the days of Cyrus king of Persia. He then says, "That this Babylonian king conquered Egypt, and Syria, and Phoenicia, and Arabia, and exceeded in his exploits all that had reigned before him in Babylon and Chaldea." A little after which Berosus subjoins what follows in his History of Ancient Times. I will set down Berosus's own accounts, which are these: "When Nabolassar, father of Nabuchodonosor, heard that the governor whom he had set over Egypt, and over the parts of Celesyria and Phoenicia, had revolted from him, he was not able to bear it any longer; but committing certain parts of his army to his son Nabuchodonosor, who was then but young, he sent him against the rebel: Nabuchodonosor joined battle with him, and conquered him, and reduced the country under his dominion again. Now it so fell out that his father Nabolassar fell into a distemper at this time, and died in the city of Babylon, after he had reigned twenty-nine years. But as he understood, in a little time, that his father Nabolassar was dead, he set the affairs of Egypt and the other countries in order, and committed the captives he had taken from the Jews, and Phoenicians, and Syrians, and of the nations belonging to Egypt, to some of his friends, that they might conduct that part of the forces that had on heavy armor, with the rest of his baggage, to Babylonia; while he went in haste, having but a few with him, over the desert to Babylon; whither, when he was come, he found the public affairs had been managed by the Chaldeans, and that the principal person among them had preserved the kingdom for him. Accordingly, he now entirely obtained all his father's dominions. He then came, and ordered the captives to be placed as colonies in the most proper places of Babylonia; but for himself, he adorned the temple of Belus, and the other temples, after an elegant manner, out of the spoils he had taken in this war. He also rebuilt the old city, and added another to it on the outside, and so far restored Babylon, that none who should besiege it afterwards might have it in their power to divert the river, so as to facilitate an entrance into it; and this he did by building three walls about the inner city, and three about the outer. Some of these walls he built of burnt brick and bitumen, and some of brick only. So when he had thus fortified the city with walls, after an excellent manner, and had adorned the gates

magnificently, he added a new palace to that which his father had dwelt in, and this close by it also, and that more eminent in its height, and in its great splendor. It would perhaps require too long a narration, if any one were to describe it. However, as prodigiously large and as magnificent as it was, it was finished in fifteen days. Now in this palace he erected very high walks, supported by stone pillars, and by planting what was called a pensile paradise, and replenishing it with all sorts of trees, he rendered the prospect an exact resemblance of a mountainous country. This he did to please his queen, because she had been brought up in Media, and was fond of a mountainous situation."

XX

[142] Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἱστόρηκεν περὶ τοῦ προειρημένου βασιλέως καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ βίβλῳ τῶν Χαλδαι¨κῶν, ἐν ᾗ μέμφεται τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς συγγραφεῦσιν ὡς μάτην οἰομένοις ὑπὸ Σεμιράμεως τῆς Ἀσσυρίας κτισθῆναι τὴν Βαβυλῶνα καὶ τὰ θαυμάσια κατασκευασθῆναι περὶ αὐτὴν ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνης ἔργα ψευδῶς γεγραφόσι. [143] καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα τὴν μὲν τῶν Χαλδαίων ἀναγραφὴν ἀξιόπιστον ἡγητέον: οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κἀν τοῖς ἀρχείοις τῶν Φοινίκων σύμφωνα τοῖς ὑπὸ Βηρώσου λεγομένοις ἀναγέγραπται περὶ τοῦ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέως, ὅτι καὶ τὴν Συρίαν καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην ἅπασαν ἐκεῖνος κατεστρέψατο. [144] περὶ τούτων γοῦν συμφωνεῖ καὶ Φιλόστρατος ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις μεμνημένος τῆς Τύρου πολιορκίας, καὶ Μεγασθένης ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν Ἰνδικῶν, δι᾽ ἧς ἀποφαίνειν πειρᾶται τὸν προειρημένον βασιλέα τῶν Βαβυλωνίων Ἡρακλέους ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ μεγέθει πράξεων διενηνοχέναι: καταστρέψασθαι γὰρ [145] αὐτόν φησι καὶ Λιβύης τὴν πολλὴν καὶ Ἰβηρίαν. τὰ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ναοῦ προειρημένα τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, ὅτι κατεπρήσθη μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἐπιστρατευσάντων, ἤρξατο δὲ πάλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖσθαι Κύρου τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν βασιλείαν παρειληφότος, ἐκ τῶν Βηρώσου σαφῶς ἐπιδειχθήσεται παρατεθέντων: λέγει γὰρ οὕτως διὰ [146] τῆς τρίτης: "Ναβοκοδρόσορος μὲν οὖν μετὰ τὸ ἄρξασθαι τοῦ προειρημένου τείχους ἐμπεσὼν εἰς ἀρρωστίαν μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον βεβασιλευκὼς ἔτη μγ, τῆς δὲ βασιλείας κύριος ἐγένετο ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Εὐειλμαράδουχος. [147] οὗτος προστὰς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνόμως καὶ ἀσελγῶς ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ Νηριγλισάρου ἀνῃρέθη βασιλεύσας ἔτη β. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀναιρεθῆναι τοῦτον διαδεξάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ ἐπιβουλεύσας αὐτῷ Νηριγλίσαρος ἐβασίλευσεν [148] ἔτη δ. τούτου υἱὸς Λαβοροσοάρδοχος ἐκυρίευσε μὲν τῆς βασιλείας παῖς ὢν μῆνας θ, ἐπιβουλευθεὶς δὲ διὰ τὸ πολλὰ ἐμφαίνειν [149] κακοήθη ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἀπετυμπανίσθη. ἀπολομένου δὲ τούτου συνελθόντες οἱ ἐπιβουλεύσαντες αὐτῷ κοινῇ τὴν βασιλείαν περιέθηκαν Ναβοννήδῳ τινὶ τῶν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ὄντι ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς

ἐπισυστάσεως. ἐπὶ τούτου τὰ περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τείχη τῆς Βαβυλωνίων πόλεως ἐξ ὀπτῆς πλίνθου καὶ ἀσφάλτου κατεκοσμήθη. [150] οὔσης δὲ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἑπτακαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει προεξεληλυθὼς Κῦρος ἐκ τῆς Περσίδος μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς καταστρεψάμενος τὴν λοιπὴν βασιλείαν πᾶσαν ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας. [151] αἰσθόμενος δὲ Ναβόννηδος τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ, ἀπαντήσας μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ παραταξάμενος, ἡττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ καὶ φυγὼν ὀλιγοστὸς [152] συνεκλείσθη εἰς τὴν Βορσιππηνῶν πόλιν, Κῦρος δὲ Βαβυλῶνα καταλαβόμενος καὶ συντάξας τὰ ἔξω τῆς πόλεως τείχη κατασκάψαι διὰ τὸ λίαν αὐτῷ πραγματικὴν καὶ δυσάλωτον φανῆναι τὴν πόλιν [153] ἀνέζευξεν ἐπὶ Βορσίππων ἐκπολιορκήσων τὸν Ναβόννηδον. τοῦ δὲ Ναβοννήδου οὐχ ὑπομείναντος τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἀλλ' ἐγχειρίσαντος αὑτὸν πρότερον, χρησάμενος Κῦρος φιλανθρώπως καὶ δοὺς οἰκητήριον αὐτῷ Καρμανίαν ἐξέπεμψεν ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας. Ναβόννηδος μὲν οὖν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ χρόνου διαγενόμενος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ χώρᾳ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον."

20. This is what Berosus relates concerning the forementioned king, as he relates many other things about him also in the third book of his Chaldean History; wherein he complains of the Grecian writers for supposing, without any foundation, that Babylon was built by Semiramis, queen of Assyria, and for her false pretense to those wonderful edifices thereto buildings at Babylon, do no way contradict those ancient and relating, as if they were her own workmanship; as indeed in these affairs the Chaldean History cannot but be the most credible. Moreover, we meet with a confirmation of what Berosus says in the archives of the Phoenicians, concerning this king Nabuchodonosor, that he conquered all Syria and Phoenicia; in which case Philostratus agrees with the others in that history which he composed, where he mentions the siege of Tyre; as does Megasthenes also, in the fourth book of his Indian History, wherein he pretends to prove that the forementioned king of the Babylonians was superior to Hercules in strength and the greatness of his exploits; for he says that he conquered a great part of Libya, and conquered Iberia also. Now as to what I have said before about the temple at Jerusalem, that it was fought against by the Babylonians, and burnt by them, but was opened again when Cyrus had taken the kingdom of Asia, shall now be demonstrated from what Berosus adds further upon that head; for thus he says in his third book: "Nabuchodonosor, after he had begun to build the forementioned wall, fell sick, and departed this life, when he had reigned forty-three years; whereupon his son Evilmerodach obtained the kingdom. He governed public affairs after an illegal and impure manner, and had a plot laid against him by Neriglissoor, his sister's husband, and was slain by him when he had reigned but two years. After he was slain, Neriglissoor, the

person who plotted against him, succeeded him in the kingdom, and reigned four years; his son Laborosoarchod obtained the kingdom, though he was but a child, and kept it nine mouths; but by reason of the very ill temper and ill practices he exhibited to the world, a plot was laid against him also by his friends, and he was tormented to death. After his death, the conspirators got together, and by common consent put the crown upon the head of Nabonnedus, a man of Babylon, and one who belonged to that insurrection. In his reign it was that the walls of the city of Babylon were curiously built with burnt brick and bitumen; but when he was come to the seventeenth year of his reign, Cyrus came out of Persia with a great army; and having already conquered all the rest of Asia, he came hastily to Babylonia. When Nabonnedus perceived he was coming to attack him, he met him with his forces, and joining battle with him was beaten, and fled away with a few of his troops with him, and was shut up within the city Borsippus. Hereupon Cyrus took Babylon, and gave order that the outer walls of the city should be demolished, because the city had proved very troublesome to him, and cost him a great deal of pains to take it. He then marched away to Borsippus, to besiege Nabonnedus; but as Nabonnedus did not sustain the siege, but delivered himself into his hands, he was at first kindly used by Cyrus, who gave him Carmania, as a place for him to inhabit in, but sent him out of Babylonia. Accordingly Nabonnedus spent the rest of his time in that country, and there died."

XXI

[154] Ταῦτα σύμφωνον ἔχει ταῖς ἡμετέραις βίβλοις τὴν ἀλήθειαν: γέγραπται γὰρ ἐν αὐταῖς, ὅτι Ναβουχοδονόσορος ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ἔτει τὸν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ναὸν ἠρήμωσεν καὶ ἦν ἀφανὴς ἐπ᾽ ἔτη πεντήκοντα, δευτέρῳ δὲ τῆς Κύρου βασιλείας ἔτει τῶν θεμελίων ὑποβληθέντων δευτέρῳ πάλιν τῆς Δαρείου βασιλείας ἀπετελέσθη. [155] προσθήσω δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν Φοινίκων ἀναγραφάς: οὐ γὰρ παραλειπτέον τῶν ἀποδείξεων τὴν περιουσίαν: [156] ἔστι δὲ τοιαύτη τῶν χρόνων ἡ καταρίθμησις: ἐπ᾽ Ἰθωβάλου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπολιόρκησε Ναβουχοδονόσορος τὴν Τύρον ἐπ᾽ ἔτη δεκατρία. [157] μετὰ τοῦτον ἐβασίλευσε Βαὰλ ἔτη δέκα. μετὰ τοῦτον δικασταὶ κατεστάθησαν, καὶ ἐδίκασαν Ἐκνίβαλος Βασλήχου μῆνας β, Χέλβης Ἀβδαίου μῆνας ι, Ἄββαρος ἀρχιερεὺς μῆνας γ, Μύττυνος καὶ Γεράστρατος τοῦ Ἀβδηλίμου δικασταὶ ἔτη [στιγμα], ὧν μεταξὺ ἐβασίλευσε [158] Βαλάτορος ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα. τούτου τελευτήσαντος ἀποστείλαντες μετεπέμψαντο Μέρβαλον ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη δ. τούτου τελευτήσαντος μετεπέμψαντο τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Εἴρωμον, ὃς ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη εἴκοσιν. ἐπὶ τούτου Κῦρος Περσῶν ἐδυνάστευσεν. [159] οὐκοῦν ὁ σύμπας χρόνος

ἔτη νδ καὶ τρεῖς μῆνες πρὸς αὐτοῖς: ἑβδόμῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔτει τῆς Ναβουχοδονοσόρου βασιλείας ἤρξατο πολιορκεῖν Τύρον, τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῳ δ' ἔτει τῆς Εἰρώμου [160] Κῦρος ὁ Πέρσης τὸ κράτος παρέλαβεν. καὶ σύμφωνα μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῖς ἡμετέροις γράμμασι τὰ Χαλδαίων καὶ Τυρίων, ὡμολογημένη δὲ καὶ ἀναντίρρητος ἡ περὶ τῶν εἰρημένων μοι μαρτυρία τῆς τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἀρχαιότητος. τοῖς μὲν οὖν μὴ σφόδρα φιλονείκοις ἀρκέσειν ὑπολαμβάνω τὰ προειρημένα.

21. These accounts agree with the true histories in our books; for in them it is written that Nebuchadnezzar, in the eighteenth year of his reign, laid our temple desolate, and so it lay in that state of obscurity for fifty years; but that in the second year of the reign of Cyrus its foundations were laid, and it was finished again in the second year of Darius. I will now add the records of the Phoenicians; for it will not be superfluous to give the reader demonstrations more than enough on this occasion. In them we have this enumeration of the times of their several kings: "Nabuchodonosor besieged Tyre for thirteen years in the days of Ithobal, their king; after him reigned Baal, ten years; after him were judges appointed, who judged the people: Ecnibalus, the son of Baslacus, two months; Chelbes, the son of Abdeus, ten months; Abbar, the high priest, three months; Mitgonus and Gerastratus, the sons of Abdelemus, were judges six years; after whom Balatorus reigned one year; after his death they sent and fetched Merbalus from Babylon, who reigned four years; after his death they sent for his brother Hirom, who reigned twenty years. Under his reign Cyrus became king of Persia." So that the whole interval is fifty-four years besides three months; for in the seventh year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar he began to besiege Tyre, and Cyrus the Persian took the kingdom in the fourteenth year of Hirom. So that the records of the Chaldeans and Tyrians agree with our writings about this temple; and the testimonies here produced are an indisputable and undeniable attestation to the antiquity of our nation. And I suppose that what I have already said may be sufficient to such as are not very contentious.

XXII

[161] Δεῖ δ' ἄρα καὶ τῶν ἀπιστούντων μὲν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀναγραφαῖς μόνοις δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησι πιστεύειν ἀξιούντων ἀποπληρῶσαι τὴν ἐπιζήτησιν καὶ παρασχεῖν πολλοὺς καὶ τούτων ἐπισταμένους τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν καὶ καθ' ὃ καιρὸς ἦν αὐτοῖς μνημονεύοντας παραθέσθαι ἐν ἰδίοις αὐτῶν συγγράμμασι. [162] Πυθαγόρας τοίνυν ὁ Σάμιος ἀρχαῖος ὤν, σοφίᾳ δὲ καὶ τῇ περὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείᾳ πάντων ὑπειλημμένος διενεγκεῖν τῶν φιλοσοφησάντων, οὐ μόνον ἐγνωκὼς τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν δῆλός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζηλωτὴς αὐτῶν ἐκ πλείστου γεγενημένος. [163] αὐτοῦ μὲν

οὖν οὐδὲν ὁμολογεῖται σύγγραμμα, πολλοὶ δὲ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν ἱστορήκασι, καὶ τούτων ἐπισημότατός [164] ἐστιν Ἕρμιππος ἀνὴρ περὶ πᾶσαν ἱστορίαν ἐπιμελής. λέγει τοίνυν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν περὶ Πυθαγόρου βιβλίων, ὅτι Πυθαγόρας ἑνὸς αὐτοῦ τῶν συνουσιαστῶν τελευτήσαντος τοὔνομα Καλλιφῶντος τὸ γένος Κροτωνιάτου τὴν ἐκείνου ψυχὴν ἔλεγε συνδιατρίβειν αὐτῷ καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν: καὶ ὅτι παρεκελεύετο μὴ διέρχεσθαι τόπον, ἐφ᾽ ὃν ὄνος ὀκλάσῃ, καὶ τῶν διψίων ὑδάτων ἀπέχεσθαι [165] καὶ πάσης ἀπέχειν βλασφημίας. εἶτα προστίθησι μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τάδε: “ταῦτα δὲ ἔπραττεν καὶ ἔλεγε τὰς Ἰουδαίων καὶ Θρᾳκῶν δόξας μιμούμενος καὶ μεταφέρων εἰς ἑαυτόν. λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος πολλὰ τῶν παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις νομίμων εἰς τὴν [166] αὐτοῦ μετενεγκεῖν φιλοσοφίαν.” ἦν δὲ καὶ κατὰ πόλεις οὐκ ἄγνωστον ἡμῶν πάλαι τὸ ἔθνος, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐθῶν εἴς τινας ἤδη διαπεφοιτήκει καὶ ζήλου παρ᾽ ἐνίοις ἠξιοῦτο. δηλοῖ δὲ ὁ Θεόφραστος [167] ἐν τοῖς περὶ νόμων: λέγει γάρ, ὅτι κωλύουσιν οἱ Τυρίων νόμοι ξενικοὺς ὅρκους ὀμνύειν, ἐν οἷς μετά τινων ἄλλων καὶ τὸν καλούμενον ὅρκον κορβὰν καταριθμεῖ. παρ᾽ οὐδενὶ δ᾽ ἂν οὗτος εὑρεθείη πλὴν μόνοις Ἰουδαίοις, δηλοῖ δ᾽ ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραίων μεθερμηνευόμενος διαλέκτου δῶρον θεοῦ. [168] καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ Ἡρόδοτος ὁ Ἁλικαρνασεὺς ἠγνόηκεν ἡμῶν τὸ ἔθνος, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ τινὶ φαίνεται μεμνημένος: περὶ γὰρ Κόλχων ἱστορῶν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ [169] βίβλῳ φησὶν οὕτως: “μοῦνοι δὲ πάντων, φησί, Κόλχοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Αἰθίοπες περιτέμνονται ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς τὰ αἰδοῖα. Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ Σύριοι οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ καὶ οὗτοι ὁμολογοῦσι παρ᾽ Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθηκέναι. [170] Σύριοι δὲ οἱ περὶ Θερμώδοντα καὶ Παρθένιον ποταμὸν καὶ Μάκρωνες οἱ τούτοισιν ἀστυγείτονες ὄντες ἀπὸ Κόλχων φασὶ νεωστὶ μεμαθηκέναι: οὗτοι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ περιτεμνόμενοι ἀνθρώπων μοῦνοι καὶ οὗτοι Αἰγυπτίοισι φαίνονται ποιοῦντες κατὰ ταὐτά. αὐτῶν δὲ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Αἰθιόπων οὐκ [171] ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὁπότεροι παρὰ τῶν ἑτέρων ἐξέμαθον.” οὐκοῦν εἴρηκε Σύρους τοὺς ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ περιτέμνεσθαι: τῶν δὲ τὴν Παλαιστίνην κατοικούντων μόνοι τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν Ἰουδαῖοι: τοῦτο ἄρα [172] γιγνώσκων εἴρηκεν περὶ αὐτῶν. καὶ Χοιρίλος δὲ ἀρχαιότερος γενόμενος ποιητὴς μέμνηται τοῦ ἔθνους ἡμῶν, ὅτι συνεστράτευται Ξέρξῃ τῷ Περσῶν βασιλεῖ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα: καταριθμησάμενος γὰρ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τελευταῖον καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον ἐνέταξε λέγων:

[173] τῶν δ᾽ ὄπιθεν διέβαινε γένος θαυμαστὸν ἰδέσθαι,

γλῶσσαν μὲν Φοίνισσαν ἀπὸ στομάτων ἀφιέντες,

ᾤκεον δ᾽ ἐν Σολύμοις ὄρεσι πλατέῃ παρὰ λίμνῃ

αὐχμαλέοι κορυφὰς τροχοκουράδες, αὐτὰρ ὕπερθεν

ἵππων δαρτὰ πρόσωπ᾽ ἐφόρουν ἐσκληκότα καπνῷ.

[174] δῆλον οὖν ἐστιν, ὡς οἶμαι, πᾶσιν ἡμῶν αὐτὸν μεμνῆσθαι τῷ καὶ τὰ Σόλυμα ὄρη ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ εἶναι χώρᾳ, ἃ κατοικοῦμεν, καὶ τὴν Ἀσφαλτῖτιν λεγομένην λίμνην: αὕτη γὰρ πασῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ [175] [λίμνη] πλατυτέρα καὶ μείζων καθέστηκεν. καὶ Χοιρίλος μὲν οὖν οὕτω μέμνηται ἡμῶν. ὅτι δὲ οὐ μόνον ἠπίσταντο τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐθαύμαζον ὅσοις αὐτῶν ἐντύχοιεν οὐχ οἱ φαυλότατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ μάλιστα τεθαυμασμένοι, ῥᾴδιον γνῶναι: [176] Κλέαρχος γὰρ ὁ Ἀριστοτέλους ὢν μαθητὴς καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ περιπάτου φιλοσόφων οὐδενὸς δεύτερος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ ὕπνου βιβλίῳ φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλην τὸν διδάσκαλον αὐτοῦ περί τινος ἀνδρὸς Ἰουδαίου ταῦτα ἱστορεῖν, αὐτῷ τε τὸν λόγον Ἀριστοτέλει [177] παρατιθείς: ἔστι δὲ οὕτω γεγραμμένον: “ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ μακρὸν ἂν εἴη λέγειν, ὅσα δ᾽ ἔχει τῶν ἐκείνου θαυμασιότητά τινα καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ὁμοίως διελθεῖν οὐ χεῖρον. σαφῶς δ᾽ ἴσθι, εἶπεν, Ὑπεροχίδη, θαυμαστὸν ὀνείροις ἴσα σοι δόξω λέγειν. καὶ ὁ Ὑπεροχίδης εὐλαβούμενος, δι᾽ αὐτὸ γάρ, ἔφη, τοῦτο καὶ ζητοῦμεν ἀκοῦσαι πάντες. [178] οὐκοῦν, εἶπεν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης, κατὰ τὸ τῶν ῥητορικῶν παράγγελμα τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ πρῶτον διέλθωμεν, ἵνα μὴ ἀπειθῶμεν τοῖς τῶν ἀπαγγελιῶν διδασκάλοις. λέγε, εἶπεν ὁ Ὑπεροχίδης, εἴ τί σοι δοκεῖ. [179] κἀκεῖνος τοίνυν τὸ μὲν γένος ἦν Ἰουδαῖος ἐκ τῆς κοίλης Συρίας. οὗτοι δέ εἰσιν ἀπόγονοι τῶν ἐν Ἰνδοῖς φιλοσόφων, καλοῦνται δέ, ὥς φασιν, οἱ φιλόσοφοι παρὰ μὲν Ἰνδοῖς Καλανοί, παρὰ δὲ Σύροις Ἰουδαῖοι τοὔνομα λαβόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου: προσαγορεύεται γὰρ ὃν κατοικοῦσι τόπον Ἰουδαία. τὸ δὲ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν ὄνομα πάνυ σκολιόν ἐστιν: Ἱερουσαλήμην γὰρ αὐτὴν καλοῦσιν. [180] οὗτος οὖν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐπιξενούμενός τε πολλοῖς κἀκ τῶν ἄνω τόπων εἰς τοὺς ἐπιθαλαττίους ὑποκαταβαίνων Ἑλληνικὸς ἦν [181] οὐ τῇ διαλέκτῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ. καὶ τότε διατριβόντων ἡμῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν παραβαλὼν εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς τόπους ἄνθρωπος ἐντυγχάνει ἡμῖν τε καί τισιν ἑτέροις τῶν σχολαστικῶν πειρώμενος αὐτῶν τῆς σοφίας. ὡς δὲ πολλοῖς τῶν ἐν παιδείᾳ συνῳκείωτο, [182] παρεδίδου τι μᾶλλον ὧν εἶχεν.” ταῦτ᾽ εἴρηκεν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης παρὰ τῷ Κλεάρχῳ καὶ προσέτι πολλὴν καὶ θαυμάσιον καρτερίαν τοῦ Ἰουδαίου ἀνδρὸς ἐν τῇ διαίτῃ καὶ σωφροσύνην διεξιών. ἔνεστι δὲ τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸ πλέον γνῶναι τοῦ βιβλίου: φυλάττομαι [183] γὰρ ἐγὼ [τὰ] πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν παρατίθεσθαι. Κλέαρχος μὲν οὖν ἐν παρεκβάσει ταῦτ᾽ εἴρηκεν, τὸ γὰρ προκείμενον ἦν αὐτῷ καθ᾽ ἕτερον, οὕτως ἡμῶν μνημονεῦσαι. Ἑκαταῖος δὲ ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης, ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος ἅμα καὶ περὶ τὰς πράξεις ἱκανώτατος, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ συνακμάσας καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Λάγου συγγενόμενος, οὐ παρέργως ἀλλὰ περὶ αὐτῶν Ἰουδαίων συγγέγραφε βιβλίον, ἐξ οὗ βούλομαι κεφαλαιωδῶς ἐπιδραμεῖν ἔνια τῶν εἰρημένων. [184] καὶ πρῶτον ἐπιδείξω τὸν χρόνον: μνημονεύει γὰρ τῆς Πτολεμαίου περὶ Γάζαν πρὸς Δημήτριον μάχης: αὕτη δὲ γέγονεν ἑνδεκάτῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆς, ἐπὶ δὲ ὀλυμπιάδος ἑβδόμης καὶ δεκάτης [185] καὶ

ἑκατοστῆς, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Κάστωρ. προσθεὶς γὰρ ταύτην τὴν ὀλυμπιάδα φησίν: “ἐπὶ ταύτης Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου ἐνίκα κατὰ Γάζαν μάχῃ Δημήτριον τὸν Ἀντιγόνου τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Πολιορκητήν.” Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ τεθνάναι πάντες ὁμολογοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἑκατοστῆς τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης ὀλυμπιάδος. δῆλον οὖν, ὅτι καὶ κατ’ [186] ἐκεῖνον καὶ κατὰ Ἀλέξανδρον ἤκμαζεν ἡμῶν τὸ ἔθνος. λέγει τοίνυν ὁ Ἑκαταῖος πάλιν τάδε, ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἐν Γάζῃ μάχην ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐγένετο τῶν περὶ Συρίαν τόπων ἐγκρατής, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πυνθανόμενοι τὴν ἠπιότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου συναπαίρειν εἰς Αἴγυπτον αὐτῷ καὶ κοινωνεῖν τῶν πραγμάτων ἠβουλήθησαν. [187] ὧν εἷς ἦν, φησίν, Ἐζεκίας ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἄνθρωπος τὴν μὲν ἡλικίαν ὡς ἑξηκονταὲξ ἐτῶν, τῷ δ’ ἀξιώματι τῷ παρὰ τοῖς ὁμοέθνοις μέγας καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν οὐκ ἀνόητος, ἔτι δὲ καὶ λέγειν δυνατὸς καὶ τοῖς περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, εἴπερ τις ἄλλος, ἔμπειρος. [188] καίτοι, φησίν, οἱ πάντες ἱερεῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ τὴν δεκάτην τῶν γινομένων λαμβάνοντες καὶ τὰ κοινὰ διοικοῦντες [189] περὶ χιλίους μάλιστα καὶ πεντακοσίους εἰσίν.” πάλιν δὲ τοῦ προειρημένου μνημονεύων ἀνδρός “οὗτος, φησίν, ὁ ἄνθρωπος τετευχὼς τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης καὶ συνήθης ἡμῖν γενόμενος, παραλαβών τινας τῶν μεθ’ ἑαυτοῦ τήν τε διαφορὰν ἀνέγνω πᾶσαν αὐτοῖς: εἶχεν γὰρ [190] τὴν κατοίκησιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν γεγραμμένην.” εἶτα Ἑκαταῖος δηλοῖ πάλιν, πῶς ἔχομεν πρὸς τοὺς νόμους, ὅτι πάντα πάσχειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παραβῆναι τούτους προαιρούμεθα καὶ καλὸν εἶναι νομίζομεν. [191] τοιγαροῦν, φησί, καὶ κακῶς ἀκούοντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων καὶ τῶν εἰσαφικνουμένων πάντες καὶ προπηλακιζόμενοι πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῶν Περσικῶν βασιλέων καὶ σατραπῶν οὐ δύνανται μεταπεισθῆναι τῇ διανοίᾳ, ἀλλὰ γεγυμνωμένως περὶ τούτων καὶ αἰκίαις καὶ θανάτοις δεινοτάτοις μάλιστα πάντων ἁπαντῶσι μὴ ἀρνούμενοι [192] τὰ πάτρια.” παρέχεται δὲ καὶ τεκμήρια τῆς ἰσχυρογνωμοσύνης τῆς περὶ τῶν νόμων οὐκ ὀλίγα: φησὶ γάρ, Ἀλεξάνδρου ποτὲ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι γενομένου καὶ προελομένου τὸ τοῦ Βήλου πεπτωκὸς ἱερὸν ἀνακαθᾶραι καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτοῦ τοῖς στρατιώταις ὁμοίως φέρειν τὸν χοῦν προστάξαντος, μόνους τοὺς Ἰουδαίους οὐ προσσχεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὰς ὑπομεῖναι πληγὰς καὶ ζημίας ἀποτῖσαι μεγάλας, ἕως αὐτοῖς [193] συγγνόντα τὸν βασιλέα δοῦναι τὴν ἄδειαν. ἔτι γε μὴν τῶν εἰς τὴν χώραν, φησί, πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀφικνουμένων νεὼς καὶ βωμοὺς κατασκευασάντων ἅπαντα ταῦτα κατέσκαπτον, καὶ τῶν μὲν ζημίαν τοῖς σατράπαις ἐξέτινον, περί τινων δὲ καὶ συγγνώμης μετελάμβανον. καὶ προσεπιτίθησιν, ὅτι δίκαιον ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτούς ἐστι θαυμάζειν. [194] λέγει δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ πολυανθρωπότατον γεγονέναι ἡμῶν τὸ ἔθνος: πολλὰς μὲν γὰρ ἡμῶν, φησίν, ἀνασπάστους εἰς Βαβυλῶνα Πέρσαι πρότερον αὐτῶν ἐποίησαν μυριάδας, οὐκ ὀλίγαι δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου θάνατον εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ Φοινίκην [195] μετέστησαν διὰ τὴν ἐν Συρίᾳ στάσιν.” ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς οὗτος ἀνὴρ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς χώρας ἣν κατοικοῦμεν καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἱστόρηκεν: τριακοσίας γὰρ μυριάδας ἀρουρῶν σχεδὸν τῆς ἀρίστης καὶ

παμφορωτάτης χώρας νέμονται, φησίν: ἡ γὰρ Ἰουδαία τοσαύτη πλῆθός [196] ἐστιν.” ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καλλίστην τε καὶ μεγίστην ἐκ παλαιοτάτου κατοικοῦμεν καὶ περὶ πλήθους ἀνδρῶν καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ νεὼ κατασκευῆς οὕτως αὐτὸς διηγεῖται. [197] “ἔστι γὰρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ὀχυρώματα κατὰ τὴν χώραν καὶ κῶμαι, μία δὲ πόλις ὀχυρὰ πεντήκοντα μάλιστα σταδίων τὴν περίμετρον, ἣν οἰκοῦσι μὲν ἀνθρώπων περὶ δώδεκα [198] μυριάδες, καλοῦσι δ’ αὐτὴν Ἱεροσόλυμα. ἐνταῦθα δ’ ἐστὶ κατὰ μέσον μάλιστα τῆς πόλεως περίβολος λίθινος μῆκος ὡς πεντάπλεθρος, εὖρος δὲ πηχῶν ρ, ἔχων διπλᾶς πύλας, ἐν ᾧ βωμός ἐστι τετράγωνος ἀτμήτων συλλέκτων ἀργῶν λίθων οὕτως συγκείμενος, πλευρὰν μὲν ἑκάστην εἴκοσι πηχῶν, ὕψος δὲ δεκάπηχυ. καὶ παρ’ αὐτὸν οἴκημα μέγα, οὗ βωμός ἐστι καὶ λυχνίον ἀμφότερα χρυσᾶ [199] δύο τάλαντα τὴν ὁλκήν. ἐπὶ τούτων φῶς ἐστιν ἀναπόσβεστον καὶ τὰς νύκτας καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας. ἄγαλμα δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ ἀνάθημα τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲ φύτευμα παντελῶς οὐδὲν οἷον ἀλσῶδες ἤ τι τοιοῦτον. διατρίβουσι δ’ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς νύκτας καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἱερεῖς ἁγνείας τινὰς ἀγνεύοντες καὶ τὸ παράπαν οἶνον οὐ πίνοντες ἐν [200] τῷ ἱερῷ.” ἔτι γε μὴν ὅτι καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ συνεστρατεύσαντο καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖς διαδόχοις αὐτοῦ μεμαρτύρηκεν. οἷς δ’ αὐτὸς παρατυχεῖν φησιν ὑπ’ ἀνδρὸς Ἰουδαίου κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν γενομένοις, τοῦτο παραθήσομαι. [201] λέγει δ’ οὕτως: “ἐμοῦ γοῦν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν βαδίζοντος συνηκολούθει τις μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παραπεμπόντων ἡμᾶς ἱππέων Ἰουδαίων ὄνομα Μοσόλλαμος, ἄνθρωπος ἱκανῶς κατὰ ψυχὴν εὔρωστος καὶ τοξότης δὴ πάντων ὁμολογουμένως καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄριστος. [202] οὗτος οὖν ὁ ἄνθρωπος διαβαδιζόντων πολλῶν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ μάντεώς τινος ὀρνιθευομένου καὶ πάντας ἐπισχεῖν ἀξιοῦντος [203] ἠρώτησε, διὰ τί προσμένουσι. δείξαντος δὲ τοῦ μάντεως αὐτῷ τὸν ὄρνιθα καὶ φήσαντος, ἐὰν μὲν αὐτοῦ μένῃ προσμένειν συμφέρειν πᾶσιν, ἂν δ’ ἀναστὰς εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν πέτηται προάγειν, ἐὰν δὲ εἰς τοὔπισθεν ἀναχωρεῖν αὖθις, σιωπήσας καὶ παρελκύσας [204] τὸ τόξον ἔβαλε καὶ τὸν ὄρνιθα πατάξας ἀπέκτεινεν. ἀγανακτούντων δὲ τοῦ μάντεως καί τινων ἄλλων καὶ καταρωμένων αὐτῷ, “τί μαίνεσθε, ἔφη, κακοδαίμονες;” εἶτα τὸν ὄρνιθα λαβὼν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας, “πῶς γάρ, ἔφη, οὗτος τὴν αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν οὐ προι¨δὼν περὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας πορείας ἡμῖν ἄν τι ὑγιὲς ἀπήγγελλεν; εἰ γὰρ ἠδύνατο προγιγνώσκειν τὸ μέλλον, εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον οὐκ ἂν ἦλθε φοβούμενος, [205] μὴ τοξεύσας αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνῃ Μοσόλλαμος ὁ Ἰουδαῖος.” ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν Ἑκαταίου μαρτυριῶν ἅλις: τοῖς γὰρ βουλομένοις πλείω μαθεῖν τῷ βιβλίῳ ῥᾴδιόν ἐστιν ἐντυχεῖν. οὐκ ὀκνήσω δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπ’ εὐηθείας διασυρμῷ, καθάπερ αὐτὸς οἴεται, μνήμην πεποιημένον [206] ἡμῶν Ἀγαθαρχίδην ὀνομάσαι: διηγούμενος γὰρ τὰ περὶ Στρατονίκην, ὃν τρόπον ἦλθεν μὲν εἰς Συρίαν ἐκ Μακεδονίας καταλιποῦσα τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἄνδρα Δημήτριον, Σελεύκου δὲ γαμεῖν αὐτὴν οὐ θελήσαντος, ὅπερ ἐκείνη προσεδόκησεν, ποιουμένου [δὲ] τὴν ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος στρατείαν αὐτοῦ τὰ

περὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἐνεωτέρισεν. [207] εἶθ᾽ ὡς ἀνέστρεψεν ὁ βασιλεύς, ἁλισκομένης τῆς Ἀντιοχείας εἰς Σελεύκειαν φυγοῦσα, παρὸν αὐτῇ ταχέως ἀποπλεῖν ἐνυπνίῳ [208] κωλύοντι πεισθεῖσα ἐλήφθη καὶ ἀπέθανεν. ταῦτα προειπὼν ὁ Ἀγαθαρχίδης καὶ ἐπισκώπτων τῇ Στρατονίκῃ τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν παραδείγματι χρῆται τῷ περὶ ἡμῶν λόγῳ καὶ γέγραφεν οὕτως: [209] “οἱ καλούμενοι Ἰουδαῖοι πόλιν οἰκοῦντες ὀχυρωτάτην πασῶν, ἣν καλεῖν Ἱεροσόλυμα συμβαίνει τοὺς ἐγχωρίους, ἀργεῖν εἰθισμένοι δι᾽ ἑβδόμης ἡμέρας καὶ μήτε τὰ ὅπλα βαστάζειν ἐν τοῖς εἰρημένοις χρόνοις μήτε γεωργίας ἅπτεσθαι μήτε ἄλλης ἐπιμελεῖσθαι λειτουργίας μηδεμιᾶς, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐκτετακότες τὰς χεῖρας [210] εὔχεσθαι μέχρι τῆς ἑσπέρας, εἰσιόντος εἰς τὴν πόλιν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀντὶ τοῦ φυλάττειν τὴν πόλιν διατηρούντων τὴν ἄνοιαν, ἡ μὲν πατρὶς εἰλήφει δεσπότην πικρόν, ὁ δὲ νόμος ἐξηλέγχθη φαῦλον ἔχων ἐθισμόν. [211] τὸ δὲ συμβὰν πλὴν ἐκείνων τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας δεδίδαχε τηνικαῦτα φυγεῖν εἰς ἐνύπνια καὶ τὴν περὶ τοῦ νόμου παραδεδομένην ὑπόνοιαν, ἡνίκα ἂν τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις λογισμοῖς περὶ [212] τῶν διαπορουμένων ἐξασθενήσωσιν.” τοῦτο μὲν Ἀγαθαρχίδῃ καταγέλωτος ἄξιον δοκεῖ, τοῖς δὲ μὴ μετὰ δυσμενείας ἐξετάζουσι φαίνεται μέγα καὶ πολλῶν ἄξιον ἐγκωμίων, εἰ καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ πατρίδος ἄνθρωποί τινες νόμων φυλακὴν καὶ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν εὐσέβειαν ἀεὶ προτιμῶσιν.

22. But now it is proper to satisfy the inquiry of those that disbelieve the records of barbarians, and think none but Greeks to be worthy of credit, and to produce many of these very Greeks who were acquainted with our nation, and to set before them such as upon occasion have made mention of us in their own writings. Pythagoras, therefore, of Samos, lived in very ancient times, and was esteemed a person superior to all philosophers in wisdom and piety towards God. Now it is plain that he did not only know our doctrines, but was in very great measure a follower and admirer of them. There is not indeed extant any writing that is owned for his but many there are who have written his history, of whom Hermippus is the most celebrated, who was a person very inquisitive into all sorts of history. Now this Hermippus, in his first book concerning Pythagoras, speaks thus: "That Pythagoras, upon the death of one of his associates, whose name was Calliphon, a Crotonlate by birth, affirmed that this man's soul conversed with him both night and day, and enjoined him not to pass over a place where an ass had fallen down; as also not to drink of such waters as caused thirst again; and to abstain from all sorts of reproaches." After which he adds thus: "This he did and said in imitation of the doctrines of the Jews and Thracians, which he transferred into his own philosophy." For it is very truly affirmed of this Pythagoras, that he took a great many of the laws of the Jews into his own philosophy. Nor was our nation unknown of old to several of the Grecian cities, and indeed was thought worthy of imitation by some of them. This is declared by Theophrastus, in his writings concerning laws; for he says that "the laws of the Tyrians forbid men to swear foreign oaths." Among which he enumerates some others, and particularly that called Corban: which oath can only be found among the Jews, and declares what a man may call "A thing devoted to God." Nor indeed was Herodotus of Halicarnassus unacquainted with our nation, but mentions it after a way of his own, when he saith thus, in the second book concerning the Colchians. His words are these: "The only people who were circumcised in their privy members originally, were the Colchians, the Egyptians, and the Ethiopians; but the Phoenicians and those Syrians that are in Palestine confess that they learned it from the Egyptians. And for those Syrians who live about the rivers Thermodon and Parthenius, and their neighbors the Macrones, they say they have lately learned it from the Colchians; for these are the only people that are circumcised among mankind, and appear to have done the very same thing with the Egyptians. But as for the Egyptians and Ethiopians themselves, I am not able to say which of them received it from the other." This therefore is what Herodotus says, that "the Syrians that are in Palestine are circumcised." But there are no inhabitants of Palestine that are circumcised

excepting the Jews; and therefore it must be his knowledge of them that enabled him to speak so much concerning them. Cherilus also, a still ancienter writer, and a poet, makes mention of our nation, and informs us that it came to the assistance of king Xerxes, in his expedition against Greece. For in his enumeration of all those nations, he last of all inserts ours among the rest, when he says, "At the last there passed over a people, wonderful to be beheld; for they spake the Phoenician tongue with their mouths; they dwelt in the Solymean mountains, near a broad lake: their heads were sooty; they had round rasures on them; their heads and faces were like nasty horse-heads also, that had been hardened in the smoke." I think, therefore, that it is evident to every body that Cherilus means us, because the Solymean mountains are in our country, wherein we inhabit, as is also the lake called Asphaltitis; for this is a broader and larger lake than any other that is in Syria: and thus does Cherilus make mention of us. But now that not only the lowest sort of the Grecians, but those that are had in the greatest admiration for their philosophic improvements among them, did not only know the Jews, but when they lighted upon any of them, admired them also, it is easy for any one to know. For Clearchus, who was the scholar of Aristotle, and inferior to no one of the Peripatetics whomsoever, in his first book concerning sleep, says that "Aristotle his master related what follows of a Jew," and sets down Aristotle's own discourse with him. The account is this, as written down by him: "Now, for a great part of what this Jew said, it would be too long to recite it; but what includes in it both wonder and philosophy it may not be amiss to discourse of. Now, that I may be plain with thee, Hyperochides, I shall herein seem to thee to relate wonders, and what will resemble dreams themselves. Hereupon Hyperochides answered modestly, and said, For that very reason it is that all of us are very desirous of hearing what thou art going to say. Then replied Aristotle, For this cause it will be the best way to imitate that rule of the Rhetoricians, which requires us first to give an account of the man, and of what nation he was, that so we may not contradict our master's directions. Then said Hyperochides, Go on, if it so pleases thee. This man then, [answered Aristotle,] was by birth a Jew, and came from Celesyria; these Jews are derived from the Indian philosophers; they are named by the Indians Calami, and by the Syrians Judaei, and took their name from the country they inhabit, which is called Judea; but for the name of their city, it is a very awkward one, for they call it Jerusalem. Now this man, when he was hospitably treated by a great many, came down from the upper country to the places near the sea, and became a Grecian, not only in his language, but in his soul also; insomuch that when we ourselves happened to be in Asia about the same places whither he came, he conversed with us, and with other philosophical persons, and made a trial of our

skill in philosophy; and as he had lived with many learned men, he communicated to us more information than he received from us." This is Aristotle's account of the matter, as given us by Clearchus; which Aristotle discoursed also particularly of the great and wonderful fortitude of this Jew in his diet, and continent way of living, as those that please may learn more about him from Clearchus's book itself; for I avoid setting down any more than is sufficient for my purpose. Now Clearchus said this by way of digression, for his main design was of another nature. But for Hecateus of Abdera, who was both a philosopher, and one very useful ill an active life, he was contemporary with king Alexander in his youth, and afterward was with Ptolemy, the son of Lagus; he did not write about the Jewish affairs by the by only, but composed an entire book concerning the Jews themselves; out of which book I am willing to run over a few things, of which I have been treating by way of epitome. And, in the first place, I will demonstrate the time when this Hecateus lived; for he mentions the fight that was between Ptolemy and Demetrius about Gaza, which was fought in the eleventh year after the death of Alexander, and in the hundred and seventeenth olympiad, as Castor says in his history. For when he had set down this olympiad, he says further, that "in this olympiad Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, beat in battle Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, who was named Poliorcetes, at Gaza." Now, it is agreed by all, that Alexander died in the hundred and fourteenth olympiad; it is therefore evident that our nation flourished in his time, and in the time of Alexander. Again, Hecateus says to the same purpose, as follows: "Ptolemy got possession of the places in Syria after that battle at Gaza; and many, when they heard of Ptolemy's moderation and humanity, went along with him to Egypt, and were willing to assist him in his affairs; one of whom [Hecateus says] was Hezekiah the high priest of the Jews; a man of about sixty-six years of age, and in great dignity among his own people. He was a very sensible man, and could speak very movingly, and was very skillful in the management of affairs, if any other man ever were so; although, as he says, all the priests of the Jews took tithes of the products of the earth, and managed public affairs, and were in number not above fifteen hundred at the most." Hecateus mentions this Hezekiah a second time, and says, that "as he was possessed of so great a dignity, and was become familiar with us, so did he take certain of those that were with him, and explained to them all the circumstances of their people; for he had all their habitations and polity down in writing." Moreover, Hecateus declares again, "what regard we have for our laws, and that we resolve to endure any thing rather than transgress them, because we think it right for us to do so." Whereupon he adds, that "although they are in a bad reputation among their neighbors, and among all those that come to them, and

have been often treated injuriously by the kings and governors of Persia, yet can they not be dissuaded from acting what they think best; but that when they are stripped on this account, and have torments inflicted upon them, and they are brought to the most terrible kinds of death, they meet them after an extraordinary manner, beyond all other people, and will not renounce the religion of their forefathers." Hecateus also produces demonstrations not a few of this their resolute tenaciousness of their laws, when he speaks thus: "Alexander was once at Babylon, and had an intention to rebuild the temple of Belus that was fallen to decay, and in order thereto, he commanded all his soldiers in general to bring earth thither. But the Jews, and they only, would not comply with that command; nay, they underwent stripes and great losses of what they had on this account, till the king forgave them, and permitted them to live in quiet." He adds further, that "when the Macedonians came to them into that country, and demolished the [old] temples and the altars, they assisted them in demolishing them all but [for not assisting them in rebuilding them] they either underwent losses, or sometimes obtained forgiveness." He adds further, that "these men deserve to be admired on that account." He also speaks of the mighty populousness of our nation, and says that "the Persians formerly carried away many ten thousands of our people to Babylon, as also that not a few ten thousands were removed after Alexander's death into Egypt and Phoenicia, by reason of the sedition that was arisen in Syria." The same person takes notice in his history, how large the country is which we inhabit, as well as of its excellent character, and says, that "the land in which the Jews inhabit contains three millions of arourae, and is generally of a most excellent and most fruitful soil; nor is Judea of lesser dimensions." The same man describe our city Jerusalem also itself as of a most excellent structure, and very large, and inhabited from the most ancient times. He also discourses of the multitude of men in it, and of the construction of our temple, after the following manner: "There are many strong places and villages [says he] in the country of Judea; but one strong city there is, about fifty furlongs in circumference, which is inhabited by a hundred and twenty thousand men, or thereabouts; they call it Jerusalem. There is about the middle of the city a wall of stone, whose length is five hundred feet, and the breadth a hundred cubits, with double cloisters; wherein there is a square altar, not made of hewn stone, but composed of white stones gathered together, having each side twenty cubits long, and its altitude ten cubits. Hard by it is a large edifice, wherein there is an altar and a candlestick, both of gold, and in weight two talents: upon these there is a light that is never extinguished, either by night or by day. There is no image, nor any thing, nor any donations therein; nothing at all is there planted, neither grove, nor any thing of that sort. The priests abide therein both nights and days,

performing certain purifications, and drinking not the least drop of wine while they are in the temple." Moreover, he attests that we Jews went as auxiliaries along with king Alexander, and after him with his successors. I will add further what he says he learned when he was himself with the same army, concerning the actions of a man that was a Jew. His words are these: "As I was myself going to the Red Sea, there followed us a man, whose name was Mosollam; he was one of the Jewish horsemen who conducted us; he was a person of great courage, of a strong body, and by all allowed to be the most skillful archer that was either among the Greeks or barbarians. Now this man, as people were in great numbers passing along the road, and a certain augur was observing an augury by a bird, and requiring them all to stand still, inquired what they staid for. Hereupon the augur showed him the bird from whence he took his augury, and told him that if the bird staid where he was, they ought all to stand still; but that if he got up, and flew onward, they must go forward; but that if he flew backward, they must retire again. Mosollam made no reply, but drew his bow, and shot at the bird, and hit him, and killed him; and as the augur and some others were very angry, and wished imprecations upon him, he answered them thus: Why are you so mad as to take this most unhappy bird into your hands? for how can this bird give us any true information concerning our march, who could not foresee how to save himself? for had he been able to foreknow what was future, he would not have come to this place, but would have been afraid lest Mosollam the Jew should shoot at him, and kill him." But of Hecateus's testimonies we have said enough; for as to such as desire to know more of them, they may easily obtain them from his book itself. However, I shall not think it too much for me to name Agatharchides, as having made mention of us Jews, though in way of derision at our simplicity, as he supposes it to be; for when he was discoursing of the affairs of Stratonice, "how she came out of Macedonia into Syria, and left her husband Demetrius, while yet Seleueus would not marry her as she expected, but during the time of his raising an army at Babylon, stirred up a sedition about Antioch; and how, after that, the king came back, and upon his taking of Antioch, she fled to Seleucia, and had it in her power to sail away immediately yet did she comply with a dream which forbade her so to do, and so was caught and put to death." When Agatharehides had premised this story, and had jested upon Stratonice for her superstition, he gives a like example of what was reported concerning us, and writes thus: "There are a people called Jews, and dwell in a city the strongest of all other cities, which the inhabitants call Jerusalem, and are accustomed to rest on every seventh day on which times they make no use of their arms, nor meddle with husbandry, nor take care of any affairs of life, but spread out their hands in their holy places, and pray till the evening. Now it came to pass, that

when Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, came into this city with his army, that these men, in observing this mad custom of theirs, instead of guarding the city, suffered their country to submit itself to a bitter lord; and their law was openly proved to have commanded a foolish practice. This accident taught all other men but the Jews to disregard such dreams as these were, and not to follow the like idle suggestions delivered as a law, when, in such uncertainty of human reasonings, they are at a loss what they should do." Now this our procedure seems a ridiculous thing to Agatharehides, but will appear to such as consider it without prejudice a great thing, and what deserved a great many encomiums; I mean, when certain men constantly prefer the observation of their laws, and their religion towards God, before the preservation of themselves and their country.

XXIII

[213] Ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες ἔνιοι τῶν συγγραφέων τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ φθόνου τινὸς ἢ δι' ἄλλας αἰτίας οὐχ ὑγιεῖς τὴν μνήμην παρέλιπον, τεκμήριον οἶμαι παρέξειν: Ἱερώνυμος γὰρ ὁ τὴν περὶ τῶν διαδόχων ἱστορίαν συγγεγραφὼς κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν μὲν ἦν Ἑκαταίῳ χρόνον, φίλος δ' ὢν Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν Συρίαν [214] ἐπετρόπευεν: ἀλλ' ὅμως Ἑκαταῖος μὲν καὶ βιβλίον ἔγραψεν περὶ ἡμῶν, Ἱερώνυμος δ' οὐδαμοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐμνημόνευσε καίτοι σχεδὸν ἐν τοῖς τόποις διατετριφώς: τοσοῦτον αἱ προαιρέσεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων διήνεγκαν. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἐδόξαμεν καὶ σπουδαίας εἶναι μνήμης ἄξιοι, τῷ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν πάντως τι πάθος οὐκ εὔγνωμον ἐπεσκότησεν. [215] ἀρκοῦσι δὲ ὅμως εἰς τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ἀρχαιότητος αἵ τε Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Χαλδαίων καὶ Φοινίκων ἀναγραφαὶ [216] πρὸς ἐκείναις τε τοσοῦτοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων συγγραφεῖς: ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις Θεόφιλος καὶ Θεόδοτος καὶ Μνασέας καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης καὶ Ἑρμογένης Εὐήμερός τε καὶ Κόνων καὶ Ζωπυρίων καὶ πολλοί τινες ἄλλοι τάχα, οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε πᾶσιν ἐντετύχηκα τοῖς βιβλίοις, οὐ παρέργως ἡμῶν ἐμνημονεύκασιν. [217] οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀνδρῶν τῆς μὲν ἀληθείας τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πραγμάτων διήμαρτον, ὅτι μὴ ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἡμῶν βίβλοις ἐνέτυχον, κοινῶς μέντοι περὶ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἅπαντες μεμαρτυρήκασιν, ὑπὲρ ἧς τὰ νῦν λέγειν προεθέμην. [218] ὁ μέντοι Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος καὶ Φίλων ὁ πρεσβύτερος καὶ Εὐπόλεμος οὐ πολὺ τῆς ἀληθείας διήμαρτον. οἷς συγγιγνώσκειν ἄξιον: οὐ γὰρ ἐνῆν αὐτοῖς μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας τοῖς ἡμετέροις γράμμασι παρακολουθεῖν.

23. Now that some writers have omitted to mention our nation, not because they knew nothing of us, but because they envied us, or for some other unjustifiable reasons, I think I can demonstrate by particular instances; for Hieronymus, who wrote the History of Alexander's Successors, lived at the same time with Hecateus, and was a friend of king Antigonus, and president of Syria. Now it is

plain that Hecateus wrote an entire book concerning us, while Hieronymus never mentions us in his history, although he was bred up very near to the places where we live. Thus different from one another are the inclinations of men; while the one thought we deserved to be carefully remembered, as some ill-disposed passion blinded the other's mind so entirely, that he could not discern the truth. And now certainly the foregoing records of the Egyptians, and Chaldeans, and Phoenicians, together with so many of the Greek writers, will be sufficient for the demonstration of our antiquity. Moreover, besides those forementioned, Theophilus, and Theodotus, and Mnaseas, and Aristophanes, and Hermogenes, Euhemerus also, and Conon, and Zopyrion, and perhaps many others, [for I have not lighted upon all the Greek books,] have made distinct mention of us. It is true, many of the men before mentioned have made great mistakes about the true accounts of our nation in the earliest times, because they had not perused our sacred books; yet have they all of them afforded their testimony to our antiquity, concerning which I am now treating. However, Demetrius Phalereus, and the elder Philo, with Eupolemus, have not greatly missed the truth about our affairs; whose lesser mistakes ought therefore to be forgiven them; for it was not in their power to understand our writings with the utmost accuracy.

XXIV

[219] Ἓν ἔτι μοι κεφάλαιον ὑπολείπεται τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν προτεθέντων τοῦ λόγου, τὰς διαβολὰς καὶ τὰς λοιδορίας, αἷς κέχρηνταί τινες κατὰ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν, ἀποδεῖξαι ψευδεῖς καὶ τοῖς γεγραφόσι ταύτας καθ' ἑαυτῶν χρήσασθαι μάρτυσιν. [220] ὅτι μὲν οὖν καὶ ἑτέροις τοῦτο πολλοῖς συμβέβηκε διὰ τὴν ἐνίων δυσμένειαν, οἶμαι γιγνώσκειν τοὺς πλέον ταῖς ἱστορίαις ἐντυγχάνοντας: καὶ γὰρ ἐθνῶν τινες καὶ τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων πόλεων ῥυπαίνειν τὴν εὐγένειαν [221] καὶ τὰς πολιτείας ἐπεχείρησαν λοιδορεῖν, Θεόπομπος μὲν τὴν Ἀθηναίων, τὴν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων Πολυκράτης, ὁ δὲ τὸν Τριπολιτικὸν γράψας, οὐ γὰρ δὴ Θεόπομπός ἐστιν ὡς οἴονταί τινες, καὶ τὴν Θηβαίων πόλιν προσέλαβεν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ Τίμαιος ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις [222] περὶ τῶν προειρημένων καὶ περὶ ἄλλων βεβλασφήμηκεν. μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτο ποιοῦσι τοῖς ἐνδοξοτάτοις προσπλεκόμενοι, τινὲς μὲν διὰ φθόνον καὶ κακοήθειαν, ἄλλοι δὲ διὰ τοῦ καινολογεῖν μνήμης ἀξιωθήσεσθαι νομίζοντες. παρὰ μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἀνοήτοις ταύτης οὐ διαμαρτάνουσι τῆς ἐλπίδος, οἱ δ' ὑγιαίνοντες τῇ κρίσει πολλὴν αὐτῶν μοχθηρίαν καταδικάζουσι.

24. One particular there is still remaining behind of what I at first proposed to speak to, and that is, to demonstrate that those calumnies and reproaches which some have thrown upon our nation, are lies, and to make use of those writers'

own testimonies against themselves; and that in general this self-contradiction hath happened to many other authors by reason of their ill-will to some people, I conclude, is not unknown to such as have read histories with sufficient care; for some of them have endeavored to disgrace the nobility of certain nations, and of some of the most glorious cities, and have cast reproaches upon certain forms of government. Thus hath Theopompus abused the city of Athens, Polycrates that of Lacedemon, as hath he hat wrote the Tripoliticus [for he is not Theopompus, as is supposed by some] done by the city of Thebes. Timeils also hath greatly abused the foregoing people and others also; and this ill-treatment they use chiefly when they have a contest with men of the greatest reputation; some out of envy and malice, and others as supposing that by this foolish talking of theirs they may be thought worthy of being remembered themselves; and indeed they do by no means fail of their hopes, with regard to the foolish part of mankind, but men of sober judgment still condemn them of great malignity.

XXV

[223] Τῶν δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς βλασφημιῶν ἤρξαντο μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι: βουλόμενοι δ’ ἐκείνοις τινὲς χαρίζεσθαι παρατρέπειν ἐπεχείρησαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὔτε τὴν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἄφιξιν ὡς ἐγένετο τῶν ἡμετέρων [224] προγόνων ὁμολογοῦντες, οὔτε τὴν ἔξοδον ἀληθεύοντες. αἰτίας δὲ πολλὰς ἔλαβον τοῦ μισεῖν καὶ φθονεῖν τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐδυνάστευσαν ἡμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι κἀκεῖθεν ἀπαλλαγέντες ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκείαν πάλιν εὐδαιμόνησαν, εἶθ’ ἡ τούτων ὑπεναντιότης πολλὴν αὐτοῖς ἐνεποίησεν ἔχθραν, τοσοῦτον τῆς ἡμετέρας διαφερούσης εὐσεβείας πρὸς τὴν ὑπ’ ἐκείνων νενομισμένην, ὅσον θεοῦ φύσις ζῴων ἀλόγων διέστηκε. [225] κοινὸν μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐστι πάτριον τὸ ταῦτα θεοὺς νομίζειν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐν ταῖς τιμαῖς αὐτῶν διαφέρονται. κοῦφοι δὲ καὶ ἀνόητοι παντάπασιν ἄνθρωποι κακῶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰθισμένοι δοξάζειν περὶ θεῶν μιμήσασθαι μὲν τὴν σεμνότητα τῆς ἡμετέρας θεολογίας οὐκ [226] ἐχώρησαν, ὁρῶντες δὲ ζηλουμένους ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐφθόνησαν. εἰς τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἦλθον ἀνοίας καὶ μικροψυχίας ἔνιοι τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς, ὥστ’ οὐδὲ ταῖς ἀρχαίαις αὐτῶν ἀναγραφαῖς ὤκνησαν ἐναντία λέγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐναντία γράφοντες ὑπὸ τυφλότητος τοῦ πάθους ἠγνόησαν.

25. Now the Egyptians were the first that cast reproaches upon us; in order to please which nation, some others undertook to pervert the truth, while they would neither own that our forefathers came into Egypt from another country, as the fact was, nor give a true account of our departure thence. And indeed the Egyptians took many occasions to hate us and envy us: in the first place, because our ancestors had had the dominion over their country? and when they were

delivered from them, and gone to their own country again, they lived there in prosperity. In the next place, the difference of our religion from theirs hath occasioned great enmity between us, while our way of Divine worship did as much exceed that which their laws appointed, as does the nature of God exceed that of brute beasts; for so far they all agree through the whole country, to esteem such animals as gods, although they differ one from another in the peculiar worship they severally pay to them. And certainly men they are entirely of vain and foolish minds, who have thus accustomed themselves from the beginning to have such bad notions concerning their gods, and could not think of imitating that decent form of Divine worship which we made use of, though, when they saw our institutions approved of by many others, they could not but envy us on that account; for some of them have proceeded to that degree of folly and meanness in their conduct, as not to scruple to contradict their own ancient records, nay, to contradict themselves also in their writings, and yet were so blinded by their passions as not to discern it.

XXVI

[227] Ἐφ᾽ ἑνὸς δὲ πρώτου στήσω τὸν λόγον, ᾧ καὶ μάρτυρι [228] μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἐχρησάμην. ὁ γὰρ Μανεθὼς οὗτος ὁ τὴν Αἰγυπτιακὴν ἱστορίαν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων μεθερμηνεύειν ὑπεσχημένος, προειπὼν τοὺς ἡμετέρους προγόνους πολλαῖς μυριάσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐλθόντας κρατῆσαι τῶν ἐνοικούντων, εἶτ᾽ αὐτὸς ὁμολογῶν χρόνῳ πάλιν ὕστερον ἐκπεσόντας τὴν νῦν Ἰουδαίαν κατασχεῖν καὶ κτίσαντας Ἱεροσόλυμα τὸν νεὼ κατασκευάσασθαι, [229] μέχρι μὲν τούτων ἠκολούθησε ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς. ἔπειτα δὲ δοὺς ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ φάναι γράψειν τὰ μυθευόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων λόγους ἀπιθάνους παρενέβαλεν, ἀναμῖξαι βουλόμενος ἡμῖν πλῆθος Αἰγυπτίων λεπρῶν καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλοις ἀρρωστήμασιν, ὥς φησι, φυγεῖν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καταγνωσθέντων. [230] Ἀμένωφιν γὰρ βασιλέα προσθεὶς ψευδὲς ὄνομα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χρόνον αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ὁρίσαι μὴ τολμήσας, καίτοι γε ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων ἀκριβῶς τὰ ἔτη προστιθείς, τούτῳ προσάπτει τινὰς μυθολογίας ἐπιλαθόμενος σχεδόν, ὅτι πεντακοσίοις ἔτεσι καὶ δεκαοκτὼ πρότερον ἱστόρηκε γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν ποιμένων ἔξοδον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. [231] Τέθμωσις γὰρ ἦν βασιλεὺς ὅτε ἐξῆεσαν, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων μεταξὺ τῶν βασιλέων κατ᾽ αὐτόν ἐστι τριακόσια ἐνενηκοντατρία ἔτη μέχρι τῶν δύο ἀδελφῶν Σέθω καὶ Ἑρμαίου, ὧν τὸν μὲν Σέθων Αἴγυπτον, τὸν δὲ Ἕρμαιον Δαναὸν μετονομασθῆναί φησιν, ὃν ἐκβαλὼν ὁ Σέθως ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη νθ καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁ πρεσβύτερος τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ Ῥάμψης ξ[στιγμα]. [232] τοσούτοις οὖν πρότερον ἔτεσιν ἀπελθεῖν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν ὡμολογηκὼς εἶτα τὸν Ἀμένωφιν εἰσποιήσας

ἐμβόλιμον βασιλέα φησὶν τοῦτον ἐπιθυμῆσαι θεῶν γενέσθαι θεατήν ὥσπερ Ὧρ εἷς τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βεβασιλευκότων, ἀνενεγκεῖν δὲ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ὁμωνύμῳ μὲν αὐτῷ Ἀμενώφει πατρὸς δὲ Πάπιος ὄντι, θείας δὲ δοκοῦντι μετεσχηκέναι φύσεως [233] κατά τε σοφίαν καὶ πρόγνωσιν τῶν ἐσομένων. εἰπεῖν οὖν αὐτῷ τοῦτον τὸν ὁμώνυμον, ὅτι δυνήσεται θεοὺς ἰδεῖν, εἰ καθαρὰν ἀπό τε λεπρῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μιαρῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν ποιήσειεν. [234] ἡσθέντα δὲ τὸν βασιλέα πάντας τοὺς τὰ σώματα λελωβημένους ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου συναγαγεῖν γενέσθαι δὲ τοῦ πλήθους [235] μυριάδας ὀκτώ: καὶ τούτους εἰς τὰς λιθοτομίας τὰς ἐν τῷ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν μέρει τοῦ Νείλου ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτόν, ὅπως ἐργάζοιντο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἐγκεχωρισμένοι. εἶναι δέ τινας ἐν αὐτοῖς [236] καὶ τῶν λογίων ἱερέων φησὶ λέπρᾳ συγκεχυμένους. τὸν δὲ Ἀμένωφιν ἐκεῖνον, τὸν σοφὸν καὶ μαντικὸν ἄνδρα, ὑποδεῖσαι πρὸς αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν βασιλέα χόλον τῶν θεῶν, εἰ βιασθέντες ὀφθήσονται. καὶ προσθέμενον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι συμμαχήσουσί τινες τοῖς μιαροῖς καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου κρατήσουσιν ἐπ᾽ ἔτη δεκατρία, μὴ τολμῆσαι μὲν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν ταῦτα τῷ βασιλεῖ, γραφὴν δὲ καταλιπόντα περὶ πάντων [237] ἑαυτὸν ἀνελεῖν, ἐν ἀθυμίᾳ δὲ εἶναι τὸν βασιλέα. κἄπειτα κατὰ λέξιν οὕτως γέγραφεν: “τῶν δ᾽ ἐν ταῖς λατομίαις ὡς χρόνος ἱκανὸς διῆλθεν ταλαιπωρούντων, ἀξιωθεὶς ὁ βασιλεύς, ἵνα [πρὸς] κατάλυσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ σκέπην ἀπομερίσῃ, τὴν τότε τῶν ποιμένων ἐρημωθεῖσαν πόλιν Αὔαριν συνεχώρησεν: ἔστι δ᾽ ἡ πόλις κατὰ τὴν θεολογίαν ἄνωθεν Τυφώνιος. [238] οἱ δὲ εἰς ταύτην εἰσελθόντες καὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον [εἰς] ἀπόστασιν ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνα αὐτῶν λεγόμενόν τινα τῶν Ἡλιοπολιτῶν ἱερέων Ὀσάρσηφον ἐστήσαντο καὶ τούτῳ πειθαρχήσοντες ἐν πᾶσιν ὡρκωμότησαν. [239] ὁ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς νόμον ἔθετο μήτε προσκυνεῖν θεοὺς μήτε τῶν μάλιστα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ θεμιστευομένων ἱερῶν ζῴων ἀπέχεσθαι μηδενός, πάντα δὲ θύειν καὶ [240] ἀναλοῦν, συνάπτεσθαι δὲ μηδενὶ πλὴν τῶν συνομωμοσμένων. τοιαῦτα δὲ νομοθετήσας καὶ πλεῖστα ἄλλα μάλιστα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐθισμοῖς ἐναντιούμενα ἐκέλευσεν πολυχειρίᾳ τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπισκευάζειν τείχη καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον ἑτοίμους γίνεσθαι τὸν πρὸς Ἀμένωφιν [241] τὸν βασιλέα. αὐτὸς δὲ προσλαβόμενος μεθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερέων καὶ συμμεμιαμμένων ἔπεμψε πρέσβεις πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὸ Τεθμώσεως ἀπελαθέντας ποιμένας εἰς πόλιν τὴν καλουμένην Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ τὰ καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς συνατιμασθέντας [242] δηλώσας ἠξίου συνεπιστρατεύειν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐπ᾽ Αἴγυπτον. ἐπάξειν μὲν οὖν αὐτοὺς ἐπηγγείλατο πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Αὔαριν τὴν προγονικὴν αὐτῶν πατρίδα καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς ὄχλοις παρέξειν ἀφθόνως, ὑπερμαχήσεσθαι δὲ ὅτε δέοι καὶ ῥᾳδίως ὑποχείριον αὐτοῖς [243] τὴν χώραν ποιήσειν. οἱ δὲ ὑπερχαρεῖς γενόμενοι πάντες προθύμως εἰς κ μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν συνεξώρμησαν καὶ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ ἦκον εἰς Αὔαριν. Ἀμένωφις δ᾽ ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς ὡς ἐπύθετο τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἔφοδον, οὐ μετρίως συνεχύθη τῆς [244] παρὰ Ἀμενώφεως τοῦ Παάπιος μνησθεὶς προδηλώσεως. καὶ

πρότερον συναγαγὼν πλῆθος Αἰγυπτίων καὶ βουλευσάμενος μετὰ τῶν ἐν τούτοις ἡγεμόνων τά τε ἱερὰ ζῷα τὰ [πρῶτα] μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς τιμώμενα ὥς γ᾽ ἑαυτὸν μετεπέμψατο καὶ τοῖς κατὰ μέρος ἱερεῦσι [245] παρήγγελλεν ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα τῶν θεῶν συγκρύψαι τὰ ξόανα. τὸν δὲ υἱὸν Σέθω τὸν καὶ Ῥαμεσσῆ ἀπὸ Ῥαψηοῦς τοῦ πατρὸς ὠνομασμένον πενταέτη ὄντα ἐξέθετο πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φίλον. αὐτὸς δὲ διαβὰς Τοῖς ἄλλοις Αἰγυπτίοις οὖσιν εἰς τριάκοντα μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν μαχιμωτάτων [246] καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπαντήσας οὐ συνέβαλεν, ἀλλὰ μέλλειν θεομαχεῖν νομίσας παλινδρομήσας ἦκεν εἰς Μέμφιν ἀναλαβών τε τόν τε Ἆπιν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐκεῖσε μεταπεμφθέντα ἱερὰ ζῷα εὐθὺς εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν σὺν ἅπαντι τῷ στόλῳ καὶ πλήθει τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀνήχθη: χάριτι γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ ὑποχείριος ὁ τῶν Αἰθιόπων βασιλεύς. [247] ὃς ὑποδεξάμενος καὶ τοὺς ὄχλους πάντας ὑπολαβὼν οἷς ἔσχεν ἡ χώρα τῶν πρὸς ἀνθρωπίνην τροφὴν ἐπιτηδείων, καὶ πόλεις καὶ κώμας πρὸς τὴν τῶν πεπρωμένων τρισκαίδεκα ἐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ [εἰς τὴν] ἔκπτωσιν αὐτάρκεις, οὐχ ἧττον δὲ καὶ στρατόπεδον Αἰθιοπικὸν πρὸς φυλακὴν ἐπέταξε τοῖς παρ᾽ [248] Ἀμενώφεως τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρίων τῆς Αἰγύπτου. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν τοιαῦτα. οἱ δὲ Σολυμῖται κατελθόντες σὺν τοῖς μιαροῖς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οὕτως ἀνοσίως καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις προσηνέχθησαν, ὥστε τὴν τῶν προειρημένων κράτησιν χρυσὸν [249] φαίνεσθαι τοῖς τότε τὰ τούτων ἀσεβήματα θεωμένοις: καὶ γὰρ οὐ μόνον πόλεις καὶ κώμας ἐνέπρησαν οὐδὲ ἱεροσυλοῦντες οὐδὲ λυμαινόμενοι ξόανα θεῶν ἠρκοῦντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὀπτανίοις τῶν σεβαστευομένων ἱερῶν ζῴων χρώμενοι διετέλουν καὶ θύτας καὶ σφαγεῖς τούτων ἱερεῖς καὶ προφήτας ἠνάγκαζον γίνεσθαι [250] καὶ γυμνοὺς ἐξέβαλλον. λέγεται δέ, ὅτι τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς καταβαλόμενος ἱερεὺς τὸ γένος Ἡλιοπολίτης ὄνομα Ὀσαρσὶφ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει θεοῦ Ὀσίρεως, ὡς μετέβη εἰς τοῦτο τὸ γένος, μετετέθη τοὔνομα καὶ προσηγορεύθη Μωυσῆς.”

26. And now I will turn my discourse to one of their principal writers, whom I have a little before made use of as a witness to our antiquity; I mean Manetho. He promised to interpret the Egyptian history out of their sacred writings, and premised this: that “our people had come into Egypt, many ten thousands in number, and subdued its inhabitants;” and when he had further confessed that “we went out of that country afterward, and settled in that country which is now called Judea, and there built Jerusalem and its temple.” Now thus far he followed his ancient records; but after this he permits himself, in order to appear to have written what rumors and reports passed abroad about the Jews, and introduces incredible narrations, as if he would have the Egyptian multitude, that had the leprosy and other distempers, to have been mixed with us, as he says they were, and that they were condemned to fly out of Egypt together; for he mentions

Amenophis, a fictitious king's name, though on that account he durst not set down the number of years of his reign, which yet he had accurately done as to the other kings he mentions; he then ascribes certain fabulous stories to this king, as having in a manner forgotten how he had already related that the departure of the shepherds for Jerusalem had been five hundred and eighteen years before; for Tethmosis was king when they went away. Now, from his days, the reigns of the intermediate kings, according to Manethe, amounted to three hundred and ninety-three years, as he says himself, till the two brothers Sethos and Hermeus; the one of whom, Sethos, was called by that other name of Egyptus, and the other, Hermeus, by that of Danaus. He also says that Sethos east the other out of Egypt, and reigned fifty-nine years, as did his eldest son Rhampses reign after him sixty-six years. When Manethe therefore had acknowledged that our forefathers were gone out of Egypt so many years ago, he introduces his fictitious king Amenophis, and says thus: "This king was desirous to become a spectator of the gods, as had Orus, one of his predecessors in that kingdom, desired the same before him; he also communicated that his desire to his namesake Amenophis, who was the son of Papis, and one that seemed to partake of a divine nature, both as to wisdom and the knowledge of futurities." Manethe adds, "how this namesake of his told him that he might see the gods, if he would clear the whole country of the lepers and of the other impure people; that the king was pleased with this injunction, and got together all that had any defect in their bodies out of Egypt; and that their number was eighty thousand; whom he sent to those quarries which are on the east side of the Nile, that they might work in them, and might be separated from the rest of the Egyptians." He says further, that "there were some of the learned priests that were polluted with the leprosy; but that still this Amenophis, the wise man and the prophet, was afraid that the gods would be angry at him and at the king, if there should appear to have been violence offered them; who also added this further, [out of his sagacity about futurities,] that certain people would come to the assistance of these polluted wretches, and would conquer Egypt, and keep it in their possession thirteen years; that, however, he durst not tell the king of these things, but that he left a writing behind him about all those matters, and then slew himself, which made the king disconsolate." After which he writes thus verbatim: "After those that were sent to work in the quarries had continued in that miserable state for a long while, the king was desired that he would set apart the city Avaris, which was then left desolate of the shepherds, for their habitation and protection; which desire he granted them. Now this city, according to the ancient theology, was Typho's city. But when these men were gotten into it, and found the place fit for a revolt, they appointed themselves a ruler out of the priests of Hellopolis, whose

name was Osarsiph, and they took their oaths that they would be obedient to him in all things. He then, in the first place, made this law for them, That they should neither worship the Egyptian gods, nor should abstain from any one of those sacred animals which they have in the highest esteem, but kill and destroy them all; that they should join themselves to nobody but to those that were of this confederacy. When he had made such laws as these, and many more such as were mainly opposite to the customs of the Egyptians, he gave order that they should use the multitude of the hands they had in building walls about their City, and make themselves ready for a war with king Amenophis, while he did himself take into his friendship the other priests, and those that were polluted with them, and sent ambassadors to those shepherds who had been driven out of the land by Tefilmosis to the city called Jerusalem; whereby he informed them of his own affairs, and of the state of those others that had been treated after such an ignominious manner, and desired that they would come with one consent to his assistance in this war against Egypt. He also promised that he would, in the first place, bring them back to their ancient city and country Avaris, and provide a plentiful maintenance for their multitude; that he would protect them and fight for them as occasion should require, and would easily reduce the country under their dominion. These shepherds were all very glad of this message, and came away with alacrity all together, being in number two hundred thousand men; and in a little time they came to Avaris. And now Amenophis the king of Egypt, upon his being informed of their invasion, was in great confusion, as calling to mind what Amenophis, the son of Papis, had foretold him; and, in the first place, he assembled the multitude of the Egyptians, and took counsel with their leaders, and sent for their sacred animals to him, especially for those that were principally worshipped in their temples, and gave a particular charge to the priests distinctly, that they should hide the images of their gods with the utmost care he also sent his son Sethos, who was also named Ramesses, from his father Rhampses, being but five years old, to a friend of his. He then passed on with the rest of the Egyptians, being three hundred thousand of the most warlike of them, against the enemy, who met them. Yet did he not join battle with them; but thinking that would be to fight against the gods, he returned back and came to Memphis, where he took Apis and the other sacred animals which he had sent for to him, and presently marched into Ethiopia, together with his whole army and multitude of Egyptians; for the king of Ethiopia was under an obligation to him, on which account he received him, and took care of all the multitude that was with him, while the country supplied all that was necessary for the food of the men. He also allotted cities and villages for this exile, that was to be from its beginning during those fatally determined thirteen years. Moreover, he pitched a

camp for his Ethiopian army, as a guard to king Amenophis, upon the borders of Egypt. And this was the state of things in Ethiopia. But for the people of Jerusalem, when they came down together with the polluted Egyptians, they treated the men in such a barbarous manner, that those who saw how they subdued the forementioned country, and the horrid wickedness they were guilty of, thought it a most dreadful thing; for they did not only set the cities and villages on fire but were not satisfied till they had been guilty of sacrilege, and destroyed the images of the gods, and used them in roasting those sacred animals that used to be worshipped, and forced the priests and prophets to be the executioners and murderers of those animals, and then ejected them naked out of the country. It was also reported that the priest, who ordained their polity and their laws, was by birth of Hellopolls, and his name Osarsiph, from Osyris, who was the god of Hellopolls; but that when he was gone over to these people, his name was changed, and he was called Moses."

XXVII

[251] Ἃ μὲν οὖν Αἰγύπτιοι φέρουσι περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ταῦτ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἕτερα πλείονα, ἃ παρίημι συντομίας ἕνεκα. λέγει δὲ ὁ Μανεθὼς πάλιν, ὅτι μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπῆλθεν ὁ Ἀμένωφις ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίας μετὰ μεγάλης δυνάμεως καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ῥάμψης καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχων δύναμιν, καὶ συμβαλόντες οἱ δύο τοῖς ποιμέσι καὶ τοῖς μιαροῖς ἐνίκησαν αὐτοὺς καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείναντες ἐδίωξαν αὐτοὺς ἄχρι τῶν ὁρίων τῆς Συρίας. [252] ταῦτα μὲν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα Μανεθὼς συνέγραψεν. ὅτι δὲ ληρεῖ καὶ ψεύδεται περιφανῶς, ἐπιδείξω προδιαστειλάμενος ἐκεῖνο τῶν ὕστερον πρὸς ἄλλους λεχθησομένων ἕνεκα: δέδωκε γὰρ οὗτος ἡμῖν καὶ ὡμολόγηκεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε μὴ εἶναι τὸ γένος Αἰγυπτίους, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἔξωθεν ἐπελθόντας κρατῆσαι [253] τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ πάλιν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀπελθεῖν. ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἀνεμίχθησαν ἡμῖν ὕστερον τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ τὰ σώματα λελωβημένοι, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ τούτων οὐκ ἦν Μωυσῆς ὁ τὸν λαὸν ἀγαγών, ἀλλὰ πολλαῖς ἐγεγόνει γενεαῖς πρότερον, ταῦτα πειράσομαι διὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λεγομένων ἐλέγχειν.

27. This is what the Egyptians relate about the Jews, with much more, which I omit for the sake of brevity. But still Manetho goes on, that "after this, Amenophis returned back from Ethiopia with a great army, as did his son Ahampses with another army also, and that both of them joined battle with the shepherds and the polluted people, and beat them, and slew a great many of them, and pursued them to the bounds of Syria." These and the like accounts are written by Manetho. But I will demonstrate that he trifles, and tells arrant lies, after I have made a distinction which will relate to what I am going to say about him; for this Manetho had granted and confessed that this nation was not

originally Egyptian, but that they had come from another country, and subdued Egypt, and then went away again out of it. But that those Egyptians who were thus diseased in their bodies were not mingled with us afterward, and that Moses who brought the people out was not one of that company, but lived many generations earlier, I shall endeavor to demonstrate from Manetho's own accounts themselves.

XXVIII

[254] Πρώτην δὴ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ πλάσματος ὑποτίθεται καταγέλαστον: ὁ βασιλεὺς γάρ φησιν Ἀμένωφις ἐπεθύμησε τοὺς θεοὺς ἰδεῖν. ποίους; εἰ μὲν τοὺς παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς νενομοθετημένους τὸν βοῦν [255] καὶ τράγον καὶ κροκοδείλους καὶ κυνοκεφάλους, ἑώρα. τοὺς οὐρανίους δὲ πῶς ἐδύνατο; καὶ διὰ τί ταύτην ἔσχε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν; ὅτι νὴ Δία καὶ πρότερος αὐτοῦ βασιλεὺς ἄλλος ἑωράκει. παρ᾽ ἐκείνου τοίνυν ἐπέπυστο, ποταποί τινές εἰσι καὶ τίνα τρόπον αὐτοὺς εἶδεν, ὥστε καινῆς αὐτῷ τέχνης οὐκ ἔδει. [256] ἀλλὰ σοφὸς ἦν ὁ μάντις, δι᾽ οὗ τοῦτο κατορθώσειν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπελάμβανε. καὶ πῶς οὐ προέγνω τὸ ἀδύνατον αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας; οὐ γὰρ ἀπέβη. τίνα δὲ καὶ λόγον εἶχε διὰ τοὺς ἠκρωτηριασμένους ἢ λεπρῶντας ἀφανεῖς εἶναι τοὺς θεούς; ὀργίζονται γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀσεβήμασιν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐλαττώμασι τῶν σωμάτων. [257] ὀκτὼ δὲ μυριάδας τῶν λεπρῶν καὶ κακῶς διακειμένων πῶς οἷόν τε μιᾷ σχεδὸν ἡμέρᾳ συλλεγῆναι; πῶς δὲ παρήκουσεν τοῦ μάντεως ὁ βασιλεύς; ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐξορίσαι τῆς Αἰγύπτου τοὺς λελωβημένους, ὁ δ᾽ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰς λιθοτομίας ἐνέβαλεν, ὥσπερ τῶν ἐργασομένων δεόμενος, ἀλλ᾽ [258] οὐχὶ καθᾶραι τὴν χώραν προαιρούμενος. φησὶ δὲ τὸν μὲν μάντιν αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν τὴν ὀργὴν τῶν θεῶν προορώμενον καὶ τὰ συμβησόμενα περὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ γεγραμμένην τὴν πρόρρησιν καταλιπεῖν. εἶτα πῶς οὐκ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ μάντις τὸν αὐτοῦ θάνατον προηπίστατο; [259] πῶς δὲ οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀντεῖπεν τῷ βασιλεῖ βουλομένῳ τοὺς θεοὺς ἰδεῖν; πῶς δ᾽ εὔλογος ὁ φόβος τῶν μὴ παρ᾽ αὐτὸν συμβησομένων κακῶν; ἢ τι χεῖρον ἔδει παθεῖν οὐδ᾽ ἂν ἑαυτὸν ἔσπευδεν. [260] τὸ δὲ δὴ πάντων εὐηθέστατον ἴδωμεν: πυθόμενος γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων φοβηθεὶς τοὺς λελωβημένους ἐκείνους, ὧν αὐτῷ καθαρεῦσαι προείρητο τὴν Αἴγυπτον, οὐδὲ τότε τῆς χώρας ἐξήλασεν, ἀλλὰ δεηθεῖσιν αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε πόλιν, ὥς φησι, τὴν πάλαι μὲν οἰκηθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν ποιμένων, Αὔαριν δὲ καλουμένην. [261] εἰς ἣν ἀθροισθέντας αὐτοὺς ἡγεμόνα φησὶν ἐξελέσθαι τῶν ἐξ Ἡλιουπόλεως πάλαι γεγονότων ἱερέων, καὶ τοῦτον αὐτοῖς εἰσηγήσασθαι μήτε θεοὺς προσκυνεῖν μήτε τῶν ἐπ᾽ Αἰγύπτῳ θρησκευομένων ζῴων ἀπέχεσθαι, πάντα δὲ θύειν καὶ κατεσθίειν, συνάπτεσθαι δὲ μηδενὶ πλὴν τῶν συνομωμοσμένων, ὅρκοις τε τὸ πλῆθος ἐνδησάμενον, ἢ μὴν τούτοις ἐμμενεῖν τοῖς νόμοις, καὶ τειχίσαντα [262] τὴν Αὔαριν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα

πόλεμον ἐξενεγκεῖν. καὶ προστίθησιν, ὅτι ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παρακαλῶν ἐκείνους αὐτοῖς συμμαχεῖν καὶ δώσειν αὐτοῖς τὴν Αὔαριν ὑπισχνούμενος, εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὴν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἀφιξομένοις προγονικήν, ἀφ᾽ ἧς [263] ὁρμωμένους αὐτοὺς πᾶσαν τὴν Αἴγυπτον καθέξειν. εἶτα τοὺς μὲν ἐπελθεῖν εἴκοσι στρατοῦ μυριάσι λέγει, τὸν βασιλέα δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Ἀμένωφιν οὐκ οἰόμενον δεῖν θεομαχεῖν εἰς τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν εὐθὺς ἀποδρᾶναι, τὸν δὲ Ἆπιν καί τινα τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν ζῴων παρατεθεικέναι τοῖς ἱερεῦσι διαφυλάττεσθαι κελεύσαντα. [264] εἶτα τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας ἐπελθόντας τάς τε πόλεις ἀνιστάναι καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ κατακαίειν καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας ἀποσφάττειν, ὅλως τε μηδεμιᾶς ἀπέχεσθαι [265] παρανομίας μηδὲ ὠμότητος. ὁ δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς καταβαλόμενος ἱερεύς, φησίν, ἦν τὸ γένος Ἡλιοπολίτης, ὄνομα δ᾽ Ὀσαρσὴφ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει θεοῦ Ὀσίρεως, [266] μεταθέμενος δὲ Μωυσῆν αὐτὸν προσηγόρευσε. τρισκαιδεκάτῳ δέ φησιν ἔτει τὸν Ἀμένωφιν, τοσοῦτον γὰρ αὐτῷ χρόνον εἶναι τῆς ἐκπτώσεως πεπρωμένον, ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας ἐπελθόντα μετὰ πολλῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ συμβαλόντα τοῖς ποιμέσι καὶ τοῖς μιαροῖς νικῆσαί τε τῇ μάχῃ καὶ κτεῖναι πολλοὺς ἐπιδιώξαντα μέχρι τῶν τῆς Συρίας ὅρων.

28. Now, for the first occasion of this fiction, Manetho supposes what is no better than a ridiculous thing; for he says that, “King Amenophis desired to see the gods.” What gods, I pray, did he desire to see? If he meant the gods whom their laws ordained to be worshipped, the ox, the goat, the crocodile, and the baboon, he saw them already; but for the heavenly gods, how could he see them, and what should occasion this his desire? To be sure? it was because another king before him had already seen them. He had then been informed what sort of gods they were, and after what manner they had been seen, insomuch that he did not stand in need of any new artifice for obtaining this sight. However, the prophet by whose means the king thought to compass his design was a wise man. If so, how came he not to know that such his desire was impossible to be accomplished? for the event did not succeed. And what pretense could there be to suppose that the gods would not be seen by reason of the people’s maims in their bodies, or leprosy? for the gods are not angry at the imperfection of bodies, but at wicked practices; and as to eighty thousand lepers, and those in an ill state also, how is it possible to have them gathered together in one day? nay, how came the king not to comply with the prophet? for his injunction was, that those that were maimed should be expelled out of Egypt, while the king only sent them to work in the quarries, as if he were rather in want of laborers, than intended to purge his country. He says further, that, “this prophet slew himself, as foreseeing the anger of the gods, and those events which were to come upon Egypt afterward; and that he left this prediction for the king in writing.” Besides,

how came it to pass that this prophet did not foreknow his own death at the first? nay, how came he not to contradict the king in his desire to see the gods immediately? how came that unreasonable dread upon him of judgments that were not to happen in his lifetime? or what worse thing could he suffer, out of the fear of which he made haste to kill himself? But now let us see the silliest thing of all: — The king, although he had been informed of these things, and terrified with the fear of what was to come, yet did not he even then eject these maimed people out of his country, when it had been foretold him that he was to clear Egypt of them; but, as Manetho says, "he then, upon their request, gave them that city to inhabit, which had formerly belonged to the shepherds, and was called Avaris; whither when they were gone in crowds," he says, "they chose one that had formerly been priest of Hellopolls; and that this priest first ordained that they should neither worship the gods, nor abstain from those animals that were worshipped by the Egyptians, but should kill and eat them all, and should associate with nobody but those that had conspired with them; and that he bound the multitude by oaths to be sure to continue in those laws; and that when he had built a wall about Avaris, he made war against the king." Manetho adds also, that "this priest sent to Jerusalem to invite that people to come to his assistance, and promised to give them Avaris; for that it had belonged to the forefathers of those that were coming from Jerusalem, and that when they were come, they made a war immediately against the king, and got possession of all Egypt." He says also that "the Egyptians came with an army of two hundred thousand men, and that Amenophis, the king of Egypt, not thinking that he ought to fight against the gods, ran away presently into Ethiopia, and committed Apis and certain other of their sacred animals to the priests, and commanded them to take care of preserving them." He says further, that, "the people of Jerusalem came accordingly upon the Egyptians, and overthrew their cities, and burnt their temples, and slew their horsemen, and, in short, abstained from no sort of wickedness nor barbarity; and for that priest who settled their polity and their laws," he says, "he was by birth of Hellopolis, and his name was Osarsiph, from Osyris the god of Hellopolis, but that he changed his name, and called himself Moses." He then says that "on the thirteenth year afterward, Amenophis, according to the fatal time of the duration of his misfortunes, came upon them out of Ethiopia with a great army, and joining battle with the shepherds and with the polluted people, overcame them in battle, and slew a great many of them, and pursued them as far as the bounds of Syria."

XXIX

[267] Ἐν τούτοις πάλιν οὐ συνίησιν ἀπιθάνως ψευδόμενος: οἱ γὰρ λεπροὶ καὶ τὸ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν πλῆθος, εἰ καὶ πρότερον ὠργίζοντο τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖς τὰ περὶ αὐτοὺς πεποιηκόσι κατὰ [τε] τὴν τοῦ μάντεως προαγόρευσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε τῶν λιθοτομιῶν ἐξῆλθον καὶ πόλιν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ χώραν ἔλαβον, πάντως ἂν γεγόνεισαν πρᾳότεροι [268] πρὸς αὐτόν. εἰ δὲ δὴ κἀκεῖνον ἐμίσουν, ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἄνω ἐπεβούλευον, οὐκ ἂν δὲ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἤραντο πόλεμον, δῆλον ὅτι πλείστας ἔχοντες [269] συγγενείας τοσοῦτοί γε τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες. ὅμως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πολεμεῖν διεγνωκότες οὐκ ἂν εἰς τοὺς αὐτῶν θεοὺς πολεμεῖν ἐτόλμησαν οὐδ᾽ ὑπεναντιωτάτους ἔθεντο νόμους τοῖς πατρίοις αὐτῶν [270] καὶ οἷς ἐνετράφησαν. δεῖ δὲ ἡμᾶς τῷ Μανεθῶνι χάριν ἔχειν, ὅτι ταύτης τῆς παρανομίας οὐχὶ τοὺς ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐλθόντας ἀρχηγοὺς γενέσθαι φησίν, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ὄντας Αἰγυπτίους καὶ τούτων μάλιστα τοὺς ἱερέας ἐπινοῆσαί τε ταῦτα καὶ ὁρκωμοτῆσαι τὸ πλῆθος. [271] ἐκεῖνο μέντοι πῶς οὐκ ἄλογον, τῶν μὲν οἰκείων αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν φίλων συναποστῆναι οὐδένα μηδὲ τοῦ πολέμου τὸν κίνδυνον συνάρασθαι, πέμψαι δὲ τοὺς μιαροὺς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ [272] τὴν παρ᾽ ἐκείνων ἐπάγεσθαι συμμαχίαν; ποίας αὐτοῖς φιλίας ἢ τίνος αὐτοῖς οἰκειότητος πρου¨πηργμένης; τοὐναντίον γὰρ ἦσαν πολέμιοι καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσι πλεῖστον διέφερον. ὁ δέ φησιν εὐθὺς ὑπακοῦσαι τοῖς ὑπισχνουμένοις, ὅτι τὴν Αἴγυπτον καθέξουσιν, ὥσπερ αὐτῶν οὐ σφόδρα τῆς χώρας ἐμπείρως ἐχόντων, ἧς βιασθέντες ἐκπεπτώκασιν. [273] εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀπόρως ἢ κακῶς ἔπραττον, ἴσως ἂν καὶ παρεβάλλοντο, πόλιν δὲ κατοικοῦντες εὐδαίμονα καὶ χώραν πολλὴν κρείττω τῆς Αἰγύπτου καρπούμενοι, διὰ τί ποτ᾽ ἂν ἐχθροῖς μὲν πάλαι τὰ δὲ σώματα λελωβημένοις, οὓς μηδὲ τῶν οἰκείων οὐδεὶς ὑπέμενε, τούτοις ἔμελλον παρακινδυνεύσειν βοηθοῦντες; οὐ γὰρ δή [274] γε τὸν γενησόμενον προῄδεσαν δρασμὸν τοῦ βασιλέως: τοὐναντίον γὰρ αὐτὸς εἴρηκεν, ὡς ὁ παῖς τοῦ Ἀμενώφιος τριάκοντα μυριάδας ἔχων εἰς τὸ Πηλούσιον ὑπηντίαζεν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ᾔδεισαν πάντως οἱ παραγινόμενοι, τὴν δὲ μετάνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν φυγὴν πόθεν εἰκάζειν ἔμελλον; [275] εἶτα κρατήσαντάς φησι τῆς Αἰγύπτου πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ δρᾶν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπιστρατεύσαντας καὶ περὶ τούτων ὀνειδίζει καθάπερ οὐ πολεμίους αὐτοῖς ἐπαγαγὼν ἢ δέον τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἐπικληθεῖσιν ἐγκαλεῖν, ὁπότε ταῦτα πρὸ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀφίξεως ἔπραττον καὶ πράξειν ὠμωμόκεσαν οἱ τὸ γένος Αἰγύπτιοι. [276] ἀλλὰ καὶ χρόνοις ὕστερον Ἀμένωφις ἐπελθὼν ἐνίκησε μάχῃ καὶ κτείνων τοὺς πολεμίους μέχρι τῆς Συρίας ἤλασεν. οὕτω γὰρ παντάπασίν ἐστιν ἡ Αἴγυπτος τοῖς ὁποθενδηποτοῦν ἐπιοῦσιν εὐάλωτος, [277] καὶ οἱ τότε πολέμῳ κρατοῦντες αὐτὴν ζῆν πυνθανόμενοι τὸν Ἀμένωφιν οὔτε τὰς ἐκ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας ἐμβολὰς ὠχύρωσαν πολλὴν εἰς τοῦτο παρασκευὴν ἔχοντες οὔτε τὴν ἄλλην ἡτοίμασαν δύναμιν, ὁ δὲ καὶ μέχρι τῆς Συρίας ἀναιρῶν, φησίν, αὐτοὺς ἠκολούθησε διὰ τῆς ψάμμου τῆς ἀνύδρου, δῆλον ὅτι οὐ ῥᾴδιον οὐδὲ ἀμαχεὶ στρατοπέδῳ διελθεῖν.

29. Now Manetho does not reflect upon the improbability of his lie; for the leprous people, and the multitude that was with them, although they might formerly have been angry at the king, and at those that had treated them so coarsely, and this according to the prediction of the prophet; yet certainly, when they were come out of the mines, and had received of the king a city, and a country, they would have grown milder towards him. However, had they ever so much hated him in particular, they might have laid a private plot against himself, but would hardly have made war against all the Egyptians; I mean this on the account of the great kindred they who were so numerous must have had among them. Nay still, if they had resolved to fight with the men, they would not have had impudence enough to fight with their gods; nor would they have ordained laws quite contrary to those of their own country, and to those in which they had been bred up themselves. Yet are we beholden to Manethe, that he does not lay the principal charge of this horrid transgression upon those that came from Jerusalem, but says that the Egyptians themselves were the most guilty, and that they were their priests that contrived these things, and made the multitude take their oaths for doing so. But still how absurd is it to suppose that none of these people's own relations or friends should be prevailed with to revolt, nor to undergo the hazards of war with them, while these polluted people were forced to send to Jerusalem, and bring their auxiliaries from thence! What friendship, I pray, or what relation was there formerly between them that required this assistance? On the contrary, these people were enemies, and greatly differed from them in their customs. He says, indeed, that they complied immediately, upon their praising them that they should conquer Egypt; as if they did not themselves very well know that country out of which they had been driven by force. Now had these men been in want, or lived miserably, perhaps they might have undertaken so hazardous an enterprise; but as they dwelt in a happy city, and had a large country, and one better than Egypt itself, how came it about that, for the sake of those that had of old been their enemies, of those that were maimed in their bodies, and of those whom none of their own relations would endure, they should run such hazards in assisting them? For they could not foresee that the king would run away from them: on the contrary, he saith himself that "Amenophis's son had three hundred thousand men with him, and met them at Pelusium." Now, to be sure, those that came could not be ignorant of this; but for the king's repentance and flight, how could they possibly guess at it? He then says, that "those who came from Jerusalem, and made this invasion, got the granaries of Egypt into their possession, and perpetrated many of the most horrid actions there." And thence he reproaches them, as though he had not himself introduced them as enemies, or as though he might accuse such as were

invited from another place for so doing, when the natural Egyptians themselves had done the same things before their coming, and had taken oaths so to do. However, “Amenophis, some time afterward, came upon them, and conquered them in battle, and slew his enemies, and drove them before him as far as Syria.” As if Egypt were so easily taken by people that came from any place whatsoever, and as if those that had conquered it by war, when they were informed that Amenophis was alive, did neither fortify the avenues out of Ethiopia into it, although they had great advantages for doing it, nor did get their other forces ready for their defense! but that he followed them over the sandy desert, and slew them as far as Syria; while yet it is rot an easy thing for an army to pass over that country, even without fighting.

XXX

[278] Κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὸν Μανεθῶν οὔτε ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ γένος ἡμῶν ἐστιν οὔτε τῶν ἐκεῖθέν τινες ἀνεμίχθησαν: τῶν γὰρ λεπρῶν καὶ νοσούντων πολλοὺς μὲν εἰκὸς ἐν ταῖς λιθοτομίαις ἀποθανεῖν πολὺν χρόνον ἐκεῖ γενομένους καὶ κακοπαθοῦντας, πολλοὺς δ’ ἐν ταῖς μετὰ ταῦτα μάχαις, πλείστους δ’ ἐν τῇ τελευταίᾳ καὶ τῇ φυγῇ.

30. Our nation, therefore, according to Manetho, was not derived from Egypt, nor were any of the Egyptians mingled with us. For it is to be supposed that many of the leprous and distempered people were dead in the mines, since they had been there a long time, and in so ill a condition; many others must be dead in the battles that happened afterward, and more still in the last battle and flight after it.

XXXI

[279] Λοιπόν μοι πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν περὶ Μωυσέως. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα θαυμαστὸν μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ θεῖον νομίζουσι, βούλονται δὲ προσποιεῖν αὐτοῖς μετὰ βλασφημίας ἀπιθάνου, λέγοντες Ἡλιοπολίτην εἶναι τῶν ἐκεῖθεν ἱερέων ἕνα διὰ τὴν λέπραν συνεξεληλαμένον. [280] δείκνυται δ’ ἐν ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς ὀκτωκαίδεκα σὺν τοῖς πεντακοσίοις πρότερον ἔτεσι γεγονὼς καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἐξαγαγὼν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πατέρας εἰς τὴν χώραν τὴν νῦν οἰκουμένην ὑφ’ ἡμῶν. [281] ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲ συμφορᾷ τινι τοιαύτῃ περὶ τὸ σῶμα κεχρημένος ἦν, ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ δῆλός ἐστι: τοῖς γὰρ λεπρῶσιν ἀπείρηκε μήτε μένειν ἐν πόλει μήτ’ ἐν κώμῃ κατοικεῖν, ἀλλὰ μόνους περιπατεῖν κατεσχισμένους τὰ ἱμάτια, καὶ τὸν ἁψάμενον [282] αὐτῶν ἢ ὁμωρόφιον γενόμενον οὐ καθαρὸν ἡγεῖται. καὶ μὴν κἂν θεραπευθῇ τὸ νόσημα καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἀπολάβῃ, προείρηκέν τινας ἁγνείας καθαρμοὺς πηγαίων ὑδάτων λουτροῖς καὶ ξυρήσεις

πάσης τῆς τριχός, πολλάς τε κελεύει καὶ παντοίας ἐπιτελέσαντα [283] θυσίας τότε παρελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν. καίτοι τοὐναντίον εἰκὸς ἦν προνοίᾳ τινὶ καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ χρήσασθαι τὸν ἐν τῇ συμφορᾷ [284] ταύτῃ γεγονότα πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοίως αὐτῷ δυστυχήσαντας. οὐ μόνον δὲ περὶ τῶν λεπρῶν οὕτως ἐνομοθέτησεν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τοῖς καὶ τὸ βραχύτατόν τι τοῦ σώματος ἠκρωτηριασμένοις ἱερᾶσθαι συγκεχώρηκεν, ἀλλ᾽ εἰ καὶ μεταξύ τις ἱερώμενος τοιαύτῃ χρήσαιτο συμφορᾷ, [285] τὴν τιμὴν αὐτὸν ἀφείλετο. πῶς οὖν εἰκὸς ἐκεῖνον ταῦτα νομοθετεῖν ἀνοήτως ἀπὸ τοιούτων συμφορῶν συνειλεγμένους πρόεσθαι καθ᾽ [286] ἑαυτῶν εἰς ὄνειδός τε καὶ βλάβην νόμους συντιθεμένους; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοὔνομα λίαν ἀπιθάνως μετατέθεικεν: Ὀσαρσὴφ γάρ, φησίν, ἐκαλεῖτο. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν μετάθεσιν οὐκ ἐναρμόζει, τὸ δ᾽ ἀληθὲς ὄνομα δηλοῖ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος σωθέντα [Μωσῆν]: τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι μῶυ¨ καλοῦσιν. [287] ἱκανῶς οὖν γεγονέναι νομίζω καὶ δῆλον δ᾽ ὅτι Μανεθὼς ἕως μὲν ἠκολούθει ταῖς ἀρχαίαις ἀναγραφαῖς οὐ πολὺ τῆς ἀληθείας διημάρτανεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀδεσπότους μύθους τραπόμενος ἢ συνέθηκεν αὐτοὺς ἀπιθάνως ἤ τισι τῶν πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν εἰρηκότων ἐπίστευσεν.

31. It now remains that I debate with Manetho about Moses. Now the Egyptians acknowledge him to have been a wonderful and a divine person; nay, they would willingly lay claim to him themselves, though after a most abusive and incredible manner, and pretend that he was of Heliopolis, and one of the priests of that place, and was ejected out of it among the rest, on account of his leprosy; although it had been demonstrated out of their records that he lived five hundred and eighteen years earlier, and then brought our forefathers out of Egypt into the country that is now inhabited by us. But now that he was not subject in his body to any such calamity, is evident from what he himself tells us; for he forbade those that had the leprosy either to continue in a city, or to inhabit in a village, but commanded that they should go about by themselves with their clothes rent; and declares that such as either touch them, or live under the same roof with them, should be esteemed unclean; nay, more, if any one of their disease be healed, and he recover his natural constitution again, he appointed them certain purifications, and washings with spring water, and the shaving off all their hair, and enjoins that they shall offer many sacrifices, and those of several kinds, and then at length to be admitted into the holy city; although it were to be expected that, on the contrary, if he had been under the same calamity, he should have taken care of such persons beforehand, and have had them treated after a kinder manner, as affected with a concern for those that were to be under the like misfortunes with himself. Nor was it only those leprous people for whose sake he made these laws, but also for such as should be maimed in the smallest part of

their body, who yet are not permitted by him to officiate as priests; nay, although any priest, already initiated, should have such a calamity fall upon him afterward, he ordered him to be deprived of his honor of officiating. How can it then be supposed that Moses should ordain such laws against himself, to his own reproach and damage who so ordained them? Nor indeed is that other notion of Manetho at all probable, wherein he relates the change of his name, and says that "he was formerly called Osarsiph;" and this a name no way agreeable to the other, while his true name was Mosses, and signifies a person who is preserved out of the water, for the Egyptians call water Moil. I think, therefore, I have made it sufficiently evident that Manetho, while he followed his ancient records, did not much mistake the truth of the history; but that when he had recourse to fabulous stories, without any certain author, he either forged them himself, without any probability, or else gave credit to some men who spake so out of their ill-will to us.

XXXII

[288] Μετὰ τοῦτον ἐξετάσαι βούλομαι Χαιρήμονα: καὶ γὰρ οὗτος Αἰγυπτιακὴν φάσκων ἱστορίαν συγγράφειν καὶ προσθεὶς ταὐτὸ ὄνομα τοῦ βασιλέως ὅπερ ὁ Μανεθὼς Ἀμένωφιν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν [289] αὐτοῦ Ῥαμεσσήν, φησὶν ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἡ Ἶσις ἐφάνη τῷ Ἀμενώφει μεμφομένη αὐτόν, ὅτι τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κατέσκαπται. Φριτιβαύτην δὲ ἱερογραμματέα φάναι, ἐὰν τῶν τοὺς μολυσμοὺς ἐχόντων ἀνδρῶν καθάρῃ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, παύσεσθαι τῆς πτοίας αὐτόν. [290] ἐπιλέξαντα δὲ τῶν ἐπισινῶν μυριάδας εἰκοσιπέντε ἐκβαλεῖν. ἡγεῖσθαι δ' αὐτῶν γραμματέας Μωσῆν τε καὶ Ἰώσηπον καὶ τοῦτον ἱερογραμματέα, Αἰγύπτια δ' αὐτοῖς ὀνόματα εἶναι τῷ [291] μὲν Μωσῇ Τισιθέν, τῷ δὲ Ἰωσήπῳ Πετεσήφ. τούτους δ' εἰς Πηλούσιον ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἐπιτυχεῖν μυριάσι τριακονταοκτὼ καταλελειμμέναις ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀμενώφιος, ἃς οὐ θέλειν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον διακομίζειν: οἷς φιλίαν συνθεμένους ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον στρατεῦσαι. [292] τὸν δὲ Ἀμένωφιν οὐχ ὑπομείναντα τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν φυγεῖν καταλιπόντα τὴν γυναῖκα ἔγκυον, ἣν κρυβομένην ἔν τισι σπηλαίοις τεκεῖν παῖδα ὄνομα Ῥαμέσσην, ὃν ἀνδρωθέντα ἐκδιῶξαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἰς τὴν Συρίαν ὄντας περὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας καὶ τὸν πατέρα Ἀμένωφιν ἐκ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας καταδέξασθαι.

32. And now I have done with Manetho, I will inquire into what Cheremon says. For he also, when he pretended to write the Egyptian history, sets down the same name for this king that Manetho did, Amenophis, as also of his son Ramesses, and then goes on thus: "The goddess Isis appeared to Amenophis in his sleep, and blamed him that her temple had been demolished in the war. But that Phritiphantes, the sacred scribe, said to him, that in case he would purge Egypt

of the men that had pollutions upon them, he should be no longer troubled with such frightful apparitions. That Amenophis accordingly chose out two hundred and fifty thousand of those that were thus diseased, and cast them out of the country: that Moses and Joseph were scribes, and Joseph was a sacred scribe; that their names were Egyptian originally; that of Moses had been Tisithen, and that of Joseph, Peteseph: that these two came to Pelusium, and lighted upon three hundred and eighty thousand that had been left there by Amenophis, he not being willing to carry them into Egypt; that these scribes made a league of friendship with them, and made with them an expedition against Egypt: that Amenophis could not sustain their attacks, but fled into Ethiopia, and left his wife with child behind him, who lay concealed in certain caverns, and there brought forth a son, whose name was Messene, and who, when he was grown up to man's estate, pursued the Jews into Syria, being about two hundred thousand, and then received his father Amenophis out of Ethiopia."

XXXIII

[293] Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Χαιρήμων. οἶμαι δὲ αὐτόθεν φανερὰν εἶναι ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων τὴν ἀμφοῖν ψευδολογίαν: ἀληθείας μὲν γάρ τινος ὑποκειμένης ἀδύνατον ἦν διαφωνεῖν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, οἱ δὲ τὰ ψευδῆ συντιθέντες οὐχ ἑτέροις σύμφωνα γράφουσιν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς τὰ δόξαντα πλάττουσιν. [294] ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ βασιλέως, ἵνα τοὺς θεοὺς ἴδῃ, φησὶν ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι τῆς τῶν μιαρῶν ἐκβολῆς, [295] ὁ δὲ Χαιρήμων ἴδιον ὡς τῆς Ἴσιδος ἐνύπνιον συντέθεικε. κἀκεῖνος μὲν Ἀμένωφιν εἶναι λέγει τὸν προειπόντα τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸν καθαρμόν, οὗτος δὲ Φριτοβαύτην: ὁ δὲ δὴ τοῦ πλήθους ἀριθμὸς καὶ σφόδρα σύνεγγυς, ὀκτὼ μὲν μυριάδας ἐκείνου λέγοντος, τούτου δὲ [296] πέντε πρὸς ταῖς εἴκοσιν. ἔτι τοίνυν ὁ μὲν Μανεθὼς πρότερον εἰς τὰς λιθοτομίας τοὺς μιαροὺς ἐκβαλὼν εἶτα αὐτοῖς τὴν Αὔαριν δοὺς ἐγκατοικεῖν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Αἰγυπτίους ἐκπολεμώσας τότε φησὶν ἐπικαλέσασθαι τὴν παρὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν αὐτοὺς [297] ἐπικουρίαν, ὁ δὲ Χαιρήμων ἀπαλλαττομένους ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου περὶ Πηλούσιον εὑρεῖν ὀκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων καταλελειμμένας ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀμενώφιος καὶ μετ' ἐκείνων πάλιν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐμβαλεῖν, φεύγειν δὲ τὸν Ἀμένωφιν εἰς τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν. [298] τὸ δὲ δὴ γενναιότατον, οὐδὲ τίνες ἢ πόθεν ἦσαν αἱ τοσαῦται τοῦ στρατοῦ μυριάδες εἴρηκεν εἴτε Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ γένος εἴτ' ἔξωθεν ἥκοντες, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν αἰτίαν διεσάφησε, δι' ἣν αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀνάγειν οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ὁ περὶ τῶν λεπρῶν τὸ τῆς Ἴσιδος ἐνύπνιον συμπλάσας. [299] τῷ δὲ Μωσεῖ καὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ὁ Χαιρήμων ὡς ἐν ταὐτῷ χρόνῳ συνεξηλελαμένον προστέθεικεν τὸν πρὸ Μωυσέως πρεσβύτερον τέσσαρσι γενεαῖς τετελευτηκότα, ὧν [300] ἐστιν ἔτη σχεδὸν ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ

ἑκατόν. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὁ Ῥαμέσσης ὁ τοῦ Ἀμενώφιος υἱὸς κατὰ μὲν τὸν Μανεθὼν νεανίας συμπολεμεῖ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ συνεκπίπτει φυγὼν εἰς τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν, οὗτος δὲ πεποίηκεν αὐτὸν μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν ἐν σπηλαίῳ τινὶ γεγενημένον καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα νικῶντα μάχῃ καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους [301] εἰς Συρίαν ἐξελαύνοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντας περὶ μυριάδας κ. ὧ τῆς εὐχερείας: οὔτε γὰρ πρότερον οἵτινες ἦσαν αἱ τριάκοντα καὶ ὀκτὼ μυριάδες εἶπεν οὔτε πῶς αἱ εἴκοσι καὶ τρεῖς διεφθάρησαν, πότερον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κατέπεσον ἢ πρὸς τὸν Ῥαμεσσῆ μετεβάλοντο. [302] τὸ δὲ δὴ θαυμασιώτατον, οὐδὲ τίνας καλεῖ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους δυνατόν ἐστι παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ μαθεῖν ἢ ποτέροις αὐτοῖς τίθεται ταύτην τὴν προσηγορίαν, ταῖς κε μυριάσι τῶν λεπρῶν ἢ ταῖς η καὶ λ [303] ταῖς περὶ τὸ Πηλούσιον. ἀλλὰ γὰρ εὔηθες ἴσως ἂν εἴη διὰ πλειόνων ἐλέγχειν τοὺς ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν ἐληλεγμένους: τὸ γὰρ ὑπ᾽ ἄλλων ἦν μετριώτερον.

33. This is the account Cheremon gives us. Now I take it for granted that what I have said already hath plainly proved the falsity of both these narrations; for had there been any real truth at the bottom, it was impossible they should so greatly disagree about the particulars. But for those that invent lies, what they write will easily give us very different accounts, while they forge what they please out of their own heads. Now Manetho says that the king's desire of seeing the gods was the origin of the ejection of the polluted people; but Cheremon feigns that it was a dream of his own, sent upon him by Isis, that was the occasion of it. Manetho says that the person who foreshowed this purgation of Egypt to the king was Amenophis; but this man says it was Phritiphantes. As to the numbers of the multitude that were expelled, they agree exceedingly well the former reckoning them eighty thousand, and the latter about two hundred and fifty thousand! Now, for Manetho, he describes those polluted persons as sent first to work in the quarries, and says that the city Avaris was given them for their habitation. As also he relates that it was not till after they had made war with the rest of the Egyptians, that they invited the people of Jerusalem to come to their assistance; while Cheremon says only that they were gone out of Egypt, and lighted upon three hundred and eighty thousand men about Pelusium, who had been left there by Amenophis, and so they invaded Egypt with them again; that thereupon Amenophis fled into Ethiopia. But then this Cheremon commits a most ridiculous blunder in not informing us who this army of so many ten thousands were, or whence they came; whether they were native Egyptians, or whether they came from a foreign country. Nor indeed has this man, who forged a dream from Isis about the leprous people, assigned the reason why the king would not bring them into Egypt. Moreover, Cheremon sets down Joseph as driven away at the same time with Moses, who yet died four generations before Moses, which

four generations make almost one hundred and seventy years. Besides all this, Ramesses, the son of Amenophis, by Manetho's account, was a young man, and assisted his father in his war, and left the country at the same time with him, and fled into Ethiopia. But Cheremon makes him to have been born in a certain cave, after his father was dead, and that he then overcame the Jews in battle, and drove them into Syria, being in number about two hundred thousand. O the levity of the man! for he had neither told us who these three hundred and eighty thousand were, nor how the four hundred and thirty thousand perished; whether they fell in war, or went over to Ramesses. And, what is the strangest of all, it is not possible to learn out of him who they were whom he calls Jews, or to which of these two parties he applies that denomination, whether to the two hundred and fifty thousand leprous people, or to the three hundred and eighty thousand that were about Pelusium. But perhaps it will be looked upon as a silly thing in me to make any larger confutation of such writers as sufficiently confute themselves; for had they been only confuted by other men, it had been more tolerable.

XXXIV

[304] Ἐπεισάξω δὲ τούτοις Λυσίμαχον εἰληφότα μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖς προειρημένοις ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ ψεύσματος περὶ τῶν λεπρῶν καὶ λελωβημένων, ὑπερπεπαικότα δὲ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀπιθανότητα τοῖς [305] πλάσμασι, δῆλος συντεθεικὼς κατὰ πολλὴν ἀπέχθειαν: λέγει γὰρ ἐπὶ Βοχχόρεως τοῦ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέως τὸν λαὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων λεπροὺς ὄντας καὶ ψωροὺς καὶ ἄλλα νοσήματά τινα ἐχόντων εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ καταφεύγοντας μεταιτεῖν τροφήν. παμπόλλων δὲ ἀνθρώπων νοσηλείᾳ περιπεσόντων ἀκαρπίαν ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ γενέσθαι. [306] Βόχχοριν δὲ τὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα εἰς Ἄμμωνος πέμψαι περὶ τῆς ἀκαρπίας τοὺς μαντευσομένους, τὸν θεὸν δὲ ἐρεῖν τὰ ἱερὰ καθᾶραι ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων ἀνάγνων καὶ δυσσεβῶν ἐκβάλλοντα αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν εἰς τόπους ἐρήμους, τοὺς δὲ ψωροὺς καὶ λεπροὺς βυθίσαι, ὡς τοῦ ἡλίου ἀγανακτοῦντος ἐπὶ τῇ τούτων ζωῇ, [307] καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἁγνίσαι καὶ οὕτω τὴν γῆν καρποφορήσειν. τὸν δὲ Βόκχοριν τοὺς χρησμοὺς λαβόντα τούς τε ἱερεῖς καὶ ἐπιβωμίτας προσκαλεσάμενον κελεῦσαι ἐπιλογὴν ποιησαμένους τῶν ἀκαθάρτων τοῖς στρατιώταις τούτους παραδοῦναι κατάξειν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν ἔρημον, τοὺς δὲ λεπροὺς εἰς μολιβδίνους χάρτας ἐνδήσαντας, ἵνα καθῶσιν [308] εἰς τὸ πέλαγος. βυθισθέντων δὲ τῶν λεπρῶν καὶ ψωρῶν τοὺς ἄλλους συναθροισθέντας εἰς τόπους ἐρήμους ἐκτεθῆναι ἐπ' ἀπωλείᾳ, συναχθέντας δὲ βουλεύσασθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιγενομένης πῦρ καὶ λύχνους καύσαντας φυλάττειν ἑαυτοὺς τήν τ' ἐπιοῦσαν νύκτα νηστεύσαντας ἱλάσκεσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς περὶ τοῦ σῶσαι αὐτούς. [309] τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ Μωσῆν τινα συμβουλεῦσαι αὐτοῖς παραβαλλομένοις μίαν ὁδὸν τέμνειν

ἄχρι ἂν ὅτου ἔλθωσιν εἰς τόπους οἰκουμένους, παρακελεύσασθαί τε αὐτοῖς μήτε ἀνθρώπων τινὶ εὐνοήσειν μήτε ἄριστα συμβουλεύσειν ἀλλὰ τὰ χείρονα [310] θεῶν τε ναοὺς καὶ βωμούς, οἷς ἂν περιτύχωσιν, ἀνατρέπειν. συναινεσάντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τὰ δοχθέντα ποιοῦντας διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου πορεύεσθαι, ἱκανῶς δὲ ὀχληθέντας ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην χώραν καὶ τούς τε ἀνθρώπους ὑβρίζοντας καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ συλῶντας καὶ ἐμπρήσαντας ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν νῦν Ἰουδαίαν προσαγορευομένην, κτίσαντας [311] δὲ πόλιν ἐνταῦθα κατοικεῖν. τὸ δὲ ἄστυ τοῦτο Ἱερόσυλα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκείνων διαθέσεως ὠνομάσθαι. ὕστερον δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπικρατήσαντας χρόνῳ διαλλάξαι τὴν ὀνομασίαν πρὸς τὸ ὀνειδίζεσθαι καὶ τήν τε πόλιν Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ αὐτοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας προσαγορεύεσθαι.

34. I shall now add to these accounts about Manethoand Cheremon somewhat about Lysimachus, who hath taken the same topic of falsehood with those forementioned, but hath gone far beyond them in the incredible nature of his forgeries; which plainly demonstrates that he contrived them out of his virulent hatred of our nation. His words are these: "The people of the Jews being leprous and scabby, and subject to certain other kinds of distempers, in the days of Bocchoris, king of Egypt, they fled to the temples, and got their food there by begging: and as the numbers were very great that were fallen under these diseases, there arose a scarcity in Egypt. Hereupon Bocehoris, the king of Egypt, sent some to consult the oracle of [Jupiter] Hammon about his scarcity. The god's answer was this, that he must purge his temples of impure and impious men, by expelling them out of those temples into desert places; but as to the scabby and leprous people, he must drown them, and purge his temples, the sun having an indignation at these men being suffered to live; and by this means the land will bring forth its fruits. Upon Bocchoris's having received these oracles, he called for their priests, and the attendants upon their altars, and ordered them to make a collection of the impure people, and to deliver them to the soldiers, to carry them away into the desert; but to take the leprous people, and wrap them in sheets of lead, and let them down into the sea. Hereupon the scabby and leprous people were drowned, and the rest were gotten together, and sent into desert places, in order to be exposed to destruction. In this case they assembled themselves together, and took counsel what they should do, and determined that, as the night was coming on, they should kindle fires and lamps, and keep watch; that they also should fast the next night, and propitiate the gods, in order to obtain deliverance from them. That on the next day there was one Moses, who advised them that they should venture upon a journey, and go along one road till they should come to places fit for habitation: that he charged them to have no kind regards for any man, nor give good counsel to any, but always to advise

them for the worst; and to overturn all those temples and altars of the gods they should meet with: that the rest commended what he had said with one consent, and did what they had resolved on, and so traveled over the desert. But that the difficulties of the journey being over, they came to a country inhabited, and that there they abused the men, and plundered and burnt their temples; and then came into that land which is called Judea, and there they built a city, and dwelt therein, and that their city was named Hierosyla, from this their robbing of the temples; but that still, upon the success they had afterwards, they in time changed its denomination, that it might not be a reproach to them, and called the city Hierosolyma, and themselves Hierosolymites."

XXXV

[312] Οὗτος οὐδὲ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνοις εὗρεν εἰπεῖν βασιλέα, καινότερον δ' ὄνομα συντέθεικεν καὶ παρεὶς ἐνύπνιον καὶ προφήτην Αἰγύπτιον εἰς Ἄμμωνος ἀπελήλυθεν περὶ τῶν ψωρῶν καὶ λεπρῶν [313] χρησμὸν οἴσων: φησὶ γὰρ εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ συλλέγεσθαι πλῆθος Ἰουδαίων. ἆρά γε τοῦτο τοῖς λεπροῖς ὄνομα θέμενος ἢ μόνον τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοῖς νοσήμασι περιπεσόντων; λέγει γάρ "ὁ λαὸς τῶν [314] Ἰουδαίων." ὁποῖος; ἔπηλυς ἢ τὸ γένος ἐγχώριος; διὰ τί τοίνυν Αἰγυπτίους αὐτοὺς ὄντας Ἰουδαίους καλεῖς; εἰ δὲ ξένοι, διὰ τί πόθεν οὐ λέγεις; πῶς δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν βυθίσαντος εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς εἰς ἐρήμους τόπους [315] ἐκβαλόντος, τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος ὑπελείφθησαν; ἢ τίνα τρόπον διεξῆλθον μὲν τὴν ἔρημον, ἐκράτησαν δὲ τῆς χώρας ἧς νῦν κατοικοῦμεν, ἔκτισαν δὲ καὶ πόλιν καὶ νεὼν ᾠκοδομήσαντο πᾶσι περιβόητον; [316] ἐχρῆν δὲ καὶ τοῦ νομοθέτου μὴ μόνον εἰπεῖν τοὔνομα, δηλῶσαι δὲ καὶ τὸ γένος ὅστις ἦν καὶ τίνων, διὰ τί δὲ τοιούτους [ἂν] αὐτοῖς ἐπεχείρησε τιθέναι νόμους περὶ θεῶν καὶ τῆς πρὸς [317] ἀνθρώπους ἀδικίας κατὰ τὴν πορείαν. εἴτε γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ γένος ἦσαν, οὐκ ἂν ἐκ τῶν πατρίων ἐθῶν οὕτω ῥᾳδίως μετεβάλοντο, εἴτ' ἀλλαχόθεν ἦσαν, πάντως τινὲς ὑπῆρχον αὐτοῖς νόμοι [318] διὰ μακρᾶς συνηθείας πεφυλαγμένοι. εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶν ἐξελασάντων αὐτοὺς ὤμοσαν μηδέποτε εὐνοήσειν, λόγον εἶχεν εἰκότα, πᾶσι δὲ πόλεμον ἀνθρώποις ἀκήρυκτον ἄρασθαι τούτους, εἴπερ ἔπραττον ὡς αὐτὸς λέγει κακῶς, παρὰ πάντων βοηθείας δεομένους ἄνοιαν οὐκ ἐκείνων, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ψευδομένου πάνυ πολλὴν παρίστησιν, ὅς γε καὶ τοὔνομα θέσθαι τῇ πόλει ἀπὸ τῆς ἱεροσυλίας αὐτοὺς [319] ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν, τοῦτο δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα παρατρέψαι: δῆλον γάρ, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ὕστερον γενομένοις αἰσχύνην τοὔνομα καὶ μῖσος ἔφερεν, αὐτοὶ δ' οἱ κτίζοντες τὴν πόλιν κοσμήσειν αὐτοὺς ὑπελάμβανον οὕτως ὀνομάσαντες. ὁ δὲ γενναῖος ὑπὸ πολλῆς τοῦ λοιδορεῖν ἀκρασίας οὐ συνῆκεν, ὅτι ἱεροσυλεῖν οὐ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν φωνὴν Ἰουδαῖοι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὀνομάζομεν. [320] τί οὖν ἐπὶ πλείω τις λέγοι πρὸς τὸν

ψευδόμενον οὕτως ἀναισχύντως; ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειδὴ σύμμετρον ἤδη τὸ βιβλίον εἴληφε μέγεθος, ἑτέραν ποιησάμενος ἀρχὴν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν εἰς τὸ προκείμενον πειράσομαι προσαποδοῦναι.

35. Now this man did not discover and mention the same king with the others, but feigned a newer name, and passing by the dream and the Egyptian prophet, he brings him to [Jupiter] Hammon, in order to gain oracles about the scabby and leprous people; for he says that the multitude of Jews were gathered together at the temples. Now it is uncertain whether he ascribes this name to these lepers, or to those that were subject to such diseases among the Jews only; for he describes them as a people of the Jews. What people does he mean? foreigners, or those of that country? Why then' dost thou call them Jews, if they were Egyptians? But if they were foreigners, why dost thou not tell us whence they came? And how could it be that, after the king had drowned many of them in the sea, and ejected the rest into desert places, there should be still so great a multitude remaining? Or after what manner did they pass over the desert, and get the land which we now dwell in, and build our city, and that temple which hath been so famous among all mankind? And besides, he ought to have spoken more about our legislator than by giving us his bare name; and to have informed us of what nation he was, and what parents he was derived from; and to have assigned the reasons why he undertook to make such laws concerning the gods, and concerning matters of injustice with regard to men during that journey. For in case the people were by birth Egyptians, they would not on the sudden have so easily changed the customs of their country; and in case they had been foreigners, they had for certain some laws or other which had been kept by them from long custom. It is true, that with regard to those who had ejected them, they might have sworn never to bear good-will to them, and might have had a plausible reason for so doing. But if these men resolved to wage an implacable war against all men, in case they had acted as wickedly as he relates of them, and this while they wanted the assistance of all men, this demonstrates a kind of mad conduct indeed; but not of the men themselves, but very greatly so of him that tells such lies about them. He hath also impudence enough to say that a name, implying "Robbers of the temples," was given to their city, and that this name was afterward changed. The reason of which is plain, that the former name brought reproach and hatred upon them in the times of their posterity, while, it seems, those that built the city thought they did honor to the city by giving it such a name. So we see that this fine fellow had such an unbounded inclination to reproach us, that he did not understand that robbery of temples is not expressed By the same word and name among the Jews as it is among the

Greeks. But why should a man say any more to a person who tells such impudent lies? However, since this book is arisen to a competent length, I will make another beginning, and endeavor to add what still remains to perfect my design in the following book.

BOOK II.

I

[1] Διὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ προτέρου βιβλίου, τιμιώτατέ μοι Ἐπαφρόδιτε, περί τε τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἡμῶν ἐπέδειξα τοῖς Φοινίκων καὶ Χαλδαίων καὶ Αἰγυπτίων γράμμασι πιστωσάμενος τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συγγραφεῖς παρασχόμενος μάρτυρας, τήν τε ἀντίρρησιν ἐποιησάμην πρὸς Μανεθὼν καὶ Χαιρήμονα καί τινας ἑτέρους. [2] ἄρξομαι δὲ νῦν τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους τῶν γεγραφότων τι καθ' ἡμῶν ἐλέγχειν καὶ τοῖς τῆς πρὸς Ἀπίωνα τὸν γραμματικὸν ἀντιρρήσεως τετολμημένοις ἐπῆλθέ μοι διαπορεῖν, εἰ [3] χρὴ σπουδάσαι: τὰ μὲν γάρ ἐστι τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένων τοῖς ὑπ' ἄλλων εἰρημένοις ὅμοια, τὰ δὲ λίαν ψυχρῶς προστέθεικεν, τὰ πλεῖστα δὲ βωμολοχίαν ἔχει καὶ πολλήν, εἰ δεῖ τἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, ἀπαιδευσίαν ὡς ἂν ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου συγκείμενα καὶ φαύλου τὸν τρόπον [4] καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον ὀχλαγωγοῦ γεγονότος. ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἄνοιαν ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἁλίσκονται λόγων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν μετά τινος σπουδῆς γεγραμμένων, καὶ χαίρουσι μὲν ταῖς λοιδορίαις, ἄχθονται δὲ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην εἶναι μηδὲ τοῦτον ἀνεξέταστον καταλιπεῖν κατηγορίαν ἡμῶν ἄντικρυς ὡς ἐν δίκῃ γεγραφότα. [5] καὶ γὰρ αὖ κἀκεῖνο τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὁρῶ παρακολουθοῦν, τὸ λίαν ἐφήδεσθαι ὅταν τις ἀρξάμενος βλασφημεῖν ἕτερον αὐτὸς ἐλέγχηται περὶ τῶν αὐτῷ προσόντων κακῶν. [6] ἔστι μὲν οὖν οὐ ῥᾴδιον αὐτοῦ διελθεῖν τὸν λόγον οὐδὲ σαφῶς γνῶναι, τί λέγειν βούλεται, σχεδὸν δ' ὡς ἐν πολλῇ ταραχῇ καὶ ψευσμάτων συγχύσει τὰ μὲν εἰς τὴν ὁμοίαν ἰδέαν πίπτει τοῖς προεξητασμένοις περὶ τῆς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τῶν ἡμετέρων [7] προγόνων μεταναστάσεως, τὰ δ' ἐστὶ κατηγορία τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ κατοικούντων Ἰουδαίων. τρίτον δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις μέμικται περὶ τῆς ἀγιστείας τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νομίμων κατηγορία.

1. In the former book, most honored Epaphroditus, I have demonstrated our antiquity, and confirmed the truth of what I have said, from the writings of the Phoenicians, and Chaldeans, and Egyptians. I have, moreover, produced many of the Grecian writers as witnesses thereto. I have also made a refutation of Manetho and Cheremon, and of certain others of our enemies. I shall now therefore begin a confutation of the remaining authors who have written any thing against us; although I confess I have had a doubt upon me about Apion the grammarian, whether I ought to take the trouble of confuting him or not; for some of his writings contain much the same accusations which the others have laid against us, some things that he hath added are very frigid and contemptible,

and for the greatest part of what he says, it is very scurrilous, and, to speak no more than the plain truth, it shows him to be a very unlearned person, and what he lays together looks like the work of a man of very bad morals, and of one no better in his whole life than a mountebank. Yet, because there are a great many men so very foolish, that they are rather caught by such orations than by what is written with care, and take pleasure in reproaching other men, and cannot abide to hear them commended, I thought it to be necessary not to let this man go off without examination, who had written such an accusation against us, as if he would bring us to make an answer in open court. For I also have observed, that many men are very much delighted when they see a man who first began to reproach another, to be himself exposed to contempt on account of the vices he hath himself been guilty of. However, it is not a very easy thing to go over this man's discourse, nor to know plainly what he means; yet does he seem, amidst a great confusion and disorder in his falsehoods, to produce, in the first place, such things as resemble what we have examined already, and relate to the departure of our forefathers out of Egypt; and, in the second place, he accuses those Jews that are inhabitants of Alexandria; as, in the third place, he mixes with those things such accusations as concern the sacred purifications, with the other legal rites used in the temple.

II

[8] Ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὔτε Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ γένος ἦσαν ἡμῶν οἱ πατέρες οὔτε διὰ λύμην σωμάτων ἢ τοιαύτας ἄλλας συμφοράς τινας ἐκεῖθεν ἐξηλάθησαν, οὐ μετρίως μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πέρα τοῦ συμμέτρου προαποδεδεῖχθαι νομίζω. [9] περὶ ὧν δὲ προστίθησιν ὁ Ἀπίων ἐπιμνησθήσομαι συντόμως. [10] φησὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν τάδε: "Μωσῆς, ὡς ἤκουσα παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ἦν Ἡλιοπολίτης, ὃς πατρίοις ἔθεσι κατηγγυημένος αἰθρίους προσευχὰς ἀνῆγεν εἰς οἵους εἶχεν ἥλιος περιβόλους, πρὸς ἀφηλιώτην δὲ πάσας ἀπέστρεφεν: ὧδε γὰρ καὶ Ἡλίου κεῖται πόλις. [11] ἀντὶ δὲ ὀβελῶν ἔστησε κίονας, ὑφ' οἷς ἦν ἐκτύπωμα σκάφη, σκιὰ δ' ἀνδρὸς ἐπ' αὐτὴν διακειμένη, ὡς ὅτι ἐν αἰθέρι τοῦτον ἀεὶ τὸν [12] δρόμον ἡλίῳ συμπεριπολεῖ." τοιαύτη μέν τις ἡ θαυμαστὴ τοῦ γραμματικοῦ φράσις: τὸ δὲ ψεῦσμα λόγων οὐ δεόμενον, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἔργων περιφανές: οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς Μωσῆς, ὅτε τὴν πρώτην σκηνὴν τῷ θεῷ κατεσκεύασεν, οὐθὲν ἐκτύπωμα τοιοῦτον εἰς αὐτὴν ἐνέθηκεν οὐδὲ ποιεῖν τοῖς ἔπειτα προσέταξεν, ὅ τε μετὰ ταῦτα κατασκευάσας τὸν ναὸν τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Σολομὼν πάσης ἀπέσχετο τοιαύτης περιεργίας οἵαν συμπέπλεκεν Ἀπίων. [13] ἀκοῦσαι δέ φησι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, ὅτι Μωσῆς ἦν Ἡλιοπολίτης, δῆλον ὅτι νεώτερος μὲν ὢν αὐτός, ἐκείνοις δὲ πιστεύσας τοῖς διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν [14]

ἐπισταμένοις αὐτὸν καὶ συγγενομένοις. καὶ περὶ μὲν Ὁμήρου τοῦ ποιητοῦ γραμματικὸς ὢν αὐτὸς οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι, τίς αὐτοῦ πατρίς ἐστι, διαβεβαιωσάμενος εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ περὶ Πυθαγόρου μόνον οὐκ ἐχθὲς καὶ πρῴην γεγονότος, περὶ δὲ Μωσέως τοσούτῳ πλήθει προάγοντος ἐκείνους ἐτῶν οὕτως ἀποφαίνεται ῥᾳδίως πιστεύων ἀκοῇ πρεσβυτέρων, ὡς δῆλός ἐστι καταψευσάμενος. [15] τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν χρόνων, ἐν οἷς φησι τὸν Μωσῆν ἐξαγαγεῖν τοὺς λεπρῶντας καὶ τυφλοὺς καὶ τὰς βάσεις πεπηρωμένους, σφόδρα δὴ τοῖς πρὸ αὐτοῦ συμπεφώνηκεν, [16] ὡς οἶμαι, ὁ γραμματικὸς ὁ ἀκριβής. Μανεθὼς μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Τεθμώσιος βασιλείαν ἀπαλλαγῆναί φησιν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοὺς Ἰουδαίους πρὸ ἐτῶν τριακοσίων ἐνενηκοντατριῶν τῆς εἰς Ἄργος Δαναοῦ φυγῆς, Λυσίμαχος δὲ κατὰ Βόκχοριν τὸν βασιλέα, τουτέστι πρὸ ἐτῶν χιλίων ἑπτακοσίων, Μόλων δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς ὡς αὐτοῖς ἔδοξεν. [17] ὁ δέ γε πάντων πιστότατος Ἀπίων ὡρίσατο τὴν ἔξοδον ἀκριβῶς κατὰ τὴν ἑβδόμην ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ ταύτης ἔτος εἶναι πρῶτον, ἐν ᾧ, φησί, Καρχηδόνα Φοίνικες ἔκτισαν. τοῦτο δὲ πάντως προσέθηκε τὸ Καρχηδόνα τεκμήριον οἰόμενος αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τῆς ἀληθείας ἐναργέστατον, οὐ συνῆκε δὲ καθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ τὸν ἔλεγχον ἐπισπώμενος. [18] εἰ γὰρ περὶ τῆς ἀπιστίας πιστεύειν δεῖ ταῖς Φοινίκων ἀναγραφαῖς, ἐν ἐκείναις Εἴρωμος ὁ βασιλεὺς γέγραπται πρεσβύτερος τῆς Καρχηδόνος κτίσεως ἔτεσι πλείοσι πρὸς τοῖς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, περὶ οὗ τὰς πίστεις ἀνωτέρω παρέσχον ἐκ τῶν Φοινίκων [19] ἀναγραφῶν, ὅτι Σολομῶνι τῷ τὸν ναὸν οἰκοδομησαμένῳ τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις φίλος ἦν Εἴρωμος καὶ πολλὰ συνεβάλετο πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευήν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Σολομὼν ᾠκοδόμησε τὸν ναὸν μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοὺς Ἰουδαίους δώδεκα καὶ ἑξακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ὕστερον. [20] τὸν δὲ ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐλαθέντων τὸν αὐτὸν Λυσιμάχῳ σχεδιάσας, ἔνδεκα γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἶναί φησι μυριάδας, θαυμαστήν τινα καὶ πιθανὴν ἀποδίδωσιν αἰτίαν, ἀφ᾽ ἧς φησι τὸ σάββατον ὠνομάσθαι. [21] “ὁδεύσαντες γάρ, φησίν, ἐξ ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν βουβῶνας ἔσχον καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀνεπαύσαντο σωθέντες εἰς τὴν χώραν τὴν νῦν Ἰουδαίαν λεγομένην καὶ ἐκάλεσαν τὴν ἡμέραν σάββατον σώζοντες τὴν Αἰγυπτίων γλῶτταν: [22] τὸ γὰρ βουβῶνος ἄλγος καλοῦσιν Αἰγύπτιοι σαββάτωσις.” οὐκ ἂν οὖν τις ἢ καταγελάσειε τῆς φλυαρίας ἢ τοὐναντίον μισήσειε τὴν ἐν τῷ τοιαῦτα γράφειν ἀναίδειαν; δῆλον γάρ, ὅτι πάντες ἐβουβωνίασαν ἔνδεκα μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων. [23] ἀλλ᾽ εἰ μὲν ἦσαν ἐκεῖνοι τυφλοὶ καὶ χωλοὶ καὶ πάντα τρόπον νοσοῦντες ὁποίους αὐτοὺς εἶναί φησιν Ἀπίων, οὐδ᾽ ἂν μιᾶς ἡμέρας προελθεῖν ὁδὸν ἠδυνήθησαν: εἰ δ᾽ οἷοι βαδίζειν διὰ πολλῆς ἐρημίας καὶ προσέτι νικᾶν τοὺς αὐτοῖς ἀνθισταμένους μαχόμενοι πάντες, οὐκ ἂν ἀθρόοι μετὰ τὴν ἕκτην [24] ἡμέραν ἐβουβωνίασαν: οὔτε γὰρ φύσει πως γίνεται τὸ τοιοῦτον τοῖς βαδίζουσιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ἀλλὰ πολλαὶ μυριάδες στρατοπέδων ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας τὸ σύμμετρον ἀεὶ βαδίζουσιν, οὔτε κατ᾽ αὐτόματον [25] εἰκὸς οὕτως συμβῆναι: πάντων γὰρ ἀλογώτατον. ὁ δὲ θαυμαστὸς Ἀπίων διὰ μὲν ἓξ

ἡμερῶν αὐτοὺς ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προείρηκε, πάλιν δὲ τὸν Μωσῆν εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας ὄρος, ὃ καλεῖται Σίναιον, ἀναβάντα φησὶν ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα κρυβῆναι κἀκεῖθεν καταβάντα δοῦναι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τοὺς νόμους. καίτοι πῶς οἷόν τε τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ τεσσαράκοντα μένειν ἡμέρας ἐν ἐρήμῳ καὶ ἀνύδρῳ τόπῳ καὶ τὴν μεταξὺ πᾶσαν [26] ἐν ἡμέραις ἓξ διελθεῖν; ἡ δὲ περὶ τὴν ὀνομασίαν τοῦ σαββάτου γραμματικὴ μετάθεσις ἀναίδειαν ἔχει πολλὴν ἢ δεινὴν ἀμαθίαν: [27] τὸ γὰρ σαββὼ καὶ σάββατον πλεῖστον ἀλλήλων διαφέρει: τὸ μὲν γὰρ σάββατον κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίων διάλεκτον ἀνάπαυσίς ἐστιν ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου, τὸ δὲ σαββώ, καθάπερ ἐκεῖνός φησι, δηλοῖ παρ᾽ Αἰγυπτίοις τὸ βουβῶνος ἄλγος.

2. Now although I cannot but think that I have already demonstrated, and that abundantly more than was necessary, that our fathers were not originally Egyptians, nor were thence expelled, either on account of bodily diseases, or any other calamities of that sort; yet will I briefly take notice of what Apion adds upon that subject; for in his third book, which relates to the affairs of Egypt, he speaks thus: “I have heard of the ancient men of Egypt, that Moses was of Heliopolis, and that he thought himself obliged to follow the customs of his forefathers, and offered his prayers in the open air, towards the city walls; but that he reduced them all to be directed towards sun-rising, which was agreeable to the situation of Heliopolis; that he also set up pillars instead of gnomons, under which was represented a cavity like that of a boat, and the shadow that fell from their tops fell down upon that cavity, that it might go round about the like course as the sun itself goes round in the other.” This is that wonderful relation which we have given us by this grammarian. But that it is a false one is so plain, that it stands in need of few words to prove it, but is manifest from the works of Moses; for when he erected the first tabernacle to God, he did himself neither give order for any such kind of representation to be made at it, nor ordain that those that came after him should make such a one. Moreover, when in a future age Solomon built his temple in Jerusalem, he avoided all such needless decorations as Apion hath here devised. He says further, how he had “heard of the ancient men, that Moses was of Hellopolis.” To be sure that was, because being a younger man himself, he believed those that by their elder age were acquainted and conversed with him. Now this grammarian, as he was, could not certainly tell which was the poet Homer’s country, no more than he could which was the country of Pythagoras, who lived comparatively but a little while ago; yet does he thus easily determine the age of Moses, who preceded them such a vast number of years, as depending on his ancient men’s relation, which shows how notorious a liar he was. But then as to this chronological determination of

the time when he says he brought the leprous people, the blind, and the lame out of Egypt, see how well this most accurate grammarian of ours agrees with those that have written before him! Manetho says that the Jews departed out of Egypt, in the reign of Tethmosis, three hundred ninety-three years before Danaus fled to Argos; Lysimaehus says it was under king Bocchoris, that is, one thousand seven hundred years ago; Molo and some others determined it as every one pleased: but this Apion of ours, as deserving to be believed before them, hath determined it exactly to have been in the seventh olympiad, and the first year of that olympiad; the very same year in which he says that Carthage was built by the Phoenicians. The reason why he added this building of Carthage was, to be sure, in order, as he thought, to strengthen his assertion by so evident a character of chronology. But he was not aware that this character confutes his assertion; for if we may give credit to the Phoenician records as to the time of the first coming of their colony to Carthage, they relate that Hirom their king was above a hundred and fifty years earlier than the building of Carthage; concerning whom I have formerly produced testimonials out of those Phoenician records, as also that this Hirom was a friend of Solomon when he was building the temple of Jerusalem, and gave him great assistance in his building that temple; while still Solomon himself built that temple six hundred and twelve years after the Jews came out of Egypt. As for the number of those that were expelled out of Egypt, he hath contrived to have the very same number with Lysimaehus, and says they were a hundred and ten thousand. He then assigns a certain wonderful and plausible occasion for the name of Sabbath; for he says that "when the Jews had traveled a six days' journey, they had buboes in their groins; and that on this account it was that they rested on the seventh day, as having got safely to that country which is now called Judea; that then they preserved the language of the Egyptians, and called that day the Sabbath, for that malady of buboes on their groin was named Sabbatosis by the Egyptians." And would not a man now laugh at this fellow's trifling, or rather hate his impudence in writing thus? We must, it seems, fake it for granted that all these hundred and ten thousand men must have these buboes. But, for certain, if those men had been blind and lame, and had all sorts of distempers upon them, as Apion says they had, they could not have gone one single day's journey; but if they had been all able to travel over a large desert, and, besides that, to fight and conquer those that opposed them, they had not all of them had buboes on their groins after the sixth day was over; for no such distemper comes naturally and of necessity upon those that travel; but still, when there are many ten thousands in a camp together, they constantly march a settled space [in a day]. Nor is it at all probable that such a thing should happen by chance; this would be prodigiously absurd to be supposed. However, our

admirable author Apion hath before told us that “they came to Judea in six days’ time;” and again, that “Moses went up to a mountain that lay between Egypt and Arabia, which was called Sinai, and was concealed there forty days, and that when he came down from thence he gave laws to the Jews.” But, then, how was it possible for them to tarry forty days in a desert place where there was no water, and at the same time to pass all over the country between that and Judea in the six days? And as for this grammatical translation of the word Sabbath, it either contains an instance of his great impudence or gross ignorance; for the words Sabbo and Sabbath are widely different from one another; for the word Sabbath in the Jewish language denotes rest from all sorts of work; but the word Sabbo, as he affirms, denotes among the Egyptians the malady of a bubo in the groin.

III

[28] Τοιαῦτα μέν τινα περὶ Μωσέως καὶ τῆς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου γενομένης τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀπαλλαγῆς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος Ἀπίων ἐκαινοποίησεν παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπινοήσας. καὶ τί γε δεῖ θαυμάζειν, εἰ περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ψεύδεται προγόνων λέγων αὐτοὺς εἶναι τὸ γένος Αἰγυπτίους; [29] αὐτὸς γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοὐναντίον ἐψεύδετο καὶ γεγενημένος ἐν Ὀάσει τῆς Αἰγύπτου πάντων Αἰγυπτίων πρῶτος ὤν, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, τὴν μὲν ἀληθῆ πατρίδα καὶ τὸ γένος ἐξωμόσατο, Ἀλεξανδρεὺς δὲ εἶναι καταψευδόμενος ὁμολογεῖ τὴν μοχθηρίαν τοῦ γένους. [30] εἰκότως οὖν οὓς μισεῖ καὶ βούλεται λοιδορεῖν τούτους Αἰγυπτίους καλεῖ: εἰ μὴ γὰρ φαυλοτάτους εἶναι ἐνόμιζεν Αἰγυπτίους, οὐκ ἂν τοῦ γένους αὐτὸς ἔφυγεν: ὡς οἵ γε μεγαλοφρονοῦντες ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν πατρίσι σεμνύνονται μὲν ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτοὶ χρηματίζοντες, τοὺς ἀδίκως δ’ αὐτῶν ἀντιποιουμένους ἐλέγχουσι. [31] πρὸς ἡμᾶς δὲ δυοῖν θάτερον Αἰγύπτιοι πεπόνθασιν: ἢ γὰρ ὡς ἐπισεμνυνόμενοι προσποιοῦνται τὴν συγγένειαν ἢ κοινωνοὺς ἡμᾶς ἐπισπῶνται τῆς αὐτῶν κακοδοξίας. [32] ὁ δὲ γενναῖος Ἀπίων δοκεῖ μὲν τὴν βλασφημίαν τὴν καθ’ ἡμῶν ὥσπερ τινὰ μισθὸν ἐθελῆσαι παρασχεῖν Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι τῆς δοθείσης αὐτῷ πολιτείας, καὶ τὴν ἀπέχθειαν αὐτῶν ἐπιστάμενος τὴν πρὸς τοὺς συνοικοῦντας αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας Ἰουδαίους προτέθειται μὲν ἐκείνοις λοιδορεῖσθαι, συμπεριλαμβάνειν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας, ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἀναισχύντως ψευδόμενος.

3. This is that novel account which the Egyptian Apion gives us concerning the Jews’ departure out of Egypt, and is no better than a contrivance of his own. But why should we wonder at the lies he tells about our forefathers, when he affirms them to be of Egyptian original, when he lies also about himself? for although he was born at Oasis in Egypt, he pretends to be, as a man may say, the top man of

all the Egyptians; yet does he forswear his real country and progenitors, and by falsely pretending to be born at Alexandria, cannot deny the pravity of his family; for you see how justly he calls those Egyptians whom he hates, and endeavors to reproach; for had he not deemed Egyptians to be a name of great reproach, he would not have avoided the name of an Egyptian himself; as we know that those who brag of their own countries value themselves upon the denomination they acquire thereby, and reprove such as unjustly lay claim thereto. As for the Egyptians' claim to be of our kindred, they do it on one of the following accounts; I mean, either as they value themselves upon it, and pretend to bear that relation to us; or else as they would draw us in to be partakers of their own infamy. But this fine fellow Apion seems to broach this reproachful appellation against us, [that we were originally Egyptians,] in order to bestow it on the Alexandrians, as a reward for the privilege they had given him of being a fellow citizen with them: he also is apprized of the ill-will the Alexandrians bear to those Jews who are their fellow citizens, and so proposes to himself to reproach them, although he must thereby include all the other Egyptians also; while in both cases he is no better than an impudent liar.

IV

[33] Τίνα τοίνυν ἐστὶ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ σχέτλια τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ κατοικούντων Ἰουδαίων, ἃ κατηγόρηκεν αὐτῶν, ἴδωμεν. "ἐλθόντες, φησίν, ἀπὸ Συρίας ᾠκησαν πρὸς ἀλίμενον θάλασσαν γειτνιάσαντες [34] ταῖς τῶν κυμάτων ἐκβολαῖς." οὐκοῦν τόπος εἰ λοιδορίαν ἔχει, τὴν οὐ πατρίδα μὲν λεγομένην δὲ αὐτοῦ λοιδορεῖ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν: ἐκείνης γὰρ καὶ τὸ παράλιόν ἐστι μέρος, ὡς πάντες ὁμολογοῦσιν, [35] εἰς κατοίκησιν τὸ κάλλιστον. Ἰουδαῖοι δ' εἰ μὲν βιασάμενοι κατέσχον, ὡς μηδ' ὕστερον ἐκπεσεῖν, ἀνδρείας τεκμήριόν ἐστιν αὐτοῖς: εἰς κατοίκησιν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν τόπον Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἴσης παρὰ τοῖς Μακεδόσι τιμῆς ἐπέτυχον. [36] οὐκ οἶδα δέ, τί ποτ' ἂν ἔλεγεν Ἀπίων, εἰ πρὸς τῇ νεκροπόλει κατῴκουν καὶ μὴ πρὸς τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ἦσαν ἱδρυμένοι, καὶ μέχρι νῦν αὐτῶν ἡ φυλὴ τὴν προσηγορίαν εἶχεν Μακεδόνες. [37] εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀναγνοὺς τὰς ἐπιστολὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὰς Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου καὶ τῶν μετ' ἐκεῖνον τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων ἐντυχὼν τοῖς γράμμασι καὶ τὴν στήλην τὴν ἑστῶσαν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα περιέχουσαν, ἃ Καῖσαρ ὁ μέγας τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἔδωκεν, εἰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα, φημί, γιγνώσκων τἀναντία γράφειν ἐτόλμα, πονηρὸς ἦν, εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἠπίστατο τούτων, ἀπαίδευτος. [38] τὸ δὲ δὴ θαυμάζειν, πῶς Ἰουδαῖοι ὄντες Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ἐκλήθησαν, τῆς ὁμοίας ἀπαιδευσίας: πάντες γὰρ οἱ εἰς ἀποικίαν τινὰ κατακληθέντες, κἂν πλεῖστον ἀλλήλων τοῖς γένεσι διαφέρωσιν, ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιστῶν τὴν προσηγορίαν λαμβάνουσιν. [39] καὶ τί δεῖ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων

λέγειν; αὐτῶν γὰρ ἡμῶν οἱ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν κατοικοῦντες Ἀντιοχεῖς ὀνομάζονται: τὴν γὰρ πολιτείαν αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν ὁ κτίστης Σέλευκος. ὁμοίως οἱ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰωνίαν τοῖς αὐθιγενέσι πολίταις ὁμωνυμοῦσιν τοῦτο παρασχόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν διαδόχων. [40] ἡ δὲ Ῥωμαίων φιλανθρωπία πᾶσιν οὐ μικροῦ δεῖν τῆς αὐτῶν προσηγορίας μεταδέδωκεν οὐ μόνον ἀνδράσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγάλοις ἔθνεσιν ὅλοις; Ἴβηρες γοῦν οἱ πάλαι [41] καὶ Τυρρηνοὶ καὶ Σαβῖνοι Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦνται. εἰ δὲ τοῦτον ἀφαιρεῖται τὸν τρόπον τῆς πολιτείας Ἀπίων, παυσάσθω λέγων αὐτὸν Ἀλεξανδρέα: γεννηθεὶς γάρ, ὡς προεῖπον, ἐν τῷ βαθυτάτῳ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πῶς ἂν Ἀλεξανδρεὺς εἴη τῆς κατὰ δόσιν πολιτείας, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἠξίωκεν, ἀναιρουμένης; καίτοι μόνοις Αἰγυπτίοις οἱ κύριοι νῦν Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς οἰκουμένης μεταλαμβάνειν ἠστινοσοῦν πολιτείας ἀπειρήκασιν. [42] ὁ δ᾽ οὕτως ἐστὶ γενναῖος, ὡς μετέχειν ἀξιῶν αὐτὸς ὢν τυχεῖν ἐκωλύετο συκοφαντεῖν ἐπεχείρησε τοὺς δικαίως λαβόντας: οὐ γὰρ ἀπορίᾳ γε τῶν οἰκησόντων τὴν μετὰ σπουδῆς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πόλιν κτιζομένην Ἀλέξανδρος τῶν ἡμετέρων τινὰς ἐκεῖ συνήθροισεν, ἀλλὰ πάντας δοκιμάζων ἐπιμελῶς ἀρετῆς καὶ [43] πίστεως τοῦτο τοῖς ἡμετέροις τὸ γέρας ἔδωκεν. ἐτίμα γὰρ ἡμῶν τὸ ἔθνος, ὡς καί φησιν Ἑκαταῖος περὶ ἡμῶν, ὅτι διὰ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν καὶ πίστιν, ἣν αὐτῷ παρέσχον Ἰουδαῖοι, τὴν Σαμαρεῖτιν χώραν προσέθηκεν ἔχειν αὐτοῖς ἀφορολόγητον. [44] ὅμοια δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ κατοικούντων ἐφρόνησεν: καὶ γὰρ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον αὐτοῖς ἐνεχείρισε φρούρια πιστῶς ἅμα καὶ γενναίως φυλάξειν ὑπολαμβάνων, καὶ Κυρήνης ἐγκρατῶς ἄρχειν βουλόμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ πόλεων [45] εἰς αὐτὰς μέρος Ἰουδαίων ἔπεμψε κατοικῆσον. ὁ δὲ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλάδελφος ἐπικληθεὶς οὐ μόνον εἴ τινες ἦσαν αἰχμάλωτοι παρ᾽ αὐτῷ τῶν ἡμετέρων πάντας ἀπέδωκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήματα πολλάκις ἐδωρήσατο καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἐπιθυμητὴς ἐγένετο τοῦ γνῶναι τοὺς ἡμετέρους νόμους καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν βίβλοις ἐντυχεῖν. [46] ἔπεμψε γοῦν ἀξιῶν ἄνδρας ἀποσταλῆναι τοὺς ἑρμηνεύσοντας αὐτῷ τὸν νόμον καὶ τοῦ γραφῆναι ταῦτα καλῶς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐπέταξεν οὐ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ Δημήτριον τὸν Φαληρέα καὶ Ἀνδρέαν καὶ Ἀριστέα, τὸν μὲν παιδείᾳ τῶν καθ᾽ [47] ἑαυτὸν διαφέροντα Δημήτριον, τοὺς δὲ τὴν τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ φυλακὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένους, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας ταύτης ἔταξεν, οὐκ ἂν δήπου τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν πάτριον ἡμῶν φιλοσοφίαν ἐπιθυμήσας ἐκμαθεῖν, εἰ τῶν χρωμένων αὐτοῖς ἀνδρῶν κατεφρόνει καὶ μὴ λίαν ἐθαύμαζεν.

4. But let us now see what those heavy and wicked crimes are which Apion charges upon the Alexandrian Jews. “They came [says he] out of Syria, and inhabited near the tempestuous sea, and were in the neighborhood of the dashing of the waves.” Now if the place of habitation includes any thing that is

reproached, this man reproaches not his own real country, [Egypt,] but what he pretends to be his own country, Alexandria; for all are agreed in this, that the part of that city which is near the sea is the best part of all for habitation. Now if the Jews gained that part of the city by force, and have kept it hitherto without impeachment, this is a mark of their valor; but in reality it was Alexander himself that gave them that place for their habitation, when they obtained equal privileges there with the Macedonians. Nor call I devise what Apion would have said, had their habitation been at Necropolis? and not been fixed hard by the royal palace [as it is]; nor had their nation had the denomination of Macedonians given them till this very day [as they have]. Had this man now read the epistles of king Alexander, or those of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, or met with the writings of the succeeding kings, or that pillar which is still standing at Alexandria, and contains the privileges which the great [Julius] Caesar bestowed upon the Jews; had this man, I say, known these records, and yet hath the impudence to write in contradiction to them, he hath shown himself to be a wicked man; but if he knew nothing of these records, he hath shown himself to be a man very ignorant: nay, when lie appears to wonder how Jews could be called Alexandrians, this is another like instance of his ignorance; for all such as are called out to be colonies, although they be ever so far remote from one another in their original, receive their names from those that bring them to their new habitations. And what occasion is there to speak of others, when those of us Jews that dwell at Antioch are named Antiochians, because Seleucns the founder of that city gave them the privileges belonging thereto? After the like manner do those Jews that inhabit Ephesus, and the other cities of Ionia, enjoy the same name with those that were originally born there, by the grant of the succeeding princes; nay, the kindness and humanity of the Romans hath been so great, that it hath granted leave to almost all others to take the same name of Romans upon them; I mean not particular men only, but entire and large nations themselves also; for those anciently named Iberi, and Tyrrheni, and Sabini, are now called Romani. And if Apion reject this way of obtaining the privilege of a citizen of Alexandria, let him abstain from calling himself an Alexandrian hereafter; for otherwise, how can he who was born in the very heart of Egypt be an Alexandrian, if this way of accepting such a privilege, of which he would have us deprived, be once abrogated? although indeed these Romans, who are now the lords of the habitable earth, have forbidden the Egyptians to have the privileges of any city whatsoever; while this fine fellow, who is willing to partake of such a privilege himself as he is forbidden to make use of, endeavors by calumnies to deprive those of it that have justly received it; for Alexander did not therefore get some of our nation to Alexandria, because he wanted inhabitants for this his

city, on whose building he had bestowed so much pains; but this was given to our people as a reward, because he had, upon a careful trial, found them all to have been men of virtue and fidelity to him; for, as Hecateus says concerning us, "Alexander honored our nation to such a degree, that, for the equity and the fidelity which the Jews exhibited to him, he permitted them to hold the country of Samaria free from tribute. Of the same mind also was Ptolemy the son of Lagus, as to those Jews who dwelt at Alexandria." For he intrusted the fortresses of Egypt into their hands, as believing they would keep them faithfully and valiantly for him; and when he was desirous to secure the government of Cyrene, and the other cities of Libya, to himself, he sent a party of Jews to inhabit in them. And for his successor Ptolemy, who was called Philadelphus, he did not only set all those of our nation free who were captives under him, but did frequently give money [for their ransom]; and, what was his greatest work of all, he had a great desire of knowing our laws, and of obtaining the books of our sacred Scriptures; accordingly, he desired that such men might be sent him as might interpret our law to him; and, in order to have them well compiled, he committed that care to no ordinary persons, but ordained that Demetrius Phalereus, and Andreas, and Aristeas; the first, Demetrius, the most learned person of his age, and the others, such as were intrusted with the guard of his body; should take care of this matter: nor would he certainly have been so desirous of learning our law, and the philosophy of our nation, had he despised the men that made use of it, or had he not indeed had them in great admiration.

V

[48] Ἀπίωνα δὲ σχεδὸν ἐφεξῆς πάντες ἔλαθον οἱ τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖς οἰκειότατα πρὸς ἡμᾶς διατεθέντες: καὶ γὰρ τρίτος Πτολεμαῖος ὁ λεγόμενος Εὐεργέτης κατασχὼν ὅλην Συρίαν κατὰ κράτος οὐ τοῖς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ θεοῖς χαριστήρια τῆς νίκης ἔθυσεν, ἀλλὰ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πολλὰς ὡς ἡμῖν νόμιμόν ἐστιν ἐπετέλεσε θυσίας τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἀνέθηκεν ἀναθήματα τῆς νίκης ἀξίως. [49] ὁ δὲ Φιλομήτωρ Πτολεμαῖος καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Κλεοπάτρα τὴν βασιλείαν ὅλην τὴν ἑαυτῶν Ἰουδαίοις ἐπίστευσαν, καὶ στρατηγοὶ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως ἦσαν Ὀνίας καὶ Δοσίθεος Ἰουδαῖοι, ὧν Ἀπίων σκώπτει τὰ ὀνόματα, δέον τὰ ἔργα θαυμάζειν καὶ μὴ λοιδορεῖν, ἀλλὰ χάριν αὐτοῖς ἔχειν, ὅτι διέσωσαν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἧς ὡς πολίτης ἀντιποιεῖται. [50] πολεμούντων γὰρ αὐτῶν τῇ βασιλίσσῃ Κλεοπάτρᾳ καὶ κινδυνευόντων ἀπολέσθαι κακῶς οὗτοι συμβάσεις ἐποίησαν καὶ τῶν ἐμφυλίων κακῶν ἀπήλλαξαν. ἀλλὰ "μετὰ ταῦτα, φησίν, Ὀνίας ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἤγαγε στρατὸν ὀλίγον ὄντος ἐκεῖ Θέρμου [51] τοῦ παρὰ Ῥωμαίων πρεσβευτοῦ καὶ παρόντος."

ὀρθῶς δὲ ποιῶν φαίην ἂν καὶ μάλα δικαίως: ὁ γὰρ Φύσκων ἐπικληθεὶς Πτολεμαῖος ἀποθανόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλομήτορος ἀπὸ Κυρήνης ἐξῆλθε Κλεοπάτραν ἐκβαλεῖν βουλόμενος τῆς βασιλείας [52] et filios regis, ut ipse regnum iniuste sibimet applicaret; propter haec ergo Onias aduersus eum bellum pro Cleopatra suscepit et fidem, quam habuit circa reges, nequaquam in necessitate deseruit. [53] testis autem deus iustitiae eius manifestus apparuit; nam Fyscon Ptolomaeus cum aduersum exercitum quidem Oniae pugnare praesumeret, omnes uero Iudaeos in ciuitate positos cum filiis et uxoribus capiens nudos atque uinctos elephantis subiecisset, ut ab eis conculcati deficerent, et ad hoc etiam bestias ipsas debriasset, in contrarium quae praeparauerat euenerunt. [54] elephanti enim relinquentes sibi appositos Iudaeos impetu facto super amicos eius multos ex ipsis interemerunt. et post haec Ptolomaeus quidem aspectum terribilem contemplatus est prohibentem se, ut illis noceret [55] hominibus, concubina uero sua carissima, quam alii quidem Ithacam, alii uero Hirenen denominant, supplicante ne tantam impietatem perageret, ei concessit et ex his quae iam egerat uel acturus erat paenitentiam egit. unde recte hanc diem Iudaei Alexandria constituti eo quod aperte a deo salutem promeruerunt celebrare noscuntur. [56] Apion autem omnium calumniator etiam propter bellum aduersus Fysconem gestum Iudaeos accusare praesumpsit, cum eos laudare debuerit. is autem etiam ultimae Cleopatrae Alexandrinorum reginae meminit ueluti nobis improperans, quoniam circa nos fuit ingrata, et non potius illam redarguere studuit; [57] cui nihil omnino iniustitiae et malorum operum defuit uel circa generis necessarios uel circa maritos suos, qui etiam dilexerunt eam, uel in communi contra Romanos omnes et benefactores suos imperatores, quae [58] etiam sororem Arsinoe+n occidit in templo nihil sibi nocentem, peremit autem et fratrem insidiis paternosque deos et sepulcra progenitorum depopulata est, percipiensque regnum a primo Caesare eius filio et successori rebellare praesumpsit, Antoniumque corrumpens amatoriis rebus et patriae inimicum fecit et infidelem circa suos amicos instituit, alios quidem genere regali spolians, alios autem demens et ad mala gerenda compellens. [59] sed quid oportet amplius dici, cum illum ipsum in nauali certamine relinquens, id est maritum et parentem communium filiorum, tradere eum exercitum [60] et principatum et se sequi coe+git? nouissime uero Alexandria a Caesare capta ad hoc usque perducta est, ut salutem hinc sperare se iudicaret, si posset ipsa manu sua Iudaeos perimere, eo quod circa omnes crudelis et infidelis extaret. putasne gloriandum nobis non esse, si quemadmodum dicit Apion famis tempore Iudaeis triticum [61] non est mensa? sed illa quidem poenam subiit competentem, nos autem maximo Caesare utimur teste solatii atque fidei, quam circa eum contra Aegyptios gessimus, necnon et senatu eiusque dogmatibus et epistulis Caesaris Augusti, quibus nostra

merita comprobantur. [62] has litteras Apionem oportebat inspicere et secundum genera examinare testimonia sub Alexandro facta et omnibus Ptolomaeis et quae a senatu constituta sunt necnon et a maximis Romanis imperatoribus. [63] si uero Germanicus frumenta cunctis in Alexandria commorantibus metiri non potuit, hoc indicium est sterilitatis ac necessitatis frumentorum, non accusatio Iudaeorum. quid enim sapiant omnes imperatores de Iudaeis in Alexandria commorantibus, palam est; [64] nam amministratio tritici nihilo minus ab eis quam ab aliis Alexandrinis translata est, maximam uero eis fidem olim a regibus datam conseruauerunt, id est fluminis custodiam totiusque custodiae nequaquam his rebus indignos esse iudicantes.

5. Now this Apion was unacquainted with almost all the kings of those Macedonians whom he pretends to have been his progenitors, who were yet very well affected towards us; for the third of those Ptolemies, who was called Euergetes, when he had gotten possession of all Syria by force, did not offer his thank-offerings to the Egyptian gods for his victory, but came to Jerusalem, and according to our own laws offered many sacrifices to God, and dedicated to him such gifts as were suitable to such a victory: and as for Ptolemy Philometer and his wife Cleopatra, they committed their whole kingdom to the Jews, when Onias and Dositheus, both Jews, whose names are laughed at by Apion, were the generals of their whole army. But certainly, instead of reproaching them, he ought to admire their actions, and return them thanks for saving Alexandria, whose citizen he pretends to be; for when these Alexandrians were making war with Cleopatra the queen, and were in danger of being utterly ruined, these Jews brought them to terms of agreement, and freed them from the miseries of a civil war. “But then [says Apion] Onias brought a small army afterward upon the city at the time when Thorruns the Roman ambassador was there present.” Yes, do I venture to say, and that he did rightly and very justly in so doing; for that Ptolemy who was called Physco, upon the death of his brother Philometer, came from Cyrene, and would have ejected Cleopatra as well as her sons out of their kingdom, that he might obtain it for himself unjustly. For this cause then it was that Onias undertook a war against him on Cleopatra’s account; nor would he desert that trust the royal family had reposed in him in their distress. Accordingly, God gave a remarkable attestation to his righteous procedure; for when Ptolemy Physco had the presumption to fight against Onias’s army, and had caught all the Jews that were in the city [Alexandria], with their children and wives, and exposed them naked and in bonds to his elephants, that they might be trodden upon and destroyed, and when he had made those elephants drunk for that purpose, the event proved contrary to his preparations; for these elephants

left the Jews who were exposed to them, and fell violently upon Physco's friends, and slew a great number of them; nay, after this Ptolemy saw a terrible ghost, which prohibited his hurting those men; his very concubine, whom he loved so well, [some call her Ithaca, and others Irene,] making supplication to him, that he would not perpetrate so great a wickedness. So he complied with her request, and repented of what he either had already done, or was about to do; whence it is well known that the Alexandrian Jews do with good reason celebrate this day, on the account that they had thereon been vouchsafed such an evident deliverance from God. However, Apion, the common calumniator of men, hath the presumption to accuse the Jews for making this war against Physco, when he ought to have commended them for the same. This man also makes mention of Cleopatra, the last queen of Alexandria, and abuses us, because she was ungrateful to us; whereas he ought to have reproved her, who indulged herself in all kinds of injustice and wicked practices, both with regard to her nearest relations and husbands who had loved her, and, indeed, in general with regard to all the Romans, and those emperors that were her benefactors; who also had her sister Arsinoe slain in a temple, when she had done her no harm: moreover, she had her brother slain by private treachery, and she destroyed the gods of her country and the sepulchers of her progenitors; and while she had received her kingdom from the first Caesar, she had the impudence to rebel against his son: and successor; nay, she corrupted Antony with her love-tricks, and rendered him an enemy to his country, and made him treacherous to his friends, and [by his means] despoiled some of their royal authority, and forced others in her madness to act wickedly. But what need I enlarge upon this head any further, when she left Antony in his fight at sea, though he were her husband, and the father of their common children, and compelled him to resign up his government, with the army, and to follow her [into Egypt]? nay, when last of all Caesar had taken Alexandria, she came to that pitch of cruelty, that she declared she had some hope of preserving her affairs still, in case she could kill the Jews, though it were with her own hand; to such a degree of barbarity and perfidiousness had she arrived. And doth any one think that we cannot boast ourselves of any thing, if, as Apion says, this queen did not at a time of famine distribute wheat among us? However, she at length met with the punishment she deserved. As for us Jews, we appeal to the great Caesar what assistance we brought him, and what fidelity we showed to him against the Egyptians; as also to the senate and its decrees, and the epistles of Augustus Caesar, whereby our merits [to the Romans] are justified. Apion ought to have looked upon those epistles, and in particular to have examined the testimonies given on our behalf, under Alexander and all the Ptolemies, and the decrees of

the senate and of the greatest Roman emperors. And if Germanicus was not able to make a distribution of corn to all the inhabitants of Alexandria, that only shows what a barren time it was, and how great a want there was then of corn, but tends nothing to the accusation of the Jews; for what all the emperors have thought of the Alexandrian Jews is well known, for this distribution of wheat was no otherwise omitted with regard to the Jews, than it was with regard to the other inhabitants of Alexandria. But they still were desirous to preserve what the kings had formerly intrusted to their care, I mean the custody of the river; nor did those kings think them unworthy of having the entire custody thereof, upon all occasions.

VI

[65] Sed super haec, quomodo ergo, inquit, si sunt ciues, eosdem deos quos Alexandrini non colunt? cui respondeo, quomodo etiam, cum uos sitis Aegyptii, inter alterutros proelio magno et sine [66] foedere de religione contenditis? an certe propterea non uos omnes dicimus Aegyptios et neque communiter homines, quoniam bestias aduersantes naturae nostrae colitis multa diligentia nutrientes, cum [67] genus utique nostrorum unum itaque idem esse uideatur? si autem in uobis Aegyptiis tantae differentiae opinionum sunt, quid miraris super his, qui aliunde in Alexandriam aduenerunt, si in legibus a [68] principio constitutis circa talia permanserunt? is autem etiam seditionis causas nobis apponit, qui si cum ueritate ob hoc accusat Iudaeos in Alexandria constitutos, cur omnes nos culpat ubique positos [69] eo quod noscamur habere concordiam? porro etiam seditionis auctores quilibet inueniet Apioni similes Alexandrinorum fuisse ciues. donec enim Graeci fuerunt et Macedones hanc ciuilitatem habentes, nullam seditionem aduersus nos gesserunt, sed antiquis cessere sollemnitatibus. cum uero multitudo Aegyptiorum creuisset inter eos propter confusiones temporum, etiam hoc opus semper est additum. nostrum uero genus permansit purum. [70] ipsi igitur molestiae huius fuere principium nequaquam populo Macedonicam habente constantiam neque prudentiam Graecam, sed cunctis scilicet utentibus malis moribus Aegyptiorum et antiquas inimicitias aduersum nos exercentibus. [71] e diuerso namque factum est quod nobis improperare praesumunt; nam cum plurimi eorum non oportune ius eius ciuilitatis optineant, peregrinos uocant eos, qui hoc priuilegium ad omnes imperasse noscuntur. [72] nam Aegyptiis neque regum quisquam uidetur ius ciuilitatis fuisse largitus neque nunc quilibet imperatorum, nos autem Alexander quidem introduxit, reges autem auxerunt, Romani uero semper custodire dignati sunt. [73] itaque derogare nobis Apion conatus est, quia imperatorum non statuamus imagines tamquam illis hoc

ignorantibus aut defensione Apionis indigentibus, cum potius debuerit ammirari magnanimitatem mediocritatemque Romanorum, quoniam subiectos non cogunt patria iura transcendere, sed suscipiunt honores sicut dare offerentes pium atque legitimum est; non enim honoribus gratiam habent, qui ex necessitate et uiolentia conferuntur. [74] Graecis itaque et aliis quibusdam bonum esse creditur imagines instituere, denique et patrum et uxorum filiorumque figuras depingentes exultant, quidam uero etiam nihil sibi competentium sumunt imagines, alii uero et seruos diligentes hoc faciunt. quid ergo mirum est, si etiam principibus ac dominis hunc [75] honorem praebere uideantur? porro noster legislator, non quasi prophetans Romanorum potentiam non honorandam, sed tamquam causam neque deo neque hominibus utilem despiciens, et quoniam totius animati, multo magis dei inanimatu probatur inferius interdixit imagines fabricari. [76] aliis autem honoribus post deum colendos non prohibuit uiros bonos, quibus nos et imperatores et populum Romanorum dignitatibus ampliamus. [77] facimus autem pro eis continua sacrificia et non solum cotidianis diebus ex impensa communi omnium Iudaeorum talia celebramus, uerum cum nullas alias hostias ex communi neque pro filiis peragamus, solis imperatoribus hunc honorem praecipuum pariter exhibemus, quem hominum nulli persoluimus. [78] haec itaque communiter satisfactio posita sit aduersus Apionem pro his, quae de Alexandria dicta sunt.

6. But besides this, Apion objects to us thus: “If the Jews [says he] be citizens of Alexandria, why do they not worship the same gods with the Alexandrians?” To which I give this answer: Since you are yourselves Egyptians, why do you fight it out one against another, and have implacable wars about your religion? At this rate we must not call you all Egyptians, nor indeed in general men, because you breed up with great care beasts of a nature quite contrary to that of men, although the nature of all men seems to be one and the same. Now if there be such differences in opinion among you Egyptians, why are you surprised that those who came to Alexandria from another country, and had original laws of their own before, should persevere in the observance of those laws? But still he charges us with being the authors of sedition; which accusation, if it be a just one, why is it not laid against us all, since we are known to be all of one mind. Moreover, those that search into such matters will soon discover that the authors of sedition have been such citizens of Alexandria as Apion is; for while they were the Grecians and Macedonians who were ill possession of this city, there was no sedition raised against us, and we were permitted to observe our ancient solemnities; but when the number of the Egyptians therein came to be considerable, the times grew confused, and then these seditions brake out still

more and more, while our people continued uncorrupted. These Egyptians, therefore, were the authors of these troubles, who having not the constancy of Macedonians, nor the prudence of Grecians, indulged all of them the evil manners of the Egyptians, and continued their ancient hatred against us; for what is here so presumptuously charged upon us, is owing to the differences that are amongst themselves; while many of them have not obtained the privileges of citizens in proper times, but style those who are well known to have had that privilege extended to them all no other than foreigners: for it does not appear that any of the kings have ever formerly bestowed those privileges of citizens upon Egyptians, no more than have the emperors done it more lately; while it was Alexander who introduced us into this city at first, the kings augmented our privileges therein, and the Romans have been pleased to preserve them always inviolable. Moreover, Apion would lay a blot upon us, because we do not erect images for our emperors; as if those emperors did not know this before, or stood in need of Apion as their defender; whereas he ought rather to have admired the magnanimity and modesty of the Romans, whereby they do not compel those that are subject to them to transgress the laws of their countries, but are willing to receive the honors due to them after such a manner as those who are to pay them esteem consistent with piety and with their own laws; for they do not thank people for conferring honors upon them, When they are compelled by violence so to do. Accordingly, since the Grecians and some other nations think it a right thing to make images, nay, when they have painted the pictures of their parents, and wives, and children, they exult for joy; and some there are who take pictures for themselves of such persons as were no way related to them; nay, some take the pictures of such servants as they were fond of; what wonder is it then if such as these appear willing to pay the same respect to their princes and lords? But then our legislator hath forbidden us to make images, not by way of denunciation beforehand, that the Roman authority was not to be honored, but as despising a thing that was neither necessary nor useful for either God or man; and he forbade them, as we shall prove hereafter, to make these images for any part of the animal creation, and much less for God himself, who is no part of such animal creation. Yet hath our legislator no where forbidden us to pay honors to worthy men, provided they be of another kind, and inferior to those we pay to God; with which honors we willingly testify our respect to our emperors, and to the people of Rome; we also offer perpetual sacrifices for them; nor do we only offer them every day at the common expenses of all the Jews, but although we offer no other such sacrifices out of our common expenses, no, not for our own children, yet do we this as a peculiar honor to the emperors, and to them alone, while we

do the same to no other person whomsoever. And let this suffice for an answer in general to Apion, as to what he says with relation to the Alexandrian Jews.

VII

[79] Ammiror autem etiam eos, qui ei huiusmodi fomitem praebuerunt id est Posidonium et Apollonium Molonis, quoniam accusant quidem nos, quare nos eosdem deos cum aliis non colimus, mentientes autem pariter et de nostro templo blasphemias componentes incongruas non se putant impie agere, dum sit ualde turpissimum liberis qualibet ratione mentiri multo magis de templo apud cunctos homines nominato tanta sanctitate pollente. [80] in hoc enim sacrario Apion praesumpsit edicere asini caput collocasse Iudaeos et eum colere ac dignum facere tanta religione, et hoc affirmat fuisse depalatum, dum Antiochus Epiphanes expoliasset templum et illud caput inuentum ex auro compositum multis pecuniis dignum. [81] ad haec igitur prius equidem dico, quoniam Aegyptius, uel si aliquid tale apud nos fuisset, nequaquam debuerat increpare, cum non sit deterior asinus furonibus et hircis et aliis, quae sunt apud eos dii. [82] deinde quomodo non intellexit operibus increpatus de incredibili suo mendacio? legibus namque semper utimur hisdem, in quibus sine fine consistimus, et cum uarii casus nostram ciuitatem sicut etiam aliorum uexauerint et Pius ac Pompeius Magnus et Licinius Crassus et ad nouissimum Titus Caesar bello uincentes optinuerint templum, nihil huiusmodi illic inuenerunt, sed purissimam pietatem, de qua nihil nobis est apud alios effabile. [83] quia uero Antiochus neque iustam fecit templi depraedationem, sed egestate pecuniarum ad hoc accessit, cum non esset hostis, et super nos auxiliatores suos et amicos adgressus est nec aliquid dignum derisione illic inuenit, [84] multi et digni conscriptores super hoc quoque testantur, Polybius Megalopolita Strabon Cappadox Nicolaus Damascenus Timagenis et Castor temporum conscriptor et Apollodorus; omnes dicunt pecuniis indigentem Antiochum transgressum foedera Iudaeorum et spoliasse templum auro argentoque plenum. [85] haec igitur Apion debuit respicere, nisi cor asini ipse potius habuisset et impudentiam canis, qui apud ipsos assolet coli; neque enim extrinsecus aliqua ratiocinatione mentitus est. [86] nos itaque asinis neque honorem neque potestatem aliquam damus, sicut Aegyptii crocodillis et aspidibus, quando eos qui ab istis mordentur et a crocodillis rapiuntur felices et deo digni arbitrantur. [87] sed sunt apud nos asini quod apud alios sapientes uiros onera sibimet imposita sustinentes, et licet ad areas accedentes comedant aut uiam propositam non adimpleant, multas ualde plagas accipiunt quippe operibus et ad agriculturam rebus necessariis ministrantes. [88] sed aut omnium gurdissimus fuit Apion ad componendum uerba fallacia aut certe ex rebus initia

sumens haec implere non ualuit, quando nulla potest contra nos blasphemia prouenire.

7. However, I cannot but admire those other authors who furnished this man with such his materials; I mean Possidonius and Apollonius [the son of] Molo, who, while they accuse us for not worshipping the same gods whom others worship, they think themselves not guilty of impiety when they tell lies of us, and frame absurd and reproachful stories about our temple; whereas it is a most shameful thing for freemen to forge lies on any occasion, and much more so to forge them about our temple, which was so famous over all the world, and was preserved so sacred by us; for Apion hath the impudence to pretend that, "the Jews placed an ass's head in their holy place;" and he affirms that this was discovered when Antiochus Epiphanes spoiled our temple, and found that ass's head there made of gold, and worth a great deal of money. To this my first answer shall be this, that had there been any such thing among us, an Egyptian ought by no means to have thrown it in our teeth, since an ass is not a more contemptible animal than and goats, and other such creatures, which among them are gods. But besides this answer, I say further, how comes it about that Apion does not understand this to be no other than a palpable lie, and to be confuted by the thing itself as utterly incredible? For we Jews are always governed by the same laws, in which we constantly persevere; and although many misfortunes have befallen our city, as the like have befallen others, and although Theos [Epiphanes], and Pompey the Great, and Licinius Crassus, and last of all Titus Caesar, have conquered us in war, and gotten possession of our temple; yet have they none of them found any such thing there, nor indeed any thing but what was agreeable to the strictest piety; although what they found we are not at liberty to reveal to other nations. But for Antiochus [Epiphanes], he had no just cause for that ravage in our temple that he made; he only came to it when he wanted money, without declaring himself our enemy, and attacked us while we were his associates and his friends; nor did he find any thing there that was ridiculous. This is attested by many worthy writers; Polybius of Megalopolis, Strabo of Cappadocia, Nicolaus of Damascus, Timagenes, Castor the chronotoger, and Apollodorus; who all say that it was out of Antiochus's want of money that he broke his league with the Jews, and despoiled their temple when it was full of gold and silver. Apion ought to have had a regard to these facts, unless he had himself had either an ass's heart or a dog's impudence; of such a dog I mean as they worship; for he had no other external reason for the lies he tells of us. As for us Jews, we ascribe no honor or power to asses, as do the Egyptians to crocodiles and asps, when they esteem such as are seized upon by the former, or bitten by the latter, to be happy

persons, and persons worthy of God. Asses are the same with us which they are with other wise men, *viz.* creatures that bear the burdens that we lay upon them; but if they come to our thrashing-floors and eat our corn, or do not perform what we impose upon them, we beat them with a great many stripes, because it is their business to minister to us in our husbandry affairs. But this Apion of ours was either perfectly unskillful in the composition of such fallacious discourses, or however, when he begun [somewhat better], he was not able to persevere in what he had undertaken, since he hath no manner of success in those reproaches he casts upon us.

VIII

[89] Alteram uero fabulam derogatione nostra plenam de Graecis apposuit, de quo hoc dicere sat erit, quoniam qui de pietate loqui praesumunt oportet eos non ignorare minus esse inmundum per templa transire quam sacerdotibus scelesta uerba componere. [90] isti uero magis studuerunt defendere sacrilegum regem quam iusta et ueracia de nostris et de templo conscribere; uolentes enim Antiocho praestare et infidelitatem ac sacrilegium eius tegere, quo circa gentem nostram est usus propter egestatem pecuniarum, detrahentes nobis etiam quae in futuro essent dicenda mentiti sunt. [91] propheta uero aliorum factus est Apion et dixit Antiochum in templo inuenisse lectum et hominem in eo iacentem et propositam ei mensam maritimis terrenisque et uolatilium dapibus plenam, et obstipuisset his homo. [92] illum uero mox adorasse regis ingressum tamquam maximum ei solacium praebiturum ac procidentem ad eius genua extensa dextra poposcisse libertatem; et iubente rege, ut confideret et diceret, quis esset uel cur ibidem habitaret uel quae esset causa ciborum eius, tunc hominem cum gemitu et lacrimis lamentabiliter suam narrasse necessitatem ait. [93] inquit esse quidem se Graecum, et dum peragraret prouinciam propter uitae causam direptum se subito ab alienigenis hominibus atque deductum ad templum et inclusum illic, et a nullo conspici sed cuncta dapium praeparatione saginari. [94] et primum quidem haec sibi inopinabilia beneficia prodidisse et detulisse laetitiam deinde suspicionem postea stuporem, ac postremum consulentem a ministris ad se accedentibus audisse legem ineffabilem Iudaeorum, pro qua nutriebatur, et hoc illos facere singulis annis quodam tempore constituto. [95] et compraehendere quidem Graecum peregrinum eumque annali tempore saginare et deductum ad quandam siluam occidere quidem eum hominem eiusque corpus sacrificare secundum suas sollemnitates et gustare ex eius uisceribus et iusiurandum facere in immolatione Graeci, ut inimicitias contra Graecos haberent, et tunc in quandam foueam reliqua hominis pereuntis abicere. [96] deinde refert eum dixisse

paucos iam dies debita sibimet superesse atque rogasse, ut erubescens Graecorum deos et superantes in suo sanguine insidias Iudaeorum de malis eum circumastantibus liberaret. [97] huiusmodi ergo fabula non tantum omni tragoedia plenissima est, sed etiam impudentia crudeli redundat, non tamen a sacrilegio priuat Antiochum, sicut arbitrati sunt qui haec ad illius gratiam conscripserunt; [98] non enim praesumpsit aliquid tale, ut ad templum accederet, sed sicut aiunt inuenit non sperans. fuit ergo uoluntate iniquus impius et nihilominus sine deo, quanta iussit mendacii superfluitas, quam ex ipsa re cognoscere ualde facillimum est. [99] non enim circa solos Graecos discordia legum esse dinoscitur, sed maxime aduersus Aegyptios et plurimos alios. *quem enim horum non contigit aliquando circa nos peregrinari, ut aduersus solos renouata coniuratione per [100] effusionem sanguinis egeremus? uel quomodo possibile est, ut ad has hostias omnes Iudaei colligerentur et tantis milibus ad gustandum uiscera illa sufficerent, sicut ait Apion? [101] uel cur inuentum hominem quicumque fuit, non enim suo nomine conscripsit, *aut quomodo eum in suam patriam rex non cum pompa deduxit, dum posset hoc faciens ipse quidem putari pius et Graecorum amator eximius, assumere uero contra Iudaeorum odium solacia magna cunctorum? [102] sed haec relinquo; insensatos enim non uerbis sed operibus decet arguere. sciunt igitur omnes qui uiderunt constructionem templi nostri, qualis fuerit, et intransgressibilem eius purificationis integritatem. [103] quattuor etenim habuit in circuitu porticus, et harum singulae propriam secundum legem habuere custodiam; in exteriorem itaque ingredi licebat omnibus etiam alienigenis; mulieres tantummodo menstruatae transire prohibebantur. [104] in secunda uero porticu cuncti Iudaei ingrediebantur eorumque coniuges, cum essent ab omni pollutione mundae, in tertia masculi Iudaeorum mundi existentes atque purificati, in quartam autem sacerdotes stolis induti sacerdotalibus, in adytum uero soli principes sacerdotum propria stola circumamicti. [105] tanta uero est circa omnia prouidentia pietatis, ut secundum quasdam horas sacerdotes ingredi constitutum sit; mane etenim aperto templo oportebat facientes traditas hostias introire et meridie rursus, dum clauderetur templum. [106] denique nec uas aliquod portari licet in templum, sed erant in eo solummodo posita altare mensa turibulum candelabrum, quae omnia et in lege conscripta sunt. [107] etenim nihil amplius neque mysteriorum aliquorum ineffabilium agitur neque intus ulla epulatio ministratur; haec enim quae praedicta sunt habent totius populi testimonium manifestationemque gestorum. [108] licet enim sint tribus quattuor sacerdotum et harum tribuum singulae habeant hominum plus quam quinque milia, fit tamen obseruatio particulariter per dies certos, et his transactis alii succedentes ad sacrificia ueniunt et congregati in templum mediante die a

praecedentibus claues templi et ad numerum omnia uasa percipiunt, nulla re, quae ad cibum aut potum adtineat, in templo delata.

8. He adds another Grecian fable, in order to reproach us. In reply to which, it would be enough to say, that they who presume to speak about Divine worship ought not to be ignorant of this plain truth, that it is a degree of less impurity to pass through temples, than to forge wicked calumnies of its priests. Now such men as he are more zealous to justify a sacrilegious king, than to write what is just and what is true about us, and about our temple; for when they are desirous of gratifying Antiochus, and of concealing that perfidiousness and sacrilege which he was guilty of, with regard to our nation, when he wanted money, they endeavor to disgrace us, and tell lies even relating to futurities. Apion becomes other men's prophet upon this occasion, and says that "Antiochus found in our temple a bed, and a man lying upon it, with a small table before him, full of dainties, from the [fishes of the] sea, and the fowls of the dry land; that this man was amazed at these dainties thus set before him; that he immediately adored the king, upon his coming in, as hoping that he would afford him all possible assistance; that he fell down upon his knees, and stretched out to him his right hand, and begged to be released; and that when the king bid him sit down, and tell him who he was, and why he dwelt there, and what was the meaning of those various sorts of food that were set before him the man made a lamentable complaint, and with sighs, and tears in his eyes, gave him this account of the distress he was in; and said that he was a Greek and that as he went over this province, in order to get his living, he was seized upon by foreigners, on a sudden, and brought to this temple, and shut up therein, and was seen by nobody, but was fattened by these curious provisions thus set before him; and that truly at the first such unexpected advantages seemed to him matter of great joy; that after a while, they brought a suspicion him, and at length astonishment, what their meaning should be; that at last he inquired of the servants that came to him and was by them informed that it was in order to the fulfilling a law of the Jews, which they must not tell him, that he was thus fed; and that they did the same at a set time every year: that they used to catch a Greek foreigner, and fat him thus up every year, and then lead him to a certain wood, and kill him, and sacrifice with their accustomed solemnities, and taste of his entrails, and take an oath upon this sacrificing a Greek, that they would ever be at enmity with the Greeks; and that then they threw the remaining parts of the miserable wretch into a certain pit." Apion adds further, that, "the man said there were but a few days to come ere he was to be slain, and implored of Antiochus that, out of the reverence he bore to the Grecian gods, he would disappoint the snares the Jews laid for his

blood, and would deliver him from the miseries with which he was encompassed." Now this is such a most tragical fable as is full of nothing but cruelty and impudence; yet does it not excuse Antiochus of his sacrilegious attempt, as those who write it in his vindication are willing to suppose; for he could not presume beforehand that he should meet with any such thing in coming to the temple, but must have found it unexpectedly. He was therefore still an impious person, that was given to unlawful pleasures, and had no regard to God in his actions. But [as for Apion], he hath done whatever his extravagant love of lying hath dictated to him, as it is most easy to discover by a consideration of his writings; for the difference of our laws is known not to regard the Grecians only, but they are principally opposite to the Egyptians, and to some other nations also for while it so falls out that men of all countries come sometimes and sojourn among us, how comes it about that we take an oath, and conspire only against the Grecians, and that by the effusion of their blood also? Or how is it possible that all the Jews should get together to these sacrifices, and the entrails of one man should be sufficient for so many thousands to taste of them, as Apion pretends? Or why did not the king carry this man, whosoever he was, and whatsoever was his name, [which is not set down in Apion's book,] with great pomp back into his own country? when he might thereby have been esteemed a religious person himself, and a mighty lover of the Greeks, and might thereby have procured himself great assistance from all men against that hatred the Jews bore to him. But I leave this matter; for the proper way of confuting fools is not to use bare words, but to appeal to the things themselves that make against them. Now, then, all such as ever saw the construction of our temple, of what nature it was, know well enough how the purity of it was never to be profaned; for it had four several courts encompassed with cloisters round about, every one of which had by our law a peculiar degree of separation from the rest. Into the first court every body was allowed to go, even foreigners, and none but women, during their courses, were prohibited to pass through it; all the Jews went into the second court, as well as their wives, when they were free from all uncleanness; into the third court went in the Jewish men, when they were clean and purified; into the fourth went the priests, having on their sacerdotal garments; but for the most sacred place, none went in but the high priests, clothed in their peculiar garments. Now there is so great caution used about these offices of religion, that the priests are appointed to go into the temple but at certain hours; for in the morning, at the opening of the inner temple, those that are to officiate receive the sacrifices, as they do again at noon, till the doors are shut. Lastly, it is not so much as lawful to carry any vessel into the holy house; nor is there any thing therein, but the altar [of incense], the table [of

shew-bread], the censer, and the candlestick, which are all written in the law; for there is nothing further there, nor are there any mysteries performed that may not be spoken of; nor is there any feasting within the place. For what I have now said is publicly known, and supported by the testimony of the whole people, and their operations are very manifest; for although there be four courses of the priests, and every one of them have above five thousand men in them, yet do they officiate on certain days only; and when those days are over, other priests succeed in the performance of their sacrifices, and assemble together at mid-day, and receive the keys of the temple, and the vessels by tale, without any thing relating to food or drink being carried into the temple; nay, we are not allowed to offer such things at the altar, excepting what is prepared for the sacrifices.

IX

[109] talia namque etiam ad altare offerre prohibitum est praeter illa, quae ad sacrificia praeparantur. quid ergo Apionem esse dicimus nisi nihil horum examinantem uerba incredula protulisse? sed turpe est; historiae enim ueram notitiam se proferre grammaticus non promisit. [110] et sciens templi nostri pietatem hanc quidem praetermisit, hominis autem Graeci compraehensionem finxit et pabulum ineffabile et ciborum opulentissimam claritatem et seruos ingredientes ubi nec nobilissimos Iudaeorum licet intrare, nisi fuerint sacerdotes. [111] hoc ergo pessima est impietas atque mendacium spontaneum ad eorum seductionem, qui noluerint discutere ueritatem. per ea siquidem mala et ineffabilia, quae praedicta sunt, nobis detrahere temptauerunt.

9. What then can we say of Apion, but that he examined nothing that concerned these things, while still he uttered incredible words about them? but it is a great shame for a grammarian not to be able to write true history. Now if he knew the purity of our temple, he hath entirely omitted to take notice of it; but he forges a story about the seizing of a Grecian, about ineffable food, and the most delicious preparation of dainties; and pretends that strangers could go into a place whereinto the noblest men among the Jews are not allowed to enter, unless they be priests. This, therefore, is the utmost degree of impiety, and a voluntary lie, in order to the delusion of those who will not examine into the truth of matters; whereas such unspeakable mischiefs as are above related have been occasioned by such calumnies that are raised upon us.

X

[112] Rursumque tamquam piissimus deridet adiciens fabulae suae Mnaseam. ait enim illum retulisse, dum bellum Iudaei contra Iudaeos haberent longo quodam tempore in aliqua ciuitate Iudaeorum, qui Dorii nominantur, quendam eorum qui in ea Apollinem colebat uenisse ad Iudaeos, cuius hominis nomen dicit Zabidon deinde qui eis promisisset traditurum se eis Apollinem deum Doriensium uenturumque illum ad nostrum templum, si omnes abscederent. [113] et credidisse omnem multitudinem Iudaeorum; Zabidon uero fecisse quoddam machinamentum ligneum et circumposuisse sibi et in eo tres ordines infixisse lucernarum et ita ambulasse, ut procul stantibus appareret, quasi stellae per terram [114] τὴν πορείαν ποιουμένων, τοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους ὑπὸ τοῦ παραδόξου τῆς θέας καταπεπληγμένους πόρρω μένοντας ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, τὸν δὲ Ζάβιδον ἐπὶ πολλῆς ἡσυχίας εἰς τὸν ναὸν παρελθεῖν καὶ τὴν χρυσῆν ἀποσῦραι τοῦ κάνθωνος κεφαλήν, οὕτω γὰρ ἀστει¨ζόμενος [115] γέγραφεν, καὶ πάλιν εἰς Δῶρα τὸ τάχος ἀπελθεῖν. ἆρα οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἂν εἴποιμεν, ὅτι τὸν κάνθωνα τουτέστιν ἑαυτὸν Ἀπίων ἐπιφορτίζει καὶ ποιεῖ τῆς μωρολογίας ἅμα καὶ τῶν ψευσμάτων κατάγομον; καὶ γὰρ τόπους οὐκ ὄντας γράφει καὶ πόλεις οὐκ εἰδὼς μετατίθησιν. [116] ἡ μὲν γὰρ Ἰδουμαία τῆς ἡμετέρας χώρας ἐστὶν ὅμορος κατὰ Γάζαν κειμένη, καὶ Δῶρα ταύτης ἐστὶν οὐδεμία πόλις, τῆς μέντοι Φοινίκης παρὰ τὸ Καρμήλιον ὄρος Δῶρα πόλις ὀνομάζεται μηδὲν ἐπικοινωνοῦσα τοῖς Ἀπίωνος φλυαρήμασι: τεσσάρων γὰρ [117] ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀφέστηκεν. τί δ' ἡμῶν ἔτι κατηγορεῖ τὸ μὴ κοινοὺς ἔχειν τοῖς ἄλλοις θεούς, εἰ ῥᾳδίως οὕτως ἐπείσθησαν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἥξειν τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄστρων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ᾠήθησαν ὁρᾶν αὐτὸν περιπατοῦντα; [118] λύχνον γὰρ οὐδέπω δῆλον ὅτι πρόσθεν ἑωράκασιν οἱ τὰς τοσαύτας καὶ τηλικαύτας λυχνοκαί¨ας ἐπιτελοῦντες, ἀλλ' οὐδέ τις αὐτῷ βαδίζοντι κατὰ τὴν χώραν τῶν τοσούτων μυριάδων ὑπήντησεν, ἔρημα δὲ καὶ τὰ τείχη φυλάκων εὗρε πολέμου συνεστηκότος, ἐῶ τἄλλα. [119] τοῦ ναοῦ δ' αἱ θύραι τὸ μὲν ὕψος ἦσαν ἑξήκοντα πηχῶν, εἴκοσι δὲ τὸ πλάτος, κατάχρυσοι δὲ πᾶσαι καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν σφυρήλατοι: ταύτας ἔκλειον οὐκ ἐλάττους ὄντες ἄνδρες διακόσιοι καθ' ἑκάστην [120] ἡμέραν καὶ τὸ καταλιπεῖν ἠνοιγμένας ἦν ἀθέμιτον. ῥᾳδίως οὖν αὐτὰς ὁ λυχνοφόρος ἐκεῖνος ἀνοίξειν οἰόμενος καὶ τὴν τοῦ κάνθωνος ὡς ᾤετο κεφαλὴν ἔχων. πότερον οὖν αὐτὴν πάλιν ὡς ἡμᾶς ἀνέστρεψεν ἢ λαβὼν ἀπιὼν αὐτὴν εἰσεκόμισεν, ἵνα Ἀντίοχος εὕρῃ

10. Nay, this miracle or piety derides us further, and adds the following pretended facts to his former fable; for he says that this man related how, "while the Jews were once in a long war with the Idumeans, there came a man out of one of the cities of the Idumeans, who there had worshipped Apollo. This man, whose name is said to have been Zabidus, came to the Jews, and promised that he

would deliver Apollo, the god of Dora, into their hands, and that he would come to our temple, if they would all come up with him, and bring the whole multitude of the Jews with them; that Zabidus made him a certain wooden instrument, and put it round about him, and set three rows of lamps therein, and walked after such a manner, that he appeared to those that stood a great way off him to be a kind of star, walking upon the earth; that the Jews were terribly affrighted at so surprising an appearance, and stood very quiet at a distance; and that Zabidus, while they continued so very quiet, went into the holy house, and carried off that golden head of an ass, [for so facetiously does he write,] and then went his way back again to Dora in great haste." And say you so, sir! as I may reply; then does Apion load the ass, that is, himself, and lays on him a burden of fooleries and lies; for he writes of places that have no being, and not knowing the cities he speaks of, he changes their situation; for Idumea borders upon our country, and is near to Gaza, in which there is no such city as Dora; although there be, it is true, a city named Dora in Phoenicia, near Mount Carmel, but it is four days' journey from Idumea. Now, then, why does this man accuse us, because we have not gods in common with other nations, if our fathers were so easily prevailed upon to have Apollo come to them, and thought they saw him walking upon the earth, and the stars with him? for certainly those who have so many festivals, wherein they light lamps, must yet, at this rate, have never seen a candlestick! But still it seems that while Zabidus took his journey over the country, where were so many ten thousands of people, nobody met him. He also, it seems, even in a time of war, found the walls of Jerusalem destitute of guards. I omit the rest. Now the doors of the holy house were seventy cubits high, and twenty cubits broad; they were all plated over with gold, and almost of solid gold itself, and there were no fewer than twenty men required to shut them every day; nor was it lawful ever to leave them open, though it seems this lamp-bearer of ours opened them easily, or thought he opened them, as he thought he had the ass's head in his hand. Whether, therefore, he returned it to us again, or whether Apion took it, and brought it into the temple again, that Antiochus might find it, and afford a handle for a second fable of Apion's, is uncertain.

XI

[121] πρὸς δευτέραν Ἀπίωνι μυθολογίαν καταψεύσασθαί τινα καὶ ὅρκον ἡμῶν ὡς ὀμνυόντων τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν μηδενὶ εὐνοήσειν ἀλλοφύλῳ, μάλιστα [122] δὲ Ἕλλησιν. ἔδει δὲ καταψευδόμενον ἅπαξ εἰπεῖν μηδενὶ εὐνοήσειν ἀλλοφύλῳ, μάλιστα δ' Αἰγυπτίοις: οὕτως γὰρ ἂν τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ πλάσμασιν ἥρμοττεν τὰ περὶ τὸν ὅρκον, εἴπερ ἦσαν ὑπὸ

Αἰγυπτίων τῶν συγγενῶν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν οὐχὶ διὰ πονηρίαν [123] ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς ἐξεληλαμένοι. τῶν Ἑλλήνων δὲ πλέον τοῖς τόποις ἢ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἀφεστήκαμεν, ὥστε μηδεμίαν ἡμῖν εἶναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχθραν μηδὲ ζηλοτυπίαν. τοὐναντίον μέντοι πολλοὶ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν εἰς τοὺς ἡμετέρους νόμους συνέβησαν εἰσελθεῖν, καί τινες μὲν ἐνέμειναν, εἰσὶ δ᾽ οἳ τὴν καρτερίαν οὐχ ὑπομείναντες πάλιν ἀπέστησαν. [124] καὶ τούτων οὐδεὶς πώποτε τὸν ὅρκον εἶπεν ἀκοῦσαι παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ὀμωμοσμένον, ἀλλὰ μόνος Ἀπίων, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἤκουσεν: αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ συνθεὶς αὐτὸν ἦν.

11. Apion also tells a false story, when he mentions an oath of ours, as if we "swore by God, the Maker of the heaven, and earth, and sea, to bear no good will to any foreigner, and particularly to none of the Greeks." Now this liar ought to have said directly that, "we would bear no good-will to any foreigner, and particularly to none of the Egyptians." For then his story about the oath would have squared with the rest of his original forgeries, in case our forefathers had been driven away by their kinsmen, the Egyptians, not on account of any wickedness they had been guilty of, but on account of the calamities they were under; for as to the Grecians, we were rather remote from them in place, than different from them in our institutions, insomuch that we have no enmity with them, nor any jealousy of them. On the contrary, it hath so happened that many of them have come over to our laws, and some of them have continued in their observation, although others of them had not courage enough to persevere, and so departed from them again; nor did any body ever hear this oath sworn by us: Apion, it seems, was the only person that heard it, for he indeed was the first composer of it.

XII

[125] Σφόδρα τοίνυν τῆς πολλῆς συνέσεως καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλοντι ῥηθήσεσθαι θαυμάζειν ἄξιόν ἐστιν Ἀπίωνα: τεκμήριον γὰρ εἶναί φησιν τοῦ μήτε νόμοις ἡμᾶς χρῆσθαι δικαίοις μήτε τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβεῖν ὡς προσῆκεν, δουλεύειν δὲ μᾶλλον ἔθνεσιν [καὶ] ἄλλοτε ἄλλοις καὶ τὸ κεχρῆσθαι συμφοραῖς τισι περὶ τὴν πόλιν, αὐτοὶ δῆλον ὅτι πόλεως ἡγεμονικωτάτης Ῥωμαίοις ἐκ τῶν ἄνωθεν ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ [126] δουλεύειν συνειθισμένων: καίτοι τούτων ἄν τις ἀπόσχοιτο τοιαύτης μεγαλοψυχίας. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ἀνθρώπων οὐχ ἱκανῶς καθ᾽ αὐτοῦ φαίη τοῦτον ὑπ᾽ Ἀπίωνος λελέχθαι [127] τὸν λόγον: ὀλίγοις μὲν γὰρ ὑπῆρξεν ἐφ᾽ ἡγεμονίας διακαιροπτίας γενέσθαι, καὶ τούτους αἱ μεταβολαὶ πάλιν ἄλλοις δουλεύειν ὑπέζευξαν, [128] τὸ πλεῖστον δὲ φῦλον ἄλλων ὑπακήκοεν πολλάκις. Αἰγύπτιοι δ᾽ ἄρα μόνοι διὰ τὸ καταφυγεῖν, ὥς φασιν, εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ σωθῆναι μεταβάλλοντας εἰς μορφὰς θηρίων ἐξαίρετον

γέρας εὕροντο τὸ μηδενὶ δουλεῦσαι τῶν τῆς Ἀσίας ἢ τῆς Εὐρώπης κρατησάντων, οἱ μίαν ἡμέραν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος ἐλευθερίας [129] οὐ τυχόντες ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ παρὰ τῶν οἰκοδεσποτῶν. ὄντινα μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐχρήσαντο Πέρσαι τρόπον οὐχ ἅπαξ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις πορθοῦντες τὰς πόλεις ἱερὰ κατασκάπτοντες τοὺς παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς [130] νομιζομένους θεοὺς κατασφάζοντες, οὐκ ἂν ὀνειδίσαιμι: μιμεῖσθαι γὰρ οὐ προσῆκεν τὴν Ἀπίωνος ἀπαιδευσίαν, ὃς οὔτε τὰς Ἀθηναίων τύχας οὔτε τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων ἐνενόησεν, ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἀνδρειοτάτους [131] εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ εὐσεβεστάτους τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἅπαντες λέγουσιν. ἐῶ βασιλέας τοὺς ἐπ᾽ εὐσεβείᾳ διαβοηθέντας [ὧν ἕνα Κροῖσον], οἵαις ἐχρήσαντο συμφοραῖς βίου: ἐῶ τὴν καταπρησθεῖσαν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν, τὸν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ναόν, τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς, ἄλλους μυρίους, καὶ οὐδεὶς ὠνείδισεν ταῦτα τοῖς παθοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς δράσασιν. [132] καινὸς δὲ κατήγορος ἡμῶν Ἀπίων ηὑρέθη τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοῦ περὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον κακῶν ἐκλαθόμενος, ἀλλὰ Σέσωστρις αὐτὸν ὁ μυθευόμενος Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἐτύφλωσεν: ἡμεῖς δὲ τοὺς ἡμετέρους οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμεν βασιλέας Δαυίδην καὶ Σολομῶνα πολλὰ χειρωσαμένους ἔθνη. [133] τούτους μὲν οὖν παραλίπωμεν: τὰ δὲ γνώριμα πᾶσιν Ἀπίων ἠγνόηκεν, ὅτι Περσῶν καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκείνους ἡγουμένων τῆς Ἀσίας Μακεδόνων Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν ἐδούλευον ἀνδραπόδων οὐδὲν διαφέροντες, [134] ἡμεῖς δὲ ὄντες ἐλεύθεροι προσέτι καὶ τῶν πέριξ πόλεων ἤρχομεν ἔτη σχεδὸν εἴκοσί που καὶ ρ μέχρι Μάγνου Πομπηίου, καὶ πάντων ἐκπολεμηθέντων πρὸς Ῥωμαίων τῶν πανταχοῦ βασιλέων μόνοι διὰ πίστιν οἱ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν σύμμαχοι καὶ φίλοι διεφυλάχθησαν.

12. However, Apion deserves to be admired for his great prudence, as to what I am going to say, which is this, “That there is a plain mark among us, that we neither have just laws, nor worship God as we ought to do, because we are not governors, but are rather in subjection to Gentiles, sometimes to one nation, and sometimes to another; and that our city hath been liable to several calamities, while their city [Alexandria] hath been of old time an imperial city, and not used to be in subjection to the Romans.” But now this man had better leave off this bragging, for every body but himself would think that Apion said what he hath said against himself; for there are very few nations that have had the good fortune to continue many generations in the principality, but still the mutations in human affairs have put them into subjection under others; and most nations have been often subdued, and brought into subjection by others. Now for the Egyptians, perhaps they are the only nation that have had this extraordinary privilege, to have never served any of those monarchs who subdued Asia and Europe, and this on account, as they pretend, that the gods fled into their country, and saved themselves by being changed into the shapes of wild beasts!

Whereas these Egyptians are the very people that appear to have never, in all the past ages, had one day of freedom, no, not so much as from their own lords. For I will not reproach them with relating the manner how the Persians used them, and this not once only, but many times, when they laid their cities waste, demolished their temples, and cut the throats of those animals whom they esteemed to be gods; for it is not reasonable to imitate the clownish ignorance of Apion, who hath no regard to the misfortunes of the Athenians, or of the Lacedemonians, the latter of whom were styled by all men the most courageous, and the former the most religious of the Grecians. I say nothing of such kings as have been famous for piety, particularly of one of them, whose name was Cresus, nor what calamities he met with in his life; I say nothing of the citadel of Athens, of the temple at Ephesus, of that at Delphi, nor of ten thousand others which have been burnt down, while nobody cast reproaches on those that were the sufferers, but on those that were the actors therein. But now we have met with Apion, an accuser of our nation, though one that still forgets the miseries of his own people, the Egyptians; but it is that Sesostris who was once so celebrated a king of Egypt that hath blinded him. Now we will not brag of our kings, David and Solomon, though they conquered many nations; accordingly we will let them alone. However, Apion is ignorant of what every body knows, that the Egyptians were servants to the Persians, and afterwards to the Macedonians, when they were lords of Asia, and were no better than slaves, while we have enjoyed liberty formerly; nay, more than that, have had the dominion of the cities that lie round about us, and this nearly for a hundred and twenty years together, until Pompeius Magnus. And when all the kings every where were conquered by the Romans, our ancestors were the only people who continued to be esteemed their confederates and friends, on account of their fidelity to them.

XIII

[135] Ἀλλὰ θαυμαστοὺς ἄνδρας οὐ παρεσχήκαμεν οἷον τεχνῶν τινων εὑρετὰς ἢ σοφίᾳ διαφέροντας. καὶ καταριθμεῖ Σωκράτην καὶ Ζήνωνα καὶ Κλεάνθην καὶ τοιούτους τινάς. εἶτα τὸ θαυμασιώτατον τοῖς εἰρημένοις αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν προστίθησι καὶ μακαρίζει [136] τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἔχει πολίτην: ἔδει γὰρ αὐτῷ μάρτυρος ἑαυτοῦ: τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ὀχλαγωγὸς ἐδόκει πονηρὸς εἶναι καὶ τῷ βίῳ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ διεφθαρμένος, ὥστε εἰκότως ἐλεήσαι τις ἂν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, εἴπερ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέγα ἐφρόνει. περὶ δὲ τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἀνδρῶν γεγονότων οὐδενὸς ἧττον ἐπαίνου τυγχάνειν ἀξίων ἴσασιν οἱ ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἀρχαιολογίαις ἐντυγχάνοντες.

13. "But," says Apion, "we Jews have not had any wonderful men amongst us, not any inventors of arts, nor any eminent for wisdom." He then enumerates Socrates, and Zeno, and Cleanthes, and some others of the same sort; and, after all, he adds himself to them, which is the most wonderful thing of all that he says, and pronounces Alexandria to be happy, because it hath such a citizen as he is in it; for he was the fittest man to be a witness to his own deserts, although he hath appeared to all others no better than a wicked mountebank, of a corrupt life and ill discourses; on which account one may justly pity Alexandria, if it should value itself upon such a citizen as he is. But as to our own men, we have had those who have been as deserving of commendation as any other whosoever, and such as have perused our Antiquities cannot be ignorant of them.

XIV

[137] Τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ κατηγορίᾳ γεγραμμένων ἄξιον ἦν ἴσως ἀναπολόγητα παραλιπεῖν, ἵν' αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων ᾖ ὁ κατηγορῶν: ἐγκαλεῖ γὰρ, ὅτι ζῷα θύομεν καὶ χοῖρον [138] οὐκ ἐσθίομεν καὶ τὴν τῶν αἰδοίων χλευάζει περιτομήν. τὸ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς τῶν ἡμέρων ζῴων ἀναιρέσεως κοινόν ἐστι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ἅπαντας, Ἀπίων δὲ τοῖς θύουσιν ἐγκαλῶν αὐτὸν ἐξήλεγξεν ὄντα τὸ γένος Αἰγύπτιον: οὐ γὰρ ἂν Ἕλλην ὢν ἢ Μακεδὼν ἐχαλέπαινεν: οὗτοι γὰρ εὔχονται θύειν ἑκατόμβας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ χρῶνται τοῖς ἱερείοις πρὸς εὐωχίαν, καὶ οὐ διὰ τοῦτο συμβέβηκεν ἐρημοῦσθαι τὸν κόσμον τῶν βοσκημάτων, ὅπερ Ἀπίων ἔδεισεν. [139] εἰ μέντοι τοῖς Αἰγυπτίων ἔθεσιν ἠκολούθουν ἅπαντες, ἠρήμωτο μὲν ἂν ὁ κόσμος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τῶν ἀγριωτάτων δὲ θηρίων ἐπληθύνθη, ἃ θεοὺς οὗτοι νομίζοντες ἐπιμελῶς ἐκτρέφουσιν. [140] καὶ μὴν εἴ τις αὐτὸν ἤρετο, τῶν πάντων Αἰγυπτίων τίνας εἶναι καὶ σοφωτάτους καὶ θεοσεβεῖς νομίζει, πάντως ἂν ὡμολόγησε [141] τοὺς ἱερεῖς: δύο γὰρ αὐτούς φασιν ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταῦτα προστετάχθαι, τὴν τῶν θεῶν θεραπείαν καὶ τῆς σοφίας τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν. ἐκεῖνοι τοίνυν ἅπαντες καὶ περιτέμνονται καὶ χοιρείων ἀπέχονται βρωμάτων, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων [142] οὐδὲ εἷς ὗν θύει τοῖς θεοῖς. ἆρ' οὖν τυφλὸς ἦν τὸν νοῦν Ἀπίων ὑπὲρ Αἰγυπτίων ἡμῖν λοιδορεῖν συνθέμενος, ἐκείνων δὲ κατηγορῶν, οἵ γε μὴ μόνον χρῶνται τοῖς ὑπὸ τούτου λοιδορουμένοις ἔθεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδίδαξαν περιτέμνεσθαι, καθάπερ εἴρηκεν Ἡρόδοτος; [143] ὅθεν εἰκότως μοι δοκεῖ τῆς εἰς τοὺς πατρίους αὐτοῦ νόμους βλασφημίας δοῦναι δίκην Ἀπίων τὴν πρέπουσαν: περιετμήθη γὰρ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἑλκώσεως αὐτῷ περὶ τὸ αἰδοῖον γενομένης. καὶ μηδὲν ὠφεληθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς περιτομῆς ἀλλὰ σηπόμενος ἐν δειναῖς ὀδύναις ἀπέθανεν. [144] δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς εὖ φρονοῦντας τοῖς μὲν οἰκείοις νόμοις περὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἀκριβῶς ἐμμένειν, τοὺς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων μὴ λοιδορεῖν: ὁ δὲ τούτους

μὲν ἔφυγεν, τῶν ἡμετέρων δὲ κατεψεύσατο. τοῦτο μὲν Ἀπίωνι τοῦ βίου τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο καὶ τοῦτο [παρ'] ἡμῶν ἐνταῦθα τὸ πέρας ἔστω τοῦ λόγου.

14. As to the other things which he sets down as blameworthy, it may perhaps be the best way to let them pass without apology, that he may be allowed to be his own accuser, and the accuser of the rest of the Egyptians. However, he accuses us for sacrificing animals, and for abstaining from swine's flesh, and laughs at us for the circumcision of our privy members. Now as for our slaughter of tame animals for sacrifices, it is common to us and to all other men; but this Apion, by making it a crime to sacrifice them, demonstrates himself to be an Egyptian; for had he been either a Grecian or a Macedonian, [as he pretends to be,] he had not shown any uneasiness at it; for those people glory in sacrificing whole hecatombs to the gods, and make use of those sacrifices for feasting; and yet is not the world thereby rendered destitute of cattle, as Apion was afraid would come to pass. Yet if all men had followed the manners of the Egyptians, the world had certainly been made desolate as to mankind, but had been filled full of the wildest sort of brute beasts, which, because they suppose them to be gods, they carefully nourish. However, if any one should ask Apion which of the Egyptians he thinks to be the most wise and most pious of them all, he would certainly acknowledge the priests to be so; for the histories say that two things were originally committed to their care by their kings' injunctions, the worship of the gods, and the support of wisdom and philosophy. Accordingly, these priests are all circumcised, and abstain from swine's flesh; nor does any one of the other Egyptians assist them in slaying those sacrifices they offer to the gods. Apion was therefore quite blinded in his mind, when, for the sake of the Egyptians, he contrived to reproach us, and to accuse such others as not only make use of that conduct of life which he so much abuses, but have also taught other men to be circumcised, as says Herodotus; which makes me think that Apion is hereby justly punished for his casting such reproaches on the laws of his own country; for he was circumcised himself of necessity, on account of an ulcer in his privy member; and when he received no benefit by such circumcision, but his member became putrid, he died in great torment. Now men of good tempers ought to observe their own laws concerning religion accurately, and to persevere therein, but not presently to abuse the laws of other nations, while this Apion deserted his own laws, and told lies about ours. And this was the end of Apion's life, and this shall be the conclusion of our discourse about him.

XV

[145] Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Μόλων καὶ Λυσίμαχος καί τινες ἄλλοι τὰ μὲν ὑπ᾽ ἀγνοίας, τὸ πλεῖστον δὲ κατὰ δυσμένειαν περί τε τοῦ νομοθετήσαντος ἡμῖν Μωσέως καὶ περὶ τῶν νόμων πεποίηνται λόγους οὔτε δικαίους οὔτε ἀληθεῖς, τὸν μὲν ὡς γόητα καὶ ἀπατεῶνα διαβάλλοντες, τοὺς νόμους δὲ κακίας ἡμῖν καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς ἀρετῆς φάσκοντες εἶναι διδασκάλους, βούλομαι συντόμως καὶ περὶ τῆς ὅλης ἡμῶν καταστάσεως τοῦ πολιτεύματος καὶ περὶ τῶν [146] κατὰ μέρος ὡς ἂν ᾖ δυνατὸς εἰπεῖν. οἶμαι γὰρ ἔσεσθαι φανερόν, ὅτι καὶ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν καὶ πρὸς κοινωνίαν τὴν μετ᾽ ἀλλήλων καὶ πρὸς τὴν καθόλου φιλανθρωπίαν ἔτι δὲ πρὸς δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πόνοις καρτερίαν καὶ θανάτου περιφρόνησιν ἄριστα κειμένους [147] ἔχομεν τοὺς νόμους. παρακαλῶ δὲ τοὺς ἐντευξομένους τῇ γραφῇ μὴ μετὰ φθόνου ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν: οὐ γὰρ ἐγκώμιον ἡμῶν αὐτῶν προειλόμην συγγράφειν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ καὶ ψευδῆ κατηγορουμένοις ἡμῖν ταύτην ἀπολογίαν δικαιοτάτην εἶναι νομίζω τὴν [148] ἀπὸ τῶν νόμων, καθ᾽ οὓς ζῶντες διατελοῦμεν. ἄλλως τε καὶ τὴν κατηγορίαν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος οὐκ ἀθρόαν ὥσπερ ὁ Ἀπίων ἔταξεν, ἀλλὰ σποράδην, καὶ δὴ εἴπας ποτὲ μὲν ὡς ἀθέους καὶ μισανθρώπους λοιδορεῖ, ποτὲ δ᾽ αὖ δειλίαν ἡμῖν ὀνειδίζει καὶ τοὔμπαλιν ἔστιν ὅπου τόλμαν κατηγορεῖ καὶ ἀπόνοιαν. λέγει δὲ καὶ ἀφυεστάτους εἶναι τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μηδὲν εἰς τὸν βίον εὕρημα συμβεβλῆσθαι μόνους. [149] ταῦτα δὲ πάντα διελεγχθήσεσθαι νομίζω σαφῶς, εἰ τἀναντία τῶν εἰρημένων φανείη καὶ διὰ τῶν νόμων ἡμῖν προστεταγμένα καὶ πραττόμενα μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν. [150] εἰ δ᾽ ἄρα βιασθείην μνησθῆναι τῶν παρ᾽ ἑτέροις ὑπεναντίως νενομισμένων, τούτου δίκαιοι τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχειν εἰσὶν οἱ τὰ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ὡς χείρω παραβάλλειν ἀξιοῦντες: οἷς οὐδέτερον ἀπολειφθήσεσθαι νομίζω λέγειν, οὔθ᾽ ὡς οὐχὶ τούτους ἔχομεν τοὺς νόμους, ὧν ἐγὼ παραθήσομαι τοὺς κεφαλαιωδεστάτους, οὔθ᾽ ὡς οὐχὶ μάλιστα πάντων ἐμμένομεν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν νόμοις.

15. But now, since Apollonius Molo, and Lysimachus, and some others, write treatises about our lawgiver Moses, and about our laws, which are neither just nor true, and this partly out of ignorance, but chiefly out of ill-will to us, while they calumniate Moses as an impostor and deceiver, and pretend that our laws teach us wickedness, but nothing that is virtuous, I have a mind to discourse briefly, according to my ability, about our whole constitution of government, and about the particular branches of it. For I suppose it will thence become evident, that the laws we have given us are disposed after the best manner for the advancement of piety, for mutual communion with one another, for a general love of mankind, as also for justice, and for sustaining labors with fortitude, and for a contempt of death. And I beg of those that shall peruse this writing of mine, to read it without partiality; for it is not my purpose to write an encomium upon

ourselves, but I shall esteem this as a most just apology for us, and taken from those our laws, according to which we lead our lives, against the many and the lying objections that have been made against us. Moreover, since this Apollonius does not do like Apion, and lay a continued accusation against us, but does it only by starts, and up and clown his discourse, while he sometimes reproaches us as atheists, and man-haters, and sometimes hits us in the teeth with our want of courage, and yet sometimes, on the contrary, accuses us of too great boldness and madness in our conduct; nay, he says that we are the weakest of all the barbarians, and that this is the reason why we are the only people who have made no improvements in human life; now I think I shall have then sufficiently disproved all these his allegations, when it shall appear that our laws enjoin the very reverse of what he says, and that we very carefully observe those laws ourselves. And if I he compelled to make mention of the laws of other nations, that are contrary to ours, those ought deservedly to thank themselves for it, who have pretended to depreciate our laws in comparison of their own; nor will there, I think, be any room after that for them to pretend either that we have no such laws ourselves, an epitome of which I will present to the reader, or that we do not, above all men, continue in the observation of them.

XVI

[151] Μικρὸν οὖν ἀναλαβὼν τὸν λόγον τοῦτ᾽ ἂν εἴποιμι πρῶτον, ὅτι τῶν ἀνόμως καὶ ἀτάκτως βιούντων οἱ τάξεως καὶ νόμου κοινωνίας ἐπιθυμηταὶ γενόμενοι καὶ πρῶτοι κατάρξαντες εἰκότως [152] ἂν ἡμερότητι καὶ φύσεως ἀρετῇ διενεγκεῖν μαρτυρηθεῖεν. ἀμέλει πειρῶνται τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἕκαστοι πρὸς τὸ ἀρχαιότατον ἀνάγειν, ἵνα μὴ μιμεῖσθαι δόξωσιν ἑτέρους, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοὶ τοῦ ζῆν νομίμως ἄλλοις ὑφηγήσασθαι. [153] τούτων δὲ τοῦτον ἐχόντων τὸν τρόπον ἀρετὴ μέν ἐστι νομοθέτου τὰ βέλτιστα συνιδεῖν καὶ πεῖσαι τοὺς χρησομένους περὶ τῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τιθεμένων, πλήθους δὲ τὸ πᾶσι τοῖς δόξασιν ἐμμεῖναι καὶ μήτε εὐτυχίαις μήτε συμφοραῖς αὐτῶν μηδὲν μεταβάλλειν. [154] φημὶ τοίνυν τὸν ἡμέτερον νομοθέτην τῶν ὁπουδηποτοῦν μνημονευομένων νομοθετῶν προάγειν ἀρχαιότητι: Λυκοῦργοι γὰρ καὶ Σόλωνες καὶ Ζάλευκος ὁ τῶν Λοκρῶν καὶ πάντες οἱ θαυμαζόμενοι παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐχθὲς δὴ καὶ πρῴην ὡς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον παραβαλλόμενοι φαίνονται γεγονότες, ὅπου γε μηδ᾽ αὐτὸ τοὔνομα [155] πάλαι ἐγιγνώσκετο τοῦ νόμου παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι. καὶ μάρτυς Ὅμηρος οὐδαμοῦ τῆς ποιήσεως αὐτῷ χρησάμενος: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν κατὰ τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ γνώμαις ἀορίστοις τὰ πλήθη διῳκεῖτο καὶ προστάγμασι τῶν βασιλέων, ἀφ᾽ οὗ καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διέμειναν ἔθεσιν ἀγράφοις χρώμενοι καὶ πολλὰ τούτων ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ συντυγχάνον μετατιθέντες. [156] ὁ δ᾽ ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης ἀρχαιότατος γεγονώς, τοῦτο γὰρ

δήπουθεν ὁμολογεῖται καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πάντα καθ᾽ ἡμῶν λέγουσιν, ἑαυτόν τε παρέσχεν ἄριστον τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἡγεμόνα καὶ σύμβουλον τήν τε κατασκευὴν αὐτοῖς ὅλην τοῦ βίου τῷ νόμῳ περιλαβὼν ἔπεισεν παραδέξασθαι καὶ βεβαιοτάτην εἰς ἀεὶ φυλαχθῆναι παρεσκεύασεν.

16. To begin then a good way backward, I would advance this, in the first place, that those who have been admirers of good order, and of living under common laws, and who began to introduce them, may well have this testimony that they are better than other men, both for moderation and such virtue as is agreeable to nature. Indeed their endeavor was to have every thing they ordained believed to be very ancient, that they might not be thought to imitate others, but might appear to have delivered a regular way of living to others after them. Since then this is the case, the excellency of a legislator is seen in providing for the people's living after the best manner, and in prevailing with those that are to use the laws he ordains for them, to have a good opinion of them, and in obliging the multitude to persevere in them, and to make no changes in them, neither in prosperity nor adversity. Now I venture to say, that our legislator is the most ancient of all the legislators whom we have ally where heard of; for as for the Lycurguses, and Solons, and Zaleucus Locrensis, and all those legislators who are so admired by the Greeks, they seem to be of yesterday, if compared with our legislator, insomuch as the very name of a law was not so much as known in old times among the Grecians. Homer is a witness to the truth of this observation, who never uses that term in all his poems; for indeed there was then no such thing among them, but the multitude was governed by wise maxims, and by the injunctions of their king. It was also a long time that they continued in the use of these unwritten customs, although they were always changing them upon several occasions. But for our legislator, who was of so much greater antiquity than the rest, [as even those that speak against us upon all occasions do always confess,] he exhibited himself to the people as their best governor and counselor, and included in his legislation the entire conduct of their lives, and prevailed with them to receive it, and brought it so to pass, that those that were made acquainted with his laws did most carefully observe them.

XVII

[157] Ἴδωμεν δὲ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ τὸ πρῶτον μεγαλεῖον: ἐκεῖνος γὰρ τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν, ἐπείπερ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐκλιποῦσιν ἐπὶ τὴν πάτριον γῆν ἐπανιέναι, πολλὰς τὰς μυριάδας παραλαβὼν ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ ἀμηχάνων διέσωσεν εἰς ἀσφάλειαν: καὶ γὰρ τὴν ἄνυδρον αὐτοὺς καὶ πολλὴν ψάμμον ἔδει διοδοιπορῆσαι καὶ νικῆσαι πολεμίους καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ

λείαν ὁμοῦ σώζειν μαχομένους. [158] ἐν οἷς ἅπασι καὶ στρατηγὸς ἄριστος ἐγένετο καὶ σύμβουλος συνετώτατος καὶ πάντων κηδεμὼν ἀληθέστατος. ἅπαν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀνηρτῆσθαι παρεσκεύασεν, καὶ περὶ παντὸς ἔχων πεισθέντας [ἀντὶ τοῦ κελευσθέντος] εἰς οὐδεμίαν οἰκείαν ἔλαβεν ταῦτα πλεονεξίαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα τοῦ καιροῦ δυνάμεις μὲν αὐτοῖς περιβάλλονται καὶ τυραννίδας οἱ προεστηκότες, ἐθίζουσι [159] δὲ τὰ πλήθη μετὰ πολλῆς ζῆν ἀνομίας, ἐν τούτῳ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐκεῖνος καθεστηκὼς τοὐναντίον ᾠήθη δεῖν εὐσεβεῖν καὶ πολλὴν εὔνοιαν τοῖς λαοῖς ἐμπαρασχεῖν, οὕτως αὐτός τε τὰ μάλιστα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιδείξειν τὴν αὐτοῦ νομίζων καὶ σωτηρίαν τοῖς αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνα πεποιημένοις βεβαιοτάτην παρέξειν. [160] καλῆς οὖν αὐτῷ προαιρέσεως καὶ πράξεων μεγάλων ἐπιτυγχανομένων εἰκότως ἐνόμιζεν ἡγεμόνα τε καὶ σύμβουλον θεὸν ἔχειν, καὶ πείσας πρότερον ἑαυτὸν ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου βούλησιν ἅπαντα πράττει καὶ διανοεῖται, ταύτην ᾤετο δεῖν πρὸ παντὸς ἐμποιῆσαι τὴν ὑπόληψιν τοῖς πλήθεσιν: οἱ γὰρ πιστεύσαντες ἐπισκοπεῖν θεὸν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν βίους [161] οὐθὲν ἀνέχονται ἐξαμαρτεῖν. τοιοῦτος μὲν δή τις [αὐτὸς] ἡμῶν ὁ νομοθέτης, οὐ γόης οὐδ᾽ ἀπατεών, ἅπερ λοιδοροῦντες λέγουσιν ἀδίκως, ἀλλ᾽ οἵους παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν αὐχοῦσιν τὸν Μίνω γεγονέναι [162] καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τοὺς ἄλλους νομοθέτας: οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν τοὺς νόμους ὑποτίθενται, ὁ δέ γε Μίνως ἔλεγεν ὅτι εἰς τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ τὸ Δελφικὸν αὐτοῦ μαντεῖον τὰς τῶν νόμων μαντείας ἀνέφερεν, ἤτοι τἀληθὲς οὕτως ἔχειν νομίζοντες ἢ πείσειν ῥᾷον ὑπολαμβάνοντες. [163] τίς δ᾽ ἦν ὁ μάλιστα κατορθώσας τοὺς νόμους καὶ τῆς δικαιοτάτης περὶ θεοῦ πίστεως ἐπιτυχών, πάρεστιν ἐξ αὐτῶν κατανοεῖν τῶν νόμων ἀντιπαραβάλλοντας: ἤδη γὰρ περὶ τούτων λεκτέον. [164] οὐκοῦν ἄπειροι μὲν αἱ κατὰ μέρος τῶν ἐθῶν καὶ τῶν νόμων παρὰ τοῖς ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις διαφοραί, Κεφαλαιωδῶς ἂν ἐπίοι τις: οἱ μὲν γὰρ μοναρχίαις, οἱ δὲ ταῖς ὀλίγων δυναστείαις, ἄλλοι δὲ [165] τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἐπέτρεψαν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῶν πολιτευμάτων. ὁ δ᾽ ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης εἰς μὲν τούτων οὐδοτιοῦν ἀπεῖδεν, ὡς δ᾽ ἄν τις εἴποι βιασάμενος τὸν λόγον θεοκρατίαν ἀπέδειξε τὸ πολίτευμα [166] θεῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ κράτος ἀναθείς. καὶ πείσας εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἅπαντας ἀφορᾶν ὡς αἴτιον μὲν ἁπάντων ὄντα τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἃ κοινῇ τε πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει καὶ ὅσων ἔτυχον αὐτοὶ δεηθέντες ἐν ἀμηχάνοις, λαθεῖν δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην οὐκ ἐνὸν οὔτε τῶν [167] πραττομένων οὐδὲν οὔθ᾽ ὧν ἄν τις παρ᾽ αὐτῷ διανοηθῇ, ἕνα αὐτὸν ἀπέφηνε καὶ ἀγένητον καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀίδιον χρόνον ἀναλλοίωτον πάσης ἰδέας θνητῆς κάλλει διαφέροντα καὶ δυνάμει μὲν ἡμῖν γνώριμον, [168] ὁποῖος δὲ κατ᾽ οὐσίαν [ἐστὶν] ἄγνωστον. ταῦτα περὶ θεοῦ φρονεῖν οἱ σοφώτατοι παρ᾽ Ἕλλησιν ὅτι μὲν ἐδιδάχθησαν ἐκείνου τὰς ἀρχὰς παρασχόντος, ἐῶ νῦν λέγειν, ὅτι δ᾽ ἐστὶ καλὰ καὶ πρέποντα τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ φύσει καὶ μεγαλειότητι, σφόδρα μεμαρτυρήκασι: καὶ γὰρ Πυθαγόρας καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας καὶ Πλάτων οἵ τε μετ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς φιλόσοφοι καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν ἅπαντες οὕτως [169] φαίνονται περὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ φύσεως πεφρονηκότες. ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν πρὸς

ὀλίγους φιλοσοφοῦντες εἰς πλήθη δόξαις προκατειλημμένα τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ δόγματος ἐξενεγκεῖν οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν, ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης ἅτε δὴ τὰ ἔργα παρέχων σύμφωνα τοῖς λόγοις οὐ μόνον τοὺς καθ᾽ αὑτὸν ἔπεισεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἐκείνων ἀεὶ γενησομένοις [170] τὴν περὶ θεοῦ πίστιν ἐνέφυσεν ἀμετακίνητον. αἴτιον δ᾽ ὅτι καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς νομοθεσίας πρὸς τὸ χρήσιμον πάντων ἀεὶ πολὺ διήνεγκεν: οὐ γὰρ μέρος ἀρετῆς ἐποίησεν τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ἀλλὰ ταύτης μέρη τἆλλα, λέγω δὲ τὴν δικαιοσύνην τὴν σωφροσύνην τὴν καρτερίαν τὴν τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐν ἅπασι συμφωνίαν: [171] ἅπασαι γὰρ αἱ πράξεις καὶ διατριβαὶ καὶ λόγοι πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν ἡμῖν εὐσέβειαν ἀναφέρουσιν: οὐδὲν γὰρ τούτων ἀνεξέταστον οὐδὲ ἀόριστον παρέλιπεν. δύο μὲν γάρ εἰσιν ἁπάσης παιδείας τρόποι καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἤθη κατασκευῆς, ὧν ὁ μὲν λόγῳ [172] διδασκαλικός, ὁ δὲ διὰ τῆς ἀσκήσεως τῶν ἠθῶν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι νομοθέται ταῖς γνώμαις διέστησαν καὶ τὸν ἕτερον αὐτῶν ὃν ἔδοξεν ἑκάστοις ἑλόμενοι τὸν ἕτερον παρέλιπον, οἷον Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν καὶ Κρῆτες ἔθεσιν ἐπαίδευον, οὐ λόγοις, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ σχεδὸν οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες Ἕλληνες ἃ μὲν χρὴ πράττειν ἢ μὴ προσέτασσον διὰ τῶν νόμων, τοῦ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὰ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐθίζειν ὠλιγώρουν.

17. But let us consider his first and greatest work; for when it was resolved on by our forefathers to leave Egypt, and return to their own country, this Moses took the many tell thousands that were of the people, and saved them out of many desperate distresses, and brought them home in safety. And certainly it was here necessary to travel over a country without water, and full of sand, to overcome their enemies, and, during these battles, to preserve their children, and their wives, and their prey; on all which occasions he became an excellent general of an army, and a most prudent counselor, and one that took the truest care of them all; he also so brought it about, that the whole multitude depended upon him. And while he had them always obedient to what he enjoined, he made no manner of use of his authority for his own private advantage, which is the usual time when governors gain great powers to themselves, and pave the way for tyranny, and accustom the multitude to live very dissolutely; whereas, when our legislator was in so great authority, he, on the contrary, thought he ought to have regard to piety, and to show his great good-will to the people; and by this means he thought he might show the great degree of virtue that was in him, and might procure the most lasting security to those who had made him their governor. When he had therefore come to such a good resolution, and had performed such wonderful exploits, we had just reason to look upon ourselves as having him for a divine governor and counselor. And when he had first persuaded himself that his actions and designs were agreeable to God’s will, he thought it his duty to

impress, above all things, that notion upon the multitude; for those who have once believed that God is the inspector of their lives, will not permit themselves in any sin. And this is the character of our legislator: he was no impostor, no deceiver, as his revilers say, though unjustly, but such a one as they brag Minos to have been among the Greeks, and other legislators after him; for some of them suppose that they had their laws from Jupiter, while Minos said that the revelation of his laws was to be referred to Apollo, and his oracle at Delphi, whether they really thought they were so derived, or supposed, however, that they could persuade the people easily that so it was. But which of these it was who made the best laws, and which had the greatest reason to believe that God was their author, it will be easy, upon comparing those laws themselves together, to determine; for it is time that we come to that point. Now there are innumerable differences in the particular customs and laws that are among all mankind, which a man may briefly reduce under the following heads: Some legislators have permitted their governments to be under monarchies, others put them under oligarchies, and others under a republican form; but our legislator had no regard to any of these forms, but he ordained our government to be what, by a strained expression, may be termed a Theocracy, by ascribing the authority and the power to God, and by persuading all the people to have a regard to him, as the author of all the good things that were enjoyed either in common by all mankind, or by each one in particular, and of all that they themselves obtained by praying to him in their greatest difficulties. He informed them that it was impossible to escape God's observation, even in any of our outward actions, or in any of our inward thoughts. Moreover, he represented God as unbegotten, and immutable, through all eternity, superior to all mortal conceptions in pulchritude; and, though known to us by his power, yet unknown to us as to his essence. I do not now explain how these notions of God are the sentiments of the wisest among the Grecians, and how they were taught them upon the principles that he afforded them. However, they testify, with great assurance, that these notions are just, and agreeable to the nature of God, and to his majesty; for Pythagoras, and Anaxagoras, and Plato, and the Stoic philosophers that succeeded them, and almost all the rest, are of the same sentiments, and had the same notions of the nature of God; yet durst not these men disclose those true notions to more than a few, because the body of the people were prejudiced with other opinions beforehand. But our legislator, who made his actions agree to his laws, did not only prevail with those that were his contemporaries to agree with these his notions, but so firmly imprinted this faith in God upon all their posterity, that it never could be removed. The reason why the constitution of this legislation was ever better directed to the utility of all than other legislations

were, is this, that Moses did not make religion a part of virtue, but he saw and he ordained other virtues to be parts of religion; I mean justice, and fortitude, and temperance, and a universal agreement of the members of the community with one another; for all our actions and studies, and all our words, [in Moses's settlement,] have a reference to piety towards God; for he hath left none of these in suspense, or undetermined. For there are two ways of coming at any sort of learning and a moral conduct of life; the one is by instruction in words, the other by practical exercises. Now other lawgivers have separated these two ways in their opinions, and choosing one of those ways of instruction, or that which best pleased every one of them, neglected the other. Thus did the Lacedemonians and the Cretians teach by practical exercises, but not by words; while the Athenians, and almost all the other Grecians, made laws about what was to be done, or left undone, but had no regard to the exercising them thereto in practice.

XVIII

[173] Ὁ δ' ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης ἄμφω ταῦτα συνήρμοσεν κατὰ πολλὴν ἐπιμέλειαν: οὔτε γὰρ κωφὴν ἀπέλιπε τὴν τῶν ἠθῶν ἄσκησιν οὔτε τὸν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου λόγον ἄπρακτον εἴασεν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἀρξάμενος τροφῆς καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν οἶκον ἑκάστων διαίτης οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τῶν βραχυτάτων αὐτεξούσιον ἐπὶ ταῖς βουλήσεσι [174] τῶν χρησομένων κατέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ σιτίων, ὅσων ἀπέχεσθαι χρὴ καὶ τίνα προσφέρεσθαι, καὶ περὶ τῶν κοινωνησόντων τῆς διαίτης ἔργων τε συντονίας καὶ τοὔμπαλιν ἀναπαύσεως ὅρον ἔθηκεν αὐτὸς καὶ κανόνα τὸν νόμον, ἵν' ὥσπερ ὑπὸ πατρὶ τούτῳ καὶ δεσπότῃ ζῶντες μήτε βουλόμενοι μηθὲν μήθ' ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ἁμαρτάνωμεν. [175] οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγνοίας ὑποτίμησιν κατέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κάλλιστον καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον ἀπέδειξε παίδευμα τὸν νόμον, οὐκ εἰσάπαξ ἀκροασομένοις οὐδὲ δὶς ἢ πολλάκις, ἀλλ' ἑκάστης ἑβδομάδος τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων ἀφεμένους ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν ἐκέλευσε τοῦ νόμου συλλέγεσθαι καὶ τοῦτον ἀκριβῶς ἐκμανθάνειν: ὃ δὴ πάντες ἐοίκασιν οἱ νομοθέται παραλιπεῖν.

18. But for our legislator, he very carefully joined these two methods of instruction together; for he neither left these practical exercises to go on without verbal instruction, nor did he permit the hearing of the law to proceed without the exercises for practice; but beginning immediately from the earliest infancy, and the appointment of every one's diet, he left nothing of the very smallest consequence to be done at the pleasure and disposal of the person himself. Accordingly, he made a fixed rule of law what sorts of food they should abstain from, and what sorts they should make use of; as also, what communion they should have with others what great diligence they should use in their

occupations, and what times of rest should be interposed, that, by living under that law as under a father and a master, we might be guilty of no sin, neither voluntary nor out of ignorance; for he did not suffer the guilt of ignorance to go on without punishment, but demonstrated the law to be the best and the most necessary instruction of all others, permitting the people to leave off their other employments, and to assemble together for the hearing of the law, and learning it exactly, and this not once or twice, or oftener, but every week; which thing all the other legislators seem to have neglected.

XIX

[176] Καὶ τοσοῦτον οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπέχουσι τοῦ κατὰ τοὺς οἰκείους νόμους ζῆν, ὥστε σχεδὸν αὐτοὺς οὐδ᾽ ἴσασιν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅταν ἐξαμάρτωσιν, τότε παρ᾽ ἄλλων μανθάνουσιν, ὅτι τὸν [177] νόμον παραβεβήκασιν, οἵ τε τὰς μεγίστας καὶ κυριωτάτας παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀρχὰς διοικοῦντες ὁμολογοῦσι τὴν ἄγνοιαν: ἐπιστάτας γὰρ παρακαθίστανται τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων οἰκονομίας τοὺς ἐμπειρίαν ἔχειν τῶν νόμων ὑπισχνουμένους. [178] ἡμῶν δὲ ὁντινοῦν τις ἔροιτο τοὺς νόμους ῥᾷον ἂν εἴποι πάντας ἢ τοὔνομα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ. τοιγαροῦν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης εὐθὺς αἰσθήσεως αὐτοὺς ἐκμανθάνοντες ἔχομεν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὥσπερ ἐγκεχαραγμένους, καὶ σπάνιος μὲν ὁ παραβαίνων, ἀδύνατος δ᾽ ἡ τῆς κολάσεως παραίτησις.

19. And indeed the greatest part of mankind are so far from living according to their own laws, that they hardly know them; but when they have sinned, they learn from others that they have transgressed the law. Those also who are in the highest and principal posts of the government, confess they are not acquainted with those laws, and are obliged to take such persons for their assessors in public administrations as profess to have skill in those laws; but for our people, if any body do but ask any one of them about our laws, he will more readily tell them all than he will tell his own name, and this in consequence of our having learned them immediately as soon as ever we became sensible of any thing, and of our having them as it were engraven on our souls. Our transgressors of them are but few, and it is impossible, when any do offend, to escape punishment.

XX

[179] Τοῦτο πρῶτον ἁπάντων τὴν θαυμαστὴν ὁμόνοιαν ἡμῖν ἐμπεποίηκεν: τὸ γὰρ μίαν μὲν ἔχειν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν δόξαν περὶ θεοῦ, τῷ βίῳ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσι μηδὲν ἀλλήλων διαφέρειν, καλλίστην ἐν ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις συμφωνίαν ἀποτελεῖ. [180] παρ᾽ ἡμῖν γὰρ μόνοις οὔτε περὶ θεοῦ λόγους ἀκούσεταί τις ἀλλήλοις ὑπεναντίους, ὁποῖα πολλὰ παρ᾽ ἑτέροις οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων μόνον κατὰ τὸ

προσπεσὸν ἑκάστῳ λέγεται πάθος, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρά τισι τῶν φιλοσόφων ἀποτετόλμηται, τῶν μὲν τὴν ὅλην τοῦ θεοῦ φύσιν ἀναιρεῖν τοῖς λόγοις ἐπικεχειρηκότων, ἄλλων δὲ τὴν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸν [181] πρόνοιαν ἀφαιρουμένων: οὔτ᾽ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι τῶν βίων ὄψεται διαφοράν, ἀλλὰ κοινὰ μὲν ἔργα πάντων παρ᾽ ἡμῖν, εἷς δὲ λόγος ὁ τῷ νόμῳ συμφωνῶν περὶ θεοῦ πάντα λέγων ἐκεῖνον ἐφορᾶν. καὶ μὴν περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ὅτι δεῖ πάντα τἆλλα τέλος ἔχειν τὴν εὐσέβειαν, καὶ γυναικῶν ἀκούσειεν ἄν τις καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν.

20. And this very thing it is that principally creates such a wonderful agreement of minds amongst us all; for this entire agreement of ours in all our notions concerning God, and our having no difference in our course of life and manners, procures among us the most excellent concord of these our manners that is any where among mankind; for no other people but the Jews have avoided all discourses about God that any way contradict one another, which yet are frequent among other nations; and this is true not only among ordinary persons, according as every one is affected, but some of the philosophers have been insolent enough to indulge such contradictions, while some of them have undertaken to use such words as entirely take away the nature of God, as others of them have taken away his providence over mankind. Nor can any one perceive amongst us any difference in the conduct of our lives, but all our works are common to us all. We have one sort of discourse concerning God, which is conformable to our law, and affirms that he sees all things; as also we have but one way of speaking concerning the conduct of our lives, that all other things ought to have piety for their end; and this any body may hear from our women, and servants themselves.

XXI

[182] Ὅθεν δὴ καὶ τὸ προφερόμενον ἡμῖν ὑπό τινων ἔγκλημα, τὸ δὴ μὴ καινῶν εὑρετὰς ἔργων ἢ λόγων ἄνδρας παρασχεῖν, ἐντεῦθεν συμβέβηκεν: οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι τὸ μηδενὶ τῶν πατρίων ἐμμένειν καλὸν εἶναι νομίζουσι καὶ τοῖς τολμῶσι ταῦτα παραβαίνειν [183] μάλιστα σοφίας δεινότητα μαρτυροῦσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ τοὐναντίον μίαν εἶναι καὶ φρόνησιν καὶ ἀρετὴν ὑπειλήφαμεν τὸ μηδὲν ὅλως ὑπεναντίον μήτε πρᾶξαι μήτε διανοηθῆναι τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς νομοθετηθεῖσιν. ὅπερ εἰκότως ἂν εἴη τεκμήριον τοῦ κάλλιστα τὸν νόμον τεθῆναι: τὰ γὰρ μὴ τοῦτον ἔχοντα τὸν τρόπον αἱ πεῖραι δεόμενα διορθώσεως ἐλέγχουσιν.

21. And, indeed, hence hath arisen that accusation which some make against us, that we have not produced men that have been the inventors of new operations,

or of new ways of speaking; for others think it a fine thing to persevere in nothing that has been delivered down from their forefathers, and these testify it to be an instance of the sharpest wisdom when these men venture to transgress those traditions; whereas we, on the contrary, suppose it to be our only wisdom and virtue to admit no actions nor supposals that are contrary to our original laws; which procedure of ours is a just and sure sign that our law is admirably constituted; for such laws as are not thus well made are convicted upon trial to want amendment.

XXII

[184] Ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς πεισθεῖσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τεθῆναι τὸν νόμον κατὰ θεοῦ βούλησιν οὐδ᾽ εὐσεβὲς ἦν τοῦτον μὴ φυλάττειν: τί γὰρ αὐτοῦ τις ἂν μετακινήσειεν ἢ τί κάλλιον ἐξεῦρεν ἢ τί παρ᾽ ἑτέρων ὡς ἄμεινον μετήνεγκεν; ἆρά γε τὴν ὅλην κατάστασιν τοῦ πολιτεύματος; [185] καὶ τίς ἂν καλλίων ἢ δικαιοτέρα γένοιτο τῆς θεὸν μὲν ἡγεμόνα τῶν ὅλων πεποιημένης, τοῖς ἱερεῦσι δὲ κοινῇ μὲν τὰ μέγιστα διοικεῖν ἐπιτρεπούσης, τῷ δὲ πάντων ἀρχιερεῖ πάλιν αὖ πεπιστευκυίας [186] τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἱερέων ἡγεμονίαν; οὓς οὐ κατὰ πλοῦτον οὐδέ τισιν ἄλλαις προύχοντας αὐτομάτοις πλεονεξίαις τὸ πρῶτον εὐθὺς ὁ νομοθέτης ἐπὶ τὴν τιμὴν ἔταξεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅσοι τῶν μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ πειθοῖ τε καὶ σωφροσύνῃ τῶν ἄλλων διέφερον, τούτοις τὴν περὶ τὸν [187] θεὸν μάλιστα θεραπείαν ἐνεχείρισεν. τοῦτο δ᾽ ἦν καὶ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀκριβὴς ἐπιμέλεια: καὶ γὰρ ἐπόπται πάντων καὶ δικασταὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων καὶ κολασταὶ τῶν κατεγνωσμένων οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐτάχθησαν.

22. But while we are ourselves persuaded that our law was made agreeably to the will of God, it would be impious for us not to observe the same; for what is there in it that any body would change? and what can be invented that is better? or what can we take out of other people's laws that will exceed it? Perhaps some would have the entire settlement of our government altered. And where shall we find a better or more righteous constitution than ours, while this makes us esteem God to be the Governor of the universe, and permits the priests in general to be the administrators of the principal affairs, and withal intrusts the government over the other priests to the chief high priest himself? which priests our legislator, at their first appointment, did not advance to that dignity for their riches, or any abundance of other possessions, or any plenty they had as the gifts of fortune; but he intrusted the principal management of Divine worship to those that exceeded others in an ability to persuade men, and in prudence of conduct. These men had the main care of the law and of the other parts of the people's conduct committed to them; for they were the priests who were ordained to be

the inspectors of all, and the judges in doubtful cases, and the punishers of those that were condemned to suffer punishment.

XXIII

[188] Τίς ἂν οὖν ἀρχὴ γένοιτο ταύτης ὁσιωτέρα; τίς δὲ τιμὴ θεῷ μᾶλλον ἁρμόζουσα, παντὸς μὲν τοῦ πλήθους κατεσκευασμένου πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ἐξαίρετον δὲ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν ἱερέων πεπιστευμένων, ὥσπερ δὲ τελετῆς τινος τῆς ὅλης πολιτείας οἰκονομουμένης; [189] ἃ γὰρ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐπιτηδεύοντες ἄλλοι φυλάττειν οὐ δύνανται μυστήρια καὶ τελετὰς ἐπονομάζοντες, ταῦτα μεθ' ἡδονῆς καὶ γνώμης ἀμεταθέτου φυλάττομεν ἡμεῖς δι' αἰῶνος. [190] τίνες οὖν εἰσιν αἱ προρρήσεις καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεις; ἁπλαῖ τε καὶ γνώριμοι. πρώτη δ' ἡγεῖται ἡ περὶ θεοῦ λέγουσα, ὁ θεὸς ἔχει τὰ σύμπαντα παντελὴς καὶ μακάριος, αὐτὸς αὐτῷ καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτάρκης, ἀρχὴ καὶ μέσα καὶ τέλος οὗτος τῶν πάντων, ἔργοις μὲν καὶ χάρισιν ἐναργὴς καὶ παντὸς οὗτινος φανερώτερος, μορφὴν δὲ καὶ μέγεθος [191] ἡμῖν ἄφατος: πᾶσα μὲν ὕλη πρὸς εἰκόνα τὴν τούτου κἂν ᾖ πολυτελὴς ἄτιμος, πᾶσα δὲ τέχνη πρὸς μιμήσεως ἐπίνοιαν ἄτεχνος. οὐδὲν ὅμοιον οὔτ' εἴδομεν οὔτ' ἐπινοοῦμεν οὔτ' εἰκάζειν ἐστὶν ὅσιον. [192] ἔργα βλέπομεν αὐτοῦ φῶς οὐρανὸν γῆν ἥλιον ὕδατα ζῴων γενέσεις καρπῶν ἀναδόσεις. ταῦτα θεὸς ἐποίησεν οὐ χερσὶν οὐ πόνοις οὔ τινων συνεργασομένων ἐπιδεηθείς, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ θελήσαντος καλῶς ἦν εὐθὺς γεγονότα. τοῦτον θεραπευτέον ἀσκοῦντας ἀρετήν: τρόπος γὰρ θεοῦ θεραπείας οὗτος ὁσιώτατος.

23. What form of government then can be more holy than this? what more worthy kind of worship can be paid to God than we pay, where the entire body of the people are prepared for religion, where an extraordinary degree of care is required in the priests, and where the whole polity is so ordered as if it were a certain religious solemnity? For what things foreigners, when they solemnize such festivals, are not able to observe for a few days' time, and call them Mysteries and Sacred Ceremonies, we observe with great pleasure and an unshaken resolution during our whole lives. What are the things then that we are commanded or forbidden? They are simple, and easily known. The first command is concerning God, and affirms that God contains all things, and is a Being every way perfect and happy, self-sufficient, and supplying all other beings; the beginning, the middle, and the end of all things. He is manifest in his works and benefits, and more conspicuous than any other being whatsoever; but as to his form and magnitude, he is most obscure. All materials, let them be ever so costly, are unworthy to compose an image for him, and all arts are unartful to express the notion we ought to have of him. We can neither see nor think of any

thing like him, nor is it agreeable to piety to form a resemblance of him. We see his works, the light, the heaven, the earth, the sun and the moon, the waters, the generations of animals, the productions of fruits. These things hath God made, not with hands, nor with labor, nor as wanting the assistance of any to cooperate with him; but as his will resolved they should be made and be good also, they were made and became good immediately. All men ought to follow this Being, and to worship him in the exercise of virtue; for this way of worship of God is the most holy of all others.

XXIV

[193] Εἷς ναὸς ἑνὸς θεοῦ, φίλον γὰρ ἀεὶ παντὶ τὸ ὅμοιον, κοινὸς ἁπάντων κοινοῦ θεοῦ ἁπάντων. τοῦτον θεραπεύσουσιν μὲν διὰ παντὸς οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἡγήσεται δὲ τούτων ὁ πρῶτος ἀεὶ κατὰ γένος. [194] οὗτος μετὰ τῶν συνιερέων θύσει τῷ θεῷ, φυλάξει τοὺς νόμους, δικάσει περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων, κολάσει τοὺς ἐλεγχθέντας. ὁ τούτῳ μὴ πειθόμενος ὑφέξει δίκην ὡς εἰς θεὸν αὐτὸν ἀσεβῶν. [195] θύομεν τὰς θυσίας οὐκ εἰς μέθην ἑαυτοῖς, ἀβούλητον γὰρ θεῷ τόδε, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς σωφροσύνην. [196] καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις χρὴ πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς εὔχεσθαι σωτηρίας, εἶθ᾽ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν: ἐπὶ γὰρ κοινωνίᾳ γεγόναμεν καὶ ταύτην ὁ προτιμῶν τοῦ καθ᾽ αὐτὸν ἰδίου μάλιστα θεῷ κεχαρισμένος. [197] δέησις δ᾽ ἔστω πρὸς τὸν θεόν, οὐχ ὅπως δῷ τἀγαθά, δέδωκεν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἑκὼν καὶ πᾶσιν εἰς μέσον κατατέθεικεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅπως δέχεσθαι δυνώμεθα καὶ λαβόντες φυλάττωμεν. [198] ἁγνείας ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις διείρηκεν ὁ νόμος ἀπὸ κήδους ἀπὸ λέχους ἀπὸ κοινωνίας τῆς πρὸς γυναῖκα καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων. [ἃ μακρὸν ἂν εἴη γράφειν. τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ περὶ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου θεραπείας λόγος ἡμῖν ἐστιν, ὁ δ᾽ αὐτὸς ἅμα καὶ νόμος.]

24. There ought also to be but one temple for one God; for likeness is the constant foundation of agreement. This temple ought to be common to all men, because he is the common God of all men. High priests are to be continually about his worship, over whom he that is the first by his birth is to be their ruler perpetually. His business must be to offer sacrifices to God, together with those priests that are joined with him, to see that the laws be observed, to determine controversies, and to punish those that are convicted of injustice; while he that does not submit to him shall be subject to the same punishment, as if he had been guilty of impiety towards God himself. When we offer sacrifices to him, we do it not in order to surfeit ourselves, or to be drunken; for such excesses are against the will of God, and would be an occasion of injuries and of luxury; but by keeping ourselves sober, orderly, and ready for our other occupations, and being more temperate than others. And for our duty at the sacrifices themselves, we ought, in the first place, to pray for the common welfare of all, and after that for our own; for we are made for fellowship one with another, and he who prefers the common good before what is peculiar to himself is above all acceptable to God. And let our prayers and supplications be made humbly to God, not [so much] that he would give us what is good, [for he hath already given that of his own accord, and hath proposed the same publicly to all,] as that we may duly receive it, and when we have received it, may preserve it. Now the law has appointed several purifications at our sacrifices, whereby we are cleansed after a funeral, after what sometimes happens to us in bed, and after accompanying with our wives, and upon many other occasions, which it would

be too long now to set down. And this is our doctrine concerning God and his worship, and is the same that the law appoints for our practice.

XXV

[199] Τίνες δ’ οἱ περὶ γάμων νόμοι; μῖξιν μόνην οἶδεν ὁ νόμος τὴν κατὰ φύσιν τὴν πρὸς γυναῖκα καὶ ταύτην, εἰ μέλλοι τέκνων ἕνεκα γίνεσθαι. τὴν δὲ πρὸς ἄρρενας ἀρρένων ἐστύγηκεν καὶ θάνατος τοὐπιτίμιον, εἴ τις ἐπιχειρήσειεν. [200] γαμεῖν δὲ κελεύει μὴ προικὶ προσέχοντας μηδὲ βιαίοις ἁρπαγαῖς μηδ’ αὖ δόλῳ καὶ ἀπάτῃ πείσαντας, ἀλλὰ μνηστεύειν παρὰ τοῦ δοῦναι κυρίου καὶ κατὰ συγγένειαν ἐπιτηδείου. [201] γυνὴ χείρων, φησίν, ἀνδρὸς εἰς ἅπαντα. τοιγαροῦν ὑπακουέτω, μὴ πρὸς ὕβριν, ἀλλ’ ἵν’ ἄρχηται: θεὸς γὰρ ἀνδρὶ τὸ κράτος ἔδωκεν. ταύτῃ συνεῖναι δεῖ τὸν γήμαντα μόνῃ, τὸ δὲ τὴν ἄλλου πειρᾶν ἀνόσιον. εἰ δέ τις τοῦτο πράξειεν, οὐδεμία θανάτου παραίτησις, οὔτ’ εἰ βιάσαιτο παρθένον ἑτέρῳ προωμολογημένην, οὔτ’ εἰ πείσειεν γεγαμημένην. [202] τέκνα τρέφειν ἅπαντα προσέταξεν, καὶ γυναιξὶν ἀπεῖπεν μήτ’ ἀμβλοῦν τὸ σπαρὲν μήτε διαφθείρειν ἀλλὰ ἢν φανείη τεκνοκτόνος ἂν εἴη ψυχὴν ἀφανίζουσα καὶ τὸ γένος ἐλαττοῦσα. τοιγαροῦν οὐδ’ εἴ τις ἐπὶ λέχους [203] φθορὰν παρέλθοι, καθαρὸς εἶναι τότε προσήκει. καὶ μετὰ τὴν νόμιμον συνουσίαν ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ἀπολούσασθαι: ψυχῆς γὰρ ἔχειν τοῦτο μερισμὸν πρὸς ἄλλην χώραν ὑπέλαβεν: καὶ γὰρ ἐμφυομένη σώμασιν κακοπαθεῖ καὶ τούτων αὖ θανάτῳ διακριθεῖσα. διόπερ ἁγνείας ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τοιούτοις ἔταξεν.

25. But, then, what are our laws about marriage? That law owns no other mixture of sexes but that which nature hath appointed, of a man with his wife, and that this be used only for the procreation of children. But it abhors the mixture of a male with a male; and if any one do that, death is its punishment. It commands us also, when we marry, not to have regard to portion, nor to take a woman by violence, nor to persuade her deceitfully and knavishly; but to demand her in marriage of him who hath power to dispose of her, and is fit to give her away by the nearness of his kindred; for, says the Scripture, “A woman is inferior to her husband in all things.” Let her, therefore, be obedient to him; not so that he should abuse her, but that she may acknowledge her duty to her husband; for God hath given the authority to the husband. A husband, therefore, is to lie only with his wife whom he hath married; but to have to do with another man’s wife is a wicked thing, which, if any one ventures upon, death is inevitably his punishment: no more can he avoid the same who forces a virgin betrothed to another man, or entices another man’s wife. The law, moreover, enjoins us to bring up all our offspring, and forbids women to cause abortion of what is begotten, or to destroy it afterward; and if any woman appears to have so done,

she will be a murderer of her child, by destroying a living creature, and diminishing human kind; if any one, therefore, proceeds to such fornication or murder, he cannot be clean. Moreover, the law enjoins, that after the man and wife have lain together in a regular way, they shall bathe themselves; for there is a defilement contracted thereby, both in soul and body, as if they had gone into another country; for indeed the soul, by being united to the body, is subject to miseries, and is not freed therefrom again but by death; on which account the law requires this purification to be entirely performed.

XXVI

[204] Οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν παίδων γενέσεσιν ἐπέτρεψεν εὐωχίας συντελεῖν καὶ προφάσεις ποιεῖσθαι μέθης, ἀλλὰ σώφρονα τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς τῆς τροφῆς ἔταξε. καὶ γράμματα παιδεύειν ἐκέλευσεν τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τῶν προγόνων τὰς πράξεις ἐπίστασθαι, τὰς μὲν ἵνα μιμῶνται, τοῖς δ' ἵνα συντρεφόμενοι μήτε παραβαίνωσι μήτε σκῆψιν ἀγνοίας ἔχωσι.

26. Nay, indeed, the law does not permit us to make festivals at the births of our children, and thereby afford occasion of drinking to excess; but it ordains that the very beginning of our education should be immediately directed to sobriety. It also commands us to bring those children up in learning, and to exercise them in the laws, and make them acquainted with the acts of their predecessors, in order to their imitation of them, and that they might be nourished up in the laws from their infancy, and might neither transgress them, nor have any pretense for their ignorance of them.

XXVII

[205] Τῆς εἰς τοὺς τετελευτηκότας προυνόησεν ὁσίας οὐ πολυτελείαις ἐνταφίων οὐ κατασκευαῖς μνημείων ἐπιφανῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὴν κηδείαν τοῖς οἰκειοτάτοις ἐπιτελεῖν, πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς παριοῦσι καὶ προσελθεῖν καὶ συναποδύρασθαι. καθαίρειν δὲ καὶ τὸν οἶκον καὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἀπὸ κήδους, ἵνα πλεῖστον ἀπέχῃ τοῦ δοκεῖν καθαρὸς εἶναί τις φόνον ἐργασάμενος.

27. Our law hath also taken care of the decent burial of the dead, but without any extravagant expenses for their funerals, and without the erection of any illustrious monuments for them; but hath ordered that their nearest relations should perform their obsequies; and hath showed it to be regular, that all who pass by when any one is buried should accompany the funeral, and join in the lamentation. It also ordains that the house and its inhabitants should be purified

after the funeral is over, that every one may thence learn to keep at a great distance from the thoughts of being pure, if he hath been once guilty of murder.

XXVIII

[206] Γονέων τιμὴν μετὰ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν δευτέραν ἔταξεν καὶ τὸν οὐκ ἀμειβόμενον τὰς παρ᾽ αὐτῶν χάριτας ἀλλ᾽ εἰς ὁτιοῦν ἐλλείποντα λευσθησόμενον παραδίδωσι. καὶ παντὸς τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τιμὴν ἔχειν τοὺς νέους φησίν, ἐπεὶ πρεσβύτατον ὁ θεός. [207] κρύπτειν οὐδὲν ἐᾷ πρὸς φίλους: οὐ γὰρ εἶναι φιλίαν τὴν μὴ πάντα πιστεύουσαν. κἂν συμβῇ τις ἔχθρα, τἀπόρρητα λέγειν κεκώλυκε. δικάζων εἰ δῶρα τις λάβοι, θάνατος ἡ ζημία. περιορῶν ἱκέτην [208] βοηθεῖν ἐνὸν ὑπεύθυνος. ὃ μὴ κατέθηκέν τις οὐκ ἀναιρήσεται, τῶν ἀλλοτρίων οὐδενὸς ἅψεται, τόκον οὐ λήψεται. [ταῦτα καὶ πολλὰ τούτοις ὅμοια τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡμῶν συνέχει κοινωνίαν]

28. The law ordains also, that parents should be honored immediately after God himself, and delivers that son who does not requite them for the benefits he hath received from them, but is deficient on any such occasion, to be stoned. It also says that the young men should pay due respect to every elder, since God is the eldest of all beings. It does not give leave to conceal any thing from our friends, because that is not true friendship which will not commit all things to their fidelity: it also forbids the revelation of secrets, even though an enmity arise between them. If any judge takes bribes, his punishment is death: he that overlooks one that offers him a petition, and this when he is able to relieve him, he is a guilty person. What is not by any one intrusted to another ought not to be required back again. No one is to touch another's goods. He that lends money must not demand usury for its loan. These, and many more of the like sort, are the rules that unite us in the bands of society one with another.

XXIX

[209] Πῶς δὲ καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλοφύλους ἐπιεικείας ἐφρόντισεν ὁ νομοθέτης, ἄξιον ἰδεῖν, [φανεῖται γὰρ ἄριστα πάντων προνοησάμενος] ὅπως μήτε τὰ οἰκεῖα διαφθείρωμεν μήτε φθονήσωμεν τοῖς μετέχειν τῶν ἡμετέρων προαιρουμένοις. [210] ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ θέλουσιν ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν νόμους ζῆν ὑπελθόντες δέχεται φιλοφρόνως, οὐ τῷ γένει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει τοῦ βίου νομίζων εἶναι τὴν οἰκειότητα. τοὺς δ᾽ ἐκ παρέργου προσιόντας ἀναμίγνυσθαι τῇ συνηθείᾳ οὐκ ἠθέλησεν.

29. It will be also worth our while to see what equity our legislator would have us exercise in our intercourse with strangers; for it will thence appear that he made

the best provision he possibly could, both that we should not dissolve our own constitution, nor show any envious mind towards those that would cultivate a friendship with us. Accordingly, our legislator admits all those that have a mind to observe our laws so to do; and this after a friendly manner, as esteeming that a true union which not only extends to our own stock, but to those that would live after the same manner with us; yet does he not allow those that come to us by accident only to be admitted into communion with us.

XXX

[211] Τἆλλα δὲ προείρηκεν, ὧν ἡ μετάδοσίς ἐστιν ἀναγκαία: πᾶσι παρέχειν τοῖς δεομένοις πῦρ ὕδωρ τροφήν, ὁδοὺς φράζειν, ἄταφον μὴ περιορᾶν, ἐπιεικεῖς δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους [212] κριθέντας εἶναι οὐ γὰρ ἐᾷ τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν πυρπολεῖν οὐδὲ τέμνειν ἥμερα δένδρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ σκυλεύειν ἀπείρηκεν τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεσόντας, καὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων προυνόησεν, ὅπως αὐτῶν ὕβρις ἀπῇ, [213] μάλιστα δὲ γυναικῶν. οὕτως δ' ἡμερότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν ἡμᾶς ἐξεπαίδευσεν, ὡς μηδὲ τῶν ἀλόγων ζῴων ὀλιγωρεῖν, ἀλλὰ μόνην ἐφῆκε τούτων χρῆσιν τὴν νόμιμον, πᾶσαν δ' ἑτέραν ἐκώλυσεν: ἃ δ' ὥσπερ ἱκετεύοντα προσφεύγει ταῖς οἰκίαις ἀπεῖπεν ἀνελεῖν. οὐδὲ νεοττοῖς τοὺς γονέας αὐτῶν ἐπέτρεψε συνεξαιρεῖν, φείδεσθαι δὲ κἀν τῇ πολεμίᾳ τῶν ἐργαζομένων ζῴων [214] καὶ μὴ φονεύειν. οὕτως πανταχόθεν τὰ πρὸς ἐπιείκειαν περιεσκέψατο, διδασκαλικοῖς μὲν τοῖς προειρημένοις χρησάμενος νόμοις, τοὺς δ' αὖ κατὰ τῶν παραβαινόντων τιμωρητικοὺς τάξας ἄνευ προφάσεως.

30. However, there are other things which our legislator ordained for us beforehand, which of necessity we ought to do in common to all men; as to afford fire, and water, and food to such as want it; to show them the roads; not to let any one lie unburied. He also would have us treat those that are esteemed our enemies with moderation; for he doth not allow us to set their country on fire, nor permit us to cut down those trees that bear fruit; nay, further, he forbids us to spoil those that have been slain in war. He hath also provided for such as are taken captive, that they may not be injured, and especially that the women may not be abused. Indeed he hath taught us gentleness and humanity so effectually, that he hath not despised the care of brute beasts, by permitting no other than a regular use of them, and forbidding any other; and if any of them come to our houses, like supplicants, we are forbidden to slay them; nor may we kill the dams, together with their young ones; but we are obliged, even in an enemy's country, to spare and not kill those creatures that labor for mankind. Thus hath our lawgiver contrived to teach us an equitable conduct every way, by using us to such laws as instruct us therein; while at the same time he hath ordained that

such as break these laws should be punished, without the allowance of any excuse whatsoever.

XXXI

[215] Ζημία γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν παραβαινόντων ὁ θάνατος, ἂν μοιχεύσῃ τις, ἂν βιάσηται κόρην, ἂν ἄρρενι τολμήσῃ πεῖραν προσφέρειν, ἂν ὑπομείνῃ παθεῖν ὁ πειρασθείς. ἔστι δὲ [216] καὶ ἐπὶ δούλοις ὁμοίως ὁ νόμος ἀπαραίτητος. ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ μέτρων ἤν τις κακουργήσῃ ἢ σταθμῶν ἢ περὶ πράσεως ἀδίκου καὶ δόλῳ γενομένης, κἂν ὑφέληταί τις ἀλλότριον, κἂν ὃ μὴ κατέθηκεν ἀνέληται, πάντων εἰσὶ κολάσεις οὐχ οἷαι παρ᾽ ἑτέροις, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ [217] τὸ μεῖζον. περὶ μὲν γὰρ γονέων ἀδικίας ἢ τῆς εἰς θεὸν ἀσεβείας κἂν μελλήσῃ τις, εὐθὺς ἀπόλλυται. τοῖς μέντοι γε νομίμως βιοῦσι γέρας ἐστὶν οὐκ ἄργυρος οὐδὲ χρυσὸς οὐ κοτίνου στέφανος ἢ σελίνου [218] καὶ τοιαύτη τις ἀνακήρυξις, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος αὑτῷ τὸ συνειδὸς ἔχων μαρτυροῦν πεπίστευκεν, τοῦ μὲν νομοθέτου προφητεύσαντος, τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ τὴν πίστιν ἰσχυρὰν παρεσχηκότος, ὅτι τοῖς τοὺς νόμους διαφυλάξασι κἂν εἰ δέοι θνήσκειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν προθύμως ἀποθανεῖν ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς γενέσθαι τε πάλιν καὶ βίον ἀμείνω λαβεῖν ἐκ περιτροπῆς. [219] ὤκνουν δ᾽ ἂν ἐγὼ ταῦτα γράφειν, εἰ μὴ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἅπασιν ἦν φανερόν, ὅτι πολλοὶ καὶ πολλάκις ἤδη τῶν ἡμετέρων περὶ τοῦ μηδὲ ῥῆμα φθέγξασθαι παρὰ τὸν νόμον πάντα παθεῖν γενναίως προείλοντο.

31. Now the greatest part of offenses with us are capital; as if any one be guilty of adultery; if any one force a virgin; if any one be so impudent as to attempt sodomy with a male; or if, upon another's making an attempt upon him, he submits to be so used. There is also a law for slaves of the like nature, that can never be avoided. Moreover, if any one cheats another in measures or weights, or makes a knavish bargain and sale, in order to cheat another; if any one steals what belongs to another, and takes what he never deposited; all these have punishments allotted them; not such as are met with among other nations, but more severe ones. And as for attempts of unjust behavior towards parents, or for impiety against God, though they be not actually accomplished, the offenders are destroyed immediately. However, the reward for such as live exactly according to the laws is not silver or gold; it is not a garland of olive branches or of small age, nor any such public sign of commendation; but every good man hath his own conscience bearing witness to himself, and by virtue of our legislator's prophetic spirit, and of the firm security God himself affords such a one, he believes that God hath made this grant to those that observe these laws, even though they be obliged readily to die for them, that they shall come into being again, and at a certain revolution of things shall receive a better life than they

had enjoyed before. Nor would I venture to write thus at this time, were it not well known to all by our actions that many of our people have many a time bravely resolved to endure any sufferings, rather than speak one word against our law.

XXXII

[220] [Κἂν τε τι μὴ συμβεβήκει γνώριμον ἡμῶν τὸ ἔθνος ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει κἀν φανερῷ κεῖσθαι τὴν ἐθελούσιον [221] ἡμῶν τοῖς νόμοις ἀκολουθίαν,] ἀλλά τις ἢ συγγράψαι λόγος αὐτοῖς ἀνεγίνωσκε τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἤ που περιτυχεῖν ἔξω τῆς γινωσκομένης γῆς ἔφασκεν ἀνθρώποις τοιαύτην μὲν ἔχουσι δόξαν οὕτω σεμνὴν περὶ θεοῦ, τοιούτοις δὲ νόμοις πολὺν αἰῶνα βεβαίως ἐμμεμενηκόσι, πάντας ἂν οἶμαι θαυμάσαι διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς μεταβολάς. [222] ἀμέλει τῶν γράψαι τι παραπλήσιον εἰς πολιτείαν καὶ νόμους ἐπιχειρησάντων ὡς θαυμαστὰ συνθέντων κατηγοροῦσι, φάσκοντες αὐτοὺς λαβεῖν ἀδυνάτους ὑποθέσεις. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους παραλείπω φιλοσόφους, ὅσοι τι τοιοῦτον ἐν τοῖς γράμμασιν ἐπραγματεύσαντο, [223] Πλάτων δὲ θαυμαζόμενος παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὡς καὶ σεμνότητι βίου διενεγκὼν καὶ δυνάμει λόγων καὶ πειθοῖ πάντας ὑπεράρας τοὺς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ γεγονότας, ὑπὸ τῶν φασκόντων δεινῶν εἶναι τὰ πολιτικὰ μικροῦ δεῖν χλευαζόμενος καὶ κωμῳδούμενος διατελεῖ. [224] καίτοι τἀκείνου σκοπῶν συχνῶς τις ἂν εὕροι ῥᾷον καὶ ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν ἔγγιον συνηθείαις, αὐτὸς δὲ Πλάτων ὡμολόγηκεν, ὅτι τὴν ἀληθῆ περὶ θεοῦ δόξαν εἰς τὴν τῶν ὄχλων ἄνοιαν οὐκ ἦν [225] ἀσφαλὲς ἐξενεγκεῖν. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν Πλάτωνος λόγους τινὲς εἶναι κενοὺς νομίζουσι κατὰ πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν κεκαλλιγραφημένους, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν νομοθετῶν Λυκοῦργον τεθαυμάκασι καὶ τὴν Σπάρτην ἅπαντες ὑμνοῦσιν, ὅτι τοῖς ἐκείνου νόμοις ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐνεκαρτέρησαν. [226] οὐκοῦν τοῦτο μὲν ὡμολογήσθω τεκμήριον ἀρετῆς εἶναι τὸ πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις: οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους θαυμάζοντες τὸν ἐκείνων χρόνον ἀντιπαραβαλλέτωσαν τοῖς πλείοσιν ἢ δισχιλίοις [227] ἔτεσι τῆς ἡμετέρας πολιτείας, καὶ προσέτι λογιζέσθωσαν, ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅσον ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν χρόνον εἶχον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀκριβῶς ἔδοξαν τοὺς νόμους διαφυλάττειν, ἐπεὶ μέντοι περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐγένοντο μεταβολαὶ τῆς τύχης, μικροῦ δεῖν ἁπάντων ἐπελάθοντο τῶν νόμων. [228] ἡμεῖς δ᾽ ἐν τύχαις γεγονότες μυρίαις διὰ τὰς τῶν βασιλευσάντων τῆς Ἀσίας μεταβολὰς οὐδ᾽ ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις τῶν δεινῶν τοὺς νόμους προύδομεν οὐκ ἀργίας οὐδὲ τρυφῆς αὐτοὺς χάριν περιέποντες, ἀλλ᾽ εἴ τις ἐθέλοι σκοπεῖν, πολλῷ τινι τῆς δοκούσης ἐπιτετάχθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις καρτερίας μείζονας ἄθλους καὶ πόνους ἡμῖν ἐπιτεθέντας [229] Οἱ μέν γε μήτε γῆν ἐργαζόμενοι μήτε περὶ τέχνας πονοῦντες ἀλλὰ πάσης ἐργασίας ἄφετοι λιπαροὶ καὶ τὰ σώματα [230] πρὸς κάλλος ἀσκοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως διῆγον, ἄλλοις ὑπηρέταις πρὸς ἅπαντα τὰ τοῦ βίου

χρώμενοι καὶ τὴν τροφὴν ἑτοίμην παρ᾽ ἐκείνων λαμβάνοντες, ἐφ ἧν δὴ τοῦτο μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἔργον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἅπαντα καὶ πράττειν καὶ πάσχειν ὑπομένοντες [231] τὸ κρατεῖν πάντων, ἐφ᾽ οὓς ἂν στρατεύωσιν. ὅτι δὲ μηδὲ τοῦτο κατώρθωσαν, ἐῶ λέγειν: οὐ γὰρ καθ᾽ ἕνα μόνον, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ πολλάκις ἀθρόως τῶν τοῦ νόμου προσταγμάτων ἀμελήσαντες αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων παρέδοσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις.

32. Nay, indeed, in case it had so fallen out, that our nation had not been so thoroughly known among all men as they are, and our voluntary submission to our laws had not been so open and manifest as it is, but that somebody had pretended to have written these laws himself, and had read them to the Greeks, or had pretended that he had met with men out of the limits of the known world, that had such reverent notions of God, and had continued a long time in the firm observance of such laws as ours, I cannot but suppose that all men would admire them on a reflection upon the frequent changes they had therein been themselves subject to; and this while those that have attempted to write somewhat of the same kind for politic government, and for laws, are accused as composing monstrous things, and are said to have undertaken an impossible task upon them. And here I will say nothing of those other philosophers who have undertaken any thing of this nature in their writings. But even Plato himself, who is so admired by the Greeks on account of that gravity in his manners, and force in his words, and that ability he had to persuade men beyond all other philosophers, is little better than laughed at and exposed to ridicule on that account, by those that pretend to sagacity in political affairs; although he that shall diligently peruse his writings will find his precepts to be somewhat gentle, and pretty near to the customs of the generality of mankind. Nay, Plato himself confesseth that it is not safe to publish the true notion concerning God among the ignorant multitude. Yet do some men look upon Plato’s discourses as no better than certain idle words set off with great artifice. However, they admire Lycurgus as the principal lawgiver, and all men celebrate Sparta for having continued in the firm observance of his laws for a very long time. So far then we have gained, that it is to be confessed a mark of virtue to submit to laws. But then let such as admire this in the Lacedemonians compare that duration of theirs with more than two thousand years which our political government hath continued; and let them further consider, that though the Lacedemonians did seem to observe their laws exactly while they enjoyed their liberty, yet that when they underwent a change of their fortune, they forgot almost all those laws; while we, having been under ten thousand changes in our fortune by the changes that happened among the kings of Asia, have never betrayed our laws under the most pressing distresses

we have been in; nor have we neglected them either out of sloth or for a livelihood. if any one will consider it, the difficulties and labors laid upon us have been greater than what appears to have been borne by the Lacedemonian fortitude, while they neither ploughed their land, nor exercised any trades, but lived in their own city, free from all such pains-taking, in the enjoyment of plenty, and using such exercises as might improve their bodies, while they made use of other men as their servants for all the necessaries of life, and had their food prepared for them by the others; and these good and humane actions they do for no other purpose but this, that by their actions and their sufferings they may be able to conquer all those against whom they make war. I need not add this, that they have not been fully able to observe their laws; for not only a few single persons, but multitudes of them, have in heaps neglected those laws, and have delivered themselves, together with their arms, into the hands of their enemies.

XXXIII

[232] Ἆρ᾽ οὖν καὶ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν, οὐ λέγω τοσούτους, ἀλλὰ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἔγνω τις προδότας γενομένους τῶν νόμων ἢ θάνατον φοβηθέντας, οὐχὶ τὸν ῥᾷστον ἐκεῖνον λέγω τὸν συμβαίνοντα τοῖς μαχομένοις, ἀλλὰ τὸν μετὰ λύμης τῶν σωμάτων, ὁποῖος εἶναι δοκεῖ πάντων χαλεπώτατος; [233] ὃν ἔγωγε νομίζω τινὰς κρατήσαντας ἡμῶν οὐχ ὑπὸ μίσους προσφέρειν τοῖς ὑποχειρίοις, ἀλλὰ [ὡς] θαυμαστόν τι θέαμα βουλομένους ἰδεῖν, εἴ τινές εἰσιν ἄνθρωποι μόνον εἶναι κακὸν αὐτοῖς πεπιστευκότες, εἰ πρᾶξαί τι παρὰ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νόμους εἰ λόγον εἰπεῖν παρ᾽ ἐκείνοις παραβιασθεῖεν. [234] οὐ χρὴ δὲ θαυμάζειν, εἰ πρὸς θάνατον ἀνδρείως ἔχομεν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας: οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ ῥᾷστα δοκοῦντα τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἄλλοι ῥᾳδίως ὑπομένουσιν, αὐτουργίαν λέγω καὶ τροφῆς λιτότητα καὶ τὸ μηδὲν εἰκῆ μηδ᾽ ὡς ἔτυχεν ἕκαστος ἐπιτεθυμηκὼς φαγεῖν ἢ πιεῖν ἢ συνουσίᾳ προσελθεῖν ἢ πολυτελείᾳ [235] καὶ πάλιν ἀργίας ὑπομεῖναι τάξιν ἀμετακίνητον. ἀλλ᾽ οἱ τοῖς ξίφεσιν ὁμόσε χωροῦντες καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξ ἐφόδου τρεπόμενοι τοῖς προστάγμασιν τοῖς περὶ διαίτης οὐκ ἀντέβλεψαν. ἡμῖν δὲ πάλιν ἐκ τοῦ περὶ ταῦτα τῷ νόμῳ πειθαρχεῖν ἡδέως κἀκεῖ περίεστιν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὸ γενναῖον.

33. Now as for ourselves, I venture to say that no one can tell of so many; nay, not of more than one or two that have betrayed our laws, no, not out of fear of death itself; I do not mean such an easy death as happens in battles, but that which comes with bodily torments, and seems to be the severest kind of death of all others. Now I think those that have conquered us have put us to such deaths, not out of their hatred to us when they had subdued us, but rather out of their desire

of seeing a surprising sight, which is this, whether there be such men in the world who believe that no evil is to them so great as to be compelled to do or to speak any thing contrary to their own laws. Nor ought men to wonder at us, if we are more courageous in dying for our laws than all other men are; for other men do not easily submit to the easier things in which we are instituted; I mean working with our hands, and eating but little, and being contented to eat and drink, not at random, or at every one's pleasure, or being under inviolable rules in lying with our wives, in magnificent furniture, and again in the observation of our times of rest; while those that can use their swords in war, and can put their enemies to flight when they attack them, cannot bear to submit to such laws about their way of living: whereas our being accustomed willingly to submit to laws in these instances, renders us fit to show our fortitude upon other occasions also.

XXXIV

[236] Εἶτα Λυσίμαχοι καὶ Μόλωνες καὶ τοιοῦτοί τινες ἄλλοι συγγραφεῖς, ἀδόκιμοι σοφισταί, μειρακίων ἀπατεῶνες, ὡς πάνυ ἡμᾶς φαυλοτάτους ἀνθρώπων λοιδοροῦσιν. [237] ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐβουλόμην περὶ τῶν παρ' ἑτέροις νομίμων ἐξετάζειν: τὰ γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡμῖν φυλάττειν πάτριόν ἐστιν, οὐ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων κατηγορεῖν. καὶ περί γε τοῦ μήτε χλευάζειν μήτε βλασφημεῖν τοὺς νομιζομένους θεοὺς παρ' ἑτέροις ἄντικρυς ἡμῖν ὁ νομοθέτης ἀπείρηκεν αὐτῆς ἕνεκα προσηγορίας τοῦ θεοῦ. [238] τῶν δὲ κατηγόρων διὰ τῆς ἀντιπαραθέσεως ἡμᾶς ἐλέγχειν οἰομένων οὐχ οἷόν τε κατασιωπᾶν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ λόγου μέλλοντος οὐχ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐλεγχθήσεσθαι νῦν αὐτῶν συντιθέντων, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ πολλῶν εἰρημένου καὶ λίαν εὐδοκιμούντων. [239] τίς γὰρ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ τεθαυμασμένων οὐκ ἐπιτετίμηκεν καὶ ποιητῶν τοῖς ἐπεφανεστάτοις καὶ νομοθετῶν τοῖς μάλιστα πεπιστευμένοις, ὅτι τοιαύτας δόξας περὶ θεῶν [240] ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἐγκατέσπειραν, ἀριθμῷ μὲν ὁπόσους ἂν αὐτοὶ θελήσωσιν ἀποφαινόμενοι ἐξ ἀλλήλων δὲ γινομένους καὶ κατὰ παντοίους τρόπους γενέσεων, τούτους δὲ καὶ διαιροῦντες τόποις καὶ διαίταις, ὥσπερ τῶν ζῴων τὰ γένη, τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ γῆν, τοὺς δὲ ἐν θαλάττῃ, τοὺς μέντοι πρεσβυτάτους αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ταρτάρῳ δεδεμένους [241] ὅΣοις δὲ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπένειμαν τούτοις πατέρα μὲν τῷ λόγῳ, τύραννον δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ δεσπότην ἐφιστάντες, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο συνισταμένην ἐπιβουλὴν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὑπὸ γυναικὸς καὶ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ θυγατρός, ἣν ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλῆς ἐγέννησεν, ἵνα δὴ συλλαβόντες αὐτὸν καθείρξωσιν, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ.

34. Yet do the Lysimachi and the Molones, and some other writers, [unskillful sophists as they are, and the deceivers of young men,] reproach us as the vilest

of all mankind. Now I have no mind to make an inquiry into the laws of other nations; for the custom of our country is to keep our own laws, but not to bring accusations against the laws of others. And indeed our legislator hath expressly forbidden us to laugh at and revile those that are esteemed gods by other people? on account of the very name of God ascribed to them. But since our antagonists think to run us down upon the comparison of their religion and ours, it is not possible to keep silence here, especially while what I shall say to confute these men will not be now first said, but hath been already said by many, and these of the highest reputation also; for who is there among those that have been admired among the Greeks for wisdom, who hath not greatly blamed both the most famous poets, and most celebrated legislators, for spreading such notions originally among the body of the people concerning the gods? such as these, that they may be allowed to be as numerous as they have a mind to have them; that they are begotten one by another, and that after all the kinds of generation you can imagine. They also distinguish them in their places and ways of living as they would distinguish several sorts of animals; as some to be under the earth; as some to be in the sea; and the ancientest of them all to be bound in hell; and for those to whom they have allotted heaven, they have set over them one, who in title is their father, but in his actions a tyrant and a lord; whence it came to pass that his wife, and brother, and daughter [which daughter he brought forth from his own head] made a conspiracy against him to seize upon him and confine hint, as he had himself seized upon and confined his own father before.

XXXV

[242] Ταῦτα δικαίως μέμψεως πολλῆς ἀξιοῦσιν οἱ φρονήσει διαφέροντες καὶ πρὸς τούτοις καταγελῶσιν, εἰ τῶν θεῶν τοὺς μὲν ἀγενείους καὶ μειράκια, τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ γενειῶντας εἶναι χρὴ δοκεῖν, ἄλλους δὲ τετάχθαι πρὸς ταῖς τέχναις, χαλκεύοντά τινα, τὴν δὲ ὑφαίνουσαν, τὸν δὲ πολεμοῦντα καὶ μετὰ ἀνθρώπων μαχόμενον, [243] τοὺς δὲ κιθαρίζοντας ἢ τοξικῇ χαίροντας, εἶτ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐγγιγνομένας πρὸς ἀλλήλους στάσεις καὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπων φιλονεικίας μέχρι τοῦ μὴ μόνον ἀλλήλοις τὰς χεῖρας προσφέρειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων [244] τραυματιζομένους ὀδύρεσθαι καὶ κακοπαθεῖν. τὸ δὲ δὴ πάντων ἀσελγέστερον, τὴν περὶ τὰς μίξεις ἀκρασίαν καὶ τοὺς ἔρωτας πῶς οὐκ ἄτοπον μικροῦ δεῖν ἅπασι προσάψαι καὶ τοῖς ἄρρεσι [245] τῶν θεῶν καὶ ταῖς θηλείαις; εἶθ᾽ οἱ γενναιότατοι καὶ πρῶτος αὐτὸς ὁ πατὴρ τὰς ἀπατηθείσας ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ γενομένας ἐγκύους καθειργνυμένας ἢ καταποντιζομένας περιορᾷ καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγονότας οὔτε σώζειν δύναται κρατούμενος ὑπὸ τῆς εἱμαρμένης [246] οὔτ᾽ ἀδακρυτὶ τοὺς θανάτους αὐτῶν ὑπομένειν. καλά γε ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἑπόμενα, μοιχείας μὲν

ἐν οὐρανῷ βλεπομένης οὕτως ἀναισχύντως ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν, ὥστε τινὰς καὶ ζηλοῦν ὁμολογεῖν τοὺς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ δεδεμένους: τί γὰρ οὐκ ἔμελλον, ὁπότε μηδ᾽ ὁ πρεσβύτατος καὶ βασιλεὺς ἠδυνήθη τῆς πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα μίξεως ἐπισχεῖν [247] τὴν ὁρμὴν ὅσον γοῦν εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον ἀπελθεῖν; οἱ δὲ δὴ δουλεύοντες τοῖς ἀνθρώποις θεοὶ καὶ νῦν μὲν οἰκοδομοῦντες ἐπὶ μισθῷ νῦν δὲ ποιμαίνοντες, ἄλλοι δὲ τρόπον κακούργων ἐν χαλκῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ δεδεμένοι, τίνα τῶν εὖ φρονούντων οὐκ ἂν παροξύνειαν, ὡς τοῖς ταῦτα συνθεῖσιν ἐπιπλῆξαι καὶ πολλὴν εὐήθειαν καταγνῶναι τῶν προσεμένων; [248] οἱ δὲ καὶ δεῖμόν τινα καὶ φόβον ἤδη δὲ καὶ λύσσαν καὶ ἀπάτην καὶ τί γὰρ οὐχὶ τῶν κακίστων παθῶν εἰς θεοῦ φύσιν καὶ μορφὴν ἀνέπλασαν: τοῖς δὲ εὐφημοτέροις τούτων καὶ [249] θύειν τὰς πόλεις ἔπεισαν. τοιγαροῦν εἰς πολλὴν ἀνάγκην καθίστανται τοὺς μέν τινας τῶν θεῶν νομίζειν δοτῆρας ἀγαθῶν, τοὺς δὲ καλεῖν ἀποτροπαίους, εἶτα δὲ τούτους ὥσπερ τοὺς πονηροτάτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων χάρισι καὶ δώροις ἀποσείονται, μέγα τι λήψεσθαι κακὸν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν προσδοκῶντες, εἰ μὴ μισθὸν αὐτοῖς παράσχοιεν.

35. And justly have the wisest men thought these notions deserved severe rebukes; they also laugh at them for determining that we ought to believe some of the gods to be beardless and young, and others of them to be old, and to have beards accordingly; that some are set to trades; that one god is a smith, and another goddess is a weaver; that one god is a warrior, and fights with men; that some of them are harpers, or delight in archery; and besides, that mutual seditions arise among them, and that they quarrel about men, and this so far, that they not only lay hands upon one another, but that they are wounded by men, and lament, and take on for such their afflictions. But what is the grossest of all in point of lasciviousness, are those unbounded lusts ascribed to almost all of them, and their amours; which how can it be other than a most absurd supposal, especially when it reaches to the male gods, and to the female goddesses also? Moreover, the chief of all their gods, and their first father himself, overlooks those goddesses whom he hath deluded and begotten with child, and suffers them to be kept in prison, or drowned in the sea. He is also so bound up by fate, that he cannot save his own offspring, nor can he bear their deaths without shedding of tears. These are fine things indeed! as are the rest that follow. Adulteries truly are so impudently looked on in heaven by the gods, that some of them have confessed they envied those that were found in the very act. And why should they not do so, when the eldest of them, who is their king also, hath not been able to restrain himself in the violence of his lust, from lying with his wife, so long as they might get into their bedchamber? Now some of the gods are servants to men, and will sometimes be builders for a reward, and sometimes will be shepherds; while others of them, like malefactors, are bound in a prison

of brass. And what sober person is there who would not be provoked at such stories, and rebuke those that forged them, and condemn the great silliness of those that admit them for true? Nay, others there are that have advanced a certain timorousness and fear, as also madness and fraud, and any other of the vilest passions, into the nature and form of gods, and have persuaded whole cities to offer sacrifices to the better sort of them; on which account they have been absolutely forced to esteem some gods as the givers of good things, and to call others of them averters of evil. They also endeavor to move them, as they would the vilest of men, by gifts and presents, as looking for nothing else than to receive some great mischief from them, unless they pay them such wages.

XXXVI

[250] Τί τοίνυν τὸ αἴτιον τῆς τοσαύτης ἀνωμαλίας καὶ περὶ τὸ θεῖον πλημμελείας; ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπολαμβάνω τὸ μήτε τὴν ἀληθῆ τοῦ θεοῦ φύσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς συνιδεῖν αὐτῶν τοὺς νομοθέτας μήθ᾽ ὅσον καὶ λαβεῖν ἠδυνήθησαν ἀκριβῆ γνῶσιν διορίσαντας πρὸς τοῦτο [251] ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἄλλην τάξιν τοῦ πολιτεύματος, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν φαυλοτάτων ἐφῆκαν τοῖς μὲν ποιηταῖς οὕστινας ἂν βούλωνται θεοὺς εἰσάγειν πάντα πάσχοντας, τοῖς δὲ ῥήτορσι πολιτογραφεῖν [252] κατὰ ψήφισμα τῶν ξένων θεῶν τὸν ἐπιτήδειον: πολλῆς δὲ καὶ ζωγράφοι καὶ πλάσται τῆς εἰς τοῦτο παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπέλαυσαν ἐξουσίας, αὐτὸς ἕκαστός τινα μορφὴν ἐπινοῶν, ὁ μὲν ἐκ πηλοῦ πλάττων, ὁ δὲ γράφων, οἱ δὲ μάλιστα δὴ θαυμαζόμενοι τῶν δημιουργῶν τὸν ἐλέφαντα καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν ἔχουσι τῆς ἀεὶ καινουργίας [253] τὴν ὑπόθεσιν. [καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν ἱερῶν ἐν ἐρημίᾳ παντελῶς εἰσιν, τὰ δὲ ἐμπερισπούδαστα καθάρσεσι παντοδαπαῖς περικοσμούμενα.] εἶθ᾽ οἱ μὲν πρότερον ἐν ταῖς τιμαῖς ἀκμάσαντες θεοὶ γεγηράκασιν: [οἱ δὲ ὑπακμάζοντες τούτων ἐν δευτέρᾳ τάξει [254] ὑποβέβληνται] οὕτω γὰρ εὐφημότερον λέγειν: ἄλλοι δὲ καινοί τινες εἰσαγόμενοι θρησκείας τυγχάνουσιν, [ὡς ἐν παρεκβάσει ὧν προείπομεν τοὺς τόπους ἐρημωθέντας καταλιπεῖν] καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ μὲν ἐρημοῦται, τὰ δὲ νεωστὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν βούλησιν ἕκαστος ἱδρύεται, δέον [τοίνυν] τοὐναντίον τὴν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξαν αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν τιμὴν ἀμετακίνητον διαφυλάττειν.

36. Wherefore it deserves our inquiry what should be the occasion of this unjust management, and of these scandals about the Deity. And truly I suppose it to be derived from the imperfect knowledge the heathen legislators had at first of the true nature of God; nor did they explain to the people even so far as they did comprehend of it: nor did they compose the other parts of their political settlements according to it, but omitted it as a thing of very little consequence, and gave leave both to the poets to introduce what gods they pleased, and those

subject to all sorts of passions, and to the orators to procure political decrees from the people for the admission of such foreign gods as they thought proper. The painters also, and statuaries of Greece, had herein great power, as each of them could contrive a shape [proper for a god]; the one to be formed out of clay, and the other by making a bare picture of such a one. But those workmen that were principally admired, had the use of ivory and of gold as the constant materials for their new statues [whereby it comes to pass that some temples are quite deserted, while others are in great esteem, and adorned with all the rites of all kinds of purification]. Besides this, the first gods, who have long flourished in the honors done them, are now grown old [while those that flourished after them are come in their room as a second rank, that I may speak the most honorably of them I can]: nay, certain other gods there are who are newly introduced, and newly worshipped [as we, by way of digression, have said already, and yet have left their places of worship desolate]; and for their temples, some of them are already left desolate, and others are built anew, according to the pleasure of men; whereas they ought to have their opinion about God, and that worship which is due to him, always and immutably the same.

XXXVII

[255] Ἀπολλώνιος μὲν οὖν ὁ Μόλων τῶν ἀνοήτων εἷς ἦν καὶ τετυφωμένων, τοὺς μέντοι κατ᾽ ἀλήθειαν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς φιλοσοφήσαντας οὔτε τῶν προειρημένων οὐδὲν διέλαθεν οὔτε τὰς ψυχρὰς προφάσεις τῶν ἀλληγοριῶν ἠγνόησαν, διόπερ τῶν μὲν εἰκότως κατεφρόνησαν, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀληθῆ καὶ πρέπουσαν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξαν ἡμῖν συνεφώνησαν. [256] ἀφ᾽ ἧς ὁρμηθεὶς ὁ Πλάτων οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων οὐδένα ποιητῶν φησι δεῖν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν παραδέχεσθαι καὶ τὸν Ὅμηρον εὐφήμως ἀποπέμπεται στεφανώσας καὶ μύρον αὐτοῦ καταχέας, ἵνα δὴ μὴ τὴν ὀρθὴν δόξαν περὶ θεοῦ τοῖς μύθοις ἀφανίσειε. [257] μάλιστα δὲ Πλάτων μεμίμηται τὸν ἡμέτερον νομοθέτην κἀν τῷ μηδὲν οὕτω παίδευμα προστάττειν τοῖς πολίταις ὡς τὸ πάντας ἀκριβῶς τοὺς νόμους ἐκμανθάνειν, καὶ μὴν καὶ περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν ὡς ἔτυχεν ἐπιμίγνυσθαί τινας ἔξωθεν, ἀλλ᾽ εἶναι καθαρὸν [258] τὸ πολίτευμα τῶν ἐμμενόντων τοῖς νόμοις προυνόησεν. ὧν οὐδὲν λογισάμενος ὁ Μόλων Ἀπολλώνιος ἡμῶν κατηγόρησεν, ὅτι μὴ παραδεχόμεθα τοὺς ἄλλαις προκατειλημμένους δόξαις περὶ θεοῦ μηδὲ κοινωνεῖν ἐθέλομεν τοῖς καθ᾽ ἑτέραν συνήθειαν βίου ζῆν προαιρουμένοις. [259] ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τοῦτ᾽ ἔστιν ἴδιον ἡμῶν, κοινὸν δὲ πάντων, οὐχ Ἑλλήνων δὲ μόνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εὐδοκιμωτάτων: Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ ξενηλασίας ποιούμενοι διετέλουν καὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν ἀποδημεῖν πολίταις οὐκ ἐπέτρεπον διαφθορὰν ἐξ [260] ἀμφοῖν ὑφορώμενοι γενήσεσθαι περὶ τοὺς νόμους. ἐκείνοις μὲν οὖν τάχ᾽ ἂν

δυσκολίαν τις ὀνειδίσειεν εἰκότως: οὐδενὶ γὰρ οὔτε [261] τῆς πολιτείας οὔτε τῆς παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς μετεδίδοσαν διατριβῆς: ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ζηλοῦν οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν, τοὺς μέντοι μετέχειν τῶν ἡμετέρων βουλομένους ἡδέως δεχόμεθα. καὶ τοῦτο ἂν εἴη τεκμήριον, οἶμαι, φιλανθρωπίας ἅμα καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας.

37. But now, this Apollonius Molo was one of these foolish and proud men. However, nothing that I have said was unknown to those that were real philosophers among the Greeks, nor were they unacquainted with those frigid pretensions of allegories [which had been alleged for such things]; on which account they justly despised them, but have still agreed with us as to the true and becoming notions of God; whence it was that Plato would not have political settlements admit to of any one of the other poets, and dismisses even Homer himself, with a garland on his head, and with ointment poured upon him, and this because he should not destroy the right notions of God with his fables. Nay, Plato principally imitated our legislator in this point, that he enjoined his citizens to have he main regard to this precept, "That every one of them should learn their laws accurately." He also ordained, that they should not admit of foreigners intermixing with their own people at random; and provided that the commonwealth should keep itself pure, and consist of such only as persevered in their own laws. Apollonius Molo did no way consider this, when he made it one branch of his accusation against us, that we do not admit of such as have different notions about God, nor will we have fellowship with those that choose to observe a way of living different from ourselves, yet is not this method peculiar to us, but common to all other men; not among the ordinary Grecians only, but among such of those Grecians as are of the greatest reputation among them. Moreover, the Lacedemonians continued in their way of expelling foreigners, and would not indeed give leave to their own people to travel abroad, as suspecting that those two things would introduce a dissolution of their own laws: and perhaps there may be some reason to blame the rigid severity of the Lacedemonians, for they bestowed the privilege of their city on no foreigners, nor indeed would give leave to them to stay among them; whereas we, though we do not think fit to imitate other institutions, yet do we willingly admit of those that desire to partake of ours, which, I think, I may reckon to be a plain indication of our humanity, and at the same time of our magnanimity also.

XXXVIII

[262] Ἐῶ περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπὶ πλείω λέγειν. οἱ δὲ κοινὴν εἶναι τὴν ἑαυτῶν δόξαντες πόλιν Ἀθηναῖοι πῶς περὶ τούτων εἶχον, Ἀπολλώνιος ἠγνόησεν, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ῥῆμα μόνον παρὰ τοὺς ἐκείνων [263] νόμους φθεγξαμένους περὶ θεῶν

ἀπαραιτήτως ἐκόλασαν. τίνος γὰρ ἑτέρου χάριν Σωκράτης ἀπέθανεν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ προεδίδου τὴν πόλιν τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐδὲ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐσύλησεν οὐδέν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι καινοὺς ὅρκους ὤμνυεν καί τι δαιμόνιον αὐτῷ σημαίνειν ἔφασκεν ἢ διαπαίζων, ὡς ἔνιοι λέγουσι, διὰ ταῦτα κατεγνώσθη κώνειον πιὼν ἀποθανεῖν. [264] καὶ διαφθείρειν δὲ τοὺς νέους ὁ κατήγορος αὐτὸν ᾐτιᾶτο, τῆς πατρίου πολιτείας καὶ τῶν νόμων ὅτι προῆγεν αὐτοὺς καταφρονεῖν. Σωκράτης μὲν οὖν πολίτης Ἀθηναίων τοιαύτην ὑπέμεινε τιμωρίαν. [265] Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ Κλαζομένιος ἦν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι νομιζόντων Ἀθηναίων τὸν ἥλιον εἶναι θεὸν ὅδ᾽ αὐτὸν ἔφη μύδρον εἶναι διάπυρον, θάνατον αὐτοῦ παρ᾽ ὀλίγας ψήφους κατέγνωσαν. [266] καὶ Διαγόρᾳ τῷ Μηλίῳ τάλαντον ἐπεκήρυξαν, εἴ τις αὐτὸν ἀνέλοι, ἐπεὶ τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς μυστήρια χλευάζειν ἐλέγετο. καὶ Πρωταγόρας εἰ μὴ θᾶττον ἔφυγε, συλληφθεὶς ἂν ἐτεθνήκει γράψαι τι δόξας [267] οὐχ ὁμολογούμενον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις περὶ θεῶν. τί δὲ δεῖ θαυμάζειν, εἰ πρὸς ἄνδρας οὕτως ἀξιοπίστους διετέθησαν, οἵ γε μηδὲ γυναικῶν ἐφείσαντο; νῦν γὰρ τὴν ἱέρειαν ἀπέκτειναν, ἐπεί τις αὐτῆς κατηγόρησεν, ὅτι ξένους ἐμύει θεούς: νόμῳ δ᾽ ἦν τοῦτο παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς κεκωλυμένον καὶ τιμωρία κατὰ τῶν ξένον εἰσαγόντων [268] θεὸν ὥριστο θάνατος. οἱ δὲ τοιούτῳ νόμῳ χρώμενοι δῆλον ὅτι τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ἐνόμιζον εἶναι θεούς: οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτοῖς πλειόνων ἀπολαύειν ἐφθόνουν. [269] τὰ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναίων ἐχέτω καλῶς. Σκύθαι δὲ φόνοις χαίροντες ἀνθρώπων καὶ βραχὺ τῶν θηρίων διαφέροντες, ὅμως τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς οἴονται δεῖν περιστέλλειν, καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ θαυμασθέντα τὸν Ἀνάχαρσιν ἐπανελθόντα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνεῖλον, ἐπεὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐθῶν ἔδοξεν ἥκειν ἀνάπλεως, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ παρὰ Πέρσαις ἄν τις εὕροι [270] καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν κεκολασμένους. ἀλλὰ δῆλον ὅτι τοῖς Περσῶν ἔχαιρε νόμοις ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος κἀκείνους ἐθαύμαζεν, ὅτι τῆς ἀνδρείας αὐτῶν ἀπέλαυσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ τῆς ὁμογνωμοσύνης ἧς εἶχον περὶ θεῶν, ταύτης μὲν [οὖν] ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἷς κατέπρησαν, τῆς ἀνδρείας δὲ δουλεῦσαι παρὰ μικρὸν ἐλθόντες, ἁπάντων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων μιμητὴς ἐγένετο τῶν Περσικῶν γυναῖκας ἀλλοτρίας [271] ὑβρίζων καὶ παῖδας ἐκτέμνων. παρ᾽ ἡμῖν δὲ θάνατος ὥρισται, κἂν ἄλογόν τις οὕτω ζῷον ἀδικῇ: καὶ τούτων ἡμᾶς τῶν νόμων ἀπαγαγεῖν οὔτε φόβος ἴσχυσεν τῶν κρατησάντων οὔτε ζῆλος τῶν [272] παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις τετιμημένων. οὐδὲ τὴν ἀνδρείαν ἠσκήσαμεν ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμους ἄρασθαι χάριν πλεονεξίας, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς νόμους διαφυλάττειν. τὰς γοῦν ἄλλας ἐλαττώσεις πρᾴως ὑπομένοντες, ἐπειδάν τινες ἡμᾶς τὰ νόμιμα κινεῖν ἀναγκάζωσι, τότε καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν αἱρούμεθα πολέμους καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἐγκαρτεροῦμεν. [273] διὰ τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ ζηλώσαιμεν τοὺς ἑτέρων νόμους ὁρῶντες μηδὲ παρὰ τοῖς θεμένοις αὐτοὺς τετηρημένους; πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἔμελλον Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν τῆς ἀνεπιμίκτου καταγνώσεσθαι πολιτείας καὶ τῆς περὶ τοὺς γάμους ὀλιγωρίας, Ἠλεῖοι δὲ καὶ Θηβαῖοι τῆς παρὰ φύσιν καὶ [ἄγαν] ἀνέδην πρὸς τοὺς ἄρρενας μίξεως; [274] ἃ γοῦν πάλαι κάλλιστα καὶ συμφορώτατα

πράττειν ὑπελάμβανον, ταῦτ᾽ εἰ καὶ μὴ παντάπασι τοῖς ἔργοις πεφεύγασιν, οὐχ [275] ὁμολογοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτῶν νόμους ἀπόμνυνται τοσοῦτόν ποτε παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἰσχύσαντας, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς τὰς τῶν ἀρρένων μίξεις ἐπεφήμισαν, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ λόγον καὶ τοὺς τῶν γνησίων ἀδελφῶν γάμους, ταύτην ἀπολογίαν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀτόπων καὶ παρὰ φύσιν ἡδονῶν συντιθέντες.

38. But I shall say no more of the Lacedemonians. As for the Athenians, who glory in having made their city to be common to all men, what their behavior was Apollonius did not know, while they punished those that did but speak one word contrary to the laws about the gods, without any mercy; for on what other account was it that Socrates was put to death by them? For certainly he neither betrayed their city to its enemies, nor was he guilty of any sacrilege with regard to any of their temples; but it was on this account, that he swore certain new oaths and that he affirmed either in earnest, or, as some say, only in jest, that a certain demon used to make signs to him [what he should not do]. For these reasons he was condemned to drink poison, and kill himself. His accuser also complained that he corrupted the young men, by inducing them to despise the political settlement and laws of their city: and thus was Socrates, the citizen of Athens, punished. There was also Anaxagoras, who, although he was of Clazomente, was within a few suffrages of being condemned to die, because he said the sun, which the Athenians thought to be a god, was a ball of fire. They also made this public proclamation, "That they would give a talent to any one who would kill Diagoras of Melos," because it was reported of him that he laughed at their mysteries. Protagoras also, who was thought to have written somewhat that was not owned for truth by the Athenians about the gods, had been seized upon, and put to death, if he had not fled away immediately. Nor need we at all wonder that they thus treated such considerable men, when they did not spare even women also; for they very lately slew a certain priestess, because she was accused by somebody that she initiated people into the worship of strange gods, it having been forbidden so to do by one of their laws; and a capital punishment had been decreed to such as introduced a strange god; it being manifest, that they who make use of such a law do not believe those of other nations to be really gods, otherwise they had not envied themselves the advantage of more gods than they already had. And this was the happy administration of the affairs of the Athenians! Now as to the Scythians, they take a pleasure in killing men, and differ but little from brute beasts; yet do they think it reasonable to have their institutions observed. They also slew Anacharsis, a person greatly admired for his wisdom among the Greeks, when he returned to them, because he appeared to come fraught with Grecian customs. One may also

find many to have been punished among the Persians, on the very same account. And to be sure Apollonius was greatly pleased with the laws of the Persians, and was an admirer of them, because the Greeks enjoyed the advantage of their courage, and had the very same opinion about the gods which they had. This last was exemplified in the temples which they burnt, and their courage in coming, and almost entirely enslaving the Grecians. However, Apollonius has imitated all the Persian institutions, and that by his offering violence to other men's wives, and gelding his own sons. Now, with us, it is a capital crime, if any one does thus abuse even a brute beast; and as for us, neither hath the fear of our governors, nor a desire of following what other nations have in so great esteem, been able to withdraw us from our own laws; nor have we exerted our courage in raising up wars to increase our wealth, but only for the observation of our laws; and when we with patience bear other losses, yet when any persons would compel us to break our laws, then it is that we choose to go to war, though it be beyond our ability to pursue it, and bear the greatest calamities to the last with much fortitude. And, indeed, what reason can there be why we should desire to imitate the laws of other nations, while we see they are not observed by their own legislators And why do not the Lacedemonians think of abolishing that form of their government which suffers them not to associate with any others, as well as their contempt of matrimony? And why do not the Eleans and Thebans abolish that unnatural and impudent lust, which makes them lie with males? For they will not show a sufficient sign of their repentance of what they of old thought to be very excellent, and very advantageous in their practices, unless they entirely avoid all such actions for the time to come: nay, such things are inserted into the body of their laws, and had once such a power among the Greeks, that they ascribed these sodomitical practices to the gods themselves, as a part of their good character; and indeed it was according to the same manner that the gods married their own sisters. This the Greeks contrived as an apology for their own absurd and unnatural pleasures.

XXXIX

[276] Ἐῶ νῦν περὶ τῶν τιμωριῶν λέγειν, ὅσας μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔδοσαν οἱ πλεῖστοι νομοθέται τοῖς πονηροῖς διαλύσεις, ἐπὶ μοιχείας μὲν ζημίας χρημάτων, ἐπὶ φθορᾶς δὲ καὶ γάμους νομοθετήσαντες, ὅσας δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀσεβείας προφάσεις περιέχουσιν ἀρνήσεως, εἰ καί τις ἐπιχειρήσειεν ἐξετάζειν: ἤδη γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς πλείοσι μελέτη [277] γέγονε τοῦ παραβαίνειν τοὺς νόμους. οὐ μὴν καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ κἂν πλούτου καὶ πόλεων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν στερηθῶμεν, ὁ γοῦν νόμος ἡμῖν ἀθάνατος διαμένει, καὶ οὐδεὶς Ἰουδαίων οὔτε μακρὰν οὕτως ἂν

ἀπέλθοι τῆς πατρίδος οὔτε πικρὸν φοβηθήσεται [278] δεσπότην, ὡς μὴ πρὸ ἐκείνου δεδιέναι τὸν νόμον. εἰ μὲν οὖν διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν νόμων οὕτως πρὸς αὐτοὺς διακείμεθα, συγχωρησάτωσαν ὅτι κρατίστους ἔχομεν νόμους. εἰ δὲ φαύλοις οὕτως ἡμᾶς ἐμμένειν ὑπολαμβάνουσι, τί οὐκ ἂν αὐτοὶ δικαίως πάθοιεν τοὺς κρείττονας οὐ φυλάττοντες; [279] ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ὁ πολὺς χρόνος πιστεύεται πάντων εἶναι δοκιμαστὴς ἀληθέστατος, τοῦτον ἂν ποιησαίμην ἐγὼ μάρτυρα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἡμῶν τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ τῆς ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου φήμης περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ παραδοθείσης: ἀπείρου γὰρ τοῦ χρόνου γεγονότος, εἴ τις αὐτὸν παραβάλλοι ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἡλικίαις νομοθετῶν, παρὰ πάντας εὕροι τοῦτον

39. I omit to speak concerning punishments, and how many ways of escaping them the greatest part of the legislators have afforded malefactors, by ordaining that, for adulteries, fines in money should be allowed, and for corrupting [virgins] they need only marry them as also what excuses they may have in denying the facts, if any one attempts to inquire into them; for amongst most other nations it is a studied art how men may transgress their laws; but no such thing is permitted amongst us; for though we be deprived of our wealth, of our cities, or of the other advantages we have, our law continues immortal; nor can any Jew go so far from his own country, nor be so aftrighted at the severest lord, as not to be more aftrighted at the law than at him. If, therefore, this be the disposition we are under, with regard to the excellency of our laws, let our enemies make us this concession, that our laws are most excellent; and if still they imagine, that though we so firmly adhere to them, yet are they bad laws notwithstanding, what penalties then do they deserve to undergo who do not observe their own laws, which they esteem so far superior to them? Whereas, therefore, length of time is esteemed to be the truest touchstone in all cases, I would make that a testimonial of the excellency of our laws, and of that belief thereby delivered to us concerning God. For as there hath been a very long time for this comparison, if any one will but compare its duration with the duration of the laws made by other legislators, he will find our legislator to have been the ancientest of them all.

XL

[280] ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν τε διηλέγχθησαν οἱ νόμοι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν [281] ἀνθρώποις ἀεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ζῆλον ἐμπεποιήκασι. πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ οἱ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι φιλοσοφήσαντες τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν τὰ πάτρια διεφύλαττον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τῷ φιλοσοφεῖν ἐκείνῳ κατηκολούθησαν, ὅμοια μὲν περὶ θεοῦ φρονοῦντες, εὐτέλειαν δὲ [282] βίου καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους κοινωνίαν διδάσκοντες. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πλήθεσιν ἤδη πολὺς ζῆλος γέγονεν ἐκ μακροῦ τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐσεβείας,

οὐδ᾽ ἔστιν οὐ πόλις Ἑλλήνων οὐδητισοῦν οὐδὲ βάρβαρον οὐδὲ ἓν ἔθνος, ἔνθα μὴ τὸ τῆς ἑβδομάδος, ἣν ἀργοῦμεν ἡμεῖς, τὸ ἔθος [δὲ] διαπεφοίτηκεν καὶ αἱ νηστεῖαι καὶ λύχνων ἀνακαύσεις καὶ πολλὰ τῶν εἰς βρῶσιν ἡμῖν οὐ νενομισμένων παρατετήρηται. [283] μιμεῖσθαι δὲ πειρῶνται καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡμῶν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων ἀνάδοσιν καὶ τὸ φιλεργὸν ἐν ταῖς τέχναις καὶ [284] τὸ καρτερικὸν ἐν ταῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων ἀνάγκαις: τὸ γὰρ θαυμασιώτατον, ὅτι χωρὶς τοῦ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἐπαγωγοῦ δελέατος αὐτὸς καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ἴσχυσεν ὁ νόμος, καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ θεὸς διὰ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου πεφοίτηκεν, οὕτως ὁ νόμος διὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων βεβάδικεν. αὐτὸς δέ τις ἕκαστος τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸν οἶκον ἐπισκοπῶν τὸν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ λεγομένοις οὐκ ἀπιστήσει. [285] χρὴ τοίνυν πάντων ἀνθρώπων καταγνῶναι πονηρίαν ἐθελούσιον, εἰ τἀλλότρια καὶ φαῦλα πρὸ τῶν οἰκείων καὶ καλῶν ζηλοῦν ἐπιτεθυμήκασιν, ἢ παύσασθαι [286] βασκαίνοντας ἡμῖν τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπιφθόνου τινὸς ἀντιποιούμεθα πράγματος τὸν αὐτῶν τιμῶντες νομοθέτην καὶ τοῖς ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου προφητευθεῖσι περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πεπιστευκότες: καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ συνίεμεν αὐτοὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῶν νόμων, ἁπάντων ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ζηλούντων μέγα φρονεῖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς προήχθημεν.

40. We have already demonstrated that our laws have been such as have always inspired admiration and imitation into all other men; nay, the earliest Grecian philosophers, though in appearance they observed the laws of their own countries, yet did they, in their actions, and their philosophic doctrines, follow our legislator, and instructed men to live sparingly, and to have friendly communication one with another. Nay, further, the multitude of mankind itself have had a great inclination of a long time to follow our religious observances; for there is not any city of the Grecians, nor any of the barbarians, nor any nation whatsoever, whither our custom of resting on the seventh day hath not come, and by which our fasts and lighting up lamps, and many of our prohibitions as to our food, are not observed; they also endeavor to imitate our mutual concord with one another, and the charitable distribution of our goods, and our diligence in our trades, and our fortitude in undergoing the distresses we are in, on account of our laws; and, what is here matter of the greatest admiration, our law hath no bait of pleasure to allure men to it, but it prevails by its own force; and as God himself pervades all the world, so hath our law passed through all the world also. So that if any one will but reflect on his own country, and his own family, he will have reason to give credit to what I say. It is therefore but just, either to condemn all mankind of indulging a wicked disposition, when they have been so desirous of imitating laws that are to them foreign and evil in themselves, rather than following laws of their own that are of a better character, or else our

accusers must leave off their spite against us. Nor are we guilty of any envious behavior towards them, when we honor our own legislator, and believe what he, by his prophetic authority, hath taught us concerning God. For though we should not be able ourselves to understand the excellency of our own laws, yet would the great multitude of those that desire to imitate them, justify us, in greatly valuing ourselves upon them.

XLI

[287] Ἀλλὰ γὰρ περὶ μὲν τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς πολιτείας τὴν ἀκριβῆ πεποίημαι παράδοσιν ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἀρχαιολογίας μοι γραφεῖσι. νυνὶ δ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπεμνήσθην ἐφ᾽ ὅσον ἦν ἀναγκαῖον, οὔτε τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ψέγειν οὔτε τὰ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἐγκωμιάζειν προθέμενος, ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα τοὺς περὶ ἡμῶν ἀδίκως γεγραφότας ἐλέγξω πρὸς αὐτὴν [288] ἀναιδῶς τὴν ἀλήθειαν πεφιλονεικηκότας. καὶ δή μοι δοκῶ πεπληρῶσθαι διὰ τῆς γραφῆς ἱκανῶς ἃ πρου¨πεσχόμην: καὶ γὰρ ἀρχαιότητι πρου¨πάρχον ἐπέδειξα τὸ γένος, τῶν κατηγόρων ὅτι νεώτατόν ἐστιν εἰρηκότων, [καὶ γὰρ] καὶ πολλοὺς ἐν τοῖς συγγράμμασιν ἐμνημονευκότας ἡμῶν ἀρχαίους παρέσχομεν μάρτυρας, ἐκείνων ὅτι μηδείς ἐστιν διαβεβαιουμένων. [289] ἀλλὰ μὴν Αἰγυπτίους ἔφασαν ἡμῶν τοὺς προγόνους: ἐδείχθησαν δ᾽ εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐλθόντες ἐτέρωθεν. διὰ δὲ λύμην σωμάτων αὐτοὺς ἐκβληθῆναι κατεψεύσαντο: προαιρέσει καὶ περιουσίᾳ ῥώμης ἐφάνησαν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκείαν ὑποστρέψαντες γῆν. [290] οἱ μὲν ὡς φαυλότατον ἡμῶν τὸν νομοθέτην ἐλοιδόρησαν: τῷ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς πάλαι μὲν ὁ θεός, μετ᾽ ἐκεῖνον δὲ μάρτυς ὁ χρόνος εὕρηται γεγενημένος.

41. But as for the [distinct] political laws by which we are governed, I have delivered them accurately in my books of Antiquities; and have only mentioned them now, so far as was necessary to my present purpose, without proposing to myself either to blame the laws of other nations, or to make an encomium upon our own; but in order to convict those that have written about us unjustly, and in an impudent affectation of disguising the truth. And now I think I have sufficiently completed what I proposed in writing these books. For whereas our accusers have pretended that our nation are a people of very late original, I have demonstrated that they are exceeding ancient; for I have produced as witnesses thereto many ancient writers, who have made mention of us in their books, while they had said that no such writer had so done. Moreover, they had said that we were sprung from the Egyptians, while I have proved that we came from another country into Egypt: while they had told lies of us, as if we were expelled thence on account of diseases on our bodies, it has appeared, on the contrary, that we returned to our country by our own choice, and with sound and strong bodies. Those accusers reproached our legislator as a vile fellow; whereas God in old

time bare witness to his virtuous conduct; and since that testimony of God, time itself hath been discovered to have borne witness to the same thing.

XLII

[291] Περὶ τῶν νόμων οὐκ ἐδέησε λόγου πλείονος: αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἑωράθησαν δι᾽ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀσέβειαν μὲν εὐσέβειαν δ᾽ ἀληθεστάτην διδάσκοντες, οὐδ᾽ ἐπὶ μισανθρωπίαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων κοινωνίαν παρακαλοῦντες, ἀδικίας ἐχθροί, δικαιοσύνης ἐπιμελεῖς, ἀργίαν καὶ πολυτέλειαν ἐξορίζοντες, αὐτάρκεις καὶ φιλοπόνους εἶναι [292] διδάσκοντες, πολέμων μὲν ἀπείργοντες εἰς πλεονεξίαν, ἀνδρείους δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἶναι παρασκευάζοντες, ἀπαραίτητοι πρὸς τὰς τιμωρίας, ἀσόφιστοι λόγων παρασκευαῖς, τοῖς ἔργοις ἀεὶ βεβαιούμενοι: ταῦτα γὰρ [ἀεὶ] ἡμεῖς παρέχομεν τῶν γραμμάτων ἐναργέστερα. [293] διόπερ ἐγὼ θαρσήσας ἂν εἴποιμι πλείστων ἅμα καὶ καλλίστων ἡμᾶς εἰσηγητὰς τοῖς ἄλλοις γεγονέναι: τί γὰρ εὐσεβείας ἀπαραβάτου κάλλιον; τί δὲ τοῦ πειθαρχεῖν τοῖς νόμοις δικαιότερον; [294] ἢ τί συμφορώτερον τοῦ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμονοεῖν καὶ μήτ᾽ ἐν συμφοραῖς διίστασθαι μήτ᾽ ἐν εὐτυχίαις στασιάζειν ἐξυβρίζοντας, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν πολέμῳ μὲν θανάτου καταφρονεῖν, ἐν εἰρήνῃ δὲ τέχναις ἢ γεωργίαις προσανέχειν, πάντα δὲ καὶ πανταχοῦ πεπεῖσθαι τὸν θεὸν ἐποπτεύοντα διέπειν; [295] ταῦτ᾽ εἰ μὲν παρ᾽ ἑτέροις ἢ ἐγράφη πρότερον ἢ ἐφυλάχθη βεβαιότερον, ἡμεῖς ἂν ἐκείνοις χάριν ὠφείλομεν ὡς μαθηταὶ γεγονότες: εἰ δὲ καὶ χρώμενοι μάλιστα πάντων βλεπόμεθα καὶ τὴν πρώτην εὕρεσιν αὐτῶν ἡμετέραν οὖσαν ἐπεδείξαμεν, Ἀπίωνες μὲν καὶ Μόλωνες καὶ πάντες ὅσοι τῷ ψεύδεσθαι [296] καὶ λοιδορεῖν χαίρουσιν ἐξεληλέγχθωσαν. σοὶ δέ, Ἐπαφρόδιτε, μάλιστα τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀγαπῶντι καὶ διὰ σὲ τοῖς ὁμοίως βουλησομένοις περὶ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν εἰδέναι τοῦτο καὶ τὸ πρὸ αὐτοῦ γεγράφθω βιβλίον.

42. As to the laws themselves, more words are unnecessary, for they are visible in their own nature, and appear to teach not impiety, but the truest piety in the world. They do not make men hate one another, but encourage people to communicate what they have to one another freely; they are enemies to injustice, they take care of righteousness, they banish idleness and expensive living, and instruct men to be content with what they have, and to be laborious in their calling; they forbid men to make war from a desire of getting more, but make men courageous in defending the laws; they are inexorable in punishing malefactors; they admit no sophistry of words, but are always established by actions themselves, which actions we ever propose as surer demonstrations than what is contained in writing only: on which account I am so bold as to say that we are become the teachers of other men, in the greatest number of things, and those of the most excellent nature only; for what is more excellent than

inviolable piety? what is more just than submission to laws? and what is more advantageous than mutual love and concord? and this so far that we are to be neither divided by calamities, nor to become injurious and seditious in prosperity; but to contemn death when we are in war, and in peace to apply ourselves to our mechanical occupations, or to our tillage of the ground; while we in all things and all ways are satisfied that God is the inspector and governor of our actions. If these precepts had either been written at first, or more exactly kept by any others before us, we should have owed them thanks as disciples owe to their masters; but if it be visible that we have made use of them more than any other men, and if we have demonstrated that the original invention of them is our own, let the Apions, and the Molons, with all the rest of those that delight in lies and reproaches, stand confuted; but let this and the foregoing book be dedicated to thee, Epaphroditus, who art so great a lover of truth, and by thy means to those that have been in like manner desirous to be acquainted with the affairs of our nation.

LIFE OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

I

[1] Ἐμοὶ δὲ γένος ἐστὶν οὐκ ἄσημον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ ἱερέων ἄνωθεν καταβεβηκός. Ὥσπερ δ᾽ ἡ παρ᾽ ἑκάστοις ἄλλη τίς ἐστιν εὐγενείας ὑπόθεσις, οὕτως παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἡ τῆς ἱερωσύνης μετουσία τεκμήριόν ἐστιν γένους λαμπρότητος. [2] Ἐμοὶ δ᾽ οὐ μόνον ἐξ ἱερέων ἐστὶν τὸ γένος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρώτης ἐφημερίδος τῶν εἰκοσιτεσσάρων, πολλὴ δὲ κἀν τούτῳ διαφορά, καὶ τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ φυλῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀρίστης. Ὑπάρχω δὲ καὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους ἀπὸ τῆς μητρός· οἱ γὰρ Ἀσαμωναίου παῖδες, ὧν ἔγγονος ἐκείνη, τοῦ ἔθνους ἡμῶν ἐπὶ μήκιστον χρόνον ἠρχιεράτευσαν καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν. [3] Ἐρῶ δὲ τὴν διαδοχήν· ὁ πρόπαππος ἡμῶν Σίμων ὁ Ψελλὸς ἐπικαλούμενος. Οὗτος ἐγένετο καθ᾽ ὃν καιρὸν ἠρχιεράτευσεν Σίμωνος ἀρχιερέως ὁ παῖς, ὃς πρῶτος ἀρχιερέων Ὑρκανὸς ὠνομάσθη. [4] Γίνονται δὲ τῷ Ψελλῷ Σίμωνι παῖδες ἐννέα· τούτων ἐστὶν Ματθίας ὁ Ἠφαίου λεγόμενος· οὗτος ἠγάγετο πρὸς γάμον θυγατέρα Ἰωνάθου ἀρχιερέως τοῦ πρώτου ἐκ τῶν Ἀσαμωναίου παίδων γένους ἀρχιερατεύσαντος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Σίμωνος τἀρχιερέως, καὶ γίνεται παῖς αὐτῷ Ματθίας ὁ Κυρτὸς ἐπικληθεὶς ἄρχοντος Ὑρκανοῦ τὸν πρῶτον ἐνιαυτόν. [5] Τούτου γίνεται Ἰώσηπος ἐνάτῳ ἔτει τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρας ἀρχῆς, καὶ Ἰωσήπου Ματθίας βασιλεύοντος Ἀρχελάου τὸ δέκατον, Ματθία δὲ ἐγὼ τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς Γαΐου Καίσαρος ἡγεμονίας. Ἐμοὶ δὲ παῖδές εἰσιν τρεῖς, Ὑρκανὸς μὲν ὁ πρεσβύτατος ἔτει τετάρτῳ τῆς Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Καίσαρος ἡγεμονίας, ἑβδόμῳ δὲ Ἰοῦστος, ἐνάτῳ δὲ Ἀγρίππας. [6] Τὴν μὲν τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν διαδοχήν, ὡς ἐν ταῖς δημοσίαις δέλτοις ἀναγεγραμμένην εὗρον, οὕτως παρατίθεμαι τοῖς διαβάλλειν ἡμᾶς πειρωμένοις χαίρειν φράσας.

1. The family from which I am derived is not an ignoble one, but hath descended all along from the priests; and as nobility among several people is of a different origin, so with us to be of the sacerdotal dignity, is an indication of the splendor of a family. Now, I am not only sprung from a sacerdotal family in general, but from the first of the twenty-four courses; and as among us there is not only a considerable difference between one family of each course and another, I am of the chief family of that first course also; nay, further, by my mother I am of the royal blood; for the children of Asamoneus, from whom that family was derived, had both the office of the high priesthood, and the dignity of a king, for a long time together. I will accordingly set down my progenitors in order. My grandfather's father was named Simon, with the addition of Psellus: he lived at the same time with that son of Simon the high priest, who first of all the high

priests was named Hyrcanus. This Simon Psellus had nine sons, one of whom was Matthias, called Ephlias: he married the daughter of Jonathan the high priest, which Jonathan was the first of the sons of Asamoneus, who was high priest, and was the brother of Simon the high priest also. This Matthias had a son called Matthias Curtus, and that in the first year of the government of Hyrcanus: his son's name was Joseph, born in the ninth year of the reign of Alexandra: his son Matthias was born in the tenth year of the reign of Archclaus; as was I born to Matthias in the first year of the reign of Caius Caesar. I have three sons: Hyrcanus, the eldest, was born in the fourth year of the reign of Vespasian, as was Justus born in the seventh, and Agrippa in the ninth. Thus have I set down the genealogy of my family as I have found it described in the public records, and so bid adieu to those who calumniate me [as of a lower original].

II

[7] Ὁ πατὴρ δέ μου Ματθίας οὐ διὰ μόνην τὴν εὐγένειαν ἐπίσημος ἦν, ἀλλὰ πλέον διὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἐπῃνεῖτο, γνωριμώτατος ὢν ἐν τῇ μεγίστῃ πόλει τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις. [8] Ἐγὼ δὲ συμπαιδευόμενος ἀδελφῷ Ματθίᾳ τοὔνομα, γεγόνει γάρ μοι γνήσιος ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τῶν γονέων, εἰς μεγάλην παιδείας προύκοπτον ἐπίδοσιν μνήμῃ τε καὶ συνέσει δοκῶν διαφέρειν, [9] ἔτι δ᾽ ἀντίπαις ὢν περὶ τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατον ἔτος διὰ τὸ φιλογράμματον ὑπὸ πάντων ἐπῃνούμην συνιόντων ἀεὶ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ τῶν τῆς πόλεως πρώτων ὑπὲρ τοῦ παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ περὶ τῶν νομίμων ἀκριβέστερόν τι γνῶναι. [10] Περὶ δὲ ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτη γενόμενος ἐβουλήθην τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν αἱρέσεων ἐμπειρίαν λαβεῖν· τρεῖς δ᾽ εἰσὶν αὗται, Φαρισαίων μὲν ἡ πρώτη, καὶ Σαδδουκαίων ἡ δευτέρα, τρίτη δ᾽ Ἐσσηνῶν, καθὼς πολλάκις εἴπομεν· οὕτως γὰρ ᾤμην αἱρήσεσθαι τὴν ἀρίστην, εἰ πάσας καταμάθοιμι. [11] Σκληραγωγήσας οὖν ἐμαυτὸν καὶ πολλὰ πονηθεὶς τὰς τρεῖς διῆλθον, καὶ μηδὲ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἐμπειρίαν ἱκανὴν ἐμαυτῷ νομίσας εἶναι πυθόμενός τινα Βάννουν ὄνομα κατὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν διατρίβειν, ἐσθῆτι μὲν ἀπὸ δένδρων χρώμενον, τροφὴν δὲ τὴν αὐτομάτως φυομένην προσφερόμενον, ψυχρῷ δὲ ὕδατι τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν νύκτα πολλάκις λουόμενον πρὸς ἁγνείαν, ζηλωτὴς ἐγενόμην αὐτοῦ. [12] Καὶ διατρίψας παρ᾽ αὐτῷ ἐνιαυτοὺς τρεῖς καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τελειώσας εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑπέστρεφον. Ἐννεακαιδέκατον δ᾽ ἔτος ἔχων ἠρξάμην τε πολιτεύεσθαι τῇ Φαρισαίων αἱρέσει κατακολουθῶν, ἣ παραπλήσιός ἐστι τῇ παρ᾽ Ἕλλησιν Στωϊκῇ λεγομένῃ.

2. Now, my father Matthias was not only eminent on account of his nobility, but had a higher commendation on account of his righteousness, and was in great reputation in Jerusalem, the greatest city we have. I was myself brought up with my brother, whose name was Matthias, for he was my own brother, by both

father and mother; and I made mighty proficiency in the improvements of my learning, and appeared to have both a great memory and understanding. Moreover, when I was a child, and about fourteen years of age, I was commended by all for the love I had to learning; on which account the high priests and principal men of the city came then frequently to me together, in order to know my opinion about the accurate understanding of points of the law. And when I was about sixteen years old, I had a mind to make trim of the several sects that were among us. These sects are three: — The first is that of the Pharisees, the second that Sadducees, and the third that of the Essens, as we have frequently told you; for I thought that by this means I might choose the best, if I were once acquainted with them all; so I contented myself with hard fare, and underwent great difficulties, and went through them all. Nor did I content myself with these trials only; but when I was informed that one, whose name was Banus, lived in the desert, and used no other clothing than grew upon trees, and had no other food than what grew of its own accord, and bathed himself in cold water frequently, both by night and by day, in order to preserve his chastity, I imitated him in those things, and continued with him three years. So when I had accomplished my desires, I returned back to the city, being now nineteen years old, and began to conduct myself according to the rules of the sect of the Pharisees, which is of kin to the sect of the Stoics, as the Greeks call them.

III

[13] Μετ᾽ εἰκοστὸν δὲ καὶ ἕκτον ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς Ῥώμην μοι συνέπεσεν ἀναβῆναι διὰ τὴν λεχθησομένην αἰτίαν· καθ᾽ ὃν χρόνον Φῆλιξ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπετρόπευεν ἱερεῖς τινας συνήθεις ἐμοὶ καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς διὰ μικρὰν καὶ τὴν τυχοῦσαν αἰτίαν δήσας εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔπεμψε λόγον ὑφέξοντας τῷ Καίσαρι. [14] Οἷς ἐγὼ πόρον εὑρέσθαι βουλόμενος σωτηρίας, μάλιστα δὲ πυθόμενος ὅτι καίπερ ἐν κακοῖς ὄντες οὐκ ἐπελάθοντο τῆς εἰς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείας, διατρέφοιντο δὲ σύκοις καὶ καρύοις, ἀφικόμην εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην πολλὰ κινδυνεύσας κατὰ θάλασσαν. [15] Βαπτισθέντος γὰρ ἡμῶν τοῦ πλοίου κατὰ μέσον τὸν Ἀδρίαν περὶ ἑξακοσίους τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες δι᾽ ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐνηξάμεθα, καὶ περὶ ἀρχομένην ἡμέραν ἐπιφανέντος ἡμῖν κατὰ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν Κυρηναϊκοῦ πλοίου φθάσαντες τοὺς ἄλλους ἐγώ τε καί τινες ἕτεροι περὶ ὀγδοήκοντα σύμπαντες ἀνελήφθημεν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον. [16] Διασωθεὶς δ᾽ εἰς τὴν Δικαιάρχειαν, ἣν Ποτιόλους Ἰταλοὶ καλοῦσιν, διὰ φιλίας ἀφικόμην Ἀλιτύρῳ, μιμολόγος δ᾽ ἦν οὗτος μάλιστα τῷ Νέρωνι καταθύμιος Ἰουδαῖος τὸ γένος, καὶ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ Ποππαίᾳ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος γυναικὶ γνωσθεὶς προνοῶ ὡς τάχιστα παρακαλέσας αὐτὴν τοὺς ἱερεῖς λυθῆναι. Μεγάλων

δὲ δωρεῶν πρὸς τῇ εὐεργεσίᾳ ταύτῃ τυχὼν παρὰ τῆς Ποππαίας ὑπέστρεφον ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκείαν.

3. But when I was in the twenty-sixth year of my age, it happened that I took a voyage to Rome, and this on the occasion which I shall now describe. At the time when Felix was procurator of Judea there were certain priests of my acquaintance, and very excellent persons they were, whom on a small and trifling occasion he had put into bonds, and sent to Rome to plead their cause before Caesar. These I was desirous to procure deliverance for, and that especially because I was informed that they were not unmindful of piety towards God, even under their afflictions, but supported themselves with figs and nuts. Accordingly I came to Rome, though it were through a great number of hazards by sea; for as our ship was drowned in the Adriatic Sea, we that were in it, being about six hundred in number, swam for our lives all the night; when, upon the first appearance of the day, and upon our sight of a ship of Cyrene, I and some others, eighty in all, by God's providence, prevented the rest, and were taken up into the other ship. And when I had thus escaped, and was come to Dieearchia, which the Italians call Puteoli, I became acquainted with Aliturius, an actor of plays, and much beloved by Nero, but a Jew by birth; and through his interest became known to Poppea, Caesar's wife, and took care, as soon as possible, to entreat her to procure that the priests might be set at liberty. And when, besides this favor, I had obtained many presents from Poppea, I returned home again.

IV

[17] Καταλαμβάνω δ᾽ ἤδη νεωτερισμῶν ἀρχὰς καὶ πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστάσει μέγα φρονοῦντας. Καταστέλλειν οὖν ἐπειρώμην τοὺς στασιώδεις καὶ μετανοεῖν ἔπειθον ποιησαμένους πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν πρὸς οὓς πολεμήσουσιν, ὅτι Ῥωμαίων οὐ κατ᾽ ἐμπειρίαν μόνον πολεμικήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ᾽ εὐτυχίαν ἐλαττοῦνται· [18] καὶ μὴ προπετῶς καὶ παντάπασιν ἀνοήτως πατρίσι καὶ γενεαῖς καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὸν περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων κακῶν κίνδυνον ἐπάγειν. [19] Ταῦτα δ᾽ ἔλεγον καὶ λιπαρῶς ἐνεκείμην ἀποτρέπων, δυστυχέστατον ἡμῖν τοῦ πολέμου τὸ τέλος γενήσεσθαι προορώμενος. Οὐ μὴν ἔπεισα· πολὺ γὰρ ἡ τῶν ἀπονοηθέντων ἐπεκράτησεν μανία.

4. And now I perceived innovations were already begun, and that there were a great many very much elevated in hopes of a revolt from the Romans. I therefore endeavored to put a stop to these tumultuous persons, and persuaded them to change their minds; and laid before their eyes against whom it was that they were going to fight, and told them that they were inferior to the Romans not only

in martial skill, but also in good fortune; and desired them not rashly, and after the most foolish manner, to bring on the dangers of the most terrible mischiefs upon their country, upon their families, and upon themselves. And this I said with vehement exhortation, because I foresaw that the end of such a war would be most unfortunate to us. But I could not persuade them; for the madness of desperate men was quite too hard for me.

V

[20] Δείσας οὖν, μὴ ταῦτα συνεχῶς λέγων διὰ μίσους ἀφικοίμην καὶ ὑποψίας ὡς τὰ τῶν πολεμίων φρονῶν καὶ κινδυνεύσω ληφθεὶς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀναιρεθῆναι, ἐχομένης ἤδη τῆς Ἀντωνίας, ὅπερ ἦν φρούριον, εἰς τὸ ἐνδοτέρω ἱερὸν ὑπεχώρησα. [21] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν Μαναήμου καὶ τῶν πρώτων τοῦ λῃστρικοῦ στίφους ὑπεξελθὼν τοῦ ἱεροῦ πάλιν τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν Φαρισαίων συνδιέτριβον. [22] Φόβος δ᾽ οὔτι μέτριος εἶχεν ἡμᾶς ὁρῶντας τὸν μὲν δῆμον ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις, αὐτοὶ δ᾽ ὄντες ἐν ἀπόρῳ, τί ποιήσομεν, καὶ τοὺς νεωτεριστὰς παύειν οὐ δυνάμενοι, προδήλου δ᾽ ἡμῖν τοῦ κινδύνου παρεστῶτος, συγκατανεύειν μὲν αὐτῶν ταῖς γνώμαις ἐλέγομεν, συνεβουλεύομεν δὲ μένειν ἐφ᾽ αὐτῶν, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπελθόντας ἐᾶν, ἵνα τοῦ δικαίως ἀνταίρειν ὅπλα πίστιν εὕρωνται. [23] Ταῦτα δ᾽ ἐπράττομεν ἐλπίζοντες οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν Κέστιον μετὰ μεγάλης δυνάμεως ἀναβάντα παύσειν τὸν νεωτερισμόν.

5. I was then afraid, lest, by inculcating these things so often, I should incur their hatred and their suspicions, as if I were of our enemies' party, and should run into the danger of being seized by them, and slain; since they were already possessed of Antonia, which was the citadel; so I retired into the inner court of the temple. Yet did I go out of the temple again, after Manahem and the principal of the band of robbers were put to death, when I abode among the high priests and the chief of the Pharisees. But no small fear seized upon us when we saw the people in arms, while we ourselves knew not what we should do, and were not able to restrain the seditious. However, as the danger was directly upon us, we pretended that we were of the same opinion with them, but only advised them to be quiet for the present, and to let the enemy go away, still hoping that Gessius [Florus] would not be long ere he came, and that with great forces, and so put an end to these seditious proceedings.

VI

[24] Ὁ δ᾽ ἐπελθὼν καὶ συμβαλὼν μάχῃ ἐνικήθη πολλῶν τῶν μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ πεσόντων. Καὶ γίνεται τὸ Κεστίου πταῖσμα συμφορὰ τοῦ σύμπαντος ἡμῶν

ἔθνους· ἐπήρθησαν γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μᾶλλον οἱ τὸν πόλεμον ἀγαπήσαντες καὶ νικήσαντες τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εἰς τέλος ἤλπισαν προσγενομένης καὶ ἑτέρας τινὸς τοιαύτης αἰτίας·

[25] οἱ τὰς πέριξ τῆς Συρίας πόλεις κατοικοῦντες τοὺς παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῖς Ἰουδαίους συλλαμβάνοντες σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἀνῄρουν οὐδεμίαν αὐτοῖς αἰτίαν ἐπικαλεῖν ἔχοντες· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστάσει νεώτερόν τι πεφρονήκεσαν οὔτε πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ἐχθρὸν ἢ ἐπίβουλον. [26] Σκυθοπολῖται δὲ πάντων ἀσεβέστατα καὶ παρανομώτατα διεπράξαντο· ἐπελθόντων γὰρ αὐτοῖς Ἰουδαίων ἔξωθεν πολεμίων τοὺς παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς Ἰουδαίους ἐβιάσαντο κατὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων ὅπλα λαβεῖν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἀθέμιτον, καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκείνων συμβαλόντες ἐκράτησαν τῶν ἐπελθόντων· ἐπειδὴ δ᾽ ἐνίκησαν, ἐκλαθόμενοι τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἐνοίκους καὶ συμμάχους πίστεως πάντας αὐτοὺς διεχρήσαντο πολλὰς μυριάδας ὄντας. [27] Ὅμοια δ᾽ ἔπαθον καὶ οἱ Δαμασκὸν Ἰουδαῖοι κατοικοῦντες. Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἀκριβέστερον ἐν ταῖς περὶ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου βίβλοις δεδηλώκαμεν· νῦν δ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπεμνήσθην βουλόμενος παραστῆσαι τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσιν, ὅτι οὐ προαίρεσις ἐγένετο τοῦ πολέμου πρὸς Ῥωμαίους Ἰουδαίοις, ἀλλὰ τὸ πλέον ἀνάγκη.

6. But, upon his coming and fighting, he was beaten, and a great many of those that were with him fell. And this disgrace which Gessius [with Cestius] received, became the calamity of our whole nation; for those that were fond of the war were so far elevated with this success, that they had hopes of finally conquering the Romans. Of which war another occasion was ministered; which was this: — Those that dwelt in the neighboring cities of Syria seized upon such Jews as dwelt among them, with their wives and children, and slew them, when they had not the least occasion of complaint against them; for they did neither attempt any innovation or revolt from the Romans, nor had they given any marks of hatred or treacherous designs towards the Syrians. But what was done by the inhabitants of Scythopolis was the most impious and most highly criminal of all; for when the Jews their enemies came upon them from without, they forced the Jews that were among them to bear arms against their own countrymen, which it is unlawful for us to do; and when, by their assistance, they had joined battle with those who attacked them, and had beaten them, after that victory they forgot the assurances they had given these their fellow citizens and confederates, and slew them all, being in number many ten thousands [13,000]. The like miseries were undergone by those Jews that were the inhabitants of Damascus. But we have given a more accurate account of these things in the books of the Jewish war. I only mention them now, because I would demonstrate to my readers, that the

Jews' war with the Romans was not voluntary, but that, for the main, they were forced by necessity to enter into it.

VII

[28] Νικηθέντος οὖν, ὡς ἔφαμεν, τοῦ Κεστίου, τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν οἱ πρῶτοι θεασάμενοι τοὺς μὲν λῃστὰς ἅμα τοῖς νεωτερισταῖς εὐπορουμένους ὅπλων, δείσαντες δ᾽ αὐτοὶ μὴ ἄνοπλοι καθεστηκότες ὑποχείριοι γένωνται τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ὃ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συνέβη, καὶ πυθόμενοι τὴν Γαλιλαίαν οὔπω πᾶσαν Ῥωμαίων ἀφεστάναι, μέρος δ᾽ αὐτῆς ἠρεμεῖν ἔτι, [29] πέμπουσιν ἐμὲ καὶ δύο ἄλλους τῶν ἱερέων καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, Ἰώζαρον καὶ Ἰούδαν, πείσοντας τοὺς πονηροὺς καταθέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα καὶ διδάξοντας, ὡς ἔστιν ἄμεινον τοῖς κρατίστοις τοῦ ἔθνους αὐτὰ τηρεῖσθαι. Ἔγνωστο δὲ τούτοις ἀεὶ μὲν ἔχειν τὰ ὅπλα πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἕτοιμα, περιμένειν δέ, τί πράξουσιν Ῥωμαῖοι, μαθεῖν.

7. So when Gessius had been beaten, as we have said already, the principal men of Jerusalem, seeing that the robbers and innovators had arms in great plenty, and fearing lest they, while they were unprovided of arms, should be in subjection to their enemies, which also came to be the case afterward; and, being informed that all Galilee had not yet revolted from the Romans, but that some part of it was still quiet; they sent me and two others of the priests, who were men of excellent characters, Joazar and Judas, in order to persuade the ill men there to lay down their arms, and to teach them this lesson, — That it were better to have those arms reserved for the most courageous men that the nation had [than to be kept there]; for that it had been resolved, That those our best men should always have their arms ready against futurity; but still so, that they should wait to see what the Romans would do.

VIII

[30] Λαβὼν οὖν ἐγὼ τὰς ὑποθήκας ταύτας ἀφικόμην εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν. Καὶ Σεπφωρίτας μὲν οὐκ ἐν ὀλίγῳ περὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἀγῶνι καθεστῶτας εὗρον, διαρπάσαι κεκρικότων αὐτὴν τῶν Γαλιλαίων διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐκείνων φιλίαν καὶ ὅτι Κεστίῳ Γάλλῳ τῷ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμονεύοντι δεξιάν τε καὶ πίστιν προτείνειαν. [31] Ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν ἐγὼ πάντας ἀπήλλαξα τοῦ φόβου πείσας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τὰ πλήθη καὶ ἐπιτρέψας ὅσα καὶ θέλουσι διαπέμπεσθαι διὰ τοὺς ἐν Δώροις οἰκείους ὁμηρεύοντας Κεστίῳ. Τὰ δὲ Δῶρα πόλις ἐστὶν τῆς Φοινίκης. Τοὺς ἐν Τιβεριάδι δὲ κατοικοῦντας εὗρον ἐφ᾽ ὅπλα κεχωρηκότας ἤδη δι᾽ αἰτίαν τοιαύτην·

8. When I had therefore received these instructions, I came into Galilee, and found the people of Sepphoris in no small agony about their country, by reason that the Galileans had resolved to plunder it, on account of the friendship they had with the Romans, and because they had given their right hand, and made a league with Cestius Gallus, the president of Syria. But I delivered them all out of the fear they were in, and persuaded the multitude to deal kindly with them, and permitted them to send to those that were their own hostages with Gessius to Dora, which is a city of Phoenicia, as often as they pleased; though I still found the inhabitants of Tiberias ready to take arms, and that on the occasion following: —

IX

[32] Στάσεις τρεῖς ἦσαν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, μία μὲν ἀνδρῶν εὐσχημόνων, ἦρχε δ᾽ αὐτῆς Ἰούλιος Κάπελλος. [33] Οὗτος δὴ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πάντες, Ἡρώδης ὁ Μιαροῦ καὶ Ἡρώδης ὁ τοῦ Γαμάλου καὶ Κομψὸς ὁ τοῦ Κομψοῦ· Κρίσπος γὰρ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως γενόμενός ποτε ἔπαρχος ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις κτήσεσιν ἐτύγχανεν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου· [34] πάντες οὖν οἱ προειρημένοι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐμμένειν συνεβούλευον τῇ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καὶ τὸν βασιλέα πίστει. Τῇ γνώμῃ δ᾽ οὐ συνηρέσκετο Πιστὸς παραγόμενος ὑπὸ Ἰούστου τοῦ παιδός· καὶ γὰρ ἦν φύσει πως ἐπιμανής. [35] Ἡ δευτέρα δὲ στάσις ἐξ ἀσημοτάτων συνεστηκυῖα πολεμεῖν ἔκρινεν. [36] Ἰοῦστος δ᾽ ὁ Πιστοῦ παῖς ὁ τῆς τρίτης μερίδος πρῶτος ὑπεκρίνετο μὲν ἐνδοιάζειν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, νεωτέρων δ᾽ ἐπεθύμει πραγμάτων ἐκ τῆς μεταβολῆς οἰόμενος δύναμιν ἑαυτῷ περιποιήσειν. [37] Παρελθὼν οὖν εἰς μέσους διδάσκειν ἐπειρᾶτο τὸ πλῆθος, ὡς ἡ πόλις ἀεὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἄρξειεν ἐπί γε τῶν Ἡρώδου χρόνων τοῦ τετράρχου καὶ κτίστου γενομένου, βουληθέντος αὐτοῦ τὴν Σεπφωριτῶν πόλιν τῇ Τιβεριέων ὑπακούειν, ἀποβαλεῖν δὲ τὸ πρωτεῖον αὐτοὺς μηδὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα τοῦ πατρὸς, διαμεῖναι δὲ καὶ μέχρι Φήλικος προεσταμένου τῆς Ἰουδαίας. [38] Νῦν δὲ ἔλεγεν αὐτοὺς ἠτυχηκέναι τῷ νεωτέρῳ δωρεὰν Ἀγρίππᾳ δοθέντας ὑπὸ Νέρωνος· ἄρξαι γὰρ εὐθὺς τὴν μὲν Σέπφωριν, ἐπειδὴ Ῥωμαίοις ὑπήκουσεν, τῆς Γαλιλαίας, καταλυθῆναι δὲ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς τήν τε βασιλικὴν τράπεζαν καὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα. [39] Ταῦτα καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἕτερα πολλὰ κατὰ βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα λέγων ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἐρεθίσαι, προσετίθει νῦν εἶναι καιρὸν ἀραμένους ὅπλα καὶ Γαλιλαίους συμμάχους προσλαβόντας, ἄρξειν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἑκόντων διὰ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς Σεπφωρίτας μῖσος ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πίστιν διαφυλάσσουσιν, μεγάλῃ χειρὶ πρὸς τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τιμωρίαν τραπέσθαι. [40] Ταῦτα λέγων προετρέψατο τὸ πλῆθος· ἦν γὰρ ἱκανὸς δημαγωγεῖν καὶ τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων τὰ βελτίω περιεῖναι γοητείᾳ καὶ ἀπάτῃ τῇ διὰ λόγων· καὶ γὰρ οὐδ᾽

ἄπειρος ἦν παιδείας τῆς παρ᾽ Ἕλλησιν, ᾗ θαρρῶν ἐπεχείρησεν καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν πραγμάτων τούτων ἀναγράφειν, ὡς τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ περιεσόμενος τῆς ἀληθείας. [41] Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὡς φαῦλος τὸν βίον ἐγένετο καὶ ὡς σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ μικροῦ δεῖν καταστροφῆς αἴτιος ὑπῆρξεν, προϊόντος τοῦ λόγου δηλώσομεν. [42] Τότε δὲ πείσας ὁ Ἰοῦστος τοὺς πολίτας ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ὅπλα πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ μὴ θελήσαντας ἀναγκάσας, ἐξελθὼν σὺν πᾶσιν τούτοις ἐμπίπρησιν τάς τε Γαδαρηνῶν καὶ Ἱππηνῶν κώμας, αἳ δὴ μεθόριοι τῆς Τιβεριάδος καὶ τῆς τῶν Σκυθοπολιτῶν γῆς ἐτύγχανον κείμεναι.

9. There were three factions in this city. The first was composed of men of worth and gravity; of these Julius Capellus was the head. Now he, as well as all his companions, Herod the son of Miarus, and Herod the son of Gamalus, and Compsus the son of Compsus; [for as to Compsus's brother Crispus, who had once been governor of the city under the great king [Agrippa] he was beyond Jordan in his own possessions;] all these persons before named gave their advice, that the city should then continue in their allegiance to the Romans and to the king. But Pistus, who was guided by his son Justus, did not acquiesce in that resolution; otherwise he was himself naturally of a good and virtuous character. But the second faction was composed of the most ignoble persons, and was determined for war. But as for Justus, the son of Pistus, who was the head of the third faction, although he pretended to be doubtful about going to war, yet was he really desirous of innovation, as supposing that he should gain power to himself by the change of affairs. He therefore came into the midst of them, and endeavored to inform the multitude that "the city Tiberius had ever been a city of Galilee, and that in the days of Herod the tetrarch, who had built it, it had obtained the principal place, and that he had ordered that the city Sepphoris should be subordinate to the city Tiberias; that they had not lost this preeminence even under Agrippa the father, but had retained it until Felix was procurator of Judea. But he told them, that now they had been so unfortunate as to be made a present by Nero to Agrippa, junior; and that, upon Sepphoris's submission of itself to the Romans, that was become the capital city of Galilee, and that the royal library and the archives were now removed from them." When he had spoken these things, and a great many more, against king Agrippa, in order to provoke the people to a revolt, he added that "this was the time for them to take arms, and join with the Galileans as their confederates [whom they might command, and who would now willingly assist them, out of the hatred they bare to the people of Sepphoris; because they preserved their fidelity to the Romans], and to gather a great number of forces, in order to punish them." And as he said this, he exhorted the multitude, [to go to war;] for his abilities lay in making

harangues to the people, and in being too hard in his speeches for such as opposed him, though they advised what was more to their advantage, and this by his craftiness and his fallacies, for he was not unskilful in the learning of the Greeks; and in dependence on that skill it was, that he undertook to write a history of these affairs, as aiming, by this way of haranguing, to disguise the truth. But as to this man, and how ill were his character and conduct of life, and how he and his brother were, in great measure, the authors of our destruction, I shall give the reader an account in the progress of my narration. So when Justus had, by his persuasions, prevailed with the citizens of Tiberias to take arms, nay, and had forced a great many so to do against their wills, he went out, and set the villages that belonged to Gadara and Hippos on fire; which villages were situated on the borders of Tiberias, and of the region of Scythopolis.

X

[43] Καὶ Τιβεριὰς μὲν ἐν τοιούτοις ἦν. Τὰ περὶ Γίσχαλα δὲ εἶχε τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· Ἰωάννης ὁ τοῦ Λιουεῖ τῶν πολιτῶν τινας ὁρῶν διὰ τὴν ἀποστασίαν τὴν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων μέγα φρονοῦντας κατέχειν αὐτοὺς ἐπειρᾶτο καὶ τὴν πίστιν ἠξίου διαφυλάττειν. [44] Οὐ μὴν ἠδυνήθη καίτοι πάνυ προθυμούμενος· τὰ γὰρ πέριξ ἔθνη, Γαδαρηνοὶ καὶ βαραγαναῖοι καὶ Τύριοι, πολλὴν ἀθροίσαντες δύναμιν καὶ τοῖς Γισχάλοις ἐπιπεσόντες λαμβάνουσι τὰ Γίσχαλα κατὰ κράτος, καὶ πυρπολήσαντες εἶτα δὲ προσκατασκάψαντες εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀνέζευξαν. [45] Ἰωάννης δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ παροξυνθεὶς ὁπλίζει πάντας τοὺς μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ συμβαλὼν τοῖς προειρημένοις ἔθνεσιν τά τε Γίσχαλα κρείττονα πάλιν ἀνακτίσας τείχεσιν ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τῆς εἰς ὕστερον ὠχύρωσεν.

10. And this was the state Tiberias was now in. But as for Gischala, its affairs were thus: — When John, the son of Levi, saw some of the citizens much elevated upon their revolt from the Romans, he labored to restrain them, and entreated them that they would keep their allegiance to them. But he could not gain his purpose, although he did his endeavors to the utmost; for the neighboring people of Gadara, Gabara, and Sogana, with the Tyrians, got together a great army, and fell upon Gischala, and took Gischala by force, and set it on fire; and when they had entirely demolished it, they returned home. Upon which John was so enraged, that he armed all his men, and joined battle with the people forementioned; and rebuilt Gischala after a manner better than before, and fortified it with walls for its future security.

XI

[46] Γάμαλα δὲ πίστει τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐνέμεινε δι᾽ αἰτίαν τοιαύτην· Φίλιππος ὁ Ἰακείμου παῖς ἔπαρχος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα, σωθεὶς παρὰ δόξαν ἐκ τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς πολιορκουμένης καὶ διαφυγών, εἰς ἕτερον ἐνέπεσε κίνδυνον, ὥστε ὑπὸ Μαναήμου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ λῃστῶν ἀναιρεθῆναι. [47] Διεκώλυσαν δὲ Βαβυλώνιοί τινες συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὄντες πρᾶξαι τοὺς λῃστὰς τὸ ἔργον. Ἐπιμείνας οὖν ἡμέρας τέσσαρας ὁ Φίλιππος ἐκεῖ τῇ πέμπτῃ φεύγει περιθετῇ χρησάμενος κόμῃ τοῦ μὴ κατάδηλος γενέσθαι, καὶ παραγενόμενος εἴς τινα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ κωμῶν κατὰ τοὺς ὅρους Γάμαλα τοῦ φρουρίου κειμένην πέμπει πρός τινας τῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν προστάσσων ὡς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι τὴν Φιλίππου. [48] Ταῦτα δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐννοούμενον ἐμποδίζει τὸ θεῖον ἐπὶ συμφέροντι· μὴ γὰρ τούτου γενομένου πάντως ἂν ἀπωλώλει· πυρετοῦ δὴ κατασχόντος αὐτὸν ἐξαίφνης γράψας ἐπιστολὰς τοῖς παισὶν Ἀγρίππᾳ καὶ Βερενίκῃ δίδωσιν τῶν ἐξελευθέρων τινὶ κομίζειν πρὸς Οὔαρον. [49] Ἦν δ᾽ οὗτος κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον ὁ τὴν βασιλείαν διοικῶν καταστησάντων αὐτὸν τῶν βασιλέων· αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰς Βηρυτὸν ἀφικνοῦντο ὑπαντῆσαι βουλόμενοι Κεστίῳ. [50] Λαβὼν οὖν Οὔαρος τὰ παρὰ Φιλίππου γράμματα καὶ πυθόμενος αὐτὸν διασεσῶσθαι βαρέως ἤνεγκεν, ἀχρεῖος τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτὸς νομίζων φανεῖσθαι τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἀφικομένου τοῦ Φιλίππου. Προαγαγὼν οὖν εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τὸν τὰς ἐπιστολὰς κομίζοντα καὶ πλαστογραφίαν ἐπικαλέσας ψεύδεσθαί τε φήσας αὐτὸν ἀπαγγείλαντα Φίλιππον ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις μετὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων Ῥωμαίοις πολεμεῖν ἀπέκτεινεν. [51] Μὴ ὑποστρέψαντος δὴ τοῦ ἐξελευθέρου Φίλιππος ἀπορῶν τὴν αἰτίαν δεύτερον ἐκπέμπει μετ᾽ ἐπιστολῶν πάλιν τὸν ἀπαγγελοῦντα πρὸς αὐτόν, τί τὸ συμβεβηκὸς εἴη τῷ ἀποσταλέντι, δι᾽ ὃ βραδύνειεν. [52] Καὶ τοῦτον δὲ παραγενόμενον ὁ Οὔαρος συκοφαντήσας ἀνεῖλεν· καὶ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Καισαρείᾳ Σύρων ἐπῆρτο μέγα φρονεῖν, ἀναιρεθήσεσθαι μὲν λεγόντων ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων τὸν Ἀγρίππαν διὰ τὰς ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἁμαρτίας, λήψεσθαι δ᾽ αὐτὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ βασιλέων ὄντα· καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὁμολογουμένως ὁ Οὔαρος βασιλικοῦ γένους ἔγγονος Σοέμου τοῦ περὶ τὸν Λίβανον τετραρχοῦντος. [53] Διὰ τοῦτ᾽ οὖν ὁ Οὔαρος τυφούμενος τὰς μὲν ἐπιστολὰς παρ᾽ ἑαυτῷ κατέσχεν μηχανώμενος μὴ ἐντυχεῖν τοῖς γράμμασι τὸν βασιλέα, τὰς ἐξόδους δὲ πάσας ἐφρούρει, μὴ διαδράς τις ἀπαγγείλειε τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ πραττόμενα. Καὶ δὴ χαριζόμενος τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Καισάρειαν Σύροις πολλοὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπέκτεινεν. [54] Ἐβουλήθη δὲ καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐν Βατανέᾳ Τραχωνιτῶν ἀναλαβὼν τὰ ὅπλα ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις Βαβυλωνίους Ἰουδαίους, ταύτην γὰρ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἔχουσιν, ὁρμῆσαι. [55] Καλέσας οὖν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Καισάρειαν Ἰουδαίων δώδεκα τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους προσέτασσεν αὐτοῖς ἀφικομένοις εἰς Ἐκβάτανα πρὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖ κατοικοῦντας αὐτῶν ὁμοφύλους εἰπεῖν, ὅτι Οὔαρος ἀκούσας ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ βασιλέα μέλλειν ὁρμᾶν καὶ μὴ πιστεύσας πέπομφεν ἡμᾶς πείσοντας ὑμᾶς τὰ ὅπλα καταθέσθαι· τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῷ τεκμήριον ἔσεσθαι καὶ τοῦ καλῶς μὴ πιστεῦσαι τοῖς περὶ ὑμῶν

λέγουσιν. [56] Ἐκέλευε δὲ καὶ τοὺς πρώτους αὐτῶν ἄνδρας ἑβδομήκοντα πέμπειν ἀπολογησομένους περὶ τῆς ἐπενηνεγμένης αἰτίας. Ἐλθόντες οὖν οἱ δώδεκα πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις ὁμοφύλους καὶ καταλαβόντες αὐτοὺς μηδὲν ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ φρονοῦντας ἔπεισαν καὶ τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα πέμπειν. [57] Οἱ δὲ μηδὲν ὑποπτεύσαντες τοιοῦτον οἷον ἔμελλεν ἀποβήσεσθαι ἐξαπέστειλαν. Καταβαίνουσιν δ᾽ οὗτοι μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα πρέσβεων εἰς τὴν Καισάρειαν. Ὑπαντήσας οὖν ὁ Οὔαρος μετὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς δυνάμεως σὺν τοῖς πρέσβεσιν πάντας ἀπέκτεινεν καὶ τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις Ἰουδαίους ἐποιεῖτο. [58] Φθάσας δέ τις ἐκ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα σωθεὶς ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς, κἀκεῖνοι τὰ ὅπλα λαβόντες σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις εἰς Γάμαλα τὸ φρούριον ὑπεχώρησαν, καταλιπόντες τὰς κώμας πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν πλήρεις καὶ βοσκημάτων πολλὰς μυριάδας ἐχούσας. [59] Φίλιππος δὲ πυθόμενος ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς Γάμαλα τὸ φρούριον ἦκεν. Παραγενομένου δὲ κατεβόα τὸ πλῆθος, ἄρχειν αὐτὸν παρακαλοῦντες καὶ πολεμεῖν πρὸς Οὔαρον καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Καισαρείᾳ Σύρους. Διαδέδοκτο γὰρ ὑπὸ τούτων τὸν βασιλέα τεθνάναι. [60] Φίλιππος δ᾽ αὐτῶν κατεῖχε τὰς ὁρμὰς ὑπομιμνήσκων τῶν τε τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς αὐτοὺς εὐεργεσιῶν, καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων διηγούμενος ὅση τίς ἐστι δύναμις συμφέρειν οὐκ ἔλεγεν ἄρασθαι πρὸς τούτους πόλεμον, καὶ τέλος ἔπεισεν. [61] Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς πυθόμενος, ὅτι Οὔαρος μέλλει τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς Καισαρείας Ἰουδαίους σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις πολλὰς ὄντας μυριάδας ἀναιρεῖν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ, μεταπέμπεται πρὸς αὐτὸν Αἴκουον Μονόδιον πέμψας αὐτῷ διάδοχον, ὡς ἐν ἄλλοις ἐδηλώσαμεν. Ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος Γάμαλα τὸ φρούριον κατέσχεν καὶ τὴν πέριξ χώραν πίστει τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐμμένουσαν.

11. But Gamala persevered in its allegiance to the Romans, for the reason following: — Philip, the son of Jacimus, who was their governor under king Agrippa, had been unexpectedly preserved when the royal palace at Jerusalem had been besieged; but, as he fled away, had fallen into another danger, and that was, of being killed by Manahem, and the robbers that were with him; but certain Babylonians, who were of his kindred, and were then in Jerusalem, hindered the robbers from executing their design. So Philip staid there four days, and fled away on the fifth, having disguised himself with fictitious hair, that he might not be discovered; and when he was come to one of the villages to him belonging, but one that was situated at the borders of the citadel of Gamala, he sent to some of those that were under him, and commanded them to come to him. But God himself hindered that his intention, and this for his own advantage also; for had it not so happened, he had certainly perished. For a fever having seized upon him immediately, he wrote to Agrippa and Bernice, and gave them to one of his freed-men to carry them to Varus, who at this time was procurator

of the kingdom, which the king and his sister had intrusted him withal, while they were gone to Berytus with an intention of meeting Gessius. When Varus had received these letters of Philip, and had learned that he was preserved, he was very uneasy at it, as supposing that he should appear useless to the king and his sister, now Philip was come. He therefore produced the carrier of the letters before the multitude, and accused him of forging the same; and said that he spake falsely when he related that Philip was at Jerusalem, fighting among the Jews against the Romans. So he slew him. And when this freed-man of Philip did not return again, Philip was doubtful what should be the occasion of his stay, and sent a second messenger with letters, that he might, upon his return, inform him what had befallen the other that had been sent before, and why he tarried so long. Varus accused this messenger also, when he came, of telling a falsehood, and slew him. For he was puffed up by the Syrians that were at Caesarea, and had great expectations; for they said that Agrippa would be slain by the Romans for the crimes which the Jews had committed, and that he should himself take the government, as derived from their kings; for Varus was, by the confession of all, of the royal family, as being a descendant of Sohemus, who had enjoyed a tetrarchy about Libanus; for which reason it was that he was puffed up, and kept the letters to himself. He contrived, also, that the king should not meet with those writings, by guarding all the passes, lest any one should escape, and inform the king what had been done. He moreover slew many of the Jews, in order to gratify the Syrians of Cesarea. He had a mind also to join with the Trachonites in Batanea, and to take up arms and make an assault upon the Babylonian Jews that were at Ecbatana; for that was the name they went by. He therefore called to him twelve of the Jews of Cesarea, of the best character, and ordered them to go to Ecbatana, and inform their countrymen who dwelt there, That Varus hath heard that "you intend to march against the king; but, not believing that report, he hath sent us to persuade you to lay down your arms, and that this compliance will be a sign that he did well not to give credit to those that raised the report concerning you." He also enjoined them to send seventy of their principal men to make a defense for them as to the accusation laid against them. So when the twelve messengers came to their countrymen at Ecbatana, and found that they had no designs of innovation at all, they persuaded them to send the seventy men also; who, not at all suspecting what would come, sent them accordingly. So these seventy went down to Caesarea, together with the twelve ambassadors; where Varus met them with the king's forces, and slew them all, together with the [twelve] ambassadors, and made an expedition against the Jews of Ecbatana. But one there was of the seventy who escaped, and made haste to inform the Jews of their coming; upon which they took their arms, with their wives and

children, and retired to the citadel at Gamala, leaving their own villages full of all sorts of good things, and having many ten thousands of cattle therein. When Philip was informed of these things, he also came to the citadel of Gamala; and when he was come, the multitude cried aloud, and desired him to resume the government, and to make an expedition against Varus, and the Syrians of Cesarea; for it was reported that they had slain the king. But Philip restrained their zeal, and put them in mind of the benefits the king had bestowed upon them; and told them how powerful the Romans were, and said it was not for their advantage to make war with them; and at length he prevailed with them. But now, when the king was acquainted with Varus's design, which was to cut off the Jews of Caesarea, being many ten thousands, with their wives and children, and all in one day, he called to him Equiculus Modius, and sent him to be Varus's successor, as we have elsewhere related. But still Philip kept possession of the citadel of Gamala, and of the country adjoining to it, which thereby continued in their allegiance to the Romans.

XII

[62] Ἐπεὶ δ᾽ εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἀφικόμην ἐγὼ καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν ἀπαγγειλάντων ἔμαθον, γράφω τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν περὶ τούτων καὶ τί με πράττειν κελεύουσιν ἐρωτῶ. Οἱ δὲ προσμεῖναι παρεκάλεσαν καὶ τοὺς συμπρέσβεις. Εἰ θέλοιεν, κατασχόντα πρόνοιαν ποιήσασθαι τῆς Γαλιλαίας. [63] Οἱ δὲ συμπρέσβεις εὐπορήσαντες πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐκ τῶν διδομένων αὐτοῖς δεκατῶν, ἃς ὄντες ἱερεῖς ὀφειλομένας ἀπελάμβανον, εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ὑποστρέφειν ἔκριναν. Ἐμοῦ δ᾽ αὐτοὺς προσμεῖναι παρακαλέσαντος ἕως οὗ τὰ πράγματα καταστήσωμεν, πείθονται. [64] Ἄρας οὖν μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Σεπφωριτῶν πόλεως εἰς κώμην τινὰ Βηθμαοῦς λεγομένην ἀπέχουσαν Τιβεριάδος στάδια τέσσαρα παραγίνομαι, καὶ πέμψας ἐντεῦθεν πρὸς τὴν Τιβεριέων βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τοῦ δήμου παρεκάλουν ἀφικέσθαι πρός με. [65] Καὶ παραγενομένων, ἐληλύθει δὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἰοῦστος, ἔλεγον ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πρεσβεύσων μετὰ τούτων πεπόμφθαι πρὸς αὐτούς, πείσων καθαιρεθῆναι τὸν οἶκον τὸν ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου τοῦ τετράρχου κατασκευασθέντα ζῴων μορφὰς ἔχοντα τῶν νόμων οὕτως τι κατασκευάζειν ἀπαγορευόντων, καὶ παρεκάλουν αὐτοὺς ἐᾶν ἡμᾶς ᾗ τάχος τοῦτο πράττειν. [66] Ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν οὖν οἱ περὶ τὸν Καπέλλαν καὶ τοὺς πρώτους αὐτῶν ἐπιτρέπειν οὐκ ἤθελον, βιαζόμενοι δ᾽ ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν συγκατατίθενται. Φθάνει δ᾽ Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Σαπφία παῖς, ὢν τῆς τῶν ναυτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀπόρων στάσεως πρῶτον ἔφαμεν ἄρξαι, παραλαβών τινας Γαλιλαίους καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν αὐλὴν ἐμπρήσας, πολλῶν οἰόμενος εὐπορήσειν ἐξ αὐτῆς χρημάτων, ἐπειδή τινας οἴκων ὀροφὰς κεχρυσωμένας εἶδεν. [67] Καὶ διήρπασαν πολλὰ παρὰ

γνώμην τὴν ἡμετέραν πράξαντες· ἡμεῖς γὰρ μετὰ τὴν πρὸς Καπέλλαν καὶ τοὺς πρώτους Τιβεριέων ὁμιλίαν εἰς τὴν ἄνω Γαλιλαίαν ἀπὸ Βηθμαῶν ἀνεχωρήσαμεν. Ἀναιροῦσιν δ᾽ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν πάντας τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας Ἕλληνας ὅσοι τε πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου γεγόνεισαν αὐτῶν ἐχθροί.

12. Now, as soon as I was come into Galilee, and had learned this state of things by the information of such as told me of them, I wrote to the sanhedrim at Jerusalem about them, and required their direction what I should do. Their direction was, that I should continue there, and that, if my fellow legates were willing, I should join with them in the care of Galilee. But those my fellow legates, having gotten great riches from those tithes which as priests were their dues, and were given to them, determined to return to their own country. Yet when I desired them to stay so long, that we might first settle the public affairs, they complied with me. So I removed, together with them, from the city of Sepphoris, and came to a certain village called Bethmaus, four furlongs distant from Tiberius; and thence I sent messengers to the senate of Tiberius, and desired that the principal men of the city would come to me: and when they were come, Justus himself being also with them, I told them that I was sent to them by the people of Jerusalem as a legate, together with these other priests, in order to persuade them to demolish that house which Herod the tetrarch had built there, and which had the figures of living creatures in it, although our laws have forbidden us to make any such figures; and I desired that they would give us leave so to do immediately. But for a good while Capellus and the principal men belonging to the city would not give us leave, but were at length entirely overcome by us, and were induced to be of our opinion. So Jesus the son of Sapphias, one of those whom we have already mentioned as the leader of a seditious tumult of mariners and poor people, prevented us, and took with him certain Galileans, and set the entire palace on fire, and thought he should get a great deal of money thereby, because he saw some of the roofs gilt with gold. They also plundered a great deal of the furniture, which was done without our approbation; for after we had discoursed with Capellus and the principal men of the city, we departed from Bethmaus, and went into the Upper Galilee. But Jesus and his party slew all the Greeks that were inhabitants of Tiberias, and as many others as were their enemies before the war began.

XIII

[68] Πυθόμενος δ᾽ ἐγὼ ταῦτα παρωξύνθην σφόδρα, καὶ καταβὰς εἰς Τιβεριάδα πρόνοιαν εἰσηνεγκάμην τῶν βασιλικῶν σκευῶν ὅσα δυνατὸν ἦν τοὺς ἁρπάσαντας ἀφελέσθαι· λυχνίαι δ᾽ ἦσαν Κορίνθιαι ταῦτα καὶ τράπεζαι τῶν

βασιλικῶν καὶ ἀσήμου ἀργυρίου σταθμὸς ἱκανός· πάντα δ᾽, ὅσα παρέλαβον, φυλάσσειν ἔκρινα τῷ βασιλεῖ. [69] Μεταπεμψάμενος οὖν τοὺς τῆς βουλῆς πρώτους δέκα καὶ Καπέλλαν τὸν Ἀντύλλου τὰ σκεύη παρέδωκα, μηδενὶ παραγγείλας ἑτέρῳ πλὴν ἐμοῦ δοῦναι. [70] Κἀκεῖθεν εἰς τὰ Γίσχαλα πρὸς τὸν Ἰωάννην μετὰ τῶν συμπρέσβεων ἀφικόμην βουλόμενος γνῶναι, τί ποτε φρονεῖ. Κατεῖδον δ᾽ αὐτὸν ταχέως νεωτέρων ὀρεγόμενον πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχοντα· [71] παρεκάλει γάρ με τὸν Καίσαρος σῖτον κείμενον ἐν ταῖς τῆς ἄνωθεν Γαλιλαίας κώμαις ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ δοῦναι ἐκφορῆσαι· θέλειν γὰρ ἔφασκεν εἰς ἐπισκευὴν τῶν τῆς πατρίδος τειχῶν αὐτὸν ἀναλῶσαι. [72] Κατανοήσας δὲ ἐγὼ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τί διανοοῖτο πράσσειν, οὐκ ἔφην αὐτῷ συγχωρεῖν· ἢ γὰρ Ῥωμαίοις αὐτὸν ἐνενοούμην φυλάττειν ἢ ‘μαυτῷ διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῶν ἐκεῖ πραγμάτων αὐτὸς παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πεπιστεῦσθαι. [73] Μὴ πείθων δὲ περὶ τούτων ἐπὶ τοὺς συμπρέσβεις ἐτράπετο· καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἀπρονόητοι τῶν ἐσομένων καὶ λαβεῖν ἑτοιμότατοι· φθείρει δὲ χρήμασιν αὐτοὺς ψηφίσασθαι πάντα τὸν σῖτον αὐτῷ παραδοθῆναι τὸν ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐπαρχίᾳ κείμενον. [74] Κἀγὼ μόνος ἡττώμενος ὑποδὺς τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἦγαγον. Καὶ δευτέραν Ἰωάννης ἐπεισέφερεν πανουργίαν· ἔφη γὰρ Ἰουδαίους τοὺς τὴν Φιλίππου Καισάρειαν κατοικοῦντας συγκεκλεισμένους κατὰ προσταγὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ὑποδίκου τοῦ τὴν δυναστείαν διοικοῦντος πεπομφέναι πρὸς αὐτὸν παρακαλοῦντας, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἔλαιον ᾧ χρήσονται καθαρόν, ποιησάμενον πρόνοιαν εὐπορίαν αὐτοῖς τούτου παρασχεῖν, μὴ δι᾽ ἀνάγκην Ἑλληνικῷ χρώμενοι τὰ νόμιμα παραβαίνωσιν. [75] Ταῦτα δ᾽ οὐχ ὑπ᾽ εὐσεβείας ἔλεγεν Ἰωάννης, δι᾽ αἰσχροκέρδειαν δὲ φανερωτάτην· γινώσκων γὰρ παρὰ μὲν ἐκείνοις κατὰ τὴν Καισάρειαν τοὺς δύο ξέστας δραχμῆς μιᾶς πωλουμένους, ἐν δὲ τοῖς Γισχάλοις τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντα ξέστας δραχμῶν τεσσάρων, πᾶν τὸ ἔλαιον ὅσον ἦν ἐκεῖ διεπέμψατο λαβὼν ἐξουσίαν καὶ παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ τὸ δοκεῖν· [76] οὐ γὰρ ἑκὼν ἐπέτρεπον, ἀλλὰ διὰ φόβον τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, μὴ κωλύων καταλευσθείην ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν. Συγχωρήσαντος οὖν μου πλείστων χρημάτων ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐκ τῆς κακουργίας ταύτης εὐπόρησε.

13. When I understood this state of things, I was greatly provoked, and went down to Tiberias, and took all the care I could of the royal furniture, to recover all that could be recovered from such as had plundered it. They consisted of candlesticks made of Corinthian brass, and of royal tables, and of a great quantity of uncoined silver; and I resolved to preserve whatsoever came to my hand for the king. So I sent for ten of the principal men of the senate, and for Capellus the son of Antyllus, and committed the furniture to them, with this charge, That they should part with it to nobody else but to myself. From thence I and my fellow legates went to Gichala, to John, as desirous to know his intentions, and soon

saw that he was for innovations, and had a mind to the principality; for he desired me to give him authority to carry off that corn which belonged to Caesar, and lay in the villages of Upper Galilee; and he pretended that he would expend what it came to in building the walls of his own city. But when I perceived what he endeavored at, and what he had in his mind, I said I would not permit him so to do; for that I thought either to keep it for the Romans or for myself, now I was intrusted with the public affairs there by the people of Jerusalem. But, when he was not able to prevail with me, he betook himself to my fellow legates; for they had no sagacity in providing for futurity, and were very ready to take bribes. So he corrupted them with money to decree, That all that corn which was within his province should be delivered to him; while I, who was but one, was outvoted by two, and held my tongue. Then did John introduce another cunning contrivance of his; for he said that those Jews who inhabited Cesarea Philippi, and were shut up by the order of the king's deputy there, had sent to him to desire him, that, since they had no oil that was pure for their use, he would provide a sufficient quantity of such oil for them, lest they should be forced to make use of oil that came from the Greeks, and thereby transgress their own laws. Now this was said by John, not out of his regard to religion, but out of his most flagrant desire of gain; for he knew that two sextaries were sold with them of Caesarea for one drachma, but that at Gischala fourscore sextaxies were sold for four sextaries. So he gave order that all the oil which was there should be carried away, as having my permission for so doing; which yet I did not grant him voluntarily, but only out of fear of the multitude, since, if I had forbidden him, I should have been stoned by them. When I had therefore permitted this to be done by John, he gained vast sums of money by this his knavery.

XIV

[77] Τοὺς δὲ συμπρέσβεις ἀπὸ τῶν Γισχάλων ἀπολύσας εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πρόνοιαν ἐποιούμην ὅπλων τε κατασκευῆς καὶ πόλεων ἐχυρότητος. Μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ τῶν λῃστῶν τοὺς ἀνδρειοτάτους ἀφελέσθαι μὲν αὐτῶν τὰ ὅπλα οὐχ οἷόν τε ὂν ἐώρων, ἔπεισα δὲ τὸ πλῆθος μισθοφορὰν αὐτοῖς παρέχειν, ἄμεινον εἶναι λέγων ἑκόντας ὀλίγα διδόναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς κτήσεις διαρπαζομένας ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν περιορᾶν. [78] Καὶ λαβὼν παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ὅρκους μὴ ἀφίξεσθαι πρότερον εἰς τὴν χώραν, ἐὰν μὴ μετακληθῶσιν ἢ ὅταν τὸν μισθὸν μὴ λάβωσιν, ἀπέλυσα παραγγείλας μήτε Ῥωμαίοις πολεμεῖν μήτε τοῖς περιοίκοις· εἰρηνεύεσθαι γὰρ πρὸ πάντων τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐφρόντιζον. [79] Τοὺς δ᾽ ἐν τέλει τῶν Γαλιλαίων ὅσον ἑβδομήκοντα πάντας βουλόμενος ἐν προφάσει φιλίας καθάπερ ὅμηρα τῆς πίστεως ἔχειν φίλους τε καὶ συνεκδήμους ἐποιησάμην ἐπί τε κρίσεις

παρελάμβανον καὶ μετὰ γνώμης τῆς ἐκείνων τὰς ἀποφάσεις ἐποιούμην, μήτε προπετείᾳ πειρώμενος τοῦ δικαίου διαμαρτάνειν καθαρεύειν τε παντὸς ἐπ᾽ αὐταῖς λήμματος.

14. But when I had dismissed my fellow legates, and sent them back to Jerusalem, I took care to have arms provided, and the cities fortified. And when I had sent for the most hardy among the robbers, I saw that it was not in my power to take their arms from them; but I persuaded the multitude to allow them money as pay, and told them it was better for them to give them a little willingly, rather than to [be forced to] overlook them when they plundered their goods from them. And when I had obliged them to take an oath not to come into that country, unless they were invited to come, or else when they had not their pay given them, I dismissed them, and charged them neither to make an expedition against the Romans, nor against those their neighbors that lay round about them; for my first care was to keep Galilee in peace. So I was willing to have the principal of the Galileans, in all seventy, as hostages for their fidelity, but still under the notion of friendship. Accordingly, I made them my friends and companions as I journeyed, and set them to judge causes; and with their approbation it was that I gave my sentences, while I endeavored not to mistake what justice required, and to keep my hands clear of all bribery in those determinations.

XV

[80] Περὶ τριακοστὸν γοῦν ἔτος ὑπάρχων, ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ, κἂν ἀπέχηταί τις τῶν παρανόμων ἐπιθυμιῶν, δύσκολον τὰς ἐκ τοῦ φθόνου διαβολὰς φεύγειν ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐξουσίας ὄντα μεγάλης, γυναῖκα μὲν πᾶσαν ἀνύβριστον ἐφύλαξα, πάντων δὲ τῶν διδομένων ὡς μὴ χρῄζων κατεφρόνησα, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τὰς ὀφειλομένας μοι ὡς ἱερεῖ δεκάτας ἀπελάμβανον παρὰ τῶν κομιζόντων· [81] ἐκ μέντοι τῶν λαφύρων μέρος τοὺς Σύρους τοὺς τὰς πέριξ πόλεις κατοικοῦντας νικήσας ἔλαβον, ἃ καὶ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τοῖς συγγενέσιν ὁμολογῶ πεπομφέναι. [82] Καὶ δὶς μὲν κατὰ κράτος ἑλὼν Σεπφωρίτας, Τιβεριεῖς τετράκις, Γαδαρεῖς δ᾽ ἅπαξ, καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην πολλάκις ἐπιβουλεύσαντά μοι λαβὼν ὑποχείριον οὔτ᾽ αὐτὸν οὔτε τινὰς τῶν προειρημένων ἐθνῶν ἐτιμωρησάμην, ὡς προϊὼν ὁ λόγος παραστήσει. [83] Διὰ τοῦτ᾽ οἶμαι καὶ τὸν θεόν, οὐ γὰρ λελήθασιν αὐτὸν οἱ τὰ δέοντα πράττοντες, καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνων ῥύσασθαί με χειρὸς καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πολλοῖς περιπεσόντα κινδύνοις διαφυλάξαι, περὶ ὧν ὕστερον ἀπαγγελοῦμεν.

15. I was now about the thirtieth year of my age; in which time of life it is a hard thing for any one to escape the calumnies of the envious, although he restrain himself from fulfilling any unlawful desires, especially where a person is in

great authority. Yet did I preserve every woman free from injuries; and as to what presents were offered me, I despised them, as not standing in need of them. Nor indeed would I take those tithes, which were due to me as a priest, from those that brought them. Yet do I confess, that I took part of the spoils of those Syrians which inhabited the cities that adjoined to us, when I had conquered them, and that I sent them to my kindred at Jerusalem; although, when I twice took Sepphoris by force, and Tiberias four times, and Gadara once, and when I had subdued and taken John, who often laid treacherous snares for me, I did not punish [with death] either him or any of the people forenamed, as the progress of this discourse will show. And on this account, I suppose, it was that God, who is never unacquainted with those that do as they ought to do, delivered me still out of the hands of these my enemies, and afterwards preserved me when I fell into those many dangers which I shall relate hereafter.

XVI

[84] Τοσαύτη δ᾽ ἦν ἡ πρός με τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Γαλιλαίων εὔνοια καὶ πίστις, ὥστε ληφθεισῶν αὐτῶν κατὰ κράτος τῶν πόλεων, γυναικῶν δὲ καὶ τέκνων ἀνδραποδισθέντων, οὐχ οὕτως ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐπεστέναξαν συμφοραῖς, ὥσπερ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐφρόντισαν σωτηρίας. [85] Ταῦτα δ᾽ ὁρῶν Ἰωάννης ἐφθόνησε, καὶ γράφει πρός με παρακαλῶν ἐπιτρέψαι καταβάντι χρήσασθαι τοῖς ἐν Τιβεριάδι θερμοῖς ὕδασι τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἕνεκα θεραπείας. [86] Κἀγὼ μηδὲν ὑποπτεύσας πράξειν αὐτὸν πονηρὸν οὐκ ἐκώλυσα· πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοῖς τῆς Τιβεριάδος τὴν διοίκησιν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ πεπιστευμένοις κατ᾽ ὄνομα γράφω κατάλυσιν ἑτοιμάσαι τῷ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ τοῖς ἀφιξομένοις σὺν αὐτῷ πάντων τε [τῶν ἐπιτηδείων] ἀφθονίαν παρασχεῖν. Διέτριβον δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐν κώμῃ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, ἣ προσαγορεύεται Κανά.

16. Now the multitude of the Galileans had that great kindness for me, and fidelity to me, that when their cities were taken by force, and their wives and children carried into slavery, they did not so deeply lament for their own calamities, as they were solicitous for my preservation. But when John saw this, he envied me, and wrote to me, desiring that I would give him leave to come down, and make use of the hot-baths of Tiberias for the recovery of the health of his body. Accordingly, I did not hinder him, as having no suspicion of any wicked designs of his; and I wrote to those to whom I had committed the administration of the affairs of Tiberius by name, that they should provide a lodging for John, and for such as should come with him, and should procure him what necessaries soever he should stand in need of. Now at this time my abode was in a village of Galilee, which is named Cans.

XVII

[87] Ὁ δ᾽ Ἰωάννης ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν Τιβεριέων πόλιν ἔπειθε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀποστάντας τῆς πρός με πίστεως προστίθεσθαι αὐτῷ. Καὶ πολλοὶ τὴν παράκλησιν ἡδέως ἐδέξαντο νεωτέρων ἐπιθυμοῦντες αἰεὶ πραγμάτων καὶ φύσει πρὸς μεταβολὰς ἐπιτηδείως ἔχοντες καὶ στάσεσι χαίροντες. [88] Μάλιστα δὲ Ἰοῦστος καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Πιστὸς ὡρμήκεσαν ἀποστάντες ἐμοῦ προσθέσθαι τῷ Ἰωάννῃ. [89] Διεκώλυσα δ᾽ αὐτοὺς φθάσας· ἦκεν γὰρ ἄγγελός μοι παρὰ Σίλα, ὃν ἐγὼ καθεστάκειν τῆς Τιβεριάδος στρατηγόν, ὡς προεῖπον, τὴν τῶν Τιβεριέων γνώμην ἀπαγγέλλων κἀμὲ σπεύδειν παρακαλῶν· βραδύναντος γὰρ ὑπὸ τὴν ἑτέρων ἐξουσίαν γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν. [90] Ἐντυχὼν οὖν τοῖς γράμμασι τοῦ Σίλα καὶ διακοσίους ἀναλαβὼν ἄνδρας δι᾽ ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς τὴν πορείαν ἐποιούμην, προπέμψας ἄγγελον τὸν τὴν ἐμὴν παρουσίαν τοῖς ἐν τῇ Τιβεριάδι σημανοῦντα. [91] Πρωῒ δὲ πλησιάζοντος ἐμοῦ τῇ πόλει τὸ πλῆθος ὑπηντίαζεν καὶ Ἰωάννης σὺν αὐτοῖς, καὶ πάνυ με τεταραγμένως ἀσπασάμενος, δείσας μὴ εἰς ἔλεγχον αὐτοῦ τῆς πράξεως ἀφικομένης ἀπολέσθαι κινδυνεύσῃ, ὑπεχώρησε μετὰ σπουδῆς εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κατάλυσιν. [92] Κἀγὼ δὲ γενόμενος κατὰ τὸ στάδιον τοὺς περὶ ἐμὲ σωματοφύλακας ἀπολύσας πλὴν ἑνὸς καὶ μετὰ τούτου κατασχὼν δέκα τῶν ὁπλιτῶν δημηγορεῖν ἐπειρώμην τῷ πλήθει τῶν Τιβεριέων στὰς ἐπὶ τριγχοῦ τινος ὑψηλοῦ, παρεκάλουν τε μὴ οὕτως αὐτοὺς ταχέως ἀφίστασθαι· [93] κατάγνωσιν γὰρ αὐτοῖς οἴσειν τὴν μεταβολήν, καὶ τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα προϊσταμένῳ δι᾽ ὑποψίας γενήσεσθαι δικαίας, ὡς μηδὲ τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον πίστιν φυλαξόντων.

17. But when John was come to the city of Tiberias, he persuaded the men to revolt from their fidelity to me, and to adhere to him; and many of them gladly received that invitation of his, as ever fond of innovations, and by nature disposed to changes, and delighting in seditions; but they were chiefly Justus and his father Pistus, that were earnest for their revolt from me, and their adherence to John. But I came upon them, and prevented them; for a messenger had come to me from Silas, whom I had made governor of Tiberias, as I have said already, and had told me of the inclinations of the people of Tiberias, and advised me to make haste thither; for that, if I made any delay, the city would come under another's jurisdiction. Upon the receipt of this letter of Silas, I took two hundred men along with me, and traveled all night, having sent before a messenger to let the people of Tiberias know that I was coming to them. When I came near to the city, which was early in the morning, the multitude came out to meet me; and John came with them, and saluted me, but in a most disturbed manner, as being afraid that my coming was to call him to an account for what I was now sensible he was doing. So he, in great haste, went to his lodging. But when I was in the open place of the city, having dismissed the guards I had about me, excepting

one, and ten armed men that were with him, I attempted to make a speech to the multitude of the people of Tiberias: and, standing on a certain elevated place, I entreated them not to be so hasty in their revolt; for that such a change in their behavior would be to their reproach, and that they would then justly be suspected by those that should be their governors hereafter, as if they were not likely to be faithful to them neither.

XVIII

[94] Οὔπω δέ μοι πάντα λελάλητο, καί τινος ἐξήκουσα τῶν οἰκείων καταβαίνειν κελεύοντος· οὐ γάρ μοι καιρὸν εἶναι φροντίζειν τῆς παρὰ Τιβεριέων εὐνοίας, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας σωτηρίας καὶ πῶς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς φύγω. [95] Πεπόμφει δ᾽ ὁ Ἰωάννης τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ὁπλιτῶν ἐπιλέξας τοὺς πιστοτάτους ἐκ τῶν χιλίων, οἵπερ ἦσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ προσέταξεν τοῖς πεμφθεῖσιν ἀνελεῖν με πεπυσμένος ὡς εἴην μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων μεμονωμένος. [96] Ἦκον δ᾽ οἱ πεμφθέντες, κἂν ἐπεπράχεισαν, εἰ μὴ τοῦ τριγχοῦ θᾶττον ἀφαλόμενος ἐγὼ μετὰ τοῦ σωματοφύλακος Ἰακώβου καὶ ὑπό τινος Τιβεριέως Ἡρώδου προσανακουφισθείς, ὁδηγηθεὶς ὑπὸ τούτου ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην καὶ πλοίου λαβόμενος καὶ ἐπιβὰς παρὰ δόξαν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς διαφυγὼν εἰς Ταριχέας ἀφικόμην.

18. But before I had spoken all I designed, I heard one of my own domestics bidding me come down, for that it was not a proper time to take care of retaining the good-will of the people of Tiberias, but to provide for my own safety, and escape my enemies there; for John had chosen the most trusty of those armed men that were about him out of those thousand that he had with him, and had given them orders when he sent them, to kill me, having learned that I was alone, excepting some of my domestics. So those that were sent came as they were ordered, and they had executed what they came about, had I not leaped down from the elevation I stood on, and with one of my guards, whose name was James, been carried [out of the crowd] upon the back of one Herod of Tiberias, and guided by him down to the lake, where I seized a ship, and got into it, and escaped my enemies unexpectedly, and came to Tarichese.

XIX

[97] Οἱ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην κατοικοῦντες ὡς ἐπύθοντο τὴν τῶν Τιβεριέων ἀπιστίαν, σφόδρα παρωξύνθησαν. Ἁρπάσαντες οὖν τὰ ὅπλα παρεκάλουν σφᾶς ἄγειν ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς· θέλειν γὰρ ἔφασκον ὑπὲρ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ δίκας λαβεῖν παρ᾽ αὐτῶν. [98] Διήγγελλον δὲ τὰ γεγονότα καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν πᾶσαν ἐρεθίσαι καὶ τούτους κατὰ τῶν Τιβεριέων διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχοντες, παρεκάλουν τε

πλείστους συναχθέντας ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς αὐτούς, ἵνα μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πράττωσιν τὸ δόξαν. [99] Ἦκον οὖν οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι πολλοὶ πανταχόθεν μεθ᾽ ὅπλων καὶ παρεκελεύοντό μοι προσβαλεῖν τῇ Τιβεριάδι καὶ κατὰ κράτος αὐτὴν ἐξελεῖν καὶ πᾶσαν ἔδαφος ποιήσαντα τοὺς ἐνοίκους σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἀνδραποδίσασθαι. Συνεβούλευον δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν φίλων οἱ ἐκ τῆς Τιβεριάδος διασωθέντες. [100] Ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ συνεπένευον δεινὸν ἡγούμενος ἐμφυλίου πολέμου κατάρχειν· μέχρι λόγων γὰρ ᾤμην εἶναι δεῖν τὴν φιλονεικίαν. Καὶ μὴν οὐδ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἔφασκον συμφέρειν τοῦτο πρᾶξαι Ῥωμαίων ταῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους στάσεσιν αὐτοὺς ἀπολέσθαι προσδοκώντων. Ταῦτα δὲ λέγων ἔπαυσα τῆς ὀργῆς τοὺς Γαλιλαίους.

19. Now, as soon as the inhabitants of that city understood the perfidiousness of the people of Tiberias, they were greatly provoked at them. So they snatched up their arms, and desired me to be their leader against them; for they said they would avenge their commander's cause upon them. They also carried the report of what had been done to me to all the Galileans, and eagerly endeavored to irritate them against the people of Tiberias, and desired that vast numbers of them would get together, and come to them, that they might act in concert with their commander, what should be determined as fit to be done. Accordingly, the Galileans came to me in great numbers, from all parts, with their weapons, and besought me to assault Tiberias, to take it by force, and to demolish it, till it lay even with the ground, and then to make slaves of its inhabitants, with their wives and children. Those that were Josephus's friends also, and had escaped out of Tiberias, gave him the same advice. But I did not comply with them, thinking it a terrible thing to begin a civil war among them; for I thought that this contention ought not to proceed further than words; nay, I told them that it was not for their own advantage to do what they would have me to do, while the Romans expected no other than that we should destroy one another by our mutual seditions. And by saying this, I put a stop to the anger of the Galileans.

XX

[101] Ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης ἀπράκτου τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς αὐτῷ γενομένης ἔδεισε περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ὁπλίτας ἀναλαβὼν ἀπῆρεν ἐκ τῆς Τιβεριάδος εἰς τὰ Γίσχαλα, καὶ γράφει πρός με περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπολογούμενος ὡς μὴ κατὰ γνώμην τὴν αὐτοῦ γενομένων, παρακαλεῖ τε μηδὲν ὑπονοεῖν κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ προστιθεὶς ὅρκους καὶ δεινάς τινας ἀράς, δι᾽ ὧν ᾤετο πιστευθήσεσθαι περὶ ὧν ἐπέστειλεν.

20. But now John was afraid for himself, since his treachery had proved unsuccessful. So he took the armed men that were about him, and removed from Tiberias to Gischala, and wrote to me to apologize for himself concerning What had been done, as if it had been done without his approbation, and desired me to have no suspicion of him to his disadvantage. He also added oaths and certain horrible curses upon himself, and supposed he should be thereby believed in the points he wrote about to me.

XXI

[102] Οἱ δὲ Γαλιλαῖοι, πολλοὶ γὰρ ἕτεροι πάλιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας πάσης ἀνήχθησαν μεθ᾽ ὅπλων, εἰδότες τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὡς πονηρός ἐστιν καὶ ἐπίορκος, παρεκάλουν ἀγαγεῖν σφᾶς ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν, ἄρδην ἀφανίσειν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ Γίσχαλα. [103] Χάριν μὲν οὖν ἔχειν αὐτῶν ταῖς προθυμίαις ὡμολόγουν ἐγὼ καὶ νικήσειν αὐτῶν τὴν εὔνοιαν ἐπηγγελλόμην, παρεκάλουν δ᾽ ὅμως ἐπισχεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀξιῶν καὶ συγγινώσκειν μοι δεόμενος προῃρημένῳ τὰς ταραχὰς χωρὶς φόνων καταστέλλειν. Καὶ πείσας τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Γαλιλαίων εἰς τὴν Σέπφωριν ἀφικνούμην.

21. But now another great number of the Galileans came together again with their weapons, as knowing the man, how wicked and how sadly perjured he was, and desired me to lead them against him and promised me that they would utterly both him and Gischala. Hereupon I professed that I was obliged to them for their readiness to serve me, and that I would more than requite their good-will to me. However, I entreated them to restrain themselves, and begged of them to give me leave to do what I intended, which was to put an end to these troubles without bloodshed; and when I had prevailed with the multitude of the Galileans to let me do so, I came to Sepphoris.

XXII

[104] Οἱ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην κατοικοῦντες ἄνδρες κεκρικότες τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐμμεῖναι πίστει, δεδιότες δὲ τὴν ἐμὴν ἄφιξιν, ἐπειράθησαν ἑτέρᾳ με πράξει περισπάσαντες ἀδεεῖς εἶναι περὶ ἑαυτῶν. [105] Καὶ δὴ πέμψαντες πρὸς Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἀρχιληστὴν εἰς τὴν Πτολεμαΐδος μεθορίαν ὑπέσχοντο δώσειν πολλὰ χρήματα θελήσαντι μετὰ τῆς σὺν αὐτῷ δυνάμεως, ἦσαν δ᾽ ὀκτακόσιοι τὸν ἀριθμόν, πόλεμον ἐξάψαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς. [106] Ὁ δ᾽ ὑπακούσας αὐτῶν ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν ἠθέλησεν ἐπιπεσεῖν ἡμῖν ἀνετοίμοις καὶ μηδὲν προγινώσκουσιν. Πέμψας γοῦν πρός με παρεκάλει λαβεῖν ἐξουσίαν ἀσπασόμενον ἀφικέσθαι. Συγχωρήσαντος δέ μου, τῆς γὰρ ἐπιβουλῆς οὐδὲν προηπιστάμην, ἀναλαβὼν τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν

λῃστῶν ἔσπευδεν ἐπ᾽ ἐμέ. [107] Οὐ μὴν ἔφθασεν αὐτοῦ τέλος λαβεῖν ἡ κακουργία· πλησιάζοντος γὰρ ἤδη τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ τις αὐτομολήσας ἦκεν πρός με τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν αὐτοῦ φράζων, κἀγὼ πυθόμενος ταῦτα προῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν σκηψάμενος ἀγνοεῖν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν· ἐπηγόμην δὲ πολλοὺς ὁπλίτας Γαλιλαίους, τινὰς δὲ καὶ Τιβεριέων. [108] Εἶτα προστάξας τὰς ὁδοὺς πάσας ἀσφαλέστατα φρουρεῖσθαι παρήγγειλα τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν πυλῶν μόνον Ἰησοῦν, ἐπειδὰν παραγένηται, μετὰ τῶν πρώτων εἰσελθεῖν ἐᾶσαι, ἀποκλεῖσαι δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους, βιαζομένους δὲ τύπτειν. [109] Τῶν δὲ τὸ προσταχθὲν ποιησάντων εἰσῆλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς μετ᾽ ὀλίγων. Καὶ κελεύσαντος ἐμοῦ ῥῖψαι τὰ ὅπλα θᾶττον, εἰ γὰρ ἀπειθοίη τεθνήξεσθαι, περιεστῶτας ἰδὼν πανταχόθεν αὐτῷ τοὺς ὁπλίτας φοβηθεὶς ὑπήκουσεν· οἱ δ᾽ ἀποκλεισθέντες τῶν ἐπακολουθούντων αὐτῷ πυθόμενοι τὴν σύλληψιν ἔφυγον. [110] Κἀγὼ τὸν Ἰησοῦν προσκαλεσάμενος κατ᾽ ἰδίαν οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν ἔφην τὴν ἐπ᾽ ἐμὲ συσκευασθεῖσαν ἐπιβουλὴν οὐδ᾽ ὑπὸ τίνων πεμφθείη, συγγνώσεσθαι δ᾽ ὅμως αὐτῷ τῶν πεπραγμένων, εἰ μέλλοι μετανοήσειν καὶ πιστὸς ἐμοὶ γενήσεσθαι. [111] Ὑπισχνουμένου δὲ πάντα ποιήσειν ἐκείνου ἀπέλυσα συγχωρήσας αὐτῷ συναγαγεῖν πάλιν οὓς πρότερον εἶχεν. Σεπφωρίταις δ᾽ ἠπείλησα, εἰ μὴ παύσαιντο τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης, λήψεσθαι παρ᾽ αὐτῶν δίκας.

22. But the inhabitants of this city having determined to continue in their allegiance to the Romans, were afraid of my coming to them, and tried, by putting me upon another action, to divert me, that they might be freed from the terror they were in. Accordingly, they sent to Jesus, the captain of those robbers who were in the confines of Ptolemais, and promised to give him a great deal of money, if he would come with those forces he had with him, which were in number eight hundred, and fight with us. Accordingly, he complied with what they desired, upon the promises they had made him, and was desirous to fall upon us when we were unprepared for him, and knew nothing of his coming beforehand. So he sent to me, and desired that I would give him leave to come and salute me. When I had given him that leave, which I did without the least knowledge of his treacherous intentions beforehand, he took his band of robbers, and made haste to come to me. Yet did not this his knavery succeed well at last; for as he was already nearly approaching, one of those with him deserted him, and came to me, and told me what he had undertaken to do. When I was informed of this, I went into the market-place, and pretended to know nothing of his treacherous purpose. I took with me many Galileans that were armed, as also some of those of Tiberias; and, when I had given orders that all the roads should be carefully guarded, I charged the keepers of the gates to give admittance to none but Jesus, when he came, with the principal of his men, and to exclude the

rest; and in case they aimed to force themselves in, to use stripes [in order to repel them]. Accordingly, those that had received such a charge did as they were bidden, and Jesus came in with a few others; and when I had ordered him to throw down his arms immediately, and told him, that if he refused so to do, he was a dead man, he seeing armed men standing all round about him, was terrified, and complied; and as for those of his followers that were excluded, when they were informed that he was seized, they ran away. I then called Jesus to me by himself, and told him, "that I was not a stranger to that treacherous design he had against me, nor was I ignorant by whom he was sent for; that, however, I would forgive him what he had done already, if he would repent of it, and be faithful to me hereafter." And thus, upon his promise to do all that I desired, I let him go, and gave him leave to get those whom he had formerly had with him together again. But I threatened the inhabitants of Sepphoris, that, if they would not leave off their ungrateful treatment of me, I would punish them sufficiently.

XXIII

[112] Κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἀφικνοῦνται πρός με δύο μεγιστᾶνες τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκ τῆς τῶν Τραχωνιτῶν χώρας ἐπαγόμενοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἵππους καὶ ὅπλα, χρήματα δ᾽ ὑποκομίζοντες. [113] Τούτους περιτέμνεσθαι τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀναγκαζόντων, εἰ θέλουσιν εἶναι παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς, οὐκ εἴασα βιασθῆναι, φάσκων δεῖν ἕκαστον κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ προαίρεσιν τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ μετὰ βίας, χρῆναι δὲ τούτους δι᾽ ἀσφάλειαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς καταφυγόντας μὴ μετανοεῖν. Πεισθέντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τοῖς ἥκουσιν ἀνδράσιν τὰ πρὸς τὴν συνήθη δίαιταν ἅπαντα παρεῖχον δαψιλῶς.

23. At this time it was that two great men, who were under the jurisdiction of the king [Agrippa] came to me out of the region of Trachonius, bringing their horses and their arms, and carrying with them their money also; and when the Jews would force them to be circumcised, if they would stay among them, I would not permit them to have any force put upon them, but said to them, "Every one ought to worship God according to his own inclinations, and not to be constrained by force; and that these men, who had fled to us for protection, ought not to be so treated as to repent of their coming hither." And when I had pacified the multitude, I provided for the men that were come to us whatsoever it was they wanted, according to their usual way of living, and that in great plenty also.

XXIV

[114] Πέμπει δ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας δύναμιν καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς Αἴκουον Μόδιον Γάμαλα τὸ φρούριον ἐξαιρήσοντας. Οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες κυκλώσασθαι μὲν τὸ φρούριον οὐκ ἤρκεσαν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς φανεροῖς τῶν τόπων ἐφεδρεύοντες ἐπολιόρκουν τὰ Γάμαλα. [115] Αἰβούτιος δὲ ὁ δεκάδαρχος, ὁ τοῦ μεγάλου πεδίου τὴν προστασίαν πεπιστευμένος, ἀκούσας ὅτι παρείην εἰς Σιμωνιάδα κώμην ἐν μεθορίοις κειμένην τῆς Γαλιλαίας, αὐτοῦ δ᾽ ἀπέχουσαν ἑξήκοντα σταδίους, νυκτὸς ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ἑκατὸν ἱππεῖς, οὓς εἶχεν σὺν αὐτῷ, καί τινας πεζοὺς περὶ διακοσίους, καὶ τοὺς ἐν Γάβα πόλει κατοικοῦντας ἐπαγόμενος συμμάχους, νυκτὸς ὁδεύσας ἦκεν εἰς τὴν κώμην, ἐν ᾗ διέτριβον. [116] Ἀντιπαραταξαμένου δὲ κἀμοῦ μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς ὁ μὲν Αἰβούτιος εἰς τὸ πεδίον ὑπάγειν ἡμᾶς ἐπειρᾶτο· σφόδρα γὰρ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐπεποίθει. Οὐ μὴν ὑπηκούσαμεν· ἐγὼ γὰρ τὸ πλεονέκτημα συνιδὼν τὸ γενησόμενον τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν, εἰ καταβαίημεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον, πεζοὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς σύμπαντες ἦμεν, ἔγνων αὐτοῦ τοῖς πολεμίοις συνάπτειν. [117] Καὶ μέχρι μέν τινος γενναίως ἀντέσχεν σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Αἰβούτιος, ἀχρεῖον δ᾽ ὁρῶν κατὰ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον οὖσαι αὐτῷ τὴν ἱππικὴν δύναμιν ἀναζεύγνυσιν ἄπρακτος εἰς Γάβαν πόλιν, τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἀποβαλὼν κατὰ τὴν μάχην. [118] Εἰπόμην δὲ κατὰ πόδας ἐγὼ δισχιλίους ἐπαγόμενος ὁπλίτας, καὶ περὶ Βήσαραν πόλιν γενόμενος ἐν μεθορίῳ μὲν τῆς Πτολεμαΐδος κειμένην, εἴκοσι δ᾽ ἀπέχουσαν στάδια τῆς Γάβας, ἔνθα διέτριβεν Αἰβούτιος, στήσας τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἔξωθεν τῆς κώμης καὶ φρουρεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλῶς τὰς ὁδοὺς προστάξας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἐνοχλῆσαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἡμῖν ἕως τὸν σῖτον ἐκφορήσομεν, [119] πολὺς γὰρ ἀπέκειτο Βερενίκης τῆς βασιλίδος ἐκ τῶν πέριξ κωμῶν εἰς τὴν Βήσαραν συλλεγόμενος, πληρώσας τὰς καμήλους καὶ τοὺς ὄνους, πολλοὺς ἐπηγόμην, διέπεμψα τὸν σῖτον εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν. [120] Τοῦτο δὲ πράξας προεκαλούμην εἰς μάχην τὸν Αἰβούτιον, οὐχ ὑπακούσαντος δ᾽ ἐκείνου, κατεπέπληκτο γὰρ τὴν [ἡμετέραν] ἑτοιμότητα καὶ τὸ θράσος, ἐπὶ Νεοπολιτανὸν ἐτραπόμην τὴν Τιβεριέων χώραν ἀκούσας ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ λεηλατεῖσθαι. [121] Ἦν δὲ Νεοπολιτανὸς ἴλης μὲν ἔπαρχος, παρειλήφει δὲ τὴν Σκυθόπολιν εἰς φυλακὴν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. Τοῦτον οὖν κωλύσας ἐπὶ πλέον τὴν Τιβεριέων κακοῦν περὶ τὴν τῆς Γαλιλαίας πρόνοιαν ἐγινόμην.

24. Now king Agrippa sent an army to make themselves masters of the citadel of Gamala, and over it Equieulus Modius; but the forces that were sent were not allow to encompass the citadel quite round, but lay before it in the open places, and besieged it. But when Ebutius the decurion, who was intrusted with the government of the great plain, heard that I was at Simonias, a village situated in the confines of Galilee, and was distant from him sixty furlongs, he took a hundred horsemen that were with him by night, and a certain number of footmen, about two hundred, and brought the inhabitants of the city Gibea along

with him as auxiliaries, and marched in the night, and came to the village where I abode. Upon this I pitched my camp over against him, which had a great number of forces in it: but Ebutius tried to draw us down into the plain, as greatly depending upon his horsemen; but we would not come down; for when I was satisfied of the advantage that his horse would have if we came down into the plain, while we were all footmen, I resolved to join battle with the enemy where I was. Now Ebutius and his party made a courageous opposition for some time; but when he saw that his horse were useless to him in that place, he retired back to the city Gibea, having lost three of his men in the fight. So I followed him directly with two thousand armed men; and when I was at the city Besara, that lay in the confines of Ptolemais, but twenty furlongs from Gibea, where Ebutius abode, I placed my armed men on the outside of the village, and gave orders that they should guard the passes with great care, that the enemy might not disturb us until we should have carried off the corn, a great quantity of which lay there: it belonged to Bernice the queen, and had been gathered together out of the neighboring villages into Besara; so I loaded my camels and asses, a great number of which I had brought along with me, and sent the corn into Galilee. When I had done this, I offered Ebutius battle; but when he would not accept of the offer, for he was terrified at our readiness and courage, I altered my route, and marched towards Neopolitanus, because I had heard that the country about Tiberias was laid waste by him. This Neopolitanus was captain of a troop of horse, and had the custody of Scythopolis intrusted to his care by the enemy; and when I had hindered him from doing any further mischief to Tiberias, I set myself to make provision for the affairs of Galilee.

XXV

[122] Ὁ δὲ τοῦ Λευεῖ παῖς Ἰωάννης, ὃν ἔφαμεν ἐν τοῖς Γισχάλοις διατρίβειν, πυθόμενος πάντα κατὰ νοῦν μοι προχωρεῖν, καὶ δι᾽ εὐνοίας μὲν εἶναί με τοῖς ὑπηκόοις, τοῖς πολεμίοις δὲ δι᾽ ἐκπλήξεως, οὐκ εὖ τὴν γνώμην ἐτέθη, κατάλυσιν δ᾽ αὐτῷ τὴν ἐμὴν εὐπραγίαν φέρειν νομίζων εἰς φθόνον ἐξώκειλεν οὔτι μέτριον. [123] Καὶ παύσειν με τῆς εὐτυχίας ἐλπίσας, εἰ παρὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων μῖσος ἐξάψειεν, ἔπειθεν τοὺς τὴν Τιβεριάδα κατοικοῦντας καὶ τοὺς τὴν Σέπφωριν [νομίζων] πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ τοὺς Γάβαρα, πόλεις δ᾽ εἰσὶν αὗται τῶν κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν αἱ μέγισται, τῆς πρός με πίστεως ἀποστάντας αὐτῷ προστίθεσθαι· κρεῖττον γὰρ ἐμοῦ στρατηγήσειν αὐτῶν ἔφασκεν. [124] Καὶ Σεπφωρεῖς μέν, οὐδετέρῳ γὰρ ἡμῶν προσεῖχον διὰ τὸ Ῥωμαίους ᾠρῆσθαι δεσπότας, οὐκ ἐπένευον αὐτῷ, Τιβεριεῖς δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀπόστασιν οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, αὐτοῦ δὲ συγκατένευον γενέσθαι φίλοι, οἱ δὲ Γάβαρα κατοικοῦντες προστίθενται τῷ Ἰωάννῃ· Σίμων δ᾽ ἦν ὁ παρακαλῶν

αὐτούς, πρωτεύων μὲν τῆς πόλεως, ὡς φίλῳ δὲ καὶ ἑταίρῳ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ χρώμενος. [125] Ἐκ μὲν οὖν τοῦ φανεροῦ τὴν ἀπόστασιν οὐχ ὡμολόγουν· σφόδρα γὰρ ἐδεδοίκεσαν τοὺς Γαλιλαίους ἅτε δὴ πεῖραν αὐτῶν τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς πολλάκις εὐνοίας λαβόντες· ἐκ τοῦ λεληθότος δὲ καιρὸν παραφυλάσσοντες ἐπιτήδειον ἐπεβούλευον, καὶ δὴ ἀφικόμην εἰς κίνδυνον τὸν μέγιστον διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν.

25. But when John, the son of Levi, who, as we before told you, abode at Gischala, was informed how all things had succeeded to my mind, and that I was much in favor with those that were under me, as also that the enemy were greatly afraid of me, he was not pleased with it, as thinking my prosperity tended to his ruin. So he took up a bitter envy and enmity against me; and hoping, that if he could inflame those that were under me to hate me, he should put an end to the prosperity I was in, he tried to persuade the inhabitants of Tiberias and of Sepphoris, [and for those of Gabara he supposed they would be also of the same mind with the others,] which were the greatest cities of Galilee, to revolt from their subjection to me, and to be of his party; and told them that he would command them better than I did. As for the people of Sepphoris, who belonged to neither of us, because they had chosen to be in subjection to the Romans, they did not comply with his proposal; and for those of Tiberias, they did not indeed so far comply as to make a revolt from under me, but they agreed to be his friends, while the inhabitants of Gabara did go over to John; and it was Simon that persuaded them so to do, one who was both the principal man in the city, and a particular friend and companion of John. It is true, these did not openly own the making a revolt, because they were in great fear of the Galileans, and had frequent experience of the good-will they bore to me; yet did they privately watch for a proper opportunity to lay snares for me; and indeed I thereby came into the greatest danger, on the occasion following.

XXVI

[126] Νεανίσκοι τινὲς θρασεῖς Δαβαριττηνοὶ γένος ἐπιτηρήσαντες τὴν Πτολεμαίου γυναῖκα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιτρόπου μετὰ πολλῆς παρασκευῆς καί τινων ἱππέων ἀσφαλείας χάριν ἑπομένων διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου πεδίου τὴν πορείαν ποιουμένην ἐκ τῆς τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ὑποτελοῦς χώρας εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐπικράτειαν, ἐπιπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς ἄφνω. [127] Καὶ τὴν μὲν γυναῖκα φυγεῖν ἠνάγκασαν, ὅσα δ᾽ ἐπεφέρετο πάντα διήρπασαν, καὶ ἦκον εἰς Ταριχέας πρός με τέσσαρας ἡμιόνους καταφόρτους ἄγοντες ἐσθῆτος καὶ σκευῶν· ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀργυρίου σταθμὸς οὐκ ὀλίγος καὶ χρυσοῖ πεντακόσιοι. [128] Ταῦτ᾽ ἐγὼ βουλόμενος διαφυλάξαι τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὁμόφυλος, ἀπηγόρευται δ᾽ ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων μηδὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀποστερεῖν, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς κομίσαντας ἔφην φυλάττειν αὐτὰ δεῖν,

ἵν᾽ ἐκ τῆς πράσεως αὐτῶν ἐπισκευασθῇ τὰ τείχη τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, [129] οἱ δὲ νεανίαι χαλεπῶς ἔσχον οὐ λαβόντες μοῖραν ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων, καθάπερ προσεδόκησαν, καὶ πορευθέντες εἰς τὰς πέριξ τῆς Τιβεριάδος κώμας προδιδόναι μέλλειν με Ῥωμαίοις τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἔλεγον· [130] κεχρῆσθαι γὰρ σοφίσματι πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγοντα τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἁρπαγῆς κομισθέντα φυλάττειν εἰς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν τῶν τειχῶν τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλεως, ἐγνωκέναι δὲ πάλιν τῷ δεσπότῃ ἀποδοῦναι [τὰ ἡρπασμένα]. [131] Καὶ κατὰ τοῦτό γε τῆς ἐμῆς γνώμης οὐ διήμαρτον· ἀπαλλαγέντων γὰρ αὐτῶν μεταπεμψάμενος δύο τοὺς πρώτους Δασσίωνα καὶ Ἰανναῖον τὸν τοῦ Λῆουῖ, φίλους ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τοῦ βασιλέως καθεστῶτας, τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἁρπαγῆς σκεύη λαβόντας διαπέμψασθαι πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐκέλευον, θάνατον ἀπειλήσας αὐτοῖς τὴν ζημίαν, εἰ πρὸς ἕτερον ταῦτα ἀπαγγελοῦσιν.

26. There were some bold young men of the village of Dabaritta, who observed that the wife of Ptolemy, the king's procurator, was to make a progress over the great plain with a mighty attendance, and with some horsemen that followed as a guard to them, and this out of a country that was subject to the king and queen, into the jurisdiction of the Romans; and fell upon them on a sudden, and obliged the wife of Ptolemy to fly away, and plundered all the carriages. They also came to me to Tarichese, with four mules' loading of garments, and other furniture; and the weight of the silver they brought was not small, and there were five hundred pieces of gold also. Now I had a mind to preserve these spoils for Ptolemy, who was my countryman; and it is prohibited by our laws even to spoil our enemies; so I said to those that brought these spoils, that they ought to be kept, in order to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem with them when they came to be sold. But the young men took it very ill that they did not receive a part of those spoils for themselves, as they expected to have done; so they went among the villages in the neighborhood of Tiberias, and told the people that I was going to betray their country to the Romans, and that I used deceitful language to them, when I said, that what had been thus gotten by rapine should be kept for the rebuilding of the walls of the city of Jerusalem; although I had resolved to restore these spoils again to their former owner. And indeed they were herein not mistaken as to my intentions; for when I had gotten clear of them, I sent for two of the principal men, Dassion, and Janneus the son of Levi, persons that were among the chief friends of the king, and commanded them to take the furniture that had been plundered, and to send it to him; and I threatened that I would order them to be put to death by way of punishment, if they discovered this my command to any other person.

[132] Ἐπισχούσης δὲ φήμης τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἅπασαν, ὡς τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν μελλούσης ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προδίδοσθαι καὶ πάντων παροξυνθέντων ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμὴν τιμωρίαν, οἱ τὰς Ταριχέας κατοικοῦντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς νεανίσκους ἀληθεύειν ὑπολαβόντες πείθουσι τοὺς σωματοφύλακας καὶ τοὺς ὁπλίτας κοιμώμενόν με καταλιπόντας παραγενέσθαι θᾶττον εἰς ἱππόδρομον, ὡς ἐκεῖ βουλευσομένους μετὰ πάντων περὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. [133] Πειθομένων δὲ τούτων καὶ συνελθόντων πολὺς ὄχλος ἤδη προσυνήθροιστο, μίαν τε πάντες ἐποιοῦντο φωνήν, κολάζειν τὸν προδότην πονηρὸν περὶ αὐτοὺς γεγενημένον. [134] Μάλιστα δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐξέκαιεν ὁ τοῦ Σαπίθα παῖς Ἰησοῦς ἄρχων τότε τῆς Τιβεριάδος, πονηρὸς ἄνθρωπος καὶ ταράξαι μεγάλα πράγματα φύσιν ἔχων στασιοποιός τε καὶ νεωτεριστὴς ὡς οὐχ ἕτερος, καὶ δὴ τότε λαβὼν εἰς χεῖρας τοὺς Μωυσέως νόμους καὶ προελθὼν εἰς μέσον, [135] “Εἰ μὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ἔφη, πολῖται, μισεῖν δύνασθε Ἰώσηπον, εἰς τοὺς πατρίους ἀποβλέψαντες νόμους, ὧν ὁ πρῶτος ὑμῶν στρατηγὸς προδότης ἔμελλε γίνεσθαι, καὶ μισοπονηρήσαντες ὑπὲρ τούτων τιμωρήσασθε τὸν τοιαῦτα τολμήσαντα.”

27. Now, when all Galilee was filled with this rumor, that their country was about to be betrayed by me to the Romans, and when all men were exasperated against me, and ready to bring me to punishment, the inhabitants of Tarichee did also themselves suppose that what the young men said was true, and persuaded my guards and armed men to leave me when I was asleep, and to come presently to the hippodrome, in order there to take counsel against me their commander. And when they had prevailed with them, and they were gotten together, they found there a great company assembled already, who all joined in one clamor, to bring the man who was so wicked to them as to betray them, to his due punishment; and it was Jesus, the son of Sapphias, who principally set them on. He was ruler in Tiberias, a wicked man, and naturally disposed to make disturbances in matters of consequence; a seditious person he was indeed, and an innovator beyond every body else. He then took the laws of Moses into his hands, and came into the midst of the people, and said, “O my fellow citizens! if you are not disposed to hate Josephus on your own account, have regard, however, to these laws of your country, which your commander-in-chief is going to betray; hate him therefore on both these accounts, and bring the man who hath acted thus insolently, to his deserved punishment.”

XXVIII

[136] Ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπιβοήσαντος ἀναλαβών τινας ὁπλίτας ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν, ἐν ᾗ κατηγόμην, ἔσπευδεν ὡς ἀναιρήσων. Ἐγὼ δ᾽ οὐδὲν προαισθόμενος

διὰ κόπον πρὸ τῆς ταραχῆς κατεσχήμην. [137] Σίμων δ᾽ ὁ τοῦ σώματός μου τὴν φυλακὴν πεπιστευμένος, ὁ καὶ μόνος παραμείνας, ἰδὼν τὴν ἐπιδρομὴν τῶν πολιτῶν διήγειρέ με καὶ τὸν ἐφεστῶτά μοι κίνδυνον ἐξήγγειλεν, ἠξίου τε γενναίως θνήσκειν ὡς στρατηγὸν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πρὶν δὴ ἐλθεῖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀναγκάσοντας ἢ κτενοῦντας. [138] Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγεν, ἐγὼ δὲ τῷ θεῷ τὰ κατ᾽ ἐμαυτὸν ἐπιτρέψας εἰς τὸ πλῆθος ὡρμήθην προελθεῖν. Μετενδὺς οὖν μέλαιναν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὸ ξίφος ἀπαρτησάμενος ἐκ τοῦ αὐχένος καθ᾽ ὁδὸν ἑτέραν, ᾗ μηδένα μοι τῶν πολεμίων ὑπαντιάσειν ᾤμην, ἦειν εἰς τὸν ἱππόδρομον, ἄφνω τε φανεὶς καὶ πρηνὴς πεσὼν καὶ τὴν γῆν δάκρυσιν φύρων ἐλεεινὸς ἔδοξα πᾶσιν. [139] Συνεὶς δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τὴν μεταβολὴν διιστάναι τὰς γνώμας αὐτῶν ἐπειρώμην πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας ὑποστρέψαι. Καὶ συνεχώρουν μὲν ἀδικεῖν, ὡς αὐτοὶ νομίζουσιν, ἐδεόμην δὲ διδάξαι πρότερον, εἰς τίνα χρείαν ἐφύλαττον τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἁρπαγῆς κομισθέντα χρήματα καὶ τότε θνήσκειν, εἰ κελεύοιεν. [140] Τοῦ δὲ πλήθους λέγειν κελεύοντος ἐπῆλθον οἱ ὁπλῖται καὶ θεασάμενοί με προσέτρεχον ὡς κτενοῦντες.῎Επισχεῖν δὲ τοῦ πλήθους κελεύοντος ἐπείσθησαν προσδοκῶντες, ἐπειδὰν ὁμολογήσω πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὰ χρήματα τῷ βασιλεῖ τετηρηκέναι, ὡς ὡμολογηκότα τὴν προδοσίαν ἀναιρήσειν.

28. When he had said this, and the multitude had openly applauded him for what he had said, he took some of the armed men, and made haste away to the house in which I lodged, as if he would kill me immediately, while I was wholly insensible of all till this disturbance happened; and by reason of the pains I had been taking, was fallen fast asleep. But Simon, who was intrusted with the care of my body, and was the only person that stayed with me, and saw the violent incursion the citizens made upon me, awaked me, and told me of the danger I was in, and desired me to let him kill me, that I might die bravely and like a general, before my enemies came in, and forced me [to kill myself], or killed me themselves. Thus did he discourse to me; but I committed the care of my life to God, and made haste to go out to the multitude. Accordingly, I put on a black garment, and hung my sword at my neck, and went by such a different way to the hippodrome, wherein I thought none of my adversaries would meet me; so I appeared among them on the sudden, and fell down flat on the earth, and bedewed the ground with my tears: then I seemed to them all an object of compassion. And when I perceived the change that was made in the multitude, I tried to divide their opinions before the armed men should return from my house; so I granted them that I had been as wicked as they supposed me to be; but still I entreated them to let me first inform them for what use I had kept that money which arose from the plunder, and, that they might then kill me if they pleased: and upon the multitude's ordering me to speak, the armed men came

upon me, and when they saw me, they ran to kill me; but when the multitude bade them hold their hands, they complied, and expected that as soon as I should own to them that I kept the money for the king, it would be looked on as a confession of my treason, and they should then be allowed to kill me.

XXIX

[141] Σιγῆς οὖν παρὰ πάντων γενομένης, "ἄνδρες, εἶπον, ὁμόφυλοι, θανεῖν μέν, εἰ δίκαιόν ἐστιν, οὐ παραιτοῦμαι. Βούλομαι δ᾽ ὅμως πρὸ τοῦ τελευτῆσαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν φράσαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς· [142] τὴν γὰρ πόλιν ταύτην φιλοξενωτάτην οὖσαν ἐπιστάμενος πληθύουσάν τε προθύμως τοσούτων ἀνδρῶν, οἳ τὰς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδας καταλιπόντες ἀφίκοντο κοινωνοὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενόμενοι τύχης, ἐβουλήθην τείχη κατασκευάσαι ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων, περὶ ὧν ἡ παρ᾽ ὑμῶν ἐστιν ὀργή, [143] δαπανωμένων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν αὐτῶν." Πρὸς ταῦτα παρὰ μὲν τῶν Ταριχεωτῶν καὶ ξένων ἐγείρεται φωνὴ χάριν ἔχειν ὁμολογούντων καὶ θαρρεῖν προτρεπομένων, Γαλιλαῖοι δὲ καὶ Τιβεριεῖς τοῖς θυμοῖς ἐπέμενον, καὶ γίνεται στάσις πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν μὲν κολάσειν ἀπειλούντων με τῶν δὲ καταφρονεῖν. [144] Ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐπηγγειλάμην καὶ Τιβεριάδι κατασκευάσειν τείχη καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν αὐτῶν ταῖς ἀναγκαίαις, πιστεύσαντες ὑπεχώρουν ἕκαστος εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ. Κἀγὼ παρὰ πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα διαφυγὼν τὸν προειρημένον κίνδυνον μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ ὁπλιτῶν εἴκοσιν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ὑπέστρεψα.

29. When, therefore, silence was made by the whole multitude, I spake thus to them: "O my countrymen! I refuse not to die, if justice so require. However, I am desirous to tell you the truth of this matter before I die; for as I know that this city of yours [Tarichee] was a city of great hospitality, and filled with abundance of such men as have left their own countries, and are come hither to be partakers of your fortune, whatever it be, I had a mind to build walls about it, out of this money, for which you are so angry with me, while yet it was to be expended in building your own walls." Upon my saying this, the people of Taricheae and the strangers cried out, that "they gave me thanks, and desired me to be of good courage," although the Galileans and the people of Tiberias continued in their wrath against me, insomuch that there arose a tumult among them, while some threatened to kill me, and some bade me not to regard them; but when I promised them that I would build them walls at Tiberias, and at other cities that wanted them, they gave credit to what I promised, and returned every one to his own home. So I escaped the forementioned danger, beyond all my hopes, and returned to my own house, accompanied with my friends, and twenty armed men also.

XXX

XXX

[145] Πάλιν δ᾽ οἱ λῃσταὶ καὶ τῆς στάσεως αἴτιοι δείσαντες περὶ ἑαυτῶν, μὴ δίκας εἰσπραχθῶσιν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ τῶν πεπραγμένων, ἀναλαβόντες ἑξακοσίους ὁπλίτας ἦκον ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἔνθα διέτριβον ἐμπρήσοντες αὐτήν. [146] Ἀπαγγελθείσης δέ μοι τῆς ἐφόδου φεύγειν μὲν ἀπρεπὲς ἡγησάμην, ἔκρινα δὲ παραβαλόμενος χρήσασθαί τι καὶ τόλμῃ. Προστάξας οὖν ἀποκλεῖσαι τῆς οἰκίας τὰς θύρας αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ ὑπερῷον ἀναβὰς παρεκάλουν εἰσπέμψαι τινὰς ληψομένους τὰ χρήματα· παύσεσθαι γὰρ οὕτως τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτοὺς ἔφην. [147] Εἰσπεμψάντων δὲ τὸν θρασύτατον αὐτῶν μάστιξιν αἰκισάμενος τὴν ἑτέραν τε τῶν χειρῶν ἀποκόψαι κελεύσας καὶ κρεμάσαι ἐκ τοῦ τραχήλου τοιοῦτον ἐξέβαλον πρὸς τοὺς ἐξαποστείλαντας. [148] Τοὺς δ᾽ ἔλαβεν ἔκπληξις καὶ φόβος οὔτι μέτριος. Δείσαντες οὖν καὶ αὐτοὶ ταὐτὰ πείσεσθαι, εἰ μένοιεν, εἴκαζον γὰρ ἔνδον ἔχειν με πλείους αὐτῶν, εἰς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν. Κἀγὼ τοιούτῳ στρατηγήματι χρησάμενος τὴν δευτέραν ἐπιβουλὴν διέφυγον.

30. However, these robbers and other authors of this tumult, who were afraid, on their own account, lest I should punish them for what they had done, took six hundred armed men, and came to the house where I abode, in order to set it on fire. When this their insult was told me, I thought it indecent for me to run away, and I resolved to expose myself to danger, and to act with some boldness; so I gave order to shut the doors, and went up into an upper room, and desired that they would send in some of their men to receive the money [from the spoils] for I told them they would then have no occasion to be angry with me; and when they had sent in one of the boldest of them all, I had him whipped severely, and I commanded that one of his hands should be cut off, and hung about his neck; and in this case was he put out to those that sent him. At which procedure of mine they were greatly affrighted, and in no small consternation, and were afraid that they should themselves be served in like manner, if they staid there; for they supposed that I had in the house more armed men than they had themselves; so they ran away immediately, while I, by the use of this stratagem, escaped this their second treacherous design against me.

XXXI

[149] Πάλιν δὲ τὸν ὄχλον τινὲς ἠρέθιζον τοὺς ἀφικομένους πρός με βασιλικοὺς μεγιστᾶνας οὐκ ὀφείλειν ζῆν λέγοντες μὴ μεταβῆναι θέλοντας εἰς τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἔθη, πρὸς οὓς σωθησόμενοι πάρεισι· διέβαλλόν τε φαρμακέας εἶναι λέγοντες τοὺς Ῥωμαίους παραγενέσθαι. Ταχὺ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπείθετο ταῖς τῶν λεγομένων πρὸς χάριν αὐτοῖς πιθανότησιν ἀπατώμενοι. [150] Πυθόμενος δὲ περὶ τούτων ἐγὼ πάλιν τὸν δῆμον ἀνεδίδασκον μὴ δεῖν διώκεσθαι τοὺς καταφυγόντας πρὸς

αὐτούς· τὸν δὲ φλύαρον τῆς περὶ τῶν φαρμάκων αἰτίας διέσυρον, οὐκ ἂν τοσαύτας μυριάδας στρατιωτῶν Ῥωμαίους λέγων τρέφειν, εἰ διὰ φαρμάκων ἦν νικᾶν τοὺς πολεμίους. [151] Ταῦτα λέγοντος ἐμοῦ πρὸς ὀλίγον μὲν ἐπείθοντο, πάλιν δ᾽ ἀναχωρήσαντες ὑπὸ τῶν πονηρῶν ἐξηρεθίζοντο κατὰ τῶν μεγιστάνων, καί ποτε μεθ᾽ ὅπλων ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐν Ταριχέᾳ ἀπῆλθον ὡς ἀναιρήσοντες. [152] Ἔδεισα δ᾽ ἐγὼ πυθόμενος, μὴ τοῦ μύσους τέλος λαβόντος ἀνεπίβατος γένηται τοῖς καταφυγεῖν εἰς αὐτὴν θέλουσιν. [153] Παρεγενόμην οὖν εἰς τὴν τῶν μεγιστάνων οἰκίαν μετά τινων ἑτέρων, καὶ κλείσας διώρυγά τε ποιήσας ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην ἄγουσαν μεταπεμψάμενός τε πλοῖον καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐμβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν μεθόριον τῶν Ἱππηνῶν διεπέρασα, καὶ δοὺς αὐτοῖς τὴν τιμὴν τῶν ἵππων, οὐ γὰρ ἠδυνήθην αὐτοὺς ἐπαγαγέσθαι τοιαύτης γενομένης τῆς ἀποδράσεως, ἀπέλυσα πολλὰ παρακαλέσας τὴν προσπεσοῦσαν ἀνάγκην γενναίως ἐνεγκεῖν. [154] Αὐτός τε μεγάλως ἠχθόμην βιασθεὶς τοὺς προσφυγόντας ἐκθεῖναι πάλιν εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν, ἄμεινον δὲ νομίσας παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἀποθανεῖν αὐτούς, εἰ συμπέσοι, μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν χώραν. Οἱ δ᾽ ἄρα διεσώθησαν· συνεχώρησεν γὰρ αὐτοῖς βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας τὰ ἡμαρτημένα. Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ ἐκείνους τοῦτ᾽ ἔσχε τὸ τέλος.

31. But there were still some that irritated the multitude against me, and said that those great men that belonged to the king ought not to be suffered to live, if they would not change their religion to the religion of those to whom they fled for safety: they spake reproachfully of them also, and said that they were wizards, and such as called in the Romans upon them. So the multitude was soon deluded by such plausible pretenses as were agreeable to their own inclinations, and were prevailed on by them. But when I was informed of this, I instructed the multitude again, that those who fled to them for refuge ought not to be persecuted: I also laughed at the allegation about witchcraft, and told them that the Romans would not maintain so many ten thousand soldiers, if they could overcome their enemies by wizards. Upon my saying this, the people assented for a while; but they returned again afterwards, as irritated by some ill people against the great men; nay, they once made an assault upon the house in which they dwelt at Tarichess, in order to kill them; which, when I was informed of, I was afraid lest so horrid a crime should take effect, and nobody else would make that city their refuge any more. I therefore came myself, and some others with me, to the house where these great men lived, and locked the doors, and had a trench drawn from their house leading to the lake, and sent for a ship, and embarked therein with them, and sailed to the confines of Hippos: I also paid them the value of their horses; nor in such a flight could I have their horses brought to them. I then dismissed them, and begged of them earnestly that they would courageously bear

I this distress which befell them. I was also myself I greatly displeased that I was compelled to expose those that had fled to me to go again into an enemy's country; yet did I think it more eligible that they should perish among the Romans, if it should so happen, than in the country that was under my jurisdiction. However, they escaped at length, and king Agrippa forgave them their offenses. And this was the conclusion of what concerned these men.

XXXII

[155] Οἱ δὲ τὴν τῶν Τιβεριέων πόλιν κατοικοῦντες γράφουσιν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα παρακαλοῦντες πέμψαι δύναμιν τὴν φυλάξουσαν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν· θέλειν γὰρ αὐτῷ προστίθεσθαι. Κἀκείνῳ μὲν ταῦτ᾽ ἔγραφον. [156] Ἀφικόμενον δέ με πρὸς αὐτοὺς παρεκάλουν τὰ τείχη κατασκευάζειν αὐτοῖς, ὡς ὑπεσχήμην· ἠκηκόεισαν δὲ τὰς Ταριχέας ἤδη τετειχίσθαι. Κατανεύσας οὖν ἐγὼ καὶ πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν παρασκευασάμενος τοὺς ἀρχιτέκτονας ἐκέλευον ἐνεργεῖν. [157] Μετὰ δὲ τρίτην ἡμέραν εἰς Ταριχέας ἀπερχομένου μου τῆς Τιβεριάδος ἀπεχούσας στάδια τριάκοντα, συνέβη τινὰς Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῖς οὐ πόρρωθεν τῆς πόλεως ὁδοιποροῦντας ὀφθῆναι, οἳ δόξαν παρέσχον τὴν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως δύναμιν ἥκειν. [158] Εὐθέως γοῦν εἰς μὲν τὸν βασιλέα μετὰ πολλῶν ἐπαίνων ἠφίεσαν φωνάς, κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ δὲ βλασφήμους. Καὶ ἐπιδραμών τις ἀπήγγειλέν μοι τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, ὡς ἀφίστασθαί μου διεγνώκασιν. [159] Ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἀκούσας ἐταράχθην μὲν σφόδρα· τοὺς γὰρ ὁπλίτας ἔτυχον ἐκ τῶν Ταριχεῶν ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτῶν οἰκήσεις ἀφεικὼς διὰ τὸ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν σάββατον ὑπάρχειν· οὐ γὰρ ἐβουλόμην ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ πλήθους ἐνοχλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς Ταριχέαις. [160] Ὁσάκις γοῦν ἐν αὐταῖς διέτριβον οὐδὲ τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα φυλακῆς ἐποιούμην πρόνοιαν, πεῖραν παρὰ τῶν ἐνοικούντων τῆς πρός με πίστεως λαβὼν πολλάκις. [161] Μόνους δ᾽ ἔχων περὶ ἐμαυτὸν ἑπτὰ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἠπόρουν, ὃ πράξω· μεταπέμψασθαι γὰρ τὴν ἐμὴν δύναμιν διὰ τὸ λήγειν ἤδη τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἡμέραν οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζον· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀφικομένης αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ὅπλα λαβεῖν κωλυόντων ἡμᾶς τῶν νόμων, κἂν μεγάλη τις ἐπείγειν ἀνάγκη δοκῇ. [162] Εἰ δὲ τοῖς Ταριχεώταις καὶ τοῖς παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ξένοις ἐπιτρέψαιμι τὴν πόλιν διαρπάζειν, ἑώρων οὐχ ἱκανοὺς ἐσομένους, τὴν ἐμὴν ὑπέρθεσιν ἑώρων μακροτάτην· φθήσεσθαι γὰρ καὶ τὴν παρὰ βασιλέως δύναμιν ἀφικομένην, καὶ ἐκπεσεῖσθαι τῆς πόλεως ᾠόμην. [163] Ἐβουλευόμην οὖν στρατηγήματι χρῆσθαί τινι κατ᾽ αὐτῶν. Παραχρῆμα δὴ τοὺς πιστοτάτους τῶν φίλων ταῖς πύλαις τῶν Ταριχεῶν ἐπιστήσας φυλάξοντας μετ᾽ ἀσφαλείας τοὺς ἐξιέναι θέλοντας καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν οἴκων προσκαλεσάμενος, αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἐκέλευσα καθελκύσαντα πλοῖον ἐμβάντα συνεπαγόμενον τὸν κυβερνήτην ἔπεσθαί μοι πρὸς τὴν

Τιβεριέων πόλιν. [164] Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν, οὓς ἔφην ἑπτὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἶναι, ἐμβὰς ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν Τιβεριάδα.

32. But as for the inhabitants of the city of Tiberias, they wrote to the king, and desired him to send them forces sufficient to be a guard to their country; for that they were desirous to come over to him: this was what they wrote to him. But when I came to them, they desired me to build their walls, as I had promised them to do; for they had heard that the walls of Tarichess were already built. I agreed to their proposal accordingly; and when I had made preparation for the entire building, I gave order to the architects to go to work; but on the third day, when I was gone to Tarichess, which was thirty furlongs distant from Tiberias, it so fell out, that some Roman horsemen were discovered on their march, not far from the city, which made it to be supposed that the forces were come from the king; upon which they shouted, and lifted up their voices in commendations of the king, and in reproaches against me. Hereupon one came running to me, and told me what their dispositions were, and that they had resolved to revolt from me: upon hearing which news I was very much alarmed; for I had already sent away my armed men from Tarichess, to their own homes, because the next day was our sabbath; for I would not have the people of Tarichess disturbed [on that day] by a multitude of soldiers; and indeed, whenever I sojourned at that city, I never took any particular care for a guard about my own body, because I had had frequent instances of the fidelity its inhabitants bore to me. I had now about me no more than seven armed men, besides some friends, and was doubtful what to do; for to send to recall my own forces I did not think proper, because the present day was almost over; and had those forces been with me, I could not take up arms on the next day, because our laws forbade us so to do, even though our necessity should be very great; and if I should permit the people of Tarichess, and the strangers with them, to guard the city, I saw that they would not be sufficient for that purpose, and I perceived that I should be obliged to delay my assistance a great while; for I thought with myself that the forces that came from the king would prevent me, and that I should be driven out of the city. I considered, therefore, how to get clear of these forces by a stratagem; so I immediately placed those my friends of Tarichee, on whom I could best confide, at the gates, to watch those very carefully who went out at those gates: I also called to me the heads of families, and bade every one of them to seize upon a ship to go on board it, and to take a master with them, and follow him to the city of Tiberias. I also myself went on board one of those ships, with my friends, and the seven armed men already mentioned, and sailed for Tiberias.

XXXIII

[165] Τιβεριεῖς δὲ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως δύναμιν ὡς ἔγνωσαν οὐχ ἥκουσαν αὐτοῖς, πλοίων δὲ τὴν λίμνην πᾶσαν ἐθεάσαντο πλήρη, δείσαντες περὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ καταπλαγέντες ὡς ἐπιβατῶν πλήρεις εἶναι νέας, μετατίθενται τὰς γνώμας. [166] Ῥίψαντες οὖν τὰ ὅπλα μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων ὑπηντίαζον πολλὰς μετ᾽ ἐπαίνων εἰς ἐμὲ φωνὰς ἀφιέντες, εἴκαζον γὰρ οὐ προπεπύσθαι με τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, καὶ παρεκάλουν φείσασθαι τῆς πόλεως. [167] Ἐγὼ δὲ πλησίον γενόμενος ἀγκύρας μὲν ἔτι πόρρω τῆς γῆς ἐκέλευον βαλέσθαι τοὺς κυβερνήτας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ κατάδηλα τοῖς Τιβεριεῦσιν εἶναι τὰ πλοῖα κενὰ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν ὄντα, πλησιάσας δ᾽ αὐτὸς ἔν τινι πλοίῳ κατεμεμφόμην αὐτῶν τὴν ἄγνοιαν, καὶ ὅτι δὴ οὕτως εὐχερεῖς εἶεν πάσης δικαίας ἄνευ προφάσεως ἐξίστασθαι τῆς πρός με πίστεως. [168] Ὡμολόγουν δ᾽ εἴς τε τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτοῖς συγγνώσεσθαι βεβαίως, εἰ πέμψειαν δέκα τοῦ πλήθους προεστῶτας. Ὑπακουσάντων δ᾽ ἑτοίμως καὶ πεμψάντων ἄνδρας οὓς προεῖπον, ἐμβιβάσας ἀπέλυον εἰς Ταριχέας φυλαχθησομένους.

33. But now, when the people of Tiberias perceived that there were no forces come from the king, and yet saw the whole lake full of ships, they were in fear what would become of their city, and were greatly terrified, as supposing that the ships were full of men on board; so they then changed their minds, and threw down their weapons, and met me with their wives and children, and made acclamations to me with great commendations; for they imagined that I did not know their former inclinations [to have been against me]; so they persuaded me to spare the city. But when I was come near enough, I gave order to the masters of the ships to cast anchor a good way off the land, that the people of Tiberias might not perceive that the ships had no men on board; but I went nearer to the people in one of the ships, and rebuked them for their folly, and that they were so fickle as, without any just occasion in the world, to revolt from their fidelity to me. However, assured them that I would entirely forgive them for the time to come, if they would send ten of the ringleaders of the multitude to me; and when they complied readily with this proposal, and sent me the men forementioned, I put them on board a ship, and sent them away to Tarichese; and ordered them to be kept in prison.

XXXIV

[169] Τῷ στρατηγήματι δὲ τούτῳ τὴν βουλὴν πᾶσαν κατ᾽ ὀλίγους λαβὼν εἰς τὴν προειρημένην πόλιν καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς τοῦ δήμου πρώτους ἄνδρας οὐκ ἐλάττους ἐκείνων ὄντας διεπεμψάμην. [170] Τὸ δὲ πλῆθος, ὡς εἶδον εἰς οἷον κακῶν ἥκουσι μέγεθος, παρεκάλουν με τὸν αἴτιον τῆς στάσεως τιμωρήσασθαι.

Κλεῖτος δ᾽ ἦν ὄνομα τούτῳ, θρασύς τε καὶ προπετὴς νεανίας. [171] Ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν οὐχ ὅσιον ἡγούμενος ὁμόφυλον ἄνδρα, κολάσαι δ᾽ ἀνάγκην ἔχων, τῶν περὶ ἐμέ τινι σωματοφυλάκων Ληουεῖ προσέταξα προελθόντι κόψαι τοῦ Κλείτου τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν χειρῶν. [172] Δείσαντος δὲ τοῦ κελευσθέντος εἰς τοσοῦτο πλῆθος προελθεῖν μόνου, τὴν δειλίαν τοῦ στρατιώτου μὴ βουληθεὶς κατάδηλον γενέσθαι τοῖς Τιβεριεῦσιν, αὐτὸν Κλεῖτον φωνήσας "ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἄξιος, εἶπον, ὑπάρχεις ἀμφοτέρας τὰς χεῖρας ἀποβαλεῖν οὕτως ἀχάριστος εἰς ἐμὲ γενόμενος, γενοῦ σαυτοῦ δημόσιος, μὴ καὶ ἀπειθήσας χείρονα τιμωρίαν ὑπόσχῃς." [173] Τοῦ δὲ τὴν ἑτέραν αὐτῷ συγχωρῆσαι πολλὰ δεομένου μόλις κατένευσα. Κἀκεῖνος ἄσμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὰς δύο χεῖρας ἀποβαλεῖν λαβὼν μάχαιραν κόπτει τὴν ἀριστερὰν ἑαυτοῦ. Καὶ τοῦτο τὴν στάσιν ἔπαυσεν.

34. And by this stratagem it was that I gradually got all the senate of Tiberias into my power, and sent them to the city forementioned, with many of the principal men among the populace, and those not fewer in number than the other. But when the multitude saw into what great miseries they had brought themselves, they desired me to punish the author of this sedition: his name was Clitus, a young man, bold and rash in his undertakings. Now, since I thought it not agreeable to piety to put one of my own people to death, and yet found it necessary to punish him, I ordered Levi, one of my own guards, to go to him, and cut off one of Clitus's hands; but as he that was ordered to do this, was afraid to go out of the ship alone, among 'so great a multitude, I was not willing that the timorousness of the soldier should appear to the people of Tiberias. So I called to Clitus himself and said to him, "Since thou deservest to lose both thine hands for thy ingratitude to me, be thou thine own executioner, lest, if thou refusest so to be, thou undergo a worse punishment." And when he earnestly begged of me to spare him one of his hands, it was with difficulty that I granted it. So, in order to prevent the loss of both his hands, he willingly took his sword, and cut off his own left hand; and this put an end to the sedition.

XXXV

[174] Τιβεριεῖς δέ, ὡς εἰς τὰς Ταριχέας ἀφικόμην γνόντες τὴν στρατηγίαν, ᾗ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐχρησάμην, ἀπεθαύμαζον ὅτι χωρὶς φόνων ἔπαυσα τὴν ἀγνωμοσύνην αὐτῶν. [175] Ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς εἱρκτῆς μεταπεμψάμενος τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Τιβεριέων, ἦν δὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἰοῦστος καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Πιστός, συνδείπνους ἐποιησάμην, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἑστίασιν ἔλεγον, ὅτι τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν οὐδ᾽ αὐτὸς ἀγνοῶ πασῶν διαφέρουσαν, σιγῴην μέντοι περὶ αὐτῆς διὰ τοὺς ληστάς. [176] Καὶ αὐτοῖς δὲ ταῦτα συνεβούλευον ποιεῖν τὸν ἐπιτήδειον περιμένουσι καιρὸν καὶ μὴ δυσανασχετεῖν ἐμοὶ στρατηγῷ· μηδενὸς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἑτέρου

δυνήσεσθαι ῥᾳδίως ἐπιεικοῦς ὁμοίως τυχεῖν. [177] Τὸν Ἰοῦστον δὲ καὶ ὑπεμίμνησκον, ὅτι πρόσθεν ἤ με παραγενέσθαι ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι τὰδελφοῦ τὰς χεῖρας ἀποκόψειαν αὐτοῦ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου πλαστῶν αὐτῷ γραμμάτων κακουργίαν ἐπικαλέσαντες, καὶ ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τὴν Φιλίππου Γαμαλῖται πρὸς Βαβυλωνίους στασιάζοντες ἀνέλοιεν Χάρητα, συγγενὴς δ᾽ ἦν οὗτος τοῦ Φιλίππου, [178] καὶ ὡς Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἄνδρα τῆς ἀδελφῆς Ἰούστου σωφρόνως κολάσειαν. Ταῦτα παρὰ τὴν ἑστίασιν διαλεχθεὶς τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰοῦστον ἔωθεν ἐκέλευσα πάντας τῆς φυλακῆς ἀπολυθῆναι.

35. Now the men of Tiberias, after I was gone to Taricheae, perceived what stratagem I had used against them, and they admired how I had put an end to their foolish sedition, without shedding of blood. But now, when I had sent for some of those multitudes of the people of Tiberias out of prison, among whom were Justus and his father Pistus, I made them to sup with me; and during our supper time I said to them, that I knew the power of the Romans was superior to all others, but did not say so [publicly] because of the robbers. So I advised them to do as I did, and to wait for a proper opportunity, and not to be uneasy at my being their commander; for that they could not expect to have another who would use the like moderation that I had done. I also put Justus in mind how the Galileans had cut off his brother's hands before ever I came to Jerusalem, upon an accusation laid against him, as if he had been a rogue, and had forged some letters; as also how the people of Gamala, in a sedition they raised against the Babylonians, after the departure of Philip, slew Chares, who was a kinsman of Philip, and withal how they had wisely punished Jesus, his brother Justuses sister's husband [with death]. When I had said this to them during supper time, I in the morning ordered Justus, and all the rest that were in prison, to be loosed out of it, and sent away.

XXXVI

[179] Πρὸ δὲ τούτων συνέβη τὸν Ἰακίμου Φίλιππον ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ Γάμαλα τοῦ φρουρίου τοιαύτης αἰτίας γενομένης· [180] Φίλιππος πυθόμενος μεθεστάναι μὲν Οὔαρον ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα, διάδοχον δὲ ἀφῖχθαι Μόδιον Αἴκουον ἄνδρα φίλον αὐτῷ καὶ συνήθη πάλαι, γράφει πρὸς τοῦτον τὰς καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν τύχας ἀπαγγέλλων καὶ παρακαλῶν τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντα γράμματα πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέας ἀποστεῖλαι. [181] Καὶ Μόδιος δεξάμενος τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἐχάρη σφόδρα σώζεσθαι τὸν Φίλιππον ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπιγνούς, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέας ἔπεμψε τὰ γράμματα περὶ Βηρυτὸν ὄντας. [182] Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας ὡς ἔγνω ψευδῆ τὴν περὶ Φιλίππου φήμην γενομένην, λόγος γὰρ διῆλθεν, ὡς στρατηγοίη τῶν

Ἰουδαίων ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον, ἔπεμψεν ἱππεῖς τοὺς παραπέμψοντας τὸν Φίλιππον. [183] Καὶ παραγενόμενον ἀσπάζεταί τε φιλοφρόνως τοῖς τε Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμόσιν ἐπεδείκνυεν, ὅτι δὴ Φίλιππος οὗτός ἐστιν, περὶ οὗ διεξῆει λόγος ὡς Ῥωμαίων ἀποστάντος. Κελεύει δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἱππεῖς τινας ἀναλαβόντα θᾶττον εἰς Γάμαλα τὸ φρούριον πορευθῆναι τοὺς οἰκείους αὐτῷ πάντας ἐκεῖθεν ἐξάξοντα καὶ τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους εἰς τὴν Βατανέαν πάλιν ἀποκαταστήσοντα. [184] Παρήγγειλε δὲ καὶ πᾶσαν ποιήσασθαι πρόνοιαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι τινὰ νεωτερισμὸν παρὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων. Φίλιππος μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιστείλαντος ἔσπευδε ποιήσων ἃ προσέταξεν.

36. But before this, it happened that Philip, the son of Jacimus, went out of the citadel of Gamala upon the following occasion: When Philip had been informed that Varus was put out of his government by king Agrippa, and that Equieulus Modius, a man that was of old his friend and companion, was come to succeed him, he wrote to him, and related what turns of fortune he had had, and desired him to forward the letters he sent to the king and queen. Now, when Modius had received these letters, he was exceedingly glad, and sent the letters to the king and queen, who were then about Berytus. But when king Agrippa knew that the story about Philip was false, [for it had been given out, that the Jews had begun a war with the Romans, and that this Philip had been their commander in that war,] he sent some horsemen to conduct Philip to him; and when he was come, he saluted him very obligingly, and showed him to the Roman commanders, and told them that this was the man of whom the report had gone about as if he had revolted from the Romans. He also bid him to take some horsemen with him, and to go quickly to the citadel of Gamala, and to bring out thence all his domestics, and to restore the Babylonians to Batanea again. He also gave it him in charge to take all possible care that none of his subjects should be guilty of making any innovation. Accordingly, upon these directions from the king, he made haste to do what he was commanded.

XXXVII

[185] Ἰώσηπος δὲ τῆς ἰατρίνης πολλοὺς νεανίσκους θρασεῖς προτρεψάμενος αὐτῷ συνάρασθαι καὶ ἐπαναστὰς τοῖς ἐν Γάμαλα πρώτοις ἔπειθεν αὐτοὺς ἀφίστασθαι τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ὅπλα ὡς διὰ τούτων τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολῃψομένους. Καὶ τινὰς μὲν ἐβιάσαντο, τοὺς δὲ μὴ συναρεσκομένους αὐτῶν ταῖς γνώμαις ἀνῄρουν. [186] Κτείνουσι δὲ καὶ Χάρητα, καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ τινα τῶν συγγενῶν Ἰησοῦν καὶ Ἰούστου δὲ τοῦ Τιβεριέως ἀδελφὴν ἀνεῖλον, καθὼς ἤδη προείπομεν, γράφουσι δὲ καὶ πρός με παρακαλοῦντες πέμψαι καὶ δύναμιν αὐτοῖς ὁπλιτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀναστήσοντας αὐτῶν τῇ πόλει τείχη. [187] Κἀγὼ πρὸς

οὐδέτερον ἀντεῖπον ὧν ἠξίωσαν. Ἀφίσταται δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἡ Γαυλανῖτις χώρα μέχρι κώμης Σολύμης. Σελευκείᾳ δὲ καὶ Σωγάνῃ φύσει κώμαις ὀχυρωτάταις ᾠκοδόμησα τείχη, τάς τε κατὰ τὴν ἄνω Γαλιλαίαν κώμας καὶ πάνυ πετρώδεις οὔσας ἐτείχισα παραπλησίως. [188] Ὀνόματα δ᾽ αὐταῖς Ἰάμνια Ἀμηρὼθ Ἀχαράβη. Ὠχύρωσα δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ κάτω Γαλιλαίᾳ πόλεις μὲν Ταριχέας Τιβεριάδα Σέπφωριν, κώμας δὲ Ἀρβήλων σπήλαιον, Βηρσουβαί, Σελαμήν, Ἰωτάπατα, Καφαραθ᾽ κωμος σωγαναι παφα καὶ τὸ Ἰταβύριον ὄρος. Εἰς ταύτας καὶ σῖτον ἀπεθέμην πολὺν καὶ ὅπλα πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα.

37. Now there was one Joseph, the son of a female physician, who excited a great many young men to join with him. He also insolently addressed himself to the principal persons at Gamala, and persuaded them to revolt from the king; and take up arms, and gave them hopes that they should, by his means, recover their liberty. And some they forced into the service, and those that would not acquiesce in what they had resolved on, they slew. They also slew Chares, and with him Jesus, one of his kinsmen, and a brother of Justus of Tiberias, as we have already said. Those of Gamala also wrote to me, desiring me to send them an armed force, and workmen to raise up the walls of their city; nor did I reject either of their requests. The region of Gaulanitis did also revolt from the king, as far as the village Solyma. I also built a wall about Seleucia and Soganni, which are villages naturally of ver great strength. Moreover, I, in like manner, walled several villages of Upper Galilee, though they were very rocky of themselves. Their names are Jamnia, and Meroth, and Achabare. I also fortified, in the Lower Galilee, the cities Tarichee, Tiberias, Sepphoris, and the villages, the cave of Arbela, Bersobe, Selamin, Jotapata, Capharecho, and Sigo, and Japha, and Mount Tabor. I also laid up a great quantity of corn in these places, and arms withal, that might be for their security afterward.

XXXVIII

[189] Ἰωάννῃ δὲ τῷ τοῦ Ληουεῖ τὸ κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ μῖσος προσηύξετο βαρέως φέροντι τὴν ἐμὴν εὐπραγίαν. Προθέμενος οὖν πάντως ἐκποδών με ποιήσασθαι τῇ μὲν αὐτοῦ πατρίδι τοῖς Γισχάλοις κατασκευάζει τείχη, [190] τὸν ἀδελφὸν δὲ Σίμωνα καὶ τὸν τοῦ Σισέννα Ἰωνάθην ὁπλιτῶν περὶ ἑκατὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πέμπει πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Γαμαλιήλου Σίμωνα παρακαλέσοντας αὐτὸν πεῖσαι τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφελομένους ἐμὲ τῶν Γαλιλαίων αὐτῷ ψηφίσασθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν τούτων. [191] Ὁ δὲ Σίμων οὗτος ἦν πόλεως μὲν Ἱεροσολύμων, γένους δὲ σφόδρα λαμπροῦ, τῆς δὲ Φαρισαίων αἱρέσεως, οἳ περὶ τὰ πάτρια νόμιμα δοκοῦσιν τῶν ἄλλων ἀκριβείᾳ διαφέρειν. [192] Ἦν δ᾽ οὗτος ἀνὴρ πλήρης συνέσεως καὶ λογισμοῦ δυνάμενός τε πράγματα κακῶς κείμενα φρονήσει τῇ

ἑαυτοῦ διορθώσασθαι, φίλος τε παλαιὸς τῷ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ συνήθης, πρὸς ἐμὲ δὲ τότε διαφόρως εἶχεν. [193] Δεξάμενος οὖν τὴν παράκλησιν ἔπειθεν τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς Ἄνανον καὶ Ἰησοῦν τὸν τοῦ Γαμαλᾶ τινάς τε τῶν τῆς αὐτῶν στάσεως ἐκείνους ἐκκόπτειν με φυόμενον καὶ μὴ περιιδεῖν ἐπὶ μήκιστον αὐξηθέντα δόξης, συνοίσειν αὐτοῖς λέγων, εἰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἀφαιρεθείην· μὴ μέλλειν δὲ παρεκάλει τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἄνανον, μὴ καὶ φθάσας γνῶναι μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπέλθω τῇ πόλει δυνάμεως. [194] Ὁ μὲν Σίμων ταῦτα συνεβούλευεν· ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἄνανος οὐ ῥᾴδιον εἶναι τὸ ἔργον ἀπέφαινεν· πολλοὺς γὰρ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ τοῦ πλήθους προεστῶτας μαρτυρεῖν, ὅτι καλῶς ἐγὼ στρατηγῶ· ποιεῖσθαι δὲ κατηγορίαν ἀνδρός, καθ᾽ οὗ μηδὲν λέγειν δύνανται δίκαιον, φαύλων ἔργον εἶναι.

38. But the hatred that John, the son of Levi, bore to me, grew now more violent, while he could not bear my prosperity with patience. So he proposed to himself, by all means possible, to make away with me; and built the walls of Gischala, which was the place of his nativity. He then sent his brother Simon, and Jonathan, the son of Sisenna, and about a hundred armed men, to Jerusalem, to Simon, the son of Gamaliel, in order to persuade him to induce the commonalty of Jerusalem to take from me the government over the Galileans, and to give their suffrages for conferring that authority upon him. This Simon was of the city of Jerusalem, and of a very noble family of the sect of the Pharisees, which are supposed to excel others in the accurate knowledge of the laws of their country. He was a man of great wisdom and reason, and capable of restoring public affairs by his prudence, when they were in an ill posture. He was also an old friend and companion of John; but at that time he had a difference with me. When therefore he had received such an exhortation, he persuaded the high priests, Ananus, and Jesus the son of Gamala, and some others of the same seditious faction, to cut me down, now I was growing so great, and not to overlook me while I was aggrandizing myself to the height of glory; and he said that it would be for the advantage of the Galileans, if I were deprived of my government there. Ananus also, and his friends, desired them to make no delay about the matter, lest I should get the knowledge of what was doing too soon, and should come and make an assault upon the city with a great army. This was the counsel of Simon; but Artanus the high priest demonstrated to them that this was not an easy thing to be done, because many of the high priests and of the rulers of the people bore witness that I had acted like an excellent general, and that it was the work of ill men to accuse one against whom they had nothing to say.

XXXIX

[195] Σίμων δ᾽ ὡς ἤκουσεν ταῦτα παρὰ τοῦ Ἀνάνου, σιωπᾶν μὲν ἐκείνους ἠξίωσεν μηδ᾽ εἰς πολλοὺς ἐκφέρειν τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν· προνοήσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔφασκεν, ἵνα θᾶττον μετασταθείην ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας· προσκαλεσάμενος δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Ἰωάννου προσέταξεν πέμπειν δωρεὰς τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἄνανον· τάχα γὰρ οὕτως ἔφη πείσειν αὐτοὺς μεταθέσθαι τὰς γνώμας. [196] Καὶ τέλος ἔπραξεν ὁ Σίμων ὃ προύθετο· ὁ γὰρ Ἄνανος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τοῖς χρήμασιν διαφθαρέντες συντίθενται τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐκβαλεῖν με μηδενὸς ἄλλου τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τοῦτο γινώσκοντος. Καὶ δὴ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς πέμπειν ἄνδρας κατὰ γένος μὲν διαφέροντας, τῇ παιδείᾳ δ᾽ ὁμοίους. [197] Ἦσαν δ᾽ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν δύο δημοτικοί, Ἰωνάθης καὶ Ἀνανίας Φαρισαῖοι τὴν αἵρεσιν, ὁ δὲ τρίτος Γόζορος ἱερατικοῦ γένους, Φαρισαῖος καὶ αὐτός· Σίμων δ᾽ ἐξ ἀρχιερέων νεώτατος ἐκείνων. [198] Τούτους ἐκέλευον ἀφικομένους εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Γαλιλαίων πυθέσθαι παρ᾽ αὐτῶν τὴν αἰτίαν, δι᾽ ἣν ἐμὲ φιλοῦσιν· εἰ δὲ φαῖεν, ὅτι πόλεως εἴην τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνων λέγειν ὑπάρχειν τοὺς τέσσαρας, εἰ δὲ διὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν τῶν νόμων, μηδ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀγνοεῖν ἔθη τὰ πάτρια φάσκειν, εἰ δ᾽ αὖ διὰ τὴν ἱερωσύνην λέγοιεν ἀγαπᾶν με, καὶ αὐτῶν ἀποκρίνεσθαι δύο ἱερεῖς ὑπάρχειν.

39. When Simon heard Ananus say this, he desired that the messengers would conceal the thing, and not let it come among many; for that he would take care to have Josephus removed out of Galilee very quickly. So he called for John's brother, [Simon,] and charged him that they should send presents to Ananus and his friends; for, as he said, they might probably by that means persuade them to change their minds. And indeed Simon did at length thus compass what he aimed at; for Artanus, and those with him, being corrupted by bribes, agreed to expel me out of Galilee, without making the rest of the citizens acquainted with what they were doing. Accordingly, they resolved to send men of distinction as to their families, and of distinction as to their learning also. Two of these were of the populace, Jonathan and Ananias, by sect Pharisees; while the third, Jozar, was of the stock of the priests, and a Pharisee also; and Simon, the last of them, was of the youngest of the high priests. These had it given them in charge, that, when they were come to the multitude of the Galileans, they should ask them, what was the reason of their love to me? and if they said that it was because I was born at Jerusalem, that they should reply, that they four were all born at the same place; and if they should say, it was because I was well versed in their law, they should reply, that neither were they unacquainted with the practices of their country; but if, besides these, they should say, they loved me because I was a priest, they should reply, that two of these were priests also.

XL

[199] Ταῦθ᾽ ὑποθέμενοι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην τέσσαρας μυριάδας ἀργυρίου διδόασιν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων. [200] Ἐπεὶ δέ τινα Γαλιλαῖον ἤκουσαν Ἰησοῦν ὄνομα περὶ αὐτὸν τάξιν ἐξακοσίων ὁπλιτῶν ἔχειν ἐπιδημοῦντα τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις, τότε μεταπεμψάμενοι τοῦτον καὶ τριῶν μηνῶν μισθὸν δόντες ἐκέλευον ἔπεσθαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην πειθαρχοῦντα αὐτοῖς, καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν δὲ τριακοσίοις ἀνδράσιν δόντες ἀργύριον εἰς τροφὴν τῶν ὅλων προσέταξαν ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς πρέσβεσιν. [201] Πεισθέντων οὖν αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον εὐτρεπισθέντων ἐξῆεσαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην σὺν τούτοις ἐπαγόμενοι καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Ἰωάννου καὶ ὁπλίτας ἑκατόν, [202] λαβόντες ἐντολὰς παρὰ τῶν πεμψάντων, εἰ μὲν ἑκὼν καταθείμην τὰ ὅπλα, ζῶντα πέμπειν εἰς τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν, εἰ δ᾽ ἀντιτασσοίμην, ἀποκτεῖναι μηδὲν δεδιότας· αὐτῶν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ πρόσταγμα. [203] Ἐγεγράφεισαν δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ πρὸς τὸν κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ πόλεμον ἑτοιμάζεσθαι, τοῖς τε Σέπφωριν καὶ Γάβαρα κατοικοῦσιν καὶ Τιβεριεῦσιν προσέταττον συμμαχίαν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ πέμπειν.

40. Now, when they had given Jonathan and his companions these instructions, they gave them forty thousand [drachmae] out of the public money: but when they heard that there was a certain Galilean that then sojourned at Jerusalem, whose name was Jesus, who had about him a band of six hundred armed men, they sent for him, and gave him three months pay, and gave him orders to follow Jonathan and his companions, and be obedient to them. They also gave money to three hundred men that were citizens of Jerusalem, to maintain them all, and ordered them also to follow the ambassadors; and when they had complied, and were gotten ready for the march, Jonathan and his companions went out with them, having along with them John's brother and a hundred armed men. The charge that was given them by those that sent them was this: That if I would voluntarily lay down my arms, they should send me alive to the city of Jerusalem; but that, in case I opposed them, they should kill me, and fear nothing; for that it was their command for them so to do. They also wrote to John to make all ready for fighting me, and gave orders to the inhabitants of Sepphoris, and Gabara, and Tiberins, to send auxiliaries to John.

XLI

[204] Ταῦτά μοι τοῦ πατρὸς γράψαντος, ἐξεῖπε δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Γαμαλᾶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ βουλῇ γενομένων εἷς, φίλος ὢν καὶ συνήθης ἐμοί, σφόδρα περιήλγησα τούς τε πολίτας οὕτως περὶ ἐμὲ γενομένους ἀχαρίστους ἐπιγνοὺς διὰ φθόνον ἀναιρεθῆναί με προστάξαι, καὶ τῷ τὸν πατέρα διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων πολλά με παρακαλεῖν ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν· ποθεῖν γὰρ ἔφη θεάσασθαι τὸν υἱὸν πρὸ τοῦ τελευτῆσαι. [205] Ταῦτα δὴ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἶπον καὶ ὅτι μετὰ τρίτην ἡμέραν καταλιπὼν τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα πορευσοίμην. Λύπη δ᾽ ἅπαντας τοὺς κἀκούσαντας κατέσχε παρεκάλουν τε κλαίοντες μὴ ἐγκαταλιπεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀπολουμένους, εἰ τῆς ἐμῆς στρατηγίας ἀποστερηθεῖεν. [206] Οὐ κατανεύοντος δέ μου ταῖς ἱκετείαις αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ φροντίζοντος σωτηρίας, δείσαντες οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι, μὴ ἀπελθόντος εὐκαταφρόνητοι τοῖς λῃσταῖς γένοιντο, πέμπουσιν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἅπασαν τοὺς σημανοῦντας τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην περὶ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς. [207] Πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πανταχόθεν συνήχθησαν, ὡς ἤκουσαν, μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων, οὐ πόθῳ, δοκῶ μοι, τῷ πρὸς ἐμὲ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ περὶ αὐτῶν δέει τοῦτο πράττοντες· ἐμοῦ γὰρ παραμένοντος πείσεσθαι κακὸν οὐδὲν ὑπελάμβανον. Ἦκον οὖν πάντες εἰς τὸ μέγα πεδίον, ἐν ᾧ διέτριβον· Ἀσωχίς ἐστιν ὄνομα αὐτῷ.

41. Now, as my father wrote me an account of this, [for Jesus the son of Gamala, who was present in that council, a friend and companion of mine, told him of it,]

I was very much troubled, as discovering thereby that my fellow citizens proved so ungrateful to me, as, out of envy, to give order that I should be slain: my father earnestly pressed me also in his letter to come to him, for that he longed to see his son before he died. I informed my friends of these things, and that in three days' time I should leave the country, and go home. Upon hearing this, they were all very sorry, and desired me, with tears in their eyes, not to leave them to be destroyed; for so they thought they should be, if I were deprived of the command over them: but as I did not grant their request, but was taking care of my own safety, the Galileans, out of their dread of the consequence of my departure, that they should then be at the mercy of the robbers, sent messengers over all Galilee to inform them of my resolution to leave them. Whereupon, as soon as they heard it, they got together in great numbers, from all parts, with their wives and children; and this they did, as it appeared to me, not more out of their affection to me, than out of their fear on their own account; for while I staid with them, they supposed that they should suffer no harm. So they all came into the great plain, wherein I lived, the name of which was Asochis.

XLII

[208] Διὰ δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης θαυμάσιον οἷον ὄνειρον ἐθεασάμην· ἐπεὶ γὰρ εἰς κοίτην ἐτραπόμην διὰ τὰ γραφέντα λυπούμενος καὶ τεταραγμένος, [209] ἔδοξά τινα λέγειν ἐπιστάντα μοι, "παῦσαι τὴν ψυχήν, ὦ οὗτος, ἀλγῶν, παντὸς δ' ἀπαλλάσσου φόβου· τὰ γὰρ λυποῦντά σε μέγιστον ποιήσει καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν εὐτυχέστατον, κατορθώσεις δ' οὐ μόνον ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα. Μὴ κάμνε δή, [210] μέμνησο δ' ὅτι καὶ Ῥωμαίοις δεῖ σε πολεμῆσαι." Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ὄνειρον θεασάμενος διανίσταμαι καταβῆναι προθυμούμενος εἰς τὸ πεδίον. Πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐμὴν ὄψιν πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Γαλιλαίων, ἦσαν δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς γυναῖκές τε καὶ παῖδες, ἐπὶ στόμα ῥίψαντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ δακρύοντες ἱκέτευον μὴ σφᾶς ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις, μηδ' ἀπελθεῖν ἐάσαντα τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐνύβρισμα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐσομένην. [211] Ὡς δὲ ταῖς δεήσεσιν οὐκ ἔπειθον, κατηνάγκαζον ὅρκοις μένειν παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ἐλοιδοροῦντό τε τῷ δήμῳ πολλὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ὡς εἰρηνεύεσθαι τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐῶντι.

42. But wonderful it was what a dream I saw that very night; for when I had betaken myself to my bed, as grieved and disturbed at the news that had been written to me, it seemed to me, that a certain person stood by me, and said, "O Josephus! leave off to afflict thy soul, and put away all fear; for what now grieves thee will render thee very considerable, and in all respects most happy; for thou shalt get over not only these difficulties, but many others, with great success. However, be not cast down, but remember that thou art to fight with the

Romans." When I had seen this dream, I got up with an intention of going down to the plain. Now, when the whole multitude of the Galileans, among whom were the women and children, saw me, they threw themselves down upon their faces, and, with tears in their eyes, besought me not to leave them exposed to their enemies, nor to go away and permit their country to be injured by them. But when I did not comply, with their entreaties, they compelled me to take an oath, that I would stay with them: they also cast abundance of reproaches upon the people of Jerusalem, that they would not let their country enjoy peace.

XLIII

[212] Ταῦτα δὴ καὶ ἐπακούων αὐτῶν καὶ βλέπων τοῦ πλήθους τὴν κατήφειαν ἐκλάσθην πρὸς ἔλεον, ἄξιον εἶναι νομίζων ὑπὲρ τοσούτου πλήθους καὶ προδήλους κινδύνους ὑπομένειν. Κατανεύω δὴ μένειν, καὶ πεντακισχιλίους ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁπλίτας ἥκειν κελεύσας ἔχοντας ἑαυτοῖς τροφὰς ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκήσεις διαφῆκα τοὺς ἄλλους. [213] Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ πεντακισχίλιοι παρεγένοντο, τούτους ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τρισχιλίους τοὺς σὺν ἐμαυτῷ στρατιώτας, ἱππεῖς δ᾽ ὀγδοήκοντα, τὴν πορείαν εἰς Χαβωλὼ κώμην Πτολεμαΐδος μεθόριον οὖσαν ἐποιησάμην, κἀκεῖ τὰς δυνάμεις συνεῖχον ἑτοιμάζεσθαι σκηπτόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Πλάκιδον πόλεμον. [214] Ἀφίκετο δ᾽ οὗτος μετὰ δύο σπειρῶν πεζοῦ στρατεύματος καὶ ἱππέων ἴλης μιᾶς ὑπὸ Κεστίου Γάλλου πεμφθείς, ἵν᾽ ἐμπρήσῃ τὰς κώμας τῶν Γαλιλαίων, αἳ πλησίον ἦσαν Πτολεμαΐδος. Βαλλομένου δ᾽ ἐκείνου χάρακα πρὸ τῆς Πτολεμαέων πόλεως τίθεμαι κἀγὼ στρατόπεδον τῆς κώμης ὅσον ἑξήκοντα σταδίους ἀποσχών. [215] Πολλάκις μὲν οὖν τὰς δυνάμεις προηγάγομεν ὡς εἰς μάχην, πλέον δ᾽ οὐδὲν ἀκροβολισμῶν ἐπράξαμεν· ὁ γὰρ Πλάκιδος ὅσῳπερ ἐγίνωσκεν σπεύδοντά με πρὸς μάχην αὐτὸς καταπληττόμενος ὑπεστέλλετο· τῆς μέντοι Πτολεμαΐδος οὐκ ἐχωρίζετο.

43. When I heard this, and saw what sorrow the people were in, I was moved with compassion to them, and thought it became me to undergo the most manifest hazards for the sake of so great a multitude; so I let them know I would stay with them. And when I had given order that five thousand off them should come to me armed, and with provisions for their maintenance, I sent the rest away to their own homes; and when those five thousand were come, I took them, together with three thousand of the soldiers that were with me before, and eighty horsemen, and marched to the village of Chabolo, situated in the confines of Ptolimias, and there kept my forces together, pretending to get ready to fight with Placidus, who was come with two cohorts of footmen, and one troop of horsemen, and was sent thither by Cestius Gallus to burn those villages of Galilee that were near Ptolemais. Upon whose casting up a bank before the city

Ptolemais, I also pitched my camp at about the distance of sixty furlongs from that village. And now we frequently brought out our forces as if we would fight, but proceeded no further than skirmishes at a distance; for when Placidus perceived that I was earnest to come to a battle, he was afraid, and avoided it. Yet did he not remove from the neighborhood of Ptolemais.

XLIV

[216] Κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἀφικόμενος Ἰωνάθης μετὰ τῶν συμπρέσβεων, ὧν ἔφαμεν ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Σίμωνα καὶ Ἄνανον τὸν ἀρχιερέα πεπέμφθαι, λαβεῖν δι᾽ ἐνέδρας ἐπεβούλευεν· φανερῶς γὰρ ἐπιχειρεῖν οὐκ ἐτόλμα. [217] Γράφει δὲ πρός με τοιαύτην ἐπιστολήν· "Ἰωνάθης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν Ἰωσήπῳ χαίρειν. Ἡμεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πρώτων ἀκουσάντων τὸν ἀπὸ Γισχάλων Ἰωάννην ἐπιβεβουλευκέναι σοι πολλάκις ἐπέμφθημεν ἐπιπλήξοντες αὐτῷ καὶ παραινέσοντες εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν ὑπακούειν σοι. [218] Βουλεύσασθαι δὲ σὺν σοὶ θέλοντες περὶ τῶν κοινῇ πρακτέων παρακαλοῦμεν ἥκειν θᾶττον πρὸς ἡμᾶς μὴ μετὰ πολλῶν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ κώμη δύναιτ᾽ ἂν στρατιωτῶν πλῆθος ἐπιδέξασθαι." [219] Ταῦτα δ᾽ ἔγραφον προσδοκῶντες δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ ὅτι χωρὶς ὅπλων ἀφικόμενον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἕξουσιν ὑποχείριον, ἢ πολλοὺς ἐπαγόμενον κρινοῦσι πολέμιον. [220] Ἦκεν δέ μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἱππεὺς κομίζων θρασὺς ἄλλως νεανίας τῶν παρὰ βασιλεῖ ποτε στρατευσαμένων. Ἦν δ᾽ ὥρα νυκτὸς ἤδη δευτέρα, καθ᾽ ἣν ἐτύγχανον μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν τῆς Γαλιλαίας πρώτων ἑστιώμενος. [221] Οὗτος δὴ προσαγγείλαντος οἰκέτου μοι ἥκειν τινὰ ἱππέα Ἰουδαῖον, εἰσκληθεὶς ἐμοῦ κελεύσαντος ἠσπάσατο μὲν οὐδ᾽ ὅλως, τὴν δὲ ἐπιστολὴν προτείνας, "ταύτην, εἶπεν, οἱ ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ἥκοντες πεπόμφασί σοι. Γράφε δὴ τάχιστα καὶ σύ· καὶ [222] γὰρ ἐπείγομαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑποστρέφειν." Οἱ μὲν οὖν κατακείμενοι τὴν τοῦ στρατιώτου τόλμαν ἐθαύμασαν, ἐγὼ δὲ καθέζεσθαι παρεκάλουν καὶ συνδειπνεῖν ἡμῖν. Ἀρνησαμένου δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐπιστολὴν μετὰ χεῖρας εἶχον ὡς ἐδεξάμην, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς φίλους περὶ πραγμάτων ἑτέρων τὴν ὁμιλίαν ἐποιούμην. [223] Μετ᾽ οὐ πολλὴν δ᾽ ὥραν ἐξαναστὰς καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀπολύσας ἐπὶ κοίτην, τέσσαρας δέ μοι μόνον τῶν ἀναγκαίων φίλων προσμεῖναι κελεύσας καὶ τῷ παιδὶ προστάξας οἶνον ἑτοιμάσαι, τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀναπτύξας μηδενὸς ἐμβλέποντος κἀξ αὐτῆς ταχὺ συνεὶς τὴν τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐπίνοιαν, πάλιν αὐτὴν ἐσημηνάμην. [224] Καὶ ὡς μὴ προανεγνωκώς, ἀλλὰ μετὰ χεῖρας αὐτὴν ἔχων, προσέταξα τῷ στρατιώτῃ δραχμὰς εἴκοσι ἐφόδιον δοθῆναι. Τοῦ δὲ λαβόντος καὶ χάριν ἔχειν φήσαντος συνεὶς τὴν αἰσχροκέρδειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡς ταύτῃ μάλιστά ἐστιν ἁλώσιμος, "ἀλλ᾽ εἰ συμπιεῖν ἡμῖν, ἔφην, θελήσειας, λήψει κατὰ κύαθον δραχμὴν μίαν." Ὁ δ᾽ ἄσμενος ὑπήκουσεν, [225] καὶ πολὺν τὸν οἶνον

προσφερόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλέον λαβεῖν τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ μεθυσθεὶς οὐκέτι τὰ ἀπόρρητα στέγειν ἐδύνατο, ἀλλ᾽ ἔφραζεν οὐκ ἐρωτώμενος τήν τε συνεσκευασμένην ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ ὡς κατεψηφισμένος εἴην θάνατον παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς. [226] Ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας ἀντιγράφω τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· "Ἰώσηπος Ἰωνάθῃ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ χαίρειν. Ἐρρωμένους ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἥκειν πυθόμενος ἥδομαι, μάλιστα δ᾽ ὅτι δυνήσομαι παραδοὺς ὑμῖν τὴν τῶν ἐνθάδε πραγμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα πορευθῆναι· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ πάλαι ποιεῖν ἤθελον. [227] Ἔδει μὲν οὖν μὴ μόνον εἰς Ξαλὼθ παραγενέσθαι με πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ πόρρω καὶ μηδὲ κελευσάντων, συγγνώμης δὲ τυχεῖν ἀξιῶ μὴ δυνάμενος τοῦτο ποιῆσαι παραφυλάσσων ἐν Χαβωλὼ Πλάκιδον εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἀναβῆναι δι᾽ ἐννοίας ἔχοντα. Ἥκετε οὖν ὑμεῖς πρός με τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀναγνόντες. Ἔρρωσθε."

44. About this time it was that Jonathan and his fellow legates came. They were sent, as we have said already, by Simon, and Ananus the high priest. And Jonathan contrived how he might catch me by treachery; for he durst not make any attempt upon me openly. So he wrote me the following epistle: "Jonathan and those that are with him, and are sent by the people of Jerusalem, to Josephus, send greeting. We are sent by the principal men of Jerusalem, who have heard that John of Gischala hath laid many snares for thee, to rebuke him, and to exhort him to be subject to thee hereafter. We are also desirous to consult with thee about our common concerns, and what is fit to be done. We therefore desire thee to come to us quickly, and to bring only a few men with thee; for this village will not contain a great number of soldiers." Thus it was that they wrote, as expecting one of these two things; either that I should come without armed men, and then they should have me wholly in their power; or, if I came with a great number, they should judge me to be a public enemy. Now it was a horseman who brought the letter, a man at other times bold, and one that had served in the army under the king. It was the second hour of the night that he came, when I was feasting with my friends, and the principal of the Galileans. This man, upon my servant's telling me that a certain horseman of the Jewish nation was come, was called in at my command, but did not so much as salute me at all, but held out a letter, and said, "This letter is sent thee by those that are come from Jerusalem; do thou write an answer to it quickly; for I am obliged to return to them very soon." Now my guests could not but wonder at the boldness of the soldier. But I desired him to sit down and sup with us; but when he refused so to do, I held the letter in my hands as I received it, and fell a talking with my guests about other matters. But a few hours afterwards, I got up, and when I had dismissed the rest to go to their beds, I bid only four of my intimate friends to stay, and ordered my servant to get some wine ready. I also opened the

letter so, that nobody could perceive it; and understanding thereby presently the purportú of the writing, I sealed it up again, and appeared as if I had not yet read it, but only held it in my hands. I ordered twenty drachmae should be given the soldier for the charges of his journey; and when he took the money, and said that he thanked me for it, I perceived that he loved money, and that he was to be caught chiefly by that means; and I said to him, "If thou wilt but drink with us, thou shalt have a drachma for every glass thou drinkest." So he gladly embraced this proposal, and drank a great deal of wine, in order to get the more money, and was so drunk, that at last he could not keep the secrets he was intrusted with, but discovered them without my putting questions to him, *viz.* That a treacherous design was contrived against me, and that I was doomed to die by those that sent him. When I heard this, I wrote back this answer: "Josephus to Jonathan, and those that are with him, sendeth greeting. Upon the information that you are come in health into Galilee, I rejoice, and this especially because I can now resign the care of public affairs here into your hands, and return into my native country, which is what I have desired to do a great while; and I confess I ought not only to come to you as far as Xaloth, but farther, and this without your commands. But I desire you to excuse me, because I cannot do it now, since I watch the motions of Placidus, who hath a mind to go up into Galilee; and this I do here at Chabolo. Do you therefore, on the receipt of this epistle, come hither to me. Fare you well."

XLV

[228] Ταῦτα γράψας δοὺς τῷ στρατιώτῃ φέρειν συνεξέπεμψα τριάκοντα τῶν Γαλιλαίων δοκιμωτάτους, ὑποθέμενος αὐτοῖς ἀσπάσασθαι μὲν ἐκείνους, ἕτερον δὲ μηδὲν λέγειν. Ἔταξα δὲ καθ᾽ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν πιστῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἕνα παραφυλάξοντα, μή τις τοῖς πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ὁμιλία γένηται. [229] Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύθησαν. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην τῆς πρώτης πείρας ἁμαρτόντες ἑτέραν ἐπιστολήν μοι τοιαύτην ἔπεμψαν· "Ἰωνάθης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ Ἰωσήπῳ χαίρειν. Παραγγέλλομέν σοι χωρὶς ὁπλιτῶν εἰς τρίτην παραγενέσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰς Γαβαρὼθ κώμην, ἵνα διακούσωμεν τῶν πρὸς Ἰωάννην ἐγκλημάτων σοι γεγονότων." Ταῦτα γράψαντες καὶ ἀσπασάμενοι τοὺς Γαλιλαίους, [230] οὓς πεπόμφειν, ἀφίκοντο εἰς Ἰαφὰν κώμην μεγίστην οὖσαν τῶν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ, τείχεσιν ὀχυρωτάτην καὶ πολλῶν οἰκητόρων μεστήν. Ὑπηντίαζεν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτοὺς μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων καὶ κατεβόων κελεύοντες ἀπιέναι καὶ μὴ φθονεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀγαθοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. [231] Παρηρεθίζοντο δὲ ταῖς φωναῖς οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην, καὶ φανεροῦν μὲν τὴν ὀργὴν οὐκ ἐτόλμων, οὐκ ἀξιώσαντες δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀποκρίσεως εἰς τὰς ἄλλας κώμας

ἐπορεύοντο. Ὅμοιαι δ᾽ ὑπήντων αὐτοῖς παρὰ πάντων αἱ καταβοήσεις μεταπείσειν αὐτοὺς βοώντων οὐδένα περὶ τοῦ μὴ στρατηγὸν ἔχειν Ἰώσηπον. [232] Ἄπρακτοι δὲ παρὰ τούτων ἀπελθόντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην εἰς Σέπφωριν μεγίστην τῶν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ πόλιν ἀφικνοῦνται. Οἱ δ᾽ ἐντεῦθεν ἄνθρωποι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ταῖς γνώμαις ἀποβλέποντες, ἐκείνοις μὲν ὑπήντων, ἐμὲ δὲ οὔτε ἐπῄνουν οὔτ᾽ ἐβλασφήμουν. [233] Παρὰ δὲ Σεπφωριτῶν εἰς Ἀσωχὶν καταβάντες οἱ ἐντεῦθεν παραπλησίως τοῖς Ἰαφηνοῖς κατεβόων αὐτῶν. Οἱ δὲ τὴν ὀργὴν οὐκέτι κατασχόντες κελεύουσιν τοῖς μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ὁπλίταις τύπτειν ξύλοις τοὺς καταβοῶντας. Κατὰ Γάβαρα δὲ γενομένους ὑπαντιάζει μετὰ τρισχιλίων ὁπλιτῶν ὁ Ἰωάννης. [234] Ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἤδη συνεικώς, ὅτι διεγνώκασι πρός με πολεμεῖν, ἀναστὰς ἀπὸ Χαβώλων μετὰ τρισχιλίων ὁπλιτῶν, καταλιπὼν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὸν πιστότατον τῶν φίλων εἰς Ἰωτάπατα παρεγενόμην πλησίον αὐτῶν εἶναι βουλόμενος ὅσον ἀπὸ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων, καὶ γράφω πρὸς αὐτοὺς τάδε· [235] “εἰ πάντως με πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν βούλεσθε, διακόσιαι καὶ τέσσαρες κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν εἰσὶν πόλεις καὶ κῶμαι. Τούτων εἰς ἣν θελήσετε παραγενήσομαι χωρὶς Γαβάρων καὶ Γισχάλων· ἡ μὲν γὰρ πατρίς ἐστιν Ἰωάννου, ἡ δὲ σύμμαχος αὐτῷ καὶ φίλη.”

45. When I had written thus, and given the letter to be carried by the soldier, I sent along with him thirty of the Galileans of the best characters, and gave them instructions to salute those ambassadors, but to say nothing else to them. I also gave orders to as many of those armed men, whom I esteemed most faithful to me, to go along with the others, every one with him whom he was to guard, lest some conversation might pass between those whom I sent and those who were with Jonathan. So those men went [to Jonathan]. But when Jonathan and his partners had failed in this their first attempt, they sent me another letter, the contents whereof were as follows: “Jonathan, and those with him, to Josephus, send greeting. We require thee to come to us to the village Gabaroth, on the third day, without any armed men, that we may hear what thou hast to lay to the charge of John [of Gischala].” When they had written this letter, they saluted the Galileans whom I sent, and came to Japha, which was the largest village of all Galilee, and encompassed with very strong walls, and had a great number of inhabitants in it. There the multitude of men, with their wives and children, met them, and exclaimed loudly against them; and desired them to be gone, and not to envy them the advantage of an excellent commander. With these clamors Jonathan and his partners were greatly provoked, although they durst not show their anger openly; so they made them no answer, but went to other villages. But still the same clamors met them from all the people, who said, “Nobody should persuade them to have any other commander besides Josephus.” So Jonathan and

his partners went away from them without success, and came to Sepphoris, the greatest city of all Galilee. Now the men of that city, who inclined to the Romans in their sentiments, met them indeed, but neither praised nor reproached me and when they were gone down from Sepphoris to Asochis, the people of that place made a clamor against them, as those of Japha had done; whereupon they were able to contain themselves no longer, but ordered the armed men that were with them to beat those that made the clamor with their clubs. And when they came to Gabara, John met them with three thousand armed men; but, as I understood by their letter that they had resolved to fight against me, I arose from Chabolo, with three thousand armed men also; but left in my camp one of my fastest friends, and came to Jotapata, as desirous to be near them, the distance being no more than forty furlongs. Whence I wrote thus to them: "If you are very desirous that I should come to you, you know there are two hundred and forty cities and villages in Galilee; I will come to any of them which you please, excepting Gaburn and Gischala; the one of which is John's native city, and the other in confederacy and friendship with him."

XLVI

[236] Ταῦτα τὰ γράμματα λαβόντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην οὐκέτι μὲν ἀντιγράφουσιν· συνέδριον δὲ τῶν φίλων καθίσαντες καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην παραλαβόντες ἐβουλεύοντο, τίνα τρόπον ἐπιχειρήσωσί μοι. [237] Καὶ Ἰωάννῃ μὲν ἐδόκει γράφειν πρὸς πάσας τὰς ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ πόλεις καὶ κώμας, εἶναι γὰρ ἐν ἑκάστῃ πάντως ἕνα γοῦν καὶ δεύτερον διάφορον ἐμοί, καὶ καλεῖν τούτους ὡς ἐπὶ πολέμιον ἐκελεύετο πέμπειν τὸ δόγμα τοῦτο καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν, ἵνα κἀκεῖνοι γνόντες ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλιλαίων κεκρίσθαι με πολέμιον καὶ αὐτοὶ ψηφίσωνται· γενομένου γὰρ τούτου καὶ τοὺς εὖνως ἔχοντάς μοι Γαλιλαίους ἐγκαταλείψειν ἔφη φοβηθέντας. [238] Ταῦτα συμβουλεύσαντος Ἰωάννου σφόδρα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἤρεσεν τὰ λεχθέντα. [239] Περὶ δ' ὥραν τῆς νυκτὸς τρίτην εἰς γνῶσιν ἦκέ μοι ταῦτα, Σακχαίου τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς τινος αὐτομολήσαντος πρός με καὶ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν αὐτῶν ἀπαγγείλαντος· οὐκέτι δὴ δεῖν ὑπερτίθεσθαι τὸν καιρόν. [240] Ἄξιον δὲ κρίνας Ἰάκωβον ὁπλίτην τῶν περὶ ἐμὲ πιστὸν κελεύω διακοσίους ὁπλίτας λαβόντα φρουρεῖν τὰς ἀπὸ Γαβάρων εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐξόδους, καὶ τοὺς παριόντας συλλαμβάνοντα πρὸς ἐμὲ πέμπειν, μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς μετὰ γραμμάτων ἁλισκομένους· [241] Ἱερεμίαν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν φίλων μου μεθ' ἑξακοσίων ὁπλιτῶν εἰς τὴν μεθόριον τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἔπεμψα τὰς ἀπὸ ταύτης εἰς τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ὁδοὺς παραφυλάξοντα, πρόσταγμα δοὺς κἀκείνῳ τοὺς μετ' ἐπιστολῶν ὁδεύοντας συλλαμβάνειν καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας ἐν δεσμοῖς ἐπὶ τόπου φυλάττειν, τὰ δὲ γράμματα πρὸς ἐμὲ διαπέμπειν.

46. When Jonathan and his partners had received this letter, they wrote me no more answers, but called a council of their friends together; and taking John into their consultation, they took counsel together by what means they might attack me. John's opinion was, that they should write to all the cities and villages that were in Galilee; for that there must be certainly one or two persons in every one of them that were at variance with me, and that they should be invited to come to oppose me as an enemy. He would also have them send this resolution of theirs to the city of Jerusalem, that its citizens, upon the knowledge of my being adjudged to be an enemy by the Galileans, might themselves I also confirm that determination. He said also, that when this was done, even those Galileans who were well affected to me, would desert me out of fear. When John had given them this counsel, what he had said was very agreeable to the rest of them. I was also made acquainted with these affairs about the third hour of the night, by the means of one Saccheus, who had belonged to them, but now deserted them and came over to me, and told me what they were about; so I perceived that no time was to be lost. Accordingly, I gave command to Jacob, an armed man of my guard, whom I esteemed faithful to me, to take two hundred men, and to guard the passages that led from Gahara to Galilee, and to seize upon the passengers, and send them to me, especially such as were caught with letters about them: I also sent Jeremias himself, one of my friends, with six hundred armed men, to the borders of Galilee, in order to watch the roads that led from this country to the city Jerusalem, and gave him charge to lay hold of such as traveled with letters about them, to keep the men in bonds upon the place, but to send me the letters.

XLVII

[242] Ταῦτα τοῖς πεμπομένοις ἐντειλάμενος Γαλιλαίοις διήγγειλα κελεύων εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τριῶν ἡμερῶν τροφὴν εἰς Γαβαρὼθ κώμην παραγενέσθαι πρός με. Τῶν δὲ περὶ ἐμὲ ὁπλιτῶν μοίρας τέτταρας νείμας τοὺς πιστοτάτους αὐτῶν περὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος φυλακὴν ἔταξα, ταξιάρχους αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας καὶ φροντίζειν κελεύσας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδένα στρατιώτην ἄγνωστον αὐτοῖς συναναμίγνυσθαι. [243] Τῇ δ᾽ ἐπιούσῃ περὶ πέμπτην ὥραν ἐν Γαβαρὼθ γενόμενος εὑρίσκω πᾶν τὸ πεδίον τὸ πρὸ τῆς κώμης ὁπλιτῶν πλῆρες τῶν ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐπὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν παρόντων, ὡς αὐτοῖς παρηγγέλκειν· πολὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν ὄχλος συνέτρεχεν. [244] Ἐπεὶ δὲ καταστὰς εἰς αὐτοὺς λέγειν ἠρξάμην, ἐβόων ἅπαντες εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν καλοῦντες. Κἀγὼ χάριν αὐτοῖς ἔχειν ὁμολογήσας συνεβούλευον πρὸς μηδένα μήτε πολεμεῖν μήτε ἁρπαγῇ μολύνειν τὰς χεῖρας, ἀλλὰ σκηνοῦν κατὰ τὸ πεδίον ἀρκουμένους

τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐφοδίοις· θέλειν γὰρ ἔφασκον τὰς ταραχὰς χωρὶς φόνων καταστεῖλαι. [245] Συνέβη δ᾽ αὐθημερὸν εἰς τὰς ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ κατασταθείσας τῶν ὁδῶν φυλακὰς τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Ἰωνάθου πεμφθέντας μετὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἐμπεσεῖν. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες ἐφυλάχθησαν ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων, ὡς παρήγγειλα, τοῖς δὲ γράμμασιν ἐντυχὼν πλήρεσι βλασφημιῶν καὶ ψευσμάτων, οὐδενὶ ταῦτα φράσας ὁρμᾶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς διενοούμην.

47. When I had laid these commands upon them, I gave them orders, and bid them take their arms and bring three days' provision with them, and be with me the next day. I also parted those that were about me into four parts, and ordained those of them that were most faithful to me to be a guard to my body. I also set over them centurions, and commanded them to take care that not a soldier which they did not know should mingle himself among them. Now, on the fifth day following, when I was at Gabaroth, I found the entire plain that was before the village full of armed men, who were come out of Galilee to assist me: many others of the multitude, also, out of the village, ran along with me. But as soon as I had taken my place, and began to speak to them, they all made an acclamation, and called me the benefactor and savior of the country. And when I had made them my acknowledgments, and thanked them [for their affection to me], I also advised them to fight with nobody, nor to spoil the country; but to pitch their tents in the plain, and be content with their sustenance they had brought with them; for I told them that I had a mind to compose these troubles without shedding any blood. Now it came to pass, that on the very same day those who were sent by John with letters, fell among the guards whom I had appointed to watch the roads; so the men were themselves kept upon the place, as my orders were, but I got the letters, which were full of reproaches and lies; and I intended to fall upon these men, without saying a word of these matters to any body.

XLVIII

[246] Ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀφίξεως τοὺς ἰδίους πάντας ἀναλαβόντες καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ὑπεχώρησαν εἰς τὴν Ἰησοῦ οἰκίαν· βᾶρις δ᾽ ἦν αὕτη μεγάλη καὶ οὐδὲν ἀκροπόλεως ἀποδέουσα. Κρύψαντες οὖν λόχον ὁπλιτῶν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀποκλείσαντες θύρας, μίαν δὲ ἀνοίξαντες, προσεδόκων ἥκειν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ με πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀσπασόμενον. [247] Καὶ δὴ διδόασιν ἐντολὰς τοῖς ὁπλίταις, ἐπειδὰν παραγένωμαι, μόνον εἰσελθεῖν ἐᾶσαι τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπείρξαντας· οὕτως γὰρ ᾤοντό με γενήσεσθαι ῥᾳδίως αὐτοῖς ὑποχείριον. [248] Ἐψεύσθησαν δὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος· ἐγὼ γὰρ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν προαισθόμενος, ὡς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ παρεγενόμην καταλύσας ἄντικρυς αὐτῶν καθεύδειν ἐσκηπτόμην. [249] Καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ὑπολαμβάνοντες ὄντως

ἀναπαύεσθαί με καθυπνωμένον ὥρμησαν καταβάντες εἰς τὸ πλῆθος μεταπείθειν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐμοῦ κακῶς στρατηγοῦντος. [250] Τἀναντία δὲ αὐτοῖς συνέπεσεν· ὀφθέντων γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐγένετο βοὴ παρὰ τῶν Γαλιλαίων πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν εὐνοίας ἀξία, κατάμεμψίν τε ἐποιοῦντο τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην, ὅτι πάρεισιν οὐδὲν μὲν αὐτοὶ κακὸν προπεπονθότες, ἀνατρέψοντες δὲ τὰ ἐκείνων πράγματα, καὶ παρεκελεύοντο ἀπιέναι· μὴ γὰρ ἄν ποτε μεταπεισθῆναι προστάτην ἕτερον ἀντ᾽ ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν. [251] Τούτων ἀπαγγελθέντων μοι προελθεῖν εἰς μέσους οὐκ ὤκνησα. Κατέβαινον οὖν εὐθέως, αὐτὸς τί λέγουσιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἀκουσόμενος. Προελθόντος δέ μου κρότος παρὰ παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους εὐθὺς ἦν καὶ μετ᾽ εὐφημιῶν ἐπιβοήσεις χάριν ἔχειν ὁμολογούντων τῇ ‘μῇ στρατηγίᾳ.

48. Now, as soon as Jonathan and his companions heard of my coming, they took all their own friends, and John with them, and retired to the house of Jesus, which indeed was a large castle, and no way unlike a citadel; so they privately laid a band of armed men therein, and shut all the other doors but one, which they kept open, and they expected that I should come out of the road to them, to salute them. And indeed they had given orders to the armed men, that when I came they should let nobody besides me come in, but should exclude others; as supposing that, by this means, they should easily get me under their power: but they were deceived in their expectation; for I perceived what snares they had laid for me. Now, as soon as I was got off my journey, I took up my lodgings over against them, and pretended to be asleep; so Jonathan and his party, thinking that I was really asleep and at rest, made haste to go down into the plain, to persuade the people that I was an ill governor. But the matter proved otherwise; for, upon their appearance, there was a cry made by the Galileans immediately, declaring their good opinion of me as their governor; and they made a clamor against Jonathan and his partners for coming to them when they had suffered no harm, and as though they would overturn their happy settlement; and desired them by all means to go back again, for that they would never be persuaded to have any other to rule over them but myself. When I heard of this, I did not fear to go down into the midst of them; I went, therefore, myself down presently to hear what Jonathan and his companions said. As soon as I appeared, there was immediately an acclamation made to me by the whole multitude, and a cry in my commendation by them, who confessed their thanks was owing to me for my good government of them.

XLIX

[252] Ταῦτα δ᾽ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἀκούοντες ἐφοβήθησαν, μὴ καὶ κινδυνεύσωσιν ἀποθανεῖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὁρμησάντων τῶν Γαλιλαίων κατὰ τὴν

πρὸς ἐμὲ χάριν· δρασμὸν οὖν ἐπενόουν. Μὴ δυνηθέντες δὲ ἀπελθεῖν, προσμεῖναι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἠξίωσα, κατηφεῖς ἐστησάμενοι τῷ λόγῳ. [253] Προστάξας οὖν τῷ μὲν πλήθει τὰς εὐφημίας ἐπισχεῖν, καὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν τοὺς πιστοτάτους ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐπιστήσας ὑπὲρ τοῦ φρουρεῖν, μὴ ἀπροσδοκήτως ἡμῖν ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐπιπέσῃ, παραινέσας δὲ καὶ τοῖς Γαλιλαίοις ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ὅπλα, μὴ πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον τῶν πολεμίων, ἐὰν γένηταί τις αἰφνίδιος ταραχθῶσιν, πρῶτον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ὑπεμίμνησκον, [254] ὃν τρόπον γράψειαν ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πεπέμφθαι διαλύσοντές μου τὰς πρὸς τὸν Ἰωάννην φιλονεικίας, ὡς παρακαλέσειάν τέ με πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀφικέσθαι. [255] Καὶ ταῦτα διεξιὼν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν εἰς μέσους προύτεινον, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀρνήσασθαι δυνηθῶσιν ἐλεγχόντων αὐτοὺς τῶν γραμμάτων. [256] "Καὶ μήν, ἔφην, Ἰωνάθη ὑμεῖς τε οἱ συμπρέσβεις, εἰ πρὸς Ἰωάννην κρινόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ παραστῆσαι τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ βίον δύο τινὰς ἢ τρεῖς μάρτυρας καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς ἤγαγον, δῆλον ὡς ἀνάγκην ἂν εἴχετε προεξετάσαντες καὶ τοὺς τούτων βίους ἀπαλλάξαι με τῶν ἐγκλημάτων. [257] Ἵν' οὖν γνῶτε καλῶς πεπρᾶχθαί μοι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, τρεῖς μὲν μάρτυρας ὀλίγους εἶναι νομίζω τῷ καλῶς βεβιωκότι, τούτους δὲ πάντας ὑμῖν δίδωμι. [258] Παρὰ τούτων οὖν πύθεσθε, τίνα τρόπον ἐβίωσα, εἰ μετὰ πάσης σεμνότητος καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς ἐνθάδε πεπολίτευμαι. Καὶ δὴ ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς, ὦ Γαλιλαῖοι, μηδὲν ἐπικρύψασθαι τῆς ἀληθείας, λέγειν δ' ἐπὶ τούτων ὡς δικαστῶν, εἴ τι μὴ καλῶς πέπρακται."

49. When Jonathan and his companions heard this, they were in fear of their own lives, and in danger lest they should be assaulted by the Galileans on nay account; so they contrived how they might run away. But as they were not able to get off, for I desired them to stay, they looked down with concern at my words to them. I ordered, therefore, the multitude to restrain entirely their acclamations, and placed the most faithful of my armed men upon the avenues, to be a guard to us, lest John should unexpected fall upon us; and I encouraged the Galileans to take their weapons, lest they should be disturbed at their enemies, if any sudden insult should be made upon them. And then, in the first place, I put Jonathan and his partners in mind of their [former] letter, and after what manner they had written to me, and declared they were sent by the common consent to the people of Jerusalem, to make up the differences I had with John, and how they had desired me to come to them; and as I spake thus, I publicly showed that letter they had written, till they could not at all deny what they had done, the letter itself convicting them. I then said, "O Jonathan! and you that are sent with him as his colleagues, if I were to be judged as to my behavior, compared with that of John's, and had brought no more than two or three witnesses, good men and true, it is plain you had been forced, upon the examination of their characters

beforehand, to discharge the accusations: that therefore you may be informed that I have acted well in the affairs of Galilee, I think three witnesses too few to be brought by a man that hath done as he ought to do; so I gave you all these for witnesses. Inquire of them how I have lived, and whether I have not behaved myself with all decency, and after a virtuous manner, among them. And I further conjure you, O Galileans! to hide no part of the truth, but to speak before these men as before judges, whether I have in any thing acted otherwise than well."

L

[259] Ταῦτ᾽ ἔτι λέγοντος κοιναὶ παρὰ πάντων ἐγένοντο φωναὶ καλούντων εὐεργέτην με καὶ σωτῆρα, καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐμαρτύρουν, περὶ δὲ τῶν πραχθησομένων παρεκάλουν, πάντες δ᾽ ὤμνυον ἀνυβρίστους μὲν ἔχειν τὰς γυναῖκας, λελυπῆσθαι δὲ μηδέποτε μηδὲν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ. [260] Μετὰ τοῦτο δύο τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, ἃς οἱ κατασταθέντες ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ φρουροὶ πεμφθείσας ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἑλόντες ἀπεστάλκεισαν πρὸς ἐμέ, παρανεγίνωσκον τοῖς Γαλιλαίοις πολλῶν βλασφημιῶν πλήρεις καὶ καταψευδομένας, ὅτι τυραννίδι μᾶλλον ἢ στρατηγίᾳ χρῶμαι κατ᾽ αὐτῶν. [261] Ἕτερά τε πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις ἐνεγέγραπτο μηδὲν παραλιπόντων ἀναισχύντου ψευδολογίας. Ἔφην δ᾽ ἐγὼ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τὰ γράμματα λαβεῖν δόντων ἑκουσίως τῶν κομιζόντων· οὐ γὰρ ἐβουλόμην αὐτοὺς τὰ περὶ τὰς φρουρὰς τοὺς ἐναντίους εἰδέναι, μὴ δείσαντες τοῦ γράφειν ἀποστῶσιν.

50. While I was thus speaking, the united voices of all the people joined together, and called me their benefactor and savior, and attested to my former behavior, and exhorted me to continue so to do hereafter; and they all said, upon their oaths, that their wives had been preserved free from injuries, and that no one had ever been aggrieved by me. After this, I read to the Galileans two of those epistles which had been sent by Jonathan and his colleagues, and which those whom I had appointed to guard the road had taken, and sent to me. These were full of reproaches, and of lies, as if I had acted more like a tyrant than a governor against them, with many other things besides therein contained, which were no better indeed than impudent falsities. I also informed the multitude how I came by these letters, and that those who carried them delivered them up voluntarily; for I was not willing that my enemies should know any thing of the guards I had set, lest they should be afraid, and leave off writing hereafter.

LI

[262] Ταῦτ᾽ ἀκοῦσαν τὸ πλῆθος σφόδρα παροξυνθὲν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ὥρμα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ συμπαρόντας ὡς διαφθεροῦντες· κἂν ἐπεπράχεισαν τὸ ἔργον, εἰ μὴ τοὺς μὲν Γαλιλαίους ἔπαυσα τῆς ὀργῆς, τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην δ᾽ ἔφην συγγινώσκειν τῶν ἤδη πεπραγμένων, εἰ μέλλοιεν μετανοήσειν καὶ πορευθέντες εἰς τὴν πατρίδα λέγοιεν τοῖς πέμψασι τἀληθῆ περὶ τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπολιτευμένων. [263] Ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν ἀπέλυον αὐτοὺς καίτοι γιγνώσκων, ὅτι μηδὲν ὧν ὑπέσχοντο ποιήσουσιν. Τὸ πλῆθος δ᾽ εἰς ὀργὴν ἐξεκαίετο κατ᾽ αὐτῶν κἀμὲ παρεκάλουν ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτοῖς τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς τοιαῦτα τολμήσαντας. [264] Παντοῖος μὲν [οὖν] ἐγινόμην πείθων αὐτοὺς φείσασθαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν· πᾶσαν γὰρ ᾔδειν στάσιν ὄλεθρον οὖσαν τοῦ κοινῇ συμφέροντος· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἔσχεν τὴν κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ὀργὴν ἀμετάβλητον, καὶ πάντες ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν, ἐν ᾗ κατήγοντο οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην. [265] Ἐγὼ δὲ συνορῶν τὴν ὁρμὴν οὖσαν αὐτῶν ἀνεπίσχετον ἀναπηδήσας ἐφ᾽ ἵππον ἐκέλευσα τοῖς πλήθεσιν πρὸς Σωγάνην κώμην ἕπεσθαι Γαβάρων ἀπέχουσαν εἴκοσι στάδια. Καὶ τοιούτῳ στρατηγήματι χρησάμενος παρέσχον ἐμαυτῷ τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν ἐμφυλίου πολέμου κατάρχειν.

51. When the multitude heard these things, they were greatly provoked at Jonathan, and his colleagues that were with him, and were going to attack them, and kill them; and this they had certainly done, unless I had restrained the anger of the Galileans, and said, that "I forgave Jonathan and his colleagues what was past, if they would repent, and go to their own country, and tell those who sent them the truth, as to my conduct." When I had said this, I let them go, although I knew they would do nothing of what they had promised. But the multitude were very much enraged against them, and entreated me to give them leave to punish them for their insolence; yet did I try all methods to persuade them to spare the men; for I knew that every instance of sedition was pernicious to the public welfare. But the multitude was too angry with them to be dissuaded, and all of them went immediately to the house in which Jonathan and his colleagues abode. However, when I perceived that their rage could not be restrained, I got on horseback, and ordered the multitude to follow me to the village Sogane, which was twenty furlongs off Gabara; and by using this stratagem, I so managed myself, as not to appear to begin a civil war amongst them.

LII

[266] Ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ τὰς Σωγανέας ἐγενόμην, ἐπιστήσας τὸ πλῆθος καὶ παραινέσει χρησάμενος περὶ τοῦ μὴ πρὸς τὰς ὀργὰς καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀνηκέστοις τιμωρίαις ὀξέως φέρεσθαι, κελεύω τοὺς καθ᾽ ἡλικίαν ἤδη προβεβηκότας καὶ πρώτους παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας ὡς πορευσομένους εἰς τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν εὐτρεπίζεσθαι, μέμψιν ποιησομένους ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν τὴν χώραν

διαστασιαζόντων. [267] “Καὶ ἐὰν ἐπικλασθῶσιν, ἔφην, πρὸς τοὺς λόγους ὑμῶν, παρακαλέσατε τὸ κοινὸν γράψαι πρὸς ἐμὲ μένειν κελεύοντας ἐπὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, [268] τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἀναχωρεῖν ἐκεῖθεν.” Ταύτας αὐτοῖς τὰς ὑποθήκας δοὺς ἐναρμοσαμένων τε ταχέως ἐκείνων ἡμέρᾳ τρίτῃ μετὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἀποστολὴν ἐποιησάμην, συμπέμψας ὁπλίτας πεντακοσίους. [269] Ἔγραψα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ φίλοις προνοήσασθαι τοῦ ἀσφαλῆ γενέσθαι τὴν πορείαν αὐτοῖς· ἤδη γὰρ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἦν ἡ Σαμάρεια καὶ πάντως ἔδει τοὺς ταχὺ βουλομένους ἀπελθεῖν δι᾽ ἐκείνης πορεύεσθαι· τρισὶν [γὰρ] ἡμέραις ἀπὸ Γαλιλαίας ἔνεστιν οὕτως εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καταλῦσαι. [270] Συμπαρέπεμψα δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις κἀγὼ μέχρι τῶν τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὅρων φύλακας ἐπιστήσας ταῖς ὁδοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ῥᾳδίως τινὰ μαθεῖν ἀπαλλαττομένους. Καὶ ταῦτα πράξας ἐν Ἰάφοις τὴν διατριβὴν ἐποιούμην.

52. But when I was come near Sogane, I caused the multitude to make a halt, and exhorted them not to be so easily provoked to anger, and to the inflicting such punishments as could not be afterwards recalled: I also gave order, that a hundred men, who were already in years, and were principal men among them, should get themselves ready to go to the city of Jerusalem, and should make a complaint before the people of such as raised seditions in the country. And I said to them, that “in case they be moved with what you say, you shall desire the community to write to me, and to enjoin me to continue in Galilee, and to order Jonathan and his colleagues to depart out of it.” When I had suggested these instructions to them, and while they were getting themselves ready as fast as they could, I sent them on this errand the third day after they had been assembled: I also sent five hundred armed men with them [as a guard]. I then wrote to my friends in Samaria, to take care that they might safely pass through the country: for Samaria was already under the Romans, and it was absolutely necessary for those that go quickly [to Jerusalem] to pass through that country; for in that road you may, in three days’ time, go from Galilee to Jerusalem. I also went myself, and conducted the old men as far as the bounds of Galilee, and set guards in the roads, that it might not be easily known by any one that these men were gone. And when I had thus done, I went and abode at Japha.

LIII

[271] Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην διαμαρτόντες τῆς κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ πράξεως Ἰωάννην ἀπέλυσαν εἰς τὰ Γίσχαλα, αὐτοὶ δ᾽ εἰς τὴν Τιβεριέων πόλιν πεπόρευντο λήψεσθαι προσδοκῶντες αὐτὴν ὑποχείριον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Ἰησοῦς κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἐγεγράφει πρὸς αὐτοὺς πείσειν ἐπαγγελλόμενος τὸ πλῆθος ἐλθόντας ὑποδέχεσθαι καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐλέσθαι προστεθῆναι. [272] Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοιαύταις

ἐλπίσιν ἀπῆλθον, ἀπαγγέλλει δέ μοι ταῦτα Σίλας διὰ γραμμάτων, ὃν ἔφην τῆς Τιβεριάδος ἐπιμελητὴν καταλελοιπέναι, καὶ σπεύδειν ἠξίου. Κἀγὼ ταχέως ὑπακούσας αὐτῷ καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς κίνδυνον ἀπωλείας κατέστην ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης. [273] Οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην γενόμενοι παρὰ τοῖς Τιβεριεῦσιν καὶ πολλοὺς πείσαντες ἀποστῆναί μου διαφόρους ὄντας, ὡς ἤκουσαν τὴν ἐμὴν παρουσίαν, δείσαντες περὶ ἑαυτῶν ἦκον πρὸς ἐμέ, καὶ ἀσπασάμενοι μακαρίζειν ἔλεγον οὕτως περὶ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἀναστραφέντα, συνήδεσθαί τε διὰ τιμῆς ἀγομένῳ· [274] κόσμον γὰρ ἑαυτῶν εἶναι τὴν ἐμὴν δόξαν ἔφασαν, ὡς ἂν διδασκάλων τέ μου γενομένων καὶ πολιτῶν ὄντων, δικαιοτέραν τε τῆς Ἰωάννου τὴν ἐμὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν ὑπάρχειν ἔλεγον, καὶ σπεύδειν μὲν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπελθεῖν, περιμένειν δ᾽ ἕως ὑποχείριον τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐμοὶ ποιήσωσιν. [275] Καὶ ταῦτα λέγοντες ἐπώμοσαν τοὺς φρικωδεστάτους ὅρκους παρ᾽ ἡμῖν, δι᾽ οὓς ἀπιστεῖν οὐ θεμιτὸν ἡγούμην. Καὶ δὴ παρακαλοῦσίν με τὴν κατάλυσιν ἀλλαχοῦ ποιήσασθαι διὰ τὸ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν εἶναι σάββατον· ὀχλεῖσθαι δὲ μὴ δεῖν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν τῶν Τιβεριέων ἔφασκον.

53. Now Jonathan and his colleagues, having failed of accomplishing what they would have done against me, sent John back to Gischala, but went themselves to the city of Tiberias, expecting it would submit itself to them; and this was founded on a letter which Jesus, their then governor, had written them, promising that, if they came, the multitude would receive them, and choose to be under their government; so they went their ways with this expectation. But Silas, who, as I said, had been left curator of Tiberias by me, informed me of this, and desired me to make haste thither. Accordingly, I complied with his advice immediately, and came thither; but found myself in danger of my life, from the following occasion: Jonathan and his colleagues had been at Tiberias, and had persuaded a great many of such as had a quarrel with me to desert me; but when they heard of my coming, they were in fear for themselves, and came to me; and when they had saluted me, they said, that I was a happy man in having behaved myself so well in the government of Galilee; and they congratulated me upon the honors that were paid me: for they said that my glory was a credit to them, since they had been my teachers and fellow citizens; and they said further, that it was but just that they should prefer my friendship to them rather than John’s, and that they would have immediately gone home, but that they staid that they might deliver up John into my power; and when they said this they took their oaths of it, and those such as are most tremendous amongst us, and such as I did not think fit to disbelieve. However, they desired me to lodge some where else, because the next day was the sabbath, and that it was not fit the city of Tiberias should be disturbed [on that day].

LIV

[276] Κἀγὼ μηδὲν ὑπονοήσας ἐς τὰς Ταριχέας ἀπῆλθον καταλιπὼν ὅμως ἐν τῇ πόλει τοὺς πολυπραγμονήσοντας, τί περὶ ἡμῶν λέγοιτο. Διὰ πάσης δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἀπὸ Ταριχεῶν εἰς Τιβεριάδα φερούσης ἐπέστησα πολλούς, ἵνα μοι δι᾽ ἀλλήλων σημαίνωσιν ἅπερ ἂν παρὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καταλειφθέντων πύθωνται. [277] Κατὰ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν οὖν ἡμέραν συνάγονται πάντες εἰς τὴν προσευχὴν μέγιστον οἴκημα καὶ πολὺν ὄχλον ἐπιδέξασθαι δυνάμενον. Εἰσελθὼν δὲ ὁ Ἰωνάθης φανερῶς μὲν περὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως οὐκ ἐτόλμα λέγειν, ἔφη δὲ στρατηγοῦ κρείττονος χρείαν τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἔχειν. [278] Ἰησοῦς δ᾽ ὁ ἄρχων οὐδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος ἀναφανδὸν εἶπεν· “Ἄμεινόν ἐστιν, ὦ πολῖται, τέσσαρσιν ἡμᾶς ἀνδράσιν ὑπακούειν ἢ ἑνί, καὶ κατὰ γένος λαμπροῖς καὶ κατὰ σύνεσιν οὐκ ἀδόξοις.” Ὑπεδείκνυε δὲ τοὺς περὶ Ἰωνάθην. [279] Ταῦτ᾽ εἰπόντα τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπῄνει παρελθὼν Ἰοῦστος καί τινας ἐκ τοῦ δήμου συνέπειθεν. Οὐκ ἠρέσκετο δὲ τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ πάντως ἂν εἰς στάσιν ἐχώρησαν, εἰ μὴ τὴν σύνοδον διέλυσεν ἐπελθοῦσα ἕκτη ὥρα, καθ᾽ ἣν τοῖς σάββασιν ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι νόμιμόν ἐστιν ἡμῖν, καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ὑπερθέμενοι τὴν βουλὴν ἀπῄεσαν ἄπρακτοι. [280] Εὐθὺς δέ μοι τούτων ἀπαγγελθέντων πρωῒ διέγνων εἰς τὴν Τιβεριέων πόλιν ἀφικέσθαι, καὶ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ περὶ τὴν ὥραν ἦκον ἀπὸ τῶν Ταριχεῶν, καταλαμβάνω δὲ συναγόμενον ἤδη τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τὴν προσευχήν· ἐφ᾽ ὅ τι δ᾽ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἡ σύνοδος οὐκ ἐγίνωσκον οἱ συλλεγόμενοι. [281] Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἀπροσδοκήτως θεασάμενοί με παρόντα διεταράχθησαν. Εἶτ᾽ ἐπινοοῦσιν διαδοῦναι λόγον, ὅτι Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῖς ἐν τῇ μεθορίῳ πόρρω τριάκοντα σταδίων ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως κατὰ τόπον λεγόμενον Ὁμόνοιαν εἰσὶν ἑωραμένοι. [282] Καὶ προσαγγελθέντων τούτων ἐξ ὑποβολῆς παρεκάλουν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην μὴ περιιδεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων λεηλατουμένην αὐτῶν τὴν γῆν. Ταῦτα δ᾽ ἔλεγον δι᾽ ἐννοίας ἔχοντες ἐμὲ προφάσει τῆς κατεπειγούσης βοηθείας μεταστήσαντες αὐτοὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐχθράν μοι κατασκευάσαι.

54. So I suspected nothing, and went away to Tarichese; yet did I withal leave some to make inquiry in the city how matters went, and whether any thing was said about me: I also set many persons all the way that led from Tarichese to Tiberias, that they might communicate from one to another, if they learned any news from those that were left in the city. On the next day, therefore, they all came into the Proseucha; it was a large edifice, and capable of receiving a great number of people; thither Jonathan went in, and though he durst not openly speak of a revolt, yet did he say that their city stood in need of a better governor than it then had. But Jesus, who was the ruler, made no scruple to speak out, and said openly, “O fellow citizens! it is better for you to be in subjection to four than to one; and those such as are of high birth, and not without reputation for

their wisdom;" and pointed to Jonathan and his colleagues. Upon his saying this, Justus came in and commended him for what he had said, and persuaded some of the people to be of his mind also. But the multitude were not pleased with what was said, and had certainly gone into a tumult, unless the sixth hour, which was now come, had dissolved the assembly, at which hour our laws require us to go to dinner on sabbath days; so Jonathan and his colleagues put off their council till the next day, and went off without success. When I was informed of these affairs, I determined to go to the city of Tiberias in the morning. Accordingly, on the next day, about the first hour of the day, I came from Tarichee, and found the multitude already assembled in the Proseucha; but on what account they were gotten together, those that were assembled did not know. But when Jonathan and his colleagues saw me there unexpectedly, they were in disorder; after which they raised a report of their own contrivance, that Roman horsemen were seen at a place called Union, in the borders of Galilee, thirty furlongs distant from the city. Upon which report, Jonathan and his colleagues cunningly exhorted me not to neglect this matter, nor to suffer the land to be spoiled by the enemy. And this they said with a design to remove me out of the city, under the pretense of the want of extraordinary assistance, while they might dispose the city to be my enemy.

LV

[283] Ἐγὼ δὲ καίπερ εἰδὼς αὐτῶν τὸ ἐνθύμημα ὅμως ὑπήκουσα, μὴ δόξαν παράσχω τοῖς Τιβεριεῦσιν οὐ προνοούμενος αὐτῶν τῆς ἀσφαλείας. Ἐξῆλθον οὖν, καὶ γενόμενος κατὰ τὸν τόπον, ὡς οὐδ᾽ ἴχνος πολεμίων εὗρον, [284] ὑποστρέφω συντόνως ὁδεύσας, καὶ καταλαμβάνω τήν τε βουλὴν πᾶσαν συνεληλυθυῖαν καὶ τὸν δημοτικὸν ὄχλον ποιουμένους τε πολλὴν κατηγορίαν μου τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην, ὡς τοῦ μὲν τὸν πόλεμον ἐπελαφρύνειν αὐτοῖς ἀμελοῦντος, ἐν τρυφαῖς δὲ διάγοντος. [285] Ταῦτα δὲ λέγοντες προύφερον ἐπιστολὰς τέσσαρας ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ μεθορίᾳ τῆς Γαλιλαίας γεγραμμένας πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ βοήθειαν ἥκειν παρακαλούντων, Ῥωμαίων γὰρ δύναμιν μέλλειν ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν εἰς τρίτην ἡμέραν τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν λεηλατεῖν, ἐπισπεύδειν τε καὶ μὴ περιοφθῆναι δεομένων. [286] Ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Τιβεριεῖς λέγειν ἀληθῆ δόξαντες αὐτοὺς καταβοήσεις ἐποιοῦντο, μὴ καθέζεσθαί με δεῖν λέγοντες, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπελθεῖν ἐπικουρήσοντα τοῖς ὁμοεθνέσιν αὐτῶν. [287] Πρὸς ταῦτ᾽ ἐγώ, συνῆκα γὰρ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην, ὑπακούσεσθαι μὲν ἔφην ἑτοίμως καὶ χωρὶς ἀναβολῆς ὁρμήσειν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐπηγγειλάμην, συνεβούλευον δ᾽ ὅμως, ἐπεὶ τὰ γράμματα κατὰ τέσσαρας τόπους Ῥωμαίους σημαίνει προσβαλεῖν, εἰς πέντε μοίρας διελόντας τὴν δύναμιν ἑκάστῃ τούτων

ἐπιστῆσαι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην καὶ τοὺς ἑταίρους αὐτοῦ· [288] πρέπειν γὰρ ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς μὴ μόνον συμβουλεύειν, ἀλλὰ χρείας ἐπειγούσης ἡγουμένους βοηθεῖν· ἐγὼ γὰρ πλὴν μιᾶς μοίρας οὐκ ἔφην ἀφηγεῖσθαι δυνατὸς εἶναι. [289] Σφόδρα τῷ πλήθει συνήρεσεν ἡ ‘μὴ συμβουλία· κἀκείνους οὖν ἠνάγκαζον ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξιέναι. Τοῖς δ’ οὔτι μετρίως συνεχύθησαν αἱ γνῶμαι μὴ κατεργασαμένοις ἃ διενοήθησαν ἐμοῦ τοῖς ἐπιχειρήμασιν αὐτῶν ἀντιστρατηγήσαντος.

55. As for myself, although I knew of their design, yet did I comply with what they proposed, lest the people of Tiberias should have occasion to suppose that I was not careful of their security. I therefore went out; but, when I was at the place, I found not the least footsteps of any enemy, so I returned as fast as ever I could, and found the whole council assembled, and the body of the people gotten together, and Jonathan and his colleagues bringing vehement accusations against me, as one who had no concern to ease them of the burdens of war, and as one that lived luxuriously. And as they were discoursing thus, they produced four letters, as written to them from some people that lived at the borders of Galilee, imploring that they would come to their assistance, for that there was an army of Romans, both horsemen and footmen, who would come and lay waste the country on the third day; they desired them also to make haste, and not to overlook them. When the people of Tiberias heard this, they thought they spake truth, and made a clamor against me, and said I ought not to sit still, but to go away to the assistance of their countrymen. Hereupon I said [for I understood the meaning of Jonathan and his colleagues] that I was ready to comply with what they proposed, and without delay to march to the war which they spake of, yet did I advise them, at the same time, that since these letters declared that the Romans would make their assault in four several places, they should part their forces into five bodies, and make Jonathan and his colleagues generals of each body of them, because it was fit for brave men, not only to give counsel, but to take the place of leaders, and assist their countrymen when such a necessity pressed them; for, said I, it is not possible for me to lead more than one party. This advice of mine greatly pleased the multitude; so they compelled them to go forth to the war. But their designs were put into very much disorder, because they had not done what they had designed to do, on account of my stratagem, which was opposite to their undertakings.

LVI

[290] Εἷς δέ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν Ἀνανίας τοὔνομα, πονηρὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ κακοῦργος, εἰσηγεῖτο τοῖς πλήθεσι πανδημεὶ νηστείαν εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν τῷ θεῷ προθέσθαι

καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὥραν ἐκέλευεν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον ἀνόπλους παρεῖναι τῷ θεῷ φανερὸν ποιήσοντας, ὅτι μὴ τῆς παρ᾽ ἐκείνου τυγχάνοντες βοηθείας πᾶν ὅπλον ἄχρηστον εἶναι νομίζουσιν. [291] Ταῦτα δ᾽ ἔλεγεν οὐ δι᾽ εὐσέβειαν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαβεῖν ἄνοπλόν με καὶ τοὺς ἐμούς. Κἀγὼ δι᾽ ἀνάγκην ὑπήκουον, μὴ δόξω καταφρονεῖν τῆς περὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ὑποθήκης. [292] Ὡς οὖν ἀνεχωρήσαμεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην γράφουσι τῷ Ἰωάννῃ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἕωθεν ἀφικέσθαι κελεύοντες μεθ᾽ ὅσων ἂν στρατιωτῶν δυνηθῇ· λήψεσθαι γὰρ εὖ ἐμὲ ὑποχείριον καὶ ποιήσειν ὅπερ ἔχει δι᾽ εὐχῆς. Δεξάμενος δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐκεῖνος ὑπακούειν ἔμελλεν. [293] Ἐγὼ δὲ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας δύο τῶν περὶ ἐμὲ σωματοφυλάκων τοὺς κατ᾽ ἀνδρείαν δοκιμωτάτους καὶ κατὰ πίστιν βεβαίους κελεύω ξιφίδια κρύψαντας ὑπὸ τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἐμοὶ συμπροελθεῖν, ἵν᾽ εἰ γένοιτο παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπίθεσις ἀμυνώμεθα. Θώρακα δ᾽ ἔλαβον αὐτὸς καὶ μάχαιραν ὑπεζωσάμην ὡς οἷόν τ᾽ ἦν ἀφανέστατα καὶ ἦλθον εἰς τὴν προσευχήν.

56. Now there was one whose name was Ananias [a wicked man he was, and very mischievous]; he proposed that a general religious fast should be appointed the next day for all the people, and gave order that at the same hour they should come to the same place, without any weapons, to make it manifest before God, that while they obtained his assistance, they thought all these weapons useless. This he said, not out of piety, but that they might catch me and my friends unarmed. Now, I was hereupon forced to comply, lest I should appear to despise a proposal that tended to piety. As soon, therefore, as we were gone home, Jonathan and his colleagues wrote to John to come to them in the morning, and desiring him to come with as many soldiers as he possibly could, for that they should then be able easily to get me into their hands, and to do all they desired to do. When John had received this letter, he resolved to comply with it. As for myself, on the next day, I ordered two of the guards of my body, whom I esteemed the most courageous and most faithful, to hide daggers under their garments, and to go along with me, that we might defend ourselves, if any attack should be made upon us by our enemies. I also myself took my breastplate, and girded on my sword, so that it might be, as far as it was possible, concealed, and came into the Proseucha.

LVII

[294] Τοὺς μὲν οὖν σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντας ἐκκλεῖσαι προσέταξεν Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἄρχων, αὐτὸς γὰρ ταῖς θύραις ἐφειστήκει, μόνον δ᾽ ἐμὲ μετὰ τῶν φίλων εἰσελθεῖν εἴασεν. [295] Ἤδη δ᾽ ἡμῶν τὰ νόμιμα ποιούντων καὶ πρὸς εὐχὰς τραπομένων ἀναστὰς Ἰησοῦς περὶ τῶν ληφθέντων ἐκ τοῦ ἐμπρησμοῦ τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς σκευῶν τοῦ ἀσήμου ἀργυρίου ἐπυνθάνετό μου, παρὰ τίνι τυγχάνει κείμενα. Ταῦτα δ᾽ ἔλεγεν

διατρίβειν τὸν χρόνον βουλόμενος, ἕως ἂν ὁ Ἰωάννης παραγένηται. [296] Κἀγὼ πάντα Καπέλλαν ἔχειν εἶπον καὶ τοὺς δέκα πρώτους Τιβεριέων· "Ἀνάκριναι δ' αὐτός, ἔφην, οὐ ψεύδομαι". Τῶν δὲ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς εἶναι λεγόντων "Οἱ δ' εἴκοσιν, εἶπεν, χρυσοῖ, οὓς ἔλαβες πωλήσας τινὰ σταθμὸν ἀσήμου, [297] τί γεγόνασιν;" καὶ τούτους ἔφην δεδωκέναι πρέσβεσιν αὐτῶν ἐφόδιον πεμφθεῖσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. Πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην οὐ καλῶς ἔφασαν πεποιηκέναι με δόντα τοῖς πρέσβεσιν τὸν μισθὸν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ. [298] Παροξυνθέντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐνόησαν γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν πονηρίαν, συνεὶς ἐγὼ στάσιν μέλλουσαν ἐξάπτεσθαι καὶ προσεξερεθίσαι μᾶλλον βουλόμενος τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, "Ἀλλ' εἴ γε μὴ ὀρθῶς, εἶπον, ἔπραξα δοὺς τὸν μισθὸν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ὑμῶν, παύεσθε χαλεπαίνοντες· ἐγὼ γὰρ τοὺς εἴκοσι χρυσοῦς αὐτὸς ἀποτίσω."

57. Now Jesus, who was the ruler, commanded that they should exclude all that came with me, for he kept the door himself, and suffered none but his friends to go in. And while we were engaged in the duties of the day, and had betaken ourselves to our prayers, Jesus got up, and inquired of me what was become of the vessels that were taken out of the king's palace, when it was burnt down [and] of that uncoined silver; and in whose possession they now were? This he said, in order to drive away time till John should come. I said that Capellus, and the ten principal men of Tiberias, had them all; and I told him that they might ask them whether I told a lie or not. And when they said they had them, he asked me, What is become of those twenty pieces of gold which thou didst receive upon the sale of a certain weight of uncoined money? I replied, that I had given them to those ambassadors of theirs, as a maintenance for them, when they were sent by them to Jerusalem. So Jonathan and his colleagues said that I had not done well to pay the ambassadors out of the public money. And when the multitude were very angry at them for this, for they perceived the wickedness of the men, I understood that a tumult was going to arise; and being desirous to provoke the people to a greater rage against the men, I said, "But if I have not done well in paying our ambassadors out of the public stock, leave off your anger at me, for I will repay the twenty pieces of gold myself."

LVIII

[299] Ταῦτ' εἰπόντος, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἡσύχασαν, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἔτι μᾶλλον κατ' αὐτῶν παρωξύνθη φανερὰν ἐπιδεικνυμένων τὴν ἄδικον πρὸς ἐμὲ δυσμένειαν. [300] Συνιδὼν δὲ τὴν μεταβολὴν αὐτῶν Ἰησοῦς τὸν μὲν δῆμον ἐκέλευεν ἀναχωρεῖν, προσμεῖναι δὲ τὴν βουλὴν ἠξίωσεν· οὐ γὰρ δύνασθαι θορυβουμένους περὶ πραγμάτων τοιούτων τὴν ἐξέτασιν ποιεῖσθαι. [301] Τοῦ δὲ

δήμου βοῶντος μὴ καταλείψειν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐμὲ μόνον, ἦκέν τις ἀγγέλλων κρύφα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν Ἰωάννην μετὰ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν πλησιάζειν. Καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην οὐκέτι κατασχόντες αὐτούς, τάχα καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ προνοοῦντος τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας, μὴ γὰρ ἂν γενομένου τούτου πάντως ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωάννου διεφθάρην, [302] "Παύσασθε, ἔφη, ὦ Τιβεριεῖς, τὴν ζήτησιν εἴκοσι χρυσῶν ἕνεκεν· διὰ τούτους μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἄξιός ἐστιν Ἰώσηπος ἀποθανεῖν, ὅτι δὲ τυραννεῖν ἐπεθύμησεν καὶ τὰ τῶν Γαλιλαίων πλήθη λόγοις ἀπατήσας τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ κατεκτήσατο." Ταῦτα λέγοντος εὐθύς μοι τὰς χεῖρας ἐπέβαλον ἀναιρεῖν τ᾽ ἐπειρῶντο. [303] Ὡς δ᾽ εἶδον οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον, σπασάμενοι τὰς μαχαίρας καὶ παίειν ἀπειλήσαντες, εἰ βιάζοιντο, τοῦ τε δήμου λίθους ἀραμένου καὶ βάλλειν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ὁρμήσαντος ἐξαρπάζουσί με τῆς τῶν πολεμίων βίας.

58. When I had said this, Jonathan and his colleagues held their peace; but the people were still more irritated against them, upon their openly showing their unjust ill-will to me. When Jesus saw this change in file people, he ordered them to depart, but desired the senate to stay; for that they could not examine things of such a nature in a tumult: and as the people were crying out that they would not leave me alone, there came one and told Jesus and his friends privately, that John and his armed men were at hand: whereupon Jonathan and his colleagues, being able to contain themselves no longer, [and perhaps the providence of God hereby procuring my deliverance, for had not this been so, I had certainly been destroyed by John,] said, "O you people of Tiberias! leave off this inquiry about the twenty pieces of gold; for Josephus hath not deserved to die for them; but he hath deserved it by his desire of tyrannizing, and by cheating the multitude of the Galileans with his speeches, in order to gain the dominion over them." When he had said this, they presently laid hands upon me, and endeavored to kill me: but as soon as those that were with me saw what they did, they drew their swords, and threatened to smite them, if they offered any violence to me. The people also took up stones, and were about to throw them at Jonathan; and so they snatched me from the violence of my enemies.

LIX

[304] Ἐπεὶ δὲ προελθὼν ὀλίγον ὑπαντιάζειν ἔμελλον τῷ Ἰωάννῃ προσιόντι μετὰ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν, δείσας ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἐξέκλινα, διὰ στενωποῦ δέ τινος ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην σωθεὶς καὶ πλοίου λαβόμενος, ἐμβὰς εἰς τὰς Ταριχέας διεπεραιώθην ἀπροσδοκήτως τὸν κίνδυνον διαφυγών. [305] Μεταπέμπομαί τ᾽ εὐθὺς τοὺς πρωτεύοντας τῶν Γαλιλαίων καὶ φράζω τὸν τρόπον, ᾧ παρασπονδηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην καὶ τοὺς Τιβεριεῖς παρ᾽ ὀλίγον παρ᾽ αὐτῶν διαφθαρείην. [306] Ὀργισθὲν δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτοις τῶν Γαλιλαίων τὸ πλῆθος παρεκελεύετό μοι μηκέτι

μέλλειν τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτοῖς ἐλθοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἄρδην αὐτὸν ἀφανίσαι καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην. [307] Ἐπεῖχον δ᾽ ὅμως αὐτοὺς ἐγὼ καίπερ οὕτως ὀργιζομένους, περιμένειν αὐτοὺς κελεύων ἕως μάθωμεν, τί οἱ πεμφθέντες ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ἀπαγγελοῦσιν· μετὰ τῆς ἐκείνων γὰρ γνώμης τὰ δοκοῦντα πράξειν αὐτοὺς ἔφην. [308] Καὶ ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν ἔπεισα. Τότε δὴ καὶ Ἰωάννης οὐ λαβούσης αὐτοῦ τέλος τῆς ἐνέδρας ἀνεζεύγνυεν εἰς τὰ Γίσχαλα.

59. But as I was gone out a little way, I was just upon meeting John, who was marching with his armed men. So I was afraid of him, and turned aside, and escaped by a narrow passage to the lake, and seized on a ship, and embarked in it, and sailed over to Tarichese. So, beyond my expectation, I escaped this danger. Whereupon I presently sent for the chief of the Galileans, and told them after what manner, against all faith given, I had been very near to destruction from Jonathan and his colleagues, and the people of Tiberias. Upon which the multitude of the Galileans were very angry, and encouraged me to delay no longer to make war upon them, but to permit them to go against John, and utterly to destroy him, as well as Jonathan and his colleagues. However, I restrained them, though they were in such a rage, and desired them to tarry a while, till we should be informed what orders those ambassadors, that were sent by them to the city of Jerusalem, should bring thence; for I told them that it was best for them to act according to their determination; whereupon they were prevailed on. At which time, also, John, when the snares he had laid did not take effect, returned back to Gischala.

LX

[309] Μετ᾽ οὐ πολλὰς δ᾽ ἡμέρας ἀφικνοῦνται πάλιν οὓς ἐπέμψαμεν καὶ ἀπήγγελλον σφόδρα τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἄνανον καὶ τὸν Σίμωνα τὸν τοῦ Γαμαλιήλου παρωξύνθαι, ὅτι χωρὶς γνώμης τοῦ κοινοῦ πέμψαντες εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐκπεσεῖν με ταύτης παρεσκεύασαν. [310] Ἐφασαν δ᾽ οἱ πρέσβεις, ὅτι καὶ τὰς οἰκίας αὐτῶν ὁ δῆμος ὥρμησεν ἐμπιπράναι. Ἔφερον δὲ καὶ γράμματα, δι᾽ ὧν οἱ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πρῶτοι πολλὰ τοῦ δήμου δεηθέντος αὐτῶν ἐμοὶ μὲν τὴν τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἀρχὴν ἐβεβαίουν, τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην δὲ προσέτασσον εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ὑποστρέφειν θᾶσσον. [311] Ἐντυχὼν οὖν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς εἰς Ἄρβηλα κώμην ἀφικόμην, ἔνθα σύνοδον τῶν Γαλιλαίων ποιησάμενος ἐκέλευσα τοὺς πρέσβεις διηγεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ὀργὴν καὶ μισοπονηρίαν, [312] καὶ ὡς κυρώσειαν ἐμοὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν τὴν προστασίαν, τά τε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην γεγραμμένα περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς,

πρὸς οὓς δὴ καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν εὐθέως διεπεμψάμην πολυπραγμονῆσαι τὸν κομίσαντα κελεύσας, τί ποιεῖν μέλλουσιν.

60. Now, in a few days, those ambassadors whom he had sent, came back again and informed us, that the people were greatly provoked at Ananus, and Simon the son of Gamaliel, and their friends; that, without any public determination, they had sent to Galilee, and had done their endeavors that I might be turned out of the government. The ambassadors said further, that the people were ready to burn their houses. They also brought letters, whereby the chief men of Jerusalem, at the earnest petition of the people, confirmed me in the government of Galilee, and enjoined Jonathan and his colleagues to return home quickly. When I had gotten these letters, I came to the village Arbela, where I procured an assembly of the Galileans to meet, and bid the ambassadors declare to them the anger of the people of Jerusalem at what had been done by Jonathan and his colleagues, and how much they hated their wicked doings, and how they had confirmed me in the government of their country, as also what related to the order they had in writing for Jonathan and his colleagues to return home. So I immediately sent them the letter, and bid him that carried it to inquire, as well as he could, how they intended to act [on this occasion.]

LXI

[313] Δεξάμενοι δ᾽ ἐκεῖνοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ ταραχθέντες οὐχὶ μετρίως μεταπέμπονται τὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς τῶν Τιβεριέων τούς τε πρωτεύοντας Γαβάρων, βουλήν τε προτιθέασιν σκοπεῖσθαι κελεύοντες, τί πρακτέον ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς. [314] Τιβεριεῦσι μὲν οὖν ἀντέχεσθαι μᾶλλον ἐδόκει τῶν πραγμάτων· οὐ δεῖν γὰρ ἔφασαν ἐγκαταλιπέσθαι τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἅπαξ ἐκείνοις προστεθειμένην, ἄλλως τε μηδ᾽ ἐμοῦ μέλλοντος αὐτῶν ἀφέξεσθαι· τοῦτο γὰρ ὡς ἠπειληκότος ἐμοῦ κατεψεύδοντο. [315] Ὁ δ᾽ Ἰωάννης οὐ μόνον τούτοις συνηρέσκετο, καὶ πορευθῆναι δὲ συνεβούλευεν αὐτῶν τοὺς δύο κατηγορήσοντάς μου πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος, ὅτι μὴ καλῶς τὰ κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν διοικῶ, καὶ πείσειν ῥᾳδίως αὐτοὺς ἔφη διά τε τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ παντὸς πλήθους εὐτρέπτως ἔχοντος. [316] Δόξαντος οὖν τοῦ Ἰωάννου κρατίστην εἰσενηνοχέναι γνώμην, ἔδοξε δύο μὲν ἀπιέναι πρὸς τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας, Ἰωνάθην καὶ Ἀνανίαν, τοὺς ἑτέρους δὲ δύο μένοντας ἐν τῇ Τιβεριάδι καταλιπεῖν. Συνεπηγάγοντο δὲ φυλακῆς ἕνεκα τῆς ἑαυτῶν ὁπλίτας ἑκατόν.

61. Now, when they had received that letter, and were thereby greatly disturbed, they sent for John, and for the senators of Tiberias, and for the principal men of the Gabarens, and proposed to hold a council, and desired them to consider what

was to be done by them. However, the governors of Tiberias were greatly disposed to keep the government to themselves; for they said it was not fit to desert their city, now it was committed to their trust, and that otherwise I should not delay to fall upon them; for they pretended falsely that so I had threatened to do. Now John was not only of their opinion, but advised them, that two of them should go to accuse me before the multitude [at Jerusalem], that I do not manage the affairs of Galilee as I ought to do; and that they would easily persuade the people, because of their dignity, and because the whole multitude are very mutable. When, therefore, it appeared that John had suggested the wisest advice to them, they resolved that two of them, Jonathan and Ananias, should go to the people of Jerusalem, and the other two [Simon and Joazar] should be left behind to tarry at Tiberins. They also took along with them a hundred soldiers for their guard.

LXII

[317] Τιβεριεῖς δὲ τὰ μὲν τείχη προυνόησαν ἀσφαλισθῆναι, τοὺς ἐνοίκους δὲ κελεύουσιν ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ παρὰ Ἰωάννου δὲ μετεπέμψαντο στρατιώτας οὐκ ὀλίγους συμμαχήσοντας, εἰ δεήσειεν, αὐτοῖς τὰ πρὸς ἐμέ. [318] Ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐν Γισχάλοις. Οἱ τοίνυν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἀναζεύξαντες ἀπὸ τῆς Τιβεριάδος, ὡς ἦκον εἰς Δαβάριττα κώμην ἐν ταῖς ἐσχατιαῖς τῆς Γαλιλαίας κειμένην ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ, περὶ μέσην νύκτα τοῖς ἐμοῖς φύλαξιν ἐμπίπτουσιν, οἳ καὶ κελεύσαντες αὐτοὺς τὰ ὅπλα καταθέσθαι ἐφύλασσον ἐν δεσμοῖς ἐπὶ τόπου καθὼς αὐτοῖς ἐντετάλμην. [319] Γράφει δὲ πρὸς ἐμὲ ταῦτα δηλῶν Λευίς, ᾧ τὴν φυλακὴν πεπιστεύκειν. Παραλιπὼν οὖν ἡμέρας δύο καὶ μηδὲν ἐγνωκέναι προσποιησάμενος, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς Τιβεριεῖς συνεβούλευον αὐτοῖς τὰ ὅπλα καταθεμένοις ἀπολύειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν. [320] Οἱ δέ, δόξαν γὰρ εἶχον περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἤδη διαπεπορεῦσθαι, βλασφήμους ἐποιήσαντο τὰς ἀποκρίσεις· μὴ καταπλαγεὶς δ᾽ ἐγὼ καταστρατηγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐπενόουν. [321] Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοὺς πολίτας ἐξάπτειν πόλεμον οὐκ ἐνόμιζον εὐσεβὲς εἶναι, βουλόμενος δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀποσπάσαι τῶν Τιβεριέων, μυρίους ὁπλίτας τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐπιλέξας εἰς τρεῖς μοίρας διεῖλον, καὶ τούτους μὲν ἀφανῶς ἐν δώμαις προσέταξα λοχῶντας περιμένειν, [322] χιλίους δ᾽ εἰς ἑτέραν κώμην ὀρεινὴν μὲν ὁμοίως, ἀπέχουσαν δὲ τῆς Τιβεριάδος τέσσαρας σταδίους, εἰσήγαγον κελεύσας ἐκείνους ἐπειδὰν λάβωσιν σημεῖον εὐθὺς καταβαίνειν· αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς κώμης προελθὼν ἐν προύπτῳ καθεζόμην. [323] Οἱ δὲ Τιβεριεῖς ὁρῶντες ἐξέτρεχον συνεχῶς καὶ πολλὰ κατεκερτόμουν· τοσαύτη γοῦν ἀφροσύνη κατέσχεν αὐτούς, ὥστε ποιήσαντες εὐτρεπῆ κλίνην προύθεσαν καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν

ἱστάμενοι ὠδύροντό με μετὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ γέλωτος. Διετιθέμην δ᾽ ἐγὼ τὴν ψυχὴν ἡδέως τὴν ἄνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐπιβλέπων.

62. However, the governors of Tiberias took care to have their city secured with walls, and commanded their inhabitants to take their arms. They also sent for a great many soldiers from John, to assist them against me, if there should be occasion for them. Now John was at Gischala. Jonathan, therefore, and those that were with him, when they were departed from Tiberias, and as soon as they were come to Dabaritta, a village that lay in the utmost parts of Galilee, in the great plain, they, about midnight, fell among the guards I had set, who both commanded them to lay aside their weapons, and kept them in bonds upon the place, as I had charged them to do. This news was written to me by Levi, who had the command of that guard committed to him by me. Hereupon I said nothing of it for two days; and, pretending to know nothing about it, I sent a message to the people of Tiberias, and advised them to lay their arms aside, and to dismiss their men, that they might go home. But, supposing that Jonathan, and those that were with him, were already arrived at Jerusalem, they made reproachful answers to me; yet was I not terrified thereby, but contrived another stratagem against them, for I did not think it agreeable with piety to kindle the fire of war against the citizens. As I was desirous to draw those men away from Tiberias, I chose out ten thousand of the best of my armed men, and divided them into three bodies, and ordered them to go privately, and lie still as an ambush, in the villages. I also led a thousand into another village, which lay indeed in the mountains, as did the others, but only four furlongs distant from Tiberias; and gave orders, that when they saw my signal, they should come down immediately, while I myself lay with my soldiers in the sight of every body. Hereupon the people of Tiberias, at the sight of me, came running out of the city perpetually, and abused me greatly. Nay, their madness was come to that height, that they made a decent bier for me, and, standing about it, they mourned over me in the way of jest and sport; and I could not but be myself in a pleasant humor upon the sight of this madness of theirs.

LXIII

[324] Βουλόμενος δὲ δι᾽ ἐνέδρας λαβεῖν τὸν Σίμωνα καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Ἰώζαρον, πέμψας πρὸς αὐτοὺς παρεκάλουν ὀλίγον τῆς πόλεως πόρρω μετὰ φίλων πολλῶν τῶν παραφυλαξόντων αὐτοὺς ἐλθεῖν· βούλεσθαι γὰρ ἔφην καταβὰς σπείσασθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ διανείμασθαι τὴν προστασίαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας. [325] Σίμων μὲν οὖν διὰ νεότητα καὶ πρὸς ἐλπίδα κέρδους ἀπατηθεὶς οὐκ ὤκνησεν ἐλθεῖν, ὁ δ᾽ Ἰώζαρος ἐνέδραν ὑποπτεύσας ἔμεινεν. Ἀναβάντα δὴ τὸν Σίμωνα μετὰ φίλων τῶν

παραφυλασσόντων αὐτὸν ὑπαντιάσας ἠσπαζόμην τε φιλοφρόνως καὶ χάριν ἔχειν ὡμολόγουν ἀναβάντι. [326] Μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ συμπεριπατῶν ὡς κατὰ μόνας τι βουλόμενος εἰπεῖν, ἐπεὶ πορρωτέρω τῶν φίλων ἀπήγαγον, μέσον ἀράμενος ἀγαγεῖν εἰς τὴν κώμην τοῖς μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ φίλοις ἔδωκα, τοὺς ὁπλίτας δὲ καταβῆναι κελεύσας προσέβαλλον μετ᾽ αὐτῶν τῇ Τιβεριάδι. [327] Μάχης δὲ γενομένης ἀμφοτέρωθεν καρτερᾶς καὶ ὅσον οὔπω τῶν Τιβεριέων νικώντων, πεφεύγεισαν γὰρ οἱ παρ᾽ ἡμῶν ὁπλῖται, τὸ γινόμενον ἰδὼν καὶ τοὺς μετ᾽ ἐμαυτοῦ παρακαλέσας νικῶντας ἤδη τοὺς Τιβεριεῖς εἰς τὴν πόλιν συνεδίωξα. Ἑτέραν δὲ δύναμιν εἰσπέμψας διὰ τῆς λίμνης προσέταξα τὴν πρώτην λαβοῦσιν οἰκίαν ἐμπρῆσαι. [328] Τούτου γενομένου νομίσαντες οἱ Τιβεριεῖς εἰλῆφθαι κατὰ κράτος αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν, ὑπὸ φόβου ῥίπτουσιν τὰ ὅπλα, μετὰ γυναικῶν δὲ καὶ τέκνων ἱκέτευον φείσασθαι τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν. [329] Ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τὰς δεήσεις ἐπικλασθεὶς τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας τῆς ὁρμῆς ἐπέσχον, αὐτὸς δέ, καὶ γὰρ ἑσπέρα κατέλαβεν, μετὰ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πολιορκίας ὑποστρέψας περὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος θεραπείαν ἐγινόμην. [330] Καλέσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίασιν τὸν Σίμωνα παρεμυθούμην περὶ τῶν γεγονότων ὑπισχνούμην τε δοὺς ἐφόδια αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ παραπέμψειν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας.

63. And now being desirous to catch Simon by a wile, and Joazar with him, I sent a message to them, and desired them to come a little way out of the city, and many of their friends to guard them; for I said I would come down to them, and make a league with them, and divide the government of Galilee with them. Accordingly, Simon was deluded on account of his imprudence, and out of the hopes of gain, and did not delay to come; but Joazar, suspecting snares were laid for him, staid behind. So when Simon was come out, and his friends with him, for his guard, I met him, and saluted him with great civility, and professed that I was obliged to him for his coming up to me; but a little while afterward I walked along with him as though I would say something to him by myself; and when I had drawn him a good way from his friends, I took him about the middle, and gave him to my friends that were with me, to carry him into a village; and, commanding my armed men to come down, I with them made an assault upon Tiberias. Now, as the fight grew hot on both sides, and the soldiers belonging to Tiberias were in a fair way to conquer me, [for my armed men were already fled away,] I saw the posture of my affairs; and encouraging those that were with me, I pursued those of Tiberias, even when they were already conquerors, into the city. I also sent another band of soldiers into the city by the lake, and gave them orders to set on fire the first house they could seize upon. When this was done, the people of Tiberinas thought that their city was taken by force, and so threw down their arms for fear, and implored, they, their wives, and children, that I

would spare their city. So I was over-persuaded by their entreaties, and restrained the soldiers from the vehemency with which they pursued them; while I myself, upon the coming on of the evening, returned back with my soldiers, and went to refresh myself. I also invited Simon to sup with me, and comforted him on occasion of what had happened; and I promised that I would send him safe and secure to Jerusalem, and withal would give him provisions for his journey thither.

LVIX

[331] Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν μυρίους ἐπαγόμενος ὁπλίτας ἦκον εἰς τὴν Τιβεριάδα, καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος εἰς τὸ στάδιον τοὺς πρώτους αὐτῶν τοῦ πλήθους ἐκέλευσα φράζειν, οἵτινες εἶεν αἴτιοι τῆς ἀποστάσεως. [332] Ἐνδειξαμένων δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκείνους μὲν δεδεμένους εἰς τὴν Ἰωταπάτην πόλιν ἐξέπεμψα, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην καὶ Ἀνανίαν λύσας τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ δοὺς ἐφόδια μετὰ Σίμωνος καὶ Ἰωζάρου καὶ ὁπλιτῶν πεντακοσίων, οἳ παραφυλάξουσιν αὐτούς, ἐξέπεμψα εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. [333] Τιβεριεῖς δὲ πάλιν προσελθόντες συγγινώσκειν αὐτοῖς παρεκάλουν περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων, ἐπανορθώσεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας τῇ μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς ἐμὲ πίστει λέγοντες, τὰ δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς διαρπαγῆς περισσεύσαντα σῶσαί με τοῖς ἀπολέσασιν ἐδέοντο. [334] Κἀγὼ τοῖς ἔχουσιν προσέταττον εἰς μέσον πάντα φέρειν, ἀπειθούντων δὲ μέχρι πολλοῦ, θεασάμενός τινα τῶν περὶ ἐμὲ στρατιωτῶν λαμπροτέραν τοῦ συνήθους περικείμενον στολὴν ἐπυθόμην, πόθεν ἔχοι. [335] Εἰπόντος δὲ ἐκ τῆς κατὰ πόλιν ἁρπαγῆς, ἐκεῖνον μὲν πληγαῖς ἐκόλασα, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἠπείλησα μείζω τιμωρίαν ἐπιθήσειν μὴ κομίσασιν εἰς τοὐμφανὲς ὅσα ἡρπάκεισαν. Πολλῶν δὲ συνενεχθέντων ἑκάστῳ τῶν Τιβεριέων τὸ ἐπιγνωσθὲν ἀπέδωκα.

64. But on the next day, I brought ten thousand armed men with me, and came to Tiberias. I then sent for the principal men of the multitude into the public place, and enjoined them to tell me who were the authors of the revolt; and when they told me who the men were, I sent them bound to the city Jotapata. But as to Jonathan and Ananias, I freed them from their bonds, and gave them provisions for their journey, together with Simon and Joazar, and five hundred armed men who should guard them; and so I sent them to Jerusalem. The people of Tiberias also came to me again, and desired that I would forgive them for what they had done; and they said they would amend what they had done amiss with regard to me, by their fidelity for the time to come; and they besought me to preserve what spoils remained upon the plunder of the city, for those that had lost them. Accordingly, I enjoined those that had got them, to bring them all before us; and when they did not comply for a great while, and I saw one of the soldiers that

were about me with a garment on that was more splendid than ordinary, I asked him whence he had it; and when he replied that he had it out of the plunder of the city, I had him punished with stripes; and I threatened all the rest to inflict a severer punishment upon them, unless they produced before us whatsoever they had plundered; and when a great many spoils were brought together, I restored to every one of Tiberias what they claimed to be their own.

LXV

[336] Γεγονὼς δ᾽ ἐνταῦθα τῆς διηγήσεως βούλομαι πρὸς Ἰοῦστον καὶ αὐτὸν τὴν περὶ τούτων πραγματείαν γεγραφότα πρός τε τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἱστορίαν μὲν γράφειν ὑπισχνουμένους, περὶ δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὀλιγώρους καὶ δι᾽ ἔχθραν ἢ χάριν τὸ ψεῦδος οὐκ ἐντρεπομένους, [μικρὰ διελθεῖν]. [337] Πράττουσι μὲν γὰρ ὅμοιόν τι τοῖς περὶ συμβολαίων πλαστὰ γράμματα συντεθεικόσι, τῷ δὲ μηδεμίαν ὁμοίως τιμωρίαν ἐκείνοις δεδιέναι καταφρονοῦσι τῆς ἀληθείας. [338] Ἰοῦστος γοῦν συγγράφειν τὰς περὶ τούτων ἐπιχειρήσας πράξεις τὸν πόλεμον, ὑπὲρ τοῦ δοκεῖν φιλόπονος εἶναι ἐμοῦ μὲν κατέψευσται, ἠλήθευσε δὲ οὐδὲ περὶ τῆς πατρίδος. Ὅθεν ἀπολογήσασθαι γὰρ νῦν ἀνάγκην ἔχω καταψευδομαρτυρούμενος, ἐρῶ τὰ μέχρι νῦν σεσιωπημένα. [339] Καὶ μὴ θαυμάσῃ τις, ὅτι μὴ πάλαι περὶ τούτων ἐδήλωσα· τῷ γὰρ ἱστορίαν ἀναγράφοντι τὸ μὲν ἀληθεύειν ἀναγκαῖον, ἔξεστιν δ᾽ ὅμως μὴ πικρῶς τὰς τινῶν πονηρίας ἐλέγχειν, οὐ διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνους χάριν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ μετριότητα. [340] Πῶς οὖν, ἵνα φῶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς παρόντα, Ἰοῦστε δεινότατε συγγραφέων, τοῦτο γὰρ αὐχεῖς περὶ σεαυτοῦ, αἴτιοι γεγόναμεν ἐγώ τε καὶ Γαλιλαῖοι τῇ πατρίδι σου τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους καὶ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα στάσεως; [341] πρότερον γὰρ ἢ ἐμὲ τῆς Γαλιλαίας στρατηγὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν χειροτονηθῆναι σὺ καὶ πάντες Τιβεριεῖς οὐ μόνον ἀνειλήφατε τὰ ὅπλα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ δέκα πόλεις ἐπολεμεῖτε· σὺ γοῦν τὰς κώμας αὐτῶν ἐνέπρησας καὶ ὁ σὸς οἰκέτης ἐπὶ τῆς παρατάξεως ἐκείνης ἔπεσεν. [342] Ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἐγὼ λέγω μόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς Οὐεσπασιανοῦ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὑπομνήμασιν οὕτως γέγραπται, καὶ τίνα τρόπον ἐν Πτολεμαΐδι Οὐεσπασιανοῦ κατεβόησαν οἱ τῶν δέκα πόλεων ἔνοικοι τιμωρίαν ὑποσχεῖν σε τὸν αἴτιον ἀξιοῦντες. [343] Καὶ δεδώκεις ἂν δίκην Οὐεσπασιανοῦ κελεύσαντος, εἰ μὴ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας λαβὼν ἐξουσίαν ἀποκτεῖναί σε, πολλὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς Βερενίκης δεηθείσης οὐκ ἀνελὼν δεδεμένον ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐφύλαξεν. [344] Καὶ αἱ μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ πολιτεῖαί σου σαφῶς ἐμφανίζουσιν τόν τε βίον τὸν ἄλλον καὶ ὅτι σὺ τὴν πατρίδα Ῥωμαίων ἀπέστησας, ὧν τὰ τεκμήρια κἀγὼ δηλώσω μετ᾽ ὀλίγον. [345] Βούλομαι δ᾽ εἰπεῖν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Τιβεριεῖς ὀλίγα διὰ σὲ καὶ παραστῆσαι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνειν μέλλουσιν ταῖς ἱστορίαις, ὅτι μήτε φιλορώμαιοι μήτε φιλοβασιλεῖς γεγόνατε· [346] τῶν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ πόλεων αἱ μέγισται

Σέπφωρις καὶ Τιβεριὰς ἡ σὴ πατρίς, ὦ Ἰοῦστε. Ἀλλὰ Σέπφωρις μὲν ἐν τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ τῆς Γαλιλαίας κειμένη καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν κώμας ἔχουσα πολλὰς καί τι καὶ θρασύνεσθαι δυναμένη πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εἴπερ ἠθέλησεν εὐχερῶς, διεγνωκυῖα τῇ πρὸς τοὺς δεσπότας ἐμμένειν πίστει κἀμὲ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν ἐξέκλεισε καὶ στρατεύσασθαί τινα τῶν πολιτῶν Ἰουδαίοις ἐκώλυσεν. [347] Ὅπως δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀσφαλεῖς εἶεν, ἠπάτησάν με τείχεσιν αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν ὀχυρῶσαι προτρέψαντες, καὶ παρὰ Κεστίου Γάλλου τοῦ τῶν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ Ῥωμαϊκῶν ταγμάτων ἡγεμονεύοντος φρουρὰν ἑκόντες ἐδέξαντο, καταφρονήσαντες ἐμοῦ τότε μέγα δυναμένου καὶ πᾶσιν δι᾽ ἐκπλήξεως ὄντος. [348] Πολιορκουμένης τε τῆς μεγίστης ἡμῶν πόλεως Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ πάντων ἱεροῦ κινδυνεύοντος ἐν τῇ τῶν πολεμίων ἐξουσίᾳ γενέσθαι συμμαχίαν οὐκ ἔπεμψαν μὴ βουλόμενοι δοκεῖν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ὅπλα λαβεῖν. [349] Ἡ δὲ σὴ πατρίς, ὦ Ἰοῦστε, κειμένη ἐν τῇ Γεννησαρίδι λίμνῃ καὶ ἀπέχουσα Ἵππου μὲν στάδια τριάκοντα, Γαδάρων δὲ ἑξήκοντα, Σκυθοπόλεως δὲ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τῆς ὑπηκόου βασιλεῖ, μηδεμιᾶς δὲ πόλεως Ἰουδαίων παρακειμένης, εἰ ἤθελεν τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πίστιν φυλάττειν, ῥᾳδίως ἐδύνατο. [350] Καὶ γὰρ πολὺς ἦτε δῆμος καὶ ὅπλων εὐπορεῖτε. Ἀλλ᾽, ὡς σὺ φῄς, αἴτιος ὑμῖν ἐγὼ τότε. Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τίς, ὦ Ἰοῦστε; πρὸ γὰρ τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων πολιορκίας οἶδας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἐμὲ γενόμενον, καὶ Ἰωτάπατα κατὰ κράτος ληφθέντα φρούριά τε πολλά, πολύν τε Γαλιλαίων ὄχλον κατὰ τὴν μάχην πεσόντα. [351] Τότ᾽ οὖν ἐχρῆν ὑμᾶς παντὸς ἀπηλλαγμένους τοῦ δι᾽ ἐμὲ φόβου ῥῖψαί τε τὰ ὅπλα καὶ παραστῆσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις, ὅτι δὴ οὐχ ἑκόντες, ἀλλ᾽ ἀναγκασθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὡρμήσατε πόλεμον. [352] Ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ περιεμείνατε Οὐεσπασιανόν, ἕως αὐτὸς ἀφικόμενος μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως προσέλθοι τοῖς τείχεσιν, καὶ τότε διὰ φόβον τὰ ὅπλα κατέθεσθε· καὶ πάντως ἂν ὑμῶν ἡ πόλις ἥλω κατὰ κράτος, εἰ μὴ τῷ βασιλεῖ δεομένῳ καὶ τὴν ἄνοιαν ὑμῶν παραιτουμένῳ συνεχώρησεν Οὐεσπασιανός. Οὐκ ἐγὼ τοίνυν αἴτιος, ἀλλ᾽ ὑμεῖς οἱ πολεμικὰ φρονήσαντες. [353] Ἢ οὐ μέμνησθε, ὅτι τοσαυτάκις ὑμῶν ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος οὐδένα διέφθειρα, στασιάζοντες δ᾽ ὑμεῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὐ διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους καὶ τὸν βασιλέα εὔνοιαν, διὰ δὲ τὴν ὑμετέραν αὐτῶν πονηρίαν ἑκατὸν ὀγδοηκονταπέντε τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπεκτείνατε, κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐμοῦ πολιορκουμένου ἐν Ἰωταπάτοις ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. [354] Τί δ᾽ οὐχὶ καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων πολιορκίαν δισχίλιοι Τιβεριέων ἐξητάσθησαν, οἱ μὲν πεπτωκότες, οἱ δὲ ληφθέντες αἰχμάλωτοι; ἀλλὰ σὺ πολέμιος οὐ γεγονέναι φήσεις, ὅτι πρὸς βασιλέα τότ᾽ ἔφυγες. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ διὰ τὸν ἐξ ἐμοῦ φόβον φημί σε πεποιηκέναι. [355] Κἀγὼ μὲν πονηρός, ὡς λέγεις, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας, ὁ τὴν ψυχήν σοι συγχωρήσας ὑπὸ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ θανεῖν κατακριθέντι, ὁ τοσούτοις δωρησάμενος χρήμασιν, τίνος ἕνεκεν ὕστερον δὶς μὲν ἔδησε, τοσαυτάκις δὲ φυγεῖν τὴν πατρίδα προσέταξεν, καὶ ἀποθανεῖν δὲ κελεύσας ἅπαξ τῇ ἀδελφῇ Βερενίκῃ πολλὰ

δεηθείσῃ τὴν σὴν σωτηρίαν ἐχαρίσατο; [356] καὶ μετὰ τοσαῦτα δέ σου κακουργήματα τάξιν ἐπιστολῶν σοι πιστεύσας, ὡς καὶ ταύταις εὖρε ῥᾳδιουργόν, ἀπήλασε τῆς ὄψεως. Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐλέγχειν ἐπ᾽ ἀκριβὲς ἐῶ. [357] Θαυμάζειν δ᾽ ἔπεισί μοι τὴν σὴν ἀναίδειαν, ὅτι τολμᾷς λέγειν ἁπάντων τῶν τὴν πραγματείαν ταύτην γεγραφότων αὐτὸς ἄμεινον ἐξηγγελκέναι, μήτε τὰ πραχθέντα κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐπιστάμενος, ἧς γὰρ ἐν Βηρυτῷ τότε παρὰ βασιλεῖ, μηθ᾽ ὅσα ἔπαθον Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰωταπάτων πολιορκίας ἢ ἔδρασαν ἡμᾶς παρακολουθήσας, μήθ᾽ ὅσα κατ᾽ ἐμαυτὸν ἔπραξα πολιορκούμενος δυνηθεὶς πυθέσθαι· πάντες γὰρ οἱ ἀπαγγείλαντες ἂν διεφθάρησαν ἐπὶ τῆς παρατάξεως ἐκείνης. [358] Ἀλλ᾽ ἴσως τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἱεροσόλυμα πραχθέντα μετὰ ἀκριβείας φήσεις συγγεγραφέναι. Καὶ πῶς οἷόν τε; οὔτε γὰρ τῷ πολέμῳ παρέτυχες οὔτε τὰ Καίσαρος ἀνέγνως ὑπομνήματα. Μέγιστον δὲ τεκμήριον· τοῖς γὰρ Καίσαρος ὑπομνήμασιν ἐναντίαν πεποίησαι τὴν γραφήν. [359] Εἰ δὲ θαρρεῖς ἄμεινον ἁπάντων συγγεγραφέναι, διὰ τί ζώντων Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καὶ Τίτου τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων τῶν τὸν πόλεμον κατεργασαμένων καὶ βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα περιόντος ἔτι καὶ τῶν ἐκ γένους αὐτοῦ πάντων, ἀνδρῶν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἡκόντων, τὴν ἱστορίαν οὐκ ἔφερες εἰς μέσον; [360] πρὸ γὰρ εἴκοσι ἐτῶν εἶχες γεγραμμένην καὶ παρ᾽ εἰδότων ἔμελλες τῆς ἀκριβείας τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἀποφέρεσθαι· νῦν δ᾽, ὅτ᾽ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐκέτ᾽ εἰσὶν μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν, ἐλεγχθῆναι δ᾽ οὐ νομίζεις, τεθάρρηκας. [361] Οὐ μὴν ἐγώ σοι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον περὶ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ γραφῆς ἔδεισα, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐπέδωκα τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσι τὰ βιβλία μόνον οὐ τῶν ἔργων ἔτι βλεπομένων· συνῄδειν γὰρ ἐμαυτῷ τετηρηκότι τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας παράδοσιν, ἐφ᾽ ᾗ μαρτυρίας τεύξεσθαι προσδοκήσας οὐ διήμαρτον. [362] Καὶ ἄλλοις δὲ πολλοῖς εὐθὺς ἐπέδωκα τὴν ἱστορίαν, ὧν ἔνιοι καὶ παρατετεύχεισαν τῷ πολέμῳ, καθάπερ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας καί τινες αὐτοῦ τῶν συγγενῶν. [363] Ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοκράτωρ Τίτος ἐκ μόνων αὐτῶν ἐβουλήθη τὴν γνῶσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παραδοῦναι τῶν πράξεων, ὥστε χαράξας τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ τὰ βιβλία δημοσιῶσαι προσέταξεν, [364] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας ἑξηκονταδύο γέγραφεν ἐπιστολὰς τῇ τῆς ἀληθείας παραδόσει μαρτυρῶν. Ὧν δὴ καὶ δύο ὑπέταξα καὶ βουληθέντι σοι τὰ γεγραμμένα γνῶναι πάρεστιν ἐξ αὐτῶν· [365] “Βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας Ἰωσήπῳ τῷ φιλτάτῳ χαίρειν. Ἥδιστα διῆλθον τὴν βύβλον, καί μοι πολὺ ἐπιμελέστερον ἔδοξας τῶν ταῦτα συγγραψάντων ἠκριβωκέναι. [366] Πέμπε δέ μοι καὶ τὰς λοιπάς. Ἔρρωσο. Βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας Ἰωσήπῳ τῷ φιλτάτῳ χαίρειν. Ἐξ ὧν ἔγραψας οὐδεμιᾶς ἔοικας χρῄζειν διδασκαλίας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μαθεῖν ἡμᾶς ὅλους ἀρχῆθεν. Ὅταν μέντοι συντύχῃς μοι, καὶ αὐτός σε πολλὰ κατηχήσω τῶν ἀγνοουμένων.” [367] Ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀπαρτισθείσης τῆς ἱστορίας ἀληθείᾳ οὐ κολακεύων, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπέβαλλεν αὐτῷ, οὐδὲ εἰρωνευόμενος, ὡς σὺ φήσεις, πόρρω γὰρ ἦν ἐκεῖνος τοιαύτης κακοηθείας, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐμαρτύρει,

καθάπερ πάντες οἱ ταῖς ἱστορίαις ἐντυγχάνοντες. Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρὸς Ἰοῦστον ἀναγκαίαν λαβόντα τὴν παρέκβασιν μέχρι τούτων ἡμῖν λελέχθω.

65. And now I am come to this part of my narration, I have a mind to say a few things to Justus, who hath himself written a history concerning these affairs, as also to others who profess to write history, but have little regard to truth, and are not afraid, either out of ill-will or good-will to some persons, to relate falsehoods. These men do like those who compose forged deeds and conveyances; and because they are not brought to the like punishment with them, they have no regard to truth. When, therefore, Justus undertook to write about these facts, and about the Jewish war, that he might appear to have been an industrious man, he falsified in what he related about me, and could not speak truth even about his own country; whence it is that, being belied by him, I am under a necessity to make my defense; and so I shall say what I have concealed till now. And let no one wonder that I have not told the world these things a great while ago. For although it be necessary for an historian to write the truth, yet is such a one not bound severely to animadvert on the wickedness of certain men; not out of any favor to them, but out of an author's own moderation. How then comes it to pass, O Justus! thou most sagacious of writers, [that I may address myself to him as if he were here present,] for so thou boastest of thyself, that I and the Galileans have been the authors of that sedition which thy country engaged in, both against the Romans and against the king [Agrippa, junior] For before ever I was appointed governor of Galilee by the community of Jerusalem, both thou and all the people of Tiberias had not only taken up arms, but had made war with Decapolis of Syria. Accordingly, thou hadst ordered their villages to be burnt, and a domestic servant of thine fell in the battle. Nor is it I only who say this; but so it is written in the Commentaries of Vespasian, the emperor; as also how the inhabitants of Decapolis came clamoring to Vespasian at Ptolemais, and desired that thou, who wast the author [of that war], mightest be brought to punishment. And thou hadst certainly been punished at the command of Vespasian, had not king Agrippa, who had power given him to have thee put to death, at the earnest entreaty of his sister Bernice, changed the punishment from death into a long imprisonment. Thy political administration of affairs afterward doth also clearly discover both thy other behavior in life, and that thou wast the occasion of thy country's revolt from the Romans; plain signs of which I shall produce presently. I have also a mind to say a few things to the rest of the people of Tiberias on thy account, and to demonstrate to those that light upon this history, that you bare no good-will, neither to the Romans, nor to the king. To be sure, the greatest cities of Galilee, O Justus! were Sepphoris, and

thy country Tiberias. But Sepphoris, situated in the very midst of Galilee, and having many villages about it, and able with ease to have been bold and troublesome to the Romans, if they had so pleased, yet did it resolve to continue faithful to those their masters, and at the same time excluded me out of their city, and prohibited all their citizens from joining with the Jews in the war; and, that they might be out of danger from me, they, by a wile, got leave of me to fortify their city with walls: they also, of their own accord, admitted of a garrison of Roman legions, sent them by Cestlus Gallus, who was then president of Syria, and so had me in contempt, though I was then very powerful, and all were greatly afraid of me; and at the same time that the greatest of our cities, Jerusalem, was besieged, and that temple of ours, which belonged to us all, was in danger of falling under the enemy's power, they sent no assistance thither, as not willing to have it thought they would bear arms against the Romans. But as for thy country, O Justus: situated upon the lake of Gennesareth, and distance from Hippos thirty furlongs, from Gadara sixty, and from Scythopolis, which was under the king's jurisdiction, a hundred and twenty; when there was no Jewish city near, it might easily have preserved its fidelity [to the Romans,] if it had so pleased them to do, for the city and its people had plenty of weapons. But, as thou sayest, I was then the author [of their revolts]. And pray, O Justus! who was that author afterwards? For thou knowest that I was in the power of the Romans before Jerusalem was besieged, and before the same time Jotapata was taker by force, as well as many other fortresses, and a great many of the Galileans fell in the war. It was therefore then a proper time, when you were certainly freed from any fear on my account, to throw away your weapons, and to demonstrate to the king and to the Romans, that it was not of choice, but as forced by necessity, that you fell into the war against them; but you staid till Vespasian came himself as far as your walls, with his whole army; and then you did indeed lay aside your weapons out of fear, and your city had for certain been taken by force, unless Vespasian had complied with the king's supplication for you, and had excused your madness. It was not I, therefore, who was the author of this, but your own inclinations to war. Do not you remember how often I got you under my power, and yet put none of you to death? Nay, you once fell into a tumult one against another, and slew one hundred and eighty-five of your citizens, not on account of your good-will to the king and to the Romans, but on account of your own wickedness, and this while I was besieged by the Romans in Jotapata. Nay, indeed, were there not reckoned up two thousand of the people of Tiberias during the siege of Jerusalem, some of whom were slain, and the rest caught and carried captives? But thou wilt pretend that thou didst not engage in the war, since thou didst flee to the king. Yes, indeed, thou didst flee to him; but

I say it was out of fear of me. Thou sayest, indeed, that it is I who am a wicked man. But then, for what reason was it that king Agrippa, who procured thee thy life when thou wast condemned to die by Vespian, and who bestowed so much riches upon thee, did twice afterward put thee in bonds, and as often obliged thee to run away from thy country, and, when he had once ordered thee to be put to death, he granted thee a pardon at the earnest desire of Bernice? And when [after so many of thy wicked pranks] he made thee his secretary, he caught thee falsifying his epistles, and drove thee away from his sight. But I shall not inquire accurately into these matters of scandal against thee. Yet cannot I but wonder at thy impudence, when thou hast the assurance to say, that thou hast better related these affairs [of the war] than have all the others that have written about them, whilst thou didst not know what was done in Galilee; for thou wast then at Berytus with the king; nor didst thou know how much the Romans suffered at the siege of Jotapata, or what miseries they brought upon us; nor couldst thou learn by inquiry what I did during that siege myself; for all those that might afford such information were quite destroyed in that siege. But perhaps thou wilt say, thou hast written of what was done against the people of Jerusalem exactly. But how should that be? for neither wast thou concerned in that war, nor hast thou read the commentaries of Caesar; of which we have evident proof, because thou hast contradicted those commentaries of Caesar in thy history. But if thou art so hardy as to affirm, that thou hast written that history better than all the rest, why didst thou not publish thy history while the emperors Vespasian and Titus, the generals in that war, as well as king Agrippa and his family, who were men very well skilled in the learning of the Greeks, were all alive? for thou hast had it written these twenty years, and then mightest thou have had the testimony of thy accuracy. But now when these men are no longer with us, and thou thinkest thou canst not be contradicted, thou venturest to publish it. But then I was not in like manner afraid of my own writing, but I offered my books to the emperors themselves, when the facts were almost under men's eyes; for I was conscious to myself, that I had observed the truth of the facts; and as I expected to have their attestation to them, so I was not deceived in such expectation. Moreover, I immediately presented my history to many other persons, some of whom were concerned in the war, as was king Agrippa and some of his kindred. Now the emperor Titus was so desirous that the knowledge of these affairs should be taken from these books alone, that he subscribed his own hand to them, and ordered that they should be published; and for king Agrippa, he wrote me sixty-two letters, and attested to the truth of what I had therein delivered; two of which letters I have here subjoined, and thou mayst thereby know their contents:—"King Agrippa to Josephus, however, when thou comest to me, I will inform

thee of a great many things which thou dost not know." So when this history was perfected, Agrippa, neither by way of flattery, which was not agreeable to him, nor by way of irony, as thou wilt say, [for he was entirely a stranger to such an evil disposition of mind,] but he wrote this by way of attestation to what was true, as all that read histories may do. And so much shall be said concerning Justus which I am obliged to add by way of digression.

LXVI

[368] Διοικήσας δ᾽ ἐγὼ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Τιβεριάδα καὶ καθίσας τῶν φίλων συνέδριον ἐβουλευόμην περὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἰωάννην πραχθησομένων. Ἐδόκει μὲν οὖν πᾶσι τοῖς Γαλιλαίοις ὁπλίσαντα πάντας ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ λαβεῖν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ δίκας ὡς πάσης τῆς στάσεως αἰτίου γεγονότος. [369] Οὐκ ἠρεσκόμην δ᾽ ἐγὼ ταῖς γνώμαις αὐτῶν προαίρεσιν ἔχων τὰς ταραχὰς χωρὶς φόνου καταστέλλειν. Ὅθεν δὴ παρῄνεσα πᾶσαν εἰσενέγκασθαι πρόνοιαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γνῶναι τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν Ἰωάννην ὄντων. [370] Ποιησάντων δ᾽ ἐκείνων γνοὺς ἐγὼ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οἵτινες ἦσαν ἐξέθηκα πρόγραμμα, διὰ τούτου πίστιν καὶ δεξιὰν προτείνων τοῖς μετὰ Ἰωάννου θελήσασιν λαβεῖν μετάνοιαν, καὶ ἡμερῶν εἴκοσι χρόνον προέτεινα τοῖς βουλεύσασθαι θέλουσιν περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῖς συμφερόντων. Ἠπείλουν δέ, εἰ μὴ ῥίψουσιν τὰ ὅπλα, καταπρήσειν αὐτῶν τὰς οἰκήσεις καὶ δημοσιώσειν τὰς οὐσίας. [371] Ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ταραχθέντες οὔ τι μετρίως καταλείπουσιν μὲν τὸν Ἰωάννην, τὰ δ᾽ ὅπλα ῥίψαντες ἦκον πρός με τετρακισχίλιοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες. [372] Μόνοι δὲ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ παρέμειναν οἱ πολῖται καὶ ξένοι τινὲς ἐκ τῆς Τυρίων μητροπόλεως ὡς χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. Ἰωάννης μὲν οὖν οὕτω καταστρατηγηθεὶς ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι περίφοβος ἔμεινεν.

66. Now, when I had settled the affairs of Tiberias, and had assembled my friends as a sanhedrim, I consulted what I should do as to John. Whereupon it appeared to be the opinion of all the Galileans, that I should arm them all, and march against John, and punish him as the author of all the disorders that had happened. Yet was not I pleased with their determination; as purposing to compose these troubles without bloodshed. Upon this I exhorted them to use the utmost care to learn the names of all that were under John; which when they had done, and I thereby was apprized who the men were, I published an edict, wherein I offered security and my right hand to such of John's party as had a mind to repent; and I allowed twenty days' time to such as would take this most advantageous course for themselves. I also threatened, that unless they threw down their arms, I would burn their houses, and expose their goods to public sale. When the men heard of this, they were in no small disorder, and deserted John; and to the

number of four thousand threw down their arms, and came to me. So that no others staid with John but his own citizens, and about fifteen hundred strangers that came from the metropolis of Tyre; and when John saw that he had been outwitted by my stratagem, he continued afterward in his own country, and was in great fear of me.

LXVII

[373] Κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν Σεπφωρῖται θαρρήσαντες ἀναλαμβάνουσιν ὅπλα πεποιθότες τῇ τε τῶν τειχῶν ὀχυρότητι καὶ τῷ πρὸς ἑτέροις ὄντα με ὁρᾶν. Πέμπουσι δὴ πρὸς Κέστιον Γάλλον, Συρίας δ᾽ ἦν οὗτος ἡγεμών, παρακαλοῦντες ἢ αὐτὸν ἥκειν θᾶττον παραληψόμενον αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν ἢ πέμψαι τοὺς φρουρήσοντας. [374] Ὁ δὲ Γάλλος ἐλεύσεσθαι μὲν ὑπέσχετο, πότε δὲ οὐ διεσάφησεν. Κἀγὼ ταῦτα πυθόμενος, ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς σὺν ἐμοὶ στρατιώτας καὶ ὁρμήσας ἐπὶ τοὺς Σεπφωρίτας εἷλον αὐτῶν κατὰ κράτος τὴν πόλιν. [375] Λαβόμενοι δ᾽ ἀφορμῆς οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι καὶ παρεῖναι τοῦ μίσους τὸν καιρὸν οὐ βουληθέντες, εἶχον γὰρ ἀπεχθῶς καὶ πρὸς ταύτην τὴν πόλιν, ὥρμησαν ὡς ἄρδην ἀφανίσοντες πάντας σὺν τοῖς ἐποίκοις. [376] Εἰσδραμόντες οὖν ἐνεπίμπρασαν αὐτῶν τὰς οἰκίας ἐρήμους καταλαμβάνοντες· οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι δείσαντες εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν συνέφυγον· διήρπαζον δὲ πάντα καὶ τρόπον οὐδένα πορθήσεως κατὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων παρελίμπανον. [377] Ταῦτ᾽ ἐγὼ θεασάμενος σφόδρα διετέθην ἀνιαρῶς καὶ παύεσθαι προσέταττον αὐτοῖς, ὑπομιμνήσκων ὅτι τοιαῦτα δρᾶν ὁμοφύλους οὐκ ἔστιν ὅσιον. [378] Ἐπεὶ δ᾽ οὔτε παρακαλοῦντος οὔτε προστάσσοντος ἤκουον, ἐνίκα δὲ τὸ μῖσος τὰς παραινέσεις, τοὺς πιστοτάτους τῶν περὶ ἐμὲ φίλων ἐκέλευσα διαδοῦναι λόγους, ὡς Ῥωμαίων μετὰ μεγάλης δυνάμεως κατὰ τὸ ἕτερον μέρος τῆς πόλεως εἰσβεβληκότων. [379] Ταῦτα δ᾽ ἐποίουν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῆς φήμης ἐμπεσούσης ἐπισχεῖν μὲν τῶν Γαλιλαίων τὰς ὁρμάς, διασῶσαι δὲ τὴν τῶν Σεπφωριτῶν πόλιν. Καὶ τέλος προυχώρησε τὸ στρατήγημα· [380] τῆς γὰρ ἀγγελίας ἀκούσαντες ἐφοβήθησαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν· καὶ καταλιπόντες τὰς ἁρπαγὰς ἔφευγον, μάλιστα δ᾽, ἐπεὶ κἀμὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἑώρων ταῦτα ποιοῦντα· πρὸς γὰρ τὸ πιστὸν τῆς φήμης ἐσκηπτόμην ὁμοίως αὐτοῖς διατεθεῖσθαι. Σεπφωρῖται δὲ παρ᾽ ἐλπίδα τὴν ἑαυτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ σοφίσματος ἐσώθησαν.

67. But about this time it was that the people of Sepphoris grew insolent, and took up arms, out of a confidence they had in the strength of their walls, and because they saw me engaged in other affairs also. So they sent to Cestius Gallus, who was president of Syria, and desired that he would either come quickly to them, and take their city under his protection, or send them a garrison. Accordingly, Gallus promised them to come, but did not send word when he would come: and

when I had learned so much, I took the soldiers that were with me, and made an assault upon the people of Sepphoris, and took the city by force. The Galileans took this opportunity, as thinking they had now a proper time for showing their hatred to them, since they bore ill-will to that city also. They then exerted themselves, as if they would destroy them all utterly, with those that sojourned there also. So they ran upon them, and set their houses on fire, as finding them without inhabitants; for the men, out of fear, ran together to the citadel. So the Galileans carried off every thing, and omitted no kind of desolation which they could bring upon their countrymen. When I saw this, I was exceedingly troubled at it, and commanded them to leave off, and put them in mind that it was not agreeable to piety to do such things to their countrymen: but since they neither would hearken to what I exhorted, nor to what I commanded them to do, [for the hatred they bore to the people there was too hard for my exhortations to them,] I bade those my friends, who were most faithful to me, and were about me, to give on reports, as if the Romans were falling upon the other part of the city with a great army; and this I did, that, by such a report being spread abroad, I might restrain the violence of the Galileans, and preserve the city of Sepphoris. And at length this stratagem had its effect; for, upon hearing this report, they were in fear for themselves, and so they left off plundering and ran away; and this more especially, because they saw me, their general, do the same also; for, that I might cause this report to be believed, I pretended to be in fear as well as they. Thus were the inhabitants of Sepphoris unexpectedly preserved by this contrivance of mine.

LXVIII

[381] Καὶ Τιβεριὰς δὲ παρ᾽ ὀλίγον ἀνηρπάσθη ὑπὸ Γαλιλαίων τοιαύτης αἰτίας ὑποπεσούσης· τῶν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς οἱ πρῶτοι γράφουσι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα παρακαλοῦντες ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς παραληψόμενον τὴν πόλιν. [382] Ὑπέσχετο δ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔρχεσθαι, καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἀντιγράφει καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν κοιτῶνα τινί, Κρίσπῳ μὲν τοὔνομα, τὸ δὲ γένος Ἰουδαίῳ, δίδωσι πρὸς τοὺς Τιβεριεῖς φέρειν. [383] Τοῦτον κομίσαντα τὰ γράμματα γνωρίσαντες οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι καὶ συλλαβόντες ἄγουσιν ἐπ᾽ ἐμέ. Τὸ δὲ πᾶν πλῆθος, ὡς ἤκουσεν, παροξυνθὲν ἐφ᾽ ὅπλα τρέπεται. [384] Συναχθέντες δὲ πολλοὶ πολλαχόθεν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἦκον εἰς Ἄσωχιν πόλιν, ἔνθα δὴ τὴν κατάλυσιν ἐποιούμην, καταβοήσεις τε σφόδρα ἐποιοῦντο, προδότιν ἀποκαλοῦντες τὴν Τιβεριάδα καὶ βασιλέως φίλην, ἐπιτρέπειν τε ἠξίουν αὐτοῖς καταβᾶσιν ἄρδην ἀφανίσαι· καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς Τιβεριεῖς εἶχον ἀπεχθῶς, ὡς πρὸς τοὺς Σεπφωρίτας.

68. Nay, indeed, Tiberias had like to have been plundered by the Galileans also upon the following occasion: — The chief men of the senate wrote to the king, and desired that he would come to them, and take possession of their city. The king promised to come, and wrote a letter in answer to theirs, and gave it to one of his bed-chamber, whose name was Crispus, and who was by birth a Jew, to carry it to Tiberias. When the Galileans knew that this man carried such a letter, they caught him, and brought him to me; but as soon as the whole multitude heard of it, they were enraged, and betook themselves to their arms. So a great many of them together from all quarters the next day, and came to the city Asochis, where I then lodged, and made heavy clamors, and called the city of Tiberias a traitor to them, and a friend to the king; and desired leave of me to go down and utterly destroy it; for they bore the like ill-will to the people of Tiberias, as they did to those of Sepphoris.

LXIX

[385] Ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἀκούσας ἠπόρουν, τίνα τρόπον ἐξαρπάσω τὴν Τιβεριάδα τῆς Γαλιλαίων ὀργῆς. Ἀρνήσασθαι γὰρ οὐκ ἐδυνάμην μὴ γεγραφέναι τοὺς Τιβεριεῖς καλοῦντας τὸν βασιλέα· ἤλεγχον γὰρ αἱ παρ᾽ ἐκείνου πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀντιγραφαὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν. [386] Σύννους οὖν πολλὴν γενόμενος ὥραν, “Ὅτι μὲν ἠδικήκασιν, εἶπον, Τιβεριεῖς, οἶδα κἀγώ, τὴν πόλιν δ᾽ αὐτῶν ὑμᾶς οὐ κωλύσω διαρπάσαι. Δεῖ δ᾽ ὅμως καὶ μετὰ κρίσεως τὰ τηλικαῦτα πράττειν· οὐ γὰρ μόνοι Τιβεριεῖς προδόται τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἡμῶν γεγόνασιν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἐν Γαλιλαίᾳ δοκιμωτάτων. [387] Προσμείνατε δὴ μέχρι τοὺς αἰτίους ἀκριβῶς ἐκμάθω, καὶ τότε πάντας ὑποχειρίους ἕξετε καὶ ὅσους ἰδίᾳ ἐπάξαι δυνήσεσθε”. [388] Ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν ἔπεισα τὸ πλῆθος καὶ παυσάμενοι τῆς ὀργῆς διελύθησαν. Τὸν παρὰ βασιλέως δὲ πεμφθέντα δῆσαι κελεύσας, μετ᾽ οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐπί τινα τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ χρειῶν ἐπείγουσαν σκηψάμενος ἐκδημεῖν τῆς βασιλείας, καλέσας τὸν Κρῖσπον λάθρα προσέταξα μεθύσαι τὸν στρατιώτην φύλακα καὶ φυγεῖν πρὸς βασιλέα· μὴ γὰρ διωχθήσεσθαι. [389] Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῖς ὑποθήκαις πεισθεὶς διέφυγε· Τιβεριὰς δὲ μέλλουσα δεύτερον ἀφανίζεσθαι στρατηγίᾳ τῇ ἐμῇ καὶ προνοίᾳ τῇ περὶ αὐτῆς ὀξὺν οὕτως κίνδυνον διέφυγεν.

69. When I heard this, I was in doubt what to do, and hesitated by what means I might deliver Tiberias from the rage of the Galileans; for I could not deny that those of Tiborias had written to the king, and invited him to come to them; for his letters to them, in answer thereto, would fully prove the truth of that. So I sat a long time musing with myself, and then said to them, “I know well enough that the people of Tiberias have offended; nor shall I forbid you to plunder the city. However, such things ought to be done with discretion; for they of Tiberias have

not been the only betrayers of our liberty, but many of the most eminent patriots of the Galileans, as they pretended to be, have done the same. Tarry therefore till I shall thoroughly find out those authors of our danger, and then you shall have them all at once under your power, with all such as you shall yourselves bring in also." Upon my saying this, I pacifie the multitude, and they left off their anger, and went their ways; and I gave orders that he who brought the king's letters should be put into bonds; but in a few days I pretended that I was obliged, by a necessary affair of my own, to out of the kingdom. I then called Crispus privately, and ordered him to make the soldier that kept him drunk, and to run away to the king. So when Tiberias was in danger of being utterly destroyed a second time, it escaped the danger by my skillful management, and the care that I had for its preservation.

LXX

[390] Κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν Ἰοῦστος ὁ Πιστοῦ παῖς λαθὼν ἐμὲ διαδιδράσκει πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. Τὴν αἰτίαν δὲ δι᾽ ἣν τοῦτ᾽ ἔπραξεν ἀφηγήσομαι. [391] Λαβόντος ἀρχὴν Ἰουδαίοις τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολέμου Τιβεριεῖς διεγνώκεισαν ὑπακούειν βασιλεῖ καὶ Ῥωμαίων μὴ ἀφίστασθαι. Πείθει δ᾽ αὐτοὺς Ἰοῦστος ἐφ᾽ ὅπλα χωρῆσαι νεωτέρων αὐτὸς ἐφιέμενος πραγμάτων καὶ δι᾽ ἐλπίδος ἔχων ἄρξειν Γαλιλαίων τε καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος. [392] Οὐ μὴν τῶν προσδοκηθέντων ἐπέτυχεν· Γαλιλαῖοί τε γὰρ ἐχθρῶς ἔχοντες πρὸς τοὺς Τιβεριεῖς διὰ μῆνιν ὧν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου πεπόνθεισαν, [393] οὐκ ἠνείχοντο στρατηγοῦντος αὐτῶν Ἰούστου, κἀγὼ δὲ τὴν προστασίαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας πιστευθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν, πολλάκις εἰς τοσαύτην ἦκον ὀργήν, ὡς ὀλίγου δεῖν ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν Ἰοῦστον, φέρειν αὐτοῦ τὴν μοχθηρίαν οὐ δυνάμενος. Δείσας οὖν ἐκεῖνος, μὴ καὶ λάβῃ τέλος ἅπαξ ὁ θυμός, ἔπεμψε πρὸς βασιλέα Κρῖσπον ἀσφαλέστερον οἰκήσειν παρ᾽ ἐκείνῳ νομίζων.

70. About this time it was that Justus, the son of Pistus, without my knowledge, ran away to the king; the occasion of which I will here relate. Upon the beginning of the war between the Jews and Romans, the people of Tiberias resolved to submit to the king, and not to revolt from the Romans; while Justus tried to persuade them to betake themselves to their arms, as being himself desirous of innovations, and having hopes of obtaining the government of Galilee, as well as of his own country [Tiberias] also. Yet did he not obtain what he hoped for, because the Galileans bore ill-will to those of Tiberias, and this on account of their anger at what miseries they had suffered from them before the war; thence it was that they would not endure that Justus should be their governor. I myself also, who had been intrusted by the community of Jerusalem

with the government of Galilee, did frequently come to that degree of rage at Justus, that I had almost resolved to kill him, as not able to bear his mischievous disposition. He was therefore much afraid of me, lest at length my passion should come to extremity; so he went to the king, as supposing that he would dwell better and more safely with him.

LXXI

[394] Σεπφωρῖται δὲ παραδόξως τὸν πρῶτον κίνδυνον διαφυγόντες πρὸς Κέστιον Γάλλον ἔπεμψαν ἥκειν παρακαλοῦντες ὡς αὐτοὺς θᾶττον παραληψόμενον τὴν πόλιν, ἢ πέμπειν δύναμιν τὴν ἀνακόψουσαν τὰς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιδρομάς· καὶ τέλος ἔπεισαν τὸν Γάλλον πέμψαι δύναμιν αὐτοῖς ἱππικήν τε καὶ πεζικήν, ἣν ἐλθοῦσαν νυκτὸς εἰσεδέξαντο. [395] Κακουμένης δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς [πέριξ] χώρας ἀναλαβὼν ἐγὼ τοὺς περὶ ἐμὲ στρατιώτας ἦκον εἰς Γαρεις κώμην. Ἔνθα βαλόμενος χάρακα πόρρω τῆς Σεπφωριτῶν πόλεως ἀπὸ σταδίων εἴκοσι νυκτὸς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ προσέμιξα καὶ τοῖς τείχεσι προσέβαλλον, [396] καὶ διὰ κλιμάκων ἐμβιβάσας συχνοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐγκρατὴς τοῦ πλείστου τῆς πόλεως μέρους ἐγενόμην, μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν τόπων ἄγνοιαν ἀναγκασθέντες ὑπεχωρήσαμεν, ἀνελόντες Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἱππεῖς δύο, πεζοὺς δὲ δέκα, ὀλίγους δὲ Σεπφωριτῶν, αὐτοὶ δ᾽ ἕνα μόνον ἀπεβάλομεν. [397] Γενομένης δ᾽ ὕστερον ἡμῖν κατὰ τὸ πεδίον μάχης πρὸς τοὺς ἱππεῖς μέχρι πολλοῦ καρτερῶς διακινδυνεύσαντες ἡττήθημεν· περιελθόντων γὰρ τῶν Ῥωμαίων οἱ μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ δείσαντες ἔφυγον εἰς τοὐπίσω. Πίπτει δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῆς παρατάξεως ἐκείνης εἷς τῶν πεπιστευμένων τὴν τοῦ σώματός μου φυλακὴν Ἰοῦστος τοὔνομα καὶ παρὰ βασιλεῖ ποτε τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν ἐσχηκώς. [398] Κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἡ παρὰ βασιλέως δύναμις ἦκεν ἱππική τε καὶ πεζικὴ καὶ Σύλλας ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἡγεμὼν ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων. Οὗτος οὖν βαλόμενος στρατόπεδον Ἰουλιάδος ἀπέχον σταδίους πέντε φρουρὰν ἐφίστησιν ταῖς ὁδοῖς, τῇ τε εἰς Σελεύκειαν ἀγούσῃ καὶ τῇ εἰς Γάμαλα τὸ φρούριον, ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰς παρὰ τῶν Γαλιλαίων ὠφελείας τοῖς ἐνοίκοις ἀποκλείειν.

71. Now, when the people of Sepphoris had, in so surprising a manner, escaped their first danger, they sent to Cestius Gallus, and desired him to come to them immediately, and take possession of their city, or else to send forces sufficient to repress all their enemies' incursions upon them; and at the last they did prevail with Gallus to send them a considerable army, both of horse and foot, which came in the night time, and which they admitted into the city. But when the country round about it was harassed by the Roman army, I took those soldiers that were about me, and came to Garisme, where I cast up a bank, a good way off the city Sepphoris; and when I was at twenty furlongs distance, I came upon

it by night, and made an assault upon its walls with my forces; and when I had ordered a considerable number of my soldiers to scale them with ladders, I became master of the greatest part of the city. But soon after, our unacquaintedness with the places forced us to retire, after we had killed twelve of the Roman footmen, and two horsemen, and a few of the people of Sepphoris, with the loss of only a single man of our own. And when it afterwards came to a battle in the plain against the horsemen, and we had undergone the dangers of it courageously for a long time, we were beaten; for upon the Romans encompassing me about, my soldiers were afraid, and fell back. There fell in that battle one of those that had been intrusted to guard my body; his name was Justus, who at this time had the same post with the king. At the same time also there came forces, both horsemen and footmen, from the king, and Sylla their commander, who was the captain of his guard: this Sylla pitched his camp at five furlongs' distance from Julias, and set a guard upon the roads, both that which led to Cana, and that which led to the fortress Gamala, that he might hinder their inhabitants from getting provisions out of Galilee.

LXXII

[399] Ταῦτα δ' ὡς ἐπυθόμην ἐγὼ πέμπω δισχιλίους ὁπλίτας καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Ἱερεμίαν, οἳ δὴ καὶ χάρακα θέντες ἀπὸ σταδίου τῆς Ἰουλιάδος πλησίον τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ πλέον ἀκροβολισμῶν οὐδὲν ἔπραξαν, μέχρι τρισχιλίους στρατιώτας αὐτὸς ἀναλαβὼν ἦκον πρὸς αὐτούς. [400] Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν ἔν τινι φάραγγι καθίσας λόχον οὐκ ἄπωθεν αὐτῶν τοῦ χάρακος προεκαλούμην τοὺς βασιλικοὺς εἰς μάχην, παραινέσας τοῖς μετ' ἐμοῦ στρατιώταις στρέψαι τὰ νῶτα, μέχρις ἂν ἐπισπάσωνται τοὺς πολεμίους προελθεῖν· ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο. [401] Σύλλας γὰρ εἰκάσας ταῖς ἀληθείαις τοὺς ἡμετέρους φεύγειν προελθὼν ἐπιδιώκειν οἷός τε ἦν, κατὰ νώτου δ' αὐτὸν λαμβάνουσιν οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας καὶ σφόδρα πάντας ἐθορύβησαν. [402] Ἐγὼ δ' εὐθὺς ὀξείᾳ χρησάμενος ὑποστροφῇ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ὑπήντησα τοῖς βασιλικοῖς καὶ εἰς φυγὴν ἔτρεψα. Κἂν κατώρθωτό μοι κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἡ πρᾶξις μὴ ἐμποδὼν γενομένου δαίμονός τινος· [403] ὁ γὰρ ἵππος, ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν μάχην ἐποιούμην, εἰς τελματώδη τόπον ἐμπεσὼν συγκατήνεγκέ με ἐπὶ τοὔδαφος. Θραύσεως δὲ τῶν ἄρθρων γενομένης ἐπὶ τὸν ταρσὸν τῆς χειρὸς ἐκομίσθην εἰς κώμην Κεφαρνωκὸν λεγομένην. [404] Οἱ δὲ ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες καὶ δεδοικότες, μή τι χεῖρον ἔπαθον, τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ πλέον διώξεως ἀπέσχοντο, ὑπέστρεφον δὲ περὶ ἐμὲ λίαν ἀγωνιῶντες. Μεταπεμψάμενος οὖν ἰατροὺς καὶ θεραπευθεὶς τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ κατέμεινα πυρέξας, δόξαν τε τοῖς ἰατροῖς τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς Ταριχέας μετεκομίσθην.

72. As soon as I had gotten intelligence of this, I sent two thousand armed men, and a captain over them, whose name was Jeremiah, who raised a bank a furlong off Julias, near to the river Jordan, and did no more than skirmish with the enemy; till I took three thousand soldiers myself, and came to them. But on the next day, when I had laid an ambush in a certain valley, not far from the banks, I provoked those that belonged to the king to come to a battle, and gave orders to my own soldiers to turn their backs upon them, until they should have drawn the enemy away from their camp, and brought them out into the field, which was done accordingly; for Sylla, supposing that our party did really run away, was ready to pursue them, when our soldiers that lay in ambush took them on their backs, and put them all into great disorder. I also immediately made a sudden turn with my own forces, and met those of the king's party, and put them to flight. And I had performed great things that day, if a certain fate had not been my hinderance; for the horse on which I rode, and upon whose back I fought, fell into a quagmire, and threw me on the ground, and I was bruised on my wrist, and carried into a village named Cepharnome, or Capernaum. When my soldiers heard of this, they were afraid I had been worse hurt than I was; and so they did not go on with their pursuit any further, but returned in very great concern for me. I therefore sent for the physicians, and while I was under their hands, I continued feverish that day; and as the physicians directed, I was that night removed to Taricheee.

LXXIII

[405] Σύλλας δὲ καὶ οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ πυθόμενοι τὰ κατ᾽ ἐμὲ πάλιν ἐθάρρησαν, καὶ γνόντες ἀμελεῖσθαι τὰ περὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τοῦ στρατοπέδου διὰ νυκτὸς ἱππέων λόχον ἱδρύσαντες ἐν τῷ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, γενομένης ἡμέρας εἰς μάχην ἡμᾶς προεκαλέσαντο. [406] Τῶν δ᾽ ὑπακουσάντων καὶ μέχρι τοῦ πεδίου προελθόντων ἐπιφανέντες οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἱππεῖς καὶ ταράξαντες αὐτοὺς εἰς φυγὴν ἔτρεψαν ἔξ τε τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπέκτειναν, οὐ μὴν μέχρι τέλους τὴν νίκην ἤγαγον· καταπεπλευκέναι γάρ τινας ὁπλίτας ἀκούσαντες ἀπὸ Ταριχεῶν εἰς Ἰουλιάδα φοβηθέντες ἀνεχώρησαν.

73. When Sylla and his party were informed what happened to me, they took courage again; and understanding that the watch was negligently kept in our camp, they by night placed a body of horsemen in ambush beyond Jordan, and when it was day they provoked us to fight; and as we did not refuse it, but came into the plain, their horsemen appeared out of that ambush in which they had lain, and put our men into disorder, and made them run away; so they slew six men of our side. Yet did they not go off with the victory at last; for when they

heard that some armed men were sailed from Taricheae to Juli, they were afraid, and retired.

LXXIV

[407] Μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον Οὐεσπασιανὸς εἰς Τύρον ἀφικνεῖται καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας. Καὶ οἱ Τύριοι βλασφημεῖν ἤρξαντο τὸν βασιλέα Τυρίων αὐτὸν καλοῦντες καὶ Ῥωμαίων πολέμιον· τὸν γὰρ στρατοπεδάρχην αὐτοῦ Φίλιππον ἔλεγον προδεδωκέναι τὴν βασιλικὴν αὐλὴν καὶ τὰς Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεις τὰς οὔσας ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ πρόσταξιν. [408] Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ἀκούσας Τυρίοις μὲν ἐπέπληξεν ὑβρίζουσιν ἄνδρα καὶ βασιλέα καὶ Ῥωμαίοις φίλον, τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ παρήνεσεν πέμψαι Φίλιππον εἰς Ῥώμην ὑφέξοντα λόγον Νέρωνι περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων. [409] Φίλιππος δὲ πεμφθεὶς οὐχ ἧκεν εἰς ὄψιν Νέρωνι· καταλαβὼν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ὄντα διὰ τὰς ἐμπεσούσας ταραχὰς καὶ τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ὑπέστρεψε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. [410] Ἐπεὶ δὲ Οὐεσπασιανὸς εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα παρεγένετο, οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν τῆς Συρίας δέκα πόλεων κατεβόων Ἰούστου τοῦ Τιβεριέως, ὅτι τὰς κώμας αὐτῶν ἐμπρήσειεν. Παρέδωκεν οὖν αὐτὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸς τῷ βασιλεῖ κολασθησόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς βασιλείας ὑποτελῶν· ὁ βασιλεὺς δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἔδησεν ἐπικρυψάμενος τοῦτο Οὐεσπασιανόν, ὡς ἀνωτέρω δεδηλώκαμεν. [411] Σεπφωρῖται δ᾽ ὑπαντήσαντες καὶ ἀσπασάμενοι Οὐεσπασιανὸν λαμβάνουσι δύναμιν καὶ στρατηγὸν Πλάκιδον, ἀναβάντες δὲ μετὰ τούτων ἑπομένου μου * ἄχρι τῆς εἰς Γαλιλαίαν Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἀφίξεως. [412] Περὶ ἧς τίνα τρόπον ἐγένετο, καὶ πῶς περὶ Γάρις κώμην τὴν πρώτην πρὸς ἐμὲ μάχην ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ὡς ἐκεῖθεν εἰς τὰ Ἰωτάπατα ἀνεχώρησα, καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα μοι κατὰ τὴν ταύτης πολιορκίαν, καὶ ὃν τρόπον ζῶν ληφθεὶς ἐδέθην καὶ πῶς ἐλύθην, πάντα τε τὰ πεπραγμένα μοι κατὰ τὸν Ἰουδαϊκὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὴν Ἱεροσολύμων πολιορκίαν μετ᾽ ἀκριβείας ἐν ταῖς περὶ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου βίβλοις ἀπήγγελκα. [413] Ἀναγκαῖον δ᾽ ἐστίν, ὡς οἶμαι, καὶ ὅσα μὴ κατὰ τὸν Ἰουδαϊκὸν πόλεμον ἀνέγραψα τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ μου πεπραγμένων νῦν προσαναγράψαι.

74. It was not now long before Vespasian came to Tyre, and king Agrippa with him; but the Tyrians began to speak reproachfully of the king, and called him an enemy to the Romans. For they said that Philip, the general of his army, had betrayed the royal palace and the Roman forces that were in Jerusalem, and that it was done by his command. When Vespasian heard of this report, he rebuked the Tyrians for abusing a man who was both a king and a friend to the Romans; but he exhorted the king to send Philip to Rome, to answer for what he had done before Nero. But when Philip was sent thither, he did not come into the sight of Nero, for he found him very near death, on account of the troubles that then happened, and a civil war; and so he returned to the king. But when Vespasian was come to Ptolemais, the chief men of Decapolis of Syria made a clamor against Justus of Tiberias, because he had set their villages on fire: so Vespasian delivered him to the king, to be put to death by those under the king's jurisdiction; yet did the king only put him into bonds, and concealed what he had done from Vespasian, as I have before related. But the people of Sepphoris met Vespasian, and saluted him, and had forces sent him, with Placidus their commander: he also went up with them, as I also followed them, till Vespasian came into Galilee. As to which coming of his, and after what manner it was ordered, and how he fought his first battle with me near the village Taricheae, and how from thence they went to Jotapata, and how I was taken alive, and bound, and how I was afterward loosed, with all that was done by me in the Jewish war, and during the siege of Jerusalem, I have accurately related them in the books concerning the War of the Jews. However, it will, I think, be fit for me to add now an account of those actions of my life which I have not related in that book of the Jewish war.

LXXV

[414] Τῆς γὰρ τῶν Ἰωταπάτων πολιορκίας λαβούσης τέλος γενόμενος παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας ἐφυλασσόμην τὰ πολλὰ διὰ τιμῆς ἄγοντός με Οὐεσπασιανοῦ, καὶ δὴ κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ ἠγαγόμην τινὰ παρθένον ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλωτίδων τῶν κατὰ Καισάρειαν ἁλουσῶν ἐγχώριον. [415] Οὐ παρέμενεν δ' αὕτη μοι πολὺν χρόνον, ἀλλὰ λυθέντος καὶ μετὰ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ πορευθέντος εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀπηλλάγη· γυναῖκα δ' ἑτέραν ἠγαγόμην κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. [416] Κἀκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων πολιορκίαν συμπεμφθεὶς Τίτῳ πολλάκις ἀποθανεῖν ἐκινδύνευσα, τῶν τε Ἰουδαίων διὰ σπουδῆς ἐχόντων ὑποχείριόν με λαβεῖν τιμωρίας ἕνεκα καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὁσάκι νικηθεῖεν πάσχειν τοῦτο κατ' ἐμὴν προδοσίαν δοκούντων συνεχεῖς καταβοήσεις ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐγίγνοντο κολάζειν με ὡς καὶ αὐτῶν προδότην ἀξιούντων. [417]

Τίτος δὲ Καῖσαρ τὰς πολέμου τύχας οὐκ ἀγνοῶν σιγῇ τὰς ἐπ᾽ ἐμὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐξέλυεν ὁρμάς. Ἤδη δὲ κατὰ κράτος τῆς τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλεως ἐχομένης Τίτος Καῖσαρ ἔπειθέν με πολλάκις ἐκ τῆς κατασκαφῆς τῆς πατρίδος πᾶν ὅ τι θέλοιμι λαβεῖν· συγχωρεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔφασκεν. [418] Ἐγὼ δὲ τῆς πατρίδος πεσούσης μηδὲν ἔχων τιμιώτερον, ὃ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ συμφορῶν εἰς παραμυθίαν λαβὼν φυλάξαιμι, σωμάτων ἐλευθέρων τὴν αἴτησιν ἐποιούμην Τίτον καὶ βιβλίων ἱερῶν ἔλαβον χαρισαμένου Τίτου. [419] Μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν μετὰ πεντήκοντα φίλων αἰτησάμενος οὐκ ἀπέτυχον. Καὶ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν δὲ πορευθεὶς Τίτου τὴν ἐξουσίαν δόντος, ἔνθα πολὺ πλῆθος αἰχμαλώτων ἐγκέκλειστο γυναικῶν τε καὶ τέκνων, ὅσους ἐπέγνων φίλων ἐμῶν καὶ συνήθων ὑπάρχοντας ἐρρυσάμην περὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἐνενήκοντα ὄντας τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ οὐδὲ λύτρα καταθεμένους ἀπέλυσα συγχωρήσας αὐτοὺς τῇ προτέρᾳ τύχῃ. [420] Πεμφθεὶς δ᾽ ὑπὸ Τίτου Καίσαρος σὺν Κερεαλίῳ καὶ χιλίοις ἱππεῦσιν εἰς κώμην τινὰ Θεκῶαν λεγομένην προκατανοήσων, εἰ τόπος ἐπιτήδειός ἐστιν χάρακα δέξασθαι, ὡς ἐκεῖθεν ὑποστρέφων εἶδον πολλοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀνεσταυρωμένους καὶ τρεῖς ἐγνώρισα συνήθεις μοι γενομένους, ἤλγησά τε τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ μετὰ δακρύων προσελθὼν Τίτῳ εἶπον. [421] Ὁ δ᾽ εὐθὺς ἐκέλευσεν καθαιρεθέντας αὐτοὺς θεραπείας ἐπιμελεστάτης τυχεῖν. Καὶ οἱ μὲν δύο τελευτῶσιν θεραπευόμενοι, ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἔζησεν.

75. For when the siege of Jotapata was over, and I was among the Romans, I was kept with much Care, by means of the great respect that Vespasian showed me. Moreover, at his command, I married a virgin, who was from among the captives of that country yet did she not live with me long, but was divorced, upon my being freed from my bonds, and my going to Alexandria. However, I married another wife at Alexandria, and was thence sent, together with Titus, to the siege of Jerusalem, and was frequently in danger of being put to death; while both the Jews were very desirous to get me under their power, in order to haw me punished. And the Romans also, whenever they were beaten, supposed that it was occasioned by my treachery, and made continual clamors to the emperors, and desired that they would bring me to punishment, as a traitor to them: but Titus Caesar was well acquainted with the uncertain fortune of war, and returned no answer to the soldiers' vehement solicitations against me. Moreover, when the city Jerusalem was taken by force, Titus Caesar persuaded me frequently to take whatsoever I would of the ruins of my country; and did that he gave me leave so to do. But when my country was destroyed, I thought nothing else to be of any value, which I could take and keep as a comfort under my calamities; so I made this request to Titus, that my family might have their liberty: I had also the holy books by Titus's concession. Nor was it long after that I asked of him the

life of my brother, and of fifty friends with him, and was not denied. When I also went once to the temple, by the permission of Titus, where there were a great multitude of captive women and children, I got all those that I remembered as among my own friends and acquaintances to be set free, being in number about one hundred and ninety; and so I delivered them without their paying any price of redemption, and restored them to their former fortune. And when I was sent by Titus Caesar with Cerealins, and a thousand horsemen, to a certain village called Thecoa, in order to know whether it were a place fit for a camp, as I came back, I saw many captives crucified, and remembered three of them as my former acquaintance. I was very sorry at this in my mind, and went with tears in my eyes to Titus, and told him of them; so he immediately commanded them to be taken down, and to have the greatest care taken of them, in order to their recovery; yet two of them died under the physician's hands, while the third recovered.

LXXVI

[422] Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπαυσεν τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ταραχὰς Τίτος, εἰκάσας τοὺς ἀγροὺς οὓς εἶχον ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀνονήτους ἐσομένους μοι διὰ τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐκεῖ Ῥωμαίων φρουρὰν ἐγκαθέζεσθαι, ἔδωκεν ἑτέραν χώραν ἐν πεδίῳ, μέλλων τε ἀπαίρειν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην σύμπλουν ἐδέξατο πᾶσαν τιμὴν ἀπονέμων. [423] Ἐπεὶ δ᾽ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἦκομεν, πολλῆς ἔτυχον παρὰ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ προνοίας· καὶ γὰρ καὶ κατάλυσιν ἔδωκεν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῇ πρὸ τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτῷ γενομένῃ πολιτείᾳ τε Ῥωμαίων ἐτίμησεν καὶ σύνταξιν χρημάτων ἔδωκεν καὶ τιμῶν διετέλει μέχρι τῆς ἐκ τοῦ βίου μεταστάσεως οὐδὲν τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ χρηστότητος ὑφελών, [ὅ μοι] διὰ τὸν φθόνον ἤνεγκε κίνδυνον· [424] Ἰουδαῖος γάρ τις Ἰωνάθης τοὔνομα στάσιν ἐξεγείρας ἐν Κυρήνῃ καὶ δισχιλίους τῶν ἐγχωρίων συναναπείσας, ἐκείνοις μὲν αἴτιος ἀπωλείας ἐγένετο, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς χώρας ἡγεμονεύοντος δεθεὶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα πεμφθεὶς ἔφασκεν ἐμὲ αὐτῷ ὅπλα πεπομφέναι καὶ χρήματα. [425] Οὐ μὴν Οὐεσπασιανὸν ψευδόμενος ἔλαθεν, ἀλλὰ κατέγνω θάνατον αὐτοῦ, καὶ παραδοθεὶς ἀπέθανεν. Πολλάκις δὲ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν βασκαινόντων μοι τῆς εὐτυχίας κατηγορίας ἐπί με συνθέντων θεοῦ προνοίᾳ πάσας διέφυγον. Ἔλαβον δὲ παρὰ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ δωρεὰν γῆν οὐκ ὀλίγην ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ. [426] Καθ᾽ ὃν δὴ καιρὸν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα μὴ ἀρεσκόμενος αὐτῆς τοῖς ἤθεσιν ἀπεπεμψάμην τριῶν παίδων γενομένην μητέρα, ὧν οἱ μὲν δύο ἐτελεύτησαν, εἷς δέ, ὃν Ὑρκανὸν προσηγόρευσα, περίεστιν. [427] Μετὰ ταῦτα ἠγαγόμην γυναῖκα κατῳκηκυῖαν μὲν ἐν Κρήτῃ, τὸ δὲ γένος Ἰουδαίαν, γονέων εὐγενεστάτων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπιφανεστάτων, ἦθει πολλῶν γυναικῶν διαφέρουσαν, ὡς ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα βίος αὐτῆς ἀπέδειξεν. Ἐκ ταύτης δή μοι γίνονται

παῖδες δύο, πρεσβύτερος μὲν Ἰοῦστος, Σιμωνίδης δὲ μετ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ὁ καὶ Ἀγρίππας ἐπικληθείς. [428] Ταῦτα μέν μοι τὰ κατὰ τὸν οἶκον. Διέμεινεν δὲ ὅμοια καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων· Οὐεσπασιανοῦ γὰρ τελευτήσαντος Τίτος τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδεξάμενος ὁμοίαν τῷ πατρὶ τὴν τιμήν μοι διεφύλαξεν πολλάκις τε κατηγορηθέντος οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν. [429] διαδεξάμενος δὲ Τίτον Δομετιανὸς καὶ προσηύξησεν τὰς εἰς ἐμὲ τιμάς· τούς τε γὰρ κατηγορήσαντάς μου Ἰουδαίους ἐκόλασεν καὶ δοῦλον εὐνοῦχον παιδαγωγὸν τοῦ παιδός μου κατηγορήσαντα κολασθῆναι προσέταξεν, ἐμοὶ δὲ τῆς ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ χώρας ἀτέλειαν ἔδωκεν, ἥπερ ἐστὶ μεγίστη τιμὴ τῷ λαβόντι. Καὶ πολλὰ δ᾽ ἡ τοῦ Καίσαρος γυνὴ Δομετία διετέλεσεν εὐεργετοῦσά με. [430] Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ πεπραγμένα μοι διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου ἐστίν, κρινέτωσαν δ᾽ ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸ ἦθος ὅπως ἂν ἐθέλωσιν ἕτεροι. Σοὶ δ᾽ ἀποδεδωκώς, κράτιστε ἀνδρῶν Ἐπαφρόδιτε, τὴν πᾶσαν τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας ἀναγραφὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐνταῦθα καταπαύω τὸν λόγον.

76. But when Titus had composed the troubles in Judea, and conjectured that the lands which I had in Judea would bring me no profit, because a garrison to guard the country was afterward to pitch there, he gave me another country in the plain. And when he was going away to Rome, he made choice of me to sail along with him, and paid me great respect: and when we were come to Rome, I had great care taken of me by Vespasian; for he gave me an apartment in his own house, which he lived in before he came to the empire. He also honored me with the privilege of a Roman citizen, and gave me an annual pension; and continued to respect me to the end of his life, without any abatement of his kindness to me; which very thing made me envied, and brought me into danger; for a certain Jew, whose name was Jonathan, who had raised a tumult in Cyrene, and had persuaded two thousand men of that country to join with him, was the occasion of their ruin. But when he was bound by the governor of that country, and sent to the emperor, he told him that I had sent him both weapons and money. However, he could not conceal his being a liar from Vespasian, who condemned him to die; according to which sentence he was put to death. Nay, after that, when those that envied my good fortune did frequently bring accusations against me, by God's providence I escaped them all. I also received from Vespasian no small quantity of land, as a free gift, in Judea; about which time I divorced my wife also, as not pleased with her behavior, though not till she had been the mother of three children, two of whom are dead, and one whom I named Hyrcanus, is alive. After this I married a wife who had lived at Crete, but a Jewess by birth: a woman she was of eminent parents, and such as were the most illustrious in all the country, and whose character was beyond that of most other women, as her future life did demonstrate. By her I had two sons; the

elder's name was Justus, and the next Simonides, who was also named Agrippa. And these were the circumstances of my domestic affairs. However, the kindness of the emperor to me continued still the same; for when Vespasian was dead, Titus, who succeeded him in the government, kept up the same respect for me which I had from his father; and when I had frequent accusations laid against me, he would not believe them. And Domitian, who succeeded, still augmented his respects to me; for he punished those Jews that were my accusers, and gave command that a servant of mine, who was a eunuch, and my accuser, should be punished. He also made that country I had in Judea tax free, which is a mark of the greatest honor to him who hath it; nay, Domitia, the wife of Caesar, continued to do me kindnesses. And this is the account of the actions of my whole life; and let others judge of my character by them as they please. But to thee, O Epaphroditus, thou most excellent of men! do I dedicate all this treatise of our Antiquities; and so, for the present, I here conclude the whole.

The Biography

Titus (AD 39– 81) was Emperor from 79 to 81 — in 71, Josephus went to Rome in the entourage of Titus, becoming a Roman citizen and client of the ruling Flavian dynasty. He adopted the Roman name of Flavius Josephus.

'Destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem' by Francesco Hayez, 1867 — depicting the destruction and looting of the Second Temple by Titus' army.

JOSEPHUS by Norman Bentwich

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I. THE JEWS AND THE ROMANS

The life and works of Flavius Josephus are bound up with the struggle of the Jews against the Romans, and in order to appreciate them it is necessary to summarize the relations of the two peoples that led up to that struggle.

It is related in the Midrash that the city of Rome was founded on the day Solomon married an Egyptian princess. The Rabbis doubtless meant by this legend that the power of Rome was created to be a scourge for Israel's backslidings. They identified Rome with the Edom of the Bible, representing thus that the struggle between Esau and Jacob was carried on by their descendants, the Romans and the Jews, and would continue throughout history. [1] Yet the earliest relations of the two peoples were friendly and peaceful. They arose out of the war of independence that the Maccabean brothers waged against the Syrian Empire in the middle of the second century B.C.E., when the loyal among the people were roused to stand up for their faith. Antiochus Epiphanes, anxious to strengthen his tottering empire, which had been shaken by its struggles with Rome, sought to force violently on the Jews a pagan Hellenism that was already making its way among them. He succeeded only in evoking the latent force of their national consciousness. Rome was already the greatest power in the world: she had conquered the whole of Italy; she had destroyed her chief rival in the West, the Phoenician colony of Carthage; she had made her will supreme in Greece and Macedonia. Her senate was the arbiter of the destinies of kingdoms, and though for the time it refrained from extending Roman sway over Egypt and Asia, its word there was law. Its policy was "divide and rule," to hold supreme sway by encouraging small nationalities to maintain their independence against the unwieldy empires which the Hellenistic successors of Alexander had carved out for themselves in the Orient.

[Footnote 1: Lev. R. xiii. (5), quoted in Schechter, Aspects of Rabbinic Theology, .]

At the bidding of the Roman envoy, Antiochus Epiphanes himself, immediately before his incursion into Jerusalem, had slunk away from Alexandria; and hence it was natural that Judas Maccabaeus, when he had vindicated the liberty of his nation, should look to Rome for support in maintaining that liberty. In the year 161 B.C.E. he sent Eupolemus the son of Johanan and Jason the son of Eleazar, "to make a league of amity and confederacy with the Romans"[1]: and the Jews were received as friends, and

enrolled in the class of Socii. His brother Jonathan renewed the alliance in 146 B.C.E.; Simon renewed it again five years later, and John Hyrcanus, when he succeeded to the high priesthood, made a fresh treaty.[2] Supported by the friendship, and occasionally by the diplomatic interference, of the Western Power, the Jews did not require the intervention of her arms to uphold their independence against the Seleucid monarchs, whose power was rapidly falling into ruin. At the beginning of the first century B.C.E., however, Rome, having emerged triumphant from a series of civil struggles in her own dominions, found herself compelled to take an active part in the affairs of the East. During her temporary eclipse there had been violent upheavals in Asia. The semi-barbarous kings of Pontus and Armenia took advantage of the opportunity to overrun the Hellenized provinces and put all the Greek and Roman inhabitants to the sword. To avenge this outrage, Rome sent to the East, in 73 B.C.E., her most distinguished soldier, Pompeius, or Pompey, who, in two campaigns, laid the whole of Asia Minor and Syria at his feet.

[Footnote 1: I Macc. viii. 7. It is interesting to note that the sons had Greek names, while their fathers had Hebrew names.]

[Footnote 2: I Macc. xii. 3; xiv. 24.]

Unfortunately civil strife was waging in Palestine between the two Hasmonean brothers, Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, who fought for the throne on the death of the queen Alexandra Salome. Both in turn appealed to Pompey to come to their aid, on terms of becoming subject to the Roman overlord. At the same time, a deputation from the Jewish nation appeared before the general, to declare that they did not desire to be ruled by kings: “for what was handed down to them from their fathers was that they should obey the priests of God; but these two princes, though the descendants of priests, sought to transfer the nation to another form of government, that it might he enslaved.”

Pompey, who had resolved to establish a strong government immediately subject to Rome over the whole of the near Orient, finally interfered on behalf of Hyrcanus. Aristobulus resisted, at first somewhat half-heartedly, but afterwards, when the Roman armies laid siege to Jerusalem, with fierce determination. The struggle was in vain. On a Sabbath, it is recorded, when the Jews desisted from their defense, the Roman general forced his way into the city, and, regardless of Jewish feeling, entered the Holy of Holies. The intrigues of the Jewish royal house had brought about the subjection of the nation. As it is said in the apocryphal Psalms of Solomon, which were written about this time: “A powerful smiter has God brought from the ends of the earth. He decreed war upon the Jews and the land. The princes of the land went out with joy to meet him, and said to him, ‘Blessed be thy way; draw near and enter in peace.’” Yet Pompey

did not venture, or did not care, to destroy or rob the Temple, according to Cicero and Josephus,[1] because of his innate moderation, but really, one may suspect, from less noble motives. It was the custom of the Roman conquerors to demand the surrender, not only of the earthly possessions of the conquered, but of their gods, and to carry the vanquished images in the triumph which they celebrated. But Pompey may have recognized the difference between the Jewish religion and that of other peoples, or he realized the widespread power of the Jewish people, which would rise as a single body in defense of its religion; for he made no attempt to interfere either with Jewish religious liberties, or with a worship that Cicero declared to be "incompatible with the majesty of the Empire."

[Footnote 1: Cicero, Pro Flacco, 69, and Ant. XVI. iv, 4.]

The Jews, however, were henceforth the clients, instead of the allies, of Rome. Though Hyrcanus was recognized by Pompey as the high priest and ethnarch of Judea, and his wily counselor, the Idumean Antipater, was given a general power of administering the country, they were alike subject to the governor of Syria, which was now constituted a Roman province. Moreover, the Hellenistic cities along the coast of Palestine and on the other side of Jordan, which had been subjugated by John Hyrcanus and Alexander Jannaeus, were restored to independence, and placed under special Roman protection, and the Jewish territory itself was shortly thereafter split by the Roman governor Gabinius into five toparchies, or provinces, each with a separate administration.

The guiding aim of the conqueror was to weaken the Oriental power (as the Jews were regarded) and strengthen the Hellenistic element in the country. The Jews were soon to feel the heavy hand and suffer the insatiate greed of Rome. National risings were put down with merciless cruelty, the Temple treasury was spoiled in 56 B.C.E. by the avaricious Crassus, one of the triumvirate that divided the Roman Empire, when he passed Jerusalem on his way to fight against the Parthians; even the annual offering contributed voluntarily by the Jews of the Diaspora to the Temple was seized by a profligate governor of Asia. The Roman aristocrats during the last years of the Republic were a degenerate body; they regarded a governorship as the opportunity of unlimited extortion, the means of recouping themselves for all the gross expenses incurred on attaining office, and of making themselves and their friends affluent for the rest of their lives. And Judea was a fresh quarry.

A happier era seemed to be dawning for the Jews when Julius Caesar became dictator. At the beginning of the civil war between him and Pompey, Hyrcanus, at the instance of Antipater, prepared to support the man to whom he owed his position; but when Pompey was murdered, Antipater led the Jewish forces to the

help of Caesar, who was hard pressed at Alexandria. His timely help and his influence over the Egyptian Jews recommended him to Caesar's favor, and secured for him an extension of his authority in Palestine, and for Hyrcanus the confirmation of his ethnarchy. Joppa was restored to the Hasmonean domain, Judea was granted freedom from all tribute and taxes to Rome, and the independence of the internal administration was guaranteed. Caesar, too, whatever may have been his motive, showed favor to the Jews throughout his Empire. Mommsen thinks that he saw in them an effective leaven of cosmopolitanism and national decomposition, and to that intent gave them special privileges; but this seems a perverse reason to assign for the grant of the right to maintain in all its thoroughness their national life, and for their exemption from all Imperial or municipal burdens that would conflict with it. It is more reasonable to suppose that, taking in this as in many other things a broader view than that of his countrymen, Caesar recognized the weakness of a world-state whose members were so denationalized as to have no strong feeling for any common purpose, no passion of loyalty to any community, and he favored Judaism as a counteracting force to this peril.

His various enactments constituted, as it were, a Magna Charta of the Jews in the Empire; Judaism was a favored cult in the provinces, a *licita religio* in the capital. At Alexandria Caesar confirmed and extended the religious and political privileges of the Jews, and ordered his decree to be inscribed on pillars of brass and set up in a public place. At Rome, though the devotees of Bacchus were forbidden to meet, he permitted the Jews to hold their assemblies and celebrate their ceremonials. At his instance the Hellenistic cities of Asia passed similar favorable decrees for the benefit of the Jewish congregations in their midst, which invested them with a kind of local autonomy. The proclamation of the Sardians is typical. "This decree," it runs, "was made by the senate and people, upon the representation of the praetors:

"Whereas those Jews who are our fellow-citizens, and live with us in this city, have ever had great benefits heaped upon them by the people, and have come now into the senate, and desired of the people that, upon the restitution of their law and their liberty by the senate and people of Rome, they may assemble together according to their ancient legal custom, and that we will not bring any suit against them about it; and that a place may be given them where they may hold their congregations with their wives and children, and may offer, as did their forefathers, their prayers and sacrifices to God: — now the senate and people have decreed to permit them to assemble together on the days formerly appointed, and to act according to their own laws; and that such a place be set apart for them by the praetors for the building and inhabiting the same as they

shall esteem fit for that purpose, and that those who have control of the provisions of the city shall take care that such sorts of food as they esteem fit for their eating may be imported into the city."[1]

[Footnote 1: Ant. XIV. x. 24.]

Caesar's decrees marked the culmination of Roman tolerance, and the Jews enjoyed their privileges for but a short time. It is related by the historian Suetonius that they lamented his death more bitterly than any other class.[1] And they had good reason. The Republicans, who had murdered him, and his ministers, who avenged him, vied with each other for the support of the Jewish princes; but the people in Palestine suffered from the burden that the rivals imposed on the provinces in their efforts to raise armies. Antipater and his ambitious sons Herod and Phasael contrived to maintain their tyranny amid the constant shifting of power; and when the hardy mountaineers of Galilee strove under the lead of one Hezekiah (Ezekias), the founder of the party of the Zealots, to shake off the Roman yoke, Herod ruthlessly put down the revolt. But when Antigonus, the son of that Aristobulus who had been deprived of his kingdom by Hyrcanus and Pompey, roused the Parthians to invade Syria and Palestine, the Jews eagerly rose in support of the scion of the Maccabean house, and drove out the hated Idumeans with their puppet Jewish king. The struggle between the people and the Romans had begun in earnest, and though Antigonus, when placed on the throne by the Parthians, proceeded to spoil and harry the Jews, rejoicing at the restoration of the Hasmonean line, thought a new era of independence had come.

[Footnote 1: Suetonius, Caesar, lxxxiv. 7.]

The infatuation of Mark Antony for Cleopatra enabled Antigonus to hold his kingdom for three years (40-37 B.C.E.). Then Herod, who had escaped to Rome, returned to Syria to conquer the kingdom that Antony had bestowed on him. He brought with him the Roman legions, and for two years a fierce struggle was waged between the Idumeans, Romans, and Romanizing Jews on the one hand, and the national Jews and Parthian mercenaries of Antigonus on the other. The struggle culminated in a siege of Jerusalem. As happened in all the contests for the city, the power of trained force in the end prevailed over the enthusiasm of fervent patriots. Herod stormed the walls, put to death Antigonus and his party, and established a harsher tyranny than even the Roman conqueror had imposed. For over thirty years he held the people down with the aid of Rome and his body-guard of mercenary barbarians. His constitution was an autocracy, supplemented by assassination. In the civil war between Antony and Octavian, he was first on the losing side, as his father had been in the struggle between Pompey and Caesar; but, like his father, he knew when to go over to the victor.

The master of the Roman Empire, henceforth known as Augustus, was so impressed with his carriage and resolution that he not only confirmed him in his kingdom, but added to it the territories of Chalcis and Perea to the north and east of the Jordan. Throughout his reign Herod contrived to preserve the friendship of Rome as effectually as he contrived to arouse the hatred of his Jewish subjects. "The Imperial Eagle and some distinguished Roman or other," says George Adam Smith,[1] "were always fixed in Herod's heaven." He ruled with a strong but merciless hand. He insured peace, and while he turned his own home into a slaughter-house, he glorified the Jewish dominion outwardly to a height and magnificence it had never before attained. Yet the Jewish deputation that went to plead before Augustus on his death declared that "Herod had put such abuses on them as a wild beast would not have done, and no calamity they had suffered was comparable with that which he had brought on the nation."[2] Beneath the fine show of peace, splendor, and expansion, the passions of the nation were being aroused to the breaking-point.

[Footnote 1: Jerusalem, ii. 504.]

[Footnote 2: Ant. XVII. xi. 2.]

Augustus himself, following the example of his uncle Julius Caesar, yet lacking the same large tolerance, held towards Judaism an ambiguous attitude of impartiality rather than of favor. He caused sacrifices to be offered for himself at the Temple at Jerusalem,[1] but he praised his nephew Gaius for having refrained from doing likewise during his Eastern travels.[2] He was anxious that the national laws and customs of each nation should be preserved, and he issued a decree in favor of the Jews of Cyrene; but he initiated the worship of the Emperors, which necessitated a conflict between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of Caesar, and in the end destroyed the religious liberty that Julius Caesar had given to the Empire. His aim was at once to foster the veneration of the Imperial power and establish an Imperial worship that should replace the effete paganism of his subjects. He made no attempt to force this worship on the Jews, but its existence fanned the prejudice against the one nation that refused to participate. And the Jews could not but look with distrust on a government that "derived its authority from the deification of might, whereof the Emperor was the incarnate principle."[3]

[Footnote 1: Philo, De Leg. ii. 507.]

[Footnote 2: Suetonius, Aug. 93.]

[Footnote 3: Schechter, Aspects of Rabbinic Theology, .]

Marcus Agrippa, the trusted minister of Augustus, was also an intimate friend of Herod, and served to link the two courts. But on the death of Herod, in 4 C.E., the friendship of Rome for the Idumean royal house was modified. Archelaus,

who claimed the whole succession, was appointed simply as ethnarch of Judea, while Herod's two other sons, Philip and Herod Antipas, divided the rest of his dominions. The Zealots, rid of the powerful tyrant who had held them down, sought again to throw off the hated yoke of Idumea, which, not without reason, they identified with the yoke of Rome. With their watchword, "No king but God," they attempted to make Judea independent, and a fierce struggle, known as the War of Varus, ensued. Jerusalem was stormed once again by Roman legions before the Zealots were subdued. Archelaus was deposed by his masters after a few years, and the province of Judea was placed under direct Roman administration. The Roman procurator was at first less detested than the Idumean tyrant, since he interfered less with the legal institutions, such as the Sanhedrin and the Bet Din; but his presence with the legionaries in the Holy City and his constant, though often involuntary, affronts to the religious sentiments of the people roused the hostility of the nationalist party, who looked forward to the day when Israel should "tread on the neck of the Eagle." The Pharisees, who were anxious for the spiritual rather than the political independence of the Jews, counseled submission to Rome, and were willing "to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's," so long as they were not compelled to give up the Torah. But the Zealots desired political as well as religious freedom, and they fomented rebellion. They have been compared by Merivale to the Montagnards of the French Revolution, driven by their own indomitable passion to assert the truths that possessed them with a ferocity that no possession could justify. They were continually rousing the people to expel the foreign rulers, and in the northern province of Galilee, where they found shelter amid the wild tracts of heath and mountain, they maintained a constant state of insurrection.[1]

[Footnote 1: It is important to notice that much of our knowledge of the Zealots is derived from Josephus, who, as will be seen, set himself to misrepresent them, and repeated the calumnies of hostile Roman writers against them. The Talmud contains several references to them, describing them as Kannaim (the Hebrew equivalent of Zealots), and it would appear that they were in their outlook successors of the former Hasidim, distinguished as much for their religious rigidity as their patriotic fervor. See Jewish Encyclopedia, s.v. Zealots.]

The Romans, on their side, accustomed to the ready submission of all the peoples under their sway, could not understand or tolerate the Jews. To them this people with its dour manners, its refusal to participate in the religious ideas, the social life, and the pleasures of its neighbors, its eruptions of passion and violence on account of abstract ideas, and its rigid exclusion of the insignia of Roman majesty from the capital, seemed the enemies of the human race. In their

own religion they had freely found a place for Greek and Egyptian deities, but the Jewish faith, in its uncompromising opposition to all pagan worship, seemed, in the words that Anatole France has put into the mouth of one of the Roman procurators, to be rather an *ab*ligion than a *re*ligion, an institution designed rather to sever the bond that united peoples, than bind them together. Every other civilized people had accepted their dominion; the Jews and the Parthians alone stood in the way of universal peace. The near-Eastern question, which, then as now, continually threatened war and violence, irritated the Romans beyond measure, and they came to feel towards Jerusalem as their ancestors had felt two hundred years before towards Carthage, the great Semitic power of the West, *delenda est Hierosolyma*. As time went on they realized that this stubborn nation was resolved to dispute with them for the mastery, and every agitation was regarded as an outrage on the Roman power, which must be wiped out in blood. It was the inevitable conflict, not only between the Imperial and the national principle, but between the ideas of the kingdom of righteousness and the ideas of the kingdom of might.

During the reign of Tiberius, however, the Roman governors were held in check to some extent by strong central control from Rome, and their extortion was comparatively moderate. The worst of them was Pontius Pilate, and the *odium theologicum* has, perhaps, had its part in blackening his reputation. Nevertheless, the broad religious tolerance initiated by the first Caesar was being continually impaired. The Jewish public worship was prohibited in Rome, and the Jews were expelled from the city in 19 C.E.; while at Alexandria an anti-Jewish persecution was instigated by Sejanus, the upstart freedman, who became the chief minister of Tiberius. In Palestine, though we hear of no definite movement, it is clear from after-events that the bitterness of feeling between the Hellenized Syrians and the Jewish population was steadily fomented. The Romans were naturally on the side of the Greek-speaking people, whom they understood, and whose religion they could appreciate. The situation may best be paralleled by the condition of Ireland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when England supported the Protestant population of Ulster against the hated Roman Catholics, who formed the majority of the people.

It had been the aim of Tiberius to consolidate the unwieldy mass of the Empire by the gradual absorption of the independent kingdoms inclosed within its limits. In pursuance of this policy, Judea, Chalcis, and Abilene, all parts of Herod's kingdom, had been placed under Roman governors. But when Gaius Caligula succeeded Tiberius in 32 C.E., and brought to the Imperial throne a capricious irresponsibility, he reverted to the older policy of encouraging client-princes, and doled out territories to his Oriental favorites. Prominent among

them was Agrippa, a grandson of Herod, who had passed his youth in the company of the Roman prince in Italy. He received as the reward of his loyal extravagance not only Judea but Galilee and Perea, together with the title of king. He was not, however, given permission to repair to his kingdom, since his patron desired his attentions at Rome. Later he was detained by a sterner call. Gaius, who had passed from folly to lunacy, was not content with the customary voluntary worship paid to the Emperors, but imagined himself the supreme deity, and demanded veneration from all his subjects. He ordered his image to be set up in all temples, and, irritated by the petition of the Jews to be exempted from what would be an offense against the first principle of their religion, he insisted upon their immediate submission. In Alexandria the Greek population made a violent attempt to carry out the Imperial order; a sharp conflict took place, and the Jews in their dire need sent a deputation, with Philo at its head, to supplicate the Emperor. In the East the governor of Syria, Petronius, was directed to march on Jerusalem and set up the Imperial statue in the Holy of Holies, whatever it might cost. Petronius understood, and it seems respected, the faithfulness of the Jews to their creed, and he hesitated to carry out the command. From East and West the Jews gathered to resist the decree; the multitude, says Philo, covered Phoenicia like a cloud. Meantime King Agrippa at Rome interceded with the Emperor for his people, and induced him to relent for a little. But the infatuation again came over Gaius; he ordered Petronius peremptorily to do his will, and, when the legate still dallied, sent to remove him from his office. But, as Philo says, God heard the prayer of His people: Gaius was assassinated by a Roman whom he had wantonly insulted, and the death-struggle with Rome, which had threatened in Judea, was postponed. The year of trial, however, had brought home to the whole of the Jewish people that the incessant moral conflict with Rome might at any moment be resolved into a desperate physical struggle for the preservation of their religion. And the warlike party gained in strength.

The date of the death of Gaius (Shebat 22) was appointed as a day of memorial in the Jewish calendar; and for a little time the Jews had a respite from tyranny. Agrippa, who, after the murder of Gaius, played a large part in securing for Claudius the succession to the Imperial throne, was confirmed in the grant of his kingdom, and, despite his antecedents and his upbringing, proved himself a model national king. Perhaps he had seen through the rottenness of Rome, perhaps the trial of Gaius' mad escapades had deepened his nature, and led him to honor the burning faith of the Jews. Whatever the reason, while remaining dutiful to Rome, he devoted himself to the care of his people, to the maintenance of their full religious and national life, and to the strengthening of the Holy City

against the struggle he foresaw. To the Jews of the Diaspora, moreover, the succession of Claudius brought a renewal of privileges. An edict of tolerance was promulgated, first to the Alexandrians, and afterwards to the communities in all parts of the habitable globe, by which liberty of conscience and internal autonomy were restored, with a notable caution against Jewish missionary enterprise. “We think it fitting,” runs the decree, “to permit the Jews everywhere under our sway to observe their ancient customs without hindrance; and we hereby charge them to use our graciousness with moderation and not to show contempt of the religious observances of other people, but to keep their own laws quietly.”[1] Nevertheless the tolerant principle on which Caesar and Augustus had sought to found the Empire was surely giving way to a more tyrannical policy, which viewed with suspicion all bodies that fostered a corporate life separate from that of the State, whether Jewish synagogue, Stoic school, or religious college.

[Footnote 1: Ant. XIX, v. 2.]

The conflict between Rome and Jerusalem entered on a bitterer stage when Agrippa died in 44 C.E. Influenced by his self-seeking band of freedmen-counselors, who saw in office in Palestine a golden opportunity for spoliation, Claudius placed the vacant kingdom again under the direct administration of Roman procurators, and appointed to the office a string of the basest creatures of the court, who revived the injustices of the worst days of the Republic.

From 48-52 C.E. Palestine was under the governorship of Ventidius Cumanus, who seemed deliberately to egg on the Jews to insurrection. When a Roman soldier outraged the Jewish conscience by indecent conduct in the Temple during the Passover, Cumanus refused all redress, called on the soldiers to put down the clamoring people, and slew thousands of them in the holy precincts.[1] A little later, when an Imperial officer was attacked on the road and robbed, Cumanus set loose the legionaries on the villages around, and ordered a general pillage. When a Galilean Jew was murdered in a Samaritan village, and the Jewish Zealots, failing to get redress, attacked Samaria, Cumanus fell on them and crucified whomever he captured. Then, indeed, the Roman governor of Syria, not so reckless as his subordinate, or, it may be, corrupted by the man anxious to step into the procurator’s place, summoned Cumanus before him, and sent him to Rome to stand his trial for maladministration.

[Footnote 1: Ant. XX. v. 3.]

But this act of belated justice brought the Jews small comfort; Cumanus was succeeded by Felix, an even worse creature. He was the brother of the Emperor’s favorite Narcissus, “by badness raised to that proud eminence,” and the husband of the Herodian princess Drusilia, who had become a pagan in order to marry

him. Tacitus, the Roman historian, says[1] that "with all manner of cruelty he exercised royal functions in the spirit of a slave." Under his rapacious tyranny the people were goaded to fury. Bands of assassins, Sicarii (so called by both Romans and Jews because of the short dagger, sica, which they used), sprang up over the country. Now they struck down Romans and Romanizers, and now they were employed by the governor himself to put out of the way rich Jewish nobles whose possessions he coveted. From time to time there were more serious risings, some purely political, others led by a pseudo-Messiah, and all alike put down with cruelty. Roman governors were habitually corrupt, grasping, and cruel, but Mommsen declares that those of Judea in the reigns of Claudius and Nero, who were chosen from the upstart equestrians, exceeded the usual measure of worthlessness and oppressiveness. The Jews believed that they had drunk to the dregs the cup of misery, and that God must send them a Redeemer. There were no prophets to preach as at the time of the struggle with Babylon and Assyria, that the oppression was God's chastisement for their sins. And it was inconceivable to them that the power of wickedness should be allowed to triumph to the end.

[Footnote 1: Hist. v. 9.]

Steadily the party that clamored for war gained in strength, and the apprehensions of the Pharisees who viewed the political struggle with misgiving, lest it should end in the loss of the national center and the destruction of religious independence, were overborne by the fury of the masses. The oppression by Roman governors and Romanizing high priests did not diminish when Nero succeeded Claudius. For the rest of the Empire the first five years of his reign (the *quinquennium Neronis*) were a period of peace and good government, but for the Jews they brought little or no relief. The harsh Roman policy toward the Jews may have been specially instigated by Seneca, the Stoic philosopher, who was Nero's counselor during his saner years, and who entertained a strong hatred of Judaism. But we need not look for such special causes. It had been the fixed habit of Republican Rome to crush out the national spirit of a subject people, "to war down the proud," as her greatest poet euphemistically expressed it; and now that spirit was adopted by the Imperial Caesars in dealing with the one and only people resolved to preserve inviolate its national life and its national religion. Nero indeed recalled Felix, and Festus, who was appointed in his place, made an attempt to mend affairs, but he died within a year, and was succeeded by two procurators that were worthy followers of Felix. The first of them was Albinus (62-64), of whom Josephus says that there was no sort of wickedness in which he had not a hand. The same authority says that compared with Gessius Florus, the governor under whom the Rebellion

burst out, he was “most just.” Florus owed his appointment to Poppaea, the profligate wife of Nero, and his conduct bears the interpretation that he was deliberately anxious to fill the measure of persecution to the brim and drive the nation to war.

The very forms of privilege which had been left to the Jews were turned to their hurt. The Herodian tetrarchs of Chalcis, to whom the Romans granted the power of appointing the high priests, true to the tradition of their house, appointed only such as were confirmed Romanizers, and the most unscrupulous at that. When Felix was governor, the high priest was the notorious Ananias, of whom the Talmud says, “Woe to the House of Ananias; woe for their cursings, woe for their serpent-like hissings.”[1] Herod Agrippa II, the son of Agrippa, who held the principate from 50-100 C.E., and was the faithful creature of Rome throughout the period of his people’s stress, proclaiming himself on his coins “lover of Caesar and lover of Rome,” deposed and created high priests with unparalleled frequency as a means of extorting money and rewarding the leading informers. There were seven holders of the office during the last twenty years of Roman rule, and “he who carried furthest servility and national abnegation received the prize.” The high priests thus formed a kind of anti-national oligarchy; they robbed the other priests of their dues, and reduced them to poverty, and were the willing tools of Roman tyranny. Together with the Herodian princes, who indulged every lust and wicked passion, they undermined the strength of the people like some fatal canker, much as the priests and nobles had done at the first fall of Jerusalem, or, again, in the days of the Seleucid Emperors. Apart from governors, tax-collectors, and high priests, the Romans had an instrument of oppression in the Greek-speaking population of Palestine and Syria, which maintained an inveterate hostility to the Jews. The immediate cause of the great Rebellion actually arose out of a feud between the Jewish and the Gentile inhabitants of Caesarea. The Hellenistic population outnumbered the Jews in the Herodian foundations of Caesarea, Sepphoris, Tiberias, Paneas, etc., as well as in the old Greek cities of Doris, Scythopolis, Gerasa, Gadara, and the rest of the Decapolis. This population regarded religion only as the pretext for public ceremonials and entertainments; it was scornful of the Jewish abstention from these things, and was aroused to the bitterest hatred by the social aloofness of their neighbors. Violent riots between Jew and Gentile were constantly taking place, and whether they were the aggressors or merely fighting in self-defense, the Jews were the scapegoats for the breaking of the peace. Stung by constant outrage on the part of their neighbors, the Jews turned upon them at Caesarea, and drove them out of the town. Thereupon Florus called them to reckoning, marched on Jerusalem, and plundered the Temple treasury. This event happened

on the tenth day of Iyar in the year 66 C.E. The war-party determined to force the struggle to a final issue. Hitherto they had only been able to arouse a section to venture desperate sporadic insurrection against the might of Rome. Now they carried the people with them to engage in a national rebellion.

[Footnote 1: Pesahim, 57a.]

Agrippa II, who was amusing himself at Alexandria when the first outbreak occurred, hurried back to Jerusalem, and sought to quiet the people by impressing upon them the invincible power of Rome. But he failed, and the Romanizing priests' party failed, and the peaceful leaders of the Pharisees failed, to shake their determination. Messianic hopes were rife among the masses, and were invested with a materialistic interpretation. The Zealots, it is alleged by the pagan as well as the Jewish authorities for the period, believed that the destined time was come when the Jews should rule the world. The people looked for the realization of the prophecy of Isaiah (41:2), "He shall raise up the righteous one from the East, give the nations before Israel, and make him rule over kings."

The belief in the approach of the Messianic kingdom was undoubtedly one of the mainsprings of the revolt. There had been a series of popular leaders claiming to be Messiahs, but in the final struggle it was not the claim of any individual, but the passionate faith of the whole people, that inspired a belief in the coming of a perfect deliverance. Some events appeared to favor the fulfilment of their hopes of temporal sovereignty, bred though they were of despair. Rome under the corrupting influence of Nero seemed to be passing her zenith; national movements were stirring in the West, in Gaul and in Germany; in the East the Parthians were again threatening the security of the Roman provinces. The Jewish cause, on the other hand, seemed to be gaining ground everywhere. Its converts, numerous in the West, were still more numerous and important in the East. Among those recently brought over to the true faith as full proselytes were Helena, the queen of Adiabene, a kingdom situate in Mesopotamia, and her son Izates, who built themselves splendid palaces at Jerusalem. In Babylon the Jews had made themselves almost independent, and waged open war on the Parthian satraps. A large section of the people cherished a somewhat simple theodicy. How could God allow the wicked and dissolute Romans to prosper and the chosen people to be oppressed? The Hellenistic writers of Sibylline oracles and the Hebrew writers of Apocalypses, imitating the doom-songs of Isaiah and Ezekiel, announced the coming overthrow of evil and the triumph of good. Evil had reached its acme in Nero, and the time had come when God would break the "fourth horn" of Daniel's vision (ch. 8), and exalt his chosen people.

The fight for national independence was bound to have come, for nothing could have prevented the Romans from their attempt to crush the spirit of the Jews, and nothing could have held back the Jews from making a supreme effort to obtain their freedom from the hated yoke. For one hundred and twenty years Palestine had been ground beneath the iron heel of Roman governors and Romanizing tyrants. The conditions of the foreign rule had steadily grown more intolerable. At first the oppression was mainly fiscal; then it had sought to crush all political liberty, and finally it had come to outrage the deepest religious feeling and menace the Temple-worship. As Graetz says, "The Jewish people was like a captive, who, continually visited by his jailer, rattles at his fetters with the strength of despair, till he wrenches them asunder." It was not only the freedom of the Jew, but the safety of Judaism that was imperiled by the misrule of a Claudius and a Nero. The war against the Romans was then not merely a struggle for national liberty, but, equally with the wars of the Maccabees against the Seleucids, an episode in the more vital conflict between Hebraism and paganism, between material force and the ardent passion for religious freedom.

II. THE LIFE OF JOSEPHUS TO THE FALL OF JOTAPATA

Josephus was essentially an apologist, and his writings include not only an apology for his people, but an apology for his own life. In contrast with the greater Jewish writers, he was given to vaunting his own deeds. We have therefore abundant, if not always reliable, information about the chief events of his career. It must always be borne in mind that he had to color the narrative of his own as well as his people's history to suit the tastes and prejudices of the Roman conqueror. He was born in 37 C.E., the first year of the reign of Gaius Caesar, the lunatic Emperor, who nearly provoked the Jews to the final struggle. Though he is known to history as Josephus Flavius, his proper name was Joseph ben Mattathias, Josephus being the Latinized form of the Hebrew [Hebrew: Yosef] and his patronymic being exchanged, when he went over to the Romans, for the family name of his patrons, Flavius. His father was a priest of the first of the twenty-four orders, named Jehoiarib, and on his mother's side he was connected with the royal house of the Hasmoneans. His genealogy, which he traces back to the time of the Maccabean princes, is a little vague, and we may suspect that he was not above improving it. But his family was without doubt among the priestly aristocracy of Jerusalem, and his father, he says, was "eminent not only on account of his nobility, but even more for his virtue."[1]

[Footnote 1: Vita, 2.]

He was brought up with his brother Matthias to fit himself for the priestly office, and he received the regular course of Jewish education in the Torah and the tradition. He says in the *Antiquities* that "only those who know the laws and can interpret the practices of our ancestors, are called educated among the Jews;" and it is likely that he attended in his boyhood one of the numerous schools that existed in Jerusalem at the time. According to the Talmud there were four hundred and eighty synagogues each with a Bet Sefer for teaching the written law and a Bet Talmud for the study of the oral law.[1] From his silence we may infer that he did not study Greek at this period, and Aramaic was his natural tongue. He was never able to speak Greek fluently or with sufficient exactness, because, as he says in the *Antiquities*, "Our own nation does not encourage those who learn the language of many peoples, and so color their discourses with the smoothness of their periods: for they look upon this sort of accomplishment as common, not only to freemen, but to any slave that pleases to learn it."[2] When,

in his middle age, he set himself to write the history of his people in Greek, he was compelled to get the help of friends to correct his composition and syntax.

[Footnote 1: Yer. Meg. iii. 1.]

[Footnote 2: Ant. XX. xi. 2.]

As to his Hebrew accomplishments, he tells us, with his native immodesty, that he acquired marvelous proficiency in learning, and was famous for his great memory and understanding. When he was fourteen years of age, he continues, such was his fame that the high priests and principal men of the city frequently came to consult him about difficult points of the law. His mature works do not show any profound knowledge either of the Halakah or of the Haggadah, so that the statement is not to be taken strictly. It is probably nothing more than a grandiloquent way of saying that he was a precocious child, who impressed his elders. Paul, too, claimed that he was "a Pharisee of the Pharisees, and zealous beyond those of his own age in the Jews' religion," and yet he can hardly be regarded as an authority on the tradition. The autobiography of Josephus, it is pertinent to remember, was designed to impress the Romans with the greatness of the writer, and its readers were not equipped with the means of criticising his Jewish accomplishments. With the same object of impressing the Romans, Josephus recounts that, when about the age of sixteen, he had a mind to imbue himself with the tenets of the three Jewish parties, the Sadducees, the Pharisees, and the Essenes.

Elsewhere he describes the teaching of these sects for the benefit of his Roman readers according to a technical classification borrowed from his environment, *i.e.* he represents them as three philosophical schools of the Greek type, each holding different views about fate and Providence and the nature of the soul and its immortality. But just as this is demonstrably a misleading coloring of the difference between the sections of the Jewish people, so is his attempt to represent that he attended, as a cultured Greek or Roman of the time would have done, three philosophical colleges. He was compelled by the needs of his audience to present Jewish life in the form of Greco-Roman institutions, however ill it fits the mould, and his remarks about sects and schools must always be taken with caution. It is as though a modern writer should describe Judaism as a Church, and express its ideas and observances in the language of Christian theology.

There is, however, no reason to doubt that Josephus made himself acquainted with the tenets of the chief teachers of the time, and he may conceivably have sat at the feet of Rabbi Gamaliel, then the chief sage at Jerusalem. But, anxious to exhibit his catholicity, after professing himself a Pharisee, he says that, not content with these studies, he became for three years a faithful disciple of one

Banus, who lived in the desert, and used no other clothing than grew upon trees, ate no other food than that which grew wild, and bathed frequently in cold water both night and day.[1] The extreme hermit form of the religious life was more fashionable in the first century of the Christian era among Gentiles than among Jews, and it is not unlikely that Josephus is embroidering his idea of life in an Essene community, rather than setting down his actual experience. An Essene he never became, but he remained throughout his life very partial to certain forms of the Essene belief, more especially those which coincided with the Greco-Roman superstitions of the time, such as the literal prediction of future events, the meaning of dreams, the significance of omens.[2] These ideas, handed down from primitive Israel, had lived on among the masses of the people, though discarded by the learned teachers, and Josephus, finding them in vogue among his masters, readily professed acceptance of them.

[Footnote 1: Vita, 2.]

[Footnote 2: Comp. B.J. II. viii. 12; III. viii. 3; VI. v. 4.]

Abandoning apparently the idea of being a hermit, Josephus at the age of nineteen returned to Jerusalem, and began to conduct himself according to the rules of the Pharisee sect, which is akin, he says, to the school of the Stoics. The comparison of the Pharisees with the Stoics is again misleading, and based on nothing more than the formal likeness of their doctrines about Providence. The Pharisees were essentially the party that upheld the whole tradition and the separateness of Israel. They numbered in their ranks the most popular teachers, and politically, though opposed to Rome and all its ways, they counseled submission so long as religious liberty was not infringed. It may be that Josephus only professed his attachment to them after his surrender, because, as pacifists and believers in moral as against physical force, they were favorably regarded by the Romans; but even if as a young and ambitious priest he attached himself to their body early in life in order to gain influence among the people, he was not a representative Pharisee. He obtained a certain acquaintance with the teaching of the Pharisees, and partly shared their political views, though not from the same motives as their true leaders. Yet the very next step in his life that he chronicles marks his outlook as fundamentally different.

At the age of twenty-six, after seven years in Jerusalem, during which he exercised his priestly functions, he journeyed to Rome. The cause of his voyage, on which he was picturesquely wrecked and had to swim for his life through the night, was the deliverance from prison of certain priests closely related to him, who had been sent there as prisoners by Felix, the tyrannical Roman governor. At Rome, through his acquaintance with Aliturius, an actor of plays, a favorite of Nero, and by birth a Jew, he came into touch with the profligate court. To the

genuine Pharisee a Jewish play-actor would have been an abomination. Josephus used his acquaintance to obtain an introduction to Poppaea Sabina, the Emperor's wife for the time. Though a by-word for shamelessness of life, she was herself one of "the fearers of the Lord" ([Greek: sebomenoi]), who professed adherence to the Jewish creed without accepting the Jewish law. Josephus won her favor, and through it procured the liberation of the priests. The Imperial city was then at the height of its material magnificence, and must have made an immense impression of power upon the young Jewish aristocrat. Having acquired a lasting admiration for Rome and a desire to enter her society and a conviction of her invincibility, he returned to Palestine in triumph — and with the spirit of an opportunist. This at least is the picture he draws of himself, but a more kindly interpretation might see in the moment of his return the indication of a genuine patriotic feeling.

When he arrived in Jerusalem, in the year 65 C.E., he found his country seething with rebellion. The crisis soon came to a head. Gessius Florus, who owed his governorship, as Josephus owed the success of his errand, to the favor of the "God-fearing" Poppaea, roused the people to fury by his pillage of the Temple, and the moderates could no longer hold the masses in check. The Zealots seized the fortress of Antonia, which overlooked the Temple, and, having become masters of the city, murdered the high priest Ananias. Eleazar, whom Josephus, perhaps confusedly, describes as his son, an intense nationalist among the priests, became the leader in counsel, and sealed the rebellion by persuading the people to discontinue the daily sacrifice offered in the name of the Roman Emperor.

At the same time the extermination of the Jews in the Hellenistic cities, Caesarea, Scythopolis, and Damascus, by the infuriated Syrians, who organized a kind of Palestinian Vespers, convinced the people that they were engaged in a war to the death. The Herodian party, as the royal house and its supporters were called, endeavored to preserve peace, by dwelling on the overpowering might of Rome and the inevitable end of the insurrection, but in vain. In fear the priests withdrew to their duties in the Temple, and did not venture out till the Zealots were for a time dislodged. The Roman legate of Syria, Cestius Gallus, after the defeat of the Romanizing party by the Zealots, himself marched on Jerusalem in the autumn of 68 C.E. with two legions. But he failed ignominiously to quell the revolt. The Roman garrison in the city was put to the sword, and the legate, while beating a hasty retreat, was routed in the defiles of Beth-Horon, where two centuries before the Syrian hosts had been decimated by Judas the Maccabee. The two legions were cut to pieces. The fierce valor of the untrained national levies had broken the serried cohorts of the Roman veterans, and in the

unexpectedness of this deliverance the party of rebellion for a time was triumphant among all sections of the Jewish people.

Even those who had been the most determined Romanizers, such as the high-priestly circle, were induced, either by a belief in the chances of success or from a desire to protect themselves by a seeming adherence to the national cause, to throw in their lot with the war party. It might have been better for their people, had they, like Agrippa, joined the Romans. Half-hearted at best in their support of the struggle, yet by their wealth and position able at first to obtain a commanding part in the conduct of the war, they used it to temporize with the foe and to dull the edge of the popular feeling. Josephus unfortunately does not enlighten us as to the inner movements in Judea at this crisis. He merely relates that the Sanhedrin became a council of war, and Palestine was divided into seven military districts, over most of which commanders of the Herodian faction were placed. Joseph the son of Gorion and Ananias the high priest, both members of the moderate party, were chosen as governors of Jerusalem, with a particular charge to repair the walls, and the Zealot leader Eleazar the son of Simon was passed over.

Josephus himself, though he possessed no military experience, and had apparently taken no part in the opening campaign, was made governor of Lower and Upper Galilee, the most important military post of all; for Galilee was the bulwark of Judea, and if the Romans could be successfully resisted there, the rebellion might hope for victory. It lay in a strategic position between the Roman outposts, Ptolemais (the modern Acre) on the coast and Agrippa's kingdom in the east. It was a country made for defense, a country of rugged mountains and natural fastnesses, and inhabited by a hardy and warlike population, which, for half a century, had been in constant insurrection. Thence had come the founders of the Zealots and the still more violent band of the Sicarii, and each town in the region had its popular leader. Josephus was expected to hold it with its own resources, for little help could be spared from the center of Palestine. Guerrilla fighting was the natural resource of an insurgent people, which had to win its freedom against well-trained and veteran armies. It had been the method of Judas Maccabaeus against Antiochus amid the hills of Judea. Josephus, however, made no attempt to practise it, and showed no vestige of appreciation of the needs of the case.

It is difficult to gather the reason of his appointment, unless it be that in his writings he deliberately kept back from the Romans the more enthusiastic part he had played at the outset of the struggle. So far as his own account goes, neither devotion to the national cause, nor experience, nor prestige, nor power of leadership, nor knowledge of the country recommended him. His distinguished

birth and his friendship for Rome were hardly sufficient qualifications for the post. The influence of his friend, the ex-high priest Joshua ben Gamala, may have prevailed, and one is fain to surmise that those who sent him, as well as he himself, were anxious to pretend resistance to Rome, but really to work for resistance to the rebellion.

At all events, at the end of the autumn of 67, Josephus repaired to his command, taking with him two priests, Joazar and Judas, as representatives of the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem. In the record which he gives of his exploits in the *Wars*, he says that his first care was to gain the good-will of the people, drill his troops, and prepare the country to meet the threatened invasion. In the *Life*, which he wrote some twenty years later, when he had perforce to cultivate a more complete servility of mind, and was anxious to convince the Romans that he was a double-dealing traitor to his country, he represents that he set himself from the beginning to betray the province. The record of his actions points to the conclusion that he fell between the stools of covert treachery and half-hearted loyalty, that he was neither as villainous in design nor as heroic in action as he makes himself out to be. He made some show of preparation at the beginning, but from the moment the Roman army arrived under Vespasian, and he realized that Rome was in earnest, he abandoned all hope of success, and set himself to make his own position secure with the conqueror.

The chief cities of Galilee were Sepphoris, situated on the lower spurs of the hills near the plain of Esdraelon, which divides the country from Samaria and Judea; Tiberias, a city founded by Herod Antipas on the western borders of the Lake of Gennesareth, and Tarichea, also an Herodian foundation, situate probably at the southeast corner of the lake. All these Josephus fortified; and he strengthened with walls other smaller towns and natural fortresses, such as Jotapata, Salamis, and Gamala.[1] He says also that he appointed a Sanhedrin of seventy members for the province, and in each town established a court of seven judges, as though he were come to exercise a civil government. He did, however, get together an army of more than a hundred thousand young men, and armed them with the old weapons which he had collected. Though he despaired of their standing up against the Romans, he ordered them in the Roman style, appointing a large number of subordinate officers and teaching them the use of signals and a few elementary military movements. His army ultimately consisted of 60,000 footmen, 4,500 mercenaries, in whom he put greatest trust, and 600 picked men as his body-guard. He had little cavalry, but as Galilee was a country of hills, this deficiency need not have proved fatal, had he been a strategist or even a loyalist. During the eight months' respite that he enjoyed before the appearance of the Roman army, he spent most of his time in civil feud, and succeeded in

dividing the population into two hostile parties. He boasts that, though he took up his command at an age when, if a man has happily escaped sin, he can scarcely guard himself against slander, he was perfectly honest, and refrained from stealing and peculation[2]; but he is at pains to prove that he threw every obstacle in the way of the patriotic party, and did all that an open enemy of the Jews could have done to undermine the defense of the province.

[Footnote 1: B.J. II. xx. 6. His account of his actions in Galilee is, however, from beginning to end, open to question; and the contemporary account of Justus has unfortunately disappeared entirely. It is likely that his rival's narrative would have shown him in a better light than his own.]

[Footnote 2: Vita, 15.]

Before his arrival in the north, the leader of the national party was John the son of Levi, a man of Gischala, which was one of the mountain fastnesses in Northern Galilee, now known as Jish, near the town of Safed.[1] Josephus heaps every variety of violent abuse upon him in order, no doubt, to please his patrons. When he introduces him on the scene, he describes him as "a very knavish and cunning rogue, outdoing all other rogues, and without his fellow for wicked practices. He was a ready liar, and yet very sharp in gaining credit for his fictions. He thought it a point of virtue to deceive, and would delude even those nearest to him. He had an aptitude for thieving," and so forth. Whenever the historian mentions the name of his rival, he rattles his box of abusive epithets until the reader is wearied by the image of the monster conjured up before him. But, unfortunately for his credit, Josephus also records John's deeds, and these reveal him as one who, if at times cruel and intriguing, yet lived and died for his country, while his enemy was thinking of saving himself.

[Footnote 1: The Hebrew name of the fortress was [Hebrew: Nosh Halav], meaning "clot of cream"; the place was so called because of the fertility of the soil on which it stands.]

It is not surprising then that John, having eyes only for the defense of the land, was not blind to the double-dealing of the priestly governor, who had been sent by the Romanizing party to organize resistance. The first event that brought about a collision between them was the suspicious conduct of Josephus in the matter of some spoil seized from the steward of King Agrippa and brought to Tarichea. Agrippa had entirely turned his back on the national rising, and was the faithful ally of the Romans. He was therefore an open enemy, and Tiberias, which had been under his dominion, had revolted from him. Josephus upbraided the captors for the violence they had offered to the king, and declared his intention to return the spoil to the owner. A little later he prevented John from destroying the corn in the province stored by the Romans for themselves. The

people were naturally indignant at this conduct, and led by John and another Zealot, Jesus the son of Sapphias, the governor of Tiberias, and by Justus of the same city, who was afterwards to be a rival historian, they rose against Josephus. With stratagems worthy of a better cause he evaded this onslaught.

More briefly in the *Wars*, and in the *Life* at wearisome length, Josephus tells a tale of intrigue and counter-intrigue, mutual attempts at assassination, wiles and stratagems to undermine the power of each other, which took place between him and John. The city of Tarichea was his stronghold, Tiberias the hot-bed of the movement against him. The part he professes to have played is so extraordinary in its meanness that we are fain to believe that it is largely fiction, composed to show that he was only driven in the end by danger of his life to fight against the sacred power of Rome. However that may be, John reported his doings to the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem, and that body, which was now, it seems, in the control of the Pharisees and Zealots, sent a deputation to recall him. Simon, the celebrated head of the Sanhedrin and leader of the national party, had pressed for the dismissal of Josephus.[1] Ananias, the ex-high priest and Sadducee, had at first been his champion, but he had been overborne. The deputation consisted of two Pharisees, Jonathan and Ananias, and two priests, Joazar and Simon. Warned by his friends in Jerusalem of their coming, Josephus had all the passes watched, seized the embassy, and recaptured the four cities that had revolted from him: Sepphoris, Gamala, Gischala, and Tiberias. According to the account in the *Wars*, the cities revolted again, and were recaptured by similar stratagems; and when the disturbances in Galilee were quieted in this way, the people, ceasing to prosecute their civil dissensions, betook themselves to make preparations for the war against the Romans. The invasion had begun in earnest, and Josephus, fortified, as he said, by a dream, which told him not to be afraid, because he was to fight with the Romans, and would live happily thereafter, decided for the time not to abandon his post.

[Footnote 1: It is notable that this is the only reference in the work of Josephus to the great Rabbi; the name of his successor in the headship of the Sanhedrin, Johanan ben Zakkai, does not occur even once.]

Josephus had displayed his administrative talents in these eight months of peaceful government by losing all that had been gained in the four months of the successful rebellion at Jerusalem. He now had an opportunity of displaying his military abilities. In the spring of 67 C.E., Flavius Vespasian, the veteran commander of the legions in Germany and Britain, who, on the defeat of Cestius Gallus, had been chosen by Nero to conduct the Jewish campaign, brought his army of four legions from Antioch to Ptolemais. He was met there by King Agrippa, who brought a large force of auxiliaries, and by a deputation of citizens

from Sepphoris, the chief city of Galilee, who tendered their submission and invited him to send a garrison. Josephus, though he knew of the city's Romanizing leanings, had negligently or deliberately failed to occupy it, so that the place was lost without a blow. He made a feeble effort to recapture it, for appearance sake it would seem, and then, though he had an unlimited choice of favorable positions, and the Roman forces were not very large at the time, he abandoned the attempt of meeting the enemy in the field. Titus arrived from Alexandria, with two more legions, the fifth and the tenth, and then the Roman army, numbering with auxiliaries 60,000 men, set out from Ptolemais, and proceeded to occupy Galilee.

The Jewish forces were encamped on the hills above Sepphoris. Josephus describes the wonderful array and order of the Roman army on the march. The sight seems to have led a large part of his army to run away. He himself, when he saw that he had not an army sufficient to engage the enemy, despaired of the success of the war, and determined to place himself as far as he could out of danger. In this inspiring mood he abandoned the rest of the country, sent a dispatch to Jerusalem demanding help, and threw himself into the fortress of Jotapata, situated on the crest of a mountain in Northern Galilee, which he chose as the most fit for his security. Vespasian, hearing of this step, and, as Josephus modestly suggests, "supposing that, could he only get Josephus into his power, he would have conquered all Judea," straightway laid siege to the town (Iyar 16). For forty-two days the place was besieged, and during that period every resource that heroic resistance could suggest, according to the narrative of its commandant, was exhausted. The height of the wall was raised to meet the Roman embankments, provisions were brought in by soldiers disguised in sheep-skins, the Roman works were destroyed by fire, boiling oil was poured on the assailants, and finally the city was not stormed till the garrison was worn out with famine and fatigue. But, as has been pointed out, the details recorded are "the commonplaces of poliorcetics," and may have been borrowed by Josephus from some military text-book and neatly applied. Jotapata fell on the first day of Tammuz, and whatever the heroism of his army, the general did not shine in the last days of his command or in the manner of his surrender. Suspected by his men and threatened by them with death, he was unable to give himself up openly. He took refuge with some of his comrades in a deep pit, where they were discovered by an old woman, who informed the Romans. Vespasian, who, we are again told, believed that, if he captured Josephus, the greater part of the war would be over, sent one Nicanor, well known to the Jewish commandant, to take him. Josephus, professing prophetical powers, offered to surrender, and quieted

his conscience by a secret prayer to God, which is a sad compound of cant and cowardice:

"Since it pleaseth Thee, who hast created the Jewish nation, now to bring them low, and since their good fortune is gone over to the Romans, and since Thou hast chosen my soul to foretell what is to come to pass hereafter, I willingly surrender, and am content to live. I solemnly protest that I do not go over to the Romans as a deserter, but as Thy minister."

It may be that Josephus really believed he had prophetic powers, and thought he was imitating the great prophets of Israel and Judah who had proclaimed the uselessness of resistance to Assyria and Babylon. But they, while denouncing the wickedness of the people, had shared their lot with them. And Josephus, who weakly sought a refuge for himself after defeat, resembles rather the prophets whom Jeremiah denounced: "They speak a vision of their own heart, and not out of the mouth of the Lord. They say still unto them that despise me, The Lord hath said, Ye shall have peace; and they say unto everyone that walketh after the imagination of his own heart, No evil shall come upon you."[1] His comrades however prevented him from giving himself up, and called on him to play a braver part and die with them, each by his own hand. He put them off by talking philosophically, as he has it, about the sin of suicide, a euphemism for a collection of commonplaces on the duty of preserving their lives. But when this enraged them, he bethought him of another device, and proposed that they should cast lots to kill each other. They assented, and by Divine Providence he was left to the last with one other, whom he persuaded to break his oath and live likewise.[2] Having thus escaped, he was led by Nicanor to Vespasian, the whole Roman army gathering around to gaze on the hero. Continuing his prophetical function, when he found that he was like to be sent to Nero, he announced to Vespasian, "Thou art Caesar and Emperor, thou, and this thy son…. thou art not only lord over me, but over the land and the sea and all mankind." The Roman general was incredulous, till, hearing that his prisoner had foretold the length of the siege of Jotapata — a prophecy which, of course, he had the ability to fulfil — and further, on the report of the death of Nero, having conceived the possibility of becoming Emperor, he had regard to the Jewish prophet, and, without setting him at liberty, bestowed favors on him, and made him easy about his future. Such was the end of the military career of Josephus.

[Footnote 1: Jer. 23: 16-17.]

[Footnote 2: A charitable explanation of this self-debasing account of Josephus is that he was driven to invent some story to extenuate his resistance to the Romans, and had to blacken his reputation as a patriot to save his skin. The

fact that he was kept prisoner some time by Vespasian suggests that he was not so big a traitor as he pretends.]

The Talmud relates that Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai, the head of the Pharisees, was carried in a coffin outside the walls of Jerusalem by his disciples, and was brought to the Roman camp, where he hailed Vespasian as Emperor and Caesar, and thereby gained his favor. If not apocryphal, the event must have happened in 69 C.E., when the Roman commander was generally expected to aim at the Imperial throne, then the object of strife between rival commanders. The rabbi belonged to the peace party, and from the beginning had opposed the war. And though his action was disapproved by the later generations, it was justified by his subsequent conduct; for it was he who, by founding the famous college at Jabneh, kept alive the Jewish spirit after the fall of the nation. For him surrender was a valid means to the preservation of the nation. The action of Josephus hardly bears the same justification. His desire for self-preservation was natural enough, but his manner of effecting it was not honorable. He was a general who, having taken a lead in the struggle for independence, had seen all his men fall, and had at the end invited the last of his comrades to kill each other, and he saved his life by sacrificing his honor. His mind was from the beginning of the struggle subjugated to Rome, but unhappily he accepted the most responsible post in the national defense and betrayed it. His address to Vespasian was mere flattery, designed to impose on a superstitious man's credulity; for the ear of Vespasian, says Merivale, "was always open to pretenders to supernatural knowledge." Lastly Josephus used his safety, not for the purpose of preserving the Jewish heritage, but for personal ends. He became a flunkey of the Flavian house, and straightway started on the transformation from a Jewish priest and soldier into a Roman courtier and literary hireling. Hard circumstances compelled him to choose between a noble and an ignoble part, between heroic action and weak submission. He was a mediocre man, and chose the way that was not heroic and glorious. Posterity gained something by his choice; his own reputation was fatally marred by it.

III. THE LIFE OF JOSEPHUS FROM THE TIME OF HIS SURRENDER

Josephus was little more than thirty years old at the time of his surrender. At an age when men usually begin to realize their ambition and ideal, his whole life's course was changed: he had to abandon all his old associations, and accommodate himself to a different and indeed a hostile society. Henceforth he was a liege of the Roman conqueror, and had to submit to be Romanized not only in name but in spirit. His condition was indeed a thinly-disguised servitude. The Romans were an imperious as well as an Imperial people, and though in some circumstances they were ready to spare the lives of those who yielded, they required of them a surrender of opinion and an abasement of soul. For the rest of his years, which comprehended the whole of his literary activity, Josephus was not therefore a free man. He acted, spoke, and wrote to order, compelled, whenever called upon, to do the will of his masters. His legal condition was first that of a *libertus* (a freedman) of Vespasian, and as such he owed by law certain definite obligations to his patron's family. But the moral subservience of the favored prisoner of a subjugated people must have been a far profounder thing than the legal obligation arising from his status; and this enforced moral and mental subservience is a cardinal point to be remembered in forming a judgment upon Josephus. His expressed opinions are often not the revelation of his own mind, but the galling tribute which he was compelled to pay for his life. And apart from the involuntary and undeliberate adoption of Roman standards, which, living isolated from Jewish life in Rome, he could not escape, he had in writing, and no doubt in conversation, deliberately and consciously to assume the deepest-seated of the Roman prejudices towards his own people. Liberty has been defined as the power of a man to call his soul his own. And in that sense Josephus emphatically did not possess liberty. We must be on our guard, therefore, against regarding him as an independent historian, much less as writing from an independent Jewish point of view. From the time of his surrender till his death he lived and wrote as the client of the Flavian house, and all his works had to pass the Imperial censorship.

His domestic life is characteristic of his subservience. At the bidding of Vespasian, when in the Roman camp at Caesarea, he divorced his first wife, who was locked up in Jerusalem during the siege. Though by Jewish law it was forbidden to a priest to marry a captive woman, he took as his second wife a Jewess that had been brought into the Roman camp. Having no children by her,

he divorced her after a year, and married again at Alexandria. By his third wife he had three sons, but with a Roman's carelessness of the marriage bond he divorced her late in life, and married finally a noble Jewess of Crete, by whom he had two more sons, Justus and Simon Agrippa. His last two wives, be it noted, came from Hellenistic-Jewish communities, and were doubtless able to assist him in acquiring Greek.

The public as well as the domestic life of Josephus was controlled by the Roman commander. Till the end of the Jewish struggle it followed the progress of the Roman arms. He continued to play an active part in the war, not, however, as a leader of the Jews, but as the adviser of their enemies. He was attached to the staff of Titus, and after witnessing the fall of the two fortresses of Galilee, Gamala and Gischala, which held out bravely under John after the capture of Jotapata, he accompanied the Roman at the end of the year 68 to Alexandria. There he spent a year, till a change of fortune came to him.

During the year 68, Vespasian captured the two chief cities which the Jewish national party held to the east side of the Jordan, Gadara and Gerasa. He then prepared to lay siege to Jerusalem. But hearing of the death of Nero and of the chaos at Rome that followed it, he stayed operations to await events in Italy. In the following year, largely by the aid of the Jewish apostate Tiberius Alexander, he secured the allegiance of all the Eastern legions, and was proclaimed Emperor. Three other generals laid claim to the same dignity, under the same title of armed force, but in the end Vespasian's friends in Italy made themselves masters of Rome, and he repaired himself to the capital and donned the purple. Josephus was rewarded with his complete freedom, and assumed henceforth the family name of his Imperial patrons. When, at the end of the year 69, Titus was appointed by his father to finish the war, he accompanied him back to Palestine. In the eighteen months' respite that had been vouchsafed to them, the Jews had spent their energy and undermined their powers of resistance by internecine strife. According to the account in the *Wars*, which unfortunately is the only full record we have of events, John of Gischala, fleeing to Jerusalem after the fall of the Galilean fortresses, roused the Zealots against the high priest Ananias, who was directing the Jewish policy towards submission to Rome. Ananias, who was of the same party as Josephus, seems to have come to the conclusion that resistance was hopeless, and he was anxious to make terms. John called in to his aid the half-savage Idumeans, who had joined the Jewish rebellion against Rome. They entered the city, and, possessing themselves of the Temple mount, spread havoc. The Temple itself ran with blood, and 8500 dead bodies, among them that of the high priest, defiled its precincts.[1] Josephus, who, to suit the Roman taste, identifies religion and ritual, declares that the fall of the city and

the ruin of the nation are to be dated from that day, and upon Ananias he passes a eulogy that is likewise written with an eye to Roman predilections:

"He was a prodigious lover of liberty and of democracy; he ever preferred the public welfare before his own advantage, and he was thoroughly sensible that the Romans were invincible. And I cannot but think that it was because God had doomed the city to destruction on account of its pollution, and was resolved to purge His sanctuary with fire, that He cut off thus its great protector."

[Footnote 1: B.J. IV. vi. 1.]

For the better part of a year, according to our historian, the Zealots maintained a reign of terror, and the various parties fought against one another in the Holy City as fiercely as the Girondists and Jacobins of the French Revolution. But on the approach of Titus they abandoned their strife and united to resist the foe. The Roman general brought with him four legions, the fifth, tenth, twelfth, and fifteenth, besides a large following of auxiliaries, and his whole force amounted to 80,000 men. As head of his staff came Tiberius Alexander, the renegade nephew of Philo and formerly procurator of Judea. Josephus also was on the besieger's staff — possibly he was an officer of the body-guard (*praefectus praetorio*) — and was employed to bring his countrymen to reason. Himself convinced, almost from the moment when he took up arms, of the certainty of Rome's ultimate victory, and doubly convinced now, partly from superstitious fatalism, partly from a need for extenuating his own submission, he wasted his eloquence in efforts to make them surrender. He knew that within the besieged city there was a considerable Romanizing faction (including his own father), and either he believed, or he had to pretend to believe, that he could bring over the mass to their way of thinking. On various occasions during the siege he was sent to the walls to summon the defenders to lay down their arms. He enlarged each time on the invincible power of Rome, on the hopelessness of resistance, on the clemency of Titus if they would yield, and on the terrible fate which would befall them and the Temple if they fought to the bitter end. What must have specially aroused the fury of the Zealots was his insistence that the Divine Providence was now on the side of the Romans, and that in resisting they were sinning against God. It is little wonder that on one occasion when making these harangues he was struck by a dart, and that his father was placed in prison by the Zealots. Indeed it says much for the tolerance of those whom he constantly reviles as the most abandoned scoundrels and the most cruel tyrants that they did not do him and his family greater hurt.

Titus, after beating back desperate attacks by the Jews, fixed his camp on Mount Scopas, by the side of the Mount of Olives, to the north of the city, and, abandoning the idea of taking the city fortress by storm, prepared to beleaguer it

in regular form. The Jews were not prepared for a siege. Josephus and the Rabbis[1] agree that the supplies of corn had been burnt by the Zealots during the civil disturbances; and as the arrival of Titus coincided with the Passover, myriads of people, who had come up from all parts of the country and the Diaspora to celebrate the festival, were crowded within its walls. It is estimated that their number exceeded two and a half million. The capital was a hard place to capture. Josephus, following probably a Roman authority, gives an account of the fortifications of Jerusalem from the point of view of the besieger, which is confirmed in large part by modern research.[2] On the southeast and west the city was unapproachable by reason of the sheer ravines of Kedron and Hinnom, overlooked by almost perpendicular precipices, which surrounded it. It was vulnerable therefore only on the north, where the two heights on which it was built were connected with the main ridge of the Judean hills; and here it was fortified with three walls. The outermost, which was built by Agrippa I, encompassed the new quarter of Bezetha, which lay outside the Temple mount to the northeast. The second wall encompassed the part of the city on the Temple Mount and reached as far as the Tower of Antonia, which overlooked and protected the Temple. The third or innermost wall was the oldest, and encompassed the whole of the ancient city where it was open, including the hill Acra or Zion on the southeast, which was divided from Mount Moriah by the cleft known as the Tyropoeon, or cheese-market. Beyond this hill there was another eminence sloping gradually to the north, till it dropped into the valley of Jehoshaphat with an escarpment of two hundred feet.

[Footnote 1: Comp. Abot de Rabbi Nathan, vi., ed. Schechter, .]

[Footnote 2: B.J. V. iv. 1.]

Thus the rampart surrounded the two hills with a continuous line of defense, and the three quarters of the city were separated from each other by distinct walls, so that each could hold out when the other had fallen. The walls were strengthened with several towers, of which the most important were Psephinus, on the third wall at the northwest corner, Hippicus, on the old wall, which was opposite Phasaelus, and Mariamne. But the strongest, largest, and most beautiful fortress in Jerusalem was the Temple itself. It was not merely the visible center of Judaism, it was the citadel of Judea. As each successive court rose higher than the last, the “Mountain of the House” itself stood on the highest point of the inclosure. The Temple was guarded by the tower of Antonia, situated at the corner of the two cloisters, upon a rock fifty cubits high, overlooking a precipice. Like the other towers, Antonia was built by Herod, and manifested his love of largeness and strength. Within these fortifications there were eleven thousand men under Simon, and not more than thirty thousand trained soldiers under John,

to pit against eighty thousand Roman veterans; but of the two and a half million people who, it is calculated, were shut up in the city, thousands were ready at any moment to sally upon the besiegers and lay down their lives for their beloved sanctuary.

Within the city, however, there were also a number of persons wavering in their desire for resistance and anxious to find a favorable opportunity of going over to the Romans. The leaders of the high-priestly party had been killed by the Zealots, but their followers remained to hamper the defense of the city. If Josephus is to be believed, during the respite of the Passover festival at the beginning of the siege, while the Romans were preparing their approaches and siege works, the party strife again broke out. Eleazar opened the gates of the Temple to admit the people for the festival, but John, taking treacherous advantage of the opportunity, led his men in with arms concealed beneath their garments, put his opponents to the sword, and seized the sanctuary. Josephus further represents that throughout the siege Simon and John, while resisting the Romans and defending different parts of the walls, were still engaged in their internecine strife, "and did everything that the besiegers could desire them to do."[1]

[Footnote 1: B.J. V. vi.]

The story has not the stamp of probability, and it is more likely that Josephus is distorting the jealousies of the two commanders into the dimensions of civil strife. Anyhow, the resistance which the Jews offered to the Romans showed the stubbornness of despair, or what the historian calls "their natural endurance in misfortune." At every step the legionaries were checked; in pitching their camp, in making their earthworks, in bringing up their machines; and frequently desperate sallies were made by the defenders upon the Roman entrenchments. Nevertheless, after fifteen days the first wall was captured, and in five days more the second was taken. By a desperate sally the besieged recovered it for a little, but were again driven back by superior numbers and force. Josephus is fond of contrasting the different tempers of the two armies: on the one side power and skill, on the other boldness and the courage born of despair; here the habit of conquering, there intense national ardor.

After the capture of the second wall, he was sent to parley with the besieged, and urged, as he had done before, the invincible power of his masters.[1] "And evident it is," he added with his renegade's theology, "that fortune is on all hands gone over to them, and that God, who has shifted dominion from nation to nation, is now settled in Italy."[2] When his address was received with scorn, he proceeded, according to his account, to lecture the people from their ancient history, in order to prove that they had never been successful in aggressive

warfare. “Arms were never given to our nation, but we are always given up to be fought against and taken.” The Zealots’ desecration of the Temple deprived them of Divine help, and it was madness to suppose that God would be well-disposed to the wicked. Had He not shown favor to Titus and performed miracles in his aid? Did not the springs of Siloam run more plentifully for the Roman general? All his appeals had no effect, and though some faint-hearted persons deserted, the multitude held firm, and the siege was pressed on more vigorously than ever. A wall of circumvallation was built round the city, and the horrors of starvation increased daily. Between the months of Nisan and Tammuz one hundred and fifty thousand corpses were carried out of the town.[3] Josephus expatiates on the terrible suffering, and again and again he denounces the iniquity of the Zealots, who continued the resistance. “No age had a generation more fruitful in wickedness; they confessed that they were the slaves, the scum, the spurious and abortive offspring of our nation.” John committed the heinous sacrilege of using the oil preserved in the Temple vessels for the starving soldiers. “I suppose,” says the ex-priest writing in the Roman palace, “that had the Romans made any longer delay in attacking these abandoned men, the city would either have been swallowed up by the ground opening on them, or been swept away by a deluge, or destroyed as Sodom was destroyed, since it had brought forth a generation even more godless than those that suffered such punishments.”[4]

[Footnote 1: B.J. V. ix. 3.]

[Footnote 2: We are reminded of the saying of Rabbi Akiba some half-century later. When asked where God was to be sought now that the Temple was destroyed, he replied, “In the great city of Rome” (Yer. Taanit, 69a). But the Rabbinical utterance had a very different meaning from the plea of Josephus.]

[Footnote 3: B.J. V. xiii. 7.]

[Footnote 4: B.J. V. x. and xiii.]

Famine and weariness were breaking down the strength of the Jews, and, after fierce resistance, the tower of Antonia was captured and razed to the ground. Josephus adds another chapter to detail the horrors of the famine, in which he recounts the story of the mother eating her child, which occurs also in the Midrash.[1] The Romans, he tells us, were filled with a religious loathing of their foes on account of their sins in violating the Temple and eating forbidden food, and Titus excused himself for the sufferings he caused, on the ground that, as he had given the Jews the chance of securing peace and liberty, they had brought the evil on themselves. Slowly but surely the Romans gained a footing within the Temple precinct; inch by inch John was driven back, and on the Ninth of Ab the sanctuary was stormed. A torch, hurled probably by the hand of Titus (see below,), set the cloisters alight, and the fire spread till the whole house was

involved. The crowning catastrophe, the burning of the Holy of Holies, happened on the following day.

[Footnote 1: Ekah R. 65a.]

Josephus remained in the Roman camp throughout the siege, advising Titus at each step how he might proceed. After the fall of the Temple he witnessed the last desperate struggle, when a half-starved remnant of the defenders "looked straight into death without flinching." A great modern writer sees in this unquenchable passion of the Zealots for liberty a sublime type of steadfastness[1]; but Josephus, who after the fall of the Temple had made another unavailing effort to persuade them to lay down their arms, again pours forth his abuse upon those who fought against the sacred might of Rome. Over a million had perished in the siege, and less than one hundred thousand were captured, of whom only forty thousand were preserved. His favor with Titus enabled him to redeem from captivity his brother and a large number of his friends and acquaintances and one hundred and ninety women and children.[2] His own estates near Jerusalem having been taken for a military colony, he received liberal compensation in another part of Judea. From the victor he also obtained a scroll of the law.

[Footnote 1: George Eliot, Impressions of Theophrastus Such.]

[Footnote 2: Vita, 75.]

It is not certain whether he accompanied "the gentle Titus" through Syria after the fall of the city and the razing of its walls. The victor's progress was marked at each stopping-place by the celebration of games, where thousands of young Jewish captives were made to kill each other, "butchered to make a Roman holiday" and feast the eyes of the conqueror and the Herodian ally and his spouse. But he certainly witnessed at Rome the triumph of the Flavii, father and son, and gazed on the shame of his country, when its most holy monuments were carried by the noblest of the captives through the streets amid the applause and ribald jeers of a Roman crowd. Josephus enlarges with apparent apathy on the procession, which is commemorated and made vivid down to our own day by the arch in the Roman Forum, through which no Jew in the Middle Ages would pass. He records, too, that Vespasian built a Temple of Peace, in which he stored the golden vessels taken from the Jewish sanctuary, and put up the whole of Judea for sale as his private property.[1] Josephus himself was housed in the royal palace, and it does not appear that he ever returned to Palestine. The tenth legion had been left on the site of Jerusalem as a permanent Roman garrison, and a fortified camp was built for it on the northern hill. "The legions swallowed her up and idolaters possessed her." *A chacun selon ses oeuvres* is the comment of Salvador, the Franco-Jewish historian (fl. 1850), comparing the gilded servitude

of Josephus with the fate of the patriots of Jerusalem; and another recent historian, Graetz, has contrasted the picture of Jeremiah uttering his touching laments over the ruins at the fall of the first Temple with the position of Josephus pouring out his fulsome adulation of the destroyer at the fall of the second.

[Footnote 1: B.J. VII. vi. 6.]

Henceforth Josephus lived, an exile from his country and his countrymen, in the retinue of the Caesars, and entered on his career as his people's historian. But he was never allowed to forget his dependence. His first work was an account of the Roman war, in which he vilified the patriots to extenuate his own surrender and his master's cruelty. It is true that he afterwards composed an elaborate apology for his people in the form of a history in twenty volumes, which may be considered as a kind of palliation for the evil he had done them in action. It was more possible to refute the Roman prejudices based on utter ignorance of Jewish history, than the prejudices based on their narrowness of mind. But even here the writer has often to accommodate himself to a pagan standpoint, which could not appreciate Hebrew sublimity. When he wrote the *Antiquities*, his mind was already molded in Greco-Roman form, and where he seeks to glorify, he not seldom contrives to degrade. His works are a striking example of inward slavery in outward freedom, for by dint of breathing the foreign atmosphere and imbibing foreign notions he had become incapable of presenting his people's history in its true light. He had been granted full Roman citizenship, and received a literary pension. Still he was not loved by other courtiers as worthy as himself, and he had frequently to defend himself against the charges of his enemies. In the reign of Vespasian, after the Zealot rising in Cyrene had been put down, the leader, Jonathan, who was brought as a prisoner to Rome, charged Josephus before the Emperor with having sent him both weapons and money. The story was not believed, and the informer was put to death. After that, Josephus relates, "when they that envied my good fortune did frequently bring censure against me, by God's Providence I escaped them all."

He remained in favor under Titus and Domitian, who in turn succeeded their father in the purple. Domitian indeed, though he persecuted the Jews, and laid new fiscal burdens upon them, punished the accusers of Josephus, and made his estate in Judea tax-free, and the Emperor's wife, Domitia, also showed him kindness. But perhaps the amazing and pathetic servility of the *Life* is to be explained by fear of the vainglorious despot, whose hand was heavy on all intellectual work. Historical writers suffered most under his oppression, and it may have been necessary to Josephus to make out that he had been a traitor. It may appear more to his credit as a courtier than as a Jew that the enemy of his

people was friendly towards him. But his position must have been perilous during the black reign of the tyrant, who rivaled Nero for maniac cruelty. His chief patron was one Epaphroditus, by his name a Greek, perhaps to be identified with a celebrated librarian and scholar, to whom he dedicated his *Antiquities* and the books *Against Apion*. He lived on probably[1] till the beginning of the second century, through the short but tranquil rule of Nerva, when there was a brief interlude of tolerance and intellectual freedom, into the reign of Trajan, who was to deal his people injuries as deep as those Titus had inflicted. It is uncertain whether he survived to witness the horrors of the desperate rising of the Jews, which sealed their national doom throughout the Diaspora. At least he did not survive to describe it. His last work that has come down to us is the *Life*, which is an apologetic pamphlet, perversely self-vilifying, in which he sought to refute the accusation of his rival Justus of Tiberias, that he had taken a commanding part in the war against the Romans in Galilee, and had been the guiding spirit of the Rebellion.

[Footnote 1: It has, however, been suggested that the date of Agrippa's death, which is recorded in the *Life*, was really 95 C.E., instead of 103 C.E., as is usually accepted; if that is so, Josephus may not have outlived the black reign of Domitian, which lasted till 97 C.E. See J.H. Hart, s.v. Josephus, in Encycl. Brit. 11th ed.]

The *Life* is the least creditable of Josephus' works; but, as we have seen, it was wrung from him under duress, and cannot be taken as a genuine revelation of his mind. It is not a full autobiography; save for a short Prologue and a short Epilogue, it deals exclusively with the author's conduct in Galilee prior to the campaign of Vespasian, and it differs materially in political color as well as in the narrative of facts from the account of the same period in the *Wars*. In the earlier work his object had been to excuse his countrymen for their revolt, and at the same time to show the ability with which he had served their true interests, as the representative of the party that sought to preserve the nation at the sacrifice of its independence. But in the later work he is writing not a partisan but a personal apology, composed when his life was in danger, and when he no longer was anxious to save appearances with his countrymen. And he devoted his ingenuity to showing that throughout the events in Galilee he was the friend of Rome, seeking under the guise of resistance to smooth the way for the invaders and deliver the gates of Palestine into their hands. That he had so to demean himself is the most pathetic commentary on the bitter position which he was called on to endure after twenty years of servile life. The work was published or reissued after the death of King Agrippa, which took place in 103 C.E., and is

recorded in it.[1] Agrippa was the last of the Herodians to rule, and with his death the last part of Palestine that had the outward show of independence was absorbed into the Roman Empire. But though the whole of the Jewish temporal sovereignty was shattered before his last days, Josephus may have consoled himself with the progressive march of Judaism in the capital city of the conqueror.

[Footnote 1: See note above, .]

It may be put down to the credit of Josephus that amid the court society at Rome he to the end professed loyalty to his religion, and that he did not complete his political desertion by religious apostasy. His loyalty indeed is less meritorious than might seem at first sight. The Romans generally were tolerant of creeds and cults, and the ceremonial of Judaism, especially its Sabbath, appealed to many of them. Within the *pomoerium* (limits), of the ancient city none but the city gods might be worshiped, but in Greater Rome there were numerous synagogues. In the time of Pompey, an important Jewish community existed in the cosmopolitan capital of the Empire, and later we have records of a number of congregations. Philo expressly mentions the religious privileges his brethren enjoyed at the heart of the Empire,[1] and save for an occasional expulsion the Jews appear to have been unmolested. The Flavian Emperors, satisfied with the destruction of the sanctuary and the razing of Jerusalem, did not attempt to persecute the communities of the Diaspora. For the old offering by all Jews to the Temple, they substituted a tax of two drachmas (the equivalent of the shekel voluntarily given hitherto to Jerusalem), which went towards the maintenance of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Later the fiscus Judaicus, to which every Jew and proselyte had to pay, became an instrument of oppression, but in the reigns of Vespasian and Titus it was not harshly administered. Domitian indeed vented his indignation on the people which he had not had the honor of conquering, and instituted a kind of inquisition, to ferret out the early Maranos, who dissembled their Judaism and sought to evade the tax. But his gentle successor Nerva (96-98) restored the habit of tolerance, and struck special coins, with the legend calumnia Judaica sublata (on the abolition of information against the Jews), in order to mark his clemency. Save, therefore, for the short persecution under Domitian, Judaism remained a *licita religio* (legalized denomination) at Rome. More than that, it became a powerful missionary faith among the lower classes, and in small doses almost fashionable at the court. A near relative of the Emperor, Flavius Clemens, outraged Roman opinion by adopting its tenets.[2] It has been suggested, and it is likely, that the chief historical work of Josephus was written primarily for a group of fashionable proselytes to Judaism, to whom he ministered. He mentions members of the

royal house that commended his work.[3] Some scholars have sought to associate him with the philosopher at Rome that was visited by the four rabbis of the Sanhedrin, the Patriarch Rabban Gamaliel, Rabbi Joshua, Rabbi Eleazar ben Arach, and Rabbi Akiba, when they came to Rome in the reign of Domitian.[4] But apart from the fact that he would hardly be described as a philosopher — a term usually reserved in the Talmud for a pagan scholar — it is as unlikely that the leaders of the Pharisaic national party would have had interviews with the renegade, as that the renegade would have befriended them. At Jotapata he deserted his people, and he passed thenceforth out of their life. It is significant that, while the history of the war was originally written in Aramaic for the benefit of the Eastern Jews, none of his later works was either written in his native language or translated into it, nor were they designed to be read by Jews.

[Footnote 1: De Leg, 82.]

[Footnote 2: It is interesting that the wife of the first Roman governor of Britain was accused, in 57 C.E., of "foreign superstition," and is said to have lived a melancholy life (Tac. Ann. xiii. 32), which may mean that she had adopted Jewish practices.]

[Footnote 3: C. Ap. i. 5.]

[Footnote 4: Sukkah, 22, quoted in Vogelstein and Rieger, Geschichte der Juden in Rom, p and 29.]

In the palace of the Caesars Josephus became a reputable Greco-Roman chronicler, deliberately accommodating himself to the tastes of the conquerors of his people, and deliberately seeking, as Renan said, "to Hellenize his compatriots," *i.e.* to describe them from a Hellenized point of view. He achieved his ambition, if such it was, to be the classical authority upon the early history of the Jews. His record of his people survived through the ages, and his works were included in the public libraries of Rome, while among the Christians they had for centuries a place next the Bible.

As a writer, Josephus has, by the side of some glaring defects, considerable merits: immense industry, power of vivid narrative, an ability for using authorities, and at times a certain eloquence. But as a man he has few qualities to attract and nothing of the heroic. He was mediocre in character and mind, and for such there is no admiration. It may be admitted that he lived in hard times, when it required great strength of character for a Jew born, as he was, in the aristocratic Romanizing section of the nation, to stand true to the Jewish people and devote his energies to their desperate cause. He may have honestly believed that submission to Rome was the truest wisdom; but he placed himself in a false

position by associating himself with the insurrection. And while his national feeling led him later to attempt to defend his people against calumny and ignorance, the conditions under which he labored made against the production of a true and spirited history. Yet if he does not appear worthy of admiration, we must beware of judging him harshly; and there is deep pathos in the fact that he was compelled in writing to be his own worst detractor. The combination, which the autobiographical account reveals, of egoism and self-seeking, of cowardice and vanity, of pious profession and cringing obsequiousness, of vaunted magnanimity and spiteful malice to his foes, of religious scruples and selfish cunning, points to a meanness of conduct which he was forced to assume by circumstances, but which, it is suggested, was not an expression of his true character. The document of shame was wrung from him by his past. He might have been a reliable historian had he not been called on to play a part in action. But the part he played was ignoble in itself, and it blasted the whole of his future life and his literary credit. It made his work take the form of apology, and part of it bear the stamp of deliberate falsehood. His besetting weakness of egoism led him as a general to betray his countrymen; as historian of their struggle with Rome, to misrepresent their patriotism and give a false picture of their ideals. Yet, though to the Jews of his own day he was a traitor in life and a traducer in letters, to the Jews of later generations he appears rather as a tragic figure, struggling to repair his fault of perfidy, and a victim to the forces of a hostile civilization, which in every age assail his people intellectually, and which in his day assailed them with crushing might physically as well as intellectually.

IV. THE WORKS OF JOSEPHUS AND HIS RELATION TO HIS PREDECESSORS

The Jews, though they are the most historical of peoples, and though they have always regarded history as the surest revelation of God's work, have produced remarkably few historians. It is true that a large part of their sacred literature consists of the national annals, from the earliest time to the restoration of the nation after its first destruction, *i.e.* a period of more than two thousand years. The Book of Chronicles, as its name suggests, is a systematic summary of the whole of that period and proves the existence of the historical spirit. But their very engrossment with the story of their ancestors checked in later generations the impulse to write about their own times. They saw contemporary affairs always in the light of the past, and they were more concerned with revealing the hand of God in events than in depicting the events themselves. Thus, during the whole Persian period, which extended over two hundred years, we have but one historical document, the Book of Esther, to acquaint us with the conditions of the main body of the Jewish people. The fortunate find, a few years back, of a hoard of Aramaic papyri at Elephantine has given us an unexpected acquaintance with the conditions of the Jewish colony in Upper Egypt during the fifth and fourth centuries, and furnished a new chapter in the history of the Diaspora. But this is an archeological substitute for literary history.

The conquest of the East by Alexander the Great and the consequent interchange of Hellenic and Oriental culture gave a great impulse to historical writing among all peoples. Moved by a cosmopolitan enthusiasm, each nation was anxious to make its past known to the others, to assert its antiquity, and to prove that, if its present was not very glorious, it had at one time played a brilliant part in civilization. The Greek people, too, with their intense love of knowledge, were eager to learn the ideas and experiences of the various nations and races who had now come into their ken.

Hence, on the one hand, there appeared works on universal history by Greek polymaths, such as Hecataeus of Abdera, Theophrastus, the pupil of Aristotle, and Ptolemy, the comrade of Alexander; and, on the other hand, a number of national histories were written, also in Greek, but by Hellenized natives, such as the Chaldaica of Berosus, the Aegyptiaca of Manetho, and the Phoenician chronicles of Dius and Menander. The people of Israel figured incidentally in several of these works, and Manetho went out of his way to include in the history of his country a lying account of the Exodus, which was designed to hold

up the ancestors of the Jews to opprobrium. From the Hellenic and philosophical writers they received more justice. Their remarkable loyalty to their religion and their exalted conception of the Deity moved partly the admiration, partly the amazement of these early encyclopedists, who regarded them as a philosophical people devoted to a higher life. The Hellenistic Jews were led later by the sympathetic attitude of Hecataeus to add to his history spurious chapters, in which he was made to deal more eulogistically with their beliefs and history, and they circulated oracles and poems in the names of fabled seers of prehistoric times — Orpheus and the Sibyl — which conveyed some of the religious and moral teachings of Judaism. Nor were they slow to adapt their own chronicles for the Greek world or to take their part in the literary movement of the time. In Palestine, indeed, the Jews remained devoted to religious thought, and never made history a serious interest. But in Alexandria, after translating the Scriptures into Greek in the middle of the third century, they began, in imitation of their neighbors, to embellish their antiquities in the Greek style, and present them more thoroughly according to Greek standards of history.

A collection of extracts from the works of the Hellenistic Jews was made by a Gentile compiler of the first century B.C.E., Alexander, surnamed Polyhistor. Though his book has perished, portions of it with fragments of these extracts have been preserved in the chronicles of the ecclesiastical historian Eusebius, who wrote in the fourth century C.E. They prove the existence of a very considerable array of historical writers, who would seem to have been poor scholars of Greek, but ingenious chronologists and apologists. The earliest of the adapters, of whose work fragments have been thus preserved to us, is one Demetrius, who, in the reign of Ptolemy II, at the end of the third century B.C.E., wrote a book on the Jewish kings. It was rather a chronology than a connected narrative, and Demetrius amended the dates given in the Bible according to a system of his own. This does not appear to have been very exact, but such as it was it appealed to Josephus, who in places follows it without question. Chronology was a matter of deep import in that epoch, because it was one of the most galling and frequent charges against the Jews that their boasted antiquity was fictitious. To rebut this attack, the Jewish chroniclers elaborated the chronological indications of their long history, and brought them into relation with the annals of their neighbors.

Demetrius is followed by Eupolemus and Artapanus, who treated the Bible in a different fashion. They freely handled the Scripture narrative, and methodically embellished it with fictitious additions, for the greater glory, as they intended, of their people. They imitated the ways of their opponents, and as these sought to decry their ancestors by malicious invention, so they contrived to invest them

with fictitious greatness. Eupolemus represents Abraham as the discoverer of Chaldean astrology, and identifies Enoch with the Greek hero Atlas, to whom the angel of God revealed the celestial lore. Elsewhere he inserts into the paraphrase of the Book of Kings a correspondence between Solomon and Hiram (king of Tyre), in order to show the Jewish hegemony over the Phoenicians. Artapanus, professing to be a pagan writer, shows how the Egyptians were indebted to the founders of Israel for their scientific knowledge and their most prized institutions: Abraham instructed King Pharethothis in astrology; Joseph taught the Egyptian priests hieroglyphics, and built the Pyramids; Moses (who is identified with the Greek seer Musaeus) not only conquered the Ethiopians, and invented ship-building and philosophy, but taught the Egyptian priests their deeper wisdom, and was called by them Hermes, because of his skill in interpreting ([Greek: Hermaeneia]) the holy documents. Fiction fostered fiction, and the inventions of pagan foes stimulated the exaggerations of Jewish apologists. The fictitious was mixed with the true, and the legendary material which Artapanus added to his history passed into the common stock of Jewish apologetics.

The great national revival that followed on the Maccabean victories induced both within and without Palestine the composition of works of contemporary national history. For a period the Jews were as proud of their present as of their past. It was not only that their princes, like the kings of other countries, desired to have their great deeds celebrated, but the whole people was conscious of another God-sent deliverance and of a clear manifestation of the Divine Power in their affairs, which must be recorded for the benefit of posterity. The First Book of the Maccabees, which was originally written in Hebrew, and the Chronicles of King John Hyrcanus[1] bear witness to this outburst of patriotic self-consciousness in Palestine; and the Talmud[2] contains a few fragments of history about the reign of Alexander Jannaeus, which may have formed part of a larger chronicle. The story of the Maccabean wars was recorded also at great length by a Hellenistic Jew, Jason of Cyrene, and it is generally assumed that an abridgment of it has come down to us in the Second Book of the Maccabees.

[Footnote 1: They are referred to at the end of the book. Comp. I Macc. xvi. 23f.]

[Footnote 2: Kiddushin, 66a.]

In Palestine, however, the historical spirit did not flourish for long. The interest in the universal lesson prevailed over that in the particular fact, and the tradition that was treasured was not of political events but of ethical and legal teachings. Moral rather than objective truth was the study of the schools, and when contemporary events are described, it is in a poetical, rhapsodical form,

such as we find in the Psalms of Solomon, which recount Pompey's invasion of Jerusalem.[1] The only historical records that appear to have been regularly kept are the lists of the priests and their genealogy, and a calendar of fasts and of days on which fasting was prohibited because of some happy event to be commemorated.

[Footnote 1: See above, .]

In the Diaspora, on the other hand, and especially at Alexandria, which was the center of Hellenistic Jewry, history was made to serve a practical purpose. It was a weapon in the struggle the Jews were continually waging against their detractors, as well as in their missionary efforts to spread their religion. It became consciously and essentially apologetic, the end being persuasion rather than truth. Fact and fiction were inextricably combined, and the difference between them neglected.

The story of the translation of the Septuagint by the Jewish sages sent to Alexandria at the invitation of King Ptolemy, which is recounted in the Letter of Aristeas, is an excellent example of this kind of history. It is decked out with digressions about the topography of Jerusalem and the architecture of the Temple, and an imaginative display of Jewish wit and wisdom at a royal symposium. The Third Book of the Maccabees, which professes to describe a persecution of the Jews in Egypt under one of the Ptolemies, is another early example of didactic fiction that has been preserved to us. The one sober historical work produced by a Jewish writer between the composition of the two Books of the Maccabees and of the *Wars* of Josephus was the account given by Philo of Alexandria of the Jewish persecutions that took place in the reigns of Tiberius and Gaius. It was originally contained in five books, of which only the second and third have been preserved. They deal respectively with the riots at Alexandria that took place when Flaccus was governor, and with the Jewish embassy to Gaius when that Emperor issued his order that his image should be set up in the Temple at Jerusalem and in the great synagogue of Alexandria. Philo wrote a full account of the events in which he himself had been called upon to play a part. He is always at pains to point the moral and enforce the lesson, but his work has a definite historical value, and contains many valuable details about Jewish life in the Diaspora.

But if the Jews were somewhat careless of the exact record of their history, many of the Greek and Roman historians paid attention to it, some specifically for the purpose of attacking them, others incidentally in the course of their comprehensive works. The fashion of universal history continued for some centuries, and works of fifty volumes and over were more the rule than the exception. These "elephantine books" were rendered possible because it was the

fashion for each succeeding historian to compile the results of his predecessor's labors, and adopt it as part of his own monumental work. Distinguished among this school of writers were Apollodorus of Athens, who in 150 B.C.E. wrote Chronicles containing the most important events of general history down to his own time, and Polybius, who was brought as a prisoner from Greece to Rome in 145 B.C.E., and in his exile wrote a history of the rise of the Roman Republic, in the course of which he dealt with the early Jewish relations with Rome. Then, in the first century, there flourished Posidonius of Apamea (90-50 B.C.E.), a Stoic and a bitter enemy of the Jews, who continued the work of Polybius down to the year 90, and, besides, wrote a separate diatribe against Judaism, which he regarded as a misanthropic atheism. The succession was carried on by Timagenes of Alexandria, who wrote a very full history of the second and the first part of the first century.

Among Roman writers of the period that dealt with general affairs were Asinius Pollio, the friend of Herod, and Titus Livius, who, under the name of Livy, has become the standard Latin historian for schoolboys. Josephus refers to both of them as well as to Timagenes, Posidonius, and Polybius; but as there is no reason to think that he ever tried to master the earlier authorities, it is probable that he knew them only so far as they were reproduced in his immediate sources and his immediate predecessors. The two writers whom he quotes repeatedly and must have studied are Strabo of Amasea (in Pontus) and Nicholas of Damascus. Strabo was an author of remarkable versatility and industry. Besides his geography, the standard work of ancient times on the subject, he wrote in forty-seven books a large historical work on the period between 150 (where Polybius ended) and 30 B.C.E. Nearly the whole of it has disappeared, but we can tell from Josephus' excerpts that he appreciated the Jews and their religion as did few other pagans of the time. He dealt, too, at considerable length with the wars of the Hasmonean kings against the Seleucids, and he is one of the authorities cited by Josephus for the period between the accession of John Hyrcanus and the overthrow of Antigonus II by Herod. The Jewish historian follows still more closely, and in many places probably reproduces, Nicholas, who was the court historian of Herod. Nicholas was a man of remarkable versatility. He played many parts at Herod's court, as diplomatist, advocate, and minister. He was a poet and philosopher of some repute, and he wrote a general history in forty-four books. In the first eight books he dealt with the early annals of the Assyrians, the Greeks, the Medes, and the Persians. Josephus, who took him for his chief guide after the Bible, often reproduces from him comparative passages to the Scripture story which he is paraphrasing. And for the later period of the *Antiquities*, from the time of Antiochus the Great

(ab. 200 B.C.E.), he depends on him largely for the comparative Hellenistic history, which he brings into relation with the story of the Hasmoneans. When he comes to the epoch of Herod, the disproportionate fulness, the vivacity, and the dramatic power of the narrative in books XIV-XVI of the *Antiquities* are due in a large measure to the historical virtues of the court chronicler. We can tell how far this is the case by the immediate and marked deterioration of the narrative when Josephus proceeds to the reigns of Archelaus and Agrippa — where Nicholas failed him.

Among Roman writers of his own day whom Josephus used was the Emperor Vespasian himself, who, to record his exploits, wrote *Commentaries on the Jewish War*, which were placed at his client's disposal.[1] In the competition of flattery that greeted the new Flavian dynasty, various Roman writers described and celebrated the Jewish campaigns.[2] Among them were Antonius Julianus, who was on the staff of Vespasian and Titus throughout the war, and at the end of it was appointed procurator of Judea; Valerius Flaccus, who burst into ecstatic hexameters over the burning of the Temple; and Tacitus, the most brilliant of all Latin historians. Besides these writers' works, which have come down to us more or less complete, a number of memoirs and histories of the war appeared, some by those who wrote on hearsay, others by men who had taken some part in the campaigns. It was an age of literary dilettantism, when nearly everybody wrote books who knew how to write; and in the drab monotony of Roman supremacy, the triumph over the Jews, which had placed the Flavian house on the throne, was a happy opportunity for ambitious authors.

[Footnote 1: Vita, 68.]

[Footnote 2: C. A-10.]

It has been suggested that the Roman point of view that pervades the *Wars* of Josephus, the frequent absence of sympathy with the Jewish cause, and the incongruous pagan ideas, which surprise us, can be explained by the fact that the Jewish writer founded his account on that of Antonius Julianus, which is referred to by the Christian apologist Minucius[1] as a standard authority on the destruction of Jerusalem. Antonius is mentioned by Josephus as one of the Roman staff who gave his opinion in favor of the burning of the Temple, and he has also been ingeniously identified with the Roman general (called [Hebrew: Otaninus] or [Hebrew: Ananitus]) who engaged in controversy with Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai.[2] The evidence in favor of the theory is examined more fully later; but whether or not the history of Antonius was the main source of the *Wars*, it is certain that Josephus had before him Gentile accounts of the struggle, and he often slavishly adopted not only their record of facts but their expressions

of opinion. In point of time Tacitus might have derived from Josephus his summary of the Jewish Wars, part of which has come down to us, and on some points the Jewish and the Roman authors agree; but the correspondence is to be explained more readily by the use of a common source by both writers. It is unlikely that the haughty patrician, who hated and despised the Jews, and who had no love of research, turned to a Jewish chronicle for his information, when he had a number of Roman and Greek authors to provide him with food for his epigrams.

[Footnote 1: Epist. ad Octav. 33.]

[Footnote 2: Yer. Sanhedrin, i. 4. Comp. Schlatter, Zur Topographie und Geschichte Palästinas, p*ff*.]

One other writer on contemporary Jewish history to whom Josephus refers as an author, not indeed in the *Wars*, but in his *Life*, was Justus of Tiberias, Unfortunately we have to depend almost entirely on a hostile rival's spitefulness and malice for our knowledge of Justus. He did not produce his work on the wars till after Josephus had established his reputation, and part of his object, it is alleged, was to blacken the character and destroy the repute of his rival. The conduct of Justus in the Galilean campaign had been little more creditable than that of Josephus — that is, if the latter's account may be believed at all. He had been a leader of the Zealot party in Tiberias, and had roused the people of that city against the double-dealing commander; but on the breakdown of the revolt he entered the service of Agrippa II. He fell into disgrace, but was pardoned. Some twenty-four years after the war was over he wrote a History of the Jewish Kings and a History of the War. It is difficult to form any judgment of the work, because, apart from the abuse of Josephus, the criticism we have comes merely from ecclesiastical historians, who imbibed Josephus' personal enmity as though it were the pure milk of truth. Eusebius and Jerome[1] accuse him of having distorted Jewish affairs to suit his personal ends and of having been convicted by Josephus of falsehood. His chief crime in their eyes and the reason for the disappearance of his work are that he did not mention any of the events connected with the foundation of the Christian Church, and had not the good fortune to be interpolated, as Josephus was, with a passage about Jesus.[2] Hence Photius says that he passed over many of the most important occurrences. [3] We know of him now only by the charges of Josephus and a few disconnected fragments.

[Footnote 1: Hist. Eccl. III. x. 8; De Viris Illustr, 14.]

[Footnote 2: See below, p ff.]

[Footnote 3: Bibl. Cod. 33.]

Coming now to the works of Josephus, his prefaces give a full account of his historical motives. He originally wrote seven books on the Wars with Rome in Aramaic for the benefit of his own countrymen. He was induced to translate them into Greek because his predecessors had given false accounts, either out of a desire to flatter the Romans or out of hatred to the Jews. He claims that his own work is a true and careful narrative of the events that he had witnessed with his own eyes and had special opportunities of studying accurately. "The writings of my predecessors contain sometimes slanders, sometimes eulogies, but nowhere the accurate truth of the facts." He goes on to complain of the way in which they belittle the action of the Jews in order to aggrandize the Romans, which defeats its own purpose; and he contrasts the merit of one who composes by his own industry a history of events not hitherto faithfully recorded, with the more popular and the easier fashion of writing a fresh history of a period already fully treated, by changing the order and disposition of other men's works. He iterates his determination to record only historical facts, and says, "It is superfluous for me to write about the Antiquities [i.e. the early history] of the Jews, because many before me, both among my own people and the Greeks, have composed the histories of our ancestors very exactly."[1] By the Antiquities he means the Bible narrative. He proposes therefore to begin where the Bible ends and, after a brief survey of the events before his own age, to give a full account of the great Rebellion. Josephus falls short of his promise. Many of the shortcomings he pointed to in his predecessors are glaringly present in his work. Nor is it probable that his profession of having taken notes on the spot is true. At the time of the siege of Jerusalem he had no literary pretensions, and it is unlikely that he contemplated the writing of a history. It has been pointed out that his account is much more accurate in regard to events in which he did not take part than in regard to those in which he assisted.

[Footnote 1: B.J., Preface. The Greek name *Archaeologia* is regularly rendered by *Antiquities*, but it means simply the early history.]

In the first book and the greater part of the second, where he is taken up with the preliminary introduction, he had ample sources before him, and his functions were only to abstract and compile; but when he comes to the final struggle with Rome, he would have us believe that he depended mainly on his independent knowledge. Recent investigation has thrown grave doubts on his claim, and has suggested that with Josephus it is true that "once a compiler, always a compiler." The habit of direct copying from the works of predecessors was fixed in the literary ethics of the day. In company with most of the historians of antiquity he introduces his general ideas upon the march of events in the form of addresses,

which he puts into the mouth of the chief characters at critical moments. Here he is free to invent and intrude his own opinions, and here he almost unfailingly adopts a Roman attitude. The work, in fact, bears the character of official history, and has all the partiality of that form of literature. Titus, as the author proudly recalls, subscribed his own hand to it, and ordered that it should be published, and King Agrippa wrote a glowing testimonial to it in the most approved style.[1] It was accepted in Rome as the standard work upon the Jewish struggle. Patronage may have saved literature at certain epochs, but it always undermines the feeling of truth. It is not improbable that a juster appreciation of events was contained in the original writings of Josephus, but was corrected at the order of the royal traitor or the Imperial master, to whom he perforce submitted them.

[Footnote 1: C. A. See below, .]

If in the *Wars* Josephus assumes the air of a scientific historian, in the *Antiquities* he is more openly the apologist. Despite his professions in the preface of the earlier work, he seems to have found it necessary or expedient to give to Greco-Roman society a fresh account of the ancestry and the early history of his people and of the constitution of their government. The Roman *Archaeologia* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who fifty years earlier had written in twenty books the early events of Rome, probably suggested the division and the name of the work. He issued it after the death of his protector, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Domitian and in the fifty-sixth year of his own life.[1] In the preface, inconsistently with the statement in the earlier work, he declares that he intended from the beginning to write this apology of his people, but was deterred for a time by the magnitude of the labor of translating the history into an unaccustomed tongue. He ascribes the impulse to carry out the task to the encouragement of his patron Epaphroditus and of his other friends at Rome. It probably came also from his circumstances at Rome and the necessity of refuting calumnies made against him on account of his race and religion. And with all his weaknesses and failings he was not lacking in a feeling of national pride, which must have moved him to defend his people.

[Footnote 1: Ant. XX. xi. 3.]

Following on the destruction of Jerusalem, a passion of mixed hatred and contempt against the Jews moved the Roman nobility and the Roman masses. The Flavian court, representing the middle classes, by no means shared the feeling, and indeed the infatuation of Titus for the Jewish princess Berenice, the sister of Agrippa, was one of the scandals that most stirred the anger of the Romans. But the nobles hated those who had obstinately fought against the Roman armies for four years, and scorned those whose God had not saved them

from ruin. At the same time Jewish persistence after defeat and the continuance of Jewish missionary activity offended the majesty of Rome, which, though tolerant of foreign religious ideas, was accustomed not merely to the physical submission of her enemies, but to their cultural and intellectual abasement. The hatred and scorn were fanned by a tribe of scribblers, who heaped distortion on the history and practices of the Jewish people. On the other hand, the proselytes to Judaism, "the fearers of God," who accepted part of its teaching — and in the utter collapse of pagan religion and morality they were many — desired to know something of the past grandeur of the nation, and doubtless were anxious to justify themselves to those who regarded their adoption of Jewish customs as an utter degradation. For those who mocked at him as a renegade member of a wretched people, which consisted of the scum of the earth, which harbored all kinds of low superstition, and which fostered inhumanity and misanthropy, and for those who looked to him as the accredited exponent of Judaism and the writer most able to set it in a favorable light, Josephus wrote the twenty books of his *Antiquities*.

The work differed from all previous apologies for Judaism in its completeness and its historical character. Philo had sought to recommend Judaism as a philosophical religion, and had interpreted the Torah as the law of Nature. Josephus was concerned not so much with Judaism as with the Jews. He seeks to show, by his abstract of historical records, that his people had a long and honorable past, and that they had had intercourse with ancient empires, and had been esteemed even by the Romans. The *Antiquities* comprised a summary of the whole of Jewish history, as well that which was set out in the books of the Bible as that which had taken place in the post-Biblical period down to his own day. Some of his predecessors had elaborated only the former part of the story, and that, it is probable, not nearly so fully as Josephus. He claims not to have added to or diminished from the record of Scripture. Though neither part of the claim can be upheld, he does undoubtedly give a tolerable account of the Bible so far as it is an historical narrative. The finer spirit of the Bible, even in its narrative parts, its deep spiritual teaching, its simple grandeur, its arresting sincerity, he was utterly unable to impart. In style, too, his Greek falls immeasurably below the original. We feel as we read his abstract with its omissions and additions:

The little more and how much it is;
The little less and what miles away.

His is a mediocre transcription, which replaces the naïveté, the rapidity, the unaffected beauty of the Hebrew, with the rhetoric, the sophistication, and the exaggerated overstatement of the Greek writing of his own time. Impressiveness for him is regularly enhanced by inaccuracy. His own or his assumed materialistic fatalism lowers the God of the Bible to a Power which materially rewards the righteous and punishes the wicked. In this immediate retribution he finds the surest sign of Divine Providence, and it is this lesson which he is most anxious to assert throughout his work. But he is at pains to dispel the idea of a special Providence for Israel. The material power of Rome made him desert in life the Jewish cause; the material thought of Rome made him dissimulate in literature the full creed of Judaism.

The second part of the *Antiquities* is a more ambitious piece of work. The compiler brings together all that he could find, in Jewish and Gentile sources, about Jewish history from the time of the Babylonian captivity to the outbreak of the war against Rome. And he was apparently the first of his people to utilize the Greek historians systematically in this fashion. There are long periods as to the incidents of which he was at a loss. Without possessing the ability or desire for research, he is not above confounding the chronology and perverting the succession of events to cover up a gap. But he does contrive to produce a connected narrative and to provide some kind of continuous chronicle. And for this service he is not lightly to be esteemed. Without him we should know scarcely anything of the external history of the Jewish people for three centuries. In style the last ten books vary remarkably. It depends almost entirely on his source whether the narrative is dull and monotonous or lively and dramatic. Where, for example, he is transcribing Nicholas and another historian of the period, he succeeds in presenting a picture of Herod that has a certain psychological value. Where, on the other hand, he has had to trust largely to scattered notes, as in the record of Herod's successors, his history is little better than a miscellany of disjointed passages. He lacks throughout a true sense of proportion, and for the deeper aspects of history he has no perception. He does not show in spite of his Jewish training the slightest appreciation of the spiritual power of Judaism or of the divine purpose illustrating itself in the rise and fall of nations. His conception of history is a biography of might, tempered by occasional manifestations of divine retribution. The concrete event is the important thing, and of culture and literature he says scarcely a word. His occasional moral reflections are on a mediocre plane and not true to the finer spirit of Judaism. He is consciously or unconsciously obsessed by the power of Rome, and makes little attempt to inculcate the higher moral outlook of his people. In soul, too, he is Romanized. He admires above all material power; he

exhibits material conceptions of Providence; he looks always for material causes. Altogether the *Antiquities* is a work invaluable for its material, but a somewhat soulless book.

Josephus conveys more of the spirit of Judaism in his two books commonly entitled *Against Apion*, which are professedly apologetic. They were written after the *Antiquities*, and further emphasize two points on which he had dwelt in that work: the great age of the Jewish people and the excellence of the Jewish law. He was anxious to refute those detractors who, despite the publication of his history, still continued to spread grotesquely false accounts of Israel's origin and Israel's religious teachings; and he wrote here with more spirit and with more conviction than in his earlier elaborate works. He has no longer to accommodate himself to the vanity of a Roman Emperor, or to distort events so as to glorify his nation or to excuse his own conduct. He is able for once to set out his idea wholeheartedly, and he shows that, if he had few of the qualities required for a great historian, he had several of the talents of an apologist. His own calculated misrepresentation of his people in their last struggle would have afforded an opponent the best reply to his apology. In itself that apology was an effective summary of Judaism for his own times, and parts of it have a permanent value. For seventeen centuries it remained the sole direct answer from the Jewish side to the calumnies of the enemies of the Jews.

The last extant work of Josephus was the *Life*, of which we have already treated, and it were better to say little more. It was provoked by the publication of the History of Justus, which had accused Josephus and the Galileans of having been the authors of the sedition against the Romans.[1] Josephus retorts that, before he was appointed governor, Justus and the people of Tiberias had attacked the Greek cities of the Decapolis and the dominions of Agrippa, as was witnessed in the Commentaries of Vespasian. Not content with this crime, Justus had failed to surrender to the Romans till they appeared before Tiberias. Having charged his rival with being a better patriot than himself,[2] Josephus proceeds to argue that he was a worse historian: Justus could not describe the Galilean campaign, because during the war he was at Berytus; he took no part in the siege of Jerusalem, and, less privileged than his rival, he had not read the Commentaries of Caesar, and in fact often contradicted them. Conscious of this weakness, he had not ventured to publish his account till the chief actors in the story, Vespasian, Titus, and Agrippa, had died, though his books had been written some twenty years before they were issued. But in his pains to gainsay Justus and his own patriotism, such as it was, Josephus, as has been noticed, gives an account of his doings in Galilee that is often at complete variance with

his statements in the *Wars*. The *Life*, in fact, is untrustworthy history and unsuccessful apology.

[Footnote 1: Vita, 65.]

[Footnote 2: Justus, no doubt, had done the converse, representing himself as a thorough Romanizer and Josephus as an ardent rebel.]

At the end of the *Antiquities* Josephus declares his intention to write three books concerning the Jewish doctrines "about God and His essence, and concerning the laws, why some things are permitted, and others are prohibited." In the preface to the same work, as well as in various passages in its course, he refers to his intention to write on the philosophical meaning of the Mosaic legislation. The books entitled *Against Apion* correspond neither in number nor in content to this plan, and we must therefore assume that he never carried it out. He may have intended to abstract the commentary of Philo upon the Law, which he had doubtless come to know. Certainly he shows no traces of deeper allegorical lore in the extant works, and his mind was hardly given to such speculations. But a humanitarian and universalistic explanation of the Mosaic code, such as his predecessor had composed, notably in his Life of Moses, would have been quite in his way, and would have rounded off his presentation of the past and present history of the Jews. The need of replying to his personal enemies and the detractors of his nation deterred him perhaps from achieving this part of his scheme. Or, if it was written, the Christian scribes, who preserved his other works, may have suppressed it because it did not harmonize with their ideas.

Photius ascribes to Josephus a work on *The Universe*, or *The Cause of the Universe* ([Greek: peri taes tou pantos aitias]), which is extant, but which is demonstrably of Christian origin, and was probably written by Hippolytus, an ecclesiastical writer of the third century and the author of *Philosophumena*. Another work attributed to Josephus in the Dark and Middle Ages, and often attached to manuscripts of the *Antiquities*, is the sermon on *The Sovereignty of Reason*, which is commonly known as the Fourth Book of the Maccabees. The book is a remarkable example of the use of Greek philosophical ideas to confirm the Jewish religion. That the Mosaic law is the rule of written reason is the main theme, and it is illustrated by the story of the martyrs during the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, whence the book takes its title. In particular, the author points to the ethical significance underlying the dietary laws, of which he says in a remarkable passage:

When we long for fishes and fowls and fourfooted animals and every kind of food that is forbidden to us by the Law, it is through the mastery of pious reason

that we abstain from them. For the affections and appetites are restrained and turned into another direction by the sobriety of the mind, and all the movements of the body are kept in check by pious reason.

Again, of the Law as a whole he says:

It teaches us temperance, so that we master our pleasures and desires, and it exercises us in fortitude, so that we willingly undergo every toil. And it instructs us in justice, so that in all our behavior we give what is due, and it teaches us to be pious, so that we worship the only living God in the manner becoming His greatness.

Freudenthal has conclusively disposed of the theory that Josephus was the author of this work.[1] Neither in language, nor in style, nor in thought, has it a resemblance to his authentic works. Nor was he the man to write anonymously. It reveals, indeed, a mastery of the arts of Greek rhetoric, such as the Palestinian soldier who learnt Greek only late in life, and who required the help of friends to correct his syntax, could never have acquired. It reveals, too, a knowledge of the technical terms of the Stoic philosophy and a general grasp of Greek philosophy quite beyond the writer of the *Antiquities* and the *Wars*. Lastly, it breathes a wholehearted love for Judaism and a national ardor to which the double-dealing defender of Galilee and the client of the Roman court could hardly have aspired.

[Footnote 1: Freudenthal, Die Flavius Josephus beigelegte Schrift über die Herrschaft der Vernunft, 1879.]

The genuine works of Josephus reveal him not as a philosopher or sturdy preacher of Judaism, but as an apologetic historian and apologist, distinguished in either field rather for his industry and his ingenuity in using others' works than by any original excellence. He learnt from the Greeks and Romans the external manner of systematic history, and in this he stood above his Jewish predecessors. He learnt from them also the arts of mixing false with true, of invention, of exaggeration, of the suggestion of the bad and the suppression of the good motive. He was a sophist rather than a sage, and circumstances compelled him to be a court chronicler rather than a national historian. And while he acquired something of the art of historical writing from his models, he lost the intuitive synthesis of the Jewish attitude, which saw the working of God's moral law in all human affairs. On the other hand, certain defects of his history may be ascribed to lack of training and to the spirit of the age. He had scant notion of accuracy, he made no independent research into past events, and he was unconscionable in chronology. In his larger works he is for the most part a translator and compiler of the work of others, but he has some claim to originality of design and independence of mind in the books against Apion. The times were out of joint for a writer of his caliber. For the greater part of his

literary life, perhaps for the whole, he was not free to write what he thought and felt, and he wrote for an alien public, which could not rise to an understanding of the deeper ideas of his people's history. But this much at least may be put down to his credit, that he lived to atone for the misrepresentation of the heroic struggle of the Jews with the Romans by preserving some record of many dark pages in their history and by refuting the calumnies of the Hellenistic vituperators about their origin and their religious teachings.

V. THE JEWISH WARS

The first work of Josephus as man of letters was the history of the wars of the Jews against the Romans, for which, according to his own statement, he prepared from the time of his surrender by taking copious notes of the events which he witnessed. He completed it in the fortieth year of his life and dedicated it to Vespasian.[1] He seems originally to have designed the record of the struggle for the purpose of persuading his brethren in the East that it was useless to fight further against the Romans. He desired to prove to them that God was on the side of the big battalions, and that the Jews had forfeited His protection by their manifold transgressions. The Zealots were as wicked as they were misguided, and to follow them was to march to certain ruin. It is not unlikely that Josephus was commissioned by Titus to compose his version of the war for the "Upper Barbarians," whose rising in alliance with the Parthians might have troubled the conqueror of Jerusalem, as it afterwards troubled Trajan. But, save that it was written in Aramaic, we cannot tell the form of the original history, since it has entirely disappeared.

[Footnote 1: B.J. VII. xv. 8.]

Josephus says in the preface to the extant Greek books that he translated into Greek the account he had already written. But he certainly did much more than translate. The whole trend of the narrative and the purpose must have been changed when he came to present the events for a Greco-Roman audience. He was concerned less to instill respect for Rome in his countrymen than to inspire regard for his countrymen in the Romans, and at the same time to show that the Rebellion was not the deliberate work of the whole people, but due to the instigation of a band of desperate, unscrupulous fanatics. He was concerned also to show that God, the vanquished Jewish God, as the Romans would regard Him, had allowed the ruin of His people, not because He was powerless to preserve them, but because they had sinned against His law. Lastly, he was anxious to emphasize the military virtue and the magnanimity of his patrons Vespasian and Titus. He intersperses frequent protests in various parts of the seven books, and repeats them in the preface, to the effect that while his predecessors had written "sophistically," he was aiming only at the exact record of events. But it is obvious that, in the *Wars* as in his other works, he has a definite purpose to serve, and he colors his account of events to suit this purpose and to please his patrons.

He sets out to establish, in fact, that it was "a sedition of our own that destroyed Jerusalem, and that the tyrants among the Jews brought upon us the Romans, who unwillingly attacked us, and occasioned the burning of our Temple."[1] And he apologizes for the passion he shows against the tyrants and Zealots, which, he admits, is not consistent with the character of an historian; it was provoked because the unparalleled calamities of the Jews were not caused by strangers but by themselves, and "this makes it impossible for me to contain my lamentations."[2] The historian, therefore, in the work which has come down to us, is dominated by the conviction, whether sincere or feigned, that the war with Rome was a huge error, that those who fomented it were wicked, self-seeking men, and that the Jews brought their ruin on themselves. This being his temper, it is necessary to look very closely at his representation of events and examine how far partisan feeling and prejudices, and how far servility and the courtier spirit, have colored it. We have also to consider how far his reflections represent his own judgment, and how far they are the slavish adoption of opinions expressed by the victorious enemies of his people.

[Footnote 1: B.J., Preface.]

[Footnote 2: B.J., Preface, 4.]

The alternative title of the work is *On the Destruction of the Temple*, but its scope is larger than either name suggests. It is conjectured by the German scholar Niese that the author called it *A History of the Jewish State in Its Relations with the Romans*. It is in fact a history of the Jews under the Romans, beginning, as Josephus says, "where the earlier writers on Jewish affairs and our prophets leave off." He proposes to deal briefly with the events that preceded his own age, but fully with the events of the wars of his time. The history starts, accordingly, with the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, and, save that he expatiates without any sense of proportion on the exploits of Herod the Great, Josephus is generally faithful to his program in the introductory portion of the work. For the Herodian period he found a very full source, and the temptation was too powerful for him, so that the greater part of the first book is taken up with the story of the court intrigues and family murders of the king. Very brief indeed is his treatment of the Maccabean brothers, and not very accurate. They are dismissed in two chapters, and it is probable that the historian had not before him either of the two good Jewish sources for the period, the First and the Second Book of the Maccabees. In his later work, in which he dealt with the same period at greater length, the account which he had abstracted from a Greek source, probably Nicholas of Damascus, is corrected by the Jewish work. The two records show a number of small discrepancies. Thus, in the *Wars* he states

that Onias, the high priest who drove out the Tobiades from Jerusalem, fled to Ptolemy in Egypt, and founded a city resembling Jerusalem; whereas in the *Antiquities* he states that the Onias who fled to Egypt because Antiochus deprived him of office was the son of the high priest. Again, in the *Wars* he makes Mattathias kill the Syrian governor Bacchides; whereas, in the *Antiquities*, agreeing with the First Book of the Maccabees, he says that the Syrian officer who was slain at Modin was Appelles.

Josephus in the *Wars* follows his Hellenistic source for the history of the Hasmonean monarchy without introducing any Jewish knowledge and without criticism. His summary is of incidents, not of movements, and he has a liking for romantic color. The piercing of the king's elephant by the Maccabean Eleazar, the prediction by an Essene of the murder of Antigonus, the brother of King Aristobulus I, are detailed. The inner Jewish life is passed over in complete silence until he comes to the reign of Alexander. Then he describes the Pharisees as a sect of Jews that are held to be more religious than others and to interpret the laws more accurately.[1] The description is clearly derived from a Greek writer, who regards the Jewish people from the outside. It is quite out of harmony with the standpoint which Josephus himself later adopts. In this passage he presents the Pharisees as crafty politicians, insinuating themselves into the favor of the queen, and then ordering the country to suit their own ends. Without describing the other sects, he continues the narration of intrigues and wars till he reaches the intervention of Pompey in the affairs of Palestine.

[Footnote 1: B.J. I. v. 2.]

From this point the treatment is fuller. No doubt the Hellenistic historians paid more attention to the Jews from the moment when they came within the orbit of the Roman Empire; but while in the *Antiquities* Josephus refers several times to the statements of two or three of the Greco-Roman writers, in the *Wars* he quotes no authority. From this it may be inferred that in the earlier work he is following but one guide.

He gives an elaborate account of the rise of the Idumean family of Antipater, and hence to the end of the book the history passes into a biography of Herod. The first part of Herod's career, when he was building up his power, is related in the most favorable light. His activity in Galilee against the Zealots, his trial by the Sanhedrin, his subsequent service to the Romans, his flight from Judea upon the invasion of the Parthians, his reception by Antony, his triumphal return to the kingdom that had been bestowed on him, his valiant exploits against the Arabians of Perea and Nabatea, his capture of Jerusalem, his splendid buildings, and his magnificence to foreigners — all these incidents are set forth so as to

enhance his greatness. The description throughout has a Greek ring. There is scarcely a suggestion of a Jewish point of view towards the semi-savage godless tyrant. And when Josephus comes to the part of Herod's life which even an historian laureate could not misrepresent to his credit, his family relations, he adopts a fundamentally pagan outlook.

The foundation of the Greek drama was the idea that the fortunate incurred the envy of the gods, and brought on themselves the "nemesis," the revenge, of the divine powers, which plunged them into ruin. This conception, utterly opposed as it is to the Jewish doctrine of God's goodness, is applied to Herod, on whom, says Josephus, fortune was revenged for his external prosperity by raising him up domestic troubles.[1] He introduces another pagan idea, when he suggests that Antipater, the wicked son of the king, returned to Palestine, where he was to meet his doom, at the instigation of the ghosts of his murdered brothers, which stopped the mouths of those who would have warned him against returning. The notion of the avenging spirits of the dead was utterly opposed to Jewish teaching, but it was a commonplace of the Hellenistic thought of the time.

[Footnote 1: B.J. I. xxii. 1.]

Of Hillel and Shammai, the great sages of the time, we have not a word; but when he recounts how, in the last days of Herod, the people under the lead of the Pharisees rose against the king in indignation at the setting up of a golden eagle over the Temple gate, he speaks of the sophists exhorting their followers, "that it was a glorious thing to die for the laws of their country, because the soul was immortal, and an eternal enjoyment of happiness did await such as died on that account; while the mean-spirited, and those that were not wise enough to show a right love of their souls, preferred death by disease to that which is a sign of virtue." The sentiments here are not so objectionable, but the description of the Pharisees as sophists, and the suggestion of a Valhalla for those who died for their country and for no others — for which there is no authority in Jewish tradition — betray again the uncritical copying of a Hellenistic source.

Finally, in summing up the character of Herod, all he finds to say is, "Above all other men he enjoyed the favor of fortune, since from a private station he obtained a kingdom, and held it many years, and left it to his sons; but yet in his domestic affairs he was a most unfortunate man." Not a word of his wickedness and cruelty, not a breath of the Hebrew spirit, but simply an estimate of his "fortune." This is the way in which the Romanized Jew continued the historical record of the Bible, substituting foreign superstitions about fate and fortune for the Jewish idea that all human history is a manifestation of God.

Josephus ends the first book of the *Wars* with an account of the gorgeous pomp of Herod's funeral, and starts the second book with a description of the costly funeral feast which his son Archelaus gave to the multitude, adding a note — presumably also derived from Nicholas — that many of the Jews ruin themselves owing to the need of giving such a feast, because he who omits it is not esteemed pious. As his source fails him for the period following on the banishment of Archelaus, the treatment becomes fragmentary, but at the same time more original and independent. An account of the various Jewish sects interrupts the chronicle of the court intrigues and popular risings. Josephus distinguishes here four sects, the Essenes, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Zealots, but his account is mainly confined to the first.[1] He describes in some detail their practices, beliefs, and organizations. Indeed, this passage and the account in Philo are our chief Jewish authorities for the tenets of the Essenes. He is anxious to establish their claim to be a philosophical community comparable with the Greek schools. In particular he represents that their notions of immortality correspond with the Greek ideas of the Isles of the Blessed and of Hades. "The divine doctrines of the Essenes, as he calls them, which consider the body as corruptible and the soul an immortal spirit, which, when released from the bonds of the flesh as from a long slavery, rejoices and mounts upwards, lay an irresistible bait for such as have once tasted of their philosophy." The ideas which the sect cherished were popular in a certain part of Greco-Roman society, which, sated with the luxury of the age, turned to the ascetic life and to the pursuit of mysticism. Pliny the Elder, who was on the staff of Titus at Jerusalem, appears to have been especially interested in the Jewish communists, and briefly described their doctrines in his books; and the circle for whom Josephus wrote would have been glad to have a fuller account.

[Footnote 1: B. J. II. viii.]

Of the other two sects he says little here, and what he says is superficial. He places the differentiation in their contrasted doctrines of fate and immortality. The Pharisees ascribe all to fate, but yet allow freewill — a Hellenizing version of the saying ascribed to Rabbi Akiba, "All is foreseen, but freedom of will is given"[1] — and they say all souls are immortal, but those of the good only pass into other bodies, while those of the bad suffer eternal punishment. This attribution of the doctrine of metempsychosis and eternal punishment is another piece of Hellenization, or a reproduction of a Hellenistic misunderstanding; for the Rabbinic records nowhere suggest that such ideas were held by the Pharisees. "The Sadducees, on the other hand, deny fate entirely, and hold that God is not concerned in man's conduct, which is entirely in his own choice, and they likewise deny the immortality of the soul or retribution after death." Here

the attempt to represent the Sadducees' position as parallel with Epicurean materialism has probably induced an overstatement of their distrust of Providence. Josephus adds that the Pharisees cultivate great friendships among themselves and promote peace among the people; while the Sadducees are somewhat gruff towards each other, and treat even members of their own party as if they were strangers.

[Footnote 1: Comp. Abot, iii. 15.]

Of the fourth party, the Zealots, Josephus has only a few words, to the effect that when Coponius was sent as the first procurator of Judea, a Galilean named Judas prevailed on his countrymen to revolt, saying they would be cowards if they would endure to pay any tax to the Romans or submit to any mortal lord in place of God. This man, he says, was the teacher of a peculiar sect of his own. While the other three sects are treated as philosophical schools, Josephus does not attribute a philosophy to the Zealots, and out of regard to Roman feelings he says nothing of the Messianic hopes that dominated them.

After the digression about the sects, Josephus continues his narrative of the Jewish relations with the Romans. He turns aside now and then to detail the complicated family affairs of the Herodian family or to describe some remarkable geographical phenomenon, such as the glassy sands of the Ladder of Tyre.[1] The main theme is the growing irritation of the Jews, and the strengthening of the feeling that led to the outbreak of the great war. But Josephus, always under the spell of the Romans, or writing with a desire to appeal to them, can recognize only material, concrete causes. The deeper spiritual motives of the struggle escape him altogether, as they escaped the Roman procurators. He recounts the wanton insults of a Pontius Pilate, who brought into Jerusalem Roman ensigns with the image of Caesar, and spoiled the sacred treasures of the Korban for the purpose of building aqueducts; and he dwells on the attempt of Gaius to set up his statue in the Temple, which was frustrated only by the Emperor's murder. But about the attitude of the different sections of the Jewish people to the Romans, of which his record would have been so valuable, he is silent.

[Footnote 1: B.J. II. x. 2. The same phenomenon is recorded in Pliny and Tacitus, and it was a commonplace of the geography of the age.]

After the brief interlude of Agrippa's happy reign, the irritation of Roman procurators is renewed, and under Comanus tumult follows tumult, as one outrage after another upon the Jewish feeling is countenanced or abetted. The courtier of the Flavian house takes occasion to recount the Emperor Nero's

misdeeds and family murders; but he resists the desire to treat in detail of these things, because his subject is Jewish history.[1] He must have had before him a source which dealt with general Roman history more fully, and he shows his independence, such as it is, in confining his narrative to the Jewish story. But the reliance on his source for his point of view leads him to write as a good Roman; the national party are dubbed rebels and revolutionaries ([Greek: stasiastai]). The Zealots are regularly termed robbers, and the origin of war is attributed to the weakness of the governors in not putting down these turbulent elements. All this was natural enough in a Roman, but it comes strangely from the pen of a soi-disant Jewish apologist, who had himself taken a part in the rebellion. Characteristic is his account of the turbulent condition of Palestine in the time of Felix:

"Bands of Sicarii springing up in the chaos caused by the tyranny infested the country, and another body of abandoned men, less villainous in their actions, but more wicked in their designs, deluded the people under pretense of divine inspiration, and persuaded them to rise. Felix put down these bands, but, as with a diseased body, straightway the inflammation burst out in another part. And the flame of revolt was blown up every day more and more, till it came to a regular war."[2]

[Footnote 1: B.J. II. xiii. 1.]

[Footnote 2: B.J. II. xiii. 6.]

Josephus vents his full power of denunciation on the last procurator, Floras, who goaded the people into war, and by his repeated outrages compelled even the aristocratic party, to which the historian belonged, to break their loyalty to Rome: "As though he had been sent as executioner to punish condemned criminals, he omitted no sort of spoliation or extortion. In the most pitiful cases he was most inhuman; in the greatest turpitudes he was most impudent, nor could anyone outdo him in perversion of the truth, or combine more subtle ways of deceit." Josephus, not altogether consistently with what he has already said, seeks to exculpate his countrymen for their rising, up to the point in which he himself was involved in it; and though he admits that the high priests and leading men were still anxious for peace at any price, and he puts a long speech into Agrippa's mouth counseling submission, he is yet anxious to show that his people were driven into war by the wickedness of Nero's governors. His masters allowed him, and probably invited him, to denounce the oppression of the ministers of their predecessors, and the Roman historians Suetonius and Tacitus likewise state that the rapacity of the procurators drove the Jews into revolt. He had authority, therefore, for this view in his contemporary sources.

The die was cast. Menahem, the son of Judas the Galilean and the head of the Zealots, seized Jerusalem, drove the Romans and Romanizers into the fortress of Antonia, and having armed his bands with the contents of Herod's southern stronghold of Masada, overpowered the garrison and put it to the sword. Menahem himself, indeed, was so barbarous that the more moderate leader Eleazar turned against him and put him to death. But Josephus sees in the massacre of the Roman garrison the pollution of the city, which doomed it to destruction. In his belligerent ethics, massacre of the Romans by the Jews is always a crime against God, requiring His visitation; massacres of the Jews are a visitation of God, revealing that the Romans were His chosen instrument.

With the history of the war, so far as the historian was involved in it, we have already dealt. We are here concerned with the character and the reliability of his account. Josephus is somewhat vague and confused about the dispositions of the Jewish leaders, but when he is not justifying his own treachery, or venting his spite on his rivals, he shows many of the parts of a military historian. He surveys with clearness and conciseness the nature of the country that the Romans had to conquer, and he describes the Roman armies and Roman camp with greater detail than any Roman historian, his design being "not so much to praise the Romans as to comfort those who have been conquered and to deter others from rising."[1] It has, however, been pointed out with great force, in support of the theory that he is following closely and almost paraphrasing a Roman authority on the war, that his geographical and topographical lore is introduced not in its natural place, but on the occasions when Vespasian is the actor in a particular district.[2] Thus, he describes the Phoenician coast when Vespasian arrives at Ptolemais, Galilee when Vespasian is besieging Tarichea, Jericho when Vespasian makes his sally to the Jordan cities.[3]

[Footnote 1: B.J. III. v. This remark must clearly have appeared in the original Aramaic.]

[Footnote 2: Schlatter, Zur Topographie und Geschichte Palastinas, p *ff*.]

[Footnote 3: B.J. III. iii. 1 and x. 7.]

All this would be natural in a chronicler who was one of Vespasian's staff, but it is odd in the Jewish commander of Galilee. Again, he makes certain confusions about Hebrew names of places, which are easily explained in a Roman, but are inexplicable in the learned priest he represents himself to be. He says the town of Gamala was so called because of its supposed resemblance to a camel (in Greek, Kamelos), and the Jews corrupted the name.[1] A Roman writer no doubt would have regarded the Hebrew [Hebrew: Namal] as a corruption of the Greek word: a Jew should have known better.

[Footnote 1: B.J. III. iv. 2.]

Again, he explains Bezetha, the name of the northeastern quarter of Jerusalem, as meaning the new house or city,[1] a mistake natural to a Roman who was aware that it was in fact the new part of the city, and alternatively called by the Greek name [Greek: kainopolis], but an extraordinary blunder for a Jew, who would surely know that it meant the House of Olives, while the Aramaic or popular name for "new city" would be Bet-Hadta. He does not once refer to Mount Zion, but knows the hill by its Greek name of Acra. Yet again it is significant that he inserts in his geography pagan touches that are part of the common stock of Greco-Roman notices of Palestine. At Joppa, he says, one may still see on the rock the trace of the chains of Andromeda,[2] who in Hellenistic legend was said to have been rescued there by the fictitious hero Perseus. Describing the Dead Sea,[3] he mentions the destruction of the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah as a myth, as a Greek or a Roman would have done.[4] His very accuracy about some topographical details is suspicious. Colonel Conder[5] points with surprise to the fact that his description of the fortress of Masada overlooking the Dead Sea, the siege of which he had not seen, is absolutely correct, while his account of Jotapata, which he defended, is full of exaggeration. The probable explanation is that in the one place he copied a skilled observer; in the other, he trusted to his own inaccurate memory. We may infer that as in the *Antiquities* he mainly compiled the work of predecessors that are known, so in the *Wars* he compiled the works of predecessors that are unknown, adding something from his personal experience and his national pride.

[Footnote 1: B.J. V. v. 8.]

[Footnote 2: B.J. IV. ix. 3. Pliny says the same thing in Latin.]

[Footnote 3: B.J. IV. viii. 4.]

[Footnote 4: Tac. Hist. v. 7.]

[Footnote 5: Tent Work in Palestine, 1. 207.]

Apart from his dependence on others' work, his chronicle of the war is marred by the need of justifying his own submission, his Roman standpoint, and his ulterior purpose of pleasing and flattering his patrons. Vespasian and Titus are the righteous ministers of God's wrath against His people, His vicars on earth, and every action in their ruthless process of extermination has to be represented as a just retribution required to expiate the sin of Jewish resistance. Titus especially is singled out for his unfailing deeds of bravery; and when anything is amiss with the proceedings of the Romans, the Imperial family is always exculpated. Characteristic is the palliation of Vespasian's brutal treatment of the people of Tarichea. When they surrendered, they were promised their lives, but twelve hundred old men were butchered, and over three thousand men and women were sold as slaves. Josephus cannot find the execution of the

divine will in this, and so he is driven to explain that Vespasian was overborne by his council, and gave them an ambiguous liberty to do as seemed good to them.

It is the pivot of the story of the wars, as has been stated, that the internal strife of the Jews brought about the ruin of the nation, and the testimony of Josephus has perpetuated that conception of the last days of Jerusalem. Our other records of the struggle go to suggest that civil strife did take place. Tacitus[1] states that there were three leaders, each with his own army in the city, and the Rabbinical authorities[2] speak of the three councils in Jerusalem. It is further said that the second Temple was destroyed because of the unprovoked hatred among the Jews, which was the equal of the sins of murder, unchastity, and idolatry that brought about the fall of the first Temple.[3] Yet the fact that the men who were the foremost agitators of the Rebellion were its leaders to the end suggests that the people had reliance on their leadership; and Josephus probably traded largely on his prejudices for the particulars of the civil conflicts, and he placed all the blame on the party that was least guilty. Adopting the Roman standpoint, he denounced the whole Zealot policy, and for John of Gischala, their leader, he entertained a special loathing. It is therefore his purpose to show that all the sedition was of John's making, while it would seem more probable that the disturbances arose because the Romanizing aristocrats were planning surrender.

[Footnote 1: Hist. v. 12.]

[Footnote 2: Midr. Kohelet, vii. 11.]

[Footnote 3: Yoma, 9b.]

According to Josephus, the Zealots, who were masters of the greater part of Jerusalem during the struggle, established a reign of terror. They trampled upon the laws of man, and laughed at the laws of God. They ridiculed the oracles of the prophets as the tricks of jugglers. "Yet did they occasion the fulfilment of prophecies relating to their country. For there was an ancient oracle that the city should be taken and the sanctuary burnt when sedition should affect the Jews." Josephus shares the pagan outlook of the Roman historian Tacitus, who is horrified at the Jewish disregard of the omens and portents which betokened the fall of their city, and speaks of them as a people prone to superstition (what we would call faith) and deaf to divine warnings (what we would call superstition). [1] Josephus and his friends were looking for signs and prophecies of the ruin of the people as an excuse for surrender; the Zealots, men of sterner stuff and of fuller faith, were resolved to resist to the end, and would brook no parleying with the enemy. They were in fact political nationalists of a different school and leaning from the aristocrats and the priests. The latter regarded political life and

the Temple service as vital parts of the national life, and believing that the legions were invincible were anxious to keep peace with Rome. The Zealots regarded personal liberty and national independence as vital, and, to vindicate them, fought to the end with Rome. Both the extreme political parties lacked the spiritual standpoint of the Pharisees, who believed that the Torah even without political independence would hold the people together till a better time was granted by Providence. The party conflicts induced violence and civil tumult, and Josephus would have us believe that "demoniac discord" was the main cause of the ruin of Jerusalem. During the respite which the Jews enjoyed before the final siege of Jerusalem, he alleges that a bitter feud was waged incessantly between Eleazar the son of Simon, who held the Inner Court of the Temple, Simon, the son of Gioras, who held the Upper and the greater part of the Lower city, and John of Gischala, who occupied the outer part of the Temple. He describes the situation rhetorically as "sedition begetting sedition, like a wild beast gone mad, which, for want of other food, falls to eating its own flesh." And he bursts into an apostrophe over the fighting that went on within the Temple precincts:

"Most wretched city! What misery so great as this didst thou suffer from the Romans, when they came to purify thee from thy internecine hatred! Thou couldst no longer be a fit habitation for God, nor couldst thou continue longer in being, after thou hadst been a sepulcher for the corpses of thine own people, and thy holy house itself had been a burial place in their civil strife."

[Footnote 1: Hist. v. 13. Gens superstitioni prona, religioni obnoxia.]

It is curious that a little later, when he resumes the narrative of the Roman campaign, and returns presumably to a Roman source, he says that the Jews, elated by their unexpected success, made incursions on the Greek cities. The success referred to must be the defeat of Cestius Gallus, and it looks as if this lurid account of the horrors of the civil war in Jerusalem were not known to the Roman guide, and that at the least Josephus has embroidered the story of the feud to suit his thesis. The measure of the Jewish writer's dependence for the main part of his narrative of the siege is singularly illustrated by a small detail. Josephus throughout his account uses the Macedonian names of the months, and equates them loosely with those of the Jewish calendar; but it is notable that the three traditional Jewish dates in the siege which he inserts, the fourteenth of Xanthicus (Nisan), when it began, the seventeenth of Panemos (Tammuz), when the daily offering ceased, and the ninth and tenth of Loos (Ab), when the Temple was destroyed, conflict with the other dates he gives in his general account of the siege. So far from being a proof of his independence, as has been claimed, his Jewish dates show his want of skill in weaving his Jewish information into his

scheme. When he is original, he is apt to be unhistorical. Josephus agrees with the Talmud that the fire lasted to the tenth of the month,[1] but while the Rabbis cursed Titus, who burnt the Holy of Holies and spread fire and slaughter, and Roman historians[2] declared that Titus had deliberately fired the center of the Jewish cult in order to destroy the national stronghold, Josephus is anxious to preserve his patron's reputation for gentleness and invest him with the appearance of piety and magnanimity. Voicing perhaps the conqueror's later regrets, he declares that he protested against the Romans' avenging themselves on inanimate things and against the destruction of so beautiful a work, but failed despite all his efforts to stay the conflagration. The historian writes a lurid description of the catastrophe, but he omits the simple details that make the account in the Talmud so pathetic. "The Temple," runs the Talmudic account[3] "was destroyed on the eve of the ninth day of Ab at the outgoing of Sabbath, at the end of the Sabbatic year; and the watch of Jehoiarib was on service, and the Levites were chanting the hymns and standing at their desks. And the hymn they chanted was, 'And He shall bring upon them their own iniquity, and shall cut them off with their own wickedness' (Ps. 94:23); and they could not finish to say, 'The Lord our God shall cut them off,' when the heathen came and silenced them." This account may not be historically true, but it represents the unquenchable spirit of Judaism in face of the disaster.

[Footnote 1: Comp. Yer. Taanit, iv. 6.]

[Footnote 2: Comp. Sulpicius Severus, who used Tacitus (Chron. I. xxx. 6.); and the poet Valerius Flaccus acclaims the victor of Solymae, who hurls fiery torches at the Temple. Dion Cassius (lxvi. 4.) declares that when the Roman soldiers refused to attack the Temple in awe of its holiness, Titus himself set fire to it; and this appears to be the true account.]

[Footnote 3: Taanit, 29a.]

Josephus, on the other hand, regards the fall of the Temple as a favorable opportunity to give a list of the prodigies and omens that heralded it. For example, he finds a proof of Providence in the fulfilment of the oracle, that the city and the holy house should be taken when the Temple should become foursquare. By demolishing the tower of Antonia the Jews had made the Temple area foursquare, and so brought the doom upon themselves. He tells, too, the story of a prophet Jesus, who for years had cried, "Woe, woe to Jerusalem," and in the end, struck by a missile, fell, crying, "Woe, woe to me!" For any reflections, however, on the immortality of the religion or for any utterances of hope for the ultimate restoration of the Temple and the coming of the Messiah, we must not look to the *Wars*. Such ideas would not have pleased his patrons, had he entertained them himself. He pointed to the fulfilment of prophecy only

so far as it predicted and justified the destruction and ruin of his people. The expression of the national agony at the destruction of the national center is to be found in the apocryphal book of Esdras II.

Over his account of the final acts of the tragedy we may pass quickly. Undismayed by the fall of the sanctuary and still hoping for divine intervention, John and Simon withdrew from the Temple to the upper city. Driven from this, they took refuge in the underground caverns and caves to be found everywhere beneath Jerusalem, and finally they stood their ground in the towers, until these too were captured, a month after the destruction of the Temple, on the eighth of Elul (Gorpiaeus, as the Greek month was called).

"It was the fifth time that the city was captured; and 2179 years passed between its first building and its last destruction. Yet neither its great antiquity, nor its vast riches, nor the diffusion of the nation over the whole earth, nor the greatness of the veneration paid to it on religious grounds, was sufficient to preserve it from destruction. And thus ended the siege of Jerusalem."

Though the war was not finished, the crisis of the drama was over, and Josephus, doubtless following his source, relaxes the narrative to digress about affairs in Rome and the East. The last book of the *Wars* is episodic and disconnected. It is a kind of aftermath, in which the historian gathers up scattered records, but does not preserve the dramatic character of the history. He had apparently here to fall back on his own feeble constructive power, and was hard put to it to eke out his material to the proportions of a book.

So careless, too, is he that he abstracts references from his source that are meaningless. In the excursion into general history, he refers to "the German king Alaric, whom we have mentioned before,"[1] though he is brought in for the first time; and in the account of the siege of the Zealots' fortress Machaerus he records the death of one "Judas whom we have mentioned before,"[2] though again there was no previous mention of the warrior. In the same chapter he describes some magical plant, "Baaras, possessing power to drive away demons, which are no other than the spirits of the wicked that enter into living men and kill them, unless they obtain some help against them." This apparently was a commonplace of Palestinian natural science, as known to the Greco-Roman world, and Josephus simply copied it.

[Footnote 1: B.J. VII. iv. 4.]

[Footnote 2: B.J. VII. vi. 4.]

The Zealots still maintained resistance in remote parts of the country, and the legate Bassus was sent to take their three fortresses. He died before the capture of Masada, the last stronghold, a natural fastness overlooking the Dead Sea, which had been fortified by Herod. In this region David and centuries later the

Maccabean heroes had found a refuge at their time of distress, and here the Jewish people were to show that desperate heroism of their race which is evoked when all save honor is lost. Masada had been occupied by Eleazar, a grandson of Judas of Galilee, the leader of the most fanatical section of the Zealots; and it fell to the procurator Flavius Silva to reduce it.

Josephus utters a final outburst against the hated nationalist party and especially its two leaders, Simon of Gioras and John of Gischala, though both had become victims of Roman revenge. "That was a time," he exclaims, "most prolific in wicked practices, nor could anyone devise any new evil, so deeply were they infected, striving with each other individually and collectively who should run to the greatest lengths of impiety towards God and in unjust actions towards their neighbors." The more incongruous is it that after this invective he puts into Eleazar's mouth two long speeches, calling on his men to kill themselves rather than fall into the hands of the Romans, which sum up eloquently the Zealot attitude.[1] Josephus indeed introduces in the speech the Hellenized doctrine of immortality, which regards the soul as an invisible spirit imprisoned in the mortal body and seeking relief from its prison. He goes on, however, to make the Jewish commander point out how preferable is death to life servitude to the Romans, in a way in which Eleazar might himself have spoken.

[Footnote 1: B.J. VII. viii.]

"'And as for those who have died in the war, we should deem them blessed, for they are dead in defending, and not in betraying, their liberty: but as to the multitude of those that have submitted to the Romans, who would not pity their condition? And who would not make haste to die before he would suffer the same miseries? Where is now that great city, the metropolis of the Jewish nation, which was fortified by so many walls round about, which had so many fortresses and large towers to defend it, which could hardly contain the instruments prepared for the war, and which had so many myriads of men to fight for it? Where is this city that God Himself inhabited? It is now demolished to the very foundations; and hath nothing but that monument of it preserved, I mean the camp of those that have destroyed it, which still dwells upon its ruins; some unfortunate old men also lie upon the ashes of the Temple, and a few women are there preserved alive by the enemy for our bitter shame and reproach. Now, who is there that revolves these things in his mind, and yet is able to bear the sight of the sun, though he might live out of danger? Who is there so much his country's enemy, or so unmanly and so desirous of living, as not to repent that he is still alive? And I cannot but wish that we had all died before we had seen that holy city demolished by the hands of our enemies, or the foundations of our holy

Temple dug up after so profane a manner. But since we had a generous hope that deluded us, as if we might perhaps have been able to avenge ourselves on our enemies, on that account, though it be now become vanity, and hath left us alone in this distress, let us make haste to die bravely. Let us pity ourselves, our children, and our wives, while it is in our power to show pity to them; for we are born to die, as well as those whom we have begotten; nor is it in the power of the most happy of our race to avoid it. But for abuses and slavery and the sight of our wives led away after an ignominious manner with their children, these are not such evils as are natural and necessary among men; although such as do not prefer death before those miseries, when it is in their power to do so, must undergo even them on account of their own cowardice.'

"Responding to their leader's call, the defenders put their wives and children to the sword, and then turned their hands on themselves: and when the Romans entered the place, to their amazement and horror they found not a living soul."

Eleazar's speech is one of the few patriotic outbursts in the seven books of the Wars, and it reads like a cry of bitter regret wrung from the unhappy author at the end of his work. Like Balaam he set out to curse, and stayed to bless, his enemies, and cursed himself. Perhaps this apostrophe hides the tragedy of Josephus' life. Perhaps he inwardly repented of his cowardice, and rued the uneasy protection he had secured for himself. Perhaps he had denounced the Zealots throughout the history perforce, to please his taskmasters, and in his heart of hearts envied the party that had preferred death to surrender. We could wish he had ended with the story of Masada's noble fall, and left us at this pathetic doubt. But he had not the dramatic sense, and he rounds off the story of the wars with an account of the futile Jewish rising in Alexandria and Cyrene, fomented by the surviving remnants of the Zealots. The first led to the closing in Egypt of the Temple of Onias, the last sanctuary of the Jews; the second to slanderous attacks on the historian. Jonathan, who had stirred up the Cyrenaic rising and started the slanders, was tortured and burnt alive. As to Catullus, the Roman governor, who admitted the calumnies, though the Emperor spared him, he fell into a terrible distemper and died miserably. "Thus he became a signal instance of Divine Providence, and demonstrated that God punishes the wicked."

Instead of concluding upon some national reflection, Josephus, pathetically enough, disfigures the end of his work with a final revelation of personal vanity and materialistic views of a Providence intervening on his behalf. Egoism and incapacity to attain to the noble and sublime either in action or thought were the two defects that lowered Josephus as a man, and which mar him as an historian. In the last paragraph of the work he insists that he has aimed alone at agreement with the facts; but industrious as is the record of events, the claim is shallow. His

history of the Jewish wars lacks authority because it is palpably designed to please the Roman taste, and because also it has to serve as a personal apology for one who, when heroism was called for, had failed to respond to the call, and who was thus rendered incapable in letters as in life of being a faithful champion of his people.

VI. JOSEPHUS AND THE BIBLE

In the preface to the *Antiquities* Josephus draws a distinction between his motives for the composition of that work and of the *Wars*. He wrote the latter because he himself had played a large part in the war, and he desired to correct the errors of other historians, who had perverted the truth. On the other hand, he undertook to write the earlier history of his people because of the great importance of the events themselves and of his desire to reveal for the common benefit things that were buried in ignorance. He was stimulated to the task by the fact that his forefathers had been willing to communicate their antiquity to the Greeks, and, moreover, several of the Greeks had been at pains to learn of the affairs of the Jewish nation.

It would appear that he is here referring to the Septuagint translation of the Bible, since he proceeds to summarize the well-known story of King Ptolemy recounted in the Letter of Aristeas, which he afterwards sets out more fully.[1] Josephus shares the aim of the Hellenistic-Jewish writers to make the Jewish Scriptures known to the Gentile world, and he inherits also, but in a much smaller degree, their method of presenting Judaism to suit Greek or Greco-Roman tastes, as a philosophical, *i.e.* an ethical-philosophical, religion. Perhaps he had become acquainted, either at Alexandria or at Rome, with Philo's *Life of Moses*, which was a popular text-book, so to speak, of universal Judaism. Certain it is that the prelude to the *Antiquities* is reminiscent of the earlier treatise. Josephus reproduces Philo's idea that Moses began his legislation not as other lawgivers, "with the detailed enactments, contracts, and other rites between one man and another, but by raising men's minds upwards to regard God and His creation." For Moses life was to be an imitation of the divine. Contemplation of God's work is the best of all patterns for man to follow. With Philo again, he points out the superiority of Moses over other legislators in his attack upon false ideas of the divine nature; "for there is nothing in the Scriptures inconsistent with the majesty of God or with His love of mankind: and all things in it have reference to the nature of the universe." He claims, too, that Moses explains some things clearly and directly, but that he hints at others philosophically under the form of allegory. And to these commonplaces of Alexandrian exegesis he adds as the lesson of the history of his people that "it goes well with those who follow God's will and observe His laws, and ill with those who rebel against Him and neglect His laws." To exhibit to the Greco-Roman world the power and majesty of the Jewish God and the excellence of the Jewish law — these are the

two main purposes which he professes to set before himself in his rendering of the Bible story, which occupies the first half of the *Antiquities*. No Jewish writer before him had treated the Bible to suit Roman predilections, which attached supreme importance to material strength and the concrete manifestation of authority, and Josephus in order to carry out his aim had therefore to proceed on new lines.

[Footnote 1: See below, .]

In effect, he rarely attempts to ethicize the Bible story. For the most part he paraphrases it, cuts out its poetry, and reduces it to a prosaic chronicle of facts. The exordium in fact has little relation to the book, and looks as if it were borrowed without discrimination. Josephus next, indeed, professes that he will accurately set out in chronological order the incidents in the Jewish annals, "without adding anything to what is therein contained or taking anything away from it." It may be that he regarded the oral tradition as an inherent part of the law, and therefore inserts selections of it in the narrative, but anyhow he does not observe strictly the command of Deuteronomy (4:2) that prompted his profession, "Ye shall not add unto the word I have spoken, neither shall ye diminish aught from it." Not only does he freely paraphrase the Septuagint version of the Bible, but, more especially in the earlier part of the work, he incorporates pieces of Palestinian Haggadah and to a smaller extent of Alexandrian interpretation, and he omits many episodes that did not seem to him to redound to the glory of his people. He seeks to improve the Bible, and though he did not invent new legends, he accepted uncritically those which he found in Hellenistic sources or in the oral tradition of his people. His work is, therefore, valuable as a storehouse of early Haggadah. It is unnecessary to accept his description of himself as one who had a profound knowledge of tradition, but he was acquainted with the popular exegesis of the Palestinian teachers; and twenty years of life at the Roman court had not entirely eliminated his knowledge.

In the very first section of the first book, he notes that Moses sums up the first day of Creation with the words, "and it was *one* day"; whereas afterwards it is said, "it was the second, the third day, etc." He does not indeed supply the interpretation, saying that he will give the reason in a separate treatise which he proposes to write; but the same point is discussed in the Rabbinic commentary. He gives the traditional interpretation of the four rivers of the Garden of Eden. [1] He derives the name Adam from the Hebrew word for red, because the first man was formed out of red earth.[2] He states that the animals in the Garden of Eden had one language, a piece of Midrash which occurs also in the Book of Jubilees. He relates that Cain, after the murder of his brother, was afraid of falling among wild beasts, agreeing with the Midrash that all the animals

assembled to avenge the blood of Abel,[3] but God forbade them to destroy Cain on pain of their own destruction. Seth he describes as the model of the virtuous, and of him the Rabbis likewise say, "From Seth dates the stock of all generations of the virtuous." He pictures him also as a great inventor and the discoverer of astronomy, and tells how he set up pillars of brick and stone recording these inventions, so that they might not be forgotten if the world was destroyed either by fire or water: here again agreeing with the Book of Jubilees, which relates that Cainan found an inscription in which his forefathers had described their inventions. Examples might be multiplied from the first chapters of the *Antiquities* of the way in which Josephus weaves into the Bible account traditional Midrashim, but these instances will suffice.

[Footnote 1: Gen. R. ii. and iii., quoted in Bloch, Die Quellen des Flavius Josephus, 1879. The rivers are the Ganges, Euphrates, Tigris, and Nile.]

[Footnote 2: Yalkut Gen. 21, 22.]

[Footnote 3: Gen. R. xxii.]

Besides embroidering the Bible text with Haggadic legends, Josephus is prone to place in the mouths of the characters rhetorical speeches in the Greek style, either expanding a verse or two in the Bible or composing them entirely. Thus God says to Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden after the fall: "I had before determined about you that you might lead a happy life without affliction and care and vexation of soul; and that all things which might contribute to your enjoyment and pleasure should grow up by My Providence of their own accord. And death would not overtake you at any period. But now you have abused My good-will and disobeyed My commands, for your silence is not the sign of your virtue but of your guilty conscience."

Anticipating, moreover, the methods of latter-day Biblical apologists, he loses no opportunity of adding any confirmation he can find for the Bible story in pagan historians. He cites for the truth of the story of the flood Berosus the Chaldean, Hieronymus the Egyptian, Menander the Phoenician, and a great many others[1]; and he finds confirmation of the early chapters of Genesis in general in Manetho, who wrote a famous Egyptian history, and Mochus, and Hestiaeus, and in some of the earliest Greek chroniclers, Hesiod and Hecataeus and Hellanicus and Acesilaus. In later years he was to deal more elaborately with the question of the authority of the Scriptural history,[2] and then he set out the pagan testimony more accurately. In the *Antiquities* he is usually content to refer to it. It is significant that in the passages in which he adduces pagan corroboration he refers to Nicholas of Damascus, and in the first of them repeats his words about the remains of the Ark lying on a mountain in Armenia. It is well-nigh certain that Josephus did not study the writings of any of these

chroniclers and historians at first hand, for he shows no acquaintance with the substance of their works. They were quoted by Nicholas, and where his source had given excerpts from their writings that threw any light, or might be taken to throw light, on the Hebrew text, Josephus, following the literary ethics of his day, inserts them. His archeology extended only to the reading of one or more writers of universal ancient history and taking from them whatever bore upon his own subject. He finds authority for the story of the tower of Babel in the oracles of the Sibyl, which we now know to be Jewish forgeries, but which professed to be and were regarded by the less educated of his day as being the utterances of an ancient seeress. Josephus paraphrases the hexameters which described how, when all men were of one tongue, some of them built a high tower, as if they would thereby ascend to heaven; but the deity sent storms of wind and overthrew the tower, and gave everyone his peculiar language.

[Footnote 1: Ant. I. iii. 3.]

[Footnote 2: Comp. below, .]

Josephus sets considerable store by the exact chronology of the Bible, stopping continually to enumerate the number of years that had passed from the Creation to some other point of reckoning. His habit in this respect is marred by a singular inaccuracy in dealing with dates and figures, varying as he often does from chapter to chapter, sometimes from paragraph to paragraph, according to the source he happens to be following. He gives the year of the flood as 2656, though the sum of the years of the Patriarchs who lived before it in his reckoning totals only 2256. It has been conjectured[1] that he followed the Septuagint chronology from the Creation to the flood and that of the Hebrew Bible from Abraham onwards, and for the intermediate period he has his own reckoning. The result is that his calculations are often inconsistent. In his desire to impress the Greco-Roman reader, he dates an event by the Macedonian as well as the Jewish month, whenever he knows it, *i.e.* when he found it in his source. Thus the flood is said to have taken place "in the month Dius, which is called by the Hebrews Marheshwan." From the same motive he dwells on the table of the descendants of Noah, identifying the various families mentioned in the Bible with peoples known to the Greek world. The sons of Noah inhabited first the mountains Taurus and Amanus, and proceeded along Asia to the river Tanais, and along Europe to Cadiz, giving their names to nations in the lands they inhabited.

[Footnote 1: Comp. Destinon, Die Chronologie des Josephus, 1880.]

What Josephus then insists on in his paraphrase of Scripture is the fact and not the lesson, the letter and not the spirit; while Philo, who is the true type of Jewish Hellenist, was always looking for deeper meanings beneath the literal

text. The Romans had no bent for such interpretations, and Josephus Romanizes. He treats, for example, the genealogies, the chronology, and the ethnology of Genesis as things of supreme value, and though he occasionally inserts Haggadic tradition, he misses the Haggadic spirit, which sought to draw new morals and new spiritual value from the narrative. In his account of Abram, indeed, he touches upon the patriarch's higher idea of God, which led him to leave Chaldea. But here, too, he distorts the genuine Hebraic conception, and presents Abram as a kind of Stoic philosopher.[1]

[Footnote 1: Ant. I. vii. 1.]

He was the first that ventured to publish this notion, that there was but one God, the Creator of the Universe, and that, as to the other gods, if they contributed to the happiness of men, they afforded it according to their appointment and not according to their own power. His opinion was derived from the study of the heavenly bodies and the phenomena of the terrestrial world. If, said he, these bodies had power of their own, they would certainly have regular motions. But since they do not preserve such regularity, they show that in so far as they work for our good, they do it not of their own strength but as they are subservient to Him who commands them.

This is one of the few pieces of theology in the *Antiquities*, and we are fain to believe that he borrowed it from Nicholas, who is quoted immediately afterwards, or from pseudo-Hecataeus, a Jewish pseudepigraphic historian, to whom a book on the patriarch was ascribed. So, later, following the Hellenistic tradition, he represents Abraham as the teacher of astronomy to the Egyptians.

Josephus was a wavering rationalist, as is shown by his acceptance of the story of Lot's wife being turned into a pillar of salt, "I have seen the pillar," he adds (though again he may be blindly copying), "and it remains to this day." It is not the place here to enter into the details of his version of the story of the patriarchs. He gives the facts, and loses much of the spirit, often spoiling the beauty of the Biblical narrative by a prosy paraphrase. Thus God assures Abraham after the offering of Isaac,[1] that it was not out of desire for human blood that he was commanded to slay his son; and Isaac says to Jacob, who comes to receive the blessing: "Thy voice is like the voice of Jacob, yet because of the thickness of thy hair thou seemest to be Esau." One is reminded of Bowdler's improvements of Shakespeare in the eighteenth century.

[Footnote 1: Ant. I. xiii. 4.]

The first book of the *Antiquities* ends with the death of Isaac. The second deals with the story of Joseph and of the Exodus from Egypt. The method is the same: partly Midrashic and partly rhetorical embellishment of the Biblical text, conversion of the poetry into prose, and, where occasion offers, correlation of

the Scripture with Hellenistic history. The chapters dealing with the life of Moses are particularly rich in legendary additions: Amram is told in a vision that his son shall be the savior of Israel;[1] the name of Pharaoh's daughter is given as Thermuthis, in accordance with Hellenistic, but not Talmudic, tradition. Moses in his childhood dons Pharaoh's crown, and is only saved from death by the king's daughter.[2] Finally a whole chapter is devoted to an account of the wars of Moses, as an Egyptian general fighting against the Ethiopians, which is taken from the histories of pseudo-Artapanus.[3] Josephus makes no attempt to rationalize the account of the plagues, but on the contrary dilates on them, "both because no such plagues did ever happen to any other nation, and because it is for the good of mankind, that they may learn by this warning not to do anything which may displease God, lest He be provoked to wrath and avenge their iniquity upon them." At the same time, following a tradition reflected in the Apocalyptic and Rabbinic literature, he modifies the Biblical statement, that the Jews spoiled the Egyptians before leaving the country, by explaining that they took their fair hire for their labor.[4] And after describing the drowning of the Egyptians in the Red Sea — which Moses celebrates with a thanksgiving song in hexameter verse[5] — he apologizes for the strangeness of the narrative and its miraculous incidents. He explains that he has recounted every part of the history as he found it in the sacred books, and people are not to wonder "if such things happened, *whether by God's will or by chance*, to the men of old, who were free from the wickedness of modern times, seeing that even for those who accompanied Alexander the Greek, who lived recently, when it was God's will to destroy the Persian monarchy, the Pamphylian sea retired and afforded a passage." This homily smacks of some Hellenistic-Jewish rationalist, whom he copied. But he concludes the whole with a formula, which is regular when he has stated something which he fears will be difficult of belief for his audience, "As to these things, let everyone determine as he thinks best." He treats the account of the Decalogue in a similar way. "I am bound," he says, "to relate the history as it is described in the Holy Writ, but my readers may accept or reject the story as they please." Josephus therein applied the rule, "When at Rome, do as Rome does." For it is noteworthy that the Roman historian Tacitus, who wrote a little later than Josephus, manifests the same indecision about the interference of the divine agency in human affairs, the relation of chance to human freedom, and the necessity of fate; and in many cases he likewise places the rational and transcendental explanations of an event side by side, without any attempt to reconcile them.

[Footnote 1: Comp. Mekilta, ed. Weiss, . This and the following Rabbinic parallels are collected by Bloch, *op. cit.*]

[Footnote 2: Comp. Tanhuma, xii. 4.]

[Footnote 3: Comp. Eusebius, Praep. vii. 2.]

[Footnote 4: Comp. Book of Jubilees, xlviii. 18, and Sanhedrin, 91a.]

[Footnote 5: He probably had in mind the Greek version of the Song of Moses made by the Jewish-Alexandrian dramatic poet Ezekiel, which was written in hexameter verse.]

Josephus deals summarily with the Mosaic Code in the *Antiquities*, but announces his intention to compose "another work concerning our laws." This work is, perhaps, represented by the second book *Against Apion*; or possibly the intention was never fulfilled. He does not set out the ten commandments at length, explaining that it was against tradition to translate them directly.[1] He refers probably to the rule that they were not to be recited in any language but Hebrew, though, of course, the Septuagint contained a full version. On the other hand, he describes the construction of the Tabernacle with some fulness, and dwells particularly on the robes of the priests and the pomp of the high priest. Ritual and ceremonial appealed to his public; and his account, which was based on the practice of his own day, supplements in some particulars the account in the Talmud. But unfortunately he does not describe the Temple service. He attaches marked importance to the Urim and Thummim, which formed a sort of oracle parallel with pagan institutions, and says that the breastplate and sardonyx, with which he identifies them, ceased to shine two hundred years before he wrote his book[2] (i.e. at the time of John Hyrcanus). The Talmud understands the mystic names of the Bible in a similar way,[3] but represents that the oracle ceased with the destruction of the first Temple, and was not known in the second Temple. Josephus enlarges, in a way common to the Hellenistic-Jewish apologists,[4] on the symbolism of the Temple service and furniture.

"One may wonder at the contempt men bear us, or which they profess to bear, on the ground that we despise the Deity, whom they pretend to honor: for if anyone do but consider the construction of the Temple, the Tabernacle, and the garments of the high priest, and the vessels we use in our service, he will find our lawgiver was inspired by God…. For if he regard these things without prejudice, he will find that everyone is made by way of imitation and representation of the Universe."[5]

[Footnote 1: Ant. III. vi. 4.]

[Footnote 2: Ant. III. vii. 7.]

[Footnote 3: Yer. Sotah, ix. 13.]

[Footnote 4: Comp. Philo, De V. Mos. iii. 6.]

[Footnote 5: Ant. III. vii. 7.]

The ritual, in brief, typifies the universal character of Judaism, which Josephus was anxious to emphasize in reply to the charge of Jewish aloofness and particularism. The three divisions of the Tabernacle symbolize heaven, earth, and sea; the twelve loaves stand for the twelve months of the year; the seventy parts of the candlestick for the seventy planets; the veils, which were composed of four materials, for the four elements; the linen of the high priest's vestment signified the earth, the blue betokened the sky; the breastplate resembled the shape of the earth, and so forth. We find similar reflections in Philo, but in his work they are part of a continuous allegorical exegesis, and in the other they are a sudden incursion of the symbolical into the long narrative of facts.

Following the account of the Tabernacle and the priestly vestments, Josephus describes the manner of offering sacrifices, the observance of the festivals, and the Levitical laws of cleanliness. In his account of these laws Josephus makes no attempt either to derive a universal value from the Biblical commands or to read a philosophical meaning into them by allegorical interpretation. He normally states the law as it stands in the text, and in the selection he makes he gives the preference, not to general ethical precepts, but to regulations about the priests. He had a pride of caste and a love of the pomp and circumstance of the Temple service; and the national ceremony could be more easily conveyed to the Gentile than an understanding of the spiritual value of Judaism. The Hellenistic apologists enlarged on the humanitarian character of the Mosaic social legislation; Josephus mentions without comment the laws of the seventh year release and the Jubilee, though in his later apology, which was addressed to the Greeks, in the books *Against Apion*,[1] he dwelt more carefully on them. His interpretation of the laws, so far as it goes, in places agrees with the Rabbinic Halakah, but he admits some modification of the accepted tradition. Thus he states that the high priest was forbidden to marry a slave, or a captive, or a woman who kept an inn. He translates the Hebrew [Hebrew: zonah], which probably here means a prostitute, by innkeeper, a meaning the word has in other passages;[2] but the Aramaic version of the Bible supports him. He gives, too, a rationalizing reason for the observance of Tabernacles, saying, "The Law enjoins us to pitch tabernacles so that we may preserve ourselves from the cold of the season of the year."[3] The Feast of Weeks he calls Asartha, perhaps a Grecized form of the Hebrew [Hebrew: Atzereth], which was its old name, and he does not regard it as the anniversary of the giving of the Law. He promises to explain

afterwards why some animals are forbidden for food and some permitted, but he fails to fulfil his promise. Since, however, the interpretation of the dietary laws as a discipline of temperance was a commonplace of Hellenistic Judaism, which is very fully set forth in the so-called Fourth Book of the Maccabees,[4] the absence of his comments is not a great loss.

[Footnote 1: See below, .]

[Footnote 2: Judges, 4:1; Josh. 2; and Ezek. 23:44.]

[Footnote 3: Ant. IV. viii. 4.]

[Footnote 4: See above, .]

In the next book of the *Antiquities*, Josephus deals with other parts of the Mosaic Law, especially such as might appear striking to Roman readers. Thus he gives in detail the law as to the Nazarites, the Korban offering, and the red heifer, and he completes his account of the Mosaic Code by a summary description of the Jewish polity, in which he abstracts a large part of the laws of Deuteronomy together with some of the traditional amplifications.[1] Moses prefaces his farewell address with a number of moral platitudes. "Virtue is its own principal reward, and, besides, it bestows abundance of others."— "The practice of virtue towards other men will make your own lives happy," and so forth. Josephus again proclaims that he sets out the laws in the words of Moses, his only innovation being to arrange them in a regular system, "for they were left by him in writing as they were accidentally scattered." The influence of Roman law may have suggested the arranging and digesting of the Mosaic Code, as well as several of his variations from the letter of the Bible.

[Footnote 1: Ant. IV. viii.]

A few of his interpretations are noteworthy as comprising either Palestinian or Hellenistic tradition. He understands the command not to curse those in authority ([Hebrew: Elohim], Exod. 22:28) as referring to the gods worshiped in other cities, following Philo and a Hellenistic tradition based on a mistranslation of the Septuagint. A late passage in the Talmud, on the other hand, says that all abuse is forbidden save of idolatry.[1] With Philo again, he inserts into the code a law prohibiting the possession of poison on pain of death,[2] which is based on an erroneous interpretation of the law against witchcraft. Josephus follows the Hellenistic school also when he deduces from the prohibition against removing boundary stones the lesson that no infraction of the law and tradition[3] is to be permitted. Nothing is to be allowed the imitation of which might lead to the subversion of the constitution. He introduces a law about evidence, to the effect that the testimony of women should not be admitted "on account of the levity and boldness of their sex."[4] The rule has no place in the Code of the Pentateuch, but is supported in the oral law. He adopts another traditional

interpretation when he limits the commands against women wearing men's habits to the donning of armor in times of war.[5] He misrepresents, on the other hand, the law of [Hebrew: shemitah] (seventh year release), stating that if a servant have a child by a bondwoman in his master's house, and if, on account of his good-will to his master, he prefers to remain a slave, he shall be set free only in the year of jubilee. The Bible says he shall be branded if he refuse the proffered liberty in the seventh year, and Philo in his interpretation has drawn a fine homily about the regard set on liberty. But Josephus may have thought that the institution would appear ridiculous to the legal minds of Romans. To accommodate the Jewish law again to the Roman standard, he moderates the *lex talionis* (the rule of an eye for an eye), by adding that it is applied only if he that is maimed will not accept money in compensation for his injury, a half-way position between the Sadducean doctrine, which understood the Biblical law literally, and the Pharisaic rule, which abrogated it. But in several instances he makes offenses punishable with death, which were not so according to the tradition, *e.g.* the insulting of parents by their children and the taking of bribes by judges.[6] Summing up the version of Deuteronomy, it may be said that Josephus, by omitting a law here, adding one there, now softening, now modifying, in some places broadening, in others narrowing the scope of the command, presents a code which lacks both the ruggedness of the Torah and the maturer humaneness of the Rabbinical Halakah, but was designed to show the reasonableness of the Jewish system according to Roman notions.

[Footnote 1: Sanhedrin, 63b.]

[Footnote 2: Comp. Philo, De Spec. Leg. ii. 815.]

[Footnote 3: Comp. Deut. 22:5, and Nazir, 59a, with Ant. IV. viii. 43.]

[Footnote 4: Shebuot, 30a.]

[Footnote 5: Comp. Philo, De Spec. Leg. ii.]

[Footnote 6: Comp. C. Ap. ii. 27. It has been suggested by Judge Mayer Sulzberger that he falsely interpreted the Hebrew [Hebrew: 'Arur] (cursed be!) to mean death punishment. Comp. J.Q.R., n.s., iii. 315.]

Josephus, from a different motive, is silent about the golden calf and the breaking of the tablets of stone. Those incidents, to his mind, did not reflect credit on his people; therefore they were not to be disclosed to Greek and Roman readers. He omits, for other reasons, the Messianic prophecies of Balaam, which would not be pleasing to the Flavians. At the same time one of the blessings in the prophecies of Balaam gives him the opportunity of asserting some universal humanitarian doctrines, to which Philo affords a parallel. The Moabite seer talks like a Hellenistic apologist of the second century B.C.E. or a Sibylline oracle: "Every land and every sea will be full of the praise of your name. Your offspring

will dwell in every clime, and the whole world will be your dwelling-place for eternity."[1] He is at pains to extol Moses as of superhuman excellence, as is proved by the enduring force of his laws, which is such that "there is no Jew who does not act as if Moses were present and ready to punish him if he should offend in any way."[2] He quotes examples of the Jewish steadfastness in the Law, which would have impressed a Roman: the regular pilgrimage from Babylon to the Temple, the abstention of the Jewish priests from touching a crumb of flour during the Feast of Passover, at a time when, during a severe famine, abundance of wheat was brought to the Temple. But he somewhat mars the effect of his praise by adding a not very exalted motive for the piety of his people — the dread of the Law and of the wrath which God manifests against transgressors, even when no man can accuse the actor. Josephus is in a way a loyal supporter of the Law, and he had a sincere admiration for its hold on the people, but he was led by the conditions of his appeal to materialize the idea of Jewish religious intensity and to present it as a fear of punishment. Nor is it the humanity, the inherent excellence of the Law which he emphasizes, but its endurance and the widespread allegiance it commands. Looking at Judaism through Roman spectacles, he treats it as a positive force comparable with the sway of the Roman Emperor.

[Footnote 1: Comp. Orac. Sib. 111. 271: [Greek: pasa de gaia sethen plaeres kai pasa thalassa] and Philo, De V. Mos. ii. 126.]

[Footnote 2: Ant. IV. vi 4.]

In the description of the death of Moses the same habit of enfeebling the majesty of the Biblical text to suit the current taste is manifested. Moses weeps before he ascends the mountain to die. He exhorts the people not to lament over his departure. As he is about to embrace Joshua and Eleazar, he is covered with a cloud and disappears in a valley, although he piously wrote in the holy books that he died lest the people should say that, because of his marvelous virtue, he was taken up to God. For the last statement Josephus has the authority of some sages, who discussed whether the last verses of Deuteronomy were written by Moses himself.[1]

[Footnote 1: Baba Batra, 15a.]

Josephus continues the Biblical narrative in less detail in the fifth book, which covers the period of Joshua and the Judges and the first part of Samuel. The Book of Joshua is compressed into the limits of one chapter, but the exploits of each of the judges of Israel, with one or two omissions, are recounted in order, and the episode of Ruth is inserted after the story of Samson. He substitutes for the famous declaration of Ruth to Naomi the prosy statement: "Naomi took Ruth along with her, as she was not to be persuaded to stay behind, but was resolved

to share her fortune with her mother-in-law, whatsoever it should prove." And he justifies his insertion of the episode by the reflection that he desires to demonstrate the power of God, who can raise those that are of common parentage to dignity and splendor, even as He advanced David, though he was born of mean parents.

With his fondness for royal history, and no doubt with an eye to his noble audience, he devotes a whole book to the account of Saul's reign, adhering closely to the narrative in Samuel, but occasionally adding a passage from the Book of Chronicles, or softening what seemed an asperity in Scripture. Samuel, for example, orders Agag to be killed, whereas in the Bible he puts him to death with his own hand.[1] The incident of Saul and the Witch of Endor is expanded and invested with further pathos.[2] The Witch devotes her only possession, a calf, for the king's meal, and the historian expatiates first on her kindness and then on Saul's courage in fighting, though he knew his approaching doom. We may suspect that this digression was induced by a supposed analogy in the king of Israel's lot to the author's conduct in Galilee, when, as he claimed, he fought on though knowing the hopelessness of resistance.

[Footnote 1: Ant. VI. viii. 5.]

[Footnote 2: Ant. VI. viii. 14.]

The next book is taken up entirely with the reign of David, and contains little that is noteworthy. On one point Josephus cites the authority of Nicholas of Damascus to support the Bible, and here and there he adopts a traditional interpretation. David's son by Abigail is said to be Daniel,[1] whereas the Book of Samuel gives the name as Kitab. Absalom's hair was so thick that it could be cut with difficulty every eight days.[2] David chose a pestilence as the punishment for his sin in numbering his people, because it was an affliction common to kings and their subjects.[3] The historian ascribes the Psalms to David, and says they were in several (Greek) meters, some in hexameters and others in pentameters. Lastly he enlarges on the wonderful wealth of David, which was greater than that of any other king either of the Hebrews or of other nations. Benjamin of Tudela relates, and the Mohammedans believe to this day, that vast treasure is buried with the king, and lies in his reputed sepulcher. The story must have been accepted in the days of Josephus, for he records how Hyrcanus, the son of Simon the Maccabee, being in straits for money to buy off the Seleucid invader, opened a room of David's sepulcher and took out three thousand talents, and how, many years later, King Herod opened another room, and took out great store of money; yet neither lighted on the body of the king. Such romantic tales pleased the readers of the Jewish historian, who lived amid

the wonderful material splendor of Rome, and prized, above all things, material wealth.

[Footnote 1: Comp. Ant. VII. i. 4; Berakot, 4a.]

[Footnote 2: Ant. VII. viii.; comp. Nazir, 4b.]

[Footnote 3: Ant. VII. xiii.; comp. Yalkut, ii. 165.]

When he comes to the history of Solomon, he speaks of his proverbial writings, and inserts a long account of his miraculous magical powers, based no doubt on popular legend.[1]

"He composed books of odes and songs one thousand and five [here he follows Chronicles] and of parables and similitudes three thousand. For he spoke a parable on every sort of tree, from the hyssop to the cedar, and in like manner about every sort of living creature, whether on the earth or in the air or in the seas. He was not unacquainted with any of their natures, nor did he omit to study them, but he described them all in the manner of a philosopher. God also endowed him with skill in expelling demons, which is a science useful and health-giving to men."[2]

[Footnote 1: Comp. Yalkut, ii. 177. The apocryphal Wisdom of Solomon similarly credits the king with power over spirits (vii. 20).]

[Footnote 2: Ant. VIII. ii. 5.]

Josephus goes on to describe how, in the presence of Vespasian, a compatriot cured soldiers who were demoniacal. We know from the New Testament that the belief in possession by demons was widespread among the vulgar in the first century of the common era, and the Essenes specialized in the science of exorcism. As the belief was invested with respectability by the patronage which the Flavian court extended to all sorts of magic and witchcraft, Josephus enlarges on it. Solomon is therefore represented as a thaumaturgist, and while not a single example is given of the proverbs ascribed to him, his exploits as a miracle-monger are extolled. Josephus sets out at length the story of the building of the Temple, and dwells on Solomon's missions to King Hiram, of which, he says, copies remained in his day, and may be seen in the public records of Tyre. This he claims to be a signal testimony to the truthfulness of his history.[1] He modernizes elaborately Solomon's speech at the dedication of the sanctuary, and converts it into an apology for the Jews of his own day. Again he follows an Alexandrian model, and describes God in Platonic fashion: "Thou possessest an eternal house, and we know how, from what Thou hast created for Thyself, Heaven and Air and Earth and Sea have sprung, and how Thou fillest all things and yet canst not be contained by any of them."[2] Solomon is here a preacher of universalism; he prays that God shall help not the Hebrews alone when they are in distress, "but when any shall come hither from the ends of the earth and repent

of their sins and implore Thy forgiveness, do Thou pardon them and hear their prayer. For thereby all shall know that Thou wast pleased with the building of this house, and that we are not of an unsociable nature, nor do we behave with enmity to such as are not of our people, but are willing that Thou shouldst bestow Thy help on all men in common, and that all alike may enjoy Thy benefits." Solomon's dream after the dedication service provides another occasion for pointing to the Jewish disaster of the historian's day. For he foresees that if Israel will transgress the Law, his miseries shall become a proverb, and his neighbors, when they hear of them, shall be amazed at their magnitude.

[Footnote 1: Comp. below, .]

[Footnote 2: Ant. VIII. iv. 2. Comp. Philo, De Confus. Ling. i. 425.]

The description of the Temple is followed by a glowing account of the king's palace, of which the roof was "according to the Corinthian order, and the decorations so vivid that the leaves seemed to be in motion." We are told, too, of the great cities which the king built, Tadmor in the wilderness of Syria, and Gezer, the Bible narrative being supplemented here with passages from Nicholas. The Queen of Sheba is represented as the Queen of Egypt and Ethiopia, and it is to her gift that Josephus attributes "the root of balsam which our country still bears." Reveling in the material greatness of the Jewish court during the golden age of the old kingdom, Josephus catalogues the wealth of Solomon, the number of his horses and chariots. He reproaches him not only for marrying foreign wives, but for making images of brazen oxen, which supported the brazen sea, and the images of lions about his throne. For these sins against the second commandment he died ingloriously.

With the death of Solomon the legendary and romancing character of this part of the *Antiquities* comes to an end. In the summary of the fortunes of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, Josephus adheres almost exclusively to the Biblical text, and allows himself few digressions. He moralizes a little about the decay of the people under Rehoboam, reflecting that the aggrandizement of a kingdom and its sudden attainment of prosperity often are the occasion of mischief; and he controverts Herodotus, who confused Sesostris with Shishak when relating the Egyptian king's conquests. It is, he claims, really Shishak's invasion of Jerusalem which the Greek historian narrates, as is proved by the fact that he speaks of circumcised Syrians, who can be no other than Jews. The fate of Omri and Zimri[1] moves him to moralize again about God's Providence in rewarding the good and punishing the wicked; and Ahab's death evokes some platitudes concerning fate, "which creeps on human souls and flatters them with pleasing hopes, till it brings them to the place where it will be too hard for

them."[2] Artapanus, or one of the Jewish Hellenists masking as a pagan historian, may have provided him with this reflection.

[Footnote 1: Ant. IX. xii. 6.]

[Footnote 2: Ant. IX. xv. 6.]

He spoils the grandeur of the scene on Mount Carmel, when Elijah turned the people from Baal-worship back to the service of God. In place of the dramatic description in the Book of Kings he states that the Israelites worshiped one God, and called Him the great and the only true God, while the other deities were names. He omits altogether the account of Elijah's ascent to Heaven, probably from a desire not to appear to entertain any Messianic ideas with which the prophet was associated. He says simply that Elijah disappeared from among men. But he gives in detail the miraculous stories of Elisha, which were not subject to the same objection. Occasionally his statements seem in direct conflict with the Hebrew Bible, as when he says that Jehu drove slowly and in good order, whereas the Hebrew is that "he driveth furiously."[1] Or that Joash, king of Israel, was a good man, whereas in the Book of Kings it is written, "he did evil in the sight of the Lord."[2] But these discrepancies may be due, not to a different Bible text, but to aberrations of the copyists.

[Footnote 1: Ant. IX. vi. 3; II Kings, 9:20.]

[Footnote 2: II Kings, 13:11.]

The story of dynastic struggles and foreign wars is varied with a short summary of the life of Jonah, introduced at what, according to the Bible, is its proper chronological place,[1] in the reign of Jeroboam II, king of Israel. The picturesque and miraculous character of the prophet's adventures secured him this distinction, for in general Josephus does not pay much regard to the lives or writings of the prophets. It is only where they foretold concrete events that their testimony is deemed worthy of mention. Of the other minor prophets he mentions Nahum, and paraphrases part of his prophecy of the fall of Nineveh, cutting it short with the remark that he does not think it necessary to repeat the rest,[2] so that he may not appear troublesome to his readers. In the account of Hezekiah he mentions that the king depended on Isaiah the prophet, by whom he inquired and knew of all future events,[3] and he recounts also the miracle of putting back the sun-dial. For the rest, he says that, by common consent, Isaiah was a divine and wonderful man in foretelling the truth, "and in the assurance that he had never written what was false, he wrote down his prophecies and left them in books, that their accomplishment might be judged of by posterity from the events.[4] Nor was he alone, but the other prophets [i.e. the minor prophets presumably], who were twelve in number, did the same." It is notable that this phrase of the *Antiquities* about the prophets bears a resemblance to the "praise of

famous men" contained in the apocryphal book of Ben Sira, which Josephus probably used in the Greek translation.

[Footnote 1: Ant. IX. x. 1.]

[Footnote 2: Ant. IX. xi. 3.]

[Footnote 3: Ant. IX. xiii.]

[Footnote 4: Ant. X. ii. 2. Comp. Is. 30:8*f*.]

While he thus cursorily disposes of the prophetical writers, he seizes on any scrap of Hellenistic authors which he could find to confirm the Bible story, or rather to confirm the existence of the personages mentioned in the Bible. Thus he quotes the Phoenician historian Menander, who confirms the existence and exploits of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser. So, too, he brings forward Herodotus and Berosus to confirm the existence and doings of Sennacherib.[1] He refutes Herodotus again, doubtless on the authority of a predecessor, for saying that Sennacherib was king of the Arabs instead of king of the Assyrians.

[Footnote 1: Ant. X. ii. 4.]

As with Ahab, so with Josiah, Josephus sees the power of fate impelling him to his death, and substitutes the Hellenistic conception of a blind and jealous power for the Hebrew idea of a just Providence. He ascribes to Jeremiah "an elegy on the death of the king, which is still extant,"[1] apparently following a statement in the Book of Chronicles, which does not refer to our Book of Lamentations. Jeremiah is treated rather more fully than Isaiah. Besides a notice of his writings we have an account of his imprisonment. He ascribes to Ezekiel two books foretelling the Babylonian captivity. Possibly the difference between the last nine and the first forty chapters of the exile prophet suggested the idea of the two books, unless these words apply rather to Jeremiah, "The two prophets agreed [he remarks] on all other things as to the capture of the city and King Zedekiah, but Ezekiel declared that Zedekiah should not see Babylon, while Jeremiah said the king of Babylon should carry him thither in bonds. Because of this discrepancy, the Jewish prince disbelieved them both, and condemned them for false tidings.[2] Both prophets, however, were justified, because Zedekiah came to Babylon, but he came blind, so that, as Ezekiel had predicted, he did not see the city."

[Footnote 1: Ant. X. v. 2. Comp. II Chron. 35:25.]

[Footnote 2: Ant. X. vii. 2.]

The episode is possibly based on some apocryphal book that has disappeared, and the historian extracts from it the lesson, which he is never weary of repeating, that God's nature is various and acts in diverse ways, and men are blind and cannot see the future, so that they are exposed to calamities and cannot avoid their incidence.[1]

[Footnote 1: Ant. X. viii. 3.]

Following on the account of the fall of the last of the Davidic line and the destruction of the Temple, Josephus gives a chronological summary of the history of Israel from the Creation, together with an incomplete list of all the high priests who held office. The latter may be compared with the list of high priests with which he closes the *Antiquities*.[1] These chronological calculations were dear to him, but perhaps he borrowed them from one of the earlier Hellenistic Jewish chroniclers. He takes an especial pride throughout the *Antiquities* as well as in the *Wars* in recording the priestly succession, which served to emphasize the antiquity not only of his people, but of his own personal lineage, and was moreover congenial to the ideas of the Romans, who paid great heed to the records of their priests.

[Footnote 1: See below, .]

As might be expected, he dwells at some length on Daniel,[1] whose book was full of the miraculous legends and exact prophecies loved by his audience, and he recommends his book to those who are anxious about the future. He elaborates the interpretation of the vision of the image (ch. 3:7), but finds himself in a difficulty when he comes to the explanation of the stone broken off from the mountain that fell on the image and shattered it. According to the traditional interpretation, it portended the downfall of Rome, or maybe the coming of the Messiah, an idea equally hateful to the Roman conquerors. He excuses himself by saying that he has only undertaken to describe things past and present, and not things that are future. Later he disclaims responsibility for the story of Nebuchadnezzar's madness, on the plea that he has translated what was in the Hebrew book, and has neither added nor taken away. The story probably looked too much like an implied reproach on a mad Caesar. He adds a new chapter to the Biblical account of the prophet: Daniel is carried by Darius to Persia, and is there signally honored by the king. He builds a tower at Ecbatana, [2] which is still extant, says the historian, "and seems to be but lately built. Here the kings of Persia and Media are buried, and a Jewish priest is the custodian." Josephus borrowed this addition from some apocalyptic book recounting Daniel's deeds, and he speaks of "several books the prophet wrote and left behind him, which are still read by us." The short story in the Apocrypha of *Bel and the Dragon*, with its apologue about Susannah, affords an example of the post-Biblical additions to Daniel, and in the first century, when Messianic hopes were rife among the people, such apocryphal books had a great vogue. Daniel is in fact elevated to the rank of one of the greatest of the prophets, because he not only prophesied generally of future events like the others, but fixed the actual

time of their accomplishment. It is claimed for him that he foretold explicitly the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes and the Roman conquest of Judea. Anticipating the theological controversialists of later times, Josephus sets special store on the Bible book that is most miraculous, because miracle and exact prognostication of the future are for his audience the clearest testimony of God. Hence the predictions of Daniel are the best refutation of the Epicureans, who cast Providence out of life, and do not believe that God has care of human affairs, but say that things move of their own accord, without a ruler and guide.

[Footnote 1: Ant. X. x.]

[Footnote 2: Ant. X. xi. 7.]

When he comes to the history of the Restoration from Babylon, Josephus follows what is now known as the apocryphal Book of Esdras, in preference to the Biblical Ezra and Nehemiah, probably because a Hellenistic guide whom he had before him did likewise. It is clear that he based his paraphrase on the Greek text. His chronicle therefore differs considerably from that given in our Scripture, and on one point he differs from his guide. For while Esdras represents Artaxerxes as the king under whom the Temple was rebuilt, Josephus, relying on a fuller knowledge of Persian history, derived probably from Nicholas of Damascus, substitutes Cambyses.[1] Our Greek version of Esdras I is unfortunately not complete, but the book, differing from that included in the Bible, must have originally comprised an account of Nehemiah. According to Josephus, Ezra dies before Nehemiah[2] arrives in Judea, whereas in the canonical books they appear for a time together. He states also that Nehemiah built houses for the poor in Jerusalem out of his own means, an incident which has not the authority of the Bible, but which may well have reposed on an ancient tradition. The account of the marriage of Sanballat with the daughter of Manasseh the high Priest, which is touched on in our Book of Nehemiah, is described more fully by Josephus,[3] who based this account on some uncanonical source. And following the Rabbis, who shortened the Persian epoch in order to eke out the Jewish history over the whole period of the Persian kingdom till the conquest of Alexander, he makes the marriage synchronize with the reign of Philip of Macedon. Josephus was anxious to avoid a vacuum, and by a little vague chronology and the aid of the fragmentary records of Ezra and Nehemiah and a priestly chronicle, the few Jewish incidents known in that tranquil, unruffled epoch are spread over three centuries.

[Footnote 1: Ant. XI. ii.]

[Footnote 2: Ant. XI. v.]

[Footnote 3: Ant. XI. vii. 2.]

The episode of Esther is treated elaborately, and, following the apocryphal version, is placed in the reign of Artaxerxes. The Greek Book of Esther, which embroidered the Hebrew story, and is generally attributed to the second century B.C.E., is laid under contribution as well as the Canonical book; from it Josephus extracted long decrees of the king and elaborate anti-Semitic denunciations of a Hellenized Haman. He omits the incident of casting lots, and contrives to explain Purim, by means of a Greek etymology, as derived from [Greek: phroureai], which denotes protection. Here and there the Biblical simplicity is elaborated: Mordecai moves from Babylon to Shushan in order to be near Esther, and soldiers with bared axes stand round the king to secure the observance of the law that he shall not be approached. We have some moralizing on Haman's fall and the working of Providence ([Greek: to theion]), which teaches that "what mischief anyone prepares against another, he unconsciously contrives against himself." Less edifying is the addition that "God laughed to scorn the wicked expectations of Haman, and as He knew what the event would be, He was pleased at it, and that night He took away the king's sleep." The Book of Esther does not mention God: Josephus calls in directly the operation of the Divine Power, but represents it unworthily.

With the completion of the eleventh book of the *Antiquities*, we definitely pass away from the region of sacred history and miracles, and find ourselves in the more spacious but more misty area of the Hellenistic kingdom, in which Jewish affairs are only a detail set in a larger background. Though Josephus himself does not explicitly mark the break, the character of his work materially changes. He has come to the end of the period when the Bible was his chief guide; he has now to depend for the main thread on Hellenistic sources, filling in the details when he can from some Jewish record. His function becomes henceforth more completely that of compiler, less of translator, and his work becomes much more valuable for us, because in great part he has the field to himself. Although, however, the Bible paraphrase, with the embroidery of a little tradition and comparative history and its Romanizing reflections, which constitutes the first part of the *Antiquities*, had not a great permanent value, for a very long period it was accepted as the standard history of the Jewish people; and in the pagan Greco-Roman world it appealed to a public to which both the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint translation were sealed books. It was written for a special purpose and served it, doing for the Jewish early history what Livy did for the hoary past of the Romans. If it was not a worthy record in many parts, it was yet of great value as an antidote to the crude fictions of the anti-Semites about the origin and the institutions of the people of Israel, which had for some two centuries been allowed to poison the minds of the Greek-speaking world,

and had fanned the prejudices of the Roman people against a nationality of whose history they were ignorant and of whose laws they were contemptuous.

VII. JOSEPHUS AND POST-BIBLICAL JEWISH HISTORY

(THE ANTIQUITIES, BOOKS XII-XX)

Josephus is the sole writer of the ancient world who has left a connected account of the Jewish people during the post-Biblical period, and the meagerness of his historical information is not due so much to his own deficiencies as to the difficulty of the material. From the period when the Scriptures closed, the affairs of the Jews had to be extracted, for the most part, out of works dealing with the annals of the whole of civilized humanity. With the conquest of Alexander the Great, the Jewish people enter into the Hellenistic world, and begin to command the attention of Hellenistic historians. They are an element in the cosmopolis which was the ideal of the world-conqueror. At the same time the nature of the history of their affairs vitally changes. The continuous chronicle of their doings, which had been kept from the Exodus out of Egypt to the Restoration from Babylon, and which was designed to impress a religious lesson and illustrate God's working, comes to an end; and their scribes are concerned to draw fresh lessons from that chronicle. The religious philosophy of history is not extended to the present. The Jews, on the other hand, chiefly engage the interest of the Gentiles when they come into violent collision with the governing power, or when they are involved in some war between rival Hellenistic sovereigns. Hence their history during the two centuries following Alexander's conquests, *i.e.* until the time when we again have adequate Jewish sources, is singularly shadowy and incoherent.

Josephus was not the man to pierce the obscurity by his intuition or by his research. Yet we must not be too critical of the want of proportion in his writing when we remember that he was a pioneer; for it was an original idea to piece together the stray fragments of history that referred to his people. It has been shown that in his attempt to stretch out the Biblical history till it can join on to the Hellenistic sources, Josephus interposes between the account of Esther and the fall of the Persian Empire a story of intrigue among the high priests. He there describes the crime of the high priest John in killing his brother in the Temple as more cruel and impious than anything done by the Greeks or Barbarians — an expression which must have originated in a Jewish, probably a Palestinian, authority, to whom Greek connoted cruelty. And in the next chapter Josephus inserts the story of the Samaritan Sanballat and the building of the Samaritan

Temple on Mount Gerizim,[1] as though these events happened at the time of Alexander's invasion of Persia. Rabbinical chronology interposes only one generation between Cyrus and Alexander. The Sanballat who appears in the Book of Nehemiah is represented as anticipating the part played by the Hellenists of a later century, and calling in the foreign invader against Judea and Jerusalem in order to set up his own son-in-law Manasseh as high priest. Probably, in the fashion of Jewish history, the events of a later time were placed in the popular Midrash a few generations back and repeated. Jewish legendary tradition is more certainly the basis of the account of Alexander's treatment of the Jews. The Talmud has preserved similar stories.[2] According to both records, the Macedonian conqueror did obeisance before the high priest, who came out to ask for mercy, because he recognized in the Jewish dignitary a figure that had appeared to him in a dream. And when Alexander is made to revere the prophecies of Daniel and to prefer the Jews to the Samaritans and bestow on them equal rights with the Macedonians, the historian is simply crystallizing the floating stories of his nation, which are parallel with those invented by every other nation of antiquity about the Greek hero.

[Footnote 1: Comp. Neh. 13: 23.]

[Footnote 2: Comp. Megillat Taanit, 3, and Yoma, 69a.]

Passing on to Alexander's successors, he has scarcely fuller or more reliable sources. For Ptolemy's capture of Jerusalem on the Sabbath day, when the Jews would not resist, he calls in the confirmation of a Greek authority, Agatharchides of Cnidus. But he has to gloss over a period of nearly a hundred years, till he can introduce the story of the translation of the Scriptures into Greek,[1] for which he found a copious source in the romantic history, or rather the historical romance, now known as the Letter of Aristeas. This Hellenistic production has come down to us intact, and therefore we can gather how closely Josephus paraphrases his authorities. Not that he refrained altogether from embellishment and improvement. The Aristeas of his version, as of the original, professes that he is not a Jew, but he adds that nevertheless he desires favor to be done to the Jews, because all men are the work of God, and "I am sensible that He is well pleased with all those that do good." Josephus states a large part of the story as if it were his own narrative, but in fact it is a paraphrase throughout. He reproduces less than half of the Letter, omitting the account of the visit of the royal envoy to Jerusalem and the discourse of Eleazar the high priest. For the seventy-two questions and answers, which form the last part, he refers curious readers to his source. But he sets out at length the description of the presents which Ptolemy sent to Jerusalem, rejoicing in the opportunity of showing at once the splendor of the Temple vessels and the honor paid by a Hellenistic monarch to his people.

[Footnote 1: Ant. XII. ii.]

From his own knowledge also, he adds a glowing eulogy, which Menedemus, the Greek philosopher, passed on the Jewish faith. The Letter of Aristeas says that the authors of the Septuagint translation uttered an imprecation on any one who should alter a word of their work; Josephus makes them invite correction, [1] adding inconsequently — if our text is correct — that this was a wise action, "so that, when the thing was judged to have been well done, it might continue forever."

[Footnote 1: Josephus may have used a different text of Aristeas from that which has come down to us. Or the passage in our Aristeas may be a later insertion introduced as a protest against Christian interpolations in the LXX.]

Having disposed of the Aristeas incident, Josephus has to fill in the blank between the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus (250 B.C.E.) and the Maccabean revolt against Antiochus Epiphanes, nearly one hundred years later, which was the next period for which he had Jewish authority. He returns then to his Hellenistic guides and extracts the few scattered incidents which he could find there referring to the Jewish people. But until he comes to the reign of Antiochus, he can only snatch up some "unconsidered trifles" of doubtful validity. Seleucus Nicator, he says, made the Jews citizens of the cities which he built in Asia, and gave them equal rights with the Macedonians and Greeks in Antioch. This information he would seem to have derived from the petition which the Jews of Antioch presented to Titus when, after the fall of Jerusalem, the victor made his progress through Syria. The people of Antioch then sought to obtain the curtailment of Jewish rights in the town, but Titus refused their suit. [1] Josephus takes this opportunity of extolling the magnanimity of the Roman conqueror, and likewise of inserting a reference to the friendliness of Marcus Agrippa, who, on his progress through Asia a hundred years before, had upheld the Jewish privileges.[2] He derived this incident from Nicholas' history, and thus contrived to eke out the obscurity of the third century B.C.E. with a few irrelevancies.

[Footnote 1: Comp. B.J. VII. v. 3.]

[Footnote 2: Ant. XIII. iii. 2.]

His material becomes a little ampler from the reign of Antiochus the Great, because from this point the Greek historians serve him better. Several of the modern commentators of Josephus have thought that his authorities were Polybius and Posidonius, who wrote in Greek on the events of the period. He cites Polybius explicitly as the author of the statement about Ptolemy's conquest of Judea, and then reproduces two letters of Antiochus to his generals, directing them to grant certain privileges to his Jewish subjects as a reward for their loyal

service. We know that Polybius gave in his history an account of Jerusalem and its Temple, and his character-sketch of Antiochus Epiphanes has been preserved in an epitome. Josephus, however, be it noted, has only these scanty extracts from his work. The letters are clearly derived, not from him, but from some Hellenistic-Jewish apologist, and the passages from Polybius, it is very probable, are extracted from some larger work.[1] Here, as elsewhere, both facts and authorities were found in Nicholas of Damascus.

[Footnote 1: Dr. Büchler (J.Q.R. iv. and R.E.J. xxxii. 179) has argued convincingly that Josephus had not gone far afield. For the genuineness of the Letter, comp. Willrich, Judaica, , and Büchler, Oniaden und Tobiaden, .]

We know from Josephus himself that Nicholas had included a history of the Seleucid Empire in his *magnum opus*. He is quoted in reference to the sacking of the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes and the victory of Ptolemy Lathyrus over Alexander Jannaeus.[1] Josephus, indeed, several times appends to his paragraphs about the general history a note, "as we have elsewhere described." Some have inferred from this that he had himself written a general history of the Seleucid epoch, but a more critical study has shown that the tag belongs to the note of his authority, which he embodied carelessly in his paraphrase.[2]

[Footnote 1: Ant. XIII. xii. 6.]

[Footnote 2: Comp. Ant. XIV. I. 2-3; xi. I.]

Josephus supplements the Jewish references in the Seleucid history of Nicholas by an account of the intrigues of the Tobiades and Oniades, which reveals a Hellenistic-Jewish origin.[1] Possibly he found it in a special chronicle of the high-priestly family, which was written by one friendly to it, for Joseph ben Tobias is praised as "a good man and of great magnanimity, who brought the Jews out of poverty and low condition to one that was more splendid." The chronology here is at fault, since at the time at which the incidents are placed both Syria and Palestine were included in the dominion of the Seleucids; yet Tobias is represented at the court of the Ptolemies. Josephus follows the story of these exploits with the letters which passed between Areas, king of the Lacedemonians, and the high priest Onias, as recorded in the First Book of the Maccabees (ch. 12). The letters are taken out of their true place, in order to bridge the gap between the fall of the Tobiad house and the Maccabean rising. Areas reigned from 307-265, so that he must have corresponded to Onias I, but Josephus places him in the time of Onias III.

[Footnote 1: Ant. XII. iv.]

For his account of the Maccabean struggle he depends here primarily upon the First Book of the Maccabees, which in many parts he does little more than paraphrase. Neither the Second Book of the Maccabees nor the larger work of

Jason of Cyrene, of which it is an epitome, appears to have been known to him. It is well-nigh certain that in writing the *Wars* he had no acquaintance with the Jewish historical book, but was dependent on the less accurate and complete statement of a Hellenistic chronicle; and in the later work, though he bases his narrative on the Greek version of the Maccabees, and says he will give a fresh account with great accuracy, he yet incorporates pieces of non-Jewish history from the Greek guide without much art or skill or consistency. Thus, in the *Wars* he says that Antiochus Epiphanes captured Jerusalem by assault, while in the *Antiquities* he speaks of two captures: the first time the city fell without fighting, the second by treachery. And while in the Book of the Maccabees the year given for the fall of the city is 143 of the Seleucid era, in the *Antiquities* the final capture is dated 145[1] of the era. He no doubt found this date in the Greek authority he was following for the general history of Antiochus — he gives the corresponding Greek Olympiad — and applied it to the pillage of Jerusalem. For the story of Mattathias at Modin, which is much more detailed than in the *Wars*, he closely follows the Book of the Maccabees, though in the speeches he takes certain liberties, inserting, for example, an appeal to the hope of immortality in Mattathias' address to his sons.[2] He turns to his Greek authority for the death of Antiochus, and controverts Polybius, who ascribes the king's distemper to his sacrilegious desire to plunder a temple of Diana in Persia. Josephus, with a touch of patriotism and an unusual disregard of the feelings of his patrons, who can hardly have liked the implied parallel, says it is surely more probable that he lost his life because of his pillage of the Jewish Temple. In confirmation of his theory he appeals to the materialistic morality of his audience, arguing that the king surely would not be punished for a wicked intention that was not successful. He states also that Judas was high priest for three years, which is not supported by the Jewish record;[3] and he passes over the miracle of the oil at the dedication of the Temple, and ascribes the name of the feast to the fact that light appeared to the Jews. The celebration of Hanukkah as the feast of lights is of Babylonian-Jewish origin, and was only instituted shortly before the destruction of the Temple.[4]

[Footnote 1: Ant. XII. v. 3.]

[Footnote 2: Ant. XIII. vi. 3.]

[Footnote 3: In his own list of high priests at the end of the work, the name of Judas does not appear.]

[Footnote 4: Comp. Krauss, R.E.J. xxx. 32.]

His use of the Book of the Maccabees stops short at the end of chapter xii. He presumably did not know of the last two chapters of our text, which contain the

history of Simon, and probably were translated later. Otherwise we cannot explain his dismissal, in one line, of the league that Simon made with the Romans.[1] The incident is dwelt on in the extant version of the First Book of the Maccabees, and Josephus would surely not have omitted a syllable of so propitious an event, had he possessed knowledge of it. On the other hand, he inserts into the history of the Maccabean brothers an account of the foundation of a Temple by Onias V in Leontopolis,[2] in the Delta of Egypt, and describes at length the negotiations that led up to it;[3] and in the same connection he narrates a feud between the Jewish and Samaritan communities at Alexandria in the days of Ptolemy Philometor. From these indications it has been inferred that he had before him the work of a Hellenistic-Jewish historian interested in Egypt — the collection of Alexander Polyhistor suggests that there were several such at the time — while for the exploits of the later Maccabees he relied on the chronicle of John Hyrcanus the son of Simon, which is referred to in the Book of the Maccabees,[4] but has not come down to us,

[Footnote 1: Ant. XIII. vii. 3.]

[Footnote 2: Ant. XII. ix. 7. The ruins of the Temple were unearthed a few years ago by Professor Flinders Petrie.]

[Footnote 3: Ant. XIII. iii.]

[Footnote 4: I Macc, xvi, 23.]

From this period onwards till the end of the *Antiquities*, Josephus had no longer any considerable Jewish document to guide him, nor have we any Jewish history by which to check him. For an era of two hundred years he was more completely dependent on Greek sources, and it is just in this part of the work where he is most valuable or, we should rather say, indispensable. Save for a few scattered references in pagan historians, orators, and poets, he is our only authority for Jewish history at the time. It is, therefore, the more unfortunate that he makes no independent research, and takes up no independent attitude. For the most part he transcribes the pagan writer before him, unable or unwilling to look any deeper. And he tells us only of the outward events of Jewish history, of the court intrigues and murders, of the wars against the tottering empires of Egypt and Syria, of the ignoble feuds within the palace. Of the more vital and, did we but know it, the profoundly interesting social and religious history of the time, of the development of the Pharisee and Sadducee sects, we hear little, and that little is unreliable and superficial. Josephus reproduces the deficiencies of his sources in their dealings with Jewish events. He brings no original virtue compensating for the careful study which they made of the larger history in which the affairs of Judea were a small incident.

The foundation of his work in the latter half of book xiii and throughout books xiv-xvii is Nicholas, who had devoted two special books to the life of Herod, and by way of introduction to this had dealt more fully with the preceding Jewish princes.[1] We must therefore be wary of imputing to Josephus the opinions he expresses upon the different Jewish sects in this part of the *Antiquities*. He introduces them first during the reign of Jonathan, with the classification which had already been made in the *Wars*:[2] the Pharisees as the upholders of Providence or fate and freewill, the Essenes as absolute determinists, the Sadducees as absolute deniers of the influence of fate on human affairs.[3] The next mention of the Pharisees occurs in the reign of Hyrcanus,[4] when he states that they were the king's worst enemies.

"They are one of the sects of the Jews, and they have so great a power over the multitude that, when they say anything against the king or against the high priest, they are presently believed…. Hyrcanus had been a disciple of their teaching; but he was angered when one of them, Eleazar, a man of ill temper and prone to seditious practices, reproached him for holding the priesthood, because, it was alleged, his mother had been a captive in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, and he, therefore, was disqualified."

[Footnote 1: Büchler, Sources of Josephus for the History of Syria, J.Q.R. ix. 311.]

[Footnote 2: B.J. II. viii.]

[Footnote 3: Ant. XIII. v. 9.]

[Footnote 4: Ant. XIII. x. 5.]

This account is taken from a source unfriendly to the Pharisees. Though the story is based apparently on an old Jewish tradition, since we find it told of Alexander Jannaeus in the Talmud,[1] it looks as if Josephus obtained his version from some author that shared the aristocratic prejudices against the democratic leaders. The reign of Hyrcanus had been described by a Hellenistic-Jewish chronicler or a non-Jewish Hellenist, from whom Josephus borrowed a glowing eulogy,[2] with which he sums it up: "He lived happily, administered the government in an excellent way for thirty-one years, and was esteemed by God worthy of the three greatest privileges, the principate, the high priesthood, and prophecy." To the account of the Pharisees is appended a paragraph, seemingly the historian's own work, where he explains that "the Pharisees have delivered to the people the tradition of the fathers, while the Sadducees have rejected it and claim that only the written word is binding. And concerning these things great disputes have arisen among them; the Sadducees are able to

persuade none but the rich, while the Pharisees have the multitude on their side." Again, in the account of the reign of Queen Alexandra, he represents the Pharisees as powerful but seditious, and causing constant friction, and ascribes the fall of the royal house to the queen's compliance with those who bore ill-will to the family.

[Footnote 1: Comp. I. Lévi, Talmudic Sources of Jewish History, R.E.J. xxxv. 219; I. Friedlaender, J.Q.R., n.s. iv. 443*ff*.]

[Footnote 2: Ant. XIII. x. 7.]

Whenever the opportunity offers, Josephus brings in references to Jewish history from pagan sources. He quotes Timagenes' estimate of Aristobulus as a good man who was of great service to the Jews and gained them the country of Iturea; and he notes Strabo's agreement with Nicholas upon the invasion of Judea by Ptolemy Lathyrus.[1] General history takes an increasingly larger part in the account of the warlike Alexander Jannaeus and the queen Alexandra, and reference is made to the consuls of Rome contemporary with the reigns of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, in order to bring Jewish affairs into relation with those of the Power which henceforth played a critical part in them.

[Footnote 1: Ant. XIII. xii. 6.]

Josephus marks the new era on which he was entering by a fresh preface to book xiv. His aim, he says, is "to omit no facts either through ignorance or laziness, because we are dealing with a history of events with which most people are unacquainted on account of their distance from our times; and we purpose to do it with appropriate beauty of style, so that our readers may entertain the knowledge of what we write with some agreeable satisfaction and pleasure. But the principal thing to aim at is to speak truly."[1] It is not impossible that the prelude is based on something in Nicholas; but it is turned against him; for in the same chapter Josephus controverts his predecessor for the statement that "the Idumean Antipater [the father of Herod] was sprung from the principal Jews who returned to Judea from Babylon." The assertion, he says, was made to gratify Herod, who by the revolution of fortune came to be king of the Jews. He shows here some national feeling, but in general he accepts Nicholas, and borrows doubtless from him the details of Pompey's invasion of Judea and of the siege of Jerusalem. He appeals as well to Strabo and the Latin historian Titus Livius.[2] But though it is likely that he had made an independent study of parts of Strabo, since he drags in several extracts from his history that are not quite in place,[3] there is no reason to think he read Livy or any other Latin author. He would have found reference to the work in the diligent Nicholas. We may discern the hand of Nicholas, too, in the praise of Pompey for his piety in not spoiling the Temple of the holy vessels.[4] Josephus writes altogether in the tone of an admirer of

Rome's occupation, attributing the misery which came upon Jerusalem to Hyrcanus and Aristobulus.

[Footnote 1: Ant. XIV. i. 1.]

[Footnote 2: Ant. XIV. iv. 3; vi. 4.]

[Footnote 3: Comp. Ant. XIV. vii. 2; viii. 3.]

[Footnote 4: Ant. XIV. iv. 5.]

Thanks to his copious sources, he is able to give a detailed account of the relation of the Jews to Julius Caesar and of the decrees which were made in their favor at his instance. It has been conjectured with much probability that Josephus obtained his series of documents from Nicholas, who had collected them for the purpose of defending the Jews of Asia Minor in the inquiry which Marcus Agrippa conducted during the reign of Herod.[1] He says that he will set down the decrees that are treasured in the public places of the cities, and those which are still extant in the Capitol of Rome, "so that all the rest of mankind may know what regard the kings of Asia and Europe have had for the Jewish people." In a subsequent book, when he is recounting the events of Herod's reign,[2] Josephus sets forth a further series of decrees in favor of the Jews, issued by Caesar Augustus and his lieutenant Marcus Agrippa. These likewise he probably derived from Nicholas, who was the court advocate and court chronicler at the time they were promulgated. But he enlarges on his motive for giving them at length, pointing to them with pride as a proof of the high respect in which the Jews were held by the heads of the Roman Empire before the disaster of the war. Though in his own day they were fallen to a low estate, at one time they had enjoyed special favor:

"And I frequently mention these decrees in order to reconcile other peoples to us and to take away the causes of that hatred which unreasonable men bear us. As for our customs, he continues, each nation has its own, and in almost every city we meet with differences; but natural justice is most agreeable to the advantage of all men equally, and to this our laws have the greatest regard, and thereby render us benevolent and friendly to all men, so that we may expect the like return from others, and we may remind them that they should not esteem difference of institutions a sufficient cause of alienation, but join with us in the pursuit of virtue and righteousness, for this belongs to all men in common."[3]

[Footnote 1: Comp. Bloch, Die Quellen des Flavius Josephus.]

[Footnote 2: Ant. XVI. ii.]

[Footnote 3: Comp. below, p, 234.]

The Jewish rising and defeat had increased the odium of the Greco-Roman world towards the peculiar people, and the captive in the gilded prison was fain to dwell on their past glory in order to cover the wretchedness of their present.

Josephus claims to have copied some of the decrees from the archives in the Roman Capitol.[1] The library was destroyed with the Capitol itself during the civil war in 69.[2] It was restored, it is true, during the reign of Vespasian, and it is not impossible that the old decrees were saved. But Josephus might have collected from the Jewish communities those documents which he did not find ready to hand in Nicholas, if they formed part of an apology for the Jews of Antioch in 70 C.E. At least there is no good reason to doubt their authenticity, and they are in quite a different class from the letters and decrees attributed to the Hellenistic sovereigns, which lack all authority.

[Footnote 1: Ant. XIV. x. 20.]

[Footnote 2: Comp. Tac. Hist. iii. 71.]

The story of Herod's life, which is set out in great detail in these books, has more dramatic unity than any other part of the *Antiquities*. It bears to the whole work the relation which the story of the siege of Jerusalem bears to the rest of the *Wars*. Josephus seems to manifest suddenly a power of vivid narrative and psychological analysis, to which he is elsewhere a stranger. But at the same time, where the story is most vivid and dramatic, its framework is most pagan. The Greco-Roman ideas of fate and nemesis, which dominate the shorter account of the king's life in the *Wars*, are still the underlying motives. The reason for the dramatic power and the pagan frame are one and the same: Josephus uses here a full source, and that source is a pagan writer.

It is apparent at the same time that Josephus had a better acquaintance with the historical literature about Herod than when he wrote the *Wars*, and that he compared his various authorities and exercised some judgment in composing his picture. For example, in relating the murder of the Hasmonean Hyrcanus, he first gives the account which he found in Herod's memoirs, designed of course to exculpate the king, and then sets out the version of other historians, who allege that Herod laid a snare for the last of the Maccabean princes. Josephus proudly contrasts his own critical attitude towards Herod with the studied partisanship of Nicholas,[1] who wrote in Herod's lifetime, and in order to please him and his courtiers,

"touching on nothing but what tended to his glory, and openly excusing many of his notorious crimes and diligently concealing them. We may, indeed, say much by way of excuse for Nicholas, because he was not so much writing a history for others as doing a service for the king. But we, who come of a family closely connected with the Hasmonean kings, and have an honorable rank, think it unbecoming to say anything that is false about them, and have described their actions in an upright and unvarnished manner. And though we reverence many

of Herod's descendants, who still bear rule, yet we pay greater regard to truth, though we may incur their displeasure by so doing."

[Footnote 1: Ant. XIV. xvi. 7.]

It was not so difficult for the historian to write impartially of Herod as to write impartially of Vespasian and Titus. At the same time Josephus, though in these books more critical, seldom escapes the yoke of facts, and says little of the inner conditions of the people. Of Hillel we do not hear the name, and Shammai is only mentioned, if indeed he, and not Shemaya, is disguised under the name of Sameas, as the member of the Sanhedrin who denounced Herod.[1]

[Footnote 1: Ant. XV. i. 1. Schlatter ingeniously conjectures that Pollio, who is mentioned as predicting to the Sanhedrin, that this Herod would be their enemy if they acquitted him, is identical with Abtalion, of whom the Talmud tells a similar story. [Greek: pollion] may be an error for [Greek: Eudalion] as the Hebrew name would be transcribed in Greek.]

The speeches, which are put into the mouth of the king on various occasions, are rhetorical declamations in the Greek style, which must be derived either from Nicholas or from Herod's Memoirs, to which the historian had access through his intimacy with the royal family. Yet, prosaic as the treatment is, it has provided the picture of the "magnificent barbarian" which has inspired many writers and artists of later ages. It is from the Jewish point of view that it is most wanting. He does indeed say that Herod transgressed the laws of his country, and violated the ancient tradition by the introduction of foreign practices, which fostered great sins, through the neglect of the observances that used to lead the multitude to piety. By the games, the theater, and the amphitheater, which he instituted at Jerusalem, he offended Jewish sentiment; "for while foreigners were amazed and delighted at the vastness of his displays, to the native Jews all this amounted to a dissolution of the traditions for which they had so great a veneration."[1] And he points out that the Jewish conspiracy against him in the middle of his reign arose because "in the eyes of the Jewish leaders, he merely pretended to be their king, but was in fact the manifest enemy of their nation." It has been suggested that Justus of Tiberias supplied him with this Jewish view of Herod, which is unparalleled in the *Wars*. But in another passage, where he must be following an Herodian and anti-Pharisaic source, he makes some remarks in quite an opposite spirit, as if the Pharisees were in the wrong, and provoked the king. He says of them: "They were prone to offend princes;[2] they claimed to foresee things, and were suddenly elated to break out into open war." He calls them also Sophists,[3] the scornful name which the Greeks gave to their popular lecturers of morality.

[Footnote 1: Ant. XV. viii. 1.]

[Footnote 2: Ant. XVII. ii. 8.]

[Footnote 3: Ant. XVII. vi. 2.]

In dealing with Herod's character, Josephus is more discriminating than in the *Wars*. He sums him up as "cruel towards all men equally, a slave to his passions, and claiming to be above the righteous law: yet was he favored by fortune more than any man, for from a private station he was raised to be a king."[1] One piece of characterization may he quoted,[2] which is not the less interesting because we may suspect that it is stolen:

"But this magnificent temper and that submissive behavior and liberality which he exercised towards Caesar and the most powerful men at Rome, obliged him to transgress the customs of his nation and to set aside many of their laws, by building cities after an extravagant manner, and erecting Temples, not in Judea indeed, for that would not have been borne, since it is forbidden to pay any honors to images or representations of animals after the manner of the Greeks, but in the country beyond our boundaries and in the cities thereof. The apology which he made to the Jews was this, that all was done not of his own inclination, but at the bidding of others, in order to please Caesar and the Romans, as though he set more store on the honor of the Romans than the Jewish customs; while in fact he was considering his own glory, and was very ambitious to leave great monuments of his government to posterity: whence he was so zealous in building such splendid cities, and spent vast sums of money in them."

[Footnote 1: Ant. XVII. viii. 1.]

[Footnote 2: Ant. XV. ix. 5.]

He bursts out, too, with unusual passion against Herod for his law condemning thieves to exile, because it was a violation of the Biblical law, "and involved the dissolution of our ancestral traditions."

If the account of the Jewish spiritual movement at a time of great spiritual awakening is meager, the picture of Herod's great buildings, despite occasional confusion and vagueness, is full and valuable. He gives us an excellent description of Caesarea and Sebaste, the two cities which the king established as a compliment to the Roman Emperor, and an account of the Temple and the fortress of Antonia, which he himself knew so well. Of the Temple we have another description, in the Mishnah, which in the main agrees with Josephus. Where the two differ, however, the preference cannot be given to the writer who had grown up in the shadow of the building, and might have been expected to know its every corner.[1] As we have seen in the *Wars*, he was in topography as in other things under the influence of Greco-Roman models.

[Footnote 1: Comp. George A. Smith, Jerusalem, ii. 495 *ff*.]

Josephus did not enjoy the advantage of a full chronicle to guide him much

beyond the death of Herod. Nicholas died, or ceased to write, in the reign of Antipater, who succeeded his father. Apparently he had no successor who devoted himself to recording the affairs of the Jewish court. Hence, though the events of the troubled beginning of Antipater's reign are dealt with at the same length as those of Herod, and we have a vivid story of the Jewish embassy that went to Rome to petition for the deposition of the king, the history afterwards becomes fragmentary. Such as it is, it manifests a Roman flavor. The nationalists are termed robbers, and the pseudo-Messiahs are branded as self-seeking impostors.[1] After an enumeration of various pretenders that sought to make themselves independent rulers, there is a sudden jump from the first to the tenth year of Archelaus, who was accused of barbarous and tyrannical practices and banished by the Roman Emperor to Gaul. His kingdom was then added to the province of Syria. Josephus dwells on the story of two dreams which occurred to the king and his wife Glaphyra, and justifies himself because his discourse is concerning kings, and also because of the advantage to be drawn from it for the assurance both of the immortality of the soul and the Providence of God in human affairs. "And if anybody does not believe such stories, let him keep his own opinion, but let him not stand in the way of another who finds in them an encouragement to virtue."

[Footnote 1: Ant. XVII. xiii. 2.]

The last three books of the *Antiquities* reveal the weaknesses of Josephus as an historian: his disregard of accuracy, his tendency to exaggeration, his lack of proportion, and his mental subservience. He had no longer either the Scriptures or a Greek chronicler to guide him. He depended in large part for his material on oral sources and scattered memoirs, and he is not very successful in eking it out so as to produce the semblance of a connected narrative. His chapters are in part a miscellany of notes, and the construction is clumsy. The writer confesses that he was weary of his task, but felt impelled to wind it up. Yet, just because we are so ignorant of the events of Jewish history at the period, and because the period itself is so critical and momentous, these books (xviii-xx) are among the most important which he has left, and on the whole they deal rather more closely than their predecessors with the affairs of the Jewish people. The palace intrigues do not fill the stage so exclusively, and some of the digressions carry us into byways of Jewish history.

At the very outset[1] Josephus devotes a chapter to a fuller delineation than he has given in any other place of the various sects that flourished at the time. The account, ampler though it is than the others, does not reveal the true inwardness of the different religious positions. He repeats here what he says elsewhere about the Pharisaic doctrine of predestination tempered by freewill,

but he enlarges especially on the difference between the parties in their ideas about the future life.[2] The Pharisees believe that souls have an immortal vigor, and that they will be rewarded or punished in the next world accordingly as they have lived virtuously or wickedly in this life; the wicked being bound in everlasting prisons, while the good have power to live again. The Sadducees, on the other hand, assert that the souls die with the bodies, and the Essenes teach the immortality of souls and set great store on the rewards of righteousness. Their various ideas are wrapped up in Greco-Roman dress, to suit his readers, and the doctrine of resurrection ascribed to the Pharisees is almost identical with that held by the neo-Pythagoreans of Rome.[3] But Josephus' account is more reliable when he refers to the divergent attitudes of the sects to the tradition.

"The Pharisees strive to observe reason's dictates in their conduct, and at the same time they pay great respect to their ancestors; and they have such influence over the people because of their virtuous lives and their discourses that they are their friends in divine worship, prayers, and sacrifice. The Sadducees do not regard the observance of anything beyond what the law enjoins them, but since their doctrine is held by the few, when they hold the judicial office, they are compelled to addict themselves to the notions of the Pharisees, because the mass would not otherwise tolerate them. The Essenes live apart from the people in communistic groups, and exceed all other men in virtue and righteousness. They send gifts to the Temple, but do not sacrifice, on which account they are excluded from the common court of the Temple."

[Footnote 1: Ant. XVIII. i. 1.]

[Footnote 2: Comp. B.J. II. viii.]

[Footnote 3: Comp. Vergil, Aeneid, vi.]

Lastly, Josephus turns to the fourth sect, the Zealots, whose founder was Judas the Galilean:

"These men agree in all other things with the Pharisees, but they have an inviolable attachment to liberty, and they say that God is to be their only Ruler and Lord. Moreover they do not fear any kind of death, nor do they heed the death of their kinsmen and friends, nor can any fear of the kind make them acknowledge anybody as sovereign."

Josephus, however, cannot refrain from imputing low motives to those who belonged to the party opposed to himself and hated of the Romans. "They planned robberies and murders of our principal men," he says, "in pretense for the public welfare, but in reality in hopes of gain for themselves." And he saddles them with the responsibility for all the calamities that were to come. About the Messianic hope, which appears to have inspired them, he is compulsorily silent.

The historical record that follows is very sketchy. We have a bare list of procurators and high priests down to the time of Pontius Pilate, a notice of the foundation of Tiberias by the tetrarch Herod, and an irrelevant account of the death of Phraates, the king of the Parthians, and of Antiochus of Commagene, who was connected by marriage with the Herodian house. Still there is rather more detail than in the corresponding summary in the second book of the *Wars*, and Josephus must in the interval have lighted on a fuller source than he had possessed in his first historical essay. It is not impossible that the new authority was again Justus of Tiberias. Of the unrest in the governorship of Pontius Pilate he has more to say, but the genuineness of the passage referring to the trial and death of Jesus, which is dealt with elsewhere,[1] has been doubted by modern critics. It is followed in the text by a long account of a scandal connected with the Isis worship at Rome, which led to the expulsion of Jews from the capital. In this way the chronicler wanders on between bare chronology and digression, until he reaches the reign of Agrippa, when he again finds written sources to help him. The romance of Agrippa's rise from a bankrupt courtier to the ruler of a kingdom is treated with something of the same full detail as the events of Herod's career, and probably the historian enjoyed here the use of royal memoirs. He may have obtained material also from the historical works of Philo of Alexandria, which were partly concerned with the same epoch. He refers explicitly to the embassy which the Alexandrian Jews sent to the Roman Emperor to appeal for the rescission of the order to set up in the synagogue the Imperial image, at the head of which went Philo, "a man eminent on all accounts, brother to Alexander the Alabarch, and not unskilled in philosophy." Bloch[2] indeed is of the opinion that the later historian did not use his Alexandrian predecessor, either in this or any other part of his writings, and points out certain differences of fact between the two accounts; but in view of the references to Philo and the fact that Josephus subsequently wrote two books of apology, one of which was expressly directed in answer to Philo's bitter opponent Apion, it is at least probable that he was acquainted with Philo's narrative. He may, however, have used it only to supplement the memoirs of the Herodian house, which served him as a chief source. Josephus devotes less attention to the Alexandrian embassy than to the efforts of the Palestinian Jews to obtain a rescission of the similar decree which Petronius, the governor of Syria, was sent to enforce in Jerusalem. His account is devised to glorify the part which Agrippa played. The prince appears as a kind of male Esther, endangering his own life to save his people; and indeed higher critics have been found to suggest that the Biblical book of Esther was written around the events of the reign of Gaius.

[Footnote 1: Ant. XVIII. iii. Comp. below, .]

[Footnote 2: Die Quellen des Flavius Josephus.]

The story of Agrippa is interrupted by a chapter about the Jews of Babylon, which has the air of a moral tale on the evils of intermarriage, and may have formed part of the popular Jewish literature of the day. Another long digression marks the beginning of the nineteenth book of the *Antiquities*, where Josephus leaves Jewish scenes and inserts an account of Caligula's murder and the election of Claudius as Emperor. This narrative, while of great interest for students of the Roman constitution, is out of all proportion to its place in the Jewish chronicle. Josephus, it has been surmised, based it on the work of one Cluvius (referred to in the book as an intimate friend of Claudius), who wrote a history about 70 C.E.; he may besides have received hitherto unpublished information from Agrippa II, whose father had been an important actor in the drama, or from his friend Aliturius, the actor at Rome, who had mixed in affairs of state. Anyhow, he took advantage of this chance of making a literary sensation. Doubtless also, the recital, which threw not a little discredit on the house of the earlier Caesars, was for that reason not unwelcome to the upstart Flavians, and may have been inserted at the Imperial wish.

Agrippa I is the most attractive figure in the second part of the *Antiquities*. He is contrasted with Herod,

"who was cruel and severe in his punishments, and had no mercy on those he hated, and everyone perceived that he had more love for the Greeks than for the Jews…. But Agrippa's temper was mild and equally liberal to all men. He was kind to foreigners and was of agreeable and compassionate feeling. He loved to reside at Jerusalem, and was scrupulously careful in his observance of the Law of his people. On his death he expressed his submission to Providence; for that he had by no means lived ill, but in a splendid and happy manner."

His peaceful reign, however, was only the lull before the storm, and the last book of the *Antiquities* is mainly taken up with the succession of wicked procurators, who, by their extortions and cruelties and flagrant disregard of the Jewish Law and Jewish feeling, goaded the Jews into the final rebellion. It contains, however, a digression on the conversion of the royal house of Adiabene to Judaism, which is tricked out with examples of God's Providence. Yet another digression records the villainies of Nero (which no doubt was pleasing to his patrons) and the amours of Drusilia, the daughter of Agrippa I. But of the rising discontent of the Jewish people in Palestine we have no clear picture. Josephus fails as in the *Wars* to bring out the inner incompatibility of the Roman and the Jewish outlook, and represents, in an unimaginative, matter-of-

fact, Romanizing way, that it was simply particular excesses — the rapacity of a Felix, the knavery of a Florus — which were the cause of the Rebellion. This is just what a Roman would have said, and when the Jewish writer deals at all with the Jewish position, it is usually to drag in his political feud. He especially singles out the sacrilege of the Zealots in assassinating their opponents within the Temple precincts as the reason of God's rejecting the city; "and as for the Temple, He no longer deemed it sufficiently pure to be His habitation, but brought the Romans upon us and threw a fire on the city to purge it, and brought slavery on us, our wives, and our children, to make us wiser by our calamities." Thus the priestly apologist, accepting Roman canons, finds in the ritual offense of a section of the people the ground for the destruction of the national center. He is torn, indeed, between two conflicting views about the origin of the rebellion: whether he shall lay the whole blame on the Jewish irreconcilables, or whether he shall divide it between them and the wicked Roman governors; and in the end he exaggerates both these motives, and leaves out the deeper causes.

The penultimate chapter contains a list of the high priests, about whom the historian had throughout made great pretensions of accuracy. He enumerates but eighty-three from the time of Aaron to the end of the line, of whom no less than twenty-eight were appointed after Herod's accession to his kingdom; whereas the Talmud records that three hundred held office during the existence of the second Temple alone.[1] That number is probably hyperbolical, but the statement in other parts of the Rabbinical literature, that there were eighty high priests in that period,[2] throws doubt on this list, which besides is manifestly patched in several places.

[Footnote 1: Yoma, 9a.]

[Footnote 2: Yer. Yoma, ix., and Lev. R. xx.]

With the procuratorship of Florus, Josephus brings his chronicle to an end, the later events having been treated in detail in the *Wars;* and in conclusion he commends himself for his accuracy in giving the succession of priests and kings and political administrators:

"And I make bold to say, now I have so completely perfected the work which I set out to do, that no other person, be he Jew or foreigner, and had he ever so great an inclination to it, could so accurately deliver these accounts to the Greeks as is done in these books. For members of my own people acknowledge that I far exceed them in Jewish learning, and I have taken great pains to obtain the learning of the Greeks and understand stand the elements of the Greek language, though I have so long accustomed myself to speak our own tongue that I cannot speak Greek with exactness."

He makes explicit his standpoint with this *envoi*, which shows that he was writing for a Greek-speaking public and in competition with Greeks, and this helps to explain why he sets special store on the record of priests and kings and political changes, and why he so often disguises the genuine Jewish outlook. As an account of the Jewish people for the prejudiced society of Rome, the *Antiquities* undoubtedly possessed merit. History, indeed, at the time, was far from being an exact science, nor was accuracy esteemed necessary to it. Cicero had said a hundred years earlier, that it was legitimate to lie in narratives; and this was the characteristic outlook of the Greco-Roman writers. The most brilliant literary documents of the age, the *Annals* and *Histories* of Tacitus, are rather pieces of sparkling journalism than sober and philosophical records of facts; and therefore we must not judge Josephus by too high a standard.

Weighed in his own balance, he had done a great service to his people by setting out the main heads of their history over three thousand years, so that it should be intelligible to the cultured Roman society; and had he been reproached with misrepresenting and distorting many of their religious ideas, he would have replied, with some justice, that it was necessary to do so in, order to make the Romans understand. On the same ground he would have justified the omission of much that was characteristic and the exaggeration of much that was normal. He shows throughout some measure of national pride. To-day, however, we cannot but regret that he weakly adopted much of the spiritual outlook of his Gentile contemporaries, and that he did not seek to convey to his readers the fundamental spiritual conceptions of the Jews, which might have endowed his history with an unique distinction. His record of two thousand years of Israel's history gives but the shadow of the glory of his people.

VIII. THE APOLOGY FOR JUDAISM

In every age since the dispersion began, the Jews have appeared to their neighbors as a curious anomaly. Their abstract idea of God, their peculiar religious observances, their refusal to intermarry with their neighbors, their serious habits of life — all have served to mark them out and attract the wonder of the philosophical, the vituperation of the vulgar, and the dislike of the ignorant. Their enemies in every epoch have repeated with slight variation the charge which Haman brought in his petition to King Ahasuerus, "There is a people scattered abroad and dispersed among the peoples in all the provinces of thy kingdom; and their laws are diverse from those of every people, neither keep they the king's laws" (Esther 3:8). In the cosmopolitan society that arose in the Hellenistic kingdoms, it was their especial offense that they retained a national cohesion, and refused to indulge in the free trade in religious ideas and social habits adopted by civilized peoples. The popular feeling was fanned by a party that had a more particular grievance against them. Though certain philosophical sects, notably the schools of Pythagoras and Aristotle, were struck with admiration for the lofty spiritual ideas and the strict discipline of Judaism, another school, and that the most powerful of the time, was smitten with envy and hatred.

The Stoics, who aspired to establish a religious philosophy for all mankind, and pursued a vigorous missionary propaganda, particularly in the East, saw in the Jews not only obstinate opponents but dangerous rivals, who carried on a competing mission with provoking success. The children of Israel were spread over the whole of the civilized world, and everywhere they vigorously propagated their teaching. Of all enmities, the enmity of contending creeds is the bitterest. The Stoics became the first professional Jew-haters, and set themselves at the head of those who resented Jewish particularism, either from jealousy or from that unreasoning dislike which is universally felt against minorities that live differently from the mass about them.

The ill-will and sectarian hatred were most prevalent at Alexandria, where the powerful Jewish community excited the attacks of the half-Hellenized natives. The campaign was fought mainly as a battle of books. The Hebrew Scriptures represented the early Egyptians in no favorable light. The Greco-Egyptian historians retaliated by a malevolent account of the origin and history of the Hebrew people, of which Manetho's story is the prototype. In this work of the third century B.C.E. the children of Israel were represented as sprung from a

pack of lepers, who were expelled from Egypt because of their foul disease. A still more virulent attack on the Jewish teaching is found in two Stoic writers of the first century B.C.E., Posidonius of Apamea, a town of Phrygia, and Molon, [1] who taught at Rhodes. The former raised the charge that the Jews alone of all peoples refused to have any communication with other nations, but regarded them as their enemies. Molon, besides a general travesty of their early history, wrote a special diatribe against them — the first document of the kind which history records — accusing them of atheism and misanthropy, cowardice and stupidity. These remained the stock charges for centuries, and they assumed an added bitterness after the Roman conquest, when to the peculiarity of Jewish customs was added the stigma of being a subject people. The hatred of Greek and Jew, despite all the ostentatious friendliness of a Herod for Greek things, became deeper, and it showed itself as well without as within Palestine. At Alexandria, in the beginning of the first century, the antagonism developed into open riots, and the leaders of the anti-Jewish party were again two Stoics, Apion and Chaeremon, the one orator and grammarian, the other priest and astrologer. There is nothing very original in their libels, which are modeled upon those of Posidonius and Molon; but some fresh detail is added. It was said that the deity worshiped at Jerusalem was the head of an ass, to which human sacrifices were offered, and that the Jews took an oath to do no service for any Gentile. Apion, a man of some repute, was the head of the Alexandrian Stoic school, and called "the toiler," because of his industry. He was, however, also known as "the quarrelsome"[2] ([Greek: ho pleistonikeas]). Another critic of ancient times says he was notorious for advertising his ideas (*in doctrinis suis praedicandis venditator*)[3], and the Emperor Augustus declares that he was the drum of his own fame (i.e. the blower of his own trumpet). He was in fact a mixture of scholar and charlatan, as many of his successors have been, the Houston Chamberlain of the first century.

[Footnote 1: Schürer (iii. 503*ff*) has brought cogent reasons to show that Molon is not the same as Apollonius, another Jew-baiter, with whom he has often been identified.]

[Footnote 2: Clemens, Strom. i. 21, 101.]

[Footnote 3: Gallus, Noctes Atticae, v. 2.]

Apion wrote a history of Egypt in which his attack upon the Jews appears to have been an episode,[1] but his prominence as an anti-Semite is shown by the fact that he went as the spokesman of the Greek embassy to Caligula on the memorable occasion when Philo was the champion of the Jewish cause. In that capacity Philo prepared an elaborate apology for his people, which he had not the opportunity to deliver; but it contained in part an account of the religious

sects, designed to show their philosophical excellence, and it was known to the Church fathers of the early centuries of the Christian era. Only small fragments of it are preserved by Eusebius, and the rest of the apologetic writing of Alexandria, which was in all probability very extensive, has disappeared. Yet the Hellenistic-Jewish literature is colored throughout by an apologetic purpose. Whether the work is a professedly historical or ethical or philosophical treatise, the idea is always present of representing Judaism as a sublime and a humanitarian doctrine, and of refuting the calumnies of the Greek scribes. Thus, besides his elaborate apology prepared for the Roman Emperor, Philo had written a popular presentation of Judaism in the form of a Life of Moses, with appended treatises on Humanity and Nobility, which was but a thinly-veiled work of apologetics. Another part of the defensive literature took the form of missionary propaganda under a heathen mask. The oracles of the Sibyl and Orpheus, a forged history of Hecataeus, and monotheistic verses foisted on the Greek poets, were but attempts to carry the war into the enemy's territory. Further, there must have been a more direct presentation of the Jewish cause by way of public lectures and popular addresses in the synagogues. Nevertheless, the specific answers to the charges advanced by the anti-Jewish scribblers are now to be found most fully stated in Josephus. In his day the literary campaign against the Jewish name was as remorseless as the military campaign that had destroyed their political independence. The Romans, tolerant themselves in religion, had long been intolerant of Jewish separatism and national exclusiveness, and Cicero,[2] shortly after the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey, had denounced their "barbarian superstition" in language that is typical of the outlook of the Roman aristocracy. "Even when Jerusalem was untouched, and the Jews were at peace with us, their religious ceremonies ill accorded with the splendor of our Empire; still less tolerable are they to-day, when the nation has shown, by taking up arms, its attitude towards us, while the fact that it has been conquered and reduced to servitude proves how much the gods care for it."

[Footnote 1: The idea, which is derived from the Church fathers, that he wrote a separate [Greek: logos] against the Jews, appears to be based by them on a misunderstanding of Ant. XVIII. viii. 1. Comp. Schürer, *op. cit.* iii. 541.]

[Footnote 2: Pro Flacco, 68.]

The later poets of the Augustan age, Horace, Tibullus, and Ovid, expressed a supercilious disdain for the Jewish customs of Sabbath-keeping, etc., which were spreading even in the politest circles. As the political conflict between the Romans and their stubborn subjects became more pronounced, the Roman impatience of their obstinacy increased. Seneca, writing after Palestine had been placed under a Roman governor, speaks bitterly of "the accursed race whose

practices have so far prevailed that they have been received all over the world." Hating the Jews as he did with the double hatred of a Roman aristocrat and a Stoic philosopher, he is yet fain to admit that their religion is diffused over the Empire, and anxious as he is to decry their superstition, he reveals part of the reason of their success. "They at least can give an explanation of their religious ceremonies, whereas the pagan masses cannot say why they carry out their practices." The pagan cults were languishing because of the frigidity of their forms and their incapacity for providing men with an ideal or a discipline or a solace; and the people turned to a living religion. The day had come that was foretold by the prophet, when men shall catch hold of the skirts of a Jew, saying, "We will go with you, because we have heard that God is with you" (Zech. 8:23).

The bitterest and the most envenomed attacks on the Jews were written after the destruction of Jerusalem, when the failure of Rome to break the stubborn spirit of her conquered foe became apparent. The legions could destroy Jerusalem; they could not uproot Judaism or even stay its progress. The presence of thousands of Jewish captive slaves at Rome accelerated indeed the march of conversion. Vespasian and Titus forebore to take the title "Judaicus" after their triumph, lest it should be taken to mean that they had Judaized. The speedy defection of Roman citizens to the superstition of a conquered people was an insult, which, added to the injury of their obstinate resistance, roused to fury the remnants of the Roman conservatives. The entanglement of Titus with the Jewish princess Berenice was the final outrage. The satiric poets Martial and Juvenal inserted frequent ribald references to Jewish customs; but the nature of their works precluded a serious criticism. Martial was a master of flouts, jeers, and gibes, and Juvenal was a soured and disappointed provincial, who delighted to hurl wild reproaches. He declaimed against the passing away of the old manners of Republican Rome, and for him the spread of Jewish habits was among the surest signs of degeneracy. The poets, however, did not so much endeavor to misrepresent as to ridicule the Jews and their converts. But the classical exponent of Roman anti-Semitism is Tacitus, the historian who wrote in the time of Nerva and Trajan, *i.e.* just after Josephus, and who treated of the Jews both in his *Annals*, which were a history of the last century, and in his *Histories*, which dealt with his own times. He surpassed all his predecessors, Greek or Roman, in distortion and abuse, and he combined the charges invented by the jealousy and rancor of Greek sophists with the abuse of Jewish character induced by Imperial Roman passion. His account cannot be mistaken for a sober judgment. By the transparent combination of earlier, discredited sources, by blatant inconsistencies, and by neglect of the authorities that would have

provided him with reliable information, he shows himself the partisan pamphleteer. But the indictment is none the less illuminating. Mommsen speaks of the solemn enmity which Tacitus cherishes to the section of the human race "to whom everything pure is impure, and everything impure is pure." Doubtless his hatred was founded on intense national pride, but it was fed by his tendency to blacken and exaggerate. His audience was composed, as Renan says, of "aristocrats of the race of English Tories, who derived their strength from their very prejudices." Their ideas about the Jewish people were as vague as those of the ordinary man of to-day about the people of Thibet, and they were willing to believe anything of them.

Tacitus gives several alternative accounts of the origin of the Jews.[1] According to some they were fugitives from the Isle of Crete (deriving their name from Mount Ida), who settled on the coast of Libya. According to others they sprang from Egypt, and were driven out under their captains Hierosolymus and Judas; while others stated that they were Ethiopians whom fear and hatred obliged to change their habitation. He supplies himself a fanciful account of the Exodus, tricked out with a variety of misrepresentations of their observances, which are ludicrously inconsistent with each other:

"They bless the image of that animal [the ass], by whose indication they had escaped from their vagrant condition in the wilderness and quenched their thirst. They abstain from swine's flesh as a memorial of the miserable destruction which the mange brought on them. That they stole the fruits of the earth, we have a proof in their unleavened bread. They rest on the seventh day, because that day gave them rest from their labors, and, affecting a lazy life, they are idle during every seventh year. These rites, whatever their origin, are at least supported by their antiquity.[2] Their other institutions are depraved and impure, and prevailed by reason of their viciousness; for every vile fellow despising the rites of his ancestors brought to them his contribution, so that the Jewish commonwealth was augmented. The first lesson taught to converts is to despise their gods, to renounce their country, and to hold their parents, children, and brethren in utmost contempt: but still they are at pains to increase and multiply, and esteem it unlawful to kill any of their children. They regard as immortal the souls of those who die in battle, or are put to death for their crimes.[3] Hence their love of posterity and their contempt of death. They have no notion of more than one Divine Being, who is only grasped by the mind. They deem it profane to fashion images of gods out of perishable matter, and teach that their Being is supreme and eternal, immutable and imperishable. Accordingly, they erect no images in their cities, much less in their temples, and they refuse to grant this kind of honor to kings or emperors."

[Footnote 1: Hist. v. 2*ff*.]

[Footnote 2: Ch. lvii.]

[Footnote 3: This statement agrees remarkably with what Josephus puts into the mouth of several of his speakers. See above, .]

The sage Pliny, who himself laughed at the crude paganism of his time, could also point the finger of scorn at the Jews as "a people notorious by their contempt of divine images." To the genuine Roman, the state religion might not be true, but it was part of the civic life, and therefore its rejection was unsocial and disloyal. Yet the account of Tacitus contains several remarks which, in their author's despite, reveal the moral superiority of the conquered over the conquerors. He notes their national tenacity, their ready charity, their freedom from infanticide, their conviction of the immortality of the soul, their purely spiritual and monotheistic cult. Tacitus certainly wrote after the works of Josephus had been published, so that the apology is not an answer to him; but his methods of misstatement were anticipated at Rome by a host of anti-Semitic writers. Though Josephus never mentions a single Roman detractor of his people, and confines his reply to Greeks who were long buried, it was doubtless against this class that he was anxious to defend himself and his faith.

He declared at the end of the *Antiquities* his intention to write three books about "God and His essence, and about our laws," proposing, perhaps, to imitate Philo's apology for Judaism, which was in three parts. But the virulence of the calumny against Judaism induced him to modify his plan and write a specific reply to the charges made against the Jews. It was necessary to refute more concisely and more definitely than he had done in his long historical works the false tales about the Jewish past and the Jewish law that were circulated and believed in the hostile Greco-Roman world. He directed himself more particularly to uphold the antiquity of the Jews against those who denied their historical claims and to disprove the charges leveled against the Jewish religious ideas and legislation. These two subjects form the content of the two books commonly known to us as *Against Apion*. Only the second, however, deals with Apion's diatribe, and the current title is certainly unauthentic. Origen,[1] Eusebius, and Hieronymus[2] refer to the first book as *About the Antiquity of the Jews*, and Hieronymus adds the description [Greek: antirraetikos logos], *A Refutation*. Eusebius similarly[3] speaks of the second book as the Refutation of Apion the grammarian. Porphyry calls it simply [Greek: pros tous Hellaenas], *The Address to the Greeks*, and it is possible that Josephus so entitled his work. It is noteworthy that he directed his pleading to the Greek-speaking and not to the Latin public; the Greeks, he recognized, were the source of the

misrepresentations of his people, and, as Greek was read by all cultured people in his day, in refuting them he would incur less obloquy and attain his end equally well.

[Footnote 1: Orig. C. Cels. i. 14.]

[Footnote 2: De Viris Illustr. 13.]

[Footnote 3: H.E. III. viii. 2.]

The first point that Josephus seeks to make good in his apology is the antiquity of the Hebrew people and the historical character of their Scriptures. In the Greco-Roman world, which had lost confidence in itself, and looked for inspiration to the past, age was a title to respectability, and it was the aim of the Jewish apologist to explain away the silence of the Greeks. For the certificate of the Hellenic historians was in the Hellenistic world the most convincing mark of genuineness.

"By my works on the Antiquity of the Jews — thus Josephus begins — I have proved that our Jewish nation is of very great antiquity and had a distinct existence. Those Antiquities contain the history of five thousand years, and are derived from our sacred books, but are translated by me into the Greek tongue."

Josephus loosely represents that the whole of the *Antiquities* is based on the Bible, and reckons the period of history at nearly a thousand years more than it covered.

"But since I observe that many people give ear to the reproaches that are laid against us by those who bear us ill-will, and will not believe what I have written concerning the antiquity of our nation, while they take it for a plain sign that our nation is of late date because it is not so much as vouchsafed a bare mention by the most famous historians among the Greeks, I therefore have thought myself under an obligation to write somewhat briefly about these subjects, in order to convict those who reproach us of spite and deliberate falsehood and to correct the ignorance of others, and withal to instruct all those who are desirous of knowing the truth of what great antiquity we really are. As for the witnesses whom I shall produce for the proof of what I say, they shall be such as are esteemed by the Greeks themselves to be of the greatest reputation for truth and the most skilful in the knowledge of all antiquity. I will also show that those who have written so reproachfully and falsely about us are to be convicted by what they have themselves written to the contrary, and I shall endeavor to give an account of the reasons why it has happened that a great number of Greeks have not made mention of our nation in their histories."

Acting on the principle that the best defense is attack, Josephus starts by turning on the Greeks themselves and discrediting their antiquity. They were a mushroom people, or at least their records were modern, and not to be compared

in age with the records of the Phoenicians, the Hebrews, or the Babylonians. Comparative sciences had flourished in the cosmopolitan city of Alexandria, and in the light of them the Greek claim to exclusive wisdom had been shattered. Josephus had made himself master of the current knowledge of the subject. The Greeks learnt their letters from the Phoenicians, they have no record more ancient than the Homeric poems, and even Homer did not leave his poems in writing,[1] while their earliest historians lived but shortly before the Persian expedition into Greece, and their earliest philosophers, Pythagoras and Thales, learnt what they knew from Egyptians and Chaldeans. Having shown the lateness and Oriental origin of Greek culture, Josephus accuses Greek writers of unreliability, as is manifest by their mutual disagreement. He makes a great show of learning on the subject and uses his material effectively. Doubtless he found the topic ready to hand in some predecessor, and it is somewhat ironical that a Josephus should throw stones at a Thucydides on the score of inaccuracy.

[Footnote 1: It is interesting that this casual statement of Josephus was one of the starting points of modern Homeric criticism.]

The reason for the want of authority in the Greek historians — continues Josephus — is to be found in the fact that the Greeks in early times took no care to preserve public records of their transactions, which afforded those who afterwards would write about them scope for making mistakes and displaying invention: conditions which favored literary art, but marred historical accuracy. Those who were the most zealous to write history were more anxious to demonstrate that they could write well than to discover the truth.

The contrast between the individual creative impulse of the Hellene and the respect for tradition of the Hebrew, which anticipates in a way Matthew Arnold's contrast between Hellenic "spontaneity of consciousness" and Hebraic "strictness of conscience," is pointedly made by the apologist:[1]

"We Jews must yield to the Greek writers as to style and eloquence of composition, but we concede them no such superiority in regard to the verity of ancient history, and least of all as to that part which concerns the affairs of our country. The reliability of the Hebrew records is vouched for by the unbroken succession of official annals handed down by priests and prophets. The purity of the priestly caste was strictly maintained by the law of marriage, which impelled every priest to make a scrutiny into the genealogy of his wife and forward a register of it to Jerusalem, where it was duly recorded in the archives. And we possess the names of our high priests from father to son for a period of two thousand years. Nor is there individual liberty of writing among us: only the prophets (i.e. inspired persons) have written the earliest accounts of things as they learned them of God Himself by inspiration, and others have written about

what happened in their own times, and that too in a very distinct manner. We have no mass of books disagreeing with each other, but only twenty-two books containing the records of all our past, which are rightly believed to be inspired."

[Footnote 1: C. A*ff*.]

The reckoning of the Canon is interesting:[1] there are five books of Moses, thirteen books of the prophets, recording the history from the death of Moses to the reign of Artaxerxes, and the remaining four books, the Ketubim, contain hymns to God and precepts for the conduct of human life. The books written since the time of Artaxerxes have not the same trustworthiness, because the exact succession of prophets has not been maintained. The intense sentiment which the Jews feel for their Scriptures is proved by their willingness to die for them.

[Footnote 1: The accepted number of books in the Jewish Canon is twenty-four, and this number is found in the Book of II Esdras, xiv. 41, which is probably contemporaneous with Josephus. The number 22 is to be explained by the fact that Josephus must have linked Ruth with Judges and Lamentations with Jeremiah. See J.E., s.v. Canon.]

Again a contrast is pointed between the seriousness of the Hebraic and the levity of the Greek attitude towards literature. Josephus egotistically draws an example from the record of the recent war. The Greeklings who wrote about it

"put a few things together by hearsay, and, abusing the word, call their writings by the name of histories. But I have composed a true history of the whole war and of all the events that occurred, having been concerned in all its transactions; for I acted as general of those among us that are named Galileans, as long as it was possible for us to make any resistance. I was then seized by the Romans, and became a captive. Vespasian and Titus kept me under guard, and forced me to attend on them continually. At the first I was put into bonds, but later was set at liberty and sent to accompany Titus when he came from Alexandria to the siege of Jerusalem, during which time nothing was done that escaped my knowledge. For what happened in the Roman camp I saw, and wrote down carefully; and what information the deserters brought out of the city, I was the only man to understand. Afterwards, when I had gotten leisure at Rome, and when all my material was prepared for the work, I obtained some persons to assist me in learning the Greek tongue, and by these means I composed the history of the events, and I was so well assured of the truth of what I related, that I first of all appealed to those that had the supreme command in that war, Vespasian and Titus, as witnesses for me. For to them first of all I presented my books, and after them to many of the Romans that had been engaged in the war. I also recited them to many of my own race that understood Greek philosophy,

among whom were Julius Archelaus, Herod, king of Chalcis, a person of great authority, and King Agrippa himself, a person that deserved the greatest respect. Now all these bore their testimony to me that I had the strictest regard to truth; who yet would not have dissembled the matter, nor been silent, if I, out of ignorance, or out of favor to any side, either had given a false color to the events, or omitted any of them."

Josephus here indignantly replies to his Roman detractors, who accused him of having composed a mere partisan thesis. As a priest he had a special knowledge of the Scriptures, which were the basis of his *Antiquities*, and as an important actor in the drama of the Roman war, he wrote of its events with the knowledge of an eye-witness. He excuses his digression as being made in self-defense, and claims to have proved that historical writing is indigenous rather to those called Barbarians than to the Greeks. He then returns to the task of refuting those who say that the Jewish polity is of late origin because the Greek authors are silent about it. One main cause of the silence was the isolation of Judea and the character of the Jewish people, who did not delight in merchandise and commerce, but devoted themselves to the cultivation of the soil. This, of course, is a picture of the Bible times, because in the writer's days they were beginning their mercantile development. Hence the Jews were in quite a different condition from the Phoenicians, the Thracians, the Persians, and the Medes, with all of whom the Hellenes came into contact. They are rather to be compared with the Romans, who only entered into the Greek sphere of interest later in their history.

Josephus makes the point that it would be as reasonable for the Jews to deny the antiquity of the Greeks because there is no mention of them in Hebrew records, as for the Greeks to deny the antiquity of the Jews for the converse reason. And if the Greeks are ignorant of the Hebrews, he argues that there is abundant testimony in the histories of other peoples. He starts with the Egyptian evidence, and quotes from Manetho, the anti-Jewish historian, giving extracts about the Hyksos tribes and Hyksos kings, whom he identifies with Joseph and his brethren. The identification was popular till recent times, but modern historical criticism has rejected it. Josephus dates the invasion of the Hyksos at three hundred and ninety-three years before Danaus came to Argos, which in turn was five hundred and twenty years before the Trojan war. Thus he puts the Bible story far ahead in age of Greek myth. Passing on to the testimony in the Phoenician records, he derives from the public archives of Tyre, to which reference was made also in the *Antiquities*,[1] evidence of the relations between Solomon and Hiram, and further quotes the account given by the Hellenistic historian Alexander of Ephesus, who mentions the same incident. This Alexander had written a world-history, and had collected the chronicles of the

various peoples that formed part of Alexander's empire. Josephus, who probably knew of his work through Nicholas or some other chronicler, cites him to confirm the Bible. Collections of extracts about the Jewish people and references to the Bible in Greek literature were already in vogue, for it was an age similar to our own in its love of encyclopedias. Josephus uses with not a little skill these foreign sources, and supplements the comparative material which he had introduced in the *Antiquities*. Confirmation of the account of the flood, as also of the rebuilding of the Temple after the return of the Jews from Babylon, is found in the Chaldean history of Berosus; and other long extracts from Babylonian history are inserted that furnish a casual mention of Judea or Jerusalem. Josephus attempts, too, with doubtful success, to combine the Phoenician and Babylonian records in order to prove that they agree about the date of the rebuilding of the Temple. The only justifiable inference from the passages, however, appears to be that both sources agreed on the existence of Cyrus, king of Persia.

[Footnote 1: Comp. above, .]

Finally he adduces passages from various Greek writers, to show that the Jews were not entirely unknown to the Hellenes before Alexander's conquests. Josephus had no doubt predecessors among the Hellenistic Jewish litterateurs in the search for testimony, as well as successors among the Christian apologists; but his collection has alone survived, and has become invaluable to modern scholars, who have ploughed the same field for a different purpose. Authority is brought forward to show that Pythagoras had connection with the Hebrews, and Herodotus, it is argued, referred to the Jews as circumcised Syrians.[1] More apposite is a passage quoted from Clearchus, a pupil of Aristotle, about a discussion which his master had with a Jew of Soli, "who was Greek not only in language but in thought." The genuineness of this excerpt has been questioned, but without good reason. Aristotle's school had a scientific interest in the Jews as in other peoples that had come under Greek sway through Alexander's conquests.

[Footnote 1: Comp. Ant. VIII. x. 3.]

Josephus then sets out some very eulogistic passages about his people, purporting to be from Hecataeus of Abdera, which are very much to his taste and his purpose. Unfortunately, however, they are too good to be true, and modern criticism has established that, while the genuine Hecataeus, an historian who wrote at the end of the fourth century B.C.E., did insert in his work an account of Jerusalem and the Jews, the glowing testimonials which Josephus adduces are from forged books devised by Jews to their own glory. A passage of a less favorable tone, and of which the genuineness is therefore not open to suspicion,

is quoted from Agatharchides, a Seleucid historian. Finally, with an incidental mention of a half-dozen Hellenistic writers that have made distinct reference to the Jewish people, and of three Jewish writers, Demetrius, the elder Philo, and Eupolemus, "who have not greatly missed the truth about our affairs," Josephus closes his evidence as to the antiquity of his nation.[1] Possibly he did not realize that his last three witnesses were of his own race, and it is not improbable that this string of names was to him also a string of names culled from Alexander Polyhistor or a similar authority.

[Footnote 1: C. A.]

The latter part of the first book is devoted to the refutation of the anti-Jewish diatribes of several Greeks, and starts off with a few commonplaces upon the topic, to the effect that every great nation incurs the jealousy and ill-will of others. "The Egyptians," says Josephus, "were the first to cast reproaches upon us, and in order to please them, some others undertook to pervert the truth. The causes of their enmity are their chagrin at the events of the Exodus and the difference of their religious ideas."[1] Josephus deals with Manetho's description of the going-out from Egypt, and undertakes to demonstrate that "he trifles and tells arrant lies." He dissects the charge that the Hebrews were a pack of lepers exiled from the country, and insists upon its absurdity and the lack of consistency in the details. He offers ingenuously as a proof of the falsity of the allegation that Moses was a leper the Mosaic legislation about lepers. "How could it be supposed," he asks, "that Moses should ordain such laws against himself, to his own reproach and damage?" Chaeremon is unworthy of reply, because his account, though equally scurrilous, is inconsistent with that of Manetho. But the story of Lysimachus, a writer of the same genus, is more critically examined and found wanting, because it gives no explanation of the origin of the Hebrews. Lysimachus derived the name Jerusalem from the Greek Hierosylen — to commit sacrilege — the Hebrews, according to his story, owing their settlement to the plunder of temples; and Josephus points out triumphantly that that idea is not expressed by the same word and name among the Jews and Greeks. But, to vary a saying of Doctor Johnson, this section of Josephus must be read for the quotations, for if one reads it for the argument of either assailant or apologist, one would shoot oneself.

[Footnote 1: C. A.]

The second book of the apology, which is a continuation of the first, opens with an elaborate refutation of Apion. Josephus questions whether he should take the trouble to confute the scurrilous stories of the Alexandrian grammarian, "which are all abuse and vulgarity"; but because many are pleased to pick up mendacious fictions, he thinks it better not to leave the charges without an

answer. He disposes first of Apion's tales about Moses and the Exodus, which are of the same character as those of Manetho and Chaeremon. Loaded abuse and unmeasured invective color the refutation, but Apion apparently deserved it. We may take, as a fair specimen of his veracity, the statement that the Hebrews reached Palestine six days after they left Egypt and rested on the seventh day, which they called Sabbath, because of some disease from which they suffered, and of which the Egyptian name was Sabbaton. Apion had in particular attacked the Alexandrian Jews, and Josephus takes the opportunity of enlarging on the privileged position of his people, not only in the Egyptian capital, but in the other Hellenistic cities where they had been settled.[1] He elaborates and amplifies what he had stated on this subject in the *Antiquities*, and adds a short account of the miraculous delivery of the Egyptian Jews during the short-lived persecution of Ptolemy Physcon, which is recorded more fully and with some variation of detail in the so-called Third Book of the Maccabees. In reply to Apion's charge, that the Jews show a lack of civic spirit because they do not worship the same gods as the Alexandrians, Josephus launches out into an explanation of their conception of God, describes their abhorrence of idolatry, and deals also with their refusal to set up in their temples the image of the Emperor. "But at the same time they are willing," he says, "to pay honors to great men and to offer sacrifices in their name." He deals also, in a digression, with calumnies derived from Posidonius and Melon about the worship of an ass in the sanctuary at Jerusalem.

[Footnote 1: This part of the book, it may be noted, has only been preserved in the Latin version; the Greek original has been lost.]

Apion had invented a detailed story of ritual murder to justify Antiochus Epiphanes for his spoliation of the Temple. The origin of this charge is instructive of the methods of a classical anti-Semite. There was, in the innermost sanctuary, a stone[1] on which the blood of the burnt offering was sprinkled by the high priest on the Day of Atonement. It was known as the [Hebrew: Even Shtiah] and tradition said that the ark of the covenant had rested on it. Mystery centered around it, and the Greek scribes imagined that it was the object of worship. Now, the Greek word for a stone was Onos, which likewise meant an ass, and it was probably on the strength of this blunder that prejudice for centuries accused Jews and Christians of worshiping an ass' head. Josephus brings proof of the emptiness of the charge, and retorts that Apion had himself the heart of an ass; and then, describing the ritual of the Temple, insists that there was no secret mystery about it. It gives a touch of pathos that he speaks as if the Temple services were still being carried out, whether because he was copying a source written before the destruction, or because he deliberately

disregarded that event. Apion, like Cicero, had taunted the Jews on account of their political subjection, which proved, he argued, that their laws were not just nor their religion true. Josephus meets the charge — which in the materialistic thinking of the Roman world was hard to answer — by the not very happy plea that the Egyptians and Greeks had suffered a like fortune. So, too, he meets the gibe that the Jews do not eat pork, by saying that the Egyptian priests abstain likewise. He omits in both cases the true religious answer, which would probably not have appealed to his public.

[Footnote 1: Yer. Yoma, v. 2.]

At this point the reply to the Alexandrian anti-Semite comes to an end, and the rest of the book comprises a defense of the Jewish legislation, "which is intended not as an eulogy but as an apology." The broad aim is to show that the Law inculcates humanity and piety; but Josephus, before setting himself to this, again labors to point out that it is pre-eminent in antiquity over any of the Greek codes. This done, he gives a summary of the principles of Judaism, which is unlike anything else he wrote in its masterly grasp of the spirit of the religion and in its philosophical attitude. So great indeed is the contrast between this epilogue and the bald summary of the Mosaic laws in the *Antiquities* that it is safe to say that Josephus had for his later work lighted on a fresh and more inspired source. His presentation has the regular characteristic of the Alexandrian school, an insistence on the universal and philanthropic elements of the Mosaic law; and it is likely that he had before him either Philo's work on the Life of Moses, or another work, which his predecessor had used. It matters little that there are differences of detail between his and Philo's interpretations: the manner and the general purport are the same, and the manner is not the usual manner of Josephus, and altogether different from the treatment in the *Antiquities*.

He lays down with great clearness the dominant features of the Mosaic constitution. It is a theocracy, *i.e.* the state depends on God. The passage in which he makes good this principle is a striking piece of reasoning in comparative religion, worthy to be quoted in full:

"Now there are innumerable differences in the particular customs and laws that hold among all mankind, which a man may briefly reduce under the following heads: Some legislators have permitted their governments to be under monarchies, others put them under oligarchies, and others under a republican form; but our legislator had no regard to any of these forms, but he ordained our government to be what, by a strained expression, may be termed a Theocracy, by ascribing the authority and the power to God, and by persuading all the people to have a regard to Him as the Author of all the good things enjoyed either in

common by all mankind or by each one in particular, and of all that they themselves obtain by praying to Him in their greatest difficulties. He informed them that it was impossible to escape God's observation, either in any of our outward actions or in any of our inward thoughts. Moreover he represented God as un-begotten and immutable through all eternity, superior to all mortal conceptions in form, and though known to us by His power, yet unknown to us as to His essence. I do not now explain how these notions of God are in harmony with the sentiments of the wisest among the Greeks. However, their sages testify with great assurance that these notions are just and agreeable to the divine nature; for Pythagoras and Anaxagoras and Plato and the Stoic philosophers that succeeded them, and almost all the rest profess the same sentiments, and had the same notions of the nature of God; yet durst not these men disclose those true notions to more than a few, because the body of the people were prejudiced beforehand with other opinions. But our legislator, whose actions harmonized with his laws, did not only prevail with those who were his contemporaries to accept these notions, but so firmly imprinted this faith in God upon all their posterity that it could never be removed. The reason why the constitution of our legislation was ever better directed than other legislations to the utility of all is this: that Moses did not make religion a part of virtue, but he ordained other virtues to be a part of religion — I mean justice, and fortitude, and temperance, and a universal agreement of the members of the community with one another. All our actions and studies have a reference to piety towards God, for he hath left none of these in suspense or undetermined. There are two ways of coming at any sort of learning and a moral conduct of life: the one is by instruction in words, the other by practical exercises. Now, other lawgivers have separated these two ways in their opinions, and, choosing the one which best pleased each of them, neglected the other. Thus did the Lacedemonians and the Cretans teach by practical exercises, but not by words; while the Athenians and almost all the other Greeks made laws about what was to be done, or left undone, but had no regard to exercising them thereto in practice.

"But our legislator very carefully joined these two methods of instruction together; for he neither left these practical exercises to be performed without verbal instruction, nor did he permit the learning of the law to proceed without the exercises for practice; but beginning immediately from the earliest infancy and the regulation of our diet, he left nothing of the very smallest consequence to be done at the pleasure and disposal of the individual. Accordingly, he made a fixed rule of law, what sorts of food they should abstain from, and what sorts they should use; as also what communion they should have with others, what great diligence they should use in their occupations, and what times of rest

should be interposed, in order that, by living under that law as under a father and a master, we might be guilty of no sin, neither voluntary nor out of ignorance. For he did not suffer the guilt of ignorance to go without punishment, but demonstrated the law to be the best and the most necessary instruction of all, directing the people to cease from their other employments and to assemble together for the hearing and the exact learning of the law, — and this not once or twice or oftener, but every week; which all the other legislators seem to have neglected."

This passage contains, in many ways, an admirable explanation of Judaism as a law of conduct, inculcating morality by good habit; it lacks, indeed, any deep spiritual note or mystical exaltation, but it was likely for that reason to appeal to the practical, material-minded Roman. Josephus corroborates what Seneca had grudgingly remarked, that the Jews understood their laws; and it is this, he says, which made such a wonderful accord among us, to which no other nation can show a parallel. The eloquent insistence on the harmony uniting the Jewish people is another proof that Josephus is here reproducing the ideas of others, for it is in complete and glaring contrast with what he had repeatedly written in his *Antiquities* and his *Wars* about the strife of different sects. His books would have supplied the best argument to any pagan criticising his apology. Josephus further ascribes to the singleness of the tradition the absence of original genius among the people. The excellence of the Law produces a conservative outlook, whereas the Greeks, lacking a fixed law, love a new thing. S.D. Luzzatto, the Hebraist of the middle of the nineteenth century, emphasized the same contrast between Hellenism and Hebraism.

Turning in detail to the precepts of the Law, Josephus gives eloquent expression in the Hellenistic fashion to the idea of the divine unity. "God," he says, "contains all: He is a being altogether perfect, happy, and self-sufficient, the beginning, the middle, and the end of all things; God's aim is reflected in human institutions. Rightly He has but one Temple, which should be common to all men, even as He is the common God of all men." He develops, too, the humanitarian aspect of Judaism in the manner of the Hellenistic school. "And for our duty at the sacrifices, we ought in the first place to pray for the common welfare of all and after that for ourselves, for we were made for fellowship, one with another, and he who prefers the common good before his own is above all dear to God." He points to the excellence of the Jewish conception of marriage, another commonplace of the Hellenistic apologist, as we know from the Sibylline oracles; to the respect for parents and to the friendliness for the stranger. He insists with Philo[1] that kinship is to be measured not by blood, but by the conduct of life. He dwells, likewise in company with the Hellenists, on a

law that lacks Bible authority: that the Israelites should give, to all who needed it, fire and water, food and guidance.[2] The impulse to this interpretation of the Torah is found in the charge made by the Jews' enemies, that they were to assist only members of their own race.[3] Josephus appears to be original, and, as is quite pardonable, he may be writing with a view to Roman proclivities, when he praises the law for the number of offenses to which it attaches the capital penalty. Like many a later Jewish apologist living amid an alien and dominant culture, Josephus accepts foreign standards, and he is silent about the Pharisaic teaching which softened the literal prescripts of the Bible.[4]

[Footnote 1: Comp. De Nobilitate.]

[Footnote 2: Comp. Philo, II. 639.]

[Footnote 3: Comp. Juvenal, Sat. xiv. 102.]

[Footnote 4: It has been noticed above (note,) that Josephus appears to misunderstand or deliberately misinterpret the Hebrew [Hebrew: aror] (cursed be!), which precedes many prohibitions of the Mosaic law, to mean "he shall be put to death."]

In a peroration Josephus returns to a general eulogy of the Jewish Law, on account of the faithful allegiance which it commands, and denounces the pagan idolatry in the manner of the Greek rationalists, who had made play with the Olympian hierarchy. While the inherent excellence of the Jewish Law is dependent on the sublime conception of God, the inherent defect of the Greek religion is that the Greek legislators entertained a low conception of God, and did not make the religious creed a part of the state law, but left it to the poets to invent what they chose. The greatest of the Greek philosophers, indeed, agreed with the Jews as to the true notions about God: "Plato especially imitated our legislation in enjoining on all citizens that they should know the laws accurately." A later generation made bold to declare that Plato had listened to Jeremiah in Egypt and learnt his wisdom from the Jewish prophet. Josephus compares with the Jewish separateness the national exclusiveness of the Lacedemonians, and claims that the Jews show a greater humanity in that they admit converts from other peoples. They have, moreover, shown their bravery not in wars for the purpose of amassing wealth, but in observing their laws in spite of every attempt to wean them away. The Mosaic law is being spread over the civilized world:

"For there is not any city of the Greeks, nor any of the barbarians, nor any nation whatsoever whither our custom of resting on the seventh day has not come, and by which our fasts and lighting up of lamps and divers regulations as

to food are not observed. They also endeavor to imitate our mutual accord with one another, and the charitable distribution of our goods, and our diligence in our trades, and our fortitude in bearing the distresses that befall us; and what is here matter of the greatest admiration, our Law hath no bait of pleasure to allure men to it, but it prevails by its own force; and as God Himself pervades all the world, so hath our Law passed through all the world also."

The task of the apologist is completed; "for whereas our accusers have pretended that our nation are a people of late origin, I have demonstrated that they are exceedingly ancient, and whereas they have reproached our lawgiver as a vile man, God of old bare witness to his virtues, and time itself hath been proved to bear witness to the same thing."[1] In a final appreciation he concludes:

"As to the laws themselves, more words are unnecessary, for they are visible in their own nature, and are seen to teach not impiety, but the truest piety in the world. They do not make men hate one another, but encourage people to communicate what they have to one another freely. They are enemies to injustice, they foster righteousness, they banish idleness and expensive living, and instruct men to be content with what they have and to be diligent in their callings. They forbid men to make war from a desire of gain, but make them courageous in defending the laws. They are inexorable in punishing malefactors. They admit no sophistry of words, but are always established by actions, which we ever propose as surer demonstrations than what is contained in writing only; on which account I am so bold as to say that we are become the teachers of other men in the greatest number of things, and those of the most excellent nature only. For what is more excellent than inviolable piety? What is more just than submission to laws? And what is more advantageous than mutual love and concord? And this prevails so far that we are to be neither divided by calamities nor to become oppressive and factious in prosperity, but to contemn death when we are in war, and in peace to apply ourselves to our handicrafts or to the tilling of the ground; while in all things and in all ways we are satisfied that God is the Judge and Governor of our actions."

[Footnote 1: C. Ap. ii. 41.]

As we read this final outburst of the Jewish apologist and think of what he had himself written to gainsay it, and what he was yet to write in his autobiography, we are fain to exclaim, *o si sic omnia*! One would like to believe that in the defense of the Jewish Law we have the true Josephus, driven in his old age by the goading of enemies to throw off the mask of Greco-Roman culture, and standing out boldly as a lover of his people and his people's law. Such latter-day repentance has been known among the Flavii of other

generations. And the two books *Against Apion* show that when Josephus had not to qualify his own weakness nor to flatter his patrons, he could rise to an appreciation and even to an eloquent exposition of Jewish ideals. Yet it was not the Greek-writing historian, but the Palestinian Rabbis, that were to prove to the world the undying vigor, the unquenchable power of resistance of the Jewish Law. The Vineyard of Jabneh founded by Johanan ben Zakkai was the sufficient refutation of Roman scoffers, while the apology of Josephus became the guide of the early Church fathers in their replies to heathen calumniators who repeated against them the charges that had been invented against the Jews. It is significant that Tacitus, who wrote his history some few years after the defense of Josephus was published, repeated with added virulence the fables which the Jewish writer had refuted. The charges of anti-Semites have in every age borne a charmed life: they are hydra-headed, and can be refuted, not by literature, but by life.

Nevertheless literary libels, if unanswered in literature, tend to become fixed popular beliefs, and in the Dark and Middle Ages the Jewish people were to suffer bitterly from the lack of apologists who could obtain a hearing before the peoples of Europe. In the early centuries of the Christian era, before the Christian Church was allied with the Roman Empire, tolerance ruled in the Greco-Roman world, and the narrow Roman hatred of Judaism was in large part broken down. Celsus, Numenius, and Dion Cassius, three of the most notable authors of the second century, speak of the Jewish people and Jewish Scriptures in a very different tone from that of a Tacitus and an Apion. And as it has been said, "Who shall know how many cultured pagans were led by the books of Josephus to read the Bible and to look on Judaism with other eyes?"[1] If the apologies of Philo and Josephus could not pierce the armor of prejudice and hatred which enwrapped a Tacitus or a Christian ecclesiastic, they at least found their way through the lighter coating of ignorance and misunderstanding which had been fabricated by Hellenistic Egyptians, but which had not fatally warped the minds of the general Greco-Roman society.

[Footnote 1: Comp. Joel, Blicke in die Religionsgeschichte, ii. 118.]

IX. CONCLUSION

The works of Josephus early passed into the category of standard literature. It is recorded that they were placed by order of the Flavian Emperors in the public library of Rome; and though Suetonius, the biographer of the Caesars, who wrote in the second century, and Diogenes, the biographer of the philosophers, who wrote a century later, do not apparently hold them of any account, it is certain that they were carefully preserved till the triumph of the Christian Church gave them a new importance. For centuries henceforth they were the prime authority for Jewish history of post-Biblical times, and were treasured as a kind of introduction to the Gospels, illuminating the period in which Christianity had its birth. The traitor-historian was soon forgotten by his own people, if they ever had regard for him, and with the rest of the Hellenistic writers he dropped out of the Rabbinical tradition. Possibly the Aramaic version of the *Wars* survived for a time in the Eastern schools, but while the Jews were struggling to preserve their religious existence, they had little thought for such a history of their past.

The Christians, on the other hand, had a special interest in the works of Josephus, since they found in them not only the model of their defense against pagan calumnies, but the earliest external testimony to support the Gospels. Josephus was venerated as the Jew who had recorded the fate of Jesus of Nazareth. The *Antiquities* contain two references to John the Baptist and an account of the execution of James, the brother of Jesus; but the most celebrated of the "evidential" passages occurs in book xviii of the *Antiquities*, where in our text, following on the account of Pilate's persecution, occurs this paragraph:

"Now, there lived about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles. He was the Christ; and when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men amongst us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at the first did not forsake him, for he appeared alive to them again the third day, as the divine prophets had foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day (ch. 3)."

An enormous literature has been provoked by these lines, and the weight of modern opinion is that they are altogether spurious. The passage is first quoted by Eusebius,[1] the historian of Caesarea, who wrote about the beginning of the fourth century C.E.;[2] but Origen, his predecessor by a hundred years,

significantly enough does not know of it. Josephus, he says simply, did not acknowledge the Christ.[3] At the same time Origen quotes a passage from the same book of the *Antiquities*,[4] to show that the Jews ascribed the defeat of the Tetrarch Herod to his murder of John the Baptist. The earliest of the Patristic writers, Clement of Alexandria, quotes Josephus as to chronology, but it is fairly certain that he did not know the works at first hand, since the era he refers to runs from Moses to the tenth year of Antoninus,[5] *i.e.* till the better part of a century after the death of Josephus. Origen likewise probably knew Josephus only at second hand, and the inference is that both the Alexandrian ecclesiastics derived their citations and their interpolation in the text of Josephus from a pious Christian abstract and improvement. The uncompromisingly Christian character of the text, the discrepancy between Origen and Eusebius, and the notorious aptitude of early Christian scribes for interpolating manuscripts, and especially the manuscripts of Hellenistic Jewish writers, with Christological passages make it well nigh certain that the paragraph was foisted in between the second and third century. That was a period when, as has been said, "faith was more vivid than good-faith." The will to believe its genuineness, however, persisted to our own day, and some have made a compromise between their sentiment and their critical faculty, by arguing that the passage, though partly corrupt, is founded on something Josephus wrote.[6]

[Footnote 1: Comp. Schlatter, *op. cit.* 403.]

[Footnote 2: H.E. i. 41; Comp. Freimann, Wie verhielt sich das Judenthum zu Jesus? (Monatsschrift fur die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums, 1911,).]

[Footnote 3: Comm. in Matth. ch. xvii.]

[Footnote 4: Ant. XVIII. v. 5.]

[Footnote 5: Strom. I. xxi. 409.]

[Footnote 6: Among those who uphold this view is the Franco-Jewish savant Théodore Reinach, whose opinion is that the Christian scribe changed a *testimonium de Christo* into a *testimonium pro Christo* (R.E.J. xxxv. 6). Both Renan and Ewald hold that our passage is a corrupted fragment of a much fuller account of Jesus in the *Antiquities*. See Joel. *op. cit*. .]

It is alleged that many of the words are such as Josephus might have used, but, apart from the fact that this is contested by other authorities, it is unreasonable to suppose that the interpolator would go out of his way to stamp the insertion as a forgery by using extraordinary words. It is urged again that the passages about John and James in the *Antiquities* support the likelihood of Josephus' having mentioned Jesus. But these passages are themselves open to

very grave suspicions. There is no reference to them in the epitome of the chapters furnished at the head of each book, which according to Niese dates from the age of the Antonines, or the end of the second century. Nor does the Slavonic version of Josephus contain the passage about James, and while Origen refers to that passage, he had a different version of it from that which appears in our manuscripts. It seems that he has incorporated the gloss of a Christian believer. And again, while our text imputes the blame of the stoning of James to the Sadducees, and gives credit to the Pharisees for endeavoring to prevent it, Hegesippus, the Christian writer of the second century, uses the alleged account of the incident by Josephus to gird at the Pharisees. The probability is then that different Christological insertions were made in the manuscripts of Josephus according to the leaning of the scribe, but that none of the supposed evidences are genuine, or based on a genuine narrative. The absence of any reference to Jesus and the apostles in Josephus would have seemed damaging to the truth of the Christian testament, and therefore the passages were supplied.

Nevertheless we may be grateful to the interpolators, because, on the strength of these passages, Josephus was especially treasured through the Dark and Middle Ages, and he alone survived of the Hellenistic apologists. When Christianity established its center at Rome, Josephus was soon translated into Latin, and in the Vulgate version (if we may so call it) he was best known for centuries. The seven books of the *Wars* were rendered into Latin by one Tyrannus Rufinus of Aquilea, who was a contemporary of Jerome (Hieronymus, 345-410 C.E.), and a very industrious translator of the works of the Greek Patristic writers. The translation of the *Antiquities*, though ascribed to the same author, was made later. Jerome apparently was invited to undertake the task, for in one of his letters he writes:[1] “The rumor that the works of Josephus and Papian and Polycarp have been translated by me is false. I have neither the leisure nor the strength to render his writings into another tongue with the same elegance” [as those already done]. It is uncertain who the translator was, but the work was carried out at the instigation of Cassiodorus (480-575), who lived in the time of Justinian, and was a versatile historian. He wrote himself a chronicle of events from Adam to his own day as well as a history of the Goths. In his book on the Institutions of Holy Literature he says:

“As to Josephus, who is almost a second Livy, and is widely known by his books on the *Antiquities of the Jews*, Jerome declared that he was unable to translate his works because of their great volume. But one of my friends has translated the twenty-two books [i.e. the *Antiquities* and the two books of the *Apology*], in spite of their difficulty and complexity, into the Latin tongue. He

also wrote seven books of extreme brilliancy on the Conquest of the Jews, the translation of which some ascribe to Jerome, others to Ambrose, and others to Rufinus."

[Footnote 1: Epist. ad Lucrinum, 5.]

The autobiography of Josephus, alone of his writings, does not appear to have been done into the language of the Western Church. Perhaps its worthlessness was apparent even in the dark days. More ancient, however, and even more popular than the complete Latin version of Josephus, was an abridgment of his works which passed under the name of Hegesippus. The name is not found till the ninth century, but it is likely that the work was written in the time of Ambrosius, the famous bishop of Milan (C.E. 350). In this form the seven books of the *Wars* are compressed into five, and the words and phrases of the original are modified throughout. The writer in his preface explicitly declares that it is a kind of revised version, and he improves the original by Christological insertions, explaining, for example, the destruction of Jerusalem as a judgment upon the Jews for the murder of Christ. Josephus, he says, aims at the careful unraveling of events and at sobriety of speech, but he lacks faith (*religio*) and truth; "and so we have been at pains, relying not on intellectual force but on the promptings of faith, to probe for the inner meaning of Jewish history and to extract from it more of value to our posterity." Josephus is often mentioned by name as authority for the statements, but at the same time considerable additions are made from other Roman sources. Some have thought that there was a compiler named Hegesippus, others that the word is but a corruption of the Latinized form of the Jewish historian's name: Josippus, formed from [Greek: Io saepos], would become Egesippus, and finally Hegesippus.

A Greek epitome of Josephus also existed. We find it used by a Byzantine historian, John Zonaras, during the tenth and the eleventh century, in the composition of his chronicles. It omitted the speeches and historical evidences of the fuller work and pruned its excessive garrulousness. By the uncritical scholiasts and the prolix chroniclers of the Byzantine and Papal courts, Josephus was esteemed as a distinguished and godlike historian, and as a truthloving man ([Greek: philalaethaes anaer]). He was dubbed by Jerome "the Greek Livy," and to Tertullian and his followers he was an unfailing guide. Choice passages in his writings are frequently extracted, often with a little purposive modification, to emphasize some Christological design. Eustathius of Antioch in the sixth century, Syncellus in the eighth, and Cedrenus and Glycas some three or four hundred years later, are among those whose extant fragments prove a frequent use of Josephus. And the neo-Platonist philosopher Porphyry (ab. 300 C.E.), who was well acquainted with Jewish literature, reproduces in his treatise on

Abstinence the various passages about the Essenes from the *Wars* and the *Antiquities*. The Emperor Constantine later ordered extracts from the *Wars* to be put together for his edification in a selection bearing the title *About Virtue and Vice*.

Owing to this popularity, we have abundant manuscripts of Josephus. The oldest of the Latin is as early as the sixth century; the Greek date from the tenth century and later. Niese, the most authoritative editor of Josephus in modern times, thinks that our manuscript families go back to one archetype of the second century in the epoch of the Antonines. The earliest printed copy like the earliest manuscript of his work contains the Latin version, being a part of the *Antiquities*, which was issued in 1470 at Augsburg. The whole corpus was printed in 1499, and, after a number of Latin editions, the first Greek edition was published at Basel by Arten, in 1544, together with the Fourth Book of the Maccabees, which was ascribed to the historian.

In the days of vast but undiscriminating scholarship that followed the Renaissance, Josephus still enjoyed a great repute, and Scaliger, prince of polymaths, regarded him as superior to any pagan historian. The great Dutch scholar Havercamp made a special study of the manuscripts, and produced, in 1726, a repertory of everything discovered about his author. A little later Whiston, professor of mathematics at Cambridge, published an English translation of all the works, which is still serviceable, but not critical, together with some dissertations, which are neither serviceable nor critical. Later translations into English and almost every other language were made, but the greatest work of modern times on Josephus is the edition of Niese. Lastly, it may be mentioned that we have a Slavonic version, which goes back to the eighth or the ninth century, and a Syriac version of the sixth book of the *Wars*, which is included, immediately after the Fourth Book of the Maccabees, in a manuscript of the Syriac version of the Bible dating from the sixth century, and is entitled the Fifth Book of the Maccabees. It has been suggested that the Syriac was based on the work which Josephus published in Aramaic before he wrote the Greek; but Professor Nöldeke has shown that the theory is not probable, since the translator clearly used the Greek text.[1] Somewhat late in the day a Hebrew translation of the books *Against Apion*, which were regarded as the most Jewish part of his work, was made in the Middle Ages, and printed, together with Abraham Zacuto's Yuhasin, at Constantinople, in 1506, by Samuel Shullam. The Hebrew translation is very free, and is marred by several large omissions. It was very probably made with the help of the Latin version.

[Footnote 1: Literarisches Centralblatt, 1880, no. 20, .]

While Josephus enjoyed great honor among Christian scholars, for centuries he passed out of the knowledge of his own people. The Talmud has no reference to him, for the surmise that he is the "philosopher" visited by the four sages who journeyed from Palestine to Rome[1] is no more than a vague possibility. Nor has the supposed identification with the Joseph Hakohen that is mentioned in the Midrash anything more solid to uphold it.[2] In the Middle Ages, however, when Spain, Italy, and North Africa witnessed a remarkable revival of Jewish literature, both secular and religious, and when scientific studies again interested the people, the historical literature of other peoples became known to their scholars, and several Jewish writers mention the chronicles of one Yosippon, or "little Joseph." The text of the chronicle itself is widely known from the eleventh century onwards. The first author to mention it is David ben Tammum (ab. 950), and an extract from the book is found about a century later. Four manuscripts of it have come down to us: two in the Vatican, one in Paris, and one in Turin, and it was among the earliest Hebrew books printed. Professing to be the work of Joseph ben Gorion, one of the Jewish commanders in the war with Rome and a prefect of Jerusalem, it is written in a Rabbinical Hebrew that is nearer the classical language than most medieval compositions. It was indeed argued on the ground of its pure classical idiom that it dated from the fourth century, but Zunz[3] showed that this was impossible. It bears all the traces of the pseudepigraphic tendency of a period that produced the first works of the Cabala, the Seder Olam Zutta of Rabbi Joshua, and the neo-Hebraic apocalypses. The attempt to write an archaic Hebrew is marred by the presence of Rabbinical and novel terms. Reference to events or things only known to later times is combined with the pretension of an ancient chronicle. The country and the date of the author are uncertain, but probabilities point to Italy, where in the ninth and tenth centuries Jewish culture flourished, and where both Arabic and Latin works were well known in the Ghettos. The transcription of foreign names, the frequent introduction of the names of places in Italy, the acquaintance with Roman history, and the fact that Italian Jews are among the first to recognize Yosippon favor this theory. It is fitting that the country where Josephus wrote his history should also have produced a Jewish imitation of his work. Yosippon indeed was soon translated into Arabic, and its narratives and legends passed into the current stock of Ghetto history. The book was swollen by later additions, which Zunz has proved to belong to the twelfth century. One Yerahmeel ben Shelomoh who flourished in that epoch is mentioned in an early manuscript as a compiler of Yosippon and other histories; and it is possible that he was himself responsible for parts of the work in its present form.

[Footnote 1: Derek Erez, ed. Goldberg, iii. 10.]

[Footnote 2: Moëd Katon, 23a. See above, .]

[Footnote 3: Comp. Zunz, Gottesdienstliche Vorträge, p*ff*.]

The chronicle of Yosippon is a summary of Jewish history, with considerable digressions — many of them later interpolations — about the history of the nations with whom the Hebrew people came into contact, Babylon, Greece, and Rome. Like the Book of Chronicles, it begins with Adam and genealogies, explains the roll of the nations in Genesis, and then springs suddenly from the legendary origin of Babel and Rome to the relation of the Jews with Babylon. The history proper contains the record of the Jews from the first to the second captivity, but is broken by a mass of legendary material about Alexander the Great — reproducing much of what is found in pseudo-Callisthenes — and by a short account of the Carthaginian general Hannibal and several incidents of Roman history. These include a description of a coronation of the Emperor, which, it is suggested, applies to the medieval and not the classical period of the Empire.

The book was known throughout the later part of the Middle Ages and down to the eighteenth century as the Hebrew Josephus, and contrasted with the [Hebrew: Yosifon la-Romim], or "Latin Josephus." When the genuine works of our worthy became known to the Jews, Yosippon was regarded as the true representative of the Jewish point of view against the paganizing traitor. Its author had not a first-hand acquaintance with our Josephus. He knew him only through the Latin versions, which were mixed with much later material. Possibly he meant to pass off his work as the Hebrew original of the Jewish history, and confused Joseph ben Gorion with Joseph ben Mattathias; for in the introduction to one manuscript we read, "I am Joseph, called Josephus the Jew, of whom it is written that he wrote the book of the wars of the Lord, and this is the sixth part." This, however, may be the gloss of a later scribe, who found an anonymous book, and thought fit to supply the omission. In places the Hebrew translator reproduces, though with some blunders, the Latin Hegesippus, but he sought to give charm to his work by legendary additions, which more often show Arabic and other foreign influences than traces of the Jewish Haggadah. Interpolations have served to increase the legendary element, and take away from the historical value. But it is this element, reflecting the ideas of the age, that gives the composition a peculiar literary interest.

Though only to a small extent representing Jewish tradition, the book remained very popular among the Jews both of the West and the East, and was long regarded as authoritative. The first printed edition was issued at Mantua, in 1476, and was followed by the edition of Constantinople, in 1520, arranged in chapters and enlarged, and an edition of Basel, in 1541, containing a Latin

preface and a Latin translation of the greater part. In 1546 a printed Yiddish edition appeared in Zurich, and in the Ghetto it retains its popularity to the present day. Other editions and translations have followed. Steinschneider has noted that as late as 1873 an abstract of the Arabic translation together with the Arabic version of the Book of the Maccabees was published at Beirut.[1] The spuriousness of the work has now been established, and of modern scholars Wellhausen[2] is almost alone in ascribing to it any independent historical worth. In the Spanish period of Jewish culture the real as well as the spurious Josephus was read by many of his race, and some hard things were said of him. Thus Rabbi Isaac Abrabanel, the statesman and apologist (1457-1508), regarded him as a common sycophant and wrote, "In many things he perverted the truth, even where we have the Scriptures before us, in order to court favor with the Romans, as a slave submits himself to the will of his master." Azariah de Rossi (ab. 1850), anticipating the ideas of a later age, alone balanced his merits against his demerits. Among the great Christian scholars of the Renaissance, however, he enjoyed great fame. Joseph Scaliger, the most eminent of the seventeenth century critics, could write of him, "Josephus was the most diligent and the most truthloving of all writers, and one can better believe him, not only as to the affairs of the Jews, but also as to the Gentiles, than all the Greek and Latin writers, because his fidelity and his learning are everywhere conspicuous."[3] It is illustrative of his popularity that Rembrandt named one of his great Jewish pictures after him. Whiston's English translation of his works became a household book, found side by side with the Bible and *The Pilgrim's Progress*. [4]

[Footnote 1: J.Q.R. xvi. 393.]

[Footnote 2: Der arabische Josippus; see J.E., s.v. Joseph ben Gorion.]

[Footnote 3: De Emend. Temp. Proleg. 17.]

[Footnote 4: Readers of Rudyard Kipling may recall that in *Captains Courageous* one of the seamen on board the "We're Here" Schooner reads aloud on Sunday from a book called Josephus: "It was an old leather-bound volume very solid and very like a Bible, but enlivened with accounts of battles and sieges."]

In modern times his reputation as a trustworthy authority has depreciated considerably, and it is still depreciating. More accurate study and wider knowledge have exposed his grave defects as an historian, and the critical standpoint has dissipated the halo with which his supposed Christian sympathies had invested him, and laid bare his weakness and his essential unreliability. Yet with all his glaring faults and unlovable qualities he has certain solid merits. The greatest certainly is that his works so appealed to later generations as to have

been preserved, and thereby posterity has been enabled to get some knowledge, however inadequate, of the history of the Jewish polity during its last two hundred years — between the time of the Maccabees and the fall of the nation — which would otherwise have been buried in almost unrelieved darkness. And at the same time he has preserved a record of some interesting pieces of Egyptian, Syrian, and Roman history. Just because he was so little original, he has a special usefulness; for he reproduces the statements of more capable writers than himself, who have disappeared, and he has embodied an aspect of the Hellenistic-Jewish literature which had otherwise been lost. We can estimate his value to us as an historian from our ignorance of what was happening in Judea during the fifty years after his account comes to an end.

It is true that he brings before us, for the most part, but the external facts and the court scandals in place of the vital movements and the underlying principles; and in dealing with contemporary events he has a perverted view, borrowed largely from Roman foes and feebly corrected. But it is something to have preserved even these facts, and in the account of the *Wars* he often draws a vivid picture. The siege of Jerusalem has passed into the roll of the world's heroic events, and it owes its place there largely to the narrative of Josephus. Moreover, in spite of his pusillanimity and his subservience to his Roman patrons, Josephus did possess a distinct pride of race and a love of his people. It led him at times to glorify them in a gross way, but notably in the books *Against Apion* it could inspire a certain eloquence; and many hostile outsiders must have learnt from his pages to appreciate some of the great qualities of the Jewish people.

To appraise him fairly is difficult. He has few of the qualities, either personal or literary, that attract sympathy and many of the defects that repel. He is at once vain and obsequious, servile and spiteful, professing candor and practising adulation, prolix and prosaic. As a general he proved himself a traitor; as apologist of the Jews, a function which he asserted for himself, he marred by a lack of independence the service which he sought to render his people. In his account of their past he was often false to their fundamental ideas of God and history. Whether he was really under the influence of the debased Greco-Roman culture of the day, which consigned mankind to the dominion of fatality, or whether he deliberately masked his own standpoint to please his audience, he presented the history of the Hebrew nationality in the light of ideas of fate strange to it. He has perpetuated a false picture of the Zealots, whose avowed enemy he was, and he reveals an inadequate understanding of the deeper ideas and deeper principles of the Pharisees, whose champion he professed to be. Generally, in dealing with the struggle against Rome, his dominating desire to justify his own submission and please the Romans led him to distort the facts,

and rendered him blind to the real heroism of his countrymen. The client in him prevails over the historian: we can never be sure whether he is expressing his own opinion or only what he conceives will be pleasing to his patrons and masters. This dependence affects his presentation of Judaism as well as of the Jewish people. He dissembled his theological opinions in his larger historical works, and it is only in his last apologetic composition that he asserts confidently a Jewish point of view.

Yet it is but fair to Josephus to consider the times and circumstances in which he wrote. It was an age when the love of truth was almost dead, extinguished partly by the crushing tyranny of omnipotent Emperors, partly by the intellectual and moral degeneration of pagan society. The Flavian house soon showed the same characteristics of a vainglorious despotism as the line of Caesars which it had supplanted. Under Domitian "the only course possible for a writer without the risk of outlawry or the sacrifice of personal honor was that followed by Juvenal and Tacitus during his reign, viz., silence." It was an age when, in the words of Mazzini, "a hollow sound as of dissolution was heard in the world. Man seemed in a hideous case: placed between two infinities, he knew neither. He knew not past nor future. All belief was dead; dead the belief in the gods, dead the belief in the Republic." The material power of Rome, while it dazzled by its splendor, seemed invincible, and it crushed, in all save the strongest, independence of thought and independence of national life. Unfortunately it fell to Josephus to write amid these surroundings his account of the Jewish wars and the history of the Jews, and he may have been driven to distortion to keep his perilous position at court. The moral environment, too, was such as to contaminate those who had not a deep faith and a strong Hebrew consciousness. At Alexandria it was possible to achieve a harmony between Judaism and the spiritual teaching of Greek philosophy; but the basic conceptions of Roman Imperialism were not to be brought into accord with Jewish ideas.

Josephus had no conception of the moral weakness, he felt only the invincible power, of the conqueror. He was a Jew, isolated in Rome, estranged from his own people, and not at home in his environment, a favored captive in a splendid court, a member of a subject people living in the halls of the mighty. Did ever situation more strongly conduce to moral servility and mental dependence! It was well nigh impossible for him, even had he possessed the ability, to write an honest and independent history of the Jews. It required some courage and steadfastness to write of the Jews at all. In such circumstances he might well have become an apostate, as his contemporary Tiberius Alexander had done, and it is a tribute to his Jewish feeling that he remained in profession and in heart true to his people, that he was not among those who with the fall of the second

Temple exclaimed, “Our hope is perished: we are cut off.” He had indeed chosen the easier and less noble way on the destruction of the national life of his people; he preferred the palace of the Palatine with its pomp to the Vineyard at Jabneh with its wise men. While Johanan ben Zakkai was saving Judaism, Josephus was apologizing for it. Yet he too has done some service: he preserved some knowledge of his people and their religion for the Gentiles, and became one of the permanent authorities for that heretical body of Jewish proselytes who in his own day were beginning to mark themselves off as a separate sect, and who carried on to some extent the work of Hellenistic Judaism. Perhaps the true judgment about him is that he was neither noble nor villainous, neither champion nor coward, but one of those mediocre men of talent but of weak character and conflicting impulses struggling against adversity who succumb to the difficulties of the time in which their life is passed, and sacrifice their individuality to comfort. But he wrote something that has lived; and for what he wrote, if not for what he was, he has a niche in the literary treasure house of the Jewish people as well as in the annals of general history. As a man, if he cannot inspire, he may at least stand as a warning against that facile subservience to external powers and that fatal assimilation of foreign thought which at once destroy the individuality of the Jew and deprive him of his full humanity.

Josephus is believed to have died in Rome in c. AD 101